



McDONALD INSTITUTE FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Nostratic Dictionary

by Aharon Dolgopolsky

Third Edition

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Preface

Colin Renfrew

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

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

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

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

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

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

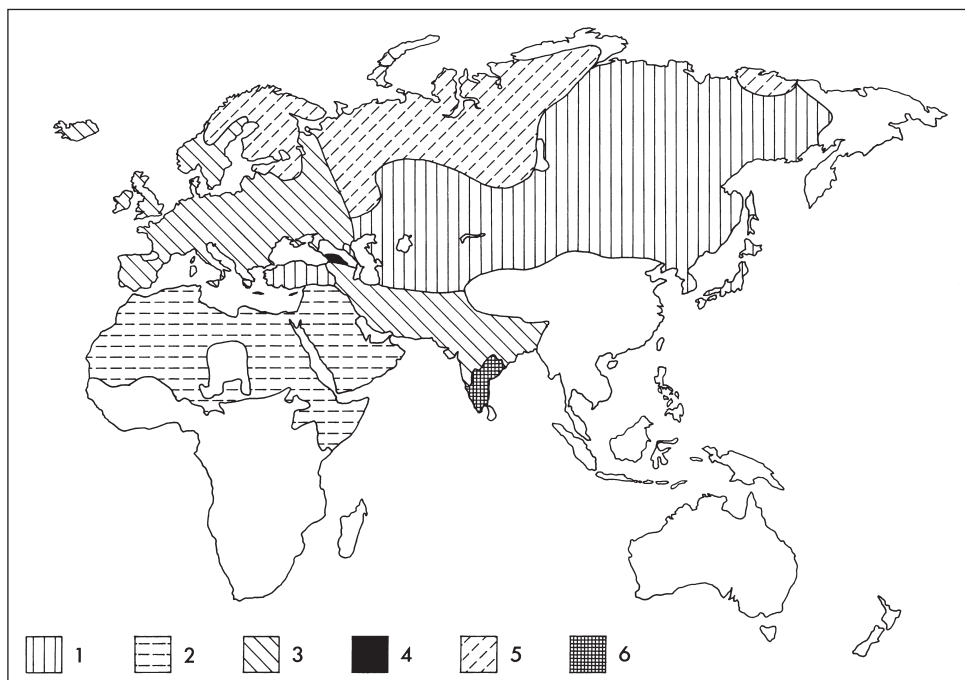


Figure 1. *The Nostratic macrofamily. The present-day distribution of the language groups within the Nostratic macrofamily. The constituent language families are: (1) Altaic; (2) Afroasiatic; (3) Indo-European; (4) South Caucasian (Kartvelian); (5) Uralic; (6) Dravidian. (After Renfrew & Nettle 1999,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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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NOSTRATIC DICTIONARY

by Aharon Dolgopolsky

Third Edition

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

Foreword

Aharon Dolgopolsky

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

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

1. Some extremely important studies in etymology are still in preparation or in print. The recently published Altaic etymological dictionary by S. Starostin, A. Dybo and O. Mudrak was not available to me (I could only use its preliminary versions). This drawback has brought about another one: I could not pay due attention to the very complicated and controversial proto-Altaic vocalism of roots, so that my reconstruction of Nostratic vowels still needs checking and revision. Nor have I been able to use the *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (vols. II and III) by G. Takács.
2. Some important papers were published shortly before the submission of this dictionary (e.g. the second Georgian edition of the Kartvelian etymological dictionary by H. Fähnrich and Z. Sarjveladze, the Laz-Turkish dictionary by İ.A. Bucaklışı and H. Uzunhasanoğlu, the latest fascicles of the *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* by D. Cohen, the new Tuareg-French dictionary by K.-G. Prasse, Ghoubéid Alojaly and Ghabdouane Mohamed, the French-Berber dictionary by M. Dray, the *Rendille Dictionary* by S. Pillinger and L. Galboran, *The Dhaasanac Language* by M. Tosco, the *Iraqw-English Dictionary* by M. Mous a. o. (MQK), the *Grammar of Miya* by R. Schuh, *The Maale Language* by Azeb Ahma, *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère* by M. Kossmann, *Comparative Dravidian Linguistics* by Bh. Krishnamurti and the volumes II and III of the above-mentioned Takács's *Dictionary*), so that I have not been able

to use them to the full extent. The same applies to the *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, edited by J.P. Mallory and D.Q. Adams (L./Chic., 1997), which is extremely valuable for its lexical and grammatical entries (which are not connected with Mallory's incorrect conception about the homeland and early migrations of the Indo-Europeans [Gimbutas's theory of Ponto-Caspian steppes as the homeland, that is at variance with obvious linguistic facts, cf. AD IEH, AD CCIE and AD MAIEH; on the archaeological aspects of the problem see Rnf. AL]). The second volume of *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives* by J. Greenberg reached me in July 2002, when the text of my dictionary was ready. Nevertheless, in the reference notes of my entries (after the signs ◇ and ◊) I have mentioned those comparisons of Greenberg that are (at least partially) acceptable. I have paid no attention to those (too numerous!) among Greenberg's comparisons that are untenable or unjustified.

3. Some important dictionaries remained inaccessible to me. Among them the manuscripts of the two unedited Goemay dictionaries by E. Sirlinger (Jos, Nigeria, 1937 and 1946), the Russian-Türkmen dictionary by Alijev and Borijev (Ashkhabad, 1929) and the new Chinese dictionaries of the Mongolic languages Baoan, Dongxiang and Dagur (Beijing, 1981–2), the etymological dictionaries of Erzya, Moksha and Cheremis that were published in Saransk and Yoshkar-Ola (see Sr. and Srl EG, AB, BuL, LiuZh, Zhong, CygM, KMC and Gord. in the bibliography). I regret not being able to use the Gothic etymological dictionary by W. Lehmann and the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1983).
4. Some earlier papers on Nostratic (among them those by A. Bomhard) have not been analysed although they are likely to contain useful comparisons (in spite of methodological drawbacks [cf. AD rTPN] and partially untenable hypotheses of sound correspondences). Analysing them is a lengthy and inefficient procedure which I could not undertake owing to time constraints.

5. I have not included in my comparison Eskimo-Aleut, Chukchee-Kamchadal and (almost entirely) Gilyak and Elamite, although these languages do belong (in my opinion) to the Nostratic macro-family. The reason is that the comparative-grammatical study of these languages is in its initial stage. At the time of writing I had no access to the only comparative dictionary of Eskaleut (*Comparative Eskimo Dictionary with Aleut Cognates* by M. Fortescue, S. Jacobson and L. Kaplan (Fairbanks, 1994). The only comparative dictionary of Chukchee-Kamchadal (that by O. Mudrak) was only published shortly before the present dictionary was submitted, and hence could not be used. Therefore for the time being I cannot evaluate Greenberg's interesting comparisons concerning EA, CK, Gil and Ai.

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

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

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

prehistory and history of the Chadic languages.

Probably an additional inconvenience for some readers will be my approach to semantic definitions of the lexical entries. In many cases I prefer to preserve the German, French, Italian, Spanish and Latin

definitions from the sources in order to avoid inaccuracy in semantic interpretation of the data (due to polysemy of words in the sources and the inevitable arbitrariness in my English translation of these). In some cases I had to achieve accuracy by quoting the sources in Russian, Swedish or other 'exotic' languages (accompanied by an English translation). If the name of an endemic plant or animal, of an object or phenomenon of some ethnic culture has no exact English equivalent, I had to present an approximate interpretation (sometimes

with the symbols \in 'a kind of' or \approx 'approximately'). If the English word is polysemic, I have sometimes preferred to use a more convenient Latin, French or German equivalent (Latin 'dorsum' or French 'dos' instead of English 'back').

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

Acknowledgements

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

I am greatly indebted to my dear friend, the founder of modern Nostratic linguistics Vladislav Illich-Svitych (1932–1964), from whom I learned the basic methodology of long-range comparative linguistic research. He discovered the main sound correspondences between Nostratic languages and the phonetic laws that underlie these correspondences. In his *Essay of Comparison of the Nostratic Languages* (IS I, II, III) and his earlier paper 'Material for comparison of the Nostratic languages' (IS MS) he proposed more than 600 Nostratic etymologies. Almost all of them (in a revised form) have been incorporated in the present dictionary (with reference notes 'IS' and 'IS MS').

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

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

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

No research in comparative linguistics is possible without access to professional literature. Therefore the present study would have not been feasible without support of my colleagues and friends who provided me with their own papers and books and with those of other authors, as well as with

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INTRODUCTION:

THE NOSTRATIC MACROFAMILY

§ 1. **The Nostratic macrofamily.** This is a hypothetical macrofamily of languages, including Indo-European (**IE**), Hamito-Semitic (**HS**) (= Afroasiatic) (comprising Semitic [S], Egyptian [Eg], Berber [B], Cushitic [C], Omotic [Om] and Chadic [Ch]), Kartvelian (**K**), Uralic (**U**) (= Finno-Ugric [FU], Samoyed [Sm] and Yukaghir [Y]), Altaic (**A**) (= Turkic [T], Mongolic [M], Tungusic [Tg], Korean [Ko] and Japanese [J]), Dravidian (**D**), Elamic (**E**) and Gilyak (**Gil**). The hypothesis is based on a large amount of common roots and grammatical morphemes (2,982 etymological items), in which regular sound correspondences have been established (cf. IS MS, IS SS, IS I-III, AD LRC, AD SShS, AD LZL, AD PP, AD NGIE, AD NVIE, AD NM). Among the most important resemblances is that of personal pronouns and inflectional person-markers of the 1st and 2nd persons (Nostratic ***mi** for 'I' in IE, U, A and K, ***t'u'** (> ***ti**) ~ ***s'u'** (> ***si**) for 'thou' in IE, HS, U and M etc.), that of interrogative pronouns (originally ***ko** for 'who?' and ***mi** for 'what?', surviving entirely or partially in IE, HS, K, U and A), basic caregorematic words (roots in descendant languages) such as ***ra's'o'** 'stay' (> 'be') preserved in IE (***es-**), HS, U and K, ***pitê** 'to eat' (IE, HS, M), ***ba'eri** 'to hold, take' (all branches except U), ***wetê** 'water' (all branches except K), ***nim?∇** 'name, word' (IE, HS, U, A), as well as words connected with culture of the final paleolithic age (cf. AD NM), such as ***kälû** 'woman of another moiety' > words for 'daughter-in-law', 'sister-in-law' and 'bride' in IE (Latin *glōs*, Greek *γάλας* ~ *γάλως*, Slavic **zě̃l̃+ / *zě̃l̃ve*), S, U, A and D. The original Nostratic phonology (as reconstructed by V. Illich-Svitych and A. Dolgopolsky) had a rich consonant system (see below) and 7 vowels. The grammatical structure was, most probably, analytic with a rigid word order (a sentence-final verb, attributive precedes its head, pronominal subject follows its verb) and with grammatical meanings expressed by word order, postpositions (***nu** for genitive, ***mA** for marked accusative and others) and grammatical pronouns.

It is very plausible that there are other members of the Nostratic macrofamily: Chukchee-Kamchadal, Eskimo-Aleut and possibly also Etruscan. But the comparative-grammatical and etymological investigation of these languages is still at its very beginning, therefore at the present stage of Nostratic research they have not yet been included in the framework of comparison. The most interesting *Comparative Eskimo Dictionary with Aleut Cognates* by M. Fortescue, S. Jacobson and L. Kaplan (Fairbanks, 1994) is very important, but it is not yet a dictionary of Proto-Eskimo-Aleut. This Eskimo dictionary reached me only recently, when my Nostratic Lexicon was already compiled. In any case, the complicated phonological and morphological prehistory of Eskimo-Aleut and its etymology in the framework of the Nostratic macro-family are still to be investigated.

§ 2. Phonology.

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

Nostratic consonant chart

Stops and affricates			Fricatives		Central aproximi- nants	Nasals	Lateral sonants	Vi- br- ants
Voiced	Voice- less	Emph.	Voiced	Voice- less				
b	p	p̥			w	m		
d	t	t̥				n	l	
ʒ	c	c̥	z	s				
ʒ̣	č	č̣	ʒ̣	ṣ̌		ɳ = ŋ	ɭ	r
ʒ̣̣	č̣	č̣̣	ʒ̣̣	ṣ̣̌	y	ɳ̣	ɭ̣	ɾ̣
ʒ̣̣̣	č̣̣	č̣̣̣	ʒ̣̣̣	ṣ̣̣̌				
g	k	k̥				ŋ		
g̣	q	q̥	ʕ	χ				
				ħ (= ʕ)	ʕ			
	ʔ			h				

Symbols in the chart: affricates: ʒ = dʒ, c = tʃ, ʒ̣ = dʒ̣, č̣ = tʃ̣; lateralobstruents: ʒ̣̣, č̣̣, č̣̣̣, ʒ̣̣̣, ṣ̣̣̌ = lateralized ʒ, c, c̣, z, s; palatalized consonants: ʒ̣̣, č̣̣, č̣̣̣, ʒ̣̣̣, ṣ̣̣̌, ɳ̣, ɭ̣, ɾ̣ = palatalized ʒ, c, c̣, z, s, n, l, r; ɭ and ɳ (= ŋ) = cacuminal or retroflex n and l; uvular stops: g (voiced), q (voiceless), q̣ ("emphatic"); uvular fricatives: χ = Spanish j, ʕ = Arabic ʕ; epiglottal (pharyngeal) consonant: voiceless ħ (= ʕ = Arabic ح), voiced ʕ (= Arabic ع).

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

Recently Starostin proposed to interpret the emphatic stops as voiceless fortes (out *t̥ = his *t^ʕ); see S NSR 306.

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

In this table "⊥" means "any consonant" (e.g. "_ ⊥" means "before any consonant", "⊥_" means "after any consonant").

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

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-p-	*p	f	*f	*p, ?*b	*p, *b	*w, *p	*p, *b, *∅	*b, *β > *ɣ	*p, *b	*√
*p-	*p	p	*f	*p, *p̄	*p	*p	*h > *∅	*φ	*p	*p
*-p-	*p	p	*f	*p, *p̄	*p	*pp	*p, *b, *∅	*b, *β > *ɣ	*p	*pp, *p
*d-	*d	d	*d	*d	*dh	*t	*j	*d, _i/*ɜ̃	*d	*t
*-d-	*d	d	*d	*d	*dh	*ð	*ð	*d	*d	*t̥/t̥t̥
*t-	*t	t	*t	*t	*d	*t	*t̥	*d, _i/*ɜ̃	*d	*t
*-t-	*t	t	*t	*t	*d	*t	*t	*d	*d	*t̥ /*t̥t̥, *_t̥t̥
*t̥-	*t̥,*t	d	*d̥	*t̥	*t	*t	*t̥ ⁶	*t, -i/*ɟ̃	*t	*t
*-t̥-	*t̥,*t	d,t	*d̥,*t	*t̥	*t	*tt	*t̥ ⁶	*t	*t	*tt̥ /*_t̥t̥
*g-	*g	g,ɟ	*g	*g	*gh, *ḡh, *gʷh	*k	*k̥	*g,*g	*g	*k
*-g-	*g	g,ɟ	*g	*g	*gh, *ḡh, *gʷh	*ɣ	*g	*ɣ,*ɣ, *g,*g	*g	*:, /*_k, ?/*k_
*k-	*k	k,c	*k,*g?	*k	*g,*ḡ, *gʷ	*k	*k̥	*k,*q	*k	*k
*-k-	*k	k,c		*k	*g,*ḡ, *gʷ	*k	*g,*k	*ɣ,*ɣ, *g,*g, -i/? *y	*g	*k
*k̥-	*k̥,*k	q,k	*ɣ	*k̥	*k,*k̄, *kʷ	*k	*k̥ ⁶ , *k̥	*k,*q	*x	*k
*-k̥-	*k̥	q	*ɣ,*k	*k̥	*k,*k̄, *kʷ	*kk	*k	*k,*q	*k	*kk, *k
*g-	*ɣ	ɣ?		*ɣ	*x, *xʷ, [*x̄?]	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅, ?*g	*∅

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-q-	*ʕ	H		*ʕ	*X, ?*H	*∅, ?*ɣ	*∅, ?? *g	*∅	*∅, ?*g	*∅
*q-	*χ	χ, 𐤆 (h)	*H	*q	*X, *ɣw, [*ɣ?]	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-q-	*χ	χ, 𐤆 (h)	*H	*q	*H	*∅	*∅, ?? *g	*∅,*g, ?*g	*∅, ?*g	*∅
*q-	*k,*χ	q, 𐤀	*ʕ	*q	*k,*k̄, *kw	*k	*k',*k'	*k,*q	*x	*k
*-q-	*k	q	*ʕ	*q	*k,*k̄, *kw	*k, *kk	*k	*k,*q	*k	*k, *kk
*-z-	*z	z?	*z	*z̄ =*z ₁	*s	*s	*j	*z?	*j	*c̄
*-z-	*z	z?		*z̄ = *z ₁	*s	*c̄	*j?	*z?	*j?	*t?
*-c-	*s (= *c)	s?		*c̄ =*c ₁	*s ?_ ⊥ /*s	*c̄	*c̄	*c̄?	*c̄	*c̄
*-c-	*s	?c	*s	*c̄ =*c ₁	*s	*c̄	*c̄?	*c̄?		
*-c-	*c̄	???z		*c̄ =*c ₁	*s ?*K ^h	*c̄	*c̄	*c̄	*c̄	*c̄
*-c-	*c̄, *s	?z		*c̄ =*c ₁	*s	*c̄	*c̄, *s	*c̄??	*c̄?	*c̄
*-s-	*š	s	*s	*š̄ =*s ₁	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s, *š̄	*c̄
*-s-	*š	s	*s	*š̄ =*s ₁	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*c̄
*-z-	*z			*z̄ =*z ₁	*H	*s	*j	*s	*s?	*c̄
*-z-	*z	z?	*z	*z̄ =*z ₁	*H	*s		*s, *y		*c̄
*-z-	*z	z?	*z	*z̄	*s	*c̄, *š̄	*j	*z̄	*j?	*c̄
*-z-	*z			*z̄,*z	*s	*c̄		*z̄		*c̄?

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*ĉ-	*š	š?	*š	*č	*(s)K, _ ⊥ /*š	*č	*ç		*ç	*č
*-ĉ-	*š			*č	*š	*č	*ç?	*č?	*š?, *ç?	*č
*ĉ̣-	*č̣	ʒ		*č̣	*(s)K, ??*K ^h	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*-ĉ̣-	*č̣, *š	?ʒ	?*š	*č̣	?*š	*č(č)	*ç, *š?	*č?		?*č (č)
*š-	*ṣ̌	š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š	*š, ?*ṣ̌	*č
*-š-	*ṣ̌	š	*š	*š	*š	*š	?*š	*š	*š	*č
*ž-	*ž	ž?		*ž	*H, *‘	*š	*j	*š	*š	*č
*-ž-	*ž	ž?, š?	*ž	*ž	*H	*š		*ž?		?*č
*ẓ̌-	*ð	ž?	*ž	*ẓ̌, ?*ẓ̌	*š	*č, ?*y ?*ṣ̌	*j	*ž	*j	*č, ?*ṭ
*-ẓ̌-	*ð	ʒ, d		*ẓ̌	*š, *d, *sd?	*č, *ð	*ð, ?*y	*ž	*j	?*č
*č-	*θ	š		*č	*(s)t-	*č	*ç ?*ṭ	*č ??*d	*ç ?*j	*č
*-č-	*θ	š, ??č	*š	*č	*š	*č	*ç	*č	*ç?	*č
*č̣-	*θ̣	ʒ		*č̣	*(s)t	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*-č̣-	*θ̣	ʒ		*č̣	*t ^h , *t *st, ??*sd	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č
*ṣ̌-	*ṣ̌	š	?*š	*ṣ̌	*š	*ṣ̌	*š	*š	*š	*č
*-ṣ̌-	*ṣ̌	š	*š	*ṣ̌	*š	*ṣ̌	*š	*š	*š	*č
*ẓ̌-	*ṣ̌	?ž		*ẓ̌	*H	*ṣ̌	?*j	*š	*j, *š??	
*-ẓ̌-	*ṣ̌, ?*ž	??ʒ	*ẓ̌	*ẓ̌, ?*ẓ̌	*H	*ṣ̌	*ṣ̌	?*ẓ̌		?*č

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*ʒ-	*š	ʒ	?*z	*ʒ, *ʒ̣	*l, _Vl/ *s-	*λ	?*j	*ʒ	*j ?	*č
*-ʒ-	*š ?		*s	*ʒ	*l	*ʒ	*l	?*l	*j ?	*t, *tt
*č-	*š	ʒ	?*s	*č	*s	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č, ? *k-
*-č-	*š	ʒ		?*č	*s	*č	*ç	*č	?*ç	*č
*č̣-	*ṣ̌	? ʒ	?*ç	*č̣	?*s	*š	*ç	*č	*ç	*č, *k-
*-č̣-	*ṣ̌	ʒ		*č̣	*s, (?) *(s)K	*č	*ç	*č	*ç	*č, ?*t /*tt
*š-	*š	ʒ	*š ?	*š and ??*s	*s, *ks	*š	*s	*s	*s	*č, ? *k-
*-š-	*š	ʒ		*š	*s	*š	*s	*s	*s, ?*l	*č
*ʒ-	*š	ʒ	?*z	?*l	*l, ?*s-	*l, *š	*j	*s	*s	*n
*-ʒ-	*š	??n	?*s	*l	*l, _l /*s?	*ʒ	*l, ?*l	*l	*l	*l, *l
*y-	*ç	ç		*y	*x	*ø	*ø	*ø	*ø	*ø
*-y-	*ç	?ç	*H	?*y, l_/*x	?*x, *ø	*ø, ?*ø	*ø	*ø, *g	*ø, *g	*ø, *:
*x-	*h	h, x (h)	*H	*x	*x, *x̄, *x̄w	*ø	*ø	*ø	*ø	*ø
*-x-	*h	h, ? x (h)	?*H|ø	*x	*x, *x̄, *x̄w	*ø	*ø, *:	*ø	*ø, *:	*ø
*ç-	*ç	ç	?*H|p	*ø	*H	*ø	*ø	*ø	*ø	*ø
*-ç-	*ç	ç	?*H|ø	*ø	*H	*ø, *:	*ø, *:	*ø	*ø, *:	*ø
*h-	*h	h, x (h)	*H	*ø	*h, *h̄, *h̄w	?*ø	*ø	*ø		*ø

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-h-	*h	ḥ, ḫ (ḥ)	*H|∅	*∅	*h, *h̄, *h ^ω	*∅	*∅, *:	*∅		*∅
*h-	*h	?h		*∅	*ɣ =*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-h-	*h, *∅	h, ḫ (ḥ), ∅	?*∅	*∅	*ɣ =*∅	*∅	*∅, *:	*∅	*∅	*∅, *:
*ɣ-	*ɣ	ɣ, ɣ̄	*ɣ-, *H	*∅	*ɣ =*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅	*∅
*-ɣ-	*ɣ	ɣ, ɣ̄, ∅	*∅, *ɣ	*∅, *ɣ̄	*∅, *: *ɣ̄	*ɣ =*∅	*∅, *:	*∅	*∅, *:	*∅
*m-	*m		*m	*m	*m	*m	*b|m	*m, #_/* b	*m, #_/ *b	*m
*-m-	*m	m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m
*n-	*n	n	**n	**n	*n	*n	**j	*n	**n	*n
*-n-	*n	n	**n	*n	*n	*n	**n	*n	*n	*-n̄- _t/*n
*n̄-	*n	n	**n	**n	*n	*n̄	*j	*n	**n, ?? *n̄	*n
*-n̄-	*n	n	*n	**n	*n	*n̄	*n	*n	**n*-n̄- _t/*n, _#/*n̄	
*n̄-	*n	n		*n	*y	*n̄	*j (<*n̄)	*n, *ɣ̄	*n̄	*n, *n̄
*-n̄-	*n			*n	*j, ?*n	*n̄	*n̄ > *y	?*n	*N	*-n̄-
*n̄-	*ɣ, *ɣ̄, *n	?n		?*n	*kn, *n, *ɣ̄	*n, *n̄, ?*∅-	*∅-, *j	*∅-, *n	*n̄, ?*∅-	*n, *∅
*-n̄-	*n, *m	n	*n	*n	*n, *nG ^h , *m	*n̄, *-n̄ ~ ?*n	*n̄	*n̄, *n̄G, *n̄K, *ɣ̄, *ɣ̄	*n̄	*-n̄- ?*n̄-
*ɣ-	*ɣ	?ɣ̄	*ɣ		*ɣ	*ɣ	*j	*n	?*ɣ	

Nostratic	Semitic	Egyptian	Berber	Kartvelian	Indo-European	Uralic	Turkic	Mongolic	Tungusic	Dravidian
*-ɾ-	*ɾ	ɾ, ʔ, ʕ	*ɾ	*ɾ	*ɾ	*ɾ	*ɾ	*ɾ	*ɾ	*ɾ
*ɽ-	*ɽ	ʔn	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*n	*ɽ	?*n
*-ɽ-	*ɽ		*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ
*ɻ-	*ɻ		?*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	?*ɽ	?*ɽ,	?*ɽ	*n, ?*ɻ
*-ɻ-	*ɻ	ɾ, ʕ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ
*ɽ-	*ɽ	ɾ	?*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*n.	*n,	*n,
*-ɽ-	*ɽ	ɾ, ʕ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	?*ɽ	?*ɽ	?*ɽrɿk
*-ɽ-	*ɽ	ɾ, ʕ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ (< *ɽɿ, *ɿɽ)
*-ɻ-	*ɻ	ɾ, ʕ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ	*ɻ; _ɿ/*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɽ	*ɻ ?*ɽ (< *ɽɿ?)
*w-	*w	w	*w	*w	*w (*ɰ)	*w	*b,* ^o	*b	*b,	*v, ?* ^o _U/* ^o
*-w- /V_V	*w	w,ʕ	?*w	*w, * ^o	*ɰ	*w	*b,* ^o	*β,*b	*b	*v, * ^o .
*-w- /ɿ_V	*w, * ^o	?? ^o , ɰ	??*w	*w, * ^o	*ɰ,* ^o	*w, * ^o		*b,* ^o	*b,	* ^o
*-w- /a,E _ɿ	*w, * ^o			*w	*ɰ	*w, * ^o	?* ^o	* ^o ,* ^o	* ^o	* ^o , ?*v
*-w- /u_ɿ	* ^o .		?* ^o .	* ^o , *w	* ^o ,* ^o	* ^o	* ^o .	* ^o		* ^o .
*y-	*y	i	?*y,*i	* ^o , ?*y	*y, *ej	*y	*ɽ	*y	?*y	*y,* ^o , * ^o .
*-y- /V_V	*y	ɰ, ^o	*y	* ^o	*j/*i	*y	*y	*y	*y,	*y,* ^o * ^o
*-y- /ɿ_V	*y,* ^o	? ^o	* ^o	* ^o	* ^o , *j, +*(S)-	*y, *ɿy	*ɿy, * ^o ,* ^o .	* ^o ,*y	* ^o ,* ^o ,*ɿ	* ^o ,* ^o ,*ɿ *ɿy, *j
*-y- /V_ɿ	*y,* ^o	ɰ, ^o	?*y	* ^o	*j,* ^o	*y, *ɿy	* ^o , *ɿy	* ^o ,*y	* ^o ,* ^o ,*y	* ^o ,* ^o ,*y *j

Remarks:

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

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

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

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

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

6. The formulae $*-y- / \perp_V > U *y, *⊥^y$ and $*-y- / V_\perp > U *y, *⊥^y$ mean: in the positions \perp_V (after a cns. and before a vw.) and V_\perp (after a vw and before a cns.) N $*-y-$ remains in U as $*y$ or palatalizes the adjacent U cns. N $*ya-$ yields D $*yā(:)-$ and $*e-$, N $*yā-$ is represented by D $*e- \sim *ā-$, and N $*ye-$ yields D $*ī-$ and $*e-$. N $*yi-$ yields M $*i-$.

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

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

9. The controversial IE cns. cluster $*ḡ^hđ$ is still to be investigated. In one root ($*ḡ^hđem-/*ḡ^hđom-$ [{EI} $*d^hḡ^hom-$] 'earth') it may result from metathesis (IE {EI} $*d^hḡ^hom- > *ḡ^hđem-/*ḡ^hđom-$). In another case ($*ḡ^hđyes / ? *ḡ^hđis$ 'yesterday') $*ḡ^hđ-$ is likely to go back to N $*ge^rd^i-$ (cf. entry 603a $*ge^rd^i uš̄∇$ 'late, evening').

10. According to AD LZL 364-5, one of the sources of U and FU $*ẑ$ is the N clusters $*-l̄s-$, $*-l̄s-$, $*-l̄s-$ and probably $*-l̄ϕ-$ (cf. entries 131, 871, 1042, 1044, 1698b, 2056a, 2062, 2197, 2475 and 2725 [in the latter U $*ẑ < N *-l̄ϕ-$]; in the entry 1698b the post-N cluster $*-l̄s-$ goes back to N $*-l̄is|ϕ-$; in N $*s̄úí'o^i s̄ú$ ($kê$) or $*s̄íí'o^i s̄i$ ($kê$) (entry 2062) the post-N cluster $*-l̄s-$ ($>$ ObU $*-ẑ-$) goes back to N $*-l̄o^i s̄-$.

11. Sometimes (under some still unknown conditions) a K preconsonantal $*-r-$ goes back to a N lateral cns. ($*l̄$ or what is denoted as $*l̄|l̄$) (cf. K $*ç̄gr̄ta$ 'elbow', GZ $*pr̄t̄q-el-$ 'flat', G $perpl-i$ 'ashes',

χvirtli 'Winterhaar, Winterpelz [der Tiere]' and GZ *t̥qirp- 'spleen' [in the entries 355, 1719, 1723, 1866 and 2355]).

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

13. The difference between N *p- and *p̥- is likely to be reflected in Chadic. In this book I tentatively suggest that N *p- yields Ch {Stl.} *f- (> Hs f-, Su f-, v-, Bl, Wrj, Ron lges, Tr, Bu, Mtk f-, Gzg f-, v-, Lgn f-, p-, Msg, Ms f-, Ke f-, w-, Mu f-), while N *p̥- is represented in Ch {Stl.} *p- (Hs f-, h-, Su, Bl p-, Sha p-, other Ron lges f-, Ngz p-, Tr and Bu (mostly) p-, Gzg p-, Lgn v-, Ms, Ke, Mu p-), as reconstructed in Stolbova's thesis (Stl. IF 23 - 34). Further research in the historical phonology of Ch and HS will correct my highly tentative reconstructions in this field. In U the N word-internal cns. *-p- is represented by *w and *p, the former in the intervocalic position. the latter probably in U or pre-U cns. clusters (the exact rules are still to be clarified).

14. N *ŋ- yields S *n- (rather than *ɣ or *ʏ) in the presence of a laryngeal or *m in the same N word. N *-ŋ- sometimes yields IE and S *-m- (under still unknown conditions).

15. N *-ŋc̄- and probably *-ŋc̄- yield Tg *-s- (cf. entries no s. 927, 1122 and 2 282).

16. N *-ŋ- yields D *-m(m)- in three roots after D *u and *o (cf. entries no-s 215, 647 and 1927). N *-ŋ- yields U *-ŋ- and *-ŋk-, Altaic *-ŋ- and *-ŋg- (the rules of distribution are unknown).

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

18. The meaning of our formulae with the signs "/", "_", "⊥" and "ʹ"

1: N *b after cnss yields Uralic *p

2: N *d before *i yields pM *ɟ̥

3: N *t before *i yields pM *ɟ̥

4: The B word-initial *t̥ before *i yields pM *ć

5: N *t̥ after D cnss yields pD *t

6: N *g after cnss (and probably before cnss) yields pD *k̥

7: N *k before *i is likely to yield pM *ɣ

8: Thr N word-initial *c before cnss is likely to yield IE *s

9: The N word-initial *ć before cnss is likely to yield IE *s

10: The N word-initial *ɟ̥ before *Vl is likely to yield IE *s

11: The N word-internal *ɟ̥ before cnss is likely to yield IE *s

- 12: N *ɥ after cnss yields Kartvelian *χ
- 13: The N word-initial *m yields pM *b
- 14: The N word-initial *m yields pTg *b
- 15: N *n before *t yields Dravidian *n
- 16: N *ṅ before *t yields D *n, in the D Auslaut it yields *ŋ
- 17: N *r before and after cnss yields D *r
- 15: N *r̥ before cnss yields pT *r
- 16: N *w before labial vowels disappears in pD
- 17: N *y in the Inlaut yields U *y or palatalizes the preceding U cns.
- 18: N *-w-/V_V means "pN *w in the intervocalic position"
- 19: N *-w-/a,E_⊥ means "pN *w after *a and *E before a cns."
- 20: N *-w-/u_⊥ means "pN *w after *u before a cns."
- 21: N *-y-/⊥_V means "pN *y before a cns."
- 22: N *y in the Inlaut yields U *y or palatalizes the preceding U cns.
- 23: N *y in the Inlaut yields Tg *j̥, zero or palatalizes the preceding Tg cns.

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

§ 2.2. Comment and additional explanations. This chart needs comment and additional explanations, but in this short introduction I cannot afford to enter into details. Some of the problems have been discussed by V. Dybo in his "Editor's Introduction" ("Ot redaktora") of IS I, in IS SS, AD NGIE and Ad NVIE.

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

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

NB: In the following notes I use not only the above -mentioned transcription signs, but also cover signs for unspecified N phonemes (such as \underline{P} for N $p|p$, \hat{u} for $u|\hat{u}$ etc.). For the meaning of such cover signs cf. below the chapter "Transcription".

§ 2.2.3. On the basis of very scarce extant data I have proposed a highly tentative working hypothesis about the origin of the opposition ε - \check{s} - in Manchu:

N $*\acute{s}$ -, $*\check{s}$ - and $*s$ - yield pTg $*s$ - > LMc ε -, as well as s - in other Tg languages (but h - in Lm). Cf. N $*\acute{s}i|K\triangledown$ 'to let out' > LMc $\varepsilon i|g i$ - ~ $\varepsilon i|k i$ - 'get through (a narrow opening), crawl (kriechen)', N $*\acute{s}\acute{u}|\hat{z}\acute{u}$ ($k\hat{e}$) ~ $*\acute{s}i|\hat{z}i$ ($k\hat{e}$) 'mucus, slime, saliva' > LMc $\varepsilon i|e r g i$ 'saliva, drivel', N $*\acute{s}|\acute{s}E H m\triangledown$ 'to swallow' > LMc $\varepsilon i m i$ - 'to suck, swallow', N $*\acute{s}\acute{a} m_{\underline{1}}\triangledown, g\triangledown$ 'hair, fine hair' > Tg $*s e \acute{n} \eta e(n)$ 'beard, fin, gill' > LMc $\varepsilon e \eta e l e$ 'cock's comb, gill', N $*\check{s} u b y \triangledown$ 'spike, spear, to pierce' > LMc $\varepsilon u y f u n$ 'awl', N $*\check{s}\acute{u} n i g o$ or $*\check{s}\acute{u} \eta o$ 'snow' > LMc $\varepsilon u(\eta)$ - v. 'become covered with hoarfrost', N $*\check{s} i \eta e r \triangledown$ 'mouse' > LMc $\varepsilon i \eta e r i$ id., N $*\check{s} e h \acute{r} E$ 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > LMc $\varepsilon e r e$ - 'be awake, feel, guess, understand', N $*s a \underline{P} \acute{u} | - \acute{s} \triangledown$ 'pointed stake' > CIMc $\varepsilon a b \varepsilon i$ - 'stitch', N $*s o n \triangledown q \acute{u} | \acute{u} |$ 'sinew, tendon' > Mc $\varepsilon u n a$ ~ $\varepsilon \acute{u} n a$ 'rein of draught dogs', N $*s \acute{a} R \acute{U} |$ 'sinew, fibre' > CIMc $\varepsilon i r e n$ id., 'bowstring'.

But sometimes N $*\acute{s}$ -, $*\check{s}$ - and $*s$ - yield pTg $*\check{s}$ - > LMc \check{s} -, as well as \check{c} -, \check{c} - and \acute{c} - in other Tg languages. It may go back to $*s_{\underline{1}}$ - (that appears due to contraction of syllables: N $*S i|\acute{u}|E \dots \triangledown$ > $*s_{\underline{1}}\triangledown$ or due to the assimilatory infl. of the A (or pre-Tg) front vowel $*\acute{u}$; for instance, N $*s \acute{u} | w o l \acute{r} E$ 'liquid, moisture' > LMc $\check{s} u l a$ 'juice', Nn Nh/KU $\check{c}\acute{o}l\acute{o}$, Nn B $\check{c}o l o$ id., Ud $\acute{c}o l o$, Ul $\check{c}\acute{o}l o(n-)$ 'soup', N $*\acute{s} \acute{E} X a r \triangledown$ 'bright, daybreak' > $*s_{\underline{1}} a_{\underline{1}} r \triangledown$ > LMc $\check{s} a r i$ 'white, clean', N $*\acute{s} i \acute{h} \acute{w} \triangledown$ 'sun' > LMc $\check{s} u r$ 'sun' [\div Pre-Classical Manchu $\varepsilon i y u r$], Ul $s i u(n-)$, Nn $s i \acute{u} \acute{d} s i u(n-)$, Neg $s i y u n$ ~ $s i w u n$), N $*\acute{s}\acute{u} K \acute{a} |$ 'to drink, to suck' > A $*\check{s}\acute{u} \acute{r} k \triangledown$ > Tg $*\check{s}\acute{u} \acute{k} |$ 'juice' > Neg d. $\check{c} u y \check{z} p \check{c} \check{z}$ 'stained with juice', Ud X $\acute{c}\acute{u}\acute{o} \eta k i$, Ud Sm {Krm.} $\acute{c} u \acute{o} \eta k i$ 'sap of trees'.

The Manchu reflexes of N $*\acute{s}$ - are not yet clear. There are cases of both Mc ε - and \check{s} -, but the rule of distribution is still unknown.

§ 2.2.4. Another tentative hypothesis concerns a curious pD phoneme, reconstructed by G. Starostin as $*\acute{k}$ - (GS RVP) and later as

*k_y- (GS 203 -7). This is a phoneme that yields *č̣- (and its regular reflexes) in most Dravidian languages (SD, SCD and CD), but k- in Kurux, Malto and Brahui. Earlier Emeneau (Em. NDV) tried to explain this sound correspondence as a special treatment of pD *č̣- preceding *u, but later gave up this hypothesis (due to counter-examples). Pfeifer (Pf. 66) supposed that this is a cluster *k_y- resulting from reduction of earlier *ke_y- or *ki_y-. In the light of external comparison I am inclined to suppose that pD *k' goes back to N lateral obstruents (see N *ṣ̌e_la_r∇ 'reach, approach, enter' and N *č̣A_l∇ 'perish, die').

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

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

This apparently strange phenomenon has a typological parallel (that was unknown to Illich-Svitych). In Salar (as described by Tenishev) the vowel i before voiceless (preaspirated?) p, t and k (fortes) was transformed into i + a preconsonantal sibilant (transcribed by Tenishev in IPA as š, ʃ, ç: [iški // iʃki // içki] (i.e. iški ~ iʃki) 'two' (< i^hti), [iʃpax] 'silk thread', [iʃt // içt] (i.e. išt ~ iʃt) 'dog', [pišti-//pište-//piçti-] (i.e. pišti ← piʃti) 'write' (cf. Tn. SJ 77). In his formulation, the phoneme i had an allophone iš (Tn. SJ 8).

§ 2.2.6. According to a preliminary working hypothesis of mine, in the earliest pIE there was a phenomenon that may be interpreted as a word-initial prelaryngealization (preaspiration?). It existed in some roots and brought about a prothetic vowel before sonorants in Greek (sometimes in Arm and other lges) and an initial aspiration (h-) in Greek (in some words with etymological *w- and y-). I suppose that this prelaryngealization may go back to a prosodic phenomenon in pN, e.g. partial devoicing of word-initial sonorants or a kind of breathed voice

(to use Ladefoged's terminology). In the present dictionary I denote this prosodic phenomenon by an initial *ʰ- in pIE and pN reconstructions. We shall call this *ʰ- "a laryngoid" (like "vocoid"). Its distribution proves that it was a phonologically relevant phenomenon.

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

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

N *gokʷśč̥ (R) 'ε canine' > FU (in ObU only) *oʷokʷr̥ 'fox'
 N *ɟuk̥a 'see', 'eye' > FU (in Ugr only) *wok̥ (or *wɔʷ) v. 'see, look'

N *qʷur̥ 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit' > FU (att. in ObU)
 *oʷur̥ > ObU *wūrɜy 'riverbed'

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

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

§ 2.2.8. The pN consonantism is rich (50 phonemes), but rather economic (19 distinctive features), most phonemes being well integrated (in Martinet's terms, see Mart. EChPh 79 - 106), and none being isolated. The distinctive features include 10 orders (places of articulation), 3 glottal series (voiced ↔ voiceless ↔ emphatic) and 6 manners of articulation (stop\affricate ↔ fricative ↔ central approximant ↔ nasal ↔ lateral ↔ trill). Cp. Kartvelian: 18 phonemic features (for 32 consonants), Semitic: 18 features (for 29 consonants) or Finno-Ugric: 17 (or 16) features (for 26 consonants).

§ 2.2.9. In the overwhelming majority of registered cases N *g- yields T *k̥-, but there are three apparent exceptions: [1] 621. ?₂ *gū|u̥, ɟ̥ '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat' > NaT *k̥'ülmiz 'roe deer'; [2] 638. *g'o'ɟ̥iñ 'beat, strike' > T *k̥'iyɟ̥a- 'beat (so.), cause suffering', [3] 704. *g'a'ž̥ 'to go; way, path' > ? NaT *k̥'ay- > Tv x̥ay- v. 'make the round'. In the first two cases it may be tentatively supposed a

contraction $*g...ʔ > **k̥-$ $> T *k'-$, and the N etymology of Tv $x a y-$ remains semantically doubtful.

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

§ 2.2.11. The N cns. $*χ$ preceded by a sibilant or affricate is likely to yield U $*-k-$ (N $*háčχ∇$ 'wet, moist' $> FU *háčk∇$ id., N $*žæśχ|q∇$ 'blood' $> FU$ [att. in ObU] $*očóśk∇$ 'bear's blood').

§ 2.2.12. In Altaic consonant clusters N $*q$ is often represented by $*k$ and $*g$: N $*ʔaŋq'í'$ '≈ breathe' $> NaT *aŋki|a-$ v. 'emit odour', N $*ŋäqaśa$ 'nose' $> A *ŋäksa$ 'nose' $> Tg *ŋjaks'a'$, $*ŋjaksi-n$ 'nose', N $*č∇č'∇, 'q'∇$ 'a young (of an animal)' $> NaT *čōčug|k \sim *čōčka$ id., N $*śäl'∇, qU$ 'cleave, cut asunder' $> Tg *salg∇-$ 'cleave in two parts', N $*taqozí$ 'to plait, to wattle' $> M *tagsi$ 'cup', N $*son'∇q'ü'$ 'sinew, tendon; root' $> NaT *siŋir$ 'vein' ($*-ŋ-$ $< **-ŋg-$), N $*P_uqd∇$ 'leather bag' $> pA **p'_{l'}u'k'ta$ [by as. from $**p'_{l'}u'k'da$] $> M *φuϕuta$ 'sack', N $*'p'oqEž∇$ 'thigh, haunch' $> Tg *pogj∇$ 'lower part of the back, tail', N $*tUŋ'q'∇$ 'swell, swell up' $> M *tünke$ 'swelling'. But this is not always so: N $*dalqa|U$ 'wave' yields Tg $*dalan$ 'flood, inundation', the above-mentioned N $*śäl'∇, qU$ 'cleave, cut asunder' is represented by M $*sal_{l'}u_{l'}-$ v. 'separate, branch off', N $*pelqê$ 'to tremble, to fear' yields NaT $*be|äli-ŋ n.$ 'panic, terror', N $*tæqm∇$ [or $*tæqUm∇?$] 'sinciput, crown of the head' yields Tg $*tem∇ \sim *tum∇$ 'crown of the head, occiput'.

§ 2.2.13. Tg $*bılga$ 'throat' and M $*balgu-$ 'to swallow' (both from N $*ba_{l'}i_{l'}ya$ 'to swallow; throat') and Tg $*pagdi(-kī)$, $*pagdī$ 'sole of the foot' $< N *p.a'g'd∇$ 'leg' suggest that N $*ʔ$ and $*g$ may have been preserved as $*g$ in Altaic consonant clusters.

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

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

*i		*u	*ü
	*e		*o
		*ä	*a

The original vowels of the first syllable survive in proto-Uralic, partially in proto-Dravidian (where both *a and *ä yield *a) and partially in the Altaic languages (with mutual assimilation of the vowels within a word). The vowels in those languages are stable, i.e. do not undergo alternation (except for quantitative alternation of short and long vowels in Dravidian). In Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic and Kartvelian there is apophony, i.e. a morphologized alternation of vowels (as well as of simple and geminated consonants) that diminishes the importance of vowels for lexical distinction. This apophony is based on phonologization of former allophones (of accentual origin) and subsequent morphologization of the phonemic alternation. Another source of apophony (especially in Hamito-Semitic) is the incorporation of affixes (prefixes → infixes) into word stems, e.g. the prefix *w (of passive and non-active verbs) turned into Semitic *u ~ *ū as marker of the passive voice within (or before) the stem, the prefix *-an- (< auxiliary verb used in periphrastic constructions of imperfect) turned into the infixes *-n-, *-a- and into gemination of the stem-internal consonant in Semitic, Berber, branches of Cushitic and possibly Chadic. Due to the apophony the vocalic distinction between roots has been partially lost in IE, HS and K, but indirectly preserved in the prevocalic velar and laryngeal consonants. Thus, the N consonants *g, *k, *k̥ and *q, when followed by N *o, yield IE *g^wh, *g^w and *k^w; if followed by N *e and *ä, they yield IE palatalized consonants *ġ^h, *ġ and *k̄; if followed by *a or a consonant, they yield plain velar *g^h, *g and *k. But the N vowels *i, *u and *ü have been preserved better – as IE "sonants" (i.e. high vowels and glides) *i/*i̯ and *u/*u̯ (see examples in AD NVIE, AD NGIE, AD NM, IS I – III and in the present dictionary).

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

pN *a yields U, T, M, Tg and D *a, K *a/zero and *e(/zero/*a), IE *e/o/zero (with preservation of the preceding velar consonants as *g^h, *g and *k) and sometimes (under still unknown conditions) IE *a (as in IE *k^was- 'basket' from N *k̥oʔać∇ 'basket, wickerwork');

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

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

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

pN ***o** yields mainly U, T, M and D ***o**, Tg ***o**, ***u̇**, and ***u̇**, IE ***e**/***o**/zero (with representation of the preceding velar and l.r. consonants as ***g^ωh**, ***g^ω**, ***k^ω** and ***x^ω**) and K ***w∇**/***w**/***u**, ***o**, ***a**, zero (and sometimes ***i** and ***e** under still unknown conditions); in several N words pN ***o** yields D and M ***u** (probably due to some special development under still unknown conditions); in HS it is sometimes preserved as a C rounded vowel, as labialization of preceding velar consonants in some C languages, especially Bj and Ag (resulting in ***g^ω**, ***k^ω** and ***ḳ^ω**) and (mainly in primary nouns and in biconsonantal verbs) as S ***u** and ***ū**; in the prehistory of IE there is as. ***o...u|ü** > pre-IE ***u...u** and later reg. development of this new ***u** (e.g. > ***we**/***wo**) (cf. AD NVIE and AD NGIE); in N words with a front vw. of the second or third syllable N ***o** of the initial syllable often (but not always) yields T and M ***ö**.

pN ***u** yields U, M and D ***u**, T ***u** (and ***I**), Tg ***u̇** and ***u̇** (as well as sometimes ***o** and ***u̇e**), IE ***eu̇**/***ou̇**/***u** (and, with loss of the glide, ***e**/***o**, as well as forming with preceding velar and laryngeal consonants groups ***g^{hω}e**/***g^{hω}o**, ***g^ωe**/***g^ωo**, ***k^ωe**/***k^ωo**, ***x^ωe**/***x^ωo** and a cluster ***g^ω**) and ***w∇**, K ***u**, ***w**-diphthongs and sometimes ***o**, as well as often S ***u** and ***-ū-** (in primary nouns and biconsonantal verbs) and other reflexes of HS ***u**, as well as labialization of preceding velar consonants in some C languages. The delabialization ***u** > T ***I** is a rather frequent phenomenon, but its rules and conditions have not yet been investigated. A similar phenomenon of delabialization (N ***u** > Tg

*i, *j) is found in a few Tg roots (N *b^ru^rX^ra 'watercourse, river' > Tg *b_ira 'river, brook', N *K_um∇ 'sand' > Tg *x_imana- v. 'snow', N *k_uod^ra^h∇ 'pierce' > ?σ Tg *x_idar- v. 'hurt by pricking', N *pu_lu [or *pu_lü?] 'to spring forth' > Tg *b_ilku- vt. 'moisten, wet' [side by side with Tg *bulku- v. 'wash; spout, jet'], N *Sur^ri '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain' > Tg *s_ir_i- 'squeeze out [a liquid]'). In T, M and U there is optional regr. as. (leading to "harmony of vowels"): in N words with a front vw. of the second or third syllable N *u yields T, M and U *ü (or sometimes [under still unknown conditions] T and M *ö). N *uy yields NTg *ī (entries 332 and 592).

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

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

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

N *we- yields T *ö- (cf. entries 2457, 2489 and 2550) and Tg *u (*u and *u) (entries 2489, 2544 and 2550), as well as possibly M *ö- (entry 2550).

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

The N initial sequence *ya- is likely to yield D *e- (entries 2642, 2647 and 2652) and probably (under still unknown conditions) M *i- (entry 2620). D *i- from N *y∇- (as in entries 2622 and 2646) needs investigating.

Several entries (173 and 182) suggest that probably N ***bo-** could yield (under still unknown conditions) IE ***b^he_u-** / ***b^ho_u-** / ***b^hu-**.

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

Several N etymons (entries 840a, 2104, 2151 and 2235a) suggest that N ***-EHi-** (***-äHi-**, **-eHi-** and possibly **-üHi-**) may yield M ***ī** (and ***i_ṽ**) and Tg ***ī**.

According to AD AVD, the Tg ascending diphthongs go back to three sources: [1] a contraction ***-aya-** > Tg ***-i̇a-** ~ ***ay-** ~ ***-a-**, [2] a reversal ***-ay-** > Tg ***-i̇ā-** and [3] a vocal breaking (Vokalbrechung) N ***V₁C(C)V₂** > Tg ***V₁V₂C(C)V₂**. It may be added to this hypothesis that Tg ***-i̇a-** may go back to N ***-æya-** as well.

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

§ 2.4.1. I can propose a tentative hypothesis about the prosodic origin of pT ascending diphthongs (in many cases, but not in all of them). These diphthongs are reconstructed on the evidence of the Chv reflexes of initial cns: Chv **j-** ÷ NaT ***k'-** & ***k'-** < pT ***k̄i̇-** & ***k'̄i̇-**; Chv **č-** ÷ NaT ***t'-** and ***t'-** < pT ***t̄i̇-** & ***t'̄i̇-**; Chv **š-** ÷ NaT ***s-** < pT ***s̄i̇-**. In my hypothesis, the diphthongs go back to pre-T long vowels with a special (broken?) tone (that I denote with the symbol **̄**). These long vowels may result from compensatory lengthening before simplified cns. clusters, e.g. N ***t̄ǖř** 'leg' ('calf of leg', 'thigh', 'knee?') > pre-T ***t'̄ǖ:ř** > ****t'̄Eǖř** > pT ***t'̄i̇ǖř** > NaT ***t'̄ǖz** and Chv **чѣр** 'knee', N ***Ḳaṽřa** 'throw, leave' > pre-T ***k'̄ā:l** > ****k'Ea:l** > T ***k̄i̇ā:l** > NaT ***k'̄ā:l** and Chv **ju:l-**; N ***síhařu** 'dirt' > pre-T ***sEař** > T ***s̄i̇āř** > NaT ***sāz** 'swamp' and Chv **šur** 'swamp, quagmire'.

§ 2.5. **Tones?** There is no direct evidence of the existence of phonological tones in proto-Nostratic. But the apparent homonymy of N ***mi** 'I' and ***mi** 'what?' (that is unsupportable in the lge, because both occur in the same syntactic position as sentence subject) suggests that ***mi** 'I' and ***mi** 'what?' were not real homonyms, being distinguished probably by phonological ones (unless the distinction was achieved by the intonation of sentences).

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

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

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

1. The predicate is the final categorematic word of a sentence. It may be followed by personal and demonstrative pronouns (*ʔitê mi 'I eat'), but not by other categorematic words.
2. Attributive (expressed by a categorematic word) precedes its head.
3. Direct object immediately precedes its verb. Other objects precede the verb, too.
4. Pronominal subject follows the predicate.
5. Pronominal attributive ('my', 'this') may follow the noun.
6. Case markers follow the noun.

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

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

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

[1] personal pronouns: *mi 'I' and *t'ü' ~ *s'ü' 'thou' in the direct case, other pronouns in oblique cases (*h₂oy∇ 'by me, my', *k∇ ~ *g∇ 'thee, thy'), as well as pronominals (i.e. categorematic words replacing the pronouns, e.g. *ʔ'o'kE 'self' functioning as a categorematic replacement for *mi 'I', whence IE *eġoH ~ *eġH-, Semitic *-āku etc.), pers. pronouns of 1 pl. excl. (*ñ∇) and of 1 pl. incl. (*g'U'), as well as compound pronouns: *miʔa 'we', *miʔa 'ye' (with the plurality marker *ʔa), *mi t'ü' 'we' incl.;

[2] interrogative pronouns: *K'o 'who?', *mi 'what?', *ya 'which?', as well as *w∇ 'who?' and *ŋ'U' [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from *ya ŋ'U' or *ʔäy∇ ŋ'U' 'which thing?');

[3] deictic particles *ha, *h'e', *h'i, *h'u indicating the degree of proximity to the interlocutors (hi c-deixis, i s t e-deixis, i l l e-deixis etc.), demonstrative pronouns: for active (animate and the like) beings\objects and for inanimate objects (*sE 'he, she' for animate

[active], * $\text{K}_1\text{ü}$ id. and * $\text{t}_1\text{ä}$ 'it' for inanimate, as well as * $\text{p}_1\text{ä}$ 'ille, another [animate]', * y_1 'he', [?] 'that' [anaphoric] and * $\text{r}_1\text{∇}$ [$\text{*}\text{?}\text{∇}\text{r}_1\text{∇}\text{?}$] [theme-focalizing particle]), for distal deixis: * $\text{č}_1\text{a}$ 'that', for distal or intermediate deixis: * $\text{ć}_1\text{E}$ 'that'; demonstrative pronouns for collectivity (* $\text{?a}^1\text{h}^1\text{a}$, * h^1a , * $\text{?E}\text{łA}$, * łA , * $\text{q}\text{∇}$), for collectivity-plurality (* $\text{n}^1\text{ä}$, * $\text{r}_1\text{∇}\text{yE}$), for plurality (* $\text{t}_1\text{∇}$ of plurality, * $\text{r}_1^1\text{∇}\text{ś}\text{∇}$ 'they' and * yE [= y^1i^1 ?] 'these, they' for animate beings, * ?a , pc. of plurality, * kU , pc. of plurality [used mostly with pronouns], as well as * $\text{?}\text{∇}\text{q}\text{∇}$ ['thing, things' and prn.\n. of plurality]), for duality (* nE 'they [two]', * $\text{h}^1\text{æ}$ ~ * $\text{o}^1\text{h}^1\text{U}$ for animate beings, * y_1 for inanimate objects), for individualization (* y^1iyo 'which' [relative], 'that which, related to', * $\text{r}_1\text{∇}$ = a theme-focalizing pc.) etc. In the descendant languages these pronouns and particles were transformed into personal endings of the verb (1st and 2nd persons from personal pronouns, 3rd person from demonstratives), into pronominal possessive suffixes, into markers of the nominative case (e.g., IE nominative *-s [for nouns of the active gender] from the N demonstrative active * sE), into affixes of plural, dual and collectivity. In some languages (IE, K and probably S) the genitive case, too, is based on pronouns (e.g., the genitive case endings: IE *-oios, K *-iš < * $\text{y}^1\text{iyo}\text{sE}$ 'which is' [× N * yasE id.], originally 'that which is X', as well as probably the S genitive ending *-i < N * y^1iyo [and/or ? * ya 'which'])).

C. Auxiliary words: [1] postpositions and locative adverbs (in many cases functioning also as preverbs): * nu 'of, from', * mA and * $\text{t}_1\text{∇}$ (particles of marked accusative), * $\text{K}_1\text{∇}$ (= * $\text{k}_1\text{∇}$?) 'towards' (→ 'to'), * $\text{k}\text{∇}$ 'out of, from', * $\text{ś}\text{∇}$ 'to, towards', * $\text{t}_1^1\text{ä}$ 'away (from), from', * $\text{ć}_1\text{æ}$ 'away, downward', * łA (locative pc.), as well as categorematic words transformed into postpositions/preverbs: * $\text{?in}^1\text{A}^1$ 'place' (→ 'in'), * $\text{d}_1\text{o}\text{y}_1\text{a}$ 'place (within, below)' (→ locative particle * da 'in'); [2] negations: * n_1 'not', * ?e (~ ? * ?ä) 'not', * mä ~ * $\text{mäh}^1\text{o}^1$ 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative); [3] auxiliary words with meaning of tenses and aspects: * d^1i^1 , marker of imperfective (< an auxiliary verb?), * H_2i , pc. of past (preterite), * $\text{č}_1|\text{č}_1\text{i}$ or * $\text{č}_1|\text{č}_1\text{i}$, a marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity, ; [4] auxiliary words of other meanings: * ?a 'to become, be', * ?A , a marker of the male sex (← '[young] man'??), * bA , adjectival pc. forming compound (→ derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris, animal names, * $\text{b}\text{∇}$, pc. forming compound (→ derived) nomina abstracta, * $\text{č}_1\text{a}$ or * $\text{ć}_1\text{a}$ (=

*Hic|ċa?), a marker of relative constructions, *č'ü' 'that of..., that which', *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction), *Ka (a pc. of request, *ı∇ (a pc. with diminutive meaning, *ı∇ (< *ʔâı∇?) (pc. in deverbal nominal constructions, nominalizing the verbal action), *mA (marker of nominalized syntactic constructions [≈ subordinate sentences], nominalizer [originally a prn.] that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis and other derived nouns), *n̄∇ (a marker [pronoun] that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles), ıi (syntactic pc. that builds analytical nomina actionis), *ı∇ (a marker of passive participial constructions), *wa 'also, same', *y∇ (particle of hypocoristic [?] address [vocative]).

§ 4. **Grammatical typology.** As we can see, proto-Nostratic was a highly analytic language. On this point there is a certain disagreement between Illich-Svitych and myself. Illich-Svitych, albeit recognizing the analytical status of many grammatical elements in N, still believed that some grammatical elements were agglutinated affixes: the marker of oblique cases *-n (= my *nu 'of, from'), the formative of marked accusative *-m (= my *mA), the plural marker *-NA (= my *n̄'ä' of collectiveness and plurality) and several others. This interpretation is hardly acceptable because the N etyma in question still preserve traces of their former analytic status: [1] they preserve some mobility within the sentence (a feature of separate words rather than affixes), [2] several pN particles are still analytic in some descendant languages, [3] N etyma with grammatical and derivational function are sometimes identical with autosemantic words. Thus, the element *nu 'of, from' functions in the descendant languages not only as a case suffix (genitive in U, T, M, Tg, formative of the stem of oblique case in the IE heteroclitic nouns, part of the ablative case ending in T, K and in IE adverbs), but also as a preverb of separation/withdrawal in IE (Baltic), as an analytic marker of separation/withdrawal (ablative) in B (functioning in postverbal and other positions). The element *mA is still analytic in Manchu (be, postposition of the direct object, cf. Hrl. 35, 74-5) and Japanese (OJ wɔ > J o). On the analytical status of J o (< N *mA), no (< N *nu) cf. Vrd.JG 278 -82. The element *n̄'ä' functions not only as a postnominal and postverbal marker of pl. (> pl. suffix of nouns in K, HS and A, ending of 3 pl. of verbs in K, part of the IE ending *-nti ~ *-nt of 3 pl.), but also as the **initial** marker of pl. or abstractness (< ← collectiveness) in U and Eg pronouns: F nuo pl. 'those' ↔ tuo sg. 'that', ne pl. 'those' ↔ se sg. 'that', Eg nɛ

abstract 'this' and 'these (things)' ↔ p ʒ 'this' m. ↔ t ʒ f. The animate plural deictic element (?) *yE 'these, they' functions not only as the postnominal marker of plural (> plural ending in IE, U, A and C), but also as a prenominal and prepronominal plural marker (in B, Bj and OEg). The affix forming causative verbs in HS may both precede the verbal root and follow it (e.g. in deverbal nouns), which points to an original analytic status of the corresponding N etymon. HS *tʷ- [prefix of reflexivization in derived verbs > B *tʷ- → t- id., S prefix and infix *(-)t- etc.] and the AnIE reflexive particle *-ti (> HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht z-, -za id.) are etymologically identical with N *t∇w∇ 'head' (preserved with this meaning in K and Om) that proves the analytic origin of the marker of reflexivization.

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

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

§ 5. Derivation. The original status of the N etyma underlying derivational affixes of the descendant languages is less clear than that of grammatical morphemes. For some of derivational affixes the analytic origin is obvious. Thus, the etymon *mA (that underlies affixes of nomina actionis and nomina agentis in the descendant languages) was a separate word, which is evidenced by its position: in HS and K it is found both in front of the verb and after it (while in IE, U, D and A its position in the word is always final). The same is true of the etymon *ti (> suffixes and prefixes of verb; nomina actionis and other deverbal nouns, infinitives etc. in the descendant languages). The adjectival particle *bA forming animal names and other names of quality bearers (IE *e|ŋ-bʰo-s 'deer', S *θaʕla-b- 'fox', U *ora-pa 'squirrel', Tg *kōr-be 'male reindeer', Manchu oŋgo-ba 'forgetful') is interpreted as analytic on the evidence of its phonetic behaviour: the regular reflex of the N intervocal *-b- in U is *-w-, but in the word *orapa 'squirrel' (> F o r a v a) we find *p, which is regular in the word-initial position only. But for many other etyma of this sort we are not yet able to draw conclusions. Of course, we cannot rule out an ancient synthetic origin of some enigmatic "root extensions" ("Wurzeldeterminative", "élargisse-

ments des racines") that have lost their former meaning in IE, HS and other lges and are represented by an additional consonant at the end of roots or by synonymous roots (N words) that differ by their final (usually third) consonant. These "root extensions" need serious investigation.

In proto-Nostratic there are groups of phonetically and semantically similar words, e.g. (1) *w₁d₁∇₁∇₁∇₁ 'walk, go, set out for' and *wedhA 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)', (2) *w^o'n₁t₁∇ 'belly' and *wañ∇₃'a¹ 'belly', (3) *çiryâ 'to scratch\chisel, to shape (an object), to fashion' and *çâR₁i₁p∇ (~ *-b-?) 'scratch\chisel, hew, cut', (4) *t₁úíE (or *t₁æwúíE?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long' and *t₁aLP∇ (= *t₁aLb∇?) 'vast; room', (5) *čEg∇ 'to prick' (→ 'to butt'), *čika 'to prick, to split' and *čA₁U¹ 'to prick (stechen), to gouge', (6) *čodh∇ 'break (esp. a body part), strike' and *č₁d₁∇₁∇₁∇₁ - *č₁∇₁∇₁d∇ 'to tear, to split', (7) *w^uíú 'to scrape', *waHr∇ - *warH∇ 'to scratch, to scrape' and *wA¹č₁∇ 'rub, scrape'. The origin of this similarity is not yet known. Three sources of the similarity may be suggested: (1) ancient (pre-Nostratic) derivation, (2) lexical attraction: phonetically similar words influence the meaning of each other, (3) ideophony. The problem is still to be investigated. By the way, similarity of this kind exists in many languages (if not in all of them). Compare, for instance, English *scratch*, *scrape*, *scrub* or Russian прыскать 'to sprinkle' and брызгать 'to splash, to sprinkle' or Russian скрипеть 'to squeak, to creak' and скрежетать 'to grind'.

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

J. Greenberg's opinion is based on comparison of words of different families within a list of arbitrarily chosen roots and words. Before receiving the lexical volume of his book *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives* (Stanford, 2002) I had to judge upon Greenberg's theory from a short list of these roots and words for the "Eurasianic" languages that were published by Ruhlen (Ruhlen OLS 16 - 17). It is a list of 30 lexical entries. It is not free from mistakes and very subjective conjectures.

The main IE word for 'eat' is not $*t\acute{a}p$ (found in Tokharian only, but registered as the representative of IE in the list of Greenberg-Ruhlen), but $*ed-$ (found in almost all branches of IE: Latin $e\acute{d}o$, Germanic $*it-$, Sanscrit $at-$, Hittite $it-$ etc.), which is related both to Altaic (Mongolian ide 'eat') and to HS $*\acute{r}it-$ 'to eat' (in East Cushitic and West Chadic). The ancient word for 'what?' is not that represented by IE $*y\acute{o}-$ ~ $*ye-$, Uralic $*y\acute{o}-$ etc. (which is an ancient N word, but it means 'which'), but $*mi$, which is represented not only in Uralic, Altaic (Chuvash), but also in HS (all branches), Kartvelian and probably in Dravidian (cf. IS II 66-68). IE $*tek-$ 'to touch' (adduced in the list in the entry 'arrive') corresponds exactly to HS $*\check{t}k$ (cf. here s.v. N $*\check{t}aka|ae$ 'to touch'). If this list is corrected, enlarged and compared with roots of different branches of HS (as well as Kartvelian and Dravidian), we will see that all these languages are much nearer to "Eurasianic" than believed by Greenberg and Ruhlen (see Table I):

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

Meaning	"Eurasianic cognate"	Ham.-Sem.	Kartv.	Drav.
I	IE $*m\acute{e}-$, U $*m$ etc.	Highland East Cush. $*-m$	$*me$	
I thou	IE $*-x$ 1 sg. marker in verbs [1] IE $*tu- \sim te$, Ur. $*t-$ etc., [2] IE $*-s$, Turk. $*s\acute{a}n$	? $*\acute{r}-$ id. $*t-$	$*\chi w-$ id. $*si-$	
pronoun (actually 'I', 'ego')	base IE $*e\acute{g}h\acute{o}-m$ 'ego'	S $*-a\acute{k}u$ 'I' & cognates in B, Eg. preserved in Om, Beja, and Ch, but replaced by $*m-$		
who?	IE $*k^{\omega}o-$, Ur. $*ku$ etc.	'what?' elsewhere $*m-$		replaced by $*y\acute{\nabla}$ 'which?'
what?	Ur. $*mi$, Chv. $m\acute{a}n$ etc.		$*min$ 'who?' (< N $*mi$ 'what?')	replaced by $*y\acute{\nabla}$ 'which?'
which? this	IE $*y\acute{o}-/*ye-$, Ur. $*y\acute{o}-$ etc. IE $*\acute{k}-$ etc.	? S $*\acute{r}ayy-$ Cush. $*k-$		$*y\acute{\nabla}$

that	IE *to- etc.	*t, fem. & inanim. demonstr.	*-t inanim.
not	IE *ne- etc.	Eg. 𐤎	*nu 'do not!'
not, do not	Ur. *āla 'do not'	S *ʔal 'do not'	*all- 'not to be'
plural	Ur., Turk. *-t etc.	S *-āt pl.	*-ta
two	IE *dwo- etc.	S *tuʔm- 'twin'	*tqu-m- 'twin', tqu-č- 'double'
eye	IE *okʷ-	Agaw *✓ʕkʷ- 'see', Geez *ʕuk- id.	
see (not 'eye')	Yukaghir nugie 'have seen' etc.		*nik- 'be seen'
bark	Ur. *kopa, Turkic *kāp- etc.	Cush. *kapp, Ch. *✓kHp	Georgian kəp- 'sheet of paper'
bark, skin	IE *ker-, FU *kere-, Tung. *xere-	S *✓krm	Georg. kerk-
feather	Ur. *tułka, Turk. **dālʔkʰ- > *jäläkʰ- (Ch.) dlākʷà	Glavda (Ch.) dlākʷà	*bur-tq̄]-
star	IE *Hastēr	*ʕaθtar- 'Venus'	
moon	Korean tal (-l < *r)	Ch. *✓tr	
fish	Ur. *kala, Tung. *xol-sa etc.	Ch. ✓klp	Svan kalmax *kol(1)-
wolf	Ur. *loka 'fox', Mong. *noqa 'dog'		*lekʷ- 'dog' *nakka 'jackal, fox'
elder brother	Turkic *āka etc.	S *ʔax- < **ʔaq-	
edge	Ur. *kăćă etc.	S *k̄içç-	Svan k̄äçx
wet	Ur. *ńōre etc.	?S *✓nhr 'river'	*nīr 'water'
dark	[1] Ur. *połʔ etc.		*puł(1)- 'brown'
	[2] FU *rümʔ	Ch. *rim-	*rum-
speak	IE *kel- etc.	Ar qāla 'say' etc.	Sv. qul- 'say'
sleep	Ur *uni- etc.	S *ʕūn-	

eat	IE *ed-, Mong. ide-	Cush. *ʔit-, Ron *ʔet-	
arrive	FUr. *tule	S *√dχl, Ch. *d∇l	
take, grasp	IE *kap- etc.	Cush. *k̄ab-	*kap(p)-
wash	Ht. arra-	Arab. √ʔry 'pour'	? *ur-
wash		S *rḥṣ̣ *rc ₁ χ-	

The lexical volume of Greenberg's book *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives* (that reached me after the text of this dictionary was already written) did not change anything in my opinion about Greenberg's Eurasiatic theory. Most of his valid comparisons between IE, U and A have exact cognates in HS and/or K and/or D. This can be easily seen from my etymological entries that include references to Greenberg's book (after the sign \diamond or \blacklozenge). For instance, he compares IE *k^ωasjō- 'basket' with U *kóća- ~ *kuća- 'drinking vessel' and OJ kasi₁pa 'container for food\drink'. But reflexes of the same N word are found in Semitic *'kaʔas- 'vessel', Berber *k^ʔū¹ss- 'pot, drinking vessel', Cushitic (Xamir kũs kũs ā 'Wasserkrug'), Kartvelian (Georgian k̄vaçia 'small earthen pot') and South Dravidian *ku|oć²-a- (+ suffixes) 'potter' (see my entry 993 [*k̄oʔać∇ 'basket'] and Greenberg's entry 75 of the second volume).

In the first (grammatical) volume of the same book J. Greenberg enumerates the grammatical morphemes that are common to several branches of the Eurasiatic macrofamily. Most of these morphemic parallels are real. But here again we see that the arbitrary exclusion of Hamito-Semitic, Kartvelian and Dravidian is not justified. Almost all "Eurasiatic" morphemes mentioned by Greenberg are shared by Hamito-Semitic and/or Kartvelian and partially by Elamo-Dravidian. For instance, the "second-person T" (to use Greenberg's notation) is found not only in IE, Uralic, Mongolian and Gilyak, but also in all branches of Hamito-Semitic (e.g. Semitic *ta-), in Kartvelian *tkwɛn 'ye', 'vester', in proto-Elamic *-ti of the 2nd person and in Drav. *-N-ti, pers. ending of 2s non-past of verbs (see Gr. I 71 -4 and the entry *t̄^ʔü¹ 'thou' of the present dictionary). The "interrogative M" (Grb. I 229 -31) is found not only in Uralic, Altaic and some Indo-European languages (Brythonic, Tocharian, Hittite), but also in five branches of Hamito-Semitic (Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Chadic), in Kartvelian and Dravidian (see here s.v. *mi 'what?'). Greenberg's "Eurasiatic" negation ELE (my *ʔāla) is typical of HS (much more than of IE, where its presence is extremely problematic). To judge by these two last

examples, Hamito-Semitic looks more "Eurasianic" than even Indo-European! Greenberg's book is entitled *Indo-European and its Closest Relatives*. To judge from the above examples, Hamito-Semitic is closer to IE than IE itself! Greenberg's book actually proves that in this respect (excluding HS from Nostratic) he is wrong.

Starostin's hypothesis on HS as a sister-language rather than a daughter-language of N is based on his measurement of shared and replaced vocabulary (of Semitic, IE, Uralic, Turkic etc.) within Swadesh's list of 100 words (the so-called "basic vocabulary"). Starostin concluded that Semitic (taken as a representative of HS) diverged from N earlier than the "Strictly-N" daughter-families from one another. As is known, the glottochronological method of measuring linguistic relationship is based on the unproved assumption that languages replace words of the "basic vocabulary" at a constant rate. But glottochronology cannot serve as a reliable instrument of genetic classification of related languages for at least two reasons: (1) it fails to distinguish between cladistic proximity (German and Swedish are nearer to each other than to Italian and Spanish, because the former go back to Proto-Germanic, while the latter are descendants of Latin, hence German is a "sister-language" of Swedish, but a "cousin-language" of Italian) and dialectal areal proximity (adjacent dialects of a language share innovations without going back to a special intermediate proto-language, e.g. Czech is nearer to Polish than to Bulgarian, but there was no Proto-West-Slavic, i.e. it cannot be claimed that Polish diverged from Czech **later** than from Russian, Bulgarian or Slovene and that it is **genetically nearer** to Czech than to Bulgarian; on the other hand, Russian is nearer to Polish than to Czech, but there was no Proto-Russian-Polish), (2) it fails to take account of major structural (phonological and morphological) factors encouraging word replacement in some languages (in contrast to other lges where these factors do not exist). For instance, in French some phonological factors (loss of many intervocalic consonants and of the posttonic syllables) encouraged homonymy and replacement of lexical units (even belonging to the sacro-saint "basic vocabulary" of 100 words): N $*\text{?}e^1y\text{?}$ 'come, go' is preserved in Proto-IE $*ei-$ 'to go' and in Latin $\bar{i}-$ 'to go', but is lost in French, because the phonetic laws in the history of French do not allow this verb to exist: it would have yielded $*\text{?}i$ [w a] 'goes' undistinguishable from many other ancient verbs which would have merged in $*\text{?}i$ [w a] unless the language had expelled these potential homonyms. The same is true of N $*\text{?}itê$ 'eat' > IE $*ed-$ > Latin $e\text{?}-$, which would have yielded the same $*\text{?}i$ [w a] unless it had been lost in the prehistory of French. Now, let us take just the same N words and see what happened to them in HS and in Semitic: N $*\text{?}e^1y\text{?}$ 'come,

go' yielded HS *ʔiɣ- 'come' (preserved in Egyptian and Cushitic), but could not survive in Semitic: due to Semitic historical phonology and morphology, 'he went' would have been *ʔā in Arabic and *ʔā in Hebrew (because Semitic verbal roots were devocalized and the intervocalic * - ɣ- was lost); N *ʔitê 'eat' survives in HS (namely in Cushitic and Chadic), but because of the devocalization of verbal roots it was lost in Semitic (otherwise it would have been undistinguishable from other verbs with the same historical consonants, such as *ʔatɿʔ, ∇ 'come'). The alleged constant rate of lexical replacement is a hypothesis at variance with the structure of languages. If in Swadesh's list the percentage of words shared by Semitic and IE, Semitic and Uralic, Semitic and Turkic etc. is indeed lower than that shared by IE and Uralic, IE and Turkic etc. (as Starostin claims), it may be due to the structural history of Semitic rather than to the date of separation of HS from other daughter-families of Nostratic.

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

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

§ 7. Using etymological dictionaries. The etymological dictionaries of daughter-families (such as UEW for Uralic, DQA for Altaic, OS for Hamito-Semitic, P and WP for Indo-European, D for Dravidian etc.) have proved to be extremely useful in our research. This does not mean that the present author agrees with all etymological proposals and hypotheses of the quoted colleagues. If I want to indicate that only a part of the proposed comparisons is acceptable, I use the symbol " ≈ " before the abbreviated name of the source. In quoting DQA, I use the abbreviation "incl." to indicate the acceptable comparisons between sub-branches. For instance, in the entry *ṭE'g',umê 'wet\cold weather, dew' (→ 'wet snowfall' → 'snow') I quote DQA no. 1232 in the following way: "≈ DQA no. 1232 (A *ṭūńi; incl. Tg, Ko)", which means that I agree with the comparison (found in DQA) between NTg *ṭūńe 'wet snow' and

рКо *nūn 'snow', but not with another comparison in the same entry of DQA, namely that with the erroneously reconstructed M *düñ in HIM дҮН(Г) ХҮЙТЭН 'extreme cold' (in fact, literally 'full cold' with дүң 'full'). I usually do not quote the untenable or unconvincing comparisons of my colleagues and do not explain the reasons of my doubts, because this is beyond the scope of the present dictionary.

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

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

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

In order to prove genetic relationship, one must compare words of the basic vocabulary and grammatical morphemes. That is what Illich-Svitych did (IS I 3 – 37). But in a paper concerning linguistic palaeontology the basic vocabulary and the grammatical morphemes are of no use. If I find that IE *eǵ- 'to eat' is cognate with Mongolian iǵe 'to eat', East Cushitic *ʔit- and Ron Chadic *ʔet 'to eat' and I reconstruct N

*ʔitê 'eat', this will add nothing to the study of the life, habitat, homeland and culture of the speakers of proto-Nostratic. The same is true of reconstructing proto-Nostratic pronouns for 'I', 'thou', 'who?', 'this' and the Nostratic markers of genitive and accusative. Even without comparative linguistics one expects that the speakers of that ancient language had concepts for 'to eat', for 'I', 'thou', 'what?' etc. and had syntactic means to build a sentence. In linguistic palæontology we work with words and roots belonging to culture and to geographically bound natural phenomena, which is not a basis for proving genetic connections between languages. Usually what is important for the demonstration of genetic relationship of languages is often irrelevant for linguistic palæontology and viceversa.

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

§ 8.2. Morphology as a criterion of genetic relationship. Some of my distinguished colleagues stressed the crucial importance of morphology for the demonstration of genetic kinship of languages. This is an old idea, expressed already by Antoine Meillet. This idea is acceptable if the concept "morphology" includes both synthetical and analytical grammatical morphemes. Actually, the same morpheme may be analytical earlier and synthetical later. One of the essential parts of IE morphology is the personal conjugation of verbs such as Old Indian 1 sg. *bharāmi* – 2 sg. *bharasi* – 3 sg. *bharati* and Greek 1 sg. *ἴδομι* – 2 sg. *ἴδου* – 3 sg. *ἴδουσι*. But already Franz Bopp, one of the founders of IE comparative linguistics, paid attention to the fact that the marker of 1 sg. *-mi in the IE verbs is etymologically identical with the stem of the 1 sg. pronoun (in the oblique cases: cf. Latin *mē*, Sanskrit *mā*, English *me*). It is obvious that the IE personal endings go back to personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person and to a demonstrative pronoun (for 3 sg.). What happened in the prehistory of IE, happened also in some Mongolic languages – not in their prehistory, but almost before our eyes, in recent centuries: in proto-Mongolic and in Classical Mongolian there is no synthetic personal conjugation, but in Buryat, Kalmuck, Dagur and Moghol it has been formed from a predicative word + personal pronoun (Buryat *yerexe-b* 'I shall come', Kalmuck *yoβ-na-β* 'I go', Dagur *ičim-b'ē* 'ich fahre, werde fahren', Moghol *rā-nān-bi* 'I come, am coming' with -b, -β, -b'ē and -bi < proto-Mongolic *bi 'I'; Kalmuck *garβ-č*, Buryat *garba-š* 'you [sg.] went out',

Moghol *irán-č̣i* 'you come', Dagur *yaʷbeǰ-ṣ̌i* 'you will go' with *-č̣*, *-ṣ̌*, *-č̣i* and *-ṣ̌i* < proto-Mongolic **č̣i* 'thou').

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

§ 8.3. Capital letters. Prof. Comrie suspects that the capital letters (used in Nostratic reconstructions as signs of unspecified phonemes of certain classes) are a refuge for cases with conflicting evidence provided by different daughter-languages. He quotes (with indignation) the Nostratic etymon **ḲER∇* for leguminous plants (AD NM 54), where all letters are capital! In fact what stands behind the capital letters is lack of specific information indispensable for distinguishing between certain phonemes. The symbol **Ḳ* means "**ḳ* or **q̣*". The distinction between the velar **ḳ* and the uvular **q̣* has survived in Kartvelian only and has been lost in all other branches of Nostratic. Hence, if a word is not attested in Kartvelian, we have to use the capital letter *Ḳ* (or to write explicitly "**ḳ* or **q̣*"). In the entry in question the Kartvelian reflex is unknown, therefore we use **Ḳ*. The unspecified *R* means "**r* or **ṛ*" (and not "all kinds of r-sounds", as Comrie erroneously believes). The distinction between the reflexes of **r* or **ṛ* has survived in Turkic and Dravidian only. If the word (as **ḲER∇*) is not attested in Turkic and Dravidian, we have to use the capital letter **R*. The symbol **E* is used here instead of **e|ä* because both Indo-European and Hamito-Semitic (the only languages where this word is attested) have lost the former phonological distinction between *N* **e* and **ä*. Here I admit that it would have been more accurate to symbolize the reconstruction as **Ḳe|äR∇* (in order to rule out **i* and **ü*). Therefore in the present

dictionary I have used a more accurate notation (with the sign æ for $*e|\text{ä}$): N * $\text{KæR}\nabla$ '≈ ϵ pod, fruit of a leguminous plant'. The symbol ∇ (for unspecified vowel) is used here because no information for indentifying the final vowel is available. The use of capital letters is not a refuge but rather a convenient method for distinguishing between the known and the unknown. Of course, the unknown includes also cases in which the extant data do not allow us to identify certain phonemes of the word or of the morpheme.

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

In Russian there is a word сало 'lard, tallow, animal fat' and a corresponding adjective салъный 'made of tallow, of animal fat'. In the 19th century Russian borrowed from French the adjective sale 'dirty', that according to the laws of Russian morphology turned into салъный (souris sale 'dirty smile' \rightarrow салъная улыбка). But for any speakers of Russian (including those knowing French, like myself) салъный in both meanings is the same word. If in Russian we hear салъная улыбка (as of a man looking at a woman with indecent thoughts), we imagine a face stained with dirty fat.

In Georgian there is a word $\text{qul}\dot{\text{i}}$ 'slave' (an old loan from Turkic qul ; - $\dot{\text{i}}$ is a suffix of the nominative case). In the 19th century Russian borrowed the word кули from English coolie (of Dravidian origin). The word won popularity in Russia (probably due to the translation of the English novel *Coolie* by the Indian writer Mulk Raj Anand, preceded by occasional mentioning of this word in *Fregat Pallada* by Goncharov and in short stories by other Russian authors), and in the famous song "От края до края" ("From border to border", by the poet Lebedev-Kumach) there are words: 'Поют эту песню и рикши и кули, поёт эту песню китайский солдат' ('This song [about Stalin] is sung by rickshaws and coolies, this song is sung by a Chinese soldier').

From Russian the word penetrated Georgian. But in Georgian it coalesced with *quli* 'slave'. For speakers of Georgian this is obviously the same word, because the meanings 'slave' and 'coolie' are very near.

A formal proof of this coalescence is the uvular consonant *q-* in *quli* 'coolie' (rather than the velar *k-* that usually renders Russian *к-*).

The Spanish subjunctive *sea* (of the verb for 'be') goes back both to *siat* and *sedeat* (subjunctive forms of the Latin verbs for 'to be' and 'to sit'), while the Spanish infinitive *ser* 'to be' is from Latin *sedere* 'to sit' without homonymic merger.

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

Dravidian **ciɪɪki* 'leopard' (or sim.) goes back to N **ɕiɪmɪgE* 'leopard', but N **ɕiɪbɪ* 'hyena' merged with it (because in Dravidian in the word-initial position the voiceless and emphatic affricates coalesced, and so did the intervocalic **-w-* and **-b-*), and as a result Dravidian **ciɪɪki* means both 'leopard' and 'hyena, tiger-wolf'.

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

§ 8.5. "Isolated cognates" and the amount of preserved phonological information. Sergey Starostin's comments on my book (S SNM) are a brilliant contribution to long-range comparative linguistics.

In these comments, together with some other papers, he found Sino-Caucasian parallels to Nostratic etyma, which are the first step for establishing a Macro-Eurasian super-family covering both Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian (as well as probably some other families). But I have some methodological reservations as to his approach and results.

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

The Nostratic etymon ***kälulu** 'woman of the other exogamous moiety (of the same age or younger than ego)' is represented in Semitic ***kall-at-** 'bride, daughter-in-law' (AD NM 84 – 7), but is not attested by certain cognates elsewhere in Hamito-Semitic. Shall we dismiss this Semitic cognate or find it unreliable only because it is not known in Omotic or Chadic? Shall we share Starostin's strange opinion that such a root "has a very little chance to be" proto-Hamito-Semitic? Let us not forget that all other branches of HS (except Egyptian) are represented only by modern languages, so that a word which might have existed in proto-Omotic or proto-Libyan-Berber was lost several thousand years ago (just as it has been lost in all modern Indo-European languages outside the Slavic subbranch). By the way, recently possible (but not certain) cognates of this word have been found in Chadic and East Cushitic (cf. the entry ***kälû** in this dictionary).

The Nostratic word ***qanṭ** 'forehead, front' was reconstructed by Illich-Svitych (IS MS 354, IS SS 336) on the basis of IE, Altaic and Egyptian. The Semitic reflex of the word was not known to Illich-Svitych because the languages preserving it were not yet described in the 1960s (when IS MS and IS SS were written). But according to the laws of Nostratic comparative phonology (discovered by Illich-Svitych) the Semitic reflex has to be ***χanṭ-**. Today, due to the late Prof. Johnstone's research, we know that in Jibbali (a Semitic language in southwestern Oman) there is a word **χanṭi** 'front, front part of anything' (Jo. J 303). Both the phonetic shape and the meaning of the word correspond exactly to what was predicted by Illich-Svitych. Actually this story resembles Leverrier's prediction of the existence of Neptune long before it was actually discovered or Saussure's hypothesis of the proto-IE

"sonantic coefficients" predicting the laryngeals long before they were discovered in Hittite. Shall we neglect or underestimate ***qant̥** (an extremely important cognate) and deny its proto-Semitic origin only because it is absent in the Semitic languages outside Southeastern Semitic (Jibbali, Mehri and Harsusi)?

The IE word ***m̥ms̥o-** 'meat' is known to have survived in Gothic **m̥imz** 'meat', but not in any other Germanic languages. Shall we deny the proto-Germanic origin of this Gothic word (that in fact goes back to NaIE ***m̥ms-** 'meat' and to N ***r̥¹omśa** 'flesh, meat')? Shall we deny the proto-Germanic antiquity of the Gothic verb **hlifan** 'to steal' (obviously from IE ***klep-** 'steal, hide') only because it has been lost by all other Germanic languages?

"A root present only in Turkic and Japanese has a very little chance to be actually Common Altaic" (Starostin). By "Common Altaic" Starostin means "proto-Altaic". Is this statement true? When he speaks about Japanese, I can understand it, but for other reasons: the Japanese language has lost a great deal of the proto-Altaic phonological information, so that the probability of chance coincidence in Japanese is rather high. With Turkic the situation is different: Turkic preserves much of the phonological information of proto-Altaic, so that proto-Turkic ***tolu** 'hail' is a legitimate cognate of IE ***del-** 'rain, dew' and probably of FU ***tälwä** 'winter', in spite of its absence in all other branches of Altaic, and hence it must have existed in proto-Altaic. If a root is preserved in Tungusian (a phonologically conservative branch with ***x-** going back to N ***k̥-** and ***q̥-** only) and has extra-Altaic cognates in other Nostratic languages, it has much more than "a very little chance" of being proto-Altaic: Tungusian ***xodi-** 'to finish, stop' (a cognate of Dravidian ***kōt̥o/*kōt̥t̥-** 'end, summit, top', IE ***k^we(:)d-** / ***k^wo(:)d-** 'sharp point', Semitic ***^o✓k̥tw|y ~ *kut̥t̥-** > Geez **k^wat̥t̥, k^wat̥t̥a** 'butt end of spear' etc.) is very likely to have existed in proto-Altaic, though we find no traces of this root in the other branches of Altaic.

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

I have already mentioned the preservation of phonological information as an important factor in evaluating attested words as sources of etymology. Words that preserve much phonological

information (e.g. Spanish *tiempo* 'time' - with **all** information of phonemes of Latin *tempus*, except for the final *-us*) are more important than those with little information (as French [*tã*] spelled as *temps*). Words with loss of phonological information may go back to different alternative etymons (as French [*tã*] going back to several Latin words: *tempus* 'time', *tantum* 'so much', *tendit* '[he] stretches' etc.) and hence cannot prove much. This linguistic factor is much more important than the mechanical factor of "isolatedness".

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

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

§ 8.7. External comparative evidence and "teleological reconstruction". On several occasions A. Vovin mentions "teleological reconstruction" as an illegitimate procedure (Vv. AEN 378, 382 - 3). By "teleological reconstruction" he means reconstruction of elements (in an intermediate proto-language) that cannot be proved by direct evidence of the descendant languages, but are suggested by external comparison. An example: in M **qorup|ɣu* 'film, cataract' I prefer the variant **qorupɣu* which is in regular correspondence with Tungusian, Kartvelian, HS and IE, though the attested M languages have lost the phonetic distinction between earlier *-β- and *-ɣ-. Another example is **K* in proto-Tungusian **ji₁K₁-kte* 'berries'. The element *-*ktā/e* is a suffix of nomina collectiva, but there is no direct evidence for the preceding **K*. If the Altaic word goes back to N **di₁∇* 'edible cereals or fruit' (reflected in K **di₁∇*- and in HS **d₁∇₁*-), we have to expect in Tungusian **ji₁K₁-kte* > **jikte*. I cannot share Vovin's attitude to external comparative evidence. The procedure labelled by him "teleological reconstruction" is well known in comparative linguistics

and is quite legitimate. In the proto-Slavic noun $*sъnъ$ n. 'sleep, dream' there is no $*p$ before $*n$, but we must suppose its existence in the prehistory of Slavic (and its subsequent loss due to the Slavic law of open syllables) on the external comparative evidence of other Indo-European languages: Greek $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Old Indian $svarnāḥ$ etc. In proto-Italic we reconstruct $*pes-ni-s$ (> Latin $pēnis$ 'tail, penis'), though the preconsonantal $*s$ has not been attested in any Italic language, but its presence (and subsequent loss due to phonetic laws) is suggested by the external comparative evidence of Old Indian $pasas-$, Greek $πέος$ 'penis'. If a proto-language lost phonemes in certain environments (e.g. in consonant clusters) without leaving traces in descendant languages, we sometimes may suppose their former existence by analysing other cognate (especially ancient) languages ("sisters" of the proto-language). In reconstructing the history of languages we cannot afford neglecting evidence from any source.

§ 8.8. Trisyllabic etymons. In IS's reconstruction most categorematic etymons (but not pronouns or grammatical morphemes) are disyllabic. But even IS recognized the existence of some N trisyllabic words: $*\text{Ḳawing}\nabla$ 'armpit' (IS I 344), $*p'alihma$ 'palm of hand' (IS III 93 - 5) and probably $*purč\nabla(g\nabla) \sim *pülč\nabla(g\nabla)$ 'flea' (IS II 99 - 100). In this dictionary trisyllabic etyma are numerous. In my opinion, trisyllabic and even quadrisyllabic words (> roots) are not an exception, but one of the existing types of syllabic structure (\Leftrightarrow DbT NJ 339). Hence I cannot accept the rejection of trisyllabic words as an argument against some of my reconstructions (cf. MichM no. 13 about $*d^r o T^1 g i H U$ 'fish' [= $*d o T g i \hat{p} \hat{u}$ in this dictionary]). I suppose that contraction of trisyllabic words into disyllabic is a common phenomenon in the later history (daughter-families of Nostratic) that explains the loss of $*-r o T^1-$ of that N word (originally in an unstressed syllable?) in HS, IE and A. Compare similar phenomena in the history of many languages, such as the fate of Latin *digitus*, *cubitum*, *calidus* and *frigidus* in the Romance languages.

§ 9. Alphabetical order of entries. The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: $*ʔ$ (incl. $*ʔ$), $*ʕ$ (incl. $*ʕ$), $*b$, $*c$ (incl. $*ć$, $*ċ$, $*č$, $*C$), $*ç$ (incl. $*ć$, $*ċ$, $*č$, $*C$), $*č$, $*ċ$, $*ĉ$, $*ĉ$, $*g$, $*g$, $*ɣ$ (incl. $*Γ$), $*h$, $*H$ (incl. $*h$, $*H_1$, $*H_2$), $*ħ$, $*k$ (incl. $*K$, $*k$), $*ḳ$ (incl. $*Ḳ$), $*l$ (incl. $*l$, $*l̄$, $*L$), $*l̄$, $*m$, $*n$ (incl. $*n̄$, $*n̄$, $*n̄$, $*N$), $*ń$, $*ŋ$, $*p$ (incl. $*p̄$, $*P$, $*P̄$), $*q$ (incl. $*Q$), $*q̄$, $*r$ (incl. $*R$), $*r̄$, $*s$ (incl. $*ś$, $*š$, $*ś$, $*š$, $*S$),

*š, *ŝ, *t (incl. *T), *t̥, *w, *χ (incl. *X), *y, *z (incl. *z̄, *z̄, *z̄, *Z), *ž, *ž̄, *z̄ (incl. *ž̄, *z̄, *z̄, *Z), *ž, *ž̄.

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

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

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

§ 11. A note on reconstructions. If in a reconstruction of descending proto-languages the name of a family is followed by a name of a branch (e.g. **D**: SD) or a name of a branch is followed by that of a subbranch (e.g.: "S: CS", "FU [in FP]" etc., e.g., **D**: SD *t̥o t̥t̥o 'point, nipple', FU: FP *k̥o č̥e v. 'crawl, clime, run'), it means that the word is attested in one branch of the family or in one subbranch of the primary branch only, but it is reconstructed on the pD, pS and pFU level (using formulas of sound changes for the respective family or primary branch as a whole). But if the reconstructed form is preceded by the name of a (sub)branch only (e.g. S *¹yad- 'hand'), the reconstruction is based on rules and formulas of the respective (sub)branch only. For instance, EC *k̥adħ- ~ *k̥udħ- 'thorn' is not reconstructed on a pHS or a pC level, but rather on the East Cushitic one. This is true of all cases except the branches of S and FU: the reconstruction preceded by the abbreviations WS, CS, SS, SES, EthS, FP and FV are reconstructed on the pS or pFU (= pU) level.

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

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

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

First, we can see that Nostratic words (except for monosyllabic grammatical particles and some pronouns) are polysyllabic. They consist of two, three and sometimes four syllables. In this respect they

do not resemble the known root-isolating languages, which are usually monosyllabic (as Chinese) or mono- and bi-syllabic (as Vietnamese). This fact seems to suggest that Nostratic is more likely to have been a stem-isolating language (with some bi-morphemic words), either at the final stage of its existence (that we are reconstructing) or more probably at an earlier stage of its history. But we cannot be sure about this, because we have not succeeded (so far) [in identifying the constituent morphemes of Nostratic words. A very rare case of a presumably derived (or compound?) word is Nostratic $*mat\ \nabla\ 'r\ ' \nabla\ R\ \nabla$ 'rainy season' (entry 1496), that is likely to be derived from (or compound with?) N $*mat\ \nabla\ 'r\ ' \nabla$ 'moisture'.

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

§ 13. On transcription

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

I am going to justify my use of symbols and scripts. One cannot be equally friendly with all kinds of readers. Both NM and this dictionary are written mainly for those linguists who are interested in *languages* (shall we call them "Sprachforscher?") rather than for "general linguists" who deal with the human language as a whole and not with particular languages and language families. More specifically, I write for historical linguists rather than for those who describe modern languages without reference to their history. It is easier for the Sprachforscher

(Orientalists, Slavicists) to recognize an Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, Slavonic or Russian word written in their usual spelling rather than in IPA. Besides, the traditional spelling often provides us with etymological information lost in the actual pronunciation of the words. The Arabic verb *banā* 'he built', if written phonetically, gives us no information of the root-final etymological consonant, which is preserved in traditional spelling (letters *b*, *n* and *y*). But, taking into account the interest of those readers who are not Slavicists or Orientalists, I always accompany every non-Latin-based national spelling (other than Greek and modern Cyrillic) with its transcription or transliteration. As to Greek and modern Cyrillic scripts (for Russian etc.), any professional philologist is expected to know these two alphabets. If he does not, let him consult the *Encyclopedia Britannica* on his bookshelf (s.v. "Greek Language" and "Slavic Languages").

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

[1] Its basic principle: "one symbol for every phoneme (as far as possible)" is wrong and practically Europocentric (or rather French-English-Germano-centric). The above principle is the only reason to prefer \int to the analytical symbol \check{s} , which is found in the spelling of Czech, Slovak, Croatian, Slovene, Lithuanian, Latvian and which is the usual traditional symbol in Semitic, Slavic, Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Mongolian, Caucasian etc. linguistics. It is often used in Cushitic and Chadic linguistics, including in Fleming's own papers. For the affricate \check{c} IPA uses either the digraph $t\int$ (which is misleading, because \check{c} is one consonant rather a consonant cluster and because in many languages [such as Russian and Polish] there is phonemic opposition $\check{c} \leftrightarrow t\check{s}$) or the clumsy sign $\tʃ$, instead of the generally understood \check{c} (which is used both in practical spelling of many languages and in many kinds of traditional transcription). The principle "one symbol for every phoneme" is counter-productive because it ignores the systemic structure of phonology. In many parts of consonantism the analytic principle ("one symbol for one distinctive feature") is much more practical. Cf. my system of sibilant consonants:

	F r i c a t i v e s		A f f r i c a t e s		
	Voiced	Voiceless	Voiced	Voiceless	Glottalized
Hissing	z	s	ʒ	ç	ç̥

Hissing-hushing (as in Kartvelian)	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥
Palatal	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥
Hushing	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥
Lateral	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥	ʒ̥

It has only 9 symbols for the whole system, it is easily learned and understood. IPA will have to use 20 or more different symbols: z, s, dz, ts, z̥, s̥, dz̥, ʒ, ʃ, dʒ, tʃ, ɬ, ɸ, etc. Where do we see more "incredible blizzard"? What is more "idiosyncratic"?

IPA is unable to denote many phonemes existing in languages without inventing new symbols. In Twi there is a voiceless dental infralabialized sibilant, which is denoted in IPA by the symbol [ɬ]. But how should one denote the corresponding voiced sibilant (as in Jibbali)? In my system [ɬ] is denoted as ʒ̥, and its voiced counterpart as ʒ̥, without need for any special explanation of the symbol ʒ̥. If necessary, the corresponding affricates will naturally be denoted as ʒ̥ and ʒ̥.

[2] IPA may be used only if we know (or claim to know) the exact pronunciation of phonemes in a language. This is possible for modern languages. But what should we do with ancient languages, with reconstructed proto-languages, where the exact pronunciation is unknown? We do not know if Classical Greek σ was pronounced as s, s̥ or an apico-alveolar ʃ̥ (as in New Greek). What should we do if one language has different dialectal variants? How shall we transcribe the Arabic phoneme ʒ̥? In Cairo it is pronounced [ɬ], in Bedouin and Iraqi Arabic [dʒ], in Urban Syro-Palestinian and Maghrebine Arabic [ʒ̥], in Sudanese Arabic as palatal [ʃ̥] etc. (to use the IPA transcription). In this particular case of ʒ̥ I have chosen to use a special super-dialectal transliteration symbol ʒ̥ (and the symbol ʒ̥ in super-dialectal transcription of Arabic). What shall we do with reconstructed words if we cannot be sure about some phonetic feature of the phoneme in question (e.g., we know that IE *s is a voiceless sibilant, but we cannot specify it as [s], [ʃ], [s̥], [ʃ̥] or some other voiceless sibilant)? Historical and comparative linguistics has to cope with three kinds of uncertainties: (1) the phoneme is known, but its exact phonetic realization cannot be or has not been established, (2) there are different realizations of the same phoneme in different dialects of a language, so that we need a super-dialectal transcription (such as exists in traditional spelling of languages), (3) in some words or roots we cannot reconstruct some distinctive feature for a class of phonemes, so

that we need symbols for unspecified phonemes (e.g. unspecified voiced sibilant, unspecified laryngeal etc.).

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

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

§ 13.1. On transliteration and traditional spelling. Data from written languages that use traditional script (other than Latin) are quoted in transliteration with the script a, b, c (except for Greek and some languages using modern Cyrillic script). Data from languages with traditional Romanized spelling are quoted as in the sources (with the script a, b, c) If a language has rival spelling systems, I have tried to use that of the most authoritative sources or that of standard dictionaries. For instance, for Anglo-Saxon ("Old English") I have used the spelling of Holthausen's dictionary. In quoting Serbo-Croatian the Cyrillic and Roman national scripts indicate the Serbian vs. Croatian variants of their common language; if both variants are identical, the Roman script is used. If I quote words of those languages (mainly of Southern Europe and North Africa, such as Oscan and Umbrian) that are preserved both in their traditional script and in the Latin script, the latter is printed here with capital letters (e.g. Um uze, ONSE 'in umero').

§ 14. On references. In this dictionary the references are indicated by abbreviations (explained in the Bibliography). I have preferred this system to the popular American system of referring to the used literature by names of scholars and data. I did it because my system spares more space: "P" (for the *Indoeuropäisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* by Pokorny) is shorter than "Pokorny 1959", "BK" is shorter than "Biberstein-Kazimirsky 1860", "Kln. SAH" is preferable to "Klingenheben 1927-1928". The more so for papers of collective authorship: "KRPS" is shorter than "Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar' 1974" or "Baskakov, Zaja czkowski and Szapsza ł (eds) 1974". I have used this system also for articles in reviews (though in some very rare cases, when the article was unaccessible to me at the moment of submitting this dictionary, I had to use the commonly used practice of quoting by the author's name and abbreviation of the periodical).

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

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

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

"Quasi-infinitives" appear also when the verbal meaning is discussed in general terms, without reference to a particular language (e.g. "valid if the primary meaning is 'to pick'", cf. entry 453a), as well as sometimes when we mention pIE (and pWIE) roots and pHS, pS or pB consonantal roots, while the English homonymy prevents us from describing the meaning without 'to' (as in the case of 'to fly', that has to be distinguished from 'fly' ['musca']). Similar quasi-infinitives appear also in quotations of etymological hypotheses of other scholars.

§ 17. **On indicating the meaning of words and forms.** If in an etymological entry the meaning of words and forms in a branch or sub-branch is indicated with the etymon (pCh, pB, pT etc.) only and not indicated with every one of the descending languages, it means that the descending languages have preserved the meaning of the proto-form. Cf., for instance, the entry 2141 (* s ∇ w h ₂ ∇ 'drink'), in which the meaning of the word in the Chadic languages is indicated for pCh only (Ch * ✓ s₂ w h v. 'drink') and not for every lge. of the Ch subfamily, meaning that the members of the Ch subfamily have preserved the meaning of pCh * ✓ s₂ w h.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES

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

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

Abbreviations: d. = dialect, ds = dialects, lge = language, lges = languages, sb. = subbranch (of a family or its branch), sd. = subdialect, p... (+ name of a family or subfamily) = proto-, pp... (+ name of a family or subfamily) = early proto- (early stage in the history of a proto-language).

1. IE = Indo-European:

ppIE = Early proto-Indo-European

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

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

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

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

I.1.1.3. InA = Indo-Aryan:

Ass = Assamese

Bhr = Bihari

Bngl = Bengali

Gp = Gypsy; Gp A = Asiatic dls of Gp; Gp Eu = European dls of Gp

Hnd = Hindi; Hnd Bhj = Bhojpuri Hindi

Lhn = Lahnda

Mld = Maldivian

Mrt = Marathi

NInA = New Indo-Aryan lges

Npl = Nepali

OI = Old Indian: OI Sk = Sanskrit, OI BdSk = Buddhist Sanskrit, OI BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, OI ClSk = Classical Sanskrit, OI EpSk = Epic Sanskrit, OI ltSk = Late Sanskrit, OI Vd = Vedic, EpOI = Epigraphic Old Indian

OMrt = Old Marathi

Ori = Oriya

Pali

pInA = proto-Indo-Aryan (reconstructed from InA lges)

Pnj - Punjabi

Prkr = Prakrit (Middle Indian)

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

Sk = Sanskrit (= OI Sk)

Vd = Vedic (= OI Vd)

I.1.1.3.1. Drd = Dardic lges:

Khw = Khowar

Kls = Kalasha

Kshm = Kashmiri

Shina

Shm = Shumashti

I.1.1.4. Irn = Iranian:

Alan

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

Awr = Awroman

Bct = Bactrian

Blc = Balochi (Beluji)

CINPrs = Classical New Persian

EIrn = East Iranian (branch of the Irn family)

FarK = Farsi-Kabuli (= Dari)

GAv = Gatha Avestan

Ish = Ishkashimi

KhS = Khotan Saka

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

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

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

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

I.1.3. Itc = Italic:

I.1.3.1. Latin-Faliscan:

Fls = Faliscan

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

EpL = Epigraphic Latin

ItL = Late Latin (= proto-Romance)

MdL = Medieval Latin

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

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

I.1.3.1.1 Rom = Romance languages:

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

Ctl = Catalan

Dlm = Dalmatian

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

Frl. = Friulan (= RhR F)

Gsc = Gascon

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

McdRm = Macedo-Romanian

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

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

OFr = Old French

Port = Portuguese; Port Mrn = sdl. of Miranda

Prv = Provençal (Classical Provençal)

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

Rm = Romanian

Sp = Spanish; Sp Mrg = Spanish of Maragateria

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

I.1.3.2. OsUm = Osco-Umbrian:

- Mrc = Marrucinian
 Mrs = Marsian
 Osc = Oscan
 Pæl = Paelignian
 Sbn = Sabine
 Um = Umbrian
 Vls = Volscan
 I.1.4. Clt = Celtic:
 Gl = Gaulish
 CnC = Continental Celtic (cover name for Gl, CltI and some other Clt
 lges)
 CltI = Celtiberian
 I.1.4.1 Goidelic:
 Ir = Irish
 Mlr = Middle Irish
 Mx = Manx
 Nlr = New Irish
 OgIr = Ogam Irish (archaic Irish in Ogamic inscriptions)
 OIr = Old Irish (= Vendryes's "irlandais ancien", i.e. including Middle
 Irish)
 ScGl = Scottish Gaelic
 I.1.4.2. Brtt = Brittonic (Brythonic) Celtic:
 Br = Breton; dl.: Cr = dl. of the diocese of Cornouaille, L = dl. of Léon,
 T = Trégorrois (diocese of Tréguier), V = dl. of Vannes
 Crn = Cornish
 MBr = Middle Breton
 MW = Middle Welsh
 OBrth = Old Brythonic
 OBr = Old Breton
 OCrn = Old Cornish
 OW = Old Welsh
 W = Welsh
 I.1.5. Gmc = Germanic:
 ORu = the language of the oldest Runic inscriptions
 I.1.5.1. NrGmc (= Scn) = Scandinavian, North Germanic:
 Dn = Danish
 Far = Faroese
 Gtl = Gotlandic (a dl. intermediate between Swedish and Danish)
 Ic = Icelandic
 NIc = New Icelandic
 NNr = New Norwegian (nynorsk)
 Nr = Norwegian (BNr = bokmål; NNr = New Nr, i.e. nynorsk; Nr Δ =
 Norwegian dls)
 ODn = Old Danish
 OGtn = Old Gutnish
 ON = Old Norse; ON R = ON of the Runic inscriptions

ONr = Old Norwegian

OScn = Old Scandinavian

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

OWN = Old West Norse

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

Sw = Swedish

I.1.5.2. East Germanic:

Brgn = Burgundian

Gt = Gothic; dialect: Gt Cr = Crimean Gothic

I.1.5.3. WGmc = West Germanic:

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

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

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

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

Frs = Frisian

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

LG = Low German (cp. MLG)

Lngb = Langobardian

MDt = Middle Dutch

ME = Middle English

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

MLG = Middle Low German

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

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

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

NHG = New High German

OFrk = Old Franconian (= OHG F)

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

OLF = Old Low Franconian (altniederfränkisch)

OMG = Old Middle German (in the terminology of Orel and Stolbova)

OSx = Old Saxon

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

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

I.1.6.1. Blt = Baltic:

I.1.6.1.1. EBlT = East Baltic

Cur = Curonian

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

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

I.1.6.1.2. Pru = Prussian

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

I.1.6.2. Sl = Slavic:

BChS = Bulgarian Church Slavonic

Blg = Bulgarian

Blr = Belorussian

ChS = Church Slavonic

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

HLs = High Lusatian (High Sorbian)

Kshb = Kashubian

LLs = Low Lusatian (Low Sorbian)

McdS = Macedonian (a Slavic language)

MR = Middle Russian

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

OCS = Old Church Slavonic

OP = Old Polish

OR = Old Russian

OSCr = Old Serbo-Croatian

P = Polish

Plb = Polabian

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

RChS = Russian Church Slavonic

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

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

Slv = Slovene

Slvz = Slovinzian (Slowinzisch, slowiński język, словинский язык)

SrChS = Serbian Church Slavonic

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

sdl

I.1.7. Thracian branch:

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

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

DM = Daco-Moesian (= Dacian)

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

StAl G = Standard Geg Al

Thrc = Thracian

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

ClArm = Classical Old Armenian

eOArm = Early Old Armenian

NArm = New Armenian

NEArm = New East Armenian

NWArm = New West Armenian

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

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

I.1.11. Msp = Messapic

I.1.12. Pnn = Pannonian

I.1.13. Phr = Phrygian

NPhr = New Phrygian

OPhr = Old Phrygian (= {BajO} старофригийский)

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

I.1.15. Vn = Venetic

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

Car = Carian

Ht = Hittite

Ld = Lydian

LycIs = Lycaonic-Isaurian

Pal = Palaic

I.2.1 SAn = South Anatolian Indo-European:

HrLw = Hieroglyphic Luwian (= Hieroglyphic Hittite)

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

Lw = Luwian (= Cuneiform Luwian)

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

II. HS = Hamito-Semitic (Afroasiatic):

II.1.S = *Semitic*:

II.1.1.WS = West Semitic:

II.1.1.1.CS = Central Semitic:

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

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

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

Amn = Ammonite

BHb = Biblical Hebrew; variants: BHb B [or BHb (BV)] = BHb with Babylonian vocalization, BHb T [or BHb (TV)] = BHb with Tiberian traditional (masoretic) vocalization

Ed = Edomite

Hb = Hebrew

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

M'b = Moabite

MdHb = Medieval Hebrew

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

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

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

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

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

Pun = Punic

SmH = Samaritan Hebrew

II.1.1.1.1.1.2. Ug = Ugaritic

II.1.1.1.1.1.3. Amr = Amorite

II.1.1.1.1.2. McAram = Macro-Aramaic:

II.1.1.1.1.2.1. Aram = Aramaic:

BA = Biblical Aramaic; BA (BV) or BA (BbV) = Biblical Aramaic with Babylonian vocalization; BA (TV) = Biblical Aramaic with Tiberian vocalization

BzJPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period

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

DSA = Aramaic in Demotic script

Htr = Hatra (an ancient Aramaic dialect)
 IA = Imperial Aramaic, Official Aramaic; IA F = Aramaic words in Frahang-i-Pahlavik (glossaries of Aramaic heterograms in Phl)
 JA = Jewish Aramaic (common name for JEA and JPA)
 JEA = Jewish East Aramaic (Babylonian Aramaic), JEA Bb = JEA with Babylonian vocalization
 JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Kutscher's "Galilean Aramaic"); JPA B = JPA of the Byzantine period, JPA P = JPA with Palestinian vocalization
 Md = Mandaic (incl. CIMd [= Classical Mandaic] and NMd [New Mandaic, Modern spoken Mandaic])
 MNA = Mlahso Neo-Aramaic
 Nbt = Nabataean
 NNEA = Noretheastern Neo-Aramaic ("Modern Assyrian"); dls: H = Hertevin, JIA = Jewish NNEA of Iranian Azerbaijan, JZ = Jewish NENAr of Zakho, U = Urmiya dl.
 NSr = Neo-Syriac
 OA = Old Aramaic
 PA = Palestinian Aramaic (incl. JPA, JPA B, ChrPA)
 Plm = Palmyrene
 SmA = Samaritan Aramaic
 Sr = Syriac
 TA = Turoyo Neo-Aramaic; dls: TA M = TAr of Mîdin, TA Mt = TAr of Midyat
 Ww = the dialect of the "Waw" inscription (belonging to Aramaic?)
 II.1.1.1.1.2.2. DA = the language of the Deir-Alla inscription
 II.1.1.1.1.2.3. Yd = Ya'udic, Samalian
 II.1.1.1.2. Macro-Arabic:
 Ar = Arabic; dls: Ar AT = Arabic of Algeria and Tunisia, Ar CA = Central African dl., Ar CB = dl. of the coastal part of Batina (Northern Oman), Ar ChCS = Arabic dl. of Chad and Central Sudan, Ar ChrNG = Christian fallah dl. of northern Galilea, Ar Cr = Cairo Arabic, Ar D = Dathina dl., Ar Df = Dofar (Zfar) dl., Ar Eg = Egyptian dl., Ar G = Gulf Arabic (the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Bahrain), Ar Hdr = Hadramauti dl., Ar Hm = Hamata Arabic, Ar IB = dl. of the inland part of Batina, , Ar Ir = Iraqi Arabic, Ar Lb = Arabic of Libya, Ar Mgr = Maghrib Arabic (North Africa), Ar Mrc = Moroccan dls, Ar Ng = Ar. of Nigeria, Ar NY = North Yemenite dls (including sdls: Ar NY K = k-subdialect, Ar NY SE = Southeastern sdl., Ar NY S = Southern sdls, Ar NY T = Tihamah sdl.), Ar O = Oman Arabic, Ar OY = Old Yemenite Arabic of 10th - 11th c.
 AD ([in al-Hamdânî's and Nashwân's works], incl. Himyarite loans), Ar P = Palestinian Arabic dls, Ar SA = South Arabian dls (Yemen, southern Oman), Ar Sd = Sudanese dls, Ar SL = Syro-Libanese dl., Ar Sp = Arabic of Spain (8th - 15th c.), Ar Y = Yemenite dls of Ar, Ar Zhl = Arabic of Zahle (Lebanon); dialect groups: Ar B = Bedouin Arabic, Ar F = Fallah (rural) Arabic, Ar Ur = Urban Arabic; PsClAr = Post-Classical Literary Arabic

Lh = Lihyanic

Malt = Maltese

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

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

Sf = Safaitic

Tmd = Thamudic

II.1.1.2. SS = South Semitic:

II.1.1.2.1. SWS = Southwestern Semitic:

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

OSA = Old South Arabian (= ESA); dls (labeled as separate languages): Hadrami, Minaean, Qatabanian, Sabaic (Sabaean).

Hdr = Hadrami

Hmr = Himyarite (up to the 10th-11th c. CE)

Mn = Minaean, Minaic (מַנְיַנִיַת), Madhabian

Qtb = Qatabanian

Sb = Sabaean, Sabaic (dialect of OSA)

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

II.1.1.2.1.2. EthS = Ethiosemitic:

Eth = Ethiopian (= EthS)

Amh = Amharic

Arg = Argobba

Gft = Gafat

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

Gz = Ge'ez

Har = Harari

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

Tgr = Tigre

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

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

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

Bth = Bathari

Hbt = Hobbyot

Hrs = Harsusi

Jb = Jibbali (G əblēṭ, Šahri, Šhawri), dls: C = Central, E = Eastern, EM = Mehrizing sdl. of Jb E

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

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

II.1.2. ES = East Semitic:

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

Eb = Eblaic, Eblaite

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

II.2.1. B = Berber:

II.2.1.1. NrB = North Berber:

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

Assh = Ashasha (a B dialect)

Awj = Awjila

BHlm (= Hlm) = Ben-H ḥalima or Ḥalima (dialect of Ulad-Ben-H ḥalima, a B "Zenatian" dialect of Central Morocco)

BMn = Beni-Menacer

BMs = Beni-Messaoud

BSlh = Beni-Salah

BSn = Beni-Snus

Btw = Bettiwa

CA = Berber of Central Algeria

CM = Berber of Central Morocco

Dbl = Dyebayli (a dl. of Nfs?)

Dmn = Demnat

Fgg = Figuig, Figig

Gd = Ghadamsi

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

Hrw = Harawa (a B dialect)

Iz = Izayan (a B dialect)

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

Izn = Beni-Iznacen

Jrb = Berber of Jerba

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

Mtm = Matmata (Mat ,māṭa)

Mz = Mzab, Mozabite

NdA = Ndir-Abes

Nfs = Nefusi

Ntf = Ntifa (a B dialect)

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

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

Shnw = Shenua, Shenwa

Shw = Shawiya

Si = Siwa

Skn = Sokna

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

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

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

AA = Aït-Ahmad

Tgn = Tuggana

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

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

Wrg = Wargla, Wargli

Wrs = Warsenis (le Zenatia de l'Ouarsenis)

ZAS = Berber dialect of Zayan and Ayt-Sgugu

Zgw = Zaghawa

Zkara

Zkr = Ida-u-Zikri

Zmr = Zemmur (a B dialect)

Zn = Zayan

Zwr = Zwara (a B dialect)

II.2.1.2. SB = South Berber:

Adgg = Twareg of Adghagh

Ah = Twareg of Ahaggar

ETwl = Eastern Tawellemmet

Gh = Ghat

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

Tnsl = Taneslemt

Ttq = Taïtoq

Tw = Twareg; dls: Tw D = Tadraq, Tw M = dialects of Mali, Tw Ng = dialects of Niger (Twl, Ty), Tw U = Tudalt, Tw Ud = dls spoken in Udalan (NE Burkina-Faso, i.e. Tw D and Tw U); Ah, ETwl, Ty and Tnsl are treated here as separate lges

Twl = Tawellemet (common name of ETwl and WTwl)

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

WTwl = Western Tawellemet

II.2.1.3. WB = West Berber:

Zng = Zenaga (tuḡḡũḡiya)

II.2.2. Lb = Libyan:

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

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

II.3. *Egyptian* branch:

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

DEg = Demotic Egyptian

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

II.4. *Cushitic*:

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

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

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

Bln = Bilin

Dmb = Dembiya
 Dmt = Damot
 Km = Kemant
 Knfl = Kunfāl (a language of the Agaw subgroup)
 Q = Qwara, Kwara; dialect: Q F = {Flad} 'Falashan'
 Xm = Xamir (Hamir, Xamtanga, Khamtanga); dls: Xm {R} = Hamir, Xm {Ap.} = Khamtanga, Xm T = CR's Hamta, Xm K = Kaïliña, Xm Wg = Xamir of Wag

II.4.3. EC = East Cushitic:

II.4.3.1. LEC = Lowland East Cushitic:

II.4.3.1.1. AfS = Afar-Saho lges

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

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

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

II.4.3.1.2.1.

Arr = Arbore

Dsn = Dasenech (= Geleba)

Elm = Elmolo

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

pSam = proto-Sam {Heine}

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

Jd = Jiddu (considered a dialect of Sml)

Rn = Rendille

pSml = proto-Somali {Lamberti}

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

II.4.3.1.2.3. Bs = Baiso

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

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

II.4.3.1.3.2. KG = Konso-Gidole:

Bss = Bussa

Di = Dirasha (ḍirāṣ̌a)

Gato

Gdl = Gidole (Dirayta)

Kns = Konso

Mos = Mossiya

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

Turo

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

Cm = Tsamako, Tsamay, Sa ḿakko

Dḅs = Dobase

Dihina

Gaba

Gln = Gollango

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

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

Hr = Harso

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

II.4.3.4. HEC = Highland East Cushitic:

Alb = Alaba

Brj = Burji

Ged = Gede'o (= Darasa)

Hd = Hadiy(y)a; Hd Lb = Libido dl.

Kmb = Kambatta

Qbn = Qabenna

Sd = Sidamo; dl.: Sd Hb = Sidamo of Habiela

Tmbr = Tembaro

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

II.4.4. SC = South Cushitic

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

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

Alg = Alagwa

Brn = Burunge

Grw = Gorowa

Irq = Iraqw

II.4.4.1.2. ERt = East Rift

Asa

Kz = Kwadza, Ngomvia

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

II.4.5. ? Klk = the Kuliak languages:

Ik = Ik (= Teuso), a Kuliak language

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

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

II.5. Om = *Omotic*:

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

II.5.1.1. Gng = Gongga (a subsubgr. of NOM lges):

- Amuru = Amuru, Amurru
 Anf = Anfillo (Southern Mao, after Grotanelli)
 Gjb = Gojjebi
 Kf = Kaffa
 Mch = Mocha (Shekko)
 Mnj (one of the sources\components of Kf, according to Fl. MEH)
 Shn = Shinashsha (Bworo), dl.: Shn D = Dangur Shinashsha
 II.5.1.2. Omt = Omoto (a cluster of dls\languages) (when unspecified
 [Zs, Wl etc.], Omt {Moreno} is meant)
 Bdt = Badditu, Baddito, Koyra
 Bsk = Basketo (an Omotic language)
 Cha = Chara
 Cnc = C'anacha Omoto
 COMt = Central Omoto (cover name for several dialects, incl. Gf)
 Dc = Dache (an Omoto dialect)
 Dk = Doka (an Omoto dialect)
 Drz = Dorze-Jo, Dorze (a dialect of the Omoto cluster)
 Dwr = Dawro (Kullo), a dialect of the Omoto cluster
 Dz = Doze (an Omotic dialect within the Omoto dialect cluster)
 Gm = Gamo, Gamu (a dialect of the Omoto cluster)
 Gdc = Gidicho (NOmt)
 Gemu (an Omoto lge., related to Gf)
 Gf = Gofa (an Omoto language)
 Gnj = Ganjule (= Ganjawle, a dialect of East Omoto)
 Hrr = Haruro
 Kcm = Kachama (= Gatsama, a dialect of Omoto)
 Krt = Koorete (= Amarro)
 Male
 Malo
 Oyda
 Wl = Wolaytta (an Omoto lge), Wolamo
 Zl = Zala
 Zrg = Zergulla (a dialect of Omoto)
 Zs = Zayse (a dialect of Omoto)
 II.5.1.3. Ym = Yemsa (Janjero)
 II.5.1.4. Gmr = Gimirra:
 Bnc = Bench (Gimirra-Bench, Benesho)
 She
 II.5.1.5. Ma = Mao (a NrOm dialect cluster) (when it is not specified
 [BMa, HzMa etc.], Mao {Grotanelli} is meant)
 BMa = Bambes(h)i Mao (= Bambassi)
 DMA = Diddesa Mao
 GaMa = Ganza Mao
 GeMa = Gebsi Mao
 HzMa = Hozo Mao
 MdMa = Madegi Mao

NrMa = Northern Mao

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

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

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

Na = Na'o (Nayi) (a Dizoid language)

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

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

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

ArJ = Ari-Jinka (dialect of Ari)

Bako = Bako (= Ari B)

Dm = Dime

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

II.6. Ch = *Chadic*:

II.6.1. WCh = West Chadic:

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

II.6.1.1.1. Hausa gr.:

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

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

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

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

Cp = Chip

Gmy = Goemay, Ankwe

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

Mnt = Montol

Mpn = Mupun

Su = Sura

Tal

Ywm = Yiwom (= Gerka)

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

Bele

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

Dr = Dera, Kanakuru

Gera

Glm = Galembi

Grm = Geruma

Kpt = Kupto

Krf = Kirfi, Kirifi

Krkr = Karekare

Kwm = Kwami

Maha

Ngm = Ngamo

Pr = Pero

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

II.6.1.2. Ron lges:

Bks = Bokkos

Btr = Butura

Chal = Challa

Df = Daffo, DfB = Daffo and Butura

Fy = Fyer

Klr = Kulere

Sha

Tmbs = Tambas

II.6.1.3. NrBc = North Bauchi:

Cg = Tsagu

Dir = Diri

Jmb = Jimbin

Kry = Kariya, Kariyanchi

Mbr = Mburku, Mburkanchi

My = Miya, Miyanchi

P' = Pa'a, Pa'anchi

Sir = Siryanchi, Siri

Wrj = Warji

II.6.1.4. SBc = South Bauchi:

Bbr = Bubbure

Bg = Boghom (Burrum)

BG = Bu-gàlambu

Bot = Bot, Boot (a South Bauchi language)

Brw = Barawa

Buli

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

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

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

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

Jm = Jimi

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

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

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

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

Tule

Wnd = Wangday (a dialect of Dass)

Zar = Zar (Zaar, Sigidi); dls: Zar GL = Zar of Gambar-Lere, Zar K = Zar of Kal, Zar L = Zar of Lusa, Sy = Saya (*see* above s.v.)

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

Zul (Dira, Diri)

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

Bd = Bade

Du = Duwai

Ngz = Ngizim

II.6.2. CCh = Central Chadic:

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

Bk = Boka

G'nd = Ga'anda

Gbn = Gabin

Hw = Hwona (Hona)

Jr = Jara

Pdl = Pidlimti

Tr = Tera

II.6.2.2. BM = Bura-Margi subbranch:

Bu = Bura, BuP = Bura Pele

Cb = Chibak

Hld = Hildi

Klb = Kilba (H%oba)

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

Ngx = Ngwaxi (Ngwakhi, Ngwahyi)

Wmd = Wamdiu, Wamdiu Margi

WMrg = West Margi

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

FIG = Fali Gili

FIK = Fali Kiria, Fali of Kiria

Higi (cluster of dls)

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

Kps = Kapsiki (= Higi Kamale)

II.6.2.4. BB = Bata-Bachama subbranch:

Bcm = Bachama

Bt = Bata

BtG = Bata-Garua

BtD = Bata-Demsa

BtM = Bata Malabu

BtZ = Bata Zumo

FIB = Fali of Bwagira

FIJ = Fali of Jilbu

FIM = Fali of Muchella

Gude (Cheke)

Gudu

Holma

Mln = Mwulyen (= BtZ?)

Nz = Nzangi

II.6.2.5. Lmn = Lamang; dls: Lmn Hd = Hidkala, Hitkalanchi, Lmn Vz = Vizik, Lmn A = Alataghwa

II.6.2.6. McMdr = Macro-Mandara (Mandara subbranch):

Dgh = Dghwede, Duxwide, Zeghvana

Gdf = Guduf

Glv = Glavda

Gmrg = Gamergu

Gv = Gava

Mdr = Mandara (Wandala); dialect: Mdr Mr = Mora

Ngs = Ngweshe (= Gvoko, Gboko, Glanda?)

Nkc = Nakatsa

Pdk = Padokwo, Paduko

II.6.2.7. Suk = Sukur

II.6.2.8. McMtk = Macro-Matakam = Matakam subbranch:

Gzg = Giziga; dls: Gzg D = Giziga Dogba, Gzg Mj = Giziga Mijivin, Gzg Mt = Muturua

Hrz = Hurza

Mada

Mbk = Mboku

Mf = Mafa

MfG = Mofu-Gudur; dialect: MfG M = Mokong

MfM = Mofu-Meri

Mkt = Muktile, Muktele

Mlk = Moloko

Mofu

Mtk = Matakam

Myn = Muyang

pMM = proto-Mafa-Mada

Vm = Vame

Zlg = Zulgo

II.6.2.9. McDb = Macro-Daba, Daba subbranch:

Db = Daba; dls: Db H = Daba-Hina, Db K = Kola (treated as a separate lge)

Kola

Msy = Musgoy

II.6.2.10. Gdr = Gidar

II.6.2.11. McKtk = Macro-Kotoko = Kotoko subbranch:

Bdm = Buduma (Yedina)

Glfi = Gulfei

Ktk = Kotoko; dls: Ktk Af = Affade, Ktk Kl = Klesem, Ktk Ks = Kuseri,

Ktk Mk = Makeri

Lgn = Logone; dialect: Lgn M = Mandague

Ngl = Ngala

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

Bld = Baldamu

Mbara

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

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

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

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

Azm = Azumeyna (Banana-Marba)

Bana {Lukas ZSS}

Bnn = Banana

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

Lame

LamP = Lame-Peve

Ms = Masa

Msm = Misme

Zm = Zime

ZmB = Zime-Batna

ZmD = Zime-Dari

II.6.3. ECh = East Chadic:

II.6.3.1. KwK = Kwang-Kera subbranch:

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

Ke = Kera

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

Drm = Lukas's "Dormo"

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

Kbl = Kabalay (Lukas's "Kaba")

Ll = Lele

Nng = Lukas's "Nangire"

Tbn = Tobanga

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

Nd = Ndam; dialect: Nd D = Ndam Dik

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

Tmk = Tumak

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

Skr = Sokoro

Mw = Mawa

Bar = Barein

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

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

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

Bdy = Bidiya

Mgm = Migama (Jonkor)

WDng = West Dangla

II.6.3.6. Mkl = Mokilko, Mokulo

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

Brg = Birgit

Jg = Jegu

Kjk = Kajakse

Kjr = Kujarke

Mjl = Minjile

Mu = Mubi

III. K = Kartvelian:

III.1. GZ = Georgian-Zan:

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

MG = Middle Georgian (12th - 16th centuries) (Shota Rustaveli, *Kartulis cxovreba* etc.)

eNG = Early New Georgian (17th - 18th c.) (Sulhan-Saba Orbeliani's dictionary)

G = NG = (New) Georgian; dls: G A = Ajarian (= Acharuli) G, G F = Fereydan (= Pereidnuli) G, G Gm = Gudamaqar G, G Gr (and G G) = Gurian G, G HA = High Ajarian G, G I = Imeretian (Imeruli) G (sdls: HI = High Imeretian, LI = Low Imeretian), G Imx = Imerkhian (Imerxeuli) G, G Ing = Ingilo G, G J = Javakh (Javaxuri) G, G K = Kartlian G (incl. G ArX = Aragva Georgian sdl. [Aragvis xeobis kartluri]), G Kx = Kakhetian (Kaxuri) G, G Kzq = Kiziqian subd. of G Kx, G Lch = Lechkhumian (Lechxumuri) G, G M = Mokhebian (Moxeuri) G, G Ms = Mrskhetian (Mesxuri) G, G Mt = Mtiulian G, G Mtat = Mtatushetian (Mtatushuri) sdl., G P = Pshavian G, G R = Rachian (Rachuli) G, G T = Tushian G, G Ti = Tianetian (Tianuri) G, G UA = Upper Ajarian, G X = Khevsur (Xevsuruli); a period: eNG = Early New Georgian (17th c., as registered by Sulhan-Saba Orbeliani)

III.1.2. Zan languages:

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

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

OZn = Old Zan

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

IV. U = Uralic:

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

IV.1.1. FP = Finno-Permian,

IV.1.1.1. FV = Finno-Volgaic

IV.1.1.1.1. FL = Finno-Lappish

IV.1.1.1.1.1. BF = Balto-Finnic

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

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

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

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

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

Vo = Vote, водский язык, vatja, wotisch

Vp = Veps

IV.1.1.1.1.2. Lp = Lapp, Lappish; dls and dialect areas: Lp A = Akkala Lp (= бабинский диалект) (belongs to Lp E), Lp Å = Åsele Lp (belongs to Lp S), Lp E = Eastern dls of Lp (Lp Klt, Lp Kld, Lp T), Lp I = Inari Lp (belongs to Lp E), Lp K = Kola Lp (dialect area of Lp E, including Lp Kld and Lp T), Lp Kld = Kildin dl. (of Lp E), Lp Klt = Koltta Lp (= Kolta Lp, Skolt Lp, belongs to Lp E), Lp L = Lule Lp, Lp N = Norwegian Lp, Lp OSw = Old Swedish dls of Lp (18th c.) (incl. Northern Lp L and Northern Lp S) (after {LÖ}), Lp P = Pite Lp, Lp S = Southern Lp, Lp Sw = Swedish dialect area of Lp (= {SKES} lp R), Lp T = Ter (Turja) Lp (= Kert's йоканьгский диал.) (belongs to Lp E), Lp U = Ume Lp; subdialects: Lp Fi = Finnmarken sdl. (of Lp N, = Ruijanlappi), Lp J = Jemtland sdl. (of Lp S),

Lp M = Maritime sdl. (of Lp N), Lp Nd = Neiden (Näätämö) sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp Nt = Notozero sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp Pa = Paatsjoki (Boris-Gleb) sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp Sn = Snåsa sdl. (of Lp S), Lp Snk = Suonikylä sdl. (of Lp Klt), Lp To = Tornio sdl. (of Lp N); subsubdialects: Lp Ar = Arjeplog ssd. (of Lp P), Lp En = Enontekiö ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Fr = Frostviken ssd. (of Lp Å), Lp Gr = Gratangen ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Hr = Härjedalen ssd. (of Lp J), Lp Jk = Jokan'g (Yokostrov) ssd. (of Lp T), Lp Krs = Karasjok ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Krsv = Kaaresuvanto ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Kt = Koutokeino ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Ml = Malå ssd. (of Lp U), Lp Mr = Meråker ssd. (of Lp J), Lp O = Offerdal ssd. (of Lp J), Lp P = Polmak (Pulmanki) ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Pr = Parkalompolo ssd. (of Lp To), Lp Rr = Røros ssd. (of Lp J), Lp Tf = Tysfjord ssd. (of Lp L), Lp Tn = Tännäs ssd. (of Lp J), Lp Ut = Utsjoki ssd. (of Lp Fi), Lp Vfs = Vefsen ssd. (of Lp Å), Lp Vl = Vilhelmina ssd. (of Lp Å).

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

IV.1.1.1.3. Mr = Mordvin languages:

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

Er = Erzya Mordvin; sdls: A = Alatir sdl. (the area of the river А л а т ы р ь), BI = sdl. of Bolshoye Ignatovo, Iv = Ivancevo sdl., Kal = Kalyayevo sdl., LP = Lower Pyana sdl., Trb = Torbeyevo (former Kazhkïtka) sdl.

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

pMr = proto-Mordvin

IV.1.1.2. Prm = Permian

OPrm = Old Permian (древнепермский язык)

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

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

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

province, Vt Tl = Tĭlovay sdl. of Vt C, Vt Uf = Vt. of the former Ufa province, Vt Ur = Ursĭgurt subdialect of Vt SW, Vt Y = Yelabuga sdl.

Yz = Yazvian, Yaz'va dialect (in the Prm subbranch of FU) = КОМИ-ЯЗЬВИНСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ

Z = Ziryene; sds: Z EV = Eastern Vĭchegda sdl. (of Z UV), Z I = Izhma sdl., Z K = Kerchemya sdl. (керчемский говор), Z Le = Letka sdl., Z LI = Lower Izhma sdl., Z LL = Luza & Letka sdl., Z Lu = Luza sdl., Z LV = Lower Vĭchegda sdl., Z MS = Middle Sisola sdl., Z MV = Middle Vĭchegda sdl., Z Mz = Mezen' sdl., Z N = Northern sds, Z P = Pechora sdl., Z Pr = Prupt sdl., Z Sk = Sĭktĭvkar sdl., Z Ss = Sisola sdl., Z Ud = Udora sdl., Z US = Upper Sĭsola sdl., Z UV = Upper Vĭchegda sdl., Z V = Vĭchegda sdl., Z Vm = Vĭm sdl., Z Vsh = Vishera ssdl. (of Z UV).

IV 1.2. Ur = Ugric

IV.1.2.1. ObU = Ob-Ugric

Os = Ostyak; dls and dialect areas: Os Ag = Agan sdl. (of Os Sr), Os B = Beryozovo sdl. (of Os O), Os Cng = Cingala sdl. (of Os I), Os D = Demyanka dl., Os E = Eastern dialect area, Os I = Irtĭsh dls (collective denomination), Os K = Konda dl., Os Km = dl. of Kaminskoye, Os Kr = dl. of Krasnoyarskie, Os Ks = Koshelevsk sdl. (of Os I), Os Kz = Kazĭm dl., Os LD = Lower Demyanka dl. (= DT), Os Lk = Likrisovskoye dl., Os LK = Lower Konda sdl., Os MY = Malĭy Yugan dl., Os N = northern dialect area, Os Nz = Nizyam dl., Os O = Obdorsk (Salehard) dl., Os Pĭm = Pĭm (Pim) dl. (sdl. of Os Sr), Os Pt = Pitlyar dl. (sdl. of Os N), Os Sg = Sogom dl., Os Sh = Sherkalĭ dl. (= Middle Ob dl.), Os Shr = Shurĭshkar dl., Os Sl = Salĭm dl., Os Sn = Sĭnya dl., Os Sr = Surgut dl., Os Ty = Tremyugan dl., Os UA = Ust-Agan dl., Os UD = Upper Demyanka dl. (= DN), Os Uy = Ust-Yugan dl., Os V = Vakh dl., Os VK = Verknhe-Kalĭmsk dl.; Os Vrt = Vartovskoye dl., Os Vy = Vasyugan dl., Os Y = Yugan dl. (sdl. of Os Sr), Os Z = Zavodniye (Zavodinskiye) dl.

OVg = Old Vogul (18th c.); dls: OVg E = Eastern, OVg N = Northern, OVg S = Southern, OVg W = Western; sds: OVg E TM = a sdl. (of OVg E) labelled by Honti as " TM", OVg I = Is sdl. (of OVg W [?]), OVg L = Lyalya sdl. (of OVg W [?]), OVg N Ber = Berezovo (OVg N; three variants: OVg N BerG, OVg N BerO and OVg BerK), OVg N B and OVg N Chd = sds (of OVg N) labelled by L. Honti as " B" and " Ć d", OVg N NSs = Northern Sosva sdl. (OVg N), OVg N SoG = a sdl. of OVg N labelled by Honti as " SoG", OVg N SoO = a sdl. of OVg N labelled by Honti as " SoO", OVg S Chus = Chusovaya sdl. (of OVg N; two variants: OVg S ChusO and OVg S ChusM), OVg S Kg = Kungur sdl. (of OVg S), OVg S SSs = Southern Sosva sdl. (OVg S), OVg S Tg = Tagil sdl. (OVg S), OVg S Tr = Tura sdl. (OVg S), OVg S Vt = Verxoturĭye (Верхотурье) sdl. (OVg S), OVg Str = a sdl. (of OVg W [?]) labelled by Honti as " Str", OVg Tb = a sdl. (of OVg E or [less plausibly] OVg S?) labelled by Honti as " Tob" (= Tobol?), OVg WP = Pelĭmskoye sdl. (OVg W), OVg W Sol = Solikamsk sdl. (OVg W), OVg W UsU = Ust-Ulsuy (Усть-Ульсуй) sdl. (OVg W) of the 19th c. (cf. Kann AWD); the sigilla " B", "SoG", "SoO", "Str", "Tob" and " TM" (used by

Honti (after J. Gulya) remain enigmatic because their source (Gulya's manuscript paper "Altwoogulische Dialekte") has not yet been published and has not been available to the present writer; the queries "[?]" belong to Honti

Vg = Vogul; dialectal areas: Vg E (= Vg K) = Eastern (Konda) Vogul (incl. dls: Vg LK = Lower Konda dl., Vg MK = Middle Konda dl., Vg UK = Upper Konda dl., Vg MO = Middle Ob [Sherkal] dl., Vg Yk = Yukonda dl.), Vg N = Northern Vogul dialect area (incl. Vg UL = Upper Lozva dl., Vg Ss = Sosva dl., Vg Sg = Sĭgva dl.), Vg S = Southern Vogul (Vg T = Tavda dl., Vg TCh = sdl. Chandiri of the Tavda dl., Vg TG = sdl. Gorodok of the Tavda dl., Vg TY = sdl. Yanĭchkova of the Tavda dl.), Vg W = Western Vogul (incl. Vg LL = Lower Lozva dl., Vg ML = Middle Lozva dl., Vg NV = North Vagilsk dl. [sds: Vg NVK = sdl. of the village Kama, Vg NVZ = Zaozĕrnaja sdl.], Vg P = Pelimka dl., Vg SV = South Vagilsk dl., Vg V = Vagilsk dls), Vg W = Western Vogul dialect area

IV 1.2.2. Hg = Hungarian; dl.: Hg S = South Hungarian (sdl.: Hg O = Ormānyśāg sdl.)

OHg = Old Hungarian

IV.2. Sm = *Samoyed*

IV.2.1. NrSm = North Samoyed subgroup

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

Ng = Nganasan (Tavgi)

En = Enets; dls : En B = Baikha dl. (Bay); En K = Karasino dl.; En M = the dl. of Mangazeya (18th c.); En T = Enets of Turukhan region; En Tn = Tundra dl. (Hl.); En X = Khantaika (ХАНТАЙКА) dl. (Somatu, Madu)

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

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

IV.2.3. Kms = Kamassian

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

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

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

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

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

U. R = Altaic

Hun = Hunnic (Hsiung-nu)

V.1. T = *Turkic*

ppT = Early proto-Turkic

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

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

MT = Middle Turkic

MU = Middle Uyghur (a dl. of MT)

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

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

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

Afsh = Afshar

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

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

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

Ggz = Gagauz

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

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

MOsm = Middle Osman Turkic

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

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

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

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

OOsm = Old Osman Turkic

Osm = Osman Turkic

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOg = Southern Oghuz dls

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

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

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

Xlj = Xalaj, Khalaj (acc. to Shch.’s convincing hyp., Xlj is an Og lge.)

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

XwT = Xwarezmic Turkic

V.1.1.2. Qïpchaq (= Northwest Turkic) lges:

Blq = Balqar

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

Bsh = Bashkir (Bashqort)

Cmn = Cumanic (= MQp Cmn)

CrTt = Crimean Tatar

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

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

MsTt = Mishār Tatar

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

Qmq = Qumïq

Qp = Qïpchaq

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

QrB = Qarachay-Balqar

Qzq = Qazaq

SbTt = Siberian Tatar; dls: SbTt B = Baraba (= Brb), SbTt Ichk = Ichkina dialect (dl. of the Ichkina river, Southwestern Siberia), SbTt TI = Tobol-Irtïsh dialect (incl: SbTt Tb = Tobol Tatar [= TbTt], SbTt Bkl = Baykalovo subsubd., SbTt Kk = Kükrände ssdl. [= Cheburga subsubdialect of TbTt], SbTt Ltm = Laytamak ssdl., SbTt Tr = Tara sdl., SbTt Tv = Tevriç Tt, TbTt = Tobol Tatar [= SbTt Tb]), SbTt Tö = Tömen

Tt (түменский дл.), SbTt Tom = Tomsk dialect (incl.: SbTt EuCh = Eushta-Chat sdl., SbTt Ql = Qalmaq, SbTt OCh = Orsk Chat, орский подговор чатов)]

VTt = Volga Tatar (= Kazan Tatar); dialects: VTt K = Christian Tatar (кряшенский), VTt Ks = Kasimov dl. (касымовский), VTt W = Western dl., VTt M = Middle Tatar dl., VTt E = Eastern dl.; subdialects: VTt H = Highland sdl. of VTt M (= тау ягы сөйләшләре, говоры нагорной стороны Татарстана), VTt I = Ichkina sdl. of VTt M (ичкинский говор) in West Siberia, VTt Mn = Menzelya sdl. of VTt M (мензелинский говор), VTt Smb = Simbirsk sdl., VTt TUK = Christian Highland Tatar sdl. (тау ягы керәшеннәре сөйләше = подберезинский говор), VTt TYT = Tarkhan sdl. of Highland Tatar (тау ягы, тархан сөйләше = тарханский говор), VTt U = Ural Tatar (говор уральских татар)

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

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

Ln = Lobnor Turkic

Qmn = Qumanda, Kumanda Tatar

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

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

StAlt = Standard Altay-Kizhi (горно-алтайский, ойротский)

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

Tln = Telengit (Tälängit)

Tlt = Teleut (Tälängät)

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

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

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

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

Tki = Türki (traditional literary language of East Turkistan)

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

V.1.1.5. NET = Northeast Turkic:

Bltr = Beltir (today considered as a dialect of Xk)

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

SY = Sarig-Yugur (= Western Yugur)

Kü = Küarik or Küarük (dialect of Chulim)

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

Qc = Qacha (качинский диалект «хакасского» языка)

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

- Sg = Saghay (сагайский диалект «хакасского» языка)
 Shor (шорский язык + шорский диал. «хакасского» языка)
 Xk = Khakas (Xakas, хакасский яз., Abakan Turkic) (dialect cluster;
 StXk is based on Sg and Qc)
 V.1.1.6. Tuva-Tofalar (Sayan Turkic)
 Tf = Tofalar
 Tv = Tuva; Tv NE (= Tv Tj) = Noreastern dl. (Toju dl., тоджинский диалект)
 V.1.1.7. Yakut sb.
 Yk = Yakut
 Dlg = Dolgan
 V.1.2. pBlgh = proto-Bulghar
 Blgh = Bulghar
 MChv = Middle Chuvash
 Chv = Chuvash; dls: Chv H = High Chuvash (верховой [вирьял] диалект; Chr K = Kurmish sdl. of Chv H; Chv KA = Krasnoarmeysk sdl. of Chv H; Chv Mr = Morgaush sdl. of Chv H; Chv L = Low Chuvash (низовой [анатри] диалект); Chv M = Morgaush sdl. of Chv H; Chv МК = Malo-Karachkino dl. of Chv; Chv V = Vurnar sdl. of Chv H
 V.1.3 (non yet classified): Xzr = Xazar (Khazar, хазарский яз.)
 V.2. M = *Mongolic*
 Ba = Bao'an (Пао'ан, баоаньский)
 Brt = Buryat; dls: Brt A = Alar dl., Brt Ag = Aga dl. (агинский говор), Brt E = Eastern dls of Brt, Brt NU = Nizhneudinsk dl.
 WrM = Written Mongolian (Script Mongolian, Schriftmongolisch, Classical Mongolian)
 WrO = Written Oyrat
 Dg = Dagur; dls: Dg B = Butha Dg, Dg Cc = Cicikar Dg, Dg Hl = Hailar
 Dg
 Dx = Dongxiang, Tunghsiang, Santa, дунсянский язык
 HIM = Halha-Mongolian
 IM = Mongolian dialects of Inner Mongolia; IM H = Hejing dialect
 Kl = Kalmuck; dls: D = Dörböt, Ö = Ölöt, T = Torgut
 Mgl = Moghol; dialect: Mgl Mr = Marda
 MM = Middle Mongolian; dls (variants): MM E = Eastern MM, MM W = Western MM
 MMgl = Middle Moghol
 Mnr = Monguor; dls: Mnr E = Eastern Monguor (Dongbuyuguyu), Mnr M = Minhe Monguor (= Sanch'uang, Potanin's сань-чуан), Mnr H = Huzu Monguor (Uyangpu, Potanin's у-ян-бу, Tuzuyu), Mnr Nr = Naringol sdl. of Mnr H (Monguor of SM)
 Oyr = Oyrat; dls: Oyr B = Bayit (Bayat), Oyr T = Torgut, Oyr ET = East Torgut (in Sinkiang, Rm.'s "Osttorgutisch")
 OM = Old Mongolian
 Ord = Ordos Mongolian (a dialect treated here as a separate lge)
 PCIWrM = Pre-Classic Written Mongolian

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

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

Trgt = Torgut (a dialect of Kalmuck and Oyrat)

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

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

Ewk = Ewenki; dls: Ewk E = Eastern, Ewk N = Northern, Ewk S = Southern; subdialects: Ewk A = Ayan sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ag = Agata & Bolshoy Porog sdl. (of Ewk N), Ewk Ald = Aldan sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk B = Baykit sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Bnt = Baunt sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Brg = Barguzin sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Chlm = Chulman sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Chmk = Chumikan sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk D = Dudinka sdl. (of Ewk N), Ewk Hng = Hingan (ХИНГАН) sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk I = Ilimpeya sdl. (of Ewk N), Ewk Kch = Kachug sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk M = Maya sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk NB = Northern Baykal sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nk = Nakanna sdl. (of Ewk N), Ewk Np = Nepa sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nr = Nercha sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk O = Olekma sdls (of Ewk E), Ewk PT = Podkamennaya-Tunguska sdls (of Ewk S), Ewk Skh = Sakhalin sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Sm = Sīm sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tk = Tokko sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tkm = Tokma sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tmt = Tommot sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tng = Tungir sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tp = Tipton sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tt = Totta sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk U = Uchami sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk UA = Upper Amur sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ucr = Uchur sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk UL = Upper Lena sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk Urm = Urmi sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk V = Vanavar sdl. (of Ewk S), Ewk VI = Vilyuy sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Vtm = Vitim sdl. (of Ewk E), Ewk Y = Yerbogachen sdl. (of Ewk N), Ewk Z = Zeya sdl. (of Ewk E)

Lm = Lamut (Евен, ЭВЕНСКИЙ ЯЗЫК); dls: Lm A = Arman dl., Lm C = Central Lamut, Lm E = Eastern Lamut, Lm W = Western Lamut; sdls: Lm An = Anyuy sdl. (of Lm C), Lm And = Anadīr sdl. (of Lm E), Lm B = Bistraya sdl. (of Lm E), Lm KO = Kolīma-Omolon sdl. (of Lm E), Lm M = Moma sdl. (of Lm C), Lm N = Northern Lm (a sdl. of Lm E), Lm O = Okhotsk sdl. (of Lm E), Lm Ol = Ola sdl. (of Lm E), Lm P = Penzhina sdl. (of Lm E), Lm Sk = Sakkīrīr sdl. (of Lm W), Lm T = Tompon sdl. (of Lm C), Lm Tg = Tügesir sdl. (of Lm W) Lm Y = Yukagir sdl. (of Lm W)

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

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

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

Orc = Orochi

Ork = Orok

Sln = Solon

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

Ul = Ulcha, Olcha

V.3.3. STg = South Tungusian

Jrc = Jurchen

WrMc = Written Manchu (Script Manchu, Classical Manchu)

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

Manchu

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

V.4. Ko = *Korean*; dls: Ko Chs = Choŋsando, Ko Chj = Chejudo, Ko Chl = Chenla, Ko Hm = Hamgyoŋdo, Ko Ks = Kyoŋsangdo (incl. Ko Ks S = South Kyoŋsangdo), Ko Kw = Kangwoŋdo, Ko N = Northern dls, Ko NW = Northwestern dls, Ko Ph = Phyoŋgyang, Ko PhN = Phyoŋgyang-Namdo, Ko Sl = Seoul (Soŋul) dl., Ko SW = Southwestern dls

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

MKo = Middle Korean

NKo = New Korean, Modern Standard Korean

OKg = Old Koguryo

OKo = Old Korean (Silla)

StKo = Standard (Modern) Korean

V.5. JK = *Japanese-Kogurö* family

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

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

Kgr = Kogurö, Kokuryo/

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

MJ = Middle Japanese (12th – 16th c.)

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

pJ = proto-Japanese

StJ = Standard (Modern) Japanese

VI. D = Dravidian

NaD = Narrow Dravidian (ancestor of all D lges except Brh)

VI.1. SD = South Dravidian

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

Bel = Belari

Brgd = Burgandi

Irl = Irula

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

Kdg = Kodagu; dls: K = Karad , a, MV = Merchara-Virajpet, NI = Nalknad

Kkd = Kaikadi

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

Krb = Kuruba (Betta-Kuruba)

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

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

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

Kt = Kota

McTm (= TmM) = Macro-Tamil (= Tamil and Malayalam)

Ml = Malayalam

OKn = Old Kannada; EpOKn = Epigraphic Old Kannada

OTm = Old Tamil

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

Td = Toda

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

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

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

VI. 2.1: Telugu lges:

OTl - Old Telugu

Svr = Savara

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

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

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

RCh = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Chanda district, Gnd RSr = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Sironcha tahsil; Gnd Sn = Gnd of Seoni, Gnd Y = Gnd of Yeotmal

Knd = Konda; dls: Knd N = Northern dl., Knd P = Pulgura dl., Knd Sv = Sova dl., Knd W = Western dl.

KK = Kui-Kuwi lges (Kui and Kuwi)

Ku = Kuwi; dls: Ku D = dl. of D . . . ongriya Kondhs, Ku K = Kubi dialect (labelled so in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary [D . . . XXX]), Ku Kt = Kuttia Kuwi, Ku P = dl. of the Parja Kondhs of Bisamkatak, Ku Su = Sunkarametta, Ku T = T . . . ekriya Kondh

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

Mnd = Manda

Png = Pengo

VI.3. CD = Central Dravidian

Gdb = Gadba; dls: Gdb K = Kon . . . dēkor Gadba, Gdb O = Ollari, Gdb P = Gdb of Pottangi (Koraput district), Gdb Sl = Salur

Klm = Kolami

Nk = Naiki of Chanda (= Nk. [Ch.] of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary [D])

Nkr = Naikri (dialect of Kolami) (= Nk. of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary [D])

Prj = Parji

VI.4. NED = Northeastern Dravidian

Krx = Kurukh, Kurux, Oraon

Mlt = Malto

VI.5. Brh = Brahui

III. E = Elamite (family)

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

El = Elamite (language)

MEl = Middle Elamite (13th - 11th c. BC)

NEl = New Elamite (8th - 7th c. BC)

pEl = proto-Elamite

OEI = Old Elamite (23rd - 14th c. BC)

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

IX. CK = Chukchee-Kamchadal, Камчукче

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

Chk = Chukchee

Aly = Alyutor, алыторский

Kor = Koryak (Chawchuwen Koryak, "нымыланский")

Pln = Palana Koryak

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

X. EA = *Eskimo-Aleut*

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

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

NOSTRATIC ETYMOLOGIES

General remarks:

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

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

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

The entries are arranged as follows:

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

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

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

If in a N etymon in the medial position (Inlaut) there are two weak consonants and no strong one, the priority of one weak consonant over the other (as criteria for alphabetical order) has been established according to the fate of these consonants in daughter-languages. For instance, in the N word *k₁Aħw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' the consonant *w has survived in Kartvelian and Dravidian, while the laryngeal was lost in those lges, therefore the entry was placed among the *k₁-w-entries.

[3] Within each group of entries with identical consonants the entries are arranged according to the first vowel. The order of vowels: *a (incl. *A), *ä (incl. *æ), *e (incl. *E and *ê), *i, *o (incl. *ô), *u (incl. *U, *û, *â, *î), *ü, *∇.

The entries with consonants of doubtful identity (with brackets ¹) and of doubtful presence (with brackets ₁) are treated (concerning the

alphabetical order) like those with regular consonants. The optional second element of a Nostratic compound word (that within plain brackets ()) is not taken into account in the order of the entries. *See* Introduction, §§ 9-14.

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

If a N etymon is represented in two daughter-families only, this is denoted by a sign ₂ preceding the N reconstruction. The doubtful cognates are denoted by signs of query (? , ?φ or ?σ). The sign ?μ (indicating that the derivation is not clear) does not mean that the cognate is doubtful. If among the words (or roots) of daughter-families only two are certain as belonging to the N etymon in question (having no signs ? , ?φ or ?σ), this is denoted by a sign (₂?) preceding the N reconstruction, and if only one is certain, the sign is (₁?).

Two uncertainty signs:

⌈ ⌋ - uncertainty brackets: ⌈a⌋ = probably a,

⌊ ⌋ - uncertainty brackets: ⌊a⌋ = a or nothing.

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

The sign '÷' has two meanings: (1) before a quoted word\morpheme of a language it means "akin of", (2) with the name of a scholar it is used to indicate an etymological comparison proposed by that scholar (and not necessarily shared by the author of this dictionary).

The symbol] precedes bibliographical indication of a word or morpheme if the phonetic notation used by the scholar has been replaced by our own transcription or transliteration.

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

The verbs in Bj (especially the prefix-conjugated verbs) are quoted in their 1s forms. In Ar the usually quoted forms of verbs are those of 3m.

In generalized formulas of forms in HS languages the roots are indicated by figures (e.g. the formula of the active participle of the Ar triconsonantal qatala verb is: 1ā2i3-).

1. *ʔa, pc. of plurality: it is found in the N cds *miʔa 'we' (q.v. ffd.) (*mi 'I' + *ʔa of plurality) and *ʔüʔa ~ *śüʔa 'ye (vos)' (q.v. ffd.) (N *ʔüʔa ~ *śüʔa 'thou' + *ʔa), as well as in HS: S nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix *ʔa- (× N *hʔa, pc. of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > Ar رِجْلُ ʔa-rǧul-un 'feet' (← rǧl-un 'foot'), ʔa-yuā m-un 'days' (← yawm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки), ʔamṭār-un 'rains' (← maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ʔbʕl 'owners' (← bʕl 'owner'), ʔhgr 'towns' (← hgr 'town'), Gz ʔa-znāb 'tails' (← zanab 'tail'), ʔadbār 'mountains' (← dabr 'mountain'), ʔaṣṭār 'enemies' (← ṣṭar 'enemy'), ʔabyāt 'houses' (← bēt 'house'), ʔaḥḫūl 'fields' (← ḥaḫl 'field'); this patterns is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg.] S *-ā, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. *-ā, nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m); pred. f. pl. *-ā > Ak -ā (marṣ-ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with *-ā became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": *mawit-ā 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar mā t-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: *ban-ā-t-um nom. f. pl. df., *ban-ā-t-im accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar banātun nom., banātīn accus.-gen. 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōt 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8* || C: Bj ʔa, article of m. pl. (nom.-voc. case) ¶ AD KJ 106, Rop. 9 ◇ The initial lr. of the pc. (as suffix) is tentatively identified as N *ʔ because this is the only lr. that does not cause lengthening in NaIE (*mē-s 'we' ather than *mē-s, the "secondary" ending of 2p *-te rather than *-tē). The original bisyllabic form of the prn. for 'we' has left traces in Tg *büe 'we' (excl.) and possibly in OHg mi v [miü]. But the Krl Ld diphthong in müö 'we' is likely to result from a secondary development (*mē > *mō > *müö).

2. *ʔa 'to become, to be' > HS: S *-a 'is', ending of the predicative case (m. sg.) > Ak zero ending of the predicative case ("stative" of nouns and adjectives, "permansive" of verbs), WS *-a, ending of the 3 m. sg. of the new perfect (developed from the predicative case of deverbal adjectives: pS *mawit-a 'is dead' > WS *ma'wit-a 'has died' > Ar mā t-a, Hb מֵת meṭ, Gz mō t-a 'died') ¶ Dk. JDPa 213, 241-6 || ? C: the final component of the EC, Bj and Aw sxs of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs that go back to prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs) (which may have been either *-Ha- [belonging to the N etymon in question] or *-hay-

'be' [akin to S * \checkmark h y w 'be', F N ***h o w 'i'** 'become, appear'] or both): cf. the paradigms of suffixal conjugation: Bj (past) 2m -t-ā, 2f -t-ā-y, 3m -y-ā, 3f -t-ā, 1p -n-ā etc., Aw (past) 1s *-ʔa (> glottalization of the stem-final cns. + -a), 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, (pres.-ft.) 1s *-ʔé (glottalization + -é), 2s -té, 3m -é, 3f -té, 1p -né, Sml (past) 1s -à yʔ, 2s -t à yʔ, 3m -à yʔ, 3f -t à yʔ, 1p -n à yʔ, Or S {Sr.} (pres.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ti, 1p -na, Sa (pres.) 1s -a, 2s -ta, 3m -a, 3f -ta, 1p -na, Or S, Sa (pres.) 1s -e, 2s -te, 3m -e, 3f -te, 1p -ne ¶ AD KJ 119 (table 45), 126-9 (tables 56, 58, 62), 14O (table 76), Sr. 13O || ? B: Zng {TC} 3m aor. y iʔ, 3m pf. y aʔ 'be, exist' ¶ DCTC 293 || A: M ***a_{1,2}**- 'be' (× N ***ʔ|Γ aʔ ▽** [= ***ʔ|g|y aʔ ▽**] 'grow, become') > MM [S] a- 'dasein, sich aufhalten, wohnen, leben', [HI] a- 'être, demeurer, exister, passer ses jours de quelque façon', [PP] a- v. 'be', WrM a-, Brt a-, Dg ā- id. ¶ Pp. IM 74, MED 1, Chr. 65, H 4, Ms. H 33 || D {Km.} *ā- 'be, become' (× N ***ʔ|Γ aʔ ▽** '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 243 [no. 102] (D, A: M + unc. (with a query) Tg *-ō, which actually belongs to N ***h o w 'i'** 'become, appear' [q.v.]).

2a. (₂?) ***ʔA**, a marker of the male sex (← '[young] man'??) > **HS**: C: Bj A {AD} -a, sx of masculine in verbal forms of the 2nd person: pret.: 2m ti-dir-a 'you (sg. m.) killed' (↔ 2f ti-dir-i. cp. 1st person a-dir, 3m i-dir, 3f ti-dir) ¶ AD KJ || S *-a in *ʔant-a 'thou' m. (↔ *ʔant-i 'thou' f., cp. C *anti 'thou' without gender distinction) (see s.v. N ***ʔ'ü** 'thou') | Ar ʔa- in the nominal pattern ʔa-CCaCu for the masc. gender of adjectives (comparative, adjectives of colors etc.: ʔaṣṣaru 'smaller' m., ʔaṣfaru 'yellow' m., ʔabyaḥu 'white' m.) ↔ fem. C ▽ CCāʔu (ṣaṣrāʔu 'smaller' f., ṣafrāʔu 'yellow' f., bayḥāʔu 'white' f.) || D *-an ([?] ~ *-a), marker of masc. > Tm mak-an 'son', manan-an 'king', kātal-an 'lover', iḷai-y-an 'young man', muti-ya-an 'old man', Ml mak-an 'son', tacc-an 'carpenter', taṭṭ-ān 'goldsmith', vaṇṇ-ān 'washerman', Kt kurḍ-n 'blind man', kaḷḷ (< *kaḷ-n) 'male thief', Td koḷḷ (< *koḷ-n) id., toṭṭī-n 'goldsmith', konoddy-n 'Canarese man', Kdg kaḷḷ-ḡ 'male thief', obb-ḡ 'one man', kiṽḍ-ḡ 'dumb man', Kn O mag-an 'son', aras-an 'king', Kn Bd kaḷḷ-a(n) 'thief', aḷḷ-a(n) 'elder brother', Tl -an (marker of masc.), Knd -a (e.g. kaḷḷ-a 'blind man', danṛ-a 'young man', dokr-a 'old man'), Png -en, -an (ṭonḍ-en 'brother', potl-en 'father-in-law', dūt-en 'old man', nāṭak-an 'villager', haruk-an 'a small man'), Klm -an / -en / -on (mar-an 'spouse's brother', mal-an 'man of the barber caste', koḷlav-an 'Kolam man', tōr-en 'younger brother', okk-on 'one man'), Nkr -en ~ -an (tōl-en 'brother', kīk-en 'son', kaym-an 'spouse's

younger brother'), Prj -ed / (before case sxs) -en- (tol-ed / tol-en- 'brother', bert-ed / bert-en- 'big man'), Gdb toṛ-on 'brother', Mlt -e (maq-e 'son', qad-e 'son') ¶¶ The final *-ŋ in the sx *-aŋ is due to the generalization in the paradigm of cases, where *-n- (from the N genitive pc. *nū) was originally present in obl. cases || IE: possibly one of the sources of NaIE *-o- / -e (nom. *-o-s, voc. *-e), sx of derived adjectives in the masc. gender (↔ *-ā fem.), e.g. *¹deǵwō-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vāh 'heavenly, divine; god', Av daēva- 'demon, false deity', OL deivos, L deus 'god', OIr dia 'god', Germanic *teǵwaz > ON Týr 'war god', OHG Ziū, Ziō 'Mars', Lt diēwas 'god' (cp. *¹deǵw-ā > L dea 'goddess', Osc deīvaí 'deae'), derived from NaIE noun *dyēus ~ diyēus 'heaven, sky, day' > OI 'dyāuh id., Gk Ζεύς 'Zeus', L gen. Iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diúveí, Διουφέι 'to Jupiter', OIr die 'day', Arm տիւ Կիւ 'day' ||| The autosemantic word underlying this marker of masc. may be tentatively discerned in Eg MK i'w 'Junge' ◇ The fact that in the Bj verbal conjugation the marker of masc. -ā is separated from the 2nd person morpheme ti- suggests that the marker of masc. goes back to an address word: Bj ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' goes back to N *t'ú' 'thou' + verb + the N address word *ʔA ('[?] man', marker of the male sex) (cp. the similar situation with the marker of fem. in HS, see s.v. N *ʔ'a'y ▽ 'mother').

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

{Ht.} *əntə ({{Hl.} *ǐntə) 'not' (negative pc. before the verb in indicative) > Os: V/Vy əntǝ ~ əntə before cnss, ənt before vowels, Ty əntɛ, ənt, Y əntə, D əntə, ənt, ən, Nz ǎnt, ǎno, Sh ǎnt, ǎno, ǎn, Sn ǎt, O ǎno, ?pOs *ənt∇m 'is not' > Os: V/Vy əntim, etc., ?pOs {Ht.} *ənt'ä' ({{Hl.} *ǐnt'ä') 'nein' > Os: D əntā, Nz/Kz/Sh/Sn ǎnta || Sm {Jn.} *i- ~ *e- ~ *∇-, {Hl.} *i-, neg. verb > Ng {Ter.} ríi- (aor. 1s ríi-ndɔm, p. 1s ríi-sə-mə), proh. 2s {Prk.} híʔ, {Cs.} ríeʔ, En (aor. sg. 1) {Cs.} i-, {Ter.} ríe-, (proh. 2s) {Cs.} iʔ, Ne T {Ter.} ни-, {Lh.} híī- (aor. 1s ни-дм', 2s ни-н, 3s ни, proh. 2s нĕн híōn), Ne F híī- (neg. verb), Kms {KD} ε- (neg. verb: pres. 1s ε-m ~ ə-m, p. eǰ), iʔ ~ ī ~ ǝ 'do not' (proh.), Mt {Hl.} *i- 'do not' (neg. verb) (Nh, En, Nn í- is a reg. prosthetic cns. before *i-) || Y {IN} *ɜy > Y K oy-íɜ, Y T {Krn.} eω-íe 'there is\are no, Y {Rd.} oi-, ei-: oile 'nicht dasein, nicht dagewesen sein; nein', Y {Schf.} ei 'not' ¶ IN H 155 ¶¶ UEW 68-70, SK 32-43 Hs. 145-6, LG 331, RMarS 366-7, Ht. 198 [no. 725], Stn. D 121-3, Hl. rHt 71, KD 164-5, Hl. M 172-3, no. 331, Jn. 26, Fkt, EJ-66 187, Kov. LV 231-3, Kov. GM 248-9, Ter. NJ 388-9, Ter. NgJ 431-2, Ter. EJ 452, IN H 155, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 7] (Y <- U) || **A** *æ ({{SDM95} *e) 'not' > Tg *e-, neg. aux. verb (like in FU) > Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ork ɜ- id. (Ewk ɜ-si-m sārɜ 'I do not know', ɜ-sīn sārɜ 'he does not know'); in Nn there are only relics of this verb: prtcs ɜ-śí and ɜ-čín following the main verb have become morphemes of negation of verbs ¶ Mng. TS 236-7, STM II 432-3, Bz. 124 || M *e-se-, neg. verb > MM eɛe, preverbal negation ([S] e-se, [MA] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 and [IM] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 eɛe 'not' (acc. to Ligeti, this form preserves M e contrasting e [from *ä]), WrM }MED} eɛe- (past eɛe-be, nomen futuri eɛe-kū, nomen perfecti eɛeg-sen etc.), HIM {MED. BMR} ɛc, Ord eɛe, Mnr H {SM} sɜ 'not'; the final element *-se was explained by Illich-Svitych (IS I 265) as going back to a desiderative sx ¶ Pp. IM 286-90, Pp. MA 165, 437, Lg. NVMI 119, SM 341, Ms. O 249 ¶¶ SDM 488, DQA no. 407, MED 333. BMR IV 438,. S AJ 44, 291, Pp. VG 65, KW 128, IS I 265 || **HS**: S *ʔī (= *ʔiy) ~ *ʔay 'not' > Hb '𐤒 ʔī, Ph ʔy 'not', Ar Δ ʔa-, Sq {L} ʔē 'not', Gz ʔī- 'not' (preverb, e.g. in ʔī-nəkl ḥawīra 'we cannot go'), Tgr ʔi 'not', -ɛy (as in ʔandɛy 'while not' < ʔando-ay), Amh y- (< *ʔī-) in y-ɛllɛ-m 'there is not' (cp. allɛ 'there is'), OAk {G} ē (before a cns.) / ay (before a vowel) (< *ay-) 'do not!', 'may not' (prohibitive pc.), Ak ay ~ ya (written a-, a-i, a-IA, IA) (< *ʔayya, intensified variant of *ʔay) 'do not' (proh.), ē 'no' ('nein'), ē... ē 'not... lest' ¶ KB 37, JH 11, HJ 43-4, L LS 47-8, L G 1, G OA 1-2, CAD I/1 218-20 and IV 1 || ?? Eg fOK ʔω.ʔ 'welcher nicht' ¶ EG I 45 || ? EC: Brj -ayʔ, Hd -yyo, suffixes of negative

forms of verbs ¶ Hd. 266 || ???φ (*id.*)-WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} h a i 'no!' (a decisive negative), Mpn {Frz.} h á y í 'no!' (may occur at the end of interr. sentences) ¶ Frz. GM 21, Flk. s.v. h a i ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (AG, S, Eg; err.: pHS *h-) || D *-ā (and *-ē?) negative affix (→ infix) of verbs > Klm -e- (sī-e-n 'I do not give, I shall not give'), Nk -e- (ā̀r-e-n '[he] does not play'), Prj -a- (c̣ùr-a-ta 'non vides, non videris'), Gdb -a- (var-a-n 'I do\did\shall not come'), Tl -3- (1s c̣εpp-3-ηu 'I do\did\shall not say', 2s c̣εpp-3-ωu, 3m c̣εpp-3-řu, 3f\3n c̣εpp-3-du), CITm -ā- (3n) / -Ø (all other person-gender-number forms), Ml -ā- (v ā r -ā -r í r ú 'did not come'), -ā (r ā n c e y y -ā 'I am not doing, I shall not do'), Kdg -a (t i n g -a 'do\does not eat'), Kn -a- (3n) / -Ø- (negation in other person-gender-number forms) ¶¶ Subrahmanyam reconstructed a D negative sx of verbs *-a, while Bur. and An. prefer to see here a sx (*-ā) forming a pD negative gerund, that served later as the first component of negative tense forms ¶¶ Cald. 468-77; Subram. N 32-43; Sbr. DVM 370-4; Bloch S 51-2, Bur. rBloch 255, An. SG 400-19 ◇ D *ā and pVg *ā suggest that the pN etymon was *ʔā ◇ In grammatical morphemes pN *h- and pS *h- (just like *ʔ-) yield Ar and Gz ʔ-; hence a N *h- in this etymon cannot be ruled out. We reconstruct here N *ʔ- (= *ʔ|h-) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 55 (S, U, A [M, Tg]), IS I 264-5 (HS [S, C], U, D, A [M, Tg]), Gr. I 214-17 ("negative E/ELE" in U, Y, A, ChK).

4. *ʔ a ʔ ▽ 'female', (in descendant lges) → marker of feminine (sex or grammatical gender) > HS: S: Ar -āʔ-u, fem. ending of adjectives (mainly those of the ʔafʔalu form): ṣafrāʔu 'yellow' f. (↔ ʔaʔfaru *id. m.*), ʔawrāʔu 'one-eyed' f. (↔ ʔaʔwaru *id. m.*), ḥasnāʔu 'beautiful' f. (↔ ḥasan- *id. m.*) ¶ Br. AG 83, Br. G I 410 [§ 225.B.1] || SC: Irq -oʔo, {MQK} -oʔō (sx of fem. sg.): {Nb.} ḥ-oʔo, {MQK} ḥ-oʔō 'sister' (↔ ḥ-iyāʔ 'brother'), {Nb.} k^ωal-oʔo, {MQK} k^ωaloʔō 'widow' (pl. k^ωaēli), {Nb.} wawut-oʔo, {MQK} wāwitoʔō 'queen' (↔ wāwita 'kings'), irq^ωat-oʔo ({MQK} irq^ωatoʔō) 'Iraqw woman' (↔ irq^ωatu 'Iraqw man'), Alg {E} -oʔo (fem. gender sx), Brn {E} -it-oʔo *id.* (with a noun-particularizing sx -it-) ¶ Nb. 64, E SC 54, 60, MQK 50, 57, 64 || IE: NaIE *-ā (< IE {Bks} *-eH or < IE *-aH), ending of the fem. gender in adjectives, nouns and pronouns > OI, Av -ā, Gk D -ā, Gk A -η / -ā, L -a, Lt -a, pSl *-a, e.g. [a] *new-ā ~ *now-ā 'new' f. > OI 'naυā, Gk νέα, L novā, pSl *novā > OCS **ноба**, [b] NaIE *ekw-ā 'mare' (← *ekw-o-s 'horse') > OI 'aśvā, Av aspā-, L equa, OIt aśvā ~ eśva (not necessarily a pNaIE d., it may well have been derived in the separate history of each branch of NaIE), [c] NaIE *wed^how-ā 'widow' > OI vi'dhāvā, Av

v i δ a v ā -, L v i d u a, I r f e d b, G t w i d u w ō, OHG w i t u w a, Pru
 w i d d e w ū, OCS ВЪДОБА ѵ b d o v a, [d] NaIE *s-ā (f. of *sō-), distance-
 deictically neutral dem. prn. > OI 'sā, Gt sō id., Gk ἡ (df. art. f. sg.), OL
 s ā - p s a 'ipsa' ¶ NaIE *-ā coalesced with a suffix (or suffixes) of different
 origin, with different meaning (not denoting females) and with a different
 lr. (or lrs), which is suggested by the K word *wenaq- 'vine' (> OG wenaq-,
 G venaχ-, Mg bineχ-, Sv wenäq-), which is a loan from IE *woj̥n-aH- id. (>
 NaIE *woj̥nā > Gk ὄλη 'vine') ← IE *woj̥no-m 'wine'. The Kartvelian cns. *q
 rendering the IE lr. shows that the latter was different from *ʔ (I
 reconstruct it as *-x, but it may have been phonetically identical with [χ] or
 even [q]) ¶ Brg. KVG 354-60, 373-401, BD II/1 161-2, Bur. S 83, Bks 182-
 3, Bks ONI 20-8, K 83, AD IEH 21 || D *ā, *āṅ 'female (animal)' > Tm ā, āṅ
 'female of ox\sambur\buffalo', Ml ā, āṅ, Kt a·v, Kn ā, Tlg ā v u, Krx o y
 'cow', Mlt o y u 'cow, ox'; D *-aṅ, marker of feminine (?) > Kdg o b b - a 'one
 woman' (↔ o b b - ṅ 'one man'), m o v - a 'daughter' (↔ m o v - ṅ 'son'), Gnd ḍ i y y -
 ā 'young woman', ? Gnd K k ū ṭ - o 'lame woman' ¶¶ D no. 334, Shanm. DN 51,
 66, 69 ¶¶ *-ṅ in *āṅ is from forms of obl. cases, sc. goes back to N * n u
 'from'.

5. ? Ll. *ʔaba ~ *ʔapa 'daddy, father' > HS: S *ʔa¹b- 'father' (nom. *ʔa¹b-
 u, -um, accus. *ʔa¹b-a, -am, gen. *ʔa¹b-i, -im) > BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 'ʔāḫ, cs. ʔ^aḫī, +ppa.
 ʔ^aḫī-/ʔ^aḫī- (e.g. ʔ^aḫī-ḫā 'thy father', ʔ^aḫī-ḫem 'your [pl.] father'), Ph ʔb,
 cs. ʔabī (as reflected in Ak and Gk transcriptions of proper names, F FrdR §
 240), Ug ʔb, Amr {G} ʔabum, BA 𐎠𐎡𐎢 * 'ʔab*, st. pron.: ʔ^aḫūḫ 'thy father', JPA
 ʔab¹bā, Sr ʔab¹bā, Ar ʔab-, cs. ʔabū / ʔabā / ʔabī, st. pron. ʔabū- / ʔabā- /
 ʔabī-, Sb ʔb, Mh df. 'ḫayb, indf. 'ḫīb, pl. df. 'ḫawb, Hrs ḫayb, pl. ḫōb, Jb C
 ʔiy, Sq {Jo.} ʔiyf-, Ak abu(m), +ppa.: abū-, abī- ¶ DRS 1, KB 1-2, GB 1-2,
 823, OLS 1-2, G A 13, Jo. M 2, Jo. J 1, Jo. H 1, Jo. DA, L G 2, Sd. 7-8; on the
 pS oxytonic stress and its infl. (the lengthening of the vw. in the case
 ending in cs. and st. pron.) see AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 101-3 || EC
 *ʔābb-/*abb- 'father' > Af abba, Sml ábbe, Rn {PG} âbba, Bs ābo, Or {AD, Bl.},
 Arr ábba?, {Grg.} abbā, Kns áppa, Gdl áppā, Gwd áppa; this etymon may be
 the source of EC *ʔab-(-uyy-, -iyy-) 'maternal uncle' (derived from the word
 for 'father', like in L p a t r u u s?) > Af abo, abu, Sml ab-tí, Or abuyya, Kns
 abuyyáta, Gdl apa, apuyy, Dbs, Hr, Gwd ʔapúyya, Gln ʔapíyya, Brj abuy'yā
 'maternal uncle' ¶ Bl. 100, 112, 174, Ss. PEC 15, Ss. B 21, Hn. S 51, PG 58,
 Grg. 4, Brl. 2-3, Hw. A 336, Oo. 67, HL 59, AMS 31 (DI apúyya 𐎠𐎡𐎢
 'avunculus' interpreted as 'weiblicher Vater', sc. 'representative of one's
 mother's clan'), 148, 194, 258 || Ch ≈ *ʔ∇b- (~ *ʔap-) 'father' > WCh

*ʔ∇b/p- 'father' ({Stl.} pHAB *ʔab∇¹ŋg¹-) > WCh: Hs ùbǎ | Cg {Sk.} òbán, P' {MSk.} ábatì, ábanáni, Jmb, Dir àbá | Jm {Gw.} abawá, Gj {ChL} ábà, ? Bg pàŋ | Ngz {Sch.} àfǎk, Bd {ChL} àfǎŋ || CCh: ? Nz {ChC} ābá (independent creation as a Ll.?), Bdm {Lk.} abú, {Cfr} àpá, àpá, Lgn {Bou.} ʔàbà, Msg P {Trn.} àpí, Msg {Mch.} ap, ZmB {J} ʔǎbá 'father' || ECh: Smr {J} ʔàb, Tmk {Cp.} òwǎ, ? Bar {Lk.} ābā id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'father', ChL, Ba. 1067, Abr. H 908, Sk. HCD 277, Lk. B 89 || **A** *aP_a 'father' > T *aP_a 'father, ancestor' (→ 'bear, ursus') > OT apā id., Tkm Δ, Az Δ, ET Ili aba, Tk Δ aba, appa 'father', Qrg aba 'uncle, elder brother', StAlt aba 'elder relative (of ego's clan), wife's elder brother; bear', Chv упа ub_a ḏ ob_a 'bear' ¶ Cl. 5, ET Gl 54-58, DTS 1, Rs. W 1, Ash. III 248-52, Fed. II 281-2, Jeg. 274, Jud. 17, BT 11 || M *ab¹u¹ 'father' > WrM abu {MED} 'father, grandfather', esp. applied to an old father (endeavouring), HIM ав, ав {MED} id., {BMR} 'father' (endeavouring), Brt абā 'father', WrO ābā 'father, daddy', Kl {KRS} ав āwǎ, {Rm.} āw_a id., Mnr H {SM} āb_a ~ āw_a, Dx aba, Ba ābe 'father', Ord awā id.; M {ADb.} *aba-gay 'father's younger brother' > MM [S, MA, HI] abaxa 'father's brother', WrM {MED} abaga, HIM {MED, BMR} авга, Brt авга, WrO abaxa, Kl {KRS} авh awǎ, {Rm.} awǎ id., Ord awaga 'father's brother'; Mnr H awu 'elder brother', Ord āw_u 'grandfather, father' ¶ MED 2-3, 5, BMR I 2, 12, 23, Krg. 11, Chr. 18-19, 23-4, KRS 17, 21, KW 19, 21, T 313, T BJ 132, T DnJ 110, SM 1 and 16, H 1, Pp. MA 402, Ms. H 32, Ms. O 36-7 || Tg: Neg apa 'grandfather; father's\mother's elder brother' ¶ Ci. N 193, STM I 47 || pKo *àpí > MKo àpí 'father' (< *apa-i with a diminutive *-i), apà:-nim 'father', NKo abəǎi, vlg, abi id. ¶ S QK no. 706, Vv. AEN 7, Nam 338, MLC 1074 ¶¶ SDM 310 (pA *áp'a 'father' > M, T, Ko, Tg 'grandfather, uncle' [Neg + unc.. Nn papa ~ φαφα]), DQA no. 80, SDM97 s.v. *āpa 'father, grandfather', Rm. EAS I 140, Ci. EATR 32-7 || **D** *appa 'father' ({GS} *ap-) > Tm appan, appu 'father', Ml appan, Kn appa, Kdg appə 'father', Tu appa, appæ (affix of respect added to proper names of men), Tl appa 'father', Gnd āpōrā|āl 'father', ? maipo 'my father', ? mi-apo 'thy father', Knd aposi 'father' (with reference to the 3rd person) ¶¶ D no. 156 (a), Zv. 88 [no. 70], GS 37 [no. 64] ◇ The common origin of the HS, A and D stems is qu., since each of them may be an independent Lallwort creation. The Ll. origin may be responsible for the variability *-b- ~ *-p- ◇ AD NM no. 118, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

6. *ʔoh|ʔb∇ 'clan' > HS: Eg fOK ɛb.t 'family' ({EG} 'Familie, die Angehörigen') ¶ EG I 7, Fk. 2 || IE: NaIE *ēpi- 'friend', {EI} IE *Hépi-s

'confederate' > OI $\bar{a}p̄ih_2$ 'ally, friend, acquaintance', $\bar{a}p̄yam$ 'confederation, alliance, friendship' ||| ?σ Gk ἡπιος 'gentle, mild, kind; favorable' (⇔ Ch. 415) ¶ WP I 121-2, P 325, EI 116, M K I 75, F I 641 ¶¶ Acc. to Froehde PN 330 and Hirt E 228, Gk η is not from * \bar{a} , because the Greek tragic authors never used \bar{a} instead. But if this argument is disregarded, the IE stem may be reconstructed as * $\bar{a}p̄ih_2$ ||| A * $\bar{o}pa$ > NaT * $\bar{o}ba$ 'clan, extended family, dwelling place of such a unit, small encampment or large tent' (× N * $\bar{p}o'm\bar{\nabla}$ 'kin, clan, everybody', q.v.) > OT $o\bar{b}a$ (Cl.: $o\bar{b}\bar{a}$) 'small social unit, clan', Chg $o\bar{o}b\bar{a}$ 'small tents which nomads pitch and in which they reside', Osm \geq XIV $o\bar{b}a$ 'a small encampment; family living in one tent', Tk $o\bar{b}a$ 'large tent, nomadic family', Δ 'clan', Tkm $\bar{o}ba$, ET {ML.} opa , Uz Δ owa 'tent', ET opa {ML.} id., {Nj.} 'shepherd's cabin', Az oba 'nomadic extended family (кочевье)', 'separated farm (отселок, хутор)', 'tent (of nomads)' ¶ SDM 1059 (pT * $\bar{o}pa$ with unj. *-p-), Cl. 5-6, ET Gl 400-1, Rl. I 1157, Äz. 270, Bu. I 107 || M * $o\bar{b}ug$ 'clan' > MM [S] $o\bar{b}oh$ 'family', WrM $o\bar{b}u\bar{g}$ {MED} 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HIM $o\bar{b}og$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'clan, tribe, family, family name', Brt $o\bar{b}og$ 'clan, tribe, family name'; M * $o\bar{m}ug$ 'clan' (× N * $\bar{p}o'm\bar{\nabla}$ '↑') > WrM $o\bar{m}u\bar{g}$ {MED} 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HIM $o\bar{m}og$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'clan, tribe, family', WrO $o\bar{m}oq$ 'family', Mnr H {SM} $o\bar{m}og$ 'nom de clan, nom de famille'. Ord $o\bar{m}oq$ 'clan, nom de clan' ¶ H 120, Krg. 115, MED 598, 611, BMR II 454, 475, Chr. 348, SM 298, Ms. O 511 ¶¶ SDM 1059 (pA * $\bar{o}p'\bar{\nabla}$ 'clan, family' [with unj. *-p'-] > M * $o\bar{b}ug$, T * $\bar{o}pa$ 'village, clan'), DQA no. 1603 (id.) ◇ A N lr. preceding * b is suggested by the length of the vowels in T and IE. IE *-p- (rather than *-b^h- from N * b) may be accounted for by the infl. of a lr. This N lr. could hardly have been * h (which would have survived in Eg). It is most likely to have been * h or * \bar{p} .

7. $\bar{p}o'm\bar{\nabla}$ 'water, watercourse' > HS: Eg G $\bar{i}b\acute{x}$ ({EG} $\bar{i}b\bar{h}_2$) ≈ 'water' ¶ EG I 64 || C: Bj {R} aba 'river, brook' ||| EC: Or B {Tut.} $ab\bar{a}$ (nom. $abofni$) 'river', Or {Brl.} 'valle stretta con pochi guadi', {Th., Brl.} $abbai$ 'the Blue Nile' ¶ R WBd 3, Th. 4, Tut. s.v. $ab\bar{a}$, Brl. 3 ||| IE: NaIE * $ab-$ ~ * $a(:)p-$ 'river' (× N * $qap\bar{\nabla}$ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse'): * $ab-$ > Clt {Matas.} * $abon-$ 'river' > Ir ab (gen. $abae$) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} * $abon\bar{a}$ id. > W $afon$, OCm $auon$, Cm $avon$, MBr $aupn$, $auen$, Br $aven$ 'river'; OBrtt $Abona$ (name of a river), Ἰ Αβος 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) ||| Lamnis '($<$ * $abnis$) 'stream of water, river' ||| NaIE * $a(:)p-$ > OI $ap-$ / $\bar{a}p-$, Av $ap-$ (nom. sg. $af-\acute{s}$), OPrs $ap-$ 'water' ||| Pru ape 'creek,

small river'; ??σ Lt $\acute{u}p\acute{e}$, Ltv $up\acute{e}$ 'river, stream' ($u-$ is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) || Tc A/B $\bar{a}p-$ 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-15, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. E I 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 ($*h_2eb(h)-$ 'river') and 636 ($*h_2\bar{e}p-$ ~ $*h_2ep-$ 'living water, river'), WH I 40, M K I 74-5, M E I 81-2, Vn. A 4-5, RE 122, Hm. 55, Frn. 1169, En. 142-3, Tp. P A-D 97-8, Wn. I 166 (× N $*qap\bar{\nabla}$ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' [q.v. ffd.]), Matas. E 23-4 ◇ Hardly here FU $*\bar{u}wa$ ~ $*uwa$ 'stream; to stream', more plausibly belonging to N $*ho_1w_1\bar{\nabla}$ (or $*ho_1wa$) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' (q.v.).

8. $*\bar{\nabla}ib_1\bar{\nabla}rE$ 'fig tree' > HS: S $*\bar{o}'\bar{\nabla}ibar-$ > Ar $\bar{\nabla}ibr-at-$ 'sycamore tree' (pl. $\bar{\nabla}ibar-$); hardly ← $\bar{\nabla}ibr-at-$ 'needle' ¶ BK I 3, Gass. 808, DRS 5 || C: Or {Brl.} $abr\bar{u}$ 'fig tree', {Th.} $abr\bar{u}$ 'sycamore tree, wild fig tree', ? (mt.) Or M {LLC} $harbu$ 'fig tree, wild fig tree' ¶ Brl. 5, Th. 6, LLC 75 || Ch: Gzg {Lk.} $\bar{\nabla}urof$ ~ $\bar{\nabla}zrof$ 'sycamore tree' || ? Hs $\bar{h}a\bar{u}r\acute{e}$ {Abr.} 'fig tree', {Ba.} rough-leaved fig tree' (< $*\bar{h}abre$), with \bar{h} > $*\bar{\nabla}b$ || ? Mgm $b\hat{a}r\acute{a}$ (pl. $b\bar{a}rri$) 'figuier (rouge)' ¶ Ba. 96-7, Abr. H 91, JA LM 68 || D (in SD) $*ir-$ ~ $i\bar{r}-$ 'fig (tree)' > Tm $iratti$ 'joined ovate-leaved fig', 'subserrate rhomboid-leaved fig, *Ficus gibbosa tuberculata*', $iratakam$ 'joined ovate-leaved fig', $i\bar{r}ali$ 'white fig', $i\bar{r}ri$ 'tailed ovate-leaved fig', $itti$ 'white fig, *Ficus infectoria*', 'stone fig, *Ficus talboti*', Ml $itti$ 'waved leaved fig tree, *Ficus venosa*', Kdg $itti$ '*Ficus (gibbosa?)*' (< $-tt-*$ - $rt-$) ¶ D no. 460 ¶ N $*b$ was lost in D due to the D morphophonemics ruling out cns. clusters (other than nasal + stop) which presupposes simplifying the post-N clusters (⇔ Zv. DP 363) || ?σ IE: NaIE $*eb^h\bar{\nabla}ro-$ '≈ tree' ('yew?') ({Matas.} $*eb^hro-$ 'yew') > Alb G {P} $ber-sh-e$ 'yew' ({P} from $*ebur-isyo-$) || Clt {Matas.} $*eburo-$ 'yew' > OIr $ibar$ 'yew', MW $efwr$ ~ ewr 'cow parsnip, bog weed', MBr $heuor$ ~ $euor$, Br $evor$ 'elebore' || MHG $eber-boum$, NHG $Eberesche$ 'rowan tree' ¶ Matas. 112-13, Lx. 35, Hm. 268 ◇ AD NM no. 1.

9. $*\bar{\nabla}c|\hat{c}\bar{\nabla}h\bar{\nabla}$ 'back (dorsum)' > HS: EC $*\bar{\nabla}a\bar{d}a\bar{h}-$ 'spine, back (dorsum)' > Af {PH} $\acute{a}\bar{d}\bar{h}a$ 'back, backbone, spinal column', Sml {ZMO} $a\bar{d}a\bar{h}$, Sml N {Abr.} $\acute{a}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{h}$, df. $a\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{h}-di$ 'spine, backbone', Rn $\bar{\nabla}a\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{h}$ 'back' ¶ PH 32, Abr. S 4, ZMO 7, PG 60 || K $*\bar{o}a\bar{c}\bar{\nabla}$ > Mg $o\check{c}i\check{s}i$ 'back (dorsum)' (here $-i\check{s}-$ may go back to the ending of gen.) ¶ Q 295.

10. $*\bar{\nabla}a\bar{c}\bar{\nabla}P\bar{\nabla}$ 'leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > IE: NaIE $*a|osp-$ ~ $*a|ops-$ 'aspen' ({EI} IE $*h_2|h_3osp-$ id., 'poplar') > ON qsp , OHG, OSx $aspa$, NHG $Espe$, AS $\acute{a}spe$ 'aspen', NE asp , $aspen$ || Pru $abse$, Ltv $apse$ id., Lt $\tilde{a}pu\check{s}\tilde{e}$ ~ $\tilde{e}pu\check{s}\tilde{e}$ id. (dim.), Lt $\Delta apu\check{s}i\check{s}$ id. ({Bg.}: Lt u is due to the infl. of $pu\check{s}i\check{s}$ 'spruce') || pSl $*osa$ (< $*opsa$) 'aspen' > P, Cz Δosa , LLs $wosa$

id., ⇨ SI *osína id. > OR **ОСІНА** osína, R осина, Cz Δ, P osina; ⇨ SI *osíka ~ *asíka id. > Blg осика ~ ясика, Slk osíka, SCr jāsíka, Slv jasíka ||| Arm **նփիօր** 'poplar' (< *a|opsiyā- = {EI} IE *h₂h₃ospsiyoleha-) ¶ P 55, EI 33, 599-600, Frdr. PIT 15, Frdr. PITA 49-53, HDEL 77-8, Frn. 14, En. 136-7, Bg. KS 226, Vs. III 159, Glh. 290-1, EWA I 370-1 ||| **A**: T: NaT *a₁bsak (~ *a₁s^rak) 'aspen' > Alt aspaq ~ {BT, Rl.} Tlt/QK {Rl.}, Qmn {B} apsaq, Shor {Rl.}, Qmn {B, Rl.} aspaq, TbTt {Rl.} a_wsaq, VTt usaq, Bsh uθaq, Xk os, Chv L **ăвăс**, Chv Δ-**yc** id, ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 82, 554, 618, TatR 594, BR 581, B DK 203. ET Gl 607-8, Ash. III 215 and IV 36, Fed. I 80-81, Jeg. 39 ||| **HS** (rdp.?) CS *čarčar₁p- 'willow' > BHb, MHb **ᠴᠠᠷᠴᠠᠷ** čarčā'pā, Ar šafšūf- (snglt. šafšūfāt-) 'willow' ¶ KB 983, Löw III 325ff., Js. 1298, BK I 134 ¶ Semantic infl. of N ?φ ***з**∇**ц**|**с**∇ ≈ 'willow' (q.v.)? ◇ The aspen is known in Europe, Anatolia, Transcaucasia and the northern part of the Near East. The aspen and the willow belong to the same family of plants.

11. *?aĉ∇ 'low place, depression, wadi, pond' > **HS**: S *?aš̄- > Ar ?aš̄ā (t-un) 'étang, mare d'eau stagnante', ?aš̄ā? (un) 'terrain bas rempli de cailloux' ¶ BK I 38, DRS 31 ||| **U**: FU *aĉa '(brook) meadow, valley' > Es aas (gen. aasu ~ aasa) '(gute) Wiese, Bachwiese' ||| Prm *až 'meadow, floodlands' > Z адз až 'floodlands of a river', Z LL až 'river valley', Z Lu až 'meadow', Vt až-dor 'woodless land' (dor means 'country') ||| OHg aszó 'river, brook', Hg Δ aszó 'valley (with a stream during the rainy and snow-melting seasons)' ¶ UEW 3, LG 30 ||| **D** *aĉ- (+ sxs) 'mud, mire' > Tm асару id., агам id., асумру 'soft mud, miry place', Ml агам, Tl asalu 'mud, mire' ¶¶ D no. 41.

12. ₂ *?A^rd¹∇ (= *?A^rd¹∇?) 'foot' (and 'leg?') > **HS**: EC: pSam {Hn.} *áddim 'leg' > Sml addin, Sml N {Abr.} áddin (pl. áddimmó), pBn {Hn.} *ídt̄ḡ (pl. *ídt̄m-ḡ) > Bn {Hn.}: Bi íddḡ, J/Kj íddḡ, K íttḡ 'leg' ||| ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} ?adah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless akin to Bj -?at pcv. 'step, tread' < N *?at₁∇ 'come', [?] 'walk') ¶ Abr. S 5, Hn. S 51 (pSam *addin), Hn. BD 115 (pSam *áddim), MQK 9 ||| **D** *aĉ-, {†GS} *aĉ- 'foot' > Tm aĉi 'foot, footprint', Ml aĉi 'sole of foot, footstep', Td o^ry 'foot', Kt a^ry 'foot (measure)', Kn aĉi id., 'foot, step', Kdg aĉi 'place below, down', Tu aĉi 'bottom, base', Tl aĉu^gu 'foot, footstep', Gnd aĉi 'beneath', Knd aĉgi 'below, underneath' ¶¶ D no. 72 ◇ The initial N cns. is most probably *?- (= *?- or *h-), but N *?- cannot be ruled out either (because N *?- is sometimes lost in Sam) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 41] and Blz. NDA no. 40 (in

both: C, D) ◇ The N cns. *d is reconstructed with a query, because Sml dd, Bn d and D *-t- may go back both to *d and to *t.

13. *ʔúHd∇ (R∇) 'breast' > IE: NaIE *ōuḡdʰ-/ *ūḡdʰ- 'female breast, mamilla' in two derived stems: [1] *ōuḡdʰ(e)r-/ *ēuḡdʰ(e)r-/ *ūḡdʰer- 'udder, female breast' with a heteroclitic stem variety *ūḡdʰ(e)n- in obl. cases (= {EI} *h₁ouḡdʰr̥ / gen. *h₁uḡdʰn-os) > OI 'ūḡdhar / ūḡdʰn-aḡ 'udder' || Gk οὔθηρα / οὔθηρατ-ος id. || L ūber, -eris 'udder, mamilla, female breast' || Gmc {Vr.} *euḡdura > ON jú(g)r, OHG ūtar(o), ūtir, MHG ūter, iuter, NHG Euter, OSx, AS ūder 'udder', NE udder || Lt E inf. ūdró-ti 'to be pregnant' (of a sow) || [2] *ōḡdʰ-men- > pSl *vǫmę (gen. *vǫmene) 'udder' > OR ВЪИМѦ vyme, Blg виме, SCr vime (gen. vimenā), Slv vime, Cz výmě, Slk vemä, P wumię, R 'ВЪИМЯ (gen. ВЫМЕНИ) ¶ P 347, EI 82, Dv. no. 251, M K I 115, F I 442-3, WH II 738-9, Ho. 375, Vr. 294, KM 177, Kb. 1125-6, Vs. I 358-9, Glh. 671 || HS: Eg LL ídr 'heart' (× N *dür∇ or *dUrE 'entrails, heart' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG I 155 || Ch *ʔuḡ- ~ *wḡḡ- 'female breast, milk' ({Nw.} *wæḡi 'breast, milk', {JS} *√ wḡ 'female breast') > Ech: Mkl {J} ʔùḡú 'milk', ʔùḡì-só ~ ʔùḡù-só (pl. ʔùḡìyàḡí) 'female breast' | Skr {Nc.} wāt- 'breast' || WCh: BT: Bl wḡḡi, Krf {Sch.} wùḡí, Dr {J} wóḡì, Krkr {J} ʔḡḡí 'female breast', Pr {Frz.} wúḡì 'breast', Tng wìḡì 'breast, udder' | Ywm {Sh.} wḡt id. | SBc: Jmb {Sk.} ífa á wúḡîr id. ¶ JI I 20 and II 46-7, J LM 189, J T 161, Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 141, ChL, WeibP 18 ¶¶ In 1977 Stolbova (Stl. SF) reconstructed pHAB *wäḡ₁∇ 'female breast', but in 1987 (Stl. ZCh 239 [no. 857]) she interpreted the WCh √ as *w^ru^rḡi 'breast, milk' (unj., since -rḡ- is not attested in any descendant lge, while pWCh *-ḡ- accounts for the observed facts rather well) || D *uḡ-(al-, -amp-), {GS} *oḡal- 'body, chest of body, belly' > Tm uḡal, uḡalam, uḡar, uḡampu 'body', Ml uḡal(am) 'body, trunk', uḡampu 'body, anus', Td wíḡḡ 'chest of body', Kt oḡl 'belly, trunk of body', Kn oḡal 'body, belly', oḡambi, oḡambe 'body', Tu uḡālā, uḡalā, oḡālā, Tl oḡalu, oḡlu, Knd oḡol 'belly' ¶¶ D no. 586, GS 78-9 [no. 249] ◇ The N element *R∇ (found in IE and Eg) may be a second component of a cd (→ sx).

13a. (2?) *ʔü^rχ|ʔ^rd∇ (or *ʔuḡd∇?) 'one' > HS: S *√ ʔḡd ~ *√ wḡd 'one' > [1] *√ ʔḡd 'one' > Ak ēḡu 'individual, solitary, single', BHb ḡḡḡ ʔḡḡāḡ (< *ʔah^hḡāḡ), Ph ʔḡḡ, Ug ʔḡḡ, (AkSc) ʔahadu, BA ḡḡḡ, Sr ḡḡ, ḡḡā, Ar ʔahad- 'one', Gz ʔahad-ū 'one'; [2] *√ wḡd 'one, alone' > BHb ḡḡḡ 'yaḡḡ 'together', ḡḡḡ 'yāḡḡ 'alone, the only', Pun (LSc) YAD 'together', Ug yḡḡ 'alone, unique, isolated', Amr {G} yaḡadu 'one, alone', Ar waḡad- 'alone,

unique', $wāhīd-$ 'one', $wahīd-$ 'lonely, apart', OSA $wħd$ 'together, in unison', Gz $wāhād$ 'unique, only, one', Ak (w) $ēdū$ 'only, alone' ¶ CAD IV 36-7, Sd. 1495, KB 29-30, 387-8, 1704, BL H 219, OLS 16, 524-5, G A 22, Br. 215, Ln. 27, Hv. 4, 855, BK I 15 and II 1497-9, BGMR 159, L G 12, 612 || C: EC: Ya {Hn.} $wēhē(t)$, $wēhētū$ 'one' || DhI {EEN} $wattúk^wē$ 'one', {To.} $vattúk^wē$ 'one' m., $vatték^wē$ 'one' f. || ?σ SC: Asa $wataka$ 'all' ¶ Hn. Y I 40, To. D 150, EEN 43, E SC 384, Blz. CL 180 || ?φ U: FU $*ükte \sim *ikte$ 'one' > F $үksi$ (gen. $үхден$), Es $үкс$ (gen. $үһе$) | pLp {Lr.} $*зктз$ 'one' > Lp: S $akte$, L $akta$, N $qk'tâ \sim âk'tâ$, Kld {SaR} $ēhht \sim eft$ 'one' | Er $veyke$, Δ $vij_kä$, Mk (i) $fkä$ id. | pChr {Ber.} $*iktə$ > Chr: L $ikte$, adj. ik , H $iktə$, adj. ik 'one' | Prm $*ötik$ > Z $отик з'ик / оти з'и$, Prmk $зtik$, Yz $ötik$, Vt $одйг odig$, or og id. || Vg: T $ük$, LK $äk^w$, P $äk$, Ss $ak^wə$ 'one' ¶ UEW 81 (FU $*ikte$ [$*ükte$]), Lr. no. 7, Lgc. no. 35, SaR 425-6, Ber. 9, MRS 128-9, Ep. 21, LG 212 || ?φ K $*ode$ 'hardly, just, while' (← $**$ 'only'?) > OG $oden$ conj. 'while', es- $oden$ 'so much', G $-ode$ 'only' ($ori-ode$ 'only two', $samiode$ 'only three'), Sv $wode$ 'hardly, while' ¶¶ K 150, K² 145 || D $*ut-$ 'a match, an equal' > TI $udđi$ id., 'a rival', Tu $udri$ 'a match, pair', Tm $utti$ 'a player on the opposite side, corresponding to one on one's own side' ¶¶ D no. 623 || ? A: Tg: Nn Nh sx $-ragda \sim -rəgdə$ 'only' ($ogdadiragda$ 'only in/by boats'), ?σ Ewk $-ragda \sim -rəgdə$ 'in one place' ($ilaragda$ 'three objects in one place') ¶ On. RN 234, Vas. 785 ¶ $-r-$ may be connected with the Tg collective sx $*-r-$ || ?φ IE: NaIE $*ed_{\text{h}_1}$ - in Sl $*ed(\text{ь})-va$ 'kaum, hardly' (> OCS $ѣд(\text{ь})ва$ $jēd(\text{ь})va$ 'kaum, едва, насилиу', SCr, Slv $jēdva$, Cz $jēdva$, OR $од(\text{ь})ва$, R $ед'ва$, R Δ $одва$ 'kaum') and Sl $*ed-in\text{ь} \sim *ed-\text{ьн\text{ь}}$ 'one' (> OCS $ѣднн\text{ь}$ $jēdin\text{ь}$, $ѣд\text{ьн\text{ь}}$ $jēd\text{ьн\text{ь}}$, R $один$, P $jeden$ etc. with the sx $*-in\text{ь} < IE$ $*e_{\text{h}_1}n-$ 'one'); Pedersen (Ped. PD 231) supposed that this morpheme ({Ped.} $*jēd-$) originally meant 'only' ¶ ESSJ VI 11-13 and 16, StSS 799-800 ◇ AD SShS 300-1 ◇ The FU, K and Tg cognates are valid if N $*\chi|\psi$ may be lost in the K clusters and if N $*-\psi d-$ (or $*-\chi d-$) may yield U $*-kt-$ and Tg $*-gd-$. If the FU and Tg cognates are rejected, the N rec. must be something like $*?uħd\text{ь}$.

14. (₂?) $*?ediN\text{ь}$ 'pater familias', (?) 'owner, lord' > HS: S $*?adān-$ 'lord, pater familias' > Hb $אֲדֹנָי$ $?ā'dōn$ 'lord, master', Ph $?dri$ $?adōn$ 'lord' (→ Gk ἄδων-ις), Pun $?dri$ id., (GkSc) $\lambda\alpha\deltaου\upsilon\upsilon$ (with $\lambda-$ 'to') 'to the lord', Ug $?_a dri$, (AkSc) $adānru$ 'father', d.: S $*?adān-atu$ > Eb {Co.} $a-da-na-du$ $?adāntu(m)$ 'signoria, padronanza', Ph, Plm $?drt$ (< $*?adattu$) 'lady' ¶ KB 12-13, KBR 12-13, HJ 15-17, A no. 86, OLS 9, Hnr. 104, Alb. rGUH 388-9, Co. SQF 74, DRS

9 || Eg: MKL $\dot{\imath}\dot{\text{d}}\dot{\text{n}}$ 'govern; serve instead of, replace', MK $\dot{\imath}\dot{\text{d}}\dot{\text{n}}\omega$ 'Vertreter, Verwalter' ¶ Alb. rGUH 388-9, EG I 154, Fk. 35 || **А** *E₁:₁d₁n₁ 'master, lord, owner' > NaT * $\dot{\imath}$ ₁:₁δ₁ 'lord, host' > OT {Cl.} $\dot{\imath}\delta\dot{\imath}$, [QB] $\dot{\imath}\dot{\text{d}}\dot{\text{ä}}$ 'lord', Qzl {Jk.} $\bar{\text{ä}}\dot{\text{z}}\dot{\imath}$ 'Chinese emperor', Ln $\dot{\imath}\dot{\text{d}}\dot{\imath}$ 'host' ¶ Cl. 41, Rs. W 36, 169, Rl. I 1507, ≠ ET Gl 237-41 (without distinguishing the reflexes of * $\dot{\imath}$ ₁δ₁ from those of * $\dot{\imath}\dot{\text{g}}\dot{\text{ä}}$ 'master, lord'), Dr. TM II 176 || M *e $\dot{\text{z}}$ in (< **edin) > MM [S, HI] e $\dot{\text{z}}$ en 'owner, lord', [IM] أجینو e $\dot{\text{z}}$ in-ü '(of the) owner', [PP] e $\dot{\text{z}}$ en 'ruler, master', WrM {MED} e $\dot{\text{z}}$ en, HIM {MED} эзэн, {BMR} эзэ(н), Brt эзэ(н), Kl {KRS} эзн 'owner, master (господин)', (Rm) ezn 'Herr, Herrscher, Besitzer', Dg э $\dot{\text{z}}$ in 'lord, master, owner, king', Ord e $\dot{\text{z}}$ _in 'maître, propriétaire' ¶ MED 336-7, BMR IV 402, Chr. 759-60, Che. 759-60, H 42, KRS 193, KW 129-30, Pp. MA 436, Iw. 103, Mr. D 142, Klz. D II 128, KRS 693, Ms. O 230 || Tg *edī(n-) 'husband' > Ewk, Neg эдī, Lm, Ork эдī, Ul эдī(n-), Nn Nh/KU э $\dot{\text{z}}$ ī id., Orc эдī 'male animal, husband' ¶ STM II 437-8, On. 522 ¶¶ SDM 493-4 {pA *ēd∇ 'host, husband' > Tg. M, T }, DQA no. 414 (id.), Pp. VG 53, 105, 137, 157, KW 129-30, Rm. EAS I 97, ADb. SR 6, ADb. SR-D 12, ADb. KL 15, Ci. EATR 49-52 || ?с **IE**: NaIE * $\text{ed}^{\text{h}}\text{no-}$ (≈ clan?) or cd *s ω -ed h no- ('≈ one's own clan') > Gk ἔθνος 'a number of people accustomed to live together; nation' ⇨ ὀθνεῖος 'foreign, strange' (← 'belonging to a different ἔθνος'); Gk ἔθνος ⇨ Cpt **ḤETHNOC** het h nos, Arm **հեթանոս** het h anos 'heathen, pagan, gentile' and Gt hai p nō f. 'Heidin' (the latter in contamination with the Gmc word that is represented by ON heidinn, OHG heidan, AS hæðen 'heathen' and NE heathen [pGmc {Fs.} *hai θ anaz 'feld-\ steppen-bewohnend']); the presence of the component *s ω - is suggested by h- in the Cpt and Arm loans (pointing to an initial Gk h- < *s-) ¶ F I 448-9 and Ch. 315 (both: ἔθνος d. < IE *s ω e- 'one's own'), Fs. 237--8, Ch. GH I 150 (on the word-initial F-; *ἔθνος > ἔθνος: "l'esprit rude a disparu par dissimilation d'aspiration") ◇ If NaIE * $\text{ed}^{\text{h}}\text{no-}$ belongs here, the N rec. is to be reformulated as ***ḤEDIŃ** ◇ AD NM no. 115 (HS, A), ≈ Vv. AEN 9-10 (unc.: M ← T *eδī), ≈ S SN 154 (A *Ḥedi), ≈ S CNM 12 (N *Ḥedi, because M and Tg *-n∇ is a nominal sx [in my opinion, the original *-N∇ was reinterpreted in A as a sx]; ÷÷ NrCs), Yuliya Krivoruchko [p.c. 1999] (suggested the Gk cognate).

15. Ll. *Ḥaga 'elder relative (uncle, elder brother)' > **HS**: C *Ḥag- 'maternal uncle' > Ag {Ap.} *Ḥag- id. > Bln Ḥag, Xm эг, Km ag, Aw ag, -ága || SC: Asa {Fl.} Ḥagok 'mother's brother' ¶ Ap. AV 1, Fl. p.c. || **А** on₂ *a₁:₁g|k'a (or *a₁:₁g|k'a?) > NaT *āga 'elder brother, uncle' > VTt a $\dot{\text{y}}$ a id.,

CrTt, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, ET аҫа, Uz оҫа оҫа 'elder brother', Tkm āҫа, Qzq аҫа id., 'elder relative', Osm {Rh.} аҫа 'eldest paternal uncle; lord, master' and a title of respect, Tk ағҫа 'chief, patron', GGz, VTt, Qmq, Nog, Qq аҫа, Bsh аҫау 'elder brother' and a respectful address word for an elder man, Az аҫа 'mister' (word of address), 'landlord', Xk аҫа 'grandfather', ?σ Yk аҫа 'father', adj. 'elder' (unless an independent onomatopoea?); б→ MM [LM] {Pp.} لڭا|аҫа brother', [IM] {Pp.} لڭا|аҫа 'elder brother, lord' ¶ ET Gl 70-1, TL 291-2, TkR 19, Bu. I 60-1, Rh. 146, Pp. L II 1256, Pp. MA 432 || M *ага 'elder relative; lady, dame' > WrM ага {MED} 'lady, dame', HIM агаа {BMR} id., 'старший, старейшина', Ord аq_ā 'frère aîné'; M *ага_у_и 'paternal uncle' > MMgl {Iw.} аҫ_ā_и id., Ord аq_ā 'oncle paternelle' ¶ MED 12, BMR I 35-6, Iw. 84, Ms. O 6 ¶¶ The unexpected pT (or only Tkm?) long vw. *ā- still needs explanation (onomatopoeic factor?) ¶¶ SDM 281-2 (pA *ā'k'a 'elder brother' [without distinguishing between A *ā'k'a and *ag|k'a, cf. N *?аҫа 'elder relative, grandfather']), S AJ 280 [no. 380] || E: OEl i gi 'brother' ¶¶ HK 743 ◇ Blz. E no. 20 (E, HS).

15a. ₂ *?æg∇R∇ '≈ bone of the leg\foot' > HS: S ?i g_∇_r- > Ar SL {MS} ?ižar, {Bart.} ?ažar, Ar D ?iğr, Gz ?agr 'foot' ¶ DRS 7, MiK I 9 [no. 1.7], Lb. 63 || A: M *°eʁerċeg (unless it is *ʁeʁerċeg) > WrM egerċeg {MED} 'femoral bone; hip joint', HIM ээрцэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Hüftgelemk' ¶ MED 298, BMR IV 444..

16. ?σ *?a'h'a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate ('≈ de ça') > HS *mi ?aha 'what thing?' (with *mi 'what?' < N *mi id.) > CS *mah 'what?' > Ug m∇h ~ m∇, Hb ma +gmc. 'what?', Ph mɔ (< *mā < CS *mah), OA, Nb, Plm mh, JA, Sr E mā (< CS *mah), Ar mah ~ mā 'what?', OAk, Ak fOB/OA mā 'what?, why?' (expressing doubt \ disbelief) ¶ KB 522-3, BL H 263, OLS 266, HJ 599ff., Sl. 643-4, DM 234, Ln. 3016, L G 323, Sd. 570, CAD X/1 1-4, Br. G I 326-7 [§ 110] || B *mah ({Pr.} *mā) 'what?' > Tw, Gh, Shl ma, Tmz ma, may, mayd id., Wrg ma id. (used in special syntactic constructions: ma i argaz i tazriđ 'was ist der Mann, den du gesehen hast?', lit. 'quoi ce l'homme ce tu a vu?) ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-18, Fc. 1141, Nh. 19, Ds. 237, MT 393, Dlh. Ou 181 || EC {AD} *mah_а_, {Ss.} *ma? 'what?' (either from HS *mi ?aha or a new cd, like Sml mahā 'what' < ma wāhā) > Arr méh, me, HEC {Hd.} *maha > Kmb ma?a ~ maha, Hd maha, Sd mā, ma, Alb ma 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, Hw. A 233, 384, Hd. 167 || ? Ch: WCh: Sha mà, mà 'what?' ||| CCh: Msg má 'what?' ||| ECh: Ke má in má mó 'what?' (where mó is a general marker of question, that is used in all interr. sentences), EDng mà, Jg mê, Bdy má, Mkl

$m\hat{o} \sim m\hat{o}$, Mgm $m\hat{e} \sim m\hat{e}$ 'what?' ¶ J LM 141, J J 115, J R 259, JA LM 161, Eb. 78, Fd. 108, AIJ 96 ¶ The Ch word belongs here unless its form (its vw.) is explainable as going back to N ***m**i 'what?' without additions ||| S *-ā, ending of f. pl. of adjectives (predicative case) > Ak stative 3f pl. -ā (Sd. G § 73b), e.g. $\text{ṣ} \text{e} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{e} \text{r} - \bar{a}$ 'sont petites'; in the nom., accus. and gen. (substantive cases) the pl. form of fem. and of many inanimate nouns have an ending *-ā-t-u(m) (nom.) and *-ā-t-i(m) (accus., gen.) (e.g. BHb לַיְלֵי לַלַּיְלֵי $l\hat{e}'l\bar{o}t$ 'nights', Ak $l\bar{i}l\bar{a}tum$ nom. / $l\bar{i}l\bar{a}tim$ accus./gen.) (*-ā + substantivizing morpheme *-t- + case endings *-u and *-i + [in st. det. → later st. abs.] a determiner ending [of sg.!] *-m); this form has the case ending and the determiner of sg. and is treated as sg. in the sentence (the verbal predicate in Ar is f. sg.), suggesting that it was not an etymological pl., but rather a form of collectiveness ||| here also (?) S: px *ʔa- in nomina collectiva (→ pl.) (× N ***h**'a, particle of collective-ness, q.v. ffd.; the short vw. *a suggests that the main source is N ***h**'a) > the Ar patterns ʔa12ā3- (ʔa $q\bar{d}\bar{a}m$ - 'footsteps' ← sg. $q\bar{a}d\bar{a}m$ -, ʔasmāʔ- 'names' ← ʔism- 'name', ʔabwāb- 'doors' ← bāb- 'door'), as well as ʔa12u3- (ʔanfūs- 'souls' ← nafs- 'soul' and ʔawǧūh- 'faces' ← waǧh- 'face') (both patterns form mostly pl. of inanimate nouns, treated as syntactical singular, sc. requiring a sg. f. form of the verbal predicate), Gz patterns ʔa12ā3 (ʔaznāb 'tails' ← zanab 'tail', ʔadbār 'mountains' ← dabr 'mountain'), ʔa12ū3 (ʔahgūr 'cities, towns' ← hagar 'city, town', ʔahqūl 'fields' ← ḫuql 'field'), ʔa12ə3 (ʔaṣḫal 'cups' ← ṣāḥl [ṣaḥl] 'cup', ʔabqal 'mules' ← baql 'mule'), OSA pattern ʔ123 (ʔhgr 'cities' ← hgr 'city') ¶ Wright 209-11, Grande V 410, GBr. JJAP 56 || IE *-h̥ > NaIE *-ə, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) (× N ***h**'a, particle of collectiveness, q.v. ffd.) > OI -i (as̥ti 'bones'), Av -i (nāmāni 'names'), Gk τέτταρ-α 'four' (pl. ntr.), OI $\text{c}\bar{a}'\text{t}\bar{v}\bar{a}r$ -i id.; in the paradigm of thematic nouns IE *-eh (the stem-final vw.*-e + pl. ntr. ending *-h) yields: NaIE *-ā, e.g. *yūgā pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) 'yokes' > Vd $\text{y}\bar{u}'\bar{g}\bar{a}$, Gk ζυγά, L iuga, Gt (accus. pl.) juka, OCS $\text{н}\bar{r}\bar{a}$ i ga ¶ Brg. KVG 393, Fs. 304 || AnIE *-a, ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.) > Ht, Lw, Lc, Ld -a ¶¶ Mer. SGA 275, 284-5 || U: FU *ma 'what?' (< N ***m**i ʔa^h'a 'what thing[s]?') (with *ʔa^h'a 'thing[s]', collective pc. of inanimate) > Chr: L $\text{m}\bar{o}\bar{m}\bar{o}$, Uf/B $\text{m}\bar{o}$, H $\text{m}\bar{a}$ 'what?' | Prm: Vt $\text{m}\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}$ 'what?' (see N ***m**i 'what?') || ? A *^oma (< N ***m**i ʔa^h'a '↑') > Chv $\text{m}\bar{a}$ 'why?', 'what for?', 'what (do you want to say)?' (see N ***m**i 'what?') ¶ Ash. VIII 151 || D *-a, inanimate pl. ending in pronouns of the 3rd person > MI $\text{i}\bar{v}$ -a 'they', CITm -e- (from *-a) in $\text{a}\bar{v}$ -e-y, $\text{u}\bar{v}$ -e-y,

i v-e-ϣ 'they' (inanim. pl. of pronouns); acc. to An. SG 265, Tm aϣeϣ goes back to *a v-a with an additional -ϣ (due to hypercorrection) ¶ An. SG 262-3, 265 ◇ The comparison is dubious ◇ If S *-ā, S *ʔa- and NaIE *-a ~ -ā (with zero reflex of the lr. in AnIE) do not belong here (but rather to N *^hʔa '↑'), we may suggest to compare the second element of FU *ma 'what' and Chv ма 'what' (both from N *mi ʔa^hʔa) with Eg fOK ἰχ.τ 'thing', Eg MK/NK, DEg ἰχ 'what?' (see below s.v. N *ʔ∇q∇ 'thing[s]') > Cpt {Vc.} *ōχe > Cpt: Sd/B ρϣ aϣ, F εϣ eϣ, A εϣ eχ₂ 'what?' (EG I 123-4, Fk. 29, Er. 41, Vc. 20). The resulting N reconstruction will be *ʔaq∇ 'thing'. In this case N *mi ʔaq∇ (underlying the FU and Chv pronouns) must have meant 'what thing?'. If this alt. hyp. is right, the IE ending *-h₂ (> NaIE *-a, AnIE *-a) does not belong to N *ʔaq∇ and may be compared with HS abd D only. B *maH 'what?' and EC *mah₁a₁ 'what?' may represent a contamination of both N words or belong to either of them.

17. ₂ *ʔ^akê 'to chase, to drive away, to take away' (ΓΗΑΤΥ, ΥΓΗΑΤΥ, ЗАБРАТΥ) > IE: NaIE *ag̃- ({EI} IE *h₂eḡ-) 'drive' ('treiben, führen, in Bewegung setzen') > OI 'ajati 'drives (treibt)', Av azaiti 'treibt, führt weg' ||| Arm ածեմ ac-em 'I carry, I fetch, I bring' ({EI} 'I lead') ||| Gk ἄγ-ω 'I lead' ||| L ag-o / ag-ěre 'drive' (vt.), 'do, act', 'behave', Osc ACVM 'agere', ACTVD 'agito' ||| Clt {Matas.} *ag-o- v. 'drive' > OW agit 'goes', W, Crn, OBr, MBr a (*aget) 'goes' ||| pTc {Ad.} *āk- > Tc A/B {Ad.} āk- 'lead, guide, drive' ¶ P 4-5, EI 170, M K I 23, F I 18, WH I 23-4, Bc. G 311, Slt. 75-6, Flr. 50, Wn. I 158, Ad. 36, Ad. H 18, Matas. E 27 ||| HS: S *^o✓ʔkk > Ar ✓ʔkk (ip. -ʔukk-) 'propulit, pressit', 'éloigner, chasser qn; presser' ¶ Fr. I 45, BK I 42.

18. *ʔäka 'be evil, hate' > HS: WS *✓ʔkk ~ *✓ʔky v. 'hate, be evil' > Sr ʔakk-əṭ-ā 'wrath, anger', Ar ʔakk-at- 'hatred', Gz ✓ʔky G (js. yəʔkay) 'be evil\bad\wicked'; EthS → Bln {R} ekay 'evil' ¶ L G 17, Br. 16, BK I 42, DRS 18 ||| C: amb Bj {R} aka 'Unheil, Verderben, Widerwärtiges' (unless ← Ar äḳ'ṭakka 'hatred') ¶ R WBd. 12 ||| IE *H₂ag-, *H₂agos 'pain, ache', (?) 'guilt' > OI 'āgas- 'guilt, sin' ||| NLG inf. āken, AS inf. acan 'to ache', ece 'pain, ache', NE ache ||| ???φ Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος {LS} 'any matter of religious awe' (incl. 'curse', 'pollution, expiation'), {Ch.} 'consécration', {EI} 'guilt, pollution' (× the IE source of Gk ἄγλος 'saint, consacré', related to OI 'yajati 'worship through sacrifice'); Gk α and the spiritus asper belong to the heritage of the IE root of ἄγλος ¶ P 8, EI 509 (IE *^h₂eḡos / gen. *^h₂eges-os > Gk ἄγος ~ ἄγος), M K I 70, F I 14, WP I 115, Ch. 13 (believing that Gk

ἁγος ~ ἁγιος 'consécration' is connected with ἁγιος 'saint'), 25-6, LS 14, Ho. 2, 87 || **U:** FU (in BF only) *äk₁k₁a|ä > F äkä 'anger, wrath, malice', Krl äkä id. ¶ SK 1871, SSA III 497 || **А** *ek'∇ 'bad' > Tg *eke 'bad' > WrMc {Z} эжэ, Mc Sb зэз 'evil (зло, порок)', 'bad (злой, худой)', WrMc {Z} экчу-, эхэчурэ-, Mc Sb зэзпžі 'slander', Jrc {Md.} ехе-be accus. 'bad', Nn Nh/KU зхзлз 'bad (плохой, худой)', зхзпщ- vt. 'slander, defame (so.)', Nn Nh {On.} зхзлз 'bad; stupid person'; ?σ,φ: Ork зккэ, Ul зкзщі(п), Nn Nh зкзщі 'weak' ¶ STM II 444, On. 539, Z 67-8, Kiy. 116, [no. 341], Md. ChF 133 || М *ege| > WrM ege|, 'low, ignoble, ordinary', HIM эгэл {MED} id., {BMR} 'ordinary; низший', Brt эгээлэй 'ordinary', Kl {KRS} 'эгл 'gemein, ordinary', {Rm.} egl 'gemein, niedrig (von Geburt), ungebildet', Ord ege|, egeēn 'très stupide' ¶ MED 297, Luv. 666, BMR IV 397, Chr. 754, KRS 691, KW 117, Ms. O 231 || Т ({SDM} *ek-) > OT egil {SDM} 'low class, common, ordinary'; NaT *eksik > Osm {Rh.} eksik 'deficient, less,; defective', Tk eksik 'deficient, incomplete; lacking', Az äksik, äskik 'dishonorable (непорядочный, недостойный); lacking', Tkm egeθik 'bad, not full'; NaT *eksü- > OT egsü-, MT eksü-, öksü-, Tk eksü-, Tkm egeθ-, Qrg, ET Δ öksü- {SDM} 'be insufficient, decrease'; Т *eksi|ül- > MT öksül-, Tk eksil- 'v. 'decrease, lessen', Ggz yisil-, Tkm egeθil-, Kr eksil- v. 'decrease, be insufficient', Chv иксел- vi. decrease' ¶ ET Gl 257-8, AzRL II 269, 301-2, Tkr 776, Rh. 173, Cl. 106, 117, TrR 265, Akd. 524, Md. OJ 199, Ash. III 97. Fed. I 163, Jeg. 77, ChVS 52 || ?σ pJ *äk- > OJ ak-, MJ äk- {SDM} 'be bored, be satiated with (langweilig\ überdrüssig werden)', J T akí-, J K/Kg àkì- {Kenk.} 'grow tired of, become weary of, be satiated with' ¶ Mr. 675, Kenk. 21 || Blz. SNE I (← Kpl. ES) adduced Ko ak^hata 'böse sein', which is valid unless it is from OChn âk 'evil' ¶¶ SDM 498-9 (pA *ëka|o 'bad, weak' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 420 (id.), ADb. SR 12 ¶¶ The meaning 'weak' hardly belongs to pA, because it is represented in a few modern STg lges only ◊ Cf. Blz. SNE I no. 9 (IE, U, Ko).

19. *?o'kE (= *?o'kü?) 'self' (→ 'myself') > **HS: [1]** HS *-a₁:₁ku 'I' (postnom. subject marker of 1s) > S *-āku id. > Ak -āku id. (gašr-āku 'I am strong'), WS *-ku (sx of 1s in the new pf. of the verb ← predicative deverbal adj.) > Gz -kū, OSA -k (sx of 1s in the new pf.), Mh, Jb, Sq -k id. (Mh kз'təbk, Jb, Sq kз'təbk 'I wrote'), Hrs -ək id. (kз'təbək 'I wrote'), Ar NY K -ku 𐎧 -k^w 𐎧 -k id. ¶ Sd. G § 75, Jo. MSA 16, Bns. NJ I 114-17 (maps 65, 66) || Eg -k^w ~ -k^y 'I' in stative (= old perfective) (îr^h.k^w ~ îr^h.k^y 'I know') ¶ Lpr. 65-6 || LbB: B {Pr.} *-a^y, verbal ending of 1s > Tw {Pr.} -ä^y, Kb -ə^y, Gd -ε^ε || Gnc -EC [*-ek] id. ¶ Pr. M VII-VIII 9-16, Lf. I 292-305, AiM

176, 221 || [2] HS *ʔan-a₁ku 'I' (autonomous [emphatic] prn. of 1s) > S *ʔanāku 'I' > Ak anāku, Amr {G} *ʔanāku, Ug ʔnk, (AkSc) a-na-ku ((Hnr.) [ʔanāku₁]), OCn [EA] a-nu-ki, BHb ʔānō'kī, Ph/Pun ʔnk, ʔnkū, Pun [Plt.] ANECH, ANEC, M'b ʔnk, Yd ʔnk, ʔnkū 'I' ¶ In SCn (> OCn [EA], Hb, Ph) and possibly in Yd this prn. has a final -ī on the analogy of other morphological markers of 1s ¶ KB 69-70, FrdR § 110, Hnr. 293, HJ 82, OLS 39, G A 13, 50, Rai. EAT 63 || Eg ĩnk 'I' > Cpt: Sd/B ANOK anak, A/F ANAK anak 'I' ¶ EG I 101, Vc. 12 || B {Pr.} *anakk^w 'I' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} nək (nāk) / nəkku, Ah {Fc.} nək, Gh {Nh.} nəkk / nəkkunan, Kb nəщщ (nāk) / nəщщini, Tmz nəkk / nəkkint / nəkkin ʔ nəč / nəčin, Wrg nəš / nəššin, Mz nəš / nəšši / nəššin, Gd nešš / neššan ¶ Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Dl. 562, Fc. 1364, Nh. 26, MT 485, 874, Dlh. Ou 226, Dlh. M 140-1, Lf. I 349 || IE *ʔeǵh^v-m / *ʔeǵoh 'I' nom. > NaIE *eǵō ~ *eǵ^ho(m) > OI a'ham, Av azəm (~ GAv h.l. azə), OPrs adam 'I' || Gk εϣώ, εϣών 'I' || L ego 'I' || Vnt eϣο 'I' || Gmc *ik ~ *īk 'I'; *ik > Gt ik, OHG ih (> NHG ich), OSx ic, ON ek; Gmc *īk > AS īc (> NE [a₁]) || Arm tuēs 'I' || Olt eš, Lt aš, Ltv es, Pru as 'I' | pSl *jazь (< {Fort.} *jězь or {Brg.} *ězь) ~ (> ?) *azь 'I' (< IE *ēǵ₁H₁om) > OCS азъ azь, h.l. [Mar.] ѣзъ ѣзъ, RChS, OR азъ azь ~ Ѡазъ jazь ~ Ѡ ja, Blg аз, Δ 'jaze, ja, McdS jas, SCr jã, SCr Δ, Slv jãz, OCz, OP jaz, Cz já, Slk, HLs, LLs, P ja, R, Blr, Ukr я || Ht uk, u gga 'I' (u due to the infl. of ammuk accus. 'me') ¶¶ P 291, Bks 207-8 (IE *h₁eǵHom ~ *h₁eǵe|oH), EI 454 (*h₁eǵ, *h₁e'ǵom), F I 441, WH I 395-6, Frn. 18, BD GVG¹ II 801, Fort. L 224ff., StSS 67, Bern. I 35, ESSJ I 100-3 (argues for the antiquity of Sl *azь), ESISJ-SGZ II 73-4, StSS 67, Ts. W 95, Mer. SGA 316, Rsk. 66 ¶¶ IE *ʔeǵh^v-/*ʔeǵoh is likely to go back to N (?) *ʔ'o'kE H₂oy^v 'myself' (*ʔ'o'kE 'self' + *H₂oy^v [= *houy^v?] 'my'); NAIE *-m in *ʔeǵh^v-m may reflect either N *mi 'I' or N *mA (pc. of accus.), cp. NaIE *twe(:)-m 'thee' (see s.v. N *t'ü' 'thou') || A: T *ok ~ *ök 'oneself, just X' > OT oq (if attached to back-vowel words) / ök (with front-vw. words), enclitic pc. with pronouns and nouns, which means 'X ('I', 'he' etc.) and no other else' (bãr ök 'I and no one else', özum ök'I myself', ol oq òt terri: 'that same Fire God'), OT U, XwT XIV -oq / -ök, Yk {Rm.} -oχ 'eben, selbst', Chg ≥xv oq 'exactly', Qrg {Jud.} oq (pc. of delimitation: özum oq 'I myself, I and nobody else'), Nog oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Xk oχ (pc. of delimitation), StAlt oq 'же' (o₁ oq 'он же', anayip oq aytti 'он сказал так же'), Chv {Rs.} -x, -ax, -bx, -xa, -xb (pc. of delimitation) ¶ Cl. 76, Rs. W 359, Rs. MTS 30-40, 248, ET Gl 438-9, Jud. 564, BT 115 || ? M

*kü / *gü 'precisely, just (this\that)' (pc. of delimitation of the preceding word) (× N *k'ü' [dem. prn.] × probably N *ko [adversative-thematic and reminding pc. 'whereas, but, also; doch', 'же, ведь']) > MM [HI] gü (Ms.: "particule corroborative") (e.g. {Lew.} neyide-gü 'justement ensemble', teḡiri-gü 'le Ciel', sc. '≈ the Heaven (God) himself', inu-gü 'his', sc. {AD} 'justement de lui'), [S] ku ~ gu = kü, gü 'precisely, just (this\that)' (mun ku tede 'eben jene', lit. 'he-precisely those'), WrM {MED} kü 'particule emphasizing the preceding word', HIM ×γγ (MED) id., {BMR} {reinforcing particle used with a verb", WrM {MED} tere kü 'the same' (tere means 'that'), HIM эҺэγγ 'the same, вот это', WrO {Krg.} kü 'precisely, just this', Ord -k'ü (particule corroborative) ¶ The variation *kü / *gü is likely to have been positional (intervoc. N *-k- > M *-g-) ¶ H 105, Ms. H 57, Lew. II 37-8, MED 494, BMR IV 195, Krg. 745, Ms. O 433 || E: MEI -k 'I' (apposition, subject of a subordinate predicate): sunki-k 'I the king', huttan-k 'faciens ego' → 'me faciente', hutta-k 'I made' ¶¶ Rnr EL 77, 84-5, 94-5, 99-105, Dk. JDPa 100-5 ◇ Blz. IELA 5 [no. 2], AD PP 65-71, 82-3, notes 1, 8, 38 (IE, HS, El, ChK) ◇ The HS reflexes admit either N *ʔ- or *h-, while the lack of preservation of the N vowel quality in IE suggests an IE *ʔ- (a zero lr.) and hence a N *ʔ- ◇ In IE, HS and El the N "corroborative pc." was confined to 1s (IE *eḡHō < N ? *ʔ'o'kE H₂o y ∇ 'myself'), while in A it joined different words (pronouns, nouns, adverbs) ◇ This etymon may be identical with N *ʔ'o'kU 'head' (q.v.). If it is so, we may reconstruct N *ʔ'o'kü 'head' → 'self' (≡σ: G ta v- 'head' → '[one]self', Hs kâj 'head' → 'self' [nī dà kâj-na 'I myself'], Gz rəʔ(ə)s 'head' → [+ppa.] 'self', Q {R} aχ̄ ē, aω ē 'head' → 'oneself') ◇ The original final vw. *ü (suggested by HS and M) is at variance with the IE evidence (suggesting *ä or *e) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 77-81 ("pronoun base GE" in IE, CK + err. in Hg).

20. ₂ *ʔ'o'k'âL ∇ 'ε to eat' > HS: S *ʔ'kɫ (G prm. *-ʔkuɫ ~ *-ʔkaɫ) v. 'eat' > OCn ʔ'kɫ, Hb ʔ'kɫ G, ip. 3m כַּאֲיַּי yō'kɫ (< *ya-ʔ'kaɫ-u), Ph, Ug ʔ'kɫ, BA ʔ'kɫ G, ip. 3m כַּאֲיַּי yē'kɫ (< *yi-ʔ'kuɫu), Sr ʔ'kɫ G (ip. 3m nε'ʔkū l \ \ ٤ ٥ ٦, Sr W ne'kɫ), Ar ʔ'kɫ G (ip. 3m ya-ʔ'kuɫ-u, inv. kuɫ), Ak akālu G inf. 'eat', p. 3m īkuɫ (< *yi-ʔ'kuɫ); d. *ʔ'ukɫ ∇ ɫ- 'food' > Hb ʔokɫ, Ar ʔukɫ- id., Gz ʔakɫ 'food, bread, corn', Sb ʔkɫ 'grain crops, corn', 'meal', Ak ukɫu 'Verpflegung'; d. *ʔ'ak ∇ ɫ- > Ar ʔakɫ- 'eating' (or ʔakuɫ- 'food'), Ak ak(ə)ɫ- 'bread'; Eb {Krb.} ʔakalum 'to eat', 'food' (or 'bread') ¶ KB 44-45, KBR 46-7, OLS 21, Sd. 26-7, 1406, BK I 43, Fr. I 46-7, L G 15, BGMR 4, DRS 18, Krb. EG 4, 6 || A: Tg: Lm oqɫ- v. 'eat (berries)' ¶ STM II 9.

21. LI. *ʔaʔa (or *ʔaʔʔka) 'elder relative, grandfather' > HS: Eg BD ǐǐk 'alt, bejaht' ({Tk.}: is to be read ǐk) ¶ EG I 34, Tk. SCC 97 || C: [1] EC {Ss.} *ʔākk- 'grandfather, grandmother' > Kns ākk-a, Gdl ahh-ayya, Gwd, Gln ʔakk-aωo, Brj 'ākk-i, akk-ē'hano 'grandfather', Bs akk-o, Or {Bl.}, Or B/O {Sr.} akk-ō, Gdl ahh-ot, Brj ák'k-ō 'grandmother', Hd ākk-o 'mother's father', ākk-ē 'mother's mother', Gln ʔajj-aye 'great-grandmother', Brj ākk-inga lubb-ō 'grandparents' (lit. 'grandparent's soul') || SC: Irq/Grw {E} āko 'old man', {MQK} ʔākkō id., 'grandfather', Asa akuya 'grandparent' (in address) | [2] EC *ʔakāk- 'grandfather' > Or {Bl.}, Or S {Sr.} akākū, Or {Grg.} akākayū id., Kns akāko 'old man', ? Bj ahāhačč'i 'mother's father' ¶ Ss. B 21, Bl. 112, Hd. 72, E SC 377, MQK 10, Fl. AA 11, Ap. AV 1, Grg. 13, Brl. 13, Sr. 261-3 ¶¶ Tk. I 83, Tk. SCC 97 [no. 27.7] || A *ak'a (~ *āk'a?) 'elder brother' > M *aqa 'elder brother, elder person' > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} aqa 'elder brother', [LM] {Pp.} 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 id. inaqa dū: 'brother(s)' (lit. 'elder brother [and] younger sibling') (dū: < *diyü 'younger sibling'), WrM {MED} aqa 'elder brother; elder, senior, older', HIM {MED. BMR} ax id., Brt axa, WrO axa, Dg {T} ak'ā ~ aga, ShY aga, Mnr H {SM} aqa ~ āqa 'elder brother', {T} āga 'father's younger brother', Kl {KRS} ax axb 'elder brother; elder', {Rm.} axa id., 'uncle', Ord axa 'elder brother'; ⇨ WrM {Kow.} aqai, WrO axai 'father, daddy, papa', axāi 'elder, elder brother', Brt axai 'elder brother', Kl {Rm.} axā 'Bruder' (address), Brt axai, Ba {T} age 'elder brother'; M *aqa_ui 'father's sister' (cd with the reflex of N *ʔ'a'y▽ 'mother') > M M [HI] {Ms.} aqai 'father's sister', WrM {MED} aqai 'madam' (respectful term used to address a married woman), HIM {MED, BMT} axai id., Brt Δ axai 'elder sister', Δ axai 'brother's wife', Ord axā ([ε] a title of respect for women) ¶ Ms. H 36, Pp. L II 1256 and III 57, MED 59-60, BMR I 175-6, Kow. 22, Chr. 65, KRS 56-7, KW 3, Ms. O 8-9, Krg. 8, SM 2, T 313, T DgJ 118-19, T BJ 133 || NaT *āka 'elder brother, elder relative' > OT, MT, ET Δ aqa 'elder brother', Ln aqa, Tv aqi 'elder brother', Tkm āga id., 'elder relative', StAlt aqa 'elder brither, father's father's brother', Qrg ake and Qq āke 'father', ET, Ln aqa (a respectful address word for an elder man), SY aqa, Tv aqi id., 'elder brother', Shor aqqa 'father's father' ¶ ET Gl 121-2, Jud. 38, TkR 18, TvR 51, BT 15 || Tg *āka, *akay 'elder brother, father's\mother's younger brother' > Ewk akā, akāy, akī, Lm aqa, Neg aga, axa, axay, axi:, axi:y id., Sln axī 'elder brother', Nn Nh/Bk/KU aga id., āq- ~ āq- ~ āq- (+ppa.), aga (form of address), Nn Nh {On.} aga id., WrMc {Z} aḫy, Mc Sb aku 'elder brother', Orc aka, āki, Ud {Kom.} aga?, Ul, Ork ag- ~

aq- ~ aŋ- (+ ppa.) id., 'father's younger brother' ¶ STM I 23-4, Krm. 203, On. 25, Z 22 ¶¶ The long ā in Tkm (and hence in pT) and in several Tg lges is may be connected with N *ʔaʔka. Tg *akay suggests a pA short *a- ¶¶ SDM 281-2 (pA *āk'a > Tg *ak-, N, T + unc. Tg *kak- 'man'), S AJ 290 [no. 380], Rm. EAS I 91, KW 3, Vld. 324, Pp. VG 55, Ci. EATR 40-5 || D: *akka > Prj akka, Gnd B {ChenT} akkō, Gnd ChM {BE ← LuS} akko, Png ako 'mother's father', Kui ake, Ku akku 'grandfather' ¶¶ D no. 24.

22. *ʔäla, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation > HS: WS *ʔal 'do not!', prohib. and emphatic negation > BHb 𐤃𐤀 ʔal 'do not!', 'nicht doch!' (ʔal bə'nī ʔal-'nā nē'lek ku'lānū 'Nay, my son, let us not all now go' [II Sm 13.25]), Ph, Yd, OA, IA ʔl, BA 𐤃𐤀 ʔal, Ug ʔl 'do not' (prohib.), Sb ʔl negation (ʔl ǎ..., ʔl m, 'there is no, нечего', ʔl mɾ 'there is nobody who...') and prohib. pc., Gz ʔal-bə- 'il n'y a pas dans\chez...': ʔalbəya bēta 'non est mihi (in me) domus', Tgr, Tgy 𐌆𐌆 ʔaləbu 'there is not', Amh, Gft, Har, Grg al- 'not' (negation of the verb in pf.), DA ʔl 'no, kein' ({HJ} 'absence of'), Amh, Grg, Gft alə 'without', Sq {Jo.} ʔɔl, {L} ʔal 'not' (negation with nouns and verbs), {L} ǎ... wǎ 'neither... nor', Mh {Jo.} ʔɔl (usually ʔɔl... lā) 'not', 'do not' (neg. and prohib.), Hrs ʌl 'not', ʌl... w-ʌl 'neither... nor', Jb ʔɔ(ɔ) 'do not!', ʔɔl...ɔɔ 'not' || it is not clear whether Ak ulā > ul (OAK, Ak A ulā, B ul 'not') (neg., but not prohibitive) has any connection with pWS *ʔal or should be explained (as in Sd. 1406-7) as going back to *wa lā 'and not' ¶ KB 46-7, JH 13, HJ 55, GB 36, 894, A no. 180, OLS 22-3, Bst. 47, L G 17-18, L LS 60, Jo. M 4-5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 2, Sd. 1406-7, DRS 19 || C: Af {PH} alēy 'no' (= 'nein'), Sa {R} ʔallō 'Nichtigkeit', allō dāh 'verneinen, nein sagen' ¶ PH 38, R S II 29 || ? NrOm: Kf/Anf {C} allo, Shn {C} āli 'non esserci' ¶ C SE IV 398 || U *älā > *älä/*ala ~ *elä 'do not!' (prohib.) (the variant *elä may be due to the infl. of the negative verb *e- 'do\does not') > BF *älä/*ala ~ *elä, 2s imv. of the neg. v. ('do not') > F äla, äl-, Δ elä, Krl K elä, el-, Krl A älä, äl-, Krl L eʔa ~ älä ~ aʔa, Vp aʔa, Vo elä, Es ära, Δ äla ʔala, Lv ala ~ äla id. || Lp: S {Hs.} aalie- (imv. of the neg. v.), N {N} alě ~ älě (2s imv. of the neg. v.), L ēlē id. || Er iía ~ ílak id. (2p iía-do) || pObU *āl (~ **w-∇l) 'do not!' (prohib.) > Vg: 1) pVg *āl > Vg T äl id., 2) ı pVg **w∇l > Vg: K wíl, P (w)ul, N ul id. (the origin of *w- still needs elucidating); pOs *äl id. > Os: V/Vy äł, Ty/Y áʔ, D áʔ ʔt, Nz at, Kz aʔ, O áł ¶ IS I 264 adduced the pPrm verb *ólə- (> Vt alí- v. 'forbid', Z ɔl- v. 'calm, quiet, soothe', Yz ól- v. 'forbid, calm'; Prm *ó < FU *ä), suggesting that a lexical verb developed (or was derived?) from a negation (cp. NHG

verneinen ←d nein) || Sm: Kms εl- neg. v. (3s sbcj. εl 'is not') || pY {IN} *ɜl, neg. pc. > Y T {Krn.} eí 'does not', 'do not!' (negative and prohibitive pc.), Y K {Krn.} eł, eł, oł id., ełe 'not' ¶¶ Coll. 4-5, UEW 68-70, SK 33, Hs. 146, Ht. 198 [no. 728], Stn. D 55-6, MK 692, KD 164, IN H 155-6, IN UJ 218, Krn. JJ 280, 284, AD YN || D *all-, neg. v. > Tm all- id. (1s allēn ~ allen 'I am not', 2s allay, 3m allan, 3f allal, 3n anru, 3pn alla etc.), Ml alla 'is not that, not thus', Kn alla, Kt alā neg. v. (for all persons), Td aloşy 'except' (lit. 'not being'), Gnd hal(lē) ~ haillē, Mlt -l- neg. morpheme, Brh all- neg. v. (in past tenses), ala, alaṽā 'certainly not, not a bit of it' ¶¶ IS assumed that the latter form may represent a trace of the former meaning of "categoric negation" ¶¶ D no. 234, Stv. IDL 24 ◇ Cf. IS I 263-4 (S, C, Ch, U, D + unc.: G ar(a) 'no, not', S *✓l? (sc. *lā) 'not' (actually from N *laṽy or *layṽ 'not; to disappear', q.v. ffd.) and M *üli 'not'). It is tempting to unite M *üli (Pp. IM 288-91), Ak ul(a) 'not' and pVg **wṽl 'do not!' (> Vg: N ul, P (w)ul, etc.) as going back to a combination of some (conjunctive?) *w-element (cognate with S *wa 'and?') with the N negation *ǰāla or *laṽy or *layṽ; see also Gr. I 214-17 ("negative E/ELE", "ELE" being supposed by him in U, M, ChK, EA, Ht).

23. *ǰelṽ 'clan, tribe' (→ 'all', prn. of plurality) > HS: S *ǰāl- 'clan, family' > Nbt ǰl 'family, clan, tribe', Ar ǰāl- 'family, relatives', Ak āl-u(m) 'village, city' ¶ JH 13, HJ 55, Fr. I 70-1, CAD I/2 379-88] W S *ǰil(l)ay 'these' (and possibly *ǰul(l)... 'those') (× N *ǰA analytical [→ synthetical] marker of collectivity, q.v. [or N *ǰEǰA, dem. prn. of collectivity] × N sequences *'h'i|e' ǰA and *'h'u ǰA [with the deictic particles *'h'i or *'h'e' and *'h'u, q.v.]) > BHb, BA הָאֵלֶּיךָ 'ǰellē ~ אֵלֶּיךָ 'ǰel, BHb (GkSc) ελλε, ελη, Ph ǰl, Pun [Poen.] ILY, OA ǰl, ǰln, BA ǰillēn 'these', ǰillēk 'those', IA ǰlh 'these', Ar Δ ǰilā id., Sb m. pl. ǰln, f. pl. ǰlt, Sq {L} əlhə, əl'hena 'these', əl'həgən 'those'; WS *ǰill-ū m. pl., *ǰill-ā f. pl. (with the endings *-ū m. pl. and *-ā f. pl.) > Ph ǰlω, MHb [BS] אֵלֶּיךָ ǰylω, MHb אֵלֶּיךָ 'ǰellū 'these', Gz ǰəll-ū 'these' m. pl., ǰəll-ā f. pl.; Ar {Br.} أُولَئِكَ ǰulā 'ii' (dem. prn. with neutral deixis), Ar hā-ǰulāǰi 'these', ǰulāǰi-ka 'those', that may have the vw. u due to the infl. of S *ǰulli- 'that' (> Ak ullû(m) 'that' m. sg. / ullītu(m) f. sg., ullûtu(m) 'those' m. pl. / ulliātū(m) f. pl.) ¶ KB 48, 50, 1666-7, BL H 261, Deg. 59, HJ 61, FrdR § 113a, Br. AG 8, 29, Fi. DB 102-3, 107, BK I 70 and II 1459, BGMR 37, GBr. JJAP 91, L G 17-18, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], DRS 19, Cer. ArJ 220 || C: ? Sa {R} a'lē (pl. 'ālēl) 'clan, family, tribe', Or {Th.} āli (subj. case āli-n)

'concittadino, compatriota, conterraneo', ? Arr ʔollah 'village, neighbors' ¶
 R S II 26, Th. 16, Hw. A 343 ¶ Alternatively, Sa ə'lē may be from Ar ʔāl-,
 and Or əli may be from Ar ʔahl- 'family' || IE *H₁ol- > NaIE *ol-yo-, *ol-no-
 (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all, each' (× N *wAla 'big, large; multitude' [q.v.
 ffd.] > Ag: Aw wullá, Dmt wullā 'all' and SOM: Hm (w)ul(l), wūl 'all') >
 Gt alls (·πᾶσ, ἅπασ, ὅλος) 'all, jeder, ganz', ON allr, OHG al / all-, NHG,
 OSx all, AS eall 'all, each', NE all || ? Clt {Matas.} *olyo-, {SB, Loth} *olyo-
 s > OIr, NIr uile, MW oll ~ holl, W, Crn oll 'all', OW ell, yll 'each,
 every', Gl {Matas.} ollo-, {Dtn} olio- (in proper names); but RE 78 prefers
 pBrtt *sollos 'all' (> OW hol, MW holl, oll, Crn, OBr, Br holl) (< NaIE
 *sol-no-) to pBrtt *ollos 'all' from IE *ol-no- || Osc {Mul.} ALLO (FAMELO) (?)
 'das ganze (Vermögen)' (not confirmed by Pln. and Bc.) || Lt aliái {Frn.}
 'all, jeder, ganz, völlig' (aliái vianas, alvianas 'each, everyone'
 [vianas 'one'], aliái mētai 'every year', aliai rytas 'every
 morning') ¶ ≈ EI 64 (identifying this IE stem with {EI} *h₂elnos 'beyond', see
 N *'h'al₁iʔ₁E 'on the other side'), SB 52, Fs. 40, Flr. 213, Loth WKS I 441
 and II 354, EWA I 129-30, Dtn 276, Matas. E 298. ≈ Mn. 873 (wrongly
 adducing Oss I al(l)3, Oss D al(l)i 'all kind of', see N *s₁alú 'intact' and Ab.
 I 48), Mul. 19, Fs. 40, Vr. 7, Ho. 84, KM 13-14, ≈ Frn. 7 (denying the Lt-
 Gmc connection) || A: T *ǣl 'tribe, people, political unit' > OT ēl {Cl.} 'a
 political unit organized and ruled by an independent ruler', {DTS} 'tribal
 league, tribe, people', MT 𐤀𐤋𐤅𐤋 'Herrschaft, Reich', Chg, OOsme l
 'country, state, people', Tk el, Tkm īl 'people (Volk), tribe', Tk il 'country
 (Land), province', VTt, Bsh il 'country, state (Land, Staat)', Nog, Qq el id.,
 'people (Volk)', Az el, ET il 'people (Volk)', Kr el id., 'people (Leute)', Qzq
 el 'people (Volk), inhabitants', Uz, Qrg, StAlt el 'tribe, clan, people', Qmq
 el 'village', CrTt el, Chv ял 'village, people' (я- is one of the reg. reflexes of
 T *e- [acc. to Lvt. IF]), ? Yk īāl 'family; neighbor'; T 𐤀𐤋𐤅𐤋 Chr yel 'country;
 village' ¶ The etl. doublets in Tk (el, il) must be due to inter-Turkic loans
 ¶ Rs. W 39, Cl. 121-3, DTS 168-9, ET Gl 339-43, TL 494, Ash. IV 173, Fed. II
 497-8, Jeg. 352 || D *ell- (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all' > Tm ellām
 'whole, all' (personal as well as impersonal), ellavarum, ellārum 'all
 persons', MI ellām, ellāvum, Kt, Td el, eīm 'all', Kn ella 'all, everything,
 the whole', ellarum 'all persons', Kdg ellā, Tu -la (= -lā?) 'all', TI ella
 'all, whole', ellarū 'all persons, all men', Klm ittar el 'both', Ku eleʔe
 'whole' ¶¶ D no. 844 ◇ The long vw. *ǣ in T needs explanation ◇ K (MG
 xvii el-i 'country', G el-i 'Nomaden- \ Hirten-volk', G T el-i id. [Chx. 38,

DCh. 490, Qub. II 434]) is a questionable cognate, since it may be a loan from Tk (which is highly plausible in the light of its meaning). According to IS I 268 (with a query) OG *er-* 'people, army' (> G *er-* 'people') goes back to N **ʔelA* (sc. **ʔelV* 'clan, tribe'), which is untenable since G *-r-* is not a reg. reflex of N **-l-* ◇ Blz. LNA no. 22 (equation of IE **o̥l-* 'all' with U and A, see U and A in N **wAla* 'big, large; multitude') ◇ Hardly here (⇔ Čop IU I-1974 19 [no. 2]) U **u̯lV(-yV)* 'viel, groß' ◇ IS I 267-8 included S **ʔāl-*, T **ēl-*, and the dubious K **er-*, **el-* into the etl. entry **ʔelA* 'to live' (untenable, because U **elā-* v. 'live' [justifying IS's semantic rec.] does not belong together with the above-mentioned S and T roots, but goes back to N **χelA* 'dwell, live' [q.v.]).

24. **ʔElA*, dem. prn. of collectivity (connected with N **ʔelA* 'clan, tribe' [q.v.]?), an alternative reconstruction instead of 1249 (N **lA*, an analytical marker of collectivity).

25. **ʔêlV* 'deer' (and 'mountain goat'??) > HS: S **ʔayl-* 'ram' > BHb כִּיֶּאֱיִל *ʔayil* (pl. כִּיֶּאֱיִל *ʔēlīm*), Ug ʔil (= **ʔēl-u*) 'ram', ? Ak (y)āl-u id., JA {Lv.} אֶיִל *ʔayl-ā* 'Schafbock'; the ancient meaning 'deer' is preserved in the S d. noun **ʔayyal-* 'deer, mountain goat' > BHb כִּיֶּאֱיִל *ʔayyal* 'fallow deer (*Cervus dama*)', Ug ʔayl, Amr {G} ʔayyalum, JA {Lv.} אֶיִל *ʔēl-ā*, JEA {Sl.} אֶיִל *ʔayyal-ā*, Sr W/E ʔayyal-ā 'deer', Md aiala, pl. ailia, f. ailata 'deer, hart', Ar ʔayyil-, ʔiyyal-~ʔuyyal- 'mountain goat, stag' ((Fr.) '*Caper montanus*, *Cervus*'), Gz hayyal 'ibex, mountain goat' (the origin of h- is not yet clear), Ak ayyal-u 'deer'; Cn → Eg NK iyr 'deer' or 'ram' (= **ʔayyalī* ~ **ʔayyōlī* gen., acc. to Vc.), (EgSSc) {Hlk} ʔe-yu-l 'deer' > Cpt: Sd/B ειεοϣλ ειευλ, ιεοϣλ ειευλ 'deer', Sd οειλε οειλε, B ωιαι οϊλι 'ram' ¶ KB 38-9, KBR 40, A no-s 165 and 185, OLS 25 (ʔil 'carnero'), G A 13, Lv. I 64, Sl. 113, Br. 15, DM 14-15, Fr. I 76, L G 221, Sd. 24, DRS 17, EG I 38, Vc. 62, Hlk no. 1, SivCR 77 || IE {Blz.} **ʔel₁ye₁-n-* 'deer' ({EI} **h₁el₁h₁ēn* / gen. **h₁el₁h₁nos*) > AnIE: Ht aliyān 'roe(buck) || NaIE: Gk ἔλλος (-λλ- < *-ln-) 'young deer'; (with the sx *-b^ho-), Gk ἔλαφος 'deer' (<**el-ḡ-b^ho-s*) | Arm եղն երն (gen. եղին երին) 'female deer' ||| Clt {Matas.} **elan₁t₁i* 'doe, hind' > MW {Matas.} id., OIr elit ~ ailit {Vn.} 'chamois', W elain 'female deer' ||| Olt ellenis 'deer', Lt élnis, élnias 'deer', élnē 'female deer', Ltv aīnis 'elk', Pru [EL.] alne "Hindin" 'hind' and "Tyer" 'beast' | Sl **elen₁* 'deer' > OCS Ѧленъ jelenъ ἔλαφος, Blg елен, SCr jèlen, Slv jélen, R, Uk олень, P jelerí, Cz jelen, Slk jeleň id.; OCS алъннн алънји 'ἔλαφος, лань', ChS ланнн ланји f., лань лань, R, Uk лань

'hind, roe, dear', OCz *laní*, Cz *laň* 'hind, female deer, fallow deer', P *łarı*, *łani*, *łania* 'hind' ||| pTc {Ad.} **yäl* > Tc: A *ɟäl*, B *ɟal* 'gazelle' ¶ IE **h₁el-n-* is likely to go back to the oblique form (with *-n-) of a heteroclitic stem ||| NaIE **ɾelk̄-/ *j̄k̄-* (most probably from a N cd **ɾêl̄n̄ ɟE*) > OI *ʀóśyaḥ* 'male antelope', KhS {Bai.} *rūś* '*Ovis Poli* (Marco Polo's sheep), wild sheep', Wx *rūš* 'wild mountain sheep' ||| Gmc **algi-z* 'elk' > OHG *elah*, *elahō*, NHG *Elch*, AS *eolh*, NE *elk*, ON *elgr* ||| Sl **olśb* > OR *λοσβ* *losb*, R, Uk *лось*, P *łos*, Cz *los* 'elk' ¶ P 303-4, EI 154, FI 483-4, Vr. 100, Ho. 92, EWA II 1030-1, Frn. 120, StSS 69, En. 140, Tr. P A-D 77-8, Vs. II 458, 522 and III 134-5, M K I 124-5, M E I 260, Bai. 367, Ma. CS 175, 257, 275, Glh. 296, Slt. 146-7, Wn. I 591, Ad. 485-6, Pv. III 131 ||| U: Y: Y Tile 'domestic reindeer' ¶ IN H 171, Ku. 57 ||| A **El̄i(-k'∇)* 'deer' ({SDM} **ēl̄n̄(-k'∇)* id.) > NaT **ælik* 'roebuck, female wild goat' > OT {Cl.} *älik* id., MQP XIII *elik* 'male gazelle', MU {ADb.}, OOsM *älik*, Tk Δ *elik* 'roe', Shor, Qrg, Qq *elik* 'roebuck', Tv *elik*, Tf *elik* 'female roe', Xk *iluk*, StAlt *elik* 'roebuck, female wild goat', Az *älik*, Qzq, StAlt *elik* 'roe', Bsh *ilbk* 'female wild goat', Yk *älik* 'mottled (чубарый) reindeer' ¶ ET Gl 265-6, Cl. 142, TL 153 (**älik*), BT 191, Ra. 180, DTS 171 ||| M **ili* > WrM *ili* {MED} 'fawn, young deer (олёнок)', HIM ил {MED} id., {BMR} 'Hirschkalb (олёнок), newborn deer', Brt эли 'calf of Manchurian deer of the first six months of its life', Kl {KRS} ил *ilə* 'Hirschkalb', {Rm.} *ilə* 'neugeborenes Hirschkalb', ?σ MM {H} *ele'ut* 'ε camel' ¶ MED 407, BMR II 268, Chr. 761, KW 206, KRS 267 ||| NrTg **elkēn* (unless it is **xelkēn*) 'deer' > Ewk *ɜlkɛn* 'wild reindeer', Lm: OI *j̄ēlkɛn*, Lm Okh *ɜlkɛn* 'domesticated reindeer (leader in herd)' ¶ STM II 448 ¶¶ SDM 501 (pA **ēl̄n̄(-k'∇)* 'deer' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 425, KW 207, TL 153, 389 ||| D **il(ar)∇-* 'ε deer' > Mlt *ilaru* 'mouse deer' ||| TI *ir̄ri* (< **il-r∇*) 'antelope', ? TI *lēṭi* ~ *lēḍi* id. ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I) SD **iral̄l̄-* (> Tm *iralay* 'stag', Kn *eraḷe* ~ *erale*, Tu *eraḷe* 'antelope, deer', OTI *iri* 'stag') ¶¶ D no. 476 ||| K: USv, Sv L {TK} *ilw*, Sv LB {Kald.} *il* ~ *hil* 'roe, косуля', Sv L {Dn.} *ilw* 'chamois, серна' ¶ TK 284, Dn. s.v. *ilw*, Marr SR 38, Kld. L 187, GM SAKS 85 ◇ NaIE **ɾelk̄-/ *j̄k̄-*, NaT **elik* and NrTg **elkēn* suggest a Nostratic cd **ɾêl̄n̄ ɟE* ◇ Bl. IELA 6 [no. 9] (IE, HS) ◇ IS I 272-3 (HD, IE, D, A, K); IS also adduced words going back to D and K **ir-* 'deer' (actually belonging to the N etymon **ɾiR'i'* '[male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.]) ◇ IS I 272-3, AD NM no. 37, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 3.

26. **ɾil̄A'* 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > HS: CS [1] **ɾil-*, **ɾilay* 'towards' > Hb *כָּלָּ ɾel* ~ *כָּלָּ ɾelē-*, Ar *رِلَّ ɾilā*, +ppas: CS **ɾilay ka*

'towards you' (m. sg.) > Hb אָנְיָךְ $\bar{a}n\text{-}k\bar{a}$, Ar $\bar{a}n\text{-}ka$ etc.; [2] ??σ S * \checkmark $\bar{a}n\text{-}ka$ > Ar \checkmark $\bar{a}n\text{-}ka$ (pf. $\bar{a}n\text{-}ka$, ip. $\bar{a}n\text{-}ka$ ~ $\bar{a}n\text{-}ka$) v. 'be unable to do, neglect, be late in' ¶ Cf. also S * \bar{a} 'to' (see N * \bar{a} , locative pc.) ¶ DRS 19, KB 48-9, BK I 48-50 || ??φ Eg $\bar{a}n\text{-}$ 'to, towards' (with pronominal suffixes: $\bar{a}n\text{-}k$ 'tibi' etc.) / $\bar{a}n$ ~ \bar{a} 'to, towards' (with nouns); it is a qu. cognate, because both DEg \bar{r} and most Cpt dialects (Sd/B ερo- er o-, P αρo- ar o- 'to, towards, for') suggest the reading [r] rather than [l], but cf. Cpt F ελα- el a id. ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37, Tk. I 141 || EC: Rn {PG} il 'earth, ground; land, country' ¶ PG 151, Blz. RL 258 || IE * $\bar{H}el\bar{i}$ ~ ? * $\bar{H}\chi^1$ il- > NaIE * $\bar{e}l\bar{i}$, * $\bar{e}l\text{-}$, * $\bar{i}l\text{-}$ v. 'rest, stillstehen' > Gk $\epsilon\lambda\bar{i}\nu\acute{\omega}$ 'I rest, I do not act' || ? OI $\bar{i}l\bar{a}y\bar{a}t\bar{i}$ 'stands still' || ?σ Lt $\bar{i}l\bar{s}t\bar{u}$, inf. $\bar{i}l\bar{s}t\bar{i}$ v. 'get tired' ¶ P 304-5, F I 495, ≠ M K I 92, ≠ M E I 196, Frn. 184 ¶¶ Lt il- (< NaIE * \bar{i} - without NaIE * \bar{a} - < IE * \bar{H} -) suggests IE * \bar{r} - || U: FU * $\bar{r}l\bar{a}$ / $\bar{r}l\bar{a}$, sx of nomina loci (> ending of local cases [\times N * \bar{a} , locative pc., q.v. ffd.]) > F $\bar{t}ak\bar{a}\text{-}l\bar{a}$ 'a place behind (der hinter befindliche Platz)', $\bar{e}t\bar{e}\text{-}l\bar{a}$ 'south' (lit. 'a place in front of sth.') || Lp S (Vfs?) {Sz.} $\bar{m}a\eta\eta\bar{e}\text{-}l\text{-}t$ 'hinten', $\bar{m}a\eta\eta\bar{e}\text{-}l\text{-}\bar{i}$ 'hinter', Lp S {Hs.} $\bar{m}i\eta\eta\bar{e}lde$ \bar{a} $\bar{m}i\eta\eta\bar{e}alde$ 'nachher, hinterher' ($\bar{m}a\eta\eta\bar{e}\text{-}$, $\bar{m}i\eta\eta\bar{e}\text{-}$ 'das Hintere') || Er $\bar{v}as\bar{o}l\bar{o}$ '(place) in the distance' ($\bar{v}as\bar{o}v$ 'far away' [direction]), Chr $\bar{u}l\bar{a}l$ 'situated below' ($\bar{u}l\text{-}$ 'das Untere') || Vt, Z $\bar{l}a$, ending with locative meaning: Vt, Z $\bar{k}u\bar{z}\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ 'lengthwise' (Vt, Z $\bar{k}u\bar{z}$ 'long') || Hg $\bar{f}\bar{o}l$, $\bar{f}\bar{o}l\text{-}$ 'das Obere' ($\bar{f}\bar{o}$ 'head, top') ¶ Sz. 63-4, Hs. 932-4, LG 144, U3S 226-7 || A: Tg * $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ / * $\bar{l}\bar{e}$ (locative case ending) (\times N * \bar{a} '↑') > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm $\bar{l}\bar{a}$ / $\bar{l}\bar{e}$, Nn, Orc, Ul, Ork, Ud $\bar{l}a$ / $\bar{l}\bar{e}$, e.g. * $\bar{m}\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{l}\bar{a}$ 'in a/the tree' (> {Ci.} Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm $\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}$, Nn Nh, Orc, Ul, Ud $\bar{m}\bar{o}l\bar{a}$), * $\bar{d}\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{l}\bar{a}$ 'within' (from * $\bar{d}\bar{o}$ 'Inneres') (> {Bz.} Ewk $\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$, Sln, Neg, Lm $\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}$, Nn Nh $\bar{d}\bar{o}l\bar{a}$, Orc, Ud $\bar{d}\bar{o}l\bar{o}$, WrMc {Z} $\bar{d}\bar{o}l\bar{o}$), Tg * $\bar{d}^r\bar{u}\text{-}i^1\text{-}\bar{l}\bar{e}$ ({Bz.} * $\bar{d}\bar{u}i\text{-}\bar{l}\bar{a}$) 'oben am Hang' (> Ewk $\bar{d}\bar{e}l\bar{e}$, Lm $\bar{d}\bar{e}l\bar{e}$ ~ $\bar{d}\bar{e}l\bar{a}$, Nn $\bar{d}uyl\bar{e}$, Ork $\bar{d}il\bar{a}$ id., WrMc {Z} $\bar{d}\bar{e}l\bar{e}$ 'oben', Ud $\bar{d}il\bar{e}$ 'abseits') ¶ Ci. 257-67, Bz. 84, 96-8, On. 158, 545, Z 805, 821 || D: SD * $\bar{i}l\bar{l}\bar{o}$ 'house, home, place' (\times N * $\chi e l\bar{a}$ 'dwell, live', q.v.) > Tm $\bar{i}l$ 'house, home, place', $\bar{i}l\bar{l}\bar{a}m$ 'house, home', Ml $\bar{i}l$ 'house, place', Kdg $\bar{i}l\bar{l}\bar{a}\text{-}v\bar{a}n$ 'man who is a relative' (lit. "house-man", with * $\bar{v}a\eta$ 'man', see Tm $\bar{i}\text{-}v\bar{a}n$ 'this man', $\bar{a}\text{-}v\bar{a}n$ 'iste vir'), Tl $\bar{i}l\bar{l}u$ 'house, dwelling', Tu $\bar{i}l\bar{l}\bar{u}$ id., 'family', Klm, Nkr $\bar{e}l\bar{l}\bar{a}$, Gnd, Png, Mnd $\bar{i}l$, Knd $\bar{i}l\bar{u}$, Ku $\bar{i}l\bar{l}\bar{u}$ ~ $\bar{i}l\bar{l}u$ 'house', Kui $\bar{i}d\bar{u}$ 'house, dwelling' ¶¶ D no. 494 || D (att. in SD) * $\bar{i}l$, marker of a locative function of the noun > Tm ($\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{u}$) / $\bar{i}l$, Irl $\bar{i}l$, Ml $\bar{i}l$, Kt $\bar{i}l$, $\bar{i}l$, Td $\bar{i}l$ ({Em.} $\bar{i}l$), Kdg $\bar{i}l$ ¶ D no. 494, Zv. CDM 32 ¶ Zv. reconstructed here * $\bar{i}n$ / * $\bar{i}l$, but the

variant *-in (> Tm -iṛ) is very likely to go back to the N genitive marker (> marker of oblique cases) *nu ¶¶ Not here the D loc. case ending *-uḷ (< N *lA '↑' × D *uḷ n. 'inside' < N *ʔuh, ∇, í∇ 'hut' [q.v.]).

27. *ʔiṛ∇ 'eye' > HS *ʔ|hil- (it is represented in C, Ch, B and probably in Eg) > C *ʔill- 'one eye' > Ag *ʔɜll- 'eye' > Xm, Km ɜl, Aw ɜ́ll, Bln ɜɜl (the unexpected ɜ- is possibly due to the infl. of Tgr ɜin 'eye' or to the ancient morphological infl. of the old Cushitic pl. form *ɜinT∇ 'eyes') (F Ap. AV 3) ||| EC *ʔil- '(one) eye' > Sml, Rn íl, Or B íl-a, Kns, Gdl íl-, Bs, Elm il, Dsn ʔil, Arr ʔul, Sd, Ged, Kmb il-l-e, Hd il-l-i, Brj 'il-a, Ya il ||| DhI {EEN} ʔíla, {To.} ʔila 'eye' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} ʔila, Brn/Alg {E} ila, Kz ilito, Asa ʔilat; SC → Mb iʔilá 'eye' ||| Bj {R} 'lile ~ 'lili, {Rop.} līlī 'eye' ¶ Bl. 105, Sr. 332, Ss. PEC 5, 22, Ss. B 104-5, Hd. 60, PG 151, Hw. A 340-1, HL 66, AD SF 144-5, MQK 54, E PC no. 326, EEN 21, To. D 128, To. DL 482, R WBd 158, Rop. 212, Blz. EDB 18-19 ¶ In EC the word refers to one eye, while the correspondent plural *ɜinT- is based on N *ɜôyUn∇ 'see, look; eye' (q.v.) || Ch *ʔ'í'l∇ 'eye' > CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ílí, Lmn Hd {Wl.} ílí, Lmn Vz {Wl.} ili, iri, Lmn A {Wl.} il-yia id. | Bdm {Lk.} yîl, {Cfr} yèl, Glf {Lk.} ɛl 'eye' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} ele 'eye' ¶ JI I 60 and II 126-7, Wl. G 65, ChC s.v. 'eye' || B {Pr.} *√Hll (< *√ʔ|hll) 'eyes' > Kb allən, SrSn AA, Izd allən, Sll {Ds.} ällən 'eyes', as well as possibly Ah ihāll (imparfait intensif) 'pleurer bruyamment' (vb. n. tāhala), Tnsl, Ty əlh id. (Pr.'s B root *√h₂lh₁); forms like Gd awəll 'eye', pl. wallən, SrSn iwəžən 'eyes' might appear at first glance as suggesting that the form allən~wallən belongs to the root *√w'l 'see' (> Ah aul 'avoir l'œil sur', Izn wala 'voir, apercevoir'), but in my opinion the form of pl. abs. wallən~iwəžən (as in Gd and SrSn) goes back to a generalization of the status annexus w-allən 'eyes' (F in Izd [abs. allən, ann. w-allən] or in Sll [abs. ällən, ann. ũw-ällən, e.g. snät ũwällən 'two eyes']), and Gd awəll 'eye' is a bf. from pl. wallən ¶ Pr. H no. 487, Fc. 1493, Dl. 440, Rn. 286, Ds. 203, Mrc. 180, 292, ABs. EGLK 29-31 || ? Eg fOK ʔr.t 'eye' [= (GkSc) ḷ'pɛ], ʔr 'das Sehen' (personification), ʔr v. 'see' (att. in the imv. form in the set phrase ʔr ṭw 'pay attention!') (see EG I 106-8, Vc. 60); the comparison with Eg is questionable, because it presupposes that the Eg character r represents [l], which is at variance both with the Greek transcription ḷ'pɛ and with the Cpt reflex (p r rather than A l) in the nomen actionis i e i r e (preserved in the compound noun b a n i e i r e 'qui a le mauvais œil', see Vc. 60) ||| The HS √ is used not only in nouns, but in verbs as well: C **ʔilāl- v. 'look' > EC *ʔilāl- v. 'look, watch' > Sa {R} ilāl- v. 'look, wait

for', Or *ilāla-* v. 'watch, look', Kns *ilāl-* v. 'follow with the eyes' (said of an infant or a person with impaired vision), Ag: Bln {R} *alal-~ alal-* v. 'look'. This verb is obviously derived from the C noun **ill-* '(one) eye'. Consequently, the HS √ is probably nominal ¶ Bl. 107, Grg. 223 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 97 [no. 27.6], AD SF 144-5; an alt. hyp: OS no. 112 (HS **ʔir-* > Eg *ʔr*, Ch **ʔir-* 'eye') ¶¶ HS ≈ **ʔilima* 'tears' (< N cd **ʔil̄iṽ mûhi* or **ʔil̄iṽ mûhyi* 'eye water') > C: Dhl {EEN} *ʔilíma* 'tears' ¶ SC **ʔilima* > A sa *ʔelelema*, ⇨ Mb *ʔilíma* id. ¶ Ag {AD} **ʔʒʒʒṽ-* 'tears' ({Ap. AV} **ʔʒʒʒṽ-*, {Ap. VSA} **ʔʔrʔṽ-*) (Ag **ṽ* < C **m*) > Bln *ʔʒʒʒṽa*, Xm *ʒʒʒṽ*, Km (ʔ) *ereṽ* ¶ EC **ʔilm-* > Sml *ilmo*, Bn *ilmi*, Rn *ilím*, Or {Bl.} *i(m)mimm-āni*, {Grg.} *immimān*, Or S *imimāni*, Kns *ilmāmā*, Gdl *ilmama*, Brj *'ilma*, *il'mā*, Yk *ilmamu* 'tears' ¶ E SC 292, Ap. AV 5, Ap. VSA 23, Ss. B 105, Bl. 221, PG 152, Sr. 333, Grg. 224, EEN 21 ¶ SOm: Ari *erma* 'tears' ¶ Lm. SKE 534 ¶ ? Eg P *r mṽ* 'weep' ¶ EG II 416-17 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 102 [no. 32.8], AD SCLC 199 [no. 37] (C, Eg), Lm. SKE 534 [no. 15] (EC, Ari) ¶ ? IE: Clt: Brtt (× N **ʔil̄iṽ* 'a hair, tuft of hair'): OW {Flr.} *ail* 'eyebrow', W *ael* 'supercilium; ora', {YGM} 'brow; aisle', OBr *GUORAIL* 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd with *GUOR-* 'upper') ¶ Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClt **aili*), Bc. 220, YGM 6 ¶ A **ilæ-* 'visible' > Tg **ile-* 'visible' > Orc *ilz-mu-* v. 'show', *ilz-kcz-* v. 'appear, become visible', Nn Nh/KU *ilz* 'явь' ('sth. visible'), 'видное место' ('place easy to see'), Nn Nh *ilz* 'наш наземный мир', Sln *ilzṽ* 'явный', Lm *il'la* 'in (people's) sight', WrMc {Hr.} *iletu* 'sichtbar', {Z} *илэтү* id., 'clear (klar), open, known' ¶ STM I 311-12, On. 192-3, Hr 492-3, Z 104 ¶ M **ile-* 'clear, visible' > MM [S] *ile* 'visible', [MA] *ile* 'clear, manifest', WrM *ile* {MED} 'clear, visible, manifest', HIM *ил* {MED} id., {BMR} 'clear, obvious, evident, legal', Brt *эли* 'clear, obvious, evident', WrO {Krg.} *иле*, Kl {KRS} *ил ilä* 'clear, manifest (явный), evident', {Rm.} *ilä, ilə* 'offen, vor den Agen, bar; auf der Hand, klar, bereit, bekannt', MMgl [Z] *ilä* 'clear', Dg {MYC} *ilṽt*, Mnr E {MYC} *hele* (with a secondary h-?) 'open, clear, evident, obvious', Ord *ile* 'claire, manifeste; visible' ¶ H 81, Pp. MA 195, MED 404-5, BMR 267-8, Chr. 761, Krg. 94, KRS 267, KW 206, Ms. O 282, Iw. 107, MYC 407 ¶ T: [1] StAlt adv. *иле* 'clearly, distinctly ('ясно, понятно, отчетливо, разборчиво') [2] NaT **i:;lær-* 'be visible' ({SDM} **iler-* 'be dimly visible') > OT [MhK] *ile|är-* v. 'be visible, strike one's eye', Tlt {Cl.} *iler-* 'be clearly visible' [3] NaT **æ:;læstæ-* 'dimly visible object; silhouette' > Qq, Qrg *eles* id., 'ghost', StAlt *eles* id., Qzq *eles* 'ghost'; NaT **æ:;læstæ-* 'be dimly visible' > StAlt, Qzq *eleste-* id. ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 150, BT 64, MM 139 ¶¶

SDM 581-2 (pA *ila- 'evident, visible' > M, T + unc. Tg *il- 'body; figure, shape' and pJ *àràp-ar- v. 'come in sight, appear' [unc., because pJ *a- does not go back to pA *i-; this pJ verb may go back to N *ʔaR₁∇₁ka 'see, observe', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 597, WNL NC || E: NEI, AchEl eI 'eye', MEI eI-ti 'eyes' ¶¶ HK 393, 396 || ʔφ D: Zv. finds a stem a·li 'eye' (mainly within cds) in the lges of the Nilgiri area: Irl {Zv.} √3]]ena·li ɹ √3]]eya·li, AIK 'b3]]a·li, PaK b3]]e a·li 'the white of the eye' (√3]]ena-, √3]]eya-, b3]]e means 'white'), JKr kariya·li 'the eyeball' (lit. 'black eye'), PaK kaññali·li and a·li 'iris of the eye' ¶ Zv. BNTL 658; on the vw. {Zv.} ẽ [3] F Zv. IL 11 ◇ Blz. BNED 3 (E, HS, D), Blz. DA no. 14, Blz. E no. 1 (E, HS); cf. WNL NC s.v. 'eye' ◇ I am grateful to V. Blažek for drawing my attention to the possible cognates in Celtic and the D lges of the Nilgiri area ◇ Blz. DA no. 13 (D [1], HS), Blz. NDA no. 11 (D, HS, E).

28. *ʔ¹o¹∇ 'that (visible)' > HS: S *^oʔull- > Ak ullû m. 'that, remote' (< *ʔullip-u), f. ullîtu(m), pl. m. ullûtu(m), pl. f. ulliātu(m) ¶ Sd. 141O, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Dk. AkJ 91 || EC *ʔ∇l-, deictic prn. (× N *ha¹∇ 'this', q.v.) > Gdl ʔéle (nom. ʔélu) 'that' (remote from the speaker), Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ʔummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || IE: NaIE *^ool- 'that (remote)' > OL ollus 'that (remote)', L ōlim 'at that time', ulterā 'beyond, on the far side (of)', uls 'beyond, on the other side', ulterior 'on the other side', ultimus 'farthest, last', Osc ūlleis gen. 'of that' (m.), ulas gen. 'of that' (f.) (× IE *ʔal-, *ʔol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus' < N *^hal₁iʔ₁E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WH II 206-7, 813 || ʔU: Slq Tz +l-na, +l-tam 'iste, que voilà, вон тот' ¶ KHG 293, KKIH 196 || A *ol 'that' (or 'this?') > T *ol 'that' (remote deictic prn.), 'he' > OT ol id., Tkm, Qzq, Qrg S, Xk, StAlt, Tv ol, Bsh ul, Chv L вǎл вǎл, Chv Δ вǎл ɹ ол ɹ ɥ id., Yk ol 'that', VTt ul, SY ol 'he'; Qrg, Tb al 'that' is probably an unexplained phonetic variant of *ol rather than a prn. of different origin ¶ Cl. 123-4, ET Gl 444-6, Ash. III 33, 204 and V 298-9, Fed. I 106, Jeg.48, || NKO {MLC} ol 'this, the present', ol- in {Rm.} ol-t^ha~or-ha v. 'be such', or-hä ol-hay 'this year' and onal (< ol-nal) 'this day, today' ¶ Rm. SKE 176, MLC 1207-9 ¶¶ SDM 1040 (pA (*o 'this, that [deictic paericle] > T *ol + [not belonging here]: Tg *u- 'this, that', M *on- 'other, differen', T *o 'that' and pJ *ǎ- [a deictic root]), DQA no. 1556 (id.); ≠ SDM97 (A *o(∇) 'this, that'), Rm. EAS I 75 [§ 41], Rm. SKE 176 ¶¶ SDM 1040 considered T *ol to be an extended var. of the deictic pc. *o.

29. *ʔo'LV (or *ʔoy|ʔiLV?) 'bough, hook' (→ 'hang on a hook') > HS: CS *ʔal₁l₁- 'stick' > MHb {Js., 'ASh.} הָאָלְלָא ʔal'lā 'lance, fork, sign pole', 'Spitzkeule, Pfahl, Gabel', {Lv.} הָאָלְלָא ʔē'lā ~ {Lv. T} הָאָלְלָא ʔal'lā 'Holzstange, Kolben, Stange' (the form הָאָלְלָא ʔē'lā, unless a mistake in one variant of the traditional pronunciation or in Levi's personal vocalization, may be due to contamination with הָאָלְלָא ʔē'lā 'terebinth tree'), Ug {OLS} ʔalt 'soporte, pilar', JA {Js.} אָלְלָא ʔal'lā 'club, bat', אָתְלָא ʔallā't-ā 'post, pole, doorpost', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} אָלְלָא ʔal'l-ā, אָתְלָא ʔallə't-ā 'Kolben, Stange', Ar ʔall-at- 'broad-headed spear' ¶ Js. 66, 73, 'ASh. I 86, Lv. T I 29, Lv. I 80, OLS 32, Fr. I 28, Hv. 11 || B: SrSn ala 'ramée, ∈ branchages', Ah ali vi. 'hang (être pendu\suspendu)', s-ili caus. v. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 1016, Rn. 336 || SC: Alg {E} elemi, Irq {MQK} halmi (pl. halēmō ~ halēmā), Brn {E} alema 'branch' ¶ E SC 336, Mgw. 103, MQK 44 || A *oLV (or *oy|ʔiLV?) 'hang (on) sth.; hang on hook' > Tg *ol- > Nn Nh olp_i, Ul ōrpun 'hook close to a stove (used to hang vessels and rags on)', Nn Nh {STM} olp_i {STM} id., {On.} olp_i 'a hook (made of a tree with lopped off boughs) for hanging coppers over the fire', Ud Sm {Krm.} olɔʔu, Ork olǰiʒa, Orc orjiʒa, Ewk oldon ɔ ollon ɔ olron, Neg olōn, Lm olrāwun 'hook over the fire (used to hang a kettle or a teapot)', ≈ Tg *ol-san- vt. 'hang (a kettle) on a hook over the fire' > Ewk ollon-, Lm olrān- ɔ oldān- ɔ ollān-, Neg olōn- 'hang (a kettle, a teapot) on a hook over the fire' ¶ STM II 14-15, Krm. 275, On. 310 || ʔφ NaT *īl- v. 'hook, hang on (sth.)' (unless it goes back to N *ʔæʒEKU 'thorn, hook') > OT lil- {Cl.} 'catch sth. (with the hand, with a hook etc.)', {DTS} id., vt. 'hook (под-, за-цеплять; ловить [крючьями])', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook to, fasten upon ('прицепляться, зацепляться)', Yk īl- 'hang on, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq il-, VTt, Bsh эл- ьl-, Xk il- ʉl- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook, hook on (за-, под-цепить)' ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 || pKo {S} *ori > NKo ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' ¶ S QK no. 792, Rm. SKE 178 ¶¶ SDM 604-5 (pA *jōle > Tg, Ko, T + M *elgü- 'hang on', actually going back to N *ʔæʒEKU '↑'), DQA no. 648, Rm. EAS I 106, Rm. SKE 178, Pp. VG 76 (M ← T) || U: Y T welie- {IN} vt. 'hang by, keep hung, {Krn,} 'hang, catch on', Y K {IN} el(i)tʒ v. 'hook', Y T {Kur.} walūol- vi. 'hang, hang over, lean down (висеть, свешиваться)', welīe- vt. 'hold (sth.) hung' ('держатъ развешанным'), vi. 'hang (by) (повиснуть на)' ¶ Ku. 48, IN H 454 ◇ If T *īl- belongs here (rather than to N *ʔæʒEKU), the N rec. may be *ʔoy|ʔiLV (with T *ī- from *oy|ʔi-), otherwise the N etymon

is *ʔ^ro^ll ∇ ◇ Alternatively, there may have been two N words, one designating 'bough, hook' and the other meaning '(to) hang', with lexical interaction between them in some descendant lges.

30. ₂ *ʔu^ll ∇ 'soil, foundation, earth' > HS: Eg ∇ i̇z.t {EG} 'Ort, Stätte', {Hng} id., '(bewohnter) Erdhügel' (× N *ʔar ∇ or *ʔaʔr ∇ 'earth, land, place') ¶ EG I 26, Hng 22 || C: EC *ʔu^ll_la > Sa {R} 'ūla 'place', Bs {HL} ūl 'earth', HEC {Hd.} *ulla 'earth, land' > Hd {Hd.} ulla, Kmb ulla(-ta) id., Sd {Hd.} u_llla 'earth', Hd {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} ūlla, Alb {PB} ūllata ~ ūlleta 'land' ¶ AD SF 195, Hd. 55, 88, 423, HL 66 || pOm {Blz.} *^ry^lall- ~ *yill- 'earth' > SOm: Dm {Bnd.} (y)īl 'earth, soil, ground', {Fl.} yīlu, yēle 'earth' || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} yεllu id. | Zs {Si.} ʔa^lla, Hrr {Fl.} alláʔ id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'earth', Si. ACh s.v. 'earth' || Ch {JS} *^ly^lil (= *^ljil?) 'earth' > WCh: pAG {Stl.} *^ljil, {Hf.} *yil 'ground, earth, country' > Su {J} yíl id., Ang {Flk.} yil 'earth, land, country', Tal {IL, Sh.} ɖil 'earth' | Ron: DfB šin-j^lil 'earth, ground, country' | BT: Tng {J} ylll 'earth, ground', Pr illíy 'ground', Glm {Sch.} yíl, Krf ìlí 'earth (soil)', ? pBT {Stl.} *ʔöli 'earth (soil)' > Bl {Lk.} ʔoli, {SIL} wɔli, Krkr {Lk.} ʔèlí id. ¶ JI II 116, ChC s.v. 'earth', ChL, JS 91, Stl. VZCh no. 245 (pHAB *yö^ll ∇), ≈ Stl. ZCh 240 [no. 863] (unc.: pZCh *ʔyas i 'earth'), Hf. AG no. 181 ¶¶ y- in Om and Ch is prosthetic (*ʔi- > *i- > yi-) ¶¶ Blz. OL (HS *yil- ~ *yul-) || A *ula 'sole, footwear' > NaT *ul 'foundation, basis' > OT ul or ūl id., {Gb.} ul 'Boden, Sohle', OT U x ul ({Cl.} ūl) 'sole of foot', Osm XIV ul 'foundation', ET Δ {Jr.} ul 'foundation, earth floor'; ⇨ NaT *ultan 'sole of footwear' > OT ultan ~ uldan, Tk oltan, Tkm, QrB oltan, VTt, Bsh олтан, ET, Qrg, StAlt ultan, Qmq, Nog, Qq ultan, Qzq ұлтан, Xk ultun, Tv ulduŋ, Yk ullun 'sole of footwear' ¶ Cl. 124 (OT ūl without sufficient ev. of a long vw.), ET Gl 449-61, DTS 608, Jr. 322, Rs. W 512, U3 no. 23/8 || M *ula_ln_l > MM [S, HI] ula 'sole of foot', [MA] hula 'sole of footwear', WrM {MED} ula 'sole of foot\footwear, basis, foundation', HIM {MED} ул id., {BMR} ул(ан) id., 'Fußspur', Brt улa 'sole of foot\footwear', Kl {Rm.} ul^o 'Sohle', Ord ula 'semelle, fond, fondement, partie extérieure', Mnr H {SM} ulā 'plante des pieds, semelle', Dg {T} wu^lala id., MMgl {Z} ulā 'leather sole' ¶ H 162, Ms. H 105, Pp. MA 186, MED 868, BMR III 314-15, Chr. 465, KW 448, SM 469, Ms. O 728, T 368, Iw. 139-40 ¶ The M cognate is legitimate only if h- in MA is a secondary development (confirmed by the absence of h- in other MM texts [S, MI], in Mnr, Dg and MMgl) || Tg *olā-ç i- 'unti (boots of reindeer leather)' > Ewk olōt ɖ olō(t)çu ɖ olōçik, Lm olāçuq, Neg olot, Ork ollōç i

'short unti', Orc 01ōçī 'unti', UI 01žŭma 'footwear (made of elk's legs)' ¶ STM II 16 ¶¶ SDM 14923 (pA *ŭla 'sole, footwear'). DQA no. 2723 (id.).

31. *₁ʔü₁Lûd∇ 'to grow' > **HS:** S *^o✓ldd (× N₂ ***walD∇** 'to give birth') > Ar ladīd-at- 'hortus florens' ¶ Fr. IV 97 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg fP r d̄ vi. 'grow' > Cpt Sd/B/A **ρωτ** rōt, Cpt F **λωτ** lōt id., which may be better equated with WS *✓rdy > Ar ✓rdy 'increase, augment', Sq {L} ✓rdy id., Gz ✓rdy 'pay interest' (see EG II 462-3, Fk. 154, Vc. 179, Tk. I 242 [Eg r d̄ ÷ S *✓rdy]) || **IE** *ʔleudh-/ *ʔloudh-/ *ʔludh- ({EI} *h₁leudh-) 'grow' > NaIE *leudh-/ *louudh-/ *ludh- (and *:leudh- after pxs) vi. 'grow, thrive, rise' > OI rōdhati ~ rōhati 'grows', with lengthened vowels of pxs: Vd vī'rudh- 'a plant', anū'rudh- 'nachwachsend', svārudh- 'aus der eigenen Wurzel wachsend'; Av raod- 'grow', Prt rwd-, BdhSgd rwd- 'grow', KhS rvītā 'grows' (< *raudati), NPrs 3s pres. رويد rūy-äd / inf. رستن rostān 'grow, come forth, appear', Vd rōh- (3s pres. rōhati) 'grow' (Mayrhofer explains the change -h- < -dh- by the infl. of the roots with -h- < -*žh- and by the need to avoid homonymy with ruh- 'check, restrain, keep back') ||| **LLiber** (an old Italic god of growth and agriculture), Osc Iúveís Lúvfreís 'Iovis Liberi' (pl.) | Vn Louzera 'Libera' ||| OIr {P} luss n. 'plant' (< *ludh-stu-), OCrn les, MCrn leys (pl. losow), W llys 'grass', pl. llysiau ~ llysau coll. 'vegetables, herbs', MBr snglt. lousouenn 'plant', Br louzou coll. 'plants' (snglt. louzaouenn) ||| Gt inf. liudan (μηκύωεσθα), OSx inf. liodan, AS léodan 'to grow', OHG inf. liotan 'to sprout', ON lođirn 'zottig, grasreich', NLG inf. loden (< *louudh-) 'to grow, to sprout'; Gt laudi 'shape', MHG lōt 'formed, shaped', NLG Lode 'spring, shoot' ¶ P 684-5, EI 248, Mn. 683, 711, M K III 77-8, M E II 467-8 (IE *h₁leudh 'grow'), Bai. 367, VI. II 32-3, 85, Sg. 575, WH I 792, LP §§ 181.5, 182.5, Ern. 377, Fs. 323, 332-3, Vr. 363, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 622, OsS 565 ¶¶ M E reconstructed IE *h₁leudh 'grow', *h₁ postulated on the basis of long vowels of the prefixes with Vd rōdh-. This *h₁ is best interpreted as *ʔ, because *ʔ is likely to be the only lr. lost in the word-initial preconsonantal position (rather than yielding *H̥- > *ə-); this is confirmed by S (loss of the initial lr.) ||| **A:** M *öļzi- (< *öldi-) > WrM {MED} ūlzi- v. 'live, live on something, subsist' (unless it is pM *φöļzi-, which cannot be determined for lack of ev. in MM, in the φ/h-preserving Mongolian lges or in loanwords in TM lges), HIM {BMR} елжи- 'питаться, кормиться, изыскивать пропитание, subsist', Brt үлжэ- 'едва существовать, жить впроголодь' ¶ MED 1007, BMR III 16, Chr. 500.

32. *ʔ¹EL₁i₁mA 'ε tree' ('elm' or the like) > IE: NaIE *]mo- 'elm' ({EI} IE *h₁elem ~ *h₁(e)lmos 'mountain elm [*Ulmus montana*]') > L ulmus 'elm' (↳ Kb ulmu id. [coll.], tulmut 'elm', OHG ulmboum, NHG Ulm id.) || OHG elm, elmo, MHG ilme, ON almr, ME elm 'elm' > NE elm; a Gmc source (or pSl {Trb.} *jьльмъ '*Ulmus*' ?) underlies a word for 'elm' in the West and East Slavic lges: Cz jilm, OP ilem, P ilm, ilma, Plb jělm, jělmǎ, OR ИЛЕМЪ ilemъ '*Ulmus*', Р ильм, Р W Д илем, ильмина, Blr ильма 'elm' || Sl: Uk льом '*Ulmus montana*', Р Д лёмок 'young elm', Lls lom '*Ulmus*' ; Lls w'elm, wełm '*Ulmus*' and Р Д вильма 'mountain elm' may go back to pSl *ъльмъ (or be somehow connected with L ulmus?) || NaIE *^olimā > Clt {Matas.} 'elm' > Mir lem 'elm', MW pl. llwyf, snglt. llwyfen 'elm', W {YGM} llwyf-en (pl. llwyf) 'elm' ¶ WP I 152, EI 178, WH II 811-12, Vr. 7, EWA II 1056-60, Kb. 1063, Bern. I 424-5 (Sl ↳ Gmc), ESSJ VIII 222-3 (pSl *jьльмъ and *ъльмъ '*Ulmus*'), Vs. II 126-7, SRNG XII 186, Dal II 41, 92, YGM-1 315, Matas. E 237 || А *il∇m∇ > T *ilme (~ *æłme?) 'elm' > VTt elmä 'elm', Qmq elme 'English elm, *Ulmus campestris* (вяз, карагач)', Blq {Rm.} elme 'oak', Nog elmen, QrB elme 'asp', Chv L йёлме уьлме, Chv Δ imle 'elm' ¶ TL 126, Jeg. 78, KumRS 374, TatR 683, NogR 434, Ash. III 121-2, Fed. I 194, ≈ Rs. W 41 (unc.: ↳ R ильм 'elm', Д илем '*Ulmus campestris*' ; this R word is used mostly as a technical term or a name for a special species, but is not attested in most R dialects outside the western area [in R the normal words for this tree and its species are вяз and берест], hence R ильм, илем can hardly be the source of the alleged loan) || M *ilama 'mulberry tree' > WrM {MED} ilama ~ ilma, HIM {MED} ялма, {BMR} ялам мод id. (мод 'tree'), Brt ялма модон 'mulberry tree' (модон 'tree'), Kl {KRS} илм ilma 'mulberry tree' ¶ MED 402, BMR IV 459, KRS 268, Chr. 799 || HS: [11] ?φ S *ʔallān- → *^oʔillān- 'ε tree, oak' > BHb ʔal'lon 'any big tree; oak, acorn', MHb ʔal'lon 'oak', JA ʔilān ~ ʔilan [ʔillān], JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} em. ʔilā'n-ā, Sr ʔilā'nā (Sr W ʔillō'n-ɔ) 'tree', Ak fOAK allānu 'oak'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} ʔal-l₂-lú-na 'oak' ¶ KBR 52, Js. 49-50, Sl. 116, Sd. 36, Hlk no. 4, SivCR 77 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} àlùwùŋ 'tree', Msg G {Trn.} luwun, luwuniy id., Mbara {TrnSL} lún 'tree, wood' || Gdr {Mch.} wúlǎŋǎ, {Srp.} wulanga id. || WCh: DfB {J} lan 'Wildnis, Busch' ¶ J R 217, ChC s.v. 'bush' and 'tree', TrnSL 269, Trn. LM 102, Trn. LDM 17, Trn. EM s.v. luwun || [2] ?φ S *^oʔayl- '(big) tree' > BHb ʔayil (pl. ʔilīm) {KB} 'mighty tree'; CS *ʔil-at- > MHb ʔilā

'terebinth, (?) oak', Sr 𐤍𐤃𐤁𐤁 p̄il't-ā 'small tree, forest'; S $^{\circ}\text{p̄al'l-at-}$ 'e tree' > BHb 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 p̄al'lā 'majestic tree', ? Ug {OLS} 𐤐𐤁𐤁 'soporte, pilar' ¶¶ KB 39, 50-2, KBR 40, 54, OLS 32, Js. 49-50, 68-7, Br. 15, CAD I/1 354-5 ¶¶ OS no. 31 ¶¶ S $^{\circ}\text{p̄allān-}$, $^{\circ}\text{p̄illān-}$ and their Ch cognates belong here only if the N cs. $^{\circ}\text{m}$ in the HS word-final position changed into $^{\circ}\text{n}$ (due to reinterpretation of $^{\circ}\text{m}$ as a morphological ending [the S determiner $^{\circ}\text{-m?}$]); S $^{\circ}\text{p̄ayl-}$, $^{\circ}\text{p̄al'l-at-}$ and $^{\circ}\text{p̄il'l-at-}$ may have originated as cases of bf. for the same reason ◇ The NaIE zero reflex of the initial lr. (in $^{\circ}\text{p̄m0-}$) points to a N $^{\circ}\text{p̄-}$ (otherwise we should expect NaIE $^{\circ}\text{elmo-}$, $^{\circ}\text{elim0-}$).

33. $^{\circ}\text{p̄a'ū}$ 'food' > HS: CS (or WS?) $^{\circ}\text{p̄al'vay-at-}$ → $^{\circ}\text{p̄aly-at-}$ 'fat tail of a sheep' > BHb 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 p̄al'yā , JA [Trg.] {Sl.}, JEA {Sl.} 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 p̄alī'tā (pl. JEA 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 p̄alyā't-ā), Sr 𐤍𐤃𐤁𐤁 $\text{p̄elī'tā} \sim \text{𐤍𐤃𐤁𐤁}$ p̄alī'tā , Sr E p̄elī'tā 'fat tail', Ar 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 p̄alyat- id., 'mollet, gras de la jambe; gras de la cuisse', 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 p̄ālā 'qui a la queue grosse et grasse; qui a les fesses charnues' || ? EthS: Amh lat 'sheep's tail', Har {L} lāt id., Grg Sl lāt 'meat of a sheep's tail' ¶ KB 53, KBR 55, Br. 23, Sl. 134-5, PS 208, BK I 49, DRS 20, L LH 101, L EDG III 374, MiK I no. 1.5 || C: EC: ??? Or alal {Th.} 'carne pura', {Brl.} 'carne che si mangia cruda, carne monda per i musulmani', {IS ← Vit. VLO} 'raw meat (as food), fat' (Th. supposed that the word is of Arabic origin) || ? SC: Kz {E} aḫito 'fat, oil' || DhI {EEN} p̄āḫi 'oil' ¶ The SC/DhI word belongs here if $^{\circ}\text{-ḫ-}$ < $^{\circ}\text{-lh-}$ with a $^{\circ}\text{h-}$ of secondary (suffixal, hiatal?) origin ¶ Th. 15, IS I 259, Brl. 16, EEN 20, ≈ E SC 285 (s.v. $^{\circ}\text{p̄aḫi}$ 'fat, oil'); on SC $^{\circ}\text{-ḫ-}$ < $^{\circ}\text{-lh-}$ / AD SCLC || WCh: Krkr {J} p̄ilmōu , {Al.} p̄ilmò 'fat' ¶ JI II 132 || ?? B: IS I 259-60 adduced Ah āllun 'corn' (presumably from pB $^{\circ}\text{h} \text{ } \checkmark \text{ } \text{H} \text{ } \text{w}$, the final -n [originally marker of pl.] being re-interpreted as belonging to the \checkmark , hence pl. āllūnān 'kinds of corn') ¶ Fc. 1090 || IE $^{\circ}\text{Hāl-}$ (or $^{\circ}\text{Hēl-}$ > NaIE $^{\circ}\text{al-}$) v. 'feed, nourish' (→ v. 'rear, breed', 'grow') (× IE $^{\circ}\text{Hēl-}$ 'high' < N $^{\circ}\text{h} \text{ } \checkmark \text{ } \text{A} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \checkmark$ 'height, top') ({EI} $^{\circ}\text{h} \text{ } \checkmark \text{ } \text{e} \text{ } \text{l-}$ 'grow') > Gk ἄν-αλ-τος 'unsatiable' (lit. 'un-nourish-ed [enough]) || L alō , al-ēre 'nourish', d. altus 'high' (← $^{\circ}\text{fed}$) || OIr al- v. 'nourish', W alu , Br ala inf. 'to bring forth' || ON inf. ala , AS inf. alan 'to feed, to rear, to bring up', Gt alan 'wachsen' (← b- 'be fed'); d.: Gt alpeis (· ἄπερον), Gt Cr, OHG, NHG alt , OSx ald , Dt oud , AS eald 'old' (← $^{\circ}\text{grown up}$ ← $^{\circ}\text{fed}$), NE old ¶ WP I 86, P 26, EI 248, F I 102, WH I 31-2, Vr. 4-5, Fs. 34, 40, EWA I 171-4, Vn. A 57, Mn. 16-17, Ho. 3, 83-4, KM 16-17 || A ≈ $^{\circ}\text{a'ū}$ 'food' > T $^{\circ}\text{a'}$ 'food' > NaT $^{\circ}\text{aš}$ > OT aš , Tk aš , Tkm, ET, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt aš , Nog, Qzq, Qq, Xk as , Tv áš , Yk as id., Uz aš 'hot food', Az aš 'porridge, gruel

(каша), pilau', Ggz aš ~ āš 'fodder' ¶ On the ev. of Tkm and Yk, the NaT vw. *a was short (⇔ Cl., Sev. [*ā], DT [half-long *aː]) ¶ ET Gl 210-12, Rs. W 29-30, DTS 61-2, Cl. 253, Rl. I 583-6, DHST 189, DT 82, Vl. I 38, Jeg. 38 || Ko a| 'seed, grain, corn' ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 || Tg: [1] ?σ Ewk э|ū- v. 'hatch' ¶ STM II 448 [2] ?φ Tg *u|ī- 'feed' > Ewk u|ī-, Lm, Nn Nh u|ī-, WrMc {Z} ц|э|б|ц- id. ¶ STM II 260, Z 158 || ? M *ō| > WrM {MED} ö| 'food, provision; nutritiousness; nourishment', HIM ө|л {MED} id., {BMR} 'nutritiousness (питательность)', Brt ү|л 'nutritiousness; light snack', Kl {KRS} ө|л 'nutritiousness', {Rm.} ö| 'stärkende Speise', Mnr E {MYC} ö| 'nutritiousness, food', Ord ö| 'qualité d'être nourissant; qch. qui nourrit, nourriture' ¶ The pM origin of the word is questionable because of its strange phonetic shape (apparently a monosyllabic noun without final vw., not typical for pM) and its absence from MM sources; one of possible (but very questionable) sources is T *ō| 'fresh' (→ 'fresh\nutritious grass') ¶ MED 633, BMR III 14, Chr. 499, KRS 413, KW 29, Ms. O 530, MYC 541 ¶¶ Ewk э-, Tg *u- (as well *ō- in the questionable M cognate) may be explained by regr. as. [infl. of pA *ü of the second syll.] ¶¶ SDM 605 (pA *i|ó|e 'food' > T *i|ǰ|a| 'food' [with unj. *i|ǰ|-], Tg *u|ī- 'feed' and M *ō|- 'nutritive, nutrition'), DQA no. 641 (id.), ≈ S AJ 186, 285, ≈ SDM97 (pA *e|ú 'seed, grain, food') ¶¶ Hardly here pA {SDM} *a|∇ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds', connecting the above-mentioned T *i|ǰ|a| 'food' with M *i|h|alir-su 'chaff, fewsh grass' (> Kl ā|s|η 'chaff', HIM алирс 'blueberry') and with Tg *a|u- 'currants, МОХОВКА (a kind of berry)' || It is tempting to adduce (after IS I) D *a|(-a∇-) > Klm laː∇ 'fat', Tm a| 'strength', Gnd lā∇, Kn a|a(∇u/i) 'power, strength', Tl a|a∇u, a|a∇i id., lā∇u 'strength, fatness', Knd a|∇i 'energy', lā∇u 'much' (D no. 291). But the D stem belongs here only if the meaning 'fat' (as in Klm and Tl) is the original one, which is questionable ¶¶ D no. 291 ◇ Cf. IS I 259-60: HS (S, Or, B), IE, A (T, Ko), D ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 330 (*a| 'seed') (untenable).

34. *ʔuh₁∇₁í∇ 'hut' > HS: S *ʔuh₁a₁|- 'tent, hut, family' (~ *ʔah₁a₁|- ?) > Hb ʔohε| 'tent', pl. ʔ^ɔhā'|līm, Ug ʔ_ɔh| {A} 'Zelt, Wohnung', {OLS} 'tienda, mansión', Amr {G} ʔahlum 'tent, house', JA {Lv.} הַחֵטֶה ʔoh^al-ā, {Js.} הַחֵטֶה ʔoh^ɔl-ā, JEA {Sl.} חֵטֶה ʔoh^ɔl-ā 'tent', Sr ~~חֵטֶה~~ ^ɔh^ɔi'hal, em. חֵטֶה yah^ɔl-ā {Br.} 'gens, caterva (hominum)', {JPS} 'troop, band, cohort', Ar ʔahl-, pl. ʔahl-ūna 'people who live in the same tent' → 'family, household, people', Tmd ʔhl, ʔl 'tent, family, clan', Sf ʔl, Lh ʔhl id., Ak ālu (< *ʔahlu) 'Ortschaft, Stadt'; S ⇨ Eg N íhr, (EgSSc) {Hlk} ʔa-hi-l 'nomad's tent' ¶ DRS 10-11, KB 18-19, KBR 19, A no. 104, OLS 15, Sl. 86, G A 13, BK I 65-6,

Br. LS 299, JPS 189, Brn. ITh 511, Brn. TTPh 160, BGMR 3, EG I 119, Hlk 11, SivCR 78 ¶ The vw. a of the first syll. (in Ak, Ug, Ar and Sr) is probably due to the infl. of *h || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔiṣāḥ (pl. ʔiṣēri) 'watch hut in the field', {E} iṣāḥ 'outstructure, hut or shelter away from house', ? SC ʔ → Mb aṣāʔú 'calf hut' ¶ Irq, Mb ṣ < *h || E SC 285 (s.v. *ʔá|áṣā), MQK 58 || ? WCh: pAG *lu 'hut', {Hf.} 'compound' > Gmy {Hf.} lū 'compound', Su {J} lú 'Hütte, Raum', Mnt {J} lú, Ang lu, Cp {ChL} lɜ 'hut, house', Kfr {Nt.} lú 'house', Mpn {Frz.} lú 'house, hut, room' ¶ J S 73, ChL, Hf. AG 21 [no. 135] (pAG 'compound'), Nt. 25, Frz. DM 34 || E: MEI ul-hi 'Wohnstatt, Tempel-Cella', ul-hu 'Kammer' ¶¶ HK 1216-17 || D *u] 'house, in, inside' > Prj o|e(k) 'house', Gdb u|e, Gnd rōn ~ lōn id., Knd loʔo/i 'inside', Krx ulā 'inner room; in, inside', Mlt u|e 'inside, within', Brh urā 'house, wife'; Tm ul, MI ul|u 'inside', Td u| 'the inside' ¶¶ D no. 698 || ?σ A *u| : ǀ ∇ > T *o|o|u|u| 'inside' > OT {Cl.} oš, {DTS} uš 'the heart\centre (qalb) of tree trunk, branch or horn', {MKD} öš 'core (of tree, branch, horn)' ¶ Cl. 255, DTS 617, MKD 49 || M *u| : lus 'tribe, population' > MM [S] ulus 'Volk, Stamm, Staat', WrM ulus {MED} 'people, nation; country, state; empire; dynasty', HIM ɸɸc {MED} id., {BMR} 'state (Staat), country(Land); people (Volk)', Brt ɸɸac 'people (Volk), country (Land), state (Staat);', Mnr H {SM} lusɜ 'peuple, état, contrée', Ord ulus 'nation, dynastie, gens' ¶ MED 873-4, BMR III 326-7, Chr. 468, H 163, Kow. 403, SM 228, Ms. O 731 ¶ The M stem may belong here only if the final element *-(u)s can be explained ◊ Blz. E no. 50 (E, HS).

35. *ʔ'ü|u|g,a 'cold (Kälte)' > IE: NaIE *algʰ- 'cold', *algʰ-e/os- n. 'cold, frost' ({EI} ? IE *h_ǵelgʰ- 'cold') > L alg-or 'frost, cold', alg-ē- v. 'freeze, feel cold', alg-icdus adj. 'cold' || pGmc *algiz (< NaIE *algʰ-es-) > ON gen. sg. elgiar, Ic elgur 'Schneegestöber mit starkem Frost, halbgeschmolzener Schnee', 'snowdrift' ¶ P 32, EI 113, WH I 29, Vr. 100 || HS: ECh: Bdy {AIJ} ʔòlgà n. 'froid', ʔòl (pl. ʔòlòw) 'refroidir', EDng {Fd.} ǰlà 'froid', ǰlè 'rafraîchir', Jg {J} ʔólan 'cold' ¶ JI II 81, J J 116, AIJ 104, 145, Fd. 40, ChC s.v. 'cold' || ? S *o|wlg > Sr W {Br.} ʔawleg 'frigidus \ jejunos evasit', but acc. to PS, the word means 'fatuus \ insipitus factus est' ¶ Br. 301, PS 65 || A *ü|i- > T *ü|i- v. 'be cold, freeze' > OT [MhK] uš-i- 'be very cold, shiver with cold', MQp uš-i- 'be cold', [CC] 'be frozen', Tk ǰɜǰ- v. 'suffer from cold', Az, QrB, Qrg, ET üšü-, Tkm üše-, Δ üši-, VTt bšb- id., Nog üsi- v. 'get frost-bitten', Qq, Qzq üs(i)- v. 'freeze, suffer from cold', StAlt, Tv üžü- v. 'freeze, become stiff with cold' ¶ Cl. 256-7, Rs. W 52, ET Gl

644, DTS 628, BT 171 || M ****üli|ü-** (not attested in the available M sources) \rightarrow Yk **ülüj-** 'frieren' ¶ Rm. SKE 73, Klz. MJ 121, Rs. W 523 || Tg ***ulān** 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river' > Neg **olan**, Ul **ula(n-)**, Nn Nh/KU {STM} **olã**, Nn Nh {On.} **olã**: id., Ewk **ulān** 'patch of water on ice, наледь; glade, полынья' ¶ STM II 258, On. 308 ¶¶ SDM 1496-7 (pA ***ũ|i|e** > Tg, T), DQA no. 2519 (id.), SDM97 (A ***u|∇** v. 'freeze'), Rm. SKE 73 (adducing Ko **IRIRI|l-ṭṭ**- v. 'tremble, shiver' [to be rejected as an independent ideophon]).

36. *ʔam∇ (= ***ham∇**?), dem. prn. ('iste?'), 'now' > HS: S ***ʔ|ham-** > Ak A **ammīu** 'that, jener' (f. **ammītu**), **amma** 'voilà', OAr T/SA **ʔam-**, Ar D **ʔam-**, Ar NY **ʔam-**, m-, Ar NY T **ʔam-** ~ m- \rightarrow **ʔim-**, Hmr {Blv.} **ʔam-** df. art., ? IA **hri** 'this' ¶ Sd. 43-4, Sd. G 47 [§ 45.2], Br. G I 317 [§ 107e], Bns. NJ I 64 [map no. 24] and II 33, Blv. XJ 116-17, Kfl. I 74, HJ 287-8 || EC: Af {PH} **ama** 'istud' (= 'that [thing] close to you'), Sa {R} **a'mā** 'dieser, jener' (= 'iste?'), Or {Grg., Th.} **amma**, Or S **a(m)ma** 'now' ¶ PH 9, R S II 84, Grg. 16, Sr. 263, Th. 18 || **K** ***ama-** 'this' > G **ama-/am-** 'this', Mg **amu-**, Lz (h)**amu-** id., Sv **ama-s** dat. 'to that', **ama-w** 'here, so far' ¶¶ ≈ K 44, ≈ K² 2-3 (K considered the stem to be compound of ***a-** and ***-ma-**) || **A** ***am∇** and ***im∇** 'now' > NaT ***am + -ti** (> ***amtI**, ***amdi**, ***ämdi**) 'now' (← 'in this?'), ? ***am** 'now' > OT **am-tI** 'now', Tv, Tf **amdi**, ET **ämdi**, StAlt, Qrg **emdi**, Alt Δ {GAJ} **amdi**, Ln **ämde** ~ **ämdi**, Shor, Xk, Sg {Rl.}, Tv **am**, Tv Δ, Tf **amdi** 'now'; NaT ***im + -ti** ~ ***æm + -ti** > OT {DTS} **emdi**, Tk **imdi**, ET **emdi**, Tkm, Az **indi**, VTt, Bsh **indb**, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Uz, ET Δ **endi**, ET **ämdi**, Ln **ämde** ~ **emde** 'now'; Qrg **emi** 'now' ¶ Rs. W 18, Cl. 157-8, DTS 42, 173, ET Gl 357-8, Rl. I 643, BT 191, TvR 56, Ra. 154, BT 191 || pJ ***imá** 'now' > OJ **ima**, MJ **imá**, J T **íma**, J K **imá**, J Kg **imá** ¶ Mr. 423, Kenk. 610 || pKo ***ima-** 'now' > NKo **imi** id., **ima-ṣṣk** 'lately, nowadays' (**ṣṣk** means 'time') ¶ MLC 1328-9 ¶¶ Cl. supposed that NaT ***am** is a contraction of ***am-tI** (Cl. 157-8) ¶¶ SDM 586 (pA > T, J, Ko + unc. Tg ***ime-** 'fresh, new' [cf. Tg ***ime-** 'fresh, new' < N ***yum'a** 'day', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ A ***im∇** may go back to a cd with N ***h¹i** 'iste' [or 'hic'] or be influenced by N ***h¹i** ¶¶ SDM 586 (pA ***imé**), DQA no. 599, STM I 314 || **E**: MEI, NEI, AchEI **a-am**, **am** 'now' ¶¶ HK 48 ◇ Blz. E no. 75 (E, HS) ◇ If IA **hri** belongs here, the N initial cs. is ***h-**, otherwise it is ***ʔ-**, sc. N ***ʔ|h-** (***h-** is not ruled out, since in grammatical morphemes pN and pS ***h-** may yield Ar **ʔ-**).

37. LI. *ʔemA 'mother' > **HS: S** *ʔimm- id. (pl. *ʔimmā'h-ā-t-) > Hb **אִמָּ** 'ʔem / -**אִמָּ** ʔimm- (ʔim'm-ī 'my mother'), pl. ʔimmā'hōt, Ph ʔm, Ug ʔm *ʔumm-, pl. ʔumhāt, Amr {G} ʔumm-um ~ ʔimm-um, JA, Sr ʔim'm-ā, JEA {Sl.} **אִמָּ** ʔim'mā, Ar ʔumm-, OSA ʔm, pl. ʔmht, Gz ʔam, Mh h-ām, indf. ʔēm, Hrs h-ām, Jb C 'ʔem, Sq {L} ʔem- +ppas, Gz ʔamm, pl. ʔammāt, Ak **ummu(m)** ¶ KB 59, OLS 34, DRS 22-3, Sl. 116-17, G A 14, Jo. M 5, Jo. H 2, Jo. J 3, L G 22, L LS 62, Sd. 1416-17 ¶ The variant with u is due to the ass. infl. of mm || B ≈ *yimmā 'my mother' > Kb {Dl.}, Snd {La.} yamma, BMn {Ds.} yemma, Jrb {Bs.}, Gd {Lf.} yamma ~ imma, Izn {Ds.} yemma ~ imma, Mtmt {Ds.} yimma id., BSn imma {Bs.} id., {Ds} 'mother', Rf {Bi.} imma id., SrSn/Grr {Bs.}, Kb Z {Bs.} imma 'my mother'; the form *yimmā may go back to *y- 'my' + *ʔimm∇ 'mother' ¶ Dl. 921, Ds. B 219, Bi. R 86, Lf. II no. O950 || C: ? (unless an independent Lallwort) HEC {Hd.} *ama > Brj a'ma ~ ā'ma 'mother, woman, wife', Ged/Sd/Alb {Hd.} ama, Hd {Hd.} ama, amoʔo 'mother', ama(ti) 'mater familias', Kmb {Hd.} amata, amayye voc. 'mother' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} āma 'old woman', Irq {MQK} ʔāma id., 'grandmother, wife', ? Irq {Wh.} ámêni 'woman' ¶ Hd. 102, Ss. B 25-6, Wh. IC 26, MQK 13 || ? Ch (here unless an independent LI.): CCh: Mrg ámà, Klb ama, Wmd umà 'mother' || ECh: Ke àmá 'mother' (address word) ¶ ChC, ChL, Eb. 26 ||] This N etymon is the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg and Ch: HS *k∇-m 'thee, thy' f. > B {Pr.} *kamm 'thou' f. > Tw k̄m id. (Ah {Fc.} k̄m, Ty/ETwl k̄mm 'thou' [autonomous prn.], k̄m [preverbal]), Kb **um̄**, Zng {Ai.} kum ~ k̄m, Shl kimi, Si š̄am, Tmz š̄am, k̄mm̄in 'thou' f.; B {Pr.} *-(ī-)k-am 'thee' f. > Tw {Pr.} *-k̄m ~ *-īm id., Ty/ETwl {GhA} -k̄m ~ -im, Kb, Shl -k̄m, Zng k̄m ~ -m, Si -im, Tmz -ik̄m, -š̄m, Wrg -š̄am; pB {Pr.} *-am ~ *-ī-m 'thy' f. possessoris > Tw {Pr.} -am ~ -im, Ty/ETwl {GhA} -(ə)m ~ -em, Kb, Zng, Shl, Si, Tmz, Wrg -m; B {Pr.} *hā-m 'to thee' (f.) > Ah {Pr.} hām id. (preverbal), -ām id. (postverbal), Ty, ETwl am, Kb, Wrg -(i)am, Shl, Si, Tmz -am id. ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-7, 173-9, Fc. 807, GhA 93, Dl. 404, AiM 215-17 || Eg: OEg enclitic marker of f. -m: cm 'thou' f. ↔ cω 'thou' m.; aut. pronouns: cm̄t 'thou' f. ↔ cω̄t 'thou' m. ¶ Ed. §§ 166-7, 172 || Ch *-m (marker of f.) in *k∇m 'thee' f. > Ngz {Sch.} k̄̄m, Bd ḡ̄m, Bdm {Lk.} -ḡ̄m id., Ch *ok̄∇m > Bdm {Lk.} -^rḡ̄um 'thy' f. possessoris ¶¶ AD PP 71-3, 122 ||

U {UEW} *emä 'mother, female' > F emä 'female, mother, womb', emäntä 'Hausmutter, Wirtin', emäsika 'sow', Es ema 'mother, womb' || pLp {Lr.} *ēmē 'womb' > Lp S {Hs.} jiemie yîēmîē id., Lp N {N} *æbme, æm-: æmest 'von der Geburt an', æme-liike 'die Haut des neugeborenen

Kindes' || OHg *erne* 'female (animal), Hg Δ *erne* (accus. *emé t*) 'sow' || Sm {Jn.} **emä*, {Hl.} **eme* 'mother' > Ne T {Lh.} *ńēb_e*, StNe T *небя*, Ne F Ny *ńeme*, En X *ē*, (+ ppa. of 1s) *ēb_ō*, Ng {Cs.} *ńame* id. || Slq: Tz {Prk.} *эм†*, LTz {KD} *ämä*, Tur *эм†* 'mother'; Koyb {Pl.} *имадь*, Mt {Hl.} **EmE* (poss. forms **ima|ä-*) 'mother' (Mt T {Mll.} *emē*, *emmē* id., Mt M {Pl.} *иммеда* 'his mother', *имамъ* 'my mother') || pY {IN} **eme-* 'mother' > OY: K {Bil.} *амеа*, {Kl.} *амей*, Ch {Mat.} *еме* 'mother', O {Mat.} *емомъ* '(my) mother'; Y K {IN} *емеу* 'mother', *еммē* 'mammy' (address), Y {IN} *еммуо* (affectional address to a girl or young woman) ¶¶ UEW 74, Sm. 536 (U, FU, Sm **emä*), Jn. 23, Lr. no. 228, Lgc. no. 1735, Hs. 781, Hl. M no. 64, IN 217, 299, IN H 158, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 8] (Y ← U) || **A** **ämä* or **æmæ* 'mother, woman, female' > T **ä;₁mä* or **æ;₁mæ* 'mother, female' (→ 'old woman') > Az Δ *ämä* 'grandmother', Qrg {Jud.} *еме*, StAlt *emegen* 'old woman', Qmd {Rl.} *emegen* 'old woman, wife', Tlt {Rl.} *ämävän* 'Mütterchen' (address to an old woman), Chv *ама ама* 'mother, female animal' (unless an independent Ll. creation) ¶ S AJ 196 [no. 246], Rs. W 42, ET Gl 220-2, Ash. I 185-6, Fed. I 38-9, Jeg. 25, Rl. I 948-9 || M **eme* 'woman, female' > MM *еме*, *еме* *gü_ürn* 'woman, wife; female (animal)', WrM {MED} *еме* id., HIM *эм MED* id., {BMR} 'woman', Brt *эмэ* id., WrO *еме* 'woman, female, lady', Dx *эмэ(kun)*, Dg {T} *emeg*, {Mr.} *emehe*, {Pp.} *eměg* 'wife', {T} *emgün*, {Pp.} *emgün*, Ba *эмэ(kuŋ)* 'woman', Ord *em* 'woman, wife; female', Mnr H {SM} *imu in xara imu* ('black woman'), ritual name given by a girl to herself in front of her parents the day of her marriage ¶ MED 311-12, BMR IV 408-9, S AJ 238 [no. 106], T BJ 152, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 139, SM 192, Ms. O 237, Klz. D I 129, H 43, Ms. H 54, Pp. MA 153-4 || Tg **em^re* 'mother, woman, female' > Ewk *эмугдз* 'female elk', Sln {Iv.} *e'mo* 'mother', *emige* 'wife', Nn KU *эмхэ* 'mother-in-law', WrMc {Z} *эмэ* 'mother', *емхе* 'wife's mother', *емеке* 'husband's mother', Mc Sb {Mrm.} *еме* 'mother', *эмэкэ* 'Schwieger-mutter', *эмхэ* 'wife's mother' ¶ S AJ 221 [no. 221], STM II 451-2, Klz. MS 157-8, Z 80, 82 || MKo {S, Vv.} *ámí* 'mother', {Vv.} *émà-:nim* id.; less likely pKo {S, SDM} **ámh* 'woman, wife, female' > MKo *ám /ámh-*, NKo *am* id. ¶ Vv. AEN 372, S AJ 89, 256 [no. 135], SDM97, S QK no. 135 || ? ϕ OJ *omо* 'mother' (unless an independent Ll. creation) ¶ Vv. AEN 372, JdH 164 ¶¶ SDM 504 (pA **ēme* 'woman, female' > T, M, Tg, Ko **ámh* + unc. Ko **ámh* and J **mía* [> OJ *mye*, MJ *mé* 'woman', J T/Kg *me-sú*, J K *me-sù* 'a female']), DQA no. 428, S AJ 279 [no. 112] ¶¶ If Chv *ама* is not an independent Ll. creation (cf. below), the pT rec. must be **ä;₁mä* (< pA

*ämä) otherwise it is *æ_{l̥}mæ < pA *æmæ ◇ Words shaped as a(m)ma in individual IE lges (OHG amma 'nutrix, nurse', ON amma 'nun', Al G 'amē 'mother', F Dv. 470 [no. 423], Kf. 39, O 4, EWA I 205-6), in El (OEI/MEI/NEI/AchEI) am-ma 'mother' (HK 51-3), in D *amma, {GS} *am-'mother' (> Tm ammā, Ml, Kn, Tl, Tu amma, Klm amma, Brh ammā 'mother', Knd ama 'grandmother', Png, Mnd, Kui ama 'father's sister', Ku amma 'aunt', F D no. 183, GS 108 = no. 280) and in OJ E {Vv. ← JdH} amō 'mother' (Vv. AEN 372, JdH 49) are unlikely to belong here, they are better explained as independent Ll. creations ◇ If the pT initial cns. is *ä- (for the expected *e- < N *e-), it may be explained by the Lallwort factor ◇ AD NM no. 116, S CNM 3 (÷÷ Yn and err. ÷ ST), Vv. AEN 7 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 430 (*eme 'woman') (U, Y, A, Ko, Gil, CK + unc. OJ me 'woman').

38. *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' (→ 'take') > **HS**: Eg fOK ʔmm v. 'seize, grasp' (EG: 'mit der Faust ergreifen'), ⇨ Eg fXVIII ʔmm.t 'Griff, Faust', {Fk.} n. 'grasp' ¶ EG I 10-11, Fk. 3 || B *°Hmiy > Sll ämi v. 'hold\contain' (of a recipient), 3s pf. jūmi (Pcj. I A 3) ¶ Ds. 74, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || Ch {Stl.} *ʔ∇m- 'catch, seize', {JS} *ʔam 'take' > CCh: Tr {Nw.} ōm 'catch', ZmB ʔám {J} 'take', {Sa.} 'steal', ?? Msg {Mch.} imã v. 'seize', {Lk.} ime, imε 'fangen, ergreifen, nehmen' ||| ECh: Ll {Cp., ChC} ōm v. {Cp.} 'hold', {ChC} 'hold, seize', Kbl {Cp.} ám 'catch', Mkl {J} ʔámhè v. 'take' ¶ Stl. IF 123, JS 261, ChC s.v. 'catch', 'hold' and 'seize' || ʔφ C: Bj {Rop., R} -ʔamit (1s: p. a-ʔa'mit, pres. {R} a-ʔam'mīt, {Rop.} 'ʔammīt) v. 'grip, grasp' (rf. {R} -ʔamāt 'an sich nehmen, nehmen': p. 1s a-ʔamāt, pres. 1s a-t-ʔa'mīt), {R} mʔamāt 'fist', {Rop.} maʔmat 'fistful' ||| HEC: Sd {Gs., Mrn., C} amad- v. 'catch, hold, seize, take', Hd {PB} amad- 'fassen, nehmen', Kmb {C} amad- v. 'take' ¶ R WBd 19, Rop. 150, Gs. 12, PB 135, C SE II 189, C S 656, Mrn. S s.v. amad- || ʔσ Om: SOm {Fl.}: Dm tm-, Hm, Ari B im- 'give' ||| NrOm: Kf {C} im- ~ em-, Mch {L} ʔimmi-, Wl {LmS} imm-, Zr/Cha {C} im-, Gm {Hw.} ʔímo-, Ym {Wdk.} ímá- id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 390, L M 16, LmS 286-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'give', Wdk. BY 126 ||| **IE** *ʔ^rem-/ *ʔ^rom-/ {Mn.} *m̥- (< *ʔm̥-) v. 'take, get' ({EI} *h₁em- 'take', ≠ 'distribute'), {Blz.} *ʔem- (× N *qAm∇ 'grasp, seize' × N *HEñom∇ 'take hold of') > Lem- v. 'take' (only in cds), v. 'buy', pfc. ēmpsi (< *ēm-, cp. Lt émiaũ 'I bought'), Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um emantu(r) 'accipiantur' ||| Clt {Matas.} *em-o- 'take' > OIr em- in ar-fo-em- v. 'take, receive' ||| Lt im-ù / inf. im̃-ti v. 'take', Ltv jem u 'I take', Pru inf. īm t 'to take' || Sl pres. *(j)bm-q / inf. *je-ti 'take' (× NaIE *yem-/ *ym̥- < N *ńam'ō' 'squeeze,

grasp') > OCS pres. **ИМѦ** im-ǫ, inf. **ИАТИ** jęti 'take' (*jъm- with prosthetic *j- [encouraged by the contamination with NaIE *yem-/*ymǫ-], the stem *ъm- being preserved in cds, e.g. v5z6m0 **ѡЪЗ-ЪМ-ǫ** 'I [shall] take'), SCr Ch inf. jéti 'to take', Slv inf. jęti 'to begin', P inf. jǫć 'to grasp, to take, to catch'; ⇨ Sl inf. *jъmǎti > OCS inf. **ИМАТИ** imati 'λαμβάβειν, хватать, собирать' (pres. **ИМАМЬ** imamь 'apprehendo, colligo, accipio'), Blg **ИМАМ** 'I have', SCr inf. i mati 'to have', Cz inf. jímati 'to take, to catch', Slk inf. mat', inf. jimat' 'to have', P inf. imǫć 'to take, to have', R Δ inf. имать 'to catch', Uk inf. мати 'to have'; Sl inf. *jъměti 'to have' > OCS, OR inf. **ИМѢТИ** iměti (1s pres. **ИМѢЯ** imějǫ), R inf. иметь, Slv inf. iměti, Cz inf. mítí, P inf. mieć id. || ?σ Arm **իման**- imān- v. 'understand' (Mn. connects it with IE *em-, while Solta hesitantly proposed a different et.) || ?φ Ht **ωεμιγα**- ~ **υμιγα**- 'finden, treffen, antreffen' (so acc. to Ped. H and P) ¶¶ The zero grade *ʔʔmǫ- is probably represented by the pp. *ʔmǫ-to-s or *ʔom-to-s (> L emptus, Um emps, Lt im̃tas, Pru imtā f., OCS **ИАТЬ** jęťь). The fact that the initial IE lr. in precon. position (_C) has not yielded *ǣ, but rather a "schwa secundum" *o or even a zero, suggests that this is IE *ʔ- ¶¶ P 310-11, WP I 207, ≈σ EI 564 ('distribute'), Mn. 240, WH I 400-2, Bc. G 333, Frn. 184-5, En. 184, Vs. II 128, ESSJ VI 71, StSS 259-60, 807-8, Glh. 276, Sl. 91-2, Ped. H 82, 135, Ts. W 104-5, Matas. E 115 || | **K**: ?σ Lz {Marr} -m- (msd. m-o-m-a) v. 'carry, bring' ¶ Marr 164 || | **U**: FU (in Prm only) *oε:ǫm∇ > pPrm *em ({JLG} *εm) 'there is' > Z эm em, Yz 'im 'there is, exists', Z em, emlun, embur 'goods, property' ¶ LG 332, Lt. 134, Lt. J 119 ¶ Contamination with FU *om∇ 'own' (UEW 717) is possible || | **A**: M *emkü- '≈ seize with teeth; put into or hold in the mouth' > WrM {MED} emkü- 'put into or hold in the mouth', HIM {MED} γηξэ- id., {BMR} γμηξэ- ~ γηξэ- id., 'bite', Brt γμηξэ- 'seize with teeth, bite off (хватать зубами, откусывать)', Dg {T} enku- id., unku- 'seize with teeth', Kl {KRS} γμηκ- ümkǣ- 'bite off', {Rm.} ümkü- 'einen ganzen Mundvoll nehmen', Mnr {SM} χηηg_u- (with secondary χ-?) 'mettre en bouche, jeter dans sa bouche', Ord üηk_xü- 'se mettre dans la bouche'; M *emkü n. 'bite, morsel, mouthful' > WrM {MED} emkü, HIM {MED} γηξ id., {BMR} γμηξ 'morsel\mouthful of food', Brt γμηξэ 'кусочек, morsel (of food)', Kl {KRS} γμηκ ümkǣ 'piece (кусок), {Rm.} ümkü 'ein Mundvoll, ein Bißchen', Ord üηk_xü 'bouchée', Mnr {SM} uηkwā id. ¶ H 124, MED 313-14, BMR 410-11, 415, Chr. 503, KRS 551, KW 457, T DgJ 140, 171, SM 157, Ms. O 759 ◇ Blz. IELA 5 [no. 3] (IE,

HS) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 72 (IE, HS + * U), IS I 270 (HS, IE, K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 381 (*amu 'take') (IE + err. U [< N *^rη¹amT∇ 'give'], A).

39. *^ro¹m∇ 'kin, clan, everybody' > HS: S *^rumm-(at-) 'kin, clan' > BHb 𐤓𐤍𐤕𐤓 ^rum¹m-ā 'tribe, small group of people', pl. ^rum¹m-ōt, ^rum¹m-īm, Ug 𐤓𐤍𐤕𐤓, ^rummat- 'kin, clan (?)', Sr 𐤓𐤍𐤕𐤓(m)ə'tā {JPS} 'race, nation, people; a class, genus', Ar ^rumm-at- (pl. ^rumam-) {Fr.} 'coetus, multitudo, gens, familia viri, populus', {BK} 'assemblée, foule; famille; peuple, nation', Ak ummān-um 'people, army', {Sd.} 'Menschenmenge, Heer, Arbeitsgruppe', ummat-um 'Hauptmasse' ¶ KB 60, KBR 62, Grd. UT 360 [no. 225], JPS 6, Hnr. 107, Fr. I 57, BK I 52, G OA 45, Sd. 1413-15, DRS 23 || C: EC: Af ummān 'all, every', ummat 'inhabitants, populace', Sa {R} um¹mān 'totalità, Gesamtheit' ¶ R S II 283, PH 204 ||] This N etymon may be the source of *-∇m-plural in several C lges: EC: Dsn -am ~ -ām, ending of pl. of nouns and adjectives (ḏamad-ām pl. of ḏamadḏi 'thigh', ʔoḥor-ām pl. of oḥor 'black', alč-am pl. of ʔalčū 'fighting stick'); Arr -mé ~ -má, sx of "multiple reference plural" (daḡal-mé [pl. of daḡál 'cheek'], dēbi-má [pl. of dēbí 'cabbage']) || ??? SC: Irq -ēmō sx of pl. (dāḡgēmō 'twins' [pl. of dāḡgi 'twin']) ¶ For further details see Zab. MNPC ∇ ¶ To. DL 86-9, Hw. A 166-72, Mous 47, 58-9 || IE *H¹om- 'every' > L omnis id., Osc úmbn- 'omnis' || Arm ամեն amēn (gen. ամենի ameni) 'all' (× ÷ OI sa'mah 'equal, like', Av hama- 'jeder beliebige', Gk ἄμῶ- in ἄμοῦ [Gk A ἄμοῦ] 'somewhere', Gt sum (· τὸς), AS sum 'irgendeiner', NE some) ¶ Sl. 269-270, ≈ WH I 209-10 || Pv. II 373-81 convincingly rejected the adduction of Ht hūmant- 'every, each, all' ¶¶ Ped. H 165 ||] ? NaIE *-ōm, sx of genitivus pl. (e.g. with *-o-stems: Vd carāth-ām 'der beweglichen', Gk λύκ-ων, OHG wolf-o, Lt vilk-ū̃, OCS вѣлкѣ vьlk-ъ 'of wolves', L deum 'of gods'; with *-n-stems and *-r-stems: OI sun-ām, Gk κυν-ῶν 'of dogs', L homin-um 'of men', Lt akmen-ū̃, OCS каменѣ kamen-ъ 'of stones', Gt tuggōn-ō, OHG zungōn-o 'of tongues', L mātr-um, Gk μητέρ-ων, OCS матерѣ mater-ъ 'of mothers', GAv dug^adr-ām 'of daughters'); in several lges the ending *-ōm was lengthened due to metanalysis: OI -nām, L -ōrum (OI v^rōkānām, L lupōrum 'of wolves') ¶ Brg. KVG 394-5 (§§ 486-7) and the table "Übersichtstabelle zur nominalen Kasusbildung" after p. 398; Bks 113-17, 173, StSS 118-19, 281 || U *^roma > Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} ōm† 'tous les autres, остальные', {KKIH} ōm† 'некоторый, остальной', ōm†ne 'a relative' ¶¶ PI 284, Hl. (p.c.), KKIH 145 || ?σ Mk u¹ma 'pen, enclosure for cattle' || A: M *omug 'clan' > WrM omuḡ

{MED} 'clan, tribe, family, surname', HIM омог {MED} id., {BMR} 'clan, tribe, family', Brt омог 'family name', WrO омоq 'family', Mnr H {SM} омог 'nom de clan, nom de famille', Kl {KRS} омг омъг 'племя', {Rm.} омог 'Geschlecht, Stamm', Ord омоq 'clan, nom de clan' ¶ H 120, Krg. 115, MED 611, BMR II 475, Chr. 355, KRS 396, KW 285, Ms. O 511 || **D** (in SD) *-um 'all', a morpheme used as a final component of cds and frame constructions: Tm ellā-m 'everything, everybody', ellā- + case sxs + -um, ellā ... -um 'all, everybody' (e.g. $\text{ellā maṇitarkaḷukkum}$ 'to all people'), cakala + case sx + -um 'all, tous' (e.g. accus. cakalattium , dat. cakalattukum) (An. TL 23, An. GTJ 96-8), interr. prn. + -um have the meaning of 'every-...': yāvum 'everything', yāvaiyum 'all, whole', yārum 'everybody', ēvatum 'everything', Ml -(u)m 'all, any' (e.g. eññum 'anywhere', cp. eññu 'where?'), Td -m 'all, any' (e.g. eṭm 'in any direction', cp. eṭ 'in which direction?'), Kn -m (e.g. ettam 'wheresoever', cp. etta 'where?') ¶ D no. 5151 ◇ This N etymon may be the origin of the HS marker of pl. m. *-um ~ *-im in personal pronouns and pronominal sxs of 2pm and 3pm (S *?antim ~ *antum 'you' pl. m., *-kum ~ *kim 'you' accus. pl. m., 'yours' pl. m., *šum ~ *šim 'they' pl. m., *-šum ~ *-šim 'them, their' pl. m., C: Ag: Bln {R} kūm 'you' accus. pl. m., Hs kum 'yours' pl. m.) and of the D marker of pl. *-m in pl. *nīm 'you' pl. (cp. *nī 'you' sg.), *nām 'we incl. and *yām 'we' excl. (Zv. CDM 36-44).

40. $\text{₂}^*?āmp∇$ '≈ wolf' > HS: EC * $\text{°?a}_l\text{m}_j\text{P-}$ > Sd {Gs.} ambōma , nom. ambōmi 'hyena' ¶ Gs. 14 || CCh: Nz {Mch.} yǎṇba , {ChL} y3ṇ(b)a 'dog' ¶ JI II 107, ChL, ChC s.v. 'dog' || **U** (att. in Ugr only) * āmp∇ 'dog' > OHg XVI ēbek [ābek], Hg ēb 'dog' | pObU * āmp∇ 'dog' > pVg * āmp∇ > Vg: T āmp , LK/MK/UK āmp , Ss āmp 'dog'; pOs * āmp > Os: V/Vy āmp , Nz/Kz amp , O āmp 'dog' ¶ UEW 836, MF 137, Ht. 126 [no. 33].

41. * $\text{?am}_l\text{∇}_j\text{R∇}$ (or * $\text{?am}^{\text{r}^{\text{o}}}$ ($\text{∇}_j\text{R∇}_j$)?) 'morning, daylight' > HS * ✓?mr 'morning, daylight' (× N * $\text{r}^{\text{r}^{\text{1}}}\text{Umr∇}$ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn', q.v. ffd.) > C {AD} * ✓?mr 'morning, dawn' > Ag {E} * ?amər- 'morning' > Bln {R} amərī , Q {R} amərē 'morning, tomorrow', Xm {R} amir , Xm T {CR} amər 'tomorrow', b Gz ?amīr 'sun, day, time', Gft aymərə , Grg imir , yimər 'sun' | SC: ?σ Irq {Wh.} omār 'previously', ?σ SC {E} * āma 'night' (acc. to E PC; the representation in individual lges is not indicated) ¶ AD SF 132-3, E PC no. 453, L G 26, Wh. SI || **IE** * $\text{H}_x\text{ām}(e)r$ / * $\text{H}_x\text{ām-n-}$ ({EI} * h_2eHmer) 'day' (× N * $\text{r}^{\text{r}^{\text{1}}}\text{Umr∇}$) > Gk: Hm ἡμαρ , gen. ἡματ-ος , D/AC ἡμαρ , -ατος id. d Gk A ἡμέρα 'day' (initial h- on the analogy of ἕσπερα 'evening') 'day' ||| Arm

awp awɤ 'day' (< *a_umr < *amur < *ā_mōr), gen. a_wur ¶ P 35, ≈ EI 149 (unjustified morphemic border: *h₂eH-mer), F I 634-5, Ch. 412, Slt. 409-411, Hamp AA || **U**: [1] FU *a^rm¹∇r∇ 'sun, heat' > F a_ur i_nk_o 'sun', Lp Tn a_wrɤt 'flame', Lp T a_ur 'glowing embers', (× N *^rUmr∇ 'burn' [intr], 'shine', q.v.) Vt o_mɤp 'embers, heat (in a stove)', т_ыл o_mɤp 'flame' || [2] ?FU {IS} *^oamo > FP *^ra¹m∇/*oma 'morning, early' > ?F a_am_u ɤ a_hm_u 'morning', eF [Agr.] a_mu ~ a_am_u, Krl o_am_u, u_am_u id., Vp ā_mu 'long ago' (the length of the initial vw. and the dialectal h are innovations due to unknown factors) | Er umok 'long ago' ¶ Coll. 2, Coll. CG 405 (U *oma), IS I 261, UEW 337-8, ≠ UEW 804-5, SK 29, SSA I 46, 90, U3S 320 ◇ FP *^ra¹m∇/*oma may belong here if the syll. *-r∇ was lost (metanalysis?) or if *-R∇ did not belong to the N etymon (was an additional element, sx?) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 73 (IE, HS [C and Gz], U); IS MS 370 and IS I 260-1 (both: HS, IE, U).

42. *^rUmr∇ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' > **U**: FP *umr∇ 'fire, flame' > Chr umɤr 'warm\calm' (of weather), Chr B umɤr 'warm und ruhig', (× N *^ram₁∇₁R∇ 'morning, daylight', q.v.) Prm *ūmir- > Vt G omɤr 'flame', StVt o_mɤp 'heat (from a stove)', StVt т_ыл o_mɤp, Vt Y t₁l-om₁r 'flame' (т_ыл t₁l 'fire'), Vt Uf t₁l om₁rɤ 'das Feuer lodert auf', Z †m₁r_{aw}-n₁, †m₁r_t-n₁, Z UV †m₁r_{al}- 'blaze (as a stove), emit heat (пыхать, вейть теплом)' ¶ UEW 804, LG 329, U3S 320 | Possibly a contribution to the meaning of FU *am∇r∇ 'sun, heat' > F a_ur i_nk_o 'sun', Lp Tn a_wrɤt 'flame', Lp T a_ur 'glowing embers', Vt o_mɤp 'embers, heat (in a stove)', т_ыл o_mɤp 'flame' (× N *^ram₁∇₁R∇, q.v.) || **A** *ū|ōwr∇- 'be bright, shine' (× N *^rūwr∇ 'light [lux], fire' [q.v. ffd.] × N ??φ *^raw₁a₁rE [or *^rawEr∇] 'bright, white') > NaT *ür_üη ((SDM) *ū|ör_üη) 'shining, bright, white' > OT {Cl.} ū_r ū_η 'white', Yk ü_rü_η 'white', 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU ū_r ū_n 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} ū_r:r ū_n, {TL} ū_r ū_n 'milk', Tk Δ ü_rün 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ü_rü_η bar_η 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193 [no. 190], SDM 1040 (pT *ū|ör_üη 'white', [unj.] 'dawn') || M *ö|üw₁∇₁r∇ ((SDM) *öwr) 'dawn' > ShY oyir 'dawn', MM [MA] ū_r or ö_r 'aurore', WrM {MED} ū_r, {Gl.} ö_r, HIM {MED. BMR}, Brt γ_γp, Kl {KRS} 'dawn, daybreak', {Rm.} ö_r 'Morgendämmerung, das Tagen', WrO ö_r 'morning, dawn, daybreak', Mnr H {SM} ö_r 'aube du jour', Ord ö_rö ~ ö_r 'aube, aurore' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010-12, BMR III 430, Krg. 147, Chr. 517, SM 298, KRS 422, KW 298, S AJ 243 [no. 216], Ms. O 537-8 || Tg *or^ru¹- > Ewk PT/I orumna- 'blaze up',

orumnaçā- adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} urum-mī 'shine, twinkle (сверкать, мерцать)', ? Lm O orakīn 'flash, appear for a moment (мелькать)' ¶ Vas. 327, 453, STM II 23, 25 ¶ The Tg root belongs here only if it is *or^ru¹ rather than *xor^ru¹ ¶¶ ¶¶ SDM 1040-1 (pA *obri|e 'dawn' > M, Tg, T), DQA no. 1580 (id.), S AJ 288 (pA *ör∇ 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KW 298, Rs. W 375, SDM97 s.v. *orE 'white, dawn' || HS *✓^rmr (× N *?am₁∇₁R∇ 'morning, daylight'): B *✓^rw¹mr > Ah ammar 'le soleil, le feu, tout corps en combustion qui chauffe à une distance; chaleur rayonnée', Ъsammər 'rayons du soleil chauffant doucement', Ty, ETwl asъsamṁṁar id., Rf summär 'ensoleiller, se mettre au soleil', Izd asamməṛ 'sunny side of a mountain', SrSn, Izn sammər id., θamiri 'moonlight' ¶ Fc. 1223, Rn. 385, GhA 131, Mrc. 237 || C {AD} *✓^rmr 'morning, dawn' (× N *?am₁∇₁R∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Other alleged cognates within HS (S *✓^rmr v. 'see, be seen' etc., as well as some Ch, Eg and B words), adduced by IS (I 260-1), are semantically and/or phonetically unfit for comparison || IE *Hxām(e)r / *?|Hxām-n- ({EI} *h₂eḥmer) 'day' (× N *?am₁∇₁R∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The absence of the expected *-m- in pA *ü|ör∇- belongs to the heritage of N *?ûwr∇ and *χ^raw₁a₁rE.

43. *?omśa 'flesh, meat' > U {Coll.} *omśa id. > pLp {Lr.} *ṵńćē 'flesh' > Lp S {Hs.} oãddjīe, Lp N {N} oãžžē, Lp Kld {TI} ṵṵžž:č, Lp T {TI} ṵžž:čē id. || Sm {Jn.} *ъmsā, {Hl.} *ъmsa 'meat, flesh' > Ne T Җамза, Ne O {Lh.} ṇamcā, Ne F {Lh.} ṇams·āa, Ng {Mik.} ṇamsu, En X {Cs.} uđa, B {Ter.} ossa 'meat', Mt {Hl.} *amsa ~ *absa 'meat, body', {AD} 'flesh, meat' (Mt: T {Sp.} апса 'flesh\meat', K/M {Mll.} amsa 'caro'), Slq Tz {KKIH} aps+ 'food' ¶¶ Coll. 104, ≈ Sm. 542 (FU *onśā 'flesh; hind' > FP *onśa, Ugr *ānća), Lr. no. 835, TI 762, Jn. 15 (supposing that Sm *ъmsā 'meat' is d. from *ъm- 'eat'), KP 160, KKIИ 100, Hl. M no. 36, ≠ UEW 133 (Lp from *oća ~ *ońća 'divide') || HS: ? S: Ar ?āmīṣ-, ?amīṣ- 'pickled raw meat; veal jelly' ¶ Fr. I 59, BK I 55 ¶ The emphaticity of the final cns. is still to be explained || Eg fXVIII s m s 'piece of beef' (IS: partial rdp. of *ṣ m s?) ¶ EG IV 141 ¶¶ I do not adduce (⇔ IS) the NrOm word for 'cow' (Kf {C} mīnčō etc.) because the sibilant\affricate element probably belongs to a nominal sx (singulative?), cp. Kf {C} mīmō 'cow', F Lm. Sh 355. For similar morphological (and semantic) reasons I reject the alleged Or cognate {Th} ammeṷsa 'milch cow' ≙ Or B {Vnt.} amessa 'un animale che ha latte e che è dato in prestito a chi non ha cibo' (Vnt. 8, Th. 18) || IE: NaIE *mēm s- 'meat' (< **?mēm s- [reduplicated stem]), {EI} *¹mē(m) s (gen. *mem¹s-os) > OI mām¹sa-, 'mās

'flesh, meat' ||| Arm **միս** *mis* id. ||| pAl ***miša** > Al **mišh** id. ||| Gt **mi m z** accus. (· κρέας) 'Fleisch' ||| Pru **mensā**, Lt Zh **meiša** (Frn.: < *mensā), Ltv **mīesa** 'flesh, meat' | Sl ***mešo** id. > OCS **мясо** *męso*, SCr **mēso**, P **mięso**, R **мясо** id. ||| L **membrum** 'limb' (< *mēms-ro-) ||| Clt {Matas.} ***mīros** 'piece of meat, food' (< *mēms-ro-) > OIr **mír** 'morsel, piece of meat, food' ||| Tc B **mīsa** 'meat, flesh' ¶ P 725, EI 374-5, WH II 64-5, Fs. 361, StSS 341, Vn. *M* 54-5, Matas. E 272-3, Frn. 427, En. 210, O 267, Sl. 51-2, Ad. 464 ¶ The loss of the Ir. *ʔ in the initial clusters (*ʔ + cns.) is reg. (cp. *ʔs- > *s in *ʔes-ti 'est' - *s-onti 'sunt') ◇ IS I 252-3, AD NM no. 66, S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 161 (*mim 'flesh') (IE, U + unc. Tg, Ko, J, Ai, EA).

44. *ʔin'ô' 'place' ([in descendant lges] → 'in') > HS: S ***ʔina** 'in' > Ak: OAk, OB **ina** ~ **in** 'in', OA **ina** 'in'; Eb **in** 'in' | in WS traces of ***ʔina** have been preserved in Hb **יְתֵמֹל** *ʔet'mōl* 'yesterday' < *ʔittāmōl < S ***ʔina timāli(m)** (lit. 'in [the day of] yesterday'; cp. Ak **ina timāli(m)**, Sd. 1360); *-tta- > *-t- *reg.*, F AD PSH 113 (rule 63c), BL H 193 (§ 12h'), in JEA/JPA **יְתֵמֹל** *ʔit'māl* (*ʔit'māl* & *ʔit'māl*) and in Sr **يَتَمَل** *ʔet'māl* 'yesterday'; there is syntactic ev. (the adnominal [so-called genitive] case of nouns following ***ʔina**) suggesting that this prep. (like other S prepositions) goes back to a noun, hence the final *-a in S ***ʔina** is an ending of accus. (typical of adverbials of place) and provides no ev. as to the final vw. of the pN stem ¶ CAD VII 141-2, Penn. SPE 298, Lv. I 185, PS 4459 || B ***īn** 'to, into' > Nf **in** id.: 'ugur **in** əl'mədrəsət 'go to school', ugūrəv **in** ʔarābləs 'I went to Tripoli', Si i- (pre-nominal) 'à, dans': ikim i-ddəlu 'il entra dans le seau', Gd -i (postnominal) 'dans': allūn-i 'dans un trou', as well as possibly Ntf {La.} -n, -ən (locative-delative pc.: iaf-n 'he found **here**', ašk-ən 'partir') ¶ Lf. II no. 1704, Beg. 130, La. S 128-9, La. N 186 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -n, loc. ending in adverbs: gaça-n 'in the middle', giddo-n id., 'in between', bolla-n 'above', garsa-n 'under', mata-n 'near', sinça-n 'in front', goye-n 'behind', awa-n 'where?', Zs/Wl/Zl {C} -n (loc. sx: Zs anā-n 'where?') ¶ Mrn. O 61, C SE III 192 || C: HEC: Sd {C} -nne, (?) -ne, loc. (of time and place): le'u bar'ti-nne 'in six days', alba-n'ne 'anticamente' (lit. 'in avanti'), gan'de ({C}: mt. < *gad-ne) 'in war' ¶ C SE II 125 ||| K *-na, *-n 'in', surviving in adverbs (→ adjectives): OG šī-na 'inside', çī-na 'in front (of)', ze-na 'upper' (← 'above'), uḵ(u)-na 'behind', gušīn 'yesterday', Lz ʔoma(n) id. (cp. G ʔame 'night'), Sv ladeʔ-n 'in the daytime' (cp. ladäʔ & ladeʔ 'day'), Sv {Marr}, Sv L {Dn.} ʔošg-in 'behind' (cp. ʔošg 'back

[direction], назад') ¶¶ Shlm. 27-30, Shan. G 158, DCh. 520-1, 1217, 1520-1, 1681, Marr SS 1203-4, Dn. s.v. $\zeta\omicron\sigma\grave{\zeta}$ || IE * $\text{?}en$ /* η_0 , * $\text{?}eni$ ({Blz.} * $\text{?}en-i$, {EI} * $\text{h}_1en(i)$), * $\text{?}en\hat{o}$ 'inside'; in, into' > Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, (π) $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}$ adv. 'inside' (Gk Hm: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\omicron\lambda\nu\omicron\iota\omicron$ 'she put inside also a skin of wine'), $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$, (π) $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\iota}$ prep. 'in' || Mcd $\acute{\iota}\nu$ 'in' || Msp $i\acute{n}$ 'in' || L $i\acute{n}$ 'in', Osc -EN id. || Clt {Matas.} * eni 'in' > OIr $i\acute{n}$ - 'in', $i\acute{n}$ -pv. 'in-', Brtt {RE} * in 'in' > OW $i\acute{n}$, MW, W, OCrn, Crn yn , Obr $i\acute{n}$, en , MBr, Br en , e , Br V $i\acute{n}$ || Gt, OHG, OSx, AS $i\acute{n}$, ON \acute{i} in' || Lt \acute{i} and $i\acute{n}$, Pru en 'in' | pSl * $\text{v}\acute{b}$, * $\text{v}\acute{b}n-$ > OCS $\text{В}\acute{ь}$ $\text{В}\acute{ь}$, $\text{В}\acute{ь}n-$ $\text{В}\acute{ь}n-$, Blg $\text{в}\acute{ь}$, SCr u , Slv v , Cz v , ve , $\text{v}(n)$, Slk v , vo , P ωe , R в , во , Uk в , у 'in, into' || Tc (px) A у- , yn- , B у- , $i\eta-$, $en(e)-$ 'in' (in adverbs: A $\text{у-ко}\acute{m}$, B $i\eta\text{-ка}\acute{u}\acute{m}$ 'in the daytime', B $ene\text{-}\acute{s}tai$ 'in secret'); A $anne$, B $enem$ 'within, herein' || Ld $\acute{e}n$ (pv., postp.) 'in, in-' || IE * $\text{?}endo$ > OL $endo$, L $i\acute{n}du$ 'in' || Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\nu$ 'within, at home' || ?σ OIr $i\acute{n}ne$ 'entrails' || ? AnIE: Ht $anda$ 'in, darin' (adv. and postp.), Lw $and|ta$, HrLw $\acute{a}n\acute{t}\acute{a}$ id., Lc $\acute{r}\acute{i}te$ (pv. and postp.) id.; the AnIE cognates are qu., because they may well be explained otherwise, as akin to Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$ 'there' and going back to a N prn. + locative pc. * da < N * d_1oy_a 'place (within, below), inside' ¶¶ P 311-12, EI 290, Mn. 241, F I 508-9, 511, WH I 687-8, 694, LP §§ 189, 431.17, RE 106, StSS 126-7, Frn. 181, En. 166-7, Trp. P E-H 34-9, Wn. I 124, 154-6, Ad. 83-4 (Tc < IE * h_1on- , * ? -grade of * h_1en- = our * $\text{?}en-$), Mer. SGA 366-8, KrlSh. XLJ 42, Glh. 648, Pv. I 76-7, Kron. EHS I 351-2, Matas. E 116 ¶¶ The zero grade * η_0- (rather than * $\text{?}n-$) suggests N * ? - || IE {BD} *- en , ? {Joh.} *- ne , locative sx ([in some descendant lges] → sep. sx): Ht - an id. ($and\acute{a}n$ 'inside', $app\acute{a}n$ 'behind', $pir\acute{a}n$ 'in front'), Vd ' $k\acute{s}\acute{a}m\text{-}an$ 'on earth, L $super\text{-}ne$ 'upwards, from above', $infer\text{-}ne$ 'below', OHG $\acute{u}fa\text{-}na$ 'from above', Gt $inna\text{-}na$ ($\acute{\iota}\acute{\nu}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$) 'von innen' ¶¶ BD II 178, Joh. MS III 146ff., Ts. W 4, 64, Kb. 1062, Fs. 294 || U: [1] FU * $\text{?}i\acute{n}$ | $\acute{n}\nabla$ 'place' > pPrm * in > OPrm $i\acute{n}$, Z $i\acute{n}$ 'place', Vt $инты$ $int\acute{i}$ 'place', $in\text{-}az$ 'в пользу, впрок (of profit/benefit to)' (lit. 'to the place'), {Wc.} in , $i\acute{n}$ 'Ort, Stelle' || OHg, Hg Δeny 'geschützter Ort, wo der Mensch und das Tier vor Wind, Regen, Schnee, Sonnehitze gedeckt sind' ¶ UEW 592-3, MF 156-7, Wc. W 59 || [2] U *- na /*- $n\acute{a}$ (or *- $\acute{n}a$ /*- $\acute{n}\acute{a}$) locative case ending ('in') > F $koto\text{-}na$ 'at home', $\acute{t}\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{a}$ $p\acute{a}i\text{v}\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{a}$ '(in) this day', eF $echt\text{-}na$, Vo $zhtogo\text{-}na$, Lv $\acute{z}:\acute{d}\acute{b}\text{-}n$, Lv W $i':\acute{d}\acute{b}\text{-}n\sim\acute{u}:\acute{d}\acute{b}\text{-}n$ 'in the evening', Vo $tal\text{v}\acute{z}\text{-}na$, Er $тельня$ $\acute{t}\acute{e}\acute{l}\text{-}\acute{n}\acute{a}$, Z $t\acute{z}l\text{-}in$, Vg N {Mu.} $t\acute{e}l\acute{i}\acute{a}\text{-}n$, Hg $t\acute{e}l\text{-}n$ 'in winter', Lp N {N} $h\acute{a}r\text{'ve}\text{-}n$ 'in (during) the rain'; in Sm lges it has survived in forms with pronominal stems: Ne $ta\acute{y}\text{-}na$ 'there', Ng {Ter.} $t\acute{z}\text{-}n\acute{i}$ 'here, at this moment', $ta\acute{m}\text{-}nu$ 'there, on that side', En $kunne$ 'where?', Slq Tz $ku\text{-}n$

id., as well as in adverbs: Slq Tz $\bar{u}t\bar{i}$ -n 'in the evening', $ta\eta\bar{i}$ -n 'in summer'; it is found within the pSm ending of loc. {Hl.} *-k̄n (> pSlq *-q̄n, Kms -ʁ̄n, Mt {Hl.} -ḡn/-k̄n) ~ *-k̄na ~ *-k̄ne (> Ne T -χ̄na, En {Ter.} -χ̄one, Mt {Hl.} *-ḡna ~ *-ḡna ~ *-k̄na ~ *-k̄nā) ¶¶ Coll. CG 286-95, Majt. SM 247-250, It. LFL ∇, Ter. NgJ 282-9, Ter. EJ 453, KHG 270-8, Hl. M 139-40

|| ¶ *īn∇ '≈ hollow' > T *īn 'hole\lair of an animal' > OT {Cl.} i:n id., Tkm hīn (with a secondary h-) id., VTt θn ḡn, Bsh ḡḡ id., Chv йёне̄ jьнь id., 'sheath (of a knife)', Yk īn 'pit' ¶ The length of the pT vw. requires explanation ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 172, DTS 209, 261, Ash. V 125-6, Fed. I 195-6, Jeg. 79, Pek. 938 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} цнь 'straw-littered bedding place in a pigsty' ¶ Z 139 ¶¶ The WrMc cognate (if accepted) suggests pN *īnU or *ūn∇ ¶¶ ≠ SDM 620 (pA *iū|úna|e 'pit, ravine' > T *iyn 'hollow, pit, lair' + unc.: Tg *uńi 'small river, brook' and M *h̄oni 'defile, gorge'), SDM95 s.v. *I:n∇ 'hollow, pit' ||| pA *-na/*-nā, locative ending: M *-na/ *-ne: [1] M *qoyi-na adv. 'in the rear, back' > MM [MA, HI] qoyina, [S] χoyina, WrM {MED} qoina, HIM χοῖνο, Ord {Ms.} χοῖνο, Mnr H {SM} χυε'no id., [2] M *dotu-na 'inside' > MM [S] dotona, WrM {MED} dotuna, HIM дотно, [3] M *gada-na adv. 'outside' > MM [S] {H} ḡadana (= g|ʁadana), WrM {MED} gadana, HIM гадна, Mgl {Rm.} ʁadana, Dx gadane, [4] M *doru-na 'in the east' > MM [S] dorona id., 'east', [HI] dorona, WrM {MED} doruna, HIM дорно 'east', [5] *ʁörü-ne 'west, western side' (← 'in the west') > MM [HI] höröne, WrM örü-ne, HIM өрне 'west, western side' ¶ MED 263-4, 343, 644, 954, BMR I 337-8. II 56, 58, IV 95, Pp. MA 306, Ms. H 91, 61, H 37-8, 55, 69, SM 177, Rm. M 28, T DnJ 115 || T: [1] *-n within the compound locative sx *-t'in / *-t'in / *-t'ün / *-t'un / *-t'in / *-t'in / *-t'ün / *-t'un in adverbs (→ adjectives and locative nouns): > OT tašdin 'outside', küntün 'in the south', kēdin, Chg [MA] keyin 'behind' | [2] *-ni in OT qa-ni 'where?' ¶ Gbn ATG 89 [§ 183], Cl. XLII, 633, 705, Pp. MA 306 || ? J: OJ -ni, ending of loc.-dat. (umi-ni 'in the sea) ¶ Syr. AJL 89-90 || | D *-in, *-in∇ 'in' (loc. case ending) > OTm -in 'in' ||| OTI -ə(n), -ni: perumatən 'in the west', bāraṇasi-ni 'in Benares'; possibly here also Tl -na, -n: Tl oḏḏu-na 'on the bank', lōn(a) ({Shanm.}: < *u|a-na) 'inside', {Sank.} iṇṭan 'at home' ||| NED: Mlt -no ~ -eno ~ -ino, Krx -nu(:), -nō 'in' ||| CD: Nk -in/-un/ -en/-n, Gdb -in/-un/-n 'in' ||| Knd -an 'in' ¶¶ Zv. CDM 28-33, An. SG 220-1, Subb. 156, DzG 726, Ptrn. 81, Shanm. DN 315, Sank. TED 145 ◇ Blz. IELA 5 [no. 4] (HS, IE *ʔen-i) ◇ D *-in∇ 'in' points to pN *-n∇ ◇ The existinf ev. of the N final vw. is controversial: S ina, K -na, U *-na/*-nā and the pA locative

ending **-na/*-na* suggest N **-a*, IE **eni* seems to suggest N **-i*, while SI **-v̄b* and **-v̄bn-* point to N **-ô*. A possible tentative solution: cognates with etymological **a* go back to an accusative form (with accusative in the meaning of locative), while IE **eni* (< **enü*?) and SI **-v̄b* / **-v̄bn-* point to the N word-final **-*-ô* ◇ IS I 11, IS MsN (s.v. **-na* locative), Coll. UA 10 (on endings in U and A), Schrd. DU 101 (on endings in D and U), Gr. I 150-2 (IE **-en*, **-ne*, U, A [T, M, J, qu. Ko and Tg], Gil, EA), ≈ Gr. II no. 221 (**ena* 'inside') (IE, U + unc. Ko, J, Ai, CK, EA), ≈ Heg. MÜ 71-3 (U, A, D, HS, IE).

45. *ʔan̄ ▽ 'self, the same' > HS **ʔan-* > Eg OK *ʔn*, a pc. introducing the focalized nominal subject in a cleft sentence ¶ Lpr. 64-5 ¶¶ The initial component of aut. pronouns of the 1 and 2 persons: **(1)** HS **ʔan-ākū* 'I' (emphasized) > Eg OK *ʔnk* 'I' (> Cpt: B/Sd **ANOK** *anok*, A **ANAK** *anak*) || pS **ʔanākū* 'I' [> Ak *anākū*, Hb **ʔn̄** *ʔānōḵī*, Ph *ʔnk* ~ *ʔnky*, Ug *ʔnk*, (AkSc) *ʔanākū*(:), Amr {G} *ʔanākū*, Yd *ʔnk*] (Dk. JDPa 222, G OA 51, GB 53) || pB **ʔanakk^w* 'I' > Tw *nāk*, Kb *nəʃʃ*, Zng *nik*, Sll, Tmz *nakk*, ASgr *nəč* ~ *nəšš*, SrSn *nək*, Si *niš*, *nəš*, Mz, Wrg *nəšš*, Nf, Izn *nəč* (Pr. M I-III 179, AiM 215, Fc. 1364, Lf. II no. 1090, Dlh. M 140-1, Dlh. Ou 226, Dl. 502, La. S 108, MT 485); **(2)** HS **ʔan-ī* 'I' > pS **ʔanī* (> Hb **ʔn̄** *ʔānī*, Ar NY T *ʔanī* [Bns. NJ I 71, map no. 31]) ~ **ʔana*(:) (> JA **ʔn̄** *ʔānā*, Sr E {Sl.} *ʔenā* = *ʔānā* [Sl. 143], Ar *ʔanā*, Gz *ʔana* etc., a secondary variant [probably on the analogy of 2m **ʔanta* 'thou' m.] or representing a special form for 1m sg., as in some Ar Y dialects opposing *ʔan-ā* m. and *ʔan-ī* f.), pS enclitic object prn. **nī* 'me' (> Hb, Aram, Ar, Gz *-nī*, Ak *-ri*) (GB 54, Dk. JDPa 222) || C: Bj *ani* ~ *ane* 'I' || Ag: Bln *ʔan*, Aw *án*; EC: Sml *ani-ga*, *ani-gī*, Rn *àní*, Or *àna*, Sa *a¹nu* (-u from the case inflection of nomina [nom.?]), Sd *ane* aut. prn. 'I' || Dhl *ʔání* 'I' || SC: Irq *ʔán*, *ʔanīn*, Brn, Alg *an*, *ana* aut. prn. 'I', Asa *-ana* 'my', *↔* Mb *ání* (AD SF 133-4, AD PP 69, E SC 283 s.v. SC **ání* 'I', Mous 112) | a subject prn.: Sml *ān*, Or *àní* 'I' (F AD SF 210-11); **(3)** HS **ʔant^ri¹* 'thou' (aut. prn.) > C: Ag: Bln *ʔantí*, Aw *ʔntí*, EC: Sml *adi-ga*, *adi-gī*, Rn *àtí*, Or *átí*, Sa *a¹tu* (-u from the nominal case inflection), Dhl *ʔát^rta* 'thou'; C *↔* Mb *ʔát^ra* 'thou' (F E SC 282, AD SF 133-4, PG 40) || S **ʔanta* 'thou' m. (> Ar *ʔanta*, Hb **ʔntā** *ʔat^rtā*, Amr {G} *ʔatta*, Gz *ʔanta*, Ak *at^rta*) and **ʔanti* 'thou' f. (> Ar *ʔanti*, Hb **ʔntā** *ʔattā*, Gz *ʔantī*, Ak *at^rti*); in S the distinction between pronouns of m. and f. is either an innovation (probably due to the influence of **ka* 'thee, thy' m. and **ki* 'thee, thy' f.) or a HS archaism: **ʔanta* m. < **ʔant^ri¹-a* (with a HS masc. pc. **-a*, surviving in the 2m forms of the Bj verb,

as well as in Mb ʔǎt'a 'thou', possibly a former masc. form that lost its gender meaning (Dk. JDPa 222, G OA 54-5, GB 78) || Eg fOK ɪnt-k 'thou' m. and ɪnt-ɕ 'thou' f. (restructured by adding personal sxs: -k 2m, -ɕ 2f) (Lpr. 65, Ed. 79-80) ¶¶ AD PP 69 || U *on|he → *on|ha (= {Jn.} *oni and *onā) > pSm {Jn.} *ānъ 'self', used with ppas to form reflexive personal pronouns: Slq Tm on-äk 'myself', on-änti 'thymself', on-ti 'himself, herself' etc., Ng ɲonənə 'myself', ɲonəntə 'thymself' etc. ¶ Jn. 18, KHG 290-3, Ter. NgJz 428 || A *onE 'self, same, only' > OT U onā 'precisely, exactly'; NaT *on > OT öη {Cl.} (= on?) 'desolate, uninhabited', OT [MQ] {DTS} on {DTS} 'right (dexter)', ET ončä 'одинокий, уединенный', SR 'richtig (верный, правильный)', Tkm on 'благополучный, удачный', CrT, Kr, QrB, Qzq, Nog. Qq, Qrg, ET, StAlt, Xk, Tv on, VTt, Bsh un, Yk unə 'right (dexter)' ¶ NaT *-n may go back to *n before an ancient velar cns. of a sx ¶ Cl. 170, TT5 32 (note B 80), Nj. 107, DT S 367, ET Gl 456-60, Tkr 489 || M ≈ *önü kü ({SDM} *önü-) 'that (very), the same' (× M *ene kü 'the same') > WrM {MED} önü-ki id. (e.g. WrM önüki kerəg 'that very matter'), HIM {MED, BMR} өнөөх, Brt үнөөхи 'the one in question, that very (thing or person)', Kl {Rm.} ünūkū 'gerade dieser, gerade hier, nur dies' ¶ MED 316, 639, BMR III 29, Chr. 507, KW 458 || pJ *znz 'self, the same' > OJ {S} ono, onore 'self', onazi 'the same', MJ ónòrè, ònàzì 'the same', J T ònore, J K ónóré, J Kg onoré 'self (myself, oneself, yourself)', J T ònàzì, J K ònàzì, J Kg onàzì 'the same' ¶ Mr. 507, S QJ no. 1483, Syr. DJ 92-3, Kenk. 1445-6, 1448 ¶¶ OT ɔ|ǎη 'desert' (Cl. 168: 'desolate, uninhabited, desert', but in the text the only meaning is 'desert') hardly belongs here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) ¶¶ SDM 1056-7 (pA *onhe 'same, self, lonely' > T *on, M, J), DQA no. 42, Oz. NM 62-3 ◇ AD PP 91 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 333 (*ana self') (Sm, J + qu. Hg).

46. *ʔäyñâ or ***ʔäy,Eñâ** 'nothing, there is no...' > HS: S (or WS) *ʔayn- ~ *ʔin- > BHb ʔayin 'non-existence; not, no', ʔēn 'there is no...', M'b ʔn, Ug ʔin [*ʔēn₁∇₁] id., Ar ʔin 'there is no...', neg. pc.: ʔin ʔal-ħukmu ʔillā-li]jāhi 'there is no judgement except for (belonging to) God', ? Ak ʔānu 'is not' (unless from ʔayyānu 'where?', 'where from?'), Gz ʔan- '(there is) not, do not', neg. element in: [1] 1s ʔanbī 'I am not in a position to...' (literally 'there is not in me'), 2m ʔanbāka 'you (m. sg.) are not in a position to...' etc., [2] ? ʔandāʔī 'I do not know' ¶ KB 40-1, KBR 41-2, OLS 37-8, L G 27-8, ≈ L NP ∇ (hyp.: Ar ʔayna ← ʔin 'verily, indeed'), ≠ Br. G II 500 [§ 253], 577 [§ 370o] (hyp.: the negative ʔayna ← ʔayin 'where?'),

Sd. 414 || Eg ĭn, adv. within the Eg N neg. construction brn ... ĭn, Cpt Sd/B AN an, Cpt A/L/F EN en, component of the neg. construction an ... an ~ en 'not' ¶ EG I 90, 456, Vc. 11 || A *äna 'not', neg. verb > T *ä:n ({SDM} *en) 'do not' (prohib.) > Chv aH id. ¶ Fed. I 43-5, Jeg. 27, Jeg. SChJ I 45, Fed. I 43-5 (all of them: Chv aH ← pPrm *en prohib. [> Z, Vt en]) || Tg *ana 'there is not, without' > Orc, Ul ana 'there is not', Lm āη 'not having, without', Ork ana, anā, anaʒa, Nn Nh/BK {STM} anā id., 'there is not', Nn {On.} anā 'not, without, there is not' ¶ STM I 41, On. 39 || pKo *àn- 'not' > MKo àn(í)-, NKo an(i)- '(is) not' ¶ S QK no. 62, Nam 334, MLC 1068 || J: [1] pJ *ina-m- ~ *ìnà-b- v. {S} 'deny, decline, refuse' ({S} *ìná 'nay, no' [disagreement]) > OJ inam- ~ ìnà-b- {S} id., J T inam- {Kenk.} 'refuse, decline'; [1a] ?φ J {SDM} *nà- (negation) (× N *ñi 'not') > OJ na 'lacking, non existant', J Kg na-ká, J Ns né-, J Sh nē- {S} id., J T náĭ, J Kt nàĭ 'there is no...'; J T ná-, J K/Kg nà- {SDM} 'lacking, non existant', StJ {Kenk.} nai 'there is no' ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 56], S QJ no. 56, Mr. 424, 697, Kenk. 614-5; 1308, [2] ? pJ *-(a)n- 'not' (verbal negation) (× N *ñi 'not', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 300-1 (pA *āni 'not', negative verb > Tg *a(n)- [for *ana], T, J, Ko). DQA no. 74, S AJ 95-6, 277 [no. 54], SDM95 s.v. "*ana 'not', neg. verb", Vv. JKT 3 || U: FU: pPrm *en prohib. > Z, Vt en, Yz 'in (unless it is a form of the Prm neg. verb *e- [{LG} *e-] with an enigmatic *-n) ¶ LG 331 || E: MEI, NEI, AchEI in-ni, AchEI in, NEI, AchEI in-na 'not' ¶¶ HK 757-8 ◇ Blz. E no. 78 (E, HS) ◇ ITg *a- of the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. (especially if the N etymon is *ʔäyña) ◇ The origin of S *-ay- still needs investigating.

47. *ʔANṢṢ (*ʔANṢṢ?) ≈ 'ε foot' > HS: Eg fOK ĭnṣ.t 'calf of leg, shank' ¶ EG I 99, Fk. 24 || ?σ S *°✓ʔnš > Ug ʔnš 'muscle, sinew' ('músculo, tendón') ¶ OLS 41 || B: Ah ti-nse 'foot (of animals), toe', Kb t̥i-nsa pl. 'sabots des bovidés; pattes cuites de bovidés' ¶ Fc. 1415, Dl. 576 || NrOm: Dz: Mj {All.} àšu, {All.} āšū, {Fl.} aššū, Na {AY} ʔāšū, {Fl.} ašo, Shk {Fl.} ašus 'foot' ¶ All. PhD 341, AY WShND, Fl. OWL || Ch ≈ *ʔansʔ (Nw.'s *asʔ) 'leg, foot' > CCh: MsgP {Mch.} azɜ, pl. àηzí: 'leg' || Suk {IL} nás, {Mk} nās 'leg' || WCh: SBc: Tala asɜη, Zul ʔàsɜmè, Plc asɜm, Gj àsàη, Buli àsìη, Tule ʔasìn, Zar GL {Sh.} yàsàη, Zar L yāsɜ̀η, Zar K sà̀n, Sy Z yàsɜ̀η, Sy B yàsɜ̀n, Sy Zk ηàsɜ̀η 'leg', Wnd ʔásìn 'leg, foot' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} àsè, Mgm {J} ʔásín, ?? Mkl {J} zíná (pl. zóη) 'foot, leg', Jg {J} ʔìsìntó, pl. ʔísán, Brg {J} ʔísìη 'leg', Mu sìn, pl. sà̀nè 'leg, foot', Kjk sìn 'leg' ¶ JI II 220-1, Nw. 81, ChC s.v. 'leg' and 'foot', ChL, Sh. SB 25, Al. KTU 247 || D *anča 'foot, footprint' > Tl anca 'foot, footprint, step, stride', (× D *aʔʔa > N *ʔARČA 'trace'): Tl ajja 'foot,

footprint', Kt a₃ 'footprint', Td o₃ 'step', Tu a j æ 'footprint, track, trace' ¶¶ ≈ DED App. no. 6 (deriving the D root from InA p a d y ā 'footsteps', F Tu. no. 7778) || **A:** Tg (att. in NrTg) *asi- v. 'track (game)', *asi-lga 'footprint, track' (unless it is *xasi- and *χasi-lga) > Ewk asi-lga 𐌆 aši-lga 'track (of an elk)', Lm asb-ψ- 𐌆 asb-lgb- 𐌆 asa-lga- v. 'find the tracks', asb-m- 𐌆 asa-m- id., Neg asī--lga 'track (of an animal)' ¶ STM I 56 ◇ Blz. L no. 100a (suggesting to add Dz).

48. *pañ₁∇₁ś₁∇ '≈ friend(ly), favorable, useful' > **HS:** CS *✓ṛṇś > Ar انس₁ ✓ṛṇs G (ṛanis-a / -ṛnasu) v. 'be polite\kind\social', ṛanisa bi- 'have an intimate connection with', ṛanisa ʕalā 'become acquainted and familiar with', ṛibnu ṛinsi-ka 'thy intimate friend', ? Ug {A} ✓ṛṇś G v. 'be friendly', D 'freundlich hegen, besänftigen', ṛṇśt 'Freundin' ¶ Fr. I 64, A no. 319, ⇔ OLS 41 (alt. interpretation of Ug ✓ṛṇś as 'languidecer, ponerse enfermo; ponerse lívido\enfermo [de ira]') || **IE:** NaIE *ans- v. 'be favorable' ({P}: 'wohlgeneigt, günstig sein') > Gt a n s t s (- χάρης) 'Freude, Dank, Gnade, Gunst', OHG a n s t 'goodwill, grace, thanks', u n s t 'favor', AS œ s t 'Gunst, Gnade', ON á s t, ó s t 'favor (Gunst), love' || Gk ἀπ-ηυής (< *ἀπ-αυσής) 'unfriendly', προσ-ηυής (< *προσ-αυσής) 'gentle, kindly, soft' ¶ WP I 68, P 47, EI 198 (? *h⁴ens- 'be gracious to, show favor'), F I 121, Fs. 53, Vr. 16, Kb. 33, 1104, EWA I 265-7, Ho. 244 || **A:** T *as 'advantage, use, benefit' > Yk as id., Chv ʏc us 𐌆 oc os 'use, benefit'; d. T *as-Iψ 'advantage, profit, benefit' > OT asIψ, Chg asIQ, Tk asI, Uz Δ {Jr.} assI, Tv ažiQ id., Chv ʏc ă uz₁ 𐌆 oz₁ 'use' ¶ Cl. 244-5, DTS 60, Rs. W 29, ET Gl 196-7, TL 344-5, Bu. I 48, Rh. 131, Ash. III 295, 300-1, Fed. II 290-1, Jeg. 277 ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 75: S, IE.

49. (₂?) *ṛiñ₁∇₁ś₁ê 'person, man' > **HS:** S *'ṛinaś- 'person, man' (pl. *ṛinaś- + pl. ending [bearing the stress]) > Hb ʾִישׁ ִרִיִּשׁ 'man (vir), husband, human being' (< **ṛī~ś- < *ṛinś- < S *'ṛinaś-), pl. ִישִׁיִּם ִרִיִּשִׁיִּם 'viri, homines' (< S accus./gen. pl. df. *ṛinaśī-ma), Ph ʔś, Pun ʔś, ʔʏś ([Plt.] ʏs), DA, Yd, IA ʔś 'man (vir)' Yd nśʏ (pl. cs.), OA pl. nśn, Ug nśm, (AkSc) {Hnr.} naś-ūma 'men, people', Ug derived v. ✓ṛṇś 'mannhaft sein, sich ermannen', Ar انس₁ ṛins- 'hommes, genre humain' (coll.), 'ami', انسا₁ ṛins-ān- 'person' (-ān- is a sx of singulatives); d.: coll. WS *ṛunāś- 'homines' > BHb ʾִישִׁיִּם ִרִיִּשִׁיִּם 'Menschen' (coll.), Ug ʔṛnś 'people (gente)', JA ʾִישִׁיִּם ִרִיִּשִׁיִּם ʔṛnāś id., Sr انسا₁ ṛnāś, em. انسا₁ ṛnāś-ā id., JEA {Sl.} انسا₁ ṛnāśā 'man; people (gente)', SmA ʔnś ({Tal} = ēnāś) 'people, men', Ar انس₁

ʔunās- ~ ناس nās- id., Tgr እናስ ʔanas 'man'; another d.: Ak niš-ū 'Menschen, Leute' ¶ KB 41-2, 68, KBR 43-4, 73, HJ 115-21, A no. 319, Hnr. 155, Sl. 120, OLS 41, Lv. I 115, Tal 52, Br. 31, LH 371-2, Sd. 796, DRS 26 || B: Ah {Fc.} āynās (pl. eynāsən) 'young man' ¶ Fc. 702 || C: Ag *n∇s-/*ḡs- 'man (vir)' > Bln {R} (derived adj.) nəs-āuχ 'männlich', ʔφ Xm {R} ās-aû ~ ās-ô id. || ʔφ EC {Ss.} *ʔis- 'self, oneself' (× N *yi 'he' or *h'i 'iste' [or 'hic'] + N *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶ R WB 285, R Ch. II 28, Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 17 || NrOm: Anf {Gt.} rušē, GeMa/HzMa {Fl.} nūšē 'husband' ¶ Gt. 357, Fl. ML || WCh: Ron: DfB {J} nís, Bks {J} nús- 'brother' ¶ J R 145, 219, 388 || U: FU (in FV only) *in|ḡše 'person' > eF inhe-minen, inhi-minen, inih-minen, F ihmnen (genitive ihmisen), Δ inehmo, inehminen, inehmino id., Es inemine, inimine id. | Er inžē, Mk inžī 'guest' ¶ UEW 627-8 || A: ʔσ Tg: WrMc {Z} əwə 'husband's younger brother' ¶ WrMc ə- for the expected ɪ- is puzzling (infl. of the Lallwort factor?) ¶ Z 72 ◇ Blz. L no. 106a (suggesting to add cognates from Ah, NrOm and Ron), Blz LNA no. 1 (suggesting to add Ah and NrOm).

50. *ʔ∇nt∇ (or *ʔ∇nt∇?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' (in descendant lges: → a sx of participles and derived nomina) > HS: B *ʔu|inta (? ~ *n∇tta) > Ah {Fc.} anta aut. pron. 'he, she, it' (f. anta-t 'she'), ETwl/Ty {GhA} anta aut. pron. m. 'he, it', Kb, Wrg, Tmz, ASgr, Shl, Si natta id. (f. natta-t 'she') ¶ Fc. 1422, GhA 151, MT 503, Ds. 173, Ds. AS 235, La. S 254, Bs. E 98, D'ál. 579, Dlh. Ou 228 || S: Gz ʔanta rel. prn. f. 'who, that which' (reinterpreted as f. due to the cns. t), ʔ Tgr {L} ʔət ʔanta 'while she is', Har intē 'she is' ¶ L G 33 || C: Ag sx of n. ag. *-¹a¹nt∇: Bln {R} -əntā (pl. -əntī), e. g. fə'd-əntā 'seaman', ži'b-əntā 'seller', ku'w-əntā 'murderer', Aw {Hz.} -tánti (f. -tánt-a), e.g. dibs-tánti 'talker' (← dibs- v. 'talk') ¶ R BilS 662, Hz. NSA ¶¶ ≈ JB PrB 109, L G 33 (Gz ÷ B) || IE *-ent-/ *-ont-, sx of participles: NaIE *-ent-/*-nt-/ *-ḡt-, sx of active present participles, e.g. *bhero-nt- 'carrying' > OI bharent-, Gk m. φέρων (gen. -οντ-ος), L ferēns (gen. ferent-is), Gt baírand-s, OHG beranti, ChS БЕРЫ berī (gen. БЕРѦЩА berqšta), Tc: A -nt-, B -ńc-, sx of pres. act. participle (Tc A asánt-, Tc B aserica 'transporting'); NaIE *s-ent-/*s-ḡt- 'being' > OI 'sant-, Gk D ἔντ-εῖς id. (Gk f. ἐντί), L praes-ens (gen. -ent-is) 'present' || Ht -ant-, sx of active prtcs of vi. and that of pp. of vt. ¶¶ The Gk forms of prtc. ntr. ὄν, m. ὤν (gen. ntr./m. ὄντ-ος), f. οὖσα 'being' are contractions from Gk Ep ntr. ἐόν, m. ἐών, f. ἐοῦσα (< IE *(e)s-ont- ← *es- 'be'), unless they represent IE **ont- (monomorphemic

stem of a prtc. without verbal $\sqrt{\text{}}$) ¶¶ Mer. SGA 361-2, Brg. KVG 315, Bks 249-50, Kron. VLFH 210, Krs. T 44 || U: Sm {Jn.} *-ntä, sx of active prtc. and n. ag.: *ilä-ntä 'living, alive' (← *ilä- v. 'live') > En X {Cs.} iředde, En B {Cs.} jiredde, Slq MO/UO {Cs.} ilndi, ilnde, Slq NP {Cs.} ilandie, Ne Т иленя, илена, Ne T Sy {Lh.} yil'e'ń'e, Ne {Cs.} jilene, jilena id., Mt {Hl.} *il3ndä id. ({Mll.}: Mt T/M ilinde, Mt K illende 'vivus') || FU nominal derivational sx *-nt∇ > [1] deverbals: F etsintä n. act. 'searching' (← etsi- 'look for'), perintö 'heritage' (← peri- 'inherit'), syönti n. act. 'eating' (← syö- 'eat') | Lp N r â ģ â ģ 'season of mating (of reindeer)' (← r â k k â- v. 'mate') | Vt чыпет čipet 'dam, pond' (← čip- v. 'dam'), думет dumet, Z Δ домод dom3d 'bridle, rope' (← Vt dum-, Z US dōm- v. 'tie, bind'); Vt -t and Z -d < pPrm -d < FU *-nt∇ | [2] denominative: Z сөнөд s3n3d 'sinewy, brawny' (of men, draught animals) (← s3n 'sinew'), F isäntä 'pater familias, head of the household' (← isä 'father'), Hg apród 'page (teen-ager)' (← apró 'little') ¶¶ Sz. 85, Coll. CG 269-70, U 92f., LG 291, Bd. UNA § 33 A, Jn. 27, Cs. 24, Ter. 142, Lh. 127, Hl. M 252-3 || A: T *-nt'i/*-nt'i, sx of participles (acc. to Shch.) or deverbals: OT aqindi 'flowing, running' (of water) (← aq- v. 'flow, run'), ũđrũ-ndi 'chosen, select' (← ũđrũ- 'choose'), Osm öründü ~ öründi 'chosen', OT ekindi tarıx 'sown millet', itindi neŋ 'ein weggestoßenes Ding', MT [IM] siqindi 'juice' (sc. 'sth. squeezed out'), StAlt salinti 'freedman'; the sx was metanalysed (by Cl.) as OT -n-di/i, sc. -n- of refl. verbs + di/i of deverbals n./adj. ¶ Shch. GTVT 121, Cl. xliii, 67, 70, 77, 88, Rh. 24 || D * - ∇ ñ t ∇, sx of gerund > Tu -oñdu, Kdg {An.} -añđt, Mlt -oñdu id., OTm {An.} seyxinđú 'having done, while doing' (≠ An.: < seyxú + inđú ← sey- 'do' and il- 'be [some-where]'), Mlt, Gdb {Bh.} -ondi (verbal adj.) ¶¶ An. SG 301, An PTS 145-50, Bh. O 46 ◊ IE *t suggests N *t, while D *t (apparently pointing to N *t) requires explanation; Gz ʔ- (in pronouns) may go back to N *ʔ- or *h-, but the absence of traces of N *h- in IE provides clear ev. for N *ʔ- ◊ Gr. I 182-6 ("participle NT" in IE, F [← Coll.] + qu.: Gil marker of predicate -đ and err. IE 3p *-nti).

51. (2?) *ʔaŋo 'e snake' > IE: NaIE {WP, P} *ang^whi- ~ *ang^wi- 'snake' ({EI} IE *^haeng^whis [gen. *^haŋ^g^whe^{is}] 'snake') > L anguis 'snake' || Lt angis, Pru angis id., Ltv ôdze 'adder, viper' | pSl *qžb > OR ѧжб уѧ 'e snake', R yж, Cz, Slv užovka 'grass snake', P wąż, Slv vōž 'snake' || Arm ođ ôž (< auž) 'snake' || OIr esc-ung 'eel' ("water snake": esc 'water',

ung < *ang^whō), W llys-yw-en 'eel' || OHG unnc 'snake' ¶ The OHG and L forms go back to a variant *ang^wi- ¶ The NaIE stems *eġhī- and *e/oġ^whī- (> Gk ἔχιδς 'adder, viper', ὄφις 'snake', OHG egala 'hedgehog', Arm իժիճ 'snake, viper' [gen. iž'i], W eouđ 'sheep worms', OI ahih, Av ažiš 'snake') should be kept apart (⇔ Dv) ¶ WP I 63, P 43-5, EI 530, WH I 48, SB 15, LP § 310, YGM-1 319, 468, Frn. 10, Tp. P A-D 86-7, Vs. IV 150-1, Srz. III 1167, Chrn. II 285, Mikl. E 223, Kb. 1093, Slit. 134-5, 305-6, Dv. no. 843 (IE *(n)g^wh- 'snake, worm') || HS: Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *ηgω 'snake' > Su {J} ηω, Ang ηgω, Cp ηω || ? Hs Skt/Z gānā 'a coiled snake, coil of rope' || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} gω, {J} gúyá || ECh: ? Ke hēnží 'snake' ¶ Stl. VZCh A no. 183, ChC s.v. 'snake', ChL, J S 78, Ba. 354, Abr. H 293-4, 302, ≈ Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 681] || S: Ar ḡaym- 'serpens, viperae mas', {Fr.} ḡīm- 'a white thin snake' (or a general name for 'snake') ¶ Fr. I 76, DRS 1 || ?? K: eNG {SSO} anqara 'ε small snake', NG {AxT, DCh.} anqara 'grass snake (y*)', {Chx.} 'blind worm (Blindschleiche, *Anguis fragilis*)' (← ?) ¶ This NG word makes a phonetic impression of being a loanword. In any case, its cns. k and the final element -ara remain puzzling ¶ AxT 21, Chx. 28, DCh. 40, SSO I 57 ◇ N *-η- is reconstructed on the ev. of IE *-ηg^wh-, WCh *ηgω- and S *-m-.

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

53. *ḡān|g∇ 'chin' > HS: Eg P ĩn, Eg Md ĩn.t 'chin' ¶ EG I 94 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Bg {Grgs} ηā id. || CCh: Ngs ("Ghvoko") {Srp.} niēn id. | ZmD {Srp.} nyān id. ¶ JI II 76-7, ChC s.v. 'chin' || U {UEW} *ān∇ 'chin' (× N *Xān'ā'k∇ 'jaw, palate') > pPrm {LG} *an- 'jaw' > Vt an 'jaw', anges, Δ andes 'chin', Z an 'palate', Z Ud andlas, anglas 'gum' || Sm {Jn.} *ānъ, {Hl.} *ānoy 'chin' > En X {Cs.} eu, StNe T нянцу ꞑаꞑи 'jaw', нянцу мал 'chin', Ne T O {Lh.} ḡānu, Ne F {Lh.} ḡānu 'chin', Slq MO {Cs.} d. aωaj 'Hals', Slq Nr {Cs.} aoí 'Kinn, Hals', Kms {KD} o'η'oġ 'Kinnlade', Koyb oγoй 'cheeks', Mt {Hl.} *ōnō|ūy 'Kinn, Backe' (Mt: K {Mll.} öngoi, M {Mll.} ónguī id.) ¶¶ Coll. 3, ≈ UEW 25-6 (U *ān∇; *÷ Os *āyān 'chin', Vg K iḡān id. etc., sc. ObU *īyūnā < FU *īke₁ne₁ 'palate, gums, jaw'), Ht. no. 14, LG 32, Sm. LM 27 [no. 23] (*÷ Sm *ān 'mouth'), Jn. 20 (hyp.: Sm *anъ 'chin' ← Sm *ān 'mouth'), Lh. 309, Cs. 231, Ter. 355, KD 49, Hl. M no. 813 (misprint öηūj for öηüj) || A: [1] NaT *æη 'cheek' ({SDM} *ēη, {DQA} *āη, {ADb.} *eġη) > OT {Cl.} äη, {ADb.} eη 'cheek, face', MQp/XwT XIV {Cl.} äη, {ADb.} eη id.,

Chg {ADb.} еη 'cheek(s), appearance', Tkm āη, Az әнж äng 'jaw', {Rl.} 'sides of the lower jaw', ? Osm XIX {Rl.} еη, Tk ен 'complexion', Qmq еη id., 'cheek', Tk Δ енк 'place of juncture of jaw bones', VTt инлек in-l'ek 'румяна, rote Schminke', Yk iη 'cheek, high color of the cheeks', Qrg ен 'scrofula' || [2] pA *āηæk ∇ ≈ 'jaw, chin' (× N *Xäñ'â'k ∇ 'jaw, palate', q.v. ffd.) > T *ä;ηæк 'chin, jaw' ({DQA} *āηäk, {ADb.} *еηек) (acc. to Cl. and Gbn it is T *æη with the dim.-restrictive sx *-äk, / Cl. xli, Gbn ATG § 57) > OT ä|eηäk 'jaw, jawbone, chin', OOsM XIV, Chg XV {ADb.} еηек 'chin', MQP {ADb.} еηек ~ енек 'chin, jaw', XwT {ADb.} еуек 'chin', еηек 'jaw', Tk ене ~ енек 'jaw', Slr енек, VTt iyäk, Brb inäk, Bsh byäk, Nog, Qzq, Qq iyek 'chin', Uz engak, Δ äηäk 'chin, jaw', StAlt ээк ēк 'chin, lower lip', Qrg ээк ēк id., 'jaw', SY iηек 'jaw', ET iηäk 'chin, jaw', Nog, Qq iyek, VTt ияк iyäk, Qzq иек, Bsh byek, Chv аһа 'chin' ¶ Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, Rl. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-19, Tkr 790, TatR 170, ARL. 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Ash. I 241, Fed. I 45 || Tg: WrMc {Z} энгэ 'beak', ds: {Z} энгэлэ - 'высовывать нос\голове', энгэчи ~ энгичи 'за носом, за спиною' ¶ Z 65, STM II 457 ¶¶ ¶¶ SDM 310-11 (pA *ēηa(k' ∇), DQA no. 434 || pJ {S} *ánk- 'jaw, chin; gills' > OJ agíí, agíitopíí, ItOJ [RJ] ágító {S} id., MJ ágí, ágító id., J T agito {Kenk.} 'gill (of a fish)', agó 'jaw, chin', J K àgô, J Kg ágô 'jaw, chin' ¶ S QJ no. 163, Kenk. 9 ¶¶ SDM 510-11 (pA *ēηa(k' ∇) 'chin, jaw' > T *ēη [i.e. *æη] 'cheeks; jaw, chin', Tg, J).

54. *ʔanq'í '≈ breathe' > HS: S *ʔnχ > Ak ʔnχ (inf. anāχu) v. 'sigh, sing an inχu 'song (song of sighs, moaning)', Ug ʔnχ v. 'moan', {OLS} adj. ʔanχ 'quejumbroso', BHb ʔnħ N n̄n̄ħ n̄εʔ^εnaħ 'he groaned', JA ʔnħ (pf. n̄n̄ħ ʔ^anaħ) v. 'sigh', Sr ʔnħ v. 'moan'; in Ar ʔnħ نَجْ v. 'sigh' the irreg. ħ (instead of χ) is due to the onomatopoeic associations of this root ¶ DRS 25, CAD I/2 105-6 and VII 148 s.v. inħu, OLS 38, Sd. 49, KB 68, KBR 72, Sl. 144, Br. 28 || IE *HχanHχ- (> NaIE *anə-) v. 'breathe' ({EI} IE *^hh₁eh₁-mi), d.: NaIE {P} *anə-mo-s 'breath, wind', {EI} IE *^hh₁enh₁-mos 'breath' > OI ani-ti '(he) breathes', 'anilah₁ 'wind' || Gk ἄνεμος 'wind', ?? ἄνέω 'winnow (grain)' (unless < *Fav-, cp. ἄνω id.) || L animus 'spirit, soul' || Clt {Matas.} *anamon 'soul' > OIr anim id.; Clt {Matas.} *anatlā 'breath' > OIr anál, Brtt {RE} *anatl- > MW anadyl, anadl, W anadl, Cm anal, MBr alazn, azlan, Br anal, alan 'breath' n.; cd.: Clt {Matas.} *owxs-anatā n. 'sigh' > OIr osnad, MW uchenaid, uchenaeid(iau), MBr huanat, Br huanad id. || Gt uz-anan.....(·έκπνεῖν) 'aushauchen' || pSl *(v)óna

~ *(v)οήνβ 'odor' > OCS **ВОНЯ** vonja 'ὄσμή, fragrance, запах', OR **ВОНЯ** vonja 'odor', Cz vŭňe 'fragrance, pleasant odor', Slv vónja, SCr vōnj, P ωονί 'odor', Blg воня, R вонь 'stench', ⇨ pSl inf. *(v)οήάti vi. 'to smell, to emit odor' > OCS inf. **ВОНЯТИ** vonjati id., SCr inf. vōnjati, Slv inf. vonjati 'to emit odor', Blg воня v. 'stink', R inf. вонять 'to stink (of)', Cz inf. voněti 'to be fragrant', P inf. ωονιέс id., 'to smell (emit odor)' || pAl {O} *anγ > Al: G âj, T {Kf.} ěj 'I inflate, I swell, I blow' ('πρήσκω, φουσκώνω'), {Ç} âj, T ěnj v. 'swell' || pTc {Ad.} *āñčläme > Tc A {Ad.} āñčäm (obl. āñm-) 'soul', Tc B {Ad.} āñme id., 'self, inner being' (< NaIE *anə-mo-s) ¶ WP I 56-8, P 38-9, EI 82, M K I 33-4, WH I 49-50, StSS 121, F I 41, 105, Vn. A 73, Fs. 538, My. 5, BFU 127, Kf. 38, 97, Ç I 171 and II 380, O 91, RE 84-5, Ad. H 33-4, Ad. 40-1, Glh. 67, Chr. I 165, Matas. E 34-5, 302-3 || ?φ K: it is tempting to adduce Sv: L/UB qan 'smell, запах', UB/L/Ln {TK} qan- (msd.: UB/L liqāne, Ln liqane, LB liqne) v. 'smell (of sth.), smell (sth.)' (TK 485, 880, Dn. s.v. qan, GP 190), if this is a mt. from the expected K *anq- || U: FU (att. in FL) *aŋe- 'feel\smell', *aŋe spirit, ghost' (× N *hAωη∇ 'sense, mind, soul', q.v.) > F aave, Δ āvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita v. 'feel\smell sth.', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' | Lp I vŭěŋŋež 'spirit (water spirit, wood spirit, incumbent, gnome etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56 || A *aŋki- 'emit an odor' > M *aŋgi- ~ *aŋki- id. > Ord aŋgi- 'sentir, exhaler une odeur; puer', HIM {BMR} анжим 'fragrant'; M *aŋgi-l- ~ *aŋki-l- > WrM aŋgil- ~ aŋkil- {MED} v. 'emit an odor', HIM анжила- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'emit a pleasant odor, Wohlgerüche ausströmen', Brt анжил- ~ ангил- v. 'emit an odor', Kl {Rm.} aŋk]- ~ äŋk]- v. 'stark riechen', d. Ord aŋgilga 'odeur' ⇨ Yk aŋily- v. 'spread' (of an odor) ¶ MED 44-5, BMR I 115-16, Chr. 52, 54, KW 12, Ms. O 25 || NaT *aŋki|a- v. 'emit an odor' > Tkm aŋqa- v. 'emit a bad smell', Nog aŋqı, Bsh aŋqъ- v. 'be fragrant, emit an odor', VTt aŋq(ъ)- v. 'be fragrant', Tbl aŋqъ- 'einen starken, betäubenden Geruch haben', VTt aŋqъt- id., Qzq aŋq(ı)-, Qq aŋqi- 'spread' (of odor), Qrg, ET aŋqi- v. 'be emitted' (of a pleasant odor); NaT *aŋki|l- v. 'gasp for breath, moan' > Qzq aŋqıl- {Rl.} id., aŋqıl 'Gestöhn, Japsen', Qrg aŋqıl|da- v. 'whine' (of a dog) ¶ These T words or some of them may be Mongolisms (which is suggested by their absence in OT texts) ¶ Rl. I 186, Rs. W 21, Jud. 59, MM 61, Nj. 44, TkR 45, KrkR 44, NogR 43, TatR 50, BR 43 ◇ IS I 261 adduced Eg OK ʕnħ v. 'live' (← v. 'breathe', acc. to IS's conjecture), which is qu. for phonetic reasons (Eg ʕ- is not cognate with S *ʔ-), see N *ʕiħ, ∇, q∇ 'live'

◇ Blz. IELA 19 [no. 76] (S, IE + unk. Eg 𐤀𐤏𐤃 v. 'live') ◇ Cf. IS I 261: HS (S, Eg), IE, ? K ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 49 (*ana 'breathe' > IE, EA).

55. *ʔaŋga 'to open', 'opening' (esp. 'mouth'), 'entrance' > **HS**: S *^oʔŋg > Ar 𐤀𐤏𐤃 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤅 G (ʔanaḡa / -ʔniḡu) 'enter' ¶ BK I 60, Fr. I 63, DRS 25 || ?ϕ C: Ag {Ap.} *ʔ3nk- 'open, undo' (× N ?σ *X∇Nk∇ (= *XANka?) 'to untie, to open' [q.v. ffd.]) × N *ñEko 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover' || Ch: (1) ECh: Kbl {Cp.} hāngǝ́ v. 'open' | (2) ???ϕ Ch *w∇ŋ, {Stl.} *wan- v. 'open' > WCh: Su {J} wánŋ, Fy {J} wànŋ id. || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} wúnò, Gzg D {Lk.} won id. || ECh: Mu {J} wín, {Stl. ← ?} wen, ? Kwn {J} welé, Mkl ʔòʔiné id. ¶ JI II 264-5, ChC s.v. 'to open', ChL, J S 87, Stl. IF 229 (Ch *wan- possibly from *h∇wan- or *wan∇h-) || **IE**: NaIE *^oʔaŋg_h- > Lt angà 'opening, aperture, orifice', {Frn.} 'Tür-, Fensteröffnung' ¶ ≈ Frn. 10 || **U**: [1] U *aŋe- 'opening' (UEW: 'Öffnung, Einschnitt, Vertiefung') > pLp {Lr.} *vōŋ3s 'Maulkorb, muzzle' > Lp N {N} vuoŋâs / -gŋ- 'halter or band on the muzzle of a dog (to prevent it from biting reindeer)', Lp L {LLO} vuoŋastī- '(einen Hund) mit Maulkorb versehen' | pMr {Ker.} *oŋb- -d> *oŋb-ks- (~ *ovbks) > Er pl. oŋkśt, Δ oŋkśt ɖ oŋśt ɖ oykst, Mk овост, овостъ ovəst' '(Gebiß am) Zaum' | Prm {LG} *ǫm 'mouth' > Vt +m, Vt Kz 3m 'mouth, opening, mouth of a river', Z vom v0m id., Z US ǫm, Z Ud v 3m, Prmk 3m, Yz ùm, gen. 'ùm-ñn 'mouth' || pOs {Ht.} *ōŋ (([Hl. *ũŋ) 'mouth, opening' > Os: V ōŋ, D oŋ, O uŋ 'Mund, Mündung (einer Reuse, einer Flasche, eines Flusses u. a.)' | Hg Δ aj ɖ áj 'Kerbe; Tal, Schlucht', Hg ajak 'lips', OHg fel-aj-z- 'aufspreizen' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *ǣŋ 'mouth' > Ng ŋaŋ, En X {Cs.} ê' (= ē̃), En B {Cs.} na' (= nã), Ne T {Ter.} ня' ná' [ná] / няңо- náŋo-, Slq Tz {KKIH} ōk, ōŋ, {Prk.} ǎk, ǎŋ, Kms {KD} aŋ· 'mouth', Mt {Hl.} *ǣŋ 'mouth' (Mt: K {Mll.} ǫŋg, M {Mll.} ǣŋg id., T {Mll., Adl.} ǣŋgde 'his mouth') || pY {IN} *aŋa 'mouth' > Y: K/T aŋa 'mouth', aŋ-í 'opening' || [2] FU *aŋa- v. 'untie, open' (UEW: 'lösen, öffnen, aufmachen') (× N ?σ *X∇Nk∇ 'to untie, to open', q.v.) > F avaa- v. 'open' (UEW: 'öffnen, ausbreiten, erweitern'), Es avā- v. 'open' (W: 'öffnen, aufmachen') | pMr *aŋb-ća- v. 'open an ice hole' > Er aŋkśe-, Mk aŋća- id., Er aŋksema aŋkśema, Δ aŋkśima ɖ avśima, Mk aŋcema aŋćama, Δ aŋćima 'ice hole' || pObU *ūŋk- ~ *īŋk-, *ūŋkat- ~ *īŋkat- v. 'take off (clothes)' > pVg *īŋk^ω, *īk^ωt- > Vg: T ā'ŋk-, LK āŋ^ωx-, MK 3ŋk^ω-, P aŋk-, NV 3ŋk-, LL 3ŋk^ω-, 3ŋk-, Ss āŋx^ω- id., LK/P axt-, MK/UK/SV 3x^ωt-, NV 3x^ωt-, 3xt-, LL 3xt-, ML āxt-, UL āx^ωt- v. 'peel'; pOs *iŋk- ɖ *aŋk-, *aŋat- v. 'take off' > Os: D/Nz/Kz

eŋx-, K aŋx- id., V/Vy aŋət-, Ty iŋət-, Y ɔŋət- id. | OHg ód, Hg old- 'undo, untie, unbind, unfasten, loosen' ¶¶ UEW 11-12, Sm. 542 (FU *ǣŋi 'mouth' > FP *aŋi, Ugr *ǣŋĩ), LG 62, Lr. no. 1447, Lgc. no. 8789, Ker. II 34-5, 100-1, Lt. J 202, Jn. 20, Ht. 127-8 [no. 47], Hl. rHt 71, KKIИ 144, Hl. M no. 76 (misprint: ǣŋ for *ǣŋ), IN H 106, IN UJ 215, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [no. 3] (Y ← U) ¶ Acc. to Jn. 20, U *aŋe- (= {Jn.} *aŋ-i-) 'opening' possibly ← U *aŋa- v. 'untie, open' || A *aŋa- > NaT *a:ŋ-, *a:ŋkay- 'be wide open' > OT Kr [MhK] aŋil ačuc 'wide open', Qq, Qrg aŋqay-, Qzq aŋqiy-, Tv aŋyay-, Xk, Yk aŋay- 'be wide open'; ?σ Shor {Rl.} 'ein Riβ im Flintenrohr' ¶ ET Gl 154-7, TkR 46, Rl. I 185 || M *aŋ 'crack, gape' (the absence of any Auslaut vw. still requires explanation) > WrM {MED} aŋ, HIM {MED, BMR} aH(Γ) 'crack, chink, cleft, fissure, crevice; ravine', Kl {KRS} aH aŋ 'crack, chink, cleft', {Rm.} 'Loch, Riβ, Ritze, Spalt', Ord aŋ 'crevasse', ⇨ : Mnr E {MYC} aŋgī 'crack, cleft, chap, crevice'; M *aŋa-yi- v. 'be wide open' > WrM {MED} aŋgāi-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt aHΓaŋ- v. 'open up, be wide open', Kl {KRS} aHΓa- vt. 'open (wide), move apart', vi. 'gape' (рас-от-крывать, зиять; раздвигать), {Rm.} aŋgā- 'offen sein, eine Ritze haben; sich spalten; offen stehen, zu offen sein', Mnr H {SM} aŋgē- 'être ouvert, se crevasser, se fendre, ouvrir', Dg {T} aŋgayi- vi. 'open (раскрываться открываться), gape', Dx aŋgzy- 'open one's mouth, gape', ShY aŋgi- id., Ord aŋgā- 's'ouvrir, être ouvert, ouvrir la bouche' ¶ MED 43, BMR I 106, 108-9, Chr. 52, KRS 44-5, KW 11, SM 9, MYC 111, T DgJ 121, Ms. O 25-6 ¶ Not here M {IS} *aŋ 'be thirsty' (actually M *haŋg|qa-), see N *hamga 'dry, thirst(y)' || Tg *aŋa- vt. 'open' > Ewk Ucr aŋa- 'open (a door)', Lm āŋa- vt. 'open', (× Tg *aŋa 'mouth [of animals], пасть'): Ewk, Neg aŋa- id.; Tg *aŋa 'mouth, mouth of an animal (пасть)' > Ewk Ald/Y/Ucr aŋa id., Neg aŋa id., Sln {Iv.} aHΓái 'mouth', WrMc {Z} aHΓa 'mouth, mouth of animals', Mc Sb aŋə 'mouth' ¶ STM I 38, 45, Z 16-17, Y no. 27, Md. ChF 124 || ? Ko aŋ- in aŋ-sjəl-pʰiŋ- v. 'be wide apart, be separated/scattered' ¶ Rm. SKE 11-12 ¶¶ IS: *÷ M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg {Bz.} *aŋma (sc. *am,aŋa) 'mouth' and T *am 'vulva'; for their et. see N *'g' am∇ 'mouth' ¶¶ SDM 304 (pA *àŋa- 'hole, crack, gape' > Tg, M) || D *aŋk- v. 'open the mouth wide, gape' > Tm aŋkā v. 'open the mouth', Tu aŋgāv- v. 'yawn, gape, open the mouth', aŋgū- v. 'open the mouth, be seized with a fit of yawning', Klm aŋgasi, Nkr aŋgāsí 'a yawn', Gnd aŋl-/aŋl- ɔ aŋg-/ aŋl-, Mnd aŋlā- v. 'open the mouth', Prj aŋalp- v. 'gape, open the mouth wide', Kui angali āva/giva id., angalanga 'with mouth agape', Ku aŋgala'- v. 'gape, open', Krx aŋglnā,

anġlaʔānā v. 'gape, open the mouth wide, be open', Mlt anġle v. 'gape', anġlo 'open-mouthed' ¶¶ D no. 34 ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 58 (U, A + * ÷ S * ✓ ħnk 'palate'), IS I 244-5 (U, D, A, IE + * ÷ HS [B, Ch] [with further bibliography]) ◇ S *n-g suggests N *-ŋg- rather than *-ŋ- (which would have yielded S *n or *m rather than *n-g) ◇ Gr. II no. 271 (*anga 'mouth, opening') (U, Y, A, J, Gil, CK, EA).

56. *ʔ^oŋka 'to pant, to sigh, to groan' > HS: CS *^o✓ʔnk > BHb ✓ʔnk G 'sigh' (ip. 1s ʔnḫḫ ʔε-ʔ^εnoḫ), Sr ʔ^oŋka v. 'groan, sigh' ¶ KB 70, KBR 72, Br. 30, DRS 26 || IE: NaIE *enk-/*onk- v. 'sigh, groan' > pSl inf. *ječati 'to groan, to emit sounds', *jeḱb, *jeḱa 'sound, groan' > RChS pres. ǰȳȳ jač u \ inf. ǰȳȳȳ jačati v. 'sigh', ǰȳȳȳȳ jaḱli v 'μοϋλιλάλος, aegre loquens', R Δ inf. я'чатъ 'to groan, to call for help', Blg eча v. 'reverberate, buzz', eкна 'I emit sounds, groan', SCr inf. jéčati 'to reverberate, to echo, to resound, to groan', jèka n. 'echo', Slv inf. jéčati 'to groan', Cz inf. ječeti 'to yell, to shriek, to screech, to scream', P jeḱ 'groan, moan', inf. jeḱzeč 'to groan, to moan' || MLG inf. anken 'to groan, to sigh', Dn ank, anke 'Klage, Beschwerde' || L unc-ō / uncā-re 'utter sounds' (of bears) ¶ Acc. to O 6, not here Al G ankoj v. 'cry, weep', {P} 'I sigh' (< pAl *anaka ← Gk ἄνιάχη 'grief, distress') ¶ P 322, WH II 816, Vs. IV 570-1, ESSJ VI 61-2, LamP 145, Kf. 40, 232, 297, BFU 36, O 6 || A: WtM {MED} onġuli-, HIM {MED, BMR} onġoli- v. 'be out of breath, pant' ¶ MED 613, BMR II 477.

57. *ʔ^ap 'take, seize' > HS: C: EC: Bs {HL} ab- 'have, keep', ʔσ Elm {Ss.} ap- v. 'touch', HEC {Hd.} *af- v. 'seize, hold, get' > Kmb af-, app-, Alb {Lm.} af- v. 'hold, seize', Ged af- v. 'seize, have, get, find', Sd af- v. 'find', af-iḱ- v. 'find for oneself, have', Sd {Gs.} abb- 'bring', abb-iḱ- 'bring for oneself', ?? Kmb {Hd.} abid- v. 'hold, seize' || ʔϕ Bj {R} ✓ʔbk (1s: p. a-ʔa'biḱ, pres. a-ʔam'biḱ) 'anfassen' ¶ Hd. 69, 80, 230, 306, 308, Gs. 1, 5, R WBd 5, ≈ HL 59, ≈ LmS 279, ≈ Ss. PEC 14 || S *^o✓ʔbb > Ar ✓ʔbb (pf. ʔabba) 'mettre la main, porter la main à qch.; remuer qch., remuer en touchant' ¶ BK I 2 || ʔσ Eg XVIII ἰρω ≈ Abgabe, {Fk.} 'payments' (unless ← Eg ἰρ v. 'count, reckon up') ¶ EG I 66-7, Fk. 16 || NrOm: Zs {HL} ef-/ep-p-, Wl/Bdt {HL} ef-, Dc {HL} ep-p- 'take', Ym {HL} oḱ- 'seize, take' ¶ ≈ HL 59; ≈ Lm. Y 320 and ≈ LmS 279 (Lm.'s err. hyp.: Ym, Ometo, Kmb, Alb, Sd < C *ḱab- 'take, grasp, have') || IE *ʔ¹ep- ({M, EI} *h₁ep-) > Ht ep(p)- / ap(p)- v. 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture' || NaIE *ap-/ *ēp- ≈ touch, hold' (× N *q¹æ'pϕ 'seize, hold') > OI āp-: āp'nōti 'reaches, overtakes', Av

apayeⁱti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-ō, apiō 'I attack', L apīscor 'I grasp, reach', cō-ēp-ī (later cōepī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἄψάω ~ ἄψάω 'I touch', ? Gk A ἄπτω 'I fasten' (ft. ἄψω, aor. ἦψα), ἄψή 'a touching, a grasp (Berühren, Griff)'; P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπ- 'be about, be busy with' || ?φ AS æfna, éfnan v. 'hold, sustain, endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶¶ Pv. I-II 273-82, P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. no. 333, M K I 76, M E I 167, WH I 57-8, F I 126, Ho. 88 || ?φ K: GZ *up- v. 'possess, own' > Mg p- v. 'possess', 'be X to so.' (where 'X' is a kinship term), a-p-un 'he has him\her'; ds: OG up-a|-'Lord', G s-up-eva 'Herrschaft, Reich', supev- v. 'dominate, reign', GZ *me-up-e 'owning, owner' > OG meupe ~ mepe 'king', G meupe 'Lord' (of God), mepe 'king, ruler, tsar' (-> merp- v. 'reign, dominate'), Mg mapa- 'king', Lz n. l. mapa-çkari 'King-source' ¶ K 186, K² 120, 196, FS K 310, FS E 346, Chx. 756-7, 1296, Q 278 || ¶ A *aP_∇- v. 'take, hold' (× N *q¹æ¹p_∇ '↑') > M *ab- 'take' > MM [LM, MA, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} ab- 'take', [S] {H} ab- 'für sich nehmen', [IM] {Mel.} app-, [HI] {Ms., Lew.} ab-, WrM {MED} ab-, HIM {MED, BMR} ава- 'take, grasp, get hold of', MMgl ab- 'take, receive', Brt абa-, Kl, Dg {Pp.} aw-, Ba {Y} ab-, Mgl {Rm.} af- 'take', Mgl {Lg.} ab- & af- 'enlever, obtenir', Mnr H {SM} aw- 'prendre, ôter', {T} awū- 'take', Mnr M abū- {T} id., Ord ab- 'prendre, enlever, ôter, acheter, recevoir, obtenir' ¶ Pp. MA 94, 432, Pp. L II 1254, H 1, Ms. H 33, Lew. II 7, Lg. VMI 14, MED 1, BMR I 18-22, Chr. 21-3, Iw. 8, SM 1, T 313, T BJ 132, KRS 23, KW 19, Ms. O 1 || Tg: [1] Tg *°ap_∇- v. 'hold, possess' > Ork apuç_i- v. 'hold, have the power (держатъ, иметь власть)' ¶ STM I 47 || [2] Tg *abgu- > Neg abgu-, Orc ābu- take off (a cauldron) from above the fire', Ud agbu- id., 'take out (from a river)', Ul agbumbu-, Nn Nh {On.} agbi-mbo-, Nn Nh/KU {STM} agbi-mbogo- 'take out (достать, вынуть)', Lm abgi_n-, Ul, Ork agbun-, Nn Nh agbiáč_i- 'appear' ¶ STM I 3-4, On. 25 || T *abuç 'handful' > OT XI [QB], XwT XIV, OOSm ≥xiv авуц, MQP XIV авуц, Tk авуц, Ggz авуц, Az, Tkm овуц, CrTt авуц, ET авуц, Qzq, Qq, Nog uwis, VTt уч уц, Bsh us, Qrg ūč, StAlt ūš, Xk ōs id., Chv ывăç Iwъś, Chv Δ ывçă & уçă & уç id., {Ash., Fed.} 'hand (кисть руки)' ¶ ≈ Cl. 44, ET Gl 409-10, ADb. SR 179-81, Ash. III 49-50 and 312-13, Fed. II 469, Jeg. 342, ChVS 286 ¶¶ SDM 309-10 (pA *ap_∇ 'take' > T, M, Tg *abgu-), DQA no. 47 (T *abuç 'handful'), KW 19, Pp. VG 44 ◇ IS SS 345 [no. 10.10] (IE, A + err. Eg χf^ϵ 'grasp' and ζ Ar ✓ χf^ϵ 'seize'). But Eg χf^ϵ

actually belongs to N *q'æ'pɿ∇ 'seize, hold' (q.v.), and Ar ✓χfɿ does not mean 'seize' ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 40 (*ep 'bind', incl. IE, Gil ep- 'hold').

58. *ʔêP∇ (= *ʔêp∇?) 'mouth' (→ 'speak') > HS **ʔ∇p- > S *¹p- 'mouth' (df. forms: nom. *¹p-u-m, accus. *¹p-a-m, gen. *¹p-i-m; forms without determiner [→ cs.]: nom. *₁p-u > *₁pū, accus. *₁p-a > *₁pā, gen. *₁p-i > *₁pī) > Hb 𐤒𐤍 ʔpē (< gen.), cs. ʔpī, st. pron. pī- (e.g. ʔpī-kā 'your [m. sg.] mouth'), Ph, Pun st. pron. pū-, Pun cs. pū, Ug p, Amr pû, OA, IA p, p m, BA 𐤒𐤍 p u m, JA 𐤒𐤍 𐤒𐤍 p ū m ā, Ar indf. fam-un (generalization of the pS form of accus. *¹pam; more archaic forms were registered by an-Nadr ibn-Shumayl: nom. fum-un, accus. fam-an, gen. fim-in, F Wright I 239), cs. nom. fū, accus. fā, gen. fī, Sb f, Ak pû m, cs. pî, st. pron. pî- ¶ KB 864-6, AD PhSS 1, 3-4, 7-8, AD PSH 20, 123, Sk. 889-90, Hff. 254, HJ 916, 1263, BGMR 43, Sd. G 84-86 [§ 65, esp. § 65i], ≈ MiK I no. 1.223 (*pau- 'mouth') || C {AD} *ʔap-/*ʔapp- 'mouth' > Ag: Bln {R} ʔəb 'mouth', pl. ʔə'fəf; Ag -b→ Gz ʔaf 'mouth' || Bj {R} ʔāf, Bj A {AD} ʔaf 'mouth' || EC {Ss.} *ʔaf- id. > Sa, Af af, Rn àf, Bn {Hn.} áf, Sml af, Sml N {Abr.} áf, pl. áfáf, Or B {Anr.} áf-āni, Kns af-ā, Sd, Ged, Alb af-0 id., Hd af-0ʔ0 'hole', Kmb {L} af0 'language', Brj a¹f-ay 'mouth', Dsn ʔafu id., 'language' || Dh1 ʔaf0 'mouth' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔafa (pl. afē), Alg/Brn {E} afa, Kz {E} afuko, Asa {E} ʔafok 'mouth', -b→ Mb {E} aféta 'doorpost' ¶ AD SF 135-6, Ss. PEC 19, 51, Ss. B 23, Bl. 99, Abr. S 5, Hn. BD 118, PG 61, Oo. 70, PH 33, E SC 281 (SC *ʔáfò 'mouth'), MQK 9, To. DL 477, To. D 127 || Om: SOm {Blz.} *ap₁p₁- 'mouth' > Dm ʔappo, Ub afa, Hm ap, {Fl.} af0, Hm B āpo 'mouth' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 78 || Ch: WCh [1] *oʔap- > Hs áfà v. 'throw into one's mouth', [2] ? *₁ʔ∇₁pω∇ 'mouth' > AG: Su {J} pωḏ, {ChL} pωô, Ang pḏ, Gmy {ChL} pḏ, Cp {ChL} pô id. | Ron {J}: Fy f0, DfB f0(h), Bks f0 id. || ? CCh: Lmn {Lk.} éwé 'mouth', Mdr {Mch.} uwe, bwe, {Eg.} wé, {ChL} we, Dgh {IL} úwè, {Frk} wúwè id. ¶ JI II 244-5, J S 79-80, ChL, ChC s.v. 'mouth' ¶¶ AD PSH 40, Sk. HCD 2 || ¶ *iP∇ 'mouth; say' > pKo *íp 'mouth' > MKo íp, NKo, Ko Ph/Chs/Chj ip, Ko Hm i₁p id.; MKo ìp₁^h- v. 'recite' ¶ S QK no. 56, Nam 406-7, 409, MLC 1363 || pJ *íp- v. 'say, speak' > OJ {S} ip-, MJ íφ-, JT yù- ~ {Kenk.} iu-, JK yú-, J Kg yú-, J Sh í- ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 64], S QJ no. 64, Mr. 700, Kenk. 659-61, 2235 || NrTg *ipk∇- > Ewk ipku-, ipkɜ- v. 'order, nötigen', Lm ipkɜn- v. 'aufhetzen (подстрекать), lure' ¶ STM I 322 ¶¶ SDM 589-90 (pA *ip₁'₁i|e 'mouth', 'say' > T, J, Ko), DQA no. 606, S AJ 111, 277 [no. 62], Mr. KJ 249 || ?σ D (att. in SD) *ēv- v. 'speak, say' (→ v. 'command') (N *ɿawu∇ 'shout, speak'?) > Tm ēvu (ēv i-) v. 'command, speak', Ml ēkuka v. 'say,

command', $\bar{e}\nu al$ 'command, work', $\bar{e}\nu alan$ 'a servant', Kt $e\cdot l\nu$ 'matter, affair', $e\cdot l\nu ga\cdot rn$ 'a servant' ¶ D no. 909 ◇ The N cns. $*-p-$ (rather than $*-p-$) is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of AG $*p$. The etymologically uncertain D supposed cognate with $*-v-$ does not prove the opposite (that the N cns. was $*-p-$). The A word points to a N $*i$, while D $\bar{e}-$, C and WCh $*\eta a-$ suggest a more open vw.; this discrepancy still has to be explained (cp. N $*\check{c}ikU$ 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' [\rightarrow 'thigh'] > D: Tm $ceki l$ 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn $tegal$ 'shoulder').

59. ${}_2 * \eta o P_a$ \approx powder, dust, small pieces of dirt' > HS: S $*\eta upp-$ > Ar $\eta uff-$ {Hv.} 'dirt of the ears\nails', {Ln.} 'dirt, filth, dirt of the nails; piece of stick/reed which one takes up from the ground' ¶ Ln. 67, Fr. I 42, BK I 39, Hv. 10 || Eg $\eta p p t$ 'earth, clay for bricks' ¶ Mks I no. O243, Os. 723 [note 850] || WCh $*\eta \nabla p t \nabla$ 'powder' > SBc {Stl.} $*\eta apt_i$ 'powder' > {ChL} Bg $\eta p t_i$, Gj apt_i , Sy $\eta \eta ptu.$ | Ngm $\eta \eta p t_i$, Krkr $\eta \eta p t_i$ | Bd $upt\hat{a}n$ id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 263 [no. 33] || A $*o P_a$ 'powder' > NaT $*o_{\cdot} p_a$ id. > OT {Cl.} $op\bar{o}$ 'a white cosmetic or face powder', {DTS} ubu 'white lead, Bleiweiß', Shor {Rl.} oba 'chalk', Tlt {Rl.} obo 'chalk, white color (weiße Farbe)', Uz, ET, Qrg upa , Qzq, Qq opa 'face powder', Qq opa id., 'white paint (белила)', Qmq oba 'ceruse', ET Δ {Jr.} upa 'paint, face powder, a white powder\ paint for cosmetic purposes', {Mng.} opa 'weiße Gesichtsschminke' ¶ Cl. 6, DTS 603, Rs. W 363, ET Gl 465-6, Rl. I 1155-9, 1782, MM 261, Sht. 153, KrkR 496, KumRS 240, RKumS 48, Jr. 323, Mng. G 764 || M {Rm.} $*o\beta a$ (unless it is $\approx * \varphi o\beta a?$) 'powder, face powder' > WrM {Rm.} $oo, o\beta a, o\beta o$ 'Reispuder, Schminke', {MED} 'poeder (in general), face powder', HIM oo {MED} id. {BMR} 'Pulver, Puder, weiße Schminke', Kl {Rm.} \bar{o} id., {KRS} $oo \bar{o}$ 'powder, face powder', WrM {MED} $ou \sim o \sim oua$, HIM {Luv.} id., HIM {Gl.} ou 'white lead', WrO {Krg.} \bar{o} 'face powder, cosmetic', Ord \bar{o} 'fard blanc' ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 90, MED 625, BMR II 383, Krg. 105, Luv. 303, KRS 399, KW 292, Gl. I 205, Ms. O 505 || Tg $*upa$ 'flour, (flat) bread' > Sln $u\psi\bar{o}$ 'bread', Orc, Ork upa 'flour; flat bread (лепешка)', Ul upa , WrMc {Z} $\psi\phi a$, Mc Sb $u\phi a$, Jrc $u\phi a$ 'flour' ¶ STM II 247, Z 175, Kiy. 126 [no. 531] ¶¶ SDM 1058 ($pA *op'a$ 'powder' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1578 (id.), ADb. KL 14 (id.), Rm. EAS I 90, Vld. 210, Pp. VG 48, 123, 147.

60. ${}_2 WW?$ $\approx * \eta \nabla p \nabla$ 'monkey > IE: a word reconstructible as NaIE {P} $*ab\bar{o}(n)-$ 'monkey', but most probably spread by borrowing: Gmc: ON $ap i$ 'monkey, fool', OSx apo , OHG $affo m., affa f.$, NHG $Affe$, MDt ape , Dt aap , AS apa 'ape (*Pongidæ*)', NE ape ; Gmc \rightarrow OR $o\pi\eta a$ $opica$, OCz

ορισε 'monkey, ape' ||| Clt: Gl {P} *ἄββάνας 'long-tailed ape' (from Hs.'s gloss ἄβράνας [emended by Schrader as *ἄββάνας] · Κελλτοὺ τοῦ ε κερκοπιθήκου) ¶ P 2-3 [hyp.: *abō(n) is a loanword], EI 384, Vr. 11, Ho. S 3, Ho. 6, KM 8, EWA I 58-60 ||| HS: Ch {Stl.} *ḡi'puki 'monkey' > WCh {Stl.} *ḡipṽki 'baboon' > Krkr {ChL} yifki, Cg yipək-3n id. ||| CCh {Stl.} *ḡi'puki 'monkey' > {ChL:} McTr: Bk fušī, G'nd fíčà, Gbn fíčè, Mrg pčū, Kps pšī, ? FIM vižī, ? Lmn {Lk.} vžžī, Nkc v'ikéy, Gv vič-χadzya 'monkey' ¶ Stl. IF 34, ChC s.v. 'monkey' || ??? B: CM, Izd abayus, Zng {TC} äbugär 'monkey' ¶ Mrc. 236, NZ 85, TC D 4.

61. *ḡäP'h'i 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > HS: S *ḡḡpy v. 'bake' > BHb ḡḡpy/w (pf. ḡḡpā), OA ḡḡpy v. 'bake', IA, Ph ḡḡpy, Ug ḡḡpy/w id., v. 'cook', JA ḡḡpy (pf. ḡḡpā ~ ḡḡpā) v. 'bake', Sr ḡḡpy (pf. Sr ḡḡpā, Sr E ḡḡpā) v. 'bake, cook', Ar d. ميفي mīfā-n 'Backofen', Sb ḡḡm (a kind of foodstuff), Ak ḡḡpy/w (inf. epū) v. 'bake' ¶ KB 75, KBR 78, HJ 94-5, A no. 350, OLS 45, Sk. 155, Br. 39, Lv. I 140, Js. 102, CAD IV 247-8, Sd. 231, BGMR 3, DRS 28 || ?φ,σ Eg ḡḡχ {Mks} 'brûler, cuire' ¶ Mks I no. 0034, Os. II 814, note 1962 (ḡḡχ vt. 'verbrennen'), Crn. 514 (ḡḡχ 'verbrennen'), BnH (ḡḡh 'kochen') || Ch: WCh: Pr ápō v. 'bake' ¶ Frz. P 200 ||| IE: *χχ|χepHχ- v. 'cook, bake' > Arm եփեմ ep'hem 'I cook' ||| Gk ἔψω id. (s0-present), pp. ἐφθός 'baked' (the Gk word belongs here unless Gk h- goes back here to IE *s-), ? ὀπτός 'roasted, baked' || ??σ.φ Ht happin(a) 'open flame' ¶¶ The semantical-ly dubious connection with Ht happin(a) cannot determine the identity of the pIE lr. ¶¶ IE *χχ|χ- remains perplexing ¶¶ WP I 124 and P 325 (both: reconstructing *epH- or *eps-), EI 88 (connecting Gk ὀπτός with Ht and reconstructing IE *h₃ep-'roast'); F I 431 and Sl. 445 (both reconstructed IE *sepH-); Ch. 394, Hofm. 101, Mn. AIE 165 ||| A *æPṽ (= *äP_a?) 'bread, food' > NaT *æ:ṽp- v. 'bake (?)' in OT [MhK] äp-mäk ~ äpäk 'bread', Az äppäk, Δ äpmäk; ⇨ ≈*æ:ṽpæ:ṽy > VTt ipi, Bsh. äpāy id. ¶ Cl. 8, 12, DTS 175, Rl. I 919, 925, TatR 172 || ?? M *aṽaḡṽ (< **aḡaḡṽ) > WrM aḡaḡ, {MED} aḡa 'bran of cereals', HIM aḡa {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'chaff', Brt aḡaḡa(h) ~ aḡa(h) 'oat flour', Dg {T} āḡa, {MD} āhe 'bran', Ord āḡ 'les déchets de la décortication du millet; son' ¶ MED 12, BMR I 3, Chr. 16, 18, T DgJ 118, MYC 90, Kry. 175, Ms. O 6 || Tg *epe(-n) 'cake (Fladen)' > Ewk 3w3di, Ul 3p3(-), Nn KU 3p3 id., Nn Nh 3p3 {STS} id., {On.} 'лепешка', Sln {Iv} o'ḡo ~ u'ḡon ~ u'on ~ 3'w3n 'bread', WrMc {Z} эфэнь '(baked) bread, pancake (блин)', Mc Sb {Y} ʔeʔan 'Manchu bread', {Mrm.} 'Brot, Gebäck' ¶ STM II

436 (pA *ep'ò), On. 533, Z 90, Y no. 364 || ??φ pKo *páp 'food' > MKo páp, NKo pap ¶ Yu 370, Rm. KED 734 || pJ {S} *зрз-мззз 'food' > OJ {S} op(ω)ο-mono 'food' ¶ S QJ no. 1388, ≈ Mr. 509 ¶¶ SDM 514 (pA *ep 'ò 'bread, food' > T *epey [i.e. *æ̌:̌pæ̌:̌y], M, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 441, S CNM 4 || D (in McTm) *avi- v. 'be boiled/cooked' > Tm avi id., avai v. 'cook, boil', Ml aviγuka v. 'boil on fire, be digested' ¶ D no. 268 ◇ Cf. Bru. no. 35 (S, IE), Bm. TPN no. 209 (S, IE), AD rTPN 94 (S, IE, T, D). The Arm and Gk √ belongs here only if it goes back to IE **χ_χ|χ̄epH_oχ-- (rather than to *sepH_oχ--) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 77 (*ep 'cook/food') (IE, A, CK, qu. J, err. Ko, U).

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

63. (₂?) *ʔ¹ ü|uʔ¹ yé 'night, dark hours' > HS: ? Eg fMK ωχ 'night, evening', Eg NKL/Md ωχ v. 'be dark' (of a night, [μφ] of the condition of a sick person) ¶ EG III 352, Fk. 67 || B ✓ ?hy ({Pr.} *✓ h₁h₂y) > Ah, Tnsł tihay, Twł tihay ~ šayyay, Ty tihay ~ tiyay, Gh čihay 'ténèbres' ¶ Fc. 544-5, Nh. 210, GhA 207, Pr. H 73 [no. 444] || Ch: {JS} *✓ ywn ~ *✓ wn ({JI} *✓ ywn) 'sleep' > Ngz yùwàn 'spending the night; period of 24 hours' etc. (× N *ǰaw'oy¹ ∇ 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || IE *°HeuĤ- / *H_oweĤ- / *H_owōĤ- > NaIE *au- / *awē- / *awō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep' (× N *ǰaw'oy¹ ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *üye 'night' > F yö, Es öö id. | pLp {Lr.} *iyz > Lp: S {Hs.} jįjje y+yye ɖ yiyye, U {Schl.} jįjja, L {LLO} i dja, N {N} i ggjâ, Kld y+yy id. | Prm {G} *öy id. > Z воӡ voy, Z US oy 'night, 'north', Yz úy (gen. 'úy-^n), Vt yӡ uy, Vt SW úy 'night' || ObU {Ht.}

*yīy 'night' > pVg *yī > Vg: T/NV yī, LK yī, yi, MK/UK yi, P yiʒ, SV/LL ī id.; pOs {Ht.} *yēy ({Hl. *yīy}) > V yēy, Vy ēy {Trs.} id. | OHg éj (~ é ~ í), Hg éj id. ¶ Coll. 127, Coll. CG 415 (FU *üye), UEW 72 (*eye [*üye]), Db. OS xxx (*üye), Lr. no. 241, Lgc. no. 1555, Hs. 787-8, Schl. 73, LG 60, SZ 56, Lt. J 202, Ht. 140 [no. 172], Hl. rHt 71, Trs. S 91, MF 730.

64. *ʔar∇ (and *ʔaʔr∇; or both variants from *ʔaʔr∇) 'earth, land, place' > **HS: [1]** Eg fP iʒ.t 'place, site (Ort, Stätte)' (× N *ʔuī∇ 'soil, foundation, earth') ¶ EG I 26 ||| **[2]** +ext.: HS **ʔar∇ĉ- 'earth, land': S *ʔaraŝ- id. > OAk arṣatu(m), Ak erṣetu 'earth, land', BHb ʔṛṣṣ 'ṛerēç id. (paus. ʔṛṣṣ 'ṛāreç, pl. ʔṛṣṣ 'ṛāṛṣṣ), Ph ʔrṣ, Ug ʔrṣ, (AkSc) ʔarṣu, OA abs.\cs. ʔṛṣ 'ṛaṣ, em. ʔṛṣ 'ṛā-ā, JA em. ʔṛṣ 'ṛā-ā, Sr em. ʔṛṣ 'ṛā-ā, abs.\cs. ʔṛṣ 'ṛaṣ, Ar ʔṛṣ 'ṛaṣ, pl. ʔṛṣ 'ṛāna id. ¶ KB 87-8, A no. 420, OLS 51-2, Sl. 170-1, PS 397, CAD IV 308-313, Hnr. 110, DRS 33-4; on the ev. of the posttonic *a / AD SNSE 76, AD PSH 92, 94; on OA ʔṛṣ / AD AR ∇, AD PSH 31-2 || Ch {Stl.} *ʔariĉ- 'earth' > WCh *ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ∇ 'earth' {Stl.} > (1) NrBc {Stl.} *ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ∇, {Tk.} *ṛiĉ- 'earth, ground' > Sir {Sk.} ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ', {IL} ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ', Mbr ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' {Sk.}, ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' {Sk. in ChC}, Cg ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' {Sk.} id., P' {MSK.} ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' 'earth, ground, country', (2) ?? SBc {Sh.}: Kir aĉ, Tala áĉi, Gj ʔaĉi, Buli ʔaĉ, Tule ṛaĉi, Dw ʔāĉ, Zar K/GL yāĉ, Zar L yāĉ, Sy B/Z yāĉ, Sy Zk yāĉ 'earth', (3) (??) Stl. ZCh 236 adduced (with a query) Su ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' 'land' (which she draws back to *ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' presumably mt. from *ṛṣ 'ṛiĉ') ||| ECh {Stl.} *ʔiraĉa (mt. of vowels) > Bdy {J} ʔṛṣ 'ṛiĉ' 'valley' ¶ JI II 116-17, J S 64, Stl. IF 199, Stl. ZCh 236 [no. 830], Sk. NB 19, Sh. SB 23, Tk. NB 178, ChC s.v. 'earth' ¶¶ The element *-ĉ- of the HS stem is likely to go back to a sx or to the second component of a cd ¶¶ OS no. 54 (HS *ʔariĉ-), Tk. PAA 20 (S, NrBc) || **IE: [1]** *Ĥer- ({EI} *h₁er-) 'earth' > NaIE *er- (*er-t-, *er-w-) id. > Gk ṛpā* 'Erde' (att. ṛpā-ṛe 'to earth, to the ground', Gk D ṛpā-σδε id.) ||| pGmc *erō > OHG erō, AS éar 'earth'; pGmc *erθō (*erþō) > Gt aírþa ('ṛṣ) 'Erde' ON jqrð, OHG erda, NHG Erde, AS eorðe 'earth', NE earth ¶ P 332, EI 174, F I 646-7, Ch. 363, Ho. 85, 93, Fs. 25-6, Vr. 295, KM 171, EWA II 1146-8 ||| **[2]** NaIE *ārō- 'open space' > L ārea 'an open or level space' ||| Lt óras 'outdoors; air, weather', {WP} id., 'freier Himmel', Ltv ârs 'outdoors, open air', âra 'outdoors', ārā 'out of doors' ¶ WP I 79 (*ārō- 'das Freie, Weite, Raum' [unsicher]), ≈ Frn. 518, WH I 65 ||| **U:** FP *ar∇ 'lowland, (?) low place, riverbed' > F arō 'vallis inter colles, locus demissior herbidus; Tal, Anger, Steppe; gras-bewachsenes Tiefland, kleines Tal', Es {W} aru 'fruchbares, trocken gelegenes Land, trockene Wiese' || ??

pPrm *^ʀq¹r- > Vt N {UR} ur-kirēm 'ravine' (kir- 'break through, erode, wash away'), Z k3ž-3r3m 'old riverbed in the bend of a river' (k3ž 'bend of a river') || ? ObU: Os V ur†, Os D urə 'riverbed', pVg *wūr▽y- > Vg: T orāy, LK oray, P wuray, Ss ūray id. ¶ Coll. 72 (BF, Os), SK 24 (BF, Os), UEW 17 (BF, ObU), LG 207 (Prm, Os + some other less plausible comparisons), UR 310, Ht. 196 [no. 712] || **A** *a₁:r▽ 'open space' > NaT *āra 'locality; space\distance between two places' > OT bu āra-da 'in this locality', aramiz-da 'among us'; in later T lges (Tkm āra etc.) it is used in the meaning 'space between two objects, interval, middle': Tkm āra 'distance, interval', Tk arā, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv, ET, SY ara, Uz ara id., Yk āra 'way between two points' ||] ?? T ds: T *a₁:ral 'island, a forest close to water' > Qzq, Nog, ET, Qrg aral, SY ayal 'island', Bsh aral 'small island', StAlt aral 'shrubs close to a river or lake; island; forest'; *arig > Sg/Qb/QK {Rl.} arıy 'island in a river', Shor {Rl.} arıı 'island', Yk arī 'island, wooded island, grove'; acc. to Pp. TLM 38, T *a₁:ral -b> M *aral 'island' > MM [MA, S] aral 'island', WrM {MED} aral id., 'peninsula; oasis', HIM арал {MED} id., {BMR} 'island', Brt арал, Ord, ShY aral, Kl {KRS} арл., {Rm.} ar], Mnr rāl 'island' ¶ Cl. 196, ET Gl 162-4, 167, Pek. 103, 126-7, TkR 47-8, Rl. I 272, 300, MED 48, BMR I 124, Pp. MA 104, Chr. 55, KRS 50, KW 14-15, Dr. TM I 119-20 || Tg *ara- (+ sxs) 'open country, flat ground' > Ewk PT arayan 'open ground on a mountain top', 'sunny place (солнцепек)', Lm arëbn ð arëvbn ð aragan ð arogon 'open woodless country', Orc arāčū, Ul arāčū 'flat ground for the bear-killing ritual' ¶ STM I 48 ¶¶ Hardly related to MM arčī 'defender, protector', M *aračila- v. 'defend, protect' (Pp.: ← *'stand between') (see Pp. VG 97, KW 15) || M *armaq 'space' > Brt арма 'space, place', Ord armaq 'espace', armagla- 'espacer, séparer par un intervalle assez grand' ¶ Chr. 59, Ms. O 29 ¶¶ T *āra suggests a long pA *ā-, while Yk arī and Tg *ara- point to a pA short *a-. This discrepancy is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 314 (A *ā¹r▽ 'open space' > T, Tg, M *ar-), DQA no. 82 || **D**: [1] *arā 'room' > Tm aral 'room, apartment, chamber', Ml arā 'room, partition', Tl arā, arā id., 'chamber', Tu aɗæ 'inner\small room', Gnd arra 'room' ¶¶ D no. 322 ||] [2] (in SD) ?σ *aral (*'earth' →) 'mud, clay' > Kn aril, aral, arulu, arla, arlu 'mud, clay', Tm, Ml aral 'black sand' ¶ ≈ D no. 312 ◇ U, D, Tg and IE *^ʀer- point to pN *^ʀar▽, but a long initial vw. in NaIE *ārō- and in NaT *āra suggest the existence of pN *^ʀa^ʀr▽. A possible solution: pN *^ʀa^ʀr▽ with loss of the precon. *^ʀ in most descendant lges ◇ Cf. AD LRC

no. 69 (IE, S, FU) ◇ The meaning of words in F, Prm and ObU and the length of *a in pT suggest that the U and the T words go back to a merger: N *ʔar▽ or *ʔaʔr▽ 'earth, land, place' × N *gar^ri^r 'valley' ||| This may have been the origin of the N postposition *_Lʔ▽_Lr▽ 'towards' (→ 'in?') (q.v. ffd.).

65. *ʔaR▽ 'member of one's clan\family' > HS: S *^oʔar_L▽_Ly- > Ug ʔar_y {A} 'Anverwandter, Sippenmitglied', {OLS} 'congénere, amigo, afín' ¶ A no. 391, OLS 54 || Eg fOK ír_y 'relating to; thereof, thereto; comrade', DEg ír_y 'comrade', Cpt: B HP ēr 'compagnon, ami', Sd/A epiy er i w, B aπioy ari u, eπioy er i u 'comrades' ¶ EG I 103-5, Fk. 25, Er. 38, Vc. 46, 53-4 || C: Bj {R} ʔara w 'friend'] possibly also C {AD} *ʔar- (× N *hæ_Lʔ|y_Lr^rE^r 'male?') > HEC {Hd.} *arōʔo 'husband' > Ged, Hd arōʔo, Sd, Kmb arō id.; ? Rn áràm 'man, husband, elder' ||| Ag: Aw {Hz.} ḡāra (< *ḡi-ara) 'her husband' ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, PG 68, Hz. NSA || Ch *ʔar▽ > WCh: Ron: Bks {J} ré (pl. ʔáryà), Fy {J} ra 'man' ||| ?σ ECh {Stl.} *ʔar▽ > Mkl {J} ʔéré 'woman'; ↯ ECh *t▽-ʔ▽r- 'girl' (*t▽- f.) > Ke {Eb.} t3r 'girl', Smr {J} dur 'daughter' ¶ JI II 230, 346-7, J R 145, Stl. IF 50, Eb. 97, ChC s.v. 'man', 'woman' and 'girl' ¶¶ OLS 54 (S, Eg) ||| IE *ʔaro- ~ *ʔaryo- ({EI} IE *h₄e^ros ~ *h₄e^ryos) 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE *aryo- id. (≠ {P}: 'Herr, Gebieter') > Clt {Matas.} *aryo 'free man' > OIr aire 'homme libre' (→ 'chef, prince'), Gl (nomina propria): Ario-manus, Ario-vistus ||| OI 'aryaḡ 'master of the house', ar'yaḡ '(hospitable) lord', 'ārya-ḡ, Av a^ryo 'Aryan (person)', OPrs ariya- 'Median, Aryan (person)'; pIir *arya- ↯ FV *orya 'slave' > F orja 'slave', Es ori 'slave, bondsman', pMr {Ker.} *ūrā - *ūryā > Er ype úre, Mk ype úrā 'slave, servant' || Ht {EI} arā- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend' ¶¶ P 67, EI 213, Vn. A 42, M E I 174-5, ≈ M K I 52, 79, UEW 721, LG 52, Ker. II 76-7, Matas. E 43 ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) {UEW} *ar▽ - *arwa 'relative belonging to one's mother's clan', 'mother's (younger) brother' > OHg ara 'brother', Hg (early XVIII) a r a 'Schwiegertochter', Hg ara 'bride' (att. from 1792; an innovation in the framework of the Hg "language renewal") || ObU: Os: Kz w3r-ti 'mother's younger brother, his male descendants, his son', Os O or-ti, {KrT} or-di 'mother's brother'; Vg: ML oār, N ā:r 'mother's relative', K ōr in yäxnor ōrnor 'parents' vexation, родительская досада' (yäx 'father', nor 'revenge') ¶ UEW 832-3, EWU 44, KrT 244 ¶ Rédei's hyp. about the proto-Irn origin of the word (cp. Av, OPrs, KhS brātar, Sgd βr^rt, Blc brāt, Oss D ärvadä

'brother', Oss I ärvad 'kinsman', *F* Ab. III 437-9, Bai. 313) is hardly tenable (unless we suppose very late Oss origin of the pUgr word) || ??σφ E: *eri, *iri 'uncle' (attested words: OEl e-ri-ri, i-ri-ri 'Onkelchen [?]) ¶¶ HK 401, 774 ¶¶ An alternative (and phonetically more plausible) origin is N *hæ_Lʔ|y_Lr^E 'male' (q.v.) ◇ A *ār_V 'man (vir), male animal' (> T *ār, M *ere 'man') (see N *hæ_Lʔ|y_Lr^E 'male' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM no. 120, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Blz. E no. 17.

66. *ʔer_V 'to divide; one share, one, single' > HS: S *^oʔrm > Ar ʔaram- 'unus, ullus' = 'quelqu'un, certain', رَمَا and رُمَى ʔurmā 'ullus, aliquis', ʔarīm- 'unus, ullus' ¶ Fr. I 28 || K: GZ *ert- 'one' > G ert-, Mg art-, Lz ar(t)- ¶ K 79, K² 147, FS K 116, Chik. 212 || U: FU *era 'part, single, one' > F er ä 'share', erältään 'at a time', tellä erää 'this time', eräs 'one, a', Vp eraz 'other', Es {W} ära 'Besonderes, Getrenntes' || Lp N {N} ærre 'quantity of milk obtained at one milking from one female reindeer\cow' || Os: V/Vy är-əʔ 'getrennt, auseinander', Ty/Y árʔə, Nz/Kz ara, O árri id. ¶ SK 40, W EDW 80-1, N III 873, Stn. D 156, SSA I 107-8 (FL only), Ht. 129 [no. 58], ≈ UEW 75 ¶ Stn. rejected the connection between F and Os and supposed (like UEW) that the Os word is derived from Os V är and Os D ár 'much' (acc. to UEW, from U *erä 'much'), which is hardly tenable for semantic reasons; besides, Os makes a clear phonological distinction between the -əʔ-derivative from pOs *är- 'too much' and the word in question: Os V has ərəʔ ~ örəʔ 'überschüssig, zu viel' (< pOs *är- 'too much') and ärəʔ 'getrennt' ¶ Es ä- (for the expected e-) needs elucidating || D *ē_L- v. 'divide, separate' > Tl ē_L v. 'sift', Klm ers- id., ērānā v. 'be separated, be separate from', Knd ē_Lp- v. 'keep apart, keep separate', ē_L- v. 'be separated', Gnd ē_L- v. 'be separated from, eht- v. 'wead', Kui ē_Lʔa v. 'be separate from, detached', ēspa- v. 'separate', Ku ē_Llali- v. 'be separated' ¶¶ Km. 313 [no. 190], D no. 915.

67. *ʔaR_L_V (ka) (snd *yaR_L_V (ka)?) 'see, observe' > IE: NaIE *re(:)g- (< **ʔreg-) v. 'see, observe' > pAl {O} *rāg_na > Al: StAl T ruaj, T {Kf.} ruanj, G ruej 'guard, keep, observe' || Lt inf. regéti (1s pres. regi_u), Ltv inf. redzēt 'to see', Lt rāgana 'witch' (cp. NHG böser Blick), régimas 'visible, apparent' || Gmc: ON inf. rækja, AS inf. rēcan, OHG inf. ruohhen, OSx inf. rōkian 'to care', OHG ruoh > MHG ruoch 'care' || Gk ἄ-ρη_γω 'I help, save' (< *sm_o-rēg- 'co-observe?'), ἄρω_γή 'help, aid, protection', ἄρω_γός adj. 'aiding' ¶ Mn. 1065, F I 137, Vr. 45, Ho. S 61, OsS 730-1, Kb. 813, Frn. 712-13, Ç II 82, 447, Kf. 299, O 374; WP II 366 and P 54 (Al and Blt only) || HS: [1] ECh: Smr {J} y_Lʔ 'see' ¶ ChLS II 285 || Om

* ?er- 'wissen, kennen' > Omt {Mrn.} er- 'sapere, conocere', Bsk {Cer.}, Zs {Cer.} er- 'sapere', Chara ar- id., Mch {Ls.} ari(hä)- , Anf erri- , Gmr erri- , era- 'know' ¶ Mrn. O 142, C SE III 113, 159, 197, L M s.v. ari(hä)- , O HSN 118 || [2] C {AD} * ?r^{K} > EC * ark- v. 'see' > Sml ark- , imv. árag , Rn imv. ?ágar , pl. ?árga , Bn imv. ?ârk , pl. ?árka , Arr ?ārg- , Dsn ?árig , Elm amán-arg-e 'see', pOr * arg- id. > Or arg- , Kns, Gdl akk- (acc. to Ss., EC * ?arg- , but * g is questiobale), Dl: Hr/DbS/Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hbl.} ?ar- 'know' || $\text{?}\phi$ SC: WRt * ?ar- 'see' > Irq {Mgh.} ?ar- , {MQK} ar- , Grw/Alg {Wh.} ar- , Bm arim- id. ¶ MQK 15, Wh. IC 56, E SC 286 || Ag: Xm T {CR} arek- , {Bnd.} arq^{w} v. 'know', Xm {R} ar(e)q- 'learn (erfahren), understand, know', Bln {R} $\text{ar}^{\text{?}}$ v. 'know' ¶ AD SF 201-2, Ss. B 26, Bl. 195, 250, Hn. S 52, PG 68, Sim 7, 9, 13, Hw. A 336, To. DL 322, 479, AMS 280, Blz. CL 180 || **A:** NaT * $\text{a}_{\text{,}}\text{rka-}$ > OT {Cl.} arqā- 'search, investigate', MU arqa- 'search, look for' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 54 || ? pJ * àràp-ar- v. 'come in sight, appear' > OJ arap-ar-a , MJ àràpar-a id., J T/Kg arawaré- , JK aráwáré- {Kenk.} 'appear, make one's appearance, present (show) oneself' ¶ Mr. 677, S QJ no. 589, Kenk. 40-1 || **D:** [1] D * ār-āy- v. 'examine, search, look for' > Tm ārāy v. 'investigate, examine, seek', Ml ārāyka v. 'seek, examine', Kt $\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{yēk}$ 'carefulness', Kn ārāy(y)u v. 'search, investigate, take care of', Tu ārāyṣu v. 'expect, look for, desire', Tl ārāyu , arāyu v. 'think, consider, search, examine, know, see, observe', Knd rey v. 'search for' || [2] D * $\text{ar}^{\text{r}}\text{i-}$ and * $\text{er}^{\text{r}}\text{∇-}$ ({GS} * $\text{yer}^{\text{r}}\text{d-}$) v. 'know, find out, search' > Tm $\text{ar}^{\text{r}}\text{i}$, Tl $\text{er}^{\text{r}}\text{ūgu}$ v. 'know, understand, perceive', Ml $\text{ar}^{\text{r}}\text{iyuka}$ v. 'know, understand', Kt ayr , Td $\text{ar}^{\text{r}}\text{y-}$, Kn $\text{ar}^{\text{r}}\text{i}$ v. 'know', Kdg ari- v. 'find out', Tu arurpu , aruhu 'knowledge', Krg ade v. 'search', Brh harrifiṇ v. 'inquire, ask' ¶¶ In D * ār-āy- the D cns. *-r- < pre-D *- Rk- < N *- $\text{R}_{\text{L}}\text{∇}_{\text{J}}\text{k-?}$ ¶¶ D no-s 314 and 377, ≠ Km. 289 [no. 64] (hyp.: cd * āra 'fully' [cp. Tl $\text{ār}^{\text{r}}\text{u-}$ v. 'become full'] + *- āy- v. 'select, choose, examine'), Zv. 95 (reconstructing * $\text{at}^{\text{r}}\text{-}$), GS 134 [no. 348] $\diamond \approx$ O HSN 118 (N * ?arE > D * $\text{ar}^{\text{r}}\text{i-}$, HS * ?ar-/*ir-) \diamond N * ? - is reconstructed on the ev. of IE (the IE reflex of N * ? is the only IE lr. that is reduced to zero when not adjacent to a vw.) and C (EC * ? - may go back to N * ? -, * h- or * y-).

68. * ?uRE or * ?üR∇ 'drink, swallow' > U * $\text{ür}^{\text{r}}\text{∇-}$ 'drink; be drunken, intoxicated' (× N * $\text{e}_{\text{,}}\text{weX}^{\text{r}}\text{∇}$ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') > FV: Prm {LG} * ür- > Z $\text{ырөш } \text{†rзš}$, Yz $\text{^{\text{r}}\text{^{\text{r}}\text{^{\text{r}}}}$ 'kvass (ε small beer)' | Er иреде- iréde- , Mk $\text{иреде- } \text{irádá-}$ 'be drunken, get carbon monoxide poisoning (from burning firewood)' || Sm * зr- v. 'drink' > Ne T inf. нэр-ць 'to drink', Ne F ηзr- , Slq Ke {Cs.} ira- , Mt {Hl.} * зr- v. 'drink' (Mt T/K/M {Mil.})

орсу 'bibere', K {Pl.} *urschim* 'I drink', Mt M {Sp.} *урнямъ* id., *урнамъ* 'I eat [liquid food]', Slq Tm {KD} *ōra-* ~ *zra-* 'get drunk' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, LG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M no. 249 || **А:** M **örübki-* v. 'swallow, gobble' > WrM *örübki-* {MED} id., HIM *өрөвхий-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'herunterschlucken, проглатывать целиком', Brt *үрөбхи-* 'herunterschlucken, проглатывать', WrO *öröbki-* v. 'inhale, draw in' ¶ MED 643, BMR III 41, Krg. 148, Chr. 514 ¶ Valid, unless it is **φörübki-* (which cannot be ruled out, since the word is not attested in MM and in the **h*-preserving M lges) || **HS:** Eg G *ír* v. 'eat', *ι* ({Vc.} "mot mal attesté") Cpt B *επιερί* 'bread' ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 46.

69. **ʔur*∇ 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...', 'clan, relatives; multitude') > **HS:** EC: pSam **ūrūrì* v. 'gather, collect' > Sml {ZMO} *ururi* vt. 'collect, gather, cause to assemble', *urur* vi. 'assemble, meet; gather', *urur* 'meeting, assembly, gathering', Sml N {Abr.} *urur-* v. 'become assembled', Bn *erūri* id., Rn {PG} *ūrūrā* vi. 'gather together' ¶ Hn. S 97, PG 286, ZMO 401, DSI 595, Abr. S 244 || WS **✓ʔry* v. 'collect, gather' > BHb *הרץ* *✓ʔry* (pf. 1s *ʔā'rīṭī*) v. 'pluck', Gz *✓ʔry* (js. *ʔə-ʔrī*, pf. *ʔaraya*) v. 'gather, glean' (KB 82, KBR 85, L G 40, Di. 744); Gz *✓ʔrr* (js. *ʔə-ʔrar* ~ *ʔə-ʔrər*, pf. *ʔarara*) v. 'reap, gather, harvest' ⇐ or ⇨ AfS lges: Sa {R} *arar* (p. *i'irirə*, inv. *i'rār*) 'sammeln, ernten' (Di. 741, L G 39, R S II 46-7); the existence of a corresponding Af verb **arar* (mentioned in R S II 46-7 → other authors) is not confirmed by dictionaries of Af (PH, Clz.) || **IE:** NaIE **wer-*/**wr̥-* 'multitude, group of people, troop' > OI *vr̥n'dam* 'group, troop, crowd' || OIr *foirinn, foirenn* 'factio, Gruppe, Schar', OW *guerin* 'factio', W *gwerin* 'viri, virorum multitudo, plebs', {YGM} 'ordinary folk, populace', OBr *guerin* 'factiones', {Flr.} 'parti, ligue, troupe', MBr *gueryn* 'people' || AS *weorn, wearn* 'troop, crowd' ¶ WP I 266, P 1150-1, EI 268 (connects the stem with IE **wrētōs* 'flock, herd'), M K III 249-50, Flr. 189, YGM-1 264, Ho. 387 || **А** **ur*∇, **urug*|k 'clan, relatives', v. 'gather' > M **urug* 'clan, relatives' > MM [MA] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} *uruq* [uruʔ] 'a relative', [HI] {Lew.} *uruχ*, [S] {H} *uruḥ* 'relatives', WrM *uruq* {MED} 'relatives, posterity, clan, a relative', HIM *урар* {MED} id., {BMR} 'a relative'; Brt *урар* id., 'ties of relationship', Mnr H {SM} *uruq* 'parent par alliance, parent du côté maternel', Ord *uruq* 'parents par alliance'; M ⇨ Yk, Ewk, Lm *urū* 'relatives, родня' ¶ MED 885, BMR III 338-9, Chr. 472, H 167, SM 479, Ms. H 106, Ms. O 742, Pp. MA 367; Lew. II 83, Pek. 3068-9, STM II 287 || Tg **urug-* v. 'gather, collect' > Ewk *urūw-*, Sln *orw-*, Neg *ouww-* id., Ork *uru-*

, *uruḡi-* v. 'arrange (разложить, расставить, уложить по порядку)' ¶ STM II 287 || pKo *ur 'clan, relatives' > Nko ul id. ¶ S QK no. 1150, MLC 1246 || pJ *ú_ln_ltì 'clan' > OJ, udi, MJ udi, [RJ] útì {S} 'clan', J T/Kg úžì, J K úžì {Kenk.} 'lineage' ¶ S QJ no. 1529, Mr. 566, Kenk. 2089-90 ¶¶ SDM 622 (pA *júrù v. 'gather, crowd' > Tg, Ko, J + unc. M *ir- 'fill up; crowd, people' and T *irk- v. 'gather'), DQA no. 673, Mr. KJ 228, Lee CSMK 25-6 || D *ur- 'multitude; be numerous' > Tm uru v. 'be numerous', uru 'much, abundant', Ml uru 'plenty, copious, much', Kn uraḡi, urube 'a mass, multitude', ure 'abundantly, much', Δ uru v. 'increase', Tu ur(у)bu, urbi 'increase', urdi n. 'increase', Tl uravu ~ uravu 'abundance, much' ¶¶ D no. 711 ◇ This N word may have contributed to the development of the N compound marker of pl. *r∇yE (= *r∇y'i'?) (q.v. ffd.).

70. *ʔUr∇ (ba) 'squirrel' > HS: S *oʔh∇rrab- > Ak arrabu 'dormouse (?)', 'jerboa (?)' ¶ CAD I/2 302-3, Lds. FAM 107 || IE: NaIE *wer- (and rdp.: *werwer-, as well as post-IE variants in descendant lges: *wēwer-, *wajwer-, *wi_lwer-) ≈ 'squirrel', {EI} *werwer- 'squirrel' > NPrs ووروره vārvāre id. || L vīverra 'polecat' || W gwiwer, Br gwiber 'squirrel', Ir iora rua id. (rua 'red') || Lt vaiveris, vaivaras 'male polecat', vēveris, vaiveris, voveris, voverē, Δ vóveris 'squirrel', Ltv vāvere, -is id., Pru weware id. || pSl *věver-ька, -ika 'squirrel' > ChS ВѢВЕРИЦА, P wiewiórka, Cz veverka, Uk вивірка, SCr вѣверица ђ (v)jěverica || pGmc *ajk-werna ~ *īk-werna 'squirrel' (with *ajk- 'oak?') > AS āc-weorna, ON íkorni, OHG eichurno, eichorno, eich(h)orn, NHG Eichhhorn 'squirrel'; acc. to Schr. GW 134 and Schr. 165, pGmc *ajk-/ *īk- may go back to IE *ajg-, cp. OI 'ēj-ati vi. 'stirs, moves' ¶ WP I 287-8, P 1266, EI 540, ZVSZ 475, Ma. CS 564-5, YGM-1 267, Frn. 1233-4, En. 273, Vr. 284, KM 154-5, EWA II 974-6, Ho. 2, 390, Vl. II 1421 || U *ora, *ora-pa 'squirrel' > Forava, Es orav, oravas id. || pLp {Lr.} *ṛrēv > Lp N {N} oar're / -rr-, Lp S {Hs.} oār'ēve oā'ēve ђ oārūve, Lp Kld {SaR} вүэррев id. || pMr {Ker.} *ūr̄ь > Er/Mk ur id. || Chr ur id. || pPrm *ur > Z ur id. || Sm: in a Samoyedic lge of the Sayan region (Pl.: "ejus stirpis monticolis sajanensibus") {Pl.} ороп 'Sciurus striatus' ¶¶ UEW 343, Sm. 552 (FP *ора 'squirrel'), LG 297-8, Kecsk. IPZ, Lr. no. 847, Lgc. no. 4587, Lgc. SL no. 1497, Hs. 1035-6, SaR 63, Ker. II 176 || D *urutt- 'squirrel' > Tm uruttay, Tl uruta id. (if the connection with D *urukk- 'jump' is secondary or non-existent) ¶¶ D no. 713, Tyler DU 810 [no. 130]

|| **A** *UriK̅∇ ({S} *Ur_li_l-k'∇) 'ground squirrel (*Citellus*)' > NaT *örke id. > StAlt {BT} örkö, Xk {BIG} örke ≙ öрге, Yk örgö, Tv {TvR} öрге id.; T ⇨ Hg ü r g e id., T ⇨ ? Brt E {Chr.} ὕρξα id. ¶ Shch. Zh 148, BT 120, BIG 136-7, TvR 339, Pek. 1955, Chr. 513, EWU 1589 ¶ The presence of the word in Hg proves that the T word was not originally confined to Siberia (⇔ Shch. l.c.) || Tg {S} *urike > Ewk Brg/Nr urikэ 'ground squirrel, marmot' (⇨ T or Brt?), ?σ Orc urikэ, urkэ 'black seal (animal) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ S CNM 7 ◇ The original meaning of the word is likely to have been 'squirrel' (as in most descendant lges), while in some lges the name has been transferred to other fur-bearing mammals ◇ The comparison with D has been suggested by Blz. (p.c.) after Tyler l. c. The pA cognate has been suggested by Starostin (S CNM 7). The quality of the N rounded vw. of the first syll. is controversial: the IE and D data suggest *u (N *u > IE *wε), while U suggests N *o. A plausible solution may be found if we assume that the N etymon is *ʔoRû (ba) with *o of the first syll. changing to *u under the ass. infl. of the second syll. (cp. the change N *o > pre-IE *u [> IE *wε] in the presence of N *û of the second syll., as formulated in AD PIEG). The N vw. *û of the second syll. may be responsible for *w∇ of the second syll. in the IE reduplicated variants of the stem in question (*werwer- et al.) ◇ AD NM no. 51.

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

72. *_lʔ∇_lr∇ 'towards' (→ 'in?') > **HS**: Eg ∇ r 'hin nach..., hin zu...; bis hin nach', conj. 'bis daß...', DEg r 'to, towards'; ? Eg O ĩr 'towards' > Cpt Sd/B ερο- ero-, ε- e-, Cpt F ελα- ela-, ε- e-, Cpt P αρο- aro- id. (× N *ʔi^rA^r 'stand still, stay; place to stay') ¶ EG II 386-8, Er. 236-8, Vc. 37 || **IE**: NaIE *-r (< IE *-_lH_lr?), locative sx in adverbs: Lt ku-ř̃, Ltv kūr 'where?' (place and direction), Gt hvar, ON hvar, OSx hwār, OHG wār 'where?', AS hwar ~ hwār id. (> NE where), OL quōr, L cūr 'why?', Gk νύκτωρ 'by night', OI ka-r-hi 'when?', uṣa-r 'at dawn'; NaIE *to-r/*tē-r 'there' > Gt, ON þar, OSx thar, OHG dār, AS ðær (> NE there) 'there', OI tar-hi 'then' ¶ The long vw. (in quōr, νύκτωρ) suggests the presence of a lr. ¶ Bks 220, WH I 313, WP I 521, P 1087, Kb. 144, 1145, EWA II 533-5 || **U**: FU: Prm *kō-r ({LG} *kō_r) 'when' > Z kor, Z US k̅r, Prmk k̅r || ? Y T

tigira 'there' ¶¶ LG 126, IN H 43O, Krn. JJ 2O9 || **A** {Rm.} *-ru/*-rū, directive case ending > T *-ru/*-rū id. > OT äb-im-rū 'towards my house', bā-ru 'hither', a-ru 'there (dorthin)', soḡra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus', MQp qa-ru 'whither?', OT bārū 'hierher', kārū ~ kirū 'zurück', as well as after the dative sx: jaṽI-qa-ru 'against the enemy', tāḡri-gā-rū 'against God', yooq-qa-ru 'nach oben', ič-gār-rū ~ ič-gā-ri 'nach innen', taš-qa-ri ~ taš-ṽa-ru 'nach aussen', as well as variants T *-r, *-ra/ä > OT qaḡar 'whither?', ič-ra 'innen', is-ra 'behind', bisrä 'hierher', soḡra 'nachher', tašra 'hinaus' ¶ Rm. VAJ 44-5, Br. OTG 157-8, Gbn ATG 28 || **M** {Rm.} *-ru, e.g. WrM {Pp.} iṅa-ru 'this side, prior to', {MED} 'before, until', ciṅa-ru {Pp.} 'that direction, after', HIM {MED, BMR} янар 'before, until', HIM -руу/-луу (модо-руу 'towards the woods', гол(у)руу 'towards the river/middle', морилуу [dis. from *mori-rū] 'towards a/the horse'), Ord -rū/-lū (otog-rū 'in the direction of the Otog banner'), Brt -руу/-луу (уһа-руу 'towards the water', мори-луу 'towards the horse'), ? Kl {Rm.} χārḡ ~ χārαn ~ χā-r-ān (with a reflexive sx) 'wohin' ¶ Pp. IM 161, 2O5 (a qu. hyp.: M *-ru < *φuruṽu 'down'). MED 41O, BMR 464, KW 175 || ?σ Ko {Rm.} ro, Ko N -ru (-ri), -illi (-ili) 'by ... way', ċibi-ro, Ko N ċiburu 'home' (direction), NKo a1-lo 'down' (direction) ¶ Rm. VAJ 44-6 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. ◇ Eg ĩ- and the vowel lengthening in NaIE (OL $\tau\upsilon\bar{o}r$, Gk $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\omega\rho$) suggest the presence of a N initial lr. The word may be etymologically identical with N *?ar▽ or *?a?r▽ 'earth, land, place' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 147-5O ("locative RU" in IE, U [Prm, Y], A [T, M, Tg, J, qu. Ko], Ai, unc. Gil [in fact -r- is from *-t-?], err. Hg sublative 'onto' [not "dative"!] -ra/-re [on its origin see EWU 1224]).

73. *?i₁?|y₁R'a¹ 'drag, pull, push' > **HS**: Eg fMK ɜr 'push aside' ('jem. verdrängen [von Habe, Grenze, Thron, usw.]'), {Fk.} 'drive away', Eg G ɜr 'jem-n bedrängen' ¶ EG I 11, Fk. 3 || **A**: Tg *ira- vt. 'drag' > Ewk $\check{i}r$ - id., Sln ĩru-, Lm lr-, Neg lɥ-, Ork lra-~lrra- id. ('волочить, тащить'), Ul lra- v. 'drag, drag over' ('тащить, перетаскивать'), Nn Nh/Bk ĩra- v. 'carry, transport' ¶ STM I 323-4, On. 196 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the meaning and the cns. *í) A {SDM} *ī́ru 'trace, furrow' > Tk **ī́r ~ *ī́r id., M *iraṽa [unless it is *φiraṽa] 'ripples on the surface of water', Tg *iru-n 'furrow' and pKo *írán id. (DQA no. 687) || **D** *īr- v. 'drag, draw, pull' > Tm īr- v. 'drag along, pull, attract', Ml īrukā v. 'saw', īrkkukā v. 'draw, drag', Td i·θ-, Gdb īr- v. 'pull, drag', Kn īr v. 'pull, draw', Prj īrp- v. 'pull' ¶¶ D no. 542 ◇ D *-r- usually goes back to a N *R-cluster rather than to an

intervoc. *R, which suggests a cluster in pN (*-ʔ|yR-?) ◇ ≈ IS I 251 [no. 112] (*Hírа 'тащить, волочить': D, Tg + *÷ Tk *írаn 'furrow' and Ko írаη 'ridge of a furrow').

74. *ʔûwɾ∇ 'light (lux), fire' > HS ≈ *ʔur- > S *ʔurr- ~ *ʔawɾ- 'light (lux)' > Ak urru '(heller) Tag', BHb 𐤀𐤓𐤏 ʔōr 'daylight, light, dawn', ✓ ʔwɾ (pf. 𐤀𐤓𐤏 ʔōr) v. 'dawn', Ug ʔur {A} id., {OLS} 'heat; fire, burning (combustión)', ? Ug {OLS} ʔar ~ ʔir 'light (luz)', Amr {G} ʔūr-um id., ✓ ʔwɾ 'v. 'shine', Ar ʔawɾ- 'ardeur du feu, flamme', ʔawwara 'allumer', OSA {Jm., Av.} ʔwɾn 'la divinité patronale des flammes', Jb C ε'ɾɜt, df. ē'ɾɜt 'moon', Sq HS df. 'ɜʔɜɜh, Sq {L} 'ere, Mh hā-rīt, Hrs hārēt id., Sq {L} 'erir 'allumer' ¶ KB 23-4, KBR 24-5, OLS 46-7, G A 14, Jo. M 7, Jo. J 4, Jo. H 4, L LS 72-5, Av. G II 68, DRS 13 || Eg G ír.t 'flame' (or sim.) ¶ EG I 114 || C: ʔσ Bj {R} 'ér a 'light (hell), white; white color', erā-m- 'get white' ¶ R WBd 27 || ʔσ CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -ūr- vt. 'burn', Gzg Mj {Lk.} wur id. ('[ver]brennen, rösten') ¶ JI II 55, Lk. G 138, ChC s.v. 'burn' tr. || A *ü|öwɾ∇- (× N *ʔûwɾ∇ 'light [lux], fire' [q.v. ffd.] 'be bright, shine' (× N *ʔ'Umr∇ 'burn' [intr.], 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' [q.v. ffd.] × N ??φ *χ'awɾa' rE [or *χawEr∇] 'bright, white') > NaT *ürüη 'shining, bright, white' > OT {Cl.} ürüη 'white', Yk ürüη 'white', 'shining, bright; clear weather', MU ürüη 'bright, clear', MQp XIII {Cl.} ūrūn, {TL} ǔrǔn 'milk', Tk Δ ürün 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ürüη barāη 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, TL 601, S AJ 193 [no. 190], SDM 1040 (pT *ü|örüη 'white', [unj.] 'dawn') || M *ö|üwɾ∇, r∇ ({SDM} *öwɾ) 'dawn' > ShY oyir 'dawn', MM [MA] ǔr or ör 'aurore', WrM {MED} ǔr, {Gl.} ör 'dawn, daybreak', HIM ʔʔp {SDM} id., {BMR} 'dawn, aurore', Brt ʔʔp id., Ord, Kl {KRS} ep 'dawn, daybreak', {Rm.} ör 'Morgendämmerung, das Tagen', WrO ör 'morning, dawn, daybreak', Mnr H {SM} ör 'aube du jour', Ord örö ~ ör 'aube, aurore' ¶ Pp. MA 382, MED 1010, BMR III 430, Chr. 517, S AJ 243 [no. 216], Krg. 147, SM 298, KRS 422, KW 298, Ms. O 537-8, MYC 686 || Tg *or'u¹- > Ewk PT/I orumna- 'blaze up', orumnaçā- adj. 'burnt', Ewk {Vas.} urum-mī 'shine, twinkle (сверкать, мерцать)', ? Lm O orakɩn 'flash, appear for a moment (мелькать)' ¶ Vas. 327, 453, STM II 23, 25 ¶ The Tg root belongs here only if it is *or'u¹- rather than *xor'u¹- ¶¶ SDM 1040-1 (pA *obri|e 'dawn' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1580 (id.), S AJ 288 (A *ör∇ 'white, light [hell], dawn'); KRS 433, KW 298 (T, M), Rs. W 375 (T, M), SDM97 s.v. *orE 'white, dawn' (T, M) || D {Km.} *ūr-/ *ur-∇- v. 'burn' > Tm uru v. 'burn', Kn uri v. 'burn, blaze, glow', Tu uri 'blaze, flame', uriyu- v.

'burn, blaze', Tl $ur i y u$, $ur al u$ vi. 'burn', Mnd $rund-$ v. 'ignite' ¶¶ D no. 656, Km. 299 [no-s 113-14] ¶ The D \sqrt is ambiguous, it may be alternitavely cognate to C $*hur-$ v. 'light' ◇ Cf. IS MS 337 ($*ur \Delta$ vi. 'burn') ◇ D $*-r-$ (reg. from N $*r$ -clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. ($*w$) in the Inlaut ◇ One cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is a phonetically reduced variant of N $*r^1 Umr \nabla$ (N $*-mr-$ > $*-wr-$ > $*-r-$).

75. $*\text{?iR}_L\text{E}\text{?}\hat{u}$ 'entrails' > HS: S $*\text{?iri?}-at-$ 'entrails, lung' (> reduced variants $*\text{?ir}-at-$ and WS $*ri^1\text{?}-at-$) > Ak $ir t u$ 'lung, breast', Ug $\text{?i} r t$, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ?iratu 'chest (?)', {OLS} 'pecho, repecho (de un monte)', Mhb $\text{?i} r \hat{e}^1 \text{?} \bar{a}$ 'lungs', Sr $\text{?i} r \bar{a}^1 \text{?} \bar{a}$, Ar $\text{?i} r \text{?}-at-$, Mh $r \text{?y} \bar{e} \text{?}$, Hrs $r \text{?y} \bar{i}$ (pl. $r \text{?y} \bar{o} t$), Jb E $\bar{e} r \bar{o} t$, Jb C $r \bar{o} t$ (pl. $r \bar{o} i$) id. ¶ Sd. 386, CAD VII 183ff., OLS 53, A no. 430, Grd. UT no. 365, Hnr. 109, Js. 1472, Br. 705, Jo. M 554, Jo. H 101, Jo. J 201, MiK I no. 1.9 (S $*\text{?ir}(r)-at-$ 'chest, breast') and 1.224 ($*r i^1(-at)-$ 'lung') || EC: Brj $ir-a$ 'stomach', Ya ira 'belly', ?? Sml $\bar{u} r$, ?? Rn $\hat{u} r$ id. ¶ Ss. B 106, PG 287, Blz. RL 257 || B {Pr.} $*\sqrt{HrH}$ 'lung(s)' ($*H = *r^1$) > Ah {Fc.} $t \bar{a} r u t$ 'lung' ({?Pr.} < $*t-HaruH-t$), ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Mz {Dlh.} $t a r u t$, Gh {Nh.} $t u r$ (pl. $t u r a w i n$), Kb {DI.} $t u r a t$, Gd {Lf.} $t \bar{u} r a$ (pl. $t \bar{u} r a w \bar{e} n$), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} $t u r t$, Rf Wr {Rn.} $t u r a$, Rf B/A $t \bar{a} u r a$, SrSn {Rn.} $t u r -i n$ (pl.), Izn $t a r u t$, Sll $t u r a t$, Wrg {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} $t u r a$, Skn {La.} $t \bar{u} r a$ id. ¶ Fc. 1558, Pr. M IV-V 214-15, Rn. 327, GhA 155, Lf. II no. 1370, MT 559, Dlh. Ou 267, Dlh. M 168, Dl. 697, Mrc. 199 ¶¶ \approx OS no. 36 || $\text{?}\sigma$ Eg $i r \omega$ 'piece of meat' ¶ Mks I no. O393 || IE: NaIE {P} $*oreu-$ / $*oreu-$ 'gut' > Gk [Hs.] $\acute{o} \rho \acute{o} \upsilon \alpha$ ($\acute{\alpha} \chi \omicron \rho \delta \acute{\eta}$) 'gut(s)', Gk [Epc.] $\acute{o} \rho \acute{o} \upsilon \bar{\alpha}$ 'sausage' (or 'guts') || L $a r \upsilon \bar{i} r n a$ 'fat, lard' (esp. that between the skin and the entrails), "Sicilian" (= L Sc?) [γ] [Hs.] $\acute{\alpha} \rho \beta \acute{\iota} \nu \nu \eta$ ($\acute{\alpha} \rho \acute{\epsilon} \alpha \zeta$) 'meat, flesh' ¶ WP I 182, P 782, F II 420, Ch. 828, WH I 71 || D (in SD) $*i r-$ 'internal organ of the body (as liver or spleen)' > T m $i r a l$, $i r u \bar{i}$ id., Ml $i r a l$, Irl $i r a l u$, $i r \upsilon o$, AIK $i r u \upsilon u$, Kt $i r u \upsilon v$, Td $\bar{u} r u f$, Kn $h \bar{i} r i$ 'liver' ¶ D no. 546 ◇ D $*-r-$ is a reg. reflex of N $*R$ -clusters (rather than of the N intervoc. $*-R-$), hence it points to the presence of an additional element (lr.?) adjacent to N $*R$. Therefore I prefer to reconstruct pS $*\sqrt{\text{?r?}}$ ($\approx *?iri\text{?}-at-$) rather than a metathetic pair $*?ir-at-$ ~ $*ri\text{?}-at-$ ◇ Blz. DA 154 [no. 18] (D, HS, IE), Blz NDA no. 17 (D, HS, IE).

76. $*\text{?eRq}^1 i^1$ '€ ruminant' > HS: S $*\text{?ar}_L \nabla \chi-$ 'cattle, cow' > Ug $\text{?a} r \chi$ (= $*\text{?ar}_L \nabla \chi-$) {A} 'cattle', {OLS} 'vaca, novilla', Amr {G} $\text{?ar} \chi u m$ 'cow', Ar $\text{?a} r \chi$ 'young bull', Ak $a r \chi$ 'cow', Tgy {Bsn.} $\text{?a} r \chi a$ 'bull', $\text{?a} r \chi -\bar{i}$ 'heifer (that never bore young)' ¶ A no. 389, OLS 49, G A 13, Sd. 67, CAD I/2 263,

Bsn. 493, DRS 33 || IE: NaIE *er- ~ *eri- '€ ruminant' (× N ***eriR'i**' '[male, young] big ungulate', q.v. ffd.) || D *eru- ~ *er^o 'buffalo, bull, cow', used with sxs denoting sex (× N ***erRq'i**' '€ ruminant', q.v.): [1] ≈ *eru-t^o ({GS} *erd-) 'male buffalo, bull' > Tm erutu 'bull, ox, steer', Ml erutu 'bullock, ox', Kt et, Td ešt 'bull', Kn erutu 'bull, ox' (and ettu, eddu 'ox, bullock' <- Tl?), Kdg etti 'bull, bullock', Tl eddu 'ox, bullock, bull', Klm ed, Nkr hedq 'bullock', Krx adqō 'ox, bullock', [2] ≈ *eru-may ({GS} *erm-) 'female buffalo' > Tm erumai, Ml eruma, erima, Kt im, Td ir, Kn emme, Kn Δ erme, Kdg emme, Tu erme, Tl enumu 'female buffalo', Gnd Δ ermi & hermi ~ arm ~ armi 'buffalo', Gnd HMS ermī 'female buffalo' ¶¶ The stem-final vw. *-u(-) in Tm, Ml, Tu and Tl may go back to the pD non-phonemic word-final vocoid *-o. ¶¶ D no-s 815, 816 and 917, ≈ GS 209 [no-s 529-30].

77. ***u|or∇q∇** (or ***u|or∇q∇'ʔ'∇**?) 'path, way' > HS: S ***ʔuraχ**- id. > BHb **ʔoraħ** 'way', OA/IA/Plm **ʔrħ**, BA **ʔraħ**, JEA **ʔoraħ-ā**, ChrPA **ʔwrħ** (em. **ʔwrħʔ**), Sr W/E **ʔurħ-ā** 'road, way', OAk, Ak **urχu** 'way, path, track' ('Weg, Pfad, Bahn') ¶ KB 83-4, 1673, HJ 106, Sl. 94, Sd. 1429 || EC: Sa/Af {R} **a'rāħ** (pl. **ārōħ**) 'way, path' ('Weg, Pfad, Straße'), Af {PH} **araħ** 'place, spot' } ? Ged {Hd.} **ora** 'road' ¶ R S II 45, PH 44, Hd. 258 ¶¶ OS no. 122 || U: FV {UEW} ***ura** 'way, path' > F **ura** id. | Mk {Ps.} **u-r**, **ura-**, **urkška** 'narrow footpath' ¶ UEW 804 || A: NaT ***orôk**, ? ***orak** 'path' > OT **or u|oq**, StAlt, QK **orıq** id., Brb **oraq**, Tlt {Rl.} **oroq**, Shor/Brb {Rl.} **oraq**, Xk **oraχ**, Yk **oroχ** 'animals' path' ('Wildpfad'), Bsh Δ **uraq** 'hare path, traces of a hare', Tv **oruq** 'road, way', Tf **oruq** 'road, path' ¶ Cl. 215, Rl. I 1050, 1054, TvR 327, Ra. 212, Tm. 163, ≈ TL 531-2 (unc.: ***oroq** <- T ***or-** 'dig') || ?φ D (att. in SD) ***orũk-** (or ***orũk-ʔ**) > Tm **orũkaı** 'lane, alley', Tu **orũku** ~ **orũkũ** 'lane, footpath' <-> Kn **orũku** 'narrow path between two walls in a garden' ¶ The unexpected -r̥- in Tm or in pSD requires explanation (infl. of SD ***var̥i** 'way, road' [see N ***wAr̥∇** 'way, path']?) ¶ D no. 1014 ◇ ≈ Blz. NDA no. 112 (HS, FU, T + unt. D ***ār̥u** 'way, road' [because of the unexpected vw. ***ār̥** and the cns. ***r̥**]) ◇ T ***-ıuık** and SD ***-ıuık-** are likely to go back to sxs, unless there was some glottalizing factor (N ***-ʔ∇** in ***u|or∇q∇ʔ∇**?) that caused transformation of N ***q** into ***q̣** (whence T and SD ***k**)***q̣**, e.g. N ***u|or∇q∇ʔ∇**. FV {UEW} ***ura** rules out the possibility of reconstructing N ***u|or∇q∇** (with pre-HS deglottalization ***-q-** > ***-q-** > HS ***-χ-**).

78. *ʔaRba 'to lie in ambush, to scheme evil to so.', '(?) to use magic tools' > **HS**: CS *✓ʔrb 'lie in ambush, scheme evil' > BHb בִּלְרֵב ✓ʔrb G 'lie in ambush, lie in wait for so.', IA בִּלְרֵב ʔrb 'ambush', Ar ✓ʔrb(pf. أَرَبَ ʔaruba ~ أَرَبَ ʔariba) 'be cunning', Sf מְרַב 'intrigant, comploteur', Tmd מְרַב 'se mettre en embuscade' ¶ KB 80, KBR 83, JH 23, HJ 101, DRS 31 || **U**: FU *°arpa (att. in FL) ≈ 'magic, magic device' > F arpa (gen. arvan) 'lot, magic stick or any other magic tool for finding hidden things, soothsaying etc.', arpa-mies 'soothsayer' (mies 'man'), arpo- v. 'cast lots', Es arp 'lot, magic', Lv ar:bī 'witch' | pLp {Lr.} *vōrpē > Lp N {Fri.} vuoorbbe 'sors secunda, fortuna; anulus orichalci, in membranam tympani magici, quoties pulsabatur, imponendus', {N} vuoorbbe 'a piece of wood, stones etc., used by persons who are going to cast lots about sth.; lot; destiny', Lp L {LLO} vuoorbpe 'Glück, Los, Geschick' ¶ UEW16, SK 24-5, MF 504-6, Lr. no. 1463, Lgc. no. 8812, Fri. 837 || **A**: T *arba- v. 'make magic, cast spells' > OT arva- (Cl.: arvā-), Chg, Qrg, Qq, Bsh, Xk arba-, ET arba- ʔ arva-, SY arva- id., Qzq arba- v. 'tempt, seduce, try to win so. over by deceit', Yk arbā- v. 'flatter, exaggerate', OT arviš 'a magic spell or charm' (→ Vt urveš, urbeć 'remedy for evil eye?'), Chg arviš-čī 'sorcerer' (a Turkic [most probably, Blgh] word is probably the source of Vt urveš, urbeć 'Waldgeist; a person inflicting illness by magic', Hg ορυος, Δ όρος, όρvas, όρvos, urus 'physician', as well as of Blg βραχ 'sorcerer' and R βραχ 'physician') ¶ ET Gl 168-70, Rs. W 24, Cl. 199, ≠ EWU 1071-2 ◇ IS I 261-2 (S, FU, T), UEW 16 (FU, T); ≠ Lcm. NLP 20 (FU and A cognates "are almost certainly loans") ◇ AD NM no. 121 ◇ An alt. et.: N *ʔaRpaʔv 'make magic' > **U**: FU *°arpa id. || **A**: T *arba- id. || **HS**: S *✓rpʔ v. 'heal, soothe' > Ak ✓rpʔ G, Ph, Pun ✓rpʔ, BHb, Sr ✓rpʔ G, Gz ✓rfʔ G 'heal', Ar ✓rfʔ G 'allay the fear of, soothe', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) ha-r-fi v. 'heal' (KB 1188, Hlk no. 157, SivCR 83). This latter et. is qu., because the primary meaning of S *✓rpʔ is likely to be 'repair' (see Ar ✓rfʔ G 'mend [clothes]', Gz ✓rfʔ G 'sew, mend').

79. *ʔARčA (or *ʔAč,∇,RA) 'trace' (→ 'sign', 'choose') > **HS**: S *ʔaθar- 'trace, track, place' > Ar ʔaθar- 'vestigium, signum' (and, with a different vowel pattern, ʔiθr- 'vestigium'), Ug ʔθr, Pu, Yd, DA ʔšr, OA ʔšr [ʔaθar], IA ʔtr, ʔtrʔ, JA ʔa'tar, ʔa'tr-ā, SmA ʔtr, Sr ʔa'tar, ʔa'tr-ā 'place', Gz ʔaśar (etymologically erroneous spelling) ~ ʔasar 'path, trace, track', Amh aser 'footprint', Ak ašr-u 'place, site; region, country'; WS *✓ʔθr v. 'follow the traces, choose' > Gz ✓ʔśr G (erroneous spelling for ✓ʔsr) v.

'follow the traces', Tgr ✓ ʔsr (pf. ʔasrə), Tgy ✓ ʔsr (pf. ʔassərə) v. 'follow the traces', Ar ✓ ʔθr (pf. ʔaθara) v. 'choose' ¶ JH 27-8, HJ 125-8, OLS 61-2, L G 45, Sl. 179, Lv. I 156, Tal 74, Fr. I 12-13, Br. 55-6, Sd. 82-3, CAD I/1 456-60, DRS 37 || K: G arč-eva 'Wahl, Erwählung, Auswahl' ¶ Chx. 36 || D *ačča 'trace' (× D *anča 'foot' < N *ʔANŠV '≈ ε foot', q.v.) > Kt ač 'footprint', Tu a j æ 'footprint, track, trace', Tl a j j a 'footprint' ¶¶ ≈ DED App. no. 6 (deriving the D root from InA pa d y ā 'footsteps', F Tu. no. 7778).

80. (₂?) *ʔ¹ aRH₂ ∇ m ∇ (H₂ = *h?) 'upper part of a limb' > HS: Eg fP r m n 'upper arm, shoulder' ¶ EG II 418, Fk. 149 || IE: NaIE *arāmo-/ *r̥mo- ({EI} IE *h_{er}Hmos ~ *h_{r̥}H'mos) 'arm' > OI īr'mah 'arm', Av ar^əmō 'Arm', Oss ärm 'hohle Hand' || L armus 'the shoulder where it is fitted to the shoulder blade' || ? Gk ἄρμός 'shoulder joint; joint (in masonry)' (with a puzzling irreg. h-) || Pru irmo 'arm', Ltv ē r m i 'part of a wagon to which the shaft is attached', Lt armaĩ {P} 'Vorderarm am Wagen', {Frn.} 'Teil des die Deichsel haltenden Wagenteils' | Sl {Gh.} *ōrmę (gen. *ōrmene, pl. *ōrmena) ~ *ōrmo 'shoulder' > OCS pamo ramo 'ώμος, shoulder, плечо', OR pama rame (pl. ramena), R † ramo (pl. рамена), Uk ram'я, рамено, Blg ramo, SCr rāme (pl. rāmena), Slv ráme, Cz ramě, Slk ramä, P ramię 'shoulder' || Gt arms, ON armr, OHG arm, AS ear m, NHG Arm 'arm', NE arm || Arm ωρῦνλην ar m-ukn 'elbow, forearm' ¶ P 58-9, EI 26, M K I 96, WH I 69, ≈ F I 144, Fs. 58, Vr. 14, Ho. 86, KM 30, EWA I 331-3, Jah. OSK 14, 49, ≈ Frn. 16 (hyp.: Lt armaĩ ← NGr OP arme 'ε part of a wagon', but why not NGr OP ← Lt?), En. 184, Tp. P I-K 68-70, ME I 575-6, Vs. III 440-1, Gh. 517-18, StSS 574 || ?σ,φ U *ónārmä 'groin' > FP *ñārmä (× N ?σ,φ *ñāgoRV 'groin, small abdominal organs [kidneys, pancreas and sim.]', q.v. [eU *ā < **ā < *-āgo-]) > FP *ñārmä > F näärvä 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ näärän (gen. näärämen) 'Leiste des Pferdes', Es nääre (gen. näärmē) 'Halsdrüse' | Lp T {Gn.} rā r m e 'Schambug, Scham-leiste' || pObU {Ht.} *ñārm ∇ > pOs *ñāram 'Leistengegend, Ende des Ober-schenkels' > Os Nz ḥram, Os O ḥarem id.; pVg *ñāram 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO нōрмъ, Vg N {Mu.} rā r ē m ≈ [ñāram] ¶ Coll. 101, UEW 312, Sm. 546 (FU *ñārmā, FP *ñārmā, Ugr *ñārmā 'groin, hip'), TI 571, Ht. no. 475, Mu. VNYJ s.v. rā r ē m ◇ The origin of the U initial *ñ- is not yet clear; it may go back (together with the length of the vowel of the 1st syllable) to an initial component of a N set phrase *ñ ∇ ... ʔ¹ aRH₂ ∇ m ∇.

81. *ʔoʔu 'antelope, deer, mountain goat' > **HS: S** *ʔarway- > Amr {G} ʔarwiyum 'gazelle', Ak arwium ~ arwûm 'gazelle (male)', Ar رُوَيْة ʔurwīyat- (pl. رُوَيْ ʔarwā) 'mountain goat' ({Fr.} 'capra montana, rupicapra'), Gz ʔarwē 'beast, animal' | ?? Ak armu 'mountain ram', Sr ʔarn-ā 'mountain goat' ¶ Fr. IV 214, L G 40, KB 85, DRS 32, G A 13, Sd. 69-70, 73, CAD I/2 294, Br. 50, JPS 29 ¶ In MAk (after the phonologic merger of -w- and -m-) Ak arwû merged with Ak armu 'mountain ram' (?) || C: ?? Bj {R} ra 'Ariel-Antilope' or 'Antilope Someringii' || DhI {EEN} ʔārōle 'eland' ¶ R WBd 188, E SC 287, EEN 20 || **IE: NaIE** *er-, *eribʰo- > Gk ἔραφος 'Böcklein, junge Ziege' (< *eri-bʰo-s) || Arm րոռ օռօջ 'lamb (agnus, agna)' || L ariēs (gen ariētis) 'ram' || Clt {Matas.} *erbā 'fellow deer (< *eri-bʰā) > OIr erp ~ eirp ~ erb 'dama, capra'; Clt *erb- > ScGt earb 'roedeer' || Lt éras 'Lamm', Ltv jērs id., OPr eristian id. ¶ P 326, Frn. 121, Matas. E 11 || **A** *oR∇ηg∇ 'deer, antelope' > M {SDM} *oroηgo > WrM oruηgu {MED} 'e small dark antelope with long flat horns', HIM oponго {MED} id., {BMR} 'e antelope', Brt oponго id., Kl {KRS} opηh, {Rm.} oηgə 'rhinoceros', Ord oronго 'e antelope'; M ʔ → WrMc {Hr} oronго 'schwarze Hirschziegenantilope', {Z} oponго 'wild dark-colored ram, resembling a chamois', 'wild mountain ram (каменный баран)' ¶ MED 623, BMR II 493, Chr. 362, KW 289, KRS 403, Ms. O 521, Z 132 || Tg *oron ({SDM} *oran) reindeer' > Ewk oron, Lm orъn, Neg ouon, Orc oro, Ud oro ~ olo, Ul oro(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} orõ, Nn Nh {On.} orõ: 'domestic reindeer', WrMc {Z} opoнь бyxу id. (byxу means 'female') ¶ STM II 24-5, On. 315, Z 132, Hr 741 || NaT *o:rga 'female or young maral (*Cervus elaphus*)' > SbTt orγucaq, Qzl orγa, orγača, Shor orγa id. ¶ Brgj. LORX 629 ¶¶ SDM 1063 (pA *or∇), DQA no. 629 || **D** *Uṛ-ay- 'deer' > Tm uray, Tu uræ, ule, {BhK} ule 'deer', Prj urup 'spotted deer' ¶¶ D no. 694 ◇ Blz. IELA 5-6 [no. 6] (HS + err. **IE: NaIE** *ʔer(i)- 'goat, sheep, Widder, Färse' (going back to N *H'æ'R∇ 'goat, sheep') ◇ AD NM no. 5, S CNM 5 (suggesting to add T *ar-kun 'crossbread horse' and *ar-ga-mak 'stallion'), Vv. AEN 368.

82. *ʔur or *ʔurE 'top' > **HS: C: EC** *ʔurr- 'top' > Dsn ʔúr-ru 'sky, high', Elm urr-u 'above', Brj urr-a 'mountain', Or urr-atta 'clouded mountain top', ? 'fog', ? Dl: Gln ʔurr-atte 'cloud', Hr, Dbs ʔurr-ačče 'cloud, fog'; EC *ʔirr- > Or irr-a 'on top of', Kns irr-ōta 'mountain', ?σ Sa, Af ir-o 'outside, away, abroad' ¶ Ss. B 184, To. DL 485 || B *wHu|ir (× N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise'

[q.v.] > Ah {Fc.} $\tilde{a}w\bar{r}$ (pf. $i\tilde{w}\bar{a}r$) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} $w\bar{a}r$ (pf. $i\tilde{w}\bar{a}r$) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty $\tilde{a}w\bar{a}r$ id., 'être levé (lune, soleil)' ¶ Fc. 1511, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, Nh. 208, GhA 201 || **A** * $\tilde{u}|\tilde{o}r\bar{\nabla}(-)$ 'rise', 'top; above' > T * $\tilde{u}r-$ 'top' > SY $y\tilde{u}z$, Chv вир 'top (верх)' (\times N * $p_{or}r\bar{a}'\nabla$ 'summit, top'??); \rightarrow T * $\tilde{u}r\bar{a}$ 'above, on high, on' > NaT * $\tilde{u}z\bar{a}$ > OT $\tilde{u}z\bar{a}$ 'above, on high', ET Δ {Jr.} $\tilde{u}z\varepsilon$, Ln $\tilde{u}z\bar{a}$, SY $\tilde{u}ze$ \approx $\tilde{u}zi$ \approx $y\tilde{u}ze$, Ln $\tilde{u}z\bar{a}$, Yk $\tilde{u}\bar{o}s\bar{a}$ \sim $\tilde{u}s\bar{a}$ 'top, upper part, upper surface', ET {Nj.} $\tilde{u}z\bar{a}$ 'superficial', {Nj.} $\tilde{u}zr\bar{a}$, ET Δ {Jr.} $\tilde{u}z\varepsilon\varepsilon$ 'on, upon'; NaT ** $\tilde{u}z-t$ > * $\tilde{u}st$ > OT $\tilde{u}st$, Tk $\tilde{u}st$, Tkm $\tilde{u}\theta t$, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Ln, ET {Nj.} $\tilde{u}st$, Uz ust 'top; upper part, surface' ¶ Cl. 242, 280-1, DTS 629, ET Gl 622-3, 638-9, Ml. ZhU 45-6, Nj. 124, 126, Jr. 328, Ash. V 238-9, Fed. I 124, Jeg. 54, ¶ The Tkm short * \tilde{u} suggests that the initial vw. in pT was short, therefore Yk \tilde{u} - is still to be explained || M * $\tilde{o}rg\bar{u}-$ \sim * $\tilde{e}rg\bar{u}-$ v. 'lift, raise' > MM $\tilde{e}rg\bar{u}-$, $\tilde{u}rg\bar{i}-$, WrM {MED} $\tilde{o}rg\bar{u}-$ \sim $\tilde{e}rg\bar{u}-$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\tilde{e}pr\bar{\theta}-$, Brt $\tilde{y}pr\bar{\theta}-$, Ord $\tilde{u}rg\bar{u}-$, Kl {KRS} $\tilde{e}pr-$, {Rm.} $\tilde{o}rg\bar{\theta}-$, Dg {T} $\tilde{e}r\bar{e}w\bar{e}$, Mnr {SM} $\tilde{u}rg\bar{u}-$ id. ¶ MED 325, 641, BMR III 39, Chr. 511, KW 299, KRS 424, Ms. O 761 || pKo {S} * $\tilde{o}r\bar{\wedge}-$ v. 'rise' (\times N * $\tilde{h}_1\tilde{e}r\bar{u}$ 'ascend, rise', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1065 (pA * $\tilde{o}r\bar{i}$ 'to rise, up' > M, T, Ko + unc. pJ * $\tilde{u}r\bar{a}(i)$ 'end of a branch, top of a tree'), DQA no. 1607 (id.) || **IE**: AnIE: Ht $\tilde{a}r\bar{u}-$ 'high' (\times N * $\tilde{h}_1\tilde{e}r\bar{u}$ '↑' [q.v.]) || ? σ NaIE * $\tilde{w}er-$ 'knob' ({EI} IE * $\tilde{w}r\bar{g}Hos$ 'pimple') > L $\tilde{v}\bar{a}r\bar{u}s$ 'rash\ pimples on the face', $\tilde{v}ar\bar{u}l\bar{u}s$ 'sty (in the eye)' || Lt $\tilde{v}\bar{i}r\bar{a}s$, Lt E $\tilde{v}ir\bar{y}\bar{s}$ '(pig's) measles' || AS $\tilde{w}er-n\bar{a}e\bar{z}l$ 'abscess' > NE $\tilde{w}ar\bar{n}el$, Dt $\tilde{w}eer$ 'callosity', Nr $\tilde{v}ere$ 'tumor under cow's skin' || Tc B $\tilde{y}oro$ \approx pustule, boil' ¶¶ Pv. I 177-8, P 1151, EI 523, WH II 734, Ad. 512.

83. ($_2$?) * $\tilde{r}\bar{u}'r\bar{\nabla}w\bar{\nabla}$ 'big feline' > **HS**: CS * $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}'ay-$ 'lion' or sim. > BHb $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}\bar{e}$ $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}\bar{e}$, Ph $\tilde{r}ar\bar{w}$, Ug $\tilde{r}ar\bar{w}$, BA $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}\bar{e}$, pl. $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}\bar{a}w\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$, JA $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}\bar{a}$, SmA $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}h$, Sr $\tilde{r}ar\bar{y}\bar{a}$ 'lion', as well as Gz $\tilde{r}ar\bar{w}\bar{e}$ 'wild beast' (\times N * $\tilde{r}or\bar{u}'$ 'antelope, deer, mountain goat'); ? Cn \rightarrow Eg N \tilde{r} 'lion' ¶ KB 85, HJ 104, Sl. 166, Tal 61, A 13, DRS 32, EG I 106 || Eg fP, DEg $\tilde{r}w$ 'lion' ¶ EG II 403, Er. 243 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} $\tilde{r}or\bar{u}'w\bar{a}$, Mgm {J} $\tilde{r}\bar{a}'r\bar{u}m$ 'lion', Tmk {Cp.} $\tilde{r}\bar{a}'w$ 'leopard' || CCh: ?? MsgP {Trn.} $\tilde{a}h\bar{i}r\bar{a}w$, {Mch.} $\tilde{a}hr\bar{a}w$ id. | Lmn {Lk.} $\tilde{r}\bar{v}\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ 'lion' | Mdr {ChL} $\tilde{r}ur\bar{v}\bar{a}r\bar{e}$, {Mch.} $\tilde{a}r\bar{v}\bar{a}r\bar{e}$, Glv {Rp.} $\tilde{a}r\bar{v}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, {ChL} $\tilde{a}r\bar{v}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, Gv {ChL} $\tilde{r}\bar{u}r\bar{v}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, Dgh {Frk} $\tilde{r}\bar{v}\bar{i}r\bar{e}$, {ChL} $\tilde{a}r\bar{v}\bar{i}r\bar{e}$ id. | Lgn {Lk.} $\tilde{r}\bar{a}v\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ id. ¶ JI II 223, 227, ChC s.v. 'lion' and 'leopard', ChL, Cp. 59 ¶ The cns. -h- in MsgP still needs explainig || **D** {ChenT, GS} * $\tilde{u}r\bar{u}v-$ 'tiger' > Tm $\tilde{u}r\bar{u}v\bar{a}$, Tl $\tilde{d}u\bar{v}v\bar{u}$, Klm $\tilde{d}u\bar{v}$, $\tilde{d}\bar{u}$, Gnd $\tilde{d}\bar{u}$, $\tilde{d}\bar{u}a$ 'tiger', $\tilde{d}u\bar{w}\bar{a}$, $\tilde{d}u\bar{w}a$ 'panther' ¶¶ D no. 692, GS 224-5 [no. 551] ||

A: ?φ T *i_;rbi^ř or *i_;rbilç 'leopard' > OT irbič ~ irbiš id., OT U [TT] {BG} irpiz 'lynx (?)', Tv irbiš 'leopard'; ↳ WrM {MED} irbis, HIM {MED, BMR} 'ирвэс 'panther, leopard', Kl {KRS} ирвсг irvsag 'tiger', {Rm.} irvsū 'Leopard' ¶ Cl. 199, ET Gl 346, TL 156-7, MED 413, BMR II 279, KRS 272, KW 210, ≠ Mng. G 730 → S CNM 9 (both suggested that ilbirs is a tabooistically corrupted form of *jolbars), ≠ Vv. AEN 10 (qualifying OT irbiš as a "ghost" word, but it is quoted in this form in Cl. 199; this š [if true] is from *lç) ◊ ≈ AD NM no. 3, S CNM 9 (÷÷ ST).

84. *ǵǝ'š'ǝ' 'stay, be' (IS: ← 'settle') > **HS** *ǵiš- v. 'be, exist': **S** *ǵiš- v. 'have', 'exist' > Ak (-)iš- (inf. išŭ) v. 'have', "prefixed stative" tīšŭ 'you (sg.) have', Ak MB stative ls iš-āku 'I have'; S 3m *ǵ-išŭ 'he has', 'it has' → 'there is' (cp. Fr il ŷ'a, Port t e m 'there is') > Ak {CAD} išŭ, {Sd.} tīšŭ 'he has', BHb שׁ יֵשֶׁשׁ, SmHb ישׁ 'there is, it exists', SmA ישׁ 'there is'; S adj. *ǵayš-(um) 'existing' (*lā ǵayš-(um) 'non existing' > Ak laššŭ(m) 'non existing', 'is not', 'there is not'), in the predicative case S *ǵayš-a 'there is' (> Ar ǵayša 'there is'), S *lā ǵayša 'there is not' > Ar lajša, OA שׁ לֵי לַיֵּשׁ id., Ak laš (spelled la-aš) 'is not, there is not'. The semantic development of the word in HS and S is connected with the complicated syntactic history of these lges: in my opinion, at the ancient stage the prefix-conjugated verbs were dative-oriented (similar to the ergative syntactic orientation): *ǵi-ŭdař meant 'tibi notus est, tibi visus est' → later 'you know' (like in the history of pIE *ŭoyd-a), hence *ǵ(i)- meant 'to him', and *ǵ-išŭ meant 'ei est, לוּ שׁ יֵשֶׁשׁ'. Later there was a syntactic revolution, namely a reinterpretation of dative-oriented sentences into nominative-oriented, so that the personal pxs (*ǵa- 'to me', *ti- 'to you', *ǵi- 'to him' etc.) were reinterpreted as markers of the nominative subject (*ǵa- 'I', *ǵi- 'he' etc.), whence, in line with the general development, *ǵišŭ 'ei est' was reinterpreted as 'he\it has' (a meaning preserved in Ak). But at the same time the S form *ǵišŭ had a fossilized WS semantic variant (not any more a conjugated verb form) that escaped the above-mentioned syntactic reinterpretation and preserved its original meaning 'il'y a' (on the "nominative syntactic revolution" in HS see AD PP, esp. p. 96). In addition, the same HS stem has a different S reflex, namely *ǵīθay 'there is' > BA אֵי תַי ǵītay, JEA אֵי תַא ǵītā, Sr אֵי תַא ǵīt, SmA ǵyt, Ug ǵiθ (= {Blau} *ǵiθē), BHb שׁ יֵשֶׁשׁ ~ שׁ אֵי ǵīš 'there is'. The enigmatic *θ of this form goes back to HS *č and is likely to be due to some sx (or infix) containing *t at the pre-S (HS?) level: **-t-š- → **-š-t- > *-č- > S *-θ- ¶ Blau MS II 58-62, KB 423, 1665, KBR 443-4, KB LVT 1049, OLS 60, BH IV 130, Tal 25, 363, G OA 72-

3, CAD VII 289-93, Sd. G §§ 78b, 106r, Sd. 402-3, 539, Fr. I 75 and IV 140, Br. 16 || ?σ B {?Pr.} *-h₁suH v. 'arrive' > Ah as id., ETwl/Ty asu (Pcj. I A 10 = *-HCuC- structure), Gd ās, Gh, Nf, Kb, Mz as v. 'arrive, come', ?? Zng {TC} ešš*i*-d*deh* 'come'; the pB lr., symbolized by Pr. as *h₁, regularly represents pHS *ʔ ¶ Fc. 1794-5, GhA 168, Pr. M VI-VII122, Nh. 213, Lf. II no. 1411, Dl. 752, Dh. M 182, DCTC 286 || C: EC *ʔ∇š|s- (v. 'be\stay [somewhere]' →) v. 'spend the day' > Af {PH} as-e, Sa {R} as-, Sd {C, Mrn.}, Kmb {C, Mrn.}, Ged {Mrn.} os-, Hd {PB} oss- v. 'spend\pass the day'; the ancient meaning 'be\stay' is still present in Af {PH} as-e ...-k v. 'be absent from' (-k means 'from', the construction literally means 'be out of') ¶ C SE II 191, C S 656, PB 140, PH 46, R S II 48, Mrn. S s.v. os-, Mrn. ApCA s.v. os- || K: Sv l-äsω 'was' (ipf. of a copulative verb), -esω (conjunctive of the same verb, 3s l-esω) ¶ Top. SE 249, GP US 53-4 || IE *ʔes-/ʔs- ({EI} *h₁es-: 3s *h₁esti, 3p *h₁senti) > IE *ʔes-/ʔ*s- v. 'be' (pres. 1s *ʔes-mi 'I am', 3s *ʔes-ti 'is', 3p *ʔs-enti ~ *ʔs-onti); e.g. IE *ʔes-ti 'is' > Ht es-zi, NaIE *esti > OI asti, Gk ἐστί, L est, Osc íst, Gt ist, Lt Δ ēsti, ēst, Sl *es-tb (> OCS **ѣCTЪ** jestb) etc.; IE 3p *ʔs-enti ~ *ʔs-onti 'sunt' > NaIE *s-enti ~ *s-onti > OI 'santi, Gk Δ ἔντι (< *senti), L sunt, Um sent, Gt sind, OCS **сѣТЪ** sqtb etc.; Ht asa-nzi 'sunt' with its *o-grade for the expected zero grade is innovational (?). The pIE lr. *ʔ- is suggested by the fact that in the zero grade it did not become *ə, but was reduced to zero. In my opinion, there was an Early IE lr. *ʔ- (< N *ʔ-) that, unlike other lrs, was reduced to zero in unstressed positions (not adjacent to a vw.) where other lrs became *ə. It is not clear if IE *ʔēs- v. 'be seated' (> [pres. 3s] OI āstē, Av āstē, Gk ἕσται) is a Dehnstufe of the same IE √ or belongs to a different N etymon (see N *ʔis∇ 'to sit', 'seat') ¶¶ P 340-3, EI 53, BD II/3 595-642, Bks 228, M K I 67, F I 463-4, Fs. 292, Frn. 124, Bc. G 334, Pv. I-II 285-300, StSS 103-5, 829 || U *ʔ^rā^rś^ru|o^r- v. 'be somewhere, settle, dwell' > FP *äśe- (in Lp and Mr) ~ *aś∇- (in BF) > Vo asg- vi. 'settle': əlud asēb 'beer is settling', F asu- v. 'reside, inhabit', as-etta- (causative?) v. 'put, place', ase-ma 'place', F Δ as-e- (with a factitive sx?) v. 'prepare a sauna' (← v. 'put, set'), Es asu- vi. 'be, be found, lie, dwell, settle', ase, asu 'place' || pLp {Lr.} *ās3 > Lp N {N} āssâ- / āsâ- 'live, dwell, settle, settle down', Lp L (h)assā- 'sich niederlassen, ansässig werden', Lp N {N} āssâ-m-sāggje 'place of residence' (the Lp forms are not necessarily loans from F, as assumed by Coll. [FUV], Rédei and Lr., but may well go back to FU *äśe- v. 'dwell, reside' and *äśe-mä 'place', esp. in view of the exact

sound corrs between Lp N $\bar{a}ss\hat{a}m$ and Mk $\bar{a}ž\bar{a}m$) | Mk $\bar{a}ž\bar{a}m$, Δ $y\bar{a}ž\bar{a}m$, Er $\bar{a}ž\bar{a}m$ $ež\bar{e}m$ 'place' (< * $\bar{a}še-m\bar{a}$) || Sm * $\bar{a}š\bar{b}-y-$ {Jn., p.c.} > Ne T {Ter.} $\eta\bar{e}so-$ 'settle and build a tent (остановиться чумом)' (of nomads), T O {Lh.} $\eta\bar{a}so$ 'haltmachen und ein Zelt oder Zelte errichten' ¶¶ Coll. 4, SK 26, W EDW 64-5, Slv. 28-9, Lr. no. 62, Lgc. no. 261, Lh. 26, Ter. 422, ≈ Coll. CG 405, UEW 18-19, Ker. II 39 ¶¶ The rec. of vowels in this \bar{v} is problematic, since the vowels observed in the daughter-lges deviate from the known sound corrs Collinder (CG) and Rédei (UEW) reconstructed here {Coll.} * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}-$ (* $\bar{a}š\bar{e}$ - of my notation) and {UEW} * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}-$; Rédei tried to explain the front vw. in Mr by the ass. infl. of $\bar{š}$ - (which would have been irreg., since in many roots * \bar{a} remained unchanged before $\bar{š}$); their rec. gives no explanation to the Samoyed vowel. Jn. {p.c.} reconstructed U * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}$ -, since in his theory (Jn. UK) there is a reg. corr. between FP * $\bar{a}---*e$ and Sm * $\bar{a}---\bar{b}$, interpreted as pU * $\bar{a}---\bar{t}$. But his theory (even if it is true) does not account for \bar{e} , \bar{e} in Mr; IS and Dybo reconstruct here pre-harmonic U * $\bar{e}...A$, which after harmonic levelling gave rise to * \bar{a} in BF and * \bar{e} in Mr. But in this case there is no explanation for Sm * \bar{a} . I share the opinion of IS and Dybo assuming that the cause for irregularity lies in the interaction of Early U vowels of both syllables, but I suppose that the first vw. has been preserved without ass. changes in Mr and probably in Lp (U * \bar{a}) and has changed into * \bar{a} in BF (due to vowel harmony) and into * \bar{t} (probably high back vw.) in Sm due to the infl. of the U high back * \bar{u} (or mid back * \bar{o}). If the final vw. was * \bar{u} , F and Es $\bar{a}su-$ v. 'dwell, reside' preserve the old vw., but reinterpret it as a sx of in-transitivity/passivity (infl. of other words with the sx \bar{u}) ◇ AD LRC no. 78 (IE, U, S), IS I 268-70 (HS: S, B, C, Ch [highly questionable]; IE, U, K), GP US 54 (K, S, IE). The rec. of the N final labialized vw. is based on the ev. of B and K, as well as on my preliminary rec. of the U stem. This labialized vw. could have been only N * \bar{o} rather than * \bar{u} or * $\bar{ü}$, since N * \bar{u} and * $\bar{ü}$ would have yielded * $\bar{w}/u/\bar{o}w$ in IE, while N * \bar{o} yields no consonantal traces in IE (F AD NVIE) ◇ Blz.IELA 7 [no. 10] (IE, HS) ◇ IS l.c. supposed that the original meaning of the word was 'to settle' (of nomads), apparently suggested by U (Lp, Sm 'settle' etc.) and B ('arrive'). This is not certain because an opposite semantic change ('stay' → 'begin to stay' → 'settle, arrive') is possible too (cp. L $\bar{f}uit$ pfc. 'was' > Sp $\bar{f}ue$ 'went') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 28 (* $\bar{e}s$ 'be').

85. * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ (or * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' (→ 'foundation, basis') > HS: S * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ - ~ * $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ - 'basis, foundation' > Ar $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ - ~ $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ - id., BA $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ * (att. forms: pl. em. $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ $\bar{a}š\bar{e}š\bar{e}$ -

ay¹y-ā 'Grundfeste', יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּסָלִים 'seine Grundfeste'), OAk uśśum, Ak uśśu (mostly in pl.) 'Fundament' ¶ BK I 31, GB 896-7, Sd. 1442, DRS 35-6 || ? C: Bj {R} -sā² pcv. md. (1s p. a-'sā², pres. 'ēstī² ~ estī²) 'sit, dwell' ¶ EC: Elm a'siya, Arr {Hw.} siy²-/siḏi- 'sit down' ¶ R WBd 194, Hw. A 393, Hn. E 282, Blz. CL 180 || Ch: Ke {Eb.} 3s-, ísí 'sich niederlassen, (sich) ansiedeln', 's'asseoir, s'installer', ís žè²í 'sit down' ¶ Eb. 58 || IE *pēs- v. 'be seated' ({EI} *h₁pēs- 'sit') > NaIE *ēs- (only md.) 'be seated' > OI 'ās-tē, Av āste id. ¶ Gk A ἧσται 'he is seated' (h- from 'έτομα 'sit' < IE *sed-) || Ht es-, as- v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside', OHt es-, as- id., v. 'sit down, be seated', HrLw ás- v. 'sit, sit down', ása-s 'seat'; acc. to Pv., the apophony goes back to *ē/*E_o, alternation; Oettinger reconstructed here IE *E₁eE₁s- ¶¶ P 342-3, EI 522, M K I 84, F I 633-4, Ch. 411-12, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-11, Oett. IGS 112, Mer. HHG 35 ¶¶ This IE √ may either belong here or be a variant (NaIE Dehnstufe?) of *pes- / *ps- v. 'be' (< N *p'á's'o' 'stay, be' [q.v.]). Both hypotheses have their drawbacks: in the former case it is still hard to explain IE *ē for the expected *e_l (F AD PIEG), while in the latter case we should not expect *a- as the zero grade (in Ht as-), but rather a zero vw. (< *E_o- < N *p-). This *a is likely to suggest the presence of a postvoc. N lr. (N *p'is² > IE {Oett.} *E₁eE₁s-), possibly preserved (with mt.) in Bj. A possible solution for the enigmatic NaIE *ē is mt. in IE (N *p'is² > Bj √ s², IE {Oett.} *E₁eE₁s-) || U: FV *is²- v. 'sit, sit down' > F istu- v. 'sit', Es istu- v. 'sit, sit down' ¶ Er/Mk oza- 'sit down', Er ozado, Mk ozada 'in sitzender Stellung, in sitting position, сидя' ¶ UEW 629, ERV 432-3 || ? E: MEI uś-ta-na 'Sockel, Fundament' ¶ HK 1251.

86. *p'isü or *p'üs² 'fire' > HS: S *pišš-, *pišš₁-āt- 'fire' > BHb יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ (with a short e, evidenced by SmHb aš 'fire'), +ppa. pišš-: יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-וֹ 'his fire', pl. [BS] יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-וֹת, Ph פֵּשׂ, Ug פֵּשׂ t, (AkSc) i-š i-tu, OA פֵּשׂ, BA em. יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-ā, IA יהא פֵּשׂ h, em. יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ t-?, SmA פֵּשׂ ({Tal} = aš), פֵּשׂ h, JA יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-ā, יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-ā t-ā, Sr יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-ā t-ā, Gz יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-ā t-ā, Tgr, Amh יְהוֹשֻׁעַּ פְּעֵשׂ-ā t-ā, Har פֵּשׂ-ā t-ā, OAk iśum, Ak iśāt u(m), Eb {Krb.} piśātum 'fire' ¶ KB 89, BH IV 34, GB 69, 897, Blau MS II 62-7 (hyp.: *piš- with a short *š, Hb and Aram gemination is secondary), A no. 436, OLS 57-8, Hnr. 110, Sl. 126, Tal 67, JH 27, HJ 121, L G 44, CAD VII 227-33, Sd. 392-3, G OA 72, DRS 35-6 || WCh {Stl.} *wusi 'fire' > AG: Ang, Gmy, Su, Ywm wùs, Tal wùs | Ron: Klr wúš | BT: Gera {Sch.} wùsí, Krkr {Lk.} yèsí, εσι, {ChL} pèsî, Ngm yèsî, Krf {Sch.}, Glm {Sch.} wùsí, Bele {Sch.} uhí, Grm {Sch.} ùsí, Pr {Frz.} wúžì, Bl wɔsi; SBc: Grn {Sh.} ìsí, Grn Mb {Sh.} ísí ¶ JI II

138, Stl. ZCh 238 [no. 849], ChL, ChC s.v. 'firee', Frz. P 53, Sch. BTL 144, Sh. SB 24 || **U:** FU: [1] (att. in Ugr) * $\ddot{u}s\bar{\nabla}$ - v. 'fire (a hearth etc.), kindle the fire, heat, be very hot' > pOs {Stn.} * $\ddot{u}\bar{\nabla}$ - ({Hl. * $\ddot{u}\bar{\nabla}$ -) v. 'fire (oven etc.), kindle the fire' = 'heizen (den Ofen, Tschuval), Feuer anmachen' > Os: V/Vy $\ddot{o}\bar{l}$ -, Lk $\ddot{o}\theta$ -, Ty/Y $\ddot{o}\bar{\nabla}$ -, I (D etc.) $\bar{a}t$ -, Nz/Sh $\bar{a}t$ -, Kz $\bar{a}l$ -, O $\bar{a}l$ - id. | OHg $i\bar{z}z\bar{a}d$ - 'sehr hitzig sein, sehr warm sein', Hg $i\bar{z}z\bar{a}d$ - v. 'sweat' || [2] (att. in Prm) ? ϕ * $\bar{a}s\hat{a}$ > Prm {LG} * εs - 'ignite' > Z $\bar{z}y\bar{t}$ - 'catch fire', caus. $\bar{z}t\bar{t}$ - 'ignite, kindle', Yz $\bar{o}z\bar{t}\bar{a}-t\bar{n}\bar{t}$ 'kindle fire \ a bonfire', Vt $\bar{e}st$ - 'stoke', Vt Kz $\bar{e}z\bar{b}l$ - 'auftauen, schmelzen' ¶ The shift * \ddot{u} > * \bar{a} still requires explanation ¶ MF 334-5, Stn. D 64, Hl. rHt 71, ≈ UEW 27, LG 210, Lt. J 157 || **A:** M * $i\bar{s}\bar{u}\bar{l}\bar{n}$ 'soot' (unless it is pM ** $\varphi i\bar{s}\bar{u}\bar{l}\bar{n}$) > WrM {MED} $i\bar{s}\bar{u}$, HIM {MED, BMR} $i\bar{s}$, Brt $\bar{a}h\bar{a}(h)$ 'soot' ¶ MED 417, BMR II 282, Chr. 779 || AdS of T * $h\bar{i}\bar{s}-su-$ / * $h\bar{i}\bar{s}-s\bar{u}$ - v. 'heat', * $h\bar{i}\bar{s}-su-\bar{y}$ - / * $h\bar{i}\bar{s}-s\bar{u}-\bar{y}$ - 'hot' ({Md.} * $\bar{t}ssig \sim *i\bar{s}sig$) 'warm' (< N * $\bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{s}\bar{i}$ 'be hot/warm', q.v. ffd.) || **D** * $\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{c}$ - 'fire' > Mnd $i\bar{s}ke$ 'fire', Png $i\bar{s}ke \bar{z}\bar{i}p\bar{o}li$, $i\bar{s}ki-\bar{d}\bar{i}p\bar{u}li$ 'firefly', Klm $i\bar{s}re$ 'glowworm' ¶¶ D no. 428 ◇ The S, M and D roots suggest N * $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ - in the initial syll., while Ugr and WCh point to a labial vw. in the initial syll. of the N word ◇ This N word is to be distinguished from N * $\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ 'burn' (of fire) (q.v.). Cf. otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. * $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}$ 'fire' ◇ Cf. ≈ Blz. DA 162 [no. 101] (Blz. unconvincingly equated the above HS, D, FU and T roots with the IE and M reflexes of N * $\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{r}\bar{o}$ 'burn' [of fire]), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 106 (D, HS, U, M + unt. Tk $i\bar{s}, i$ 'funkeln, leuchten').

87. * $\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{\nabla}\bar{s}\bar{\nabla}$ 'they' > K * $\bar{o}-\bar{\nabla}s$: Mg - $\bar{e}s$ / - $\bar{i}s$, Lz - $\bar{e}s$, 3p aor.: Mg $\check{c}\bar{v}-\bar{e}s$ vt. 'they burnt\baked', $\check{c}\bar{a}r-\bar{e}s$ 'they wrote', $i\bar{b}\bar{i}r-\bar{e}s$ 'they sang', $t\bar{k}\bar{v}\bar{i}-\bar{i}s$ 'they said', Lz $\check{c}\bar{a}r-\bar{e}s$ 'scripserunt'; Mg - $\bar{d}-\bar{e}s$, Lz - $\bar{t}-\bar{e}s$, 3p ipf.: Mg $\bar{d}\bar{v}\bar{a}n-\bar{d}-\bar{e}s$ 'mittebant', Lz $\check{c}\bar{a}r\bar{u}m-\bar{t}-\bar{e}s$ 'scribebant' ¶ Q O62-5, Marr 50-1, Kiz. ZJ 69-71 || **IE: [11]** * $\bar{e}s$ (< ** $\bar{r}\bar{e}s$), nom. pl. m./f. of nominal parts of speech and participles > AnIE: Ht - $\bar{e}s \sim -\bar{i}s$, Pal - $\bar{u}s$ id. || NaIE nom. pl. m./f. * $\bar{e}s$ (with consonantal stems) > OI - $\bar{a}s$, Gk - $\bar{e}\zeta$, Gt - \bar{s} , L - $\bar{e}s$, Osc - \bar{s} , ON - \bar{r} , Lt - $\bar{e}s$, OCS - $\bar{e}-\bar{e}$; with *- \bar{o} -stems: *- $\bar{o}s$ (< *- $\bar{o}-\bar{e}s$) > OI - $\bar{a}s$, Osc - $\bar{u}s$, Gt - $\bar{o}s$, ON - $\bar{a}r$; with *- \bar{a} -stems: *- $\bar{a}s$ (< *- $\bar{a}-\bar{e}s$) > OI - $\bar{a}s$, Osc - $\bar{a}s$, Gt - $\bar{o}s$, Lt - $\bar{o}s$ ||] **[2]** *- $\bar{n}-s$ (< *- \bar{m} accus. + *- \bar{s} pl.), accus. pl. m./f. (of nominal parts of speech and participles) > AnIE: Ht - $\bar{u}s$, Lv - $\bar{a}n\bar{z}\bar{a}$ (whence nom. pl. - $\bar{a}n\bar{z}\bar{i}$), HrLw - $\bar{a}^n\bar{z}\bar{i}$ (→ nom. pl. - $\bar{a}^n\bar{z}\bar{i}$) || NaIE *- $\bar{n}\bar{o}-s$ accus. pl. m./f. of consonantal stems > Gt - $\bar{n}s$, OI - $\bar{a}s$, Gk - $\bar{a}\zeta$, L - $\bar{e}\bar{s}$ (→ nom. pl. - $\bar{e}\bar{s}$), Osc - \bar{s} , Um - \bar{f} , Lt - $\bar{i}s$; *- $\bar{o}-ns$ with *- \bar{o} -stems > OI - $\bar{a}n$, Gk - $\bar{o}\nu\zeta$ (> Gk A - $\bar{o}\nu\zeta$), L - $\bar{o}s$, Gt - $\bar{o}s$ etc. ¶¶ The presence of *- \bar{e} - in *- $\bar{e}s$ and the vowel lengthening in *- $\bar{o}s$, *- $\bar{a}s$

suggest a pre-IE initial *ʔ- (otherwise the pl. ending would have been *-s, like in nom. sg.), but the absence of vowels in the accus. pl. *-n-s is still to be explained ¶¶ Mer. SGA 275, 282-4, Brg. KVG 390-9, Bks 173, 191-2, Bc. G 113-30 || **A**: T: Chv † {Ash.} -əś ~ -əžə 'their', Chv -ěč -əś (3p ending of verbs in aor., ft. and conjunctive) ¶ Rs. MTS 201-3, Andr. ChJ 487, Ash. MI 305 ¶ The palatality of Chv -č -ś needs investigating || M *-s, pl. of nouns: MM [MA] üge-s 'words', [S] ere-s, WrM erē-s 'men', HIM {BMR} əpc id., {Pp.} ūlēs 'mountains', Kl zalū-s 'die Männer (im Gegensatz zu den Weibern)', Mgl tākā-z 'bucks', Ord emē-s 'women' ¶ Pp. IM 177-8, MED 323, BMR IV 429, KW 465 || ?σ Tg {Bz.} coll. *-sa / *-se, e.g.: Tg *ul-se 'meat' > Ul ulsə, Ud ulzʰə, Ewk ullə, Lm ulrə and probably Sln uldi ~ uldɜ; Tg *xol-sa 'fish' (coll.) > Ud olo^Ho 'cooked fish' and possibly Nn Nh/KU, Ork xolto, Ul xolto(n-) 'fish'; the forms with -lt- and -ld- belong here only if they may be traced back to *-l-s- (as suggested by Bz.: "in sehr vielen Fallen ist das Suffix durch Assimilationserscheinungen verdeckt und nicht leicht zu erkennen" [Bz. 69]) ¶ Bz. 69, STM II 14, 262, On. 467 ¶¶ Rm. VAJ § 25, Pp. PSA || **U**: FU: Prm: Z -zś, pl. of adjective: žėń+d-zś 'short' (pl.) | hardly here pPrm *-yōs∇ (pl. of nouns) (> Z -yas, Z Ud -yɜs, Prmk -ez ~ -yez, Yz -yōz, Vt -yos, -os); Rd. believed that this sx goes back to pPrm {Rd.} *yōs∇, {LG} yōz- 'Glied, Gelenk' (presumably akin to F jäser 'joint of limbs, member'); in any case, Prm *-s- in *-yōs∇ does not correspond etymologically to K *-s- in *-∇s ¶ LtT 873, LG 112, Bat. KZJ 220, Rd. GPS 379-80 || **HS**: pCh (in WCh) {Kr.} *sun 'they', *su(n) 'their, them' (in some Ch lges postnominal, pre- and post-verbal) [1] *sun 'they' > Hs su | Fy {J} són, Bks {J} sín | Krkr du-su | Ngz ak-šì | Dw suŋ, Gj si, Sy yà-šâ | [2] *su(ŋ) 'them' > Hs su | Bl, Krkr su, Ngm nsû | Ngz ak-šì | Sy šì, Gj sî, Dw -suŋ-nàk | [3] *su(n) 'their' > Hs su | Bl (s)su, Ngm ŋsu, Krkr su | Ngz -k-šì | Sy yà-sŋ, Dw gù-suŋ, Plc gɜ-sɜn, Gj g^ωà-sɜŋ | Fy {J} -ùs, Bks {J} -is ¶ Kr. RChP ∇, J R ◇ IS MsN (*S^h in IE, T, Tg, Mg), Gr. I 116-17 ("plural S" in IE, A, Aleut, ? Prm).

88. ₂ *ʔi|üś'U' t∇ 'to sweep, to rake' > **HS** *sūt- ({AD} *s₂ūt-) > WS *-šūt- (= *√šw̥t) v. 'make raking\rowing\sweeping movements' > BHb -šūt- (√šw̥t) v. 'row', MHb -šūt- (√šw̥t G) 'row, fly, float, swim', MHb √šw̥t Po 'swim', EpJA √šw̥t Po (šw̥t) 'roam', JBA {Sl.} √šw̥t G 'fly', JA {Js.} √šw̥t D 'roam, fly, swim, row', Sr šuωā-t-ə-t-ā 'weaver's comb\shuttle', CPA √šw̥t 'rove about, umherstreifen', Md √šw̥t G 'move hither and thither, fly, flow', Ar √sw̥t (ip. ya-sūt-u) v. 'mix up', Gz √sw̥t (pf. sōta,

js. $y\theta$ - $s\bar{u}\check{t}$) 'mix, add' ¶ ≈ KB 1336-7, HJ 1116, Sl. 1116, Js. 1531, DM 454, BK 1164-5, L G 521 || Ch {JS} * \check{r} $s_3\check{d}$ v. 'sweep' > WCh: Hs {Ba.} $\check{s}\check{a}\check{r}\check{e}$ (p. {Abr.} $\check{s}\check{a}\check{r}\check{a}$ and $\check{s}\check{a}\check{r}\check{a}$), Klr $\check{s}\check{u}t$, Kir $s\check{a}d\acute{e}$, Zar sat id. || CCh: Mdr $\hat{s}a\check{d}$ -a v. 'sweep', Glv $\hat{s}^y\check{e}\check{d}\check{i}$ -, Dgh $\hat{s}a\check{d}$ -, pMM {Ro.} $\hat{s}a\check{d}$ - (> Mada $\hat{s}a\check{d}$, Myn $\hat{s}\check{z}\acute{d}\acute{a}$, Mkt $\hat{s}\check{a}\check{d}\acute{a}y$), Db $\hat{z}\acute{a}\check{d}$ - id. ¶ JS 259, Ba. 929-30, Abr. H 801-2, ChC s.v. 'sweep', Ro. 339 [no. 710], ≠ Sk. HCD 242 ¶¶ On HS * s_2 see AD ChCS || U: FP * $i\acute{s}t\check{\nabla}$ - * $\ddot{u}\acute{s}t\check{\nabla}$ v. 'sweep' > Chr inf. $\ddot{u}\check{s}'ta\check{s}$ 'to sweep' | pPrm * $i\acute{s}$ 'broom' > Z $y\acute{i}\acute{s}$, Yz $i\acute{s}$ 'a broom with a long haft (made of birch tree)', Vt $i\acute{s}$ - $\acute{n}er$ 'broom' ($\acute{n}er$ < $\acute{n}3r$ 'twig') ¶ MRS 647-8, U 330, LG 112.

89. * $\check{r}\check{\nabla}\check{r}'\check{u}'H_2\check{\nabla}$ 'wild boar' > K: pGZ * $e\check{s}w$ - 'wild boar, swine' > OG $e\check{s}w$ - 'wild boar', 'fang', G $e\check{s}v$ - 'fang', Mg a-sk-u (< *o-askw-u) 'pigsty' (< *askw- 'swine'), ?σ Lz $\check{c}kva$ 'fang' ¶ K 81, K² 48, FS K 11, Abul. 152 || IE: NaIE * $s\bar{u}$ -s, * $su^l\omega$ -os ({EI} * $s\bar{u}$ -s / gen. * $s(u)^l\omega$ -os) '(wild or domesticated) pig' > Av $h\bar{u}$ 'swine' gen. sg. (< * $hu\check{v}\bar{o}$) || Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\zeta$ (gen. $\acute{\upsilon}\acute{o}\zeta$) 'wild swine; pig' || Gk (< Pls?) $\sigma\check{\upsilon}\zeta$ id. || pAl {O} * $s\ddot{u}(s)$ > Al G/T thi {AlBED} 'boar' || L $s\bar{u}$ -s id., Um $s\bar{i}m$ accus. 'swine', sif accus. pl. 'swines' || Clt {Matas.} * $sukko$ - 'pig' > OIr $soc(c)$ 'snout, plough-share', OW $huch$ ~ $su\check{h}$, MW $hwch$ 'pig', OBr [\check{r}] $hoch$ 'aper', Br $houc'h$ 'pig', OCrn [\check{r}] $hoch$ 'porcus', Crn $hoch$ 'pig'; acc. to Matas., "the geminate *-kk- may be due to the analogical infl. of the other word for 'pig', pClt * $mokku$ - " || ON $s\check{y}$ -r, OHG $s\bar{u}$, NHG Sau , AS $s\bar{u}$ 'sow', NE sow || Ltv $siv\acute{e}\check{n}s$, $su\check{v}\acute{e}\check{n}s$ 'small pig, sucking pig' || Tc B $s\bar{u}\omega o$ 'pig, hog' (< * $su\check{w}$ -on-) | d. IE * $su\check{w}$ - $\bar{i}no$ - 'belonging to pigs' > L $s\bar{u}\bar{i}nus$ id. || pSl * $svin\check{b}$ > OCS, OR $свннѣ$ $svin\check{b}$ id., dadj.: R $свиной$, Uk $свиний$ id. | Pru $seweynis$ 'pigsty' || Tc B $s\bar{w}\acute{a}\check{n}e$ (in $s\bar{w}\acute{a}\check{n}ana\ m\acute{i}sa$ 'pork') | sunstantivized adj.: Gt $s\bar{w}ein$ ($\chi\acute{o}\check{\rho}\acute{o}\zeta$) 'Schwein', ON $sv\acute{i}n$, OHG, AS $s\bar{w}\bar{i}n$, NHG $Schwein$ 'swine', NE $s\bar{w}ine$, d. from adj.: Sl * $svin\check{b}ja$ 'swine' > OCS $свннѣ$ $svin\check{b}ja$, SCr $svin\check{b}ja$, Slv $sv\acute{i}nja$, Cz $svi\check{n}\acute{e}$, Slk $svi\check{n}\acute{a}$, P $swinia$, R $свинья$, Uk $свиня$ ¶ P 1038-9, EI 425, F II 824, 973-4, WH II 635-6, Bc. G 346, Matas. 359, O 477, Ç II 219-220, 478, Kf. 366, AlBED 891, Ho. 329, 337-8, Vr. 570, 574, KM 628, 691, Kb. 982, Fs. 465, Wn. I 446, Kar. II 189-90, En. 246, Vs. III 578-9, StSS 593, Glh. 599-600, Ad. 698 || A: Tg: Ud siu 'two-year-old boar' ¶ STM II 100 || HS: DEg $\acute{i}\check{s}$ 'swine, sow', Eg fMK {EG} $\check{s}\check{z}\check{y}$, $\check{s}\check{z}$ 'swine', Eg L $\check{s}\check{z}\check{y}.t$ ({Vc.} * $[e\check{s}'\check{p}\acute{y}et]$) 'sow', Cpt: Sd $\check{y}\check{e}\check{s}\acute{e}$ 'swine', Sd/B $\epsilon\check{y}\omega$ $e\check{s}\bar{o}$, B $\epsilon\check{y}\omega\check{y}$ $e\check{s}\acute{a}\omega$ 'sow' ¶ EG IV 401, 405, Fk. 260, Er. 44, Vc. 49, 254 ¶ \check{s} (for the expected s) is puzzling (something like **- $s\check{u}$ - or **- $s\ddot{u}$ - > Eg \check{s} ?) || The Ak word $sa\check{r}\acute{u}$ - 'swine' is considered a loan from Sumerian

(Sd. 1133); is it a return loan of a (Hamito-)Semitic word? ◇ The initial ǐ in DEg ǐš and the initial zero cns. in pGZ *ešw- suggests a N initial *ʔ-; in most descendant lges the tentatively reconstructed N *ʔ∇- was lost.

90. *ʔ¹at∇ 'female, woman' > HS *ʔ∇t- > C *ʔ∇t∇ 'elder sister' > EC: Sa {R} atē (pl. ātet) 'elder sister', Ya {Hn.} ʔou (pl. 'ʔouyo') 'sister' (ʔ- < *ʔ∇t-) ¶ AD SF 243 (C *ʔ∇tt∇), R S II 54, Hn. Y II 133 || NrOm: Ym {C} ētnā, {Lm.} ētā ~ ētī 'sister', {Wdk.} ētá 'my sister' (if t originally belonged to the stem and only later was reinterpreted as belonging to the ppa. -ta 'my', as analysed by Wdk., or as a marker of fem., as supposed by Lm.; cp. Ym {C} nē t-etnā 'you are my sister') ¶ C SE III 69, 90, Wdk. BY 121, Lm. Y 326 || HS marker of the fem. sex in nouns: S *-āt- in *ʔax-āt- 'sister' [> BHb תִּחְלָה ʔā'h-ōt, Ph *ʔahut-, in proper names ʔht-, (AkSc) axut-milki, lit. 'king's sister', Ug ʔaxātu = ʔaxt, (AkSc) axātu, JA אֲחִיָּה ʔā'hāt-ā, Sr hāt-ā, SmA cs. תִּחְלָה ʔht, Ak axātu], in S *ham-āt- 'husband's mother, mother-in-law' (> BHb תִּחְמָה hām-ōt, JA אֲחִיָּהּ hāmāt-ā, Sr hāmāt-ā, Gz hamāt, Tgr, Tgy ḥamat, Ak emēt id., SmA תִּחְמָהּ hmt-h 'his mother-in-law'), as well as S *-at- in nouns for female beings, e.g. *bin-at- 'daughter' > BHb תַּבַּת bat, Ar bint- etc. ¶ KB 30-1, 314, KBR 327, Hnr. 105, FrdR § 94, Sl. 106, ≈ Tal 18-19, 279 (unjustified abs. *הַחַת *ʔht, *הַחַמַּח *h m h), L G 235, LH 62 || Eg -t (marker of the feminine gender in nouns denoting female beings [st 'sister'], as well as in nouns belonging to the feminine gender as an agreement class) ¶ Gard. 34 || LbB *-t (marker of f.) in forms like B *t∇- funas-t 'cow', ONum ul-t 'daughter' ¶ Fv. LJ 418-20 || C: EC: Or H-tī, sx of f. (denoting the female sex): ʒār-tī 'wife' (↔ ʒār-sá 'husband'), obboléttī 'sister' (↔ obbolesá 'brother'), ogéttī 'expert (woman)' (↔ og-esá 'expert'), adj.: hām-tū 'bad (female)' (↔ hām-ā 'bad') ¶ AD SF 243, Ow. 95 || Ch: [1] Ch {Sch.} *-t∇, f. sg. determiner of nouns: {Sch.} Hs gōdìyá-r 'the mare' (↔ gōdìyā 'mare') (-r < *-t), Bd šà-tīwú 'that cow' (↔ šà 'cow'), Mlw múní tí ná 'this woman' (↔ muni 'woman'), as well as with loss of gender distinction: Gude ráhá-tá 'that axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), as well as possibly (× N *tā, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects [q.v.]) the prefix of dem. pronouns in Kera: f. sg. táη, m. sg. tóη 'this', pl. téη 'these' ¶ Sch. ED 158-9] [2] CCh: acc. to Mch. VCQP 65-6, "Kotoko: t s'infixe au singulier entre épouse et le suffixe possessif... Masa: suffixes masculin en na, féminin en ta (dialectal da). Gidar: affixes n au masculin, t au féminin. Exemple: vieux = mugalen, vieille = mugalta. Bata: suffixes

nominaux *wɛ*, *tiye*, où *ti* indiquerait le féminin... **Jeŋ** [= Njey]: suffixes nominaux... *či* (féminin); *či* se suffixe au nom et à l'adjectif: *madagalčil* *madáčil*² 'vieille¹ femme²' ¶¶ Gr. LA 46-7 ¶¶ This N word is probably one of the two sources (together with the N dem. prn. ***t̄ä** of non-active objects) of the HS marker ***t̄∇-/-∇t** of the so-called "feminine" gender (actually feminine-and-inanimate gender), namely [1] that of the verbal px ***t̄∇-** of the 3d person "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\ collective) > S ***ta-/*t-** (*F* Hz. VP), B ***t̄∇-** id., EC ***t̄(∇)-**, Bj, Aw **t-** of 3f in prefix-conjugated verbs, ***t-** as marker of 3f in many Ch lges, as well as the marker ***-t-** of 3f within the person/number/gender sxs; [2] that of the pHS ending ***-∇t-**, marker of both the female sex in nouns (*F* above) and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (functioning as sx of singulative, collective and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C and Ch, and [3] that of the HS prn. ***t̄∇-** (prn. of the fem.[-and-inanimate] gender) > Bj **t-**, fem. gender marker in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} sg. nom. *tū* ~ *tu*, accus. sg. *tō* ~ *tū*, pl. nom. *tā* ~ *ta*, pl. accus. *tē* ~ *ti*, Bj Hd {Rop.} sg. nom. *tū* ~ *ti*, accus. sg. *tō* ~ *ti*, pl. nom. *tā* ~ *ti*, nom. pl. *tē* ~ *ti*, Bj (dialect, recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. *tū*, accus. sg. *tō*, nom. pl. *tā*, accus. pl. *tē*; Berber ***t̄∇-**, px of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (from an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf *ta-lɣamt* 'she-camel', pl. *ti-ləɣmin*, *ti-ləɣmatin*, Kb *ta-funast*, Tmz *ta-funast* 'cow', Zwr *t-funast*, Zmr *t-funast* id., pl. *tifunasin*, *t-mɣart* 'old woman', Mz *t-məttut* 'woman' etc. (*F* AiM 208-9); Sml **-ta**, **-tu**, **-tī**, fem. form of df. articles; Cushitic fem. gender marker ***t-** in dem. pronouns: Bj {R} **t-ūn** 'this' f. (accus. **t-ōn**), **t-ān** 'these' f. (accus. **t-ēn**), Sa {R} **t-ā**, **t-ay** 'this' f., **t-o**, **t-oy** 'that' f., Sml **-t-aní** (accus. **-t-án**) 'this' f. (sx of a noun), **-t-ās** i (accus. **-t-ā**) 'that' f. (general deixis) etc., Or B **tunì(-nī)** 'this' f., accus. **t-ánā**, gen. **táná** etc., Sd **t-e**, **t-ene**, **t-ēne**, **t-in** 'this' f. etc. (*F* AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-17), as well as fem. gender marker in nominal ppa. in Bj (**-t-**), Sml (**-t-**: *ì'nán-t-àɣ-d-u* 'my daughter', where **-t-** is the marker of fem. in the suffixed possessive prn. *taɣdu*, *taɣday-* is a ppa. of 1s, and **-d-** is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article ↔ *ì'nàn-k-àɣ-g-u* 'my son', where **-k-** and **-g-** are masc. gender markers), Rn **-ēt** marker of genitive in fem. nouns, Or Δ **-t-** etc. (AD KJ 107-8, PG 26). In Ch this HS prn. ***t̄∇** became a personal prn. of 3s fem. (actually, fem.-and-inanimate), which Blz. reconstructs as ***ta**. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f: Hs *tā* (with past), *ta* (with some other verbal forms), in BT lges (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera *tì*, Krf, Glm, Grm *tà*, Tng *ta* etc.), in Ron lges

(with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr tí); (2) within an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + *ta, acc. to Kraft's rec.): Hs i-ta, Bl i-tà, Krkr dɜ-tɜw, Tng η-ta, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-tù, as well as without prefix: Ngm tē, Zul ti; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*t∇, acc. to Kraft): Hs, Bl ta, Krkr, Tng tà, Ngz atù, Bd tù; (4) as a possessive prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kraft): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf tãa, Krkr (tɜ)-tɜw, Tng tò, Pr tè, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh it appears: (1) as a subject prn. of 3m: Msg G {MB} tɜ, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti; (2) as a possessive marker of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (where -r- < *-t-), Mln -(gɜ)-tò, FIM -tù, Mbara -tá; (3) as an object prn. of 3f: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (where -r- < *-t-), FIM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti, Mbara -tá 'her'; (4) in some CCh lges it is one of the elements within aut. pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tí tí 'she'). In ECh this morpheme functions as a pronominal subject morpheme of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -g-ít), as a pronominal object sx of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her') and as a ppa. of 3f (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her') ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM 33-9, JA LM 39, Al. DB 196-206, Cp. 32 || A: Tg *at∇ 'female; elderly woman' > WrMc {Z} aтy 'female fish' (× N *ɣatU 'e fish'), Ud {Shn.} atʔa buyi, atʔa maʔa 'she-bear', {Krm.} atiga 'female animal', {Shn.} atiʔa id., 'woman, wife', Orc ataʔa 'mother-in-law, elder sister-in-law, grandmother', Ork atī 'mother-in-law', ataqa 'wife's elder sister, grandmother', Ewk atē ~ ati, Ewk NB ata 'old woman' (address word), Ewk atkī (ppa.) 'husband's mother', 'wife's mother', atirkān 'old woman, wife', Sln atikkã: 'old woman', {Iv.} атыркан 'wife', Lm ata 'grandmother, father's elder sister', atē 'grandmother' (address), Neg N atiyakkān 'old woman', atixān~atuxān id., atkī 'mother-in-law' ¶ STM I 58, Krm. 209, Z 29 || B *ātt- 'woman' > Tm āttti 'woman, wife', ātavavā 'woman', Kn ādanggi 'a female', Tu āde 'a coward', Tl ātadi, ādadi, ādudi 'woman', ādu 'womanishness', Prj aḏey 'wife', Gdb āḏa payya 'female calf', Knd āḏu 'female', Knd N/W āru 'wife', Ku āḏi, Δ āru 'wife' ¶¶ D no. 400, An. SG 132 (*āntt-, ≈ GS 208 [no. 524] (D *ald-) ||] Derivational\grammatical affix for females: {Zv.} *oru-tti 'one female' > Tm, Ml oru-tti 'one female person' (oru- is 'one'), Tu or-ti, Mlt or-ti 'one woman'; unlike in HS, in pD there is no merger of the fem. gender (*oru-tti 'one female') and the inanimate gender (*on-ttu 'one thing'). But in some D lges this merger did occur: Tl a-di, Klm, Nkr a-d 'that woman, that thing' (D 4 [no. 1]) ¶¶ D no. 990, Zv. DL 21, GS 72 [no. 234] ◇ The vl. *-t-

in Tg (for the expected *-d-) is still to be explained. IS MsN included the HS marker of fem. *t into the etymon "*t neutr."

91. *ʔitê 'eat' > IE *ʔed- ({{EI}} 1s *h₁ed-mi) v. 'eat' > Ht ed-/ad-/ezza-, pres. 1s ed-mi, 3p adanzi, Lw ad-, azza-, HrLw ad-, ar-, {Mer.} á-ta-, Pal ad- v. 'eat' || NaIE *ed- / *od- / *d- 'eat' > OI 1s pres. 'ad-mi, Av 3s sbjn. aδāiti || Arm 1s pres. **ստեմ** utem (< *ōd-) || Gk Hm inf. ἔδ-μεναι, ft. ἔδ-ο-μαι 'eat, devour' || L ed-ō / edēre 'eat' || Gt (thematic) inf. itan, ON inf. eta, OHG inf. ēzēan, NHG inf. essen, OSx, AS inf. etan 'to eat', NE eat || BSI *ēd-(mi) > OIt 1s pres. émi, Lt μ 1s pres. é d-u (inf. é sti) 'fressen', Ltv pres. ēmu ~ ēdu 'I eat' (inf. ēst), Pru īd- (inf. īst) 'eat', īstai 'food' || Sl *ěd- 'eat' (1s pres. *ě-мь [\leftarrow *ēd-mi], 3s pres. *ěs-тb, 3p pres. *ěd-ęтb, inf. *ěs-ti) > OCS 1s pres. **ѣмь** jамь, 3s pres. **ѣсть** jasť, 3p pres. **ѣдѣтъ** jadęтb, inf. **ѣсти** jasti 'eat', Blg ям 'I eat', SCr 1s pres. jēm (~ jēdēm) id. / inf. jēsti 'to eat', Slv 1s pres. jém / inf. jésti, Cz jí m / inf. jísti, Slk jem / inf. jest', P jem / inf. jeść, R ем / inf. есть, Uk їм / inf. їсти 'eat' || Tc B yesti ({{Ad.}} < *h₁ēd^S-to) ≈ food, meal || \rightarrow IE *ʔodont-, *ʔdont-/ *ʔdnt- ({{EI}} *h₁dont-) 'tooth' (originally accp. 'eating one, edens'?) > OI 'dan (accus. dan'tam, gen. da'tah₁ < *dnt-os), Av dantan- m., dātā f. || Arm **ատամն** atamn || Gk ὀδών (gen. ὀδόντος), ὀδούς, Ae Gk pl. ἔδοντες || L dens (gen. dentis) || Clt {Matas.} *danto- 'tooth' > OIr dé t, Brtt {RE} *dant > MW, W, OBr, Br dant, OCrn [ʧ], Crn dans || Gmc: Gt tunpus (· ὀδούς) 'Zahn' (bf. from the accus. tunpu ÷ L dentem), ON tqnn, OHG zand, NHG Zahn, AS tōð 'tooth', NE tooth || Lt dantis 'tooth' ¶¶ WP I 118, P 287-9, EI 175, 595, M K I 28, M E I 61-2, F I 444-5 and II 352, WH I 340-1, 392-3, Fs. 296-7, 483-4, Vr. 106, 604 (unc. doubts about *dnt- from *ed-), StSS 798, 829, Ho. 94, 351, EWA II 1184-7, Slr. 26-7, 103-4, Frn. 124-5, Matas. E 90, Hm. 140, En. 185, Tp. P I-K 88-90, Vs. II 18, Glh. 299, Pv. I-II 315-20, Mer. HHG 41, Ad. 507 || **HS**: EC *it- v. 'eat' > Or it-o 'food', Brj, Sd, Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd it- v. 'eat' ¶ Ss. B 108, AD SF 136, 243 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' || BT: Tng {J} edi v. 'eat (rice, groundnuts, beans etc.)' (J R 241, J T 86, Nw. KL 120, ChC s.v. 'eat'); in the BT lges there is contamination with the reflex of N *ŋ¹Hat¹a¹ 'ε sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' (q.v.), whence the meaning 'to bite hard food'; Stl. ascribed Fy ʔet- v. 'eat' to WCh *ʔaĉĉ-, but this is at variance with what we know (from her own papers) about WCh historical phonology: WCh *ĉ yields Ron *š rather than pRon or Fy t (WCh *ŋ¹aĉ- v. 'cut, chop' > DfB gig¹aš [Stl. ZCh 82], WCh *ĉ∇r- v.

'grow, be large, long' > Sha šōšō 'long' [Stl. ZCh 51], while WCh *-t- does yield Fy -t, cp. WCh *f∇t∇ 'sun' > Fy vīvat 'sun' [Stl. ZCh 159, no. 129]) || ? CS *✓ʔt̥m 'bite' > Ar ✓ʔt̥m G 'saisir avec ses dents et mordre', Ug {A} ʔt̥m 'bit (Bissen)' (not confirmed by OLS) ¶ BK I 38-9, A no. 158 ¶ If CS *✓ʔt̥m belongs here, it is likely to go back to a cd ≈ *ʔit- + *ʔ∇m (< N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold', q.v.?), whence the secondary glottalization of *t || A *it̥æ > M *ide- v. 'eat' > MM, WrM {MED} idē-, HIM {MED, BMR} идэ-, Brt эди-, Kl {KRS} ид-, {Rm.} idə-, Dg idɛ-, Mnr H id̥je-, ShY ede-, Mgl ida-, Ord id̥ē- 'eat' ¶ Pp. IM 107, MED 398, BMR II 363-4, Chr. 757, KRS 264-5, KW 205, Iw. 107, MYC 407, Ms. O 377, SDM97 s.v. *it̥e, Dr. TM I 408 || ?σ T: [1] *æt̥ 'meat, flesh' (× N *paʔiʔt∇ 'ε skin, bark', q.v.) > OT {DTS} et, {Cl., Dnk.} ät, MU, XwT, MQp (incl. CC), Tk et, Ggz ŷet, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, SY, Ln, StAlt et, Az, ET, Xlj, Yk ät, VTt, Bsh, Xk it, Tv эьт é̄t, Tf é̄t̥ id. || Chv ʔt̥t üt 'meat, flesh', 'body' ({TL}: Chv ʔt̥- is due to as. in Chv ʔt̥t π̥ʔ 'body' (with π̥ʔ 'body') < T *æt̥ boy id.) ¶ Cl. 33, MKD 28, DTS 186, ET Gl 311-12, TL 455, DT 111, TvR 121, Ra. 183, Ash IV 26-8, Fed. I 416 and II 302-3, Jeg. 170-1, 282, AD EHL ∇] [2] NaT *æt̥-mäk ~ *öt̥-mäk 'bread' > OT, XwT, MQp, Cmn ötmek ~ etmek, Kr T eímak, Kr G etmek, Qmn\CrTt\Osm {Rl.} ätmäk, SbTt Tb itmäk, Chg, Oosm ötmek, Alt\Tlt {Rl.} ötpök, QK {Rl., B} ütpök, Tkm Δ öpmek id. ¶ The variant vw. ö-remains puzzling ¶ Cl. 12, 6O, Rs. W 376. Rl. I 847, 1275, 1868, B DLT 219, DHST 293, ET Gl 254-7 ¶¶ The T word-initial *æt̥- may be explained by regr. as. (pA *i...æ > T *æt̥-). An alt. etymological hyp. (N *ʔæt̥ê) does not explain the initial vw. *i- in M and therefore is not accepted ¶¶ SDM 594 (pA *it̥e > T *et-mek, M), DQA no. 612 (id.) ◇ Blz. IELA 6 [no. 7] (IE, HS *✓ʔty|w 'eat' + err. HS *✓t̥ʔ|w 'eat') ◇ IS I 273-4 [no. 136] s.v. *ʔit̥ä (IE, C, M; no S; he adduced S *✓t̥ʔw v. 'eat', Eg t̥ 'bread', err. B *atš̥ < *atk [in fact *✓Hkš̥, see N ?σ *ʔEK∇ʔʔ∇ '≈ to peck, to prick'], C *✓tyʔ and Ch *✓ty/w, which is in fact belong to N *ʔUhy∇ 'eat, feed; food'), ≈ BmK no. 418 (*ʔit̥-/*ʔet̥- 'chew, bite, eat, consume'; IE, M, S; BmK ignored EC *it̥- 'eat' and Ch: Fy ʔet̥ 'eat' etc.).

92. *ʔat̥ʔ̥∇ 'come', ? 'walk' > HS: WS *✓ʔtw|y G v. 'come' > BHb הַתָּא ✓ʔty|w G, Amr {G} pf. ʔatā, Aram הַתָּא ~ אַתָּא ✓ʔtw|y, Sr]] ✓ʔtw|y id., Ar ✓ʔty G (pf. أَتَى ʔatā), Ar NY T ✓ʔty G, Gz ✓ʔtw (js. ʔaʔtū) id., Sb ✓ʔtw|y 'come, come back', Ug {OLS} ✓ʔtw 'come, go' ¶ DRS 36, KBR 102, OLS 59, G A 14, BGMR, Bns. NJ I 154 || C: Bj {Rop.} -ʔat̥ pcv. 'step, tread',

{R} -ʔat pcv. 'treten, stampfen, trampeln' (1s: p. a-ʔat, pppf. 'īʔat, pres. a-ʔa'nīt) || ʔσ SC: Irq {MQK} ʔadah- v. 'tread on, step' (unless < N *ʔA'd'∇ 'foot', q.v.) ¶ Rop. 156, R WBd 34-5, MQK 9 || Om (× N *ʔ'o'dU 'to go' × N *qAd_l∇,ʔ∇ 'to step, to walk?'): NrOm: Gf {C} aḏ- 'passare', Male {Fl.} ad- v. 'come', {Fl.} ad-~aḏ- v. 'go', Gmr {Fl.} at- 'go' || SOm: Ari B {Fl.} ad, Hm U {Fl.}, Gll {Fl.} aḏ, Dm {Fl.} aḏ~aḏ v. 'come' ¶ Blz. OL no. 205, Fl. OO 317 ¶¶ Blz. OL no. 205 (Om *ad- 'go' ÷ WS *√ʔdʷ 'go' and its B cognates, see N *ʔ'o'dU) || IE: NaIE *o|e|ot- 'go, walk' ({EI} *Het- 'go') (× N *qAd_l∇,ʔ∇ '↑') > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69 and M K I 26 (unc. identification with *at-no- 'year'), M E I 56, EI 228 || A *oā- v. 'step' > T *ā- > NaT: Tkm Δ āt-, Tkm āt-, Osm {Rl.} ad- v. 'step', Xk at-IX- v. 'jump, jump over', ? Chv (←b some VTt dialect?) at- v. 'walk with dipped feet (on water, mud, deep snow)', VTt at-la- v. 'step', Slr aht-la- id., Yk atilla- id. || Chv L ʔt- ud- v. 'walk' | T d. *ā'-im n. step' > Tkm Δ ādim, Tkm ādim, Tk, Az, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, CrTt adim, VTt adɣm, Bsh aɔɣm, Uz adim, Chv L ʔtɣm udɣm 'step'; T → M *adam 'pace, step' (SDM: 'hurried walking') > WrM {MED} adam, HIM {MED} адам 'pace, step', Kl {Rm.} adm 'großer schneller Schritt' ¶ S AJ 192 [no. 171] and 241 [no. 172], ET Gl 88, TkR 799. Ash. II 129, Fed. I 66 and II 293-4, KW 1, MED 10, ≈ S AJ 280 (pA *āt∇- 'шагаты' [× N *qAd_l∇,ʔ∇ '↑' and *p'ētā- v. 'step, walk' [< N *pEt∇ 'to pass, to go out']), SDM97 (pA *āt∇ ~ *ēt∇), SDM 1139 (T *āt- < A *p'ä:ta- 'to step, to walk', q.v. s.v. N *pEt∇ 'to pass, to go out'), DQA no. 1756 (id.) || ʔσ D *āḏ- vi. 'move' (× N *qAd_l∇,ʔ∇) > Tm āḏu, Kt aḏ-, Tl āḏuni intr. 'move', Td oḏ- v. 'move violently, dance', Kn āḏu ~ āḏu v. 'be in motion, move about' ¶¶ D no. 347 ◇ The word-medial lr. in N *ʔat_l∇ is suggested by the long vw. in T and D (that may be also due to convergence with N *qAd_l∇,ʔ∇). The N word-medial lr. is likely to have been *ʔ or *h, because these are the only laryngeals that can disappear (in non-initial position) in S.

93. 2 *ʔEtûR∇ 'day, noon' > HS: EC: Sa {R} i'trā 'noon' ¶ R S II 54 || CCh: MfG {Brr.} ḏár 'day (24 hours)' ¶ ḏ- < *ḏ- < *ʔt- ¶ Brr. MG II 110, ChC s.v. 'day and night' || A: M *edür 'day' > MM [MA] ödür 'day, noon', [L] ödür ~ öder 'day', [IM, IsV] ödür 'day', ödür düli 'afternoon', [S, HI] {H} üdür 'day', üdür düli 'noon', [PP] {Pp.} üdürč 'in 'all day', WrM {MED} edür, HIM {MED, BMR} edɔp 'day; in the daytime', Brt ɣdɔp id., Kl {KRS} edp, {Rm.} ödḡ 'day', Mnr H {SM} ud_{ur} 'day', d_{ur} 'noon', {T} dur 'day, noon', MMgl [ZM] ũdūr, Mgl {Rm.} ũdūr, {Iw.} ödür, Dg {Pp.} ũdūr, {T} udur, {Mr.} udure 'day',

Ord üd_ür 'jour, date' ¶ Pp. M 273, 443, Pp. L II 1259, H 158, MED 295-6, BMR III 12-13, Chr. 494, KRS 412-13, SM 65-6, 464-5, Ms. H 107, Ms. O 748, T 331-2, T DgJ 170, T DnJ 136, Iw. 143, KRS 412-13, KW 293, Rm. M 41.

94. *ʔæt̪∇ 'make' (→ causativizing morpheme) > **ʔ** *°æt̪'∇ (= *°ät̪'∇?) > T *æt̪- (= *ät̪-?) ({Md.} *ē̄t̪- [*ē̄t̪-]) v. 'make' > OT et̪-, {Cl.} ē̄t̪- v. 'make, create, perform, organize' (acc. to Cl., v. 'organize, put in order' is the primary meaning; but this impression may have resulted from the specific thematic limitations of the existing OT texts), Tk et̪-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv et̪-, SY yet̪- ~ it̪-, VTt, Bsh it̪-, Chv † aT- at̪- v. 'make, perform', Chv MK ę̄t̪- v. 'make' ¶ Chv MK ę̄- suggests pT *e-, while Chv a- points to a T *ä- ¶ Cl. 36-7, DTS 186, ET Gl 312-13, TkR 795-6, Md. 91, 164, Ash. II 129, Fed. I 67 || **HS** (with de-emphatization) **✓ʔt̪ > S *°✓ʔt̪y > Ar ✓ʔt̪y (pf. أَتَى ʔatā) 'undertake (smth.), make (it)', ?σ S *°✓ʔt̪w > Ar ✓ʔt̪w (pf. أَتَى ʔatā) 'produce (ground)' ¶ Fr. I 11, Hv. 2 || Ch {JS} *taʔ- v. 'make' > WCh: DfB/Bks {J} taʔ 'build' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ɖa, Bt {Mch.} ta 'make' || Msy {Mch.} ɖa, Db {LnG} d̪yà, Kola {Sb.} ...d̪i... id. || ECh: Kwn {J} d̪é id. ¶ d̪ < *ʔt̪ ¶ JI II 29, JS s.v. Ch. *taʔ 'build', ChC s.v. 'make' and 'build', ChL, J R || The N word was grammaticalized in U, A and D, giving rise to a causativizing sx of verbs: **U** {Lh.} causativizing verbal sx *-tt̪- > F-tta-/-ttä-: istuttāa inf. 'setzen, pflanzen' (↔ istua 'to sit, to sit down'), elättää inf. 'ernähren, unterhalten' (↔ elää inf. 'to live'), Lp N -t-/-d-: goastâtit 'to send' (↔ goasâtât 'to reach'), ɖuššâdit 'to destroy' (↔ ɖuššât 'to deteriorate, to be destroyed'), ? Lp S {Hs.} -dh- (caus., e.g. baakkedidh vt. 'to warm' [← baakke 'warmth', baakkes adj. 'warm']), Er/Mk -t(∇)- (causativizing sx): Er kas-toms inf. 'to rear, to grow' (↔ kas-oms 'to grow'), inf. sim-d-ems 'to give to drink' (↔ sim-ems 'to drink'), Mk inf. эжемс 'ež-d-ams 'to heat, to warm' (↔ эжемс 'ež-ams 'to warm oneself'), Chr wolem 'I make descend' (↔ wolem 'I descend'), Z -t-: p̪rt-n̪ inf. 'to carry in, to bring in' (↔ p̪r-n̪ 'to go in, to come in'), Os Shr {Gu.} qawar-t- v. 'cook' (↔ qawar- v. 'be cooked'), ayam-t- v. 'glue (sth.)' (← ayem n. 'glue'), Hg költ- v. 'rouse, wake up' (↔ kel- v. 'get up, rise') || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} inf. ću-ti-qo 'to melt sth.' (↔ ću-qo vi. 'melt'), qal-ti-qo inf. 'to leave, verlassen' (↔ qali-qo 'to remain'), Ng {Ter.} inf. ko-tu-ja 'to kill' (↔ kou-ja 'to die'), inf. ηatum-ti-si 'to show' (↔ ηatum-si 'to become visible'), inf. ḥaləm-ti-si 'to make glad\ happy' (↔ ḥaləm-si 'to be glad\happy'), StNe T xab(a)-da-sb 'to

fell' (↔ *хавѧ-сѧ* 'to fall') ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 322-5, Srb. IMMJ 230-1, Laan. 281-2, It. LC 102, 115, Hs. 178, Gu. MOUJ 330, KHG 211, Ter. NgJ 222-4, Ter. OGNJ 172-4 || **A**: T **-t'*-, causativizing and transitivizing *sx* > OT *-t-*: {Cl.} *oqI-t-* 'make so. recite\read' (↔ {Cl.} *oqI:-* v. 'recite\read'), *artat-* vt. 'damage\spoil' (↔ {Cl.} *artā-* v. 'putrefy, ferment, go bad'), Tk *-t-*: *söylet-* v. 'make so. speak, let speak' (↔ *söyle-* v. 'speak'), Chv *типѣт tib_-bt* v. 'dry sth.' (↔ *тип tip-* v. 'get dry') ¶ SIGTJM 285-7, Cl. 79, 81, 208, Ash. MI 269-70, Jeg. 252 || **D** **-tt-*-, causativizing *sx*: OTm *selutt-* v. 'make so. enter' (↔ *sel-* v. 'enter'), Kt *kař-t-* v. 'make so. cross a river' (↔ *kařv-* v. 'cross a river'), *verř-* v. 'cause to be afraid' (↔ *verñ-* v. 'be afraid'), Td *nař-t-* v. 'make so. walk' (↔ *nař-* v. 'walk'), Kdg *kađa-t-* v. 'take across' (↔ *kađa-* v. 'cross'), Png *re-t-* v. 'let fall' (↔ *re-* v. 'fall'), Png, Ku *ū-ř-* v. 'give to drink' (↔ *un-* v. 'drink'), Krx *on-d-* v. 'cause to drink' (↔ *ōn-* v. 'drink'), Mlt *on-de* v. 'cause to drink' (↔ *one* v. 'drink'), *pun-de* v. 'make so. put on' (↔ *pune* v. 'put on') ¶¶ Bloch S 48-50, SKD 60-1, Sbr. DVM 1-50, 77-84 ◇ Bang and some other Turkologists supposed that the T caus. verbal form with **-t'* goes back to an analytic construction with the verb **et'* 'make' ¶ Bang SVG I 925, Rs. MTS 155, cp. Shch. OSMG 119, Br. OTG 207-8; ≠ IS I XIII (caus.-rf. **ř* ᱠ) tried to find etymological connection between the causative *sxs* in A, U and D and the markers of reflexivization\ passivization **t-*, **-t-* in HS and BF (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A and D these are postverbal *sxs* which may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS the affix **t-* is preverbal, which is harder to explain as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

95. **řotřh* (or **řotřh*) 'heavy', → 'difficult' > HS: S **ř* th > Ar *řutūh-*, *řatah-* 'respiration pénible de celui qui porte une charge trop lourde' ¶ BK I 8, DRS 36 || *ř* Eg MK *řtrw* {EG} 'Schwieriges (in Büchern), Widerstrebendes', {Fk.} 'secret, mystery', unless etymo-logically identical with Eg MKL *řtrw* {Fk.} 'opponent', {EG} *Widersacher, Feind*, {EG} *řtr* 'sich jemandem widersetzen' ¶ EG I 145-6, Fk. 33 || **A**: Tg **utem* ({Bz.} **ötřm*) > Ewk *utumžmž* 'hard (conditions of life)', 'cruel', Ork *utřmžgdž* 'bad person' ¶ STM II 294 || **D** (in NED) **ott-* 'heavy' > Krx *otthā* 'burden', 'heavy, difficult', 'hard to suffer', Mlt *ote* 'heavy, important' ¶ D no. 977, Pf. 186 ◇ Tg and D suggest pN **-ř-*-, while S **-t-* may be accounted for by HS de-emphatization.

96. **řa* 'whether?' (pc. of general question), 'or' > HS: S **řaw* 'or, whether' > Ug *řu* [**řō*] 'either... or', 'whether', BHb *řō*, OA, Yd, IA, Plm,

Nbt ʔω, IA ʔ̄, Sr ʔaω, Ar ʔaω, Sb ʔω, Gz ʔaω, Ak ū 'or', ? SmA ʔ̄ ʔ̄ = ī 'or'; EthS ʔ̄ Sa {R} ʔ̄ 'or' ¶ KB 19, GB 14, A no. 3, OLS 1, HJ 21, BGMR 9, L G 47, Sd. 1308, DRS 11, Tal 22 || IE: NaIE *^oau 'or' > L au t 'or' (< *aw-ti), Osc au t AUT, AUTI, Um u te OTE 'or' || NaIE *we(:) / *u 'whether?', 'or' ({EI} *-wē 'or') > OI, Av, OPrs v ā || Gk ῥ-(F)έ, ῥ (ῥ) 'whether, or' || L -v ē 'or' || Gt -u 'whether?' (pc. of general question) || Clt: OIr nó 'ou bien', OBr no u 'or' (if < *ne-we) || Tc B wa-t 'or; rather than' ¶ ≈ WP I 188-9, ≈ P 7, 73-5 (considering the stem *we(:) to be an apophonic grade of *aw- 'jener, andererseits'), Bks 223, EI 410, Fs. 508, M K I 180, F I 183, 619, WH I 87, Bc. G 340, Vn. N 17-18, Wn. I 349, Ad. 575-6 || A: M *^oū / *^oū (distributed by the rules of vowel harmony), encl. pc. of general question > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} -u (interr. pc.: bu su -u bu i? 'is not it?', u q a b a -u ci 'have you noticed?'), WrM {MED} uu ~ ũ ũ, HIM {MED, BMR} uu ~ yy - pc. of general question at the end of sentences, Brt yy id., Kl -u ~ -ü, Mnr H {SM, T} -u ʔ̄ -ū (interr. pc.) ¶ Ms. H 104, H 157, MED 889, BMR III 362-3, 429, Chr. 516, SM G 88, 136-7, 197, Snz. GKJ 83, T 153 ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 268 [no. 263] (S, IE). NaIE *a suggests N *a-.

97. *ʔ̄ ∇ ω ∇ y ∇ 'island, seashore' > HS: S *^oʔ̄ i y y - > BHb ʔ̄ ʔ̄ 'coast, island', MHb ʔ̄ ʔ̄ 'island', Pun ʔ̄ y 'peninsula' ¶ KB 37, KBR 38, HJ 43, DRS 17 || Eg fOK ʔ̄ ω 'island' ¶ EG I 47 || IE: NaIE *^oouyo- > Gmc *awja- 'island' > ON R au i u, ON ey, NNr øy, Dn ø, Sw ö, AS i e z, ME ē, ī, NE [a] in i s-land, OFrs èi-land, OSx ði-land 'island'; Gmc ʔ̄ L -avia in Scandinavia ¶ Ho. 186, Hlq. II 1451-2, Vr. 106 || U: Sm {Jn.} *w o ʔ̄ y, {Hl.} *₁w o ʔ̄ 'island' > Ng {Cs.} η u a i, En {Cs.} r i u e (a phonetically inaccurate recording?), {Ter.} н у ѝ, Ne T ʔ̄ o, {Lh.} η ʔ̄, Ne F {Lh.} η ʔ̄ 'island', Slq Nr {Cs.} ko, ku, cds kollaga 'small island', ol-ko 'island', Mt {Hl.} *ʔ̄ (or *o) id. (Mt K {Pl.} o) || ? FU: F Vuojanmaa 'Gotland' (lit. 'Isle-land' with F maa 'land'), unless the first part is a loan from NrGmc ¶¶ Jn. 177, Hl. M no. 793.

98. 2 *ʔ̄ ũ Xi 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > HS: S *^oʔ̄ a w h - > Ar SL ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ a w h - ~ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ ʔ̄ a h - 'white of egg' ¶ Bel. 16 || IE: NaIE *^ou(y)o- ({EI} IE *h₁₀(u)iom) 'egg' > Gk A/I ῥόν (< *ʔ̄ u(y)-om), Gk Ae ῥων, Gk D ῥεον 'egg' || Arm ճ ու շ ս (gen. ճ ու յ շ ու) id. || L ʔ̄ v u m id. (ʔ̄ OAl v o e, Al T v e, Al G v o) || Clt: OW u i, W ω y, OCrn u y, Crn o y, MBr u y, Br v i id. || Gmc {Vr.} *ajja-m id. > Gt Cr ada (< Gt pl. *addya?), OHG ei, NHG Ei, ON egg (ʔ̄ NE egg) || Sl *āje id., (dim.) *ajbce id. > SCr jáje, HlS jejo, wejo id., 'testicle', LLs

јајо, Plb јојі, P јаје, Uk Δ айо; OCS **АНЦЕ** ајъсе, Blg яй'це, Δ ай'це, P †, Δ јајсе, јајсо, OR **АНЦЕ** јаісе, SCr K јајсе 'egg', Slv јајсе, Cz вейсе, R яй'цо 'egg, testiculum' || ? OPrs хāуа 'egg', ? Av ар-āвauа- 'entmann' (if < *ара-āвauа- 'without testicles') ¶ P 783-4, EI 176, WH II 230, RE 92, O 497, F II 1150, Fs. 2, Vr. 94-5, KM 153-4, EWA II 967-9, Sl. 177-8, ESSJ I 61-3, StSS 67, Glh. 285-6 ◇ AD NM no. 72, S CNM 13.

99. *ʔaʔy∇ 'say, speak, call' > **HS**: Eg BD іу 'Spruch (?)' ¶ EG I 36 || C: EC {Ss.} *-іу(у)- 'say' pcv. > Af -іу(у)- pcv., scv.: Sa, Af іу- 'say', ζ Dsn {Fl.} у- (absent in To. DL), Sml {R} ī-, ? (h)ау- 'say', Dbs ʔіуanna 'he\she says; it means'; HEC *у- 'say' > Ged, Kmb, Alb, Hd у-, Sd і- / у-, Brj іу- || Ag {Ap.} *уз- 'say' > Bln, Xm, Q уз-, Aw з- || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔō-, {Wh.} о-, (?) б→ Mb {E} -уо 'say' ¶ AD SF 184-5, Ap. AV 23, R WB 364, Ss. B 108, AMS 166, Hd. 128, MQK 79, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Kf {C}, Drz {Bnd.} у-, Zs, Zrg {Bnd.} іуа- 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ǐ- id. (the rising tone [low to high] pointing to a former bisyllabic √) ¶ C SE IV 517, AD SF 184-5, Wdk. BY 125, 78-9 (on Ym tones), Lm. Y 310 || Ch {Stl.} *уаʔ|w- 'call', {AD} 'call, say' (× N ***ʔawу∇** 'shout, speak', q.v. ffd.) > [1] Ech: Kbl {Cp.} уúwǎ, Ll {WeibP} уǎ 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say' | [2] WCh: Pr уó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ʔyâ, Msg {Mch.} уі, Ms {Mch.} уа, {J} уíná, {Stl. ← ?} уу-мо, Bnn {Stl.} уа-мі, BnnM {Stl.} уа-мо id. || Ech: Gbr ye id. ¶ JI II 59, Frz. P 55, ChC s.v. 'call' and 'say', ChL, Stl. IF 143 ¶¶ OS no. 2564 || **А** *ау∇ 'speak, cry', 'sound' (× N ***ʔawу∇** '↑(?)') > NaT *ау- 'speak, say' > OT ау- id., XwT XIV ау- 'say, recite', Az Δ, ET Δ {Jr.}, SY ау-, Tk Δ еу-, Yk іу- 'speak, say' ¶ Cl. 266, DTS 25, Rl. I 9, ET Gl 99-100, Jr. 16, Rs. W 10 || M *ауа 'sound, pronunciation, noise' > WrM {MED} ауа, HIM {MED, BMR} ая 'sound, tune, melody; pronunciation', Brt ая 'sound, pronunciation, tune, melody', Mnr H {MYC} ауаη 'melody, tune'; M *ауі > WrM {BMR} аі, HIM {MED} ай 'sound, noise' (not registered in BMR), Kl {KRS} ә ē 'sound', {Rm.} ā 'Laut, Stimme, Ton', WrO аітаі 'with noise'; ⇨ M *ау¹ла- 'produce sounds' > WrM {MED} ауала- v. 'hum, chant', HIM аяла- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'hum, vorsingen (напевать, запевать)', Kl {Rm.} āl- 'tönen, schreien, rufen; schwatzen', Dg {T} аіла- v. 'pronounce'. Ord āla- 'pousser un soupir; ⇨ M *ауілад- 'utter, say' > WrM аілад- {MED} 'say, know', HIM айлда- {MED} id., {BMR} 'utter (aussprechen, изрекать), pronounce; know', d. Ord āld_ха- 'faire savoir, dire à qn'; ⇨ M *ау∇lгу (= *ауіlгу?) pronunciation, sound' > WrM ауалгу {MED} 'pronunciation, melody', HIM аялгу {MED} id., {BMR} 'sound, pronunciation, exclamation', Brt аялга 'sound, voice, tone,

pronunciation, tune', Dg {MYC} ailaγ 'melody, tune'; WrO ауаlγа(н), ауаlγи, ауаlγи 'sound, melody', Brt аялга 'tone, voice, pronunciation' ¶ Dg aila- points to the absence of initial *φ- in the pM word ¶ MED 19, 20, 22, BMR I 66, 193, 197-8, Chr. 69-70, Kow. 127-8, Krg. 41-2, KRS 61, KW 25, T DgJ 119, MYC 99. Ms. O 39 || ??σ: Tg *°eyē > Ewk зyэ n. 'request (Bitte)'; Tg *eyēt- 'ask (bitten), desire' > Ewk, Lm, Neg зyэt- id., Orc зyueçi- v. 'envy', Nn Nh зyueçi- {STM} id., 'tease (дразнить)', {On.} 'tease (дразнить) and provoke envy' ¶ STM II 442, On. 540 || pKo {S} *òj'ó- v. 'recite' (suggesting a pA final rounded vw.) > MKo òj'ó- id., NKo оуωи- wеи- 'recite from memory, learn by heart' ¶ S QK no. 636, Nam 387, MLC 1223 ¶¶ SDM 497-8 (pA *ěyυ|o 'speak, say, sound' > M *ayī- 'sound, voice', 'cry, speak, recite', 'melody, tune', Tg, T), DQA no. 419, S AJ 286, KW 4, 25, Vld. 282, Pp. VG 67 || IE: NaIE ≈ *aj- 'say, speak' > L āi-ō 'say, affirm', Um AIU 'oracula' || Gk ἦ ipf. 'he spoke' (pres. 1s ἦμι, 2s ἦσ, Gk D 2s ἦτε) (unless these forms go back resp. to *agjō and *ēg-t, as supposed by WH and F) ¶ ≈ WH I 24-5, ≈ F I 636, ≠ EI 535 (L and Gk < IE *h₁eǵ- 'say').

100. *ʔ'a'y∇ 'mother' (originally a Lallwort) (→ 'female', a marker of fem. [sex or grammatical gender] in nouns, pronouns and [originally as vocative] in verbs): I. 'mother': > HS: C {AD} *ʔay(y)- > EC {Ss.} *ʔāyy- 'mother' > Sml āy-o 'stepmother', Sml Mt {Lm.} āyō id., 'uncle's wife, mother's sister', Sml My/Dgl {Lm.} āy- 'mother', Rn {PG} āyō, {Hn.} 'áy-o, {Oo.} a'yō 'mother' (call name), Bn ā'y-ô, Bs āy-o, Or āyy-ō, Kns āy-ā 'mother', Sa āy-a 'elder sister', Hd ayу-a 'sister', ay-minē 'mater familias', Kmb {C} ayā 'sister', Brj āy'y-ē 'mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife', Hr/Dbs/Grs/Gwd {AMS} yayye, Gln {AMS} yāye 'mother' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔāyō, {E} ayō, Alg, Brn iyō 'mother' ¶ Ss. B 22, Hn. S 51, Oo. 70, PG 59, LmS 305, Hd. 102, HL 79, AMS 258, Wh. IC 24, E SC 317, MQK 18 || NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf {C} ayē, Gf {Mrn.} aye ~ aye ~ ay, Wl {LmS} āyū, Malo ʔayō, Dwr ay-to, Gm/Dc {LmS} āyō 'mother'; ? Ym {Lm.} étà ~ étì 'sister', {Wdk.} étá 'my sister' (if -t∇ is a marker of fem. [acc. to Lm.] or a ppa. 'my' [acc. to Wdk.]; otherwise it belongs to N *ʔ'at∇ 'female, woman', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 200, Lm. Y 326, LmS 305 || CCh: Zm {KNC} yá 'mother; female' ¶ KNC 30 || IE: pGmc *ajθī 'mother' (from a N or pre-IE nominal phrase: *ʔ'a'y∇ + another word?) > Gt aipei, ON eiða 'mother', OHG fuotar-eidī 'Nährmutter, wet nurse' (fuotar 'food'), MLG eide 'mother'; pGmc *ajθī → F äiti, Es eit (gen. eide), Lp L {LLO} eiti, Lp N Δ æi'de 'mother' ¶ Fs. E 20, Fs. 28, Vr. 95, Kb. 302, SK 1869 || U: ?φ Sm:

Kms {KD} iyá, yá, ya, {Cs.} i ja, ja, En {Cs.} ê?, {Dlx.} e?, {Ter.} ē 'mother' ¶
 Cs. 54, 76, KD 22, KP 70-1 || **D** {Pf.} *āy 'mother' (→ 'woman') > Tm
 āy, āyi, Kn āyi, Klm a_l'y, Gdb āya ~ aya, Gnd aya_l, Knd, Png, Mnd aya, Kui
 a_la 'mother', Ku a(ḷ)ya 'woman', Krx ayo 'mother', Mlt ayya 'my mother' ¶¶
 D no. 364, Pf. 20 [no. 82] ◇ It would be tempting to tie in Alt/Tlt/Shor
 {Rl.} äyä 'aunt, elder sister' (Rl. I 720), but this form does not belong here,
 because the intervocal cns. recorded by Rl. as -j- (sc. -y-) is actually -ǰ-
 (voiced palatal affricate), most probably from pT *-j-, and the word
 should be probably reconstructed as NaT *eje > StAlt, Tb, Qmn эдье eže
 'aunt, elder sister' (BT 189, B DChT 169, B DK 273), Qrg eže 'sister, cousin',
 Xk i ɸe ɮže 'mother', Tk ece 'queen', Tkm eže 'mother', Δ 'elder sister'
 etc. (ffd. ET Gl 231-5) ◇ AD NM no. 117, S CNM 12 (÷÷ NrCs) ||| **II.**
 marker of fem. (sex\gender): > **HS: a)** HS *-i, fem. in pronouns of the 2nd
 person: [1] *k-i 'thee' f. (→ 'thou' f. [clitic]) > S *ki 'thee' in
 postverbal position > Ak, Ar -ki, BHb -k, Gz -kī || WCh *ki 'thee, thou' f. >
 Hs ki id. | BT: Ngm čí, Dr {Nw.} ží, Tng ži-go 'thee' f. | Su yì id. | Ron *ki
 'thou' f., used as a subject px > Klr kí, Sha čí, Fy, Bks, DfB ší || ? but Eg OK
 cm, cn 'thee, thou' f. [enclitic] and cm t 'thou' f. [aut. prn.] do not
 necessarily belong here (c- < *ki-), because the same c- is found in the
 prn. of 2m cω [encl.] (cp. Eg OK kω id.), and the female gender marker
 here is -m ||| [2] HS *k-i 'thy' f. possessoris (enclitic) > S *ki 'thy' f.
 possessoris > Ak, Ar -ki, Hb -k, Gz -kī || Eg OK -c 'thy' f. possessoris
 [-c ∇ < *-ki] || C *-ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Bj -ki ||| EC: Hr -āhi ¶ AMS 91 ||
 WCh *ki 'thy' f. possessoris > Hs (-n)-ki, (-r)-ki | BT: Krf čí, Bl (š)š i, Krkr
 (tɜ)čì | Ron: Klr -m-ik^y, Sha -m-ič, -m-a-ač, Fy -iš id. ||| [3] S *an-t-i
 'thou' f., aut. prn. > Ak a t t i, Ar ʔanti, Hb ʔattə, Gz ʔantī | **b)** HS *-ī,
 marker of the female gender in verbs of the 2nd person > S *-ī > Ak, Gz,
 Hb -ī, Ar -ī(-na), Mh -i, e.g. BHb 'kūm-ī 'stand up!' imv. 2f., tā'kūm-ī 'you
 (sg. f.) will stand up', Ar qūl-ī 'say!' 2f, taqūl-ī-na 'you (sg. f) say, will say',
 Ak t a p r u s -ī 'you (sg. f) separated', Gz kūm-ī 'stand up!' (sg. f),
 taḳawwam-ī 'you (sg. f) are standing', Mh tɜmayt-i 'du (f.) stirbst' || C: Bj
 -i, e.g. ti-dir-i 'you (sg. f.) killed' | **c)** HS *-ī- ~ y∇, marker of f. in
 pronouns of 3s > S *-ī- fem. in *š-ī-ʔa 'she' (> Ak šī, Ar hiya, Ug h_y, BHb
 ʔih hī, JA, Sr hī, Sb h_yʔ) ↔ *š-ū-ʔa 'he' (> Ak šū, Ar huwa, Ug hω, BHb
 ʔih hū, JA, Sr hū, Sb hω_lʔ) || Eg O s_y ({Lpr.}: *siy) 'she', 'her' (obj.),
 enclitic prn. (↔ sω 'he') || C: Or B ísi 'she' (↔ ìsā 'he'), Or T {Mrn.} -š i

~ -še 'her' (px) (↔ -sa 'his'), Sd {Mrn.} i se 'she' (↔ i so 'he') | **d** HS *^o-ay > S: Ar **ى**— -ay ([-ā], OWA [-ay]), female gender marker in some adjectives and numerals: **صُفْرَى** ṣuḡray [ṣuḡrā] 'smaller' f. (↔ ṣaṣṣaru 'smaller' m.), **سُكْرَى** sakray [sakarā] 'drunken' f. (↔ sakrānu 'drunken' m.), **حُبْلَى** ḥublay (traditional Ar [ḥublā]), **أُولَى** ʔūlay [ʔūlā] 'first' f. (↔ ʔawwalu 'first' m.), **أَحَدَى** ʔiḥday [ʔiḥdā] 'one' f. (↔ ʔaḥad-un 'one' m.). As indicated by Sibawayhi (II 349), the spelling **ى**— (-ay) in the form **حُبْلَى** ḥublay 'pregnant' was pronounced in OWA (Hijaz) as -ay (ḥublay). Chaim Rabin (Rb. AWA 115-19) has shown that the same is true of any final **ى**— -ay. But in the orthoepy of ClAr (based presumably on dialects other than OWA) **ى**— is pronounced [-ā]. ¶¶ MSUS 102-9, AD PP 69-73, AD IPCV, AD EPCChL, Nw. KL 19, Ed. 70-81, Kr. RChP 69, 74-80, 85, J R 371-4, J S 88, Ap. ANH 8 (HS female gender marker *^o-∇j > *-ay/ -ā), Lpr. 64-5 || **K**: traces of the fem. sx *-ay may be discerned in the OG form igi-a(y) 'she' (Naum 2.7) ↔ igi 'that, he' (without opposition of sexes) and possibly in G ḥabuḡ-a 'girl' ↔ ḥabuḡ-i 'boy' ¶ DCh. 578, 1701, Dirr G 11 (fn. 1) || **IE**: NaIE *-ī, *-ī-, a nominal sx of fem. (sex and gender): *w_lk^ω-ī 'she-wolf' (> OI v_rokī, ON ylg_r < pGmc *wulḡ^ωī) < *w_lk^ω-s 'wolf' (> OI v_rka-h₂, Gk λύκος, Gt wulf-s, Lt vilka-s etc.), *nept-ī-s > OI nap't-ī-h₂, gen. nap't-iy-aḡ 'female descendant', L neptis, OHG nift 'niece'; *F* also OI 'janitr-ī 'genitrix', Gk γενέτειρα id. etc., as well as BSl *-i (< *-ī), marker of the female gender in active prtcs: OCS **мьръши** m_rǝš-i, Lt m_ru_s-i 'dying' (act. prtc. nom. sg. f.) ¶ Brg. KVG 29-330, § 405, Me. SC § 403, StSS 334, 829 || **A**: M {Pel.} *-ay, marker of the fem. sex of nouns: WrM sutay 'empress' ↔ sutu 'emperor', qutuḡtay {Pp., MED} 'saint woman' ↔ {Pp., MED} qutuḡtu 'saint man'; MM {Pp., Dr., Oz.} -y / -i, fem. marker of verbs (-b-i as fem. of the praet. perfecti ↔ non-feminine -ba/-be; -ligi ~ -li₂i as fem. of the pres. perfecti; -kü-y sas fem. of ft. ↔ -kū m.); harmonic front vowels of words (possibly going back to a sx *-e) as a marker of the female sex: WrM eke 'elder female relative, mother' ↔ aqa 'elder male relative (elder brother, uncle)', {Vld.} getülgegci 'liberatrix, salvatrix' (epithet of the goddess Tara) ↔ gatulgagci 'liberator (transporting across water)' ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, Pp. MM 101, Dr. SB 62-3, 68, Vld. SGR ∇, Vld. 133-4, Pel. VNS, BMR 992, KW 3, 118, Snz. SGR 73-4, Oz. GHMDG || ?ϕ Tg: *-e or a front (closed) harmonic vowels denoting the

female sex: WrMc {Z} дэжэмэ 'aunt' ↔ дэжэма 'uncle, aunt's husband', эмилэ 'female bird' ↔ амила 'male bird', хэжэ 'woman' ↔ хэха 'man', {Sun.} erselen 'lioness' ↔ arsalan 'lion', Nn Nh зηрз 'mother-in-law' ↔ аηра 'father-in-law', згз 'elder sister' ↔ ага 'elder brother' (form of address) ¶ STM I 24, 35 and II 443, 452, Z 42, 80, 382, 404, On. 25, 42, 522, 530, Sun. M 171 ¶¶ The M pair ага ↔ еке and the Nn ага 'elder brother' ↔ згз 'elder sister' may be explained away as Lallwörter, but this is not the case in most other afore-mentioned M and Tg words.

101. *ʔäy∇ (= *ʔäya?) 'which?', 'what?' > HS *ʔay(y)- 'which?' > S *ʔayy- (~ *ʔiyy-?) 'which?' > Ak nom. ay-y-u(-m) / accus. ay-y-a(-m) / gen. ay-y-i(-m), Ar ʔayy- id., BHb יֵאָיְעֵ / -יֵאָיְעֵ ʔayyē 'where?' (הַיְעֵ יֵאָיְעֵ 'heḥel 'where is Abel?', הַיְעֵ יֵאָיְעֵ ʔayyēkkā 'where art thou?'), as well as in cds: הַיְעֵ יֵאָיְעֵ-zē 'which?', הַיְעֵ יֵאָיְעֵ-pō 'where?', הַיְעֵ יֵאָיְעֵ-k ~ הַיְעֵ יֵאָיְעֵ-kā 'how?' (with zē 'this', pō 'here', k(-), kā(-) 'as'), Ug ʔay 'whatsoever', ʔiy 'where?', Amr {G} ʔayya ~ ʔiyya id., JA [Trg.] יֵאָיְעֵ id., Sr ʔayrā 'which?', Qt {Rk.} ʔy(y) 'whoever, what(so)ever', Mn ʔy (enclitic indf. pc.), Gz ʔay 'which?, what (kind of)?' ¶ Br. G I 327-8 [§§ 111-12], Lip. 328-9, Sd. G § 47, KB 36-8, 41, GB 28-32, A no-s 161 and 172, OLS 64-5, G A 13, Lv. T I 23, L G 49, Rk. 9-10, MA 8 || C: EC {Ss.} *ʔayy- / (precons. and pausal) *ʔay- 'who?, which?' > Sa ay, Sml N {Abr.} ayjó, Sml Db {AOM} ayjo 'who?', Rn áyyò, Bn {Hw.} ayjo (pl. ayjos) 'who?', {AOM} 'who is?', Bs {HL} ayjo 'who?', Or ē-(n)nu 'who?', ē-sa 'where?', Kns, Gdl ay-nu 'who?', Kns ay-ša 'where?', Sd/Hd {Ss.} ay ~ ayye, Ged ayye, Hd ay, ay-y-e, Brj {Ss.} áyye 'who?'; Dsn {To.} māyya 'who?' (< *mi ʔayy-a, with N *mi 'what?', q.v. ffd.) || Ag {Ap.} *ʔaw- 'who?' > Bln {Ap.} ʔaw, Q/Xm {Ap.} aw, Aw ay (Ap.: < *aw-i) || Bj {Rop.} āu, {R} nom. aw (< *ʔay-u), gen. ay (< *ʔay-i), nom. ā-b 'who?' ¶ Ss. PEC 46, Ss. B 30, Bl. 102, 214, 306, HL 79, Abr. S 20, PG 71, Hw. B II 110, AOM 6, Ap. AV 3, R WBd 35, Rop. 15, To. DL 516 || Om: SOm: Ari {Fl.} ayi 'who?' || NrOm: Cha {C} ay 'what?', Bsk {C} ay 'who?', ayba 'what?', Dwr/Gf {LmS} ay, Wl {LmS} ay-bā, Ym {Wdk.} áwú 'what?' ¶ Fl. OO 321, C SE III 113, 163, LmS 306, Wdk. BY 118 || ? Ch: ECh: Jg {J} ʔaywa 'where?' || WCh: Hs yāyà 'how?', ? Klr {J} ʔān 'which?', Fy {J} ʔā...ān 'where?', G'nd âyî, Gbn âyi, Bk aʔâyî 'which?' || CCh: Msg yà 'where?' ¶ ChC s.v. 'where?', 'which?' and 'how?', J J s.v. ʔaywa || K *may 'what?' (< N *mi 'what?' [q.v.] + N *ʔäy∇) > Sv: UB/LB mäy ~ mä, L may, Ln ma; Mg, Lz mu-, ?? in the OG and G cd ro-me-l- 'which?', 'which' (rel. prn.) ¶¶ K 124, K² 112 (*ma-), TK 554-5 || A: Tg *ē 'what?', *ē (interr. verb ['quid facere?']) > Ewk ē, Sln ī 'what?', Ewk, Neg ē-, Lm ā- (interr. verb) ¶ × N *ya

'which?', 'what kind of?' (q.v.)? ¶ STM I 286-7 || ?φ M *ali (< *ay-li with ppM *ay- < [regr. as.] N *ʔäya 'which (one)?', 'what?') > MM [MA, IM, S] ali 'which one?', [IsV] ali 'where?', WrM ali(n) {MED} 'which?', 'which one?', 'what?', HIM аль {MED} id., {BMR} 'which?', 'which one?', 'where?', Brt али 'which?', Mnr H {SM} ali 'lequel?'. 'quel?', Ord ali id., ? MMgl [Z] almad 'which' ¶ Pp. MA 98-9, 432, H 5, Lg. VMI 16, MED 31, BMR I 62, Chr. 43, Ms. O 16, T 314, T DnJ 133, SM 4, Iw. 85 || ?φ U: Sm *ъ- (= {Jn.} *â-) -> *ъ-m- 'what?' > Ne: T O {Lh.} ηαω·̄̄ 'what?', 'what kind of?', T {Ter.} ηαμΓε 'what?', 'what for?', T O {Lh.} αμγ̄̄ 'what?', 'why', gen. pl. η̄̄αβο "η̄̄αωο? (< *ъm-ъ-y-), FL {Lh.} ηamm̄̄ (< *ъmъyъ) 'what?'; En Δ {Cs.} αωυο, {Prk.} abbua, {Mik.} obū 'what?'; ? Kms {Cs.} ūmbi, {KD} зm·bi· ~ m̄·bi· 'what?' ¶ Jn. 15, Ter. 376, Lh. 4-5, KD 19, 38 ◇ N *ʔäy∇ 'which?', 'what?' may be somehow connected with N *ya 'which?' (q.v.). For instance, it may go back to a N cd *ha (deictic pc., q.v.) + *ya.

102. *ʔe'y∇ 'come, arrive' > HS: Eg fOK i'y v. 'come' > DEg i'y > Cpt: Sd ei, Bi id.; Vc. vocalized the inf. of this verb as *i'iyi.t; Eg fOK i'ω v. 'come' > DEg i'ω id.; Cpt eie v. 'come' may go back to the Eg verbal noun i'ω.t; acc. to Vc., Cpt B/Sd ταογο ταυο v. 'send' goes back to DEg ty i'ω 'send' < Eg *d'y.t i'ω-ā 'faire qu'(il) vienne'; acc. to Ed. and Vc., Eg i'y and i'ω are two different, albeit akin, verbs ¶ EG I 37, 44, Er. 18, 20, Ed. §§ 456, 724, Vc. 59-60, 223 || B *✓ʔyω > ETwl ьyо~ayyo, Ty ьyо~iyо 'come!' (inv. 2s), inv. 2pm ETwl ьyоωьт ~ ьyew(ω)ьт ~ ayyoωьт, Ty ьyоωat ~ (ь)yьwat ~ yоωьт; Mz ayya 'come' (inv. 2s), inv. 2pm ayyat; Iz inv. eo 'come!'; Pr. mentioned ETwl pf. intens. ihay v. 'come' ¶ GhA 205, Dlh. M 241, Zl. KÄLV 120, Pr. H no. 441 || C: Bj ʔi-/ʔē- scv. 'come': Bj A {ADP} p. 3m 'ʔē-ya '(he) came', Bj {R} p. 3m 'ē-ya, 3f 'ē-ta, 3p 'ē-yān, {Rop.} p. 1s i-'an, 2m 'e-ta, 2f 'e-tāi, 3m 'ea, 3f 'e-ta, 1p 'e-na, gerund ʔi-a, pp. ʔi-'e (Roper often did not indicate the initial ʔ-, because "the hamzah is very elusive"), Bj B {Alm.} p. ʔī- || EC: Sd {C, Mrn., Gs.} eʔ- v. 'go in, enter'; ?φ Arr pcv. -iʔit- / -eʔet- (ipv. ʔīt) 'go' (× N *ʔo'dU 'go', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 184, R WBd 3, R BedS II 41-2, Rop. 79, ADP BFN, C SE II 184, Gs. 89, Hw. A 451-9 || Om: SOm: Hm {Fl.} y-, Ari Gll {Bnd.} ay- 'go' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} y-, Bdt/Zs/Cha/Zl {C, Mrn., LmS}, Hrr, Malo, Mj {Fl.} y- v. 'come', Ym {Wdk.} inf. yó / yò, 2s yé, Bdt {Fl.} yo, Oyda {Fl.} yiʔ/yi-, Male {Fl.} yeʔ, Bnc {Wdk.} 2s yéʔ- id. ¶ AD SF 184, Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 88, 208, C SO 36, 45, 51, 64, 69, Blz. OL no. 207 (Om *yi-/ʔi-), Wdk. BY 113, 139, Bnd. AL 151 [no. 33] || Ch {Stl.} *yaʔ-/ʔyaω- 'go', {AD} 'go, arrive' > WCh: Hs yá-kà 'come here!', ???

yǎ́wá 'wander through' | Ywm ya 'go' | Dr {Nw.} yàǎ 'arrive', Krf yow-, {Stl.} yéʔey 'go' | Ngz {Sch.} yá 'go' | Bg {Csp.} yùwéy 'run' | DfB {J} yû 'go' || CCh: Db {LnG} yā, Kola {Sb.} ...ya... v. 'come' | Ms {Mch.} ya v. 'come, go' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} yè 'run', Li è-, Tbn {Cp.} yě 'walk' ¶ JI II 82-3, Stl. IF 143, ChL, Nw. 24 [no. 27] (Ch *ya 'come' inv.), Nw. KL 135, Abr. H 942, 952, Sch. DN 174, Csp. 64, J R 223, Blz. EChWL no. 92 || **IE** *ʔej-/ *ʔi- ({EI} *h₁ej-) v. 'go' > Ht i-, (i)ɥ-, Lw, HrLw i- id. || NaIE *ej-/ *i- 'go' > OI ē-/ i-/ɥ- (pres. 3s 'ē-ti, 1p i-'mah, 3p 'ɥ-anti) v. 'go', Av aēiti, OPrs aitiɥ 'goes' || Gk eł-/ł- v. 'go' (pres. 3s εἶσι, 1p ἵ-μεν) || L ī-/i- id. (pres. 2s ī-s, inv. ī, prtc. i-en-s) || Gt iddja 'I went' || Clt {Matas.} *ī- 'go' > OIr pp. etha || Pru ēisei 2s pres. 'geht', Lt ei- 'go', Ltv eĩ-mu ɘ iê-mu 'I go', Ltv C/E iê-t, Ltv W iẽ-ti 'to go' | pSl inf. *jǐ-ti / pres. *jǐd-ɔ 'go' > OCS inf. **ИТН** iti / pres. **ИДѦ** idɔ, SCr inf. ići / pres. iđēm, Cz inf. jiti / pres. jdu, P inf. iść / pres. idę, R inf. идти / pres. иду, Slv inf. íti, Blg pres. ида || pTc {Ad.} *i- 'go, travel' > Tc A i-, Tc B i-/yā- id.; ⇨ pTc {Ad.} rdp. *(y)iyā- > Tc A {Wn.} yā- 'aller, rouler, voyager' (past prtc. yāɥo), B {Wn., Ad.} (rdp.) *iyā- 'go, travel' ¶¶ P 293-7, EI 227-8, Mn. 234, Pv. I-II 325-35, M K I 128, F I 462-3, Fs. 288-9, ME II 79, Frn. 119, StSS 275-6, En. 165, Tr. P E-H 20-2, Glh. 273, Wn. 589, Matas. E 170-1, Ad. 60-1, 66-7, Ad. H 54, 65 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *yü|i-we- v. 'come' > OHg jō, Hg jō-n id. (jō vōk 'I come', jōttem 'I came'), pObU *yüw∇ - *yiw∇ v. 'come' > pVg *yǐ-/ *yǐw-/ *yǎy- v. 'come' > Vg: T yi-/yüw- ɘ yäw-/yäy-, LK/MK/UK yi-/yiw-/yäy-, P yi-/yiy-/yäy-/yāy-, SV yi-/yäy-/yāy-, UL yi-/yay-, Ss yi-/yuw-/yay-; pOs {Ht.} *yǒ-/ *yǒɥ- ({fHl. *yǔ-/ *yǔɥ-) v. 'come' > Os: V/Vy yǒ-/yǒɥ-, Ty yǒ-/yǒɥ-/yěɥ-, Y yǒ-/yěɥ-/yěw-, D yě-, K yě-/yěw-, Nz yǐ-/yǐw-/yǔw-, Kz yǐ-, yǔw-, O yi- v. 'come' ¶ MF 340-1, UEW 109, Ht. 140 [no. 169], Hl. rHt 67-8, 72-4, ≈ IS I 267 (U *yē-ɥe, unt. in the light of new achievements in FU hist. phonology); ≈ MF 340-1 and UEW 109 (FU *yEŋ|ɥ∇ [{f UEW} *jǒŋɜ, *jǒɥɜ] based on unc. adduction of F/Es jǎä- v. 'remain') ¶ IS supposed that the U stem is derived from the expected U *ey∇-, like IE *yeh- (sc. *ʔyeh-) v. 'walk, go' (> Ht (i)ɥa-(tta) id., OI yā-ti 'goes', Lt jó-ti 'to ride', Tc A yā- 'go, travel') ⇨ IE *ʔey- || **A** *ī- > Tg *ī- v. 'enter' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/BK, Ewk, Sln, Lm, Neg ī- id. ¶ STM I 293. On. 187 || M: ds: (1) *i-re- v. 'come' > MM, WrM {MED} ire-, HIM {MED, BMR} ирэ-, Brt epə-, Dx, Ord ire-, Kl, Dg ir-, Mnr H {SM}, Ba re-, Mgl irâ-ɘ ira-, {Wr.} ir^~irɛ- id. ¶ Iw. 107, MED 413, BMR II 281-2, Chr. 222-3, KW 209, H 82-3, Rm. M 29, Wr. 168, Klz. D I 110, T 356, SM 313,

Ms. O 387 𐌿𐌿 (2) M *i-le- v. 'go, go away' > MM [S, SMD] ile- id., ?σ,φ Ord īl- 's'enfuir de frayeur'; ⇨ M *ile-ge- v. 'send' > MM [S, MA] ilē-, [HI] ile-, WrM {MED} ilege-, HIM {MED, BMR} илгээ- id., Brt эльгэ- v. 'send', Kl {Rm.} ilgε- 'senden, schicken' ¶ Ms. H 62-3, 81, H SMD 53, MED 404, BMR II 269, Chr. 764, KW 207, Pp. MA 195-6, 438, Ms. O 381 ¶¶ SDM 590 (pA *ire- v. 'come, enter' > Tg *ī- v. 'enter', M *ire- v. 'come' + qu. T *ēr- v. 'reach, pass' and pJ *itár- 'reach'), ≈ SDM 582 (pA *ile- v. 'drive' > M *ilege- v. 'send' + [qu. as cognates going back to the the pA verb in question): Tg *ilbe- 'drive [ГНАТЬ]' and T *ilt- ~ *ilċ- - 'bring, carry'), Pp. IAL 117, S AJ 293-4 [no. 482], KW 209 || D {Km.} *ey- v. 'arrive, reach' (→ v. 'obtain') (and d. {Km.} *ey-t-) > Knd ī-, Png ika-, Ku e-, Kdg etti, Klm end-, Prj ēdēy-, Gdb ed- v. 'arrive', Gnd eν- ē av- ē aωωānā, Kui epa- / et- v. 'reach, arrive', OTl {Km.} eydu- ~ eyidu- ~ ēdu- v. 'reach, go to', 'obtain', Tl ētenēu v. 'come, arrive, go', Tm eytu v. 'approach, reach, obtain', Ml eytuka v. 'obtain', ettal, ettu 'reaching', Td ic-, Tu etta, ekkā v. 'reach', Kn ay-du, eydu v. 'approach, reach' ¶¶ D no. 809, Em. DIL 104-10, Km. 308 [no. 168] ◇ Cf. AD LRC (HS, IE, A), IS I 265-7 (HS [Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D, A [M, Tg], ? U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 177 (*i ~ *ya 'go') (IE, U, A, Ko, J, EA + unc. Ko).

103. ₂ *ʔæ̌ĒkU (= *ʔæ̌ĒikU?) 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth') > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, pin, nail' (× N *ĉuK̄∇ 'thorn, sharp edge [→ 'blade'], 'summit') > BHb 𐤍𐤍 *šek* (pl. 𐤍𐤍𐤌 šik'kīm) 'thorn', JA 𐤍𐤍 ~ 𐤍𐤍𐤌 sikk-ā, 𐤍𐤍𐤌 ~ 𐤍𐤍𐤌 sikk-ə't-ā 'thorn, peg, nail of a tent', SmA skh 'thorn', Ar شِكَّة šikk-at- 'sharp weapon, edge', Ak šikk-at-u 'Spitze' (aphaeresis pS *šikk- < *ʔišikk-, like in pS *'p- 'mouth' < *ʔap-, cp. C *ʔap- 'mouth') ¶ GB 785, KB 1236, KBR 1326, Js. 988, 993, Tal 585, BK I 1256-7, Lv. III 521, L G 529, Sd. 1234 || C {AD} *ʔišikk- (E) *ʔišik- 'tooth' > SC: Kz išikuko, pl. išikwa, Asa liga, ⇨ Mb iʔíke id. || EC {Ss.} *ʔilk- id. > Sa ik-o, Sml ilig, pl. ilk-o, Rn {Oo., PG} iláħ (pl. ilk-ó) 'tooth', Elm ilk-oʔ, Arr {Hw.} ʔilig (pl. ʔilk-ó), ilkwa id., Or ilk-āni 'teeth', Kns ilk-itta, Gdl ilh-itt, ilh-a, Sd hink-o, Alb inḵ-u, Kmb ink-e, Hd inḵ-ē, Brj irḵ-ā, Hr/Dbs {AMS} ʔilgakkó (pl. ílge) 'tooth', Gln {AMS} ʔílke, Gwd ʔílq-e, Bs {HL} ilk-ō 'teeth' || Ag {AD} *ʔɜrk- (Ap.) *ʔærk- 'tooth' > Bln {Plm.} ʔɜrkwi, Xm {R} erək, {Ap.} ɜrək, Q {R} yerk, Km {Ap.} ɜrkɜ, Aw {Hz.} ɜrkí id. || Bj {R} ayək 'a front tooth' ¶ AD SCLC 203-4, AD SF 132, Ap. AV 5, Ss. PEC 12, 22, 40, Ss. B 106, Bl. 164, 190, Hw. A 341, HL 66, PG 151, Oo. 72, AMS 165, 205, 281, E PC no. 342, E SC 292 (s.v. SC *ʔišikwa 'tooth') || A ≈ *ælgü 'hook' > Tg

*elgu 'hook', (← ?) 'bear's fang' > Orc зггу, Ul злžу, Ork злду, Nn Nh/KU злгу 'hook (for pulling fish out of a net)', Neg злгу/з id., 'bear's fang', Ewk злгу, Lm злгъ ~ ългъ 'fish spear' ¶ STM II 445-6, On. 526 || M *elgü- v. 'hang on (sth.)' > WrM elgü-, ölgü- v. 'hang, hang on (a nail)', elgür қада- 'nail onto (as pictures to the wall)' (with қада- v. 'nail'), HIM өлгө- {MED} 'hang. hang on, suspend', {BMR} id. ('вешать, подвешивать. привешивать'), Brt үлгэ-, Kl {KRS} өлг- ölgä- id., {Rm.} ölgä- 'aufhängen', Mnr E {MYC} олго- 'hang, suspend', Ord ülgü- 'suspendre, accrocher; être suspendu, s'accrocher' ¶ MED 309, 633, Luv. 319, BMR III 15, Chr. 499, KRS 414, KW 291, MYC 543, Ms. O 755 || NaT *īl- v. 'hang on (sth.)' (× N *ʔo¹L∇ [or *ʔoyiī∇?] 'bough, hook', q.v. ffd.) > OT il- {Cl.} 'catch sth. (with the hand, with a hook etc.)', {DTS} id., vt. 'hook' ('подцеплять, зацеплять; ловить (крючьями)', Tkm īl- vi. 'hook to, fasten upon (прицепляться, зацепляться)', Yk īl- vt. 'hang up, load (smth. on an animal's back)', Qmq, Qrg, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Tk Δ il-, Qzq il-, VTt, Bsh эл- ьl-, Xk il- ьl- v. 'hang on', StAlt il- vt. 'hook, hook on' ('зацепить, подцепить') ¶ DTS 207, Cl. 125, ET Gl 343-6, BT 63, BIG 67 ¶¶ T *ī- may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of pA *-ü-) and/or by complementary lengthening (for the loss of pA *-g-) ¶¶ SDM 604-5 (pA *iōle 'hang on [smth.], hang on hook' > T, M + unc. Tg *ol- 'hook for hanging kettle; hang [smth.] over fire' and NKo ori 'a fishing hook with several barbs' [both going back to N *ʔo¹L∇ 'bough, hook', q.v.]), DQA no. 648 (id.), SDM95 (*ēlku v. 'hang on, hang on hook'), SDM95 (*ēlku id.), ≈ SDM97 (A*ōl(k)i id.) ◇ Tg and M *-g- (and hence pA *-g-) may go back to N *-k-. The absence of the expected cns. *g in pT *īl- may belong to the heritage of N *ʔoyiī∇ (or be explained by as. from *i of a presumable N etymon *ʔæzi(k)u) ◇ AD NM no. 90, Vv. AEN 5-6, AD PNCPh no. 53.

104. *ʔü¹žʔ∇ (or *ʔü¹hžʔ∇?) 'throat; to swallow' > HS: S *o✓ʔzʔ > Ar ✓ʔzʔ G (pf. ʔazaʔa) 'rassassier (les moutons)' ¶ BK I 28, DRS 13 || ?σ Eg Md izω 'Schilfrohr', Eg G iz.t 'Luftrohr, Schlund' (if the meaning 'throat' is primary) ¶ EG I 127-8 || Om ≈ *iʔ|w₁uč|č v. 'drink' > SOm: Hm B {Fl.} w3č- ~ w4č-, Bako, Ub, Gil {Fl.} w3č- id. || NrOm: Cha {Fl., C}, Bdt, Bsk, Zs {C} uš-, Bdt {Fl.} uš-, Hrr {Gr.} wuš-, Ym {C, Fl.} uš-, {Wdk.} uša, Shn {C} uš-, Shn {Fl.} Anf {Fl.} ušš, {MYTY} uc0, uc-, Kf {C} uɰ-/učč-, {Fl.} uč, Mch {L} ʔùssi-, Bnc {Wdk.} uš(k)- v. 'drink' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'drink', C SE IV 393, L M 20, MYTY 119, 122, Wdk. BY 112, 137, 150 || SC: Irq {MQK} isa (pl. is-ō)

'neck' (esp. 'back part of the neck'), Brn *isa*, Kz *isito*, Asa *isat* 'neck' ¶ E SC 283, MQK 57 || IE *ʔo^hw(e)s- or *ʔow^h(e)s- ({Pv.} *¹A₁ʷeE₁es- / *¹A₁ʷeE₁s-, {EI} *^hh₁h₄oh₁(e)s / gen. *^hh₁h₄eh₁'s-os) 'mouth' > *ʔo₁s- id. > Ht *aís*, gen. *iss-as* (s-stem), Lw *as(sa)*- 'mouth' (?) || NaIE *ō₁us- / *ə₁us- 'mouth' > OI *āh* (= phonemic *ās*), *ās'yam*, Av *āh*- || L *ōs*, *ōris* || Clt {Matas.} *ās- > OIr *á* 'mouth' || AS *ōr* 'beginning, origin; forehead', ON *óss* 'mouth of a river'] ⇨ NaIE *əws-tā 'lip' > OI *ōs̄t̄ha-h* 'lip', Av *aošta-*, *aoštra-* id. || L *ōstium* 'entrance' || Lt *uóstas*, *uostà* 'mouth of a river, Haff, harbour', Ltv *osts*, *ōsta* 'harbour', Pru *austo* 'mouth', *āustin* 'mouth of an animal' | pSl *us'ta pl. 'mouth' > OCS **УСТА** *usta* (στόμα, τὰ χεῖλη, χεῖλος, λάρυγξ) 'mouth, lips', Blg, R **УСТА**, SCr, Slv *ústa*, Cz, Slk *ústa*, P *usta*, Uk **УСТА** pl. 'mouth' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 15-17, P 784, EI 387, M K I 84, 133, WH II 224-8, Vr. 421, Ho. 241, Frn. 1167, Tp. P A-D 172-4, En. 149, Glh. 656, Vs. IV 172, StSS 746, Vn. A 4, Ped. H § 41, Ts. E I 6-8, Kron. VLFH 42, Matas. E 44 ¶¶ NaIE *ōws- / *əws- suggests N *ʔ^u'h₃∇ || A: T *iç- v. 'drink' > OT *ič-*, Tkm, Az, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv *ič-*, Tk *iç-*, VTt *эч-* *ещ-*, Bsh *ьс-*, Yk *is-* 'drink', Chv *ěç-* *ьс̄/з̄-* v. 'drink; drink hard (пьянствовать)' ¶ Cl. 195, Rs. W 168, DTS 201, ET Gl 391, Ash. IV 147-9, Fed. I 159, Jeg. 66, SDM95 s.v. (?) *ič'∇ 'drink' ◇ The glottalized -č̣- in SOm, the vl. -č̣- in NrOm and *-ç- in T from the pA fortis *-č̣'- (for the expected voiced cnss) are likely to go back to the N cluster ***з|з̣ʔ-** ◇ The delabialized *i from *ü in T (or in pA?) still needs investigating ◇ The semantic history of the etymon: 'throat' → (IE) 'mouth', 'swallow' → 'drink'.

105. ₂ *ʔúž∇ 'hear', (→ ?) 'ear' > HS **ʔuž-(∇n)- > S *¹ʔuðan- 'ear' > Ak *uzn-*, Hb **ʔ**ʔozεn, Ug *ʔudn* (= *ʔudn-), JA [Trg.] **ʔ**ʔu'dan, JA [Trg.], JEA em. **ʔ**ʔu'dn-ā, Sr **ʔ**ʔu'dn-ā, SmA *ʔdn*, Ar **ʔ**ʔuðn-, OSA *ʔdn*, Gz **ʔ**ʔzn, pl. **ʔ**ʔzan, Jb C {Jo.} *ʔi'den*, Mh *ħzyðēn*, dim. *ʔīðēnōt*, Hrs *ħzyðēn*, Sq {Jo.} *ʔzd(ʔ)han* 'ear' ¶ DRS 10, KB 27, A no. 89, OLS 9-10, Js. 22, Sl. 85, Tal 9-10, Lv. I 30, BGMR 2, L G 52, Jo. M 3, Jo. H 1, MiK I no. 1.4 || Eg *ʔdn* 'ear' ([iŋk]... *szm xrw mʔ ʔdn ggwy* 'I am he who hears a sound\voice like an attentive ear' [Coffin Texts 7.3Ok, from Vc. p.c.], *F* Gilula 'IE 251), *ʔdn hier.* *'ear' ¶ EG I 154, Tk. I 83-4, 248, ≈ 37 || C: Ag *was- v. 'hear' > Bln *was-*, Xm *wäš-*, Km *was-* id. || ?? SC: Kz *wato* 'ear' (unless akin to Asa *yot-*, DhI *ʔēet-it-* 'hear, Af *ayti* 'ear') ¶ Ap. AV 22, E K 15, Blz. CL 178 || Om {Blz.} **wayz- (= {AD} *wayẓ̌-) 'ear; hear' > NrOm: Male *wayz-*, Kf *wāy-* ({Lm.}: -y- < *-z-), Ym {Wdk.} *wē-só* ~ *wēs-ò* v.

'hear', Mch $w\bar{a}\check{z}\check{z}i$ 'ears' (?) (in $w\bar{a}\check{z}\check{z}i$ 'k̄ākkō 'earring'), ? $w\bar{a}$ -mo 'ear', Cha {C} $w\bar{a}y$, Zs, Zrg $waye$, Bsk $wyci$, Doka $wyci$, Bdt {C} $wašē$ id., Shn {Lm.} $wāza$ 'ear' ¶ Blz. OLBP 11 [no. 28], L M 56, Lm. Sh. 407, Lm. Y 473, C SE III 87, 177, Wdk. BY 138, Ap. AV 22 || IE *H₂ous- / *H₂us- ({EI} *h₂ous- / gen. *h₂eus-s or *h₂u's-os) 'ear' > NaIE *ous- / *ōus- / *us- (/? *əus-) id. > Av $uš i$, OPrs $ušī$ nom. du. 'both ears', KhS $uī$ 'intelligence' || Gk: A $oũs$, D $ōs$ 'ear' || Arm $n\check{u}l\check{u}n$ $u\check{r}k\check{r}$ 'ear' (-k_r on the analogy of $w\check{u}l\check{u}n$ $a\check{r}k\check{r}$ 'eye') || pAl {O} * $wau\check{s}i$, {Huld} * $veš$ - 'ear' > MAI G [FB], AlT/G $vesh$ || L *auris* 'ear' || OIr au (later $ó$) id. || Gt $ausō$, ON $eyra$, AS $éare$, NE *ear*, OHG $ōra$, OSx $ōra$, NHG ohr id. || Lt $ausis$, Ltv $àuss$, Pru $ausins$ id. | pSl * $ũxō$ (du\pl. * $ũš i$) 'ear' > OCS $ouxo$ uxo (du.\pl. $ouxi$ $uš i$), Blg uxo , SCr uho , Slv $uhō$, R uxo , Uk $byxo$, Cz, Slk, P $uchō$ ¶ P 785, EI 173, Mn. 43, Bai. 35, Vn. A 99-100, WH I 85-6, F II 448-9, Fs. 69, StSS 754-5, Vr. 107-8, Ho. 85, Ho. S 57, OsS 666, Kb. 747, KM 521, Slt. 54-5, SchmB EV 37, Hamp EAlb 138, O 501, Huld 127, Frn. 26, En. 149, Vs. IV 179, Glh. 651 ¶ In L and Ir $a\check{w}$ - is either a special development of * $o\check{w}$ - with a non-apophonic * o (cp. Hirt IG II 30, BD I/1 153, 193 [* $āus$ - = * ous with non-apophonic * o]), some kind of delabializing dis. (F Mart. EChPh 229) or reflex of ** $əu$ - (in a zero grade ** $əus$ -?), Szem. SM I 45 (hyp.: * $a\check{u}s$ - is original, while * o - in * ous - [> Gk $oũs$] is due to the infl. of * ok^{ω} - 'eye') ◇ ≠ Blz. EIAL 15 [no. 56] (IE *H₂ue₂s- 'hear' + unc. S * $\check{c}xw\check{s}$ ~ * $\check{c}h\check{w}\check{s}$ [Ar $\check{c}xw\check{s}$ 'consider, examine', Gz $h\check{a}w\check{w}a\check{s}a$ 'look on\after, peep, visit, watch, observe'] [instead of HS ** $\check{c}u\check{z}$ -(∇n)- >'ear; hear']).

106. * $\check{c}r\check{a}?\nabla$ (= * $\check{c}r\check{g}|\check{y}a?\nabla$) 'grow, become' (→ 'be') > HS: Eg $\nabla \check{c}3$ v. 'grow, become great\much' → 'be great\much' (Vc. interprets the verb as a triradical $\check{c}r\check{y}|\check{w}$ on the ev. of Cpt) > DEg $\check{c}3$ id. > Cpt Sd/B $\check{a}i\check{a}i\check{a}i\check{a}i$, F $\check{a}i\check{e}i\check{a}i\check{e}i$ 'grandir, avancer dans l'âge, être honoré', qualificative OCpt $o\check{i}o\check{i}$, $\check{a}e\check{i}\check{a}e\check{i}$, Cpt A $\check{a}i\check{e}\check{y}i\check{e}\check{w}$, $\check{a}e\check{i}\check{a}e\check{i}$, Cpt Sd/B $o\check{i}o\check{i}$ 'large, big'; ⇨ Eg $\check{c}3$ ~ $\check{c}3\check{y}$ (prtc.) 'great, much' (on the spelling $\check{c}3\check{y}$ see Ed. § 337) > Cpt Sd/B m. $o\check{o}$, f. $w\check{o}$; the Eg set phrase $pr-\check{c}3$ 'big house' (→ 'palace' → 'king') has been preserved in Cpt Sd/A/L $ppor\check{r}o$ ~ $epo\check{e}ro$, Cpt B $o\check{y}po\check{u}ro$ 'king', Ak $pi\check{r}?\check{u}$, Gk [Hdt.] $\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$, AnchBb פֶּרַעֲוֹ * $para\check{e}\check{w}$ 'Pharaoh' > BHb [Mas.] פֶּרַעֲוֹ $par'\check{e}\check{w}$ and Gk [LXX] $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$, [JF] $\phi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega\theta\eta\varsigma$ id. ¶ EG I 161-3, 516, Fk. 37, Er. 53, Vc. 5-6, 154, 177, GB 660-1, KB 913-14 ¶¶ The Eg root belongs here unless it is akin to S * $\check{c}r\check{y}$ v. 'rise', as suggested by Vc. (Vc. 5-6) || B * $\check{c}h??$ (= Pr.'s $\check{c}h_2h_1h_1$) v. 'be in' > Ah $\check{a}h$, pf. int. $i\check{h}\check{a}$, TnsI, Ty, ETwI, Gh pf. int. $i\check{h}\check{a}$ id. ¶ Pr. H no. 119, Fc. 495-8, GhA 77 || A: M * $a_{\check{c}}$ - v. 'be' (× N

***ʔa** 'become, be', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here Tg ***ō-** v. 'become, happen' (< N ***how^ri'** 'become, appear' [q.v. ffd.] || **D** {Km.} ***ā-** v. 'become, be' (× N ***ʔa** id.?) > Tm **ā**, Kn **āgʉ** 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml **ā k u k a** 'be(come) that; be what it ought to be', Kt **a·-**, Kdg **a·g-** / **a-**, ? Td **o·x-** / **o-** 'become', Tu **ā p i n i** (2n p. **ā ṛ ḏ ḏ ḏ**) 'be, become, happen', Tl **agʉ**, **avʉ**, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku **ā-**, Kui **ā v a-** 'be, become', Klm **an-** 'be (in a place), be (so-and-so)', Nkr **and-**, Nk **an-**, Gnd **ā-**, Brh **aan-/ar-/ as-** / **a-** 'be' ¶¶ D no. 333, Km. 277 [no. 2], Cald. 355-6 ¶¶ Not here Kn, Tl **āgʉ** v. 'be, become' (probably from D ***āk-** < N ***hakʉ** ▽ 'stand, stop, stay, be' [q.v.]). In D both roots have formed one suppletive paradigm ◇ Cf. IS I 243: D, A. IS reconstructed N ***ʔa** 'become, be' and assumed that there is a connection between monosyllabicity of the stem and its function as an aux. word (a copula?). To my mind, this connection does exist, but it is not original, but rather a result of later development. There is a universal tendency of shortening syntactic words (cp. IE ***esti** 'is' > Rm **je**, NArm **je**; in New G the verbum substantivum **ar(i)s** has been shortened to **-ā** when used as a copula). But in our case there was no need in special extra-normal shortening, since in D and A the lrs were lost (resulting in lengthening of the vw. in D and possibly in A) ◇ This etymological equation is uncertain, because the Eg root has an alt. etymology (connection with S ***√ ʃly**), while the M and D roots may go back to N ***ʔa** 'become, be'.

107. ***ʃæ'** bU 'female breast, breast, bosom (Busen)' > HS ***ʃi'** b- > CS ***ʃubb-** 'bosom' (or sim.) > JA [Trg.] **𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤍 ʔub b-ā** {Lv.} 'Schoß, Inneres, Brust, Busen', {Js.} 'bosom, lap', JEA **ʃ u b b ā** 'bosom', JPA Bz **ʃ u b b ā** 'breast', Sr **𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏** {Br} **ʃ u b b -ā** 'bosom, lap, womb', Ar **عَبْ ʃubb-** 'neck of a sleeve' ({Fr.} 'manicae inferior pars eiusque radix'), {Bel.} 'base de la manche', Ar SL **عَبْ ʃubb** {Hv.} 'armpit, breast', {Bel.} 'sein' ¶ Lv. T II 195, Js. 1046, Sl. 84, Sl. P 397, Br. 503-4, JPS 403, Fr. III 95, BK II 148, Bel. 468, Hv. 449, ≈ MiK I no. 1.104 (reconstructing S ***ʃa/ub(ab)-** 'bosom, chest, dewlap' and adducing Ar **ʃabab-** 'chaire pendante sous le menton; gorge', F BK II 429) || ? B **-bb ▽- (< {ʃPr.} *-yb ▽- ~ *-wb ▽-) 'female breast' > Sll **ti-bbī-t**, pl. **ti-bbāt-in**, Tgn {La.} (not Gh, as erroneously mentioned in IS I 275 and AD SF 146!) **a-bbuḷ**, pl. **i-bbuin** (unless developed from Lallwörter independently in Sll and Tgn) ¶ Ds. 258, La. MChB 115-16 || EC: Sml {R} **i b ~ ʃ i b**, Sml B {AD}, new StSml (based on Sml B) {DSI} **ib**, **ibbo** 'nipple' (here, unless borrowed from Ar **ʃubb-**, as suggested by Illich-Svitych) ¶ AD SF 146, DSI 321, R SS II 7, IS I 275 || Ch: CCh ***w|ʔub** 'female breast': Lmn

{Mch.} wu^ɤwa, wu^ɤba, {Lk.} ūḅa id. | McMdr: Mdr {ChL} ʔuḅa, Glv {Rp.} ūḅà, {ChL} ʔúḅà, Gv {ChL} wúḅà, {IL} úḅà, Dgh {Frk} w'ḅà, Nkc {Blg.} wuḅa | BM: BuP {ChC} uʔwa, Bu/Cb {ChL} ʔúwà, Mrg {IL in ChC} ʔwʔwa, Ngx, Wmd ʔuwà id. | McHigi: FIK {ChL} ʔùʔwa, HgNk ʔuwà id. | ? Ktk: Lgn {Lk.} íwayē id. | Suk {Mk} waɤ, {IL} wâ id. ¶ JI II 46-7, JS 53 (Ch *✓ wḅ), ChC s.v. 'female breast', ChL ¶ Ch *ḅ < **ʔb < *ɤ...b (mte.) ¶¶ Coh. no. 56 (S, C), AD SF 146 (C, S, Ch, B) || K: pGZ {K} *ube- ~ *uba- {AD} 'bosom, lap, female breast' > OG, G ube- 'bosom, lap, hem (of clothes)', Mg (l)uba-, lɜba- 'bosom', Lz uba-, oḅa- 'female breast, bosom' ¶ K 185, K² 195, Abul. 416-17, DCh.1236, Chx. 1385, Q 274, Marr 192 || A: (1) M *ebü-r 'breast, bosom' > MM [S] ebur 'breast, bosom, front', WrM ebür ~ öbür {MED} 'breast, bosom (Busen), front, lap', HIM eβeβ {MED} id., {BMR} 'Brust, Busen', Brt γβερ 'Busen, Brust', Kl {KRS} eβeβ id., {Rm.} öwɾ 'Busen, Brust; Vorderseite (des Menschenkörpers, des Berges); Schoß', ? Mnr H {SM} yer 'sein, espace entre le vêtement et la poitrine, quantité que cet espace peut contenir', Ord öwör 'poitrine, sein, giron' ¶ IS assumed that M *ebü-r goes back to a plural form, with *-r being an ancient A plural marker; (2) M *eb-č̣i-ɣün > MM [HI] eβč̣e-ün 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} eβce-ɣ(n) 'Brust', WrM eβciɣü(n) {MED} 'sternum, chest', HIM eβcɣɣ(H) {MED} id., {BMR} 'sternum; Bruststück (грудинка', Brt γβcɣɣ(H) 'breast, breastbone', Kl {KRS} eβcɣɣ öwɣün 'sternum', Ord öb_č̣'ū 'poitrine', Shrn išču id., Mnr H {SM} šž_ū 'poitrine, poitrail' ¶ MED 285. 291, 628, BMR III 3, 7, Chr. 486 -9, H 40-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409-10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 12, Ms. O 526, 544 ◇ C and M suggest a front vw. in the first syll. (most probably N *æ). In S, Ch and K the vw. *u is due to the ass. infl. of the labial cs. (< N *b) (as well as possibly of the labialized vw. of the second syll.). S *ɤ- and the K initial zero suggest a pN *ɤ- (rather than N *ɥ- yielding S *ɤ- and K *ɥ-). Cf. AD LRC no. 56 (HS [S, C], K, M); IS I 275 (HS [S, B, Ch], K, M). In some lges (e.g. Ch and B) the word got a Ll. connotation, but I do not share IS's opinion that this etymon is of onomatopoeic origin.

108. ≈ *ɤṽCü_ʔṽ_Pṽ (or *ɤṽCɣü_ʔṽ_Pṽ) 'salt' > HS: C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *ɤusuʔubo 'salt' > Sml ɤusbo, pBn *ùsùʔúbè 'salt' > Bn: Bi usuʔúbè, J/Kj usúbè id.; Or {Grg.} aššabō 'salt', {Brl.} ašabó 'salsedine, sale marino sciolto' (→ Anf aša'bo 'salt'); ?ϕ Rn čímbi 'salt' || Ag *čəw ({Ap.} *čəw) 'salt' > {Ap.}: Bln, Q šəwa, Xm čəwa, Awn číwí id.; Ag → Gz ɣəw 'salt, salty land', Tgy, Amh čəw, Tgr čəwa 'salt' ¶ Hn. S 78 (pSam *ɤusūbo), Hn. BD 125 (pSam *ɤusuʔubo), Grg. 20, Brl. 29, Ap. AV 20-1, L G 565 || NOM:

Mch {L} 'hič'iwo, Kf {Cc.} ičewo ~ ičebo 'salt' ¶ R K 255, L M 34 ¶¶ Blz. SAA || A: OJ {Mr.} sipuo 'salt' > StJ śio id.; OJ ⇨ Ainu sippo ¶ Mr. 525, Kenk. 1699 || D *čupp- ({{θGS} *s-) 'salt' > Tm, Ml, Kn, Tu, Tl uppu, Kt, Td up, Kdg uppI, Klm, Nk sup, Nkr supp, Prj čup, Gdb sup ɘ čuppu 'salt' ¶¶ D no. 2674 ◇ Or *-š(š̌)- is a reg. reflex of *-sy- (Bl. 281), suggesting pN *ɥ∇Cɥû, ɥ∇, P∇. An alt. explanation (N *-Cü- > EC *-si- > Or [prevocalic] -š(š̌)-) is less plausible in view of pSam *ɥusu?ubo that rules out EC *-Ci-. A hyp. of an EC *-sü- > LEC -su- and pre-Or *-si- > Or -š(š̌)- is too dubious, because it is the only supposed EC root with the vw. *ü ◇ The equation between HS, J and D has been proposed by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [no. 112]) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 120 (D, HS, J).

109. *ɥAč'U' (= *ɥAč'U'??) 'to blow, to yawn' > HS: S *°✓ ɥçp > Ar عصف ✓ ɥçf G v. 'blow hard' (of wind) ¶ BK II 272 || U: FU *oćć∇- ~ *aćć∇- v. 'yawn' > Chr uštem 'I yawn' | Z oć-saw- id., oćest- 'yawn' mom. ('зевнуть') || Hg áśít- v. 'yawn' | pObU {Ht.} *wūs- id. > 1) pVg *ūsant- > Vg: T ōsant-, LK ūsant-, UL/Ss ūsint-, P ūsantōl- id., 2) pOs *wus- > Os: O us- id., ⇨ a) Os: V/Vy us+I-, Ty/Y us+ɥ-, Nz us+ɥt-, Kz wōsbɥa- id.; b) Os: D wāses-, K uses- id. ¶ UEW 591, LG 209, Ht. no. 720 || A: NaT *æS- v. 'blow' (→ v. 'yawn') > OT äS- v. 'blow (gently)', Chg äS- 'wehen, blasen', Tk eS-, CrTt, Kr, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln eS-, Az äS-, VTt iS-, Bsh iθ-, Tkm öθ- v. 'blow' (of wind), Qzq eS- v. 'blow hard' (of wind); ⇨ NaT *°æsin > OT äsin 'breeze, gentle wind', ⇨ NaT *æsinæ- > OT äsnä- 'blow gently, yawn', MQp [CC] esne-, Chg esnä-, Tk esne-, Δ ösne-, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB esne-, Az äsnä-, Uz esna-, ET äsni-, Δ εsne-, VTt isnä-, Qzq, Qq, Nog esine- id., Qrg, StAlt este- 'yawn (from time to time, позевывать)' ¶ Bang TB VII 195, Cl. 240-1, 248-9, Rs. W 49, 50, ET Gl 304, 310-11, 553, Äz. 157, TkR 507, MM 147, Jud. 966 ◇ The vw. *o- in FU *oćć∇- and the vw. ö- in Tk Δ ösne- and Tkm öθ- are puzzling (regr. as. from *ɥAč'U'?).

110. 2 *ɥ∇c.∇L∇ 'guts' > HS: S *°✓ ɥçl > Ar ɥiçl-, ɥaçal- 'guts' ('intestins') ¶ BK II 272 || K: *çel- 'guts, entrails' (× N *č'í'1, ɥ∇, ɥ∇ 'side of body' [q.v.]) > G pl. çel-eb-i 'guts', Mg čž-, či-, Lz (m)čū-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. činčil 'gut, intestine' ¶¶ K 249, K² 308, FS K 460, FS E 521 (K *čel- 'gut'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-70, Q 396, GP 280, TK 862.

111. *ɥawč'∇ (or *ɥač'w∇) 'light of the sun below/on the horizon' > HS: S *°ɥaš'w' - > Ar ɥašiy- 'dernière partie du jour', ɥašwat- 'obscurité de la nuit depuis qu'il s'est fait nuit jusqu'au quart de la nuit' ¶ BK II 265 || ? EC:

Sml {ZMO} řašo 'day, full day', Sml N řášo 'day'] Elm áote, Arr řawaté f. 'sun'; cp. EC and DhI words for 'sun, daylight' s.v. N *řaš̅ ▽ 'white, bright' ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, 62, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' || ? ECh: Brg {J} řústàη 'morning' ¶ ChC s.v. 'morning' || IE: NaIE *a_{us}-/*us- (/ *wes-?) 'shine (leuchten)' ({EI} IE *h_a(e)_{us}-skēti 'it lights up, dawns') (as well as NaIE *a_{us}-ōs- 'dawn, morning twilight' [{EI} IE *'h_ae_{us}ōs, {Mn.} *a_{us}ā, *a_{us}orā 'dawn'] and NaIE *aws-tero 'eastern') > OI u_sās-/u_sas- (nom. u'ṣāḥ, accus. u'ṣās-am, gen. u'ṣas-aḥ), Av ušā (accus. ušāḥam, gen. ušarḥō) 'dawn light', OI u_s'rā 'dawn light' || Gk Hm ἠώς (<*aws-ōs), gen. ἠοῦς (ἠόος), Gk A ἔως, Gk D ἄως id. || L aurōra 'dawn', auster 'southern wind' || Lt aušrà 'dawn, dawn light', aũšta 'dawn is coming', Ltv àust id., àustra 'morning twilight' | Sl *ustro 'morning' > OP justrozenka 'dawn light', justrzejszy 'of tomorrow', nazajustrz 'to the following day', OCS ЗАУСТРА zaustra 'in the morning', Blg 'застра, McdS 'zashtra 'morning, tomorrow' || Gmc: AS ēarendel 'morning star'; NaIE *awstrō- in AS ēastre 'goddess of the spring', ēastron 'Easter', NE Easter; NaIE *aws-t(er)ō- in OHG ostar 'östlich', 'to the east', ON austr 'east' || NaIE *wos-er- / *wōs-er-: Vd v_{asar}- 'in the dawn' (in the cd v_{asar}- 'hā 'striking \ [?] meeting \ [?] coming in the dawn'), vāsa'raḥ adj. 'matutinus' || OIr fáir 'sunrise', W gwawr 'dawn', Br gwere-laouen 'morning star, Venus' (NaIE *-sr- [after a long vw.] > Clt *r-) ¶ P 86-7, EI 148, Mn. 43, M K I 113 and III 172, M E I 23, II 532, MW 930, Kb. 749, F I 605-6, WH I 86, LP § 26.3, SB 278, YGM-1 259, Hm. 357, Frn. 27, ≈ ESSJ VIII 201-2 (rejecting pSl *ustro), StSS 233, BER I 611, Sl. I 594-5 || U: FP *ač ▽ 'early' > pChr {Ber.} *oš-nb > Chr: L 'ожно 'earlier', H ажны а́нб 'earlier, long ago' | pPrm *wōš (= {LG} *wōš̅) 'early' > OPrm wōš, Z vōš, Yz 'uš, Vt вазь, Δ waz ¶ UEW 605, LG 60, Ber. 47, MRS 371, Ep. 1 || ?φ D (att. in KK) *ōč- > Kui ošpa / ošt- v. 'be bright, give light', osteri 'light', Ku oš'i 'beautiful', oš'u 'beauty' ¶ D no. 1037 ◇ D *ō < N *aw?? Or shall we reconstruct N *řawoč ▽ and suppose a syncope *řawo- > D *ō-?

112. *řäč ▽ 'bush, shrubs, forest' > HS: S *řiš̅- (~ *řiš̅š̅-?) 'tree' > BHb řū řēč (pl. řū řēč̅ īm), Pun řṣ, Ug řṣ {A} 'tree', IA řū řḫ (etymological spelling for OA *řaḫ), em. řḫ < *řaḫā, IA (Akkadianized) (AkSc) aḫ-ḫu, BA řḫ řāř 'wood' (em. řḫ řāř), Nbt řḫ řḫ id., JA {Js.} řāř, řāřā 'tree', JEA {Sl.} řāřā, SmA řḫ řḫ 'wood (Holz)', Ar D řāřā 'tree', Ar řḫ řḫ- {Ln.} 'small thorny tree', {BK} '∈ several kinds of coniferous trees and

shrubs', ? Ar **عُضَاه** $\text{ʕi} \hat{\text{u}} \bar{\text{a}} \text{h}$ - {Ln.} 'any great trees having thorns', {BK} 'ε famille d'arbres à épines', {Hv.} **عُضَاه** $\text{ʕi} \hat{\text{u}} \bar{\text{a}} \text{h}$ - 'coniferous tree', 'ε acacia tree', OSA **ʕḩ** 'building materials (wood?)', Gz **ʕḩ** 'tree, shrubs', Ak **iṣ-u**, **iṣṣ-u** 'tree' ¶ L G 57, KB 817-18, KBR 863-4, HJ 879-80, BDB 1982, Js. 99, Sl. 152, Tal 55, Ln. 2070, 2076, BK II 277, 282, OLS 91; on OA **𐤀𐤃𐤁**: AD AR **ʕ** and AD PSH 31-2 || ?φ Eg Md/BD **ṣṣ** 'branch\bough of a tree' (mt. from ***ʕṩṩ**?) ¶ EG V 535 || **K** ***ʕeḩ|ḩeḩr**- > G I/Gr **eḩer-i** 'mit Riedgras, Gebüsch, Gesträuch usw. bewachsene Niederung', G **† eḩer-i** 'Hain, Gehölz, Gebüsch' ¶ Chx. 356 || **D** (in SD) ***aḩar**- > Kn **ajara-nīli**, **ajura-nīli** 'low undershrub', ? Tu **ajara** 'ε moss' ¶ D no. 44 || **E**: MEI **ḩu-sa-a** 'Hain, Baumstämme', NEI, AchEI **ḩu-sa** 'Baum, Wald, Hain, Holz', OEl, MEI **ḩu-sa-me** 'Hain' ¶¶ HK 702-3 ◇ Blz. E no. 65 (E, HS) ◇ K and D *-r- may point to a second component of a N word group.

113. *ʕuḩE or ***ʕüḩ∇** 'exchange, compensate; compensation' (→ 'trade' 'revenge') > **HS**: S ***ʕūḩ**- > Ar **ʕ** $\text{ʕw} \hat{\text{u}} \text{G}$ (**ʕāḩa** /-**ʕūḩu**) 'remplacer une chose à qn, lui donner une chose en échange de...' ¶ BK II 408 || **IE** ***ʕṩwes**-/***ʕṩwos**-, {EI} ***wes**- 'buy', {EI} ***wes-no**- 'purchase' > Ht **was**-, **wasiya**- v. 'buy', **usnyazi** 'sells' || NaIE ***wes**-/***wos**- v. 'trade, deal' > OI **was** 'na-m 'price, value' || Ir **↳** FU ***wos**- 'exchange, trade' (ffd. *see* Jk. 298-9, UEW 585) || Arm **գին** **g i n** (gen. **գնոյ** **g n o y**) 'price, value' || Gk Mc **ο-νο**- 'price', Gk **ῥνοϛ** 'venum, purchase money, a price', **ῥνη**, Gk L **ῥνῦ** (< ***wos-nā**) 'buying (Kauf)' || L **ṕēno**- (nom. **ṕēnum**, accus. **ṕēnum**, dat. **ṕēnō**) 'sail', {EI} 'that which is sold' ¶¶ P 1173, WP I 311-12, EI 185, M K III 177, WH II 753-4, F II 1149, Sl. 295-6, Ts. W 103 || **A**: T ***ōḩ** 'revenge, vengeance' > OT {Cl.} **ōḩ** id., 'malice', Tk **ōḩ**, Az **ōḩ**, ET, QrB, Qrg **ōḩ**, StAlt **ōḩ**, CrTt **ōḩ**, Uz **ωḩ**, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Tv **ōḩ**, Xk **ōs**, VTt **γḩ üḩ**, Bsh **üs**, Chv **вѣчѣ** **v b ḩḩ**, Chv **Δ вѣччѣ** 'revenge, vengeance, злоба', Tkm **ōḩ**, Qmq, Ln **ōḩ** id., 'hostility', Kr **ōḩ** id., 'punishment' ¶ Some T lge > WrM {MED} **ōs**, HIM {MED} **θc**, {BMR} **θc**, **θw**, Brt (< d.?) **γḩθθ(ḩ)** 'hatred, revenge', Kl **Ö** {Rm.} **ös** 'Feindschaft, Haß, Rache', Ord 'haine, vengeance'; HIM **↳** Yk **ös** 'revenge', **злоба**, hate (**Haß**), evil' ¶ The cns. s in the M words proves that they are borrowed from some T lge (cp. Xk **ös**) ¶ The short **ō** in Yk suggests that the Yk word is a loan from a M lge ¶ Cl. 18, ET Gl 558-9, MED 645, BMR III 45, 49, Chr. 519, KW 301, Ms. O 540, JRS 290. Pek. 1973, Ash. V 387-9, Fed. I 121, Jeg. 53 || ?σ **D** (att. in SD) ***oḩ(ḩ)**- > Ml **oḩukkuka** v. 'pay taxes', Kn **oḩḩaja** 'tribute' ¶ D no. 952.

114. * $\text{ʕad}\nabla$ 'limit, edge'? \rightarrow 'up to, until, towards' > HS: S: [1] S * $\text{ʕad}_L\text{ay}_L$ - > Ar عَدَى ʕaday ʕadā 'bord\rivage d'un fleuve' \rightarrow ʕidwat- ~ ʕudwat- id., 'extrémité, bord'; [2] S * ʕad-ay , * ʕad-u/i 'up to, towards' > OAk ad-um , Ak adi , adu , ad 'up to, towards', Hb ʕadē , ʕad 'until', Ph, Ug, OSA ʕd 'up to, till', Aram ʕad 'up to', Jb ʕed , d 'to, up to', ʕed 'till, until' ¶ Sd. 12, CAD I/I 115-21, KB 743-4, KBR 786-7, BK II 194-7, OLS 71-2, BGMR 12, Jo. J 1 || ? EC: Sa {R} - d , marker of accus./dat. ¶ R S II 95 || K * ʕ-d > Sv - d 'up to, till' (lu p x w - d 'till the springtime'), homonymous with - d 'as' (transformative case) and therefore reinterpreted as one of the meanings of this transformative case ¶ Ni. s.v. ' $\text{d}\theta$ ', GP US 41-2 || IE * haT ({EI} * $\text{h}_\text{p}\text{ed}$) 'at, to' > NaIE * aT 'towards' (where * T is an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition * $\text{-d}^h \leftrightarrow * \text{-d} \leftrightarrow * \text{-t}$ in word-final position) > L ad 'towards', ad- pv. of approaching, Um AR, ARS prep., - $\text{a}ʕ$ postp., 'towards', Osc adpud 'quoad' || OIr, Gl ad- pv. of approaching, W add- id. || Gmc * at- pv. 'towards, near' (pv. of approaching) > Gt, ON, OSx at 'towards, near', OHG az id., AS æt , NE at etc. || Phr $\alpha\delta\text{-}\delta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\tau$ 'af-fecit', $\alpha\beta\text{-}\beta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\tau$ 'ad-ferebat' || HrLw à-ta 'towards' ¶¶ P 3, EI 590, WH I 11-12, Bc. G 329, Pln. II 675, 727-8, EWA I 405-6, Vn. A 13, Vr. 16, Fs. 60-1, Ho. 13, Schz. 92, Mer. HHG 40-1 || A: ? Tg * $\text{-d}^r\text{U}^r_L\text{a}_L$ /* $\text{-d}^r\text{U}^r_L\text{e}_L$ 'to, in', case sx of dative-locative ({Bz.} * -dua / * -düä) (\times N * $\text{d}_L\text{oy}_L\text{a}$ 'place [within, below], inside' [\rightarrow locative pc, 'in'.]) > WrMc {Z} - $\text{d}\text{ə}$ (e.g. ama-də 'to the father'), Nn Nh - do ~ - du 'to' (dative), with ppa. - doa (amen-doa-si 'to his father'), Lm - du (aman-du 'to the father'), Ud - du , - di- (xoton-du 'zur Stadt', amin-du 'to the father', amin-di-hi 'to his father'), Ul, Sln - $\text{du}/\text{-du}$, Orc - du , Ewk - du (amīn-du 'to the father', amīn-du-s 'to his father') ~ - tu (devoicing due to progressive as.), Neg - du ~ - tu ¶ Bz. 83, Ci. 256, Sun. S 212-23, On. 547, Z 40 \diamond The rec. of N * ʕ- is based on S * ʕ- and on the K initial * \emptyset -. The AnIE reflex is qu., because HrLw à-ta may be also connected with Ht arada 'towards' \diamond In the descendant lges the word is used mostly in auxiliary functions (pre-\ post-positions, prefixex, preverbs), but the S prep. * ʕad-ay , * ʕad-u/i governs the gen. case, hence it must go back to a noun (probably preserved in Ar ʕaday [ʕadā] 'bord\rivage d'un fleuve'). OAk ad-um still has the form of a noun (nom. case).

115. * $\text{ʕ}^r\text{o}^r\text{dU}$ 'go' > K: GZ * $\text{wed-}/\text{*wid-}$ 'go, walk' (\times N * $\text{w}\nabla\text{d}_L\nabla_L\text{ʕ}\nabla$ or * $\text{w}\nabla\text{ʕd}\nabla$ 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS * $\text{ʕd}\omega$ 'go, step\pass over' > BHb $\text{ʕd}\omega$: pf. עַל הַבַּיְתָה $\text{ʕā}^r\text{dā}$ ʕal ... 'step over', Ug {OLS} ʕdy D 'make go\dissapear' ('hacer pasar\desaparecer'), JA (incl. BA) ʕdy ~ $\text{ʕd}\omega$ G

(pf. $\text{׳בַּדְּבַּי} \text{ } \text{ʿa}^1\text{d}\bar{\text{e}} \sim \text{׳בַּדְּבַּי} \text{ } \text{ʿa}^1\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$) 'pass by', JEA \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{y}$ G 'pass, pass over', Sr \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{w}$ (pf. $\text{׳בַּדְּבַּי} \text{ } \text{ʿa}^1\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$) 'come suddenly upon', Md ada , $\text{ʿd}\text{a}$ 'pass by, pass over', Ar \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{w}$ G ($\text{׳בַּדְּבַּי} \text{ } \text{ʿa}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}} / \text{-ʿd}\bar{\text{u}}$) 'transgress, run', Sb \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{w}$ (\sim $\text{ʿd}\text{y}$) 'move, march, go', Qtb {Rk.} $\text{ʿd}\text{w}$ 'go beyond, exceed', Mn {MA} $\text{m}\text{ʿd}\text{w}\text{t-n}$ 'passage', Gz \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{w}$ (pf. $\text{ʿa}\text{d}\text{a}\text{w}\text{a}$, js. $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ʿd}\bar{\text{u}}$) 'cross over, pass over', Mh \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{w}$ (pf. $\text{ʔa}\text{d}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}$) v. 'assault without reason', Jb C \checkmark $\text{ʿd}\text{w}\text{y}$ (pf. $\text{ʿa}^1\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}$) v. 'infect', $\text{a}^1\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}^1\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}$ (sbjn. $\text{y}\bar{\text{a}}^1\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}^1\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}$) 'attack, set upon' ¶ KB 475, OLS 74, Js. 1043-4, Sl. 844-5, Br. 511, JPS 400, Fr. III 122, BGMR 12, L G 56-7, MA 10, Rk. 115, Jo. M 12, Jo. J 7 || B {ʔPr.} $\ast\checkmark\text{w}\text{d}\text{H}$ 'go' (\times N $\ast\text{w}\nabla\text{d}_1\nabla_1\text{ʿ}\nabla$ or $\ast\text{w}\nabla\text{ʿd}\nabla$ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || $\text{ʔ}\phi$ C: EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} a^1d - 'go to', $\text{ʔ}\phi$ Sd {Mrn.} $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}$ - 'andare', {Hd.} $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ʔr}$ -, {Gs.} $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'go' ($\text{b}\rightarrow$ caus. {Mrn.} $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}$ -, {Gs.} $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'accompany') (the unexpected Sd h- still requires explanation); ? Arr pcv. -iʔit- pf. / -eʔet- ip. / ʔiʔt imv. m. 'go' (\times N $\ast\text{ʔ}^1\text{e}^1\text{y}\nabla$ 'come, arrive'?) ||| SC: Asa {Fl.} $\text{a}\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. 451-9, Fl. p.c. || SOM: Ari {Fl.} $\text{a}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'go', Male {Fl.} ad - 'come' (?) ¶ Fl. SO, Fl. OWL ¶¶ In B, C and SOM there may be contamination with N $\ast\text{q}\text{A}\text{d}_1\nabla_1\text{ʔ}\nabla$ 'to step, to walk' and with N $\ast\text{ʔ}\text{a}\text{t}_1\text{ʔ}_1\nabla$ 'to come' || A: M $\ast\text{o}_1;\text{d}$ - 'go, depart, set out for' (\times N $\ast\text{w}\nabla\text{d}_1\nabla_1\text{ʿ}\nabla$ or $\ast\text{w}\nabla\text{ʿd}\nabla$ '↑'?) > MM [HI] {Ms.} $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'go, depart', [IsV] {Lg.} $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'go', [S] $\text{o}\text{t}\chi\text{u}$ (= $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}-\chi\text{u}$) 'go, go away', WrM $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}$ - {MED} go to, proceed to', HlM $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}\text{o}$ - {MED} id., {BMR} 'hingehen, weggehen, depart (уходить\уезжать [в направлении от говорящего])', WrO {Krg.} $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'go, depart', $\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'go', Brt W $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}\text{o}$ -, Kl {KRS} $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}-\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'go, depart', {Rm.} $\text{o}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'sich begeben, sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ Ms. H 83, Lg. VMI 59, H 129, MED 600, BMR I 461, Krg. 112, KRS 393, KW 283, Chr. 350, S AJ 270 [no. 153] ◇ Qu., because all cognates except HS have alt. etymologies.

116. $\ast\text{ʿud}\nabla$ 'follow' (\rightarrow 'repeat, continue') > K: Sv L {Dn.} ud , Sv -ud \sim - ʿd \sim - id 'still\even (noch)' ($\chi\text{o}\chi\text{ar}$ ud 'even less, even smaller'), 'again, also' ¶ Dn. s.v. $\text{u}\bar{\text{d}}$, TK 725 || HS: S $\ast\text{-ʿud}$ - 'do again' > Ar (\times S $\ast\checkmark\text{ʿw}\text{d}$ 'return') $\checkmark\text{ʿw}\text{d}$ (pf. $\text{׳בַּדְּבַּי} \text{ } \text{ʿa}\bar{\text{d}}\text{a}$) 'return to, do again' ($\text{ʿa}\bar{\text{d}}\text{a-lkalbu}$ $\text{f}\bar{\text{i}}$ $\text{kay}\text{ʔih}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'the dog returned to his vomit', sc. 'vomited again'), Sb $\checkmark\text{ʿw}\text{d}$ 'return'; S $\ast\text{ʿa}\bar{\text{d}}$ - n. 'duration', $\ast\text{ʿa}\bar{\text{d}}$ - \sim $\ast\text{ʿa}\text{w}\text{d}$ - adv. 'again, still' > BHb בְּעוֹד $\text{ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'duration' (בְּעוֹד $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'during': $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}$ $\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{y}^1\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}$ 'als es noch Tag war', $\text{b}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}$ $\text{š}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}^1\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{y}\bar{\text{i}}\text{m}$ 'in two years', ׳בַּעוֹדִי $\text{m}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}\text{-}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'as long as I live' [lit. 'from my duration']), בְּעוֹד $\text{ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'still', 'as long as (still)', 'still more, again' ('noch'), Ph {HJ} ʿd 'still, moreover, Ug ʿd 'time, period', BA בְּעוֹד $\text{ʿo}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'still' (\leftarrow Hb?), Nbt ʿd id., IA

lʔ ʔd 'not yet' (lʔ 'not'), Ar عَادَ ʔād-in 'while', Sb ʔd 'again', Gz ʔādī 'still, still more, again, once more', Tgr ʔadu 'yet', Mh, Hrs ʔād 'still, yet, again', Jb C d-ʔdd 'still', Ak fOAK adī 'as long as, while' (× Ak adī 'up to' < N *ʔad∇ 'limit, edge'[?] → 'up to, until' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 752, 1756, OLS 72, Ln. 2188-92, JH 203, HJ 831-2, L G 55-6, BGMR 22, Jo. M 35-6, Jo. H 12, Jo. J 19, CAD I/1 112-15 || A *ud∇- 'follow' (→ 'delay') > NaT *uδ- v. 'follow' > OT uδ- v. 'follow', Tk uɥ- v. 'follow, suit, fit', Az uy- 'fit, correspond', Tkm uy- v. 'obey implicitly', {ET} 'follow', Uz Δ uy- 'follow', Yk utā 'following' ¶ Cl 38 (OT ūδ- with unc. length of the vw. based on the letter ɟ in the Arabic spelling), DTS 605-6, ET Gl 573-4 || M *uda- follow, delay' > MM [S] uɗa, adu 'following, second (son)', [S, MA] uɗa- 'be late', WrM {MED} uɗa-, HIM uɗa- {MED} v. 'delay', {BMR} 'linger, loiter (медлить, мешкать, задерживаться)', Brt uɗa- id., Mnr H {SM} ud_a- 'persister longtemps dans le même état; tarder', Kl Ö {Rm.} uɗa- '(ein Tier) erfolgen, nachjagen', Ord uɗ_a- 'durer longtemps', 'devenir vieux' (objet), ⇨ Ord uɗ_ā- 'soumettre à un retard, différer longtemps (de faire qch.)' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 361, MED 860-1, BMR 308-9, Chr. 463, Kow. 380, SM 462-3, KW 446, T 368, Ms. O 721-2 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ SDM) T *īδ- 'send (sth.)' (more likely from N *wedhA 'to cause to go [to drive, to lead]', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 611-12 (pA *jūdu v. 'lead, direct' > M + unc. T *īδ- 'send'), DQA no. 678 (id.), Rm. EAS I 143 (pA *ud∇ 'follow' > M, T).

117. *ʔæ'go 'to drink' > HS: C *ʔg, {E} *ʔag- v. 'drink' > EC *-ʔag- / *-ʔig- / *-ʔug- pcv. 'drink' > Bn pcv. -aʔak- / iʔik-, Arr ʔig-, Dsn ʔík, Elm ʔik-, Kns ik-, Ya {Hn.} -e'q-; HEC *ag- v. 'drink' > Sd {Gs., Mrn., C}, Kmb {C}, Hd {PB} ag- v. 'drink'; (× N *yugê 'to drink') Gdl uk-, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʔuk-, Cm {Hbl.} ʔug- id., (× N *H'i'Kæ 'eat'?): Yk εk- 'eat', éktó 'food' || DhI {EEN} ʔag- 'eat', {Ss.} ʔàga 'food' || SC: Brn {Wh.} ag-, Irq {MQK} ʔāy-, Grw {Wh.} ʔay-, ?φ Alg {Wh.} gāg- v. 'eat' ¶ E PC no. 483, Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, MQK 18, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik-, Gs. 6, AMS 274, Hn. Y II 124-5, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482, EEN 13, Ss. PEC 17, Blz. CL 178, Blz. CP s.v. 'eat' || S (d.?) *ʔg w v. 'suckle, give to drink' > Ar لَجَّعَ ʔǧǧ G 'put out (a child) to nurse', ? (mt.) Gz ʔǧǧ G 'feed with milk', Amh/Arg/Grg {L} w ǧǧa v. 'force to drink' ¶ Fr. III 117, BK II 186, Hv. 456-7, L G 607-8 || **IE** *h₁eg^hw- ({EI} 1s pres. *h₁ēg^wh-mi) 'drink' > Ht eku-/aku- (3s pres. ekuzi = {Pv.} ek^w-ci), Lw aku-, Pal aχu- v. 'drink' || NaIE *eg^hw- / *ēg^hw- > Tc: A, B ɥok- id. || L ēbrius 'drunk' (← 'having drunk one's fill': qom tu

satura atque ebria eris 'when you have had enough to eat and drink' [Terence, *Hecyra* 5.2.3]) ¶ Not akin to IE *ak^ω- 'water' (⇔ Hrozný et al.) (see Pv. I-II 261-8); not akin to IE *ek̄- v. 'eat' (⇔ Mn.), because Ht -ku- and L -b- indicate a pIE labiovelar cns. ¶¶ Pv. I-II 261-8, EI 175-6, ≠ Mn. 235, 237, Wn. I 601-2, Ad. 509-10, Ad. H 22, JGH 147-9, ≠ WH II 387-8 || A: M *a^uu ~ *u^uu- v. 'drink' > MM [S] u₁u-, [MA] u₁ū-, WrM {MED} a^uu- ~ u^uu- ~ u^uu-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt, Kl {KRS} u₁ū- v. 'drink', {Rm.} ū- 'trinken, saugen, eimschlürgen', Ord ū-, Mnr H {SM} ū- v. 'drink' ¶ H 160, Pp. MA 371, MED 15, 864, 889, BMR III 371-2, Chr. 721, KRS 542, KW 452, SM 462, Ms. O 721 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? *u^g∇ ? 'drink'): (?) pA *u^g∇, but SDM VC envisages a possibility of A *e in the first syll (A *e - u > M *u - u).

118. ₂ *^ɛE^ʔa₁ʔ₁g[∇] 'fat' > HS: S (+ exts) *^o✓^ɛg^r, *^o✓^ɛgⁿ 'be stout/fat': [1] *^o✓^ɛg^r > Ar عجر ✓^ɛg^r (ip. -^ɛg^ru) 'crassus\obesus\ventrosus fuit', عَجْرٌ ʔa^ɛg^r- 'crassus, pinguis, ventrosus' (vir); [2] *^o✓^ɛgⁿ > Ar ✓^ɛgⁿ 'pinguis fuit' (de camela), ʔa^ɛgⁿ- 'compacto corpore et pinguis' (camelus) ¶ Fr. III 110-11, 116 || Eg OK ɛ₃ n. 'fat' ¶ EG I 239, ≠ Tk. SCC 94 [no. 24.1] || A *^yāgE (= *^yāgü?) 'fat' n. > M *e^ɜü-kün ({SDM} *e^ɜükü, *ü^ɜekü) id. > MM [S] e₁ükün ~ ö₁ükün, WrM {MED} ögekü(n), HIM {MED} e^oe^x, {BMR} e^oe^x(eⁿ), Brt e^oe^xe⁽ⁿ⁾ 'fat, lard, grease', Kl {KRS} e^oe^keⁿ ökän 'fat, animal fat (сало)', {Rm.} ök^o 'Fett (im Fleische)', Mnr H {SM} ök^e 'graisse, suif', Ord ök^o 'graisse', Dg ɜ^ug^u, Dx ^ug^un (Hl., Md.: a secondary ^u-), ShY ūkön n. 'fat' ¶ H 47, MED 631, BMR III 36, Chr. 369, SM 296, KRS 420, KW 304, Ms. O 530, St AJ 235 [no. 29] || T *^jāg 'fat' n. (× N ≈ *L|^zagU₁y[∇], 'fat meat', q.v.) > OT ja^ɣ 'grease, fat, oil' (incl. OT Og XI [MhK] jā^ɣ 'suet'), Tk ɟa^ɣ, Tkm jā^ɟ 'oil, butter, grease', Az ja^ɟ 'fat, butter', Uz ě^ɟ ja^ɟ, ET ja^ɟ, Δ ja^q 'grease, animal fat, butter', {Jr.} ja^ɟ, Δ {Ml.} ja^q 'grease, oil, animal fat', Ln ja^ɟ ~ ja^q 'grease, suet, fat', Slr ja^ɣ 'suet, fat, oil', Xlj jā^ɟ, Uz ja^ɟ, Qmq ja^w 'oil, butter, fat', Qrg S жов žov 'fat, butter', StAlt дь^ɟ ɟū 'suet', дь^ɟ ɟu 'animal fat', Qmn {B} ɟu id., 'butter', Tb {B} ɟu 'fat', QK {B} ɟa^ɟ, Tv ča^ɟ, Tf ča^ɟ 'hard animal fat (сало)', Xk ča^ɟ, Yk sīā 'fat', Chv ɟ^ɟ ɟu ɟu ɟ ɟă^v ɟ^ɟ v n. 'butter, сало, fat' ¶ Cl. 895, Rs. W 177, ET J 58-9, TL 453, DT 218, Ra. 193, BT 57-8, BN 67, B DChT 11, B DK 213, B DLT 144, Ash. XII 124-6, Fed. II 127, Jeg. 215, Md. 27, 160 || Tg *^oyagjakta (= *^oyag-ja-kta?) 'fat of a bear' > Ul yagžakta id. ¶ STM I 337 ¶ The word belongs here if Tg *-ja- goes back to a sx (extension) ¶¶ SDM 597 (pA *^jāgi 'fat' n.

> Tg, M, T), DQA no. 632, SDM97 s.v. *āgi 'fat', S AJ 282, STM I 337 (Tg, T).

119. *ʿogU1∇ (or *H₂oqU1∇) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal)', 'to beget, to bear a child' > HS: ? WS *ʿigul- 'calf' > BHb בָּנִי 'young bull\ox', Pun, Ug, OA ʿgl, JA בָּנִי 'young bull', JEA em. אֲבָנִי 'young bull', Sr ٱبْنِي 'young bull', Ar عَجَل 'calf', Gz ʿagʷal ~ ʿagʷal 'calf' ¶ KB 741, KBR 784-5, A no. 1995, OLS 75, HJ 824, Lv. III 618, Sl. 851, Br. 509-10, L G 11 || C ≈ *ʿqʷl (or *ʿq) 'give birth, child' > Ag {AD} *qʷzr- / *ʿqʷzr- ({Ap.} *qʷzr- / *ʿqʷzr-) v. 'beget, child' (< Early Ag **ʿqʷl?) > Bln ʿqʷra 'boy', f. ʿqʷra 'daughter', pl. qʷzr 'children', Xm (ʒ)ʸʷzr 'child', pl. ʒʷzr, Km ʸʷzra 'child', Bln ʿqʷä-r-, Xm ʒʸʷzr- v. 'bear, beget'; Early Ag **ʿqʷl ⇨ Tgy qʷelʿa 'child' || HEC *qal- v. 'give birth' > Sd, Kmb qal-, Hd {Hd.} qar-, {Ss.} qār- v. 'give birth' (of animals), Brj qal- v. 'give birth', qála 'child' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB 23, Hd. 70, Ss. B 123, ≠ AD SF 200 || K: Sv L qlaw- 'child, boy' (× N *qʷl 'boy, child') ¶ Dn. s.v. qlaw-, ≠ K² 243-4 (unc.: Sv *q- < K *qle- 'penis') || A: T *ogul (pT {Md.} *ogul) 'offspring, child' (→ 'male child') > OT oʒul 'offspring, child', Chg oʒul 'son', Tkm, Az, ET, SY, Ln, Xlj oʒul, Tk oʒul, Qzl oʒul, Uz oʒul, Qrg, StAlt ūl, Qq ul, Qzq ʷl, VTt, Bsh ul, Tv ōl, Tf ōl, Yk ūl, Blgh أول ∇wal, Chv L ывǎл ivǎl, Chv Δ ивǎл ivǎl ǎ ǎвǎл ъvǎl 'male child, son', Chv цвǎл uvǎl and Chv МК цл 'son', Xk Sg/Kc ōl 'young man, son', Qzl oʒul id. ¶ Cl. 83-4, ET Gl 414-16, Rs. W 358, TL 313-14, DHST 299, DT 168, Ra. 213, BT 168, Md. 45, Md. OJ 133, 228, IsxP 57, BIG 123, 127, Ash. III 194 and 204. Fed. II 468, Jeg. 341 || ?σ M: WrM {MED} uqulza ~ uqalza, HIM {MED, BMR} цгалз 'male wild mountain sheep (argali, архар, *Ovis ammon*)', Kl {Rm.} uʷǎlza 'wilder Schafbock' ¶ MED 863-4, BMR III 302, KW 447 || Gil: Gil: A oʒla 'son, child', ES {Krn.} eʒl ~ eʒla 'child', A oʒlagu, ES eʒlgun 'children' ¶ ST 241, ST RN 127, 369, 416, Krn. N 494 || D (in SD) {tr.} *okkal-, {GS} *okal- 'relations, kinsfolk' > Tm okkal id., Ml okkaliyan 'a cultivating class', Kt okl 'family', Td wikił 'family within clan', Kn okkal 'residing, residence, home', okkala 'husbandman, farmer', Kdg okka 'patrilineal joint family', Tu okkelb 'a tenant'; D ⇨ Prkr okkia- 'a dwelling, residence' ¶ D no. 925, GS 82 [no. 255] ◇ If WS *ʿigul- belongs here, we must reconstruct *ʿ- for pN and suppose that the glottalized stop and its reflexes in C, K and D have developed from a cluster *ʿg (> C *q, Sv q-, SD *-kk-, {GS} *-k-). WS *-i- in *ʿigul- (for the expected *-u-) still requires explanation ◇ Starostin (S CNM 9 and S SN 154) equated T with M uqalza

(which I accept) and with MKo àh'á'j 'child' and reconstructed pA *uka(1∇) 'child, son' (not convincing because the element *1∇ has a proto-N age). In S CNM 9 and S SN 154 he suggested to equate Sv q̄law- 'child, boy' with A *kū1∇ 'slave, servant' and with D *kuli 'hired labourer', sc. to transfer it either to N *Ḳuṭ'ā' 'clan, village' → 'everybody') and to N *ḡ'U'1'U' 'boy, child' (→ A 'servant, slave') or to N *ku1∇ 'to work' ◇ AD NM no. 119, S CNM 9 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

120. ₂ *ḡok∇ (or *ḡok∇?) 'listen' or 'ear' > HS: EC: Sa {R} ōkkā, Sa I {CR} ḡokk̄w̄ā 'ear', Af {PH} ḡokka 'earwax', ? Brj {Ss.} akkab- v. 'hear' ¶ R S II 23, PH 61, AD SF 264 || D (in SD) *ōk- v. 'listen' > Td o·x 'hear', Kt oḡarv- 'listen without speaking' (BE: *ōk- + *karv- 'lie hidden') ¶ D no. 1032 ◇ Connected with N *ḡuḲa 'see', 'eye' (q.v.)? The et. is qu., because the cognates are isolated in both HS and D.

121. ?σ *ḡayka ≈ move (quickly), jump' > IE: NaIE *aḡg- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren' ({EI} ? IE *h₁eḡg- 'move') > OI ējatī 'stirs, moves' || ON eikiññ 'wütend, rasend, gewaltsam', NNr eikjēñ 'streitsüchtig' || Gk αἰχμα 'rushing storm, hurricane', ?σ Gk [Hs.] αἰχμα 'waves' || pSl *jḡgrati (se) 'to amuse oneself, to dance, to play', ? 'to jump' > RChS, OR НГРАТН 'to amuse oneself, to jump', OCS НГРАТН iḡrati 'παίζειν, ludere', {StSS} 'развлекаться, играть', Blg иг'раja, McdS игра v. 'play, dance', SCr iḡrati, OP iḡrać 'to play, to dance', SCr Ch jìḡrati, Slv iḡrāti, P ḡrać, R иг'рать, Uk 'грати 'to play', R Δ иг'рать 'to dance', Cz hrāti 'to play, to amuse oneself'; pSl *jḡgrā 'amusement, play, dance' > OCS НГРА iḡra 'lusus', RChS, OR НГРА iḡra 'παίζων, παιδιά, ludus', Blg, R иг'ра, Cz, Slk hra 'play, amusement', SCr iḡra, SCr Ch jìḡra 'play, dance', Slv ígra, Δ iḡrā, HLs jhra ~ hra, OP iḡra, P ḡra, Uk ḡra 'play' ¶ WP I 11, P 13-14, EI 388, M K I 126, ≈ F I 32, Vr. 96, ESSJ VIII 208-11, StSS 246, Glh. 274-5, LS 40 || HS: S *ōḡyk > Ar ḡyk G (ḡāka / -ḡīku) 'marcher en remuant les épaules' ¶ Fr. III 251, BK II 422 || B *ōḡyk (*-ḡyk-) v. 'tremble, jump' > Sll {Ds.} ak̄w̄i (3s pf. yuk̄w̄i) v. 'trembler, sautiller; sauter en se laissant tomber', Tz {Stm.} āk̄w̄y (= āk̄w̄i?) v. 'jump' ¶ Ds. 256, 284, Stm. 162 || D *ak- v. 'tremble, fear' (× N *qaḡ, a 'to fear') > Kn aḡi v. 'tremble, fear', Tu aḡuruni v. 'totter, stagger', Tl aḡurvu 'fear, terror' ¶¶ D no. 12.

122. *ḡaḲo 'water' > HS *ḡa'ḡw̄- > C *ōḡaḡw̄- > Ag *ḡaḡw̄- 'water' > Bln {Plm., R} ḡaḡw̄ [ḡaḡḡ], Xm {R} aḡw̄, Xm T {CR} aḡw̄, aḡw̄i, {Bnd.} āḡw̄, Q {R} aḡū, Km {CR} aḡw̄, {Bnd.} āḡw̄, Aw {Bnd.} aḡu 'water' || EC: ?ϕ Gdl

{Bnd.} *hakã* 'water' ¶ AD SF 273-4, R WB 62, ≈ Ap. AV 2 (Ag **ʔakʷ-*) || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *àkà* 'river, water', {C} *ak*, {Bnd.} *ākā* 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 116, C SE III 66., ≈ AD SF 273-4 || S **✓f̥k̥k̥* > ? SS **✓f̥k̥w̥~✓f̥w̥k̥* ('≈ water surface', 'lake' or the like) > Jb E {Jo.} 'f̥ɔ'k̥ɔt, Mh *ʔá'k̥awt*, pl. *ʔīwēk̥* 'mountain pool', Hrs *ʔá'k̥awt*, pl. *ʔawēk̥* id., ?? Sb *f̥w̥k̥* (h.l., translated in BGMR as '[?] bank, embankment', 'berge, talus') || Ar *✓f̥qq G* (pf. *قَوَّقَ* *f̥aqqā*) 'in pluviam dissolvit (ventus nubem)' (× Ar *✓f̥qq G* 'split, rend') ¶ Fr. III 188, Jo. M 36, Jo. H 12, BGMR 23 || IE **Hekʷ-* (or **Hakʷ-*) ({EI} **h₂ekʷeh₂-*) 'water' > NaIE **akʷ-ā* id. > L *aqua* 'water' || Gmc {Vr.} **ahwō* > Gt *ahwa*, ON *ó, á* (~ *ǫ́*) 'river', Dn *ǎ* 'small river', AS *ēa*, OSx, OHG *aha* 'water, stream, river' || BSl: R *Okā* n. l. (river) ({Trb.}: ← Blt), ? Slk *Okā* (a lake in the Tatra mountains) ¶ P 23, EI 636, Mn. 31, WH I 60, Vr. 1, Fs. 18, Ho. 82, Ho. S 1, EWA I 100-3, Kb. 10, Vs. III 127 || **¶** T **ak-* v. 'stream, flow' (× T **jaḡ-* v. 'pour down, pour rain' < N **yak* ▽ '≈ pour, be covered with water') > OT *aq-* v. 'flow', Tk *ak-*, Tkm, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Ln, StAlt, Tv *aq-* id. || ? Chv L *юx- yux-*, Chv *Δ.ěx-* 'flow, swim' ¶ SDM 598 (pT **iak-* with **i-* based on the Chv cognate), Cl. 77, ET Gl 118-20, Ash. V 18-22, Fed. II 495-6, Jeg. 352, ChVS 294 ◇ Not identical with N **ʔæ'gō* 'drink' (q.v.). Cf. AD LRC no. 54 (IE, C), IS I 275-6 (HS [S, C], IE, D + **÷* EC **ʔṽg-* v. 'drink' and Ht *ekū-* id.), WNL NC s.v. 'water' (HS-IE-T, as well as Esk *uq-ʔ3ʃ-n3ʃ* 'a drop' and Gil *3ʃi-* v. 'stream' [of a river]) ◇ Blz. IELA 9 [no. 24] (HS, IE) ◇ ≠ Gr. I no. 414 (**akwa* 'water') (IE + qu. CK, Ai + err. U, A [**jak'a/jaka*], Ko, J, Gil).

123. **ʔok̥i* 'sharp point\edge' > IE **H^ωek̥-* (~ **H_xek̥-*?) / **H₂ek̥-* ({EI} **h₂ek̥-*) 'sharp, pointed' > NaIE **ok̥-* / **ak̥-* id. > OI *'asri-h̄* 'corner, angle, edge' || Gk *ῥκρυς* 'hilltop, mountain peak', *ῥκή* 'point', *ῥκίς* (gen. *ῥκίδος*) 'a point, barb of an arrow\hook', *ῥκρος* 'spitz' || pAl {O} **ac-eta* ({JO} **atseta*) > Al *athēt* adj. 'bitter, harsh, unpleasantly sour' || L *acu-s* (gen. *acūs*) 'needle', *acies* 'edge (of a sharp instrument)', *ācer* 'sharp', Osc *akrid* 'acriter' || OIr *ochair* 'angle, edge', W *ochr* {Vn.} id., {YGM} 'side', *hogi* 'to sharpen, to whet' || Gmc {Vr.} **agjō* > ON *egg* 'blade, edge', Sw *egg* 'blade', OSx *eggia* id., 'edge', OHG *egga* ~ *ecka* 'sharp point, edge, corner, Schneide', MHG *ag* ~ *egle* 'perch', NHG *Ecke* 'edge, corner', *Eck* 'angle', AS *écz* 'edge, blade, sword', NE *edge* || Lt *ašmuō* (pl. *āšmens*), *ašmenys* 'sharp point, blade', Ltv *asmens* 'blade, edge' || Sl **ostrb* 'sharp' > OCS, OR *острѣ* *ostrb*, Blg *остър*, SCr *ōštār*, Slv

óster, Cz, Slk ostrý, Postry, R 'острый, Uk '(Г)острий id. || Arm
 աստղն asełn (gen. ասղան asłan) 'needle' || pTc {Ad.} *āke > Tc: A
 {Wn.} āk 'bout, fin, pointe, sommet', B {Ad.} āke 'end', B akessu 'at the
 end, last' ¶¶ The adduction of Ht aku- (nom. aku-s) 'stone', Lt akmuo
 and Ltv akmens 'stone' (see Ph. I-II 24 and Frn. 5) is questionable for
 semantic reasons. These words may belong to another N etymon
 (reconstructible as *^ohaK̄U 'stone', cp. Tgy haḳ̄^weḳ̄^we 'essayer une pierre
 comme meule') ¶¶ P 18-22, EI 509, M K I 61, F I 52, ≈ 59, WH I 7, 11, Vn. O
 6, YGM-1 287, 347, Schz. 119, KM 151, Ho. S 14, Ho 87, EWA II 955-6, Kb.
 196, O 12, Frn. 19, Vs. III 166-7, StSS 421, Glh. 460, Sl. 123, Wn. I 157,
 Ad. 37, Ad. H 131, DRS 446 || K: G eḳ̄-al-i 'thorn', G Ms heḳ̄-al-i id.; (×
 N *χako|aR̄∇ ≈ top part, tip, extremity) Sv: USv {TK} hoḳ̄er, LSv {TK}
 woḳ̄er 'the very bottom, end (ფსკერი, ძირი, ბოლო, дно, конец)', UB
 {GP} hoḳ̄er 'at the very bottom, below' ¶¶ Chx. 335, TK 897, GP 316, IS I 251
 || A *ok̄'i 'sharp point, spitzes Ende, arrow' > T *ok̄ 'arrow' > OT, Chg, XwT,
 MQp, Chg oq, MOg oχ, Tk ok, Tkm, CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg,
 StAlt, ET, SY, Ln, Tv oq, VTt, Bsh uq, Uz ωq, Az, Yk oχ, Xk uχ id., Tf ḳ̄q
 'bullet'; Chv L ɥxǎ uxɔ 'arrow, shooting bow' ({IS}: < *oq-jāy 'arrow bow'?)
 ¶ Cl. 76, ET Gl 437-8, TL 577, Rs. W 359, Ra. 212, Ash. III 344, Fed. II 296,
 Jeg. 279-80 || Tg *oki > WrMc {Z} oki iōpo 'blunt-headed arrow' (iōpo
 'arrow with a head of bone'), Ewk oki-kta 'fish fun', Ork ōko 'fishing hook',
 Ud {Krm.} o' 'fish gear' ¶ Z 123, 203, STM II 9-10, Krm. 273 || M *oki
 (unless it is *^ook̄i) 'top, Spitze' > WrM oki {MED} 'top', HIM oχɔ {MED}
 id., {BMR} 'top, Wipfel', WrO oki 'top, summit', ? Kl {KRS} ok okɔ, {Rm.}
 okj 'erster starker Branntwein (bei der Destillierung)' (← 'Spitze?') ¶ MED
 607, BMR II 505-6, Krg. 118, KW 284, KRS 393 || pJ {S} *àkuàyaì
 'pheasant's spur' > OJ ak̄oye, MJ àk̄oyè ¶ S QJ no. 751 ¶¶ SDM 1046 (pA
 *òk'â 'sharp point, notch' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 17, Rs. W 359, Pp. VG 98,
 134, Pp. VG 98, 134, KW 284 || U: FU *^ookk̄∇ > BF *okka 'thorn', *okas /
 *okkaha - 'thorn, spine, prick' with a secondary variant *oγas
 (generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation) > F oka / gen. oan, Δ
 okka 'thorn', F oas 'thorn, spine, prick', Δ okkas, Krl Ld ogaz id., Vp ogaz
 ɔ ogah 'thorn, awn of a plant ear', Es okas / gen. okka 'thorn, prickle' ||
 AdS of Sm {Jn., Hl.} *uk̄ɜ 'tip, front part' < N *^rh₂¹ôk̄U 'head' (q.v.) ¶¶ SK
 423-4, ZM 376, Jn. 30, Hl. M no. 1113, KKIH 191 || ? HS: S *^o✓^rɣwḳ̄_lḳ̄_l > Ar
 ɣawāqq- pl. 'petits rejetons qui poussent au haut de la tige du palmier' ¶ BK
 II 306 ¶¶ The Ar cognate is qu., because it is isolated within HS ◇ If Ht

akw- belongs here, the IE reflex suggests N *ɸ- or *h- (the only lrs that do not yield Ht h-, preserve the infl. of the following N vw. in NaIE and yield zero in K). Without Ht akw- and without the S cognate the N rec. will be *h|ɸ|hok̥i. If the S cognate belongs here, the N rec. must be *ɸok̥i ◊ IS I 251-2 (*Hok̥i; IE, K, A, U), Rs. W 359 (A, U) ◊ ≈ Gr. II #18 (*ok 'arrow\point').

124. *ɸuk̥a (or *ɸuk̥ɳa, *ɸAwuk̥a, *ɸAwuk̥ɳa?) 'see', 'eye' > HS: S [1] *ɸɳk̥- > Ug {OLS} ɸk̥ 'pupil of the eye', [2] SWS *ɸ-ɸūk̥- (?) > Gz -ɸūk̥- (pf. ɸōk̥a, js. -ɸūk̥) v. 'know, understand, take notice, observe', Amh **ዐወቀ** awwəqə v. 'know, be familiar with', Har āk̥a id.; the EthS word is hardly a Cushitism (⇔ C, L, IS, AD SF), because its presumable Agaw origin does not account for the preservation of the ancient labial element -ū-/-ō-/-w- of the stem, and the EC origin cannot explain the cns. k̥ ¶ OLS 86, C SE I 234, L G 78-9, IS I 255, AD SF 264 || C: Ag *-ɸ̣ak̥- v. 'see, know' > Q {R} ax- ~ ah- v. 'see', Aw {Hz.} -aq-, Km {Ap.} ax-, {CR} ax- v. 'know' || C → Mb {Fl.} axo v. 'see' || EC: [1] Dl: Hr {AMS} ɸax-iččé (pl. ɸáxxe), Dbs {AMS} ɸaxačče, Gln {AMS} ɸix-té (pl. ɸíxxe), Gwd {AMS} ɸaxa, Cm {Hbl.} ɸaxĩte 'eye'; [2] ɸ EC *ɸ̣og- ({Ss.} *ɸog-) 'know' > Sml óg 'knowing', wân óg ahày 'I know', Rn -óg- 'aware of', ógahe 'be aware of, know', Dsn ɸóg adj. 'knowing', Or {Grg.} og-ēssa (< *og-ayš-a) 'one who knows, wise, expert' (→ Brj o'gayš'i 'one who knows, skilful person, specialist, expert', Amh wəgešša 'local medical practitioner'); Sd {Gs.} egen- v. 'know'; this EC cognate is highly problematic because of its initial and medial cnss; hardly here Kns, Gdl akk- 'see' (acc. to Bl. 250, from EC *ɸark-, see N *ɸaṚ,ɳ,ka 'see, observe') ¶ AD SF 264, R QW 21-2, Ap. K 331, Ap. AV 2 (Ag *ɸak̥- 'know'), Ss. B 154, Grg. 303, PG 240, Th. 259, Gs. 89, To. DL 483, AMS 231, Fl. p.c. || WCh: NgzB: Ngz {Sch.} ì:k- / (y)k- 'see, look' (3s p. ìkáy), Bd {IL in JI} íkà, {Sch. in ChL} ì:kân v. 'see' ¶ JI II 284, Sch. DN 80-1, ChC s.v. 'see', ChL I 260 || IE: *H^wek^w- / *Heuk̥- 'eye', v. 'learn': [1] IE *H^wek^w- ({EI} *h₃ok^w-) 'eye' (> NaIE stems *ok^w-(s)- ~ *ok^wi-, d.: *ok^w-o-, *ok^w-yo-, *ok^w-m̥-) > OI 'ak̥i ntr., ak̥ī- f. 'eye', Av du. aš i 'eyes' || Arm աղխ ak̥n id., gen. աղխն ak̥an, pl. nom. աչք աճ^h-k^h, pl. gen. աչաք աճ^h-ac^h || Gk ὄψ (gen. ὀπ-όψ) 'eye, face', Gk D [Hs.] ὄκκον accus. 'eye', Gk Hm ὄσσε 'eyes' (Arm աճ^h-k^h and Gk ὄσσ- < *ok^w-y-; acc. to Me. EAC, *-y- belongs to the marker of du.), Gk ὄψ * 'sight, face' (in set phrases, cds and ds: εἶς ὄψα '[to look one] in the face, Auge in Auge', μύ-ωψ 'short-sighted', ὄπῆ 'view, sight, look, aspect', ὄπ-ὄπ-τα 'part of the face under the eyes' etc.) || L oculu 'eye' ||

Lt *akìs* (du. *akì*), Ltv *acs* | pSl **ōko* 'eye', du. **ōčī* > OCS **око** око / du. **оун** оči, Blg **око** / pl. **очи**, SCr **око** / pl. **оči**, Slv **okō** / pl. **očī**, Cz, Slk, P **oko**, R **око** / pl. **очи** ||| pTc {Ad.} **ek-* > Tc A **ак**, B **ек** 'eye' ||| **[2]** IE **h^ωek^ω* - 'hole' (← 'eye') > Gk **ὀπή** 'hole' (esp. in a roof); Erdloch, Fuchshohle' ||| Lt *ãkas* 'ice hole', Ltv *aka* 'spring, source' ||| **[3]** IE **H^ωek^ω-(y)-* v. 'see, watch, show' > Av **axš-**, Gk **ὄσσομαι**, ft. **ὄψομαι**, pfc. **ὄπωπα** v. 'see', OFrs **āuwa** ~ **āwia**, AS **éawian** ~ **éawan** ~ **éowan** 'to show' ||| **[4]** IE **Heuk-* / **Houk-* 'eye', v. 'learn' ({EI} **h₁euk-* 'become accustomed') > pGmc **auhan* 'eye' ({trad.} **auhan*) > Gt **augō**, ON **auga**, OSx **ōga**, OHG **ouga**, NHG **Auge**, AS **éazē** 'eye' (> NE **eye**); Gt **bi-ūhts** 'gewohnt' ||| Clt {Mastas.} **u-n-k-o-* 'understand' > OIr **do-uccai** id. ||| Lt **jūnkti** (pres. **jūnkstu**) 'to get accustomed', Ltv **jūkt** 'accustomed', Lt **jaukinti**, Ltv **jaukt** vt. 'to accustom', Pru **iaukint** 'to exercise (üben)' | SI **uč-í-ti*, **uk-* / **v+k-* > OCS and OR **оун-ти**, R **учи-ть**, SCr **učī-ti**, Cz **učī-ti** 'to teach', P **uczyc-ć** id., OR **оукъ** 'learning', R **на-ука** 'learning, experience, science', SI **vǵk-nq-ti* 'to learn' > OCS **вѣк-нѣ-ти** *vǵk-nq-ti*, SCr **vǵknuti** id., R **(при-)вык-ну-ть** 'to get accustomed' ||| OI **ucca-ti** 'is accustomed to', Sgd **uccat** 'teaches' ||| Arm **nuwuh** **h** **usanim** 'I learn' ||| OIr **to-ucc-** v. 'understand' ¶ P 775-7, EI 4, 188 (without connecting between roots for 'become accustomed' and 'eye'), Mn. 882-3, M K I 16, M E I 42-3, F II 281, 407-8, 1154, Ch. 811-12, Fs. 64, 97, Vr. 19, Ho. 83, ≈ 87, Ho. S 56, KM 38, Kb. 751, Vn. U 13, Slr. 20-2, 264-5, IS I 255 (IE **Heuk-* > Gmc), Frn. 196-7, En. 183, Tr. P I-K 22-3, SJSS VII 357, Vs. I 368 and IV 179-80, StSS 160, 409, 756, Glh. 452, 649, Wn. I 141, Ad. 74-5, Ad. H 17, 37, 42, 137, Matas. E 400 ¶ I am grateful to Blz. for convincing me to adduce SI **učī-* in spite of the semantic distance between 'eye' and 'learn' (≡σ M) ||| ?φ **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) **wok∇-* (or **wox∇-*) v. 'see, look' > OHg **ó-**, Hg **óv-** v. 'protect' (← v. 'look after') | pObU **wī-*, **wīj-* / **wīy-* v. 'see' > pVg **wī-*, **wīy-* / **wīx-*, **wāy-* id. > Vg: UL/Ss **wā-**, **wāx-**, P **wē-**, **wēx-**, NV/SV/LL **way-**, **ū-**, T **wā^ʔ-**, **wa^ʔ-**, **wāy-**, **way-**, LK **wā-**, **wāy-**, **ū-**, MK **ū-**, UK **wē-**, **wāy-**, **ū-** v. 'see'; pOs **wu-*, **wuy-* id. > Os: V **wu-**, Vy/Y/K/Kr **u-**, **uy-**, Ty **wu-**, **wuy-**, Nz **u-**, Kz **wɔ-** v. 'see' ¶ MF 508-9, Ht. no. 652 ¶ The cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: **-k-* → **-x-* for the expected **-kk-*, the change **u-* > **wo-* (probably through **wu-*?) ||| **A** **uk'a* 'look into, understand' > NaT **u₁;₁k-* v. 'understand, find out' > OT, MQp **uq-**, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET, Tb **uq-** v. 'understand', Qrg, StAlt, ET **Δ uq-** v. 'hear, listen', Xk **ux-** 'hear,

understand', Az Mgn uΨ-uz 'knowing much, wise' ¶ Cl. 77-8, DTS 613, Rs. W 511-12, ET Gl 584-5 || M *uqa- v. 'learn, notice, understand' > MM [S, HI] uqa- id., [MA] وقا | uqa- v. 'understand', WrM uqa- {MED} 'understand, know, comprehend, realize', HIM yxa- {MED} id., {BMR} 'understand', Kl {Rm.} uxā- 'verstehen, begreifen, denken', WrO uxā- 'understand, perceive, be aware'; ⇨ M *uqaγan > WrM uqaγan {MED} 'intellect, mind, intelligence, reason', HIM yxaan {MED} id., {BMR} 'intellect, mind, intelligence, Bewußtsein', Brt yxaa(н) 'Vestand, Vernunft (ум, разум, рассудок)', Kl {KRS} yxan id., 'Bewußtsein', {Rm.} uxān 'Vernunft, Verstand, Berechnung', Ord ux^{wā} 'intelligence, esprit, mémoire, ruse' ¶ H 160, H SMG I 23, H SMD 57, MED 890-1, BMR III 377, Chr. 482, KW 447, KRS 543, Krg. 162, Ms. H 105-6, Ms. O 726, Lew. II 82, Pp. MA 365, Cl. 77-8 (supposing: that M is borrowed from T) || pJ {S} *úká-(n)káρ- v. 'look into, inquire' > OJ ukakar-, MJ ukagaρ- id., J T ùkaga-, J K úkágá-, J Kg ukagá- {Kenk.} 'watch (wait) for, look (out) for' ¶ S QJ no. 197, Mr. 778, Kenk. 2090 || Tg *oksa > Lm oΨsa- 'think, ponder (how to live\survive in the next winter)', Ewk oksa- 'think over, change one's mind', ? Nn Nh/KU oksa- 'be offended, beleidigt sein (обидеться)' (sem. infl. of Nn Nh/KU aksa- id. < Tg *aksa- id.) ¶ STM I 25 and II 11, On. 32, 308, Pt. 96 ¶¶ SDM 1490-1 (pA *úk'u- 'understand, look into' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 2503, SDM95 s.v. *uk'a, S AJ 289, KW 447 || ?φ D (in NED) *ak- v. 'know' > Krx ax- v. 'know, realize', Mlt āge v. 'know, understand', āg-re v. 'get accustomed to' ¶ D no. 17, Pf. 184 ¶ NED *a still requires explanation ◇ Hardly here IE *auǵ- 'shine' (see N *^hawk^a 'light [lux], bright') ◇ Blz. IELA 9 [no. 23] (HS, IE) ◇ If EC *ʔog- and FU *wok|ʔ belong here, they apparently point to a N plain *-k- rather than to *-ḳ-, suggesting a N etymon with *-k- + *ʔ- (> *-ḳ- ~ *-k-), sc. N *^huk^ʔa ◇ The vw. *a in D *ak- is still to be explained. It is tempting to suggest that Amh awwekə, Ag *-^hak- and D *ak- point to a N *^hAwuk^ʔa (or *^hAwuk^ʔa) ◇ Cf. IS I 255-6 (IE, A [T, M], HS [C]); IS MS 333.

125. ?σ₂ *^hE^hǵ^ʔ ≈ 'to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) > HS: CS *^hǵ^ʔ ~ *^hǵ^ʔ v. G 'sting' > Sr ^hǵ^ʔ T 'be stung' (by a scorpion\serpent), ^hǵ^ʔ -ā 'aculeus (sting)', JA [Trg.], JEA ^hǵ^ʔ G 'sting' (e.g. of scorpions), MHb ^hǵ^ʔ G 'sting, prick' (of insects, reptiles) ¶ JPS 425, Br. 543, Js. 1107-8, Sl. 877, Klein 482 || B *^haksH (= *äksih?) v. 'eat' > Ah akš, Gd εšš, Izn, Gh, Mtm etc. ač, Kb ačč, Tmz atš, Zng {TC} ešš id. ¶ B *s by as. from *z ¶ Fc. 736, Lf. II no. O164, Nh. 176, Pr. M I-III 58,

MT 729, Dl. 68-70, DCTC 285, NZ 163-9 || **A**: M (unless with * φ -): WrM {MED} ö g z ü g e, HIM {MED} e r z e r 'food for birds' (not registered in BMR) ¶ MED 633 || ? T: OT i g i d- v. 'feed (a person, an animal)', MT [MhK] i g d i l- v. 'be nourished/fed' (× N *H'i'Kæ 'eat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

126. *ʕA1∇ (= *ʕa1E or *ʕā1î) 'height, top', 'climb, go up' > **HS** *ʕa1- 'high place', v. 'ascend' > S *ʕa1- 'height' > Hb נב ʕā1 'height, high place', IA, Nbt, Plm נב ʕ1, Ar عل ʕa1- 'above, upwards', Ug ʕ1 'darüber', Mh ʕā1ēw 'on the top', Hrs 'baʕ1a 'on, on top of', Cn -b→ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} ʕá-l-tá 'upper room'; combined with *la- 'to': IA [Frh.] lʕ1 'up, upwards', Plm lʕ1 'above, upon', Sr ʕʕ ləʕal 'above, on', Gz ḥḥḥ laʕ1e (in modern pronunciation) < OEth *laʕ1a, Tgr ḥḥḥ ʕeʕal, Tgy ḥḥḥ. ʕeʕ1i id.; S du. cs. *ʕalay > prep. *ʕalay 'above, on' > Hb נב ʕal 'on' (+ppa: ʕā'1ēkā < *ʕa'layka 'on thee [m.]' etc.), Ph נב ʕ1, נב ʕ1y, Ug, OA, IA ʕ1 'on', Ar على ʕalā (+ppa: ʕalay-ka 'on thee [m.]'), Sb ʕ1y 'on'; S *ʕ1y, *-ʕalay- v. G 'ascend, go up' > Hb נב ʕ1y G (pf. ʕā'1ā, ip. ʕaʕā'1ē), Ph, Ug ʕ1y G id., Ar ʕ1w G (pf. ʕā'1ā ʕā) v. 'ascend, be high', Sb ʕ1y G v. 'go up to (a place)', Ak elū v. 'travel uphill, go up, ascend'; S adj. *ʕalīy- 'high' > Amr {G} ʕalīy- 'high', Ug {OLS} ʕ1y 'altísimo, excelso', Ar ʕalīy- 'high, elevated, lofty' ¶ KB 770-5, KBR 824-30, OLS 76-8, G A 15, JH 208-12, HJ 842-50, 852-3, Fr. III 215-17, Ln. 2146-7, BK II 352-7, BGMR 15-16, Jo. M 23, Jo. H 8, L G 303-4, CAD IV 114-35, Hlk no. 37, SivCR 78 || Eg fOK ʕr, fMK {EG, Fk.} ʕr [= *ʕ1], {EG} ʕry v. 'mount up, ascend' > DEg ʕ1 > Cpt: Sd ḥḥḥ alēi, B ḥḥḥ alēi, F ḥḥḥ alēi id. ¶ EG I 41, 208, Fk. 11, 45, Er. 67, Vc. 6 || B *Hliy v. 'climb, ascend' (Pcj. I A 3, Fcj. 68) > Kb, Mz ali, pf. 3s yuli, ASgr, Wrg ali 'monter', Shw {Hy.} âli 's'élever en l'air, monter comme un ballon', BSn āli v. 'climb (a tree etc.)', Ah ali, 3s pf. yulāi, ETwl alay v. 'be suspended (in the air)' ¶ Dl. 470-1, Dlh. M 111, Hy. 107, Fc. 1016-17, 2006, GhA 120, Pr. M VI-VII 96 || C: EC {Ss.} *ʕa1- 'mountain, highland' > Sa ʕal, Af ʕale, Rn ḥā1 'mountain', Sml ʕā1 'lofty, coastal range of mountains', Sml Mt ʕal 'high mountain', Arr ʕē1 'mountain', Hr, Dbs, Gln 'ʕale 'highland' ¶ AD SF 140-1, Ss. PEC 35, Oo. 70, PG 135, PH 53-4, AMS 150, 195, Lm. SD 312, Hw. A 339 || Ch: WCh *ʕaly- v. 'stand up' {Stl.} > pAG *yaHa1 (< *yaʕal from *ʕaly-, which Stl. explains by mt.) > Su {J} yāʕā1, Ang {Flk.} yā1, Tal {Sh.} ʕyō1 || Tng ʕi1, {J} ile, Dr yil || Gj {Sh.} hilya 'stand up' ¶ JI II 306, Stl. ZCh 228 [no. 765], J S 88 ¶¶ Coh. no. 58 (S, Eg, B, C), AD SF 140-1 (C, S, Eg, B), Vc. 6 (Eg, S, B) || **U** *ā1∇- v. 'raise, lift, carry' > pObU {Ht.} *ālam- v.

'raise, lift' > pVg * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ - id. > Vg: T $\bar{a}lm$ -, LK $\bar{u}lm$ -, MK $\bar{u}lm$ -, P/LL alm -/ $\bar{a}lm$ -, NV/SV/ML/ UL, Ss $\bar{a}lm$ - id., LK $\bar{u}l\bar{e}mk\bar{a}t$ - v. 'rise' ('sich erheben'); pOs * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ - v. 'raise, lift' > Os: V/Vy $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, Ty/Y $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, D/K $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, Nz $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, Kz $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ -, O $\bar{a}l\bar{a}m$ - id. | ? Hg $\bar{e}mel$ - v. 'lift, raise' (mt.) || Sm {Jn.} * ilb - ~ * $uilb$ - v. 'raise' > Ne T {Ter.} $il\bar{a}$ -, O {Lh.} $uil\bar{a}$ -, Ne FL $uirra$ - v. 'raise', Ng $jil\bar{a}ji$ id., En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. X $i'l\bar{a}bo$, B $ji'r\bar{a}bo$ id., Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. $\bar{u}lab$ 'I weighed', Kms {KD} $jil\bar{d}b\bar{u}l\bar{e}m$ ~ $\bar{c}il\bar{d}b\bar{u}l\bar{e}m$ 'in die Höhe heben' ¶¶ Coll. 5, UEW 24, MF 152-3, LG 211, Ht. no. 27, Jn. 26, Ter. 139, Lh. 126-7, KD 16 || **A** (?) * al - 'mountain' or 'hill' > T * $o\bar{a}l\bar{u}k$ > Qrg {RL} $al\bar{u}q$ ~ $aluq$ 'peak, summit' ¶ RL. I 372, Cl. 135-6 || M: WrM {MED} ala , HIM {MED} al 'flat-topped hill' (not registered in BMR), unless borrowed from Mc (WrMc {Z} $al\bar{a}$ 'hill, flat-topped mountain') ¶ MED 26 || Tg: WrMc {Z} $al\bar{u}n\bar{h}$ 'mountain', Mc Sb {Y} $\bar{a}l\bar{u}n$ 'mountain, hill', {Mrm.} $al\bar{u}n$ 'Berg, Berge, Gebirge', Jrc {Lg., Kiy.} $al\bar{u}n$ 'mountain'; Tg * $al\bar{u}$ 'hill, small mountain' > WrMc {Z} $al\bar{a}$ 'hill, flat-topped mountain', Nn Nh/Bk ala 'small mountains' (not registered by On.); the pTg word * al - a (but not Mc $al\bar{u}n$) results from a merger with the $\sqrt{*al\bar{a}}$ - v. 'cross mountains' < A * $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ -, due to the merger of A * l and * \bar{l} in Tg) ¶ STM I 27-8, Z 32-4, Y no. 2067, Klz. MS 100, Kiy. 99 [no. O39], Lg. IDT 225, Md. ChF 133 || **IE** * hel - 'high' (× IE * hal - [or * hel -] 'feed, nourish') > L $altus$ 'high', Clt. {Matas.} * $altu$ - 'height, cliff' (> Mir alt 'height, shore', W $allt$ 'forest hill') ¶ P 126, Lehm. GED 29-30, LIV 262, Matas. E 30 \diamond Blz. IELA 8 [no. 19] (HS, IE) $\diamond \neq$ AD LRC no. 64 (S * $\sqrt{f}l$ 'on, above, top' ÷ IE * al -, * ol - 'over, on the other side' ÷ A * $olam$ - v. 'ford'), \neq IS I 274-5 (HS * $\sqrt{f}l\omega y$ [presumably 'cross a mountain'] > Ak $el\bar{u}$ *'cross mountains', Gz $\sqrt{f}l\omega y$ {Di.} 'transgredi') ÷ IE * hel - 'on the other side' ÷ A * $\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ 'cross a mountain'). But in the light of new ev. the Ak and Gz roots do not mean 'cross mountains' or anything similar, so that these earlier comparisons are not plausible. \approx Gr. II no. 10 (* ol 'arise'). \diamond Hardly here G $ma\bar{u}ali$ 'high' adj., $ma\bar{u}la$ 'high' adv., $ma\bar{u}l$ - 'höher machen' (Chx. 729-30, Chik. 243); it would have been tenable if the $\sqrt{}$ had been $-u\bar{a}l$ -/ $-u\bar{l}$ -, but K² 5 analysed the word as $m\bar{-}a\bar{u}\bar{-}al$ - 'high' < GZ * $a\bar{u}$ - 'up, upwards'. If nevertheless the G cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was * \bar{u} -.

127. * $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ (or * $\bar{a}h\bar{u}$?) 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formula etc.) to produce a particular result' > HS: S * $\sqrt{f}l\omega y$ > Sr $\sqrt{f}l\omega y$ *Sh* (pf. $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$) v. 'act perversely', $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ 'scelus, injuria'; CS * $\sqrt{f}l\omega y$ v. 'burn a sacrifice' > BHb $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ ~ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$, BA $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ 'sacrifice which is wholly burnt', IA [Eleph.] $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$, SmA $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ $\bar{a}l\bar{u}$

'burnt offering', JA אֲתָנָה $\text{ʕ}^{\text{a}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'sacrifice', Sr אֲתָנָה $\text{ʕ}^{\text{a}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'offering, holocaust, sacrifice; altar', Plm אֲתָנָה $\text{ʕ}^{\text{a}}\text{l}\text{t}^{\text{p}}$ 'altar' ¶ L G 61-2, Tal 637, Br. 527, KB 785-6, KBR 830-1, KB LVT 1108, JPS 416 || ECh: Smr {J} פֹּחַל vt. 'burn' ¶ JI II 55, ChC s.v. 'burn' tr. || IE *H₂el- (\approx *Hal-) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' ({EI} *h₂el- 'burn') > OI alātān 'a firebrand, coal' (\leftarrow *'burnt') || ? Gk [Hs.] ἀλάβη ($\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{β}\eta$) 'coal' || L altāria ntr. pl. 'altar (for sacrifice)' (\leftarrow *al-t-āli-, F EM 43), ad-oleō 'I am burning (a sacrifice)', Um uʔetu 'adolesco, in order to burn' (\leftarrow Itc *ol-) || Sw Δ {P \leftarrow Joh.} ala v. 'blaze, flame' ¶ IS I 276, P 28, EI 87, M K I 55, WH I 13-14, 32, Bc. G 350, Ch. 52 || ?φ K *h₂al- v. 'flame', n. 'flame' > G al-i 'flame', al- (1s v-a-al-eb) 'aufflammen lassen', al-d-eba 'flammt auf', G Ing haln- v. 'burn, flame', Sv UB hāl (pl. hal-är) 'flame' ¶¶ Chx. 12, 14, Jan. 274, TK 893, Ni. s.v. 'пламя' || U: FU *al∇- v. 'utter magical words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N [on. ?] *hal∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: NaT *āl > OT {Cl.} āl 'device' (esp. 'dishonourable device'), 'deceit, guile, dirty trick', {DTS} 'ruse, contrivance, artful advice (хитрость, уловка, ухищрение, хитроумный совет)', Tk Δ al 'ruse', Tkm āl 'ruse, contrivance, archness', Az Δ al 'archness, a lie', Chg/MU {Rl.} al 'Schlauheit, List, Betrug, Strategie' ¶ Cl. 120, 138, ET Gl 126-7, 137-8, Rl. I 349 || M: WrM {SDM} alašira- 'deceive', HIM {BMR} алшра- 'schlau\hinterlistig sein, tückisch/ unaufrichtig handeln', d.: Brt алярха- 'соблазнять, сманивать' ¶ Hardly identical with pM {SDM} *aliya- 'frolic, tricky', WrM {MED} aliya 'playful, naughty, mischievous'. HIM алия {MED, BMR} id. and Brt алярха- 'резвиться, баловаться, проказничать' ¶ SDM 288, BMR I 32, 76, 82, Chr. 46 || ?? Ko {Rm.} alcin alcin haḍa 'deceive, adulate' ¶ Rm. SKE 8 ¶¶ SDM 288-9 (pA *āli- 'deceive, trick' > T, M *aliya- 'deceive' + unc.: M *aliya 'frolic, tricky', Tg *ali-, *alak- 'be angry, endure, envy', pJ *ira- v. 'play, tamper with, concern oneself with' and pKo *irbēn- 'steal'), \neq Vv. AEN 13 (rejected the Ko cognate as "an obvious onomatopoeic word") ◇ Sv and G Ing h- and the long vw. in T point to a N word with a lr. in the Inlaut (*ʕah∇I∇?) ◇ Cf. IS I 140 (HS, IE, [with a query] K). IS considered the et. dubious, since he envisaged an alt. explanation: the IE stem \leftarrow S. But now, in the light of the U cognate (unknown to IS), the et. becomes more plausible ◇ AD NM no. 122, S CNM 9 and S SN 155 (semantic doubts about the A cognate).

128. *ʕā'īU 'know' > HS: CS (+ ext.) *ʕilm 'know' > Ar ʕilm G id. (pf. ʕalima, ip. -ʕlam-), ʕilm- 'knowledge', (ʕ) Ug {A} ʕilm G 'kennen (?), ʕilm 'kundig, wohlunterrichtet' (the Ug root is not mentioned in OLS) ¶ A

no. 2035, Hv. 495 || **U** *ä|l|üwä- (< **ä|l|ü-): FP *älüwä- v. 'notice, catch sight of; understand' > F äly 'intelligence, understanding', älyä-, älytä- v. 'understand', Lp L ieÍvē ~ äÍvē- 'merken, bemerken, gewahr werden', Z P al 'Verstand, Vernunft' ¶ UEW 609-10, W SDW 2, SZ 11, LG 30, SK 1872 || **D** *e:|l|l- 'knowledge, wisdom' > Kui ēlu, elki 'mind, reason, thought', Ku ēđu 'wisdom', Brh hēl 'knowledge, wisdom' ¶¶ D no. 912 ◇ D *e:|l|l as cognate with U *ä is irregular and needs investigating ◇ S *-m- in *√f|lm is likely to go back to the N nominalizer *m A (q.v.) (pre-S n. act. **fa∇l-∇m- 'knowledge').

129. *foI∇ (= *foIü?) 'starve, die; dead' > **HS**: EC: Af {PH} fu|ul 'famine, shortage of food', fu|ule- 'be famished, be starved', Sa {R} fo|l̄l- 'Hunger leiden', fo|l̄l 'Hungersnot' ¶ PH 62, R S II 62, 432 || ?σ S: possibly Ar √fy|G (ip. -f|l-) 'become poor\destitute' ¶ BK II 422-3, Hv. 513 || **IE** {EI} *wel- 'die' > NaIE *wel- 'dead', 'die' > OLT vēlēš ~ vēlēš 'ghost (soul of a dead person)', Lt vēlē 'soul of a dead person, ghost', Ltv vēlis (pl. vēli) id., Lt vēlionis 'the deceased, Verstorbener', OLT vēlinas, Lt vēlnias, Ltv vēlīns 'devil, deuce' || Tc A wäl, wal- 'die' || ? Gmc *wal- 'bodies of those slain in battle' (× N *w∇L'h'∇ 'to hit, to attack' [→ 'to wound, to kill'], q.v. ffd.) || Lw {Mlc.} walliya- 'of the dead' ¶¶ EI 150, ≈ P 1144, Tr. 548, Frn. 1218-19, Wn. I 554-5, Mlc. CL 253 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of the prehistory of IE vowels (AD NVIE), N *o changed into pre-IE *u (> IE *we-) before *u|ü of the next syll. || **A** *öl'ü¹- 'die', 'be hungry, starve' > T *öl- 'die' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV (incl. CC), XwT XIII, Chg XV öl-, Tkm, Az, ET, Ln, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv, Yk öl-, Tk öl-, Uz ұл- ωl-, VTt, Bsh, Slr ül-, Tf ŷl- id., Chv вил- 'die', SY öl- ~ yül- id., 'be dead' ¶ Cl. 125-6, ET Gl 525-7, Md. 50, 172, Ra. 214, Ash. V 220-35, Fed. I 122, Jeg. 53-4, Rs. W 371, Dr. TM II 112, 162-3 || **M** *ölü- 'starve, be hungry', *öl∇ 'hunger, hungry' > WrO ölü- id. ~ öl- 'be hungry', ölöd n. 'hunger', Kl {Rm.} ölö 'hungry', Ord öl 'faim'; ⇨ : [1] M *ölüη 'starvation, famine, hunger' > WrM {MED} ölür, HIM {MED} елөн(г) (not registered in BMR), Kl {Rm.} öln ~ öln id.; [2] M *ölön 'hungry' > WrM {Cev.} ölön id., {MED} ölür 'starving, hungry', HIM {MED} елөн(г) id., {Luv., BMR} елөн 'hungry, not having eaten', Brt үлэн, WrO ölön, Kl {KRS} елн, {Rm.} öln 'hungry', Ord ölön 'qui est à jeûne, affamé'; [3] M *ölüs- 'be hungry, suffer starvation\famine' > WrM {MED} ölüs-, HIM {MED, BMR} елсе - 'become\feel hungry; suffer starvation\famine', MM [L] ölüs-, [S] {H} olos- ~ oles-, [HI, MA] öles- id.,

Ord *ölös*- 'avoir faim', WrO *ölös*- 'feel hunger, starve', Brt *үлэсэ*- 'go hungry', Kl {KRS} *өлс*- 'starve, go\be hungry', {Rm.} *öls*- 'hungern, hungrig sein', MMgl *úlēs*, Mgl {Rm.} *úlās*-, Dx {T} *únsú*- 'be hungry', Mnr H {T} *lose*- 'be hungry', {SM} *losэ*- 'avoir faim', *losž_i fug_u*- 'mourir de faim'; ⇨ [3a] M **ölüskü₁∇₁* 'hunger' > MM [MA] *öleskü*, HIM {BMR} *өлсөхүй* id.; MM [IM] *ölüsükč*i** 'hungry'; ⇨ [3b] M **ölüsküleŋ* 'hunger, famine, starvation' > MM [IsV] *ölüsküleŋ*, [MA] *öleskülen* ~ *ölesküleŋ* id., WrM {MED} *ölüsküleŋ* id., 'hungry', HIM {MED} *өлсөглөн(г)* id., {BMR} *өлсгөлөн(г)* 'hunger, famine; hungry', Mnr H {T} *loseguloŋ*, Dx {T} *oliesulan*, Mgl {Lg.} *ólaskúlaŋ* ~ *úlaskúlaŋ* 'hunger, famine, starvation'; [4] HM *өлгүй* 'nicht nahrhaft; nicht sättigend; not having eaten (неевший), hungry', Brt *үлгүй* 'nicht nahrhaft'; [4a] M **ölügle*- v. 'starve, be hungry' > WrM *ölügle*-, HIM {MED, BMR} *өлөглө*- id.; [5] M **ölber*- 'suffer extreme hunger, starve' > WrM {MED} *ölber*- ~ *ölmer*-, HIM {MED} *өлөврө*- ~ {MED, BMR} *өлбөрө*-, WrO *ölbare*- id., Ord *ölbör*- 'être épuisé de faim'; [6] M **ölüde*- 'be hungry' > WrM {Cev.} *ölüde*- 'be very hungry', HIM *өлдө*- {Cev.} id., {BMR} id., 'get hungry (проголодаться)', WrO *ölöd* n. 'hunger', Ord *öllöd_ö*- 'avoir faim' (animaux), Brt *үлдэ*- 'go\be hungry' ¶ Ms. H 84, H 123-3, Pp. L II 1260, Pp. MA 275-6, 443, Lg. VMI 61, MED 633-5, BMR III 15-18, Chr. 500, 502, Kow. 529-30, Luv. 318-20, Cev. 434-5, KRS 414-15, KW 294-5, SM 226, Krg. 140-1, T 343, T DnJ 131, Iw. 144, Ms. O 530-2, Chr. 499-502, MYC 541-2 || Tg: Ewk *ulbin*- 'go hungry', *ulbiṃçэ*- 'hungry' ¶ STM II 258, SDM 1049 (Tg **χ₁olbu*- > Ewk *ulbin*-, *ulbiṃçэ*- + err. Ewk *элбу*- 'shadow; phantom; soul of a dead person [remaining on earth], cf. STM 445) ¶¶ Tg **-lb*- < ***-l_w*- < pA **-lû*-? ¶¶ SDM 1049 (pA **ōli|e* 'die; be hungry, be exhausted' > Tg [reconstructed as **χ₁olbu*- 'soul of the dead, shadow'] , M **öl*- 'be hungry; hungry', T), DQA no. 1567, KW 295, Rm. EAS I 146, Pp. VG 108, S AJ 281 || ?σ D (in McTm) **o|ula*- (× N **g₁úL∇* 'to destroy', q.v.) > Tm *ula*- 'become diminished, die, terminate', Ml *ulakkuka*- 'shrink up' ¶ D no. 671 ◇ The Sa/Af initial *ɣ*- and the AnIE initial zero point to a N **ɣ*- ◇ The supposed IE and A reflexes of this etymon may be alternatively (but less plausibly) explained as belonging to N **w₁∇L'h'∇* '↑' or N **g₁úL∇* 'to destroy, to fight' (q.v.).

130. **ɣ₁g^hæ^hʔ₁u* or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) **ɣ^hæ^hʔ₁u* 'reddish, yellow, brown' > HS: EC **ɣaw*- 'yellow, reddish, light brown' > Sml N {Abr.} *ǰáw* 'yellowness', Sml C {DSI} *ɣaw*(*l*)an 'be reddish-grey

(grigio rossiccio)', Kns aʷl- 'brown', Hr, Dbs ʕàʷl-àkkó 'grey, green, light brown, sand-colored, gold-colored', Gln ʕàʷl-àkkó 'yellow', Gwd ʕàʷl-ètté 'yellow', Sa ʕɔʷla 'dust storm' ¶ Bl. 211, Ss. PEC 46, Abr. S 18, AMS 150, 195, 244, DSI 96 || IE *H̑elū-/*H̑elw- (if the Ht √ belongs here, = *χ̑elū-/*χ̑elw-) 'reddish, yellow' ({EI} *h̑elū- 'dull red') > OI ar u'ṛa-h̑ 'reddish, gold-yellow', ar u'ṣa-h̑ 'fire-colored', Av aur uša- 'white' || Gmc *elwa- 'brown, yellow' > OHG ëlō (aadj. ëlŵêr) 'brown, yellow, yellowish' > MHG ël (aadj. ëlŵer), NGr Sw älv 'fahl, weißgelb' (of sheep), NGr Sb elb 'blaßgelb' || ? Ht {Pv.} hahli-, {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow', {Pv.} hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; the Ht. word suggests a variant with reduplicated lr. (or an original form of the √?) *χ̑eχ̑lu- ¶ P 302-3, EI 481, M K I 49, Ts. E I 123ff., Frd. HW EG I 3, Pv. II 3-5 (deriving Ht hahli- from hahhal- 'greenery, verdure'; if he is right, the Ht cognate is to be rejected), OsS 132, EWA II 1060-2, Kb. 198 || A ≈ *ālv or [?] *ālv' (× pA *ṛūlv 'red, pink, yellow') > NaT *āl 'red, scarlet, yellow' > OT āl 'scarlet', 'brown' (of eyes), MQp XIII-XIV al 'dust- or ash-colored', 'chestnut tending towards yellow', [CC] al 'bright red', Tkm āl 'bright red, pink', Tk al id., 'chestnut' (of horses), Az al 'scarlet, red', VTt al 'scarlet, pink'; T → M: WrM {MED} al, HIM ал {MED} 'red, scarlet, vermilion', {BMR} 'red, vermillion, яркий', Kl {KRS} ал улан id. (улан is 'red'), {Rm.} al 'hellrot', Brt ал шара 'красно-желтый' ¶ Cl. 120-1, DTS 31-2, ET Gl 125-6, Rl. I 349-50, MED 26, BMR I 69. KW 6, KRS 33, Chr. 39, Dr. TM II 94-5 ¶ The long pT vw. (preserved in Tkm) suggests a N postvoc. lr.; the back vw. *a may be due to the synharmonic ass. infl. of the lost N back vw. *u of the second syll. || ?σ M *öle ≈ 'e grey' (× pA *ṛūlv 'red, pink, yellow', with M *ö- either belonging to the heritage of pA *ṛūlv or being due to regr. as. in pA *ālv) > MM [S] öle 'dark-grey', WrM öle {Gl.} 'сизый (dove-colored, warm grey), skewbald (пегий, желзистого цвета)', HIM {BMR} өл 'dove-colored (сизый)' (of animals), 'grey (сивый), scheckig (пегий)' (of horses), Brt үлэ 'dove-colored (сизый)' (of horses), 'grey (сивый)' (of doves), Kl {KRS} өл 'сизый, сивый', {Rm.} ölö 'graugesprenkelt', Ord ölö 'gris' ¶ The M rounded vw. *ö may reflect the infl. of the ancient word-final *-u|ü ¶ Gl. I 303, BMR III 14, Chr. 502, KRD 413, KW 294-5, Ms. O 531, Dr. TM I 145-6, Rs. W 371, H 122 ¶ Acc. to DM 1032 and DQA no. 1541 the T root *āl- and M *öle go back to A *ṛūlv, i.e. {AD} *ṛūlv (which is the source of Tg *ṛule 'алый, румяный, роховый', pKo *nùrí- 'yellow' and pJ *mùrà-sákì 'purple'), which is

possible (as the second source of T *ā|- and the main source of M *öle) ◇
The long vw. in T and the absence of any non-initial lr. in IE *Helu-/ *Helw-
may be explained by supposing a N lr. (*ʔ|h?) after *Ā ◇ If M *öle- belongs
here, the vw. *ö- may be explained by reg. as. of labiality (*ä...u > **ö...ü >
M *ö...Ē), suggesting N *ʔ|gāĀĀ|-.

131. (₂?) *ʔ|ulŕê 'recent' (→ 'new, young') > HS: WS *ʔū|-, *√ʔw| 'child,
young of an animal' > BHb עוּל ʔū|, JA אַלְעוּל ʔaw'|-ā 'baby, sucking child',
MHb הַעוּל ʔū'|-ā 'girl', Pun ʔl 'nursling', Ug ʔl 'young of animal' ('lamb'
etc.), 'member of a clan', OA ʔl 'foal', Sr ʔū'|-ā 'foetus, infans', ʔū'|-ā
ʔī'|-ā 'foal', Md ʔula 'embryo, foetus', Gz ʔawā| 'young of animal, foal,
colt'; in BHb ʔū|, Sr ʔū'|-ā etc. there is contamination with S *√ʔw|
'suckle' ¶ pS lost the second **ʔ of the expected √**√ʔ(w)|ʔ (haplology)
¶ KB 753-4, HJ 843, OLS 77, Br. 516, DM 343, L G 78 || ʔ Eg L ʔʔ 'child (?)'
(< ʔ∇ʔ∇ < **ʔ∇ʔ∇ < **ʔ∇ʔ∇) ¶ EG I 169 || U: FU {Coll.} *ūzē ({{Coll.}
*ūóē), {UEW} *wuzē 'new' > F u u s i (gen. u u d e n), Es u u s (gen. u u e)
'new' | pLp {Lr.} *oðz id. > Lp: S {Hs.} u r r e, U {Schl.} u d d a, L {LLO} ā t ā, N
{N} q d â s / - d d -, Kld o t t | Er, Mk o d 'new, young' | pChr *ū 'new' > Chr L/H
ʔ u, Chr Uf u, Chr B u w | Prm *vú' 'new' > Z, Vt v + í, Vt K/G v í í || Hg ú j
'new' || Hl. (p.c., 1976) suggested to adduce Slq Tz o c + k 'again' ¶¶ Coll.
121, UEW 587, Sm. 551 (FU *w u d i 'new' > FP *v u d i, Ugr *w u d i), Lr. no.
800, Lgc. no. 4481, Hs. 1381, Ber. 81 [no. 438], LG 72 || ?σ A: Tg *ul∇ >
Ewk {Vas.} uli 'small', ulukūn id., WrMc {Z} ʔ n x ě n b 'little by little
(понемногу, мало-помалу)' ¶ STM II 261, Vas. 438, 440, Z 162 ◇ AD
LZL 364-5 (on *-lŕ- > U *-ẑ-) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 277 (*ud 'new') (U + err. J).

131a. (₂?) *ʔ|gōl∇y∇ 'leaf' > HS: S *ʔa'lay- (or *ʔa'lay-) 'leaf' > BHb
הַעוּל ʔā'|-ē 'leaf, foliage (Blatt. Laub)', JEA עוּל ʔl (s.e. עוּל ʔl?,
vocalization is unknown) 'leaves'; ? perhaps Ak א e l ũ 'sprout' (but more
plausibly it is from N ≈ *ʔ₂'elU 'sprout, twig' or derived from S *√ʔly
'rise') ¶ If Ak א e l ũ belongs here, the pS rec. is *ʔa'lay-, otherwise the initial
cns. may be either *ʔ- or *ʔ- ¶ KB 785, Lv. III 650, Sl. 864, CAD IV 114 || B:
Ah {Fc.} e la, ETwl/Ty {PGG} ʔ la (pl. ilattn) 'feuilles minuscules', Tmz a la
(pl. alāt) 'branche avec feuilles, feuillage' ¶ Fc. 984, PGG 179, MT 366 ||
EC: Sml ʔalēn (pl. ʔalēmō) 'leaf' ¶ ZMO 56, AD SF 161 || Ch: WCh: Pr {Frz.}
á l à w, Jmb {Sk.} á l ú h ú 'leaf' || CCh: ??σ Gzg {Lk.} ʔalar 'Gemüse'; Mofu {Srp.}
({Srp.} "Muffu") è l é 'leaf' ¶ ChC s.v. 'leaf', Sk. NB 28, ChL, Lk. G 117, Srp.
WHM 136 || D: SD *ō|- (*ōlay?) 'leaf' > Tm ō l a j, Kt o' l 'palm leaf', Ml ō l a

id., 'writing leaf', Td wā'l 'writing, education', Kn ǝle 'leaf of a palmyra palm, leaf used to write on', Kdg ǝle 'screw-pine leaf', Tu ǝle 'letter on a palmyra leaf, palmyra leaf rolled up and put into the hole of an ear' ¶ D no. 1070 || ?? IE: L ulva 'Sumpfgras' ¶ WH II 813 (no et.) ◇ If L ulva belongs here, it suggests N *ǵ|goluy ▽ ◇ Alternatively, Gzg ʔalar may be tentatively equated with D *alar 'to blossom, to open up; flower' (> Tm alar v. 'blossom, 'full-blown flower', M alar 'a blossom', Kn alar, Tu alaruni 'to spread, to blossom', Tm, MI alari, Kn alar, Tl alaru 'flower', see D no. 247) ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 98a (incl. S, EC, Ch, Ah, D + unc. FP *el ▽ 'Ast, Zweig' and some other parallels), ≈ Blz. DA 160 [no. 83], Blz. NDA no. 86 (D, HS, L + unc. Ht hahhal- 'Strauch, Busch').

131b. ʔσ *rǵ' aL₁o₁p ▽ 'weak, exhausted' > IE *halp- 'weak, swooned, exhausted' > Ht {Pv.} alparnt- 'swooned; weak, mild' || NaIE *a|olp- > Lt aĩp-ti 'to faint (away), to swoon', álpé-ti 'to lie in a swoon', alpi mas 'a swoon' || Gk ἄλαπαδνός 'easily exhausted, powerless, feeble', ἄλαπάζω v. 'empty, drain, exhaust' || ? Al laps- vt. 'exhaust, tire out', vi. become exhausted, get tired out' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (IE *h_ǝelpos 'weak'), Pv. I-II 38-9, ≠ Ts. E I 18 (interprets Ht alparnt- as 'be-witched'), Frn. 8 (no et. of Lt aĩp-ti), O 213, F I 64 || HS: S: Ar ʔillawf- 'very aged' (of an old man), ʔ ʔillawt- 'sot, qui parle sans réfléchir' ¶ Ln. 2132, BK II 342-3 || A: Tg *alba- 'be unable' > Ewk, Neg, Ork alba-, Lm albь- id., Nn Nh/KU {STM} albaqto ~ albaqtu, Nn Nh {On.} albaqto 'lazy' ¶ STM I 30, On 32 ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [no. 96] (IE, Tg + unc. K *ʔalp- 'weak', see N *g'o' Lpa 'weak, small').

132. *ǵaǵ|ǵü 'a liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' > HS: CS *ǵalw(ay) 'aloë (*Allium aloë*)' > Sr 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤃 ʔalway id., ChrPA 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤃 ʔlwp, MHb [Msh.] 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤃 ʔalwa'p̄īn ~ 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤃 ʔalwa'yīn id. ¶ Löw II 149-52, Js. 67 || IE: NaIE *a(:)lu- '€ liliaceous plant of sharp taste' ({EI} ? *ālu- 'esculent root', {P} *álu-, *ālo- 'plant of sharp taste') > L ālium, (after I c. CE) allium 'garlic', Osc (or Msp) {P} *allō (< *alǵā) ([Hs.] ἄλλη [· λάχανον · ἰταλό] ["a vegetable in the speech of Italics"]) || Gk ἄλλη, Gk ἄλλα* in ἄλλᾶς (gen. ἄλλᾶντος) 'forcemeat, sausage' ({Ch.}: ← *'sausage with garlic?') ⇨ ἄλλαντο-ειδής 'sausage-shaped', ἄλλαντο-ποιός 'maker of sausages' ({WH}: Gk ← Osc) || OI ālu'kam 'the esculent root of *Amorphophallus campanulatus*' ¶ P 33, EI 620, WH I 30, F I 75, Ch. 63, M K I 81 || D *uǵ|i, {GS} *uǵ-i 'onion, garlic' > Tm, MI uǵ|i, Tl ulli id., Kt uǵy, Td uǵy, Klm, Prj, Gdb ulli, Nk ullig, Gnd ullī ǵ ulli ǵ uli, Knd, Mnd uli, Png

ū̀ri, Ku ū̀lli 𐌺 ulli, Krx uli 'onion', Tu ulla, ulla 'garlic' ¶¶ D no. 705, GS 170 [no. 426], 51 [no. 127] || **A**: Tg *elu 'onion' > Ul, Orl, Nn Nh/KU ɜlu, WrMc {Z} элу id. ¶ STM II 448, On. 527, Z 76 ◇ Tg *e- and D *u- may be due to regr. as.: N *ǰaí|ǰü > *älü > Tg *elü, N *ǰaí|ǰü > **ú|ǰü > D *u|ǰi. The long *ā in L and OI may represent the IE apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe).

133. *ǰaí∇ǰU 'to bend', 'a bend, a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > **HS**: Eg fOK ɛrḱ [*✓ ɛlḱ] 'bend' > Cpt Sd/B ʷAK ɔlk'plier, courber, contracter' ¶ EG I 211, Fk. 45, Vc. 249 || ? B *✓ lk 'be bent' (× N *Lu₁?∇₁ka 'to bend; → [?] flexible twig', q.v. ffd.) || Bj {R} ✓ hlg 'biegen, krümmen' (1s: p. a-ha'lig, pres. ahan'līg) ¶ R WBd 116 || ECh: Mkl {J} ?ôlé 'elbow', Jg {J} lukho id. ¶ J LM 156, J J 114 || **IE** *He₁kl₁ʷ₁- (> NaIE *a₁kl₁ʷ₁-) / *Ho₁kl₁ʷ₁- 'bent, elbow' (with secondary Schwebelaut NaIE *o₁kl₁ʷ₁- / *lo₁kl₁ʷ₁-) ({EI} *h₃elek- 'elbow, forearm'): [1] NaIE *a₁kl₁ʷ₁- / *o₁kl₁ʷ₁- / *ō₁kl₁ʷ₁- > Arm n₁np olok^h 'fibula, péroné, shinbone' || Gk [Hs.] ἄλαξ, ἄλαξ (' πῆχυς) 'forearm' || Lt uolektis, úolektis, Ltv ôlektis 'ell' (both from *ōlekt-), Pru woaltis, woltis (< *ōlkt-) 'Unterarm', Pru alkuinis, Lt alku^uné, Ltv èlks, èlkonis 'elbow' | pSl *o₁lkъ-tb 'elbow' > OCS ЛАКЪТЪ, Blg лакът, SCr lăkat, Δ lākat, Slv lakè^t, Cz loket, Slk loket', P łokiec, R, Uk 'локоть id. || [2] ?? NaIE *lek- / *lok- > Gk λοξός 'slanting, crosswise, aslant' || OIr {SB} losc (gen. pl. luscu) 'lame' || L luxus 'dislocated', licinus 'aufwärts gekrümmt, aufwärts gebogen' (von Hörnern) ¶ P 308-9, EI 176, F II 136-7, SB 244, Sl. 322-3, Frn. 8, 1167, En. 140, 276, Tp. P A-D 75-7, StSS 304, Glh. 367, WH I 798, 841 || **U**: FP *ÍE₁kke 'ankle' > pPrm *Íek₁E > Vt {W} leky (= *Íek₁) 'ankle, knucklebone', Z lek, leky- 'horse's pastern, ankle, knucklebone' | ? Chr Íekan 'block of wood' ¶ LG 158 || **A**: T *a₁uk 'ankle joint' (× T *a₁ç₁ ~ *a₁ç₁Ik 'knucklebone' < A *a₁ç₁'a id., cp. Tg *a₁ç₁-kan id., see ET Gl 144-5) > OT aš₁uq 'anklebone, ankle', MQp XIV, Chg ≥xv aš₁uq, OOs₁ aš₁uq / aš₁uḡ, Tk aš₁ik, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg aš₁iq, Az aš₁iq, Qzq, Nog, Qq aš₁iq, StAlt aš₁iq, Ln aš₁uq~ašš₁i, Uz aš₁iq, ET oš₁uq 'ankle' ¶ Cl. 259, Rs. W 30, ET Gl 216-17, TL 288-9, Adb. SR 15 || **K**: pGZ *d₁la₁q₁w- 'elbow' (probably from N *y₁'o₁'d₁∇ ǰaí∇ǰU 'bend of arm', i.e. *y₁'o₁'d₁∇ 'hand' [q.v. ffd.] + *ǰaí∇ǰU) > OG (n)idaq₁wi, MG {SSO} d₁la₁q₁vi, G idaq₁vi, nidaq₁vi, Mg du₁- 'elbow', Lz du₁(r)q₁u-, χe-du₁- id. (χe- is 'hand, arm') ¶ K 74, K² 41 (*d₁(l)a₁w-), FS K 96-7, 105, FS E 101-2, Chik. 58-9, Chx. 522 and 959 ◇ The labialized vw. in T may be due to the infl. of the final *U.

133a. ?? * $\zeta a\acute{1}\nabla S\nabla$ 'big, strong, heavy' > HS: LEC * $\zeta i\acute{1}\nabla s$ and * $\zeta u\acute{1}\nabla s$ 'heavy' (with the ext. * s) > Sa {R} $\zeta e\acute{l}i\acute{s}$, Sml $\zeta u\acute{l}\acute{u}s$, Or $ulfa'$, Kns $u\acute{l}s$ 'heavy' ¶ R S II 14, Abr. S 242, AD SF 141, Ss. Gssf 245, Ss. WOKS 127, Hn. S 78, Tk. II 516-7 || **A:** T * $a\acute{1}\acute{1}$ - > OT $a\acute{s}$ - vt. 'enlarge, increase' ¶ Cl. 255 || **D** * $a\acute{1}$ -, * $a\acute{1}a\nu$ - (without the component * $S\nabla$), * $a\acute{1}a\nu$ - > Tm $a\acute{1}$ 'strength, firmness', Kn $a\acute{1}a$ 'power, strength', Tl $a\acute{1}a\nu i$, $a\acute{1}a\nu u$ 'power', $\acute{1}\bar{a}\nu u$ 'big, large', Prj, Gnd $\acute{1}\bar{a}\nu$ 'strength', Knd $a\acute{1}\nu i$ 'energy, stamina', $\bar{a}\acute{1}$ id., 'endurance' ¶¶ DED no. 315.

134. * $\zeta i\acute{m}'\acute{e}'$ 'suck, swallow' > HS: Eg fOK ζm v. 'swallow' ¶ EG I 183-4, Fk. 42 || S * $\circ\check{\zeta} m m$ > Ar NY T $\check{\zeta} m m$ (pf. $\zeta a m m$, ip. $\check{y}i\zeta u m m$) 'drink water', ? σ S * $\circ\check{\zeta} i m$ - > Ar $\rho\text{-}\check{\zeta} i m$ $\check{\zeta} y m$ G (ip. $-\check{\zeta} i m u$) v. 'long for milk' ← *v. 'swallow \ suck milk greedily', under the semantic infl. of Ar- $\check{y}i m$ - v. 'be thirsty' ¶ Fr. III 251, 307, BK II 423, Bns. NJ I 190 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr {Al.} $\check{r}\acute{i} m p\grave{a}$, Bole {Lk.} $\check{r}\acute{y} u m p$ -, {Ib.} (n. act.) $\check{r}\acute{y}\grave{u} m p\acute{a}$ 'suck' | P' {J} $\check{r}\acute{m}\acute{o} m a$ 'eat' ||| ECh: Smr {J} $\check{r}\acute{z}\acute{m}$ 'eat (soft food)', as well as possibly Ke {Eb.} $\check{h}\acute{a} m\grave{e}$ id., Skr {Sx.} $\acute{z}\acute{y} m\grave{e}$, Mgm {J} $\check{r}\acute{a}\acute{y} m\acute{o}$ 'eat (hard food)', EDng {Fd.} $\check{e}\acute{m}\acute{e}$ id. ¶ JI II 119, 121, J PW 198, ChC s.v. 'eat (hard food), 'eat (soft food' and 'suck', Fd. 24 || ? C: Bj {R} $\bar{a} m$ - scv. 'essen, verzehren, gierig und viel essen, fressen' ||| DhI {EEN} $\check{h}\acute{a} m$ - v. 'toss little food in mouth' ¶ R WBd 16, EEN 14 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 95 [no. 25.2] (Bj, DhI, Eg, Ch + unc. Sml $\zeta u n$ - 'eat', Kz $a m$ - 'chew') || **U** * $i m e$ - v. 'suck' > F, Es $i m e$ -, OHg $e m$ -, pOs * $e m$ -/* $\acute{a} m$ - ({Hl.} * $\check{a} m$ -/* $\check{i} m$ -) > Os: V/Vy $e m$ -/ $\acute{a} m i$, Ty/Y $\check{a} m$ -/ $\acute{a} m \acute{a}$, I $e m$ - v. 'suck' || Sm {Jn.} * $\acute{n} i m$ -~* $\acute{n} \ddot{u} m$ - 'suck' > Ng {Cs.} caus. 1s aor. obcj. $\acute{r}\acute{i} m a' b t e' a m a$ v. 'suckle', Ne T d. $\check{n} i m n e - c \check{s} \check{y}$ 'to suck out, to start sucking', durative $\check{n} i m n e - (m) b \check{a} - c \check{s} \check{y}$ 'to suck', Ne O {Lh.} $\acute{n} i m \acute{n} \bar{e}$ -~ $\acute{n} \ddot{u} m \acute{n} \bar{e}$ - v. 'suck', Slq Tz {KKIH} $\acute{n} i m$ - id., Kms d. 1s pres. $\acute{r}\acute{i} m e t e r \acute{1} \bar{a} m$ v. 'suckle', Mt {Hl.} * $\acute{n} | n \ddot{u} m n \acute{a}$ - 'suck' (Mt: M {Sp.} d. 1s [pres.?] $\check{n} \ddot{u} m n \acute{i} a m \check{y}$ 'I am sucking breast'); Sm {Hl.} * $\acute{n} i m m \nabla$ 'female breast, milk' > Ng {Cs.} $\acute{r}\acute{i} ' m i \eta$ 'breast', {Pl.} d. $\check{n} i m i n g \check{y}$ 'milk', Slq Tz {KKIH} $\acute{n} i m a$ id., Slq LTz {KD} $\acute{n} \ddot{u} ' m \check{a}$ 'female breast, milk', Mt {Hl.} $\acute{n} | n i m \ddot{u} \check{h}$ 'milk' (Mt T/K {Mll.} $\check{r}\acute{i} m u$ 'milk', Mt M {Mll.} $\check{r}\acute{i} m u$ 'kumys [mare's fermented milk]') || pY {IN} * $i \omega$ - 'suck' > Y: K $i b$ -, T $i \omega \bar{i}$ - id., ? K $i b i \check{s} \bar{i}$ 'qoman's breast, nipple, milk' ¶¶ Coll. 15-16, UEW 82-3, Sm. 536 (U, FU, FP * $i m i$, Sm * $\acute{r}\acute{i} m$ -), SK 107, Jn. 110-11, Hl. M no-s 759, 781 and 786, Hl. rHt 71, KKIH 141, IN CDY 178-9, IN UJ 218, ≈ Rd. UJ 35-6 [no. 10] (Y ← U) || **A** * $E m \nabla$ - v. 'suck', (?) 'swallow' > T * $\circ\circ i m$ -~* $e m$ - v. 'suck': [1] T * $\circ\circ i \acute{1}\acute{1} m (-)$ > Chv L $\check{e} m$ - $\check{y} m$ -, Chv Δ $\check{b} m$ - id., [2] NaT * $\acute{a} m$ - v. 'suck' > OT $e | \bar{a} m (-)$, Chg $e m$ -, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Kr, Qzq, Nog, Qqlp, Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Xk,

Tv em-, Tk em-, Yk äm-, Az, ET äm-, Ggz jem-, VTt, Bsh им- im- id.; ? ⇨ : NaT *æm-ig 'woman's breast, nipple' > OT emig, SY emiç, Tv emig, Yk emīy id.; NaT *æm-çæg id. > MT emček, Tkm emžek, Uz emčak, ET ämčäk, VTt imšäk, Bsh imsäk, Nog, Qq emšek, Krg emček, Xk imžek 'female breast', Tk emcik ~ emcik, Az ämžäk 'nipple' ¶ Cl. 155, 158-9, DTS 172, Rs. W 41-2, ET Gl 271-2, Rl. I 918, 945, 1414, 1571, TL 273-4, TtR 270, Ash. IV 104-5, Fed. I 149, Jeg. 63, SDM97 (T *äm-ig, *äm-čäk 'female breast') || M *emkü- (× N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold'. q.v. ffd.) > MM }H} emgugū- ~ omgugū- 'swallow (ver-schlucken)', WrM emkü- {MED} 'put into or hold in the mouth', HIM {MED} үнхэ- id., {BMR} үмхэ- ~ үнхэ- id., v. 'swallow', Brt {Chr.} үмхэ- 'seize with teeth, bite off (хватать зубами, откусывать)', Dg {T} enku- id., unku- 'seize with teeth', Kl {Rm.} ümkə- 'einschlürfen, verschlingen', {KRS} ?σ үмк- ümkə- 'bite off', Ord üŋ^kxü- 'se mettre dans la bouche'; ?σ M *emkü n. 'bite, morsel, mouthful' > WrM {MED} emkü, HIM үмх {MED} id., {BMR} 'morsel\piece of food', Brt үмхэ 'morsel of food', Kl {KRS} үмк ümkə 'piece (кусок), {Rm.} ümkü 'ein Mundvoll, ein Bißchen', Ord üŋ^kxü 'bouchée' ¶ M *e- and NaT *æ- may be tentatively explained by contamination with (or infl. of) N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' ¶ H 124, MED 313-14, BMR III 410-11, 415, Chr. 503, KRS 551, KW 457, T DgJ 140, 171, Ms. O 759, Ms. O 759 ¶¶ Not here Tg *um(i)- v. 'drink', pKo {S} *mà- v. 'drink' and M *umda- 'drink' (in ds), which are likely to go back to N *qumʔ∇ 'drink' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 505 (pA *em∇ 'to suck' > T, M), DQA no. 2651 (id.) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248 (U, A [T, M]) ◇ Gr. II no. 371 (*ima 'suck') (U, A, CK + err. Y + unc. Ko, EA).

135. *ʕ'o'm₁∇₁dE 'stand upright, rise' > HS: S *✓ ʕmd 'be raised\ propped up, lean against', 'stand upright' > BHb ʕmḏ ✓ ʕmd G v. 'stand', JA ✓ ʕmd D (pf. ʕam'med) v. 'place'; Mh/Jb ✓ ʕmd: Mh pf. hāmōd 'prop up one's head (with a pillow, arm)', Jb C pf. aʕmid 'put a pillow under the head'; Ak emēdu 'lean against, cling to, stand near by', as well as possibly Ar ✓ ʕmd G {BK} 'étayer\appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un pilier \ d'une colonne' (contamination with a denominative verb) (see below) | S *ʕa'mad- (~ *ʕamad-) n. 'support, pole' > Ar ʕamad- 'pole of a tent, column, pillar', Ak imdu 'stanchion, support', (here?) Sb ʕmd '(?) vine support, vinestock', Gz ʕamd 'column, pillar, post' | pWS *ʕa₁m₁mūd- 'prop, pole of a tent, column, pillar' > BHb ʕmḏ ʕam'mūd, SmHb ʕammōd id., Ph, IA, Plm ʕmd, JA {Js.} ʕmḏ ʕam'mūd, JA/Sr em. ʕmḏ ʕam'mūd, JA/Sr em. ʕmḏ ʕam'mūd

ʕammū'ḏ-ā 'column', JEA {Sl.} ʕammū'ḏ-ā 'pillar, column', Ug ʕmḏ
 'column, ceiling beam', Ar ʕamūd- 'prop, support, column, base' (↔ Ar
 ✓ʕmḏ G [pf. عَمَدٌ ʕamada] {BK} 'étayer\ appuyer\soutenir à l'aide d'un
 pilier \ d'une colonne'), Sb (pl.) ʔʕmḏ 'columns, pillars', Mh {Jo.} ʔamaḡḏ
 'ceiling beam', Jb C {Jo.} 'ʕa'mud 'beam, pillar' (←b- Ar?) ¶ KB 795-8, BK II
 360-1, Ln. 2151-3, Sl. 869-70, Js. 1086-7, Br. 529-30, BGMR 16, L G
 62-3, Jo. M 23, Jo. J 13, CAD IV 138-47 and VII 109-10 || Ch: WCh {Stl.}
 WCh *ʕum- 'rise, climb' | NrBc: Wrj {J, Sk.} ʕzm-, Kry {Sk.} ʕimo, P' {MSk.}
 ḥ^wun, Mbr/My/Jmb {Sk.} ʕzma-, Cg {Sk.} wum, {Sk. in ChC} ʕ^wum, Sir {Sk.}
 ʕzmu 'mount (an animal), climb' | Bl {Lk.} ind-, Krkr {Lk.} hind-, Ngm {ChL}
 hīndīn, Tng aḏḏi id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 227 [no. 759] (WCh *ʕimḡḏ- 'stand up'), Stl.
 IF 120, ChC s.v. 'stand up' and 'climb', ChL, Sk. NB 32, MSk. 183 || C: SC:
 Irq {MQK} ʕōm- 'no longer give milk' (of a cow), 'dry up' (of a river), {E}
 ʕom- vi. 'stop', ↔ Mb -ʔúma v. 'stand, come to stop', -ʔumáti vt. 'stop' ¶ E
 SC 278, MQK 80 || A: M *ōndū- (or *ündü-?) ~ *undu- (> Ord und_u- 'monter
 [sur un checal, etc.]?') ↔ [1] *ō|ündü-s > MM [HI] ündüs 'upright (debout)',
 HIM d. {BMR} өндөсхий- 'внезапно привставать\ приподниматься',
 Kl {Rm.} öndös 'hinauf, hoch', [2] M *ō|ündej- > WrM {MED} öndüi- ~
 öndüi- {MED} 'raise one's head, raise oneself, rise slightly', HIM өндий-
 {MED} id., {BMR} 'rise slightly (приподниматься), rise', Brt үнды- 'rise,
 stand up', Kl {Rm.} öndö- 'sich heben, sich aufrichten', [3] M *ō|ündiyi- > Kl
 {KRS} өндә- 'rise slightly', {Rm.} öndē- 'sich heben, aufrichten; hoch sein',
 Dg {T} undī- id., [4] M *öndür 'high' > MM [MA, S] öndür id., WrM {MED}
 öndür, HIM {MED, BMR} өндөр, Brt үндэр, Kl {KRS} өндр öndər 'high,
 tall; height', {Rm.} öndŕ 'hoch, gehobrn; Höhe', Ord ündür 'haut, élevé, de
 haute taille; hauteur', Ba onder, Dx undu, Mnr H {SM}} nd_ur 'haut, élevé,
 éminent'; [5] ??σ WrM undur- {MED}, HIM {MED} ундра- v. 'rise,
 increase' (unless Lessing's semantic misinterpretation of HIM {BMR}
 ундра- 'бить ключом, бить кипучей неиссякаемой струей' [of
 water]), cp. also Ord und_ur- 'de renouveler' (eau dans un puits qu'on a mis
 à secc) ¶ Ms. H 109, Pp. MA 276-7, H 164, MED 636-7, 876, BMR III 27-8,
 Chr. 505-6, KRS 416-17, KW 296, SM 264, T DgJ 171, T BJ 146, T DnJ 137,
 Ms. O 734, 736, 757 || IE *^rH¹end^h- / *^rH¹ḡd^h- v. 'rise, appear' > Gk Hm
 {Hofm.} (with prefixes) ἐν-ῆνοθε 'hat sich erhoben', {LS} ἄν-ῆνοθε 'mounted
 up', {Ch.} ἐπενῆνοθε 's'éleva, monta à la surface', {LS} '(a thin coat) grew
 thereon; was on it', Gk D ἦνοθον 'came' || (here?) ?σ IE **^rH¹ḡd^h-wen- > OI
 d. 'adhva / adhvan- 'way', Av Y ad^hvā id. ¶ WP I 130, Hofm. 83-4, Ch. I
 87, LS 138, 617, F I 516-17, M K I 32, M E I 68.

136. ${}_2$ * ζ om $_{\zeta}$ ∇ $_{\zeta}$ Kê '(ε part of the) neck' > HS: S * ζ un $_{\zeta}$ u $_{\zeta}$ k $_{\zeta}$ - (~ * ζ in $_{\zeta}$ u $_{\zeta}$ k $_{\zeta}$ -?) (× N * η i ζ a 'jugular vertebra, neck, nape of neck'??) > Ar ζ unq-, ζ unuq-, ζ anīq-, Ak un ζ - 'neck', Eb {Co.} in-gu = in ζ gu $_{\zeta}$ m $_{\zeta}$; ⇨ CS * ζ 'u $_{\zeta}$ 'na ζ - 'neck chain, necklace' > BHb ζ u ζ u ζ ζ 'a $_{\zeta}$ nā ζ - 'neck chain', Ug {OLS} ζ n ζ , JA ζ u ζ u ζ ζ un ζ -ā, Sr ζ e ζ ' ζ -ā, ζ e ζ ' ζ -ə ζ ' ζ -ā id., 'necklace', JEA ζ u ζ u ζ ζ un ζ -ā 'neck'; ⇨ WS * ζ ' ζ n ζ G v. 'put round the neck' > Gz ζ ' ζ n ζ G id., BHb ζ u ζ u ζ ζ ' ζ n ζ G 'adorn the neck' ¶ OLS 83, KB 812-13, KBR 858-9, BK II 387, Co. SQF 143, MiK I no. 15 (S * ζ i/un ζ - 'neck') || A * ζ ömgæ $_{\zeta}$; $_{\zeta}$ n > NaT * ζ ö $_{\zeta}$; $_{\zeta}$ mgæ $_{\zeta}$; $_{\zeta}$ n (× NaT * ζ ömgēn 'breast' < N * ζ Hom $_{\zeta}$ ∇ $_{\zeta}$ g'ü $_{\zeta}$ ' 'breast', q.v.) > OT {Cl.} ζ mgēn '(?) jugular vein', Chg xv ζ mgēn ~ ζ mgūr 'the base of the throat and the collarbone' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315 || NrTg *umen 'Adam's apple' > Ewk um ζ n, Lm Ol/B/P/Sk ζ m id., Lm O ūm 'pharynx (гортань)' ¶ STM II 213 ¶¶ Pp. VG 216 || M * ζ öngēle ζ ür 'depression close to the Adam's apple' (× N * ζ XU ζ g∇ 'throat', q.v. ffd.).

137. * ζ ' ζ 'um∇ η | \bar{n} ∇ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness \ remembrance of' > A *um $_{\zeta}$ un $_{\zeta}$ - 'forget, sleep' > T: [1] *umun- > Yk umun-, Chv ма η - 'forget, sich (etw.) abgewöhnen'; [2] *umNu-t 'oblivion' > Uz, Qrg, StAlt, Qzq {Rl.} unut, CrTt {Rl.} umut id.; [3] NaT *um η I-t- ~ *umni-t- v. 'forget' > OT un η t- ~ unut- id., Tk unut-, Ggz, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qrg, Uz, ET, SY, Ln unut-, VTt, Bsh. ζ n ζ ' ζ -t-, Qzq ζ m ζ IT-, Nog, Qq um η t-, Tv ut- id.; [4] NaT *um η tu- > Xk umdu- ~ undu- 'forget', StAlt undu-, Tb {B} un η du ¶ Cl. 179, ET Gl 597-8, Rs. W 514, Ash. VIII 190, Fed. I 342, Jeg. 128 || M: [1] M *umarta- 'forget' > MM [S, IsV] umarta-, [MA, IM] marta-, WrM {MED} umarta-, marta-, HIM {MED, BMR} умарта-, Kl {KRS} март- martə- id., {Rm.} marta- 'vergessen', Ord mart'a- 'oublier', Mnr H {SM} muš ζ 'a- id., MMgl [Z] mārt, Mgl {Rm.} mōrta- 'forget', Dx {T} mata- 'forget; not to think of'; [2] M *umta- v. 'sleep' > MM [HI, S, MA, IM] unta-, WrM {MED} umta-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt у η та-, Kl {KRS} у η т- untə-, {Rm} unta-, Mnr H {SM} n ζ 'iā-, {T} ntā-, n ζ 'ā-, Mnr M {T} nta-, Ord unt'a- id., d.: MM [S, HI] untarā-, Mnr H {SM} nt'zrā-, Dx huntura- (with a secondary h-) id. ¶ H 163, 165, Pp. MA 234, 364, 441, 449, Ms. H 105, Lg. VMI 71, Iw. 115, MED 530, 874-5, BMR III 329, 335-6, Chr. 471, KW 257, 450, SM 251, 285-6, T 352, T DnJ 128, Ms. O 455. 735 || Tg *om η a- 'forget' > Ewk, Neg, Nn KU om η o-, Sln, Orc om η o-, Lm om η o-, Ud om η o-, Ork om η o- ~ om η o-, Nn Nh om η o-, Nn Bk om η o- ~ om η o-, WrMc {Z} om η o-, Mc Sb om η o- ¶ STM II 17, On. 311, Z 123 ¶¶ SDM 1498-9 (pA *um η u ζ t ζ o- 'forget' > Tg, T *umni-t- 'forget', M *umta-), DQA no. 2523 (id.), S AJ 295 [no.516] (pA *um $_{\zeta}$ n $_{\zeta}$ ∇ 'forget'),

KW 257 (M, T), 450 (M, T, Tg), Rm. EAS I 116, Pp. VG 68-9, Rs. W 514 ||
HS: Eg XIX ʕw n v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 173 || ?? S [1] $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ʕ m y}$ > Ar $\checkmark \text{ʕ m y}$ G 'be blind', Sr $\checkmark \text{ʕ m y}$ D (pf. $\text{ʕ a m m } \bar{\text{i}}$) vt. 'blind', Tgr ʕ m w G (pf. ʕ a m a) 'be blind' | [2] S $\text{*} \circ \checkmark \text{ʕ m h}$ > Ar $\checkmark \text{ʕ m h}$ 'be(come) confounded \ perplex \ unable to see one's right way' ¶ BK II 373, Ln. 2160-2, F III 224-5, JPS 416, Br 529, LH 457, MiK I no. 2.3 || Ch {JS} $\text{*} \checkmark \text{y w n} \sim \text{*} \checkmark \text{w n}$ ({JI} $\text{*} \checkmark \text{y w n}$) 'sleep' (\times N $\text{*} \checkmark \text{a w } \text{ʕ y} \nabla$ 'spend the night, sleep', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU $\text{*} \checkmark \text{w } \text{u n} | \text{n } \bar{\text{e}}$ 'sleep, dream, forget' > F u n i (gen. u n e n), Es u n i (gen. u n e) n. 'sleep, dream', F u n o - h t a - v. 'forget', u n h o 'oblivion', Es u n e - 'forget', u n u - 'fall into oblivion' | Er, Mk o n 'sleep, dream' | Prm $\text{*} \checkmark \text{w u n} -$ > Vt v u n - 'be forgotten', Z v u n - id., 'forget', Yz v u n s i - 'forget' || Sm: Ng {Cs.} $\eta \text{ a n a } \text{? b t a} -$ 'forget' ¶ UEW 588 (U $\text{*} \checkmark \text{w u n} \nabla$ 'vergessen werden'), 804 (FV $\text{*} \text{u n} \nabla$ 'sleep, dream'), LG 70, Cs. 43 || D (in SD) $\text{*} \bar{\text{u}} \text{ m}$ 'dumbness', $\text{*} \bar{\text{u}} \text{ m} -$ 'dumb' > Tm $\bar{\text{u}} \text{ m}$ 'dumbness', $\bar{\text{u}} \text{ m a n}$ 'dumb man', Ml $\bar{\text{u}} \text{ m a n}$ 'dumb, stupid', Kn $\bar{\text{u}} \text{ m e}$ 'dumb man, taciturn man' ¶ D no. 746 ◇ Coll. 65, UEW 588, ET Gl 598 (all of them: A, U).

138. $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ʕ } \text{y} \text{u n} \nabla$ 'see, look; eye' > HS $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ʕ } \text{i} \text{n} - / \text{*} \checkmark \text{ʕ a y n} -$ 'eye', (\rightarrow) 'spring' > S $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ʕ a y n} -$ 'eye' > Ak $\bar{\text{i}} \text{ n} -$, Ar بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ a y n} -$, BHb بـ ي ن ʕ a y i n , Ph, Ug ʕ n , OA, IA, Nbt, Plm ʕ y n , BA cs. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{e}} \bar{\text{n}}$, pl. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ a y } \text{ʕ} \text{n} - \bar{\text{i}} \text{n}$, JA [Trg.], JEA em. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{e}} \text{ʕ} \text{n} \bar{\text{a}}$, cs. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{e}} \text{ʕ} \text{n}$, Sr W بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{i}} \text{n}$, Sr E cs. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{e}} \text{ʕ} \text{n}$, Sr W em. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ a y } \text{ʕ} \text{n} - \bar{\text{a}}$, Sr E em. بـ ي ن $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{e}} \text{ʕ} \text{n} \bar{\text{a}}$, Sb ʕ y n , Gz ʕ a y n id.; the same word means 'spring (of water)' in Hb, Ug, Ar, Nbt, Plm, JA, Sb, Gz, Ak etc.; \leftrightarrow WS $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ʕ y n}$ D v. 'look, contemplate' and the like > Hb, Ug, Sr, Gz $\checkmark \text{ʕ y n}$ D id. ¶ KB 773-5, KB LVT 1107, KBR 817-19, JH 207, HJ 839-40, A no-s 2055-6, OLS 82, Lv. T II 212-13, Sl. 855-7, Br. 522, PS 2867, BGMR 23, L G 79-80, MiK I no. 1.28 || Eg ʕ n , ʕ y n hier. $\text{*} \text{'eye'}$; Eg G ʕ n y 'Name von Gewässern' (interpreted by Budge as 'well, fountain') ¶ EG I 189, Budge I 123 || $\text{?} \phi$ B {Pr.} $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ n h } \text{y} \sim \text{*} \checkmark \text{ h } \text{y}$ v. 'see, look' (\times N $\approx \text{*} \checkmark \text{ } \text{h} \text{y}$ 'see') > Tnsl $\text{ʕ n h i} = \text{ʕ n h y}$, ip. intens. i-hannay , vb. n. a-hanay , Ah ʕ n i (Pr.'s phonemic transcr.: ʕ n y), ip. intens. i-hānnay , vb. n. ā-hanay , Gh $\text{ʕ n i} = \text{ʕ n y}$, ip. intens. i-hannay , Ty, ETwl ʕ n y , ip. intens. i-hannay , Tdq ʕ n h y v. 'see', NrB: Sll {Ds.} annay , pres. y-ānnay 'apercevoir qch. qui tombe sous les yeux', Izd {Mrc.} inni , iannay v. 'look at' ¶ Fc. 1357, Pr. H no. 563, GhA 152, Mrc. 218, Ds. 296 ¶ In Pr.'s opinion, the variant $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ n h } \text{y}$ is original, while $\text{*} \checkmark \text{ h } \text{y}$ goes back to mt. (Pr. H 15-16), but in the light of external HS comparison the opposite is likely to be the case || C: Dhl {E} $\text{ʕ } \bar{\text{e}} \text{n} - \bar{\text{a}} \text{d} -$ 'see from afar' || EC $\text{*} \text{i n t} \nabla \sim \text{*} \text{i n d} \nabla$ 'eyes' ($\leftarrow \text{*} \text{ʕ i n} - \text{t} \nabla \sim \text{*} \text{ʕ i n} - \text{d} \nabla$ with loss of $\text{*} \text{ʕ} -$ due to the infl. of the sg. $\text{*} \text{i l}$ 'eye?') > Af

{PH} intīta, Sa {Wlm.} intit, {R} intīt ~ ʕintīt 'eyes' (whence a bf.: sg. Af {PH}, Sa {Wlm.} inti 'eye'), Sml N índó 'eyes', Bn innɜ, Rn ìndó, Gdl índā, Dsn ʔinnu, Elm ínnaʔ, Arr ʔindá 'eyes' (in all these lges there is suppletivism: sg. *il - pl. *ind∇), ?? Bs {HL} ido 'eye(s)' (probably from *ʕin- 'eye' with the pl. marker *-t∇; the glottalization *t > *ɖ is still to be explained) ¶ Bl. 196, AD SF 149-50, Hw. A 340-1, PG 156, PH 137, Oo. 66, Lm. SD 315, HL 63, To. DL 482, E 274 || ʔσ NrOm: Kf {C} īrō 'salt water spring', urrō 'spring', Anf {Gt.} irō id., ʕ Gmr {Bulat.} aH 'eye' ¶ AD SF 149-50, C SE IV 400, Gt. 347, Bulat. 343 || Ch: **[1]** Ch {Stl.} *ʕiyan- 'see' > WCh {Stl.} *ʕʔayan- v. 'see' > Bl {Lk.} ʔinn-, NrBc: P' {MSk} han, {IL in ChC} hani, SBc: Gj {Sh.} yenî, {Luc.} yèni, Plc {Luc.} yenü; Ron: DfB yen v. 'see' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} ànní v. 'see' || ECh: Jg {J} ʔinn- 'können, kennen' | **[2]** Ch **Hind∇ 'eye(s)' (≈ {Nw.} *idə [sc. *idʷ], {Stl.} Ch *ʔida-n- 'eye') > WCh *ʔinda > Hs ídò 'eye', pl. ídānū, Gw ńdāni 'eye(s)' | pAG {Hf.} *yit, {Stl.} *yid 'eye(s)' > Su, Mnt, Gmy, Cp yit, Tal {IL} yīt, Ywm {J} yit, Kfr yɜt | BT *ʔiɫɫd∇ ({Stl.} *ʔid∇) > Bl {IL} idó, Dr {J} yéʔò, Krkr ʔidó, Gera {Sch.} ì:đí, Grm {Sch.} ìdá, Bele {Sch.} ìdó, Krf {Sch.} ìró, Tng ídò, {Lk.} idu, ʔ Pr {Frz.} ándò | NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} ʔidá, pl. ʔidì, Sir {IL} ítà, My aiti ~ eti | Ngz/Bd {Sch.} dà 'eye' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} yiti | Dgh {Frk, ChL} ńdè | HgN {Mk} ɫncɜ, HgK {Mk} nči || ECh: Skr {Nc.} íd-, {Brt.} yīdi | EDng {Fd.} ódò, Mgm {J} ʔíđè | Jg {J} ʔúdê, Brg {J} ʔúdì 'eye' ¶ Nw.'s pCh *idə, JS's pCh *ʕyd and S's Ch *ʔida-n- do not take into account the ev. for *-nd- provided by Gw, Pr and Dgh ¶ JI I 80 and II 126-7, JS 96, ChC s.v. 'eye', ChL, Mts. GD 29, Stl. ZCh 230 [no. 784], Stl. IF 119, 172, Hf. AG no. 182, Sch. BTL 144, Frz. P 19 ¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 115 || **IE [1]** **ʔwejn- > NaIE (in Iir only) *°wejn- v. 'look, see' > OI 'vēnati 'looks, observes', Av vaēnaiti 'sees', OPrs vaināmiy 'I see', MPrs vēn-, NPrs bīn- (imv. بین bīn, acp. bīnō 'seeing') v. 'see', Sgd, Prth ωyn- id. || **[2]** ? *Hēn (or *ʔēn) 'siehe da!' (× N *hEñ∇ 'iste' [q.v.]) > Gk ῥήν, L ēn 'siehe da!' ¶ M K III 259-60, Vl. I 306, P 314, F I 637, WH I 403-4 || **[3]** ??φ IE {Blz.} *neɫHχ- > OI nayana-/-ā- 'eye', ʔσ L re-nīdeo 'erglänzen' ¶ P 760 || **U:** FP (in Lp only) *oyn|na- > pLp *ōynē v. 'see' > Lp: L {LLO} āi'n-ēt, S {Hs.} vuöjn'edh, Noai'dnet v. 'see', Pa {TI} vūā'j:n'e-, Kld {TI} uɫ:n'e- id., {SaR} ʔjñhɜ 'see, notice' || ?? Y: Y K {IN UJ} aŋǰə 'eye' (absent in IN HDTY) ¶¶ Lr. no. 819, Lgc. no. 4548, Hs. 1452-3, TI 765, SaR 370, IN UJ 47, 295 || **A** ≈ *oyîN∇ > M *oy'u'n 'mind' > MM [MA] ojn-dan bōl {Pp.} 'будь в уме!', 'be (still) in (your) mind!', [S] oyi(n) 'Sinn, Gefühl', WrM {MED} oyn, HIM {MED, BMR} oyn, WrO oyn~oyon, Kl {KRS} oyn, oñh 'intellect, mind' ¶ MED 606,

BMR II 507, Pp. MA 262, H 130, Krg. 118, KRS 393, 407 || Tg: Lm ἰνῆς ἄ ἰνῆο 'reindeer's eye, hyaloid membrane (of an eye)' ||| The A cd *_loy_lińa-mū 'tears', lit. 'eye-water' (< N *_zōyUn▽ + N *mūhi 'water, fluid') > Tg *^oińa-mū- v. 'weep' > Ewk ińamu-; Tg *ińa-mu-hta 'tears' > Ewk ińamukta ~ ińamukta, Sln nama-hta ~ nanmukta, Lm ἰνῆςmtb, Neg ińamta, Ud ińamukta, Ork yēndumusqa, Nn Nh {On.} ińimoqta, {STM} ińjamoqta ~ ińimoqta, Nn Nh/KU {STM} ińamoqta id. ¶ STM I 319, Krm. 239, On. 290 || cp. the first component in pKo cds (> MKo nún-mír 'tears') and pJ *nà-mì(n)tá 'tears', ffd. *see* s.v. N ≈ *^rń¹Eχa 'see' ¶¶ Cp. SDM 981-2 (pA*n_lā 'eye' > Tg *ńia-sa 'eye', M *nidü 'eye', T *jāí 'tear', pJ *mài(N), *mì- 'eye; see', pKo *núń 'eye'), DQA no. 1473 (id.), S AJ 30-1, 275 [no. 21] (A *ńiā 'eye', *ńiá(í)-mūri 'tears') || D *uññ- v. 'look, think, consider' (× N *^hAωη▽ 'sense, mind, soul') > Tm unñu v. 'think, consider', unñi v. 'meditate', Ml unñuka, unñika, Kt, Td uny-, Kn unñisu v. 'think', Tl {Km.} unñikisu v. 'consider', Ku onpinal v. 'intend', Brh hunñiñ v. 'look, look at, consider' ¶¶ D no. 727 ◇ The adduction of Ir *wayn- has been suggested by Blz. (p.c., 1994) ◇ The palatal Ir. *h̄- in IE *h̄ēn belongs to the infl. or heritage of N *^hEñ▽ 'iste' ◇ IE **_lH_lwejn- and D *uññ- point to a N *^u (or *^ü), while U and M suggest a N *^o. This discrepancy still needs investigating and resolving ◇ S and WNL NC adduced A {SDM 95-97} *ńā: 'eye' (> Tg {SDM} *ńiā-sa, {AD} *ńiā-sa(l) 'eye[s]', M *nidün 'eye', T *jāí 'tear', pKo *núń 'eye'), which is less certain than to connect A *ńā: with N ≈ *^rń¹Eχa 'see' (q.v.) ◇ ? Blz. IELA 10 [no. 29] (HS, IE {Blz.} *ne_lHχ-).

138a. *_ziñ_l▽,q▽ 'live' > HS: Eg fOK ϑrx v. 'live', ϑrx 'life' ¶ EG I 193-206 || A: Tg *in- 'live' > Ewk in-, Δ inɜ- 'live', in ~ inɛ 'life', Lm, Neg ĩn- 'live', Sln inirgɜ- ~ inɜrgɜ- 'come to life', Orc ini, iniyi, inihi, Ud inigi, Nn KU iñkī 'alive' ¶ STM I 315 || D *iñku_l- 'abide' > Tm iñku (p. iñki) 'abide, stay', Tl iñkuva 'a place, haunt' ¶¶ D no. 420 ◇ It is tempting to adduce SC {E} *ni_l:h̄- or *nēh̄- 'live, be alive' > ?σ Brn ilanih̄ v. 'sprout' and (↳) Mb nih̄i 'animal' (E SC 186), but its SC rec. is too shaky to be reliable.

139. *_zoñ_z'▽ 'fang, stake' → 'weapon (dart, javelin or the like)' > HS: S *^o✓fñz > Ar řanaz-at- 'e javelin, staff with a pointed iron' ¶ BK II 383, Fr. III 231, Hv. 504 || K: MG [KC] anza 'stake (Pfahl, коп)', G anza id., 'mast' ¶ DCh. 40 || IE *^rχ¹ñosi-s ({EI} *h₂|h₃ñosis) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword' > NaIE *ñosi-s 'sword' > OI a'si-h̄ 'sword; knife (used for killing animals)', Av añhū- 'sword' ||| L ensis id. || Pal hastra- 'dagger' ¶¶ P

771, Dv. no. 489, EI 561, M K I 64-5, WH I 406 || **U:** FU {UEW} *onća-r▽ 'fang (of a bear etc.)' > Prm *wǝǝǝr (= {LG} *wǝǝǝr) > Z vǝǝǝir 'fang', Z Ud vǝǝǝir, Vt вазерпинь id. (пинь 'tooth'), Δ wažer, važer id. || ObU: Vg: T zńćar, LK/P ańśar, Ss ańśar 'tusk (Hauzahn)'; ? Os: D/K ańǝal 'bear's canine tooth (Reißzahn)', Km ańǝal 'bear's tooth', O ańśär 'am Gürtel getragener Bärenzahn', Kz ańśar 'Eckzahn\Reißzahn des Bären' || OHg xv agγar 'boar's tusk (Hauer, Hauzahn)', Hg agγar 'tusk, fang' ¶ UEW 340, MF 74, LG 60, Coll. 71, EWU 13 ◇ Pal h- is likely to point to IE *x and N *y, while the K data suggest a N weak lr. (*f-). To solve the problem we need to check well the interpretation of the Pal word and to elucidate the origin of Pal h-.

140. *ǝup▽ 'take wing', 'up' > **HS:** WS *-ǝup- v. 'fly' > Hb ✓ǝwp (prm. -ǝup-), Ug ✓ǝwp, Gz ✓ǝwf (js. -ǝuf) v. 'fly', Ph ✓ǝwp (G inv. sg. m. ǝp) v. 'fly, fly away', Ar ✓ǝwf G (ip. -ǝufu) 'circle over (sth.)' (of birds); -d→ CS *ǝawp- 'bird' > Hb ǝǝǝ ǝǝǝ, Ug ǝp, Sr ǝw'ǝ-ā, Gz ǝǝf, Ph ǝp-t 'fowl, bird', Ar ǝawf- 'cock; omen, fortune' ¶ KB 756-7, HJ 833, 878, OLS 84, Ln. 2198, Br. 517, L G 78 || Eg L/G ǝpǝ v. 'fly' ¶ EG I 179 || **IE *Hxupo** ({EI} *h4u'pǝ 'up [from underneath]') > NaIE *upǝ- 'upon, on to' > Av upa, OPrs upā 'auf' || ON of 'over', OHG ūf 'up, above' (> NHG auf 'on'), AS ufe-weard 'up, upper, later', OHG ob(a) 'on, above, over', ON upp, AS upp (> NE up), OFrs, OSx up 'up', OSx uppan adv. 'on the top, above, over', OHG obana id., 'from above' > NHG oben || NaIE *ǝup-erǝ- 'upper' > Av uparǝ id.; NaIE *uper-(i) 'over' > OI u'pari 'above, over', Av upa'ri, OPrs upariy 'over' || ?φ Gk ὑπέρ, ὑπερ 'over' (unless from *super) || Clt {Matas.} *ufor- prep. 'over, on' > OIr for 'over, on', OW gwor if., W gor ~ gwar id., gwarthaf 'height' (< *vortamos), OBr guor ~ gor 'over, on', Cm gor id.; Clt {Matas.} *efirom 'after, behind' > OIr iar + nasalization of the initial cns. of the next word || Gt ufar 'über', ON yfir, AS ofer (> NE over), OHG ubar, ubir (> NHG über), OSx ovar 'over'; Gt ufarǝ adv. 'darüber', prp. ufarǝ (ἐπάνω) 'über', OHG obarǝ 'upper, higher' (> NHG ober), AS yferra adj. 'upper' || NaIE *up-emo- 'der oberste' > OI upa'ma-, Av upama-, AS ufemest, yfemest || NaIE *ups- 'high, upper' > Gk ὑψι adv. 'high' || Clt {Matas.} *ǝwxsos 'above' (P: < *ǝup-su) > OIr ós, uas 'above', OW uch id., W uwch 'higher', Cm (a) ugh, OBr uh, Br Δ euc'h, oc'h, ouc'h 'above'; -d→ Clt {Matas.} *ǝwxselo- 'high, elevated' > OIr úasal, MW uchel, OBr uchel ~ uhel, MBr hyel ~ uhel, Br uhel, Cm huhel

id. || NaIE *ūpsa- > Sl *v+s- > [1] *v+s-ōkъ m. 'high' (f. *v+s-ō'ka, ntr. *v+s-ō'ko) > OCS **ВЪСОКЪ** v̄sokъ, Blg висок, SCr v̄sok, Slv v̄sōk 'high', R **ВЫСОК** 'is high', prnl. adj.: R **ВЫСОКИЙ**, Uk високий, P **WYСОКУ**, Cz, Slk **WYСОКУ**, [2] Sl *v+sъ f. 'height (what is high above)' > ChS **ВЪСЪ** v̄sъ, R **ВЫСЪ**, Blg вис id., SCr v̄s, Blg Δ вис 'top (of mountains); [3] Sl comp. *v+šъjъ 'higher', ntr.\adv. *v+še > SCr v̄šī, ntr.\adv. v̄še, ChS **ВЪШНИ** v̄šijī, OCS ntr.\adv. **ВЪШЕ** v̄še, adv.: Blg **више**, R **выше**, Slv v̄še, Cz **WYŠE** ¶ WP I 192, P 1106-7, EI 612, Mn. 1478-9, F II 966-7, 978, Fs. 509-10, Vr. 416, 635, 676, Ho. 240, 376-7, Ho. S 57, 81, Kb. 740-1, 1054-5, 1061, KM 36, 518, 799, Vn. O 31-2, Flr. 326, StSS 160-1, Glh. 672, BER I 152, Ma. CS 578, M K I 105-6, Matas. E 113-14, 303-4, 398, Hm 823 || **А:** [1] pA *ōP_∇ 'hill, heap of stones' > M *o_:_bu_а > MM [HI] {Ms.} obo_о 'tertre', WrM {MED} obuga(n), oбу, HIM {MED} oвоо, {BMR} oвоо(н) 'heap, pile; heap of stones'; "obo", sc. 'mound\cairn of stones built as a landmark\monument for special religious ceremonies', Brt oboо id., Kl {KRS} oва id., {Rm.} oωā 'Hügel, Hügelchen, Haufen; Steinhaufen an der Wegseite oder auf einem Hügel', Mnr H {SM} ob_ō 'obo, monceau de pierres qu'on venère', Ord oωō 'monceau, tas, pile; obo'; M ⇨ T: MQp [CC] oба 'hill', Kr oба 'heap of stones', QrB oба id., 'grave', Qzq, Nog oба 'kurgan, tumulus', Bsh uba id., 'hill' ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 598, BMR II 454, Chr. 348, Kow. 370, KRS 391, KW 291, SM 296, Cl. 5, Dr. TM II 133, ET Gl 398-400, Ms. O 525, Rs. W 356, Grøn. 173 || T *ōpu' 'height, hillock (возвышенность, бугор)' ({SDM} 'rough\uneven ground') > OT [MK] oбуz ~ opuz 'height, hillock', OT Kr {Cl.} opuz 'rough\uneven ground', Osm {Cl.} opuz ~ opus {Cl.} id., Tk {SDM} oбуz id., Tkm oбуδ 'precipice' ¶ DTS 362, Cl. 16-17, SDM 1059 ¶¶ The long initial vw. (*ō-) in pT and pA is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 1039 (*ōp'∇ 'hill, heap of stones' > M, T *ōpu'), DQA no. 1603, Md. OJ 199, TL 323 || [2] Tg *upu- 'Daunen\Feder ausrupfen (выщипывать)', *upu-kte and *upu-lte 'down (Daunen), feather' (← 'wing?') (unless from N *HUp_∇ 'stalk [of a plant], q.v.) > Nn Nh {On.} uφu-, Nn KU uφu-, Ud oφo-di- v. 'Daunen\Feder ausrupfen'; Orc upuktz ~ opuktz, Ud oφokto, Ork upuktz, Nn Nh upultz, Nn KU uφuktz, Nn Bk uφultz 'down, feather', WrMc {Z} yφȳy 'lungs' (← '*very light meat'), yφȳy **ВЭХЭ** 'pumice, tufa' (← '*very light stone'; **ВЭХЭ** means 'stone') ¶ *-kta/e is a sx of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209, On. 432, Z 176 ◇ pA *ō- as a reflex of N *u still requires explanation.

141. * $\zeta\nabla P\nabla R\nabla$ '(river-)bank' > IE: NaIE {P} * $\bar{a}per$ -o-, * $\bar{a}per$ -yo- 'shore, river bank', 'mainland' ({EI} IE * $h_3eHperos$ [?] 'river bank, shore of sea') > Gk: A ἡπειρος, D ἄπειρος (long \bar{a}), Ae ἄπερος (with \bar{a}) 'mainland' (< * $\bar{a}per$ -yo-) || AS $\bar{o}fer$, Dt $oever$, MHG $uo\over{v}er$ > NHG $Ufer$ 'shore' (< * $\bar{a}per$ -o-), MLG $\bar{o}ver$ id. (< * $\bar{a}per$ -yo-) ¶ Arm $\omega\psi\bar{\nu}$ $a\bar{p}^h\bar{n}$ 'bank, shore' can be better explained as going back to N * $q^ra'p^r'$ ∇ 'bank, shore' (q.v.) ¶ Bc. no. 1.26, WP I 47, P 53, EI 515, F I 640, Hofm. 109, Ch. I 415, Ho. 240, KM 801, Ach. I 365 || HS: S * $\zeta ib_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} r$ - 'the region beyond\across a body of water (river\lake\sea)', '(further) bank\shore' > BHb $\bar{u}\bar{b}\bar{r}$ 'εβερ 'opposite side (of a river, lake etc.); side, edge, bank', SmHb {BH} $\bar{e}b\bar{a}\bar{r}$ id., JA $\bar{u}\bar{b}\bar{r}$ $\zeta ib_{\downarrow} r$ - \bar{a} ~ $\bar{u}\bar{b}\bar{r}$ $\zeta eb_{\downarrow} r$ - \bar{a} 'opposite side', Sr $\bar{u}\bar{b}\bar{r}$ $\zeta eb_{\downarrow} r$ - \bar{a} 'crossing (a river), further bank', Md $\zeta br\bar{a}$ 'coastland, foreshore', Ar ζibr - ~ ζabr - ~ ζubr - 'shore', Ak $eb\bar{e}r$ - $n\bar{a}ri$ (n. l., lit. 'the region beyond the river') (< \bar{b} -WS?), Eb a - $\bar{b}ar$ - $r\bar{i}$ - $i\check{s}$ = \zetaabar - $i\check{s}$ ({Frnz.} $\zeta ab\bar{a}ri\check{s}$) loc. 'on the other bank'; S * $\checkmark\zetaibr$ v. 'cross (a body of water), pass over' (→ *'pass over a stream to the other side') > Hb, Ph, Pu, Ug, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Ar, Sb $\checkmark\zetaibr$ G 'cross over (water etc.), pass', Ak $eb\bar{e}r\bar{u}$ 'to cross (water)', Eb a - $\bar{b}a$ - $r\bar{i}$ - im = {Krb.} $\zeta ab\bar{a}r$ - im inf. gen. id.; Cn \bar{b} → Eg (EgSSc) $\zeta\acute{a}$ - $\bar{b}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{y}a$ 'ford, crossing' (Eg NK $y < r$, see Erm. NÄG 23-4) ¶ KB 735-8, HJ 821-3, A no. 1990, OLS 71, Sl. 840-1, Js. 1039-40, JPS 399, DM 4, 340, Fr. III 97-8, BK II 152-3, CAD IV 10-12, Sd. 182, Slw. 145-6, Hlk no. 28, SivCR 18, Frnz. EL 133 || D (in SD) * $\bar{e}ri$ '(raised) bank, lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm $\bar{e}ri$ 'large tank, reservoir for irrigation; lake', Ml $\bar{e}ri$ 'bank; stakes to support banking work', Kn $\bar{e}ri$ 'a raised bank, the bank of a tank, a tank', Kdg $\bar{e}tri$ 'parapet of well, bund (in paddy fields, of tank)', Tu $\bar{e}ri$ 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D no. 901.

142. ($\bar{2}$?) * $\zeta\nabla p\nabla R\nabla$ 'wild boar' > HS: S * $\checkmark\zetaipr$ > Ar ζifr - ~ ζufr 'wild boar, swine, young pig' ({Fr.} ζifr - 'porcus, aper', ζufr - 'porcus') ¶ Fr. III 183 || ? ϕ Eg fXX $\bar{i}p\bar{h}$ 'swine' ¶ EG I 69 || IE * $Hepero$ - ({EI} * $h_1eperos$ 'boar [adult male of *Sus scrofa*]') > NaIE * $ap(e)ro$ -s 'wild boar' (with * a on the analogy of * $kapro$ -s 'he-goat') > L $aper$, - \bar{i} 'wild boar', Um $apru\bar{f}$, ABROF id. (accus. pl.), $abru\bar{n}u$ id. (accus. sg.) || pGmc * $ebura$ - 'wild boar' > AS $eofor$, MLG $ever$, OHG $ebur$, NHG $Eber$ || BSl * $weprya$ - (with * w - on the analogy of a different word) > Ltv $vepris$ 'castrated boar' || Sl * $vepr\bar{b}$ ~ * $vepr\bar{b}$ 'wild boar' > OR $vepr\bar{b}$ $vepr\bar{b}$, R $vepr\bar{b}$, gen. 'veprja, Blg 'vepъp 'wild boar', Uk 'veпер 'wild boar, hog', SCr $ve\bar{p}ar$ (gen. $ve\bar{p}ra$), P $wieprz$ (gen. $wieprza$), Cz $vepř$ 'hog' || ? σ Thr ἔβρος 'ram'

¶ P 323, EI 425, WH I 56, Ho. 92, KM 150-1, EWA II 941-3, Bc. G 327, Kar. II 507, Glh. 666-7, Vs. I 292, Pln. II 724 || ?σ **A** *æp'ʰo'R∇ 'horn' (if from 'fung' ← 'wild boar's fung' ← 'wild boar'?) > M *eber 'horn' > MM [HI, S, MA, IM] eber, WrM {MED} eber, HIM эвэp {MED} 'horn'. {BMR} 'horns', Brt эбэp 'horn(s)', Kl {KRS} эвp id., {Rm.} ewʀ̥ ~ öwʀ̥ 'Horn', Mnr H {SM} uyer, Ord ewer 'corne' ¶ MED 286, BMR IV 395, KW 129, 303, SM 480, Ms. H 52, H 40, Pp. MA 150, 436, Chr. 753, Ms. O 251, MYC 249 || pKo {S} *s-pír 'horn' > MKo spír, NKo p̄ul id. ¶ Nam 274, MLC 832 || Tg *opop∇ 'nose' > Nn Nh oporo, Nn Bk/KU oφoro, WrMc {Z} oφopo id. ¶ STM II 22, On. 313, Z 134-5 ¶ Tg *o...o- < pA *æp'ʰo' (regr. as.)? ¶¶ SDM 607 (pA *j̄op'ér|ʀ∇ - *j̄ap'ór|ʀ∇ 'horn' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 646, S AJ 46, 291 [no. 391] (pA *ep'∇r|∇), Pp. MA 150, 436, S QJ no. 43 ◇ AD NM no. 46; S CNM 13 and SN 146 (÷÷ OChn?).

143. ₂ *ʕAr∇ 'dry, arid' > **HS**: WS *ʕarab- > BHb ʕarāb̄ 'desert, steppe', ʕarāb̄ ba-ʕ'rab̄, (in pause ʕarāb̄ ba-ʕ'rab̄) 'in the desert', ʕarāb̄ ʕarāb̄, Ar ʕarab-, Mh ʕarēb 'Arabs' (← 'inhabitants of a desert\steppe'), Sb ʕrb coll. 'bedouins' and Mn ʕrb coll. 'nomads' ([in both lges] ← 'inhabitants of the desert'), Gz ʕarab 'Arabia', ? (mt.) Gz ✓ ʕbr 'be dry\unfruitful' ¶ KB 831-3, GB 616, BGMR 19, MA 15, Jo. M 27 || **D** *āʀ- v. 'be(come) dry' > Tm āʀʀu vt. 'dry (as the hair)', Ml āʀuka vi. 'dry up (as land, washed hair, wounds)', Kt aʀ- vi. 'dry' (as dew), 'heal' (as a wound), Td oʀ- 'become dry by heating', Kn āʀ, āʀu, Tu āʀuni, Tl āʀu vi. 'dry', Kdg aʀ- vi. 'dry up' (of a stream, cloth), Klm aʀ-, Nkr āʀ- vi. 'become dry', Nk āʀ- 'be dried\emaciated', Gnd Mn āranā vi. 'warm oneself', Krx artaʔānā v. 'spread out in the sun for drying' ¶¶ In some D lges there is a homonymic merger with the verb *āʀ- ({GS} *āʀ-) 'to cool' (GS 150-1 [no. 380]) ¶¶ D no. 404, Zv. 44-5, Sbr. DVM 56, Pf. 83 (*āʀ-) ◇ WS *ʕarab- 'desert' < N *ʕAr∇ bA with the pc. *bA of quality bearers (sc. *ʕAr∇ bA 'something arid?').

144. *ʕiR'i' '(male, young) big ungulate' > **HS**: WS *ʕayr- ~ *ʕīr- 'male wild ass, ass foal' > BHb ʕayir, SmHb ʕīr 'male ass; young ass', BHb +ppa: ʕīr-: ʕīr-ō 'his male ass' (the pl. form of the Masoretic tradition ʕīr- ~ ʕīr- ʕayāʕīrīm is on the analogy of *1a2a3-nouns, cp. the SmHb cognate form ʕīrām, suggesting Hb *ʕīr-īm), MHb ʕayir, Ug ʕr {A} 'ass foal', {OLS} 'ass', JA [Trg.] pl. ʕayir-īn id., Ar ʕayr- 'wild ass, domestic ass', WS ⇨ Ak Mr ʕāru ~ ʕaʔaru ~ ayaru 'ass foal' ¶ KB 777-8, KBR 822, A no. 2090, OLS 87, Lv. III 643, Lv. T II 214, Js. 1075, BK II

419, CAD VI 118, Sd. 328 || Eg fOK ʕ3 'ass' > DEg ʕ3 > Cpt Sd **eiw** eiō, Cpt B **iw** iō ¶ EG I 165, Vc. 60-1 || ?σ C: DhI {EEN} hēri 'goat, sheep' || SC: Irq {MQK} ʔāri 'she-goat', pl. āra 'goats', Irq/Grw/ Alg/Brn {E} ara 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm ur 'he-goat' || ECh: LI ōrē 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, ChL ¶¶ EG I 165, Ember ESS no. 3.b.6, OS no. 1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [no. 25.3] || K *^oir- > OG, G irem- 'deer' ¶ Abul. 189, DCh. 582 || IE: NaIE *er(i)-b^h- (with the sx *-b^h(0)- of animal names) 'ε horned artiodactyl' (× N *H^ræ^r∇ 'goat, sheep', q.v.) > Gk ἔριφος-ς 'kid' || Clt: OIr heirp (*erb^h-ī-) 'dama, capra', erb(b) (*erb^h-ā-) 'cow', NIr earb 'goat', ScGl earb 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, F I 560, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 170, Tp. P E-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-80 || D *ir- '(ε) deer, stag' (× N *yER∇ 'ε (young of a) ruminant animal', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D *-r- (pointing to a N *r-cluster) suggests that the main source of D *ir- is N *yER∇ rather than N *ʕiR^ri¹ ◇ AD NM no. 47; S CNM 7 and S SN 146 (÷÷ ST).

145. ?σ₂ *∇r∇ 'run' > HS: Eg fMK ω^ʕr 'flee' ¶ EG I 286, Fk. 57 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} ʕarar- 'flee', Sml {ZMO} ʕarar- 'run away, flee', ?σ Rn àrársì vt. 'hurry, rush', caus. àràríča vt. 'hurry up' || Ag: Bln {R} harer- 'laufen, rennen'; Ag → Tgr {LH} ✓ hrr 'hurry' ({R} ✓ hrr 'laufen, rennen') → Bj {R} herēr- ~ hirēr- scv. 'marschieren, wandern, gehen, zu Fuß gehen' ¶ R WB 200, R WBd 126, LH 10, Abr. S 14, PG 68 || (+ ext.) SES *✓ ʕrm_d > Hrs ✓ ʕrm (pf. ʔārōm) 'run fast' (of a camel), Mh/Jb ✓ ʕrmd (pf. Mh ʔārmed, Jb C aʕar¹mid) id. ¶ Jo. H 10, Jo. J 15, Jo. M 28 || D: Tl uru 'retreat, retire, withdraw' ¶ ≈ D no. 713.

146. *∇aR₂|wu or *∇aH₂Ru 'back (dos), loins' > HS: S *^o✓ Hr w (= *✓ ʕr w?) > Ak erūtū ~ arūtū 'back (dos)', ? Ar ʕurʕur-at- 'top of a camel's hump, peak of a mountain' ¶ Sd. 248, BK II 225 || Eg P/BD ʕr.t 'hinder parts (of men), hindquarters (of animal)' ¶ EG I 209, Fk. 45 || B: Si {La.} arraḡ, array, {Bs. ← BrR} اهرو|ahrāu 'back (dos)', Ah arūri, Gh {Nh.} aruri, ETwl aruru (pl. iroran), Ty ʔrori (pl. iroran), Ttq {Msq.} arurī, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} aʕrur, taʕrurt, Zww {La.} aʕarur 'back (dos)'; the unexpected presence (= preservation?) of ʕ in Izn, Rf, SrSn, Zww has not yet been explained ({La.} "ne s'explique guère") ¶ Rn. 379, Fc. 1660, GhA 163, Msq. 95, La. S 228, La. MChB 115 [fn. 2] || Ch: WCh: Cg {Σκ.} árí 'back (dorsum)' || ?φ ECh: Mu {Lk.} hâr, {J} hàr id. ¶ JI II 6-7, J Mu, ChC s.v. 'back' || A: [1] pA *ār^ru¹ 'back (dos), hind part, behind' > NaT *ārt 'back or hinder part of anything; nape of neck' > OT ārt id., Tk art, Tkm ārt, VTt

art 'hind part, back (dos)', Az arđ_, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, SY art, Tv art- (+ppa.) 'hind part' ¶ TkR 52, ET Gl 179-80, ADb. SR 116-17, 185 || M *aru ({ADb.} *arϑu) 'animal's back' > MM [S, HI, MA] aru, WrM aru {MED} back (dorsum), rear', HIM ap {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'hintere Seite', Brt apa id., Kl {KRS} ap id. 'north', {Rm.} ar ~ ar̄ 'hinter; die hintere oder Rückseite; Nordseite, Norden', Dg ar 'the northern side of a mountain, northern side', Ord aru 'côté postérieur', dos', adj. 'postérieur' ¶ ADb. MSR 9, H 9, Pp. MA 106, MED 54, BMR I 116-17, Chr. 54, KRS 46, KW 21, Ms. H 37, Ms. O 30, Klz. D I 109-10 || pJ {S} *ātuà 'behind, trace' > OJ atyo, MJ àtó, J T áto, J K àtó, J Kg ató {Kenk.} back, rear; trace, track; mark, impression' ¶ S QJ no. 767, Mr. 387, Kenk. 60-2 || [2] pA *arka 'back (dos)' > NaT *arka id. > OT, MU, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOsM arqa 'back (dorsum), upper part of the back', Tk arka, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt arqa, ET a(r)qa, Uz arqa, Xk arϑa, Tv arϑa 'back, shoulders; hintere Seite', Yk arϑā id., nape, withers', Tkm arqa, Az arxa 'back, upper part of the back; animal's back', Ln ayqa 'hind part', Chv {Ash.} opxa 'animal's back', {Ash, Jeg., ChVS} уржалăх, {Fed} уржалăх ђ оржалăх 'saddlebag (чересседельник), поперечник (ein Teil des Pferdegeschirrs)' ¶ Cl. 215, TkR 50, ET Gl 174-5, TL 267-8, ADb. SR 116-17, 185, Pek. 142, Ash. III 291, Fed. II 288, Jeg. 276, ChVS 233 || Tg *arka-n 'back (dos)' > Ewk arkan, Sln arkã, Lm arqan, Neg aykan, Orc akka(n-), Ud aka(n-), Ork atta(n-) ¶ STM I 51, Krm. 205 ¶¶ Pp. VG 76, 94, 192 (explaining T *arka and Tg *arka-n as derived from *aru (*arka < *aru-ka) ¶¶ SDM 311-12 (pA *āra > T *arka, M, Tg, J), DQA no. 48, ≈ ADb. SR 305 (T *arka-n ≠ M *aru) || D (in SD) *ar- 'waist, loins' > Tm arai id., 'stomach', Ml ara 'middle of the body, loins, waist', Td ar niñ 'silver waist string' (niñ 'string'), Kdg are 'waist' ¶ D no. 230 ◇ The long *ā in T *ārt and the D cns. *-r- (normally from cns. clusters) point to the presence of an additional element in pN (a lr. or *w?). If Ar ϑurϑur-at- belongs here, the pN postcons. lr. may have been *ϑ (N *ϑarϑu). Mu h- still requires explanation.

147. *ϑurϑur 'to flee' > HS: CS *ϑurϑur 'run away, flee' > Sr ϑurϑur G 'flee', JA [Trg.] ϑurϑur 'flee, run', JEA ϑurϑur ~ ϑurϑur 'flee', Ar {Ln.} ϑurϑur G : ϑarϑa (fi-l ϑarϑi) 'go away into the country', {BK} ϑarϑ- 'way, road, beaten path' ('chemin, route, sentier frayé') ¶ BK II 228-9, Ln 2017-19, Br. 550, Js. 1123, Sl. 883, KB 841 || U: FV ≈ *urke- 'flee, go away' > Lv {Kt.} urϑur- 'flee, avoid', F pres. urkene- / inf. urjeta 'abgehen, abreisen, abfahren, sich entfernen, sich aufmachen, aufbrechen, beginnen (Weg, Laufbahn)' ||

Er *οργόδε-* *orgóde-*, Mk *ворьгоде-* *vorǵadǵa-* 'flee, run away' ¶ UEW 805, SK 1548, Kt. 457, ERV 442, Ker. II 101, SSA III 375-6 || D **uṛuk-* 'run away' > Tl *uṛuk*, Knd *uṛk-* id. ([partially] × D **uṛuk-* 'jump' > Tm *uṛukku* id.) ¶¶ ≈ D no. 713 ◇ Not here WrM {MED} *οργυ-*, HIM *οργο-* v. 'flee' (cf. MED 617, BMR II 488), because this word goes back to M **φοργυ-* (cp. MM [MA] *horgu-* id., F Pp. MA 186).

148. **ʕaRi* ∇ or **ʕaRi* '≈ without, no' ([in descendant lges] → 'naked') > K: OG *ara* 'no, not', G *ara* 'no, not', *ar* 'not' ¶ Ser. 3, Chx. 30 || IE: NaIE **ar-* / **ōr-* v. 'deny' (P: 'verweigern, leugnen') > Gk *ἀρνέομαι* 'I deny' || Arm *ուրանամ* *uṛanam* 'I deny' || pAl {O} **arn-enya* > Al: T *rreĵ*, G *rreĵ* v. 'deceive' ⇨ Al T *rrem* 'mendacious, false' ¶ P 62, F I 145-6, 158, Ch. 112, Slr. 385-6, O 380, Bugge BA 38ff., BFU 484, Me. EAC 111, 142 || HS: S **ʕry|w* (~ **ʕrr*) 'be(come) naked\empty' > BHb *נָרַי* *ṇō'rū* 2pm inv. 'strip naked!', D *נָרַי* *ṇō'rā* '(he) bared, made naked', 'entblößen, bloßlegen', Ph *ʕry* D (3s ip. *ʕr*) 'strip off', Ug *ʕr* ω 'naked, uncovered', Ar *ʕry* G (pf. *ʕariya*) 'be(come) naked, be(come) bare of clothes', Ak *eriu* *erū* 'naked, empty'; CS **ʕr̥y-at-* 'nakedness' > BHb *נָרַי* *ʕer'yā*, Sr *ʕaryat*, JA *נָרַי* *ʕiryatā* ~ *נָרַי* *ʕoryatā*, Ar *عَرِيَّة* *ʕuryat-* ¶ KB 834-5, HJ 887, OLS 90, Br. 548, CAD IV 320, Sd. 242 || U: Y: Y T {Ku.} *araw* 'naked', {Ku.} *arāwyā*, {Ang. ← Iox.} *arauneje* 'kahl' ({Ang.} sc. 'nackt'), K {Iox.} *arau(lei)*, T {JIox.} *araulei* 'naked', T/K {Ang. ← Iox.} 'araulei' 'naked, bare, undressed'; in IN H this word is not registered ¶ Ku. 34, Ang. 23, Iox. JR s.v. *arau*, Iox. XR s.v. *araulei* || ?σ D **aṛi* 'perish, be destroyed' > Tm *aṛi* v. 'perish, be ruined', Ml *aṛiyuka* 'be destroyed', Kt *aṛc-* 'be erased', *aṛy* ∇ 'destruction', Td *oḏy-* 'be spent' (money), Kn *aṛi* 'be ruined\destroyed, perish', Tu *arpuni* vt. 'efface, waste', *aṛipuni* 'perish', Tl *aṛisina* 'which destroys', Prj *andkip-*, Gnd *aṛih-* v. 'destroy' ¶¶ D no. 277.

148a. ₂ **ʕger* ∇ 'raincloud, rain' > HS: C {AD} *ʕgr-* 'cloud, rain', {E} **ʕir-* 'rain' > Ag: Awn {Hz.} *ʕrī* 'rain' || EC: Af {PH} *ʕir-* ~ *ʕer-* 'smoke, steam', Arr {Hw.} *ʕirī*, Elm {Hn.} *írī*, Dsn {To.} *ʕír*, Hr/DbS {AMS} *iráww*, Gln/Gwd {AMS} *irráww*, Cm {Hbl.} *éro*, {SLLE} *ʕerro* 'rain', pSam {Hn.} **ʕir-* > Sm {R} *ʕīro* 'fog, cloud', Sm N {Abr.} *ʕīro* 'fog', Sm {Hn.} *ʕir ʕaddā gā* 'continuous light rain', {ZMO} *ʕir* 'rain, weather, sky', Rn {PG} *ħír* 'rain' ¶ AD SF 143, E PC no. 489, PH 60-1, Hw. A 342, To. DL 483, Hn. S 77 (pSam **ʕir-* 'light rain'), ZMO 68, PG 141, AMS 263 || NrOm **ir* ∇ 'rain, cloud' > Wl/Zl/Dwr/Gf/Dc/Bdt/Zs/Bsk/Cha {LmS} *ira*, Malo {LmS} *ʕira*, Gm {Hw.}

ṛíro, Hrr {CR} ir̄a, Ym {Wdk} ìrò, Na/Shk/Mj {Fl.} iru 'rain', Kf {C} ir̄o 'cloud' ¶¶ Blz. OL (Om *ir- 'rain'), AD SF 143, LmS 292, Lm. Y 321, CR H 637, Wdk. BY 170, Hw. EG s.v. 'rain', Fl. OWL s.v. 'rain' || D: McTm *eṛili 'cloud' > Tm, Ml eṛili id. ¶ D no. 849 ◇ Suggested by Blažek: Blz. LNA no. 2 (N *ṛeṝ▽).

149. *ṛar̄k̄'u 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'bowstring, bow') > **HS:** WS *ṛi'rk̄- 'sinew, vein, root' > Ar ṛir̄q- 'root, sinew, vein', Mh ṛar̄k̄- 'artery, sinew, nerve, root', Jb C ṛar̄k̄- 'root, sinew', JA ṛar̄k̄-ā 'leather thong', Tgr ṛar̄eḳ̄ 'tendon, nerve', ?σ Sb ṛrk̄ 'neck muscle, collarbone' ¶ Fr. III 143, Jo. M 28, Lv. III 705-6, BGMR 20, LH 359, MiK I no. 1.20 || AdS of Eg fP r̄ω̄z 'cord; bowstring; sinews' (< N *r̄▽, w̄, k̄æ 'sinew' [→ 'cord, rope']; to tie' [q.v.] × N *r̄'o'ḡk̄a 'to bend' [→ 'a bow']) ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148, Tk. I 249-50 || **IE** *r̄'erk̄u- ~ *r̄'erk̄ω- 'bow, net' ({EI} *r̄'erk̄ω-s 'bow and/or 'arrow') (× N *r̄'o'R̄k̄ô 'bend, be bent\ crooked' [q.v.]) > NaIE *ar̄ku- ~ *ar̄k̄ω- 'bow, net' > OL gen. ar̄qu-ī, L arcus id. || Gmc *ar̄k̄ō (*'belonging to a bow' →) 'arrow' > Gt d. ar̄hazna ('βέλος) 'Pfeil', ON q̄r (gen. q̄rvar), OSw ar̄f, AS ear̄h 'arrow', NE arrow || Gk ṛrk̄us, -uos 'net' ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Bc. G 329, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, Fs. 56, F I 142-3 || **A** *ar̄k̄'a- > NaT *arka- > Osm {Rs.} ar̄qa- 'an den Sattelriemen festbinden' (× T *arka 'back, dorsum', cp. Chv ṛp̄xalǎx, VTt ar̄qal̄bq 'saddlebag', Osm {Rh.} ar̄qal̄iq 'porter's knot for carrying burdens', Tk ar̄kal̄ik 'luggage carrier with a bicycle'), Chg {Rs.} ar̄qa- 'den Faden einschließen', Tv ar̄gy- ar̄y+-v. 'knit, plait, weave', Xk ar̄ya- v. 'embroider in flat stitches'; NaT {ET} *ark̄ān 'lasso, thick rope' > Chg {Rl.} ar̄qan, Kr ṛṛṛṛ ar̄qan, Tkm ar̄qān 'lasso, thick rope', CrT, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh ar̄qan, Uz ar̄qan, Tk {ET} ar̄gan 'thick rope, cable', Qrg, StAlt ar̄qan 'rope made of hair', Qzq {Rl.} ar̄qan 'rope made of horsehair'; a T lge ⇨ R ar̄'kan 'lasso' ¶ Rs. W 26, ET Gl 175-6, BIG 30, TvR 68, Rl. I 288, Bu. I 30 ¶ N *r̄ > T *r in the precon. position (a law formulated by Hl.) || M *argam̄zi 'rope' > MM [IM] ar̄gam̄zi 'rope', [S] {H} ar̄ham̄ji (= ar̄yam̄zi) 'Leitstrick', WrM ar̄gam̄zi {MED} 'rope, tether'. HIM {MED} ar̄gam̄j id., {BMR} ar̄gam̄j(ин) 'leathern rope, бечева', Brt ar̄gam̄ja 'leathern rope', Kl {KRS} ar̄hm̄j ar̄yam̄za 'Fangschlinge, Lasso', {Rm.} ar̄yam̄zi 'Strick', WrO ar̄gam̄zi 'rope, line, halter, hawser, bridle', Ord ar̄gam̄zi 'longue corde'; M *argam̄zi- > WrM {MED} ar̄gam̄zi-, HIM {MED, BMR} ar̄gam̄ji- v. 'tie, fasten with a rope', Ord ar̄gam̄zi- 'lier au moyen d'une longue corde';

M → Tf argamǰi 'lasso, leather rope', Tv argamčy id., Xk arγamǰi, StAlt armakčy armaqǰi 'lasso, rope', Qrg argamjy arγamǰi 'rope (made of hair)'; WrO arχala- v. 'fasten, tether', HIM {BMR} аржалж 'tether (привязь)', Kl {Rm.} arχa|'- 'das Pferd mit einem langen Stricke an einem Pfahl einbinden, tüdern (tether)', {KRS} арплан 'tether (привязь) on a leg of a horse\camel' ¶ Pp. MA 432, H 9, MED 52, BMR I 136-7, 154, Krg. 52-3, KW 13-14, KRS 49, 52, Ra. 155, Ms. O 28 ¶ The pA lenis *-k'- for the expected fortis *-k'- (from N *-k'-) is still to be explained || D (att. in NED) *eṛṽt- > Krx eṛetḥ 'longbow', Mlt eṛtu 'a bow', eṛtyo 'archer' ¶ D no. 789, Pf. 186 [no. 34] ◇ The unexpected D *e- is still to be explained ◇ AD NM no. 25, S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 17-18 (pointing to the problems with the sxs in M).

150. *ṛEwṽSṽ '(ε) grass' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *ṛawš- / *ṛayš- (< *ṛawiš-?) > Sa, Af ṛayso 'grass, straw, vegetation', Sml ṛaws 'dry grass', ?φ Rn ḥōs, Bn ēs, Dsn ṛīš 'grass', Or ēs 'ε corn' ({Th.} 'farro, farragine, spelta, specie di frumento'), Hr, Dbs, Gln, Gwd ṛaš-ko 'grass', Sd {Ss.} ayso 'grass', {Hd.} hayssu 'blade of grass', hayssu 'grass' ¶ Ss. PEC 44-5, 47, Hn. S 77, PG 143, Th. 123, Hd. 72, AMS 245, 263, To. DL 482 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {S} *awasi 'grass' > Jmb awaš'i, My awasu || ECh: Skr {Sx.} úśu, Bdy {AIJ} ṛāwso id. | possibly also *√ws > NrBc: Wrj wasə-na, Mbr wásə, Kry wasisi, SBc: Bg wésə| id. || CCh: Ms {J} wúsná, Bnn úśná id.; G'nd úśinna, Tr {Nw.} wúzən, Pdl wúzəndí 'grass' ¶ Sk. NB 24, Stl. ZCh 260 [no. 183], ChL, ChC s.v. 'grass', AIJ 35, Blz. ChTP 8, Tk. NB 183 (NrBc *(a)was- < *ṛawas-) ¶¶ Tk. PAA 31 (NrBc, EC) || A: M *ebesün (< **ebes-sün with a nominal sx .*-sün) 'grass, hay' > MM [L, MA, IM] ebesün, WrM {MED} ebesün ~ ebüsün, HIM {MED, BMR} евс(ен), Brt ṽbḥə(h) id., Kl {Rm.} öwsu 'Heu, Gras', Mnr H {SM} wesə ~ yese 'herbe, plante, paille, foin', {T} wese ~ yese 'grass, hay', Mnr M {T} bese, MMgl [Z] ebesün, Mgl {Rm.} ebásun, Dg {T} eṽse, Ba {T} wesə 'grass, hay', Ord öwösü ~ öwös 'herbe, paille' ¶ Pp. MA 150, 436, Pp. L II 1254, Rm. M 27, MED 287, 291, BMR III 4-5, Chr. 488-9, KW 303, Iw. 100, Pot. 421, Ms. O 544, SM 483, 493, T 321, T DgJ 19, T BJ 136 || E: NEI a-h-iš 'Weidegrund (?)' ¶¶ HK 34 || AdS of IE *ṛ₁wēis- > NaIE *wēis- v. 'grow, sprout forth' (P: 'sprießen, wachsen') (< N *wīś?ṽ 'to grow' [esp. of plants] [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Blz. E no. 62 (E, HS).

151. *ṛeš^ri 'make, do' > HS: WS *√ṛšy 'make, do' > BHb עשה √ṛšy|w G, M'b √ṛšy G (1s pf. ṛšty), Ug √ṛšy G id., SmA עשה ṛšh (Hebraized spelling for ṛš? [√ṛsy] 'do'), n. act. ṛšy (for ṛsy) 'doing, making', Sb/Mn

𐑦𐑦𐑦 *G* 'do, make; acquire', Qt 𐑦𐑦𐑦 *G* {Rk.} 'acquire' (OSA 𐑦 for the expected 𐑦 is puzzling) ¶ KB 842-5, HJ 890-1, OLS 93, Tal 667, BGMR 20-1, MA 16, Rk. IQ 125 || C: Ag {Ap.} *𐑦𐑦𐑦- 'make, do' > Bln {Ap.} 𐑦𐑦𐑦-, Xm/Q {Ap.} 𐑦𐑦𐑦-, Dmb {R} 𐑦𐑦- id. || EC: Sa {R} 𐑦𐑦- / 𐑦𐑦𐑦-, Af {R} 𐑦𐑦- id., pBn {Hn.} *as- v. 'prepare' (> {Hn.} Bn Bi/K as- id., Bn J/Kj áŋaŋ as- 'brew beer'); HEC {Hd.} *ass- / *iss- 'do, make' > Sd {Gs., Hd.} ass-, Kmb {Hd.} ass-, 𐑦𐑦-, Ged (h)ass-, Hd {Hd.} iss- 'do', Brj {Hd., Ss.} iss- 'do, act, make' || SC: Alg {Wh.} 𐑦𐑦𐑦𐑦-, Brn {Wh.} 𐑦𐑦𐑦𐑦- 'do' ¶ AD SF 151, Ap. AV 5, Ss. B 107, R S II 52, Hn. BD 122, 143, Hd. 51, 95, 201, 244, 285, 308, 315, 35, Wh. IC 56 || ECh: Mkl {J} sbjn. 𐑦𐑦𐑦 (pl. 𐑦𐑦𐑦, aor. 𐑦𐑦𐑦) 'do, make' ¶ J LM 113 ¶¶ JI II 229, ChC s.v. 'make', AD SF 151 (S, C), Ap. AV 5 (S, Ag, EC), OS no. 1097 (HS *𐑦𐑦𐑦- 'do, make'; S, C, Ch) || IE: Ht 𐑦𐑦𐑦- / 𐑦𐑦𐑦- 'do, make' (unless an iterative of Ht 𐑦𐑦𐑦- id.) ¶ Pv. I-II 300-5 || U: FP (+ ext.) *ešte- 'make, make\be ready', (→ 'succeed, have time to do sth.') > pChr {Ber.} *išta- 'do, make' > Chr L/B 𐑦šte-, Chr H ašte- id. | pPrm {LG} *3št- > Z eštini, Prmk, Yz yešt- 'be ready', 'be fulfilled' (a word), 'succeed in fulfilling, have time to do' | pLp {Lr.} *3st3- > Lp: N {N} âs'tât 'have time\leisure (to do sth.)', L {LLO} astat, Kld 𐑦šte-ð id., S {Hs.} astedh id., 'arrive in time' | F ehti- 'arrive in time' ¶ ≈ UEW 626 (FP *ešte 'have time, be ready'), Sm. 552 (FP *ešti- 'manage'), Ber. 8, LG 333, SK 35, It. 303, Coll. 76-7, Lr. no. 25, Lgc. no. 111, Hs. 250, SaR 424 ◇ N *š̂ > U *š̂ is puzzling: a positional change *-š̂t- > *-št-?

152. *𐑦𐑦𐑦 (𐑦a) 'tree' > HS: Eg fOK 𐑦𐑦 'cedar, *Abies cilicica* (as a tree and esp. as wood)' ¶ EG I 228, Fk. 49 || ?? WCh: Geji 𐑦es, Zul 𐑦yè sè 'tamarisk' ¶ Sh. SB. s.v. ;tamarisk' || IE *H^ωes- 'ash tree' ({EI} *h₂eHōs 'ash') > NaIE *os- ~ *ōs- (and with extentions: *osk- ~ [mt.] *oks-) > L ornus (< *os-en-os) 'mountain ash' || Clt {Matas} *osno- 'ash tree' > MW onn, ynn 'ash tree' (< *osnā), MCrn onnen, MBr ounn, onn, Br onn, Δ ounnenn id., OIr (h)uinnius, dat. uinsinn (< *onn-ist-ō), ? Mlr onn 'pine tree, furze bush' || Gk βέτυα ~ βέτυη 'beech tree' (< *oskes-?) || pAl {O} *aksa > Al ah 'beech tree' || Arm հացի 'ash tree' (< *H^os-k-) || ON askr, OHG asca id. || Pru woasis, Lt úosis, Ltv ôsis id. | Sl *ásenb ~ *ásenb id. > Slv jásen, jésen, Slv R ásen, Blg 'расен, SCr jāsēn, Δ jēsēn, OR ꙗсѣнь yasenb, R, Blr, Uk 'расень, Cz jasan, Slk jaseň | The BSl vw. goes back to IE *ō (L-gr. of IE *o) ¶ P 782, ≈ EI 32 (unc.: 'ash' ← '≈ burnings'), F II 400, WH II 223, Vn. U 20, O 2-3, Vr. 15, EWA I 364-6, Slr. 312-13, Frn. 1167, En. 276, ESSJ I 79-80, Matas. E 300-1,

Glh. 29O, Frdr. PIT 2O [no. 13], Frdr. PITA 92-8 || U *oš|śka 'ē tree (ash tree, elm, poplar)' > Chr H oš'kъ 'ash tree', L oš'ko 'black poplar (*Populus nigra*), ocoкopъ' || pMr {Ker} *ūskъ > (mt.) *uksъ > Er uksō, Mk uks 'ash tree' || Sm: Kms {KD} āzoy p'ā 'poplar' (p'ā 'tree') ¶¶ Ker. II 174, Ber. 93, KD 6, Coll. 138 || A: T *o₁:s > Sg, Qb, Qc, StXk oS 'aspen, poplar', Qzl {Rl.} oS 'poplar', Chv L āBāc, Chv Δ yц 'aspen'; there may be semantic infl. of NaT *apsak 'aspen' (< N *pač'P∇ 'ē leaf-bearing tree' ['aspen' or the like]) ¶ Hoops 123-4 and after him Tenishev (TL 131) unconvincingly suggested an IE origin of the T word (from Sl *osa 'aspen' [cf Sl *osa 'aspen' from N *pač'P∇ 'ē leaf-bearing tree', q.v. ffd.]) ¶ ET Gl 607-8, Fed. I 80-1, BIG 131, Rl. I 1138, Ash. IV 36, Fed. I 80-1, Jeg. 39 ◇ Coll. IUS 87, Coll. HUV 121 (in both sources: IE, U), IS I 255 s.v. *Hos∆ 'ash tree' (IE, U), Jk. 333 (proposed as an alternative [with a query] that the Chr and Mr words may be loans from Irn [Scythian]: "Entlehnung aus einer altertümlichen iran. (skyth.) Sprachform wäre ebenso möglich..., die Sippe ist aber in den iran. Sprachen kaum belegt"), O HSN 121-2 (N *Hos∇ 'ash tree' > IE, U, SBch + unc. Ak išše'ua 'Kiefernspäne').

153. *zaṭU 'ē fish' > HS: S *o'ṡ∇ṭ- > Ug ṡṭ id. ¶ OLS 94 || Eg XVIII/G ṡdω 'ē fish (forbidden to eat)' ¶ EG I 237 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} aty 'a female fish (with roe)' ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) WrM atū 'a female fish' (× Tg *at∇ 'female' < N *'at∇ 'female, woman', q.v.); WrMc }Z} atyxa 'a male fish' ⇨ (or ⇨ ?) WrM {MED} atuqa, HIM {BMR} atyux 'a male fish' ¶ Z 29, MED 58-9, BMR I §75 || ?φ D (in SD) *at∇ 'ē fish' > Tm aṭal 'ē fish', Tm aṭalai, Ml aṭava 'ē marine fish', Tu aḍaminu, aḍānu 'ē fish' ¶ D no. 68 ¶ *-ṭ- for the expected *-t- is still to be explained || IE: NaIE *ateli- (and *'a'ti-?) 'ē fish' (× N *X'o't'i' 'ē fish', q.v.) > Gk [Arist., Hs.] ἔτελις (or ἔτελις) 'ē fish' ({F}: 'Goldbrasse?') || L [Plin.] attilus {WH} 'ē a big fish resembling sturgeons (in the Padus)' (⇨ Gl?); VL {ML} *atillus 'Stöhr' (sc. 'Stör, sturgeon?') > It V '(l)adano, It MI 'ladan, ?φ OIt Pv 'agano; VL {ML} *atillus id. > OIt V *adello > It adello id. || Lt ōtas 'halibut, turbot', (N *X'o't'i' > ?) Lt atis, Ltv āte id. ¶ P 70, ML no. 766, Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274, F I 580, Hld. I 275, WH I 78.

154. *zaṭ∇ 'to throw, to cast' > HS: EC {Ss.} *ṡaḍ- 'throw' > Kns, Gdl aḍ-, Hr ṡaḍ-, Brj aḍ-aḍ- 'throw', Sa ṡed- 'throw away', Af S ṡid- 'throw, kill' ¶ Ss. B 23 || S *o'ṡṡṡ > Ar ṡṡṡ G 'fell so. on the ground' ¶ BK II 283, Hv. 480 || A: T *at- 'throw, shoot (arrows)' > OT, Chg, XwT at- id., MQp at- 'shoot', Tk at-, Tkm, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Bsh, ET, Qrg, StAlt at-

'throw, shoot', Az, Nog, VTt at-, Uz ut- id., 'cast', Qzq, SY, Xk, Tv at- 'shoot', Yk it- 'shoot (arrows)' ||| Chv L ЫВЎТ-, Chv Δ ƳТ- ǂ ЫТ- 'throw, cast' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 199-200, Ash. III 49-60, 69-70 and 324-5, Fed. II 469-70, Jeg. 341, CgVS 286 ||| D *at- 'throw, shoot' > Tu aḏakuni 'throw, cast out, discharge (as a gun)', Tl aḏrincu, aḏaruḏu v. 'discharge, shoot (as an arrow or other missile)' ¶¶ D no. 61 ◇ The irreg. reflex *-t- in D may be due to some phonetic element in sxs.

155. *ḡot- 'breathe, blow' > IE *H^ωot-/*H_oωt- > NaIE *ōt-/at- v. 'breathe' (→ *ōt-men- [{EI} IE *h₁eh₁t-'men] 'breath') > OI āt'mā (gen. āt'manaḥ) 'breath, soul, self' ||| AS æðm, OSx āthom, OHG ātum, MLG ādem, Dt adem, NHG Atem, (Δ →) Odem 'breathing, breath' ||| OIr athach (< *at-āko-) 'breath, wind' ¶ WP I 118, P 345 (*ēt-men), EI 82, Mn. 254, MK I 73, Ho. 13, Ho. S 4, EWA I 391-3, KM 34, Vn. A 99-100 ||| HS: +exts: S *^o✓ ḡtḡn > Gz ✓ ḡtḡn G 'burn incense, fumigate with incense']? S *^o✓ ḡtḡm > Ak eṭemmu 'spirit of the dead, ghost'] WS *✓ ḡṭr v. 'exhale (as vapor\smoke\steam)' > Sr ḡṭar ✓ ḡṭr G (pf. ḡṭar) id., JA [TrgJ] ḡṭar ✓ ḡṭr G (pf. ḡṭar) 'rauchen, exhale smoke', Ar ✓ ḡṭr G (pf. ḡṭar) 'exhale fragrance, smell sweet', Mh ḡṭar v. 'perfume', Mh ḡṭar, Jb ḡṭar 'perfume' ¶ Br. 521, JPS 410, Lv. T II 211, Lv. III 636, Js. 1063-5, Fr. III 176, BK II 284, Jo. M 35, L G 76, CAD IV 397-401 ||| B *ḡadu? 'wind, odor' > Ah {Fc.} ādu, Gd aḏu, Izn/Rf {Rn.} aḏu, Gh {Nh.}, ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Wrg {Dlh.} aḏu, Nf aḏu id., Kb {Dl.} aḏu, Mz {Dlh.} aḏu, Snd aḏu 'wind', Tz {Stm.} ādu id., Sll {Ds.} aḏu 'gentle wind', BSn/BMn {Bs.} ādu 'heavy wind', Izd aḏu n. 'smell', Zng {TC} aḏih 'odor' ¶ Pr. H no. 141, Fc. 252-3, GhA 30, Nh. 213, Rn. 311, Lf. II no. O332, Dl. 170, Stm. 158, Ds. 290, MT 86, Dlh. M 37, Dlh. Ou 63, Mrc. 180, 261, TC D 4, NZ 437-9 ||| ?σ Ch ≈ *ḡtḡn 'nose' (× N *'h'ot- 'to smell [odorare, to get the odor of]', 'to smell [olere, to have an odor\scent], q.v. ffd.) ||| A: ?σ AmTg *ōti > Ul ōti 'the northeastern wind', Nn Nh/Bk {STM} ōti 'the north wind', Nn Nh {On.} ōti 'north' ¶ STM II 28, On. 318 ||| D *ūt- v. 'blow (blasen)' > Tm ūtu v. 'blow (as a wind instrument, a fire)', Ml ūtukā id., ūttu n. 'blowing', Kt uḏ- v. 'become swollen\bloated', Kn ūdu v. 'blow', Tu ūduri v. 'blow (as a pipe), swell', Tl ūdu v. 'blow with the mouth or with bellows', Klm, Nk, Nkr, Gdb ūnd-, Gnd ūd- v. 'blow', ? Ku hūtinay v. 'kindle' ¶¶ D no. 741, ≠ Km. 304 [no. 143] (reconstructing *uy-nt-/*uy-t- for his pCD [sc. pSCD and pCD] and pSD, *uy-ṭ-/-r- for pNED).

155a. * ζ u ζ ∇ ≈ hand' ('palm of hand with fingers?') > **HS:** S * σ^{r} ū ζ - and ? * σ^{r} ū ζ ω > Ak ū ζ - 'span, half ell', ? Ar ζ ū ζ ω G (ip. - ζ ū) 'take\receive with the hand' ('manu accepit') ¶ Sd. 1447, Fr. III 179-80 || **U** * σ^{r} utta (or * σ^{r} t|s|š-, *-ks|š-, *-s|šk-) > Sm {Jn.} *utā, {Hl.} *uta 'hand' > Ne: T η υδα, {Lh.} ηυδα, F {Lh.} ηuttā; Ng {Mik., Hl.} jütü, {Cs.} jūtū; En: X {Cs.} úra, B {Cs.} úda id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} utī id., B/Y/Kar {Cs.} ut, O {Cs.} ud, Ke/NP {Cs.} utte, Chl {Cs.} utö, UO {Cs.} ude id.; Kms {KD} uda, Koyb {Sp.} oда 'hand'; Mt {Hl.} *uda id. (Mt: M {Sp.} υδαμ 'my hand/arm', K {Mll.} uda 'arm', {Pl.} υδαδα 'his hand/arm', T {Pl.} údada, udada id., {Mll.} ududa 'his arm', A {Msrs.} udam 'my hand') ¶ Jn. 30, Cs. 55, 79, 232, Hl. US 115, Hl. M no. 1109 || **A** *u σ^{r} d σ^{r} a or (with regressive assimilation) *a σ^{r} d σ^{r} u 'arm, thigh' (× N * γ^{r} o σ^{r} d∇ 'hand', q.v. ffd.) > T: **[1]** NaT *aδut > OT U aδut 'a handful', 'palm of hand' (< a compound *... + * ζ u ζ ∇?) (-d→ O T aδutla- v. 'take a handful'), MU aδut 'handful', as well as possibly with *-w-: OT Δ [MhK] avut, Chg avuč, MQp [CC] ouč, Tk avuč, Tkm awuč, Nof uwis, Qmq uvuč, Blq uuč, Xk os, SY oš 'handful' ¶ Cl. 44-5, ADb. SR 179-82 (T *ad ζ ut| ζ with a dim. sx [?] *- ζ); **[2]** NaT *aδ-luk 'hip, thigh (Schenkel, бедро)' > OT uδluq, MT uyluq, Tk uyluk, Tkm uyluq, uwluq, SY utuq, otuq, Yk ulluq id., Xk ustux 'knee', SY ustuq 'shinbone' ¶ ET Gl 378-81, Cl. 55, TL 282 || pJ {S} *ùntàj 'arm' > OJ ùdè, J T/Kg udé, J K údè id. ¶ S QJ no. 1081, Mr. 560, Kenk. 2086 ¶ SDM 1484 (pA *udu|i 'arm, thigh' > T *aδ-luk, J) ¶¶ T *-d- (or pA *d-?) for the expected *-t σ^{r} - may be due to the infl. of N * γ^{r} o σ^{r} d∇ ◊ ≈ Gr. II no. 193 (*ute 'hand') (Sm, J + err. A).

156. * ζ aw ζ ∇ 'shout, speak' > **IE:** NaIE (?) * σ^{r} aw- > on. Gk (ipf.) αῦε, ft. αῦσω, aor. αῦσα 'cry out, shout, call aloud' ('rufen') ¶ P 76-7, F I 193 || **HS:** WS * ζ aw ζ 'shout' (n. act. * σ^{r} aw ζ -) > Ar ζ aw ζ G 'shout, howl', Gz ζ aw ζ a n. 'moan, wail', ζ aw ζ ā 'wailing', ζ aw ζ ω (pf. ζ aw ζ awa) 'wail in mourning, howl, cry, cry out' ¶ L G 79, BK I 415 || C: EC {Ss.} * ζ i ζ - 'cry' > Sml ζ i ζ -, Bs {HL} i ζ i, Or i ζ - v. 'cry, shout', Arr {Hw.} ?i ζ - 'cry out', Brj i ζ - v. 'cry for help', Af ey i ζ - 'shout' (i ζ - 'say'); Rn õya v. 'cry' ¶ Ss. B 108, ≈ HL 80, Hw. A 342, Grg. 228, PG 242 || Om {Blz.} * ζ u ζ ∇- 'say' > NrOm: Sz {Fl.} wε 'say', Ym {Wdk.} ú 'say', ? Gf {Mrn.} i ζ et 'speak' ¶ Blz. OL no. 238, Wdk. BY 137, Fl. p.c. || Ch (× N * γ^{r} a ζ ∇ 'say, speak, call'): **[1]** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} yúwz 'say' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wá, {Mch.} wa 'say'; **[2]** Ch {Stl.} * γ aw| ζ - 'call' ('звать') > WCh: Pr yó v. 'call' || CCh: Gudu {ChL} ?yâ, Msg {Mch.} yi, Ms {Mch.} ya, {J} yíná, {Stl.} ← ?} yu-mo, Bnn {Stl.} ya-mi, BnnM {Stl.} ya-mo

id. ||| ECh: Gbr ye id. ¶ JI II 59, ChC s.v. 'say' and 'call', ChL, Stl. IF 143, Lk. L 125 ||| **A** *a_y∇ 'speak, cry', 'sound' (× N *ʔ^ʔa^ʔy∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ||| ?φ **D** *ū^ʔv^ʔ- 'speak' > Prj ūb- 'speak, converse', ūbəl 'a saying', ? Tl ubusū 'chat, talk', Tl Vs ūsul-āḍukoni v. 'chat' ¶¶ D no. 631.

157. *ɣaw^ʔoy^ʔ∇ 'spend the night, sleep' > **IE:** *^oHeu_hH̄ - / *_hweH̄ - / *_hwoH̄ - > NaIE *a_u- / *əwē- / *əwō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', *a_us- id. (× N *ʔ^ʔū|u^ʔq^ʔyê 'night, dark hours') > Arm ա գ ա ն ի մ ա գ - a n i m 'I spend the night', օ ք օ տ^h (< eArm *a_ut^h-) 'pernoctation, spending the night in a place; sleeping place, inn' ||| Gk ἰαύω 'I sleep' (< rdp. *i-aus-ō) (aor. ἰ-αῦσα and unreduplicated ἴεσα), Gk Hm ἄωτέω 'sleep well', Gk L [Sph.] ἄωρος 'sleep, ὕπνος', Gk d. αῦλις (gen. -ιδος) 'tent or place for passing the night in', αὐλή- 'courtyard; lair' (< 'sleeping place') ¶ P 72, Hofm. 28, 30, 122, F I 186, 205, 706, Ch. 139-40, 454, 1304, Sl. 442-3 ||| **HS:** Eg MK/G {EG} ɣɣω, {Fk.} ɣɣωγ v. 'sleep' ¶ EG I 169, Fk. 38 ||| Om {Blz.} *w_ay^ʔ- 'sleep, lie down' > NrOm: Bdt {Fl.} w_oy^ʔ- 'sleep', Hrr {Fl.} w_ay 'lie down', Oyda {Fl.} w_oʔ- ~ w_oγ- 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL no. 120 ||| Ch (× N *ʔ^ʔū|u^ʔq^ʔyê 'night, dark hours'): [1] CCh: Nz {ChL} v₃ʔ₃ v. 'sleep' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} y₁, Skr {Sx.} w₃ʔ₃ v. 'sleep', EDng {Fd.} wêj₁è ~ wéj₁é 'être couché', wéj₁í ~ wéj₁ì 'sommeil', Mgm {J} ʔ₀ʔ₀y₀, amb Mu {J} ʔ₀w₀n n. 'sleep' (× Ch *^ʔywn 'sleep' [see below]) || [2] Ch {JS} ?φ *^ʔywn ~ *^ʔwn ({JI} *^ʔywn) 'sleep' (× N *ʔ^ʔū|u^ʔq^ʔyê '↑') > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} y₀w₀n 'spending the night; day and night (24 hours)', Bd {IL} íw₀n, {ChL} ùná 'sleep' ||| CCh: Msy {Mch.} w₀q₀, Db {LnG} wan 'sleep'; Gudu {ChL} w₁y₁n₁ 'sleep' (n. act.) ||| ECh: Mgm {J} w₀â₀n n. 'sleep', amb Mu {J} ʔ₀w₀n n. 'sleep' ¶ JI I 154 and II 298-9, ChC s.v. 'sleep', ChL, Sch. DN 177, Fd. 147 ||| **U:** FU *^ol_uw₁oy∇- v. 'sleep, fall asleep' > ObU {Ht.} *w₀y- / *w₀yā- id. > pVg {Ht.} *āy- v. 'sleep' > Vg: T/SV/LL ay-, LK/MK/UK ây-, P oy- ~ o_y-, Ss oy- id.; Vg: T ay₀l₀t₀kt-, LK ây₀l₀t₀xt-, P/LL o_yl₀t₀xt-, SV ôy₀l₀t₀xt-, UL oy₀l₀t₀xt-, Ss oy₀l₀t₀xt- v. 'try to fall asleep'; pOs *w₀yā- / *w₀y- ({Hl.} *w₀yā- / *w₀y-) 'fall asleep' > Os: V w₀yā-, Vy w₀yā- / w₀y-, Ty w₀y- id.; Os: V/Vy w₀y₀mt-, Ty/Kz w₀y₀mt-, D/K/O w₀y₀mt- id. ||| pY {IN} *āw₀- 'sleep' > Y T {IN, Ku., Krn.} āwe- v. 'sleep', {Ku.} āwe, {Krn.} āwa₀n n. 'sleep' ¶¶ IN CDY 115, Ht. no. 669, Hl. rHt 71, Ku. 13-14, Krn. JJ 270 ||| **A:** Tg *āb^ʔu^ʔ- v. 'sleep' > Ork ā-, āw₀- ~ a₀-, Ul a₀w- ~ a₀-, Ewk, Neg, Orc ā- id., Nn Nh āwan- 'let sleep', a₀w₀n₁- 'go (somewhere) to pass the night', Ul a₀w₀yā ~ a₀yā, Ewk Urm āw₀n 'bed (sleeping place)', Neg āw₀n n. 'passing one night (одна ночевка)', Ork āw₀yā ~ a₀yā 'bed clothes' ¶ STM I 1-2, On. 23.

158. *ʕuyʰh¹ ▽ 'to bend' > HS: S (WS?) *✓ʕwy 'bend' > Hb יָבַיְתִי נַבֵּינָאֵי nāʕā'wīṭṭī (N pf. 1s) 'I was bent \ bowed down \ twisted', (G 3f pf.) נִבְּתָה ʕāwā'tā 'she did wrong', הִבְּתָה ʕāwā'wā (D pf. 3m) 'he twisted', Ar عَوَى ✓ʕwy G (ʕāwā / -ʕwī, -ʕwīy-) v. 'bend, twist', Gz 𐤀𐤍 ʕāw 'bending, curvature', ? Ak OB 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵 'belasten (mit ...)' ¶ KB 752-3, KBR 796-7, Ln. 2185-6, L G 77, L ESAC 38 || IE *ʕweǵ̃- v. 'twist, weave, plait, braid', ≈ {EI} *weǵ̃(H)- 'plait, wattle' > Ht {Ts.} 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵 / 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵 (1s weǵ-mi) and md. 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵 'sich drehen, sich wenden' || NaIE: OI 'vayati 'weaves, plaits' (pfc. 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵, pp. 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵- , inf. 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵), vāya- m. 'Weben, das Weben', 'vayati v. 'envelop, wrap', Av 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵- v. 'twist, wrap', Oss I 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵 (pp. 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵), Oss D biyun (pp. 𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎵) v. 'twist, weave, braid' || Gk [Hs.] ὕλον· ἀναδενδράδα 'vine that grows up trees' (v- = w-) || L vīē- v. 'twist, bind with withes' || Clt {Matas.} *°wi-na- 'bend, enclose' > ? OIr {Matas.} imm-fen 'hedge round, enclose, guard'; Clt *wi- > OIr {P} tech fithe 'a wicker house', Br{m.} gwīad 'tissu, étoffe', W {YGM} gwau ~ gweu v. 'weave, knit', Crn gwūa v. 'weave, knit, twine, twist'; Clt {Matas.} v. 'wind' > MW gwunt id., MBr guent id., Br {Hm.} went 'vent', OCrn [γ] guins 'ventus', Crn went 'wind' (unc. [hardly here] Clt {Matas.} v. 'whistling' > OIr fet 'a whistling or a hissing sound') || pGmc *wajjus 'wall' (← 'Flechtwerk') > ON veggr 'wall', Gt waddjus 'Mauer, Wand' || Lt vūti (pres. vejū), Ltv vīt (pres. viju) 'to twist, to wind (up)' | Sl *vī-ti 'to twist, to curl' > ChS ВИТИ vi-ti (1s pres. ВИТѢ vij-ǫ), SCr vīti (1s pres. vījēm), Slv vīti, Cz vīti, P wić, R вить (1s pres. вью) id., Blg вия 'I twist' || IE *ʕweǵ̃- 'to-(s)' ({Mn.} *ǵētoś) pp. 'woven, enmeshed' > ON váð 'textile, fishing net', MHG wāt f. 'garment', NHG Wat 'cloth, garment', AS wæd 'robe' ¶¶ P 1120-1, ≈ EI 571 (no mention of Ht, and hence no certainty about the root-final lr.), Mn. 1505, 1531, ≈ M K III 147 (OI ÷ Lt áusti 'to weave'), Ch. 1153, WH II 786-7, Ab. I 277, YGM-1 259, ECCE 252, Vr. 637, 650, Fs. 538-9, Frn. 1267, Vs. I 322, Glh. 67, Srz. I 266, Matas. E 422-3, YGM-1 259, Hm. 356, 360 || A *uya- > Tg *uya-(n) 'flexible, soft; coiling (as a snake)' > WrMc {Z} ұянь 'flexible, thin', ұялчжа ~ ұяньчжа - v. 'be flexible \ soft \ weak', Lm ұујұ, Lm Т ұуъw 'weak (tobacco, wine), soft (metal)', Nn Nh оуã 'soft, flexible', оуан- v. 'become soft \ flexible', Ul ұуа(n-) 'soft, tender' ¶ STM II 251, On. 319, Z 136-7 ¶ Lm Т ұуъw 'soft' (referring to metal) may have been influenced by Yk оуан 'soft, weak' || M: [1] M *uya-n 'flexible, soft' > WrM {MED} ууа-н, HIM {MED, BMR} ұян, Brt ұя(н) 'soft, flexible, Kl {Rm.} ууη 'weich, biegsam',

Ord \underline{u} yan 'mou, semi-liquide, flexible'; M \rightarrow Yk uyan 'soft' (iron), 'weak', Xk uyan 'weak', Qzq φ ян \underline{u} yan, Qrg, Qq uyan 'soft', StAlt uyan 'soft, weak', Tlt {Rl.} uyan 'schwach, elend'; **[2]** M *уа-da- v. 'become too soft and flexible' > WrM {MED} ууад-, HIM {MED, BMR} уада- id., Brt уада- 'be too weak\flexible', Kl {KRS} уйд- vi. 'bend' (of trees, spears), {Rm.} уада- 'dich boegen' (z. B. das Holz, die Lanze), 'schwach\weich werden', Ord \underline{u} уад- 'devenir mou\ flexible' ¶ The M adj. for 'flexible, soft' belongs here unless it is * φ уа-n (that cannot be ruled out for lack of ev. distinguishing between * φ - and zero) ¶ MED 867, BMR III 382-3, Chr. 486-7, KW 447, KRS 529, Ms. O 727-8, Rl. I 1629, ET Gl 577-8.

159. ? σ * φ äz ∇ 'q' ∇ 'wedge' > U: FV *äskä 'wedge' > Chr L ишке 'iške, Δ iškъ, Н ишкѣ iškə 'wedge (for splitting), wooden hook, peg (for hanging clothes)' | pMr {Ker.} *äskə > Mk äśkə, Er эске eske, Δ eśké 'nail (ГВОЗДЪ)' ¶ It. no. 291, Ker. II 39, Ber. 9, ERV 788, PI 317, MRS 139, Ep. 23, Ps. sL 7 || **HS:** S * φ zq > Ar \checkmark φ zq (pf. φ azaqa) 'bêcher (la terre) avec une bêche ou un hoyau', m φ zaq-, m φ zaq-at- 'bêche\pelle pour remuer la terre; large pelle avec laquelle on nettoie le grain' ¶ BK II 244 || **K:** G az φ udi 'gore, gusset' ('keilformiger Stoffeinsatz [an Kleidern], Zwickel)' ¶ Chx. 9, DCh. 13 ¶ K -z φ - < ** -zq- (as.) ¶ The element -ud- has no explanation so far.; *-q- > - φ - by as. (infl. of *z)

160. * φ i \dot{z} ∇ 'strong, healthy' > **HS:** S * φ azz- 'strong' > Hb \dot{z} az (/ φ azz-), Ug φ z, Amr φ azz-, Ak ezzu; \rightarrow S * φ uzz- 'might, strength' > Hb \dot{z} az (/ φ uzz-), Ph, Ug φ z, Ug (AkSc), Amr {G} φ uzz- id., SmA φ z 'strength'; Pun φ zz, IA φ z \underline{z} 'strong', SmA φ z \underline{z} pp. 'excited', φ z \underline{z} 'strong' ¶ KB 762, KBR 804-6, Sd. 269, A no. 2021, OLS 95-6, Tal 629, G A 15, JH 206, HJ 835, Hnr. 252 || ? ϕ B * \checkmark Hss (~ * \checkmark dss) > Ah asəs 'faire effort (sur)', Kb sis (rare), i \underline{t} -əssəs 'avoir du prestige, inspirer la crainte', \underline{t} issas 'prestige; autorité naturelle', Sll {Ds.} düss / idüs 'be strong' ¶ B *s for the expected *s is still to be explained ¶ Fc. 1864-6, Dl. 751, Ds. 132 || ? σ , ϕ C: SC: Alg φ aĉa 'mature', Irq {MQK} φ aĉaramō (pl. φ aĉarāy) 'old cow' ¶ E SC 275, MQK 17 || Ch: ECh: Ll {Grgs} \acute{e} s \acute{i} 'strong' ¶ Grgs L s.v. \acute{e} s \acute{i} , ChC s.v. 'strong' || **IE:** NaIE *e \underline{i} s- / *o \underline{i} s- 'move with impetus' ({EI} IE *h \underline{i} e \underline{i} s- 'set in motion') (× NaIE *e \underline{i} s- / *is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' < N *yos ∇ '≈ go\run' [q.v.]) and NaIE *isarō-s 'vehement, strong' > OI i \underline{s} ' η ātī, i \underline{s} yati 'sets in motion, swings', i \underline{s} i'ra- 'vigourous, flourishing, refreshing', Av aēš- (pres. iša-, išya-) v. 'set in motion' || Gk $\dot{\tau}$ νάω, $\dot{\tau}$ νέω {LS} 'carry off by evacuations', Gk L/I ἴσος, Gk D ἰσρός 'mighty', Gk A ἱερός id., 'holy', οἶμα (< *o \underline{i} s-mat) (gen.

οἴματος) 'spring, rush, swoop' ('impetus') ||| L īra, [Plt.] eira (< *eṷsā) 'wrath, anger, ire' ||| ON eisa 'vorwärtsstürzen', OSx ovast ~ ofst (< *oḅ-aist-?) {Ho.} 'haste', {P} 'Eile, Eifer', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st id. ¶ WP I 106-7, P 299-301, EI 506, M K I 93-4, M E I 271-2, MW 168-9, F I 712-14, 726-7, WH I 717-18, Vr. 98, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240 ||| E: AchEl ha-iz-za-ik-qa 'groß, gewaltig', NEI ha-iz-za-na 'groß geworden seiend', AchEl ha-za-qa 'groß' ({Blz.} hazza 'big') ¶¶ HK 592-3, 653 ◇ Blz. E no. 67 (E, HS).

160a. *ṷaǰ∇ 'white, bright' > HS: EC {Ss.} *ṷazz- 'white' > Af {PH} ṷado 'be white\clear', Sa {Wlm.} ṷado 'white', Sml N ṷád 'white color', ṷad- 'be white', Sml N {Ss.} ṷadd-, Sml J {Ss.} ṷay, Or ád-iʔ, Kns, Gdl at, Elm {Hn.} é'w-í-da, Arr ezzí 'white', Dsn {To.} ṷéḅ 'white, bright' ¶ Bl. 203 (LEC *ṷad-), BISO 10, Bl. G 5, Ss. PEC 36 (EC *ṷazz-), Ss. WOKS 137, AD SF 144 (C *ṷǰ-), PH 52, DSI 49, Hw. A 341, Hn. E 282, To. DL 480, Blz. DL s.v. 'white' | (× N *ṷawĉ∇ [or *ṷaĉw∇] 'light of the sun below\on the horizon?'): ?σ Sml ṷadṷēd 'sun, daylight', Or {Ss.} adu', {Grg.} adū 'sun', Dsn {To} ṷâḅu 'sun, sunlight' ||| Dhl ṷaddo 'sun, day') ¶ AD SF 300-1, ZMO 53, Abr. S 16, Ss. SPhG, Grg. 9, Hw. A 337, To. DL 476, To. D 127, Blz. DL s.v. 'sun' ||| IE: Ht asara- ~ esara- 'white, bright' ¶ Pv. I-II 206-7 ||| U: FU (+ext.) *aĉka 'white' > F Δ aħka 'eider duck (Eidergans, *Somateria mollissima*)', hahkea, haahkea 'grey', Es hahk (gen. haha) id., aħka 'eider duck (*Somateria mollissima*)' ||| Mk akša, Er ašo 'white, clean' | pChr {Ber.} *ošb 'white' > Chr: L oš id., 'fair-haired', H oš(ы) oš(ь), E oš(o) ǰ ošu 'white' ||| Os: D aš 'white clay', Cng áš id., 'chalk', Kz aš-čampī 'spröde' (čampī 'similar') ¶ UEW 3-4, SK 45, Ber. 47, MRS 396, Ep. 83-4 ||| R: M *ažay (unless it is *ṷažay) > WrM {MED} azai buɣural, HIM {MED, BMR} азай буурап 'silvery grey hair' (buɣural, буурап 'frey, grey-haired') ¶ MED 61, BMR I 63.

161. *bA, adjectival pc. forming analytical (→ derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris (words denoting the owners of something) and animal names (*N* + *bA 'which is *N*'), *F* N *k̥ôL̥V bA 'dog\wolf, whelp' and N *yoR̥V (bV) 'firm, strong, hard') > HS: S *-b-, sx of animal names, e.g. (1) S *θaɪlab- 'fox' (Ar θaɪlab-, Ak šēlebum id.), cp. without the sx *-b-: CS *θūɪal- 'fox' > BHb כּוּיַשׁ ſū'ɪā id., (2) S *ʔarnab- 'hare', (3) S *ʔaḵrab- 'scorpion', (4) S *'kaɪab- 'dog' (< N *k̥ôL̥V bA '↑') || B *°-β- in *°-gūɪəβ- (or *gūɪəH-) > Ah aḡūɪəh 'male wolf' (< N [??] *°gUḥÍE bA with N *gUḥÍE '≈ canine animal') ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H no. 95 || IE: NaIE *-bʰo-, [1] sx of animal names, e.g., Gk ἔλαφος 'deer' < IE *eɪl̥ḡ-bʰo- < N *°ʔêɪV nu bA) (*ʔêɪV 'deer' + *nu 'of' + *bA) (IS I 272 [no. 135], Ch. 333-4, F I 483-4), OI śalabhās 'grasshopper' (cf. śalā- 'go, hurry' [?], see M K III 312-13), Gk ἔριφος 'chevreau, chevette' (Ch. 372, F I 560), [2] sx of adjectives: OI v̥r̥ḡḡa- 'bha- 'male' (of a man, of a bull) (cf. OI v̥r̥ḡḡan- 'male'), Lt {BD} ankstýbas 'early' (e.g. of vegetables) (cf. ankstī 'early') ¶ BD II/1 386-90, Brg. KVG 331, ≈ Hirt IG III 224, IS I 193 [no. 27], M K III 251, M E II 575-6 || K *°-b- in *°z̥|z̥ɪarb- 'hedgehog' < N *z̥aΓ̥R̥V 'hedgehog' (q.v. ffd.) + N *bA || U *-pa-/*-pä- (< **pa-?), sx of nomina possessoris, names (nouns and adjectives) of quality bearers, incl. animal names, e.g. [1] U *ora-pa- (< **ora pa-) 'squirrel' > F orava, Es orav, oravas (gen. orava) id., pLp {Lr.} *ōrēv > Lp: N {N} oar̥re / -rr-, Pa {TI} v̥ũã'r̥rev, T {TI} v̥t̥ar̥rev, Kld {SaR} в̥у̥əppев, {TI} v̥u̥ar̥rev id. || Sm: Sayan Samoyed ("stirpis monticolis sajanensibus") {Pl.} orop 'squirrel' (Pl. Z I 187), cp. U *ura- 'squirrel' > Mr, Chr, Z, Vt ur id. || [2] Os K {PD} k̥ar̥ap 'woodpecker' || [3] Vg -p(ä) '-ig', e.g. ...sarp(ä) 'having such and such eyes' (sarp 'eye') || [4] pOs *-ap '-ig' (> Os V/Vy -əw, Os Ty/D/I/Nz/Sh/Kz/O -əp), e.g. Os V/Vy k̥ōɪ awtəw 'mit dichtem Haar' ('dicht-haar-ig'), Os Ty qoɪ optəp ko, Os D χōw uptəp ikə 'langhaariger Mann' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 241-9, Gy. WBU 19ff., Coll. CG 263, UEW 343, TI 773, Sauer NBO 57-62 || A *°-ba/*-bä > Tg: WrMc -ba / -be, sx of quality adjectives used for persons: sere-be 'umsichtig, behutsam' (from sere- 'fühlen, empfinden'), kice-be ({Z} кичэ-бэ) 'fleißig, emsig' (from kice- [{Z} кичэ-] 'sich anstrengen, erstreben'), olxo-ba 'aufmerksam, vorsichtig, behutsam' (from olxo- 'scheuen'), oḡgo-ba 'forgetful' (from oḡgo- v. 'forget'), χaxi-ba 'agile, prompt (der schnell arbeitet)' (of a person) (from χaxi 'quick'), as well as the final element of some Tg animal names, e.g. *kōrbe 'male reindeer' (*F* N *korê ≈ ε

deer, antelope', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hr 585, 733, 738, 784, Z 382-3 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 240-1 (unc. hyp.: the Mc sx ← Ko paη ← Chn) ◇ It is possible that N ***bA** is a grammaticalized and contracted var. of N ***be?y∇** ≈ 'body, self' (q.v. ffd.); this original meaning may be responsible for structures with internal genitive ***nu**, e.g. IE ***e|η-b^ho-s** 'deer' < N ***o?ê|∇ nu bA**, lit. 'deer's ***b∇**' (← 'deer's body'??) ◇ IS I 192-3 [no. 27]: IE, HS (? ***bA**, sx in the names of wild animals).

162. ₂ ***b∇**, pc. forming analytical (→ derived) nomina abstracta > IE: NaIE ***-b^ho-s**, ***-b^hā**, sx of abstract nouns (× N ***baXy∇** or ***baXi** 'abundant' [q.v.] × N ***b^ri'gê** 'much') > Lt **tikýba** 'faith' (← **tikéti** 'to believe'), **senybe** ~ † **senóbé** 'antiquity' (← **senas** 'old'), Pru **ragonbe** 'heathenism', OCS **ТАТЬБА** **tat'ba** 'theft' (← **ТАТЬ** **tat'** 'thief'), **ДРУЖЬБА** **druz'ba** 'friendship', ChS **СѢТЬБА** **sě't'ba** 'sowing' (n. act.), Gk **φλήναφος** 'idle talk' (cp. **φλήνος** id. and **φληνύω** v. 'chatter, babble'), **κόλαφος** 'a buffet' (derived from an unattested v.?) ¶ BD II/1 386-9, En. 218, StSS 197, 689-90 || K: [1] GZ ***-eba-** ~ ***o-oba-**, sx of abstract nouns > OG **-eb-a-** ~ **-ob-a-** id.: **orgul-eba-y** 'falsity', **ymrt-eba-y** 'divinity', **sam-eba-y** 'trinity', **ert-oba-y** 'Einheit' etc., Mg **-apa**, sx of nomina actionis (masdar): **rʷv-apa** 'pouring' (n. act.), 'to pour', **ckv-apa** 'praising' (n.), 'to praise'; [2] GZ ***-eb-**, sx of plural (← n. coll.) > OG, G **-eb-**, Mg **-ep-**, Lz **-(e)pe**; [3] GZ ***-eb-**, sx of the presentic (imperfective) tenses > OG **-eb-** (odes **igi aʒov-eb-da** 'while he was pasturing'), G **-eb-**, Mg **-ap-**, Lz **-ap-**; the latter sx is likely to go back to that of nomina actionis, because the presentic tenses must go back to paraphrastic constructions with deverbal abstract nouns ¶ Fn. GAS 50-1, Q 093, K 78, K² 48, Dn. DSM 43-66.

163. ₂ ***bo?∇** 'to go' > HS ***baʔ-** (Blz.: ***bayʔ-**) v. 'go' > S ***-bāʔ-** v. 'come' > BHb ip. **-أبأ (-) (-) bōʔ-**: 3m **أبأ** **yā-'bō** 'he will come, comes', 3p **yā-'bōʔ-ū** 'they (will) come', imv. **أبأ bōʔ**, pf. **أبأ bā** 'he came', Ph, Pun **bʔ** v. 'come', Ug {OLS} ✓ **bʔ** 'enter, come, arrive', Ar pf. **bāʔa** / ip. **yā-būʔ-u** (with **ū** on the analogy of **Ā-verbs**) 'come back, return', {Nld.} **bāʔa** 'he\it entered' ([Hudh.] **bāʔa bi-kaffī** 'es kam in meine Hand'), Sb ip. **y bʔ** v. 'trespass over', pf. **bʔ** v. 'enter' (with secondary **h**), Gz (prm.) **-bāʔ-** (js. **yā-bāʔ**) v. 'enter' (pf. **bōʔa** on the analogy of **Ā-verbs**), Ak p. **-bāʔ-** (3s **i-bā**), inf. **bāʔu** v. 'come in, walk along' ¶ KB 108-110, HJ 146, Nld. rDelP 726, OLS 98-9, L G 114-15, BGMR 27, 33, Sd. 117, CAD II 178-82 || C {AD} ***baʔ-** v. 'go (away)' > Bj {R} ✓ **bʔ** pcv. 'go' (1s: p. **a'bāy** ~ **a'bē**, pqp. **'ī bē**, pres. **'ē bī**), Bj Am {AD} p. **-bi(y)-** v. 'go',

pres. -ēbi, inv. 'baya ||| EC: Or {Grg.} baʔa 'go away, go out', Brj {Ss.} ba- v. 'go out, go up' (< EC *baʔ- × EC *baħ- [> Af baħ-īt- 'lose all the animals', Sml baħ-, Arr {Hw.} beh- 'go out']), Sd {C} ba- v. 'go away', Hd Lb {Bnd.} baʔe v. 'go', ḷ Af {R} ba- v. 'go away', ? Af {PH} ōbe v. 'go down' ||| Dhl {To.} bayóni 'let us go!', {EEN} bay- or bay- 'go home' ¶ Grg. 23, PH 177, Hw. A 347; ≠ AD SF 318-19 and Ss. B 30-1 (both reconstructed *baħ-), To. D 151, EEN 33 || Om *b- v. 'go' > SOm: Dm {Fl.} bʌ / bʌd v. 'go' ||| NrOm: Wl {LmS} b-, Zl {C} ba- v. 'go', Bsk {C} ba- 'go out' ¶ Fl. OO 318, LmS 311, C SE III 114 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} bā v. 'return, go away', ? Ang {Flk.} bē v. 'return', Tng {Sh.} bā^h, {IL} bā, Klr {J} bō, Wrj {J} bu-, Cg {ChC} bā-, Kry {ChC} b̄-, b̄ū-, My {ChC} b̄-, bu-, Mbr {ChC} b̄-, Jmb {ChC} b̄- 'come', NrBc {Sk.}: Kry, My, Mbr, Jmb ba- v. 'go', Dr bI v. 'go away', as well as probably Cg, Kry, My b̄- v. 'go out', Sir bē-, Mbr bā- v. 'go out' (Stl. ZCh 157 [no. 108] reconstructed here WCh *m|H-ba w v. 'return' and equated it with Ar √ b w ʔ, interpreted by her as v. 'return') ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.}, Pdl {ChL} ba 'come' | BM {ChL}: Klb b̄iyá, Hld b̄iȳz̄r/b̄iȳz̄r̄ v. 'go', Mrg ba v. 'go out' | McMtk: Gzg D {Lk.} be v. 'go out', MfG {Brr.} -b- id. | McMs: LamP pa, Zm {J} pá, ZmD {KNC} p̄á v. 'go out' ||| Ech: Mu {J} b̄ó w / b̄â v. 'go, go away', Skr {Lk.} bā, bē, {Sx.} b̄ěy v. 'go', Ke {Eb.} b̄i- 'come' ¶ JI II 82-3, 162-5, ChC, ChL, J S 58, Lk. ZSS 30-1, KNC 20, Eb. s.v. b̄i- ||| D *p̄ō- ({ʔGS} *p-) v. 'go' > Tm p̄ō, Ml p̄ōka, Tu p̄ōp̄ini v. 'go, go away', Td p̄i·x- / p̄i·-, Kdg p̄o·-, Tl p̄ō v u / p̄ō- / p̄ōy- v. 'go', Kn p̄ō 'going, departing', Knd, Png p̄ōk-, Mnd p̄ūk- v. 'send' ¶¶ D no. 4572, Zv. 64, 86, ≠ Km. 443 [no. 892] (pSD *p̄ō-, *p̄ō-k-a < *poku).

164. *on., id.* *bûʔ ▽ 'blow, inflate', (→ ?) 'swell' > IE: NaIE *^ob^hōy- / *b^həy- v. 'blow' > Gk φῦσα 'a wind, blast, wind in the stomach' ('Hauch, Blase'), pl. 'a pair of bellows', Gk I φωτίδες, Gk A φῶδες 'blister from burning', Gk φαῖστυξ, φαῖσττυξ id. ¶ P 98-9, F II 1055, 1057, ≠ Ch. 1183, 1236, F II 998, 1055-7 ||| HS: CS *√ bʷw|y (or *√ bʷw|y?) v. 'swell' > BHb בנה √ bʷw|y G (ip. 3f בנה בת ti-b¹ē) 'bring (water) to the boil' (of fire), JA [Trg.] בנה בə¹ē 'Aufschwellung' (in metaphorical usage: r m w t ʔyryy w b ʔy l b ʔ 'Hochmut und Aufschwellung des Herzens) ¶ KB 136 (the Hb √ is equated with Ar √ b ʷ w, which is translated as 'anschwellen [Wunde]', while its real meaning is {BK} 'dépasser/excéder les limites, sortir des bornes'), KBR 141, Lv. T I 106, BK I 147 ||| K *^obu(w)- > G Kx bu(v)- 'aufschütteln (z. B. Kissen)', (ps.) 'aufgeschüttelt werden' (Kissen), 'an-, aufschwellen, sich aufblähen, sich aufplustern' ¶ Chx. 115 ◇ The

supposed connection between 'blow' and 'swell' suggests an underlying ancient meaning 'inflate', 'use bellows' or the like.

164a. *bEbVtV 'lip(s), mouth' > HS: NrOm: Gdc bādde, Zs {Bnd.} baḍe, {C} bādē 'mouth', Gnj {Fl.} poḍoro, Hrr {CR} poḍuro, Gcm {Si.} poḍo'rō, Krt {Si.} ꜋ḍḍḍḍḍ, Bdt {C} poḍurō 'lip' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE III 201, CR H 656, C SO 62, Si. ACh 17 || ? B *°-būḍ- > Kb a-βuḍ 'goulot (d'un pot), bec de cafetière' ¶ Dl. 12, NZ 28 || **U** *°pEptV (or *°pEpšV) > Sm {Jn.} *peptān ~ *piptān, {Hl.} *pepten ~ *pipten 'lip' > Ne T πιβτᾶ, Ne F {Lh.} pīb_t'i ɘ pīp_t'ing 'lower lip', En X {Cs.} fiteḿ, En B {Ter.} pite, {Cs.} piteḿ, Ng {Prk.} fēb_tin, {Cs.} feábterη, {Mik.} 'hept+n, Mt M {Hl.} hōbten ~ hibten, Mt K hōbtet 'lip'; d.: Slq: Tz {KKIH} peptáí, Ke {Cs.} পেপ্তেই, UO {Cs.} পেপ্তাই, NP পেপ্তি 'chin' ¶ Jn. 122, Ter. 261, KKIH 148, Cs. 71, 95, 165, Hl. M 247 [no. 307] || **D** *pet- 'lip' > Tl pedavi id., Klm, Nkr pedave, Nk peddave, Gdb pedave ɘ pedive, Gnd pilivi ɘ pilvī, Knd bedve id., Klm peddēl 'lips' ¶¶ D no. 4400 || **A**: T *biḍik (*ḿiḍik) 'moustache' (× N *bur_u,dV'g'V [~ *bar_u,dV'g'V?] 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' × *P_utV 'feather, hair', q.v.) > OT biḍiq , MQp XIII biḿiq ~ miḿiq, Chg ≥XV biḿ ~ miḿ, XwT, OOsM ≥XV biḿiq, Tk biḿik, Δ buyiq ɘ miḿiq, Ggz biḿik, Az biḿ, Δ buḿ, CrTt biḿiq ~ miḿiq, Kr Cr miḿuq, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ Qrg, StAlt miḿiq, VTt, Bsh mḿyḿq, Chv ма́йах mḿyḿx 'moustache', Yk bitik id., 'beard' ¶ The pT cns. *-ḍ- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *bur_u,dV'g'V ¶ Cl. 301, ET B 304, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73, Ash. VIII 291, Fed. I 346-7, Jeg.130 || ?ϕ Tg *pej'u'-n 'lip' > Ewk h3jun 'upper lip', Lm hujin, Neg x3jun 'lip (of a reindeer, elk etc.)', Orc xuz3 'soft internal side of cheeks and lips' ¶ STM II 360 ◇ ??σ,μ: A very dubious cognate: Eg G b.b.t 'Kehle, Kehlkopf' (metanalysis from *b.b.t < *bbt?) (see EG I 455) ◇ B and T suggest N *b-, the cs. p- (< *p-?) in some NrOm lges may be due to as. N *b...t > *p...t. Tg *pej'u'-n (if it belongs here in spite of the unexplained palatal voiced *-j-) points to an ancient *p- or *p- (suggesting an assimilation *b...t > *p|p...d). Sm provides evidence for a post-N cluster *-PT- from N *-bVt-, which may account for the long *ū in B (*°-būḍ- < **-buwḍ- < **-bubḍ-). The rounded vw. in NrOm, B and Orc may be due to the infl. of the adjacent labial consonant(s) ◇ Blz. L no. 112g and Blz. DA 153 [no. 10] (NrOm, D).

165. id. *biçV ~ *biçV 'small, little' > HS: S: [1] S *°✓bçç ~ *°bçw > Ar ✓bçç 'donner fort peu de qch. à qn', baçw-at- 'parcelle' (mā fī-l-mādi baçwa 'il n'y a pas une étincelle, un brin de feu dans les cendres'), and

[2] S * $\sqrt{b\hat{s}\hat{s}}$ > Ar ba $\hat{s}\hat{s}$ - 'petite quantité'; there is also a CS root * $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ v. 'be(come) small', but it either goes back to or is contaminated with S * $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ v. 'cut off' (< N * $b\nabla\check{c}'\nabla\check{c}R\nabla$ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK I 131, 133, Lv. I 252, Br. 86, DM 68, KB 122 || U: FP * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\nabla$ 'small, tiny' > Krl $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{uk}:\text{aj}\check{n}\check{i}$ 'tiny', Vp S $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'small', Es $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ikene}$, $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{une}$ id., with a suffix -k-: F $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{uk}$, Vp $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'small' | Vt $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ik}$ $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ik}$ 'small, little' ¶ SK 578, LG 226 || A * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\nabla$ > NaT * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\check{a}$ 'small, little' > OT $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ id., Tv $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'small, smaller', Tf $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'small', ET $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'a little, ein wenig' ¶ DTS 98, Ra. 162, TvR 105 || M * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-qan}$ > WrM {MED} $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-qan}$ 'small, tiny, little', HIM $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{axan}$ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'un peu', Brt $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{axan}$ 'small, little', Kl {KRS} $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ adj.'small, few', adj. and adv. 'little', {KW} $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ 'klein, wenig; etw. weniges, sehr kleines', Ord $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{axan}$ 'petit, jeune, un peu' ¶ MED 102, BMR I 319, Chr. 95-6, KRS 101, KW 47, Ms. O 71, Vld. 127 || D * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ / * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ ({ $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ } * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ -) 'small' > Ml $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$, $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{axan}$ 'what is small', Kn $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'shortness, smallness', $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ 'shortness or deficiency in measure and weight', Tu $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ilax}$ 'thin, slender', Tl $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'low; short, deficient' ¶¶ D no. 4214a || ? $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ K * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ > Lz $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-i}$ 'boy, son' \rightarrow G $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-i}$ 'boy, young man' (Marr 131, Chx. 88, \neq K 52 [G $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-i}$ 'boy' * \leftarrow K * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ v. 'break into pieces, crumble']), unless the word is a loan from Arm $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ 'illegitimate child' (Ach. I 475) or from Osm $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ id. (Bu. I 324), cp. OG $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-i}$ 'illegitimate child'. Coalescence of K * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ and the loanword cannot be ruled out \diamond IS I 178-9 [no. 11] (* $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$: FU, A, D). This N stem may be connected with * $b\nabla\check{c}'\nabla\check{c}R\nabla$ 'to cut' (q.c. ffd.) \diamond K * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ (if it belongs here) points to N * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\nabla$, while the Ar words suggest coexistence of two variants of the pN etymon.

166. $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}$ * $b\nabla\check{c}'\nabla\check{c}R\nabla$ 'to cut' > HS: S * $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ > BHb $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ G 'gather grapes, cut off grape clusters'; (\times N * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\nabla$ ~ * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\nabla$ 'small, little'): JA $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ G 'be cut\diminished', JEA $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ G 'be diminished, diminish', SmA $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ D 'diminish', JA, Sr $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$, $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ - \bar{a} 'klein, parvus, minutus', MHb $\sqrt{b\check{c}r}$ G 'wenig haben'; SmA $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ 'vintage' (\leftarrow BHb $\text{b}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ id.?) ¶ KB 142, KBR 148, GB 109-10, Js. 185, Sl. 229-30, Tal 110-11 || K: G $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ 'zerschneiden' ¶ Chx. 68 ¶ De-affricatization * \check{c} > s in a cns. cluster?.

167. * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ '(young) deer' > K * $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-}$ > G $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-ik}\text{-i}$ 'one-year-old deer', $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{-ola}$ 'one-year-old calf' ({DCh.} 'зимовальный теленок') ¶ Chx. 100, DCh. 115 || U * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ 'deer' > FP: pLp {Lr.} * $\text{p}\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ 'reindeer' > Lp: N {N} $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$, $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ - ~ $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$ - '(tame) reindeer', S {Hs.} $b\check{r}\check{c}\check{c}\text{ax}$, L {LLO}

рѣсѡу, К {Gn.} роаз, Т {Gn.} роазај id. | Chr L пѣчѡ рѣсѡ, Н пѣчы
 руѣъ, U рѣсѡ 'deer' | Vt Sr руѣу id. || ? Sm: Kms роѣду 'goat, *Capra*
sibirica', Koyb {Klp.} роѡо 'Ziege', {Pl.} роѡѡо '*Cervus capreolus*' || ??
 Y: К {IN UJ} реѣѡ, {Krn.} рѣѣѣ, {Iox.} рѣѣѣ 'elk', {Iox.} реѣул
 'Schutzgeist der Elentiere'; this word is not registered in IN H ¶¶ Coll. 6, It.
 no. 130, UEW 387-8, Sm. 553 (FP *роѣѡ 'reindeer'), LG 218, Lr. no. 967,
 Lgc. no. 5115, Hs. 393-4, ≈ IN UJ 274 (unc.: Y реѣѡ ÷ F реѣѡ 'deer'),
 Ang. 208-9, Krn. JJ 283, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [no. 46] (Y ← U) || | A: Tg *bo|uѣan
 '(ε) deer' > Neg боѣан 'Manchurian deer (изюбр, *Cervus elaphus*
xanthopygus)', Orc буѣа(н-), Ul боѣа(н-) ~ буѣа(н-) id., Nn Nh боѣѡ, Nn
 Bk боѣа(н-) id. (unless ← Mc *bugu-ѣan ← бугу 'deer', as suggested in
 S CNM 10); ? WrMc {Hr} бѣѣн ({Z} бѣѣнъ) 'hirschartiges Fabeltier
 mit langem Schwanze' (reinterpreted by folk et. as abbreviation from
 бѣѣу 'deer' + тѣѣнъ 'beginning, origin'), ? Lm бѣѣн 'musk deer,
Moschus moschiferus' (a stem belonging to the closed-vowel harmonic
 type of stems, which still requires investigation) → Yk бѣѣн ~ бѣѣн
 'musk deer' (earlier also '*Capreolus*' ?) → ? Ewk M/Tk бѣѣн 'roe,
Capreolus' ; the route of borrowing may have been different as well: from
 an unknown Tg source to Yk and then to Lm and Ewk ¶ STM I 86, 101-2,
 On. 77, Z 527-8, 538, Pek. 481, JkR 90 ¶ Pek. (after Böhlingk) tried to
 explain the Yk word as a loan from M бѣѣн ~ бѣѣн, but the latter
 word means 'ape, monkey', and hence the hyp. is untenable || | HS: ?σ S
 * $\sqrt{b\delta\chi}$ > Ar баѣаѣ-, буѣѣ- 'lamb' (if *-ѣѣ- < *-ѣѣ-) ¶ BK I 100 || ECh: LI
 {Grgs} бѣѣ 'duiker' ¶ JI II 113 ◊ Cf. Coll. 143 (U~Tg) and UEW 387-8
 (U, incl. Y, connected with Tg and Yk). Some of the cognates may be
 loans from neighboring lges (Jk. 304 on Sm and Vt; RT HUA 243 on
 forms of the A lges; LCM. NLP 17) ◊ AD NM no. 38, S CNM 10.

168. *bič ▽ 'cut, crumble, crush' > HS: Ch mte.: Hs бѣѣѣ ѣ бѣѣѣ 'break
 off (branch or fruit)' ||| CCh: Mrg {Hf.} бѣѣѣ 'break into small pieces' or
 бѣѣѣ v. 'crumble', Gude {Hsk.} бѣѣѣ vi./vt. 'break off part (of sth. soft)',
 ? бѣѣѣ 'break off (edge/rim of sh.)', MfG {Brr.} -бѣѣѣ- 'percuter, casser (un
 os\noyau)' ¶ Sk. HCD 30, 128, Abr. H 8, Hf. M 140, 148, 164, Hsk. 166,
 Brr. MG II 90 || | K {FS, K²} *beč-/ *bič- v. 'crumble, break' > OG d. na-
 bič-/ na-bič-ev- 'crumb', Sv bičķw-/ bečķw- (UB ipf. bičķwa, msd. li-
 bčķw-e, pres. bičķwe / -bučķw, Ln pres. bičķwe, ä-bčķw, Ls pres.
 bučķwe / -bčķwe) {GP, TK} 'split', {K} 'break (bread, apple etc.)' ¶¶ K 56,
 K² 14, FS K 53, FS E 54-5, TK 155, GP 91-2, 148 || | D {Km.} *pič- ({ǂGS}
 *p-) v. 'crush, knead, squeeze' > Tm pičai v. 'work with the thumb and

fingers in mixing, knead, squeeze or mash between the palms, crush and separate as kernels of grain from the ear', Ml piśitu 'husks of fruits', Kt pičk- v. 'squeeze, pinch', Knd hisi v. 'squeeze (a ripe fruit)', piuku v. 'squeeze, press', Tu piskuni, pīsunī, Tl piuku, Gnd pisk- id., Nkr pižg- v. 'knead', Prj pīč- v. 'grind', Gdb, Mnd pīč- v. 'milk', Png, Kui pīč- v. 'squeeze, milk', Ku pīč- id., v. 'press out', Krx pička'ānā v. 'press and bruise, flatten by crushing' ¶¶ D no. 4135, Km. 431 [no. 826] | | A *bi|ič- > M *bičal- > WrM bicāl- {MED} 'smash, crush, squash into a pulp', HIM бяцла- {MED} id., {BMR} 'smash to pieces, zerstückeln, zerschlagen', Brt бисал- 'smash, crush' ¶ MED 101, BMR I 319, Chr. 95 | | T *bič- ~ *bič- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *mō'č|ś' | ∇, | ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' [q.v.]?) > OT bič- ~ bič- id., MQp XIII bič-, Tk bič-, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz bič-, Bsh bbs- ~ bis-, VTt pьś-, Qq piš-, Qzq piš-, StAlt b_īč(1)-, Yk bis-, Tv b_īš-, Tf bīš-, SY piš- id., Chv Δ {Ash.} пѧц- pьś/ž- v. 'saw' ¶ Cl. 292-3, ET B 158-61, Ra. 77, Ash. X 151 | | AdS of IE: NaIE *peis-/ *pis- v. 'crush, pound' (IE *p- rather than *b^h- may be explained by one of the IE incompatibility laws) < N *p'äy'ś'i' 'crush, break into pieces' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I no. 12.

169. ₂ *b∇g'č'∇ ≈ bad, wicked' > HS: S *^o✓bγš > Ar baγīō- 'haï, détesté, devenu odieux à quelqu'un', ✓bγō (pf. baγuōa ~ baγiōa) 'être haï, détesté' ¶ BK I 146 | | K *^obγ'e'ž|z- > G Gr {Shar.} bγzi 'злой' ('wicked, vicious'), {Ghl.} bγizi, G Gr/Aj {Ghl.} bγezi id., 'vicious dog' ¶ Shar. GL 11, Ghl. 99 ¶ The K parallel is acceptable if *bγež|z- < *b∇γž|z- goes back to pre-K *b∇γč- (as. *-γč- > *-γz-) ◇ ≈ AD SShS 307 (suggesting connections with C, Ch, IE and A, better explainable as going back to N *buʔ, | ∇, | 5 ∇ 'bad', q.v.).

170. *b'ū'č'∇ ≈ to tear to pieces' > HS: CS *^o✓bš' 'cut, tear to pieces' > Ar ✓bō' G 'cut, split', Ug {A} ✓bš' 'zerreißen' (absent in OLS), BHb ✓bč' G 'cut off' ¶ A no. 562, Hv. 36, KB 141 | | K: G I buč- 'zerzausen' ¶ Chx. 125 | | U: Sm *puč∇- ≈ *poč∇- v. 'unrip (a seam)' > Ne T пудѧ-ць inf. 'to unrip' ({Jn.}: < *putь-s-), Slq Tz {Cs.} 1s aor. potālnam, Slq Ke {Cs.} 1s aor. poccau id., Kms {Cs.} 1s pres. phud(ū)lim 'unrip' ¶ Jn. 130 | | ? U *pož∇- 'split, divide' (× N *pō|iγE or *pō|iγE 'to split' [q.v. ffd.], if U *-ž- < **-ž- < as. N *-č-).

170a. ₂ *bAd∇ 'many, multitude' > HS: EC: Sa {R} bad- 'be rich', Or {Grg., Sr.} bad-ād- id., {Grg.} bada 'very', Sml badi- 'increase', badan 'most; very, quite', ? Sml J bazáŋ, Bn báda 'many', ? Sml bayddi, ? Sd bata

'wealth'; C \rightarrow Tgr {R} bədəde bələ 'abundavit' ¶ R S II 71, ≈ R WB 90, Lm. Sh 281, Hn. S 53 (pSam *bat-an 'many'), ZMO 26-7, 35, Grg. 30-1, Sr. 269, Gs. 34 || Om: NrOm: Shn {Lm.} bōd- 'be enough', Kf {Msr.} bēdo 'sufficienza' (unless \leftarrow bēdo 'arrivo') ||| SOm: Bako {Fl.} bēdi-mi, Ari G/U {Fl.} bēdi 'many' ¶ Lm. Sh 281, Msr. 214, Fl. OWL || ECh: Bar {AF} batá 'viele', ?φ Mkl ḅā̀dà(η) 'beaucoup, abundant' ||| WCh: ?φ Mbr {ChC} ḅádlí 'much' ¶ The glottalized ḅ in Mkl and Mbr still defy explanation (if these words with ḅ belong here) ¶ J LM 72, Lk. ZSS 51, ChC s.v. 'many' ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-I 107 [no. 23] || D: [1] D *paṭ- 'multitude, crowd' > Tm paṭaṭ 'crowd, army, battle', Ml paṭa 'army, battle', Td paṭ 'crowd', Kn paṭe 'multitude, host, army', Tu paṭæ 'multitude, mob, army', Tl paṭava 'battle' ||| [2] ?σ D *pāṭi 'extent, size' > Kn pāṭi id., Tl pāṭi id., 'magnitude', Kt paṭy 'size, strength equal to what must be done' ¶¶ D nos 3860 and 4067 ||| ? A: M: [1] M *badara- (× N *mAt∇d∇ or *mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch' and possibly N *p.aṭX∇ 'to be open, to open') > WrM {MED} badara- 'spread, expand', 'develop'; flow\open' (of flowers), HIM бадра- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. ;prosper, flourish, develop, spread', Brt бадар- 'spread, expand; prosper', Kl {Rm.} badr- 'sich ausbreiten', Kl {KRS} бадар- 'open' (of flowers), 'prosper', Kl {Rm.} badr 'breit, weit', Ord b_ad_ara- 'se repandre en loin, se propager, flamber' | [2] M *badayira- > WrM {MED} badayira-, HIM {MED, BMR} бадайра-, Brt бадайр- 'become swollen\inflamed', Ord b_ad_āra- 'être un peu enflé'; WrM {MED} badayr, HIM {MED, BMR} бадайр n., adj. 'swelling, swollen', Ord b_ad_ār 'légère enflure' ¶ MED 66, BMR I 212-13, Chr. 76, KRS 76, KW 27, Ms. O 42. ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 129-30 (equating the C, SOm and Mkl words with the C, IE, K and T reflexes of N *b'a't∇ '≈ luck, good', q.v.), ≠σ Blz. LNA no. 3 (equating HS with the K and IE reflexes of N *b'a't∇ '↑' and with the A reflexes of N *būd_∇_∇ 'be thick').

171. *bed^rē¹ 'to pierce, to prick' > HS: Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} bḍà v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey) ||| WCh: Bg {Sh. in ChC} bwat v. 'pierce' ¶ Hf. M 28, 118, ChC s.v. 'pierce' || EC *√bd > Af {R} bod- vt. 'split, open', Sa {R} bōd- vt. 'open', Sd {Mrn.} bad-, {L} badi- v. 'separate, divide' ¶ AD SF 238, R A II 33, R S II 71 and 450 || NrOm: Kf {C} bad-, Mch {L} badda- v. 'split wood' ¶ C SE IV 410, L M 21 ||| K: G bedeḳi 'cleft, rift' ('расселина'), bedena 'difference' ¶ Chx. 74-5, DCh. 102 ||| IE *b^hed^h- v. 'pierce, prick, dig', {EI} 'dig, burrow' > L fōdiō, -ěre / pfc. fōdī / sup. fōssum 'dig' (\leftarrow 'pierce, prick'), fōdicā- 'prick, dig' ||| Clt {Matas.}

*bedo- 'grave, ditch' > Gl BEDVM 'canal, fossé', MW, W bedd 'grave', Crn {ECCE} bēth, MBr, Br bez 'grave, tomb' || Lt inf. bēsti (pres. bedū) 'to stick, to dig (potatoes), to butt', int. badūti 'to prick, to poke, to stick', Ltv Δ {ME} inf. best (pres. bēdu) 'to dig', Ltv int. inf. badīt 'to butt, to gore, to poke' || Sl *bod- (inf. *bos'ti / 1s pres. *bōd-q) v. 'stab, prick' ('stechen') > OCS inf. БОСТН bosti / 1s pres. БОДЪ bod-q 'stechen, колоть', Blg бода, SCr inf. bōsti / 1s pres. bōdēm, Slv inf. bósti / 1s pres. bódem, OCz inf. bósti / 1s pres. bodu 'stab, prick' ('stechen', P inf. bóść / 1s pres. bodę v. 'push with horns, goad', Uk inf. бос'ти / 1s pres. 'боду, R Δ inf. бос'ти v. 'push with horns', R (← int.) inf. бодать 'to gore' || Tc A pāt- v. 'plough' || Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7, EI 159 (*b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow'), P 113-14, WH I 521-2, Billy 24, LP § 43, YGM-1 42, Ern. 65-6, Hm. 80, ECCE 214, Frn. 41, ME I 280-1, ESSJ II 222-3, StSS 99, SPS I 339-40, Glh. 142, Wn. I 354, Matas. E 60 || U: FU *pede- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *P_{ed}∇_g∇ 'to break, to tear, to wound' [q.v.]?) > Lp: N {N} bæððâ- / -ð-, L {LLO} pātāt v. 'prick, make a hole in' || ObU {Ht.} *pēð- (actually *pēð|l-) 'stechen' (× FU *pe|∇- 'stechen') > pVg *pīl- id. > Vg: LK/MK pīl- / piíl-, UK pīl-, P/LL pēl- / pel-, NV/ML/UL/Ss pēl-; pOs *pel- ({Hl.} *pāl-) id. > Os: V/Vy/O pel-, Ty/Y pāþ-, D/Nz pet-, Kz peþ- ¶ Coll. 74, Coll. CG 410 (*pedä-), Sm. 547 (FU, Ugr *pedä-, FP *pedv- 'prick'), LLO 807, Ht. 174 [no. 488], Hl. rHt 71, ≠ UEW 371 (equating ObU with Er peíe-, Mk päíe- [sc. päíə-] 'bohren', reconstructing FP *pe|∇- 'stechen' and leaving Lp bæððâ- & pātāt unexplained) || D (att. in SD) *peṭṭ- ({GS} *p-) v. 'prick, insert' (× N *P_{ed}∇_g∇ '↑') > Kn peṭṭu v. 'push penis into vagina', Krg heṭṭu v. 'prick' ¶ D no. 4390, Km. 435 [no. 845]; on stem-final gemination in SD see Km. 137, 173 ◇ FU and D go back to the merger of N *bed'ê' and N *P_{ed}∇_g∇ '↑' (q.v.) due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops.

172. *'b'ed∇ 'back of sth.' > U {UEW} *pedpä 'shoulder blade' > Lp: N {N} bæð'be / -ðb-, L {LLO} pier'pē ~ pär'pē id. || Sm: Ne: T O {Lh.} pir'be, F P {Lh.} pi'íme 'withers, a hump between the reindeer's shoulder blades' ¶¶ UEW 369 ¶¶ U *pedpä is likely to go back to a d. or cd || D *peṭa ({GS} *pid-) 'back side of sth.' > Tm piṭar, piṭari, Ml piṭari, Kt peṭal 'nape of the neck', Tm piṭaṅku 'back of a blade\weapon', Kn peṭa 'state of being behind or after; the back; backwards', Kdg paṭa maṇḍe 'back of the head', paṭaneṭṭi 'nape of the

neck', Tu pɛd̪aŋgɔ 'behind the back', Tl pɛd̪a 'hinder, back', Prj piɖtɛl 'behind, after' ¶¶ D no. 4146 || HS *b^ru^d- 'back' > EC: Or M {LLC} bōda adv. 'back', Or {Brl.} bodā 'back (dos), hind quarters; hinder back', {Grg.} bōda 'after(wards)' || SC {E} *bídu 'buttocks' > Kz bulituko 'woman's garment covering the hips', SC ⇨ Mb ~búru 'goat's tail' ¶ Brl. 59, Grg. 55, LLC s.v. bōda, E SC 140 (SC *÷ Dhl buɖuɔ- v. 'run away' and Kz bulum- v. 'bend over') || SOm: Ari J {Blz. ← Bnd.} bud 'upper back', Hm {Bnd.} bud-i 'back' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, Blz. OLBP no. 6 || Ch: WCh: Cp {ChC} bɛ̀dɛr 'buttocks', Ang {ChC} bɛ̀dɛr 'anus' || less plausible: ?? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} bɛ̀d, NdD {J} bá d 'arm' (if ← 'shoulder') ¶ Cp. 48, ChC s.v. 'anus' || ?σ ES *būd- > OAK, Ak fOB b ū d - u m, Eb {Krb.} b ū - t u m 'shoulder' ¶ Sd. 136, Krb. EG 36 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 26] (D, HS), Blz. OLBP no. 6, Blz. NDA no. 26 (D, HS).

173. *bod∇ 'body, belly' > HS: WS *badan- 'body' > Ar badan- 'corps, tronç', Mh bɛ̀dɛn 'body', Hrs bɛ̀dan, Jb C 'bɛ̀dɛn (df. ɛ̀dɛn) id., Gz badn 'corpse, dead body' ¶ BK I 98, Jo. M 43, Jo. H 15, L G 87, MiK I no. 1.31 || AdS of Ch {Stl.} *b^ut̪∇ 'belly, womb' (× N *bu_lw_lt̪∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (× N *bu_lw_lt̪∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N *bod∇ accounts for IE *-d^h-) || A *boda 'body', (?) 'belly' > T *bōd 'body', 'stature' > OT bōd 'stature (height of a person)', Tkm, Az boy, Tk boy, SY pōz 'stature, body', Chv πύ pü ~ πῆβ pβv 'Rumpf, stature of body (height), cтан'; (× N *mUt∇?∇ 'man, person', q.v. ffd.): NaT *bōd 'self' ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306 (without distinguishing this word from OT Og [MhK] بوي bōy 'clan, tribe' and OT [MhK] bōdun 'people'; unj. rec. of a long vw. \bar{o} on the only basis of the *plene* spelling in Arabic script), DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II no. 812, S AJ 196 [no. 247], Ash. X 71-2 and 186, Fed. I 416, Jeg. 170-1, ChVS 551 || M: **[1]** M *boda 'a head of cattle (cow, ox, horse, camel)' > MM [S] bōdo 'Stück Vieh', WrM {MED} boda ~ bodu, HIM {MED, BMR} бод 'large cattle (horses, cows, camels etc.)', Kl {KRS} бод, {Rm.} bōd id., Ord b_ōd_ō 'pièce de gros bétail (chevaux, bœufs, chameaux)'; **[2]** M *boda 'body; object, substance' > MM [S] bōdo 'Objekt', WrM {MED} bodā, HIM {MED, BMR} бод 'substance, matter, body', Kl {KRS} бод 'the true essence, reality, substance', {Rm.} bōd 'das richtige Wesen, Essenz, Realität'; WrM bodas (pl. of bodā) 'body' ¶ S AJ 241 [no. 166], MED 108, BMR I 252, H 16, KW 48, KRS 103, Ms. O 72 || pJ

*bàtà 'entrails' ({SDM} 'intestines, belly') > OJ wata {S} 'entrails', J: T/Kg watá, K wátà {Kenk.} 'entrails, guts', Ns wátá, Sh wátá, Ht bàtá, Y bàtà id. ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 121], S QJ no. 121, Mr. 569, Kenk. 2135 ¶¶ SDM 365 (pA *bòda 'body, intestines, belly' > M *boda 'substance, matter, body', T, J), SDM97 s.v. *bòda, KW 48, Rm. EAS I 57, Rs. W 77 (T, M), S AJ 279 [no. 113], Pp. VG 21, 53, TL 266 || D {tr.} *poṭṭṭṭṭ, {GS} *poṭ- 'belly, stomach' > Kn poṭṭṭe id., 'womb', poḍe, puṭṭṭi 'belly', Tl poṭṭṭa, Klm, Nkr, Prj poṭṭṭa id., Nk poṭ(ṭ)a, Gnd po(ṭ)ṭ, paṭṭa 'belly, stomach', Knd poṭa 'stomach', Png pōṭo, Mlt puṛa-~puṭṭa- 'belly', Krx poṭṭā 'bowels, entrails' ¶¶ D no. 4494, GS 71 [no. 23O] ◇ On IE *b^hu- from N *bo- see Introduction, § 2.4.

174. ₂*būd₁∇₁∇ 'be thick' > HS: S: Ar ✓ b d ḡ G 'be(come) fat\ corpulent', bidḡ- 'full' (of body), {DRS} bidḡ-, badīḡ-, badīḡ- 'dodu, gros', ?? bidḡ- 'corpulent, fat' ¶ DRS 46, Ln. 16O, Hv. 24 || A *būd∇- > M *būdūṣün 'thick' > MM [MA] bidū:n 'thick', [IM] بيدون {Pp.} bidū:n 'coarse (грубый)', [IsV] بيدون {Lg.} bidū:n 'thick (épais, gros)', [L] {Pp.} بيدون bidū:n or beidū:n 'dick, grob', WrM {BMR} būdūgūn, HIM БУДУУН {BMR, Luv.} 'thick, coarse', {Kow.} 'gros, grossier, épais', {MED} 'large, huge, big', Kl {KRS} БУДУН 'thick, stout', {Rm.} būdūn 'grob, dick', Brt БУДУУ(Н) 'thick, stout', MMgl beidū:n 'thick', Mgl {R} beidū:n 'dick, grob', Mnr H {SM} b_ud_in 'gros', {T} bidun 'thick', Dx b_iedun, Dg budūn 'thick, coarse', Ord b_ud_un 'gros, grossier'; M ⇨ Yk bödöḡ 'big, large, coarse' ¶ Pp. MA 119, 434, Pp. L II 1267, Lg. VMI 20, MED 144, BMR I 3O1, Kow. 1232, Chr. 121, KRS 126, KW 66, Ms. O 1O1, SM 31, T 317, T DnJ 112, T DgJ 128, Rm. M 23, Iw. 9O, Pek. 517-18 || T *būḡü- (× N *bêṣ₁U (∇₁) or *bêṣ₁∇₁∇ 'big, high') > Tk б_уч_у- {Thms.} 'grow, grow up; rise; become wider', Az böyü-, Kr K buyu- id.; ⇨ T *būḡü-k 'big, large, high' > Osm büyüḡ id., Tk б_уч_уk 'large, high', Ggz būk, Az böyüḡ, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg biyik, StAlt piyik 'large', Tkm beyik 'high, great', VTt Б_оек, Bsh Б_ой_ок 'great', Kr K büyüḡ, StAlt Δ müzük ({Vrb.} mūzük), Xk pōzik ≡ müzik 'high' ¶ S AJ 175 [no. 5], ET B 288-9O, Cl. 299, 3O2-3, Thms. 51, TrR 139, TtR 92, BR 111.

174a. *b∇d^h|ṭ¹E 'to plait' (→ 'net') > HS: CS *badd- 'woof' > BHb 𐎁𐎂 bad (pl. 𐎁𐎂𐎁 bad^h-īm) 'linen', JA 𐎁𐎂𐎁 bad^h-ā 'fine linen woof', ? Ar batt- (< *badd-at-?) 'a coarse garment' ¶ KB 1O5, Js. 138, Hv. 2O || K *bade- 'net, cobweb' > OG bade-y, G bade 'net', Lz boda- 'netting for picking fruits', Sv UB/L/Ln bād, Sv L bad {TK, Dn., GP} 'net', {K²} 'netting,

cobweb' ¶¶ K² 6, TK 14, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bad || A *b|p'Ut'ri'- v. 'bind' > M *büč'i 'band, ribbon' > MM б у č i 'braid, cord, belt', WrM б у c i ~ б у c e, HIM б γ ч, Brt б γ ш э, Kl {KRS} б γ ч б ü č ə n. 'tie, ribbon, band; lace', {Rm.} б ü č i 'kurze und breite Schnur oder Kantband, Band', WrO б у č i 'ribbon; cord, band', Ord б ü č 'i ~ б ü č 'e 'bande, ruban' ¶ MED 143, BMR I 311, Chr. 128, KRS 132, KW 70, Ms. H 44, Ms. O 108, Krg. 376 || NrTg *bot- > Ewk botō- v. 'tie together with a knot', Lm б з т з б / р - 'be bound together' ¶ STM I 97 || pKo {S} *pith- 'be attached' > MKo pith-, NKo p u t h - p u t - ¶ S QK no. 1100, Nam 275, MLC 846 ¶¶ SDM 376 (pA *bòt'é- v. 'bind' > Tg, M, Ko + unc. pJ *pəntək- 'untie'), DQA no. 215 ◇ Here Altaic *-t'- may be explained as going back to N *-dH-; the N lr. involved was lost in S, suggesting that it was *h or *ʔ (both of them are liable to be lost in S) ◇ S NSShS no. 1 (K, A).

174b. ₂ *bad₁∇₁X∇ 'be open' > HS: S *^o✓ b d h > Ar badaħ- 'ouvert, patent', ʔabdaħ- 'vaste, spacieux, overt de tous côtés' ¶ BK I 95 || WCh *^o✓ b d (≈ {Stl.} *bHd-) v. 'open' > Hs būdè id. | Ang {ChC} bèt id. | Bl bìdà, Krkr bàdā, Ngm biḍa id. | Sy buḍè | Grm {Jgr} budi v. 'open' ¶ JI II 264, Bar. 121, Abr. H 112-13, ChC s.v. 'to open', ChL, Stl. ZCh 144 || A: M *badara- (contamination with pA *padar- [> Tg *padar- 'stretch']; × N *patX∇ 'to be open, to open' × N *mAt∇d∇ or *mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch') > WrM badara- {MED} v. 'spread, expand', 'open' (of flowers), HIM б а д р а - {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'develop, flourish', Brt б а д а р - id., Kl {Rm.} badrō- 'sich ausbreiten', Ord b_ad_ara- 'se répandre au loin, se propager' ¶ MED 66-7, BMR I 213, Chr. 76, ≈ KW 27 (trying to equate the Kl word with VTt and Qzq baytaq 'weit, ausgedehnt', which is probably a derivative from *bāy 'much, rich' [cp. ET B 28-9 s.v. баѣ - 'rich']), Ms. O 42.

175. (₂?) *bûd₁∇₁X|q∇ 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, be cheerful' > HS: CS *^o✓ b d h | χ v. 'amuse oneself' > JA, MHb ✓ b d h v. 'be cheerful', Sr б у d ā 'h- ā {Br.} 'recreatio', {Sl.} 'cheerfulness' ¶ Br. 58, Js. 139, Sl. 185-6 || IE: NaIE *b^heud^h- {P} 'wach sein, geweckt\geistig\rege sein' ({EI} IE *b^heud^h- 'pay attention, be observant') (and the derived [caus.] NaIE stem {EI} *b^hou¹d^he^{ye}/o- 'waken, point out') > OI 'bōdha-ti 'wakes, is awake, notices', Av баоδити 'nimmt wahr', баоδаh-, MPrs бōδ 'awareness', KhS бū id., 'feeling' || Gk Hm, π π έ υ θ ο μ α υ, Gk A π υ ν θ ά ν ο μ α υ v. 'learn\hear (a th.)' ('erfahren') || Clt: Crn [γ] both, {ECCE} бōth n. 'will, consent', W bodd id., 'pleasure', OIr buide 'satisfaction, reconnaissance, faveur', NIr buidhe 'graciousness, kind-ness, thanks' ||

Gmc *biuðan > Gt inf. ana-biudan 'entbieten, befehlen', ON inf. bjóðað '(an)bieten', OHG inf. biotan 'offerre, opponere, praebere', NHG inf. bieten, OSx inf. biotan, AS inf. béodan 'to offer', NE bid || Lt inf. būsti / pres. bundū, Ltv Δ {ME} inf. bust / pres. būdu 'wake up, awake', Lt inf. būdinti, Ltv Δ inf. būdināt, būdīt vt. inf. 'to wake', Lt inf. būdēti 'to be awake', būdrūs 'vigilant, watchful' || Sl inf. *būdě-ti 'to be awake/alert' > OCS inf. БЪДѢТИ būdě-ti / pres. БЪЖДѢ būždq, Blg бдя, SCr inf. бдѣти bđjēti, Slv inf. b(e)dēti, Cz inf. bdíti / 1s pres. bdím 'be awake/alert', {StSS} 'бодрствовать, бдеть', Slk inf. bdiet' id., 'to observe', R † inf. бдеть 'to be awake, to care for' | Sl caus. inf. *būdī-ti vt. 'to wake' > ChS inf. БОУДІТИ būdi-ti / 1s pres. БОУЖДѢ būždq, R inf. будить / 1s pres. бужу, Uk inf. будити, SCr inf. būditi, Slv inf. būditi, Cz inf. būditi, Slv inf. būdit', P būdzic 'to wake', Blg будя vt. 'wake' | Sl *būdri 'promptus, munter' > OCS БЪДРЪ būdrъ id. ('прóθυμος, willing, бодрый') [e.g. Mc. 14.38], R 'бодрый, Uk бодрий, SCr bādar 'full of energy, lively, alert', 'munter' | Sl *būsti 'cavere, observare' > OCS БЛЮСТИ bljūsti id., 'to see, to take care of; to guard', {StSS} 'смотреть, следить; охранять', SCr † bljūsti (1s pres. bljūdēm) 'to observe, to guard', R блюсти (1s pres. † блюду) 'to guard, to keep (laws, customs etc.)' ¶ P 150-2, EI 516, 636, M K II 449-50, M E II 233-5, Bai. 294, F II 625-6, LP § 43, Vn. B 113-14, Dnn. 97, YGM-1 49, ECCE 215, Fs. 41, Vr. 40, OsS 66, Ho. 19-20, Ho. S 7, EWA II 90-2, Kb. 83, Frn. 62, ME I 345, 356, ESSJ II 136-7, III 76-7, 109 and 111-12, Bern. I 96-7, 105-7, StSS 93, 102-3, SPS I 459-61, Glh. 127, 155 || ?σ D *puṭṭ- (†GS) *p-, *-ḍ-) > Tm puṭṭaṭ v. 'utter a loud noise', Klm роḍ- (poṭṭ-) v. 'bark' (a dog), īsa роḍ- v. 'whistle', Nkr роḥ- v. 'bark', Gdb porp- id. ¶¶ D no. 4254 || ?σ A *b|p'od|tU 'think' (< N *būḍ, ∇, X|q∇ 'feel, pay attention'?) > M *bodu- v. 'think, count' > WrM {MED} bodu-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt бодо- id., WrO {Krg.} бодо- 'think, guess', Kl {KRS} бод- v. 'suppose, guess', {Rm.} бодо- 'bedenken, in Betracht ziehen; nachdenken; zählen', Dg {T, Mrm.} бодо-, {Pp.} b_od_ō- 'think', Ord b_od_o- 'penser, réfléchir, supposer' ¶ MED 109, BMR I 253-4, Chr. 97, Krg. 350, KRS 104, KW 48, T DgJ 127, Ms. O 72, Klz. D I 115 || Tg *bodo- (a loan from M?) > Ewk, Sln бодо-, Ork bod(d)o- 'think', Ud {Krm.} бодо- 'consider, think over, estimate', {STM} 'think, suppose (meinen), count', Nn Nh {On.} бодо- 'count, decide', WrMc {Z} бодо- 'think, count', Ul бодо- ~ bodj- v.

'count' ¶ STM I 88, Krm. 213, On. 70, Z 515 ¶¶ SDM97 (A*bu|üdü 'think, intend').

176. *baHgü (= *baḥ|hü?) 'forearm' > **HS:** WCh {Stl.} *_Lba-_Lbaka 'wing, arm' > pBT *ba^rk₁^ra 'arm', *^rb^rak₁- 'wing' > Tng {J} paka 'hand, arm', Krkr {Lk.} bāká_L 'arm', Glm {Sch.} (kà)bàgá 'shoulder, wing', Krf {Sch.} kàbàá 'shoulder', NrBc: Kry {Sk.} pākè 'arm', AG: Kfr {Nt.} bāgàn 'shoulder' ¶ JI II 178, Stl. ZCh 146 [no. 15], Stl. VZCh B no-s 17 and 22, ChC, Sch. BTL 55, 81, Nt. 46, Nw. no. 147 || ?σ S: Ak bukār- {Sd.} 'Klöppel, Mörserkeule', {CAD} 'pestle' ¶ Sd. 136, CAD II 308 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hā^gh^u-s 'elbow, forearm' ({EI} IE *b^hā^gh^us or *b^heh_ρ^gh^us '[fore]arm, foreleg') > OI bā^hh^u-_L 'arm, forearm; forefoot (of quadrupeds)', Av bāzā^u-š 'arm' || Gk πῆχυς, Gk Ae/D πῆχυς 'forearm' || ON bógr (pl. bógu) 'arm, shoulder', OSx bōg 'Bug', OHG buog 'shoulder, rib; armus, suffrago', NHG Bug 'shoulder joint', AS bōz 'shoulder, arm, branch', NE bough || pTc {Ad.} *pokai_L- > Tc: A poke 'arm', B pokko {Ad.} 'arm, (any) limb', (in cds) -pokai_L id. ¶ P 108, Dv. no. 267, EI 26, M K II 429, M E II 223-4, F II 531, Vr. 47, OsS 90, Ho. 29, Ho. S 8, Kb. 131, EWA II 443-5, Wn. I 381-2, Ad. 403, Ad. H 20, 22 || **A:** M *baguyu > WrM {MED} bagu(у), bugu(у) {MED} 'forearm, wrist, bracelet', HIM бугуѣ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'distal end of the forearm', Kl {KRS} бугу 'bracelet', {Rm.} buṽū 'Armband der Frauen', Ord buṽū 'bracelet', MM [IM] بفر bu|uṽū id., ?σ [S] buqa_Lu 'Schandkragen'; AD LRC no. 85 adduced WrM bagal-_Lcaṽ 'wrist' and Turkic words: ET paqal-čaq 'shin', Uz baqalaq id. and Qrg baṽalek ~ baṽalaq 'the lower part of the trouser leg' ¶ MED 71, BMR I 279, KRS 115, KW 58, Ms. O 91, Pp. MA 433, H 21, Rl. IV 1438-9, Jud. 91 || **D** (in NED) *pak(k)- v. 'take into one's arms' > Krx pāk-nā / pakkyas v. 'take up into one's arms, take on one's lap', Mlt pake v. 'take in the lap' ¶ D *-k(k)- < N *- **Hg-** ¶ D no. 4050 ◇ If Ak bukār- belongs here, the N Ir. *H is to be interpreted as *ḥ or *h (causing devoicing *g > *k in WCh and Ak) ◇ Gr. II no. 225 (*bogu 'joint') (IE, A, J, Ai).

177. ₂ *b^u_Ly_LgE (more plausible than *b^uHgE) 'stinging insect' > **IE:** NaIE *b^hu^g_L^h- 'insect' > Lt bužỹs id., Ltv ch. būza ~ buza, buzis 'louse' || ? eNE XVII bugge, bug 'insect, bug', NE bug ¶ ≈ WP II 117, ≈ Mn. 119, Frn. 29, OED I 1159-60 || **A** *bōge 'ε (stinging?) insect' > T *bōg 'ε insect' > OT {Cl.} bō:g 'poisonous spider, tarantula', Az bōv 'phalangid (a poisonous spider)', Tkm mōy id., Qrg böyü 'tarantula', Chv L паван рван, Chv Δ рван 'gadfly (*Tabanus*)' ¶ Rs. W 82-3, S AJ 198

[no. 271], AzRL I 313, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394, Jeg. 146 || M *bö̯e-sün 'louse' > MM [S, HI, MA] bö̯₁esün, [IsV, L] bö̯:sün, WrM {MED} bögesü(n), HIM {MED, BMR} бөөс(өн), Brt бөөһэ(н), Kl {Rm.} bö̯sṅ, Dx bosun, Ba bosuṅ, Dg būs, Mnr H {SM} b₁ōsə, ShY būsəṅ, MMgl bö̯sün id., Ord b₁ōsü ~ b₁ōs 'pou' ¶ MED 125, BMR I 276, Chr. 108, KW 53, SM 29, H 16, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 88, Pp. MA 123, Lg. VMI 21, Iw. 92 || Tg *bugu-tuna > Ewk buḡuṭuna 'gnat', WrMc {Z} бэ̄к̄т̄о 'gadfly' ¶ STM I 102, Z 488 || pJ {S} *p₁iw̄z̄-musi 'dayfly, ephemera' > MJ p₁iw̄mús₁ (cd with pJ *mús₁ 'worm, insect' < N *m₁ûs̄ ▽ 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ S QJ no. 1580, Mr. 408 ¶¶ SDM 358 (pA *b₁ūgi 'ε insect' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 173, S AJ 294 [no. 500], Rs. W 82-3, KW 57, TL 184 ◇ N *y is tentatively suggested by the long vw. in T. It is more probable than N *H, because a preconsonantal *-ûH- would have produced a long vw. *ū in IE.

178. *bAga (or *bAχa?) 'be(come) visible, appear' > K *me-pχ-e 'clear sky, fine weather > Lz mapχa-, Sv U/L mēpχe, LB/Ln mepχe 'cleared up (sky), clear space' ¶¶ K *-pχ- < early K **-bψ- (devoicing due to the infl. of K *pχ- 'be warm') ¶¶ K 133, K² 120, ≈ Chik. 188-9, TK 570, GP 218, Dn. s.v. māpχe || **HS:** S *obψw|y > Ar ✓ bψw (pf. بَافَا baψā) 'sortir d'une embuscade et fondre sur sa proie' (hardly etymologically identical with ✓ bψw 'dépasser, excéder les limites' < N *b¹i'gê 'much') ¶ BK I 147 || **D** *pa₁a|~ (>?) *paya| {ǰGS} *baψa|~) 'visible' > Kt baga| 'conspicuous' (of a view from a high place), Kn bayal, bayil, baylu 'conspicuousness, celebrity', Tu bayilə, bailə adj. 'public', Tl bayalu 'outside, exterior', 'clear, evident', Gnd bayul 'open space of ground', Knd baylu 'open space', Ku baylu 'maidan', bayalu 'field' ¶¶ The mysterious intervocalic cns. ḡ in Kota resembles the hiatus-filling ḡ in Hausa ¶¶ D no. 3940 || **IE:** NaIE *b^hā- 'appear, become visible' (× NaIE *b^hē-/*b^hō-/*b^hə- 'glänzen, leuchten, scheinen' < N *beha [or *bāha?] 'shine, be bright') > Gk πεφῆσεται 'will appear', φάτω (aor. ἔφηνα, Gk D ἔφᾶνα) 'cause to appear' || Arm բառամ' bana-m 'I open, I discover, I disclose' (← *'I make visible') || Clt *bāno- {Matas.} 'shining, white' > OIr 'white, shining' || ? Tc A pākär, Tc B pākri {Ad.} 'clear, obvious', {Wn.} 'ouvertement, publiquement', Tc B {Ad.} pākre '≈ in the open' ¶ EI 352-3, 513 (*b^heh₂- 'shine'), F II 982-4, Wn. I 350-1 (all of them do not distinguish this ✓ from *b^hē- 'shine, be bright'), Ad. 364, WP II 122-3, P 104-5, Matas. E 55 ◇ D *-¹k¹- = D {ǰGS} *-ψ- as a reflex of N *-g- still needs elucidation ◇

An alt. rec.: N ***bAxa** > K ***me-pχ-e**, D ***pakal-**, IE: NaIE ***b^hā-** (without HS: S ***°b^hω|y**) ◇ Qu. (the K, IE and Ar roots may be explained otherwise).

179. *b^hi'gê 'much' > HS: Ch: CCh: FLM {ChL} b^hṣ̄w, Nz {ChL} b^hṣ̄z̄n, {Mch.} b^hṣ̄ōn 'many' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} b^hṣ̄yā id. || ?φ WCh: Wrj {Sk.} b^hák^h, P' {MSk.} b^hákù id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'many', ChL III 19, 49 || ? S ***°√b^hṣ̄y|w** > amb Ar **√b^hṣ̄y** ~ **√b^hṣ̄w** (pf. **بَفَا** ba^hṣ̄ā, ip. -b^hṣ̄ī) 'dépasser, excéder les limites' (unless a sd. of **√b^hṣ̄w** ~ **√b^hṣ̄y** 'dévier') ¶ BK I 147 || AdS of Eg fOK b^hṣ̄ḥy vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied' (< N ***b^he'ṣ^hḥy** 'to pour' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Eg, CCh and ECh may have contaminated with N ***baXy** or ***baXi** '≈ abundant' || K ***°beṣ-** > Mg ba^hṣ̄u(n), Lz ba^hṣ̄un 'enough'; G ba^hṣ̄- 'share' should be kept apart, because it is a loan from Iranian (cp. Av ba^hga, ba^hṣ̄a 'share'), as indicated in Andk. Z 21; but the Mg and Lz words are semantically rather far from the Iranian word in question and hence should not necessarily be considered Iranisms ¶ Q 201, Chik. 282 || IE: [1] ≈ ***°b^he₁-** and/or ***°b^ho₁-** > Av ba^hē-**var**, ba^hē-**van** 'ten thousand, myriad', Phl bē**var**, NPrs **بيور** bi^hvār id., Oss: I bīrā, D berā, be^hwrā 'many, much, very' ¶ Brtl. 913, Ab. I 262 || [2] one of the sources of ***-b^heH**, sx of abstract nouns preserved in Sl ***-ba** and Lt **-bē**, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this abstract building (× N ***b** [particle of nomina abstracta] [q.v. ffd.] and N ***baXy** or ***baXi** '≈ abundant' [q.v.]) || D (in SD) ***pe₁-** ({^hGS} ***p-**) 'big' > Kt, Td pe- 'big' (D no. 4411), unless this is not a contraction of D ***per-** 'great, big' ◇ Since the Ar, the K and the alleged Kt-Td reflexes may be explained otherwise, the comparison is qu. ◇ ≠φ (⇔ Blz.) Lp N {N} bōaw^hje 'gathering of near relatives; company, clique' (see N ***baXy** or ***baXi** '≈ abundant'; ≠σ (⇔ Blz.) Os V pāy 'hillock, heap, crowd of people' (the primary meaning is obviously 'hillock, heap') (see Coll. 74) ◇ IS I 193 [no. 28], ≈ Blz. L no. 107a (adding Irn and erroneously U).

180. *beha (or ***bāha?**) 'shine, be bright' > HS: S ***°-bhā|ū** (***√bh^hω**) > Ar **√bh^hω** (pf. **بَهَا** ba^hhā, ip. -bhā ~ -bhū) v. 'be fine, shine' ¶ Ln. 269, Fr. I 168-9 || Eg G b^hṣ̄ ({{EG b^hḥ}} v. 'shine' (sun, moon), 'light up (leuchten, erleuchten)' ¶ EG I 472, Tk. II 291 || C: DhI {EEN} b^hṣ̄a^h?- v. 'shine', {To.} b^hu^had- 'shine' (sun) || SC {E} ḥ ***`ba?** v. 'glow' ⇨ Mb -'bayu 'red' ¶ E SC 135, EEN 33, To. D 129 || IE ***b^heH-** / ***b^hoH-** / ***b^hH-** ({{EI} ***b^heh₂-** 'shine' ⇨ ? ***b^heh₁(e)s-** n. 'light') > NaIE ***b^hē-** / ***b^hō-** / ***b^hā-** 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)' (× NaIE ***b^hā-** 'appear, become visible' < N ***bAga** [or ***bAxa?**] 'be[come] visible, appear') > OI **'bhā-ti** 'shines', bhā- (in cds)

n. 'shine, light, brightness', Av $b\bar{a}$ - 'scheinen' (used with a px: $v\bar{i}$ - $b\bar{a}$ - 'leuchten'), $b\bar{a}m\bar{y}a$ - 'licht, glänzend', $b\bar{a}n\bar{u}$ - 'Licht, Strahl' ||| Arm $\rho\omega\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\mu}$ $ba-na-m$ (NaIE * $b^h\bar{a}$ - n -) 'I open, I discover, I disclose', aor. $\rho\omega\bar{g}h$ $ba\bar{c}^h\bar{i}$ ||| Gk $\pi\epsilon\phi\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ 'will appear', NaIE * $b^h\bar{a}$ - n - in the present form $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ (< * $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$) 'bring to light, make appear', $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (ipf. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\nu$, aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\nu\alpha$) 'come to light, am seen, appear; shine brightly'; Gk [Hs.] $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ (pres. prtc. accus. sg. m. from * $\phi\alpha$ - v. 'shine') ||| OIr $b\bar{a}n$ 'white' ||| Gt $band\omega a$ (· $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$) 'Zeichen', Gmc * $band\omega jan$ > Gt $band\omega jan$ (· $\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\mu\eta\eta\nu\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'ein Zeichen geben, andeuten', ON $benda$ 'anzeigen, vorbedeuten' ||| Sl: HLs $ba\bar{c}so$ (pres. $ba\bar{j}u$) vr. 'to burn imperceptibly, to glimmer', LLs $ba\bar{ja}\acute{s}se$ (pres. $ba\bar{j}om$) vr. 'to glimmer, to flare' ¶ P 104, EI 352, 513, Me. EAC 111, 154, M K II 493-4, M E II 259-60, F II 982-4, Vn B 13, Fs. 79-80, Vr. 32, ESSJ I 130-40 ||| U: FU * $pej\bar{a}$ (\approx {UEW} * $p\bar{a}j\bar{\nabla}$) v. 'shine white', adj. 'white' > Lp: N {N} $b\bar{a}ggjot / -\bar{a}j$ - v. 'shine white', L {LLO} $p\bar{a}j\bar{u}$ 'white' | OHg $feer$ [feēr] ~ $feher$ ~ $fejer$ [feyēr], Hg $feh\acute{e}r$ 'white', Hg $\Delta fe\acute{e}r$, $fe\acute{i}r$, $fej\acute{e}r$ id. (- h - is an epenthesis in a hiatus, - $\acute{e}r$ goes back to two nominal sxs: a deverbal * $-j\bar{\nabla}$ - and a denominative * $-r\bar{\nabla}$ -) ¶ MF 188, UEW 360 ¶ Lp N {N} \bar{a} suggested FU * $-e-$, but Rd. (UEW) reconstructed * $-ä-$ (probably on the basis of Hg); if he is right, there is * \bar{a} rather than * e at both the FU and the pN levels of rec. ◇ Blz. IELA 13 [no. 44] (S, IE).

181. $_2$ * $baH_2\bar{\nabla}$ 'to tie, to bind' > K * \sqrt{b} - v. 'tie, bind, attach; hang' > OG b - 'attach', G b - 'tie, bind, attach; hang', Mg, Lz, Sv b - id. (Sv L {Dn.} $m\bar{a}-b$ stt. 'it is attached to me', $\chi\bar{a}-b$ 'it is attached to him', msd. $li-bem$ 'to tie, to attach', msd. plrt. $li-b-\bar{a}l$, Sv UB msd. $li-b-em$, LSv {TK} $liben$ id.) ¶¶ K 47-8, K² 6, Chik. 250, FS E 39-40, Dn. s.v. b^1 , GP 147, TK 425 ||| A * $b\bar{a}$ - v. 'bind' > NaT * $^o b\bar{a}$ - 'bind, fasten (sth. to sth.)' > OT $b\bar{a}$ - id.; \rightarrow NaT * $b\bar{a}g$ 'bond, bundle' > OT {Cl.} $b\bar{a}\bar{g}$ 'bond, tie, belt', MT $b\bar{a}\bar{g}$ 'bond', Tk $b\bar{a}\bar{g}$ 'Band, Bindfaden, Strick', Az $ba\bar{y}$ id., Tkm $b\bar{a}g$, Uz Бон , ET, Kr, Xlj $ba\bar{y}$, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq $ba\bar{w}$, Qrg $b\bar{o}$, Slr $ba\bar{x}$, SY, Shor $pa\bar{y}$, Tf $ba\bar{y}$ 'Band (завязка)' ¶ Cl. 292, 310-11, ET B 13-17, Rs. W 53, Pek. 598-9, TkR 88 ||| ?σ Tg * ba - > Ewk ba - v. 'propose for marriage', WrMc {Z} $ba-\bar{c}ix\bar{i}$ 'proposed for marriage since childhood' ¶ STM I 60, Z 479 ||| pKo * pa 'rope, string' > NKo pa 'rope' ¶ Rm. SKE 179, SDM97 22, S QK no. 188 ||| pJ {S} * $b\bar{z}$ 'rope' > OJ $w\bar{o}$, MJ $w\acute{o}$ {S} id., JT $w\acute{o}$ ({Kenk.} \bar{o} 'string, cord, strap'), JKg {S} $w\acute{o}$, JK {S} $w\acute{o}$ ¶ S AJ 270 [#139], S QJ #139, Mr. 698, Kenk. 1403 ¶¶ SDM 319 (pA

*bǎ- v. 'bind' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 102, S AJ 68 (*bui 'be'), 111, 280, S QJ no. 239, Pp. VG 112, Rm. EAS I 57, Rm. SKE 179, Mr. KJ 228, Oz. NM 304-7, Mur. EA 109 ◇ IS I 172-3 [no. 2].

182. *buHi 'grow, appear, become' > **HS**: NrOm: Kf {C} bē 'esserci', Shn {C} bi- 'be', {Lm.} bēy- 'sit, sit down, dwell, live', Anf {C} bē- 'be', {MYTY} beyyo 'live', ? Ym {Lm.} -wa, -(m)ba/-(m)be (focalizing particles) ¶ C SE IV 247, 409, MYTY 116, Lm. Sh 289, Lm. Y 278-80 || EC: Sml bā (focalizer) (Lm.: ← 'is'), Rn (-)bā ~ -bā (a kind of focalizing pc.: am-bā irda 'I shall be the one to go') ¶ Lm. FP ∇, PG 71 || **IE** *bʰeǵHχ- v. 'grow, be' ({EI} *bʰeǵH, 'come into being, be; grow') > OI 'bhavati 'becomes, is', Av bavati id., OPrs bavatiy 'is' || Gk φύω v. 'bring forth, produce, beget', φύομαι v. 'grow, rise', 'entstehen, werden' || L fui 'I was, I have been', Osc fufans 'erant' || Clt {Matas.} *bu-yo- 'be, become' > OIr biid 'is wont to be', p. boí 'was', OW bot 'be' (3s pres. bez and bit), Crn bos 'be' (3s pres. beth), Gl 2p inv. biiete 'be' || Gt bauan (·oúkēiv) 'wohnen, bewohnen', AS béo 'I am', NE be || Lt bū-ti, Ltv bū-t, Pru būton 'to be' || Sl *bī- (inf. *bī-ti, past prtc. *bī-лъ) > OCS inf. БЫТИ bī-ti, SCr inf. bī-ti, Slv inf. bi-ti, R inf. бы-ть, Uk inf. бу-ти, P inf. by-ć, Cz inf. býti, Slk inf. byt' 'to be' || NaIE **būto- 'dwelling, residence' > Lt būtas 'home, house' || ON búð 'house, residence' || Clt {Matas.} *bu-tā > OIr both 'hut', MW bod 'dwelling, place', Br {Hm.} bod 'résidence' ¶ P 146-50, EI 53, Fs 83-4, M K II 485-7, M E II 255-7, F II 1052-4, WH I 557-8, Bc. G 317, Pln. II 684, Vn B 117, Frn. 68, En. 154-5, Tp. P A-D 271-4, SPS I 482, Vs. I 260, StSS 103-5, Glh. 131-2, Matas. E 84-5, Hm. 89 || **A** *b|p'ûyi- 'be (ser, estar)' > M *büyi- ~ *buiyi- > MM W [IsV] büi ~ bei ~ bi:, [MA, L] bi: 'is', MM E bui [S] 'is', [HI] 'is, exists', WrM {MED} bui 'being, existing; is\am\are', HIM буй, бий {MED} id., бий {BMR, Luv.} 'there is (есть, имеется, находится)', буй {BMR} 'existing, vorhanden', Brt бии 'there is', Kl {KRS} бий bī id., {Rm.} bi 'ist', Ord bī 'est', Dg b_ei, {T} bei, Dx {T} bi '(there) is' ¶ H 21, BMR I 244, 282, Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 86, Lg. VMI 19-22, MED 132, BMR I 244. 282, Luv. 69, 84, Chr. 94, KRS 98, KW 44, Iw. 89, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 67, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, ≈ S AJ 233 [no. 1] || Tg *bi- v. 'be' > Ewk, Neg bi- 'be (ser, estar), Ul, Ork bi- 'be (ser, estar, dasein), live', Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} bi- id., Nn Nh {On.} bi- 'live, estar, exist', bī 'there is', WrMc {Z} би-, Jrc {Md.} bie-i 'be (estar)' ¶ STM I 79-80, On. 64-5, S AJ 221 [no. 225], Z 503, Md. ChF 135 || pJ *b(u)í- v. 'be, sit' > OJ wi-, MJ wí- 'sit,

be', J T ì- v. {Kenk.} 'be', J K/Kg í 'be', J Ht bì- v. {Mr.} 'sit' ¶ S AJ 270 [no. 139] (pA *bui-), SDM95 s.v. *bui-, S QJ no. 139, Mr. 698, Kenk. 635 ¶¶ SDM 342 (pA *bíyu 'be, sit' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 127, S AJ 68, 111, 280 [no. 129] (pA *bui- 'be'), SDM95 (A *bui), SDM97 (A *biyu), Rm. EAS I 57, Pp. VG 112, Mur. EA 109, Oz. NM 304-7 ◇ The absence of the expected root-final *j̥ in IE still requires explanation ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS I 184 [no. 19]) adduced Eg бз.т 'shrub', Cb fwa 'tree' and U *puwe- v. 'grow' (not more than a possibility) ◇ ≈ Blz. EIAL 16 [no. 60] (IE + unc. S * ✓bwh̥ [> Ar bāḥa 'be known, become public', būḥ- 'root, origin, pudenda, sexual intercourse', Gz bōḥa 'be seen, be revealed'] instead of the above-mentioned HS root [meaning 'esserci, be']) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 27 (*biu 'be').

183. *buk'o' (or *buk'o'ʕʕ?) 'run, run away' > HS: Eg fP бс 'run', Eg NK бс 'durchlaufen'; ?? Cpt {Ws.} vOk бōk ~ FOk fōk 'go' ¶ EG I 485, Fk. 86, Tk. II 352-3, Ws. 22 || C {AD} *✓bkʷ v. 'flee' > Ag: Aw {Hz.} buk- id. ||| EC: Sa I {CR} букā 'flight', Af {PH} búka id., 'escape', buk- v. 'flee, escape'; EC {Ss.} *baḵ- v. 'run away, be afraid' > Arr {Hw.}, Brj {Ss.} baḵ-aḵ-, Dbs paq-aḵ- 'run away', Or baḵ-aḵ-, {Grg.} baḵ-aḵḵ- v. 'flee, escape', baḵ-a n. 'escape, running', Sml baq-aḵ- (md.) v. 'be afraid', baž-i- (caus.) v. 'frighten', Rn baḥ-s-ada caus. md. 'rush, run away, escape' ¶ AD SF 270-1, Ss. B 32, Hw. A 346, Th. 32, Grg. 36, PG 74 || NrOm: Wl {C} биқиџ- v. 'flee', Gm {Hw.} baḵáto- 'flee from', as well as possibly Cha {C} бокā 'way' and (?) Kf бочџ id. ¶ C SO 28, C SE III 164, C SE IV 410, Hw. EG || S: [1] S *°✓bkʕ (~ *°✓bkʕʕ?) > Ar ✓bkʕ G {BK} 's'éloigner, s'en aller', ? (× Ar buqʕat-un ~ baqʕat-un {BK} 'pays, contrée; sol, terrain, champ', {Ln.} 'piece\part\portion of plot\land\ground') {BK} ✓bqʕ G 's'éloigner, s'en aller dans une contrée buqʕatun'); [2] SES (+ext.) *✓bkʕ̂ v. 'run' > Mh ✓bkʕ̂ (pf. бз'қа̂ŵ, sbjn. yз-бқа̂), Hrs ✓bkʕ̂ (pf. бзқ̂ō̂), Jb E ✓bkʕ̂ (pf. бқ̂ḵ̂) id. ¶ BK I 149, 154, Ln. 285, Jo. M 48 ¶¶ The origin of the cns. ʕ in Ar ✓bkʕ ~ ✓bqʕ and of the glottalized cns. ḵ in EC *baḵ- and in NrOm is still controversial: one may suppose either a HS élargissement (from an ancient word group) or a HS (or even a N) archaïsme (contradicted by Eg бс without laryngeals), a derived word or a compound ¶¶ ≠ Tk. LAA-1 112 [no. 59] (HS *✓bk 'to abandon'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 57 [no. 59] (HS *✓bk 'road') || IE: NaIE *bʰe(:)gʷ- ~ *bʰeug- ({{EI} *bʰeug-) v. 'flee': [1] *bʰegʷ- / *bʰogʷ- / *bʰēgʷ- > Gk φέβομαι v. 'flee, flight, flee in terror', φόβος 'flight, panic fear' || Lt inf. bég-ti (1s pres. bég-u) 'to run, to flee', Ltv

inf. $b\acute{e}g-t$ (1s pres. $b\acute{e}g-u$) 'to flee' || Sl $*b\acute{e}g-$ (inf. $*b\acute{e}g-ti$, 1s pres. $*b\acute{e}g-q \sim *b\acute{e}ž-q$) v. 'run, flee' > 1s pres.: OCS $бѣжѣ бѣж-ѡ$, R $бе'г-у$, inf.: P $biec$, R Δ $бечь$, Ouk $бѣчи$, Uk Δ $бічи$, μ Uk $бігти$, μ Blr inf. $бегчы$ 'to run, to flee', SCr inf. $избећи$ \approx $iz-bjeći$ 'to avoid, to evade', inf. $побећи$ \approx $po-bjeći$ 'to run away, to flee'; Sl μ ($*b\acute{e}g\acute{e}ti?$ >) inf. $*b\acute{e}ž\acute{a}ti$ 'to run, to flee' > OCS inf. $бѣжати бѣžati$ id., R inf. $бе'жать$, SCr inf. $бежати$ \approx $bježati$, Slv inf. $béžati$, Cz inf. $běžeti$, Slk inf. $bežat'$, P $bieżec$ 'to run'; Sl n. act. $*b\acute{e}gъ$ 'running' > ChS $бѣгъ бѣгъ$, Blg $бяг$, SCr, Slv $bēg$, R $бег$, Cz $běh$, Slk beh , P $bieg$ id.; Sl $*b\acute{e}gati$ iter. inf. 'to run, to flee' > OCS inf. $бѣгати бѣgati$ 'бежать, убежать' ('run, run away'), SCr inf. $бегати$, Δ $bjeğati$ id., Slv inf. $bégati$, Cz inf. $běhati$, Slk inf. $behat'$, P inf. $biegać$, R inf. $бегать$, Uk inf. $бігати$ iter. 'to run' || pInA stem $*bhāg-/ *bhāž-$ v. 'flee', that is reconstructible from Prkr $bhagga$ 'fled', Hindi, Ass etc. $bhāg-$ v. 'flee' etc. and is attested in OI [Bhatt.] ($diśō$) $bhājayat$ 'drove out', ($diśō$) $bhyabhajatām$ 'fled' ($diśō = diśas$ [gen. of $diś$ 'direction'] functions as a preverb of direction), [Pañc.] $diśōbhāga-$ 'fleeing' ¶ P 116, Mn. 69, WP II 248, EI 206, M K II 491, M E II 241-2, F II 998-9, 1005-7, Frn. 38, ESSJ II 58-62, 92, StSS 105-6, Glh. 133, Tls. 162, 382, Drd. 181, 498, Vs. I 143, Tu. no. 532, \neq Bloch MIIA 62 ($*bhāg-/ *bhāž-$ v. 'break' \rightarrow 'run'), SPS I 224-7, 245-6 || [2] $*b^heug-/ *b^houg-/ *b^hug-$ v. 'flee' > Gk $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\upsilon\omega$ (aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\phi\upsilon\upsilon\omega\upsilon$) v. 'flee', $\phi\upsilon\upsilon\acute{\eta}$ 'flight (in battle)' || L $fugi-\bar{o}$ (pfc. $f\bar{u}g\bar{i}$, inf. $fug\bar{e}re$) v. 'flee', $fuga$ 'flight' || ? Lt inf. $b\acute{u}g-ti$ (1s pres. $b\acute{u}g-stu$) 'to fear, to be frightened', inf. $baugin-ti$ 'to frighten', $baug\acute{u}s$ 'fearful', Ltv $b\bar{u}gns$ id. ¶ P 152, Mn. 75-6, F II 1005-7, WH I 556-7, \approx Frn. 37-8, ESSJ II 58-60, 92 || U: FU $*\text{p}\acute{u}k\bar{\nabla}$ - v. 'flee' > Es {W} $p\acute{o}ge-$ 'flee' || U $*\text{p}\acute{u}kta-$ 'hop, run' (\times N $*\text{p}^{\acute{r}}\acute{o}'\text{K}\bar{\nabla}'d\bar{\nabla}$ or $*\text{P}\acute{o}'\text{K}\bar{\nabla}'d\bar{\nabla}$ 'run' [q.v. ffd.]). The origin of BF $*\text{p}ak\bar{o}$ 'Flucht' (> F $pa\bar{k}o$, Krl, Vo $pa\bar{k}o$, Es $pa\bar{g}u$ id.) and of the corresponding verb (F $pa\bar{e}-ta$) remains enigmatic. It belongs to the $\sqrt{\quad}$ in question only if there is explanation of the vw. a ¶¶ W EDW 858, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406 ($*\text{pok}ta-$), UEW 402 ($*\text{pukt}\bar{\nabla}$), MF 223, IS I 181 ($*\text{pok-t}\bar{\nabla}$) \diamond IS I 181 s.v. $убежать$ $*\text{бок}'a'$ (IE, U, C + Tg $*\text{p}\acute{u}kti-$ v. 'flee, run' [in fact from N $*\text{p}^{\acute{r}}\acute{o}'\text{K}\bar{\nabla}'d\bar{\nabla}$ or $*\text{P}\acute{o}'\text{K}\bar{\nabla}'d\bar{\nabla}$ 'run']), AD GDS no. 1.32 (C, IE, U) $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II no. 317 ($*\text{pok}$ 'run') (IE, U + non-existent M $*\text{b}\acute{o}g-si-$ + err. Tg, J + qu. CK, EA).



184. *b^ho^hka 'to heat, to roast, to burn' > HS *^o√bɤk > S *^o√bɤk > Ar buɤkūk-at- n. 'heat' ('calor') ¶ Fr. I 137 || Ch *^o√bk vt. 'roast, burn, scorch' ({JS} *^o√bk v. 'roast', {Nw.} *b^h∇ki|u v. 'roast, burn') > WCh {Stl.} *bak_ɫɫ_ɫ- vt. 'burn' > Hs bábbàkǎ {Ba.} id., 'scorch', {Abr.} v. 'grill or toast' | AG: Tal {IL} p^hi^hyàk, {Sh.} p^hyak vt. 'burn' | Bl bokk-, Ngm beke, Maha boko id. | SBc {Sh.}: Zem mbaɥ, Brw bak, Zar vàki, vèk, Gj búkì, Dw bèk id., Tule {ChC} bàk, Plc {ChL} baṣã, Gj {ChC} bùkkà vt. 'burn' | Ngz {Sch.} bákə id., Bd {ChL} bèkɛn id. || CCh: McMtk: Mkt {Ro.} bèkái id., ?? Gzg {Lk.} fok v. 'roast' || ECh: Jg {J} bīk, Mu {J} bágé, EDng {Ebob.} bīké v. 'roast' ¶ JI II 54-5 and 274-5, Ba. 51, Abr. H 52-3, JS 214, Stl. ZCh 152 [no. 69], Nw. no. 106, Ro. 218, Ebob. VDE 78, ChL, ChC s.v. 'roast' and 'burn' || EC: Brj bu_ɫɫ_ɫ- vi. 'burn, lighten' (the meaning 'lighten' may have been influenced by C *^o√br_ɫ 'lightning') ¶ Ss. B 42 || B *^o√Hφ_ɫ > Gd āβəɥ (3m pf. ɥūβεɥ) v. 'be lit' ('être allumé'), Izd a_ɥ id. ¶ Lf. I 253 and II no. 0085, Mrc. 10, NZ 81-2 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 13, ≈ Tk. LAA-1 115 [no. 83] (HS *^o√b_ɫ 'burn') (B, Ch, EC + unc. Eg b_χχ 'glühen, brennen') || IE: NaIE *b^hōg- vt. 'roast (rösten, braten), bake, burn', {EI} 'bake, roast' > Gk φῶ_ɥω v. 'roast, toast, parch' || AS inf. bacan / bōc (> NE bake) v. 'bake', OHG inf. backan ~ bachan 'to bake, to roast, to dry', MHG inf. bachen 'to bake', ON inf. baka 'backen, braten, Hände und Füße wärmen', NHG inf. backen 'to bake' || SI {Trb.} *bagat_ɫje 'fire, embers': Uk багаття ba^hat^hta 'smothered fire, embers', R Dn багатъе ba^hat^hje 'smouldering fire', Blr багацце ba^hat^hce 'fire' ¶ P 113, Mn. 88, F II 1057, ESSJ I 124, Bern. I 38, SPS I 176-7, Vr. 23, OsS 36, EWA I 419-22, Kb. 53, Lx. 8, KM 43, Ho. 14 || Cf. also the qu. NaIE stem {P} *b^ho^hk̄- 'flammen, brennen' (> L focus 'fireplace, hearth', ? Arm png бoс^h 'flame' [ho^hk̄-s0-?] and Arm pnunp бoсoɤ adj. 'red, blood-color' [h) || K: G {Chx.} bu_g- 'ausbrennen, verbrennen, einäschern', ? b_go|-'kochen, bereiten (Essen)', ? G I {Chx.} bga|-'anbrennen, sengen' ¶ Chx. 72, 115-16 || A *būk|g∇ n. 'heat, steam' > T *būg_ɫɫ 'steam' > OT bu ({Cl.} bū) 'steam', MT bu_ɣ, Tk bu_ɣu id., bu 'aroma', Tkm būg, Ggz, Qrg bū, Az byɤ, Uz, ET bu_ɥ, Kr bu_v, Nog, Qzq bu_w, VTt bu, Bsh bi_w, Qq pu_w, StAlt by_ɥ, Chv пǎв and п_ɥ 'steam' ¶ ET B 229-30, Cl. 292, Rs. W 86, TL 37, Äz. 73. BT 36, Ash. IX 253-4 and X 98, Fed. I 393-4, Jeg. 146, 163, ChVS




144 || NrTg *buḡar 'site of a burned forest' > Ewk buḡar, Lm bōrin id. ('гарь') ¶ STM I 101 || ?σ,φ pJ {S} *bák- v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ wák-, ML wák- id., J T wák-, J K/Kg wák- {Kenk.} 'boil, grow hot' ¶ S QJ no. 778, Mr. 783, Kenk. 2128 || M: [1] M *baḡagi- > WrM {SDM} 'fumigate', {MED} baḡagi- v. 'smoke profusely, emit puffs or clouds of 'smole', HIM {MED} бааги- id., {BMR} id., 'burn with much smoke, glimmen (тлеть), 'sich bällen, aufsteigen, клубиться' (Rauch, Dampf), Brt баая- 'клубиться' (Rauch, Dampf); [2] ??σ M *boḡursug ~ *boḡurcug > WrM {MED} boḡursug ~ boḡurcug 'bread, pastry', HIM {MED} боорсог ~ боорцог id., {BMR} боорцог 'фигурки из теста, жареные в кипящем жире', Brt боорсог 'small pastry', Kl {KRS} боорцг, Δ боорсг 'pieces of dough fried in oil', Kl Ö {Rm.} bōrsag 'cakes, kleine in Fett gebackene Kuchen oder Teigklümperchen aus Weizenmehl', Ord b_ōrsog 'galette, gâteau, pain'; Mnr H {T} bōrзог 'ε pastry', {SM} b_ōrзог 'petits gâteaux cuits à l'huile'; M ⇨ Chg baḡursaq ~ boḡursaq, Qrg bōrsog, Qzq ba wirsaq id. (× OT baḡirsaq ~ baḡirsuq 'entrails' ← OT baḡir 'liver', see Cl. 319?) ¶ MED 68, 112, BMR 202, 264, Chr. 72, 105, KRS 109, KW 54, Ms. O 81, SM 28, T 318, Dr. TM II no. 797, Ju g. 145 || ? pJ {S} *bák- v. 'boil, seethe' > OJ wák-, MJ wák- {SDM} id., J T wák-, J K/Kg wák- {Kenk.} 'boil, grow hot' ¶ Mr. 783, Kenk. 2128 ¶¶ SDM 378 (*būgà n. 'heat, steam' > Tg, T *būg 'steam, fog', M *baḡa-gi- 'fumigate'), DQA no. 217.

184a. *bōw∇ka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out') > HS: S *°-būk- > Ar ✓ bwk (ip. ya-būk-u, pf. bāka) 'remuer le bâton dans l'ouverture de la source pour en faire sortir plus d'eau' ¶ BK I 180 || ?σ Eg G bk v. 'kill (with a sword)' ¶ EG I 480, Tk. II 332-5 || IE: NaIE *b^heug- ~ *b^heugh- 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save') > Gt us-baugjan (ἰσπαρῶν) 'ausfegen', NHD Δ Bucht 'sweepings' || Av baog- / bunja- 'loosen, set free, save', baoxtar 'saviour, liberator', Sgd B βωχ 'deliverance' || ? Vnt p.n. vhuχia (lit. 'saviour, liberator' ÷ Av baoxtar) ¶ P 152, EI 621 (*b^heug^(h)- 'purify, free'), Fs. 529, Brtl. 916-17, Bai. 319-20 || ¶ *b|p'o,ag∇ > M *bog∇ > WrM {MED} bog, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt бог 'sweepings, filth, garbage', Kl {KRS} бог id., {Rm.} bog 'Schmutz, Kehricht', Ord b_og_ 'saletés qui couvrent le sol à l'intérieur des habitations, balayures; feuilles tombées et amoncelées au pied des plantes' ¶ The absence of funal vw. in WrM bog needs explanation (infl. of HIM?) ¶ MED 110, BMR I 250, KRS 102, KW 68-9, Chr. 96, Ms. O 73 || Tg *boḡagi- (< **bō,agi-?) 'put out, throw out' > Ewk boḡī-, Neg boḡin- v.

'give birth to a child (out of wedlock)', Ewk *boʃin-* v. 'show oneself (out of an aperture)', 'be born', Ul *boyal-*, *boyalčij-*, Nn Bk *boɣaɔ-* 'have a miscarriage', Nn Nh *boɣaɔ-* {STM} id., {On.} id., 'be broken', WrMc {Z} *Бойхоло-* ~ *Бі̄о̄хала-* v. 'break loose, run away' (of a fish\bird\beast that escapes from a hook\net\snare) ¶ STM I 87, On. 78, Z 508, 544 || **D** (in GnD) **pok-* ({ʒGS} **p-*) v. 'throw' (× N **bôra* (K̲E)) 'to fall, to fell, to throw') > Knd *pok-* v. 'throw', Gnd *poḥānā* v. 'throw', *poʔ-* ~ *pon-* v. 'throw away' ¶ D no. 4457 ◇ On IE **bʰeu-* presumably from N **bo-* see Introduction, § 2.4. A possible solution: IE **bʰeuḡ-* ~ **bʰeuḡh-* goes back to N **bowṽka*. IE *-*ḡh-* in IE **bʰeuḡh-* is due to as. (**bʰ...ḡ-* > **bʰ...ḡh-*).

185. **bak₁ṽṽa* (or **pak₁ṽṽa*) 'stick, sprout; (?) to sprout' > IE: NaIE **bak-* 'stick, staff used for support', {EI} 'club' > L *baculum* 'a staff, walking stick' (< **bak-tlom*), dem. *bacillum* 'a little staff' || OIr *bacc* 'courbure, creux, objet courbé', NIr *bac* 'pin, peg, crook; prop', W *bach*, Cm *bagh* 'hook, hinge', OBr {Flr.} *bach* ~ *bah* 'ligo (houe)', Br *bac'h* 'croc, gros hameçon' || Gk *βάκτρον* 'stick, cudgel', *βακτηρία* 'staff, cane' || MDt *pegge* 'pin, peg', Dt *pegge* 'block (Klotz)', 'ε peg (in manufacturing wooden shoes)', ME *pegge* > NE *peg*; ?σ Sw *pigg*, Dn *pig* 'thorn' || ?σ Blt d. verbs: Ltv inf. *bakstīt* 'to poke, to pick', Lt inf. *bākstelēti* 'to give a nudge\prick' ¶ Pokorny considered the Insular Celtic word as a bf. from a Latinism; this hyp. (too complicated to be plausible) is not shared by Vn. ¶ WP II 104-5, P 93, EI 110-12, WH I 92, F I 211-12, Vn. *B* 2-3, YGM-1 38, Flr. 77-8, Hm. 61, Frn. 30, Ho. N 512-13, Skeat 439, HDEL 967, 1507, Hlq. 760 || **A** **bakṽ* 'pole, pillar' > NaT **ba₁ṽk|ḡana* ~ **ba₁ṽk|ḡana* 'pole' > OT Kr *baḡna* 'rung of a ladder, step of a staircase', Uz *Δ* ("Chagatay") {Rl.}, Qzq {Bu., Rl.} *baqan* 'tent pole' ('Stange, mit der man die Filzdecken der Jurte aufhebt und stützt'), Tt *Δ* *baḡan*, *paḡan* 'post, pole', QK {B} *paqan* 'post for tethering horses' ¶ The variant **ba₁ṽk|ḡana* may have been borrowed from M or influenced by M **bagana* ~ **baqana* ¶ Cl. 317, Bu. I 234, ET B 42-3, B DLT 184, Rs. W 53 || M **bagana* ~ **baqana* 'pillar, column, post, pole, tent pole' > WrM {MED} *bagana*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *багана* id., Kl {KRS} *бахн* id., {Rm.} *baḡanα* 'Säule, Pfeiler, Balkenstütze (im Hause)', Ord *b₁agana* 'chevron; piquet pour attacher les animaux; mât'; M ⇨ Qzq, Qrg *baqan*, Yk *baḡana*, Tlt *paqqan* id., WrMc {Z} *бахана* 'tent pole, prop' ¶ MED 68, BMR I 208, KRS 86, KW 28, Chr. 73, KW 29, Ms. O 43, ET B 42-3, Z 473, Pp. IM 135-7 (on M *-*q-*) || Tg **baksa* 'prop, pole' > Ewk *baksa* id., Ul *baqsa*, Nn Nh

baqsa ~ baχsa 'central pole of a tent' ¶ STM I 67-8, On. 58, 63 || pKo *pò > MKo pò 'beam, crossbeam', NKo pò, tɪl-bò id. ¶ S QK no. 375, Nam 259, MLC 786 ¶¶ SDM 323-4 (pA *báku|a > T *bak|gna 'rang of a ladder' [for *ba_L:k|gana], Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 93 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *bak ∇ id., KW 29, Dr. MT 101 || ?ϕ K *biga- 'stick, cudgel' > G Δ biga- 'wooden crossbeam', Mg biga-, Lz biga, Lz At biḳa, Sv {K} biž- 'stick' ¶¶ K DE 361, K² 15, BU 12 || HS: S *'baḳ_L∇_L- n. 'sprout', *'bḳ_L v. 'sprout' > Ak {Sd.} baḳlu 'Sproß', Sr  buḳ' l-ā {Br.} 'germen', {JPS} 'staff, cudgel', Ar  baql- 'vegetable, herbage, green', 'bḳ_L G 'appear, come out' (plant, tooth), Ak 'bḳ_L {CAD} v. 'sprout' ¶ Br. 87, Sd. 104-5 || LEC: Af {PH} bükka 'woody type of grass used for fence\roof making' ¶ PH 74 || CCh: Msg {Krs.} εfεk ~ υεfεk 'Rohr, Stroh' || ZmD {KNC} vók 'foin' ¶ Lk. DQM 52, KNC 29 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 112 [no. 62] ◇ The unexpected K *-i- needs explanation ◇ If we adduce Eg fOK fεg 'fingernail, claw' (¶ EG I 576, Tk. II 566) instead of S *'bḳ_L, which is rather doubtful, we shall have to rec. N *pa_Lε_Lg ∇ ~ *pa_Lε_Lḳ ∇.

186. *bukE ∇ 'billy goat, ram' > HS: C *'bḳε (> *'bεε by as.) 'sheep, goat' > Bj {R} bōk, Bj A {AD} bok 'billy goat' || Ag *'bεg_L∇_Lε- 'sheep' > Xm {R} beg-a (pl. bi g), Q {R} bag-a (pl. bagan), Km {CR} bεga, ⇨ Gz  baḡaε 'sheep, ram', Tgy bεgεi, Tgr bεgεu id., Kf {C} bagē, Mch {L} bāgo, Shn {C} baggō 'sheep'; Tgy ⇨ Bln {R} bεgg-a (pl. bεgg) || SC {E} *'bēε- > Irq {Wh.} bēεi, {E} be?i, Alg {Wh.} bēεi, {E} beεi, Grw {Wh.} bēεi 'sheep', Brn {Wh.} bē?-imo, pl. bē?-a, {Fl.} bēε-, {E} beεi id., Kz {E} ba?amuko 'ewe lamb' || DhI {EEN, To.} bēεa 'buffalo' ¶ L G 88, AD SF 39, 315, R WB 71, E SC 137, EEN 33, To. D 130, Wh. IC 25, C SE IV 411, L M 21, Fl. p.c. || S: (mt.) Gz  baḥk^ω 'ram, billy goat' (-⇨ Gz  baḥk^ω id.) (acc. to L: ⇨ C) ¶ L G 91 || B *'bεg > Ah {Fc.} a-baḡuḡ 'jeune mouton', Ty/ETwl {GhA} abεgog 'jeune mouton de 2 à 3 ans', Gh abažūž 'mouton châtré' ¶ Fc. 34, GhA 4, NZ 32 || Ch *(m)bak|g 'ram, sheep' > WCh: SBc: Kir mbak 'male' (of rams in: mbak parəm 'ram'), Zul bεgálá, Gj bεgállà 'ram' || CCh: Gude bεgá, FIJ bεgà, FIM bεgè, FIB bεgè, BtG {Mch.} mbáge, BtD {Srp.} bāgé 'sheep', Mln mḡbâgá 'ram', mḡbâgátí 'sheep', Bcm mḡbâgá 'ram', mbâgáté 'sheep', Gudu mbæksü 'sheep' || Glv {ChL} mḡbâkuláká, {Rp.} mbákəlaká, Gv mbâkùlákà 'ram' ¶ JI II 291, ChC s.v. 'sheep' and 'ram', ChL, RpB 64, Hsk. 161 ¶ In HS there are many variants of the √ which may be accounted for by mt. of the velar and the lr. cnss and by as. within cns. clusters. For instance, the EthS form (Gz

bʒħk^ω) is accounted for by earlier mt. and as. (something like *b∇kʷ- > *b∇ʷk- > *b∇χk- with subsequent reg. change of pre-HS *χ to *ħ) || IE [*b^hu(:)ḡHo- >] *b^hu(:)ḡo-s, {EI} *b^huḡos 'buck, billy goat' ~ NaIE ({P}: *end.*) *b^hukko-s 'he-goat, ram', f. *b^hu(:)ḡ-ā ~ *b^hukk-ā 'she-goat, ewe' (Dv.: 'capra prisca') > Av būza 'goat, billy goat', NPrs بَزْ bōz 'goat; she-goat', KhS buysa- 'goat', Psh ωuz 'billy goat' || Arm բուծ buc '(sucking) lamb' || Clt {Matas..} *bukko- 'goat' > OIr boc, bocc, rocc, MW bwch, Cm boch, MBr bouch, Br bouc'h 'buck', OCm [ʷ] boch 'caper' or 'hircus' || pGmc *bukka- (< Clt, acc. to Ped.) > ON bukk, bokkr, bokki, Nr bokk, bukk, Dn buj, Sw bock, OHG boc & boch, NHG Bock, OSx bukk, AS bucca 'buck', NE buck ¶ WP II 189, P 174 (misquoting Arm buc as buz), EI 229, Dv. no. 929, Mn. 120, Vl. I 233, Brtl. 969-70, Sg. 182, Horn 49, Bai. 297, Mrg. 94, Vn. B 62-3, Hü. 430, Slt. 292, Vr. 48, 64, EWA II 216-18, OsS 79, KM 87, Ho. 38, Ho. S 11, Matas. E 83, Hm. 94 ¶ The expected Ir. is in a prevoc. position and hence leaves no trace || A: M *bugu 'deer' > WrM {MED} buḡu, HIM буга {MED} 'male deer, {BMR} 'deer, Manchurian deer (иэюбр), maral', Kl {KRS} буг 'deer', {Rm.} buḡa 'männlicher Hirsch', Mnr H {SM} buḡu, Ord buḡu 'cerf', MM [MA] *buḡu- 'deer': gen. بوغويين buḡuyin 'of a deer', [S] {H} buḡu, [HI] {Ms.} buḡu [buḡu] 'deer'; M ↔ WrMc {Z} бугу 'deer', Ewk buḡu, Sln боґо 'Manchurian deer (иэюбр)' ¶ MED 131, BMR I 278, KRS 115, KW 68, H 21, H SMG I no. 144, SM 32, Lew. II 22, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 91, Pp. MA 124, STM I 101-2, Z 527 || ? AdS of Tg *buka 'male horned ungulate' (< N *buḡa 'bovine [animal]') > WrMc {Z} бугу 'deer, male deer' (< M?), ? буга 'wild animal', буга 'billy goat, ram, Sln буґа, Ewk buka 'sire bull', Ewk Vtm buka 'buffalo' ¶ STM I 103-4, Z 524, 528 || NaT *buḡu 'deer' > (or M ↔) MU XIII buḡu 'deer', Tk Δ, Uz, Qrg buḡu, Nog buḡu 'male deer', Chg [BL] {Brv.} بوغو buḡu 'kind of antelope or wild goat', Qzq бугу 'deer' ¶ KW 58, ET B 237-8, Brv. BL 139, STM I 101-2, Dr. TM II no. 752, Cl. 312, Rs. W 86 ¶¶ S CNM 10 (reconstructing A *puk^ω and adducing Ewk hʒgʒn ~ hʒwʒn 'young of elk') ◇ In the Altaic lges there is probably a quite plausible semantic change: 'billy goat, ram' → 'deer' ◇ AD NM no. 45.

187. (2?) *baḡ^ω 'to look' > HS: CS *bḡu|w v. 'look, observe' > JA, Sr ✓ bḡu|w G (pf. 𐤁𐤒𐤁 𐤁𐤒𐤁𐤁 bə'ḡā) 'schauen, beobachten, ausforschen', JEA {Sl.} ✓ bḡu G 'inquire into, search for, examine', MHb bā'ḡā ('𐤁𐤒𐤁 ~

אִרְבֵּי () 'erfahren, kundig', Ar ✓bqy (ip. -bqay, pf. baqā بَقِيَ) 'observavit, respexit', [Qam.] {Fr.} ✓bqw (pf. baqā بَقَا) 'spectavit, respexit, observavit' ¶ Lv. I 253, Sl. 230, Fr. I 144, IS I 172 (adducing also S *✓bkr v. 'examine' and *✓bkθ v. 'seek') || EC *bēk- > Or bēk- v. 'know', Brj bēk-id. (a loan from Or?), ?? amb Sml {R} bēq ~ bēg 'sorgfältige Ausschau (wie etwas ins Werk zu setzen sein)' (unless ← Ar baqy-, msd. from ✓bqy v. 'observe') ¶ AD SF 264-5, Grg. 43, Brl. 50-1, Hd. 87, R SS II 80 || NrOm *b∇k- v. 'see' > Bnc {Wdk.} bēk v. 'see', Bsk {C} bīk-, {Bnd.} bēka, Wl {C, LmS} bē?- 'see, look', Zl/Bdt/Cha {C} bē?- , Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} bē?- , Ym {Wdk.} biya v. 'see', Shn {Lm, Fl.} bēk-, Anf {MYTY} bēk-, {C, Fl.} bēk-, Mch {L} bākki(yé) v. 'see', Kf {C} beg/begg-, caus. bēk-, {Fl.} bē-/bēk id. ¶ AD SF 264-5, Wdk. BY 99, 119, 172, Fl. OWL s.v. 'see', L M 22, MYTY 120, LmS 312, Lm. Sh 282 || Ch: WCh: Hs {Ba.} bīkī 'looking after, tending carefully, taking pains about in order to get sth. back into its original good condition', {Abr.} 'devoting attention to' || CCh: MfG bāk 'regarder' ¶ Ba. 106, Abr. H 100, Brr. MG II 82 || A *bak'a- 'look, watch (regarder)' > T *bak'(a)- v. 'look at' > OT baq-, aor. baqār, Chg baq-, Tk bak-, Tkm, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, VTt baq-, Tf báq-, Uz bak-, Chv пǎх- id. ¶ Cl. EW 311, ET B 38-40, Rs. W 58, Ash. X 170-8, Fed. I 407, Jeg. 150-1, Ra. 159 || Tg {ADb.} *baka- v. 'find' > Ewk baka-, Sln, Neg baxa-, Lm baq-, Orc bā-, Ud {STM} b'a-, {Krm.} ba?-, Ork bā-, baqqa-, Ul bā-, baqa-, Nn Nh/Bk bā-, Nn KU baqa-, WrMc {Z} baxa- id. ¶ STM I 66-7, Krm. 210, On 54, Z 473-4 || ? pKo {S} *pò- 'see' > MKo pò-, NKo pò- ¶ S QK no. 73, Nam 259, MLC 788 || pJ {S} *bākār- 'understand' > OJ wakar-, MJ, J Kg wākār-, J: T wákár-, K wákár- ¶ S QJ no. 774, Mr. 782, Kenk 2124-5 ¶¶ SDM 323 (pA *bāka 'look, watch' > Tg. T, J, Ko), DQA no. 90 || E: ?σ ME1 ba-ak-qa-h 'ich fand (?)' ¶¶ HK 106 ◇ Blz. E no. 84 (E, HS); ≈ IS I 172-3 (HS [S, B, C, Om], A [T, Tg]). IS (l.c.) adduced B: Kb əḅṽu ({DI.} ḅṽu, aor. -ḅṽa) v. 'wish', but it is not convincing (for semantic reasons). IE *spek̄/ḡ- v. 'look, see, observe, spy' does not belong here, but rather to N *p̄'E'K̄y∇ 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v.).

188. *buḳa 'bovine (animal)' > HS: +ext.: S *ba'ḳar- 'cattle' > BHb בְּקָרָה bā'ḳār 'cattle, herd', Ph bḳr 'cattle', Ug {OLS} bḳr 'rebaño de vacuno, cabaña', JA אִרְבֵּי bāk'r-ā, Sr بَقَرٌ bāk'r-ā 'cattle', JEA bāk'r-ā {Sl.} 'herd', Ar baqar- '(wild\domesticated) bovines, ox\bull\cow', Sb bḳr 'bovines, head of cattle', Eb {Krb.} baḳarum 'cattle'; S d. *buḳār- > Ar

buqār- 'head of (large) cattle', Ak buqār- 'cattle' ¶ KB 144-5, KBR 151, HJ 187, OLS 114-15, Lv. I 256, Sl. 231, Br. 88, Ln. I 234, BGMR 30, BK I 148-9, CAD II 323, Krb. EG 39 || Ch: ECh: Brg {J, ChC} bōgōrō 'male antelope', bōgōréy 'female antelope', EDng {Fd.} bógóór 'antelope', (with mt. of the glottalization): Mkl {J} bōrgú 'horse antelope (kudu), Mgm {JA} b̂ârgú 'oryx antelope'; Nd D {J} pāgōr 'antelope' (p- due to the infl. of the reflex of N *pōkū '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle') ¶ ChC s.v. 'antelope', J LM 73, JA LM 73, Fd. s.v. bógóór || IE: NaIE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bouk- 'bull' > Sl *bīkъ / gen. *bīka (< NaIE *būko-) 'bull' > Blg бик, SCr bīk, Slv bīk, Cz, Slk býk 'bull', P bųk id. ({ESSJ}: 'sire bull'), OR БЫКЪ bīkъ, R БЫК 'bull'; Sl *bīkъ (< *buk-) > SCr bāk 'bull' || ? pClt f. {SB, Vn.} *boukk-ā 'cow' (unless ← Clt *bōw- < IE *gʷou- 'cattle', as supposed by SB, LP and Vn.) > OW buch 'iuvenca', W buchw (pl. buchwod), MBr, OCrn buch, MCrn bugh, Br buoc'h ~ buc'h 'cow' ¶ Bern. I 112, ESSJ III 147-8, Glh. 156, 128, SPS I 473-4, Ern. 86-7, SB 178, LP § 298, Vn. B 61-2, YGM-1 61, ECCE 217, Hm. 119 ¶ IE *b- < *bʰ- due to the IE law of incompatibility of voiced aspirates and voiceless cnss in the same root || A *buk'a > NaT *buka (= *buk'a?) 'bull, sire bull' (× A *muk'u 'male' < N *maḳu 'baby, son', ? 'be pregnant' [q.v.]?) > OT بوقا buqa (Cl.: buqā), Chg buḡa, Tk boḡa, Tkm buḡa, SbTt buḡa 𐰽 роḡa, MQp buḡa, Qzq, Uz, ET, Tb buqa, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Yk buḡa, Xk puḡa, Tv buḡa, Tf buḡa 'bull' ¶ ET B 237-8, Cl. 312, Brv. BL 139, Tm. 46, 175 || M *buqa 'bull' (or borrowed by MM or Old Mongolian from T?) > MM [S] buqa {H} 'Rind, starkes Rind (Stier)', WrM {MED} buqa 'bull', HIM {MED. BMR} бұқ, Brt бұқа, 'sire bull', Kl {KRS} бұқ buχъ 'sire bull', {Rm.} buχu 'Stier', MMgl {Iw.} buqa, Mgl {Rm.} buqa 'bull', Ord buḡa 'taureau'; but M *bugu 'deer' is easier to explain as going back to N *bukE∇ 'billy goat, ram' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ H 21, MED 142, Luv. 91, BMR I 296-7, Chr. 119, KRS 124-5, KW 58, Rm. M 24, Iw. 93, Ms. O 91, H SMG I 44, Ms. H 43, SM 32, Lew. II 22 || amb Tg *buka (× N *bukE∇) > Ewk buka, Sln buḡa 'bull, male reindeer', WrMc {Z} бұқа 'ram, male goat' ¶ STM I 103-4, Z 524 ¶¶ The apparently lax *-k- in pT needs explanation ¶¶ SDM97 (pA *būka), ADb. KL 5.

189. *buk∇ (or *būk∇?) 'cheek' > HS {Blz.} *buk∇ or *buk∇₁∇ 'cheek(s), face' > EC *buk-(~ *buk(k)∇-?) > Or {Bl.} 'boḳ-o? 'jaw, the whole cheek', Or Gj/B {LLC} boḳo 'jaw, cheek', Kns paḳ-ō-ḡa 'jaw', Brj, Sd boḳo 'head', Kmb boḳo 'head', Sa I {CR} buka 'higher location', Gln, Gwd

pukkaḥ-te 'head' ¶ Bl. 134, LLC 33, 108, Ss. B 38, Lm. SKE 533 || B *-b∇qqā
 > Rf abəqqa 'face', Mz abəqqa 'cheek', Wrg abəqqa id., 'côté de la figure',
 Kb abəqqa 'gifle', Nf abəqqa id. ¶ Dl. 34, Dlh. M 9, Wlf. EAW 43, NZ 85-6 ||
 CCh: Tr {Nw.} ḥoxom 'beard', Lgn {Lk.} mbagam 'cheek', {ChL}: Bcm b^ωòkzy
 'cheeks', ? Bu pukúm, Ngx p^ωzhəm, HgF puki id., Bnn fókù-ná 'face', Lmn
 {SSAAJ} pagam 'temple' ('Schläfe') || ?σ WCh: Hs {Ba.} bākí:,
 Gw bàk^{yí}, Ywm p^hàk^h, Tng pək 'mouth' || ?σ ECh: Nd (Dik Δ) {J} bēg, Tmk
 bàg 'mouth' ¶ JI II 244-5, ChL, ChC s.v. 'cheek' and 'mouth', Ba. 64, Lk. L
 108 ¶¶ ≈ SSAAJ I no. 19 || K: OG {Abul., Fn.} baḳo 'lip, border', G {Chx.}
 baḳo 'Rand (eines Trinkgefässes)'; the development of vowels in K is still
 to be investigated ¶ Abul. 28, Chx. 60 || IE: NaIE *^obuk̄(k̄)∇ or *^obuk(k)∇
 'cheek' > L bucca id. || (L → ??) W boch, OBr boch, Br boc^h id.,
 OCrn [VC] en voch 'facies' (en is an article) ¶ ≠ WH I 120 (unc.: from
 *bu- 'aufblasen, schwellen'), My. 57 (adducing Al buzē 'lip, edge', which
 does not belong here, / O 43), Flr. 87, Hm. 89, Loth ML 138 ¶ *b-...-k̄|k-
 for *b^h-...-k̄|k- due to the known incompatibility law || D *pukk-
 'cheek' ({GS} *buk- id., unc. 'swollen') > Kn buggi 'cheek', Tl buggā
 'cheek, inside of the cheek', bukkā 'inside or hollow of the mouth',
 pukkili 'inside of the cheek', Prj bukka, Gdb bugga, Gnd bukā 𐌆 p^hukā 𐌆
 b^hukā 𐌆 bukka 𐌆 bugga 'cheek', Knd buku 'mouthful', bugli 'cheek', Ku
 būga 𐌆 bugga id., Krx pok^o 'chubby-cheeked' ¶¶ D no. 4242, GS 110
 [no. 285], 113 [298], 55 [no. 147] ◇ Blz. DA 153 [no. 8] (HS, K, IE, D),
 Blz. KM 113 [no. 1] (K, HS, D), Blz. NDA no. 8 (D, HS, K, IE).

190. *būka 'ε a stinging insect' (≈ 'gadfly', 'gnat') > HS: S *baḳḳ- > Ak
 baḳḳum '(small) gnat', Ar baqq- 'bug, gnat', {BK} 'punaise', JA 𐎁𐎗𐎚
 baḳ^h-ā, Sr 𐎁𐎗𐎚 bā^h-ā 'gnat' ¶ Sl. 230, Br. 87, JPS 52, Sd. 105, BK I
 148, Lv. I 253 || EC: Or {Grg., Hd.} bōkē 'gnat, mosquito', {Brl.} boké
 'moscerino della famiglia *Phlebotomus*' ¶ Hd. 71, 102, Brl. 59, Grg. 56
 || K: GP buḳuḳa 'gnat' ¶ Chx. 117 || IE: NaIE *^houk-/*^huk- 'bee' > L
 fūcus 'drone bee' (< *^houkos) || Clt {Matas} *biko- 'bee' > Gl {ML}
 *bekos 'bee' (→ Port Mr, It Mdn bega, Occ Cr beko, bīeko 'bee'), OIr
 bech 'bee', MW begegur ~ bygegur 'drone', W begegur 'hornet' ||
 Sl *^obučънь > R Δ 'бучень 'wild bee; (ε) a green fly with a sting' 𐌆
 'бучень; 'бучинь 'bumblebee'; Sl *bъčela (< *^hukelā) ~ *bъčela 'bee'
 > OCS, OR БЪУЄЛА бъčela ~ БЪУЄЛА бъčela, R, Blg, McdS пче'ла,
 Blr пча'ла, Uk бджо'ла, SCr čèla, pčèla, Slv bčēla ~ bečēla, Cz,
 Slk včela, P pszczoła id. ¶ P 116, Dv. no. 868, EI 57 (*^hi-k^ω- 'bee,

stinging insect'), ESSJ III 76, 104-5, StSS 103, ML no. 1014, Vn. *B* 24-5, Matas. E 65 || **A** *bö|ük'ä, *bö|ük'E'g'EnE ≈ botfly, gadfly, mosquito' ({ADb.} *bük'∇ 'fly') > NaT *bü|öke-læc {ADb.} 'blue fly, botfly' > Tkm bökelek, Tk Δ bökelek ≍ bükelek 'botfly, gadfly', Az büyäläk, Δ bögäläx, Uz Δ bukalak, Bsh bögäläk, Yk bügöläx 'botfly', Qzq бугелек, {Rl.} bügölük 'Pferde-bremse, botfly'; with other sxs: Qzq bügöžök, Nog büklesin 'botfly', VTt bögäśän, {Rl.} bögö|śök 'botfly'; T *bügäl 'gadfly' > Tk Δ büven, Blgh {Gomb.} *bügäl (↳ Hg bögöly 'gadfly'), Chv паван рван 'gadfly (*Tabanus*)' ¶ ET B 212-13, MM 109, Rl. IV 1718, 1881-2, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 394, Jeg. 146, Gomb. BTL 53-4 || **M** *böküvene 'horsefly, gadfly' > MM [HI] {Ms.} böküne 'cousin, moustique', WrM {MED} böküne, bükügene, {SM} bökügene 'e cousin jaune', {Ms.} bökögüne 'cousin, moustique', HIM бөхнө {MED, BMR} 'horsefly, gadfly', WrO {Krg.} böküüne 'mosquito', Kl {KRS} бөкүн 'gnat', {Rm.} böküne 'Mücke', Ord b_ökxöŋ 'cousin, moucheron, e petites mouches qu'on voit sur le bétail', Mnr H {SM} p'ug_unog_ 'taon' ¶ Ms. H 43, MED 127, 145, BMR I 277, Krg. 359, KRS 114, KW 55, Ms. O 86, SM 307.

191. *büḳ'a' 'to bend; bent' > **HS**: Om {Blz.} *buḳ-/*buḳn- 'knee' > SOm: Dm böq, Gll buqa, Ub buḳa ~ buḳá ~ buqá, Baka boḳa, Hm buk, Hm B būko id. || NrOm: Kcm, Gdc boḳe, Gnj boḳaut, Malo, Oyda {Fl.} bunḳe, Bdt {C} boḳe, {Fl.} böhe, Bsk buḳa, Dk buki 'knee' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 70, C S s.v. Bdt boḳe || CCh: ?φ Bnn {ChL} fwoókivà 'knee' ¶ ChL s.v. 'knee', Fl. p.c. || **IE**: NaIE *bʰeug- ~ *bʰeugh-, {EI} *bʰeug- vt. 'bend' > [1] NaIE *°bʰeug-/ *°bʰug- > OI bhū'jati 'bends, curves', bhug-'na- 'bent', Blc bög n. 'bend, knot, joint', KhS ham-bujs- 'bow down', ham-busdä 'bows down' | [2] NaIE *°bʰeugh- > Gt inf. biugan (ἰ κάμπτειν) 'beugen', OSx inf. būgan, OHG inf. biogan, NHG inf. biegen vi., vt. 'to bend, to turn', ON bogenn pp. 'bent', 3p p. bugu 'they bent'; ↳ Gmc *bauggjan vt. inf. 'to bend' > OSx inf. bögian, OHG inf. bougen, NHG inf. beugen, AS inf. bīežan, ON inf. beygja id. | [1 or 2] NaIE *bʰeugh₁- > pAl {O} *buta > Al butē 'soft, smooth' (< *bʰug₁-to- pp. 'bent, flexible') || ?? Arm բութ butʰ 'blunt, dull' (< *bʰug₁-to- 'bent') (unless akin to Nr Δ butt 'blunt') || OIr boc, NIr bog 'soft' ({Vn.}: ← 'pliable'), OIr fid-boc 'wooden shaft bow' (< Clt *-buggo-) || Ltv Δ (ME) bauḡurs 'Anhöhe, Hügel' || Sl *bugъръ ~ *bugorъ 'hillock, knoll, mound' > R, Uk бугор (gen. бугра) id. ¶ WP II 145-6, P 152-3, EI 62, IS I 191, M K II 504-6, M E I 267 and II 274-5, Bai. 463, Fs. 96, Vr. 34, 40-1, OsS 65-6,

EWA II 78-80, 263, KM 71, 74, Ho. 22, Ho. S 8, 10, O 43, Vn. B 62, Ped. AA 341, Kar. II 26-7, ESSJ III 79, Vs. I 228, Slr. 348 || **А** *bū|ök'æ v. 'bow, bend' > Т *bük- v. 'bow, bend' > OT {Cl.}, MT бүк- id., Tk бүк-, Tkm, Az, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq. Nog бүк-, StAlt b_ük-, Xk pük- ~ рих-, VTt, Bsh бөк-, Uz buk-, Chv L пёк- рьг-, Chv Δ.пук- vt. 'bend, curve, wrap', Tv бүк- vt. 'wrap'; NaT *bük n. 'a bend' (× N *müҚ∇ or *муҚЕ 'a bend, corner, hump' [q.v. ffd.]) > Yk {Pek.} бүк n. 'bend (изгиб) of a river', бүк adj. 'наклонный, загнутый' ¶ Cl. 324, Rs. W 91-2, ET B 290-3, Pek. 582, JkR 88, Ash. X 189-92, Fed. I 418, Jeg. 155 || М: [1] М *böke-yi- > MM [MA] бөкей- vi. 'bend down' (of humans), vt. 'bend down', [HI] d. бөкейилге- 'soumettre', WrM {MED} бөкүй- ~ бөкей-, HIM бөхий- {MED} v. 'bend down, bow one's head' ('гнутьесь'), {BMR} id., 'sich vorwärts biegen', Brt бұжы- 'bend down, bow', Kl {KRS} бөки- id., {Rm.} бөкй- 'sich vorwärts biegen, buckelig werden', Ord b_ök хй- 'se courber', Mnr H {SM} р'угй- id., 'être incliné', {T} ругй- 'bend down, bow (one's head)'; [2] М *bög|kti-yi- > WrM {MED} бөгтүй- v. 'bend, step over, bow', HIM бөгтий- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'stoop, bow (нагибаться), горбиться, сутулиться' (old persons), Brt бұгды- 'bend down, bow low', Kl {Rm.} бөкй- 'buckelig sein, sich bücken, sich vorwärts biegen'; [3] М *böken n. 'hump of a camel' > MM [MA] бөке, WrM {MED} бөкй(н), HIM {MED, BMR} бөх(өн), Brt бұжэн, Kl {Rm.} бөкн, Ord b_ök хө, Dg bug, ShY bögön id. ¶ Pp. MA 123, MED 126-7, BMR I 271, 277, Luv. 79, 82, Chr. 120, 127, KRS 113, KW 55, Ms. O 85-6, Ms. H 43, SM 306, T DgJ 128 || Tg *buk∇ ({ʒBz.} *böklä) 'hump', *buk∇- v. 'bend' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Chlm buku, Lm бөкçöкэн, Neg бохон, Ud бохо 'humpbacked', Ul боқо(n-) ~ буқу(n-), Ork бо(қ)қо ~ буққо ~ буққу id., 'hump', Ewk Ucr бэкэ, Nn Nh bukũ 'hump', WrMc {Z} бохото ~ бокто 'hump of a camel', Sln buktur 'bent (кривой)', WrMc {Z} букда- vt. 'bend' ¶ STM I 104, Krm. 214, On. 81, Z 512-13, 526 || pJ {S} *pìnkàm- 'be twisted\warped' > MJ фìгàм- id., J T/Kg higám-, J K hígám- {Kenk.} vi. 'warp' ¶ S QJ no. 1659, Mr. 688, Kenk. 486 ¶¶ SDM 360-1 (pA *bìùk'í v. 'bow, bend' > М *böк- 'hump; bend', Т, Tg, J), DQA no. 185, Rm. EAS I 147, KW 55, Pp. VG 56 ◇ IS I 191 [no. 25] ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 39 (*buk 'bend') (IE, A + qu. Ai, Gil).

192. *b'ôhi'k'o 'be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > **HS**: WS *✓bhk (G and Sh) > MHb [BT] ✓bhk, act. prtc. bō'hēk 'albino' or 'man with white patches on the skin' (BT, Bekh. 45b), Sh hib'hīk {Js.} v. 'shine,

be bright', {Lv.} 'glänzen, leuchten', Sr ✓ bhk: *Sh ʔabhεk* {Br.} 'luxit, splenduit', {JPS} v. 'shine white, glitter', {PS} 'splenduit, fulsit', JA [Trg.] ʔabhêk v. 'shine'; WS *buh_la_lk- ~ *bahaq- 'white patch', (?) 'ray of light' > BHb 'bohaq 'vitiligo alba', MHb 'bohaq 'weißer\blasser Glanzfleck', JA [Trg.] אֲבִיבָהּ boh^a'k-ā, bhkyt 'white spot on the skin due to leprosy', Ar bahaq- 'id., *Vitiligo alba*, alphas (a mild species of leprosy)', Tgr **Π U Φ** bəhaq 'blisters', Hrs bzhōk 'havin {Z}g uncolored (white) blotches on the skin', Jb bhok 'white patches on the skin' ¶ KB 108, KBR 112, LH 267, Br. 61, JPS 36, PS 458, Ln. 267, Lv. I 196, Jo. J 24, Jo. H 16, ≈ MiK I no. 1.33 (S *bahaq '[kind of] skin disease') || Ch {JS, JI} *✓ bğ 'white' > CCh: Gdf {ChC} bğğğ, Gv {ChL} bğğ 'white', ? HgNk {ChL} bğya, ? HgB {ChL} bğya id., Mada bāk bāk 'brūlant' (soleil, feu) || ? WCh: Dir {IL} bāwā, {Sk.} bē 'white' (Ch *b goes back to *bh or is due to mt. of the glottalization) ¶ JI I 178 and II 344-5, ChC s.v. 'white', ChL, BrrB 73 || Om: NrOm: Kf {Cc.} bako 'luce', {HHM} bekko **ππ** (sc. bekko) 'light' || ?φ SOm: Hmr {Ldl} p^k 'bright' (of light) ¶ R K (book) 272, HHM 144, Rnd. AL 146 ¶¶ ≠ MiK I no. 1.33 (HS *b∇hak|k- 'a skin disease'), ≈ Tk. LAA-1 113 [no. 68] (unj. k in Kf bako) || IE: NaIE *bhejg^ω-/*bhōjg^ω-/*bhig^ω- 'shine (glänzen)' > Gk φωτός 'bright, radiant', [Hs.] ἀπικτός, ἀπικτρός (*-bhig^ω-) (with the px ἀ-'un-, not') 'impure' || OPrs *bigna- 'Glanz' (in proper names: Bagā - bigna, Ἀρτα-βιγνης) ¶ WP II 138, P 118, F II 1031-2, otherwise EI 514 (Gk φωτός < ?? *g^ωojg^ωos) || D (att. in SD) *puk- ({θGS} *p-, *-g-) 'bright(ness)' > Tm pukar 'brightness, light, color; tawny color, brown', MI pukar 'dun color', Kn pogar 'shine, brightness, lustre, color' ¶ D no. 4232 ◇ The absence of the expected laryngeal (from N *h) in the IE root is still puzzling ◇ The IE root *bhejg^ω-/*bhōjg^ω-/*bhig^ω- is likely to go back to pre-IE *bhiko (for *bhikō) (loss of glottalization due to the IE incompatibility of vd. aspirates + vl. consonants in the same root) < N *b'ôhi'kō (loss of the vw. *ô that still needs explaining).

193. ≈ *bUKç'E (or ≈ *bUH₂aKç'E?) 'to tie', 'a tie' (→ 'rope') > K *°baç|ç(ç)- 'rope' > G baççi 'dünner Faden', ?? baçari 'Bindfaden, Schnur, Seil, Strick' ¶ Chx. 71 || IE: NaIE *b'ask'ō¹- 'bundle' > L fascis 'bundle', fascia 'bandage, bund' || OIr basc 'collar', {Vn.} 'assemblage tressé (?), collier', OBrth bascauda 'eherner Spülkessel' (< 'plaited vessel?'); Brtt b→ NE basket || Gk [Diosc.] πασκίω v. 'bind with bandages', [Hs.] πασκίς (gen. -ίδος) {By, Ch.} 'un paquet lié par une corde' || Mcd [Hs.] βάσκιοι (*δεσμοὶ φρούγανων) 'bundles of dry sticks',

βασκευταί (* φασκίδες, ἀγκάλαι) 'paquets liés par des cordes' || pAl {O} *bakskā > Al T bas h kē 'together, jointly' (< {BFU} 'bündelweise, in Verbindung') ¶ WP II 135-6, Ch. 1181, LS 310, By 2056, WH I 459-60, Vn. B 21-2, LP § 25.2, O 19, BFU 52, Kf. 48, Ç I 59 and II 351 (reconstructing IE *baks k- on the alleged ev. of Lt *baks ke 'paquet, fasceau' without indicating the lexicographical source; this Lt word has not been detected so far in any source known to me) || U *pükse ~ *pikse 'rope' ('Seil, Strick') > Mk/Er piks 'rope' || pOs *püṽaṽ ~ *piṽaṽ > Os: V püṽaṽ, D piṽaṽ, Nz piṽaṽ 'Tragband, Tragschnur', Kz piṽaṽ 'die Tragbänder über die Brust zusammenheften' | ?φ OHg fi u [fiü] 'funiculus, Seil' (→ 'modus agri, mensura terrae') || Sm: Ne O púd 'rope (of bark)', F N pút 'rope' ¶¶ Coll. 49, Coll. CG 408 (*püks▽), UEW 380 (*pikse), Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *piks i, Ugr *pĩkĩ, Sm *pütə 'cord'), Ker. II 112 || A: M *büč'i 'ribbon, belt' > MM [HI] {Lew.} bũč'i 'ceinture, ruban d'un vêtement, ceinture qu'on porte sur la hanche', {H} bũž'i 'belt, loincloth', {Ms.} bũč'i 'ruban à un habit', WrM bũci ~ bũce {MED} 'tie, ribbon, band, lace', HIM буч {MED, BMR} id., Brt буча id., 'поясок', ? бэһэ ~ бучэ 'belt, sash, girdle', WrO bũci 'ribbon, cord, band', K1 {KRS} буч 'Schnur', 'Band (тесьма, лента)', {Rm.} büč'i 'kurze und breite Schnur, Band', Ord b_ü^hč'i ~ b_ü^hč'e 'bande, ruban' ¶ Lew. II 23, H SMG I 18, MED 143, BMR I 311, Chr. 128, 135, Krg. 376, KRS 132, KW 70, , Ms. H 44, Ms. O 108 || D *poč(č)- (={GS} *p-) (partially × N *poč▽ 'to plait', q.v.) > Kui počā v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku pōčāli v. 'tie up in a cloth', Kn pose v. 'twist, make rope', Krx počānā / pučāyas v. 'wrap (paper, cloth) round some object', Mlt poče v. 'wrap' ¶¶ D no. 4479 ◇ In IE *b^hask^o - the cluster *-sk- is probably due to mt. and the vw. *a in IE and K still requires explanation (something like N ≈ *bU₂aKč'E with loss of *-U₂- in IE and K and with reg. disappearance of N *-H₂a- in U, A and D?) ◇ AD SShS 306-7.

194. (2) *baL^ü 'bad; harm' > HS: S *°✓blw|y > Ar ✓bly (pf. baliya, ip. -blay-) v. 'be worn out' (of clothes), balw- ~ baly- 'brisé, cassé, usé par les fatigues \ les malheurs', baly- 'usé, râpé' ¶ BK I 165 || IE: NaIE *b^halw- 'evil, wicked' > Gt balwa-wēsei (· κακία) 'Bosheit', inf. balwjan (· βασανίζειν) 'martern', balweins (· κόλασις, βάσανος) 'Strafe, Folter', AS bealu n. 'evil, calamity', adj. 'evil, dire, wicked', ON bql 'Unglück, Schade', inf. bqlva 'to curse', OHG balo (gen. balawes) 'harm' ('Ver-derben'), 'bad, evil' (n.), OSx balu id. || Gk

φαῦλος (IE < *b^halwo-?) 'bad, mean, unfit' ¶ WP II 189, F II 998, Fs. 79, Ho. 17, Ho. S 5, Vr. 70, OsS 38, EWA I 444-5, Kb. 55, Vs. SAW 8 [no. 6] || ? A *b|p'AÍE (= *b|p'aÍE?) > T *bāí 'wound' > OT U, OT K באֵשׁ, Tk Δ baš, Yk bās, Tv баш, Tf baš id., Tkm bāš 'Geschwür (язва, нарыв), Chv {Ash.} пүүцэк 'inflamed', йүүц пүүцэкэ 'tree bark with cracks', {Md.} püžek 'scar' ¶ Cl. 376, Rs. W 65, ET B 88-9, Ra. 158, Ash. X 85, Md. OJ 90, 174 || Tg *bele- v. 'harm' (× pA {SDM} *b|āíča 'harm, wound' [SDM 345]) > WrMc {Z} бэлэ- v. 'harm, ruin, slander', Lm OI бэлэз- v. 'harm' ¶ STM I 125, Z 491 || pJ {S} *bàrè- 'bad' > OJ wàrè-, J: T/Kg warú-, K wárù- ¶ S QJ 540, Mr. 844, Kenk. 2132-3 || ??? M: HIM {BMR, Luv.} балаг 'guilt, cause' (an obscure word without clear connections within M) (if it is derived from WrM {Kow.} бала < OI бала 'power, strength, vigour, validity', it does not belong here), ? HIM {BMR} 'nachlässig (etw. tun), небрежно\невнимаелно\кое-как (что-либо делать)' ¶ BMR I 220, Luv. 59, Kow. 1074, MW 722 ¶¶ SDM 345 (pA **b|āíča 'harm, wound' > T [reconstructed as *b|āíç], Tg [reconstructed as *bia] + unc. M *bilçawu 'wound, scar' and pJ *bánsá-pápi 'damage, harm, disaster'), ≈ SDM95 s.v. *bēía 'bad, harm' (> Tg, pJ + unc. pKo *óí- 'bad, wrong' and T {SDM} *b|āíç 'wound' [highly doubtful]) ◇ If the pA supposed cognate belongs here, the N rec. must be *baí'ü' ◇ Tg *e (< *a) of the first syll. is probably due to regr. as. (infl. of the front vw. of the next syll.) ◇ This N etymon may be connected (identical??) with N *baHÍ∇ 'pain, wound' (q.v.).

195. *biīU 'be warm, burn; warm' > HS: C (× N *bEÍ∇ 'boil, cook', q.v. ffd.): C: EC: Or BI {Sr.} bullu-sa vt. 'warm', bullūka 'luke warm', Or {Grg.} buluḳ- 'become warm', buluḳā adj. 'warm', {Brl.} bu ll u ḳ a 'caldo, fervido', Rn {PG} bo|ḳa 'be alight, burn', Arr {Hw.} bo|(o)ḳ- 'catch fire, shine', Dsn {To.} bo|l- vi., Sa {R} bo|o|l- 'burn', Sml belel- vi. 'burn', belbel, Sml N bé|bè|, bé|è| n. 'flame' ||| Ag {Ap.} *bɜ|/*bɜr-, {AD} *bɜ|ɪ-/*bɜ|ɪ- v. 'cook, be hot' > Bln, Aw bɜr-, Xm bɜ|-, Km bɜlu y- id. ||| Bj {R} balō|l- vi. 'burn' ¶ Grg. 67, Brl. 66, Sr. 277, PG 79, To. DL 347, 387, ZMO 38, Abr. S 30, Hw. A 348, Ap. AV 7, R WBd 48, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: MfG {Brr.} -bɜ|l- 'allumer (le feu en faisant tourner deux bâtons)', Gzg {Lk.} -bɜ|l-/-b|l- 'anblasen (Feuer)' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, Lk. G 118 ||| U: FU (in Ugr only) *pil|l|∇ 'warm', *pil|l|∇- burn' > Hg fú|l- v. 'be warm, be heated' || Vg: T piləwt- v. 'light (sth.)', LK pō|l- 'brennen', P pē|əmt- 'anzünden', N pē|l- v. 'catch fire', T pält- 'anzünden', P palt-, Ss pält- 'verbrennen' ¶ UEW 879 ||| A: M **büli- ⇨ *büli-ʁen 'warm' > MM [HI] büli, en, [S]

bule_{en}, WrM {MED} *büligen* ~ *büliyen* 'warm, lukewarm', HIM *бүлээн* {MED} id., {BMR} 'warm', Brt *бүлээн* 'warm', Kl {KRS} *бүлэн* 'id.', {Rm.} *bülēn* 'lau, laulich', Ord *b_ülēn*, Mnr H {SM} *bīēlīān* 'tiède'; WrM {MED} *b_üli-s-*, *b_üli-d-* vi. 'warm up', HIM {MED} *бүлсэ-* id., *бүлээдэ-*, Brt *бүлээдэ-* v. 'warm up, become warm', Kl {KS} *бүлэд-* id., {Rm.} *bülēdā* 'lau werden; sich wärmen (durch warmen Trunk), sich erwärmen (vom Pferde, wenn es ein wenig gelaufen)' ¶ H 20, MED 146, BMR I 303-4, Chr. 122, KRS 126, KW 66, Ms. O 102, Ms. H 44, SM 24.

196. *buL∇ 'to stir up (liquid); turbid' > HS: S *✓bll, *-bull- 'mix, moisten' (× N *ba'Lñ'∇ 'wash, immerse') > BHb ✓bll, -bɔl (pf. *בבֹּל* *bā'la*l, pf. c. *בבֹּלַי* *way'yā-bɔl*) 'moisten (with oil); mix up' (→ 'mix up, confuse [languages]'), Sr ✓bll G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Md ✓bll v. 'mix (together), confuse', Ar ✓bll G, ip. *ya-bull-u* 'humecter, mouiller', Jb ✓bll *Sh* (pf. *eb'lel*) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz ✓bll G v. 'moisten; spoil, mix', Tgy ✓bll (pret. *bēlēlē*) v. 'spoil', Ak ✓bll (inf. *balālu*) v. 'mix, brew beer, make an alloy', (in the stative) v. 'mix up, confuse'; WS *✓bllb v. 'confuse' > Ar ✓bllb (pf. *balbala*) v. 'mix, confuse', MHb ✓bllb (pf. *bil'bel*) v. 'confuse', Tgr *ʔabēlbēla* v. 'be confused' ¶ KB 128, KBR 133-4, Br. 74, DM 66, BK I 155-6, Jo. J 25, L G 96, CAD II 39-44 || Eg Md *bɜy* (< *b∇ly-) 'be damp (with perspiration)', *bɜyω* 'damp' ¶ EG I 417, Fk. 77, Tk. II 44-8 || B: Ah *bəlu* 'être très liquide' (un mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre ou en petits fragments), Tw Ng *bələwələw* 'être très liquide' (mélange d'un liquide et d'une substance en poudre) ¶ Fc. 65-6, NZ 68 ¶¶ Cal. 60, Tk. II 44-6 || IE: (+ ext. or sx?) NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix' (× IE *b^hlend^h- v. 'be blind' < N *baLξ∇ 'blind') > Gt inf. *blandan sik* (συναναμύγνυσθα) 'sich vermischen', ON inf. *blanda*, OHG inf. (gi)blantan, OSx, AS inf. *blandan* 'to mix', NE *blend* || Lt inf. *blēsti* (pres. *blendžiū*) 'to add flour to sth. and to mix', *blendynis* 'light\thin mixture (e.g. flour and water)', *blandūs* 'dim, dull, cloudy; misty, foggy', {Frn.} 'not clean, turbid', inf. *blīsti*, Δ *blēstis*, *blāstis* 'to grow\become dark\dim', 'to become turbid' (of water), *subliñdo* 'it got dark, night was falling' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*b^hlend^h- 'be\make cloudy'), Fs. 98-9, Vr. 42, OsS 73-4, EWA II 159-60, Kb. 94, Ho. 26, Ho. S 8, Frn. 47-8 || A *bul'i'- 'stir, shake, smear' > NaT *bulga- (and *bula-?) v. 'mix, stir' > OT *bulḡa-*, *bulqa-* (Cl.: *bulqā-*) v. 'stir, confuse', Chg*bulḡa-*, Nog, StAlt *bulḡa-* v. 'stir, mix', Qmq *bulḡa-* v. 'stir, stir up', Qrg *bulḡa-* v. 'stir, soil', Uz *bulḡa-*, *bula-* v. 'stir up, muddy', Tv

b_1lʏa- v. 'mix, soil', Tf bulha- v. 'mix, knead', Xk pulʏa- v. 'mix', ET bulʏi-, Tk bula-, Tkm, Az bula- v. 'stir, mix' ¶ Cl. 337, Ra. 165, ET B 253-7, Rm. W 88 || M: [1] M *būli- 'stir, churn' > WrM būle- ~ būli- {MED} 'beat\churn kumiss with a beater', HIM бҮлэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'мешать, взбарывать', Brt бҮлэ- 'churn', WrO {Krg.} būli- 'stir', Kl {KRS} бҮл- 'churn (butter)', {Rm.} būlā-, būl- 'umrühren, buttern', Dg {Mr.} d. bulure 'ε stirrer', Ord b_ūli- 'baratter' | [2] M *bulanğir > MM [HI] bulanğir, [MA] bulanqir [bulanğir] 'turbid', WrM bulanğir {MED} 'disturbed lees or sediment in liquids; turbid', HIM {MED} булингар id., {BMR} булангир ~ булингар Trübe\Kot im Wasser (муть\грязь в воде), turbid water', Brt булангир 'dirt', Kl {Rm.} bulñğir ~ bulñğır 'Schmutz, Bodensatz, Trübheit', Ord b_ulingir ≙ b_ulanğir 'saletés qui sont hans un liquide \ dans l'eau', 'mêlé de saletés \ trouble' (un liquide) | [2a] WrO bulanğir 'murky, cloudy', Kl {KRS} бульһһр bulһһr 'turbid (мутный)', {Rm.} bulñğir ~ bulñğır 'schmutzig, unrein, trüb', M ↗ Ewk bolanğir 'mud (in a swamp)', bolanğintı 'turbid' | [3] ?σ M *bulayı > MMgl [Z] була 'polluted', WrM bulai {MED} 'loathsome, filthy', HIM булай {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'мерзкий, гнусный, поганый', Brt булай adj. 'мерзкий, гнусный', n. "Unglück; мерзкий случай, гнусность", Kl {Rm.} bulā ~ bulā 'schmutzig', {KRS} бузр-була 'sewage, dirt' ¶ MED 133, 146, BMR I 283, 285, 303, Krg. 375, Chr. 111, 123, KRS 117, 127, KW 59-60, 66, Ms. O 93, 95, 103, Mr. D 127, Z 93 || ?σ Tg *bule 'swamp, mud' (× N *paļʏ∇ 'mud, swamp, lake', q.v.) > Ewk, Lm bulɜ 'swamp, mud, dirt', Orc bulɜ 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 109 || pJ {S} *púr- 'shake up, wave' > OJ pur-, MJ φúr- id., J T φúr-, J K/Kg φúr- vt. {Kenk.} 'wave, swing' ¶ S QJ no. 779, Mr. 694, Kenk. 320 ¶¶ SDM 381-2 (pA *būli 'stir, shake, smear' > Tg, T, pJ, M *būli- + unc. Tg *bule-n 'enemy' [> Ewk bulēn, Lm bulъn id., cf. STM I 109-10]), DQA no. 206 ◇ The loss of N *u in IE *bʰl-end- still requires explanation ◇ IS I 185-6.

197. ₂ *b'ū' | | ∇ 'a shoot' > K: GZ {K, K²} *bibil-, {FS} *bil- 'shoots, sprouts; edge' > G bibilo- 'comb, crest, tuft (of birds)', Mg birbil- {Kl.} 'catkin, amentum (of tree, tambourine)' ('сережки на дереве, ушки кругом бубна'), Lz bibil- 'comb (of cock); penis' ¶ K 51, K² 15, FS K 54, FS E 55, Chx. 84 || | ? IE: NaIE *bʰel- 'membrum virile' > Clt {Matas.} *ballo- > OIr ball, ball ferda 'membrum virile' ||| Gk φάλλος 'penis' (< *bʰl 'no-s), φάλλος id. ¶ P 120, Matas. 53 || | D (att. in SD) (tr., †GS) *puļl- 'small stick, twig' (× N *P_u | | ∇, 'ʔ' ∇ 'ε tree [poplar or sim.]?) >

Tl *pulla* 'a small stick or twig', Kn *pu||e*, *pu||i* 'a small bit of very dry wood', Kdg *pu||i* 'fuel', Tu *pullæ* 'a split, splint' ¶ D no. 4328.

197a. *b∇L∇ 'dove' > IE: NaIE: Ltv *balôdis*, Lt *balañdis* id. ||| Oss: I *bälön*, D *bäläw* 'domesticated pigeon', (× N **P_eí|l∇* [= **peí|l∇?*] 'pigeon') OI *bālāgra* 'dovecot' ¶ ≈ Frn. 31, ≈ Kar. 101 (both: unc.: in Blt 'dove' ← 'white'), Ab. I 249 ||| HS: EC: Or *bululla* 'colombo, piccione', {Brl.} *bulallé* id., 'tortora', ??σ Sd {Gs.} *bulo* 'ε bird' ¶ Brl. 65, Th. 51, Gs. 49 ||| Ch **(m∇-)bU|*- > WCh: Hs *bó|ó* 'dove', Gmy *bε|*, Cp *bul*, Su {J}, Ang *mbul*; Krkr {ChL} *bé|zèwì* id., Bl {ChC} *mbole* 'dove', Tng {J} *mbole* 'turtledove' ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} *mbó|á* 'dove' ||| ECh: Gabri {AF} *bé|u*, Kwn M {J} *bú|ògó* 'dove' ¶ ChC s.v. 'dove', ChL, Ba. 118. J T 75, Stl. ZCh 156 [no. 104], Nw. WLT 42, Lk. ZSS 88 ¶¶ OS no. 330 (Or, Ch + unc. Eg *brn* 'ε bird', *brw* 'phoenix' + err. Kwn *bè|ló|kú* [in fact 'dawn' rather than 'dove!']) ||| D **pe|*- ({ǵGS} **b-*) 'dove, pigeon' (× N **P_eí|l∇* '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. DA 160 (D, HS), Blz. NDA no. 61 (D, HS, IE) ◇ Qu. because of possible infl. of the onomatopoeia and names of colors.

198. *bi|u?ê (> **bô|l∇?é* {mt. of vowels}) 'cloud' > HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} *bāl* 'cloud', ??? {R} *bire* ~ *bile* f. 'sky', m. 'rain' ¶ Rop. 161, R WBd 46-7, 50 ||| NrOm: Dwr *bola*, Gf *bolla* 'sky' ¶ Blz. OL, Mrn. O ||| Ch **b∇|∇* > WCh: Kir {ChL} *pè|at* 'sky' ||| CCh: pMM **nbulum* 'sky' > {Ro.}: Mlk *cd húrmbù|óm*, Zlg *cd gè|zàmbù|óm*, Gzg *cd bùmbù|vùn* id. | Lgn {Lk.} *bè|lùk^wi* 'cloud' ||| ECh: Nd D {J} *bè|án* 'sky' ¶ ChC s.v. 'sky' and 'cloud', ChL, Ro. 327 [no. 651]; ≈ IS I 180 (+ unc. Ch words for 'rain'), Lk. L s.v. *bè|lùk^wi* ||| Eg *foK byè* (name of the celestial body of water [Gewässer] in which the Sun-god swims and which is crossed by dead people), (Eg N/G) 'heaven, firmament' ¶ EG I 439, Fk. 80, Tk. II 128-9 ||| K: Lz *pula*, Lz A *pulera* 'cloud', Mg *pula* 'steam' ¶ Q 299, Rosen L 34, 37 ||| U: FU **pilwe* 'cloud' > F *pilvi*, Es *pilv* id. | pLp **pè|vè* > Lp: N {N} *bâl|vâ* {LLO} *pal|va*, Kld *pè|v* id., S {Hs.} *balve* 'trübes Wetter' | pMr **pí|á* 'cloud' > Er *пель* *peí*, Δ *peyeí*, Mk Δ *peyeí* | Chr: KB *pè|*, U/B *pè|* id. | Vt *pí|em-*, OPrm *pí|*, Z LV/Ud *pí|v*, Z I/Vm *pí|y* id. ||| Os: V *pè|əŋ*, D *pè|əŋ*, O *pè|əŋ* id. | Hg *fè|hó*, *fè|leg* id. ¶ UEW 381, Coll. 49, Sm. 547 (FU **pí|wi* 'cloud' > FP **pí|vi*, Ugr **pí|lg|ŋí*), MF 148, It. no. 379, Ker. II 107-8, Lr. no. 858, Lgc. no. 4657, Hs. 285-6, LG 221, SZ 186 ||| A ***bô|lⁱ*- > ppT **bulit* > NaT **bulu|it* (ppT {Md.} **bū|it* ~ **pí|ut*) > OT, Tk *bulut*, Az, Tkm, Uz, Qrg *bulut*, Qq, Qzq *bult*, Nog *bulit*, VTt *болыт* *bó|ýt*, Bsh *болот* *bó|ót*, Tv *bulut*, Yk *bilit* id. ||| Chv L *пé|лэ|т*, Chv Δ *пé|л|т* 'sky, cloud' ¶ S AJ

176 [no. 15], ET B 262-4, Rs. W 88, Rs. LTS 156, Ash. X 200-4, Fed. I 420, Jeg. 156, Md. 67-8 ¶ Acc. to IS, *-t goes back to the ending of pl. || ?σ Tg *°bōlī- 'wehen', *bōlō_ln_l 'autumn' > Ewk bōlī- 'wehen', Ewk, Neg, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU, Orc, Sln bōlō, Lm bōl_ln_l, Ud bōloni, Jrc bōlō, WrMc {Z} бoлoри 'autumn' ¶ STM I 92-3, On. 73, Z 516-17 ¶¶ SDM 382 (pA *būlu|o|a 'cloud' > T, Tg) || D (att. in SD) *pu|i|∇ 'mist on mountains \ in valleys' > Kdg pu·|I 'mist on mountains', Td pIϕ_lmōz_m 'mist in valleys \ on hills' ¶ D no. 4375 ◇ Mg and Lz *p_l- and D *-l_l- (regularly from the N intervocalic lateral sonorant) point to a lr. (*?) and to the intervocalic position of *l_l in the N etymon (*bi_lu_lê). D *-l_l- suggests a N *-l_l- (or *-l̄_l-, ruled out by the T cognate), while the U word seems to point to a N *-l_l-. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated (a positional change in the preconson. position in the prehistory of U?). Lz and Mg u, pA *û and D *u of the first syll. are due to regr. as. ◇ IS I 180, DQA no. 209 (A, IE, D, U, ?K).

199. *b∇L∇?a 'to blow, to inflate' > HS: CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} bɜl 'anblasen (Feuer)' || Db {LnG} mbùl v. 'blow' ||| ECh: Skr {Nc. [reported by Lk.]} bólyo id. ¶ JI II 33, Lk. G 119, ChC s.v. 'blow', LnG s.v. mbùl || ?σ Eg fOK bɜ 'soul' (transcribed in Gk [Horapollon] as βαύ) (× N *be_ly∇ 'body, self', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Cf. also Ch: Ke {Eb.} fú:li 'blasen, wehen', Kir {ChL} f^ωale v. 'blow' (JI II 33, Eb. 46, ChL, ChC s.v. 'blow'), but this Ch verb may be better equated with HEC {Hd.} *fōle 'breath' ||| K *°bēl- > Sv UB/L {GP, Dn.} li-bēl-e v. 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bāl-/ -bel- v. 'swell' (× N *b^oʔi^l∇ 'swell', q.v. ffd.) (K 50, K² 11 and IS I connect the Sv word with G ber- v. 'inflate' [aor. -ber-e < *-bēr-e, / GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1], Lz bar-, Mg (m)bar- v. 'blow, inflate' [{K} *bel₂-, {K²} *ber-], but this is highly doubtful) (see N *bū^hʔR∇ 'blow, inflate, swell') ¶¶ Ni. s.v. 'пыхнуть' and 'пыхлый', GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl-, IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 ||| IE: NaIE *b^hlā- (/ *b^hel_la_l-?) v. 'blow, inflate' ({EI} IE *b^hl-eh_l- < *b^hel- 'blow, blow up, swell') > L flā- (1s pres. flō) v. 'blow', flāt_lus (gen. -ūs) 'a blowing, blast, breathing' ||| Gmc *blē- > WGmc *blā- > OHG inf. blāen 'to blow, to blow out' ('conflare, inflare, spirare'), MHG inf. blæje, blæwen, NHG inf. blāhen 'to inflate', OFrs blē p. 'blew', AS inf. blāwan 'to blow, to breathe', NE blow; ON blær 'gust of wind, Windstoß' ||| ? Clt: W ffroen-foll 'with wide nostrils', {P} 'with puffed out nostrils' (ffroen is 'nostril') ¶ The puzzling Gmc *ē (> WGmc *ā) for the expected Gmc *ō (< NaIE *ā) may be due to

positional factors ¶ P 120-2, EI 71, WH I 517, Ho. 26, OsS 73, Kb. 94, EWA II 151-2, Lx. 22-3, KM 81, Vr. 46, YGM-1 227 || ¶ R: Tg: Ewk bōlī- v. 'blow' (of wind) ¶ STM I 92 ◇ IS I 193-4 (K, IE).

200. *baLǵ∇ 'blind' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *balǵ-/*ballaǵ- 'blind, one-eyed' > Or {Grg.} ballā 𐌆 balʔā 'one-eyed', Or H {Ow} bálʔā m., bálʔ-ō f., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} ballā m., ball-ō f. 'blind', Or Wl {Brl.} ball-a 'squint-eyed, short-sighted, one-eyed', Arr {Hw.} ballák 'blind person', Sd balʔ-ičča ~ ball-ičča, Ged ballaʔ-a, Hr pallaǵ-akko, Brj {Hd.} balʔa, {Ss.} balʔ-ā 'blind', pHEC {Hd.} *ball- v. 'be blind' > Sd ball-, Ged ball-eʔ-, Brj balʔ-āw- || SC: Kz {E} balangayo 'blind person' ¶ Ss. B 33, Hd. 28, AD SF 195, AD GDS no. 1.70, Hw. A 346, Grg. 35, Sr. 27, Ow. 255, E SC 320 || ?φ Eg: DEg bl, Cpt: Sd βαλε balle ~ Β ελλε belle 'aveugle' (unless the Eg word goes back to an ellypsis from a cd with Eg bl [spelled br] 'eye') ¶ Er. 120, Vc. 27 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 71 [no. 1,7], AD GDS no. 1.70, OS no. 204 || IE: NaIE *bʰlend- v. 'to be(come) blind, not to see' (× IE *bʰlendʰ- v. 'be[come] turbid, mix' < N *buL∇ 'stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Gt blinds, ON blindr, OHG blint, NHG, Sw, Dn, Nr, OSx, AS blind 'blind', NE blind || Ltv Δ (← Cur) inf. blēnst 𐌆 bleñst (pres. blendu) {ME} 'schwach sehen', Ltv inf. blenzt 'to stare vacantly' || Sl inf. *blesti / 1s pres. *bled-ǫ v. 'err, lose one's way' > OCS inf. БЛѦСТИ blesti / 1s pres. БЛѦДѦ бледǫ 'φλυαρεῖν, talk rubbish', 'πορνεύειν, be lecherous, fornicate', RChS, OR inf. БЛѦСТИ blesti 'to stray, to lose one's way', SCr inf. blesti, Slv inf. blésti, OCz inf. blésti 'to talk rubbish\nonsense'; Sl inf. *blqđiti > OCS inf. БЛѦДНТИ blqđiti (pres. БЛѦЖДѦ блqžǫ) 'блуждать, to go astray', 'πορνεύειν, развратничать, to be lecherous', R inf. блудитъ id., SCr inf. blúđiti / blúđim 'to prostitute', Slv inf. blóđit, Cz inf. blouđiti, Slk inf. blúđit' 'to lose one's way, to roam, to err'; Sl *blqđъ > OCS БЛѦДЪ блqđъ 'πορνείον, πορνεία, πορνικός, блуд, разврат', R, Blg блуд 'πορνεία, lechery', P bʰǫđ, Slv blōđ 'mistake', SCr blūđ 'unchastity, lechery' ¶ P 157-8, EI 147 (*bʰlendʰ- 'be\make cloudy' without distinguishing the root for 'blind' from that for 'turbid'), Fs. 100, Vr. 44, OsS 76, EWA II 187, KM 84, Ho. 27, Ho. S 8, Kar. I 134-5, ME I 313-14, ESSJ II 114-15, 125-8, SPS I 270f., StSS 93-4, Glh. 136 || ¶ R *b|p'aL∇ 'blind' > M *balay 'blind, dark' > MM [IsV] balay in balay soqor 'blind' (soqor also means 'blind'), WrM {MED} balay 'dark, obscure, ignorant, intellectually or morally blind', HIM балай {MED} id., {BMR} 'dark, mad, blind', Brt

балай 'dark, blind', Kl {KRS} бала 'dark, stupid, blaind', {Rm.} balā 'dunkel, dumm, blind', Ord b₁alā 'stupide' ¶ Lg. VMI 18, MED 78, BMR I 220-1, Kow. 1074, KRS 78, KW 30, Ms. O 47 || Tg *bal₁ 'blind' > Ewk, Ud bal₁, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU bal₁, Orc bāl₁, Ul bāl₁ 'blind', WrMc {Z} балу 'blind person'; Tg *bal₁- 'become blind' > Ewk bal₁-, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU bal₁- v. 'become blind' ¶ STM I 70, On. 60, Z 479 ◇ S and EC suggest a N word-internal lr. *ɹ, while the absence of the expected lr. in Eg bl may be explained away by accepting the alt. etymology of the Eg word as an ellypsis from a cd with bl 'eye' ◇ IS I 178, Blz. LN I 201.

201. *b^ri^ra₁ɣa (or *b^ri^ra₁ɣ^u?) 'to swallow; throat' > HS: WS *✓ bl₁ 'swallow' > Hb, Ug, Ar, Gz ✓ bl₁ G id., JA ✓ bl₁ G id., 'absorb'; derived nouns for 'throat', 'oesophagus' and the like: Sr bāl₁a^ɣt-ā 'guttur', Md bal₁ɣumā 'gullet', Ar bul₁um 'oesophagus', ? Mh/Hrs {Jo.} tɔbɔt 'uvula, tonsil(s)', Jb C {Jo.} tɔbɔt 'uvula', Sq {L} 'bal₁ham 'viveur' ¶ KB 129, KBR 134-5, OLS 108, Sl. 221-2, Js. 174-5, Ln. 249, L G 94-5, L LS 88, Br. 77, DM 48, Jo. M 399, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269, MiK I no. 1.36 || C *bal₁- 'throat' > Bj A {AD} bala₁ id., Bj {R} bala 'Kehle, Schlund' || EC: Af {Bls.} bil₁ɣa 'necklace' ¶ AD SF 198, R WBd 47, Bls. A s.v. bil₁ɣa || Eg G b^ɣ 'drink blood', ?ϕ Eg fP b^ɣn.t 'Hals'; ?? (rdp.): Eg fP b^ɣb^ɣ 'drink' (⇔ Tk. II 159: Eg-S comparison is improbable with respect to Eg b^ɣb^ɣ) ¶ EG I 446-7, Fk. 81, Tk. II 157-9 || NrOm: Bdt {C} balā 'neck' ¶ C SO 60 || Ch: WCh: Bks {J} b₁lè? 'Kropf', as well as possibly words for 'uvula': Hs bēl₁ ~ bēl₁u, Su {J} bēl₁l, Bd {Lk.} bāl₁-ón || ?σ CCh: MfG -bāl₁- 'donner à manger (à un enfant)' || ECh: Bdy {AIJ} béle 'gorge, voix' ¶ Brr. MG II 82, J R 140, Abr. H 95, AIJ 58, Lk. NB 224 ¶¶ Tk. I 96 || U *pa₁ɣa- v. 'swallow, bite' > FU *pa₁ɣa 'mouthful, piece' > F pa₁ɣa 'Bissen, Brocken', Es pa₁ɣa 'piece, bit', pLp {Lr.} *pōlē 'a bit, small piece' > Lp: N {Fri.} buola 'frustulum', T {TI} p₁ll'ε 'Bissen, Bißchen' || Er pa₁ 'piece (of food)' || ? Chr Y/U pul₁ɣš 'bit (of bread, meet)' || pObU *pū₁(-) v. 'swallow', n. 'mouthful, bit' > pVg *pū₁ 'bit, piece' > Vg: T pō₁, LK/MK/UL/Ss pū₁, NV pula id.; pOs *pu₁∇- v. 'swallow' > Os: V pu₁ɣ- 'schlürfen, kosten', D pū₁- v. 'swallow', O pul₁ɣ- 'gierig\schnell hintereinander essen'; pOs *pu₁ 'mouthful, bit' > Os: V pu₁, O pū₁ 'mouthful, bit, Vorgekautes', D pū₁ 'Bissen, Vorgekautes' || Sm {Jn.} *palā- 'schlucken' > Ne T O pālē- 'verschlingen, verschlucken', StNe inf. палесь 'to swallow', Slq Tz {KKIH} pō₁ɣ- id., Koyb {Sp.} поолдола 'a gulp' ('глоток') ¶¶ UEW 350, Sm. 540 (U, FU *pālā-, FP *pala-, Ugr

*pola-, Sm *pǎlä- 'bite'), Lr. no. 995, Ht. 176 [no. 512], TI 377, Jn. 116, ККИН 152, Ptp. 37 || **А** *b|p'i,alg'ü' 'throat', *b|p'i,alg'ü'- v. 'swallow' > M *balgu- > WrM балгу- {MED} v. 'hold water in the mouth; swallow, gulp', HIM балга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'take one gulp of water (to drink it); abtrinken (отпивать)', Brt балга- v. 'swallow', Kl {KRS} балһ- v. 'swallow; hold water in the mouth', {Rm.} балҫа- 'schlucken, glucksen, einen großen Schluck nehmen'; M *balgu > WrM {MED} балгу 'mouthful, draught, gulp, swallow, small quantity of water', HIM балга {MED} id., {BMR} 'ein Schluck (глоток)', Brt балга id., Kl {KRS} балһ balҫъ id., {Rm.} балҫа 'ein Mundvoll oder so viel man auf einnal verschlucken kann, Schluck' ¶ MED 80, BMR I 222, Chr. 83-5, KRS 79, KW 31 || Tg *bilga 'throat' > Ewk bilga, Lm bilgъ, Neg bilga, Orc bigga, Ul bilžа, Ork bilда, Nn Nh {On.} bilga id., Nn Nh/KU {STM} bilga id., 'gullet', WrMc {Z} билжа id. ¶ STM I 82, On. 66, Z 502-3 ¶¶ SDM 344 (pA *b|alge 'throat', v. 'swallow' > Tg, M), DQA no. 132, KW 31 ◇ See IS I 173-4 (N *bal'U' 'to swallow' > HS [S, Eg, C], A [M, Tg]), AD GD 12 ◇ The change of N *y into pA *g (> M *g and Tg *g) may be compared with a similar change in N *k'o'Ry∇ > Tg *χurge- 'heavy' (see N *k'o'ϛR∇ - *k'o'Rϛ'û' [probably *k'o'yR∇ - *k'o'Ry'û'] 'be heavy, be stout(thick)') and in N *pǎ'y'üwA 'fire' (> pA *p'æ'g'ü' 'hot, warm' > M *φeϝü- vi. 'warm in the sun'). The conditions of this change are still to be investigated.

202. *b∇L₁h₁∇ 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > HS: S *°bul- > Ar ?ubl- 'restes du fourrage vert fauché ou mangé par les bestiaux' ¶ BK I 5, GB 5 (*÷ Sr and Hb) || C *b∇l- 'leaves' > Ag: Xm {R} bælbæle 'branch' || Bj {R} бая 'leaf, leaves' || EC {Bl.} *bāl- 'leaf, feather' > Af bal 'feather worn by one who has killed a man', Or Wl bāl-e?, bāl-a, {Brl.} bal-a (nom. balli), Or M/Gj {LLC} bāla, Arr {Hw.} bāl 'leaf', Dsn {HL} bal-li (pl. bal-ām) 'feather', Or B 'bāl-a (nom. bāl-ī), Kns pāl-a, Gdl E pāl, Sml bāl, Bs {HL} bāl, {Si.} bal 'feather, leaf', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} pāl-hó 'ostrich feather', HEC {Hd.} *bālle 'feather' > Brj {Ss.} bālē, Kmb bāl-ita, Sd {Hd.} balle, ball-ičo, Hd {Ss.} balla?e id. ¶ Bl. 99, HL 82-3, Brl. 39, Sr. 268, LLC 114, Si. ACh 14, 17, Hw. A 345, PH 67, Ss. B 31 (EC *bāl- 'feather'), Hd. 62, 179, 309, 352, AMS 178, 216, 272, To. DL 486 || NrOm *bal- 'leaf, feather' ({Blz.} *bal- 'grass, leaf') > Gdc {Blz.} bālle 'leaf', Wl {LmS} bālliā_, Dwr {LmS} balle, GnJ {Si.} 'bālo, Kcm {Si.} 'bāli 'feather' ¶ LmS 320, Si. ACh 14 || Ch: CCh: Dgh {ChL} bule 'leaf' || ECh: Nd D {J} pàlìh id., ?? Smr {J} bàžé id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'leaf', ChL || **К** *°bal- > Sv: UB {TK, GP}, L

{TK, Dn.}, LB {TK} bale (< *bala-i), Sv Ln/Lx {TK} bäle 'leaf' ¶ TK 141, GP 90, Dn. s.v. bale || IE *b^helH_X-, *b^hl(o)H_X-t-, {EI} *b^holom 'leaf' > Gk φύλλον id. || L folium 'leaf' || OIr bileóc ~ bileóg 'small leaf' || (+ *t-ext.) IE *b^hlH_ǵd- ({EI} *b^hl_ǵǵd-) 'leaf' > ON blað, NNr, Sw, Dn, OSx blad, OHG blat ≈ plat, NHG Blatt 'leaf', AS blæd 'leaf, blade of a sword', NE blade || Tc: A pält, B piltā 'leaf' ({Wn.}: < NaIE *b_oǵə-t-) ¶ WP II 114-15, P 122, EI 348, F II 1051, Ch. 1232-3, WH I 523-4, Vn. B 50-1, Vr. 41, OsS 74, EWA II 167-8, KM 82, Ho. 25, Ho. S 8, Wn. I 158 || ??? A ({SDM95} *b^oǵǵ 'leaf'): ?φ pJ *pá > OJ pá, MJ [RJ] φά, J: T hà, K hǎ, Kg/Ns há, Sh φǎ, Ht pǎ, Y hǎ id. ¶ S QJ no. 41, Mr. 394, Kenk. 410 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *b^oǵǵ 'leaf', S AJ 266 [no. 41] ◇ The supposed J cognate is highly qu., because here the rec. of pA *-l- is based on external comparison ◇ Hardly here D: Kn pǎliyu 'earlobe' (certainly from pǎliyu 'part; edge') ¶ ADM 418.

203. *beLkǵǵ (= *beĪkǵǵ?) 'belly, waist' > HS: S *^oǵǵ bǵǵ > Ar بُلْجَة bulǵ-at- 'région anale' ¶ DRS 66 || IE: NaIE *b^helǵ^hǵ^h- 'belly' (× NAIE *b^helǵ^h- 'leather bag, sack' and possibly *b^helǵ^h- v. 'swell') > OIr bolg, MW boly, bola, W bol, bola, boly 'belly, sack' || Gmc: ON belgr 'belly, leather bag', AS beǵz ≈ byl(i)z 'leather bag', NE belly ¶ Valid unless the primary meaning is 'swell' or 'bag, sack' ¶ P 125-6, Vn. B 66-7, Vr. 32, Sw. 81, HDEL 121, qu.: EI 45 (hyp.: 'belly' ← *b^holǵ^his 'skin bag, bolster [made from stuffed animal skin]') || A *bēlkæǵæ ({S} *bēlkeǵe) 'waist, slope' (× N *P_eǵǵ - *P_eǵǵ 'side of body, side' × ? N [?] *weHǵLǵ [or *weLHǵ?] ≈ hip, waist) > M *belkeǵe-sün 'waist' > WrM belkeǵesū(n) {MED} 'middle part of the body, waist; middle of the slope of a mountain', HIM бэлхүүс {MED} id., {BMR} 'waist, small of the back (поясница)', Brt бэлхүүһэ(һ) 'waist', Kl {KRS} белкүсһ belküśṅ id., {Rm.} belkūśṅ 'Mitte des menschlichen Körpers, Leib', Ord b_el^kūś 'lombes, région lomulaire' ¶ MED 98, BMR I 313, Chr. 131, KRS 95, KW 42, Ms. O 65 || pT {TL} *bēlk 'waist' > Chv пилёк рильк 'waist (поясница, талия)' || NaT *bǎel > OT {Cl.} bēl 'waist', Tkm bīl id., Yk bīl, Tk bel, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, Ln, Qmn, Tb bel, ET {Nj.} bāl, ET Δ {ML.} bel, beǵ, biǵ, StAlt b_el, SY p_el, VTt, Bsh, Slr bil 'waist', Tv b_el id., 'bottom part of a mountain slope'; NaT ↪ M: WrM bel {MED} 'waist; declivity, slope' HIM бэл {MED} id., {BMR} 'waist, Rücken; Mitte, Rumpf', Kl {Rm.} 'Hüfte, Mitte (des menschlichen Körpers oder des Berges)', {KRS} бел 'подножие горы', Ord b_el 'milieu du

corps (chez l'homme)' ¶ pT -k > NaT -∅ acc. to Mudrak's rule: pT *-lk > NaT *-l, Chv -лѣк -лѣк ({Md.} -лѣк|χ or -лѣк|χ) (Md. DKCh 220-1) ¶ Cl. 332, DTS 93, ET B 135-7, Nj. 204, Md. 91, Fed. I 232, Ash. IX 211-13, Jeg. 160, ChVS 139. Rm. EAS I 212, MED 96-8, BMR I 312, Chr. 131, KW 41, KRS 93, Ms. O 63 || Tg *belge 'lap' > Ewk, Neg, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} bɜlɜɜ, Nn Nh {On} bɜlɜɜ, Ud bɜɜɜ, Ul bɜlɜɜ, Ork bɜlɜɜ 'lap', Lm bɜlɜɜ 'lap, slope' ¶ STM I 123, On 85 ¶¶ The length of *e in pA may be accounted for by the merger of the word in question with N *P_eʔlê - *P_eʔê ¶¶ TL 268-9 (T, M, Tg) ◇ N *-k∇g- was reduced to *g in S, pre-IE (> IE *gʰ|gʰ) and Tg, to *k in T, but preserved in M *belkeʔe-sün ◇ Qu., because the IE and the A supposed cognates have alt. etl. ties ◇ ADb. SR 306 (IE, A + unc. D *par̥ka 'rib, side').

204. *baṽi, 'k'a 'to shine' > IE: NaIE *bʰelg-/*bʰlg-/*bʰleg- id., {EI} *bʰleg- 'burn, shine' > OI 'bharg-as- ntr. 'splendour, radiance', ?? bhrā'jatē 'shines, beams, glitters' || Gk φλέγω vt. 'burn, burn up', vi. 'burn, blaze' (of fire, torches), φλέγμα 'flame, fire' || L fulg-ō ~ fulge-ō (< *bʰlg-) 'flash, lighten', fulgor 'lightning', flagrā- vi. 'blaze, burn, glow, flame' || Ltv Δ {ME} baĩgans 'whitish', Olt XVI [Brtk.] inf. blinginti (with an infix *-n-) 'to shine (leuchten, glänzen)' || OHG inf. blecken ~ blecchen (< Gmc *blakjan) 'to become visible, to flash', MHG inf. blecken 'to become visible', OSx inf. blīkan 'glänzen', AS inf. blīcan 'to shine (glänzen, scheinen, leuchten)', inf. blæcern ~ blacern 'to lantern', ON blakkr 'pale, yellowish brown' || pTc {Ad.} *pālk- > Tc A/B pālk- v. 'shine, illuminate', 'luire, briller' || NaIE *bʰleig-/*bʰlig- 'light-colored', 'shine' > AS blāc, OHG bleih 'white, pale, fallow', NHG bleich, OSx blēk, ON bleikr 'pale'; OHG blic 'Glanz' || Lt Δ inf. blaikštūtis 'to shine, to clear up' (of weather), inf. blūkštī 'to turn\grow pale\white' || Sl inf. *bliskati ~ *blistati, *blbšćati 'to shine, to sparkle', *blbstěti 'to shine, glänzen' (no traces of IE *g, which had to fall in preconsonantal position, see ESSJ II 116-18, 130-2) ¶ P 124-5, EI 513, IS I 174, M K II 479-80, 529-30, ME I 253 and II 252, 279-80, F II 1022-4, WH I 50-1, Frn. 46, 48, Vr. 42-3, Ho. 25, 27, Ho. S 8, OsS 75-6, EWA II 171-63, 177-8, Kb. 96-7, KM 83-4, Wn. I 354, Ad. 377, Ad. H 64 || U: FU *opa'l|k'∇- > Os N {Páp.} pāʔal 'lightning', Os O {KrT} paʔal 'thunderstorm, thunder', paʔal tut 'lightning' ¶ Stn. D 1124-5, KrT 666 || A *balk'∇- > NaT *balk'i- v. 'shine, lighten' > MT balqī- id., Cmn balki- (balqī-) 'fulgere', Oog [Rabg.], Chg [QB] balqī- v. 'shine'

('сиять, светить'), OOSm balqı-, Tk Δ balkı-, Bsh, Kr, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq balq(ı)-, VTt balq(ъ)- v. 'shine' ('сиять'), Tkm d. balqilda- v. 'shine' ('блистать, сверкать') ¶ ET B 56-7, Grøn. 48 || pKo *pʌrk- > MKo {S} pʌrk-, {Rm.} pʌlg-, NKo pałk-, Ko Ph pałk- 'be light\bright\clear' ¶ Rm. SKE 186, S QK no. 1152, Nam 247, MLC 732 || HS: EC *√błk (~ *√błg?) v. 'flash, shimmer' > Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Or {Grg.} balağ-isa v. 'flash' (of lightning), Or {Tut.} balag 'flashing, shimmering' (n. act.), balagi 'shimmering, flashing, shining' (n. act.), Sd {Gs.} bele'kō 'lightning', Sml {DSI} bilig dheh 'scintillare, brillare in lontananza', biligbilig 'scintillio', bilig-lee 'luccicare', Sml N {Abr.} báddu wâ bílig bílig le dahày 'the sea is shimmering', ?φ Rn {PG} bilđīχa v. 'shine' ¶ AD SF 254, Grg. 4, PG 78, Gs. 37 || NrOm: Dm {Fl.} b̄elχzn ~ p̄elχzn 'bright, shiny' (mt. of glottalization: *b...k̄ > b̄...χ ~ p̄...χ) ¶ ≈ Fl. OO 317 || CS *√błg v. 'shine, flash' > Ar {BK, Fr.} بلج √błğ G (ip. -bluğ-u) 'briller, luire' (l'aurore), Sh (pf. ʔablağ'a) 'shine' (sun), بَلْجَة balğat- 'clarté (surtout de la fin de la nuit, à l'approche de l'aurore)', BHb √błg Sh (pf. הַבְּלִיג הַבְּלִיג hib'lıg) 'cause to flash; become cheerful, brighten up'; Cn → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} bí-la-ğa v 'light up' ¶ KB 126, KBR 132, GB 99, Fr. I 149, BK I 157, Hv. 44, Hlk no. 63, SivCR 79 ◇ N *b...k̄ (suggested by EC and NrOm) yields IE *bʰ...g due to the law of incompatibility of IE vd. aspirates and vl. consonants. CS *g for the expected *k̄ still requires explanation ◇ IS (MS 331) equated CS *√błg, the A √ (T and Ko) and IE *bʰelg- and reconstructed the N source as *balg∇. Later (IS I 174) he added the U √ **√palk∇ and untenably adduced S *√brk̄ v. 'flash, lighten' and K *berçq-/*brçq- 'glänzen, funkeln' (unacceptable on phonetic grounds, just as the resulting N rec. *balqa). Cf. N *b∇R₁∇₁k̄æ 'to flash, to shine'. NaIE *bʰleig-/*bʰlig- is likely to point to a N word-medial vw. *i. NaIE *-g- suggests a final N *-a ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 50 (*bełk 'bright' > IE, U, A, Gil *pıla-yu 'be brilliant').

205. ₂ *b∇L i ʔ|ʔ₁∇₁k̄'ü' 'beat, strike' > K: G bliķvñ- 'einen Faustschlag versetzen' ¶ Chx. 89 || IE ≈ *bʰliHχg̃(w)-, {EI} *bʰliHg̃- 'strike' > NaIE *bʰlıg̃(w)-/*bʰlēyḡ- v. 'strike, press' ({P} 'schlagen, schmeißen') > Gk A/I φλῦβω {Ch.} 'écraser, presser', {EI} v. 'press' || W † blif 'catapult' || L flīg-ō (inf. -ěre) v. 'beat, dash down' || Ltv Δ inf. {ME} blaizīt 'to squeeze, to strike, to smash', inf. bliēzt (1s pres. bliēžu) 'to strike,

to chop', Lt *blužẽ* 'a torn place in cloth' | Sl **blizna*, **blizno* 'scar, bruise' (← 'a beaten place in the body'), 'Fadenbruch' (← 'a beaten place in the cloth') > P *blizna* 'scar', Cz *blizna* 'bruise', SCr *blīzna*, OR or RChS **БЛHЗНА** *blizna* 'scar', Blg *близ'на*, R Δ 'близна' 'Fadenbruch im Gewebe' ¶ WP II 217, P 160-1 (and unc.155 on 'близна'), EI 549, Ch. 1213, ESSJ II 118-20, EM 369, WH I 517, F II 1027, YGM-1 47, ≈ Frn. 46-7, ME I 308, 317, SPS I 264-5 ◇ IE **ǵ(ω)* in **b^h...ǵ(ω)* < N **b...k* is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws.

206. *ba^lLⁿ∇ 'wash, immerse' > K: GZ **ban-* v. 'wash, wash oneself' > OG *ban-* id., G *ban-* id., 'bathe', Mg *bon-*, Lz (m) *bon-* id. ¶ K 48, K² 7, Chik. 254-5, FS K 43, FS E 42 || HS **√b^ln* v. 'wash, wet' > S **√b^ll* 'moisten, mix' (× N **buL∇* 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ar *√b^ll* (pf. *balla*, ip. *-blul/-bull-*) 'humecter, mouiller', *√b^ll* (pf. *balila*, ip. *-blal-*) 'être humecté\mouillé', BHb *√b^ll*, *-bɔl* (pf. **בָּלַל**, pf. cons. **בָּלַלְוּ** *way'yā-bɔl*) 'moisten (with oil); mix up', Sr *√b^ll* G {Br.} 'confudit, miscuit; madefecit', Jb *√b^ll* *Sh* (pf. *eb^llel*) v. 'give (animals) their fill of water', Gz *√b^ll* G 'moisten; spoil, mix' ¶ BK I 155, Ln. 242-3, L G 96, GB 101, Br. 94, Jo. J 95 || Ch [1] CCh: Mada {BrrB} *àbàlá* v. 'wash (oneself\sth.)', Md {Rs.} *bàlá* v. 'wash' |[2] Ch **√bn* ({Nw.} **bəna* id., {JS} **√bn* v. 'wash') > WCh: Bl {Lk.} *bīn-* v. 'wash oneself' | ? SBc (with puzzling devoicing of **b-*): Bg {Sh., ChC} *pān* v. 'wash (sth.\so.)', Kir {ChL} *pùná* v. 'wash (things)' | ?? pAG {Hf.} **√wan*, {Stl. VZCh} **√w¹aŋ* v. 'wash (things)' (with **√-* for the expected **p-*, which still needs explanation) > Su {J}, Ang {ChL, Hf.} *√wan*, {Flk.} *√aŋ*, Gmy {Hf.} *√wan*, {ChL} *√w³y³ŋ*, Cp *√³ŋ*, Kfr {Nt.} *√aŋ* || CCh: Nz {Mch.} *bəŋ*, BtG {Mch.} *bɔŋ* 'wash' | Mdr {ChL} *bàràbàré*, Glv {Rp.} *bar-* v. 'wash (sth.)', Dgh (ChL) *pàrá* v. 'wash' | Gzg {Lk.} *bon*, {ChL} *bun* v. 'wash oneself', *buna*, {Ro.} *bánà* v. 'wash (sth.)', Mada *bàlá*, Myn *bàrá*, Mkt *pàláy*, Hrz *bune*, Mlk *bàláy*, Mofu *pèréy* id. | ?φ McDb: Db {LnG} *pān* id., Kola {Sb.} ...*pāŋ*..., Msy {Mch.} *pāŋ* v. 'wash' | Tr {Hf.} *√³n³* v. 'wash oneself' | McKtk: Bdm {Cfr} *bèní* id. ¶ BrrB 68, Nw. no. 140, JI I 174-5 and II 338-9, JS 382, ChC s.v. 'wash', ChL, Hf. AG 18 [no. 40], J S 86, Nt. 41, Stl. VZCh A no. 259, Ro. 356 [no. 789] (pMM **ban* v. 'wash') || ?φ Eg BD *bⁿrⁿ* 'baigner, plonger' (° is puzzling) ¶ Hng 253, Tk. II 205 || C: SC: Kz {E} *ba^l-* 'wash' ¶ E K 1 ('wash'), E SC 134 (interpreted as 'wash, clean' due to alleged cognates of other SC lges) ¶¶ Tk.II 205 (incl.: E-Ch or E-SC) || A: NaT **ba_l:₁n-* (**ma_l:₁n-*) v. 'dip' > OT *ban-*, Tk *ban-*, Cmn, Chg, ET, VTt *man-* id. ¶ Cl. 384, Rs. W 325 || ??φ D (in McTm)

*vaṇṇā- 'washerman' > Tm vaṇṇān, vaṇṇāttān, vaṇṇattān, Ml vaṇṇatān, vaṇṇān id., Tm, Ml fem. vaṇṇātti 'washerwoman', as well as possibly D (in McTm) *maṇṇ- v. 'bathe' > Tm maṇṇu v. 'bathe, perform ablutions, immerse oneself in water', vt. 'wash', Ml maṇṇān 'washerman' ¶ D no-s 4684 and 5241 ¶ The initial *v- and *m- for the expected *p- are still to be explained; if *m- is due to assimilatory nasalisation, this is the only case known so far. The initial *v- may be explained if the D root goes back to the second member of a cd, and its first member was lost in the prehistory of D || Gk βαλανεύων 'a bath, bathing room' and βαλανεύς 'bath man' are probably loans from some pre-Gk ("Aegean" or "Pelasgian") lge (words borrowed together with the previously unknown custom of bathing in hot water) (Pls {Fur.} βάλλον 'Bad'), but eventually the stem may be related with the N word *ba'Lṇ'∇; this Gk word may be the source of Middle Gk {Kö.} *βανεῖον or *βάνειον 'a bath', whence VL *baneo (> *banjō) (> Fr baigner, Port, Prv, Ctl banhar, Sp bañar, It bagnare, Rm (îm)băia v. 'bathe', as well as further Blg баням 'I wash') and VL {ML} *baneum 'bath' (> It bagno, Srd L banzu, Fr bain, Prv banh, Ctl bany, Sp baño, Port banho, ↳ Bsq mainu id.); EpL balnea > VL *banja ↳ Sl *baña 'bath house, bath (room)' > OCS, OR БАНѦ banja, Blg, R, Uk 'баня, SCr bānja id., Slv bānja 'bath, washtub' ¶ F I 212-13, ML no. 916, ML G I 477, Kö. 135, ESSJ I 151-2, StSS 77, Ch. I159-60, Fur. VK 37 ◇ IS MS 349 (K, Ch, D *maṇṇ-) ¶ The pN consonant cluster *-Lṇ- contracted into *ll in S and to *-n- (or *-ṇṇ-) in other lges, but remained as *-lṇn- in the "Aegean" (Hittite-Luwian?) source of the Gk words βαλανεύων and βαλανεύς.

207. ₂ *bEÍ∇ 'boil, cook' > HS: C *✓bll v. 'boil' > Ag *b3r-/*b3r- , {Ap.} *b3r-/*b3l- v. 'cook, be hot' (× N *biIU 'be warm, burn; warm') > Bln {Ap.} b3r-, {R} bir-'cook, be hot', Xm {Ap.} b3l- (= Xm {R} bil-) id., Q {R} bel- id., {Ap.} b3lu y-, Km {CR} bulu y-, Aw {Ap.} b3r- id. ¶ AD SF 198, Ap. AV 7, R WB 82-3 || ? S *✓nblṇ 'flame' (× N *ñab'ṇ'∇ 'warm, heat' [q.v. ffd.], possibly a N cd *ñab'ṇ'∇ *bEÍ∇) ¶¶ Hardly here Eg N/G brbr 'bouillir, sourdre' (eau), 'flamber' (feu) (EG I 466, Coh. no. 403, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3), because Cpt (Sd ВРВР b3r b3r, B ВЕРВЕР berber 'bouillir, sourdre') points to an Eg *r rather than *l (F N *bu'ru (KṬ) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe') || A *bEÍ∇ > T *bií- ~ *bií- (~ *pií-?) v. 'ripen, be cooked' > OT {Cl.} biṣ- 𐤁 biš- v. 'come to maturity, ripen', Tk piṣ-, VTt bbš- ~ pbš-, Bsh bbš-, Tkm, Qmq biš, StAlt bṽš- v.

'ripen, be cooked, be baked', Yk bus- id., 'be ready', CrTt, ET piš-, Qq piš-, QrB biš-, Qrg biš-, Tf biš- v. 'ripen, be cooked', Tv b_iš- id., vi. 'finish cooking (up to readiness), gar gekocht werden' ('довариваться'), Az biš- v. 'be cooked\baked', Xk piš-/-z- v. 'ripen, be cooked' ¶ Cl. 376-7, ET B 161-4, BIG 171, Ra. 163, Tkr 106 || M *beled- v. 'prepare' > MM [S] belet- 'bereitsstellen', WrM {MED} beled- 'prepare, make ready; be\become ready', HIM бэлдэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'prepare, make ready; sich vorbereiten', Brt бэлдэ- id., Kl {KRS} бэлд- 'prepare, make ready', {Rm.} beleda- 'fertig\bereit machen, vorferigen, vorbereiten; fertig sein', Mnr H {T} beledga- id., {SM} b_īēlīēsga- 'préparer, apprêter'; M *belen 'prepared, ready' > MM [S] belen, WrM {MED} belen, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt бэлэн, Kl {KRS} белн id., Mnr H {SM} b_īēlīān 'prêt', Ord b_ēlen 'prêt' ¶ H 14, MED 97, BMR I 313-14, Chr. 131-2, KRS 94-5, KW 41, SM 24, T 317, Ms. O 64 || Tg *belE- v. 'prepare', *bel_ik_jī 'ready' > Ewk бэлнэ-, бэлкэ- v. 'prepare oneself to', Sln бэлэ- v. 'prepare, бэлэ 'ready', Neg бэлэхі 'ready', бэлэхі- v. 'prepare', Orc бэлі-, Ud бэлнэ- id., Ul, Nn Nh бэлі- id., бэлі 'ready', WrMc {Z} бэлэхэ- v. 'prepare' ¶ STM I 125, On. 85-6, Z 492 || pKo *pírí- > MKo pírí-, NKo puri- v. 'use, employ' ¶ Nam 270, MLC 814 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 337-8 (pA *bèli- 'be acquainted, assist, employ' > Ko, M *bele- 'prepare, ready' + [not belonging to the A root in question]: Tg *bele- 'help' and T *bil- 'know') ◇ M and Tg point to a pA and a N *ä or *e, while T *i is puzzling (infl. of the palatal *í?).

208. *bihí|ǀ∇ 'shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE *b^hel_ǵ- v. 'sound, speak' > OI bhāṣatē (if < *b^hal-s-) 'speaks, says, tells' || L felī-ō / inf. felīre 'to roar' (of panthers) || ON inf. belja, Nnr inf. belje 'to roar, to bellow', AS inf. bellan, OHG inf. bëllan 'to bark, to resound', MHG inf. bellēn 'to cry' (of quadrupeds), 'to bark', NHG inf. bellēn 'to bark' (of canines), NE bell v. 'bellow, bay' || Pru inf. billīt 'to say, to speak', Lt inf. (pra-)bīlti (3s pres. bilsta) 'to (begin to) speak', bylā 'speech' (→ 'case'), inf. bilóti 'to say, to tell', Ltv inf. bīlst 'to say, to speak'; ? Lt baĩsas, Ltv bāls 'voice' || Tc A/B pāl-, pāl- v. 'praise' ¶ P 123-4, Mn. 71, otherwise EI 51 (*b^hels- 'yelp, howl' > Gmc, OI) and M K II 497-8, doubts: M E II 261-2; Vr. 32, OsS 49, Kb. 63, EWA I 533-5, Lx. 14, KM 64, Ho. 19, Frn. 32, ≈ Kar. I 102, 127, En. 151, Tp. P A-D 223-7, Wn. I 356, ≈ WH I 474 ¶¶ The lack of visible traces of N *h in NaIE may be explained by mt. **b^heHl- > *b^heH- with further loss of *H in the prevoc. position || D {Km.} *pīl- / *pīl-∇- ({ǵGS} *p-) > Tm pīlīrū

'great noise', piḷiṛu v. 'trumpet, roar (as an elephant)', TI piḷucu v. 'call, invite, shout', Gdb piḷ-up-/-ut- v. 'thunder', Kui pṛī 'cry of agony, scream' ¶¶ D no. 4195, Km. 431 [no. 825] || HS: S *√bhḷ ≈ say, call' > Gz √bhḷ G (pf. bāhla, js. yābala) 'say, speak, call', Tgy bēle, Tgr bela pf. 'say', OSA bhḷk (*bahal-ku) {Rb., Slw.} 'I spoke', OYmn (= Hmr?) {Slw.} √bhḷ G 'say, order', Ar ṛibtahala 'implore, beseech', Mh behlīt (pl. behēl), Jb C bēh'let 'word', Hrs {Jo.} behelēt, Sq {Jo.} 'bilzḥ 'thing', Ak inf. baṛālu ~ bâlu 'to beseech, to pray' ¶ L G 89, Slw. 46-7, Rb. AWA 51, Jo. M 4, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 24 ◇ IS I 180-1 adduced K *bir- = {K, FS} *br-'sing' (> Lz, Mg bir-, ? Sv br- v. 'sing' [Sv L msd. li-br-yal-i], see K 53, K² 17-18, Chik. 254, FS K 54-5, FS E 56, Dn. s.v. briāl-). The K √ belongs here only if N *Í may yield K *r.

209. *baHÍ∇ 'pain, wound' > HS: WCh: Ang {Flk.} pal v. 'feel pain' ¶ Flk. s.v. pal || IE *b^heH̄l- 'pain, wound' > NaIE *b^hēl-/*b^hōl- > Tc: A pāl, B pīle 'wound' || SI *boŕb 'a sick person; pain' > OCS БОЛЬ боль 'aeger, a sick person', Blg бол' id., 'illness', Blg Δ бол 'sick person', 'pain', R боль, Uk бiль, SCr, Slv bōl, Cz bol, Slk bōl', P bóll 'dolor, pain'; Sl inf. *bolěti (1s pres. *boŕb-ŕ) v. 'to ache, to be sick' > OCS inf. БОЛѢТИ bolěti (1s pres. БОЛѢТИ boljŕ) v. 'to be sick, to feel pain', R бо'лит, P bolí, Blg боли, SCr Δ bolí 'it aches', R inf. бо'леть (1s pres. бо'лею), P inf. bolec (1s pres. boleje), SCr inf. бoлети & bōljeti, Slv inf. boléti 'to be sick', Cz inf. boleti, Slk inf. boliet' 'to ache' ¶ Mn. 65 (*bhalyō 'hit, hurt' > Tc, Sl, as well as ON inf. bella 'stoßen'), Wn. I 356, ESSJ II 187-92, StSS 98-9, Bern. I 71, SPS I 302-6, 315-16, Glh. 140 || A *bā́la > T *bā́l 'a wound' > NaT *bāš > OT баš, Tkm bāš, MQp баš, Yk bās 'wound', Tf baš 'wound, ulcer', Tv паш p'āš 'syphilis' (the initial p'- suggests that the Tv word is a loan); NaT *bāl-ly 'wounded' (with unexpected *-l- that needs explanation) > OT {Cl.} bālly id., Tv b_aly, Tf baly id., 'wound', StAlt balu 'wound', Tlt {Rl.} palū id., 'score', Xk pally id., 'ulcer' ¶ Cl. 335, 376, Ra. 158-9, Ash. X 95, Rl. IV 1168, BT 26, Md. 113, Md. OJ 90 || M: WrM балба {MED} 'completely out to pieces' (of breaking), HIM балба {MED, BMR} id. ('вдребезги'), Ord b_alba '(brisé) en morceaux'; WrM {MED} балба- 'smash, beat, hit', HIM балба- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'knock, prügeln (дубасить, лупить)', Brt балбал- 'smash, zerstoßen, zer-stückeln (дробить), ? бала 'ушиб', xyxэ бала 'bruise' (xyxэ means 'blue'), Ord b_albal- 'briser, casser, concasser' ¶ MED 79, BMR I 222, Chr. 83, Chr. 83, Ms. O 47 ◇ See IS I

172 (IE, T). This N etymon may be connected with N ***baL^rü** 'bad, harm' (q.v.) $\diamond \neq$ Bm. TPN 29: $*\div S *^{\circ}\checkmark$ bly v. 'be old, worn out', Sml bēl (actually meaning 'loss') and Or bēlaw- v. 'hunger' (no plausible semantic ties) $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II no. 290 (***ba**l 'pain') (IE, A + unc. J).

210. *b^ro^ri^ri| ∇ 'swell' > IE: NaIE ***b^hel-** v. 'swell' > Gmc: OSw bulin, bolin 'aufgeschwollen', bulde, bolde, byld 'swelling, tumor', OHG bolla, polla 'blister, mug, bowl; bulla in aqua, folliculus, cotula', MHG bolle 'bud, globular vessel', OSx bollo 'Schale, Napf', AS bolla 'bowl, vessel, pot', NE bowl || L follis 'pair of bellows, puffed-out cheeks; purse, leather bag' ¶ \neq P 120-1, qu. EI 71 (***b^hel-** 'blow' \rightarrow 'swell'), OsS 79, Kb. 103, EWA II 230-1, Lx. 24, Ho. 30, Ho. S 9, WH I 524-5 || **K** ***obēl-** > Sv -bēl- 'cause sth. to swell up; swell up', Sv {Ni.} -bäl-/bel- v. 'swell' (\times N ***b ∇ L ∇ ?a** 'to blow, to inflate', q.v. ffd.); the K vowel length represents the lost Ir. (from N ***bo^ri^ri| ∇ ?**) ¶ Ni. s.v. 'пыхнуть' and 'пухлый', GP 1, 147, Dn. s.v. bēl- || **A**: M ***bil^či-yi-** > WrM {Rm.} bilci i-, Kl {KRS} билчи- v. 'swell heavily', {Rm.} bilčī- 'stark aufschwellen, überaus dick werden', Brt бэлсы- 'be bulging' (eyes); WrM билцуд- ~ билцад- v. {Gl.} 'cicatrise with a bulging scar' (of a wound, bone fracture), {Kow.} 's'élever, être un peu enflé' (cela se dit des chairs qui sont encore un peu enflées après la guérison d'un ulcère); M ***bil^ča ψ u** > WrM билцух {Gl.} 'small knobs on branches of willows and on stalks of wormwood, {MED} 'bump, blister, boil', HIM бялцух {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'buds on pussy willows'; Ord bilč'irū 'petite tumeur sur la peau, bouton' ¶ BMR I 318-19, Gl. II 282, Chr. 131, KRS 100, KW 45, Kow. 1146, Ms. O 70 || **D** (in McTm) ***po^ll-** v. 'swell' > Tm po^ll^u v. 'blister, swell', po^ll^al 'blister, swelling', Ml po^ll^a 'blister, bubble'; D \rightarrow Hindi p^hola 'blister' ¶ D no. 4563, Tu. no. 8398 (6) || **HS**: ? σ S *** \circ \checkmark** b^r|hl > Ak (inf.) ба^rāl^u, 3s pf. i-b^ril, 3s pres. i-ba^ril 'be abnormally large' (of body parts, liver) ¶ CAD II 1 \diamond If the N etymon is ***bo^ri^ri| ∇** , the loss of ***i** in IE still requires explanation.

211. *bô^rī^ra^r 'tail, penis' > HS ***b^ru^rl^h-** ({Blz.} ***bul^rh^r-**) > B ***b ∇ l ω -** 'penis' > Tmz abəllu, pl. ibəlla, Izd, BSn abəllu, pl. ibəlwān, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, abəllul, Si abā^rāl, SrSn {Rn.} a-bā^rāl id., t̄ā-bāžāt~t̄a-bā^rāt 'petite verge d'enfant', Rf {Rn.} a-b^ru^r 'penis', ? Izn {Rn.} a-bežlāl id., Izd {Mrc.} a-bəllu, pl. i-bəlla ~ i-bəlwān, Sll {Ds.} a-bəllu, a-bəllul, a-b^ralūl, Mz {Dlh.} ta-bəllal-t (pl. ti-bəllal-in) 'penis' ¶ MT 18, Ds. 291, Dlh. M 7, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Wlf. EAW 47, NZ 55 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} ballá 'penis', ? σ Brj

{Ss.} bolókkó ~ bulúkkó 'testicle'; EthS: Grg So (< C?) b+l+l+t 'penis' ¶ Hw. A 34, Ss. B 38 || Om: NrOm {Blz.} *bull- 'penis' > Bsk {Fl.} búlli, Doka bulli id. ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 88 || Ch: WCh: Hs bũrǎ, Bl bōla 'penis', Bks {J} b̥wé̃l id. (glottalization is puzzling), Klr {J} byêl, {IL} bɛl 'tail' || CCh: Bt G {Srp.} bõllě 'penis' || McKtk: Glf {Röd. [in Lk. ZSS]} belewe, Shoe {Lk.} belesoe id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pǎlè id. ¶ JI II 316-17, ChC s.v. 'penis', Lk. ZSS 148, 154, ≠ Sk. HCD 26 || Eg Md/RT bǝḥ 'phallus' ([biḥ-] < *bilḥ-) > Cpt Sd **BAZ** baḥ 'penis', where Cpt a is a reg. reflex of *i in a closed syll. ¶ EG I 419, Fk. 77, Vc. 33, Tk. II 76-80 ¶¶ Cf. Blz. OLBP no. 88 (*bulḥ- > Eg bǝḥ, Om, C, B 'penis'; *÷ Ak baltu [misinterpreted as 'penis' after Holma NK 99, while in fact the word is the name of some thorny plant, *F* Sd. 100]); *F* also EG I 419, 460, Rn. 294, Mrc. 261, Dlh. M 7, Abr. H 120, Ba. 132 || **IE**: NaIE *bʰl̥o- (= *bʰno-, *bʰHo-?) 'penis' > Gk φαλλός id. || NGr Hs bille 'penis', AS bealluc 'testicles' > NE ballock || Phr βαλλία 'generative organ(s)' ([Hdt.]: βαλλία· αὐδοῖα) ¶ Not here OIr ball ferda 'membrum virile', ball féili 'pudenda', because the basic meaning of ball is likely to be {Vn.} 'membre' (cp. ocht mbullu 'huit parties') ¶ The identity of the cns. after *l̥ remains unclear ¶ F II 987-8, Hofm. 390-1, P 120-1, Ho. 17, Vn. B 12, unc. EI 71 (φαλλός and OIr ball ferda < *bʰel- 'blow, swell') || **U**: FU *poía 'tail' > pMr {Ker.} *pūla > Er πυλο pulo, Mk пула pulā ≈ pulǎ 'tail' || ? pLp {Lr.} *pēčz- '(short) tail' > Lp: N {N} biežâ, {Fri.} bieča (gen. bieččam), Kld {SaR} п̄жъ p̄ž 'short tail (of a reindeer, hair, sheep etc.)', S {Hs.} ȷ beetj'eh 'tail of a fish' || pObU {Ht.} *pā́l̥k 'tail' > pVg *pā́lak > Vg: LK/UK pṓlak, MK pṓlak 'tail (of elk and reindeer)'; pOs *pálak > Os K πατάηχ 'tail (of reindeer and elk)', Os Kz pǝ́χ 'Stutzschwanz (des Bären, Elentiers, Renntiers, Hasen)', Os Nz pǝ́nat 'tail', Os Pim pǝ́aq 'hind leg of a bear' ¶ Coll. 109, UEW 393-4, Ps. B (s.p.) 175, Lr. no. 931, Lgc. no. 3982, Hs. 308, SaR 255-6, Ker. II 121, Ht. 177 [no. 517] || **D** *pull- ({ǝGS} *b-) 'penis' > Kn bulla, bulli 'male generative organ', Tl bulla, bulli 'a child's penis', cp. Mrt bulī, bullī id. and cognate words in other NInA lges ¶¶ D no. 4309, Tu. no. 9292 (1) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 155 [no. 31] (D, IE, EC, Ch, B, Eg), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 30 (D, HS, IE, FU + err. K *bil- 'Vogelkamm, Knospen').

212. *ben|ń 'younger relative' > **HS**: S *bin- / (stem of pl.) *ban- 'son' > BHb 𐎁 bēn (pl. 𐎁𐎎 bā'n-īm), Ph, M'b, Ed, Ug bn, Ar ʔibn- (pl. nom. ban-ūna, accus.-gen. ban-īna), Sb bn, OAk, Ak OA/LB {Sd.} biru, {CAD}

bīnu id.; *¹bin-at- (pl. *bā'n-āt-) 'daughter' > BHb בַּת bat (pl. בָּנוֹת bā'n-ōt), Ph, Amn bt, Ug bt (pl. brt), Sr 𐤁𐤏𐤃 ba<r>t ([bat]) cs., pl. 𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤁𐤏𐤃 bānā'tā, Ar bint- (pl. ban-āt-), Sb brt, Ak {Sd.}: MB bintu, OA buntu id., Gz bant in banta ṣayn 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'daughter of the eye') ¶ KB 131-3, 158-9, HJ 168-72, Br. 93, Sd. 127, 136, CAD II 238-9, 242-3, 319 || Ch: CCh {OS} *bin- > LamP {ChL} bin 'brother', ?σ Ms {Cait.} bāna, {ChC} banana, ?σ BnnM bananna 'friend', ?σ Azm {Pc.} banaḏa '(male) friend', bānà 'friend!' (greeting, calling) || ?φ,σ WCh {OS} *m∇-b∇n- > Buli {ChL} mbɔn, {Sh.} mban 'person' (unless akin to Grn mbaliṅ and Jm mbar id.) ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'person' and 'friend', Cait. 48, Pc. 83 ¶¶ OS no. 28 || A: Tg: [1] Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *wān∇ - *x∇, wān∇ 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v. ffd.) | [2] Tg *bener 'younger relative-in-law' (× pA *bære 'daughter-in-law' < N *berE?a 'to give birth to; child') > Ewk bɔnɔr 'wife's brother, wife's younger sister', Lm bɔnɔr, Neg, Orc bɔnɔ 'wife's younger brother\sister', Ud bɔnɔ, Ul bɔnɔr, bɔnɔli 'wife's younger brother', Nn Nh bɔnɔr {STM} 'wife's younger cousin; nephew', {Pt.} 'nephew' (not mentioned by On.) ¶ STM I 125, Pt. 29 || D *peñt∇ ({{GS} *p-) 'girl, woman' (if ← 'young female relative' ← 'younger relative') (possibly from N *^oben|n∇ 'at∇ [*ben|n∇ 'younger relative' + *^r'at∇ 'female, woman']) > Tm perɔ 'woman, daughter, girl', Ml perɔ 'a female' (esp. 'girl, maidservant, bride'), Kt peñ 'female', Kn perɔ, perɔu 'female, woman', Kdg poññi 'wife, female', Tu porɔu 'girl, female, maid', Tl perɔti 'female (of animals)', Klm peñtī 'female', Gdb peñti 'female sheep'; D ⇨ OI paṇḏa- 'eunuch, effeminate man' ¶¶ D no. 4395 (a), Tu. no. 7717.

213. *b∇hæñy∇ 'bone' (esp. 'bone of a limb') > HS: S *bu|ih∇, n- 'thumb, (big) toe' > BHb 𐤁𐤏𐤃 'bohen 'thumb, big toe', Ar ?ibhām- 'thumb, toe', Δ bihām-, bāhim- id., Hrs hā-bēn (pl. hā-bōnɔt) 'thumb, big toe' (hā-goes back to an article), Mh Δ {SSL} hā'bēn id., Ak ubār- 'finger, toe' ¶ KBR 112, KB 108, Jo. H 55, Sd. 1398, SSL LNPM 219, MiK I no. 1.34 || NrOm: She {CR} bɔn 'foot, leg' ¶ CR NGS s.v. Sce (She) bɔn || WCh: Bgm {J} mbān, {JI} bān 'leg, foot' ¶ JI II 220, ChC s.v. 'leg', J ChMGB 220 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 120 [no. 120] (Om, Ch) || IE: NaIE *^ob^hoṛno- (mt. *-ṛn- < N *-ñy-) > Gmc *baṛna- 'bone, leg' (← *bone of the leg?') > ON bein 'leg, bone; upper thigh (Oberschenkel)', Sw, Dn ber bēn 'bone, leg', OSx bēn, AS bān, OHG, MHG bein 'leg, bone', NHG Bein 'leg', Yid 𐤁𐤏𐤃 beyn 'bone',

NE bone ¶ Vr. 30, Ho. 16, Ho. S 6, EWA I 515-16, Lx. 12, KM 63 ||
 ¶ *p'e_ly_lh' ▽ 'bone, bone of a leg' > Tg *pe_ly_lh'-nen 'knee' > Ewk h₃nn₃n, Sln
 3h₃, Lm h₃nn₃n, Neg x₃h₃n₃, Orc x₃h₃n₃ ~ x₃h₃n₃, Ud x₃h₃n₃, Ul p₃h₃n₃(n-),
 Ork p₃n₃ ~ p₃h₃n₃(n-), Nn Nh p₃y_hh₃ 'knee' ¶ STM II 366, Krm. 308, On.
 346 ¶ Tg *-y_h- (if the rec. is valid) may be explained by mt. (N *-ñy- > Tg
 *-y_h-) || T *in-çik (or *_len-çik?) 'shin, shank, shinbone' > OT jir₃ik
 'shinbone', Tk inçik 'shin, shinbone', Tkm in₃ik id., VTt jin₃ik, Bsh
 енсек, Slr in₃ix 'shin', StAlt enček 'heel', Tv inčik 'boot top strap', Yk
 iñhiäx 'shin' ¶ Cl. 172, 203, TL 286 || pKo {S} *s-p_lá 'bone' > MKo sp_lá,
 NKo p_lá, Ko: Ph p_lá, Sl/Chs p_lá, Hm p_lá, Ks p_lá ¶ Ko *s- is a px (e.g., in
 *s-kòrí 'tail', *s-pír 'horn') ¶ S AJ 251 [no. 10], S QK no. 10, Nam 258,
 MLC 774 || pJ {S} *p₃h₃à 'bone' > OJ p(ω)one, MJ p₃h₃, J: T/Kg honé, K
 hóne, Ns p₃h₃, Ht p₃h₃, Sh/Y p₃h₃ ¶ S QJ no. 10, Mr. 414, Kenk. 540-1
 ¶¶ SDM 1131-2 (pA *p'èy_hé 'bone' > Tg, Ko, J, T + unc. M *ya-su 'bone'),
 DQA no. 1735, S AJ 12-13, 39-40, 67, 92, 274 [no. 9], Mr. KJ 226 (Ko,
 J), TL 286 ◇ A *p'- may be explained as going back to a cluster *bh- < N
 *b ▽ h- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 47 (*pon 'bone') (cp. N *P₃on₃'d' ▽ ≈ leg, foot').

214. *bæñt ▽ (~ *bæñd ▽?) 'to tie' > HS *✓ bnt > Eg N/G bnd
 'einwickeln, bekleiden' ⇨ *b ▽ n ▽ t (a k. of garment) (⇨ Gk βύνητος 'ε
 an Egyptian garment' and BHb בִּנְתָא pabnēt 'sash of an official or a
 priest'; this loan in Hb suggests that Eg d was pronounced as t) ¶ EG I
 465, KB 8, KBR 8-9, Lmd. 146, Tk. II 237-41 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} b₃n v.
 'tie', Ngl {Dsb.} b₃n id. || WCh: ? pAG ≈ *b₃way₃t ({Stl. VZCh} *b₃w₃g₃d)
 > Su {J} b₃way₃t, Ang {ChL} b₃t, Gmy {ChC} b₃t, Mnt {Fp.} bad₃n v. 'tie'
 (Stl.: 'привязывать' = 'tie, attach') (glottalized *b₃- in Ch is due to
 transfer of glottalization from *t of HS *✓ bnt) ¶ Lk. L 76, Sö. 57, Dsb.,
 ChL, ChC s.v. 'to tie', J S 60 ¶ Not here Ar بِنْد band- 'lien, lacs, lacet' (⇨
 CINPrs band n. 'band, tie, bandage') || IE: NaIE {P, EI} *b^hend^h- v. 'bind' >
 OI badh'nāti, Av bandayeⁱti 'he binds', OI ban'dhah₃ n. 'binding,
 bond, tie, fetter', Av banda- 'Bande, Fessel', MP₃ band 'Schlinge, Band',
 CINPrs بِنْد band '↑' ⇨ G band-i 'Band, Riemen, Binde' ⇨ G band-
 'knüpfen, heften, schnüren; auf-, zurück-, hin-halten, verzögern' (Chx.
 63) || Gk πεῦσμα (< *πενθσμα) 'rope, a ship's cable' || Thr βενδ- v. 'bind'
 || L offendīx 'chin band on priest's cap' || Clt {Matas.} '(arm)ring,
 circlet, bracelet' > OIr buinne buinne {Vn.} 'band, ring, bracelet',
 {Matas.} 'bracelet, stalk' ¶ P 127, EI 64, M K II 406-7, M E II 208, VI. I

255-6, Sg. 201, F II 492, WH II 205, Vn. *B* 115, Matas. E 70-1 || **U**: FU {UEW} *pā|ent∇- v. 'cover, close', {Sm.} *pintä- v. 'fasten' > pPrm *pōd- v. 'close' > Z inf. pādla∇-n+ 'to close', pādan 'oven door', Yz pōdnal- vt. 'close', Vt inf. pod+n+ 'to pinch' || (acc. to Sm.) F pinne (< *pinte) 'tension' || pObU *pēnt- > pVg *pānt- v. 'close' > Vg: T/LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ML pānt-, UL/Ss pant- id.; pOs *pent- ({JHL.} *pānt-) v. 'cover' > Os: V/Vy/D/Kz/O pent-, Ty pānt- id. || Hg fēd-, fōd- 'decken, be-\zu-decken' ¶ Coll. 78, UEW 371, 879, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pintä-, Ugr *pīntä- 'fasten'), SK 568-9, Ht. 178 [no. 525], MF 187, LG 227 ◇ IS I 194 [no. 30] (HS [Eg, Ch], IE) ¶¶ The N emphatic *t̥ is reconstructed on the HS ev. IE *dʰ- in *bʰendʰ- may go back to *d in N *bæñd∇, but can be better explained by the IE incompatibility law (ruling out combination of voiced aspirates and vl. consonants on the same root).

215. *boŋE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)' > **HS**: S *bam- 'chest' or 'back (Rücken)' > Ak bam-t-ua 'chest, front of the chest', BHb 𐎁𐎍𐎗𐎗𐎚 bā'mā 'back (Rücken)' (Dt. 32.29), Ug bmt 'back (of an animal, human)'; → S *bam-at- 'hill' > Ak bamtu 'slope of a mountain', BHb 𐎁𐎍𐎗𐎗𐎚 bā'mā 'mountain ridge, hill; high ground, high place of worship', Ug bmt 'alto, monte' ¶ KB 130-1, KBR 136-7, OLS 109, CAD II 78, MiK I no. 1.216 (*p/ban/md(-at)- 'back, podex') || **U**: FU *poŋe-(s∇) 'bosom' > F povi (gen. poven) 'bosom, breast', Es pōu (gen. pōue), Δ pō 'Busen, Schoß', pLp {Lr.} *pōŋə 'bosom, breast' > Lp: S {Hs.} buoŋe id., N {N} buogŋā ~ vuogŋā -ŋ- 'breast of a bird', L {LLO} puokŋa 'der bauschige Teil des Lappenrockes oder Lappenpelzes', T {TI} p̄ŋŋ(ā), Kld {TI} pūŋŋ(ā) 'Busen (des Kittels, des Renntierpelzes)' || pMr {Ker.} *poŋə ~ *poŋə > Er попгго poŋgo, Mk пов po∇, Δ po∇ā 'bosom' || Chr Н попгыш poŋgšš, L помыш, U/B ромъšš 'bosom' || Prm *pi, *piy 'bosom' > Z Ss pi, Z US/LL piy, Prmk pi, Vt pi, Vt G pij id. || pObU *pūw|ʒəθ 'Busen (im Kleide)' > pVg *pūt > Vg: T pōt, LK/MK/UK pūt, P/NV/SV pūt, LL pōt, UL pūtī ~ puwī, Ss pūtī id.; pOs *puʒəθ > Os: V/Vy/Ty puʒəθ, Y puwəθ, Nz puχəθ, Kz pōχəθ id. ¶ UEW 395, LG 222-3, Lr. no. 1000, Lgc. no. 5320, Hs. 384, TI 406, Ker. II 118, ERV 498, Ht. 175 [no. 498] || ?σ **A**: Tg: Ewk boŋko 'belly, stomach' (influenced by Tg *boklan, > Neg bōxan ~ boxon 'stomach', Nn Nh {STM} baqa id., {On.} baqā 'stomach of a squirrel', Ork boqqo 'belly' < N *b∇qâ 'side of body, side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM I 94, On. 58 || **D**: [1] *po|amm- ({ʒGS} *b-) 'breast' > Klm, Nkr pamme, Nk pomme id.,

Gnd *bomi* 𐌆 *bomā* 𐌆 *boma* 𐌆 *bomo* 𐌆 *bommu* id., *bom* 'udder' ¶¶ D no. 3935 | [2] **rom-* ({{ǾGS}} **р-*) v. 'embrace' > Png *rom-*, Ku *rom-*, *rom-/pomb-* id., Mlt *pamge* v. 'take between the legs (as the frunk of a tree while climbing)' ¶¶ D no. 4527 ¶¶ On D *-*m(m)-* from N *-*ŋ-* cf. Introduction, 2.1, remark 16 || E: MEI *bu-ni*, {Blz.} *buni* (?) 'heart' ¶¶ HK 234 ◇ S *-*m-* and D *-*m(m)-* suggest N *-*ŋ-* (rather than *-*ŋg-*). ◇ Blz. E no. 2 (E, HS).

216. (₂?) **beŋ₁xi* '≈ head' > HS: S ?φ **°*✓*bnʃi* > Ak MB *bibēn-u* {CAD} 'head' ({{Sd.}} 'temple, Schläfe'), *bibēn* (арріѕи) {Sd.} '(Nasen-)Spitze' ¶ CAD II 219, Sd. 124 || Ch: if Ak *bibēn-* means 'temple', it may be equated with Ke *pánáy* 'temple' ('Schläfe') ¶ Eb. 88 || U **pāŋe* 'head' (× N **pāŋ* ▽ 'forehead' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: T **mēŋi* [or **mēŋi?*] ({{Md.}} **bēŋi*) 'brain' (× N **mEN* ▽ 'front') > OT *meŋi* ~ *meŋi* 'brain', Chg xv *mäyin*, *miyā*, MQp XIII *bäyin*, XIV [CC] *māŋ*, Tk *beyin*, Δ *meyni*, Az *beyin*, Tkm *beyni*, Uz *miya*, ET *miŋä*, Δ *miŋ*, *miŋi*, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qq *miy*, Qzq, Nog *miy*, Bsh *мьуь*, VTt *mi*, Qrg, StAlt, Tv *mē*, Tf *mē*, Xk *мии* *mī*, Ln *megä*, Yk *mäyī* id., Chv L *миме* *mīme*, Chv Δ *мимѣ* 𐌆 *мине* 𐌆 *нине* 𐌆 *вине* id., 'Mark, Rückenmark' ¶ Cl. 348-9, Rs. LTS 201, Rs. W 70 (**bäŋ*), ET B 106-7, Md. 91, 131, 135, 173, Rl. IV 2085, Nj. 726, BT 109, Ra. 207, Fed. I 358, Ash. V 235, VII 242-4 and IX 25, Jeg. 134, ChVS 116 ◇ T **mēŋi* points to a N **e*, while U **ä* belongs to the heritage of N **pāŋ* ▽ ◇ Highly doubtful because of rather loose semantic connections and because U **pāŋe* 'head' has an alt. et.

217. **bungä* 'thick; to swell' > IE **b^henḡ^h-*/**b^hŋḡ^h-* 'lump, thick' ({{IS}} 'шишка, ком, толстый') and d. {EI} **b^henḡ^hu-s* (gen. **b^hŋḡ^hou_s*) 'thick, abundant' > OI *ba'h_u-* (< **b^hŋḡ^h-u-*) 'much, abundant, large', cmpr. '*ban^hbhiyān* 'very strong/thick', Blc *baz* 'tight' ||| Gk *παχύς* 'thick, stout, massive' ||| ON *bingr* 'part of room, bed', Ic *bingur* 'heap, store', NNr *binge* 'Düngerraum', ON *bunga* 'Klumpen', Dn, Sw, Nr *bunke* 'heap', MHG *bunge* 'clod, lump', Dt *bonk* 'piece, clod' ||| Ltv *bīezs* 'thick, dense' || ?σ Ht *panku-* 'entire, complete; every', n. 'multitude, the people; assembly', *pangarit* adv. 'in large numbers, en masse' ¶¶ P 127-8, EI 3, M K II 424-5, M E II 220-1, F II 484-5, Vr. 37, 65, Vr. N 76, Lx. 28, Kar. I 125, CHD P 87-92, Ts. W 59 || U **puŋka* > FU **puŋka* 'swelling, bump, lump' > F *puŋka* 'korpulenter oder dicker Mensch', Es *puŋg* (gen. *puŋga*) 'Hervorragendes und Rundliches: Knolle, Knospe, Knauf, Beule etc.' || Lp: N {N} *bug'gge* /-gg- 'bump,

lump', L {LLO} *pu ggē* 'weiter\dichter\zottiger Pelz; kleiner und dicker Mensch, kleines und dickes Renntier' | pMr {Ker.} **pu kə-íə* > Er *po* 'Renntier' | pMr {Ker.} **pu kə-íə* > Er *po ko í* 'Klumpen, Stück', Mk *po kə í* 'Knäuel, Geschwulst, Stück' | Prm: Z *bu g+í* 'eye apple, eye', ? Vt *po g* 'Klumpen' || pObU **pū ŋkə*] > pVg **pū kləp* > Vg Ss *pō xlip* 'Knopf'; pOs **pu ŋkə*] > Os: Ty *pu ŋlə*], D/K *po ŋxəl*, Nz *pu ŋxəl*, Kz *pō ŋqəl* 'Knollen am Baume', as well as pOs **pu ŋkət* > Os: Ty/Y *pu ŋqət*, D/K *po ŋxət*, Kz *po ŋət* 'Geschwür' || pY {IN} **pu ŋkə* 'hill; hummock' > Y: K {IN} *pu ŋkə* 'hill', T {IN} *pō ŋke* 'hummock', T {Ku.} *pə ŋkətəə* 'excrecence, cone (of a tree)', {Ku.} *pə ŋkətətəə* 'cone', ? *pə ŋgigəy* - vi. 'swell up a little' ¶¶ UEW 404, Coll. 109, MF 107-8, LLO 748-9, Ker. II 117, LG 41, Ht. no. 529, IN H 371, IN UJ 234, Ku. 231-2 || ¶ A: Tg **bu|ŋgə* 'lump, small ball (шарик)' > Nn Bk *bo ŋgə*, Nn Nh {On.} *bo ŋgã* 'hillock (бугор, пригорок), a height', {STM} *bo ŋgalj* 'lump (of snow etc.)', {On.} *bo ŋgalj* 'lump, ball (Kugel), round object', Ewk *bu ŋŋu ka, bu ŋŋu lu* 'small ball, lump', Ud {STM} *bu ŋi*, {Krm.} *bū ŋi* 'testicles' ¶ STM I 110-11, Krm. 215, On. 175 || ¶ ?σ D **po ŋk-* 'swell' (× D **po ŋk-* 'boil') > Tm *po ŋku* 'be swollen (as a boil or sore)', Kn *po ŋgu* v. 'swell', *bu gu t̄i, bu gu d̄u* 'swelling', Kdg *po ŋŋ-* 'swell (as grain or stomach)', Tu *bo ŋket u ni*, Nk *p^hugay-*, Gnd *pō ŋ-*, Ku *po ŋg-*, Mlt *po ŋole* v. 'swell', Krx *pū xŋā* 'to swell', *pū xkā* 'swelling' ¶¶ D no. 4469 ◊ D **po ŋk-* 'swell' is a questionable cognate, because it may be a semantic variant of D **po ŋk-* 'boil' (D no. 4469); in any case the vw. **o* in D **po ŋk-* 'swell' belongs to the heritage of **po ŋk-* 'boil' ¶¶ D no. 4469 ◊ Cf. otherwise IS I 182-3 [no. 17] (IE, U, ? Tg **bo ŋ∇* 'thick, large', D **po ŋk-* 'вздуваться, выкипать'). In the first syll. of the N stem it is better to reconstruct **u* (on U and Tg ev.) rather than **o* (as in IS on the basis of D and inexact data of Tg available to IS in the 1960's).

218. **b∇ qâ* (= **bo qâ*?) 'side of body, side' > K **po q-* (× N **po qEž∇* ~ **po ž∇ q∇* 'thigh, haunch'??) > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} *po q* 'thigh, side of body, crupper of horse' ¶ TK 766, Ni. s.v. 'бедро', GP 264, Dn. s.v. *po q*, Wrđ. 629 (*p^ho q* 'thigh') || HS: EC **bak-* ~ **bok-* 'side of body, side' > Af *bagu* 'belly, stomach', Sml *bo g*, Sml N {Abr.} *bó g* 'flank of body', Or {Grg.} *bukkē* 'beside', Or W {Brl.} *bukké* 'side (fianco, lato)' ¶ AD SF (C **bakk^w-*), ZMO 43, Abr. S 34, Grg. 64, Brl. 65, PH 66 || IE: NaIE **b^h₁ok₁^w* > Sl **bò k^w* 'side of body' > SCr *bò k*, gen. *bò ka*, Slv *bò k*, gen. *bó ka*, Blg Δ *бок*, R *бок*, gen. *бо ка*, Uk *бі к*, gen. *бо ку*, P, Cz, Slk *бок* id. ¶ ESSJ II 170, SPS I 300-1, Glh. 139-40, Vs. I 185 || ¶ A **bok^ri^r* 'side (of body),

thigh' > NaT *bIKIN id. > OT bIQIN 'hip, flank (of a human body or animal)', Chg bIQIN 'joint, articulation', Tkm bIQIN 'side of body', XwT bIQIN, Tv БЫГЫН b_IYIN 'flank (lower part)', Xk pIXTI 'groin' (acc. to Rs. W, ← 'his flank', sc. *pIXIN + ppa. 3s), Tlt {Rl.} pIKKIN, MQp XIV bIQIN, XV bIYIN ~ bIQIN 'groin', Qzq, Qrg mIQIN id. (m- < *b- due to neutralization of nasality in the word-initial position), Kü {Rl.} pIKT 'part of the body below the armhole'; a form *bIQ without sxs has been possibly preserved in SbTt Kk pIQ 'waist' (unless it has resulted from phonetic reduction: pIQ < *bIQn|t < *bIQIN) ¶ Cl. 316, ET B 304-5, Rs. W 73, TvR 128, Rl. IV 1304, 1307, BIG 171, Tm. 180 || Tg *bōk-(an) 'hip, thigh' > Ewk bōkan, Lm bōqam, Lm O/Sk bokan id., Ud {Krm.} bō? 'front muscles of the thigh', ? WrMc {Z} бyxи 'front side of the thigh', 'lap', {Hr} бyxи 'Oberschenkel' | ?σ Tg *bōk_lan_l > Neg bōxan ~ boxon 'stomach', Nn Nh {STM} baqa id., {On.} baqā 'stomach of a squirrel', Ork boqqo 'belly' ¶ STM I 90, 94, Krm. 213, On. 58, Hr 119, Z 528 || M *baqaγur 'After, back part of body' > MM [L] {Pp.} baḡawur 'After', [MA] {Pp.} baqa,ūr 'nates', [IM] {Ms.} baḡūr, [S] bokoraḡ ~ bokore ~ bo?ere 'Lenden, Hüften', WrM {MED} buqur {MED} 'buttock, rump', HIM бyxуyp {MED} id., {BMR} 'buttock, anus; vulva', {Ms.} buḡar 'buttock, rump', Kl {Rm.} bokūr 'Schurke, Schelm', Mgl buḡār 'After, der hintere Teil', Ord b_uḡūr 'derrière, cul, anus' ¶ Pp. MA 111, H 17, MED 143, BMR I 297, KW 50, Rm. M 24, Ms. O 92, SDM97 41 (M *bokaur) || pJ {S} *bàki 'side of body' > OJ wak_i, MJ wàk_i {S} id., J T wak_i, J K wák_i, J Kg wák_i 'side' ¶ S QJ no. 271, Mr. 567, Kenk. 2127 ¶¶ The long vw. *ō in pTg *bōk-(an) is probably a Tg innovation ¶¶ The T vw. *I of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. (*-0...I > *-I...I) ¶¶ SDM 359-60 (pA *b_iūk_a > T, M, Tg), DQA no. 174, SDM95 s.v. *b_fk∇, SDM97 s.v. *būka 'side of body, hip', ADb. SR 6, TL 280 ◇ The pN vw. of the first syllable is hard to reconstruct. pA possible hypothetic vw. is *o, that is preserved in Tg and probably in M, but turned to *I in T due to as. (**0...I > *I...I); the IE, K and C data do not contradict this hypothesis.

219. *bAr∇ 'earth, land; dust' > HS: S: [1] S *barr- '(uncultivated) land' > BHb בַּר *bar* (pausal form בָּרַב bār) 'open field', JA אַרְבָּ בָּר bār-r-ā {Lv.} 'Außenseite, freies Feld', JA [Trg.] אַרְבָּ בָּר bār ā[?]-ā {Js.} 'external, not belonging to', JEA {Sl.} אַרְבָּ בָּר bār-r-ā 'external, outer', Sr {Br.} אַרְבָּ בָּר bār-r-ā 'agrestis, exterior, externus', Ar barr- 'Festland', Ar Hdr {Lnb.} barr- 'country' (barru-l-ʿarbi 'pays des Arabes'), Mh {Jo.} a-'barr

'outside', Sq {L} *bar* 'côté, éloignement', *ba-barr* 'dehors', Tgr *ber* 'continent, country', Ak {Sd.} *barru* 'uncultivated country', {CAD} *bāru* 'open country']?? [2] S **baray-* > Ar *بَرِّي* *bara(n)* 'terra' (Fr.: ← 'pars superior et pulvis') ¶ KB 146, Sl. 240, Js. 189, Br. 88, Jo. M 51, L LS 98, LH 274, CAD II 120, Sd. 107 || C: [1] ? Brj {Hds.} *bār-iy-* 'become muddy' (unless from HS {Tk.} **b∇r-* 'dirty')] [2] C {AD} **bUrɣ-* 'sand, dust' (× N **bôri'ɣ'U* 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, Blz. CL 177, Tk. LAA-1 24 [no. 150] || Ch **✓brbr* 'dust' (× HS ≈ **burɣ-* 'dust' < N **bôri'ɣ'U* '↑' [q.v.]): WCh: Krkr {Lk.} *bərbəz* 'dust' | Ngz {Sch.} *bərbəz*, Bd {ChL} *bərbəzən* id. || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu *bùrbùr*, Cb *bəzəbəz*, WMrg *burbur~bərbəz*, Kib *bəzəzəz*, Hld *buburu*, Wmd *búbùr*, Mrg {Hf.} *bərbəz* id. | McHg {ChL}: HgNk *bəzəzəzəz*, HgB *bəzəzəzəz*, FIK *burbùr*, FIM *bùrbùr(ʊ)* id. | BB {ChL}: Gude *bəzəzəzəzəz*, Nz *bùrbəzəz*, Bcm *bùrbùzəz*, Mln *bùbùrú* id. | McMdr: Mdr *bùrbùzəz* id. | Gdr {Cfr} *bərbəz* id. | Lgn {Lk.} '*būra* 'sand, dust' ¶ JI II 280-1, Stl. ZCh 157-8 [no. 117], ChC s.v. 'dust' and 'sand', ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Gr. LC 91, Lk. LS 87 || K: MG, G *bre* 'dust (пыль, прах)', G Ing *bre* 'chaff' ¶ Chx. 104, DCh. 117 || D (att. in SD) **paɾ∇* ({ɣGS} **p-*) 'plateau, tableland' > Tm *paɾampu* 'hill', *paɾantalaɪ* 'desert', Ml *paɾampu* 'higher or dry ground laid out in terraces, fields (too high for rice cultivation), orchard, garden', Kn Δ *paɾavu* 'a hill top', Kdg *paɾambi* 'large flat pasture land', Tu *paɾavu* 'plateau, tableland' ¶ D no. 4026 || A: *Ads* of T **bōr* 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (< N **bohr∇* 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.; cp. also **bôri'ɣ'U* 'loose earth, dust, [?] sand' and N **maR∇* 'sand, dust, earth'); the vw. **ō* in T **bōr* is inherited from N **bohr∇* ◇ IS I 187 [no. 22] included the S and Ch stems and G *bre* into his N etymon **bur(H)∇/*bor(H)∇* 'loose earth, dust' (together with what belongs to N **bôri'ɣ'U*).

219a. **beR∇* 'mud, swamp' > HS: S **bir-* > Ak *bi|erātu* 'swamps (?)' ¶ The vw. *ā* proves that in the var. reading *berātu* there is no infl. of S **ɾ|h* (causing the change of S **a* into Ak *e*) ¶ CAD II 206-7 || U: FU **per∇* 'mud, swampy place' (× N **P_eR∇* 'ground, earth', q.v.) > Prm: Vt {Wc.} *ber-gop* 'swamp, quagmire; Moorpütze', Vt Sr *pera* 'weicher, schwarzer Morast, mit welchem man Tuch färbt', {Mu.} 'damp place with black earth (chernozem)'; Z Le *perēb* 'moss-covered riverbank in a forest' (infl. of R *берер* 'bank [Ufer]') || OHg XII 'Hain', XVIII 'Moor', Hg *berēk* 'swampy meadow; grove, bushes (Hain, Gebüsch)' ¶ UEW 374, LG 220,

MF 106, EWU 98 || IE: NaIE *^ob^hō¹r- > SI *bara 'swamp, stagnant water, (?) small river' (× N *b^hu¹X¹ra 'watercourse, river', q.v.) > Slv bára, Cz Δ bara 'swamp', Blg бара 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} бара 'puddle', SCr bāra id., 'meadow' ¶ ESSJ I 153-4.

219b. *bor[∇] 'mountain, hill' > HS: EC *bUr- > Sml būr 'mountain, bare-topped hill, summit of mountain (cumulo), mucchio', Rn búr (pl. burrá^r) 'hill', ?σ Or O {Sr.} būra 'forest' ¶ DSI 71, ZMO 48, PG 81, Sr. 278 || A: Tg *bo_l:_lr_li_l 'hill' > Ewk Ald/Z/Ucr borī 'rocky hill', Ewk Skh/Urm borī 'a height (with burnt forest)', Ewk Skh bor 'small mountain (covered with dwarf shrubs and dwarf trees)', borikta 'hill', Ork bōri 'a height (without trees or shrubs)'; Tg б> Brt бoopи 'a height' ¶ STM I 95, Chr. 105 || D {tr.} *por_ll-, {GS} *pod_l- 'mountain, top', (in SD) *pōr- ({θGS} *b-) '(top of a) hill' (× N *p_or¹á¹∇ 'summit, tip', q.v. × N *paR[∇]t[∇] 'rock, hill'. q.v.) > Tm por_la_l, por_lr_li 'mountain, hill', Ml por_la 'an elevation in rice grounds', Klm pōde 'high, up, the top; on', Nkr pōde 'top; on', Nk por 'hill, the top', Prj podi 'top, above', Gdb poyta 'top of sth.; on, upon', Gnd parrō 'on top', parro 'on, above, top', Krx partā 'mountain, hill' ¶¶ D no. 4567, GS 151 [no. 381], 71 [no. 232] ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 111b, ≈ Blz. DA 160-1 [no. 87] (EC, D + unc.: Tg *bur- 'island'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 91 (EC, D, Tg *borī 'mountain' + unc.: Tg *bur- 'island').

220. *buRu (or *buRū) 'break' > IE: NaIE *b^hre_u- 'break, tear', {EI} *b^hre_u- 'cut, break up', (+ext.) *b^hre_us- 'break' > ON bróma 'splinter, piece', inf. brjóta 'to break, to destroy', OHG brōdi 'easily broken (fragilis), weak, thin' (< *b^hrou_u-tyo-), AS bréað id., inf. breoðan 'to destroy', inf. bréotan 'to break', inf. brūsan 'to crush', NE bruise || ?σ Al: T breshēr, G breshēn 'hail' || Ltv Δ {ME} braūna, braūna 'Schorf, Schuppe, die beim Häuten oder Auskriechen aus Hüllen nachgelassene Haut, Eingeweide' || Sl: Cz brn-ka (< *b^hrun-) 'placenta' || Clt: OIr bruid 'breaks, crashes', MW breu 'brittle'; Clt {Matas.} *brisko- 'fragile, weak' > Mlr brisc id., MBr bresc 'fragile', Br {Hm.} bresk 'fragile, cassant; faible'; ? Clt {Matas.} *^obrustniyo- > OIr brosnæ 'bundle of firewood, faggot' || L frustum 'piece' || ? OI bhrū¹na-m 'embryo' ({P}: ← 'that has broken the egg skin') ¶ P 169-70, EI 81, Vr. 58-9, OsS 85, EWA II 355-6, Kb. 120-1, Ho. 33-4, ME I 327, Ma. CS 44; M K II 533-4 and M E II 284-5 (no definite et. of the OI word), Matas. E 78, 81, Hm. 108 || A *b^hp¹uR- 'break, crush' > M *bur¹i- > WrM {MED} burci- 'break, crush; raze, destroy', HIM {BMR} бурчи- 'break,

crush', WrO {Krg.} бурцаq 'fraction' ¶ MED 137, BMR I 291, Krg. 372 || Tg *°bur- > Lm bur- v. 'strip (a film, the inner side of hide)'; Tg *burg^ɹi¹- > Ewk burgī- v. 'crush, demolish', Lm бургъ- v. 'crush (дробить), smash into smithereens' ¶ STM I 111-12 || pJ {S} *bǝr- 'break; bend' > OJ wōr-, MJ wòr-, JT ór-, JK/Kg òr- ¶ S QJ no. 1494, Mr. 742, Kenk. 1454-5 ¶¶ SDM 386-7 (pA *bùr|ró- or *bòr|ró- 'break, crush' M, J, Tg *bur- 'crush, demolish'), DQA no. 212 (A *bù|òro) || HS: WS *✓brw 'cut, trim' > Ar ✓brw G (ip. -brū) 'dégrossir avec une hache'; rogner', OSA {DRS} ✓brw Sh (pf. hbrw) 'tailler en pièces' (× N *buR∇ (or *büR∇) 'flint') ¶ BK I 119, DRS 82-3 ◇ It may be originally connected with N *bu|üR∇ 'flint' (→ 'to cut/carve with a flint').

221. *bUr∇ 'turn round, rotate' > HS: B: Ty {PGG} bāruray 'rouler (objet sur une surface)' ¶ PGG 16 || EC: Sml būr- 'make round' ({Abr.} 'make into a ball') ¶ Abr. S 36 || S (+ext.) *°✓brm, *°-brum- > Ar ✓brm (ip. -brum-) 'tordre, tresser (une corde) en tordant les fils\tortis' ¶ BK I 117-18 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 125 [no. 154] || K: GZ *br- v. 'twirl, whirl, rotate' > OG bru-y 'Schwindel', G bru- 'schwindlig machen', bru, tav-bru 'giddiness, vertigo', brun- (< *br(ω)-in-, caus.) 'sich drehen, kreisen, rotieren', borbal- 'wheel, potter's wheel, whirlwind'; ⇨ GZ *brun- v. 'spin, whirl' > OG brun- 'rotate', G brun- id., v. 'spin', Mg burin- {Kl.} 'throw with spinning; whirl' ¶ K² 17, 19, Chx. 107-8, Schm. 98, GM S 314, FS K 58, FS E 60, NCh. 155, DCh. 119 || U *pârω|ʏ∇- 'turn, revolve' (× N *P_ôRω∇ 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Mr (pMr {Ker.} *pu^ɹrə-): Er пувор- puvor-, Δ puvrá-, Mk пуворя- puvará-, Δ puvrǝá- 'drehen, winden' || ? Vt Sr poryal- 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU *pěʏar (× N *pěR̥K̥∇₁ʏa₁ [or P_eR̥K̥∇₁ʏ∇₁?] 'turn round, twist'?) > pVg *pǎʏar 'round' > Vg: T pāwər, LK/MK pāwər, UK pāwər, P pǎwr, UL powr, Ss puwr 'rund', d.: Vg T püwärt-, Vg LK/MK/UK päʏrt-, Vg P/NV/SV/LL pārt-, Vg UL/Ss powart- 'wälzen', Vg MK {Kn.} powrit- 'sich herum-wälzen'; ? pOs d. *pěnarʏa- ({Hl.} *pīnarʏa-) > Os Ty/Y pēnarʏa- 'sich umdrehen' || Hg forog- vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP p̄rrūōldša-, Slq Ch puōlda- 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} pur+ít, LTz {KD} pūroltā 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' ¶¶ U *-w|ʏ- is inherited from N *P_ôRω∇ ¶¶ UEW 414 (*pâr̥k|ʏ∇), MF 214-15, Coll. 78, Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [no. 504], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-w- and *-ʏ- in pObU), KKIH 153 || A *bur- 'turn round', 'round' > NaT (× N *mur∇ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie'): [1]

T *bur(a)- v. 'turn round' > OOSm bur-, Tk Бур- 'twist', Tkm, Ggz, Az, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz, ET bur-, Qzq Бұр-, VTt, Bsh бор- бұр-, StAlt pur-, Chv L пәр- рър-, Chv H {Md.} р̄р- id. ('крутить, закручивать'), vt. 'turn (повертывать)', Qrg, Kr/Qzq {Rl.} bur- 'verdrehen, zusammen-drehen, umdrehen', Alt/QK/Tlt/Shor/Brb {Rl.} pur- id., 'schrauben'; [2] NrT *bür- v. 'twist, wind round' > OT bür- id., 'screw together', MQp XIII, XwT XIV bür- 'twist', Tk Бұрұ- 'wrap, cover', Tlt {Rl.} pür- 'aufrollen, zusammen-legen' ¶ Cl. 355, ET B 264-7, 294-6, Rl. IV 1365, 1397, 1816, 1887, Ash. X 123-6, Fed. I 398, Jeg. 147, ChVS 130 ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -ü- are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. *büryi 'to cover' (q.v.) (whence Tk Бұрұ- 'wrap, cover') and *bôr'a' 'pierce, bore' (q.v.) (whence StAlt pur- 'drill' etc.) || Tg: Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk burukūn 'whirlpool' ¶ STM I 114 || M *buržī- 'curly' (of hair) (× pA *bur₁u₁T₁g₁∇ 'facial hair' < N *bur₁u₁d∇'g₁∇ 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down'??) > WrM {MED} d. Буржіі- v. 'curl, frizzle' (of hair), HIM {MED, BMR} буржий-, Brt буржы-, Kl {KRS} буржи- v. 'curl (кучавиться, завиваться)', Kl {Rm.} burzā- 'sucgzotten, nicht gerade wachsen; zottig\übel zurerichtet sein', Ord burž₁ωī- 'présenter un aspect rugueux, être crépu'; ⇨ M *burž₁∇gir (or *burž₁agar) > WrM buržigir, HIM буржгар 'curly', Brt буржагар 'curly, wavy' (hair), Kl буржһр buržəvər {KRS} 'curly, wavy' (hair), {KW} burza₁vər 'zottig, nicht gerade wachsend' (Haar), Ord burž₁agar 'qui présente un aspect rugueux' (cheveux) ¶ MED 140, BMR I 289, KRS 120, KW 63, Chr. 113, Ms. O 97-8 ◇ Cf. IS I 186-7 s.v. *burā 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribed some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

222. ₂ *buR∇ (or *büR∇) 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint') or 'to cut\carve' (→ 'flint') > HS: C: Bj {R ← Stz.} бер'rawe 'flint' ({R}: * ← бер- 'steppe') ¶ R WBd 52 || WS *✓bry 'cut, carve' > Ar ✓bry G (pf. برى barā, ip. -briy-) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume)', OSA {DRS} бру 'monument sculpté' (× N *buRu 'break') ¶ BK I 119-20, DRS 82-3 || A: Tg *bur∇ 'flint' > Ewk buru, Sol boro, Lm bur, Orc bu, burakta, Ud bū, Ul, Ork buraqta, Nn Nh/Bk/KU buraqta 'flint', Nn Nh {On.} boraqta 'flint in a steel (кремень дкя огнива)', Neg burokta 'amber' ¶ STM I 114, Krm. 214, On. 76 || AdS of IE: NaIE *b^her- 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (< NaIE *b^her- v. 'bore, pierce' < N *bôr'a' 'pierce, bore',

q.v. ffd.) ◇ N *bu|üR∇ 'flint' is not necessarily identical with N *bô'ra' 'pierce, bore' (≠ S CNM 4).

223. *buR∇, *buR₁∇, 'K'∇ 'storm, stormy wind' (→ [in U and A] 'snowstorm') > HS: B *-b∇rūr- 'hail' > Sll {Ds.} ibrūri^y~ibrīri^y, Shl {La.} ibrurin, Kb abruri 'hail', Dmn abrīro 'small hailstones', Zmr, Iz tbrūri 'hail', Nf tabruri 'snow', Izd tibruri, Gd tabruru id. ¶ La. MChB 186, Mrc. 131, Lf. II no. O1O1, Dl. 396, Ds. 446, NZ 124 || C {AD} *b∇r-, {E} *bar-/bur- > Bj {R} bār (pl. bar) 'Geruch', bar-am- ps. 'Geruch zugetragen werden (durch die Luft)', barām 'Geruch (der zugetragen wird), Luft, Wind' || SC {E} *būr- v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N *bû'h'R∇ 'blow, inflate, swell', q.v. ffd.) ¶ E PC no. 5, E SC 140, R WBd 49, 51 || Ch: CCh: ? Dgh {Frk, ChL} mábúrà 'storm', Db {LnG} burtótóy id. || ECh: Mu {J} búrúndúl 'storm', Kwn {J} ká-bār 'wind' ¶ ChC s.v. 'storm' and 'wind', ChL, Frk s.v. mábúrà, J LMF s.v. búrúndúl || HS {Tk.} rdp. *b∇b∇r- (= *bubir-?) '(whirl)wind' > HEC {Hd.} *bobire 'wind, storm' > Kmb bobira 'wind', Brij bubbē 'storm', Sd bubbe 'strong wind' ¶ Hd. 168, 406 || Ch: WCh: AG {Tk.} *vivir 'whirlwind' (*v < *b) > Su {J} fívír, Mpn {Frz.} vǝvír id. || CCh: Msg {Mch.} bérber, {Rlf.} bérbere, {Brt. in Lk. DQM} bebēr 'wind', Bld {Trn.} vùvúr 'tornado' or 'tourbillon', Mlw {Trn.} á-vùrvùlí 'tourbillon' ¶ ChC s.v. 'wind', ChL, Lk. DQM 120, J S 65, Frz. M 199, Trn. B 56, Trn. MVM 207 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ IS I 188) Ar bāriḥ- 'vent chaud, particulièrement qui vient du côté du Yémen' (BK I 107), which is an act. prtc. of ✓ brḥ v. 'come from the right side' (in Ar 'south, Yemen' literally means 'the right side') ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 103 [no. 2] (C, Ch) || ?σ K *°bu|or- > eNG {SSO} bor-i 'haze of dust', G bur-i ~ bor-i {NCh.} id., {DCh.} 'haze, mist (мгла, туман)', {Chx.} 'leichter Nebel, Mist, Dunst', {NCh. RKL} bur-i 'snowstorm' ('буря') ¶ SSO I 110, Chx. 97, 121, DCh. 124, NCh. 153, NCh. RKL I 87 || IE: NaIE {AD} *b^her-/*b^heyr- v. 'be stormy', 'storm' (× *b^heyr- v. 'move rapidly' > OI bhurati id., Gk φύρω v. 'mix') > YAv bar-vi. 'rage, storm' (of wind), 'be stormy' (day), 'flow quickly' (of water) (barənti ... ayaṇ 'an einem stürmenden Tage') || ON byrr 'fair wind', NE Shetl bir(r), borr 'wind', ME būr, bir 'strong wind', Frs E bur 'wind', MDt böre-lōs 'without wind' || Sl *búra ~ *búra 'storm' > OCS БОРЯ burja 'procella, tempestas', {StSS} 'буря, гроза', Blg 'буря' 'storm, thunderstorm', McdS буря 'storm', SCr bŭra 'storm, strong wind', Slv búrja 'northeastern wind', OCz búřě 'storm', P burza 'storm, thunderstorm', R 'буря' 'storm' ¶ Not here L fur-ō / inf. fur-ěre vi. 'rage, rave', furor 'madness, raving', furiosus 'raging, raving,

furious' (< IE *d^huse/o- < *d^hwes- 'breathe'?) ¶ Brtl. 943, WH I 260, Vr. 68, ESSJ III 97-8, StSS 102, SPS I 453-4, Glh. 157, ≠ P 132-3 and M K II 508-9 (they did not distinguish between the stem in question and some homonymous stems), EI 82 (L fur-ō < *d^huse/o-) ¶ Two variants of the IE stem (IE *b^her-/*b^heyr-) are reconstructed because *b^her- alone does not explain Sl *buřa ~ *bura, while *b^heyr- fails to explain Av bar-; this alternation of two "états" (like *b^heg^ω-/*b^heyg- v. 'run, flee') is an expected reg. reflex of a twofold diphthongization of N *u (N *buR ▽ > *b^hwer-/*b^hewr- > *b^her-/*b^hewr-, F AD NGIE) || U *purka 'snowstorm' > F purku 'snowfall', purkusä ä 'snowstorm (Schneegestöber)', pLp {Lr.} *porkz id. > Lp: Kld {SaR} πορκκ, {TI} por:k:(a_) id., N bqr'gâ /-rg-'cloud, spray of snow (either falling or whirled up from the ground by a strong wind)' | Mk πορφ porf 'snowstorm' | Chr B/U purϝϝ 'Schneegestöber', StChr L purϝϝ 'snow-drift (Schneehaufen, Schneewehe, сугроб, занос)', purϝϝ- vi. 'drift' (of snow), 'cover with snow' (of snowfall\wind) ('места, заносить снегом'), Chr U purϝa- 'stöbern, wirbeln' (Schnee, Staub) | Prm (1) *pu|ūr- > Vt inf. purž-+n+ 'to rise' (of dust), Z Vm/I/Lz/Le/Sk/Ud inf. p+rž+n+ 'to powder with snow\dust' (of wind) ('порошить, заносить [снегом, песком]'), Z LL p+ra 'snowdrift (heap of snow)', Prmk p+ržet- v. 'drift on sth. (by the wind)' (of snow etc.); (2) ? *pur- > Z purkzd- 'rise' (of snow, dust), 'be a snowstorm' || ObU *pörk ▽ y > pVg *pörk+(y) 'Schneegestöber' > Vg: T porkē, LK pârϝ, MK pârϝ, P pork, Ss porϝay, N {Mu.} porϝey id.; pOs *pörkay ({JHl.} *pürkay) 'smoke' > Os: V/Vy/Y pörq+, Kz pörϝa, O pârϝa id. || Sm: (1) Ne T O pārontāy 'snowdrift', Slq LTz purqālcē- 'verschneien, verwehen', Slq Ch purāyinj pāt 'es stöbert, es ist Schneegestöber, es weht heftig', Slq Tm purqāt 'Schneegestöber'; (2) pSm *pur₁k₁- 'smoke' > Ne T пур "pur" 'Feuer gegen die Mücken', Slq Tz {KKIH} purq+ 'smoke', ?ϕ Kms ber, бър, bor id. ¶¶ Coll. 52, UEW 406, It. no. 198, Lr. no. 956, Lgc. no. 5076, SaR 265, TI 396, Ker. II 124, PI 216, 219, LG 233, 236, SZ 312-13, 370, Ht. 179 [no. 539], Jn. 131, KKIИ 153 || A: [11] pA *b|p'ôR- 'wind, rainy weather, snowstorm' > M *borayan id. > MM boroyan, boroyon, boroyon 'whirlwind', WrM {MED} borugan 'rain, rainy weather', cagan borugan, qatagu borugan 'hail' (cagan is 'white', qatagu is 'hard'), HIM {MED} бороон, {BMR} бороо(н) 'rain, rainy weather', Brt bk., Brt Ag бороон 'rain', Kl {KRS} боран 'bad weather, rain', {Rm.} borān "Unwetter, Sturm mit Regen oder Schnee;

Regenwetter', Ord *b_orōn* 'pluie'; M \rightarrow T lges (Yk *burχān* 'snowstrm', Tkm *borayān* 'whirlwind; *bōrān* id. etc. \rightarrow R *бурян* 'snowstrm'); ? ϕ Brt *бордоһо(н)* 'snowstorm, blizzard' ¶ H 19, MED 121, BMR I 266, Chr. 105-6, KRS 110, KW 51, Ms. O 81 || pKo {S} **p̣ḷṛḷm* 'wind' > MKo *p̣ḷṛḷm*, NKo *param* id. ¶ S QK no. 111, Nam 241, MLC 704 ¶ [2] pA **b|p̣urk'i-* '≈ wind, stormy wind, cold weather' > M **burgi-* 'rise' (of dust, smoke) (× N **bôri'γ'U* 'loose earth, dust' [q.v. ffd.] × N **buřu* (ҚU) 'spurt, gush forth, boil') > WrM *burgi-*, *burgi-ra-* {MED} v. 'rise in clouds', 'whirl (as dust, water or storm)', HIM *бурги-* {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'rise in clouds; snow, in feinen Flocken schneien (порошиться)', Mnr H {SM} *p̣uži-rā-* 'jaillir, sortir avec violence' (eau, fumée etc.), Ord *b_urgī-* 'jaillir, bouillonner', 's'élever en tourbillonnant' (p. ex. poussière), ? ϕ K1 {KRS} *бург-* 'пылиться'; MM *burqalix* 'whirlwind', HIM {BMR} *бургалиг цас* 'Pulverschnee (снежная пороша)' (цас is 'snow') ¶ H 19, MED 121, 138, BMR I 288-9, Chr. 105, SM 306, S AJ 243 [no. 215], Ms. O 81, 98, KRS 128 || NrTg **burki* > Ewk *burki*, Lm *bwrqω* 'first snow, fine snow (пороша, мелкий снег)' (× Tg **bure-ki* 'dust' < N **bôri'γ'U* '↑', q.v.) ¶ STM I 113, ≠ S AJ 224 [no. 281] (without distinguishing this root from Tg **bureki* 'dust' [< N **bôri'γ'U*]) ¶¶ SDM 375-6 (pA **bōru|a|o* 'whirlwind; dust, smoke' > Tg **bure-ki* 'fresh snow', M + unc. Tg **bure-ki* 'dust', T **buruk* 'dust, smoke' and pKo **p̣ḷṛḷm* 'wind'), DQA no. 194, S AJ 288 ¶¶ pA {SDM} **bōru|a|o* 'dust, smoke' (i.e. pA {AD} **bur-* 'dust, smoke') goes back to N **bôri'γ'U* 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ IS I 189 adduced OT *bor* 'storm' (suggested by V. Thomsen in *Turcica* 94, note 2), but Clauson (Cl. 357 s.v. *borçā*) denied the existence of this word; other words of Turkic lges adduced there by IS (Yk *buray-* vt. 'disperse, scatter [рассеивать, разметать]', Qrg *boro-* 'бушевать, rage' [of wind]) are not valid genetic cognates either: Qrg *boro-* (actually meaning 'be a snowstorm, вьюжить') cannot be separated from Qrg *borōn* 'snowstorm' and is probably a Mongolism, and the Yk word is semantically too distant

◇ Cf. IS I 188-90 (HS, IE, U, A). The meaning 'snowstorm' (repeated in FU, Sm and M) is likely to be a Uralo-Altai innovation (partially parallel to the B semantic development: 'storm' → 'hail').

224. **ba'ʔeri* 'hold, take' > HS: S * $\sqrt{b'ʔr}$ > Ak *baʔār u* (inf.) 'to catch (fish, birds), to hunt' (pres. *i-bar*, p. *i-bār* ~ *i-baʔar*), *bāʔir u* 'fisherman, hunter' ¶ CAD II 2-4, 31-3, Sd. 108 || B (mt.) * \sqrt{Hbr} > Ah *abər* (pf. *yubər*) 'saisir à pleine main', ETwl/Ty {GhA} *abər* (3m pf.: ETwl *oḷm*, Ty *yọḷm*) id., 'saisir à pleine bouche' (animal) ¶ Fc. 80-1, GhA 9,

246-7, ≈ NZ 92-3 || C *✓br (E: *ber- v. 'grasp') > Bj {R} ✓br̥y pcv. 'aufbringen, zusammenbringen, besitzen, haben'; pres. 'a-bar̥i 'I possess', ta-ba'riya 'du besitzt' has the form of past, suggesting a semantic development: 'have taken\seized' → 'possess' || Ag: Bln {R} b̥erb̥er- v. 'take honey out of a hive', Q {R} b̥erb̥er-, Xm {R} birbir- v. 'pillage, plunder'; Ag ⇨ Gz ✓br̥br (pf. barbara) id. || (¿) EC: Sa I {PW} bar- v. 'grasp, hold', Af Tjr {MLuc.} b̥era 'il emporte' || SC {E} *°ber- v. 'touch' > Kz belet- id. || ?σ Dhl {EEN} b̥er- id. ¶ E SC 137, E PC no. 8, R WB 84, R QW 43, R WBd 49-50, L G 102, PW SSI 381, MLuc. 198, EEN 33 || K *°bar- > G bar-: gada-bar- 'etw. übernehmen, auf sich nehmen', mi-bar- 'etw. entgegennehmen, übernehmen', ča-bar- 'an sich nehmen, entgegennehmen, übernehmen' ¶ Chx. 64-5 || IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'take, bring, carry' (× N *bār̥?∇ 'give' × N *berE?a 'give birth to' [q.v.]) > OI 'bharati, Av baraiti 'carries, bears', OPrs bar- 'carry', NPrs بَر bār- pres. (inf. بردن bordān) 'carry, bear, bring', KhS bar- id. || Arm բերեմ ber-em 'I carry' || Gk φέρω id. || L fer-ō id., fer-t 'carries', Um FER- 'carry' || Phr αβ-βερειτ 'at-tulit' || Clt {Matas.} *ber-o- 'carry, bear, bring' > OIr beirid, ber- 'carry', Cmn kemmeres (< *kom-bero-) 'take, receive' || pAl {O} *berya > Alb bie 'bring' || Gt inf. báiran (φέρειν, βασιτάζειν) 'tragen, leiden', ON, Nr inf. bera, Sw inf. bära, Dn inf. bære, OFrs, OHG, OSx, AS inf. beran 'to carry' NE bear v. 'carry' || Sl'to carry' *b̥bra-ti 'to gather, to take' / 1s pres. *ber̥q̥ 'I gather, I take' (× N *bār̥?∇ 'give', q.v.) > OCS inf. БЪРАТИ b̥rati (1s pres. БЕРЖ ber̥q̥) 'legere, eligere, собирать', Cz inf. brati (1s pres. beru), Slk inf. brat', P inf. brać (1s pres. biore̥), R брать (1s pres. беру) 'to take', SCr inf. brāti (1s pres. bē̃rēm), Slv inf. brāti (1s pres. bérēm) 'to gather in, to pluck', Blg бера 'gather (fruit), pluck, take' || pTc {Ad.} *pār- > Tc A, B pār- v. 'bear (away), carry (off)' ¶ P 128-32, EI 90 (*b^her- 'carry'), ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *b^her- 'bear [a child]' and *b^her- 'carry'), M K II 473-6, M E II 246-9, Hinz 72, Sg. 173, Horn 45-6, Bai. 270-1, F II 1003-5, WH I 483-5, Bc. G 335, Vn. B 38-40, Pln. II 735-6, Fs. 75, Vr. 33, OsS 50, EWA I 546-8, Ho. 21, Ho. S 6, Slr. 78-9, ESSJ III 162-3, StSS 105, Wn. I 361-2, Ad. 371 || A *bār̥∇ v. 'hold, take, possess' → v. 'earn', 'property' > NaT *bār 'there is', *ba_Lri-m 'property' > OT {Cl.} bār 'there is', Tk var, Az var, Tkm bār, ET ba(r), Tf bar, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Tv bar, Uz бop, Xk par, Yk bār id., OT barim 'property' ¶ ET B 61-3, DTS 83, S AJ 191 [no. 159], Rs. W 62, Cl. 353,

356, Ra. 159, UzR 80, TkR 71 || M *bari- v. 'take, hold' > MM [S, MA] b̄ari- '(er)greifen, (fest)nehmen', v. 'hold', WrM {MED} b̄ari- v. 'hold, grasp, take, seize', HIM {MED, BMR} б̄ари- id., Brt б̄ари- 'grasp, hold', Kl {KRS} б̄ар- b̄ār- 'hold, take into one's hands', {Rm.} b̄ār-, b̄ār- 'in der Hand halten, mit der Hand greifen', Dx b̄ari- v. 'hold, catch', Mnr H {SM} b̄ari- ~ w̄ari- 'saisir, faire prisonnier, tenir', Dg b̄ari-, ? Ba w̄ār- v. 'hold, take', Mgl {Rm.} b̄ari- '(in die Hand) nehmen, greifen'. Ord b̄ari- 'saisir, prendre en main, tenir en main' ¶ MED 85-6, BMR I 233, Chr. 89, KRS 92-3, KW 38, Rm. M 23, H 13, SM 22, T DgJ 125, T DnJ 112, T BJ 135, T 316, Ms. O 52-3, Pp. MA 433 || pKo {S} *pār- > NKo p̄al- v. 'earn' ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 159], S QK no. 159, MLC 765 || ? pJ *pārā-p- v. 'pay' > OJ p̄ārāp-, J: T harā-, K hārā-, Kg hārā- id. ¶ S QJ no. 187, S AJ 282 (pJ *pārā-p- v. 'pay' going back to pA *bār̄∇ 'property; possess, earn', sc. to the above-mentioned pA *bāri 'property'), Mr. 684, Kenk. 453 ¶¶ The pJ verb *p̄ir̄i-p- v. 'gather, pick up' is unlikely to belong here (because of the vw. *i of the initial syll.), it probably goes back to pA *p̄ir̄U- v. 'ask (beg), try to receive' from N *p̄iro 'ask' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM aduced Tg *bara- (> Ewk bara-a, Sln barā, Neg baya, Ork bara, WrMc {Z} б̄арань 'multitude', Ewk bara-l- v. 'increase'), which is not convincing ¶¶ SDM 328 (pA *bāra 'goods', v. 'possess, earn' > M, T, Ko + err. Tg *bara- 'many; increase'), DQA no. 108, SDM97 s.v. *bār̄∇ 'goods, possess, earn', S AJ 287 [no. 268], KW 38, Rs. W 62, TL 326-7, Z 480 || D *per̄- ({ǂGS} *p-) v. 'get, obtain' > Tm p̄er̄u 'get, obtain, lay eggs', Kn p̄er- id., Tu p̄erga 'winnings made in a game', Tl p̄erayū v. 'obtain' ¶¶ D no. 4422, Km. 435 [no. 844] ¶¶ In some D lges there is homonymy and probably a merger with D *per̄- 'give birth' < N *berE?ā id. ◇ Ak -? and the pT length of the vw. *ā suggest a pN lr. The lack of vowel change *ā > e in Ak points to pS (and pN) *? or *h, while the lack of vowel lengthening in pIE *b^her- and the zero reflex in K suggest the "lightest" N lr. *?; D *-r̄- (from an intervocal *r) suggests that there was a vw. between N *? and *r ◇ IS I 176-7 [no. 8] (*b̄ari > HS, IE, ?D, A), AD GD no. 100 (IE, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 382 (*per 'take') (IE and A [mixing of reflexes of N *ba^{r̄}eri 'hold, take' and N *bār̄∇ 'give'] + err. J, Ai, Gil, CK).

225. *bU?R∇ (probably *bo?R∇) 'to dig; a pit, well' > HS *b^{r̄}u^{r̄}∇_r- > S *bu?r- 'pit, well' > BHb בור bōr 'cistern, pitfall; separate grave', Ar bu?r-at- 'fosse', Har bu?ur, būr 'deep', Grg Ch/SI/WI/Go/Z bur, Grg M b^ωzr 'pit, well', Ak būr_ru 'pit, hole; well, pond, pool', būr_rt_u 'well, cistern; fish

pond; waterhole; hole, pit', ? Gz mabārō 'means of digging'; de-labialized variant WS *bīʔir- > Ar bīʔr- 'puits', BHb בְּאֵר bə'ʔēr 'well of underground water, watering place', Ug bʔr and Ph (AkSc) bīʔrū 'well' (in place-names), Pun, IA, Nbt bʔr 'well, cistern', OA, IA אֵר bʔr id. (em.), JA אֵר bə'ʔēr-ā, Sr bērā, bīrā, Md bira, Mh bayr (pl. bə'yaʔrət) 'well'; an ambiguous case (unk. vowels): M'b br 'cistern' or 'well', OSA bʔr 'well, cistern', Cn b → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} ba-ʕi-r 'well'; WS verb *√bʔr > Ar √bʔr (ip. -bʔur-) 'creuser (un puits, une fosse)', Sb √bʔr v. 'dig a well or a cistern', Tgy √brw 'fendre le sol' ¶ KB 102, 111-12, KBR 106, 116, JH 32, HJ 141-2, 155, DR KAI III 5, A no. 488, OLS 99, Hrs G 85, BK I 78-9, 119, BGMR 25, Av. G II 123-4, Jo. M 40, L ESAC 12, L EDH 39, L EDG III 150-1, L G 328, CAD II 335-9, 342-3, Hlk no. 55, SivCR 79 || B: ETwl bbr̄w̄wt 'fosse' ¶ PGG 16 || LEC *bōr- > Sml {R} bōr- 'dig', bōr (df. bōr-ti) 'Loch, Grube', Sml C bōrān {ZMO} 'deep\large hole', {DSI} 'buca profonda, fossa; grande tana', Sml N {Abr.} bōrān 'hole in the ground'; Or {C, R} bor- (bōr-) v. 'dig', ? Or Wl {Brl.} bor-r-ačč-u 'to dig earth with horns' (of infuriated bulls) ¶ DSI 64, Abr. S 34, R SS II 87, C SE II 194, Brl. 63, ≠ AD SF 45 || Ch: WCh: Ron: Fy {J} bur 'bury, dug in', Bks {J} bur v. 'dig', DfB {J} būr, Sha {J} bur v. 'bury' || SBe: Tala yà bōrî v. 'dig' || ? BT: Krf {ChC} burré, Pr {Frz.} pūrè 'grave' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr in ChC} bōram, BtG borōne 'a well' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} bīr (bīr) v. 'dig' ¶ JI II 104-5, J R 84, 140, 213, 283, ChC s.v. 'dig' and 'a well', ChL, Frz. P 48 ¶ The glottalized b- in WCh corroborates the presence of a lr. in the HS √ ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 132 [no. 203] || IE: [1] NaIE *bʰer- v. 'dig' (× N *bōr'a' 'pierce, bore') > Arm -բիր -bīr 'auf- grabend' (in cds: գետնաբիր getn-a-bīr 'that burrows in the earth', հողաբիր hoł-a-bīr 'digging the earth'), բրեմ bʰem 'I dig, I hoe, I hollow' || L forā- v. 'bore' || Gk φάρος 'plough', φάρω 'I plough' ¶ ≈ WP II 159-61, P 133-5, WH I 481-2, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Hü. 429-30, Sl. 137 (deriving Arm -bīr, bʰem from Arm բիր bīr 'large stick, club, cudgel'), ≠ EI 549 (unc.: φάρω, L forā- and Arm bʰem < IE *bʰer- 'strike') || [2] IE {Blz.} *bʰreʔw̄ (gen. *bʰruʔnos) > NaIE *bʰrēw̄- / *bʰrēw̄-n- / *bʰru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *buʔu (K̄U) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe?') > Arm աղբիր ałbiwʰ ~ աղբեր ałbewʰ (gen. ałbewʰ) 'source, spring' (< *bʰrēwr-) || Gk φρέαρ (< *φρήαρ) / gen. φρέατος 'a well' || OIr típra 'spring' (possibly < *to-eks-bʰrēw̄) || pGmc *brunō / *brun(e)n- 'well, spring' > Gt brunna (πηνή) 'source' ({Fs.} 'Brunnen'), Gt Cr brunna

'fons', OHG *brunno*, NHG *Brunnen*, ON *brunnr* 'well, spring', AS *brunna* (× *burno*) id., 'creek'; AS *burno*, NHG *Born* 'spring, well', MLG *borne* 'creek', NE *bourne* ¶ P 144, Dv. no. 330, M K II 509–10, M E II 250–1, F II 1040–1, Hü. 415, Slr. 280–1, Me. EAC 147, Vn. T 74, Fs. 108, Vr. 61, EWA II 381–3, KM 10, Ho. 39, Ho. S 11 || K: G {DCh.} *bar-* 'dig', {NCh.} *bar-* ('копать заступом'), {Chx.} *ga-bar-*, *gada-bar-* ('das ganze Feld) umgraben'; G *bar-i* {NCh.} 'spade (заступ)', {Chx.} 'Spaten, Schaufel' ¶ DCh. 97, NCh. 149, Chx. 64–5, 67 ¶¶ Hardly here Sv *-bārǝ̃- ~ -barǝ̃- ǝ̃ -bārǝ̃-* v. 'dig, hoe' (< N **b'i'Rk|g∇* [~ **p'i'Rg∇?*] 'to dig', q.v. ffd.) || D **pōr-* ({ǝGS} **b-*) 'hole, hollow in the tree' (× N **PogUr∇* 'hollow', 'to gap', 'to be open' [a hollow], q.v. ffd.) || A: M **bürdü* (or **bürüdü?*) 'spring of water, small lake' > WrM *bürdü* {MED} 'small lake, pool', {Cev.} 'spring (of water)', HIM *бүрд* {BMR} 'small lake, puddle (created by rain), small swamp, криница', {Luv.} 'криница', Kl Ö {Rm.} *bürdü* 'Sumpf, Sumpfsee mit Quelle', Ord *bürdü* 'lac, mare' ¶ MED 1200, BMR I 304, Luv. 95, Cev. 117, KW 35 (WrM *bürdü* [spelling at variance with other sources]), Ms. O 103 || pTg **bīra* 'river, spring (Quelle)' (× N **b'u'Xra* 'watercourse, river', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ pKo {S} **ù-* 'well' > cds: MKo *ù-mír*, NKo *umul* 'well' (MKo *mir* 'water') ¶ S QK no. 884, Nam 389, MLC 1239 || ?φ pJ {S} **bì-* (– **bù-i-* – **bè-i-*) n. 'well' > OJ *wi*, MJ *wì*, JT *i* id. ¶ S QJ no. 780, Mr. 420, Kenk. 567 ¶¶ SDM 359 (pA **bīuyri* 'spring, well' > M **bürüdü*, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 162 (id.), Whtm. 139, 245 (Ko, J) ◇ K **a*, D **o* and the absence of *vw.* after **b^h-* in IE may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting a N *vw.* **o* in the first syll., while M **ü* (and presumably A **ü?*) may be due to regr. as. ◇ Blz. IELA 7 [no. 11] (HS, IE) ◇ Cf. IS I 186–7 s.v. **būrā* 'to bore, to drill' (to which IS ascribed some of the reflexes of the etymon in question).

225a. (₂?) **b^hA¹ǝ∇r∇* 'ε ungulate' > HS: S **būr_Lr-*, (d.?) **ba¹ǝr-* > Ak *būr_u* 'young calf; foal, young of quadrupeds' | Sb *b^hr* 'cattle, head of cattle; camel', Mn {MA} *b^hr* 'camel', Gz *bəṣər* 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Tgr, Tgy *bəṣəray* 'ox, bull' (→ Sa {R} *bəṣērā*, Bj {R} *bəṣ'ērāy* 'ox [Ackerstier]'), Mh {Jo.} *bəṣ'ayr* 'camel', coll. {Jo.}: Mh *ḥə-bēr*, Hrs *ḥə-byār*, Bth *ḥəbē₃r* 'camels' | BHb *bā¹ǝr-** (att. +ppa.: 3m *בְּעִירֵי בְּעִירֵי* *bəṣī₁r-ō*, 3p *בְּעִירֵי בְּעִירֵי* *bəṣī₁r-ām*) 'cattle (as property)', JA [Tg.], JEA, Sr *bəṣī₁r-ā* 'grazing animal, cattle', Ar *bəṣī₁r-* 'camel; (any) beast of burden' (→ Sq/Hrs {Jo.} *ba¹ǝr* id.) ¶ CAD II 340–2, L G 84–5, ≈ KB 136, Js. 182, BK I 142, BGMR 26, Jo. M 41 || C: Ag {Ap.} **bīr-a* > Bln, Xm {R}, Km {CR} *bīrā*

'ox, bull' (← EthS?) || HEC {Hd.} ≈ *bōra 'bull, ox' > Kmb bōra id., Sd bōr-to 'cow', Hd bāra 'young bull' ¶ Ap. IV 6, Hd. 109, AD SF 204 || B: Zng ta-barar-t 'female camel'; ??? Ah {Fc.} ə-here 'menu bétail (chèvres et moutons)', Tmz {NZ} ta-burr-it 'troupeau' ¶ NZ 94, 125, Fc. 639, Tk. LAA-1 124 [no. 145] || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *bara 'antelope' ({AD}: and 'buffalo?') > Gera bara 'buffalo', Hs bàrḗwā {Ba.} 'red-fronted or dorcas gazelle (*Gazella rufifrons*)', Ngz {Sch.} b́ŕí 'herd of animals' | P' {MSk.} bábár 'roan antelope', Sir {Sk.} babari 'dama gazelle', Cg {Sk.} burāmən 'gazelle' | Jm {Csp.} búrá, ? Grn {Csp.} mbòrò 'sheep' || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} báriē 'bull' | ?σ: Ms {Sk.} boʔora, Bnn {ChC} bàra 'antelope' || ECh: Mkl {J} búrú 'bœuf' ¶ ChC s.v. 'antelope', Stl. ZCh 154 [no. 90], Ba. 86, Abr. H 81-2, MSk. 166, Sk. NB 10-11, Lk. B s.v. báriē, J LM 70, Csp. 32, Sch. DN 16 ¶¶ ≈ Tc. LAA-1 124 [no. 145] || D *paṛṛ-({ǵGS} *b-) 'buffalo' > Tl barre 'female buffalo', Klm barre 'buffalo' ¶¶ DED no. 3321 || ?μ K: G barakēuli 'heifer, young cow' (unless a loan from an unknown source, which seems likely) ¶ Chx. 65 || ?φ A *bíra(gu) 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb etc.)' (× N *w'í'í'z̄ id., q.v. ffd.); if it is a valid cognate, the unexpected palatalized *-í- may be due to derivation (*bíra- < **bir-ya-?) or belong to the heritage of N *w'í'í'z̄ ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [no. 53] (S, C, WCh, D *paṛṛ- + unc. D *pōr 'bull', see N *p'ó'R_L_w_Δ '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine]').

225b. ₂ *bohrΔ 'loose earth, dust' > HS: S *°✓ bhr > Ar ʔabharu 'sol mou, sol doux', ?σ bahār- 'pepper' ¶ BK I 171, Hv. 49 || A: T *bōr 'dust, sand, clay, chalk', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (× N *bArΔ 'earth, land; dust', q.v.) > Tk bōr 'virgin soil', Tkm Δ bōr 'lime(stone)', CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq. Nog, Qrg bōr, Uz bwr, VTt, Bsh bur, Chv L пур, пурă, Chv Δ πορ 'chalk', Brb {Rl.} aq por. clay' (aq is 'white') Tv p'or 'clay', Yk būōr 'clay, ground', Tf bōr 'sulphureous ground (сернистые солонцы)' ¶ Acc. to S AJ 288 [no. 298], T *bōr goes back to pA *mō|ōrΔ 'sand, dust', cp. pKo *mòr(η)á̄j 'sand' ¶ Tv p'or is likely to be a loan from another T lge (because of the irreg. p'-) ¶ ET B 192-3, Ra. 72, 164, Jeg. 165, TL 100, 375-6, Rl. IV 1269, Ash. IX 293 and 301, Fed. I 444, Jeg. 165.

226. ₂ *bUhrΔ 'be light' (of color) > HS *✓ bhr v. 'be light' (of color) > CS *✓ bhr id., 'stand up as white against a darker background' > Ar ✓ bhr G (ip. -bhur-) v. 'shine, shine brightly', BHb מַבְּהִיר mab'hīr 'shining, bright', BHb בְּהִיר bā'hīr '(?) brilliant, bright' (h. l. Job 37.21: ʔōr bā'hīr hū ḥaššāḥā'kīm [KJB] 'light which is bright in the skies', [LXX] τὸ φῶς

τηλαυγής ἐστίν... 'the light which is far-shining ...'), MHb {Js.} בְּהִירָּ *bā'hīr*, בְּהִירָּ *bā'hōr* {Js.} 'white, white spot' (cloud), {Lv.} 'glanzfleckig', JA בְּהִירָּ *bəhī'rā* 'glänzend, leuchtend', Md ✓ *bhr G* v. 'illuminate'; BHb בְּהִירָּ *ba'heret* 'white patch in the skin', JA [Trg.] *bah'rā*, *bahar'tā* id., *bəhī'rā* 'light' (color), 'clear' (sky) ¶ KBR 111-12, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || NrOm: Ym (Fl.) *borō*, ? {Wdk.} *pōrō* ~ *fōrō*, {Lm.} *forō* 'white' ¶ Wdk. BY 122, 182, Lm. Y 342 || Ch *✓ *br* 'white' > CCh: MfG {Brr.} *má-bàrá* 'white, clean', Gzg D {Lk.} *babaraŋ*, Db {LnG} *mábàrín*, Gdr (Mch.) *bábara* 'white' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *bùrùwá*, Ll {Grgs} *bòré*, Kwn {J} *bàrétín*, Smr {J} *bùragé* 'white', Ke {Eb.} *gì-bìrwí* (f. *bàrwá*) 'white, light (color)' ¶ JI II 345, ChC s.v. 'white', Eb. 50, Brr. MG II 162 (connecting MfG *má-bàrá* 'white, clean' with -*p̄r-* v. 'wash'), Blz. EChWL no. 97 ||| A **b|p'uRE* > Tg **būr...* > Ewk *burbi* 'wall-eye', Nn Bk *burixə* id. ¶ STM I 111 ||| Ko {Rm.} *puru* 'white' in *puru-mʌl* 'white horse' (*mʌl* is 'horse') ¶ Rm. SKE 211, Rm. EAS I 57 ◇ The Om and Ch words may also belong to HS *✓ *brh* v. 'shine' (whence S *✓ *brh* v. 'be light' [of color], 'shine' > Ar ✓ *brh* [pf. *bariha*] v. 'be light in complexion', Gz ✓ *brh* v. 'shine', 'be light' [of color], *bārūh* 'light' [color], 'bright' [KB 108, BK I 118-19, 170-1, L G 103-4]); EthS > Sa {R} ✓ *brh* v. 'be light' [of color], *bīrīh* 'light' [color]) (< N **bARh'é'* 'to shine' [q.v.]).

227. (₂?) **bŭ'h'R∇* 'blow, inflate, (→ ?) swell' > HS: C: SC {E} **búr-* v. 'blow' (of wind) (× N **buR∇*, **buR_L∇*, **K'∇* 'storm, stormy wind') > Kz {E} *buł-* v. 'blow' (of wind), Alg {E} *bur-* v. 'fan' ||| DhI {EEN} *búri* 'fart' (*b* < ***b?* < **b_L∇_Lh?*) ||| EC: Sml *barar-* 'swell (up)', {DSI} 'gonfiarsi', Boni {Hn.} *barp̄ēr-* 'swell' ¶ E SC 140, EEN 34, ZMO 32, DSI 45, Hn. S 53 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} *bòrè* v. 'blow (blasen)', Kwn {J} *bòré*, EDng {Fd.} *ábìrè* 'blow' (wind) ||| CCh: Msg {Dec.} *barawe* 'wind', {Mch.} *bérber* id., Msg P {Trn.} *baraway* 'tornado sèche', Msg Ng {Rlf.} *berbere* 'wind', Mbara {TrnSL} *bàràwáy* 'tornado', Ms {Caît.} *biri* 'orage'. ? Glv *mbírànt* 'blow' ¶ JI II 33, ChC s.v. 'blow' and 'wind', Lk. DQM 47, Trn. LM 76, TrnSL 254, Caît. 38, Fd. 2 ||| B: Wrg *bbarbar* 'monter \ se gonfler en fermentant' (pâte) ¶ NZ I 94 || ?σ S *°✓ *bhr* > Ar ✓ *bhr G* ps. 'be out of breath', *buhr-* 'the state of being out of breath, breathlessness, short-breathing' ¶ Ln. 265, BK I 170-1 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 129 [no. 180] ||| K: GZ **bēr-* 'blow, inflate, distend' > G *ber-* v. id. (aor. -*ber-e* < **-bēr-e*, / GM S 250, GM SAKS 70-1), Lz *bar-*, Mg (m) *bar-* v. 'blow, inflate' ¶ IS I 193, K 50, K² 11, Schm. 97, Chik. 252 ||| IE: Clt {Matas.} **burro-* 'inflated, swollen' > Mİr *borr* id., MW *bwr̄r* ~

bwr 'fat, strong, big', OCrn [ʏ] bor 'pinguis' ¶ Matas. E 84 || ? A: M: WrM {MED} bartaira- 'swell, distend (as eyes, face etc.)' ¶ MED 89.

228. *b¹uX∇r∇ 'back, rear' > U *pur∇- 'rear part, behind' > pOs *p+r > Os: V p+r, D pir, Kz pīr 'hinter etw. befindlich, Raum hinter etw.' | Hg far 'Arschbacken, Hinterteil, Gesäß', 'hindquarters, (horse's) croup, (person's) posterior', farol- 'rückwärts gehen' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} purdā- 'sich nach hinten \ gegen den Strich wenden' (z. B. die Strömung, die Haare bei einem gereizten Tier), purdārī? 'zurück', Slq Tm {KD} pāran- 'um-, zurück-kehren\-gehen, sich wenden' ¶¶ UEW 407, MF 182-3, EWU 356, Lh. 366 || D (att. in SD) *puḫ- ({ʔGS} *p-) 'buttocks, anus' > Tm pūr_u 'anus', Ml pūr_u, pūr_{am} 'buttocks, vulva', Kdg pu_ri 'vulva' ¶ D no. 4379 (unconvincingly adducing Tu pūr_ṭi 'vulva' and Tl puḫa 'anus', that in my opinion belong to N *pu_uw_ṭṭE or *pu_uw_ṭṭE 'hole' [(in descending lges] → 'vulva, anus'), as well as the etymologically unclear Brh pundū 'bottom of a receptacle, buttocks, anus') || HS **√bXr 'back, back part of the body' > B *°√bXr (or *√bZr) > Ah a-bāhar (pl. ibūhār) 'dos nu d'un animal portant une charge', əbhər '(se) mettre à cru sur le dos (d'un animal)' ¶ Fc. 40, Pr. H 34 [no. 23], NZ 40 || CCh: Db {LnG} mbūr, mbūr 'buttocks', Gv {ChL} mbūr_{tā}, mbūr_{tè}, Dgh {Frk} kfímbūr_{tè} id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'buttocks', ChL ◇ D *-ḫ- (a regular reflex of the N intervocalic *-r-) suggests the presenc of a vw. before N *-r-.

229. *bār?∇ 'give' > HS: S *°√br? > Ar {Dz.} √br? G 'hand over' ('livrer, remettre, céder') ¶ Dz. I 62 || Ch *√br ({Nw.} *barə, {JS} *√br) v. 'give' > WCh {Stl.} *bar- > BT: Krkr {Lk., J} bar-, Krf (imv.) bārí 'give!'; after Stl. ZCh: Bl, Ngm bar, Glm bār, Gera bār 'give' | pSBc {Stl.} *bər > Grn {Sh.} būr, Grn Mb {Sh.}, Tule {Sh.} bór, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.}, Zar K/GL/L {Sh.} vór, Zar {IL} vór id. | Ngz {Sch.} bārú id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} vəri id. | McMdr: Gdf {Sh.} bar-, Gv {ChL} bāránà, Dgh {Frk} bîré, bírbgè, Nkc {ChL} bārbìgá id. || Ech: Mu {Lk.} bārá, {J, Lk.} bār, Kjr buruno, ? Kjk {DB} fāro, Bdy bër, Jg {J} bir, Brg {J} bîrî, EDng {Fd.} bère, Mgm {J} bîr-áw id. ¶ JI I 76 and II 158-9, ChC s.v. 'give', Stl. ZCh 154 [no. 88], Nw. no. 57, JS 116, JA LM 70, Sh. SB 35, Sch. DN 22, DB s.v. Kjk fāro, Blz. EChWL no. 34 || K ≈ *bar- > G (da-)bar- 'hinterlassen (z. B. Auftrag)', {DCh.} 'entrust, commission so. (to do sth.), charge (with a task)', Sv UB {GP} li-bräy-e v. 'to hand over', Sv {Ni.} -bräe 'give' ¶¶ Chx. 64, DCh. 97, Ni. s.v. 'дать', GP 148 || A *bār∇ v. 'give' > T *bār∇ v. 'give' > OT ber- (= {Cl.} bēr-), Tkm ber-, Az ver-, Afsh vēr-, Tk SW vēr, Yk bīār-, Chv L παρ- id.

¶ Acc. to ADb. SR-D and Pp. J 54, Yk -îâ- and Chv -a- suggest pT *-ā- ¶ IS suggested a long vw. and explained the Tkm short e by the infl. of r ¶ Rs. W 70, Cl. 354-5, S AJ 178 [no. 34], ADb. SR-D 57-8, Ash. IX 102-6, Jeg. 143, Fed. I 384-5, Jeg. 143 ¶¶ A highly questionable cognate: Tg *bū- 'give' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn bū- (high series of vw. harmony), Lm bō-, WrMc {Z} b̄y- id. ¶ STM I 99, Z 537 ¶¶ SDM 353 (pA *b̄jōr'e' 'give, take, collect' > T + qu. Tg *bū- 'give' and err. pJ *p̄irí-p- v. 'gather, pick up'; the rec. of pA {SDM} *-jō- is based on the qu. adduction of Tg *bū- and the err. adduction of pJ *p̄irí-p- [going back to pA *p̄irU(ke)- v. 'ask, try to receive, beg' < N *piro (Kæ) 'ask']), DQA no. 154, S AJ 282 || D (in McTm) *parič- 'gift' > Tm paricu, paricil 'gift, donation, present', pariyaṃ ~ paricaṃ 'brideprice, hire of a prostitute', Ml pariyaṃ 'token given by bridegroom to bride' ¶ D *-r- < N *-rʔ- ¶ D no. 3970 || Add. source of Sl *b̄ra-ti 'to gather, to take' (cf. N *baʔ'eri 'hold, take' > IE *b̄her- v. 'take, bring, carry') ◇ IS I 177-8 [no. 10] (*b̄e'rH'ū 'give' > S, T, ?K) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 382 (*per 'take') ([mixing of reflexes of N *b̄arʔ and N *baʔ'eri 'hold, take'] + err. IE, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

230. *berEʔa 'to give birth to; child' > HS: S: [1] WS *bar- 'son' > Aram bar, Mh cs. b̄r, abs. ḥ̄z-brē, Jb C b̄er id.; for pS we may reconstruct a suppletion system: sg. *bar- ~ *bin- 'son', pl. *ban- + pl. ending (see N *beñ|ñ̄ 'younger relative'); the suppletion pair *bar-/ *ban- is preserved in Aram and SS (OSA/Mh/Jb/Sq) | [2] ? WS *√brʔ v. 'give birth to, create' (or SS *√brw 'give birth', WS *√brʔ 'create') > Mh {Jo.} √brw (pf. b̄rō), Jb C √brw (pf. 'biri), Sq {L} √brʔ|w (pf. bere) v. 'give birth', Sb brw 'child, son, offspring', Hb, Aram, Ar √brʔ v. 'create', OSA √brʔ v. 'build, create' (in Hb, Aram, Ar and OSA a coalescence with different roots is almost certain) ¶ Jo. J 28, Jo. M 54, KB 146-7, KBR 153-4, BGMR 30, 32, Bll. 57, Av. G II 176-7, 184 || EC: Rn b̄âr 'brother-in-law, wife's brother' (← *'brother' ← *'born one'; σ≡: below NaIE *b̄hrāter-) ¶ PG 72 || WCh: Fy {J} ḥ̄arà 'Kind, Kleines' ¶ J R 84, JI II 74, ChC s.v. 'child' ¶ ḥ̄ due to mt.: **b̄rʔ > **b̄r > ḥ̄arà? || +.ext.: B *√br̄ > Ah a-barad̄ 'boy', ta-barat 'girl', ETwl/Ty a-bar̄d̄ 'boy, young man', Gh abarad̄ 'boy' ¶ Fc. 86-7, GhA 9, NZ 103 || K *°b̄e'r- 'child' > Lz bere 'child, son', Mg ber- 'son' in family names (beria 'Beria', gigi-beria 'Gigiberia' etc.); ?φ G I b̄yari 'child' ¶ Chik. 21-2, Chx. 126 || IE: NaIE *b̄her-/ *b̄h̄r- v. 'give birth', 'child', {EI} *b̄her- 'bear a child' > Gt inf.

baíran (· τίκτειν) 'gebären', OHG, AS inf. *beran*, OHG, OSx inf. *gi-beran*, NHG inf. *gebären* 'to give birth to', NE *bear* 'give birth', Gt *bērusjōs* pl. (· γονεῖς) 'Eltern'; ⇨ Gmc **burþiz* 'birth' > ON *byrð* (⇨ ME *birthe*, NE *birth*), Dn *byrd*, AS *ze-byrd*, OHG *burt*, *giburt*, NHG *Geburt* id., Gt *ga-baúrps* (· γένεσις, γενετή, γένος, πατήρ) 'Geburt, Abstammung, Geschlecht, Geburtsland'; Gt *baúr* (· γεννητός) 'der Geborene', ON *burrr* 'son', AS *byre* 'son, child' ||| pAl {O} **bira* > Al *bir* 'son' ||| ⇨ (prtc.) **b^her-no-* 'foetus, child' > Gmc {ZlZ.} **barnan* 'child' > Gt *barn* (· παιδίον, τέκνον, βρέφος) 'Kind', ON, OHG, OSx *barn*, AS *bearn* 'child' ||| Ltv *bērnis* 'child', Lt *bėrnas* 'fellow, lad, chap; farm labourer' ||| pAl {O} **barnā* > Al *barrē* 'foetus' ||| ⇨ IE **b^hreH-tēr* ({EI} **b^hreh_htēr*) > NaIE **b^hrā-ter-* (nom. **b^hrātēr* / obl. **b^hrāt(er)-*) 'kinsman of ego's generation and of the same exogamous moiety' → 'brother' (← *'born one', σ≡: above Rn *bār*) > OI **b^hrātār-* (nom. **b^hrātā*), Av, OPrs, KhS *brātār-*, CINPrs *برادر* *birādar*, NPrs *berōdār*, Psh *wrōr* 'brother', Oss (mt.): D *ärvadä* id., I *ärvad* 'kinsman, brother' ||| Gk I [Hs.] *φρήτηρ* 'brother', Gk A *φράτηρ, φράτωρ* 'kinsman of the same phratría' ||| Arm *եղբայր* *ełbayr* 'brother' ||| Phr *βρατερε* dat. 'to (the) brother' ||| Vn *vhraterēi* id. (dat.) ||| L *frāter*, Um *FRATER* 'brother', Osc *fratrúm* gen. pl. 'of brothers' ||| Clt {Matas.} **brātīr* 'brother' > OIr *bráthir*, MW *brawt* (pl. *brodyr*), W *brawd* (pl. *brodyr*), MCm *braud*, OCm, Cm *broder* (bf. from pl. *breder*), OBr *brotr*, MBr *breuzr*, Br {Hm.} *breur* (pl. *breudeur*) 'brother' ||| Gt *brōþar*, ON *bróðir*, Nr, Sw, Dn *broder*, OHG *bruoder*, NHG *Bruder*, OSx *brōthar*, AS *brōðor* id., NE *brother* ||| Pru *brāti* (voc. *brote*), Lt (← dim.) *broterė̃lis* 'brother', Ltv Δ {ME} *brātārītis* 'Brüderchen' ({P}: 'lieber Bruder!'); shortened form: Lt *brólis*, Ltv *brālis* 'brother' | SI **brātrь* id. > OCS *братръ* *bratrъ*, Slv *brāter*, OCz, Cz, HLs *bratr*, Slk *brat(er)*, LLs *bratš*; SI **brātь* id. > OCS *братъ* *bratъ*, Blg, R, Uk *брат*, SCr *brāt*, Slv *brát*, Cz π , Δ , Slk, P *brat* ||| Tc: A *pracar* (du. *pratri*), B *procer* 'brother' ||| Possibly also L *forda* 'pregnant' (of animals), OIr *birít* 'sow' (acc. to Vn., from 'pregnant'), combrít 'féconde, prolifique', SI **berdjā* 'pregnant' > ChS *брѣждь* *brěždь*, RChS *брѣжни* *brězii*, SCr *brědja* 'pregnant', Slv *bréja*, Cz *březí* 'pregnant' (of animals), R Δ *бережая*, Uk *бережа* 'pregnant' (of a mare), Blr *берэжа* 'pregnant'

mare' (× sds from *b^her- 'carry' < N *ba^ʔ'eri 'hold, take' [q.v.]) ¶ IS I 32 ¶ ≈ P 128-31, 163-4, ≈ EI 56 (no distinction between *b^her- 'bear [a child]' and *b^her- 'carry'), EI 84, 333, M K II 530-1, M E I 328-9 and II 280-1, Mrg. 90, Bai. 313, Ab. II 437-8, F II 1039-40, ≈ WH I 527, 541-2, Pln. II 683, 736, Vn. B 52-3, 80-1 and C 168, Matas. E 74, Hm. 108, YGM-1 53, Hm. 108, Zlz. M I no. 4.5, Fs. 75, 82, 84-5, 87-8, 106-7, 175, Vr. 27, 65, 67-8, Ho. 18, 21, 36, 40, Ho. S 5-6, 10, OsS 41, 50, 86, 240, EWA I 346-8, 481-2, II 385-8, 472, Kb. 58, 65, 125, 137, 337, KM 103-4, 237-8, Frn. 40, 59-60, O 19, 26, ESSJ I 188-9, II 238 and III 7-11, StSS 101, Glh. 146-7, Slr. 37, Wn. I 387, Ad. 421-2 || ?σ U: pBF *perēh- 'family' (← 'children [of...]) > F per he, Es pere, Krl perēh, Vo pere 'family' ¶ SK 523, SSA II 339 || D *per̥- ({{θGS}} *p-) v. 'beget, bear (a young)' > Tm per̥u id., Ml per̥uka v. 'bear, bring forth', p̥i̥r̥appu, p̥i̥r̥avi 'birth', Kt p̥erv- v. 'be born', Td p̥erp, p̥er 'act of birth', Kdg p̥er- v. 'give birth' ¶¶ D no. 4422 ¶¶ × D *per̥- v. 'get' (< N *ba^ʔ'eri) ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Blz.) SD *pār- 'child, young of an animal', because of the vw. *ā and *-r- (regularly from N *r-clusters) (see N *P_{AR}̥_ʔ̥ 'to bring forth, to give birth', 'young of animals', q.v.) || A ?σ *b|p'ære 'daughter-in-law' (< pre-A 'girl?') > M *ber̥i 'daughter-in-law; bride' > WrM {MED} ber̥i, HIM {MED, BMR} бэр̥ id., MM ber̥i [HI] id., 'younger brother's wife', [S] 'daughter-in-law', [MA] 'bride', Dg {Mr.} ber̥i 'bride; man's daughter-in-law', Dg {T}, Brt бэри, Kl {KRS} бер̥ 'son's \ younger brother's wife, young married woman', {Rm.} бер̥а 'Braut, Schwiegertochter, Frau des Sohnes', WrO {Krg.} ber̥i 'bride, wife', ShY {Ktw.} b̥ēr̥i 'belle-fille', Mnr H {SM} b̥ī̥er̥i 'épouse, femme', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} b̥ḁir̥ī 'bride', Ord b̥ere 'bru, femme du fils'; ⇨ M *ber̥i-gen 'elder brother's wife' > MM [HI] ber̥gen id., [S] ber̥(i)gen 'sister-in-law (Schwägerin)', [IM] ber̥igen 'bride', [MA] ber̥igen ber̥i 'younger daughter-in-law, elder brother's wife', HIM {BMR} бер̥гэн, Brt бер̥игэн 'elder brother's wife', Kl {KRS} бер̥гн id., 'son's wife', {Rm.} бер̥гн 'Frau des älteren Bruders oder Schwagers; Schwägerin', WrO {Krg.} бер̥ге(н) 'sister\daughter-in-law, brother's wife, young married woman', Dg {Mr.} ber̥egen 'sister-in-law', Dg {T} бэригэн, Dx {T} бэгэн 'elder brother's wife', Ord b̥ergen 'femme d'un frère plus agé'; sx *-gen like in *eme-gen 'old woman, old wife', *kür-gen 'son-\brother-in-law', *ebü-gen 'old man', {Rm.} *eli-gen 'relatives-in-law'; M ⇨ Yk b̥ärgän ~ märgän 'husband's brother's wife', Ewk Brg бэригэу 'brother's wife', WrMc {Z} бэр̥ху 'husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger

sister' ¶ MED 99, BMR I 315, Chr. 132, Krg. 342-3, KRS 95, KW 42, H 14-15, Pp. MA 118, 433, SM 25, Mr. D 12, Ms. H 40, Ms. O 66, Ktw. OuJ 444, T DnJ 113, T DgJ 126, Wr. B 122, STM I 126, Z 421 || Tg *bener 'younger relative-in-law' (contamination with N *ben|ń ▽ 'younger relative', q.v. ffd.) || pJ *bèté- 'junges Mädchen (девушка)' > OJ woto-mye, MJ wòtómé id., JT otóme ~ òtome, JK òtómè, J Kg otomé {Kenk.} 'virgin, maiden, made' ¶ Mr. 513, Kenk. 1469 ¶¶ SDM 339 (pA *bèré 'daughter-in-law' > Tg, M *ber i, J), DQA no. 122 (pA *bèré 'daughter-in-law, younger relative-in-law') ◇ IS I no. 32 (*b r r r 'child' > HS [S, B, dubious C cognates], K, IE), ≈ Blz. DA 156 [no. 44] and Blz. NDA no. 43 (adding WCh and unconvincingly D *pār- 'child, young of an animal') ◇ S *✓br? and WCh (Fy b̄arà 'Kind, Kleines' < **b? ▽ r < **b ▽ r?) point to a lr. *? within the N word. This N lr. is also responsible for the NaIE vowel lengthening in *b^hrā-ter and for the interconsonantal zero reflex in *b^her-no-. D *-r- suggests that N *-r- was between vowels. The solution is N *berE?a (*-E- in the light of pBF *pereh- and A *b|p'ære).

231. *bārŷâ 'bud, leaf' > HS: S (+ext.) *°b|urŷ ▽ m > Ar burŷam- 'bud' ¶ BK I 113 || ECh: Mu {Lk., J} b̄eríyò (pl. b̄èrè), Mjl {Blz.} ber r î o 'leaf' ¶ Lk. ZSS 180, ChC s.v. 'leaf', Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf' ¶ Mu b̄er- < **b? ▽ r- < (mt.) **b ▽ r?- < *b ▽ rŷ- || ? B: Kb bbærβar ~ βærβar 'être feuillu, former rideau' ¶ Dl. 36 || IE: Ht p a r s d u {Frd.} 'bud, sprout', {Ts.} 'sprout', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N *por ▽ 'leaf', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 190-1 || U: FU *pär ▽ 'bud' (× N *pûHr ▽ 'fruit?') > Chr par'ðā 'bud', Chr H {Rm.} pärtñä 'catkin (on birch trees)', {Ep.} pärtñä 'bud', {Rm.} pärcä 'catkin (on birch trees\willows), bud', {Ep.} pärcä 'the part of tree branches that carries buds' || pVg *pēr- or *pär- > Vg T {Kn.} pēr 'cone (of a birch tree, of an aspen)', {MK} pēr 'bud' | Hg b̄erke 'bud, catkin on trees' ¶ MF 106-7, Coll. CG 123-4, Rm. BT 99, Ep. 89, Ü 153, MK 431 (hyp.: Vg ← Tatar, cp. VTt б̄əpə b̄ər̄b and Tlt pür 'bud' [Rl. IV 1397]) || A: NaT *b|pür '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' and M *borguc' ▽ 'cone of trees' (× N *por ▽ 'leaf', q.v. ffd.; T *ü and M *o belong to the heritage of N *por ▽).

232. *boRûŷ ▽ (or *baRûŷ ▽) 'trunk' (→ 'log') > HS: S *burŷ- ~ *burāŷ- 'reed' > Gz b̄ərŷ 'reed', Ak bur ŷ 'reed mat' (> Sr b̄ūrā id.) ¶ Sd. 141-2, L G O11-O12, Br. 95 || B *-būray 'stick' > Gd ta-bwri-t (pl. ta-bwray), Ah tã-būri-t, Gh ta-buray-t id., WTwl, Ty ə-borāy 'bâton attaché au piège par une corde pour empêcher l'animal de s'enfuir' ¶ Lf. II no. O135, Fc. 81, GhA 11, NZ 125 || ?φ Eg N br ŷ ε 'stick', {Hoch} 'a type of wood used in

chariots', {DLE} 'chariot' ¶ EG I 465, DLE I 158, ≈ Hoch 100-1 (Eg ← *Sh*), Tk. II 258-9 ¶ The loss of the expected final *ʕ still needs elucidation ¶¶ SSAAJ I 87 [no. 107], OS no. 228, Tk. AANM 2 || IE: NaIE *bʰruHχ- ~ *bʰreHχw- > NaIE *bʰrū- ~ *bʰrēu- 'log' > ON brú 'bridge', ON bryggja, Sw brygga 'bridge; landing place, embankment (Hafendamm)', NNr bryggja, Dn brygge 'landing stage', OHG brugga, brucka, Δ prucca, MHG brucke, brücke, NHG Brücke, OSx bruggia, AS brycǰ 'bridge', NE bridge; NGr B Bruck 'Bretterbank am Ofen', NGr Sw brügi 'Holzgerüst' ||| Clt {Matas.} *brīwā- 'bridge' > Gl [ʕ] brío 'ponte', Briua brīva 'bridge' (< *bʰrēwa), preserved in Latin place names (Wb. I 542), such as Briua 'Brive-la-Gaillarde', Briua Sugnutia 'Brèves' etc. ||| Sl *brъvъ, {Sls.} *brъvъ 'trunk, log' > Blg Δ брѡв ~ брѡф 'tree used as a bridge across a river/stream; small bridge, crossbeam', SCr br̆v 'small bridge, crossbeam', Δ brv 'small bridge; log as a bridge across a river', Slv br̆v 'footbridge, gangway, gangplank', OR, RChS брѡвь brъvъ, брѡвь brъvъ 'log', бєрѡвь берvъ 'raft, embankment dam', OCz брѣв 'small bridge', Uk бер 'small wooden bridge'; ⇨ Sl *brъvъno ~ *brъvъnъ ~ *brъvъna (= {Sls.} *brъvъno) 'log' > OCS брѡвьно brъvъno ~ {StSS} брѡвьно brъvъno 'бревно, beam, log', Blg брѡв'но, 'бѡрвен, R брев'но 'log, beam', SCr brvno 'log; wooden footbridge, plank bridge', OP birzwno, P bierwiono, bierzwiono, bierzwno 'rafter, beam' ¶ P 173, Vr. 59, 60-1, OsS 86, Kb. 122, Ho. 37, Ho. S 10, Billy 35, LP § 18, ESSJ III 71-3, Bern. I 92, Brü. 26, SPS I 400-1, StSS 102, Glh. 153, Drd. 44, Kmc 525, Matas. E 79 ||| U: FU *pora 'logs used as a raft/bridge, a board' > pLp {Lr.} *pōrēvē > Lp: N {N} boar're 'logs placed together to form a primitive bridge over a river/lake; a board used as a floating raft', L {LLO} parrē 'raft', T {Gn.} poarrew 'Brett' || Prm {LG} *pur 'raft, ferry' > Vt pur id., Z pur 'raft', Z LL pur 'raft, ferry' ||| ObU *pōrā 'raft' > pVg *pārā > Vg: T parā, P/NV/SV/LL/ML/UL pōra, Ss pōra id.; pOs *pāra ({Hl.} *pāra) > Os: V/Ty/Y pāra, Vy pāra, K/O pār, Kz pōr id. ¶ Es parv 'ferry' may go back to the merger of this stem with U *parwa 'Haufen, Gruppe' (UEW 356-7) ¶ Coll. 46, UEW 395-6, Lr. no. 974, Lgc. no. 5148, LG 232-3, Ht. 179 [no. 534], Db. OS xi, It. no. 35 ||| ?σ D *paru|inč- ({ʕGS} *p-) 'hilt of a sword' > Tm parínču, Ml prińńu, Tl parūzu id. ¶¶ D *-r- < *-rH- < N *-Rûŷ- ¶¶ D no. 3969 ◇ If the questionable D cognate is rejected, the N vw. of the first syll. is *o, and the N etymon is *boRûŷv.

But if *o in FU *pora is due to the infl. of *p-, the D root and Es p a r v may be interpreted as pointing to a N *a (N *baRûŷ ▽) ◇ IS MS 332 (IE, U), AD GD 12 (IE, U), AD NM 67 [no. 84].

233. *bôri'ÿ'U 'loose earth, dust, (?) sand' > K *°bu|irÿw- 'dust' > Sv: UB {TK, GP), LB {TK}, L {TK, Dn} birÿw, LB/Ln {TK} biÿw, UB/L {TK, Dn.} burÿwīr, Ln {TK} buÿwīr 'dust', Sv UB {IS ← ?} burÿw- 'raise dust' ¶ TK 154, GP 91, Ni. s.v. 'пыль', Dn. s.v. mirÿv and burÿvīr || **HS: C** {AD} *bUrŷ- 'sand, dust' (× N *bAr ▽ 'earth, land; dust'?) > Bj {Rop.} būr 'earth, land', {R} būr 'Erde, Boden; Gebiet, Land', Bj A {AD} f. tō 'būr 'earth', m. pō 'būr 'sands, sandy country, semidesert' (with articles tō f. and pō m.) ||| EC: Sml {ZMO} burŷo 'sand hill, dune', Sml N {Abr.} búrŷo 'sand dune', {R} burŷo 'sand', Sa {R} burē, {CR} būrē 'sand', ? Sd Hb {C} berrinō 'dust'; Af {PH} búrta 'soil', Arr bōre 'earth' ¶ AD SF 315, ZMO 47, PH 74, Hw. A 349, PH 74, Rop. 163, R WBd 50, Blz. CL 177 || Ch *bur ▽ > WCh {Stl.} *bur ▽ 'sand, dust' > Su bur id., 'ash', Ang {Gr.} bur 'dust' | Ron {J}: Bks, DfB búrà id. ||| CCh: Lgn {Lk.} 'būra 'sand, dust' | McMs: Zm bir, Lame bùrímí 'dust' ||| ECh: Mgm {J} bùrúntùllé, EDng {Fd.} búrintàl pl. (sg. r. búrintìlò) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase *°bôri'ÿ'U nu dŷHí|ŷ with *dŷHí|ŷ 'dust') | Cf. also Ch *✓brbr 'dust' (< N *bAr ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ JI II 280-1, Stl. ZCh 157-8 [no. 117], ChC s.v. 'dust', ChL, JA LM 72, J R 140, 213, Fd. 101, Gr. LC 299 || **U** *por ▽ 'dust, sand' > F poro, Krl, Vo poro 'dregs, dust, ashes', ?σ Es por i, Δ pōri 'mud, mire', {W} 'dünnere Kot, Dreck' | ? Chr L ing. puraka'naš 'to be(come) covered with dust' ||| Vg: LK pârš, N pors 'rubbish' (d. with a sx) || Sm: Kms pûre 'sand' ¶ SK 604-5, SSA II 399, W ESS 847, ≈ LG 233, Coll. 50, MRS 469, Hal. USz III 443-4 || **A** *bur- 'dust, smoke', *bur ▽-Ki- 'dust' > NaT: [1] *bu;:r 'dust, soot' [{SDM95} *bur(ū)] > Qrg bir, Xk pir 'fine dust (in corn, on clothes)', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} pur 'Asche, die vom Feuer aufgewirbelt wird und wie Spinnweben am Dache hängen bleibt', Tv b_uru-la- 'aufsteigen' (der Rauch), 'клубиться' (о дыме), {Rs. ← ?} b_uru 'smoke, dust', Tf {Ra.} bir 'soot (suie, noir de fumée)', SbTt Bkl pir, SbTt Tö por 'soot' (× pT *bōr 'dust, sand'?), ?φ SbTt EuCh pirim 'soot', SbTt Tm burim 'smoke, soot', ?σ Yk burūō 'smoke (дым, чад)', [2] AdS of NaT *bōr 'dust, sand, clay, chalk', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (see N *bohr ▽ 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Rs. W 89, Jud. 171, Rl. IV 1364, Ra. 167, BIG 170, Tm. 47, 175, 181, Pek. 570, TvR 123 || M *burgi- v. 'rise' (of dust, smoke) (× N *bu'ru (K̄U) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) || Tg *bure-ki 'dust' >

Orc, Ul burзxi, Nn Nh burзxi id., WrMc {Z} бураки 'dust' ('пыль, прах') ¶ STM I 113, On. 83, Z 539 ¶¶ SDM 375-6 (pA *bóru|a|o 'dust, smoke', [err.] 'whirlwind' [belonging to N *buR∇ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.] > Tg *bure-ki, M *burgi- ~ *bürgi- 'rise' [of dust, smoke], T *bur-uk 'dust' + unc. pKo *pàràm 'wind' [going back to N buR∇ 'storm, stormy wind'], DQA no. 194 (id.), Rs. W 89, S AJ 193 [no. 188], 255 [no. 111], 224 [no. 281], 288, STM I 113 ¶¶ Tg *bure-ki suggests that M *burgi- goes back to pA *bur∇-ki- || D *pūr-/puṛ- ({{θGS}} *b-) 'dust, earth' > Tm pūr̄i 'powder, dust, sacred ashes', pūr̄ti 'dust', pur̄uti dust, powder, dry earth', Ml pūr̄i, pur̄uti 'dust, earth put to the roots of trees', Tl būd̄ida 'ashes', Klm būd̄di 'ash', ? Prj por̄mil 'rubbish', Mlt pors̄i 'sweepings' ¶¶ D no. 4316 ◇ D *-r̄∇ < **-ry∇ < N *-ri'γ'U ◇ IS I 187-8 (*bur(H)∇/*bor(H)∇ 'loose earth, dust', corresponding to our two etymons: N *bōri'γ'U and N *bAr∇ 'earth' [q.v.]), Rs. W 89 (F, T).

234. *bARh'ê' 'to shine' > HS *✓brh > WS *✓brh > Ar ✓brh G (pf. bariha, ip. -brah-) v. 'be(come) white', barahrah-at- 'a white girl\female\ woman', Gz ✓brh G (pf. barha, js. -brāh) v. 'shine, be bright', Tgr, Tgy ✓brh id. (whence Bln {R} barh- 'licht werden'), Gz bārhan 'light, brightness'] cp. CS *✓bhr 'be light' (of color), 'stand up as white against a darker background' < N *bUhr∇ 'be light' (of color) (q.v. ffd.) ¶ KBR 111-12, L G 103-4, Fr. I 115, Ln. 196, 265, Lv. I 197 || ?φ Eg L b̄x̄ {EG} 'aufgehen' (Sonne), 'hell glänzen' (Milch) ¶ EG I 423, Tk. II 83-4 || EC *✓br? (~ *✓brØ) > Or {Grg.} bari?- v. 'break' (day), barī 'morning', Or B {Sr.} barī id., 'dawn', bari- v. 'dawn', 'break' (day), Kmb {L} birre? v. 'clear up' (weather), Sa {R} bera 'morning, tomorrow', Af {PH} 'bēra 'tomorrow', Sml {DSI} beri- v. 'dawn', {DSI, ZMO} beri 'day', berri 'tomorrow', Sml N {Abr.} wāgu wā beriyayya 'the day is dawning', Rn {PG} báryò 'early dawn', Arr {Hw.} barrí 'dawn, tomorrow', Bs ge-bar-i, Dsn bér-ikà, Elm b̄ár-ri 'tomorrow', Sml bér-i 'east', Or bar-i, Kns, Gdl par- v. 'dawn', Elm b̄úr-re 'morning' ¶ EC *?/Ø is a reg. reflex of HS *h (sc. it corresponds to S *h), F AD WIL 630-1 ¶ AD SF 40, Bl. 151, Grg. 41, Sr. 271, Hw. A 346, ZMO 38, DSI 55, Abr. S 31, PG 75 ¶¶ Dk. p.c. → AD SF 40 (C, S *✓bhr), L G 104 (C, S ✓brh) || IE *bher₁H_X- (= *bherH̄-?) > NaIE *bher₁ə₁- 'shine (glänzen)' (× IE *bher- 'brown' < N *boŕ₁?₁ú 'brown, yellow') > OSx, MLG, AS brūn 'shining (glänzend)', ON brunn id., 'polished' || IE *bherH̄- +ext. > NaIE *bhrē-ḡ- ({{EI}} IE *bherH̄-ḡ- 'shine') > OI 'bhrājatē 'shines, beams, glitters', bhrāj- 'Glanz', Av brāzaⁱt i

'beams, glitters', NPrs بَرَان bārān 'ornament, decoration; beauty', {Vl.} 'ornatio, pulchritudo, bonitas', inf. بَرَانِيدَن bārānīdān 'to decorate, to render beautiful\good' ||| Clt {Matas.} *berxto- 'beautiful' ({Matas.} adj. 'bright, beautiful') > MW berth 'beautiful, fine, rich', MBr berz, Br berzh 'prosperity' ||| Lt inf. bréks̄ti (pres. bréks̄t-) 'to dawn', 'to break' (the day) | Sl *brěskъ 'dawn' > Slv brēsk, Slk bresk, P brzask id.; Sl inf. *brěskati se ~ *brěščiti se > Slv Δ inf. brēckati se 'to dawn', P † inf. brzeszczy się 'it dawns'; *brězъ ~ *brězga > ChS, OR БРѢЗГЪ brězъ, OCz březk, R Δ брезг, брезга 'dawn'; Sl inf. *brěžiti ~ *brěžati > Slv Δ inf. breždžíti, bréžati, brez(d)étì, Cz Δ inf. břížiti se, Slk inf. brieždit' sa, P inf. brzeždžyc się 'to dawn', Plb brezdojě 'it begins to dawn', R inf. брезжить, OCz inf. břěžditi se 'to begin to dawn' ¶ P 136-7, EI 513-14, M K II 529-32, M E II 279-80, Horn 45, Vl. I 209-10, Sg. 167-8, OsS 87, EWA II 375, Ho. 36, Vr. 61, Wn. I 34, Frn. 55-6, ESSJ III 16-20, Matas. E 63-4, Hm. 78 || D *par- ({ǵGS} *p-) v. 'dawn, shine' > Kt par par in- (/ par par id-) 'become a little light before dawn' (of a country {na·r̄}), Kn pare v. 'dawn', OTI {Km.} parāgu v. 'shine', Kui pari inba v. 'dawn', 'break' (dawn), Mlt parċe v. 'shine brightly, be seen clearly' ¶¶ D *par- < N *-Rh- ¶¶ D no. 3980, Km. 426 [no. 797].

235. ₂ *bAR^h∇ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love') > HS: S *√br^h|r¹ G ≈ be hungry' (→ 'love') > OA, Ak ∇ inf. barû 'be hungry, starve', Ar √brr G 'be good/pious; love (one's parents)' ¶ BK I 103-4, CAD II 118-20 || ? B *√βrH 'love, want' > Gd √βr (inv. əβr, 3m pf. yäβr) 'vouloir, désirer, aimer, avoir l'intention de', Ah ər, Tnsl ərh, Ty {ABs.} ər ~ əru, Kb ər, Shl, Tmz iri 'love, want', Twl {ABs.} ərhu ~ əru, {PGG} iru v. 'love, want, wish, need'; ? √β¹r > Tw Ng {NZ} ihar ʔ əwər 'être nécessaire de, avoir le devoir de' ¶ Lf. II no. 0096, Fc. 154-51, Pr. H 86 [no. 588] (B *√rh₂h₁), NZ 90-1, PGG 264 || D *pari 'love' > Tm pari v. 'be affectionate, love', pari n. 'love, affection', Ml parivv 'love', Kn paraḷiga 'paramour', Tl perima 'love, affection' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-R^h- ¶¶ D no. 3964.

236. *boRHû ≈ belly', 'internal organs' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *bē^r 'stomach, liver' > Sml bē^r, Sml N bē^r 'liver', pBn {Hn.} *bē^r 'stomach, liver' > Bn {Hn.}: Bi/J/Ba bē^r id., 'liver', K bē^r 'entrails', bē^r 'liver' | ? Brj {Ss.} bára 'chest' ||| SC: ?σ Brn {E} baroʔo 'spleen' ¶ Hn. S 54, Hn. BD 116, 130, Abr. S 30, Ss. B 33, E SC 320, 338 || ? (+ext.) WS *bar₁∇₁k- > Sq {L}

'berak 'poitrine', {SSL} 'be(:)rak 'chair sur poitrine des animaux', Ar bark- 'poitrine (chez l'homme); poitrail dont le chameau agenouillé touche la terre' ¶ L LS 95, SSL CLS 100-1, BK I 116, MiK I 1.35-6 [no. 38]

|| IE: NaIE *b^hrū-n- > OI bhrū'ṛa-m 'embryo' || MHG briune, brūne 'pudenda muliebria' || Cz brnka 'placenta', {M} 'Kindsfell' | ?σ Ltv braũna 'scab, slough, cast skin of a serpent' ¶ ≈ P 169, M K II 533-4, β≈ M E II 283-4, Lx. 26, Ma. CS 44, ME I 327 || D *pōr-, {ǵGS} bōr- 'chest, breast' > TI bōra id., Knd bōra 'chest', Kn bōr(a)la, bōr(a)lu 'upside down' ¶¶ D no. 4592 ◇ D *-r- (reflex of N *R-clusters) and of the long vw. in D suggest the presence of a N lr. ◇ NaIE *-ū- in *b^hrū-n- (< IE *b^hruH-(n)-) may be explained by mt. (*-Hû- > IE *-uH-) ◇ Blz. DA 154 [no. 21] (HS, D, IE; Blz. tacitly included the IE reflexes of N *b^hruH-ū- '≈ belly', q.v.), Blz. NDA no. 20 (D, HS, IE).

237. ₂ *b^hruH- 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE *b^hruH_x- ({EI} *¹b^hruH-s) > NaIE *b^hrū- 'eyebrow' > OI bhrū- (nom. bhrūh, gen. bruvah), Av brvat-, NPrs برو äbrū, برو bārū || Gk ὀφρύς (gen. -ύος) id. || Mcd [Hs.] ἄβροῦτες 'eyebrows' || OIr brá, nom. du. broí, accus. du. brú, gen. du. brúad id., forbrú (accus. pl., gen. pl.) 'supercilia' || ON brún, pl. brunn, Dn øjenbrun, Sw ögonbrun, OHG brāwa, NHG Braue, AS brū 'eyebrow', ME browes pl. 'eyebrows', NE brow, eyebrow || Clt {Matas.} 'brow' > OIr -brú (for-brú) id. || Lt † bruvīs, Lt brúvé 'eyebrow' | Sl *brī (gen. *brīv-e) > OCS БРЪВЬ brъвъ 'eyelash, eyebrow', P brew, OCz brev 'eyebrow', SCr † br̄v, Blg Δ μ β ρ β α 'eyelid', Cz μ brva 'eyelash', Slk pl. μ brvy 'eyelashes, eyebrows', OR БРЪВЬ brъвъ, R бровь 'eyebrow' ¶ WP II 206-7 (and 169), EI 188, Bc. 219, M K II 534-6, M E II 282-3, Horn 16, F II 454, Vn. B 75, Thr. §§ 310, 314, Ho. 36, Vr. 60, OsS 82, EWA II 302-5, KM 96, Frn. 57, ESSJ III 63-4, Vs. I 215, StSS 101, Matas. 80 || D *pur|r- ({ǵGS} *b-) > Klm bu'r 'eyelash, eyebrow', Gdb burgul 'eyebrows', Ku kanu būru 'eyebrow' (kanu is 'eye') ¶¶ ≈ D no. 4358 (without distinguishing it from D *pūr- 'down, hair' and from D *pūr- 'down, hair on the body', see N *bū|ur|?, 'lock of hair, down').

238. *barq (~ *barX) 'go, go away, step' > K *b¹arq- (or *berq-?) '≈ step, walk' > Sv: {Ni.} bārq, U {TK} bārq (pl. bārqär), UB {TK, GP} bāq (pl. bāqär), LB/Ln {TK} bāq (pl. baqär), L {TK, Dn.} bāq (pl. bāqar) 'step', Sv {Ni.} χωί-bārqi v. 'I step' (шагаю), Sv LB {GP} na-barq, UB {GP} na-bāqw 'footmark; overstepped (by so.)', Mg d. la-bax-u 'passage in wattle fence',

?σ OG περσ 'foot', G πεχ- 'leg' ¶¶ The irreg. vowel corrs and the vowel lengthening in Sv UB/L may be due to the cns. *r* and its loss ¶¶ K 50 and K² 12 (*berq- 'leg, step'), TK 149, GP 90, Dn. s.v. māq, Ni. s.v. 'шагъ' and 'шагаты', FS 47 (+ err. G baq-baq-i 'unschönes Laufen', baq-baq- 'sinnlos herumlaufen'; err. rec. of K *baq-) || HS: WS *✓brħ v. 'flee, run away' > BHb, Ph, JA ✓brħ G id., Ug {OLS} brħ adj. 'huidizo, escurridizo; fugitivo', Ar ✓brħ G 'leave (a place), cease', Gz ✓brħ D 'flee, escape, run' (× barrəħa 'enter the wilderness, take to the woods' ← Gz barāħā 'wilderness' ÷ Ar barāħ- 'bare stretch of land') ¶ KB 149, KBR 156-7, OLS 115, Sl. 243, ≈ L G 104-5 || C *b∇r- > Bj {R} ber- scv. 'auswandern', ? ✓sbr (1s: p. a-s 'bār, pres. asta 'bīr) pcv. md. 'sich flüchten, davon laufen' (if it goes back to a causative stem s∇-b∇r) || ζ Dhl ḅariž- {E} 'go out, depart' (unless the right interpretation is {To.} 'depart on dawn' or {EEN} ḅarij- 'rise [sun], stay till dawn', connected with Dhl {To.} ḅariti 'dawn') || ??? SC: Ehret (E PC no. 4) adduced a pSC stem *bariy- v. 'travel' -> Mb -bāri v. 'travel' and the above Dhl verb ¶ R WBd 50, 52, 195, E SC 135, E PC no. 4, EEN 33, To. D 130 || A: T *bar- v. 'walk, go, go away' (× N *mAr'ū' 'trace, path; to follow?') > OT bār- v. 'go, go away', Tkm, VTt, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, ET, Yk bar-, ET Δ bār-, Uz bār-, Tk var-, Δ vār-, Az var-, StAlt bār- v. 'walk, go', Chv L пыр-, Chv Δ пыр- v. 'gehen, fahren' ¶ Shch. SFTJ 195 (*bār- with unj. long *ā on the supposed ev. of some ds of ET, Tk and Qzl; in view of the reflexes in Tkm and Chv, the vw. was short), Cl. 354, Rs. W 62 (unc.: ÷ M *bara- 'ein Ende machen, zu Ende bringen', see KW 34), Ash. IX 184-90, 293. Fed. I 465-6, Jeg. 173, Md. 105, 173; ET B 64-5 (unc.: *ā), S AJ 194 [no. 206], DHST 294 (*bēr [= *bēr]) || D *par- ({ǃGS} *p-) v. 'run, go away, flow' (× N *pARy∇ 'run, flee', q.v. ffd.) || E par- 'gehen, reisen': AchEl par-u 'gehend, reisend', pa-ri-iš- 'sie gingen, sie zogen, eie reisten', pa-ri-iš-da 'er ist gegangen\gereist' ¶ HK 123, 149-50, 161 ◇ Hardly here Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' (Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80), better explainable as going back to N *P_∇RC∇ 'flee, run (from\after smb.)' (q.v.). The K ✓ points to N *q, while S *ħ is likely to go back to N *χ; the problem needs further investigation (a positional change?).



239. *büryi 'to cover' > HS: B *✓brbr ~ *✓br̄r v. 'cover, be covered' > Ah bārubarāt 'couvrir, être couvert, se couvrir', Gh (caus.) sbārbar 'couvrir, boucher', Gd bārbar 'être couvert, être enveloppé', Gdm {Lnf.} bārbar 'être couvert', Kb sb̄erb̄er 'se voiler', sburr 'se couvrir,

s'envelopper', Shw ssbərbar id., Mz bbərbar 'couvrir entièrement'; ?? B *✓ φHr v. 'close' > Ah əhər 'fermer, boucher', Gd εβər (3m pf. īβεr) 'fermer au verrou bloqué ou à clef (une porte)' (B *✓ φHr may be alternatively or even better equated with Ak apār u v. 'put a covering on so.'s head') ¶ Fc. 84, 633, Nh. 146, Lf. I 238, II no-s OO93 and O108, Dl. 36-7, Pr. H no. 355, NZ 90-2, Dlh. M 10 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} b̄irí 'étendre (un tissu), couvrir (avec un tissu)', Mbara {TrnSL} b̄ar 'couvrir (une maison)', Ms {Caît.} b̄ar 'se couvrir' || ECh: Dng {Fd.} b̄îrè 'couvrir' ¶ Trn. MVM 282, Caît. 36, TrnSL 254, Fd. 92 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 126 [no. 163] || K *bur- v. 'cover, muffle up, wrap up; darken' > G bur- 'muffle up, darken', {Chx.} bur- (ft. gada-bur-) 'in Nebel\Dunkel hüllen, be-\überdecken', bur- (ft. da-bur-) 'in Nebel\Dunkel hüllen, verhüllen, verschleiern, be-\verdecken', Lz bur- v. 'patch up', Mg bur- id., v. 'darn', Sv bur-/bwr- 'darken' (UB/KB/Lx/L msd. libwr-e 'to darken sth., to get dark', L pres. i-bruv̄i 'it is darkening', aor. ed-burān(da) 'night fell', ft. ed-bur 'it will get dark'), Sv UB {GP} rəhi-y-bur-i 'life' (lit. 'light and dark'); ds: OG da-h-bur-es tavsa '(they) blindfolded him' (Lk. 22.64), G da-bur-uli tge 'dense forest', Sv {TK}: USv mubwir ~ mubir, L mubur 'dark', {Ni.} nambwr 'darkness' ¶¶ K 55, K² 20, Chx. 119-20, FS K 64-5, FS E 67, TK 427, 573-4, GP 147, 221, 256, Dn. s.v. bur-, Ni. s.v. 'темный' and 'темнѣть' || A *bürE- v. 'cover' > T *büre- v. 'cover, wrap' > Tkm büre-, Chg B̄ür̄ - v. 'cover', Tk B̄ür̄ - v. 'cover, envelop, wrap', T *bürke- > Qmq bürke- v. 'cover, wrap', Qzq, Nog, Qq, ET Δ bürke-, StAlt b_ürke- v. 'cover', Tv b_ür̄e- (ftp. Бүргээр) 'wrap, become cloudy, Uz burkā- v. 'wrap', Qrg bürkü- vt. 'cover, close', VTt бөрке- бөркь- id. (↳ Chv пүрке- {Ash., Fed.} vt. 'обернуть, wrap [the whole body, including the head]', Xk pürge- v. 'wrap, envelop, cover', Chv пёрке- {Ash., Fed.} v. 'bedecken, bekleiden' ¶ ET B 296-8, Ash. X 84-5, 232, Fed I 422-3, Jeg. 172, TvR 128 || M *büri|ü- v. 'cover' > MM [S] бурі- 'bedecken, beziehen', WrM {MED} b̄ür̄i-, {Rm.} b̄ür̄i- ~ b̄ür̄ - , HIM {MED, Luv.} Бүрэ- v. 'cover, envelop', Btr Бүри- 'umnähen, обтягивать, обивать (furniture)', Kl {KRS} Бүр- bür- v. 'cover, заворачивать', {Rm.} bür- 'hüllen, bedecken, mit einer Decke (Deckel oder Dach) versehen', Ord b_ür̄i- 'couvrir, d.: b_ür̄ī- 's'obscurir' (vue), 'être sombre', 'être couvert' (ciel); M *bürkü- 'cover' > MM [HI] Бүркү- id., WrM {MED} Бүркү- v. 'grow\become cloudy, cover, cover up, envelop', HIM Бүржэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'cover', 'be covered with tears' (eyes), 'grow\

become cloudy', Brt б̄γρ̄χ̄ε-. 'be covered, cloud over', MMgl būrk 'clothed', Mgl būrkúnâ 'he covers', Dg būrkû- v. 'cover', Ord b_ūr̄k̄x̄ū- 'couvrir, voiler, obscurir', 'se couvrir de nuages' (ciel) ¶ H 23, Ms. H 45, MED 148, 150, BMR I 306-7, Luv. 95-6, Chr. 124-5, KW 68, KRS 130, Ms. O 104-5, Iw. 94, Pp. IM 50-1 || Tg *buri- v. 'cover' > WrMc {Z} б̄ури- id., Nn Nh, Ul buri- v. 'cover, wrap' ('покрыть, обтянуть, оклеить') ¶ STM I 113-14, Pt. 27, On. 82, Z 539 ¶¶ SDM 385-6 (pA *būri|e - *būriū- v. 'cover, shade' [> M, T, Ewk bū-] with unj. meaning 'shade', based on the presumable Ewk cognate bū- v. 'shade [light]' [qu. as cognare]), DQA no. 220, Pp. VG 111, KW 68-9, Pp.VG 111 || D {Pf.} *pūr̄-/*pūr̄-∇- ({ʒGS} *p-) v. 'cover, bury' > Kn hū̄r̄. u id., pū̄r̄. (u) v. 'enwrap, insert, cover, bury', Ml pū̄r̄. uk v. 'be buried', Kdg pū-] - v. 'bury', Tl pū̄d̄. u v. 'be filled and closed up (as a pit)', pū̄d̄. (u) cu v. 'bury', Nkr purp- id., Krx putt- v. 'set' (of the sun) ¶¶ D no. 4376, Pf. 88 [no. 585], ≠ Km. 434 [no. 839] ◇ D * -r̄- may be explained as going back to pre-N *-r̄- < N *-ry- ◇ IS I 191-2 (*būri in K, HS, D, A; IS adduced [with a query] IE *wer- 'cover', which is hardly acceptable).

240. ₂ *b̄∇R̄ŷ̄û̄č̄∇ '≈ belly' > HS: S: Ar bur̄ɣuθ- 'derrière, cul' ¶ BK I 113 || IE: NaIE {Vn.} *b̄h̄reus̄-/*b̄hrus̄- '≈ chest, belly' > Clt {Matas.} *bruson- 'abdomen, womb' (< d. *b̄hrus̄ō / gen. *b̄hrus̄-n-os) > OIr brú (gen. bron) 'sein, ventre, matrice', MW, W bru 'womb, belly', W, MCrn bron (< NaIE *b̄hrus̄nā-) 'breast', OBr, MBr bron 'breast', Br bron 'sein, mamelle' || Gmc: Gt brusts pl. (· σπλάγχνα, στήθος) {Fs.} 'Eingeweide' (or 'Herz?'), 'Brust', OFrs brust, burst, MDt, Dt borst, OHG brust, NHG Brust 'breast'; Gmc {Vr.} *breusta > ON brjóst, OSx briost, AS bréost 'breast', NE breast || Sl *b̄ruxo ~ *b̄rux̄ 'belly, paunch' > OR Б̄р̄ю̄х̄о br̄juxo, Б̄р̄ю̄х̄ъ br̄jux 'venter', OCz b̄řuch 'stomach (venter), belly', Cz b̄řicho, Slk bruchо, OP brzuchо, P brzuch, R б̄р̄ю̄х̄о 'belly, paunch' ¶ P 170-1, ≠ EI 561 (words for 'breast' and 'belly' <d- *b̄h̄reus̄- 'swell'), Vn. B 99-100, Hm. 114, Fs. 108-9, Vr. 57-8, Vr. N 79-80, EWA II 399-402, KM 105, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10, ESSJ III 33-4, Vs. I 225, Bern. I 25, Matas. E 81, Hm. 114 ◇ It may be connected with (derived from?) N *boRHû '≈ belly', 'internal organs'.

241. *b̄AR̄∇, d̄∇ 'to pass; way, road' > K: GZ *bōr̄, d̄- v. 'wander, roam' (→ v. 'rave') > Mg bordiš- v. 'rave', bond- id., Lz bod- v. {K} 'rave', 'dart in trouble, беспоко́жно сновать' (of a brood hen), G bod- v.

'wander, roam', 'be delirious, rave', G I bodial- 'kopflos\ziellos hin- und herlaufen, umherstreifen' ¶ ≈ K 52 and ≈ K² 17 (*bod-), Chx. 93-4, DCh. 111 || HS: B *✓brd 'road' > Izn abrid 'road', Rf AU, AT abrid, pl. ibridan 'chemin, route', Kb abrid, pl. ibardan 'chemin, route, rue, passage', Ah a.barid, Gd abrīd, pl. bērdan ~ bridawen 'chemin', Nf brid 'route, sentier' ¶ Fc. 86, Rn. 293, Lf. II no. O110, Dl. 41-2, NZ 100 || ?φ S: Sr {Br.} pl.  bēry-āṭ-ā 'via' (sg. bērī'ṭ-ā), Sr {JPS}  berī'ṭ-ā 'street, broad place' (unless from N *bAr▽ 'earth, land; dust') ¶ Br. 88, JPS 55 || ?φ Ch: WCh: Bd bədm, budm {IL} 'path' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} bārāmā id., Glv {RpB} bāram(a), barāmā 'road (in town), street, way' || ECh: Smr {J} bārmā 'road', Nd D {J} bām 'road', Tmk {Cp.} bωm 'path', Mu {Lk.} bōdōl, {J} bodōl 'road' ¶ ChC s.v. 'road', RpB 14, Eg. MM s.v. bārāmā, J Mu. s.v. bodōl || IE: NaIE *b^hre(:)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade' > pAl {O} *breda > Al G/T breth (aor. brodha) {AIED} v. 'roam, wander; run, go fast; frolic, leap about' || ζ W {Mn. ← ?} bridd (*b^hrēd^h-) v. 'leap forward' (absent in YGM and SB) || Lt inf. brīsti (1s pres. brenḍu, p. bridaũ), Ltv inf. brist (1s pres. briedu) 'to ford, to wade', Lt brūdis n. 'wading', brudē 'track, trace, trail', ?σ brādas 'fishing' || Sl *bred-/*br̥d- (*bred-ǫ ~ *br̥d-ǫ, inf. *bresti) > ChS inf. БРЕСТИ brestī / 1s pres. БРЕДЪ bredǫ v. 'wade, ford', Slv inf. brestī / 1s pres. brédem, OCz inf. břísti / 1s pres. br(е)du ~ břdu, Slk brst' / brdú id., R бpe'cти / бpe'дy 'plod one's way, drag oneself along'; Sl *brodъ 'ford' > ChS БРОДЪ brodъ, Blg, R брод, SCr, Slv brōd, Cz, Slk brod, P bród id. ¶ WP II 201, P 164, Mn. 100-1, Glh. 152, O 34, BFU 66, Kf. 55, Ç I 75-6 and II 357, Frn. 58-9, ESSJ III 14-15, 36-7, SPS I 368-9 || D *paṭi ({ǧGS} *b-?, *-ḍ-) 'way, manner' > Tm paṭi 'manner, mode', Kn paṭi 'manner, method, way', Tl baḍi, vaḍi 'manner' ¶¶ D no. 3851 || E: AchEl ба'р-ḍ'и 'Straße(?)' ¶¶ HK 147 ◇ The meaning 'rave, be delirious' (attested in GZ, Ltv [brist 'Albernes sprechen'] and Sl [брeдитъ 'to rave']) is likely to have derived from 'roam' ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. 'брод' ¹ (IE, K), IS SS no. 12.20, K 52 (IE, K); Blz. E no. 42 (E, HS).

242. *bur₁u₁d▽'g'▽ (~ *bar₁u₁d▽'g'▽?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > K: GZ *burḍya- 'down, plumage' > G burḍya-, Lz bundya- ~ burḍya- id., Mg burḍya- 'down; shaggy'; ⇨ GZ *brḍy-wn- v. 'pluck (a bird)' > G brḍyu-, brḍyvn-a (~ bdḍyvn-a) v. 'pluck (fowl)', OG на-bdr̥yu-en-i 'Flaum, Daunen', Mg burḍy- v. 'pluck', Lz o-burḍy-ol-u ~ o-bundy-ol-u v. 'pluck (fowl)'; acc. to FS, G burḍya 'plumage, down' is a

loan from Zan; K *^obardʷ- (?) > G P bardʷl-i '(Tier-, Fell-)Haar' ¶ K 55, K² 18, 20-1, FS K 59, FS E 61, Chx. 66, 72 (s.v. ბდღღუნ- / ბდღღუნ-) and 104, Abul. 317, Ghl. 60 || IE: NaIE *b^hard^hā 'beard' > L barba id. || Gmc: OHG bart, NHG Bart, Dt baard, AS, NE beard, ON barð id. || Lt barzdà, Ltv bārda, bārzdà, Pru bordus id. || Sl *bor^lda (accus. *bōrdō) id. > OCS брѡдѡ brada, Blg брада, R бородѡ (accus. 'бороду), Uk борода, SCr bráda (accus. brādu), Slv bráda, Cz, Slk brada, P broda ¶ WP II 135, P I 110, EI 251 (*b^hard^h-eh₉-), Mn. 65-6, Dv. no. 327, SPS I 317-19, Vr. 26, Vr. N 24, Ho. 17, EWA I 488-90, KM 54, Frn. 36, En. 153, Tp. P A-D 240-2, ESSJ I 197-8, StSS 100, Glh. 144-5 ¶ The variant with *-sd- > -zd- in Lt and Ltv is not yet explained (infl. of *b^hars- 'ear of barley') || A: [II] A *bur₁u₁ṭ₁g₁ṽ 'facial hair' (× *bEbṽṭṽ 'lip[s], mouth' [q.v. ffd.] × *P₁utṽ 'feather, hair') > T: (1) NaT *m₁urut 'moustache' > Chg {Rl.} بورت burut, ET burut, Brb {Rl. → Tm} murut, SbTt {Tm.} m^ort 𐌆 murt, Tkm murt, Qzq мұрт, Qq, Uz Δ murt id., Nog murt 'tips of moustache' ¶ Rs. W 90, Rl. IV 1825, 2193-4, Nj. 219, Tkr 459, MM 248, Tm. 153, 155, KrkR 467, NogR 228, UzR 272] (2) ??φ T *biḏik (*ṁiḏik) 'moustache' (× N *bEbṽṭṽ 'lip(s), mouth', q.v. ffd. × *P₁utṽ 'feather, hair', q.v.) > OT biḏiq, MQp XIII biṽiq ~ miṽiq, Chg ≥xv biḡ ~ miḡ, XwT, OOSm ≥xv biṽiq, Tk biṽik, Δ buṽiq 𐌆 miṽq, Ggz biṽik, Az biṽ, Δ buṽ, CrTt biṽiq ~ miṽiq, Kr Cr miṽuq, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ Qrg, StAlt miṽiq, VTt, Bsh мъуьq, Chv ма́йăх мъуьх 'moustache', Yk bitik id., 'beard' ¶ Cl. 301, ET B 304, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73, Ash. VIII 291, Fed. I 346-7, Jeg. 130 || Tg *burga-kta ~ *gurga-kta 'beard, moustache' > Ul buḡaḡta, Orc baḡakta ~ guggaḡta, Ud guakta, Ewk gurgakta, Sln guggakta ~ gurgakta, Lm gurgāt, Neg goygakta id., Nn Nh {STM} bogaḡta ~ boḡaḡta ~ gogaḡta id., {On.} boḡaḡta id., bogaḡta ~ gogaḡta 'moustache and beard' ¶ The root-internal *-g- may go back to N *g (*burga < **burdga < N *bur₁u₁dṽ^gṽ). The initial *g- may be due to as. ¶ STM I 173, On. 70, 10 ¶¶ SDM 385 (pA *būrda 'beard' > Tg, T *burut 'moustache' + unc. *bur²i- 'curly' (of hair), which is more likely to go back to pA *bur- 'turn round', 'round' [cf. N *bUrṽ 'turn round, rotate'. q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 213 (id.), TL 224]]] [II] ? M *barba-yi-> WrM {MED} barbaj-, HIM {MED, BMR} барвай- 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), Kl {KRS} барва- id. (× N *bar¹ṽ 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.); M *barbagar (× N *bar¹ṽ, q.v. ffd.) > WrM barbagar {MED} 'hairy, shaggy', 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles), HIM

{MED} баравгар id., {BMR} барвагар 'грубый, coarse, thick' (e.g. барвагар гар 'грубые\шершавые руки'), Brt барбагар 'hairy, shaggy', Kl {KRS} барвһр barwəʁar id., {Rm.} barwəʁar 'mit großen\dicken Wängen, bartbewachsen, bärtig', Ord b_arwagar 'qui est en saillie' ¶ MED 84, BMR I 229, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87, Ms. O 57 ¶ M -b- in *barba-yi- and *barbagar still requires explanation (progressive as., cf. L barba?) || HS: ?φ,σ S: Ar {BK} burd-at- 'pièce en étoffe de laine et qui sert pour s'envelopper et coucher dessus', burd- '∈ textile' ¶ BK I 107-8 ¶ The loss of the expected *ʁ may be due to the infl. of the Semitic triconsonantal pattern of root structure ◇ The apparent pN variation *u ~ *a in the first syll. may be due to as. *-aru- > *-uru- in descendant lges. Alternatively, *a in IE, in G bardʎli and in M barbacyi-, *barbaʁar may be due to the infl. of a different N word or to internal vw. changes in lges (such as IE **∇ur > *∇r before a syllable boundary).

243. *biʔ∇r∇gE 'high, tall' (~ *bu|üʔ∇r∇gE with *-u|ü- due to ass. infl. of the labial cns. *b-?) > K {FS} *bʁg- 'tall and strong' > G brge 'tall, broad-shouldered' (Chx.: 'hochgewachsen, breitschultrig'), Sv {Ni.} bəg-i 'thick rope (канат)', Sv UB {GP} bəg-i 'firm; bold', Sv -bg- (msd. {Ni.} li-bg-i, UB/LB {TK, GP} li-bge) 'strengthen', na-bg-i {GP} 'firmness', {Ni.} id., 'strengthening' (укрепление, твердость) ¶¶ FS K 58-9, FS E 60-1, GM S 99, Chx. 104, TK 425, GP 92, 147, Ni. s.v. || HS: B: Ah burǵat (aor. pret. -bburǵat < *-w-brg) 'être soulevé, se soulever', ETwl, Ty bərgət 'être soulevé', Gh bəřəd v. 'stand up suddenly' ¶ Fc. 88-9, GhA 10, Nh. 173, NZ 105 || C: Bj {Alm., R} 'birga 'high' || EC: Or {Tut.} bərgi 'eminence, hill (Anhöhe, Hügel)', adj. bərgi 'rising, eminent; erhaben, ansteigend', ? pSam {Hn.} *būr- 'big' (of things), {AD} 'high, big' > Rn {PG} būr 'big', Sml {ZMO} būr 'mountain, bare-topped hill', Sml būran {Hn.} 'stout', {ZMO} 'fat, plump, corpulent, obese', {DSI} 'essere grasso\robusto\grosso', Sml {ZMO} būrān 'stoutness' ¶ R Wbd. 52, Hn. S 55, PG 82, 147, DSI 71, ZMO 48, Tut. 439, IS I 177 || var. HS *✓bgr (< *✓brg) > S: Gz ✓bgr G v. 'grow, become physically developed', MHb ✓bgr G v. 'mature' ¶ L G 89, Sl. 185 || (mt.) Eg fBD bʒʒ 'Mastspitze' ¶ EG I 488 || Ch: WCh: Kir pəgòre, Kir Mn bagóra 'big' | Bd {Lk.} ʒəgòr 'long' || Bdy {AIJ} begèr 'dépasser, surpasser' ¶ Csp. 42, Lk. Bd 71, AIJ 58 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 111-12 [no. 55] || IE *bʰerǵʰ- 'high' (-d> *bʰerǵʰo-s 'mountain', *bʰrǵʰu-s 'high' etc.), {EI} *bʰrǵʰu-s, *bʰrǵʰent- 'high' > OI brǵhánt- 'groß, hoch', Av bərazant- 'high', bəraz- 'high; height, mountain', CINPrs برز barz

~ بَرزُ burz, NPrs بَرزُ borz 'height, tallness; tall', KhS balysga- 'high' ||
 Arm -բերձ -berz *'high' (in: Երկնա-բերձ erkna-berz 'himmelhoch', Լեռնա-բերձ leṙna-berz 'berghoch') (< *b^herǵ^ho-s),
 բարձր barzr (gen. barzu) 'high' (< *b^herǵ^hu-s) || ? OL [Fest.]
 forctus (< *forg-tos < *b^horǵ^h-to-s), L fortis 'strong', Osc FORTIS
 adv. cmpr. {Bc.} 'potius', {Pln.} 'fortius' (÷ L fortius) || Clt {Mats.}
 *brig- 'hill', {AD} 'hill, high' > MIr brí 'hill' (accus. go brigh 'towards
 the hill'), MW bre 'hill', W bry ~ fry 'en haut', brig 'top, summit',
 MBr {Ern.} bre 'hill, highland', Crn brē, {Matas.} bre 'hill', Br bre 'hill,
 mountain'; W bera 'rick, stack', Crn bern id., 'heap', Br bern 'tas,
 meule', MBr bernou 'monceaux', berniaff 'élever', Gl brig- 'high'
 (in n. pr., F Evn. 316), briga- 'height' (in n. l., F Wb. I 525) || Gt
 baírgahei (· ὄρεινή-[χώρα]) 'Gebirgsgegend', ON bjarg, berg, Dn
 bjerg, NNr, Sw, OHG, OSx berg, NHG Berg 'mountain', AS beorh ~
 beorz 'hill, mountain; heap of stones', NE barrow; ON borg 'a height;
 fortress, city', Gt baurgs (· πόλις, βῆρις) 'Stadt, Turm', Dt borg,
 borch, OSx, OHG burg 'castle, town; stronghold', NHG Burg
 'fortress, stronghold, castle', AS burz id., 'city', NE borough,
 barrow || SI *bergъ 'bank, steep slope' > OCS вѣргъ brěgъ
 'крутой склон, откос; берег' ('steep slope; bank'), Slk brěg, 'берег,
 склон' ('bank, slope'), Blg бряг 'bank, coast; hill; Abhang', SCr брѣг &
 brījēg 'hill; coast, bank', Cz břeh 'Ufer, Rand', Slv breh 'Ufer, Hang,
 Hügel', P brzeg, R, Uk 'берег' 'bank, coast, shore' || pTc {Ad.} *pärk- >
 Tc A/B pärk-, A park- v. 'arise', 'rise' (of celestial bodies), A pärkär,
 B pärkare 'long' || Ht parku- 'high', park-, parkiya- v. 'raise, rise'
 ¶¶ P 140-1, EI 269, Bc. 296, M K II 445-7, M E II 232, Bai. 272, Vl. I 218,
 WH I 535-7; ≈ EM 382-3 and ≈ Pln. I 384 (both: L fortis and Osc
 FORTIS < *d^hrǵ^h-to- < *d^herǵ^h- 'hold'), Pln. II 39, 600-1, 683, Bc. G
 316, Vn. B 87, LP § 37.2, YGM-1 44, 53, 55, ECCE 214-16, Ern. 58, 80,
 Hm. 76, Billy 34, Fs. 75-6, 85-6, Vr. 39, 50, Vr. N 96, OsS 51, 92, EWA I
 553-4 and II 457-60, KM 66, 111-12, Ho. 20, 38, Ho. S 6, 11, ESSJ I 191-
 3, StSS 102, SPS I 203-4, Glh. 150-1, Hü. 428, Sl. 68-9, Wn. I 362-3,
 390, Matas. E 77, Hm.105, Ad. 372-3, Ad. H 124, 138, Ts. W 60-1, CHD
 P 155-61 || D (att. in SD) *pēr (≈ *pīr-?) ({ǵGS} *p-) > Kdg pe·r 'steep
 slope', Td pō·r 'cliff' ¶ IS adduced also Kn pēr·h- v. 'lift up' (sc. Kn {BE}
 pēr·u v. 'lift up and put upon, load, pile up'), which goes back to D {GS}
 *pēd- > Ml pēr·u 'a load', Tm pe·r·u 'a pile', pī·rakku v. 'heap' (as in

D no. 4446, GS 64 [no. 195]) ¶ D no. 4448 ¶ D *-r- (regularly from N intervoc. *-r-) suggests a N vw. between *r and *g || A: [1] A *b|p'i'yo'r∇ '≈ big' (in Ko and J) → 'fathom' > Tg *bi'yo'r...- > Sln {Iv.} Бірахан 'mountain', WrMc {Hr.} Біуоран 'hohes Ufer aus kahler Erde', {Z} Біорань 'ravine with red ground, cliffy bank' ('красный яр, обрывистый утес берега') ¶ STM I 84, Z 545, Hr 102 || pKo *p'ár 'fathom' (N *ba'ár∇ 'big, much, thick') > MKo p'ár id., as well as NKo p'al id. (× < MKo p'ar 'armful') ¶ S QK no. 668, Nam 246, MLC 723 || pJ *p'irè- 'wide; fathom' > OJ p'iro- 'wide', p(i)iro 'fathom', MJ p'irè- 'wide', p'irè 'fathom', J T/Kg hiró- 'wide', J T hiro 'fathom', J K h'irò-, J Kg hiró- 'wide' ¶ S QJ no. 601, Mr. 408, 828, Kenk. 508 ¶¶ SDM 330-1 (pA *b'á'ri- 'wide, thick' > Ko, J + [going back to pA *ba'ár∇ 'thick, wide' from N *ba'ár∇ 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.]: Tg *baru-n 'thick; round, full', M *bar- 'broad and thick' (of a beard), 'coarse' (of textiles) and T *ba'ík 'thick, stout; stubby man'), DQA no. 96, Whtm. 193. 210 || [2] ?? *Add. source* of Tg *burgu 'fat, thick' (from N *ba'ár∇ 'big, much, thick') > Ewk, Sln burgu, Lm bergъ, Neg bolgo, Ul božo(n), Ork boddo(n), Orc boggo, Ud bogo id., Nn Nh buygu {STM} 'thick, fat', {On} 'fat' (of animals), 'thick' ¶ STM I 112, On 81 || U *p'ir|ðkä 'high' > Sm {Hl.} *p'irke, {Jn.} *p'irkä 'high' (× U *p'irðe(-kä) 'high, long' < N *b'êžU (,q∇,) or *b'êž,∇,q∇ 'big, high', q.v.) > Ne T пирця, Ne T O {Lh.} p'irćē, Ne F {Lh.} píčśśāă, En X {Cs.} fiće, En B {Cs.} fiše, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz {KKIH} p'irq+ 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} p'ürg 'high', Kms {KD} p'úržē, {Cs.} p'hiržē, Koyb {Sp.} прицэ, Mt {Hl.} *hirge (> Mt M {Mil.} 'hyrgi, Mt M {Mil.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} chirgè) 'high' ¶ UEW 377-8, Jn. 125, Jn. UK 225, Hl. M 246 ◇ D *ē in *p'ēr is still to be explained ◇ IS I 177 [no. 9] (HS [B, C, Ch: Jg búlgât 'high' qu.], ? K, IE, ?D, Sm); Blz. LN I 202 derived the Sm stems from U *p'irðe(-kä) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 204 (*p'irka 'high') (IE, U + err. A + qu. CK).

244. ₂ *b'E'R∇'k'∇ 'knee' > HS: S *'birak- 'knee' > BHb בִּרְאֵךְ 'berək id., בִּירְאֵיךְ bir'kayim 'knees' (pl. ← du.), בִּירְאֵיךְ bir'kē'hēm (< *birakē'hēm) 'their knees' (suggesting the original pl. **bārā'kīm 'kneres'; the fricative k of bir'kē'hēm points to a preceding vw. in the pl. form, which provides ev. for a vw. in the second syll. of S *'birak-), Ug brk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} birku, BA, JPA אֲבִירְאֵךְ bir'k-ā, Sr bur'k-ā, Md burka, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} bark, Jb {Jo.} berk, Sq {Jo.} b3rk, Gz bark, Ak birku ~ burku 'knee'; -> [1] WS *✓brk v. G 'kneel' > BHb ✓brk G 'kneel down', Ar ✓brk

'kneel' (of camels), Mh ✓brk (pf. bə'rōk) id.; [2] CS *✓brk v. *D* and *L* 'bless' (← *'make kneel') > Hb, Ph, Ug ✓brk *D* id., Ar ✓brk *D* and *L* id.; pp. *G* means 'blessed', e.g. in BHb בְּרִיךְ bā'rūk 'blessed', (of God) 'praised', Amn, Ug brk, IA bryk (= *bā'rīk), JA [Trg.], JEA בְּרִיךְ bə'rīk, Sr bərī'k-ā 'blessed'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} bī-r a-kú v. 'bless, serve (as an acolyte)' and (?) bī-r-kú 'gift' ¶ KB 153-4, KBR 159-61, OLS 116, Hnr. 115, Sl. 245, Br. 96, Jo. M 52, Sd. 129, 140, CAD II 255ff., L G 105, DRS 84-5, HJ 198-202, Hlk no-s 60-1, SivCR 57, 79, MiK I no. 1.39 || Ch: CCh: Gzg Mj {Lk.} poporok 'knee' || possibly WCh *burum 'knee' (loss of *k): BT: Grm {Sch.} búrmùŋ, Dr {J} bó-bə̀rə̀m, Tng {J} purum, Bl {IL} burum 'knee' | AG: Su {J} fùrùm, Ywm {J} furum id. | NrBc: My {Sk.} wúrùm, P' {MSk.} bürmí, Jmb vûrmú id. | SBc: Tala vārâm, Kir kâ-fúrum id. ¶ JI II 214-15, Sch. BTL 134, Lk. G 134, ChC s.v. 'knee' || **K**: pZn *br̥g-∇- 'knee' > Mg Z birgul-, Mg Sn, Lz A/VAr burgul-, Lz X burgil-id., ?Lz A birgiži 'elbow' ¶ Q 203-4, Marr 131-2, Chik. 64 ◇ pZn *g (for the expected *k) still requires explanation ◇ IS I no. 31 (*bΛrKΛ).

244a. *b'ri'Rk|g∇ (~ *p'ri'Rg∇?) 'to dig' > **HS**: B *✓brk ~ *✓prk 'dig' > Ah əbrək, ETwl əbrəg ~ əbrək (3m pf. i br ɛ g ~ -k), Gd εbrək (3m pf. i br ɛ k), Gh əbrək 'piocher' ¶ Fc. 91, GhA 9-10, 246, Lf. I 225 and II no. O120, NZ 119 || Ch {JS} *✓brg, {AD} *✓prg ~ ?? *✓brg v. 'dig' > ECh: Ke {Eb.} fərgí v. 'dig' || CCh: Ms {ChC} vùròk, Msg P v'rw'g 'dig' ¶ JI II 105, JS 85, ChC s.v. 'dig', Eb. 46 || **K** *ob∇rg- > Sv: UB {TK} -bərž- ~ -barž- (msd. libərže, libarže) 'dig', Ln {TK} li-bärž 'to hoe', L {Dn.} li-bərž-e 'to dig with a hoe', Sv {Ni.} -bərž- ~ -bərð- 'dig' ¶ Chx. 65, TK 427, GP 148, Dn. s.v. bərž-, Ni. s.v. 'копать' || **A**: M *°φirga- > WrM irga- {MED} v. 'dig hole/burrow' (of animals), HIM ярга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'dig a burrow' (of mice and moles) ¶ MED 414, BMR IV 467.

245. UA₂ *buR₁u₁k|g∇ 'run, jump' > **U**: FU *°purk∇- > pObU *pörk- > pVg *pörk- 'hop, jump (hüpfen)' > Vg T pork-, Vg LK parɣ-, Vg P porr-, Vg Ss porɣ- id. ¶ UEW 414 (adducing Ne T O partam 'plötzlich aufspringen', which may be better explained as going back to N *p.ar∇ 'to fly, to jump') || **A**: M *buruɣud- > MM [HI] {Ms.} buruɣud- 'se retirer, éviter, fuir', WrM buruɣud- {MED} 'flee', HIM бурууда- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich verzerren; unrecht sein, irren, sich vergehen, ; M *buruɣula- > WrM buruɣula- {MED} v. 'flee, run away, take to one's heels', HIM буруула- {MED} id., {BMR} 'flee, zurücktreten, sich entfernen', Brt буруул- v. 'retreat (отступать), flee', Ord b₁urūla- 'fuir, s'enfuir pour

une destination inconnue pour éviter qch. de désagréable' ¶ Ms. H 44, MED 139, BMR I 290, Chr. 114, Ms. O 99.

246. *bôra KE ~ *bôra 'to fall, to fell, to throw' > IE: NaIE *b^hreġ- v. 'fall, fell' > Vd bhrāś-/bhrās-/bhr̥ś-: ni-bhrāśai 'fällen, stürzen, niederschlagen', 'bhrāś(i)ya- 'was zum Fallen gebracht werden kann', ('adhi)-bhrāsāt 'soll entfallen', with a nasal infix: OI bhrāmśatē 'falls, falls out\down, drops', pp. bhras̥ 'ṭah̥ 'ausgefallen, entfallen', KhS brasś- v. 'fall', Oss älväsən 'être projeté (de sa place)' || ? Sl inf. *obrъsi-ti, iter. inf. *obrъsati > R inf. 'бросить, ip. inf. бросать 'to throw', Uk inf. бросити 'to throw, to throw away' ¶ P 168, M K II 525-6, M E II 276-7, MW 769, Ab. I 132, Bai. 313, Vs. I 218, ESSJ III 55-6, SPS I 398-9 || **A** *bur̥- 'abandon, lose', *burak- v. 'drop, throw' > T *burak- ~ *b_lrak- v. 'throw' > OT biraq-, biraḡ- 'let, abandon', MT biraq- id., Osm (QB, IM) biraq-, Tk b_lrak-, Δ burak-, Az burax- 'leave, release, let out', CrTt biraq- v. 'throw, leave', Bsh biraq-tir- 'throw, throw away', Yk {JkR} biraḡ-, Chv п̄рах- р̄рах- v. 'throw, abandon'; the variant *birqa- is represented in SbTt Tö birqa-, Bsh Δ б̄р̄уа- v. 'throw', Shor purka- v. 'cast' ¶ ET B 307-8, Rs. W 74, Ash. X 129-32, Fed. I 399-400, Jeg. 148, ARL 60, JkR 94 ¶ Chv ә ь suggests pT *u || Tg *burī- > Ewk burī- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink', buruwkən ~ burupkən- 'drop, let fall, knock down, knock down from so.'s feet', Sln burī- ~ b̄rī- 'untie, let go', Lm b̄ri- v. 'lose', Orc bui- id., WrMc {Z} б̄р̄ӯб̄у- 'disappear, get lost' (unless a semantic change from б̄р̄ӯб̄у- 'grow dark'); Tg *burgi- > Ewk PT burgi- vt. 'drop, let fall, lose, sink' ¶ STM I 113, Z 540 || pJ *p̄ara-p- ~ p̄ara-p- 'sweep away, drive out' > OJ para-p-, MJ p̄arà-φ- id., J T hará-, J K hárá-, J Kg h̄arà- 'clear (away, out), sweep (away, off), wipe' ¶ Mr. 684, Kenk. 453 || pKo *p̄ri- ~ *p̄rí- 'throw aside\away, abandon' > MKo p̄rí- ~ p̄rí-, NKo p̄ri- id. ¶ Rm. SKE 192, S QK no. 605, Nam 241, MLC 759-60 ¶¶ SDM 363 (pA *biura- 'abandon, loose' > M, T, J, Ko), Rs. SKE I 184, 192. Mr. KJ 243 || **HS**: WCh: B1 {Lk.} bur- v. 'niederwerfen, fallen lassen' ¶ Lk. PVB II 134 || ?σ S *✓br̥q̥t̥|d vt., vi. 'knock down on one's back, turn back', S *bur̥q̥id|t̥- 'on one's back' > Ak pur̥q̥idam 'auf dem Rücken (liegen), auf den Rücken (fallen)', Ar ✓br̥q̥t̥: tabarq̥aṭa '(il) tomba à la renverse', barq̥aṭa '(il) se retourna pour regarder derrière soi' ¶ BK I 115, Sd. 881 || ?σ D (in GnD) *p̄k(k)- ({σGS} *p-) v. 'throw away' (× N *bow̥ka 'put out, throw out' [→ 'sweep

out'], q.v. ffd.); the prehistory of the D stem may be reconstructed as *pōk(k)- < *pork- < *borak-.

247. *b∇R₁∇₁kæ 'to flash, to shine' > K *°brk- > OG, G brkial- 'glitter, shine (glitzern, glänzen)' ¶ Abul. 35, Chx. 106, DCh. 118 || HS: S *✓brk v. 'flash, lighten' > BHb, Ug, Aram, Sb, Gz, Ak ✓brk, Ar ✓brq id., Mh {Jo.} b3r'kawt, Hrs {Jo.} b3rkōt, Jb C {J} 'b3'rw'k3t vb. n. 'to lighten, to flash', Mn {MA} ✓brk vi. 'briller'; S *ba'raḳ- 'lightning' > BHb בָּרָק bārāḳ, Ug brk, IA brk?, Sr bar'k-ā, Ar بَرَق barq- (< *'baraḳ-, a metatonic variant of *ba'raḳ-), Mh {Jo.} bōr3k, Hrs {Jo.} h3bēr3k, Jb C {Jo.} b3rk, Ak birk- id., Sb brk 'rainy season, monsoonal storm'; S → Cpt Sd (ε) ΒΡΗΘΕ (e) brēce 'lightning' ¶ KB 155, KBR 162, HJ 203, OLS 116, Sd. 122, Jo. M 53, BGMR 31, MA 23, L G 106, CAD II 258ff., Ws. 23, Crn. 33, Vc. 39, SivCR 79 || Eg fP b3k '(be) bright, white'; Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} bu-r-kā 'glitter' = Eg N brk v. 'glitter, reflect' (about water) ['glitzern'] ¶ EG I 424-5, 466, Fk. 78; Vc. 39 and Hlk no. 59 (they suppose that brk is a loan from S, but borrowing of a verb [not through derived nouns] in highly inflected lges is possible only if the verbal morphology of the borrowing lge and the source lge are similar, which is not the case for Eg and S; on the other hand, the EgSSc for the word [with preservation of r before a cns.] suggests that it is a loan; we may see here a merger of the inherited Eg word with a Semitism), Tk. II 91-3 || C *✓brk > EC {Ss.} *barḳ-/birḳ- 'lightning', v. 'lighten' > Elm i-birg-a, ?φ Sd bank-o, ?φ Hd bānḳ-o 'lightning', ?φ Brj buḳḳ- v. 'lighten', Dsn birgač 'flashing', ?ír birgamu 'lightning' (?ír 'rain') || Ag *barḳ- > Xm {R} berqā ~ barqa, Bln {R} barq 'lightning', Xm ✓brq v. 'flash'; *m-b∇rk- 'lightning' > Xm {R} mirqā, Bln {R} mirkā, Q merkā id. || DhI {EEN} bīrikḳina, {To.} bīrikinna id. ¶ R WB 86, 274, AD PmbC, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 42, E SC 32, EEN 34, To. D 130, To. DL 487 || NrOm: Mch {L} parìḳḳi(yé) v. 'lighten' ¶ L M 45, Fl. OO 317 || ?φ WCh: DfB {J} bàra 'lightning and thunder' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} barmél, {Nc.} 'barmīl 'lightning', FIM {ChL} buru id. ¶ J R 212, Lk. B 91, ChL, ChC s.v. 'lightning' || IE ({EI} ? *b^herḱ- 'shine'): NaIE *b^herḱ- / *b^hreḱ- v. 'shine, glitter' > Gk [Hs.] φορκόν (· λευκόν,· πολτόν,· ρύσόν) {EI} 'white, grey' || MHG inf. brehen 'plötzlich und stark aufleuchten, glänzen, funkeln', ON inf. brjā, brā (< *brehōn) 'to shine (glänzen), to sparkle', AS breah^tm ~ bear^tm 'glance', 'Glanz, Augenblick' || OIr brecc, W bruch 'speckled' || Vd 'bhrāsātē 'shines, glitters' (ā due to the infl. of 'bhrājātē 'shines, beams, glitters' < NaIE *b^hrē-ḡ- < N

***bARh¹é¹** 'shine' + ext.) || ?σ Ht parkuis 'clean' ¶¶ P 141-2, EI 514, M K II 532, ≠ M E II 280 (claiming that Vd bhr āś- is a var. of bhr āj-), F II 1036, Vr. 57, Ho. 17, Lx. 26 ◇ IS I no. 5 equated HS *✓brk̄ with T *balqī- v. 'shine', U **palk̄ ▽ (> Os N paṽāl 'lightning') and IE *b^helg- v. 'shine', which is not plausible because of the liquid (HS *r is not cognate with IE, U and T *l) and because HS has better parallels in IE and K with reflexes of N *r. On these roots of T, U and IE see N *ba¹l̄i, 'k' a 'to shine'. Neither is plausible the comparison with K *berçq̄-/ *br̄çq̄- v. 'flash' (with an unexplicable *ç, while there is a better K cognate *°brk̄-).

248. *baRm ▽ 'ε stinging insect' > IE: on. NaIE amb *b^hrem- 'a buzzing insect' (× on. NaIE *b^hrem- v. 'buzz') > OI bhr ama'r-aḥ 'bee' || OSx brémmia, OHG brema 'gadfly, horsefly', bremo 'horsefly', eNHG [Luther], NGr Δ Breμε 'ε stinging insect', d. MLG bromese → NHG Bremse 'horsefly, gadfly' || SI *brōk̄b 'beetle' > Cz brouk, LLs, HLs bruk id., RNvg брюк 'dung beetle' ¶ The connection with the NaIE onomatopoeic verb *b^hrem- v. '≈ buzz, growl' (> L fremō, OHG bremān, SI *brьměti) is secondary; hardly here Gk φόρμιγγ (gen. -γγος) 'phorminx (ε lyre\harp)' ¶ P 142-3, ≈ EI 24 (OI bhr ama'r-a- 'bee' ← *b^hrem- 'make a noise'), ≠ M K II 528-9 (denying any genetic connections of OI bhr ama'r-aḥ because of its onomatopoeic associations), M E II 279, F II 1036-7, WH I 544-5, Ho. 33-4, Ho. S 10, OsS 83, EWA II 315-16, KM 98-9, ESSJ III 22 and 44 (SI on. *brōk̄b connected with on. *brēkati 'produce sounds' > P brzokać, brzekać 'бренчать, звенеть'), 68-9, Sl. I 46, YGM-1 54 || U: FV *parma '≈ gadfly, horsefly' > F парма, Δ парма 'gadfly, horsefly, deerfly', Es parm 'horsefly (Tabanus, слепень)' | Er промо promo, Δ puromo id., Mk пуром 'puram 'botfly (овод)' | Chr KB parmъ, U pormo 'Pferdefliege, Bremse', B pormo 'Bremse' ¶ UEW 724-5, Coll. 107, It. no. 31, ERV 519, PI 226 || HS: WCh: Zar {IL} b̄z̄z̄m n. 'fly' ¶ ChC s.v. 'fly'.

249. *baRž ▽ 'be uneven\rough; bristle' > K: GZ *baržg-/ *br̄žg-, {FS} *baržg- 'thorn' > G {FS} baržg-i ~ bažg-i 'thorny plant', Mg bužga- 'needles of a chestnut fruit'; Zn → G buržg-ał- {DCh} 'teasel' ('ворсянка'), G I buržg-i {DCh.} 'bristle, щетина', {FS} 'Stachel, Dorn', buržgalai 'needles of a chestnut fruit', G bužg-i 'small hedgehog'; d.: G buržg-n-, Mg bužg- ~ bižg-, Lz bužg-in- vi. 'bristle up, ruffle' ¶ ≈ K DE 361 and ≈ K² 21 (GZ *buržga- 'bristle', *buržg- v. 'bristle [up], ruffle'), FS K 66, FS E 46, Chik. 256, DCh. 125 || IE: NaIE {P} *b^hars-, *b^hṛsti-, *b^hṛsti-

'≈ bristle, point, spike' > OI $bhr̥ō'st̥i-h̥$ 'point, spike, edge, corner' ||| pGmc *bursti- > ON $burst$ 'bristle, ridge of a roof', NNr $bust$, Sw $borst$ 'bristle', Dn $børst$ id., 'brush', AS $byrst$, OHG $burst$ 'bristle, prickle', NHG $Borste$ 'bristle', $Bürste$ 'brush', NE $brush$; Gmc *barza- (< *b^hars-) > ON $barr$ 'conifer' (< *'needles of a conifer'), Ic, Sw $barr$, NNr bar 'needles of a conifer' ||| Clt {Matas.} *barro- n. 'point, top' > Ir $barr$ 'summit, tip (of a tongue, a finger)', MBr $barr$ 'summit', MW $barr$ ~ bar , OBr, Br $barr$ id., 'branch', Crn bar 'summit, branching bough' ||| L $festūca$ 'stalk, straw' (< *fers-tūka), $fastīgium$ 'point\spike (Spitze), the gable end, pediment of a roof', $fastigātus$ 'pointed' ||| P, Bern. and ESSJ adduced Sl *bъrščь (P's Sl *bъrstjo-) '*Heracleum sphondylium*' ('Bärenklau, борщевик') > Slv $břšč$, Slk $bršť$, HSrb $baršč$ id., OR $борщъ$, P $barszcz$ id., whence the name of heracleum soup and later that of soup of beet and cabbage (R, Uk $борщ$, P $barszcz$); the reason of this designation of the plant is not clear ({Bern.}: "die Benennung erfolgte nach der Gestalt der Blätter") ||| Ltv {ME} pl. $burkšķi$, $buršķi$, $burkši$, $burši$ {Bern.} '*Aegopodium podagraria*', {ME} 'Hundspetersilie', sc. 'cicely, *Aethusa*' (the reason of the designation is probably the form of its long naked haulm and its parsnip-like poisonous root) | Acc. to WH, the stem has a variant *b^horz-d^ho- / *b^hrez-d^ho- > OIr $brot$ 'pointe, aiguillon', Crn $bros$, Br $brous$ 'thorn', OCrn [VC] $bros$ 'aculeus', $broud$ 'aiguillon (+ err. Al $breth$ 'fir tree', see O 34) ¶ P 109, EI 439 (*br̥¹sti-s 'point'), M K II 523-4, M E II 273, Vn. B 19-20, 98, Flr. 80, Hm. 68, ECCE 213, WH I 461-2, 489, Vr. 27, 65, Bv 65, Ho. 41, OsS 93, EWA II 471-2, Kb. 137, KM 93, 113, Bern. I 109, ESSJ III 131-2, SPS I 422, ME I 353-4, Kf. 55, Matas. E 58 ||| A: M *barz̥a-yi- > WrM $barzai-$ {BMR} 'become uneven\rough', HIM $барзай-$ {MED} id., {BMR} id., становиться корявым), Vrt $барзай-$ 'be rough (быть шероховатым\корявым)', Kl {KRS} $барза-$ 'be uneven\rough', {Rm.} $barzā-$ 'eine unebene Oberfläche haben, runzlig\narbig sein; an-geschwollen und runzlig sein', Ord $b_arž_ā-$ 'présenter un aspect rugueux, avoir des aspérités'; M *barz̥agar > WrM {MED} $барзагар$, HIM {MED, BMR} $барзгар$, Vrt $барзагар$ 'uneven, rough', Kl {KRS} $барзһр$ $barzъұр$ id. ('неровный, шероховатый, бугристый'), {Rm.} $barzayar$ 'uneben\rauh' (von der Oberfläche), 'narbig\schmarrig' (von der Haut), Ord $b_arž_agar$ 'couvert d'aspérités, raboteux'; WrM $barzigir$ {MED} 'uneven, rough', HIM $баржгар$

{MED} id., {BMR} id. (of crêpe, silk), Brt бapжaгap 'uneven, rough' ¶ MED 90, BMR I 230. Kow. 1111, Chr. 87, KRS 82, KW 35, Ms. O 52.

250. *bʼAʼr̥ 'old' > HS *✓brʔ 'old, grown-up' > S: the S adj. (< pp.) *baʼr̥- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb אֲרִי בָּרִי bāʼr̥i adj. 'fat', f. bār̥-ā id., MHb אֲרִי בָּרִי bāʼr̥i 'healthy, strong, fat', JA {Js.} bāʼr̥i, JEA {Sl.} אֲרִי בָּרִי bāʼr̥i id., Ar bariʔa 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156, Sl. 244, Js. 192-3 || C: EC: Sa {Morin} bārra, {R} bārā 'old man', {Morin} bārʼra, {R} baʼrā 'old woman', Af {PH} barra 'wife, woman', ? Rn {Oo.} oʼborri, {PG} òbõrrì 'women, wives' || SC: Irq {Wh.} barisē 'old men', SC ⇨ Mb {Fl.} m-bora 'woman' ¶ Oo. 73, PG 238, R S II 84-5, Morin p.c., PH 69, Fl. p.c. || K *°ber- > OG, G ber-i 'old man', ber- v. 'make old' ¶ Chx. 78, DCh. 104, Abul. 31 || U: FP *por̥ 'old (aged)' > pLp {Lr.} *p̥r̥ēs id. > Lp: N {N} boares /-rras- 'old', S {Hs.} boāries, L {LLO} p̥ārēs 'old', Pa {TI} p̥w̥ʼaʼreʼsʼ, Kld {TI} puāresʼ 'old' (of humans, animals, things) | Vt pereś 'old', 'Ahn', Z p̥r̥+ś, Prmk p̥riś 'alt, alterschwach, hinfällig' ¶ UEW 737, Coll. 74, LG 229, Lr. no. 975, Lgc. no. 5149, Hs. 352-3, TI 385 || D {tr., GS} *paʼa- 'old' > Tm paʼa 'old' (of things), Ml paʼa 'old', paʼama 'oldness, old age', Kt paʼ-/pa- 'old', Td paʼw/pa- 'old', Kn paʼa, paʼe, Kdg paʼe 'old', Tu paʼa 'old, worn out', Tl p̥r̥ā- 'old' (in cds), Png p̥r̥ān 'old' (of things), Mnd p̥r̥an(ċa) 'old', Kui p̥r̥āḍi, Ku p̥r̥āʔi id. ¶¶ D no. 3999, GS 226 [no. 555], 165 [no. 413] ◇ FP *o may be explained by the assimilative infl. of the labial cns. *p-.

250a. *boʼr̥ or ***buʼr̥** 'sun, day' > HS: EC *barr- 'day, year' > Elm parr-ac 'daytime', Sml ber-i 'time', Gwd, Hr per-ko 'year', par-a 'when', HEC *barr- 'day' > Sd barr-a 'day, time', Ged barra, Kmb bar(r)a, bari 'day', Hd ball-a 'day, date'; Brj {Ss.} berr-i 'year'; (× N *bʼAʼr̥ 'old', q.v.): Or bar-a 'year, time, age', Kns par-a 'year, age' ¶ Ss. PEC 14 (pEC *bar-r- 'time'), Ss. B 35 (pEC *bar(r)- 'time, age, year'), Hd. 47 (pHEC *barra 'day') || ECh: Kwn {Mch.} bur 'day (journée)' ¶ ChC s.v. 'day' ¶¶ Not here Ak bēru 'double hour, one twelfth of a full day' (which is obviously a metaphore based on Ak bēru 'a «mile», measure of length'; the pS etymon must be *baʃħru) (CAD II 208-11) || IE: Clt {Matas.} *bāregō- 'morning' > OIr bārach 'tomorrow', MW bore, MBr beure, Cm bore 'morning' ¶ Matas, E 57 || D *poʼut- 'sun, day' > Tm poʼutu, pōʼtu, Kt poʼt, Kn poʼtu, portu 'sun, time', Ml poʼutu 'sun, day, auspicious time', Td

pišt 𐌆 pošt 'time, luck', Tu portu 'sun, daylight, time', Tl p(r)oddu 'day, morning, time', Klm pod 'sun', appuđ, a·puđ 'then', e·puđ 'when?', Nkr podd 'sun', Nk pod 'sun, day', Prj apoṭ 'that time', ipoṭ 'this time', Gnd poṛd 'sun, time, hour' 𐌆 poṛd(u) 'sun, day', Knd podu id., Png padna ~ podna 'time' ¶¶ D no. 4559 || U {UEW} *purk∇ 'time (Zeit, Mal)' > Prm *pūr > Z, Vt p+r 'always; immediately' || ObU: Vg: T pār, LK/MK/P/SV pōr, NV pōr, LL pōr 'time (Zeit, Mal), opportunity'; pOs {Ht.} p+ɣar > Os: V/Vy ki-p+ɣar, Ty kit-p+ɣar 'double' (kit 'two') || Sm: Slq LTz {KD} pā:r 'time (Mal)', Slq Tz {KKIH} pōr id., ukk+r pōr 'once' (ukk+r 'one') ¶¶ UEW 407, Coll. 53, LG 236, Lt. 195, Ht. no. 802, KKIH 152 ◇ The discrepancy between D *o and U *u is still to be explained ◇ The semantic filiation: 'sun' → 'day' → 'year, time' ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [no. 115] (D, EC, U + err.: L -ber in names of months and S).

251. *bôr'a' 'pierce, bore' > HS: WS *✓brr, *✓bry ~ *✓brw v. 'pierce, sharpen' > Gz ✓brr (js. ȳa-brar) v. 'pierce', BHb בָּרַרְתָּ הַיָּרֵךְ 'heç bārūr 'sharpened arrow', הִבִּירָהּ hā'bīrū v. *Sh* 2p inv. 'sharpen (the arrow)!', Ar ✓bry (pf. بَرَّى barā) 'tailler, couper (un roseau à écrire, une plume), exténuer, amaigrir (une bête de somme)', ✓brw (pf. بَرَأ barā) 'dégrossir avec une hache, adoucir avec une plane' ¶ L G 107, KB 156, KBR 163, BK I 119 || Eg fOK ωbḅ v. 'drill' (ω- is a px), Eg fP bḅbḅ 'hole' ('Loch, Höhlung) > Cpt Sd/B ВНБ бēб 'caverne, nid' ¶ EG I 290-1, 419, Fk. 58, 7, Tk. II 56-63, Vc. 25 ¶ IS I 186 misquoted Eg ωbḅ as ωbr || IE: NaIE *bher- v. 'bore, pierce' (× N *bU?R∇ 'to dig' [q.v.]) > L for-ā- v. 'bore', forāmen 'hole' || ON bora 'hole', inf. bora, OSx, OHG inf. borōn, NHG inf. bohren, AS inf. borian 'to bore', NE bore || ? Irn: NPrs inf. بَرِّيدَنَ borrīdān ~ بَرِّيدَنَ borīdān 'to cut', Av tiži-bāra- 'mit scharfer Schneide' || pAl {O} *birā > Al T/G birē 'hole' || Arm բահ bah 'spade, hoe' (gen. բահի bahi) (< *bʰr̥-ti-) || OIr bern, berna 'crack, cleft, gap', {Vn.} 'fente, brèche, trouée' ||] Possibly words for ploughing (← 'piercing the soil'): Gk φάρος ntr. 'plough, ploughing', φάρῶ ~ φάρῶω v. 'plough' || Sl *borna 'harrow' > Blg бpa'на, McdS бpa'на, SCr brāna, Δ brāna 'harrow', Slv brána, Cz, Slk pl. brány, LLs brona, HLs bróna, OR Бopонa, R, Uk бopонa, Blr бapa'на id. ¶ P 133-5, WH I 481-2, M K II 533, F II 994, Ch. 1179, Vr. 49-50, EWA II 246-7, KM 89, Ho. 31, Ho. S 9, Vl. I 232, Horn 49, O 2, ≈ Vn. B 41 (OIr bern < IE *bher- 'strike, cut'), ≈ ESSJ II 204-6, Vs. I 196-7, Drd. 39 || U *pura 'borer

(tool)', *pura- v. 'bore, drill, pick a hole' > F p u r a 'crowbar, drill', p u r a a- v. 'pick holes (Löcher stemmen)', Es p u r a 'Instrument der Schmiede zum Durchschlagen von Löchern in Eisen' | Lp: N {N} b o r r e / -r- 'edge', L {LLO} p a r r ē 'borer (tool)' | Prm {LG} *pūr- vt. 'drill, gouge, peck', Prm *pūr 'through', *pūrić 'ice pick' > Vt Sr p+r, Kz pзr, Prmk p+r 'durch, hindurch', Vt прич 'ice pick, ice spike', {W} p+r+ž 'Hohleisen', Z p+r-ńзv 'gimlet' ({TmK} пырнёв 'буравчик'), p+r+ž 'long crowbar, ice pick' (= 'lange Brechstange, Eishaue'), Z {TmK} p+rэд- 'drill a hole, perforate, durchbohren' || ObU *pōr 'awl, borer' > pVg *pōrī > Vg T p o r ē 'Ahle, Pfriemen'; pOs *pōr ({Hl.} *pūr) 'borer' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/Nz/Kz pōr, K/O pā r id. | Hg f ú r - v. 'bore, drill', f ú r ó 'Bohrer; bohrend' || Sm *p∇r-, {Jn.} *pъrъyъn 'Bohrer' > Ne T пāpэ', T O p a r ḗ", Ne F L p a r : t̄ id., Ne T inf. п a p p a r e n o c ь 'to perforate, durchbohren', F p a r r + η · o ś id., Slq Tz {KKIH}, Slq Tm p u r 'a borer', Slq Tz {KKIH} p a r ä η 'ice pick', Slq UKt p a r i η 'Eishaue', Kms p a r i y a n, p a r ŋ 'borer', p a r a η 'Brenneisen zum Anbringen der Löcher in den Schneeschuhen, Bohrer' ¶¶ UEW 405, Coll. 52, Sm. 539 (U, FU *p u r ā, FP *p u r a, Ugr *p ū r a, Sm *p e r e v. 'bore'), MF 221-2, LG 236-7, TmK 587-8, It. no. 197, Ht. 178 [no. 531], Jn. 114, KKIH 147 | ¶ A: T (+ext.) *burga 'borer' > ET burç a, Uz burç i, Qrg burç u, burō, Qq burç i, burau, Qzq burç i, Tk b u r g u, Az burç u, Tkm, Nog buraw, Bsh, VTt b ū r a u id., Chv p r a 'Bohrer (бурав, сверло), Ahle', VTt б → O R б о у р а в ъ, R б у 'рав 'gimlet, auger'; as to Qzq {Rl.} bura- 'schrauben, bohren' and Alt Δ p u r - v. 'drill', they may be semantic derivatives from T *bura- v. 'turn round' or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Jег. 147-8, Fed. I 398, Rl. IV 1817, Vs. I 242-3, ≠ ET B 264-7 (considering this stem to be a variant of and a d. from *bur- v. 'turn round, rotate'), Ash. X 126, Fed. I 398-9, Jег. 147-8, ¶ The loss of palatality in *r̄ is due to the precon. position (acc. to Hl.'s hyp.) || D *pōr̄- ({GS} *p-) v. 'split', n. 'hole, opening, cleft' > Kn pō r̄ a l 'hollow in a tree', ?φ: Tm pō t̄ u 'hole, opening, cleft', Kt b o · t̄ 'hollow in tree trunk, hole that goes through', Tu p o t̄ t̄ æ 'hollow of a stalk or a tree'; the D √ results from the merger of two ancient roots: the √ in question and another one meaning 'cleave, split': D *pōr̄a ({GS} *p-) v. 'split, cleave' > Tm pō r̄ v. 'be cleft\split; split, cleave open', Kn pō r̄ v. 'cleave, split', Prj pō r̄- v. 'split, cleave' ¶¶ D no. 4599 ¶¶ The length of the vw. and the meaning are connected with the infl. of D *pō r̄- 'hole' (< N *b U ? R ∇ 'to dig; a pit') ◇ The discrepancy between the U and T ev. for the N vw. *u and the D ev. for *o is still to be

explained ◇ IS I 186-7 s.v. *b_ur_u 'to bore, to drill', to which he ascribed together the reflexes of N *b_or_u'a' 'pierce, bore', those of N *b_ur_u 'turn round, rotate' and those of N *b_ur_u 'dig'.

252. *bu_u (ḲU) [or *bu_u (ḲU)] 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > HS: Eg N/G b_rb_r ≈ kochen' > Cpt: Sd БРБР b_ar b_ar, В ВЕР ВЕР b_er b_er 'bouillir, soudre' ¶ EG I 466, Vc. 30, Tk. II 262-3 || B *√Hbr v. 'boil' > Mz, Wrg ab_ar (pf. yub_ar), Gd āβ_ar (pf. yūβ_er) 'bouillir', Awj 3s pf. yu'vīra, Nf 'aw_er (pf. yo'w_er~yōū'w_er) id., Gh ab_ar v. 'boil' ¶ Dlh. M 10, Dlh. Ou 27, Beg. 220, Lf. I 253 and II no. 0095, Prd. 161, La. S 205, NZ 90 || ?φ S *°-pūr- > Ar √fwr (ip. ya-fūru) 'bouillonner, être en ébullition' (une marmite) ¶ BK II 645 || EC *burḳ- 'spring (Quelle)', v. 'spring' > Or: {Ss.} burḳ- v. 'spring', burḳ-a, B {LLC} burḳa n. 'spring', {Th.} 'fonte', M {LLC} burḳā 'spring', burḳ- v. 'spring up', Kmb bu'ḳ-uta 'spring', Hd buḳ-, bubuḳ- v. 'spring', Sml buq- v. 'leak' ¶ Ss. B 42-3, LLC 194, Th. 51-2 || IE: NaIE *b^hrey-/ *b^herw- 'boil' ({EI} *b^hrey- 'brew') > L feruē-re, feru-ēre inf. 'boil, seethe' || OIr berb-aid (3s pres.) 'boil, cook', Wberw-, Br birvi- ~ birvi- vi. 'boil', MBr {Ern.} beru 'du bouillon', bero 'bouilli' || ON, NNr inf. brugga 'to brew', OHG {OsS} inf. briuwen ~ brūwen ~ brouwen vt. 'to brew, to boil' (not mentioned in EWA, mentioned as briuwan and gibriuwan without translation in Kb., but reconstructible from ds and cds: OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', briumeistar id., briuwino 'Bierbrauer, caupo' and briu-hūs 'brewery'), NHG inf. brauen, OSx inf. gi-breuwan, AS inf. bréowan 'to brew', NE brew; OHG brower 'Brauer, caupo', OSx brou-hūs, OHG briu-hūs, NHG Brauhaus 'brewery' || R Δ бpу'я 'Strömung', бpу'ить 'stark reiβend strömen' || ?σ OI bhur'vaṇi- 'restless, excited' ¶ P 143-5, Mn. 75, EI 199, WH I 487, Vn. B 40-1, Ern. 59, Vr. 60, OsS 85, EWA II 367, 350-1, Kb. 120, KM 96-7, Ho. 34, Ho. S 10 ¶ The variant *b^herw- is original, while *b^hrey- (in L and Clt) is a secondary Schwebeablaut variation || NaIE *b^hrēu-ṛ / b^hrēu-n- / b^hru-n- 'spring (fons)' (× N *b_ur_u 'to dig; a pit, well', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *pur- > Es S {W} pura- vi. 'bubble, seethe (клокотать, бурлить)', Es {W} purise- 'sprudeln, hervorsprudeln, mit Geräusch fließen', F (Δ?) {MF} pura-ta, puraan 'sprudeln' | Er purams 'strudeln', puramo 'Strudel, Wasserwirbel' | Prm **būr- > Vt bīrekt- 'boil', 'sieden, aufsieden, aufkochen', ?σ Z bīrkms 'buttermilk' || Hg forr- v. 'boil, seethe' ¶ F poris- v. 'murmur' (of water), 'журчать', porina n. act.

'murmur of water, журчание' and Es *porise-* {W} 'brodeln, verworren und undeutlich schallen' are either onomatopoeic and do not belong here or have their irreg. -o- due to onomatopoeic connections (e.g. with F *porē* n. 'bubble'); F *porē* 'bubble' and Sm **р̄|ā̄r* id. (> Ng {Cs.} *fâr*, *far* id., Kms {Adl.} *phor* 'vesica', Koyb {Sp.} *пяръ* 'пузырь') are likely to belong to a different etymon ¶¶ MF 215-16, W EDW 896-7, Jn. 114, ≠ LG 45, UEW 414, SK 502-3 || A **burk*¹- > T **bürkü-*, **bürkür-* v. 'spurt, gush' (× N **m̄R̄, ∇, K̄a* 'moist, liquid; to moisten'?) > OT *bürkir-* ~ *bürkür-* v. 'spurt, gush', *bürkek* in *kö:k bürkek boldı*: 'the sky poured down rain', MT XIII *bürkük* 'spray', Tkm *pürk-* v. 'sprinkle, splash', Uz *purka-*, VTt *бөрк-* *börk-*, CrTt *bürük-*, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog *bürk-* id., 'spray', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *pürkü-* ~ *pürkür-* v. 'splutter', Xk *pürgür-*, ET *pürk(ü)-*, Chv *пёрёх-* *рёрёх-* 'sprinkle' ¶ The vl. cns. in Tkm and Uz needs explanation ¶ Cl. 363-4, DTS 133, Rl. IV 1399, Rs. W 93, Ash. X 231, Fed. I 422, Jeg. 156, Tkr 538, Sht. 63, KumRS 89, RKB 51, Md. 64, 175 (**p'ürk-*) || M **burgi-* (× N **buR̄, ∇, K'∇* 'storm, stormy wind' × N **bôri*¹*'y'U* 'loose earth, dust') > WrM {MED} *burgi-*, *burgi-ra-*, HIM *бурги-* {MED, BMR} v. 'rise in clouds, whirl (as dust, water or smoke)', {BMR} *бургира-* v. 'rise, swirl (клубиться)' (smoke), Ord *b_urgî-* 'jaillir, bouillonner', 's'élever en tourbillonnant' (p. ex. poussière), Mnr H {SM} *p'užî-rā-* 'jaillir, sortir avec violence' (eau, fumée etc.); the M verb < the A (and N) etymon in question × N **bôri*¹*'y'U* '↑' (q.v.) ¶ H 19, MED 138, BMR I 289, SM 306, S AJ 243 [no. 215], Chr. 105, Ms. O 98 || D {Pf.} **puṛ-∇-k-* / **puṛ-∇ṅk-* ({ṅGS} **p-*) v. 'boil' > Tm *puṛuṅku* v. 'be steamed\parboiled', *puṛukku* v. 'boil (paddy) before husking', Ml *puṛuṅṅuka* v. 'be boiling\stewed\ steamed', *puṛukkuka* vt. 'boil', Td *puṣk-* v. 'boil (potatoes)', Kn *puṛgi* 'rice boiled with pulse', Tu *purguni* v. 'be well-boiled (as rice)', Krx *pūx-* vt. 'boil' ¶¶ D no. 4315, Pf. 42 ◇ IS I 190-1 (**bur'a*).

253. **b'u'Xra* 'watercourse, river' > HS: WS **baḥ, ∇, r-* 'watercourse, river' (→ 'sea') > Ak *bērtu* 'stream of water, watercourse', Ar *baḥr-* 'sea, large river', Sr (← Ar) *baḥ'r-ā* 'sea', Sb *bḥr* 'sea, coast', Gz *ḥr* *ḥr* *ḥr* *bāḥr* [*baḥr*] 'large river, lake, sea', Tgr *baḥr*, Tgy *baḥri* 'sea' ¶ Sd. 122, BGMR 27, L G 91. BK I 88 || C: Bj {R} *be'hār* ~ *be'har* 'river, sea' (← Ar, EthS?) ¶ R WBd 45-6 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} **vwo, yor* 'river, brook' > Ang {Flk.} *fωōr* 'river, stream', Ywm {Fp.} *ver* id., Su {J} *vóyór* 'Bach, Wasserlauf' | ? Ngz {Sch.} *wúríyâ* 'open pit where water can

collect' ||| ECh: Mu {Lk.} b̀urǝ́lǝ́ 'river', Ke {Eb.} v̀or 'river, lake' ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Lk. ZSS 181, J S 86, Stl. VZCh A no. 257, Sch. DN 173, Eb. 101 ||| IE: NaIE *bʰe̯r̥u̯- / *bʰe̯r̥- 'body of water' > OI \wedge bh̥a'r̥u-h̥ 'sea' ||| pSI *bara 'small river, stagnant water' (\times N *beR̥ ∇ 'mud, swamp', q.v.) > Blg b̥apa 'small river\stream, stagnant water, puddle', McdS {IS} b̥apa 'puddle', SCr b̥āra id., 'meadow', Slv b̥āra, Cz Δ b̥ara 'swamp' ||| ? ϕ AS brim, brymm 'sea, flood'; ?? σ , ϕ Gmc *brōka- > OHG 'marsh, swamp', NHG Δ Bruch 'feuchte Wiese', NLG brōk, Dt broek 'Morastgrund', AS brōc 'brook, stream, river', NE brook ¶ Ho. 35; MK II 479 (OI bh̥a'r̥u-h̥: "möglicherweise eine ganz künstliche, schwerlich nachzu-zeichnende Genesis hat"), MW 748, Bt. IV 252, Ho. 33-5, 37, ESSJ I 153-4, KM 103, Ho. 35 ||| U: BF *pur- > F puro 'brook, creek', Krl puro id., 'small ditch', Krl N purakko 'brook', ? F Δ purakko 'damp country' ¶ SK 655, SSA II 437 ||| A: Tg *bira (\times *buR̥ ∇ 'to dig; a pit, well') > Ewk, Sln bira, Lm bira, Neg biya, WrMc {Z} бира 'river', Ewk biraya, Lm biraqçan, Neg biya 'small river, spring', Nn Nh {STM} bira id., {On.} бир̆ан 'brook, small mountain river', Orc bia-ka ~ biya-ka 'brook, spring', Ud {STM} b'eäsa, {Shn.} biyasa, Ud Sm {Krm.} b̆ä'sa 'river, small river', Ul bura 'brook, gulf', WrMc {Z} бирага, биргань, биржа 'small river, brook, канава', Jrc {Kiy., Md.} bira 'river' ¶ STM I 84, On. 67, Z 504, 506, Ci. 297, Krm. 212, Kiy. SJL 99 [no. O4O], Md. ChF 135 ¶ Hardly here Ewk Ucr buruk, Ewk Tk burukūn 'whirlpool' (< N *buR̥ ∇ 'turn round, rotate', q.v.) ||| D (att. in SD) *pura ({{ θ GS}} *p-) 'river' > Ml pura, Kt pey, Td pa'w, Kn por̆e, Kdg por̆e id. (with *u for the expected *i due to the labializing infl. of *p-?), as well as probably D (att. in SD) *p̆ir 'flow' > Tm p̆ir 'abundant flow; milk flowing from a woman's breast', Ml p̆ira 'milk of grated coconuts', Tu p̆iruni v. 'exude, percolate' ¶ D no-s 4222 and 4318 \diamond The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) is still to be explained (*see* Introduction, § 2.4). Cp. similar cases: N * κ um ∇ 'sand' > Tg * χ imana- v. 'snow' and N *pulu (or *pulü?) 'to spring forth' > Tg *bilku- vt. 'moisten, wet' \diamond IS MS 369 (*bir̆ > Tg, D *p̆ir-), \approx Blz. L no. 96c (suggesting to add SI *bara and Gmc *brōka), \approx Blz. LNA no. 5 (N *buhr̆ ∇ ~ *burh̆ ∇ ; suggesting to add BF and Ewk buruk).

254. *bar̆ ∇ 'big, much, thick' > HS: EC: Sml b̆ir- 'augmentare', bir-s- 'crescere'; pSam {Hn.} *b̆ur 'big' (of things) > Rn b̆ūr id., 'large; plenty', Sml b̆ur-an 'be stout'; Dsn búrnab 'be many' ¶ DSI 57, 71, PG 82, Hn. S 55, To. DL 488 || NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} b̆ēr̆ā, {Fl.} bera 'big', Bsk {Fl.} barinc

'long' ¶ CR H 641, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL no. 183 || Ch: WCh: Zul bàrì, Buli bàrí, ? Sy {Sh.} v^wzèrì 'large' || CCh: Gudu búròm id., Lama b̄́z̄́m 'many' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} b̄́r̄́l 'big', ? b̄́r̄́r̄́r̄́ 'many' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'large' and 'many', Fd. s.v. b̄́r̄́l || The CS adj. (< pp.) *bā'rī?- 'fat, stout' (of animals and humans), 'healthy' (> BHb אִרְבָּי bā'rī adj. 'fat', f. bārī'ā id., MHb אִרְבָּי bā'rī 'healthy, strong, fat', JA bārī אִרְבָּי id., Ar bārī'a 'was\became fat') is likely to go back to a merger of several N etymons (becoming homonymous in S), among them the etymon in question ¶ KBR 156 || IE: NaIE *b^her- 'good, big' > Gk Hm φέρ-ιστος sprl. {P} 'best', Gk φέρ-ιστος 'bravest, best' || Arm բարի bārī (gen. բարևոյ bārēvo) 'good' || L ferē 'almost, nearly', 'as a rule, generally' (< 'mostly'), fermē (< *ferimē sprl.) 'almost, nearly' || OHG bora- (-or- < *r̥) px 'very' (bora-lang 'very long'), OSx bar- px 'very' (bar-wirthing 'sehr würdig') ¶ IS I 175, Mul. 177, ≠ WP I 858, ≈ WH I 480-1, ≈ F II 1002, OsS 80, EWA II 242-3, Ho. S 5 || A *bār̥ (< *bārī?) 'thick, wide' (× N *bī?r̥gE 'high, tall?') > T *bā:;r̥ik 'thick' > MT XIV [AH] bazuq 'stout person', MQp XIV [CC] baziq 'dick, grob', Qmq, Blq baziq, Kr baziq ~ baziK ~ baziX 'thick (dick)', VTt baziq 'thickset (коренастый)', Bsh baḏiq 'hefty, firm' ¶ Rs. W 66, KumRS 59, TatR 52, KRPS 97-8, BR 69-70, RKB 628 || Tg [1] Tg *bara(n) 'much' > Ewk baran, baradin id., barama 'many', Sln barā, Lm baran 'much', Neg baya id., bayān 'many', Ork bara 'much, many', WrMc {Z} барань 'a lot, multitude'; Tg *baru-n 'thick' > Lm barun, Orc baun, Ud bau 'thick', Nn KU barō, WrMc {Z} барунь 'round, full' ¶ STM I 73, 76, Z 480-1 || [2] ?φ Tg *burgu 'fat, thick' (× N *bī?r̥gE 'high, tall?') > Ewk, Sln burgu, Lm bergъ, Neg bolgo, Ul božo(n), Ork boddo(n), Orc boggo, Ud bogo id., Nn Nh buygu {STM} 'thick, fat', {On} 'fat' (of animals), 'thick' ¶ STM I 112, On. 81 || M: [1] M *barbayi- 'be thick' > WrM барбай- {MED} 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'be thick' (of lips), HIM барвай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be broad and thick' (of a beard), 'be coarse' (of textiles), 'become thick', Brt барбай- 'be hairy\shaggy' (× N *bur̥u,d̥'g' 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' [q.v.]?), Kl {KRS} барва- id., 'be hairy\shaggy', {Rm.} barwā- 'kompakt und haarig sein' ¶ MED 84, KRS 81, KW 35, Chr. 87 || [2] M *barda-, *barda-yan > WrM {MED} bardagan 'abundance, abundant; efficiency', HIM {MED} бардаа(н) id., {BMR} бардаа 'energy, Willenskraft', Brt (d.) бардамаар 'щедро, вволю', Kl {KRS} барда- bardā- 'be stout' (as well as possibly M *barda- 'be

sure\overconfident about one's success, boast' > WrM {MED} *barda*- id., HIM *барда-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'voll Selbstvertrauen sein, sich brüsten, prahlen', {BMR} *бардаа* 'Selbstvertrauen [уверенность в себе]', Brt d. *бардаастай* 'self-confident', d. *бардам* 'swagger, boasting', Kl d. {KRS} *бардм* id., {Rm.} *bardm̥* 'Prahlerie; prahlerisch, stolz, selbstvergnügt', Mnr H {SM} *b_ard_õη* 'fanfaron, présomptueux') ¶ MED 85, BMR I 230, Chr. 87, KRS 82, KW 34, SM 21 || Ko: (a) pKo *pár > MKo *pár*, NKo *pál* 'fathom' (pA *b|p'i'yo'r∇ ≈ 'big' < N *biʔ∇r∇gE 'high, tall') ¶ Nam 246, MLC 723 |(b) ? pKo *pìrì 'thick, satiated' > MKo *pìrì*, NKo *puri* id. ¶ Nam 270, MLC 813 ¶¶ SDM 330-1 (pA *bǎ́r'i' 'thick, wide' > Tg, M, T, Ko + unc. pJ *pìrè- 'wide; fathom'), DQA no. 96 || D *par- ({ʔGS} *p-) v. 'become large', adj. 'large' > Tm *paru* id., Ml *paru* 'gross, big', Kn *hari*, *hariba* 'a mass, multitude', Tu *pariya* 'plenty, much', OTI *prabbu* v. 'increase', Krx *pard-* 'grow in number, grow in size or age' ¶¶ D no. 3972, Km. 444 [no. 894] (reconstructing pSD *par-ump-/-amp-) ◇ Cf. also FP *para 'good' (probably from N *paR,a,Xi ≈ 'happy, dear' [q.v.], which is semantically nearer) ◇ IS I 175 [no. 7] (IE, U, D, A) ◇ The presence of *ʔ in the original N form is suggested both by S *ʔ and by the reflex *-r- in D (going back to N *r|́ + cns., while the N intervocalic *-r̥- yields D *-r̥-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 235 (*pare 'large') (IE, U, Ai + qu. CK, Gil).

255. *boṛ,ʔ,ú 'brown, yellow' > HS: EC (Ss.) *boʔr- id., 'red, dark-colored' > Rn {PG} *bōrán* 'brown', Sml {Ss.} *bor-a* 'grey, dirty', {ZMO} *bōre* 'grey, ash-colored' (of cloth) (× ← *bōr* 'dust'), Or *bōr-ū* 'ash-colored, dim, dull', {Th.} *bōra* 'pale (bianco sbiadito), grey (cenerino, grigio)', {Grg.} *bōra* 'brown' (color of cow), 'mud-colored', Kns *pōr*, pl. *puʔʔur-*, Gdl *pōr-* 'black', Arr {Hw.} *burrí*, {Ss.} *bur-iy-ḡa*, Dsn *búr*, Elm *burr-i-ḡa* 'red', Arr {Hw.} *burraḡ-* 'become red', *burras-* vt. 'redden', Brj 'bōr-ē 'yellow color', Sd *bōra* 'ash-colored', Kmb {L} *bora* 'grey, brown, dirty color' ¶ Ss. B 39, PG 80, DSI 64, ZMO 44, Gs. 45, Th. 47, Grg. 56-7, Hw. A 350, L EDH 44, To. DL 488 || B {ʔPr.} *√brh,m (< √*brʔ|hm) > Ah *b̄arum̄at*, ETwl, Ty *ibram* / *b̄ram* 'être de couleur jaune paille', Ah *eb̄arim* 'chameau jaune paille' ¶ Fc. 95, GhA 10, NZ 113-14 || IE {EI} *b^her- 'brown' > NaIE *b^her- id. (→ 'a bear'), *b^hreṽH- id., *b^he-b^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver'): [1] *b^her- > Lt *béras*, Ltv *bērs* 'bay' (a horse) (with *e in the L-grade of apophony) || ON *bjqrn*, NNr, Dn *bjørn*, Sw *björn*, OHG *bēro*, NHG *Bär*, AS *bera* n. 'bear' > NE *bear* || [2] *b^hreṽH- > pGmc

*brūna- 'brown' > OHG, OSx, AS brūn, NHG braun, NE brown] [3]
 *b^heb^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver') ({EI} *b^heb^hru-s 'beaver') (rdp.) > OI
 ba'bhruḥ 'reddish-brown, brown', Av baṵra- 'beaver', pIrn *baṵra-
 'brown, yellow' > Ygn, Shgn ṽur id., Oss I būr, Oss D bor 'yellow', CINPrs
 {VI., Sg.} بور bōr, NPrs بور būr 'red, color of the pistachio nut'; Irn ⇨ Sl:
 R 'бурый, Р bury 'brown'; Ary ⇨ Ak Nz babrunnu 'bay' || L fiber
 ~ feber 'beaver' || Gl bebru-, Crn (← OCrn) befer, Br {WH}
 bieuzr id. || Gmc *beβ(u)raz 'beaver' > ON bjór-r, OHG bibar, NHG
 Biber, OSx biṵar, AS be(o)for, NE beaver || Clt {Matas.} *bebru-
 *'beaver' > OIr p.n. Bibar, OBr beuer 'castor' || Pru bebrus, Lt
 bēbras, Lt Δ bebrūs, Ltv bebrs id. | Sl *bebrъ ~ *bōbrъ id. > ChS, OR
 БѢБРЪ bebrъ ~ БОБРЪ bobrъ, Blg бобър, Δ бебер, SCr đābar, Δ
 bōbar, Slov bóber, Cz bobr, Slk bobor, P bóbr, R бо'бѣр, бобр, Uk
 бібр id. ¶ P 136, EI 57, 85, M K II 409, M E II 210, VI. I 274, Sg. 206,
 Horn 49, Ab. I 271-2, WH I 490-1, ECCE 213, OsS 52, 59, 87, EWA I 563-
 5, II 6-8, 374-7, Kb. 68, 71, 123, KM 50-1, 73-4, 97, Ho. 20-1, 36, Ho. S
 8, 10, Vr. 40-1, SPS I 453, Frn. 38-9, En. 150, Tp. P A-D 203-5, Vs. I
 180-1, 249, ESSJ I 174-5 and II 145-6, Glh. 186-7, Matas. E 59 || **A**
 *bo'ǵ 'grey' > T *bo'ǵ 'grey' > NaT *boz > OT boz id. ({Cl., Dr.} OT bōz
 with unj. long ō), Tkm bōb (providing ev. for a short vw. in this stem), Tk
 boz 'brown, grey', Az boz 'grey', Ggz bōz id. (with puzzling length of the
 vw.) ¶ Chv павăр(лă), Δ пурлă 'roan (horse)' (that was often adduced
 as a proof of a long vw. within the stem reconstructed as *bō'ǵ) has been
 convincingly interpreted by IS as a loan from M *buṵural ~ *buṵurul
 'roan' ¶ Cl. 388-9, Rs. W 82, IS I 183, ET B 171-73, Jeg. 146, Fed. I 394,
 TL 605, Dr. TM II 335 || M *bora (or *boro?) 'grey' > MM [MA] bora, [S]
 boro id., [HI] boro 'cendré', WrM boru {MED} 'grey, brown', HIM
 бор {MED} id., {BMR} 'grey', 'сизый', 'braun' {Gesicht), Brt боро 'grey;
 braun {Gesicht}', Kl {KRS} бор id., {Rm.} boro 'grau', Mnr H {SM} b_oro
 'gris', {T} boro, Dx boron 'grey', Mgl borō 'dunkelgelb, gelbbraun', Ord
 b_oro 'gris, gris jaunâtre' ¶ Pp. MA 121, H 19, Lew. II 21, MED 121, BMR I
 264-5, Chr. 106, KRS 110, KW 51, SM 28, Ms. H 42, Ms. O 80, MYC 584,
 T 318, T DnJ 112, Rm. M 24 ¶¶ SDM 376 (pA *bo'ǵ 'grey' > M, T), DQA
 no. 191, Pp. VG 20, 81, KW 51, Vld. 361 || ? E: NEI pu-ur-na 'brown' ¶
 HK 242 ◇ Blz. E no. 71 (E, HS) ◇ Cf. IS I 183-4.

255a. *bū|ur'ǵ,ǵ 'lock of hair, down' > K: GZ *burṭǵ]- 'down and
 plumage' > G burṭǵ]- id., Mg buṭqu- 'soft'; GZ *burṭǵ]- is likely to go back

to a N cd ≈ *^obü|ur₁?₁∇ d∇1gâ (lit. 'hair feather', *F* N *^d∇1gâ 'feather') with as. *d_g > *t_g ¶ K 55, K² 21, FS K 65, FS E 68 || D *pūr- ({{^θGS}} *b-) 'down, body hair' (× N *P_or₁∇₁∇ 'hair') > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr būr 'down, fine feather', Gnd būrā ∂ bura 'down' ∂ burā 'feather', Knd burus ∂ bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png būra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd būrīŋ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Ku būrka (pl.) 'down', Mlt purgu 'hair on the body' ¶¶ Png and Mnd point to D *-r- from a N cns. cluster (in N *P_or₁∇₁∇ 'hair'), while Knd -r̄- suggests pD -r̄- (× N *P_or₁∇₁∇) ¶¶ D no. 4358 (without distinguishing this root from D *pūt- > Ml pūtā 'down of birds', Brh puṭ 'hair' etc., as well as from D *pur₁r₁∇ 'eyelash, eyebrow', see N *būrūH∇ 'eyebrow, eyelash'), GS 159, 173-6, 181-3 (on D *-r̄- and *-r-), Berger BZ 42 [fn. 85] || HS: Eg N br {Hng} 'hair tuft' (in br n s d 'tuft of the tail' [n s d 'of the tail']), {AnC} 'touffe (de la queue d'animal)' ¶ Hng 256, AnC-1 no. 1277, Tk. II 249-51 || C: Bj {Rop.} bār 'camel hair', berār i 'mane', {R} be'rār e 'mane (of lions, horses, pavians)' ||| EC: Sml {ZMO} bār 'eyelashes; hairs of the camel's hump' ||| SC: Irq {E} borī 'body hair, facial hair', {MQK} bōri 'beard on the chin', Brn {Kβ.} bōra 'goat's beard', -b→ Mb {E} būru 'goat's tail' ¶ Blz. EDB 6, Blz. CP s.v. 'hair', Rop. 162, R WbD 51, ZMO 24, Siy. 290, E SC 140 || ECh: Smr {J} bārā 'tresse (cheveux)' ¶ J LS s.v. bārā ¶¶ Tk. SCC 72 [no. 1.4] (C, Eg + unc. ✓bhrr ~ ✓bhrr ~ ✓br̄r 'tail' in B lges), Tk. LAA-1 127-8 [no. 171] || ?μ S: Ar burā?il- 'plumes fines formant le collier de certains oiseaux (p. ex., le coq, le pigeon)' ¶ BK I 117 ¶ The etymological structure of burā?il- is unknown; it may go back to a phrase (two words), and it is not certain that ? belongs to the first root (presumably ✓br?) || A: NaT *bü₁:₁rçæ k (originally a d.?) 'curly hair, forelock' > OT [MhK] bū r č ä k 'forelock', Osm bürček ~ bürčük 'curly hair', {Rl.} pürčük 'die Locke, lockig, gelockt; der Flaum eines Stoffes, Tk pūr c, e k 'curly hair, fringe hair\fibres (бaxpoma)', Az birčäk, Tki {Vmb.} بورچاك, {Rl.} bürčäk 'die Locke, das gekräuselte Haar', Qzq БΥρωικ 'nap (of velvet etc.)' ¶ Cl. 357, MM 111, Rl. IV 1400, 1892 ◇ The long vw. and the quality of r in D are likely to suggest the presence of a lr. The ev. of K (glottalization *d > *ṭ) and S (if ? in Ar burā?il- belongs to the ancient root) suggests that the N lr. was *?.

256. ? *^b∇^{r̄}₁∇₁d∇ 'hail' (and 'snow?') > K *^obard-(a)n- '(fresh) snow' > G bardni 'Schneepolster (z. B. auf Ästen)', bardn- 'schneien (in dichten

Flocken)' ¶ Chx. 66 || **HS:** WS *ba'rad- 'hail' > BHb בָּרָד *bā'rād* 'hail', JA, Sr bar'd-ā id., JEA {Sl.} bar'd-ā 'ice', Md barda 'hail, ice', Ar بَرَد *barad*- 'hail', Sb brd 'cold weather, hailstorm', Gz barad 'hail, snow, hoarfrost'; WS *✓brd G 'be cold, hail' > Ar ✓brd (pf. barada) v. 'be cold, hail', ✓brd (pf. baruda) v. 'be cold', BHb ✓brd G v. 'hail', Gz ✓brd G 'be cold, be covered with hail' ¶ KB 147, KBR 154, Sl. 242, Br. 95, Mc. HM 50, L G 103, Fr. I 105 || **A:** T *būr 'ice, hail' > OT בּוּז, Tk בּוּז, Tkm būδ, Az, Ggz buz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog buz, Uz, ET, Qq, Qrg, Slr, Ln muz, Qzq мѷз, VTt бѷз, Bsh бѷδ, StAlt mus, SY piz, Xk pus, Yk būs 'ice', Chv πᾶρ {Fed.} 'ice', {Ash., Jeg.} 'ice, hail' ¶ Cl. 389, ET B 238-9, Rs. W 91, Ash. X 119-22, Fed. I 398, Jeg. 147 ◇ Qu., because we cannot rule out a S origin of the G stem; the T cognate is problematic due to the absence of reflexes of N *d. The latter may be explained (ad hoc) as contraction *-rd- > *-r-, causing a compensatory lengthening of the vw.

257. (₂?) *b'i'ǝ'üw'qa (or *b'i'ǝ'uw'qa?) '∈ edible fruit' > K {K} *brgen, {K} *bergen, {FS} *berqwen 'wild pear, wild plum' > G Δ b(e)rgena 'willow-leaf pear (*Pyrus salicifolia*)', Sv: UB bargwend, Ch bärqwen, Lx bärqen, L/Ls bargwen 'wild plum' ¶¶ K 54, K² 12, Chx. 80, FS K 50, FS E 51, TK 144, GP 91, Dn. s.v. bargven || **IE:** NaIE *bʰrūg- 'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)' (P: 'genießen, gebrauchen' ← 'sich Früchte zum Genusse abrechnen oder abstreifen', Mn.: 'use, benefit, product, profit') > L frūg- (nom. frūx, gen. -gīs) 'fruit', Um accus. pl. FRIF, FRI 'fruges', L frūgī (dat.: *'zum Gebrauche' =) 'useful', fruor (inf. frui, pfc. fructus sum) 'enjoy', frumentum 'corn', fructus (gen. -ūs) 'enjoyment; produce, fruit', Osc fruktatiuf (*frūgetātiōnis) 'fructus' || Clt {Matas.} *baraglenjō/ā '(barley) bread' > MW, MBr bara id., OCrn bara 'panis', baracan 'white bread', OIr bairgen 'breaif, loaf' || Gt inf. brūkjan (p. brūhta) (· χρῆσις) 'gebrauchen', OHG inf. brūchan, brūchen, NHG inf. brauchen, OSx inf. brūkan 'to need, to use', AS inf. brūcan 'to make use of, to enjoy', NE brook; Gt brūks (· εὐχρηστος, ὠφέλιμος) 'brauchbar', OHG brūhhi 'useful (brauchbar)', AS brūcé 'useful' || ? amb Gk φρυκτός 'lottery bean, bean for voting' (unless derived from φρύζω v. 'roast' and originally meaning 'roasted [bean]') ¶ P 173, WP II 208, Mn. 106, WH I 552-3, EWA II 365-7, Bc. G 317, 336, F II 1046, Ch. 123, Fs. 107, OsS 86, KM 96, Ho. 36, Matas. E 56 || ?σD *piǝ'īka (~ *piǝ'īla) ({ǝGS} *p-) 'green mango fruit' > Kn pirika, p̄rīka, pirka, Png, Mnd p̄rīla id., Kui p̄ria, Ku p̄rīla 'unripe mango

fruit' (unless akin to S *'pīriy- 'fruit') ¶¶ D no. 4184 || HS: ? S: amb Ar birqūq- ~ burqūq- 'prunum, malum Armeniacum\Persicum' (unless ← Gk πρεκόκκλον ~ προκόκκλον id. ← L praecox 'ripe before the time' [Plinius: "Post autumnum maturescunt Persica, aestate praecocia"]) ¶ Fr. I 112, Steph. VII 157 ◇ Cf. N *pûHr▽ 'fruit'.

258. ?₂ *bUś|ć▽ 'rub, grind' > IE {P, EI} *b^hes- 'rub (off\away)' > OI bhas-: pres. 'babhasti 'chews, masticates, devours' (3p 'bapsati), bhas'ma 'ashes' ||| Gk ψάω, ψάω 'I rub away, I grind down' ||| ? A1 fshij- 'sweep, wipe, brush' ({EI}: < *b^hs-in-ye/o-) (but O 104 proposed a different et.) || ? amb Ht pes(ς)- 'rub, scrub (with soap etc.)' (unless somehow connected with IE *peis- 'zerstampfen, zermalmen', F P 796) ¶¶ P 145-6, EI 490, M K II 409, M E II 57, F II 1127, Frd. HW 108, Ts. W 62-3, CHD P 315 || U: FU *puś|ć▽-n▽ or *puśn▽ 'flour' (× N *P_oñś▽ 'dust') > Prm *puź / *puźn- > Vt, Z p+ź 'flour' ||| pVg *pǎsən (or *pōsən) 'flour' > Vg: T {Mu.} pǎsən, {Kn.} P posən, ML pasən id. ¶ It is not clear if Vt inf. p+źna-n+ and Z inf. p+źnav-n+ 'to pour (schütten)' belong here ¶ UEW 408-9, Coll. 110, LG 235 ¶ Rédei supposed that this root refers to flour made of wild cereals ◇ Qu., because FU *puś|ć_l▽_n has an alt. etymology. IS MS 358 (s.v. 'размельчатъ' *ба'ś'▽) equated the IE √ with U {Coll.} *paś▽ (which is less plausible, because here the semantic distance is greater: acc. to UEW 357-8, U *paś▽ means 'Loch, Öffnung, Spalt, Riß').

259. *buʔ_l▽_ś▽ 'bad' > HS: S *√bʔš 'be bad' > Ak biʔišu, bīš u 'bad', baʔāš u v. 'be of bad quality, smell bad', Ar biʔsa 'wie widerlich!', √bʔs (pf. baʔisa) v. 'be wretched, be unfortunate', BHb √bʔš G (pf. 𐎁𐎗𐎛 bā'paš) v. 'stink', N (pf. 𐎁𐎗𐎛 nib'paš) 'be hated', IA bʔyš 'bad, evil', BA f. 𐎁𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛 bəʔīš-'t-ā 'böse', IA bʔš {HJ} adj. 'bad, evil', JA √bʔš (pf. bə'ʔeš) v. 'be bad\unpleasant\wicked', JEA {Sl.} √bʔš 𐎁𐎗𐎛 bʔyš 'be sick\displeased', SmA √bʔš G 'displease', bʔš n. 'disease', Sr G √bʔš 'be bad', 𐎁𐎗𐎛 bāyšā 'poor', Md √bʔyš 'be bad\evil', biš, biša 'bad, evil, wicked', OSA √bʔš v. 'be bad', Gz √bʔs (pf. baʔasa, subj. yə-bʔas) id., 'become worse' (→ Q {R} bis- 'schlecht\elend sein') ¶ CAD II 4-5 and 270-1, HJ 142, L G 82-3, R QW 44, Vinn. SAN IV 201, KB 103, KBR 107, Sl. 183, Br. 56-7, Tal 78-9, DM 63 || EC *bus- 'be bad' > Sd {Hd.} buša 'bad', buš- 'be worse\bad', Hd/Kmb {C} buš- 'be cheap', Hd {Hd.} buš- 'become cheap', Or {Brl.} bos a 'lazy', bos-aωu 'become lazy' ¶ AD SF 53, Hd. 23, 38, 273, 355, Brl. 63 || Ch: WCh: Ang bǣs, Cp

b̀is, Su bíš 'bad' | Fy {J} ~bušř́ id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk} bázà id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'bad', ChL, J S 59 || IE: NaIE *^ob^hou̯s- > Gmc *ba^usi, *ba^usu- > OSx bōsa 'Posse', gi-bōsi 'Possen', OHG bōsi 'useles, cowardly, weak', bōsa 'hardness, nothingness; Possen, lappisches Treiben', NHG böse 'bad, wicked, angry', OFrs bâs-feng 'unzüchtiger Griff', Sw Δ böš 'wild' ¶ Ho. S 9, OsS 80, EWA II 252-5, Kb. 106, KM 93 || A: M *bus₁a₁- > WrM {MED} busaki, HIM бусхи {MED} 'bad, wicked', {BMR} 'scoundrel, villain, человек непристойного поведения'; d.: Kl {KRS} бусрмг 'bad, evil, mean' ('дурной, скверный, недостойный') ¶ MED 140, BMR I 292, KRS 122 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 7b (incl. C, S, IE, M).

260. *buš̂ ▽ 'to uncover, to peel, 'bare' > HS: C: Ag: Q {R} beš̂ - 'nackt\ entblößt sein' || SC {E} *baš̂- v. 'be stripped bare or clean' > Irq baš̂a 'field cleaned and dug up for cultivation, Kz ba| - v. 'wash, clean' || Dhl ḥaš̂ēḏ- v. 'strip bark away' ¶ AD GDS no. 1.29, R DQW 45, E SC 134, EEN 32 || NrOm: Kf {C} beš̂ō 'except (for)' ('eccetto, fuori di...') ¶ C SE IV 416 || Ch: WCh *buš̂- (= {JStl.} *buĉ-) v. 'untie' > Bl bəḏ-, Krkr bəḏu id. | NrBc *buĉ¹- > Wrj bəĉ-, Sir buḏu, Jmb mbuḏ id. | SBc: Sy {ChL} ḥəḏtú id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 151 [no. 66], ChL I 213; on my interpretation of S's WCh *ĉ as *š̂ see AD LOHS and LOHSa || S *^o√nbš̂ > Ar √nbš̂ 'déterrer, tirer au clair'; S (+ext.) *√bš̂r v. 'peel, skin' > Ar {BK} √bš̂r 'peler en enlevant l'écorce, dépouiller d'écorce \ de peau extérieure', Jb √bš̂r (pf. 'bš̂r) v. 'remove the old roof of a hut to put on a new one; skin (as an orange)'; S d. *baš̂ar- 'skin' ([in several S lges]:→ 'flesh' → [in Ak] 'one's child']) > Ar baš̂ar- 'peau extérieure (chez l'homme), épiderme', 'homme, genre humain, l'humanité', baš̂arat- 'épiderme', Mh bš̂arēt 'skin, complexion', BHb בָּשָׂר bāš̂ār 'skin' (ψ 102.6, 119.120, Hiob 4.15), 'flesh, meat', MHb בָּשָׂר bāš̂ār 'flesh, meat; body', Pun bš̂r 'flesh; child, descendant', Ug bš̂r {A} 'flesh, body', {OLS} 'flesh', IA bš̂r 'flesh', BA בָּשָׂר bəš̂ar 'flesh, people, animals', JA בָּשָׂר bəš̂ar, אֶבְיָר ~ בִּישָׂר bis'r-ā 'body, flesh, meat', JEA אֶבְיָר ~ בִּישָׂר bis'r-ā 'flesh, meat', Sr bəš̂ar, BES'rā 'flesh, body', Sb bš̂r 'flesh', Har, Grg Ch/Ez/Ed/En/Mh/ Ms/Go/Gt bāsār 'meat, flesh', Ak biš̂ru 'little child' ¶ BK I 128-9 and II 1184, Hv. 740, Js. 199-200, Jo. J 29-30, Jo. M 56, KB 156-7, KBR 164, JH 45, HJ 204, A no. 598, OLS 119, GB 120, 899, Sl. 207, BGMR 33, L G 110, L EDG III 159, CAD II 270, MiK I no. 1.41 ¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 169 [no. 41] || IE: NaIE *^hoso-, {EI} *^ho'so-s 'naked, bare' > pGmc *baza- > OHG bar 'bare, naked, alone', NHG, Sw, Dn bar 'naked,

bare', AS *bær* id. (> NE *bare*), ON *ber* 'naked; visible, clear' ||| Ltv *bas* 'bare', Lt *bāsas* id., 'barefoot' | SI **bōsъ* (f. **bo'sa*, *dadj.* **bosъjъ*) 'barefoot' > OCS, OR *босъ* *bosъ*, Blg *бос*, SCr *bōs* (f. *bōsa*), Slv *bōs*, Cz *bosý*, P *bosy*, R *бос*, *бо'сой* id. ||| Arm *բոկ* *bok* (< **b^hoso-gō-* or {EI} **b^hos-ko-*?) id. ¶ P 163, EI 45, OsS 40, EWA I 465-6, Kb. 56, Ho. 15, Vr. 34, Slr. 347, Frn. 36, SPS I 340, ESSJ II 223-4, Vs. I 199, Glh. 142 ||| U: FU **puš|ś* ∇- v. 'peel, pluck, be worn out' > Vt Sr *pošt-* 'abgetragen werden, sich zerfetzen' ||| Hg *foszt-* v. 'pluck (a fowl), peel', *foszl-* v. 'fray, get threadbare' | ObU: Vg: N {MK} *pāslī* ~ *pāslī* 'sich abwetzen', Ss {Kálm.} *posl-* 'sich zu einem Loch benutzen'; Os V *pus* in *Íop† pus* 'abgenutztes (Ober-)Kleid' ¶ UEW 409, MK 466, MF I 960.

261. *bUš̥i∇ (or ***bUš̥y∇**?) 'breath' (→ 'odor, steam, smoke') > HS: S **o*✓*bš̥i* > Ar ✓*bš̥i* 'avoir l'haleine fétide' ¶ BK I 130, Ln. 209 ||| U: FU **puš̥i∇* ~ **opiš̥i∇* (< ***püš̥i∇*?) 'breath, smoke' > pObU **pōš̥(-am, -aŋ)* 'smoke' > pVg **pāš̥am* id. > Vg: LK *pāš̥am*, P *poš̥am*; pOs **pusaŋ* id. > Os: Nz *pusaŋ*, Kz *pōsaŋ*, O *posaŋ* | Hg *fūst* 'smoke, steam' ||| pPrm **poš̥* (acc. to LG) 'breath, vapor' > Z *poš̥-iktī/-ktī-* v. 'puff, pant', ?σ Z LV *poš̥* 'greedy for... (падкий на...)' ¶ LG 226, Ht. no. 544, MF 226, KrT 742, Stn. D 1231 ||| A: T **b|pu:is* 'mist, fog, steam' > OT *būs*, *pūs* ({Cl.} *būs*, *pūs* 'mist, fog', {MKD} *būs* 'mist, vapor'), Tk *pūs*, Δ *būs* 'light fog', Bsh *бoç* *b^oθ*, Tv *бyс* *b_us* 'steam', Tf *būs* 'fog over an unfrozen patch of water in winter', Shor *pūs*, ET *būs*, Chv *пāс pās* 'steam' ¶ Cl. 370, MKD 82, ET B 277, Rs. W 90, Jeg. 149, Fed. I 403-4, Md. 57, 175, Ra. 82, Ash. X 146, Fed. I 403-4, Jeg. 149-50 ¶ Clauson and Dankoff (MKD) reconstruct an OT long *ū* on the only basis of the Arabic *plene* spelling, which has no certain phonetic value.

262. *b'a't∇ '≈ luck, good' > K: GZ {Fn.} **bed-* 'luck' > G *bed-* 'Geschick, Schicksal, Glück', Mg *u-bad-o* 'unlucky, unhappy' (u- 'un-), ?σ Lz *bad-* 'wrath' ¶ Fn. SK 92 [no. 25], Chx. 75 ||| IE: NaIE **b^he'd-*, {P} **b^had-* '≈ good, fortunate' ({EI} IE ?? **b^heh_{ad}-* 'good') > OI *bhad'ra-* 'fortunate, blessed, delightful', Av *hu-badra* 'fortunate' (*hu-* 'good') ||| Gmc **batiz* ~ **bataz* 'better' adv. > ON *betr*, OHG, MHG *baz* (> NHG *baß*), OSx *bat*, *bet*, OFrs, AS *bét* id., Gmc **batizan* 'better' > Gt *batiza* (· *κρείσσων χρηστότερος*) 'besser', ON *betri*, AS *bétera*, OHG *bezziro*, NHG *besser* 'better', NE *better*; Gmc **batistaz* 'best' > Gt *batista* (· *κράτιστος*) 'Bester', ON *beztr*, OSx, AS *bétst*, OHG *bezziist* 'best', NHG, NE *best* ||| SI {ESSJ} **bedr̥nъ* > OCS *вєдрьнъ* *bedr̥nъ*

'πλούσιος = plentiful, abundant' ¶ P 106, EI 236, M K II 467-8 (rejecting the relationship between OI and Gmc for phonetic reasons [without explicitly mentioning them]), M E II 244, Lunt B 128-33, Fs. 83, Vr. 34-5, OsS 43, EWA I 503-5, 577-8, KM 55, 70, Ho. 21-2, Ho. S 5-6, ESSJ I 182-3, StSS 77, SadA IV 261, ESJS 58 || **A**: ?σ Tg *badī 'yet, more, noch -er' > Neg badī, badīgda 'noch (mehr)', 'noch' + cmpr., Orc bādæ, bādī, Ork bažē id., Ud badi id., 'still more\stronger', Nn Nh/Bk/KU bažī 'noch' + cmpr., 'too, very', Ul badī~bādī 'more (noch), again; too (zu); {PSchm.} 'more (больше)', badal-badala 'more and more (increasingly more)' ¶ STM I 63, Krm. 211, On. 55 || **HS**: C: Ag: Bln {R} b i t - 'satt/reich\wohlhabend sein', Q {R} b e t - 'satt/reich werden\sein' ¶ R WB 90, R QDW 45 || ζ S * \sqrt btt > amb Ar \sqrt btt 'omnino perfecit, perfectum reddidit', unless a secondary development from \sqrt btt 'cut' ¶ Fr. I 81, BK I 81 \diamond Cf. Blz. KM 113 [no. 2] (K, IE, A), \approx Blz. KM no-s 129-30 [addition to no. 2] (adding Ag + unc. C and Ch reflexes of N ***bAd**∇ 'many', q.v.). The IE reflex of the medial cns. suggests a N *-t-, the Tg reflex is ambiguous (N *-t- or *-d-), while K *-d- may be explained by assimilation.

262a. ₂ ***bot**∇ 'dust' or 'ashes' > **HS**: Ch \approx *but 'ashes': WCh: Bl {IL} bütó, Krkr {IL} butaw, Grm {Sh.} bütá, Krf }Sch.} bütó id. | Dir {Sk.} bütù id. | Ngz bébéđ id. || CCh: Ms {Mch.} búdu, ZmB {J} büt, LmP {ChL} b^wut, Bdm {Nc.} budén, {Cfr} pódén id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} bütù, Mgm {J} bíttí, Brg bütì, Bdy bütó 'ashes', Jg {J} bú't 'flour', bú't kɔ ʔók 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, ChC s.v. 'ashes', ChL, AIJ 61, J J s.v. bú't, \approx HCVA #75 (HS ***bə**ṭ 'ashes' > Ch + unc.: Eg ω b d 'burn; soot', Ah a-baṭul 'roasting, baking in ashes') || Om: NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} bédná, Wl {LmS} bidinta, Dwr {LmS} bittenta, Malo budó, Dk {Fl.} buda, Bsk buda, Oyda {Bnd.} būdo, Drz {Bnd.} buddu 'ashes' | SOm: Hm {Fl.} bidin-, Ari {Bnd., Fl.} bind-, Dm {Bnd., Fl.} bund- id. ¶ AD SF 241, Wdk. BY 119, LmS 315, Bnd. AL 144, Fl. OWL ¶¶ \approx OS no. 353 (HS ***bu**wuṭ- > Ch + unc. Eg ω b d 'burn') || **D** ***pō**ṭi 'powder, dust' > T m pōṭi id., 'ash', Ml pōṭi, Kt poyr̄, Kn puḍi 'dust, powder', Kdg pōḍi 'powder, flour', Tu, Tl pōḍi id., 'dust' ¶¶ D no. 4481, Zv. 102 (Zvelebil suggested an alternation *-ṭ-/*-ṭ̄-, finding *-ṭ̄- in Td píṛy 'dust', Prj por, podil, poyl 'flour, husk dust', Gdb poddūl 'flour') \diamond \approx Blz. L no. 4d (Ch, D), \approx Blz. LNA no. 4 (N ***budi** 'ashes'; he hesitantly suggested to add M ***buzar** 'dirt[y]' to the HS-D equation).

262b. *bʰæʰgUt∇ 'thigh, (calf of) leg' > **HS** *baʰ|ʰ∇t- > S: Gz baʰā́t, Amh, Gft baʰt 'calf of leg', ?φ Amh {R} ባሕቱ baʰt 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ L G 85, L ECDG 149 ¶ Gz ā́ may be due to a S derivational pattern || C: Dhl {To.} bṓti 'thigh' || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI} boʷdo f. 'thigh', {R} baʰʉdo f. 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel', Sml N {Abr.} bóʷdo 'thigh' ¶ To. D 130, ZMO 45, R SS II 69, Abr. S 34 || NrOm: Kf {C} bā́tō 'gamba, arto inferiore' ¶ C SE IV 417 || CCh: Ms {Caít.} bá́t 'jambe, patte' ¶ Caít. 37 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. LAA-1 106 [no. 15] (HS *✓bt 'leg') || **A** *bæʰgʉʰt∇ ~ (>?) *bugʉʰt∇ 'leg', (?) 'thigh' > Tg: [1] Tg *begdi ~ *bugdi 'leg, foot' > Nn KU bugʒi, Nn Nh/Bk bɜgʒi, Ewk, Orc, Ud bɜgdi, Sln bɜldīr, Lm bṓdɔ́, Ork bɜgʒi 'leg, foot' |[2] Tg *b∇ti-ke 'leg, thighs' > Jrc {Md.} bodixe, {Kiy.} bodihe, {S} budixe 'leg', WrMc {Z} бэ́тхэ́ 'leg, foot; leg of a bird', Mc Sb {Y} /betəχə/ [bətχ] ~ /betəkə/ [bətκ] 'leg, foot, foreleg, hind leg, limb', Neg bə́tiχə́ 'the upper part of the "unti" (fur boots that cover the thighs)', Nn bɜ́χə́ 'the part of shorts that covers the thighs' ¶ STM I 118-19, 127, On. 84, Y no-s 137 and 2285, Hr 89, Kiy. 125 [no. 505], 489, Md. ChF 135, S AJ 209-10 [no. 45] || NaT *bū́t 'thigh' > OT {Cl.} bū́t 'thigh, leg' (OT U bʉt 'leg', OT Kr [MhK] بوت bʉt 'thigh'), Tk bʉt, bʉd- 'rump, buttocks', Tkm bū́t 'thigh (бедро, пяхка)', Az bud 'Schenkel', Chg bʉt 'leg', Xlj bū́t 'Schenkel, Oberschenkel', Yk bū́t 'thigh, leg' etc. ¶ ET B 280-2, Cl. 297, DTS 129, Rs. W 90, TrR 136, Rh. 391, DT 96, Jeg. 158 ¶ Doerfer adduced Chv пэ́цэ́ (пэ́цэ́) 'thigh' (in his opinion from *bú́t-si 'his thigh'), which is doubtful (because the T allomorph *-si does not appear after cnss); ET B 25-6 equated Chv пэ́цэ́ with Tk бачак and Ggz, CrTt, Kr baʒaq 'leg'; Jegorov (Jeg. 158) believed that Chv пэ́цэ́ is from NPRs پاچا پادچه́ 'feet (of sheep, calves or other animals, esp. when boiled)' [Sg. 229], cf. Qrg Δ páyčä́ 'animal's leg' ¶ T *-t' < *-tt < *-gt? ¶¶ SDM 380 (pA *bū́kt∇ 'led, thigh' > *bugdi ~ *begdi > Tg *begdi, T), S AJ 289 [no. 303] (T, Tg), TL 282 || **D** (att. in GnD) *pʰoʰtta > Png, Kui pota, Mnd pata 'calf of leg' ¶ D *-tt- is likely to go back to *-Ht- (from N *-gUt-) ¶ D no. 4513 ◇ N *æ is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Tg *begdi (cp. also WrMc {Z} бэ́тхэ́ and *a of the first syll. in S and other HS lges).

263. *bitʰ∇,ʰʰ∇ 'to hold' > **HS**: EC: Af {PH} i-bbide v. 'grasp, hold, keep', Sa {R} -biḍ-, p. 3s i-biḍā́ (R: baḍ, p. í-biḍə́) 'nehmen, erhalten', 'rauben, nehmen, ergreifen' ¶ R S II 82-3, PH 132 || ?σ S *°✓btʰ > Ar ✓btʰ G (pf. bataʰa) ~ ✓btʰw G (pf. باتا́ batā́, ip. -btū́) 's'arrêter, faire

halte' ¶ BK I 82, 84 || Ch: Mu {Lk.} bōdá 'ergreifen', {J} būdí v. 'hold', bót / bùwát id. ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, ChC s.v. 'hold', J Mu s.v. būdí and bót / bùwát || U: FV *pitä- v. 'hold' > F pitä-, Es pida (pres. pean) id. || Er peđa- vi. 'stick to, cling close to, press to' ¶ But not here (⇔ UEW) ObU *pät- / *pit- v. 'fall'; see N *pät∇∇ 'to fall' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 386, Ht. 180 [no. 551] || D *piṭ∇ v. 'grasp, hold' > Tm piṭi v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', piṭi n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml piṭi n. 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt piṛć- v. 'clench (hand), piṛy 'handful', Kn piḍi v. 'seize, hold', Kdg puḍi- v. 'catch, hold', Tu hiḍi n. 'hold, grasp', Tl piḍi 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj piḍk- v. 'embrace', Gnd pīḍanā v. 'snatch, catch' ¶¶ D no. 4148 ◇ Sa/Af -ḍ- points to the presence of an ancient Ir. (-ḍ- < *tH-), which is probably N *ʔ (on the ev. of S *✓btʔ, if it belongs here) ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'держатъ' *r'itā (U, D).

264. *bôt'ṛ'∇ 'to grow' (intr.), 'to sprout' > HS: S *°✓btṛ > Ar bitṛ- 'big, tall' (of a person), ✓btṛ G (pf. batīṣa) 'avoir une belle encolure, longue et robuste' (of a horse), 'être robuste et ferme' ¶ BK I 83 || D *poṭ- ~ *puṭṭ- v. 'grow, sprout' > [1] Tm poṭi- 'spring up, shoot', Ml poṭiṣuka v. 'spring up, ooze out', poṭikka id., 'sprout', Krb poḍe 'sprout of grain', Kn poḍe 'a pregnant ear of corn, an ear of corn just before shooting forth', Tu poṭṭæ 'tender ear of corn', Tl poṭṭakar(ṛ)ā 'unopened ear of corn, tender ear of corn just formed', Prj poṭ 'grain in embryonic stage'; [2] (× *puṭ- 'be born'): Td puṭ- vi. 'grow' (of grass, tree, hair), Kdg puṭṭ- 'be born, (seed) sprouts' ¶¶ ≈ D no-s 4264 and 4482 || A *but'a > NaT *buṛ;ta- 'sprout, bough, twig' > Nog butaq id., Qzq butanaq 'small bough, branch, snag', ? buta 'bush, shrub', Qrg butaq 'twig'; (× T but- 'cut' < N *but∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces'): Qzq бұтала- 'cut shoots\twigs', Qrg buta- 'cut twigs, clean the tree from twigs\branches' ¶ Rs. W 8, NogR 91, MM 116, Sht. 66, Jud. 163 || M *buta ≈ tuft (touffe) of plants, thicket (Gebüsch), bush' > MM [S] {H} buta 'Dickicht, Grasbusch, Gestrüpp', WrM buta {MED} 'bush, brushwood, thicket', HIM бұт {MED} id., {BMR} 'bush (Strauch, куст), dicht wachsende Pflanzengruppe (купа), Gestrüpp (заросль)', Kl {KRS} бұт 'bush, shrub; bunch of flowers', {Rm.} butu 'Gebüsch, Strauch', Mnr H {SM} b_ud_ā 'herbes\plantes croissant en touffe', Mnr H {T} butā, Mnr M {T} buta 'bunch (пучок)', Ord b_ūt'a 'buissons, broussailles, touffe' ¶ H 24, MED 141, BMR I 292, Chr. 116, KRS 122, KW 63, Ms. O 100, SM 31, T

320 ◇ A *-t'- < N *-tʃ-. We reconstruct N *ʃ rather than *ʎ because the A reflex of the N cluster *-tʃ- is likely to be *-d- rather than *-t'-.

265. UA₂ *batʃ▽ '≈ cold; to feel cold, to freeze' > U: FU (att. in Ugr) *pâtt▽ ~ *pât▽ 'snow crust, ice crust', v. 'freeze, feel cold' > pObU *pūt- 'ice crust' > pVg *pūt- id. > Vg: Yk пут, Ss put id., Sg put-wit 'Wasser über dem Eis (am Moor, Fluß)'; pOs *put > Os: D/O pot, Nz put, Kz pət 'Schneerinde, Eisschicht', pOs *pat- > Os: V pat- 'frieren, ge-\zu-\erfrieren', D pot- id., 'kalt werden', O pat- id., 'sich abkühlen', Vy pat-, Ty/Y pāt-, K pot-, Nz/Kz pət- 'frieren' | OHg fáz-, Hg fázik 'freeze, feel\be cold' ¶ Ht. no. 549, MF 185-6, ≠ UEW 414-15 (Ugr ÷ [with a query] Sm *p̄rã- vi. 'burn' [F Jn. 114]; pU *pâr▽), ≠ Rd. UJ 43 [no. 50] (U > Y K {IN} pēdз 'burn' [but in IN CDY 349-50 the pY word is reconstructed as *pentз]) || A: Tg *batun 'frozen ground' > Ewk batun, Ul bātun(-), Nn Nh {STM} batõ ~ batũ id., Lm batъn id., 'hard, hardened' (of ground, ice, snow), batъn- 'get frozen' (of ground, ice), WrMc {Z} батунъ 'low layer of ground that remains frozen in spring, lower layers of ice' ¶ STM I 77, On. 63, Z 476 ◇ Not here the D stem, represented by Tm paḍiseṃu 'a cold, catarrh, Prj paḍḍom id., Gnd paṛsa id., Δ poṛsa 'rheum of nose', Δ parsā, parsum 'a cold', which, acc. to D App. no. 48, goes back to OI pratisyāya- (> Marathi paḍse) 'cold in the head' (Tu. no. 8604).

265a. *bitʃ▽ 'louse', '≈ parasitic insect' > HS: C: Ag {Ap.} *bət- 'louse' > Bln {R} bi'tā ~ be'tā, Q {R} be'tā, Xm {R} bet'tā, Km {CR} bītā (pl. bīt) 'louse' ¶ R WB 90, CR LK 181, Ap. AV 8 || ?φ B ✓ f▽ḍīḍ > Ah afūḍiḍ 'petit pou gris de chameaux', Izn, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} afḍiḍ 'tique (acarrien femelle gros et gris)', Shl afḍuḍ 'tique des moutons\chameaux\ bovins', Fgg afḍiḍ 'parasite des chameaux', BSn afḍiḍ 'pou des chiens' ¶ Fc. 305, Rn. 297, NZ 532 || Ch:WCh: Ngz {Sch.} b̄āb̄āt 'flea' || Ech: Smr {J} bādādār 'flea', as well as (?) words for 'mosquito': Smr {J} bédé 'mosquito', Nd D {J} bídé, Tmk {Cp.} betз, b̄ēd ¶ ChC s.v. 'flea' and 'mosquito', Sch. DN 28 || A: T *bit' ~ *bit' ({Md.} bīt'▽) 'louse' > OT, Cmn XIV, MOg XIV bit 'louse', MQp bit 'bug', Tk bit, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет бѣт, Xk p̄t, Yk bit, Tv, Tf bīt, SY pišt, Chv пыйтă p̄yḍъ, Chv Δ пытъă .louse' ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, Rs. W 76, Md. 75, Ash. IX 177 and 197, Fed. I 463, Jeg. 172 || D (att. in NED): Krx putuṅgī ~ putuṅgī 'midge', Mlt putgi 'sandfly'; D → OI puttikā- 'gnat' ¶ D no. 4203 ◇ D *u (from N *i) may be due to the labializing infl. of N *b-. An alt. rec. (N *būt'▽) implies a hyp. of T delabialization

(without any imaginable cause) and hence is less plausible \diamond AD GDRV 61 (C, T); Blz. L no. 105a and Blz. LNA no. 6 (suggesting to add D).

266. *buṭ ∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces' > HS $\sqrt{b\dot{t}}$ > WS $\sqrt{b\dot{t}\dot{t}}$ > Ar $\sqrt{b\dot{t}\dot{t}}$ (pf. baṭṭa) 'percer un ulcère \ un clou', Amh {DRS} bəṭṭa 'entailler', as well as possibly CS $\sqrt{b\dot{d}d}$ v. 'separate' (< $\sqrt{b\dot{t}\dot{t}}$ by as.?) > Ar $\sqrt{b\dot{d}d}$ id., BHb 𐤁𐤓𐤁 bā'ḏāḏ 'alone', (act. prtc. G) bō'ḏēḏ 'alone, solitary' ¶ BK I 134, KB 105, KBR 109-10, DRS 59-60 || B $\sqrt{b\dot{d}H}$ > Kb əḥḏu (pf. 3s yəḥḏa) 'partager, séparer', Tdq {Fc.} əbḏu 'être séparé, se séparer', Izd bḏu (pf. 3s i-bḏa, hab. baṭṭa) 'partager, séparer', BSn əbḏa id., CM bḏu 'partager, être partagé', Sll {Ds.} əḥḏu (pf. iḥḏa) 'partager' ¶ Mrc. 233, Dl. 11, Fc. 32, NZ 27-8 || C {AD} $\sqrt{b\dot{d}t}$ > LEC $\sqrt{b\dot{d}}$ > Sa {R} -baḏ- (= -baḏ-), p. 'i-biḏā 'abtrennen, wegreißen', əba'ḏā, a'bḏā 'part, half', Af {PH} abḏa 'half, part', Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} baḏ 'half' ¶ R S II 82-3, ZMO 26, PH 28, AD SF 248 || NrOm: Kf {C} boṭō 'share, part' ¶ C SE IV 417 || Ch: WCh: Bl {Lk.} ḥot-, Gera {ChL} ḥédì-mì, Grm {ChL} ḥát v. 'cut' (mte. $\sqrt{b\dot{t}\dot{t}}$ > $\sqrt{b\dot{t}\dot{t}}$) ¶ JI II 96, ChL, ChC s.v. 'cut' || **A** \sqrt{but} ∇ > NaT \sqrt{buta} - ~ \sqrt{buti} - v. 'cut off branches, prune a tree' > OT {Cl. after MhK} buṭa-, buṭi- v. 'prune', {MKD} buṭi- 'cut branches of a tree', Yk mutā- id., OOsM, MQp buḏa- v. 'prune', Tk buḏa- 'die Zweige beschneiden, prune', StAlt буḏа- buḏa-, Xlj pu'ta- id., Qq puṭa-, ET puṭa-, puṭi-, Ggz, Az, Qmq, QrB, Qrg buḏa-, VTt, Bsh бота- 'cut off branches, prune a tree', Nog bita- 'cut off branches', Qzq бѣта- 'hew (firewood)' ¶ Rs. W 91, Cl. 300, DTS 129, MKA II 141 and III 317, MKD 82, ET L-S 120-2, MM 116 || M \sqrt{buta} > MM [MA] buṭa- 'cut off, hit'; M \sqrt{buta} adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces' (× N $\sqrt{baṣ|guṭ}$ ∇ 'kick, push?') > WrM {MED} buṭa, HIM {MED, BMR}, Kl {KRS} бут, Brt бутa adv. 'in fragments\pieces, into pieces'; M butara- > MM buṭara- vi. [MA] 'disintegrate, break into pieces (распасться, развалиться, рассыпаться)', [S] 'auseinanderstieben', WrM {MED} butara-, HIM {MED, BMR} бутра- vi. 'break into pieces, smash', Brt бутар- vi. 'break, be smashed', Kl {KRS} бутар- 'in Scherben gehen (рабиваться), рассыпаться', бутр- 'be dispersed (распыляться, рассеиваться)', {Rm.} butrō- 'zerstreut werden, im Winde fortfliegen, flattern. zergehen', Ord buṭ'ara- 's'échapper sous forme d'étincelles' (feu), Mnr H {SM} p'ud_zrā- 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), se disperser'; \rightarrow caus.: MM [HI] butara_u- 'laisser se disperser', WrM butaragu- {MED} 'let disintegrate', HIM бутрула- {MED} id., {BMR} caus. of бутра-, Ord buṭ'arū- (caus. of

b_ūt'ara-) ¶ H 24, Ms. H 44, Lew. II 22, Pp. MA 126, Pp. VG 121, MED 141, BMR I 292-3, Chr. 116-17, KRS 122, KW 63, SM 304, Ms. O 100 || Tg *bute, *butekte- vt. 'break into pieces', *butekte 'piece' (× N *baḡ|guṭṭ ▽ 'kick, push'?) > Lm būt- 'break, beat, split', Ewk butuktɜ 'piece', Neg boktaxān, Nn Nh boqtā 'splinter'; Ewk butɜktɜ-, Ud bukta- vt. 'split', Lm būtɜq- vt. 'break off', Orc buktaga- vt. 'break', Ul buqta-, Nn boqtā- {STM} vi. 'crack', {On.} vi. 'break off (from sth.)' ¶ STM I 116, On 71 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 388 (pA *bū|ōt'ù 'beat, break' > Tg + [going back to N *baḡ|guṭṭ ▽ 'kick, push'] M *buta- 'break, be broken', unc.: pJ *pūt- 'beat, hit' and pKo *putɪɪč- 'hit, hump, collide') || D {Pf.} *putt-/ *put-▽-, *put-▽-k- ({ḡGS} *p-) v. 'cut off, cut in pieces' > Klm put- v. 'cut in pieces, pluck (a flower), break (a rope), Nkr put- v. 'cut, pluck', Nk put- vi. 'be cut, break', Krx pud^ug-nā v. 'pluck out (hair etc.), strip (fowl) by plucking' ¶¶ D no. 4277, Pf. 75.

267. ₂ *buṭṭ ▽ 'pistachio (and terebinth?) tree\nut' > HS: S *'buṭṭ_un|m- id. > BHb pl. םַבְּבִּי בַּבְּבִּי bəṭṭ'nīm 'nuts of terebinth', JA buṭṭ'm-ā, JEA {Sl.} אֲבִיבִיבִי buṭṭ'm-ā, Sr bεṭṭm-ə't-ā id., Ar buṭṭm- 'térébinthe (arbre), térébinthine', Gz (← Ar?) bəṭṭm ~ būṭṭm 'terebinth tree', Ak buṭṭn-u 'terebinth tree\wood', buṭṭn-ətu, buṭṭum-t-u, buṭṭṭutu 'pistachio tree\wood\ nut' ¶ KB 117, KBR 121, Sl. 190, Js. 147, L G 114, CAD II 358-9, Löw I 192 || A: NaT *buṭṭ_uturgāṭ_uk > OT (Cl.) buturḡāq 'a thorn tree shaped like a pistachio tree, which has thorns that catch clothing' (MKA I 502), {MKD} 'burr', SbTt Tr {Rl.} buturḡaq 'a tree which has split and is bound round to save it from collapse'; NaT *'biṭṭ_utriṭ_uk 'pistachio nut' > OT [MhK] bitrik id. ¶ Cl. 307, 309, MKD 74, 82, Rl. IV 1857, DTS 104, 130 ◇ AD NM no. 58, S CNM 14, ≠ Vv. AEN 9 (rejecting the T etl. doublets on the false presumption denying the very existence of etl. doublets, though in fact they do exist in lges if a √ is found in different phonetic conditions [incl. phonetic infl. of affixes], undergoes lexical attraction, analogy etc., as in NE off and of, life [laɪf] and live [lɪv], Fr homme and on, BHb 'leb 'heart' and lē'ḡāḡ id. [both from *'libab-um]).

268. *baḡ|guṭṭ ▽ 'kick, push' > HS: CS *√bḡ|ḡṭ > BHb בַּבְּבִּי √bḡṭ G v. 'kick', {KB} 'ausschlagen', MHb, JA √bḡṭ G {Js.} v. 'trample, strike, kick', JEA {Sl.}, Sr √bḡṭ G v. 'kick' ¶ KB 136, KBR 142, Js. 180-1, Sl. 224, Br. 83, JPS 50, DRS 74 || EC: Af {PH} boḡto 'bang, clang, knock, tap', Sa {R} boṭṭ'ḡō 'Schlag, Hieb, Stoß', boṭṭ'ḡō- 'einen Schlag\Hieb bekommen', boṭṭ'ḡ-iš- 'einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß geben' ¶ PH 72, R S II 92 || Ch: WCh:

pAG {Stl.} *bet v. 'push' > Su {J} bêt 'niederschlagen, stoßen', Ang {Flk.} bētt/bāt v. 'push, butt', Cp {ChL} bēt v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 240 [no. 1], J S 59, Flk. s.v., ChL || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *bhauð- (= {P} *bhāwð-) / {P} *bhud- v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} *bheuð- (pres. *'bhoudeḷ) 'strike, beat' > Gmc {Wt.} *bauht- v. 'strike' > ON inf. baúta 'to beat', AS inf. béatan / p. beo(f)t) id., NE beat; MLG inf. bōten, OHG inf. bōzan or bōzen & pauzen / p. biezen 'push, strike (contundere)', {EWA} '(zer)stoßen, (zer)schlagen', MHG inf. bōzen 'to strike, to beat', bōzen 'Schlag' || OIr {Vn.} buailid 'il frappe\bat\attaque'; ?σ Clt {Matas.} *bibud- 'guilty' > MBr {Flr.} bevez 'guilty', OIr {Vn.} bibdu id., 'enemy' (< *bhe-bhud-wots), OW bibid 'rei' || Lt baudā 'fine, penalty', inf. baũsti (1s pres. baũdžiu) 'to punish' ('strafen, züchtigen') ¶ P 112, EI 549, Mn. 67-8, Vr. 29, Ho. 18, OsS 81, EWA II 270-2, Kb. 109, Lx. 25, Vn. B 49, 109, Flr. 82, AHDI 6, ≠ Frn. 62 (baudā ÷ Lt budéti 'to be awake'), Matas. E 65 || A *b|p'ut'∇- 'beat, break' > M *buta- (× N *but∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces', q.v.) > MM [MA] buta- 'cut off, hit', ?σ M *buta adv. 'in fragments\pieces', 'into pieces'; M *buta-ra- > MM butāra-, WrM butara- {MED} vi. 'break into pieces; disperse, scatter', HIM бyтpа- {MED, BMR} id., Brt бyтap-, Kl {KRS} бyтap- vi. 'sich zerstauben, scatter', {Rm.} butꝛ- 'zerstreut werde, wie Staub vor dem Winde fliegen, zergehen', Ord butar- 'tourbillonner sous l'action du vent' (poussière), 'flotter ans l'air' (choses légères: poussière, vapeur, ouate, etc.), Dx putura- 'рассыпаться', Mnr H {SM} p'udərā- 's'élever dans l'air (comme la poussière), fouter de tous côtés dans l'air, se disperser' ¶ H 24, Ms. H 44, Lew. II 22, Pp. MA 126, Pp. VG 121, MED 141, Chr. 116-17, KRS 122, KW 63, SM 304, Ms. O 100, MYC 172 || Tg *bute- 'break into pieces', Tg *butekte 'piece', *butekte- 'break into pieces' (× N *but∇, q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *puti'ic̣- 'hit, bump, collide' > MKo puti'ic̣-, NKo putic- pudit- id. ¶ S QK no. 928, Nam 265, MLC 812 || pJ {S} *pūt- 'beat, hit' > J T bút- ~ ut-, J K/Kg bût- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1397, Mr. 680, Kenk. 130, 2114 ¶¶ SDM 388 (pA *bù|ōt'ù 'beat, break' > Tg, M, J, Ko) || D [1] D *poꝛ- ({ǥGS} *p-) v. 'winnow, strike, beat' > Tm puꝛai v. 'winnow, thresh, beat, strike', poꝛi v. 'be broken to pieces', Kt poꝛċ- v. 'winnow', Td puꝛf- id., v. 'flap (a branch of leaves in cleaning house)', puꝛ 'beating', Kn poꝛe v. 'strike, beat', Tu puꝛepuni, poꝛepuni v. 'winnow, fan', boꝛtuni v. 'beat (as a drum), hammer (as metal), knock (as a door)', Tl poꝛucu v. 'fight', Gdb pōꝛu 'fight', Png poꝛ- v. 'hit (das Ziel treffen)' | [2] D (att. in

SD) *pōt̥- ({{GS}} *p-) v. 'strike, cast' > Tm pōt̥u v. 'cast down, strike, beat, stamp', Ml pōt̥uka v. 'strike (as a wedge into timber), put', Tu pādunī v. 'throw, cast, fling' ¶¶ D no-s 4252, 4481 and 4581, Km. 439-40 [no. 871] ¶¶ D *-t̥- < pre-D *-Ht̥- (= *-ʕ|g̥t̥-?) < N *-ʕ|g̥ut̥-.

268a. *bag̥∇t̥i' 'be quick; sudden' > HS: S *°✓b̥yt̥ > Ar ✓b̥yt̥ G 'arriver\survenir soudain et à l'improviste', bḁyt̥-at- 'événement inattendu', بَغْتَةً bḁyt̥-at-an 'soudain, subitement, à l'improviste' ¶ BK I 144-5 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} v̥wōt̥, Anf H {Flk.} b̥wōt̥ 'quickly, at once', Dr {Nw.} bú't 'suddenly, on the run' ¶ Flk. 154, Nw. KL 122, ≈ Tk. LAA-1 107 [no. 22] || A *bāt'∇ > M *bačim (< **batī-) 'hasty, urgent, quick' > WrM {MED}, WrO bacim id., HIM бачим {MED} id., {BMR} бачим 'urgent, pressing (спешный)', Brt башам id., Kl {KRS} бачм бацьм id., {Rm.} bačm̥ ~ bačim 'schnell, hurtig', Ord b_ač'im ž_oč'im 'à l'improviste', b_ač'im_d_a- 'être très pressé' ¶ MED 65, BMR I 238-9, Chr. 92, KRS 86, Krg. 329, KW 36, Ms. O 58 || T id. *bāt ~ *pāt 'quickly, extremely' > OT бат 'quickly', Chg бат 'quick(ly)', Tk pat, Uz bat, ET {Nj.}, ET Tr {Rl.} pat, Qrg bat 'quickly, soon', Tkm bādina 'immediately, right away', Tv p'at 'extremely, completely' ¶ Cl. 296, Rs. W 65, TkR 65, TvR 345, Nj. 238, Rl. IV 1173, 1508 ¶¶ Pp. VG 134 (M, T), Rm. SKE 146-7 (Ko, M, T), SDM97 (A *pāt'e 'quick, swift', incl. T, M) || D (att. in SD) *pḁt̥(t̥)- ({{GS}} *p-) 'hasty, sudden' > Tu pḁt̥ta 'suddenly', Kt pḁtakn 'suddenly, with a jerk', Tm on₂ pḁt̥apḁt̥t̥appu 'precipitancy', pḁt̥apḁt̥a 'be overhasty' ¶ D *-t̥- < pre-D *-d|t̥- < N *-g̥∇t̥- ¶ D no. 3842 ◊ T *p- (for *b-) may be due to the ideophonic factor. In view of S and M a rec. of N *p- is less plausible.

269. *b'ü'g'ât'∇ 'hunt, try to catch' > HS: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *b̥wḁyat̥ v. 'tie, hobble' (if from *'catch by a lasso') > Gmy b̥ōt̥, Su b̥wḁyat̥, Ang {Hf.} b̥āt̥ id., Ang {Flk.} b̥āt̥ 'tie, bind', Su {J} b̥wḁyat̥ 'binden', Kfr {Hf.} b̥wḁyat̥, {Nt.} b̥wogat̥ v. 'tie' ¶ Mte.: N *b...t̥ > *b̥...t̥ ¶ Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. b̥āt̥, Nt. 46, J S 60, ChC s.v. 'to tie' || S *°✓b̥yt̥ > Ar ✓b̥yt̥ '(suddenly) come upon so., take so. by surprise' (← *'catch') ¶ Deglottalization *t̥ > S *t̥ ¶ Ln. 228-9, BK I 144-5 || U {UEW} *p̥ūt̥a- v. 'hunt, catch (game), fish', 'follow the trail' (of an animal) > F p̥y̥t̥ä- v. 'hunt, fish, catch (game)' (→ 'ask, request, invite'), Vp p̥ūt̥a- v. 'hunt, catch (game/fish)', Es p̥u̥d̥- / p̥ū̥ä- 'catch, try' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} p̥ūd̥ap, Tz {Cs.} p̥ūt̥al̥žam 'follow the trail (of an animal)', Kms

{KD} p'idera- id. ('verfolgen, auf der Spur folgen') ¶ Not here (⇔ UEW) Ne: Т пиде- pīde- v. 'chase away', Т О {Lh.} pīde-, F Ny {Lh.} pīcī- 'chase away (e.g. beasts of prey)' ({Lh.} 'verscheuchen, vegjagen', {Cs.} 'treiben, jagen'); this word belongs together with Slq Tz {Prk.} pītī- 'frighten' < pSm {Jn.} *piytā- id. < pSm {Jn.} *piy- 'be afraid' ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 387 (U *piwtā 'die Spuren eines Wildes folgen'), SK 676-7, ZM 446, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 462, Cs. 222, 170, KD 52 || A: AmTg *bogatu- v. 'hunt' > Orc bātu-, Ul bātī- ~ buati- v. 'hunt', Neg boatu- ~ boyatū-, Nn Nh boato-, Nn Bk bātu- v. 'hunt (esp. for sable)', Ud bātu- 'spend the hunting season in the forest' ¶ STM I 87, Krm. 211, On. 69 ¶ N *-g- is preserved in Tg as *-g- (a rare case). Cf. the cases of preservation of lrs in U. The Tg back vw. *-o- of the first syll. (< N *-rū-) may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of *-a- of the next syll.) ◇ The Tg root with *-t- and the WCh root with *b...t (< *b...t) (if it belongs here) point to a N *t.

270. *bu₁w₁t₁ ▽ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' > HS: S *būt- > Md bu₁t₁a 'bottom, anus', NMd bō₁t₁a 'Hintern, Anus', Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 būtā 'anus, podex', NNEA {Mcl.} 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 būtā 'penis' | WS (or CS?) *ba₁t₁ ▽₁n- 'belly' > BHb 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 bεtεn 'belly, internal organs', OCn [EA] ba-a₁t₁-nu-ma 'belly', IA 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 bt n id., JA [TrgOJ] 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 ba₁t₁'n-ā, JA {Js.} 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 bi₁t₁'n-ā 'belly', JEA 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 bt n[?] (unk. voc.) 'womb', Sr ba₁t₁'n-ā 'conceptio', Ar ba₁t₁n- 'ventre', Tgr bεt₁n, Har bεt₁ni id. ¶ KB 116-17, KBR 121, JH 34, HJ 151, Sl. 198, Js. 158, DM 54-5, 58-9, Mc. NM 205, PS 464, 513-14, Mcl. 27, BK I 138, DRS 51, 60, MiK I no. 1.42 ¶ If the Tgr and Har words are Arabisms, the stem is CS || B *būd- > BSn bō₁d 'fond', Mz bud 'fond, cul' (pl. ibudawən ~ iba₁t₁t₁), Izd {Mrc.} abud (pl. iba₁t₁t₁εn) 'fond, extrémité, orifice anal', CM abud ~ bud 'fond, partie basse', Fgg bud 'fesse; anus', Shw bud 'fond, pied de végétaux', Ah {Fc.} buyə₁d 'avoir des fesses décharnées', Ntf abud 'bottom of a vessel', Nf {Beg.} būt 'base, pied' | ?? B *✓¹φ¹d₁n > Ah a-ha₁dun 'la 15^{me} nuit du mois lunaire' (< **'middle') (× N *P₁a₁n₁t₁ ▽ h ▽ 'belly', q.v.) ¶ Fc. 518, ≠ Pr. H 29, NZ 28-9, Beg. 278 || C: EC: Rn bèy₁dó 'buttocks', bè₁déy 'buttock', Sml {ZMO} ba₁d₁i 'buttocks, tail of sheep', Sml N {Abr.} bá₁d₁í 'buttocks; buttocks of sheep', ? Dsn {Fl.} bedi 'foot', Sd ba₁d₁e 'back, behind', {Mrn.} 'dorso, dietro' ¶ PG 76, ZMO 26, Blz. DL s.v. 'foot', Hd. 351, Mrn. S 207, Fl. p.c. || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} bātō 'leg, hind leg' ¶ C SE IV 417, ≈ AD SF 240-1 || Ch: WCh: Hs b₁ūt₁t₁yā 'anus' || ECh: Brg {J} bà₁à 'anus', EDng {DjM} bá₁d₁yā 'fesse' | (× N *bod ▽ 'body, belly?'): {Stl.} *b₁u₁t₁ ▽

'belly, womb' > Su {J} b̥ut 'Bauch, Inneres', Ang {Flk.} b̥u t 'belly, pregnancy', {Brq.} b̥wút 'stomach', Mnt b̥ēt 'belly', Kfr {Nt.} b̥út 'belly, side', Gmy {Hf.} b̥et, Tal {Sh.} b̥uth 'belly', Chip {ChC} yim-b̥ut 'entrails' || Gj {ChL} b̥ótì id. || Fy {J} b̥útó 'belly' || ECh: Brg {J} b̥ùtùrì 'belly' ¶ JI II 20-1, Stl. ZCh 157 [no. 113], Abr. H 127, Ba. 141, DjM 32, J S 60, Nt. 4, Hf. AG 17, Brq. AP, ChC s.v. 'belly and 'anus', ChL ¶¶ Tk. LAA-1 104 [no. 7] (*✓ b̥t̥ 'bottom. back') and ≈ 104 [no. 4] (HS *✓ b̥d 'bottom, lower part' [B, CCh.]) || IE: NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (in some languages transformed into *b^hud^h-mo-, *b^hud^h-no > *b^hund^ho-), {EI} *b^hud-'no-'bottom' (× N *bod̥ 'body, belly' [q.v.]) > OI bu d^h'na h̥ 'bottom, ground, base', Av b̥ñrō id. || Gk πυθμήν 'hollow bottom or stand of a cup, bottom of the sea, bottom\stock\root of a tree' || L f u r d u s 'bottom of sth., ground, soil' || Clt {Matas.} *°bundo- > OIr bond, bonn 'plante de pied, base, sol' || Gmc: OSx bothom, OHG bodam, NHG Boden, ON, Ic, NNr botn, Sw botten, Dn bund, AS botm ~ bodan 'bottom, ground', NE bottom ¶ WP II 190, P 174, EI 247, Dv. no. 443, M K II 438, M E II 228-9, F II 620-1, WH I 564-5, EWA II 222-5, Vn. B 69, Ho 31, Ho. S 9, Vr. 51, KM 88, Matas. E 83 ¶ IE *-d^h- for *-t- is due to the IE incompatibility law (no mediae aspiratae + tenues in the same √) and to contamination with N *bod̥ '↑' || U: FU *put̥ 'rectum, large intestine' (× N *p̥u₁w₁t̥E [or *p̥u₁w₁t̥E?] 'hole') > Lp S {Lgc.} p̥u^ht̥ε-κ̥ε 'rectum' || pObU *pūt̥ > Vg N {MK} pu t̥i 'large intestine', Os Nz pūt̥a, Os Kz pūt̥ī id., 'rectum' ¶ UEW 410 (← ?), Lgc. no. 687, MK 487 || ?σ,φ D (att. in SD) *puṭa- ({θGS} *p-, *-d̥-) 'side, place' (← *'bottom') > Tm puṭaṭ, puṭam 'side, place', Ml puṭa, Kn hoḍe 'side', Tu puḍæ 'border, edge, side' ¶ D {θGS} *-ṭ- (for the expected *-t-) is still to be explained; if the D root belongs here, D *-ṭ- may probably go back to a cns. cluster (from N *-wṭ-) ¶ D no. 4254 || A *mot'æk' 'pudenda; bird's crop' (× N *mot̥E 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals', q.v.): NaT *bötækæ > VTt b̥ōt̥g 'vulva', Qz b̥ötäkä 'kidneys of animals', Tkm peteke, Nog b̥ötege 'bird's crop', Bsh b̥ütägä, VTt b̥ütäkä 'masticatory stomach', Yk b̥ötögö 'bird's crop; calves of the legs'; a NaT lge ⇨ Chv πυτεκε pud_eg_e {Jeg.} 'crop of birds', {Ash.} id., 'kidneys of animals' ¶ Rs. W 84, JkR 79, Ash. X 44, Jeg. 153 || ??φ pJ {S} *b̥è (← *buà) 'tail' > OJ w̥ò, J: T/Kg ó, K ò, Sh yū id. ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 75], S QJ no. 75, Mr. 503, Kenk. 1403 ◇ Hardly here NaT *būt 'thigh' and Tg *b̥ṭti-ke 'leg, thighs', which are more likely to go back to N *b'æ'gUt̥ 'thigh, (calf of) leg'

(q.v.) ◇ IS II 102-3: N *p'ožqa / p'odqa 'thigh', sc. N *p'oqEǰ▽ or *p'oǰ▽q▽ 'thigh, haunch' (q.v.) with unconvincing adduction of T *būt 'thigh' (reconstructed as *pūt).

271. *b'i'χa (or *b'i'qa, *büyx|qa?) 'beat, strike' > IE *b^heǵH₂x- / *b^hiHx- ((EI) *b^heǵh₂-) 'strike' > NaIE *b^heyə- / b^hī- v. 'beat' > Av {P} byente 'sie bekämpfen, sie schlagen' ||| ? Arm բիր բիբ (gen. բրի բրի) 'large stick, club, cudgel' ||| ? L [Fest.] perfinēs · "perfringās" (2s conj. 'break [through, in pieces]') ((EM): *-nā-present of *b^heǵH-) ||| Clt {Matas.} *bi-na- 'strike, hit' > OIr ben- 'strike, beat', p. bí, ro-bíth 'was beaten', bíthe 'beaten', 1s ft. bíu '(whom) shall I beat?', {P} béimm 'Schlag' (< *b^hey-smŋ), OW etbinam [ǵ] 'lanio', MW kymyru 'hit, cut down' (< *kom-bi-na-), W {YGM} bid 'lopped hedge', {Vn.} bidio 'tailler une haie', OBr [ǵ] bedioc 'caedes' ({Flr.} 'action de trancher\tailler'), MBr benaff, Br benañ v. 'cut', Gl imp. bietu tu 'should strike' ||| Sl inf. *bī-ti 'to beat' > OCS inf. БИТИ bitī / 1s pres. БЬЮ Бью ~ БИЮ Бию-ю, SCr inf. bīti / 1s pres. bījēm, R inf. БИТЬ / 1s pres. БЬЮ 'beat' Uk inf. бити, Slv, Cz inf. bitī, Slk inf. bit', P inf. bić 'to beat' ||| NrIE d. {Mn.} *b^hiya-lo-s ~ -li-s 'striker, axe' > OIr biail, OW bahell, W bwyell, bwyall, Br bouc'hal ~ bouhal 'axe' ||| OHG bīhal 'axe', MHG bīhel, bī(e)l, NHG Beil, Dt bijl 'axe, hatchet' (< IE *b^hiya-lo) ¶ WP II 137-8, P 117-18, EI 549, Mn. 78-9, EM 498, WH I 503, EWA II 35-8, Vn. B 32-4, 48, Flr. 80-1, YGM-1 45, Hü. 429, ≠ Sl. 137 (unlike Hü., Solta connected Arm biբ with the verb бբем 'I dig. I hoe'), ESSJ II 99-103, Db. SA 204, 212-13, SPS I 251-2, Glh. 132, StSS 84-5, OsS 62, KM 6, Vr. N 58, Matas. E 65-6 ||| K: GZ (att. in Zn) *^obex|q- v. 'beat, strike' > Mg baχ- 'beat so., give a beating' ({Chik.} '᠘ᠦᠭᠦᠳᠤ, поколотить', {Q} 'БИТЬ'), Lz baχ- 'beat so., thresh' ({Marr} 'БИТЬ (человека), молотить', {Chik.} '᠘ᠦᠭᠦᠳᠤ, ᠮᠣᠮᠣᠳᠦᠭᠦᠳᠤ, поколотить') ¶ Q 202, Marr 130, Chik. 253 ||| HS: C: EC: Sa {R} бuω- scv. 'hauen, schlagen' ||| ? SC {E} *bañ- v. 'kill (animal)' > ? Asa bahat 'trap', б→ Mb bañ- v. 'kill' ¶ R S II 94, E SC 136 ||| Ch: CCh: Bcm {Sk.} b'iyə v. trans. 'break' ||| WCh: pNrBc *ba {Stl.} id., {AD} 'beat, break' > Wrj bзбз, Kry bǎ'- v. trans. 'break', My bǎ'- v. 'beat, break', Cg bǎ'- ~ bǎ'-, Mbr, Jmb bā'- v. trans. 'break' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} бзүі, Kwn {J} bāyі, Ll {Grgs} bōy, Smr {J} bī id. ¶ In WCh and CCh b- < *bH ¶ JI II 40-1, Stl. ZCh 249 [no. 23], ChC s.v. 'break' (trans.), ChL ||| A: Tg *buya- 'be broken' > Orc buya- 'broken', buya- v. 'be broken, be torn apart', Ul buya 'broken', Ork buya id., 'fragments' (осколки), buya- 'be broken\

destroyed', Nn Nn/Bk boyā- id., Nn Nh boyā 'broken; hole', Lm buyak- 'spoil' ¶ STM I 103, On. 78 ◇ If the pN vw. of the first syll. was *i (as suggested by IE, K and CCh), the labialized vw. in Tg and EC may be due to the assimilative infl. of *b-.

272. *bay ▽ 'place', 'to be (somewhere)' (= 'estar') > HS: S *bi- 'in', 'with' (instr.) > BHb bə-, bā- id., Ph, Pun, OA, IA b, Ug b, by, (AkSc) bi-, JA, Sr bə-, Ar bi-, Gz bə- (with pronouns: bə-kā 'in you'), bə- (with nouns) id., Tgy ʔɜb- id., bɜ- (in bɜ-yɛ 'I have', lit. 'in me'), Ak in bašu v. 'be' (< *ba-šu 'in him?') ¶ Br. G II 363-77 [§§ 237-41], KB 100-2, HJ 137-41, OLS 97-8, Hnr. 112, L G 82, Sd. 112, DRS 39-40 || Eg fOK bω ~ by.t 'place' ¶ EG I 433, 450-2, Fk. 81-2, Tk. II 172-5 || C {AD} *bay- 'place' > EC: HEC {Hd.} *bay-(ččo) 'place' > Sd bay-ččo, Hd bēyyo, Kmb *bēčču || Or O/Wt {Sr.} biyya 'place; sand', Or H {Ow.} biyyá 'land, country', Dsn {To.} bī 'soil, ground; world', Arr {Hw.} biyy 'land, earth, field' || Dl: Gln {AMS} píye 'earth, land', Dbs {AMS} piye 'land, world', Cm {Hbl.} bíye 'earth' || Bj -b, locative case sx || Ag: Q {R} -ωā, directive case sx ¶ AD SF 38-9, Hd. 113, Hw. A 348, Sr. 274, Ow. 256, To. DL 487, Blz. CL 177, AMS 180, 239 || NrOm: Kf {C} bič 'towards' ¶ C SE IV 410 || Ch {AD} *b▽y▽ (≈ {Nw.} *ba) 'place' > WCh: pHAB {Stl.} *beyi id. > BT: Bl {Lk.} beyi, Krkr {Lk.} biyi, Dr {Nw.} bôî, {ChL} b^ωoyî, Ngm {ChL} bèʔí, Gera {ChL} bí id. || pAG {Hf.} *pē, {Stl.} *bē > Su {J} pē id., Ang {Flk.} pe 'place, spot', {Hf.} pī, {Brq.} pí 'place', Mnt {Fp., Gr.} bi, Gm {Hf.} pē, {Fp.} be, Kfr {Hf.} pē, {Nt.} pè, Mpn {Frz.} pē, Cp {ChL} pè 'place' || ECh: ? Skr {ChC} bā 'place' or 'where' ¶ Hf. AG 17, Stl. VZCh, Nw. 30 [no. 97], Nw. KL 121, J S 78-9, Nt. 32, Brq. AP, Frz. DM 91, Gr. LA 60, ChL, ChC s.v. 'place' ¶¶ Tk. I 103 || IE: NaIE *-b^heǵ/*-b^hi, postpositive marker of locative: Gk Hm -υτ, case ending with the meaning of instr., loc., dat., abl.; marker of instr., dat. and abl. in several lges: Iir *-b^his instr. pl. (> OI -b^hiḥ, Av -bīš, OPrs -biš), *-b^hayas dat.-abl. pl. (> OI -bhayaḥ, Av byō), L -bus abl. pl., -bis in nobis, vobis (dat. and abl.-instr. of nos 'we', vos 'ye') (F Shl. IENI 50-2); IE *k^ωo-b^hey 'where?' > L ubi, Ht kuwapi ¶ Ts. W 43-4, Pv. IV 229-31, Brg. KVG 398-9 (incl. a table), 406 (incl. a table), Ch. GH I 234-41 || U: Y (not registered in IN HDJ): K {Krn.} -nubo, -nube, -be, T {Krn.} -nube, sx of nomina loci: K piedāl-be 'place under a rocky bank, under a rock' (<⊕ pie 'stone' + āl 'under'), íie-nube 'place of residence' (<⊕ íie- 'be, stay'), T āwa-nube 'sleeping place' (<⊕ āwa- 'sleep') ¶ Krn. JJ 26 || A *b|p'ay ▽ 'place; stay, be somewhere (estar)' > M

*baɥi- 'stand, stay, be' > MM [PP] baɥi- 'be', [IM] baɥ- 'remain, stop (s'arrêter)', [HI] baɥi- 'stand, stand up', [MA] baɥi- 'stand', [S] {H} baɥi- 'daliegen', baɥidal 'Stellung, Stand, Posten', [IsV] baɥ ipv. 'be quiet!', WrM bai- {MED} 'be' (copula), 'stay, exist, live, reside', HIM бай- {MED} id., {BMR} be' (copula), 'stay, exist, estar, ci essere', Brt бай-, Kl {KRS} бээ- 'stand, remain, be (ci essere)', бээнэ 'there is', {Rm.} bā- 'stehen, bleiben, sein, sich befinden', Mnr H {SM} bē- 'être debout, se mettre debout, se dresser, s'arrêter', Dg {Mrm.} bai- ~ bāi- 'stand', {Pp.} bēi 'is', Dx {T} bai- id., 'stop (s'arrêter)', Mgl {Rm.} bei rā 'is, stands, remains standing', Mgl (ArSc) {Wr.} ба?i ipv. 'stand!', Ord bā- 'être, exister, subsister, être dans un endroit déterminé, être présent' ¶ Ms. H 39, Ms. O 58-9, Pp. PP 120, Pp. MA 115, 433, Lg. VMI 18, H 11, 14, MED 72-3, BMR I 219, Chr. 80-2, KRS 88-90, KW 39, SM 23, Klz. D I 112-13, Rm. M 24, Wr. B 122, Iw. 89 || Tg *bi¹ or *be¹ ({SDM} *bja) 'lying place (within the house\hut), bed' > Ud {Shn.} beä, {Krm.} bā, Ork bē 'parts of the house on both sides of the hearth near the side walls where people sleep, eat and work in the daytime', Ewk bē id., Ewk Δ 'bed, plank bed (постель, нары)', Lm bā 'animal's bed (лежбище)'; ?φ STg *boɥ- > WrMc {Z} бойжонь 'earth', бойгонь 'estate, hereditary property (earth and serfs)', Mc Sb bohan ~ bohun 'earth', Jrc boɥ- hu 'servants', boɥ- hoɥ 'earth' ¶ STM I 78, 89, Krm. 211, Z 506-8 ¶¶ SDM 322 (pA *b_Li_Laɥa 'place; to be located' > Tg *bia, -gun, M *baɥi-), DQA no. 131 (id) ◇ The semantic and grammatical change from a noun ('place') to a pre-\post-position (→ case ending) can be easily seen in HEC: Hd manč'o bēɥo (lit. man's place) actually means 'towards the man, chez l'homme', just as in NE: my place = Rɥ меня, Fr chez moi ◇ Gr. I 144-7 ("locative BH" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, qu. Ko and J).

273. ₂ *bɥɥ (or *bɥɥ?) 'bee' > HS: Eg fOK by.t 'bee', fMK by.t-ɥ 'apiculteur' (> Cpt Sd **εβεит** ebeit id.), Eg fOK by.t ({Vc.} byɥ.t) 'honey' > DEg íby id. > Cpt Sd/B **εβιω** ebiō id. ¶ EG I 434, Fk. 79, Er. 26, Vc. 38, Tk. II 107-10 || IE *b^he_LH_X-/*b^ho_LH_X-/*b^hiH_X- 'bee' (× N on. *b^hú^z 'ε insect' [q.v.]) ({EI} *b^hi-'k^ωo- and *b^hi- + other sxs) > NaIE *b^heɥ-/ *b^hoɥ-/*b^hi- 'bee' > ON by, Sw, Dn bi, NGr Al bī, NGr B bei j, Dt bi j, Gmc *bī-on- > OHG bīa, AS bīo, NE bee; +ext. *n (reinterpretation of the obl. cases with *-n- of the "weak declension?"): OHG bini, bīna, NHG Biene, NGr Ö Bein 'bee' || +ext. *-t-: Lt bitė, bitís, Ltv bite, Pru bitte 'bee' || W bydaf 'swarm of wild bees, beehive' ¶ P 116, EI 57, Dv. no. 868, Vr. 66, Ho. 24, EWA II 3-6, KM 75, Frn. 45, En. 152, Tp. P A-

D 233, YGM-1 63 ◇ NaIE *b^hī- suggests the presence of a pIE root-final lr., which may be of a pN origin. The absence of any lr. in Eg бу.т points to N *ʔ or *h as the only possible pN lr. Alternatively, the lr. in IE may belong to the heritage of N on. *bū́z̑ ∇ 'ε insect'.

274. *beʔy ∇ 'body, self' ([in descendant lges] → 'soul') > HS: Eg ∇ бэ, Eg (GrSc) βατ 'soul' (× N *b ∇ L ∇ ʔa 'to blow, to inflate?') > DEg бу 'soul' > OCpt БАИ баи 'spirit, soul' in НЕВВАИ nebbai 'lord of the soul' and in БАИНХВХ баи nk^hbk^h (name of a demon, lit. {Vc.} 'soul of darkness') ¶ EG I 410-14, Fk. 77, Vc. 25, Tk. II 6-9 || C: Bj {Rop.} бīуе 'self' ('ane i-bīуе 'adʔe 'I myself did it') (but Reinisch interpreted i-bīуе as 'meine Glieder' → 'ich selbst'; if the meaning 'Glieder' is indeed primary, the Bj word does not belong here) ¶ Rop. 166, R WBd 54 || A *b|pʔæyæ 'body, man, self' > M *beye 'body, person, (one)self' > MM [MA, IM, PP, HI] beye, [S] beye(n) 'body', [L] بِيَا {Pp.} biye 'Körperbau', WrM {MED} beye(n), HIM {MED, BMR} бие, Brt бэе 'body, person', Mnr H {T} biy id., {SM} bīуе 'corps, taille, tronc d'arbre, objet', Dg beye 'body, (one)self', Kl {KRS} биЙ 'body, person', {Rm.} бī, бīуа 'Körper, Selbstheit, Wesen; sichl allein', Ord б_еуе 'corps, personne, taille, stature' ¶ Pp. L II 1267, Pp. MA 118, 433, Pp. KP 146, MED 94-5, BMR I 241-3, Chr. 129-30, KRS 98, KW 47, Ms. H 40, Ms. O 62-3, H 15, SM 26, T DgJ 125 || Tg *beye 'body, person, oneself' > Neg бзүз id., Sln бзи ~ бзүз 'person, oneself', Ewk бзүз, Lm бзү 'person, man, male', Orc, Ud, Nn Nh/Bk/KU бзүз, Ul бзүз(н-) 'body, (one)self', Ork бзүз 'body', WrMc {Z} бэѣ 'body, life, personality, (one)self', Jrc beye 'body' ¶ STM I 122-3, On. 84, Z 485-6, Kiy. 124 [no. 490] || pJ {S} *bэ́ 'man (vir)' > OJ wo(nokyo), wotokwo, MJ wo(noko), wòtòkò, J T/Kg otokó, J K ótoko, J Ns ẓingá, J Sh ẓíkígá, J Ht bìdùmù, J Y bìnḡà 'man' ¶ S QJ no. 46, Mr. 507, 513, Kenk. 1468-9 ¶¶ SDM 335 (pA *bèye > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 115, S AJ 79, 105, 276, Rm. EAS I 57, 98, KW 47, Vls. 261, Pp. VG 66 ¶¶ A less probable cognate is A {SDM} *béyo 'an ungulate animal' > T *bEye id., M *bayita-sun 'farrow (horse, cow)', Tg *beyū- '(foaled) mare', pJ {S} *bí - *bзі́ 'pig', ffd. see SDM 335-6 || D *pēy 'soul' (→ 'ghost, demon, god') > Tm pēy 'devil, goblin, fiend', Ml pē, peyi 'demon', pena 'ghost, spirit', Kt e'y 'demon', Kn pē, hē 'madness, rage', pēt u, hēde 'demon', Tu pēyi id., Gnd pēn 'idol, god', Kui pēnu, vēnu 'god, spirit', Ku pēnu 'god, devil' ¶¶ D no. 4438.

275. *baXy∇ or *baXi '≈ abundant' > HS: S: Ar {Ln.} ✓ bħbħ v. 'take a wide \ an ample \ a large range', ✓ bħħ: ʔibtīhāh- 'opulence' ¶ Ln. 154-5, DRS 55-6 || amb Eg fOK bʕħy 'have abundance, be inundated', bʕħ 'abundance, inundation' (× N *b'i'gê 'much' and N *b'e'ʕ∇ħy∇ 'to pour?') ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 || EC: Sam {Hn.} *būh-i / *būh-içà v. 'fill' > Rn {Hn.} būhi, {PG} būhi-, Sml būhi, Bn būhi / būhía id.; Sam {Hn.} *būh 'be full' > Rn {Hn.} buh, {PG} būh-, Sml būh-so, buh ¶ Hn. R 215, Hn. S 54-5, PG 82, ≈ Tk. SCC 73 [no. 1.8] || A *bāya 'rich' > T *bāy 'rich' > OT {Cl.} bāy 'rich, a rich man', MQp, Chg bay 'rich', Tkm bāy id., 'rich man', Yk bāy 'rich', CrTt, QrV, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, VTt, Bah, ET bay, Uz bay id., 'rich man', Osm bay {Rh.} 'rich and freat' (of a person), Tk bay 'Bei (Großbauer), mister; rich', Chv пуй- ɖ пой- 'become rich', пуйн ɖ поян 'rich man; rich' ¶ Cl. 384, ET B 27-9, TkR 103, Rh. 337, Fed. I 440-1, Jeg. 163, Ash. IX 254-5, ChVS 144. 151 || M *bayan 'richness, rich' > MM, WrM {MED} bayan, Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan, Brt баян id., HIM баян {MED} id., {BMR} 'rich man, rich', Dx, ShY bayan, Ba bayan id., Mnr H {T} bayan id., {SM} bayān 'riche, productif', Ord bayan 'riche', Kl {KES} байн bayън 'rich man', {Rm.} bayn 'reich, der reiche Mann; Eigentum, Vermögen' ¶ Pp. MA 114, 433, MED 76-7, SM 23, T 316, T DnJ 111, T BJ 134, Mr. D 8, Chr. 93, KRS 77, KW 29, Ms. O 46 || Tg *baya(n)- v. 'be rich', *bayan 'rich' > Ewk bay, bayan 'rich, rich man', Sln baiji~bayaji, Neg bayan- v. 'get rich', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork baya(n-), Nn bayā, WrMc {Z} баянь (pl. баяса), Jrc bayan ({Md.} bay-yan) 'rich', WrMc {Z} бая- v. 'get rich' ¶ STM I 65, On. 64, Z 466, Md. ChF 135 ¶¶ SDM94 s.v. *bāja ¶¶ Part of the forms may be borrowings (M ⇨ some Tg lges etc.) || D *-va_ly_l, sx of pl. (↔ *-t of sg.) within pronouns *a-va_ly_l (< N *ha baXy∇) and *u-va_ly_l (< N *h'u baXy∇) > Tm av~ava_li 'those things' (pl. of at_lu), uv~uva_li 'those things' (intermediate deixis) (pl. of ut_lu), Ml av_la 'those things', Kn av_lu, Prj av (pl. of ad), Gdb O au (pl. of ad) id. etc. ¶¶ D no-s 1 and 557 || ?σ U: FU ≈ *op_l:ya > Lp N {N} боаω'je 'gathering of near relations presided over by the head of the family; company, clique' (supposedly Lp N oa < FU *ō < *aH) ¶ N I 209, Coll. 74 || possibly K: GZ *-eb-, sx of pl. (< collectivity sx), which is more probably connected with N *b∇ (pc. forming compound [→ derived] nomina abstracta, q.v. ffd.) ¶ K 78 || IE: one may try to adduce NaIE *-b^ho-s and *-b^hā, sxs of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bē, but the N etymon in question is only one of many possible sources of this

pattern of abstract nouns (cp. N *b∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.] and N *b^ri'gê 'much' [q.v.]) ◇ If GZ *-eb- belongs here, the N rec. must be *baħy∇ or *baħi.

276. ?σ *b^re'yX∇ 'tear, cut into pieces' > HS: S: Ar ✓byħ D (pf. bayyaħa) 'couper en petits morceaux [la viande]' ¶ BK I 182, DRS 62 || Ch: WCh: Kry {Sk.} bŭ́ v. 'cut' || ? CCh: Lgn {Lk.} pŭ́yà 'cut' ¶ ChC s.v. 'cut', JI II 97, Lk. L || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *pey∇- 'undo (auftrennen)' > Hg fej-t-id., 'unstitch, separate' || ObU: Vg LK (χul) pāy-, Vg P pāy- 'dress a fish' ('Kopf wird weggeworfen, der Fisch wird vom Rücken bis zum Schwanz gespaltet'), ? Os N 'payit-, 'pāyit- 'abnehmen, herunternehmen, abwerfen', sam 'payit- 'beat off the scales (of a fish)' ¶ UEW 878, MF 190-1 || D: Tm piy- v. 'be tattered, be torn off, be torn into bits' (unless this verb goes back to D {ǰGS} *pis- < pD *picc-/pińc- v. 'tear into pieces') ¶ D no. 4171.

277. *b^re'∇ħy∇ 'to pour' > HS: Eg fOK b^rħy vi. 'be inundated, have abundance, be well-supplied', vt. 'flood, inundate', b^rħ 'inundation, abundance', as well as possibly Eg G b^ry (a word used to denote inundation) ¶ EG I 448-50, Fk. 81, Tk. II 170-2 (× N *baXy∇ or *baXi 'abundant' [q.v. ffd.] and N *b^ri'gê 'much?') || B *-bāy- > Ah tabayōt 'fine and penetrating rain without wind' ¶ Fc. 41, NZ 143 || C: SC *buʔ- v. 'pour' > Alg buʔ-, SC b→ Mb -butu id. || DhI buʔ- id. ¶ E SC 142 || Ch: CCh: Mf {BLB} mbǰħaʔa, mbǰħ-mbǰħaʔa 'en giclant (comme le lait quand on presse un sein ou le jus quand on presse un fruit)' || Ech: Mkl {J} bŭ́ 'full' ¶ JI II 157, BLB 245, J LM 73 || possibly also WCh: Mbr {Sk.} vaʔ- ~ v0w-, Cg {Sk.} v0- ~ vu-, Grn {Jgr} v^wā- 'pour' || CCh: Mtk {Lk.} pe 'pour away' ¶ Sk. NB 35, Jgr 187, ≈ Tk. NB 185, ChC s.v. 'pour (liquid)' || ?σ S: Ar SL ✓bħbħ 'donner largement, rendre abondant' ¶ DRS 55 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 73 [#1.8] || K *b- v. 'pour' > Mg, Lz, Sv b- id. (Sv L li-b-em 'to pour in, налить', stt.: maBa 'it has been poured on me', χaBa 'it has been poured on him') ¶¶ K 47, K² 6, FS K 40-1, Chik. 250-1, Dn. s.v. b-² || D *pey- ~ *poʔ- ({ǰGS} *p-?) v. 'pour, rain' (× N *P^ri'g∇ 'to pour; rain?') > Tm pey v. 'rain, pour down', Ml peyuyka v. 'pour, rain', Kn poʔ, puʔ v. 'pour, cast', poʔy- v. 'rain', Kdg poʔy '(rain) rains, (wind) blows', Krg pī-, Tl pōʔy, Klm paŭyey v. 'pour', Nk pī-, poʔ '(water) pours, flows', Gnd poʔy-vi. 'pour, be spilled', Ku boŭyali v. 'overflow', bō- v. 'be spilled', Krx pōʔy- v. 'fall' (of rain), puŭd- v. 'pour some water on rice', Mlt poʔe v. 'rain' ¶¶ D no. 4407, ≠ Pf. 62 [no. 385] (without distinguishing the ✓ *pey- / *poʔ- from *pec- v. 'drizzle'), Km. 443 [no. 889].

278. (₂?) *on.* *bûž ▽ 'ε insect' > **HS:** B *b ▽ zīz- 'cicada', *būzīz- 'beetle' or sim. > Tmz {MT} a-bəzziz (pl. i-bəzziz-n), Kb a-bziz (pl. i-bzizən ~ i-bzaz) 'cigale', Rf W/B a-bziz (pl. ibzizən) 'bousier, cafard', SrSn abužič (pl. ibužičən) 'bousier', CM abəzzi, BSn abziz 'cigale', CA abziz 'sauterelle'; B ⇨ Ar Mgr bəzīz (in normalized spelling of BK بزين bazīz-u n) 'grillon' or sim.; Ar Mgr bu-bzīz (in normalized spelling ابويزن abū-bazīzin) ⇨ Mz bu-bziz 'cigale' ¶ Dl. 62, MT 41, Dlh. M 17, Rn. 292, NZ 148 ¶ The emphatization of *z in some B lges is due to the onomatopoeic associations and/or to re-borrowing from Ar Mgr | | **K** *on.* *buz(w)- 'a fly' > OG buzu-, G buz-i 'a fly', ?σ Lz d. ma-buz-a-l-e- ~ ma-puz-a-l-e- 'wagtail', Sv UB/L buzūl {GP} 'a fly', {TK} id., 'bee', Sv Ln {TK} buzul id., Sv {Ni.} buzul 'fly, wasp' ¶¶ FS K 64, K 51 (refers the G and Sv word to the K *on.* √ *bzu- v. 'hum, buzz'), K² 2O, Chx. 117, Abul. 37, TK 157, GP 92, Dn. s.v. buzūl, Ni. s.v. 'Myxa' and 'oca' | | **D** (att. in SD) *puččī 'insect, worm' (× N ?φ *pučč, ▽, ŋ ▽ 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) | | **IE** *b^hey_LHx_L- / *b^hoy_LHx_L- / *b^hiHx- > NaIE *b^hey- / *b^hoy- / *b^hī- 'bee' (× N *b ▽ y ▽ [or *b ▽ y ? ▽] 'bee' [q.v. ffd.]); NaIE *-ey- / *-oy- / *-ī- belongs to the heritage of N *b ▽ y ▽ (except for the length of *-ī-).

279. *b¹a¹hž ▽ 'strike, thump' > **HS:** WS *√ bhz > Ar √ bhz G 'frapper de la main, du pied ou de deux mains (p. ex., en se frappant la poitrine)', Tgr {DRS} √ bhz Sh (pf. ?abbazə) 's'abbatre sur, éprouver' ¶ BK I 172, DRS 47 | | **K:** GZ *bez- v. 'beat so. soundly, belabour' ({K} 'сильно колотить', {Schm.} 'gründlich verprügeln') > G I/R bez- id., Mg, Lz baz- id. ¶ Schm. 97, K 49-50, K² 10, FS K 48 | | **U:** [1] FU (att. in Z) *opaś ▽- > Z paś mun- v. 'break into pieces' ('in Trümmer zerbrechen') | [2] FU (att. in Prm) *opaś ▽- > pPrm {LG} *paz- > Z pazəd- v. 'break into pieces, scatter', Prmk inf. pazd+n+ 'to break, to crush', ? Vt paža- v. 'scatter'. The cns. *-s- in *opaś ▽- requires explanation ¶ LG 214, ≠ UEW 357 (ascribing Z paś to U *paś ▽ 'hole, split').

280. *bažê 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook, (?) prepare' > **K** *°baz|ž- v. 'ripen' > G I/G baz- v. 'ripen' (of beans, maize etc.) ¶ Chx. 59 | | **HS:** S (+ ext.) *√ bšl G v. 'ripen', D v. 'cook' > BHb, JA √ bšl G vi. 'grow ripe; boil, get cooked', JEA {Sl.} JA √ bšl G pp. 'cooked, roasted, baked', SmA √ bšl G 'ripen', D vt. 'cook', BHb bā'šēl 'ripe, boiled, cooked', BHb √ bšl D vt. 'boil, cook, fry', MHb bā'šēl 'ripe', BHb, JA √ bšl D vt. 'cook, boil, roast', {Sl.} 'cook, boil, suppurate', Ug √ bšl vt. D

(or *G* ?) 'cook', Sr ✓ bšl (*G* : pf. bə'šɛl, ip. ne-b'šal) v. 'ripen, boil, melt' (intr.), Md ✓ bšl *G* vi. 'boil, cook', Ar ✓ bsł *Sh* (pf. ʔabsala) 'cuire des dattes non mûres et les sécher ensuite', Mh, Hrs ✓ bhł (pf. bəhēl, sbjn. yəbhōl) v. 'be cooked, be ready', Jb E/C ✓ bšl (pf. 'bešɛl, sbjn. Jb C yəb'šɔl) id., Sq {L} ✓ bhł (pf. behel), Sb mbšl 'cooking place', Gz ✓ bsł (js. yəbsəl) v. 'be cooked, be ripe', Ak ✓ bšl *G* v. 'boil, roast, become roasted, ripen' ¶ KB 157, KBR 164, OLS 118, Lv. I 273, JPS 56, Tal 120, DM 71, CAD II 135-7, BK I 127, Jo. M 45, Jo. H 16, Jo. J 30, L G 109, BGMR 32, DRS 89 || IE: NaIE *^ob^hō- vt. 'warm', ? 'roast' > OHG inf. bā(h)en 'to warm, to foment', {OsS} 'bähen, gelinde rösten' (> NHG inf. bähen vt. 'durch Umschläge wärmen, Brot rösten', 'warm, heat, toast') ¶ P 113, KM 44, EWA I 425, Kb. 52, F II 1057 || U: FP *paše- v. 'fry, bake, roast' > F pahta-, Δ pahta- id. || pPrm *pōž- v. 'bake, get cooked' ('gar werden') > Z пōжав- pžaw- 'bake', пōж- pž- 'bähen, brühen; schmoren', 'gar werden' (Speisen), Yz 'púž- v. 'steam (milk in an oven, twigs before twisting etc.)', Vt pžž- v. 'bake, fry' ¶ Db. OS x, LG 227-8, UEW 725, Lt. J 172 || ?σ A: M *bažar'ya- > WrM bazaга- {MED} v. 'prepare, get\have ready', HIM базаа- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'sich (mit etw.) versehen, Vorräte anlegen (запасать, заготовлять)', Brt базаа- id., Ord b_až_ā- 'préparer, apprêter, se préparer'; M → Sln baja- 'prepare' ¶ MED 93, BMR I 214, Chr. 77, Ms. O 43, STM I 63-4.

281. *bōyž∇ 'ε fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *b^hel- '≈ marten', {EI} 'wild cat; any small carnivore' > L fēlēs 'wild cat, marten, polecat' || W bele (< *b^helego-) 'marten' || OI Λ bharuja- 'jackal', ? Mld balu 'dog' ¶ Hardly here OHG bilih & pilih, MHG bilch, NHG Bilch 'dormouse', likely to be a loan from Sl *рылхъ id. (> ChS пльхъ pľxъ, SCr pľh, Slv pólh, Cz plch, Blr поўх, R Δ полчок id., P pilch 'gopher', Blg пльх 'rat') ¶ WP II 177, EI 91, WH I 474, YGM-1 43, EWA II 54-6, Lx. 21, KM 76, Vs. III 319-20, Glh. 511 || U {Coll.} *poyž∇ 'ermine' > pLp {Lr.} *pōytzk id. > Lp: N {N} buoidâ ~ buoi'dâgâ, L {LLO} puoita, T {TI} pī_t'ēg, Kld {TI} pu_t'ēč id. || Sm: Ne T пия, T O {Lh.} pīy:e, Ne F p'īy:ea & pīy:ea, Ne T пияко, T O pīyək:o, En B {Cs.} fiéda, Ng {Cs.} fī́du, pī́du, Mt {HI.} *hūy∇ 'ermine' (Mt M {M} hújē, {Pl.} hūdja 'ermine') (unless identical with Mt {HI.} *hū́ne id. [Mt K/T {Mil.} hū́ne, K {Pl.} chuní]) ¶¶ Coll. 6, Coll. CG 405, Lr. no. 990, Lgc. no. 5298, Lh. VJS 40, 105, Ter. 472, Cs. 36, 72, 95, 234 ¶¶ Originally Ne пияко and pLp *pōytzk were dim. forms (F Cs. 36) || A: M *bul'ugan 'sable (Zobel)' >

MM [MA] bulɣan, [HI] buluqan (= bulugan), [S] {H} buluḥan (= bulugan), WrM {MED} bulagan, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt булга(н), Kl {KRS} булһн id., {Rm.} bulɣan 'Zobel', Ord b_ɯlaga 'zibeline' ¶ MED 133, BMR I 284, Chr. 111, KRS 118, KW 60, Pp. MA 125, Ms. H 43, H 22, Ms. O 93 || ?σ D {GS} *pul-i ({θGS} *p-) 'tiger' > Tm पुलि, पुल, Ml, Kn, Tl पुलि, Kt puḏ, Td püḏy, Tu pili, Krg hili, Klm, Nkr pul, Nk pul(a), Gdb pullu & pulu & berpul, Gnd pullī & puli & pulid.; D ⇨ Prkr pulli- 'tiger' ¶¶ D no. 4307, GS 179 [no. 455], 53 [no. 136] ◇ AD NM no. 38, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts because "semantic is too broad" and the M cognate is isolated within A).

281a. ₂ *boʒ∇ 'hair, feather' > A *b|p'ôʒ∇ 'feather' > M *°boʒuɣu > WrM боʒуɣу {MED} 'small bird feathers; tufts on the head of birds', HIM боʒго {MED} id., {BMR} 'small bird feathers, small feathers in wings, малое правильное перо в крыле птицы' ¶ MED 123, BMR I 254 || NrTg *buji 'feather' > Lm bujī id., Ewk buji 'new feather (after moult)' ¶ STM I 102-3 || D *poćć° ({θGS} *boćć-) 'hair, down, wool' > Tm роccу 'quantity of hair', Kn боccу 'wool, fine hair, down', Tl боccу 'hair, down, wool', Nkr bućuḥa 'knot of hair', Prj boćća 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D no. 4477 ◇ NrTg *u is still to be explained.

282. *bêʒU (,q∇,) or *bêʒ ,∇, q∇ 'big, high' > HS: S *°✓ bδχ > Ar ✓ bδχ 'être grand\haut' ¶ BK I 100-1, ≠ DRS 47 || B *°✓ bd_ɣ_ 'be high' > Kb bādḏ 'être debout', aḏdād 'se tenir debout', Ah aḏdād, Gd εḏdād (3m pf. iḏdād) id., Izn, Rf abæddi, SrSn ibæddi 'hauteur', Shl {NZ} bædd / biddn, Si {NZ} bdād 'rise, stand' ¶ Rn. 291, Dl. 7, Fc. 19-20, Lf. I 240 and II no. 0017, NZ 15-17 || U *pīde(-kä) 'high, long' > FU *pīde(-kä) > F pīt kā (cmpr. pitempi ~ pidempi) 'long', Δ pitevā 'long and narrow', Es pīkk, Δ pīt k 'long' || ObU *pěl- (= {Ht.} *pāl-/ *pěl-) 'high, long' > pVg *pāl(∇)t- 'Länge' > Vg: P pālt 'Länge, so lang wie', LK/MK/LL pālt 'so lang wie', N palit 'Länge, Entfernung'; pOs *pěl ({Hl.} *pīl) 'high' > Os: D/K pēt, Kz pāϕ, O pāl 'high', pOs *pěl∇t ({Hl.} *pīl∇t) 'height' > Os: V/Vy pēlāt, Ty pēϕit, Nz pātāt, Kz pāϕat, O pālāt | Hg fēl, fōl 'up (aufwärts, hinauf)', Δ 'surface, upper part' || pSm *pīrḥ 'height' > Ng fira 'hoch, gewachsen', En: T {Pl.} 'пырро 'high (высоко)' (adv.?), En X fiḥuddio, En B firuddio 'erhöhen', Ne T пир, Ne T O pīr 'Höhe', Slq Tz {KKIH} pīr+, Slq NP pīr∇ 'height'; pSm {Jn.} *pīrkā, {Hl.} *pīrke 'high' (× N *biḥ∇r∇gE 'high, tall') > Ne T пирця, Ne T O {Lh.} pīrćē, Ne F {Lh.} pīćśśā, En X {Cs.} fiće, En B {Cs.} fiše, {Ter.} пизе 'high', Slq Tz

{KKIH} pirq+ 'high, deep', Slq MTm {KD} pürg 'high', Kms {KD} p'ürže, {Cs.} phirže, Koyb {Sp.} прицэ, Mt {Hl.} *hirge (> Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgi, Mt M {Mll.} 'hürgü, Mt K {Pls.} chirgè) 'high' || pY {IN H} *puðe 'top' > Y: K bude 'on the top of, pude 'outside, above', T pure 'above, outside', OY Ch {Mat.} пуданмей 'high' ¶¶ UEW 377-8, Ht. 176 [no. 506], KKIH 150, Hl. M no. 305, IN H 364-5, IN UJ 244, 318, Ku. 241 || **A: [11]** (?) pA *b|p'ru'ž- > M *bužagaу₁i > WrM бузагаи {MED} 'strong, sturdy; hard, firm, durable', HIM бузагаи {MED} id., {BMR} 'strong, sturdy (сильный, крепкий); rather good', 'enough, very', Kl Ö {Rm.} buzṽā 'sehr, stark' (× Kl {Rm.} buzṽā 'schrecklich, abscheulich' ← buzṽ < *bužar 'dirt?') ¶ MED 143, BMR I 282, KW 64 || ?σ Tg *b'ru'žn > Lm бззз 'ten reindeer', WrMc {Z} бучжу бачжа 'very much', бучжунь 'multitude', 'very (much)' (× WrMc {Z} бучжунь 'hundred thousand' ← Chn бо-qi an id.) ¶ STM I 103, 120, Z 538 || J: (a) pJ {SDM} *pùtuà 'thick, big' > OJ putwo-, MJ pùtò- 'thick', J T {SDM} putó-, StJ {Kenk.} puto- id., J K {SDM} pùto-, J Kg {SDM} putó- 'big' ¶ Mr. 829, Kenk. 334 | (b) ?φ pJ {S} *piyi(n)ta- → *pui(n)ta- 'surpass' > OJ p₁i₁iida-, J: T/Kg hiidé-, K hííde- ¶ S QJ no. 1150, Mr. 688, Kenk. 488 ¶¶ Lm з and pJ *i of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. | **[2]** pA *°bædu- 'thick, large' (× N *büdü₁žž 'be thick') > T *bædü- ({SDM} *bèdù-, {Rs.} *beδü-, {S} *büδü-) v. 'be(come) big\high' > OT beδū-; T d. {SDM} *bEδü-k 'big, large' > OT beδūk 'big, great', Osm büyük 'big, large, high', Tk бұуқ, Az böyük 'large', Tkm beyik, VTt биек bijьк 'big, high', Tv b₁edik 'high' ¶ Not here Yk bödöη 'big, large, coarse', which is a loan from M (cp. HIM б₁д₁ү₁н 'large, huge, big', see N *büdü₁žž) ¶ S AJ 175 [no. 5], ET B 288-90, Cl. 299, 302-3, Pek. 517-18 || M *bediṽün ~ *büdiṽün 'thick' > MM [IM] bid(o)n, [MA] M bidun id., WrM {MED} bidügün ~ büdügün 'large, huge, big', HIM б₁д₁ү₁н {MED} id., {BMR} 'thick, тучный', Brt б₁д₁ү₁(н) 'thick', Kl {KRS} б₁д₁ү₁н id., {Rm.} büdüñ 'groß, dick', Mnr b₁üdü₁n 'gros', Ord b₁üdü₁:n 'gros, grossier' ¶ KW 86, MED 144, BMR I 300, Chr. 121, KRS 126, KW 66, SM 31, Ms. O 101, MYC 173 ¶¶ The cns. *-δ- in pT *bædü- (and *-d- in A *°bædu-?) may belong to the heritage of N *büdü₁žž ¶¶ SDM 334-5 (pA *bèdù- 'thick, large' > T *bEδü-k 'big, high', M *bediṽün ~ *büdiṽün, pJ *pùtuá- + unc. pKo *pìrì 'thick, satiated' and Tg *burgu 'fat, thick' (both possibly from N *báržž 'big, much, thick', q.v. ffd.]) and SDM 340-1 (pA *bēžž 'numerous, great' > M *buža- 'strong, durable, quite good', Tg *bejun 'ten deer, multitude', pJ {S}

*piyi(n)ta- + err. T *bāy 'rich, noble; many, numerous' [from pA *bāya 'rich'] and DQA no. 124 (pA *bēž'u 'numerous, great') ◇ The U cognate points to the N vw. *i, while T and Tg suggest *e. This discrepancy is still to be elucidated. If M *buž'a- belongs here, its vw. *u is explained by as. (infl. of the labial cns. *b-).

283. *bEΓ₁∇₁ž∇ 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)' > **HS**: EC *bEɣiz- 'oryx' > Sa {R} bəʕíɖ-ā 'antelope', Af {HP} biʕid, biʕíd- 'oryxes', singulative m. biʕíd-da 'oryx', Sml bíʕíd 'oryx', EC → EthS: Gz {L ← Ludolf} bəʕəz-ā 'kind of antelope', Amh bɜʔɜz, bɜʔɜzā id.; pEC *-z-, lost in the modern LEC lges, has been preserved in EthS loanwords of EC origin; the EC stem may be derived rather than primary, sc. its vocalism may be not original ¶ L G 85, AD SF 40, PH 70, Abr. S 32, DSI 56 || **U**: FU *pāšǰ∇ or *pāčǰ∇ (in ObU only?) > pObU *pēčəʕ 'reindeer fawn' > pVg *pāšəʕ id. > Vg UL/Ss pāsiʕ id.; pOs *pečəʕ ({{Hl.}} *pāčəʕ) id. > Os: V/Vy pečəʕ, K pečə, Nz pešə, Kz pešʕ id. || Prm: ?amb Z *pež 'newborn reindeer' found in the cd pež-ku 'fur of newborn reindeer, пыжик' (akin to Os, unless it is a loan from it) ¶ Ht. no. 483, LG 218 ¶ Rédei (UEW 387) tried to explain the ObU word as belonging to U *poč'a (F N *boč'a '(young) deer'), which is not accurate from the phonetic point of view || ?ϕ A *bEy∇ 'an ungulate animal' > T *bE₁yæ ({{SDM}} *bEyε) 'mare' (× N *maʔ'a (y∇) 'mother?') > OT, MQp XIV bē, [CC] bey, Chg ≥ XV, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq biye, VTt biyā, Bsh byā, Qrg bē, StAlt b₁ē, Tlt/QK {Rl.} pē, Qmn/Tb {B} pē, SY pie ɖ pi, Qb pī, Tv b₁e, Tf be, Xk pey ~ pī, Yk bīā 'mare' ¶ Cl. 291, ET B 133-4, B DK 241, B DChT 144, Rs. W 175, Rl. IV 1743, 1790, Ra. 73, 160, ≈ Shch. SFTJ 194 (*pā 'mare') || Tg *beyū-n 'wild ungulate animal' > Ewk bzyūn 'elk, reindeer', Δ bzyūn 'wild reindeer', Lm buyūn id., 'wild animal', Neg bzyūn, Orc bzyu(n-) 'elk', Ud bu(y)i 'wild animal', UI boyo(n-) ~ buyu(n-) id., 'elk; bear', Ork biy(n-) ~ buyu(n-) 'wild reindeer; bear', Nn Nh/KU {STM} buyũ ~ bzyũ, Nn Bk buyu(n-) 'elk, red deer, wild game (ungulate)', Nn Nh {On.} buyũ ~ bzyũ 'wild ungulate animal (крупный зверь), elk, Manchurian deer (изюбр)'; Tg *beyū- v. 'hunt ungulate animals' > Ewk bzyū-, Lm buyū-, Nn bzyuntu- id., Neg bzyū-, Orc bzyumz- v. 'hunt elks' ¶ STM I 121-2, On. 84, 87 || pJ {S} *bí ~ *bǰ 'Schwein' > OJ wí, MJ wí {S, SDM} id., J T i {Kenk.} 'a wild boar; The Boar (of the twelve horary signs)', inóííí {Kenk.} 'wild boar' ¶ S QJ no. 794, Kenk. 567, 620 || ?ϕ M *bayita-sun ~ bayida-sun > WrM {MED} bayitasu, bayidasu 'a 3- to 4-year old mare which has not yet

born young', Brt байтаһа(н) 'unfruchtbare Stute', HIM {BMR, Luv.} байдас id., 'young mare', Kl {Rm.} bǎ:sŋ 'dreijährige feiste Stute, die noch nicht besungen worden ist', Ord b_ā́d_asu 'female animal which has not born young' ¶ This M word was borrowed by some Tg and T lges (cf. Pp. MLT 197, STM I 6, Rs. W 57, ET B 36-7, TL 444) ¶ MED 74, 76, Luv. 57, BMR I 216, Chr. 802, KW 40, Ms. O 59 ¶¶ SDM 335-6 (pA *béyo 'an ingulate animal' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 116 ¶¶ The A cognate is valid if under some (not yet known) conditions N *-ǰ- yields pA *-y-.

284. (₂?) ***ć**E (or ***č**E?) 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) > **U** {UEW} ***će** ~ ***ći** {AD} 'that, ille' > F **se** 'it; that (iste, ille)', Es **see**, **se** 'this; that which' || Er **śe**, Mk **śä** 'that, this, that which' ||| pOs ***ć**i(-) > Os: V **çi**, O **śi** 'iste', V **çit**, Nz **śīt** 'this' || Sm: En {Cs.} **sedeo** 'der, jener', Ng {Hl.} **sitt**, {Cs.} **sete** 'he', Kms {KD} **š̌ā** 'dieser dort, der dort' ¶¶ UEW 33-4, SK 987-8, Cs. 90, Cs. GSS 350, 358, Hl. US 137, KD 145 ||| **A** ***č**æ > Tg: WrMc {Z} **чэ** 'those; they' ¶ STM II 418-9, Z 927 || pKo ***č**è 'this' > MKo **čè** id. ¶ S QK no. 606, Yu 650 ¶ pKo ***č**è goes back to pA ***č**'e rather than to pA ***č**'a, because the pKo vw. ***ə** cannot go back to pA ***a** (if not adjacent to a labial cns.), but can go back to any other pA vw. ¶¶ ≈ SDM 406 (pKo ***č**è 'this' + err. pA ***č**'a- 'that, beyond, not very far' [= {AD} ***č**'a 'that, jener'] [> Tg ***č**a 'that, further' and M ***č**a 'that, beyond'], going back to the N dem. pronoun of distal deixis ***č**a, q.v. ffd.], DQA no. 225 ||| ?**K** *-s (~ *-c), verbal ending of 3s > OG, G -s, Mg -s ~ -c, Lz -s id., Sv -s id. (in the optative); according to Klimov, the primary usage of the affix is in the opt. mood, from which it spread to other moods in OG, G and Zn ¶¶ K 161, FS K 263, FS E 292, Q 056 ¶¶ In K there is de-affricatization (typical of grammatical affixes).

285. (₂?) ***č**uqbE or ***č**üqb∇ 'carry away, throw (away)' > **IE**: NaIE ***skeub**^h- {P} '(flink) dahinschießen, schießen, werfen, schieben', {EI} 'push away, push ahead' > Gt inf. **af-skiuban** (· **ἀπώσασθαι**) 'verstoßen', ON inf. **skúfa** ~ **skýfa** 'to shove, to push away (fortstoßen)', OHG inf. **sciaban**, NHG inf. **schieben**, AS inf. **scéofan** ~ **scūfan** 'to shove, to push', NE **shove** ||| Lt inf. **skūbti** 'to start hurrying' (× ***skeub**- > ON inf. **skopa** 'to run, to jump') ⇨ inf. **skubéti** 'to hurry, to make haste, to run in a hurry' ¶ WP I 377 and II 551, P 955, EI 471, Fs. 9, Vr. 506, 508, Ho. 284, Schz. 257, KM 646, Frn. 820 ||| **HS**: S ***√sχp** 'throw down, throw away', 'wash away the soil' (of rain) > BHb **√shp** G (prtc. **ἡῖῖῖ sō'hēp** 'washing away' [of rain]), MHb {Lv.} **√shp** G 'fortschaffen, abrasieren', JA {Lv.} **√shp** v. G 'stürzen, auf etwas legen, werfen', {Sl.} 'place upside-down, place above, cover, throw down', SmA {Tal} **√shp** G 'scatter', Md **√shp** G 'cast down, throw down', Ak **√sχp** G (inf. **σαχᾶpu**) 'umwerfen, niederwerfen', ?? Ar **√shf** G 'emporter' (se dit du vent qui emporte les nuages) (ħ for the expected χ due to contamination with **√shf** G 'enlever le poil de la peau, raser?') ¶ KB 708, Tal 578, Lv. III 497, Sl. 798, ≈ Js. 371, BK I 1060, DM 320, 325, Sd. 1004 ¶ S ***p** is due to as. (*-qb- > *-qp-) ||| ?**σ** **A**: NaT ***č**öb 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (← *'what

is to be thrown away'?) (× N *ĉap∇ϚE 'filth, dung', 'rubbish' [q.v. ffd.]?).

286. *c o r | x c ∇ or *č o r | x c ∇ 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off' > K *č o c̄ x - 'besom' > G c o c x - i, Sv č e c̄ x ≈ č ä c̄ x id., Mg {FS} *č o r c̄ x - b → G Gr/A č o r c̄ x - a v - s '(he) sweeps', č o r c̄ x - v a 'to sweep' ¶¶ K 230, K² 273, FS K 413-14, FS E 466, SSO II 341, Chx. 2024 || **HS:** S: Ar ✓ s y s y 'arracher, tirer de sa place à force de remuer dans tous les sens (p. ex., un pieu planté en terre)' ¶ BK I 1095 || **U** {Db.} *č o c̄ ∇ - 'wipe off, rub off, sweep' > F h u o s i - '(abschwabbern, aufschwabbern; schaben, kratzen', h u o s i a 'Schwabber; Besen, Wischer' | Vt č i y x - č u ž - v. 'sweep, sweep away' || ObU {Ht.} *č ā c̄ - 'sweep' > pOs *č a c̄ - > Os: V/Vy č a c̄ -, Ty/Y č ā c̄ - id. || Sm: Slq UKe {KD} č ū t c̄ - 'schaben' ¶¶ Db. OS xxiii; ≈ UEW 60 and ≈ Ht. no. 89 (both adduced pOs *č a c̄ a m - 'pour out' and pVg *š ā š - 'pour [out], strew', that are likely to belong to FU *š ∇ c̄ ∇ [Coll. 7, Stn. WV 171, BV 107]), KD D 74 || **A:** Tg *ç u ç u - 'scrape' > Neg ç o ç o -, Ewk ç u ç u l 3 -, Lm ç o t l 3 - v. 'scrape clean the inner side of hide', Orc ç o ç o l o -, Ork tottolo - ~ tuttulo -, Nn Nh/KU tu c̄ u l 3 - 'scrape hide', Neg ç o ç o n ~ ç o ç u n, Ewk ç u ç u n, Lm ç o ç u n, Orc č o c̄ o (n -), Ork totto ~ tuttu, Nn Nh/KU tu c̄ ũ 'round notched scaper for cleaning the inner side of hide' ¶ STM II 418, On. 413 ◇ In K, U and in the prehistory of Ar there was as. of the original affricates: N *c...č or *č...c changed into K *c̄...c̄, U *č...č and S *c...c (> Ar s...s). In K there was a reg. mt. (a lr. moves to the post-obstruent position) bringing about formation of a "harmonic complex" *c̄ x.

287. *c̄ 'u' d ∇ 'outstretched hand' ([in descendant lges] → 'span') > **HS:** S *o ✓ s | š d w > Ar ✓ s d w (ip. -sdū / -sduw-) 'étendre\allonger la main vers qn\qch.' ¶ BK I 1073 || **K:** GZ *cid- 'span of the thumb and forefinger' ({FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [i]) ({K} *mcida- 'span of the thumb and forefinger') > OG cid-i, cid-a 'handbreadth' (in the G version of the OT [Ezek. 40.43, II Chron. 4.5] cid(a) = LXX παλαίστη 'palm of hand [four fingers' breadth] as a measure of length' = Hb חַבַּיִט 'ṭopah ~ חַבַּיִט 'ṭεpah 'handbreadth'), {FS} 'halbe Daumenlänge' [i]), G cida- {DCh., Chx.} 'span of the outstretched thumb and the forefinger (altes Längenmaß: so lang, wie man Daumen und Zeigefinger auseinander-spannen kann)', Mg {Q} ci(n)da id., Lz {Chik.} mcida 'span' ¶ K 141, K² 266, Chik. 75, FS K 399-400, FS E 450, Abul. 516, DCh. 1593, Chx. 2003-4, Q 370, SSO I 376 || **D** *c̄ u t t - ~ *c̄ o t t - ({ḡGS} *3-)

'span' > Ml $c\acute{o}t\acute{t}a-c\acute{c}\bar{a}n$ 'span of the thumb and forefinger', Kt $\acute{c}o\acute{t}$ 'breadth of four fingers', Kn $c\bar{o}t\acute{u}$, $c\acute{u}t\acute{u}$, Kdg $\acute{c}u\acute{t}i$ 'the small span of the thumb and forefinger', Tu $c\bar{o}t(\acute{t})u \sim c\acute{o}n\acute{t}u$ id., $c\acute{u}t\acute{t}i$ 'a span', Tl $ju\acute{t}t\acute{i}li$ 'the small span' ¶¶ D no. 2834.

288. $*\acute{c}od\acute{v}U \approx$ defect, evil deed' > K $*\acute{c}|c\acute{o}d_{LW}_1-$ > OG, G $cod(v)-$ v. 'sin', $codva$ n. 'sin', ??? Lz {BU} $cudi$, $mcudi$ 'a lie' (unless it is identical with Lz $mcudi$ 'vain, idle, vergeblich', cognate to G $cudi$ 'vergeblich' and Mg $cud-$ 'be bad', see FS K 452) ¶ Abul. 518, Chx. 2018-19, DCh. 1598, BU 419 || HS: S $*\acute{c}|\acute{s}d\acute{v}$ > Ar $\acute{s}ad\acute{v}$ -at- 'mal, accident fâcheux' ¶ BK I 1071 || D $*\acute{c}o\acute{t}t\acute{o}$ 'defect, blame; insinuation, disparaging remark' (\times N $?\acute{c} * \acute{c}Ud\acute{v}$ 'to be weak, to be damaged, to be weary' \times N $*\acute{s}o\acute{t}\acute{v}$ 'to exercise magic', [in descendant lges]: \rightarrow 'to curse', 'to bless'?) > Tm $c\acute{o}t\acute{t}u$ 'defect, insinuation', Ml $ca\acute{t}t\acute{u}$ 'fault', Tl $so\acute{d}d\acute{u}$ 'defect, fault; blame, imputation' ¶¶ D no. 2837 \diamond If Lz (m) $cudi$ belongs here, it points to a pK $*c-$ and a pN $*\acute{c}-$.

289. $*Ceg\acute{v}$ 'breast, milk' > K: Sv: UB/L $l\bar{i}-\acute{s}gi$, LB $li-\acute{s}gi$, Ln $li-\acute{s}k\acute{i}$ msd. 'to milk' ¶ TK 490-1, GP 178 || A: M $*\acute{c}e\acute{x}e\acute{z}in$ 'breast, chest' > MM [S] $\acute{c}e\acute{x}e\acute{z}i$ 'Brustkorb', [MA] $\acute{c}\bar{e}\acute{z}i(n)$ 'breast, chest', WrM {MED} $cegezi(n)$ 'upper part of body, chest, breast, bosom', HIM $\acute{c}e\acute{x}e\acute{z}$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'upper part of body, chest, breast', Brt $ce\acute{x}e\acute{z}$ 'breast, chest', WrO $ce\acute{z}i$ 'chest, bosom, breast', Kl {KRS} $\acute{c}e\acute{x}e\acute{z}$ 'chest, breast', {Rm.} $\acute{c}\bar{e}\acute{z}i$ 'Brust', Dg $\acute{c}\bar{e}\acute{z}i$ {T} 'breast, chest', {Mr.} 'chest (of body)', Mgl {Rm.} $\acute{c}e\acute{i}\acute{z}i$ 'breast', Ord $\acute{c}'\bar{e}\acute{z}i$ 'poirine'; $?\phi$ MM {H} $cekeray \sim cekerey$ 'Brust, Hals'; $? M \rightarrow$ Chv Ll. $\acute{c}\bar{e}\acute{z}b$ 'female breast, nipple' (unless going back to N $*\acute{c}\acute{a}d_{LW}_1y\acute{v}$ 'female breast' or being an independent Ll.) ¶ Pp. MA 132, H 26, MED 170, BMR IV 294, Kow. 2124-5, Chr. 405, KRS 646, KW 438, Gl. II 365-6, Luv. 624, DRM 132, Krg. 625, Ms. O 699, T DgJ 181, Mr. D 128, Rm. M 25, H 26, Ash. XV 290, Fed. II 417, ChVS 271 ¶ Merger with N $*\acute{c}\acute{a}d_{LW}_1y\acute{v}$ 'female breast' cannot be ruled out || D $*\acute{c}\bar{e}-$ ({\text{GS}}) $*\acute{c}|c\bar{e}-$ 'milk' > Tm $cekk\acute{u}$ 'breast milk', $cekk\acute{a}i$ 'woman's breast', Kn $cepu$ n. 'gush/spurt as of milk', Kdg $\acute{c}e\acute{p}u$ v. 'secrete' (of milk), Tl $ce\acute{p}u \acute{c} ce\acute{p}u$ 'become full of milk' (of breasts), 'be secreted' (of milk), Gdb $sempap-$ 'become ready to be milked' ¶¶ D no. 2803.

290. $*\acute{c}ok\acute{v}$ 'shelter, primitive house' > HS: S $*sukk-$ 'temporary shelter' > Hb $\acute{s}uk\acute{k}\bar{a}$ 'hut', $\acute{h}ag\ \acute{h}assuk\acute{k}\bar{o}t$ 'feast of tabernacles', SmHb pl. $sakkot$ 'tabernacles', Ak OB $sukk\acute{u}$ 'e shrine,

chapel' ¶ SamHb s- proves that the S initial cns. is *s- rather than *š- (while in Jewish Hb the cns. s may go back to earlier Hb š as well) ¶ CAD XV 361-2, KB 711, KBR 753 || U: FU *ćok∇-m∇ (or *ćo∇-m∇) 'temporary shelter' ({UEW} 'zeitweiliges Obdach'), 'cave of beasts' > Prm *ćom ({LG} *ćom) 'shelter made of branches', 'cabin' > OPrm ćom 'shelter made of branches (шалаш)', Z чом ćom id., 'kennel', Z I ćom 'reindeer breeders' tent (чум)', Yz ćum 'barn' || pOs *soϣam ({H1.} *sãϣam < *sϣam) > Os: V/Vy soϣam, Lk saϣam, Ty (+ppa. 3s) suϣmāḫ 'cabin dug out of snow, Schneehütte', 'cave or winter den of animals, burrow' ¶ UEW 38, LG 309, Stn. D 1318, KrT 837.

291. ₂ *Cok'ü' 'small, little' > HS: C: pAg {Ap.} *ćzǵ- ({Ap.} *cǵ-) 'be small\little' > Bln {R} šeg- ~ seǵ- 'be few\small', Xm {R} čik-, Q {R} šeg-, Km {CR} šǵ- 'be small' || EC: Kns {Ss.} šakk- 'small', {Fl.} šzka 'few, small', Brj šak-an-ē 'light' (of weight)', ? Sa/af {Ss.} -isissik- 'be fast\light\easy', 'be light-weight' (of a person) ¶ AD SF 258 (Ag *-g-, -g- < C *-k-, *-k-), ≈ AD SF 119, Ap. AV 20, Ss. B 171, Fl. p.c. || A: M *ćöen > MM [HI] čöen, [MA, IM] čö:n 'little' (of quantity), 'few', WrM cögen {MED} adj./adv. 'little, few; sparse, rare', HIM цөһн {MED} id., {BMR} 'few, nicht zahlreich', Kl {KRS} цөһн 'small in numbers, few, little (wenig)', {Rm.} cōn ~ cō 'wenige, nicht viele', Ba {T} čon, Mnr H {T} čīōn 'little' (of quantity), 'few', {SM} ć'īōn 'peu nombreux, en petite quantité, peu', Ord č'ōn 'peu nombreux' ¶ Pp. MA 136, 435, MED 201, BMR IV 269, KRS 639, KW 432, Ms. H 47, Ms. O 716, SM 454-5, T 231, T BJ 151.

292. *id.* *ćičiKaKa 'to tickle' > IE: NaIE *id.* *oskek-/*oskok- v. 'tickle' > Sl: ChS inf. скѣкѣтати skъkъtati, R inf. щекотать 'to tickle', Blg 'скокот, R щекотка n. 'tickling', ?φ SCr inf. čkàkljati 'to tickle' ¶ Vs. IV 500 || U: FU *ćikk∇- v. 'tickle' > Lp N {N} čâgârdi- 'be ticklish', čâgâlduâ- id., 'have a ticklish feeling', Lp L {LLO} tjakārtit v. 'tickle' || Chr: H cəḫ-əltə-, E ćiḫ-iltb- id. || Hg Δ csikol-, Hg csikland- id. ¶ MF 116, N I 351-2, LLO 1124 || A: Tg: Lm çakaçî-, Orc čakača-, Nn Bk caqasî-, čiqasî-, Ul cikir-čî- v. 'tickle', Ul čikiruwli adj./adv. 'ticklish, it tickles' ¶ CiR 685, STM II 378, Sun. UJ 257 || D *ćakku|- ({GS} *-ś'-) v. 'tickle' > Tm akkuḷu id., Ml akkuḷam 'tickling', Kn akaḷa (a term used in tickling), akkaḷike 'tickling', cakkalaguḷi 'tickling another person', zakkulisu v. 'tickle, touch', Kdg kakkuḷi 'tickling' (k- due to ideophony), Tl

cakkilgili 'tickling', Mlt {Drs.} cēqlkúndē v. 'tickle'; ? D *čakk∇||-
armpit' > Tm akkuḷ, Ml akkuḷam, Tl cakkili id. ¶¶ D no. 2274 ◇ IS
I 204.

293. *ciḱP∇ 'branch, shoot of a plant' > K: GZ *čkip- 'small branch'
> G I čkip-i 'small broken branch', Mg čkip- 'fork', ?? Zan ⇨ G Gr
čkvip-i 'shoot of a tree' ¶ K² 274, FS K 415, Ghl. 679 || HS: S *✓sḱp >
SmA ḱḷḱḱ sḱḱp 'offshoot', Mh ✓sḱf (pf. sḱ'ḱauḱf), Jb C ✓sḱf (pf.
'sḱ'ḱḱf) v. 'roof a hut with branches', Mh saḱf-, Jb E/C sḱḱf 'roof of
branches on a hut or pen', 'roof', Ak z i ḱ p u 'shoot (of a tree or
another plant), sapling' ¶ Tal 609, Jo. M 347, Jo. J 227, CAD XXI 127-8
|| A: NaT *čīb|p- 'thin slender branch' (× N *čīḱpâ 'branch, bough,
rod', q.v.) > OT čip 'thin slender branch', Osm {Rh.} چوب čup 'little bit
of wood, stock' (× ⇨ NPrs چوب čūb 'log, wood [as material], tree' [⇨
some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} sip 'thin twig' (in sip qurduq 'thin as a thin
twig'); ⇨ NaT *čīb-ik ~ *čīb-uk ({Cl., Dr}: dim.) 'flexible rod, switch' >
OT čibiḱ, OT Kr čivḱ id., MU čibiḱ, MQp ≥XIII čibuḱ ~ či:biḱ,
XwT dalniḱ čubuḱi 'a willow shoot', XwT, Chg čibuḱ ~ čubuḱ ~
čubuḱ, Tkm čībiḱ 'rod, switch', Az čubug id., twig', MQp, QrB čibiḱ,
XwT čubuḱ, Tk čubuḱ 'rod, branch', Ggz čibiḱ ~ čubuḱ, CrTt, Qmq, ET
Tr {Rl.} čubuḱ, ET, Uz čivḱ, Qzq, Qq, Nog šibiḱ, VTt šibiḱ, Qrg čibiḱ,
StAlt čibiḱ, Bsh sḱbḱḱ 'switch, rod (прут, хворостина, розга)', Uz
čibiḱ ~ čiwḱ, Xk, Shor simiḱ, Tv šibiḱ 'rod, switch (прут,
хворостина)', Tv d. šiqrīr id., Qmn čibuḱ ~ čibuḱ 'twig, rod', Yk sīpaḱ
'ε small willow (тальник) with twigs used in loops for catching birds'.
Stems with čub- are due to the analogy of NPrs چوب čūb 'wood
(material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of *-b- and the ending
*-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-19, Rs. W 106, Rl. III 2099-100, 2185, Sg.
401, Dr. TM III no. 1059, Sg. 401-2, Rh. 733-4, GRM 552, 554, BN 32,
UzR 519, BT 182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 360, RKB 505,
551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 880, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT
223, BIG 207, TvR 585, 587, JkR 360, Pek. 2472 ¶ The long *i
(evidenced by Tkm and by Yk sīpaḱ) may be due to the loss of N *ḱ and
*ḱ (N *ciḱP∇ and *čīḱpâ > T *čī:b|p-). The short vw. in Yk
sip is still to be explained

294. *C'a'∇ (= *č'a'∇?) 'cold' > IE: NaIE *°kʰol-d- (× N *ḱEL, H, ∇
'cold, q.v.) > Sl *xōldъ n. 'cold' (gen. *xōlda) > OCS хладъ {StSS}
'а́ура, легкий прохладный ветер' ('mild cool wind'), Blg хлад, SCr,

Slv hlād, Cz, Slk chlad, P chłód, R, Uk 'холод (gen. 'холода) n. 'cold' ¶ ESSJ VIII 57-9, Vs. IV 256, StSS 761, Glh. 262-3 || **D** *č̥a- 'cold' > Tm caḷi 'cold, chilliness', Kn, Tu caḷi, caḷi, saḷi 'coldness, cold, coolness', Krg talli 'cold', Tl caḷi 'cold' (n.), Gdb čalandi 'cold rice serving for breakfast', Knd salaṅ 'cold, cool', Ku salma 'cool'; (× N *č̥aí▽g▽ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost') Kn caḷi 'snow' ¶¶ D no. 2408 || **A**: NaT *ç̥oḷiḷ 'icicle' > Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} čol id., *°ç̥oḷiḷda- > Tlt čolda- 'zu Eiszapfen gefrieren' ¶ Rl. III 2022-4 ◇ The IE and D cognates point to a N vw. *a in the first syll. The NaT vw. *o still requires explanation (regr. as., if the N etymon was *C'a'ḷo?) ◇ On N *č̥- as a possible source of NaIE *k^h- see s.v. *č̥aṣ'i'd▽ 'to advance with effort'.

295. *célē 'to peel' > **K**: GZ *c- v. 'peel' > OG, G c- vt., vi. 'peel' (of fruit peel, skin), Mg rc(w)-, Lz prc- id. | Sv UB/L cil 'bark, crust, skin' ¶¶ K 225, ≈ K² 263 (Sv cil ← Sv cel-/c- 'tear, strip off' [actually {TK} 'tear asunder, split' or {FS} 'cut', see N *č̥aḷyḷEṣo 'to split, to cut']), Q 313, TK 473, 837, GP 277 || **HS** *√s- (de-affricatization *s- < *c-) > SC: Kz {E} sil- v. 'pluck bird', C ⇨ Mb {E} -sílo 'bare, naked' ¶ E SC 180 (s.v. *sí- v. 'strip bare') || CS (+ext.) *√šlχ v. 'skin' > Ar √s-χ G v. 'skin (sheep or other animals), take off clothes', JA šlḥ G {Lv.} 'ablegen, ausziehen', {Js.} 'throw off, undress, flay', {Sl.} 'remove clothes, flay', SmA √šlḥ 'strip', Sr √šlḥ G 'doff, take off, strip off (clothes)'; BHb ḥlḥ 'šelaḥ 'hide', MHb ḥlḥ 'šelaḥ, JA ḥlḥ 'šilḥ-ā {Js.} 'hide, fresh skin', Sr ḥlḥ 'šelaḥ, ḥlḥ 'šilḥ-ā 'hide, skin', Plm šlḥ 'skin', Ar سلخ salχ- 'peau quand elle est ôtée d'un animal écorché' ¶ KB 1404, HJ 1142, Tal 897-8, Sl. 1147, Lv. IV 558-60, Js. 1580, JPS 578-9, BK I 1121, ≈ MiK I no. 1.244 (* ÷ OAk, Ak mašlû 'leather bucket; hide [used for wrapping]) || ? CCh: Bcm {Sh.} šilárè, {ChL} sulari, Mln {ChL} šira, Bt G {Mch.} širə 'skin' ¶ JI II 297, ChC s.v. 'skin', ChL || **IE**: NaIE *skol- 'peel' (n.) > Gmc *skoljō > Gt skalja ('κέραμος) 'Ziegel' ({KM}: ← *'Schindel, Schuppenartiges'), OHG scala 'shell, scale (paterna)', OSx skāla 'Schale, Muschel', NHG Schale 'skin, peel, shell', ON skel, AS scíell 'Schale, Muschel, Schuppe', NE shell | Sl: R Δ скалина 'bark', RChS сколька skолька 'shell' (< IE *skelH- v. 'split' < N *č̥aḷyḷEṣo '↑' [q.v.]) ¶ Fs. 427-8, Vr. 488, Ho. 277, Ho. S 65, Schz. 257, Kb. 865, KM 633, Uhl. G 127, ≠ Mn 1173 || **U** *č̥el|ḷe- '(rub\scratch in order to) get the skin off', v. 'debark' > Lp N {N} č̥állâ-/-l- v. 'rub the antlers against sth. to get the skin off', Lp L {LLO}

tjalla- 'abkratzen, abschälen, abreißen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} šelā- 'das Geweih von der Haut reinigen, die Rinde von einem Baum reiben' ¶¶ UEW 35, LLO 1130, Lh. 436 || A: NaT *çæ̃:ɹ̃l 'film, thin skin' > Tlt čäl 'film (on an egg\meat\eye)', Qrg čel 'film on the inner side of skin; wall-eye', ?φ Qzq šel 'thin layer of epidermic fat; wall-eyed', Brb {Tm.} cäl 'placenta' ¶ Rs. W 103, Jud. 856, Sht. 233, MM 395, Rl. III 1975, Tm. 236, TL 392.

296. *ćEĪ∇ 'be quiet, wait' > K *°cel- > Mg cal- (cal-eba, da-cal-eba, aor. va-cal-i) {Q} v. 'give time (дать время), wait' ¶ Q 369 || HS: SES *✓slb > Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ✓slb v. 'wait' ¶ Jo. M 348, Jo. H 110, Jo. J 228 || U: FU *ć'ü' l|∇- 'be quiet\still' > pPrm *ćǰl 'quiet' > Z чөв ćзv 'quiet' (adj.), n. 'silence', Z U/V ćзl n. 'silence, quiet', Yz ćǰl, Vt чал ćal 'without noise, silently' (acc. to Lt., before l pPrm *ǰ yields Vt a) || Hg csi llapod- 'become silent' ¶ MF 117, LG 310, Lt. 129, SZ 416 ¶ Acc. to IS I 164, U *ü > pPrm *ǰ under certain conditions (including the position before *l?).

297. ₂ *cōl|l|∇ 'be\make empty' > K: GZ *čal-/*čl- v. 'empty; be idle' > OG mo-cal-/mo-cl- v. 'be idle', G cal-/cl-, Mg čol- v. 'empty; have spare time', G calieri 'empty, idle' ¶ K 227, K² 269, FS K 406, FS E 457-8, Q 366, Chik. 377-8, DCh. 1587, 1596-7, Chx. 2012-15 || D *čōl|l|l- 'be empty\decayed' > Tm cōl|l|aḡ 'that which is decayed, worm-eaten, carious', Ml cōl|l|u 'stunted, worm-eaten', Kn jōl|l|u 'unsubstantiality, emptiness, state of being without stuff', Tu cōlle 'cripple', Tl cōl|l|u 'empty' ¶¶ D no. 2864 || HS: ?? AdS of S *✓šll v. 'take out\away' (< N *šeĪ∇ 'take away\off, destroy, pull off').

297a. *čaxoĪ∇ (or *čoxaĪ∇?) 'to wind (round sth.), to tie' > HS: S *°s|šah|l- > Ar saħ|l- 'ficelle', ✓sh|l G 'faire de la ficelle' ¶ BK I 1062 || WCh *'C'∇l- ({OS} *çal-) 'rope' > Bl {Stl. ← ?} colī, Ang {Flk.} sāl 'a tree supplying bark from which to make rope' || CCh: Mln {ChL} sālū, Bcm {Sk. in ChC} sālīke - sālīake 'rope' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'rope', Flk. s.v. sāl, Stl. IF 67 ¶¶ OS RPV I 67 || U *čōl|l|∇- 'bind, tie', *čōl|l|me 'knot', v. 'bind' > FU {UEW} *čōlme- v. 'tie', *čōl|l|me n. 'knot' > F solmi 'knot', solmi- v. 'knot, tie', Es sōlm 'knot, loop' | pLp *čōlmz 'knot' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjuolme, L {LLO} tjuol'ma, N {N} čuol'bma / -lm- id.; L {LLO} tjuol'ma- 'knüpfen, knoten', S {Hs.} tjuolmedh 'zubinden, zuknoten' | pMr *śulmъ > Er сюлмо śulmo, Mk сюлма śulmā & śulma 'Knoten, Bündel', Er/Mk сюлма- '(zusammen)knüpfen, (zu)binden,

stricken' || Hg csomó 'knot', 'Knoten, Bündel' || pY {IN H} *čolo- v. 'add, join together' > Y K {IN} čolo- id., Y T čala- 'added' ¶¶ UEW 38-9, Lr. no. 194, Lgc. no. 765, Hs. 1346-7, Ps. sL 60, Ker. II 149, IN H 137, IN UJ 216, Ku. 316 || ¶ A *čali > NaT *čali- v. 'wind' > Qmn {B} čali- vt. 'wind round, entangle (обвить, запутать)', QK {B, Rl.}, Tlt {Rl.} čali- 'embrace, entangle (обнять, запутать)', Kr cal-, VTt {Bu.} čal- v. 'wind', Qmq čal- v. 'plait'; ⇨ NaT *čal-ma > Chg xv čalma 'strip of cloth wrapped round the head', MQp XIV [CC], OOSm XVI čalma, Tk čalma 'turban', StAlt, Qmn, Tlt čalma 'loop', VTt чалма čalma, Kr calma ≙ čalma, Tkm čalma 'turban' ¶ Cl. 420, Rs. W 97, KRPS 611-12, B DK 266, B DLT 220, Rl. III 1880, 1892, Bu. I 464, TL 395, Tkr 720 || NKO {MLC} čari- v. 'tie up tight'; cp. also pKo {S} *čàrà v. 'hang up, strangle' > MKo čàrà-, NKO čari- id.; MKo čàrò, čàrà, čàr, NKO čaru 'handle' ¶ MLC 1376, S QK no. 726, Nam 412, 416 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 24, KW 421 ¶¶ Hardly here (for phonetic reasons) M *čilbu_lyur 'bridle, rein' (> MM [HI] čilbur 'longe', WrM cilbu_gur {MED} 'long leather cord attached to the headstall of a halter or bridle', HIM цулбур {MED} id., {BMR} 'повод, чембур, корда', WrO cilbuur 'rein, guiderope, lead; halter', Kl {KRS} цулвур 'повод, чембур', {Rm.} culwūr 'Leitriemen, Leitzügel', '(bridle) rein, чембур', see Ms. H 47, MED 182, BMR IV 274, Krg. 649, KRS 640, KW 433) ◇ If we could have taken for granted that Orël and Stolbova's rec. of the WCh root as *čal- 'rope' is reliable, we would have assumed that the pN initial cns. was either *č or *č̣; but in my opinion their WCh rec. is highly qu., because even the primary source (in the case of Bl colli) is still to be checked, and there is no ev. of the initial cns. being emphatic. IS I 200 reconstructed the U √ as *śolme, and this √ served as one of the arguments for his hyp. about N *č (his *c) yieldings U *ś. But in view of recent research both the U rec. (F UEW 38-9) and IS's hyp. must be revised.

298. ₂ *č¹i¹X¹∇ 'to defecate' > HS: S *^o√s¹h (or *^o√š¹h) v. 'defecate' > Ar √s¹h G 'defecate' (of a person) ¶ BK I 1120 ¶ An alt. etl. conjecture connects this verb with EC *sā¹- 'cowdung' (Bl. 100, Ss. PEC 32, Ss. B 164) and Mb ki-sá¹lo 'mud; dung of large animals' (E SC 326), but it fails to explain the absence of the reflex of HS *h in EC || ¶ A: T [1] *^oç_{l:}la > OT {Cl.} čilā 'dung'; [2] *ç_{l:}l¹- v. 'defecate' > OT {Cl.} čiš 'urination, defecation', MT [AH, IM] sič- v. 'defecate', Tk siç-, Kr {Rl.} sič-, QrB čič-, Qzq тыш-, VTt тыч- тьš-, QK {B} šiš-, Alt {B}, Qmn {B} čič-, Tel/Alt {Rl.} sis- id., Chv сыс- sis/z₋ id., 'laichen'; here T *

í(-) < ** -l-y(-) with *y going back to a sx ¶ Cl. 418, 430, Rs. W 414 (s.v. ᵛyč -), Sht. 207, Rl. III 2094, IV 657, 661, B DK 271, B DLT 227, BT 184, Ash. XI 118, Fed. II 77, Jeg.201.

299. *ćal̥y_lEɣ_o 'to split, to cut' > K *cəl- v. 'mow, cut' ⇨ *cəl- 'scythe' > G cəl- v. 'mow', cəl-i 'scythe' (⇨ Mg cəl-i id.), Mg cal-i id., cal- v. 'mow', Lz (n)cal- id. (Lz (n)cal- v. 'sharpen' may go back to a derivative from Z *cal- 'scythe') | Sv {K²} cəl-/cl- 'tear, strip off', Sv LB {TK} li-cəl msd. 'tear asunder, split' (გახევა, გახლეჩა, გაპობა), Sv UB/L {FS} cil- (msd. li-cəl) v. 'cut, cut asunder' ¶¶ IS I 196, K 223, FS K 396, FS E 445-6, GM S 77, ≠ GM S 313, TK 473 || HS: CS *√ sli v. 'split' (⇨ *sāl_l∇_l- 'a cleft in the rock' [→ 'rock']) > Ar سلع √ sli v. G 'split', سلع salī- 'cleft in the rock', Hb סֶלַח 'selah, JA אֶבֶן סֶלַח s il'-ā 'rock' ¶ KB 715-16, KBR 75, Tal 591-2, Js. 996 || B: Sll {Ds.} i-sli 'rocher', Izd {Mrc.} i-salli 'grosse pierre' ¶ Mrc. 353, Ds. 250 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *s∇l- v. 'cut' > Gera šàllǎ-mí id., Gw šára id., 'reap', Hs sārǎ 'fell (tree), chop, cut' (Hs {Ba.} súlǎlū 'a handleless knife', adduced in Stl ZCh, is qu.) | Bd {Gr. ← ?} salo v. 'cut' ¶ JI II 98, Stl. ZCh 179-80 [no. 319], Ba. 903, Abr. H 781-2, Mts. G 106, Gr. LA 51 [no. 2] ¶¶ IS I 196 adduced some C words: Bj sal- (misunderstood as an adj. 'sharp', but actually being a verb with the meaning 'sharpen', F Rop. 231), Xm {R} sil- 'knife', Q {R} sal- v. 'be sharp'. In my opinion, the meaning of these words is too remote to justify the connection; besides, Bj sal- and Q {R} sal- are likely to be loanwords (maybe from Amh ሰለላ v. 'sharpen' going back to the EthS root √ sħl, see Gz ሰለላ saħala 'sharpen') || IE *skel_lh_χ-/*sk_ol_lh_χ- 'split', {EI} *skel- 'split (apart)' > Ht iškalla(i)- v. 'slit, slash, split, tear' || Gk σκῦλλω 'I hoe' || Arm gēlnuḏ c^hel-um 'I split' (c^h- < IE *sk-, as shown in Me. EAC 32), Arm uḏwluḏ skal-im 'I open the chinks, I split, I gape, I crack' || Clt {RE} *skolt- v. 'split' > OIr scoilt- v. 'split, divide up', scoilt 'fente, fissure', Brtt: W holtti, ?φ Crn falsa, felja [{Vn.} felža], ?φ MBr feutiff, ?φ Br faoutarñ 'to split', W hollt, ?φ MBr faout, faut 'fente' (Clt *sk- > Crn, Br f- is still to be explained) | OIr sceilim v. 'slice', scailt 'fente' || ON inf. skilja 'to split, to separate', AS inf. ā-sciellan, inf. tō-sciellan 'to separate, to divide' || Lt inf. skélti (2s pres. skeliū) 'to split', Ltv inf. šķel̥t (1s pres. šķel̥u) 'to split lengthwise' | Sl *skála 'rock, splitter' > OR

скала, R, Blg ска'ла, P ска'ла 'rock', Uk Δ ска'ла 'stone', SrCr ска'ла 'rock, slice, bit', Slv skála 'rock, chip', Cz skála 'rock', Δ 'Steinbruch', Slk скала 'stone, rock'; Sl *sčelъ > R щель (dim. щёлка), Uk щіль 'crevice, chink, slot', P szczelina, †szczel id., 'cleft', Slv ščálja n. 'split' ¶¶ P 923, Pv. I-II 413-15 (invoking Arm скал-им), EI 538-9, F II 715-16, Vn. S 29, 48-9, RE 134, Vr. 492, Ho. 277, Frn. 800, Kar. II 347, Vs. III 630-1 and IV 501, Brü. 543, ZVSZ 383-4, Glh. 552-3, GK 552, Sl. 105, ≈ Ach. III 225 (deriving скал-им, which is actually from Iranian *sik-), 452-3 || U: FU (in Prm) *čal̥- v. 'cut off, separate' > pPrm *čal̥- v. 'cut off, split off, separate' > Z чаллы- čal̥l̥- 'cut off (e.g., the upper green leaves of cabbage)', чалес čal̥es 'bran', Z UV čal̥gzd- v. 'cut off, separate', Prmk čal̥dzt- ~ čaldzt- 'split off' ¶ LG 301 (adducing Er чалга- čalga- v. 'brake [flax, hemp]' [obviously a sd. from čalga- v. 'tread', see ERV 737]) || A *čalu|I- 'sharp; cut' (× N *čal̥- v. 'beat, knock down, fell', q.v.) > T *čal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, to break, to slaughter), mow' > OT čal- v. 'knock down, beat, beat out (fire)', Qzq šal- v. 'slaughter', QrB Q čal-, QrB B cal- v. 'mow, cut', Qmq čal- v. 'cut off, slaughter', Tkm čal- 'einen Schlag versetzen, хлестнуть, стегануть', Chv L цул- súl-, Chv Δ цол- v. 'mow', Chv цал- 'herausreißen (выдергивать дергать), jäten, Gras herausreißen' ¶ Cl. 417-18, Rs. W 97, TkR 720, Ash. XII 208 and XIII 16-17, Fed. II 92, 132, ChVS 180 and 188, Jeg. 206, Rl. III 1876, 1887, IV 965 || Tg *čalu- ~ *čol̥i- 'cut off' > Neg čol̥i- id., 'trim', Ul čāl̥u- ~ čāl̥i- 'cut, cut off', Nn Nh čāl̥i-, Nn Bk cal̥i-, WrMc {Z} чол- v. 'cut' ¶ STM II 405, On. 498, Z 948 || M *čali 'sharp' > WrM {SDM} cal̥i, Kl {Rm.} cal̥a ~ cāl̥a 'Schneide, scharfe Spitze, Messerspitze'; M *čalir > MM {SDM} calir {SDM} 'sharp instrument, crowbar', WrM {MED} calir 'iron for demolishing rocks, breaking ice etc.', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} царил ~ цалир 'Brecheisen (лом, пешня); Pickhacke (кирка), Hacke (мотыга)', Brt салир 'iron for breaking ice, 'Brecheisen (пешня)', Kl {Rm.} cal̥r̥ ~ cāl̥r̥ 'eiserne Stange mit Spitze', Ord č'alir 'fer pour beiser la glace' ¶ MED 163, BMR IV 248, 252, Chr. 384, KW 420-1, 424, Ms. O 693 || pJ {S, SDM} *tùrùṅkì 'sword' > OJ turugyi, MJ tùrùgì ~ tùrùkì, J T/Kg curugí, J K cúrùgì id. ¶ Mr. 557, Kenk. 2074 ¶¶ SDM 413-14 (pA *č'alu > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 267, S QJ no. 1586 || D *čal-, {GS} *sel- v. 'cut, split' (× N *šäl̥, qU 'cleave, cut asunder', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D *l (rather

than *l̥ < N *l̥) is inherited from N *šä_l∇,qu ◇ Cf. IS I 195-7 (IE, K, HS, A + unc. U *š|šale- ~ *š|šäle- v. 'cut, split' [= {UEW} *šale-, UEW 459-60]). In view of the fact that there is no other known √ with U *ś- or *š- from N *ć (= N *c- in the notation of IS), I prefer to adduce FP *ća_l∇-.

300. *c'OLK_l∇ (~ *c'OLk∇) 'to advance with effort (to creep, to crawl, to climb etc.)' > IE: NaIE {P} *slenk- (~ *sleng-) 'creep, crawl', {Mn.} v. 'crawl, trudge, amble' > MBr len_cr 'glissant' ({P} 'schleichend'), as well as possibly a Brtt word for 'intestinal worm(s)': W llyngyr pl. 'intestinal worms', MBr ln_quernenn, Br len_k(n)-enn 'intestinal worm' ||| ?ϕ L lumbrīcus 'intestinal worm' (unless < IE *slend^h- 'crawl') ||| OSw inf. slinka 'kriechen, sich schmiegen', AS inf. slincan 'to creep' > NE slink; ⇔ : OSx, OHG slango, NHG Schlange 'snake'; OHG {Kb.} inf. zuo-slingen 'to slide away', MHG inf. slingen 'to crawl along', {Lx.} 'sich schlängelnd winden, kriechen, schleichen', AS inf. slinzan {Sw.} 'to worm one's way', {Ho.} 'sich schlingen, winden, kriechen' ||| Lt 1s pres. slenkù / inf. slĩnkti 'creep, crawl' (of a snake), 'move slowly', 'slink' ||| OI [Dhat.] s_rarīk- 'go, move, creep' ¶ P 961-2, Mn. 1210-11, MW 1095, M K II 554 (considering OI s_rarīk- ~ s_rarīg- not fit ["nicht geeignet"] for etl. comparisons), Ern. 362, LP § 63, WH I 831-2, Ho. 299, Ho. S 67, OsS 818, 823-4, Kb. 906, Lx. 198, KM 653, Frn. 832-3, unc. σ: EI 607 (*slenk- 'turn, twist [like a snake]') || HS: CS *√slk̥ > BHb סלַק̥ √slk̥ 'ascend', BA, Sr √slk̥ v. 'ascend, climb', SmA √slk̥ 'go up', Ar {Fr.} √slq G 'run', TD (pf. tasallaqa) 'climb\scale (a wall)', ? (with deglottalization) Ar √slk v. G 'travel, go along' ¶ KB 716, KBR 758, BDB no. 5267, Fr. II 344, Tal 592-3, Br. 477, Ln. 1410 ||| ?σ,ϕ K: G sliḱin- 'gleiten, schlitern, rutschen' ¶ Chx. 1268 ||| A: ?σ M *°c'olgi- > WrM c'olgi- {MED} 'come to the surface, emerge', HIM цолги- {MED} id., {BMR} 'auftauchen, jump out from water' (fish), M *°c'olgi-la- > WrM {MED} c'olgi-la, HIM {MED, BMR} цолгил- v. 'hasten, rush; overtake, take the head' ¶ MED 197, BMR IV 258 ||| D *c'okk- ({ϑGS} *ś- or *s-) v. 'climb' > Klm sok-, Nkr sokk-, Prj c'o-pp-/ c'o-tt-/ c'okk- id., Ku hoḡ- (p. hott-) id. ¶¶ D no. 2828 ◇ The IE var. √ *sleng- and M *c'olgi- point to a N var. *c'OLk∇ at the pN level (progressive as. from *c'OLK_l∇?). G s- (for the expected c-) may be due to a de-affricatization in the precons. position.

301. *č'älg ▽ 'lean, thin' (of a body), 'reduced' > **HS:** S *^o✓s|šlk (as. *s...k < *s...ḳ [< N *č'...g]) > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} musallak- 'tenuis, gracilis (homo)' ¶ Fr. II 346 || C: HEC *^o✓člk (× N *č'E| ▽ 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish'?) > Hd {PB} č'erak- 'mager\dünn\schlank sein', č'eraka 'mager, dünn, schlank' (Hd -r- < EC *-l-; HEC *č'- goes back to both emphatic and plain vl. affricates) ¶ PB 179, ≈ AD SF 120 || **K** *^oč|čgal- > G čgal- 'grow lean, abmagern' (reg. mt., creating a "harmonic complex" *^oč|čg-) ¶ Chx. 2208 || **U** *^oč'ä|k ▽ (or *č'ä|k ▽) > ObU *č'ē|əϣ 'thin' (× N *č'E| ▽) > pVg *č'äləϣ 'thin' > Vg: T č'äləw, LK š'ālī, MK/UK š'ālī, P š'ālīϣ, NV š'ālī, LL š'ālā, UL/Ss š'ālīϣ id.; pOs *č'e|əϣ ({{Hl.}} *č'äləϣ) id. > Os: V/Vy č'e|əϣ, Ty č'äləϣ, Y č'äləϣ, D č'e|ə, Nz š'e|ə, Kz š'e|ī, O š'e| id. ¶ Ht. no. 77, Hl. rHt 71, KrT 907-8, Stn. WV 177 || **A:** M (× N *č'E| ▽ or *č'E?| ▽ 'feeble, lean'): WrM c|ilger {MED} 'slender', {Gl.} 'стройный станом', HIM чилгэр {MED} 'slender', {BMR} 'стройный, статный' ¶ MED 183, BMR IV 312 || **D** (att. in SD) *č'akk- ({{ϑGS}} *c|č-) 'lean' > Kt č'ak 'lean' (of meat), č'akn 'lean man', Tu c'akkə 'stunted, short, lean', c'akkə 'a weakling, lean person' ¶ D no. 2268.

302. *c'i?A'm ▽ (or *ciyAm ▽) '€ grass' > **K** {K} *č'am-/*č'em- 'grass' > OG, G č'am- *'grass' (in OG, G č'am-a| - 'medicine, drug'), Lz (n)č'am- 'medicine, drug', Sv UB (TK, GP), Sv Ln/L {TK} č'em ({{K²}} Sv č'ēm with an err. ē?) 'hay' ||| Compound stem GZ *le| -č'am- 'reed *Arundo donax*' > OG ler-č'am-, G ler-č'am- ~ le| -č'am- 'reed', Mg larč'am- ~ larč'em-; the first component of the cd is GZ *le| - 'reed *Phragmites communis*' (K 120-1) ||| ?σ Mg (r)č'em- 'pubic hair', Sv {K} č'īma id. ¶¶ K 121, 249, K² 306; FS K 457-8 and FS E 518-19 (both: *č'am- in G and Sv without Zan), Q 314, ≈ Rog. C √, TK 861, GP 280 || **HS:** S *samm- 'grass' (→ [in descendant lges] 'medicinal grass, perfume etc.') (infl. of N ? *č'am ▽ č' ▽ 'get sour\ rotten'?) > Ak š'am m u 'plant, grass; hay, fodder; herb, medicinal plant', BHb 𐎎𐎍𐎎 sam'm-īm 'spice (used in incense)', 'spices (Spezereien)', MHb 𐎎𐎍 sam, JA 𐎎𐎍 sam'm-ā 'drug (healing or deleterious)', JEA {Sl.} 𐎎𐎍 sam'm-ā 'drug, medicine, dye', Sr sam'm-ā 'drug, poison, pigment', Ug s m m 'perfume', Ar samm- 'poison' (←b- Aram?) (→b- Mh, Sq sam, possibly Jb E s em, Jb s eh m 'poison'), Ak LB (←b- WS?) sam m ū t u 'fragrance' ¶ The S √ belongs here unless it is *š'am m- (as tacitly suggested by BDB) ¶ CAD XV 120 and XVII/1 315-21, Sd. 1167, BDB 702, KB 716, OLS 404, Js. 998, Sl. 817, Br. 479, Jo. M 350 || ?σ B *✓s m m v. 'be sour'

(if ← 'sour\bitter grass', cp. S) > Rf, Izn əsməm 'aigrir, fermenter, être aigre', Sll ismum 'sour', Kb ismum 'be sour', Ah ismām 'be bitter', Zng {TC} šämum (Z šemum) 'bitter', pf. yešmem 'il a rendu amer' ¶ Fc. 1836, Rn. 318, Ds. 10, Dl. 776, TC D 8, TC Z 308 ¶ Semantic infl. of N ? *čam∇ć∇ 'get sour\rotten' cannot be ruled out || Eg fP sm.ω 'plants, herbage; vegetables; pasture' ¶ EG IV 119-20, Fk. 225 || C: Bj {R} se'yām ~ si'yām 'grass' ||| SC: ? Kz cemał-iko 'straw' ¶ R WbD 207, E SC 201 ¶ OS no. 395 adduced Irq c am o 'kind of grass', but I have not been able to find the word in the available sources || Ch: CCh: Db sām 'grass' ||| ECh: Mkl sēmí 'hay', Smr {J} sémdé pl. 'grass' ||| ?? WCh: Hs çáwré (regularly from *čamr...) 'è a tall, coarse grass', Hs Kc {Ba.} tsabre id. ¶ J LM 172, ChC s.v. 'grass', Abr. H 881, Ba. 1033, 1033 ¶¶ Hardly here Ak samīdu ~ simīdu 'è spice plant or vegetable' (CAD XV 114-15) (the stem pattern in Ak samīdu suggests that this is an adj. from the root *√smd [=*√cmd], making the connection with HS *c'í'm- 'grass' implausible) ¶¶ OS no. 383 (*camid- 'grass': Ak, Smr), no. 395 (HS *cím- 'grass, plant': Eg, Mkl + erroneously interpreted or dubious seeming cognates in S, Ch and C), Tk. PAA 3 (Kz, Hs) ||| A: NaT *çI.ı̄m 'sod, turf' > OT čim 'turf, peat', Az čim 'turf, sod', Osm {Rh.} čim id., 'grassplot', Tk çim 'grass, greensward', ET čim 'turf, peat (дёрн, торф)', Uz čim, Qzq, Nog šim, Qrg čim 'turf (дёрн)' ¶ Cl. 421-2, Rs. W 111, Äz. 395, Rh. 747, BN 31 ||| D *čamp- ({{ǰGS} *zǰ-) 'è reed, sedge' > Tm campu 'elephant grass, *Typha elephantina*', Kn jamb- 'è reed or sedge, *Typha angustifolia*', Tl jambu 'bulrush, sedge' ¶¶ D no. 2347 ¶¶ D *-p- may go back to an ancient sx ◇ K *ç-, Kz ç- and Hs ç- < *c...?- ◇ The vowel(s) of the N word are not clear. It may be tentatively suggested that there was a pN word-internal sequence *-i?A- or *-iyA- (still preserved in Bj as -iyā- ~ eyā-, but contracted into a, ē, i or I in all other descendant lges).

303. *č'o'mh₂E 'to smear, (?) to stroke' > K {K²} *cwem-/*cwm- v. 'smear with fat' > Sv {TK} msd.: UB li-cwm-en-i, L li-cweni, licwieni, Ln li-cwem-i 'to smear, to grease', UB {GP} li-cwm-i 'to plaster (stucco)'; ⇨ GZ {K²} *c_lw_lmel-, {FS} *cm-el- n. 'fat' > OG cmel- id. (Lev. 8.25), G cmel- {FS} 'Fett, Schmiere', Mg csmu- ɖ cimu- 'fat, scum (Schaum, накипь)', {Q} csmu- 'fat (жиръ, тукъ)', Lz cimu-luç- 'override figs' (luç- 'figs') ¶¶ K 225, K² 265, FS K 396-7, FS K² 577 (K *cem- v. 'smear'), FS E 446, TK 475, GP 183, Q 373 ||| IE: NaIE *smē- ~

*smei₂-d- v. 'smear, stroke' ({EI} ? *smei₂d- 'smear') > Gk inf. σμῆν, aor. σμῆσαι 'smear, wipe' ||| Arm 𐎠𐎡𐎣 mic 'mud, mire, dirt' (< *smid₂o-) ||| Gt inf. bi-smeitan (ἐπιχρῆειν) 'bestreichen', inf. ga-smeitan (ἐπιχρῆειν) {Fs.} 'aufstreichen', OHG inf. bi-smīzān to smear upon, to soil', inf. smīzān '(an)streichen, schmieren', AS {Fs.} inf. besmītan 'to smear upon', {Ho.} inf. smītan 'to soil, to dirty', NE smite ||| ?σ Sl *smědъ, *smědjъ 'dark-colored' > ChS 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻 smědъ 'μαυρός, μέλας', SCr smeđ 'brown', Slv smēd, OCz smědý, OP śmiady 'dark-brown' (as well as Cz snědý, P śniady with n due to the infl. of hnědý, gníady 'brown'); see also NaIE *(s)meru- 'fat, ointment' (F s.v. N *Sämir? ▽ 'fat [Fett]') ¶ WP II 685-6, P 966-7, EI 528, F II 748, Ch. 1027, Fs. 95-6, Schz. 262, Ho. 302, OsS 834-5, WW 266, Kb. 919, KM 663, Vs. III 684, Mikl. L 866, Brü. 533, Glh. 565 ¶ The initial *s- (rather than *sk-) is due to the preconsonantal position and possibly to the influence of the synonymous NaIE *smeru- 'fat, ointment' (< N *Sämir? ▽ 'fat [Fett]') ||| ?φ D (att. in KK) *cōmp- ({ϑGS} *s|ś-) > Kui hōmb- v. 'rub, stroke', Ku Kt hōmbali 𐎠𐎡𐎣 hōmbinaiv. 'scour, scrub' ¶ D no. 2879 ||| HS: Ch: Bl {Lk.} sam- v. 'einreiben' ¶ Lk. PVB II 138 ||| C: (+ext.) Bj {R} ✓ šm̄t pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it; anoint, rub (pomadisieren, frottieren, reiben)' (1s: p. 'ašmit, pres. ašam'mīt) ¶ R WBd 216 ¶ × N *c̄ixm ▽ 'fat [Fett]'? ◇ Without the K cognate we would have tentatively reconstructed here an initial N sibilant *ś-. The absence of traces of the N lr. in NaIE *smei₂d- (unlike *smē- < IE *smeh̄-) still requires explanation.

303a. ?₂ *c̄ ▽ m̄qU 'e fruit, berry' > K {FS} *cimq̄w- 'strawberry or bilberry' > G cm̄q̄va, Mg cām̄wa, cim̄wa 'strawberry', Sv UB {TK} cīn̄qa, UB {GP}, LB/L {TK} cīn̄qa, Sv Ln {TK} cīn̄qa 'bilberry'; N *maR̄ ▽ y₂ ▽ c̄ ▽ m̄qU (= K *maR̄ ▽ y₂ ▽ 'berries' + N *c̄ ▽ m̄qU) > K *mar̄q̄w- 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} 𐎠𐎡𐎣 yz mar̄q̄w-i, eNG, G 𐎠𐎡𐎣 yz mar̄q̄w-i, Sv UB/Ln bās̄qi, Sv UB/LB bās̄q id. ¶¶ K 224 (*cīn̄qa), FS K 400, FS E 450, TK 838, GP 277 ||| HS: CS (mt.) *š ▽ k̄₂ ▽ m̄- (*šuk̄₂ ▽ m̄-?) ~ *šaw̄k̄₂ ▽ m̄- 'sycamore' and possibly 'sycamore fig' > BHb pl. 𐎠𐎡𐎣 šik̄₂ m̄-īm, JA 𐎠𐎡𐎣 šik̄₂ m̄-ā, Sr šek̄₂ m̄-ā, ChrPA šw̄k̄ m̄ 'sycamore', Ar sawqam- 'figuier d'Adam, figuier sycamore', Aram 𐎠𐎡𐎣 Gk σῦκάμυθος 'mulberry' ¶ KB 1516-17, BK I 1109, Fr. II 817-18.

303b. *c¹iχn̄∇ 'ε ungulate' > K *°c|c̄χen- 'horse' > OG, G cχen-i id. ¶ Srij. 254, DCh. 1605-6, Chx. 2041, KEGL VIII 681 || U: FU *°c̄¹iη|n̄∇ > OHg ≥XIII csi na 'foal' (? × N *ž¹a¹n̄₁∇₁g|kU 'ε antelope' [q.v.]) ¶ EWU 212-13 || D *c̄¹iη|mk- ({θGS} *ž¹|z-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N *ž¹a¹n̄₁∇₁g|kU 'ε antelope?') > Kn z i η k e, Tu z i η k æ, Tl z i η k a 'antelope', Kn Bl ž i m k e 'deer' ¶¶ D no. 2504 ¶ The element *-k- ~ *-mk- is likely to go back to a sx or to a component of a cd.

304. ₂ *c¹u¹n̄č∇ or *č¹u¹n̄c∇ 'to crawl' > K: GZ *c̄oç- 'crawl, creep, clamber' > G c o c- v. {Chx.} 'creep, crawl' (err. {K²} 'climb'), Mg č o č- v. 'clamber' (≠ {K²} 'climb'); Zan ↗ G č o č- 'clamber, drag on', Arm Δ {K²} č^hoč^h- 'crawl, creep' ¶ K 230, K² 273 (GZ *c̄oç- 'climb'), FS K 413, FS E 465-6, Chx. 1945-6, 2023, Q 651 ¶ The semantic interpretation 'climb' (in K²) may be due to inaccurate rendering of the R polysemic verb лезть || U *°č¹u|inč∇- > pSm {Jn.} *c̄¹ɸnč∇ 'kriechen' > En d. 1s aor. {Cs.}: En X t o d d o η a r o, En B t o d d o η a d o id. || Sq Ke {Cs.} d. 1s aor. c a η z o η n a η, Kms {KD} d. 1s pres. t'ānžrālam id. ¶ Jn. 31, Cs. 145, 243 ◇ Assimilation *c...č (or *č...c) > *c...c (for K) and *č...č (for U).

305. ₂ *c|c̄üNd∇ 'ε mouse' > A: Tg *çüNd∇-k∇ 'ε small rodent' > Orc çunduki 'harvest mouse (*Micromys minutus*)', Ud čundiHз, {Krm.} ćundē 'shrewmouse', Lm Ol/B/P çīd̄b̄ȳa, Lm O çīdaga 'arctic spermophile (*Citellus*)', Lm KO çid¹ηa 'lemming' ¶ STM II 390, Krm. 312, Ci. 89-90 (on Tg *ü) || D *c̄¹uñt̄- ({θGS} *c|c̄-) 'ε mouse, muskrat' > Tm c u η t̄ a η 'grey musk shrew', c u η t̄ ā η '*Mus urbanus*', Ml c u η t̄ - e l i 'mouse, muskrat', Kn s u η d̄ a, Tu s u η d̄ - e l i, Kdg c̄iñd̄-eli 'house mouse, field mouse', Tl c u η c u 'mouse, muskrat', Klm c̄iñdrag 'muskrat', Gnd c̄ūc̄i 'muskrat', Δ c̄uṭi 'small rat', Δ c̄oṭe 'mouse', Krx c̄oṭṭō 'mouse' ¶¶ D no. 2661.

306. *cuη∇ 'to know' (← 'to have seen?'), 'to see' > HS: Eg L s ω η ({EG} ś ω η) 'know, recognize', (with the prep. m) 'von etwas wissen' > DEg s ω η, Cpt: Sd c o o y n s o u η, B c w o y e n s o u e n 'wissen' ¶ EG IV 69, Vc. 201 || B *-sin- / *√wsn 'know (savoir)' (× N ≈ *c̄¹i¹ʔ¹ä¹n̄â 'recognize, know [connaître]', q.v.): *-sin- > ASgr aor. -sin, *√wsn > Ah əssən, Ty, ETwl əssəη, Gh əssən / pf. issən, Gd ssən, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əsn / pf. issən, Sll {Ds.} issən ~ əssən / pf. issən, Kb əssən / pf. issin, Tmz {MT} ssən / isin id., Zng {TC} əssən / pf. yəssen 'savoir'; the cns. *w is reflected in the gemination of *s and in the vw. u of the Ah caus. s-usən ¶ ABs. Lbv 97, Fc. 1837, GhA 176, Dl. 782, MT 647,

Dlh. Ou 300, Lf. I 245 and II no. 223, DCTC 285 || Ch ≈ *c^ri¹n/*cun or {AD} *s₁^ri¹n/*s₁un 'know' > Hs šínà, sánì, (with an object) sán, Gw {Mts.} šína id. | DfB {J} sun, Bks {J} šánî, Klr {J} sĵen, {IL} sēn | Wrj/My {Sk.} sən, Cg {Sk.} sən, Kry/Jmb {Sk.} sən, P' {MSk.} sĵnè, Sir {Sk.} səníwí, Mbr {Sk.} səní, Dir {Sk.} čén id. || Cb {IL} zəndi, {ChL} zùnì, Hb {ChL} zin, Hld {ChL} sùnì, Wmd {ChL} sènì id. | HgNk {ChL} sènàta, HgG {ChL} sùnàgəy, HgF {ChL} sènəgi, FIG {ChL} sĵnaki, FIJ {ChL} sĵ, FIB {ChL} šĵ, FIM {IL} šĵn id. | Mtk {ChL} suna?, {Sb.} sən id., pMM {Ro.} *sən (> Mada/Myn sál, Mkt sá, Hrz sendika, Mlk sár, Gzg sən, Mofu səràdá, Glv {Rp.} sər 'know', Mf {BLB} sən- 'reconnaître, découvrir') | Db {LnG} sĵn, Kola {Sb} -sĵn- 'know' | Gdr {Mch.} sən id. | Lgn {Lk.} sən id., Bdm {Lk.} hín 'I know' | ?σ Mrg sĵni 'know, remember' || Ll {Grgs} sĵn 'wissen, kennen' | NdD {J} hənà, Tmk {Cp.} hən 'know' | Mkl {J} sĵné id. ¶ Dir čén suggests a pCh initial affricate; the original vw. is likely to have been *i, while forms with *a are likely to go back to a derived *a-imperfective (suggested by Gr. and J) ¶ JI I 107 and II 216-17, ChC s.v. 'know', ChL, Ba. 896-8, 940, Abr. H 777-8, 812, Ro. 278-9 [no. 405], BLB 323-4 || EC: amb Or sēnā 'memory' (unless d. from sēn- v. 'enter' or belongs to N *śāṇa [or *ś|śāṇa] 'word, say' → 'think' [q.v.]) ¶ Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (sĵna 'ricordo, memoria') ¶¶ OS no. 2198 (HS *saniH- ~ *siniH- 'know, remember'), no. 2294 (HS *sun- 'know'), Tk. I 128-9 || U *^rću¹ŋ∇- > Sm *sĵnĵ- 'see, look' > Ne T d. c a Ĥ o 'a glance, look', T O {Lh.} saṇū 'Blick', Ne F {Lh.} χaṇū id., χ+ṇĵrĵ 'sieh', Ng {Mik.} d. sṇūrśa 'see, look', En X {Cs.} d. sōṇar o?, En B {Cs.} sōṇiṇado? 'sehen, betrachten', En {Mik.} sĵnīd 'see', Slq Tz {KKIH} saṇa- 'try, check' ('попробовать, проверить'), Mt {Hl.} *siä- (?) 'see' (Mt: T {Mll.} schischäguram 'video', M {Mll.} ingümsíä 'non video' [ingü m- 'I do not']) || FU *ć|śunć∇ (or *-nś-) > pVg *šunš- v. 'look, glance' > Vg {Stn.}: T šōnš-, LK šons-, MK sons-, UK/UL/Ss suns- ¶¶ Jn. 133, Cs. 91, Lh. 397-8, KKIH 168, Hl. M no. 875, Stn. WV 275, MK 575 || K: GZ *c²an-/*c²n- 'know, learn, recognize' (× N ≈ *c^ri¹?^rä¹nâ 'recognize, know [connaître]' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ A: SDM reconstructed pA *c²iŋ∇ 'listen, consider', presumably reflected [1] in T *t¹ŋla- ~ *t¹ŋlä- 'hear, listen' (> OT t¹ŋla-, Tv t¹ŋna-, Tk d¹nle-, Az, Tkm d¹nle- etc.; it may be derived from the Chinese loanword ← Chn t¹ŋ, MChn t¹ŋ 'listen'), [2] in M *c²iŋla- 'listen' (> WrM {MED} cingla- ~ cingna-, HIM {MED, BMR} चाग्ना-; to my mind, it may be a loan from T) and

[3] in Tg *jīŋ- 'consider' (in fact, WrMc {Z} чжинь ~ чжинь 'exactly, just' ← Chn ǰǐn 'completely' and/or ǰèn 'just, exactly'; in other Tg lges the word is a loan from Mc). This alleged pA root (based on controversial phonetic hypotheses) cannot be taken into consideration. On Tg *ǰīŋ- '≈ understand; attentive' see s.v. *ǰUhn∇ 'show; understand' ¶¶ ≈ SDM 396-7, ≈ DQA no. 238. Cl. 522, MED 190, BMMR IV 298, STM I 258, Z 982, Is. 93, 190, 230 ◇ IS I 201-2 [no. 42] (*ćirn∆ 'know': K, HS).

307. *ćüŋ∇ 'finger, finger knuckle' > U: FU *ć'ü'ŋ∇, {UEW} *ćEŋ∇ 'finger, (finger) knuckle' > Prm {LG} *ćEńi > Z चुन्हь ćuń, Vt чиньы ćín† 'finger', Yz ćúń 'finger, toe' || Os: D ɕõŋen-uχ id. (uχ 'head'), Kz śõŋan 'finger knuckle' | Hg ɕɕũɕ, ∆ čũɕ ɕ čũg ɕ čũg ɕ čõg 'pastern (of a horse), foot (of a bird)' ¶ UEW 49, LG 314, MF 129, EWU 238 || D *ćuńt- ~ *ćuťt- ({{GS} *s-) v. 'point at with the finger, indicate' (× N *ćũd∇ 'point with a finger', q.v.) > Ml ɕũŋtũkɕ v. 'point at, aim', ɕuńtũl-viral 'forefinger', Tm ɕuťtũ v. 'point out, indicate', Kp ɕuťtũ, Kui sũtũ 'point at with the finger', Kui sũtũ vanʒũ, Ku hũtũ v wãŋʒũ 'index finger', Tu tũŋɕũni v. 'aim, point at', Tl juťtũ-vrēlu 'forefinger' ¶¶ D no. 2658 || HS: S *o's'ĩŋs- > Ar sĩŋs- 'os de la paume de la main qui joignent les doigts à la main; poignet à l'endroit où l'avant-bras se joint à la main, os du pied où la jambe se joint au pied' ¶ BK I 1152 ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [no. 33] (U, D).

308. *ć|ć'ä'ŋK∇ 'to break' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *ćink- 'break (e.g. a stick) > Hs ɕínkà v. 'snap (a thread, a rope)' | SBc: Dw ɕɕŋ vi. 'snap (a stick)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 182 [no. 344], ChL I 227, Abr. H 885-6, Ba. 1038 || U: FU {UEW} ćśãŋK∇-, {It.} *ćeŋka- 'break' > Er śĩve- vi. 'break, brechen, abbrechen' | Prm *ćeg- > Z чег- - ćeg- vt., vi. 'break, break off' ('сломать, -ся, отломить, переломить'), Yz 'ćig- id., Vt чигыны ćigz- vi. 'break' ('сломаться, переломиться') || pObU {Hl.} *sēŋk-, {Ht.} *sēŋk- > pVg *sãŋk- > Vg: T sãŋg-, LK/Nz saŋk- 'brechen', P saŋk- 'schlagen'; pOs {Ht.} *sõŋk- ({{Hl.} *sõŋk-) > Os: V sõŋk-, Ty/Y sãŋk^ω-, D/Kz seŋk-, Nz/O seŋ- 'schlagen' | Hg ɕzɛg- 'cut (bread), break (the neck)' ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 31-2, Sm. 549 (FU, FP *śãŋki- 'cut, break', Ugr *śãŋkĩ-), LG 303, Ht. no. 598, Hl. rHt 71, MF 575-6 || A: Tg: Ewk PT ɕɕŋdit-/ɕɕŋdiɕ- 'tear (clothes), tear out (a piece of sth.)' ¶ STM II 421 ◇ Hardly here G ɕvniķ- 'zerkleinern' (Chx. 2157), because it is certainly derived from ɕvniķ-i 'klein, winzig, мелкий' (Chx. l.c., DCh. 1676).

308a. *id.* ***ć|ć**Ер ▽ 'to pinch', (?) 'a pinch' > **IE:** NaIE *skeip- ~ *skip-v. 'pinch' > Arm **խիթ** χιτ' (< *skiptis) 'gripes, colic' ||| Sl *šćьр- / *šćір- > ChS inf. **щипати** štípati 'vellicare', R inf. щипать (1s pres. щиплю), P inf. szczyracь, Cz inf. štípat, SCr inf. štípati (1s pres. štípām), Slv inf. šćírati 'to pinch', Blg 'щипя' 'I pinch', R ще'поть, Cz šретка 'a pinch' || Lt skypata 'small piece, a crumble', Ltv šķipšana, šķipsta 'a pinch; a lock (of hair)' ¶ Mikl. L 1135, Vs. IV 503, 507, ME IV 42, ZVSZ 434, ≈ P 922, ≈ Glh. 614, ≈ Frn. 805 ||| **U:** FU *ćЕрр ▽ (-) v. 'pinch', (?) n. 'fingertip' (× N ***ć**Ерꞑ ▽ 'finger') > Chr: H {MRS} цывешта-, {Ер.} цывештā- сә'weštā- v. 'pinch, nip', цывештыш сә'weštāš n. 'pinch', L чывышта- чъwъštā-, U съwъšte-, B сәwәšala- v. 'pinch' || Prm *ćер-, *ćзрел- ({JLG} *ćерел-) n. 'pinch, fingertip', v. 'pinch' > Z S ćерзі́ 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} се'рзі́ 'fingertip', {KPR} n. 'pinch', Z чепөльт- ćерзі́t-, Prmk се'рзі́t- v. 'pinch', Vt чепыльт- ćері́t- v. 'pinch, jam' ('ушипнуть, прищепить'), Z чепөля ćерзі́a 'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud ćерзr 'Zwick, Kniff', ćерзrt- v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz 'ćері́al- 'kneifen, rupfen' ||| OHg, Hg ссі́р 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F һурру, һурі́ 'fingertip' and of Lp Kld сіеһр 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU *č-), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-19, EWU 217, LG 303, Sz. 28 ||| ?σ **D** *ćippam ({ǰGS} *c|ć|s-) 'bundle, parcel' (← *'a pinch') > Tm сі́ррам, Tl сі́рраму 'bundle, parcel', Ml сі́ррам 'bundle' ¶¶ D no. 2534 ||| **A:** pKo {S} *ćір- v. 'pick up, pinch' > MKo ćір-, NKo ćір- id., {Rm.} 'pinch; pick up, take, arrest' ¶ Rm. SKE 34-5, S QK no. 1018, MLC 1554-5 ◇ IS MS 373 s.v. 'щипать' *žі́рᵛ (IE, U, A).

309. **₂** ***с** ▽ **р**¹ ▽ 'to cover', 'roof, a covering, shelter' > **HS:** CS (+ext.) *✓спн > BHb ✓спн (pf. с. **ᠰᠢᠨ** 'wayγis'pon) v. 'cover, lay a table', **ᠰᠢᠨ** sip'pūn 'ceiling (of a room)', Pun мспн 'roof (?)', ? IA ✓спн v. '(?) care for, respect' (← *'protect' ← *'cover') ¶ KB 722, KBR 764-5, HJ 666, 798 ||| **IE:** NaIE *(s)кер- v. 'cover' > Gk σκέπας (gen. σκέπαος) 'a covering, shelter', Gk A/I σκέπη id., 'protection', Gk σκέπω, σκεπάω, σκεπάζω v. 'cover, shelter' ||| Lt керūrė 'cap', Ltv сєрurе 'cap, hat'; Blt б→ F курāri, курārä 'helmet, casque' || Sl (originally dim.) *šерьсь 'head cover, cap' > OR **ҮЕПЬЦЬ** шерьсь 'headdress, head cover', R че'пец 'cap' (→ 'чепчик id.), P szeriec, Cz черес, Slk šeriec, Slv čērec, HLs čěрс, LLs сорс & серс 'cap', SCr čēрас

'cap (of women)' ¶ WP II 559, P 930, F II 724-5 (sceptical about the Gk-BSI connection), Frn. 241, Bern. I 143-4, ESSJ IV 58-9 (no IE et. of the SI word), Srz. III 1499.

310. *ćäq∇ (= *ćäq∇?) 'to jump' > K *°caq- > Mg c0f- v. 'walk in a jumping gait' ¶ Q 371 || HS: S *°√nsq̄ (or *√nšq̄), prm. *-nsaq̄- > JA [Trg.] √(n)sq̄ (ip. -ssaq̄, inv. saq̄) 'go up' (JEA Bb saq̄'kū liš'lām lə'wāṭ ṗabū'kōn 'get you [pl.] up in peace unto your father' [TrgO of Gen. 44.17]), Sr √nsq̄ (ساق نساقت 'ascendit' [Peshitta, Apoc. 14.11]); *n- goes back to a px of intransitive verbs ¶ Lv. T I 116-17, Lv. III 409, Spr. BA I 76, Js. 918, PS 2401 || U: FP (+ext.) *ćäkće- 'jump, leap (springen, hüpfen)' > pLp {Lr.} *ćēkćz- v. 'kick', 'Fußtritte geben, mit dem Fuß stoßen' > Lp: N {N} čiekičâ- / -vč-, L {LLO} tjektja-, Klt P {It.} čjēχ:č'e- id., S {Hs.} tjiektjedh 'kick with the foot' | Prm *ćεćć- ({LG} *ćεtć-) 'get up', (← ?) 'jump up' > Z чеччы- čεćć+- 'get up', чеччышты- čεććišti- 'jump, jump up', Vt тэтчы- tećći (t- due to dis.) ¶ UEW 612-13, LG 304, Lr. no. 149, Lgc. no. 604, Hs. 1316-17 || ?σ A: NaT *çik- 'go out, come out' > OT čiq- id., Chg čiq- 'come out, rise', Tkm čiq- 'go out, appear, climb', VTt чыг- č'ьγ-, Qmq čiq-, Qzq, Qq šiq/γ-, StAlt čiq- 'climb up, ascend; go out, appear (on the surface)', Nog šiq- 'go out, appear' ¶ Cl. 405-6, Rs. W 107, MM 401, Sht. 237, Tkr 745, BT 183.

310a. *ciqU 'ε small rodent (mouse?)' > K: GZ *ćiqw- > G ciqv-i {KEGL, Chx.} 'squirrel', {DCh.} 'loir (*Glis glis*, соня-полчок)', G mcqv-i id., {DCh.} 'житник, mus agraria', Mg čuq-i 'mouse' ¶ In Mg čuq-i the intervocalic cns. -q- may be due to contamination with N *ći'f'aq∇ 'small' and with the GZ source of G M çuqana 'very small' ¶ KEGL VIII 634, DCh. 923, 1596, Q 393; K² 316 and FS E 529-30 (both: Mg čuq-i ÷ G M çuqana 'very small', likely to belong to N *ći'f'aq∇ '↑' [q.v.]) || HS: S: Gz {L} şaq̄ʷanq̄ʷan ~ şaq̄ʷanq̄ʷēn 'field mouse, ε lizard, crocodile' ¶ L G 562 || D **ć'ikk- ({θGS} *ć-) 'mouse' > Kdg čikn, Gnd čikkāl id., Tu cikkelī 'a small variety of mouse' ¶¶ D no-s 124-5 ◇ Mg č- and Gz ş- are due to assimilatory glottalization.

311. *ćar∇ (or *ć'ar∇?) 'hard/firm, hardened crust, hard surface' > K *°cer- > Lz {Marr} cara 'hard unfertile ground' ¶ Marr 214 || IE: NaIE *sker- '≈ hard/dry skin, crust' > NNr, Sw skare 'hardened surface of snow', with exts: ON skrá (< *skrahō) 'piece of dry leather', MLG, MDt schrā 'dürr, mager' || Lt inf. skreṣti (1s p. skrendaũ), inf.

skrèsti (1s p. skretaũ) to get covered with a dry crust of dirt' (< *skr-end-, *skr-et-) | ? Sl *skora > OR **скора**, R Δ **скоpa** 'hide', 'скопка' 'crust of bread', Uk 'скіpa, 'скіпка' 'skin', Blr 'скура, Cz **skora**, P **skóra** 'skin, hide' (↳ R шкура 'hide?'), HLs **skora**, LLs **škorá** 'crust', Slv **skóra**, **skórja** 'skin' ¶ P 933, Hlq. 928, Vr. 500-1, Frn. 816, ≈ Vs. III 650 and IV 451, Srz. III 381-2, Ma. CS 447 || U (× N ?σ *c∇R_L∇_L∇ or *c∇∇R∇ 'freeze, feel cold' [q.v.]?): FU *ćar∇- 'hard, firm; frozen hard surface layer of snow' > Lp N {Fri.} **čarrok** 'rigidus, asper', {N} **čāres / čarras-** 'coarse' (of wool); stiff (of hair and bread), Lp L {LLO} **tjā(r)rēs ~ tjārris** 'difficult, coarse' | Prm: [1] *ćorit ({LG} *ćōrit) 'hard (твердый)' > Vt чурьд **ćur+d**, Z чорьд **ćor+d**, Z US **ćωr+d**, Yz 'ćurōt; [2] Z **ćarzm**, Prmk **ćá'rzm**, Yz **ća'rúm** 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z **ćars** 'hard ice crust on the snow' || Possibly Sm {Jn.} *s+rā 'snow' (× U *ś'ī'r∇- or *ć'ī'r∇- '[crust of] snow\ice' < N *ź|ź'ī'R_LH₂∇ or *ź|ź'ī'_LH₂R∇ 'be very cold', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Coll. 7, UEW 30, 464-5 (tying in Hg Δ **szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ sziroty ~ szityor** 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructing *śar∇ [in spite of Prm *ć-]), LG 302, 310, Lt. 68, Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-13, Hl. M no. 891 || **А** *ćar∇ 'snow, snow crust' > T *ça_Lr- > QK {B} **šarša** 'snow dust', Alt {BT, Rl.}, Tlt {Rl.} **ćarim** 'hardened surface of snow (наст)'; acc. to Ps., Blgh ↳ Z **ćarzm** id. ¶ TL 29-30, BT 176, Rl. III 1865, BT 176, B DLT 225, LG 302, Ps. ES 184 (Blgh ↳ Z), UEW 464-5 (rejecting Paasonen's 'crust on snow' with a "sporadic phonetic development" *ś- > ć-), see s.v. N *ź|ź'ī'R_LH₂∇ or *ź|ź'ī'_LH₂R∇ 'be very cold' || M *ćar > WrM **car** {MED} 'hardened layer of frost on the surface of snow', HIM {MED, BMR} id., Kl {KRS} **цар** 'hardened layer of frost on the surface of snow', {Rm.} **car** 'Kruste, harte Oberfläche (z.B., auf altem Schnee, auf erstarrtem Fett nach dem Schnelzen)', WrO **cār** 'scabs, mange', ? Brt **сарья** 'stamped snow, fresh snow (утоптаный снег, свежевывавший снег)'; the absence of a final vw. suggests that the M word is borrowed (from an unattested T source?) ¶ Merger with N *ć∇R∇ 'hoarfrost' is not ruled out ¶ MED 165, BMR IV 250, Chr. 385, KRS 625, KW 422, Krg. 621 ¶¶ KW 422, Vv. AEN 15 (suggesting that the M word and Tlt **ćarim** 'layer of frost' are loans from Tib ?**khyag.rum** in modern Tib C pronunciation, F Jäschke TG 7) || ?σ Tg: Ewk **çarī** 'excrescence (наплыв) on the bark of a birch tree' ↳|↳ Yk **čäri ~ čärī** id. ¶ STM II 421 ¶¶ SDM 424 (pA

*č'era|o 'snow', v. 'freeze' > T, M), DQA no. 287 (pA *č'era|o 'crust, snow crust'), KW 422 || D *čara- ({{GS}} *c|č-) 'rough on surface' (× N *čER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult', q.v.) > Tm caracara 'rough on surface', caral, caralaj 'gravel, laterite', curacura 'be rough, have a rough surface', MI caral, carakkalu 'gravel', Tu caratæ 'what is coarse', Kui srogu 'rough surface' ¶¶ D *-r- belongs to the heritage of N *čER'hæ' ¶¶ D no. 2354 || HS: WS *čarna|iř-at- ~ *čurna|iř-at- 'scab, ε skin disease' (originally a cd?) > Hb תַּרְצָא çā'rařat 'ε skin disease', JA אַרְצָא çur'řā (em. אַרְצָא çur'řā ~ אַרְצָא çir'řā) and SmA řřt ~ řřt 'leprosy' (< *čar'rařtu ~ *čur'rařtu < *čar'nařtu ~ *čurna|iř-at- due to the infl. of the derivational pattern *Ca|C:aCt- of nouns of diseases), Gz řarnarřat 'scab, malignant ulcer', Ak {Sd.} řennettu ~ řennettu, {CAD} řennītu ~ řirnītu 'ε skin disease' ¶ KB 989, Tal 744, JA 1272, L G 564, Sd. 1090, 1588, CAD XVI 127, MiK I no. 1.257 ◇ If we accept the Lz cognate and reject the comparison with S, the N rec. must be *čar∇, but if the S cognate rather than the K one is recognized, the rec. is *čar∇ ◇ IS 205 [no. 45] *Čar∇ (= *Čar∇) ◇ It is also possible that there were two N words: one beginning with *č'- and meaning 'hard, rough' and the other with *č'- (*c|č-) and meaning 'crust', 'skin' or the like, both words coalescing in those lges that lost the difference between N *c- and *c|č-, which brought about the meaning 'hard crust' and sim.

312. *čER∇ 'small, little' > K: GZ *m-cir-e 'little, small' ({{K}} d. with the derivational pattern *m(e)-...-e that builds nomina of quality bearers, F K 131) > OG, G mcire 'little, small, few', Mg cira 'girl' ¶ K 140-1, K² 129 || U: FP *čEr∇ 'small' > Chr H {Rm.} carä 'sehr fein, sehr dünn', Chr L {MRS} чыр 'small', 'short' (of time), {Ü} чырык гына 'a wee bit, чуточку' | pPrm {LG} *čir- > Z čir 'tiny particle\grain (мельчайшая частица, крупица)', Prmk tu'run-čir 'feines Heustreu', ? Vt чыры č+r+, чыры-пыры č+r+-p+r+, Vt Kz čzr(i)-pzi 'Kleinigkeit, Klein-sachen' ¶ UEW 615, MRS 685, LG 306-7 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc only) *°sġ|ker- (+exts) 'lean', v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel' (× N *č'Ur∇ 'narrow' [q.v.]) > Gmc.: Nnr skrāna (< Gmc *skrahan) 'verschrumpfen', MLG schrā, NGr NrF schraħ (both from Gmc *skrēħa-) 'dürr, mager', ON skrā (< *skraħo) 'thin leather', NE Ork (< Nrgmc) skrue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean

(mager werden)', Nr *s k r i n n* (< **s k r e n θ a*-) 'dürr, mager, unfruchtbar', MLG *schrāde* 'dünn, mager, kümmerlich' ¶ ≈ P 933, Vr. 500-1 || D ***čirk-* (> **čirk-/čikk-*) v. 'become thin\meagre' > Tm *čirkū* v. 'diminish, wane, decrease', *čikal* v. 'diminish, decrease, perish', Kdg *čikk-* v. 'become tired', Tu *tirkani* v. 'be lean\weak', *tirkū*, *čirkə* 'fading, weakness', *tirkotæ* 'a lean\weak man', Gnd *sirānā* v. 'grow thin', Knd *sik-* v. 'be reduced (as body)'; D → pInA **sikka-/singa* > Prkr *siriga-* 'lean, thin' ¶¶ D no. 2503.

313. ?σ **cUR* ∇ 'to move (go, swim, fly) away (or from one place to another)' > HS: WS **-sūr-~sīr-* 'go away, leave' > BHb *-sūr-* 'leave, deviate', Hb/Ph/Pun ✓ *s w r Sh* 'remove', ?σ SmA ✓ *s w r* 'turn aside', ?σ JA ✓ *s w r G* {Js.} 'turn around\away, go astray', JEA ✓ *s w r G* {Js.} 'turn aside', Ar ✓ *syr* (ip. *-sīr-*) 'go, walk, go away, leave', Ar NY ✓ *ysr* (ip. *-sīr*) 'go', Mh {Jo.} ✓ *syr* (pf. *sɜyūr*, subj. *yɜsyēr*), Hrs {Jo.} ✓ *syr* 'go' ¶ KB 706-7, HJ 781, Sl. 797, Tal 576, Js. 969, BK I 1174-5, Bns. NJ I 200, Jo. M 355 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 3 (Hb ✓ *s w r* Hiph'il 'remove' ÷ Irq *-ca wār-* 'choose') || K: GZ **čur-* vi. 'swim' > OG *c ur-* id., G *cur-* v. 'swim, slide', Mg (n) *čur-*, Lz (n) *čur-* ~ (n) *čvir-* ~ *nčir-* ~ *mčvi(r)-* 'swim' ¶ K 230, K² 273-4, FS K 414-15, FS E 466-7, Chx. 2031-2 || A: Tg: Lm *çordun-* vi. 'gallop' (of animals), WrMc {Z} *чурхуһь* 'flight (of birds from a place to another)' ¶ STM II 409, 417, Z 953.

314. ?₂ **čæŕ* ∇ 'to burn sth.' > HS: S *^o✓ *sŕr* (or *^o✓ *šŕr*) > Ar ✓ *sŕr* (pf. *saŕara*) v. 'kindle' ¶ BK I 1091-2 || U: FU *^očä|er- > ObU **čēr-* 'verbrennen' > pVg **čār* ∇ y- > Vg: T *čirāy-*, LK *šārāy-*, MK/P/NV/LL *šārāy-*, UL *šary-*, Ss *šariy-* id.; pOs **čērāy-* ~ **čērāy-*, **čēr* ∇ ({JHl.} **-ī-*) > Os: Nz *šārīy-*, Kz *šārī-*, O *šārī-* 'verbrennen', Nz *šara*, Kz *šar*, O *šār* 'verbranntes Stück' ¶ Ht. no. 84 || K: AdS (accounting for the meaning 'fever') of OG, G *cχr0-* 'fever', Lz *čečχur-* 'fever' < K (GZ) **čχr0-* 'cold, fever' < N ?σ **c∇R_L∇_J∇* or **c∇YR∇* 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever' ¶ K 232-3, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369.

315. **č0H_{2L}∇_JR∇* 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops' > HS: WCh {Stl.} **c∇H∇r* 'dew' > pAG {Sch.} **sɜyɜ₁r* id. > Su {J} *sɜgɜ₁r*, Ang {Sch.} *sēr* ({Hf.} *sɜɜr*, {Flk.} *sūr*), Kfr M *sɜyɜ₁r*, Gmy {Sch.} *šēr* id. || BT: Krkr {Sch.} *sɜwɜ₁r*, ? Bole {ChL} *sìnsori*, ? Ngm *č inčir*, Gera {Sch.} *sìnsìri* id. || SBc: Gj *sisil*, Plc *sisir*, Buli, Sy *sisirɛ*, Dw *susūr* id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 183 [no. 347], Hf. AG 20 [no. 107], Sch. ChV 48 || S: Ar *sarīy-* (pl. *ʔasriyat-*, *suryān-*) {Ln.} 'rivulet, streamlet' ¶ Ln. 1356, Fr. II 313

([Qam.] 'rivulus qui ad palmas deductus est'), BK I 1086 ('rigole creusée au pied d'un palmier pour l'arroser') || K *cwar-/*cur- 'drip, flow' > OG cwar- / cur- v. 'drip', Sv {Zhgh.} li-cūr-e 'to flow'; *cwar- 'drop, drop of dew' > OG cwar- 'drop, dew', G cvar- 'dew', Mg cunǰ-i ~ cund-i 'dew', Sv cwar 'drop' (< pK or ← G) ¶¶ K 224, K² 265, FS K 399, FS E 449, GM S 451, Q 371, Zhgh. SP 79 || U: FU *ćor∇- 'leak, flow, drip' (× N [?] *ćor∇ 'to drip, to trickle') > F soro 'a falling drop', sorotta- v. 'drip' || ObU {Ht.} *ć∇rāy- > pVg {Ht.} *ćūr∫- 'flow, leak, drip' ({MK} 'fließen, rinnen, tröpfeln', {BV} 'течь, сочиться') > Vg: T ćork-, K šor∫-, Yk {Vxr.} šarj- ~ šūrj-, P šurr- ~ šūrr-, Ss сюрт- šur∫- 'flow, leak, drip'; pOs {Ht.} *ćorāy- v. 'flow' > Vy çorāy-, D çāra ∂ çōra-, Nz šōrīy-, Kz šōrī-, O šāri- id. | Hg csorog-, csurog- v. 'flow, drip', csordul- 'spill, overflow', csurran- 'spill, pour out, drip' ¶ ≈ UEW 40 (U *ćor∇), MF 123, Ht. no. 87, MK 607, BV 111 ¶ Hardly here (⇔ UEW and IS) Sm: Ne T inf. сюрмбăць 'to run', Slq N šormba- 'tropfen, fließen' etc., because they go back to pSm {Jn.} *kūr(ь)- 'run' (Jn. 79-80) || A: [1] NTg *çurgī- > Ewk çurgī- vi. 'drip, leak', çurgī n. 'drop', Lm çurgь- vi. 'drip, flow' ¶ STM II 416 || [2] A *ćur- 'pour, stream' (× N [?] *ćor∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || D *ćōr-/*ćor- 'trickle, pour, flow down' > Tm cōr- vi. 'trickle down, drop, ooze out', cori v. 'flow down, rain, spill', Ml cōruka vi. 'flow, ooze, tickle, leak', coriyuka vi. 'flow down, pour, shower', Kt 3ōr- 'run in streams', Kn sōr vi. 'drop, drip, trickle, ooze', suri vi. 'flow, drop, pour (as tears)', Kdg Δ ćōr-, Krg 3ōri vi. 'leak', Tl sōruni vi. 'leak, ooze, run', Gdb ćōr- 'pour' (of water), Gnd {LcS} joree 'the flowing of a liquid', Krx ćur∫- vt. 'pour, let fall in drops, leak', Mlt ćurge 'ooze out, fall in drops', Brh ćurriṅ vi. flow, gush'; the meaning 'flow' may be partially induced by a paronymous reflex of N *3ūr'ū' 'to stream' || cp. also D *ćōr- 'trickle, drip' (< N [?] *ćor∇ '↑') ¶¶ D no-s 2883 and 2893 ◇ IS I 198 [no. 35]. N *ć- regularly yields U *ć- (⇔ IS, who considered this reflex an exception). If Ar sariy- 'rivulet, streamlet' belongs here (which is highly doubtful), the N lr. must have been *? or *h.

316. *c'awe'r∇ 'finger, hand' > K: GZ *cēr- 'thumb' > G cer-, Mg čan(ǰ)- id. (Mg -a- pointing to a pK *ē) ¶ K 228, K² 271, FS K 414-15 || HS: ?σ S *°✓s|šwr > Ar siwār- (pl. sūr-) 'armring', paswār- id. ¶ BK I 1163 || ?φ WCh {Stl.} *sār∇ 'hand' > AG: Su {J} sār, Gmy šā, Ang {ChL}, Kfr {Nt.} sar id. | BT: Krkr, Bl, Ngm, Maha sara, Krf šārā id. ¶ JI II 178,

Stl. ZCh 179 [no. 314], ChC s.v. 'hand', ChL || **A**: NrTg *çaratkī 'toe, (?) finger' > Ewk çaratkī ~ çirat-kī 'toe', Sln {Iv.} ća'ratki, Neg {PSchm.} čayatlī 'finger' ¶ STM II 385 || **D** *čēr- ~ *čēr- ({†GS} *c-) 'handful' > Tm cērāj id., cērāj 'palmful (quantity that can be held in the hollow of the palm)', Kt de'r 'handful (with open hand)', Kn sārē ~ se(:)rē, Tu se(:)ræ 'the palm of the hand bent so as to receive\hold anything', Tl cērā 'the hand hold so as to contain anything', cērēđu 'handful', Gnd\Ku hera, Knd sēra id. ¶¶ D no. 2821 ◇ In addition, one should pay attention to S *^o✓šr̥ > Mh {Jo.} šz'rayn 'leg', {Nak.} 'šrayn (pl. šz'rantən) 'leg, foot', Sq {Jo.} 'šzr̥z̥hān 'legs' (Jo. M 182, Nak. 9). If S *^o✓šr̥ belongs here (?σ), but Ar siwār-, aswār- and WCh *sāra are not, the N rec. may be *ĉaR̥ (with N *r̥ responsible for the length of the vw. in K and D, but the quality of the K and D vw. *ē remains unexplained). Ar ✓swr and WCh *sāra rule out a pN *ĉ- (N *ĉ- yields WCh *ĉ-, see entries 448, 458 and {Stl.} 466). For semantic reasons WCh *sār̥ 'hand' and Ar siwār- 'armring' are preferable as cognates (more than the SES root for 'leg'), therefore we have to reject a N rec. with an initial *ĉ-.


317. ?σ₂ *c̥R̥₁̥₂̥ or *c̥R̥₂̥₁̥ 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever' > **HS**: S *^o✓s|šr̥ 'fever, painful heat' > Ar saṣr- 'douloureux, cuisant', ✓sṣr (pf. saṣara) 'communiquer la maladie l'un à l'autre', 'brûler, causer une douleur cuisante' (influenced by the homonymous root ✓sṣr 'ignite'), suṣr- 'contagion, miasmes', saṣr-at- 'toux' ¶ BK I 1091-2 || **K**: GZ *č̥χro- {K²} 'cold, chill; shivering' > OG, G cχro- 'fever' ({DCh.} 'лихорадка', {Chx.} '[Wechsel-]Fieber, Malaria'), {K²} 'chill, shivering', Mg č̥χuru n. 'severe cold', č̥χur-i adj. 'cold', Lz č̥eč̥χur- (< *č̥χe-č̥χur-) 'fever' ({K²} lit. 'fever-shivering'); (× N ? *č̥R̥₁̥₂̥ 'hoarfrost') (mt.) K *^oč̥χ|qar- > G T č̥χar-i 'hoarfrost' ('Rauhreif') ¶ K 232-3, K² 277, FS K 418, Chik. 236-7, Q 369, Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 || see also **U**: FU *ćar̥- 'frozen hard surface layer of snow' (from N *ćar̥ 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard surface' [q.v.]?) > Z ćar̥m, Prmk ćá'r̥m, Yz ća'r̥úm 'ice crust on the snow', as well as Z ćars 'hard ice crust on the snow' || cp. also Sm {Jn.} *sirḁ, {Hl.} *sira 'snow' (from N *ž̥|ž̥'i'̥₁H₂̥ or *ž̥|ž̥'i'̥₁H₂̥R̥ 'be very cold' [q.v. ffd.] × N *ćar̥ '↑' [q.v.] ¶¶ LG 302, UEW 464-5 (tying in Hg Δ szirony ~ szilony ~ szirogy ~ szilogy ~ sziroty ~ szityor 'frozen surface layer on the snow after melting weather' and reconstructing *śar̥ [in spite of

Prm *ć-]), Jn. 140, Ter. 574, Cs. 66, 91, 274, 303, Lh. 412-13, Hl. M no. 891 ◇ If the Ar root √sɪr is rejected, the initial N cns. may be reconstructed either as *c- or as *ĉ-, and the lr. is *χ|ϕ. Not here IE *srīg- 'cold', HEC *sirga 'cold' and the above-mentioned Hg word (*see* s.v. N *ś̄ṽRiχka 'cold').

317a. *ĉŭR'k'a 'watch, (?) watch over' > IE: NaIE *swerg_l^h- 'watch over, be concerned about' > ON *sorg*, OHG *s(ω)orga*, AS *sorȝ* 'sorrow, care (angor, cura)' (> NE *sorrow*), ON inf. *syrġja* 'to be concerned about', AS inf. *sorȝian* 'to grieve, to be anxious about', Gt *saúrġa* (· μέριμνη, λύπη) 'Kummer' inf., *saúrġan* (· μεριμνῶ, λυπηθῆναι) 'sorgen, bekümmert sein' ||| Pru *but-sarġs* 'householder', *abserġīsnan* 'protection', OLT, Lt inf. *sérgēti* (1s pres.: OLT *sérgmi*, Lt *sérgi*), Lt Δ inf. *sergēti* 'to guard, to keep (behüten, bewahren)', Lt *sarġà* '(Schild)wache, (Ob)hut', *sárgas* 'Wächter, (Be)hüter', 'guard', Ltv *saŕġs* id., Pru *abserġīsnan* accus. 'Schutz' ||| OI *sūrksati* 'takes care of' ¶ The IE variation *-we-/*-e- is explained by a kind of Schwebeablaut (*-we-/*-e- < **-uē-/**-eu- with loss of the glide before a sonant < N *u|ū) (*see* AD NVIE and NGIE) ¶ ≈ EI 636 (IE *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), M K II 495, Fs. 413, Kb. 1007, Ho. 307, En. 136, 155, Frn. 762-3, 776-7 ||| **K** (reg. mt.): G *cker-/ckir-* 'blicken, schauen' ¶ Chx. 2034-5 ||| **U**: FU (in FP) *'ć' ṽrk ṽ- 'look' > Chr L *чурге* 'čurġe '(look, stare) fixedly, intently' ||| Prm *žŭrk- > Z *žorg+*- 'look vacantly (as a newborn baby)', Δ *žorg+*- 'stare at one point, fix one's eyes', Vt Δ *žurkk+* *učk-* 'stare at one point, look vacantly (as a newborn baby)' ¶ LG 92, MRS 679.

318. *ĉ'ä'ŕ'ṽ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate (cacare), excrete' > HS: S *°√syr > Mh √syr *T* (pf. 'saty3r) 'have diarrhoea', *ShT* (pf. *3st3yur*) 'go to stool, excrete' ¶ Jo. M 355 ||| IE *sk̑er(-d^h)- 'defecate (cacare), excrete; dung; excrements', {partially according to EI} *'sok̑ȓ- (gen. *s(e)k̑'n-os) 'excrement, dung' (metanalysis reinterpreting -r- as a heteroclitic sx?) (× N *ĉUyrṽ 'rot, stink' [q.v.]) > YAv *sairya-* 'dung, manure (Dünger, Mist)', MPrs *sarġēn*, NPrs *سرگین* *sārgīn* 'dung' || OI *śardhatē* 'farts'; ? chȓ_o'ṇatti, *chardayati* 'vomits' ||| Gk *σκῶρ*, gen. *σκαιός* 'dung' ||| L *mūscerda* 'mouse dung' (metanalysis **mūs-scerda* > *mūs-cerda*, whence *būcerda* 'cow-dung', *ovicerda* 'sheep dung' etc.) ||| Mlr {WH, P ← ?} *sceirt-* v. 'spit out, vomit' ||| ON *skarn*, MLG, MDt *scharn*, OFrs *skern*, AS

s^cearn 'dung, manure', NE sharn || Ltv sārņi pl. 'slag, dross, rubbish, faeces, menstua', Lt šárvas, pl. šárvai 'placenta, menstua' | Sl inf. *sbrati / 1s pres. *serq ~ *seřq 'defecate (cacare)' > SCr inf. sràti / 1s pres. sèrēm, Blg ce'pa, Slv inf. sráti / 1s pres. sérjem, Cz inf. sráti / 1s pres. seru (3s séře), P inf. srać / 1s pres. sioreę (2s sierzesz), R inf. cpatb / 1s pres. cpy (3s cpët ~ 'cepet) id.; R sor 'rubbish' || ? Ht sakkar (gen. sak-n-as) 'faeces' ¶¶ P 947-8, EI 186 (IE *'sok̑ȓ- [gen. *s(e)k̑'n-os] 'human excrement'), VI. II 284-5, M E I 557, ≈ M K I 409 and ≈ III 310, Brtl. 1568, McK 74, Sg. 677, F II 746, WH II 133-4, Vn. S 39, Vr. 485, OsS 781, Ho. 274, ≈ Frn. 966, ≈ Kar. II 156, Vs. III 720, 740, Glh. 573, Ts. W 67 || U: FU *čar∇ 'dung' (× N *šiharū 'dirt, earth', q.v.) > Os: Nz šor 'reindeer's) dung', Kz šor 'dung' || pMr {Ker.} *šara- > *šāra- 'defecate (cacare)' > Er šeřne-, Δ šārń₁a₁-, Mk šārańda- id. ¶ UEW 405-6, Ker. II 138 || D *čarap- 'cowdung' > Prj čarpi, Gdb sarpi ~ sadpi, Gnd sarāpi, sarāpi ~ sadāpī, Knd, Png, Mnd řāpi, Ku řāpi ~ rāpi id. ¶¶ D no. 2402b.

319. ₂ *cEt∇ 'to cover' > HS: WS (with ext.) *✓str v. 'cover, hide' > BHb ✓str N 'hide, conceal', JA [Trg.] ✓str D id., SmA ✓str G 'hide oneself', JEA {Sl.} ✓str Sh 'conceal', Sr  sā'tīr ps. prt. 'concealed', Ar ✓str v. G 'veil, conceal, hide', Gz ✓str 'hide, conceal' ¶ KB 728-9, BDB no. 5641, Js. 1032-3, Ln. 1304, L G 518, Sl. 834, Tal 614, Br. 503, JPS 394 || IE: NaIE *(s)k̑ed- 'cover' > OI Λ 'chadati, OI cha'dayati v. caus. 'covers, wraps', cha'd-iṣ- n. 'lid, cover', Av sadayantī- 'e part of garment' || ? Gmc (without *s mobile): MHG hāz 'garment, cloth', NGr Sw hās, gehās 'Kleidung, Wäsche', AS hāteru pl. 'clothes', NE arc. and Δ hater, haters 'clothes, clothing', hater 'garment, vestment' ¶ M K I 403, M E I 554-5, OED V 117, Ho. 146, OsS 377, Lx. 82, ≈ WP II 558, ≈ P 919 ◇ IS I 198-9 [no. 36].

320. *cow∇ 'look at, look after, protect\guard' > K: GZ *cēw-/*čw- v. 'protect, take care, watch' > OG cev- / cv- id., G (da-)cav- / cv- 'protect (verteidigen, schützen)', Mg č(w)- v. 'preserve, keep safe; take care; hide', Lz č(v)- v. 'watch, wait' ¶¶ K 229, K² 270 (unc.: + Sv li-lče, actually Sv UB/L li-lče, Sv Ln li-leče msd. 'preserve, defend, guard [watch over]'), Chik. 372-3, FS K 405-6, 417-18, GP 158, Chx. 1971, TK 440 || IE: NaIE *(s)kew- 'worauf achten (beobachten, schauen)' > Arm gnɫgaw̑nɫɫ c^huc^hanem 'I show, I indicate, I point out', gnɫg c^hoyc^h

'showing, indication' ||| Gk Hm {Ch.} θυο-σκόος 'prêtre qui examine les sacrifices' ||| ON inf. skofa 'to behold, to inspect', WGmc {Vr.} inf. *skauwōn > OSx inf. skauwon, MDt inf. scouwen, Dt inf. schouwen 'to inspect, to view', OHG inf. scouwōn 'to see, to look' (> NHG inf. schauen 'to behold, to see'), AS inf. scēawian 'to look at, to behold', NE v. show ||| Pru au-schauditwei 'vertrauen', auschaudīsnan, auschaudisnan · "Zuversicht, Treue, Hoffnung" ||| without *s-: L cavē- 'be on one's guard, beware, take care for' ||| OI ka'vi- 'wise, skilful; seer, sage, poet', ā-'kuvatē 'beabsichtigt' ||| Gk κοέω 'I mark, I perceive, I hear' ||| ? Sl inf. *čú-ti (1s pres. *čúj-ŕ) 'to feel, to perceive' > OCS inf. Ѹ Ѹ т Ѹ čuti / 1s pres. Ѹ Ѹ Ѹ čujŕ 'υλυώσκελυ, feel, notice, learn (noscere)', OR inf. Ѹ Ѹ т Ѹ čuti 'to feel, to hear, to understand', SCr inf. ču'ti, Uk inf. чутти 'to hear, to feel', Blr inf. чуць, Slv inf. čúti, Slk inf. po-čut' 'to hear', Blg чүя 'I feel, I hear', Cz inf. čít, P inf. czuć 'to feel', R чүю 'I feel' → inf. чүять 'to feel' ¶ P 587-8, Ch. 448, 551, Sl. 268-9, Ho. 275, Vr. 496, Vr. N 62, Skeat 559, Kb. 890, M K I 187-8, WH I 186-7, En. 148, Tr. P A-D 161-3, Vs. IV 390, ESSJ IV 134-6, StSS 786, Glh. 182 ||| D *čōv-/ -pp- v. 'watch, notice' > Kn sōvu, sōhe 'trace, mark, sign', Tu sōvu 'spying, watching, observing secretly; trace, mark, sign', Kui ʒōpa v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶¶ D no. 2892 ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. *č'awh 'стеречь'.

321. *čaw'h'∇ 'to cover, to dress, to put\hang (on)' > K *caw- v. 'put on\in\into, wear, string\hang (on)' > OG caw-, šta-caw- v. 'put on', aʎ-caw- 'hineinstecken', še-caw- v. 'string (on sth.)', G cV- 'put on, string', Mg cun- {FS} 'verschließen', mo-cun- v. 'put on', o-cun- 'darinstoßen', Lz o-con- 'auffädeln, aufreihen', do-cun- 'hineinstoßen', Sv xa-caw-e 'er hängt es daran', Sv UB li-caw-em 'to hang (sth.) on the back', {GP} 'to shoulder (sth.)' ¶¶ FS K 396, FS E 448, K 226, K² 264, Chx. 1994-6, 2048, GP 183, TK 475 ||| HS: S *^o√swy > BHb הַיְוּהַ mas'wē 'covering, veil, hull', MHb הַיְוּהַ mas'wē {Js.} 'cover, sheath', Pun (pl.) mswyʔt 'clothing, dress'; BHb sū-t̄* 'garment' (+ppa.: הַיְוּהַ sū't̄-ō 'his garment'), Ph swt 'garment', Pun *swyh (cs. swyʔt) 'veil, curtain (?)', SmA הַיְוּהַ msw, הַיְוּהַ msw h n. 'veil' ¶ KB 572, 707, KBR 605, 749, HJ 663, 780-1, Js. 804, Tal 573 ||| Eg s {EG} hier. *'ein Tuch', {Gard.} hier. *'folded cloth' ¶ EG IV 1, Gard. 507 [no. S-29] ||| C: Ag {Ap.} *sä-: *sä-t- v. 'dress oneself', caus. *sä-s- v. 'dress so.' > Bln {R}

sɛ-r-, Xm {R} sɪ-t-, Km {Ap.} sɛy-, Aw {Ap.} set-/sɛy-/sít- 'dress oneself', Bln {R} sɛ-s-, Xm {R} sɪ-s-, Q {R} sɛ-š- vt. 'dress' || SC: ? Irq {Wh.} -çī-t- 'wear', {Mgw.} -çī-t- v. 'dress', -çī-t-ís v. 'clothe' ¶ R WB 291-2, Ap. AV 18, Wh. SI, Mgw 103 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 4 (treats Irq and SC *ç as c) || IE *(s)k_l^h₁eu₂H₃x- ({EI} *(s)keu(H)-) 'cover, wrap' > NaIE *(s)k^heu₂- ~ *(s)k^hēu₂- v. 'cover' > Arm ցիւ Ը^hի^ω 'roof, tiling'; from *k^heu₂-: Arm խոց Խ^hս^h 'cot, hut, cell, small room' || Gk ἔπι-σκύυλον 'skin of the brows which is knitted when frowning', σκύυλον 'skin above the eyes' ({P} σκύυλα pl. 'eyebrows'), σκύυλος 'animal's skin, hide', ? κῶα (pl. κῶεα) 'fleece' || Gmc: [1] AS sc₂u(ω)а 'shadow, darkness, protection', OHG sc₂ū₂ω₂ 'shade (umbra)', ON skuggi id., 'mirror', Gt skuggwa (·ἔσoπτρον) 'Spiegel', ON skjа-r 'transparent calf skin used to close windows', skjá 'window closed with a transparent film'; [2] ?? ON ský (< *skeu₂y₂-) 'cloud, clouding', OSx skio 'Wolkendecke', AS sc₂ī₂ 'cloud' (unless ÷ OIr céo 'fog') || Sl *xovа- v. 'hide; take care of' > Cz inf. chovati 'to hide; to take care of', Slk inf. chovati 'to feed, to keep (livestock)', 'to conceal, to keep', HLs inf. chowac 'to keep, to conceal, to hide', OP, P inf. chowac 'to hide, to conceal; to feed; to bury', OR XIV inf. ХОВАТНСА (ВЪ ЗАКОНѢ СВОЕМЪ) 'to keep oneself (in one's religion)' (sc. 'to remain faithful to one's religion'), R S/W/Psk/Kl inf. ховать 'to bury, to hide, to conceal', R Tv/Rz inf. хувать 'to hide', Uk inf. ховати, Blr inf. хаваць 'to hide, to keep, to bury', OCrt K inf. hovati 'to put, to place' || OI [Dhat., Bhatt.] sku- v. 'cover', skunāti 'covers', KhS {Bai.} bu-ḡkve 'covered', khauca 'covering, face'; Sl *x- is likely to go back to NaIE *k^h- ¶ Mayrhofer (M K III 508, M E II 751) rejected the connection of the OI √ sku- with words for 'skin', because skunāti 'covers' is "vereinzelt und jung", but the late attestation of the OI word does not rule out its ancient origin (confirmed within Iir by the KhS cognate) ¶ WP II 546-8, P 951-3, EI 134, MW 1257, Bai. 76, 301, F I 541, Ch. 360, Ho. 279, 284, Ho. S 66, Vr. 506, 508, Kb. 902, Fs. 435, Slt. 338-9, ESSJ VIII 86-8 (all of them do not mention the connection of Sl *xov- with the IE √ in question), Srz. III 1377 ¶ NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (ON -ggj-, Gt -ggw-) points to the presence of a lr. || D *čavali 'cloth' (× N *č'aru'ba 'clothe, sack', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The NrGmc and Gt Verschärfung (yielding ON -ggj- and Gt -ggw-) points to the presence of an IE lr., which is likely to go back to N *h (a lr. liable to be lost in HS and K).

322. ?σ (₂?) *ća|oxû ≈ 'mix, process grains' > **K:** GZ *ceχ- v. 'thresh, knead', {K²} 'remove stubble' > OG σα-σεχϰ-ελ- 'mowing board', {FS} σα-σεχϰωλ- v. 'flail', G I/G {Chx.} v. ceχ- 'husk (e.g. maize)', G {DCh.} ceχ- 'thresh', {K²} ceχ- 'remove stubble', Mg цаχ- 'knead' ({Q} 'мѣсить'), {K²} 'grind, crush' ¶ FS K 397-8, FS E 447, K² 264, Chx. 1994, DCh. 1994, Q 370 || **HS:** C: Bj ✓ šwυ {R} 'mix, add' ({R} 1s: p. a'šāwī ~ a'šāû, pqp. 'īšwā, pres. ešū'wī ~ 'ēšwī) ¶ R WBd 218-19 || ?σ S: Ar ✓ sħħ 'flog, strike' ¶ Ln. 1313 || **IE:** NaIE *skēϰ- 'poke\rake\stir (the fire)', 'stochern' > OI {MW} skϰ- 'pluck, pick, poke, tear': Vd cōskūyatē 'stöbert auf, bringt durcheinander, stochert', OI [ŠB] ā skauti 'verkleinert durch Stochern', [Ap.] dantā-skavāna 'das Stochern in den Zähnen', KhS buṣkuta 'burst' || ?σ AdS of Blt *skū- ~ *skut- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (mt. from NaIE *kes-/*kseϰ- v. 'scratch, comb' < N *ka'č'U 'to scratch, to scrape off scales', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 552-3, P 954, M K III 508, M E II 751, MW 1257, Bai. 300 ◇ Qu. (loose semantic connections).

323. *č'ri'χE 'sweep, rub\scratch away' > **HS:** CS *✓ sħϰ 'sweep (away)' > Ar ✓ sħϰ 'sweep away', BHb הןס ✓ sħϰ|w N (ip. 3pm yis'sā'hū) 'be swept away', ✓ sħw|ϰ D 'sweep away', sə'hī 'litter', SmA ✓ sħϰ G 'wash', JEA {Sl.} ✓ sħϰ G 'wash oneself, bathe', JA, SmA ✓ sħϰ D 'wash, cleanse, bathe' ¶ KB 707, Sl. 797, Tal 576-7, Js. 971, BK I 1063-4 || **A:** Tg: Ewk çī- 'scratch away, clean away' ¶ STM II 388 || **D** *čī- ({ϑGS} *c|č|s-) > Tm cī v. 'sweep off, brush away, wipe off', cīϰ v. 'sweep', Gnd heyānā 𐎠 hey- 𐎠 hay- 𐎠 ey- id., Krx čī:č- 'rub with sth. soft for cleaning, wipe away', Mlt {Drs.} cíce v. 'wipe, clean' ¶¶ D no. 2599 || **IE:** ?ϕ Ht sarh- 'sweep, wipe away' ¶ Frd. HW 182, Ts. W 70.

324. *č'a or *č'a (= *Hič|č'a?), a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lges: → sx of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) > **HS:** C: EC: Or -ičča 𐎠 -iča, sx of snglt. m., Brj -aččo, -iččo, -čo, -čča, Sd -iččo, -ičča, -čo, Kmb -(č)ču, Alb -čo, Hd -∇(č)čo, Dsn -(∇)č id. || ?? Dhl -žē id. ¶ It belongs here unless it goes back to *-ay-t- (snglt. *-ay- [as -ay- in Bj: ta'wīg-ay- 'a mosquito' ↔ taweg 'mosquitos'] + HS snglt. *-at- [> pS *-at- id., Sa -t- id., as in {R} adam-to 'a man' etc.]) ¶ Zab. MNPC 3, 21, 125, 133-4, 219-24, To. DL 75 || **IE:** NaIE *-isk-, suffix of relative adjectives: Gmc *-isk-, Lt -iška-, Sl *-ьsk-: Gt manniskas ('ἄνθρωπινος) 'menschlich', OHG irdisc 'irdisch', Lt dévīškas 'göttlich', OCS небесьскъ nebesьskъ 'himmlisch', as well as ? Gk

-ισκο- dim. (παλιδίσκος 'young boy' [dim.]) and possibly amb Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -g- -c^h- ¶ Brg. KVG 327, Me. EAC 71-2, StSS 358-9 | | U *-ć∇, qualifying sx: F kar i t s a 'lamb' (cp. kar ja 'cattle?'), Mr kurća 'shoulder yoke' (cp. Prm {LG} *ker 'beam' > Z ker, Vt kor id.), Chr L ku w ь l ć ь 'hen capercalzie' (a qualifying sx used to denote a female), Os: O ā p s i, Kz ap s i, Nz ap ə s ə 'younger brother, nephew (younger than ego)', as well as Vg N/ML {MK} ā p s i ~ ap s i and Vg Ss ap си ap s i id. ({MK} ← Os) (cp. Vg: N/ML ā p i x ~ ap i x, Ss ap ы г 'nephew, grandson') | | Ne -ć, -će, dimin. sx ¶¶ SSA I 313, Lh. 206, 212-13, Stn. D 150, MK 46, BV 17 | | A: NaT [1] *-ç, sx of diminutives and forms of endearment: OT o ğ ũ ĉ ũ m 'mein Mütterchen' (← o ğ 'mother'), a t a ĉ i m 'mein Väterchen' (← a t a 'father') (Gbn ATG 59), a t a ĉ 'das Kind, das den Vater spielt', a n a ĉ 'Mädchen, das die Mutter spielt' (Rm. EAS I 215) etc.; [2] *-çā/-çä, diminutive and intensive > OT: a n ĉ a 'ein Paar', a z r a q - ĉ a 'ganz wenig' (Gbn ATG 59-60, Deny § 517) (acc. to IS), [3] *-çI/-çi, sx of nomina agentis (trade etc.) (× N *č'ü' 'that of..., that which') (¶ SIGTJM 144-6, Kon. GJTRP 84-6, Gbn ATG 60) | | Tg ≈ *-çan: Rm. mentioned Nn diminutive -čā (amačā, abačā 'Väterchen', mamačā 'Mamachen' [mama 'old woman']), but in grammars and dictionaries of the Tg lges I have found only Nn {On.} mamačān 'old woman' (dim.) ÷ Ul {Sun.} mama-čā(n) 'old woman', cp. also Ewk -çikān (including Tg dim. *-kān, e.g. Ewk o r o n ç i k ā n 'young of a reindeer' ← o r o n 'reindeer') ¶ Rm. EAS I 215-18, On. 256, Sun. UJ 212, Vas. 797 | | Ko {Rm.} -čī: apačī [abažī] 'Väterchen', ə m ə č i [ə m ə ž i] 'Mütterchen' ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 215-18 ◇ IS I 204 (N *-čā) ◇ The N rec. *Hic|čā is based on the presence of *i in IE *-isk- and in EC ≈ *-ič-. It is quite possible that the N pc. *č|čā (= *Hic|čā?) goes back to the N noun *H₁ič|č_h∇ (or *H₁ič|Γ|h∇) 'father, head of a family' (q.v. ffd.). A semantic parallel: Ar ʔabū 'father' as a marker of relative constructions, as well as the use of words for 'son' in similar constructions in Hb, Aram, Berber and Chinese.

325. ₂ *čæ 'away, downward' > K: GZ *çā- 'downward, away' > OG, G çā- pv. 'away', Mg, Lz çō- pv. 'downward'; ← GZ *çā-re- (~ *çā-le-?) adv. 'downward' > OG preverb çar-, G adv. çare, Mg, Lz çale ¶ *-re is a morpheme of adverbs of place, e.g. GZ *gā-re 'outside' (> OG gare, Mg, Lz gale) ¶ K 59, 241-2 | | IE: NaIE *^osġ- > Sl *sъ (+ gen. [< abl.]) prep. 'downward from' > OCS, OR съ съ, R c / cо, OCz, Cz, OP с / се, SCr с

/s a, (× Sl *j b z 'from'): Uk z, P z / z e, Slk z / z o; preverb *s b - 'downward from sth.' > OCS, OR c b - s b -, R c - / c o -, Uk c - / z -, P z e - / s -, OCz, Cz s - / s e -, Slk z - / s -, Slv s -, Blg c - || possibly Arm gen.-dat.-abl. pl. -g - -c h - (× IE adjectival suffix *-isk- < N *č a or *c a, a marker of relative constructions [q.v.]) ¶ Me. EAC 71-2, ≈ Vs. III 540 (unc.: Sl *s b < NaIE *k̄ om 'with'), ≈ ESISJ-SGZ I 244-6, 249-55 (unjustified rec. of *-n in Sl *s b n), StSS 635-6, Rcz. 437.

326. *č|č i or *č|č i, a marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity > IE sx *-s k̄ -, a marker of iterativity\frequency > AnIE: Ht iterative sx -s k - (denoting iterative and durative stems), Lw, HrLw, Pal -s s -, -s - id. (?) || NaIE *-s k̄ - > Tc: B -s k - / -s s -, A -s -, caus. sx (← iterative-intensive): Tc B {KT} r i t t ä s s ä m 'verbindet', 3p r i t t ä s k e m 'verbinden' vs. r i t t e t ä r 'paßt sich, ist verbunden', also without caus. meaning: {Ad.} ä n ä s k e m 'we breathe' | in most other branches of NaIE *-s k̄ - functions as a marker of the ip. aspect ("present"): *g m̄ -'s k̄ -e ti ({Bks} *g m̄ -'s k e) 'goes, is going' > OI 'g a -c c h -a t i, Av (3s) j a s a i t i id., Gk β á σ κ ' ἴθι 'speed thee!', NaIE *ḡ n̄ -s k̄ -ō ({Bks} *ḡ n h̄ -'s k e) 'I recognize, I know' > L (g) n o s c ō, Gk Ep γ ν ῶ σ κ ω id., OPrs x š n ā -s -ā t i y 'noscat', NaIE *p r k̄ -'s k̄ -ō 'I ask' > OI p r o c 'c h ā m i id., L p o s c ō 'I ask, I request', OHG inf. f o r s c ō n 'to explore, to inquire' (> NHG inf. f o r s c h e n 'to search\ seek\ inquire), NaIE *i s -'s k̄ -e -t i 'he requires, looks for' > OI i c 'c h a t i 'requires', fossilized as part of the stem in Sl inf. *j b s k a t i 'to look for' (> OCS inf. ИСКАТИ i s k a t i, R inf. и с 'к а т ь id. etc.), Lt inf. i e š k ó t i id., OHG inf. e i s c ō n 'to require' (> NHG inf. h e i s c h e n id.), AS inf. ā s c i a n 'to ask, to require' (> NE a s k) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 519-620, Szem. EVS-70 253-4, StSS 264-5, Bks 228, Bks VT 271, 274, Kb. 280, Vn. A 86, Ivn. OPA 139-72, Bn. TIE 96, KT 174-5, Ad. H 76-8, Ad. 292, ESSJ VIII 238-9, Frd. HEB I 140-1, Mer. SGA 330-1 || **U:** FU *-č e -, sx of frequentative verbs: F -t s e (with partial loss of clear frequentative semantics): r u o s k i t s e - v. 'flog, whip', 'give a terrible beating' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} -š -, sx of durative verbs and verbs of state: g w 'a r y a š i t v. 'lie' (cp. g ū 'r b y e t 'lie down') | Mk -ś a -, Er -ś e -, sx of frequentativity: Mk m o r -ś a - v. 'use to sing', p i l -ś a - v. 'saw frequently', Er y a k -ś e - v. 'stop frequently', {Ps.} inf. s o v ś e -m s, s u v ś i -m s, frq. from s u v a m s v. 'to go in, to enter' || ObU *č ' > Vg N {Rmb.} -ś - and -s -, sxs of durative verbs: p o y a k ś (a) - v. 'pray' (sc. 'be begging\ imploring' [← p o y k (u) - v. 'beg, implore']), w ā η k s (a) - v. 'be crawling, полз а т ь' (←

wāḡk(u)- v. 'crawl [in a certain direction], ползти'); ObU compound sx *-ćl-, marker of durative and iterative verbs > Os N -śl-: lāulaślem 'I am waiting' (durative of lāullem 'I wait'), Vg UL {Lh. [← Mu.??]} ērḡéśleʔim 'I sing now and then, I often sing' (← ērḡi- v. 'sing') ¶ Lh. PUAS 218-22, Srb. IMMJ 229-30, Sz. 106, Rmb. 172-3 || **A** *-ći- > M *-ći-, sx of verbal intensivity: WrM {MED} kemke-ci- v. 'break into pieces, smash, break, pound' ← kemke 'into pieces', compound sx *-ćaga-/*-ćege-, marker of polypersonality: WrM -caga-/-cege-, HIM -цгаа-/-цгоо-/-цгээ-/-цгөө-, e.g. WrM yabu-caga- v. 'walk\go' (of many people) ← yabu- 'go, walk' ¶ Pp. GWM 63, 66, Snz. SMJ 66, MED 451 || Tg *-çi-, sx of intensive and durative verbs > Nn ḡola-ći- v. 'go on reading' (← Nn Nh {On.} ḡola- v. 'read'), Ul ḡupzal-ći- v. 'shake (many times)', Lm tan-çi- v. 'draw (with effort)' ¶ Bz. 119, Pt. UD 71, On. 465 || **HS**: possibly (but not certainly) the S root extension *-ç-, e.g. CS *✓ špç D (> JA, MHb 𐤑𐤕𐤔 ✓ špç D v. 'repair'), cp. CS *✓ špy v. 'sweep bare' (> MHb 𐤑𐤕𐤔 ✓ špy, Ar ✓ sfy id.) ◇ This N pc. is likely to go back to some aux. verb (forming a construction that meant '≈ used to ..., tries to ...'), e.g. to the N verb *ĉih'i' ≈ carry, bring' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 206 (IE, U, A), ≈ Gr. I 206-9 ("conative SK" in IE + qu. FU {Sz.} *-sk- of frequentativity, intensivity etc., + err. Tg conative *-ksi, ?? ChK, EA).

327. *ćoXib ▽ 'belly' > **HS**: S *°✓ çħb > Jb C šaħb 'belly under the navel' ¶ Jo. J 237 || **U** *ćoywa ~ *ćowya 'belly, stomach' > pLp {Lr.} *ćōvyē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoājjie, L {LLO} tjāi'vē, N {N} čoaω'je / -ωj-, Kld čovvūy id. || Sm {Jn.} *ć|teyωъ ({Jn.} *t^lejωā) 'stomach' > Ne: T TИВ, T O {Lh.} tśi·β id., FL {Lh.} čjē·β 'Pansen, Inhalt des Pansens'; Kms {KD} šūjž 'Magen, Bauch, Inneres', {Cs.} šōyō 'das Innere' ¶¶ Coll. CG 401, UEW 40, Lr. no. 180, Lgc. no. 667, Hs. 1326-7, Jn. 156-7, KD 66 || **D** (att. in GnD) *°ćipp- ({ḡGS} *s|ś-) 'upper belly' > Gnd Ch sīpi id., Gnd B sīpī 'the part over the liver', Ku sīpa-ḡaki ḡ hīpa-ḡaki 'chest' (cp. Kui ḡaki 'breastbone, chest') ¶ D no. 2620 ◇ D *-pp- < *-Xb-. In U the variant *ćowya (in Lp) is due to metathesis.

328. ₂ *ćū|ub, ▽, ḡ ▽ 'dip in' ([in descendant lges] → 'dye'), 'immerse' > **HS**: S *✓ çbḡ v. 'dye, dip' > BHb, IA, BA 𐤑𐤕𐤔 ✓ çbḡ G, NNEA ✓ šbḡ G v. 'dye', Ar صبغ ✓ šbḡ v. G 'dye, dip', Sr ✓ šbḡ G 'dip, moisten, dye', JA ✓ šbḡ G 'dip; dye', JEA {Sl.} ✓ šbḡ G id., 'moisten', SmA ✓ šbḡ G

'wash, rinse', Md ✓ $\mathfrak{s} b^? G$ 'baptize, immerse, dip in; dye', Gz ✓ $\mathfrak{s} b \chi G$ 'dip (into a sauce)', Sq {L} ✓ $\mathfrak{s} b^{\mathfrak{s}}$ 'paint', Ak NB $\mathfrak{s} \bar{a} b \hat{u}$ 'dyer'; (\times N * $\check{c} E_{\perp} y_{\perp} p \nabla$ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow'): Ak fOB $\mathfrak{s} a b \hat{u}$ 'to soak, to bathe' ¶ KB 937, 1768-9, KBR 998-9, HJ 958, Tal 720-1, Js. 1259, Lv. IV 165, Sl. 951, JPS 472, Br. 620, DM 388-9, BK I 1307-8, L G 546, CAD XIII 45-6, 55 || C: EC {Ss.} * $\check{c} u b_{\perp} \nabla_{\perp} \mathfrak{r}$ - ({Ss.} * $\check{c} \mathfrak{r}_1 u b^{\mathfrak{s}}$ -) v. 'dip in' > Or {Ss., Th.} $\check{c} u p$ - / $\check{c} u b$ - id., {Grg.} $\check{c} \bar{u} p$ - (= $\check{c} \bar{u} p$ -) v. 'dip', Dbs $\mathfrak{t} u p a \mathfrak{r}$ - v. 'swim', ? σ Ya $\mathfrak{t} \bar{o} b$ - v. 'sift', HEC: Brj {Hd.} $\check{c} \bar{u} b$ -, Ged {Hd.} $\check{c} \bar{u} p$ - 'immerse' (infl. of HEC * $\check{c} \bar{e} p$ - v. 'immerse' < N * $\check{c} E_{\perp} y_{\perp} p \nabla$ '†') || ?? Bj {R} - $\check{c} i f$ pcv. 'dye' (1s: p. $a' \check{c} i f$, pres. $a \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{t}' \check{c} \bar{i} f$) ¶ Ss. PEC 30, Grg. 89, Th. 72, Hd. 184, 235, ≠ Hd. 83 (Brj, Ged < HEC * $\check{c} \bar{e} f$ -), R WBd 73 || B: Izd - $\mathfrak{z} u b b$ 'plonger la tête dans l'eau' ¶ Mrc. 196 ¶¶ But HEC * $\check{c} e p$ - v. 'immerse' is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with FU * $\check{c} e p p \nabla$ - v. 'immerse, drown' and M * $\check{c} i b k i$ - v. 'dive, dip' from N * $\check{c} E_{\perp} y_{\perp} p \nabla$ (q.v.) || A ≈ * $\check{c} U P \nabla$ > NaT * $\check{c} \bar{u} : \mathfrak{r} b' i' t'$ > OT Kr [MhK] {Cl.} $\check{c} \bar{u} \omega i t$, {DTS} $\check{c} \bar{u} \omega \bar{u} t$ '(ε) dyestuff', Tk $\check{c} i v i t$ 'indigo, ultramarine', Tlt {Rl.} $\check{c} i b i t$ 'ochre' ¶ Cl. 395, Rl. III 2155, TL 399 || ? σ Tg * $\check{c} o p \nabla$ - * $\check{c} o b b$ - v. 'drown, dive' > Ewk $\check{c} o p o$ - id., Neg $\check{c} o p t \mathfrak{t} k$ - v. 'disappear (in water), drown', Orc $\check{c} u b b \mathfrak{z}$ - vt. 'drown, immerse' ¶ STM II 408.

329. * $\check{c} \hat{u} d \nabla$ 'point with a finger', (\rightarrow) 'true, just' > K * $\circ \check{c} w d$ > Sv ✓ m- $\check{c} o d$ in Sv L ma $\check{c} w d i$ 'right, innocent, found not guilty' ¶ Dn. s.v. m $\check{c} o d$ || HS: WS (+ ext.) * $\check{c} d k$, *- $\check{c} d a k$ - > Hb ✓ $\check{c} d k G$ ($\check{c} \bar{a}' d a k$ / - $\check{c} d a k$ -) 'be right, be in the right, be just', IA $\check{c} d k G$ 'be (considered as) just', Amr {G} ✓ $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'be just', JA ✓ $\check{c} d k G$ 'be right\true', JEA {Sl.} ✓ $\check{c} d k Sh$ 'make right\legal', Sr ✓ $\check{c} d k D$ (Sr $\check{c} a d' d e k$ 'justificavit'), SmA ✓ $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'give charity', Ar ✓ $\mathfrak{s} d q G$ 'être vrai, être sincère', Sb {BGMR} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ v. ($D ?$, Sh) 'perform\fulfil (a duty\obligation), justify', Qtb {Rk.} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ v. $D ?$ 'grant one his due', Mn {MA} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ id., 's'acquitter d'un devoir', Gz ✓ $\mathfrak{s} d k G$ (js. $y a \mathfrak{s} d a k$) 'be just\justified\righteous\true'; WS * $\check{c} i d_{\perp} \nabla_{\perp} k$ - (~ * $\check{c} a d_{\perp} \nabla_{\perp} k$ -?) > BHb $\check{c} \varepsilon d \varepsilon k$ 'rightness, righteousness, justice', Ph/Yd/OA {HI} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'correct\justifiable conduct, legitimacy', Ug {OLS} 'justicia, legitimidad', {A} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'Zuverlässigkeit, Tugend', Amr {G} $\mathfrak{s} i d k$ -um 'justice', SmA $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'righteousness, justice', Ar $\mathfrak{s} i d q$ - 'veritas, sinceritas', $\mathfrak{s} a d q$ - 'truth' (\rightarrow Mh $\mathfrak{s} a d k$ id.), Sb $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'right, justice, justification, truth', Qt {Rk.} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'goodwill, concurrence, favour', Mn {MA} $\mathfrak{s} d k$ 'droit', Gz $\mathfrak{s} a d k$ 'justice, righteousness, truth'; BHb $\mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{z} \check{c} a d' d i k$ 'just, righteous', JA {Js.} $\check{c} a d' d i k$, $\check{c} a d d i k$ -ā 'virtuous\just\pious man', IA, JEA

{Sl.} $\text{çad}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{k}}$ 'righteous, righteous man', SmA ş d y k 'righteous', Ph ş d k 'legitimate', Pun ş a d y k 'correct\justifiable in conduct, legitimate', IA ş d y k adj. 'being entitled to, having the right', n. 'just\righteous one', Ar $\text{ş ad}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{q}}$ - 'amicus, amicus sincerus' ¶ KBR 1003-7, BDB no-s 6659-66, HJ 961-4, A no. 2305, OLS 414, G A 34, Js. 1262-4, Sl. 952, Tal 724, Fr. I 488-9, L G 548, BGMR 141, Rk. 133-4, MA 93, Jo. M 35, Siv. GAG 269
 || D [1] * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\text{u}^{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}$ - / * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\text{u}^{\text{t}}$ - ({ ḡGS } *s-) v. 'point at with the finger, show' (× N * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\eta}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\nabla}$ 'finger, finger knuckle', q.v.) > Kn $\text{ş u}^{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'point at with the finger', $\text{ş u}^{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'index finger', Kn, Tu $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$, Tl $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'aim', Tm $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$ v. 'point out, show, designate, indicate', Ml $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'pointing', $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'point at, aim', Kui $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'point with a finger', Ku $\text{h}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{h}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}$ v. 'point out' ||| ? σ [2] * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\text{u}^{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}$ - / * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}$ - ({ ḡGS } *s-) 'clever' > Tm $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'intelligent person', Ml $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$, Kn $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'smartness, quickness', $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'clever, able', Td $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{m}}$ 'cleverness, skill', Tu $\text{c}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$, $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'smart, clever', Tl $\text{ş}^{\text{u}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'clearheadedness' ¶¶ D no-s 2656 and 2568.

330. ? σ * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\nabla}$ 'hunt, hunt for, wish' > HS: S * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'hunt, hunt for' > Ar $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ G 'chasser, prendre à la chasse (une bête fauve etc.)', JEA $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{d}}$ G 'catch creatures', Sb $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ G 'hunt, perform a ritual hunt', a SS derived word is represented by Mh pf. $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ and Jb E/C $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{d}}$ v. 'fish'; WS * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\nabla}$ - n. 'hunt, hunting' > BHb $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$, JA $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Sr $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., Ar $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ id., 'killed game', Md $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'Jagd, Fischfang', Ug $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'killed game', Pun $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ (??) 'sacrifice of game', Sb {Bil.} $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ ~ $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'hunt; game, hunted animals', Mh $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Jb E $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Jb C $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Sq {Jo.} ' $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'fish'; d.: JA $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Sr $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$, BHb $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ (← Aram) 'hunter', JEA {Sl.} $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'fisherman', Ak $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ {Sd.} id., {CAD} 'stalker, stalking (hunter)', Mh $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Ar $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Sb $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'hunter', Jb E $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$, $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$, Jb C $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'fisherman' ¶ KB 956-7, HJ 959, A no. 2302, OLS 414, Js. 1274, Sl. 953, 959-60, Ln. 1753, BK I 1389, Bil. 421-2, Jo. M 369, Jo. J 243, Sd. 1075, CAD XVI 66
 || C: DhI {E} $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'long for' ||| ?? SC: Qz {E} $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ 'want, need' ¶ E SC 226 (SC * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'want, need') || K * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - v. 'wish, desire' > OG, G $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - v. 'wish, desire', Sv $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - / $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ - 'wish' (inf. $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}$ -i) ¶¶ K 242, K DE, K² 306, FS K 457, FS E 517-18 || U * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ - v. 'rut' (× FU * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ - v. 'run, race' [of animals] < N * $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\nabla}$ 'to advance with effort', q.v.) > FU: F $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'group of mares in heat', $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ - v. 'rut, be in heat' (BF * $\bar{\text{o}}$ < * $\bar{\text{a}}$) || Lp: N {N} $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}$ - / $\text{ç}^{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}$ - v. 'go outside the herd to look for female

reindeer' (of a weak male reindeer), $\check{c}\text{uod}\check{c}\check{e}li-$ 'set off to look for female reindeer' (of a male reindeer in the rutting season) | Prm: Z Vc $\acute{c}u\check{z}d-$, StZ $\text{чyав-ны } \acute{c}uav-n+$, Z Ud $\acute{c}ua|-$, Yz $\acute{c}u|'a|-$ v. 'rut' || ? Sm: StNe T $\text{ca}''e-$, Ne BZ/W {Ter.} $\text{ca}''ye-$, Ne E/Y {Ter.} $\text{ca}''ye-$, T O {Lh.} $\text{s}\bar{a}y\bar{e}-$ v. 'rut' (of mammals and birds) ¶¶ Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with c- for $\check{c-}$), SK 1120-1, N I 428, LG 312-13 ¶¶ {UEW}: Z $*-\check{z}d-$ and $-a|-\check{z}-av-$ are sxs.

331. * $\acute{c}'a\check{c}'i'd\nabla$ 'to advance with effort (to run, to climb etc.), to step' > HS: WS $*\check{c}'\check{c}'\check{c}'d$ v. 'step, climb' > BHb ГУЗ $\check{c}'\check{c}'\check{c}'d$ G 'stride solemnly, walk along (sth.), climb', ' $\text{ca}\check{c}ad$ 'step', Ar $\check{c}'\check{c}'\check{c}'d$ (pf. $\text{c}\check{c}'\check{c}'ida$, ip. $-\check{c}'\check{c}'ad-$) v. 'monter par degrés, monter sur une échelle; marcher d'un pas affecté et saccadé, marcher sur une pente; aller, se diriger [vers un lieu]'; possibly also ?? σ \rightarrow : OYmn $\text{c}'\check{c}'d$ ({Slw.} $\text{c}\check{c}'\check{c}'d$) 'tripod (cooking stand)', Ar Y $\text{c}\check{c}'\check{c}'d$ id., Ar D $\text{c}\check{c}'\check{c}'d$ 'âtre fait de trois pierres', Ar B {Stace} $\text{c}\check{c}'\check{c}'d$ 'cooking stand for pots', Amh {L} $\text{t}ad\check{c}$ 'put a kettle\griddle on the fire (on the cooking stand)' ¶ GB 688-9, KBR 1040, BK I 1337-8, Slw. 133, Lb. 2131, Stace 40, L EDG III 612 || ? ϕ C: SC: Irq {Wh., Mgw, Wd.} $-\check{c}'\check{c}'am-$ 'climb', Irq/Alg {E} $-\check{c}'\check{c}'am-$ id., 'mount' ¶ Wh. SI, Mgw. 104, Wd. no. 381 ¶¶ \approx Tk. PAA 2 (SC \div Hs $\text{c}\check{c}'\check{c}'a$ 'stand') || ? ϕ IE: NaIE $*k^had-$ or $*k^had-$ ' \approx go, walk' > Gk $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'give way, draw back, recoil' ||| Sl $*xodi-$ v. 'walk', n. act. $*xod\check{b}$ > OCS, OR ХОДЪ , Blg, R xod , SCr $h\check{o}d$, Slv $h\check{o}d$, Cz $chod$, P $ch\acute{o}d$ n. act. of 'walk'; OCS inf. ХОДИТИ , SCr inf. $h\check{o}diti$, Slv inf. $h\acute{o}diti$, Cz inf. $choditi$, P inf. $chodzic\acute{e}$, R inf. $\text{xod}it\check{b}$ 'to walk', Blg 'ходя v. 'walk' ¶ F II 1061, Kzl. GSC 384, \approx ESSJ VIII 48-52 (unconvincingly connecting the Sl root with IE $*sed-$ 'sit'), StSS 762-3, F II 1061 (no cognates of the Gk word) ||| U: FU $*\acute{c}\bar{a}\delta a-$ ({UEW} $*\acute{c}\bar{a}\delta a-$ \sim $*\acute{s}\bar{a}\delta a-$) v. 'run, race' (of animals) (\times U $*\acute{c}\bar{a}\delta a-$ 'rut' < N ? σ $*\acute{c}'a\check{c}'E_d\nabla$ 'to hunt for, to wish', q.v.) > FU: Lp I {It.} ' $\acute{c}\bar{u}\bar{a}\delta\bar{e}$ 'Rentierstier, der besiegt wurde und der danach die Flucht ergriffen hat' | Prm: Z $\Delta \acute{c}ula\check{c}-$ v. 'elapse, vorbeigehen' (of time), Prmk $\acute{c}ula\check{c}-$, Prmk N $\acute{c}ula|-$, Prmk In $\acute{c}uav-$ \sim $\acute{c}uvav-$ 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen (z. B. an einer Kirche)', 'pass, be over, elapse' (of time, winter etc.) ||| Hg szalad- v. 'run, flee' ¶¶ Coll. 58, UEW 28 (Lp N misquoted with c- for $\check{c-}$), SK 1120-1, N I 428, LG 312-13, KPR 547-8 ¶¶ {UEW}: Z $*-a|-\check{z}-av-$ and Hg $-\text{ad-}$ are sxs ¶¶ Lp and Prm data suggest (or are compatible with) the rec. of U $*\acute{c}'-$, while Hg sz- requires a special explanation ||| A: Tg $*\check{c}'id\hat{a}-$ v. 'run' (of animals) > Neg $\check{c}'ida-$ id.,

UI čido- ~ cidu- v. 'trot, gallop' (of horses) ¶ STM II 389-90 ◇ NaIE *k^had- or *k^həd- belongs here if NaIE *k^h- may go back to N *č- or *č̣- (cp. NaIE *k^har- 'pointed, sharp', [?] 'rock' probably from N *č̣oR∇ 'tip, top, edge' and NaIE *°k^ho]-d- 'cold' probably from N *C¹a¹ḷ∇ [= *č̣¹a¹ḷ∇?] 'cold').

332. *č̣uγā 'thorn' > K {K²} *cχwi- 'thorn', 'arrow' > Mg o-cχva-cχvi-n-aia 'thorny, burning' ({IS} 'needles of cereals') (IS: < *sa-cχwe-cχw-in- with rdp. of *cχw-), Sv: UB/LB/Ln cχwi, L cχu 'arrow' ¶¶ IS I 197, K² 26, TK 843, GP 277 || HS: S (+ext.) *°✓č̣in > Ar muṣaṣan- 'terminé en pointe, effilé' (se dit, par ex., des oreilles de quelques animaux) ¶ BK I 1340 || IE: NaIE *sk^hweḷa₁- 'thorn', {EI} *¹skwēj̣-s (gen. *sku¹y-os) 'needle of a conifer, thorn' > pAl {O} *skuna (with a secondary *n-sx from earlier *skuγa) > Al T hu 'stake, pole, oxgoad, penis', Al G hû, (with the article) huni 'penis' ||| Clt {Matas.} *sk^wiyat- 'hewthorn' > OIr scé (gen. pl. sciad < *sk^hwiy-at-) {Vn.} 'thorny bush, haw (*Crataegus*)', {Matas.} 'thorn bush, whitehorn'; Brtt *spijāt- > OW snglt. ispidattenn 'thorny bush', MW yspydāt '(bark of) haw', {Matas.} 'hawthorn', W {Vn.} yspyddaden '*Spinus albus*, *Spina acuta*', ysbyddad '*Santis*, *Leucacanthé*', Cm spethes, {Ern.} spedhes 'thorny shrubs', MBr spezadenn snglt. 'groseille', Br {Hm.} spezad, snflt. spezadenn 'maquereau' ||| Lt skuja 'needle of a conifer', Ltv skujas (f. pl.) id. || Sl *xvoja ~ *xvojь 'needles of a conifer' > OCz chvojě, Cz chvoje, R 'хвоя id., Slv hōja 'fir tree, conifer', P choja 'conifer, pine tree', Blg 'хвоя 'pine tree'; Sl *xujь 'penis' > Blg, R хуй, P chuj ¶ P 958, EI 80, Frn. 821, Vn. S 37, Matas. E 339, Hm. 747, Ern. 642, O 150-1, Bern. I 408, ESSJ VIII 114, 125-6 ||| A *č̣üγ∇ > NaT *č̣üγ(ä) 'wedge', (?) '≈ coniferous tree' > Nog šüγ 'nail, wedge', VTt ṣ̌öγ 'wedge', Bsh ṣöγ 'nail, wedge', Tt Tb {Rdl.} cūi, Tkm č̣üγ 'wedge', Tk çiṿi id., 'nail' (< *č̣üγ-i < [as.] *çuy-ä), ET I {Rdl.} č̣üä 'penis', Alt {IS} č̣ā 'young coniferous forest' ¶ TrR 193-4, Tkr 740, TatR 651, NogR 418, BR 479, Rl. III 2189 and IV 213, IS I 197 || NTg *č̣īye|a > Ewk çīyз, Ewk Nk çīya 'needle of a coniferous tree (fallen out to the ground); an animal hair (that has come out)', Neg çīya 'dog's hair (that has come out)' ¶ NaTg *-ī- may go back to pA *-üγ- ¶ STM II 390 || D *č̣īya₁- ({GS} *s-) 'thorn' and *č̣īya₁-kkāy 'soap pod' (lit. 'thorn pod') > Tm cī-kkāy, cīya-kkāy 'soap-pod wattle, *Acacia concinna*', Ml cīya-kkāyi, cīka-kāyi '*Mimosa abstergens*', Td sī-

× *Acacia dealbata*, *Acacia melanoxylon* , Kn s ī g e 'ε a climbing prickly shrub; *Acacia concinna* , Tu s ī g æ , s ī g e - k a y i 'pods of *Mimosa abstergens* reduced to powder and used as soap', Tl s ī - k a y a 'Acacia concinna' , Knd s ī k 0 'soap-nut tree' ¶¶ D no. 2607 (a) ◇ IS I 197 [no. 34] (*c u j h a on the basis of K, IE, Tg and D) ◇ The S cognate points to a N voiced cns. *ɸ or *ɸ̣, while the presence of *χ in K suggests that it was *ɸ̣. In K there is assimilation *ç (from N *ć) + *ɸ > *cχ-.

333. *ć a 'r' E k r ∇ 'ε snow, ice crust, hoarfrost' > HS: S *°✓ ç k r > d. Ar s a q i r - 'hoarfrost' ¶ BK I 1353 || C: Ag {Ap.} *c a q - / *c a q - (= *ć z k - / *ć a k -) 'rainy season' > Bln š z q , {R} š i q , Xm ž ā ({R} j ā) , {Ap.} č a - r a , Xm T {CR} č a r ({AD} = č a ɸ ?) , Km š ā ɸ T , Q {R} š ā ġ e , Aw č ž ɸ id. ¶ Ap. AV 20, AD SF 103-4, 205-6, R WB 321, R QW 124, R Ch II 367 (s.p. 53), CR LK 248 ||| S ?φ *°s | š a k t - > Ar s a q t - 'snow, dew' ¶ Hv. 326 || U: FU *ć a k a 'drift ice; thin ice' > pLp {Lr.} *ć o k e 'ice crust on snow' > Lp: S {Hs.} t j u o g i e id., L {LLO} t j u o h k e 'ice crust on the ground', N {N} č u o k k e / - g g - 'ice crust on pasture' ||| ObU: pOs *ć o ɸ > Os V {KrT} t o ɸ 'thin floating ice (before freezing of a river)', Vg ML {Mu.} s a i 'drift ice' | Hg Δ z a j , s z a j , s a j 'Eisstoß, Eistreiben; dünne Eiskecke auf der Wasseroberfläche' ¶ UEW 29, Lr. no. 190, Lgc. no. 755, KrT 898 ||| U *ć ä k e (r ∇) > FU: pLp {Lr.} *ć e k z r 'winter pasture for reindeer' > Lp: S {Hs.} t j i e g e r e , L {LLO} t j i e k a r , N {N} č i e ġ â r , Kld č T ɸ a r id.; Lp ⇨ F k i e k e r ö id. | ObU *ć ∇ ɸ a r > Vg: LK s ō r , UL ś i ɸ r , Ss ś a ɸ r 'trampled snow'; Os: V t i ɸ a r 'snowdrift, Schneewehe, сырроб', Y t ä ɸ a r , O ś ä χ a r id., 'winter pasture (with trampled snow) for reindeer and elks' || Sm {Jn.} *s e k ∇ (- r ∇) - > Ne T ś e h e 'large snowball, hard snow', ś e h e r i 'allgemeiner Winterweg' ¶¶ Lr. no. 147, Lgc. no. 608, Ht. no. 820, Trs. S 492, Trs. VD 195, ≈ Resh. NNE no. 1 (err. adduction of Kms {KD} š z r 'reindeer pasture', while in fact Kms *š - is from *k -) ||| A *ć a , æ g a 'frozen snow' > Tg *ç a , e g a 'thin ice crust over snow' > Ewk ç e ɸ a , Lm ç a k a y , Lm A ç ā k a y id., WrMc {Z} ч а к ч ж а - v. 'arise' (of ice crust over snow), {Hr} c a q z a - 'verkrusten', c a q z a q a - b i 'hat sich verkrustet, ist an der Oberfläche gefroren' (Schnee) ¶ STM II 381, Z 922, Hr 135 || M *ć a , ɸ - sun 'snow' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, L] č a s u n , WrM {MED} c a s u n , HIM {MED, BMR} ц а с (а н) , Brt с а һ а (н) , Kl {Rm.} c a s ŋ , MMgl [Z] č ā s u n , Mgl {Rm.} č ō s u n , Dg č a s , Dx č a s u n , Ba č a s o ŋ , Mnr H {SM} ć ' j ä s z , {T} č a s e , Mnr M {Pot.} ч а х с е , ч а с у н , {Rkh.} ч е к с е u , Mnr H {Pot.} ч а с ы , Ord ž _ a s u 'snow' ¶ MED 166, BMR IV 253, Chr. 387, KRS 626,

KW 423, SM 444, T 378, Ms. O 189 ¶ -x- and -k- in Pot.'s and Rkh.'s records of Mnr M are likely to point to M *ʏ ¶ Ord ǔ_- needs explanation (as. pA *č̣...g > Ord ǔ_-?) ¶ KW 423 connected this M word with WrM c a η 'hoarfrost', c a i- 'become white' and c a- g a η 'white' (F MED 158, 160, 164), which is qu. || ¶ ??φ pKo *č̣ʰʌ- 'cold' > MKo *č̣ʰʌ-, NKo *č̣ʰa- ¶ Nam 447, MLC 1561 ¶¶ SDM 436 (pA *č̣'jaga 'cold. frozen snow' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 304 ◇ HS *-k- is likely to go back to N *-ʔ'Ek- ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as *ʔ rather than *h because *h would have caused lengthening of the U vw. in the initial syll. ◇ Resh. NNE no. 1 (A - U).

334. *č̣i'ʔ'ak ▽ 'small', (?) 'child' > K: GZ {K²} *č̣i ḳu- 'tiny, wee; small things', {FS} *č̣i ḳ- 'small' > G T č̣i ḳ-u-y 'very small, crumb', G K č̣i ḳ-o-maḳ-o {FS} 'winzig kleines Stoffstück', {K² ← Ghl.} 'small things', G Kzq č̣i ḳ-a-maḳ-a 'ganz kleiner Kram, Kleinigkeiten', ? G M č̣u ḳana 'very small', Mg č̣i ḳ-u 'small' ¶ FS K 465, FS E 527, 529, Fn. KW-4 37 [no. 75], Ghl. 702, K² 313 || HS: Om: SOM: Dm {Fl.} č̣ε ḳ-ɜnd 'small' f. || NrOm: Male {HLw.} č̣i ḳo 'small' ¶ Fl. OO 320 || (mt.) S: Ar ṣ̌a q a ʔ i y y- 'premiers petits qu'une femelle met bas', 'petit de chameau qui va paître au printemps' ¶ BK I 1353 || D {tr.} *č̣i ḳk-, {GS} *č̣i ḳ- 'little, small' > Tl c i k i c i k i id., Tm c i k k a 'in brief', Ml c i k k i ṛ i 'young, small' (of girls), Kn c i k k a, c i g a 'little, small, young', c i k u 'smallness', Kdg č̣i k k -a ḍ a k e 'very young, tender areca nut', Tu c i k k a 'little, young, small, short', Tl c i k i c i k i 'small, little', as well as possibly words for 'mouse, muskrat': Tl c i k k e l i 'e small variety of mouse', Kt č̣i k n 'mouse', Gnd č̣i k k a l ɔ č̣i k k ā l 'muskrat', č̣i k k ā l 'mouse' ¶¶ D no. 2495, GS 122 [no. 317] || A *č̣i ak 'E' 'small' > M *č̣a q a > MM [S] {H} č̣a q a 'child', WrM c a q a {MED} 'small child, infant', HIM {MED, BMR} ц a x id. WrO {Krg.} c a x a -s 'child(ren), infant(s)' ¶ H 23, MED 166, BMR IV 23, Krg. 614 || T *č̣ā q |ka 'child' > OT U [IS] č̣a x a 'boy, young dancer', Chg {Bu., Shaw} چا غة č̣a x a 'nestling', Chg {Rs. ← ?} č̣a q a, Osm č̣a y a 'little boy', Tkm ч a r a č̣ā y a 'child' ¶ Tz. UIS 87, Rs. W 96, Bu. I 458 || pKo {S} *č̣jāk- ~ *č̣jək- 'small' > MKo *č̣jāk- ~ č̣jək-, StKo č̣ak-, NKo (dialects): Ph č̣ak-, Sl č̣ʰak t̄a, PhN č̣ak t̄a, Hmg č̣a k t̄a, Chj č̣ak t̄a, Chs č̣ogín, Ks č̣ogín, Kw č̣a x in ¶ S QK no. 79, Nam 419, 425, MLC 1386 ¶¶ SDM 437 (pA *č̣'jāk'e|u 'small' > M, T, Ko), DQA no. 309 (pA *č̣'jāk'e|u or *č̣'ek'a 'small: T, M, Tg, Ko + unc. Tg: Ewk ç̣3kṣ̌3 'tarbagan

[*Marmota sibirica*] , cf. STM II 419), Rm. SKE 20, Rm. EAS I 64 ◇ Sp c h i c o 'little, small' (phonetic similarity without etl. connection with N *č̣i'ɾ'a ḳ ▽) suggests an ideophonic character of some descendants of the N word.

335. *č̣EĪ ▽ (*č̣eyĪ ▽?) 'to jump' > HS: S *°-č̣ūl- ~ *√č̣ll > Ar √šw (ip. -šūl-) v. 'dart furiously upon' (of beasts), 'assault', ??σ BHb כ צ ל צ צ̣alā'č̣al 'locust' (h.l., Dt. 28.42), Jb C √šll (pf. šell, 3m subj. 'yṯššš) 'be startled, jump in fright; run fast' ↓ deglottalized: ? MHb √sll D {Lv.} 'sich hin-\her-schwenken, sich erheben' ¶ Fr. II 533-4, Hv. 4 1 O , K B 965-6, GB 685, Jo. J 238, Lv. III 532 || C: HEC: Kmb {Hd.} č̣āl-, Hd {Hd.} č̣āll-, č̣alal- 'jump' || SC: Kz {E} č̣al- ¶ Hd. 86, 273, 312, E SC 194 || Ch: Hs č̣állé {Abr.} n. 'jumping', {Ba.} n. 'a leap, jump' ||| ECh: Ll {Grgs} č̣āl, Smr {J} č̣ílàṅ, č̣íláṅqè 'jump' ¶ JI II 210-11, Abr. H 875, Ba. 1026, ChC s.v. 'jump' ¶¶ OS no. 411 (*č̣aʔal-/*č̣awal-), Tk. PAA 2 (SC, Hb √sll, Hs) || IE: NaIE *(s)ḳel- 'jump' > OI śala'bha-ḥ 'grasshopper', śālūr a-ḥ 'frog', OI ^ śālu-, śālu ka- id. ||| MHG s c h e l 'aufspringend, auffahrend' ||| Lt šúolis, šuolỹs 'Sprung, Auf-\Emporspringen', Ltv sôlis 'step' ¶ WP II 600, P 929, ≈ M K III 313, M E II 616 (mentioning OI śala'bha- without et.), Lx. 181, ≈ Frn. 1035 ||| U: FU *č̣EĪ ▽- or *č̣eyĪ ▽- ({IS} *č̣el ▽-) 'jump' > pLp {Lr.} *č̣ēl̄- id. > Lp: L {LLO} t̄jāllōt, K {Gn.} č̣ealleš id., N {N} č̣ællot / -āel- 'make long jumps\bounds' || Z Ss {Wc.} č̣il- in č̣il-n̄+ mun-n̄+ 'vom Wasser zurückprallend hüpfen (Stein, wenn man "Seejungfern" wirft)' (-n̄+ is a sx of inf., mun-n̄+ 'to go') ||| Hg Sz c̣sillai- 'jump (скакать)'; LG 305 mentioned Hg c̣sillen- 'обскакать, перепрыгать' (= 'outgallop?') (← ?) (not found in standard Hg dictionaries and in the dialect dict. UMTSsz) ¶ The vowel corrs within FU are irreg. (Lp points to *e or *ē, while Z and Hg suggest *ī); a possible solution is to postulate pFU *č̣eyĪ ▽ ¶ Lr. no. 129, Lgc. no. 540, N I 454, Wc. FUA 192, Wc. SW 300, ≠ LG 305 (connecting Z č̣iln̄+ munn̄+ with Z чилгы- 'cast [a disk etc.]') ◇ IS I 203 [no. 44] (*č̣el̄).

336. *č̣ûĪ ▽ 'stalk, stick' > K *č̣wēl- 'dry stem, straw' (→ 'staff') > OG č̣wēl-i 'stalk(s)' (Mark 4.28) (in the Gk text χόρτος 'fodder', but K 243 translated it as 'стебель' ['stalk']), 'a straw (Strohalm)', G č̣vēl-i 'chaff', {FS} 'straw', Mg č̣u- id., Lz č̣u- 'straw (stalks), stem', o-č̣val-e 'barn of chaff (мякинный)', {FS} 'Scheune', Sv UB/LB/L č̣uw, č̣wī {FS}

'straw, stalk(s)' ('Stroh, Halm'), 'stem of a plant', Sv UB {GP} $\zeta\omega i$ 'blade of grass' ¶¶ K 243 (GZ * $\zeta\omega e l$), K² 294-5, Q 382, FS K 443, FS E 500-1, Chx. 2154, GP 279, TK 856 || HS: B *- $\zeta i l_{ly}$ - \neg *- $\zeta u l_{ly}$ - 'branch' > Ah a- $\zeta a l$ (pl. i- ζl - $\bar{a}n$) 'branche', ETwl a- $\zeta a l$ (pl. i- $\zeta a l$ -an), Ty a- $\zeta a l$ (pl. $\bar{a}\zeta l$ -an), Gh a $\zeta a l$ (pl. i ζlan), Sll ta- $\zeta a l y$ - $\bar{i}t$ (pl. ti- $\zeta a l y$ - \bar{a}) id. ¶ * $i|u$ is reconstructed on the ev. of ETwl and Ty * \bar{a} , because pB * \bar{a} yields ETwl/Ty * \bar{b} [= * \bar{a}], while ETwl/Ty * \bar{a} goes back to pB * i and * u ¶ Fc. 1955, GhA 221, Ds. 45 || S * $^{\circ}\zeta^1 i l l$ - \neg * $^{\circ}\zeta^1 u l l$ - 'thorn' > Ak OB/OA $\bar{s} i l l u m$, Ak OB $\bar{s} u l l u m$ id., 'pin, needle'; a deglottalized CS variant * $s a l w$ - \sim * $s a l l$ - \sim * $s u l l$ - may be suggested by BHb $\bar{s} a l l \bar{o} n$ 'thorn', JA [Trg.] {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} $\bar{s} i l l' \omega \bar{a}$, JEA {Sl.}, Sr $\bar{s} a l l' \omega - \bar{a}$ id. and Ar $\bar{s} u l l \bar{a} ?$ 'épines du palmier' ¶ KB 714, KBR 756-7, Js. 993-4, Sl. 804, Sd. 1101-2, CAD XVI 193-4, BK I 1117 || U: FU * $\acute{c} \ddot{u} | i | \nabla$ \sim * $\acute{c} u | \nabla$ 'stalk, stick' > Chr L $\bar{c} \bar{b} l \bar{b} k$ 'a thin twig\rod used to clear pipes', Chr H $\bar{c} \bar{b} l \bar{b} k$ $\bar{c} a l \bar{a} k$ 'a pipe of the Cheremis Dudelsack', Chr L $\bar{c} \bar{b} l \bar{b} m$ 'pipe' || pOs * $\acute{c} \ddot{u} | \nabla$ ({/Hl.}) * $\acute{c} \ddot{u} | \nabla$ > Os Kz $\acute{s} \ddot{u} | \acute{i}$ 'Knüttel beim $\acute{s} \bar{a} r$ -Spiel, Knüttel zum Schleudern von Zirbelzapfen', $\acute{s} \ddot{u} | \ddot{u} \omega$ 'Knüttel beim $\acute{s} \bar{a} r$ -Spiel; eigens zum Abschlagen von Zirbelzapfen hergestellter Stock' ¶ Ü 251, MRS 684, Ep. 141, KrT 907 || A: ? σ Tg: Sln {Iv.} $\bar{c} o l \bar{c} o \times \bar{c} \bar{u}$ (= $\bar{c} o l \bar{c} o' x u$?) transverse perches of the roof' ¶ STM II 406, Iv. 34, \neq Vv. AEN 14 (rejecting the Sln cognate as isolated within A; misquoting Iv. by ascribing a non-existing length to the first \bar{c}) || D (\times N * $\acute{c} \acute{u} L \nabla$ 'stalk, branch' \times N * $\acute{s} | \acute{s} u \bar{T} \nabla$ 'trunk, log'?): [1] (att. in SD) * $\acute{c} u | i k k \circ$ ({/GS}) * $\acute{c} | \acute{c} -$ 'stick' > Tm $\bar{c} u | i k k u$ 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn $\bar{c} u | i k e$ 'a stout stick to beat cotton with'; [2] * $\acute{c} u | l$ - ({/GS}) * $\acute{c} -$ 'stalk, branch' > Tm, Ml $\bar{c} u | l i$ 'dry twigs, branch, brushwood', Knd $\bar{c} u | k$ 'long pliable stick, stalk' ¶ D no-s 2701 and 2706 \diamond AD NM no. 85, S CNM 4 ($\div \div$ NrCs, ST).

337. * $\acute{c} \acute{u} \bar{T} U$ (or * $\acute{c} i \bar{T} U$?) ' \approx entire, intact, pure' > HS: WS * $\check{c} l l$ 'purify' > Ar $\check{c} l l G$ (ip. - $\check{s} u l l$ -) 'clarify (a beverage), clear wheat from dust', Pun {HJ} $\bar{s} l l$ 'purified', BHb $\bar{s} l l$ $\check{c} l l G$ {Drv.} 'be cleared (gate) of traffic', MHb {Js.} $\check{c} l l G$ 'settle, be cleared' (of liquid), clarify', pp. $\bar{s} l l$ $\bar{c} \bar{a} l \bar{u} l$ 'clarified', JEA $\check{c} l l G$ 'be clear', JA [Trg.] pp. $\bar{s} l l$ $\bar{c} \bar{a} l \bar{u} l$ 'clarified', Sr $\check{c} l l D$ 'cleanse, purify', pp. $\bar{s} l l$ $\bar{c} \bar{a} l \bar{u} l$ 'limpid, clear, transparent' (of air, water), 'clarified' (of wine, honey, ointment), Gz $\check{c} l l G$ 'percolate, filter; be filtered' ¶ Hv. 402, BK I 1355, HJ 568, Js. 1284, Sl. 965, Br. 627, JPS 478, L G 556 || U: FU (att.

in FP) *ći|ü|∇ or *ći|ü|∇ 'entire, pure' > pChr {Ber.} *ćila > Chr: Н цила c'ila, L чыла č'la 'whole, all, all kind of (весь, всякий), Uf/B č'la 'alle, alles' | Prm {LG} *ćil- or *ćūl- > Yz ćíí 'entirely, quite', Vt {Bor.} чылкак, Vt Sr ć+lk-ак 'im ganzen, rein', {Wc.} ć+lk+t 'rein, klar' ¶ UEW 613, Ber. 7, MRS 660, Ep. 138 (Chr Н цилă), LG 306 || A: M *ćulu ≈ entire, pure (сплошной), monolithic' > WrM {MED} culu 'pure, unmixed; solid, monolithic; monochromatic', HIM цул {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'сплошной, не полый, не пустой', WrM {Kow.} culu 'compacte, qui n'est pas vide; fort, inébranlable', IM {MYC} čul & cul 'pure, unmixed', Brt цула 'entirely', 'robust' (of health, healthy person), 'сплошной' (e.g. 'сплошное мясо, meat without bones'), Kl {Rm.} culu 'ganz (nicht gelöchert, nicht hohl), kompakt, komplett, ungemischt, lauter', Ord č'ulu 'qui présente une masse compacte, massif' ¶ MED 207, BMR IV 274, Kow. 2205, MYC 581, Chr. 396, KW 433, Ms. O 719 ◇ If the N etymon is *ćiīu, the first vw. of M *ćulu is probably due to as. ◇ ≈σ,φ Blz. LNA no. 7 (N *ćilu 'all' > FP, M).

338. ₂ *ć∇L∇ 'bend, incline' > HS: WS (or CS) *√çlw > JA √çly ~ √çlw G (pf. חַיָּבָה çə'lê ~ חַיָּבָה çə'lā) v. 'turn, incline, bend', JEA √çly G {Sl.} 'turn aside, incline', Sr ѱ₃ çə'lā 'se inclinavit, inclinatus est; flexit', Md √çlʔ 'bend, incline', Ar Y çalā prep. 'in die Richtung auf, zu, nach', ??σ: √çly L (pf. çālā, ip. çuçālī) 'be opposite\vis-à-vis' and OYmn {Slw.} √çly (L ?) id. (unless ÷ Sb çlw t, çlw 'façade, portico'), Gz √çlw (pf. çalawa) v. 'listen, incline (the ear)', çalawa ləbb 'inconsistent, non constant' (lit. 'inclining [his] heart'), ?σ Sb çl t 'prayer, supplication' ¶ Br. 628, Lv. IV 191, Js. 1283, Sl. 964-5, L G 556, Slw. 134-5, BGMR 143 || IE: NaIE *skel- 'bend, be bent\twisted' > Gk σκολιός 'curved, bent' || pAl {O} *ščala > Al çalē 'crippled, lame; wrinkled' || OHG scēlah 'sloping, squint-eyed' (> MHG schēlch 'scheel, schielend, quer, krumm', NHG scheel 'squint-eyed' → NHG scheel 'envious; ⇨ MHG inf. schilhen 'schielen, blinzeln', NHG inf. schielen 'to squint, to be cross-eyed'), AS scēolh 'wry, oblique', ON skjalgr 'schief, schielend' || ?σ L scelus / gen. sceleris 'crime, evil deed' || ?φ Arm Խեղ 'crippled, maimed', շեղ 'squint-eyed, goggle-eyed' ¶ P 728, Mn. 1155, Mn. AHG 38, F II 723-4, WH II 492, Vr. 495, Ho. 275, OsS 787, Kb. 874, Lx. 181, 183, KM 640, 647, O 49, Sl. 350-3, Bdr. 280, 547, ≈ EI 142 (unc.: they adduced Pru cулczі 'hip,

haunch', Lt *kũl̃nas* 'heel' and Blg *кѹлка* 'thigh' and hence reconstructed **s-mobile* in *(s)kel- 'crooked').

338a. **ćûr̥* ∇, | | ∇ 'small' > HS: S **°*✓ *ç̥r̥l* > Ar *ş̥aʃal-* 'état de ce qui est mince', *ş̥aʃl-* 'qui a la tête petite est le cou mince' ¶ BK I 134O | | K: GZ **ç̥w̥l-il-* 'little, small' > OG (m) *ç̥ulil-*, *ç̥uril-* 'small, little, narrow', G *ç̥vril-* 'small', Lz *ç̥ulu-* 'little, small' ¶ K² 295, Abul. 552 | | D **ć̥u̥l-* 'light (not heavy)' > Tu *culaka*, Ku *sũl̃kara* id., Kn *culaka*, *culuku* 'lightness of temper', Tl *culuka(n)* 'lightly, with slight or disregard, easily', *culukani* 'light, easy'; (× ← InA: OI *su-labha-* 'easy'): Tm *cu̥luvu* 'ease', Kn, Tl *su̥luvu* 'facility', Kt *ć̥u̥l̥v* 'easy work, easy'; the cns. -l̥- proves that the D word is hardly connected with OI *su-labha-* 'easy, trivial' (as suggested by F. Kittel) ¶¶ D no. 2703, Tu. no. 13512 (on OI *su-labha-* from IE **su-labʰ*) | | A: M **ć̥ö̥lü̥yi-* v. 'decline, diminish' and pKo {S} **ć̥úr-* v. 'shrink, grow less' (× N **ć̥.Ūʔil̥w̥.∇* 'little, small', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 130-1 [no. 2] (K, D, M, Ko).

339. **ć̥ûl̥* | | ∇ 'to prick, to wound' > K: GZ **ć̥q̥al-* / **ć̥q̥l-* v. 'wound' > OG, G *ç̥q̥al-* / *ç̥q̥l-*, Mg *ç̥q̥ol-* id. ¶ Schm. 157, K 254, FS K 468, FS E 532 | | HS: WS **°*✓ *ç̥l̥r̥* (and with deglottalization: **°*✓ *s̥l̥r̥*) > Gz *ş̥al̥r̥* ~ *ş̥al̥r̥* 'abscess, wound, ulcer, sore', Tgr ✓ *ş̥l̥r̥* (pf. *s̥e̥l̥r̥a*) v. 'be wounded', *s̥al̥ə̥r̥* 'wound', Sb {BGMR} *s̥l̥r̥* v. 'quarry stone, dig', Ar ✓ *s̥l̥r̥* v. G 'cleave, wound' ¶ L G 554, BK I 1124, Hv. 331, BGMR 138 | | SC: Irq *ç̥il-* v. 'sting', Kz {E} *ç̥al-* v. 'stab', *ç̥el-et-* v. 'drill' ¶ E SC 193 | | Ch: WCh: Su {J} *s̥ul̥* 'dig, pierce', Mpn {Frz.} *s̥ul̥* 'pierce, make a hole', Sha *ç̥ul-* 'durchbohren, erstecken' | | CCh: Glv {ChL} *š̥l̥š̥l̥ʔànà*, *š̥ul̥u̥ga*, Gava {ChL} *ž̥l̥l̥àná* 'pierce' ¶ JI II 104, J S 82, J R 284, Frz. DM 57, ChC s.v. 'dig' and 'pierce', ChL III 102 and 127 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Sb, WCh) | | D (att. in SD) **ć̥u̥l̥l-* ({{*θ*GS} **ç̥l̥ç̥-*) v. 'prick' > Tm *cu̥l̥*, *cu̥l̥l̥u* 'pungency', *cu̥l̥l̥-i̥t̥u* v. 'prick', Ml *cu̥l̥u̥cu̥l̥ē* 'with sharp pain', *cu̥l̥u̥cu̥l̥ukka* v. 'feel hot, irritated by the touch of nettles; feel piercing pain', Kn Cr *ç̥ul̥l̥u* v. 'prick' ¶ D no. 2699.

340. **ć̥i̥th̥A* (= **ć̥i̥th̥A?*) 'be wet\moist', 'moisture (water etc.)' > HS: S **°*ç̥ ∇ | | - 'heavy rain, moisture' > Ar *ş̥all-* 'pluie abondante', *ş̥all-at-* 'terre humectée', *ş̥ull-at-* 'reste\résidu d'eau dans un vase', 'mollesse des viandes trempées et humides' ¶ BK I 1355-6 | | IE: NaIE **s̥k̥l̥ē-k-* / **s̥k̥l̥ə-k* 'wet', 'splash, sprinkle' > ON *slag* 'Näße (von Regen)', *sleginn* 'wetter', Nr *slagen* 'moist', MLG *slagge*, Sw *slagga-väder* 'schlackiges, regnerisches Wetter', MDt *slagge* 'rainy

weather', NLG *slack* 'large heavy drops', NHG *Schlack* 'rain with snow', *schlackig, schlackerig* 'rainy, wet, sloppy, slushy' (of weather), NE Δ *slaggy, slack* 'swamp' || Lt *šlākas* 'drop, spot, splash (of)', inf. *šlakéti* (1s pres. *šlaku*) 'to drip, to dribble, to drop', inf. *šlėkti* (1s pres. *šlekiu*) 'to sprinkle', Ltv *slaka* 'drop, besprinkling', inf. *slacīt* 'to (be)sprinkle, to water, to asperse' ¶ WP II 602-3, P 957, Vr. 512, Paul 508, Frn. 998, Kar. II 213 || A: NaT * \check{c} l̥la- ({{Cl.}} * \check{c} īla-) v. 'moisten' > OT \check{c} l̥la- ({{Cl.}} \check{c} īla-, {DTS} \check{c} ilä- ~ \check{c} ila-) id., Tk An *čile-* v. 'drizzle, be moist', VTt { ∂ Rl.} *š̌lan-* 'befeuchtet\bewässert\naß werden', *š̌lat-* 'bespritzen, begießen, naß machen, bewässern' ¶ Cl. 418, DTS 146, Rl. III 2055, 2085, 2135-6 || ?? Tg: WrMc {Z} *чилчи-* 'rise' (of water during the rising tide), but Nn Nh/KU *čilkan* 'flood time' does not belong here, it goes back to Tg **tilkan* id. ¶ Z 938, STM II 180-1 || ?? ϕ K: GZ * \check{c} qal- 'water, well' > OG, G \check{c} qal-i 'water', Mg \check{c} qu- 'well', \check{c} qu-rgil-i 'spring' ¶ Mach. K 91, FS K 455, ≠ K 159-60 (**rçqa-* 'water') || A possible D cognate: D * \check{c} il- ({{ θ GS}} * \check{c} l̥-) v. 'flow' (× N * \check{c} il̥ 'to be[come] liquid, to melt, to flow', q.v.) > Tm *cilucilu* v. 'rain gently', *cilu-nīr* 'raindrop dripping from the leaves' (nīr 'water'), *cilumpu* v. 'flow\gush out', Kt *čilk* v. 'drizzle', Kn *cilkunīru* 'water in fine drops', jilipu v. 'ooze', Krg *čilbi* v. 'splash water', Tl *ciluku* vt. 'sprinkle, shed', vi. 'be spilled', *cilacila* id. (imitation of flowing), Ku *silk-* vi. 'splash'; D \rightarrow Prkr *ciliciliā* 'shower' ¶¶ D no. 2569 ¶¶ But D * \check{c} il- ({{ θ GS}} *s-?) 'pond, brook, river' hardly belongs here, it is likely to go back to N **sil̥* 'stream, small body of water [lake and sim.]', q.v.); it is also dangerous to adduce D * \check{c} ele ({{ θ GS}} *s-) 'spring of water' (D no. 2785) ◇ The only N laryngeal that both can disappear in S and produces vowel lengthening in IE is *h ◇ It is possible that * \check{c} q- may go back to ** \check{c} ...? (cp. K * \check{t} qu- < N * $\check{t}u\check{r}o$ 'two') < N * \check{c} ...h' ◇ ≠ Blz. KM 132 [no. 4] (equating the K root with IE **skol-* 'wash', D * \check{c} el- 'spring' and T * \check{c} äläk- 'bucket, pail').

340a. * \check{c} 'i'Lh̥ 'charcoal, soot' > K * \check{c} al̥ > Mg *çola* 'soot' ¶ Q 381 || HS: EC * \check{c} ilh- ({{Ss.}} * \check{c} il̥h-) ~ * \check{c} ulh- > Sa *dilh-eno* 'charcoal', {R} *dilhenō* 'live coals', ?? Rn {PG} *žiláh* 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' (× N * \check{z} ül̥h̥ (or * \check{z} ul̥h̥) 'to smoulder, to burn'), Or 'čile?, {Grg.} *čil̥ē, čillāttī*, {Th.} *čile*, {Brl.} *čilé*, Or H {Ow.} *čil̥é*, Or B {Sr.} *čil̥ē, čilētī*, Or O/W {Sr.} *čil̥ātī* (< ***čile-ē* < ***čil̥h-ē*?), Kns {Bl.} *ḍil-ā*, Gdl {Bl.} *ḍilh-ā*, Sml *ḍuhúl*, Ya {Ss.} *ṭēho* 'charcoal', ? Gwd *ḍili* v.

'burn' || DhI {EEN} ṭ'íliḥa, {E} ṭi'liḥe, {To} ṭilíḥe (pl. ṭilíḥa) 'embers' || AdS of SC: Irq çiriḥ- v. 'glow' (< N *ṭegar∇ 'to heat, to roast, to fry') ¶ Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30, R S II 106, PG 167, Grg. 82-3, Th. 68, Sr. 281, Ow. 256, To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 175, E PC no. 127 || Om: SOM: Gll {Fl.} čilš'i 'charcoal (used in smithy)', Hm B {Fl.} čilš'i 'sheep with black skin' || NrOm: Gm {Hw.} číčinci, ?φ Kf {C} 'čičinō 'charcoal' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE IV 419, Hw. EG || ?σ S *°√č|θ|h > Gz ɣīlāḥ 'filth, dirt, mud' ('dirt' ← *'soot, charcoal?') ¶ L G 555 || A: M: WrM {MED} cildēŋ qara 'jet-black', HIM {BMR} чилдэн хар 'black as soot' (qara, хар 'black'), Kl {Rm.} čilmŋ ɣara mörŋ 'ein kurzhaariges kohlschwazes Roß' {KRS} чилм хар мөрн 'kohlschwarzes Pferd, absolutely black horse' (ɣarā mörŋ, хар мөрн 'black horse'). The word may have been associated with the system represented by WrM {MED} celberŋ saŋan, HIM цэлбэн цагаан 'white as snow' ¶ MED 171, 182, BMR IV 286, 312, KW 440, KRS 650 ◇ The K vw. still requires explanation ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 130 [no. 1] (Mg, HS + unc.: D *čū|l|-/ *čū|l| - 'fireplace' [see N *čū|h∇, l|y∇ or *čū|h∇, l|yE 'to smoulder, to burn'] and T *čū| 'heat').

341. *č.E m∇ (= *č.E m∇?) 'to maim, to mutilate, to torment' > K *°čam- (or *°č|čam-?) v. 'torment' > G čam- id., Lz čam- id. (← G?) ¶ Chik. 392-3, Chx. 2102 || HS: S: [1] WS *√čmŋ > Ar √šmŋ 'tomber roide mort, être tué sur place' (× √šmŋ 'tomber à l'improviste'), Sq {L} ɣame v. 'die' ¶ L LS 353, BK I 1373]? WS *√čmm 'have a damaged ear, be deaf' > MHb 𐰇𐰺𐰽 ɣum'mī m, 𐰇𐰺𐰽 ɣum'mā m 'a person whose auricles are a shapeless mass', Sr ɣam'm-ā 'deaf and dumb', Ar √šmm G (pf. šamma) 'become deaf', 'be obstructed' (earhole), Gz √šmm G 'be deaf\dumb' ¶ Js. 1268, Br. 631, BK I 1366, Hv. 404, L G 320, MiK I no. 2.64 || IE: NaIE *sḱem- 'mutilated, hornless' > OI 'śama- 'hornless', 'śamala-m 'stain, spot, fault' || Lt šmūlas, Ltv smāuls 'hornless' || Gmc: [1] ON skammr, AS scamm, OHG scam 'short' || NaIE *°k|ko|am- OHG ham (adj. hammēr) 'mutilated' || ?φ NaIE *ko|am-∇| - > AS hamola 'one whose head has been mutilated or shaved', OHG hamal 'mutilated; wether', NHG Hammel 'wether', ON inf. hamla, AS inf. hamelian 'to mutilate', OHG inf. hamalōn 'to castrate' || Sl *komolъ (jъ) 'hornless' > R ко'молый, Slv komól, OP komoŋŋ, P gomoŋŋ id., Cz komolý 'truncated, tailless, hornless', inf. komoliti 'to mutilate' ¶ P 929, ≈ M K III 208-9, M E II 610, Vr. 207, 482, Sw. 81, Ho. 171, 271, OsS 368, 776, Kb. 866, KM 286, Frn. 1015,

Vs. II 304, Ma. CS 216, ≠ EI 273 (* \bar{k} em- 'hornless' without taking into account OI) || ?σ \bar{n} * \bar{c} īma- (and * \bar{c} am∇-?) 'suffer hardships' > M ** \bar{c} īma- (> * \bar{c} ama-?) > [1] WrM {MED} \bar{c} imad- v. 'reproach, blame; be dissatisfied'; [2] M * \bar{c} īma-la- > WrM {MED} \bar{c} ima-la- 'want or demand more, be dissatisfied (with what is received), be covetous\insatiable', HIM чамла- {MED, BMR} id., Ord \bar{c} 'imāla- 'regarder comme insuffisant \ comme trop petit \ comme pas assez bon', Brt шамарла- 'be dissatisfied, не удовлетворяются тем, что есть; быть недовольным'; [3] WrM {MED} \bar{c} ima- \bar{r} qa- 'want or demand more, be dissatisfied (with what is received), be covetous\insatiable', HIM {MED} чамарха- id., {BMR} чамарха- ~ цамаарха-; [4] WrM {SDM} \bar{c} ama- \bar{g} aṅ 'queasy', HIM {BMR} цамаан 'too fastidious (nörglerisch, wählerisch), разборчивый в еде, брезгливый' ¶ MED 184, BMR IV 249 and 302, Luv. 604, Chr. 718, Ms. O 704 || Tg: Neg \bar{c} amuli- 'eat sth. alone, be not willing to share' ¶ STM II 383 || NaT * \bar{c} aṅm > OT U \bar{c} am n. 'Anspruch, Reklamation', StAlt \bar{c} am n. 'reproach', Qzq \bar{s} am 'that which causes offence', OT Kr [MK] \bar{c} am \bar{x} u \bar{c} 'a backbiting man', MT \bar{c} amla- 'speak with disgust', Qrg \bar{c} amdan-, Qzq \bar{s} amdan-, StAlt \bar{s} amdaṅ 'be offended, take offence (обижаться)', Qq \bar{s} amlan- 'свирепеть', XIj \bar{c} ammaṅ-tur- 'look nervous\angry' ¶ Cl. 421-3, Jud. 843, MM 388-9, KrkRS 725, Rm. W 98, DT 97 || pJ *tamar- {S} 'endure', {SDM} 'endure, bear' > J T tamar- {S, SDM} id., (?) d: StJ {Kenk.} tamari-kane- 'be unable to put-up with, can not contain oneself' ¶ S QJ no. 650, BJRS II 238, Kenk. 1900 || pKo {S} * \bar{c} 'amh- 'endure, bear' > MKo \bar{c} 'am-, NKo \bar{c} 'am- ¶ S QK no. 727, Nam 448, MLC 1571 ¶¶ SDM 414 (pA * \bar{c} 'amo 'suffer hardships' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 268, Rs. W 98, D 97 ◇ If Lz \bar{c} am- is of G origin, the pK word is to be reconstructed as * \bar{c} am-, hence the N etymon is * \bar{c} 'em∇ (sc. either * \bar{c} 'em∇ or * \bar{c} 'em∇). If the Lz word is not borrowed, it points to a pK * \bar{c} am- < N * \bar{c} 'em∇ ◇ IS MS s.v. 'увечить' * \bar{c} 'am∇ ◇ IE *k (for the expected * \bar{k}) in *ko|am-∇| requires explanation.

342. * \bar{c} 'i'm∇ 'eyelid', 'to blink (eyes)' > K * \bar{c} am- 'a blink' (→ 'moment, instant'), 'eyelash' > OG \bar{c} am-i 'a blink', 'eyelash', G \bar{c} am-i 'moment, second', Mg \bar{c} um-i 'minute, second', aḳa- \bar{c} un-s 'in a minute\second', Sv UB/Ln \bar{c} ām, L \bar{c} am 'moment' ({Dn.} 'миг, мгновение'), \bar{c} am- \bar{c} am 'quickly'. The pGZ word * \bar{c} am \bar{c} am- ({K} * \bar{c} am \bar{c} am-) 'eyelashes' (> G \bar{c} am \bar{c} am-, Lz \bar{c} am \bar{c} am- id.) may go back to a word group, cp. D: Kn Hl \bar{k} en \bar{z} eme 'eyelid' (D no. 2545) with the first

component D *kaññ- 'eye' (D no. 1159, Zv. 42, 116, 171) ¶¶ K 242, K² 292, FS K 439-40, FS E 496-7, Chik. 45, Chx. 2103, DCh. 1634, NCh. RKL I 515, Mol. AGG 225, Dn. s.v. çam, TK 851 || D *čim∇ ({ǰGS} *ś-?) v. 'wink', n. 'eyelid' > Tm imai v. 'wink', imai 'eyelid', cimir v. 'wink, blink', Ml ima, cima 'eyelash', imekka v. 'blink', Kn ime, eme 'eyelash, eyelid', cimutu v. 'twinkle, wink with the eyes', Kdg cimm- v. 'twinkle', Tu imæ, simæ, simmæ 'eyelash', Tl cimutu v. 'wink' ¶¶ D no. 2545 || HS: C: EC: Brj {Ss.} čimmiy- v. 'close\cover the eyes', Kmb {Hd.} ŋimbī?, Ged {Hd.} himmi has- id. (has- 'do') || Bj {R} šimbehāni ~ šimbāni, {Rop.} šambə'hani 'eyebrows' (unless from N *śäm_l∇_g∇ '[lock of] hair, fine hair' [q.v.]) ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 42 (reconstructing C *t-), R WBd 215 (equating Bj with Bl šebkā 'hair'), Rop. 238 || ?σ S: Gz şamlāt 'blear-eyed, who has no eyelids', Tgr čəmtəle 'be blear-eyed', Tgy čəmtəle 'be blind, lose an eye' ¶ Likely to go back to a cd with the first element **č∇m- 'eyelid' ¶ L G 557 ◇ Blz. DA 154 [no. 16] (D, C), Blz. NDA no. 15 (D, HS, K).

343. (₂?) *čam¹K¹∇ 'cold' > U: FP *°čamK∇- > Z UV čamgi- 'begin to freeze hard' (of frost) ¶ ≈ LG 301 || HS: WS *✓čnn > MHb, JA, ChPA ✓čnn 'be(come) cold', JEA {Sl.} ✓čnn D vt. 'cool', BHb čin'nā* (att. cs. תנצ čin, nat 'coolness'), SmA חנה čnh, חנה čwnh n. 'cold', JA חנה צ' (~ חנה צ') činnə't-ā id., Qtb (ArSc) δāt şannat_i, '(goddess) of coolness' ¶ GB 688, KB 972, Js. 1278, 1292, Sl. 968, Tal 737 || WCh: DfB {J} čyè'n 'wind, air' ¶ J R 213 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 119 || A: ? M *čaη 'hoarfrost' > WrM {MED} caη, HIM {MED, BMR} цаη(г), Brt cəη(г) (with puzzling ə), Kl {KRS} цаη id., {Rm.} caη 'Reif, Frost', Ord č'əη 'vapeur congelée qui adhère aux objets exposés au froid' ¶ MED 164, KRS 625, KW 421, Chr. 403, Ms. O 694 ¶ The word is not attested in MM and has a strange phonetic shape (no final vw.), which suggests borrowing.

344. *čEmp∇ (or *čEmp∇?) 'bent, crooked' > IE: NaIE *(s)k|kēmb- 'crooked' ({IS} *(s)Kemb-, {EI} *(s)kamb-) 'curve' > Gk σκαμβόζ 'crooked, bent' ({IS}: < *σκαβόζ < *sKmb- with reintroduction of μ due to the infl. of different words of the same √) || OIr camm, W cam 'crooked' ¶ ≈ P 918, EI 143, F II 716-17, Vn. C 28-9 || U: FU *čEmp∇, *čEmp∇- ({IS} *čimpa) ≈ (sth.) bent; to bend' > pLp {Lr.} *čimpē > Lp: N {N} čibbe, U {Schl.} tjibbee 'knee' (← 'bent'), L {LLO} tjibbee čibbe 'lower part of the human leg' || ?φ Chr L čambal 'hummock, tussock' (irreg. č and the vw.) || Prm: Z žib / žiby- 'a salient

height, hillock, hill', ban žin 'the salient part of a cheek' || ObU *ćāmpal > pVg *ćāmpal > Vg Ss śāmpal 'Schwebung', śāmpalā- 'sich nach beiden Seiten neigen (die Ente, beim Herabfliegen)', ? Vg N {Mu.} śampēlāli 'hin und her drehen, erwägen' (× śampēlti 'drehen'); pOs *ćāmplā > Os D/K/Kr/C çāmplā 'schwankend', 'zschaukelnd' (Boot) ¶ LG 90, Lr. no. 137, Lgc. no. 566, LLO 1151, Ht. no. 78, MK 587 || HS: S: Gz ✓ śnpw (pf. śanpawa) 'twist, disturb', śanpəw 'distorted, twisted' (unless ← ✓ śnpw 'crush', śanpəw 'crushed, shattered') ¶ L G 561 ◇ If the Gz verb does not belong here, the N ibitial cns may be *ć either or *ć ◇ IS I 206-7 (*Ći mpa > IE, U).

345. *čeñ ▽ 'tie, bind, plait' > K *°'č̣'an-/°'č̣'n- v. 'wicker' > G (da-)çan-/ çn- v. 'plait, wicker', çnuli 'wickerwork' (e.g. 'basket'), 'Geflecht'; ?σ GZ *č̣n-el- 'rod' > OG, G çn-el-i, Mg č̣in-i ̣ č̣an-i, Lz č̣inu ̣ č̣unu 'rod, sapling (Rute, Gerte)' ¶ FS K 458, FS E 519, FS K² 660; K 252 and K² 307 (*č̣nel- 'rod'), Chx. 2187-8, DCh. 456, 1699, KEGL VIII 1160-2, SSO II 386 ¶ K *°'č̣'an-/°'č̣'n- v. 'wicker' is a legitimate rec. if in GZ *č̣n-el- the meaning 'rod' is from 'staff for wickering' || HS: CS *šinn- ~ *šann- 'basket' > JA {Dl., Lv.} 𐰽𐰺𐰽 𐰺in'n-ā 'basket, wickerwork as container', {Js.} 𐰽𐰺𐰽 𐰺inā ~ 𐰽𐰺𐰽 𐰺ānā 'basket of palm leaves', JEA 𐰽𐰺𐰽 𐰺an'n-ā 'basket', Ar šinn- 'panier à couvercle dans lequel on met le pain', BHb rdp. 𐰽𐰺𐰽𐰽 𐰺in'ç̣enε̣ṭ, SmHb šān'ṣ̌ēnε̣ṭ 'basket' ¶ KB 973, BK I 1373, Sl. 967-8, Js. 1277 and 1290, Lv. IV 202 || Ch: WCh: pAG {Hf.} *j̣in v. 'tie' > Gm ḍin v. 'tie (e.g. a goat)', Ang {Hf.} j̣in id., Su {J} ḍin 'festbinden (Tiere, Boote)', Kfr j̣in 'tie (a goat, cloth round waist)', ? Kfr {Nt.} j̣an 'tie up, bind' (pl. obj.) || CCh: ?φ Gdr {ChC} ḍin v. 'tie' ¶ Hf. AG 23 [no. 166], J S 64, Nt. 11, ChC s.v. 'tie' || U *č̣en|ñ ▽- 'tie, bind', *č̣en|ñ ▽ 'a tie' > pLp {Lr.} *ć̣3n3- v. 'tie, bind' > Lp: U tjaḍna-t id., N {N} č̣āḍnā-t / -n- id., 'fasten by tying; catch and tie (a reindeer)', L {LLO} ṭjaṭna-t 'binden, fest-\an-binden', P {TI} č̣žnnā- 'binden' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} śān 'halter (in reindeer bridle)', śān, Ne T {Ter.} c̣ян 'two flat bones within the halter', Ne F P {Lh.} sānnī 'Halsband, womit das Argischrentier den vorangehenden Schlitten gebunden ist' ¶¶ UEW 37, Lr. no. 112, Lgc. no. 469, Lh. 429, Ter. 600 ◇ The rec. of N *ć̣- is legitimate only if GZ *č̣nel- 'rod' is derived from the K verb for 'wicker' (which in this case must be *č̣n-), otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *ć̣- (= *ć̣|ć̣-).

346. ?σ,φ *ć̣|c̣an|ñ ▽ 'be of a shining white', 'be bright', 'moon' > IE (+ext.) NaIE *skend- ~ *skand- 'be of a shining white', 'moon', {EI}

**(s)kend-* 'shine', 'moon' > L *candeo* 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter' ||| OI *candati* 'shines, is bright', *can'dra-h* (in *cds-ścan'drah*) 'moon', *caniścadat* 'shining brilliantly' (RV 5.43.4) ||| pAl {O} mt. **ksandā* > Al T *hēnē*, Al G *hânē* 'moon' ¶ ≈ P 526, EI 385, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Huld 24 (Al < IE **skan-neH*), 150, O 146-7 (IE **skend-*) ||| D **čank-* ({*GS*} **z|ž-*) 'moon' > Nk *žango*, Gnd *žango* ~ *žango* id. ¶¶ D no. 2287 ||| HS: Ch: WCh: Tng {J} *saŋŋ* 'bright, clear' | Ngz {Sch.} *šànú* 'become light/enlightened', *ḍà šan3-~gara* 'it has dawned' (*ḍà* 'it, country') ¶ J T 141, Sch. DN 53, 162, Stl. ZCh 199 [no. 505] (pWCh **čan-*).

347. ₂ **čap₂∇* (or **čap₂∇*, **čap₂∇*?) 'stalk, pointed stick, spear' > IE: NaIE *skēp-* 'stalk, spear' > Ltv *šķēps* 'spear, lance' ||| OHG *scāft* 'spear, shaft', NHG *Schaft* 'shaft, handle', OSx *skāft* 'spear, shaft', ON *skāpt* 'Schaft, Stab, Stange, Griff', NE *shaft* ||| L *scāpus* 'stalk of plants, weaver's beam' ¶ ME IV 32-3, Ho. S 65, OsS 772, Kb. 864, KM 632, Vr. 483, WH II 490, ≈ Kar. 348, ≈ P 930-3 ||| A **čapk'∇* 'spear, pointed stick' > Tg **čarka* 'fish spear (harpoon for catching small fish, острога)' > Ewk, Neg *čarka*, Ul *čarpa*, Nn Nh *čarpā:*, Nn Bk *ca(φ)qa*, Nn KU *čarpā* id., Ork *čarpa* id., 'fork' ¶ STM II 384, On. 297 ||| pKo {S} **čak-* > NKo *čak-sa*, *čak-sun*i 'fish spear' ¶ S QK no. 715, MLC 1387 ||| ??σ M **čaqu* or **čaqa* '≈ wooden prop, support, peg' > WrM {BMR} *caqu* ~ *caqa* 'prop, support', HIM *цax* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'сошка; стойка', Brt *саха* 'wooden platform, crossbeam serving as a rack for drying clothes', Kl {KRS} *цax* 'trestle (кбзлы)', {Rm.} *саха* 'Zapfen, Pflock, hölzerner Nagel (um etwas aufzuhängen)' ¶ MED 167, BMR IV 253, Chr. 386, KRS 626, KW 419-20 ||| NaT **ča₂:₂k∇* 'pointed stick, knife' > Osm {Rh.} *čaqi*, Tk *цакi* 'clasp knife, pocket knife', Kr *čaqi* 'Klappmesser', Tlt *čaqi* 'Pfofen zum Anbinden der Pferde' ¶ Rl. 1834, Rs. W 96, Rh. 707 ¶¶ SDM 416-17 (pA **čap'a|u|i* v. 'chop, hit' > Tg, Ko + unc. M **čabči-* v. 'chop, mow' and T **čap-* v. 'beat, hit' [both going back to N **čap₂∇*, a 'beat, strike, chop', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 271, SDM97 s.v. **čapk∇* (pA **čap'(∇)-k'∇* < A **č'āp'a|u|i* 'to chop, to hit').

348. ₂ **č'i₂p∇* 'navel' > K **čip-* 'navel' > Mg *čip(e)-*, *čapan-*, Lz *čipa-* id.; Zan → G *čip-i* id. ¶ Lz *č-* is still to be explained (is *čipa-* a loan from an unattested G word?) ¶ ≈ K 255 (reconstructing GZ **čip-*, but finding no explanation for the irreg. reflex of **č-* in Zan other than a "symbolic quality" of the word), Chik. 6 9 ||| HS: Ch: Hs *č'ibiyǎ* 'navel'

(loc. form čǐbī) (↳ P' {MSk.} sipiya id.), ? Bg {Sh., ChC} swap, ? Kir {ChC} sap id. ¶ Abr. H 139, Ba. 156, Stl. ZCh 175 [no. 281] (*sap̄ ∇ w/y), ChL, ChC s.v. 'navel'.

349. ψο *čǐpu (ř∇) 'small bird' > HS: S: [1] CS *čippur- '(small) bird, sparrow' > BHb צפּוּר ~ צפּוּר צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר (pl. צִיפּוּרִים צִיפּוּרִים) 'bird(s)', MHb צפּוּר צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר, Pun שְׁפִיר, SmA שְׁפִיר, שְׁפִיר 'bird', JA צפּוּר צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר, em. צפּוּר צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר-ā 'fowl, bird', JEA {Sl.} צפּוּר צִיפּוּר-ā ~ צפּוּר צִיפּוּר? (unk. voc.) 'bird, fowl', DA שְׁפִיר, IA שְׁנִיר 'e bird, sparrow', Plm שְׁפִיר?, Sr צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר-ā 'bird' (unless from [2]), Ar řuřfūr- 'sparrow, small bird'; [2] *čǐppar- > JA צפּוּר צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר, Sr צִיפּוּר צִיפּוּר 'bird', Ak ∆ řibāru 'e bird' (probably 'sparrow') (↳ Aram?) ¶ KB 980, HJ 973, Js. 1298, Lv. IV 213, Sl. 962, BK II 272-3, Br. 635, Tal 743, CAD XVI 155, Sd. 1097 || ??φ,σ Ch: WCh: Hs zābō, Gw {Mts.} žābùwà 'guinea fowl' | Mbr {Sk.} 'čápùr, Jmb {Sk.} žābùr, Wrj {Sk.} zābríyáǰ, {Gw.} zābríye, Cg {Sk.} sǎbún, Kry {Sk.} zábùr, My {Sk.} zábùrkú, {ChL} zābùrākú, P' {MSk.} žāvúna, ? Sir {Gw.} zuhunchi, Dir {Sk.} zāvúná id. | Bg {Sh.} šàp, Kir {ChL} šǎpm̄, Tala {Gw.} zubbēn, Plc {ChL} žìbun, Zar {ChL} žubm̄, Zar K {Sh.} žèpm̄ id. | Ngz {Sch.} zābānù, Bd {ChL} sǎvānín id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} čǐvàn id. | Br {ChL} čǐvur, Mrg {ChL} čǐvur, Klb {ChL} čǐvǎr id. | HgF {ChL} zāvǎnu, HgG {ChL} sùvùne id. | Gude {ChL} zòvǎna id. | Lmn {Lk.} zǎvǎnāká id. | Glv {Rp.} žébžrá, Gv {ChL} žāburà, Dgh {ChL} zāvžra, {Frk} zāvžrá id. | Mtk {Sb.} zāpān, pMM {Ro.} *zavan > Gzg {Lk.} čivon̄ & cuvon̄, {Ro.} čùvún, {Ro.}: Mkt zāvúr, Mada zāvár, Myn, Mofu zāvár, Hrz sávna id. | Db {LnG} zāvín id. | Gdr {Mch.} zavuna id. | Lgn {Bou.} sǎfàn id. || ECh: Smr {J} šǐbžri, EDng {Fd.} zòpùlò, Mgm {J} zóbíló, Mkl {J} sùbíló, Jg {J} zóbóló, Brg {J} zòbòló id. ¶ JI I 84 (Ch *✓ zbl 'guinea fowl') and II 174-5, Abr. H 959, Ba. 1119, ChC s.v. 'guinea fowl', ChL, Sch. DN 181, Ro. 265, Fd. 393 ¶ The voiced -b- and -v- in the Ch lges still need explaining || IE: NaIE *sper-, *sperw- 'sparrow, small bird' > Gmc: Gt sparwa (στρουθίου) 'Sperling', OHG sparō, MHG spar, sparwe, ON sporr, AS spearwa 'sparrow', NE sparrow; MDt sprêwe, Dt spreuw, NLG sprā ~ sprēa 'starling', dimin.: MHG sperlinc, NHG Sperling 'sparrow' || ? Clt: Crn fraw 'crow', Br {P} frāo, {Hm.} frau 'crow, raven' (< *sprawa) || Tc: A spār (nom. pl. spārārí), B {Ad.} sparā- 'e bird' ('sparrow?'), spara-yäkre 'e bird of prey' ('sparrow hawk?') (Tc < IE *spērweH) || Gk [Hs.] (σ)πέργουλος (σ

ὄρνιθάριον ἄγριον) 'a small wild bird', Gk [Hs.] σπαράσιον (·ὄρνειον ἔμφερὴς στρουθῶ) 'a bird resembling sparrow' || Pru s p u r g l i s 'sparrow' ¶ WP II 666, P 991, EI 534 (*sper-), Ch. 1040-1, Fs. 443, OsS 847, Kb. 930, Ho. 308-9, Vr. 540, Vr. N 684, Lx. 203-4, KM 724, LP § 26, Hm. 297, En. 253, Wn. I 460, Ad. 666-7 || (ψο?)·K: G R/Lch çip̄ia 'eben ausgeschlüpfte Truthahn-\Gänse-\Enten-junges' ¶ Qu., may be purely onomatopoeic, ср. R цыплёнок 'a chicken' ¶ Chx. 2174 || A *ç̣i|P̄∇ 'small bird' > Tg *ç̣ip̄i- 'small bird' > Ewk A/UL/I/Urm çivkān, çipkān 'small bird, sparrow' (-kān is a diminutive sx), Ewk PT/Y/I/Np/Tr çip̄içā 'small bird', Lm ç̄ip̄ri 'nestling (not fully fledged)', ç̄iptaka 'young of partridge', Lm ç̄i|wka-çān & çuqa-çan, Neg ç̄i|wit-kān, ç̄i|w(kā)-kān 'small bird', Ud {Shn.} ç̄i|wγau 'sparrow', Nn KU č̄ī|paqo, Nn Bk č̄i|p̄qo 'swallow', Nn Nh {STM} č̄ip̄iaqo|u id., {On.} č̄ip̄iaqo 'деревенская ласточка', WrMc {Hr} c̄ib̄in 'Schwalbe', {Z} чибинь 'swallow' ('касатка-ласточка') ¶ STM II 398, On. 196, 508 Hr 144, Z 936 || pKo {SDM} *č̄i|p̄ri 'swallow (Schwalbe)' (× N *š̄ip̄∇ '[young of a] bird') > MKo {S} č̄i|p̄ri, NKo č̄ēbi 'swallow' ¶ S QK no. 183, Rm. SKE 26, Gale KED 848, MLC 1464, Nam 425 || NaT *ç̄i|:|b̄i 'young of a bird' > Qrg č̄ibi(y) id.; rdp. id. (ψο) NaT *ç̄i|:|b̄ç̄ik ~ *ç̄i|:|mç̄ik 'small bird, sparrow' > MQR č̄ip̄ç̄uq, Bsh s̄p̄s̄b̄q, Chg č̄ip̄č̄ik ~ č̄imč̄ik, {TL ← ?} č̄urč̄uq, 'sparrow', Tk ç̄imç̄ek / -ğ̄i 'ε small sparrow', Kr ципцик & цыпцык 'small bird, sparrow', чыпчык 'bird', ? чипчэ & чипчя & ципцэ 'chicken', Kr T {Rl.} č̄ip̄č̄ix, ET č̄ip̄č̄ik, Qzq š̄ibiš̄iq, Qzq/Qq š̄imš̄iq, Qrg č̄imč̄iq, Uz č̄umč̄uq 'sparrow', Nog š̄imš̄iq 'any small bird', VTt чыпчык š̄p̄š̄b̄q, Qmn {Rl.} č̄ibilč̄ik 'ε bird' ¶ TL 176-7, Jud. 880, NogR 422, TatR 646, RKazS, KrkR 748, Rl. III 2098, 2155, 2161, KRPS 614, 617, 628-9, 637, Bu. I 508 || pJ {SDM} *t̄ump̄á-má|̄ n. 'swallow' > OJ, MJ tubame, J T c̄ubame, J K c̄ubámé, J Kg cubamé id. ¶ SDM 433-4, ≈ S AJ 293, Kenk. 2041 ¶¶ SDM 433-4 (pA *č̄'ip̄'ú' 'small bird' > T *ç̄ip̄ç̄ik 'sparrow', Tg, J, Ko + unc. M *ç̄u|wç̄ali 'snipe'), DQA no. 308, S AJ 293, ADb. SR 8, Rm. EAS I 63, Rm. SKE 26 (Tg, Ko), TL 176-7 || D (att. in GnD) *č̄īpp- (~ *č̄īv-?), *oč̄īpp∇r̄- 'young of birds' (× N *š̄ip̄∇ '[young of a] bird', q.v.) > Knd s̄ip̄ri, s̄ipi 'chicken', Gnd č̄īva & č̄īwā(1) & č̄ivnā & c̄ivā 'young of birds, chick', Kui s̄ipa, Ku hippa & hipā & hīpa 'chicken, chick' ¶ D no. 2636.

350. *ç̄oP̄∇ 'watch, look out, spy' > K: GZ *ç̄ap- {K²} v. 'study, learn' > G ç̄ap- v. 'teach, study, learn', OG, G m-ç̄ap-el-i 'leader', Lz ç̄op- ~ nç̄op- v. 'study, learn' ¶ K² 293, FS K 441, FS E 497-8, Chx. 2119-20,

Chik. 402 || HS: S *✓çpʷ v. 'watch, look at' > BHb הַצַּפּוּ ✓çpʷ (pf. çā'pā) 'watch; reconnoitre, keep a look-out; spy, look', Ug שַׁפּ n. 'look (Blick, mirada)', JA {Js.} 'צַפּוּ ✓çpʷ D 'look out, wait', JEA {Sl.} 'צַפּוּ ✓çpʷ G 'look', SmA ✓שַׁפּוּ G 'look, observe', Mh šəfōt 'news, information; knowledge', Jb E/C 'šə'fət id., Mh caus. pf. ššəfū, sbjn. yššəf, Jb E caus. pf. ššə'fe, Jb C caus. pf. ššə'fe 'gather news, find out', Ak שַׁבּוּ (m) 'mit Abstand ansehen'; the Ug variant √✓çpʷ (< *✓θpʷ) v. 'spy, observe' is irreg. ¶ KB 977-8, KBR 1044-5, OLS 158-9, 419, Tal 741, Sl. 970, Js. 1297, Sd. 1082, Jo. M 359 || IE: NaIE *°sk|kēp- > Gk σκέπτομαι 'look about carefully, spy', σκοπός 'Späher, Wächter, Kundschafter', σκοπέω, σκοπέομαι 'I examine, I inspect' ¶ cp. NaIE *(s)pek- 'look, observe' < N *p'ē'kyv 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 984, ≈ Ch. 1014-15 and ≈ EI 505 (all of them believe that *°sk|kēp- is a mt. of *spek- 'spähen, scharf hinsehen', but in fact both directions of mt. are possible), F II 725-6 || D *čōv- / *čōpp- v. 'watch over, guard' > Tu sōvu 'spying, watching', Kui ʒōpa v. 'watch over, guard, lie in wait for' ¶¶ D no. 2892 ◇ On IE *sk- < N *čō- see Introduction, §§ 2.4.

351. on. *čap, ∇γ, a 'beat, strike, chop' > IE *skerp, Hx, - ~ *skeHb, h, - 'split' > Gk σκέπαρνος 'carpenter's axe' || Lt skāplis id., skōpti / skariū (~ skoriū), skōbti / skobiū 'hollow\gouge out' ({Frn.} 'mit dem Beitel, Schaber oder Dechsel aushöhlen'), skāptas 'gouge, chisel', Ltv šķēpele 'splinter' || Sl: [1] inf. *skopiti 'to castrate' > OCS inf. скопнѣти skopiti, Slv inf. skopiti, Cz inf. skopiti, P inf. skopić, R inf. скопнѣть id., Blg скопя 'I castrate'; [2] Sl inf. *ščerati 'to split, to chop (wood)' > P inf. szczerać, LLs inf. ščěras, Blr inf. ще'паць id., R ще'пать лучину 'to chop up sticks'; ⇨ Sl *ščera ~ ščerъ 'wood chips' > OR щепла ščera id., R ще'па id., 'splinter' (⇨ 'щепка 'chip, sliver'), Slv ščěr 'wood chips, shavings', P szczera 'log, billet' ¶ F II 724, Frn. 812, ≈ Kar. II 348, Vs. III 650 and IV 502-3, StSS 606, ME IV 32-3, Bc. 1391, ≈ P 930-3 || HS: [1] WS *✓çpʷ > Ar ✓šufʷ 'taper légèrement le derrière de la tête à quelqu'un; donner un soufflet', Mh/Jb {Jo.} ✓šufʷ (pf.: Mh hšufē, Jb E/C ešfáʷ) 'make a rude noise with the tongue protruding between the lips, blow a raspberry'; [2] IS adduced S roots with *s- and ext.: *✓spk 'strike with noise' (> Hb ✓spk, Ar ✓sfq) and *✓spd id. (Ug ✓spd id., Hb and Ak ✓spd 'wail'), which is less plausible, the more so that there are similar

onomatopoeic roots with *ç: *✓ ç p k (> Ar ✓ ç f q 'frapper avec qch. de manière à faire entendre un bruit', Mh {Jo.} ✓ ç f k 'clap one's hands') etc., so that IS's conclusion about the S non-glottalized initial *s- loses its basis ¶ BK I 1101, 1347-8, Jo. M 358, Jo. J 235, GB 549-50, A no. 222 || on. U *ćapp∇- 'strike with noise, chop; clap one's hands' > Vp čappa- 'schlagen, dreschen; brechen (Flachs, Hanf)' | pLp {Lr.} *ćōpppз 'chop, cut, cut up' > Lp: N {N} čuop'pâ- / -pp- id., 'amputate', S {Hs.} tjuoppedh 'cut (off), chop', L {LLO} tjuohppс- '(auf)schneiden, aufhacken (z. B. Fleisch\Fisch zum Kochen)', K {Gn.} čūhppe- 'cut, chop' | Mk ćapa- 'schlagen', Er ćapa- 'clap one's hands' | Prm *ćap-k∇- > Z чапкы- ćapki- 'throw (for the object [a small stone etc.] to fall flat)', Yz ćapki- 'throw, hurl', Vt G {Wc.} ćapki- 'clap one's hands', чапкыны id., 'strike with the palm of hand' || Hg ссар- 'strike, hit, flap, slap' || Sm *sâ'p'pâ- (or *съ'p'pâ-) v. 'chop' > Ne T inf. сăпă-съ 'to chop', T O {Lh.} sâp'â-, Ne F {Lh.} χa'p'ă- v. 'hauen, schlagen (mit der Axt)', Koyb {Sp.} d. сабытобдемъ 'выбиваю', Mt {Hl.} *sabət|d- 'chop' (Mt M {Sp.} сабыдьямъ 'подсекаю', сабатте 'обрубая') ¶¶ UEW 29, Lr. no. 203, Lgc. no. 794, Hs. 1348-9, MF 113, LG 302, Lh. 399, Hl. M no. 832, ≈ Jn. 134 (Sm *sâ t₃pâ = *съč|t|k|спъ without sufficient justification of â and t₃) || A *ćap∇ v. 'chop, hit' > T *çap(a)- v. 'strike' > OT, MQp XIV čap- id., Chg XV čap- 'strike with the sword, behead', ET čap/b-, Uz čap-/b-, Qzq šab-, VTt чаб/п- šab/p- 'chop, mow', Tkm čap/b- 'chop, strike with a sabre', Qrg čap-, Xk сар- 'strike, beat', Chv L çyп- śup/b- 'strike, hit, slap in the face'; VTt qu| šab-, Bsh qu| sab-, StAlt qo| ćab-, Chv алă çyп- 'clap one's hands' (qu|, qo|, алă 'hand') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Ash. XII 247-9, Fed. II 137-8, Jeg. 219 || M *ćabč'i- v. 'hew, chop, cut (with a weapon)' > MM [IM] čabč'i- 'hew, chop', [MA] čabč'i- 'cut (with a sword)', [S] {H} 'ab-\durch-schlagen, abhauen', WrM {MED} савсi- 'hew, chop', 'blink', 'kick the forefoot\forefeet' (of a horse), HIM цавчи- {MED, BMR} id., Brt савша- 'chop, mow; blink', Kl {KRS} чавч- 'chop', 'kick the hoof' (of a horse), 'build (a house)' ('рубить дом'), {Rm.} čawč- ~ čäwč- 'bauen, schlagen; mit den Vorderfüßen zuschlagen (der Hengst, die Pferde)', Ord ž_ab_č'i- 'hacher, couper', 'frapper des pieds de devant' (cheval), Mnr H {SM} ž_îâb_ž_i- 'hacher, couper; clignoter', Mnr H/M {T} čîâvč'i- v. 'hew' ¶ Pp. MA 129, 434, H 25, MED 154, BMR IV 241, Chr. 380, KRS 644, KW 437, SM 76, Ms. O 177 || Tg *çapç∇- > Neg çapça- ~

çapç̣i- v. 'destroy, break', Ewk çapça-kī ~ çapç̣ikī ~ çapç̣ukī 'chip, sliver (of wood)', Ewk Tmt çapç̣ikīt/ç- 'place of chopping wood', Ud çapč̣a- v. 'chop wood', Nn Nh/KU čapč̣i-, Nn Bk cauč̣i- 'chop, split'; the words of Ud, Nn and some other lges may be of M origin ¶ STM II 384. On. 499 ¶¶ SDM 416-17 (pA *č̣'āp'a|u|i- > M, T + err. Tg *çapka 'fish spear' and pKo *č̣ak- id., which go back to pA *č̣'ap̣'∇ 'spear, pointed stick' < N *č̣'aP̣_∇ or *č̣'aP̣_K_∇ 'stalk, pointed stick, spear', q.v. ffd.), DQA no. 271 (id.), KW 437 || D: [1] D (att. in SD) *č̣'av∇r- ({{ʃGS}} *c|ć-) 'cut (off, down)' > Kt č̣'avr- 'cut down (standing plants, bushes)', Kn savaru 'cut off side branches', 'chip, cut, cut down', Tu ta(v)uru-ni 'strip off, cut away (leaves of a tree), cut away brushwood'; [2] D *č̣app- ({{ʃGS}} *ć-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N on. *zap̣_∇ ~ *záp̣_∇ [or *z'ab|p̣?∇] 'to strike' [q.v.]) > Tm cappāni, Tu cappaḷi 'clapping hands', Kn cappaṭe, cappaḷi id., cappariṣu v. 'slap, pat', Kt č̣apaṭ 'noise of a handclap', Tl cappaṭa, Nkr č̣apaṭ, Mnd hapar̄, Ku sapor̄ 'a slap of the hand', Gnd č̣apur̄ ≈ č̣ār̄ṭa 'a blow with the hand, slap'; D b→ OI capeṭā- 'slap with the open hand' ¶¶ The cns. *-v- in D *č̣'av∇r- still requires explanation (N *-p̣_∇r- > *-p̣r- > D *-v-?), while in D *č̣app- the N vw. in *-p̣_∇r- was not syncopated (?) ¶¶ D no-s 2335 and 2390, Tu. no-s 4673 and 4696 ◊ Some of the forms (e.g. those meaning 'clap hands') may be of independent onomatopoeic origin ◊ IS I 201 [no. 41] (*ćap'a) ◊ S *ś may go back either to N *ś or to N *ʃ, but N *p̣.ʃ is hardly plausible (this cluster of obstruents would have been assimilated almost certainly to *bʃ, while the approximant *ś does not usually cause as.).

352. *č̣'Ep̣r̄∇ ([as.] > *č̣'Eb̄r̄∇) 'finger' > K *ōc|ç̣iṭ- > G M/X ç̣iṭ-i 'Verbindungsstelle zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger' ¶ Chx. 2146 || HS: S *č̣'ub̄aṣ- (> *ʔuç̣baṣ-) 'finger, toe' > BHb ʔεç̣'bāṣ, (TV) 𐤓𐤃𐤇𐤇 ʔεç̣'baṣ id. (in ItHb T [basis of the Masoretic BHb spelling] word-final *-āṣ yielded -aṣ rather than -āṣ [spelled 𐤓- -āṣ], F Blau BNPA), Sr s̄εḥ'ā 'finger, toe', Ug 𐤔𐤍𐤁𐤃 'finger, claw', IA s̄b̄ṣ (pl. s̄b̄ṣn) 'finger', BA pl. 𐤓𐤃𐤇𐤇 ʔεç̣bāṣ-ān, pl. em. 𐤀𐤛𐤓𐤃𐤇𐤇 ʔεç̣bāṣ-ā't-ā 'fingers, toes', JA {Js.} 𐤓𐤃𐤇𐤇 ʔεç̣'baṣ / em. 𐤀𐤛𐤓𐤃𐤇𐤇 ʔεç̣'baṣā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤀𐤛𐤓𐤃𐤇𐤇 ʔaç̣'baṣā, SmA ʔs̄b̄ṣ ({{Tal}} = iṣba), Ar ʔiṣbaṣ- (~ ʔaṣbaṣ-, ʔaṣbiṣ-, ʔiṣbuṣ-), Ar Cr s̄ubaṣ, Ar Hm us̄baṣ, Mn s̄b̄ṣ, Sb ʔs̄b̄ṣ, OEth *ʔaç̣baṣt (> Gz ʔaṣbaṣt ʔəṣbāṣt), Tgr č̣z̄b̄ṣt, Tgy pl. ʔaṣab̄ṣti 'finger, toe', Mh {Jo.} š̄z̄'baṣ, Hrs {Jo.} ḥa-š̄baṣ, Jb C {Jo.} ʔiṣ'baṣ, Sq {L} 'ʔeṣbaḥ,

'šobeḥ id., Eb iš-ba-um (= {Krb.} ?išbaŕum), ?μ Ak Λ nesbettu 'finger' ¶ GB 61, 896, KB 79, 1573, OLS 55-6, Tal 720, Js. 110, Sl. 159, Br. 620, BK I 1307, BGMR 140, MA 93, L G 45, LH 627, Bsn. 580, Jo. M 397, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 5, L LS 70, 345, Krb. 18, Blz. EP, CAD XI/2 190 (Ak nesbettu ← WS), Sd. 782, MiK I no. 1.256 || Eg fP ʒb^ϕ 'finger' > DEg tb^ϕ > Cpt Sd **ТННВЕ** tēēbe, Cpt B **ТНВ** tēb; Eg d. ʒb^ϕ.t 'signet (on a signet ring)' → BHb **ⲧⲏⲃⲏⲧ** ṭab'baŕaṭ 'signet ring, ring' and possibly B: Gd {Lf.} ta-ḡaβwt (pl. t-ḡaβwa) 'bague d'argent', ({Rö. → Tk.} ḡ 'Fingerring'), ? Tw {Rö.} ta-ḡaḥot 'finger ring' (not mentioned in Fc.) ¶ EG V 562-5, Fk. 321, Er. 625, Vc. 210, KB 353, Wlf. EAW 48, Rö. SL 132, Lf. II no. O337, Pr. H 28 || B: Zmr a-ṭad (pl. i-ḡubḡ-an) 'finger' ¶ Wlf. EAW 48 || NrOm: HzMa zāb- / zaba, Sz zāb-i 'finger' ¶ Bnd. RL 343 ¶¶ OS no. 434, Tk. I 98 || **U:** FU *^očEpp∇ 'fingertip' (× N id. ***ṣ**iṗ∇ 'to pinch', [?] 'a pinch' [q.v.]) > Chr: H {MRS} цы вешта-, {Ep.} цы вештă- cə'weštă- v. 'pinch, nip', цы вештыш cə'weštəš n. 'pinch', L чывышта- čьwьšta-, U čьwьšte-, B čawəšala- v. 'pinch' || Prm *čer-, *czreí- ({JLG} *č^oepeí-) n. 'pinch, fingertip', v. 'pinch' > Z S čerzí 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} ce'pzi 'fingertip', {KPR} 'pinch', Z чепольт- čerzi't-, Prmk ce'pzi't- id., Vt чепыльт- čerpi't- v. 'pinch, jam' ('ущипнуть, прищемить'), Z чеполя čerzi'a 'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud čerzr 'Zwick, Kniff', čerzrt- v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz 'čeríal- 'kneifen, rupfen' || OHg, Hg csi'p 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F чурру ~ чурі 'fingertip' and of Lp Kld ciehp 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU *č-; in my opinion, the F and Lp words belong rather to N *čUṗ∇ (R∇) 'fingernail, claw' [q.v.]), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-19, EWU 217, LG 303, Sz. 28 ◇ An alt rec. is pN *č'Ebϕ∇ with further contraction *-bϕ- > *-ṗ- that underlies K *-ṗ- and FU *-pp-.

353. ₂ *č∇q∇ 'be\make dirty', (→ ?) 'revile' > HS: WS *✓čχy id., 'be dirty' > Sr ✓šḥy D (pf. šaḥī) 'revile', šuḥ'y-ā, Sr W šuḥī't-ā (Sr E šōḥī't-ā) 'reviling, abuse', Ar ✓šχy (pf. šaḥiya) 'être sali, être abîmé' (se dit des habits), **صخ** šaḥi(-n) 'sali, abîmé', ?φ Gz **ṣāḥw** [šaḥw] 'filth, rubbish' (unexpected ḥ for χ due to contamination with a different root?) ¶ Br. 625, JPS 475, 477, BK I 1317, L G 553 || **K:** GZ {K} *čḡew-/ *čḡw-, {FS} *čḡ- v. 'curse, damn' > OG {K} čḡeV-, {FS} čḡ-ew-, G čḡeVl- id., caus. čḡeVin- 'make so. curse', Mg čḡ(u)-, Lz (n)čḡ- v. 'curse'

¶ Assimilation pre-K **č̣q > K *č̣q ¶ K 253, K² 318, FS K 470-1 (GZ *č̣qew-), FS E 531 (GZ *č̣q-), Chx. 2122, DCh. 1698, Q 393.

354. *id.* *č̣oq₁a₁ɛ 'beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain' > K: GZ *č̣q- v. 'feel pain' ⇨ *č̣q-∇n- 'ache, hurt' > Lz č̣k- *id.* (m-č̣k-up-s 'es schmerzt mich'), Mg č̣q-in- / č̣q-ən- v. {Q} 'be pained\bored', OG č̣q-en- / č̣q-in- {FS} 'betrüben, belästigen' (momeč̣qona cχorebay 'I am weary of life' [Gn. 27.46]), G č̣q-en- / č̣q-in- 'do harm, grieve; feel hurt (by), resent' ¶ Chik. 399, K 247, K² 303, FS K 454, FS E 514, Chx. 2212-13, Q 384 || HS: S *°✓č̣kɛ > Ar ✓šqɛ 'strike\beat (so.)' ¶ Ln. 1706-7, BK I 1352-3 || IE: [1] (+ext.) *skeH̄-t₁H₁- ({EI} *sket₁^h₁- or *skeh₁t₁^h₁-) 'injure, harm' > NaIE *skē-t^h- / *skə-t^h- 'hurt, injure' > Gk Hm ἄ-σκηθῆς 'unhurt, unscathed' || OIr scíth 'fatigué, las', escid {Vn.} 'infatigable' (→ 'vif, alerte'), Br skuizh 'fatigué', Cm squyth *id.*, 'las' || Gt inf. skapjan (p. skōp), inf. ga-skapjan (· ἄδικεῖν, βλάπτειν) 'schaden', ON inf. skeðja 'to harm, to damage', AS inf. scíeððan 'to injure', inf. scéaðian 'to damage', ON inf. skaða, OHG inf. scadōn, NHG inf. schaden 'to harm'; n. act.: Gt skapis (· ἄδικία) 'Schaden, Unrecht', OSx skatho, OHG scado, AS scéaða 'damage', NE scathe (Gmc ⇨ Cz, Slk škoda, OP, P szkoda *id.* ⇨ OR шкода škoda, Uk, Blr, R шкода 'damage'); NHG schade 'damage', ON skaði 'harm, damage (Schaden, Verlust)' || [2] ?σ {WP} (+ext.) NaIE *°skē-n- 'push, strike' > OIr fo-scann- 'throw, push, winnow' ¶ WP II 557-8, 564, P 950, EI 312, F I 164, Ch. 124, Vn. S 32, 46-7, Hm. 739, Fs. 429-30, Vr. 479-80, 487, OsS 771, Kb. 862, KM 630, Ho. 274, 278, Rcz. 859, Brü. 549, Vs. IV 449 || A: M *č̣okī- 'hit, beat, strike, knock, peck' (× N *č̣Ak¹U¹ 'to prick [stechen], to gouge', q.v. ffd.) > WrM {MED} coki-, HIM {MED, BMR} цокн-, Brt цокн- v. 'hit, beat, thrash, strike; knock, peck', WrO coki-, Kl {KRS} цок- cokə- 'beat, strike', {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen', Ord ž₀^kxī- 'frapper', ?? Mnr H č̣'ug_u- 'becqueter' ¶ MED 196, BMR IV 205, Chr. 393, Krg. 641, KRS 636, KW 429, SM 440, Ms. O 208 || D (att. in GnD) *č̣okk- ({ǾGS} *Ǿ-) > Gnd žak- 'kill' Ǿ žokkānā 'strike, kill', Kui soka Ǿ sōka- 'strike at', 'bite' (of snake, dog etc.) ¶ D 2831.

355. *č̣Ega¹∇ 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' > K *č̣qr̥ta 'elbow' (whence in the descendant lges: [1] 'ell', [2] 'doorpost, jamb of a window\door') > OG č̣qr̥ta 'cubit', G č̣qr̥ta *id.*, 'ell', Mg č̣qɜ(r)ta- ~ č̣qi(r)ta-, d. G č̣qirtl- '(door\window)post', as well as G č̣irtχl-i *id.*, Sv UB {GP}, Sv LB/Ln {TK} č̣itχ 'ell, cubit' (both from *č̣r̥tχa [mt. + fricativization of

*q] [GM S 96, 99, Gm. DS 10]) ¶¶ K 254, K² 315 (*çrtχa-), FS K 471-2, FS E 534-5, K DE 358 (reconstructing pK *çrtχa- [> Sv çitχ ÷ G çirtχl-i] as a different root), GP 280, TK 861 ¶¶ K *çqrta may go back to a N cd *çEga'í'∇ r∇h∇t'∇ (with *r∇h∇t'∇ 'branch', q.v. s.v.); if this is so, the deglottalization *t' > K *t needs explanation | | HS: EC *çikl-'elbow' > pBn *čikílè (> Bn: Bi čikílè, J/K/Kj jìgílè), OSml *jìk'ali (> Sml Og čiqil), Rn {PG} d'ikkil, {Oo.} 'dikil, Arr (mt.) čilìg (pl. čilk-ó), Or {Grg.} čikilē, Kns dikl-, diqil-, Gdl dilk, Hr tihíle, Gln tihílle, Gwd D dixilxó, Hd tunkul- id., Brj tangil- 'elbow, heel', ? ingi'layš 'elbow', Ya tokl-e 'forearm' ¶ Lm. SKE 536, Ss. PEC 30, Ss. B 105, Bl. 216, Hn. BD 104, Grg. 83, AMS 189, 226, 239, PG 96, Oo. 66, Hw. A 350 || ?σ S *o'çukl'∇, l- > Ar çuql- 'flanks, sides' ¶ BK I 1354, Hv. 401 | | IE: NaIE *o'sk|kēl- > Gk σκέλος 'leg from the hip downwards' (× N *č'í'í'∇, r'∇ 'side of body', 'hip', q.v. ffd.) | | A *č'ik'y∇ ~ [regr. as.] *č'ak'y∇ (< **č'ak'í'∇) '≈ elbow, forearm' ({ADb.} *č'a_ly_lk'a-) > NaT *çil_l:k'an- ~ *çal_l:k'an- ({ADb.} *çayk'an) ⇨ [1] *çil_l:k'anak ~ *çal_l:k'anak 'elbow' > Chg {Rl.} چاقاناق č a q a n a q id., 'wrist' ({Rl.} 'Ellenbogen, Elle = локоть, запястье'), MT č a x a n a q 'elbow, forearm', StAlt {BT} чаганак č a y a n a q, Tel {Rs.}, Qmn {B} čānaq, QK {Rl.} čaṇnaq, Sg {BIG} siṽanaḥ, {Rl.} saṽanaq, Shor {Rl.} šaṽinaq, {Dyr.} шыганак 'elbow', Nog šīṽanaq, Qq, Shor šīṽanaq, Qrg čīqanaq, Xk čīṽanaḥ, ET žäynäk, {LQ} čänäk, Uz Δ čekänäk, Kr, VTt Δ ciṽanaq, Bsh Δ siṽanaq, QrB čina, SY čikänäk, Tv шенек 'elbow', SY čikänäk, MQp [CC] č i x a n a q, VTt {ðRl.} š'ṽyanaq 'elbow, door hook, hinge (of a door)', Tbl č'ṽyanaq 'elbow, door hinge', bf.: ET Δ čoqa 'elbow'; [2] *çil_l:k'an-çak/-çIK ~ *çal_l:k'ançak/-çIK- 'elbow' > StAlt č a ṇ č a q, Tlt {Vrb.} č a ṇ č a q, QrB činačiq, Qq šintaq id., Qzq šintaq 'elbow, ell', šintaq süek 'funny bone' (⇨ Uz Δ čintaq id.) ¶ TL 249-50, ADb. SR 169-71, Rs. W 96, 107, Rl. III 1833, 1851, 2063, IV 262, 938, BT 174, B DK 265, BIG 205, 325; ≈ ADb. TMCT (*÷ Osm {Rs.} čäkin 'shoulder [near the neck]' and Chg {Rs.} č i k i n 'Nacken, Schulter', belonging to N *č'ikU 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]' [q.v.]) | | Tg *çakan 'forearm' > Nn Nh č a x ā, Nn Bk caχ a(n-) 'ell (forearm as a unit of length)', ?? Ewk çakça 'calves of legs' ¶ STM II 378 380, On. 501, ADb. TMCT 119 ¶¶ SDM 412 (pA *č'ak'e 'forearm' > T *çik'anak, Tg + unc. pKo *č'yàkay- 'groin, inguinal region'), ADb. SR-D 447 (pT *č'ajkan 'elbow'), 458 (pT *č'aka 'forearm') ¶¶ But T *çök- v. 'kneel' does not belong here (F N *č'okɛE

'sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position') ◇ Blz. KM no. 3 (K, C * ÷ A [T *çök-]) ◇ Altaic *y is likely to suggest N *í.

356. *č̣'ARV (= *č̣'ARV?) 'to cross', 'across, over' (direction), 'through' > K: GZ *čar- {Schm.} 'durch-, vorüber', {K, Chx.} 'down, away, off' > OG čar-, G čar- ~ ča- id. (↳ Zan ča-), Mg. Lz čo- id. ¶ K² 292-3, Schm. 154, Chx. 2097 || IE: NaIE *(s)ker(-s)- 'across, through' > Gk ἔγ-κάριος 'athwart, oblique', ἑπι-κάριος 'schräg, quer, seitwärts, crosswise' || BSI *(s)kersa- > Pru kirscha, kirschan, kerscha, kerschan 'over, more than', Ltv šķērs, šķērsam 'quer', Lt skeršas, Ltv šķēršs 'transversal, cross', Lt skersiai 'across' || SI *čersъ 'over' (direction), 'through' (~ *čerzъ with voicing on the analogy of some other prepositions) > RChS, SrChS ѡрѣсѣ čresъ ~ ѡрѣзѣ črezъ, R 'чerez, Blg чрез, SCr črèz, Slv črêz ~ črèz, Slk cez, Δ čez 'over' (direction), 'through' ¶ P 949-50 (*(s)kert-(s-) with an unjustified *-t- [based on the arbitrary conjecture connecting this stem with *(s)kert- 'cut']), F I 637, ME IV 35-6, Frn. 802-3, En. 193-4, Vs. IV 338, ESSJ IV 76-7, ESISJ-SGZ I 49-52 || HS: Eg fp ʒʒy v. 'cross, ferry (so. across water)' ¶ EG V 511-13, Fk. 318 || S *°√čry > Ar √šry (pf. صرى šarā, ip. -šriy-) 'cut through\asunder' ('retrancher en coupant') ¶ BK I 1336 || A: ?σ OT Og {Cl.} čer 'the opposite of sth.' ¶ Cl. 427 ◇ IS MS 372 ('чerez' *čar [K, IE]). K *a usually goes back to N *a, *ā or sometimes *o. In the light of the T cognate the N vw. *ā (or *a) is to be preferred.

357. *č̣ORV (or *č̣aWRV - *č̣aRVV?) 'tip, top, edge' > HS: EC: Or {Ss.} čara 'tip, top, edge', Brj čar(a) 'edge, blade', čari 'point, summit, peak; pointedness, sharpness', čare- v. 'sharpen (knife)' ¶ Ss. B 46, Hd. 183 || K: GZ *čwer- 'tip, point (Spitze)' > G čver-i id., Mg čvanži ~ čvandi 'tip, top', OG mčuerwal- 'summit' ¶ K 243, K² 311-12, FS K 443-4, FS E 501 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from K *čwēr- 'beard' [> G čveri, Sv wēre 𐌿 wār(e) id.]), Chx. 2155 ¶¶ It is possible that in pK the √ in question coalesced with *čwēr- 'beard', which may be helpful in explaining the unexpected *w in GZ *čwer- 'point, tip' || D (att. in KK) *čōr|ru ({θGS} *s|š|z-) 'hill, mountain' > Kui sōru id., Ku hōru id., 'rock' ¶ D no. 2887 || IE: NaIE *khar- 'pointed, sharp', (?) 'rock' (< N *qah₂RV 'hard, firm' [q.v. ffd.]) > OI khara- 'sharp, hard, rough'; NPrs خارا χārā 'very hard stone, flint, rock', possibly NPrs خار

χ $\bar{\alpha}$ r 'thorn, thistle' || Gk κάρχαρος 'saw-liked, jagged' ¶ WP I 355 (*k^har- 'scharf, spitz'), M K I 302, VI. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102 ◇ D * \bar{o} and K * ω point to the presence of a labial element in N (N * \acute{c} 'a ω R ∇ or * \acute{c} aR ω ∇).

358. * \acute{c} 'Ur ∇ 'narrow' > HS: S * \acute{c} arr- 'narrow, tight (?)' > BHb $\bar{\gamma}$ ζ \acute{c} ar 'narrow, tight', ✓ \acute{c} .rr 'be narrow' ($\bar{\gamma}$ ζ \acute{c} ar 'is narrow'), SmA ξ .r γ 'narrow passage', ζ Ak ξ .arir 'is narrow (?)' (šummu mu χ χ aš ω ξ .arir 'if the top of his head is narrow' [?] [followed by χ abiš, rapaš 'is wide']), Ar ξ arr- 'serré, noué' (infl. of the verb ✓ ξ rr 'serrer, nouer'), ✓ ξ rr Gt (pf. η iš η arra) 'be narrow' (of a hoof), mašrūr- 'serré, noué; étroit, pincé'; WS *✓ \acute{c} .rr 'tighten (by wrapping, tying up)' > Hb ✓ \acute{c} .rr, Sr ✓ ξ .rr, Ar ✓ ξ rr G 'bind, tie up', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} ✓ ξ rr 'tie the foreskin before circumcision' ¶ KB 984, 990, BK I 1325-7, BDB 864-5, Tal 741, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241, Jo. H 116, CAD XIV 107 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) * \circ sk| \bar{k} er- (+exts) 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel; lean' (× N * \acute{c} ER ∇ 'small, little?') > NNr inf. skrāna (< Gmc inf. *skra χ nan) 'to shrink (verschrumpfen)', MLG schrā, NGr NrF schra χ (both from Gmc *skrē χ a-) 'dürr, mager', ON skrā (< *skra θ) 'thin leather', NE Ork (\leftarrow NrGmc) skrue 'Maß von Trockenheit', Nr Δ skranta 'become lean (mager werden)', Nr skrinn (< *skren θ a-) 'dürr, mager, unfruchtbar', MLG schrāde 'dünn, mager, kümmerlich' ¶ ≈ P 933, Vr. 500-1 ¶ In the light of external comparisons NaIE * \circ sk| \bar{k} er- is likely to go back to earlier *sk| \bar{k} e \bar{u} r- (on the loss of IE glides that precede sonants see AD NGIE and NVIE) || A: NaT * \circ ç \bar{o} : \bar{i} r 'tight, dense' > OT {Cl., MKD} č \bar{o} r, {DTS} č \bar{o} r id. ¶ Cl. and Dnk. reconstructed an OT long vw. \bar{o} on the insufficient basis of the *plene* spelling with γ ω in Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī ¶ Cl. 428, MKD 95, DTS 94 || ? ϕ D: [1] D (att. in McTm) * \acute{c} ur- (N * \acute{c} ' \hat{u} 'gR ∇ 'be small, diminish', q.v. ffd.) > Tm curam 'narrow and difficult path', Ml curam 'difficult road' ¶ D no. 2683; [2] D * \acute{c} ur- ~ * \acute{c} ' \hat{u} r- 'shrink, wrinkle, contract' (× N * \acute{c} ' ∇ P \bar{R} ∇ 'to twist, to plait', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the D roots belong here, their cns. *-r- goes back to the heritage of N * \acute{c} ' \hat{u} 'gR ∇ and * \acute{c} ' ∇ P \bar{R} ∇ .

359. $\bar{2}$ * \acute{c} 'U \bar{r} R ∇ 'squeeze out (liquid), strain, sift' > K * \acute{c} ur- 'squeeze out, press; strain', {K²} 'flow out' (× N ? * \acute{c} 'o \bar{r} ∇ 'to drip, to trickle' [q.v.]) > OG \acute{c} ur- 'squeeze out' (gamo- ω - \acute{c} ur-e sasumēsa šina 'I pressed [the grapes] into the cup' [Gen. 40.11]), G \acute{c} ur- 'squeeze out (juice

etc.), strain', Mg $\check{c}ur-$ / $\check{c}ir-$ (~ $\check{c}3r-$), Lz (n) $\check{c}or-$ / (n) $\check{c}ir-$ {FS} id., Sv n $\check{c}ur-$ / n $\check{c}3r-$ 'strain, drain off (a vessel)', ? σ Mg $\check{c}ur-$ {K} 'fall, sink' ¶¶ K 246, Fn. KW-4 no. 66, FS K 451-2, FS E 511, Chx. 2199-200, Q 382 ||
HS: Eg G $\check{z}^{\check{c}}r$ 'sieve' ¶ EG V 541.

360. * $\check{c}\check{a}\Gamma r\nabla$ 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent' > K * $\check{c}\check{g}ar-$ / * $\check{c}\check{g}r-$ 'take offence (at), be angry (with)' (← *'resent') > Mg (n) $\check{c}\check{g}or-$ id., OG, G $\check{c}\check{g}er-$ / $\check{c}\check{g}r-$ id. (Chx.: 'ärgerlich\böse sein'), Sv {Fn.} $\check{c}\check{g}r-$ (msd. li- $\check{c}\check{g}r$ -un-ä) 'sich sträuben, sich widersetzen', {K²} v. 'bristle' ¶¶ K 253, K² 318, FS E 533, FS K 469-70, Mach. XS 266ff. (on *a in this \check{v}), Zhgh. ChMP (on the prothetic n- before the dental\lingual cnss in Zan), Chx. 2222, 2227, DCh. 1700, Q 395, Fn. KW-4 37 || **HS:** WS * $\check{c}\check{v}\check{f}r$ 'be in pain, suffer, grieve' > MHb $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'pain, grief, trouble', JA $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ / em. $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ id., JEA {Sl.} $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'trouble, distress, pain', SmA $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$, $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'distress', Md $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'pain, grief', Gz $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ (js. - $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$) 'be in pain, suffer', $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ n. 'anguish, torment, pain' ¶ Lv. IV 209, Js. 1294-5, Tal 740, L G 544 || ?? ϕ Ch: WCh {Stl.} * $\check{z}uwar$ {AD} 'pain, anger' > Ngz {Sch.} $\check{z}\check{e}r\acute{a}$ 'internal bodily ache\pain, being in pain, being warlike\belligerent' | Ang {Flk.} $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$, $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'anger' | My {Sk.} $\check{z}uwar$, Kry {Sk.} $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'be angry' | Fy {J} $\check{c}\check{a}^{\check{c}}ar$ 'Ärger, Unwillen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 204-5 [no. 552], Sch. DN 46, J R 83, Sk. NB 10, ChC s.v. 'ache' and 'anger, angfry' || **U:** FU * $\check{c}\check{a}rke-$ v. 'ache, pain' > F $\check{c}\check{a}rke-$ id. (→ Lp N {N} $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{g}\acute{a}-$ / - $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{g}-$ v. 'ache, be painful'), Vp $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{g}e-$, $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{g}\acute{e}-$ v. 'ache, pain' | ? Lp: N $\check{c}\check{e}r\check{g}iidi-$ 'go to sleep' (of limbs), L {LLO} $\check{t}\check{j}ier$ 'kijtit id., 'become numb' (of limbs), U {Schl.} $\check{t}\check{j}\check{a}r'ka$ 'scharfes Prickeln in eingeschlafenen Gliedern', Pa {TI} $\check{c}\check{e}\check{a}\check{r}\check{g}\check{b}-$ v. 'ache (of a wound)' || ObU {Ht.} * $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ > pVg * $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ > Vg: Ss $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ v. 'ache, pain', UL/Ss $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$, TY $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$, LK/MK $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$, P/NV/LL $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ v. 'deplore'; pOs {Ht.} * $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ ~ $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ v. 'ache, pain' > Os: Ty $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$, K $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$, Nz $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$, Kz $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{a}\check{v}-$ id. | OHg $\check{c}\check{e}r$ 'be hurt (verletzt werden), ache', Hg $\check{c}\check{e}r\check{t}-$ v. 'injure, damage, harm, hurt', Hg $\Delta\check{c}\check{e}r\acute{e}\check{s}$ 'pain, ache, illness' ¶ FU *-ke may be due to contamination with FP * $\check{c}\check{a}rke-$ 'break, split' ¶ MF 551-2, Ht. no. 86, LLO 1161, TI 653, EWU 1322, ≈ UEW 32-3 (without distinguishing between this \check{v} and FP * $\check{c}\check{a}rke-$ 'break, split' < U * $\check{c}\check{a}rke-$ < N * $\check{c}\check{a}r\check{q}\acute{e}$ ≈ break, split, cut) ||
A: NaT * $\check{c}\check{a}r$ ≈ illness' > Qzq {Rl.} $\check{c}\check{e}r$ 'langjährige, alte Krankheit', Qzq {MM}, Qq $\check{c}\check{e}r$ 'grief', Nog $\check{c}\check{e}r$ 'illness', Qrg {Jud.} $\check{c}\check{e}r$ 'tumor', Shor {Rl.} $\check{c}\check{e}r$ 'Schwindsucht', ? Chg {Rl.} $\check{c}\check{e}r$ (= $\check{c}\check{e}r$?) 'Pickel, Geschwür', VTt

чир śir 'illness' (↳ Chv чир id.), Bsh sir id., Tk çör 'illness' (× çör 'devil'), Az čär-lä- 'be ill' ¶ Rs. W 104, Rl. III 2122 and IV 1004-5, Ash. XV 210-11, Jud. 858, Jeg. 326, Fed. II 420, DTS 144, MM 395, NogR 410, TrR 199.

361. *č'û'gR∇ 'be small, diminish' > K *°c|çχ_Lw_Jr- / *°c|çχ_Lw_Jer- > G cχra-, cχer- v. 'wane' (of the moon), {DCh.} cχroma n. 'wane of the moon' ¶ DCh. 1610, Chx. 2044 || **HS:** S *√çψr G v. 'be small' > BHb √çψr G 'klein\gering sein\werden', Ak √śχr G (inf. śexēr u ~ śaxār u) 'become small\few\young', ? Sr √şψr (pf. şəşar) 'beschimpft werden'; S *çayīr- 'little, young' > BHb çā'īr 'jung, klein, gering', Ph, Pun śψr 'small', Ug śχr 'small, young', SmA śψr 'young', Sr śə'īr / śə'īr-ā 'despised, vile', Sb śχr 'little', Ak śexr u ~ śaxr u 'small, few, young' ¶ KBR 690, KB 974-7, HJ 971-2, A no. 2340, OLS 415, Grd. UT no. 2182, Tal 739, JPS 482, CAD XIII 120-4, Sd. 1087-9 || **D** *kūr- ~ *čūr- 'shrink, lessen' (× N *č'Ur∇ 'narrow' × N *č'∇PR∇ 'to twist, to plait') > Tm cururñku 'shrink, lessen, be reduced', Ml cururññuka v. 'shrivel, shrink, decrease', curukkam 'contraction, shortness', Kt čurk- 'make small, draw up (legs, fingers), shrink', Td tu·r̄- vi. 'shrink', Kn surku, Tu suruñtu-, suruñtu- v. 'contract, shrivel, shrink', Tl surūgu v. 'shrink', Prj čurk- v. 'shrivel', ?? Krx {Hahn} cog'rē 'person with sunken cheeks'; cp. Brh kurring, kurrēnging v. 'shrink from, contract' ¶¶ D no. 2687, DED no. 2213, Em. DS 365 ¶¶ D The initial *k̄- (> Brh k-) is likely to reflect N *č̄- in *č'∇PR∇, while Krx cog'rē (if it belongs here) reflects N *č|ç- of *č'û'gr∇ and/or *č'Ur∇.

362. *č'ä'h'ū|ur∇ 'circle; to twist' > **HS:** CS *-çūr- ~ *√çrr v. 'twist, tie around' (a merger with several homonymous roots) > Hb 𐤒 𐤀 𐤆 √çwr (ip. -çūr, imv. 𐤒 𐤀 𐤆 çūr) {GB} 'zusammenschnüren', {KBR} 'tie up (in a bag), bind (money in one's hand)' (sc. 'carry money wrapped up in the hand'), MHb {Js.} 𐤒 𐤀 𐤆 √çwr G v. 'tie around, wrap', JA {Js.} 𐤒 𐤀 𐤆 √çwr G v. 'tie around', JEA {Sl.} √çwr G v. 'besiege', Md √şwr G, √şrr G v. 'surround, hem in, tie in', Ar صر √şrr G 'tie up (a purse), tie up with a lace (the udder of a female camel)' ¶ KB 951-2, 990, KBR 1015, GB 678-9, Js. 1270-1, Sl. 956, DM 391, BK I 1325-6 || ? **K:** G çre 'circle' (unless DCh. is right in claiming that the word is a loan from Arm, but to my mind the resemblance of the G word with Arm Ժռեմ cřem 'I bend, I bow', Ժրախ - cřan- v. 'become round' or Ժրաբոլոր cřabolor 'circle' is not close enough to suppose a borrowing, because there is no Arm **word** able to be the source of G

çre) ¶ KEGL VIII 1168-9, Chx. 2194, DCh. 1693, NCh. 454, Xud. I 548-9, Bdr. 316 || **U**: FP *ć¹äyU¹r∇ 'circle, spindle' > Es sōōr sə:ř 'circle', {W} sōōr sə:ř ~ tsōōr tsə:ř 'Kreis, Umkreis, runde Scheibe' | Prm *ćärs 'spindle, axle' > Z ćərs, Yz ćōrs, Vt ćers id. ('веретено, ось'), Vt ćers†n† v. 'spin' ¶ LG 311, Lt. 157, W EDW 1080, 1208 || **A**: NaT *çæ₁bür- v. 'twist' (< **çæ₁wür-) > OT {CL}, XwT čä¹vür-, Chg čewür- v. 'twist, turn (sth.)', Osm {Rh.}, Az čevir- v. 'turn, turn round', Osm {Rh.} چۆرө čevre 'circumference, circuit', Az čevrä 'circle', Brb {Tm.} čürä 'around' ('вокруг, кругом'), {Rl., Tm.} cūr- vi. 'turn round' ¶ Cl. 398, Rh. 735, 741, ARL 342, Tm. 243, 247, Rl. IV 213 ◇ FU *-y- and pre-T ** -w- developed in hiatus. The only N lr. that can disappear in intervoc. position both in S and in K is *-h-.

363. *çUyr∇ 'rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' > **HS**: S *^oç∇r₁∇₁y- > Ar şiry- ~ şary- 'stagnated water with spoiled taste' ('aqua diu restagnans ut sapor corruptus sit'), şary- 'depravatum saporem habens' ¶ Fr. II 496 || **K**: GZ *çar- v. 'be bitter', d. *m-çar-e 'bitter' > OG, G m-çar-e 'bitter', Mg gito-çor-ap-a- {FS, K² 131} 'remove the bitter taste', {K² 307} 'calm down, cool down' ¶ FS K 458-9, ≈ K² 131 (*m-çar-e 'bitter'), 307 (*çar- v. 'anger; irritate'), Abul. 309 || **IE** *(s)ker-(d^h-) 'defecate', 'dung, excrements' (× N *ć¹ä¹r∇ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate' [q.v. ffd.]) || **U**: FU *ć¹uy¹r∇ 'sour, malodorous, bitter' (× N *SuH|wER∇ 'sour, seasoned', q.v. ffd.) > Prm *ćūr- > Vt ć+rs 'sour', ć+rsa- v. 'turn sour, be fermented', Z чир- ćir- v. 'turn bitter\tainted, turn sour' (of kvass), 'go bad' (of meat), 'turn rancid' (of butter) | F {LG ← ?} çsuira-ta 'be spoiled\auseating' (not found in the available dictionaries of F, incl. SK and SSA) | Lp N {N} čiwraâ 'evil-smelling, malodorous', čiwriidit 'to smell bad' || ObU {Ht.} *ćār- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > pVg *ćār- > Vg: P śar-, NV/SV/LL śar-/ śār-, UL, Ss śor- 'turn bitter' (of fish); pObU {Ht.} *ćār- > pVg {Ht.} *ćār- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > Vg: P śār-, NV/SV/LL śar-/śar, UL/Ss śor- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ćār-, {Hl.} *ćīr- v. 'turn tainted\bad' (of fish and meat) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D çār-, Nz/Kz śōr-, O śār- id. ¶ LG 307, Ht. no. 82, ≈ Coll. 117, N I 395 || **A** *çūrī- 'stink, be rotten' > T *çūrī- or *çūyri- 'rot, be rotten' > Tkm çüyre-, Tk çürü-, Az čürü-, Chg čürī-, ET Tr {Rs.} čürī- 'verfaulen, verrotten', Qmq, ET {BN}, Uz, Qrg, Qmn {B}, Tlt {Rl.} čiri-, Qq, Nog šir(i)-, StAlt чирі- ćiri-, Tki {Rl. ← Shaw} چيرو- čirü-, VTt чере-

šbr̥- (inf. черү šbr̥ü), Bsh сере- sbr̥-, Qzq шip̥i- (inf. шip̥y), Qq, Nog širi-, Chv čěp- šbr̥-, Δ šbr̥- vi. 'rot', ? ET Δ {Jr.} čörü- ~ čürü- 'become worn\decayed\ rotten'; ⇨ *cūri-k 'rotten' > Tkm čuyrek, Tk çürük, Tbl, Tlt {Rl.}, ET, Qrg, Qmn, Tb čirik, SbTt Tö, Brb cirik, StAlt ćirik id., VTt черек šbr̥k id., n. 'rot, dust of rotten wood', Bsh серек sbr̥k, Nog širik n. 'rot, rotten stuff' ¶ Rs. W 121, Md. 64, 163, TkR 740, Tm. 245, TatR 634, Rl. III 2124-6, 2194, Nj. 408, Jr. 77, Jud. 863, BN 32, B DK 268, B DChT 165, Ash. XIII 81-4, Fed. II 111-12, Jeg. 211-12 || Tg *čiri- v. 'stink, be fetid' > Ewk çiri- id., Nn Bk čiriḡtala- v. 'be fetid', Ewk çiriḡu adj. 'stinking' ¶ STM II 399 || pKo *čiri- v. 'be foul, emit a foul odor' > NKo čiri- id. ¶ S QK no. 722, MLC 1531 ¶¶ SDM 434-5 (pA *č'ire 'stink, be rotten' > Tg, Ko, T *çer 'bodily heaviness' [sc. T *čūri- or *čūyri- 'rot, be rotten' + words for 'bodily heaviness, constipation', 'illness' etc. that hardly belong here] + unc. M *čer 'phlegm, tumor'), DQA no. 301 (id.), Rm. SKE 26 (Tg, Ko) ◇ IS I 207 ◇ K *a is likely to suggest that the pN labialized vw. was *o (N *çoyr▽).

364. *č'e'r₁a₁▽ 'ε (stinging?) insect' > HS: CS *čar₁▽₁ψ- 'ε stinging insect (wasp or sim.)' > BHb צר₁צ₁ ציר₁ā 'hornet' or 'wasp' (?), SmH 'צ₁ā₁ id., SmA צר₁צ₁ צר₁צ₁ id. (unless the original meaning is 'leprosy', as in JPA B צר₁צ₁ צר₁צ₁ [F Sl. P 470-1]) ¶ GB 695, KB 989, Tal T I 320 (SmA צר₁צ₁ in Ex. 23.28 and Deut. 7.20) || K *mçer- 'fly, insect' > OG mçer-: zaḡlis mçeri (translation of {LXX} κυνόμυτα) 'dog fly', G mçer- 'insect', † 'fly', Mg čanž- ~ čand-, Lz mčaž-, Sv UB/L mēr, Sv Ln mer 'fly'; Zan ⇨ Arm ճանճետն čančetn n. 'fly, flies' ¶¶ K 141, K² 131, DCh. 930, Chx. 878, Q 386, TK 570, GP 217 || ?φ A *čar- + sxs 'ε insect (locust, dragonfly)' > M *čarča > WrM carca, carcaga(i), carcacaqai {MED} 'locust, grasshopper', HIM {MED} царцаахай id., {Luv.} царцаа 'locust', {BMR} царцаа(н) 'хлебная кобылка (a kind of locust)', царцаахай 'locust, grasshoper', Brt carcaа 'grasshoper', WrM {MED} damziḡur carcacaqai 'dragonfly', Kl {Rm.} carca, carcā, carcāχā 'Grille, Heuschrecke', Dg čārčān 'locust', Mnr H {SM} č'iarž₁iaḡ 'sauterelle, cigale', Ord ž₁arč'ā 'sauterelle' ¶ MED 165, BMR IV 252, Luv. 605, Chr. 385, KW 422, T DgJ 180, SM 443, Ms. O 188 || NaT *sa₁:₁riḡga 'locust' (× *sāriḡ 'yellow?') > OT [MhK] saric̣ḡa, MQP [AH] sarinčqa, sarinčqan, Qb {Rl.} sarisqa 'locust', Sg {BIG} sarisχa 'grasshopper', Xk sarisχa 'кобылка

(grasshopper, locust)'; T \rightarrow R саран'ча 'locust' ¶ NaT *s- (for the expected *ç-) needs explanation ¶ Cl. 845-6, Rs. W 404, TL 187, Rl. IV 325-6, BIG 183 || Tg: WrMc {Z} чачаракy 'e locust' ¶ STM II 486, Z 926 || pKo {S} *č̀ànčárí > MKo *č̀ànčárí, NKo č̀ančari 'dragonfly' (× N \downarrow ≈ *ẓ̌Uñ'č̣'U 'ant, stinging insect') ¶ S QK no. 293, Nam 416, MLC 1396 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. *č̀'arč̀'u 'locust, dragonfly'; KW 422 (M, T) || D *č̀ē̄r̄- ({θGS} *c|č̀- ~ *z|ž̀-) 'e insect (centipede?)' > Kn j̄ar̄i 'centipede, scolopendra', Ml c̄ēraṭṭa ~ t̄ēraṭṭa, Tu t̄ēraṭṭæ \neq c̄ēraṭe ~ śēra(ṇ)ṭ̄ē 'centipede, milli-pede', Tl j̄er̄i, j̄er̄r̄i, Prj ž̄erri \neq {KmBh.} c̄er̄r̄i, Gnd ž̄er \neq ž̄erru, Knd sēr̄i 'centipede' ¶¶ D no. 2797 \diamond D *-r̄- (the reg. reflex of the N intervoc. *-r-) suggests early loss of N *r̄ or the presence of a vw. between N *r̄ and *r̄. The length of the D *ē̄ reflexes the lost lr. On the ev. of D the N etymon is likely to have had a front vw. (*e), while A *a may be explained by regr. as., possibly N *č̀eraṣ̄ ∇ > **č̀'ara-.

365. *č̀iRyâ 'to scratch, to cut out, to shape (an object)' ([in S] \rightarrow 'to fashion') > K *č̀er- 'scratch; depict' > OG çer- v. 'write', 'produce an image' (ẓ̌uaris daçera 'made a sign of cross', sc. 'cross oneself'), G çer- 'depict, write' (ẓ̌varis daçera v. 'cross oneself', lit. 'depict a cross'), G Kzq çer̄va- 'make paintings on windows\doors', G M ga-çera- 'depict a line', Mg č̄ar-, Lz (n)č̄ar-, Sv yr- / r- / ēr- (msd. UB li-yr-i) 'write'; FS adduced OG, G çerṭ- v. 'prick (stechen)', çerṭ-il-i 'point', which is doubtful (because of the unexplained -ṭ-) ¶¶ K 249-50, K² 309, FS K 461, FS E 521-2 (+ err. K *mč̀er- 'fly, insect', F N *č̀'ē'r̄,a,ṣ̄ ∇ 'e [stinging?] insect'), Chik. 407, GP 163, Chx. 2142 || HS: CS *č̀ūr- / *č̀īr- v. 'fashion, shape' > BHb ✓ ç̄w̄r G (pf. c. 𐌆𐌵𐌶𐌵 way'yā-çar) 'fashion, delineate', JEA {Sl.} ✓ ç̄w̄r G 'fashion, draw, form', Plm ✓ s̄w̄r v. 'paint', Sr ✓ s̄w̄r (pf. s̄ā r) 'form, fashion, paint'; D : Ar ✓ s̄w̄r v. D 'shape out (a th.), paint, picture', MHb/JA ✓ ç̄yr D id.; CS *č̀ūr-at- 'drawing, form' > BHb 𐌆𐌵𐌶𐌵 ç̄ūrā 'form, fashion', ChrPA 𐌆𐌵𐌶𐌵 s̄w̄r?, Plm s̄w̄r h 'Bild', Sr s̄ūr'-t-ā 'form, image, statue', Ar صورة s̄ūr-at- 'shape, exterior appearance, picture' ¶ KB 954, Sl. 956, JPS 476-7, BK I 1383-4 || A *č̀íř̄ ∇ - 'cut, scrape' > T: [1] T *č̀íř̄- ~ *ç̄íř̄- v. 'scratch, draw a line' > OT U \geq VIII {Cl.} č̄iz-, {Gbn, DTS} č̄iz- id., Osm {Bu.} چزمك č̄iz-mäk ~ چزمق č̄iz-maq inf. 'to draw a line, to mark a boundary path', {Rh.} چزمك č̄iz-mek inf. 'to draw (a line, mark,

scratch), sketch, delineate', Tk $\check{c}iz-$, Ggz $\check{c}iz-$, Qrg $siz-$, Qrg $S\check{c}iz-$ v. 'draw a line, mark', Az $\check{c}iz\check{g}i$ 'line, stroke (линия, штрих)', Tkm $\check{c}iz-$ $\check{c}ib-$ 'draw a line, draw (чертить), scratch' ¶ Cl. 432, Rs. W 112, DTS 147, Bu. I 476, Rh. 720, ARL 345, TkR 743, Jus. 675, 883, Rl. III 2148-9 || [2] ?с Т * $\check{c}ärt-$ {SDM} 'make notches\indents' → break the edge' → 'pinch' > OT Kr $\check{c}ert-$ {SDM} 'cut (off edges), make notches', Qmq $\check{c}ert-$ id., 'play a musical instrument', Az $\check{c}ärt-$, ET $\check{c}ert-$ {SDM} id., v. 'click (щёлкать)', Qzq, Qq $\check{s}ert-$, Qrg $\check{c}ert-$ id., 'play a musical instrument', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} $\check{c}ärt-$ 'Einschnitte machen; mit den Fingern klipsen; (Nässe) knacken', Tkm $\check{c}irt-$ 'pinch, make an incision (щипать, надрезать)', Uz $\check{c}ert-$ v. 'click (щёлкать), play (a musical instrument)', ET $\check{c}ärt-$ 'щёлкать, выстуливать пальцами', Bsh $sirt-$ v. 'click (щёлкать)', VTt $\check{s}irt-$ id., 'тренкать, бренчать', Chv $\check{c}art\acute{s}art$ 'a dent for inserting bottom into banded vesseks (утор, нарезка для вставки дна в клепках обручной посуды)' ¶ If * $\check{c}ärt-$ *belomgd gere*, its vw. *-ä- needs explanation ¶ Rl. III 1973, TkR 733, UzR 519, TatR 537, BR 273, KrkR 734, MM 395, Jud. 558, KmRS 357, Ash. XII 67, Fed. II 87-8, Rs. W 105, Naj. 390, Cl. 428 (supposing that the T word is onomatopoeic) || Tg {SDM} * $\check{c}ire-$ > Ewk $\check{c}ir\check{c}\bar{i}-$ (3s $\check{c}ir\check{c}\bar{i}-r\check{z}n$) 'scratch off (skin on the face)', Nn KU $\check{c}ire-$ 'cut (smth.) across (разрезать поперёк)', Nn Nh $\check{c}\bar{i}re$ 'across' (cutting sth.) ¶ STM II 188, 400, Vas. 522, On. 509 ¶¶ SDM 435 (pA * $\check{c}'ire$ 'cut, scrape' [> Tg, T * $\check{c}ert-$] with err. rec. of pA *-r- instead of *-r'- [because T * $\check{c}ir-$ was not taken into account]), DQA no. 322 (is.) ¶¶ T *r (rather than *r') in * $\check{c}ert-$ is a reg. reflex of pA *r' before a cons. || D * $\check{c}\bar{i}ra\check{n}-$ ({ $\check{c}GS$ } * $\check{c}|\acute{c}-$) 'small chisel' (× N * $\check{c}i\check{p}UR\check{v}$ 'flintstone, knife?') > Kn $\check{c}\bar{i}ra\check{n}a, \check{c}\bar{i}r\check{n}a, j\bar{i}r\check{n}a$ 'a small chisel, esp. used in cutting metals', Tl $\check{c}\bar{i}ra\check{n}amu$ 'a small chisel' ¶¶ D no. 2627.

366. $\check{c}\hat{a}R_{i,p}\check{v}$ (~ *-b-?) 'scratch, hew, cut' > IE: NaIE * $\check{s}kerb-/skreb-$ (~ *-p-), * $\check{s}krej\check{b}/p-$ 'scratch, scrape' > AS inf. $\check{s}\acute{c}eorpan$ 'to scratch, to gnaw', OHG inf. $\check{s}carb\bar{o}n$ 'to cut', $\check{s}carpf$ 'sharp', MHG $\check{s}charf$ adj. 'cutting', NHG $\check{s}charf$, AS $\check{s}\acute{c}earp$ 'sharp', NE $\check{s}harp$; AS $\check{s}\acute{c}eorf$ 'Einschnitt', OHG inf. $\check{s}curfen$ 'aufschneiden', NHG inf. $\check{s}ch\check{u}rfen$ 'leicht abkratzen', 'to dig (for sth.)'; MHG inf. $\check{s}chreffn$, AS inf. $\check{s}\acute{c}repan$ 'to scratch'; NE $\check{s}crape$ || BSl: Lt inf. $\check{s}kreb\acute{e}t\check{i}$ 'to scrape', Ltv inf. $\check{s}kr\acute{a}p\acute{e}t$ 'to scratch, to scrape', inf. $\check{s}kr\acute{a}bt$ (1s pres. $\check{s}kr\acute{a}bu$) id., 'to scoop, to hollow out', $\check{s}\check{k}i\check{r}\check{b}a$ 'chink, split, gap', Ltv

Δ *skrīpāt* 'einritzen, kratzen' || Sl **skreb-* (inf. **skresti*) > ChS *оскребѣ* *o-skreb-ǫ* 'I scrape off', R *скреб-у* (inf. *скрести*), Uk *скреб-у* (inf. *скребити*), Slv *škrébljem* (inf. *škrébat*) 'I scrape', Slk {Ma.} inf. *škret'* 'to scrape'; ⇨ (iter.): Cz inf. *škrabati* 'to scratch, to scrape', Slk inf. *šrabat'* id., P inf. *skrobać* 'to scrape, to scrub, to erase' || L *scrīb-ō, -ēre* 'write' || Clt {Matas.} **°skrībb-ā-* 'scratch' > OIr {Vn.} *scríp-* ({Vn.}: -p- = [b]) 'scratch', MIr {Matas.} *scrípaid* 'scratches', NIr *scríobaim* 'scrape, rub the surface, scratch'; Brtt {ðRE} **skrebami* 'scratch' > W *scrapo*, Crn *scravnyas* 'to scratch, Br *skararñ* 'to scratch, to rub' || Gk *σκαρτῦάομαι, σκαρτῦέω* 'die Oberfläche eines Körpers aufritzen', 'scratch an outline' ¶ P 943-7 (unj. adduction of homo-\paro-nymous words of different origin), ≈ Frn. 815, Kar. II 203, 355, F II 720, WH II 499-500, Vn. S 55, Matas. E 344, RE 126, Ho. 274-6, 282, Kb. 869, KM 635-6, 684, Vs. III 656, Ma. CS 50, Srz. II 730 || HS: WS **✓çrb* > Gz *✓şrb G* (js. *yaşrəb*) 'hew, do carpentry', Sb *şrbt* '(?) cutting of a road', ?σ *şrb n.* 'harvest', Mh {Jo.} *məşrāb*, Jb C {Jo.} *məş'reb* 'saw-edged knife used to cut grass', Sq {L} *✓şrb G*, Ar *حرب* *✓şrb G v.* 'cut', BHb *צַרְבַּת* *çā'rəḫəṭ* 'scab, scar (of a sore)' (× Hb *✓şrb* 'burn, scorch' < CS **✓şrb* 'kindle?') ¶ L G 56, BK I 1327, Hv. 393, Ln. 1674, KB 985-6, BDB 863, BGMR 144, Jo. M 365, Jo. J 241.

367. ? **ćor̥* (or **ćor̥*?) to drip, to trickle' > HS: S **°ć¹rr* > Ak fOB *✓şrr G* (p. *işruur*) 'flow, drip', 'libate, pour out' ¶ Sd. 1084-5, CAD XVI 105-6 || K **ćur-* 'squeeze out, strain' (× N **ćur̥* 'squeeze out [liquid], strain, sift' [q.v. ffd.]) || U {UEW} **ćor̥* 'leak, flow, drip' (× N **ćor̥* 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops' [q.v.]) || D **ćōr̥-* ({*θGS*} **c|s-*?) 'trickle, pour, flow down' (× N **ćūr̥* 'to stream') > Prj *ćōr̥-* v. 'trickle', Png *hōr̥-* v. 'drip'; cp. also N **ćor̥* '↑' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D no-s 2883 and 2893 || A **ćur-* 'pour, stream' (× N **ćor̥* '↑') > M: Ba *ćur-* vi. 'pour' (of tears) ¶ T BJ 151 || Tg **ćor-* 'stream', 'run' (of water) > Ul *ćor̥* id. ('струиться'), 'flow down', ?ϕ Nn Bk *caoqa* 'rivulet (in the mountains)', WrMc {Z} adj. id. *чоръ сэмэ* 'welling out, spouting' ¶ STM II 409, Z 949 ◇ Doubtful, because the etymon has an uncontaminated reflex in Ak only. Due to the loss of the opposition "emphatic ↔ plain voiceless" in U and D and the loss of the lr. **ć* in K it was doomed to coalesce with paronymous N words of similar meaning.

368. (₂?) ***çot**∇ 'drop' > **K** (GZ or pK) ***ç**wet- n. 'drop' > OG **ç**uēt-, G **ç**vet-, Mg **č**wet- ~ **č**wat- id., Lz d. o-**č**ot-u-a {FS} 'Tropfstelle', o-**č**wet-el-a ~ o-**č**ot-ur-a 'place for litter (Kehricht) in the yard'; GZ ***ç**wet- / ***ç**wt- v. 'drip, drop' > OG **ç**wet-/**ç**wt-, G **ç**vet-, Mg **č**wat- id.; ?? Sv {K} **w**ed- n. 'drop, dew', adduced in K 250, is considered very problematic in K² ¶¶ K 250, K² 310-11, FS K 462, FS E 524, Chx. 2152-3, Abul. 551 || **D** ***ç**ot̥t̥o ({{**θ**GS} *s-) n. 'drop', ***ç**ot̥t̥- v. 'fall in drops' > Tm **ç**ot̥t̥u, Kt **ç**ot̥, Td **sw**it̥, Kn **to**t̥t̥u, Brh **ç**ut̥ 'a drop'; Tm **ç**ot̥t̥u, Td **sw**it̥- 'fall in drops', Kt **ç**ot̥-, Mlt **ç**ate id., leak', Brh **ç**uttin̥ v. 'drip' ¶¶ D no. 2835 || **HS**: S ?σ,φ ***o**'s¹a'day- 'dew' > Ar **سَدَى** sadā 'night dew', ✓ **sd**y (pf. **sadiya**) 'copiosum habet rorem' (terra) ¶ Ln. 1335-6, Fr. II 302 ¶¶ If the S initial cns. is *s (= *[c]), it is from a deglottalized ***ç**. S -d- (for -t-) still requires explanation.

369. ***ç**'**ü**'**t**∇ (or ***ç**'**ü**'**t̥**∇?) 'throw, fling, pour' > **K** *on.* ***o**-**ç**ic̥it̥- > G -**ç**it̥- 'zwischen den Zähnen ausspucken' ¶ Chx. 2176 || **IE**: NaIE *(s)keud-/ *(s)kud- 'throw, cast', {EI} *(s)keud- > pAl {O} *skeuda > Al T **hedh**- (aor. **hodha**), Al G {Mn.} **hudh** v. {AlbED} 'throw', {Mn.} 'fling' (= Al G {Kf.} **hudh**, **hudhi** 'ρύπτω') || ON inf. **skjóta**, AS inf. **scéotan** 'to shoot, to throw', OHG inf. **sciozan** 'to shoot (arrows), to throw', NHG inf. **schießen**, MDt inf. **scieten**, Dt inf. **schieten**, OSx inf. **skiotan** 'to shoot', NE v. **shoot** || Sl inf. ***kǎda-ti** / pfv. inf. ***kǎ-nq-ti** (< ****kǎd-nq-ti**) 'to throw' > ChS {Mikl.}, OR inf. **кыдати** **kǎdati** 'to throw', OCS inf. **искыдати** **is-kǎdati** 'to throw away, выбросить', R inf. **кидаты** (pfv. **кинуть**), Uk inf. **кидати** 'to throw, to cast, to fling', Cz inf. **kydati** 'to throw, to throw away', SCr inf. **kǎdati** id., 'to clean the cattle shed', inf. **kǎnuti** 'to throw, to cast', Slv inf. **kǎdati**, Slk inf. **kydat'** (pfv. **kydnut'**), P inf. **kǎdac'** 'to throw', HLs inf. **kǎdac'**, LLs inf. **kǎdas'** 'to pour out, to shake out' ¶ WP II 554, P 955-6, EI 581, ≈ Mn. 1160-1 (un-convincingly adducing OI **cōdati** v. 'incites, animates' and Lt **skudrūs** 'quick'), Kf. 135, 138, O 143-4, Vr. 496, Ho. 276, Ho. S 66, OsS 797-8, Schz. 257, Kb. 885, KM 647-8, Vs. II 230, ESSJ XIII 252-4, StSS 266, Glh. 316-17 || **HS**: Eg **fP** **st̥y** 'throw (out\away), pour, shoot (arrow)' (× N ***š**id∇ 'sprinkle, pour' and possibly Eg **st̥y** 'lay' < N ***š**'**āt**∇ 'sit, sit down', accounting for the unexpected **st̥**-) ¶ EG IV 328-9, Fk. 252 || ?φ WS ***s**šūt̥- v. 'pour, spill' > Gz -**sū**t̥- (pf. **sō**t̥a, js. **yə-sū**t̥) id., ? Ar **sa**wt̥- 'place where water collects', {BK} 'mare d'eau stagnante; le superflu d'eau d'un vivier qui

déborde'; here some scholars adduce dubious Sb and Hb forms (h. l.) that are semantically interpreted on the basis of this et. (a vicious circle!): Sb ṛṣṭṭ ({BGMR} 'rainwater cisterns' [?]) and Hb ṛṣṭ in the phrase $\text{ṣṭ} \text{ṣṭ} \text{ṣṭ}$ (interpreted by some as 'fließender Flut', *F* discussion in GB 814); if the Hb and Sb parallels are correct (which is highly qu.), the S \checkmark is to be reconstructed as $\text{*}\checkmark \text{ṣṭ}$; otherwise both $\text{*}\checkmark \text{sṭ}$ and $\text{*}\checkmark \text{ṣṭ}$ are possible ¶ L G 521, BGMR 130, BK I 1164 || A: M $\text{*}\checkmark \text{it|dqu-}$ 'pour (schütten, gießen)' > MM [MA] $\checkmark \text{it|dqu-}$ 'schütten', WrM it|dqu- {MED} v. 'pour, pour into, smelt, cast', HIM it|dqu- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'pour, pour out; ausschmelzen (выплавлять из металла)', Brt it|dqu- v. 'pour, pour out, pour into', WrO it|dqu- 'pour in, flow into', Kl {KRS} it|dqu- it|dqu- v. 'cast (metal, glass); drive out (a gopher from its burrow by pouring water in it)', {Rm.} it|dqu- 'gießen, in Formen gießen; sich ergießen', 'ausfließen' (ein Fluß), Ord it|dqu- 'verser, verser dans un moule, couler, verser dans la bouche pour faire avaler' ¶ Pp. MA 135, MED 177, BMR IV 277, Chr. 733, Krg. 649, KRS 642, KW 434, Ms. O 215 ◇ The de-emphatization and de-affricatization of the initial N $\text{*}\checkmark$ in HS is a typical process. In K the glottalization of the stem-final cns., if not original, may be due to the ass. infl. of the N initial $\text{*}\checkmark$. The S \checkmark with its final $\text{*}\checkmark$ belongs here only if the glottalized $\text{*}\checkmark$ is original. In this latter case the IE tenuis $\text{*}\checkmark$ is hard to explain. The causes of delabialization of $\text{*}\checkmark$ in M (whence M $\text{*}\checkmark$) need investigating.

370. $\text{*}\checkmark \text{Aht}$ or $\text{*}\checkmark \text{Ahd}$ (= $\text{*}\checkmark \text{Aṣ|ht}$ or $\text{*}\checkmark \text{Aṣ|hd}$?) 'red' > K: GZ $\text{*}\checkmark \text{it-}$ 'be(come) red' > OG, G $\checkmark \text{it-}$ id. (OG, G $\checkmark \text{it-s}$ 'is red'), Mg $\checkmark \text{it-}$ 'become red'; \rightarrow GZ $\text{*}\checkmark \text{it-el-}$ 'red' > OG, G $\checkmark \text{itel-}$, Mg $\checkmark \text{ita-}$, Lz (m) $\checkmark \text{ita}$ id. ¶ K 251, K² 313, FS E 526, Chx. 2162-3, Q 388-9 || HS: \checkmark S $\text{*}\checkmark \text{sṣ|hd}$ > Ak {Sd.} ṣṣ-d-um 'red' ¶ Sd. 1034; CAD XIII 206 (considering the meaning of this word uncertain) || C: SC {E} $\text{*}\checkmark \text{éd-}$ 'red' > Brn {Wh.} $\checkmark \text{ēde}$, Irq/Grw {Wh.} $\checkmark \text{ēre}$, Alg {Wh.} $\checkmark \text{ēre}$ 'blood', ?? SC \rightarrow Mb m- sére 'red(-brown) cow' || \rightarrow Dhl {EEN, To.} $\checkmark \text{íraraṣe}$ 'red' ¶ Wh. IC 22, E SC 179, E PC no. 171, EEN 17, To. D 149 ¶ Ehret reconstructed the pSC meaning 'red' on the ev. of Mb and Dhl (which he considered as belonging to SC) ¶¶ \approx Tk. PAA (pHS $\text{*}\checkmark \text{ayd-}$ 'red', SC $\text{*}\checkmark \text{ēd-}$ id.) || D $\text{*}\checkmark \text{āt-}$ ({ṠGS} $\text{*}\checkmark \text{z|z-}$) 'red color' > Kn $\text{jājṭ} \sim \text{jāṣṭ}$ id., 'color of red ochre', Tl $\text{jājṭ} \sim \text{jāṣṭ}$ 'redness' ¶¶ D no. 2437 ¶¶ D $\text{*}\checkmark \text{-t-}$ is likely to go back to the N cluster $\text{*}\checkmark \text{-ht-}$ (D $\text{*}\checkmark \text{-t-}$ goes back either to N $\text{*}\checkmark \text{-t-}$ or to a $\text{*}\checkmark \text{-t-}$ cluster). ◇ If Ak ṣṣ-d-um means 'red', the N etymon is $\text{*}\checkmark \text{Aṣ|ht}$ or $\text{*}\checkmark \text{Aṣ|hd}$.

371. * $\check{c}oQ\check{t}\nabla$ 'dark, darkness' > **K** * $^{\circ}c|c\grave{e}gud-$ (dis. from ** $c|c\grave{e}gu\check{t}-?$) 'dark' > OG $c\grave{g}w\check{d}iadi$, $c\grave{g}udeva$ 'darkness (μαрак)', G $c\grave{g}v\check{d}iadiid.$, $c\grave{g}viadoba$ 'darkness (темнота)' ¶ Chik. 200, DCh. 1701 || **IE:** NaIE * $skot-$ 'shade, darkness, shadow', {EI} * $skoto-s$ 'shadow, shade' > Gk $\sigma\acute{o}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'darkness' ||| Clt {Matas.} * $sk\bar{a}to-$ 'shadow' > OIr (L-gr. of apophony) $sc\acute{a}th$ 'shade, shelter, shadow, reflection (in a mirror)', W {Vn.} $ysgodigo$ 'être ombragé', MW $ysgawd \sim isgawd$ 'ombre, obscurité, esprit nocturne', $cy-sgawd$ 'shadow, image', W {YGM} $cy-sgod$ 'shade, shadow', OCrn [\check{y}] $scod$ 'umbra', MCrn $scos$, NCrn $sk\bar{e}z$, MBr $squeut$ 'shadow', Br {Hm.} $skeud$ 'ombre (portée)' ||| Gt $skadus$ (·σκιύ) 'Schatten', Dn, Nr $skodde$ 'fog', OHG $scato$ (gen. $scatuwes$) 'shadow', NHG $Schatten$ id., 'shade', Dt $schadow$ 'shadow', AS $sceadu$ (dat. $sceadwe$) 'shade, shadow', NE $shade$, $shadow$ ¶ WP II 600, P 957, AHDI 61, EI 508, F II 739-40, Vn. S 36, Ern. 646, YGM-1 151, Hm. 728, Fs. 427, Skeat 552, Schz. 255, OsS 782, Kb. 870, KM 637-8 ¶ **IE** * $sk-$ for the expected * sk^w- has not yet been explained || **U:** FP * $\acute{c}ottE$ 'black' > Prm: pZ * $\acute{c}ot-$ ({LG} * $\acute{c}ot-$) > StZ $\check{c}od \acute{c}ed / \acute{c}edy-$, Z $\Delta \acute{c}ed$, Yz ' $\acute{c}ud$ 'bilberries' | Chr L {Ü} $\check{c}oty\check{r} \check{c}oty\check{r}$ 'dark-haired person' ¶ LG 310, Lt. 148, Ü 246.

372. * $\check{c}ow\nabla$ 'inform, make know\hear' > **K:** GZ * $\check{c}aw-$ / * $\check{c}w-$ v. 'communicate, inform, announce' > OG, G $s\check{c}av-$ v. 'mean, designate, inform, teach' (< 3m px * $s-$ 'to him\her' + * $\check{c}aw-$), Mg $\check{c}(o)-$ v. 'inform, tell', Lz $\check{c}(v)-$ v. 'speak, tell' ¶ K² 291-2, Chik. 393-4, Fn. KW-4 54, FS K 438, FS E 494-5 || **HS:** CS * $\check{c}ww$ (~ * $\check{c}wy|w?$) > Ar $\check{c}uww$ -at- (pl. $\check{c}uwa-n$) 'pierre qui indique la route; écho, retentissement de la voix \ d'un son', ? Hb $\check{c}aw n$. 'command, ordinance', $\check{c}wy|w$ v. D (pf. $\check{c}iw'w\bar{a}$) 'command, order, lay charge upon' (× S * $\check{c}wy$ > Ar $\check{c}wy G$ 'recommend, appoint as executor', Sh [pf. $\check{c}aw\check{c}u\bar{a}$] 'order, command') ¶ BK I 1388 and II 1551-2, KB 946-8, BDB 845-6 || **A:** M * $\check{c}obu\check{c}a(n)$ > WrM $сoвuгa, cовuгu$ {MED} 'clever, smart, quickwitted, alert' (usually of children), HIM $цoвoo$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'смышлeный, осмыслeнный; behend, бойкий; fröhlich', Kl $\check{c}ow\bar{a}$ 'scherzhaft' (Mensch), 'Witz', Ord $\check{c}'ow\bar{u}n$ 'très intelligent, précoce' (a child) ¶ MED 193, BMR IV 256, KW 431, Ms. O 714.

373. ₂ * $\check{c}\nabla\chi U$ 'be alive\healthy' > **K:** GZ * $\check{c}\chi ow-$ 'live' ⇨ [1] GZ {K} * $\check{c}\chi o(w)n-$ 'save (soul)' > OG $c\chi on-$ 'save (so.), make so.\sth. whole'

(*γασκοννα* *šen* 'hath made thee whole, Mt. 9.22), *cχond-* ps. 'live', *G cχon-* 'save (soul), be saved; live, be alive', *cχovneba* 'life', *cχovr-* v. 'live', *Mg čxon-* v. 'save'; [2] *GZ *čχow-el-* 'living, animal' > *OG cχowel-* 'alive, animated, animal', *G cχov-el-* 'animal', *Mg čxo-u ~ čxu ~ čxu-u* 'cow' ¶ *K* 232, *K*² 276, *FS K* 417-18 || **HS**: *WS *✓c.ħħ v.* 'be alive\healthy' > *Mh ṣ̌žħ*, *Jb C ṣ̌a'ħi* 'alive, awake, healthy', *Hrs ṣ̌žħ* 'alive, healthy', *Mh ṣ̌žħħā t*, *Jb E/C ṣ̌žħat* 'health', *Ar ✓ṣ̌ħħ G* 'be in good condition, be healthy', *Ar ṣ̌iħħat-*, *Sb ṣ̌ħ, ṣ̌ħħ* 'health, good condition' ¶ *BK I* 1056, 1310-11, *Jo. M* 360, *Jo. J* 238, *Jo. H* 115, *BGMR* 142 ◇ In *K* there is a compulsory glottal as. (here deglottalization) within "harmonic" cns. clusters (here **č + *χ > *čχ*).

374. ₂ **č̣a*, dem. pronoun of distal deixis > **¶** **č̣a* 'that (jener, farther) (not very far)' > *Tg *č̣ā-*, pronominal stem of distal deixis ('that, jener, farther [not very far]') (× *N *č̣E* 'that' [distal or intermediate deixis]?) > *Ewk, Neg, Lm č̣ā-*, *Ud č̣a-*, *Ul, Nn č̣a-*, *Orc č̣ā-*, *Ork č̣ō-*, *Sln ṣā-*, *WrMc {Z} ч̣а-* 'that, jener, farther (not very far)', *Nn Nh č̣adu* {STM} 'there' (place), 'then', {On.} *č̣adu* 'then', *č̣adoā* 'there', *Ul č̣adu* 'there' (place, direction), *Nn Nh č̣ala* id., *Ul č̣ala* 'there' (direction), ? *Ud {Krm.} č̣ayla* 'far away', *Ewk č̣āwū* *č̣āyū* 'that which is farther, the following', *Lm č̣āy* id., 'that which is far', *Sln č̣āyū* 'the opposite, that on the other side', *WrMc {Z} ч̣аси* ({Pp.} *č̣āsī*) 'there' (direction), 'to the other side', *ч̣ала* 'there, on the other side' ¶ *STM II* 376-7, *Krm.* 309, *On.* 496-7, *Z* 923-4 || **M** **č̣aɣa-* > *Brt саа* 'on/to the other side (на той стороне, на ту сторону), *Kl {KRS} ца са* 'behind, on the other side', {Rm.} *cā* 'hinten, hinter, weiter weg, jenseits, hinüber; **M** **č̣aɣasi* > *WrM {MED} сагаси* 'away from, farther', *HIM {MED, BMR} цааш* id., *WrM {Kow.} casī* 'un peu de côté, un peu plus loin', *Brt сааша* 'farther than; except', *Kl {Rm.} cāyās* 'von hinten her, von hinten, von jenseits', *Ord č̣'āšī* 'vers l'autre côté, vers le côté opposé, dans une direction opposée, plus loin', *Dg {T} č̣ās* 'дальше; подальше от', {Mr.} *č̣āšī* 'thither', *Mnr {SM} č̣jagšā* 'de ce côté-là, au delà, plus loin, dans la direction opposée'; **M** **č̣aɣada* ({Pp.} **č̣agāda*) > *MM č̣a,ada* 'bei, jenseits' ({H} 'eng, nahe'), *WrM {MED} adj, adv. сагаду* 'situated on the other or opposite side; beyond', *HIM цаад* {MED} id., {BMR} *цаад* 'that (remote), opposite', *Brt саада* id., *Kl {KRS} цаад саадъ* id., {Rm.} *cāta ~ cāda* 'der hintere, der andere', *Ord č̣'ādū ~ č̣'ād* 'qui est de ce côté-là, qui est au delà'; **M** **č̣aɣana* >

WrM цагана {Kow.} 'au delà de, plus loin', {MED} 'farther, beyond, behind, yonder, trans-', HIM {MED, BMR} цаана id., {Pp.} cāna 'on the other side', Brt саана 'dort, dorthin, plus loin', postp. 'beside', Dg {Ms.} ćāna, Ord č'āna 'de ce côté-la, plus loin' ¶ MED 157-8 (err. [which does not exist?]) WrM ца- 'that. beyond', 178, BMR IV 238-9, Chr. 377-8, KRS 620, KW 423-4, H 24, Lg. VMI 24, Kow. 2088, 2096, Ms. O 689-90, 694, 686, Mr. D 127, T DgJ 181, T BJ 151, SM 442 ¶¶ SDM 406 (pA *ć'a 'that, beyond [not very far]' > M, Tg + unc. pKo *ć'ə 'this' [going back to pA *ć'æ < N *ć'E 'that']), DQA no. 255 (pA *ć'a), Pp. VG 26 (M, Tg), KW 423 || HS: CS *'θamma 'there' (place) > Hb 𐩧𐩣𐩪 šām, M'b, Ph, DA šm, Ug 𐤁𐤌𐤍 tammā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤁𐤌𐤍 tam, JA {Js., Lv.} 𐤁𐤌𐤍 tām, Sr tammā, NNEA {Mcl.} tama, Md tam, Ar 𐤃𐤌𐤍 θamma id., SmA tm 'then' ¶ KB 1430-2, 1799, OLS 495, Js. 1675, Lv. IV 649, Mcl. 322, Br. 82, Tal 953 ◇ Related to N *ć'ū' 'that of...' (q.v.)?

375. *ć'ū' 'that of ..., that which' > K *ćwe-, first component of poss. pronouns: [1] K {Gm.} *ćwem_li 'my' ({K²} *ć(w)em-, {K, FS} *ćem_li 'my') > GZ *ćem_li > OG, G čem-i, Mg čkim-i, Lz čkim-i ~ škim-i 'my' || USv mi-šgu ~ mi-šgwi, Sv L mi-šgwi, Sv Ln mi-škwī 'my' ¶¶ K *-w- is preserved in Sv, but was lost in GZ (dis. due to the presence of *m?) ¶¶ K 219, K² 255, FS K 387, FS E 434-5, Gm. SSh 41-2, TK 571, GP 220, Dn. s.v. mišgvī, Top. SJ 83 || [2] *ćwen- 'our' > OG čuen-i, G čwen-i, Mg čkən-i ~ čkin-i, Lz čkun-i ~ škun-i ~ čkin-i ~ škin-i 'our', Sv {TK}: UB gwi-šgwey ~ gu-šgwey, LB gwišgwe ~ gušge, L gušgwe, Ln guškwē 'our' incl., UB {GP} ni-šgwē(y), LB {GP} nišgwe 'our' excl.; → GZ *ćwen 'we' > OG čwen, G čwen, Δ čon, Mg čkə ~ čki, Lz čkun ~ čkin ~ šku 'we' ¶¶ K 219-20, K² 256-7, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Q 367, TK 183, Top. SJ 83, GP 94-5, 237 || [3] pre-K **ćw-sen- > K *šwen- 'thy' > Sv UB {TK} isgw-i ~ isgu, Sv L isgwi, Sv Ln iskwī 'thy' || GZ *šen- > OG, G šen-i 'thy' (→ OG, G šen 'thou'), Mg skan-i, skan-i, Lz skan-i, ckan-i 'thy' ¶¶ FS E 427-8, K 216, K² 250, Schm. 142, TK 299, Top. SJ 83, GP 299 ¶¶ These K poss. pronouns emerge from N constructions *oć'ū' mi 'my' (*mi 'I'), *oć'ū' n̄∇ 'our' (*n̄∇ 'we' excl.), *oć'ū' s'ū' nu 'thy' (*s'ū' 'thou', *nu 'of' → [in descendant lges] marker of obl. cases) || HS: S *θ-, nota genitivi > OAk sg. m. nom. θ-u, accus. θ-a, gen. θ-i 'which', sg. f. nom./accus. θ-at, gen. θ-at-i, pl. m. nom./accus. θ-ūt, gen. θ-ūt-i, pl. f. nom./accus. θ-āt, gen. θ-āt-i (θ = ś ↔ ś < S *š and *ŝ), Ak śa 'which', ? BHb [Deborah's Song]

šā +gmc. (subordinative cnjc.) 'that', MHb šε + gmc. cnjc. 'which, that', Ph š, Pun (LSc) SA, SY ¶ Sd. G § 46, KB 1271-2 || IE: NaIE *-ist(h)ō-, sx of the superlative degree > Gk ἡδιστος, OHG suōzistō, OI 'svadiṣṭhas 'sweetest', Gk πλεῖστος, ON flestr, Av fraēšta 'plurimus', Gk μέγιστος, OI 'mahisṭhas 'greatest', Gk ἐλάχιστος 'smallest, least', OI 'laghiṣṭhas 'longest'; acc. to Hirt, *-ist(h)ō- goes back to *-is-st(h)ō-, where *-is- is a sx of cmpr. (it means that the N prototype of the IE sprl. may be reconstructed as nomen + N *^o'y'iyō sE č'ü' [lit. 'than \ related to + he\she + that which'], see s.v. *^o'y'iyō 'which' [rel.], 'that which, related to') ||| Acc. to Hirt IG III 196, *-t(h)ōs of some ordinal numerals (OI catur'thas 'fourth', ἡξασṭhas 'sixth' etc.) is of the same origin ¶ Hirt IG III 195-6, BD II/1 659-60, Bks 199 || A: Tg *-çī, nominal sx with several functions: **[1]** sx of ordinal numerals: Ewk -çī (ūmūçī 'first', jūçī 'second', ilaçī 'third'), WrMc {Z} -чи (эмучи 'first', илаци 'third'), Nn Nh -čja-/ -čiz (toyngičja 'fifth', nadjačja 'seventh', hūngičiz 'sixth'), **[2]** sx of adjectives denoting age (derived from numerals): Ewk jūçī 'two-year-old', ilaçī 'three-year-old'; probably here also Nn Nh -pčj/-pčj that forms adjectives from words for time: bala-pčj 'ancient custom' (← balana 'long ago'), **[3]** sx with the meaning 'having X', 'having relation to X', e.g. Ewk hutç-çī 'who has children' (← hutç 'child'), Tg *oro(n)-çī 'reindeer breeder' (← *oron 'reindeer') > Ewk oroçī 'reindeer breeder', Lm orъç id. (a name for Lamuts of some regions), Orc oroçi, Ud oroći, Ul oročl, Nn oročz 'Orochi' (ethnic name ← 'reindeer breeder'), WrMc {Z} оронъчо 'reindeer breeder' ¶ Vas. 797, Avr. G I 221-2, 239-42, Hrl. 40, STM II 25 || NaT *-çī, denominative sx for names of professions and other nomina agentis (possibly × N *č'a or *č'a, a marker of relative constructions > sx of adjectives?): OT -čī / -čī ({{Cl.} -čī: / -čī:), e.g. {MhK} ämčī 'medicine man', aχīčī 'treasurer', umdučī 'beggar', ayāqčī 'bowlmaker', ötügčī 'intercessor', as well the cognate sx of later T lges; it is theoretically possible that the T sx *-nç of the ordinal numerals (OT ūčū-rč 'third', bešīnč 'fifth' etc.) belongs here as well, but it is better explained as related to FU *-ńć- of ordinal numerals ¶ MKD 315, Cl. xl, 53, 80, 136, 157, 271 ◇ AD PP ∇.

376. *č|čib∇ 'stem of a tree, log' > IE: NaIE *ste:jb(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree', → 'staff, stick' (× N *s'o'b,∇,∇,∇ or *s∇b,∇,∇,∇ 'stem,

piece of wood' [q.v.]: [1] *steb^h-, *steb- > Gk σταφυλή {LS} 'bunch of grapes', {P} 'Weinstock, Weintraube' ||| OIr {P} sab 'shaft, arrow, stick', {Vn.} 'tige, pieu, bâton servant d'appui' (P: < *stab_l^hā), NIr sabh 'bolt\bar of a door\gate; a short, thick stick' ||| ON staf-r 'staff (Stab, Stock)', OHG stab 'staff, stick, club' (> NHG Stab 'staff, stick'), AS stæf 'staff, stick' (> NE staff) ||| Ltv stabas 'post, pole, pillar', Lt stābas id., 'idol', Ltv stebe 'mast' ||| NaIE °steb- '≈ pillar' > ON stǫpull 'post, pillar', {Vr.} 'dicker Pfahl', AS stapol 'pillar, prop, stem' ||| [2] NaIE *stob_l^h-∇r- > Lt stābaras 'stalk, stem, dry twig\branch' | pSl ≈ *stoborъ, {Vs.} *stьbьrъ > SrChS стоборъ stoborъ 'column', d. OR, RChS стоборнѣ stoborije 'row of posts, colonnade', SCr † stōbōr 'column, pillar', Slv {Kmc} stebēr id., 'pier (of a bridge)', {Vs.} 'idol', Blg 'стобор ~ сто'бор 'pale fence' ||| Gmc: Dn stavær 'high mast, high pole', Sw Δ {P} 'pale (Zaupfahl)' ¶ P 1011-13, EI 442 (*sth₂b^ho/e_π- 'post, pillar'), F II 778-9, Vn. S 3, Dnn. 585, Vr. 541, 559, Ho. 314-17, Kb. 947, OsS 861, KEN 647, Tr. 280, Frn. 890-1, Mikl. E 323, Mikl. L 885, Kmc 819, Vs. III 762-3 ||| U: FU (+ext.) *čiwδ|∇ > ObU {ϑHl.} *čīwəl 'ε beam' > pVg *šīwəl 'crossbeam' > Vg: LK šēwəl, MK/UK sēwəl id., P šäwältäp 'Gestell'; pOs *čiwəl ~ *čewəl 'supporting beam' > Os K/Km čewət id. ¶ Ht. no. 98 ||| D *čiwva ({ϑGS} *č-) '≈ piece of wood, stick' > Nkr síwva 'wood', Klm síwva 'piece of fuel', ? Tl cuwva 'twig, small flexible stick or cane' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 2600 ◇ Qu., because the IE √ has an alt. et.

377. ₂ *čûb∇ 'bend, turn, turn back, give back' > HS: WS (or S?) *-θūb- 'return, give back' > BHb √ šwb G (ip. -šūb-), OA כוּב [√ θwb] G, JA, Sr √ twb G (ip. -tūb-), Ar √ θwb G (ip. -θūb-) 'turn back, return', JEA √ twb G 'answer, raise an objection', Ug √ θwb 'turn back; turn to; answer', Sb √ θwb G 'repair; complete\execute (construction); reward, recompense', Mn {MA} √ θwb G 'decree', Qt {Rk.} √ θwb G 'succeed; offer', Mh √ θwb G (pf. θwūb), Jb C/E √ θwb G (pf. θwūb) 'requite (so.)', ??σ Ak fOB √ šwb (p. i -šūb) 'tremble, sway' ¶ KB 1326-31, A no. 2828, OLS 484-5, Sl. 1196, Ln. 361ff., BGMR 151, MA 99, Rk. 178, Jo. M 419, Jo J 285, CAD XVII/1 16 ||| Eg MK wšb v. 'answer' ¶ EG I 371-2, Tk. I 313 ¶ -š- (for the expected -s) may be due to contamination with a different √, namely HS *š∇b 'answer' (> Ch *√ šb 'answer' > WCh: AG *lap [< *šab] > Ang {Flk.} lap, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} láp id., Chip lɔp g^we, Gm ni láp v. 'answer' | Bl {Lk.}

low- [$< *šob-$], Ngm lap, Dr lùwí id. || CCh: Pdl šèwá 'answer' | Hld šuwā [š- for š- is puzzling] | FG žùbàtí | ? Mwl ùlùápá id. | Db ti žòwùlà id., cf. ChL, ChC s.v. 'answer', Nw. 22 [no. 1], J S II 72, Frz. DM 31, Lk. PVB II 137) ¶¶ Tk. I 203, 399 (Blv.'s law: Eg ω- ÷ S *-ū-) || IE: NaIE {P} * $osteu_b_l^h_j$ -ma, * $stou_b_l^h_j$ -ma > Clt: W $ustum$ n. 'bend' → 'shape, posture', Br $stumm$ 'forme, aspect' ¶ ≈ P 1034, YGM-1 447, Hm. 765 || ?φ Gil: Gil A (30-) = z0-/ç0-/j0- vt. 'bend' ¶¶ ST 88.

378. *č'aʔu'ba 'clothe, sack' > A: [1] A * $čub\check{u}$ > M *čuba '≈ fur coat' > WrM cuba {Rm.} 'large fur coat', {Ms.} 'short fur vest', {MED} 'raincoat', {Kow.} cuba degel 'ε coat (manteau) (degel 'jacket'), HIM цуб {MED} 'raincoat', {BMR} id., 'cloak (накидка)', Brт cuba 'raincoat', Kl {KRS} цуб 'sheepskin coat, fur coat (тулуп, шуба)', Kl Ö/T {Rm.} cuwu 'Überrock, großer Pelz, großer Regenrock', Ord č'uwā 'touloupe courte, veste courte en peau' ¶ MED 203, BMR IV 271, Chr. 395, Kow. 2200-1, KRS 639, KW 435, Ms. O 719 || [2] A *čap- 'sack' > Tg *japu(ku) 'quiver' > Orc žapu, žapku, žapuku, Ul žapaу(n-), Nn Bk žaпу id., WrMc {Z} чжабкү 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251, Z 962 || pJ *tāpāra 'sack' > MJ tāpāra {S} id., J T/Kg tawarā, J K táwārā {Kenk.} 'straw bag' ¶ S QJ no. 665, Mr. 544, Kenk. 1932 || pKo *čar 'sack' ({DQA}: < **čawar- < **čabar-) > MKo čar, NKo čaru 'sack' ¶ S QK no. 751, MLC 1376, Nam 416 ¶¶ SDM 389 (pA *čābā|ò 'sack' > Tg *japku 'quiver', J, Ko), DQA no. 221 || HS: S: Ar θawb- '(any) cloth' ¶ BK I 240-1 || D *čavali '(any) cloth' (× N *čaw'h'∇ 'to cover, to dress') > Tm cavali 'cloth, piece goods', Ml cavali, Kn javali 'any cloth', Tu javali, jau|i 'cloth', Tl javali 'cloths, drapery' ¶¶ D no. 2394 || ?σ K: G čob-al-i 'Netz (Teil des Bauchfells)' ¶ Chx. 1943 ◇ Tg and pJ *-p- < N *-ʔ∇b-.

379. (₂?) *čæd_l∇_ly∇ 'female breast' > HS: WS *'θaday- id. > BHb pl. (< du.) ם'ַדְּיָ שָׁאֵיִם šā'dayim 'female breasts', sg. (< pl.\du.) דְּיָ שָׁאֵיִם BHb B sg. šād 'mother's breast' (acc. to Nld NB 121 and GB, BHb T דְּיָ שָׁאֵיִם id. is an erroneous vocalization for דְּיָ שָׁאֵיִם), Ug θd ~ đd, JA pl. תִּדְדִּיִן tad'dīn / אֲדָדַיִם tadday'yā pl., Sr tə'd-ā, SmA td, Ar ثَدْيِ θady-un and ثَدْيِ θada-n, Mh θōdi (pl. θī'day?), Hrs θōdi, Jb E/C 'θɔdε?, Sq {Jo.} 'todī 'breast'; hardly here Ak fMB šaddu 'ε a chest or container' ¶ KB 1316-17, A no-s 2723 and 2842, OLS 139, 487, Tal 942, Js. 1647, Br. 816, Jo. M 415, Jo. H 132, CAD XVII/1 42, MiK I no. 1.280 || AdS of Eg fp šdy v. 'suckle' (from N *šūn₃∇ 'milk; to suck, to suckle' × N

*sü₁y₁∇ ~ *sü₁y₁t∇ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk') ¶ The unexpected Eg š- (for s-, which is the reg. cognate of S *θ) is due to the above merger with N *šü₁z∇ ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314 || A *ĉæ₂z∇ (= *ĉ'æ₂z∇?) 'breast' > Tg *çejan 'breast, female breast' (× N *žü₁žA [~ *žü₁z∇?] 'teat, female breast?') > WrMc {Z} чэчжэнь 'upper part of the chest', Ewk Ucr jadan, Lm j3jin ɹ jajan, Lm A j3j 'udder', Neg † j0yan 'female breast' ¶ STM I 242 and II 419, Z 930 || ? (Ll.) T: Chv чэчэ 'female breast, nipple' (unless a loan from M *ĉe₂ezin 'breast, chest' [cf. N *Ceg∇ 'breast, milk'] or an independent loanword) ¶ Jeg. 271, Fed. II 417 || pKo {S} *ĉj₂ĉ 'female breast' > MKo ĉj₂s, NKo c9c ĉ9t id. ¶ S QK no. 11, Nam 426, MLC 1460 ¶ On Tg *j- < N *č- see s.v. *čU₁?R∇ 'stand, stand up' || pJ {S} (o₂?) *^oti, (o₂) *titi 'female breast' > OJ ti id., J T/Kg čičí, J K čìćí {Kenk.} 'breast'. ¶ Mr. 545-6, Kenk. 140 || AdS of M *ĉe₂ezin 'breast, chest' (< N *Ceg∇ 'breast, milk', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 409-10 (pA *ĉ'ä₂z∇ 'breast' > M, Tg, Ko, J, Chv + unc. T *çičig ~ *çIçig 'ewe; fat tail'), DQA no. 260 (id.), S AJ 32-3, 76, 88, 279, Mr, KJ 227 (Ko, J), Lee CSMK 107 ¶¶ A *-ž- < **dy- || AdS of IE: NaIE *d₁h₁ed^h- ({P} *d^hed^hn-, {Dv.} *dad^h-) 'milk' (< N *dod₁h₂∇ '≈ tip, nipple'; to suck, to suck mother's breast') > O I 'dadhī 'sour milk' || Pru dadan 'milk' || pAl {O} *dedi- > d. (dim.) djathē 'cheese' ¶ If the IE √ belongs here, *d₁h₁- (for the expected *st-) may be due to as. and the Ll.-factor ¶ P 241-2, EI 382 (*^dhed^hh₁i [gen. *d^hed^hnos] 'coagulated [sour] milk'), Dv. no. 934, M K II 15, M E II 923-4, En. 155, O 67 ¶ M, O and EI suppose that the IE word is derived from *d^hēj₁- 'suck'.

380. ₂ *čEg∇ 'to prick' (→ 'to butt') > K {F} *^očig- > G X čig- v. 'butt', čig-av-s 'butts with horns' ¶ Chx. 1934 || IE: NaIE *steg^h- v. 'prick' > ON *steggi (*'pricker') in andarsteggi 'male duck, drake' (andar- < pGmc *anuði- 'duck'), Ic, Far steggi 'male fowl', Sw stagg 'Nardus stricta' ({WP} 'steifes und stehendes Gras'), 'stickleback (*Gasterosteus*)' || Lt P stēgē, stēgis 'stickleback', Ltv stagaris, Δ stagaris 'stickleback, tittlebat (*Gasterosteus aculeatus*)' (with a puzzling r) || Sl *steg- v. 'quilt' (← v. *'prick') > R inf. стегать 'to quilt; to whip, to lash', 'стёжка 'a quilting, stitch', P ścieg, ścig, Cz steh 'a stitch' ¶ WP II 622, P 1014-15, Vr. 545, Bv 696, JM 410, Hlq. 1063, Tr. 285, Frn. 900, ME III 1037-8, Turk. 628, Ma. CS 471, ≈ Vs. III 751, Mikl. E 320 ◇ Fn. KD no. 59 (+ err. D *ĉik-

'split', at variance with the reg. sound corr. [D *-k- does not correspond to K *-g-], hence it is preferable to connect D *čik- with IE *(s)teig- 'prick' < N *čika 'to prick, to split' [q.v.].

381. *čah'a 'to stop, to stand (up)' (→ 'to raise') > HS: S *^o✓θwɥ > Ar ✓θwɥ (ip. -θwiɥ-) v. 'halt, remain\settle (in a place), stay' ¶ BK I 243, Hv. 74, Ln. 365-6 || IE *steH- / *stHe- / *stH₂- > NaIE *stā- / *^osthē- (preserved in OI only) / *stə- 'stand' > OI (1s aor.) a-sthá-m id. || Gk (1s aor.) ἔστην id. || L stā- (pres.), Osc stait (3s pres.) id. || Clt: [1] W {YGM} v. set 'set'; [2] Clt: Brtt {RE} *stabīmi 'stand' > OBr sab, MBr saff, sav id.; vb. n. with the sx *-il: MW seuyll, W {YGM} sefyll, Crn 'stand', Br {Hm.} sevel 'se lever' || Gmc: Dt, NNr, Sw inf. stā, OSx inf. stān, OHG inf. stān ~ stēn, NHG inf. stehen 'to stand'; (derived?): Gt, OSx, AS inf. standan, ON, NNr, Sw inf. standa, OHG inf. stantan 'to stand', NE stand || Lt inf. stōti (1s pres. stōju) 'to stand (up), to take one's stand', Ltv inf. stāt 'to stop, to cease'; ↗ (res.) Lt inf. stovėti, Ltv inf. stāvēt 'to stand' || Sl *sta- (inf. *stāti) 'stand up, halt' > OCS inf. стати stati 'to stand up; to halt', {StSS} inf. 'стать, встать; остановиться', SCr inf. stāti, Slv inf. stāti, Slk inf. stat' 'to stand up, to halt', Cz inf. stāti se (1s ft. stanu se) id., 'to become'; d. (res.?) inf. *stojāti 'to stand' (1s pres. *stojq) > OCS inf. стояти stojati, R inf. сто'ять, Uk inf. сто'яти, SCr inf. stājati, Slv inf. stāti, Cz inf. stāti (1s pres. stojím), Slk inf. stát', P inf. stać id., Blg сто'я 'I stand' || rdp. *sistā- > Gk pres. ἵστημι 'je suis placé, je me tiens' || Av hištaiti 'he stands', OPrs a-ištata 'he stood' (3s ipf.), OI tiṣṭhati 'he stands' (t- due to the morphophonemic law preventing an initial ṣ-) || Clt {Matas.} *si-sta- 'put, stand' > OIr {Vn.} OIr siss- 'stand', tair-issēm 'fait de se tenir ferme \ persévérer \ s'arrêter' (< *to-air-siss-), {Matas.} sissidir, -sissedar 'stands', p. siasair, CltI sistat 'puts, constructs' || L caus. sistō 'I put', Um SESTU id. ¶ P 1004-10, M K III 526-7, M E II 764-6, F I 739, WH II 596-9, Bc. G 324, 345, Vn. S 118-20 and T 13, YGM-1 389, 391, Hm. 719, RE 135, Hlq. 1101, Ho. 317, Ho. S 70, OsS 863-4, Kb. 950-1, KM 743, Vr. 543, Frn. 914-16, StSS 126, Vs. III 748, 769, Glh. 579-82, ≈ EI 542-3 (*^(s)teH₂- 'stand' with unc. *s- mobile that us based only on Tc B tāka 'will be') || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} ча- 'raise' ¶ STM II 374, Z 925 || ?σ

D *čā- ({{GS}} *s-) v. 'die' (if from *'stop') (× N *ĉAϚ∇ 'be lost, die', q.v. ffd.).

382. *čika 'to prick, to split' > **IE**: NaIE {EI} *steig- 'prick' (or *(s)teig- v. 'prick', 'pointed') > Gk στύγ- (pres. στύζω, pfc. ps. ἔστύγμα) v. 'mark with a pointed instrument, tattoo', στύγμα 'tattoo mark' || Lin-stīgā- v. 'goad, incite, stimulate' (← 'spur on') || Gt stiks '(?) Punkt' (in stika melis [ἔν στύγμα ἡ χρόνου] 'im Augenblick'), OSx stiki, MLG steke, MHG stich, NHG Stich 'prick, puncture, stab', AS sticē 'stab, puncture', NE stitich; OHG inf. stēchan & stehhan 'to stick, to stab', NHG inf. stechen 'to prick'; OHG inf. sticken 'to stick, to stab', NHG inf. sticken 'to embroider', AS inf. stician 'to prick, to goad, to pierce', NE v. stick || ??σ,φ Ary: OI tējatē 'is\becomes sharp, sharpens', tejah 'blade, point (Spitze)', Av bi-taēza- 'double-bladed', brōi-prō-taēza- 'with sharpened edge', Av tiḡra-, OPrs tigrā- 'pointed', ? NPrs تیغ, {BM} tīγ ({{VI.} tēγ) 'sword, blade, blade of a weapon, knife, razor, awl', {VI.} 'point of a spear\arrow, blade of a knife, awl' ¶ WP II 612-13, P 1016-17, EI 451, M K I 525-6, Fs. 453, Sg. 342-3, BM 142, VI. I 492, F II 797-8, WH I 706-7, Ho. 321, Ho. S 71, OsS 868-71, Kb. 956, 964, KM 742, 748, Dv. no. 645 || **K**: GZ *čičk-wŋ- v. 'dig in, rummage in' (× N *ĉEčk∇ 'to crush, to split') > eNG {SSO} čičkna 'dig badly', G čičkna 'dig (the surface of the ground), dig\rummage in, peck\pick at', {NCh.} 'копать, ковырять', {DCh.} 'ковырять', Mg čkičkon- 'dig\rummage in, tear asunder' ¶ K 220, K² 257, FS K 389, FS E 437-8, Chx. 1940, DCh. 1580, NCh. 431 || **D** *čik- ({{GS}} *č¹ig-) 'split, tear' > Kn sigi v. 'split (as wood), tear\rend with the teeth (as sugarcane)', Tu sigipu ~ tigipu- ~ tiguḡu- v. 'split, slit, cut, saw, tear', Prj čīk-, Gnd MB hikānā, Gnd G/Mu/HMS hik- v. 'tear', Kui siki inba 'be torn\split'; cp D *če|akk-, {GS} *ček- v. 'chip' (← N *ĉEčk∇ '↑') ¶¶ D no. 2491.

383. *čikU 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' (→ 'thigh') > **HS**: WS *θ∇k∇m- 'shoulder' > Hb םכּׁ ׁ 'šəkem ~ םכּׁ ׁ šə'kəm id., Ug θkm {OLS} 'shoulder', {A} 'Nacken mit Schulter', Gz ✓skm G 'carry on the shoulders, carry a burden' ¶ HJ 1266, GB 826-7, A no. 2866, OLS 489, L G 496, MiK I no. 1.282 || Ch: WCh ({{Stl.} *čikuni): Hs číńà 'thigh' ({{Stl.} < *čičińa < *čikińa), Gw {Mts.} číríńa id. | SBc: Bg {ChC} šigɜn, Zul {ChC} čɜgùnì, Gj {ChL} číkɜn, Buli {ChL}, Kir {Csp.} čigɜn, Kir Mn {Csp.} šūn, Dw {ChC} čuɜin, Plc {ChC} cɜɜɜn, Zar {ChC} čɜgŋ, Zar K {Sh.}

čikη, Grn {J} šìη id. | ? pAG *čī 'thigh' > Su {J} čī, Ang {Flk., Hf.} čī, Gmy {Hf.} šī, {ChC} ší id., Kfr {Nt.} čì 'thigh, leg' || ECh: Kwn M {J} č̀w̃g̃^ 'thigh' (or č̀kó 'leg') ¶ JI I 167, II 221 and 324-5, Stl. ZCh 184 [no. 357] (WCh *čikuni with an arbitrarily reconstructed glottality of the initial affricate), Abr. H 146-7, Ba. 164, ChC s.v. 'thigh', ChL I 183, 196, Jgr 188, Csp. 36, 69, Hf. AG 22, Flk. s.v. cī, Nt. 5 || IE: NaIE *(s)teig̃^ω-, {Mn.} *(s)thēig̃^ω- 'shoulder, thigh' > Arm բէկն t^hêkn (gen. բիկան t^hikān) {Bdr.} 'top of the shoulder, shoulder bone, shoulder, arm' (< *stoyg̃^ω-no-) || Clt *toj̃bos (< *toj̃g̃^ω-os) > OIr tóeb, tóib, W, Crn, Br tu 'side' || pSl *steg'no 'thigh' > OCS стегно 'femur, бедро', SCr stègno, Slv stégnō, R †, Uk стег'но, Blr сцяг'но, Cz stehno, P (with secondary nasalization) ścięgno (< *steg-no-) 'thigh' ¶ WP II 614, P 1018, Mn.168 (IE *sthegno- ~ *sthigno- > Arm, Sl, ÷* Gk στεγνός 'waterproof' [of a covering]), Vn. T 91-2, ZVSZ 407, Vs. III 751 (rejecting the comparison of Sl with Arm and Clt), Glh. 583, ≈ EI 518 (*teig̃^ω- 'side'; no account of Sl), StSS 625 ¶ The traces of the alternation *ẽ/*e in IE are expected in the light of my theory of the prehistory of the IE vowels (AD NVIE) || A *č̣EḲẸn, 'shoulder, base of limbs' > T: NaT *çe|ikin 'shoulder' > OT U {Bai.} č̣ikin 'part of the body between the neck and the shoulder', MQP č̣igin ~ ṣ̌igin 'shoulder', Chg ≥XVI č̣ikin 'upper part of the shoulder between the neck and the shoulder blades', Chg {PC} č̣iqin, Tki {Zn.} č̣iqin 'shoulder', Osm چيكن چيكن {Rh.} č̣eyin 'the ridge of the shoulder between the neck and the shoulder joint', Tk çekin 'shoulder(s)', Az č̣iyin, Tkm č̣igin, Xlj č̣īn, ? SY zig̃in id., ?? Chv † çan śan 'body, Rumpf'; cp also OT {Cl.} č̣ügde 'the projecting bone behind the ear' ¶ Cl. 414-15, TL 238-9, ADb. SR 129-30, 190, Bai. TK 293, Rh. 72, Rl. III 1949, TrR 177, Tkr 781, ARL 345, PC 308, Zn. I 379, DT 101, Ash. XII 37-8, Fed. II 84, Jeg. 202, ChVS 177 || M *č̣eg|ke > WrM {Kow.} секе 'ямка у лодыжки, le côté de l'osselet qui a un trou', {MED, Gl.} сеге 'the hind flat part of the anklebone', HIM {BMR} цэг 'the inner concave side of an альчик' (acc. to Vs. I 74-5, Р альчик means 'костяшка, суставчик из ноги молодого рогатого скота; игральная кость') ¶ MED 169, Kow. 2124-5, Gl. II 365-6 || ?σ pKo *č̣jākái- > MKo *č̣jākái'jām, NKo č̣agāmi 'groin, inguinal region' ¶ S QK no. 1190, Nam 419, MLC 1372 ¶¶ Hardly here Tg *çaka 'forearm, ell' (< pre-Tg *çag̃^ 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' < N *çEga'í^ ▽) ¶¶ SDM 412

(pA *č'ak'e 'forearm' > Tg, Ko + unc. T *çIKan(ak) 'elbow, forearm'), DQA no. 264 (id.) || D *č'e'k- ({{θGS}} *c-, -k-) > Tm cɛkil 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn tegal 'shoulder', ? (× N *Sûg∇ 'back of the neck, back') Kui sukori ~ sukoli 'shoulder blade' ¶¶ D no. 2696 ◇ *m in S and *-n∇ in Sl, Ch and T may go back to ancient derivational sxs or last components of a compound (word group) ◇ Blz. L no. 6j (S, IE, T, M), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 8 (*čayku 'back'; he unconvincingly adduced the T and Tg reflexes of N *čaq∇ 'elbow' [a supposed alternative rec. instead of *čEga'∇]) ◇ Cp. pCK {Md.} *čŭŋma 'плечо, предплечье' (Md. ECK 25).

384. *čAk'U' 'to prick (stechen), to gouge' > HS: S *°✓θk̄b v. 'pierce' > Ar ✓θqb G 'percer, forer' (*b due to the infl. of the synonymous verb ✓n̄k̄b?) ¶ BK I 228 || K *°ček- > G ča-ček- 'zerstechen, zerlöchern', ček-i 'Feuerhaken, Schür-\Schab-\Kratzeisen, Scharre' ¶ Chx. 1919 || A *čok'U'- 'peck, gouge' > NaT *čok̄u- v. 'peck' > OT {Cl.} čoq- 'stab', Tk čoku- 'peck, gouge', Uz чўқи-, VTt šuq-, Bsh suq-, Qrg čoqu-, Qzq šoqi- (inf. šoqu), Qq, Nog šoqi-, Qmq šoqu-, Xk soχ-la-'peck', Alt {Rl.} čoqi-, {BT} čoqu- v. 'peck, peck out', Tkm čoq- v. 'peck, sting', Osm {Rh.}, ET {Nj.} čoqu- v. 'peck' ¶ Cl. 406, Rs. W 114, TrR 197, Rh. 738, Nj. 394, BT 180, Sht. 235 || M *čoki- v. 'hit, beat, knock, peck' (× N *čoḡa,ɣE 'beat\hit [so.], hurt; pain', q.v.) > WrM {MED} coki-, HIM {MED, BMR} цохи- 'hit, beat, knock, peck', Brt цохи- 'hit, beat', MM [S] coki- v. 'bore', Kl {Rm.} cok- 'schlagen, hauen', nüdig cok- 'das Auge aushacken', Mnr H {SM} č'uḡu-'becqueter', Ord žok̄xi-'frapper' ¶ MED 196, BMR IV 265, Chr. 393, H 29, KW 429, SM 440, Ms. O 208 || Tg *čok(̄)- v. 'peck, gouge' > Ul, Nn Nh čoqi- v. 'peck', Ewk Urm çok- v. 'pick out (выковыривать)', Lm çuq- id., v. 'take out the eyes (of a slaughtered animal)', Neg çok- v. 'gouge, carve (an ornament on birch bark)', Orc čokto 'woodpecker' ¶ STM II 403, On. 513 || ?φ pKo {S} *čh' - v. 'kick' > MKo čh' - , Nko čha- id. ¶ S QK no. 509, Nam 447, MLC 1562 ¶¶ SDM 449 (pA *č'ōk'a- 'peck, gouge' > Tg. M, T, Ko), DQA no. 336 (pA *č'ōk'a|u id.), KW 429, Rm. EAS I 64, ADb. SR 13, Dr. MT 68, Mr. KJ 239 || D *čakk- > Krx čakk^h- / cakk- v. 'pierce with a prick, prick', Mlt čaqe v. 'sting, pierce, stab', Brh žaxxiŋ v. 'run into, pierce' ¶¶ D no. 2278, Pf. 190 [no. 100], Hahn KG 3 (on the Krx phoneme k^h), An. JB 19-21 (on Brh cnss) ◇ The vw. *o in pA may be explained by regr. as. (N *A...U > *o...U) ◇ NaIE *(s)teig- v. 'prick' cannot be

adduced ($\neq \phi$), it belongs rather to N *č'ika 'to prick, to split' (q.v.) ◇
IS MS 344 'κοποῦν' (A, D).

385. *č'o'K∇ 'much, heavy' > HS: S (+ext.) *√θk̄l v. 'weigh' > Hb
√š̄k̄l G, Sr √t̄k̄l G id., Pun √š̄k̄l, IA √š̄k̄l ~ √t̄k̄l, BA/JA/Md
√t̄k̄l G 'weigh, weigh out', JEA √t̄k̄l G vi. 'weigh, be even \ equal to',
Ar √θq̄l G 'peser un objet dans la main pour en apprécier le poids;
égaler en poids; rendre pesant', θaq̄īl- 'heavy\weighty', Mh, Jb, Hrs
√θk̄l 'be heavy', Gz √sk̄l G 'weigh, suspend, hang up', Ak √š̄k̄l {Sd.}
'(ab)wiegen, darwägen'; ⇨ S *'θik̄il- 'weight' > BHb כֶּשֶׁל 'š̄εk̄el (pl.
š̄ak̄ā'l-īm) 'weight, sheqel (a unit of weight)', Ph (GkSc) σικλ, σικλ ⇨
Gk σίκλος, σικλός (name of a Persian and a Median coin), Pun š̄k̄l, Ug
θk̄l, OA š̄k̄l [*θak̄al], IA t̄k̄l, BA כֶּשֶׁל taḱel, JA כֶּשֶׁל tiḱ'l-ā 'shekel,
sikl (a unit of weight, coin)', JEA כֶּשֶׁל tiḱ'l-ā 'weigh, shekel', Yd
כֶּשֶׁל 'shekel (unit of weight)', Sr s̄εk̄'l-ā 'weight, ponderous mass', Ar
θiq̄l- 'weight, burden', Ak š̄ik̄lum 'sikl, a unit of weight', Eb š̄a-gi-
lum (θak̄il-); the meaning 'suspend, hang up' (in EthS) is secondary,
the semantic change 'weigh' → 'suspend' (from a basic meaning 'weigh
by lifting\hanging' [as suggested in L G 510]) is typologically possible
(cp. R держать на весу) ¶ KB 1515-16, 1779-800, Beyer AHG 26,
HJ 1187-8, A no. 2930, Grd. UT no. 2735, Sl. 1207, 1227, JPS 618, Tal
960, L G 510, Jo. M 418, Sd. 1178-9, 1248, Krb. EG 16, Lok. no. 1880
|| ?ϕ C: Ag: Xm {R} s̄iqaω- 'be heavy\weighty' ¶ R Ch II 102, R WB 338
|| U: FU *č'okk∇ 'dense', 'thick' (of grass, hair) > Chr: L чокка č'oka id.,
H/B č'oka 'dicht; fest, kompakt', YO č'oka 'dicht', L чоката č'oka'ta
'dense' || Prm *č'ok- ({LG} *č'ok-) (or *č'εk-) > Z тшöкыд č'zk+d 'dense',
Z LV/Lu, Prmk č'zk id. || pVg *š'f̄ω > Vg: T š'aω, LK š'ōω, P š'aω, Ss s̄āω
'much' || Hg s̄ok 'much, many' ¶ Most cognates suggest FU *o, while Hg
o (seemingly pointing to a FU *u) is still to be explained; one cannot
rule out the possibility (mentioned in Rm. W 113) that Hg s̄ok is a loan
from T ¶ UEW 62-3, Coll. 114, MRS 664, 668, 673, Ep. 141, Wc. FUsčT
31, LG 290, SZ 386, KPR 497 || A *č'oka or *č'ako 'many, be full,
enough' > NaT *č'ok 'much, many' > Chg, XwT, MQp č'oc id., Kr/Sg {Rl.}
č'oc 'much, too much', Osm {Bu.} č'oc 'much, many, too much, very', Tk
ç'ok 'much, many', Az чох č'ox, Sg f {Rl.} č'oc id., 'very', ET č'oc 'very',
Tkm č'oc 'компания' ¶ Cl. 405, Rm. W 113, Bu. I 495, S AJ 180 [no.
51], BN 33, Rl. III 2004, Tkr 736 || M *č'ogč'a 'heap, pile, mass' >
WrM {MED} согса, HIM цогц {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'totality

(совокупность), комплекс', Brt соггсо 'heap, pile', Kl {KRS} цогц согсъ n. 'heap, pile', {Rm.} сокксо 'Haufen', ⇨ M *ĉogĉa-la- v. 'accumulate, heap' > WrM соггсала- {BMR} v. 'pile, stack up, accumulate', НММ цогцло- {MED, BMR} id., Brt соггсол- 'pile (складывать грудой наваливать в кучу), heap up, gather', Kl {Rm.} сокксо]- 'aufhäufen, aufeinander aufbauen', Mnr {SM} ćüĵ_ĵolo- 'entasser, amonceler, se rassembler', Ord с'ōгс'īl- 'former çà et là de petits groupes' ¶ MED 194, BMR IV 257, Chr. 388, KRS 635, KW 429, SM 460, Ms. O 711 || Tg *çak 'full' > Ork čak bi 'full', WrMc {Z} чакъ сэмэ 'strongly (сильно, крепко), туго' ¶ STM II 379, Z 921 || pKo *ĉʰá- 'be full, fill' > MKo ĉʰá-, NKo ĉʰa- id. ¶ Nam 449, MLC 1361 || pJ {S} *tákú-pár- v. 'hoard, assemble' > OJ takupap(a)-, MJ tákúpáφ(a)- {S} id., J T/Kg takuwaé- ~ J T tàkuwaé-, J K tàkùwàè- {Kenk.} 'store, hoard, save' ¶ S QJ no. 144, Mr. 762, Kenk. 1897-8 ¶¶ SDM 410-11 (pA *ĉ'áko Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 265, S AJ 283 || **Gil:** Gil A ç'óϣ / soϣ 'group, flock' ¶¶ ST 450 ◇ IS MS 331 ('big'; A, U), Blz. L no. 11, UEW 63 (FU, T, M) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 261 (*čok 'many') (U, A + qu. K, CK + unc. J).

386. *čA1∇ 'stalk' > K *očal- > G čala 'straw, reed', čal- 'cut stalks of maize' ¶ Chx. 1874 || **HS:** S *o✓θ1θ1 > Ar θ1θ1l-ān-, θulθul-ān- 'hay' ¶ BK I 233 || **IE:** NaIE *stel- 'branch, stalk, stem' (× N *čûL∇ 'stalk, branch' [q.v.]) > Arm **ստեղծ** stelɛn 'branch, bough, stalk, stem' || Gk στέλεχος 'bottom part of the trunk, stump' ({LS} 'crown of the root, trunk, log'), στελεά, στελεόν 'haft/shaft (of an axe etc.)' || L: [1] stolo / -ōnis 'root shoot'; [2] stilus / -ī 'pointed stake, pale; Stiel, Stengel, Griffel zum Schreiben' (× NaIE *stoi-lo- > Av stāra- 'mountain summit') || AS stela 'stalk', OHG stil 'Handhabe, Pflanzenstiel, Stengel', NHG Stiel 'haft, handle' || Ltv stulms 'top of a boot' ¶ P 1019-20, ZVSZ 415, WH II 592, 599-600, F II 785-6, Sw. 161, Ho. 319, OsS 872, Kb. 964, KM 749, Sl. 332-3, Kar. II 313 || **D** (att. in SD) *čall- ({θGS} *ĵ|ž-) 'reed; ∈ grass' > Ml call- '∈ grass, reed', Tm calli 'reed; ∈ grass', ? Kn jalle 'sugarcane', 'bamboo pole', Kdg ĵalle 'sugarcane' ¶ D no-s 2382-3.

387. *ča1∇ 'beat, knock down, fell' > **HS:** S *o✓θ11: Ar ✓θ11 'détruire, renverser, démolir' ¶ BK I 231 || ? B *o✓z11 > Kb țizlallit 'coup vigoureux' ¶ Dl. 942 || **A:** T *çal(u)- v. 'knock down, beat (in order to split, to break, to slaughter), mow' (× N *čaīy_ε_ε_ο 'to split, to cut') > OT čal- v. 'knock down, beat, beat out (fire)', Qzq šal- v.

'slaughter', QrB Q čal-, QrB B cal- v. 'mow, cut', Qmq čal- v. 'cut off, slaughter', Tkm čal- 'einen Schlag versetzen, хлестнуть, стегануть', Chv L ɟул- súl-, Chv Δ ɟол- v. 'mow' ¶ Cl. 417-18, Rs. W 97, Tkr 720, Ash. XII 208, Fed. II 132, Rl. III 1876, 1887, IV 965 || D: 1. *čal- ({{GS}} *ś-) 'beat' > Tm alai 'beat, slap', Gnd Mu {Bh.} hal-, Gnd HMS {Lind} halāsnā, Gnd ChM {LuS} halɛnā 'beat' ¶¶ D no. 2374 || 2. ??σ D *čall- ({{GS}} *z|žall-) 'broken stone, (stone) chip' > Kn jalli 'broken stone\metal', Tm calli 'stone chips, pieces of glass', Ml, Tu calli 'chip, potsherd', Tu jalli 'broken stone', Tl jalli 'road metal, broken stone', Prj žalub 'stone chips' ¶¶ D no. 2381, AM 291.

388. *čA1∇ (= *čA1U?) 'to plait' > HS: ECh: Ke čílí v. 'plait (a mat)' || CCh: Azm {Pc.} silapa 'weave' ¶ Eb. 36, Pc. 350 || K: G čelṭ-i 'wickerwork' ¶ Chx. 1919 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *°čU1k|w∇ (or *°cUṣ|w1V) > ObU *čōṣ|wəl '(piece of) linen cloth' > ObU *čōṣ|wəl > pVg *šṣwəl {Hl.} 'stripe (in a garment)' ('Streifen im Kleid'), {MK} 'Leinenband' > Vg: LK/MK/UK sowl, P/LL šowl, UL/Ss sowəl; pOs *čōṣwəl 'linen cloth' ({{Hl.}} *čūṣwəl) > Os: D čōχət, Nz šōχət, Kz šōχəθ id. ¶ Ht. no. 97 (*U in FU requires ex-planation), Hl. rHt 71-4, MK 537 (Vg saul, soul, sâwél 'Leinenband'), BV 105 (Vg Ss совломт, Vg K sowlɔps(ə)χ 'поскут') || D *čāli- ({{GS}} *c-) (+ sx) 'weaver' > Tm cālikaṇ ~ cāliyaṇ 'a caste of weavers', Ml cāliyaṇ, Kn sālīga, sālīya, Tl sālī:du, sālevā:du, Ku sālīesi 'weaver', Tu tālye id., 'spider', Tu {Shanm.} sālīye, Tl sālī 'caste of weavers', Gdb sālīe piṇḍake 'spider' ¶¶ D no. 2475 ◇ The FU rounded vw. is puzzling. If the final vw. of the N word was rounded (as suggested by *w in FU *°čU1k|w∇ or *°cUṣ|w1V), FU *U may be explained by regr. as.

389. *čeL∇ 'pull (off), take away\out, rob' > HS: WS *✓θ11 v. 'take out, rob' > BHb 𐤃𐤃𐤁 ✓š11 (ip. -š011-) id., Sb θ11 'carry off (booty)' ¶ GB 835, BGMR 150 || C: ?σ Dh1 {EEN} colāδ- v. 'pick up' ¶ EEN 9 || IE: NaIE *stel- v. 'rob' > pGmc *stel- v. 'steal' > Gt inf. stilan, ON inf. stela, OHG inf. stēlan, NHG inf. stehlen, OSx, AS inf. stelan 'to steal', NE steal || Arm 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹 t^halnem, 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎹 t^hallem 'I pillage' ¶ Mn. unconvincingly adduced Gk στέλλω v. 'send', Ltv stelu id. and OCS (actually OR) steljq / inf. stbla-ti v. 'spread' (??σ) ¶ On Arm 𐎧 t^h as the reg. reflex of IE *st see Mn. AIE 166-8 ¶ Mn. 1283 (Gmc, Arm); Fs. 453-4, OsS 869, KM 743, Vr. 546 (all of them did not find any IE parallels for Gmc), Ho. 319, Ho. S 7, Kb. 959, ≠ EI 543

(trying to derive Gmc *stel- from IE *ster- 'steal'), Vs. III 753-4 || **D** {Km.} *čel- ({{ǵGS} *s-) v. 'draw, pull (of\out), rob' (× N *šéí∇ or *šel∇ 'take away\off, destroy, pull off', q.v.) > Kn selē v. 'draw, pull, pull off, rob', n. 'pulling, pulling off, force of a stream', Tu selæ 'force', Tl {Km.} celuk v. 'pull out (as eyeballs)', ? Kui želka v. 'pull', želba v. 'pull, draw' ¶¶ D no. 2791, Km. 363 [no. 472] ◇ D *-l- may belong to the heritage of N *šéí∇ or *šel∇, hence we cannot identify the N lateral cns.

390. *čûl∇ 'stalk, branch' > **HS**: S *^oʁ̥ūl- > Ak šūl- 'stalk of reed'; +ext. (with the sx *-p|b-) is the S stem *^oθul_l∇_lp|b- > Ak šūlp- 'a straw, reed, tube', Ug θlb 'flute' ¶ Sd. 1269-70, OLS 490 || **D** *čul- ({{ǵGS} *ć-) 'stalk, branch', *čulikko ({{ǵGS} *c|ć-) 'stick' (× N *čûl∇ 'stalk, stick' [q.v. ffd.] × N *š|śuī∇ 'trunk, log'??) ¶¶ D no-s 2701 and 2706 || **IE**: NaIE *stel- / *^ostwōl-o- 'branch, stalk, stem': [1] NaIE *stel- (× N *čAī∇ 'stalk', q.v. ffd.) || [2] *^ostwōl-o- > Sl *stvōlb > Cz stvol 'stalk', R ствол, Blg цвол 'stem', ChS стволіє stvolije 'nettle' ¶ P 1019, ZVSZ 415, Vs. III 749, Vr. 549 (s.v. stjqlr), Sw. 161, Sl. 332-3 ¶ In IE there is a reg. Schwebeablaut *ew/*we (/w0) with loss of the glide *w preceding the sonant *l, which is a normal IE reflex of N *û (AD NVIE) || **A**: pKo *čûr-kí 'stalk, branch without leaves' > MKo čûrkí, NKo čulgi, čulgari id. ¶ S QK no. 160, MLC 1507, Yu 672, HNC 297 || ? pJ {S, SDM} *tûrù 'willow', 'vine' (← *'rod'?) > OJ turu 'willow, vine', J T/Kg curú, J K cúrù 'vine' ⇔ (?) J T curu- v. 'angle (for fish), fish with rod and line' ¶ S QJ 189, Mr. 557, Kenk. 2073 ¶¶ SDM 391 (pA *čǎlù 'e broad-leaved plant' (> pKo, pJ + unc.: Tg ≈ *jali-kta 'hawthorn' [from *žæī∇ 'e tree'], M *daldawu 'lime tree, linden' and pT *t'al 'branch, tree' [going back to N *t'al∇ ~ *t'al∇ '≈ shoot, sprout, twig']) ◇ D *-l- may belong to the heritage of N *čûl∇ 'stalk, stick', hence we cannot identify the N lateral cns. ◇ ≠ AD AltAD no. 13 (HS, D, IE, A [Tg, M + *÷ T]).

391. ₂ *č'∇l∇ (bA) 'e canine' > **HS**: S *θu'fal- 'fox' > Hb כּוּבַל šufāl, OA š'f [θ-f-], JA (incl. JEA) כּוּבַל ta^al-ā, Sr ta^alā, Md tala, Ar θu^al- ~ θu^al- 'fox', Ug θ'f (n. pr.) | S *θa^alab- 'fox' > Ar θa^alab-, Ak šēleb(u) id. ¶ KB 1341, Lv. IV 657, Sl. 1223, A no. 2910, OLS 483, BK I 225, Sd. 1210, CAD XVII/2 268 || Ch {Stl.} *č'u^llib- 'jackal, wolf' > CCh: Msg če-čelebe, Msg Ng {ChC} č'i-čelebe 'jackal' || ECh: Mkl sùllíbè 'wolf' ¶ Stl. IF 73, J LM 178, ChC s.v. 'jackal' ¶¶ OS no. 464 || **U**: FP: Lp

N {Fri.} čälp ~ čellup ~ čolp 'wolf', Lp T {TI} čǣ̃p̃ id. ¶ Fri. 750, TI 645, Coll. 8 ◇ HS data suggest a N *č̣-, while Lp č̣- is likely to point to *č̣-, *č̣̣- or *ṣ́-.

391a. ₂ *č̣A1∇m∇ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach' > HS: S *°✓ θ1m > Ar θalm- 'brèche, cassure', θulm-at- 'brèche, trou', ✓ θ1m G 'ébrécher' ¶ BK I 234 || D *č̣a1∇m- ({θGS} *č̣-) 'orifice' (× N *ṣ́a1∇m∇ 'collect on the bottom' [of liquid], 'a place [a depression] where water collects') > Kn calame, calime, calume, cilume 'orifice, a bore, small pit, hole dug in the dry bed of a river', Tu cilimbī ~ cil(i)mæ 'a small tank', Tl celama 'hole\pit dug for water in the dry bed of a river\rivulet', Ku salma 'well' ¶¶ D no. 2367 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 161 [no. 93] (HS, D; he does not distinguish this N etymon from N *Si1∇ 'hole').

392. *č̣a1∇g∇ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost' > HS: S *'θalag- 'snow' > Hb 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 'šēleg, BA 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 tā'lag, JA (incl. JEA) 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 tā'lag, em. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 tāl'gā, Sma tlg, Sr em. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 tāl'g-ā, Ar 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 θalǧ-, Ak śalg-u id.; SCn *'θalag- ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Alb.} sa-ra-qu, {Hlk} sá-l-qu 'snow' ¶ KB 1392, EG IV 204, Burch. AFEÄ no. 810, Alb. VESO 55, Hlk no. 199, SivCR 84, Sl. 1208, Tal 949, Lv. IV 644 ¶ The posttonic *a has been reconstructed on the ev. of BA and the Eg reflex of SCn || B: Kb {Dl.} a-salu (pl. i-sula) 'thick layer of snow'; unless the B word goes back to N *ṣ́aH, 'ū' Ḷ∇ 'dew' (q.v.) ¶ Dl. 771 || U: FU *°'č̣'a'1̣∇ > pVg *ṣ́a1- 'hoarfrost' > Vg S: T ṣ́a1̣ ̣ ṣ́a1̣, Vg W (P/SV/NV/LL) ṣ́a1̣, Vg E: LK ṣ́a1̣, MK/UK ṣa1̣, Vg N (UL/Ss) so1̣ id. ¶ Kn. VW 78, Stn. WV 231 || D: Kn ca1̣i 'snow' (× D *č̣a1̣- 'cold' [D no. 2408] < N *C'a'1̣∇ [= *č̣'a'1̣∇?] 'cold').

393. *č̣'i1mâ 'be(come) quiet\silent' > HS: B *✓ s-wsm v. 'keep silence' > Ah {Fc.}, Izn {Rn.} susəm, BSn sūsəm id. ¶ Fc. 1833, Rn. 347, Ds. B 335-6 || K: GZ *č̣um- 'calm down, be quiet' > G č̣um- v. 'calm down; fall silent; quiet', G Kzq č̣uma 'a quiet person', G č̣umi 'leise, still, ruhig', Zan ⇨ Sv Ln č̣kwim 'quiet, calm' ¶ Chx. 1950-1, K² 258, TK 833 || A *č̣im∇- > Tg *çim-, *çimçam- 'be quiet' > Orc çimçāmdī 'in silence', Nn Nh {STM} č̣imčam 'fallen silent (примолкнув)', {On.} č̣imča 'сразу утихая, становясь тихим\беззвучным', Ul č̣imčam id., 'quietly, without noise', Ork č̣iptamdī bu 'be quiet!', 'hush', Lm O çinmūn 'calm down, abate' (of a wind, storm), ? WrMc {Z} чибсэ 'be quiet\silent' (of a person), чибсэнь n. 'quiet, silence (тишина, спокойствие, безмолвие)' ¶

STM II 396, On. 506, Z 937 || NaT *çI₁im 'quiet, silent' > QK {RI.} čim, {B} šim 'quiet', {RI.} čimča- v. 'be silent', Qmn {B} čim 'quietly, without stirring', Tb {B} čim 'quietly', StAlt {RAS} čim 'motionless' (adv.), 'quietly', Tv чымааргай čimārγay 'quiet, shy' adj., чымаарар- čimārar- v. 'become quiet\shy' ¶ Rs. W 201, RI. III 2102-3, B DLT 224, 227, B DK 271, B DChT 166, RAltS 756, TvR 557 ◇ K *u from N *i may be due to the assimilative infl. of *m.

394. ₂ *čoma 'wild bovine' > K *očoma > G I čoma 'cattle (Rindvieh)' ¶ Chx. 1943 || D (att. in GnD) *čoma 'wild buffalo' > Png homa, Mnd hama 'aurochs' ({D no. 2849} 'bison'), pKK {ǂGS} *soma > Kui soma 'wild buffalo', Ku homma ǂ homa 'sambar (*Cervus unicolor*)' ¶ D no. 2849, GS 130 ◇ AD NM no. 40, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs).

395. ? ₂ *čam∇ć∇ 'get sour\rotten' > U: FP *čamć∇ 'sour, foul' (of food) > Lp: N {Fri.} cuōbza ǂ cuovz ǂ cuōbca ǂ cuōpca 'putridus', T {TI} cīm:c ({Gn.} cīmc) 'verfault', {Gn.} cīmcī 'verfaulen' | Chr: L {MRS} шачка šač'ka 'tasteless' (of beverage), B puran šačkoδъn 'das Bier ist überständig' | Prm {LG} *šōžy- ({LG} *šōžj-) 'turned sour, turned too sour, turned tasteless' > Z žōžā (y3v) 'milk that is turning\turned sour', Z US žōžā id., Z Δ žōžm- v. 'turn sour, but not clotted' (of milk), Vt C šužžam 'tasteless' (of kvass), 'not boiled enough' (of water, milk), Vt TI šužžam 'turned too sour, grow mouldy' (of kvass) ¶ UEW 617-18, Gn. 877, TI 634, Fri. 740, LG 102 || A: T: OT tinčī- ~ to|unčī- v. 'be(come) putrid, smell foul' ¶ Cl. 516-17 ¶ Dissimilation *ç...ç > t...č? An alternative explanation: T *t- is a questionable regular reflex of N *č-. The OT vw. remains puzzling || ? HS: Possible semantic infl. on S *samm- ('grass' → drug, perfume) and B *√smm v. 'be sour' (see N *c'ī?A'm∇ 'ε grass', q.v. ffd.). The alt. connection with WCh *çami 'sour' < N *čäm₁∇,χ∇ 'sour, bitter' (q.v.) is less plausible because the sibilant in B and S is not emphatic.

396. *čīn∇ 'other' > HS: S *θin- 'two' (m.: nom. *θin-ā, gen./accus. *θin-ay, df. [→ abs.] nom. *θin-ā-ni, gen./accus. *θin-ay-ni) > BHb cs. שְׁנַיִם šə'nē, abs. שְׁנַיִם šə'nayim, Ug m. θn(m), JA/Sr m. abs. tərêṇ, JEA תְּרֵי תְּרֵי tərêṇ, SmA tryṇ, JA cs. תְּרֵי תְּרֵי tərê, Ar m. cs. nom. ?iθnā, gen./accus. ?iθnay-, abs.: nom. ?iθnā-ni, gen./accus. ?iθnay-ni, Sb m. θny, Mh {Jo.} m. θ3rō, θroh, Hrs {Jo.} m. θ3rō, Jb E/C {Jo.} m. θroh, Sq {Jo.} trɔ, Ak m. šinā 'two'; S f. *θin-at- 'two' > BHb שְׁתַּיִם 'štayim [traditional spelling for ?εš'tayim], Ug θtm, θm, SmA trtyṇ, JA

תַּרְתֵּי tartê ~ תַּרְתֵּינִי tar'tīn 'two' f. ¶ KB 1482-3, Lip. 282-3, OLS 498-500, Sl. 1233-4, Tal 963-4, BGMR 171, Jo. M 418-19, Sd. G 91 ¶ The Aram and SES -r- for the expected -n- may be due to dis. (*θ...n > *θ...r) || B *sīn- / *sin- 'two' > Ah {Fc.} m. əssīn, f. sənāt, Gd {Lf.} m. sən, f. sənət, Kb {DI.} sən, f. snat, Sll {Ds.} m. sīn, f. snāt, Si m. sən, f. sən(ə)t, Zng {TC} šinen || Gnc {Wlf.} *sini, f. *sinetti (Gnc. GC [?]) {Mlt. ← NicR} smetti, Gnc T {Mlt. ← ?} sijn 'two') ¶ Fc. 1841, Lf. II no. 1479, DI. 781-2, Ds. 94, AiM 176, 214, Bs. NLB I 389, TC Z 304, Nic. 60, Wlf. 635, Zl. ÄHD 226 || Eg ∇ sn.ωy m. 'two', {Vc.} *siny- id. (> Cpt: Sd/B CNAΥ snaw, A CNEY snew ~ CNOsno), sn.ty f. 'two' (> Cpt Sd C̄NTE sante, B CNOY† snuti) ¶ EG IV 148-50, Vc. 196 (Eg stem *siny-) || C: Ag *s∇n- 'equal, similar' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} s̄enā 'gleich; wie' Km {CR} s̄ānā 'égalité; comme' ¶ R WB 306, R QDW 115, CR LK 244, AD SF 111 || K *č̣š∇n- > USv, Sv L išgen, Sv Ln išķen 'other' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'другой', GP 121, TK 311-12 || A: M *č̣ina 'the other side' > Kl {KRS} цань 'behind, on the other side', Ord č'āna 'de ce côté-là, plus loin', MM [S] {H} č̣ina-na, č̣ina-un, č̣inaru 'on the other side'; č̣inađu 'jenseitig', WrM {MED} cinadū 'the other or the opposite (side)', HIM {BMR} чанад adj. 'being behind (a geographical place)'; WrM cinagsi {MED} 'farther beyond', HIM {BMR} чанагш, {MED} чанагш ~ цааш id., Brt сааша 'farther, farther than (sth.)', Ord č'āši 'plus loin, vers l'autre côté', Mnr {SM} č̣iag_šz 'plus loin, de ce côté-là'; WrM cinagsiki-, HIM {MED} чанагшхи 'being on the other side'; MM [S] {H} č̣inaži 'on the other side', [MA] {Pp.} č̣inači ödür, {Lg.} č̣inaži ödür, [IsV] {Lg.} č̣anaži ödür 'the day after tomorrow', [ZhY] č̣inaži üdür {Lg.} id. (but {SM} 'le jour qui suit l'après-demain'), Shrn {Lg. ← ?} č̣inaži, Mnr M {Pot.} chenéta, MMgl {Z} č̣inažda, {Lg.} č̣ināžda 'the day after tomorrow', Mnr H {SM} č'inädag_, {T} č̣inadag, Dx {T} č̣ina-er id. ¶ H 27-8, MED 186-7, BMR IV 303, Chr. 378-9, KRS 625, SM 442, 451, Pp. MA 134, Lg. VMI 24, T 380, T DnJ 141, Iw. 96, Ms. O 694, 696.

397. *č'ā' n̄ d∇ 'rise, emerge, jump (up)' > K: GZ *č̣nd- 'appear, emerge' > G č̣nd-, Mg (r)č̣kind-, Lz č̣kind- id. ¶ K 220, ≈ K² 257-8 (*č̣nd- with a ps. sx *-d-), ≠ FS K 385-6 and FS E 433-4 (*← *č̣an-/č̣en-/č̣in-/č̣n- 'be seen, know') || IE: NaIE *skand- 'jump up, rise' ({WP}: 'aufschnellen, in die Höhe gehen'), {EI} 'jump' > L scand-ō / -ěre / scandī / scansum 'climb' || Clt {Matas.} *skand-o- 'jump' > OIr

{Vn.} *scend-* 'sauter, s'élancer', {Matas.} *sceinnid*, *-sceinn* 'spring, dart', MW *cy-chwynnu* v. 'aufspringen', W {YGM} *cychwyn* v. 'rise, stir' (→ 'to start, to begin') ({Vn.} 'partir', {WP} 'auffahren, aufbrechen') ||| OI 'skandati' 'jumps; spurts out' ¶ The cluster *sk- for the expected *st- is due to the IE law (of dis.?) ruling out *st-...-T- roots: in the presence of an IE root-final dental stop N *č̣- and *č̣- yield IE *(s)k- and *(s)k̄-, see IE *skajd- (L caedō) < N *č̣ayd∇ 'strike, beat' [q.v.] ¶ WP II 540-1, EI 323, WH II 488, M K III 506, M E II 749, LP § 25.2, Vn. S 41, Matas. E 339-40, YGM-1 118 ||| U *čanča- (~ *čant∇-?) 'jump, gallop, trot' > FU *čanča > Er šanšne, Mk šančk arda- 'galoppieren, in vollem Galopp fahren', šanžā 'a long step, jumping' ||| ObU *čūč- > pVg *šūš- v. 'wade' > Vg: T šōš-, LK šoš-, P šuš-, Ss sūs- id.; pOs *čūč- > T soč-, D čuš-, O sos- 'schreiten, zu Fuß gehen' || Sm {Jn.} *č|t̄nt|č̣∇- 'run, trot' (of animals) > Ne T d. т̄нета̄-сь inf. 'to run at a moderate trot' (of draught reindeers), T O {Lh.} tań·eṭā', F K {Lh.} inf. taṅńā̄ā̄t·a'ś id.; Ng d. {Ter.} (bama) taneuradü'o '(my dog) started running (погналась)', d. {Cs.} 3s (aor.?) tantâjúa; En d. {Cs.} 1s aor. todde'ero? & todde'edo 'run'; Kms 1s pres. {KD} t'u'nō'íám- v. 'gallop'; Mt {Hl.} *tandəl- 'rennen, schnell rennen' (Mt M d. {Sp.} 1s тандалнымъ 'скачу') ¶¶ The U √ belongs here if its meaning is 'gallop, jump' (as in Coll.) rather than 'schreiten, gehen' (as in UEW) ¶¶ FU medial *-č̣- for the expected *-t- by as.? ¶¶ Coll. 60, UEW 53, Jn. 147, Ter. 625, Hl. M no. 955 ¶ The change 'jump' → 'run quickly' (like in R скакать).

398. ₂ *č̣ūη∇ 'smoke, smell' > HS: S: [1] d. *°√θnt > Ar √θnt 'have a bad smell' (of meat) (< *°θ∇n-at- n. < *°θ∇n-); [2] ? *°√'θ'nn > JA [Trg.] 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤍 tə'nān (em. 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤍 tənā'n-ā) 'smoke', 'stink' (Is. 34.3), Sr tənā'n-ā 'smoke'; JA/Sr √tnn G 'emit smoke' ¶ BK I 238, Lv. T II 547, Lv. IV 655-6, Br. 828 || Eg MK/G snsn v. 'smell (sth.)', Eg BD snsn 'stink' or 'rot' (of a corpse), Eg {Mks} snsn.t 'perfume' ¶ × N *sūη∇ 'to smell (sth.)' × N *šUηE 'to breathe' (q.v.) ¶ EG IV 172-4, Mks III 2634, Tk. I 130 (Eg sn ~ snu 'smell, breathe' with HS cognates referring to N *sūη∇ '↑') || ? some Ch words for 'nose': Wrj {Sk.} činná, Jm {Sh.} ičín, Gj {Sh.} ičín, Bt {Mch.} cinne, Gudu {IL} čín, Bdm {Cfr} čenaj, {Lk.} činay, Ms {Mch.} cin, ZmB {J} čín, ZmD {KNC} čín id. ¶ JI II 258-9, KNC 4, ChC s.v. 'nose' ||| U: FU *č̣ūη∇ 'smoke, fog, steam' > Prm {LG} *č̣ūη 'smoke' > Z тшыи č̣+n, Vt чыи č̣+n, Δ č̣+η id. ||| ObU

{Ht.} *čūŋk- 'fog' > pVg *šīk^ω, *šīŋ^ωk^ω id. > OVg S Vt чегъ, OVg S SSs schücht, tschöcht, OVg WP we(x), OVg W Sol чéxy id., Vg: T šīk^ω, LK šēx^ω, šēŋ^ωk^ω-, P šēx^ω, LL šex^ω, Ss sēŋ^ωk^ω id., T d. šīk^ωītākt- 'sich abkühlen'; pOs {Ht.} *čüψ 'fog' > Os: V/Vy čüψ, Ty čix^ω, Y/D/K čiw, Nz šīψ, Kz šjw, O siw id. || pY {IN H} *čijičz- > Y T {IN} čijice, cijičel- 'darkness, night' ¶¶ UEW 59, LG 291-2, Lt. 197, IN H 133, IN UJ 216 ◇ Possible infl. of N *č₁iwn[∇] 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS I 207-8 [no. 51] (*č ŭ n g ŋ) (adducing S, Ch and FU words that do not belong here).

399. ₂ *č|č₁aŋ₁k₁â ≈ push, kick', (?) 'stumble' > IE: NaIE *steng₁^ω₁-v. '≈ kick, stumble' ({WP} *steng- 'stoßen, mit dem Fuße [an]stoßen') > Gt stīgqan (· συμβαλεῖν) 'zusammenstoßen', bi-stīgqan and ga-stīgqan (· προσκόπτειν) {Fs.} 'anstoßen', d. ga-stagqjan (· προσκόπτειν) 'anstoßen', d. bi-stuq (· πρόσκομμα, προσκοπή) 'Anstoß' (n. 'stumble, stumbling?') ||| W sargu {YGM} 'to tread', {WP} 'treten' ||| OI 'tagati 'stumbles' ¶ The Gt cognate points to IE *g^ω, while W suggests lack of labiality ¶ WP II 618, 627, Fs. 452-3, ≈ M K I 469 (the OI-Gt connection "ist unerweisbar") ||| U: FU *č₁aŋ[∇]- 'strike, push, kick' > Er čavō-, Mk šavə- 'strike, beat' || Chr: H {MRS} inf. чангаш 'č₁aŋga-š 'to notch logs (for building a house)', {Rm.} inf. 'č₁aŋga-š 'einbauen, einschneiden', L inf. чонгаш {MRS} č₁oŋga-š 'to erect a house (of logs), to build', Uf {Ps.} 'č₁oŋem 'Einschnitte in die (Enden der) für einen Blockverband bestimmten Balken hauen' ||| ObU {Ht.} *čūŋk- > pVg {Ht.} *šīŋ^ωk^ω- > Vg: T šā'ŋk-, LK saŋx-, MK sāŋk^ω-, P šaŋk-, NV/LL šəŋk-, SV šəŋk^ω-, šəx^ω- 'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', N {Mu.} s₁āŋx^ω- 'stoßen', Ss {BV} saŋx^ω-, Yk {Vxr.} sāŋx- 'kick with the foot'; pOs {Ht.} *č₁oŋk- 'kick' > V/Vy č₁oψ-, č₁oψ- 'ausschlagen, einen Fußtritt geben', T/Y č₁oq-, K č₁oŋx-, Nz š₁oŋx-, Kz š₁ōŋx-, O soŋx- 'mit dem Fuß stoßen (пнуть), ausschlagen (лягнуть)', D č₁oŋx- id., 'ein Bein stellen, durch Beinstellen umwerfen' ¶ UEW 53-4, Ht. no. 107, BV 99, Stn. WV 195, Ps. OT 154, Rm. BT 157, Stn. D 255, ≠ LG 312 ||| AdS of K: G čant- 'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (< N *č₁o'ŋt¹∇ ≈ to step, to tread' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 1894 ◇ If the K cognate is ignored (as of ambiguous origin), we lose the distinction between N *č and *č₁, so that the N rec. must be *č|č₁aŋ₁k₁â.

400. (₂?) *č₁o'ŋt¹∇ ≈ to step, to tread' > K: G čant- 'jem-m einen Fußtritt versetzen' (possibly influenced by N *č|č₁aŋ₁k₁â ≈ push, kick',

[?] 'stumble') ¶ Chx. 1894 || U *^očont∇- (or *t|s|š- and -nč|š|s-) > Sm {Jn.} *čāntь- (or *t- and *-č-) v. 'step, tread (treten)' > Ne T inf. та н а њ - ц њ 'to step, to tread', T O {Lh.} tan·ā', Ne F L {Lh.} tānna-, En d. {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. taddu'abo v. 'step, tread', Kms {KD} 1s pres. t'ō'n'im 'gehen, wandern', d. {Cs.} thono'lam, {KD} t'ō'nu'lom 'treten', d. {KD} t'ō'noφa'í·ám 'zertreten' ¶ Jn. 151 || ?φ HS: CS *√θɪt̥ > BHb ת ט ו י ש ש א פ א ת - a t n. cs. 'Stampfen' (šaɪ̯a t̥-a t̥ par'sōt̥ 'das Stampfen der Pferdehufe'), Ar √θɪt̥ G {Fr.} 'contudit in partes, comminuit', {BK} 'casser, concasser' ¶ GB 853, KB 1487, BK I 224, Fr. I 217 || ?φ IE *^o(s)ko|ant- > Clt {Matas.} *kanxsmān 'step, act of stepping' > OIr céim, OW cemmein, MW cam, MBr cam, Crn cam id., CltI camanom id (?) ◇ If the S cognate is legitimate, it means that under some conditions N *η yields S *ɪ.

401. *čap∇ 'sack, vessel' > K: G čap-i 'earthenware jug', 'a measure for liquids (36 Russian pounds [19th c.])' ¶ Chx. 1906, DCh. 1562, SSO II 316 || U: FV *čawa 'sack, vessel' > Krl A hōa∇o 'Sack(stoff), Beutel, Säckchen', Krl Ld havad, huavō, hoavō, Vp havad 'sack' † Er čava 'dish, bowl' ('Schale, Napf'), {ERS} 'блюдо', Mk šava 'wooden dish\ bowl' ¶ UEW 619, ZM 111, ERV 734, PI 301 || A *čap̥'ū' (or *čop̥'ū'?) water container, vessel' ({S} *č'ap- 'container, vessel') > NaT *čop̥'ū' (< **čap̥'ū'?) > OT čopun 'big vessel. barrel, pail', Tk čopul 'basin'; NaT *čap̥'ū' (< **čap̥'ū'?) > CrTt čapčak 'tub' ('Zuber'), VTt Δ чапчак šapšaq id., 'barrel', Bsh sapsaq 'tub (made of a log)', Δ 'hollow of a tree trunk', Brb capcaq 'barrel', StAlt чапчак čapčaq {BT} 'tub', {Rl.} 'barrel', Shor šapčaq 'barrel', Tlt {Rl.} čapčaq 'bucket' ¶ Cl. 99, DTS 133, Rl. III 1927, Rs. W 99, TatR 631, BT 176, BR 463 || M *čöxer'e'm (< **čöber'e'm?) 'pond' > WrM {MED} cögerem, cögürüm 'pond, small lake or pool', HIM цөөрөм {MED, BMR} id., Brt cөөрэм 'pond, Wasserbehälter (водоем)', Kl {KRS} цөөрм 'pond, small lake', {Rm.} cörm 'Wasserpütze, Pfuhl' ¶ MED 201, BMR IV 270, Chr. 394, KRS 639, KW 433 || pKo {S} *čapa- 'earthenware jar, bowl' > NKo čabägi id. ¶ S QK no. 1129, MLC 1379 || ?φ pJ {S} *təpî - *tuəpî 'gutter' {without unequivocal ev. for *-p-} > J T tóí, J K tòí, J Kg toí {Kenk.} 'gutter, an eaves trough; water pipe, aqueduct' ¶ Mr. 548, Kenk. 1991 ¶¶ M *-ö- may be explained by refr. as. (infl. of the pA round front vw. of the second syll.) ¶¶ SDM 444-5 (pA *č'jop'e 'water

container, vessel' > M, T, J, Ko + unc. Tg *çop- ~ *çop- 'tip, deep place; submerge, dive'), DQA no. 316.

402. ${}_2$ *čEQ∇ (or *čEX∇) 'chop, cut' > K *°čeq|χ- > G čex- 'chop (wood), split' ¶ Chx. 1929-30, DCh. 1576 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ci- v. {AD} 'chop, cut (wood)' > Tng {J} sĕ 'cut (wood, tree), chop; slay (with a sword), hew, fell' | Sir {Sk.} cī 'cut, chop' ¶ JI II 93, Stl. ZCh 181 [no. 336], J T 142, ChC s.v. 'cut' and 'chop', Sk. NB 17 || ?σ Eg L ɛ́ ({EG} ɛ́) 'injury', 'wound' or sim. ¶ EG IV 267 ◇ If Eg ɛ́ belongs here, the N rec. must be *čEQ∇.

403. *čaqy∇ (or *čaxy∇?) 'to shine' > K: G čaxčax- 'glänzen, strahlen', čaxčax-i 'Glänzen, Gleißen, Strahlen' ¶ Chx. 1918 || A: M *čayī- v. 'be(come) bright\white, shine' > MM [S] čayī- v. 'become bright\white', [MA] čaj- v. 'become white', WrM {MED} cai- v. 'be(come) bright\white, shine', HIM цаї- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'be(come) white, turn pale, dawn', Brt цаї- 'become white, dawn'. Mnr H {SM} č'īē- 'devenir blanc', 'jaunir' (moisson), ȫr č'ī- v. 'dawn' ('commencer à faire jour'), Ord č'ā- 'être\devenir blanc, blanchir'; WrM [AT] ciūgen ~ ceūgen 'shining' ¶ Pp. MA 130, H 25, MED 180, 1200, BMR IV 147, Chr. 383, Kow. 2075, SM 441, 447, Ms. O 697-8, AT 8 || HS: Eg NK ɛ́χ'ɥ 'shine' (of the sun) (unless ← Eg fP ɛ́χ'ɥ 'appear') ¶ EG IV 237-8 ◇ N *-q- is reconstructed if the Eg cognate is valid, otherwise we must reconstruct *-q|χ- (*čaq|χy∇).

404. *čU₁?₁R∇ 'stand, stand up' > HS: CS *-θūr- > Ar ✓θwr (ip. -θūr-) v. être soulevé et se répandre dans l'air' (la poussière, les nuées de sauterelles), 'leap', SmA -tūr- ip. G 'raise' ¶ Ln. 364, BK I 241, Tal 946 || WCh: Grm {Gwrs} sorā 'stand' | NrBc {Tk.} *çurw- ~ *çɜrw- 'stand, stop, wait' > Wrj {Sk.} çɜrw-, Cg/Kry/My {Sk.} ɜɜr-, P' {MSk.} curā 'stand', Mbr {Sk.} ɜɜr- 'stand, wait' | ?φ Ngz {ChC} ɟɜɜa 'wait' || ? ECh: Kwn {J} ɟyèrē 'stand' ¶ JI II 304-5, Sk. NB 142, Tk. NB 170, ChC s.v. 'stand' and 'wait' ¶ The hissing (rather than hushing) cns. finds no explanation || K: G (ga-)čer- v. 'zum Stehen bringen, anhalten, abstellen' ¶ Chx. 1925-6, DCh. 1576 || A *č'ü²R∇ 'even, straight' > Tg *°jur- v. 'stand still' > Ewk juru| v. 'stand still, in silence' ¶ STM I 278 ¶ Tg *j- < N *č'- needs exclamation || M *čir- 'straight' > WrM {Rm.} ciraxa, cirxa, Kl {Rm.} čirxa 'gerade, прямой' ¶ KW 442 || pKo *čirī- 'go straightly, take a short way (идти напрямик)' > MKo čirī-, NKo čirī- id. ¶ Nam 436, MLC 1530, Xol. 508 || T *tūr 'even, level

(eben, flach)' (\times N * $\check{t}\ddot{u}Ry\check{\nabla}$ - * $\check{t}uRyE$ or * $\check{t}\ddot{u}r\check{\nabla}$ - * $\check{t}urE$ 'row, line; to string' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ T *-r' belongs to the heritage of N * $\check{t}\ddot{u}Ry\check{\nabla}$ - * $\check{t}uRyE$ and cannot provide ev. for pA *-r- (as in SDM). T *t' also belongs to the heritage of * $\check{t}\ddot{u}Ry\check{\nabla}$ - * $\check{t}uRyE$ or * $\check{t}\ddot{u}r\check{\nabla}$ - * $\check{t}urE$ ¶¶ SDM 402-3 (pA * $\check{c}\check{i}ur\check{i}$ - > M, T, Ko [with a misprint: NKo $\check{c}iri$ - for $\check{c}iri$ -]), DQA no. 247, S AJ 13, 101 (s.v. * $\check{c}ur\check{\nabla}$), 277 [no. 66], \approx SDM97 s.v. * $\check{c}\ddot{u}ra$ v. 'stand' (A * $\check{c}\ddot{u}ra$ 'even, straight') ¶¶ S AJ and SDM97 adduced pJ * $\check{t}\grave{a}t$ - v. 'stand' (> OJ $\check{t}at$ -, J: T $\check{t}\acute{a}c$ -u, K $\check{t}\grave{a}tte$ -ru, Ns/Sh $\check{t}\acute{a}\check{c}$ -), which is hardly conv. ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 70], S QJ no. 70, Mr. 765, Kenk. 1929-30 \diamond The initial glottalized cns. in Ch suggests a glottalizing factor, which cannot be an initial ejective (ruled out by the K and Tg cognate) and is better explained by supposing the presence of a N lr. (most probably *?).

405. ($_2$?) * $\check{c}'i'gR\check{\nabla}$ (~ * $\check{c}'i'R'g'\check{\nabla}$?) 'to stop up, to plug, to dam' > HS: S * $\circ\check{v}\theta\check{v}r$ > Ar $\check{v}\theta\check{v}r$ 'remplir, boucher (le trou, la crevasse); barrer, barricader un défilé contre l'irruption de l'ennemi', ? σ Sq {L} pf. G (\check{v}) $\check{h}\theta\sigma\theta r$ 'split' ¶ BK I 225, \approx L G 481 || K ? σ * $\check{c}\check{\chi}er$ - / * $\check{c}\check{\chi}ir$ - / * $\check{c}\check{\chi}r$ - v. 'pick (with stick)' > OG $\check{d}a$ - $\check{c}\check{\chi}er$ -, G $\check{c}\check{\chi}ir$ -/ $\check{c}\check{\chi}er$ - {K²} id., {Chx.} '(hinein)stecken' (\times K * $\check{c}\check{\chi}ir$ - 'stick' > G $\check{c}\check{\chi}ir$ -, Mg * $\check{c}\check{\chi}in\check{z}$ - [- \check{b}] Abkh a - $\check{c}\check{\chi}\grave{a}n\check{c}$ ~ a - $\check{c}\check{\chi}\grave{a}n\check{z}$], Sv $\check{c}\check{\chi}ir$ \check{d} $c\check{\chi}ir$), d. GZ * $\check{c}\check{\chi}r$ - $e\check{k}$ -/* $\check{c}\check{\chi}r$ - $i\check{k}$ -/* $\check{c}\check{\chi}r\check{o}$ - k - v. 'pick (with stick)' > G $\check{c}\check{\chi}re\check{k}$ -/ $\check{c}\check{\chi}ri\check{k}$ -, Mg $\check{c}\check{\chi}ir\check{k}$ -, Lz $\check{c}\check{\chi}ra\check{k}$ - id. ¶ G $\check{\chi}$ < * \check{v} due to the law of compulsory as. within clusters ("harmonic complexes") ¶¶ K² 259-61, Chx. 1963-4, Abul. 132 || A: M * $\circ\check{c}irga$ - > WrM {MED} $cirga$ - v. 'stop up, dam'; M \check{b} WrMc {Z} $\check{c}irga$ - 'hold in (within some limits), dam, fill with mud', {Hr} $cirga$ - 'stecken bleiben, in der Klemme sein', {Hr} $cirga$ - $\check{b}u$ - 'stecken bleiben lassen; anhalten (Atem); stauen (Wasser)' ¶ MED 191, STM II 399, Z 941, Hr 151 || AdS of D: SD and SCD * $\check{c}er$ - v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' (< D * $\acute{k}er$ - < N * $\acute{s}\acute{e}Rw\check{\nabla}$ 'insert, thrust in, stop up' [q.v. ffd.]; see also N * $\check{c}ERH_2\check{\nabla}$ 'to stick in, to gouge').

406. * $\check{c}AR'h'r\acute{u}$ ' 'to spread, to scatter' > IE: NaIE * $\check{s}ter$ -, * $\check{s}teru$ -/* $\check{s}treu$ -, * $\check{s}ter\grave{a}$ -/* $\check{s}tr\bar{o}|a$ - v. 'spread, scatter', {EI} * $\check{s}ter$ - 'spread out' (\times N * $\check{t}ar\check{\chi}\check{\nabla}$ 'throw, disperse, scatter' [q.v.]) > OI \check{v} $\check{s}tar$ -: $\check{s}tr\check{o}$ ' $\check{n}\acute{a}ti$, $\check{s}tr\check{o}$ ' $\check{n}\bar{o}ti$ 'spreads, scatters', 'streut (hin)', Av $\check{s}tar\grave{a}n\acute{a}iti$ 'sternit', Phl inf. $\check{v}istartan$ 'to spread', NPrs inf. $\check{g}\check{o}st\check{a}rd\check{a}n$ id., 'to expand; to make a bed' ||| Gk $\sigma\tau\acute{o}r\nu\mu\lambda$, $\sigma\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\mu\lambda$ v. 'spread', $\sigma\tau\rho\omega\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ adj. 'spread (ausgebreitet, hingelegt)', $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ 'anything spread/laid out

for lying\ sitting upon' ||| L *stern-ō* / -*ēre* (pfc. *strāvi*, pp. *strātus*) 'stretch\spread out, strew, spread', *strāmen* 'straw, litter' ||| Clt {Matas.} **star-na-* 'strew, broaden' > OIr *sernaid*, -*sern* {Mats.} id., {Vn.} 'étendre, joncher, distribuer'; OBr *strouis* 'stravi', MBr *streoui* 'joncher', *streuein* 'to strew, to spread' ('parsemer, éparpiller'), Br *strewiñ* 'joncher, éparpiller, répandre' ||| pAl {O} **stringa* > Alshtrij v. (pres. *strinj*) 'stretch (out), spread' ||| pGmc inf. **straujan* 'to strew, to spread' > Gt inf. *straujan* (· *στρωνύειν*) {AD} 'to strew, bestreuen (?)', {Fs.} 'ausbreiten', ON inf. *strá* 'to strew', OHG inf. *strewen* id. (> NHG inf. *streuen* 'to strew, to spread'), AS inf. *stré(ō)wian* 'to strew, to scatter' (> NE *strew*); ON *strá* (↳ ME *strā*, *strō* > NE *straw*), OFrs *strē*, OHG *strou* & *strō* (> NHG *Stroh*) 'straw' (← *'sth. spread\scattered') ||| Lt *stirta* 'stack, rick', Δ *strajā* 'Streu(stroh)' ||| Sl inf. **pro-sterti* 'to spread, to stretch' > OCS inf. *прострѣти* *pro-strě-ti* 'to stretch, to extend', {StSS} 'простереть, распро-странить', R inf. *простереть*, Slv inf. *prostréti* 'to stretch, to extend', SCr inf. *прòстрѣти* & *pròstrijēti* id., 'to spread, to spread out', Blg *про'стирам* v. 'I stretch, extend', Cz inf. *prostřítí* 'to spread (out)' ¶ P 1029-30, EI 539, M K III 517-18, M E II 756-7, VI. II 1002, Sg. 1089, F II 802-3, Cowg. EG 155ff., WH II 590-1, Vn. S 93-5, Flr. 309, Ern. 662, Hm. 760, Ho. 326, Fs. 456, Kb. 976, OsS 878, Schz. 273, Kb. 973, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlbED 844, Frn. 909-10, 917, Vs. III 379, StSS 527-8 ||| HS: S **o*✓*θrr* > Ar ✓*θrr* 'séparer, disperser, disséminer' ¶ BK I 220 ||| D **ĉār-* ({*ǵGS*} **s-?*) v. 'spread, extend' > TI *sārinca* id., Knd *sār-* v. 'spread (e.g. sore)' ¶¶ D no. 2466 ◇ D *-*r-* (regularly from a N cluster **R*⊥) and IE **sterə-* suggest the presence of a N lr.; the most probable lr. (liable to disappear in S and yielding a lr. in IE **sterH-* > NaIE **sterə-*) is **h* ◇ ≠ IS MS 359 (equating IE **ster(H)-* with HS **ḍr-* [sc. **ḍvr-*] 'scatter').

407. (₂?) **ĉERH₂∇* (= **ĉER₁∇?*) 'to stick in, to gouge' > K: G *čr-* / *čar-* 'hinein-\durch-stecken, hinein-zwängen\stopfen' ¶ Chx. 1946-8 ||| A: Tg: Ul *čirgз-* v. 'gouge, chisel' ('долбить долотом \ стамеской') ¶ STM II 399 ||| D: AdS of SD and SCD **ĉer-* v. 'shove in, thrust, insert' (< D **k₁er-* < N **śêRw∇* 'to insert, to thrust in, to stop up' [q.v. ffd.], see also N **č'igR∇* [~ **č'ir'g'∇?*] 'to stop up, to plug, to dam') ||| ? HS: WS **✓'θ' r₁* > Sr ✓*tr₁* 'fregit, perfregit; perfodit', {JPS} 'break through, force a passage', JA [Trg.] ✓*tr₁*

'zerbrechen, zerschlagen', MHb (< Aram?) תַּרְיָהּ *tərī'ā* 'Riß, durchbrochener Ort', SmA √ *tr* G 'breach' (pp. *tr* G 'breached'), Ar √ *θr* 'être importun à qn par ses visites très fréquentes' (if a μφ from 'thrust, shove [oneself] in') ¶ Valid if Ar √ *θr* belongs here, otherwise the S root may be √ *tr* and does not necessarily belong here ¶ Tal 965-6, Br. 836-7, JPS 621, Lv. IV 673, ≈ L G 481.

408. *č∇Ruq∇ (or *č∇Rüq∇?) 'pile up, put\lay on\over' > IE: NaIE **streu*₁ / **strou*₁ / **stru*₁ - 'pile up, build' > L *stru*-ō, -ēre (pfc. *stru*xī, pp. *stru*ctum) 'pile up, put in layers (schichten); build', *stru*ēs (gen. *stru*is) 'a heap', Um *stru*hçla, *stru*çla, STRUŠLA 'struiculam, struem' (accus. dim. 'a heap') || Lt Δ *stru*ñtyti, Lt Z *stru*ñtyti 'errichten, erbauen' ¶ It is tempting to suppose that -k- in L *stru*xī, *stru*ctum is somehow connected with N *-q- ¶ WH II 607-8, Bc. G 347, Pln. II 756, Frn. 927, ≠ EI 539 (L *stru*ō 'build up' < IE **ster*- 'spread out') || K: G čχor-in. 'heap, piling up' ('Anhäufung, Haufen'), čχor- v. 'unordentlich anhäufen oder bauen' ¶ Chx. 1965 || HS: B *√srH > Kb {Hy.} *ti-sri* 'tas de claires\planches'; ? BSn {Ds.} *a-šaršūr* (pl. *i-šeršār*) 'tas de pierres (sacré)' ¶ Dl. 790, Ds. B 338 || Eg fMK *sr*χ *ι* 'memorial stone (Denkstein)', possibly also Eg fXVIII *sr*χ 'throne' (if ← *erected) ¶ EG IV 200, Fk. 234.

409. *č'a'w'ú'Ry'∇ 'bull, calf' > HS: S {AD} *'θawar- 'bull, ox' > BHb שׂוֹר 'šōr, pl. שׂוֹרִים 'šawārīm, ? Ph θωρ, Ug θr (θōr-), BA pl. תֹּרִין *tō'rīn*, JA תֹּרִין *tō'r-ā*, Sr }^o *taw'r-ā*, Ar ثَوْر *θawr-*, OSA θωr, Gz ῥC *sōr*, Tgr ῥC *sor*, Ak šūr-, Eb šu-lum (= θō|ūr-um) id.; S b→ IE **tawro*-s 'bull, aurochs' > Gk Mc *tawros*, Gk ταῦρος 'bull', pAl {O} **taura* (> Al *ter* 'bull'), L *taurus*, Osc accus. ταυρομ, Um TORU, accus. pl. *turuf* 'bull', Clt {Matas.} **tarwo*- 'bull' (> GI TARVOS, OIr *tarb*, NIr *tarbh*, MW, W {YGM} *tarw*, OBr *taruu*, MBr {Ern.} *taru*, Br {Hm.} *tarv*, Crn *tarow* 'bull'), ON þjórr, Sw *tjur*, Dt Δ *deur* 'bull', pSl **turb* (> OCS **ТОУРЪ** *turb* 'aurochs', {StSS} 'wild ox, aurochs'), Lt *taūras* 'aurochs', Pru *tauris* id.; Blt b→ F *tarvas* 'reindeer' ¶ KB 1346-8, 1797-8, AD PhSS 10-11, AD PSH 93, Br. 819, OLS 505, Siv. GAG 281, Sl. 1199, L G 511, Sd. 1287, IS DIES 3, WP I 711, P 1083, Mn. 1370, EI 135, F II 860-1, WH II 650-2, Bc. G 325, 349, Vr. 614, Frn.1067-8, En. 263, Vn. T 31, Matas. E 371-2, Ern. 681, YGM-1 405, Hm. 777, YGM-1 405, Hamp AIEW 150, O 432, StSS 708 || Eg: OK *εβ* 'young bull' ({Mks} 'taurillon'), ?? MK {Fk.} *εβ* 'byre' ¶ Mks I no.

3325, Fk. 207, Hng 654 || SC \rightarrow Mb čurú 'bull' ¶ E SC 227 (err. SC supposed cognates) ¶¶ Tk. PAA 7 || IE: NaIE *steur-/stour- 'bull' ({EI} *steuros 'large domestic animal') > Av staora 'large cattle', MPrs stōr 'draught animal', NPrs ستور sotūr ~ استور ostūr 'beast of burden (horse, mule)' || Gt stīur (· μόσχος) 'Kalb, (junger) Stier', ζ ON {Ho., KM} stjórr (not mentioned in Vr.), OHG stior 'bullock', NHG Stier 'bull, bullock', Dt stier, AS stéor 'bullock, steer', NE steer ¶ WP I 603-4, P 1010, Mn. 1316-17, EI 23-4, Vl. I 95 and II 227, Sg. 55, 656, Fs. 454, Ho. 320, OsS 873, Kb. 966, KM 749, Vr. N 699 || ? A: NrTg *çur- (~ *çir-?) (+ext.) > Ewk çurup 'wild deer (two\three-year-old)' and possibly Ewk Urm çirak, Ewk M çirāp 'elk (four-year-old)', Neg çirap 'male elk (three\four-year-old)' ¶ STM II 399 || T: possibly Alt/Tlt/QK čar 'ox (Ochs, Arbeitsochs)', Brb/Kü čar 'ox' (Rl. III 1859 and IV 192) \rightarrow WrM {Rm.} car, {MED} šar, Kl {KRS} cap car, {Rm.} car 'verschnittener Ochs, Jochtier', HIM {MED, BMR} шap 'castrated ox' (in this case N *-aw∇R- > A *-aR-) (MED 752, BMR IV 342, KRS 425, KW 422) || D: [1] D {tr.} *čar- > Gdb sařit 'bullock', Knd P saṛa 'bull', Ku sṛahnu kōḍi 'bullock' (kōḍi 'cow, ox') ¶¶ D no. 2402 || [2] ?? D (att. in CD) {tr.} *čir, {GS} *cir 'buffalo' > Klm sir, Nkr sír 'female buffalo', Nk sir id., 'buffalo', Prj čir, Gdb sir & čirru 'buffalo'; D \rightarrow OI saṛribha id. ¶ D no. 2554, GS 127 [no. 330] ◇ D *-r- ~ *-r- and the problematic pT *-r suggest N *-Ry- rather than *-r- (which cannot yield T and D *-r) ◇ AD NM no. 41, Vv. AEN 19 (legitimate doubts about the supposed cognates in the Altaic lges).

410. *č'ī'Rk∇ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' > HS: S *^oθ'ark- > Ak šark- 'pus' ('Eiter') ¶ Sd. 1187 || IE: NaIE *(s)terg̃|g- / *(s)treḡ|g- 'rotten liquid, filth' > Gk [Hs.] στεργάνος (κοπρών) {LS} 'sterquilinum' ('dung heap'), Gk τάρταρον 'wine vinegar' || ON þrekkr, MHG drēc (gen. dreckes) 'filth, dirt' > NHG Dreck 'mud, dirt, filth' || NaIE *(s)terk̃- / *(s)trenk̃- '≈ excrements, urine' > L stercus / gen. stercoris 'excrements, dung, muck, manure' || Clt {Matas.} *stronko- 'excrement' > W {YGM} trwnc 'urine', troeth (< *troktā-) 'urine', troethi 'to urinate', Br {Hm.} stronk 'ordure, crotte', troazh n. 'urine', || pAl {O} *streka > Alshtrek (pl. 'shtrique) 'corpse, carrion' || Lt inf. teršti (1s pres. teršiù) 'to soil, to make dirty', Lt inf. trèšti, Lt E inf. trēšti (1s pres. trēsìù) 'to manure, to dung', Lt trašà 'manure', traškanos 'pus in the eyes' ¶ P 1031-2, WH II 589, F II

790, 856, Vr. 620, Lx. 32, KM 141, Mats. E 357, YGM-1 418, 420, Hm. 763, 815, Frn. 1083, 1112 and 1120-1, O 441 ¶ The variation *ǵ|ǵ ~ *ǵ still needs investigating || **A:** NaT *ǵirk 'dirt, pus' > Az čirk 'dirt, pus', Osm {Rh.} čirk 'dirt, pollution, matter, pus', Tk {RYS} ǵirk 'dirt, rust', Δ 'pus, matter; manure', Tkm čirk 'stain, stained spot'; T → G čirk- 'pus' ¶ Rh. 718, Chx. 1937, Rl. III 2127 ◇ ≈ IS I 207 [no. 50] (*čiručной, жижа').

411. (₂?) *čit' ▽ 'to clean, (?) to wipe' > **K:** G I čit- 'säubern (Reben)' ¶ Chx. 1934 || **U:** FU {Coll.} *čič' ▽- v. 'wipe' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} ciħ:cyoṭ, Vfs {Lgc.} cä'ħ·coṭ 'abwischen' ¶ FU *-č- for the expected *-t- is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous FU root *čōč' ▽ (< N *coγ|χč' ▽ or *čoγ|χc' ▽ 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off' [q.v.]) ¶ Lgc. nos 305 and 353, Coll. 75 (Lp ciħħħħ / ciħħħħ- 'wipe'; *÷ Prm and Vg words belonging to the above-mentioned U *čōč' ▽) || ? **HS:** S *°✓θdm *'strain, filter (a liquid)' > Ar θidām- 'linge etc., qu'on applique à une vase pour filtrer\coller un liqueur' ¶ BK I 220.

412. *id.*? *čit'ħ,a 'small bird' > **K** *čit'ħ- 'small\young bird' > G čit'ħ- 'small bird', čit'ħ- v. 'bring up nestlings' (of a bird); possibly some K lge → Arm ǵħun ciħ 'sparrow' ¶ Chx. 1938, DCh. 1579 || **HS:** EC: HEC {Hd.} *čida 'bird' > Brj {Ss.} čīdā, {Hd.} čīda, Ged čiččō (< *čid- + snglt. -čō), Kmb čičču-ta, Alb čičuta 'bird' || ? **SC** {Tk.} *čidħ- ({E} *čirħ-) 'bird' > Irq čirħi, Alg/Brn čiraħa, Asa širaħa *id.*; *-dħ- < (as.) *dħ- ¶ Hd. 27, 183, Ss. B 47, E SC 226, Tk. NB 176 || **Ch:** WCh {Stl.} *čita 'bird', {AD} 'small bird' (mte. *č...t' > *č...t) > Hs tsita čitā 'small bird' || Mbr {Sk.} čōtí, Dir {Sk.} à'čídá 'bird' || **ECh:** Nd {J} čádín *id.* ¶ JI II 22-3, Stl. ZCh 193 [no. 443], Ba. 1041, ChC s.v. 'bird' || ? **Eg** XXII sħħ 'small bird' (ħ for the expected *č due to as. *ħ > *ħ), Eg MK sħħ *id.* (affricatization *ħ > *č) ¶ **EG** IV 345, 394 || **U** {UEW} *on.* *čiča (~ *čičā) 'small bird' > pLp {Lr.} *cicē- 'small bird' > Lp: N {Fri.} cicce, sicce / -c- 'passer, avicula', {N} ciħaš / -aš- '*Calcarius lapponicus*', (last part of cds) 'sparrow, small bird', S {Hs.} tsūjtseke, L {LLO} tsihħtsē '(ε) 'small bird', Kld {SaR} цыħа cħħа 'a bird belonging to the order of *Passeriformes* (sparrow and sim.)' || Prm: Z I žiž 'small bird', žiž kay 'Arctic sparrow', Z US/MS ž+ž+, Prmk ž+ž, Yz žiž 'swift (*Apodida*)', StZ джыдж ž+ž *id.*, 'sand martineta (*Riparia*)' || **Os:** D čēñč 'a small bird', Kz šeš 'a songbird', K šiš 'goldfinch' || **Sm:** Slq Tm {KD} čiči 'a small bird', Slq Tz {Erl. ← JP} čičik, čičika 'a

small bird' ¶¶ UEW 58-9, Lr. no. 81, Lgc. no. 355, Hs. 1370, SaR 382, LG 89, Erl. 239 ¶¶ The unexpected *-č- and *-nč- (for *-tt-) are due to onomatopoeic associations (and to as?). The additional cns. -ñ- in Os D and in pre-Prm (*-ñč- > Prm *ž) still requires explanation || D *čit̥t̥- 'small bird' > Tl j̥it̥t̥a (the generic name of several birds [Brown included many warblers, babblers, wagtails etc.]), Kn c̥et̥t̥i 'hen sparrow', Kt gugr-c̥et̥y 'pigeon' (lit.: 'a bird that says gugr'); D ⇨ OI caṭaka- 'sparrow' ¶¶ D *čit̥ta (preserved in Tl j̥it̥t̥a) > pSD *čet̥ta (*i > SD *e before *a of the next syll.) ⇨ Kn c̥et̥t̥i and Kt c̥et̥y ¶¶ D no. 2763, Zv. 65-6 (*i > SD *e), Tu. no. 4571 ◇ In WCh and D there is shift of etymological emphaticity N *č...t̥ > *č...t (> D *č...t̥) ◇ An alt. rec. is N *čit̥h, ▽, that presupposes a shift of emphaticity in K ◇ If Eg s̥t̥h (~ s̥z̥h) belongs here, the N etymon is *čit̥h, a (the combined ev. of Eg h̥ and of K ∅ suggest N *h̥). But if SC *čid̥- belongs here, the N etymon may be *čit̥sa (Eg t̥h̥ < *-t̥- [assimilative deglottalization and devoicing]).

413. ?σ₂ *čAy ▽ 'bring, give' > HS *čayy- > CS *θayy- 'gift, donation' > BHb 'שׁ' šay, EpHb 'שׁ' šy id., Ug θy {A} 'Votivgeschenk', {Grd.} 'tribute, gift', Yd šy [*θay-] 'gift, donation' ¶ KB 1368, A no. 2857, Grd. UT no. 2666, HJ 1125 || WCh ([?] × *čih'i' ≈ carry, bring' → 'give', q.v.): NrBc {Tk.} *čay- ~ *čiy- > Wrj {Sk.} ča-, Jmb {Sk.} ší- ~ šá-, My {Sk.} cá-, Mbr {Sk.} ci-, cey-, Kry čiy- 'give' || CCh: ?φ Msg P {Mch.} sa id. ¶ JI II 158-9, Sk. NB 23, Tk. NB 174, ChC s.v. 'give' || Eg OK s̥ω, s̥ω.t̥, y̥s̥ω 'Ersatz, Lohn, Entgelt' ¶ EG I 131 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 17-18 (S, NrBc, Eg + err. pSam *s̥î: 'give' [in fact, from N *čih'i' '↑', q.v.]) || ?σ D *čay- 'leave, let go' > Klm say- 'leave, let go, release', Nk say-, Prj čāy- 'leave', Nkr sáy-, Gdb O {Bh.} sāy- 'leave, abandon', Gdb {Km. and Bh.} sāy key- 'leave, let loose', Gdb K sāy- 'leave, heal' || ? Td toy- 'give the slip to' || AdS of D *čī- / *čiy- ({θGS} *ś-) v. 'give' (→ 'allow') (< N *čih'i' '↑' [q.v. ffd.]); it is not likely to be the direct reflex of N *čAy ▽ because of D *-ī- / *iy- and D {GS} *ś- ¶¶ D no-s 2458 and 2596, Zv. 105.

414. ?σ₂ *čæ|ab ▽ 'y' ▽ 'horned animal' > HS: S *θabay- 'gazelle' > Ak fOB ṣabītu(m) (Ak ī < S *ay), Eb za-ba-a-tum, BHb 'צב' çabī (pl. 'צבאי' çabā'ī ~ 'צבאי' çabā'y-ī), Ug θby, OA ṣby [θ'a'by-], IA ṭby, JA (incl. JEA) 'צבאי' ṭab'y-ā, Sr ṭab'y-ā ~ ṭabī-'t-ā, Md ṭabia, Ar 'ظبي' ḡaby- id. ¶ CAD XVI 42-4, Sd. 1071, Krb. EG 42, KB

937, HJ 419, 958, OLS 551, Grd. UT no. 1045, Sl. 493, Br. 266, DM 173, BK II 132, Ln. 1908 || Eg OK $\text{зbr.}\omega$ '€ antelope' ¶ EG V 568 || A *č̣ap'∇ - *č̣æp'∇ '€ horned animal' > T *č̣æpií 'kid' > OT č̣epiš 'a kid more than half grown', Osm č̣äpiš 'half-year-old kid', Tk ç̣epiç, ç̣epiç, Az č̣äpiš 'one-year-old kid', Tkm č̣ebiš, č̣ebṣ̌ek 'half-year-old kid', Qmq č̣ebič, Qzq ṣ̌ibiš 'one-year-old kid', Qq {KrkR} ṣ̌ibiš 'kid of the second part of the first year of its life', {Shch.} ṣ̌ibiš 'goat that has kidded once', Qrg č̣ebič 'kid of the second year of its life' ¶ Cl. 399, Rs. W 105, Shch. Zh 120, TkR 181, MM 399, KmRS 356, KrkR 736 || ppM **č̣aβ¹- > pM *č̣aγ|g- > WrM цага {MED} 'domesticated reindeer', HIM цаа {MED} id., {BMR} 'reindeer', Kl † {KRS} ца(а) 'reindeer', Kl Ö {Rm.} č̣a 'Renntier'; ?φ Brt цага(н) 'lamb born in summer; sire reindeer' ¶ Kow. 2073, MED 154, BMR IV 238, Gl. III 333, Chr. 381-2, KRS 620, KW 438 || Tg: Ewk I ç̣ē wakūn, Ewk ç̣ubukī 'mountain sheep' ('горный\каменный баран') → Yk č̣u(b)buka ~ č̣u(b)buku id. ¶ STM II 410, Pek. 3675, JkR 513 ¶¶ SDM 418 (pA *č̣'ap'i - *č̣'er'a > T, M), DQA no. 273 || *Add. source* of IE *ostib_lh₁- > Sl *ostbb-(jb) 'wild cat' (responsible for IE *st-) (< N *č̣'ri' b ∇ ∇ ∇ or *č̣'ri' b ∇ ∇ ∇ 'hyena' and *ẓ̌æ? ∇ b ∇ '€ beast of prey. q.v.) ◇ A *-p'- < **-b...?- < N *-b...y-.

415. *č̣'∇č̣'∇, 'q'∇ 'be born; a young (of an animal)' > K: G č̣'ič̣'qina '€ young fish, fry' ¶ Chx. 2260 || U *č̣ača- (~ *č̣anča-) ~ (Ugr) *č̣oč'∇- 'be born' > FU: Er ṣ̌ačo- ~ č̣ačo-, Mk ṣ̌ačə- id., 'appear, be a (good) crop' || Chr: L ṣ̌oč̣a- (inf. шочаш ṣ̌o'č̣a-ṣ̌), B ṣ̌oč̣a-, Uf ṣ̌oč̣a-, H ṣ̌ača- (in f. шачаш 'ṣ̌ača-ṣ̌) 'be born' || Prm *č̣už- id. > Z чуж- č̣už- id., 'appear, germinate', Prmk, Yz č̣už- id., Vt чыжы č̣+ẓ̌+ 'clan', чыжы-выжы č̣+ẓ̌+-v+ẓ̌+ 'clan, relative(s)' (выжы 'root, clan') || ObU {Ht.} *č̣ōč̣əγ > pVg {Ht.} *ṣ̌ōṣ̌əθ ~ *ṣ̌ōṣ̌əā 'native land' > Vg: LK/MK ṣāṣə, P ṣ̌oṣ̌iθ, Ss sosṣa id.; pOs {Ht.} *č̣ōč̣əγ ~ *č̣āč̣əγ 'of this country, local, indigenous' > Os: D/K č̣āč̣ə, Nz ṣ̌ōṣ̌ə, Kz ṣ̌ōṣ̌ī, O ṣāṣi id. || Sm: Ne Т тэнз, Т О {Lh.} tenc 'clan, tribe; kind', En X {Cs.} tíč̣o, En B {Cs.} tíso, {Mik.} tíz 'Geschlecht', Ng {Hl.} tansə 'clan', Slq {Cs.}: O č̣aẓ̌, MO 'č̣aẓ̌eak ~ č̣ač̣eak, NP č̣atč̣eak, Ke cáceak, B čeẓ̌ijeä, Tz čeč̣eťä, čeč̣eja, teteťä 'Geschlecht' ¶¶ UEW 52, MRS 722, LG 312, Lt. 216, U3S 490-1, Ht. no. 92, Stn. D 241, Ter. 690, Hl. US 139, Cs. 89, 134, 228 || A: NaT *ç̣oç̣ug|k ~ *ç̣oç̣ka ≈ young of an animal' (→ 'young of a pig'), 'child' (< *'born') > OT č̣oč̣uq, Trm жожук, ẓ̌ōẓ̌uq, Az чошга č̣oṣ̌ga, QrB č̣oč̣xa 'suckling pig', Tk ç̣ocuk / ç̣ocug- 'child', Ggz č̣oẓ̌uq 'boy, son',

Uz чўчкаа čwčqa, ET, Qmq čočqa, Qzq/Qq/Nog šošqa, VTt чучкаа šúšqa, Bsh susqa, Qrg čočqo, StAlt чочко čočqo, Qmn {B} čočqa ~ čočqo ~ čöčkö, QK {B} čočqa ~ šošqo, Xk σοσχα 'swine' ¶ Cl. 400, MKD 94, Rs. W 113, TkR 326, BT 180, B DK 269, B DLT 223, RKB 455 ¶ The length of the vw. *ō reflects the loss of the N postcons. Ir. ◇ In the light of the U data (no cns. after the word-medial *č) K *q̄ and T *k may be explained as going back to *q̄ (N *-č̣_L∇_Lq̄- > *-č̣_L∇_Lq̄ by assimilation).

416. *č̣ayd∇ 'strike, beat' > K *č̣ēd- / *č̣ād- v. 'hammer in (forge), nail' > OG č̣ed- (aor. -č̣ed-e < *č̣ēd-) v. 'hammer in (forge)', G č̣ed- (aor. -č̣ed-e) id., v. 'nail on, affix, shoe (beschlagen)', Mg č̣ka(n)d-, Lz č̣kad- v. 'nail, shoe (beschlagen)', Sv -ṣ̌kād- / -ṣ̌kid-, Sv L -ṣ̌kād- id. ({TK} msd.: UB liṣ̌kādī, LB/Ln liṣ̌kādī, LB liṣ̌kđī, L liṣ̌kādī) ¶¶ K 254-5, K² 320, Chik. 412, FS K 474, FS E 537-8, Chx. 2238-40, TK 462; on the phonological basis of the full-grade aorist in G: Vogt AVG 133 and GM S 269-70 ¶¶ The K long vw. goes back to N *ay || D *č̣aṭ- v. 'strike, beat' > Tm cāṭu v. 'beat, trample, gore, kill, destroy', cāṭṭu v. 'beat, strike', Tu caḍāyisu- id., 'flog', Kn jaḍi 'beat, pound, crush', Tl saḍinca v. 'pound, beat', Prj č̣aḍp- v. 'strike, beat, hammer', Kui ẓ̌aṛsa 'a whip, scourge', Mlt {Drs.} j̄áṛe 'beat/shake down as fruits' ¶¶ D no. 2300 || IE: NaIE *_L(s)_Lk^(h)aṯd- 'strike' > L caed-ō / -ēre (pfc. cecīd-ī) 'strike, beat, kill, cut (trees)' ||| OI khēd- {MW} 'strike, press, press down', {M} 'drücken, stoßen' (to keep apart OI {M} khēd- 'tear?') ¶ ≈ WH I 129, MW 339-40, ≈ M K I 309, ≈ M E I 454-5 ¶ Though the IE *s *mobile* is not attested in any language, there is indirect ev. of it: the OI aspirated kh- is accounted for by NaIE *(s)k^h- < N *č̣- ¶ The cluster *sk- for the expected *st- is due to the IE law (of dis.?) ruling out *st-...-T-roots (in the presence of an IE root-final dental stop N *č̣- and *č̣- yield IE *(s)k-, *(s)k̄-, *(s)k^ω-, cp. IE *skand- < N *č̣'a'nd∇ 'rise, emerge, jump [up]' [q.v.]) || HS: ?ϕ EC {Ss.} *č̣|ḍīt- v. 'kick' > Or {Grg., Sr.} ḍīta, Arr {Hw.} ḍit-, Ya dīt- {Ss.} v. 'kick', Hr {AMS} ḍīč̣- 'treten' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, 30, Grg. 126, Sr. 297, Brl. 118 (Or ḍit-u 'pestare, calpestare, pigliare coi piedi'), Hw. A 356, AMS 155.

417. *č̣Uka (or *č̣Uk_L∇?, ∇?) 'to shut, to stop up, to cover' > K: G č̣ek- 'vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2245 || IE: NaIE {P, EI} *(s)teg- v. 'cover' > OI sthagayati 'covers, hides' ||| Gk στέγω 'I cover, I protect' ||| L teg-ō, -ere v. 'cover' ||| ON inf. þekja, OSx inf. bi-thékkian, OHG inf.

decken d decchen d thechen, NHG inf. decken, AS inf. $\text{ð}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{c}}\text{an}$ 'to cover', NE *thatch* || Lt inf. *stíegti* (1s pres. *stíegu*) 'to roof, to thatch' || \rightarrow NaIE $*(s)teg\text{-}s \sim *(s)tog\text{-}s$ 'roof' > Gk $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\varsigma, \tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\varsigma, \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta, \tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta$ 'roof, house, Obdach' || Clt {Matas.} 'house' > OIr *tech*, OW *tig*, W {YGM} $t\hat{u}$ 'house', OBr *bou-tig* 'stable', MBt *ti* 'house', Br {Hm.} *ti* 'maison' || ON *þak*, AS $\text{ð}\acute{\text{æ}}\text{c}$, OHG *dah* d *dach* d *thah*, NHG *Dach* 'roof' || Lt *stógas*, Ltv *stāgs*, OPrs *stogis* 'roof' ¶ P 1012-13, Dv. no. 109, EI 134, M K II 523 (the adduction of OI "remains questionable"), F II 780-1, WH II 654-5, Vn. *T* 39-40, Matas. E 326, YGM-1 424, Hm. 788, Vr. 605, 607, OsS 94-5, Schz. 105, 108, Ho. 359, 361, Kb. 147, KM 119, 124, Frn. 904, 911, En. 257 || U $*\check{c}ukka-$ 'versperren, verstecken' > Hg *csuk-* 'sperren, versperren, zuschließen' || ? Vt *ćuka-* vt. 'hamper, bar' ('задержать, преградить') || Sm: [1] $;\check{c}\nabla k-$ > Slq Tz {Cs.} *čakačam* ~ *takatam* 'einschließen, verschließen'; [2] $?\phi$ Sm {Jn.} $*\text{t}\check{b}k-$ v. 'hide' > Sq Tm {KD} *takku* 'хранить' (= 'keep?'), Sq N {Cs.} 1s pf. *taħħap* 'I buried'; \rightarrow Sm {Jn.} $*\text{t}\check{b}kk\check{b}l-$ 'verbergen' > Ne T inf. *taċċal- $\text{c}\check{b}$* 'to hide, to conceal', {Lh.} *taċċal-* 'verbergen, verstecken', Ne F 2s obj. inv. *ta'kkarċt*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *taqq+ \check{b}* v. 'gather', {Cs.} ? En X/B *tekā-* 'sich verstecken' ¶¶ UEW 62, Coll. 7, MF 126, LG 313, Jn. 146, Cs. 133, KKIH 179, Ter. 617 || A: $?\sigma$ Tg $*\check{c}ok\check{u}-$ v. 'screw up one's eye, close one's eye' > Ewk $\check{c}ok\check{o}n-$ ~ $\check{c}ok\check{o}r-$ id., v. 'take aim (when shooting)', Lm $\check{c}ok\check{a}n-$ id., Neg $\check{c}o\check{x}o\check{t}-$, Ork $\check{c}oq\check{o}r\check{i}\check{c}\check{i}-$ 'take aim (when shooting)', Orc $\check{c}ok\check{c}omi\check{c}\check{i}-$ v. 'cover one's eyes with the hand' ¶ STM II 404 \diamond U $*-kk-$ and Tg $*-k-$ (the regular reflexes of N $*-k\check{c}-$) may be explained as going back to post-N $*-k\check{c}- < *-k\check{c}- < N *-k\nabla\check{c}-$.

418. ${}_2 * \check{c}\check{i}\check{c}i\check{k}\nabla$ 'to cut' > K: GZ $*\check{c}\acute{e}\check{c}\check{k}-$ v. 'cut (fine)' > G $\check{c}\acute{e}\check{c}\check{k}-$, Mg $\check{c}\acute{a}\check{c}\check{k}-$ id. ¶ K 255, K² 321, FS K 474-5, FS E 538 || A: Tg $*\check{c}\check{i}ka-$ > Ewk $\check{c}\check{i}k\check{a}-$ v. 'cut off', Lm $\check{c}\check{i}q\check{i}$, Neg $\check{c}\check{i}\check{x}a$ d $\check{c}\check{i}ka$ id., 'cut into pieces', Ork $\check{c}\check{i}k\check{z}$ 'a support (piece of log etc.) on which sth. is chopped, cut, broken up, crushed' ¶ STM II 390 \diamond The N initial cns. may have been either $*\check{c}\check{-}$ (preserved in K) or $*\check{c}\check{-}$ (glottalized in K by as.) \diamond IS MS 361, IS I 210 [no. 55] (K, A).

419. $*\check{c}\acute{e}\check{f}k\nabla$ (or $*\check{c}\acute{ä}\check{f}i\check{k}\nabla?$) 'squeeze; tight', 'stuff (vollstopfen)' > K: G $\check{c}\check{i}k\check{n}-$ 'prallvoll machen, vollstopfen' ¶ Chx. 2251 || HS: WS $*\check{c}\check{f}\check{f}k$ > Gz $\check{c}\check{f}\check{f}k$ G 'be squeezed\pressed' and possibly BHb $\check{c}\check{f}\check{w}k$ Sh (pf. $\check{c}\check{f}\check{w}\check{h}$ $\text{h}\check{e}'\check{c}\check{i}\check{k}$) 'drive (smb.) in the corner, press (smb.)', $\text{h}\check{e}'\check{c}\check{i}\check{k}$

lə- 'harass, press hard' (absence of *ʕ due to contamination with CS *✓š̂yq 'be narrowed\ pressed' < N *č̂iK̂∇ 'tight, narrow, dense' [q.v. ffd.] × N *č̂∇, Č̂, ∇, q̂∇ 'squeeze, press' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ L G 543-4, KB 951, KBR 1014, BK II 49, OLS 420-1, Js. 1056 || U: FU *č̂äkk∇ 'tight'. v. 'press, 'suffocate' > Prm: Z джaгьд ž̂agzd 'tight' (e.g., of a collar), inf. ž̂agzd-n+ 'to press, to strangle (with a loop)', inf. ž̂aga∇-n+ 'to strangle oneself', Yz 'ž̂agal- 'hang oneself', Vt inf. жоканы, жока- vi. 'suffocate', inf. жоkat-+n+ vt. 'to strangle, to suffocate', жоk-жоk pican+ 'to close tightly\hermetically' || ObU {Ht.} *č̂āk- > pVg *š̂āk- ⇨ *š̂āk-∇t- vt. 'suffocate' > Vg T š̂ükīt-, Vg P š̂ākāt- id., pVg *š̂āk-∇p- vi. 'suffocate' > Vg: LK/P š̂ākəp-, MK sākəp-, LL š̂ākəp-; pOs {Ht.} *č̂ākən-, {θHl.} *č̂ākən- vi. 'suffocate' > Os: V/Vy č̂ākən-, Ty/Y/ D/K č̂ākən-, Nz/Kz š̂akən, O sākən- id. ('ersticken') ¶ UEW 55, LG 88, Ht. no. 132, Stn. D 247 || A: M *č̂iqul 'narrow, tight; pressed' (× N *č̂iK̂∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || D *tēkk- / *tēŋk- ({θGS} *t-) > Tm tēŋku- v. 'fill, become full, be crowded', tēkku v. 'drink to the fill, be full, replete', Kn tēŋki 'mass, multitude', Tu tēkæ 'brimful', Krx tēkl tēxr- v. 'have an overfilled stomach', tēx tēxr- v. 'suffer from a heavy dinner, feel puffed up' ¶¶ D no. 3453.

420. *č̂Êl̂∇ (or *č̂Êʔ̂l̂∇) 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish' > K: GZ *m-č̂l-e 'lean, thin' (with the derivational circumfix *m- -e) > OG, G mč̂le, Mg č̂k̂ola id. (*m- is regularly lost in Mg) ¶ K 143, K² 133, FS K 472 (*č̂el- / *č̂l-) || HS: SES *✓θll v. 'be weak' (animal, person) > Jb E θel 'weak', Jb C m̂θ̂l̂l̂t̂ 'weak, sickly' (cow), m̂θ̂l̂l̂l̂ 'weak' (person, young animal), Jb eθ̂l̂l̂ v. 'cause (animals) to be weak', Mh θal, Hrs θel 'weakly goat' ¶ Jo. H 132, Jo. J 284, Jo. M 417 || AdS: Eg MKL ŝə 'mit schwachem Arm' (× N ?σ *š̂uwʔ∇ 'weak' × N *š̂uʔ̂' or *š̂uʔ̂' 'lax, loose') ¶ EG IV 14 || C: SC: Kz {E} č̂el- 'slow down' ¶ E SC 199 || AdS of EC *✓č̂l̂k > Hd {PB} č̂erak- v. 'be lean\thin' (× N *č̂älq̂∇ 'lean, thin', q.v.) ¶¶ Tk. PAA (S, Eg, SC) || U: FU *č̂'ä̂l̂∇ 'a small thing' > pPrm *ž̂ŵly- id. > Z ž̂oí, ž̂oí- id., ž̂oía 'small', Z UV ž̂zá id., Prmk ž̂oí 'a few' || pObU {Hl.} *č̂ēl̂əʔ̂ 'thin' (× N *č̂älq̂∇, q.v.) > pVg *č̂äləθ id. > Vg: T č̂äləw, LK š̂ōl̂ī, MK/LK š̂ōl̂ī, N š̂āliθ; pOs *č̂el̂əʔ̂ ({Hl.} *č̂äl̂əʔ̂) id. > Os: V/Vy ç̂el̂əθ, Ty ç̂ä̂əθ, D/K ç̂el̂ə, Nz š̂el̂ə, Kz š̂el̂ī, O š̂el̂ id. ¶ LG 91-2, Rd. rLG 422, Ht. no. 77 ¶ FU *č̂- (for the expected *č̂-) is puzzling; Prm *í is due to the infl. of the following *y || A *č̂Ê:, la or *č̂a:, l̂i' > NaT

*^oçal₁]- > OT çal-ın- v. 'be emaciated (هَزَلٌ hazala)' (of a horse), 'исхудать' (МКА 342:3) ¶ Cl. 421, DTS 137 || Tg: WrMc {Hr} çelmeri 'schlank, rank', {Z} чэлмэри) 'slender, lean' ({Z} 'стройный, с тонкой талией, сухощавый'), 'thin and dense' (of cloth) ¶ STM II 420, Hr 142, Z 929 || M: [1] M *^oçile- > WrM {MED} çile- 'be(come) ill\weary\ tired\exhausted', HIM чилэ- {MED, BMR} id., Brt шэлэ- 'run low\dry (иссякать, кончиться)' (of wine, medicine), Kl {KRS} чил- 'run low (исчерпаться, кончиться)', {Rm.} čilə- 'ein Ende nehmen, zu Ende gehen, kraftlos\krank sein', Ord č'ile- 'éprouver de la fatigue; être épuisé' ¶ MED 182, BMR IV 312, Chr. 544, KRS 650, KW 440, Ms. O 703] [2] ??σ (× N *^očālg∇ 'lean, thin' [of a body]) WrM cilger {MED} 'slender', {Gl.} 'стройный станом', HIM чилгэр {MED} 'slender', {BMR} 'mager, dünn' ¶ MED 183, BMR IV 312 || D *^očal]- ({^oGS} *c- or [?] *č-) 'weak, feeble, undeveloped' > Tm çal|ukkaç 'tender and undeveloped green fruit', Ml çal|u 'unsubstantial, unripe', Kn ja|l|uga 'a weak, feeble man', Kn Cr sa|ke 'lean', Tu çal|ə 'stupid, weak', Kui saḏu 'an empty ear of corn, an unformed grain' ¶ DEDS no. 1951, D no. 2415 ◇ U *-]- and D *-]- suggest N *-]- ◇ ¶ S *θ- and Eg s- either result from deglottalization (N *^oč̣ > *č̣ > S *θ, Eg s) or represent N *^očE?l∇. If *^očE?l∇ is the right N rec., K *^oč̣- and Kz č̣- go back to N *^oč̣ + *ʔ.

421. ₂ *^oč̣'ɔ'ɫ₁w₁∇ 'shadow, shade, dark' > HS: S *^oθilal- 'shadow' > Hb צֶל çel 'shadow' (pl. צֶלִים çalā'īm), Ug θl, Amr {G} ṣillum, JA ṭə'lal / em. ṭə'lā'l-ā, ṭul'l-ā, SmA ṭl, Sr 𐤔𐤌𐤍 ṭəlālā (= ṭəlc'lc), Ar ظِل ḏill-, Gz d. ṣalālōt, Ak ṣillu id., JEA ṭə'lā'lā 'ceiling'](+ext.) S *^o√θlm 'be\grow dark' > Ak √ ṣlm G (inf. ṣalāmū) 'be black\dark', ṣalmū 'black, dark', Ar ظلم √ ḏilm G (pf. ḏalima) 'be dark', Ug θlmt ~ ṽlmt 'darkness', Gz √ ṣlm G 'grow dark, be darkened\black' ¶ KB 960-3, KBR 1024-5, OLS 551, G A 34, Tal 311-12, Js. 537, Sl. 505, Br. 275-6, L G 555-6, Sd. 1076-8 || EC: Ged ṭillo 'black' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} cárká id. ¶ ≈ AD SF 113-14, Hd. 263 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *^oč̣'∇la- 'shade, shadow' > Sha čalâ, Ang žil id.] ECh: ?φ (+ext.): Tmk dǝlmǝ ~ dǝlmǝ (f. dǝlmǝr, pl. dǝlmǝw) 'black' (unless from Ar) ¶ JI II 29, Stl. ZCh. 194 [no. 455], J R 233, Flk. s.v. žil, Cp. 53, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'black' || Om {Blz.} *^očal-/*^očil- 'black' or 'green' > NrOm: Gm {Hw.} čilílo, Drz {Fl.} čilila, Malo {Fl.} člילו, Oyda {Fl.} čililo, Bsk {Fl.} čulla, Na'o {Fl.} čilu,

Mj č̣il-ls, Gmr {Fl.} č̣il, Cha {Fl.} šilata, Hrr {Fl.} jiluka 'green' ||| SOm: Ari B č̣al- 'black', Ari G -č̣al, -č̣el, Dm č̣ilo 'green', Ari {Bnd.} č̣alε-mi 'black, green' ¶ Blz. OL no. 197, Fl. AGC 623, Hw. EG, Bnd. AL 145, 151 || ?σ B *√ ḍl w|H: > Ah əḍlu v. 'be green and profuse' (of vegetation) (× B *dal 'green, dark'), Shl {NZ} ḍlu ~ ḍlu 'be(come) black', Sll i-ḍili 'black', Ntf ḍlu 'be black', Zng {TC} eδey 'black', 3m pf. yeδiy / 3m aor. yiδiy 'become black' ¶ Fc. 271, Ds. 199, Dray 335, NZ 463, DCTC 296 ¶ To distinguish from B *dal 'green, dark' (NZ 326-7) || | U *oč̣|t|šo|]w∇ > Sm {Jn.} *č̣|talw̄b 'dark' > Ne T талв, Ne T O {Lh.} taʔβ 'the darkest part of night (in winter)', Ne F {Lh.} pīt tānΛ id., Kms {KD} t'ōφu 'dark', Koyb {Sp.} τὸλο 'темно' ¶ Jn. 151, Ter. 618.

422. ₂ *č̣∇f|h|hm∇ 'to taste, to eat' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *√ č̣m v. 'taste' > Hs {Ba.} č̣āmē 'a small amount of food taken (out of a pot on the fire) to taste if it is good' (× Hs č̣āmē v. 'take, pick out') | Ang {ChC} č̣ām v. 'taste', Kfr {Nt.} č̣ām id., 'touch (in darkness)', Mpn {Frz.} č̣ām v. 'taste, feel, touch, test sth.' | Fy {J} č̣āmî 'taste, touch' ||| ECh: Mu {J} č̣ām 'eat (hard food)' ¶ JI II 119, Stl. ZCh 193 [no. 446], ChC s.v. 'to taste', ChL, Ba. 1026, Ab. H 875-6, Flk. s.v. cām, Frz. DM 9, Nt. 5, J R 84 ¶¶ OS no. 111 (+ err. Ar √ θm? 'make food fat, feed with fat food' [in fact, the basic meaning of Ar √ θm? is 'fat']) || | K *č̣ām-/ *č̣m- 'eat' > OG, G č̣am- (aor. -č̣am-e < *-č̣ām-), Mg č̣kom- ~ č̣kum-, Lz č̣kom- id., Sv L {K²} ēm-, {Dn.} em- id., (aor.: 1s l-oχw-em 'I ate', 2s laχ-em, 3s la|em, 1p l-oχw-ēm-d, 2p laχēm-d, 3p la|ēm-χ) ¶¶ K 254, K² 319-20, Schm. 157, FS K 472-3, FS E 535-6, Dn. s.v. em-; on the length of the pK vowels evidenced by the G aorist: GM S 241, 244, IS rGM 132-3 ◊ IS I 211-12 [no. 57] (+ err. S *√ ṭfm 'taste') ◊ The long vw. in K points to a N "light" lr. (*h, *f or *h̄, less probably *ʔ).

423. *č̣ām_L∇,χ∇ 'sour, bitter' > K [1] G č̣maχ- v. 'become sour' (of wine), č̣maχ-i 'sour' (wine); [2] ?φ GZ *mč̣aχe- (< **m-č̣maχ-e-?) 'sour' > OG mč̣aχ-, G mč̣aχe-, Lz mč̣oχa- id. ¶ FS K 231, K² 133 || | HS: NrOm *√ č̣m 'bitter' > Hrr {CR} č̣ām-, Wl {C} č̣am-, Kf {C} č̣āmm- v. 'be bitter', Mch {L} č̣ammo 'bitter', Anf {MYTY} šāmo 'bile' ¶ C SE IV 421, L M 24, MYTY 118 || Ch: WCh: Hs č̣āmī 'acidity, sourness', Gw camī id. | Tng {J} ṣ̌em, {ChL} sòm 'sour, sourness' | P' {MSk.} č̣ámúwù ~ č̣ámú mú 'sourness', Mbr {Sk.} ṣ̌āmin, Dir {Sk.} n̄́ 'sán'sám 'sour'; ?? NrBc *√ ṣ̌mm 'bitter' > Cg {Sk.} ṣ̌ēmámá, P' {MSk.} ṣ̌ám(ù)má, Sir ṣ̌āmámí id. (or akin to Jmb {Sk.} j̄ámá j̄ámá 'bitterness', Kry {Sk.} d̄ém d̄ém z̄ná

'bitter?') || CCh: Pdl šom šom 'sour', ZmB {Sa.} cìcè̄m, ZmD {KNC} còmòk, Zm {ChL} čumok 'sour' || ECh: Brg {J} jè̄má 'bitter' ¶ JI II 26-7, Ba. 1027, JS 43, ChC s.v. 'bitter' and 'sour', ChL, Sk. NB 13, 41, MSk. 208-9, KNC 28 ¶¶ OS no. 580, ≈ Sk. HCD 268 || U: FU *čǟ:̄m∇ 'sour', *čǟ:̄m∇- vi. 'ferment' > Prm *šō̄m ({LG} šō̄m) 'sour' > Z шом šom, Z US šom, Prmk {UEW} šom, Yz šum 'acidifying ferment; sour', Z Ud/I šom 'leavened dough', Vt шом šom 'taste, acidifying ferment' || Os: Ty čim-, O sim-vi. 'ferment, rise' (of dough) ¶ Prm *ō̄ suggests a FU ǟ, while Os i points to a FU long *ā̄ ¶ UEW 56-7 (FU *čem∇), LG 321-2, KrT 949 || D {tr.} *čam- v. 'go bad, become rotten' > Nk sam- 'be rotten', Prj čam-, Gdb sam-, Krx čanx- v. 'turn stale' (of food), 'turn mouldy' (of bread), (?) Krx čã:wã:r- 'get an unpleasant taste', Mlt čange 'be(come) rotten', čangro 'rotten' ¶¶ D no-s 2341 and 2424, Pf. 5 ◇ IS I 209-10 (*čäm∇ HS-U), Tyler DU 807 (U, D), Blz. C (D, U).

424. *č̄iwn∇ (č̄∇) 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat' > HS: SES *✓θ̄wn ~ *✓θ̄nw > Mh θ̄ōnēt (pl. θ̄z'wantən) ({Jo.} 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢, 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢), Hrs θ̄znwēt 'bad-smelling, malodorous sweat', Gz, Tgr ✓snw 'be fragrant, smell (of sth.), emit an odor', Tgy ✓č̄nw (pf. č̄enewē) v. 'smell (odorare o puzzare)', č̄ena 'odor' (č̄- due to Cushitic infl.?), Amh ṭena 'odor, smell'; a variant with an unexplained change S *θ̄ > *č̄ is represented in Ar sunān-, sunn-at- 'bad odor, fetid smell of armpits', ʔasanna v. 'be altered, stink', in Sr s̄anā'n-ā 'smell of armpits; savour\smell (esp. of roasted meat)' and in Md s̄anta 'stench' ¶ Jo. H 30, Jo. M 85, Lnn. p.c. (on the phonetic meaning of {Jo.} 𐎧 in Mh/Hrs/Jb), L G 562, LH 646-7, Bsn. 937-8, BK I 1373-4, Br. 632, JPS 481 || EC: Brj {Hd.} č̄inč̄-, č̄inč̄ay- vi. 'smell', {Ss. ← Hw.} č̄inč̄ay-, {Ss.} č̄inč̄ay- 'smell, esp. pleasant', Or {Th.} č̄inč̄awu 'puzzare, essere nauseante', {Brl.} č̄inč̄-awu 'puzzare (di bruciaticcio), bruciacchiare', Or B {Vnt.} č̄inč̄ā / č̄inč̄ofta 'puzzare, essere nauseabundo', {Sr.} č̄inč̄ā / č̄inč̄ofta v. 'transpire abundantly' ¶ Hd. 184, Ss. B 48, Th. 68, Brl. 78, Sr. 281, Vnt. 30 || NrOm: Kf {C} č̄in- 'smell (odorare)', {C} č̄innō, {HHM} 𐎧𐎠𐎡 č̄inno, {Bbr} č̄inno n. smell (profumo)', Gm {Hw.} č̄ínko 'smell foul' ¶ C SE IV 422, HHM 302, Hw. EG ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 442 || K: G č̄enč̄i n. 'sweat', G K č̄enč̄exi id., G Lch č̄enč̄- v. 'sweat' ¶ Chx. 2240-1 || U: FU (att. in FV) *č̄iwn|n̄∇- 'smell, stench' > Lp: N {N} č̄iwnâ 'which has a smell of burnt hair or cloth or the like', L {LLO} tsiuna 'scharf\bitter schmeckend, stinkend', Kld {TI} c+ū'n(ā)

'stench of a stoat (and a cat)' | Er чине číne, Δ čiyne, Mk šínä 'smell, stench' ¶ UEW 621 | | D: [1] D (att. in SD) *čīn̄t̄- 'bad smell' > Tm cīn̄t̄u 'stench (as of rancid curd)', Kn sīn̄d̄u 'a disagreeable\nauseous smell (as of sheep, tiger, rancid butter etc.)', Kdg čīndī 'scent (found by dog in hunting etc.)', Tu jīd̄d̄u, jīd̄d̄a 'rancidity' ||| [2] D (att. in NED) ≈ *čĒn̄- > Krx čaʔ(a)nā (p. čã:čas) v. 'stink, give forth an offensive smell; smell', Mlt čeŋye (p. čeŋča) 'emit odor' ¶ D no-s 2264 and 2523 ¶¶ The original pD nasal cns. is *-n̄- (< N *-n-). The cns. *t̄ in *čīn̄t̄- is due to regr. as. (infl of *t̄).

425. *čēn̄ʔ ▽ 'narrow, thin' > K: G {NCh., DCh.} čāni 'lean, meager', G čnāvī id., 'skinny' ({Chx.} 'mager, ausgemergelt') ¶ Chx. 2265, DCh. 1702, 1713, NCh. 457, 459 | | HS: EC: Brj činʔ-a {Ss.} 'very small', {Hd.} 'small, little' ¶ Ss. B 48, Hd. 183 | | IE: NaIE *osten- 'narrow' > Gk A στενός, Gk I στελυός 'narrow' ¶ WP II 627, P 1021-2 and EI 391 (all of them suggested a highly qu. comparison with Gmc: ON s̄tirnr, OFrs s̄tīth, AS s̄tīþ 'steif, fest, hart, stark'); F II 788-9 and Ch. 1051 (no et. of the Gk word) | | U: FU (att. in FP) *čēn̄|n̄ ▽ 'small, thin, eng' ('klein, dünn, schmal') > F hieno, Krl Ld hien, hieno id., 'fine' | pZ {LG} *ženit ({JLG} žēnit) 'short' > StZ, Z US žēn̄+d, Z UV žēn̄id, Prmk žēn̄+t, Yz 'žinΛt id. ¶ UEW 620-1, LG 89, Lt. J 118 ◊ The stem-medial lr. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the long *ē in U and of the lr. ʔ in Burji. The lack of traces of the N lr. in IE and K suggests that it was *ʔ (confirmed by the C reflex) ◊ Trnt. NE 159 (IE, U).

426. *č'ā' n̄č' ▽ (or *č'ā' n̄č' ▽) 'tip, (back) end, tail' > K: G č'oč'i 'Spitze, Ecke', 'spout (of a jug)' ¶ Chx. 2267 | | U: FU *č'ān̄č'ä 'tail, back end' > F häntä (gen. hännän), Es händ 'tail' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} cā'cka 'Fleisch am Hinteren' ||| ObU *č'ūn̄č' ({Ht.} *č'ūn̄č') 'back (dorsum)' > pVg {Ht.} *sīš id. > Vg: T/LK/P/NV/SV/LL šiš, MK/UK/UL/Ss sis; pOs {Ht.} č'ūn̄č' id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty č'ūn̄č', Y č'ūn̄č', D/K č'ūn̄č', Nz šūn̄š, Kz šūš, O sus id. | | Sm {ʔJn.} ≈ *sä|ān̄ ▽ 's' - ~ *sä|ānt- 'tail' > Ne T W cahe" saheʔ / obl. cahes- sahes-, Ne {Cs.} sañaʔ, saheʔ 'tail', En {Cs.} soddaki 'bird's tail', Ng {Cs.} santuʔ id. ¶¶ Sm *s- (the reg. reflex of U *ś) is accounted for by dis. *č'ān̄č'ä > *śān̄č'ä; an alt. conjecture: if U *č'- may yield Sm *s- (cp. U *č'ake 'trampled ground snow' > Ne T šeʔe 'hard snow', see N *č'ek ▽ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down'), the N etymon may be *č'ā' n̄č' ▽, whence U *č'ān̄č'ä, while G č'- and FU č'- are due to as. ¶¶ Coll. 81, UEW 56 (rejecting the Sm cognate because of Sm

*s-), Lgc. SL no. 2779, Ht. no. 105, Ter. 529, Cs. 29, 65, 91 || **HS**: B
 *✓ ʒʒ > Kb ʒi-ʒʒi-t (pl. ʒi-ʒʒi-ʒin) 'barbe de grain d'orge,
 brindille', Izn {Rn.} ʒaʒa 'quill of a porcupine, thorn'; ?σ Ah {Fc.}
 ti-ʒʒ 'anus' (if ← 'back part of the body'), ??σ ETwl {GhA} ti-ʒʒ (pl.
 tiʒʒawəŋ) 'vagina' (if ← 'anus' or 'penis') ¶ Dl. 927, GhA 219, Rn. 320,
 Fc. 1927 || ECh: Kwn {J} čín, Kbl {Cp.} čindǎ 'tail' ¶ JI II 317, ChC s.v.
 'tail' || ?φ **A** *čiči∇ 'spout, prick, penis' > Tg *id.* *çiču > Ud čičko, Ork
 tutu, WrMc {Z} *id.* чочо 'penis', Nn čičiqo 'spout of a teapot', ? Nn
 {PSchm.} čiččū 'penis', Ul čiču *id.*, 'spout (of a teapot)', Nn Nh čiči- v.
 'pour water through a spout' ¶ ≈ STM II 403, On. 512, Z 949 || **M**: **[1]** M
 *čiči- v. 'poke, thrust, prod, prick, stick' > WrM {MED} cici-, HIM
 {MED, BMR} чичи- *id.*, Kl {KRS} чич- čiča- 'to prick, to pierce (with a
 spear), to punch', {Rm.} čič- 'durchstechen, durchbohren', Ord žič'i-
 'piquer, aiguillonner' || **[2]** ?φ M *°čiči > Kl {Rm.} čiš 'kurze Stange,
 spitze Holz'; ⇨ M *°čičiʒür > WrM ciciʒür {MED} thorn, prickle,
 awl', HIM чичүр {MED} *id.*, {BMR} 'thorn, awl', Kl {KRS} чичүр
 'crowbar (лом), Jagdspieß' (погати́на), Kl Ö {Rm.} čičūr 'Instrument,
 um etwas durchzustechen' ¶ (for both M words) MED 176, BMR IV 318,
 KRS 654, KW 442, Ms. O 205 || pKo *id.* {S} *čaci > NKo caci čaži
 'penis', ccc čot *id.* ¶ S QK no. 718, MLC 1383, 1488 ¶¶ The Ko and Tg
 words for 'penis' may be Lallwörter ¶¶ SDM 425 (pA *č'ic'∇ 'spout,
 prick, penis' > Tg, M, Ko), Rm. SKE 25 (Ko, Tg).

427. *čup∇ (R∇) 'fingernail, claw' > HS: S *'u^hup^ar- 'fingernail,
 claw' > BA ʔa^hpar* *id.* (ʔip^hrah 'his fingernails', ʔip^hrah
 'her claws'), JA ʔa^hpar, em. ʔup^hr-ā, SmA ʔpr, Sr ʔip^h
 ʔep^hr-ā 'fingernail', JEA ʔup^hr-ā 'finger-\toe-nail, hoof', Md
 ʔupra 'claw, nail, hoof', Ar ʔufr- ~ ʔifr- ~ ʔufur- *id.*,
 'claw', Jb C {Jo.} ʔifēr ({{Jo.} ʔífér), Hrs {Jo.} ʔifīr 'finger-\toe-nail',
 Mh {Jo.} ʔfēr ({{Jo.} ʔfēr) *id.*, 'claw', Sq {Jo.} ʔyʔr, ʔfhʔr, {Nak.}
 ʔifher 'fingernail', Gz ʔəfr (pl. ʔəfar) *id.*, 'claw', Tgy ʔʔʔr 'finger-
 \toe-nail', Tgr ʔʔr *id.*, 'claw', Ak ʔupru(m) 'finger-\toe-nail, claw,
 hoof', BHb d. ʔip^hporēn 'fingernail' ¶ KB 983, 1716, GB 693, 908,
 Dlm. 1174, Spr. BA III 176, Lv. II 183, Sl. 498, Br. 286, Tal 322-3, DM
 178, Jo. M 83, Jo. H 49, Jo. J 48, Nak. 6 [no. 48], L G 549, LH 650, Bsn.
 975, Sd. 1113, CAD XVI 250, MiK I no. 1.285 || ? *AdS* of B *°✓ tfr
 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' (< N *t^hu^hp^h∇R∇ ~
 *t^hu^hR^h∇P^h∇ '∈ part of the foot', 'foot', q.v. ffd.) || C (mt.): SC: Brn/Alg

čarafu {Wh.} 'fingernail', {E} 'nail, claw' || ?φ Ag: Q {R} žarf, žerfā, Xm {R} sefir, Xm T {CR} za'fer 'finger' || ?φ EC: Kmb {L} zuruḫm-ič-uta (pl. zuruḫm-ata) 'finger', Alb {CR} zuruḫm'a, {PB} zur'ma 'thumb' ¶ AD SF 129, R QW 74, R Ch II 406 (s.p. 92), CR Kh s.v. zafér, Wh. IC 23, E SC 329, L K s.v. zuruḫm-ič-uta || ?φ NrOm {Blz.} *ʕ̣ṽṽṽpn- ~ *ʕ̣ṽṽṽabar- > Kf {C} yafarō ~ yabarō 'fingernail', Mch {L} yabaro, Anf {Gt.} ya'bero, Ym {C} difnā id., amb Shn {Lm.} žābà 'branch', kišī-žābà 'finger' (kišā 'hand') (× HS *√cbɪ > S *√cbɪ 'finger') ¶ Blz. OLBP s.v. 'fingernail', AD SF 129, C SE III 72, Lm. Sh 321-2, 331 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} čibɛn, Krkr {Mk} yarfetu, Bd {RLk.} šābār-šān 'fingernail' || CCh: Mdr {Mch.} šīrba id., 'claw', Msg {GKrs.} 'dufra 'bino 'finger, toe', ? Msg Ng {Rlf.} dzhrum id., (× HS *√cbɪ > S *√cbɪ 'finger'): FIJ {ChL} amb žèvìšîḡgà čèvũ 'finger' (čèvũ 'hand, arm'), FIMc žlvžèčlgžčì 'finger' ¶ JI II 246-7, ChC s.v. 'fingernail', ChL III 6, Lk. DQM 93, RLk. NB 222 ¶¶ AD SF 129 [C, Om, S, Ch], OS no. 120 (*čupar- 'fingernail') [S, C, Om] || U *čUppṽ (~ *čəppä?) 'finger' > F hɥppɥ, hɥppi 'fingertip', hɥppɥnɛn 'fingertip, finger's end; finger' | pLp ≈ *cēppṽ > Lp Kld {TI} cjeɜ:p(ɔ), {SaR} cēhɛn, Lp T {TI} cjeɜ:p(ɔ) ~ cjeppɛ 'finger, toe' || Sm {Jn.} *topā, {Hl.} *topa 'claw, hoof' > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Ne T O tōb_ā 'toe (of a ruminant), hoof', Ne F L {Lh.} tōp·oɔ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} top+ 'foot', Mt {Hl.} *toha|o 'hoof' (Mt K {Pl.} tohotò 'its hoof') ¶¶ SK 93, TI 632, SaR 378, N I 311-12, Jn. 166, Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKIH 185, Cs. 148, Hl. M no. 1044, UEW 49 ¶ The pLp vw. *ē (a regular reflex of FU *e) still requires explanation (contamination with a different √?) || A: Tg *çop'a¹-, *çopar- 'claw' > Ewk çowomo, Ewk I çōbi, Ewk Skh/Tng/Urm çōwi 'claw (of a bird)', Neg çowokī 'claw, bear's paw', Orc čopokto, Ud {Krm.} čofoto 'claw', WrMc {Z} шoфopo 'claws (of a hunting bird)', 'a pinchful (of five fingers)' ('щѣпоть') ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 311, Z 677.

428. *čṽṽṽ (tṽ) 'leather strap' > HS: C: Ag *čṽṽṽt- > Bln {R} 'šaber (pl. 'šafet), Xm {R} 'šaber 'leather strap (Lederriemen)'; Ag → Tgr šəfare 'pack rope, leather strap', Amh {L} ṭəfɜr 'leather strap, thong' ¶ R WB 316, LH 650, L CAD 236 || S *√°ḡpp > Ar √ḡff G (pf. حَافَّة ḡaffa) 'lier, serrer (les pieds d'une chamelle)' ¶ BK II 86-7 || K: G {DCh.} čap-i 'leather straps of footwear', G R čap-i 'Riemen zum Zubinden der Kalamani (Art Ledersandale)' ¶ DCh. 1703, Chx. 2232 || U: FU (att. in Vg) *°čippṽ'ttṽ > pVg {Stn.} *šīpṽt > Vg {Stn.}: T šəpät,

LK šəpt, MK səpt, P/SV/LL šɪpt, NV/ML šipt, UL/Ss sipat 'Schnur am Netzrand' ¶ Stn. WV 303, Kn. VW 49.

429. *č̣iʁpâ 'branch, bough, rod' > K *°č̣eɾ̣]- 'rod' > Mg {FS} ç̣kapul- 'Gerte, Rute', Zan ⇨ OG, eNG {SSO} ç̣ḳeɾ̣]-, G ç̣ḳeɾ̣la-, ç̣ḳeɾ̣el-, G Δ ç̣g̣eɾ̣la- 'Gerte, Rute' ¶ Chx. 2180-1; ≈ K 244 and K² 298 (GZ *ç̣ḳeɾ̣]- ⇨ GZ *ç̣ḳeɾ̣- v. 'split, splinter'); ≈ FS K 447 and ≈ FS E 505 (GZ *ç̣ḳeɾ̣]-) ¶ *-]- is likely to go back to a sx || A *č̣iɾ̣'∇ 'branch, sharp branch' > NaT *ç̣iɾ̣:ɾ̣ 'slender branch' (× N *ciḳ̣P̣∇ 'branch, shoot of a plant') > OT č̣iɾ̣ 'thin slender branch', Osm {Rh.} چوب̣ č̣up 'little bit of wood, stick' (× ⇨ NPrs چوب̣ č̣ūb 'log, wood [as material], tree' [⇨ some T lge?]), Yk {JkR} sip 'thin twig' (in sip kurduk 'thin as a thin twig'); ⇨ NaT *č̣iɾ̣b-ik ~ *č̣iɾ̣b-uk {AD} 'rod, branch, twig' (Cl., Dr: dim.) > OT ciɾ̣i, OT QU č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣ id., MU č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, MQp ≥XIII č̣iɾ̣uɾ̣ ~ č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, XwT dalniri č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣i 'a willow shoot', XwT č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣, Chg č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣ ~ č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣, Tkm č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣ 'rod, switch', Az č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣ id., twig', MQp č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, QrB č̣iɾ̣ik, Tk ç̣uɾ̣uk 'rod, branch', Ggz č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣ ~ č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣, CrTt, Qmq, ET Tr {RI.} č̣uɾ̣uɾ̣, ET, Uz č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, Qzq, Qq, Nog ṣ̌iɾ̣iɾ̣, VTt ṣ̣̌ḅḅɾ̣, Qrg č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, StAlt č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, Bsh ṣ̣ḅḅɾ̣ 'switch, rod (прут, хворостина, розга)', Uz č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣ ~ č̣iɾ̣iɾ̣, Xk, Shor simiɾ̣, Tv ṣ̌iɾ̣iɾ̣ 'rod, switch (прут, хворостина)', Tv d. ṣ̌iɾ̣iɾ̣ id., Qmn č̣iɾ̣uɾ̣ ~ č̣iɾ̣uɾ̣ 'twig, rod', Yk ṣiɾ̣aɾ̣ 'ε small willow (тальник) with twigs used in loops for catching birds' ¶ Stems with č̣ub- are due to the analogy of NPrs چوب̣ č̣ūb 'wood (material), tree, log' and to the labializing infl. of *-b- and the ending *-uk ¶ Cl. 393, 395, TL 118-19, Rs. W 106, RI. III 2099-2100, 2185, Dr. TM III no. 1059, Sg. 401-2, Rh. 733-4, GRM 552, 554, BN 32, UzR 519, BT 182, Sht. 235, KrkR 745, NogR 419, KumRS 360, RKB 505, 551, 686, TatR 643, BR 487, Jud. 880, B DK 269, B DChT 166, B DLT 223, BIG 207, TvR 585, 587, JkR 360, Pek. 2472 ¶ Compensatory lengthening of *i (evidenced by Tkm) is due to the loss of N *ɾ̣ and *ḳ̣ (N *č̣iʁpâ and *ciḳ̣P̣∇ > *ciɾ̣b-) || Tg (att. in NrTg) *ç̣i|üpa- 'sharp stick' > Lm ç̣iɾ̣an 'sharp head (tip) of the braking stick (used when driving a dog sledge)', Neg ç̣iɾ̣-ç̣iɾ̣- 'pointed' (of sticks, pencils), ?σ Nn Nh {On.} č̣iɾ̣ adv. ({On.} образное слово) 'deeply' (of piercing, sticking into) ¶ STM II 398, On. 508 ¶¶ SDM 432-3 (pA *č̣'iɾ̣'a 'branch, sharp branch' > T *ç̣iɾ̣ 'branch', Tg), DQA no. 327 || D *č̣iɾ̣ṿṿ- (~ *č̣uɾ̣ṿṿ-?) > Tl cuɾ̣va, cuɾ̣aka 'twig, small flexible stick or cane', Klm siɾ̣va 'piece of fuel', Nkr ṣ̌iɾ̣va 'wood', suɾ̣va l pl. 'fuel' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 2600 || HS: Eg P ɜ̣ɾ̣b 'sceptre' ¶ EG V 536

◇ Eg *b* is accounted for by as. N **-ɣp-* > **-ɣb-*. The N lr. **ɣ* is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg *ɣ*, K **∅* and the D length of the vw.

430. **čE₁y₁p₁∇* 'sink, immerse; swim; flow' > HS: HEC **čēf-* v. 'immerse' > Hd {Hd.} *čēf-*, Kmb {Hd.} *čef-* v. 'immerse' ¶ Hd. 83 (HEC **čēp-* > Hd *čēf-*, Kmb *čef-*, as well as erroneously Brj *čūb-* and Ged *čūp-* 'immerse', which belong to EC **čub₁∇₁ɣ₁-* v. 'dip in' < N **č'ü|ub₁∇₁g₁∇* 'dip in', q.v.), 273, 313 || CS **-θūp-* (**✓θw₁p*) 'float, overflow' > BHb *✓čw₁p* (pf. *᠑᠘ᠵ čāp*, ip. *-čūp-*) 'overflow', *Sh* (pf. *᠑᠘ᠵᠢᠨ hē'čīp*) 'cause to flow over, cause to float', MHb *✓čw₁p G* 'flow, overflow, float', JA *✓čw₁p* (ip. *-čūp-*) {Js.} 'float, bubble up, come to the surface; drip, be inundated', SmA *✓čw₁p* v. *Sh* 'flood', *čw₁p n* 'déluge', JEA *✓čw₁p* v. *Sh* 'inundate', Md *✓čw₁p G* 'overflow', Sr *✓čw₁p G* 'float, overflow, be inundated' ¶ KB 940-1, BDB 847, Js. 525, Br. 271, Sl. 497, Tal 307, DM 181 || B (deglo.) **✓syf* v. 'stream', 'swim' (or 'float') > Kb *əššəf* 'ruisseler, suinter', Si {La.} *sīyəf* (pf. *isīyəf*), Izd {Mrc.} *ššəf* (pf. *iššəf*) 'nager', Tmz {MT} *ššəf* 'être baigné, se baigner, nager' | B **sūf* ~ **sīf* 'river, stream' (× N **šap₁∇* 'riverbank, river', q.v. ffd.) ¶ La. S 264, 289, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 174, 402, Ds. 131, Rn. 313, Dlh. M 184, MT 617, 685, Dl. 78, 759, Beg. 317, Fc. 1806 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) **čəpp∇-* 'einsinken, versinken, untersinken' > Vg K *sēp-* 'untersinken', Vg LL {Kn.} *šep-*, Vg ML/LL {MK} *sēpi*, Vg Ss {Kn.} *sēp-* {MK} 'untersinken, ertrinken' | OHg *fepedūk*, Hg *sūppəd-* 'einsinken, sich senken, sich setzen, versinken' ¶ UEW 841-2, MF 557-8, MK 542 || A **č'ip∇-* > M **č'ibü-* v. 'become submerged, become drown' > WrM *č'ib-*, *č'(b)bū-* {MED} 'sink, become submerged', *č'ib-* {MED} 'sink', HIM {MED} *чивэ-* 'sink, become submerged', *живэ-* 'sink', {BMR} *чивэ-* ~ *живэ-* 'sink, become submerged', Kl {KRS} *чив-* *č'iw-* v. 'drown, become submerged', {Rm.} *č'iw-* 'ertrinken, ins Wasser sinken, untergehen' ¶ The vd. initial cns. in WrM *č'ib-* and HIM *живэ-* is still to be explained ¶ MED 174, 1047, BMR II 163 and IV 309, KRS 647, KW 443 || ??σ T: OT [MhK, QB] *čəp-* 'swim' (highly qu., because it may be a sd. of NaT **čəp-* 'run quickly' > Chg xv *čəp-*, Tkm, Qrg *čəp-*, StAlt *čəp-* 'run', Osm {Rh.}, ET *čəp-*, Uz *čəp-* id., 'gallop') ¶ If the OT *čəp-* 'swim' belongs here, its vw. *a* may be due to contamination with OT *čəp-* 'run quickly' ¶ Cl. 394, TkR 722, Rh. 699, BN 27.

431. **č'a' r∇* 'to cut' > HS: S **°✓θrr* > Ar *✓θrr* (pf. *ظُرُّر ḡarra*, ip. *-ḡurr-*) 'rendre aigu\tranchant' (p. ex. une pierre à fusil), 'égorger (une

bête) à l'aide d'un instrument tranchant de pierre'; × S *θ¹u¹r_la_r- (> Ar ظرّير- *ḡirr-*, ظرر- *ḡurar-* 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak *ṣurru(m)* 'obsidian, flintstone', Hb *צור* *ḥereḇ* 'blade of a sword' (Hb 'ḥereḇ 'sword' < N *č¹i¹URV 'flintstone, knife' [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, KBR 1052-3, Sd. 1114 || Eg: amb Cpt: Sd *ṣwp* *ṣōr*, *ṣwṣp* *ṣōōr*, *ṣep-* *ṣer-*, *ṣoop-* *ṣoor-*, B *ṣop-* *ṣor-* 'aiguiser, affiler' (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) (× N *č¹i¹URV '†') ¶ Vc. 331 || EC: Or {Grg.} *čir-* v. 'cut', Or B/O/W {Sr.} *čir-* v. 'cut into pieces', Or H {Ow.} *čir-* v. 'cut, slice', Rn {PG} *čūra* 'trim lower edge of a girl's hair, cut girl's hair', Sd {Gs., Hd.} *čir-* v. 'shave (beard)', Brj {Ss.} *čir-* v. 'chop', {Hd.} *čir-* v. 'clear (forest)' ¶ Grg. 84, Sr. 281, PG 87, Gs. 58, Hd. 184, 357, Ow. 256, Ss. B 49 (Brj ← Or) || K {K²} *č¹er-/*č¹r- v. 'cut, chop' > OG *čr-* v. 'cut, reap', G *čer-/čr-* (pres. -*čr-i*, aor. -*čer-*) v. 'cut, chop, fell', G Gr *čar-/čr-*, Lz *čḳi(r)-*, *čḳor-*, Mg *čḳṣr-*, *čḳir-* v. 'cut, chop, reap', Sv d. *lā-r-e* 'meadow' (lit. 'place of mowing'), Sv {TK}: UB/L *lāre*, LB/Ln *lare* 'hayfield (ܒܘܬܢܢܢ), field' ¶¶ On the loss of K *č¹ in consonant clusters in Sv see K 22 ¶¶ K 255-6, K² 321, FS K 473-6 (*č¹ar-/*č¹r-), GM S 234, 354, Chx. 2256, 2272, GP 136, TK 387-8 || D *č¹ar_r- 'be split, be torn, be cut' > Prj *čar-* v. 'be torn' (cloth etc.), Gnd Δ *sarrāna* 'be split as wood, be torn' (of clothes etc.), Gnd HM *aḥ-*, Δ *har-* ~ *ar-* v. 'be torn', Krx *čarr-* v. 'tear, rend', Mlt *čare* v. 'cut as with the teeth or scissors' ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to cons. clusters, therefore here D *č¹ar_r- is a more plausible rec. ¶¶ D no. 2416 || A *č¹ar¹- (= *č¹ar¹ü-?) 'cut off, tear off' > T: [1] T *^oč¹a_r- > Slr *čar-* v. 'schneiden, stechen' ('резать, колоты') ¶ Tn. SJ 808 [2] T *č¹ar 'whetstone' > StAlt *чар* *čar*, Tel {Rl.}, Qmq *čar*, VTt *чар* *čar*, Brb, SbTt Tom {Tm.} *car*, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {Rl.} *šar*, Bsh *sar* id.; MT *čar-*, VTt *čar-la-* v. 'whet', Yk *sardaḡa*, *sardāna* 'short heavy arrow with a broad head', Chv L *çyrpa-* Chv Δ *çorpa-* 'sickle' ¶ Rm. W 99-100, Fed. II 143-4, Jeg. 221, ChVS 191 ¶ An alt. et. (more plausible semantically, but with an irreg. vowel corr.) derives the T √ *č¹ar 'whetstone' from N *č¹i¹URV 'flintstone, knife' (q.v. ffd.) (S CNM 8) ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT 176, Tm. 234, Rl. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 406 || Tg: Ewk *čari-* v. 'tear' ¶ STM II 385 || pKo {S} *č¹ar_r- 'cut off, chop off' > MKo *čar_r-*, NKo *čar_r-* ¶ S QK no. 912, Nam 413, MLC 1376 || pJ *tāt- 'cut, cut off' > OJ *tat-*, MJ *tāt-* {S} id., J T *tāt-*, J K/Kg *tāt-* {Kenk.} 'cut, cut out' ¶ S QJ 1109, Mr. 766, Kenk. 1931 ¶¶ SDM 418-19 (A *č¹ar_r 'cut off, tear off'

> Tg, T, J. Ko), DQA no. 274 (id.), S AJ 76, Mr. KJ 229 ◇ IS I 209 (HS, K, D).

432. *ĉERŲ 'look after, guard, observe' > **K *ĉir-** 'care, need' (← 'look after?') (× N ***ĉER'hæ'** 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' [q.v.]) > OG ĉir- v. 'care', G ĉir- v. 'need' (m-ĉir-s 'mir fehlt [etwas], ich leide [an]), ĉir- 'Not, Unglück', G X ĉir- 'Trauer', Mg ĉķǝr-, ĉķir-, Lz A ĉi(r)- ({IS}: Lz A ĉ- < Zn *ĉķ-) v. 'need, be in want of', Lz ĉķǝr-, nĉķǝr-, ĉir- n. 'need', (?) grieve', Sv LB -nĉķǝr-, Sv L -ĉķǝr- v. {FS} 'need; grieve', Sv {TK} msd.: UB/L li-ĉķǝr-e, LB li-nĉķǝr-e, Ln liĉķǝre 'to think, to grieve, to worry', Sv ĉķǝra 'care, meditation', {K²} 'anxiety, thought' ¶¶ K 255, ≈ K² 320, 322, FS K 476, FS E 539-40, Chik. 410, Chx. 2255-7, TK 482 || **HS**: S *√nθr v. 'guard' > BHb 𐎒𐎗𐎍 √nθr G 'observe, watch over; keep from; protect, preserve; observe, comply with', Ug nθr {OLS} 'atender; proteger, guardar', Amr {G} √nθr, IA, JA, SmA, Sr √nθr G 'guard', Ar √nθr G 'look at, watch', naθar- 'regard; soin, surveillance', Sb √nθr 'observe', Gz √nθr D 'look at', Ak √nθr G 'bewachen, schützen, bewahren', Eb {Krb.} √nθr G (inf. na-za-lum = naθārum, 3m i-na-sar) v. 'guard' ¶ KB 678, KBR 718, OLS 320-1, Br. 426, Sl. 745-6, Tal 51-2, BK II 1287-90, BGMR 102, Bll. 303-4, Sd. 755, Krb. EG 34 ¶ S *n- apparently goes back to a px || Ch: Hs çářè v. 'guard, protect, preserve' ¶ Abr. H 879, Ba. 1030 ¶¶ OS no. 506, ≠ Sk. HCD 269 || **IE**: NaIE *ster-g-, *ster-k- v. 'guard, care, take care of' ({P} 'sorgend worauf achten, hegen und pflegen') > Sl *sterg- (inf. *stergti, 1s pres. *stergq) > OCS inf. **стрѣщн** strěštī (1s pres. **стрѣгѡ** strěgq) 'to guard' {StSS} 'стеречь, сторожить', R inf. ст'речь / 1s pres. стере'гу, Slv inf. stréčī / 1s pres. stréžem, Cz inf. střícī / 1s pres. strěhu, P inf. strzec / 1s pres. strzege v. 'guard'; ⇨ Sl *storžь > OCS **стражь** stražь, Blg страж, P stróž, R, Uk 'сторож 'watchman, guard (Wächter, Wärter)'; Sl *storža 'guard (Wache), watch' > OCS **стража** straža (κουστωδία, φυλακή) 'стража, караул, охрана', Blg стража, SCr, Slv strâža, P strōža, Uk, R Δ сто'рожа 'Wache (guard, watch)' ⇨ R быть насторо'же 'to be on the alert' || ?φ (loss of *t due to contamination with NaIE *serg^h- v. 'languish' < N *sírka ~ *sír'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish', q.v.) Blt: Lt sérgėti (prs: Olt sérgmi, Lt sérgiu) 'to guard, to watch (over)', Pru abseregīsnan 'Schutz'; Lt sárgas 'watch(man)', Ltv sařgs id., 'guard, guardsman', Pru but-sargs

'Haushalter' ||| Gk στέργω 'I love, I am fond of', στροφή 'love (esp. of one's parents and children)' ||| OIr *serc*, W *serch* n. 'love', MBr *serch*, Br T *serc'h* 'concubine, one who lives in concubinage'; IE *st- > Clt *ts- > *s- is reg. (LP § 25.5) ||| cp. also NaIE *oster- > Sl *starati se 'to exert oneself, to do one's best, to take care of' (F N *č̣ER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 1032, F II 790, Vs. III 746, 757, 768, StSS 627, 631, Glh. 587, Ma. CS 469-70, 481, Frn. 762-3, 776-7, En. 136, 155, Vn. S 91-2, Ern. 623, Tp. P A-D 52-3, 274, ME III 716 ◇ IS I 210-11 s.v. *č̣ir̥.

433. *č̣ûr̥ ▽ 'seize, take, carry' > HS: WS *✓ ̣ẉr (*-̣ūr-) 'carry, support' > Gz ✓ ṣẉr (pf. ṣōra, js. -ṣūr) 'bear, carry, wear (clothes), support (old parents)', Sq {L} ✓ ṣẉr 'carry (porter)' (caus. sbjn. 'l-(y)ō-ṣir, ps. pf. i ṣ'rauwoh), OSA {Mü.} ✓ ̣ẉr 'mit Pfeilern stützen', ̣ẉrm 'Pfeiler', Sb {Rk.} ̣ẉr 'besiege', Mn ̣ẉẉr {MA} 'entourer d'un mur', {Mü.} 'mit Pfeilern stützen', Qt {Rk.} ḥr (✓ ̣ẉr *Sh*) 'fortify, establish', Mn {MA} ṭẉrt, Nbt ṭẉr 'wall (mur), Ar ̣uṣār- 'pierres placées sous une marmite pour la soutenir', ✓ ̣ṛL (pf. ̣āṣara) v. 'nurse another person's child', ظئر ̣iṣr- 'nurse', 'foster father' and 'buttress, Strebepfeiler' ({Rk.} 'buttress', {BK} 'colonne, pilastre') [from the basic meaning 'support'], OYmn ̣ṛḥ ({Slw.} ̣iṣra) 'Strebepfeiler, Tragestange' ¶ The cns. *ṣ in derived forms in Ar and OYmn is due to adaptation of a biconsonantal ✓ to triconsonantal derivational patterns and to hiatus-closing development ¶ L G 567, L LS 347, BK II 131-2, Hv. 445, Rk. 78, MA 111, Mü. WMT 77-8, Slw. 143 ||| K: GZ *č̣er-/ *č̣r- ~ *č̣ar- 'hold, catch, grasp' > G Gr/X č̣ar-, OG *č̣er-/č̣ir-, G č̣er-/č̣ir- (< proto-G *č̣ar-) id., Mg d. č̣kor-i 'slave' ¶ K² 320, Schm. 157; FS K 473 and FS E 536 (both: K *č̣ar-); Mach. K 60, Chx. 2241-4, 2286, DCh. 1705; for the change *a > e in G F: Mach. XS 269ff. and Gm. SSh 55, 61 ||| D *č̣ūr- ({ṣGS} *ṛṣ-) 'rob, plunder' > Tm cūṛaṣ 'robbery, pillage', Td su'ru 'loot', Kn sūṛe, Tu sūṛe 'plundering, pillaging', Tl cūṛa 'plunder, loot', Ku žuṛia 'dacoit' ¶¶ D no. 2744 ◇ The lack of labialized vw. or *ẉ in K is still puzzling.

434. *ṛ'č̣'uṛ ▽ 'to soil, to stain; dirty' (infl. of N *č̣'ri'Rk ▽ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) > HS: EC *č̣ur- ({Ss.} *č̣ur-) v. 'be dirty' (× N *ṭUx|q̣ṛ ▽ 'dirt; be dirty') > Kns ṣur-ēta, Sd, Hd ṭūr-, Brj č̣ūr-ē 'dirt', Kns ṣur-āw- 'become dirty', as well as (unless exclusively from N *ṭUx|q̣ṛ ▽): Or {Grg.} ṭur-ī 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} ṭuṛí 'dirty', Arr ṭur-

aω- id., ṭuré 'dirty thing', ?? Ya ṭer- 'bad' ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, Ss. B 49, BISO 54, AD SF 56-7, E PC no. 76, Grg. 386-7, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398 || ? A: Tg: ?σ Ewk Ald çurarga- v. 'get dark' (of a face) ¶ STM II 416 || ?φ M: WrM cer {MED} 'phlegm, sputum. mucus', HIM цэp {MED} id., {BMR} 'phlegm, mucus', Dg {Mr.} čire 'dirt, soilage', Kl {Rm.} cer 'Schleim in der Gurgel, Speichel' ¶ The vowels i and e need explaining ¶ MED 172, BMR IV 289, Mr. D 130, KW 427 || D *čūr(-) 'soot' (× N *čûRt∇ 'soot', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay ('unreine Flüssigkeit, Mist; besudeln; verwesen') (× N *tUR_L∇_y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]) > Av stār- 'be stained' || Arm 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎶 {Xud.} 'pus (of wounds), ichor' || Nr stor 'Faulen, Verwesen' || pSl *stǫrvь 'carrion' > Blg cтpъв, SCr, Slv stǫv, P† ścierω id., RChS cтѣpъвь стѣrvъ 'corpse'; morphological variants with *-o, *-a: P ścierωo, R† cтepъa 'carrion' ¶ P 1031-2, Mn. 1285-6, WH II 589, O 441, BFU 553, Xud. I 427, Glh. 591-2, Srz. III 586, Chrn. II 202 || ?σ K: G curcli 'droppings (of mice etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2032 ¶ G c- (for the expected č-) is likely to be due to assimilation.

435. (₂?) *č_iUR∇ 'flintstone, knife' (coalesced in some lges with N *č'a_r∇ 'to cut') > HS: S *ḫurar- ~ *ḫir_La_r- > Ar 𐤆𐤓𐤕 ḫirr-, 𐤆𐤓𐤕 ḫurar- 'pierre tranchante propre à couper comme un couteau', Ak 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎶 (m) 'obsidian, flintstone', Hb 𐤇𐤓𐤕 𐤇𐤓𐤕 ḫerεb 'blade of a sword' ('ḫerεb means 'sword') ¶ BK II 132, KB 985, Sd. 1114 || amb Cpt: Sd 𐤆𐤓𐤕 𐤆𐤓𐤕 𐤆𐤓𐤕 𐤆𐤓𐤕, 𐤆𐤓𐤕- 𐤆𐤓𐤕-, 𐤆𐤓𐤕- 𐤆𐤓𐤕-, B 𐤆𐤓𐤕- 𐤆𐤓𐤕- 'aiguiseur, affiler' (× N *č'a_r∇ '↑' [q.v.]) (in Eg and DEg texts this word is not attested) ¶ Vc. 331 ¶ Ap. AN 22 supposed that the Cpt word is a loan from the Ar verb √ ḫrr 'rendre aigu\tranchant', but this alt. etymology is rather weak because of the phonetic distance between Ar ḫ (or Egyptian Ar ḫ) and Cp 𐤆 [č] (Cp 𐤆 is nearer) || ?σ B *č_irū/ā 'stone, rock' > Kb a-č_iru 'pierre (matière première); pierre, caillou; rocher', Ah a-č_iru 'muraille rocheuse', Tmz a-č_iru (pl. i-č_ira) 'rock, large stone', ti-č_ira 'small stone'; in B the √ coalesced with the cognate of S *ḫurr- 'rock' (unless the latter belongs to the etymon in question, too) ¶ Dl. 955, MT 826, Fc. 1988 || Ch: WCh: Hs čūrā 'knife\sword without handle' || CCh: Gude č_ira, FIM č_iru, FIB č_iru 'hoe' ¶ Abr. H 392, Ba. 1046, ChL, Sk. HCD 276 ¶ OS no. 514 (*č_iur- 'flint, flint knife' in S, B, Ch) || A *č_iora 'knife' ({S} *č_iora) > Tg *č_iur_Lü¹- > Ewk çuri- v. 'in Stücke reißen', WrMc {Z} 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎶- v. 'whet, rip off (skin, flesh)'; Tg *č_iur_Lü_Lke(n)

'knife' > Sln š'iruxã: 'knife', Ul čūrз(n-), {PSchm.} čurun, Nn KU čiurš
 'knife used by women to carve ornaments', Nn Nh čūruš {STM} id., {On.}
 'belt of women with a sharp end used to carve ornaments' ¶ STM II 416,
 426, 430, On. 517, Z 689 || ? NaT amb*čar 'whetstone' (× N *č'a'r∇
 'to cut') > StAlt чар čar, Tlt {Rl.}, Qmq čar, VTt чар čar, Brb {Tm.},
 SbTt Tom {Tm.} car, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Shor {Rl.} šar, Bsh sar id. ¶ The vw.
 *-a- belongs to the heritage of N *č'a'r∇ (q.v.) ¶ Rs. W 99-100, BT
 176, Tm. 234, Rl. III 1859, BR 463, KrkR 726, NogR 406 ¶¶ AD NM no.
 80, ≈ S CNM 8 (suggesting to adduce T *čar 'whetstone'), Vv. AEN
 (suggesting to reconstruct Tg *čūru-^kan) || D *čīrañ- 'small chisel' (×
 N *čīRyâ 'to scratch, to cut out, to shape [an object]', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D *-
 r- (from N cns. clusters) may belong to the heritage of N *čīRyâ ◇ AD
 NM no. 80, S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST *č|ž∇r(H)- 'hoe, pick-axe').

436. *čohR∇ 'vessel', (← ?) 'basket' > HS: S *^oθ∇h_l∇_lr- > Ar ظهر
 ḡahr- 'old cooking pot' ¶ Ln. 1929, BK II 146 || K: GZ *čur- 'vessel' >
 OG čur- 'vessel', G čur- 'vessel, thing', Mg čķuž-, čķud- 'vessel, ship' ¶ K
 256, K² 323, FS K 477, FS E 541, ≈ Marr AI 3-4 || D: D *čōra ({{θGS} *c|č-
) 'vessel' > Krg čōra 'milk pot', Prj čōra 'earthen pot', Gnd B {ChenT}
 sōrā 'large earthen vessel for holding water', Gnd Ch {BB} sōra 'pot',
 Gnd MB {Wil., Ph.} sōrā 'pitcher'; D *čur- ({{θGS} *č-?) 'basket' > Ml
 curiyal 'round rattan basket', Gnd G {BB} čurki, Gnd MB {Ph.} curkī,
 Knd, Ku surki 'a small basket' ¶¶ Apparent different Gnd reflexes of
 the affricate in the words for 'vessel' and 'basket' may be due to
 dialectal disparity, therefore they do not necessarily point to a
 difference at the pD (and hence the N) level ¶¶ -r- in Trench's record
 of Gnd B (1919-21) is likely to be a mistake for -r- (F the quite reliable
 records of Gnd Ch [T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, 1958] with -r-) ¶¶ D
 no-s 2691 and 2886 ◇ D *-r- (rather than *-r̥-) reflects a pN cns.
 cluster (*-hR-).

437. *čūh_l∇_lR∇ 'top, edge, highest point' > HS: S *^lθuh_l∇_lr- 'top',
 'the highest point (of the sun in the sky)' (→ 'noon') > BHb צהר 'čohar
 'roof', צהר צהר צהר 'rayim 'noon' (< loc. *čah^orām reinterpreted as a
 form of dual) (← 'the point of culmination of the sun'), Ug ḡr 'back
 (espalda, dorso), highest point', JA צהר צהר צהר 'h^ar-ā, JEA {Sl.} צהר צהר
 צהר 'h^ar-ā 'noon', Ar ظهر ḡuhr- 'noon' (→ Sq {L} ḡuhr id.), Sb b-ḡhr
 'on the back of, upon', Ak ḡurru ~ ḡuru (← WS?) 'back' ¶ In CS
 this stem influenced S *^lḡah_l∇_lr- 'back (of a body)' (< N *č^ehR∇

'back', q.v.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem *¹θ₁ah₁∇₁r- 'back, noon' > Ar ظَهْرُ ḏahr- 'back (dorsum), noon' (→ Mh θahr, Jb C 'θ₁hur 'noon, midday'), Ug θ₁r 'shoulder, back, top' and Sr ṭ₁ah₁r-ā 'noon'. The contamination is probably based on interpretation of the back (of an animal) as its highest point. The stem *¹ṣ₁ah₁∇₁r- 'back' (without contamination) is attested outside CS: Mh ṣ₁āh₁r 'back (of a camel)', Hrs ṣ₁ahr, Jb E/C 'ṣ₁eh₁r 'back', Ak ṣ₁ēr-ū 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of' ¶ The Ak word ṣ₁u[?]ru ~ ṣ₁ūrū 'back' may be a loan from WS (F CAD XVI 261) and reflect a S contamination of both stems ¶ KB 946, KBR 1008, A no. 2378, OLS 552, Sd. 1093-5, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47, 261, Br. 269, Lv. II 142, Sl. 501, BGMR 171, Jo. H 151, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. M 83, 475, L LS 361, ≈ MiK I no. 1.284 (S *¹θ₁∇hr- 'back') || AdS of EC: Or čara 'tip, top, edge', Brj čár-i ~ čér-i 'point, top, peak' (< N *¹č₁oR∇ 'tip, top, edge', q.v.) || K: G čer-i 'ceiling, roof' ¶ Chx. 2245, DCh. 1705 || IE: NaIE *stu(:)r- ({Mn.} *st₁h₁ūr-) 'edge, tip, peak' > ? Gk στύραξ 'a spike at the lower end of a spear shaft' || Ltv stūris 'corner', Lt Δ stūris ≙ stūrỹs 'Winkel, Ecke, Kante' | NaIE {Mn.} *staurō- 'post, stake' > Gk σταυρός 'upright pale\stake', ON staurr 'Stütze', OHG stiura {Kb.} 'rudder, support' ¶ Mn. 1330 (* ÷ NPrs |ستره ostore 'razor', which is in fact d. from ostor- v. 'shave, erase', F Bai. 42), P 1008-9, Ch. 1044-5, 1067, Hofm. 332, F II 778, ≠ F II 814, Frn. 932, Kar. II 316-17, ME III 1110, Vr. 544, OsS 874, Kb. 966 || D *čūr- ({ǵGS} *c-) 'edge of the roof' > Kn cūrū, sūr, sūrū 'the part of the sloping roof that projects beyond the walls', Tu cūrī 'border of the roof', Tl cūrū 'eaves, edge of a roof', munjūrū 'eaves', Prj muńir, Knd munzuru id. ¶¶ D *-r- points to a N (or post-N) cns. cluster (here N *-hR- or post-N *-hr- < N *-h∇R-) ¶¶ D no. 2729 ◇ In addition, we may draw attention to a possible (though rather dubious) cognate in A: M: WrM {MED} corui-, HIM {MED, BMR} цорой- v. 'rise up on the hind legs' (of quadrupeds), 'rise on tiptoe and raise one's hands' ¶ MED 199, BMR IV 264 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 6e (N *čahri 'back').

438. ?₂ *č₁∇R?∇ 'hoarfrost', (→) 'frozen soil' > HS: S *^o✓θ₁r? > Ar ḏur?- 'frozen earth, frozen mud' ¶ BK II 133 || K: (+ ext.?) G č₁irχl- 'hoarfrost', č₁irχ(∇)l- 'es reift' || K *^oč₁χ|qar- (× N ?σ *c∇R₁∇₁ϣ∇ or *c∇ϣR∇ 'freeze, feel cold', q.v.) > G T č₁χar-i 'hoarfrost' ('Rauhreif') ¶ Chx. 1961, 2258, Ghl. 668 || A: An additional source of M *č₁ar

'hardened layer of frost on the surface of snow' (going back mainly to N ***ćar** ▽ 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard surface', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 205-6 (***ćar** ▽ 'hardened crust') → S CNM 2 ◇ AD NM no. 9, S CNM 2 (÷÷ NrCs, ST, Yn).

439. *čĚR'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' > **HS**: Eg MK/N **z r y** 'strong' (of walls etc.), {BnH} 'fest, hart', Eg MK {Fk.} **z r i** 'be hard\solid', Eg XVIII-XX **z r y** 'difficult (schwierig, mühselig)', 'strong (fest)' (of stones, walls) > Cpt: Sd **z w w p e** **z o o r e**, B **z w p i** **z o r i** 'fort, solide' ¶ EG V 599, Fk. 323, BnH s.v. **č r j**, Vc. 330 || **K**: G {Chx.} **č i r v-** / **č i r-** 'be heavy\difficult'; K ***č i r-** v. 'need, suffer a misfortune' (× K ***č i r-** 'care, need' < N ***čĚR** ▽ 'to look after, to guard' [q.v.]) > G **č i r-** v. 'need', Mg **č k i r-**, **č k z r-**, Lz **č k z r-**, **n č k z r-**, **č i r-** n. 'need, grieve', Sv **č k z r-** 'worry, upset'; K ***č i r-** 'need, plague' > G **č i r-** n. 'want, need, plague', Sv d. **č k z r a-** 'anxiety, thought (concern)' ('забота, дума') ¶¶ Chx. 2255-7, K 255, K² 322, FS K 476, Chik. 410 || **IE** *(s)terH̄- ({EI} *(s)terh₁- 'stiff') > NaIE *(s)ter₁ə₁-/*strē- v. 'be stiff, be firm, be hard, be strong' (→ 'exert oneself') > Gk στερεός 'firm, solid, hard', στρογγήος 'rough, harsh' (esp. of sounds), στερεός 'stiff, firm, solid' ||| L s t r e n u u s 'strong (kräftig)' (→ 'brisk, prompt, active, vigorous') ||| W t r i n 'battle' (← 'effort'?) ||| ON s t i r ð - r 'stiff, heavy', s t i r ð - n a 'to stiffen'; Gmc *stara- 'stiff', 'fixed' (esp. of eyes) > ON inf. s t a r a, OHG inf. s t a r ē n ~ s t a r ō n 'to gaze', AS inf. s t a r i a n 'to stare, to look fixedly at (starren, stieren)', NE s t a r e; ON, NHG s t a r r 'stiff, rigid' ||| Lt Δ inf. s t a r i n t i (1s pres. s t a r i n ū) 'angestrengt ziehen, spannen, straff anziehen, steifen, straffen', Ltv Δ s t a r i ŗ g s 'assiduous, zealous' ({ME} 'strebsam, tätig, fleißig'), Pru s t ū r n a w i s k a n 'sternness' || SI inf. *s t a r a t i s e 'to take care of, to exert oneself, to do one's best' (× N ***čĚR** ▽ '↑') > S Cr inf. s t a r a t i s e id., Cz inf. s t a r a t i s e, Slk inf. s t a r a t ' s e 'to take care of', P inf. s t a r a ć s i e, R inf. с т а р а т ь с я 'to endeavour', Blg с т а р а я с е v r. 'endeavour, exert oneself' ||| p T c {Ad.} *š č ä r ē n- (= *š č ä r ē n-?) > Tc: A t s ä r 'hard, rough', B š c i r e 'hard, harsh' (of words) ¶ P 1022, EI 547, WH II 601-2, F II 790-1, 809-10, YGM-1 417, LP § 26.2, Vr. 543-4, 549, Ho. 317, OsS 865, Kb. 953, KM 740, Frn. 896, Ad. 639-40, Ad. H 41, Vs. III 746, Chr. II 198-9, Ma. CS 469-70, ME III 1045 ¶ Hardly here (⇔ P) A l s h t e r o j 'run dry, dry up' < s h t e r - 'stop flowing, dry up' (see O 439) || **U**: FU *°č|š ▽ r k ▽ > ObU {Ht.} *θ ä r γ a t - ~ *θ ä γ a r t - 'heavy' > p V g {Ht.} *t ä r γ a ç - > L K t ō r w a ç ,

tārwaç, MK tōrwaç, P tārwaç, S tārwit 'heavy'; pVg *tārwaç-∇η id. > Vg: T tārkaçāñ, P tarwaçañ, tārwaçañ, NV/LL tārwaçañ id.; pOs {Ht.} *ḫāṣart > Os: V läṣart, Vy yäṣart, Ty/Y ḫāṣart, D/K tāṣart, Nz tawart, Kz ḫawart id. ¶ Ht. no. 161 || A *čir∇- > M: [1] M *čirgaу-, *čirgaу- > WrM čirgai {MED} 'dense, tall' (forest), HIM чаргай {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'кондовый' (forest), WrM čirgaуu {MED} 'tight, taut, hard, stiff', HIM чаргуу {MED} id., {BMR, Luv.} 'тугой', Ord č'īraq 'robuste, vigoureux, solide' ¶ MED 191-2, BMR IV 306, Luv. 628, Ms O 708 | [2] M *čirday- > WrM cirdai- {MED} 'make sth. with great effort, exert oneself', HIM чардай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'exert oneself (напрягаться)', Kl {KRS} чирдә- čirdä- id., Ord č'ardā- 'rendre dur, durcir' ¶ MED 191, BMR IV 307, KRS 653, Ms. O 696 || Tg *çira- 'taut, tense, strong', v. 'stretch sth. taut' > Nn Nh čirã {On} 'taut, stretched taut', {STM} 'taut (тугой, туго)', čirambō- v. 'stretch sth. taut', čiran- v. 'be stretched taut', WrMc {Z} чира 'strong, tight', 'taut' (bow), {Hr} cira 'fest, hart, kräftig', Mc Sb čirā 'severe, strict, tight' ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless the Mc and Nn words are loans from M *čīra 'strong, firm' (see N *tīRga 'force, strength, effort') ¶ STM II 399, On. 508-9, Z 939-40, Hr 150, Pt. 156, Y no. 2468 || D *čara- ({ḡGS} *c|č-) 'rough on surface' (× N *čar∇ [or *č'ar∇?]) 'hard/firm, hardened crust, hard surface', q.v.) > Tm caracara 'rough on surface', caral, caralaj 'gravel, laterite', curacura 'be rough, have a rough surface', Ml caral, carakkalu 'gravel', Tu caratæ 'what is coarse', Kui srogu 'a rough surface' ¶¶ D no. 2354 ◇ The NaIE long vw. *ē (regularly from IE *eh|̥) and the absence of laryngeals in the Eg and K cognates suggest N *-hæ.

440. (₂?) *čûRt∇ 'soot' > K *oçwart(ω)l- 'soot' > G çvarṭl-i id., çvarṭ(∇)l- (trans. cj.) v. 'make sooty', (ps. cj.) v. 'become sooty' ¶ Chx. 2247, DCh. 1706 ¶¶ -ṭ- for the expected -t- is due to as. || D *čūr(-) 'soot' (× N *'č'¹'u¹R∇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty') > Tl G čūru in: poga čūru 'smoke to coat walls, roof etc. with soot', Prj čuruk 'deposit of soot on the ceiling or on any object that has been close to the fire', ?ḫ Gdb suygur, Kui srōbi sroṛi, Ku roṛva s rōṛya s roowa 'soot' ¶¶ D no. 2686, Km. 360 [no. 453] ¶¶ D *-r- is a reflex of *r-clusters (in this case *-rt-), hence N *čûRt∇ (rather than *'č'¹'u¹R∇) is the main source of the D √ || IE: NaIE *swordo- 'black, dirty' (× N *s'URt∇ 'dirt[y]', q.v. ffd.).

441. *čûřr̥ ∇ ~ *čûřr̥ ∇ 'to see, to look' > **HS:** Eg fMK ʒʳr 'search out, investigate, seek' (with the variant Eg ʒʳ [\leftarrow *ʒʳʳ < *č̣ ∇ r̥r̥-?] id.) > Cpt Sd ʒwɔp ʒōr, ʒoɔp- ʒoor-, Cpt B ʒεp- ʒer-, ʒop- ʒor- 'examiner, étudier' (× N *g'ü'řr̥ ∇ 'look, look for', q.v.) ¶ EG V 534, 539, Fk. 320, Vc. 330 || B *✓ ʒrH (pf. *-ʒraH ~ *-ʒruH) 'see' (Pcj. I A 7, Fcj. 25) (× N *ž'E'hR ∇ 'see, know'?) > Kb ʒaɽ (3m pf. yəʒɽa) 'see, know; look', Tmz {MT} ʒaɽ 'see, look', Sll {Ds.} ʒaɽ (pf. izɽa), Mz {Dlh.} ʒar (pf. yəʒru) 'see', BSn {Ds.} ʒér (pf. i'izru [yizru?]), Zkara {Ds.} ʒar (pf. izri), BMn {Ds.} ʒer (pf. izru) 'voir, apercevoir', Wrg {Dlh.} ʒar (pf. yəʒru), Izn {Rn.} ʒbr 'see, look', Izn/BSlh {Ds.} ʒer (pf. izra) 'see, perceive', SrSn/Rf {Rn.} ʒar 'see, look', Izd {Mrc.} iziɽ (pf. izɽa) 'avoir connaissance', Nf {La. ← ?} ʒar (pf. izru) (not registered in Beg. N), Si {La.} ʒar, Skn {Smn.} ʒorr (pf. yəʒa), Gd π {Lf.} εʒar (pf. izr̄w̄), Zng {TC} inv. ʒʒuʔɽ / 3m pf. yuʒʒaʔɽ 'voir' ¶ Dl. 953, MT 826, Ds. 296, Ds. B 370, Fc. 2001, Pr. M VI-VII 109-10, Mrc. 59, 365, 355, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 395, Rn. 323, La. S 313, Lf. I 258-9 and II no. 1838, DCTC 293 || **K** +ext. *očwreṭ- / *očwriṭ- > MG [VTq., Vsr.], G čvreṭ- 'look at', G (gan-)čvreṭ- / čvriṭ- 'forsee (voraussehen)' ¶ Chx. 2248, DCh. 1706, NCh. 458 || **D** *čūṛ- 'see, look' (× N *ž'E'hR ∇ '↑') > Svr sūr-, sūd-, Gnd sūr- ɖ sūr- ɖ hūr- ɖ hūr-, Knd sūr-, Png/Mnd huṛ-, Prj čūr-, Gdb sūr- ɖ čūd-, Kui sūr̄a 'see', Tl cūṛ- 'see, behold, look', Tm cūr̄ v. 'deliberate, consider, know' ¶¶ D no. 2735, Zv. 56, ≈ Km. 359.

442. (on.?) *č̣awχ ∇ 'to cry, to exclaim' (→ 'to praise', 'fame') > **HS:** S: CS *✓ ɕwħ (prm. *-ɕwaħ-) 'cry' > BHb ✓ ɕwħ G (ip. paus. 3p y i- 'ɕwāħ-ū) 'cry aloud', MHb ✓ ɕwħ (pf. ɕā'waħ) 'cry', Ug ✓ ɕw|yħ G (pf. ɕħ) 'call, exclaim, invite', Amr {G} ✓ ɕyħ 'call', JA G {Js.} ✓ ɕwħ (pf. ɕa'waħ) 'cry (schreien), complain', JEA G {Sl.} ✓ ɕwħ 'shout, protest, complain', SmA ✓ ɕwħ 'cry', Sr ✓ ɕwħ (pf. ɕa'waħ, ip. -ɕwaħ) 'clamavit', Sh 'ululavit' (vulpes), BHb ɕawā'ħ-ā 'Klagegeschrei', Sr ɕawāħ-'t-ā 'Gescrei', Ar ✓ ɕyħ (pf. ɕāħa, ip. -ɕīħ-) 'cry aloud, call out' | S: ?φ Gz ✓ ɕwɪ D (pf. ɕawwəɪa) 'call, call upon/out', Tgr ✓ ɕwɪ G 'call' ¶ KB 949, KBR 1011-12, A no. 2313, OLS 415-16, Grd. UT no. 2162, Sl. 953-4, Tal 725-6, G A 34, Js. 1266, JPS 476, Br. LS 623, L G 566, LH 644 || C: Ag *č̣ ∇ w- > Bln {Plm.} š i w-, {R} š i w-, Dmb {R} š ɛ w- 'ask for, demand', Q {R} š ɛ w- 'cry (schreien), beg, demand', Xm {R} č̣ aw- id., 'go begging' ¶ ≈ AD SF 105, R WB 331-2, R Ch II 52, R QW 128-9, Ap. AV 20 ¶¶ The change HS **č̣- (< N *č̣-) > S *ɕ- may be

interpreted as loss of a marked phonemic feature (which sometimes occurs in S and has been mentioned by IS in OS I 210); it is likely to be a conditioned phonemic change (that will account for the unusual rareness of the phoneme *ʁ̥- in S and for the total absence of -ʁ̥- in the Ar roots with II rad. w and y) ¶¶ This HS root may have contaminated with the HS source of S *√çwʁ 'ask' (> Gz √çwʁ D 'call, call upon/out') and NrBc {Tk.} *çay- ~ *çiy- 'ask' (Tk. NB 169) || K: G čqav-il-/čqa(v)-/čqav|l- 'heulen, jaulen, schreien' (of a beast) (as. *čχ > *čq) ¶ Chx. 2279 || IE: NaIE *steu- {EI} 'praise' > OI √stāv-: 'stauti 'praises' (aor. 'astāv i), pp. stūtā- 'gepriesen, angerufen', Av stāomi 'I praise', 'stūt- 'song of praise' || ? Gk Hm/A στεῦται 3s pres. 'promises\ threatens that he will, makes as if one would' ({P} ← *'rühmt sich') ¶ WP II 620, P 1035, EI 449, M K III 519-21, M E II 757-8, F II 793-4 || A *čāb[u] 'sound (→ 'fame') > NaT *čāb 'shouting, rumor, fame' > OT čāv 'fame, good reputation', XwT XIV čav 'fame', OOsM XIV, Chg XV čav 'reputation', Osm {Rl.} čav 'Geschrei, Schrei, Ruf', Tk çav 'voice, sound', † 'news', Tkm † čāv 'fame', Alt {BT, Rl.}, QK/Tel {Rl.} čap 'fame, rumor (Ruhm, Ruf)', Brb {Rl.} çap, Qmn {B} čap id. ¶ Rs. W 93, Cl. 393, TkR 715, Rl. III 1915, 1934 and IV 196, SDD I 310, BT 176, B DK 266 || M *čū (< **čawu?) > WrM {MED} цуц, HIM цуц {MED, BMR} 'sound, noise; echo; rumor, fame, glory', Brt цуц 'fame, известность, rumor (молва, слухи), Kl {Rm.} cū 'Schrei, Getöse, Gelärm', Ord č'ū 'renom, réputation' ¶ MED 207, Chr. 397, KW 435, Ms. O 717 || Tg *çab- 'make noise', n. 'noise' > Nn KU čawali- v. 'resound', Ewk çiwī-, Neg çawgī-, Ud čaugda-, Ul čāuḡali-, Ork çayiqotçī-, Nn KU čaogī-, Nn Bk çaoḡi- 'make noise'; Nn KU čaogī- {STM} id., {On} 'шуметь, галдеть', Ewk çiwīn 'noise', Nn Nh čāb {STM} 'noise', {On.} 'непрерывно шумя, галдя' ¶ STM II 389, On. 499 || ? pJ *tuár- v. 'address; ask (a question)' > OJ twop-, MJ tóφ- {S} id., J T tò- ~ tó-, J K tó-, J Kg tò- {Kenk.} 'ask (fragen, bitten)' ¶ S QJ no. 1504, Mr. 771, Kenk. 2037-8 ¶¶ SDM 407 (pA *č'ābu 'sound, fame' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 277 (id.), Pp. VG 44 (T, M), Vld. 256 ◇ IS MS 337 ('говорить' *çaww) (HS, K). The length of *a in T is likely to reflect the N Ir. ◇ Qu., because the word is likely to have onomatopoeic associations.

443. ₂ *čūč' (or *š-?) 'clean; to clean' > HS: WS *-šūč- v. 'clean one's teeth' > Mh pf. šūš / sbjn. yzšūš, Jb C pf. 'šūš / sbjn. y'šēš, Ar √šwš ~ √šws (ip. -šūš- ~ -šūs-) id. ¶ Jo. M 388, Jo. J 258, BK I 1287

|| **U**: FU *süć∇ ~ *ćić∇ (both most probably from **ćüć∇ by dis. **ć...ć... > *s...ć... and delabialization **ü > *i) 'clean' > Prm {UEW} *sòž > Z cōдз sзž 'transparent, clean, clear, pure', Prmk, Prmk Zz sзž, Yz sòž id., StVt inf. сузьяны suzá-n†, Vt Sr súžal-, Vt Kz/Gl súžal- v. 'clean' || pObU *ćīć- ~ *ćić- (both from FU *ćić∇) > Vg MK/N śê:ś 'immaculate, clean' (MK śê:ś oãу 'virgin', lit. 'immaculate girl'), Os: Ty çě t-wãу 'Glocke', K/Kr çič-wãχ 'money' (< *'pure metal \ money'; Os wãу, wãχ means 'metal, money') || OHg sz ũz 'rein, unvermisch', Hg sz ũz (accus. sz ũz e t) 'jungfräulich, keusch; Jungfrau, Jungfer' ¶ UEW 441-2, Lt. 224, LG 262-3, Ht. no. 822, KrT 208-9, 923, PD no. 956.

444. *ĉEĉk∇ 'to crush, to split' > **K**: GZ *ĉeĉk- ({K, K², FS} *ĉeĉk-) 'crush, split' ({K²} v. 'hollow, break') > G ĉeĉk- 'crush, beat to pieces' ({FS} 'zerstoßen, zerklopfen', {K²} 'hollow, pound', {NCh.} 'толочь', {DCh.} 'измять', {K} 'долбить', {Chx.} (da-)ĉeĉk- 'zerstoßen, zerquetschen; weich klopfen', (ga-\da-)ĉeĉk- jem-n durchdreschen'), Mg ĉkaĉk- 'break (e.g., an apple), split', Lz ĉaĉk- v. 'pound' ¶ Lz ĉ- points to an initial K *ĉ-, while G ĉ- (for the expected c-) and Mg ĉk- (for ĉ-) are due to as.: G **caĉk- > ĉaĉk-, Zan *ĉaĉk- > Mg ĉkaĉk- acc. to Gudava's law of Mg reduplication of the velar element of the stem-final cluster ("harmonic complex") *⊥K after the initial dental cns. or affricate (identical to that of the cluster) [*F* K 23]; K's and FS's rec. of the initial GZ *ĉ- fails to explain Lz ĉ- ¶ K 219, K² 256, FS K 388, FS E 435-6, Chx. 1928-9, NCh. 430, DCh. 1576 || **HS**: S *√ŝkk, *-ŝukk- 'split, cleave, pierce' > Ar √škk G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois, etc.)', Mh/Jb {Jo.} √ŝkk v. G 'skewer (meat)', Ak √škk (p. -šukk-) v. G 'harrow' ¶ BK I 1252, Sd. 1134, Jo. M 377, Jo. J 250 ¶ The loss of the reflex of the N stem-medial *ĉ is due to the S law that rules out roots with sequence of two similar cns (hence **√ŝθk > *√ŝkk) ¶ The S √ belongs here unless it is connected with S *ŝikk(-at)- 'thorn', 'pin, nail' < N *?æžEku 'thorn, hook' (q.v.) || ? Ch: Ngz {Sch.} šáškú, v. 'hollow out' ¶ Sch. DN 148 || **D** {tr.} *ĉe|akk-, {GS} *ćek- v. 'chip', n. 'chip, splinter' > Tm cakkaĩ 'chips, small wooden peg', Kt ĉek, Kn cakke, cekke, sakke, sekke 'chip', Tu cakke, cekkæ id., 'split, splinter', Tl cekku v. 'pare, cut the side\rind of', cekka 'piece, chip, slice', Klm sek- 'make pointed (piece of wood)', sekka 'bark of tree', Nkr śekka id., śekk- v. 'chip, scrape', Prj ĉekk- v. 'chip, scrape, plane', ĉekka 'piece, slice', Knd sek v. 'plane, fashion things out of wood', Ku

sekali 'scrape (with a hoe)', Krx čaktā, Mlt caka 'slice'; D b→ OI śakala- 'piece, fragment' ¶¶ D no. 2748, GS 115 [no. 305] ◇ In some lges this N word may have contaminated or coalesced with N *śaka 'to split, to cleave' (q.v.).

445. ?σ *ĉUd∇ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary' > K: GZ *ĉwe^rd^r- / *ĉu^rd^r- 'sexually impotent' (of a male person), 'vain' > OG cud-i 'vain, futile', G cvedan- 'impotent', Mg čut-u id. ¶ K 229, FS K 410, DCh. 1602-3, ≈ K² 271-2 (OG, G, Mg ← *ĉwet- / *ĉut- 'wear out') || HS: SES *√ ŝdd > Mh ŝdod, Jb E/C ʒŝ¹ded v. 'get tired' ¶ Jo. M 372, Jo. J 246 || D *ĉ|kōt̥t̥- ({}GS) *s-(?) 'defect, fault' > Tm cōt̥t̥u 'defect, blemish', MI cāt̥t̥u 'fault', TI soĉĉu 'defect, fault' ¶¶ D no. 2837.

446. (₂?) *ĉ∇d^ri¹ (ka₁?∇₁) '≈ wait, stay, have leisure' > K: *ĉad- / *ĉd- 'have time, wait' > OG cad- 'wait, let (do sth.)' (acade p̄irvelad ganʒyomad švilita 'let first the children get sated' [Marc. 7.27]), G cad- / cd- 'wait, delay', Lz čod- 'have spare time', Mg čod- id., 'wait', Sv -čd- 'be, exist' ¶¶ K 227 (GZ *ĉad- 'have leisure, wait'), K² 269 (GZ *ĉ(a)d- 'have time, wait'), FS K 405 (GZ), FS E 456 (GZ), Ser. 195, Chx. 1979, Q 366, Chik. 377-8 || HS: Eg N šcdšcd.ty {EG} (?) 'wait (for so.)', {Hng} id., (?) 'lie in wait\ambush' ¶ EG IV 569, Hng 845 || B *√ zd̥y (< **√ sd̥y by as.) 'stay, remain, dwell' > Sll {Ds.} (e)zcdē̆y əzdā̆y id. ('rester, habiter'), Wrg əzdəy 'habiter, loger', Tmz {MT} zdəy 'habiter, loger, demeurer', Kb əzdəy 'habiter, loger', Ah {Fc.} əzzəy, Nf/Snd {La.} əzdəy 'habiter', Gh {Nh.} əzzəy, Ttq {Msq.} əzzăy, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əzdəy, BSn {Ds.} əzdəy, Izd {Mrc.} zdəy, Gd {Lf.} εzdεf 'habiter, demeurer' ¶ Ds. 149, Ds. B 93, 161, 248, MT 192, Dl. 936, Dlh. Ou 384, Fc. 1993, Msq. 81, 146, Mrc. 77, 135, 441, Rn. 321, La. S 246, Lf. II no. 1758 || AdS of SES *√ ŝdd 'get tired' (× N ?σ *ĉUd∇ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary') || ?σ IE: NaIE *steig- '≈ stand still' > Lt inf. stygti (1s pres. stýgaυ) 'to keep quiet, to stand still', inf. † stìgti (1s pres. stingu) 'auf einer Stelle ruhig weilend aushalten', Ltv inf. stigt 'to get stuck' || OHG {OsS} inf. steccen, steckēn 'festsitzen', {Kb.} inf. steckēn vi. 'to stick, infigi', NHG inf. stecken 'to be, to stay, to remain; to stick fast', AS inf. stician vi. 'to remain fixed, to stick', 'to be inside', 'to lie' (of direction, boundary) > NE stick vi. ¶ Frn. 905, Turk. 632, PiesS 673, Sw. 161, Ho. 321, ≈ P 1016-17, ≈ OsS 86 (OHG steccen ← stēchan 'to prick'), Schz. 270, Kb. 959, ≈ KM 742, ≈ Ho. 321 ¶ Secondary association with NaIE *(s)teig- vt. 'stechen', 'spitz' (P 1016-17) ◇ B *y (< *k) tentatively

suggests a glottalizing factor (*ʔ) within the additional component of the etymon (*-ka₁ʔ∇₁).

447. ₂ *ĉodh∇ 'break (esp. a body part), strike' > HS: S *^o√ ŝdh > Ar *^o√ šdh v. 'break (the head)' ¶ BK I 1206 || D (att. in SD) *ĉ|k'oṭṭ- v. 'beat\strike (with fingers)' > Tm cōṭṭu v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently (the udder of a goat for inducing the free flow of milk)', v. 'beat, hit, peck (as a crow)', Ml cōṭṭu a slap on the head', cōṭṭuka v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock with the fingers (esp. on the head)', Tu sōṇṭuni v. 'box with knuckles of the fingers' ¶ D no. 2836 || AdS of K: GZ *ĉwet-/ *ĉwit- v. 'cut, chop' (from N *ĉi₁w₁t∇ [more probable than *ĉüt∇?]) 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]).

448. (₂?) *ĉ∇d₁∇₁g∇ or *ĉ∇g∇d∇ 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE *sk^(h)ed-/ *skend- 'split' (× N *ĉi₁w₁t∇ [more probable than *ĉüt∇?]) 'to split' [q.v. ffd.]) || HS: S *^o√ ŝdk v. 'tear', *¹ŝid₁∇₁k- 'chink, crack' > Sr √ sdk (pf. səɖəɖə) G 'tear asunder', SmA √ sdk G 'be cleft', JA [Trg.], MHb √ sdk G 'split, tear asunder', JEA {Sl. √ sdk G 'split', MHb 𐌱𐌳𐌵 'sɛɖɛk 'Spalt, Risse', SmA sɖk n. 'cleft', Ar šidq- ~ šadq- 'coin de la bouche, à l'endroit où les deux lèvres se joignent' (← *'slit, chink'), Gz √ ŝṭk G vt., vi. 'cleave, split, tear asunder', Ak √ šṭk 'abspalten' ¶ Br. 460, JPS 361, Sl. 789, Tal 568, BK I 1205, Lv. III 480, L G 537-8, Sd. 1200 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ĉakt- v. 'tear' > Tng sugd-/sukt- 'make a hole' || SBc: Dw {ChC} žaktiy, Zr K {Sh. in ChC} žaktu, Plc {ChC} šεχtu, Zl {ChC} yà šatì, Buli {ChC} šadu v. 'tear' ¶ Stl. ZCh 199 [no. 501], J T 147, ChC s.v. 'tear' || K *ĉgwed-/ *ĉgwid-/ *ĉgwd- v. 'tear, break' > OG çgwed-/ çgwid- {FS} 'tear off (abreißen)', {DCh., Ser., K} 'exterminate', G çgveṭ-/ çgviṭ-/çgd- 'break, tear; cease, end', Mg čgvad-/ čgvid- id., 'strike', Lz čḳvad-/čḳvid-/čḳid- 'tear out, decide', Sv šqed-/ šgad-/šgd- {FS} 'tear off (abreißen), fall', {GP, K, TK} 'fall', Sv L {Dn.} šgad-/šgad- 'throw, be thrown, fall', k̄an-šgad '(er) sprang her', em-šgad y меня упало' ¶¶ K 253, K² 319, FS K 471, FS E 534, Chik. 413-14, Ser. 119, NCh. 456, Chx. 2213-14, GP 180, Dn. s.v. šgad-/šqed-, TK 466.

449. *ĉih¹i¹ ≈ carry, bring' (→ 'give') > HS: WS (or SES) *^o√ ŝhy > Jb C √ ŝhy in eŝ¹het 'carry sth. under one's arm on a rope over one's shoulder', Mh √ ŝhw|y (pf. ŝhū) 'carry under the arm sth. supported by a rope over one's shoulder', Sq {L} ŝe 'give', ??? Ar šayʔ- 'chose, quelque chose, objet' (if from *'sth. brought') ¶ Jo. M 378, Jo. J 250, L ESAC 53, BK I 1293 || B ? *^o√ Hsy v. 'carry' > Sll {Ds.} asiṭ (pf. yūsīṭ)

'porter, transporter', Izd {Mrc.} asi (pf. yusi) 'porter, contenir' ¶ Ds. 226, Mrc. 198, 308 || EC: Arr {Hw.} sih-is- (inv. síh / 2s sith) 'give', pSam {Hn.} *sî: ~ *sî:čà 'give' > Sml sī, Jbr sî, Rn {Hn.} 'sî: ~ 'síča, {PG} sīč- / inv. sî, Bn sî:, 'sîa id.; Dsn {Bnd.} šiyε, {To., Ss.} šī-(š) (1s pret. šī), Elm sīse id. ¶ Hw. A 393, Hn. S 73, PG 260, ZMO 361, To. DL 528, Blz. CL s.v. 'give' || K: GZ *č- 'give' > OG, G c- 'give', Mg, Lz č- 'give, feed' ¶ K 227, K² 269, FS K 404, FS E 454-5 (both K and FS identified GZ *č- 'give' with GZ *č- 'beat' [highly qu., though not ruled out]), Chik. 369-70 || A: pKo {S} *čî- 'carry on the back, bear' > MKo čí-, NKo či- ¶ MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31, S QK no. 601 || D *čī- / *čiy- ({†GS} *ś-) v. 'give' (→ 'allow') > Tm ī- 'give (to inferiors), agree', Knd ī- 'give, allow, permit', Tl i c c u (ī- / i y y-, i v v-) id., Klm si-, Nk śī-, Gnd sī- ɖ hī- ɖ ī-, Mnd, Ku hī-, Kui sīva, Krx čip- id., Mlt ciye 'give away' ¶¶ D no. 2596, Zv. 105 ◇ One is tempted to adduce IE: NaIE *(s)tāj- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, tāti-s 'thief' and AnIE *taɣ- 'steal', which cannot belong here (≠φ: IE *(s)t- does not go back to N *č-). It is preferable to equate the IE root with Eg ś d y 'take, take away, take out' and T *sat- 'sell' (F s.v. N *śat'ahi' '≈ to take away').

450. *čEkɣ∇ or *čEkɣ∇, ? *čEk|kɣ∇ r∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > K: GZ *ček- v. '≈ step, tramp' > G cek-v-a v. 'dance', Mg čak- v. 'tramp and waddle while walking' ¶ FS K 407-8 || HS: SES *°✓š k ɣ > Mh ✓š k ɣ G v. 'step' ¶ Jo. M 379 || ?σ U *čäke(-r∇) 'trampled ground snow', v. 'trample down (snow)' > FU: pLp *čēkər 'snowfield which has been trampled and dug up by reindeer feeding there' > Lp: N {N} cieġâr / -kk- id., L {LLO} tijekar id., S {Hs.} tjieġere id., 'hole in the snow made by reindeer looking for lichen', Nt {Gn.} čieġar, Kld {Gn.} čīġar 'reindeer pasture' || pObU: Vg: LK śōr, UL śiɣr, Ss śaɣr 'niedergetretener Schnee', LK śoray-, P śōrt-, UL śiɣrt-, Ss śaɣrt- v. 'trample down'; ?σ Os: V ç+ɣar, Y çăɣar, K çăχar, O śăχar 'snowdrift'; Os Vy {Stn.} čăɣ- 'den Kopf des Nagels hutförmig schmieden, durch Schlagen einen "Kopf" machen (z. B., an der Spitze des Ladestockes)' || Sm: Ne T śexε 'hard snow', śexeri 'winter road', Ne F śixā 'winter pasture of reindeer', Kms šē'ɣ 'reindeer pasture' ¶¶ Coll. 7-8, UEW 31, Lr. no. 147, Gn. 733-4, Hs. 1316, Ht. no. 820, Stn. D 246-7 || A *čik'∇- v. 'tramp, ram (stopfen), trample down (ground)' > NaT *çI:;g-ru- > OT [MhK] čīɣru- v. 'trample down (ground)'; NaT *çI:;gIr

'tramped ground\snow' > OT QU {Cl.} čīḡīr, [MhK] čaḡīr 'footpath, narrow track', Chg ≥XV čīḡīr 'snow which has become hard owing to wind action', Osm čīḡīr 'track\path through snow, the track left by an avalanche', Tk Δ čīḡīra 'goat's path', Uz Δ čībīr 'footprint of sheep', Qzq šīḡīr 'tramped place, sth. tramped', Tv šī:r 'stamped snow' ¶ Cl. 409-11, TL 533, TvR 590 || Tg: Ewk Tmt çīkī 'stamped snow' ¶ STM II 389 || M *čīḡīr¹- v. 'stamp (vollstopfen), ram (stopfen)' > HIM {BMR} 'hinein-stoßen (пихать, впихивать), stopfen (набивать), Kl {KRS} чик- čīk- 'hineinstoßen, hineindrängen, stopfen (набивать), caulk (конопатить), stop up (затыкать), verstopfen', {Rm.} čīk- 'hineinstopfen, volldrängen, füllen (z.B. einen Sack, seinen Magen)', Ba čīḡā-, ShY čīḡā- v. 'stamp (vollstopfen), ram', Ord čīḡī t'āḡ 'tout à fait rempli'; M *čīḡī²- v. 'stamp (vollstopfen), ram down' > WrM cīḡī- {MED} v. 'ram down; calk, make waterproof\airtight by filling tracks; cork, close an opening', HIM чигжи- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'caulk (конопатить), stop up (затыкать), verstopfen, close an opening, засыпать; stampfen (трамбовать)', Brt шэгжүүн 'well-packed' (tobacco-pipe) ('плотно набитый табаком' [о трубке]), 'плотный, тугой', Kl {Rm.} čīkca- 'sich drängen, hinein-zwängen' (von mehreren); M → Yk čīḡīdi 'stamped hard snow', čīḡīdiän id. (→ Ewk Ald/Ucr çīḡījan, Lm çīḡījan id.) ¶ MED 180, BMR IV 309, 317-18, STM II 389, Luv. 630, Chr. 741, KRS 650, KW 438-9, Ms. O 701, JkR 509, Pek. 3617 ¶¶ SDM 426-7 (pA *čīka|u v. 'stamp, ram', n. 'stamped path' > T *çīḡīr, M + unc. Tg *çīkī- 'edge, border', 'go along the shore, come out on the shore'), DQA no. 262 (id.) ◇ T *-g- < N *-kɣ- regularly (cp. N *hakkɣ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > T *āg- v. 'rise' and N *tekɣ 'touch' > T *t' eg- id.).

451. ₂ *čūkɣ 'thorn, sharp edge' (→ 'blade'), 'summit' > HS: S *šikk- 'thorn, nail' (× N *ʔæžekU 'thorn, hook', q.v. ffd.); WS *šawk- > Ar شوك šawk- 'thorn, prickle, point', Gz šōk 'thorn, spine (of hedgehog), sting' ¶ GB 783, KB 1236, Js. 988, 993, L G 529, Sd. 1234 || U: FU *čūkkɣ 'summit, hill; sharp edge' (× N *žōg₁ɣ₁U or *žōg₁U₁ɣ₁ 'hill' [q.v. ffd.]) > Lp Kld {SaR} чōгк 'sharp' || Os {KT}: Ty çāk 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D çāk '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O śāk ~ śāk 'Hammer' ¶ UEW 42, Lr. no. 159, Lgc. no. 450, SaR 398-9, KT 897, Stn. D 1495 ¶ The FU √ has two semantic variants: [1] 'sharp edge' → 'edge, hammer' (< N *čūkɣ) and [2] 'hill' (< N *žōg₁ɣ₁U or

* $\acute{z}\hat{o}gU_{\downarrow}?\nabla_{\downarrow}$, q.v. ffd.), while the meaning 'summit' is derivable from both \diamond Qu. (both the U and the S cognates are ambiguous).

452. * $\hat{c}a1\nabla$ 'to pour (out)' > HS: S * $\circ\check{v}\hat{s}11$ > Ar $\check{v}\hat{s}11$ (pf. $\check{s}alla$) 'verser, répandre' ¶ BK I 1262 || IE: (+ ext.) NaIE * $selg-$ ({WP, P, EI} * $sel\hat{g}-$) v. 'pour out, let go\flow, discharge', {EI} 'release, send out' (× N * $\acute{s}ilk\nabla$ 'let out', [in descendant lges] → 'throw', 'fall out') > OI $s_r'jati$ {MW} 'lets go\fly, discharges, throws, casts', [RV] 'sarga 'a stream, gush, downpour', [MBh, Rm] 'sarga n. act. 'letting go, discharging, voiding (an excrement)', Av $h\bar{a}r\bar{a}z\bar{a}nti$ 'they send off', $upa-\eta har\bar{a}\check{s}t\bar{a}e$ 'zu übergießen', Prth $hirz-$ 'lassen, verlassen' || OIr $selg$ n. 'hunt' (← *'releasing the hounds'), Brtt {RE} * $selg-$ v. 'hunt' > OW $in-helcha$ 'venando', $helgha-ti$ inv. 'hunt!', MW $hely$, W hel , $hela$ 'to hunt', OCrn [LC] $helhwur$ 'hunter', Crn $helghya$, $hellya$ 'to hunt', MBr $hemolch$ (for * $emholch$ < * $ambi-solg$), Br $hem-olc'hiriñ$ 'to hunt' || MHG inf. $selken$ 'to drizzle down' (of clouds) ¶ WP II 508, P 900-1, EI 481 (all of them: * $sel\hat{g}-$), M K III 497-8, MW 1183-6, 1245, Vn. S 80-1, RE 105, Flr. 68-9, Hm. 374, SEv. 10, OsS 753, Lx. 191 ¶ OI 'sarga points to a IE * g rather than * \hat{g} (⇔ P, EI) || U: FU (+ext.) * $\acute{c}\bar{o}l\downarrow ta-$ (< ** $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\downarrow ta-$ < * $\acute{c}\bar{a}l\downarrow-Hta-$?) 'throw, pour' > Prm {UEW} * $\acute{c}\bar{o}lt-$ ({UEW} * $\acute{c}\bar{o}lt-$), {LG} * $\acute{c}\bar{a}lt-$ > Z $\acute{c}\bar{v}t-$ v. 'throw, pour (soup from a kettle to a bowl)', Yz $\acute{c}\bar{o}lt-$ v. 'throw', Vt $\acute{c}\bar{v}lt-$ v. 'throw, cast lots' | FP * $\acute{c}\bar{o}l\downarrow ta-$ v. 'draw out, pour, separate' > F $suo\downarrow ta-$ 'ziehen; allmählich ausziehen, ausreißen und verschütten', pLp * $\acute{c}\bar{o}l\downarrow t\bar{a}$ {Lgc.} 'separate' > Lp: N {N} $\check{c}uol'd\bar{a}$, S {Hs.} $tju\check{o}ld'edh$ id., L {LLO} $tjuol\downarrow t\bar{e}$ - 'ausscheiden, aus-\ab-sondern' ¶ UEW 613, LG 310, 158, Lr. no. 196, Lgc. no. 768, Hs. 1345-6 || D {tr.} * $\acute{c}\bar{k}al-$, {GS} * $cal-$ v. 'pour, sprinkle (water)' (× N * $\acute{z}'u'g_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}\acute{v}$ [or * $\acute{z}\nabla g'u'\acute{v}$?] 'flow, pour?') > Tm $callu$ v. 'sprinkle water', Kn $callu$ v. 'scatter, pour out, shed, spill', {Km.} $cal\bar{e}$, $cal\bar{e}ya$, $cal\bar{a}ka$ 'sprinkling', Kdg $\acute{c}ell-$ v. 'throw away (liquid), scatter (grain)', Tu $callu-$ vi. 'spill, shed', $cellu-$ v. 'sprinkle, spill', Tl $callu$ v. 'sprinkle, scatter', $jallu$ 'rain, a shower, spray of rainwater', Nkr $sall-$ v. 'sprinkle', Prj $\acute{c}al-$ v. 'fall in a shower' (rain), Gnd $\acute{z}al-$ v. 'strain water from boiled rice', $\acute{z}all-$ v. 'swill with water', Ku $\acute{z}al-$ v. 'throw out liquids' ¶¶ D no. 2384, Km. 351 [no. 413], GS 35 [no. 55].

453. * $\hat{c}o'h'\bar{1}\nabla$ 'similar; as; alone, one of two' > K: GZ * $\acute{c}\bar{a}l-$ 'similar' > G $cal-i$ id., 'one (of two)', {Chx.} 'ebenbürtig, gleichkommend; der eine

(von zweien)' || Sv {FS} šā́l, Sv UB/L {GP, TK} -šā́l, LB/Ln -šā́l (postp.) 'like' ¶¶ FS K 406-7, GP 271, Chx. 1973, TK 812 || HS: S *^o✓šw̄l > Mh šā́l 'wayl' (pl. šā́l 'wṓl), Jb E {Jo.} 'šīl, Jb C šēl 'like, likeness', Mh 'šā́t wā́l v. 'look alike, seem alike' ¶ Jo. M 388. Jo. J 258 || IE: NaIE *^osṓlō- > L sṓlōs 'alone' ¶ WH II 557, ≈ P 884 || A: NaT {Cl.} **^očṓl- ⇨ ({Cl.} deverbial noun/adj.) *^očṓlâk > OT {Cl.} čṓlōq '(a person) with one arm', ET čṓlaq ~ čū́laq id., Tk *čṓlak*, Kr čṓlaq 'a person with one arm or with a paralyzed arm', Tkm čṓlaq, Az čṓlaq, Qzq šṓlaq 'cripple, crippled', Qq šṓlaq 'a person with one arm or with one leg', Nog šṓlaq 'a person without arms or with one arm', Qmq, Ggz čṓlaq id., 'a person with a paralyzed arm', Qrg čṓlōq 'a person with one arm\leg; a person without arms\legs', Uz чў́лоқ čṓlōq 'lame, a person without arms\legs', VTt чў́лак čṓlaq, Bsh sū́laq 'a person with a crippled arm'; VTt ⇨ Chv чắлак čắlak id., 'cripple' ¶ Cl. 419-20, Rs. W 115, TkR 735, Jeg. 319, Sht. 234, BN 33-4, Ash. XV 269, Fed. II 400, Jeg. 318 || ?^oϕ M: WrM {MED} cī́le-n 'as, according to, like', {Kow.} cī́le-n ku 'de même que, pareillement, ainsi' ¶ Qu., because the morphological structure is not clear and because of the unexoeected vw. -i- ¶ MED 183, Kow. 2162 ◇ The K, IE and S cognates point to a N Ir. *^h, because this is the only Ir. that both causes Ersatzdehnung in K and IE and may disappear in S.

453a. *^očū́m ∇ 'to lift, to raise' > HS: S *^o✓šm̄m > Ar {Ln., BK} šāmī́m- 'high, elevated' (of a saddle), {BK} 'haut, élevé', {Ln.} ✓šm̄m G 'magnify oneself'; ?^oS *^o✓šym̄ (*-sī́m-) 'put, set' > BA G ✓šym̄, Sr G ✓šym̄ 'setzen, legen', BHb G ✓šym̄ 'put, insert, hide', Ar G ✓ššym̄ 'put into, insert, introduce', Gz G ✓ššym̄ 'set, set in order, put, place', Ak šā́mū 'determine' ¶ Ls. 539-40, GB 273, 926, Ln. 1593-4, BK I 1264-5, 1300, Hv. 375 || D *^očū́m-, {Em.} *^okū́m- v. 'carry on head' > Tm cū́mā 'bear, support, carry a burden', Ml cū́makka 'carry a burden', Kn sīm̄bī, sīm̄be 'ring\cloth to be put under a burden (vessel etc.) upon the head', Kn Hv tṓmpaṭa 'carrying on the head', Tu tū́mbu ~ sū́mbu ~ hū́mbu 'bear, carry on head', Nkr cumma 'pad on head for carrying', Prj/Gdb kumt- 'carry on head', Krx kum̄^onā 'take and carry on the head', Mlt kumē 'take upon one's head' ¶¶ D no. 2677, Em. DS 365 || A: ?^oM *^očṓmū- > WrM cṓmū- {MED} v. 'pluck, pick (as fruits and flowers), reap', HIM цə́мə- {MED} id., {BMR} 'pluck, pick (fruits, flowers, ears of cereals)', Ord č'ṓmō- 'arracher, cueillir', Mnr: H {SM} č'īmō- 'cueillir (des fruits, des pois etc.)', {T} čīmō, M {T} čū́mu- 'gather,

reap (собирать)' ¶ MED 202-3, BMR IV 268, Ms. O 715, SM 450, T 379 ¶ Valid if the primary meaning is 'to pick' (← *'raise from the ground') || U (+ext.) *^oćunC|t|s|šā- > Sm *cъnc|tā- 'rise (steigen)' > Ne: T inf. та на-съ 'to rise, to climb on sth.', T O {Lh.} ta'n·ā'-, F {Lh.} та нпа-щ 'to climb' ('klettern, auf etwas steigen'), T {Ter.} та н 'rising slope (подъём)'; En {Ter.} toda- v. 'rise'; Slq Ch cañ'- 'rise' ¶ Jn. 31, Ter. 624 ◇ S *-ī- and M *-ö..ü- may be interpreted as suggesting a palatal element in the pN etymon (something like N *ĉuHEm∇ or *ĉuy∇m∇).

454. *ĉiχm∇ 'fat (Fett)' > K *ĉχim- n. 'fat, grease' > G cχim- id., Sv UB {GP} мащχim id. ¶¶ FS K 417, K 232, K² 276, GP 224 || HS: S *šah_l∇_lm- 'fat (of meat)' > Ar šahm- id., ✓ šhm G (pf. šahuma) 'be fat' (of animals, humans), ?σ Jb C {Jo.} šh'z'mεt 'temple (as far as the eye)' (it is cut in a slaughtered animal to see how much fat is on the carcass), Ak LB šēm_u 'fat, grease', f. pl. šēmētu id. ¶ Ln. 1513-14, BK I 1199, Jo. J 250, CAD XVII/2 276, 287, MiK I no. 1.263 || B *✓siHm 'fat' (× N *šāmi 'fat' [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} e-sīm, Ttq {Msq.} i-sîm 'melted tallow', Kb ta-(s)sam-t 'tallow' ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq. 141, Dl. 778 || ?? C: Bj {R} ✓ šmt pcv. 'grease the hair, smear butter on it' (× N *ĉ'o¹mH₂E 'to smear', q.v.) ¶ R WbD 216 || A: M *ĉimügen > MM [HI] čimügen, WrM {MED} cīmūge(n) 'marrow, marrowbone', HIM {MED, BMR} чөмөг id., Kl {KRS} чимгн čimgan id., {Rm.} čimgŋ 'Mark (in den Knochen), Knochen (die grösseren)', Dg {T} šimug, {Mr.} šimehe 'marrow'; M *ĉimüge-le- > WrM {MED} cīmūgele- v. 'put on weight, become fat', HIM чөмөглө- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'put on weight, become fat' (of cattle), Kl {KRS} чимгл- čiməglə- v. 'put on weight, become fat' ¶ MED 186, BMR IV 320-1, Ms. H 47, T 380, T DgJ 183, KW 440, KRS 651, Mr. D 216.

455. ≈ *ĉ'ī'ā'ā'ā' 'recognize, know (connaître)' > K: GZ *ĉan-/*ĉn- v. 'know, learn, recognize' (× N *cuŋ∇ 'to know' [← 'to have seen?'], q.v. ffd.) > OG, G can-/cn- 'know, learn, recognize', Mg {Q} čin- v. 'know (so.), recognize', Lz čin- v. 'recognize' ¶ K 229, K² 270, FS K 407, FS E 458-9, Chik. 376-7 || HS: WS *^o✓š'ŋ G v. 'know (connaître)' ~ *^o✓š'ny G v. 'see' > Ar ✓š'ŋ G 'connaître, s'informer', (× N *S'E'p'o¹ā'∇ 'hear, perceive') Mh {Jo.} ✓š'ny (pf. šīni, sbjn, yzšē, ps. š(z)naŋ), Hrs, Jb, Sq ✓š'ny v. 'see' ¶ BK I 1179-80, Jo. M 381-2, Jo. J 253, Jo. H 120-1 || B *-sin- / *✓wsn 'know (savoir, connaître)'

(× N ***cun**∇ 'to know', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ DEg **sw**n v. 'know (savoir)', Cpt: S **coo**YN, B **cwo**YEN 'savoir' ¶ Vc. 201-2 || ?φ Ch: WCh: Hs **sánì:**, **šínà**, Bks **šán-î**, Klr {J} **syen**, Dr **šen-**, Wrij/My {Sk.} **sən-**, Cg {Sk.} **sán-**, P' **sinè**, Sir {Sk.} **səní:wí**, Mbr {Sk.} **səní**, Jmb {Sk.} **sán-**, Dir {Sk.} **cán** 'know (savoir)' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} **zènì**, Mtk {Sb} **son**, Gzg D {Lk.} **san**, Msy {Mch} **səŋ**, Db {LnG} **sīn**, Gdr {Mch.} **sən**, Ktk {Lk.} **sán** || ECh: Ll {Grgs} **sèn**, Mkl {J} **sūnē** 'know (savoir)' ¶ JI II 216-17 ¶¶ Eg **s-** (for the expected **š-**) and the Chadic initial cns. (apparently ***s-**) need explanation ¶¶ IS I 201-2 || **A**: STg ***çende-** > WrMc {Hr} **cende-** 'nachprüfen, erproben', {Z} **чэньдэ-** v. 'try, examine, taste', Jrc **čentemei tuvanžila** 'examine' ¶ STM II 421, Hr 143, Z 927-8, Kiy. 142 [no. 804] ◇ STg ***e** is a reg. reflex of ***ä**.

455a. (₂?) ***ʿuṇ**∇ 'to sound, to utter' > IE: NaIE ***swen-** 'produce sounds' (× N ***SU**η_g'**o**' 'produce loud vocal sounds [call, make an incantation, weep]') > OI **swan-** v. 'sound, roar, be noisy, rattle', Av **pa'tiš-χvāna** 'Gegen-Lärm', KhS **hvan-** 'speak', Phl **χvan-** 'call, read', NPrs **-خوان** **χwān-** [χūn-] id., 'sing' || L **sonā-** 'sound, resound, make a noise', **sonus** 'a noise, sound' || AS **swinn** 'music' || ?φ OIr **sen**n- v. 'jouer (d'un instrument de musique), faire de la musique', **senim** 'fait de jouer d'un instrument; musique; son' ¶ WP II 542-3, P 1046-7, Mn. 1346, M K III 560-1, Brtl. 838, Bai. 502-3, BM 199, WH II 559-60, Ho. 338, Vn. S 86 || **A**: Tg: Neg **çūn-** v. 'cry' (of a baby) ¶ STM II 414 || **HS**: ?σ S ***ʷs̥n?** G > Ar **šn?** G 'avouer qch.', 'acknowledge, give smb. his right' ¶ Ln. 1603, BK I 1274 || ?σ Ch ***ʿuṇ-** > Hs {Ba.} **šūnà** v. 'urge\incite to fight, direct smb. to a place', ??φ Hs {Abr.} **čūnà** v. 'egg a dog' ¶ Ba. 943, Abr. H 152, Stl. IF (on Ch ***ʿ-** > Hs **š-**) ¶ Hs **š-** is probably the regular reflex of N ***ʿ-** (as in Hs **šāfì** 'one side of a leaf [of paper], one side of a writing board \ of a slate' from N ***ʿay**∇ 'vegetation, leaves', see Abr. H 797), so that Hs **č-** in **čūnà** needs explanation (if **čūnà** belongs here) ◇ IE ***s-** (if cognate with Tg ***ç-** and Hs **š-**) may go back only to N ***ʿ-**. If Ar **šn?** belongs here, the N rec. is ***ʿuṇ**∇.

456. ?σ₂ ***ca|E**∇ 'large' (→ 'high, broad') > U ***ca|En|nč**∇ > Sm {Jn.} ***ca|ānc̣**, {Hl.} ***čānc̣o** 'broad' > Ne T d. **тянѣй** id., Ne F L {Lh.} **céā·n** 'breadth', **céā·n̄n̄** 'broad', Ng {Mik.} **tantəgē** id., **trantədu** 'breadth', En d. {Cs.} **tedde** 'broad', Slq Tm {KD} **čānč̣** id., Slq Tz {Prk.} **tānti** 'breadth, broad', Slq Kat/Tz {Cs.} **tānd**, **tānč̣**, Slq Nr {Cs.}

čānžē, Slq B/Tz {Cs.} čānž, čānžē, Kms {KD} t'ān'o ~ t'ano 'broad', Mt {Hl.} *tāndū_h 'broad' (Mt K {Pl.} déendū id.) ¶ Jn. 32, Erl. 248, KD 68, Cs. 134, Hl. M no. 985 || HS: S *^o✓šnθ > Ar šanḡāt-, šunḡuwat- (pl. šanāḡī) 'summit of a mountain' (← *'high') ¶ BK I 1233.

457. (₂?) *^rĉ'ep∇ or *^sĉep∇ 'heel, foot, part of a leg' > HS: S *^sā_ly_lp- 'foot, track' > Ak šēp-_u, Ak OB šīp-_u ~ šēp-_u, Sq {Jo.} šab 𐎧 šaf 'foot' Sq Δ {SSL} šab 𐎧 š^haf 𐎧 šōf 𐎧 sāf 'foot, leg', Jb šēf 'trace, track; foot under the ankle', Mh šaf 'trace, track', Hrs šēf 'foot, footprint' ¶ Sd. 1214, Jo. J 246, Jo. M 373, Jo. H 119, L LS 424, SSL LSNP 1472, SSL CLS 97, MiK I no. 1.269 (S *^sāyp-; + err. Grg čāmba 𐎧 čāmbā 'sole of foot as measure' [in fact loans from C]) || ? C: Ag *^cāp-/ *^cānp- > Bln {R} šāf-ā, pl. šāf 'sandal', 'šārfī 'sole of foot, sandal', Xm {R} 𐎧 abā 'foot, heel, sandal', Km {CR} šambā 'sandal, shoe' ↳ Grg En/Gt čāmba, Grg Ed čāmbā 'sole of foot serving as measure' ¶ AD SF 120-1, R WB 317, 326, R Ch II 415 (s.p. 101), CR LK 251, L EDG III 173 || ? A: Tg *^oçebe '≈ heel (??)' > Ewk ç3w3 'prop' (of a stick supporting a kettle suspended over the fire) ¶ STM II 419 || U: FU (+ ext.) *^sšewća 'part of a leg' > Lp N čæw'žā, čæw'žē 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped', 'calcaneus, heel bone of reindeer' || pOs *sō_lā_lć ({{Hl.}} *sā_lā_lć) > Os: Ty sā_lā_lć 'heel', Kz šwχas, O šoχas 'Hinterseite der Fußwurzel \ des Unterschenkels', Nz šuχas 'Rückseite des Unter-\ Oberschenkels'; pOs *s- is evidenced by Os Ty and some other dialects (Kr, Likr etc.) recorded by Karjalainen, while š- in Os Kz/Nz/O is due to as. caused by the final -š ¶ F Coll. 75, Stn. D 1320-1, KrT 840 ¶ If this is a valid cognate, FU *-ćā must be considered a sx ◇ Ag *^cāp-/ *^cānp- and the controversial Ewk ç3w3 suggest an initial N affricate (*^ĉ-) (with FU *^sš- for the expected *^ĉ- may be explained by dis. *^ĉ...ć > *^s...ć or *^š...ć. But if the Ag and Ewk supposed cognates are rejected, the N etymon must be with *^š-.

458. *^ĉ'ay_lp∇ 'vegetation, leaves' > IE: NaIE *sajp- 'thicket', 'hedge' > Gk [Aesch.] αἶμός 'copse, thicket' (P: < *sajp-mo-?), Gk αἶμασιά 'wall (of stones, thorns)' || L saepēs / -is 'hedge, fence' ¶ P 878, WH II 462-3, Fr. I 39 || HS: C: SC: Alg {E} šaba 'bush, thick undergrowth' || DhI {To.} šābu, {EEN} šāβu 'leaf, leaves' (snglt. šābune, šāβune) || EC: Rn {PG} sēb, Arr {Hw.} sēb 'leaf'; HEC: Ged {Hd.} šafa, Hd/Qbn {OS ← ?} šāf-ita 'leaf', ? Sd {Gs.} šafinčō 'branch of the ensete plant' ¶ PG 358, Hw. A 392, Hd. 89, 259, Gs. 298-9, To. D 142, EEN 26, E SC 208 (SC *^šáb-

'foliage, vegetation') || S * $\sqrt{\hat{s}p_{\downarrow}p_{\downarrow}}$ > Jb C 'šɛfɛʔ 'untouched \ uncropped grass' ¶ Jo. J 246 || Ch ({AD} * $\sqrt{\hat{s}p_{\downarrow}p_{\downarrow}}$ 'leaf, leaves') > WCh {Stl.} * $\hat{c}ap_i$ > Hs šǎfì 'one side of a leaf (of paper), one side of a writing board \ of a slate' | NrBc {Tk.} *šap- ~ *šip- 'leaf' > {Sk.}: My, Kry šipí, Sir šâpí leaf', Mbr šípúzá 'leaf of corn plant' ||| CCh: Bnn {ChL} šábànà, ZmB {Sa. in ChC} šápá, {ChL} šab, ZmD {KNC} šáp, Lame {ChL} šáb, šábà, LamP {ChC} šab, {ChL} šap, Mdr {Mk} šapa 'leaf' ¶ AD ChCS no. 44, JS 160-1, Stl. ZCh 197 [no. 489] (pZCh * $\hat{c}ap_i$ 'leaf'), Abr. H 797, Ba. 921, ChC s.v. 'leaf', ChL III, Sk. NB 28, KNC 25, Tk. NB 179 ¶¶ On the alt. (and less plausible) et. of Dhl šǎbu and the Ch \sqrt{see} s.v. N * $\sqrt{\hat{l}e'p'ápa}$ 'leaf, foliage' ¶¶ OS no. 540, no. 2318 (*šab- 'plant') ||| D (att. in SD) * $\hat{c}app_{\circ}$ 'leaf, foliage' > Ml cappu 'leaf', Tm cuppai, cuppi 'twigs', uvai(aḷ) 'twigs and sprays, dried leaves', Kt cōp 'broth made of plants, plants used in making broth', Kn sappu, soppu 'green leaves of plants, foliage', Kdg cappala 'leaf', Tu cōppu, 'soppu 'leaf, foliage, greens' ¶ D no. 2673 ◇ Hardly here (⇔ Blz.) IE *sop- 'cane' (Mn. 1247) and S * $\sqrt{\hat{s}bb}$ 'grow, grow up' (actually 'ascend, climb') (> Mh $\sqrt{\hat{s}bb}$ 'climb, grow up', Ar $\sqrt{\check{s}bb}$ 'grow, grow up', šubb- 'jeunesse') ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 98c and ≈ Blz. DA 160 [no. 85] (suggesting to add D).

459. * $\hat{c}ip_{\downarrow}v_{\downarrow}æ$ (= * $\hat{c}ib_{\downarrow}v_{\downarrow}æ$?) 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' > HS: pS * $\sqrt{\hat{s}b\epsilon}$ 'have eaten one's fill, be sated' > BHb $\sqrt{\hat{s}b\epsilon}$ $\sqrt{\hat{s}b\epsilon}$ G id., 'have\get enough of...', adj. $\sqrt{\hat{s}b\epsilon}$ šā'bēaḷ 'satt'), $\sqrt{\hat{s}b\epsilon}$ 'šobāḷ 'satiating', Ug $\sqrt{\check{s}b\epsilon}$ G, OA $\check{s}b\epsilon$ (= $\sqrt{\hat{s}b\epsilon}$), IA $\sqrt{\check{s}b\epsilon}$ (traditional spelling for $\sqrt{s b \epsilon}$) (DR KAI no-s 222-3), SmA $\sqrt{s b \epsilon}$ G 'be sated', Sr $\sqrt{s b \epsilon}$, Ar $\sqrt{\check{s}b\epsilon}$ (pf. šabiḷa) id., JA $\sqrt{\check{s}b\epsilon}$ ~ $\sqrt{s b \epsilon}$ 'be satiated\satisfied', Sb Sh ḥšbḷ v. 'give in abundance', Sb, Hdr {MA}, Qt {Rk.} šbḷ-m 'abundantly, to satiety', Mn {MA} šbḷt 'satisfaction', Mh pf. šība, sbjn. y3š'be(ʔ), Hrs pf. šōba, sbjn. y3š'beʔ, Jb C pf. šēḷ, sbjn. y3š'baḷ, Sq pf. 'šebaḷ v. 'be satisfied', Ak: A (inf.) šabāḷ, B šebū (m) v. 'satt sein' ¶ KB 1214-16, KBR 1302-4, DR KAI no-s 222-3, A no. 2579, OLS 428, Js. 1516, Sl. 1188, Tal 561-2, BK I 1184-5, BGMR 131, MA 85, Rk. 164, Sd. 1207, MiK I no. 2.65 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} sépé 'sättigen' ¶ Eb. 91 ||| IE *speh- 'be sated' ({EI} *speh₁-, *speh₁(i)- 'be satisfied, be filled, thrive; be sated, prosper') > Ht {Pv., Ts.} ispaḷ- / ispiya- 'eat to satiety, be filled, get full' (ispaḷ < stative pf. *spoḥye-, 3p ispiyanzi < *spḥ₁y-onti) || NaIE *sp^(h)ēḷ-/*spī- and *spḥē-/*spḥa- 'be filled\sated, prosper' (× N *p.üH|Qy▽ (= *p.ügy▽?) 'to boil, to

get ready' [food], 'to ripen', q.v. ffd.) > OI \checkmark sphā-: pres. sphāyatē 'grows fat, increases (wird feist, nimmt zu)', Oss D äfsadun, Oss I äfsad3n v. 'eat to satiety', KhS spata- 'sated (gesättigt, satt)', spai- v. 'be rich\abundant\ satisfied' ¶¶ Ts. W 30, Frd. HW 429, Pv. I-II 429-3, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 680, P 983, EI 458, 500, M K III 541-2, M E II 776-7, Ab. I 479-80, Bai. 437, Ho. 312, Vs. III 734, StSS 620, Frn. 866, WH II 375-6, 573-4 || **A**: NaT *^oçil:jb- > OT {DTS, absent in Cl.} čiväg 'nutritiousness, satiety', {Cl., DTS} čivgin n.\adj. 'fattening (food)', čivginlen- v. 'be nourishing for the body' ¶ Cl. 396-7, DTS 147 || *Add. source* (with semantic and phonetic infl.) of Sv žūb- 'fill one's mouth with food' < K *žow- v. 'eat, graze' (< N *žuw∇ 'to eat, to taste', q.v.) ◇ If the Tg stem is adduced and the T one is not, the N rec. must be ≈ *š'a'Pfa ◇ If the accurate N rec. is *čib_L∇,fae, the IE cns. *p is due to as. (**sb- > *sp-).

460. *čä'U'R∇ 'calf of the leg, shank' > IE: NaIE {P} *sō_Lurā 'calf of the leg' > Gk Hm ἄωροι {P} '(those) without calves (?)' (ἄωροι πόδες {P} 'legs without calves' [?]), Gk I ὠρη {P} 'ε part of a sacrifice animal', 'calf of the leg (?)' || L sūrā 'calf of the leg' ¶¶ P 980, WH II 632, F I 205 || **HS**: mt. SES \checkmark šrf > Mh {Jo.} š3'rayn 'leg', {Jahn} śrayn 'shank' ('Unterschenkel'), Sq {Jo.} š3rf3hān 'legs' ¶ Jo. M 382, Jahn 242, Nak. 9 [no. 80] (Mh šrayn 'leg, foot') || **U**: FU *čäy∇r∇ 'shin, forearm' > F sār i 'shank, shin, leg, calf (of the leg)', Es sār 'shank, shin, the leg below the knee' | pMr {Ker.} *šäyāra > Er piíge-šejeřks, Mk piíge-šäjäř 'the lower part of the leg' (piíge, piíge means 'leg'), Er ked-šejeřks, Mk käd-šäjäřks 'forearm' (ked, käd means 'arm') | Prm *čä|ō|ř > Z kok-č3r 'shank' (kok- means 'leg') (× FU *šar∇ 'stalk' > Z I č3r 'stalk of plants'). LG reconstructed here *čär, but in the absence of Vt and Yz data no unequivocal rec. of the pPrm vw. is justified ¶ UEW 612, LG 311, Raun EKET 167, Ker. II 134.

461. *čur∇ 'vulva, vagina' > K *^očur- id. > Mg, Lz čuri id., possibly also G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (× N *čäR∇ 'female breast, udder') ¶ FS K 415 || **HS**: S \checkmark šrf > Ar řašřar, pl. šurf- 'pubis (surtout de la femme), bord du vagin' (× S *šrf 'hair' < N *šä'yo'y'i'ř∇ 'hair') ¶ BK I 1237-9 || B: Ah tāsässērut 'vagina of a female animal' ¶ Fc. 1650 || **D** *č|kūr- ~ *č|kūt- (< **č|kūr-t-) 'private parts' > Kui suti 'female urinal passage', Tm cūr u 'anus', cūt t u id., 'private parts', Ml cūt t u 'testicles, penis' ¶¶ D no. 2724.

462. *ĉUř∇ (or *ĉUry|ʔ∇?) 'to twist, to twine' > K *ĉar- id. > Sv li-nčr-e id. ('drehen, winden, zwirnen'), G (da-)car- v. 'unbraid, untwine (a rope)', {Chx.} 'aufdröseln, aufdrehen (Strick)' ¶¶ FS K 407, Fn. KW-3 51, Chx. 1976, 2048 || HS: SS *^o√šry > Gz √šry G (pf. šaraya) v. 'weave, spin', Tgy √sry (pf. sərreyə) v. 'weave' ¶ L G 536 || U: FU *^očor_L∇_Lk∇ > ObU *čārak 'fest gedreht, fest gebunden (Schnur)' > pVg *čarkā ~ *č+rkā 'fest gebunden (Schnur)' > Vg: T čarkā, LK širxə, MK/UK šorkə, P širka id.; pOs *čārak 'fest gedreht' > Os: Ty *čāraq, Nz šōrəχ id. ¶ Ht. 131 [no. 85] || D: [1] D *č|kūr-, {GS} *čūr- v. 'whirl, spin, move round' > Tm cural v. 'whirl, spin, rotate', Ml curali 'whirling', cural 'revolving', cūrā 'round about', Kt čulų 'whirlpool in river', Kn toral v. 'move round, turn round', Tu sulipini, sulipuni 'to whirl, to go round', ? Tl sudī a whirl, circle', sudīyū v. 'turn round', Kui dūrī 'rolling, writhing' ¶¶ D no. 2698 (a), Km. 501 (proposing a different et. for Tl sudīyū), GS 172 [no. 431], 53 [no. 134] || and/or ? [2] D ?φ *kūr- ~ *kūr- (= {Pf.} *kūr-/ *cūr-) v. 'wind spirally, roll, rotate' > Tm curi v. 'be spiral as conch, whirl round', Ml curuļuka v. 'be rolled up', curuṭṭuka v. 'roll up', Td tu·l- v. 'be rolled up', Kt čurñ- v. 'lie in coils (snake, rope)', Kn suruṭu, suruṇṭu vi. 'coil, roll up', Kdg tur+ḍ- v. 'be rolled up', tur+ṭ- vt. 'roll up', Tu suraļi, suruļi n. 'coil, roll of sth.', Prj čird- v. 'turn', Gdb sirł- v. 'revolve, rotate', Gnd suruṇḍ- v. 'roll', Krx kūr- v. 'tie a sari round one's waist', Mlt kuṛge v. 'roll up', Brh kūrūṇ id. ¶¶ *-r- in the D variant root *kūr- is still to be explained ¶¶ D no. 2684, Pf. 66-7, Em. DS 365 ¶¶ By D *k̑ (= {GS} *kj) we denote a phoneme yielding č in SD, CD, but k in Krx, Mlt and Brh (for discussion / Em. DS 363-9, GS 203-7) ◇ If the D cognate is *č|kūr-, the N rec. is *ĉUř∇, but if it is *kūr- (a less plausible alt.), we have to rec. N *ĉUry|ʔ∇ because D *-r- represents N *r-clusters, and the only N cnss compatible with the S ev. are *y, *h and *ʔ.

463. ₂ *ĉat∇ 'to separate, to scatter' > HS: S *^o√štt > Ar √štt G v. 'separate, disperse' ¶ BK I 1189 || IE {EI} *(s)ked- 'scatter' > NaIE *(s)k(h)ed- v. 'scatter, disperse' > Gk σκεδύννυμι 'I scatter, I disperse' || AS {Skeat} inf. scaterian 'to scatter, to squander', {Ho.} inf. to-scéacerian ({Ho.} to read: -terian) 'zerstreuen' > ME inf. scateren 'to scatter' > NE scatter; possible lexical interaction with the source of ME inf. schetteren 'to scatter, to disperse' and NE

shatter (etymological doublets of ME *scateren* and NE *scatter*??) || Tc A *kät-*, *kat-* 'répandre, jeter, disséminer', Tc B {Wn.} *kät-*, *kat-*, *śät-* id., {Ad.} *kät-* 'strew (to some purpose), sow' ¶ P 918-19 (without distinguishing this √ from NaIE **sk(h)ed-/*skend-* < N **ĉ̑d̑₁q̑* or **ĉ̑q̑d̑* 'to tear, to split' [q.v.]), EI 500, F II 721, Wn. I 211, Ad. 157, Ad. H 18, 47, Skeat 539, 554, Ho. 274, HDEL 1160.

464. **ĉ̑i₁w₁t̑* (more probable than **ĉ̑üt̑*) 'to split' > K: GZ **ĉ̑wet-/ *ĉ̑wit-* v. 'cut, chop' (× N **ĉ̑odh̑* 'break [esp. a body part], strike') > OG *çina-da-cuet-/ -cwit-* v. 'circumcise-', *da-cwet* id. (Ges. 17.24, Lev. 12.3), Lz *čit-* v. 'cut, chop' (e.g. *diška p-čit-up* 'I chop wood') ¶ FS K 410, Ser. 211, DCh. 1682, ≈ K² 271-2 (OG *cwet-/cwit-* 'circumcise' ← 'wear out') || HS: WS (+ext.) **√štr G* 'split, tear' > BHb *√štr N* (pf. *ništar*) 'burst open' (of ulcers, boils), Ar *√štr G* 'cut, split', IA *√štr* 'einbrechen', Gz *√štr G* 'rend, tear to pieces' ¶ GB 795, KBR 1363-4, BK I 1206, L G 537 || IE: NaIE **(s)ked- ~ *skejd-* (/ with a nasal infix: **(s)kend-*) 'split' (× N **ĉ̑d̑₁q̑* or **ĉ̑q̑d̑* 'to tear, to split' [q.v.]): **[1]** NaIE **(s)ked- / *(s)kend-* > OI [Dhat.] *skhadatē* 'splits' (< **sk^hŋd-*?) [{M} "fraglich"], Av *sčandayeiti* 'breaks into pieces, destroys', *skand-* 'break', NPrs *-شكَن* *šekān-* vt., vi. 'break' (inf. *šekāstān*), KhS *hatcañ-* 'break' (< **fra-sčanday-*) || Arm *շերտ* *šert* 'splinter of wood, chip' (< **sk^hedri*) || pAl {O} **čenya* > Al {Hamp} *çanj, çaj, {O} çaj* (aor. *çava*) 'split, cleave, smash' || Lt *skeder vā, skederlā* 'splinter', Ltv *Δšķedērnis* 'abgespaltenes Stück' || Sl **skodъ* > OCS *скѡдъ skodъ* (renders Gk *ἐνδεής* 'ermangelnd') in *ποσκѡδου* (*ποσκѡδου* 'little (wenig)', *скѡдо* 'little (wenig), scanty, scantily', {StSS} 'скудно, мало', R 'скуд-н-ый' 'scanty', Blg *о'скъден*, SCr *òskudan* 'scanty, poor' || **[2]** NaIE **skejd-* v. 'split' > OI *√chid-* (3s pres. *chi'natti, chindati, caus. chēdayati*) 'cut off\through, hew, chop, split', Av *saēd-* v. 'split', Blc *sindag* id. || Arm *ցտեմ* 'I rub the skin off, I scratch, I bruise' || Gk *σχίζω* 'split, cleave' || L *scindo / scīdī / scissum* v. 'cut, rend, tear asunder, split' || MBr {Ern.} *squegaff* 'to cut', *skigea, skija* 'découper, déchiqueter', Br *skejañ* 'couper, tailler, inciser' || Gt inf. *skaidan* (*χαρίζεω*) 'scheiden', OSx inf. *skêthan*, AS inf. *sćéadan*, OHG inf. *sceidan*, NHG, Dt inf. *scheiden* 'to separate' || Lt *skied-* (inf. *skíesti, 1s*

pres. $\varepsilon k i e d \check{z} i u$) 'separate (a fiber from a flax stalk \ from a thread)',
 ? Lt inf. $k i s t i$ (1s pres. $k i r n d u$, p. $k i d a u$) 'to get worn out' ¶ P 918-
 21 (without distinguishing IE $*(s)ked-$ 'split' from the paronymous $\sqrt{}$
 $*(s)k(h)ed-$ 'scatter', F N $*\hat{c}at\check{\nabla}$ 'to separate, to scatter'), Hamp AIEW
 148, O 49, M K III 506-7, M E II 561, Horn 175, BM 314, Bai. 449, F II
 838-40, Slr. 269, Ern. 645, Hm. 727, Frn. 233, 259, 799, 805-6, StSS
 482, 608, Vs. III 661, Wn. E-5 464-5, Fs. 427, KM 640-1, Kb. 872, \approx
 Ho. 272, Ho. S 66, HDEL 1191, Skeat 554 || D $*\check{c}it\check{\nabla}$ ($\{\theta GS\} *c|c-$) v.
 'harm, crush' > Tm $c i t a i$ 'be injured\spoiled, be broken', Tl $c i t u k u$,
 $c i d u k u$, $c i d i y u$ 'be crushed\broken\smashed', Knd $s i d l i$ 'be
 crushed (as an overripe fruit)', Mlt $c i t h g e$ v. 'squeeze out the seed or
 stone from a fruit' ¶¶ D no. 2526, Km. 354-5 ◇ D $*-t-$ (prob. from
 postcons. or precons. N $*t$. unlike D $*-t-$ < intervoc. N $*-t-$) and GZ $*w$
 suggest the presence of $*w$ in the N etymon ◇ IE $*k$ in $*(s)ked-$ ~
 $*skeid-$ belongs to the heritage of N $*\hat{c}\nabla g\nabla d\nabla$ ◇ An alt. conjecture:
 two Nostratic words: [1] N $*\check{c}|c\hat{o}t\check{\nabla}$ 'split' > GZ $*\check{c}wet-/ *c\check{w}it-$, NaIE
 $*sk_{\omega}ed-/ *sk_{\omega}end-$, D (in SD) $*\check{c}o\check{t}\check{t}-$ v. 'beat\strike (with fingers)' (>
 Tm $c o\check{t}\check{t}u$ v. 'strike with knuckles, tap gently [the udder of a goat for
 inducing the free flow of milk]', v. 'beat, hit, peck [as a crow]', Ml
 $c o\check{t}\check{t}u$ 'a slap on the head', $c o\check{t}\check{t}u k a$ v. 'rap with the knuckles, knock
 with the fingers [esp. on the head]', Tu $s\bar{o}n\check{t}u r i$ v. 'box with knuckles
 of the fingers' ¶ D no. 2836) and possibly amb WS $*\check{c}|\hat{s}tr$ (if the latter
 belongs here, the N etymon has an initial $*\hat{c}-$), [2] N $*\check{c}|c|\check{c}|\hat{c}i t h\check{\nabla}$ 'split,
 crush' > NaIE $*skeid-$, D $*\check{c}it\check{\nabla}-$ v. 'harm, crush' and possibly S $*\check{c}|\hat{s}dh$
 (> Ar $\check{c}|\hat{s}dh$ 'break [the head]'); D $*-t-$ (rather than $*-t-$, the reg. reflex
 of the N intervoc. $*-t-$) may go back to a cons. cluster, but the voiced S
 $*d$ has no explanation.

465. $*\hat{c}a|o\check{t}\check{\nabla}$ 'deviate from the right path, incline, be lame\cripple' >
 K $*\check{c}|c e\check{t}-$ > G $c e\check{t}-$ 'unbesonnen handeln', $c e\check{t}-i$ 'unbesonnen,
 leichtfertig' ¶ Chx. 1991-2, DCh. 1591 || HS: WS $*\check{c}|\hat{s}t y$ 'deviate from
 the right path' > BHb $\check{c}|\hat{s}t y|w$ (pf. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$, ip. 2m/3f $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$,
 ip. 3m $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$) id., MHb $\check{c}|\hat{s}t y$ (pf. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$), JA pf. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$
 ~ $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$, JEA $\check{c}|\hat{s}t y$ G 'deviate', SmA $\check{c}|\hat{s}t y$ G 'turn aside\away',
 Sr $\check{c}|\hat{s}t w$ (pf. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$) 'deflexit, aberravit', Md $\check{c}|\hat{s}t ?$ G 'turn
 aside, deflect, lead astray', Gz d. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t y$ (pf. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$) 'deviate from
 the right path, be bent, lean to one side', $\check{c}|\hat{s}t y a t$ 'misleading', Ar μ
 $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \check{t}$ (pf. $\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$) 'be far away' (< $*\check{c}|\hat{s}t \bar{a}$ 'go beyond the due distance'),

'go beyond the due bounds in offering a th. for sale and demanding a price for it' ¶ KB 1227, GB 782, Js. 972, Sl. 798, Br. 467, Tal 580-1, DM 323, Ln. 1548, Hv. 364, L G 578 || U: FU (att. in FP) *ćatt∇- 'limp, be lame' > Prm *ćot- (= {LG} *ćot-) id. > Z чот- ćot-, Vt чут- ćut- id. | Chr E {MRS} ча'тан, Chr Uf {Ü} чатаН 'a lame person, cripple' (belongs here if ч = ć) ¶ ≈ UEW 611 (*ćat∇, although Chr -t- and Prm *-t- point to FU *-tt-), MRS 241, Ü 668, LG 310 || D: [1] D (att. in SD) *ć|kott- ({ǵGS} *c-?) 'lame' > Tm cottti 'lameness, crippledom; lame person', Ml cottti-kaḷ 'withered hand', Kt ćot 'deep depression on the arm where rope\chain has been tied', ćot gay 'one arm smaller than the other' (sc. 'is withered'), Kn cotttu, sotttu 'crooked(ness)', cotta, sottta 'a male with crooked\crippled limbs', cottti, sottti 'a woman with crippled limbs'; [2] (less certain) D *ćotṭ- ({ǵGS} *ć-?) 'crooked, lame' > Tm cotṭaḷ 'crookedness, bend as in the sheath of a sword', Ml catṭu 'lameness', catṭa 'person with bent feet, lame', Kn cotṭa, cotṭi, cotṭu, sotṭa, sotṭu 'crooked(ness)', Tu cotṭu, cotṭa, sotṭa 'handless, maimed in the hand', Krg cõṇṭe 'lame person', Tl cotṭa, sotṭa 'lame(ness), crooked(ness)', Gdb m. soṭaṭonḍ / f., ntr. soṭiṭe, Png cõṭa, Ku sõti ḍ sotta, soto ḍ soṭā 'lame', Brh cõṭ 'crooked' ¶¶ D no. 2838 ¶¶ In D *ćotṭ- the unexpected cns. *-ṭṭ- is probably due to a prehistoric sx or to contamination with a different word.

466. *^rĉ^r ^u ^w ^l [?] [∇] 'meat' > HS: Ch: WCh: NrBc: Kry {Sk.} šíwì, My {Sk.} šíwíyá, P' šúwí, Sir šùyí, {IL} *šúwì, Wrj {Sk.} šūná, {IL} šúnà, Cg {Sk.} šún 'meat, animal' | Sbc: Kir {Sh.} šo, Tala {Sh.} šū, Jm {Grgs} šo, Buli }Sl.} šū, Tule {Sh.} šawò, Wng {Sh.} šau, Zar {Sh.} šu, Bg {Sh.} sáw 'meat' | Ngz {Sch.} šùwáḷ (pl. šùwàwín) 'meat, animal' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} žù, Hona {Mk} šua 'meat' | HgNk/FIK {ChL} šti id. | Lmn {Mk.} šui id. | Mdr {ChL} xuwà, {Mk} hɣuwa, Glv {Rp.} šùw, {ChL} šuwà, Gdf {IL} šúwà, Dgh {IL} šúwè, Ngs {IL} šžbó id. | Mtk {Sb.} žúwêḍ 'meat', MfG {Brr., JI} ášjw 'viande; chair animale (viande ou poisson)', pMM {Ro.} *šaw > Mkt {Ro.} šžb, Myn {Ro.} àšó, Vm/Zlg {Ro.} šùwe/a 'meat', Mada {BLB} oššo 'meat, flesh' | Gdr {Mch.} šwa 'meat' | Lgn {Bou.} šù, {Mch.} šu, šwa id. ¶ JI II 232-3, JS II 177 (pCh *š∇w- 'meat'), ≈ Nw. ChCR 29 [no. 83] (pCh *hləw- = *šilw- 'meat, animal'; Newman. did not distinguish this root from WCh {Stl.} *luw∇ 'animal, meat'), Stl. ZCh 200 [no. 515] (WCh. *ĉaw^ra¹y 'meat'), Sk. NB 31, Sch. DN 163, Ro. 253

[no. 278], 290 [no. 459], Brr. MG II 78, BLB 163, ChC s.v. 'meat', ChV || C: Bj {R} $\text{sa}^?$, {Rop.} šā 'meat' || EC * $\text{s}0\text{ʔ}$ - 'meat' > Or $\text{f}\bar{0}$ -ni, Kns {Bl.} $\text{s}\acute{0}\omega$ -ā, Gdl {Ss.} $\text{s}0\text{ʔ}$ -a d soh -a, Msl $\text{s}\acute{0}\text{h}$ -ā, Gato, Bss $\text{s}\acute{0}\text{ʔ}$ -a, Bs $\text{s}\bar{0}$, Dsn {To.} $\text{s}\acute{0}$, Elm $\text{s}0\omega\text{ʔ}$, Arr {Hw.} $\text{s}\acute{0}\text{ʔ}$ 'meat' ¶ R WBd 208, Rop. 235, Bl. 205, Ss. PEC 50, 52, To. DL 526, Hw. A 394 || possibly (not certainly) S * $\hat{\text{s}}\text{ay}$ - 'sheep' > BHb $\text{h}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{š}\bar{\text{e}}$ (+ppa.: $\text{h}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{š}\bar{\text{e}}\text{y}$ - $\bar{0}$ ~ $\text{h}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{š}\bar{\text{e}}\text{y}$ - $\bar{e}\text{h}\bar{u}$ 'his sheep'), Ph, Ug š , OA $\text{š}^{\text{p}}\text{t}$, Ar šā^{p} - (coll.), sgl. $\text{šā}^{\text{p}}\text{t}$ - ~ šahat -, Sb šh , Ak fOB $\text{š}\hat{\text{u}}\text{m}$, $\text{š}\hat{\text{u}}^{\text{p}}\text{u}$, Ak mA $\text{š}\bar{\text{u}}\text{bu}$ 'sheep' ¶ KB 1221-2, HJ 1094-5, A no. 2561, OLS 424, Ln. 1623-4, BGMR 132, Sd. 1255, CAD XVII/3 417 || IE: Ht {Ts.} $\text{z}\text{u}\omega\text{a}$ 'food, bread' ¶ Ts. W 111 || D * $\hat{\text{c}}^{\text{r}}\text{u}^{\text{v}}$ - 'flesh, meat' > Brh $\text{s}\bar{u}$, Gnd $\text{sa}\text{v}\bar{\text{i}}$ d $\text{sa}\text{v}\text{v}\bar{\text{i}}$ d $\text{sa}\omega\omega\bar{\text{i}}$ d $\text{sā}\omega\bar{\text{i}}$, $\text{ʔ}\phi\text{Tm}$ $\text{t}\bar{u}$, $\text{t}\bar{u}\text{v}\text{u}$, $\text{t}\text{u}(\text{v})\text{v}\text{a}\bar{\text{i}}$ id., $\text{ʔ}\phi\text{MI}$ $\text{t}\text{u}\text{v}\text{a}$ 'raw flesh' ¶¶ D no. 3373 || See also E: MEI, NEI $\text{š}\text{u}\text{h}\bar{\text{i}}$ (unknown meaning, but possibly connected with 'sheep': it is used after the word for 'sheep': 26 $\text{h}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-d}\text{u}\text{-me}$ $\text{š}\text{u}\text{-h}\bar{\text{i}}$ '26 sheep $\text{š}\text{u}\text{-h}\bar{\text{i}}$ ') ¶¶ HK 1176 ◇ MfG {Brr.} $\acute{\text{a}}\hat{\text{s}}\bar{\text{u}}\omega$ 'viande; chair animale (viande ou poisson)', Myn {Ro.} $\acute{\text{a}}\hat{\text{s}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'meat', Mada {BLB} $\text{u}\hat{\text{s}}\hat{\text{s}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'meat, flesh' may be alternatively equated with NrOm \approx * $\text{a}\check{\text{c}}$ - 'meat' (> Bnc {Wdk.} $\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{c}}$, Ym {Wdk.} $\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{a}}$, Wl {LmS} $\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\text{u}\omega\text{a}$ etc. 'meat' [see LmS 298-9]), with Awn {LmS} $\text{z}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{s}}$ 'meat, flesh' and with T * $\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{c}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'goat' (Cl. 24) ◇ The N lr. * ʔ is suggested by Ngs and Mkt -h - (< * $\text{-}\omega\text{ʔ}$ -) and by EC * $\text{-}\text{ʔ}$ -. Alternatively, a N lr. * -h - may underlie Ar, Gdl and Msl -h - and Sb h . Ht z - [c-] suggests that the N initial cns. was an affricate (* $\hat{\text{c}}$ - rather than * $\hat{\text{s}}$ -) ◇ Blz. DA 152 [no. 2] (D, HS, E), Blz. NDA no. 2 (D, HS).

467. $\text{c}\hat{\text{c}}\nabla\chi\nabla$ 'to burn (brûler)' > K * $\hat{\text{c}}\chi$ - v. 'burn, make hot', 'scorch' (of the sun) > Sv $\check{\text{s}}\chi$ -, $\check{\text{s}}\text{i}\chi$ - vt., vi. 'burn', UB/LB msd. {TK, GP} $\text{li-}\check{\text{s}}\chi$ -i vt. 'burn', OG, G $\text{c}\chi$ - v. 'make hot, scorch' (of the sun) (Marc 4.6), 'be hot' (of weather), Mg d. $\check{\text{c}}\chi\text{ana}$ - 'heat, hot weather', Lz $\check{\text{c}}\chi$ - v. 'be hot' (of weather), 'roast', Sv $\check{\text{s}}\chi$ -, $\check{\text{s}}\text{i}\chi$ - 'burn' ¶¶ K 231, K² 274-5, FS K 415-16, TK 467, GP 180 || HS: C {E} * $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}_{\text{L}}\omega_{\text{J}}$ - vt. 'burn' > Dhl {To.} $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}$ - v. 'put on fire', {EEN} $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}$ - burn up' || C $\text{b}\rightarrow$ Mb $\text{-}\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ʔ}\text{i}\check{\text{z}}\text{a}$ vt. 'burn', $\text{-}\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}\acute{\text{a}}$ vi. 'burn' ¶ ? E PC no. 567, E SC 210 (reconstructsing SC * $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{h}$ - vt. 'burn' on the basis of Dhl and Ma'a), EEN 26, To. D 142 || ? A: OT $\check{\text{c}}\text{a}\text{v}\text{a}\text{r}$ 'kindling' (Cl. ED 398); the T $\check{\text{v}}$ is ambiguous: it may belong to N * $\hat{\text{c}}\nabla\text{h}\omega\nabla$ 'to burn' (brûler) as well.

468. * $\hat{\text{c}}\nabla\text{y}_{\text{L}}\text{r}_{\text{J}}\nabla$ 'girl, (younger) sister' > K * $\text{c}\hat{\text{c}}|\text{ca}$ > G Gr ca (voc. $\text{ca}\text{-}\text{v}$!), $\text{c}\bar{\text{i}}\text{c}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'girl' ¶ The form $\text{c}\bar{\text{i}}\text{c}\bar{\text{a}}$ is on the analogy of G $\text{c}\bar{\text{i}}\text{c}\bar{\text{a}}\text{v}$ - 'liebepoll ansehen' or due to ideophonic associations (Ll.?) ¶ Chx. 1972, 2011 ||

IE: NaIE *^osey_LH_J- 'sister' > BSI *sey- > Lt Δ {Otk.} sēja ~ sēja id. | SCr sēja id. *end.* ¶ Otk. DME 195, Tls. 539 || **U:** FU *^oć∇y∇ 'sister' > Prm *ćoy > Z чой ćoy id., Z I ćojko id. (*end.*; -ko is an endearment sx) | ?? F sikko, Krl {Wc.} čikko, Krl Δ {SK} sikko, Vp čika 'sister'*end.*; BF *-kko is an diminutive sx ¶ The adduction of BF is valid unless these BF words are a hyporistic contraction from *sisar-kko, a diminutive from *sisar 'sister' (a BF loan from Baltic) ¶ LG 308-9, Wc. FUA 254, SK 1043 ||

HS: S *^o✓šy|wɣ > Ar شاعة šāʿ-at- (< *šayaf-at-?) 'woman, wife' (unless derived from the verb ✓šyɣ 'accompany') ¶ BK I 1298.

469. ₂ *ĉAɣ∇ 'be lost, die' > **HS:** S *^o(-)šūɣ- > Ar *^o-šūɣ- G 'perish', 'be lost, be led astray' (of a thing) ¶ BK II 47, Hv. 423 || **D** *ĉ|kā- ({θGS} *s-) 'die (sterben)' > Tm cā-, Ml cāka- / p. catt- id., Kt kār̄ ĉāv 'person who dies somewhere so that his body is not found' (kār̄ 'jungle'), Td soy-, Kn sāy, Kdg ĉa| (p. catt-), Tu saip̄i-, Tl caccu / cā- / cāv-, Png, Mnd, Ku hā-, Prj ĉay-, Gnd say- ɘ ĉay- ɘ sā-, Knd sā-, Kui sāvva (p. sāt-), Krx xep̄e-na / keč̄as, Mlt keye / kec-, Brh kah̄iŋ 'die' ¶¶ D no. 2426, Em. *C 366.

470. *ĉ¹a¹ɣb∇ '(ε) fish' > **HS:** S *^o✓šɣɣ > Ar ضئب ǧiɣb- {Fr., BK} 'animal living in water, animal marinum', {Bel.} 'fish' ¶ Fr. III 1, BK II 1, Bel. 428 || ? NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} čóṛá 'fish' ¶ Blz. OL no. 173, Wdk. BY 120 || ? Eg G ɣbḥ '(ein Gewässer mit dem Netz) durchfischen', ɣbḥ.ω '(ε) Fischer', ?? Eg Md ɣdb '(ε) fish' ¶ EG V 568, 633 ¶¶ ≈ Blz. OL no. 173 (reconstructing HS *čabuɣ/ɣ 'water creature' > NrOm, SC [Brn čambeɣu, Alg čembeɣu 'frog', WCh [Hs çùmbē 'ε frog'] and S; but the SC and WCh words can be better explained as belonging to HS {OS} *ĉamb- 'lizard, frog' [see OS no. 581]), HCVA III 42 (Ym čóṛá and presumably related words in other lges of the HS family) || **A:** T *čap'ak (> *čabak ~ *čapak) '(ε) a small freshwater fish' (= 'Cyprinidae' ?) > OT [MhK] čabaq '(ε) small freshwater fish', Chg [San.] čabak 'ε small fish', Tk çapak, Az čapaq, Qq šabaq, CrTt čapaq 'bream (*Abramis*)', Tkm čapaq, Nog šabaq 'Caspian roach', Uz čav̄oq 'roach', Qmq, Kr čabaq 'fish', Qzq šabaq ba|iq {Sht.} 'bream, small fry', {MM} 'small fish (рыбешки)', VTt чабак šabaq, Bsh sabaq 'roach (плотва, сорожка)', Qrg čabaq '(all kinds of) small fish', QK {B} čabaq 'small fish, all kinds of *Cyprinidae* fish', Alt/Tel {Rl.} čabaq '(ε) small fish', Alt čabaq 'чебак (ε small fish)', Tv šav̄aɣa 'small fish', Chv L çyпax šub_aχ, Chv Δ çopax ɘ çyпax ɘ çopak 'bream' ¶ TL 177, Cl. 395, Rs. W 99. Dr. TM III no.

1061, DTS 135, KumRS 351, Sht. 227, MM 385, KRPS 619, Jud. 831, B DLT 219, RI. III 1928, BT 174, Ash. XII 248, Fed. II 138, Jeg. 219 || D *čopp- '(ε) fish or sim.' > Krx {Hahn} coppō 'young frogs', coppō injō 'prawn fish' (injō 'fish'), Mlt {Drs.} cope-mínu 'cuttlefish' (mínu means 'fish'), ?? D (in McTm) *čamp- > Tm campai 'fish', Ml campā 'a fish, boatload of fishes' ¶¶ D *-pp- goes back to N *-ʔb- ¶¶ D no-s 2348 and ≈ 2848, Hahn KD 33, 69 ◇ The vl. *-p- in pT and the glottalized p̥ in Ym are due to the infl. of N *ʔ, sc. N *-ʔb- > T *-p- (> -p- / -b-), Ym p̥. D *o (rather than *a) may be due to the assimilating influence of *p.

471. ₂ *čabʔʔ 'war', 'warriors, host' > HS: S *č̣bʔ v. 'make war, fight' > BHb č̣bʔ G, Sb č̣bʔ, Gz č̣bʔ G ~ (late spelling) č̣bʔ G id., Ak č̣bʔ G (inf. č̣abū) 'zu Felde ziehen'; the n. act. ('war' > 'host') is represented in BHb 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 čābā 'military men, troops', Ug {A} č̣bʔ 'troops, army' (not mentioned in OLS!), Sb č̣bʔ 'military operation, battle', Gz č̣abʔ 'war', Ak č̣ābu 'people, soldiers, army'; Cn ↪ Eg N [in cuneiform script] 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 čā-bi-ʔi, 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 čā-bi-ʔu₃ (= *č̣abiʔu) 'troops, army' ¶ KB 933-5, KBR 994-7, A no. 2299, L G 544-5, BGMR 40, EG V 562, Hoch no. 573 || A *č̣abu 'army, war' > Tg (+ an ancient sx?) *č̣abuka 'army, war' > Neg č̣awxa ~ č̣auxa, Nn Nh/KU č̣aoxa, Ul č̣auxa id., Sln č̣o'xa, Orc č̣auxa, Ud {Krm.} č̣awa 'army', WrMc {Z} č̣ooxa 'army, soldier', Jrc {Kiy.} č̣auxa ežehēi 'military commission' (Gru.: an err. interpetation as 'military official' based on an error in copying the Chn translation) ¶ STM II 402, Krm. 309, On. 499, Z 942-3, Kiy. 112 [no. 278], Gru. SSJ no. 278, Md. ChF 138 || T (+ext.) *č̣a:bu'č̣ > OT č̣abuš ~ č̣avuš 'military commander', Tk č̣avuš 'sergeant, guard', Kr č̣avuš 'senior worker (старший над работниками)', Qmq č̣avuš 'herald'; T ↪ NPrs چاوش č̣āvuš 'Feld-gendarm, Hofwächter' ↪ Az č̣ovuš 'leader of a pilgrimage' ¶ Cl. 399, Dr. TM II no. 1055, Akd. 499, KRPS 620, KumRS 361, ≈ Rs. W 101 (T ↪ Prs) || M *č̣aʔur (< **č̣aβur) > MM {H} č̣a'ur 'Kriegszug, Raid', {Vld.} č̣oura 'alarm\turmoil of war', HIM {Vld.} cūrā 'war, troubles (civil war), army', Brt cyur cērэг 'army' (cērэг alone also means 'army'), Ord č̣'irik č̣'ūr 'soldats, armée' (č̣'irik means 'soldier') ¶ H 26, Vld. 209, Chr. 397, 404. Ms O 708, 719 || pJ {S} *tupa- > OJ tupa-m(w)ono, MJ tuḫamono 'army, weaponry, weaponl soldier, warrior', J T cūwamono, J K/Kg cuwamono 'soldier, warrior' ¶ S QJ no. 1110, Mr. 558, Kenk.

2078 ¶¶ SDM 406-7 (pA *ĉ'abu 'army, war' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 257, Vld. 209.

472. *ĉ'æbʿ∇ 'shoulder' > HS: S *^oʕab_L ∇_Lʿ- > Ar ضَبْعٌ ʕ̣'abʿ- 'arm, upper part of the arm', ✓ ʕ̣'abʿ *Gt* (pf. ضَطَبَعْتُ ʕ̣'abʿaʕa) v. 'wrap oneself in a cloak in covering the left shoulder and leaving the right uncovered' ¶ Hv. 413 || U: FU *šepä 'neck, nape of the neck' > F sepä, F Δ sepī, sevi 'hochgebogener Vorderteil des Schlittens', Est seba id., 'Heunetz, welches das Heufuder umschließt', F sepalus 'collar' | pLp {Lr.} *čēpēt̄tē ~ *čēpōt̄tē 'neck' > Lp: N {N} čæbět / čævě 'neck (whole of) or throat (outside); collar on clothing', L {LLO} tjiepēt, S {Hs.} tjeäbuoh, Kld ča_L:p:at 'neck' | pMr {Ker.} *sīwə > Er сиве sívé, Mk сиве sívā 'collar on a shirt' | Chr L шҗй, E {Ps.} šüy, M/B šüy 'neck', Chr H {Ep.} шҗ 'collar' | pPrm *ś+- in Z сикөтш sí-kэč 'beads' (lit. 'neck-circle') and in pPrm *śiyes (< *ś+yes) 'horse's collar' > Z сийөс síyэс, Yz sí'yʌs, Vt сиес síyes id.; pPrm *śú-ʿ- 'neck' (*-ʿ- is a sx) > Z сьылі ś+li, Z LVc śili, Yz śʌ'li id., Z ś+v- in ś+vуз зšzdč+n+ 'to throw oneself on so.'s neck', Vt сильсьөр śil'-śэр 'nape' (lit. 'hind part of the neck') || ObU *šīp(∇) 'neck' > pVg *šīp > Vg (partially in cds): LK šip, MK/UK/UL/Ss sip, P šip ~ š+p 'collar'; pVg *šīp-lūw 'neck' (*lūw means 'bone') > LK šipłow, P š+pluw ~ šupluw, Ss sipluw 'neck'; pOs *sāpəl 'neck' > Os: V/Vy sāwəl, Ty/Y sāpəč, D/K sāpət, Nz sapət, Kz sapəč, O sāpəl id. ¶ UEW 473-4, Sm. 548 (FU, FP *šepä, Ugr *sepä 'neck'), It. no. 334, Ht. no. 600 (and no. 352), LG 255, 271, Lr. no. 130, Hs. 1310, MRS 74, Ep. 157, Ps. OT 132, SZ 357, Lt. J 181, 183, Ker. II 143-4 || D *č'kapp- ~ *č'képp-, {GS} *žabb- 'shoulder, outer side of the thigh' > Tl jabba id., Tm сарраḷ 'hips, haunch, shoulder blade', серру 'hip', ? арру 'thigh', Kn сарре 'the hip bone', Δ jabbe 'outer side of the thigh', Prj žabba, Knd zeba 'shoulder', Gnd aṭa žaba id. ¶¶ D *-pp- goes back to N *-bʿ- ¶¶ D no. 2339, GS 90 [no. 261] ◇ The U cognate and D *č'képp- point to N *e, while D *č'app- (and S *^oʕabʿ-) suggests N *ä (or *a).

473. *ĉ'i'ib∇ʿ∇ (or *ĉ'i'ib∇ʿ∇) 'hyena' > HS: WS *^oʕabuʿ- ~ *š'a'buʿ- id. > PBHb [BS] {ESh} çā'bō_aʿ, BHb [Mas.] צַבְבָּ צַבְבָּ ʕ̣'ā'bū_aʿ 'hyena' (ū for ō due to folk et. interpreting the words as a pp. צַבְבָּ צַבְבָּ ʕ̣'ā'bū_aʿ 'a dyed one'), pl. צַבְבָּ צַבְבָּ ʕ̣'abō'ʿ-īm, Sr צַבְבָּ ʕ̣'apʿ-ā (? < ʿ- by dis.), Ar ضَبْعٌ ʕ̣'abuʿ- ~ ضَبْعٌ ʕ̣'abʿ-, Gz ʕ̣'ibō ʕ̣'abʿ 'hyena' ¶ GB 672, KBR 997, ESh MH

1118, L G 147, Br. 42, KB 936 || IE {Blz.} *^ostib_l^h₁-yo- (× N *^ǰæʔ∇b∇ [= *^ǰeʔ∇b∇ʔ] 'ε beast of prey' and *^ǰæ|ab∇'y'∇ 'ε horned animal') > Sl *^ostbbjb 'wild cat' > ChS СТЬБАБЬ стьбьбь, OPol zdeb ⇨ zdbik > Pol źbik 'wild cat' ¶ IE *st- belongs to the heritage of N *^ǰæ|ab∇'y'∇ ¶ Blz. NDAP 20-1, Brü. 649-50, Mikl. L 899-900 || A: Tg *^oçib|pka > Ewk A çipkakū 'wolf' ¶ STM II 399 || D *^oč|ki∇∇ηki 'hyena, tiger wolf' or sim. (× N *^ošib∇ç∇ 'beast of prey' × N *^ož'iw∇m₁∇₁gE 'leopard' or 'lion') > Kn sivarŋgi 'tiger wolf, hyena', Tl civãgi, civvãgi, civvarŋgi, sivãgi, sivarŋhi, sivvarŋgi 'hyena', as well as Tm civirŋki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civirŋi 'hunting leopard' ¶¶ D no. 2579 ◊ AD NM no. 2, ≠ S CNM 14 (rejecting the comparison, because in his opinion Ewk çipkaku 'wolf' is a loan from Alt čepke 'wolverine', which is hard to believe because of the enormous distance between the Altay-Kizhi lge in Southwestern Siberia and the Ayan dialect of Ewk [close to the Pacific coast]), ≠ Vv. AEN 14 (doubts about Ewk çipkaku as a cognate, because it is isolated within A).

474. ?σ₂ *^oč̂ôb∇R∇ 'press together, squeeze (as in a fist)' > HS: S *^o✓š̂br > Ar ضبر ✓š̂br (ip. -š̂bur-) {Ln.} 'make (books, writings) into a bundle; collect together (books, writings), collect together an army for war', {BK} 'assembler, réunir les feuillets en cahiers', ✓š̂br D 'assembler, réunir' ¶ Ln. 1764, BK II 5 || U: FU *^oš̂|śu|ow∇r- > FP *^ośu|ow∇r- 'squeeze, press together' > Er šuvorda-, śurda-, inf. сюворд-амс, Mk śuvārda- 'press together, squeeze (in a fist)' | ?σ Lp S {Hs.} tjuoveridh 'müssen, sollen, dürfen' | Es sōōruta- 'make milk flow (by rubbing the teats)' (← *'squeeze') | Prm {LG} *^ośur- 'collect, gather in one place' > Z сюртчы- vi. śurtčī- 'accrete, grow together', 'unite into one group', сюрт- śurt- vt. 'tuck up (подтыкать) (a haystack after stowing the hay)' ¶ LG 275, MF 594-5, Hs. 1349-50, ≠ UEW 487 (FU *^ośor∇ 'eng; eng werden, sich verengen' > Prm *^ośur-, ObU [{Ht.} *^osār-] > Vg {Ht.} *^osār† 'kleiner Sumpf, schmaler Landstreifen' and Os {Ht.} *^osārt 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' [see Ht. no. 601], Hg szorul- 'sich verengen' [and related Hg word with the root szor-]; Ht. did not recognize the connection of Prm *^ośur- with the above-mentioned BF and Lp words).

475. ₂ *^oč̂∇₁ç̂₁∇₁g∇ (possibly *^oč̂∇č̂₁∇₁g∇ ~ *^oč̂∇ç̂₁g∇) 'squeeze, press' > HS: SC: Irq č̂eq- 'squeeze', Kz č̂ak- v. 'pinch' ¶ E SC 360, E K 20 || S *^o✓š̂yķ 'be narrowed\straitened\pressed' (× N *^oč̂iķ∇ 'tight,

narrow, dense', q.v. ffd.) || **K**: [1] GZ *id.* *č̣eč̣q̣- 'press, squeeze' > G č̣eč̣q̣- *id.*, {Chx.} '(zer-)drücken, (zer-)quetschen, (zer-)malmen, (zer-)treten', Mg č̣q̣ač̣q̣- {FS, K} 'press, squeeze', [2] GZ *id.* *č̣q̣eč̣q̣- 'einklemmen, quetschen, drücken' > G {FS} č̣q̣eč̣q̣-, Mg č̣q̣ač̣q̣- *id.* ¶ K 255, FS K 455, 475, FS E 515-16, 538-9, Chx. 2246 ¶ The initial affricates *č̣- and *č̣- are due to as. ◇ Doubtful, because the S cognate has a good alt. etymology ◇ It is possible that both the HS and the K roots belong together with N *č̣iḲ▽ 'tight, narrow', which in such a case must be reconstructed as *č̣i q̣▽.

476. (2?) *č̣▽ḥẉ▽ 'to burn' (vt.) (→ 'to warm' [of the sun], 'heat of the day') > **K** *č̣ẉ- vt., vi. 'burn', vt. 'bake, fry' > OG č̣u ẉ-, G č̣ṿ- v. 'burn, roast', Mg, Lz č̣(ṿ)- v. 'burn, be hot' (of the sun), 'fry', Sv -č̣- (pres. -äč̣i) v. 'bake (up to dryish consistency), scorch', msd. UB li-č̣-i ¶¶ Mach. K 29-30, K 250, K DE 359, K² 310, Chx. 2144-7, DCh. 1674, Q 392-3, Dn. s.v. -č̣-, GP 187 || **HS**: WS *√ṣ̌ḥy > Ar ṣ̌iḥḥ- 'soleil, éclat du soleil', ṣ̌uḥā, ṣ̌uḥayy- 'heure du jour où le soleil est déjà élevé sur l'horizon; soleil', OETH *ṣ̌aḥay > Gz (modern pronunciation), Tgr, Tgy ḡḥay 'sun' ¶ BK II 10, 13, L G 149 || **C**: SC: Alg {E} č̣aḥ- v. 'set out to dry'; ??φ Irq {MQK} č̣ēfama 'sunshine, midday sun, warmth', č̣īf- v. 'get hot, be at sth.'s highest temperature' ¶ E SC 360 (reconstructing pRt *č̣aḥ-), MQK 108 || ? **A**: OT č̣aṿar 'kindling' (Cl. ED 398); the T √ is ambiguous: it may belong to N *č̣▽χ̣▽ 'burn' (brûler) as well.

477. 2 *č̣oḲfE (= *č̣og̣fE?) 'sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position' > **HS**: WS *√ṣ̌g̣f v. 'lie down' > Ar ضجع √ṣ̌g̣f G 'lay down one's side upon the ground, lie down', 'set' (of a star), Gz √ṣ̌g̣f G v. 'make up a bed, lean upon', Tgr ḡg̣g̣a v. 'lean against, lie down' ¶ Ln. 1769, BK II 9, L G 148-9 || WCh: [1] NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} caḳ^wat v. 'kneel, squat', Cg {Sk.} ẓ̌ugu *id.* | ? Ngz {Sch.} ẓ̌ōḳúlólok 'in a squatting position' | [2] ? WCh {Stl.} *č̣ug̣- v. 'squat' > Hs č̣úg̣nā {Ba.} v. 'squat on the heels', {Abr.} 'squatted on the heels', č̣ùg̣né 'act of squatting' | pNrBc {Stl.} *√cg̣ v. 'sit' > Wrj {Sk.} c3g3, My/Mbr {Sk.} č̣3g3, Cg {Sk.} č̣3gu *id.* ||| ECh: Bdy {AIJ} ẓ̌ókòm 'squat (s'accroupir)' ¶ Sk. NB 28, 40, Stl. ZCh 184 [no. 355], Sch. DN 85, Abr. H 890-1, Ba. 1044, AIJ 85 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 275 ¶¶ The voiced cns. *g̣ in S and Ch may be either original or resulting from an as. *k|ḳf > *g̣f || **A** *č̣oḳ^ræ¹- v. 'incline, sink, squat' > T *č̣öḳ- ({Md.} *č̣öḳ^r-) v. 'kneel down' (→ 'sink') > OT č̣öḳ- v. 'kneel' (esp. of camels), 'sink' (kōḡūlūm č̣ōkti qorqtı 'my heart sank and

was afraid'), XwT čök- v. 'kneel, collapse', Chg čök- v. 'subside', MQp čök-, Qrg čök-, StAlt {BT} čög-ödö- v. 'kneel', Tk ɟök-, Qzq šök- v. 'sink, kneel', Tkm čök-, Qq šök-, Nog šök-/ šög-, Uz чўк- čwk- v. 'kneel, sink', Az čök- v. 'sink', diz čök- v. 'kneel', ET {Nj.} čök- v. 'sink', tiz čök- v. 'kneel', Ggz čök- v. 'sink', Qmq čök- v. 'squat, sink', VTt ɟŷg- v. 'sink' (of a building), Bsh süg- id., 'kneel', Yk söx- v. 'sink', ? süg-ürüy-, Chv L {Ash., Fed., Jeg., ChVS} ɟăk- šьk/g- ~ {Jeg.} ɟăx- 'sink (as ears of cereals)', Chv L ɟăkăh- šьg_ьh-, Chv Δ. {Md.} šьk_ьh- v. 'kneel'; T (Tk?) → OG [KC], G čok- v. 'kneel down (niederknien)', čok-i 'knieende Stellung', Mg čok- v. 'kneel' ¶ Cl. 413-14, Rs. W 117, TkR 738, Sht. 239, TatR 651, Nj. 392, BT 181, Pek. 2312, 2379, Ash. XIII 7-8, Fed. II 90-1, Jeg. 205, 208, ChVS 180, Md. 51, Chx. 1944-5, DCh. 1581, KEGL VIII 532 || M: [1] MM [MA] čokē- v. 'squat, make (a camel) squat' (← T?) ¶ Pp. MA 136 || [2] M *čökü- > WrM čökü- {MED} v. 'dispare, lose hope. be unable to cope with', HIM цəxə- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be unable (to do sth.) dispare, lose hope', WrM {MED} čökürē- v. 'dispare, be frustrated or exhausted', HIM цəxрə- {MED} id., {BMR} 'lose hope, dispare, in Verzweiflung geraten (приходить в отчаяние)', Brt сүжэр- id., Kl {KRS} цəкр- 'dispare, in Verzweiflung geraten (отчаиваться, приходить в отчаяние)', {Rm.} cökṛ- 'in Verzweiflung geraten, ganz die Hoffnung verlieren', Ord žökḥörö- 'perdre tout espoir, être à bout de patience, se dégoûter', Dg čakaral 'Ermüdung, Müdigkeit', ??φ Mnr {SM} č'üguo 'eclipse' ¶ SDM 450 (pM *čökü- 'lose all hope, be a beggar'), MED 201, BMR IV 271, Chr. 400, KW 434, Ms. O 212-13, T DgJ 180, SM 461 || Tg *çokō- v. 'squat' > Ewk çokō- v. 'squat', Ul čoqčōžō- v. 'squat down, squat', Nn Nh {On.} čoqčomian-, {STM} čoqčomja- v. 'squat down', čoqčorāčj- v. 'be squatting' ¶ STM II 404, On. 513 || pJ {S} *tuku-(m)pap- v. 'squat, crouch' > OJ tuku-bap-, J T cukuba- id. ¶ S QJ no. 564. Kenk. 2061 || pKo {S} *čùk- v. 'squat; bow/incline' → v. 'die' → *čùk-yò- v. 'kill' > MKo čùk, NKo čuk- v. 'die', MKo čùskùr- v. 'squat', MKo čùkyù-, NKo čugi- v. 'kill' ¶ SDM97 55, S AJ 252 [no. 17], S QK no. 17, Nam 63, 433-4, MLC 219, 1470, 1494, 1503-4 ¶¶ SDM 450 (pA *č'ōk'i v. 'incline, sink' > Tg, T, J, Ko, M *čökü- 'lose all hope, be a beggar'), DQA no. 329, KW 431 (Kl cökj- 'elend sein, mutlos sein' *÷ the above T √), S AJ 286 [no. 252] (pA *č'ök'ü), Rs. W 117., Rm. SKE 45. '

478. *ĉiK̄∇ 'tight, narrow, dense' > **HS: S** *-ġūK̄- ~ *-ġīK̄- v. 'be narrow\tight' (× N *ĉiK̄∇, C̄, J̄, Ū, Q̄∇ 'squeeze, press'?) > BHb *Sh* pf. קָצַרְתִּי hē-¹ĉīK̄, ip. קָצַרְתִּי yā-¹ĉīK̄ v. 'drive (so.) into a corner, press (so.)', hē¹ĉīK̄ lə- 'harass, press hard', Ug ✓ ṣy|wK̄ *Sh* 'exert pressure', JA ✓ ʿy|wK̄ (pf. קָצַרְתִּי ʿāK̄) v. 'be narrow(ed)\pressed', JEA ✓ ʿwK̄ *D* 'cause trouble, distress', SmA ✓ ʿwK̄ *G* 'be in dread', ʿyK̄h 'distress', Ar ضيق ✓ ḡyq (pf. ḡāqa, ip. -ḡīq-) v. 'be straitened, be narrow\strait', Mh ṣayK̄ ({{Jo.} žayK̄), Jb E ṣīK̄ ({{Jo.} žīK̄) 'narrow, cramped', Hrs ṣzK̄ ({{Jo. HL} žeK̄, {{Jo. ML} žəK̄) 'narrow', Ak -sīK̄- (inf. siāK̄um, sâK̄u) v. 'be(come) narrow\tight' ¶ KB 951, KBR 1014, Tal 627-8, OLS 420-1, Js. 1056, Sl. 848, BK II 49, Fr. III 35, Hv. 424, Jo. M 479, Jo. H 132, Sd. 1039, CAD XV 169-70 || B: Ah zūkməṭ v. 'be narrow' (a place), ?? Zng {TC} azzūg 'étrangler', pf. yuzzūg ¶ Fc. 1952, DCTC 287, TC Z 306 || **U**: FU (att. in FP) *ś|śiK̄∇ ~ *°ś|śiK̄K̄∇ 'dense' > pMr {Ker.} śiṣə-ḏə > Er сееде śeyede, Δ śäyede, Mk сиде śidə 'dense\thick' (forest, fence) | F sikeä 'deep' (sea), 'heavy' (sleep) | Prm *śiK̄ > Vt {U3S} śiK̄ 'forest' (← *'thicket'), {Set.} śiK̄ 'dichter Wald' ¶ Set. FULL 267, UEW 774 (FV *śiK̄∇, rejecting the Prm cognate because of Prm *k), Lt. 182, ERV 575, Ker. II 134, U3S 389, KC 192, PI 248, ≠ LG 255 (Vt < Prm *śiK̄ 'set of homogeneous objects'), Ps. sL 32, 74-5, SK 1022 ¶ In FV the stem has *-k-, in Prm it has FU *-kk-; the lack of gemination in FV is still to be explained || **A**: M *ĉiK̄ul 'narrow, tight' (× N *ĉEṣK̄∇ [or *ĉäṣiK̄∇?] 'squeeze; tight', 'stuff'?) > MM [HI] ĉiK̄ul 'étroit, resserré', WrM {MED} ciK̄ul, HIM {MED, BMR} цухал 'narrow, tight', Ord ž_uK̄ul 'étroit, reserré', WrO {Krg.} cuK̄ul 'close, narrow'; ?φ M *ĉiṘq (= *ĉiṘq∇?) '≈ thicket', 'dense' > MM [MA] ĉiK̄ 'brushwood' ('заросли кустарника'), [HI] ĉiK̄ 'treillis de bambou', WrM {Rm.} ciK̄ ~ ciK̄, WrO ciK̄ 'dense' (ciK̄ modon 'dense forest'), Kl Ö {Rm.} čig 'eng, schmal, gedrängt' ¶ MED 193, BMR IV 279, Kow. 2143, KW 438, Ms. H 47, Ms. O 216, Krg. 636, 648, Pp. MA 134 ¶ The structure of M *ĉiṘq¹ 'dense; thicket' is not typical of M and therefore is likely to suggest its foreign (T?) origin, but no plausible source of borrowing has been found so far; a plausible solution: the spelling WrM and WrO without a final vw. ia based on late M lges and does not re[resent the ancient M pronunciation || **D** *ĉ|k̄iK̄K̄- v. 'thicken' (of liquid), 'harden' (× N *śiṘoK̄Ṙ¹ 'to get\be cold; cool'?) > Tm cikkaṇavv 'hardness', Kn jigi 'stickiness, thickness', cikani 'thick, hard', Klm sikoṭ 'sticky', Knd sika 'thickness (of fluid)', sikani

'thick' (of fluid), D \rightarrow OI $c\check{i}kk\check{a}$ 'gum, birdlime' ¶¶ D no. 2488, Tu. no. 4780 ◇ Cf. N $*\hat{z}ek\check{\nabla}$ 'be tight\cramped, tighten' (q.v.) ◇ There are two K roots (GZ *id.* $*\check{c}e\check{c}q-$ 'press, squeeze' and GZ *id.* $*\check{c}qecq-$ 'squeeze, press') and a SC one (Irq $\hat{c}eq-$ 'squeeze', Kz $\hat{c}ak-$ v. 'pinch') that may belong here. If this is so, the N etymon must be reconstructed as $*\hat{c}iq\check{\nabla}$ (*see* above s.v. $*\hat{c}\check{\nabla}L\check{C}_{11}\check{\nabla}q\check{\nabla}$ 'squeeze, press').

479. $*\hat{c}U\check{?}il_w\check{\nabla}$ 'little, small' > K $*\check{c}ul-$ ({K²} $*\check{c}ul-$, {K} $*\check{c}_{1uz_1-}$) '(male) child, boy' > OG $\check{c}ul-$ 'child', G $\check{c}ul-$ 'baby, (male) child', Sv {TK}: UB $\check{c}\check{u}\check{s}$, $\check{c}\check{w}\check{i}\check{s}$, L $\check{c}\check{u}\check{s}$ *id.* ¶¶ K 252, K² 316, FS K 463 ($*\check{c}ul-$), TK 863 || **HS:** S $*\check{c}\check{u}\check{?}l$ > Ar $\check{c}\check{u}\check{?}l$ G (pf. $\check{c}\check{u}\check{?}l$) 'be lean\thin\little\mean' ¶ Fr. III 1, Hv. 412 || **A** $*\check{c}\check{u}l\check{u}bi$ ~ $*\check{c}\check{u}l\check{u}i$ v. 'diminish, shrink' > M $*\check{c}\check{u}l\check{u}i-$ v. > WrM $c\check{o}l\check{u}i-$ {MED} 'decline, decay, deteriorate, diminish', HIM $ц\check{e}л\check{i}й-$ {MED} *id.*, {BMR} 'deteriorate (sich verschlechtern, verfallen, ухудшаться, приходит в упадок, клониться к упадку)' ¶ MED 202, BMR IV 267 || Tg {SDM} $*\check{c}ulbi-$ v. 'grow thin\lean, lose flesh' > Ewk PT $\check{c}ulbi-$, $\check{c}ulbi_n-$ v. 'get lean' (person, animal), Ewk Tmt $\check{c}\check{u}lbi:n-$ v. 'be starving', Ewk PT $\check{c}ulbi_k\check{a}$, $\check{c}ulbi:n$ 'lean' (person, animal), 'thin' (tree) ¶ STM II 413 || pKo {S} $*\check{c}\check{u}r-$ v. 'shrink, grow less' > MKo $\check{c}uri-hi-$ *id.*, NKo $\check{c}\check{u}l-$ 'reduce, diminish, decrease' ¶ S QK no. 725, MLC 1508-9 || $\check{c}\check{u}NaT$ {DQA} $*\check{c}\check{u}l\check{u}lik-$ > OT [MhK] $\check{c}\check{u}l\check{u}k-$ {MKD, Cl.} 'be in a shabby condition', {DTS} 'fall into decay', {Rs.} 'vernichtet werden' ¶ Cl. 420, MKD 96, DTS 157 ¶¶ SDM 454 (pA $*\check{c}\check{u}li$ 'grow less, shrink' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 337, SDM97 s.v. $*\check{c}\check{u}le$ v. 'diminish, shrink', Rs. W 121 (T, M, Ko), Rm. SKE 44 || **D** $*\check{c}\check{u}l-$ ({GGS} $*c-$) 'small' > Ml $cillar_a$ 'small, trifling matter', Kn $cillar_a$ 'smallness', Tu $cillar\check{a}$ 'small money', Tl $cillar_a$ 'small, unimportant', Ku $cillera\check{p}\check{r}\check{a}ncu$ v. 'retail' ¶¶ D no. 2574 ◇ K $*\check{c}$ (> G l, Sv \check{s}) goes back to $*-yl-$ (contraction of N $*-?il-?$). N $*-w-$ is suggested by Tg $*-b-$. D $*i$ goes back to N word-medial $*-i-$. The D and T cognates suggest that the N original lateral is $*-l-$ (because N $*-l-$ would have yielded D $*-l-$, and N $*-l-$ would have been represented by D $*-l-$ and pT $*\check{c}$).

480. $*\hat{c}\check{c}\check{\nabla}hl\check{\nabla}$ 'be compassionate, have mercy' > K: GZ {K²} $*\check{c}qal-$ 'feel sorry (for), regret, spare' > OG, G $\check{c}qal-$ *id.*, Mg $\check{c}qol-op-ua$ 'charity' ¶ K 252, K² 317, FS K 468-9 || **HS:** EthS $*\check{c}\check{h}l$ (deglottalization from $*\check{c}\check{h}l?$) > Gz $ta\hat{s}\check{a}hala$, $ta\hat{s}\check{a}hal\check{e}$ v. 'be gracious, have mercy, be

compassionate', Tgy səhlə v. 'be benign', Tgr səhala v. 'be merciful' ¶ L G 528.

481. *ĉ^hi^hl₁∇₁∇ 'side of body' (→ 'rib'), 'hip' (→ 'thigh') > K *ĉel- 'loins, waist' (→ 'guts, entrails') (× N *^h∇₁∇₁∇ 'guts') > OG çel-i 'loins' [Luke 12.35], 'guts', G çel-i 'waist, loin; intestine', pl. çel-eb-i 'guts', Mg č̣3- and č̣i-, Lz (m)č̣u-, ? Sv UB/L {TK, GP} rdp. č̣inč̣il 'gut, intestine' ¶¶ K 249, K² 308, FS K 460, FS E 521 (K *ĉel- 'gut'), Ser. 209 (OG çel- 'loins, waist'), Chx. 1973, 2135-6, DCh. 1671, NCh. 448, Chik. 69-70, Q 396, GP 280, TK 862 || **HS:** S *^hilaf- ~ *^hilaaf- 'rib', 'side (of body)' > BHb צָבַע çēlāf id., Ug ṣl^h 'rib; meat on a rib', BA זָבַע *^hilaf* (pl. זָבַע זָבַע il^haf) 'rib', IA pl. cs. זָבַע זָבַע il^haf 'ribs of...', JA {Js., Dlm.} זָבַע זָבַע il^haf-ā, JEA {Sl.} זָבַע זָבַע il^haf-ā, SmA ṣl^h 'rib', Sr זָבַע זָבַע-ā, Ug ṣl^h {OLS} 'rib', {A} 'Rippenstück', Ar ضلع ضلع il^haf- ~ ضلع ضلع il^haf- 'rip, side (of body)', Sb d. ṣl^ht '(?) malady affecting the chest', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} ṣālaf, Jb C/E {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} ṣalaf, {L} ṣalḥ, Sq Δ {SSL} ṣalaf 'rib', Ak fOB ṣēlu 'rib, side (of body), side'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} zī-rat-tu (*çilaf^htu) 'plank' ¶ KB 965, 1760, A no. 2320, OLS 416-17, HJ 864, Sl. 855, Dlm. 314, Js. 1085, Tal 641, Br 22, JPS 18, BGMR 41, Jo. M 476, Jo. H 152, Jo. J 325, L LS 361, SSL LSNP 1480, Sd. 1090, CAD XVI 124, Hoch no. 592, MiK I no. 1.272 || **IE:** NaIE *(s)k^hel- 'hip, thigh; rib' (× N *^h∇₁∇₁∇ 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb?') > Gk σκέλος 'leg from the hip downwards', (?φ) σκελεός pl. 'ribs of beef', κωλέα 'thighbone with the flesh on it' || ?? BSl: Lt kūlšė, kūlšis 'hip, haunch', Pru cūlczi 'hip' || Sl *kьka ~ *kьkь 'hip' > ChS κλῆκα klēka 'ham', SCr kŭk 'hip joint, hip', Slv kòlk 'hip, haunch', Blg 'κῆκα id., thigh'; the BSl word is adduced by WP and P, but not accepted as a cognate by ESSJ and Frn.; it is doubtful because of the unexplained stem-medial *k ¶ WP II 597-8, P 929, Frn. 308, En. 199, Tr. P K-L 256-62, ESSJ XIII 188, Mikl. L 290, Mikl. E 154, F II 60-1, 723-4, 837-8, Ch. 1013, ≠ EI 142 (F, Ch and EI connect Gk σκέλος with *skel- 'bend') || **D** (att. in SD) *^hilaman^h-(× N *^hi^h∇₁∇₁∇ 'flesh/meat of a limb') > Tl cīlaman^hda, (⇨ ?) Kn cīlaman^hde 'ankle' (D *man^h- means 'knee', see D no. 4677) ¶ D no. 2633 ◇ The IE data do not contradict the possibility of a N *i. Acc. to AD's theory (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the pre-IE *j (< N *i) was lost before sonants. IE *(s)k- for the expected *s- may be due to the contamination with N *^h∇₁∇₁∇ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 131 [no. 3] (incl. K, S).

482. (₂?) *ĉ₁∇H₂L∇₁m∇ 'daylight' > K *ĉ₁am- 'morning' > Mg ĉ₁ume 'tomorrow', oĉ₁umara 'morning', Lz ĉ₁uman- 'morning', ĉ₁umen- 'tomorrow', Sv UB/LB ham 'morning' ¶¶ K 247-8, K² 306, Chik. 19, TK 892, Q 393 || **HS:** SC: Alg {E} ĉ₁ehemu 'sun, daylight', Brn {E} ĉ₁ema 'sun', ĉ₁emati 'today', Irq {E} -ĉ₁emu in amēĉ₁emu 'noon', ?φ Asa {E} demok 'morning' ¶ E SC 360 (reconstructing pRt *ĉ₁ehem- 'day, daytime, daylight') || ? NrOm: Hrr {Abb} z₁ompe 'artificial light' (Abb: z₁ = [EthSc] θ) ¶ CR H 668, AD SF 122 || **A:** ?σ M *ĉ₁omur > WrM {MED} сомур 'clear, legible, evident; accurate; suitable', HIM {BMR} цомор 'четкий', Brt сомор 'orderly' (of a person) ('аккуратный, собранный') ¶ MED 197, BMR IV 259, Chr. 390.

483. *ĉ₁∇m₁∇₁'s'∇ 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together' > K: GZ *ĉ₁mas̄- v. 'interlace, twist; plait\braid together' > OG, G ĉ₁masn- v. 'weave, interlace tightly', Mg ĉ₁imoš-, ĉ₁umoš- v. 'twist, tie up (tobacco leaves etc.)', Lz ĉ₁imoš- v. 'interlace, twist (ropes)' ¶ K 251-2, K² 314, FS K 465 || **HS:** S *√ĉ₁md (from *√ĉ₁mš + a sx?) v. 'tie\bind together, attach' > Ak √s₁mđ G 'an-\zusammen-\ver-binden, anschirren', Ar √ĉ₁md G v. 'dress a wound, anoint and bind (the head)', BHb √ĉ₁md N (pf. niĉ₁mad) 'attach oneself to' ({KBR} 'be involved with'), 'ĉ₁emēd 'team\pair (of oxen\donkeys)' ('Gespann'), MHb √ĉ₁md G v. 'join, attach', Ug s₁mđ 'pair; pair of oxen', Gz √ĉ₁md G v. 'yoke, harness, bind together', ŝ₁amd 'yoke; pair (of animals, objects)' ¶ KB 967, KBR 1032-3, Hv. 420-1, OLS 417, Sd. 1080, L G 149-50 || Eg fP (mt.) đmз 'assemble, bring together; unite' ¶ EG V 457-9, Fk. 313 || SOM: (mt.) Ari sudumt- v. 'gather' ¶ Bnd. AL 151 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *ĉ₁im- 'sew' > Sir ĉ₁imú, Jmb ŝ₁im-, P' {MSk.} ĉ₁imbá id. ¶ JI II 288, Sk. NB 39, ChC s.v. 'sew', Tk. NB 178 ¶¶ Tk. I 259 (Eg, S, Om) || **U** *o's₁im's₁a- (*'s₁' = *s|š|t) (as. from *ŝ₁imsa?) > pSm *t₁mtā/ъ- 'wrap round, bind, (umwickeln, zusammenwickeln)' > Ne T {Ter.} inf. т₁мд₁ць 'to wrap round, to bind', Slq Tz {KKIH} tamt+/- 'zusammen-drehen\ -rollen\ -drücken' ¶ Jn. 147, KKIH 178§ || **A:** ?σ M *ĉ₁amĉ₁a₁y₁ 'shirt' > MM [S] ĉ₁amĉ₁a, [MA] ĉ₁amĉ₁a₁y₁, WrM {MED} самса, HIM {MED, BMR} цамц, Brt самса, Kl † {KRS} цамца id., Kl Ö {Rm.} самса 'Hemd', WrO самса 'shirt, blouse', Ord ĉ₁'amĉ₁'a 'tunique' ¶ The second *ĉ₁ (for the expected *s) may be due to as. ¶ H 25, Pp. MA 130, MED 164, BMR IV 249, Chr. 384, Krg. 617, KRS 625, KW 421, Ms. O 694.

484. $\text{₂} * \hat{c}^{\text{r}} \text{a}^{\text{1}} \text{n} \nabla$ 'to give birth' > HS: S $* \circ \check{\text{v}} \hat{\text{s}} \text{n} \nabla$ > Ar {Ln.} ضنأ $\hat{\text{c}} \text{an} \nabla$ - 'children, offspring', ضنأ $\check{\text{v}} \hat{\text{c}} \text{n} \nabla$ G 'have many children' (of a woman), 'multiply, become numerous' (of cattle) ¶ Ln. 1806, BK II 41, Hv. 422 || Eg fP $\text{z} \text{z} \text{n.} \omega$ 'junge Leute' (← *'children') ¶ Metathesis $* \text{n} \nabla$ > $* \text{?n}$ ¶ EG V 524 || **D** $* \hat{c}^{\text{r}} | \text{k} \text{a}^{\text{r}} \text{n}^{\text{1}}$ - ({\text{?GS}} $* \text{c} \text{-?}$) 'foetus', 'be(come) pregnant' > Ml $\text{c} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a}$ 'pregnancy', $\text{c} \text{a} \text{n} \text{e} \text{k} \text{k} \text{a}$ v. 'conceive' (of animals), Kn $\text{j} \text{a} \text{n} \text{e}$, Tl $\text{j} \text{e} \text{n} \text{a}$ 'yolk of an egg', Kn $\text{t} \text{a} \text{n} \text{e}$, $\text{t} \text{e} \text{n} \text{e}$ 'foetus of beasts, pregnancy', Tu $\text{t} \text{a} \text{n} \text{æ}$, $\text{s} \text{a} \text{n} \text{æ}$ 'conceiving, breeding' (of cattle, sheep etc.); (with a puzzling i) Tm $\text{c} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \text{i}$ 'embryo, foetus, pregnancy', $\text{c} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \text{i}$ v. 'be impregnated' ¶¶ D no. 2592.

485. $\text{?} \sigma * \hat{c}^{\text{r}} \text{E} \text{N} \text{L} \nabla \text{,} \text{q} \nabla$ 'to press, to squeeze' > K: GZ $* \hat{c}^{\text{r}} \text{neq} | \chi / * \hat{c}^{\text{r}} \text{niq} | \chi$ - id. > OG, G $\text{c} \text{n} \text{e} \chi$ - / $\text{c} \text{n} \text{i} \chi$ - v. 'press (grapes)', G $\text{s} \text{a} \text{-c} \text{χ} \text{e} \text{n} \text{-e} \text{l} \text{-i} \text{n}$. 'press vat (for grapes)', Mg $\check{\text{c}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \chi$ - v. 'press', {FS} $\text{o} \text{-}\check{\text{c}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \chi \text{-u}$, {Q} $\text{o} \text{-}\check{\text{c}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \chi \text{z}$, $\text{o} \text{-}\check{\text{c}} \text{z} \text{n} \text{a} \chi \text{-i}$, $\text{o} \text{-}\check{\text{c}} \text{z} \text{n} \text{a} \chi \text{-u}$ 'press vat', Lz $\check{\text{c}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \chi \text{-u}$ 'press, squeeze', $\text{o} \text{-}\check{\text{c}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \chi \text{-u}$ 'auspressen, keltern', n. 'press vat' ¶ K 252, K² 315, FS K 466, FS K² 671, FS E 527-8, Q 389 || HS: CS $* \check{\text{v}} \hat{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{k}$ (< $** \check{\text{v}} \hat{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{q}$ < $** \check{\text{v}} \hat{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{q}$ [mte.] > Ar {Ln.} $\check{\text{v}} \check{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{q}$ G 'hang so. by the neck till he dies', 'bind a camel with the $\check{\text{s}} \text{i} \text{n} \bar{\text{a}} \text{q}$ -' [↓], 'bind the head of a beast\horse', $\check{\text{s}} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{q} \text{-l} \text{-q} \text{i} \text{r} \text{b} \text{a} \text{t} \text{a}$ '(he) bound the mouth of the waterskin with the bond called $\omega \text{i} \text{q} \bar{\text{a}} \text{?}$ - and then bound the extremity of its $\omega \text{i} \text{q} \bar{\text{a}} \text{?}$ - to its fore legs', {Fr.} $\check{\text{v}} \check{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{q}$ (ip. $\text{-}\check{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{i} \text{q}$ -, $\text{-}\check{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{u} \text{q}$ -) 'strangulavit', 'ligavit (camelum) fune vel loro شدافق [šīnāq-] appellato'; {Ln.} $\check{\text{s}} \text{i} \text{n} \bar{\text{a}} \text{q}$ - 'a rope\cord with which the head of a camel is pulled; a cord\thong with which the mouth of a waterskin is bound'; MHb $\text{q} \text{n} \text{q}$ $\check{\text{v}} \text{s} \text{n} \text{k}$ G 'press, stuff', JA {Dlm.} $\check{\text{v}} \text{s} \text{n} \text{k}$ D 'erdrücken (?)', {Lv., Js.} $\check{\text{v}} \text{s} \text{n} \text{k}$ D 'stuff, press' or (acc. to some scholars) 'choke, cause loss of breath' ¶ Ln. 1606-8, Fr. III 457-8, Lv. III 558, Js. 1008, Dlm. 283 || **D** $* \hat{c}^{\text{r}} | \text{k} \bar{\text{e}} \eta \text{k} \text{k}$ - ({\text{?GS}} $* \acute{\text{s}} \text{-}$) 'breathe with difficulty' (← *'be suffocated') > Ml $\bar{\text{e}} \text{r} \bar{\text{r}} \text{u} \text{k} \text{a}$ 'breathe with difficulty', $\text{e} \text{r} \bar{\text{r}} \text{a} \text{?}$ 'breathing with difficulty', $\bar{\text{e}} \text{k} \text{k} \text{a} \text{l}$ 'asthma', $\bar{\text{e}} \text{k} \text{k} \text{a} \text{m}$ id., 'hard breathing', Tm $\text{e} \text{r} \bar{\text{k}} \text{a} \text{l}$ 'asthma in children', Tu $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{r} \bar{\text{k}} \text{u}$ - v. 'pant, breathe quickly\heavily', $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{r} \bar{\text{k}} \text{æ}$ 'panting, breathing quickly', Kui $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{k} \text{e}$ 'panting, gasping for breath', Ku $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{k} \text{e} \text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{k} \text{e} \text{n} \bar{\text{e}} \text{n} \check{\text{z}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \text{j}$ 'pant' ($\text{n} \bar{\text{e}} \text{n} \check{\text{z}} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \text{j}$ 'breathe, gasp') ¶¶ D $* \text{-} \eta \text{k} \text{k}$ - from N $* \text{-N} \text{q}$ - (or $* \text{-N} \nabla \text{q}$ -) still needs investigation ¶¶ D no. 2804, An. SG 137 (D $* \text{-} \eta \text{k} \text{k}$ -) $\diamond \neq$ Kap. ALM 13 (equating the K $\check{\text{v}}$ with the non-existent Ak $\text{s} \text{a} \text{n} \bar{\text{a}} \text{k} \text{u}$ 'to press', sc. actually with S $* \check{\text{v}} \hat{\text{s}} \text{n} \text{k}$, as well as with Arm $\text{ճնշել} \check{\text{c}} \text{n} \check{\text{s}} \text{-e} \text{l}$ 'to press, to squeeze').

486. *ĉUńt∇ 'secretions of the body' (in descendant lges: 'mucus', 'sweat', 'urine', 'dung, filth') > **K**: G \check{c} vinṭli 'nasal mucus' ¶ Chx. 2157 || **HS**: S (at. in EthS) * \hat{o} ŝu|in_l∇_lt- > Gz ŝənt 'urine', (bf.?) EthS * \hat{o} -ŝīn- > Gz \check{c} ŝyn (pf. ŝēna, js. yəśīn) v. 'urinate', Tgr \check{c} ŝyn (pf. śēna), Tgy pf. ŝene, ŝene id. (possible infl. of S * \check{c} θyn 'urinate') ¶ L G 540 || **IE**: NaIE {P, EI} *sweid- v. 'sweat', *sweides n. 'sweat', *swoido-, *sweidro- / *swidro- id. > OI 'svidyati, 'svēdatē 'sweats', Av xVīsaṭ 'geriet in Schweiß'; OI 'svēdah, Av xVaēδō n. 'sweat, perspiration' || W chwys id., chwysu 'to sweat' || Gmc inf. *switjan 'to sweat' > OHG inf. swizzen, NHG inf. schwitzen, AS inf. swātan id., NE sweat v.; Gmc *swajta- n. 'sweat, perspiration' > OHG sweiz, NHG Schweiß, OSx swēt, MDt sweet, Dt zweet, AS swāt id. || Gk Hm (ε)ἰδῶ, Gk A ἰδῶ v. 'sweat' || L sudā- id. || Ltv inf. svīst id., sviēdri n. pl. 'sweat, perspiration' || Tc B syā- v. 'sweat' (< *swidye- + ā-) || NaIE *swoid-ōs 'sweat' > L sudor, -ōris id. ¶ P 1043, WP II 521, EI 560, Mn. 164, M K III 570, M E II 798-9, WH II 623-4, YGM-1 158, LP § 153, F I 709-10, KM 691, 695, Kb. 999, 1007, Kar. II 340, Wn. I 448, Ad. 721, Ad. H 38 || **U**: FU *ŝ|ŝont∇ > FP (or FV) *ŝont∇ 'dirt, dung' > F sonta id., Es sōrnik 'dung, muck, manure' | Chr: H {Ep.} 'šandb 'excrements, urine', {Wc., Ü, Ep.} 'šandb 'lavatory', {Ep., MRS} 'šandb 'urine with blood (an illness of animals)', L d. {MRS, Ü} šon'dan, Uf {Wc.} 'šondb 'dung, urine', d. {Ü} šondem 'lavatory' | ? Vt Sr zud 'black mud (used as dye)' ¶ UEW 764-5, SK 1072, It. no. 122, Wc. TT 92, MRS 691, Ep. 146, Ü 257, 268, LG 269 ◇ If W. Müller (p.c. to L) is right in supposing that the Gz root is \check{c} syn (rather than \check{c} ŝyn, which in his opinion is not the etl. spelling), the Ethiopian Semitic cognate is to be rejected, so that the N etymon will be *ĉ|ĉUńt∇.

487. id. *ĉaŋU 'jump, skip' > **HS**: S * \hat{o} \check{c} md > Jb \check{c} md (pret. ŝūd) v. 'jump a certain height', ŝəmdu'n 'a good jumper' ¶ Jo. J 325 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *ŝa|oŋâ- v. 'gallop, jump' (× N *ŝa|oŋ ∇ '≈ run, jump, climb' [q.v. ffd.]) || **A**: Tg: Nn Bk čonsoq, Nn KU čamsop 'quickly, suddenly (to get up, to rise, to jump up)', Nn Nh {STM} čansoap id., {On.} descr. čansoap 'jumping up (вскакивая, быстро принимая сидячее\стоячее положение)' ¶ STM II 384, On. 499 || **D** *ĉ|kaŋk-, {GS} *ĉaŋ- v. 'jump, climb' (× N *ŝa|oŋ ∇ '↑?') > Kn caŋgu, ceŋgu v. 'jump, skip', Tl ceŋganālu 'leaping, frisking, gambol', ceŋguna 'nimblely, agilely, quickly' (applied to leaping), Δ ceŋgu, jaŋgu

'agility', Nk čanğay- v. 'climb' ¶¶ D no. 2285, GS 127 [no. 333] ◇ N * - U is suggested by Tg and by S * m (probably from N * - ŋ - near a labialized vw.).

488. *čap ▽ 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} čufa 'mud' ||| EC: Sml dōbo 'mud, dirt, soil, clay', dōb- v. 'mould (out of clay), plaster, daub with mud' ¶ ZMO 122, E SC 328 (s.v. SC *čūf- 'mud') || K: GZ *čeb- vt. 'glue' > G čeb-, Mg, Lz čab- id., OG čeb-* ≈ id. (att. within verbs with pxs); GZ *čebo- n. 'gum (vegetable glue)' > Mg, Lz čabu- 'gum (vegetable glue), mistletoe' (glue was extracted from mistletoe), OG, G čebo- 'gum, glue' ¶ K 248, K² 308, FS K 459, FS E 520-1, Abul. 541 || A *čap- 'glue, clay' > M *čaba¹un 'glue' > MM [IM] {Pp.} čabūn n. 'glue' ([ArSc] with a spelling mistake: جيسون čabsun), WrM {MED} sabau ~ sabagu 'glue', HIM {MED, BMR} цавуу(н), Brt сабуу(н), Dg {SDM} čagu 'glue', WrO {Krg.} сабаq, Kl {KRS} цавг саwаq 'starch', Kl Ö {Rm.} саwаq 'Leim, Fischleim', Ord č'awū 'colle forte'; M *sabug 'sth. glued' > WrM сабуq {MED} 'glue', HIM цаваг {SDM} id., {BMR} 'layers of paper\cloth glued or pasted together; прокладка (между войлоком и прокладкой дэли под войлоком в юрте)', Brt саваг 'прокладка (по краям одежды)', Ord č'awaq 'carton de collage, plusieurs couches de toile de coton colées les unes sur les autres'; M *sabug-la- > WrM сабугла- {MED} v. 'paste layers of cloth\paper together', HIM цавагла- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'заклеивать, einen Flicker aufsetzen' Ord č'awagla- 'coller plusieurs couches (de papier, de toile, de coton, etc) les unes sur les autres' ¶ Pp. MA 435, MED 154-5, BMR IV 240-1, MYC 1697, Chr. 379, KRS 621, KW 423, Krg. 615, KRS 621, Ms. O 697 || T *ča:;p- > OT [MhK] čap- v. 'plaster' (ä r äv in čapdu 'the man plastered his house [with mud]'), Uz čapi-, ET {Nj.} čap-li-, ET Tr {Rl.} čap-la- vt. 'plaster (a wall\house)', Qrg čap-ta- 'glue up, stick up, stop up (заклеивать, закупоривать)', ? Chv {Ash.} çup- 'заворачивать пирог' (= 'wrap the filling of the pie with dough?') ¶ Cl. 394, Rs. W 99, Nj. 279, Rl. III 1925, UzR 515, Jud. 847, Ash. XII 247-8 || Tg *oçap- > Ewk PT/Y/I çawija, Ewk PT çawida ~ çapida 'white clay' ¶ STM II 74 ¶¶ SDM 417-18 (pA *č'äp'a|u|i 'glue, clay' > Tg, M, T + unc. Tg *çap- 'fish roe, caviar'), DQA no. 272, KW 423 || D *čava 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (× N ?σ *śah'i'b ▽ 'desert; saline earth', q.v. ffd. × N *śab¹' ▽ 'clay') ||| D: (1) *očavar- ({GS} *s-) > Kn savaru v. 'smear, oil, rub in or apply to (water, oil etc.), convey a sticky substance to a vessel'; (2) D *čamar- (× N *śämi 'fat

[Fett]', q.v. ffd.) > Tl *camuru* 'oil, any oily\unctuous substance', *camuru* v. 'smear, daub, rub as with oil', EpTl *samaru* 'ghee' ¶¶ D no-s 2389 and 2674b ◇ IS SS no. 12.24, IS MS 344 s.v. 'клей' *ĉabᵛ.

488a. (*id.?*) *ĉaPᵛ 'to grasp, to take' > K: GZ *ĉap- v. 'grasp, take' > Mg, Lz ĉop- v. 'take, grasp, hold', OG ĉap- ('acquire, take much' >) v. 'drink greedily', G ĉap- v. 'drink greedily, steal' (σ≡: R набрался 'took much' → 'got drunk') ¶¶ K 248, Chik. 418 || HS: WS (+ext.) *√ ŝbᵛ v. 'take' > Hrs √ ŝbᵛ (p. ŝáybeᵛ), Mh √ ŝbᵛ (pf. ŝāᵛ) v. 'take', Jb √ ŝbᵛ (pf. ŝēᵛ) v. 'hold', Sq *zébaᵛ* (= ŝébaᵛ) v. 'be apprehended', Ar √ ŝbᵛ 'firmiter tenuit' ¶ Jo. M 473, Jo. H 151, Fr. III 4, BK II 6 || A *ĉapᵛ (~ *ĉabᵛ) > Tg *ĉap- ~ *ĉab- v. 'grasp' > Ewk *çawurça-* v. 'grasp, squeeze so.'s hand', Neg *çawa-*, Ul *çawaqtala-* ~ *çapaqtala-* v. 'grasp' ¶ STM II 375 || pKo {S} *ĉap- v. 'catch, take hold' (× pA *ĉabᵛ < N *id.* *zapᵛ [or *zapᵛ] 'hold, seize, catch', q.v.) > MKo *ĉap-*, NKo *ĉap-* id. ¶ S QK no. 512, MLC 1397 ¶¶ STM II 375, ≠ SDM 1528 (pA *ĉap'ù 'catch' Ko + [not belonging to N *ĉaPᵛ]: Tg *japa- 'catch, take hold', M *ĉaᵛa- 'be separated at joints, join at joints', T *japa- 'make, create, arrange' anf pJ *dup- v. 'tie, connrct'), ≈ SDM97 (A *ĉ|ĉabᵛ v. 'catch, hold') (equating pKo with Tg *jawa- v. 'catch, hold' [STM I 240-1]) ◇ The word may be ideophonic (cp. R цап, an ideophone of grasping) and hence its pN origin is qu.

489. *ĉipâ (or *ĉüpâ?) 'be narrow, be compressed' > HS *√ ŝpp ~ *√ ŝbb id. > CS *√ ŝpp v. 'be narrow\crowded' > MHb *ĉā'pūp* (pp. of √ ĉpp) 'crowded', Ar *ĉaff-* 'narrow, straitened', √ *ĉff* G 'se presser en foule', WS *√ ŝbb v. 'be narrow\compressed' > Gz √ *ᵛbb* G (late spelling for √ ŝbb?) id., Ar (derived √) √ *ĉbn* G 'be narrow' (of place) ¶ Ln. 1794, BK II 30, Lv. IV 212, L G 545 || C: Ag *√ ĉbb > Bln {R} *ša(b)baᵛ* - 'enge\schmal sein', Aw {Hz.} *cebeb-* 'be narrow' ||| EC: Or Wt {Sr.} *ᵛipō* 'narrow', *ᵛipū* 'narrowness', Or Wl {Brl.} *ᵛibu* 'valle, depressione, strettoia' ¶ AD SF 118-19, R WB 316-17, Hz. VS 113, Sr. 298, Brl. 110 || K *ĉ'ip- 'thin' > Mg *ĉipe*, Lz *mĉipe* id., ?ϕ Sv UB/L *me-ĉxpe*, Sv Ln *me-ĉxere* 'lean' (a person) ¶¶ Chik. 231, GP 219, Ni. s.v. 'худой', TK 567 || U: FU *ŝ|suppᵛ 'narrow (schmal, eng)' > F *suppa* 'schmal, nach oben schmaler werdend' || ? Lp N {N} *ĉop'pe* 'bag-shaped end of a rug', Lp L {LLO} *tjuhppa* 'Spitze, Zipfel' || pPrm *śop- ({LG} śop-) 'tight, narrow, compressed (zusammen-gedrängt)' > Z {W} śopid id., Vt *субег* 'narrow', Vt {Mnk.} *śubäg* 'tight' (of footwear etc.) ||| Hg

Δ szupojkó, szupujkó 'plötzlich schmaler werdend; dürr, eingeschrumpft; klein; schlank, dünn, mager' ¶ UEW 44 (reconstructing *ćuppa, though Prm and Hg suggest *ś- or *š-), LG 252-3, MF 601-2 ||
 A *ć|I|P- 'press (with fingers), pinch' > Tg *ć|P- 'squeeze (with fingers)' > Ewk çipak- id., çipka-, Neg çipixila- v. 'squeeze, press', Ewk çipçi-, Lm çipçū-, Neg çipçi-, Orc, Ud čipčī- v. 'stuff, stick', Neg çipixila- 'grip in one's hand, squeeze out (liquid)', ? Ewk Ald çīwkān- v. 'choke' ¶ STM II 389, 398-9 || pKo {S} čip- 'pick up, pinch' > MKo čip-, NKo čip- ¶ S QK no. 1018, MLC 1554 || pJ {S} túmpám- v. 'stuff, press into' > MJ tuboma- {S} id., JT cuboma-, cúbome-, JK cúbomé-, J Kg cubomé- {Kenk.} 'shut, close' ¶ S QJ no. 1498, Mr. 771, Kenk. 2042 ¶¶ SDM 433 (pA *ć'íp'ú- 'press [with fingers], pinch' > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 300 ◇ K, Tg and Ko suggest pN *i; U and pJ *u may be due to assimilation (infl. of the cns. *p?) ◇ ≈ Gr. II 275 (*cupa 'narrow') (U, A, Ko + qu. OJ tipisa 'small').

490. *ćap∇E 'filth, dung', 'rubbish' > HS: WS *✓ špɣ 'excrement, filth' > BHb pl. cs. k çapū'fē, q çapī'fē 'animal's droppings, dung', Ar ōafɣ- 'elephant dung', ✓ ōfɣ G v. 'fart and go to stool' || Mh šōfɣɣ, Jb E šōfɣ, Jb C 'šōfɣuɣ 'partly formed almost liquid cowdung', Hrs šōfa? 'cowdung', Gz šafɣ ~ šafɣ 'filth, excrement', Tgr čɣfɣɣ ~ šɣfɣɣ, Tgy šɣfɣī 'cowdung' ¶ KB 981, KBR 1048, BK II 32, Jo. H 151, Jo. M 473, Jo. J 323, L G 148, LH 631, MiK I no. 1.273 || C: ? Ag: Bln {R} čif'fā 'faeces of animals' ¶ R WB 98 || A *ćöP∇ or *ćöPE 'dregs, dirt' > T *ćöb 'sediment, dregs, rubbish' (> 'sth. worthless, rubbish' > 'splinters, bits of chaff, straw', acc. to Cl.) (× N *ćuqbE or *ćüqb∇ 'carry away, throw [away]'?) > OT čöb ({DTS} čöp, {Cl.} čōb (with the long vw. based on the Arabic *plene* spelling of Maḥmūd al-Kašġarī, which is not a sufficient proof) 'residues, dregs, sediment', Chg XV, OOsm XV čöp 'rubbish', MQp XIV čöb id., [CC] 'residue', Az čöp, OOsm čöp, Tk çöp 'rubbish', Tkm čöp 'mote, small sticks', VTt чүп šüp, Bsh süp, Qmq, Qrg čöp, StAlt, QK/Tel {Rl.} čöp, Nog šöp, Xk söp 'rubbish', Qzq šöp-šalam, Qq šöp-šar id. (and Qzq, Qq šöp, Qrg, StAlt čöp 'grass, hay?'); Tb {B} čöp 'rubbish', čöpte- vt. 'litter (up), stain (засорить, замарать)' || Chv çýп šüp, çýпě šüb_ь 'rubbish, sweepings' ¶ In Az, Tk and Tkm the meaning was influenced by NPrs چوب čüb 'wood', as well as possibly by onomatopoeia ¶ Cl. 394, DTS 155, Rs. W 118, MM 404, Rl. III 2047, B DChT166, Ash. XII 297-8, Fed. II 148, Jeg. 223, MED 200 ¶ Tkm

provides ev. for a short **ö* in pT; Tb *ō* is not a reg. reflex of T **ō*, but must be explained otherwise || M **čöb-* > Kl {Rm.} *cöb* 'Schmutz, Flecken', ??σ Ord *č'öb_č'ag_* 'temps calamiteux, temps de guerre \ de révolutions \ de famine etc.') ({SDM} "dirty time"), *č'öb_d_ö-* 'être calamiteux\troublés' (temps); (× *←b-* T) WrM *cöb* {MED}, HIM *цөв* {MED, BMR} 'deposit, sediment (left after melting butter); cracklings (шкварки)', Brt *süb* 'sediment (left after melting butter)' ¶ MED 200, BMR IV 266, Luv. 612, Chr. 398, KW 431, Md. O 714 || Tg: ?σ Ewk *çupa* 'flour porridge', Ewk Brg *çupa* 'sediment (left after distillation of arrack)' (*←b-* M?) ¶ STM II 415 ¶¶ SDM 452 (pA **č'op'i|e* [with unj. *-p'-] 'dregs, dirt' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 2724 (id.) || D (att. in SD) **č|kávar_*- ({*†GS*} **c|c'avvar_*-) 'rubbish' > Tm *cavar_α* 'rubbish, sweepings', Ml *cavar_α, cavar* 'green leaves and rubbish used as manure, sweepings', Td *tofr* 'afterbirth' ¶ D no. 2395 ◇ The labialized T **ö* (in **čöb*) may belong to the heritage of N **c'uqbE* or **c'üqb∇* 'carry away, throw (away)'; it may also be ascribed to the ass. infl. of **p*.

491. **č̂∇PR∇* 'to twist, to plait' > HS: S **√š̂pr* v. 'braid, plait, weave' > Ar *√š̂fr* G 'braid', *š̂afīr-at-* 'crown, diadem', BHb *הַרְבֵּי צָרְפִּי'רָא* *çəpī'rā* 'wreath, garland', *z* Ug {KB} *š̂pr* 'winden (Ranken)' (not mentioned in Aistleitner and OLS), Gz *√š̂fr* G 'braid, plait, weave, interwine', Ak *√š̂pr* G (inf. *š̂epēr_α*) v. 'strand (hair\linen), dress (hair)', *š̂ipirt_α* 'a sash woven or treated in a special technique' ¶ KB 981, 983, L G 148, CAD XVI 132-3 and 201 || IE: NaIE **sper-* 'turn, twist', {EI} 'wrap around' (× N **P_ôRw∇* 'turn, revolve' [q.v.]) > Gk *σπεῖρα* f. 'anything twisted\wound', pl. *σπεῖρα* 'coils\spires of a serpent', *σπεῖρα_ω* 'ich winde, ich flicke'; Gk *σπεῖρα* *→* L *spīra* 'anything coiled\wreathed\ twisted', 'a coil of a snake' ||| OLT *spartas* 'Band' ¶ P 991-2, EI 644, F II 761, Frn. 861.

492. **č̂EPt∇* 'to close, to shut, to hide' > HS: S **√š̂pt* > Ar *ضَفَط* *√š̂ft* 'serrer avec des cordes, ficeler', 'constringere' ¶ Fr. III 23, BK II 32 || U **š̂Ept∇-* v. 'close, cover' > Prm **š̂ipt-* > Z *š̂ipt-*, Yz *š̂ipti-* v. 'close (a door, a window, a stove)' ||| pVg **š̂äpt-* > Vg: T {Kn.} *š̂ept-*, ML {MK} *š̂äpti* ~ *säpti*, LL {MK} *š̂ēpti*, P {Kn.} *š̂ępt-*, {MK} *š̂äpti*, MK {Kn.} *š̂äpt-*, K {MK} *š̂āpti* ~ *š̂äpti*, N {MK} *sapti* ~ *säpti* v. 'bury, hide' || Sm: Kms *š̂a'bdā-* v. 'hide, conceal' ¶¶ Coll. 57, Coll. CG 408, LG 256, Wc. SW 250, WVD VII 327, MK 529, KD 61 || A: Tg: Ewk PT *çipça-*

v. 'hide, conceal' ¶ Vas. 522 || ?σ,φ D *č|kāt- v. 'wear (clothes)' > Tm cāt-tu v. 'put on', Tl cāt-u v. 'wear' ¶¶ D no. 2449, Km. 352-3 [no. 416] || IE (mt.): Ht i s t a p (p) - v. 'shut, close' ¶ Pv. I-II 471-5 (proposing a connection of the Ht word with OI s t a b h - v. 'make firm' etc.) ◇ Cf. AD SShS 309.

492a. *ĉehR∇ 'back, dorsum' > HS: S *'šah_L∇_Lr- 'back (dorsum)' > Mh šāh_hr 'back (of a camel)', Hrs šāhr, Jb E/C 'šēh_hr 'back', Ak fOB/OA šē_r-u 'back (of animals and humans)', 'over, on top of', Eb z a - l u m (*[šahr-um]) 'back'; it influenced S *'θuh_L∇_Lr- ~ *'θah_L∇_Lr- 'top' (< N *č_Luh_L∇_LR∇ 'top, edge, highest point', q.v. ffd.), bringing about a contaminated CS stem *'θah_L∇_Lr- 'back, noon' > Ar ظهْرُ ḡahr- 'back (dorsum), noon' (↳ Mh ḡahr, Jb C 'θ_hhur 'noon, midday') ¶ ≈ MiK I no. 1.284 (S *'θ∇hr- 'back'), BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, Jo. M 83, 475, Jo. J 48, 324, Jo. H 151, Sd. 1093, 1115, CAD XVI 138-47 || B * - z ū r - 'shoulder' > Ah a-zūr, Gh a-zūr, ETwl ь-zūr, Ty ə-zūr id. ¶ Fc. 1288, PGG 390 || U: FU *'š|śEr∇ (× N *'ś' 'E' r∇ 'back (dos), nape of neck', q.v.) > Prm *'š'ō' r∇ - > Z Ud śzr 'space behind sth.' (karta śzr 'behind the cattle shed'), Vt śzr- in силъсьор śil'-śzr 'occiput' (sil' 'neck'), съор śzr 'behind, over' (bakča śzrti 'behind the kitchen garden', šur śzr+n 'over the river'), съорлань śzr-lañ 'in the opposite direction, back (direction)', съорласянь śzr-laśañ 'from the back side' ¶ U3S 403, LG 270 || D *č_Ler- 'back of the neck, shoulder' > Tm eruttu 'nape of neck', Ml erattu, Kui sērki 'the back of the neck', Ku hērki 𐎎 herki 'shoulder, neck' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-hR- ¶¶ D no-s 2817 and 2419 ◇ Blz. NDA no. 24 (D, HS + err. IE *ster(g^{wh})- > L tergum etc.).

493. *ĉärR∇ (or *ĉärU∇?) 'female breast, udder' > HS: S *'šar_L- 'female breast, nipple, teat, udder' > Ar ضَرْعُ ḡar_L- 'mammelle', Sr šer_L-ā 'mamma lactis plena' (dis. ruling out the expected sequence *š...š, F Br. G I 237 [§ 85.dβ]; or a Canaanism?), Tgr šer_L 'udder', Ak šer(re)t_Lu 'female breast, udder' ¶ Br. 638, Sd. 1093-4, BK II 14, 23, Fr. III 16, Ln. 1787, ≈ L G 637 (unc.: Tg ← Ar), MiK I no. 1.274 || Eg fP ššr ({EG} śšr) v. 'milk, suck (a cow's udder)' (š- is a verbal px) ¶ EG IV 295 || U: FU *'š|ś'ā' r∇ > pObU *'š|śār- ~ *'š|śīr- > pOs *sār- / *sir- 'front, front part' > 1) Os: V/Vy sār, Ty/Y sār ~ sir- 'front' (adj.), 2) Os: V/Vy siri-, D/K sirə-, Nz šīrə, Kz sīri 'earlier' ¶ Stn. D 160-1 || D (att. in GnD) *č|kar_L- 'udder, breast' > Gnd harva 𐎎 rawa 'udder', Kui

ꜱrāmbu id., srāngu ꜱ srāngu 'breast', Kui rāngu id. ¶ D no. 2364 || K *^oc|cur- 'udder, female breast' > G cur-i 'udder', cur-i-tavi 'nipple' (tavi 'head') ¶ FS K 415, Chx. 2032 ◇ Alternative solutions of the irreg. corr. of K *c|c- and S *^h- are possible. One may envisage two solutions: [1] to assume secondary de-emphatization of N *^h- in K (infl. of *^h, namely N *^hāRɣ∇ > **^hɣ∇r∇ > K *^hur-???) or contamination with N *^huɣr∇ 'vulva, vagina'), [2] a less probable solution: to assume secondary glottalization in S (caused by some unknown factor, e.g. lexical attraction of some semantically related word). The latter solution is seemingly supported by the Eg cognate (though a possible contamination with N *^huɣr∇ invalidates this argument). In order to explain the K vw., one may suppose a N etymon with an Inlaut *U: N *^härUɣ∇ > **^hɣUr∇ > K *^hur-.

494. ₂ *^her_l∇, X∇ 'wing, feather' > HS: S *^o✓^hrḥ 'wing' > Ar d. مَضْرُوحٌ maḍraḥ- adj. 'having large wings' (a bird) ¶ BK I 21 || D *^her_l- (~ *^her_l-?) (also + sxs *-∇kk-, *-∇k-) 'wing, feather' > Tm cirai, ciraku 'wing', Ml iraku, ciraku, Kt kerŋl ~ kerŋl 'feather, wing', Kn erake, rakke, rekke, Kdg rekke, Tu kedi 'feather', edirke, reñkæ, Tl eraka, rekka, Ku rekka 'wing', Tm irai, iraku, Kt rek 'wing, feather', Gnd RSr {Bh.} rekka 'wing feather', Gnd MB {Mitchell} reka 'feather', Gnd KM {Pat.} reka 'wing', {BB} gerŋ(g) 'feather', Knd rekka 'wing, upper arm' ¶¶ D no-s 1983 and 2591, Em. DS 366.

495. ₂ *^hot_l∇ 'mud' > HS: WS *^o✓^hwt ~ *^o✓^hwt > Ar ḡawīṭu-at-slime' ('limon au fond d'un réservoir d'eau'), Gz çōt 'mud, mire' ¶ L G 565, Di. 1302, BK II 45 || D *^hott- 'mud, mire' (× N *^hURt∇ 'dirt[y]'??) > Ml cotta, Krx cōtōr 'mud, mire' ¶¶ D no. 2843.

496. ${}_2 *d'i'$, a marker of imperfective (\leftarrow an aux. verb?) $>$ K $*-d-$, sx of the ip. aspect $>$ OG, G, Mg, Sv $-d-$, Lz $-t-$ $\sim -d-$ $\sim -t-$ ¶¶ Dt. 133-42, Shan. G 77-9, K 67 || A $*-d'i'$ $>$ T $*-\delta I/*-\delta i$, (after cnss) $*-ti/*-ti$ (postcons. neutralization of the opposition $*\delta \leftrightarrow *t$), marker of the Past Categorical (Past Obvious) tense $>$ Chv $-p\check{a}/-p\check{e}$ $-r\check{b}/-r\check{b}$ id., (after cnss) $-t\check{a}/-t\check{e}$ $-t\check{b}/-t\check{b}$ id. (1s $\text{мyxтa-p}\check{a}-\text{м}$ 'I praised', 2s $\text{мyxтa-p}\check{a}-\text{н}$, 3s $\text{мyxтa-p}\check{e}$, 1p $\text{мyxтa-p}\check{a}-\text{м}\check{a}\text{p}$, 2p $\text{мyxтa-p}\check{a}-\text{p}$, 3p $\text{мyxтa-p}\check{e}\check{c}$; $\text{п}\check{e}\text{л-t}\check{e}\text{м}$ 'I knew', 2s $\text{п}\check{e}\text{л-t}\check{e}\text{н}$ etc.) || NaT $*-ti/*-ti$, marker of the Past Categorical tense (generalization of the postcons. allomorphs) $>$ OT O $-dI/-dI$, after voiceless cnss $-ti/-ti$ (1s bar-dIm 'I went', 2s $\text{bar-dI-}\check{\text{z}} \sim \text{bar-dI-n}$, 3s, 3p bar-dI , 1p bar-dI-mIz , 2p $\text{bar-dI-}\check{\text{z}}\text{Iz} \sim \text{bar-dI-}\eta\text{Iz}$), Tk $-dI/-dI/-d\check{u}/-d\check{u}$, after voiceless cnss $-ti/-ti/-t\check{u}/-t\check{u}$ (1s al-dIm 'I took', 2s al-dI-n , 3s al-dI etc.), VTt $-d\check{b}/-d\check{b}/-t\check{b}/-t\check{b}$, Qq, StAlt $-dI/-dI/-tI/-tI$, ET $-dI/-d\check{u}/-tI/-t\check{u}$, Uz $-dI$, Xk $-d\check{y}$ $-dI/-dI$ $-d\check{u}/-t\check{y}$ $-tI/-tI$ $-t\check{u}$, Tv $-dI/-dI/-d\check{u}/-d\check{u}/-tI/-tI/-t\check{u}/-t\check{u}$, marker of the Past Categorical tense, Yk $-tI/-tI$, marker of the Past Immediate tense. There is an alt. hyp. drawing back this tense to a $-dI/-dI$ -prtc. (B PdTJ, Bii. PFPV). On other hypotheses of the origin of this T tense form *see* Rs. MTS 229-30 and Shch. OSMG 78-81 ¶ SIGTJM 373-88, Shch. OSMG 78-82, DmG GChJ 885, Rm. EAS I 125-6 || M $*-\check{z}i/*-\check{z}u$ / (after certain cnss) $*-\check{c}i$, converbium imperfecti $>$ MM $-\check{z}i/-\check{c}i \sim -\check{z}u/-\check{c}u$, WrM $-\check{z}u$ / (after b, s, g, r, d) $-cu$, HIM $-\check{z}\check{i}/-\check{c}\check{i}$, Ord, Mgl $-\check{z}i/-\check{c}i$, Mnr H $-\check{z}i$, Dg $-\check{z}i/-\check{c}i$, Kl {KRS} $-\check{z}b/-\check{c}b$. In some modern M lges this form or more probably a compound form $*-\check{z}i\check{y}ay$ has got the meaning of Past Imperfect: HIM $-\check{z}\check{e}/-\check{c}\check{e}$ -, Brt $-\check{z}a/-\check{z}a$ ¶ Pp. IM 265-7, 276-7 || ? Ko: MKo $-it-$ [-id-] $>$ NKo $-at-/ -\check{e}t-$, marker of the past ¶ BooK 94 ¶¶ Pp. IM 266 (T, M), Rm. EAS I 23-6, IS I 218 (T, M, ?Ko; $*\div$ Tg $*-da/*-de$, marker of "aorist", while in fact $*-d-$ [and $-d-$ $<$ $*-r-$ in some cns. clusters] is a derivational sx of certain verbal stems rather than a tense marker, / Sun. G 44-9, 53-4, 69-73, 106, 313-16) ◇ \approx IS I 218-19 (N $*-di$, sx of p. $>$ D $*-t(t)-$ of p., A [T $*-ti/-ti \sim -\delta I/-\delta I$ of the definite past, M $*-\check{z}i / *-\check{c}i$ of the converbium imperfecti + $*\div$ Tg $*-da/*-de$ of the "aorist"], with a query: IE: Gmc $*-\delta a$, marker of the past [but an alternative etymology drawing back $*-\delta a$ to the IE pp. sx $*-t\check{o}-$ is based on good arguments and is preferable, / Me. OG 107-10], K $*-di$, misinterpreted as marker of the past, while in fact this sx $*-d-$ is a marker of the ip. aspect, which is not connected necessarily with the past tense [it is used for both past and future, as well as imv. etc.]; IS

did not distinguish between N ***d^ri¹** of imperfectiveness and N ***t¹∇** [marker of passive participial constructions]).

497. *diŕê (~ ***d^rHU**) 'to put, to place' > **HS**: WS ***√(w)dŕ** > Ar **√wdŕ** *G* (ip. -daŕ-) 'poser, placer, mettre', Sq {L} **√dĥ**, ps. **dyaĥ** 'être posé, être couché', caus.-rf. 'šedāĥ 's'appuyer, se coucher', Mh **√wdŕ** *Sh* (pf. {Jo.} šəwde, {DRS} šəwde) {Jo.} 'keep safe, keep sth. safe for so., {DRS} 'conserver un dépôt', ?? Mh **√dĥw** (pf. dəĥō) v. 'pull oneself along by one's arms' ¶ BK II 1508-9, L LS 125, Jo. M 68, 421, ≈ DRS 503 || ? Eg fOK **d(w)** inf. 'place, put', {EG} **w d**, {Fk.} **w d¹** v. 'place, put' (< ****√(w)dŕ** due to metanalysis of ***√wdŕ** as **w-d** 'extend the hand?') ¶ EG I 384-7 and V 421, Fk. 72 and 308-9 || C: Bj {R} ? **dā-s-**, **dādā-s-** 'legen', **√wd²** pcv. (1s: p. 'au dā², pppf. 'ī wdā², pres. awan dī²) 'setzen, stellen' ¶ R WBd 56, 236 || Ch ***d¹∇** v. 'put' > WCh: Gmy {ChL} (ni)dū 'put down' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} **dš** 'legen, stellen', Db ti dīyu 'put down' || ECh: Mu {J} **dír** / **dēs** / **dēr** / **dírrà** 'mettre, poser' ¶ ChC s.v. 'put' and 'put down', ChL, Lk. L 88, J Mu s.v. **dír** ¶¶ ***w-** in WS ***√wdŕ** and in pre-Eg ****√(w)dŕ** goes back to a HS stirps-making px of intransitive verbs and (transformed into the infix ***-u-**) of passive forms of verbs (*see below Abbreviations of grammatical, phonological and orthographic terms, forms and classes of words...*) || **K *de w-/*d(w)-** v. 'lay, put' > G **d-** / **de v-** / **d v-** (vt., neutral version) 'lay, legen' (1s pres. **v-deb**, 3s aor. **-v-do-** ~ **-v-dw-a**, 1s aor. **-v-de v-i**), (ps. of state) v. 'lie' (**s-de v-s**, **u-de v-s** 'liegt bei'), Mg **d v-** ~ **zv-** v. 'put' (**b-d vank** 'I put', aor. **kado-b-d v i** 'posui'), Lz **d v-** v. 'put, lay', Sv {FS ← Det.} **d-** v. 'put', 'hinlegen', Sv L {Dn.} **d-** 'put, put on (clothes)', msd. L **li-d-i** ¶¶ FS K 100-1, FS E 106-7 (***de w-/*d w-**), Chik. 269-270, Q 224-5, Chx. 220-3, Marr 138-9, GP 150, Dn. s.v. **d-**, ≠ K 72-3 (***d(w)-** v. 'lie, put'; in fact, the meaning 'lie' is secondary and is conditioned by grammatical forms [G passive of state]) ¶ The element ***-w-** is likely to go back to a sx || **IE *d^heh¹- / *d^hej¹h¹-** v. 'put, lay', {Blz.} ***d^he?¹-** id., {EI} ***d^heh¹-** 'put, place' > Ht {Ts.} **te-** / **dai-** (~ **tai-**) 'setzen, legen, stellen', {EI} **dāi** 'puts, lays' (< ***d^heh¹-j¹-ej¹**); Lc **ta-** ~ **tā**, Lw **d u w a-** 'placer', HrLw **t u (w a)-** 'mettre', 'aufstellen, setzen, legen', Lc **t u w e-** id. ({Ts.} 'errichten'), Ld **c u (v e)-** 'errichten, erbauen' are more likely to go back to the N variant etymon ***d^rHU**; but Ht **dā-** v. 'take' and HrLw **tā-** id. belong to N ***t¹EŕU** 'take' (q.v.), while Lc M {ABIv.} **dā-/d u-** v. 'give (?)' and Ld **dā v** 'I give (?)' belong rather to **IE *deh^w-** v. 'give' < N ***toH^rü¹** ~

***ta|æH'ü'** 'bring, fetch, give' (q.v.) || NaIE *d^hē- / *d^hə- v. 'put, place' > OI 'a-dhā-t 'he put, he placed', 'dadhā-ti 'he puts, he places', Av daδā'ti 'setzt hin, bringt' || Arm **ԵՊ** ed aor. 'posuit' (1s pres. **դնեմ** 'I put') || Phr εδαεε 'er hat gesetzt' || Gk ἔ-θη-κα aor. 'I placed, I put', τύθη-μι 'I put (now), I place' || L ab-dō / inf. ab-de-re / pfc. ab-didī / sup. ab-ditum 'put away', ad-dō / inf. ad-de-re 'add', con-dō / inf. con-de-re 'put together, put, place', per-dō / inf. per-de-re 'lose', sub-dō / inf. sub-de-re 'put/place/set under, substitute', crēdō / inf. crēde-re 'trust, believe' (< *k^hred d^hē- lit. 'put the heart', cp. OI 'śrad asmaḡ dhatta 'trust him') || Gl δεδε {P} 'he put' (p.), {Billy} 'he gave' || Lt inf. dé-ti 'to put, to lay', Ltv inf. dēt 'to lay (eggs)' || Sl inf. *děti 'to put, to place' > OCS inf. **ДѢТИ** děti (1s pres. **ДѢЖАЖ** děždž and **ДѢЖА** dějž) id. ('ponere'), rf. OP, P Δ inf. dziać się 'wohin geraten', Cz inf. díti se, Slk inf. diēt' sa id., 'to get lost'; SCr inf. дѣти ђ djèti, R inf. деть, Uk inf. діти 'to place (somewhere)', Slk inf. diēt' 'to put, to hide', Blg дяна 'I put' || Tc A t̄ā-, t̄ās-, t̄as- 'ponere', p. prtc. то, B t̄ā- v. 'place, set', t̄es-, t̄ās- 'lay, set'; t̄ättā- sbjn. 'lay, set' < rdp. *d^hid^he-) ¶¶ P 235-9, EI 472, 506, Ts. W 80-1, 89, Ts. E III 5-11, 19-23, 291, Frd. HW 201-3, 220, Mer. SGA 261, 404, Mer. HHG 114-15, 119, 134-5, Lar. 100, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, Shv. SHS 265, ABIV I 85 and II 110, M K II 15, F II 897-8, WH I 3, 286-7, 362-3, Billy 62, Tum. 359, Slt. 86-7, Wn. I 464-5, Ad. 283-6, Ad. H 65, Frn. 90-2, SJSS X 552, ≈ Glh. 199-200, ≈ ESSJ IV 229-30 (without distinguishing Sl inf. *děti from *dějati 'to act') || **А:** NrTg *dī- v. 'put in' > Ewk $\hat{d}\bar{i}$ -, Lm Ol $\hat{d}\bar{i}$ - v. 'put in, insert'; ?? Tg {DQA} *dē- 'to lie' > WrMc {Z} дэду- v. 'lie down, lie' (of person or animal), Mc Sb дэду- id., Orc dē- 'bed, sleeping place' ¶ STM I 202, 227, Z 804-5 ¶¶ SDM 466 (pA *dē 'lie [liegen] > Tg *dē- + unc.: M *deb- 'lay, put. spread, bed; saddle cushion', T *jat- 'lie, sleep', pJ *dàntèr- 'spend the night'), ≈ DQA no. 377 ◇ The variant ***d∇HU** is suggested by K *deω- / *d(ω)-, Mh ✓ d^hω, Eg d(ω), Lw duωa-, HrLw tu(ωa)- and Lc tuωe- || **Е:** MEI da-h 'ich stellte hin, ich stellte auf', AchEl da-ak 'es wurde gelegt\deponiert', MEI, AchEl da-áš-da 'er hat gesetzt\ aufgestellt', MEI ta-at 'lege!' ¶¶ HK 248, 254-5, 262 ◇ Blz. IELA 7-8 (IE, Eg + unc. S *✓wd? 'achieve, finish' instead of S *✓(ω)d^h v. 'put, place') ◇ IS I 224 (*d^hα^hα: IE, S, C, Ch, Eg ωd^h 'stellen', K, U *teke- v. 'do', D: Brh tix- 'put') → BmK 261-2 (*diy-/*dey- 'throw, cast, put, place': IE, S \hat{i} *ωa-

day-, *na-day id. [reconstructed from some WS New Perfect forms like BHb $yāḍā$ and from the Ak inf. $nādū$, both misinterpreted as the basic forms of the verb], Eg); Blz. E no. 86 (E, HS).

498. *dEb∇ 'hill' > HS: C: Bj {Rop.} $dibba$ 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill', {R} ' $dibba$, $dubba$ 'hill' || Ag: Bln {R} ' $dibba$ (pl. ' $dīfef$, ' $dīfūf$) 'hill near a village (used as the gathering place for the popular assembly of the village); das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village'), Q {R} $debā$ 'mountain' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R WB 95 || **u**: FU (att. in FV) * $tāwe$ 'hill, island' (× N * $tāhipē$ 'high place, top, hill') > Lp N {N} $dievva$ / -v- '(roundish) hill', Lp L {Wk.} $tievva-$, $tjevva-$, {LLO} $tievva$ 'hill' | Z di di, Yz di 'island, small island', Z Lu di 'island, peninsula, hill' ¶ UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144, LG 94, Lt. J 110, SZ 108, TmK 198 || ?? **a**: J {S} * $d_1ipā$ 'rock, chiff' (× N * $tōpæ$ 'head, top') > OJ ipa , MJ $íphà$, J T $iwá$, J K $íwà$, J Kg $íwa$ id. ¶ S QJ no. 1242, Mr. 429, Kenk. 661 || **D** * $tipp-$ / $tiv-$ ({ǾGS} * $dibb-$?) 'hill, heap' (× N * $tāhipē$ '↑') > Tm $tippai$ 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn $tippe$ 'heap, hillock, dunghill', $dibba$, $dibbu$, $tevar(u)$ 'hillock', Tu $hippæ$ 'heap, hill', Tl $tippa$ id., 'mountain', $dibba$ 'hillock, heap', Prj $dippa$ 'heap', $dibba$ 'mound', Gdb $dibbe$ id., 'hillock', Gnd $dībe$ 'heap', $dippa$ 'highland for cultivation', Kui $dēpa$ 'rising ground, high land', Ku $debbe$, $dibba$ 'hill', Krx $dippā$ 'mound, hillock', Mlt $tube$ 'rubbish heap' ¶¶ D *-pp- may go back to *-Hp- < *-hip- in N * $tāhipē$ ¶¶ D no. 3229 ◇ Blz. NDA no. 95 (D, HS, M + err. T * $döbä$ [sc. * $t_1'öpö|u$] 'hill, peak' [actually from N * $tōpæ$ 'head, top']).

498a. *daʔúbü 'edge, end' > HS: Eg N $db.ω$ 'riverbank', Eg $v idb$ id., 'riparian land, shore of flood' > Cpt $топ$ top 'edge' ¶ EG I 153, 409 and V 434, Fk. 35, Vc. 218 || C: Bj {Rop.} $dibba$ 'mound of earth; bank, moving sandhill' || Ag: Bln {R} ' $dibba$ (pl. ' $dīfef$, ' $dīfūf$) 'das freie Feld, die Weite' (↔ 'village') || EC: Af {R} ' $dubū$ 'Steppe, Wüste, Wald', Sa {R} ' $dibō$ 'Steppe, Wüste; gathering place of men in front of the village' ¶ Rop. 168, R WBd 59, R A II 43, R S II 98 || ECh: $ʔφ$ Ke {Eb.} $téwé$ 'beenden, finish' ¶ Eb. 96 ¶¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, C) || **a** ≈ * $d|taʔub|ü$ 'end, edge' (× N * $tub∇$ 'tail, back'??) > Tg * $dubē$ 'end (of an object), top' > Ewk $duwē$ ~ $duyē$, Neg $duwē$, WrMc {Z} $дубэ$, $дубэнь$ id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} $duvə$, $duvu$ 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} $dube$ 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm $duwət$ 'top (of a tree), point', Orc, Ul $du(w)ə$, Ud, Nn Nh/Bk/KU $duə$ 'end, edge; point' ¶ STM I 218, Krm. 229, On.

164, Z 831-2, Y no. 2604, Klz. MS 140 || pJ {S} *túpí 'finish' > OJ tupji, MJ túpí 'finish', J T/K cúí-(ní), J Kg cuí-(ní) 'at last, finally' ¶ Mr. 554, S QJ no. 37, Kenk. 2048 || pKo {S} *túih 'behind, back, North' > MKo tui / tuih-, NKo twi ¶ S QK no. 367, Nam 168, MLC 517 || M *dayus- (< **daβus-?) 'finish' > MM da'us, dawus 'complete', WrM dagus- {MED} v. 'end, finish, lapse; become accomplished', HIM {MED, BMR} дyycа-, Kl {KRS} дyyc- id., {Rm.} dūs- 'zu Ende sein, aus sein; zu Ende bringen, abschließen', Brt дyycнa- 'end, finish; exterminate, liquidate', ShY dūs-, Dg dausa- v. 'end, finish', Ord d_ū_s- 'atteindre\toucher au but; s'achever, prendre fin, cesser d'exister, mourir' ¶ MED 220, BMR II 81, Chr. 206-7, KRS 218, KW 104, MYC 233, T DgJ 135, Ms. O 164 ¶¶ SDM 1381 (pA *tú|óbù 'end, edge' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 2264, S AJ 71, Rs. SKE I 275-6, ADb. SR 12 || **D** (att. in SD) *tuvak-/-ηk- ({ǂGS} *t-) v. 'begin' > Tm tuvakku, tuvarkku, Kt tov k-, ? Td tw+θk- v. 'start, begin' ¶ D no. 3350 ¶ The meaning 'begin, front' may go back to 'end' ('end' → 'extremity' → 'beginning'), e.g. Sl *kоnъ 'start, beginning' > OR kоnъ kоnъ 'end' (see N *Kañ∇ 'begin, originate, be new') or Kdg tale 'end' akin to Crn tāl 'forehead, front' (see N *tоlξA (k∇) or *tAlξ∇ (k∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip') ◇ This N word may be identical with N *dub₁?₁∇ 'back, hinder part, tail' (q.v.).

499. *dub₁?₁∇ 'back, hinder part, tail' > HS: S (+ext.) *¹dubur- 'back, rear part', *✓dbr D v. 'turn the back' (? × N *dag₁H₁or∇ 'shoulder blade', 'back [dos]' ['upper part of the back']) > Ar dubr- 'partie postérieure, dos, derrière', dubur- id., 'cul', dabr- (pl. dubūr-) 'derrière, partie postérieure', Md dibrā 'back, tail', BHb ✓dbr D (pf. דיבר dib'ber) {Eit.} 'turn the back', {KB} 'den Rücken kehren, sich abwenden', {KBR} 'turn aside, drive away, pursue', Mh ✓dbr (pf. adōbər, sbjn. yadōbər) v. 'turn the back', Hrs ✓dbr (pf. adēbər, sbjn. yadēbər) v. 'turn away (from)', with mt.: Mh {DRS} ardēb 'nuque et haut des épaules', Hrs {DRS} ardēb 'nuque'; Gz {L} ✓dbr TD (tadabbara) 'lie on one's back', ? Ak ✓dpr D (inf. duppuru) 'go away, sich entfernen' ¶ BK I 665, KB 201, KBR 209-10, Eitan 33-4, DM 102, L G 121, Jo. M 63, Jo. H 22, CAD III 186, Sd. 177, DRS 212-14, MiK I no. 1.46 || EC: LEC {Bl.} *dub- (-d→ *dab-) 'tail, hinder part' > Bn tib 'tail', Sml dab-o id., dib (< *dub-) 'short tail (of goat etc.)', Rn {PG} dúb 'tail; buttocks, backside', Bs deb-e, Elm dup ~ tup 'tail', Arr {Hw.} dúb 'buttocks, anus', Or {Grg.} dūbā, {Th.}

dūba 'after, behind', Or B/O {Sr.} dūba id., duba 'a sheep's fat tail', Or H {Ow.} dūbá 'behind, in back', Kns tup-a 'behind', tupp-ā 'upper back', Gln {AMS} tup-ē-nu 'hinter; später', tup-ē 'später', Gwd {Bl.} 'tup-en, tu'p-ēte 'behind' | HEC {Ss.} *dubb- 'tail, after, behind' > Ged duba 'tail of sheep', Brj dob'ba-ka 'younger brother' (lit. 'he who is behind') ¶ Bl. 177, Ss. B 57, Ss. PEC 15-16, PG 103-4, Oo. 72, HL 88, Hw. A 353, Grg. 113, Th. 111, Sr. 289, 291, Ow. 258, AMS 226, Hd. 237 ¶ The EC variant *dab- may go back to (or be influenced by) N ***ze'h'ibA** 'tail' (q.v.) || B *✓dfr ~ *✓d̥fr > Ah d̥æffar 'derrière', CM dæffir ɘ tæffir, Izn dæffar, Rf dæffar, Awj dæffar 'behind, after', Gh ✓d̥fr v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf ✓d̥fr id., Shl {NZ} dfur, CM dfurɘ ɘ tfaɘ 'follow' ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 296-7 ¶ The variant *✓d̥fr may be connected with N ***tubɜ∇** 'tail, back' (q.v.) || Om {Blz.} *dub- 'tail' > NrOm: Dwr {AIA} dup-iyā, {Bnd.} dūwiyā id. || SOm: (× mt. N ***žān∇ b∇** 'tail, back'?) Hm B {Bnd.} dōbana, Hm K {Bnd., Fl.} dibini 'tail' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 95, Bnd. AL 159, Fl. OWL s.v. 'tail', AIA ODS no. 134 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dub∇ {AD} 'anus', (→ ?) 'penis' > Su {J} dúp, ? Ang {ChL}, Cp dɜp, ? Gmy dèp 'penis' || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *dɜba 'back' > Hrz, Vm, Zlg dɜbá id., MfG {Brr.} dɜbá, MfG M {Brr.} dɜbá 'dos, derrière', Mf {BLB} dɜba 'dos', Gzg {Lk.} duba ~ dɜba 'Rücken', dɜbaŋ 'hinten', Mtk {BLB in JI} dɜba 'dos' | Glf {Lk.} dagbe 'Hinterer', {Röd.} dabé 'Arsch' | Msy {Mch.} dúwōŋ, {LnG} dɜdɜbâ, Db {LnG} dàwīn, Kola {Sb.} dūwɜŋ 'Hinterer, buttocks' | Gdr {Srp.} debokó, {Mch.} dúbɔ id. | Msg P {Mch.} dabā id. | Zm {Sa.} dūbū id., ZmD {KNC} dúb 'back (dos)', ?? Azm {Pc.} dāpā v. 'finish', dabiḍa 'end, last' | FJ {ChL} dúbàkú 'buttocks' || Kwn {J} tàwá 'back' ¶ JI II 7, Stl. ZCh 169 [no. 221], ChC s.v. 'back (dos)', J S 63, ChL s.v. 'back', 'buttocks' and 'penis', Brr. MG II 99, BLB 107-8, Ro. 205 [no. 37], Lk. G 120, Lk. ZSS 148, 150, Sk. HCD 50, KNC 5, Pc. 110, 113 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP no. 95 (HS *duby-: S, Om, C, Ch + *÷ B [in fact an Arabism]), OS no. 731 (*dub- 'back, tail') and no. 691 (*di(m)bur- 'back': S, CCh: WMrg dimbur 'buttocks') || **U**: FU *tupp∇ 'back, backbone' > Chr H/L tup 'back (dorsum)' | Vt тѸбѸр, Vt Kz tɜbɜr 'back (dorsum), backbone' || Hg Δ τop 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens' ¶ UEW 537-8 || **A**: Tg *dube(kī) ~ *debe(kī-) 'lower part of the back, pelvis, croup' > Ewk duwukī ɘ duɣukī ɘ dɜwɜkī, Lm dɜwki ɘ dōwki, Neg dōxi ~ dɜwɜxi 'pelvis, pelvic bones, lower back, croup (of a horse/reindeer)', Sln dɜbɜxi ~ dɜwɜxi 'side of the body', Ud dɜuxi, Ul, Nn Nh dɜwɜ, Nn

KU dɜuki 'pelvis, pelvic bones', Ork dɜwɜ id., 'croup of reindeer', ?φ WrMc {Z} dɜ 'pelvic bone', 'croup, lower back' ¶ STM I 218, Z 828 ◇ This etymon may be identical with N *daʔûbu 'edge, end' (q.v.) ◇ FU *-pp- is a regular reflex of N *-bʔ-: || ?σ E: NEI ti-pi 'Hals (?)' ¶¶ HL 333 ◇ D {ʔGS} [D no. 3393] *tūv-/ *tupp- 'feather' (not 'bird's tail', as interpreted by Blz.!) is hardly to be adduced here (≠σ). We may suppose genetic ties between this D word and Gil [d_ub_r] (= [tup_r]) 'feather' ◇ Blz. E no. 14 (E, HS), ≠ Blz. DA 155 [no. 30] and ≠ Blz. NDA no. 29 (in both: HS, D).

500. ₂ *dAd∇ 'thick, fat, large' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} dadɔd- v. 'be fat', dadɔdo adj. 'fat', Shn {R} dɔdɔdo id. ¶ C SE IV 426, R K 277 || ECh: Mkl {J} dóddírè 'long, big' ¶ J LM 83 || SC: Alg {Wh.} dādir 'large' (or to N *did∇ 'large, big'?) ¶ Wh. IC 27 ¶¶ Mkl dóddírè and Alg dādir suggest the existence of a HS root ext. *r || D *taɫ-, {GS} *daɫ- 'large, thick, stout' > Tm taɫa 'large, broad, full', Ml taɫa 'large, great', taɫi 'stout, robust', Kt daɫ 'ε thick thread', Kn daɫɫa 'state of being thick\stout\robust', Tu daɫa 'thickness; thick', Krg dadɔda 'big', Tl daɫɫamu 'thick, dense', Klm dadpā, Nkr dʰaʔapā 'good', Gnd ɔargāl 'pot-bellied man', Knd ɔaɫam 'too much\many; thickly', Kui ɔāɫā 'strength; strong', ɔāɔa v. 'increase in number', Krx ɔaʔyā 'stout. thick', Mlt ɔaɫe 'difficult' ¶¶ D no. 3020, GS 176-7 [no. 445] ◇ Connected with N *did∇ 'large'? May *dAd∇ and *did∇ be two contractions of N **dAʔyʔid∇?

501. *did∇ 'large, big' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} didɔn v. 'be thick, be voluminous (umfangreich), be fat', rel. adj. sg. m. didɔn-aω 'thick\ voluminous \ fat', f. didɔn-'dɔy, pl. didɔn-aʷk id., {BSW} 'dīnnɜw 'thick', Xm T {CR} didɔno adj. 'fat' || SC: Brn {Wh.} didir 'large' || Ch: ɔ Gdr {IS ← ?} dīde 'big' ¶ AD GDS 72, R Ch II 352, BSW KhWL 7, Wh. IC 27, IS I 219 ¶¶ AD GDS 72 || K: pGZ *did- 'big' > OG did-i 'great', G did- 'big, elder', Mg, Lz did- 'big' ¶ K 73, Chik. 234, FS K 103 || IE: NaIE *d₁h₁id₁h₁-(i-) 'big' > Lt dīdis, Ltv dižs 'big, large, great', Lt did- (1s pres. did-aũ, inf. disti) v. 'become big\large' ¶ ≠ Frn. 93, Kar. I 222 ◇ IS I 219, AD GDS 72 ◇ Connected with N *dAd∇ 'thick, fat, large'?

502. *dod₁h₂∇ '≈ tip, nipple; to suck, to suck mother's breast' > HS: B *√₁w₁d₁d₁ v. 'suck (the breast)' > BSn ɔt₁t₁ɔd₁, BMn ɔt₁t₁ɔd₁, Izn ɔt₁t₁ɔd₁, Rf, SrSn ɔt₁t₁ɔd₁, Izd t₁ɔd₁, Ty ɔt₁t₁ɔd₁, Kb ɔt₁t₁ɔd₁ 'téter, être tété', Izn, Rf, SrSn y₁d₁y₁d₁ 'allaitement, action de tété', Shl/CM {NZ} √₁t₁t₁d₁ 'téter', Zng {TC} a₁d₁u₁ɔ₁ 'allaiter' ¶ Rn. 311, Mrc. 249, GhA 30, Dl. 835, La. S 302, DCTC

289, NZ 433-5 || EC: Or $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'suck (e.g. with a straw)', Arr {Hw.} $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\text{h}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}$ - 'suck marrow out of a bone', HEC {Hd.} $*\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ - v. 'suck' > Ged $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ - v. 'suck (e.g. a lemon)', Hd $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ - v. 'gulp', Sd $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}$ - v. 'suck, drink by sucking (e.g. with a straw)'; ? C \rightarrow Amh $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{t}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'nipple of baby bottle' (unless a Lallwort) ¶ Hd. 146, Gs. 331, Grg. 384, Hw. A 355, L CAD 235 || ?σ S: Ak $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'ε a thorny plant' ¶ Sd. 148 ('eine Dornpflanze'), CAD III 17 ($\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}$ [plant]) || D (att. in SD) $*\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}$ ({fGS} $*\text{t}$ -) 'point, nipple' > MI $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$, Tu $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'nipple of the breast', Kn $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{u}}$ id., 'point' ¶ D no. 3488 || K $*\text{dud}$ - 'point, tip, upper end, nipple' > G Gr/UA/F dud -i 'sinciput, crown\top of the head, cock's comb', Mg dud - 'head', Lz dud - 'crown of the head, top, tip', Sv {K} $\text{dud}\bar{\text{u}}$ - 'nipple (of breast)', Sv UB {GP} $\text{dud}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'breast, nipple' ¶¶ K 75, K² 42-3, GhI. 213, Chik. 44, Zhgh. ChT 8, GP 97 || IE: NaIE $*\text{d}_\text{h}_1\text{ed}^\text{h}$ - ({P} $*\text{d}^\text{h}\text{ed}^\text{h}\text{n}$ -, {Dv.} $*\text{dad}^\text{h}$ -) 'milk' (× N $*\text{č}\bar{\text{a}}\text{d}_\text{h}_1\text{y}\bar{\text{y}}$ 'female breast', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. IS I 222 [no. 72] ($*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\lambda\bar{\text{a}}$) (D, K + [hardly acceptable] U $*\text{tu}\hat{\text{z}}\text{ka}$ 'point, upper end'), IS MS 352 ('оконечность' $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\lambda\bar{\text{a}}$) and IS SS 323 [no. 3.2] (the same comparison); in my opinion, FU $*\text{tu}\hat{\text{z}}\text{ka}$ - belongs to N $*\text{tu}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{y}}$ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' (q.v.). In B and EC the glottalization of the cns. is due to onomatopoeic or Lallwort influence ◇ The semantic history of this word may have been: 'point, nipple' → 'suck the nipple\breast' → 'suck' (encouraged by the Ll.-factor for the meaning 'suck the breast').

503. $*\text{d}'\bar{\text{u}}\text{ga}$ 'suitable, fit, good' > A $*\text{d}|\text{t}'\bar{\text{u}}\text{ga}$ 'good' > M $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{y}$ - (< ppM $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{y}}\text{i}$ -?) > Ord $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{y}$ - 'être comme il convient ou comme il est nécessaire que se soit, être bien, être conforme à la vérité \ à la droite raison', WrM {MED} $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{i}$ - 'receive a discount, buy wholesale and cheap', HIM $\text{d}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{y}}$ - {MED} id., {BMR} 'correspond', {Luv.} 'buy\sell wholesale and cheap'; M $*\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{y}$ > WrM {BMR} $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{i}$ 'skill, dexterity', HIM $\text{d}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{y}}$ {BMR} id., {BMR} id., 'Geübtheit (навык), сноровка', Brt $\text{d}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{y}}$ 'experience, Geübtheit (навык), сноровка' ¶ MED 279, BMR II 83, 85, Luv. 162, Chr. 207, Ms. O 168 || ??σ M $*\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}$ '≈ all right, yes' > WrM (← HIM) $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}$, HIM $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'all right, yes, very good' (answering a request), IM {T} $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}$ $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{e}}$ id., Brt $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'well, all right' (answering a request), Dg $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{e}}$ ~ $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Dx/ShY {MYC} $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., Ord $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}$: 'bien, eh bien, oui'; \rightarrow M $*\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}$ > WrM $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}$ {MED} 'for certain, absolutely', HIM $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{v}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ adv. {MED} id., {BMR} 'ganz gewiß, unbedingt, во что бы то ни стало', Brt $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}$ adv. 'ganz gewiß, unbedingt', Ord $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'en tout cas, sans faute, sans faillir, absolument, indubitablement' ¶ M $*\text{a}$ of the initial syll. is

probably due to regr. as. (pA *-ü...a > M *-a...a) ¶ The initial *ǰ- suggests that M *ǰaʎa goes back to ppM **ǰiʎa < *diʎa < pA*d|tūga ¶ MYC 416, MED 1019, 1022, BMR II 189, Chr. 239, SM 81, 87, T VM 151, T DgJ 143, Mr. D 176, Ms. O 176, 190 || pKo *tjōh- 'good' > MKo tjōh-, NKo cōh- cō-, Ko Sl cō:ttʰa, Ko Ks cōttʰà ¶ S AJ 252 [no. 36], S QK no. 36, Nam 162, MLC 1488 || pJ *dž- 'good' > OJ yō-, MJ yò-, J T í-, J Kr è-, J Sh yu-ta- ¶ S AJ 265 [no. 32], S QJ no. 32, Mr. 845, Kenk. 583-4 ¶¶ SDM 478-9 (pA *dǰōge > J, Ko, M *ǰaʎa + unc. T *jǎ:ǰg 'better' [i.e.*]æg) [probably from N *raǰaX∇ 'arrange, put in order', q.v.], DQA no. 388 (id.), SDM 399-400 (pA *ǰjōge 'give, exchange' > M *düyi- + unc.: Tg *jugē- v. 'exchange' and pKo *ǰú- 'give' [both belonging to *ǰúʎ'∇g∇ or *ǰúg∇'ʎ'∇ 'bring'], T *tǰg- v. 'cost, be worth' and pJ *tai- or *tia- 'goods for exchange'), SDM97 (A **dōge), S AJ 275 [no. 30] || HS: S *o✓dʎg > Ar ✓dʎǰ ⇨ Ar duwāǰ- ~ duwǰāǰ- 'beauty' ('nitor, pulchritudo') ¶ BK I 746, Fr. II 68 || IE: NaIE *dʰeugʰ- v. 'be ready, prepare', {EI} 'be useful, produce sth. useful' (→ ?? *dʰeugʰ- 'fortune') > Gk τεύχω 'I prepare, I make' || Clt: Ir {P} dúal 'suitable, fit', NIr {Dnn.} dúal 'right, proper, natural' (< *dʰugʰ-lo-) || Gt inf. dugan 'taugen, nützen', ON inf. duga, AS inf. duzan, OHG inf. tугan 'to suit', NHG inf. taugen 'to be useful/fit'; Gmc p./pres.: Gt daug (συμφέρει) 'taugt', AS déaz, OHG toug 'is fit for, taut' || Sl *dugь 'strength' > OR ДУГЪ dugь, OCz, Cz duh id. (Cz sloužití \ jíti k duhu, Slk byt' k duhu 'to be of benefit'); ? BSl: Sl *dužьbь 'strong, big' > Uk, R Δ 'дужий id., OR ДЮЖИИ djužii, R дужий, P dužy 'strong, big', Cz duží, Slk dúži 'strong'; Sl *duže 'very, much' > R Δ дюже id., P dužo, Uk Δ дуже 'much', OP dužo, Blr дужа 'very' || Lt daũg 'much' || NaIE *dʰeugʰ- v. 'melken' > OI du'hati ~ 'doghdi 'melkt, milcht die Wunschkuh'; ⇨ NaIE *dʰugʰater- ~ *dʰugater- 'daughter' (from*'the sucking child') > OI duhi'tar-, Av dugadar, duǰdar-, Prs duxtar id. || Arm դուստր dustr id. || Gk θυγάτηρ id. || Osk futir id. || Clt {Matas.} *duxtīr 'daughter' > Gl dixtir, CltI gen tuateros id., OIr Der-, Der- (in proper names) || Grm: Gt dauhtar, ON dōttir, OHG tohter, NHG Tochter, NE daughter || Lt dukteĩ (gen. dukteĩs), OPr duckti || Sl: OCS ДЪЩИ дъшти (gen. ДЪЩЕРЕ дъштере) id., Blg дъще'ря, OCz dcí, Cz dcera, Slk dcéra, Pol cora, córka id. || Tc A dkacar, Tc B tkacer 'daughter' ¶ P 271, 277, EI 211, 614, F II 888, Dnn. 266, ESSJ V 150, 167-8, ≠ SPS

IV 195 (pSl *d_og_ɔ 'strength' rather than *dug_ɔ), ≈ Vr. 86, Fs. 116, 127-8, Ho. 70, 79, OsS 965-6, Schz. 288, Kb. 1043, KM 773, Frn. 84, Matas. E 109-10 || ?? amb K: it is tempting to adduce K *^odg-/ *^odeg- > G (gamo-)dg- v. 'be useful\fit\suitable' (Chx. 293), unless this is a sd. of the root *dg- 'stand' ◇ NaIE *d^heug^h- and S *^o✓d_wg point to a N labialized vw. of the first syll., while the T and M vowels are not labialized. The problem needs further research ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 1.

504. ₂ *dāhgU 'watch, look at' > HS: [1] HS *✓dhg > SES *✓dhg 'look, stare' > Jb C {Jo.} ✓dhg (pf. e¹doh₃g) v. 'look down, have a fixed stare', ✓dhg (pf. ed¹heg, sbjn. 3m ¹yεdh₃g) v. 'look fixedly', Mh ✓dhg (pf. d₃hēg) v. 'look at sth. with such concentration that one does not hear what is said to one', ✓dhg (pf. h₃d_hōg) v. 'look into the distance not thinking' ¶ Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66 || Eg fP dg_y, Eg fMd dg₃ v. 'see, look' ('sehen, [er]blicken, betrachten') ¶ EG V 497-8, Fk. 316 || C: Bj {R} ✓dg^w (1s p. a-¹d_ug, pres. aⁿ¹d_ig) 'nachsehen, überschauen, prüfen' ||| LEC {Ss.} *-deg-/-d_og- pcv. 'recognize, perceive' (× N *tu[?]g¹ ▽ [or *t_u[?]g¹ ▽?] 'listen, hear') > Rn degey ~ degeh v. 'scout, spy', Sa {Wlm.} -d_ig- ~ -deg-, {Ss.} -edeg- v. 'recognize, perceive', Af {PH} -ēdege 'know, understand' (3m p. yēdegeh), Arr {Hw.} -tteg-/-ttig- 'know' (1s ?íttige, 2s, 3f téttege, 3m yéttege), HEC: Kmb {Hd.} dag- 'know, find'; Sa/Af *-d_i- may go back to the cluster *?- (the px of 1s) + *-d- (see the secondary emphatization of the stem-initial cns. in the 1s forms in Aw) ¶ AD SF 255, R WBd 62, Clz. 115, PG 102, PH 95, 255, Hw. A 453, Hd. 313 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} d_ig_i 'think' (× N *t_u[?]g¹ ▽ '↑') ¶ Eb. 43 ¶¶ AD SF 255 (Eg, C), OS no. 618 (*dag-> Eg, EC, Kr), Tk. I 226-7 (S, Eg, C, ECh) ||| [2] HS (+ext.) *✓d_lh_lg_l > S *✓dgl v. 'look at' > Ak ✓dgl G (inf. d_ag_āl_u) 'look, look at', BHb (<G, ps. prtc.) 𐤃𐤓𐤁𐤍 dā'g_ūl 'outstanding' (← *'seen'), Sr ✓dgl G 'contemplate, examine' ¶ KB 205, KBR 213, Br. 141, Sd. 149, CAD III 21-2 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} d_ug_urú 'look (at)' ||| CCh: Mlw {Trn.} d_ug_ul_i 'look (at), see', Msg P {Trn.} d_ug_ul_i v. 'visit', d_ug_ol_n. 'visit' ¶ Sch. DN 50, TrnSL 196, Trn. LM 85, ChC s.v. 'look at' ¶¶ Mlw, MsgP d_i- < HS *dh-? ¶¶ OS no. 757 (*d_ug_ol > Eg, S, Ch) ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) *tākk_u- v. 'look, watch' > Hg tekint- v. 'look at' || Os V/Vy tā_ʒən- 'im Gedächtnis, im Sinn behalten, sich erinnern, Kenntnis haben' ¶ UEW 893 ◇ The comparison is valid if FU *-kk- can be explained by the devoicing effect of N *h (*-hg- > *-hk- > *-kk-).

505. (₂?) *dag₁H₁or∇ 'shoulder blade', 'back (dos)' ('upper part of the back?') > A *dagar(in) or *dagar∇m ({Adb.} *δaγr∇m) 'the waist part of backbone' > NaT *jagrIn 'shoulder blade as part of the back' (× T *jagiriN ~ *jagiriNi 'back of a pack animal' ← NaT *jagiri 'back\withers of a horse' < N *z'a'gir'U' 'back [dorsum]') > OT {Cl., DTS} jarin 'shoulder blade', MOg XIV [IM], XwT XIII, OOSm XIV, MT [IM] jaγrin, Uz jaγrin, VTt {Rl.} žawrɛn, Δ jawrɛn, Qzq jawrin, StAlt žarin, SY jarin, Xk, Tv čarin id., Tk цағрин id., 'upper part of the back', Tb jarin, QK jarin 'shoulder blade, shoulder', Tkm Δ jaγ(ι)rin, SbTt yawɛrɛn, Qq žawirin, Yk sarin 'shoulder', Blq žavrun & žaurun 'shoulder blade', Qrg žōrun 'shoulder blade (bone)', Bsh jawrɛn 'заплечье' ('place behind the shoulders?'), jawrɛn qarɣi 'rucksack' (lit. 'sack behind the shoulders'), jawrɛntaq '(a man) having large shoulders', Nog jawirin 'shoulder blade, shoulder', Qmq jawrun 'upper part of the back' ¶ Adb. SR 139-41, DTS 241, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Bai. TK 293, Cl. 970 (considering jarin to be the original form, while the variant jaγrin 'shoulder blade' in the T lges is in Cl.'s mind a result of the infl. of jaγir 'saddle gall', which "perhaps evolved from 'the part of the animal where saddle galls occur'" [Cl. 905]; but if DTS is right in interpreting OT jaγrin-la- as v. 'strike on so.'s shoulder blades' in MKA III 343 [DTS 225], it suggests that *jaγrin 'shoulder blade' existed in OT), San. 333v4, PC 528-9, Rl. III 42-3, Bu. II 356, TTDS 563, BR 728 || M *daγarin 'saddle sore' > MM [S] da₁ari, [MA] dāri id., WrM {MED} dagarī, dair, HIM {MED, BMR} дайр, даарь 'saddle sore, abrasion (ссадина)', Brt дайр 'wound, ссадина', Mnr H {SM} dāri 'meurtrissure sur le dos des bêtes de somme', Ord dāri 'blessure causée par le frottement de la selle ou du bât'; M → Tg: Sln dagarī, Lm daγɛrɛn, WrMc {Z} даринь, Mc Sb darin 'saddle sore'; ← : Ork dāri-, WrMc {Z} дари- 'make a saddle sore on horse's\reindeer's back' ¶ H 30 (da'ari 'Geschwür\Druckstelle auf dem Rücken'), Pp. MA 139, MED 218, 222, BMR II 6, 21, Chr. 182, SM 45, Ms. O 122, STM I 188, Z 794-5 || Tg: **[1]** ?φ Tg *darama > Ewk darama 'waist', Ewk I, Neg darama 'waist, back', Ewk Brg/O darama 'waist, backbone', Sln darama 'back', Lm дарьм 'waist, vertebra near the waist', Orc dāma 'waist', Ud dāma 'waist, waist part of the backbone', Ul darama 'waist, back', Ork darama id., 'backbone, vertebra of the waist', Nn Nh/Bk darama, Nn Bk/KU darma 'back', WrMc {Z} дарама, дарма, дара 'waist, sacrum, back',

Mc Sb {Y} *darāmā* 'spine, the line of the backbone' ¶ STM I 198, On. 140, Z 794, 796, Y no. 95 | [2] Tg (with loss of pA *-r-) **daga-ńa* > Ewk *daḡańa* 'hip; thighbone (femur), humerus, shinbone', Neg *daḡańa* 'shinbone', Ork *dana* 'hip; femur, humerus, upper arm' ¶ STM I 188 ¶¶ SDM 457-8 (pA **dag*∇ > T, M, Tg **daga-*), DQA no. 349, ADb. SR-D 443 [no. 1], 452, ADb. MSR || D **tokor*|r- ({{GS}} **ḡ-*, *-g-) 'back (dos)' > Klm *ḡogor* 'back', Gnd *ḡogor peḡeka* 'backbone', ? Kui *ḡōkōli* 'rear part of the cranium' ¶¶ D no. 2979 || ?φ HS: S **dubur-* 'back (dos)', **√dbr* D v. 'turn the back' (× N **dub*_ḡ|r- 'back, hinder part, tail', q.v.) > Ar *dubr-* 'partie postérieure, derrière; dos, derrière', *dubur-* id., 'cul', *dabr-* (pl. *dubūr-*) 'derrière, partie postérieure', Md *dībra* 'back, tail', BHb *√dbr* D (pf. *ḡḡḡḡḡḡ* *dib'ber*) {Eit.} 'turn the back', {KB} 'den Rücken kehren, sich abwenden', {KBR} 'turn aside, drive away, pursue', Mh *√dbr* (pf. *adōbḡr*, sbjn. *yadōbḡr*) v. 'turn the back', Hrs *√dbr* (pf. *adēbḡr*, sbjn. *yadēbḡr*) v. 'turn away (from)', with mt.: Mh {DRS} *ardēb* 'nuque et haut des épaules', Hrs {DRS} *ardēb* 'nuque'; Gz {L} *√dbr* TD (*tadabbara*) 'lie on one's back', ? Ak *√dpr* D (inf. *duppuru*) 'go away, sich entfernen' ¶ BK I 665, KB 201, KBR 209-10, Eitan 33-4, DM 102, L G 121, Jo. M 63, Jo. H 22, CAD III 186, Sd. 177, DRS 212-14, MiK I no. 1.46 ¶ S *-b- in **dubur-* belongs to the heritage of N **dub*_ḡ|r- ◇ D *-k- in **tokor*|r- is likely to go back to a N cns. cluster (*-gH-) ◇ D **o* of the first syll. (for the expected **a*) is probably due to regr. as. (***a...o* > **o...o*). The unexpected D *-k- ({{GS}} *-g-) still requires explanation ◇ ADb. SR-D 443, 452 (A, D, EA).

506. **d*∇wḡ|ḡ∇ 'sun, day, morning' (→ 'be bright as the sun') > HS: Eg *d̄w̄ḡ.ḡ* 'morning' > Cpt B *ṭōōyi* *ṭōūi* id. ¶ *ḡ* for the expected *ḡ* may be due to a change **d...ḡ* > *d...ḡ* (evidenced by the absence of combinations *dḡ*, *d̄w̄ḡ* and *d̄ḡ* among Eg stems, except for the Semitism *ḡdḡ* 'clever') ¶ EG V 422-5, Vc. 317 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} *dōē* 'morning', {GKrs.} *dáwai*, {Brt.} *dawōī* 'tomorrow' || ECh: Smr {J} *dáwá*, Tmk {Cp.} *dēw*, Nd D {J} *žów* 'sun' || Li {Grgs} *tùwa*, Kbl {Cp.} *tàbà* id. || Ke {Eb.} *č́śwá*, Kwn {Lk.} *tua*, {J} *tòwá mā ḡánāḡ*, Kwn M {J} *túwá má-ánāḡ* id. ¶ JI II 313, ChC s.v. 'sun', Lk. M 49, 51, Lk. DQM, Cp. 52, Eb. 36 || K **dḡe* 'day' > OG, G *dḡe-*, Mg *dḡa-* (pl. *dḡal-*), Lz (n)*dḡa-* (pl. (n)*dḡal-*) 'day' || Sv: UB *ladäḡ*, UB/L *ladeḡ*, LB/Ln *lädeḡ* 'day' (< K d. **ḡsa-dḡe*) ¶¶ K 75-6, K² 43, FS K 101-2, Chik. 193, IS I 155 (on K **ḡ-* [IS, K] **sḡ*) > Sv *l-*), GM S 146, Test. KV 67, TK 359, Dn. s.v. *ladeḡ*, GP

133 || **A:** Tg: WrMc {Z} дуваргя усиха ~ дургя усиха 'morning star, Venus (as morning star)' (уs i χ а means 'star') ¶ STM I 218, Z 838, 840 || ? M *do₁:₁rona 'east' (if *o₁:₁ < *∇w∇) (x ← M *doura ~ *dōra 'below' [> WrM doura 'below', cf. MED 366]) > MM [HI, S] dorona, WrM {MED} dorun-а, HIM {MED, BMR} дорно, Brt дурна, WrO dorono 'east', KI {KRS} дорд dordъ 'east' (x дорд 'lower'), Ord d_orono 'eastern' ¶ MED 263, BMR II 56, H 37, Ms. H 50, Krg. 656, KRS 208, Chr. 203, Ms. O 153 || ?σ **D** (att. in McTm) *tav- > Tm tavaṇai 'fixed term of payment of a due, limited time', Ml tavaṇa 'fixed time\term' ¶ D no. 3108 || ?σ **IE:** NaIE *d^he₁w₁a₁- 'be bright, shine' > OI dhava¹la- 'dazzling white' || Gk [Hs., Theo.] θέω 'hell glänzen', 'shine, gleam', 'be very bright, be white' (e.g. of teeth) ¶ P 261, M K II 95-6, LS 796, F I 669 ◇ The D cognate suggests a N vw. ***A** in the initial syll., while the Mc and M rounded vowels are likely to be due to the labializing infl. of ***w** ◇ ≠ IS I 221 [no. 70] (*di₁ga 'bright'; IS equated K *d₁ye 'day' with IE *d^hei₁h- [sc. *d^hey₁h-] v. 'see', which is unc., because IE *d^hey₁h- is obviously nearer to EC *dey-/ *doy- v. 'look at', F N *di¹h¹a 'look at'), BmK 270-1 (*dag-/ *dæg-: K + IE {Pv.} *d^ho₁g^ho- 'day' + S [Gz dagdaga v. 'be early in the morning'] + D *id.* [Tm taka-tak-eṇal, which is an onomatopoeic expression of dazzling etc.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (err.: he equated K *d₁ye 'day' with IE *de₁j₁(w)- 'shine; daylight' [in fact from N *ti¹û 'shine, be bright'] and reconstructed pN *d^ho₁-; his IE-K comparison is unacceptable because IE *de₁j₁(w)- has no lr.).

507. (2?) *di¹h¹a 'look at' > **HS:** EC *dey-/ *doy- v. 'look at' ({Bl.} pLEC *dōy-) > Sml day v. 'examine', Bn day- v. 'try, test', Arr {Hw.} dōy- v. 'look at', Kns, Gdl tōy- v. 'look at, watch', Elm {Ss.} dōy- v. 'regard', {Bl.} an-dōy-a v. 'consider, regard', Or {Th.} dōya (nom. dōyan) 'observation', {Ss.} dōy-ā id., dōy-a? 'spy, scout', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} dōyā 'spies, robbers', Hd dō- v. 'lurk, spy', as well as possibly Arr {Hw.} day- v. 'find, obtain', Hr tay v. 'find' and Ya tey- v. 'find, get' ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Bl. 263, Th. 109, Sr. 289, Hw. A 352-3 || ? S: Ak OA dātum 'notice, information'; the word is not likely to go back to S *^odi¹ṣat-um 'knowledge' (> BHb הַיָּדָעָה dē¹ṣā id.) from the S root *[√]wdṣ 'know' (> Ak e¹ḏū) (as suggested by Sd.) because the presence of S *ṣ would have brought about a vw. change S *a > Ak e; a contamination of N *di¹h¹a 'look at' and N *wēt₁∇₁'¹∇ 'look, see' may have produced Ak OB di₁χat₁, da₁χat₁ 'notice, information' ¶ CAD III 130-1, Sd. 168 ||

IE *dʰeyH_χ- / *dʰyeH_χ- / *dʰiH_χ- v. 'see, look at' > NaIE *dʰeyə-/*dʰyā- / *dʰī- > OI 'dīdhēti 'perceives', 'adīdhēt 'he looked at', dhī'ti h 'thought, idea', dhyā-ti 'schaut im Geiste', sc. 'denkt, sinnt' (prtc. dhyā-ta ~ dhī-'ta-), dhyā 'das Denken, Sinnen', Av dā(y)- v. 'see', ā-diδā'ti 'betrachtet', prtc. paiti-dīta- 'erblickt', NPrs inf. دیدن dīdān 'to see, to look' || Gk σῆμα, Gk D σῆμα 'sign' (< *dʰyā-mṇ, cp. OI dhyāman- 'thought') || pAl {O} *dīya > Al G/T dī- v. 'know' ('savoir'), Al G {LamP} dīj 'he knows' ¶ P 243, M K II 45, 105, Sg. 551, Horn 132, F II 695-6, My. 66, Ç I 125 and II 372, O 64-5, Mn. AIE 357, Kf. 81, LamP 147 || ?σ A: M *ǰi₁a- 'point out, show' > MM [S] ǰi₁a- 'ansagen, mitteilen', WrM ǰi₁ga- {MED} 'point out, show, demonstrate', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt 3aa- id., Kl {KRS} 3aa- id., {Rm.} zā- 'zeigen, duten, unterrichten, anleiten', Ord ǰā- 'indiquer, instiguer, enseigner, prétexter', Dx {T} ǰā- 'show, point out', Mnr H {T} ǰā- id., {SM} ǰiā- 'indiquer, promettre' ¶ H 89, MED 1049, BMR II 191, Chr. 24O, KRS 234, KW 169, Ms. O 175, SM 75, T 332, T DnJ 118 ¶ WrM -g- may be a secondary spelling device that reflects a syllable boundary ◇ The presence of a N lr. is evidenced by IE, while the zero reflex of the lr. in C may suggest either N *h or *ʔ, but *ʔ is ruled out by the IE form *dʰeyə- (because N *ʔ does not yield a syllabic lr. [> *ə] in IE). Therefore the reconstructed N lr. is most likely to be *h ◇ ≠ BmK 264-5 (*day- / *dāy-: IE, C, S *dīn- v. 'judge' [interpreted as *day-an- on the basis of deverbal nominal WS New Perfect], D *tēṭ- v. 'seek').

508. *d'E₁h₁a 'with', 'together with' ([in descendant lges] → 'and') > HS: LbB *d∇ 'and, together with' > ONum d 'with' and/or 'and' || B *id ~ *d₁i₁ 'with, together with, and' > Ah, Ty, ETwl d, əd, də, Gd d, əd, Shl, Si d 'with, and', Izd, Mz, SrSn d 'et', Izd d, id, Kb δ, yīδ, iδ-, Zng iδ 'avec'; cp. also Si {La.} dāṣa 'also' ¶ Fv. QSL 27O, Fc. 14O-4, Lf. II no. O229, Mrc. 29, 107, GhA 15-16, Dl. 125, AiM 181, 23O, La. S 198, NZ 269-7O || C: Ag *-dī 'with' > Q {R} -dī 'with, together with', Bln {R} -dī id., 'and' ¶ R WB 93, R QW 46 || Ch: WCh: Hs dā 'with, together with', dā ... dā 'both ... and' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} dḗ- 'with', Gude {Hsk.} dḗ 'with' (instr.) || ECh: Kwn {Mch.} dḗ, Ke dḗ 'with' ¶ Abr. H 153, Ba. 171-2, RpB 27, ChC s.v. 'with', ≈ Sk. HCD 38, Hsk. 171 || IE: Ht t a 'and' || NaIE *^od₁h₁ā|ō > pS1 *da 'and, but' > ChS Δ a d a 'and', OR Δ a d a 'and, but', R d a, Uk † d a id., Uk t a, Blr d y 'and', P † d a 'and, but', Blg d a ~ t a 'and', SCr † d a 'but' ¶¶ Ts. W 8O, Ts. E III 1-3, ESISJ-SGZ II 145-7, SPS II 323-6, ≈ ESSJ IV

180-1 || **K** (in GZ) *da₁: 'and' > OG, G da, Mg, Lz do 'and' ¶ K 68-9 ¶¶ Without Sv ev. we cannot distinguish between pK *a and *ā || **A** *dā > T *tā / *tā̄ (postnominal) 'and, also' > OT dā / dā̄ / ta / tã̄, Tk dā / de / ta / te, Tkm -dā / -dē, Az da / dā, Qzq da / de, Qq, Nog da / de / ta / te, VTt da / dā / ta id. (↳ Chv та ~ те 'and'), Bsh da / dā / dā̄ / dā̄̄ / ta / tã̄ 'also, and', Uz -da 'and, ве дь, же', StAlt da / de / ta / te 'and', Xk, Tv -даа -dā, Yk da 'and' ¶ Rs. MTS 236, Shch. OSMN 116, Kon. GTJ 356-7, Ash. XIII 121, 255, Fed. II 159-60 ¶ T *t for the expected intervoc. *δ is due to the generalization of the postcons. morphophonemic variant. The shortening of the vw. in Yk may be due to prosodic factors || Tg *-dā / *-dē ({Bz.} *dā) 'and, also' (an enclitic pc.): Nn -da / -dз, Ud -da / -do / -dз, Lm -dā / -dē / -tā / -tē id. ¶ Bz. 143, On. RN 83, Shn. 24, CiR RES 196-7 || **E**: NEI, AchEl dā 'auch, also, noch', AchEl te 'auch, noch' (unless dā and te go back to tak 'auch, also' [attested in MEI and NEI], as suggested by HK); but even if dā and te go back to tak, they still may belong to the N etymon in question, because tak may go back to a N word group ¶¶ HK 245, 270, 303 ◇ IS I 214-15 (*dāHΛ, an emphatic and coordinating article; *÷ Sml {R} rhematizing pc. -dā [a'minka-'dā 'gerade, neben jetzt']; the pc., which is cognate with Bln {R} -tā̄, goes back to the dem. prn. connected with the N dem. prn. *tā̄); ≠ BmK 275-6 (they and IS do not distinguish between the etymon in question [in IE, K, Ch] and the N locative pc. *da 'in' [< N *d₁oy₁a 'place', q.v.]); Blz. E no. 76 (on Elamic dā; E, HS) ◇ The Slavic jussive\optative cnjc. *da 'ut' and M *-da / -*de (identifying pc. underlining consent or impatience [F MED 211]) (both adduced by IS) hardly belong here, because they are semantically too far from 'with' and 'and'.

509. *de'ʔo'He 'make, do' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} -dīʔ (p.: 1s a-dīʔ, 3f ted'ʔit, pres. 1s a-danīʔ, prtc. 'dīʔa) v. 'prepare, make' ¶ R WBd 56 || Ch: CCh: FIJ {ChL} dè, FIM {ChL} dī v. 'do', Bcm {Sk.} dā v. 'make' || Db {Mch.} di 'faire', {Lnh.} dūyà, Msgy {Mch.} da v. 'make' || Gude {Hsk.} dā 'do, make' || Ech: Kwn {J} dē id. ¶ JI II 229, ChC s.v. 'make', ChL, Mch. D 117, Hsk. 182 || **IE** *d^heH̄- / *d^hH̄_o- v. 'make, do' > OPrs a-dādā 'he created (schuf, machte [zu etwas])' || Itc: Um FEITU, fetu 'facito'; (+ext.): L facio, inf. facē-re / pfc. fēc-ī / sup. factum 'make, do', Osc fakiiaḍ, Um faciā 'faciat', Osc (pfc. cnj.) FEFACIT 'fecerit' || OHG tuo-m ~ tō-m, AS dō-m 'I do', OHG inf. tuo-n, NHG inf. tun,

AS, OSx inf. $\text{d}\bar{o}$ -n 'to do', NE do ; p. OHG teta , NHG tat 'I did', NE di d ||| Sl inf. $*\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{j}\text{a-ti}$, 1s pres. $*\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{j-q}$ > OCS inf. $\Delta\text{ѣяти}$ $\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{j}\text{ati}$ / 1s pres. $\Delta\text{ѣю}$ $\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{j}\text{q}$ 'do, act', Blg не дей 'do not do!', Slv inf. $\text{dej}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ti}$ 'to do' (secondary homonymy with $\text{dej}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ti}$ 'to say' and $\text{dej}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ti}$ 'to put'), OCrt inf. $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{eti}$ / 1s pres. $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{em}$ v. 'do' (homonymy with $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{eti}$ / $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{em}$ v. 'say'), Cz inf. $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{ti}$ 'to do', Slk inf. $\text{dej}\text{at}'$ 'to do', OP inf. $\text{dzia}\acute{\text{c}}$ 'to do', R Δ inf. 'деять 'to do'] d. NaIE $*\text{d}^{\text{h}}\bar{e}\text{-l-}$ / $*\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{o-l-}$ > pSl $*\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{lo}$ 'deed' > OCS $\Delta\text{ѣло}$ $\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{lo}$, SCr дѣло $\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{lo}$, R, Blg 'дело id., Slv $\text{d}\acute{\text{e}}\text{lo}$, Cz $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{lo}$, Slk $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{elo}$ 'work', P $\text{dzie}\acute{\text{ł}}\text{o}$ 'work, deed' ||| ON $\text{d}\bar{a}\text{ell}$ 'easy, facilis' (< Gmc $*\text{daliz}$) ¶ P 235-9, Hinz 42, WH I 440-4, Bc. G 316, 335, Schz. 289-90, KM 796-7, Kb. 1048, Ho. 75, Ho. S 13, Vr. 92, SJSS X 553-4, StSS 205; \approx EI 472, 506 and \approx ESSJ IV 229-30 (both fail to distinguish between $*\text{d}^{\text{h}}\bar{e}\text{h-}$ 'put' and $*\text{d}^{\text{h}}\bar{e}\text{h-}$ v. 'do' [and between their Sl reflexes $*\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{-}$ and $*\text{d}\check{\text{e}}\text{j}\text{a-}$]), ESSJ V 7-8, SPS III 126-33 ||| U: FV $*\text{tewe}$ 'work (Arbeit, Werk)' > F $\text{туд}\bar{o}$ 'Arbeit, Beschäftigung, Tat', Vp $\text{t}\bar{o}$, Es $\text{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}$ 'Arbeit, Werk' | pMr $*\text{tev}\bar{a}$ > Er $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{v}$, Δ $\text{t}\acute{\text{ä}}\text{v}$ 'affair, business, work (дело, занятие, работа, Sache, Werk)', Mk $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{v}$ 'affair' ¶ UEW 796, Ker. II 167, KC 212, PI 268 ◇ IS I 224 [no. 75]. The timbre of the IE lr. $*\text{-h-}$ suggests a N palatal vw. ($*\text{e}$ or $*\text{ä}$) in the stem-final position, while U $*\text{-w-}$ is better accounted for by a N labialized inlaut vw. $*\text{o}$; but $*\text{-w-}$ may go back also to a sx or to hiatus before a suffixal vw. The scholars have not distinguished between this word and N $\text{d}\bar{i}\text{v}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'to put, to place' (at the pIE level, as well as at the level of subgroups of lges and at that of individual lges) considering the semantic difference secondary (F P, Bn. PLG [ch. XXVII] etc.), but the lges which have preserved the distinction (Slavic, Beja) suggest that this widespread opinion is to be rejected. On the other hand, it is certain that in many lges (such as FU) the reflexes of N $*\text{d}\bar{e}\text{'r}\text{o}'\text{He}$ and $*\text{d}\bar{i}\text{v}\acute{\text{e}}$ merged. IS adduced FU $*\text{teke-}$ v. 'do' (unacceptable [$\neq\phi$: FU $*\text{-k-}$ is not a reg. reflex of N $*\text{-r-}$]); FU $*\text{teke-}$ v. 'do' and $*\text{teke-}$ v. 'put, place' are better accounted for by N $*\text{t}\bar{e}'\text{kE}$ 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' (q.v.) and by N $\approx*\text{t}\bar{e}'\text{h}'\text{a,k}\bar{a}\text{'e}$ 'to put, to set' (q.v.) respectively. I am grateful to V. Dybo (p.c.) for drawing my attention to the distinction between $*\text{d}^{\text{h}}\bar{e}\text{-}$ v. 'do' and $*\text{d}^{\text{h}}\bar{e}\text{-}$ v. 'put' at the IE and the pSl level.

510. $*\text{daka}$ 'back (dorsum), back (rear), behind' > HS: EC: Or {Th., Brl.} dugda (nom. dugdi) 'back (dorso, schiena), rear part', {Grg.} $\text{dugda} \sim \text{dubda} \sim \text{dudda}$ 'back' ¶ Th. 115, Brl. 125-6, Grg. 111 ||| WCh: Ngz {Sch.} $\text{d}\bar{z}\bar{g}\acute{u}$ v. 'follow (a person, an animal)', $\text{d}\bar{z}\bar{g}\acute{a}\bar{u}$ v. 'follow (a

road)', Bd {Sch. in ChC} ʒdʒgân v. 'follow' ¶ Sch. DN 52, ChC s.v. 'follow'
 || U *taka 'back part, rear' > F takā- 'back' (e.g. takā-ovī 'back door'), takāa 'from behind', Es taga 'Hinterraum', 'behind, in the back of', pLp {Lr.} *tōkē 'that which is behind so.\sth.' > Lp: N {N} duokke, L {LLO} tuohkē, S {Hs.} duōgie, T {TI} t+k k̄ eñ id., Kld {TI} tū:k:eñ 'behind' (postp.) || Sm {Jn.} *täk- ~ *täkь- 'das Hintere, hinten' > Ng {Cs.} takā 'back side', {Mik.} dat. tagə, loc. takəni, En X {Cs.} dat. teho? 'hinterhin', loc. tehone 'behind', En B {Cs.} dat. taha?, tahu? 'hinterhin', loc. tahane, tahane 'behind', Ne T тѡхѡ (adv.) 'further', (postp.) 'over (через, за (что-л.))' (direction), тѡхѡна (postp.) 'behind', Ne F {Sm.} čahāna id. | Slq: Tz {KKIH} tōqq+n(+) postp. 'behind', Tm {KD} tāk' 'das Hintere' | Kms dat. t'āk'tə 'behind' (direction), loc. t'āk'k'ən 'behind' ¶¶ Coll. 61, UEW 506-7, Lr. no. 1292, Lgc. no. 8068, Hs. 466, SaR 359, Jn. 154, Cs. 60, 88, Ter. 705, KKIH 187 || A *d|t'ak'∇- v. 'follow, go behind so.' > M *daga- v. 'follow, go behind so.' > MM [S, HI] daqa- (= [daga] or [daɣa]) id., WrM {MED} daqa-, HIM {MED, BMR} дага- v. 'follow so., accompany', Brt дага- v. 'follow so., pursue', Kl {KRS} дах- дахь- v. 'follow so., accompany', {Rm.} даха- 'nachfolgen, mit jem. zusammen-gehen\kommen, Gefährte sein', Dx даɣa-, Dg dag- id., Mnr H {SM} d_ag_ā- 'suivre, accompagner, faire cause commune avec, se conformer à, imiter, obéir', Ord d_ag_a- 'suivre, accompagner (un supérieur), accomplir (un objet), se soumettre à une décision' ¶ MED 216, BMR II 17, Chr. 180, H 31, KW 79, KRS 187, Ms. H 48, Ms. O 111 || Tg {SDM} *daɣa- v. 'follow, obey' > Neg daɣaw- 'unterordnen, befehligen (подчинять, командовать), Orc daɣau-, daɣala-, Ul daɣau-, daɣala-/i- 'unterordnen, unter-kriegen', Ork daɣuri- 'obey', Nn Nh {On.} daɣa- 'follow (sbd.)', Nn Nh/KU {STM} daɣa- id., 'obey', WrMc {Z} даха- 'follow (sbd.). accompany; obey', Jrc tai-ɣa 'follow sbd., obey' ¶ STM I 191, On. 142, Z 778-9 || pKo *ta(h)- 'following' > NKo tai-m ¶ S QK no. 130, MLC 388 ¶¶ SDM 458-9 (pA *dāk'ì 'follow, near' > Tg, M + unc. T *jak- 'come near; near' [< N *da'Kü' 'to approach; near'] and pJ *tìká 'near' > J T ć í k á i-), DQA no. 351 (id.) ◇ Coll. 146 and UEW 506-7 (both: U, A [M, Tg]), ≠ IS I 215-16 (*daḳa 'near', IS did not distinguish between the etymon in question and N *da'Kü' '↑') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 36 (*tak ~ *tek 'behind').

511. *dEk'o' (~ dEg'o') 'burn (brûler)' > K *dag- vt. ≈ burn' > G dag- (aor. da-v-dag-e) 'niederbrennen, einbrennen, brandmarken,

quälen', Sv {Fn.} dg- (msd. li-dg-e) v. 'niederbrennen' (unless identical with dg-/ lidge 'extinguish') ¶¶ Chx. 227, Fn. KW-1 34, no. 12 || HS: C: ? Bj {R} ✓ tk^ωy (1s: p. 'atk^ωi, pres. atan'k^ωī) vt. 'cook' (× N *t^o'h'æk∇?∇ 'to burn; fire') || Dhl {To., EEN} ḍak- v. 'cook' ¶ R WbD 225, EEN 34, To. D 131, E SC 189 (equating the Dhl word with Asa rakaš 'dry' and reconstructing *ḍak|x- v. 'dry over fire') ¶ The Bj word belongs here only if -tk^ω- is from *-dk^ω- by as.; otherwise it may belong to N *t^o'h'æk∇?∇) || CCh: Dgh {ChL} ðùgáyà 'burn', {Frk} dgà 'burn' tr. ¶ JI II 55, ChL III 115, Frk s.v. dgà || IE: NaIE {P, EI} *d^heg^ωh- vt., vi. 'burn' > OI 'dahā-ti, Av dažā'ti vt. 'burns' || Gk Hm τέφρα, Gk I τέφρη 'ashes', ? Gk [Hs.] θέπτανος (· ἄπτόμενος) 'kindled (?)' (÷ Lt dēgtinas 'wer/was zu verbrennen ist') || L fōvē- v. 'warm, keep warm', fō-culum 'brazier', fō-mentum 'poultice, fomentation', fōmes (G fōmitis) 'touchwood, tinder', favilla 'glowing ashes' || Clt {Matas.} *deg^ωi- n. 'flame, blaze' > OIr daig (gen. daiged, dega) 'flame, pain', MW goddeith 'big flame, blaze' (< *ufo-dextā < Clt *upo-deg^ω-tā), Brtt {RE} *debīmi vt. 'to burn' > Crn dewy, dywy id., OBr [ʏ] deu u-eticion · "cremata", MBr deuiff, Br devirñ vt. 'to burn, brûler', MW deifyaw, W deifio 'to scorch, to singe' || pAl {O} *dega > Al djeg (aor. dogja) vt. 'burn, scorch, singe' || Lt inf. dēg-ti (1s pres. deg-ū) vi. 'to burn', vt. 'to kindle', Ltv inf. degt vi., vt. 'to burn'; Lt degūtas 'tar (Teer)', Ltv deguts ~ degots 'birch tree tar' || Sl {Glh.} inf. *žegti (1s pres. *žegq ~ *žbgq) vt. 'to burn' > OCS inf. жещи žestī / 1s pres. жьгъ žьgq, SCr inf. žěcī & žěcī, OCz inf. žécī / 1s pres. žehu, P inf. žec / 1s pres. žgę, R inf. жечь / 1s pres. жгъ vt. 'burn'; the change *d- > *ž- may be accounted for by as. (*deg- > *geg- > Sl *žeg- or {ð Brandt} 2s *že|bžeši < *de|bžeši and 3s pres. *že|bžetb < *de|bžetb after *z-prefixes, such as *vъz-); *d- is preserved in a d.: Sl *degъt 'tar (Teer)' (> OCz dehet, P dziegieć, R дѣготь / gen. дѣгтя, Uk деготь id.) || Tc: A tsäk-, tsak-, B tsäk-, tsek- vt., vi. 'burn' ¶ WP I 849-50, P 240-1, EI 87, M K II 29, F I 663 and II 888-9, WH I 466-7, O 68, AlbED 173, LP § 39.1, RE 85, YGM-1 166, Frn. 85-6, Vs. I 493 and II 38, StSS 216, Glh. 706-7, Wn. I 526, Matas. E 93 || A *dæk₁'₁a vt. 'burn' > NaT *jak- vt. 'ignite, burn' > MT XIV [IM] jāq-, XwT XIV jaq- vt. 'ignite, burn', Chg XV jaq- v. 'ignite', Tk yak, Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Nog, ET, Ln jaq-, Xlj ja'q-, Uz jaq-, Qrg žaq-, Qzq žaq- vt. 'burn', Qq žaq- vt. 'burn, strike fire', Yk saχ- v. 'strike fire' ¶ ET J 81-2, DT 221, JkR 319, Rs. W

180 ¶ Cl. 897 supposed that the verb is derived from *ja- (his *yā-, that he found in *jal- 'blaze, burn, shine' and *jan- 'burn, blaze up'), but Starostom (S AJ 175 [no. 13]) rejected this assumption, because, acc. to him, the T sx -k-/ -q- never forms transitive verbs || Tg *degje-gi- ~ *jegde-gi- (acc. to S AJ and DQA, originally *deg-je-) vi., vt. 'burn' > Ork dзgdз- vi. 'burn', dзgdз-ktu 'site of a forest fire', WrMc {Z} дэчжи-, Mc Sb дэžл-~дižл- vt. 'burn', Ewk jзgdī- vt. 'burn', vi. 'burn oneself, get sun-burnt', jзgdī 'forest fire', Lm jзgdз, jзgdзkзз 'site of a forest fire' ('гарь, пожарище'), Neg jзgdī-, Orc, Ud žзgdī- vt. 'burn', Ud žзgdз- vi. 'burn; get slightly burnt' (of food), Ul žзgdī- vt. 'burn', žзgdз- 'be burnt, burn down (сгореть)', Nn Nh/Bk/KU žзgdз- 'be burnt', žзgdз 'fire (Brand)' ¶ STM I 281-2, On. 143, 797, Y no. 483, Krm. 235 || pKo {S, SDM} *thʌ- vi. 'burn' > MKo thʌ-, NKo thʌ- id., MKo thʌj'ó-, NKo thʌu- vt. 'burn' ¶ S QK no. 12, Nam 46-7, MLC 1684, 1697 || pJ *dák- vt. 'burn' > OJ yák-, MJ yák-, J: T yák-, K yák-, Kg yá], Ns yàkʷ, Sh yàč-, Ht yàg-, Y dàg- vt. 'burn' ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 109], S QJ no. 109, Kenk. 2147 ¶¶ SDM 469 (pA *dǎkà vt. 'burn' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 367 (id.), Cl. 897, S AJ 35-6, 90, 279 [no. 102], Mr. KJ 227, Mill. JAL 90-4 ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS SS no. 10.11 and IS MS 337) assumed that IE *dʰegʷh- goes back to earlier *tegʷh- and equated it with A *t'oga (> Tg *toga 'fire'), with HS *t'kʷ (> Eg tkз, Bj ✓ tkʷ) and with U *tǎ'ǝ'∇t (actually *teʷ∇-t∇) 'fire' and reconstructed a N etymon *t'ǝ'gʷ, which I do not accept. I prefer to distinguish between three paronymous N words: *dEk'ǝ' (~ dEg'ǝ'), *t'ǝ'h'æk∇?∇ 'to burn' (whence the mentioned Tg ✓, as well as possibly the Eg ✓) and *t'e'yaw'a' 'fire' (whence the mentioned U ✓). This hyp. of three N words allows us to explain many more observed facts than IS's etymology and does it on a more regular basis. It is corroborated by the fact that in some lges the distinction between these N words has been preserved, e.g. N *d'Ek|g'ǝ' > Tg *degje- ~ *jegde- vt. 'burn' and N *t'ǝ'h'æk∇?∇ > Tg *toga 'fire'. In the N word in question the quality of the medial cns. is problematic: K and IE suggest N *-g-, while C and T suggest *-k-. To my mind, the reflexes of *-g- in K and IE may be explained by as. (originally in forms with the zero grade of the apophony?), where pre-K and pre-IE *d-k- was assimilated to *d-g-. As to the C and T vl. reflexes of N *-k-, they cannot be but original. Hence I am inclined to reconstruct the N word as *dEk'ǝ'. Blz. KM 114 [no. 4] equated K, IE and A with D *tī-~*tū- 'fire' (D no. 3266) (unacceptable because of the quality of the D vw.). On the

D √ *see* N *t'e'γaw'a' 'fire' and GS 202 [no. 511]. Cf. also AD GD no. 121 (IE-U-A-HS without distinction between the reflexes of N *dEk'o' and *t'o'h'æk∇?∇), Mng. DA 139-40, IS MS 337 (drawing back IE *d^heg^ωh from N *t'o'g^ω) ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 54 (*takū 'burn') (IE, A, Gil).

512. *dûk'U' 'strike, beat' > HS: S *√ d^ωk, *-dūk- id. > Ak -dūk- (inf. dâk^u) v. 'kill, break, beat', BHb √ d^ωk G (ps. 3p דָּבַקְ דָּבַקְ-ū) 'pound, zerstampfen', Ug d^ωk G 'zermalmen' (× S *√ dkk 'reduce to fragments', probably from N *daK∇ 'small, thin, short'), Ar √ d^ωk G (pf. dāka. ip. -dūk-) 'smash' ¶ DRS 234, Sd. 151-2, KB 207-8, A no. 739, OLS 131, Hv. 222 || WCh *√ dk^ω 'beat, kill' > Krkr dūk^ωá, {J} duk- id., Krf dū^ωá, {Sh.} dúk-kò, Wrj/Mbr {Sk.} t́³š- Sir {Sk.} t́³šè 'kill', Hs dōkǎ 'beat, thrash, strike', Klr {J} duk 'beat', Ngz sàd^gu 'beat, thrash' ||| ECh: Mnj dūk, ? Li digrì 'kill' ¶ JI II 14 and 212, Stl. VZCh no. 42, ChC s.v. 'beat' and 'kill', Abr. H 220, Ba. 262-3, Sch. DN 39, Blz. EChWL no. 44 || ?φ B: Ah {Fc.} duqqat 'frapper de la pointe (avec un objet un peu pointu mais non piquant)', Ah dəy^udəy^u, Tdq d^by^ud^by^u 'frapper à plusieurs reprises de la pointe' (infl. of B *√ dg 'prick' < N *dEHik'a' 'pierce, dig') ¶ Fc. 237, NZ 361 || K: GZ (+ext.) *tkwep- / *tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N *t³ab^u∇, qa 'hit, strike') > OG a^y-tkwepa vb. n. 'beating up', G tkv^ep- / tkvⁱp- 'beat up', {Chx.} 'schlagen', Mg tkv^p- 'beat up', Lz tkv^ap- 'beat, beat up' ¶ K 76, FS E 166 (both sources do not distinguish the root from the homonymous verb *tkwep- 'mix'), Chx. 506 || A: Tg *^udug- v. 'beat, strike' > Ewk du^u-, Sln duk^tz- id., Ewk Ald duk^tz- vt. 'pound, crush', Lm du- ^d du^w- ^d du^y-, Orc, Ork, Nn Nh {STM} dū- 'beat, strike', {On.} duk^tz- frq. 'beat, strike, knock', Ud duk^tz- 'beat', Ul duk^sin- 'strike', WrMc {Z} d^y- ~ d^y- 'strike (with a stick), thresh' ¶ STM I 219, On 167, Z 836, 840.

513. ₂ *dEHik'a' (= *dE^uik'a'?) 'pierce, dig' > IE: NaIE *d^hēj^g- / *d^hōj^g- / *d^hī^g- 'pierce, stick' > L fī^g-ō-, -ēre / fīxī / fīctum ~ fīxum 'fix, fasten', Umb fik^tu 'figito' ||| ON díki 'ditch', ?σ 'puddle, morass', OSx, OFrs dīk, MDt di^jc, Dt di^jk 'dike' (↳ Fr digue ↳ diguer 'to dike' ↳ NE dig), MHG tîch 'dike, dam, pond, embankment' (> NHG Teich 'pond'), MLG dīch 'dike, dam' (↳ MHG dîch > NHG Deich 'dike, dam, embankment'), AS dīc 'ditch, moat' > NE ditch; ME dyk, dik 'dike' (↳ MDt di^jc?) > NE dike ||| Lt ls pres. díegiu / inf. díegti v. 'stick, set, plant', Ltv inf. diēgt 'to tack, to stitch together, to baste'; Lt dyg^us 'prickly', inf. dygti 'to spring, to

shoot, to sprout']]] a NaIE root variant *^od^hē_ig^ω- seems to be represented by OL [Cato] fī_v-ō 'figo' ¶ WP I 832-3, P 243-4, EI 472 (IE *d^he_ig^ω- or *d^he_iHg^ω- 'stick, set up' with *g^ω based on OL fī_v-ō, but incompatible with the Gmc *-k- and L -g-), WH I 495-6, Bc. G 335, ≈ KM 775, Vr. 76, Vr. N 116, Lx. 226, Ho. 72, HDEL 369, ≈ Skeat 169, 177, Frn. 93 || **HS**: Ch {Stl.} *dig- 'dig' > WCh: Mnt {Fp.} dīk id.; P' {JI, MSk.} žìgǎ 'dig, uncover'; Hs dǎgì {Ba.} 'iron implement for digging holes', {Abr.} n. 'digging rod' || CCh: Gzg dik, MfG -dádǝg- 'enterrer'] (?) -d→ *diga 'hoe' > Hs dígà 'pickaxe' (unless ← NE dīgger) || Mf {BLB} dǝga 'pioche' || Ll diga, Tmk dǝgà id. ¶ JI II 104, Stl. IF 58-9 (Ch *dig-/*H∇dig-), Ba. 189, Abr. H 169, BLB 111, Brr. MG II 100 || ?σ CS *✓dɪk (× N *dik_Eγ^U 'rumple, knead, press') > Ar **دَكَّة** daɪk-at- 'partie la plus foulée du chemin', maɪɪl- pp. 'foulé, abîmé par le grand nombre d'allants et de venants', JA, MHb ✓dɪk G 'crush, stamp upon' ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 || B *✓dg 'prick' (× N *dûk^U 'strike, beat') > Wrg duḡḡ 'poignarder, frapper avec une pointe', Ah ədəḡ, Tw Ng ədəḡ 'piquer, percer', Gh əddəḡ 'piquer (avec une pointe\aiguille\épine)' ¶ NZ 300-1.

514. ₂ *dak_E∇_U 'equid' ('young of an equid?') > **HS** *d∇k^ω- 'donkey' > C {AD} *d∇(k)k^ω∇r-, {E} dik^ω- id.: Ag {AD} *dǝk^ωar- / (pl.) *dǝkk^ωar- (= *dǝkk^ωall-), {Ap.} *dǝγ^ωar- id. > Bln/Xm {Ap., R} dǝx^ωara, pl. {R} dǝk^ωal, Q {Ap.} dǝγ^ωera, {R} dewora ~ dehora, Dmb {R} dǝq^ωara ~ deg^ωara, pl. dǝg^ωal-t, Aw {Ap.} dǝγ^ωarí, {CR} dux^ωari id. || EC: Or Brr {Fl.} dongorra 'donkey' → Amh denḡoro 'stupid, ignorant, deaf' || SC: Irq {Wh.} dǎq^ωay (pl. dǎq^ωǎye), Grw {Fl.} dog^ωay, Alg {Wh.} daq^ωi, {Fl.} ndag^ωay, Brn {Fl.} daq^ωa, {Wh.} daq^ωay, Kz {E} daq^ωaq^ωayiko, {Fl.} dag^ωag^ωay-ko 'donkey' (Ehret reconstructed Rt *daq^ω-, *daq^ωayi); Irq daketi, Alg deketi 'zebra' (Rt {E} *daq-et-) ¶ AD SF 275, AD GDS 70, L CAD 197, Wh. SI, E PC no. 406, E SC 345, R WB 103, R QW 48, R Ch II 353, Ap. AV 9, Fl. p.c. || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dak^ωi 'horse' > Hs dǎkì id. | BT *dak^ωi id. > Krkr {Lk.} dǎkú, Bl {Mk} doku, Ngm doku, Dr {J} dǎk id., {Nw.} dǎk, Krf {ChC} pl. dúkkùšín 'horses', Grm {Sch.} dùwá (pl. dùččénží) 'horse' | NrBc {Stl.} *dak^ωi 'horse' > {Sk.}: Wrj dùhúná, Mbr dǎkù, My dúwàkǝ, Sir dùk^ωí, Cg dǎkǝn, Jmb dǎk^ωà, P' {MSk.} žìkí, Kry dúhù, Sir dùk^ωí id. | Ngz {Sch.} dùkà, Bd {ChL} dùwún id. || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} tágú, Klb {Mk} tákù, Hld {ChL}, Wmd {ChL} tagu id. | Higi: HgK {Mk} tuku, FK {ChL} tùku, FG {ChL} tùku id. | Gude {ChL} tùx^ωa,

{Mk} tuhwa, Bt {Mch.} дѹwe, Bcm {Sk.} dèwé id. ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} dèwkì 'antilope cheval' (Sk.: = 'roan antelope') ¶ JI II 194-5, Stl. ZCh 170 [no. 232], ChC s.v. 'horse', ChL, Sch. BTL 29, 115, 135, 147, Fd. 186-7, ≈ Sk. HCD 49 ¶ In the BT, NrBc and CCh lges this word for 'horse' may be a loan from Hs ¶¶ OS no. 667 (*dawak- 'horse': SC, Ag?, WCh) ||| A: M *daɣaɣan 'colt' > WrM daɣaɣa(n) ~ daɣan {MED} 'colt between one and two years', HIM {MED} дааган id., {BMR} даага(н) 'id., Brt даага(н) 'two-year old colt', WrO daɣān 'two-year-old colt', daɣā 'a colt of 1-2 years', Kl {KRS} дааһн 'two-year-old colt', {Rm.} dāɣan 'Füllen im zweiten Jahre', Mnr H {SM} dāχa 'poulain, ânon', Dx daɣan, Ba daχaη 'colt', Ord dāga 'poulain dans sa seconde année'; M ⇨ WrMc {Z} дахань 'colt (from 2 to 5 years)' ¶ SM 40, MED 216, BMR II 2, Chr. 177, KRS 172, KW 81, T 328, T DnJ 117, T BJ 138, Krg. 534, Z 777, Ms. O 111 ◇ Ag and SC point to a N word-internal *-k-, but the M cognate suggests a N *-k|g-. The discrepancy may be resolved by reconstructing a pN etymon *dak_L∇_LʔU (with *-k_L∇_LʔU > C *-(k)k^ω-).

515. *dik_LE_LʔU¹ 'rumple, knead, press' > HS: EC: Sa {R} dakah- ~ takah- 'die Polenta umrühren', Af S dakha (pl. dakoh) 'pastry', Af N dakha (pl. dakoh) 'porridge' ¶ R S II 105, PH 79 || S (mt. *√dɤk < *√dkɤ?): CS *√dɤk '≈ crush, rub' > Ar √dɤk (ip. -dɤak-) 'frotter, lisser en frottant', JA/MHb {Js.} √dɤk v. G 'crush, stamp upon' (absent in Lv. and Sl!) ¶ BK I 702, Js. 316, DRS 290-1 ||| K *dɤw- v. 'mix' > Lz dɤval- v. 'mix' ('перемешивать'), ?σ Mg dɤvab- v. 'flop into water', ?σ Sv {K} dɤul- / dɤɹl 'splash of milk when milking a cow\goat', Sv UB/L {TK} dɤūl, Sv UB/Ln dɤul id. ¶¶ K 76, Chx. 329, Chik. 271, TK 199 ¶¶ K *-ɤ- < *-kɤ- ? ||| IE: NaIE *d^heiǵ^h- 'knead', {P} 'Lehm kneten und damit mauern oder bestreichen', {EI} 'work clay, smear' > OI dēh- (pres. 1s 'dēh-mi, 3s dēgdhi) v. 'smear, anoint' ||| Gk θιγγύειν (aor. inf. θιγγεῖν) 'touch, handle' ||| L fing(ě)- (pp. fictum) vt. 'shape, fashion, form, mould', {WH} 'knead\mould out of clay, wax or sim.' ||| Clt {Matas.} *di-n-g-o v. 'knead, form, press' > OIr dīngid, -dīng, p. dedaig id., ? CltI 'a¹mbitinkounei inf. 'to build' ||| Gt dīgan (πλάσσειν) 'kneten, aus Ton bilden', daig-s (φύραμα) 'Teig' (< *d^hoiǵ^hom), OHG teik ~ teig (> NHG Teig), AS dāz 'dough', NE dough ||| Sl *děža 'trough for kneading dough' > OR Дѣжа, R дежа, Uk ді'жа, Cz díže, díž, Slk dieža, P dzieża id., Slv déža 'kneaded dough', ?σ SCr Δ díža, dīžva, diježva 'milk pail' ¶ WP I

833-4, P 244-5, EI 649, WH I 501-2, M K II 62, F I 674-5, Fs. 114, 118-19, OsS 924, Kb. 1014, KM 775-6, Ho. 69-70, ESSJ V 23-4, Bern. I 198, Vs. I 494, Mn. 181, 195, Matas. E 99-100 || **A:** Tg *jig- (< **dig-) > Ewk jigirē- v. 'warp, get wrinkled from fire' (of leather), v. 'shrink' (of cloth), jigirē 'warped, wrinkled, shrunk', Nn Nh/Bk žigda- v. 'press, tread down' ¶ STM I 255, On. 152 || **D** (att. in GnD) *tik- ({θGS} *tig-) v. 'press down' > Knd tig- v. 'press down hard, lay pressure on', Png, Mnd tig- v. 'push' ¶ D no. 3205 ◇ IE *ǵ^h suggests a following N front vw., while K *ʏw suggests a final rounded vw.; at the same time both HS and K provide ev. of N *ʏ. Therefore (and in the light of Sa and Af data, where the reflexes of N *k and *ʏ are separated by a vw.) one may assume that originally there was a vw. between N *k and *ʏ, so that there probably were a front vowel (*E) and a rounded one (*U), hence N *dik_lE_lʏ^U. If it is right, Tg and D lost the final syll. (N *-ʏU) without traces, while in IE the front vw. palatalized the velar cns. (N *kE > pre-IE *ǵ) and later the pIE cluster *ǵH (with *H < N *ʏ) yielded NaIE *ǵ^h.

516. *daḳḳ 'small, thin, short' > HS: S *daḳḳ- 'small, fine' > Ug dḳ, (AkSc) daḳḳu 'small', BHb dḳ 'daḳ (f. daḳ^lkā, pl. daḳ^lkīm) {BDB} 'thin, fine, small', Pun dḳ 'fine, pulverized', IA dḳḳ 'fine' (of salt), JA dḳ 'dünne, fein, zart' (pl. em. ḳ^ldḳḳā^lḳā 'die dünnen, kleinen Därme'), Ak dḳḳu 'small'; d. *daḳḳ- adj. 'small, fine' > Ar daḳḳ-, Sb dḳḳ 'flour', Ak dḳḳ- 'small'; JEA dḳḳ 'very small' ¶ KB 220, KBR 229, GB 167, BDB no. 1851, Sl. 349, BGMR 36, OLS 135, Hnr. 119, Grd. UT no. 695, CAD III 107, Lv. I 418, HJ 257-8, DRS 305 || EC {Ss.} *diḳḳ- 'small' > Or B/Wt {Sr.} diḳā m., diḳō f., Or H {Ow.} dīḳḳā m., dīḳḳō f. 'small, little', Hr tīḳḳ-assa 'small', Sml dīḳ- v. 'become faint, become tenuous', dīḳ 'faintness'; ?φ Af {PH} daḳo 'one who is small' ¶ Ss. PEC 50, Sr. 287, Ow. 257, PH 79, Abr. S 63 || Om: SOm: Ari B {Fl.} toko-mi, {Bnd.} tok-, Ub {Fl.} tok^wmi, Ari {Blz.} tok^lmi (= tok^wmi?) 'small' || NrOm: Male {Fl.} dḳa id. ¶ Fl. AJ, Fl. SO, Bnd. AL s.v. tok-, Blz. OL || Ch *✓dk^w 'small, short': WCh: BT: Grm {ChC} dèk·óm, {Gw.} dekumu 'small' || SBc: ? Grn žeka id., ?? Wnd {ChL} nduk 'short' || ? Ron: Klr ḳdīk^w 'small' || CCh: Higi: FIG {ChL} duku 'short', HgB {ChL} tiku 'small' || Glv dèyk^w id., Gv {ChL} déx^wè, Dgh {Frk, ChC} dúk^wè id. || Db {LnG} duk, Kola {Sb.} dúk id. || Lame dáke id. || Ech: ? Mu {J} ✓dgs (dàgàsé / dégís / dīgās) v. 'be short' ¶ ChC s.v. 'small' and 'short', ChL, Sch. BTL 135, 138

¶¶ OS no. 704 (S, C) || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} дакдажунь 'высоко подобранный \ поднятый', 'коротко выбранное окоро-ченное платье') ¶ STM I 191, Z 777 || D *takaṭ- ({{GS}} ≈ *tagaḍ-) 'thin and flat' > Tm takaṭu 'quality of being thin and flat', Ml takaṭu, takiṭu 'thin metal plate', Tu tagaḍu id., Kn tagaḍu 'flat piece or sheet of metal', Tl tagaḍu 'plate, sheet, leaf of foil/metal' ¶¶ D no. 2995.

517. *dik̥ 'edible cereals\fruit' > K: pGZ *dik̥- 'wheat' > G dik̥a '*Triticum carthlicum* (a kind of spring wheat)', Lz dik̥a 'wheat' ¶ Chik. 141-2, Chx. 313, FS K 104 || A **dik̥'- ⇨ [1] A *dik̥_J-ktæ 'edible berries' > NaT *jigdæ 'edible berries (of *Zizyphus* and possibly *Elaeagnus*)' ({{ET}}: 'the berries *Zizypha rubra*') > OT [MhK] jigdä {Cl.} 'jujube tree (*Zizypha angustifolia*) and its fruit (an edible berry)', {DTS} '*Elaeagnus*' ([MhK]: jigdä talqarı 'flour of dried *Elaeagnus* berries'), Tkm iṽde '*Elaeagnus* and its berry; date fruit', Tkm Δ žigde '*Elaeagnus*', Tk iğde {TrR} '*Elaeagnus, Zizypha rubra* (джидә), wild olive', Az iydä, Qq, Qzq žiyde, Qrg žiyde, Uz žiyda ~ Δ žiydä '*Elaeagnus* and its berries' ¶ Cl. 911, DTS 260, ET Gl 325-6 || Tg *jikte 'berries, *Vaccinium*' > Ewk jiktə 'berries', Orc žiktə, Ud žiktə- 'bog bilberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*)', Neg jiktə id., 'bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*)' ¶ STM I 256, Krm. 233 || [2] A: NaT *jigd_Jællæk ~ *çigd_Jællæk 'berries' > Tk çilek, Ggz čilek, Tkm čielek, QrB žlek, Qmq žielek 'strawberries', VTt žiläk, Bsh žbläk, Qzq žide ~ židek 'berries' (unless from *jigdæ '↑'), StAlt žilek 'berries', Nog jelek id., 'fruit' ¶ TL 122 || D (att. in NED) *^otik̥_Jṽ|| - > Krx tīx̄b̄l 'rice, paddy cleansed of its husk', Mlt tiqalu 'rice' ¶ D no. 3271, Pf. 192 || HS: Eg fMK ḍḳr 'edible fruit' (general name), {Fk.} ḍḳr.ω 'fruit' ¶ EG V 495-6, Fk. 316 || AdS of ? B *ḍāȳ- 'grain, seed' (< N ***towkâ** 'germ', 'seed' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ Fn. KD no. 58 (K, D) ◇ S CNM 10 (Starostin rejected the Tg cognate and unconvincingly considered it to be a loan from M **žedegene 'berry' allegedly borrowed from T *jigdä; ÷÷ NrCs *dik̥wi '∈ cereal [millet, rice]', Vv. AEN 18 (rejected the "teleological rec." of *K in A *dik̥-ktä; on legitimacy of "teleological reconstructions" see AD NMI 41-2 and above: Introduction, § 8.7).

518. *doḴê '≈ observe, learn (erfahren)' > HS: CS *-dūḴ- v. 'observe, inspect' > Ar ✓ dωq (ip. -dūq-, pf. dāqa) v. 'taste (food)', BHb ✓ dωḴ *Sh* pf. c. (h. l.) 𐤃𐤕𐤕𐤍 ωay¹yādεḴ [LXX] 'ἡρῶθμῆσεν' ({{L}} 'inspect, review', {KB}

'mustern, aufbieten [?]), JEA, ChrPA, SmA, Sr, Md ✓ dωk̄ *Sh* 'scrutinize' ¶ KB 208, KBR 217, BK I 751, DRS 238 || U *^otok_lk_le- (or *š-, *ć-) > pSm {Jn., Hl.} *t|čokъ- ~ ? *t|čok- v. 'learn' > Ne T inf. тохо-сѣ 'to learn' Ne O {Lh.} to·xō- v. 'learn', Ne F {Lh.} 3s aor. τοχῶνηηῖα id., Slq Tz {Prk.} d. tog+lt+-qo inf. 'to read, to count', Mt {Hl.} *tok_lə_l- 'get accustomed' ⇨ *toktə- 'learn, teach (erlernen, lehren)' (Mt M {Sp.} мандоохомъ 'I get accustomed' [ман 'I], тохтиямъ 'I learn' ['научаюся'], тохтыямъ 'I teach') ¶ Jn. 165, Hl. M no-s 1049 and 1051 || IE: NaIE *dok̄|k- v. '≈ make clear, teach, believe' > L docē- (pfc. docui, sup. docitum) v. 'make clear, teach' || Gk δοκέω (ft. δόξω, aor. ἔδοξα) 'videor mihi, I suppose, I think, I have an opinion', (here?) δοκεύω 'keep an eye upon, watch narrowly' ¶ An alt. (less plausible) et.: NaIE *dok̄- ⇨ NaIE *deḱ- v. 'be fit, suit' (EI 564) ¶ WH I 331, F I 404-6 ¶¶ IE *d- (rather than *d^h-from N *d-) is due to the IE incompatibility law rejecting combinations of aspirated voiced and vl. consonants in roots.

519. ₂ *da'Ḷü' 'to approach; near' > HS: C (acc. to AD SF) *t̄ ∇K∇ 'near > EC: Sa I {R} d̄agā 'proximity', postp. 'chez' || Ag: Aw dig- (1s dik-) v. 'approach'; C ⇨ Gz taḱā ~ taḱā 'proximity, near', Tgy tɜχa 'proximity' ⇨ Bln {R} ta'ḱā 'Seite, neben' ⇨ taḱa-t- vi. 'approach', Xm {R} taḱe-t id.; for further (rather qu.) cognates in C lges see IS I 215 ¶ AD SF 55-6, L G 595, R WB 334, R S II 123 ¶ Secondary glottalization of the initial cns. (mte. *d...ḱ > *t̄...K?) || Ch: WCh: Gmy {ChL} duk, Kfr {Nt.} dük 'near' || CCh: Gude {ChL} nduk^ω(υ) id. | Bnn {ChL} tɔktɜḱ, BnnM {ChL} tɔk id. ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'near', Nt. s.v. dük ¶¶ Coh. no. 339, Gr. LA 60 [no. 53], AD SF 55-6 ¶¶ If we had accepted O. Rössler's hyp. (Eg ^ε < *d), we would have adduced Eg fP ^εḱ 'enter, come in', Eg N ^εḱ ^εḱ 'betreten, (jemanden) erreichen' (EG I 230, 234, Fk. 49) || A *dakü- or (an earlier rec.) *d^{r̄}ö'k^{r̄}i' - v. 'approach, be near' > M *dökü- vi. 'approach' > WrM dōkū - {MED} 'approach, move closer, be close to', HIM dəxə - {MED} id., {BMR} 'approach, move closer', Brt dγxə - vi. 'approach', Kl {Rm.} *dök- 'nahe (an etwas) kommen, beinahe sein, kaum hinreichen' ¶ MED 266, BMR II 65, Chr. 213, KW 98 || NaT *jak- v. 'approach' > OT {Cl.} jaq-, ET Δ jaq- id.; variant NaT verb *jagu- 'approach' > OT {Cl.} jaḱū- v. 'approach, be near to', Chg jaωu-, Nog juωi-, Qrg žū-, Qzq žuω- v. 'approach'; d. NaT *jak-IN adj. 'near' > OT {Cl.} jaqIN, Tk ɟakIN, Tkm, Qq, Nog, SY, Ln jaqIN, VTt, Bsh jaqъN, Uz jaqin, ET jeqin, Az jaχIN, Qzq žaqIN, Xk čaḱIN id. ¶ Cl. 896-9, 904, ET J

81, 84, Tkr 810 || Tg *daga (~ *^od^r_iga?) 'near' > Ewk daɣa ɖ daa ɖ daga, Sln daga, Neg daɣa 'near', Lm daɣɔm v. 'approach', daksɑ- id., dās'a 'near', Jrc {Kiy.} dīgasa, {Md.} diɣa-sa id. ¶ STM I 187-8, Gru. SSJ no. 681, Kiy. 135, Md. ChF 136 ¶ Tg *-g- for the expected *-k- still requires explanation || pJ: [1] ?_φpJ {S} *tíká- 'near' > OJ tika- id., J: T cíkáí, K číkai, Kg číké, Ns číkya-, Sh čiká-, Ht s+ká-, Y tǎ- {Kenk.} 'near; close (near by)' ¶ S QJ no. 100, Mr. 142, Kenk. 145] [2] ?_σpJ *dánká 'soon after, before long' > MJ yágáte {Mr.} id., J T yàgate, J K yàgàté, J Kg yagáte {Kenk.} 'soon, pretty soon, presently' ¶ Mr. 570, Kenk. 2141 ¶¶ SDM 456 (pA *dǎk'í 'near; follow' > Tg, T *jagu- + unc.: M *daɣa-ri-v. 'pass, hit in passing, offend', pJ *dánká 'soon after, before long' and Ko tai-m 'following'), DQA no. 351 (id.), S AJ 15, 26-7, 71, 278, Rm, EAS I 51, 91-2, KW 73, Dr. TM IV 105, Dr. MT 241 ¶¶ SDM and DQA did not take into account M *dökü- and did not distinguish between A *dakü- 'be near' and A *dak∇- v. 'follow, go behind so., F N *daka 'back [dorsum], back [rear], behind'), STM I 188 ◊ IS I 215-16 (*daḱa 'near', he adduced the U and A reflexes of N *daka '↑').

520. *daḷ∇ 'tasty, sweet' > IE: NaIE *d_l̥k|k̥u- 'sweet' (< N *daḷ∇ + N *Laqû 'tender, mild' [→] 'sweet', q.v.) > L dulcis (< *d_l̥k|k̥wis) 'sweet, pleasant' || Gk γλυκύς, γλυκερός 'sweet' (P: γλ- < *δλ- due to dis. from the word-medial -κ-) ¶ WP I 816, P 222, EI 560 (*d_l̥ku-s ~ *gluku-s), WH I 379-380, F I 314-15, Ch. 228-9, Hofm. 46 ¶¶ IE *d- (rather than *d^h- from N *d-) is due to one of the IE incompatibility laws (*d...k̥ > pre-IE *t...k̥ > IE *d...k) || HS: ECh: Mu {J} d̥il / d̥ēl / d̥illa 'être sucré', {Lk.} d̥ilít 'sweet', Mkl {J} d̥alûl 'gentillesse, douceur' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, J LM 78 ¶ The glottalized d̥- in Mu still is still to be explained || A *daḷ∇ 'sweet, tasty' > NrTg *dal-, {SDM} *dal-di id. > Ewk dalli ɖ daldi, Lm dalrɔ ɖ dalda ɖ daldɔ ɖ dalla ɖ dallɔ, dalsi ɖ dalhi, Neg daḷgd̥i id. ¶ STM I 195 || Ko *t^hr- 'sweet' > MKo t^hr-, NKo tal- v. 'be sweet' ¶ S QK no. 545, Nam 140, Rm. SKE 253 || NaT *j^ra^rl̥- > OT [MhK] {Br.} jalnčɣa (aš), {Cl.} jilnčɣa (aš) '(food) which has no fat in it, or salt, or taste' (unless from T *jaln, *jaln^raq 'naked', see ET J 104-6); other possible Tk words of this √ are Alt {GAJ} žalim-čí 'fresh water' (GAJ 167) and VTt žalamɔk 'feiner Grießbrei' (Rl. IV 37) ¶ Br. MT 75, Cl. 931, DTS 266 ¶¶ SDM 461 (pA *dalɔ 'sweet, tasty' > Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 353 (A *dalɔ 'sweet, tasty'), Rm. EAS I 50-1, Rm. SKE 253 || D {tr., ḡGS} *tāḷ- v. 'season\flavour food with spices' > Tm tāḷi id.,

MI tāl̥ikka, Kn tāl̥isu, OTI {Km.} tāl̥āboyu, TI tāl̥incu, Δ tāl̥ābōyu v. 'season food', Kn tāl̥ida, tāl̥ada, tāl̥da, tāl̥!u 'boiled and seasoned vegetables', TI tāl̥impu 'seasoning, a seasoned curry', OTI {Km.} tāl̥upu n., Knd tāl̥ep 'seasoning of food with spices' ¶¶ D no. 3186, Km. 381 [no. 560].

521. (₂?) *daT̥ ▽ 'lick' > A *dal̥o¹- > ppT **jal̥ô̥!ya- > T *jalga- ~ *jala- v. 'lick': [1] *jalga- (~ *jalwa-?) > OT jalga- ~ [MhK] jalwa-, Xlj jal̥ya-, SY jal̥ya- ~ ja!ya-, Xk čal̥ya-, Tv čil̥ya-, Tf čil̥ga-, Yk sal̥ā-id.; [2] T *jala- 'lick' > Tk yala-, Tkm, Ggz, Az, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jala-, Ln jāla-, Uz jal̥ä-, Qzq, Qq žala-, Qrg žala-, StAlt žala-, Chv L çyла- súla-, Chv Δ çǎвла- 'lick' ¶ Cl. 926-7, ET J 87-8, Rs. W 182, DTS 228, 230, MKD 211, DT 219, Ra. 199-200, Ash. XII 222-3 and XIII 7, Fed. II 132, Jeg. 217 || M *dol̥ô̥!ya- (~ *doliya-?) 'lick' > MM [MA] dol̥ā-, [IM] dol̥ō-, WrM {MED} doluga- ~ doliya-, HIM {MED, BMR} долоо-, Brt дол̥ëо-, WrO dol̥ō-, Kl дола- dol̥ā-, Dg dol̥ō-, Mnr H {SM} d̥ōli-, {T} d̥ōli-, Ord d̥ol̥ō-, Dx dolu-, Ba dol̥ɜ-, ShY d̥ōl̥-, MMgl d̥ōl̥-id. ¶ M *-o- of the initial syll. is probably due to regr. as. (pA *-a...o- > M *-o...ô-) ¶ The long vw. in Mnr, ShY and MMgl still needs explanation (in the light of T short vw. it is likely to be due to a secondary lengthening) ¶ Pp. MA 142, 436, MED 259, BMR II 50, Krg. 562, Chr. 194, KRS 205, KW 94, SM 59, T 330, T DnJ 118, Iw. 98, Ms. O 150, Hatt. LV ∇ (on pM long vowels preserved in Mgl) || Tg *dala- v. 'lap' (of animals)' (× pA *tāl̥ä- 'bite' < N *t'a¹lh ▽ or *tahE1 ▽ '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged') > Ewk, Neg, Ud dala-, Lm dal̥- 'lap, swill'; Ewk, Neg, Ud dala-, Ork dal̥(l)a-, Ewk dal̥- 'bite', ⇨ : Neg dalaω-, Orc dalau-, UI dalan-, Ork dalaw-, dallau-, Nn Bk dala-, Nn Nh/KU {STM} dal̥o- v. 'feed (dogs)', Nh Nh {On.} dal̥ō- v. 'feed (dogs, pigs)' ¶ STM I 193, On. 137 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Tng {J} delme- 'lick' ||| Ech: Mkl {J} dâldá- id., v. 'taste' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to lick', J T 79, J LM 78 || ?φ K: GZ *t̥lek̥- 'lick, lick oneself' (× N *t̥i¹T̥ ▽ (K̥o) 'tongue') > G t̥lek̥-, Mg t̥irk̥- 'lick, lick oneself' ¶ K *t̥- (rather than *d-) is due to the above-mentioned merger and possibly to regr. as. ¶ K 182, Fn. KW-1 36, K² 190.

522. *d'i¹T̥ ▽ (= *d'i¹! ▽? 'sunshine, daylight, bright' > **HS:** SC: Irq {Wh.} délo 'day' (as opposed to 'night'), Alg {Wh.} délu id., Kz {E} deles- 'yellow', ?? Asa {E} -dili?i 'red' ¶ Wh. IC 23, E SC 346 [no. 11] (pRt *del- 'daylight') ||| K *odila 'morning' > OG, G dila 'morning', OG dila 'dawn', 'tomorrow', diliti 'in the morning' ¶ DCh. 478, Ser. 58, Abul. 142 ||| **IE:** NaIE *dʰel- 'sun, bright' > Arm դեղին dełin (gen. dełnoy)

'yellow, pale' (< *d^helēno-) || ? pAl {O} *delwa, {Huld} *dieł 'sun' > Al: G/T diell, {Kf.} G dill 'sun', {Huld} SG/Ba dił, Sh dīł, D/Be/Ç dieł, A dyeł, P dīeł id., dīełna id. ({P} < *del-no-) || OIr {P} dellrad 'Glanz', ? NIr {Dnn.} dealrach 'bright, shining' || ON Dellingr 'father of the god of day (Dagr)', MLG {P} ge-telle 'hübsch, artig' ¶ P 246 (Pokorny did not adduce Al and reconstructed *d^hel- 'leuchten, hell'), Vr. 72, 75, Kf. 81, ≈ O 65 (qu.: pAl *delwa < IE *ǵ^helw- 'yellow' with a tabooistic change), Huld 50-1, ≠ Slt. 349 (unc.: Arm dełin connected with Arm դալար dalar 'green, fresh' [which, acc. to P 234, goes back to IE d^hal- {P} 'blühen, grünen']), Dnn. 228-9 || A *d|il^o 'sun, sun cycle, year' > NaT *jil 'year' > OT jil, Tk yil, Tkm jil, VTt, Bsh jɔl, Az il, Qzq, Qq žil, Qrg žil, Uz, ET, SY jil, StAlt žil, Xk, Tv čil, Yk sil 'year' ¶ ET J 275, S AJ 186 [no. 105], 239 [no. 118], Rs. W 200, Cl. 917, TL 70-2 || M *žil₁∇ 'year' (← T?) > WrM {MED} žil, HIM {MED, BMR} жыл, Brt жэл, Kl {KRS} жыл, {Rm.} žil, Ord, Dg žil, ShY žəl, Mnr žir, žur 'year' ¶ Lack of the final vw. in the M word suggested (as a possibility) that it is a loan from T ¶ MED 1054, BMR II 171-2, Chr. 236, KRS 227, KW 109, T DgJ 143, SM 92 || NrTg *dilaçā 'sun' > Neg Δ dilaça, Ewk dilaçā id. ¶ STM I 206, S AJ 238 [no. 201] || pKo *torč|s 'full year, anniversary (cycle)' > MKo tors, NKo tot [tols], tol id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 131], S QK no. 131, MLC 478 || pJ *təsì 'year' > OJ tosi, MJ tòsì, J: T tośí, K tósì, Kg tóší, Ns tùší, Sh túší, Ht tùsí, Y tùtčì id. ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 107], S QJ no. 107, Mr. 551, Kenk. 2031 ¶¶ SDM 475 (pA *dĩlo > T, M, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 382 (id.), S AJ 31, 88, 278-9 [no. 100], Rm. EAS I 52, KW 109, Vld. 171, Mr. KJ 246, Adb. SR 11, TL 71 || D *tE|- ({ǵGS} *t-) > Tm tel, Kn til, tal v. 'become clear', Ml tel 'clearness, brightness', Td tüly 'clear', Tu til 'transparent, clear, distilled', teli 'clear, pure, filtered', Tl teli 'white, pure', Klm telmi, Gdb tellan, Knd telani 'white' ¶¶ D no. 3433 ◇ IS I 219-20 [no. 28] (K, IE, A [T, M, Tg]) (→ BmK 273-4: IS's comparison + SC + D). If the D cognate is valid, the reconstructed N etymon must be *d^ri'la.

523. *duł^ri' 'fire'; ('to heat [?]' →) 'hot, warm' > U *tu|le 'fire' (× N *t^ul∇ 'fire; to kindle [a fire]') > F, Es tuli 'fire' || pLp {Lr.} *tolɜ > Lp: N {N} dollâ, S {Hs.} dâlle, Kld tōli id. || pMr {Ker.} tul > Er/Mk тол id. || Chr: L тул tul, H тыл ть id. || pPrm *túl > Z t+V, Vt t+l id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *tuy id. > StNe T ту, Ne O {Lh.} tū, Ne F {Lh.} tu', Ng {Ter., Mkl.} tuy, En {Cs.} X tû, B tu || Slq Tz {KKIH} tü, Tm {KD} tū, Ch {Cs.}

†^uid. | Kms {KD} šù:, šù 'Feuer, Licht', Koyb {Sp.} сю 'fire' | Mt {Hl.} *tuγ 'Feuer, Feuerzeug' (Mt: M/T tui, K {Mll.} dui, A {Msr.} thui, { S t r l . } t h u γ 'fire', M {Sp.} туй 'огниво = flint\steel for striking fire') ¶¶ UEW 535, Coll. 63, It. no. 205, Sm. 540 (U *tuli+, FU, FP *tuli, Sm *tuj), Lr. no. 1266, Lgc. no. 7914, Hs. 415, Ker. II 168-9, Ep. 124, LG 292, Jn. 166, Hl. M no-s 1085-6, KKH 189, KD 66 ¶¶ Sm *-y < U *-|i | | A *dul^r 'be\become warm' > NaT *jili- v. 'be(come) hot' > OT {Cl.} jili- id., Tk ili-, Tkm jila-, Bsh jьль-, Uz jili-, ET ili-, Qrg žili-, Qzq žili-, StAlt žili-, Xk, Tv čili-, Yk siliy- v. 'become warm\warmer'; ⇨ NaT *jilig ~ *jilug adj. 'hot, warm' > OT {Cl.} jiliγ id., QK jiliγ, SY jiliγ, Az iliγ, Tkm, Qmq jili, Bsh jьль, Tk ilik, ET jiliq, Uz jiliq ~ iliq, Qrg žilu, Qzq žili, StAlt žilu, Xk čiliγ, Tv čiliγ 'warm' ¶ Cl. 919, 925, ET J 275-6, Rs. W 431, Dr. TM III 281-2 | | M *dula-γan 'warm' > MM [HI] {H} dulaḥan 'lau', {Ms., Lew.} dula_{an} 'chaleur modérée', WrM {MED} dulagan, HIM {MED, BMR} дулаан, Brt дулаа(н), Kl {KRS} дулан 'warm, warmth' {Rm.} dulān 'warm', Dg, ShY dulān 'warm; warmth'; Ord d_ulān 'douce chaleur, tiède' (of weather) ⇨ Ord d_ulāla- 'réchauffer, bien se vêtir pour ne pas avoir froid'; (× N *tu^r|^r 'be bright, be light [hell]', q.v. ffd.): WrM dul {MED} 'clear, serene, bright' (of weather), HIM дуп {MED} id., {BMR} 'clear, windless' (of weather), Ord d_ul 'sans vent et sans froid' ¶ H SMG I no. 73, Ms. H 51, Lew. II 36, MED 272, BMR II 68, KRS 214, Chr. 200, T DgJ 138, Ms. O 160-1, S AJ 238 [no. 101] | | Tg *dūl- vt. 'warm' (of sunny weather) > Ewk dūl-, Lm dūl- id., Jrc {Md.} duluhun 'warm', {Kiy.} duhlun 'sunny (?)' ¶ STM I 221, Gru. SSJ no. 20, Kiy. 97 [no. O20], Md. ChF 136 | | ?φ pJ *dū 'warm water' > OJ, MJ yu id., J T yú, J K yǔ, J Kg yù {Kenk.} 'hot water' ¶ S AJ 72, 271 [no. 170], S QJ no. 170, Mr. 578, Kenk. 2210 ¶¶ SDM 480-1 (pA *d_ul^u 'warm' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 392 (pA *d_ul^u id.), S AJ 51, 72, 284 [no. 215], SDM95 (A *dūli (-ū-) 'warm'), SDM97 (A *dūlu id.), Rs. EAS I 51, KW 102, Vld. 174, Pp. VG 23, 75, ADb. SR 11, Mill. JAL 85, Mur. EA 108, TL 21 | | D {tr., ḡGS} *tul- v. 'shine, sparkle, be bright' (× N *tu^r|^r '↑', q.v. ffd.) | | HS *d^rl- > CS (+ext.) *✓d^rl^k vi. 'burn' > BHb ב^rכ^r ✓d^rl^k G 'set on fire', JA, Sr, MHb ✓d^rl^k G vi. 'burn' ¶ BDB no. 1814, KB 214, KBR 223, GB 163, Js. 311, Sl. 340, Br. 155, DRS 268-9 | | ? EC: Sa dilh-enō 'charcoal', {R} dilhenō 'live coals' (× N *žū^rh^rl^r or *žū^rh^rl^rE 'smoulder, burn' [intr.], 'live coals', q.v. ffd.) | | ? WCh *T^rl- 'hot', (?) v.

'heat' > Ang {ChL} *tal* vt. 'burn', Su {J} *tál* 'heiß, fiebrig', Kfr {ChL} *tàl* 'hot' | Tng {J} *tùldùl* 'warm', ? *tèlè* v. 'fry, put in/on fire, roast' ¶ J T 152, 157, J S 84, ChL, ChC s.n. 'hot', ≠ Stl. ZCh 173 [no. 254] (WCh **d*∇l- with **d*- on the presumed ev. of Hs *dallarō*, actually meaning 'protrude' rather than {Stl.} 'kindle') ◇ IS I 221-2 [no. 71] (→ BmK 274-5). Since this N etymon is not the main source of D **tu*l-, the latter does not provide legitimate ev. for identifying the N lateral. Hence I reconstruct it not as N **l*, but as a less specific N **l̄* (sc. **l̄*l̄). The delabialization of N **u* in T (producing T **l*) occurs in several N words, but the conditions of this delabialization still need investigating.

524. ₂ **dū*|*u*₁*H*|*w*|*y*₁∇ 'itching, lust' > A: **dū*l∇ > T **o*jūl- > Yk *sū*l- 'be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercaillies etc.), *sū*l 'heat (of male animals)' (× N **dū*l̄*U**h*∇ 'be mad, be stupid' [q.v.]) ¶ JkR 352, Pek. 2887, ≈ Md. 66, 163, ≈ Rs. W 213 || J: OJ *turub*- v. 'copulate' ¶ S p.c. || D **tū*l- ({*g*GS} **d*-) > Kn *dū*le 'itching, lust', Tl *dū*la 'itching, itch', Prj *dulka*ṛṇid, *duladā*ma 'cow-itch' (*ka*ṛṇid 'ε creeper'), Knd *dū*la 'itch' ¶¶ D no. 3392 ◇ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of an additional cns. (a *l*., **w*, or **y*) in the pN word.

525. **dū*l̄*U**h*∇ 'be mad, be stupid' > U: FU (att. in ObU) **o*t^lU^l∇ 'mad' > Os (partially in composita) **tu*l 'mad' > Os: V/Vy/Ty *tu*l, Y *tu*l, D/K *tū*l, Nz *tū*l id.; Vg Ss *tu*l (< Os?): *tu*l-pāṅq 'sinnlos machender Fliegenpilz' ¶ Ht. no. 827 || A **dū*l̄*ü*-â- (from ***dū*l̄*ü*wâ-?) 'crazy, stupid' (→ 'deaf') > T **jū*l̄*;*l̄E-, {Md.} **jū*l̄*l̄*ə- 'be crazy', 'anger' > AtAlt *žū*l- 'be crazy/mad', ET Tr {Rl.} *jō*lā- 'be a sleepwalker, rave', Chv L *çил* *sí*l, Chv Δ *çил*ě *sí*ль 'anger, fury', possibly also Yk *sū*l- 'be in heat' (of male reindeer, stallions, capercaillies etc.), *sū*l 'heat (of male animals)' (× N **dū*l̄*u*₁*H*|*w*|*y*₁∇ 'itching, lust') ¶ Rs. W 213, BT 60, JkR 352, Pek. 2887, Md. 66, 163, Ash. XII 152-5, Fed. II 117, Rl. III 608, 628 || M **dū*ley 'deaf' > MM [MA, IM, IsV] *dū*lei̇, [L] *dū*li̇:, WrM {MED} *dū*lei, HIM {MED, BMR} *дү*лий, Brt *дү*лии, Kl {KRS} *дү*лə, {Rm.} *dū*lā, Mnr H {T} *dul*ī, {SM} *d*_ulī, Ord *d*_ulī, Dg *dul*ī, Dx *duley* id. ¶ MED 280, BMR II 86, Chr. 208, KRS 218, KW 105, T 331, T DgJ 138, T DnJ 118, Pp. L III 57, Pp. MA 147, 436, Lg. VMI 28, SM 64, Ms. O 170 || Tg **dū*lb∇- (< ***dū*lw∇- < pA **dū*l̄*ü*-â-?) v. 'become stupid', 'stupid, deaf' > Ewk *dulbu*-id., Lm *dulbur* 'fool, stupid'; Tg **dū*lb∇ > Nn Nh {On.} *dulbi* 'deaf; hard of hearing (тугой на ухо)', WrMc {Z} *дү*лба 'stupid (тупой, глупый, неразумный)' ¶ STM I 221-2, On 162, Z 836 || ?σ pKo {S} **tor*

'wicked, base, wild' > NKo *tolid.*, *tul-* 'stupid, clumsy' ¶ Rm. SKE 272, S QK no. 869, MLC 478, 509-10 ¶¶ SDM 485 (pA **dūli* 'mad, crazy' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 404, SDM97 s.v. **dūlbi* 'crazy, stupid', Rm. SKE 272, Lee CSMK 108 || HS: S (or WS?) **√dlh* (or **°√dlh*) .go mad' > Ar *√dlh* *G* 'perdre la raison, être frappé d'aliénation mentale; tomber dans la stupéfaction; éprouver un violent trouble, perdre la tête (d'amour, de chagrin etc.)', *dālih-un* 'qui a perdu la tête; aliéné, fou', Ar O *dilih*, Hrs (← Ar?) [*'deleh*] *'dēleh* 'foolish, silly' ¶ BK I 726-7, Jo. H 24, DRS 262.

526. **dalq* ▽ 'wave (Welle)' > HS **√dlχ* v. 'rise in waves, stir up' > S **√dlχ* id., 'agitate' > BHb *√dlh G* 'make turbid (water)', IA, JA, Sr *√dlh G* id., 'stir up' (? Aram **√dlh* v. 'mix' → Ar *δullāh-* 'milk mixed with water'), Ak fOB/OA *√dlχ* v. 'stir up, roil (water), blur (eyes)', Ak OB *dilχu* 'trouble, confusion' ¶ KB 213, KBR 222, Js. 309, DRS 264, CAD III 43-6, 141-2 || B: Ah *dələy* 'être trouble' (of water) ¶ Fc. 196, NZ 332 || IE **d^helH_χ-* > → Gk *θάλασσα*, Gk A *θάλαττα* 'sea' (< **d^h̥-tya*; **d^h̥-* < **d^h̥h-*), Mcd [Hs.] *θαλάσσαν* accus. 'sea' ¶ F I 648-9, Ch. 42, ≠ EI 503 (the Gk word ← non-IE lge) || D {tr., †GS} **tall-* v. 'be agitated, wave' > ds: Kn *tallaṇa* 'agitation, amazement, alarm, fear, grief', Tu *tallaṇa* 'wavering, vexed', Tl *tallaḍamu* 'agitation, commotion, anxiety, turmoil' ¶¶ D no. 3104 || A **d|t'al-* > Tg **dalan* 'flood, inundation' > Neg *dalan*, Ul *dala(n-)*, Nn Nh/KU {STM} *dalã* id., Nn Nh {On.} *dalã* id., 'половодье, паводок' ¶ STM I 193, On. 135 || M **dalay* 'sea, lake' (unless the word as a loan from Chinese, F Cl. 502: Clauson treats OT *talay* as a loan from Chn *ta* 'large' + *lej* 'Sang-kan river') > MM [S] *dalay* 'sea, lake', [HI] *dalay* 'sea, ocean', WrM {MED} *dalay*, HIM *далай* {MED, BMR} ocean, sea, great lake', Kl {Rm.} *dalā* ~ *dalā* 'Meer, Ozean, großes Gewässer', {KRS} *дала* 'ocean', Mnr H {SM} *dālē*, Ord *dālā* 'mer'; M **dalay* → OT *talay* 'sea, large body of water' ¶ H 31, MED 224, BMR II 24, Chr. 183, KW 78, KRS 178, Ms. H 48, Ms. O 115, SM 41, T 327, Cl. 502 ¶¶ ≠ DQA no. 2719 (pA **čal* ▽ 'sea' > M **dalay* 'sea' + unc.: Tg **tāl-* [actually meaning 'immerse, dip, dive', see ET VGD 133-4] and Tg **jal-* [in fact **°jal-*] 'overflow, be filled with water' > Lm *jāl-* id. [STM I 245-6]), ≠ SDM 391-2 (pA **čalu* 'wave', v. 'overflow' [not going back to N **dalq* ▽]: M **dolgi* 'wave', Tg **jal-* 'overflow', T **talg-* 'wave'), ≠ SDM95 s.v. **tjōl* ▽ 'wave, shallow place' (*÷ pKo **tór* 'ditch' and pJ **tù* 'ford'; the T words [Yk *dolgun*, Tk *dalga* 'wave' etc.] are considered inherited pA words representing pT **t'alKu*

'wave') ◇ IS I 216-7 (*d̥alqʰu), cp. IS MS 334 (*tʰoʰlg̊) ◇ N *q is reconstructed on the ev. of S *χ and IE *H ◇ ≠ Resh. NNE no. 11 (phonetically unjustified comparison of A *tā́▽ with FU *täwδe 'full', see N ≈ *täwod▽ 'be full').

527. *dælb▽ 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through' > IE: NaIE *dʰelbʰ- v. 'dig, gouge', {EI} 'dig' > OHG inf. bi-telban ȝ -telpan, OSx inf. bi-delvan 'to bury', MDt, Dt inf. delven, OFrs inf. delva, AS inf. delfan 'to dig\bury', NE delve || ?? Blt (× N *talʰoʰ ≈ [back of the] neck, shoulders'): Lt d̥alba 'crowbar, lever', Pru d̥alptan · "Durchschlag" 'crowbar (for punching holes)' | Sl inf. *d̥lb-ti / 1s pres. *d̥lbq v. 'gouge' > OR, RChS inf. ДЪЛБСТН d̥lbsti ~ ДЛЪБСТН dl̥bsti, Uk inf. дов'сти / 1s pres. дов'бу, Blr inf. даўб'ці, Blg д̥л'бъ, SCr inf. д̥рсти / 1s pres. д̥б̄em, Slv inf. d̥lbsti / 1s pres. d̥lbem, R inf. дол'бить / 1s pres. μ дол'блю id. ¶ WP I 865-6, P 246-7, EI 159, Mn. 179, Vr. N 110-1, OsS 825, Kb. 1016, Ho. 71, Ho. S 12, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tr. P A-D 291-4, Bern. I 250-1, ESSJ V 206, Glh. 213, SPS III 36, 246-8 (Sl *d̥[ba-ti, *delb-ti) || A: M *delbe > WrM d̥elbe {MED} 'through and through, to pieces, asunder', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'вдребезги, насквозь, напролет', Brt д̄элбэ 'вдребезги, насквозь, напролом', Ord d̄elb_e 'de façon à faire éclater brusquement'; M *delbere- > WrM {MED} d̄elbere-, HIM {MED, BMR} д̄элбэрэ-, Brt д̄элбэр- v. 'burst, crack asunder', Ord d̄elb_er- 'crever, éclater'; WrM {MED} d̄elberkei-, HIM {MED, BMR} д̄элбэрхий, Brt д̄элбэрхэй adj. 'split, cracked', n. 'crack, cleft, crevice', Kl {Rm.} d̄elw̄rkē 'tiefer Riß; tief gespalten', Ord d̄elb_erk̄hī 'crevé, fêlé' ¶ MED 248, BMR II 104-5, Chr. 215, KW 87, Ms. O 136 || HS: S: (mt.) Ar dubl-at- (pl. dubal-, dubul-) {Ln.} 'the hole of a hoe\adze\axe', {BK} 'trou dans la hache, qui sert à la suspendre' ¶ BK I 668, Ln. 850 ◇ Cf. BmK 268-9 (*d̄al-/*d̄al- v. 'cut, prick, pierce, gash, notch, wound', based on semantically and phonetically shaky comparison of truncated roots: IE *dʰel-bʰ- v. 'dig, hollow out', *dʰel-g- 'sharp object', C *√dl̥ v. 'be cracked', v. 'gash, notch', D *tall- v. 'beat, crush', M d̄elbere-[- above], Tk d̄elik 'hole').

528. ?σ (₂?) *dæLʰkʰa 'to prick' > IE: NaIE *dʰelg- v. 'prick', n. 'thorn', {EI} 'sting, pierce', 'pin' > Clt {Matas.} *d̄elgo- 'pin, needle' > OIr {P} d̄elg 'thorn, needle', MW d̄ala 'sting', OCrn [ʏ] d̄elc(h) 'monile' || ON d̄álkr 'fastening needle (fibula)', 'spina dorsalis piscium', 'dagger,

knife', AS *dalc* 'buckle, bracelet', possibly LG *dolk*, NHG *Dolch*, NGr *Δ Tolch* 'dagger' || Lt *dilgūs* 'stinging', *dilgė* 'nettle'] ?σ possibly words for 'sickle, scythe': Lt *daĩgė*, Ltv *dalgs*, Pru *doalgis* 'scythe' || L *falx* (gen. *falcis*) 'sickle' ¶ P 247, EI 424, 428, Vr. 72, Ho. 70, KM 137, Paul 129, Frn. 81, En. 162, Tr. P A-D 354-6, WH I 449-50, Matas. 94 || **А**: ?σ Tg **delk∇-* v. 'split' (× N **tæL∇* 'cut (split, trim, cleave]', q.v.) > Ewk *dзlki-* v. 'split\chop into pieces', Lm *dзlkъ-* v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk {STM} *дөлкө-* 'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} *dзlki-* v. 'split (reed in order to plait mats)', Nn Nh {On.} *dзlki-* v. 'split and smooth out (reed)', WrMc {Z} *дэлэхэ-* vi. 'divide property among themselves' (brothers), 'divide', vi. 'separate', Mc Sb *dзlүз-* 'be disconnected, be ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} *delxe-*, {Kiy.} *telxe-* v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, On. 167, Z 806-7, Y no-s 1200 and 1713, Kiy. 119 [no. 390], Md. ChF 136 || ?φ **HS**: SC: Brn {E} *delaɣ-* v. 'gash, notch', Kz {E} *dala-* v. 'shoot (with arrow)' ¶ E SC 345 ◇ Doubtful (Tg **delk∇-* has an alt. explanation, the ev. of SC is phonetically imperfect) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 295 (**tel* 'pierce') (IE, Tg + err. A, Ko, J, Gil + qu. CK).

529. ?σ ₂ **deL₁∇₁P₁∇* 'to flap, to wave', 'to fly' (← 'to flap wings'?) > **HS**: S **^o√dlp* > Ar *dalūf-* 'rapide dans son vol' (of eagles, birds) ¶ BK I 724 || **А** **dæLP∇-* > T **jælpri-* v. 'flap, fan, winnow' > OT *jelpri-n-* v. ps. 'fan oneself', *jelpri-t-* v. caus. '≈ order to fan', *jelpir-* 'blow' (of wind), Tkm *jelpe-*, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Uz *jelpri-*, ET *jälpü-*, Bsh *jьлрь-*, VTt *žilрь-*, SbTt Tb {Tm.} inf. *jьlb-ü-*, Brb {Tm.} *jilbä-*, Qzq, Qq *želrĩ-*, Qrg *želri-*, StAlt {BT}, Tlt {Rl.} *želbi-* v. 'fan', 'blow (on so.\sth.) (of wind)' ('обмахивать, обдывать'), Xk *čelbe-* 'wave hands, produce wind', Tv *čelbi-*, Tf *čelri-*, Yk *sippiy-* 'winnow'; T **jælpik* n. 'fan, waving object' > Az *jelpik* 'fan', Shor *čelbeg* 'fortune telling by letting a cloth wave in the air' ¶ Cl. 920, ET J 182-3, Rl. III 356-7, 1981, BT 52, Tm. 77-6, Ra. 195 || M: [1] M ***delb^re¹-* -d→ > M **delbiχür* > Dg {T} *delbur*, {Pp.} *dзlbūr*, {Mr.} *delebure*, {Mrm.} *delwur* ~ *delgur* 'fan', WrM {MED} *debigür*, HIM *дэвүүр* {MED} 'any device used to produce wind: fan, winnowing tray of baske etc.', {BMR} 'опахало, fan', Brt *дэбюур* td., Ord *d_ewūr* 'van'; WrM *delbe-gene-*, HIM *дэлбэгнэ-*; WrM {MED} *delbe-lze-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *дэлбэлзэ-* vi. 'move\sway' (of flat\protruding objects), Kl {Rm.} *delw]zə-* 'flattern, fächeln'] [2] M **dele-* (loss of **-b(e)-* due to metanalysis?) > WrM {MED} *dele-* v. 'wave, flap' (of wings),

'fan', HIM дэлэ- {MED} id., {BMR}. 'swing (размахивать); flap' (of wings)', Brt дэли- 'swing (размахивать, размахиваться)', K1 {KRS} дел- 'flap (wings), take wing (fly up)' ¶ MED 238, 247-8, BMR II 99 and 108-9, Chr. 214, KRS 198, KW 87, Chr. 21, Ms. O 145, Klz. D I 122, T DgJ 136.

530. *d∇lqâ 'feather' > HS: CCh: Glv {RpB} žāk^ωà 'feather', Gdf {ChC} žāk^ωà d̄ka 'feather' (lit. 'bird feather', where d̄ka means 'bird'); the Ch root is acceptable if ž- goes back to the cluster *dl- ¶ RpB 31, ChC s.v. 'feather' || K: pGZ *bur̄t̄q̄l- 'down and feathers' > G bur̄t̄q̄l- id., Mg būt̄qu- 'soft'; pGZ *bur̄t̄q̄l- is likely to go back to a N phrase ***bū|ur̄l̄, ∇ d∇lqâ** (lit. 'hair\down feather', see N ***bū|ur̄l̄, ∇** 'lock of hair, down' [q.v.]) ¶¶ K 55, FS K 65 || U *tulka 'feather, wing' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *tolkē 'feather' > Lp: N {N} d̄q̄l'ge / -lg-, Kld tāl'g, T tōl'g'e id., L {LLO} tāl'kē id., 'down' | pMr {Ker.} *t̄lga > Er/Mk tōlga 'feather' | Prm {LG} *t̄l > Vt тылы, Z Le t̄+l id., Yz t̄+l id., 'fin of fish', StZ тыв t̄+v 'Schwung-oder Schwanzfeder' || Hg toll 'feather' | ObU *t̄ō|w̄al id. > pOs *t̄ō|ȳal ({/Hl.} *t̄ū|ȳal) > Os: V/Vy t̄ō|ȳal, Ty t̄ō|ȳaɬ, Y t̄ō|w̄aɬ, D/K/Nz t̄ō|χ̄aɬ, Kz t̄ō|χ̄aɬ, O t̄ō|χ̄al id.; pVg *t̄ō|w̄al > Vg: T t̄ōl, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/LL/ML tōw̄l, SV tāw̄l, UL/Ss tōw̄al id., 'wing' || Sm {Jn.} *tūȳ, {Hl.} *tua 'feather, wing' > Ne T то, T O {Lh.}, Ne F {Lh.} t̄ō, Ng {Mik.} t̄ū̄, {Cs.} t̄ū, t̄ūa, En {Cs.} tūa, Slq Tz {KKIH} t̄ū id., Mt {Hl.} *tūḡa, ? *toga id. (Mt M {Sp.} ту, K {Pl.} тóга 'feather', M {Sp.} туда 'its wing') ¶¶ UEW 535-6, Coll. 62, ≈ Sm. 540 (U *tūx̄l̄ 'feather' > FU *tūlk̄ā, FP *tūlka, Ugr *t̄ū̄lka, Sm *tūθ̄j), MF 637, It. no. 216, Ker. II 169, LG 292, Lt. J 186, Ht. no. 624, Lr. no. 1267, Lgc. no. 7912, Jn. 166, KKIИ 188, Hl. M no. 1070 || **а** *^od̄|ǣl̄, ∇, k̄'- > NaT *j̄ǣl̄ǣk̄ '(large) feather' > Tk yēlek, Osm {Rl.} j̄äläk (جَلَاك, جَلَاك) 'feather (of a wing, of an arrow)', Tkm jēlek 'feather, down', Xlj j̄á l̄ák 'feather' (DHST 309, but not mentioned in DT), Az l̄äläk 'feather, plumage' (l̄- for j̄- < *j̄- by as.), SbTt Tr j̄bläk 'comb\crest (of a bird)', SbTt Tö d. j̄l̄b̄ȳrc̄āk id. ¶ ET J 179, DHST 309, Rl. III 347, Tm. 77-8 ◊ Gr. II no. 145 (*tul 'feather') (U, A, Ko, CK, EA + unc. Ai).

531. *dEgíâ (= *dügíâ?) 'bush(es), shrubs, thicket, forest' > HS: S *^odāyl- > Ar dāyl- 'thicket', ✓ d̄yl Sh (pf. ?ad̄ȳala) v. 'be bushy' (of land) ¶ BK I 708, DRS 295 || B *^o✓d̄lȳ > Ah te-d̄ale 'gros tronc d'arbre', Ttq ti-d̄ali 'tronc d'arbre' ¶ Fc. 192, Msq. 341, NZ 328 || U: FU *tEí∇ (= *tūí∇?) 'young thick forest, shrubs' > pPrm {Lt.} *tēl̄ > Z тиль tíl̄,

тільсод *tílsɔd* 'thick pine forest, young thick coniferous forest', Prmk, Yz *teí* 'young thick forest', Vt С тэль *teí* 'forest', Vt N *teí* 'low wood, underwood, shrubs' ||| Ugr: OHg {Seb. → LG} *tölgγ* 'shrubs', but hardly here OHg *tölgγ* ~ *töl*, Hg *tölgγ* 'oak' (← Alan, cp. Oss: I түлдэ *tūlɜ*, D *tɔlɜæ* 'oak') ¶ LG 279, Seb. WUS 326, EWU 1539-40, Ab. III 315-16 ||| A: T **ʝl̥i:* ' (ε) forest' > OT *jīš* or *jīš* 'mountain forest', Qmn/QK {Rl.} *jīš*, {B} *žíš* 'forest', StAlt {BT} *дьыш* *žíš* 'thick forest', Tb {Rl.} *jīš* id., 'taiga', {B} *дьыш* *žíš* id. ('чернь, тайга'), *дьыш* *žíš* 'forest', Xk чыс *čis* 'mountain forest' ¶ Cl. 976 (OT *jīš* with a long *vw.* on the insufficient ev. of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling), Rl. III 497, B DChT 116, 118, B DLT 145, B DK 213 ||| D (att. in GnD) **tul̥l̥i-* (ǰGS) **d-*) > Knd *dolu* 'a creeper plant, shrub, plant of shoot height', Png *dol* 'plant', 'stem, trunk', Mnd *dul* 'plant; sapling', Ku *kūli-dolu* 'rice plant', *dulomi* 'plant' ¶ D no. 3517.

532. **dūHí|l̥* 'dust' > D **tūl̥-*, {ǰGS} **dūl̥-* id. > Tm *tūl̥*, Kn *dūl̥* (u) 'dust, powder, pollen', Ml *tūl̥*, Tu *dūl̥* u, *d^hūl̥* u 'dust', Prj *dūl̥-* v. 'rise' (dust), Mnd *tul̥ve* 'earth, soil'; D → OI *d^hūli-* 'dust, powder, pollen' (which has influenced Tu *d^hūl̥* u 'dust' and Ml *d^hūl̥* uka- v. 'fly about as dust') ¶¶ D no. 3283 (without distinguishing this √ from D **tuka|l̥-* 'dust'), Tu. no. 6835 ||| IE: NaIE **d^he_ul̥a|l̥-*/**d^hūl̥-*/**d^hwolo-* 'dust' > OI *d^hūli-*, *d^hūlikā* id. ||| Gk θολός 'mud, dirt' ||| L *fūlīgo* 'soot; powder used for darkening the eyebrows' (but EI: ← 'smoke') ||| Lt *dūlis* 'punk, piece of rotten wood', † {Ju.} 'Nebel, Dunst, Baummoder zum Beräuchern der Bienen', Ltv *dūlais*, *dūlis* 'fumigator (Räuchermasse zum Fortttreiben der Bienen)' ¶ ≈ P 265, ≈ M K II 110, ≠ F I 677, WH I 560, ≈ Frn. 109, ≠ EI 160 (rejecting IE **d^hūli-* 'dust') ||| Not here NaIE **tel-* > L *tellus* / *tellūris* 'earth' and OIr *talam* id.; in the light of comparative ev. within IE the original meaning of NaIE **tel-* is likely to have been 'flat surface' (see N **ṭaīh* ∇ 'flat') ¶ P 1061 ||| HS: NrOm {Blz.} **tul̥(l)-* 'ashes, dust' > Ym {Wdk.} *tùlò*, {C} *tul̥ō* 'dust', Kf {Fl.} *tullo*, {C} *tullō*, Mch {L} 'tullo, Shn {Fl.} *tulla*, {Lm.} *tullà* 'ashes', Dwr {Bnd.} *dīliya* 'sand' (Blz. p.c. 2001) ¶ NrOm **t-* < **d...H-?* ¶ Blz. OL no-s 99-100, Wdk. BY 136, C SE III 85, C SE IV 506, L M 54, Lm. Sh 388-9 ||| ECh: Mgm {J} *bùrùntùllé*, EDng {Fd.} *bùrìntàl* pl. (sg. *r. bùrìntìlò*) 'dust' (possibly a N phrase **bôri'γ'U nu dūHí|l̥* ∇, sc. N **bôri'γ'U* 'loose earth, dust' + [?] N **nu* genitive + N **dūHí|l̥* ∇ 'dust') ¶ JA LM 72, Fd. 101 ¶ One may try to adduce Ch {JS} **ǰil* (= **ǰil?*) 'earth', but it is

more likely to belong to N ***ʔuī∇** 'sole, foundation, earth' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σ ('dust' → 'earth'): LEC ***d̥ul-** > Sml **d̥ul**, Sml N {Abr.} **d̥úl** 'earth, soil; country, land', Kns {BISO} **d̥ula** 'field, cultivated area', Bs {HL} **ūl** 'earth' (× EC ***ʔul̥l̥a** 'earth' < the above-mentioned N ***ʔuī∇**), ? Sa {R} **d̥ūl** 'country (Bezirk, Gebiet, Landschaft)' (influenced by Tgr **d̥ew̥el** 'district, country') ¶ LEC ***d̥-** < ***d̥H-?** ¶ AD SF 59, DSI 180, ZMO 124, Abr. S 69, R S II 106, HL 66, BISO 25 ¶¶ Blz. OL (Om ***y̥' all- ~ *y̥ill-** < HS ***y̥il- ~ y̥ul-**), Tk. I 62 (on the Eg - Ch parallel), cf. EG I 26 and Hng 22 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 241 [no. 5] (***Tuī∇**; he compared between C, IE, D and unacceptably K ***(m)ṭwer-** 'dust').

533. *deqí|l̥∇ '(to be) thin' > HS: S ***o̥✓ d̥χl** > Ar **✓ d̥χl G** 'amaigrir', **mad̥χūl-** 'maigre, amaigri' ¶ BK I 678 || K ***d̥∇t̥χel-** (> ***tt̥χel-**) v. 'be thin' > OG, G **t̥χeli** 'thin, sparse', Mg **t̥χit̥χu**, Lz **tut̥χu ~ titt̥χu** id., Sv UB/LB/Ln {TK, GP, Dn., Ni.} **d̥ət̥χel** 'thin', Sv {Ni.} **nadt̥χeli** 'thinness' ¶¶ K 93-4, ≈ K² 71 (GZ ***tt̥χ-el-**), Chik. 239, ≠ FS K 102-3 (K ***dt̥χ-** v. 'be thin'), Abul. 185, TK 199, Ni. s.v. 'тонкий', GP 97, Dn. s.v. **d̥ət̥χel** || D (att. in SD) {tr., †GS} ***te|l-** 'thin' > Kn **te|l, te|lu** 'thinness', **te|lup̥u** id., Kdg **tə|lane** 'thin' (of person or thing), Tu **te|lup̥u** 'thinness'; D → OI **talina-** 'thin, fine' ¶ D no. 3434 ◇ The corr. K ***χ** - S ***χ** is irreg.; the solution may be found by supposing a change: pre-K ***tq-** > K ***t̥χ-** (sc. N ***deqí|l̥∇** > reduplicated ***d̥∇dq̥∇l-** > [as.] ***d̥∇tq̥∇l-** > K ***d̥∇t̥χel-**).

534. *dA|oí̥l̥∇, r̥∇ (= ***dAí̥o r̥∇** or ***dAí̥l̥∇, r̥o**?) 'to push, to press', (?) 'to squeeze' > HS: SES ***o̥✓ d̥l̥r̥** > Jb C **✓ d̥l̥r̥ G** (pf. **'d̥el̥ar̥**, subj. **'y̥od̥l̥ar̥**) v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. J 38-9, DRS 267 || Ch: [1] WCh: Dr {ChL} **d̥il̥è** v. 'push' [2] ? (× N ***d̥ä'z̥'∇** 'to strike', q.v. ffd.): Ch ***✓ d̥l̥** > ECh: EDng {Fd.} **d̥él̥è** 'frapper' || WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} **žil**, {IL} **žili**, Sir {Sk.} **žilí** 'mortar' | SBc: Gj {IL} **t̥h̥ùlí** id., Bgm {Sh.} **d̥al** 'beat (a person)' ¶ JI II 16, ChC s.v. 'push' and 'mortar', ChL, Fd. 187 || U: FU ***toí̥∇-** v. 'push' > pPrm {LG} ***to|öy-** vt. 'push, shove' (× FU ***tek̥∇-** v. 'push' < N ≈ ***te, 'h' a, ka r̥ê** 'to put, to set?') > Z LL **toy-n+** 'to prick, to pierce, to thrust, to poke', StZ **toy-+št-n+** 'push' (mom.), **toylav-n+** 'push, push out', Z US **twylal-n+**, Yz **'t̥üy-** v. 'push', Vt Uf **t̥üy-** (< ***t̥üy-**) 'push in, thrust', StVt **t̥uy+l+n+** id., 'stick in ([hinein-]stecken)', caulk (конопатить), Vt Sl **t̥uy-+št-** vt. 'stick in' ([hinein-]stecken) || Hg † **tol̥y-**, Hg **tol-**, Δ **toy-** 'schieben, rücken, stoßen' ¶ Coll. 119, UEW 528-

9 (*toy▽), LG 281, U3S 427 || **D** {Km., ḡGS} *ta|- v. 'push' (× N ***talqa** 'strike, push') > Tm tal|u v. 'push, force forward, expel, reject', 'be removed\lost', MI tal|uka v. 'push, reject', tal|u n. 'thrust, push', Kt tal|-, Td to|-, Kn tal|u 'push, shove away, thrust', Tu talluni ~ tal|uni 'push in', OTI {Km.} talǎgu, talǔgu (and TI talgu) 'remove, shove away, expel', OTI talǎgu / tal- 'be lost (as wealth, kingdom)', 'get out of the way (as crowd)' ¶¶ D no. 3135, Km. 379 [no. 549] (*ta|-) and 380 [no. 552] (s.v. talǔgu) || ?σ,φ **K**: Sv: {Ni.} ot-tile v. 'squeeze', Ln {TK}, UB {GP} li-tle (with the px es-) 'to press', (with the px ad-) vt. 'to tighten' (× N ***tAÍ▽** 'to tread, to pound') ¶ Ni. s.v. 'жатъ', GP 153, TK 433 || **IE**: (+ext.) NaIE *dʰels-/*dʰ]s- ~ *dʰlas-/*dlās- v. 'squeeze, press' > Gk Hm ḡλάω (aor. ḡλάσ(σ)αυ) vt. 'crush, bruise' || Cz {Scheft., P} (arc. or Δ?) dlasmati 'drücken' ¶ P 271, Ehrl. 9, F I 676 ◇ U *-**í**- points to N *-**Í▽ς**-, because the cluster *-**Íς**- would have yielded U *-**î**-. In IE *dʰels-/*dʰ]s- the absence of the expected Ir. (from N ***ς**) requires explanation ◇ If the HS and the IE cognates are rejected, the N etymon will be ***t▽Í▽**.

535. (₂?) ***dam▽** or ***dam▽d▽** 'to cover, to close' > **HS**: WS ***✓dmm** > Ar **✓dmm** (ip. -**dumm-**) v. 'stop up, level, cover' ({Fr.} 'illinivit [e.g. gypso domum], textit\obtextit aequaliter', {BK} 'boucher les trous [avec de la terre, de la boue]; enduire'), Gz **✓dmm** *D* 'close, cover, fill up, heap up, level', Tgr **✓dmm** *L* (pf. **damemē**) v. 'close the udder' ¶ BK I 128, L G 134, Fr. II 53, LH 515, ≠ DRS 274 || B ***dīm-** or ***diHm-** > Kb **tadim-t** (pl. **tī-dim-a**) 'bouchon, couvercle', Shw **dimi** 'pièce de mousseline qui se met sur la table' ¶ Dl. 14, NZ 341 || **A**: M ***°damda-** > WrM {MED} **дамда-** v. 'cover, enclose, close', {Gl.} 'be covered\hidden\screened', HIM {BMR} 'данда- 'быть покрытым в один ряд\слой; быть легко одетым' ¶ MED 228, Gl. III 65, BMR II 33 || ?σ **U** ***°t'▽m't'a-** > Sm {Jn.} ***тъmtā-** ~ ***тъmtъ-** 'wrap, fold' > Ne T **тāмдāць** vi. 'to shrivel (as birch bark in fire, worms) (zusammenschrumpfen)', vt. 'to crumple', {Lh.} **tāmdāć** 'zusammenwickeln, zusammenfalten'; ⇨ ***тъmtāl-** vt. 'fold, roll' > Ne T **тāмдāльць**, {Lh.} **tām'talć** 'zusammenwickeln, -packen, -rollen', Ne F **tamtārct** inv. 'wickle zusammen!', Slq Tz **tamt+l-** {KKIH} 'twist\roll together, wrap', Slq Tm 1s aor. **tamdānab** id. ¶ Jn. 147, Ter. 623, KKIH 178, Lh. 464.

536. *dAm∇ 'steam, mist, dust' > **HS**: S: CS *dīm- 'mist, fog' > Sr dīmə-'t-ā 'nebula tenuis cineri simila', {JPS} 'mist', Ar dīm-at- 'pluvia continua et tranquilla' ||| EthS *✓dmn > Gz dammanā 'cloud', dāmmūn 'cloudy', dammana v. 'cover with clouds, be dark', Tgy dēmēna ~ dēbēna, Tgr dēmēna~dēbēna 'clouds' (↳ Ag: Aw {L} dāmmānā, Km dāmmāna 'cloud[s]', as well as probably Bln {Bnd.} dēmna, Xm {R} dimena id.) ¶ Br. 151, JPS 90, L G 134-5, AD SF 51, DRS 274-5, R Ch II 354 (s.p. 40) ¶ An alt. (less likely) hyp. is that the EthS word is a Cushitism || EC: Or {Grg.} dūmessa, Or Gj {LLC} dumēnsa, Or B {Sr.} dūmansa, Or O dūmasa, Or T {Mrn.} dumēsā, Or M {LLC}, Or Wl {Brl.} dumessa 'cloud', Or H {Ow.} dummesá, Rn {PG} dūbát, {Oo.} dū'bat 'fog, mist', Bs dumbō 'fog', Brj {Ss.} dū'banč'i 'dense fog', ? Hd dūba 'cloud' ¶ Ss. B 58, Grg. 115, Sr. 291, Brl. 128, Ow. 258, LLC 37, Th. 116, PG 105, Oo. 67, Blz. RL 257, Blz. CL 177 || NrOm: Bdt {Ss.} dūma 'cloud' ¶ Ss. B 58 || Ch *d∇m∇n- 'rainy season' > WCh: Hs dāmúnā 𐤀 dāmínā 𐤀 dāmánā id. | Ngz {Sch.} dāmán, Bd {ChL} dāmánán id. ||| CCh: Lgn {Nc.} 'dēman id. ¶ Gr. LA 61, ChC s.v. 'rainy season', ChL, Lk. L 88 ¶¶ Gr. LA 61 (S, C, Ch), AD SF 51 (S, C, Om, Ch), Abr. H 180, 182-3, Ba. 208, OS no. 678, ≈ Sk. HCD 42 || ? K *°da:im- > amb G dam-i 'steam' (unless a Persian loanword [which is less plausible, because NPRs دām means {Sg., BM} 'breath, air, scent', {Vl.} 'halitus, spiritus; odor' rather than 'steam']) ¶ DCh. 383 || **IE**: NaIE {P} *d^hem- v. 'smoke', 'fly about' (dust), 'blow (blasen, wehen)' (the meaning 'blow' is from N *d∇m∇ 'to breathe, to blow' [q.v.]) > Oss I dæm- dām-, Oss D dym- dzm- v. 'blow, smoke', Tati dāmi 'tobacco pipe' ||| pGmc *dem-b-/ *dumb- > Sw Δ {P} dīmba 'steam', inf. dīmba- 'dampfen, rauchen, stieben', dūmba 'Nebel, Dunst', NNr damb 'dust', ON dūmba 'dust, cloud of dust', Nic, Far dūmba 'mist, cloud of dust' ¶ Hardly here OI 'dhamati 'blows', OCS1s pres. дѣмѣ dēm-q / inf. дѣтѣ dēt-ti v. 'blow', R inf. дѣ-тъ 'to blow' etc. (< N *d∇m∇ '↑') ¶ P 247-8, StSS 206, Vl. I 898, 906, Sg. 536, Ab. I 382-3, Vr. 87 || **A**: NaT *°ja:im > OT ja:im 'a piece of dust' ¶ Cl. 933 ◇ It is not yet clear if this N word is genetically identical with (and is a sd. from) N *d∇m∇ 'to breathe, to blow', or these are different N words that contaminated in IE. In addition, in IE there was a merger with *d^hem(ə)- 'dark' < N *d^hūhm∇ ~ *d^hūmh∇ '(be) dark' (q.v.) ◇ Cf. BmK 267 (IE, S, C).

537. (₂?) *dūm∇ 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet' > **HS**: WS *-dūm-, *✓dmm (prm. *-dumm-) (and a secondary root *✓dmj|w) v. 'be quiet'

silent' > BHb הַדְּמָה dū'mā 'silence', הַדְּמִיּוּת dūmiy'yā 'silence, stillness, rest', הַדְּמָה dū'm-ām (fossilized loc. of *dūm-) 'quiet, silence' (← 'in silence'), Ug {OLS} ✓ d̄m G 'quedarse quieto', Ar -dūm- (✓ d̄w̄m, ip. ya-dūm-u) 'être tranquille, être en repos'; BHb דָּמָם ✓ dmm G (imv. דָּמָם 'dom, imv. f. דָּמָמַי 'dommī, ip. 3m yid'dom) v. 'stand still, keep quiet, be motionless\rigid', MHb ✓ dmm G 'be silent', IA d̄m̄y 'rest, calmness (?)', Gz ✓ dmm T (pf. tadamma, tadamama) v. 'be silent, stop, be immobile, be stupefied', {KWK} dāmām 'silence'; BHb ✓ dmy G (ip. 3f הַדְּמָה tid'mē) 'still sein; zur Ruhe kommen, enden (Träne)' ¶ KB 208, 216-17, KBR 216-17, 226, BDB no-s 1745, 1747-8 and 1826, OLS 132, BK I 752-3, Ln. 935ff., L G 134, JH 58, HJ 252, Lv. I 413, DRS 236-7, 274 || C: Bj d̄i m-, d̄u m- v. 'be silent' ¶ R WBd 66 || ECh: ?φ Kwn {J} d̄ē wē 'silent' ¶ ChC s.v. 'silent, silence', J KKS s.v. Kwang d̄ē wē, ChC s.v. 'slent' || K *°dum- > G dum- v. 'be silent' ¶ Chx. 324 || ??σ ρ: Tg: Ewk dumbirga- vi. 'loosen' (a knot) ¶ STM I 223 ◇ IS I 222-3 s.v. *dūnga. IS equated the HS and K ✓ with Ltv Δ d̄i ņgt 'быть спокойным, владеть собой' and ρA *dūng∇ 'be silent, сидеть тихо' and suggested N *dūnga, but this may be accepted only if N *-ŋg₁w₁- may yield HS and K *-m-. A possible alternative N rec. is *dūm₁?₁∇ (cp. N *dUm₁?₁ū '[ε?] big tree', q.v. s.v.).

537a. (₂?) *d∇m∇ (= *d̄im∇?) 'to breathe, to blow' > IE: NaIE *dʰem- v. 'blow (blasen, wehen)' > OI d̄hamati 'blows, blows up, kindles by blowing', NPrs inf. دَمِيدَان dāmīdān 'to blow (blasen, wehen), to breathe', دَم dām 'breath, air, scent', Oss I дæм- dām-, Oss D дым- d̄zm- v. 'blow', Yzg dam- v. 'inflate, blow with bellows', Av dāδma'nrya 'sich aufblasend, blähend' || Lt inf. dūmti (1s pres. dumiū) 'to blow (blasen, wehen)', dūmplēs 'bellows', Pru dumsle 'urinary bladder' | Sl inf. *d̄q-ti / 1s pres. d̄m-ō 'blow', OCS inf. ДѢТН d̄q-ti / 1s pres. ДѢМѢ d̄m-ō, SCr inf. dūti / 1s pres. dmēm, Cz inf. douti / 1s pres.. d̄mu v. 'blow', R inf. дѹ-тъ, P inf. d̄áć 'to blow'; in some lges contamination with Sl inf. *dūti / 1s pres. *dujō 'blow' (< IE *dʰeṷH- / *dʰoṷH- < N *duq∇ or *dūq∇ 'blow [wehen, blasen], breathe'), whence the pres. forms: R дѹю, SCr dūjēm 'I blow', Blg дѹя 'blow', as well as Slv inf. dūti 'to blow' ¶ P 247-8, Ab. I 382-3, M K II 92, Sg. 534-6, Frn. 88, 510, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 391, Vs. I 555-6, ESSJ V 99-100, 166, StSS 206, Glh. 213-14 ¶ cp. N *dAm∇ 'steam, mist, dust' (q.v. ffd.) || D *tīm (?) ({ʃGS} *t-) > Tu tīmpuni v. 'snort, breathe heavily, snivel',

Kind *ti'm ik-* 'sob' (v.) ¶¶ D no. 3276 || HS: ?σ S *✓ dmm, *-dumm- v. 'wail' (← *'moan, breathe heavily' ← **'breathe'?) > BHb 𐤔𐤓𐤕 ✓ dmm G (inv. 𐤔𐤓 'dom) v. 'wail', Ug ✓ dmm G 'gemir, lamentarse', Ak ✓ dmm G 'jammern, klagen' ¶ KB 217, KBR 226, Sd. 155, CAD III 59–61, DRS 274, Grd. UT no. 674, OLS 133 ◇ In IE *d^hem- v. 'blow' contaminated with *d^hem- 'stieben, rauchen' (< N *dAm▽ '↑'); the two N stems may be genetically identical.

538. (₂?) *d^rû^hhm▽ ~ *d^rû^hmh▽ '(be) dark' > HS: S *✓ dhm > Ar duhm-at- 'blackness', duhm- 'tres noctes mensis illunes', duhām- 'black', ʔadham- 'black, dark green', Jb {Jo.} 'do^hum, Jb C dhum 'heat haze, shimmer, morning mist', Mh dʒhōm 'heat haze, shimmer', Jb C {Jo.} ed^him (sbjn. 'yɛdhɜm) v. 'come upon so. unexpectedly at night (to steal, to attack), do sth. by stealth at night, sleep with one's wife when children or guests are sleeping in the same room', Mh {Jo.} hʒdhōm v. 'have sexual relations with one's wife at night when another person (usually a child) is in the sleeping area', Ak ✓ dʔm G (inf. dʔā m u) 'become dark' ¶ Fr. II 66, Jo. J 36, Jo. M 66, CAD III 1, DRS 227 || EC *dum-, *✓ dm v. 'become dark' > Sa, Af, Sml dum- id., ? Brj {Ss.} damm- v. 'spend the night', ? Or {Grg., Th, Brl.} dimimmisa 'twilight', Or {Brl.} d i m i m m i s - a w u 'imbrunirsi, oscurarsi, farsi notte' ¶ Ss. B 52, 58, Th. 104, Brl. 114, Grg. 105 || WCh: SBc: Zul {ChL} dʒmúní, Gj {ChL} dʒmšâl, Buli {ChL} dum, Jm {Csp.}, dúmlùkò, Tala tum {Csp.}, Tala Z {Csp.} tùm, Kir {ChC} tubm̩, Mn túm 'dark' (Tala and Kir t- < pSBc *d-, see Sh. SB 16) ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'dark', Csp. 14, 46 || IE: NaIE *d^hem(ə)- 'dark' (× *d^hem- v. 'smoke', 'fly about' [dust] < N *dAm▽ 'steam, mist, dust'), {Mn.} *d^hemy-ō v. 'darken', *d^heməro-s 'dark' > OHG timbar 'dark', OSw dimber, ON dimmr id., dimma 'darkness', AS d i m m 'dark', inf. dimmian 'to darken', NE d i m ||| Clt {Matas.} *°demi- 'dim, dark' > OIr {P} dem 'black, dark', {SB} deim 'düster', demē 'darkness' ||| ??σ Gk θέμερος 'serious, grim', θεμερῶπις 'grave and sedate of look' ¶ WP I 851, P 248, Mn. 182, F I 66O, SB 147, Vr. 77, OsS 939, Kb. 1018, Ho. 73, Matas. E 95 ||| A: ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} дунги ~ дунки 'темный, тусклый, мрачный' ¶ STM I 224, Z 83O.

538a. ≈ *dUm_lʔ_lû (= *d^ro^lm_lʔ_lû?) or *dUηw▽ (= *d^ro^lηw▽?) '(ε?) big tree' > HS: S: Ar dawm- {Ln.} 'doum palm (*Hyphaene thebaica*)', 'big tree of any kind' ¶ Ln. 937, BK I 753 || C: Bj {R} dōm 'doum palm' (← Ar?) ¶ R WBd 66 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: My {Sk.} d̩m, Cg {Sk.} dúní, Kry d̩n, Wrj {Sk.} dʒnáj, Mbr {Sk.} d̩η, Jmb {Sk.} díná (in ChC) 'tree' || AG:

Ang {CL} tɜŋ, Su {J} tɪŋ, Ywm {IL} tʰɜŋ, Cp tɪŋ 'tree' ‖ Bd {ChL} dɜ́mán 'tree, wood', Ngz {Sch.} dɜ́m 'wood (for fire etc.), stick of wood', {ChC} dʌm 'tree', Zr {ChC} dɜ́m 'wood (Holz)' ¶ Stl. ZCh. 253 [no. 59] (NrBc *dʌmʌ 'лес'), ChC s.v. 'tree' and 'wood (Holz)', ChL, Sk. NB 45, Sch. DN 34 ‖ ‖ ‖ IE: NaIE *dʰonu-/ *dʰonw- {EI} 'fir' > Ht tanau 'fir' or sim. ‖ Gmc *danwō- (< IE *dʰonwōn-) > OSx danna, MDu, MLG danne, OHG tanna-, NHG Tanne 'fir (*Abies*)'; Gmc *dannio- > OSx deŋnia, Dt den 'spruce' ‖ ‖ ‖ OI 'dhanvana-' *Grewia asiatica*, as well as possibly OI 'dhanu-ḥ, dha'nu-, 'dhanvan-, 'dhanuṣ- 'bow' and Av θanwarə id. ¶¶ EI 202, Ts. W 84, WP I 825, P 234, M K II 90-1, KM 769, Kb. 1012 ‖ ‖ ‖ A: WRM дом {MED} 'lime tree, linden', HIM дом {MED} id., {BMR} 'черная липа' ¶ MED 260, BMR II 50 ¶ Is it a loan from Tib Δ 'dum-по 'trunk, body of a tree' < Classical Tib 'sdoŋ-по id. (Jäschke D 296)? ‖ ‖ ‖ N *dUmɿʔ,û puʔi (~ *dUmɿʔ,û buʔi?) or *dUŋwʌ puʔi (~ *dUŋwʌ buʔi?) '(ε?) big tree' (with *puʔi [~ *buʔi?] 'tree, bush', q.v. ffd.) > IE: NaIE *°dɿʰombɿʰ- (or *°dɿʰambɿʰ-?) 'oak' > BSl *dombo-s id. > Sl *dǫbъ id. > OCS ДѢБЪ дǫбъ {StSS} 'tree, oak', Blg дѣбъ, Slv dǫb, Cz, Slk, HLs, LLs dǫb, P dǫb, R, Uk, Blr дуб 'oak', SCr dǫb 'oak, tree, big tree' ‖ Blt *damba-s 'oak' (lost in Lt and Ltv) ⇨ FV *tammʌ 'oak' > F tammī id., Er tumo, Mk tuma id., Chr: H tum, L tumъ id. ¶ ESSJ V 95-7, StSS 206, It. no. 45, SSA III 265, Coll. CG § 309 (FV *tomma) ¶ The alternative hyp. of a FU source (FV *tammʌ) of the Sl word is hardly acceptable, because it does not explain the Sl cns. *b and because there is no geographical proximity between the areas of pSl and early FU (see TpT 246) ‖ ‖ ‖ U: FU *°tom-puwe > Prm **tum-pu > *tu-pu (*pu 'tree') > OPrm tuɿpu, Vt tɿpɿ 'oak' ¶ LG 286, Coll. CG § 309 (FV *tomma) ‖ ‖ ‖ D: [1] D *tump- '*Acacia arabica* (babool tree)' > Tl tumma, Klm tumbā ɘ tumba id., Gnd tumma id. (← Tl?); [2] D *tump-'ebony' > Tm tumɿpi '*Diospyros tomentosa*, *Diospyros ebenum* (two kinds of ebony tree)', Kn tumaki, tumari, tumbar-a ~ -i, tumburu, Tl tubiki, tumiki 'wild mangosteen tree (*Diospyros embryopteris*)', Tl tumida, Klm, Nkr tumki, Prj tumbri '*Diospyros melanoxylon*', Gnd tumrī ɘ tumri ɘ tumir ɘ tumer(i) id., 'ebony', Nk tumik 'tendu tree', Gdb tumur, Ku dūri 'ebony', Kui duri, durenī ɘ dūri 'Coromandel ebony' ¶¶ D no-s 3329 and 3335 ◇ If *-m- in U, M and HS may go down to N *-ŋw-, the N rec. is likely to be *dUŋwʌ. If, on the contrary, the N cluster *-mʔ- yields *-ŋ- (and later -n-, *-nʌ-) in pIE

and some Chadic lges, the tentative N rec. is ***dUm_Lʔ_Lû**. The vw. *o in M and the absence of the glide *u in NaIE *^od_L^h_Lomb_L^h_L- and *d^honu- suggest that the N labialized vw. was ***o** ◇ Blz. DA 159 [no. 77] and Blz. NDA no. 80 (in both: D, HS, FP, M).

539. *dim_L∇_Lŋa|æ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces' > **HS**: CS *^ldim_L∇_Ln- (or *^ldum_L∇_Ln-) 'rubbish, dung' > Ar dimn- 'débris, ordures; crottin, fiente de bêtes; tas de fumier', ✓ dmn v. G 'manure (a field)', BHb ʔ_Lʔ_L 'domɛn 'dung' (the variant *^ldum_L∇_Ln- [in BHb 'domɛn] may be explained by as. *i > *u close to a labial cns.) ¶ GB 164, KB 217, KBR 227, BK I 735, DRS 274-5, MiK I no. 1.53 || C: Bj (+ext.) ✓ dmr pcv. ({R} 1s: p. a'dāmer, pres. ed'mīr) 'be dirty', 'dāmr a 'dirty' ¶ R WBd 67 || Ch: CCh: Db {LnG} dām 'dirt' ||| WCh: ? Hs dáwɔ̀à id. (w < *m before a cns.) ¶ ChC s.v. 'dirt', ChL, Abr. H 199, Ba. 238, ≠ Sk. HCD 46 ||| **IE**: NaIE *^od^heng^h|ġ^h- 'rubbish, dung, dirt' (→ 'earth') > Gmc (× NaIE *d^heng^h- v. 'cover' < N ***doŋʔa** 'to cover?'): OHG tunga 'dung', tung 'unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung', ON dyngja 'dung heap; underground room for women', OSx dung 'underground weaver's workroom', AS durnz 'dung; prison', Ic, NNr dyngja 'dung heap', OHG tunga 'Düngung, stercoratio', NHG Dung, Dünger, Sw dynga, Dn dyngē 'dung', NE dung ¶ ≠ P 250, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, ≈ KM 147, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 ||| **A**: NaT *ji_Lŋ ~ *ji_Ln 'faeces, mucus' > OT {Cl.} ji|eŋ, {DTS} jin 'nasal mucus', jin 'animal faeces', Bsh jɔn 'faeces', SY jin ~ jin 'faeces of sheep; cud', Tv čin 'faecal mass', Qq, ET žin 'contents of animals' stomach; cud', Qrg žin 'contents of guts and stomach', StAlt žin id., 'excrements', 'cud', Qzq žin 'cud', Xk нин nɪn, Tb {Rl.} rɪn, Tlt/Brb {Rl.} jin 'contents of guts', Yk d. sɪŋk- 'втягивать сопли' ¶ Cl. 941, TL 148-9, DTS 261-2, Rs. W 203, ET J 27-8, TL 148-9, BIG 118, Rl. III 514, 632 ◇ An alt. et. is also plausible: the S and the Gmc words for 'dung, rubbish' go back to a N etymon ***dom_L∇_Lŋa** 'to cover' (to be reconstructed instead of N ***doŋʔa** 'to cover', q.v.) with a parallel semantic change in S and Gmc: 'cover' → 'cover the field with manure, düngen', whence ds for 'dung'; but the latter et. does not account for the T word.

540. ₂ *d∇mP∇ (= *d∇mp_L∇?) 'back, rear part, tail' > **HS**: C: Ag *damb- > Bln {R} dɛnbī ~ dɛmbī 'back, backbone', (postpos.) 'behind' ||| ? EC (× EC *zanb-/zinb- 'tail' < N ?? ***žan∇ b∇** 'tail, back',

Ss. WOKS 140): Sml {DSI} dambe 'behind, after; later', ka dambē 'be behind, come after, follow', Arr dúmm 'tail', Dsn {To.} dúm 'tip of a tail' ¶ R WB 107, DSI 130-1, ZMO 83, Hw. A 353, To. DL 492 || NrOm (× N *ǵān̄ ▽ b ▽): Kf/Anf {C} dombō 'vulva' and Anf {MYTY} dombo 'vagina' ('vulva, vagina' ← *'anus') ¶ C SE IV 430, MYTY 116 || CCh (× N *ǵān̄ ▽ b ▽): WMrg dimbur 'buttocks' ¶ ChC s.v. 'buttocks' || IE: NaIE *°dumb- 'tail, penis' (× N *ǵān̄ ▽ b ▽) > YAv duma- 'tail', ZPhl dum, dumb, dumbak, NPrs دُم dom, دُومب domb (< *dum_hma-), KhS dumaa-id., BdhSgd βr z-δωnp²k 'long-tailed' (δωnp²k = [δūmbāk]), Oss I dzmäg, Oss D dumäg 'tail' || OHG zumpfo 'penis' ¶¶ P 227, Brtl. 750, Vl. I 900, Sg. 534-5, Horn 128, Bai. 161, Ab. I 381, Kb. 1265, OsS 1300 ◇ IE *d- (rather than *d^h-) may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out media aspirata and tenues in the same √, implying the rec. of N *p̄ (*d ▽ mp̄ ▽).

541. *d^oñ ▽ 'flat, low', (→ ?) 'lowland' > HS: WS *√dwn (~ *°√dn? ~ *°√dny?) > Mn {MA} b-dwn 'en aval', Sb {BGMR} ²dyr 'irrigated field', ı Ug {Blz. ← ?} dn.t 'lowland' (absent in Aistleitner's dict. and OLS), Ar √dn? G (pf. danaʔa ~ danuʔa, ip. -dnaʔ-) 'be mean' ('être vil/bas'), danāʔ-at- 'baseness, weakness', dany- 'vil, bas; faible' ¶ BK I 678, Br. 150, DRS 277-8, BGMR 37, MA 27 || ?σ K: G done ~ doni 'level' (Chx: 'Niveau, Stand, Stufe') ¶ Chx. 318-19, Fn. SK 94 [no. 65] || IE: NaIE *d^hen- 'palm of hand; plain, lowlands' > OI ²dhanu_h 'sandbank, island', ²dhanvan- 'dry soil, shore' || Gk θέναρ 'palm of the hand' || OHG tēnar, tēnara 'hollow hand', MHD tēner, tēnre 'palm of hand' ¶ P 249, MW 509, M K II 90, F I 361, OsS 925-6, Kb. 1016, Lx. 225 || ?φ U: FL ≈ *tant ▽ r_l ▽_l > F tanner (gen. tantere-n) 'field, lowland', pLp {Lr.} *tōntər 'bare mountain, woodless highland' > Lp: N {N} duoddâr 'bare mountain, high mountain moorland', S {Hs.} duoddere 'Hochgebirge', L {LLO} tuottar id., 'waldloses Land', Kld tūndar 'bare mountains, woodless highland'; Lp ⇨ F turturi 'bare mountains in Lappland', R 'тундра' 'tundra' ¶ UEW 41, Lr. no. 1299, Lgc. no. 8065, Hs. 464-5, SK 1224, 1402 || A: Tg *dunse 'land' (< *dun-nse, with the sx *-nsa/e of n. coll.) > Ewk dunns ɖ dundz ɖ dundz ɖ dunrɜ 'land', Lm dō:ndɔ ɖ dō:nnɜ ɖ dōndɜ ɖ dūndɜ ɖ dō:nrɜ 'mainland; forest', Ud {STM} düHō, {Krm} dühö 'mainland', Ul, Nn Nh duɜntɜ 'forest' ¶ Ci. 199, STM I 224, Krm. 229, On. 165 ◇ If FL ≈ *tant ▽ r_l ▽_l belongs

here, its vw. *a is still to be explained ◊ Blz. KM 114 [no. 5] (K, ?S, IE, ??U, Tg) and 130.

542. *dūn̄ (or *dūn̄) 'to stream, to flow' > **HS**: C: HEC {Hd.} *dun- v. 'leak' (e.g. a bag, a roof), 'pour' > Sd dun- id., Hd dun- id., v. 'sprinkle', Ged, Kmb dun- v. 'leak' (a bag, a roof), *dun-am- v. 'leak' (of liquid) > Sd, Hd, Kmb dunam-, Ged dunem- id. | ??φ,σ Dsn {To.} δάνυ- 'swim' ¶ Hd. 89, 238, 276, 314, 360, To. DL 496 || WCh: Su {J} dúη 'river', ?φ Tal {ChC} tūη id., Kfr {Nt.} dúη 'lake, pool, spring', Cp dùηκόη 'lake', Mpn {Frz.} dúη 'swampy area, pond' | ? Bd dùwân 'lake' ¶ J S 63, 208, Nt. 8, ChC s.v. 'lake' and 'river', Frz. DM 12 || **K** *dn- / *dwn- ({FS, K²} *dn-, {K} *dn-/den-) v. 'melt, thaw' > OG dn-, G dn- / dwn-, Lz din- / (n)dun-, Sv n- id., Mg d3n- / din- v. 'disappear, get lost' ¶¶ K 74, K² 41-2, FS K 106-7, Schm. 105, Chik. 271, Chx. 316-17 || **IE**: NaIE *dhen- v. 'stream, flow, leak', {EI} 'run, flow' > OPrs danuvatiy 'flows', OI 'dhanvati 'runs, flows', ? dha'nayati 'sets in motion, runs' (if the semantic change 'flow' → 'run' is typologically plausible) || L fōns / font- 'spring' ('Quelle'), ? Um {Pln.} FONDLIRE 'in fontulis' || Tc: A tsän- vi. 'flow, stream (couler)', B d. tseñe n. 'river, stream, current' ||| ⇨ NaIE *d^hōnu- ({EI} *d^hōnu- or *deh_hnu-) 'river' > Av dānu-, Oss don id.; Irn ⇨ names of rivers: Don (Gk Ταναΐς ~ Τάναις, OR ΔΟΝЪ donъ), Dnieper (OR ΔЪНЪПРЪ dъněprъ, Uk Дніпро, R Днепр, Gk Δάναπρις), Dniester (OR ΔЪНЪСТРЪ dъněstrъ, Gk Δάναστρις, L Danastius, Danaster) etc. ||| Clt: W Donωυ (river name), Gl ⇨ L Dānuvius 'Danube' ¶ P 249, EI 491, 486, M K II 90-2, WH I 525, Pln. II 738, Wn. I 527, Ad. 741, Ab. I 366-7, Vs. I 518-19, 528-9 || **D** (att. in NED) *tunt- v. 'pour, spill' > Krx tund-nā 'to be poured out, to spill, to pour out', Mlt tunde v. 'spill, shed, throw out as water' ¶ D no. 3321 ◊ BmK 271-2 (*dan-/*dān-: IE, K, C).

543. *dôñ (or *dôñ) 'to cut' > **HS**: S: Tgr ✓ dnn G (or D ?) 'cut off' ¶ LH 531 || Eg fMK dn v. 'cut off' ¶ EG V 463, Fk. 313 || **A**: T *jōn- v. 'cut' > OT {Cl.} jōn- v. 'cut, wound', Tkm jōn-, Tk yōn-, Az, Qmq, Nog, ET jōn-, Qzq žon-, Qrg žon-, VTt, Bsh jun-, StAlt žon-, Tv čon-, Tf hōn-, Chv L çyñ- śun-, Chv Δ φον- v. 'hew\plane (wood)' ¶ Cl. 942, ET J 221-2, Rs. W 206, Ash. XII 243, Fed. II 136, Jeg. 218, ChVS 190, Ra. 210, Tkr 316 || **D** {tr., †GS} *tuñ- > Tm tuñi 'be sundered\cut', Ml tuñi 'piece', tuñiyuka v. 'cut short', Kn tuñaka, tuñaku, Tl tuniya 'fragment, piece', Nkr tunke 'half portion', Gnd tunkī 'piece', Knd tuns-

v. 'be broken in pieces', Png, Mnd $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}$ v. 'cut, slaughter', Ku $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{e}}$ v. 'cut (with axe)', Kui $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'log of wood' ¶¶ D no. 3305 || IE: NaIE * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{en-}$ > pAl {O} *den-ta > OAl [Bgd.] dhend > Al G dhērn 'haue aus, schneide'; pAl {O} *ga-den-ta > Al T gdhēnd v. 'form with a bladed tool: chisel, carve, whittle, sculpt; engrave', Al G gdhēnd id. (unless akin to Gmc *dang-/*ding- > ON inf. danga 'prügeln', MH inf. tingelen 'klopfen, hammeren', OHG tangal 'Hammer', in which case the primary IE meaning must be 'hit', so that the semantic distance from other N lges becomes too great to be reliable) ¶ WP I 853-4, P 249-50, Hamp AIEW 144, AlbED 250, O 112 ◇ The discrepancy between the T ev. for a N vw. *o and the D *u (pointing to N *û) is still puzzling. Not here G dana 'knife' (a loan from Arm $\eta\omega\upsilon\omega\lambda\chi$ danak id.) ◇ BmK 263 (* $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{n}}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ / * $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{n}}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ 'cut off, cleave, split': S, Eg, D, IE *dhen-/dhon-/d η ng-).

544. *dońćE 'large', 'heavy' (of load) > D (att. in GnD) * $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ ({ θ GS} *d-?) v. 'carry a load' > Gnd B $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'put (a load) on one's head', Gnd KM $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{s}}$ 'carry (a load) on the head', Knd $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{s}}$, Png $\text{z}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{s}}$ -, Kui $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Ku $\text{z}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ id. ¶ D no. 3540 || A: NaT (att. in Og) * $\text{j}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{e}}$ or * $\text{j}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'high' > MT [TAG] $\text{y}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{a}}$ jüčä 'back (Rücken), highest part, high', OOSm [AH] jüčä 'high', Tk $\text{y}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}$ {Akd.} 'exalted, high; sublime', CrTt {Rl.} jüžä, Az $\text{u}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Tkm $\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'high' ¶ Tkm $\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'high' may have been influenced by $\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'thin' (< pT * $\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'thin' [cf. ET Gl 364-5]; if this is so, the rec. of pT * $\text{j}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'high' is doubtful) ¶ TAG 109, ET J 263, Rs. W 212, Tkr 357-8, Akd. 736 || possibly IE * $\text{d}_\text{L}^{\text{h}}\text{tes-}$ > Ht $\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'strong, heavy; mighty' ¶ Ts. E III 259-66, ABIV II 113 || HS: Eg fMK $\text{d}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{s}}$ 'be heavy', 'heavy' ¶ EG V 468-9, Fk. 314 || ? WCh: Su {J} $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{s}}$ 'big; much, many', {Sh.} $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{s}}$ 'big' || Fy {J} $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{s}}$ 'big, powerful' ¶ ChC s.v. 'big', J R 85, J S II 64 ◇ The loss of the nasal cns. in IE points to a N *ń (*dońćE > *doycćE > *d η ej̥s- > AnIE *des-); if so, the adjacent affr. must have been palatal (*ć). The glottalized d - in Su and Fy still requires explanation.

545. *doŋʔa 'to cover' > HS: B * $\sqrt{\text{L}}\text{H}_\text{J}\text{dn}$ v. 'cover' > Izn $\text{a}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$, BSn $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$, Skn, Nf $\text{a}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ (pf. 3m $\text{u}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$), Gd $\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'couvrir, mettre en couvercle', Awj $\text{u}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$'s'habiller, se vêtir', Kb $\text{i}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'couverture de chaume', Zng {NZ} $\text{e}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'couvrir unealebasse ou un puits' ¶ Rn. 310, Lf. II no. O289, NZ 348-50 || Ag: Bln {R} dang- 'verhüllen das Gesicht beim Trinken' ¶ R WB 108 || AdS of WS * $\sqrt{\text{dmm}}$, *-dumm- 'stop up, cover' (< N *dam▽ 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *d η eng h- v. 'cover, press on' > Lt 1s pres. dengiũ, inf. deŋgti v. 'cover, wrap',

dangà 'Decke' || OIr *díngid*, *for-díng* 'oppresses' || Gmc (× NaIE **oðhengh|ǵ^h*- 'rubbish, dung' < N **dim₁∇₁ǵa|æ* 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces') > OHG *tung* 'cellar, ground house (unterirdische zur Abwehr der Kälte mit Mist bedeckte Stätte als Winterwohnung)', ON *dýngja* 'underground room for women', OSx *đung* 'underground weaver's workroom', AS *đunz* 'prison' ¶ ≠ P 250, Frn. 88-9, Thr. 355, Vr. 90, OsS 969-70, Kb. 1046, Ho. 80, Ho. S 14 || U **toŋe-* v. 'cover, patch' > pLp {Lr.} **tōkŋz-* v. 'patch' > Lp N {N} *duog'ŋât*, Lp S {Hs.} *duoŋedh*, Lp L {LLO} *tuogŋat*, Lp Kld *tūvŋeð* id. | ? Er *тавадо-* *tavado-*, Mk *тавадо-* *tavadə-* v. 'cover' (the vw. *a* is not expected, therefore E. Itkonen and K. Rédei reject the Mr cognate) | Chr H/L *тумыш* *tumъš* 'patch', Chr H *тумыж* *tumъž* 'constipation (of animals)' | pPrm {LG} **dōm-* > Z *dəm-* v. 'patch; dam (a river) for fishing', Z *dəmas*, Yz *'dumas* 'patch', Z Ud *dəmэ* 'patches' (v., 3s), Z *dəmэд*, Yz *'dumət* 'dam used for fishing with fishing baskets' || pY {IN} **tuŋ-* > Y T {IN H, Ku.} *tuŋ-* v. 'close, cover', {IN UJ} v. 'cover', {IN H, Ku.} *tuŋu-í* n. 'patch' || UEW 798 mentioned a Sm √ that is represented in individual lges as follows: StNe T *то? (H-)* *tō?* / *ton-* 'covering garment for men at night, blanket' (= Ne O {Lh.} *tō* 'Decke'), Ne F L {Lh.} *tōñd^y* 'Decke', StNe T *тонда-* (= Ne O {Lh.} *tōntā-*) v. 'cover', Ng {Cs.} *t^yuⁱ* 'Decke', Slq Tz {KKIH} *taq+t+*- vt. 'close, shut' (= {Cs.} *takata* m 'zuschließen'); UEW mentioned Slq *tāgada* 'bedecken (mit einem Tuch)' without indicating the dialect and the source], Kms {KD} *tūyđúl-* 'decken, bedecken'. Rédei did not accept this Sm cognate "aus semantischen Gründen". But if the meaning of the U √ is 'cover' (→ v. 'patch', sc. 'cover with a patch') (rather than v. 'patch' only, as interpreted by UEW) and if the phonetic corrs are accurate (still an open question), the Sm cognate is valid ¶¶ Coll. 9, UEW 798 (FU **toŋe-* 'flicken, usbessern'), Lr. no. 1293, Lgc. no. 8084, Hs. 468, MRS 597, Ber. 78, KKIH 179, LG 96, Lt. J 112, Cs. 64, 144, Lh. 489, IN H 439, IN UJ 248-9, Ku. 278 || A: Tg **tuŋke* 'a cover, covering' > Nn Nh/Bk *tuŋkэ*, Nn KU *tumkэ*, ? WrMc {Z} *түхэ* 'a cover (of a cauldron)', ? Mc Sb *tuŋe* 'roof', ? Jrc {Kiy.} *туко* 'outer garment', ? Ewk Brg *tuk-çargu* 'roof (Überdachung, навес) between buildings' ¶ STM II 210, 216, On. 411, Z 751, Kiy. 127 [no. 544], Md. ChF 137 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. **t'uŋ∇* 'a cover' (adducting Tg + unc. M **tuŋurga* 'felt walls [covering] of a tent' > WrM {MED} *тугурга*, HIM, Brt {MED, BMR} *түүргэ* [MED 839, BMR III 262] ¶¶ The initial **t'*- in pA (> Tg **t-*)

goes back to N ***d...ʔ-**. An alternative N rec. ***doʔna** is hardly acceptable because N ***doʔ-** would have yielded NaIE ***dʰē-**.

546. ₂ ***düŋg,â** '(be) quiet, silent' > IE: NaIE ***°d_Lh_Leng|g^ω_Lh_L-** > Ltv Δ (<↳ Cur or Lt?) inf. **diñgt** 'ruhig sein, sich beherrschen', **sadingt** 'erstarren' ¶ ME I 469 and III 610-11 ¶ The unexpected preservation of ***n** in Ltv suggests that the words go back to a loan from Curonian or some other Baltic lge preserving the cluster ***ng** || **А** ***d|t'üŋg^U** ({IS} ***düŋg**∇) > AmTg *id.* ***dunġu**, ***dunġ**∇- > Orc, Ul, Nn Nh {STM} **dunġu**-**dunġu**, **dunġum**, **dunġumž**i, **dunġuyġ**зн 'quietly, in silence', Orc **dunġus**э- v. 'be quiet\taciturn', Nn Nh {On.} **dunġir**изн-, **dunġur**эн- 'become quiet (утихомириться)', Nn KU **dunġur**эл 'quietly, silently' ¶ STM I 223, On. 163 || М ***düŋg^{Ey}**- > Kl {Rm.} **dünġē-** 'schweigen' (< ***düŋge-yi-**), Brt **дүŋгээ** 'отупелый', ?σ HIM {BMR} **дүŋгүй** 'ergebnislos, fruchtlos', d.: WrO **дүŋгүгүр** 'quiet, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} **dünġäg_g** 'schweigend'; d.: WrM {MED} **дүŋг-сү-и-** v. 'be silent, maintain one's silence', HIM {MED} **дүŋгсий-** *id.*, {BMR} **дүŋсий-** *id.* ¶ KW 105, MED 281, BMR II 87-8, Krg. 578, Chr. 208 ¶¶ Cp. SDM 1375-6 (pA ***tjũm(k)u** 'silent, calm' > T, M and Tg roots which do not go back to N ***düŋg,â**, among them T ***t_L'im** 'silence' < N ***t_L'i¹m_L∇n_L∇** 'be quiet, be calm']), DQA no. 2271 (*id.*) ◇ If S ***m** in S ***-dũm-**, ***√dmm** belongs to the heritage of the N etymon in question (rather than to that of N ***dũm**∇ 'be motionless\silent\quiet', which is more plausible), it suggests a N rec. ***düŋâ** (N intervoc. ***-ŋ-** [near ***U**] > S ***m** *reg.*) ◇ Cp. IS I 222-3 (s.v. ***dũnga**); Illich-Svitych compared IE and A with S ***-dũm-**, ***√dmm** 'be quiet\silent', Bj **dim-**, **dum-** v. 'be silent', Q **zern** y-, Km **zĩm** y- and Sd **samm**i y- 'be silent'; besides, he adduced Bj {R} **dum-**, **dim-** 'be silent' and K ***dum-** 'be(come) silent', but this may be accepted only if the change N ***-ŋ-** (or ***-ŋg-**) > Bj, K ***-m-** (following N ***ũ**) is proved as *reg.* In my opinion, the S, Bj and K words belong to N ***dũm**∇ (q.v.).

547. ***daP**∇ (K∇) (= ***dap**∇ [K∇]?) 'to stick (adhere), to glue' > HS: CS ***√dbk** (~ ***√t̥bk**) v. 'stick to' > BHb **√dbk** G (pf. **דָּבַקְתָּ** **dā'ḅak** ~ **דָּבַקְתְּ** **dā'ḅek**, ip. **-dbak**) v. 'stick to, cling to', BA **dab_Lkīn** 'they stick together', IA **√dbk** G 'cling, adhere, be contiguous', JA [Trg.] **√dbk** G (pf. **דָּבַקְתָּ** **dā'ḅak** ~ **דָּבַקְתְּ** **dā'ḅek**) 'stick to (kleben), adhere to', JEA {Sl.} **√dbk** G 'adhere, touch', Sr **√dbk** G (pf. **دَابَّ**, **dā'ḅak** ~ **دَابَّتْ**, **dā'ḅek**) *id.*, Ar **√dbq** G (pf. **dabiqā**) 's'attacher, s'agglutiner (de

manière visqueuse)', CS *¹dib_l∇_lk- 'soldering' (n.), 'glue' > Ar dibq- 'birdlime, glue', Md dɪb_lq̄a, Sr dɛb_lq̄-ā 'glue', BHb 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 'dɛb_lɛk̄ n. 'soldering, welding together', PBHb {Js.} 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 'dɛb_lɛk̄ 'glue, paste; junction' ¶ KB 200-1, KBR 209, Sl. 312-13, Js. 277-8, BK I 667-8, HJ 238, DRS 211-12 || U *^otappE- (or *täppâ-) > FP *tapp∇- ~ *täpp∇- v. 'stick, adhere, press to sth.' > Hg tapad- v. 'stick, adhere, cling (to sth.)', OHg XIII-XVI tapas z 'klebriger Stoff, Lehm, Wandbewurf', Hg tapas z 'lute, putty; plaster' || pLp {Lr.} *topz > Lp N {N} doppât vi. 'stick, get stuck in' | pPrm *top-, *topal- > Z topzɔd- vt. 'cover tightly, press together, knock together, unite', Vt tupa- v. 'fix, repair, fix to' ¶ LG 282, MTE III 842-3, EWU 1480, Lr. no. 1270, N I 564 ¶ Hg a suggests FU *a, while Prm *ɔ suggests *ä (or *e), and pLp *o suggests FU *u (ass. infl. of *p?); most probably, *tapp∇ ~ *täpp∇ are two variants of the same √ based on different synharmonic generalizations of an ancient eU root having both a front vw. and a back vw. || A *d|t'aP∇ > M *dabirqayī 'resin of a coniferous tree' > MM [MA] dabirqay id., WrM {MED} dabirqai id., HIM давирхай {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'tar', Brt дабирхай id., Ord d_āwirχā 'résine, colophone'; M ⇨ Ewk dabirkay 'resin of a coniferous tree'; M ⇨ Yk dabarχay id. ¶ Pp. MA 137, MED 212, BMR II 9, Chr. 179, Ms. O 130, STM I 184 || Tg: Ewk dapkal dī- vi. 'be adjusted well, fit together well' (of building details, handicraft wares), Ewk PT dapkān- vt. 'unite, attach', Ewk Y/I/Np dapkar 'juncture, joint (of two details)' ¶ STM I 197 ◇ S points to a N cns. *-p-, while FP suggests *-p̄-. A solution may be found if FP *-pp- goes back to *p̄ + a cns. of a sx. If this conjecture is correct, the N etymon is *dap∇.

548. ₂ ≈ *dûp̄∇ 'to squat', 'to hide' (intr.) (→ 'to steal') > HS: EC: Sa {R} dafay- ~ dɛfɛy- ~ difī- 'sit down, sit', Af {PH} daffē- 'sit down, sit up' ¶ R S II 102, PH 78 || SOm {Bnd.}: Ari dif+, Ari G dīb+, Dm dēb+ v. 'steal' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 || IE: NaIE *teyp- (for *d^heyp- due to one of the incompatibility laws) v. 'squat', 'cover (also in order to get hidden)', {EI} *teub^h- 'steal' > Lt inf. tũpti (1s pres. tupiũ, {Krsch.} tũpiũ) 'to squat, to crouch' ({P} 'sich hinhocken, sich in die Knie setzen'), inf. tuperéti 'to squat', Ltv inf. tuperēt 'to squat, to cover', vr. inf. tupties 'to squat' || Gmc: Gt adv. piubjō (· λάθρα, ἐν κρυπτῶ) 'heimlich', piubi (· κλοπή) 'Diebstahl', piubɛ (· ληστής, κλέπτης) 'Räuber, Dieb', ON þjófr, NNr tjuv, tjov, Sw tjuv, Dn tjuv, OSx thiof, OHG diob, NHG Dieb, AS ðéof 'thief', NE thief || ζ Gk Hm

h.l. ἐν-τυπάς (if it means 'kauernd, hockend', which is not obvious) ||| Tc B cowaḯ tärk 'rob' (lit. 'commit a theft') ¶ P 1085, WP I 714, Vr. 613, Hlq. 1195-6, Fs. 495-7, Ho. 363, Ho. S 78, OsS 105, EWA II 665-7, KM 131, Frn. 1141-2, Kar. II 442, F I 525-6, Ad. 257-8.

549. *d'Aʔi'p∇ 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings, to fly; wing' > **HS:** S *^o✓dpp > Ar ✓dff G 'agiter les ailes, voler en agitant les ailes' ¶ BK I 710 || Ch: WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} dīp 'feather, wing' ||| CCh: Msg {Trn.} d f `l` v. 'fly' ||| Ech: Nd D {J} dábīn 'feather' ¶ Nt. 10, Trn. LM, ChC s.v. 'fly' (v.), 'feather' and 'wing' ||| **U:** FU (att. in BF) *^otīpe ~ *^otīpa (> *✓tīpa) 'wing' > F sīipi, Es tiib (gen. tiiva), Es S sīb (pl. sīva', sīvo'), Lv tībъz (pl. tībъd) id. ¶ SK 1016-17, SSA III 176 ||| **A** *dæp∇ (~ *^odaP∇) ≈ flap wings, fly' > M *debi- (× N *dap∇, y∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'to push', q.v.) > WrM {MED} debi- v. 'wave, flap (as wings), fan', 'winnow' (of grains), HIM {MED, BMR} дэвэ-, Brt дэби- id., Kl {KRS} de w- 'soar (schweben), float in the air; take wing', {Rm.} 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken', Ord d_ewе- 'donner du vent en agitant l'air avec un objet, éventer; vanner (des grains)' ¶ Pp. VG 95, MED 238, BMR II 100. Chr. 213-4, KRS 191, KW 90, Ms. O 144 ||| Tg *dep- v. 'flap (wings), fan', *depsi- id. > Ud dзφi- 'flap (wings)', Orc дзpsз- v. 'fan\wave away (mosquitoes, midges)', Ul, Nn Br дзφsi-, Nn Nh/KU {STM} дзpsi- 'wave (махать), Nn Nh {On.} дзpsi- id., 'fan oneself with a fan (обмахиваться веером\опахалом)', WrMc {Z} дэбси- ~ дэбшэ-, Mc Sb дзрši- ~ дзрšз- 'flap wings'; Tg *dapsi- > Ewk dawsi-, Lm dawсъ- v. 'wave, flap (as wings)', Neg dawsi-, Ork dapsi- 'wave (one's hands)', Orc dapsuku 'fan', WrMc {Z} дасихя- v. 'fan\sweep away, dust (sth.)' ¶ STM I 186-7, 228, On. 169, Z 786, 803 ||| T: Osm {Rl.} jāp- 'mit Sprüngen entlang laufen', {Rh.} يېمك jep-mek inf. 'to run along with leaps' (adduced as a cognate by Rm. [KW 90] with an underlying assumption of a semantic change: 'die Flügel heben, sich zum Fliegen anschicken' → 'run by leaps') ¶ Rh. 2197, Rl. III 384 ||| pJ {S} *támp- v. 'fly' > OJ tob-, MJ tób-, J T tòb-, J K/Kg tób-, J Sh/Y tùb-, J Ns tùby-, J Ht tùp- id. ¶ S AJ 110, 275, S QJ no-s 28 and 1608, Mr. 768, Kenk. 1984 ¶¶ KW 90 (M, T), SDM97 s.v. *děp'e 'wave, flap; fly' (> M *debi, Tg, J *temp- [sc. *támp-] + err. T *jelpi- 'flap, winnow' [cf. N ?σ *deL∇, P∇ 'to flap, to wave, to fly']); qu.: SDM 481 (pA *dīup'ú 'wing, fin' > J *tumpasa ÷ M *ziber 'fin of fish'), DQA no. 2646 (id.) ◇ Ch *d- suggests N *d...?. FU *-p- points to N *-p-. An alt. pN rec. is *dE p∇

(with mte. in Ch), but it fails to explain the discrepancy of vowels (FU *ī, but A *e) and the length of the vw. in FU.

550. *dap₁∇₁ϣ∇ ~ *daϣop∇ 'to push' > HS: WS *✓d₁p₁ > Ar دفع ✓d₁f₁ G (ip. -d₁f₁a₁-) 'repousser, pousser', Gz ✓d₁f₁ G 'thrust, push'; S *✓d₁h₁p v. 'push (away)' > BHb 𐤃𐤆𐤍𐤏 ✓d₁h₁p G 'push away', MHb, JA ✓d₁h₁p G 'push (stoßen)', Gz 𐤃𐤆𐤍𐤏 dāḥf [daḥf] 'pushing out, expulsion', ? Ak ✓d₁p₁ G (inf. d₁a₁p₁ā₁p₁u, p. i₁d₁p₁i₁p) {Sd.} '(an\weg)stoßen', {CAD} v. 'push, press, knock over' ¶ *h₁- in *✓d₁h₁p is due to the infl. of WS *✓d₁h₁w v. 'push, press' (< N *daXw∇ 'to press, to push') and possibly to as. *-f₁p- > *-h₁p- ¶ KB 210, KBR 219, Sl. 325, Js. 293, Sd. 146, L G 124, 127, CAD III 1, DRS 247, 299-300 || EC *d₁īp-, {AD} *t₁īp- (mte. from *✓d₁p₁) > Or d₁īb- v. 'push, annoy', {Grg.} d₁īb- vt. 'push forward', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or H {Ow.} d₁īb- 'push' (Or b→ Brj {Ss.}, Ged {Hd.} d₁īb- v. 'push'), Sml N d₁īf- v. 'bully', Sd {Hd.} t₁īb-, {Gs.} t₁īwā v. 'push' ¶ Abr. S 59, Gs. 327-8, Grg. 124-5, Sr. 297, Ow. 259, ≠Ss. B 64 (Sasse does not distinguish this ✓ from EC *d₁īb- v. 'press, squeeze'), Hd. 119 (HEC *d₁īb- > Ged, Brj d₁īb-, Sd t₁īb-), 238, 397 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dap- v. 'push' > Hs dāfā v. 'press on with one's palm' | Su {J} t₁ūp v. 'push', Ang {Flk.} t₁u₁p 'stir soup while cooking' | Ngz {Sch.} dābāu (n. act. dābī) v. 'push' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} t₁z₁pā 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 169 [no. 217], ChC s.v. 'push', Abr. H 165, Ba. 185, J S 86, Sch. DN 38, ChL, Flk. s.v. t₁u₁p ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 753, ≈ Sk. HCD 39 || IE *depH_x- > NaIE *dep^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N ? *id.* *t₁ābHa or *t₁abHE 'to trample, to kick', to crumple, to press' [q.v. ffd.]) || K: G {Chx.} d₁ϣ₁veb-/ d₁ϣ₁vib- 'make butter by churning' ¶ Chx. 329 || *id.* U *tapp∇- v. 'strike, beat' (partially × N ? *id.* *t₁ābHa or *t₁abHE ↑) > F tappa- 'totschlagen, ermorden; schlachten', tappele- 'sich schlagen, kämpfen', taputta- 'klopfen', Es tapa- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr *tapa- > Mk tapa- 'break (glass etc.), smash', Er tapa- 'defeat\smash (an army, host)' | pPrm *tap- > Prmk tap₃d- 'strike with a feast; einen Faust in den Rücken stoßen', Z tapk₁- 'strike with the hoof of a forefoot'; but pPrm *tap- v. 'flap' is obviously a different ✓ of onomatopoeic origin; the same may be true of Prm root *tap- represented in Vt tap₁r- 'stamp one's foot', Z tapk₁- 'walk\step slowly (медленно шагать)', though a contamination of an inherited FU root and a recent onomatopoeic factor is quite probable || Sm: Ne O tapar- 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz inf. {KKIH} tap₁r-q₀ 'to kick with feet', inf. tappal-q₀ *id.* (mom.) ¶¶ UEW 509-10, PI 266, KC 209, LG 278,

Ker. II 164, ККИН 179, Lh. 466 || **A** ≈ *d|t'ap_li_l- v. 'push, press' > M (× N *t'a'p'E 'to squeeze, to press' × N *daXw∇ [~ *dawX∇?] v. 'press, push?'): [1] M *dabi- (× N *d'A?i'p∇ 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings', q.v.) > WrM {MED} dabi-, HIM {MED, BMR} дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d_ā w i- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, BMR II 10, Ms. O 130] [2] M *dabta- v. 'forge, beat, hammer out' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- {MED} v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'battre, forger, aplatir', HIM давта- {MED} v. 'forge, beat', {BMR} v. 'forge; ram earth (трамбовать)', Brt дабта- v. 'forge, rivet', Kl {KRS} давт- id., v. 'hammer out (расплющивать)', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge', Ord d_ab_t'a- 'marteler'; M ↗ WrMc {Z} дабта- 'forge; забивать заклепку' ¶ MED 213, BMR II 12, Kow. 1609-10, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Ms. O 110, Z 784 || Tg *dap- v. 'press' > Ork dapāw- vt. 'zusammenpressen (сжать), (auf/an etw.) drücken (прижать), ?amb Ewk (unless a loan from M): Ewk PT/Y/Np dapça-, Ewk Z/Ucr dapta- v. 'flatten, crush flat; hammer out; tap with one's palm', dapçarawçā ~ dapçarapçā 'pressed to', Ewk PT dapçaran- 'clutch, squeeze, pinch' ('прищепить, зажать, сжимать') ¶ STM I 197-8 ¶¶ SDM 1355-6 (pA *tāp'∇- 'stamp, press' > M *dabta-, Tg + unc. T *tāp- 'trample' [< N ? *tābHa or *tābHE v. 'trample, kick, crumple, press', q.v. ffd.]) || **D** *topp-, {ǰGS} *dobb- v. 'push' > Kn dobbu ~ ɖobbu ~ dabbu ~ ɖabbu, Tl d(r)obbu v. 'shove, push', Tu dobbu 'pushing, shoving', dobbuni v. 'push, shove, put off' ¶¶ D no. 3340, ≠ Km. 406 [no. 687] (Km. suggested that OTl drobbu v. 'push, trust' goes back to *tor-b- < *tor-upp- / -v-, but remarked: "the following are confusing: Kn ɖobbu, dobbu v. 'shove, push, thrust', Tu dobbuni id.") ◇ S *√dɸɸ-, IE *deɸH- (< **d^heɸH- due to one of the IE incompatibility laws) and D *tobb- (or *dobb-) suggest a N cns. cluster *-PH-, while S *√dɸɸ- (< *dɸɸ by as.) and the C long vw. suggest that the l_r preceded the labial stop (a mt. at the pHS level?). The presence of *ɸ in K suggests N *-Pɸ- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 208 (*tap 'hit') (IE, U, M, Tg + unc. T, Ko + qu. J, CK).

551. ₂ *dEq∇ 'earth (material)' > **HS**: B *√dHy (unless it is *√dɸy) 'sand, (?) pebbles' > Ah {Fc.} edəhi 'sable fin' (pl. idəhān), tedəhit 'petite dune basse de sable fin', edəyən 'plaine unie de sable fin', Ty/ETwl {GhA} edəhi (pl. idəhan) 'colline', Gh {Nh.} idəhi (pl. idəhan)

'petite colline de sable', Rf A {Rn.} *t̥idit̥*, Rf B {Rn.} *t̥audit̥* 'galet, caillou roulé' ¶ Because of the root-final *y, ETwl, Ty -h- and Rf -Ø- this word cannot belong to B *^rw¹dz 'piler' (> Ah *əddəh*, ETwl *əddəz*, Kb *d̥d̥əz* id.) or to B *^rw¹dφ 'piler' (> Ah *ədd*, Gd *əddəβ* id.) ¶ Fc. 186-7, Pr. H 35 [no-s 37-8], GhA 21, Nh. 203, Rn. 307 || ?σ Eg N *d̥χ.ω.t̥* 'Steinblöcke' ¶ EG V 484 || S ?σ *^o✓dχy > Gz ✓dχy G (js. *yə-dχay*) v. 'excavate, dig up' ¶ L G 130, DRS 249 || K: pGZ **diqa* 'soil, clay' > Mg *diχa* ~ *dexa* 'soil, earth, land, place', Lz (n) *diχa* 'earth, soil'; Zan *↳* G Gr *diχa* 'earth'; OG *tiqa* 'clay', G *tiχa* 'clay, mud' (acc. to Mach. K 22 and FS K 105, assimilation K **d...q* > **t...q*); d- has been preserved in G Gr *diχa* 'earth' (infl. of Zan?) ¶ FS K 105 (GZ **diq-*), Chx. 316, Q 227, ≠: K 94-5 and K² 72 (GZ **tiqa-* with **t-* > Zan *d-*) ◇ ≠ IS I 220 [no. 69] (**diq̥* > K **diqa* and IE **d^hg^hem-* 'earth') (→ BmK 269-70: IE, K); I prefer to connect IE **d^hg^hem-* with N **ṭogæ* 'dust, earth' for phonetic reasons: IE **g^h* is a reg. reflex of N **g* rather than of **q*.

552. ₂ **duq̥* or **dūq̥* 'blow (wehen, blasen), breathe' (→ 'smoke') > HS: S: Ar *duχχ-* ~ *daχχ-* 'smoke', *duχān-* id. ¶ BK I 677, 680, DRS 249 || ?φ C *^rd̥^r 'wehen' > EC: Sml {ZMO} *d̥aɸ-*, {R} *d̥aɸ-* 'blow' (wind), Ya {Hn.} *dεhm̥o* (pl. *dεhm̥ai*) 'wind' ¶ If the rec. of pC **d̥-* is valid, its unexpected emphaticity may be due to the infl. of **ɸ*. The C cns. **ɸ* as a cognate of the vl. S **χ* (< N **q*?) still requires explanation ¶ AD SF 315-16, Hn. Y II 137, DSI 150, R SS II 528, ZMO 106 || IE **d^he_uḡ_χ-* v. 'blow', (→ ?) 'shake' ({EI} **d^he_uḡ_χ* 'be in [com]motion, rise [as dust or smoke]') > Sl inf. **dūti* / 1s pres. **dujq̥* 'blow' > R inf. *дуть* / 1s pres. *дую*, SCr inf. *дӳти* / 1s pres. *дӳјē m* v. 'blow', Blg *дуря* v. 'blow', Slv inf. *dűti* 'to blow' (Sl inf. **dūti* coalesced in some lges with Sl **dq̥-ti* 'to blow' < NaIE **d^hem-* < N **d̥m̥* 'breathe, blow') || Lt *dujā* 'Stäubchen, feiner Regen, Nebel' || OI *d^hū-'nō-ti*, *d^hu'vati* 'shakes', pfc. *du^hāva* || Arm *դեղեխիմ* *dedewim* vi. 'I vacillate\ totter\ shake' || Gk *θυ̋ω* {LS} v. 'rage, seethe' (of a rushing wind, of a swollen river) || ON inf. *dűja* 'to shake' || pAl {O} **deg-ska-* > Al T *deh* v. 'become intoxicated, get drunk'; pAl {O} **deg-nya* > Al *dej-* *dēnj-*, G {Ç, Kf.} *dej* {Ç} 's'enivrer', {LP} *dejs^hem* 'drunk' || *↳* IE **d^huḡ_χ-mō-* 'smoke, steam', {EI} **d^huh₂'mō-s* 'smoke' > OI *d^hū'mah₂* 'smoke, steam' || Gk *θυ̋μός* 'breath' → 'soul, life, Lebenskraft' || L *fūms* 'smoke, steam' || Lt *dűmai* (pl.), Ltv *dűmi* (pl.), Pru *du^hmis* 'smoke' || Sl

*dīmъ 'smoke' > OCS ДЪИМЪ dīmъ, Blg, Uk дим, SCr, Slv dīm, R дым, Cz dým, Slk, P dym id. || OIr {P} dūmachā (pl.) 'fog' (< *dum-) || OHG {Kb., EWA} doum, {OsS} toum, thoum 'smoke, steam', MHG toum ~ doum, NGr Sw taum, Nr B dâum, dām id., OSx inf. dōmian 'to steam' (< *doum-) || Clt {Matas.} *dωīyot- > OIr dé, (gen. díad) 'smoke' || Ht tuhhuī- ~ tuhhuwai- 'smoke' ¶¶ P 261-7, EI 388, 529, Frd. HW 227, Frd. HW EH II 25, Ts. E III 47-9, F I 693-4, 697-8, WH I 561-2, Vr. 89, OsS 948, Kb. 163, EWA II 744-6, Ho. S 13, Slr. 242-3, O 57-8, Ç I 111 and II 368, AlbED 155, Kf. 77, LamP 147, BFU 92, Frn. 109-110, En. 164, Wn. I 519, M K II 107-9, ESSJ V 99-100, 203, StSS 202, Vs. I 555-8, Matas. E 111, Glh. 196, 213-14, SPS V 207-8 ◇ ≠ IS I 217-18: IS equated IE *dʰeuǵ- v. 'shake, blow' with WrM debi- 'winnow (grain), flap (wings)' and with Lm dɜwū 'whirlwind, hurricane, wind', dɜwū- 'brausen, toben, auf-wirbeln' (of wind, snowstorm) (Pp. VG 45, cp. LW 180-1), but this is hardly acceptable because Lm dɜwu- ɜ dɜū- 'brausen, aufwirbeln' and dɜwū ɜ dɜgu '(whirl)wind, hurricane' go back to Tg *deg- [STM I 228-9], while M debi- belongs together with Tg *dep₁- 'flap' (> Ud dɜφi- etc.; cp. STM I 228).

553. *diqa 'goat' (or 'ε ruminant'?) > HS: NrOm {Blz.} *d∇g- ~ *d∇k- {AD} 'ε ruminant' > Oyda doge 'greater kudu (antelope *Tragelaphus strepsiceros*)', Bsk daķišī, Doka dakiša 'lamb', Bdt {Hw.} deggele 'goats' ¶ Blz. OL no. 152 || Ch: WCh: AG: Cp dɜgun 'he-goat', Kfr {Nt.} dɜgún 'castrated male goat, ?? Su {J} dūgum ~ dūxum 'male antelope' | Ron: Fy {J} ~dákùs 'he-goat' || CCh: Pdk {Mch.} dūg-zumā id. | Tr {Nw.} žīg 'goat' || ECh: Nd {GD} dīhi, Nd D {J} dɜgâ, Tmk {Cp.} žīg 'goat' ¶ JI II 167-9, ChC s.v. 'he-goat', ChL, J S 62, Nt. 7 || K *dqa- 'she-goat' > OG, NG tχa, Mg tχa- (pl. tχal-), Lz (m)tχa- (pl. (m)tχal-), Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln daqəl (pl. UB/Ln daq-är, L daql-är) ¶¶ K 77, ≈ K² 80 (*tqa-), TK 188, GP 95, Dn. s.v. daqəl || IE: NaIE {EI} *dīk-s (gen. *dīg-os) ({P} *dīg^h-, {Dv.} *dīg^h- ~ *dik-) 'goat' > Gk Δ [Hs.] (δύζα· ἄξ) 'goat'; Fick and P supposed that this gloss is Thracian, which is not accepted by Grgv., Durid., Russu and Dechev || OHG zīga 'goat' (> NHG Ziege), with a hypothetical "consonant sharpening": OHG zickī, zickīn 'kid' ('Zicklein'), AS tīcēn id., Nr Δ tikka 'sheep' || Arm unhlytik 'leather bottle, goat's skin' ¶ Huld adduced here StAl T dhi, Al: SG dhi, D/P dī, T Sl/V/F dī 'goat', but O 83 suggested that this Al word goes back to pAl *aḷziya 'goat' related to Gk ἄξ id. ¶ WP I 814, P 222, Dv. no.

978, EI 229, F I 390-1, OsS 125, Kb. 1250, KM 882, Ho. 346, O 128, Slr. 335-6, Jokl KA 241, Huld 59 \diamond IE *-k- < N *-g-; the origin of the IE cns. *-g- is not clear; the IE initial *d- for the expected *d^h- is probably due to the IE root structure rejection of the **g^he^t-structure (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same \surd). The deglottalization of *g in K is still to be explained \diamond AD NM no. 43, S CNM 10 ($\div\div$ NrCs, ST).

554. ($_2$?) *dAr ∇ 'have a suitable size (be just right, быть впору)' > K * $\text{da}_{\text{L}}\text{:r-}$ > G dar-/dr- 'jem-m gleichkommen, ebenbürtig sein', dar-i 'gleich, gleichartig, gleichwertig, ähnlich' ¶ Chx. 254-6 || D *tar ̥ - ({ GS } *t-) v. 'wear tightly as a cloth' (\times N *dar ̥ ∇ H ̥ ∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten'), 'proper size\time' > Tm tar ̥ u v. 'wear tightly as a cloth', tar ̥ am 'opportune moment, time, turn', tar ̥ ur ̥ am 'right time, proper season', Ml tar ̥ ayuka v. 'be fixed', tar ̥ u 'wearing clothes tucked in', tar ̥ am 'time, opportunity', Kn tar ̥ i 'state of being joined, fixed or settled', Tl tar ̥ i 'opportunity, proper time', ? Ku dar ̥ i 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ D no. 3142 || A: ? σ M: WrM {MED} dar ̥ u-, HIM {MED} дара- v. 'outshine, eclipse, excel' (\times \leftarrow WrM {MED} dar ̥ u-, HIM {MED, BMR} дара- v. 'press, push down'), (?) WrM dar ̥ ui {MED} HIM даруй {MED} 'immediately', {BMR} 'немедленно, тут же', MM [HI] dar ̥ ui-tur 'aussitôt après', Kl {KRS} дару 'following (последующий), близстоящий; soon', {Rm.} dar ̥ u 'der folgende, nächststehende', {KRS} даруд adv. 'soon, immediately', Ord d ̥ ar ̥ u 'tout de suite, sans tarder, aussitôt' ¶ MED 233-5, BMR II 39, Luv. 147, KRS 184, KW 78, Ms. H 48, Ms. O 123 \diamond Fn. KD no. 14 (K, D) \diamond FU *ter ∇ 'Raum oder Platz haben oder finden, hineingehen' does not belong here because of its vw. *e. It is likely to go back to N *t ̥ eR ∇ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)' (q.v.).

555. *dur ∇ (or *d ̥ ur ∇) 'hole, hollow' > K: pGZ {Fn.} *duro > G duro 'deep hole', Mg duru 'hollow, depression, hole, pit' ¶ Chx. 325, Fn. KW-1 34 [no. 16] || IE: NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hw ̥ (:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hw ̥ g-, {EI} *¹d^hw ̥ ur (gen. *d^hu'r-os) 'door, gate' (\times N *d ̥ ur ∇ 'log, stick', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 278-9, EI 168-9 || NaIE (in BSI) * $\text{d}_{\text{L}}\text{h}_{\text{L}}\text{ur-}$ / * $\text{d}_{\text{L}}\text{h}_{\text{L}}\text{ur-}$ > Sl *d ̥ ra 'hole' > OR дѣрѣа d ̥ ir ja, R дыра, Plb dar ̥ id. | Lt inf. d ̥ ur ̥ ti 'to thrust, to stab' ¶ Vs. I 205, ESSJ V 205. Frn. 113 || D *to|ur ̥ a- ~ *to|ura- 'hollow, hole, cavity' (\times N *t ̥ ur ̥ H ̥ 'to bore, to drill' \times N *t ̥ ur ∇ or *tur ̥ E 'pierce') > Ml tura 'hole, burrow', Kn tor ̥ alu, tor ̥ a ̥ e 'hole', tor ̥ e, d ̥ or ̥ e 'hollow, hole', Tl tor ̥ a, tor ̥ ata, tor ̥ ra 'hole, cavity in a tree', Gnd Δ dora 'hole in a tree' ||| D {Pf.} *t ̥ ur-/*tur ∇ - (~ *tur ̥ -) v. 'make a

hole' > Tm *tura* v. 'tunnel, bore', Ml *tura* v. 'burrowing, mine, hole', Kn *turi*, *turu* v. 'hollow, bore, drill, make a hole', Tl *turumu* v. 'scrape with a toothed instrument', Krx *tūr-* v. 'pierce through, perforate', Mlt *tūre* v. 'scratch out' ¶¶ The variant with *-r- (*reg.* from N *r-clusters) belongs to the heritage of N **tûRHä* 'to bore, to drill' (q.v. *ffd.*). Tm, Ml u and Kn, Tl 0 may go back either to *u or to *o, but Krx and Mlt point to pD *u(:) only ¶¶ D no-s 3339 and 3533, Pf. 135 [no. 1167], Zv. 65-6, Km. 111-18, Em. DCPH § 14 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [no. 7] (K, D) and 133 (adding R д ы р а).

556. *dûR∇ 'log, stick' > HS: Eg L *dr* 'prod, goad' ¶ Jsn. 22 || K **dwire-* 'log, beam; squared beam' > OG *dwire-* ~ *dire-* id. ('plank' in Mt. 7.3), G *dire*, G Gr *dviro-*, G I *diro-* 'log, squared beam', Mg *dare-* 'crossbeam', Sv: UB/L *dīr*, Ln/LB *dir*, LB *dər* 'beam' ¶¶ K² 40, ≠ Rog. GRL (K ← Gk) (⇔ K² 40), TK 196, GP 97, Dn. s.v. *dīr* || IE: NaIE **d^hwe(:)r-* / **d^hwo(:)r-* / **d^hur-* / **d^hwr̥-*, {EI} **d^hwór* (gen. **d^hu'r-os*) 'door, gate' (× N **dur∇* (or **dūr∇*) 'hole, hollow', q.v.) > OI nom. pl. '*dvār-* 'door' (nom. pl. '*dvārāḥ*, accus. pl. *du'raḥ* ~ '*duraḥ*, nom. du. '*dvārāu*, nom. sg. '*dvāḥ*), Av accus. sg. *dvarəm* 'gate' || Arm pl. **դուրք** *duḥ-k^h* 'door' || Gk θύρα, Gk I θύρη id. || pAl {O} **dwōrā*, {Huld} **der*∧ 'door, gate', pl. **düer-* > Al T/G '*derē* (pl. T, G '*dyer*, G *dyr*), {Huld} SG *dēr* / *dūr*, D *dēr* / *dūer*, B *der* / *düer* || L *foris* 'door', pl. *forēs* 'folding doors' || Clt {Matas.} **dworā*, **duro-*, **dworestu-* 'door' > OIr *dorus*, OW *dor*, W *dôr*, *drws*, MBr {Ern., Matas.} *dor*, Crn {P, Matas.} *dor*, {Matas.} *dorat* 'door' || OHG *turi*, NHG *Tür*, ON *dýrr* 'door', Gt *daúr* (θύρα, πύλη, πυλών) '(einflügliges) Tor', OHG *tor*, NHG *Tor* 'gate', OSx *duru* 'door', *dor* 'gate', AS *duru*, *dor* 'door, gate', NE *door* || Lt accus. pl. *duris* 'door', gen. pl. *dūrų*, Olt, Lt EA *dūres*, Lt *dūrųs* d. id., Ltv *duris*, *dūrvis* pl. 'door', Pru pl. *dauris* 'big gate' (*ce.* for *duaris*?) || pSl **dv̥ri* pl. 'doors' > OCS **ДВѢРН** *dv̥ri* 'doors, gate', Blg †, R 'двери', Slv *dvéri*, *durí*, Cz *dveře*, P *drzwi*, Δ *dźwierze*, Uk *двери* 'door(s)', SCr Δ *dvēri* 'middle gate of the altar'; secondary sg.: pSl **dv̥rb* 'door' > OCS **ДВѢРЬ** *dv̥rb* id., RChS, OR **ДВѢРЬ** *dv̥rb* 'door, gate', R *дверь*, SCr † *dvâr* 'door' || pTc **twere* > Tc B *twere* 'door' || ?? NaIE {Mn.} **d^hrn-* > ON *drumbr* (name of a slave ← 'Klotz'), Icl *drumbur* 'Holzklotz', OSw *drumber* 'Keule' ¶ P 278-9, EI 168-9, M K II 83-4, F I 695-6, WH I 529-30, LP §§ 117.2, 178.2, 268.1, 296, Fs. 117-18, Vr. 91, OsS 946,

972, Kb. 1051, Ho. 75, 80, Ho. S 13-14, KM 783, 797, Frn. 112-13, En. 157, Tp. P A-D 309-10, Bern. I 241, YGM-1 194-5, Ern. 192, O 60, Huld 49, Kf. 77-8, SPS V 140-2, ESSJ V 171-2, StSS 185, Wn. I 520, Ad. 323-4, Vr. 85, Mn. 205, 212, Matas. E 111-12 $\diamond \neq$ S NSShS no. 4 (K \div A *t'jor(g)e 'beam, prop' \div IE derw- 'tree', see N *taRû '[ε] tree, log'), \approx Blz. KM 132 [no. 6] (K, IE °dʰr̥gn- + unc.: names of trees in HS, U and the T lges, as well as D *tuṛu 'bushes, thicket').

557. ₂ *dURV 'deaf' > HS *dur- > B *√dr̥dr̥ ~ *√dr̥dr̥, *dūr̥d̥Vr̥ v. 'be deaf', *d̥Vr̥d̥ūr̥ ~ *d̥ard̥ūr̥ 'deaf' > Sll {Ds.}, Shl {NZ} d̥ur̥'d̥er̥ v. 'be deaf', Izd d̥ur̥'d̥er̥ id., aḍ̥ar̥d̥ur̥ 'deaf', ZAS aḍ̥ar̥d̥uṭ (pl. iḍ̥ar̥d̥urr) id., BSn {Bs.} aḍ̥ar̥d̥ūr̥, Izn {Bs.} aḍ̥er̥d̥ūr̥, Ntf {La.} ad̥ard̥ur̥, Zmr {La.} *aḍ̥ar̥d̥ur̥ 'deaf' ¶ Ds. 267, Mrc. 240, Loub. 518, La. MChB 147, NZ 482 ¶ In the light of external comparative ev. we may suppose that here the emphatic *d̥ is secondary; one of possible explanations may be a cd (such as *t̥Vr̥-d̥ūr̥ > *d̥ar̥-d̥ūr̥ or *d̥Vr̥-t̥ūr̥ > *d̥ar̥-d̥ūr̥) in the prehistory of B, whence, due to as., two variants (*d̥ar̥d̥ūr̥ and *d̥ard̥ūr̥) || C: Bj 'd̥ur̥nd̥ur̥ 'deaf and dumb' (acc. to IS, from *d̥um 'silent' + dur̥ 'deaf') ¶ R WBd 68 ¶ IS I 223 equated Bj 'd̥ur̥nd̥ur̥ with Bln {R} d̥ir̥ā 'deaf' (R WB 110) (untenable because the Bln pl. form d̥id̥ and the cognate words in Q/Xm [d̥e'd̥ā] suggest that here Bln -r- goes back to a dental stop) || Ch: Hs d̥ūr̥úm̥à 'a deaf and dumb person' (and d̥ūr̥r̥úm̥à 'a blind person'?) ¶ Abr. H 238, Ba. 284 || K: Lz: Ar dur̥ani, X dura, A ṭura 'deaf' (Lz A ṭ- < *d̥ is a typical dialectal change within Lz) ¶ Zhgh. ChT 140 \diamond IS I 223-4. IS suggested to adduce M *d̥ulei 'deaf' (hardly tenable [$\neq\phi$]).

557a. ₂ *d'û'r̥V 'woods, bush(es)' > HS: C: Ag **duṭ- 'thicket' (× N *t̥u|o,w,r̥V 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass') > Xm {R} d̥ir̥ 'Gebüsch, Wald; Wüste', Xmt {CR} d̥ur̥ 'woods, forest; edge of a hill'; Ag \rightarrow Gz d̥ūr̥ 'forest', d̥ōr̥ 'wilderness', Amh dur̥ 'wood, forest', Tgy dur̥ {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush' ||| EC: Sml {R} d̥īr̥ f. 'Dickicht, Gebüsch, Dschungel', {ZMO, DSI} d̥ūr̥ 'jungle, woods, forest, wilderness', 'boscaglia, luogo disabitato', ?σ R n d̥ūr̥ 'rocky\impassable place; large pile of boulders' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} dar̥ma (pl. dar̥ēmi, dar̥ēmō) 'wilderness (large and far from habitat)' ¶ R Ch II 40, R SS II 116, L G 141, ZMO 103, DSI 203, PG 105. MQK 28 || Ch: ??φ CCh: Flj {ChL} ḍ̥orn 'bush (woods)' ||| ??μ ECh: Kbl {Cp.} d̥r̥rosug̥á id. ¶¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'bush (wood)' ||| D *t̥ūr̥ 'bushes, thicket' ({GS} *t-?) (× N *t̥u|o,w,r̥V '↑') > Tm t̥ūr̥u 'bushes, shrubbery, thick underwood, low jungle', Kt tu'r̥ 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tu'r̥ 'branch with

leaves; bushes', Knd $t\bar{o}ru$ 'thicket, bush' ¶¶ D no. 3401 ◊ Blz. 259 [no. 74] (HS [without SC], D).

558. ??₂ * $d\bar{u}r\bar{\nabla}$ or * $d\bar{U}rE$ 'entrails, heart' > HS ≈ * $dur-$ > C: SC: Irq {E} $durumi$ 'first stomach', Brn {E} $durumiya$ 'large intestines' ||| Dhl {To.} $d\bar{u}ra$ 'bowels', {E} $d\bar{u}ra$ 'intestines' ¶ E SC 167, To. D 132 || Ch: WCh: Ang {ChL} dur 'heart' ||| ECh: Ll {WeibP} $d\bar{u}r\bar{e} \sim d\bar{u}r\bar{o}$ 'milieu, centre', ?ϕ Tmk {Cp.} $t\bar{u}w\bar{z}r$ 'heart' ¶ ChL, WeibP 18, ChC s.v. 'heart' || B: Izd {Mrc.} $ta-duw\bar{w}ar-t$ (pl. $ti-dur-in$) 'tripe' ¶ Mrc. 404 || ?ϕ Eg LL $\bar{i}d\bar{r}$ 'heart' (× N * $\bar{u}Hd\bar{\nabla}$ (R $\bar{\nabla}$) 'breast') ¶ EG I 155 ¶¶ Tk. I 241 (C, Ch, Eg) ||| A * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r'e'k'\bar{\nabla}$ 'heart, inner organ' (× N ? * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{\nabla}$ 'inside of body' [→ 'heart']?) > T * $j\bar{u}rek$ 'heart' (ffd. *see* N ? * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{\nabla}$) || M * $\bar{z}\bar{u}|\bar{i}r\bar{u}ken$ 'heart' > MM [HI] {Ms.}, [MA] {Pp.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{u}ken$, [S] {H} $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{u}ge(n) \sim \bar{z}\bar{i}r\bar{u}gen$, [IM] {Pp.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{u}ke$, [L] {Pp.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{u}k\bar{e}$, WrM {MED} $\bar{z}\bar{i}r\bar{u}ken$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\bar{z}\bar{y}p\bar{x}(z\bar{H})$, Brt $\bar{z}\bar{y}p\bar{x}z(H)$, WrO $\bar{z}\bar{u}reke(n)$, Kl {KRS} $\bar{z}\bar{y}p\bar{k}H$ $\bar{z}\bar{u}rk\bar{a}$, {Rm.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}rk\bar{u}$, Mnr H {SM} $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{e}ge$, Mnr H/M {T}, Ba {T} $\bar{z}\bar{i}rge$, Ord $\bar{z}\bar{u}re'k\bar{x}e$, Dg {Pp.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}rg\bar{u}$, Dx {T} $\bar{z}\bar{u}ge$, Mgl {Pp.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}rk\bar{a}$, {Rm., Pp.} $\bar{z}\bar{u}rk\bar{a}$ 'heart' ¶ MED 1062, BMR II 247-8, Krg. 687, KRS 260, KW 483-4, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 225, Pp. MA 211-12, 439, Pp. L II 1273, Pp. SD I 28, Pp. MDG 28, H 91, 95, SM 87, Rm. M 42, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139 || ?σ pJ {S} * $d\bar{z}k\bar{z}s\bar{i}$ 'spleen' > MJ $y\bar{o}k\bar{o}s\bar{i}$ ¶ S QJ no. 1668, Mr. 576 ¶¶ A * \bar{z} - may belong to the heritage of N * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{\nabla}$ ¶¶ SDM 1555 (pA * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r(\bar{\nabla})k'e$ or * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r(\bar{\nabla})k'e$ 'heart, inner organ' > M, T, J), DQA no. 2624, S AJ 282 [no. 176], ≈ ADb. SR 5 (T, M + unc. Tg * $j\bar{u}rga$ 'of high moral standards, brave'), S AJ 282, KW 483-4, Vld. 188 ◊ If the cns. $d-$ in SC, Dhl, B and Ch may have developed from N * \bar{z} -, all the above-mentioned words belong to N ? * $\bar{z}\bar{u}r\bar{\nabla}$, so that this rec. of N * $d\bar{u}r\bar{\nabla}$ or * $d\bar{U}rE$ will be null and void.

559. * $da\bar{?}ur\bar{\nabla}$ 'stand, stay' > A: T * $t'ur-$ (~ * $t'ur-?$) > OT $t\bar{u}r$, Tk $d\bar{u}r-$, Az, Ggz, Tkm, SY $d\bar{u}r-$, VTt, Bsh $t\bar{o}p-$ $t\bar{b}r-$, Qzq $t\bar{y}p-$, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET, Uz, Xk, Yk $t\bar{u}r-$, Tv $t'ur-$, Tf $d\bar{u}r-$ id., Chv L $t\bar{a}p-$ $t\bar{b}r-$, Chv H {Md.} $t\bar{b}r-$ 'stand up, stand' ¶ Tv t' - suggests a pT * t' -, while Tf $d\bar{u}r-$ and $d-$ in the Og lges point to a lax * t' - ¶ Cl. 529-30, Rs. W 100, Ra. 176, Ash. XIV 294-300, Fed. II 195, S AJ 182-3 [no. 75], Md. 58, 180 (pT * $t'ur-$) || pJ * $t\bar{a}t-$ 'stand' > OJ $t\bar{a}t-$, MJ $t\bar{a}t-$, J T $t\bar{a}t-$, J K/Kg $t\bar{a}t-$ id. ¶ Mr. 765, Kenk. 1929-30 ¶¶ SDM 404 (pA * $\bar{c}\bar{u}ra$ 'stand' > T, pJ + unc.: Tg * $j\bar{u}r-$ 'stand still' and pKo * $\bar{c}\bar{a}ri$ 'seat, place, location'), S AJ 101, 277 ||| HS: CS * $da\bar{w}ar-$ 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place', S

*da_wl_ar- 'dwelling place, camp site' and CS *√d_wr (*-dūr-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' (× N *du^r∇ 'camping site, abode', q.v. ffd.) ¶ S *dawar- goes back probably to earlier **da^ru^r- || Ch: WCh *√d_r'stand, stop (remain standing)' > AG *dár > Su {J} dár 'stehenbleiben, bleiben', Kfr {Nt.} dár v. 'stay, stand', Ang {Flk.} dār id., Mpn {Frz.} dár 'stand' (living beings, trees), 'stand up' | Ngm dīre 'stand, stay' | Fy {J} dar 'stand' || ECh: Mu {J} dár 'rester debout', {Lk.} 'sich hinstellen, stehen', Mjl {DB} dēy^rù, Kwn {J} jèrè 'stand' ¶ JI II 304-5, Stl. ZCh 174 [no. 269], J S 62, Nt. 9, Flk. s.v. dār, Frz. M 14, ChC s.v. 'stand', Blz. EChWL no. 78 || D: SD *tar- 'stop, stand still' > Tm tari id., 'rest, abide', Kn tarahara n. 'staying, exercise of patience, forbearance', Tu tariyuni 'stay, stop' ¶ D no. 3094 ◇ Ch *d- and T *t'- (or *t'- ?) are likely to go back to *d^r- from N *da^r-. D *-r- is a reg. reflex of *r-clusters (here N *-^rur- > *-^rr- > D *-r-) ◇ Alternatively, we may reject the S cognate *dawar- and adduce SES *√t_rh > Jb C {Jo.} '3t_rah v. 'stay, stop, cast anchor' (Jo. M 412). In this case we have to reconstruct N *t_r∇^r∇^x∇, but the problem of the vowels (*a in Ch and D, *u in T) will be harder to solve.

560. *du^ræri 'go, walk' > A *du_ræri- 'go, walk, approach' > Tg *du_rere- ({SDM} *dūrē-) v. 'walk' > Ul, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} du_rɜ- id., Nn Nh {On.} du_rɜ- id., 'шагать', Orc du_wɜ- ~ du_ɜ-, Ewk dūrē- v. 'walk', Neg dūyē-, Ud du_ɜ- v. 'walk along the bank (near the waterline)' ¶ STM I 226, Krm. 229, On. 165 || T *jor_r- ~ *jürE- v. 'walk, go': [1] NaT *jor_r- > OT jor_r-, StAlt žor- id., Uz, ET H {Ml.} jur-, Tv čor(u)-, Tf ć'oru- ~ ć'or_r- v. 'walk, ride, go'; [2] T *jürE- (~ *jörE-?) > Tk yürü-, Az jürü-, Ggz, ET jörü-, Tkm jöre-, Qzq žür-, VTt jör-, Bsh jörb-, Blq žür(ü)- ~ zür-, Qzq žür-, Nog jür-, Qrg žür-, Xk čör-, Shor čür-, Yk sūr- v. 'walk, move', Qq žür- 'move', StAlt žür- v. 'walk, ride; be', Chv çýpe- súre- 'walk, move, fahren' ¶ The long vw. (ū) in Yk is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 957, DTS 274, Rs. W 207, ET J 229-31, Ra. 197, Ash. XII 300-4, Fed. II 149, Jeg. 223 || ?σ pJ *d^rɜr- v. 'approach' > OJ jor-, J T yòr-, J K/Kg yór- ¶ S AJ 284, S QJ no. 169, Mr. 787, Kenk. 2198 || ???σ M *dürbe- '≈ run in a hurry' > MM {H} durbе 'eilen, hasten', WrM {MED} durbе-, HIM дурвэ- {MED} 'run (in panic)', {BMR} id., 'flee' ¶ If M *dürbe- belongs here, it may go back to **dürwe- < **dürüwe- < **dürü_re- < **duri_re- < pA *du_ræri-_ræ_r- ¶ MED 231, BMR II 89, H 39 ¶¶ SDM 482-3 (pA *dōre 'go, walk, approach' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 399 (id.), Rm. EAS I 52, S AJ 284, ADb. SR 13 || D *tūr(-) v. 'enter' (× N *t^ror^r∇h^ra 'to pass over;

through', q.v.) > Tm NA *tūr* v. 'enter', Kn *tūr* v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl *tūr* ~ *čūr* v. 'enter, penetrate', Gnd *turr* v. 'thrust into', *dorrānā* v. 'penetrate', Ku *dūh-* v. 'pierce, go right through', Krx *turd-* v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt *tuθr-kaṭe* v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)' ¶¶ D no. 3399(a) || HS: WS **-dūr-* v. 'roam (of nomads), go and come back, wander about within some territory' > Mh *✓dwr* G (pf. *dōr*, sbjn. *ḡḡ-dōr*) v. 'wander about, herumgehen; go and come back', Hrs *✓dwr* (pf. *dōr*, pres. *ḡḡdōr*) v. 'go round', Jb *✓dwr* (pf. *dōr*) v. 'come between, in front of', (pf. *dēr*) v. 'wander about', Ar *دور* *✓dwr* G 'aller tout autour, tourner, tourner', ? (× S **-dūr-* 'turn round', see DRS 239): BHb *✓dwr* G {KB} 'rundherum-schichten' ¶ Jo. M 76, Jo. J 42-3, Jo. H 26, KB 208-9, Fr. II 69, BK I 747, DRS 239-41 ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 11.

560a. *degar ▽ 'hill, mountain' > HS: B **drār-* (probably from **d_lu_lraHr-*) 'mountain' > Ah *a-drar*, Shl, Tmz, Shnw *a-drar*, Kb *a-drar* (pl. *i-durar*), Rf, SrSn, Izn *a-drār*, Nfs *drar*, Gd *adurar* 'mountain', Si *a-drar* id., 'hill' ¶ NZ 371, Fc. 234, PGG 42, Dl. 153, Rn. 308, Lf. II no. 0305 || S: SES **✓dūr* > Jb C *'daḡḡr* 'top, edge, point', Mh *dḡḡ'rayr* (pl. *dḡḡrōr*) 'point, summit, peak' ¶ Jo J 35, Jo. M 65 || ? EC: Bss {Bnd.} *tarra* 'mountain' ¶ Bnd. LE s.v. 'mountain' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} *deriya*, Zl {C} *darḡā*, {Mrn.} *darḡa*, Gf {AIA, Mrn.} *dere*, Hrr {CR} *darē*, Malo/Oyda {Fl.} *dere*, Cha {C} *derā*, Kcm {LmS} *dare* 'mountain', Gm {LmS} *dare* 'mountainous country' ¶ LmS 348, C SO 29, 43, C SE III 166, CR H 644, Fl. OWL. AIA ODS 8, Mrn. O 140-1 || D: McTm **tēri* > Tm *tēr* i 'sandhill', Ml *tēr* i 'hillock' ¶ D no. 3461 || A: T **jar* ({Md.} **jār*) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (× N **ž'a' Hr* ▽ 'low place, valley', q.v.) > O T *jar* ({Cl.} *jār*) 'a vertical bank of a river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water', Tk *ḡar*, Qmq, Nog *jar*, Ln *jaḡ* 'precipice', Tkm *žar*, ET *ja(r)* 'ravine', StAlt *žar*, Xk *čar* 'steep ravine (яp)', Qq *žar*, Qrg, Uz *žar* id., 'precipice, steep bank', Qzq *žar* 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L *чыр ś+r* 'precipice, steep bank', *чыран* id. ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT *jār* with a long vw. on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-18, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Ash. XII 109-10, 116-17, Fed. II 155-6, Jeg. 225, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912 ◇ SES **✓dūr* suggests the presence of the cns. **g* in the N etymon. T **a* (that cannot go back to N **e*) may be explained if the N etymon was **degar* ▽. This rec. suggests that D **-r-* (a

reg. reflex of N *r-clusters) goes back to a cluster *-Hr- from N *-gar-. B *drār- (< **d_lu_lraHr-) suggests a mt. in the prehistory of B ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 111a (incl. B, C, Om, T and D), Blz. DA 161 [no. 90], Blz. NDA no. 94 (D, A, HS [including C and many S words without sufficient semantic proximity to the etymon in question]).

561. *dā_ly_lR∇ or *da_ly_lRE 'be(come) stiff/firm' > HS: S *^o✓ drr 'robust, strong' > Ar darīr- 'fort, robuste, et aux chaires fermes et compactes' ¶ BK I 682 || U: FP *tar∇- 'get stiff with cold' (< **dārâ due to the vw. harmony or from the original **darä) > Er tarde- 'get stiff with cold, be chilled' | Prm {LG} *tur- > Z turav- v. 'get stiff with cold', ? turd+- id., 'be frozen' ¶ UEW 792, LG 287, ≠ Lt. 217 (connects the Prm ✓ with F turtua v. 'get stiff') || A: M *dereyi- v. 'become stiff' > WrM {MED} derei- id., HIM дэрий- {MED} id., {Luv., BMT} 'be stiff and stick out', Ord d_erī- 's'avancer trop en dehors', 'être droit', 'être trop long' (les oreilles); Brt (< d.?) дэ р ж и - 'stick out (торчатъ, быть оттопыренным)'; M *dereg^ri^r- > WrM {MED} deregir 'stiff and projecting', HIM дэ р г э р {MED} id., {BMR} 'vertrocknet und abstehend'. 'zottig und zersaust' (a headdress), Brt дэ р э г э р, Kl {KRS} дергр dergar 'sticking out (торчащий, оттопыренный)', {Rm.} derg_o 'ausgesperret, emporragend', Ord d_ereger 'qui s'avancent trop en dehors' (se dit des oreilles) ¶ MED 253, Luv. 170, BMR II 113, Chr. 218-19, KRS 199. KW 89, Ms. O 141 || ? NaT *^oja_l:_lrp (× N *yoR∇ (b∇) 'firm, strong, hard' [q.v.]) > OT jarp 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 || IE: NaIE *d^hēr- / *d^her- 'firm' ({EI} *d^her- 'be immobile; support, hold up') (× IE *d^her- v. 'hold' < N *dar_l∇H_l∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten') > OI 'dhīrah_l 'firm, steady' || L firinus, EpL fīrinus 'firm' || AS inf. darian 'to be motionless, to lurk' || Arm դ ա դ ա թ ա ճ ա ճ ա ճ ա ճ ա ճ ա 'I become quiet, I stop' || Av dārayat 'holds fast' ¶ M K II 105, P 253, EI 270, WH I 505-6, ≈ Slt. 373-4 ◇ NaIE *ī suggests the presence of a N *y (lost in S, A and FU).

562. *deR^ri^r 'thrust back, drive away' > HS: S *✓ dr^r > Sr ✓ dr^r G 'thrust back (so.)', Ar ✓ dr^r G 'éloigner, chasser (qn)', L (pf. dāra^ra) 'repel (so.)', Sq {L} ^redre 'chasser', Ak OB/YB {Sd.} durrû 'abstoßen (?)' ¶ BK I 685, Hv. 200, L LS 135, Sd. 178, DRS 306 || Eg fP dr, Eg MKL dr ~ d₃r 'entfernen' ¶ EG V 473-4 || NrOm: Kf {C} dar- 'drive away', 'divorce (a wife)' (unless ← Ar ✓ dh^r 'drive away') ¶ C SE IV 433 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ C) Af {R} da^rar- 'weschicken, fortschicken', likely to be connected with Af {PH} da^rār- 'go, leave' (PH 77); neither should we

adduce Ar ✓ dhr G 'drive away' and Gz ✓ dhr G 'divorce' ¶¶ OS no. 660
 || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *dʰreǵbʰ- 'drive away, push', {EI} 'drive' > Gmc: Gt inf. dreiban 'treiben, stoßen', OHG inf. trīban 'to push, to expel', NHG inf. treiben 'to drive, to expel', OSx inf. drīvan, AS inf. drīfan id., NE drive || ?σ Lt inf. drēbti (1s pres. drebiū) 'to throw down (a thick liquid)' (unless ← dribti 'to fall, to drop') ¶ P 274, EI 170, Fs. 124-5, Ho. 77, Ho. S 13, OsS 953, Kb. 1032, KM 788, Sw. 44, Frn. 104
 || D (att. in SD) *tēr- ({ǵGS} *d-) 'drive (away)' > Tu dēr- 'drive, drive away', Kdg do·t- ǵ de·t- ǵ dǵt- 'drive away (cattle, persons)', MI tēruka v. 'attack, pursue' ¶ D no. 3472 ◇ D *-r- (a reg. reflex of N *R-clusters) and S *ʔ suggest the presence of a N lr.

563. *dʰr̥Rʔ∇ 'dirt' > HS: S (+ext.): Ar ✓ drn G (ip. -dran-) v. 'be dirty', darin- 'dirty', ? Tgr {DRS} dərɐ 'éruption cutanée' ¶ BK I 693, DRS 315 || Ch: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} adzri 'dirt' || CCh: Mf {Sk.} dərɟa 'dirt' || ECh: Kwn {J} dórúwó 'dust' (cp. N *tUX|qR̥∇ [or *toX|qURy∇?] 'dirt; be dirty') ¶ ChC s.v. 'dust', ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 253 [no. 71], Sk. HCD 46 || IE: NaIE *dʰer-(k-), *dʰerǵ-/ *dʰreǵ- 'defecate; faeces' > L foria pl. 'Durchfall (bei Schweinen), dünne Exkremente', forī- 'defecate' || Gmc: ON inf. dríta, Ic, Far, NNR inf. dríta, Dn inf. drite, NLG inf. drīten, AS inf. drītan 'to defecate', OHG inf. trīzan 'to urinate', NE drite; OHG trīz-stuol 'chamber pot, Nachtgeschirr' || Mcd (?) [Hs.] δαρδαίνει (· μολύνει) 'he stains, sullies' || Lt inf. derk-ti (1s pres. derk-iū) 'mit Unrat besudeln, den After leeren' || ? Sl inf. driskati (d. with *-sk-) ~ *dristati 'to have diarrhoea' > SCr, Slv inf. drískati, Slv inf. drístati, Cz inf. dřístati, Slk inf. drístat', P Δ inf. drzysłać, R inf. пристать, Uk inf. пристати id., Blg (1s pres.) прискам 'I have diarrhoea' ¶ P 251, 256, WH I 527-8, Vr. 84, Ho. 78, Kb. 1035, ESSJ V 116 || D {tr., ǵGS} *tur- > Tm turu 'rust, verdigris, flaw', turicu 'blue vitriol', MI turisū id., turumpu, turuvu 'rust', Tl t(r)urpu 'rust' ¶¶ D no. 3343 ◇ The D cognate suggests a N *R-cluster (*R + lr.). The only N lrs liable to be lost in S are *ʔ and *h (*ʔ|h = *ʔ of our notation) ◇ BmK 266-7 (S, IE, D) ◇ Cf. N *tUR̥∇, y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' (q.v.).

563a. ₂ *dAR̥∇ 'ashes' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *darɣ- id. > Or dār-ā, Kns {Ss.} tar-a, Gato {Fl.} tara, Gdl {Ss.} terʔ-ata ({Bl.} terɟ-ata), Brj dār-a, Gwd, Hr, Gln tarɣ-o id. || SC: Irq {MQK} daɣara, {Wh.} dáɣárítôʔo (pl. dáɣára)

id. ¶ Ss. PEC 16, Ss. B 51, AD SF 205, Bl. 207, MQK 24, Fl. p.c. || Ch: WCh: Dr {J} duđá 'ashes' (unless from N *tūt'æ' 'dust, ashes') || ? ECh: Kwn {Mch., J} d'rw'z 'ashes' (unless from *√ dbr, see Tmk dēb'ér, Smr, Nd dēbriń id.) ¶ JI II 4-5, Sk. HCD 46, ChC s.v. 'ashes' || ??σ S: Ar duřr-, duřr-at- 'pourriture (du bois)' ¶ BK I 700 ¶¶ HCVA no. 314 (EC, Ar √ dřr v. 'smoke\steam\rot') || D (att. in GnD) *°taramp- ({{ǰGS} *d-) 'ashes' > Ku darmbu 𐌆 darambu ~ dharmbu 'ashes', Mnd nīy-darambu id. (nīy- < D nīr- id.), Png darmu id. ¶ D no. 3092 ◇ D *-r- goes back to a N cns. cluster (*-Rr-) ◇ This etl. connection was discovered by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. L no. 4e); see also Blz. LNA no. 9.

564. *dar_u∇H_u∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten' > IE: NaIE *dher(ə)- v. 'hold, hold fast, hold up', {P} 'halten, festhalten, stützen', {EI} 'hold up' (× N ?? *dā_uR∇ or *da_uRE 'be[come] stiff\firm') > OI dhā'rayati 'holds, bears, preserves, keeps' (pfc. dā'dhara, pp. dhr_o'taḥ), Av vī-δāraye'ti 'supports' (pp. dar^əta-), OPrs dārayāmiy 'ich halte', Sgd δ^ər 'hold', Oss dar₃n v. 'have (domestic animals); support (a family); wear', OI dhā'ruṇa 'haltend, stützend', dhar'tar ~ 'dharitar 'Halter', dhar'tra- 'Halt, Stütze', Av darəpra- 'das Festhalten, Begreifen' || Gk θράουατ 'I am seated' (← 'I am supported'), θράουορ 'bench, form' ({{F} 'Tragbalken, Bank, Schemel'), Gk θρήσαθαυ aor. inf. 'to sit down' ({{F}: ← ≈ sich aufstützen, sich aufstemmen'), Gk θρόουορ 'a seat, chair', θρήουορ 'footstool' || L frē-tus 'relying on', Um FRITE (abl. or loc.) 'fretu, fiducia', ?σ L firmus (~ EpL fīrmus) 'firm, strong' || Lt inf. deréti / Is pres.. derù v. 'be fit\suit', caus. inf. darýti and Ltv inf. darīt 'to do, to make, to prepare' ¶ P 252-4 (adducing Ht tarh- v. 'win', better explainable as belonging together with NaIE *terə- v. 'win', F ABIv II 155-60), OsR 183, EI 270, M K II 100, Mn. 185-6, 198, F I 678-9, 686-7, WH I 505-6, Bc. G 336, Frn. 83 || U: FU *tartt∇- v. 'hold, seize' > F tarttu-, Vo tarttu- v. 'grasp, grip, seize' || OHg ≥XIII tart- 'hold, keep', Hg tart- v. 'hold' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-12 (*tartt∇- 'stecken-bleiben, klebenbleiben'), SK 1240, MF 616, EWU 1487 ¶ Cf. FU *°tarka- > Er 'targa-(ms) 'take out, draw out' < N *taR∇, *taR∇ H∇g∇ 'to drag, to pull' || D *tar- ({{ǰGD} *t-) v. 'fasten, stick' (× N *dAr∇ 'have a suitable size') > Tm taru v. 'wear tightly as a cloth, fasten', Ml tarayuka v. 'be fixed', tāru 'wearing clothes tucked in', Td tar- v. 'get stuck (in mud)', Tu tarapuni, tarpuni v. 'rivet, fasten firmly', Tm tarupu v. 'join together, amass (wealth)', Ku

darī 'next' (adv.) ¶¶ D no. 3142 || HS: C: SC ({E} *dar- v. 'handle, make with the hands'): Kz ?σ,φ dāl- v. 'make, do, prepare', SC ⇨ Mb -dára v. 'grip, hold' || Dhl dar- v. 'put (a lot of things)' ¶ E SC 166 ◇ The N Ir. *_LH_L is evidenced by the IE vw. *ə (preserved in L ē). D *-r̥- < N intervoc. *-r-, suggesting the presence of a vw. between *r and *H ◇ ≠ BmK 307 (D, SC + *÷ IE *derg^h- > Gk δρᾶσσομαι v. 'grasp, clutch').

565. *dūr_L∇h_L∇ 'to deceive, (?) to outwit' > HS: CS *dr̥? > Ar ✓ dr̥? G (n. act. durū?-) 'sortir soudain et fondre sur quelqu'un' (se dit, e. g., d'une troupe qui attaque l'ennemi à l'improviste), Sb ✓ dr̥? v. 'make a sudden assault on'; S *°✓ drh > Ar ✓ drh G 'survenir à l'improviste, tomber sur quelqu'un' ¶ BK I 683, 693, BGMR 36, DRS 306, 312 ¶ In the variant ✓ dr̥? the cns. ? < *h (a rather typical case of weakening) || EC: Sa {R} dī'rāb 'a lie, libel, calumny', dī'rāb-it- v. 'lie', Af {PH} dirab / pred. dirāb-a 'falsehood, lie' ¶ PH 85, R S II 112-13 || IE *d^hwer(H₃X)- > NaIE *d^hwer(ə)- v. 'deceive, seduce' ({P} 'durch Täuschung, Hinterlist zu Fall bringen'), (+ext.) {P, EI} *d^hreug^h- 'deceive' > Vd 'dhr̥u-ti-h̥ 'misleading, seduction', Av dr̥užaiti 'stiftet Unheil, betrügt', OPrs aduruḡīya ipf. 'he told lies' || L frauš, gen. fraudis 'deceit, deception, fraud', frūstra 'in error', frūstro, frūstor v. 'disappoint, deceive, trick' || OHG inf. triogan, NHG inf. trügen, betrügen, OSx inf. driogan, bidriogan 'to deceive' ¶ P 276-7, EI 154, WH I 543-4, M K II 118-19, OsS 957, Kb. 1034-5, Ho. S 13, KM 784 || U: ? Sm: Slq: Ke/Ch/UO/B {Cs.} tuernan v. 'steal', Tz {HL} t̥r̥-t̥-qo id., Tz B {Cs.} tuerenan id. ¶ Cs. 150, 284, Hl. p.c. (1976) || D *tūr̥- ({θGS} *d-) v. 'slander, blame' > Tm tūr̥u v. 'traduce, slander', n. 'calumny, slander', Ml dūr̥u v. 'blame, slander', tūr̥rukā v. 'abuse, blame', Kn dūr̥u v. 'bear tales, report evil of others, blame', Kdg du'r̥i 'information laid against so.', Tu dūr̥u 'aspersion, blame, reproach', dūr̥uni v. 'accuse, complain, blame', Tl dūr̥u v. 'reproach, blame, censure', Kui doh-pā v. 'mention a name of so., cite, accuse, blame' ¶¶ D no. 3397, ≠ Km. 403-4 [no. 670] (reconstructing pSD *tūr̥- / -r̥r̥-, "ultimately to" *tūr̥- + *-r̥r̥-).

565a. ₂ *daRH∇ or ***daHR∇** 'path, way' > HS: EC: Ya {Hn.} dār 'path, road', ? Sa {R} dōr- 'follow' ¶ Hn. Y II 131-2, R S II 111 || Ch: WCh: Ywm der 'road' | Krkr ndaru, Mh dore, Grm {ChC, ChL} ndarù id. | My {Sk.} dérāhí, P' {MSk.} dārḥí, Mbr {Sk.} dēri, Kry {Sk.} derahi, Jmb {Sk.} dârú 'road, path, way' || ECh: Jg {J} dériḡ 'road' (× N *deR^ḡ'ûb∇ 'way, path')

¶ Stl. ZCh. 172 [no. 248], Sk. NB 37, ChC s.v. 'road', ChL ¶¶ OS no. 657 (HS *dar- 'road'; incl. WCh and Ya) || D *tāri ({{ǃGS}} *d-) 'way, path' > Tm tārī, Kn, Tu, Tl dārī 'way, road, path', Kt a'da'ry 'road, path' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-RH- or *-HR- ¶¶ D no. 3170 ◇ Blz. DA 163 [no. 105], unt. Blz. NDA no. 112 (C + unt. D and S [both from N *deR^r'^hûb∇]).

566. ₂ *deR^r'^hûb∇ 'way, path' > HS: WS *darb- > Sr dar'b-ā 'road', Ar darb- {BK} 'rue; chemin, route; défilé dans les montagnes', {Ln.} 'narrow pass', Jb C {Jo.} dərb 'village street' ¶ DRS 307, BK I 684, Ln. 866-7, Jo. J 40 || ECh: Jg {J} dériþ 'road' (× N *daRH∇ or *daHR∇ 'path, way') ¶ ChC s.v. 'road', J J s.v. dériþ || D *teru∇- 'road' > Tm teru, teruvam, teruvu 'street, highway, public road', Ml teru 'street', Kt tervi 'neighborhood', Bel teru 'way', Tl teruvu 'way, road, path' ¶¶ D no. 3422 ◇ D *-r- (regularly from *R-clusters) suggests the presence of an additional N cns. that was later lost in S (most probably, a N "weak" lr. *ʔ or *h) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 112 (D, S + unt. C).

567. *daRuga or *daRüga 'tremble, shake' > ? HS: S: amb Ar دَارِجٌ dāriġ- 'tremblant' (se dit du timbre de la voix du chanteur), unless ← Ar دَرَجٌ drġ G 'walk' ¶ BK I 685 || IE: NaIE *d^hreug^h₁- v. 'tremble, shake' > Lt drugỹs 'fever', (here?) 'butterfly', Ltv drudzis 'cold fever; fever' | Sl inf. *dr̥g-a-ti (se), {SPS} *d̥rgati inf. 'to tremble' > Slv inf. d̥rgati, P inf. dr̥gac 'to tremble', inf. drugac inf. 'to hop, to skip', Slk, Cz Δ inf. d̥rgati 'to shake', OR, RChS rf. inf. ДРЪГАТИ СѦ dr̥gati se 'to tremble', R inf. 'дръгати' 'to shake'; Sl inf. *dr̥g-nq-ti 'to tremble' (mom.) > OR inf. ДРЪГНОУТИ, R inf. 'дрогнуть', P inf. dr̥gnac; Sl inf. *dr̥ž-a-ti 'to tremble' > OCz inf. dr̥žeti, d̥řezeti, P inf. dr̥žec, OR inf. ДРОЖАТИ, R inf. дро'жати, Uk inf. дрижати || ? Gk τολθορούσσω 'shake violently', ?φτανθαρούζω 'quiver, shake' ¶ P 275, F I 852, Frn. 105, ESSJ V 137-8, 144, Vs. I 540-1, SPS V 43-5 || U: FU *tar(k)∇- v. 'tremble' > [1] FP *tar∇ (< **tar∇ʘ∇??) > Z taržī- v. 'tremble' | Er тарно- tarno- id., 'quake', Mk таро- tarə- id., vi. 'swing' | [2] FU *tark∇ > Z tarkəd- 'knock', vt. 'shake' || pObU *tārə∇- v. 'tremble' > pVg *tārə∇- > Vg: UL tōr∇-, Ss tōr∇- id.; pOs *tarə∇- > Os: Vy tārə∇-, Ty tārə∇-, K torə∇-, Nz tōrī∇-, Kz tōrī, O tāri- id. ¶ LG 278, Ht. 189 [no. 647] || A *d|t^r'a¹R₁U₁gi 'shake' > M *dorgi- > WrM {MED} dorgi- 'tremble, shake, vibrate', HIM дорги- {MED} id., {BMR} 'tremble, shake, грохотать, дребезжать', Kl {Rm.} durgī- and durṽa-

'zanken, einander zu über-schreien suchen' (von streitenden Weibern) ¶ MED 262, BMR II 55, KW 103 || Tg *dargĭa- v. 'shake; threaten by shaking one's feast\hand' > Nn Nh {On.} dargĭan, {STM} darġan ~ dargĭan 'raise one's hand against so.', WrMc {Hr} dargĭ-, {Z} дарги- 'tremble', {Z} даргя- 'threaten by shaking one's feast, brandish a sword', {Hr} dargĭya- 'ausholen (mit Faust, Schwert, Stock usw.)'; Tg *dergi- v. 'shiver, tremble' > Ul dərǰi-, Nn Nh {STM} dərǰi- ~ ǰərǰi- id., {On.} dərǰi- vi. 'tremble (дрожать, трястись), vibrate' (inanimate objects), Ewk dərǰi- 'quiver (вздрагнуть), shake one's head' ¶ STM I 200, 237, On. 140, 170, Z 795-6, Hr 181, Vas. 137 || pJ {S} *dúr- 'shake, sway' > MJ yur-, J T yùr-, J K/Kg yúr- id., J T yurer- 'shake, sway, quake' ¶ S QJ no. 826, Mr. 788, Kenk. 2229 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 372 (A *déru 'shake, sway' > Tg, J + err. M *derbe 'sway, swing' [actually M *derbe 'sway, swing, flutter' from N *tæRp. ▽ 'tremble, shake', q.v. ffd.]), ≈ DQA no. 374 (A *déru 'shake, sway' > Tg *der(gi)-, J) ◇ M *-o- in *odorgi- and pJ *-u- may be due to the infl. of A *U of the second syll. The front vw. *e in Tg *dergi- suggests that it was influenced by a front vw. of the next N syll. (most probably *ü > Tg *i).

568. *dæR'h' ▽ ga ~ *dæR'h' ▽ k ▽ 'to walk, to run; way, path' > HS: S: [1] S *✓ drg > Ar درج ✓ drǧ G 'walk', Ak ✓ drg G 'schreiten', daraggu 'path' | [2] CS *✓ drk v. 'walk, tread' (× N *d'o' r' l' ▽ k ▽ 'to tread, to trample', q.v.) > BHb 𐤃𐤓𐤃 ✓ drk G (ip. -ḏrōḵ) v. 'tread, press out (juice by stamping)', Ph/IA {HJ} ✓ drk G 'go (to), enter', Ug {OLS} ✓ drk G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar ✓ drk v. 'follow, pursue'; Cn *'dar l' ▽ k- 'road, way' > BHb 𐤃𐤓𐤃 'ḏerεḵ id., Ug {OLS} drk 'traficante (i)'; ?φ (× S *✓ drḵ > Ar ✓ drq G 'walk hastily') Ug {A} ✓ drḵ 'herankommen', Ug (AkSc) darḳu 'path' and {Grd.} tdrḵ n. 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, HJ 261, BK I 685-6, Hnr. 119-120, A no. 794, OLS 137, Grd. UT no. 708, DRS 308-9, 313-14 || ?? WCh: Kry {Sk.} dérahí, My {Sk.} dârhí 'road' ¶ ChC s.v. 'road', Sk. NB, ChL || IE: [1] {EI} *dhregʰ- 'run' > Lt {Frn.} inf. dróž-ti 'ziehen, gehen', inf. dérž-ti 'mit großen Schritten gehen', Lt inf. pa-dróž-ti 'to go/run away, to scamper away', Ltv inf. drāz-t 'to rush, to speed', {Frn.} 'sich schnell wohin begeben, laufen' || Gk τρέχω 'run' (× IE *tregʰ- 'run') || [2] NaIE *o'dhorag_lh₁- > pSl *dōrga 'road, way' > OR Δορογα 'way', R до'рога, OCz, Cz, Slk dráha, P, LLs droga 'road', SCr arc. dràga 'way', ?σ SCr dràga 'narrow gulf, ravine' || [3] ?σ NaIE *d'rogʰo-, {EI} *d'ro'gʰo-s 'wheel' (× N *doRkæ [~

***doRgæ?**] 'to bend, to turn, to wrap', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 273, EI 491 (on IE *d^hreg^h- and *treg^h-), EI 640, Bc. no. 10.76, Frn. 106, F II 927-9, Thr. § 220, Sl. 301, ESSJ V 74-5, Bern. I 212, DbZN OSA 10-42 (on the acute intonation and the 1st accentual paradigm in pSl and their IE origin), SPS IV 113-15 (Sl *drōga 'wyzłobienie, wgłębienie; bruzda wymyta przez wodę, wydeptana przez bydło, ludzi lub jeźdźców', 'semita, callis', 'via, iter') ¶ Sl *dōrga has no plausible direct cognates within the IE family ¶ ESSJ V is right in rejecting all earlier etl. hypotheses, but its own et. (repeated in EI 471) (Sl *dōrga ← Sl *dbrga-v. 'jerk, 'pull, 'pull out, 'pinch' through the meaning of *dōrga as 'a cleared one, расчищенная') is unc. || А: М *derkEre- 'e run quickly' > WrM {MED} derkire- v. 'run, race', HIM {BMR} дэрхрэ- 'um die Wette laufen', Kl {Rm.} derkr̥- ~ derk̥]- '(schnell, im Fluge) rennen\fließen, um die Wette rennen', Ord d_{er}k_{ere}- 'aller l'amble ou d'un pas rapide' (of donkeys and mules) ¶ MED 253, BMR II 114, KW 89, Ms. O 141 || ? pKo {S} *t^hr'í (× pA *t^hærgi- 'run, flee' < N *t^hÉrgE 'run', q.v. ffd.) > MKo t^hr'í {S} 'ride quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run, rush, hurry' (unless an iter. from *t^had- 'run') ¶ S QK no. 511, Nam 141, MLC 405, SDM 1448 ¶¶ There may be also some infl. of pA {AD} *t^hür̥ 'quick, swift' (SDM) *t^hür̥(k)u-, {DQA} *t^hür̥(g)i-) (cf. SDM 1448) ◇ Cp. also D *teruv- 'road' (D no. 3422), but on the ev. of its *-v- it is more likely to be akin to Ar darb- 'rue; chemin, route', 'narrow pass' (see N *deR^hú^hb̥ 'way, path').

569. *d^hR_hg̥|K̥ 'sediment (in food), refuse' > IE: NaIE *d^herag^h- 'sediment, residue' > L fracēs 'dregs of oil' (WH: < *d^hrak-s ← *d^herēg^h- [= *d^hrēg^h-/*d^herag^h-]) || Lt Δ dragēs 'sediment of fat from cooked smelt fish', {Frn.} 'was sich beim Kochen des Stints zwecks Trankgewinning am Boden absetzt', 'yeast', Pru dragios 'yeast', Ltv Δ dradžī (← Cur) 'sediment in melted butter' || Sl {ESSJ} *droždž-a, *-i, *-bje > OCS ДРОЖДНЯ droždije f. pl. 'leaven, yeast', {StSS} 'закваска, дрожжи', Blg † 'дрождие id., SCr dròžda 'residue, husks', Slv drožje, P drożdże, OR ДРОЖДН droždi, R 'дрожжи 'yeast' || Gmc {Vr.} *dragjō > ON dregg 'yeast' (→ ME dreg(ge) > NE pl. dregs), Sw drägg 'yeast', d. Gmc *drahsta > AS dræst, dærst(e) 'leaven', pl. 'dregs, lees' (> NE † pl. drasts 'dregs, lees'), OHG trestir pl. 'husks', NHG Trestler pl. 'residue of brewery and grape pressing' || pAl {O} *dragā > Al G drâ, -ni, StAl T dra, -u 'waste

residue left from melting butter; dregs, lees, sediment' ¶ P 251, EI 170 (IE *dʰrōgʰ- 'dregs'), WH I 539, EM 251, Vr. 82, Hlq. 157-8, Sw. 40, Ho. 69, Kb. 1031, OsS 953, KM 789, Frn. 100, En. 162, Tp. P A-D 363-5, ESSJ V 128-9, StSS 197, Kf. 85, FGjSSh 365, AlbED 179, O 71 || K: G durdo 'sediment in wine' (as. from *durg∇?) ¶ Chx. 325 || A: M: WrM {MED} ziriḡ 'litter of grass/leaves under an animal being flayed', HIM {MED, BMR} жиpэг 'litter of grass under an animal being flayed' ¶ MED 1060, BMR II 179 || ?σ T amb *jogurt (mt.) > OT {DTS} [MhK] joḡurt, OT [QB], BdUig joḡrut, OT {Cl.} juḡrut 'coagulated curdled milk', Tk ɥoḡurt, Tkm, Osm joḡurt, SY joḡurt ~ juḡurt, Az joḡypa, Qmq juwurt, Nog juwint, QrB žuwurt, Qrg žūrat, Sg {Rl.} čōrt, Yk sūrat id. ¶ This word belongs here unless it is from pA *zük'ō 'rotten, turbid' < N *ZUḡU 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' (q.v.) or derived from T *juḡur- v. 'knead (dough etc.)' ¶ DTS 270, Cl. 905-6 (deriving OT juḡrut from juḡur- v. 'knead [dough]' [hardly convincing]), ET J 207-8, Rl. III 542, 2020.

570. *doRkæ (~ *doRgæ?) 'to bend, to turn, to wrap' > K: pGZ {K} *dreḡ-/*driḡ-/*derḡ- v. 'bend, bow' > OG dreḡ-/driḡ-/derḡ-, G dreḡ-/driḡ- v. 'bend, curve', Mg dirak-/diriḡ-/dirḡ- 'bend, stoop', Lz draḡ-/driḡ-/druḡ- 'bend' ¶ K 74-5, ≈ K² 42 (*dr-ek-/*dr-ik-/*dr-k-), Chik. 270 || IE: NaIE *dʰerḡh-/*dʰorḡh-/*dʰrḡh-/ *dʰreḡh-/ *dʰroḡh- v. 'turn' > ?σ NPrs {Sg.} دَرَزْ dārz 'seam, suture', دَرَزْ dārze 'a rent in a garment which has been sewn' ||| Arm դարձամ dārnam (< *darznam) (aor. դարձայ dārazay) vi. 'turn, turn about, return' ||| pAl {O} *dreza > Aldredh (aor. drodha) v. 'twist, spin, curl' ||| ? NaIE *dʰrōgʰo- 'wheel' (× N *dæR'h'∇ga ~ *dæR'h'∇k∇ 'to walk, to run; way, path') > Gk τροχός 'wheel' (× ← τρέχω 'run' < IE *tregʰ- id.?) ||| Clt {Matas.} *droko- 'wheel' (*-k- [< *-h'∇g|k-] belonging to the heritage of N *dæR'h'∇ga ~ *dæR'h'∇k∇) > MIr droch id. ||| Arm դուրգն durgn 'potter's wheel' ¶ P 258, 273, Sg. 511-12, Horn 122, Thr. § 220, AlbED 179-80, O 73, Slit. 301, Matas. E 105 || HS: S *√drk ~ *√drg v. 'roll, wrap' > Ak OA √drk v. G 'pack (cloth)', Ar دَرَجْ drǧ G v. 'roll' ('rouler\ployer [étouffe, papier]'), Sh (pf. ʔadragʻa) 'rouler, ployer', durǧ- 'rouleau de papier, pli', Tgr √drgg (pf. dergǧǧ) v. 'make roll down, roll away', ?? Jb C 3'durg v. 'wrap in a white cloth, enshroud' (× d. from a noun for 'white cloth', cp. Mh darg 'white cloth') ¶ BK I 685-6, Sd.

163, Jo. J 40, Jo. M 73, LH 523, DRS 309, 314 || **A:** NaT *jörgæ- v. 'wrap' > OT Jörgä- v. 'wrap up, swaddle', Tki Jörgä-, Ln jöjgö-, Tv čörǵe-, Yk sörō- v. 'wrap', ET Jörgö-~jögö- id., Δ jürgē- id., v. 'pack, roll, wind (a string\rope)' ¶ Cl. 965-6, DTS 276, ET J 234-5, Jr. 162, Rl. III 449 ◇ IE *ǵʰ and the cns. *g in S *✓drg and in NaT *jörgä|e- point to the variant *doRgæ of the N etymon. Another possibility is that the Ar verbs are derived from durǵ-, and the latter is akin to Mh darg 'white cloth' and does not belong to the etymon in question. S *k is a case of reg. de-emphatization ◇ ≠ BmK 272-3 (*dar- / *dār- v. 'bend\twist\turn' reconstructed by "kernel comparison" between S (*✓drg v. 'wrap'), IE and K with arbitrary truncating the third cns. and with untenable adduction of IE dʰregʰ- v. 'run' and S *✓drg v. 'go', that belong to a different etymon [F N *dæRʰ'∇ga ~ *dæRʰ'∇k∇ (↑)].

571. *duf∇ (or *duwʳ∇) 'camping site, abode' > HS: S (× N *daʔur∇ 'to stand, to stay'): S *'daʔa,r- 'camping site, abode' > BHb 𐤃𐤓𐤃 dōr 'tent camp, dwelling place', Md dāura 'home, abode, dwelling', Ak dūrū 'Stadtmauer, settlement', Ug {A} d̄r 'house, dynasty' (but Ug {OLS} d̄r 'círculo, agrupación, cabildo' does not belong here, but is connected with S *daʔr- 'circle'); CS *da'war- 'sojourn, abode, place to stay, dwelling place' > Ar 𐤃𐤓𐤃 dār- 'Haus mit Hof', {BK} 'demeure, séjour; habitation, lieu habité où il'y a plusieurs maisons ou tentes', Sr 𐤃𐤓𐤃 dār-'t-ā 'domus, domicilium'; CS *✓dwr (*-dūr-) v. 'dwell (wohnen)' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA, SmA, Sr, Amr ✓dwr G id. ¶ KB 208-9, KBR 217, A no. 785, Js. 288, Sl. 321, DM 99, BK I 748, Hff. 183, G A 18, Br. 147, DRS 239-41 || B {Pr.} *(-)dd∇r- (< {Pr.} *✓'y|w' dr) v. 'live' (< *'dwell'?) > Kb əddər, Mz, Izn, SrSn, Rf, Shw {NZ}, Gh, Ah, Ty, ETwl əddər, Gd {Lf.} əddər (pf. iddər), Tmz {MT} ddər (pf. idir), Izd {Mrc.} ddər (pf. iddər), Sil {Ds.} əddər (pf. iddər), Si əddər (pf. iddər) 'vivre'; B *taddārt (< {Pr.} *ta-'y|w' dār-∇, t) 'house, abode' > Gd {Lf.}, Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT} taddart 'maison, demeure', Mz {Dlh.}, Nf {La.} taddart, Izd {Mrc.} taddart (pl. taddərwin, tiydrin), Izn {Rn.} tiddärt, Rf Wr {Rn.} taddärt 'maison', Kb {Dl.} taddärt 'village' ¶ Fc. 226, Lf. I 243, II no-s O298 and O302, Dl. 151-2, Dl. VK no. 456, Dlh. M 31, Dlh. Ou 56, MT 70-1, GhA 25, Mrc. 160, 264, Ds. B 295-6, La. S 256, 312, Nh. 215, NZ 368-71 || ECh: Mkl {J} dārmā 'case au mur en terre cuite et toit de paille', EDng {Fd.} dārnè 'village', ???φ Kwn M {J} tār 'house', ? tār 'village' ¶ JI II 203, ChC s.v. 'hut' and 'village', J LM 79, Fd. 183 || **IE: NaIE *dʰwor-/*dʰur-**

'courtyard, abode', {EI} *^hd^hworo-m 'enclosure, courtyard' > OI dūrō'ṇa-m 'dwelling, home', Av accus. sg. dvarām, loc. dvarā 'courtyard' (while accus. dvarām 'gate' belongs to IE *^hwe(:)r- 'door' < N ***dur**∇ or ***dūr**∇ 'hole, hollow', q.v.) ||| L forum 'market place, open square', Um FURO furu id. ||| Lt dvaras 'estate, landed property, manor' | pSl *dvōrь / gen. *dvō'ra (accentual paradigm B) 'courtyard, large house with a courtyard, farmstead (усадебя)' > OCS ΔΒΟΡЬ {P} 'αὐλή, aula, οἶκος, domus', {StSS} ('αὐλή, περίβολος) 'courtyard (двор)', OR ΔΒΟΡЬ dvorь 'dwelling, house, farmstead, courtyard', Blg двор, Slv dvōr, Cz dvůr, Slk dvor, HLs, LLs dωór 'courtyard', SCr dvōr id., 'palace, house', P dωór, R двор, Uk двір 'courtyard, farmstead (усадебя)', Plb dōr 'farmstead' ¶ M K II 51, WH I 537-8, Bc. G 336, ≈ Frn. 112-13, ESSJ V 169-70, StSS 185, DbZN OSAS I 185-9, SPS V 130-4, Glh. 214-15, ≠ P 278, ≈ EI 168-9 (*^hd^hworo-m ← *^hd^hwōr 'door, gate') ¶¶ The connection of IE *^hwor-/ *^hur- 'courtyard' with IE *^hwe(:)r- 'door' ('courtyard' interpreted as 'a place in front of the doors') (< N ***dûR**∇ 'log, stick' × N ***dur**∇ or ***dūr**∇ 'hole, hollow') is secondary (popular et.) || A: T *jūr-t 'camping site, dwelling place, abode' > OT jur̄t id., MQp [CC], OOSm ≥XIV jur̄t 'dwelling place', Chg jur̄t 'residence, mansion', MQp XIII jur̄t 'stopping place, inn', Tkm jūr̄t, Tk yur̄t 'house, homeland, country', Az jur̄t 'dwelling place, tent, house', Xlj jūr̄t 'dwelling place', Nog jur̄t 'homeland', Uz jur̄t, StAlt žurt id., 'country', Qq žurt, Qrg žurt 'country, people; abandoned camping site', Qzq žurt, Tv чурт čurt 'country, camping site', Tf ć'urt' 'basis of a tent (оствов чума)', Qmq jur̄t 'home, village', VTt, Bsh jūr̄t 'house', Yk sūr̄t 'camping site, (land for) pasture', Chv L çурт súrt, Chv Δ çорт 'house' ¶ Cl. 958, Rs. W 211, ET J 254-5, TL 490-1, DT 230, Ash. XII 273, Fed. II 144-5, Jeg. 221, Md. 68, Bich. 52 (on the origin of ū in Tv čurt 'Nomadenlager, country'), Ra.198, Rl. III 548-51 ¶ *-rt- rather than **-rt- acc. to a law discovered by Helimski (Hl. TRN 71): pre-T *r̄ > T *r in precon. position || D *toṛ(-) ({GS} *t-) 'cattle stall, stable, pen for cattle' (× N ***tū|u**'r'∇ 'turn round, surround, enclose', q.v.) > Tm toṛu 'cattle stall, manger, pound', tōṛ(ām) 'cattle stall', Ml toṛu 'stable', toṛuttu 'stable, sheepfold, pen to goats', Kt to'y 'buffalo pen', Td tw+ 'corral, pen', Prj -tol in čakur-tol 'cattle shed' (čakur goes back to a word for 'cattle, bull') ¶¶ D no. 3526 ◇ The T long vw. *ū

suggests pN *duwʳʷ ◊ D *o (for the expected *u) still needs explaining.

572. *dûʳʳʷ|qʷ, 'lamb, kid (of a wild ram etc.)' > HS *dʳʷrʷχʷ- 'ram, sheep' ({Blz.} *duri 'ram') > Om {Blz.} *dur- 'sheep, ram' > NrOm: Wl {Beke} dūr̄sa, Wl/Zl/Gf/Cha {C} dor̄sā, Bdt/Zs {C} dor̄ō, Oyda {Fl.} duro, dorsa, Zs {Fl.} dorō, Bsk {Fl.} dōri 'sheep', She {C} dor 'ram' || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} dertí 'sheep', Dm {Bnd.} deʳ 'goat' ¶ C SO 29, 67, C SE III 166, Blz. OL no. 153, Bnd. AL 151, 158, Fl. AGC 681 || ?ϕ C: Bj {R} 'dirfin 'lamb' ⇨ | ⇨ Tgr ⚡⚡⚡ dər̄fən 'lamb, ram' ¶ R WBd 70, LH 523-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *dʳʷr-, *dʳʷr-gašī 'ram' > Ron: DfB {J} ~dû:r, Bks {J} ?a-~dûr (pl. ~duráy), Sha dur 'ram' | NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} dar̄gáʒī, Jmb {Sk.} t̄ir̄žēʒī 'ram' || CCh: ? Mtk {Sb.} dr̄k, {ChL} d̄r̄k 'ram'. ¶ ChC s.v. 'ram', ChL, Stl. ZCh 172 [no. 251] || S: Ug d̄r̄χ 'mountain goat' ('cabra montés'), ı Ak {Sd.} d̄ar̄iʷ 'Opferschaf' (not confirmed by CAD) ¶ Sd. 164, OLS 137 || K: G {Fn., Chx.} duraq- ~ duraʷ- 'yearly ibex' ({Chx.} 'einjähriger Steinbock'), {DCh.} duraʷ-i 'junger Steinbock' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [no. 61], Chx. 325, DCh. 484 || D *tūʳʳʷa ({GS} *d-) > Tl d̄ū d̄a 'calf', Knd dūʳa id. (⇨ Tl?), Gnd d̄ud̄de 'female young of buffalo' ¶¶ D no. 3378 ◊ Blz. KM 114-15 [no. 6] (NOM, Ch, K, D).

573. *dʳʷʳʷkʷ 'to tread, to trample' > HS: S *✓drk 'tread' (× N *dæRʳʷhʷ|gʷ ~ *dæRʳʷhʷ|kʷ 'to walk, to run; way, path'?) > BHb ʒʒʒ ✓drk G (ip. -d̄r̄ok̄) v. 'tread, press out (juice by stamping)', Ug {OLS} ✓drk G 'pisar, hollar (?)', Ar Mgr {DRS} ✓drk G 'fouler, bourrer', Tgy {DRS} pf. d̄err̄eha 'opprimer'; ? (× S *✓drk̄ > Ar ✓drq G 'walk hastily') Ug {Grd., Hnr.} t̄d̄r̄k̄ n. 'tread, gait' ¶ KB 221-2, KBR 281, Hnr. 119-120, OLS 13, Grd. UT no. 708, DRS 313-14 || K (mt. and as. within the cns. cluster ["harmonic complex]): G tker-/tkir- 'trample under foot, trample\tread down' ¶ Chx. 505 || D *tor̄i(kk)- ({GS} *t-) v. 'tread, trample, kick' > Kn tur̄i, Tl trokku v. 'tread, tread on, trample, crush to pieces with the feet', Ml tor̄ikka v. 'kick, beat the breast from grief', Tu torpuni v. 'kick, tread', {MBhK} toripu v. 'kick', Krg toli ɖ tori id., Ku tur̄b- v. 'trample, tread out grain' ¶¶ D no. 3522 ¶¶ The absence of the expected *-kk- in Kn, Tu, Krg and Ku still requires explanation.

574. *dʳʷštʷ 'moon', (→ ?) 'star' > K *dušte- ~ *tušte- 'moon' > OG t̄wite, ttue, tue, G tve 'month' (⇨ Sv {Ni., GP} tew 'month'), G mtvare 'moon', Mg tuta-, Lz (m)tuta- 'month, moon', Sv: UB/LB/L došd-

ul, Ln došt̥-ul 'moon', UB döšd-iš ~ dwešdiš, LB dešdiš, L došdiš, Ln dweštiš 'Monday' ('lunae [dies]', lit. 'of the moon') ¶¶ K 75 (*du(s₁)te-), K² 74 (*tute-), Chik. 270; FS K 107 and FS E 113-14 (*dute-), TK 197-8, Ni. s.v. 'Мѣсяцъ', GP 96-7, 106, Dn. s.v. došdul and došdiš || U: FU (att. in FV) *täštä 'star; sign' > F t ä h t i (gen. t ä h d e n) 'star', Es t ä h t 'star, sign' | pLp {Lr.} *tāstē 'star' > Lp: S {Hs.} daastaa, Klt täst̥̄, Kld tās̥t̥̄, T taš̥t̥̄ e id. | pMr {Ker.} *täštā > Er теште tešte 'star', Mk теште tēštē 'star, sign' | pChr {Ber.} *tišt̥b 'sign' > Chr H/YU tištā, Chr M tište id. ¶ UEW 793, SK 1472-3, It. no. 272, Lr. no. 1233, Lgc. no. 7752b, Hs. 406, Ker. II 167, Ber. 76 [no. 409] || HS: Ch: ECh: Smr {AF (in Lk. ZSS)} dīsu 'Sterne', Ll {Grgs, WeibP} tēsé, Kbl {Cp.} tāsā, Skr čízó 'star' || ? WCh: Diri {Sk.} adí'sú id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'star', Blz. EChWL no. 79, Lk. ZSS 77 || ? SC: Alg {Wh., E} tič̣aʔi, Irq/Grw {Wh.} çáçéʔi, Brn {Wh.} č̣ič̣aʔiya, {E} č̣ič̣aʔe 'star' (infl. of SC *√č̣ʔ [E] *{aʔ-} 'to light') ¶ Wh. IC 25, MQK 107. ≈ E SC 226-7 ◇ This etl. comparison (together with others) suggests a law: the pre-K clusters *St (= *st, *št, *št) yielded K *št > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd (cp. also S *šitaw- 'winter' ÷ K *štow₁- v. 'snow' [-d̥ > *štow₁- 'snow'], S *ʔaša'rat- 'ten' -b > K *ašt- 'ten' etc.).

575. *doTgiʔû 'fish' > IE *dʰǵʰuH_X- ({EI} *dʰǵʰuH-) > NaIE *dʰǵʰu- 'fish' > Gk ἰχθῦς id. (< *ǵʰdʰu-, sc. mt. from *dʰǵʰu-) || Lt žuvis, Ltv zivs, Δ zuvs id., with a *k-sx: Pru sukis ([z-]) id., accus. pl. sukans || Arm ձուկն zukn 'fish' ¶ Acc. to Me., Lej., Schw. and Ch., the initial ʔ- in ἰχθῦς is of prothetic origin; acc. to Frisk, Arm -kn is a sx ¶ WP I 664, P 416-17 (*ǵʰd̥u - *ǵʰyū), EI 205, Ch. 474, F I 745-6, Sl. 317-18, Frn. 1323, En. 258 || HS: CS *'dag- or *'da'wag- 'fish' > BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎣 'dāg, Ug dg 'fish'; MHb -dūg- v. 'fish', BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎣 dawwā'g-īm pl. 'fishers', JA [Trg.] {Js.} 𐎠𐎡𐎣 dāgū'gā, {Lv.} 𐎠𐎡𐎣 dāgū'gīt 'fisher boat' ¶ KB 204-6, KBR 213, 215, A no. 725, OLS 130, Js. 279, Lv. I 376, Lv. T I 162-3, DRS 217 ¶¶ Cf. {ʔRö.} Eg XVIII/G ʔdω 'e fish' (EG I 237), but it is probably from N *ʔatU 'e fish' (q.v.) || U *totke 'e a cyprinid fish' > Es tōtkes 'tench, *Tinca tinca*', F totke (in the n. l. Totkijärvi) | pMr *tutk̥ > Er τυτκο tutko, Mk τυτκα tutka 'tench' | Chr: KB tat̥b, M toto id. || Vg T {Mu.} tāt̥ id., {Kn.} takt-kōl id. | Hg tat-hal 'a worthless fish; tench' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} tuti 'crucian carp, *Carassius*', Tur {Lh.} tūtī, Kt {Lh.} tutto, Tm {KD} tutā id. ¶¶ UEW 532, Coll. 63, Coll. CG 409, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *totki, Ugr *tāt̥kī

'*Tinca*'), Ker. II 173, ERV 684, KKIИ 189 || A *d|t'i,og'i' 'fish' > Tg {S, SDM} *jog|yi '*Salmo lenoc*' > Ud žüi-so, Neg joyo id., Neg joyolan 'minnow, *Phoxinus phoxinus*', Nn Nh žoi {SDM} id., {On.} 'a small kind of *Salmo lenoc*' ¶ STM I 262, Krm. 235, On. 148, S AJ 218 [no. 174] || M *žiga-sun 'fish' > WrM {MED} žigasun(n), MM [MA] جفاسون, žiγasun, [S, HI] ži-γa-sun [žiyasun], HIM {MED} заґас, {BMR} заґас(ан), Brt заґаһа(н), Kl {Rm.} zaγasη, Dx žaγasun, Dg žause, ShY žaγasən, Mnr H {SM} žiäg-asэ, Ord žag-asu ~ žag-us 'fish' ¶ MED 1050, BMR II 196, Chr. 243, KW 463, Pp. MA 205, 439, H 89, Ms. H 67, Ms. O 179, SM 78, Mr. D 176, 269, Pot. 419, T 333, T DnJ 119 || pKo {S} *thi ({Vv.} *č∇Hi) 'fish' in fish names: MKo kāmó-t'hi 'eel', NKo kamul-č'hi id., sam-č'hi 'mackerel' etc. ¶ S QK no. 1147, Vv. AEN 9 || ?? pJ {S, SDM} *d,íwua, {Vv.} *d,iwo 'fish' > OJ iwō, J: T uō, Kg íwō, Sh íyu, Nk ɣyú, Ht yú, Y ìyú id. ¶ S AJ 265 [no. 27], S QJ no. 27, Kenk. 2102 ¶¶ SDM 477 (pA *d|á|ógi 'fish' > M, J, Ko), DQA no. 2611 (id.), SDM95 s.v. *dóg|ki 'fish', S AJ 100, 375, S QJ no. 27, ADb. SR 46, TL 178, Vv. AEN 9 (suggesting the Ko cognate and rejecting the J cognate [because pJ *-w- does not reflect A *-g-] and unconvincingly rejecting the M reflex) ◇ The N cluster *-Tg- is likely to have been reduced to the reflex of N *g in S, A and IE ◇ *-i,0- in pA may be explained by metathesis from N *-o...i- ◇ IS I 219 (S, IE, M [→ BmK 269: S, IE, M]), AD SShS 303 (U, S, IE, M), MichMR 11-13 (rejecting the FU cognate and reconstructing N *digHU); F AD AltAD no. 14 ◇ AD NM no. 74, S CNM 7 (÷÷ Yn *tз?g 'perch').

576. *daXw∇ (~ *dawX∇?) 'to press, to push' > HS: WS *✓dħw id. > BHb ✓dħw|y G (pf. הָדָה dā'hā, ip. הִדְהוּ yí-d'hē) v. 'push (down)', JEA ✓dħy 'הָדָה G (pf. הָדָה dā'hā) id., Sr |α, ✓dħw|y G, JPA 'הָדָה ✓dħy v. 'repel, push', Ar ✓dħw G (pf. دَاھَا daħā) 'pousser violamment en portant à quelqu'un un coup par derrière; jeter, lancer', Hrs ✓dħw G (pf. deħō) v. 'press (dates into a bag)' ¶ KB 210, KBR 218, Js. 291-2, Sl. P 142, Br. 148, Fr. II 13, BK I 676-7, Jo. H 34, DRS 244 || IE: NaIE *d'ho|aw- v. 'press' > Av daw- 'drängen' || Gt {P} af-dōjan* (att.: nom. pl. pp. af-dauidai [·. ἔσκυλμένου] 'geplagt, abgehetzt') (a controversial inter-pretation) || Sl inf. *davi'ti 'to press' > OCS inf. ДАВНТИ davi-ti / 1s pres. ДАВЛѦ davljo {ESSJ} (·. ἄσχευ, πνύχευ, suffocare) {AD} v. 'press, strangle', {StSS} 'strangle (душить)', R inf. да'вить / 1s pres. да'влю v. 'press', Uk inf. давити, P † inf.

dawić, Slk inf. dávit', SCr, Slv inf. dávitī 'to press, to strangle', Cz inf. dávitī id. (dávi 'he vomits'), Blg давя v. 'suffocate, oppress' ¶ P 235, EI 150, Brtl. 687, Fs. 4, Vs. I 481, Glh. 190, ESSJ IV 198-9, StSS 182, ≠ EI 150 (OCS davi-ti 'strangle' < IE *dʰey- 'die') || A ≈ *dʰab- (× N *dap_L ∇_L ∇_L ~ *daγop ∇ 'to push', q.v.) > M: [1] *dabta- v. 'forge, rivet' > MM [S] dabta- vt. 'hammer', dabtamal 'gestampft', WrM dabta- {MED} v. 'forge, beat', {Kow.} vt. 'battre, forger, aplatir', HIM давта- {MED} 'forge, beat', {BMR} 'forge, stampfen (трамбовать)', Brt дабта-, Kl давт- v. 'forge, rivet', WrO dabta- 'strike repeatedly, forge'; M б→ WrMc {Z} дабта- id. ¶ MED 213, Kow. 1609-10, BMR II 12, H 30, Krg. 537, KRS 175, Chr. 179, Z 784 | [2] *dabi- v. 'spur on a horse' (× N *dʰAʔiʔp ∇ 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings, to fly') > WrM {MED} dabi-, HIM {MED, BMR} дави- v. 'spur on a horse', Ord d_äwi- 'frapper les pieds contre les flancs du cheval pour le faire aller plus vite' ¶ MED 212, BMR II 10, Ms. O 130.

577. ₂ *dʰæʔ ∇_L ∇_L |g ∇ 'wolf' or 'jackal' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *dawawo 'jackal' (× N *ǰæʔ ∇ b ∇ 'ε beast of prey [wolf or sim.]') > Sml {DSI} dawaw 'male jackal', dawawo ~ dawawo, Sml N dáwwaw(-ī) 'male jackal', dáwwawo (df. dawwawádī) 'female jackal', Rn {Hn.} doʷóħo, {Oo.} doʷoħo 'jackal', {PG} dòwwóħò 'black-backed jackal, *Canis mesomelas*' ¶ Hn. S 56, Abr. S 52, DSI 123, 139, Oo. 68, PG 103 || CCh: Msy {Mch.} mǰá vǰ 'jackal' ¶ ChC s.v. 'jackal' || A: Tg: Ewk Sm dɜwɜŋɜ 'wolf' ¶ STM I 228.

578. *d ∇ w_L ∇_L y ∇ 'be ill\weak, die' > HS: WS *√dwy (*-dway-) v. 'be ill', *daʷay- 'sick' > BHb 𐤃𐤍𐤅 dāʷē 'faint, sick', Ug {A, OLS} d̄w, Ar دَوَّى dawā-(n) 'sick', Ug {OLS} √dwy G 'fall ill', JA 𐤍𐤅 √dwy G (pf. 𐤍𐤅𐤃 dāʷā) 'betrübt sein', {Js.} 'mourn', JA [Trg.] {Js.} 𐤍𐤅 dāʷay, JEA {Sl.} 𐤍𐤅𐤃 dāwāʷyā, Sr E dāwāʷyā 'grief', Sr √dwy|w G (pf. 𐤍𐤅𐤃 dāʷī ~ 𐤍𐤅𐤃 dāʷā) 'tristis\miser fuit, afflixit, anxit', Ar √dwy G (pf. dawīya, ip. -dway-), Gz √dwy G (pf. dawaya) v. 'be ill' ¶ KB 207, KBR 216, OLS 138, Lv. I 381, Js. 284, Sl. 317, Br. 143, PS 828-9, Fr. II 74-5, BK I 755-6, MiK I no. 2.12 || C: EC: Dsn {Fl.} d̄ɛd̄ 'die', {To.} d̄át 'dead' | LEC {AD} *duʔ- v. 'die' > Or {Th.} d̄u-a (nom. d̄u-rri, d̄u-ti) 'death', {Grg.} duʔ-a, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} du-a v. 'die', duʔa 'death', Kns ʰtōta, Gdl ʰtoʔot 'death' || SC: Kz diʔako 'sick person' ¶ Blz. CL s.v. 'die', To. DL 493, ≈ Bl. 108, 205 (LEC *duʔ- with unj. *ɜ), Th. 111, Grg. 110, Sr. 289, E K 5, Fl. p.c. || Ch: CCh {ChL}: HgNk d̄ɜwá, Kps d̄àwá 'fever' || ECh: Ke

{Eb.} *dèwé* 'weak' ¶ ChL II 134, 154, Eb. 39 ¶¶ OS no-s 666 and 684 ¶¶ In Ch there is an apparently similar $\sqrt{\text{v}}$ for v. 'kill' (represented by Su {J} *tù*, Ang *tù*, Dr/Bl {IL} *dùwí*, SBc {Sh.}: Zar K *dù*, Zar L *dù*, Zar GL *dù*, Sy Zk *dù*, Ds D -*duyiè-*, Skr {Sx.} *dē*, EDng {Fd.} *dē*, Mgm {J} *díyáw*, Mkl *dāyà* and Jg {J} *díyá* v. 'kill'); it was partially adduced by Illich-Svitych [IS I 225]), but in view of the cognates with medial -k-, -k^ω-, -ɣ^ω-, -ɣ- (Krk *dùk^ωá* etc.) it should belong to N ***dûk'U'** 'strike, beat' (q.v.) rather than here || IE ***d^heu-**, **d^hwelj_LHx_L-** v. 'die, (?) faint', {EI} ***d^heu-** 'die' > Gt inf. *diwan** 'sterben' (attested: ntr. sg. pp. *ḡata diwanō* [·τὸ θνητόν] 'mortal') (*diwanō* < ***d^hew-on-**), OHG inf. *touwen* & *tewen*, OSx inf. *dōian*, ON inf. *deyja* (/ *dó* / *dáinn*), AS inf. *dīežan* 'to die', NE *die*; Gt *daups*, ON *dauðr*, OHG *tōt*, NHG *tot*, OSx *dōd*, AS *déad* 'dead', NE *dead*; Gt *daupus*, OSx *dōth*, OHG *tōd*, NHG *Tod*, AS *déað*, ON *dauð-r* 'death', NE *death*; the meaning 'faint' is represented by ON *dā* (< Gmc ***dawa**) 'Ohnmacht' || Clt {Matas.} ***d^hwītu-** (unj. 'loss, destruction') > OIr *díth* 'end, death' (< ***d^hwītu-**); ?σ Clt 'person' (if from ***mortal**): OIr *duine* 'person' (< ***d^hu-n-yo-**) (pl. *dōini* < ***d^hewen-yo-**), Brtt {RE} ***donjos** 'person' > W *dyn*, OCrn *den*, Crn *dēn*, OBr *don* ~ *den*, MBr, Br *den* id. || Arm **դի** *dī* (gen. **դինյ** *dioy*) 'corpse' ¶ P 260-1, EI 150, Fs. 118, 122, Vr. 71, 74, 76, Ho. 70, 73, Ho. S 12-13, Kb. 1025, OsS 942, 946-8, KM 780, 784, Sl. 299-300, LP § 22, RE 118, Flr. 149, Matas. E 111 || U: FP ***t^hy^h** 'illness, wound' > Z *doy* 'pain, bruise, trauma', Z US *doy* 'wound', Yz *doy* 'furuncle', Vt *dey* 'hernia' || Chr L **туѣо** *tuyo* 'sick' ¶ LG 95, MRS 505 ◇ The unexpected glottalized $\sqrt{\text{d}}$ in Dsn and in some Chadic lges may go back to ***d^h∇^h∇-** < ***d^h∇^h∇-** (a hiatus lr.), as attested in Or *duʔa* and Kz *diʔako* ◇ IS I 224-5 (→ BmK 273).

579. *d_Loy_a (> ***da**) 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc., 'in') > HS: C ***da** 'place', ***-d_La_L**, locative > Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} **-da** 'in' (*kani-dá* 'on a tree' [direction], *bətí-da* 'in his land'), Bln {Hz., Plm., R} **-d** 'in, to' (loc.-dir. case) (R: *dər b-ĩd* 'auf dem Wege', *bā^hāl-d* 'am Festtage', *ləbbā'ka-d* 'in the heart') || EC: Sa {R} **-d** 'in, into' (loc.-dir. case) (*ā^hrē-d* 'into\in the house', *bād-ad* 'in the sea', *dīk-ĩd* 'in the village', *san'dū_k-ud* 'into the box\chest'), Brj **-ddi** 'in' (*dawa-ddi* 'in the road'), ? Sd {Mrn.} **-(t)te** 'in' (*an'ga-tte* 'in the hand[ful]', *do'gotte* ~ *do'gōte* 'in the road') < ***-t-de** with the feminine ending ***-t** || DhI {To.} **da-** 'in, at' || Bj {AD, TB} **-da** 'towards' (Bj A {AD} *ʔu ta'kīda* 'to a man') ||

SC: Irq {E} di, Brn {E} da 'place', Alg {E} di 'places' ¶ AD SF 238, R WB 92, R S II 95, Hz. VS 75-6, Hz. AL 16-17, Mrn. NLB 357, E SC 191, To. D 152 || B: [1] *d₁∇₁ 'in' (preposition) > Ah, Ty, ETwl d 'in' (Ty {PGG} d-əs 'dans lui', Ah {Fc.}: mūsa j̄eqqīm d əsən 'Musa sits in them' [sc. 'among them'], tallit səttǎfet u d əs tidawən (lit.) 'le mois noir non dans lui ils se marient', sc. 'people do not marry in the black month', nǎyəq q ewa d insǎ (lit.) 'je l'ai vu au lieu que dans il a été couché', sc. 'I saw him in a place that he was lying in'), Wrg di- 'in' (e.g., di-s 'en lui'), BMn dī, BHlm dī 'in' (the forms di, dī may also go back to a compound preposition *d∇-∫ 'in', present as də∫ in many B languages); B *d 'in' should be distinguished from its homonyms: B *d 'with' (probably of different origin) and B *d 'here' (pc. of proximity, belonging here only if it goes back to sth. like *da ʔe 'here', lit. 'in this') || [2] B *d, a directional (en)clitic 'to, towards' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Shl, Dmn, ASgr, Kb and many other B lges the directional d is opposed to the ablative n 'from' (< N *nu 'from, of', q.v.): Kb awi-d 'bring' ↔ awi-n 'carry away', Tz idda-d 'come' ↔ idda-n 'go away', Ntf əkšəm d 'come in' ↔ əkšəm n 'come out', Ah äns-äd 'lie down here' ↔ äns-īn 'lie down there'; in some other B lges (Shw, Shnw, Nf, Awj etc.) this d is opposed to zero (ablative): Shw awi-dd 'bring' ↔ awi 'carry away', Nf as-d 'come' ↔ as 'leave' ¶ Fc. 140-1, GhA 15, PGG 23, Dlh. Ou 44, Bs. ZOu 85, AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-18, 208 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 208ff., NZ 266-8, ≈ 272 (*d∇ 'in' < *da∫ 'in'), AD BR § 1 || ? Eg N dɥ 'hier, da, dort' ¶ EG V 420 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 78 [no. 4.5] || K: [1] *-da 'towards', directive case ending > OG -da id., 'to X's place, chez' (dir., used with pronouns: šen čem-da moxvala 'do you come **to** me?' [Matth. 3.14], šenda 'to(wards) thee', mowida ɥmerti tkuen-da 'God came **to** you' [Ex. 20.20]), Mg, Lz -da (directive case ending) (Mg čkim-da 'to(wards) me', skan-da 'to(wards) thee', škin-da ~ čkin-da 'to(wards) us', tkvan-da 'to(wards) you' pl.), Sv -d 'to, towards': mišgwašw-d 'to(wards) me', isgwašw-d 'to(wards) thee' (reinterpreted as one of the variants of the polysemantic "circumstantial" case) || [2] K *-d, *-ad, "circumstantial (adverbial) case", having many semantic variants, including directive > OG -d (betlem-d 'to Bethlehem', sion-d 'to Zion', adgil-d 'to the place', lot šewida segor-d 'Lot entered **into** Zo'ar' [Gen. 19.23], ganved vel-ad 'go out **to** the field!'), Lz -t (fossilized ending in some forms: o-xaparapu-t 'for a conversation', mo-d ~ mo-t 'what for?'), Sv -ad, ending

of the polysemantic circumstantial (transformative) case, including the directive meaning: *zi-ad* 'nach oben, aufwärts', *tχum-ad* 'up to the summit'; this "adverbial case" has resulted from convergence of several ancient postpositions ||| **[3]** GZ **da-* pv. 'downward' > OG *da-* id. (OG *da-sxedir manda* 'sit **down** there!' [Gen. 22.5]), G *da-* {Chx.} pv. 'hununter, hunab', Mg, Lz pv. *d0-* 'downward' ¶¶ K 43, 68-9, 78, K S 78-87, FS K 93-4, Fn. GAS 119, Ser. 44, Q O41, Marr 29, Dt. 14, Chx. 224, Imn. SBDzK 736, Test. S 5 ||| **IE:** NaIE *-*d^he*, locative ending ('in') in adverbs: **ku-d^he* 'where?' > OI *kuha*, GAv *kučā*, OCS **кѡде кѡде**, Osc *puf*, Um *pufe* PUFÉ 'where?', as well as in other adverbs: OI *i'-ha*, Pali *i-dha*, OPrs *ičā* 'here', OR **сѡде сѡ-де** 'here', **онѡде онѡ-де** {StSS} 'there', Gk *πρόσθε(ν)* 'in front of, before', *ἔνερ-θε(ν)* 'beneath, from beneath', *ἰθα-γενής* 'aboriginal' (< *'born here'), loc. of place names *Ἰαλωπεκλήθη*, *Ἰελευσινόθη* ||| NaIE *-*d^hi*, locative ending > OI *adhī* 'on', Gk *πόθι* 'where?', *ὄθι* 'where' (rel.), *τόθι* 'there', *οἰκόθι* 'at home', *οὐρανόθι* 'in heaven, in the heavens', OL *iβe i*, L *iβi* 'where?', OL *υβe i*, L *υβi* 'there' ¶ *-*i* in *-*d^hi* goes back probably to N *-**ou**∇ (the IE zero grade of apophony) ¶ BD II/2 728-30, Bks 220, M K I 249, F I 569-70, WH II 739-40, Bc. G 343, Pln. II 702, 752, Vs. II 89-90, StSS 300, 413 ||| **A:** **[1]** A **o*d|tō 'place, place within' > Tg **dō* 'inside' > Ewk, Lm, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh *dō*, Neg *dō(n)* 'inside', Sln *dō* 'heart', *dō-lā* 'inside, within' (place, direction), Ud {Krm.} *dō*, WrMc {Z} **дo** 'inside' ¶ STM I 209, Krm. 227, On.156-7, Z 813 ||| **[2]** A *-*da* ~ *-*dU* 'in', locative ending > T *-*ḍa*/*-*ḍä* (after vowels), *-*t'a*/*-*t'ä* (originally after cnss), loc. case ending > Chv *-pa/-pe -ra/-re* (< *-*ḍa*/*-*ḍä*) (after vowels), *-ta/-te* (after cnss), NaT *-*t'a*/*-*t'ä* (generalization of the postcons. allomorph) > OT *-da/-dä*, (after stem-final *l, n, r*) *-ta/-tä*, Tk *-da/-de* (after voiced cnss and vowels), *-ta/-te* (after vl. cnss), Ggz, VTt, Bsh, ET, Kü *-da/-dä / -ta/-tä*, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Xk, Shor, Tv *-da/-de / -ta/-te*, Tf *-d_a/-d_e / -ta/-te*, Brb *-da/-dä / -ta/-tä*, (after stem-final *n, ŋ, m*) *-na / -nä*, Kr T *-da / -d^ya / -ta / -t^ya*, Az *-da/-dä*, Qrg/Alt (after vd. cnss and vowels) *-da/-do / -de/-dö*, (after vl. cnss) *-ta / -to / -te / -tö*, Trm, Qmq, QrB *-da/-de*, Uz *-da* 'in' ¶ On the ablative (> partitive) *-*t'a*/*-*t'ä* in Yk, OT, Xlj and Az Δ *see* N ***t'ä** 'away, from'; in Yk the locative meaning of the ending survived in the compound *sx -tā-γi* (adj.) 'that in' ¶ pT **t'* < N ***d** after cnss; pT **ḍ* < N ***d** between vowels ¶ Rs. MTS 61-2, Sev. KP 53-5, Gbn AT 38, Gbn ATG 88, IsxP 135, Ra. MTJ 31 ||| M *-*da*/*-*de* (locative-directive-dative case ending) > MM *-da/-de*,

(rare after vl. cnss) -ta/ -te ([PP] šine-de 'at the time of the new moon', daruqas-da 'to the chieftains', [MA] širū-da 'into the earth', [S] merkit-te 'to the Merkits [ε a tribe]), PCIWrM -da/-de (or acid-da 'to the physicians', cimā-da 'to thee'), HIM -d/ -t, Brt -da/-dε, Kl -d̄b/-d̄b̄/-d̄ə/-d̄ā/-t̄b/-t̄b̄/-t̄ə/-t̄ā (dat.-dir.-loc. case), Dg {T} -da/-de/-do/-d; in Classical WrM the form with -da/-de is not used, except for fossilized adverbs: ende 'here', tende 'there', urtuḍa 'for a long time', nasuḍa 'always', ḍnide 'long ago'; in WrM and some new M lges this ending of loc.-dat. forms has been partially or completely replaced by the ending *-du and the (compound) ending *-dur > MM -d̄u/-t̄u, Mgl, Mnr H -d̄u, Ord -d̄u/-t̄u, WrM -dur/-tur (~ -d̄u/-t̄u) ¶ Pp. IM 185-99, Snz. SG 164-8, Vz. 63-4, T DgJ 42-3 || Tg *-d̄[ʊ]̄[ʌ]̄/*-d̄[ʊ]̄[ʌ]̄ (dative case ending) ({Bz.} *dua?) (× N *ʕad∇ 'limit, edge'? → 'up to, until, towards', q.v. ffd.); Tg *-du-lā (ending of loc.) (< N *d̄oȳa 'place [within, below], inside' + N *ʌA, locative pc.) > Ewk, Neg, Sln, Lm -dulā, Orc, Ud, Ul -dula, Nn -dola; Tg *-du-k̄i (ending of abl.) (< Tg *-du[ʌ]̄ + N *k∇ 'out of, from') > Ewk -duk, Sln -duχi, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i) id., Nn Nh {On.} -duy/-doy 'than') ¶ STM I 209-10, Ci. 256, Bz. 79, 83, Krm. 227, Y no. 2989, Kiy. 42, 93, Lg. IDT 14, On. 547 ||| [3] pKo {S} *t̄ʌ̄j̄ 'place, inside' > MKo t̄ʌ̄j̄, NKo te id., {Rm.}: Ko t̄ʌ̄j̄ 'place, site', idā < yə-dʌ̄j̄ 'here' (yə 'this'), čəḍā < čə-dʌ̄j̄ 'there' (čə ə Ko N t̄j̄ə, tə 'that'), əḍā < *wə-dʌ̄j̄ 'where?' (wə < pKo *mə 'what?') ¶ Rm. SKE 248, S QK no. 1057, Nam 147, MLC 454 ¶¶ The M ending *-du, Tg *d̄ō and Ko *t̄ʌ̄j̄ may be explained as going back to a hypothetical N *d̄oȳa ¶¶ Rm. SKE 248, Pp. IM 195 || U: Y locative *-dā in Y T qa-dā 'where?', Y K/T ta-dā 'there' || ? FU: Os {KrT} -t (loc.): V/Vy/Ty ko-t 'where?', t̄ə-t 'here, dort (nahe)' ¶ IN H 373, 424, Krm. JJ 206-7, KrT 367, 967 || D *-t̄t̄[ʊ]̄, locative-ablative case ending (× N *t̄[ä] 'away [from], from', ablative [separative] pc.), *-tt∇ (loc.) > OTm *-(a)ttu (loc. case marker: paṛana-ttu 'in the fields'), Tu -t̄i ~ -t̄u- ~ -d̄i ~ -aḍi ({Zv.} -t̄+ ~ -d̄+), Tu Br -t̄u loc., Knd -t̄ə ~ -r̄ə ~ -t(u) ~ d(u) (loc.-dir.: unṛi nāḷə soṛad 'it went into a village' [from nāṛu 'village'], ḍokri gusil-du bastad 'the older woman sat on a stump'), Brh -aḷī 'in, into', Tl {Shanm.} -an-du 'in' (loc.: ūḍl-andu 'in the village'), Prj -t-i (-el-ti 'in: meram-el-ti 'in the jungle'), Gnd -te (loc.), Kui KK -ta (loc. case ending) ({BB} ḍeḍi-ta 'on a tree', neppi-ta 'on the shoulder') (unless from -t-a with the presuffix -t-, as in Ku kaḍḍa-t-a 'in the river', cp.

kaḍḍaṅa-ṅ-a 'in the rivers'), Klm -t (loc.-dir.: eḷla-t 'in the house, into the house, pāl-t 'in milk') (unless from *-t-a with the presuffix *-t-) ¶¶ Shanm. DN 273, 310-11, 326, 330-3, 340, 348, 369, BB KKK 128, Zv. CDM 28-30, IS I 213, An. SG 220-1 (hyp.: the forms with gingival *-t- ~*-tt- go back to the increment [presuffix of the oblique cases] *-t-) ¶¶ The variant *-tt∇ may go back to pre-D *-t̥∇ < *-d̥∇ < **d̥o̥∇ < N *d̥oy̥a ◊ N *-y- survives in Ko as -j̥, in IE *-dʰi as *-i, in B as *-i (Wrg -di etc.), in Tg as the length of the vw. (in *dō) and possibly as *-e̥ in *-du̥e̥ ◊ IS I 212-14 (*d̥a, locative pc.: HS [B, C], K, IE, D, A + qu. U ablative *-ḍa/*-ḍä), Gr. I 155-9 ("locative TA" in IE, U, A, ? Gil, ? Ai).

580. *d̥ä'z̥'∇ (or *d̥ä?'z̥'∇?) 'to strike' > HS: Ch *√d| (× N *dA|oí'∇, 'to push'?) > WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žil, {IL in JI} žili 'mortar', Sir {Sk.} žilí id. | SBc: Gj {IL} tʰúlí id., Bg {Sh.} ḍal 'beat' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} délè 'frapper' ¶ JI II 15 and 240, ChC s.v. 'beat' and 'mortar', Fd. 187, JS 183, Sk. NB 32 || C: Dhl {EEN} ḍaš- v. 'split', {E} ḍaš- v. 'be split/torn', {To.} ḍašid-, {EEN} ḍašēḍ-, {E} ḍalēḍ- v. 'tear' ||| SC: Irq {E} dašo 'crushed malt' ¶ E SC 188 (s.v. SC *ḍaš- v. 'be split/crushed'), EEN 35, To. D 131 ¶¶ Bg and Dhl ḍ- still requires explanation (from *?∇-d- in an ancient prefix-conjugated form: *?∇-d- of 1s or perhaps *?∇-d- < *y∇-d- of the 3rd pres.?); an alt. hyp.: N *d̥ä?'z̥'∇ and Bg/Dhl *ḍ < N *d̥∇? - || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *oḍʰelg̥h̥- v. 'strike, beat' > AS d̥ol̥z̥, OHG tol̥c ~ tol̥g ~ d̥olg 'wound', NLG inf. dal̥gen, dal̥jen 'schlagen', MHG inf. tal̥gen 'kneten', NGr HsN/EP inf. dalken ḍ talken 'prügeln, schlagen' ||| ?σ Gk θέλω v. 'enchant, bewitch' (← 'bewitch by striking', acc. to Hvr. W 190-4) ¶ P 247, Hofm. 112, Ch. 427, F I 658-9, Ho. 74, Kb. 1023, OsS 94, Lx. 224 ||| R: M *deled- v. 'beat, strike' > MM [S] d̥elet̥(̥u) 'schlagen', WrM {MED} d̥eld̥e- v. 'strike, beat, knock', HIM {MED, BMR} дэлдэ-, Kl {KRS} делд- 'strike; play(a musical instrument)', {Rm.} d̥eld- 'schlagen, klopfen', Brt дэлдэ- 'beat, strike', Ord d̥eld̥e- 'frapper, battre'; WrM {MED} d̥eles- v. 'beat, hit, pluck; beat, pulsate', HIM дэлдэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'beat, strike' ¶ H 35, KW 85, MED 248-9, BMR II 107, Chr. 216, KRS 197-8, Ms. O 136 ||| D *ta|̥- v. 'beat, knock, pound' (× N *tAí∇ 'to tread, to pound', [in descendant lges] → 'to thresh', q.v. ffd.).

581. *g^rU^r 'we' incl. > K *g^w- 'us' incl. > Sv g^w- 'us' incl. (object px), OG g^w-, G g^v- 'us' (object px); Sv {TK}: UB g^wi-šg^wey ~ gu-šg^wey, LB g^wišg^we ~ gušg^e, L gušg^we, Ln guš^kwe 'our' incl.; the element -šg^we goes back to K *č^we- (a component of possessive pronouns) < N *č^rU^r 'that of..., that which' (q.v. ffd.), see also N *w^vy^v 'we'. The inclusive prn. *g^rU^r is opposed to the exclusive prn. of 1p *n^v (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Top. SJ 83-4, Fn. GAS 81, K 6O, Dn. IE, Dt. 34 || HS: Ch: WCh: Ron {Blz.} *g^yan 'we' incl. (aut. prn.), *-g^ya 'us' incl., *-i-g^yan 'our' incl. > Sha g^yá, Klr ġ^yá 'we' incl. (subject px), Klr -m-i ġ^yan 'our' incl., Sha -à-m-i g^yan id. m., -ma-g^yan id. f. | NgzB {Blz.} *g^wa 'we, us' incl., *-g^wa 'our' incl. > Bd a-g^wà 'we' incl., g^wà 'us' incl., -g^wà 'our' incl. (as well as Ngz w^à 'we, us' incl., -w^à 'our' incl.?); ?? NgzB *g^ya 'we, us' excl., *-g^ya 'our' excl. > Bd ž^à, Ngz a-ž^à 'we' excl., -ž^à, Ngz (ā)-ž^à 'our' excl. (unless ž- is from *y-, which is a typical Ch marker of 1p excl.) ||| CCh: ? McTr {Blz.} *gaʔan 'we' excl. > Tr ŋgaʔan 'we' excl., -gaʔan-čⁱ 'us' excl. (object) ¶ Kr. RChP, ≈ Blz. PPCh2 4O-1 (*-g-, *ga- as a morpheme in the above pronouns of Ron, pNgz and pTr), J R 374 ¶ In the NgzB lges and in CCh the morpheme got the meaning of 1p excl. due to opposition to *mun 1p. incl. (see N *m i ʔa 'we') ¶ The traces of this ancient prn. are hard to detect accurately, due to numerous phonetic changes and morphological restructuring in the history of branches and subbranches of Ch || A: NaT *-k 'we' (subject marker of 1p in some tenses, including past with the ending -t^v/^r-t^v) > OT-q/-k, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, StAlt -q/-k (postcons.: -iq/-uq/-ik/-ük in most lges, -iq/-uq/-ik/-ük in Uz etc.), e.g. OT käl-tü-k 'we came', StAlt bar-di-q 'we went'; *-k (> -q/-k) in 1p optative: StAlt baraq 'let us go' ¶ Does the T vl. *k go back to N *g in the word-final position? ¶ Shch. GTVT 155-6, B SS 266, 270, BT 277-86.

582. ₂ *gaʔi or *gaʔy^v 'high' > HS: CS *√ gʔy v. 'be\become high' > Hb ḥḫḫ √ gʔy|w (pf. gāʔā, ip. -gʔē) v. 'be\become high, grow tall', JA [Trg.] √ gʔw|y 'be high', Sr √ gʔy|w TD 'bear oneself grandly, magnificently, with pride'; Hb ḥḫḫ geʔē 'exalted, proud; hochmutig' (> MHb 'proud'), Sr W ḥḫḫ gēʔā, ḥḫḫ gaʔyā 'glorious, stately, proud', Hb ḥḫḫ gaʔāwā 'majesty, pride', pCn *gaʔān- > BHb ḥḫḫ gāʔōn 'height, majesty; pride', Pun [Poen.] pl. cs. GUNE BEL 'exaltation of Ba'al', Ug {OLS} g^qan 'arrogancia' ¶ KB 161-2, KBR 168, BDB no-s 1342-4 and 1346, HJ 207, OLS 142, JPS 57, DRS 92 || U: FP *ka^yv- v. 'rise, become visible' > Prm: Z ka^y- v. 'rise, climb, go upstream' | Lp: L {LLO}

kuojijtit v. 'rise' (of the moon), N {N} guojeti- v. 'get clearer' (of weather) | Er {W} kaye- 'aufgehen (Saaten)' | Chr H koyaš, kyaš v. 'appear, be visible' ¶ Tv. WG33 125-6, LG 115, ≠ UEW 642-3 (rejecting the Z cognate and interpreting the stem as meaning 'be visible, appear').

583. ₂ *gʷa (or *gūʷa) 'to butt, to stab, to strike' > HS: C *gʷaʔ- {AD} v. 'butt, strike', {E} v. 'strike' > Bj ✓ gʷʔ (1s: p. a-¹gʷʔ ~ a-¹gʷaʔ = {R} a-gūʷʔ ~ a-gūʷáʔ, pres. a-ḡʷīʔ) 'stoßen, puffen, einen Stoß geben' ({E} v. 'knock, thump, give a blow') || SC: Irq {E} gʷaʔaḡ 'broken' (stem gʷaʔ-) (not mentioned in MQK) ¶ E PC no. 57, R WBd 86 || WS *✓ w gʔ (pr. st. [> Ar ip.] *°-gʷaʔ-) v. 'stab\butt\hit' > Gz ✓ w gʔ (js. -w gʷaʔ) v. 'pierce\ prick\butt\gore\hit', Tgr ✓ w gʔ ~ ✓ w gʷ G 'pierce', Sq {L} ʔoḡe v. 'hit', Ar ✓ w ḡʔ (ip. 3m ya-ḡʷaʔ-u) 'percussit (cultro vel manu)', v. 'hit with the knife or with the palm of hand' ¶ L G 607, Fr. IV 436, BK II 1486-7, DRS 488 || Eg {Vc.} ≈ *w iḡʷaʔ- 'coup' > Cpt Sd ʔʷʌʃe uʌʃe, Cpt B Bʌʒi bʌʒi 'coup'; in the Eg texts (Dynasty XX) only a specialized term w gʃ is attested; it was interpreted by EG as 'Art Getreide oder Verarbeitung desselben', but in Vycichl's view it actually meant something like 'blé battu' ¶ Vc. 242, EG I 376 || A: Tg *gʷya- v. 'butt' > Ewk gʷyā-, Lm gʷy-, Neg ḡoʷya-, Ork ḡyʷya- v. 'butt', Neg ḡoʷya 'horns', Orc ḡyʷya 'fang (of a wild boar, of a musk deer)', Ud ḡyʷya, {Krm.} ḡyʷya, Nn Nh ḡoʷya 'fang' ¶ STM I 168, Krm. 223, On. 117 ¶ Tg *-y- is likely to have appeared in hiatus after the loss of *-ʔ- ◇ The origin of the initial *w- in WS and Eg is not yet clear. It may have resulted from mt. (**✓ gʷʔ > *w gʔ) or from some restructuring of the root in the WS perfect tense and in the Eg derived noun ≈ *w iḡʷaʔ-. The original form of the verbal stem (without *w-) is preserved in C *gʷaʔ- and in the Ar ip. (-ḡʷaʔ-).

583a. ₂ *gʷʔʷ v. 'build' > K *g- > G, Mg, Lz ḡ- v. 'build, construct' ¶ K 57, K² 24 || HS: Ch: Msg ḡàʔè id., Mtk {JI} ḡa 'make, do', Gsg ḡa id., Mb {Lk.} ḡíyà 'verfertigen, formen', Hrz {Mch.} ḡi, Uld {Mch.} ḡa / ḡi, Mada {Mch.} ḡi, Zlg {Mch.} ḡḗ / ḡi 'faire' ¶ JI II 229, Mch. VCSP 188, Lk. ZSS 182 ◇ O HSN (N *ḡaʔʷ 'build' > K, Msg + err. Eg ʔʃʔʃ "build" [i.e. Eg fXIX {EG} ʔʃʔʃ 'Gebäude vor dem Tempel', Eg Gr ʔʃʔʃ v. 'einen Tempelteil rbauen, einen Götterbild erstellen', cf. EG V 532]) ◇ I am thankful to G. Takács for helping me to find cognates in the Ch lges.

584. *ḡaʃû 'catch, take, receive' > K: (pK or GZ) *ḡ- / (?) *ḡw- 'acquire, gain, have' > OG ḡ- 'possess' (m0-i-g- 'mitnehmen'), G ḡ- 'acquire, gain (sth.)' (3s aor. m0-i-g0 < *-ḡw-a), Mg {Q} ḡ- id., 'win', Lz

g- 'gain': inf. o-g-apu 'to gain (sth.)'; ? Sv: UB/L {TK} lē-g, UB {GP} and LB/Ln {TK} lə-g 'stands, there is' (adduced by FS) belong here only if *g- 'be (exist)' (> OG g- id.) is the same √ (which is not certain) ¶¶ K 57, K² 24-4, Chik. 457, FS K 69-70, Ser. 17, 103, Q 211, TK 544, GP 150, 198
 || HS: Eg MK з^с v. {EG} 'catch fish', {Fk.} 'spear fish' ¶ EG V 534, Fk. 320
 || IE *g^heH_u- > NaIE *g^hā_u- 'receive, catch' > Lt inf. gā_utī 'to receive, to get, to obtain', Ltv inf. gū[~]t id., 'to gain', {ME} id., 'to catch, to snatch (fangen, haschen)', {ME} inf. gau^t 'to snatch (haschen), to try to obtain, to receive' ||| YAv gao_na- n. 'gain (Gewinn)' ¶ Frn. 141, ME I 613, 687, Brtl. 482-3 || A *ga- 'take' > Tg *ga- 'take' > Ewk, Lm ga- 'take, receive, buy', Sln, Orc, Ud ga-, Ork ga- 'take, buy', Neg ga- 'buy; marry (a woman)', Ul, Nn {STM} ga-, {On.} ga- 'obtain, buy; gather (berries)', WrMc {Z} гай- 'take, receive; marry (a woman)', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gā- ~ gā_i- ~ gā_i- 'take', {Y} gæ- 'take, be given, get, receive', Jrc gā_i-bi 'take' ¶ STM I 133-4, On. 95, Z 299-300, Klz. MS 176, Y no. 1402, Kiy. 135 [no. 680] || pKo {S} *kà- > MKo kà-č'í-, NKo kaž'í-, Δ ka- 'take' ¶ S QK no. 10, Nam 8, MLC 27, Rm. SKE 83 || T: [1] ?σ T *°Kā- > OT {Cl.} qā- ≈ 'heap, pack' | [2] pT *°K_u:- > ?φ Chv хыв- 'take away, throw down (скидывать, снимать)'; ??σ MT qo- and Kr qo- 'put' (if 'put' is from 'carry' ← 'take', as in the prehistory of Sl *bъra-ti 'to gather, to take', see s.v. *ba^ʔeri 'hold, take') ¶ Cl. 57, Jeg. 314 ¶¶ (For both [1] and [2]): SDM 525 (pA *ga 'take, put' > Tg, Ko, T *K_o 'put'), DQA no. 470, Ash. XVI 80-3, Fed. II 379, Jeg. 314, Rm. SKE 83 (Ko, Tg), Lee CSMK 111
 ◇ IS I 225 [no. 77] (*g_al_hl_u), IS MS 356.

585. (₂?) *gu^ʔ∇ 'to perceive, to care' > HS: SC: Irq {MQK} ga_ʔaw- 'look at\after', {E} ga_ʔ- v. 'watch', ga_ʔaw- v. 'guard', Brn {E} ga_ʔid- v. 'nurse in sickness', Kz {E} ga_ʔam- v. 'understand' ||| Dhl {EEN} ga_ʔ- vt. 'smell' ¶ E SC 236 (s.v. *ga_ʔ- v. 'feel, sense, take notice of'), MQK 36, EEN 30 || Eg L w_ʔz^с 'offenbar sein' (w_ʔ- going back to the HS px of intransitivity?) ¶ EG I 406 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 87 [no. 18.5] || IE: NaIE *g^how(ē)- ({EI} *g^hou_u-) v. *g^hou_u- 'perceive, pay heed to' > L favē-ō / -ēre / fāvī / fautum 'be favourable to, help; pronounce no words of bad omen' (favē- < *fovē- in view of the Um cognate), Um FON_S 'favens' (pl. FONER) (< *fowenis) ||| ON inf. gá (< *gawōn) 'achtgeben, sich kümmern', gey_uma, AS inf. z'íeman, OSx inf. gōmian, OHG inf. goumen 'beachten, sorgen für, hüten, sich kümmern', {Kb.} 'to care, to guard', inf. bi-goumen 'to watch, to care for', NGr Sw inf. gaume 'to care for little children', Gt

inf. *gaumjan* (· βλέπειν, διαβλέπειν, ἰδεῖν, κατανοεῖν) 'bemerken'; ON *gaumr*, *gaum* 'attention', OHG *gouma* & *gauma* 'prüfendes Aufmerken', (→) 'enjoyment' ({Schz.} 'Genuß', {OsS} 'Wohlleben'), *gouma nēman* 'pay attention, notice' ||| OCS 1s pres. **ГОВѢИХЪ** /inf. **ГОВѢТИ** 'εὐλαβεῖσθαι 'religiose vereri, be pious', {StSS} 'быть набожным/богобоязненным', R inf. **ГОВЕТИ** (pres. **ГОВЕЮ**) 'to prepare oneself to confession \ to the Eucharist; to fast', SCr inf. **ГОВЕТИ** (1s pres. **ГОВĒМ**) & **gòvjet i** (1s pres. **gòvijēm**) 'to obey', Cz inf. **hověti** 'to indulge in sth., to give oneself up to', {P} 'begünstigen, schonen, nachsehen' ¶ WP I 635-6, P 453, EI 418, WH I 464-6, Bc. G 335, Vr. 151,158, 165-6, Schz. 153, OsS 345, Kb. 402, Ho. 129, Fs. 207, Vs. I 423-4, ESSJ VII 72-3, StSS 173 ||| ???σ **Α**: NaT **Küy-* 'rumor; fame, reputation' (*on*₂; × N **Κῶρα?ε'ω* ▽ 'to hear, to notice', q.v. ffd.).

586. *gab ▽ (| | ▽) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') > **HS**: S **gabb-* 'top of sth.' > BHb **גב** *gab* / **גבב** *gabb-* (pl. *gab¹bōt*) 'back of the body' (so called because it is the highest part of pack animals), 'elevation (of altar)', 'mound (for illicit worship)', 'boss, or convex projection, of a shield', *gab¹bōt* *ʿēnāw* (sc. 'gab¹bōt of his eyes') 'his eyebrows', Ug {OLS} *gb* 'lomo, dorso', JA **גב** *gab*, em. **גבב** *gab¹b-ā* 'back (dorsum)', **גבב** *gab¹b-ā* 'hill', Sr {Br.} **גבב** *gab¹b-ā* 'hump-backed (gibbosus)', Ar ✓ *ǧbb* (pf. **جَبَّ** *ǧabba*) 'surpasser (en mérite, en vertu)', Ak *gab¹b¹u* 'forehead (of an animal)'] +ext.: [1] S *✓ *gbh* v. 'be high' > BHb, JA **גב** *gbh* 'be high\haughty', BHb **גב** *gb¹h* *gā¹bō¹h* 'high', EpHb *gbh* 'height', IA *gbh* v. 'be high', v. 'be haughty' (of voice), JEA **גב** ✓ *gbh* *G* 'rise up, be raised', Ar *ǧabh-at-* 'forehead', *ǧabah-* 'prominence of forehead', Mh *gɜbhēt* 'front', Jb E *gɜbhēt* id., 'brow', Ak *gab¹u* 'summit (Gipfel)' (probably here rather than with *✓ *gbɜ* because *ɜ would have caused a change of S **a* to Ak *e*); [2] CS (+ext.) *✓ *gbn* > MHb **גב** *gab¹n* 'eyebrow', JA **גב** *gab¹n*, em. **גבב** *gab¹nā* id., JEA *gab¹nā* {Sl.} 'eyelid', Sr (pl.) **גבב** *gab¹n-ē* 'eyebrows', **גבב** *gab¹nā* {Br.} 'vertex, cacumen', {JPS} 'eyebrow', {Br.} *rām gab¹n-ē* 'superbus' (lit. 'high-eyebrowed'), IA *gbyn*, Ar **جبين** *ǧabīn-* 'forehead' ¶ KB 163-4, KBR 170, 167, OLS 142, BDB no-s 1354, 1360-4 and 1389, Js. 203-8, Sl. 254, 256-7, Br. 100-2, JPS 59, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, A no-s 617 and 620, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7, ≈ MiK I no. 1.66 (S **gabb-(at)-* *'eyebrow, eyepit, front'), no. 68 (S **g ▽ bh(-at)-*

*'forehead, front') and no. 69 (S *g ∇ b(b) \bar{i} n- *'eyebrow, front') || C: SC {E} *gab- 'above, upon' > Irq {MQK} gawa 'top, place higher up', Kz {E} gawato 'hill' || Dhl {EEN} gáppo 'on, above', {To.} gábbu 'above, upon' || EC: Arr {Hw.} gubbá 'top, upper side' (× N ? *g \bar{U} 'b ∇ 'hill, mountain'), ? ϕ Rn gámbar 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *g \bar{u} |ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gumb ∇ 'back [dos], [?] hump') ¶ Hw. A 363, PG 121, E SC 234, MQK 37, To. D 133, EEN 30 || IE: NaIE *g^heb^h-el- / -o.l- / -lo- 'head, top', {EI} *g^heb^hōl 'head' > Gk κεφαλή id. || Mcd [Hs.] κεβ(α)λή 'head' || Gmc: [1] OHG gēbal 'skull, forehead', gibil 'skull', gibilla 'skull, head', MHG gebel 'skull'; [2] AdS of Gt gibla (Γιερύλιον) 'Giebel', OHG gibil 'summit', NHG Giebel 'gable, gable end', π 'summit', AS zafol, zēafel 'gable', ON gafl 'Giebelseite', Spitze einer Insel' (< N ? *g \bar{U} 'b ∇ (L ∇) 'hill, mountain'); NrGmc \leftrightarrow Fr gable 'gable' \rightarrow NE gable || Tc A s \bar{p} āl 'head' \leftrightarrow s \bar{p} āl \bar{u} 'excellent' ¶ P 423, EI 260, F I 806, 835-6, Vr. 152, Ch. 508, 522, OsS 281, 320, Fs. 214, Kb. 321, 334, KM 257, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, Wn. I 488, Ad. H 131 || A (?) *gab|p- > Tg *ga^bun- > Ul gaun \bar{i} , gaun \bar{i} -qta, Ork gawnaxi ~ gaunaxi, Nn Bk gaoúa(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} gaoña, Nn Nh {On.} gaoñã: 'dry high ground, dry hill (with trees and bushes)' ¶ STM I 144, On. 98 || pJ {S} *kâmpú 'helmet' > MJ kâbút \bar{u} o, J T kábuto, J K kâbútò, J Kg kabutó ¶ S QJ no. 875, Mr. 431, Kenk. 747 || D *ka \bar{v} uí- 'cheek, jaw' (× N *gAb ∇ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) \diamond \approx Blz. L no. 111g (he added Tg and SC to the comparison with IE *g^heb^h-, but did not distinguish between the reflexes of N *gab ∇ and those of N ? *g \bar{U} 'b ∇ 'hill, mountain' [q.v.]) \diamond \approx Gr. II no. 201 (*kabel 'head') (IE, OJ kabu(ri) 'head' + unc. A, Ko, Gil, CK, EA).

587. ₂ *gob ∇ 'plain (Ebene), (?) earth' > HS *g \bar{u} \bar{u} \bar{u} \bar{u} bb- 'earth, plain' > S * \check{g} bb > Ar ġabāb-at- 'plaine, champ, désert', ġabūbat- 'morceau \ motte de terre \ de boue', ? Ak gabīb- ε 'land suitable for pasture' ¶ BK I 246, CAD V 6, DRS 94-5 || Eg P gbb 'Geb, the Egyptian god of the earth (Gk Κηβ)' ¶ EG V 164, Fk. 288 || EC: Sd {Mrn.} gobā ~ gobba 'campagna, fuori', {C} guobā 'fuori', {Hd.} gobba 'country, outside, exterior', {Gs.} gobba 'world, earth, the country where one lives', {Gs., Hd.} gobbā adv. 'outside', {Gs.} gobbā no dargi 'the place in front of the house', Ged {Mrn.} gobā 'fuori', ?σ Rn {PG} gōb 'village, clan' ¶ Mrn. S 218, C SE II 201, Gs. 124, Hd. 366, PG 137 ¶¶ Coh. no. 119, Cal. 214 [no. 880] || A: M *gobi 'sandy steppe without grass, desert, the Gobi' > WrM gobī {MED} id., HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'steppe without grass, desert, the

Gobi', WrO γ ob \bar{i} , Brt γ ub \bar{i} , Brt A γ ub \bar{i} 'desert, steppe', Kl \ddot{O} {Rm.} $\gamma\ddot{o}\bar{w}\bar{i}$ ~ $\gamma\ddot{o}\bar{w}\bar{i}$ 'graslose Steppe, Sandsteppe, Gobi', Dg γ ob \bar{i} 'sandy steppe without grass, desert', Ord γ u $\bar{w}\bar{i}$ 'desert', M \rightarrow Tv χ ov \bar{u} 'steppe, field' ¶ Pp. IM 29, MED 357, BMR I 409, KW 153, Kow. 1025, Krg. 313, T DgJ 132, Chr. 159, Ms. O 318, TvR 478 \diamond IS MS 858 s.v. 'равнина', IS SS no. 6.14.

588. ? * $\gamma\ddot{u}|ub|pE$ 'heap, hump, hunchback' > HS: WS * $\gamma^u|b|\nabla_n$ - 'hump' > JPA אנתל גב $\gamma b\bar{y}nt$? id., 'hill', ζ Ar {KB \leftarrow ?} جبن $\gamma\ddot{u}bn$ - 'hunchback', BHb גב $\gamma ib^1b\bar{e}n$ 'a hunchbacked person' (derived by means of the pattern $li2'2e<3$ used to denote persons with a deformity or another [usually abnormal] physical\psychical quality), ζ Gz {DRS \leftarrow ?} $\gamma^w\bar{a}b\bar{a}n$ 'hunchbacked', Grg Mh {L} $\gamma^w\bar{z}b\bar{z}n$, Grg Go {L} $\gamma^w\bar{e}b\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ id. ¶ KB 167, KBR 174, Sl. P 119, DRS 96, L EDG III 257, \approx MiK I no. 1.67 || EC: Or {Grg.} $\gamma\ddot{o}b\bar{a}$ 'hump of cattle', Or B {Sr.} $\gamma\ddot{o}b\bar{o}$ 'hump of a cow\camel', Or O {Sr.} $\gamma\ddot{o}b\bar{o}$ id., 'hunchback', Or Wt {Sr.} $\gamma\ddot{o}\bar{w}\bar{o}$ 'hump of a camel', Or Wl {Brl.} $\gamma\ddot{o}b\bar{o}$ 'gobbo, gibboso' ¶ Grg. 180, Sr. 313-15, Vnt. 62, Brl. 177 || A: M * $\gamma\ddot{u}be-\bar{x}en$ 'hillock, knoll, mound' (\times N ? * $\gamma^u|b|\nabla$ (L ∇) 'hill, mountain') > WrM {MED| $\gamma\ddot{u}be\bar{g}e(n)$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\gamma\ddot{u}v\bar{z}\bar{z}$ 'hillock, knoll, mound', Brt $\gamma\ddot{u}b\bar{z}\bar{z}$ 'hillock, knoll, a height'; M * $\gamma\ddot{u}be\bar{y}$ - v. 'rise as a hillock' > WrM $\gamma\ddot{u}be\bar{i}$ - {MED} v. 'protrude, stick out; rise (as a hillock)', HIM {MED} $\gamma\ddot{u}v\bar{z}\bar{y}$ - id., {BMR} $\gamma\ddot{u}v\bar{i}y$ - 'возвышаться, erhaben sein (быть выпуклым), 'hügelig sein (быть бугристым)', Brt $\gamma\ddot{u}b\bar{y}$ - 'hügelig sein (быть бугристым)', Kl {Rm.} $\gamma\ddot{o}\bar{w}\bar{e}$ - 'etwas hügelig sein, sich wie ein Hügel erheben' ¶ MED 388, BMR I 467, Chr. 163, KW 138 || D: * $\gamma\ddot{u}p-$ (∇r)- 'hump' (\times N * $\gamma\ddot{u}p-\nabla r$ 'hump', q.v. ffd.) || IE (\times NaIE * $\gamma\ddot{e}j\bar{b}^h$ - 'bend' < N * $\gamma\ddot{u}b$ 'hump, bend; to bend', NaIE * $\gamma^he\bar{u}b$ - 'bend' < N * $\gamma^u|b|\nabla$ 'to bend' [trans., intr.]): L $\gamma\ddot{i}bb\bar{u}s$, VL {ML} * $\gamma\ddot{u}bb\bar{u}s$ 'hunchback' > Port $\gamma\ddot{e}b\bar{o}$, Ctl $\gamma\ddot{e}p$, It $\gamma\ddot{o}bb\bar{o}$, It Pv $\gamma\ddot{u}b$ id., d.: It $\gamma\ddot{o}bb\bar{i}no$ 'humpbacked' \rightarrow Fr $\gamma\ddot{o}b\bar{i}n$ id. ¶ ML no. 3755, WH I 597 \diamond Qu. (the S word can be explained as belonging to the root * $\gamma\ddot{u}b\bar{n}$ 'bend', and alt. connection may be found for M and D as well). Mentioned here as one of the alternatives $\diamond \neq$ IS I 237 (the M $\gamma\ddot{u}p$ < N * $\gamma\ddot{u}p$ 'to bend' [tr., intr.]).

589. γ^2 * $\gamma a\bar{?}b$ 'thick, dense; large' > HS: S * $\gamma^o\bar{?}b$ > Ar $\gamma\ddot{a}\bar{?}b$ - 'épais, massif, vigoureux' ¶ DRS 92 || C: SC {E} * $\gamma\ddot{a}\bar{b}$ - 'stout, strong, thick' > Irq {MQK} $\gamma a\bar{w}\bar{i}d$ 'hard, difficult', {E} $\gamma a\bar{w}\bar{i}t$ 'hard', ? $\gamma a\bar{w}\bar{i}$ 'huge calabash', SC \rightarrow Mb - $\gamma\ddot{a}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ 'become fat' || EC * $\gamma a\bar{?}b$ - ({Ss.} * $\gamma a\bar{?}b$ - ~ * $\gamma o\bar{?}b$ - or * $\gamma a\bar{?}b$ -) {AD} 'fat, thick' > Yk {Ss.} $\gamma e\bar{?}p-\bar{e}y$ - 'become fat', Or B {Sr.} $\gamma a\bar{b}\bar{b}-\bar{a}$ (f.

gabb-ō) adj. 'fat, thick', Af {PH} gabule- 'become fat', Bs {Bnd.} ḳab-i 'fat', Kn {BISO}, Gdl {Bl.} kapp-, Gwd {AMS} kōpī adj. 'fat', Gln {AMS} kōp-ō 'Körperfett', kōp-ō-lakkó 'fettleibig'; fettes Fleisch' ||| Bj {Rop.} габ̄а 'rich; satiated', габ- 'be rich, be satisfied', ḳ {Blz. ← Bnd} gōb 'fat' ¶ Ss. EDB 74, Sr. 308, BISO 66, Bl. G 132, H 107, AMS 209, 241, Rop. 183, Blz. CL 178, Bnd. LE s.v. 'fat', E SC 234, MQK 37 ||| **A:** NaT *Kāba 'thick' (of hair), 'bushy', 'plump' > OT {Cl.} qabā 'thick, protruding' (esp. of hair, beard etc.), VTt, Qzq qaba, Qq qapa 'bushy' (beard), Osm qaba id., 'coarse', Tk каба 'thick' (of tapets, feather beds), 'large', Tkm qāba 'bushy' (beard), 'thick' (hair), Az qaba 'bulky, rude', ?σ Ggz kaba 'soft, fresh' (bread), 'light, loose' (soil), ET X qowa 'large' ¶ Cl. 580-1, Rs. W 21, ET KQ 158.

590. *guʔbʷ ∇ 'to bend' (trans., intr.) > IE: NaIE *gʰeub-/*gʰub- 'bend' (trans., intr.), 'bent, crooked' > AS ʒeap 'crooked, curved', 'cunning, deceitful', MHG göufler 'thief', göuflich 'diebisch, raubschützenmässig' ||| Lt dvì-gubas 'twofold, double', trì-gubas 'threefold, triple', Ltv inf. gubt 'to sink, to bow down', inf. gubā́t 'to stoop', inf. gubā́tiḗs vr. 'to crook, to bend, to stoop' | SI *gъb- (< *gʰub-)/ *gib- (< the IE lengthened grade *gʰūb-) ⇨ SI *gъbežь n. 'bend, curve' > OR, RChS ГЪБЕЖЬ гъбеžь id., 'joint (articulation)', SI *gъb-ъкъ-јь 'flexible' > Blg 'Гъбък, Cz, Slk hebký id., SI *gib-ъкъ(-јь) id. > McdS гибок, гипка, SCr g`бак, Slv g`bek, Cz, Slk hуbký, P g`bki, R 'гибкий id.; SI inf. *gъnqti (< **gъb-nq-ti) vt. 'to bend' > RChS, OR inf. ГЪНЪТН gъnuti ~ ГЪБНЪТН gъbnuti id. (the variant gъbnuti with restitution of b on the analogy of the forms preserving b, like the ip. -gъbatī), Blg 'Гъна v. 'bend', P inf. giǎc / 1s pres. gnę v. 'bend', HLs inf. hnuć vt. 'to bow', LLs inf. gnuć, R inf. гнуть 'to bend'; SI ip. *gibati inf. 'to bend' > SCr inf. g`bati, OP inf. g`bac, P Δ inf. g`bac, R Δ inf. ги'бать id., as well as with pxs: OCS inf. сѣгъбатн съ-гъbatī 'to bend, согнуть', R inf. с-ги'бать, из-ги'бать, вы-ги'бать ip. 'to bend' ¶ P 450, Ho. 125, Lx. 75, Frn. 140, ESSJ VII 187-9, 216-19, StSS 647 ||| **HS:** WS *√gwb ~ *√gbb > Md √gwb ~ √gbb, JA/MHb {Js.} √gbb G vt. 'curve', JEA {Sl.} √gbb G vt. 'bend, bend over', Sr gаб̄ī'б-ā 'humpbacked', Gz √gbb D (pf. gabbaba) 'be bent', Amh √gʷbb (pf. gʷebbēbē), Tgr gēb beḷe v. 'incline' | OSA ωgb 'return, zurückkehren' ¶ Sl. 256, Js. 203-4, DM 79, Lb. I 307, Jo. M 127, Jo. J 80, L G 177, LH 582, DRS 94 || Eg G gb 'sich neigen, sich verbeugen', Eg OK ωзб '(sich) umwenden' ¶ EG I 408 and V 162 ||| C: EC: Af {Clz.} gūb-

'piegarsi, curvarsi, inchinarsi', 'gūbā 'curvamento, piega-mento, inchino', Or {Brl.} gūgguf- 'chinarsi, curvarsi, piegarsi' → DhI {EEN} guḡuβ-it- v. 'stoop' ¶ Clz. 117, ≈ Brl. 187 (Or gūgguf- is not a frq. of gūfaw- 'urtare, inciampare'), E SC 330, EEN 32 || Ch: CCh: Msg P {Trn.} gʷb' 'se pencher' || ECh: Ke ḡòbé vi., vt. 'bend (biegen, sich biegen)' ¶ Eb. 51, ChC s.v. 'bend', Trn. LM s.v. gʷb' ¶¶ ≈ IS I 235 (* ÷ S *gawb- 'shield' [> Ar D جوب ḡawb 'shield', Mh gawb, Jb C/E ḡub 'shield'] and the corresponding C word for 'shield'), Tk. SCC 88 [no. 18.11], Tk. I 400 || A: pKo {S} *kòp-, *kup- 'be bent', MKo kòp-, kup-, NKo kop-, kup- 'be crooked\bent' ¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 124, S QK no. 1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 202, 220 || ?σ Tg: Ewk ḡiʷz 'мимо, vorbei' (acc. to IS I 237, possibly from 'crooked, bent') ¶ STM I 148, IS I 237 || K: Sv L ḡib- v. 'dislocate (a limb)' ¶ Dn. s.v. ḡib- ◇ Not here M *ḡübe- ~ *ḡöbe- 'sich erheben', *ḡübe ~ *ḡöbe 'small hill' (⇔ IS I 237, F N ? *ḡü|ub|pE 'heap, hump' and N ? *ḡ'U' bḡ∇ 'hill, mountain' (q.v.); against IS's opinion (IS I 237) this M root does not mean 'быть выпуклым' ◇ The discrepancy between the IE and Or ev. (both pointing to a N *p) and that of S, Eg, Af, ECh, Tg and K (indicating N *b) may be explained by postulating N *-?b-, suggested by Msg -b-. The N lr. *? is the only one leaving no traces in NaIE (as well as sometimes in S and Eg). IE points to a N *u; the Ewk and Sv vw. i is still to be explained ◇ IS I 236-7 [no. 92] (N *ḡūpA).

591. *ḡaḡb∇ (or *ḡaḡb∇?) 'hold, seize; collect' > HS *√ḡḡb > S *^o√ḡḡb > Ar جعب √ḡḡb (ip. -ḡḡab-) v. 'collect', 'ramasser, réunir' ¶ Ln. 428, BK I 298 || C: Ag *ḡab- v. 'hold', (→) 'prevent, refuse' > Bln {R} ḡab- 'hold', Q {R} ḡab- 'verweigern, abschlagen, verwehren, verhindern', Xm ḡigēb- 'verweigern, abwehren, verhindern' ¶ R WB 134-5, R QW 61, R Ch II 46 || Ch: WCh ≈ *ḡʷ∇b- v. 'hold, seize' > Bl {ChL} ḡʷzēb-, Ngm {ChL} ḡḡap- v. 'seize' || SBC: Bg {ChL} kubye v. 'hold, seize', Gj {ChL} ḡḡibi, Plc {ChL, ChC} ḡubūn 'hold', Dw {ChL} kzbūy v. 'seize' || NrBc: Mbr {Sk.} ḡzf-, Ngz {ChC} žibu 'hold' ¶ Stl. ZCh 214-15 [no. 647] (*ḡ/ḡab- v. 'hold, seize'), ChL, ChC s.v. 'hold' and 'seize', Sk. NB s.v. 'hold' || IE {Blz.} *ḡ^heHb^h- > NaIE *ḡ^hab^h- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *ḡ^hab- v. 'seize', {EI} *ḡ^hab^h- 'take, seize' > Vd ḡabhastih 'forearm, hand', KhS ḡḡośtä 'hand', Wx ḡawust 'fist' || L habē- v. 'hold, have', Osc HAFIEST 'habebit', HIPUST 'habuerit', ?φ Um HABE habē 'has', haburent 'ceperint' || Clt {Manas.} *ḡab-yo- 'take, hold' > OIr gaibid,

-gairb 'take', OW ad-gabael, MW caffael 'get, receive', W gafael 'das Festhalten', MBr caffout 'take, hold', OCrn [ʏ] gauael 'prehensio', Gl gabi 'take!' (2s inv.), CltI kabizeti 'takes' || Gt gabei (·πλοῦτος) 'Reichtum', OHG gebigi 'wealth', OHG Al kepic, AS ziefiz 'rich', ?φ Dt gappen 'to filch' || Lt gabanà, gãbana, Ltv gabana 'armfull' || pSl inf. *gaba-ti (< L-gr.) > Slk MS inf. haba-t' 'to take, to appropriate (with greed)', Slk inf. haba-t' 'to take (from so.)' ('brát, zabavovat'), 'to rake/shovel up, to seize greedily' ('hrabat, chamtivě brát'), Cz {Kott} inf. habati, Uk {Grinch.} inf. 'габати 'to grasp', Cz Δ inf. habati 'to appropriate', Blr inf. га'бацб 'to grasp, to take, to touch' ¶ P 407-8, EI 563, Mn. 310, Dv. no. 535, M K I 322-3, M E I 463-4, Bai. 91, WH I 630-1, Bc. G 317, 336, LP § 34, Thr. § 756, YGM-1 230, Fs. 175-6, Ho. 129, WW 94, Kb. 322, Matas. E 148-9, ≠ Vr. N 183 (< Moo. I 319) (an unc. hypothesis: Dt gappen ← Yid NB 'šaver 'thief' ÷ Yid 'חבר 'comrade' [in fact ← Hb 'חֵבֵר hā'ḇēr id.]), Frn. 126-7, ESSJ VI 76; Ma. CS 119, GK 120 || D *kaṽ- ({{GS} *k-) v. 'grasp' (× N *kAḥw∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' and N id. *Kḗp∇ ~ *Kḗp∇ 'seize?') > Tm kavār v. 'seize, grasp, catch, steal, receive', kavvu ({{Km.} < *kavi|avu) v. 'seize, grasp with eagerness', Ml kavarte, kavate 'taking by force, seizing, plundering', kavaruca v. 'plunder', OTI {Km.} kavvu (*kaviyu) v. 'seize, seize by mouth, take away by force', OTm {Km.} kavavu 'embracing, copulation', OTI {Km.} kavavu v. 'embrace, copulate'; D ⇨ OI kavarakī - 'a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D no. 1326, Km. 327 [no-s 264 and 266] (< *kap-∇-) ¶ The D √ is ambiguous (*-∇- may go back either to ppD *-∇- or to ppD *-p-) || A: NaT *Kāba- > Tkm qāba- v. 'pen (sheep), besiege, fence in, blockade'; (× NaT *Kama- v. 'surround\encircle\besiege [enemies], drive [cattle, horses] into an enclosure, capture' < N *kam∇ 'to grasp, to press', q.v. ffd.): Chg {Rl.} qaba- 'umgeben, belagern, umschließen, schließen', [BL] {Brv.} 'besiege', Chg {Bu.} qaba- ~ qabṽa- 'encircle', ET X {Ml.} qaba- 'surround', ??σ ET Δ {Mng.} qaba- 'um... herumlaufen' ¶ ≈ ET KQ 159, Ml. X 157, Mng. G 773, Bu. II 2, Brv. BL 21, Rl. II 435 ◇ In several lges there is coalescence with N id. *Kḗp∇ ~ *Kḗp∇ v. 'seize' (q.v.). Both N *gaṽb∇ and N id. *Kḗp∇ ~ *Kḗp∇ may be ideophonic words or have ideophonic associations. Cf. IS I 313-15 s.v. *kaba ~ *kap 'а 'хватать' ◇ ≈ Blz. EIAL 16 [no. 61] (IE *g^heHb^h- + unc. S [Ar ✓ ḡḥf v. 'gather, take

out', Jb ✓ǰħf 'take everything', Gz ✓għf 'take away, remove, carry off' [instead of the above-mentioned HS *✓gɪb]).

592. *g'uy' b ▽ 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry') > **HS:** S *°✓gbb > Ak D ✓gbb v. 'roast' (inf. g u b b u b u), g u b b u b u adj. 'roasted' ¶ CAD V 117 || EC *gub- vt. 'burn' > Sml, Rn, Or gub-, Bn kub-, Kns kup-, Ged {Bnd.} gûb^u- (<b- Or?) id., Ya {Ss.} kup- 'rot' ||| DhI {EEN} guβ- vt. 'burn', guβ-iṭ- vi. 'burn' ¶ Bl. 182, BISO 89, Ss. PEC 17, Hn. S 61, PG 128, Sim 15, 25, Grg. 184, EEN 32, Blz. CL 177 || Ch: WCh: Sy {ChL} gúbḡ vt. 'burn' ¶ ChL I 212 ¶¶ AD SEC 132 [no. 6.7] ||| **K** *gab-/ *gb- vt. 'cook, boil' > G gb- v. 'cook (e.g. silk thread), boil', Lz gub-, gib-, ṣib- v. 'cook, boil', Mg gɜb- ~ gib- v. 'boil silk thread', Sv ṣäb-/ṣb- v. 'cook', Sv UB/Ln li-ṣab, Sv L li-ṣbi msd. vt. 'cook\boil sth.', vi. 'be cooked, boil' ¶¶ K 58, K² 25, FS K 70-1, Chx. 182, GP 191, TK 487 ||| **U:** FU *kuywa- 'dry' > F kuiva adj. 'dry', Es kuiva 'dry, arid' | ?σ Lp: Lp L {LLO} kuifē, kuffi 'wer nicht begreift, wem es schwer fällt lesen zu lernen' ("dry-brained"), Lp Sw {SK} kuife, kuīwe 'dumm, einfältig', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} g_uffɜ, kuffɜ 'dumme, unwissende Person' ||| Os {KrT}: V qōyam-, D/Kz χōyam- 'fallen, sich vermindern' (vom Wasser) ¶ UEW 196-7, Lgc. SL 63 [no. 880], Lgc. no. 2763, SK 231, LLO 253 ||| **A** *gübæ- (or *güpæ-) v. 'smoke, roast' > Tg *gü:ḡb- ({SDM} *gü:b-) > WrMc {Z} г у в а х я н ь 'fireplace, furnace', {Hr} gûwahiyān 'Kochloch', 'Gestell, an dem der Kochtopf über dem Kochloche hängt', NTg *°gīb- > Ewk gī- v. 'smoke, cure in smoke, dry (meat\fish over weak fire)', gīwun 'place for smoking meat\fish' ¶ STM I 147 and 165, Z 354, Hr 397 ||| **T** *k'übeç 'earthenware cooking pot' > OT {Cl.} kũveč 'ε pot', XwT XIV kũveč 'cooking pot', Tk gũveç, Az güväž 'earthenware cooking pot', Tkm göweč 'jeweller's crucible', Uz Δ köwäš ɘ käwäš 'earthenware pot, pot for milk', Ggz güveč 'large bowl of clay (макитра) ¶ Justified only if the primary meaning is '**cooking** pot' rather than 'eatherware pot' in general ¶ Cl. 687-8, ET VGD 53-4, GRM 121 ||| pKo {S. SDM} *kúb- 'bake, fry' > MKo kúp- (→ kú'í-), NKo kúp|w- ¶ S QK no. 535, Nam 63, MLC 220 ¶¶ The long vw. in NTg is probably a Tg innovation ¶¶ SDM 558 (pA *gǰūbe v. 'smoke, roast' > T, Tg, Ko + unc. pJ *káwǰr- v. 'smell, fumigate' [probably from pA *k'ǰayu < N *ǰæ'h'uy ▽ 'to heat, to singe, to burn']), DQA no. 537 ||| **IE:** NaIE *°g_Lh₁ob_Lh₁- or *°g_Lh₁wob_Lh₁-, *°g_Lh₁ub_Lh₁- 'fire' > Olt {Mnhr., Schleicher} gabi ja ~ gubija, 'fire', Lt gabi ja {Frn.} 'von der Hand gefertigte Wachskerze, Leuchter', Olt {Blz.} Gubija ({Las. →

Mnhr.} G u b i e) 'goddess of fire' ¶ Frn. 126, Blz. LN I no. 14, Mnhr. 51, 172 ◇ Blz. KM 115 [no. 8], ≈ Blz. LN I no. 14 (suggesting to add OLT + err. φ FU *küpe(-ń▽) 'sparkle') ◇ The absence of the reflex of N *y in the Blt word still requires explanation.

593. *g'U' b ɿ ▽ (L ▽) 'hill, mountain' > HS: S *✓ gbɿ 'hill' > Ug g b ɿ {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'hill, height, summit', Hb הַבַּיִת גִּבְעָה, JA אֲתַבְבֵּל גִּבְעָה^a 'hill', Ar ġ ub a ɿ- (a place name) (KB: 'kleine Hügelsstadt'), ? Ak g a b ɿ u 'summit (Gipfel)' (why did not *ɿ produce the regular change *a > e?), ı Amh {DRS} g u b a 'colline, tertre', ? Amh ገበታ g e b e t a (< **gabɿat-) 'high hill' → Gz ገበታ g a b a t ā id.] with loss of *ɿ due to rdp.: CS *gabgab- 'hill' > JA אֲבַבֵּל גִּבְעָה 'hill', Ar ġ a b ġ a b - a t - 'pierre\rocher dont quelque part sort de l'eau'] + ext. *-l-: S *gabal- 'mountain' > Ar جَبَل ġ a b a l -, Mh {Jo.} g ɿ b ē l, Jb E/C {Jo.} g i ' e l id., Hb d. בְּוֹךְ g a ' b ū l id., 'landmark, boundary', Ph, Yd g b l 'border, boundary', Ug g b l {A} 'mountain, rock', {OLS} 'peak, mountain', Ar ġ u b l - a t - 'bosse du chameau' ¶ KB 163-4, 167, KBR 171-4, BDB no-s 1354, 1360-4 and 1389, A no-s 617 and 620, OLS 143, Js. 203-8, Br. 100-2, BK I 246, 249-50, L G 179, Jo. M 113, Jo. J 69, Sd. 272, HJ 208-9, DRS 94-7 || EC {Ss.} *gub(b)- 'mountain' > Af g u b b - i 'high spot in undulating country', Or g u b b - ā 'up, above; top', {Grg.} g u b b a postp. 'above, over, on', g u b b ē 'top (of head)', {Th.} g u b b a 'il disopra, cima, sommità, tetto; sopra, in alto', Arr {Hw.} g u b b á 'top, upper side', Dsn {Ss.} g u m, Hr, Dbs g ú p ò, Gln g ù p ó, Gwd q u p o, Brj 'gubba 'mountain', Dsn {To.} g ù m m u t i 'hill' || DhI {EEN} g í p e '(ant)hill', {E} g i p e 'hill, mountain' || SC: Kz {E} k i p e t o 'anthill' (× N *k u p ɿ ▽ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance') ¶ Ss. B 85, Ss. PEC 15 (Dsn -m < *-b), AMS 159, 201, 233, Grg. 184, Th. 175, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501, EEN 31, E SC 237, Blz. CL 179 || NrOm {Blz.} *°g ▽ p p | b b - 'mountain' > Kf {C} g e p p o, {Msr., HHM} g e p p o 'hill', {Beke} 'g u b b o 'hill, mountain', Mch {L} 'g ä p p o 'slope, hill' ¶ Blz. OL no. 109, C SE IV 436, 446, L M 29, 32, Msr. 161 and 138 (Kf g e p p o 'colle, montagna'), 232 (Kf g e p p o 'collina'), HHM 118, Beke LDA 98 || Ch {JS} *✓ g ʷ ' b ' 'mountain' > CCh: Gdf {IL} ṣ ó b à, Gv {ChL} ṣ ú b à, Nkc {ChL} ṣ ù b á, Glv {Rp., ChL} ṣ ʷ à, Dgh {Frk} g ʷ à ʔ à, Ngs {IL} ṣ w á id. | Gude {IL} g i w a, Gudu {ChL} g i ŋ w à id. | Lmn {Lk.} g w à id. | ZmB {J} g ɿ b ɿ ɿ, ? {Sa.} g ʷ ò ʔ ì, ? Zm {ChL} g o y id. ¶ JS 186, ChL, ChC s.v. 'mountain' ¶ Ch *-b- < *-bɿ- || ???σ,φ Eg P ω ɿ b 'riverbank, riparian lands, shore' (only if from 'hill, high place' and if b goes back to *bɿ) ¶ EG I 409, Fk. 76 ¶¶ Tk. I 400 (Eg, EC, CCh), OS

no. 223 || IE: NaIE *^og^h|g^h∇b_la₁- > MHG gupf(e) 'höchste Spitze' ⇨ dim. MHG gūpfel, gipfel > NHG Gipfel 'summit', ON gafll 'Giebelseite, Spitze einer Insel', AS zafol, zēafel 'gable', (× N *gab∇ (||Í∇) 'head', q.v.): Gt gibla (· πτερύγιον) 'Giebel', OHG gibil 'top\summit', NGH Giebel 'gable, pediment'; NE gable (< ME ← MFr ← a Gmc lge) goes back to the same source ¶ OsS 281, 320, Kb. 334, KM 257-8, Ho. 122, HDEL 536, ≈ P 423 || D *kop- ~ *ko|upp- (< N *k_up∇ 'heap, hill' [q.v.]) > [1] {att. in SD} *kop- ({θGS} *k-) > Td kofoy 'top of a hill', Kn kobe, Tu kubæ, Krg kobe 'top of a coconut tree', Kn kobal₁u, Tu kubal₁ə, Krg kobal₁ 'top of a roof'; [2] *ko|upp- ({θGS} *gUbb-?) > Tl gubbali 'mountain, hill', ? goppu 'small elevation in a field', Prj koppa 'small hillock', Gnd gubbal, Kui kupa, Ku kupli 'hillock', ? Tl koppu 'the crest or ridge of a roof', kopparamu, kopramu 'top, summit' ¶¶ D no. 1731 (a) and (b) ¶¶ × D *kupp- v. 'heap', {GS} *kup- 'heap' (D no. 1731(a), GS 50 [no. 124]) || U: FU *kä₁:₁ppä 'hill' > FΔ kääppä 'hill, stony ground (in a field), heap of stones', Es kääp (gen. kääba) 'aufgeworfener Hügel, Grabhügel' (× kääbas id. [< East Baltic *kāpas, represented in Lt kāpas and Ltv kaps 'Grab, Grabhügel']) || Vg: T/LK/P käp, UL kap 'hill' ¶ UEW 138 (FU *käppä) || A: M *gübe-₁en 'hillock, knoll, mound' (× N ? *gü|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Ch *-b₁-, Om and FU *-pp- and D *-p- ~ *-pp- go back to the N cluster *-b₁- ◇ D, M, EC and Ch point to a pN labialized vw. of the first syll., while the FU and IE roots are explainable if the pN vw. was *a or *ä (infl. of N *gab∇ 'head'?) ◇ ≠ IS I 237 (the M √ * < N *gūpA 'to bend' [tr., intr.]), ≠ Blz. DA 161 [no. 92] (unc. equation of HS with D *k_u∇₁i- 'mountain' [D no. 2178] [reconstructed by Blz. as *ku₁∇₁i-]), ≠ Blz. NDA no. 96 (unconvincing comparison of EC *gubb- 'high point' [that belongs to the N etymon in question] with D *kō 'mountain', some SS and Eg words).

594. *^rg¹abhE ~ *-hb- 'blunt, weak' > HS: SS *√gbh > Mh gzbh 'blunt', gōbzh v. 'blunt', gībzh v. 'be blunt', Jb C gzb¹hun 'blunt', Tgr, Tgy √gbh G 'become blunt' ¶ Jo. M 113, LH 583, DRS 95 || IE: NaIE *k^hābh- ~ *k^hōbh- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)' > Gk κωφόρς {LS} 'blunt, dull, obtuse', κηφής 'drone; a worn-out, decrepit person', Gk [Hs.] καφάς 'drone' || L hebes / hebetis 'blunt, dull', hebeo / -ēre 'be blunt\dull' || Sl inf. *xab-i-ti 'to spoil, to blunt' (*-i- is a caus. sx) > ChS {Mikl.} inf. xabiti 'corrumpere', Blg


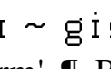
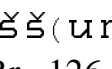
ха'б'я v. 'work in vain, spoil, blunt', SCr inf. *habiti*, Cz inf. *chabí ti* 'to spoil' ¶ WP I 348-8, F II 64, WH I 637-8, ≠ ESSJ VIII 8-9 (looking for different IE connections of the Sl verb) ¶¶ NaIE *k^h is likely to go back to N *g + a vl. lr. || A *gä_l:_lb- > T *Kä_l:_lb- 'weaken' > OT Kr/U {Cl., MKD} *käv-* (aor. *kävä:-r*) vt. 'weaken', [MhK] *küč'i: kävdim* 'I weakened his strength', Osm *gävšäk* 'loose, lax, slack; relaxed, weak, feeble', Ggz *gevšek* 'weak, meager', Qrg *köpšök* 'schlaff, welk', {Jud.} 'friable, flabby (рыхлый, дряблый)', Tk *gevšek* 'weak, locker', OT *kevre-* vi. 'weaken', Az {Rl.} *küvrä-* 'become weak\brittle', Tk *gevre-* v. 'weaken', Chv L *хавша- хавša-* 'crack with dryness (рассыхаться)' (of tubs, barrels), vi. 'become dry, weaken, become flabby', *хавшак* 'weak, decrepit, flabby (welk, дряблый), locker' ¶ ET VGD 9-10, Cl. 687, 691, MKD 104, DTS 304, Ash. XVI 23-5, Fed. II 304-5, Jeg. 283, Md. 37, 167, Rh.1595, Rl. II 1524, Jud. 427 || Tg: WrMc {Z} *гэбсэхунь* 'lean, meager, emaciated', {Hr} *gebsehun* 'abgemagert, spindel-dünn', {Z} *гэбсэрэ-* v. 'become lean\meager\ emaciated' ¶ Z 318, Hr 839 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 535 (pA *gēbo 'light, empty' > T *k'eb- 'soft, mild, gentle; become weak' and Tg *gebu 'thin, lean; empty' + [not going back to N *'g'abħE ~ *-ħb-] M *güyi- 'shallow, light').

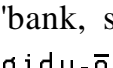
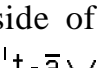
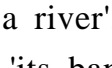

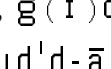
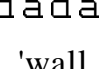
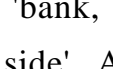
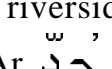
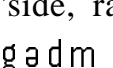
595. *gub_l∇_lRE ~ *guRb∇ 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' > HS: S: Ak *gubār u* 'nape (of the human body)' ¶ CAD V 117 || C *g^ω∇r∇b- > Ag *g^ω∇rb- > Bln {R} *gūr'bet* 'back (dorsum), back part', Xm {R} *žirbā*, Q {R} *gibrā* id.; Ag ⇨ Amh *žerba* id. and Tgr {Mnz.} *gurbet* 'back (dos)' ⇨ Sa {R} *gūr'bet* id. | EC (mt.): Sml *garab*, Sml N *gárab* (pl. *gárb-ó*), Rn {PG} *gáràb* (pl. *gàrbó*) 'shoulder, shoulder blade', *garbó* 'shoulders, upper back', pBn {Hn.} **káràb* 'shoulder' > Bn Bi *kárub*, Bn Sa/J/Ba *kárab* id., Or {Grg.} *gurmū* id., {Brl.} *gur'mu* 'spalla, collo', {Th.} *gurmu* 'la spalla presa nell'insieme', Or Wt {Vnt.} *gurmuni*, Or B {Anr.} *gurmū* 'shoulder' ¶ Hn. S 60 (pSam *'gáràb- 'shoulder blade'), Hn. BD 127, ZMO 154, Abr. S 87, PG 121, AD SF 73, R WB 160, LH 575, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Vnt. 66 || IE: [1] NaIE *^og_l^h_lω_lurb_l^h_l- > Sl *gъrbъ 'back (dorsum)' > Blg *гpъb*, McdS *гpб*, SCr, Slv *gr̂b*, OR, RChS *гъpбъ* *гъrbъ* ~ *гpъbъ* *grъbъ* ~ *горbъ* *gorbъ*, R Δ *горб* 'dorsum' (R на *горбу* *таскаты* 'to carry on one's back'); to separate from Sl *gъrbъ, *gъrba 'hunchback' (> Blg *гъpба*, SCR *gr̂b*, *gr̂ba*, Cz *hrb*, P *garb*, R *горб* id.) (related to Lt *cuprà*, L *gibber* id.) ¶ ESSJ VII 199-201, ≈ Ma. C 183 || [2] NaIE *g^ωerwā ~ *g^ωrīwā 'nape of neck' (× N

***kôrih|χû** 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The merger with N ***kôrih|χû** accounts for the loss of the precons. ***b^h** and for the cns. ***g^ω-** (instead of the expected ***g^{hω}-**) || **А:** Tg ***gure-Ke** 'nape' (× N ***gúrġE** or ***gūrġ∇** 'throat, neck') > Nn Bk gur(з)хз, Nn KU gurухз 'nape', Nn Nh gurзхз {STM} id., {On.} 'загривок', WrMc {Hr.} гурехе, {Z} ġурэхэ 'a large sinew on cattle's neck, breite Sehne am Rinderhalse' ({Z}: 'большая становая жила'), {Z} ġурэхэ-лэ- 'tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, On. 122, Z 363-4, Hr 385 ¶¶ In pA there is no phonemic opposition between the N ***w** and ***b**, so that the loss of N ***b** in this word may be understood as follows: N ***gub₁∇₁RE** > ***guβRE** (≈ ***guwrE**) > A ***gūrE** ◇ Blz. L no. 6b (EC, Sl + unc. Eg gbз, gзb 'arm' and Gmc ***kruppaz** 'Kropf').

596. (₂?) ***gič∇** 'injure, irritate' > **HS:** S ***√gθθ** > Ak gаṣṣu 'raging, furious', **√gṣṣ** v. 'gnash the teeth', v. 'bare the teeth', v. 'rage, be raging' (× HS ***√g^ωS** 'tooth' > C ***√g^ωS** id. [F AD SF 70-1]), Ar **√ğḡḡ** (pf. جَظَّ ḡaḡḡa) 'tourmenter, affecter d'une peine \ d'un chagrin', **√ğwḡ** (pf. جَاطَّ ḡāḡa) 'affecter quelqu'un, lui causer du tourment \ des craintes \ des inquiétudes' ¶ CAD V 52-4, BK II 298, 356 || ? Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***gac-** v. 'insult' > Hs {Abr.} gāçĕ 'replying rudely and recklessly to a superior', {Ba.} 'sarcasm'. (Abr., Sk.) gāçĭnĕ 'sneering grimace' | Ang {Flk.} kass 'abuse, cursing, defilement' | ?σ Tng k^ωadε v. 'fight over sth.' ¶ Stl. ZCh 216 [no. 662], Abr. H 311, Ba. 372, J T 107, ≠ Sk. HCD 80-1 (Hs gaçe ← Hs gāça 'bite') || **IE:** NaIE {Mn.} ***ǵ^heǵsd-** ~ ***ǵeǵsd^h-** v. 'rile, irritate, injure' > OI hīd₁- v. 'make angry, vex', hīd₁i'ta- 'erzürnt, aufgebracht', hēd₁aḥ (hēdas) n. 'anger, hatred', OI BdhSk hēṭṭati 'verletzt, beleidigt', Av zōiždišta- 'der abscheulichste' || W t g^ωyth 'anger, wrath' (< ***ǵ^heǵsd-**) || Lt ls pres. žeidžiū / inf. žėĩsti v. 'injure, wound', žeidimas 'injury, wounding', žaizdà 'wound' || -d> ***ǵ^hoǵsd-** > Lt žaizdà 'wound' || var. ***ǵeǵsd^h-** > AS inf. cídan 'to chide' ({Ho.} 'streiten, klagen'), NE chide ¶ Mn. 413, M K III 601, M E II 819, MW 1300, 1303, Ho. 47, Frn. 1285, 1296, ≠ WP I 547, 554, ≈ P 427 || ?σ **U:** FU {UEW} ***kič∇** 'illness, be sick' > F kitu- 'be tormented, suffer pain; languish, suffer', Es kidu-, kidi- 'kränkeln', kidune- 'grow sickly, be in bad health', kide (gen. kide) 'Kränklichkeit' | Prm: Vt G kīž 'Krampf', {Wc.} křž 'Krankheit, Krankheitsgeist', Z {W} kīž 'totgeborenes Kind' || Os: V kěča, O qaš'i 'illness, sick', D kěča 'illness' ¶ UEW 153, Sm. 543 (FU ***ki|eci** 'illness' > FP ***kič'i**, Ugr ***kīčī**) ◇ FU

*kič̣∇ belongs here if the semantic change was v. 'wound' → 'cause illness'.

597. ₂ *gi'č̣'∇ (or *gič̣'∇?) 'hip, thigh' > HS: S *gi'ṣ̌ṣ̌' - 'thigh, hip, flank' > Sr  gεs'sā 'side, flank, haunch', Ar D ġiššā 'corpse, dead body', Mh gʒṣ̌ṣ̌ēt 'body, corpse', Jb C {Jo} 'ge'ṣ̌ʒt (pl. 'gi'ṣ̌εʔ) 'side', Ak gilṣ̌u ~ gišṣ̌(um) 'hip, flank', MHb  'gεsεs, JA  gisə's-ā 'side, arm' ¶ Br. 126, JPS CSD 75, Js. 241, 261, Lb. D 283, CAD V 73, Sd. 288, Jo. J 79, Jo. M 126, DRS 195-6, MiK I no. 1.97 (*giṣ̌ṣ̌- 'torso, body') || Ch {Stl.} *gōṣ̌- 'shoulder' > WCh: Mnt {ChL} táη-ģól id. | Plc {ChL} ḡgʷṣ̌ṣ̌ id. || Gude {Hsk.} gʷálà 'upper arm' || ECh: Skr {Nc.} 'kō-gol id., Mgm {JA} gūl (pl. gòllillá), Mu {Lk., J} gòl 'shoulder' ¶ Stl. IF 196, JA 89, Lk. ZSS 35, 182, ChL, ChC s.v. 'shoulder' || D (att. in CD) *kič̣č̣- ({ʔGS} *k-) 'hip, waist' > Prj kič̣č̣a 'hip', Gdb kič̣č̣e 'waist', kič̣e pūn 'hipbone' ¶ D no. 1537 ¶¶ This is the only known case of D *-č̣č̣- apparently from N *-č̣- (but there are several cases of D *-č̣- or *-č̣č̣- going back to N *-č̣-). The problem needs investigating. A possible solution: N *gič̣'∇ with HS deglottalization of *č̣ || AdS of IE: NaIE {P} *keḷs- 'arm, thigh, shank' (× N *ḳič̣'∇ 'thigh' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The IE cns. *k- proves that the main source of IE *keḷs- is N *ḳič̣'∇ rather than N *gi'č̣'∇.

598. *gad'a' 'bank, shore, side of sth.' > HS: CS *'giday- ~ *'guday- 'bank, side of a river', *°gadd- id. > BHb  gad-ō't-āw ~  gid-y-ō't-āw 'its banks' (presumably forms of  *'gid'yā), Md gada, gida, g(i)dada 'bank, riverside, waterside', JA  gud'd-ā 'wall', JEA gud'd-ā 'wall, side', Ar  ġudd- 'côté, bord (de toute chose)',  ġidd-,  ġidd-at- 'bord, rive (d'un fleuve)',  ġadd- 'rivage, bord (d'un fleuve), surface de la terre' ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, GB 130, BDB 152, Js. 218, Sl. 265-6, BK I 260, DM 73, 88-9, DRS 100-1 || ?σ B: Ah e-ģēde, ETwl agidi 'dune de sable', Sgl {NZ} igidu, igidi id., 'sable', Gh ižidi 'colline de sable', Izn, Rf, Shw, Mz, Wrg, Jrb iždi 'sable', Kb iždi id., 'gravier', Si iždi, Nf židi 'terre'; B belongs here only if the meaning 'dune, colline de sable' is primary ¶ Fc. 394, Dl. 359, NZ 721-2 || C *✓gdm > Bj {R} ge'dim (pl. gidma) 'edge, bank, side' || Ag *g∇d∇m 'side, range, bank' > Bln {R} gədu'm 'side, edge, bank'; Ag ⇨ Gz  gadm 'side, direction', Tgr ġədu'm 'edge, side', Tgy ġədmī 'side, bank'; ? Bln {R} 'gadī 'riverbed, valley, wadi' (unless ⇨ Ar wadi id.) || EC: Sa {R} 'gade ~ 'gadde (pl. gadu'wā) 'riverbed, valley, wadi' (unless ⇨

Ar wadi) ¶ E PC no. 44 (+ unc. EC *gudm- 'shoulder'), R S II 145, R WB 139 ¶ An alt. hyp.: Bj ge'dim and Bln gædum ← EthS gædm (possibly connected with the Gz verb ✓ gdm 'be in horizontal position, be inclined'); but this latter hypothesis fails to explain the et. of the EthS words || Om {Blz.} *gad_ld_l- 'earth, land' > NrOm: Oyda {Fl.} gædde id., Zs {C} gadē 'terra, paese', Wl/Zl/Gf {C} gadē 'paese', Bdt {C} gadā id., Mch {L} gadó 'clod of earth' || SOM: the meaning 'bank of river' is likely to have been preserved in Ari {Bnd.} gidib (unless ← Amh gædæb 'dike, dam, barrier') ¶ Blz. OL no. 105, C SE III 202, Fl. OWL, L M 30, Bnd. AL 145 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gādžə̀ 'lake, pond', ı Ngm {OS ← ?} gōdō 'lake' ¶ ChC s.v. 'lake', Sch. DN 63, OS no. 869 ¶¶ R WB 139 (C, S), OS no. 869 (S, WCh, Ag, Sa; * ÷ Bdm {Nc.} rğáda 'river', actually a loan from Knr {Lk.} rğádà 'small river' [Lk. B 121]) || A: M *gada 'outside, the outside' > Dg {Mr., T} gāda 'the outside, out of doors', {Pp.} g_ad_a 'outside' (direction), Ba {T} gade 'outside, out of doors', Mnr H {SM} g_ad_a 'dehors, à l'extérieur de, à l'entrée de la maison; l'extérieur', Mnr M {Pot.} хата 'outside' (direction); ⇨ : [1] MM [HI] qada_un [gada_un] 'à l'extérieur', WrM {MED} gadagun 'outside of, outside the house', HIM гадаа(н) {MED} id., {BMR} id., adj. 'exterior', adv. 'near'; [2] M *gada-na 'outside' > MM [HI] qadana 'à l'extérieur', WrM {MED} gadana (adv., postp.) 'outside', (adj.) 'exterior', HIM гадна {MED, BMR} id., Dx gadane 'outside, out of doors', Mgl {Rm.} çadana 'außen, außer', Ord g_ad_ana 'à l'extérieur, à la proximité de la maison'; [3] M *gadaɣa > WrM gadaga {MED} 'out of, outside; outer', HIM {MED} гадаа, {BMR} гадаа(н) id., Ord g_ad_a 'à l'extérieur, dans le voisinage immédiat (d'une habitation)', Dg {T} gādag ~ gādig 'outside'; [3a] M *gadaɣadu > MM [MA] gadadu, WrM {MED} gadagadu 'outer, external, exterior; foreign, strange', HIM гадаад {MED, BMR} id., Brt гадаад 'external', Dx gadadu id., Ord g_ad_at 'extérieur', (emprunté à la langue littéraire) g_ad_ag_ad_u id., [3b] M *gada-g-si 'outwards' > WrM {MED} gadagsi 'outside' (direction), HIM {MED, BMR} гадагш id., Brt гадагша id., MMgl {Iw.} çadāqš_i 'outside, outwards', Mgl {Rm.} çadaqš_i 'nach außen', Dx gadaš_i 'outwards', Mnr H {SM} g_ad_as₃ 'vers le dehors', Ord g_ad_agš_i ~ g_ad_aš_i 'vers l'extérieur'; [4] M *gada-r_l∇_l > WrM gadar {MED} adj. 'the exterior, outside', HIM гадар {MED} id., {BMR} n. 'external, outward, outside cover', adv. 'outside, outside the house', Brt гадар 'outside cover, external side', Kl {Rm.} gadr_g 'das

Äußere, Obere', Ord *g_ad_ar* 'extérieur, l'étoffe extérieure d'un vêtement doublé'; [5] M **gada-γur* > WrM *gadaγur* {MED} adv. 'outside, on the exterior of, in the vicinity if, near', adj. 'exterior, outer, upper (clothes); n. the exterior, outside', HIM *гадур* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'по внешней\наружной стороне', Brt *гадур* 'по внешней\наружной стороне, outside', postp. 'außer, помимо', Ord *g_ad_ūr* 'du côté extérieur, par le côté extérieur (en passant)', par le voisinage immédiat (d'une habitation)' ¶ MED 342-3, BMR I 331-8, Chr. 138-9, KW 141, Rm. M 28, Iw. 104, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T BJ 137, Pot. 412, Pp. MA 173, Ms. H 85-6, Ms. O 284-5 ¶ In M **gada-na* the element *-na goes back to the locative pc. *na < N **ʔin'A* 'place' (q.v.) || D **kaṭ(-ay)* ({ʔGS} **kaṭ-*) 'end, side, beach' > Tm *kaṭay* 'end, limit, boundary', MI *kaṭavv* 'beach', Kt *kaṭ paṭ* 'the end, at last', Td *kaṭč* 'end (of thing, event)', Kn *kaṭe* 'end, termination, limit', Kdg *kaṭe* 'end (of row, event etc.)', Tu *kaṭe* 'verge, margin, end', Tl *kaṭṭakaṭa* 'the very end', Prj *kaṭa* 'end, side'; D ⇨ OMrt *kaṭe, kaṭa* 'edge, side' ¶¶ D no. 1109, cp. GS 206-7 [no. 522], 28 [no. 16], 164 [no. 407], 166 [no. 417] (**kyad-* v. 'pass through, cross').

599. *gad∇ '(to be) suitable\good; luck' > HS: WS **gadd-* 'happiness, fortune' > Hb *ḡad* 'fortune', *ḡad* *bə-ḡad* 'feliciter', Pun, Nbt, Plm, Htr *gd*, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} *ḡad'd-ā* 'genius, god of fortune; luck', Sr *gad / gad'dā* 'fortune, luck, success', Md *gada* 'fortune, success, luck, fate', NMd *gād* 'Glück, chance', Ar *ḡadd-* 'good luck, chance, fortune', Gz *ḡadd* 'luck' ¶ KB 169, KBR 176, Js. 210, Sl. 260, HJ 212-13, JPS 60, DM 73, Mc. NM 207, L G 180, DRS 100 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} *gud* 'good, nice', {ZL} *gudi* 'good' || ?σ Bj {R} *gūd ~ guḍ* 'Menge, Größe', *gūd-* 'be many\much\big' || EC **gudd- ~ *gūd-* 'big, much' > Kns *kutt-* id., Or *gúdd-aʔ*, Dsn *gudd-u*, Elm {Bl.} *gūt-iḍa* 'big', {Ss.} *gūt* 'many', Arr *gudḍá* 'big', *gudḍa-haḍ-* 'grow big, become many\much'; ?σ Sml *gídd-i* 'whole, entire', Bs *gidd-i*, ? Af *gadd-a* 'wealth' (unless ⇨ EthS); HEC (⇨ EthS?): Hd {L} *gadaʔa* 'luck' ¶ L G 180, Hz. NSA 138, ZL Ag 8, R WBd 90, Bl. 106, 140, Ss. PEC 16, ZMO 162, Hw. A 363, To. DL 501, PH 108, Blz. CL 180 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *gādá* 'beautiful' ¶ Wdk. BY 123, Lm. Y 345 || IE: NaIE **ghedh-/*ghodh-* v. 'be suitable\good' > Gmc **gōðā* 'suitable' > Gt *gōþs ~ gōds* (·-ἄγαθός, χρηστός, καλός) 'gut, tüchtig, schön', ON *góðr*, OHG *guot*, NHG *gut*, OSx *gōd*, AS *zōd* 'good', NE *good*; Gmc **gað-* 'gefallen' > MLG *gaden* id., OHG *gi-gat* *ḡ ge-gat* 'suitable' || Sl inf. **goditi* (se) v. 'to suit, to be fortunate' > OCS inf.

ГОДНТИ 'to satisfy', 'gratum esse, morem gerere, placere', Blg **ГОДА** v. 'arrange, prepare', **НЕ МИ ГОДИ** 'is not to my advantage', SCr inf. **gòditi** 'to make a deal', Slv **to mi godi** 'it is pleasant, I like it', Cz inf. **hoditi se**, R inf. **годиться** 'to be suitable', P inf. **godzić** 'to bring to an agreement', **godzi się** 'it is permitted\lawful'; \rightarrow Sl ***godь** 'appropriate time' > OCS **ГОДЪ** 'time (hora, tempus); year; appropriate time', SCr **gòd** 'holiday, year, appropriate time', Cz **hod** 'religious feast', OR, RChS **ГОДЪ** 'time, year', R **год** 'year'; \rightarrow Sl ***god-ьнъ** (jъ) 'suitable, appropriate' > ChS **ГОДЬНЪ**, Blg **годен**, P **godny**, R **годный** id. | Ltv inf. **gadīties** 'to happen, to occur, to be found', Lt {Bg.} inf. **godyti** 'aufspüren, ausfindig machen', Ltv **gòds** 'honour, glory', Lt **guõdas**, Lt Zh **goda** 'honour' || ? OI ***gadhya-** 'what one readily holds fast, what suits one' ($\times \leftarrow$ **gadh-** 'cling to, hang on to') || pTc ***kāt̥k-** > Tc A/B **kāt̥k-** 'rejoice, be glad' || amb Gk **ῥηθέω**, Gk D **ῥᾷθέω** 'rejoice' (\times IE ***gāwedh-**, whence L **gaudē-** 'rejoice, be happy') ¶ P 423-4, \approx EI 64 (unc.: Gmc ***gōðā** 'suitable' etc. < IE ***gʰedh-** 'join, fit together'), Fs. 218, M K I 320-1 (**gadhya-** \leftarrow **gadh-**), Vr. 181, Kb. 345, 416, Schz. 148, 155-6, OsS 246, 358, KM 277-8, Ho. 134, Ho. S 28, ESSJ VI 187-92, StSS 173, Wn. LE 32, Wn. I 197-8 (Tc ÷ Gk), Ad. 150, Frn. 159-60, Tr. 74, F I 303-4 (the Gk word is from ***gāwedh-**) || D ***kaṭ-** ({θGS} ***gaḍ-**) 'fixed time' ($\times \leftarrow$ ***kaṭ-** v. 'pass' [\leftarrow N ***gäṭṣʳâ** 'to pass through\over', q.v.] and/or ***kaṭ-** 'end' [\leftarrow N ***gadʳa** 'bank, shore, side of sth.']) > Tm **kaṭu**, **keṭu** 'fixed time, period, term', Ml **gaḍu**, **keṭu** 'term, instalment', Kt **gaḍv**, **gayr̄** 'fixed or appointed time', Td **koḍf** 'stipulated period of an agreement', **koṛy** 'fixed period (of imprisonment or purgatory), fixed time for paying a loan', Kn **gaḍa**, **gaḍavv**, **gaḍi**, **gaḍu**, **gaḍuba**, **gaḍuvv** 'limit, limited time, period', Tu **gaḍu** 'a time, fixed time or place', Tl **gaḍuvv** 'term, period, limit of time' ¶¶ D no. 1109 ◇ Hardly here T ***kata** 'times' ('mal') > OT **qata** id. (Cl. 596), which is semantically conceivable as a cognate, but the vl. T ***-t-** for the expected ***-ḍ-** makes the connection hardly acceptable.

600. *gædi 'back part; occiput, nape of neck' > **ḥ** ***gædi** 'back (of the head), behind' > M ***gede** > WrM **gedē** {MED} 'nape or back of the neck, occiput', HIM {BMR} **гэд** 'occiput'; HIM {MED} **гэдээ** 'nape or back of the neck, occiput'; M ***geziḡe** (from ****gedige**) 'nape of neck, occiput, back part'; M **geziḡe** {MED} 'nape of neck, plait\braid of hair, pigtail, queue', HIM **гэээг** {MED} id., {BMR} 'occiput, plait of hair', Brt W

гэзэгэ 'occiput', Brt гэзэгэ 'plait of hair'; M *gederg $\nabla_{\perp n}$ > MM [MA] gedergü 'backwards', WrM gedergüü {MED} adv. 'backwards, to the rear, back, in the opposite or reverse direction', HIM гэдрэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'backwards, обратно', Brt гэдэргэ id., Kl {KRS} гедргэн gedərgän id., 'вспять', {Rm.} gedrgə ~ gedrgu 'zurück, auf dem Rücken (liegend); rückwärts gebogen', Mnr {SM} g $_id_ierg_u$, {T} gedergu 'backwards', Ord g $_ed_erge$ 'en arrière, vers la partie postérieure, sur le dōs (couché), à reculons', ¶ MED 372, 381, BMR I 477, 479, Chr. 168-9, KRS 135, KW 131, Pp. IM 118, Pp. MA 169, SM 136, T 322, Ms. O 255 || Tg *gedi- 'occiput' > Ewk гэдимук ≍ гэдэмук, гэткэн, Neg гэдэмук id., Lm гэдэкэ, гэдэмэк ~ гэдэмэк id., 'occiput bone', Ud гэдигэ 'occiput, nape of neck' ¶ STM I 177 || NaT *Kæði- 'backwards' > OT, Chg kädin 'behind', ET keyin ~ käyin, Qrg kiyin adv. 'afterwards, later', postp. 'after', Tkm Δ keyin 'backwards', Qzq keyin id., 'backwards', {Rl.} kein 'behind', StAlt kiyin, Ln kiin 'back part', Qq, Uz keyin 'backwards; afterwards, after', Xk кизин kizīn adj. 'hind' (of animal's legs, wheels etc.), Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} kezīn, Kü/Shor {Rl.} kazīn 'back part, backwards', adj. 'hinder' ¶ Hardly here T *köt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 704) ¶ Cl. 704, ET KQ 23-4, Pp. VG 24, 53, Rs. W 246-7, Vld. 206, BIG 73, Rl. II 1054, 1137-8, 1176-7, 1344-6 || pJ {S} *kítà 'North' > OJ k(ḷ)ita, MJ kítà, J T kitá, J K kítà, J Kg kíta ¶ S QJ no. 811, Mr. 452, Kenk. 981 ¶¶ SDM 535-6 (pA *gědì 'back [of head], behind' > Tg *gedi-muk 'back [of head] [затылок]', M *gede / *gežige 'back [of head], plait', T *ged- [for *Kæð-] ;back, after'), DQA no. 492, ADb. KL, ADb. SR 4, S AJ 71, Rm. EAS I 48, Vld. 206, Pp. VG 24, 53, Kol. ChA 101-3 || ?φ K: GZ *ked- 'back of the head, neck' > OG kēd- 'neck', G kēd- 'nape of neck', Mg kindir id., 'back of the head' ¶ K² 214, Chx. 1546 || HS: Ch *gidaH- 'neck, occiput', {Stl.} *giHad- ~ *gidaH- 'neck' > WCh: AG: Su {J} žēt, Kfr {Nt.} žèt 'occiput' || BT: Krkr {Sh.} ḡgìdò, Krf {Sh.} ḡgìdò, Glm {Sch.} ḡgìryà 'neck' || Dir {Sk.} ḡgwádù id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ḡḡr, EDng {Fd.} ḡḡjá, Skr gét-im, ? {Sx.} ḡèrè, Kjr kīda id. ¶ JI II 252-3, J S II 67, Nt. 16, Stl. IF 174 (without AG), Sch. BTL 57, 87, Cp. 62, Fd. 312, Blz. EChWL no. 59 || C: Ag: Xm T {CR} ḡīd- adj. 'de derrière' || EC: Sd {Hd.} gidensa, gedensa 'after', {Gs.} gedensa 'last, the end', gedensanni, gedensā 'aftwards', Sml {DSI} gadā 'behind' ('dietro, indietro') ¶ AD SF 239, Hd. 19, Gs. 179, DSI 248 || ? NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} gedo(n) 'la parte di dietro', gedon 'dietro, dopo' ¶ Mrn. O 31 || ?φ IE: NaIE *ḡhed- 'anus', (→ ?) 'defecate'

(× NaIE *^oǵ^h|ǵ^hed- 'hole' > ON *gat*, OFrs *jet* 'hole, opening', AS *zea t* 'doors, opening', OSx *gat* 'hole') > Gk [Hs.] *χόδανον* accus. (· τὴν· ἔδραν) 'podex', Gk *χέζω* 'defecate' ||| OI 'hadati 'defecates', Av *zadāh-* 'podex' ||| Arm *ծեստ* *zet* 'tail' ||| pAl {O} **zeča* or **zetya* > Al *dhjes* (aor. *dhjevā*) 'defecate' ¶ The contamination with NaIE *^oǵ^h|ǵ^hed- 'hole' may explain the cns. **d* for the expected **d^h* ¶ WP I 571-2, P 423, M K III 573-4, F II 1078-9, LS 1996, O 83, Sl. 176-7 ¶ IE *^oǵ^hed- was adduced by IS MS 342 (→ S CNM 5), but omitted in IS I ◇ The roots of M, Ch, C and (if here) IE suggest a N **ǵ-*, while K (GZ) **k-* still requires explanation ◇ IS MS 342, IS I 227-8 [no. 81], AD NM no. 106.

601. (₂?) **ǵud*▽ (or **ǵü*▽?) 'ε to cut, to tear' > HS: S **ǵdd* ~ SS **ǵdy* 'cut, chop' > BHb *ǵdd TL* (Hithpo'el) (ip. *ገገእገ* 'yitǵō'dād) 'make incisions in one's own body', MHb *ǵdd G* 'cut, cut off', BA *ǵdd G* (inv. pl. *ገገእ ḡod'dū*) 'umhauen', Sr *ǵdd G* 'cut off/out', {Br.} 'abscidit, amputavit; discidit', Md *ǵdd* 'cut off, put an end to', Ar *ǵdd* (pf. *ǵadda*) 'cut out (a garment), cut off (a fruit)', ? Sb *ǵdd Sh* '(?) assign (allouer, attribuer)', *ǵdy Sh* (pf. *hǵd*) 'make a grant of land', *ǵdyt* 'grant of land', {Rk.} 'allotment', Qt {Rk.} *ǵdyt* 'portion, allotment, assignment', {DRS} *ǵdd* 'repartir, accorder', Tgr pf. *G ḡdda* 'tear off, separate', Gz *ǵddū* 'piece of wood cut off with an axe\saw', Ak *ǵdd G* (inf. *ǵadādū*) 'chop'; +ext.: CS **ǵd*v. 'chop (off)' (< **ǵdd* influenced by S **ǵt*v 'cut\break off' < N **ǵut*▽ [or **ǵut*▽?]) 'cut off, tear [off]', q.v.) > Hb, JA, Sr *ǵd*v *G* id., Ar *ǵd*v *G* 'cut off' ¶ In Aram there was a merger with S **ǵd* 'cut, break into pieces' (> Ar *ǵd*v *G* [pf. *ǵadda*] id.) ¶ KB 169-70, 173, 1685, Js. 210, 213-14, Br. 103, 105, JPS 60, Hv. 79-81, BGMR 49, Rk. 52, ≈ Rk. IQ 36 (*ǵdyt* 'allotment' ← {Lundin} Qt\Sb *ǵdyt* 'renewal'), L G 180, CAD V 8, DRS 99-102 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} *ǵdú* vt. 'snap in two (a rope etc.) by pulling, pluck (fruit from tree)', *ǵdú* vi. 'snap in two' (as a rope), 'snap off (fruit off tree)', 'break loose (sth. tied by rope)' ¶ Sch. DN 59, 64 || A: AmTg **ǵude-* v. 'be torn apart' > Orc *ǵud*3-, Ul, Nn Nh *ǵud*3-, Ork *ǵud*3d3- id., Nn Nh *ǵud*3 {On.} 'hole (in clothes)', {DTS} id., 'rags', {On.} *ǵud*3- 'be torn'; ⇨ : AmTg **ǵude-*çi 'tear asunder' > Nn Nh *ǵud*3çi-, Orc *ǵud*3ti-, Ud *ǵu*3asi- id. ¶ STM I 167, On 118-19 || ?φ T **KI*·₁·₁δ- (unless it is **KI*·₁·₁γ-) 'ε cut, chop' (delabialized from ***Ku*·₁·₁δ- due to the infl. of the final unrounded vw.?) (× N **ǵut*▽ 'cut off, tear

[off]'. q.v.) > OT [MhK] $q_{1}y-$ ($ol j_{1}x\bar{a}č q_{1}y d_{1}$ 'he cut the piece of wood on the slant'), Chg XV $q_{1}y-$ 'cut into small pieces', Tk $k_{1}y-$ 'chop', Ggz, StAlt $кыЙ-$ $q_{1}y-$ 'cut, cut off (twigs, small trees)', Qmn $q_{1}y-$ 'chop, cut on the slant', $ʔσ Tv χ_{1}d_{1}-$ 'exterminate' ¶ Qmn $-y-$ may be from T $*-δ-$, ср. Qmn $ayaq$ 'foot, leg' < $*aδaq$), but Xk $χ_{1}y-$ 'cut, cut off' points to T $*-y-$ (unless a loan from a $-y-$ language) ¶ If the pT root is $*K_{1L}y-$, it does not belong here ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 200, Rl. II 688-90, BT 102, B DK 230, BIG 297, TvR 499 || $ʔφ IE: NaIE *g^{w}ed^{h}-$ 'destroy' ($\times N *'k'_{1}\delta d_{1}$ 'destroy, break, cut' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ If NaIE $*g^{w}ed^{h}-$ does not belong here, the N etymon may be either $*gud_{1}$ or $*g\ddot{u}d_{1}$.

602. $*gu_{1}ʔ_{1}dE$ \rightarrow $*g\ddot{u}_{1}ʔ_{1}d_{1}$ (or $*gu_{1}ʔ_{1}\check{z}E$ \rightarrow $*g\ddot{u}_{1}ʔ_{1}\check{z}_{1}$) 'to guard, to watch, to be on the watch for' > HS: C: Bj $\check{g}^{w}ʔd$ pcv. 'guard' ({R} 1s: p. $a-g\ddot{u}'ʔad$, pqp. $'\bar{i}-g\ddot{u}'ʔed$, pres. $ag\ddot{u}'a'n\bar{i}d$) || pEC $**ga'^{z}$ - (or $**ga'^{z}$ - ?) > EC: Or {Th.} $g\bar{a}d-$, {Brl.} $g\bar{a}d-$ v. 'spy', 'darsi al brigantaggio', {Grg.} $g\bar{a}d-$ v. 'plot against, plan to destroy, spy on', {L} $gad\bar{o}$ 'thief'; possibly (but not certain): HEC {Hd.} $g\bar{a}z-$ v. 'wage war, raid', $*g\bar{a}z\bar{o}$ 'war, campaign' > Kmb {L} $g\bar{a}\check{z}\check{z}\bar{o}$ 'raid', {Hd.} $g\bar{a}zu$ 'war, campaign', $g\bar{a}z-$ v. 'wage war', Tmbr {L} $ga\check{z}\check{z}e$ 'raid', Hd. {Hd.}, Sd {Gs.} $g\bar{a}d-$ v. 'wage war', $g\bar{a}d\bar{o}n$ 'war, campaign'; without HED the EC rec. may be $*gad-$ ¶ AD SF 301, Hd. 164, 278, 317, 363, L Z 120, Th. 144, Brl. 158, Grg. 154 || $ʔσ S *o\check{g}^{w}δw$ > Ar $\check{g}^{w}δw$ (pf. $\check{g}^{w}δ\bar{a}$) 'se tenir d'un pied ferme sur qch., se dresser sur les doigts du pied (pour mieux voir)' ¶ BK I 270, \neq DRS 103 || **A:** NaT $*K\ddot{u}\delta-$ \sim $*K\ddot{u}t-$ v. 'wait, lie in wait for' > OT {Cl.} $k\ddot{u}\delta-$ id., Qq $k\ddot{u}y-$ \sim $k\ddot{u}t-$, Az $к\ddot{u}d-$ $g\ddot{u}d-$ 'trace, track (следить, выслеживать), look for', Tki $k\ddot{u}t-$, Qrg $k\ddot{u}t-$, VTt, Bsh $k\ddot{u}t-$, Uz $kut-$, ET $k\ddot{u}t-$ 'wait', Qzq, Nog $k\ddot{u}t-$ 'wait for', Ln $k\ddot{u}t-$ 'wait, lie in wait for', Yk $k\ddot{u}t-$; the variant $*K\ddot{u}t-$ is based on metanalysis (from forms like $*k\ddot{u}ttim$ [$*k\ddot{u}\delta-ti-m$] 'I waited') ¶ Cl. 701, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 107-8, ARL 188 || **E:** El $ku-tē-$ 'sehen, schützen' ¶ HK 544-5 ◇ The rec. with N $*\check{z}$ is valid if the Ar and HEC cognates are accepted. But if they are rejected (for semantic reasons), a better N rec. will be $*gu_{1}ʔ_{1}dE$ or $*g\ddot{u}_{1}ʔ_{1}d_{1}$.

602a. $*ga_{1}y_{1}di$ (\sim $*ga_{1}y_{1}ti?$) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > HS: S $*'gad_{1}y-$ 'kid' (\rightarrow 'lamb') > BHb $'\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{t} g\bar{a}'d_{1}$ 'kid, lamb' (pl. $\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{t} g\bar{a}d\bar{a}'y\bar{i}m$ with $-\bar{a}-$ possibly due to the generalized model of pl. of the segolate nouns), EpOHb $'\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{t} g d_{1}y$, Pun $g d_{1}ʔ$, [Plt.] GADE 'kid', Ug $g d(y)$ {OLS} 'kid (cabrito)', pl. {A} $g d_{1}y m$, OA $g d_{1}ʔ$ 'goat', JA [Trg.] $\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{t} g\bar{a}d'_{1}y-\bar{a}$ 'kid, lamb', JEA $g\bar{a}d'_{1}y-\bar{a}$, Sr $\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{t} g\bar{a}d'_{1}y-\bar{a}$, Md $g\bar{a}d_{1}a$ 'kid, young

goat', Ar ḡadū- 'kid (chevreau)', Ar NY žadi 𐤆 židi id., Ak NB gadū 'male kid' (← WS) ¶ KB 171, KBR 178, HJ 213-14, OLS 144-5, Lv. T I 126, Sl. 260-1, JPS 60, DM 73, BK I 267, Ln. 393, Bns. NJ I 206-7, CAD V 9, DRS 100-1 || B *yaid 'kid, (young) goat' > Ah {Fc.} e-yaid (pl. i-yaid-ən), Ty, ETwl e-yayd (pl. i-yayd-ən, Ty i-yayd-ən) 'chevreau', Gh {Nh.} i-yid (pl. i-yid-ən), Gd {Lf.} a-yid (pl. yid-ān) id., Izd {Mrc.} i-yayd (pl. i-yayd-ən) 'young he-goat (jeune bouc, chevreau)', Tz a-yād 'he-goat'; fem. *tV-yaidV-t 'she-goat, female kid' > Ty, ETwl te-yaydat 'chevrette' (pl. Ty tiyaydad, ETwl šiyidad), Gd tayidēt (pl. tayidād) id.; Gd tē-yat ~ tē-yet, Kb t̄a-yat (pl. t̄i-yat̄in), Tz ta-yāt (pl. ti-yat̄in), Izd {Mrc.} ta-yat (pl. ti-yat̄in), Si tyāt (pl. tyāt̄in), SrSn tayat 'she-goat' ¶ Fc. 1711, Lf. II no-s 1869, 1876 and 1921, Mrc. 37, 51, Stm. 160, 227, GhA 75 ¶ The emphatic *y (for the expected *g) is puzzling || EC: Or {Brl., Th.} gadamsa 'kudu antelope', Or B {Vnt.} gadamsa (nom. -ni), Brj {Ss.} ga'dama 'greater kudu antelope', Ged gadansa 'antelope, buffalo' (← Or?) ¶ Ss. B 75, Brl. 157, Th. 142, Sr. 308, Vnt. 57, Hd. 20, 192, 240 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gada 'e antelope' > Hs gādā 'common (crested) duiker (antelope) *Cephalophus Grimmii* (= *Sylvicopra grimmia*)' || BT: Gera gadere 'bushbuck' || NrBc: P' {MSk.} gatará 'buck' || ? Sbc: Jm {Gw.} kitō, Gj {ChL} kitī, Buli {Gw.} kīt, Zar {Gw.} kīdī, Sy Zk {Gw.} kīdū 'antelope', Dw {ChL} kidī 'duiker' || Ngz {Sch.} gādūwā 'crested duiker' || CCh: ZmB {J} gódāy, {Sa.} gútay 'buck', Dgh {Frk} ʒédé girè 'antelope' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'antelope', Abr. H 282, Ba. 339, Sch. DN 64 ¶¶ Sk. HCD 74 || IE: NaIE *gʰǵʰaidō- '(young) goat', {EI} *gʰaidō-s 'goat' > L haedus 'kid, young goat' || Gt gait̄s (· χίμερος) f. 'Ziege', ON geit, OSx gēt, OHG geiz 'goat', NHG Geiß 'she-goat', AS zāt 'goat', NE goat ¶ P 409-10, EI 229, WH I 632, Fs. 186, Schz. 150, Kb. 324, KM 242, Ho. 124, Ho. S 26 ¶¶ The *media* *-d- (for the expected *-dʰ-) is puzzling. It may be explained if the IE word is a loan from HS or from one of its branches (F IS DIES 4 [IE ← S], AD IEH 14 and fn. 11 [IE ← early pS]) || D *kʰaʰt̄-, {GS} *kyad̄- 'young male of horned domestic animal' > Tm kaṭā, kaṭavū, kaṭay 'male of sheep\goat\buffalo', kaṭāri, kiṭāri 'heifer, young cow', kiṭā 'buffalo, bull, ram', Ml kaṭā, kiṭā, kiṭāvū 'young male of cattle', Kt kaṛć naḡ 'buffalo calf between 2 and 3 years', kaṛć kurl 'cow calf between 2 and 3 years', Kn kaḍasū, Kdg kaḍāci, Tu gaḍasə 'young cow\buffalo', Gnd kāṛā 'young buffalo', Knd ḡṛālu, Kui ḡṛādu 'calf', Kui

kṛāṅ 'young female buffalo\goat', Krx kaṛī id., kaṛā 'young male buffalo', Brh xaṛ 'ram', xaṛās 'bull, bullock'; D ⇨ pInA {Tu.} *kaṭṭa- and *kaḍḍa- 'young male (horned domestic) animal' (*kaṭṭa- > Lhn kaṭṭa 'buffalo calf', Hnd kaṭiyā 'buffalo heifer', Kshm kaṭḥ 'ram, sheep in general' and OI Sk kaṭahā- 'young female buffalo'; *kaḍḍa- > Ori kaṛā 'castrated male buffalo', kaṛāṅ 'young buffalo cow') and OI Sk kaṭahā- 'young female buffalo' ¶¶ D no. 1123, Tu. no-s 2645 and 2658, GS 166 [no. 416], 28 [no. 15] ◇ The B and IE precon. *ṅ / *y and D {GS} *-ya- suggest the presence of *y before *d (or *t). Alternatively, a mt. (possibly favoured by root structure patterns in B and IE) may be assumed (if we believe that S *'gadiy- preserves the original position of *y). IS DIES 4 supposed that IE *gḥajdo- is a loan from S, because the root-internal vw. *a is not typical of IE. But I do not find it a sufficient argument for a loan hypothesis because there are still other genuine IE nominal roots with an internal *a ◇ AD NM no. 49, Blz. NDA no. 53 (D, HS, IE).

603. *gudE?▽ 'belly, middle' > **HS:** C {AD} *g^ω▽d- 'middle, belly' > EC *gud- > Af {PH} gude (pl. gudēda) 'middle, waist', Sml {DSI, ZMO} n. gudo, {ZMO} gude n., Sml N {Abr.} gúdi 'inside' (and Or goda, gadi {Ss.} id., {Grg., Sr.} 'down'??), Hd {Ss.} gud-a 'half, middle'; EC {Ss.} *gidd- 'middle' > Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} židd-ū id., 'between', Or Wl {Brl.} gidđu id., židđu 'inside' (adv.), 'between', Or H {Ow.} židdū 'between', Hr, Dbs, Gwd kitte 'middle', Gln kitte id., 'half', HEC {Hd.} *giddo 'inside' > Sd, Ged giddo, Brj {Hd.} gididi 'inside, interior'; ? HEC {Hd.} *godoba 'belly' > Sd {Gs.} godobá, Ged godoba, Hd godabo, Kmb godaba id. ||| Bj {Blz. ← Rop.} g^ωadāb (pl. g^ωadaba) 'chest, front part of the body' ¶ AD SF 239-40, PH 116, DSI 277, Abr. S 97, ZMO 168, Ss. PEC 16, 18, Grg. 139, 176, Sr. 339, Brl. 175, 265, Ow. 265, AMS 164, 208, 258, Hd. 26, 84, 193, 242, 279, 318, 365-6, Blz. CL 176 (Bj ÷ HEC), ≈ Blz. EDB 13 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gádâvâ 'between' ||| CCh: Gdr {Mch} g3d3f 'belly', Bu P {Mk.} kūtā id. ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} gīdè, ? Nd D {J} gūž, Kwn kážā 'belly' ¶ JI II 21, Sch. DN 63, Eb. 51, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'belly', ChC s.v. 'belly' || **IE:** NaIE *gud- / *geud-, *gudo-m 'gut' > OI gu'dam id. ||| Mcd [Hs.] γόδα (·έντερα) 'guts, bowels' ||| Gmc: NLG kūt 'gut', NGr B kūt z 'e part of bowels', MDt kūt 'Weichteile im Tierkörper', Dt kuit, kiete 'fish roe, calf of the leg', N E Δ kyte, kite 'belly, stomach (Magen)' (but not NE gut, which is of different origin!) ¶ P 393, M K I 339, EI 179 || **K:** GZ *guda 'leather bag, wineskin' > OG, G, Mg, Lz guda- id. ({K} GZ ⇨ IE gudo- 'entrails') ¶ K²

34-5 || **A** *güdi_{ye} _n > M: [1] M {ðPp.} **güdi_{ye} > *gü_{ze}ye 'stomach of animals' > MM [MA] g_üžēni ač_a,an 'pack carried on the belly', WrM g_üžege {MED} 'stomach of animals', 'rumen used as container for butter, kumiss etc.', HIM гүзээ {MED} id., {BMR} 'Pansen, paunch; rumen used as container for butter, kumiss etc.', Brt гүзөө(н) 'Pansen, belly', Dg {T} g_üžē, MMgl {Iw.} g_üžān 'belly', Kl {KRS} гүзэн g_üžān 'Pansen, peritoneum, belly', {Rm.} g_üžēn 'Wamme, third stomach of the ruminants (Blättermagen)', Ord g_üžē 'panse de ruminant, ventre', Mnr H {SM} g_üž_iē 'estomach, panse', {T} g_üž_iē 'stomach, belly'; ↗ Ewk PT/Brg/Y/I/Nr gudi_{ye}, Sln gud_{ye}, gud_{ye} 'belly, peritoneum', Ud gudi_{ye}, {Krm.} gudē, Mc Sb gužug_{ye} 'peritoneum, container for liquids (made of a dried stomach)' | [2] with delabialization *ü > *e: M *gede-sün 'belly' > MM [HI] gedesün 'intestine', MM [IM] گيسون ges_üs_ün ({Iw.}: < *gedsün), WrM {MED} gedes_ü(n) ~ ged_üs_ü(n), HIM {MED, BMR} гэдэс, гэдсэн, Brt гэдэһэ(н) 'belly, stomach', Kl {Rm.} ges_ü 'Eingeweide, Magen (im Allgemeinen), Darm', Mnr Nr {SM} g_id_iēs_{ye}, Dg {Pp.} g_{ye}d_{ye}s, Dx kiž_iēs_ün 'intestine, belly', Mnr H {T} gedese 'belly', Ord {Ms.} g_{ye}d_üs_ü 'ventre, intestins', Mgl {Rm.} gesān 'stomach' ¶ Pp. MA 172, Pp. DN s.v. г_{ye}д_{ye}с, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 255, 274, MED 373, 393, BMR I 470, 478, KRS 148, KW 135, 140, Rm. M 28, STM I 167, Krm. 223, SM 136, 140, T 322-3, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 20, Iw. 103-4 || Tg *gudi_{ye} 'belly, peritoneum' > Ewk gudi_{ye} ɖ gudī, Lm gudi 'peritoneum, stomach', Neg gudi 'peritoneum, content of an animal's stomach', Sln gud_{ye}ž_{ye} ~ gud_{ye}ž_{ye} 'belly, stomach', Ud gudi_{ye} 'peritoneum', Nn Nh {On} gudiž_{ye}, {STM} guž_{ye}ž_{ye} 'stomach (of animals)', WrMc {Z} гүвэчжихэ 'stomach' (some of these words may be loans from M) ¶ STM I 167, On. 118, Z 368 ¶¶ SDM 552 (pA *g_iod_{ye} 'belly, stomach' > M *gede-sün, Tg), STM I 167 || **U**: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (× N *k'ot_{ye} 'belly', q.v.) > Chr: L кыдал кь'ба_l 'waist (поясница)', H кыдал 'каба_l id., {Rm.} кьба_l 'Hüfte', H кыдалаш ка'балаš, {Rm.} каба_läš adj. 'middle, L кьба_llan 'in the middle', Uf кьба_l 'middle of the body, middle', B кьба_l 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *k_üt 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *k_üçá_l > LK/MK/UK k^ωäç_l, UL/Ss коç_l id.; pOs {HT.} *k_üt > Os: V/Vy k_üt, Ty/Y k_üt, D/K q_üt, Nz/Kz q_üt, O qut 'space between', d. Os: V k_ütəw, O qutəp 'middle', D q_ütəpnə 'in the middle' || OHg köz n. 'middle', Hg köz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *küti, Ugr *küti 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF

379-80, Ht. no. 337, Trs. VD 145 || D *kuṭ- ({{GS}} *k-) 'entrails' (× N *guṣṣ 'entrails, pluck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ U *-t- and IE *-d- suggest an ancient *-t- from pN *-dṽʔ-, C, Ch and K *-d- are likely to point to a N voiced *-d-, while M and Tg *-d- may go back to both *-d- and *-dṽʔ- ◇ Blz. LNA no. 15 (suggesting to add the D cognate).

603a. *gæʔd'üšṽ (= *gäʔd'üšṽ?) 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > HS: S *'gawiš- > Ar {Fr., Ln.} جَوْشُ ǧawš- 'middle of the night' (or 'part of the night') → {Fr.} ǧawš- 'iter per totam noctem factum', Ak (from lists of synonyms) ǧêš u, translated in CAD and by Sd. as 'spend the night', 'übernachten' ¶ CAD V 64, Sd. 287, Fr. I 325, Ln. 487 ¶ The Ak vw. -ê- could have pointed to a lost S *ʔ or *h (inf. *gaḥāš|θ|šum, *gaʔāš|θ|šum, *gaš|θ|šāʔum or *gaš|θ|šāḥum), which would suggest a lr. in the N √, but this is ruled out (the expected lr. is absent in the IE cognate). A preferable solution is to assume that the Ak word is not a *CaCāC-um-infinitive, but a different nominal pattern, possibly S *'CaCiC- (like S *'raʔiš- 'head' > Ak rêšum), sc. S **'gaw|yiš- from HS **√gwc (with *c < *d|tš) with reg. *a, i > Ak ē ¶ The Ar word ǧawš- is likely to result from merger of S *'gawiš- 'night' and S *'gaw|ṽ, ṽ- 'breast, middle' (> Ar ǧawš- 'breast, middle of the man'), hence the meaning 'middle of the night' (one of the semantic variants registered by mediaeval Arab lexicographers and later by Lane) ¶ S *w in *'gawiš- goes back to N *ü || Ch {AD} *gaʔš-, {Sh.} *√gs₂ 'night' > WCh: Gj {Sh.} ǧàsì, Buli {Sh.} ṅǧàsɩ, Tule {Sh.} ǧašè, Zul {ChL} ǧèsí id. ¶ JI II 258, ChC s.v. 'night', ChL || ?? NrOm: ?? Kf {HHM} 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 (yɜč i) yič i 'yesterday' | ? Dzd: Mj {AY} gota 𐎠 ǧōt, Shk {AY} ǧōta, {Fl.} gotɜ, Na {Fl.} ǧodɜ? id. ¶ HHM 421, Fl. OWL, AY WShND s.v. 'night' || K: OG, G ǧušin 'yesterday' ¶ Ser. 73, Chx. 217 || IE: NaIE {P} *ǧʰdyes / ? *ǧʰdis (> simplified variants *ǧʰe(:)s, *ǧʰyes) 'yesterday' > OI 'hyas id, (< *ǧʰyes), hyastanaḥ 'gestrig', OPrs diya(ka), NPrs دِيگ dīg ~ دِي dī, Sgd ʔzyy myð, Oss: I znon and D äzinä 'yesterday' (< *zi-na-) || Gk χθέç 'yesterday', Gk El [Hs.] σερ-ός (σερ- < *ǧʰyes) id. || pAl {O} *de > Al dje id. || L herī, herě id. (< IE *ǧʰesi), hes-ternus 'gestrig' || Clt {Matas.} *ǧdesi adv 'yesterday' > OIr in-dé (< NaIE *'ǧʰdyes), MW doe ~ ddoe, W doe id., OCrn [ȝ] doy 'heri', Cm dē, MBr dech, Br {Hm.} dec'h, {LP} deac'h 'yesterday' || ON í gær (< Gmc *ǧēz-), OSw i gár id. (< IE *ǧʰēs), OHG gesteron 𐌆 gesterēn, NHG gestern, MDt gisteren, AS ʒeostra(n) 'yesterday', NE yester-day; ?σ Gt gistra-dagis ('

αύριον) 'tomorrow' ¶ P 416, Bc. 1000, EI 654 (*^(d^h)ǵ^hyes 'yesterday'), M K III 614, M E II 822, Ab. IV 313, Vl. I 946, 953, LP § 28, SEv. 221, YGM-1 193, ECCE 231, Huld BAE 53, O 68, F II 693, Pis. AHC, Vr. 197, Fs. 215-6, Kb. 330, Schz. 151, OsS 311, Ho. 128, KM 254, Matas. E 155, Hm. 146
 || A: T *k'āç (or *k_āç?) 'late, evening' > OT {Cl.} kēč 'late, lateness', Cmn keč 'late', Chg ≥XV keč 'late, slow; long time', geč qurun 'late evening', Tk геч, Tkm gīč, Az кеч gež, Ggz, Qmq geč, CrTt, Qrg keč 'late', VTt kiš, Bsh kis 'evening', Blq keč ≡ кес, Kr Cr, Uz keč, ET káč, StAlt keć, Nog, Qzq, Qq keš 'late, evening', Chv каç каś 'evening, night'; (->) T *k'āçä (or *k_āçä?) 'late in the evening' (→ 'night', 'yesterday') > OT {Cl.} kēčä 'late in the evening, late evening', Ggz gežä '(by) night, late in the evening', Tk гече id., 'late evening', Tkm gīžе, Az кечә gežä '(by) night', Qmq geče, Nog keše, Qrg S keče, VTt † кичә kišä 'night', VTt кичә kišä, Qz keše, StAlt keće 'yesterday', Bsh kisä, Qq keše id., 'evening', Uz keča 'night, yesterday', ET kečä, Xlj {DT} kīęčä 'evening, night', Xk (d.?) кичее kižē 'yesterday', Tv kežē, Tf кʷеžе, Yk kīāsä ~ kīāsā 'evening, in the evening' ¶ The quality of the pT vw. (*-ā-) is reconstructed on the ev. of Chv, while in the NaT lges we cannot distinguish between *-ā- and *-ē- ¶ Cl. 692-3, Rs. W 245, ET VGD 50-2, Md. 35 (*kēć 'late, evening'), GRM 107-8, KumRS 99, Jud. 383, Nj. 666, BT 81, KrkR 320, NogR 164, BIG 78, DT 150, Ra. 202-3, Pek. 1077, Ash.VI 140-1, Fed. I 237-8, Jeg. 93, ChVS 73 ¶ The long vw. in T *k'āç is due to the contraction of the N disyllable *-æ^rd'üš- (> T *-āç) ◇ The original structure of the word is problematic. The proposed tentative N rec. *gæ^rd'üš ▽ suggests the following later phonetic changes: [1] N *gæ^rd'üš ▽ > **güdüš ▽ > **güdš ▽ > K *guš ▽ and HS *guš ▽ (> -> S *^lgawiš- and Ch *gaš-), [2] N *gæ^rd'üš ▽ > **gēdiš ▽ > pre-IE **gdiš ▽ > IE (stressed) *ǵ^hdyes / (unstressed) *ǵ^hdis, [3] N *gæ^rd'üš ▽ > T *k'āç (complementary lengthening) > A *^og'āç ▽ > T *k'|k_āç.

604. *ga₁ü₂gæ 'covet, long for', (→ ?) 'mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^heǵ^h- 'covet' > Gt inf. ga-geigan (· κερδῆσαι) 'gewinnen', inf. faíhu-geigan (· ἐπιθυμεῖν) 'begehren', with the *n-infix: OHG inf. gingen 'to long for', gingo 'das Verlangen', inf. gingein 'to require' || ? Lt inf. giēžti 'Groll hegen', {P} pa-giēžti 'to crave for revenge', pagiežà 'rancour, craving for revenge' (unless <- Lt inf. giēžti, pa-giēžti 'im Halse kratzen' or Lt {Frn.} gaižūs 'ranzig, bitter, herb') ¶ P 427, Fs. 136, 181, Schz. 151, Kb. 363, Frn. 129 || U: FU *kE₁y₂ ▽ - v. 'utter a mating call' (of birds in courtship ritual), v. 'sing' (partially × FU *kü₁ye

[or *keye-] 'lust, amorous calling sounds' < N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want', [in descendant lges] → 'be in heat, lust') > pLp {Lr.} *kikэ- v. 'emit amorous calling sounds, mate' (of birds) > Lp: L {LLO} kihkæt v. 'mate' (of birds), N {N} gikâtt, Kld k+gge-(δ) id. | Prm *koy- ({LG} *koy-) > Z N koy-, Z US koy- 'utter a mating call, mate' (of birds), Z Δ koyt, Yz 'kuť 'mating place of birds (ток)' ||| pObU {Ht.} *kēy- ~ *kōy- v. 'mate\copulate' (of birds), 'utter a mating call' > pVg *kǎy- id. > Vg: T kiy-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL kǎy- id., UL/Ss kay- id., 'sing a magic song' (of shamans); pOs {Ht.} *köy- (|HI.} *kǎy-) 'mate, utter a mating call' ({Trs.} 'токовать, ворковать') > Os: V/Vy köy-, Ty kǎy-, Y köy-, D këy-, K kǎy-, Nz/Kz key- id., O qoy- v. 'prophecy, exercise magic by singing' | Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoy-ment' ¶ Coll. 79, UEW 143-4, Sm. 543 (FU *kixi 'rut' > FP *kixi-, Ugr *kǐgǐ-), LG 128, Lt. 45, MF 346-7, Ht. no. 231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trs. S 167 ||| а ≈ *gü: 'g'â- (or *gü: 'g'â-?) > NaT *Kü: 'g- 'be in heat, mate' > OT {Cl.} küg 'the mating of rams and wild animals in the mating season', Qrg kü-gö kel- 'be in heat, be ready to be mated' (of female animals) (lit. 'come [kel-] to [-gö] the heat'), Qzq küy|ö- v. 'mate' (of cattle, sheep and dogs) ¶ Cl. 709-10, Jud. 472-3 || M *guyy- v. 'ask, implore, require, beg' ({Pp: 'bitten, betteln') (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'to go\drive away', q.v. × N *gâ?y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon']) > MM [HI, S] guyy- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} guyy- * 'ask' (att. guyy|duba tedenlē 'asked together with them'), WrM guyy- {MED} 'ask, request, beg, solicit', HIM {MED, BMR} guy- id., Kl {Rm.} gū- 'bitten, werben', guí gū- 'betteln', {KRS} huyy- yū- 'betteln; aufdringlich bitten (клянчить)', Ord g_yy- 'supplier, prier, demander avec insistance; mendier'; ⇨ M *guyy|'i' n_ > WrM {MED} guyyili, HIM {MED} guyль, Kl {KRS} huyль yūí n. 'alma', {Rm.} gūíí, guíñ 'Almosen, das Betteln', ⇨ : [1] WrM {MED} guyyilinci 'beggar', HIM {MED, BMR} guyлинч, {BMR} guyланч id., Mnr H {SM} gue'sú_i ~ guz'ci 'mendiant'; [2] M *guy|'i' lga- > WrM {MED} guyy|lga- (caus. of guyy-) 'make ask\request\beg', HIM guyльга- {MED} caus. of guy-, {BMR} 'bitten', Kl {KRS} huyльh- yūíh- 'betteln, выпрашивать, выманивать', {Rm.} gūí yαl- 'betteln, sich von Almisen nähren', Ord g_yy|lga- 'faire supplier, faire demander avec insistance'; [2a] M *guy|'i' lga_n_ > WrM {MED} guyy|lga n. act. 'asking, begging', n. 'request, demand, petition, supplication', HIM guyльга {MED} id., {BMR}

T 96 || IE ***g^heH(j)-** (IE {EI} ***g^heh₁-** 'leave [go away]'): NaIE ***g^hē(j)-** /***g^hi-** or ***g^hē(j)-** /***g^hi-** v. 'go away' ('fortgehen'), (× N ***g^ha'ž∇** 'to go; way, path') > OI 'jihī tē' 'geht fort\hervor', {MW} 'start forward' (× md. of the √ ***g^heH₂-** 'leave, abandon') > OI ✓ hā-, Av ā-zā- 'herangehen' || Gk Hm κλχάνω, Gk A κλγχάνω (based on the pres. form *κί-χῆ-μι) v. 'reach (erreichen, erlangen)' (← *'go' ← *'go away') || Gmc: OHG inf. gā-n ȝ gā-en ȝ kēn, NHG inf. gehen, OFrs, OSx inf. gā-n, A inf. ȝā-n, OSw, Odn inf. gá, Sw, Dn inf. gǎ, Gt Cr inf. geen 'to go', NE go || Blt (× NaIE ***g^hā-** < N ***kuṣa** 'to go, to advance, to follow', q.v.): Lt Δ inf. gó-ti 'to go', Ltv gāijū 'I went' ¶ WP I 542-4, EI 349 (***g^heh₁-**) and 115 (on IE ***g^heh_h-** 'come' see N ***kuṣa** '↑'), ≈ M K I 426, MW 1296, F I 208-10 and 861-2, Ho. 123, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 312, Hlq. 316, Fs. 182, 213, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8 ¶ It is doubtful that OI 'jahātē' 'leaves, abandons' and Av zazāhi 'entlasse' belong here ¶¶ NaIE ***g^hē(j)-** may be also explained as going back to ***g^hēu(j)-** ¶¶ AD NGIE || U ***kuṣ∇** '≈ drive (so., sth.)' > Ugr ***kuṣ∇** {Rd.} 'treiben, jagen' > Vg: Ss {BV}, LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- v. 'entice (an animal), set (a dog) on', 'verführen, antreiben', N {MK} xujti-, ML {MK} khujti-, P {MK} khujtētī- [xuytātī-], khwqjti ~ khujti 'hetzen, aufbringen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben', P {Rd.} kuyt- 'entice (манить)' | OHg hajt- '(zu etwas) bewegen, treiben', Hg hajt- v. 'drive (treiben, jagen); incite, urge on (anreizen, anziehen, antreiben)' || Sm ***ku-** vi. 'drive by the water stream', vt. 'drive sth.' (of a stream\wind) > Ne T d. inf. xу"–ла-сь ~ xу"лесь 'to be driven by the water stream', Ne F {Lh.} χυḷ'ā-, χṽ'ḷ'ō' 'von der Strömung getrieben schwimmen', Ne T BZ xув, Ne T Y xṽ, Ne F {Lh.} χṽβ ȝ χṽ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', ?φ,μ Slq Tz {Prk.} kur+- ~ qur+-, {KKIH} d. kur+-qo 'carry sth.' (of a stream, wind), 'swim with the stream' ¶¶ UEW 858, BV 142, MK 117, EWU 515, Jn. 76, KKIH 122, WVD VII 140 || ?σ A ***gob∇** 'pursue, hunt', ({ADb.} ***gōw-** v. 'hunt, pursue, look for') > T ***Kob-** 'follow, pursue, chase' (× T ***Kog(∇)-** < N ***gokE** [= ***goki?**] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of' [q.v.] and N ***kuṣa** 'go, advance, follow', [← ?] 'track (game), follow the tracks' [q.v.] > OT [QB, MhK] qoṽ- v. 'follow, pursue, chase', MT XIII [a tefsir] qoṽ- v. 'hunt', Chg, XwT XIV qaṽ- v. 'pursue, drive away', MQp qoṽ- v. 'pursue', Osm qoṽ- ~ qoṽ-, Tk koṽ-, Δ qoṽ- ȝ goṽ-, Tkm qoṽ-, Az goṽ-, Xk χoṽ-, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Uz quṽ-, Ggz kṽ- 'chase, follow, pursue', Qrg, StAlt qṽ-, Tlt {Rl.}, Tb/QK {B} qoṽ-, VTt qu-, Bsh

qъw- 'follow the tracks of, pursue', Qmn q0- 'keep an eye on, pursue, look for', Sg/Qc/Qk/Qb {Rl.} q0y-, Xk xof- - x0y- v. 'follow so.', ET q0y- li- v. 'pursue, chase, follow' || Chv L xăb- - xъv-, Chv Δ xу- - xу- ɖ xуа- ɖ {Md.} xъv- 'drive away, chase, pursue' ¶ Cl. 580 (? T *kōb with a long *ō [unj. rec. of length on the insufficient ev. of MK's spelling with ɟ, at variance with the ev. of Tkm]), DTS 461, Rs. W 275 (*q0y-), ET Q 9-10, Rh. 1490, TkR 402, ARL 83, Nj. 605-6, BN 124, BT 97, B DChT 128, B DK 223, B DLT 164, BIG 283, Rl. II 515, 663, 883-4, 1040, KRPS 372, Ash. XVI 140-1 and 305, Fed. II 315-16, Jeg. 288, MM 455, ≈ Md. 44, 169 (pT *k'0.b- with unj. *k'-), TvR 483 || Tg *gob(j0)- v. 'hunt, drive (a wild animal)' > Ewk PT g0y-, Ewk Tmt g0wyo-, Ewk NB/Skh/Urm g0wjo- v. 'hunt with a dog for sables', Lm A gobja- 'hunt by driving (a wild animal)', Lm Ol/A/B/P obja- 'hunt with a dog, hunt for mountain rams', Neg gobjo- 'hunt with a dog (on fresh snow)', Orc gobžono- 'drive sables on snow', Ork gobdo- 'hunt with a dog, hunt for sables, hunt in winter' ¶ STM I 157 || ?ф,σ M *guyy- ~ *guyi- 'ask, implore, request, beg' (← *'pursue?') (× N *gaŷūgæ 'covet, long for' [q.v. ffd.], N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > MM {H} quyi- 'bitten. verlangen, vordern', [HI, S] quyu- 'ask, solicit, require', [MA] {Pp.} quyu- * 'ask' (att. quyulduba tedenlē 'asked together with them'), WrM {MED} quyu-, HIM {MED. BMR}, Brt guy- 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Kl {Rm.} gū- 'bitten, werben', {KRS} hyy- yū- 'beg for alms; 'aufdringlich bitten (клянчить)', Ord guyu- 'supplier, prier, demander avec instance; mendier' ⇨ M *guyuli, d. *guyulinč'i > WrM {MED} guilinc'i n. 'beggar, mendicant', adj. 'beggarly, begging', HIM {MED} guylinč id., {BMR} guylinč ~ guylanč 'beggar, попрошайка', Kl {KRS} hyyul yūí 'begging, alms', {Rm.} gūíí, guíñ 'Almosen; das Betteln', Mnr H {SM} g_ue'śś_i ~ g_uzć'i 'beggar', ? g_ue'rla- 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' ¶ Ms. H 92, Ms. O 311, Pp. MA 180 ('bitten, betteln'), H 74, MED 365, BMR I 455-7, Chr. 159, KRS 171, KW 156-7, SM 124-5 || pJ *kəp- 'ask, beg' (← *'pursue') > OJ kop-, MJ kəp- id., J T kó-, J K\Kg kò- {Kenk.} 'ask, request, invitem beg' ¶ Mr. 714, Kenk. 1082¶¶ SDM 560-1 (pA *gðbè|ò 'search, hunt' > Tg, M, T, J), S AJ 81, Pp. VG 24, 49, 137, ADb. KL 10, KW 156, Vld. 160, 272, Oz. NM 202-3 ◊ Blz. EIAL 13 [no. 45] (S, IE).

606. ₂ *gokE (= *goki?) 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of' > HS: C {AD} *g^w∇g|k- > Ag *gūk- > Bln {R} gūg- (pl. gūkək), Xm T {CR}

g^w u g 'way' || Bj {R} g ī g - scv. 'go away' || HEC: Hd {AD, Hd.} gō gō 'road', Kmb {C} g o g g o 'way'; ?σ C ⇨ Gz ✓ g g w (pf. gō g a w a, js. y a g o g ū) v. 'err' ¶ AD SF 256, AD MLX s.v. gō g o, R WB 144, R WBd 93, Hd. 280, L G 185, (?) Ap. ANH 23 (suggesting assimilation from HEC *dō g o 'way' as an alt. et. of Hd gō g o and Kmb g o g g o) || Om: NrOm: Zs {Si.} 'g o g e 'road', Shk {Bnd.} kō k u, Mj {C} k o k id. || SOm: Ari {Bnd.} gō g í 'road, path' (loans from HEC?) ¶ AD SF 256, Bnd. AL 157, Si. ACh 6 || Ch {JS} *✓ g k 'path' > WCh: Dr {J} g ó k ó, Bl {Mk} g o g o 'road', Pr {Frz.} k ó k k o 'way' ¶ JS 200, ChC s.v. 'road', Frz. P 36 || | A ≈ *g o k i 'run, send' > T *K o l : g (∇) - {SDM} vt. drive, pursue' (× T *K o b - 'follow, pursue, chase' < N *g E h o w y ∇ 'go away, drive away', q.v.) > ET Δ q o y a l -, Xk χ o y -, StAlt q o y - vt. 'drive (sb.), pursue (гнать, гнаться, преследовать)', Tk k o ģ - 'drive out\away' ¶ Shch. SFTJ 194 (pT *K o g -), ET Q 9-10 (s.v. *q o w -), Rs. W 275 || ?φ M *g ū y i l y i l - 'run' ({SDM} 'run, gallop, flee') > MM [S] {H} g u i y i - 'laufen, rennen', [HI] {Ms.} g ũ (y) i -, [MA, IM] {Pp.} g ũ i - 'run', WrM {MED} g ũ i - ~ g ũ y ũ - 'run, flow', HIM г y й - {MED} id., {BMR} 'run', Mnr H {SM} g u ē - 'courir' (homme), 'couler', {T} g u ī - 'run', Mgl {Rm.} g ū ī -, Brt г y й - 'run', WrO g ũ ũ -, Kl {KRS} г y y - g ū - 'run, flee', Ord g ū i - 'courir, galoper', 'marcher vite' (personne à pied), 'couler', Dg {Mrm.} g u i - 'laufen, rennen' ¶ Pp. MA 172, 437, H 52, Ms. H 57, 59, Ms. O 275, MED 389-9, BMR I 471-2, Chr. 164, Klz. D I 135, Krg. 775, KRS 150, KW 140, SM 140, T 323, Rm. M 28, Ms. O 275 || Tg {SDM} *g i k - > Nn Nh/KU g i q o - v. 'run at a trot' (a horse), WrMc {Z} г y а л ч а - 'run (in an easy, beautiful way)' (a horse) ¶ STM I 137, 149, On. 104, Z 370 || ?φ pJ {S} *k à k á - 'run, gallop, flee' > MJ k a k a - id., J T k a k é -, J K/Kg k à k è - {Kenk.} 'run, gallop' ¶ S QJ no. 804, Mr. 702, Kenk. 787 ¶¶ SDM 554 (pA *g i ð k 'ó > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 530, Rs. W 275, Pp. VG 24, 137 || AdS of U *k o k e - v. 'see, experience, find' (× N *K o K e 'look, see' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IS I 309-10 [no. 183] (*K o k i 'идти по следу, следовать': U, A), AD NM no. 31, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate because [as far as Vv. thought] it is isolated within A), S CNM 6 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST).

607. *gaKt'ä' 'couple, one of a pair' > HS: NrOm: Gng: Kf {C} g u t - v. 'be two', g u t t o 'two', {Fl., Msr.} gutto, Mch {L} 'gutto, Anf {MYTY} gutto, {Gt.} g u t t ó, {C} g u t t o, Mch {Lm.} gutto, Amuru {Fl.} gitta, Shn {Lm.} g í t t à 'two' ¶ C SE IV 308, 451, L M 34, Lm. Sh 316, Fl. OWL s.v. 'two', Msr. 86, Gt. 353, MYTY 117 ¶ Acc. to C and Lm., the Gng numeral is a loan from EthS k a l p e t t - 'two' (hardly convincing) || Eg {EG, Vc.} *z w t 'twenty' (this approximate reading of the numerical sign for '20' is

assured by two wordplays) > Cpt: Sd XOYWT зuōt , B XWT зōt 'twenty' ¶ EG V 252, Vc. 333 || U *kakta ~ *kaktä 'two' > F kaks i (gen. kahden), Es kaks (gen. kahе) id. | pLp {Lr.} *kōktē > Lp: N {N} guok'ite , S {Hs.} guokte , L {LLO} kuokte , Kld kūx:t id. | pMr {Ker.} *kaxt' > Er kavto kavto , Mk kafra 'kafra' id. | pChr *kokt' > Chr H/L/E attr. kok kok , subst., pred. L koktyt kokt'yt , H kokty kokt'yt id. | ItPrm *kūk > Z, Vt k+k , Yz k\^A k 'two'; acc. to Lt. 192, Prm *ū (for the expected *j̄ < FU *ä) is due to the infl. of *ūt 'one', the original *j̄ being preserved in Z kōk'jamyс kzkyam+s , Z I, Prmk Δ k+k'jamyс , Vt XVIII kыk'jamyс 'eight' > Modern Vt tjamyс id. (in the Prm lges 'eight' < 'ten [*m+s] without two' [*kūk]) || pObU *kīt(∇) 'two' > pVg *kīt∇ id. > OVg kitta кита , Vg: T kiç , LK/MK/UK/P, NV/SV, LL/UL/Ss kit ; pOs *kit- / *kät- id.: the variant *kit- is found as a bound morpheme in derived and compound forms of Os E and some other Os dialects: V/Vy {Trs.} kitta , Ag/Uy/Ty/Y {Trs.} kitanti , Sl {Trs.} kitanta , Sh {Stn.} kītam-tak 'both', Sl {Trs.} kitkōfān ~ kitkōfōn 'twelve', Ag/Ty/Uy {Trs.} kitsāt 'two hundred', Sl {Trs.} kitsir 'of two kinds (дворякий)', kitmātax 'for the second time (вторично)', while in the free morpheme (the attr. numeral 'two') and the subst. numeral 'two' the stem is always (in all Os dialects) pOs {Ht.} *kät > Os {Ht.}: V/Vy kāt , Ty/Y kāt , D kēt , K/O kāt , Nz/Kz qāt , {Stn.} Sh qāt 'two' (attr.), subst. numeral: Os V {Trs.} kātkan (-kan is a formant of du.), Os Sh {Stn.} qatan 'two' || Hg kēt (attr.), kettō 'two' || Sm {Jn.} *kitä, {Hl.} *kite 'two' > Ng {Mik., Hl.} śiti , {Ter.} citi citi , En {Ter.} 'siðe, En {Cs.} X siре , B side , Ne T сидя , T O {Lh.} śide , Ne F {Popova} / śiŋa / [śiŋcæ], {Lh.} śiczã , Slq Tz {KKIH} šitt , Slq Tm {KD} šida , Kms {KD} šide , Koyb {Sp.} сыда , {Pl.} tschidä джидя 'two', Mt {Hl.} *kid_de 'two' (Mt: M {Sp.} кыды , {Pl.} kiddä , K {Pl.} gide , M/T/K {Mll.} kiddē) || ? Y: T {IN H} ki- , kiy- 'two', {Krn.} kiyōn , {Ku.} kiyūōn 'are two', {Ku.} kiyūōl- 'be two', {Iox. → Ang.} ki jol 'two', ki ji 'zu zweit' ¶¶ Coll. 21, Coll. CG 406, UEW 118-19, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Ugr *kektä, FP *kakta), LG 140, SK 146, Lr. no. 509, Lgc. no. 2880, Hs. 686-7, Ker. II 51, Ber. 18, LG 140, 151, Lt. J 130, Ht. no. 339, Trs. S 104, 114-15, Trs. VD 58-9, Stn. OG 58, 144-5, Jn. 71, Ter. NgJ 149, Ter. EJ 446, Cs. 92, KP 191-2, Hl. MNJ 214, Hl. M no. 481, Ppv. 121, Ptp. 50, 100, IN H 209, Krn. JJ 182-4, Ku. 91, Ang. 117, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 16] (Y ← U) || A *gagta 'one of a pair' > Tg *gagda (~ gakta) 'one of a pair' > Ewk, Neg, Orc gagda , Nn Bk/KU gagda , Nn Nh (d.) gagsja , WrMc {Z} такда ~ такта 'one-armed, one-handed, one-legged,

one-eyed', Mc Sb gadз 'one of a pair', Lm gād id., 'half', Ud gagda 'one of a pair, the other one, second'; (-d → ?) Tg *gagsi > Nn Nh (d.) gagsia 'one of a pair' (on mittens and footwear), WrMc {Z} гакси 'one of two men (performing smth. together) ¶ STM I 135, Ci. 299, Vas. 80, On. 96, Z 302 || pJ {S} *kātā 'one of two sides' > OJ kātā id. ¶ S QJ no. 1311, Mr. 442 || M *gagča > MM [MA] {Pp.} гaqča, [HI] qaqca (= gagča), [IsV] qaqča (= gagča) 'alone', [S] {H} hahca 'einzig, allein', WrM {MED} гaгca 'alone, single, the only one', HIM {BMR} гaгц, Brt гaгca id., Kl {Rm.} gакca 'allein', Ord g_aqč'a 'unique, seul', WrO гaqca 'sole, only', Dg {Lg.} gašvā, {T} gašqā(r) 'alone' (< d. *gagčavar id.); the var. *ganča 'alone' (> WrM {MED} ганca, HIM {MED, BMR} ганц, Brt ганca, Kl {KRS} һанц, {Rm.} ганca, Ord g_anč'a id.) is akin to WrMc {Z} ганьчжи 'all, whole' and may result from paradigmatic merger of both mentioned roots ¶ Pp. MA 175, Ms. H 88, H 56, Lg. VMI 41, MED 343, 347, BMR I 331, 379-84, Krg. 310, Chr. 138, 145-6, KRS 15, KW 141, 143, T DgJ 131, Ms. O 287, 291, Z 301 || T *Ka₁:₁ta 'time(s) (Mal)', 'whole' (× T *Kat 'layer, row' < N *kañ|ń ▽ (t ▽) 'stalk, trunk of a tree') > OT {Cl.} qata '(so many) times' (bir qata 'once', üç qata 'three times', qač qata 'many times'), OT [MhK] {Rl.} qada 'time (Mal)', MT [Tefsir], OXwT XIV qata id., Tk kat, Kr T/G kat, Qmq, VTt, Bsh qat 'time (Mal)', Chv L хут хут, Chv Δ хот хот id., Chv L хута худа 'whole' (кун хута '[for] the whole day'), хуташ худаš 'together', Az gat '-fold\ple' (with numerals: üç-gata 'threefold, triple'); Shor/Sg/ Bltr/Qc {Rl.} qada, Xk хада хада, Tv qatay 'together', StAlt qatay id., 'side by side (рядом)'; ? Yk хат 'for the second time, again' (← *'the other one' ← *'one of a pair') ¶ Cl. 593, 596, ≈ ET KQ 335-6, Ash. XVI 250-2, 257, Fed. II 371-4, Jeg. 310-11, Rl. II 305-6, BIG 262, TvR 231, JkR 488, Pek. 3393-4 ¶¶ SDM 525-6 (pA *gāgtā 'one of a pair' > Tg. M, J + unc. T *Kat 'layer'), DQA no. 472, Rozycki MM 85 (Tg, M) ◇ AD SShS 299-300 (U, A, HS).

608. *gaʔuK ▽ 'long, high, far' > U: FU *kawka 'long' > F каука 'das Ferne', каукаа 'from afar, at a great distance', кауан 'long, for a long time', Es кауа id., кауге 'distant, far, remote' || Er kuvaka, Mk ku'vaka 'long' || ? Lp Ar kāw'kaš-saууен 'an einem entlegenen, langweiligen Ort' || Os: V коу, D хōw 'long, far, remote', V kokka, D хōwa, O хōwi 'far' ¶ UEW 132 || A *gUKd'E' 'high; peak' > Tg *gugda 'high' > Ewk gugda 'high, tall', Sln гугда, Lm gūd, Neg gogda, Orc, Ud gugda, Ul, Ork, Nn Bk гугда, Nn Nh/Bk gogda 'high' WrMc {Z} годохонь 'высокий и прямой

ростом, голговязый' (a person), 'прямо растущий' (tree); 'прямо стоящий'; without the sx *-da: Ud gugana- v. 'jump up' (of animals) ¶ STM I 166, On. 110, Z 341 || M {DQA} *gögde-gür 'hilly, convex' (← **gögde 'hill') > WrM {MED} gögdūgūr 'hilly, uneven', Kl {Rm.} gögdəgr 'hügelig, uneben', (M *güde-gür?): WrM gūdūgūr {MED} protruding, jutting, projecting, convex, vaulted', HIM гүдгэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'convex, abschüssig (покатый), возвышенный, рельефный', Brt гэдэгэр 'die Brust wölpend (с выпяченной грудью)', Kl {KRS} гедгр gedgar id., {Rm} гэдэг 'mit zurückgebogenem, erhobenem Kopfe, mit steifem Nacken; zurückgebogen', Ord g_ü_d_ü_g_ü_r 'convexe, bombé, voûté'; ?σ M *güdü₁∇₁- > WrM gūdūi- {MED} v. 'protrude, jet out, project', HIM гүдий- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become convex, become uneven, hügelig werden (статья бугристым), bulge out, торчать', Brt гэды- 'die Brust wölpen (выпячивать грудь), откидывать назад корпус', Kl {KRS} гэдэ- gedä- 'выгибать спину, откидываться назад', {Rm.} gedē- 'seinen Kopf aufwärts/rückwärts halten, den Kopf heben und steif halten' ¶ MED 386, 388, BMR 468, Chr. 168, KRS 131, 135, KW 137, Ms. O 274 || pKo *kòkái 'peak, height' > MKo kòkái, NCo kogä id. ¶ S QK no. 222, Yu 61, MLC 134, HMC 156 || pJ *kúkì 'peak (mountain)' > OJ kukì, MJ [RJ] kúkì ¶ S QJ no. 293, Mr. 462 ¶¶ SDM 564 (pA *gók'ì(-d∇) 'high; peak' [supposing that Tg -da and M *-de go back to a sx] > Tg, M *gögde-, J, Ko), DQA no. 549 (id.), Pp. VG 19, 51, S AJ 288, 295 || IE: NaIE *ko|auk|k̄- 'high' > Gmc *'hauha-/ *hau'ga- id. > Gt hauh-s (· ὑψηλός) 'hoch', ON hárr (from OScn *hauha-R₂), OHG hōh, NHG hoch, AS hēah 'high', NE high || ?φ pTc {Ad.} *keuč > Tc: A koc, B кац 'high, up, above' ¶¶ Fs. 249, Vr. 210, KM 312, Ad. 209, ≈ P 589 || ?φ HS: B *√Hgg > Ah aǵǵ, WTwl ugag, Ty igag, Shl T {Stm.} agug 'be far\remote, go\move away (s'éloigner, sich entfernen)' ¶ Fc. 405, PGG 82 ¶ The origin of B *H- (a px?) is still to be discovered ◇ IE *k- (rather than *g^h-) is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same root. The A labialized vw. (for N *a) may be due to the infl. of N *w ◇ Blz. L no. 104d (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 31 (N *k̄a|wk|ga 'high, long' > IE, FU), ≠ Blz. LNA no. 11 (equating the A root with FU *kokka 'Hervorstechendes, Spitze', Y kókä [sc. pY *kōkə] 'head' and D *kukk- id., see N *k̄akU [or *k̄okU?] 'hook' and N *k̄âRk̄ub|p∇ 'top, summit, crown [of the head'])).

609. *gaLE 'shout, cry' (→ 'weep', 'ask for') > IE (× [2?] *k'a'ṪX'E' 'call [appeler], shout'): NaIE *g^he| - v. 'call, shout (rufen, schreien)', {EI}

'cry out; sing' > ON inf. gjalla ~ gella 'laut tönen, schreien', OHG inf. gëllan {EI} 'to resound loudly' (> NHG inf. gellen 'to shrill'), AS inf. zīellan 'to shout, to yell', NE ȝell; ON inf. gala (p. gōl) 'to shout, to sing', AS inf. zalan 'to sing, to call, to shout', OHG inf. galan 'to sing, to conjure, to enchant'; WGmc cd *nahta-galōn 'nightingale' (< 'cantatrix nocturna') > OSx, OHG nahtagala ~ nahtigala, NHG Nachtigal, AS nihtegale 'nightingale', NE nightingale ||| Sl: R Δ inf. 'Галить' 'to shout, to cry, to weep', 'to shout in a fit of anger, to be angry', inf. на'Галить 'to shout/sing rhythmically (while working)' | ???σ names of birds: Gk χελιδών (< *χελιδών) 'swallow', rdp. κίχλη, Gk D κίχλη 'thrush', ?? Sl *galъ, *galъka 'jackdaw, crow' > Blg гал 'jackdaw', McS Δ gal 'crow', OR galъka, R 'Галка 'jackdaw' etc. (the Sl words may alternatively be connected with Sl *gal- denoting black color, F ESSJ VI 96-7) ¶ WP I 628, P 428, EI 89, Vr. 169-70, OsS 252, 296, 635, Ho. 123, 129, 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 311, 324-5, KM 245, 500, ESSJ VI 92-4 (without distinguishing this R verb from homo- and paronymous verbs such as га'лить 'to play pranks', OCS ГАЛѦТИ galiti 'to jump, to rejoice') and 96-7, F I 862 and II 1084-5 ||| A: Tg *gele- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *goīn 'look for, wish', [?] 'look') > Ewk g3l3-, Orc g3l3- v. 'ask, wish', Sln g3l3- v. 'look for, ask', Lm g3l3- id., Δ v. 'wish', Neg g3l3- v. 'ask', Ud g3l3- v. 'call for, ask for, wish', Ul g3l3- ~ g3li-, Ork g3l3- v. 'ask, require, look for', Nn Nn Nh/Bk {STM, On} g3l3- v. 'ask, invite, look for'; Tg *gele₁ne- v. 'go to fetch (sth.)' > Ewk g3ln3-, Sln g3l3n3-, Lm g3ln3-, Orc g3nn3- ~ η3nn3-, Ud g3n3- id.; Tg *gele₂kte- v. (rp.?) 'look for' > Nn Nh/Bk g3l3kt3- rp. 'look for', Ewk g3l3kt3-, Lm g3l3t- & g3l3ç-, Orc, Ul, Ork g3l3kt3-, Ud H galakta- 'look for' ¶ STM I 179, Krm. 224, On. 126 ||| HS: WS *-gīl- ~ *-gūl- > Ug {OLS} ✓ gl v. 'rejoice (regocijarse)', gl 'an ecstatic cry of joy (grito estentóreo, de júbilo)', Hb ✓ gyl (3m ip. כִּי־יִגְיֵל, yā-'gīl) v. 'shout in exultation, rejoice', כִּי־יִגְיֵל 'rejoicing', Tgr ✓ gwł (pf. רָאָה גּוֹלָה) v. 'dance and sing', ?σ רָאָה גּוֹלָה 'banquet, revelry', Tgy רֶבֶד גּוֹלָה 'popular dance' ¶ OLS 145, KB 182, KBR 189-90, LH 591 ◇ Tg *gele- < **gale- (regr. as.).

610. *gE1n (or *gE?an) 'stalk, twig' (→ 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') > IE: NaIE *ǵʰalgʰ- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake') > Arm ճաղկ 'rod, switch, stick' (< *ǵʰalgā) ||| Gt galga (· σταυρός) 'Pfahl, Kreuz', OHG galgo 'gallows, cross', ON galgi, AS zēalza, OFrs galga, OSx galgo, NHG Galgen 'gallows' (< 'cross'), NE gallows ||| Lt žalga

'perch, pole, rod', {Ju.} žaĩgas id. ¶ Ptrs. H 155 explains the alternation *-g^h-/*-g- by different generalizations in the paradigm *ġ^ho|g^h / gen. *ġ^hg^hn-es. The extension *-g^h-/*-g- is of obscure origin (as almost all extensions) ¶ WP I 540, P 411, EI 442 (*ġ^halg^heh_h-), Slt. 314-15, Fs. 189, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Schz. 146, Kb. 311, KM 229, Vr. 153, Frn. 1284-5 | | **K**: eNG, NG gal-i 'tree trunk without boughs' ¶ SSO I 130, DCh. 160, Chx. 152 | | **U**: FU (< d.?) (att. in ObU) *°kälta > ObU ≈ *kält∇ (× N *k'ä' | | í'h'û 'stick, hook, bar' [q.v. ffd.]) > Vg Ss {Ht.} kalt 'pole, Stange' in pāts-kalt 'a pole of the перевес (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} patəs-kält 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs *kält > Os: V/Vy kält, Ty/Ag kâ t, Y kâ t(t), Kr/K kâ t, O kâ lt 'a long pole supporting the net for catching ducks' ('eine der beiden langen Stangen, zwischen denen das Entennetz [перевес] aufgehängt ist'), Nz qat, Kz qa t id., 'poles on both sides of the opening of a fish trap (Reuse)' ¶ Ht. no. 747, Trs. S 101, MK 188, BV 70, Stn. D 622 ¶ Since there are no ObU words with *łt or *łt (in contrast to the existing cluster *lt, F Ht. no-s 590 and 684-5), we may suggest that the opposition *l ↔ *ł ↔ *ł was neutralized before *t (a cluster *Lt) | | **A** (from a cd?) *K_a:;Kig∇|∇ (or *K_a:;Kib∇|∇) 'flexible branch/trunk of a tree' (cf. ffd. N *koíHa 'oak') > T *Ka_a:;gIl- > OT qaḡil ({Cl.} qāḡil) 'a fresh willow shoot, a rod used for chastisement', Xk χāl 'rod' ¶ Cl. 610 (supposing that the vw. ā was long on the supposed ev. of Maḥmūd al-Kašġarī's Arabic spelling with the letter 'alif), Rs. W 220 | | M: [1] M ≈ *gaqu^ʿβ^ʿuli 'fishing rod' > WrM {MED} qaquuli ~ qaquul id., 'fishhook', HIM {BMR} хачуул, {MED} хачууль ~ хачуул id., Brt хачуули 'fishing rod',. Kl {KRS} һахуль ʿахул id., {Rm.} гахūl; 'Angelhaken, Angelrute' ¶ In WrM, HIM and Brt as. *gaq- > qaq-, xaq- ¶ MED 947, BMR IV 72, Chr. 564, KW 141, KRS 162 ¶ The strange shape of the word and the unexpected long vw. ū in HIM, Brt and Kl suggest borrowing | [2] M *qayila-sun, 'elm' > MM qayilasun, WrM {MED} qayilasun, HIM {MED} хайлс id., Ord χālasū 'orme'; M *qayila^ʿʿa-sun 'elm' > HIM {BMR} хайлаас(ан) id.; Dg хайлās id., Brt хайлааһа(һ) 'elm, Siberian elm' ¶ Lew. II 7, MED 912, BMR IV 18, 72, T DgJ 172, Ms. O 346 ¶¶ SDM 630 (pA *k|k'ag∇|∇ 'willow, elm' > M *qayila 'elm', T *K_a:;agil 'rod'), SDM97 s.v.*k'óía 'oak' ¶¶ The cns. *K_a:;Kig∇|∇ is likely to belong to the initial component of the cd that undelies this pA word | | **HS**: S: Ar جَالَة ġāl-at- 'washer(wo)man's beetle' ('battoir de blanchisseur') BK I 519 | | **D** ?φ

*kīl(-) ({ǵGS} *k-) 'peg, pin, nail' > Tm kīlam 'nail, pin, spike', MI kīlam 'wedge, bolt, nail', Td kī'sū 'handle (of pot, spoon, axe, knife)', ku'l 'hinge of box', Kn kīl, kīlu 'pin, peg', kīla 'stake, peg', Tu kīlъ, kīlъ 'joint, hinge, peg', Tl kīlu 'joint, hinge', cīla 'iron nail, wooden pin'; probably D ⇨ OI (attested in the Mahabharata and reconstructed from later InA lges) kīla-ḥ {MW} 'sharp piece of wood, stake, pin, peg, bolt, wedge' (⇨ OI kīla-ka-ḥ id.), reborrowed in some D lges (e.g., Tm kīlakam 'pin, bolt, wedge, joint') ¶¶ An alt. et. (proposed in D 510 [App. no. 510]) is that the D √ is a loan from InA, but the OI word has no clear IE et., except for postulating (after Mayrhofer) that *k̄l̄-lo-s is derived from NaIE kelā- 'strike' and connecting it (at the level of "Wurzelverwand-schaft") with Sl *kōlъ 'stake, picket' (the connection with OHG kīl, NHG Keil 'wedge' is rejected by Mayrhofer, because OHG kīl goes back to Gmc *kī'ðla-, / WP I 544) ¶¶ DED no. 1346, D 510, M K I 216, Tu. no. 3202, WP I 436-8 ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of IE *ǵh- (suggesting a front vw. in N) and that of IE *-a- (pointing to N *a) may be resolved by supposing that the N source was *ǵEʔa1∇. D *ī seems to suggest N *ǵiʔa1∇, but the absence of the expected traces of N *i in IE is against the rec. of *i.

611. *ǵiL'U' 'illness, pain, distress' > IE: NaIE *ǵhe1-/*ǵh01-/*ǵh̄1̄- (or *ǵh̄a1-?) id., {P} *ǵhalar- 'Schade, Gebrechen' > Clt {Matas.} *ǵalaro- 'sickness, distress, pain' > MBr galar id., Crn glachar id., MW galar 'grief, lament', W galar {YGM} 'mourning, grief', OIr galar {P} 'illness, grief' (IS: Clt from NaIE *ǵh̄1̄-) ||| ON, Ic galli 'defect, vice', OSw galli id., 'pain', MLG galle 'wounded place on the skin', AS zealla 'galled place on the skin', NE gall id. ||| Lt žalà 'harm, hurt, injury', Ltv žalba ~ zelba 'injury, wound, pain' | Sl: R Δ на'зола, на'зол 'sorrow, annoyance, grief', inf. на'золить, до'золить 'to vex, to distress', Uk inf. на'золити id., зол'лок 'painful place in a wound' || ?σ (adduced by Ped. H 38 [and after him Szem., P, Čop and EI]): Ht kallar- adj. 'ungünstig, unheilvoll', {Pv.} 'inauspicious, unpropitious, nefarious', {EI} 'sth. evil/unpleasant' ¶¶ ≈ P 411 (*ǵh̄a1-, *ǵh̄a1-ar-), EI 43 (*ǵh̄a1H-r/n-, BSl < *ǵh̄a1H-o/eh̄a-), SB 108, LP § 284, YGM-1 230, Vr. 154, Bv 211, Frn. 1286, Vs. II 39, Dal II 417, Matas. E 149, Pv. IV 20-1, Ts. E I 465 ||| **K:** GZ *ǵl0w- 'grieve, deplore' (× N *ǵo1'í∇ 'to weep, to grieve' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| **HS:** SS *√ǵl'w' ~ *√ǵy1 > Mh {Jo.} √ǵlw (pf. ǵē13w, sbjn. y3-ǵ13w) 'be ill/fevered, have a short illness', Hrs √ǵlw (pf. ǵē13w, sbjn.

уэгл̄ω) 'be fevered, have fever', Jb E/C 'gi'z̄i 'be ill\fevered', Mh, Hrs ḡōl̄εω, Jb E/C 'ḡōl̄ε?, Sq {Jo.} 'ḡōl̄ε 'fever', Sq {L} 'ḡ(υ)ol̄ε 'illness', Tgr guyuł pp. 'von einer schleichenden Krankheit befallen' ¶ Jo. M 119, Jo. H 40, L LS 109, LH 596, DRS 108 || **A** *gil̄∇ > Tg *gil̄(a)-, gil̄k- > Ul̄ gēl-, gil-, Nn Nh/KU ḡil̄k̄ī v. 'ache (ныть, болеть)', WrMc {Z} гила- 'be sad\ melancholy\worried', Lm Sk ḡil̄ko- v. 'ache' (of the heart), ḡil̄kon 'melancholy, sadness, anxiety', Ork ḡil̄ç̄i- v. 'ache' (of a wound, an injury) ¶ STM I 151, Vas. 100, Z 334, Ci. 301 || pJ *k̄òrápá- ~ *kuòrápá- 'endure' (× N *ḡoł̄|í∇ 'to weep; grief') > OJ {S} k̄(ω)orapa-, MJ korapa-id., J T koraé-, J K/Kg k̄òràè- {Kenk.} 'bear (with), endure, forbear (from)' ¶ Mr. 712, Kenk. 1054, S QJ no. 887 ¶¶ SDM 555 (pA *ḡj̄òl̄o 'be unhappy, endure' > Tg, J + unc.: M *ḡoł̄u- 'be unhappy with sth., consider sth. bad' and T *K̄oł̄- 'beg' [actually *K̄oł̄:ł̄- v. 'ask for', going back to N *ḡUł̄?ł̄|∇ 'speak, call']), DQA no. 2655 (id.). The M verb may be alternatively (and phonetically better) connected with N *ḡoł̄|í∇ '↑'. If nevertheless the T and M cognates are accepted, the N rec. must be something like *ḡiyoL̄∇ ◊ IS I 229 [no. 83] (*ḡil̄∇).

612. *ḡoLu (or *ḡoy∇Lu?) 'head, skull' > IE: NaIE *ḡ^hoł̄ω- / *ḡ^hoł̄u- / *ḡ^heł̄u- (or *ḡ^hoł̄ω- / ḡ^hoł̄u- / *ḡ^heł̄u-) 'head' > Arm գլուխ (gen. գլխոյ) 'head' || Lt galv̄à, Ltv gal̄va id., Pru galωo 'toe of a boot', glaωo (erroneously for galωo) 'head', galbo [galv̄o] id. || SI *ḡoł̄va (accus. *ḡōl̄v̄o) 'head' > OCS глава glava, Blg гла'ва, SCr gláva, Slv glāva, Cz, Slk hláva, P głowa, R голо'ва (accus. 'голову), Uk голо'ва id. ¶ P 39-50, Me. EAC 36, Sl̄t. 298, Frn. 131-2, En. 174-5, Tr. P E-H 261, Glh. 230, ESSJ VI 221, StSS 169, ≠ EI 45 (BSI and Arm < *ḡ^hoł̄H'ω-eh̄- 'baldpate') || **HS:** S *gul̄gul̄₁-(at-) 'skull' > Ak gul̄gullu, gul̄gull-at-u id., BHb גולגולת gul̄'gol̄eṯ, JA {Js.} גולגולת gul̄gul̄'tā ~ גולגולת gul̄gal̄'tā, JEA {Sl.} גולגולת gul̄gōl̄'tā id., Ar {RB} جُلَّةٌ ḡulḡul-at- id. (the word is not mentioned in dictionaries of Classical Ar {Fr., BK and Ln.}, but only in those of the modern lge, but its existence in Ancient Ar is suggested by its CIAr metaphoric sd.: جُلٌّ {Ln.} ḡulḡul- 'small bell, consisting of a hollow ball of metal'), Sr ḡāḡūl̄'t̄ā 'Golgotha' (< JA?), Ar جُلَّةٌ ḡalaḡ-at- 'skull, head' ¶ KB 183, KBR 191, Sl. 268, Js. 221, RB 426, BK I 311, Ln. 438, JPS 60, DRS 118, MiK I no. 1.79 || Eg fOK 𐎓𐎓𐎓 'head' ¶ EG V 530-1, Fk. 319 || NrOm: Mj {Fl.} geli, gaylli, Mj DJ ḡâli 'head', Shk geri, gari id. (-r- < *-l-) ¶ Fl. OAM 28 || Ch: ECh: Kwn {J} ḡól̄ò, Kwn M {J} ḡòl̄ó 'head' || CCh:

Mkt gə̀l 'head' ||| WCh: ? Hs gùlǔ̀lù 'ball of earth at top of spinning-spindle' ¶ JI II 183, Ba. 406, Abr. H 340 ¶¶ Tk. I 322 ||| A: Tg: WrMc {Hr.} giyolo, {Z} riōlo 'crown of head' ¶ STM I 160, Z 375, Hr 368 ◇ WrMc riōlo and Mj gaylli 'head' may be interpreted as suggesting an element *y∇ within the N etymon (*goy∇Lu?) (cp. WrMc гялты [\leftarrow or = *giyaltu] 'ε a marine fish that resembles a long belt' [or 'cuttlefish?']) < N *ga'yU'1'ū|u 'tortoise', q.v. ◇ IS I 237-8 [no. 94] (*gU'1'∇ 'round, ball': IE, S [words for 'skull, head'] + Hs gùlǔ̀lù 'ball of earth'; *÷ words meaning 'round', 'turn round').

613. *gō1∇ 'look for, wish', (?) 'look' > IE: NaIE *g^{wh}el- ~ *g^hel-, {EI} *g^{wh}el- v. 'wish' > Gk ἐθέλω ~ θέλω 'I am willing' (of consent rather than desire), 'I wish', Gk [Hs.] φαλίζε (·θέλει) v. 'wishes' ||| Sl *želě- ~ *žela- v. 'wish' > OCS inf. жєлѣ-ти želě-ti ~ жєла-ти žela-ti 'to desire, to wish' (ἐπιθυμῆν, θέλειν), SCr inf. жєлєти ~ žèljetì / 1s pres. жєлїм, žèlīm, Slv inf. želěti / 1s pres. želím, OCz inf. želeti, Slk inf. želet', Blg же'ла-я, R inf. же'ла-ть / 1s pres. же'ла-ю, Uk inf. же'ла-ти v. 'wish' ||| MHG inf. giler 'betteln', ON inf. gilja 'verlocken, verführen', Dn inf. gilje, Nic, Far, NNr, Sw inf. gilja 'zur Liebe verlocken, werben', ON gildra, gildri 'trap, snare', OSw gæl-, giælskaper 'Unzucht' ||| ? Arm գեղճ գեղճ 'a wish, Sehnsucht' ¶ The Gk cognate points to IE *g^{wh}-, while the Gmc cognate suggests *g^h-, the Sl and Arm reflexes being ambiguous ¶ P 489, EI 629, F I 258-9, 447-8, Vr. 167, Lx. 73, Vs. II 40-1, StSS 215-16, Glh. 707, Ped. GDIE 2Off. (adducing Arm գեղճ), Sl. 33-4, Xud. I 269 ||| A ≈ *Kō₁1- > NaT *Kō₁1- v. 'ask for' (× N *gU'1'1'∇ 'speak, call', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *kār- vt. 'hunt for, demand, search; drive' > OJ kar-, MJ kār-, J: T kār- ~ kār-, K/Kg kár id., StJ kar- vt. 'drive, prompt, urge on (a horse)' ¶ pJ *-a- due to regr. as.?) ¶ S QJ no. 1367, Mr. 704, Kenk. 856-7 ||| HS: Ch: ECh: Ke gòlé v. 'look', gòldé v. 'seek (suchen)', Kwn {J} kalḍé id., Kbl {Cp.} gowól, Li góól v. 'see' ||| CCh: Glv {Rp.} ḡal v. 'beg, beseech, want, ask', ?μ Gdr {MCh.} ḡgel v. 'want', ?μ Msg P {Trn.} ḡ'g^{wh}1' v. 'look' ||| WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} gul-, Sir {Sk.} ḡúlu- v. 'see' | SBc: Zar K {Sh.} gali id. ¶ JI II 284-5, ChC s.v. 'look for', 'want' and 'see' (with words of different Chadic lges throughout ChL I-III), Eb. 52, Trn. LM RpB 42 || SC: Kz gal- v. 'see', SC ⇨ Mb -gali v. 'try' ¶ E SC 235 (equating Kz and Mb with Irq giris- v. 'select' and reconstructing SC *gal- or *gāl- v. 'look at, look over') || ??σ Eg XIX gə̀w 'staunend blicken, beaufsichtigen', gə̀gə̀w

'staunen über, staunend blicken auf' ¶ EG V 151 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 87 [no. 18.3].

614. *goL∇ 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE (< N *goL∇ bA) *g^ωelb^h- / *g^ωolb^h- 'womb; young (of an animal)' (from earlier **g^ωh^elb^h-?) ({EI} *g_L^ωelb^hu-s 'womb') > OI garbhah₁, Prth gr^ʔb, YAv garəβa- 'womb', Av garəbuš 'young of an animal' ||| Gk δελφύς, gen. δελφύος 'womb', δέλφαξ 'young pig', δελφύς, -ύνος 'dolphin' (sc. 'womb-[fish]') ||| ON kalfr, OHG calb, NHG Kalb, AS cealf & cielf 'calf', NE calf; Gt kalbō 'junge Kuh, Kalb', OHG kalbā 'female calf'; OHG kilburra & kilbra & kilbira & chilburra 'lamb', AS cīlfor- / ceolforlamb 'ewe lamb', NGr Sw kilbor 'young ram' ||| NaIE (in Indic and Gk) *sm̥g^ωelb^h(e)yo- 'born from the same womb' > OI 'sa-garbhya₁ id., Gk Hm/I ἀδελφεός, Gk A ἀδελφός 'brother' ¶ P 473, ≠ 359, EI 615, M K I 329 and III 414, M E I 474-5, Bai. 81, F I 19, 863, Ch. 18-19, Fs. 305-6, Schz. 179, Kb. 525, 540, OsS 469, 487, Ho. 45, 48 || HS: C: Ag *gār ({Ap.} *gār) 'calf' > Bln {R} gær (pl. gæl), {Plm.} gΛr, Q {Ap.} gār, {R} gær, pl. gæltī, Km {Ap.} gār, {CR} gær (pl. gæltā ~ gæltī), Aw {Fl.} gara 'calf' ¶ R WB 157-8, Ap. WLQ 4, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Wl {Luchon} gallua 'calf' ¶ Luchon s.v. gallua || A: M *gölEgen 'young animal', esp. 'young dog' (× N *gUhÍE ≈ canine animal', q.v.) > WrM {Kow.} gölige, {MED} gölige ~ gölüge 'pup (young of a dog)', HIM {MED} гөлөг id., {BMR} гөлөг(н) 'puppy, kitten', Brt гүлгэ(н) 'puppy (щенок)', Kl {KRS} гөлг gölög 'young animal', esp. puppy (щенок)', {Rm.} gölgə 'junges Tier, junges Hund', Mnr H {T} gōlgō, Mnr {SM} g_uōrg_uō 'le petit du chien, jeune chien', Ord g_olōgō 'jeune de chien \ de chat'; M *gölEgele- > WrM {MED} gölügele- v. 'whelp', HIM гөлөглө- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'whelp' (of dogs), Brt гүлгэл-, Kl {KRS} гөлгл- id., {Rm.} gölg- 'Junge werfen' (von Hunden), Ord g_olōgōlō- 'mettre bas' (chien, chat) ¶ The M element *-gen may be connected with the M dim. sx *-qan/*-ken (F Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, BMR I 444, Chr. 165, Kow. 2602, KW 137-8, KRS 146, SM 143, T 323, Ms. O 270 ◇ The element *-b^h- in the IE cognate goes back to N *bA (adjectival pc. forming analytical [→ derived] names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris and animal names): IE *g^ωelb^h- < N *^ogoL∇ bA. The plain voiced *g^ω- (for the expected *g^ωh-) in the attested IE languages may be due to regr. dis. (a kind of Grassmann's law, but functioning not only in Indic and Gk, but in Gmc as well; for other cases in Gmc see Prok. CGG 203-4 and Collinge 57-8).

615. $_2$ *g_oL∇ 'tail' > HS: Om {Blz.} *g_ol- id.: SOM: > Ari {Bnd.} g_o(:)li, Dm {Bnd.} g_o(:)lan, Hm {Fl.} gulo ~ goli id. || NrOm: Bsk {Bnd.} g_ol'si, Dk {Fl.} g_olse, Dwr {Lm.} goilano, Wl {Lm.}, Gf {Mrn.} g_oyna, Gm {Hw.} g_olná id. ¶ ≈ LmS 380-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'tail', Bnd. AL 159 || B: ASgr ažlal, BMn ažlāl 'tail' ¶ Ds. B 294, Blz. NDA no. 28 || | D (att. in NED) {†GS} *g|k_ol|l- 'tail' > Krx x_olā, Mlt q_oli id. ¶ D no. 2135 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 29] (D, Om), Blz. NDA no. 28 (D, Om, B).

615a. *g_ol|í∇ 'to weep, to grieve' > HS: B: Si g_ols v. 'weep' (× N *kaLč∇ 'to speak\cry') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || | D *k_ol- (†GS) *g_ol- 'grief; weep' > Td g_o·l, g_o·lm 'sorrow', Tu g_ol_u, g_ol_u 'grief, lamentation', Tl g_ola 'wailing', ? g_od_u 'grief, affliction' ¶¶ D no. 2252, GS 159-68 (on reflexes of D *-l-) || | K: GZ *g_lo(∞)- 'grieve, deplore' (× N *g_iL'U' 'illness, pain, distress') > OG g_l- / g_lo∞-, G g_l-, g_lo∞- 'grieve, deplore' (m-g_l-an 'ich bedaure', lit. 'it saddens me', e-g_lo∞-s 'er betrauert'), Mg r_g(∞)- 'mourn' (∞-i-r_g-∞n-k 'ich trauere') ¶ K 63 (*g_lo-), K² 31 (*g_lo(∞)-), Abul. 94, Q 304, Chik. 259, FS K 82 and FS E 86 (*g_l-) || | ?σ A *g_oL∇ 'consider sth. bad; endure' > M *g_olu- 'consider sth. bad, be dissatisfied with' > MM [HI] {Ms.} q_olu [g_olu-] 'trouver mauvais, avoir en aversion', WrM g_olu- {MED} 'abhor, be fastidious; reject', HIM r_olo- {MED} id., {BMR} 'consider sth. to be unworthy\bad, be dissatisfied with what is offered', Brt r_olo- 'have an aversion (r_onyšat'sja), disdain, avoid', WrO {Krg.} r_olo- 'reject, be dissatisfied, neglect, despise', Kl {KRS} r_ol- 'condider sth. bad\unworthy, браковатъ', {Rm.} y_ol- 'mit etwas unzufrieden sein, ausmustern', Ord g_olo- ~ g_oly- 'ne pas vouloir (de qn ou de qch.), ne pas agréer, dédaigner' ¶ MED 359, BMR I 427-8, Chr. 156, Krg. 314, KRS 166, KW 150, Ms. H 90, Ms. O 305 || pJ {S} *k_ər_əp_ə- → *ku_ər_əp_ə- 'endure' (× pA 'ache, endure' < N *g_iL'U' 'illness, pain, distress') > M J kora_ə- id. J T koraé-, J K/Kg k_or_ə- {Kenk.} 'bear (with), endure' ¶ S QJ no. 887, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1054 ¶ The pA *-l- (rather than *-í-) is suggested by pJ *-r- ¶¶ SDM 555 (pA *g_il_o 'be unhappy, endure' > M, J + unc. T *K_ol- 'beg' [actually *K_ol_u- v. 'ask for', going back to N *g_ul_u∇ 'speak, call']), DQA no. 2655, KW 150.

616. *g_ulE 'go (away), start going (away), set out' > K *g_wal- 'go!' (used in inv. only) > OG g_wale 'go!' (inv.), Sv (← G?): UB {FS} g_wäle, {TK} g_wäl, L {FS} g_wal 'go!' (FS: 'geh, mach dich auf!') ¶¶ K 60, K² 28, FS K 78, FS E 81-2, TK 179, Top. Sh III 69 (Sv ← G) || | HS: S *√ g_lw

'depart, leave one's place\country, be sent away (out of one's country)' > BHb הִלָּךְ ✓ g|w|y (pf. הִלָּךְ gā'lā) 'leave; go into exile', גָּלוּת ga'lūt 'exile', JA ✓ g|w|y (pf. גָּלוּת gā'lā ~ גָּלוּת gā'lā) 'go into exile, go away, disappear', JEA גָּלוּת ✓ g|y G vi. 'emigrate, go into exile; withdraw', Sr ✓ g|w (pf. gā'lā) 'go into exile, flee', Md ✓ g|p D v. 'exile, send away, banish', g|u|ta 'exile, banishment', Ar ✓ g|w G (pf. جَالَا ḡalā) 'go forth, emigrate', Sh (pf. أَجْلَى aḡlā) 'cause to emigrate' (drought etc.), 'emigrate', Jb C {Jo.} ✓ g|p ~ g|w|y: 3g'tu|3p 'move from one's place', e'goli 'shift (animals) from one place to another', e'gle vt. 'shift from one place to another', Gz tagalgala pf. 'was taken into exile', Ak {Sd.} NA/NB galû 'go into exile' (← Aram?); Ar ✓ g|w| G 'aller, courir' ¶ KB 183-4, KBR 191-3, BDB 162-3 [no. 1540], Js. 248, Sl. 286, Br. 115, DM 92-3, BK I 319-20 and 358, Hv. 96, Jo. J 74-5, L G 190, Sd. 27, DRS 120-1 || B *✓ g|H 'go, go away' > Ah aḡal (pf. iḡla < pB *yā-glah) 'go away (partir, s'en aller)' (Fcj. 25 = Pcj. I A 7, pattern {Pr.} *-BCih/-BCah), ETwl, Ty ɣglu ({Pr.} *āglu) 'partir, passer, continuer son chemin' (Pcj. I A 7), Gh taḡali 'départ', Kb {Dl.} jlu (= {Dl.} g|u) (pf. yā-jla) 'go'; ? Izd {MT}, Tmz AH {MT}, CM {NZ} gulu 'arriver, parvenir à' ¶ Fc. 421, 2001, Crt. 24, GhA 51, Dl. 254, MT 152, NZ 767-8 || ?σ C: EC *gal- 'enter, go home' > Sml gal- ɔ gel-, Bs, Brj gal-, Rn gel-, Bn kal- 'enter', Or gal-, Kns, Gdl kal- 'enter, return home', Dsn gāl 'go and spend the night', Arr gal- 'enter a house, go home', HEC *gal- 'stay overnight' > Sd, Ged, Kmb gal-, Hd gār- id. | DhI {EEN} gāliy-, {E, To.} gālij- 'go home' ¶ Bl. 182, Ss. PEC 17, Ss. B 76, AD SF 61, PG 124, Abr. S 89, Grg. 161-2, Hw. A 359, E SC 235, EEN 31, To. DL 499, To. D 133 (DhI gālij- ← Or) || ECh *gal- 'go out' > Ndam gāl-ḡoyo, Mb gale id. ¶ Lk. ZSS s.v. Mb gale, J KKS s.v. Ndam gāl-ḡoyo :¶¶ OS no. 879 (HS *gal- 'go, enter'), O HSN 120 (pN *g'o|l| > K, Ar ✓ g|w|, B, C + unc. AfS *gil-'run' and WCh *gal-/gul 'run' || A: Tg *gūli- 'set out/off' (sich auf den Weg machen) > Orc gūli-, gūlin-3- 'set out (sich auf den Weg machen), go away', Ud gulin-3 'set out', Ork, Ewk PT gūlisin-, Ewk {Cs.} gūlina-, Lm Ol/P gūlan-, Lm O gūl3n- id., 'move on (to a new place)' (of nomads, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} gūlin- id., Nn Nh {On} gūlin- 'sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ STM I 170, On. 120 || U: FU *kulke- 'move, go (on land or on water), wander' > FU: F kulke- 'go, walk, travel, wander', Es kulge- 'proceed, take one's course, pass' | pLp {Lr.} *kolk3- vi. 'run (of water), float, roam, wander about' > Lp: L {LLO} kāl'kāl-, N {N} gq|'gâ- id., S {Hs.} gālgedh, Kld

kolke- 'flow' | Er koίge-, Mk koίga- 'drip, run' (of liquid), 'leak' | Prm: Z kivt-, Z Δ kilt- 'swim (with the stream)', Z Δ kila- 'swim\travel on water (with the stream), float, drift on water', Yz {UEW} kAlt- 'flow (with the stream)' || pOs *kɔʋa- > Os: V qɔʋa- 'walk, step (schreiten)' (↔ 'run'), D χοχət, Kz χῶχəφ- 'run' | OHg halad- 'vorangehen', Hg halad-, Δ hallad- 'go, make way, advance, go on, proceed, travel' ¶ UEW 198, Coll. 26, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kulkī-, Ugr *kũlkĩ- 'run'), Lr. no. 442, Lgc. no. 1896, Hs. 552-3, Ker. II 64, LG 149, Trs. VD 148, MF 525, EWU 516-17 ¶ Both Coll. and UEW adduced the Sm stem of Ne T xɥ" ласъ 'to be driven by the stream', but since U *-l- is not preserved in Sm, while -l- of the Ne form belongs to a sx, the comparison of the underlying Sm {Jn.} *ku- vi. 'treiben' with FU *kulke- is not reliable (≠σ,φ).

617. *gūtA 'dwelling, (→ [in descendant lges] 'house') > **U:** FU *kūl|ä 'dwelling, house, village' (× N *Kūt'ä 'clan, village') > F kɥlä, Es kũla 'village', F Δ külä 'dwelling, house' | pLp {Lr.} *kɜlɜy- v. 'visit, pay a visit' > Lp: L {LLO} kal'jē, N {N} gâl'i-i-, I {TI} kollī-, Kld kɜllɛyē id. || Vg: T küll, LK kʷäl, P kʷäl, käl, Ss kol 'house' ¶ Coll. 93, UEW 155-6, Lr. no. 303, Lgc. no. 2343b:2, TI 105 || **A** *gü:;l∇ or *gü:;lE 'dwelling, hut, house' > T *k|k_ü:;l ~ *k|k_i:;l 'house, home' > Tk gil {Deny} 'la famille, le chez soi, l'habitation', Xzr (in names of towns): Es-kil, Es-gil (lit. 'old city\village'), Σαρ-κελ שרכי'ל *[šarke|il] (lit. 'white city'), Yk kūlä 'porch (сени), covered passage in a building' (unless from Tg), Chv L kil, Chv Δ {Md.} küll 'house, dwelling, home' ¶ If the Yk word is not a loan, the initial syll. in pT is long ¶ Rm. EAS I 48, Rs. W 270, Deny 347, Ash. VI 208-9 and VII 69, Fed. I 291-2, Jeg. 112, Gomb. BTL 200 || Tg *°gūle > Ewk gūlɜ 'dwelling, house, hut' ¶ STM I 171 || pJ {S} *kùrà 'shed (Schuppen)' > OJ kura, ML kùrà id., J T kurá 'godown, warehouse, storehouse, cell, cellar', K kùrà, Kg kùrá id. ¶ S VL 218, S QJ no. 259, Mr. 464, Kenk. 1108 ¶¶ The long vw. in Ewk may be an innovation ¶¶ SDM 570-1 (pA *gūlì 'dwelling, cottage' > Ewk, J, Chv, Yk), DQA no. 575, S VL 218 (pA *gū:;l∇ or *-ū-), Rm. EAS I 48 || **HS:** EC: Sml {R} gɔl 'Zimmer, Stube', {DSI} gɔl 'piega nella parte anteriore della futa, dove le donne usano mettersi oggetti', {R} gɔla 'eingeschlossener Raum, Gemach, Stall für das Vieh', {ZMO} gɔle 'enclosure, chamber; meeting place', Or Wt {Sr.} gɔla 'room', Or {Grg.} gɔla 'innermost private part of house', Or Wl {Brl.} gɔla 'ambienti separati in capanne Galla per diversi usi; stanzino; cella; camera', Sd {Gs.} gɔllɔ 'stable, cowshed, manger; inside of'; EC →

Wl {C} guollē 'house'; EC → EthS: Gz gōl 'stable, crib, manger', Tgr gōl 'stable' ¶ R SS II 168, DSI 271, ZMO 164, Sr. 314, Gs. 27, Grg. 177, Brl. 179, L G 189 || Ch: WCh: Ywm {J} kálúk, Bgm {J, Sh} kwàl, Buli {IL} kálà 'hut, house' || CCh: Gdr {Srp.} gělá id. || Ech: Nd D {J} gèlè 'house', Ke kuli 'village, house', Kwn kùlù, Smr kùlù, Ll kúl 'hut' (× N *Kūl'á' 'clan, village', q.v.) ¶ JI II 202-3, ChC s.v. 'house' and 'hut' ◇ The delabialization *ü > *i in T *k'il (< N *gūlA) needs investigating ◇ IS MS 341 (*gūlA 'жилице'; U, Tg).

618. *gūLâ 'bend, be crooked' > IE: NaIE *g^hwel-/ *g^hul- id., 'go astray' > OI 'hvaratē 'goes crookedly, goes astray, deviates', hvalati 'gerät auf Abwege, strauchelt', hva'lā- 'das Irren', Av zbar- 'go crookedly', NPrs zūr 'false; liar' || L fall-ō / -ēre / fefelli / falsum 'deceive' || Lt inf. pa-žvil-ti 'sich neigen', pažulnūs 'sloping, slanting', Ltv inf. zvaltītiēs 'to reel, to stagger', 'wanken, schwanken' || Sl *zъlъ (f. *zъla, ntr. *zъlo, dadj. zъlъ-jъ) 'bad, wicked' > OCS zъlъ zъlъ id., Blg зъл, SCr zǎo (f. zlǎ, ntr. zlǒ, aadj. zlī), Slv zěl, Cz, Slk zlý, P zły, Uk злий id., R злой (pradj. зло) 'wicked, cruel, angry' || Gk φορκός- '(?) bandy-legged' ¶ WP I 643-4, P 489-90, ≈ M K III 619-20, Frn. 23-4, 560, Glh. 692, Vs. II 99-100, StSS 240-1 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Gmy/Cp {ChL} kul, Ang saɾ-kul, Kfr {Nt.} dá-kùl 'left (gauche)' || CCh: Mf {BLB} gúlá, MfG {Brr.} 'gùlà, Lgn M {Bou.} gèlì, Ms {ChL} gulu, BnnM {ChL} gula id. || Ech: Ll {Grgs} kàb gùlà, Kbl {Cp.} kèbi-gùlà, EDng {Fd.} gèlè id., Ke {Eb.} gùlà 'links', Mgm {JA} nù-gìlá 'left hand', nùgùl 'gaucher; de gauche' ¶ ChC s.v. 'left', ChL, BLB 158, Brr. MG II 124, Eb. 53, JA LM 112, 153 || ?σ S *√glɪd (< d. or cd?) > Ar √ǧlɪd D 'renverser' ¶ BK I 317, DRS 131 || **K:** G Kzq glun-i '(am Ende) gekrümmter Stock (zum Spielen)' ¶ Chx. 198 || **A:** M {Rm.} *ogulu-yi- > Kl {Rm.} gulī- 'seinen Kopf seitwärts wenden, schief sein, schielen (mit den Augen)' ¶ KW 154 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 99b (IE, Ch, M + unc. EC *gur- 'left').

619. *gohl∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn (brûler)' > HS: WS *√ghl v. 'glow as coal' > Hb ga^hεlεt 'glow of coal', pl. gəhā^hlīm id., Ar Y ḡayhal, miḡhal 'stick for raking coals', Amh ገለ galɜ v. 'be red-hot, be burning' ¶ KB 180, KBR 188, Rb. AWA 26, L CAD 203, DRS 112 ¶ Here we reconstruct S *ḥ (rather than *χ) because of the incompatibility of an initial *g and medial *χ in the same √ in pS || **D** *kōl- ({ǧGS} *gōl-) > Tl gōlinɛu, Gnd RSr gōlis- vt. 'fry' ¶¶ D no. 2246 || **K:** [1] *ogwal- v.

'parch by its heat' (of the sun parching the soil) > G g_val-/gol- id.]]]
 [2] GZ *g_wal- 'be' (of drought) (× N *g^rU'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v. ffd.) ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || A *g_Ul'a^r 'burn' [tr.], 'fire' > M *gal 'fire' > MM [MA] accus. غالى ḡālī ([ḡāl-ī?]), [IsV] قال qāl ([gāl]), [HI, S] qal (= [gāl?]), WrM gal {MED} 'fire, conflagration', HIM гал {MED} id., {BMR} 'fire, bonfire', Brt гал id., 'Brand', Kl {Rm.} gal 'Feuer', Dg gal^yi ~ gal^yb ~ gal^y 'fire', Ord ḡ_al 'feu, braison', MMgl [Z] ḡāl, Mgl ṽā:l (ā: due to the impact of the Persian-Tajik labialization ā > ā: ~ ȳ), Mgl M ṽāl, Mnr H {SM} gar 'feu', Ba {T} xal, {Pot.} гал 'fire'; M *golumtan 'hearth' > MM [MA] golumtan id., [S] ḡolumta [golumta] 'Feuerbecken, Herd', WrM golumta {MED} 'fireplace in a yurt, hearth in a tent', HIM голонт {MED} id., {BMR} 'hearth', Brt гүланта id., Ord ḡ_ul_umt'a 'foyer au centre du t^ruḡa (appareil en fer sur lequel on place le chaudron et au centre duquel est le foyer)' ¶ MED 346, 359, BMR I 362-5, 427, Chr. 143, 159, KW 141-2, T DgJ 130, T BJ 149, Ms. H 87, Ms. O 288, 313, 679, H 57, 65, Pp. MA 174, 179, Lg. VMI 41, Iw. 105, Pot. 411, Rm. M 28, Wr. 177, S AJ 235 [no. 31] ¶ M *a in *gal is still to be explained (infl. of the pA final *-a, as suggested in SDM and DQA?) || Tg *ḡ_ul- v. 'kindle, light a fire' > Ewk ḡ_ul- v. 'flash' (a lightning), Lm ḡ_ul-, Nn Bk gola- v. 'kindle, light a (bon)fire', Lm ḡ_ul_u- v. 'catch fire', Ewk ḡ_uluwun, Lm ḡ_ulun, Neg ḡ_olowun 'a (bon)fire', Orc ḡ_oḡ_oḡ_o(n-), Ul, Nn Bk ḡ_oḡ_oḡ_o(n-), Nn Nh ḡ_oḡ_oḡ_o 'hearth (очар)'; WrMc {Z} голонь тыва 'fires (by night in a road\ field\camp)' does not belong here, because its literal meaning is 'road fire' (голонь is genitive of голо 'road', and тыва is 'fire') ¶ STM I 169, On. 113, Z 341-2, 765, S AJ 225 [no. 291] ¶¶ SDM 554-5 (pA *ḡ_ul|á or *ḡ_ul_o 'burn' [tr.], 'fire' > Tg, M), DQA no. 526, S AJ 294 [no. 490] (*ḡ_ual-), SDM95 s.v. *ḡ_ual∇ 'burn, fire', SDM97 s.v. *ḡ_ol'a^r id., Pp. VG 24, 75 || ?φ IE (mt.): NaIE *ḡ^hlō- (or *ḡ^hlō-) 'coals, charcoal' > ON ḡlóð, AS ḡlæd, OFrs ḡlēd, OHG ḡluot 'glowing coals, red heat', NHG ḡlut 'embers, heat', OHG inf. ḡluoen 'to burn, to glow', AS inf. ḡlōwan 'to glow', NE ḡlow || Clt {Matas.} *ḡlowo- 'charcoal' > MW, W ḡlo 'coal', Crn ḡlow 'charcoal', OBr {SB} ḡlaou id. (not confirmed by Flr. and Matas.), MBr ḡlou ~ ḡlaou, Br {Hm.} ḡlaou 'charcoal', MBr {Ern.} d. ḡlouher n. pr. (← 'charbonnier', cp. W ḡlōwr 'coalminer, collier'), snglt.: W ḡloyn, MBr {SB} ḡlouenn, Br ḡlaouenn 'piece of coal' ¶ Vr. 175, Ho. 133, Schz. 153, OsS 338-9, Kb. 397, KM 263, SB 120, ≠ P 433 (unc. et. of the Brtt word), YGM-1 235, ECCE 246, Ern. 261,

Matas. E 161, Hm. 315 ¶ NaIE *g^h|g^hlō- represents a metathetic variant **g_ol_h∇; the labiality of the guttural stop was lost in the preconsonantal position ◇ This N word may have semantically influenced T *k'ül (or *k_ül?) 'ashes, cinders' (< N *k^r'ü'ly∇ [or *k^r'ü'ly∇?] 'dirt, mud', q.v. ffd) ◇ D *-l- suggests a N plain *-l- ◇ S NS no. 17 equated A *k'jalū (> T *k'ül 'ashes', Tg *χjal 'coal') with IE *g_eu_l- / *g_ue_l- 'coal'. In my opinion, they go back to different N words (Altaic from N *g_oh_l∇ 'fire, glow', IE from N *k_∇?ū_l∇ 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook') ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 15.

620. *g_ow_lu (or *g_ow_lü?) 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE *g_lh_el(u)- (or *g_l^wh_el(u)-) 'deep; valley' > Blt: Lt gilūš, Ltv dziļš, Pru (f. accus.) gillin 'deep', Lt gĩlis, gelmē 'depth', Ltv dzelme / dzelmenis 'depth, deep place (in water)' ||| Clt: OIr glenn, Ir gleann 'valley', W glyn, Br glen 'valley', Crn glyrn 'deep valley' ¶ Frn. 151, Kar. I 253, En. 177, Mz. PKP I 550, Thr. 215, ECCE 246, YGM-1 236 ||| HS: EC *g_ol_u 'valley' > Af {PH} g_ol_o 'gorge into which a stream runs, valley', Or E g_ol_ū 'valley', Or g_ol_a 'gorge', Sml g_ol 'foot of hill', Gln/Gwd {AMS} k_ollē, Gwd {AMS} k_ollé 'river', Cm {Hbl.} g_ole 'small river', Brj g_ol_ō 'slope', as well as possibly Or g_ol_a 'corner, edge' and EC {Ss.} *g_el- {AD} 'below, under, (?) deep' > Or žal-a (→ Brj žálo), Kns, Gdl kel-a 'below, under', Hr, Dbs, Gln kalá 'under', kálu 'below', Sa {R} g_ale 'deep' ¶ Ss. B 83, 109, PH 115, Abr. S 94, Bl. 183, Th. 172, AMS 242, 275 ||| Ch: WCh: Hs g_úlbí 'river' ||| CCh: Dgh {Fk.} gláǵwà, {ChL} g_úlǵwà 'river' ||| ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} k₃l₃mi 'deep' ¶ Abr. H 339, Ba. 405, Eb. 67, ChL, ChC s.v. 'river' ||| ? B *✓g_lmm > Ah äǵalmam, ETwl agalmam, Ty egalmam, Tdq aǵalmam, Gh aǵalmam 'lac, bassin, mare', SrSn {Rn.} agǵwalmäm, Izn ayalmäm 'lake, pool, puddle', Shl {NZ} ag_wlmim 'mare, étang', CM {NZ}, Rf agalmam ǵ ayalmam ǵ aǵalmam, Shw agalmam, agalmim id., 'abreuvoir, bassin', BSn galmam 'small lake', Kb ag_walmim 'point d'eau stagnante, mare' ¶ Rn. 354, NZ 781-2, DI. 257 ||| S: Ar جَلْهَابْ ġilhāb- 'valley' (going back to a HS cd?) ¶ BK I 319 ||| A *g_ol_u 'valley' > NaT *K_ol id. (T *-ō- < **-o_w- < pA *-ob-) > OT {DTS} [MhK] q_ol 'valley, wadi', {Rs.} [QB] q_ol 'lowland, riverbed', Tkm q_ol 'lowland', Qmq q_ol 'valley', SY q_ol 'water bed', Tv χ_ol 'dry riverbed', VTt qu_l id., 'ravine', Xk χ_ol id., 'valley', Qrg (in place names) q_ol 'riverbed, river valley', Sg/Shor {Rl.} q_ol 'lowland, valley (without river), Chg/ET {Rl.}, SbTt Tr {Rl.} q_ol 'lowland, riverbed', QrB

{Rs.} q0l 'small valley, brook' ¶ Rs. W 277, ET Q 43-6, TL 90, DTS 453, Rl. II 582-3, BIG 285 || M *g0w|∇ 'valley, riverbed, river' > WrM {MED} g0u| 'river, riverbed, valley', HIM r0л {MED} id., {BMR} 'river, riverbed', Kl {KRS} h0л √0l 'river', {Rm.} g0l 'Fluß, Flußbett, Flußtal', Brt r0л 'river', Mnr H {T} g0l 'river', {SM} gū0r 'rivière, fleuve, espace entre deux montagnes où une rivière a eu ou a encore son lit', Mgl √0l 'river bed', Ord g_0l 'rivière, fleuve' ¶ MED 362, BMR I 419-20, SM 125, T 325, Rm. M 28, KRS 165, KW 149-50, Ms. O 305 || Tg (Tg *-o_l;- < **-o_w- < pA *-ob-): WrMc {Z} r0л0 'main deep part of the riverbed, valley; province', Mc Sb {Mrm.} g0l0, {Y} /g0lə/ [g0l] 'province' ¶ Z 341-2, Hr 347, Klz. MS 182, Y no. 1032 || pKo {S} *k0r 'valley' > MKo k0r, NKo k0l id. ¶ S QK no. 683, Nam 51, 90, MLC 156 || pJ {S} *kura > OJ kura, kuratani 'deep valley' ¶ S QJ no. 1604 ¶¶ SDM 561 (pA *g0blu 'valley' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 543, SDM97 (A *g0w|∇lu 'valley'), S AJ 19, 70, Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, T, M, Tg), Rm. EAS I 48, KW 150, STM I 160 (M, Mc), Whtm. 191, 222, Mr. KJ 245, Mr. CL 39 || D *k0lli ({ǾGS} *k-) 'valley' > Ml k0lli 'valley, corner', Kn k0lli, kolle 'a bend, corner, gulf, bay', Klm k0lli 'small stream with rocky bed', Tu k0lli 'a bay' ¶¶ The meaning 'corner, bend' may be due to contamination with a different √ ¶¶ D no. 1839 ◇ The expected initial cns. in IE is *g_l^wh_l-. In the prehistory of Clt the labiovelar cns. is likely to have lost its labiality in the preconsonantal position ◇ Hardly here FU *k0l|∇ 'crack, slit, gap' (> F k0l0 'hole', Vt k w a l d- 'sich spalten', pOs *k0l- / *k0l- 'Spalte, Zwischen-raum' etc.; see UEW 174-5) because of the cns. *-l- and for lack of typologically reliable semantic connection (⇔ Blz, LNA) ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 no. 86 (*g0l|H0 'heart' in K *gu| id. and A {IS} *g0l|∇¹ 'middle'), ≈ Blz. DA 161 [no. 94] (suggesting to adduce Clt, WCh and CCh + unc. U), Blz. NDA no. 99 (D, HS + unc. U and [?] Clt *glendo- 'edge, valley').

621. ?₂ *gū|u_lʔ_l|∇ (= *gū|u_lʔ_l|∇ (m∇)?) or *gū|u_lʔ_lL∇ (m∇) '≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat' > HS: S *o_l√glm > Ar جَلَمٌ ḡalam- (coll.), pl. ḡilām- {BK} 'espèce de mouton de Taïf (aux jambes hautes, dépourvues de laine); bouc; chevreau' ¶ Fr. I 298, BK I 318 || C: Bj {R} ḡūlāh 'female *Sterpsiceros* antelope' ¶ R WBd 95 || A: NaT *k'ü_l;_llmiz (or *k_l;_llmiz) roe deer' (*Capreolus*) > OT Kr külmiz 'female roe deer', Shor, Xk külbüs, Tv x y л б γ с 'male wild goat', StAlt külmüs, Sg/Qb {Rl.} külbüs, Tf hū lbūs 'male roe deer' ¶ Cl. 718, Shch. Zh 121, ET KQ 139, TL 153-4, Ra. 192, BT 99, BIG 95, Rl. II 1479 ◇ NaT *k'- may be explained

as going back to N *g...?. If the NaT cns. cluster *-lm- is ancient, the original *-l- cannot be excluded, hence the N etymon is to be formulated as *gū|u_l?_l∇ (m∇).

622. *gōl_l?_l∇ 'belly, entrails' > K *gul- 'heart, breast' > OG, G gul-i id., Mg, Lz gur-i, Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} gwi, L {TK} gu, Δ {K ← ?} guh- 'heart' ¶¶ K 66, K² 35, FS K 88-9 and FS E 93-4 (in all four sources *gul-); K p.c. (*gw_l)-) (F in IS I 231 fn.), Schm. 103, Chik. 65-6, TK 181-2 || D *kōl- ({†GS} *k-?) 'belly, entrails' (× N *k∇L_l∇_ly∇ 'lumbar region?') > Krx kūl 'belly, stomach, womb', Mlt {Drs.} kólī 'abdomen', Brh xōl 'womb, entrails'; D ⇨ OI ∧ kō'la- 'breast, lap', Prkr kōli 'breast, bosom', Lhn kōlī 'chest of an animal' etc. (F Tu. no. 3607) ¶¶ ≈ D no. 2244 (hyp. with a query: D ⇨ InA), ≈ Pf. 169 (the same hyp.), Tu. no. 3607 (admitting that the word is originally not Aryan) ¶ To my mind, the D word was borrowed not from, but into InA at an early epoch (probably from the northern dialects of D, with which OI first came into contact) || IE: NaIE *g^hel-ond- / *g^hol-ŋd- 'entrails' > Gk χολάδες pl. 'bowels, guts', χόλκκες pl. 'guts/bowels of oxen' || SI *želqdb, *želqdb-ъкъ, *želqdb-ъсб 'stomach' > OR želudъ, želudъкъ, RChS želudъкъ, R, Uk же'лудок, Blg же'лудък, SCr žèludac, Slv želôdec, Cz žaludek ~ žaloudek, P źoładek id. ¶ P 435, F II 1108-9, ≠ Vs. II 44, Glh. 707 ¶ The lack of labialization in *g^h- still remains unexplained || HS: Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} gālèn, Kry {Sk.} g^walánží 'heart' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} gálbìne ~ gélbìne, Mgm {J} gàlbígè 'heart', Ll {WeibP} mú-gúlú, {Grgs} múglú, Ms {ChL} mugula, Bnn {ChL} mōgũla, BnnM {ChL} mugulna, Msm {ChL} mugul 'heart' ¶ WeibP s.v. mú-gúlú 'heart', ChL III, ChC s.v. 'heart' ◇ The long vw. in D (and the short *e in IE) may point to a lr. after the N cns. *l. The loss of that eventual N lr. in IE (*g^hol-ŋd-) suggests that the lr. could be only *? ◇ ≠ IS I 231-2 no. 86 (*gōlH∧ 'heart' in K *gul- id. and pA {IS} *gōl∧ 'middle'). In the light of the facts known today, the A word is not akin to K *gul- 'heart', but belongs to N *gōwlu (or *gōwlü?) 'deep; valley' (q.v.).

622a. *ga^ryU^l?_lü|u 'tortoise' > HS: CS *gall- id. > MHb 𐰇𐰪 gal (pl. 𐰇𐰪𐰪 gal'lī m) id., Sr 𐰇𐰪 ~ 𐰇𐰪 gal'lā, Md gala id. ¶ Lv. I 328, Br. 115, DRS 126 || Ch: ECh: Mkl {J} gâlè 'tortoise' || WCh: Dr {ChL} gùldúkú 'small tortoise' || ? CCh: Lm {Lk.} kùlkúredí 'tortoise' ¶ ChL I 133, ChC s.v. 'tortoise' || IE *g^heluh_x- ({EI} *g^heluh-(s)) > NaIE *g^helū- ~ *g^h(e)lōy 'tortoise' || IE *g^heluh_x- ({EI} *g^heluh-(s)) > NaIE *g^helū- ~ *g^h(e)lōy 'tortoise' > Gk χέλις, χελύνη id. || SI *žel+ / *želъv- > RChS жєлѣ

želɤ, gen. ЖЕЛЪВЕ želɤv-e, SCr (Δ?) žèlva, Slv žēlva, OCz želva, P źółw, gen. źółwi, R Δ ЖОЛВЬ 'tortoise' ¶ WP I 631, P 435, EI 595, F II 1086-7, Vs. II 41, Ma. CS 593, HIK 443 || A: ? Tg: WrMc {Z} гялты 'a marine fish that resembles a long belt' (or 'cuttlefish?') ¶ The palatalized initial stop (g iɥ- [ǵ-]) is still to be explained ¶ STM I 138, Z 372, Sin. TM 272 (on the Mc palatalized cnss spelled as C iɥ-) || D: [1] D *kull- ({{ǰGS} *g-) 'shellfish, shell' > Tu gulla 'small shellfish', Tl gulla 'a shell, a white pustule', Prj gula 'snail', gulli 'shell, cowrie', Kui gola, goli 'shell' (reborrowing of the D word from Oriya?) || [2] Tm kiliricil 'bivalve, mussel, oyster shell', Ml kilirici 'a shellfish', kiliricil 'oyster shell' ¶¶ D no-s 1585 and 1795 ◇ The odd element -iɥ- in the Mc cognate suggests that the original word had some additional internal phonemes, so that the N etymon may be something like *ga'y∇'l'p̄u (cp. WrMc [Z 275] r iō π o 'crown of head' [{STM} ǵōlo ~ ǵōlu] and Mj gaylli 'head', both possibly from N *goy∇Lu 'skull' [see s.v. *goLu 'head, skull']). D *- in Tm kiliricil and Ml kilirici points to N *l + a laryngeal; the only laryngeals that can disappear in S are N *ʔ and *h (denoted together as *ʔ). D *-u- in *kull- suggests a labial vw. before *-l-, sc. a N etymon *ga'yU'l'p̄u. Tm kiliricil points to a N word-final *ū as preferable to *u. The pIE final *H may suggest the existence of a lr. in the final syll., supporting the rec. of N *ga'yU'l'p̄u.

623. ₂ *goLy∇, lɥ∇ 'pudendum muliebre' > HS: WS *✓ gɥ 'clitoris, foreskin' > Mh {Jo.} gɥlōt, Jb E/C {∂Jo.} giŝ'ɥɔt 'clitoris' (assimilatory glottalization *-lɥ- > *-ŝɥ-), Sr gəlaɥ't-ā 'foreskin', Ar جلع ✓ ḡɥ G 'ôter\enlever le prépuce (dans la circoncision)' (× Ar ✓ ḡɥ G 'ôter l'habit, le vêtement') ¶ Jo. M 118, Jo. J 75, JPS 71, Br. 119, BK I 316, DRS 131, MiK I no. 1.76 || SC: Irq {MQK} gʷalāy (pl. gʷalē), {E} gʷalay, Qz {E} gilaʔiko 'vagina' ¶ E SC 372, MQK 42 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} gùlé, {ChL} gʷùléy 'vagina', Msg {Mch.}, Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} gi'liŋ, Msg {Röd. → Lk.} 'gili 'pudendum muliebre' ¶ ChC s.v. 'vagina', ChL, Lk. M 56 || D *koLy∇, lli ({{ǰGS} *ḡ¹-) 'pudendum muliebre' > Kn, Tl gollī, Tu koyilæ id. ¶¶ D no. 2138 ◇ Blz. DA 155-6 [no. 37] (D, SC, Ch), Blz. NDA no. 36 (D, ?S, C, Ch).

624. *giT'h'o 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle' > IE *ǵʰelʰH₂ω¹- / *ǵʰleHω¹- ({{EI} *ǵʰel- ~ *ǵʰel- 'yellow') > NaIE *ǵʰelə- / *ǵʰlō- 'yellow, green' > OI 'hari-h̄ 'pale, yellowish, greenish', Av za'ri- 'yellow(ish), gold-colored', Av za'rita-, Phl zart, NPrs زرد zärd 'yellow, pale', زر

zär 'gold', KhS *ysar* - 'be reddish\yellow', *ysar ūna* 'yellow, red', NPrs زريون *zär-yūn* {Sg.} 'yellow; green and pleasant', Sgd *z r ḡ ω n* 'green'; -> OI *hiranyam*, Av *zaranya-*, OPrs *daraniya-*, Sgd *zyrn* 'gold', KhS *ysarrnaa-* 'golden' ||| Gk *χολή* 'gall' (< *'yellow'), *χλόη* 'the first green shoot of plants (in spring)', *χλωρός* 'greenish-yellow, pale green' ||| L *helvus* 'honey-colored, isabel-yellow', (*h*)*olus*, -*eris*, †*helus* 'culinary vegetable, potherb' (< *'green') ||| Clt {Matas,} **gelo-* 'yellow, white' > OIr *gel* 'white, shining', NIr *geal* 'bright, white', MW, W *gell* 'yellow', OBr {Flr.} *gel* 'brun, roussâtre', MBr *guel(l)* (*gell*) 'bai, roux, brun', Br *gell* 'brown' ('brun, bai'); a Clt lge -> L *gilvus* 'pale yellow' (of horses) (Ert ED 169-70) ||| ON *gulr*, OHG *gēlo* (adj. *gēlawēr*), NHG *gelb*, OSx *gelo*, AS *ǰeolu* 'yellow', NE *yellow* ||| Ltv 1s pres. *zeļū* / inf. *zeļt* 'become\grow green', Lt 1s pres. *želiu* / inf. *želti* 'grow, sprout' (of plants), *želvas* 'greenish, yellowish'; Lt *žalias*, Ltv *zaļš*, Pru *saligan* ({En.}: [*zalyan*]?) 'green' | SI **zelenъ* (jъ) 'green' > OCS *зеленъ* *zelenъ*, Blg *зелен*, SCr *zelen*, Slv *zelèn*, Cz, Slk *zelený*, P *zielony*, R *pradj.* 'зелен, attr. *зелёный*, Uk *зелений* id.; pSI **zelyje* > OCS *zeli je* 'λάχανον, vegetables', OR *zeli je* id., 'potion', R 'зелье' 'potion', Blg 'зеле', Cz *zelí* 'cabbage', SCr *zělje* = *zělje* 'greens; sorrel', Slv *zélje* 'grass' ||| -> NaIE (dial.) **ǵʰel-t-* / **ǵʰol-t-* 'gold' (<- NaIE forms that had lost **a* in the prevoc. position?) > Gmc: Gt *gulþ*, ON *gull* ~ *goll*, NNr *gull*, Sw, Dn *guld*, OHG *gold*, NHG *Gold*, AS *ǰold* 'gold', NE *gold* ||| Ltv *zēlts* 'gold', Lt E *želtas* 'golden, gold-colored' | SI **zolto* 'gold' > OCS *злато* *zlatо*, Blg 'злато', SCr *zlāto*, Slv *zlatō*, Cz, Slk *zlatо*, P *złoto*, R, Uk 'золото' ¶ P 429-30, Mn. 413-14, M K III 581, M E II 805-6, F II 1104-6, 1109-10, Vl. II 126, Sg. 612-17, Gersh. AM 25, 29, Bai. 346-8, WH II 600, 639, 654, SB 112, Flr. 173, Ern. 296-7, Matas. E 156, Hm. 311, Dnn. 354, OsS 296, 340, Kb. 325, KM 244, 264, Ho. 127, 134, Ho. S 25, Vr. 194, Hlq. 311-12, Fs. 224-5, Frn. 1287, 1296-7, En. 241, Glh. 694-7, Vs. II 92-3, 103-4, StSS 235, ≈ EI 654 (**ǵʰel-* ~ **gʰel-* 'yellow' with the var. **gʰel-* based on Lt *geĩtas* 'yellow' [that in fact belongs to IE **gʷʰel-* 'yellow, gall' > L *fel* 'gall' etc.]) ||| HS: S ***ǵlʰ* > **ǵlʷ|y* > Ar *جلو* *ǵlʷ* (pf. *ǵalā*) 'rendre brillant\éclatant\ resplen-dissant', n. *ǵilāʔ-* 'éclat, brillant' and n. act. of *ǵlʷ* 'rendre brillant' ¶ BK I 320-1 ||| U: FU (att. in BF) **okīl|∇-* v. 'glitter, shine' > F *kiilu-* v. 'glimmer, glisten',

kiil-tä- v. 'shine, glisten', Es *kiilas* 'glossy, glazed', Vp *kiłtata-* v. 'shine (glitter, sparkle)' ¶ SK 191, ZM 205 ¶ The BF √ is ambiguous. It might alternatively belong together with IE **ǵel-* 'bright; to shine', but the corresponding M and Tg roots indicate that the initial cns. was voiced, hence it is preferable to equate all of them with IE **ǵʰelH^ω-*, which is confirmed by the long *ī* in BF (pointing to a presence of a lr. in N) || A **gil√-* 'shine (glänzen), glitter' > M **gilü-*, **gila-* > MM [MA] *gile-* in *gilečikū hodut* 'shining stars', WrM {MED} *gilūgen* 'shimmering, bright'; WrM {MED} *gilai-*, {Rm.} *gilai-* ~ *gilui-* v. 'shine', HIM *гялай-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'glänzen', Brt *ялай-* 'glänzen, glittern', Kl {Rm.} *gili-* 'blinken, schimmern, funkeln', as well as possibly M **gilu|üŋ* > WrM {MED} *giluŋ* ~ *gilüŋ* 'shiny, smooth', Ord *gölöŋ* 'brillant, reluisant, uni', Mnr {SM} *з̣ilōn* 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Kl {Rm.} *gilŋ* 'shimmernd, hell', {KRS} *гилŋ-гилŋ ги-* 'чуть блестеть, слегка поблескивать'; ? M **gilba-* > WrM *gilba-* {MED} v. 'flash, beam', HIM *гялба-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'ярко блестеть; сверкать', WrM *gilbe-* {MED} v. 'flash\shine in the distance', HIM *гилбэ-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'полыхать', Brt *ялбэ-* 'сверкать', Kl {KRS} *гилвк-* *gilwakə-* v. 'shimmer, gleam (мерцать, поблескивать)', {Rm.} *gilwa-* 'glänzen, schimmern', Ord *gilba-* 'faire des éclairs, briller, scintiller' ¶ M **gilba-* may go back to pA **gilu-a-* with *-u- from N *-o in **giṭṭʰo* ¶ Pp. MA 172, MED 382-4, BMR I 485-6, Chr. 798, KRS 144, KW 136, SM 87, Ms. O 265-6, 270 || Tg **gil-*, **gil-ta-* ~ **gil-te-* vi. 'glänzen' > Ewk PT/Brg/Y/Np *giltana-*, Ul *giltən-*, Nn Nh/Bk *giltən-*, Sln *gilūtə-* id., Ew Ucr/Chmk *geltan*, Ewk Brg *giltas* adj. 'shining (glänzend)', Ork *gilzmji* 'shining' (of eyed), WrMc {Z} *гилтахунь, гилтари* 'shining, clean, bright' ¶ STM I 151-2, On. 105, Z 335 || pJ {S} **kirà-* 'shining, glittering' > OJ *kḷḷira-kḷḷira-si* 'beautiful', MJ *kirà-kirà* {S} 'shining, glittering', J T *kira-kira*, J K *kirà-kirà*, J Kg *kira-kira* 'glitteringly', J T/Kg *kira-mék-*, J K *kirá-mék-* v. 'glitter, glisten, sparkle' ¶ S QJ no. 805, Mr. 708, Kenk. 969 ¶¶ SDM 544-5 (pA **gile|i|o-* v. 'shine, glitter' > Tg **gilta-*, M **gil(b)a-*, J), DQA no. 510, KW 136, IS I 230 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as **h* (which is the only N lr. that both yields **a* in NaIE and is liable to be lost in S [between vowels], later yielding Ar -ʔ- in certain hiatus positions) ◇ In some lges we observe the meaning 'smooth' (Lv *kīlaz*, M **gilu|üŋ*), either resulting from an independent metonymic change (smooth things [such as ice] are shining) or induced

by words going back to the paronymous N etymon ***gU₁E₁hU** 'be smooth') ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [no. 84] (*gⁱr¹h₁u = *gⁱr¹h₁u 'smooth and shining': IE, FU, M, Tg; *÷ words for 'smooth' [N {AD} ***gU₁E₁hU**]) ◇ Gr. II no. 337 (*ke¹ 'shine') (IE, U and A [all = IS], J + qu. Gil).

625. *gU₁E₁hU 'be smooth' > IE *g^hleH^ω-d^h-/*g^hlH_ω-d^h- 'be smooth', {EI} *g^hleHd^h-(ro-) 'smooth' > NaIE *g^hlōd^h-/*g^hlad^h- 'be smooth' > L glaber 'smooth, without hair, bald' || ON glaðr, OFrs gled, OHG, MHG glāt, NHG glatt 'smooth'; the semantic variant ON glaðr, OHG, MHG glāt 'shining, glänzend', AS ʒlæ|æd id., 'glad, pleasant', NE glād is due to the infl. of (or goes back to) the reflexes of N ***gi¹h'o** 'to shine, to glitter' || Lt gluodnūs, gluōdnas, glodūs '(u o < *ō < *eH^ω) 'smooth', {Frn.} 1s pres. glódžiu / inf. glósti v. 'polieren, schleifen, glätten', Ltv 1s pres. glaštu / inf. glāis(t)īt v. 'stroke, caress', Pru glosto 'whetstone' || Sl *°gladъ > SCr † glad 'smooth'; Sl *gladъ-къ(jь) 'smooth' > OCS ГЛАДЪКЪ gladъкъ 'smooth' ({StSS} 'гладкий, ровный'), Blg 'гладък, SCr glădak, Slv gládek, Cz, Slk hladký, P gładki, R, Uk 'гладкий, Uk гладкий 'smooth'; caus. v. Sl inf. *gladiti 'make smooth' (→ v. 'iron, stroke') > OCS inf. ГЛАДНТИ gladiti (· λιάνειν, laevigare, limare, mulcere) 'гладить (glätten, streicheln), R inf. 'гладить, Uk inf. 'гладити, SCr inf. glăditi, Cz inf. hladiti, P inf. gładzić id. ¶ P 431-2, EI 529, WH I 603, OsS 335, WW 115, Kb. 325, Lx. 73, KM 260, Ho. 132, Frn. 158, En. 179, IS I 230, Vs. I 409. Bern. I 300-1, ESSJ VI 114-17, StSS 170 || HS: WS *√g¹h 'be bald' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JEA 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣 √g¹h D (caus.) 'cut/shave the hair', Ar √ǧ¹h (pf. ǧaliha, ip. -ǧlah-) 'lose one's hair on both sides of the head', (pf. ǧalah) 'eat away the bark of trees, leave the tree "bald" (without bark)' (of camels), ǧalah- 'baldness on both sides of the hair', Gz √g^ωh (pf. g^ωalha) 'be shaved', Tgr √g¹h G 'be bald, shave one's hair', Tgy √g^ωh_y (pf. g^ωelhaye) 'raser la tête (pendant la période de deuil)' ¶ KB 185, KBR 193, GB 141, Sl. 285-6, Js. 247, Ln. 441-2, BK I 312, Hv. 94, L G 191, LH 441-2, DRS 123, StSS 170 || C: Bj {R} g^ωǎl¹ǎ 'Glatze am Vorderkopf' ¶ R WBd 95 || K *°glu₁ω₁- 'smooth' > G glu, gluV-i 'smooth, even', gluV- 'be smooth' ¶ Chx. 198, DCh. 324 || U: FU *kü¹∇- 'be smooth/slippery' > Prm *g¹lit > Vt g¹lit 'smooth, slippery', Z g¹lit 'slippery, slipping (скользящий)', 'good for skiing \ driving in a sledge' (of snow-covered ground) || ?? Lv kīlaz 'smooth, covered with ice' (× N ***gi¹h'o** 'to shine, to glitter', as

suggested by the final -az, common with Es -as [Es kiilas 'glossy, glazed'] || pOs *kōl̥ə ({{HL}} *kūl̥ə) 'smooth, slippery' > Os: V/Vy kōli, Y kōli, Nz qūl̥ə, Kz qūli, O quli ¶ UEW 156, Coll. 80, LG 84, Stn. D 625, Hl. rHt 71, Tv. FUI 54, Kt. 133 || ?φ **A**: (× N *gīT'h'o '↑') M *gilu|ūŋ 'smooth, bright' > WrM gilur̥ ~ gilūŋ 'shimmering, bright, smooth', Mnr {SM} z'ilōn 'luisant, lisse, uni, glabre', Kl {Rm.} giləg 'blank, glänzend, blinzelnd', Ord g_ölōŋ 'brillant, reluisant, chauve, uni' ¶ MED 382-3, KW 136, SM 87-8, Ms. O 270 ◇ IE *g^h- (rather than *g^{wh}-) is because of its preconsonantal position ◇ ≈ IS I 229-30 [no. 84] (*gī'ʔ'ḥu 'smooth and shining': S, K, IE; *÷ words for 'shining' [our N *gīT'h'o]).

626. ₂ *gūLz̥∇ 'bend, twist' > **HS**: S *^o✓glz > Ar ✓ğlz G 'plier, ployer, rouler; tortiller, tordre avec force' ¶ BK I 314, DRS 122 || B: [1] *^o✓glz > Rif sə-gilləz 'bouleverser' || [2] ?σ B *^o✓gllz > Kb gliləz, Wrg glilləz 'se rouler, se vautrer sur le sol'; SB with the px *z∇-: Ah zə-ğğələlləh, ETwl, Ty zəgəlluləz, Gh pf. isžələləz 'se rouler dans la poussière' ¶ Dl. 258, Pr. H 41 [no. 100], Fc. 435, Dlh. Ou 96-7, NZ 791 || **A**: M *gulz̥ay̥i- vi. 'bend' > WrM gulzai- {MED} id., HIM гулзай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'кривиться, коситься, sich krümmen', Kl {KRS} һулжи- gulž̥i- 'be bent/crooked', {Rm.} gulž̥ī- 'seinen Kopf abwärts oder seitwärts drehen' (vom Pferde), Ord g_ulž̥ī- 'être recourbé en bas; laisser pendre la tête'; ⇨ : [1] WrO gulzū 'turned, twisted', Kl {KRS} һулзү gulzū 'twisted' (adj.), {Rm.} gulzū ;gedreht, verwirrt'; [2] M *^ogulz̥agay̥i > WrM gulzagar {MED} 'bending under its own weight', HIM гулзгай {MED} id., {BMR} awry, twisted, bent, slanting'; [3] M *^ogulz̥agay̥i,r > WrM gulzagar {MED} 'bending under its own weight', HIM гулзгар {MED} id., {BMR} awry, twisted, bent, slanting'; Kl {Rm.} gulž̥iṽār 'schiefhalsig; schiefäugig; schief (nicht gerade aus), sich seitwärts biegend', Ord g_ulž̥igir 'dont le bout est recourbé en bas' ¶ MED 367, BMR I 460, KRS 168-9, KW 154, Krg. 319, Ms. O 312.

626a. ₂ *gA|l̥∇ 'wind (ventus)' > **HS**: ECh: Smr {J} gāl̥e, Nd D }J} gāl̥, Tmk {Cp.} gāl̥ 'wind' || Lai: Kbly {Cp.} kàl̥z, Ll {Grgs} kàl̥o 'wind' ([reg.?] devoicing *g- > Lai k-) ¶ ChC s.v. 'wind', Cp. s.v. gāl̥, Cp. KL s.v. Kbly kàl̥z, J LS s.v. gale || **D**: [1] *kāl̥i 'wind' > Kn gāl̥i, gāl̥, Tu gāl̥i, gāl̥i, Knd, Ku gāl̥i, Tl gāl̥i 'wind, air', Kdg ga·li, Klm ga·li, Nkr ghāl̥i, Nk ghāl̥y, Gnd gāl̥ 'wind'; ? [2] Tm kāl̥ 'air, wind', Ml kāl̥u 'wind' ¶¶ The unexpected cns. l in Tm and Ml is still to be explained ¶¶ D no-s 1499 and 1481 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [no. 97] (suggesting to equate Ch with D and erroneously

with T *kaI-, sc. with OT {Cl.} qalIq 'air, atmosphere, [visible] sky', sc. 'space above the earth' [in fact derived from OT qalI- v. 'rise in the air', see N *kaI_hi 'high; be high' and Cl. 620]).

627. *g^rUⁱI^v 'season without vegetation' ('drought, dry season', 'winter') > K: GZ *g^waI- 'be' (of drought) (× N *go^hI^v 'fire, glow of coal', 'burn [brûler]') > OG g^uaI-, G g^vaI-/g^oI-, Mg g^olo^p- 'be' (of drought), OG g^uaI^va, G g^vaI^va 'drought' ¶ K² 28, Chx. 189, Abul. 97, DCh. 317 || HS: EC *gi_;laI- 'dry season, winter' > Sml {DSI} žīlāI 'stagione secca; stagione di siccità e carestia; inverno', Sml N žīlāI 'dry season', Af {PH} gīlāI 'winter', Sa {Wlm.} gīlāI 'highland harvest season' ¶ DSI 344, PH 113, Wlm. S s.v. gīlāI || A: T *KIⁱ 'winter' (× N *giⁱI^v ᵑ^vᵑ^dᵑ^v 'ice, frost; to freeze' [q.v.] or its initial component *giⁱI^v) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV qIš, Tk kIš, Tkm, Az gIš, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, StAlt, Xlj qIš, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qIs, VTt, Bsh q^š, Uz, ET qIš, Xk χIs, Tv, Tf qⁱš, Chv xěл xьI 'winter' ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Ash. XVII 15-17, 19-20, Fed. II 341-2, Jeg. 297, ChVS 248 ¶ Possible contamination with (or infl. of) T *Köⁱ- (> NaT *Köš-) 'feel cold' (see N *küⁱI^v or *kuⁱE 'cold; to freeze') ◇ The delabialization N *u > T s* I occurs in several N words and needs further investigation. It is not necessarily explained by the infl. of N *giⁱI^v ◇ ≠ S NSShS (equated GZ *g^waI- with pA *k^ou^ola 'get/make dry', see N *koXLa 'be dry').

627a. *gU^hI^E ≈ 'canine' > HS: B: Ah {Fc.} a-ǧūlah 'male wolf' (< *gūI^vβ < N *^ogU^hI^E bA with *bA of animal names?) ¶ Fc. 429, Pr. H no. 95, NZ 779 || C: Bj {R} ga^lāb (pl. ga^lab) 'striped hyena' < N *^ogU^hI^E bA || SC: pRt {E} *g^wehela 'jackal' or 'dog' > Kz {E} g^wehela 'jackal', Brn {E} g^wehera, Alg {E} g^wihira, g^wehera 'dog' ¶ R WBd 95, E SC 328 || Ch: WCh: Grn {Jgr, ChC} g^ulúm 'hyena' || CCh: Gudu {ChC} kúI³m id., ? Mtk {Sb.} ηǧəléηǧəlé, ?? Glv {Rp., ChC} ηǧəla^xǧáǧəvà, {ChL} ηelexǧag^uvà id. ¶ JI II 204-5, Jgr 185, ChL, ChC s.v. 'hyena' || K: GZ *mgel- 'wolf' > OG mgel-, G mgel- ~ gel-, Mg ger-, Lz mge(r)- ~ g^wer- ~ mž^wer- 'wolf' ¶ K 130, Chik. 87 ¶ The initial *m- is a nominal px || A *göⁱEg- 'young canine, whelp' (or 'young mammal?') > M *göⁱEgen 'young animal', esp. 'young dog' (× N *go^lI^v 'foetus, baby') > WrM {Kow.} gölige, {MED} gölige ~ gölüge 'pup. young dog or cat', Brt гүлгэ(н) id., HIM {MED} гөлөг id., {BMR} гөлөг(н) id., Kl {Rm.} gölgə 'junges Tier, juunges Hund', {KRS} гөлг göləg 'young animal', esp.

'young dog', Mnr H {T} *golgō*, Mnr {SM} *g_ūōrg_ūō* 'le petit du chien, jeune chien', Ord *g_ōlög_ō* 'jeune de chien \ de chat'; M **g_ōlEgele-* > WrM {MED} *g_ōlügele-* v. 'whelp', HIM *г_ө_л_ө_г_л_ө-* {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'whelp' (of dogs), Brt *г_ү_л_г_э_л-*, Kl {KRS} *г_ө_л_г_л-* id., {Rm.} *g_ōlg_ō-* 'Junge werfen' (von Hunden), Ord *g_ōlög_ōl_ō-* 'mettre bas' (chien, chat) ¶ The M element **-geñ* may be connected with the M dim. *sx* **-qan*/**-ken* (*F* Pp. GPMJ 107, Pp. IM 239) ¶ MED 386, BMR I 444, Chr. 165, Kow. 2602, KW 137-8, KRS 146, SM 143, T 323, Ms. O 270 || T **k_īk'ṓlek* > Blgh *ḅ* Hg *k_ṓly_ṓk* 'young of an animal; whelp, puppy, kitten' || NaT **k_īk'ṓšæk* 'a young animal' > OT {Cl.} *k_ōšäk* id., MQp *k_ō:šæk* 'camel colt', Tk *k_ōšæk*, Tkm *k_ōšæk*, Az *k_ōšäk*, Ggz, Qq *k_ōšæk*, Uz Δ {Shch.} *k_ūšäk*, *k_ūšäläk* id., Osm XIV *k_ōšæk* id., {Rl.} 'young of an animal' ¶ Cl. 753, Shch. Zh 106, ET KQ 126-7, Rl. II 1305, MT II 608 ¶ A **g-* suggests that the initial *vns.* in T is **k_ī-*. According to IS (IS AG 339-42) A **g-* is a regular reflex of T **k_ī-* ¶¶ SDM 717 (pA **k|g_ṓl_ī|e(k_∇)* 'young of animals' > M, T), DQA no. 898, Pp. VG 25, 78, IS AG 341, KW 137 ¶¶ The pA semantic component 'young' is probably connected with the dim. *sx* **-g-*.

628. *g_īl_∇ p_∇'d_∇ (= **g_īl_∇ h_∇'d_∇*?) ice, frost; to freeze' (and **g_īl_∇* 'ice, frost') > IE: NaIE **g_h_ēl_ād-* 'ice, hail' > NPrs *جَالِ، هَالِه* *žāl_ē* 'hoarfrost, dew; hail', Tj *ж_о_л_а* 'hail, dew' (acc. to Rast. SGZIJ 107, **-ld-* > pIrn **-rd-* > NPrs and Tj *-l-*) || Gk Hm *χ_ά_λ_α_ζ_α* n. 'hail' || Sl **ž_ēld-* > OCS {P} *ж_л_ѣ_д_и_ц_а* *žlědica* 'frozen rain', Slv *ž_lēd* 'ice-covered ground, Glatteis', P *ž_ł_ó_đ_ž* 'frozen rain, ice-covered ground', Uk *о_ж_е'л_е_д_а* 'rain with snow, ice-covered ground' ¶ WP I 629-30, P 435, EI 287 (**g_h_ēl_ħ_₂d-* ~ **g_h_ēl_ħ_₂ed-* 'hail'), Vl. II 175 (NPrs *هَالِه* *žāl_ē* 'hail'), BM 265, Sg. 636, Horn 152, RTdS 187, 975, F II 1065-6, Mikl. E 407-8, Brü. 665 || HS: S *✓gld* 'freeze' > Ar *✓ğld* (pf. *جَلِدَ* *ğalida*) 'be frozen' (of ground), *جَلِيدَ* *ğalīd-* 'hoarfrost, ice', JA {Trg.}, JEA *ג_ל_י_ד_ה* *gəlī'd-ā*, MHb *ג_ל_י_ד* *gəlī'd* 'ice', Sr *г_л_ј_д* *gəlī'dā* 'ice, crystal', *р_а_г_л_ј_д* *pağlī'd-ā* 'ice, frost', NNEA {Orh., DRS} *г_л_ј_д* *glī'dā* 'ice'; in the S lges there is secondary association and sometimes coalescence with the root **✓gld* 'be(come) hard' ¶ BK I 313-14, Hv. 95, Lv. I 331, Sl. 287, DRS 118, JPS 70, Orh. 86, DRS 119 || A **g_īl_∇* (or **g_ī'l_∇* and **ḡ_īl_∇*) 'cold, winter' > Tg **g_īl'd_∇* 'cold' > Ewk *gilli* *ḡildi*, Neg *g_īl_igdi* ~ *g_īl_īs_i*, Lm *gildə* *ḡilrə* *ḡilla* adj. 'cold' (of a liquid), Ud {Rm.} *g_īl_īh_i* adj. 'cold' ¶

STM I 151, Krm. 222 || T *KIÍ 'winter' (× N *g'U'Í∇ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter'], q.v.) > OT {Cl.}, XwT XIV, OQp XIV KIŠ, Tk KIŠ, Tkm, Az qIŠ, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Ln, Qrg, StAlt, Xlj qIŠ, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY, Yk qIS, VTt, Bsh qḅŠ, Uz, ET qIŠ, Xk χIS, Tv, Tf qIŠ, Chv xěл xбл 'winter' ¶ Cl. 670, ET Q 253-4, Rs. W 268, Ra. 224, Md. 70, 131, 168, IS AG 342 [fn. 15], Pek. 1438, Ash. XVII 15-17, 19-20, Fed. II 341-2, Jeg. 297, ChVS 248 || pJ *kìsàra-(n)ki 'second month of the lunar calendar (February-March)' > OJ k_Ly_J isarag_Ly_Ji, MJ kisaragí id., J T kìsaragi, J K kísárágí, J Kg kisaragí {Kenk.} id., 'February' ¶ Mr. 451, Kenk, 975 ¶¶ The absence of the reflex of pA *d in T and J is still to be explained. The T and J words may go back to N *giÍ∇ without the second N component *ᶱ∇'d'∇, as in pCK {Md.} *ᶱīl 'ice, block of ice' (Md. ECK 42) ¶¶ SDM 545 and DQA no. 511 (A *gìíò 'cold' > Tg, T, pJ), Rm. EAS I 110, Ml. JKA 114, TL 76 ◇ The IE velar *g^h- is quite reg. In the framework of AD's theory on N vowels in the IE prehistory (AD NGIE and NVIE) it is explained as follows: N *giÍ- > pre-IE *g^hα̣j̣l- > *g^hα̣l- (loss of glides before a sonant) > IE *g^heɫ- (*α̣ is transformed into the apophonic vw.). IE *g^h...d for the expected *g^h...d^h is still to be explained (ds?). The vw. *ə in NaIE *g^heɫəd- suggests that N *ᶱ is to be reconstructed as *h.

629. ₂ *g'A'm∇ (and *g'A'mᶱ∇?) 'altogether, full' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓ gmm 'be full; gather' > Ar ✓ ḡmm (pf. جَمَّ ḡamma) id., 'be filled up' (of a well), 'collect in a well' (water), 'fill', Ar Mgr ✓ ḡmm D 'remplir la mesure jusqu'au bord', possibly also BHb 𐩦𐩣 gam, Ug gm, M'b, J'd gm 'also'; [2] WS *✓ gmᶱ (× S ✓ gmᶱ 'fist, handful' < N *góm∇ or *gómᶱ∇ 'hand, fist') > Ar جمع ✓ ḡmᶱ, Mh ✓ gmᶱ (pf. ḡūma, subj. yᶱḡmē ~ yᶱḡmē?), Jb C ḡīᶱ v. 'gather', Ar ḡumᶱ- 'totalité, le tout' ¶ BK I 321-2, 326-9, HJ 225, KB 187-8, KBR 195-6, OLS 147, Jo. M 120, DRS 141-3 || B: Shl gum, 3m igum 'be enough', Kb ḡḡamḡam 'être plein à ras de bord' ¶ NZ 797, 799, Dl. 259 || C: HEC *gumᶱa 'all' (possible infl. of Ar ḡumᶱ- 'réunion à un seul') > Hd, Kmb guᶱma 'all', Sd {Gs.} guma- vi. 'assemble, gather' || SC: Brn {Blz. ← ?} ḡoḡ 'all' ¶ Hd. 19, 280, 319, Gs. 133, Blz. RL 256 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} *gam 'fill, be(come) full' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} gam id., Su {J, Hf.} gam, {IL} ḡàm, Tal {IL} ḡàm 'full', Su {J} vt. 'fill', Ang {Lax} ḡàm id., {Flk.} ḡam vt. 'fill, complete' || BT: Dr {Nw.} ḡámì, Pr {Frz.} kémò 'fill' (*g- > Pr k-), ? Bl {Lk.} góm- 'zusammentreffen', ? BT *ḡ-g∇m- > Ngm {Sch.} ḡgama 'full', Bl {IL} ḡḡómáni 'full', Krkr {Sch.} nḡàmú 'fill', Gera ḡùmtì-mí, Glm {Sch.} ḡḡànd-ālà vi. 'be full', vt. 'fill', Grm ḡàm-tǎ 'fill'; ?

Pr kómú-ràŷ 'everybody' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} gəm 'also' ¶ JI II 156, ChC s.v. 'full', J S 66, Hf. AG 24, Flk. s.v. gam, Nw. KL 125, Lax 113, Sch. BTL 87, 119, 137, 144, Lk. PVB 135, Frz. P 36-7, Eb. 50 ¶¶ OS no. 888 (*gam- 'be full': S, WCh) ||| A *gæ̌:m^u 'all', 'fill in' and *ogām∇ 'all' > Tg *gemu ~ *gām_l∇_l 'all': [1] Tg *gemu > Ork {Pt.} гэм гэм ~ гым (? : there is no Ork phoneme ы) 'all of them, all, everything', WrMc {Z} гэмү 'all (of them), altogether', {Hr} gemu 'alle, insgesamt, sämtlich', Mc Sb {Mrm.} gem, gemu 'alle, alles, sämtlich, insgesamt', {Y} /gumə/ [gum] 'all', Jrc {Kiy.} gemur 'altogether', gemur ina 'all of it'] [2] Tg *gām_l∇_l > Orc gām 'all (of them), every, all kind of', WrMc {Z} ганьчжи 'all (of them, of him, of it) ¶ STM I 138, 179, Z 301, 321, Pt. JO 72, Z 301, 321, Hr 334, 343, Klz. MS 177, Y no. 2816, Kiy. 138 [no. 757], 145 [no. 841], S AJ 207 [no. 2] (Tg *gemu) || pJ {S} *kəm- 'be filled in, be stuffed' > OJ kòm- id., J T kóm-, J K/Kg kòm- {Kenk.} 'be crowded/packed' ¶ S QJ no. 865, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1042 || ??σ M {SDM} *gömür^üge 'storage, depository, buttry' > MM {Lew.} гумерге, WrM {SDM, BMR} gömürge, HIM гөмрөг {BMR} 'склад, кладовая', Ord gürümek 'assemblage d'objets' ¶ Lew. II 20, BMR I 445, Ms. O 279 ¶¶ Tg *gām_l∇_l (and pA *ogām∇) may go back to N *g^rA¹m[∇] ¶¶ SDM 539 (pA *gèmo 'to complete, to fill in' > Tg *gemu, J, Ko, M), DQA no. 496 ◇ It is hard to decide if the basic HS √ is *√gm or *√gm[∇], hence the N etymon may be either *g^rA¹m[∇] or *g^rA¹m[∇] (*g[∇]m[∇] being less probable, because the cluster *m[∇] is more likely to undergo as. to *η[∇] that the cluster of *m with the approximant *[∇]). We cannot rule out the possibility that the N word with *[∇] and that without it are two different words.

630. *g^re¹m[∇] 'strong, firm' > HS: WS *√gmm > Ar √ğmm (pf. ^ω ^ج ^اğamma) 'be abundant', 'be rich' (of vegetation), Jb {DRS} gim 'abonder, se collecter à nouveau' (water after being depleted) (× √gmm 'gather') ¶ BK I 321-2, Hv. 97, Jo. J 76, DRS 141 || Eg: DEg {Er.} gm 'Kraft, Stärke', Cpt: Sd бом сом, B зом зом 'force, power' ¶ Er. 580, Crn. 330, Vc. 340 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *gam- '(be) strong' > Su {J}, Ang {ChC} kam 'strong', {ChL} kam 'strength', Gmy kəm {ChC} 'strong', {ChL} 'strength' || Krkr {Stl.} n-gam, Tng {J} kwam^l 'firm' (*g- > Tng *k- regularly) || ? Hs gàmzō {Abr.} 'powerfully-built man' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [no. 674] (AG, Krkr), ChC s.v. 'strong', ChL I 21, 54, J T 187, Abr. H 294, Ba. 355 ||| U *k^re¹mä > FU *kämA 'hard, firm' > F kämä 'stiffness,

rigidity, inflexibility', *kä me ä* 'thick, firm' || Er *keme*, Mk *kemä* 'hard, firm' || Hg *kemény* id. || Sm: Slq Ke/NP {Cs.} *kô m*, Slq B {Cs.} *kû m* 'zäh, hart', Slq LTz {KD} *qō men*, Slq Tm {KD} *qō m* id., Kms {KD} *kom·d̪á m* vt. 'harden', *bãzã kom·d̪á m* 'harden iron', {Cs.} *komdeám, komdläm* '(Eisen) härten' || pY {IN H} **kimčz-*, **kimyuz-* > Y: K {IN} *kimdžš-* {IN} 'tighten', *kimdī-* v. 'fight', K {AD} *kimji-k* inv. id., 'bear up!' ('крепись'), {Iox.} (Iox. JR) *kimžecsk* 'stand firm, take heart\courage' ('крепиться, мужаться'), {Ang. ← Iox. [texts]} *kimdeš-*, *kimdieš-* 'fest bleiben' ¶¶ UEW 137, Coll. 87, Sm. 545 (FU, FP **kämä*, Ugr **kämä*- 'hard'), MF 349-50, ERV 251, Cs. 121, 181, 232, KD 32, Iox. JR, AD YN, IN H 211, IN UJ 227, 306, Ang. 117, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 20] (Y ← U) || D (att. in SD) **kēm-* ({†GS} **k-*) 'strong, hard' > Ml *kēmam* 'strength, solidity', Kn *kēmā* 'callosity, as that of a wart' ¶ D no. 2003 ◇ The correspondence between FU **ä* and D **ē* is irregular; it may be suggested that FU **ä* goes back to U **e* (as. **e...ä* > **ä...ä*), cf. pY **i* ◇ Blz. SNE no. 2 (U, D, ? Hs), ≈ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. Ch, Eg, D).

630a. **gUm∇* 'heavy' > K: Sv: UB, LB, Ln *gʷämi*, Ls *gʷami* 'heavy' ¶ TK 179, Ni. s.v. 'тяжелый', GP 93 || HS: CCh: Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} *gumá*, Msg P {Trn.} *gɜma*, Mbara {TrnSL} *gímáy*, Mlw {Trn.} *gè má* 'heavy' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *gʷòm*, Ll {Grgs} *gùmýá* 'big' ¶ TrnSL 262, Trn. LDM 24, Trn. MVM, Trn. LM 90, ChC s.v. 'heavy' and 'big', ChL, Grgs L s.v. *gùmýá*, Cp. KL s.v. Kbl *gʷòm* ◇ Connected with N **g'e'm∇* 'strong, firm'? ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134-5 (incl. K and Ch; Blz. did not distinguish this etymon from N **g'e'm∇* '↑').

631. **goʃm∇* or **gomʃ∇* 'hand, fist' > HS: WS (or CS) **✓ g m ʃ* 'hollow\closed hand' > Sr *gə m ā ʃ ɿ ə ɿ t ā* 'handful, fist (manipulus, pugillus)', Ar *جمع* *ǧumʃ-* 'fist, back surface of the fist' ('poing, poignée, main fermée; partie extérieure de la main, les doigts étant fermés)', ? Jb {DRS} *ǧǧǧ*, *ʔama*, *ʔami*, *ʔāmʃah* 'fist' ¶ Br. 121, BK I 327, ≈ DRS 143 || C {AD, HL} **ganaʃ-* 'hand, palm of hand' > Bj R *garʔa* id., Bj A {AD} *tʊ* 'ganaʔa 'palm of hand' || EC: pSam {Hn.} **gaʃām* 'hand, arm' > Sml *gaʃān*, pl. *gaʃāmo*, Sml J *ǧǧǧ*, pBn **kàʔán* > Bn Bi *kaʔan*, Bn J/Ba/K *kaʔán*; Bs *gene* 'hand, arm'; Elm {HL} *gene* 'hand', Kns *kanʔā-ta*, Gdl {HL} *kana(ʔ)a-ta*, {Ss.} *kanaʃ-at*, Gato {HL} *kanʃa-te*, Or Wt {Hn.} *ganáʔ*, Or BI {Sr.} *ganā* 'palm of hand', Hr/Gln {AMS} pl. *kanáʃe*, Gwd {AMS} *kanʃate*, Brj {Ss.} *ganáʔ*, {Hw.} *ga'nā* 'palm of hand. ball of finger', Sa {HL} *ǧinnaʃ-ta* 'palm of hand', Af {PH} *gennaʃ*, *gennáʃa* 'palms of hand,

soles of foot' (snglt. *gennaŋ-ta*), Ya {HL} *kinneʔe* 'hand'; see also Sa/Af {R} *gā'mad* (pl. 'gā'mōd) 'hollow hand, fist' (but the Af word is not found either in PH or in Clz.) ¶ AD SF 316, Bl. 161, Hn. S 82, Hn. BD 111, Hn. W 62, R S II 156, R A II 59, Ss. B 77 (EC *ganaŋ- 'hand'), HL 99 (C *ganaŋ- 'hand, arm'), PH 112, Sr. 310, AMS 167, 207, 247, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 178 || U *kom∇(r∇) 'hollow hand' > pLp {Lr.} *kōmērē 'handful' or sim. > Lp: Kld {TI} *kuzmmeř* 'handful', N {N} *goabmer* 'the two curved open hands put together to receive\catch sth.' | ?? F *kahmal*, *kamahlo*, Vp *kamahł* ɖ *kahmał* ɖ *kahmā*, Es *kamal* 'hollow of one's hands', Lv *kōmal*, Lv W *kā:mal* 'handful'; -hm- in F and Vp and the vw. a may be due to the infl. of the BF verbs represented in F *kahmaa* 'blindlings greifen' and F *kahmi* - 'nachschnappen, хватать'; it is tempting to suppose that this h is a trace of N *ʁ, but in the light of U comparative phonology such conjecture is not valid | Er *komoro*, Mk *komop* *komar* 'handful' | Z {W} *kam+r* id. || Sm {Jn.} *kāmā ~ *kemā '(outstretched) arms' > Ne T *sewa* id., d. *seway* 'armful', Ne O {Lh.} *śēβ·a'·i*, Ne F {Lh.} *śie·mmā* id., Slq Tm {KD} *q'ā:m* 'outstretched arms', Slq Tz d. *qō'mal-* v. 'embrace', Kms {KD} d. *q'ā:məru* 'outstretched arms'; ? -> Sm *kām∇r- (~ *kām∇l-, *kem∇l-) v. 'embrace' > Mt {Hl.} *kāmər- 'umarmen, mit beiden Händen umfassen' (Mt M {Sp.} *kamyrnam* 'I embrace') ¶¶ UEW 175-6 (rejecting the BF cognates), Lr. no. 472, Lgc. no. 2639, TI 134, Ker. II 65, Kt. 149, ZM 175, Jn. 63-4, ККИН 164, KD 24, Hl. M no. 464 || A *KomP∇ (= *k'omP∇?) fist, wrist' > Tg *komb∇- 'wrist', 'ε part\bone of the hand\forearm' ({SDM} *kombā- 'wrist, hand, spoke bone') > Neg *kombox̄* 'wrist, metatarsus, radius (bone)', Orq *qomū* 'wrist, funny bone', Nn KU *qombi* 'back side of the hand, wrist', Nn Nh *qombio* {STM} id., {On.} 'wrist', Ud {Krm.} *komugu* 'carpus, ankle (запястье, щиколотка)' ¶ STM I 409, On. 224, ADb. SR 260, 300-1, Krm. 249 || pJ {S} *kəmpusi 'fist' > MJ *kòbùsì*, J T *kòbuśi*, *kóbuśi*, J K *kóbùśì*, J Kg *kobúśi* ¶ S QJ no. 883, Mr. 453, Kenk. 994 || ?φ NaT *Kο:;p-, *Kο:;pa-k 'fist, wrist' > Qrg *qobuq* 'arthritis of metacarpus', Tb, QK *qoboq* 'wrist', StAlt *qoboq* 'ε illness of an arm', Tv *qowades*, Tf {Cs.} *kofadeš* 'fist' ({SDM}: < *Kop-adIÍ) ¶ Jud. 391, BT 84, ADb. SR 194 (acc. to ADb, the Tv-Tf word may be a reborrowing of the Tk word from Tg and Ket, which is rejected by SDM) ¶¶ SMD 718 (pA *kòmpo 'fist, wrist' > T, Tg, J + unc. M *kombo- 'round' [esp. of hooves]) ¶¶ The

change A *-mp- > T *-p- has not yet been explained. The pA cns. *k_L'_L- may go back to N *g...ǀ-.

632. *gumb∇ 'back (dos), (?) hump', (→ ?) 'hill' > HS: C: EC: Sml gúmbúr 'small hill, low isolated hill', Dsn {To.} gummuti (pl. gummusam) 'hill', Rn {PG} gámbàr 'top part of a camel's hump' (× N ? *gǀub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' and N *gab∇ (ǀǀ∇) 'head') ¶ Abr. S 96, ZMO 169, To. DL 501, PG 121, ≈ Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} gumb 'back', Ari {Bnd.} gemar, Hm {Bnd.} 'gεmεr 'mountain, hill' || NrOm: Kf {C} gubbο, Mch {L} gúbbο 'back (dos)' ¶ Fl. OO 316, C SE IV 436, L M 29, Bnd. AL 155, Blz. DL s.v. 'mountain' || Ch.: WCh: Dr {ChL} gúmà, Cg {Sk.} gúmá 'buttocks' || ?φ CCh: Gdr {Mch.} 'gɜbbο 'buttocks' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'buttocks' ¶¶ But Hb gab, Ug gb and JA gab' bā 'back' do not belong here (⇔ Blz. DA), but go back to S *gabb- 'top of sth.' (the back is the highest point of animal's body) < N *gab∇ 'head' (q.v. ffd.) || U: FU (or FV?) *kump∇ 'hill' > F kumpu 'hill' || Lp L {LLO} kåbbå 'Anhöhe, kleiner Berg, Hügel' || Mk kumba 'hummock. tussock' || ?φ pVg *kǎmp 'hill, heap' ({MK} 'Hügel, Haufen') > Vg: T/K {MK} kǎmp, N {MK} kamp ¶ LG 83, MK 190, ≈ UEW 203 (without distinguishing between this √ and U *kump∇ 'wave') || D (att. in SD) *kump- 'back (dos)' > Tm kumpam 'upper part of the back between the shoulders', Ml Δ kumbi 'buttocks', Td kub 'back; behind' ¶ D no. 1747 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 27 and Blz. NDA no. 27 (D, HS, including [unc.] HEC *gōb- 'neck' and S *gabb- [presumably 'back'; in fact, S *gabb- 'top of smth.' goes back to N *gab∇ 'head' → 'top', 'skull', q.v.]).

633. ₂ *gim_L∇,ǀ∇ 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and/or nose' ([in some descendant lges] → 'to grin, to smile, to mock, to laugh') > HS: S *√gnç > Ak StB ∧ √gnç G, Ak StB D (inf. gurruṣu) {CAD} 'sniff, wrinkle one's nose', {Sd.} 'Nase, Lippen hochziehen', Sr {PS} جُنْحِي gurnāṣā 'derisio, subsannatio, irrisio'; ?σ Ar √ǧnç D (pf. جُنْحُ جُنْحِي ḡannaṣa) 'ouvrir/écarquiller les yeux (de frayeur)'; ?φ WS *√km|nç > Ar √knç D (pf. kannaṣa) 'renifler, remuer le nez pour se moquer de quelqu'un', EthS: Gz kamsūs 'one who smiles', Tgr kamsəs bela, Tgy kəmɜss bɛlɛ vb. clc. 'smile' ¶ The vl. k- in Ar and EthS still defies explanation (lexical attraction of a different word?) ¶ CAD V 40, Sd. 280, PS 755, BK I 339, L G 286, DRS 160 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gǎmsú 'laugh' || NrBc: Kry {Sk.} ǰɜmɜcɜ, Wrj {Sk.} ǰɜnc-, My {Sk.} ǰamá's-, Mbr {Sk.} ǰɜn'sa, Jmb wumaš- id. || SBc: Bg {Sh.} kómás, Zr K {Sh.} gǎmšé,

Grn {Hrn.} ηγάησι id. || CCh: Bu {Hf. from unprofessional records} kumš i 'laugh, laugh at' | ? Gude {Srp.} wúsin 'laugh' | Mtk ηg^was id. | Dgh {Frk} ḡḡásá id., Glv {Rp.} ṽubas- 'laughter' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} ḡemís, {J} ḡàmàsé, Jg {J} ḡims-, Brg {J} ḡèmsí 'laugh' | Tmk {Cp.} ḡáž, Nd D {J} ḡésâ id. ¶ JI I 108 (Ch. * \checkmark gms₂) and II 218-19, Nw. no. 79 (Ch. *ḡamsə), Sch. DN 68, Sh. BZ 36, Hrn. G 46 [no. 265], Jgr 186, Hf. B 260, RK 90, Cp. 60, Lk. ZSS 182 || **D** (att. in SD) *kič²-/*kinč²- 'make a grimace by showing the teeth, grin' > Kt ḡinž²- 'show teeth with a snarl' (a dog), kič²v- 'make a grimace (of derision etc.) by opening mouth and drawing back lips', Kn kiš i 'expand/open/withdraw the lips from the teeth so as to show them; grin', Tu kiš ɓ 'grinning, kiš i -kiš i 'a titter, laugh'; D → InA *k^hiss- v. 'grin' ¶ D no. 1510, Tu. no. 3889 ◇ Lack of as. *-mç|č²- > *-Nç|č²- in Ch (and EthS?) suggests the existence of a vw. between the Inlaut cnss and its loss in the prehistory of S and D.

634. *ḡ^ru¹m₁∇₁č²∇ 'to incline, to bow, to bend' > HS: S * \circ \checkmark gmç|θ > Gz \checkmark gmç v. 'incline, bend', Tgr ḡz mčuy 'crooked, perverted' ¶ L G 195-6 || ?φ,σ Ch {Stl.} *ḡuž i-n 'knee' > CCh: Mdr {Mk} uḡž e, {Mch.} úkj e, Glv {Rp.} ṽùnž a, Gdf {ChC} ḡ^wíz à, Dgh {Frk} ḡ^wìž é, {IL} ḡ^wíz e, Gv {ChL} ḡ^wíz à, Nkc ṽ^wunž a id. || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ḡuž ä id. ¶ JI II 215, Stl. IF 193, ChC s.v. 'knee', ChL || **U**: FU *k^ru¹ńć∇ (or *ko|ańć∇) 'bent' > ObU {Ht.} *kūńć id. > pVg {Ht.} *kūš nā > Vg: ML {Mu.} khāš nē, K {Mu.} khās nē ~ khās nā 'elastisch, biegsam', N {Mu.} χās nē, ML khasnā 'der elastische Teil des Holzes', Ss {Kn.} xūs na 'der aus Birkenholz bestehende Teil des Bogens'; ?? possibly Vg: T {WVD} k'ôš k'-, MK {WVD} k'^wās s-, P {WVD} kōšš-, LL {WVD} k'βašš- (= k'^wašš-) '(seinen Kopf) neigen, sich verbeugen'; pOs {Ht.} *kuńć- > Os: V/Vy/Ty quť, D χuńť, Nz/Kz χűś, O χuś 'obere Birkenholzlage am Bogen' ¶ Ht. 153-4 [no. 298], MK 112, WVD VII 130 || **D** *kunč²- ({ǰGS} *k-) ≈ low; to bow' > Ml kuńćuka v. 'stoop, bow', Td kwič² 'humble, low', Tl kunču v. 'depress' ¶¶ These words belong here unless they are connected with Tm kuruηku v. 'bend', Ml kuηkuka v. 'sink low' etc., as in DED no. 1474 and D no. 1767 ¶¶ ≈ DED no. 1474 ◇ The lack of as. *-mç|č²- > *-Nç|č²- in HS suggests the existence of a vw. between the word-medial (→ root-medial) cnss and its loss in the prehistory of U and D.

635. *ḡ^rā¹m₁∇₁s²a 'ε waterfowl, ε bird (a shore bird?)' > IE: NaIE *ḡ^hans- 'goose' > OI hamisa-ḡ 'goose', hamis-ī 'female goose, swan' || Gk χήν (gen. χηνός), Gk D/B χᾶν (< *χανς, gen. *χανσός) 'goose' || Clt

{Matas.} *^ogansi- 'swan' > OIr géis 'swan' (< f. *^ghans-ī ÷ OI ham̄s-ī)
 ||| Gmc *gans-iz (transformed into a noun with an *i-stem) > ON gás
 (pl. gæs), OHG gans (*i-stem), NHG Gans, AS ȝōs (pl. ȝēs) 'goose',
 NE goose (pl. geese); Gmc *gans-iz ⇨ Sl *gōsь 'goose' (an inherited
 word would have had an initial *z-) > Blg ræc m., Slv gōs (gen. gosī),
 OCz, Cz Δ, Slk f. hos (gen. husi) f. 'goose', Cz (restructured) husa f.
 'goose', P gęś, Blr rycь (gen. ryci) f. id., Uk rycь f. 'female goose',
 OR rьcь gusь, R rycь m. 'goose' ||| Lt žasīs (žãsi), Ltv zòss, Pru
 sansy ({En.}: [zansi]) id. ||| with a sx *-er-: L ānser (< *hānser)
 'goose', Gmc: MHG ganzer ~ ganser 'male goose', NHG (with
 restructuring) Gänserich id. ¶ P 412, ≈ EI 236 (*^ghan-s, "perhaps
 derived from *^ghan- 'yawn, gape'"), M K III 571, M E II 799, F II 1094-5,
 WH I 52, LP § 26.10, Vr. 157, Ho. 135, OsS 261, Kb. 316, Lx. 53, KM 231,
 Frn. 1292-3, En. 242, ESSJ VII 88-9 (unconvincingly rejecting the Gmc
 origin of Sl *gōsь), Bern. I 342-3 (recognizing the Gmc origin of Sl *gōsь
 as a possibility), Matas. E 151 ||| **HS**: Eg MK ȝms ({EG} ȝmś)
 {Fk.} 'avocet (*Recurvirostra*, a shore bird)', {EG} 'ε Vogel (mit aufwärts
 gebogenem Schnabel)' ¶ EG V 574, Fk. 322 ||| **A** ≈ *gAsa 'crane,
 waterfowl', (? ⇨ A ≈ *gAsA^rK^ræⁿ '[ε ?] bird') > Tg *gasa 'waterfowl,
 bird' > Orc gasa, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} gasa 'waterfowl, duck',
 Nn Nh {On.} gasa 'bird; duck', gasaqã dim. 'duckling, small duck', {STM}
 gasaqa 'pigeon', Ud ga^{Hä} 'bird, duck', {Krm.} gahä 'duck', Neg gasa
 'swan', Ewk gasa 'crane', WrMc {Z} raxa, Mc Sb gasxχz 'bird' ¶ STM I
 143, On. 100, S AJ 207 [no. 10], Krm. 221, Z 304 ||| **M** *geske 'fish
 eagle' (< *gAsa-ken?) > WrM {Kow.} geske 'faucon\épervier qui a sur la
 queue et les ailes une raie blanche', Kl {Rm.} geska 'Fischadler,
 weißgeschwänzter Adler' ¶ Kow. 2458, KW 135 ¶¶ SDM 532 (pA *gasoli
 'crane, aquatic bird' > Tg, M), DQA no. 484 (id.), S AJ 289 [no. 338] |||
U: [1] *^okânś|ć∇ > Sm: Kms {Cs.} korzu? 'gull (Möwe)' ||| [2] ?φ FU
 *kaś∇ (or °-ć-) 'ε duck' > Prm *kuos∇ ({Lt.} *kuos∇) > Vt kwaśi 'male
 duck' ||| ObU *kās- > pOs *kas- > Os: V/Vy qas, Ty/Y qās, Kz χɔs
 'merganser', D χos 'a wild fish-eating duck with a pointed beak'
 ||| [3] ?φ FU (att. in FP) *k^rō¹s∇ > Chr: L kos, E koso 'golden-eye
 (*Bucephala*)' ||| Prm *k^rō¹s+ś ({Lt.} k^rō¹s+ś) > Z kos+ś 'grey duck', Yz kūsīs
 'merganser' ||| ?? F koskelo 'merganser (Gänsesäger, Ganstaucher,
 Sägetaucher), Es koskel 'ε waterfowl' (Prm *ō points to a pFU *ō) ¶¶
 The adduction (UEW 111) of Slq (Slq LTz čerj kueče 'graue Wildente', Slq

Ke *kuetj* ~ *kuettjə* ~ *kodje* and Slq N *kuēč* [in compound names of species of ducks]) is highly questionable for phonetic reasons ¶¶ Cs. 181, ≈ UEW 111 (**kać∇* ~ ? **kańć∇*) and 673, MRS 225, Ü 75, Lt. 51, Lt. J 139, LG 135, Trs. S 146 ◊ The lack of *as*. **-mS-* > **-nS-* in the prehistory of Eg suggests the presence of a *vw*. between the N word-medial *cns* ◊ Gr. II no. 182 (**ka(n)s* 'goose') (IE, A, CK).

636. *gAn|ń∇ 'see, perceive' > HS: Ch {JS} **gan-* ~ **gin-* 'see' > WCh: Hs *gání* 'see, look at' | Tmbs {Sh.} *à gńńí* 'you see!' ||| ECh: Skr {Sx.} *génìyé*, {Lk.} *géna-gō* 'see' ¶ JI II 284-5, Abr. H 298-9, Ba. 359-60, ≈ Sk. HCD 77 || K: GZ **gen-* / **gn-* 'learn (erfahren), apprehend, understand' > G *gen-* / *gn-* 'learn, understand' (š*e-v-gen* 'I learned, ich erfuhr', š*e-gn-eba* {DCh.} 'to understand, to learn, to guess', {FS} 'erfahren, erkennen'), Mg *gin-*, *g3n-* 'understand, learn' (v-*i-gin-en-k* 'I understand, I apprehend', *ki-i-b-g3ni* 'I learned [ich erfuhr]', *kī-gin-u* 'he learned'), Lz *gn-* 'learn', {K²} 'hear' (n-*a-gn-u* 'er begriff', o-*gn-u* 'erkennen', o-*gn-i* 'I understood'), Sv (←b- G?) *ma-mgan-a* 'I suppose' ¶¶ K 63, K² 27-8, FS K 75-6, FS E 79, DCh. 1401-2 || D {Pf.} **kāñ-* / **kañ-* ({ǵGS} **k-*) 'see' > Tm, Kn *kāñ*, Ml *kāñuka*, Kt *kañ-* / *ka'ñ-*, Td *ko'ñ-*, Kdg *ka'ñ-*, Tl *kanu*, Brh *xanīñ* 'see', Tu *kāñṅsāvuni* ~ *kāñṅisāvuni* v. 'show, represent', Klm *kandt*, *kandakt* 'seen, visible', Nkr *kank* er- 'appear', Prj *kandp-* 'look for, seek', Gdb *kandp-* v. 'search', Krx *xan-* 'be pleasant to the eye' ||| possibly also D **kañ*, **kañṅ*, {Pf.} **kañ*, {GS} *kañ-* 'eye' > Tm, Kn *kañ*, Ml *kañ*, *kañṅu*, Kt, Gdb, Knd, Mnd *kañ*, Td *koñ*, Kdg *kañṅi*, Tu *kañṅṅ*, Tl *kanu*, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd *kan*, Png *kañga*, Kyu *kanu*, Ku *kan(n)u* ~ *kannū*, Krx *xann*, Mlt *qanu*, Brh *xan* id. ¶¶ D no-s 1159 and 1443, Pf. 2, GS 168 [no. 425].

637. *genû 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE **ǵhenu-* / **ǵhenw-* 'jaw, chin' > OI *hanu-h* 'jaw', Av *zanu-* id. (attested: accus. du. *zanva* 'jaw from both sides'), Prt *znx*, KhS *ysanuwa* 'jawbone', ZPhl *zānak* ~ *zanak* 'jaw', NPrs *زنج* *zānāχ*, Psh *zana* 'chin' ||| Phr α-ζήν (accus. α-ζένα) 'beard' ({EI}: < **h₁ǵen-* '[that which] on the chin') ||| Clt {Matas.} **genu-* 'jaw' (× IE **ǵ|genu-* < N **kān₁y₁u* [or **kān∇y₁u*] 'cheek, side of the face') > OIr *gin* (gen. *geno*) 'mouth', MW *gen* 'cheek', W *gêr* (pl. *genau*) 'jaw, chin', OBr {Flr.} *gen* 'jaw', {Matas.} [ʏ] *gen* 'maxilla', MBr {Flr., Matas.} *guen* 'cheek', Br {Hm.} *gen* 'joue'; Brtt {RE} **genowes* (ancient pl.?) > W, OCrn *genau*, MCrn *ganow*, OBr, MBr, Br *genou* 'mouth' ||| Tc (× IE **ǵ|genu-* < N **kān₁y₁u* '↑'): Tc A {Wn.} *śanw-* (att.: du. *śanwe-m*, {Ad.}

śanwe-m) 'jaw' ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2, M K III 576, M E II 801, Brtl. 1662 and 1689, Vl. II 149, Sg. 624, Horn 118, Bai. 345, Mrg. 102, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, OsS 489, Ho. 49, Ho. S 41, KM 369-70, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Matas. E 158, Hm. 312, Wn. I 470-1, Ad. H 110, ≈ EI 322 (OI *hanu-h* < IE **ǵenu-* 'jaw' [unt. because of *h-*], see N **kān₁y₁u* 'cheek') || HS: C: Bj {R} *ge'nūn* (pl. *ge'nin*) 'jaw, jawbone', {BechG} *gu'nūn* 'jaw' (but Rop. translated the word as 'gum [of teeth]') ¶ R WBD 99, Rop. 136 || Ch: WCh: AG {Hf.} **gen* 'cheek' > Gmy {Hf.} *gen*, Mnt {Hf.}, Kfr {Nt.} *gɜn*, Su {J} *gěn* id. | BT: Gera {ChL} *geni* 'face', Dr {J} *gɜngá* 'cheek' | NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} *gana* 'chin', P' {MSk.} *gànčáka* 'cheek' | SBc: Sy *gúyḡ*, Buli *gùḡá* 'cheeks' || CCh: ZmD {KNC} *gín*, {Srp.} *gín*, ZmB {Sa.} *gìn* 'cheek', Lame {ChL} *gíní*, LamP {ChL} *ng^uen* 'cheeks' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *gîn* (pl. *gényó*) 'forehead' ¶ JI II 68-9, 76-7, Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 678], Hf. AG 25 [no. 218], ChL I 72, 196, 208, III 197, 205, ChC s.v. 'cheek', Lk. ZSS 182, KNC 8 || WS **ʔgn* ~ **ʔwgn* > Ar *ʔaḡn-at-* ~ *ʔiḡn-at-* ~ *ʔuḡn-at-* {Fr.} 'gena, praesertim superior ac prominentior malae pars oculis et temporibus proxima', {BK} 'pommette, partie saillante de la joue au dessous de l'œil', *waḡ(a)nat-* ~ *waḡinat-* ~ *wuḡnat-* 'joue saillante', Ar Eg {DRS} *wagna* 'cheek', Ar O {DRS} *waḡna* 'pommette', Mh *wɜgnēt* 'cheekbone', Hrs *wɜgnēt* (pl. *wɜgēn*) 'cheek', Jb E/C {Jo.} *'εgɜnt* 'cheekbone', Jb C {Jo.} *ōgɜn* 'have prominent cheekbones' ¶ Fr. I 16, BK I 14 and II 1494, Jo. M 424, Jo. H 134, Jo. J 288, DRS 493-4, ≈ MiK I no. 1.84 (S **gu/in-*, **ʔ/wɜgn-* '[area including] cheekbone and eye socket') || B (a root with an ext.?) **ʔgnz* 'forehead' > Sll {Ds.} *i-gɜnzi*, Shl {NZ} *ignzi*, Tz {Stm.} *i-ginzi*, Dmn {Rn.} *tagunza*, Kb {Dl.} *tag^wanza* 'forehead', Ntf *taunza* 'frisettes du front' ¶ Stm. 188, La. MChB 112, Ds. 136, Rn. 356, Dl. 266, Dray 229, NZ 841 ¶¶ Blz. EDB 11-12 (Bj, Ch, B) || D (att. in SD) **ken₁n-* ({ʔGS} **k-*) 'cheek' > Tm *cen₁ni*, *cen₁ai*, Tu *kenni*, *kennæ* id., Ml *cenni*, *kenni* 'temples', *cennam* 'jaw, cheek', Kt *keyn* 'cheek just in front of ear', Kn *kenne* 'the upper cheek'; D ⇨ OI *kenāra-* 'temples, upper part of cheek' ¶ D 1989 ◇ In some of the descendant lges there was mutual infl. (sometimes coalescence) of the etymon in question and N **kān₁y₁u* 'cheek, side of the face' (q.v.) ◇ WS **ʔ-* and **w-* in **ʔgn* ~ **ʔwgn* are likely to be due to the restructuring of the root in the derivational and phonetical prehistory of Semitic words ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 6 (D, IE, HS **gin*, *gun* 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N **genū* and N **kān₁y₁u* ↑').

637a. *g'oʔa'n∇ 'much, big' > K: Sv: UB/Ln gūn, L gūn 'very; plenty of' ¶ TK 176, GP 94 || HS: EC *gān- 'be(come) big' > Brj gān- id., gann-an-ē 'big', Kns kān- 'be left to grow big', Gdl kān- 'big', Dbs kāna 'big', kān- 'grow' || Dhl gāno 'big, large' || SC: Kz {E} kantaʔawu 'very', ?σ Brn {E} gōŋ 'all' ¶ Ss. B 73, 78, AMS 16, E SC 236 (pSC *gāŋ- 'very, very much'), E K 14, To. D 133 || WS *√gnn > Ar √ğnn (pf. ğunna) 'become abundant\dense\luxuriant' (of herbage), Tgy √gnn G (pf. gēnēnē) 'be numerous\strong', Gz √gnn G (pf. ganna, sbjn yəgnən) 'become important', Tgr √gnn G (pf. gēnēnē) 'exceed the measure', Amh √gnn G 'être abondant, augments', Grg So √gnn (pf. gēnēnē) {DRS} 'be very large', {L} 'exceed' (səməw yəgēnēnē 'famous', lit. 'whose name is exceeding'), Grg Wl gēnē 'large' ¶ Ln. 462, L G 198, L EDG III 284, DRS 146-7 || ? WCh: Mnt {Nw.} kun 'big' || ECh: Nd D {J} gánâ 'thick (dense)' ¶ NwM CChPhL 241, 232, ChC s.v. 'thick (dense)', J KKS s.v. Nd D gánâ || Eg fP gr ≈ angesehen sein, mächtig sein' ¶ EG V 173 || B: Shl gigan ~ kigan 'beaucoup' ¶ NZ 818 || IE: NaIE *g^whono-s {P} 'üppig, reichlich', *g^when- 'be abundant' > Gk εὔ-θην-ύα 'plenty, prosperity' || Arm jnqū yogn 'much, many' ({P}: < *i + *o-g^whono- or *-o-g^whno-) || ?σ: Lt ganà, Ltv gan(a) 'enough' || Sl inf. *goněti > OCS ГОНѢТИ goněti 'to be enough' || ?σ OI gha'na- 'dense, compact' ¶ EI 3, P 491, M K I 84, 357, F I 586-7, Frn. 132-3, ESSJ VII 22, StSS 174 || D (att. in SD) *kaŋ- ≈ heavy' > Tm kaŋa 'heavy, stout, abundant', Ml kaŋakka 'become solid\heavy', Td kēn 'densely' (of shade) ¶ D no. 1404 || ?φ A: AdS of T *k'|k_æŋ 'wide, broad' (< N *gānh∇ 'side [of sth.], width', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy of vowels (C and D *-a(:)-, Sv u), the labial element in IE *g^wh- and the length of the vw. in EC and Sv L may be accounted for by a highly hypothetical N **-oʔa- ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [no. 10] (incl. K, C, Ch, Eg, IE, D).

638. *g'o'ʔiñ∇ 'to beat, to strike' > IE *g^when-/*g^whono-/*g^whn-/*g^whŋ- 'strike' > OI 3s pres. 'han-ti 'strikes, kills' (3p pres. 'ghn-anti, inv. ja'hi, pp. ha'ta-), 'hatya- 'Erschlagen', ha'tyā n. act. f. 'killing', Av ža'n-ti 'strikes', OPrs a-žanam 'ich erschlug', (→) 'ich besiegte' || Arm qawū gan (gen. qawūh ganī) 'bastinado, blows with a stick\whip\lash', qawūb ganem 'I cudgel\scourge\whip', gūb žnem 'I beat\cudgel\whip' || Gk θεύω 'I strike', rdp. ἔπεφνον 'I slayed', n. φόνοϛ 'murder, slaughter' || L of-fend-ō/-ěre 'strike, knock, dash against', de-fend-ō/-ěre 'repel, ward off, defend' (-n- is not an infix

of the pres., which is evidenced by the pfc. of *-fendi/de-fendi* and the sup. of *-/de-fensum*) ||| Clt {Matas.} **g^wan-o-*'strike, kill' > OIr *gonaid, -goin id.*, MW *gwan* 'hit, injure', MBr *goanaff* 'punish', Br *gwanarñ* {Hm.} 'piquer, percer; châtier, tourmenter, affliger' ||| Gmc **gunþjō* (÷ OI *hatyā* 'Tötung' < **g^wh^otjā*) > ON *gup-r, gunn-r*, OSx *gūth*, AS *zūð* 'fight, battle', OHG *gunda* 'fight' ||| Lt *Δ ginčią* (< **g^wh^otjā*), Lt *ginčas* 'argument, controversy', *ginklas* 'weapon' || Sl **gon-* v. 'struggle, harm' > SCr *прéгон ѝ prijégon* 'fight', Sl **gonoba, -obъ* > Slv *gonóba* 'damage, ruin', Uk *го'ноба*, Blr *Δ 'гонаб* 'annoyance, vexation' ⇨ Sl **gonob-i-ti* 'to ruin, to harm' > Slv *gonobíti id.*, R *Δ гоно'бить* 'to tire, to cause suffering' ||| Tc A {Wn.} *kuñac* 'fight, battle' ¶ It is possible (but not certain) that the BSl verb for 'chase, drive' (> Sl 1s pres. **žen-ŕ* / inf. **gъna-ti id.*, Ltv 1s pres. *dzeņu* / inf. *dzīt id.*, Lt 1s pres. *genu* / inf. *ginti* 'drive [to the pasture]') belongs here as well, the underlying semantic development being 'beat' → 'push' → 'chase, drive away' || Ht *kuen-* 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld {Gsm.} *qān-/qēn-* in *f-is-qān-* v. 'destroy' ¶¶ WP I 679-81, P 491-3, EI 548, Mn. 379-80, M K III 575-7, M E II 800-1, Sl. 80-1, F I 657-8, Ch. I 425-6, WH I 332-3, Thr. § 756, Vr. 195, Ho. 140, Ho. S 29, OsS 57-8, Kb. 415, Frn. 152-3, ESSJ VII 24-5, 196-7, Tls. 433, Matas. 144, Hm. 347, Wn. I 243, Pv. IV 206-12, Ts. E I 604-6, Gsm. LW 127 || **HS**: C: EC *gan-* 'beat, strike' > Sml {Abr.} *gan-* 'aim\fire a arrow at', {DSI} *gan-* v. 'strike, shoot, throw', Rn {PG} *gana* v. 'shoot; bleed an animal for food', Sd {Gs.} 'beat, strike, hit', {Hd.} 'hit', Ged {Hd.} *gan-* 'hit, whip', Hd {Hd.} *gan-* 'hit, thresh by driving ox', *gan-am-* v. 'fight' (lit. 'hit each other') ¶ Abr. S 96, DSI 254, ZMO 153, PG 121, Hd. 80, 241, 271, Gs. 112, AD VZ 211 || S: Ak *Λ gēnû* 'to butt, to gore', *¿* Gz {Dillm.} *g^wanʔa* 'thresh' (unless misinterpretation of 2 Esdras 23.15, as supposed by L) ¶ CAD V 60-1, Sd. 284, Di. 1177, L G 196 || **A**: Tg: Ewk Ucr *gunçā-*, Ewk Z/Sm/Tkm *g3nç3-* v. 'punish' ¶ STM I 172 || T **KI_L:_Ly_LI_Lna-* 'beat (so.), cause suffering' (× <⇨ *¿* T **KIy-* 'be difficult', if Qrg *qiyit-* 'make difficult\tormenting' is derived from it rather than from **qiyŋ-*) > VTt, Bsh *qъyna-* 'beat', Tv *χiyŋa-* 'be difficult, torment', ET *qiyŋi/a-* ~ *qižni-*, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt *qiyŋa-* v. 'torment, torture', Uz *qiyŋa-* id., 'make difficult', Chv *хѣне- хъне-* 'beat, flog', ? Osm *qiyŋn-*, Tk *kiyŋn-* 'feel languor and aching in the limbs' (unless derived from **qiy-* 'cut'); T **KI_L:_Ly_LI_Ln* 'punishment, torture' > OT *qiyŋ*, OT

Kr qin ~ qiyn, MT [Tf.] {Cl.} qiyn, Chg qin id., XwT XIV qin 'pain, torture', Cmn XIV qin 'suffering, martyrdom', VTt {Rl.} qbybn 'punishment, flogging' ('Strafe, Prügel'), StAlt qiyn 'punishment, torture, suffering, oppression', Qry {KRPS} qiyn 'suffering', OOsM qin 'torture, pain', {Rl.} 'Qual, Plage', Qmq qiyn 'labour, work', Tk kiyn 'oppression, cruelty', Chv xěh xbn 'suffering, misfortune, Elend', T б → OHg, Hg kír 'pain, torture, torment'; in some lges → 'difficult, complicated': VTt, Bsh qbybn, Qrg qiyn, ET qiyn ~ qižin 'difficult', Qmq, Nog, Qzq qiyn, Uz qiyn id., 'complicated', Qq qiyn 'complicated' ¶ Cl. 631, ≈ ET Q 218-19, Rl. II 718, 726, Rh. 1510, TatR 309, BR 355, BT 103, Ash. XVII 21-4, ChvS 248, Fed. II 342-3, Jeg. 298, KrkR 379, Sht. 272-3, BN 122, Nj. 632, Gomb. BTL 95, EWU 753, Ash. XVII 21-4 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 571 (pA *guna 'rob, attack, torture' > Tg *gun- v. 'punish' + unc.: M *guni- 'be sad, be anxious', T *Kun 'attention', 'care' etc.) ◇ The transformation of N *-¹o¹?i- into T *-iyi- and the origin of Ewk 3 still need investigating. In IE the loss of the pre-sonantal *j̥ (< N *?i) is a phonetic law. T *k'- < N *g...?-. N *-?i- may be helpful in solving the problem of Ak e, because *a?i regularly yields Ak ē (cp. S *¹ra?iš- 'head' > Ak rēš- id.). But why here the vw. e is short? ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA no. 12 (N *gon(y)∇ 'kill'; he suggested to add [unconvincingly] ħ Hb/Aram ✓ gn? 'concussit', ħ Eg gn.t 'wound, slit' [absent in EG; did he mean Eg gn 'gravieren, einritzen?'] and Kl {Rm. ← Zw.} gonḡ 'die Toten').

639. *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep' > HS: B ✓ gHn v. 'lie, sleep' > Ah {Fc.} aǧan (pf. i-ǧan) (Pcj. 30) 'être accroupi (les membres antérieurs et postérieurs repliés)' (of camels, oxen etc.), ETwl/Ty aǧan (pf. ETwl i-ǧbn, Ty ya-ǧbn, Pcj. I.A.5) id., Tnsl ižbn 's'accroupir' (of a camel), Gh aǧan 'kneel' (animal), Kb jən v. 'sleep, lie', Shl, Izd ✓ gn, Tmz Iz, ASgr {MT} gen ~ žen id. ¶ Fc. 452-6, 2002, GhA 55, 246, Pr. M VI-VII 102-6, Dl. 262, MT 158, NZ 816-18, DCTC 289 ¶ Pcj. I A 5 (= Fcj. 30) implies the presence of a lr. in the root *✓ 1h∇3 || WCh: BT {Stl.} *gand∇ v. 'lie down' > Bl {IL} gandi, {Lk.} gand, Maha {Stl. ← ?} gandi id., Dr {Nw.} gándè 'put down (a mat), lay down (a person)' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Stl. ZCh 246 [no. 39], Nw. M s.v. gandi, Nw. K 125, Lk. PVB II 135, ChC s.v. 'lie (down)' || **D** {tr., GS} *kaṇ- ({ǧGS} *k-) v. 'dream, sleep' > Tm kaṇavv- v. 'dream', kaṇā, kaṇavv n. 'dream, sleep', Ml kināvv, kana(:)vv, Kt kaṇčn, Td konof (obl. konot-), Kn kana, kanasv, Kdg kenači, Tu kana, n. 'dream', Gnd kaṇčk- ǰ kaṇčk- ǰ kansk- ǰ kanisk- v. 'dream', Krx xandr-,

Mlt qandre v. 'sleep', Mlt qanqe- n. 'sleep' ¶¶ D no. 1407, Pf. 93 (*kan- < ka1-n-), GS 158 [no. 392b] and 32 [no. 38] || A: T: Chv L {Ash., Md., ChVS} канăç kanăś 'покой', Chv Δ {Ash.} канěç id. and (× pA *k'ăŋ∇yU 'light [levis], thin' < N *KăN∇yû 'light [levis]') Chv {Ash.} канас kanas 'безделье, покой, отдых') ¶ Ash. VI 53, 57, Md. 35, ChVS 68 ◇ D *-ŋ- (the usual reflex of N cns. *-n- outside cns. clusters) suggests that the lr. was lost in pre-D prior to the change of N *-n- into D *-ŋ-.

640. *gūñh₁i → *gūh₁ñi (or *gūñ₁i → *gūh₁ñi) 'to think' > K *gon- 'think, (try to) remember' > OG gon- 'think' (me esre mgonies 'so I think', Rom. 8.18), gonebaу 'understanding (Verstand)', G gon- (aor. -gon-e-) 'think, (try to) remember', gun-eба 'state of mind, thought', Mg gon-: mo-gon-ua 'to recall (sich erinnern), to make up (a story), to feign', Lz (n)gon-: mo-vi-ngonap 'I remember, il m'en souvient (припоминаю)', Sv gwn- ђ gn- / gon-: {FS} li-gn-eω-i 'ausdenken, suggerieren, zu verstehen geben', aor. at-gon-ω-e 'er suggerierte, er gab ein', Sv {TK}: UB li-gwn-eω-i, LB lignewi, L lignwi, Ln li-gon-ăω-i msd. 'to invent' ¶¶ K 63-4, K² 31, GM S 288, IS I 284, Fn. KW-4 no. 5, ≈ FS K 81, ≈ FS E 87-8 (*gon- 'think'; *÷ forms belonging to K *gn- 'hear'), Chik. 262-3, Q 21, Marr 135, TK 429 || HS: Eg fp gn.t 'Andenken', Eg MK {Fk.} gn.ωt 'records, annals' ¶ EG V 173, Fk. 290 || A *gūn∇- 'think' > ?σ M *guni- > WrM гуни- {MED} v. 'grieve, be afflicted/sad', HIM гуни- {MED, BMR} id., Kl {Rm.} гуñi- 'traurig sein, leiden, betrübt sein', Ord gūnid- 'avoir du chagrin'; WrM гуниг {MED} 'sadness, grief, anguish; sorrow', HIM гуниг {MED} id., {BMR} 'sadness, grief, Gram, Scchwermut (тоска)', Vrt гуниг id., Kl Ö {Rm.} гуñig_ 'Kummer, Traurigkeit, Langweile', Ord d. gūniğšī- 'avoir du chagrin, ressentir du regret' ¶ MED 368, BMR I 461, Chr. 160, KW 155, Ms. O 314 || Tg *gūn- 'think, say' > WrMc {Z} гуни- 'think, remember' (Rm.: 'denken, nachdenken'), Mc Sb {Mrm.} guni- 'denken, nachdenken', WrMc {Z} гунинь, Mc Sb {Mrm.} gunin 'thought', Ewk, Neg gūn-, Lm гун-, Orc gūn-, Sln, Orc, Ud gun- 'say' ¶ Z 347-9, Klz. MS 184, ≈ STM I 171 || pKo {S} *kìnir- 'take care of, look after' > MKo kìnir'ù-, NKo kìniri- id. ¶ S QK no. 754, Nam 66, MLC 232 || pJ {S} *kèzè-m- {Mr.} v. 'like, be fond of, wish' > OJ konom-, MJ kònòm- id., J T konóm-, J K kónóm-, J Kg kònòm- {Kenk.} v. 'like, fancy, be fond of' ¶ S J no. 210, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1050 || T *Ku.;,n ≈ thought' > VTt кон qбn 'attention, care', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} qūn

'Geist, Seele, Wunsch', Bsh Δ q^ont, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz qunt 'attention, care', VTt Δ, Bsh q^onar, Qrg qunar 'usefulness', VTt Δ q^on^oq- v. 'get used, become accustomed', Chg {PC} qur^oq-, StAlt, Tb {B} qun^oq- 'grieve (about(for))', Tv qun^oq- v. 'yearn', Chg {PC, Rl.} qur^oq, Tki {Zn.} qun^oq 'sad, grievous', Tv qun^oq id., 'impressionable, sensitive' ¶ ET Q 147-50, TvR 265, Zn. II 723, PC 440, Rl. II 908 ¶¶ SDM 571-2 (pA *g^ono- 'think' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 577, Mr. 464, ≈ S AJ 291 [no. 405]; ≈ S VL 218 (pA *g^oni- 'think' > M, Tg, J), Pp. VG 24, KW 155 ◇ IS I 234 [no. 89] (*g^our^oh^oi 'think' > K, A [T, Tg]) ◇ The long vw. in Tg suggests the presence of a N lr., that, acc. to the K data, may be *ʔ, *h, *ɣ or *ħ. The Eg cognate favours the rec. of a N *h or *ʔ (the laryngeals most liable to be lost in Eg).

641. *gānh ▽ 'side (of sth.), width' > K *^ogan- 'side, width; outside' > OG, G gan- id., G ganieri 'broad'; ?σ GZ *gan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG gan-, G ga(n)-, Mg, L g^o- id., 'out of, from'; compound preverbs: K {K} *ga-m^o- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ga-m^o 'out of, from', OG, G ga-m^o-, Mg, Lz g^o-m^o- id.; compound adv.: GZ *ga-re '(in the) outside, beyond' > OG, G gare, Mg, Lz gale id. ({Q} 'voilà, outside, outdoors'); K *^o-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (case ending) < N ***gānh** ▽ nu 'from the side (of)' (see N *nu 'from, out of, of') (× N ***gay** ▽ nu 'from the side', see N ***gay** ▽ 'side, outside') ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-13, 218, Dt. 14 ¶ This K √ may have contributed to the meaning and form of K *gan- 'outside' < N ***gay** ▽ '↑' (q.v.) || HS: WS *√gnh > Ar جَنجَ ḡinḥ- 'side, side of the road', جَنجَ ḡunḥ- 'side, place at the side of a road (where people stop to rest)', جَنَاحَ ḡanāḥ- 'arm, wing', Jb {Jo.} ḡenaḥ 'wing', Sq {Jo., DRS} ganḥ 'side' ¶ BK I 337-8, Jo. J 77, DRS 157, MiK I no. 1.86 || ?σ SC: Irq {MQK} ḡanḡēfi 'edge of the higher area around a house, screen, shield', {E} ḡanḡɜfi 'rim of hat' ¶ E PC no. 378, MQK 37 || Eg P ɜrḥ 'wing', ? Eg XVIII ɜrḥ 'leg or its part' ¶ EG V 577-8 ¶¶ MiK I no. 1.86 || D (att. in McTm) *^okān^o-al 'seashore' > Tm kān^oal 'seashore, salt marsh, saline soil', Ml kān^oal 'sandy barren land' ¶ D no. 1508 || A: NaT *k'|k₂æŋ 'wide, broad' > OT {Cl.} kēŋ, MQP XIV, XwT XIV keŋ, Chg ≥XV geŋ id., Tk geŋ, Az κeŋ ḡen 'wide', Tkm ḡīŋ, Qmq geŋ, Blq keŋ ~ geŋ, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Tb, Uz, Ln, SY keŋ, VTt, Bsh kiŋ, ET kāŋ, Yk {Pek.} kīāŋ, {Md.} kāŋ 'broad, wide', -> : Tk geniṣ, Ggz geniš, Az ḡeniš 'broad, wide' ¶ Cl. 724-5, ET VGD 46-7, Rs. W 254, Pek.

1074, Md. 9, 167 ◇ T *-ŋ is probably a normal reflex of N *-nĥ-. The long vowels in D and T point to the loss of a ancient Ir., while D *-ŋ- suggests that the loss of the N Ir. *ĥ preceded the change of the N intervoc. *-n- into D *-ŋ-.

642. *g∇n̄₁∇₁b∇ or ≈ *g∇n̄₁∇₁b?∇ 'side, edge' > HS *ganb- 'side (of the body, of sth.)' > WS *ganb- id. > Plm gb id., Sr gab' b-ā, Ar ġanb- 'side of man's body, side', BA gab, gabb- 'side(?)', Mh, Jb C ganb, Jb {DRS} yanb 'side'; ⇨ WS *√gnb v. 'put aside (auf die Seite bringen)' > Ar √ġnb G 'put aside (mettre sur le côté)', Mh 'gatnɜb Gt v. 'take so. aside from the group', Md √gnb v. 'put aside, steal', Hb √gnb G 'steal, take by stealth', Pun, IA √gnb v. 'steal, rob', JA, Sr √gnb G 'steal' ⇨ OA, IA gn̄b, JA, Sr gannā' b-ā, Md ganaba 'thief'; Aram ⇨ BHb gan'nāb id.; Sb √gnb v. 'be beside, se trouver à côté de' ¶ GB 145, 899, KB 163, 190-1, KBR 198, BK I 334-5, HJ 207, BDB 170 [no-s 1589-90], OLS 142, Sl. 293-4, Js. 256-7, DM 77, 95, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, BGMR 50, DRS 150, MiK I no. 1.85 || C: EC *gabb- ({Ss.} *gab-) 'side; near, at' > Af gabbe 'side (of back)', Sml gebi 'riverbank', Kns kapa 'next to, near', Brj 'gaba, Hr, Dbs kape, Gln kápe, Gwd kapa 'side'; a variant EC *gamb- may be represented in Af gámbi 'side, direction' (unless an Arabism) and in Or gama 'direction' || Ag {Ap.} *gap- 'side' > Bln {R} gaf 'side of body, side, half', gaba 'side, riverbank', Xm {Ap.} gɜwa 'near', Q {R} g(a)ba 'side, near', {Ap.} gab-ɜl 'near'; Ag ⇨ EthS: Gz gabō, Tgr gɛbo, Tgy gobo 'side' || Bj {R} gɛb ~ geb 'side', gebi 'near' ¶ AD SF 234 (C *g∇p̄(p̄)-), Bl. 136, R WBd 87-8, Ss. B 74, 76, AMS 268, PH 109, Ap. AV 10, E PC no. 378 (Bj, Ag, Irq), L G 176 || ? Ch: Hs {Ba.} gǎbà 'bank of a river or stream', {Abr.} 'steep river bank' (unless a sd. of Hs gáḅà 'joint, limb'), ? Cg {Sk.} gefe zardɜn 'bank (of a river)' ¶ Ba. 335, Abr. H 279, Sk. HCD 73, ChC s.v. 'bank (of a river)' || ?? Eg ∇ w ɜ b 'riverbank, riparian lands, seashore'; ? Eg [WCP] gbɜ '(eastern, western) side' (unless a sd. of Eg MK gbɜ 'arm') ¶ EG I 409, V 163, Fk. 76 ¶¶ AD SF 234 (C, S), OS 193 [no. 856] (C *÷ Hs, cf. S, Eg) || IE: NaIE *g'a' mbhā ≈ 'jaw' > Gk [Lyc.] γαμφαί, Gk γαμφηλαί 'jaws (of animals)' || amb Sl *gǫba 'mouth; jaws (of animal) (Rachen)' (× Sl *gǫba 'lip, mushroom' < N *kañ|mp∇ 'excrescence, lip, mushroom', q.v.) > OCz húba, Cz, Slk, HLs hu ba, ULs gu ba 'muzzle, mouth', Blg 'rɛba, Uk 'rɛba, P gɛba 'mouth, muzzle', SCr Δ gūba, SCr d. gǔbica, Slv d. gōbāc 'mouth (of animals), muzzle', R Vlg/Vt rɛba 'chin' ¶ WP I 534; ≠ F I 288 and Ch. 209 (Gk γαμφηλαί 'jaws of

animals', bf. $\gamma\alpha\mu\varphi\alpha\acute{\iota} \div \gamma\acute{o}\mu\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ 'bolt', $\gamma\omicron\mu\varphi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ 'grinder tooth'); \approx Vs. I 468, \approx ESSJ VII 78-80, \approx Glh. 252 (referring Sl *gŭba exclusively to N *kañ|mp∇) || U: FU *^ok∇mp∇l∇ > ObU {Ht.} *kīm(p)al- 'Saum, Rand' > pVg *kīmplī > Vg: T kiplī, LK/MK/UK/NV/LL kēpəl, UL/Ss kēmpli id.; pOs *kiməl id. > Os: V/Vy/O kiməl, Ty/Y kiməϕ, D/K kimət, Nz kīmat, Kz kīməϕ id. ¶ Ht. no. 272 ◇ Eg g b ʒ '(eastern, western) side', Ag {Ap.} *gap- 'side' (acc. to AD SF 234, from C *g∇p̄(p̄)-) and Hs gāḅā 'bank of a river\stream' suggest a Ir. *ʔ within the N etymon (to be reconstructed as \approx *g∇ñ̄,∇, bʔ∇) ◇ IE *g...b^h (rather than *g^h...b^h < N *g...b) may be due to a kind of dis. similar to the later obligatory dis. in OI (IE *g^h...b^h > OI g...b^h) and in Gk (IE *g^h...b^h > *k^h...p^h > Gk κ...φ).

643. *gændû 'male' > A *gænd∇ 'male, self' > M *gendü(n) 'male animal' > MM gendū 'id., [S]gendū, WrM gendū(n) {MED} 'male of carnivorous animals; small male panther; male tiger', HIM {BMR} гэндүү 'male of carnivorous animals', Brt гэндэ & гүндэ 'male sable', Kl {KRS} гендн gendən 'male (of some animals)': гендн ножа 'male dog', гендн барс 'male tiger', {Rm.} gendŋ 'male (of any animal)' ¶ H 49, MED 376, BMR I 480, Chr. 165, 171, KW 133 || NaT *Kændü ({SDM} *^rg¹ent|dü) '(him\her(it))self' > OT {Cl.} kāntū & kāndū, Chg, OT Qp, OOsM kǎ|endū, Ggz kendi id., Tk kendi, Δ {Rs.} kändü, ḡändi id., 'one's own', Yk kini 'he, she, it' ¶ Cl. 728-9, ET KQ 38-9, Rs. W 252, Rs. MTS 38-9, Rs. W 728-9, Ubr. SS ∇ ¶¶ SDM 541 (pA *g|kænt∇ 'male, self' [with unjustified *t] > M, T), DQA no. 498, Pp. VG 25, \approx KW 133 (M, T; *÷ Tg *ŋen 'dog' *÷ Kms men 'dog') || HS: C: SC: Irq {EldM, MQK} g^ωanda, Alg {EldM} g^ωandū 'ram', Brn gondi 'male sheep' ¶ EldM 61, MQK 42 || B: Rif {Rn.} a-gænduz, Izn/SrSn {Rn.} ayænduz, Kb {Dl.} agænduz 'calf', Tmz {MT}, BSn agænduz ~ ayännuz 'veau (à sa naissance)', CM {NZ} agænduz & ayännuz, Snd agændus 'calf', Shw agænduz 'calf (two-year-old)'; B → Ar Mrc {Bss.} \approx gænduz 'calf', Malt {Aq.} gendus 'a bull, young ox'; the final -uz ~ -us suggests reborrowing of a Berber word from African Vulgar Latin or Afro-Romance ¶ Rn. 356, MT 159-60, Dl. 264, NZ 827-8, Bss. s.v. gænduz, Aq. BM 301 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 89 [no. 18.15] (SC, B) || ?σ CS (or Aram → Ar?) *gund- > IA F gnd[?] 'band, troop', JA گنداء gundā id., {Lv.} 'Heer, Schar', JEA gundā 'troop of soldiers', Md gundā 'army', Ar جند gund- 'comrades, body of warriors, army', 'any kind\species of creatures or created things, regarded as alone \ by itself' ¶ HJ 228, Lv. I 312, Js. 223, Sl. 269-70, DM 84, Ln.

400-1, BK I 338, DRS 153-4 || **D** {tr.} *kañt̥-, {GS} *gand̥- 'male (person, animal)' > Tm kañt̥an̥ 'warrior, husband', kañt̥i 'buffalo bull', kañavan̥ 'husband', Ml kañavan̥ id., kañt̥an̥ 'male' (esp. of cat), Kt gañd̥ 'male', Td kođñ 'Badaga husband', Kn gañd̥u 'male sex, a male, man; strength, manliness', gañd̥a 'strong manly male person, husband', Kdg kañd̥ə 'male' (of dogs and wild animals), Tu gañd̥u 'male, valiant', Tl gañd̥u 'male' (of the lower animals), 'bravery, strength', Nkr gañek 'man, male', Mlt geñd̥a 'male'; D ⇨ OI ∧ gañd̥a-, gañd̥īra- 'hero' ¶¶ D no. 1173, GS 25 [no. 8], 184 [no. 462] ◇ The semantic change 'male person' → '-self' (in T and Ar) has parallels in other lges, such as Lt p̄ata, Av -pati- 'himself' from NaIE *poti- 'husband, lord'. The vw. *u in S is probably connected with the N *û of the second syll. ◇ The D cognate points to N *ä (or *a). ◇ IS I 226-7 [no. 79] (A, D).

643a. ₂ *gond̥ ▽ 'ε ant' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {LmS} gʷand̥ən (= {R} gũn'd̥ən) 'ant'; Ag ⇨ Amh ጉንዳን gundan 'ε black ant' ||| EC: Or {Grg.} gondā 'ε ant' ¶ LmS 380, Grg. 180, L A 214, R Ch II (s.p.) 47 || WCh: DfB {J} gándîf 'small red ant' | Dr {J} gúndám 'ant' ¶ J R 214, J DK s.v. 'Ameise', ChC s.v. 'ant' ||| **D** *koñt̥- 'ε ant' > Gdb konđkī ~ konđke, Gnd gōde ≅ gōđo 'large black ant', ?? Klm kañd̥a 'big ant' ¶¶ D no. 2096 ◇ Connected with N ≈ *gôť ▽ 'ant'?

644. *gän̥ ▽, 'p̄' ▽ (~ *gän̥ ▽, p̄ ▽?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' (← 'thin trunk?') > IE: NaIE *g|ǵomb_Lh₁- ~ *g|ǵomp- (< **g|ǵhomp-?) ~ *o|ǵnob_Lh₁- 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood' (× N *kañ|ń ▽ (ť ▽) 'stalk, trunk of a tree', q.v.): [1] *o|ǵomp- > ON kumbr, AS cumbor 'wood block', MHG kumpf 'sth. pruned, blunt (gestutzt, stumpf)', ? Nr Δ kump 'Klumpen', ? NNr {Ar.} kump 'meat dumpling'] [2] *o|ǵgenb_Lh₁- / *o|ǵonb_Lh₁- / *o|ǵnob_Lh₁- (× N *kañ|ń ▽ 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [→ 'log']) > Gmc: OHG kembil 'Fesselblock', ON kumbr 'Holzklotz', kōppustein 'Rollstein', Dn kampesten id., NE chump; Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr Δ Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packing stick, clog', Sw Δ knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes und dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw Δ knavel 'thin pole'] [3] NaIE *ǵomb^ho-s 'tooth' (× N *k̄äbʔâ 'bite', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h̄ 'tooth, tusk' ||| Gk ὄμφο-ς {EI} 'large wedge-shaped bolt or nail', Gk ὄμφ-ύο-ς 'grinder tooth, molar' ||| pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhēmb, G dhamb 'tooth' ||| Sl

*zǫbъ (gen. *zǫ'ba) id. > OCS зѣбъ zǫbъ, Blg зѣб, SCr zǫb, Slv zǫb, Cz, Slk z u b, P z a b, R, Uk з у б 'tooth' || Blt *žambas 'tooth' (↳ BltF *šambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zóbs id., Lt žam̃bas 'sharp corner, edge', d. Žam̃bis 'wooden plough' || OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kamb r, NNr kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb || pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369, 378-9, Vr. 334, 342, Ar. 411, 465, Ho. 54, 63, Kb. 534, ≈ OsS 500-1, Lx. 111, 118, KM 380-1, F I 319-20, O 82, Glh. 699-702, BER I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5 and XXVI 115, StSS 242, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106, 110-11, Glh. 699, 701-2, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slt. 254-5, Wn. I 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, EI 594 (*'gombʰos 'tooth', *gembʰ- 'show the teeth, bite') || HS: C: Ag *gзnp- > Bln {R} genbi ~ g emb i / pl. genfűf, Aw {R} gum b, gum bi, Xm {R} gi b 'stick, staff', but in the Q-Km branch with k-: Q {R, CR} kenbī 'stick, staff, rod', Km {CR} kembē, kām bī 'stick, staff, pole' || EC: Sml {R} gambāl 'Keule, Totschläger', Qbn {L} gummá 'stick', Ya {Lm. ← ?} kuma 'club' ¶ R WB 154, R Ch II 44, R QW 84, R SS II 171, CR LK 214, Lm. Sh 309 || NrOm: Kf {C} gum bō 'long stick', Mch {L} 'gumbo, Anf {MYTY} gumbo, Dwr {L} gomba 'stick', Gm {Hw.} gūpé id., {Lm.} gūfe, Shn {Lm.} gum'ba 'club, stick' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} gufa 'stick' ¶ Lm. Sh 309, C SE III and IV 444, L M 31, MYTY 117, Bnd. AL 159, Hw. EG s.v. 'stick' || D *kāmpo ({}GS) *k-) 'stalk, trunk, bamboo' > Tm kāmpu 'bamboo; flower stalk, handle, shaft', MI kāmpu 'bamboo; stem, stalk, stick', Kt ka·v, Ku kamba ~ kām ba 'handle', Td kō'f 'hollow stem, handle of tool', Kn kām u, kām v u, Tl kām a 'stem, stalk, handle', Gdb kāmē 'stalk of a spoon', kām e 'handle of ladle', Kdg ke'mbi 'bamboo (≈ *Oxytenanthera monostigma*)', Gnd kāmē 'stalk of a spoon' ≍ kām e 'handle of ladle', Ku kamba ≍ kām ba 'handle' ¶¶ D no-s 1454-5 || U: ppU ≈ *kām w E > FU *kām E (/ *kUm E?) '(hollow) stalk' > F kǎǎm i 'winding spool, quill', 'катушка, бобина, шпулька' || Lp N {N} gâ b me / gâ me- 'long feather; stalk of a feather, caulis pennae' || Prm *g'ó' m ∇ 'hollow stalk' > Z gum (gen. gum y-) 'hollow stalk; staff (of a flail)', Vt gum †, Vt Ur gúmo' 'hollow stalk'; the Prm vw. may go back to FU *ā with the labializing infl. of *m and/or the infl. of the labial element (*w) of the next syll. ¶ Coll. 86, LG 82, ≠ UEW 422 ¶ The absence of the expected labial stop may be explained as follows: *gā n₁ ∇, p E > pre-U **kā n₁ m w E > *kām w E ◇ Qu. ◇ If the original N etymon is *gā n₁ ∇, 'p' ∇, the IE initial *g|g- (rather than *gʰ|gʰ-

) is accounted for by the IE law ruling out combination of an aspirated voiced stop and a vl. one in the same $\sqrt{\text{}}$ (**g^h|g^homp- > *g|gomp-).

645. *gañt√ 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE *g^hend-/*g^hŋd- 'hold, get, contain' > Gk χανδάνω (aor. ἔ-χαδ-ον) 'take in, hold, contain' (1s ft. md. χείσομαι) || Lprehend- (< *praj_h-hend-) 'lay hold of, seize, grasp' || OIr ro-geinn 'is contained, finds place in' (< *g^hŋd-ne-t), eNW {DvM} genni 'contineri, comprehendi, capi', W genni † vb. n. 'being contained' ¶ Not here Gmc *git- (> NE get etc., see N *gātâ 'grasp, take, possess') ¶ P 437-8, Mn. 319, 326-7, F II 1071-2, EM 803f., WH II 359, Vn. R 40, SB 111, YGM-1 233, ≈ EI 564 (*g^he(n)d^h- 'seize, take in' with unj. *-d^h-) || U *kanta- 'carry' > Fkanta-, Es kand- v. 'carry' || pLp *kōntē- 'carry' > Lp: L {LLO} kuoddē- id., N {N} guod'de-/dd- 'carry, bear', Kld {TI} kū'nte- 'carry', S {Hs.} guödd'e-me 'das Tragen' (n. act. of *guödd'edh 'carry') || Er кандо- kando-, Mk кандо- kanda- 'carry, bring' || pChr {Ber.} kondā- 'bring' > Chr: L/H канде- kande- id., Uf {Ü, Wc.} konde- id., {Ps.} 'tragen (*?), bringen' || ObU *kūnt-~*k̄nt- 'carry (on the back)' > pVg *kūnt- 'carry' (> Vg: P/NV kunt-, UL/Ss xūnt-), pOs *kantam- 'carry on the back' (> Os: V/Vy qantam-, Ty qāntam-, D/K xontam-, Nz xontam-); ObU *kūnt~*k̄nt 'basket carried on the back' > pVg *kūnt id. (> Vg: T kōnt ~ kōt, LK xūt, MK kut, UK kūt, P kunt), pOs *k̄nt id. (> Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y q̄nt, D/K xent, Nz x̄nt id.) || Sm {Jn.} *kāntā-, {Hl.} *kanta- v. 'carry' > Ne Т хана-сь, Ne F {Lh.} kānnāś, En {Ter.} kada-ś 'to carry', Slq Tz {KKIH} qznt+- 'carry away', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. kūz'ndab_ id., Kms {KD} quń'im, quń'om, qundoϕam, qunduϕam 'I carry away', qundoíám 'I carry\bring\lead', Koyb {Sp.} куналдыгамъ, кунадлагамъ 'I carry', Mt {Hl.} *kandā- v. 'carry, drive (fahren)' (Mt M {Sp.} кандыямъ 'везу' [vt. 'ich fahre'], кандіямъ 'ношу' ['ich trage'], кандїямъ 'тащу' ['ich schleppe']) || Y: K {IN H} qontz- 'carry', T {IN H} qandey- 'accompany', {Krn.} qandeyl 'to accompany (проводятъ)', K/T {IN UJ} qontā- 'carry away, lead away (относить, отводить)', K {IN RJ} qontā-, 1s хонто-м 'carry' ¶¶ UEW 124, Coll. 22, ≈ Sm. 538 (U *kānt+- 'carry' > FU *kāntā-, FP *kanta-, Ugr *kānta-, Sm *kān-), It. no. 21, Lr. no. 521, Lgc. no. 2863, Hs. 683, MRS 175, Ep. 38, Ü 73, Ps. OT 45, Wc. TT 56, Ber. 19, Ht. no. 292, ≈ Jn. 59-60 (Sm *kāntā- < *kān- 'go'), Hl. M no. 415, KKIИ 160, KD 34, IN H 385, IN UJ 278, IN RJ s.v. нести, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 17] (Y < U) || D (att. in NED) *k√nt- 'possess,

purchase' > Krx xēnd- / xindyas v. 'buy, purchase', Mlt qende- 'take along with, possess' ¶ D no. 2001 ◇ ≈ AD LRC no. 136, ≈ IS MS 332 s.v. 'братъ' *kant̥.

646. ₂ *gUñ∇ or *gUñ∇ 'male genitalia' > HS: EC: Dsn {To.} gun-u (pl. gunti) 'testicles' ¶ To. DL 501 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} gžñì (pl. gžñàñín), Bd {ChL} gžñāñ 'penis' || Pdl {ChL} gʷùn, Tr {Nw.} gūn, Mtk {ChC} ηgʷʒn id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'penis', ChL, Sch. DN 60, Nw. WLT 38 || **D** (att. in SD) *ku|oññ∇ ({ʒGS} *k-) 'penis' > Ml kuṇṇa, Kn Δ kuṇṇe mar i, Kdg kuñṇe, Tu kuṇṇæ id. ¶ D no. 1697 ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 32], Blz. NDA no. 31 (D, C, Ch).

646a. *gaŋ∇ (or *gaʔoŋ∇?) '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks' > IE: NaIE *gʰengʰ- / *gʰŋgʰ- '≈ leg \ thigh \ buttocks' > Gk κοχώνη (< *καχώνῆ < *κŋχ-) 'perineum', {F} 'Stelle zwischen den Schenkeln, Hinterbacke' || OI 'jaŋghā 'shank, lower part of leg', 'Unterschenkel', ja'ghanah m. 'rear part, buttock, pudenda', Av zangā-, zangā- 'ankle', bi-zangra- 'having two legs', čaθbarə-zangra 'having four legs', Phl zang 'ankle, shank', Oss: I zäng, D zängä 'shank' ¶ P 438-9, F I 937, M K I 411-12, Ab. IV 297 || HS: ECh: Mkl {J} gîŋgîné 'cuisse', Smr {J} gžñiŋ, Nd D {J} gžñ 'buttocks' ¶ J LM 102, ChC s.v. 'buttocks' || **D** (+ext.) *kañt̥- 'flesh of thigh, flesh' > Kt kañt̥-po't 'flesh of hind thigh of animal', kañt̥-ka'l 'calf of leg', Kn kaṇṇa 'flesh, meat', Kdg kañṇa 'piece/lump of meat', Tl kaṇṇa id., 'flesh', Nkr kʰañṇe 'piece, piece of flesh', Gnd kʰāñṇum 𐌆 kʰāñṇ 'flesh, mutton', Knd kañṇa 'meat, flesh, muscle'; in some D lges (e.g. in Nkr and Gnd) there is contamination with the loan from InA (going back to OI kʰañṇa- 'piece') ¶¶ D no. 1175, Tu. no. 3792.

647. *id.* ≈ *güʒaŋ'o¹ 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call' etc.) > IE: NaIE *gʰwen-/ *gʰwon-, {EI} *gʰwono-s 'a sound, voice' > Arm ճայն շայն 'voice, sound, cry (shout), noise' (< *gʰwon-yi-) || pAl {O} *žana, {Huld} *zan (gen. *zan-i) > Al T zē (pl. zēra), Al G zâ (pl. zana) 'voice' || pTc {Ad.} (?) *kene > Tc: A kañ, B kene 'melody, tune' || pSl *zъně-ti 'to ring' > ChS, OR ЗВЪНѢТИ zъněti (· ἤχεῖν) 'schallen, tönen', Slv zveněti, Cz zníti, Slk zniet', R зве'нетъ 'to ring', Blg (pres.) звини'я v. 'ring', pSl *zvonъ (~ *zvonо?) 'ringing, clanging', (?) '≈ sound' > OCS ЗВОНЪ zvonъ (· ἤχος) {AD} 'noise, sound' ({StSS} 'шум, грохот'), McdS зvonо, SCr zvōn, zvōn, zvōno, Slv zvōn, R звон, Uk (д)звiн 'ringing, clanging', Cz, Slk zvon, P dzwon 'bell' ||

variant stems ****g^hweng^{rh}-** ~ ****g^hwenk-** in BSl: Lt *žvėng-ti* (1s pres. *žvėngiu*), Ltv (← Cur?) *zvāņdzināt* 'to neigh', Lt *žvangėti* 'to clank, to clang, to ring, to tinkle, to clatter'; Sl **zvokъ* 'sound' > R, McdS *звук*, SCr *zvok*, Cz, Slk *zvuk* id.; Sl **zvękъ* > Blg *звек*, McdS *звек*, SCr *zvĕk*, Slk *zvĕk* 'ringing, clanging', P *dzwięk* 'sound' ¶ P 490-1, EI 534, Sl. 315-16, Huld 134, O 521-2, Glh. 703, Vs. II 86-8, StSS 234, Frn. 1325-6, Wn. I 186, Ad. 193, Ad. H 27, 37 || **HS**: S **o√gɣm* > Ar *√gɣm* (pf. *جعم* *ǧaɣima*) 'have a gruff voice', Sh (pf. *جاء* *ǧaama*) 'groan' ¶ BK I 301-2 || B: ?on. Gd *ǧanǧan* 'have a gruff voice, speak with a gruff voice' ¶ Lf. II no. O518 || **U** **kaŋ∇-* 'call, ask' > ?? OHg, Hg *hí v-* 'call, name, summon' || Sm {Jn.} *kāŋ-*, {Hl.} *kaŋ-* 'call, ask (for)' > Ne T *ханзъ*, Ne T O {Lh.} *χάνίς* id., En {Pu.} *kāŋa* 'er ruft', En B {Cs.} 1s aor. obcn. *каѳабо* 'I called\asked', Mt {Hl.} **kan-* 'bitten (?)' (Mt M {Sp.} d. *кагнама* 'прошу') ¶¶ UEW 125-6, Coll. 14 (**k+ŋa-*), EWU 564, Jn. 56, KP 79, Hl. M no. 424 || **A** **gi|I, aŋ-* > Tg **gi, aŋna-* > WrMc {STM} *giyaŋna-* ({Z} *гянна-*) 'explain, interpret (толко-вать), declare', Orc, Ul *gaŋga* 'ask riddles', Ud *gaŋŋa* 'riddle'; ? Ewk *gundz-* 'speak' ¶ STM I 140, Krm. 220, Z 369, S AJ 225 [no. 295] || ? T id. **KI,;ŋ-* + ext.: [1] **KI,;ŋira-* v. 'ring, clank' > Tv *qinŋira-*, StAlt *qinŋira-* id., Qrg *qinŋira-* v. 'jingle, clank', *qinŋir* 'sound of jingling\clanking'; [2] Tlt {Rl.} *qinŋila-* 'leise für sich singen', [3] NaT **KI,;ŋsi-* > Tlt {Rl.} *qinŋsi-* 'heulen, wimmern, winseln', Tlt/Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} *qinŋzi-* 'wimmern', StAlt {RAIS} *qinŋzi-* v. 'yelp' (of a dog) ¶ Jud. 491, RAIS 204, OTS 179, Rl. II 709-10, RAIS 55 || **D**: McTm **kumur-* > Tm *kumir_u* v. 'resound, trumpet, bellow', *kumur_al* 'roaring, resounding', *kumur_u* v. 'resound, roar', Ml *kumur_uka* v. 'make thundering sound' ¶ D no. 1744 ◇ A N final labialized vw. is suggested by S **m* (< N **-ŋ-* near a labialized vw. [reg.?]), but it could not be either **u* or **ū* (that survive a IE **u/ū*), so that it must have been N **-o* ◇ D **-m-* as a reflex of N **-ŋ-* may be tentatively explained by the influence of the adjacent labial vowels **-u-* (compare D **kum-* 'knob, hump' < N **gona* (P∇) 'nose' [q.v.]). On D **-m(m)-* from N **-ŋ-* cf. Introduction, § 2.1, remark 16 ◇ T **I* (in **KI,;ŋ-*) results from delabialization (**I* < **u*) and regr. as. (**u* < **ū*). The delabialization **I* < **u* is rather typical and needs investigating ◇ Qu. (onomatopoeic associations of the word [→ root] at different historical levels).

648. *g^rä¹ŋ^rX¹a 'to step, to climb' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^heng^h- v. 'step' ('schreiten'), n 'step' ('Schritt'), {EI} v. 'step, walk' > Gmc *ginxti ~ *o^oganxti ({Pk}: < ǵ^heng-ti ~ ǵ^hong-ti): AS ȝīht 'going (Gang)', MHG gīht id., 'trip', Gt gāhts in cds: fram-gāhts (· προκοπή) 'Fortschritt', inn-at-gāhts 'Eingang', un-at-gāhts (· ἀπόσιτος) 'unzugänglich'; *o-grade: Gt gagg 'Weg, Straße', ON gangr, AS ȝanz, OHG gang n. act. 'going', 'course, way', MHG ganc, NHG Gang n. 'going'; -d> *gangan 'to go' > Gt gaggan (3s pres. gaggiþ, 3s p. gaggiða) 'geh', ON ganga, OSx, OHG gangan, AS ȝanzan id. || OI 'jam^hah^h ntr. {MW} 'moving, going, course', {P} 'Schritt, Flügel-schlag' (but OI {Bt., M} 'jam^hah^h 'Schwinge, Flügel' is likely to belong together with OI 'ja^hghā 'shank, lower part of leg' to NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hng^h- '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks' < N *gaŋ[∇] [or *gaʔoŋ[∇]??] '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks', see s.v.) || Clt: W rhy-gyngw 'to amble' || Lt žēngti (1s pres. žēngiū) 'to step, to walk, to march', žiņgsnis 'a step' ¶ P 438-9, EI 546, M K I 410-12, M E I 562-4, Bt. II 246, MW 407, Ab. IV 297, Ho. 123, 130, Kb. 314, Lx. 53, 73, Fs. 164, 181-2, 294, Vr. 156, Schz. 147, KM 230-1, Frn. 1299-300, F I 937-8 || HS: S *^oǵnħ > Ar جج ǵnħ 'walk quickly', Gt 'marcher d'un pas précipité' (of a camel) ¶ BK I 337 || U: FU *kaŋk[∇]- 'climb, step up' > Z kay-, Yz 'kay- 'climb' || ObU {Ht.} *k^rŋk- 'climb (klettern)' > pVg *k^rŋk- > Vg: T kā^rŋk-, LK xān^x, MK/SV k^zŋk-, UK/NV/LL k^zŋk-, P kaŋk-, ML kāŋk-, UL/Ss xān^x- id.; pOs {Ht.} *k^zŋk- ~ *kaŋk- id. > Os: D/K χonχ-, Nz χuŋ-, Kz χōŋk-, O χoŋ- id. | Hg hág- 'step up, mount, ascend' ¶ UEW 127, MF 239, LG 115, Ht. no. 301 || A: ?σ Tg: Nn Nh ganⁱ- v. 'ski' ¶ STM I 139 ◇ Here we may suppose peculiar phonetic developments within clusters of *N + uvular consonants: in the prehistory of IE and FU the N Ir. *X is likely to have merged with the preceding *ŋ into the IE cluster *-ng^h- and the FU cluster *-ŋk-. An alt. solution: Ar ǵnħ is a loan from another S lge or dl. (merging S *χ and *ħ) and goes back to S *^oǵnχ < pre-S *^oǵnq with Semitic de-emphatization from *^oǵnq, so that the pN etymon can be reconstructed as *g^rä¹ŋga > FU *kaŋk[∇] and IE *ǵ^heng^h- (for **ǵ^henk- due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out a vd. asp. and a vl. cns. in the same root) ◇ The U and Tg *a (most probably from *ä) may be due to synharmonic as. (regr. as.).

649. *g^uŋ^rK¹E or *g^üŋ^rK¹∇ 'nape' (→ 'neck'), 'rear part of the head' > A: Tg *^ogung[∇] > WrMc {Hr, PSchm.} ʘgungu 'back of the

head', $\underset{\sim}{g}u\eta g u l u$ 'tuft\crest of birds (Haube, Federtolle, Schopf)', {Hr} $g u \eta g u l u \eta g e$ 'having a tuft on one's head' (a bird); *see* also WrMc {Z} $г у н к а н ь$ 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 172-3, Hr 384, Z 349 || **D** (att. in SD) * $k u | o \eta k$ - 'nape, neck' > MI $к о р η а$ 'throat', $к у р í c i$ 'nape of neck', Kn $к у η к е$ id., 'shoulder', $g o \eta k a$ 'throat', ? $g ó \eta$ 'neck' ¶ D no. 1645 || **HS**: Om: NrOm {Blz.} * $g a n \eta \eta$ - > She {C} $g o r \eta o$ 'collarbone, clavicle', Cha {C} $g a n \eta e$ 'neck', Kcm {Blz. ← ?} $g o r \eta o$ 'nape of neck', Gnj {Si.} 'gonil', Drz {Fl.} $g a n a$ -morge, Oyda {Fl.} $g a n n a$ 'neck', Dk {Blz. ← ?} $g a n n á$ 'upper back' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 80, C SE III 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'neck', Si. ACh 17 || Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} $g a n á$ (cs. $g a n d è$) 'back', Bdm {Lk. ← Nc.} 'ηgunī 'Nacken' || ?σ WCh: Ang {Flk.} $g w o n g w o n$ 'Adam's apple' ¶ Nw. WLT 38, Lk. B 123, Flk. s.v. $g w o n g w o n$ ¶¶ Blz. OLBP no. 80 (Om, CCh) || **IE**: NaIE * $k n o k (k) o$ - / $k n e k (k) o$ - 'nape of neck; hill' (× N * $\eta i \kappa a$ [or * $\eta i \kappa a$?] 'cervical vertebra, neck, nape of neck' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ADb. MER 10 [no. 59] (Tg, D) ◇ In Tg there is progressive assimilation * $g \dots \kappa$ > Tg * $g \dots g$.

649a. ? $\phi \approx *g o \eta ' H ' \bar{a} l \nabla \sim$ mt.: * $g o l ' H ' \nabla \bar{n} \nabla$ 'forearm' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} $g^w e n ' h \bar{a} l$ 'forearm (Vorderarm bis zum Ellenbogen)', $g \bar{u} l ' h \bar{a} n$ (= $g^w a l h \bar{a} n$), 'gǔlhe (= $g^w a l h e$) 'forearm' || ??,ϕ SC: Kz {E} $g u h u l u k o$ 'ankle' ¶ R WBd 95-9, E PC no. 534 || ? ϕ B * $\gamma \bar{i} l$ -/* $\gamma a l l$ - 'arm' (if * $\gamma < HS *g + \chi$) (× N * $q a w o l \nabla$ 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > Ah, BSn $a \gamma \bar{i} l$ (pl. $i \gamma a l l \bar{a} n$), BMn $\gamma \bar{i} l$, Izn $a \gamma \bar{i} l$, Gd $\bar{a} \gamma \bar{i} l$ (pl. $\gamma a l l \bar{e} n$) 'arm', Zng {TC} $i \gamma \bar{y}$ 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II no. 1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || **A** (* $\eta \bar{a} l \nabla$ 'hand'?): Tg * $\eta \bar{a} l a$ 'hand' > Ewk $\eta \bar{a} l \bar{z}$ \bar{z} $\eta \bar{a} l a$, Sln $n \bar{a} l a$ \bar{z} $n \bar{a} l i$, {Iv.} $\eta a l a$, Lm $\eta \bar{a} l$, Neg, Orc $\eta \bar{a} l a \sim \eta a l a$, Ud, Ul $\eta a l a$, Ork, Nn Nh $\eta \bar{a} l a$, Nn Bk $n a l a$, Nn KU $n a l a \sim \eta a l a$, WrMc {Z} $г а л а$, Jrc {Pvn.} $\eta a l a$ id. ¶ STM I 656-7, On. 284, Z 306-7, Pvn. 262 || T * $\bar{a} l (i g)$, {ADb.} * $\bar{a} l g$ 'hand' (× N * $q \bar{a} e \bar{i} \nabla$ 'hand', q.v. ffd.) || **U**: (with loss of N * $g o \eta$ -) FU * $\bar{a} l \nabla$ 'space between the arms, armful; lap, bosom (of a garment)' > Chr: H $\bar{a} l t e m e l t e m$, L $\bar{a} l t e e l ' t e$, Uf $\bar{o} l t \bar{o}$, $\bar{o} l t \bar{a} \check{s}$ 'armful', H $e l t \bar{a} l e$ -, Uf $\bar{o} l t a l a$ -, B $e l t a l a$ - 'put one's arms round, embrace, carry in arms' || Er $e \bar{i}$, Mk $\bar{a} \bar{i}$ 'bosom of a garment' || Prm {LG} * $\bar{o} l$ - id. > Vt {Bor.} $\bar{a} l$ 'id.', 'lap', Yz $\bar{o} l i \check{z}$, Prmk $\bar{o} l \bar{o} \check{z}$, Z: LLz $\bar{o} l \bar{o} \check{z}$, USs $\bar{z} l \bar{z} \check{z}$ 'bosom of a garment used to carry things' || ObU {Ht.} * $\bar{a} l$ {AD} 'lap, space between the arms' > pVg * $\bar{a} l$ > Vg: Ss $\bar{a} l$ - $t \bar{a} \bar{x} l$ 'armful' ($t \bar{a} \bar{x} l$ 'full'), T $\bar{a} l$, LK/MK/UK/NV $\bar{i} l$, P/SV/LLz $\bar{i} l$ 'lap'; pOs * $\bar{a} l$ 'lap' > Os: V/Vy $\bar{a} l$, Ty $\bar{a} \bar{c}$, D $\bar{a} t$, Nz $\bar{a} t$, Kz $\bar{a} \bar{c}$, O $\bar{a} l$ id., N $\bar{a} l$ - $t \bar{e} l$ 'armful' ($t \bar{e} l$ 'full') ¶ It. 291, Coll. 77, UEW 23, MRS 773, Ep. 18, LG 61, Ht. no. 18

|| AdS of IE *χ^wel- or *χ_xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' ({EI} *h₃el[∇]n-) > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id. (< N *ΓUL[∇] 'knee, elbow', q.v. ffd.).

650. ₂ *gæʔ¹Up[∇] 'body' > HS: WS *gūp- ~ *^ogīp- 'body' > BHb הַבָּיִת *gū'pā* 'corpse' (att. cs. תַּבָּיִת gū₁pāt, pl. תַּבָּיִתִּים gū'pōt), JA, MHb הַבָּיִת gū'p 'body' (JA kem. תַּבָּיִת gū'pā), JEA gū'pā 'body, self', Htr גַּוַּר 'person' (or 'corpse, dead body'), Ar جيفة ġīf-at- 'corpse', Jb C مَجْدِفَات 'corpse, carcass' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, ≈ DRS 108, ≈ MiK I no. 1.100 (all of them connect the root with WS *gawp- 'hollow' [see N *gup[∇]?¹ 'hollow, empty, hole'], which is semantically unj.), Sl. 270-1, BK I 362, Jo. J 72, HJ 231, OS 205-6 [no. 909] || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} γὺνᾶ, HgN ḡwà, Kps ḡvᾶ 'body' ¶ ChC s.v. 'body', ChL II || A: [11] A *k'æp¹a- 'body, trunk of a body' > T *k'|k_æbdæ(η) id., 'body, corpse' > OT k|gōvdōr, Tkm ḡōwde 'corpse, trunk of a body', VTt γᾶυδᾶ ḡāwdä, Nog кевде kewde 'body, trunk of a body', Qzq кеуде kewde 'torso, trunk of a body, chest', Qq ḡewde ~ kewde id., 'body', Qrg kōdō(n), Uz ḡavda id., Chv Δ_{Ash., Fed., ChVS} кевте 'body, trunk of a body', Chv L {Jeg.} хевте χewd_e 'trunk of a body', Chv L хевте χewd_e {Fed., Jeg., ChVS} 'energy, strength, бодрость', Tk ḡōvd_e, Az кевдә ḡōwdä 'trunk of a body\tree' (× N *Kop[∇] 'trunk, log', accounting for the semantic narrowing: 'body' → 'trunk of a body?') ¶ Cl. 688, TkR 193 Rs. W 688, ET VGD 52-3, TL 267, TkR 193, TatR 120, Fed. II 339-40, Ash. VI 187, XVI 77-8 and XVI 15, Jeg. 297, ChVS 82, 248 || Tg *kepe¹ > Lm kēbēz 'stomach of squirrels or calves (with its contents)', WrMc {Z} хэфэли ~ хэфали 'belly', Mc Sb кевәлә ~ χевәлә 'stomach, belly, bosom', Jrc {Kiy.} χefuli 'belly'; Jrc {Kiy.} χebud_e 'belt'; WrMc {Z} хэбтэхэ 'women's abdominal band, women's wide belt (женский набедрник, широкий женский пояс)' ¶ STM I 387-8, Z 405, 416, Kiy. 227, Ci. EApk 124 || M *kepe¹ and *kepe¹ < *kepe¹) 'belly, pregnancy' > MM {Lew.} ke'eli, {Battal} kāhāl, [IM] kilī id., WrM kege¹ {MED} womb, pregnancy, embryo; belly', HIM {MED, BMR} хээл id., {BMR} хэвэл 'belly; womb', Brt хээли 'belly; pregnancy', Kl {Rm.} kē'ij 'Schoß, Bauch; Gebärmutter', kew'ij 'Bauch', Dg {T} kē'li, Dx kī'eli 'belly', Ba ke'le 'stomach', Mnr H {SM} k'ē'liē 'ventre', {T} kē'liē 'belly', Ord k'e'weli 'matrice, sein', k'ē'li 'foetus (chez les animaux)' ¶ MED 442, BMR IV 203, 230, Chr. 655, KW 229-30, T 338, T DgJ 149, T BJ 141, T DnJ 123, SM 198, Ms. O 410, 419 || pJ {S} *kámpanái 'corpse' > OJ kábáné, J T kabane ¶ J *a of the first syll. is probably due to regr. as. ¶ S QJ no.

1380, Mr. 431, Kenk. 745 || [2] A *^rk^ʷæb|p∇r- 'body, trunk of a body' > T *k^ʷ|kæbræ id. > OT {Cl.} kōv^re 'body', OT Kr kōv^re {SDM} 'carrion', Tkm гөв^re göw^re 'trunk of a body' (not 'corpse', as in SDM 771) ¶ Cl. 690, Tkr 193 || M: (1) M *keʷür (from **keβür?) 'corpse, dead body' > WrM {MED} kegür, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xγγp id., WrO küür, Kl {KRS} кγp 'corpse', {Rm.} kūr "Leichnam; Grab, Grabplatz", Ord k'ūr 'cadavre; tombe'; (2) M *kebördek > WrM {Krg.} keberdeg, WrO köbö(r)döq 'torso, trunk', Kl {KRS} көврдг kövrdæg 'trunk (of a body), torso, breast', {Bdm.} 'trunk of a body (туловище)', Kl Ö {Rm.} köwrđak 'Brust, Brustknochen, Rumpf', Ord k'emerdek 'thorax, poitrine' ¶ MED 443, BMR IV 195, Krg. 736, 746, Chr. 634, KRS 309, 326, KW 242, 250, Bdm. 84, Ms. O 413, 438 || ?φ Tg {SDM} *^oχ₁e^buren 'corpse' > WrMc {Z} зорэнь ~ орэнь ~ үрэнь id. ¶ STM II 289-90, Z 60, 131, 177 ¶¶ (For both [1] and [2]) SDM 668-9 (A *kēp'∇ 'belly' > Tg *kepel, M *keweli [i.e. *kebeli], T *gep- [i.e. *k'æb-]), SDM 667-8 (A *kēp∇ 'upper part of a body [trunk]' > T *gebde- [i.e. *k^ʷ|kæbdæ] + [not belonging here, but going back to pA *^rk^ʷæb|p∇r-, q.v. above] M *keberdeg 'body' + [not belonging here] Tg *keb-te 'belt', v. 'bulge' [of belly]) and SDM 770-1 (A k'ébá 'corpse' [an unc. semantic interpretation] > M *keʷür and Tg *^oχ₁eburen), DQA no. 992 (A *k'ébá 'corpse' > T *k'Ébre, M *keʷür, Tg, J), TL 267, ADb. SR 5, Vld. 205, Ci. EApk 124, KW 250, MYC 395 ◇ A *K- is likely to go back to N *g∇?-.

651. *gup∇?^rú^r 'hollow, empty; hole' > HS: WS *gawp- 'hollow' > Ug gpt (= *gōp-āt-) 'caves', Ar جوف ġawf- 'hollow, inside of a house, belly', ġawfu-l-layli 'middle of the night', pl. ?agwāf- 'entrails', Tgr gōf (pl. ?agwāf) 'interior, heart, soul', Mh, Hrs gawf- 'chest'; S *^o✓gwp (prm. *-gwap-) 'be hollow' > Ar ✓ġwf (ip. -ġwaf-) id., 'be empty' ¶ ≈ KB 176-7, BK I 357, Hv. 105, A no. 684, LH 594, Jo. M 127, DRS 108, ≈ MiK I no. 1.100 (*gawp- 'chest and abdominal cavities of body\corpse') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} gōf 'empty hollow in ground', 'empty well, dried-up well', Sml {ZMO} gōf 'dried-up well', 'dry riverbed', {DSI} gōf id., 'orbita dell'occhio', ?φ Arr yūb 'hole, den' (for *g- > y- cp. Arr yirr 'upper arm' < N *gAr∇ '≈ hand, arm') ¶ Abr. S 93, DSI 273, ZMO 165, Hw. A 400 || Ch: ECh: Smr {J} gúbè 'hole' || WCh: Dw {ChL} gup, Zar {ChL} gūp 'chest' || Dir {Sk., ChC} gúbàdù 'chest' || ?? CCh: Gude {ChL} gúwa, FIJ gùw'ì, Nz {Mch.} gówē, {ChL} gòʔo, FIB {ChL} gùʔùn, Bcm {ChC} gwé, {ChL} gwèy, FIM {ChL} èg^wǒ 'hole', Lmn {Lk.} òghùbù, óghbù id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'hole'

and 'chest', ChL || IE: NaIE *geu̯p-/*gou̯p-/*gup- 'hollow, pit' > Gk γύπη [Call.] 'cave', [Hs.] 'hollow in the earth; lurking place, den; vulture's nest' || Gmc: ON kofi 'small chamber, hut', Ic kofi 'hut', NNR kove 'larder, storeroom', MHG kobe 'stall, pigsty; cage; cavity (Höhlung)', NHG Kobern, NLG Kofen 'pigsty', AS cofa 'cave, chamber, pigsty', NE cove 'concavity or recessed place in a structure' || Sl *župa > P župa, Uk 'жупа' 'salt pit', OCS d. жоупище župišče 'grave' ¶ IS I 232, FI 335, Ch. 243, Vr. 323-4, Ar. 452, Lx. 112, KM 386, Paul 338, Ho. 56, Vs. II 65-6, StSS 221 || U **kōppE (× N *kohP_∇ 'cave, pit') > FP *kōppa ~ (?) *°kōppE 'hollow; sth. hollow' > F kuoppa 'pit', Krl K kūōppa, Krl A kūōppu, Krl Ld kūōp:, Vp kop 'pit', Es koobas (gen. koopa), Es Δ kōp 'cave, cavern, grotto' | pLp *kop_∇- 'hollow out' > Lp L {Wk.} ko3po- id.; pLp {Lr.} *kopē 'hollow, depression' > Lp: N {N} goppe / -b-~ -v- 'hollow; round-shaped bottom', S {Hs.} gūppie 'Loch, Tunnel', L {Wk.} ko3pe- 'Aushöhlung; enger, runder Alpental', Fr/O {Wk.} g_u3p^ε 'sledge produced by hollowing out a tree trunk', Krsv {Lgc.} k'ōprijε & k'ōrijε 'pit' & 'depression, small valley in the mountains', Klt {It.} kãp̃p̃, Kld {TI} ko_p:ē_, {SaR} коабпъ 'pit' | Prm *gōp ({{JLG}} *gōp) 'pit, depression' (< **gūp < pre-Prm *kūpp_∇ < *kōpp_∇) > Vt gor 'pit, depression'; hollow, narrow gully', Z g3p 'small pit, hole (in the ice), puddle, small lake', Yz gōp 'deep quiet place in a river, depression, pit'; Prm *gōp (⇔ Rd. rLG 421) may belong here, suggesting the following prehistory: FU *kōppa > (due to the labializing infl. of *pp) *kūpp_∇ > pre-Prm *gūp > Prm *gōp ¶ SK 240, Lr. no. 456, Lgc. no. 2561, N II 177, Wk. EUL 272, Wk. LLW 45, Hs. 697-8, TI 147, SaR 113, LG 80, Lt. J 106, ≈ IS I 233 (** ÷ F koppa ** 'hollow' [erroneously for 'basket'] and Mr and Os words for 'skull', better explainable as belonging to N *k'ᵃ'w_ɫo_p_ɹ_E or *k'ᵃ'w_ɫo_p_∇y_∇ 'skull; occiput', N *gUbɹ'E' 'basket' and/or N *Kᵃb'E?_∇ 'wickerwork, bag' [q.v.]) ¶ Rd. rLG 421 was right in pointing out that F uo does not correspond to pPrm *j (= {{JLG}} *ō), but in his etl. dictionary (UEW) he did not propose any et. either to F kuoppa or to the Prm √. To my mind, this phonetic discrepancy may be explained by postulating a pre-harmonic U *kōppE, that due to vw. harmony may have yielded both *kōppa (> BF *kōppa > F kuoppa) and *°koppE (> Prm *kōp) || A: [11] pA *g'o'b_∇ > M ≈ *gobilja > Kl D {Rm.} gōwā 'niedrige Stelle, Tal'; M *gobil 'cavity, hole' > WrM {MED} gobil id., 'pit, hollow, groove; depression', HIM говил {MED} id., {BMR} 'cavity; ravine, gully

(лог, ложбина, балка), Brt гобил 'gully (ложбина); furrow; впадина по обеим сторонам носа', Kl {KRS} һовль ʏowáí 'niedriges Gelände, впадина по обеим сторонам носа', {Rm.} ɣowíí 'niedrige Stelle, Vertiefung'; M ↘ Qrg ɔobul 'groove, rut (in the ground)', Tv ɣovul, Tf һобул 'groove'; a T lge ↘ Brt жобол 'gitter (желоб)', Kl {Rm.} ɣowí 'kleine Rinne oder kleines rohrformiges Loch', Kl Ö {Rm.} ɣowodí 'Rinne; kleine lange Truhe', Oyr ɔobul 'groove, small hole' ¶ MED 357, BMR I 408, Chr. 153, Kow. 1025, KRS 164, KW 152-3, 191, Krg. 313, Jud. 361, TvR 478, Ra. 189 || ?σ AmTg *gebu(n-) 'empty' > Orc, Ork gɜwɜ(n-) ~ gɜun(n-), Ud gɜu, Ul, Nn Bk gɜu(n-), Nn Nh gɜũ id. ¶ STM I 176, On. 129 || [2] ??σ A *gupE '≈ extinguish, lose (verlieren)' (semantic infl. of the pA reflex of the paronymous N word *kuP_sa 'extinguish, exhaust'?) > AmTg *gūp- > Nn gūpu-, Ork gupu-, Ul gūpu-, gōkpi- 'extinguish', Nn Nh gūp-, gūkpu-, Ork, Ul gūptu- 'go out' (fire) ¶ STM I 159, On. 121 ¶ The Nn and Ul cluster -kp- is to be explained (mt. from *-p-k-, where *-k- is a sx?) || ? M *geɣe- (< **geβe-?) v. 'lose (verlieren)' > WrM {MED} gegē-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt гээ- 'lose, abandon, leave', Kl {Rm.} gē- 'verlieren, verloren gehen lassen, wegwerfen', {KRS} геε- 'verlieren (терять, утратить)', Mgl {Rm.} gē- 'lose', Dg {T} gē- 'lose (терять, утратить, лишаться), Mnr {SM} gē- 'abandonner, quitter, laisser', Ord gē- 'perdre, laisser en arrière, omettre (par négligence/mégarde), répudier (une femme)' ¶ MED 373, BMR I 485, Chr. 176, KW 135, KRS 135, T DgJ 131, Mr. D 149, SM 131, Ms. O 254 ¶¶ SDM 560 (pA *gǐ̀p'á|u 'extinguish' > Tg + unc. T *Kip- 'spark, ashes'), DQA no. 540 ¶¶ The vw. *e in the initial syll. of Tg *gebu(n-) and M *geɣe- is probably due to regr. as. ¶¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 311) connected (with a query) the Tg root with IE *gʷes- 'extinguish' and U *kupsa- id. and suggested that in Tg this cluster may have been contracted to *-p-, which is unconvincing || D (att. in McTm) *ku|opp- > Ml копрам 'pitfall for catching elephants', Tm копрам 'keddah (an enclosure constructed to trap wild elephants)' ¶ D no. 2103 ◇ Tg *-b- in *kobi rules out N *-p- (sc. N *gup'ú¹). U and D *-pp- go back to an earlier *-p- from N *-p∇?- ◇ FU *ō belongs to the heritage of N *kohP_∇. M *o (as a representative of N *u) still requires explanation. The vowels of the second syll. in the A lges (T *i and *u, Tg *u, pJ *ua) point to a N high labialized vw. (*u or *ü) ◇ IS I 232-3 [no. 87] (N *gop'á 'hollow, empty').

652. (2?) *gop₁a₁ka 'hook, sharp stick' > A *gop₁ak^{ra} > M *gop₁a₁n₁ 'crook, hook' > WrM {MED} gop₁a, HIM {MED, BMR} rop₁(on), Brt rop₁o id., Kl {Rm.} gop₁o 'Haken, Klammer (womit etwas festgemacht oder angehakt wird)' ¶ MED 363, BMR I 440, KW 149 || Tg *gop₁ak^v 'hook' > Nn Nh gop₁o 'hook for hanging up a cauldron', Nn Nh/Bk gop₁o 'hook', Ewk, Orc gok₁o 'hook', Ewk gugarka 'part of harness (a piece of iron with a ring)', WrMc {Z} rop₁on^b 'hook, hook for hanging up sth.' ¶ Some of the forms present in Tg are loans from M (e.g., Nn and Neg gop₁o 'hook'), for other forms (with medial -k-, -q-) Mongolic origin is less plausible, but not ruled out ¶ STM 158-9, On 109, 116, Z 339 || pJ *k^aak- 'hook, key' > OJ kag(y)i, MJ k^agⁱ, J T k^agⁱ, J K k^agⁱ, J Kg k^agⁱ id., StJ {Kenk.} k^agⁱ 'key', OJ kak(a)-, MJ k^aka-, J T kak^e-, J K/Kg k^ak^e- v. 'attach, hang', StJ {Kenk.} kake- v. 'hook, hang, suspend', OJ kaka-r-, MJ k^ak^a-r-, J T kak^ar-, J K k^ak^ar-, J Kg k^ak^ar-, StJ {Kenk.} kakar- 'be attached' ¶ Mr. 433, 702, Kenk. 756, 784, 787 ¶¶ SDM 570 (pA *g^uð^ok^a 'curve, hook' > M *gok- 'hook', J, Ewk gugarka + unc. Tg guk- 'bent upwards' [of a head], 'convex, hill') || U: FU *kopkka (or, with an alt. phonological interpretation, *kopka) 'crook, hook, sharp point' > F koukka, koukku 'crook', Es Δ kouk (gen. kouga) '(ε) hoe', pLp {Lr.} *k^okk^e (× U *kokka 'protruding point, hook' × N *k^aakU [or *k^ookU?] 'hook') > Lp: N {N} goakke 'hoe', I {It.} ko^akk^a, Kld ku^akk^a 'hook', K k^oa^okk^a 'hoe, hook' | Chr kopka 'ploughshare' (Üpymarij quoted the word only within the cd kopka-parña 'crooked end of a ploughshare', lit. 'ploughshare's thumb', Coll. quoted Chr kopka 'plough' without indicating the source) | ?? acc. to LG 77, Z gog⁺n, Z US gog⁺n, Yz gog^gt 'scraper (скобелъ)' (≠ Rd. rLG 421) ||| pOs *ka^oap 'fishhook' (× FU *^okok₁k₁^vp^v 'ε hook' < N *k^aâRk^ub|p^v 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.]) > Os {KrT}: Vy qa^oap^w, Y qa^oap, Try q^aap, qu^op-, D {KrT} xa^oap 'wooden fishhook for pikes' ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 171-2, Stn. D 459, SK 208-9, 225-6, Ü 74, Lr. no. 468, LG 77, Trs. S 142, KrT 291-1 || ? IE: the expected IE cognate is likely to have coalesced with the IE reflex of N *k^aakU, which is NaIE *kog-/*keg- 'hook, claw' > Gmc *xōka-, *xakan-, *xēkan- 'hook' > ON hækja 'Krücke', OHG hāco ~ hākko ~ hāgo, NHG Haken, AS hōc 'hook', NE hook ||| Sl *kog^oty ~ *kog^oty > OR, R 'kogat^o, Cz Δ kohát 'claw', Hls kocht 'awn; brome (*Bromus*)' ¶ P 537-8, Vr. 278, OsS 365, Kb. 423, KM 283, Ho. 167, ESSJ X 109-10, Trof. 86 ◇ In many descendant there

is assimilation within the post-N cluster *-PḲ- (< N *-P₁a₁Ḳ-) > *-ḲḲ- (> *-kk-, *-k-) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 19.

653. *gǝ'p₁ḡ₁sA 'hand, arm' ([in U] → 'paw') > IE *ǵ^hes-r-, *ǵ^hes-to- 'hand': [1] IE {Sturt., Pis., Hamp, F, Ch., EI} *ǵ^hesr- > Ht *kessar* (dat. *kesri*) 'hand', SAn: Lw *is(sa)ri-*, HrLw *istr(i)-*, Lc *izr(i)-* id. ({Pv.}: before front vowels IE *ǵ^h- > SAn zero) || NaIE *ǵ^hes-r- 'hand' (but hardly NaIE *ǵ^her- 'hand' [P 447, Dv. no. 270], see N *gArḡ 'hand, arm') > Gk χεῖρ / gen. χεῖρ-ός 'hand', Gk D χήρ / χηρός, Gk Ae accus. sg. χέρρα, pl. χέρρα id. || Arm *óbnũ* *zeṙn* (gen. *óbnhũ* *zeṙin*) id. (< accus. *ǵ^hesr-ṃ) || pAl {O} *dārā (singularized ntr. pl.) > Al T *dorē* (pl. *duar*), G *dor* 'hand' || Tc A *tsar*, Tc B *ṣar* id. || [2] NaIE *ǵ^hesto-, {EI} *ǵ^hosto-s 'hand' > OI 'hasta-h', Av *zasta-*, OPrs, KhS *dasta-*, NPrs *دست* *däst* 'hand' || ? L *praestō* adv. 'present, at hand' (< *pra₁hestōd 'at hand', cp. Gallius: *praesto* 'quod prae manibus est') || Lt *pa-žastē*, *pa-žastis* 'space under the arm, armpit' ¶¶ P 447, EI 254, Sl. 316-17, F II 1082-3, Ts. E I 558-63, Sturt. CG 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Ch. 1251-2, M K III 588, M E II 812, WH II 356, Huld 54, O 70-1, Horn 126, Frn. 560, Wn. I 521, Ad. 649-50, Ad. H 128, 146, Pv. IV 160-5, Ivn. SANA 153, Ivn. XJ² 85 || HS: Ch: WCh: SBc: Buli {ChL} *gǝpúšà* 'shoulder', Gmy {ChL} *kǝšat* id., ? Ngz {Sch.} *gǝptâ* id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} *ḡabàzàk* id. || ?? ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kósí*, Kwn {J} *kosī* 'hand, arm' (unless *ko-* is a px) ¶ Eb. 73, ChC s.v. 'arm', 'hand' and 'shoulder', ChL, Sch. DN s.v. *gǝptâ* || U: FU *kEpsä (*kǝpsä ~ *kipsä) 'paw, animal's leg\foot, fell from a paw\leg' (× N *ḲEP₁ḡ₁Zḡ 'paw, hoof') > F *kǝpsä* 'harefoot (for dusting etc.)', Krl A *kǝpčü* 'foot (of ducks and other birds); paw', Krl Ld *kǝpč* ~ *kǝpš* 'foot (of birds etc.)', Vp *kǝpš* '(hen's) foot; paw (of dogs, otters)', Es *kǝps* 'heel', {W} *kǝps-jalad* 'cooked pig feet' | Chr: B *kǝpš* 'nap of cloth' (< *'nap made of the skin of animals' legs'), L *kǝpš* 'strands of wool in home-made woollen cloth' | Prm *kúš 'fell from an animal's leg' > Z *кыс* *kı̄s* id., 'footwear made of a fell from an animal's leg with the fur on the outside', 'a fell from a leg used to line up the bottom side of ski (for braking when skiing uphill)', Yz *kóš* 'skin of the legs of an animal (horse, elk etc.) (used as brakes under the ski when skiing uphill)', Vt *kusla-* v. 'brake (when skiing uphill)'; {UEW}: Prm *ú < *i or *ä due to the labializing infl. of *p || ObU {JHl.} *kǝpǝθ ({Ht.} *kǝpǝθ) 'fell from an animal's leg (Pfotenfell)' > pOs {Ht.} *kǝpǝθ ({JHl.} *kǝpǝθ) id. > Os: V/Vy *kǝwǝl*, Ty *kǝpǝθ*, Y *kǝpǝθ*, D/K/Nz *kepǝt*, Kz *kepǝθ*, O

kopəl; pVg *kūt 'skin of an elk's leg' > Vg: LK/MK/UK k^ωāt, P kāt ~ k^ωāt, NV/SV/LL k^ωät, UL/Ss kot id.; ObU *ō, Cht ü and Prm *ū are due to the labialization caused by *p (F Rd. rLG 421) ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 159-60, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kū p s ũ 'leg skin', Ugr *kū p θ -; Sm. did not take into account BF), LG 154, Lt. J 133, Ht. no. 303, Hl. rHt 71-3 | | D {tr.} *kač|y∇, {Pf.} *kay/*key ({θGS} *k-) 'hand' > Tm kai, Ml kai, kayyi, Kt, Kdg kay, Tl cēyi (accus. cēti), ce(y)yi, Klm ki· ɘ key ɘ kīy ɘ kiyu, Nkr kī, Kui kayu, kagu, Ku kēyu(:) ɘ ke(y)yu ɘ kayyu, Krx xekkhā id., Ml kayyu, Tu kai, Tl kēlu, kai, Nk kī, Prj, Png key, Gdb ki ɘ kiyyu ɘ kiy, Gnd kay, Knd kiyu ɘ kivu, Mnd kiy, Mlt qeqe 'hand', Kn kay, kayi, kayyi, key 'hand, forearm' ¶¶ If GS's pD rec. *keŷ- 'hand, arm' is right, the D word does not belong here ¶¶ D no. 2023, IS I 227, Pf. 45, GS 186-7 [no. 471] ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [no. 80] (IE *g^hes-, D *kač- + qu. Om *✓kč 'hand'; *÷ FU *käte 'hand', F s.v. N *Kät∇ 'hand').

654. ₂ *gEqû 'to pour, to flow' > IE: NaIE *g^heu-/ *g^hu- v. 'pour', *g^heu-mn̥ 'sth. poured, libation' > OI ju'hōti v. 'sacrifices' (esp. 'pours butter into fire'), hu'tah pp. 'sacrificed', 'hōman- 'libation, sacrifice', Av zaotar, zaor- 'priest, sacrificer', OI 'hōtrā 'an offering, sacrifice (Opfergabe)', Av zaorā 'libation' || Gk χέ(ι)ω 'I pour' ('ich gieße, ich schütte), Gk Hm aor. ἔχευα 'poured' (< *e-g^heu- + *-σα), Gk χεῖμα 'that which is poured, a stream, libation' || Phr [Hs.] ζευμύν ('πηγὴν) accus. 'stream (?)' (< *g^heu-mn̥) || Arm ճոյլ շօյլ 'what is smelted\cast\ founded', n. 'font, cast' (< *g^heu-lo-), ճուլեմ 'I cast\smelt\found' || L fū-tis 'water(ing) can', fū-tilis 'easily poured, brittle' || pTc *ku- > Tc A, B ku- v. 'pour' ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448, M K I 442, M E II 821, F II 1090-3, WH I 563-4, Sl. 259, Bdr. 433, Wn. I 239, Ad. 179-80 ¶ The absence of traces of the expected lr. (< N *q) requires explanation. One may suggest a mt. + subsequent loss of the lr.: *gEqû > eIE *g^hHeu > IE *g^heu- || HS: CS *-gīχ- ~ *-gūχ- v. 'pour forth, gush out' (of water) > Hb ✓gyḥ (-gīḥ-) 'burst forth' (of dashing water, of sea), JA [Trg.] ✓gyḥ G 'break forth, stir up', Sr ✓gwh (pf. gāh, ip. nā'gūh) 'gush out, pour forth' (of water), 'flow' (of tears), ?σ Ar ✓ğw|yχ (pf. جَاخْ ḡāχa) 'ronger et enlever la berge' (of water) ¶ KB 181, KBR 189, BDB 161 [no. 1518], Js. 237, Br. 108-9, JPS 63, BK I 350, DRS 107 ◇ An alt. comparison (with better semantic connections, but with phonetic problems): N ? *kEzû 'pour, flow' (q.v.) > IE *g^heu-/ *g^hu- v.

'pour' ÷ HS: S *^o✓kɪw 'pour', SC: Irq {MQK} kuʔūs-, Brn kuʔus-, Alg kuʔumis- v. 'spill, pour'.

655. ₂ *gAr∇ 'hand, arm' > HS: Eg fP ʒr.t 'hand, handful' ¶ EG V 580-5, Fk. 323, Tk. I 319 || EC: Arr yirr 'upper arm' ¶ Hw. A 400 || ïï IE: acc. to P 447, NaIE ?? *ġ^her- 'hand' (> Arm ábnū ʒeṛn 'hand' || Gk χεῖρ 'hand' || pAl *dārā > Al: T/G dorē [pl. T duar, G duer] 'hand'), but in the light of Ht kessar- 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by pIE *ġ^hesr- (see N *gā^rp¹∇, sA 'hand', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dv. no. 270 (ġ^her- 'mano come cosa attiva'), P 447 (s.v. *ġ^hesto-), O 70, Huld 54, Sturt. CG 89, 118, Pis. SLS 121, Hamp PA 115, Slr. 316-17, F II 1082-3, Ch. 1251-2, Pv. IV 160-5, Ts. E I 558-63 || ¶ A *gar^ra¹ 'arm' > T *Kar 'arm' > OT, MT qar, Qzq, Qrg qar, Chv xop 'arm', Bsh qar 'shinbone of animal'; NaT *Kari 'forearm' > OT qarī, Qzq, Qq qarī id., Tv, Tf qiri, Yk xari 'ulna', MT qarī 'forearm, arm', Uz qari, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Shor, StAlt qarī 'arm', Chg qarī ~ qarū 'arm, upper arm', Az Δ garī 'upper half of animal's leg', Xlj qarī 'half fathom', Tkm garī id., 'lower leg of a quadruped, shinbone', VTt Δ qarь 'length of an arm from elbows to fingers', Nog qarī 'length of a forearm', ET Tr kerī 'arm's length, cubit', Chv {Ash.} xypǎ xurь 'a unit of length (≈ 2 m)', {Fed.} xyp ǎ xop ' {Ash.} xyp xur ǎ xypǎ xurь 'a unit of length (≈ 2 m)', {Fed.} xyp ǎ xop id., 'elbow', {Jer.} xyp 'elbow', 'a unit of length (double distance between the elbow and the end of the middle finger)', {ChVS} xyp 'a unit of length (two ells, половина маховой сажени)', ET Tr kerī 'arm's length, cubit', StAlt, Shor, Uz Δ qarī 'upper arm', Tv qiri 'ulna', Tf qiri id., 'forearm', Yk xari, xarī id., 'lower part of the foreleg' ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 278-83, ADb. SR 160-4, 195-8, TL 246-7, Ash. XVI 191 and 221, Fed. II 361, Jeg. 306, ChVS 255, Dr. TM III 461-2 [no. 1477], Jud. 355, BT 74, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 || M *gar 'hand, arm' > MM [MA] gar, [IM, IsV] qar, WrM {MED} gar, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt rap, Kl {KRS} hap gar, {Rm.} gar, Ord q₋ar, ShY, Mnr H {SM} q₋ar, MMgl {Iw.} gar, Mgl qar, Dg gar, gari, Dx. qa, Ba xar 'hand, arm' ¶ MED 350, BMR I 386-7, Lew. 46, KRS 157-8, KW 144-5, T 325, T DgJ 130, T DnJ 124, T BJ 136, Mr. D 148, Ms. O 292-3, SM 118, Iw. 104, Rm. M 31 || Tg: WrMc {Z} гарга, гаргань 'two arms, two legs' ¶ STM I 141, Z 310 ¶¶ SDM 530-1 (pA *gà|èr^a 'arm' > M, T, Tg + unc. pJ *kàtá 'shoulder' [going back to N *K^üy₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 482 (id.), S AJ 290, S QJ no. 200, KW 145, Vld. 391, Pp. VG 24, ADb. SR 310-1, Kol. ChA 96-7 ◇ If P's rec. of the alleged IE cognate is

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

655a. ₂ ***gER∇** 'entrails' > HS: S: Ar جَرِيَّةٌ ḡirrīy-at- ~ جَرِيَّةٌ ḡirrīʔ-at- 'estomac (d'oiseau)' ¶ BK I 272 || C: Ag *gīr- (*gīr-/ *gīl-) 'gut(s), entrails' > Bln {R} gīr ~ žīr (pl. gīlil ~ žīlil), Q {R} žīr, Xm {R} zil'lā 'Darm', zil'il 'Eingeweide', Km {CR} žar 'entrails' || amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gari 'body, trunk' (× N ***gARḡ∇** 'belly, inside', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ AD SF 205, R WB 158, R QW 74, E Ch II 469 (s.p. 95), CR LK 205 ¶¶ ≈ AD SF 205 (C, S) || IE: NaIE *ḡ^her- 'gut(s), *ḡ^hor-nā 'entrails' > OI hi'rā 'vein, artery', 'hira-h₁ 'band, strip' || Gk χορδή 'gut, string of gut' || L haru-spex 'one who foretold the future from the inspection of entrails', hīra 'gut, intestine' || ON gorn 'gut', pl. garnar 'entrails' (< *ḡ^hor-nā), OHG mitti(la)-garni, AS miczern, OSx midgarni 'internal fat, suet' || Lt žarnà (accus. žárna), Ltv zârna 'gut' ¶ P 443, EI 180 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 73 (IE, HS + unc. U, HS, D reflexes of N ***guR∇** 'belly' (→ 'body') and N ***gARḡ∇** 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

656. ₂ ***geR∇** 'throat' > HS: WS *gīr-, *√grr > MHb הַרְגָּה gērā 'neck' (Lv.: 'Hals', eig. 'der Ort, wo das Tier die Speise heraufbringt'), Tgy ገ-ር-ር-ገ ḡ^werəro 'throat, trachea'; CS *gīrān- > BHb ስገገገ ḡārōn (cs. ḡārōn, st. pron. ḡārōn-, pl. [attested in MHb] ḡārōn-ōt) 'throat, neck' (ḡārōn is a bf. from the stem ḡārōn- in cs., st. pron. and pl.), Ar جَرَان ḡirān- 'front part of a camel's neck'; rdp.: S *garg^ra^r- 'throat, gullet' > BHb pl. t. ስገገገ ገገ *gargārōt* 'throat', (→) 'neck' (att: +ppa. 2m: ስገገገ ገገ ḡargārōt¹ēk²ā 'thy throat') ({KBR} 'pharynx' → 'neck'), MHb ስገገገ ገገ ḡar'ḡerēt 'Gurgel', Ug {OLS} grgr 'garganta (?)', Sr ḡaggar^t-ā 'throat', Md ḡangarata 'throat, tonsils' (pl.), Ar [Nbg.] جَرَا ḡarāḡir- 'throat (?)' (originally pl. fractum), Tgy ḡ^warg^wa^rit 'goitre' (Bsn. 'gozzo'), Ak ḡagḡurīt^u 'e part of the body of an animal: ? throat' ¶ GB 147-8, KB 194, KBR 201-2, OLS 151, Lv. I 355, 358, Br. 103, DM 77, Hv. 87, Bsn. 872, L G 201, CAD III 9, DRS 175-7, MiK I no. 1.95 (S *gīrān-) and no. 102 (S *ḡ^war(g^w)ar(at)- 'throat, gullet') || C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} gurér 'throat' ¶ Hz. NSA 139-40 || B *√grgr > Ntf {La.} aḡargur, {Dray} ahengur, aḡergur, CM aḡargur, BSn aḡargur, Izn aḡarḡur 'goitre' ¶ La. N 57, Dray 243, NZ 854 || Ch (× N ***guḡḡE** or ***guḡḡ∇** 'throat, neck', q.v.): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} ḡāḡarāk 'throat' (× N

***guR'k'U'** 'throat(?)' || BT: Krkr {Kœ.} *gurgosli* 'throat' || P' {MSk.} *gùrgʷàšá* id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} *γùγʷàr* id., *góra* 'neck' (if the glottalization of *g* reflects the lr. of N ***gúrʹE** or ***gúrʹ∇**) || BB: Gude {Hsk.} *id. gùrʹk* 'swallowing noisily' || Lame {Sa.} *id. gùròk* id. || CCh (+ext.) ***√grđ** 'throat; to swallow' > Msg G {Trn.} *gurđok*, Mlw {Trn.} *gùrđòk* 'throat', Mtk: Mf {BLB} *gʷrđ-* 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} *gʷrđan* 'palate' || ECh: Mu {J} *gõró* (pl. *gõràr*), Tmk {Cp.} *gě̀r* 'neck' (unless from N ***gædi** 'back part; occiput, nape of neck'), Kwn {J} *kʷr̥* *kʷr̥í*, Ke {Eb.} *kúr* 'neck' (in KwK ***g-** > **k-** regularly) ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, ≈ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ≈ Stl. VZCh no. 76, ChC, ChL, Eb. 75 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 960 || **U**: FP ***ker∇** 'throat, gullet' > F *kerō*, *kerus* id., Es *kõri* 'throat, larynx' || pLp {Lr.} ***kʷrʷs** 'windpipe, trachea' > Lp: S {Hs.} *g'irse*, L {LLO} *karas* id., Kld *kʷrs* 'throat, windpipe' || Prm ***gʷr-** ({JLG} ***gʷr-**) 'throat' > Z *ropw gorš* 'throat, larynx', Z US *gʷrš*, Yz *gorš* id., Z Le *gorań* 'Adam's apple' (acc. to LG, -š and -ań are likely to be dim. sxs) ¶ UEW 660, SK 184, Lr. no. 319, Lgc. no. 1268, Hs. 612, LG 79.

657. *g'i'r∇ 'hate, be hostile' > HS: S ***√gʷr** ~ ***√gry** > Mh **√gʷr** (pf. *gʷyōr*, sbjn. *γʷ-gʷyēr*), Jb **√gʷr** (pf. Jb C *gēr*, Jb E *gēr*) v. 'oppress', Ak **√gry** (inf. *ger ũ*, p. -*gri*) 'be hostile', *gēr ũ* 'foe', Ug **√gry G** 'attack', IA **√gry G** 'sue, institute suit against'; ?σ (× ***√gry** 'incite, provoke') BHb **√gry D** 'stir up strife', **√gry TD** 'engage in strife', JA **√gry TD** ('*גַּרְשׁוּ* *γi t̥gā'rē*) {Js.} 'attack', {Lv.} 'sich reizen', JEA **√gry TD** 'fight, contend', Sr **√gry TD** (pf. *גַּרְשׁוּ* *ḡe t̥gar ī*) 'provoke \ stir up strife, pick a quarrel' ¶ Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, CAD V 61-3, OLS 152, HJ 234-5, KB 195, BDB 173, Js. 268, Lv. T I 359, Sl. 300, JPS 77 || Eg fP *z̥z̥y* 'be hostile', fMK *z̥z̥y.t* 'wrongdoing', *z̥z̥yʷ* 'opponent', ?? Eg: {EG} MK *z̥r z̥r* 'fremde Länder', *z̥r z̥r* 'aus der Fremde kommen' (of birds), NK *z̥r z̥r* 'fremder Mann', *z̥r z̥r* 'fremd\feindselig handeln (gegen den Bruder)', MK {Fk.} *z̥r z̥r i* 'stranger', *z̥r z̥ry* 'strange' ¶ EG V 514-18, 604, Fk. 318, 324 || **IE**: [1] ?? Ht *kurur* 'enmity (Feindschaft), enemy' || [2] (+ext.) NaIE ***gʰers-** 'repugnance, abhorrence' > Arm **qʷapz̥huf** *garšim* 'I abhor, I detest, I hate' || ON *gersta* 'ärgern, böse machen', MHG *garst* 'rancid taste, stench', MHG, MLG *garst* 'rancid', Dt *garstig* 'rank, rancid, musty', NHG *garstig* id., 'nasty, foul, disagreeable' ¶¶ Not here (⇔ P) Av *grāhma-*, interpreted by P as 'Sünder, Frevler', but

actually meaning '≈ gift' (Bai. 442, Brtl. 530) ¶¶ Ts. E I 665-7, Pv. IV 280-6, ≈ P 445, Slr. 371-2, Vr. 165, Vr. N 185, Lx. 53, KM 233 ¶¶ Acc. to AD's theory of vw. changes in the prehistory of IE (AD NGIE, AD NVIE), the lack of palatality in the NaIE initial cns. is reg. (*g^hi > *g^hα_{l̥} > *g^he_{l̥} > *g^he [loss of a glide before another sonant]) || D *k_{l̥}r_{l̥}-ukk-, *ke_{l̥}r_{l̥}- ({ǵGS} *k-) > Tm c_{l̥}e_{l̥}u v. 'hate, dislike', c_{l̥}i_{l̥}r_{l̥}ukk_{l̥} 'be angry with', Kt ċ_{l̥}i_{l̥}r_{l̥}v- id., Td k_{l̥}i_{l̥}r_{l̥}k 'violent anger', Tl c_{l̥}i_{l̥}r_{l̥}α, c_{l̥}i_{l̥}r_{l̥}u 'anger, displeasure', Brh k_{l̥}i_{l̥}r_{l̥}ēṅ 'abuse' ¶¶ D no. 1597.

657a. ?σ₂ *g_{l̥}iR∇ 'leg, ≈ bone of the leg' > HS: Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} g_{l̥}èrdá_{l̥}, Cg {Sk.} g_{l̥}èrdé 'leg' || CCh: Zm {J} g_{l̥}ùrà_{l̥}y 'thigh', ZmD {Srp.} g_{l̥}or_{l̥}e, BtD/BtG {Srp.} g_{l̥}ěrgačě 'leg' ¶ JI II 220, ChC s.v. 'leg' and 'thigh', ChL || A: Tg *g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ram 'bone' > WrMc {Z} гира_{l̥}нь, Mc Sb g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ram 'bones, corpse', WrMc {Z} гира_{l̥}нги, Jrc g_{l̥}i_{l̥}rang_{l̥}i 'bone(s)', Ewk g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ramna id., Sln g_{l̥}i_{l̥}randa, Ul g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ramsa 'bone', Lm O g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ramna, Neg g_{l̥}i_{l̥}yamna 'skeleton', Orc g_{l̥}i_{l̥}amsa 'bone(s)', Ork g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ransa 'bone(s)', Ud geāma_{l̥}Ha, Nn KU g_{l̥}i_{l̥}ramna, Nn Bk g_{l̥}i_{l̥}rmasa id., 'skeleton', Nn Nh/KU g_{l̥}i_{l̥}rmaksa {STM} id., {On.} 'bone' ¶ STM I 154, Kiy. 125 [no. 510], On. 107-8, Z 336 ◇ Doubtful because of the semantic difference between 'leg' and 'bone' (but compare German Bein).

657b. ?σ₂ *g_{l̥}uR∇ 'belly', (?) 'trunk of a living being' (→ 'body') > HS: C: SC: Irq {MQK} g_{l̥}ura? 'belly, interior', Irq/Alg {Wh.} g_{l̥}ûra, Grw/Brn {Wh.} g_{l̥}ura?a 'stomach' ¶ MQK 41, Wh. IC 25 || U *k_{l̥}ur∇ 'body', (?) 'trunk of a living animal' > Lp: N {N} g_{l̥}q_{l̥}rod ~ g_{l̥}q_{l̥}rog 'body, carcass', L k_{l̥}ârot id., 'trunk of a living animal', I kor_{l̥}ōd_{l̥} 'carcass' || ObU *k_{l̥}ūr 'body' > pOs *k_{l̥}ōr > Os: Kz e_{l̥}ϕ-χ_{l̥}or 'body, surface of a body' (e_{l̥}ϕ 'body'), V k_{l̥}ōr 'shape\image (of a guardian spirit, person, animal), Vy/Ag/Ty/Y {Trs.} k_{l̥}ōr 'shape, appearance (образ, вид)'; pVg *k_{l̥}ūr_{l̥} 'shape, image', {Alq.} 'Schattenbild, Gestalt' > Vg: P is-kor, Ss is-χ_{l̥}or 'Schattengestalt', MK is-k_{l̥}ωâr id., 'spirit', LK χ_{l̥}or, Ss {Ht.} χ_{l̥}uri 'Bild, Gestalt, Form' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} χ_{l̥}ar- 'self' (χ_{l̥}ar?n 'myself', χ_{l̥}art 'thyself', χ_{l̥}arta 'him\her-self'), En: X ke_{l̥}be?, B ke_{l̥}re? 'self' (rf. prn.) ¶¶ UEW 216, Trs. S 183, Ht. no. 312, Ter. 891 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 73 (SC, U + unc. HS, D and IE reflexes of N *g_{l̥}ER∇ 'entrails' and N *g_{l̥}AR_{l̥}∇ 'belly, inside' [q.v.]).

657c. *g_{l̥}uR∇ 'forest' > HS: Ch: CCh: Ms {ChL} g_{l̥}uruda, ?ϕ Lgn {Bou.} g_{l̥}arga, BnnM g_{l̥}ura 'forest', Bnn {ChL} g_{l̥}ora 'bush (forest)' || ECh: Mu {J} g_{l̥}ùrá 'bush', Nd D {J} g_{l̥}órmíṅ 'forest' ¶ Cp. also Hs k_{l̥}úrm_{l̥}ī {Ba.} 'copse, forest', {Abr.} 'thickly-wooded country' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'forest', J Mu s.v. g_{l̥}ùrá, Ba. 353, Abr. H 564 || IE: NaIE (att. in Blt) *o_{l̥}g_{l̥}ω_{l̥}er- > Lt g_{l̥}i_{l̥}rià, Lt

Z gîrê, Ltv dzir̃a ~ dzire 'forest', Pru garian ~ garrin 'tree' ¶ ≈ P 478, ≈ Frn. 153 (both equate it with Sl *gora, OI giri- and Av gairi- 'mountain') || U *kur̃ 'forest, bushes (Gebüsch)' > Er куро kuro 'bush (shrub), bushes (Gebüsch)' || Os: D χār 'coniferous forest, forest with much game', Kz χār 'woods' (χār tāχīy māntī 'move to the forest for hunting [whole families]); Vg: T {MK} khār(é)ρ 'grove (Hain)', {Kn.} k̃ī-kārρ 'birch wood' (k̃ī 'birch'), N/ML {MK} khwārρ ~ khuorρ 'birch wood (березняк)', LL/P {MK} khōrρ, K {MK} khōréρ ~ khworéρ ~ kh(ω)qréρ 'pine-fir-wood' || Sm: Ne F {Lh.} kūr 'thicket (thick wood\bushes) on riverbanks' ¶¶ {Rd.}: FV *-ρ- is a sx ¶¶ UEW 217, ERV 31, MK 109, Lh. 213.

658. ₂ *gUR̃ 'to roll' > K *gor-/*gr- vi. 'roll, wallow' > OG gor-, ngor-, G gor- vi. 'roll, wallow' ('rollen, sich wälzen'), Mg gorgol-, Lz ngor-/ngr-, Sv gur-/gwr- v. 'roll' ¶¶ K 64, K² 31, FS K 83-4, FS E 88-9, Chx. 202, Abul. 96, Ser. 41 || HS: EC: Sa {R} gūr- 'rollen, wälzen, in Kugelform bringen' || SC: Irq {E} gʷangʷaraʔa- v. 'roll (downhill)', {MQK} gʷangʷarāʔ- 'roll, roll down' ¶ R S II 160-1, E SC 372, MQK 43 || WCh: Hs gārā v. 'roll any circular object rapidly along the ground' ¶ Ba. 362 || ?σ Eg P g̃̃̃ v. 'turn over (kentern)' ¶ EG V 149 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 89 [no. 18.13].

659. ₂ *gÜR̃ 'beast' > IE: NaIE *gʰwēr- ({EI} *gʰwēr, genitive *gʰwer-os) 'wild animal' > Gk: A θήρ (gen. θηρός), L φήρ, Th φείρ 'beast' || L ferus (f. -a, ntr. -um) 'wild' (L e [rather than ē] is due either to Celto-Italic shortening of long vowels [Dybo's law, / Db. SDKI 13] or to generalization of {EI} *gʰwer- obl.) || BSl: Lt žvėr̃is, Ltv zvērs 'beast', Pru accus. pl. swīriñs 'beasts' ([zv-]) | pSl *zvĕrb̃ 'wild beast' > OCS звѣрь̃ zvěrb̃, Blg звяр̃, McdS звер̃, SCr звѣр̃ zvjēr̃, Slv zvēr̃, Cz zvěř̃, Slk zver̃, P zwierz̃, R зверь̃, Uk звір̃ id. (in BSl the word was transferred to the *i-declension on the basis of the accus. sg. form with Baltic *-i, Sl *-ь < IE *-m̃, *-ñs) || Tc B d. sérwē 'hunter' ({Ad.}: < *gʰwer-wō- 'he of the animal'), d. sér- v. 'hunt' ¶ WP I 642-3, P 493, EI 23, F I 671-2, WH I 487-8, Tr. 374-5, Frn. 1327, ME 409, En. 261, Vs. II 87, StSS 235, Glh. 702, Ad. 633-4 || A *gURE- 'deer, wild herbivorous animal; game' (× N *gor̃Hæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear'] and N *gur̃X̃a 'antelope, male antelope') > M *göreʷen 'wild animal', *göreʷe-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > [1] M *göreʷen 'hunt', (?) 'wild animal' (× M *göreʷen n. 'hunt, chasing; game' < N *gor̃Hæ) >

MM [S] göre₁e 'Wild', Kl {Rm.} görē 'Wildtier; Hirsch, Jagdtier; Jagd', HIM {BMR} гөрөө 'Jagd, Fischerei, охотничий промысел', Ord g₁örō 'chasse'; [2] *göre₁e-sün 'wild herbivorous animal, antelope' > MM [S] göre₁esün id., [MA] görēsün 'wild goat', [IM] görēsün 'antelope', WrM {MED} güregesün ~ görügesün id., 'game, wild beast', HIM гөрөөс(өн) {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'antelope', Brt гүрөөһэ(н) 'wild goat, roe', Ord g₁örōs 'gibier, animal sauvage', Kl {KRS} гөрөсн göräsən 'saiga antelope (*Saiga tatarica*)', {Rm.} görēsñ 'wild animals, deer or antelopes', MMgl {Iw.} görēsün 'wild ass', Dg {T} gurēs 'antelope, wild beasts', {Mr.} gurēse 'a quadruped, wild animal', Mnr H {SM} k'ūōrosэ 'bête féroce, bête sauvage; sauvage' ¶ SM 215, Iw. 104, H 51, Pp. MA 172, 437, MED 387, BMR I 446-7, KRS 147, KW 138, Chr. 166, Mr. D 153, Ms. O 271. T DgJ 133 || Tg: [1] Tg *gōrma-(kun) 'hare' > Nn Nh/KU gormaχō, WrMa {Z} гулмахунь 'hare', Jrc {Kiy.} gulmahaj 'rabbit'; Nn Nh {STM} gurmэ toqsa 'sacred hare', {STM} gorma-qsa, {On.} gormaχoq-qsa 'hare's hide'; [2] NrTg *g^ru^rrn- 'e small fur-bearing animal' > Ewk gurnun 'squirrel', Lm gurnata 'weasel' ¶ STM I 161, 174, On. 115, Z 352, Kiy. 105 [no. 150] || pKo {S} *kōrání > MKo kōrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' (× N *guR^rX^ra 'antelope') ¶ S QK no. 271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. AEN 16 (suggesting that Ko is a loan from pChK *qorañi 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM 574-5 (pA *gú|óri|e or *gú|óri|e 'deer, game' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 572, S CNM 6-7 || AdS of U *kouya 'male animal' (× N *kouR^r∇ 'male animal' [q.v. ffd] × a derivative from U *koue 'male, man' < N *goy^r∇ 'man, people') ◇ IS I 237 [no. 93] (IE, M). Cf. N *guR^rX^ra 'antelope, male antelope' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal'), O HSN 121 (N *gUyRä 'wild [animal]' > IE, A + err. HS *g∇r- 'young animal, dog' [going back to pN {AD} *gur₁E₁w∇ 'young (carnivorous) animal'])).

659a. *gE^r?^ror∇ (or *gE^rwor∇??) 'grain' > HS: Ch: [1] WCh {OS} *gi?ur- 'millet' > Hs {Abr., Ba.} gēro 'bulrush millet (*Pennisetum typhoideum*)', Gw {Mts.} gero 'millet' | Su {J} gēwuro id. | Sy {Sk.} goro 'sorghum' | Ngz {Sch.} gāv₁rkà ~ gāv₁rkà id. || CCh: Zm {Srp.} guirany 'corn' || ECh: Smr {J} g₁r₁awe 'e corn' || [2] *g∇r- 'bean(s)' > WCh: Ang {ChL} g₁r₁am id. | ? Fy {J} kerem id. || CCh: Mdr {Mch.} g₁r₁e, {ChL} g₁ire, Glv {ChL} ?ág₁ùrà, {Rp.} àg₁ra, Gv {ChC} ng₁z₁è, Nkc ng₁z₁re, Dgh {Fk.} ñgrè id. || ECh: EDng {Fd.} gèr₁èñ 'haricots blancs', Jg {J} g₁r₁(k) 'beans' ¶ ChC s.v. 'millet' and 'bean(s)', ChL, Sk. HCD 83, Abr. H 315-16, Ba. 377, Sch. 219, J S s.v. gēwuro, J R 87, J J s.v. g₁r₁(k), Fd. 322 || S: [1] S *gir(-at)-

'≈ small grain' > MHb הַרְגָּה *gē'rā* 'seed of carob (St. John's bread, *Ceratonia*)', Ak *girū* 'twenty-fourth part of a sheqel' ⇨ BHb הַרְגָּה *gē'rā* id. | [2] CS **gargir-* 'a berry, small grain' > BHb pl. הַרְגָּה הַרְגָּה *gargā'r-īm* 'ripe olives', MHb הַרְגָּה *gar'gēr*, JA [Trg.] הַרְגָּה הַרְגָּה *gargā'r-ā* 'berry, small grain, Ar ḡirḡir- 'bean' ¶ DRS 177, 181, KB 193-4, Klein 108, Js. 266, Löw II 403, Ln. 401, BK I 274-5, Sd. 291 ¶¶ OS no. 211 || IE **g^heg^hg^hr-* (or **g^heg^hg^hr-*?) (× IE {P} **g^her-* 'hart darüber streichen, reiben') > Gk κάρπυς 'parched barley', κέχυρος 'millet' ¶ ∈ P 439, LS 425 || D **kor-* 'millet, a grain' > Knd *korēn* 'a grain', Tm *kural* 'Italian millet', Kt *koyl*, Kui *kueri* '*Setaria italica*', Kn *korale*, Tl *korralu*, Prj *koyla* '*Panicum italicum* (a kind of millet)', Gnd *kohala*(:) 𐎎 *koṗla* '*Panicum miliare*', gorraṇ 'mandeya corn, *Eleusine coracana*' ¶¶ D no. 2163 ◇ The D and S data suggest that the N internal cns. was not **w* (but most probably a weak lr. **ʔ* or **h*). If this is true, the cns. -*w*- in several Ch languages is a hiatus-filling innovation influenced by the labialized vowel ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 160 [no. 82] (D, HS, IE) ||| Cp. also ?? N₂ ≈ **gER∇Sd∇* (or cd **gE^rʔ^ror∇ S∇d∇*?) '∈ cereal' > IE {EI} **g^hresd^h(i)-* (gen. **g^hr^sd^h-os*) 'barley' > NaIE: L *hordeum* id. ||| OHG, OSx *gērsta*, NHG *Gerste*, Dt *gerst* id. ||| ?φ Gk Hm κρέι 'barley', Gk κριθάκι pl. 'barley corns, barley' ||| Al *dri^hthē* 'grain' || Ht *karas* ntr. ({EI} = [kras], [kars]?) {Ts.} 'wheat (?)', {EI} '∈ wheat' (absent in Pv.) ¶¶ EI 51, P 446 (IE **g^herzd^h-*), GI 565 (IE **g^h(e)rd^h-*), Bc. no. 8.44, WH I 656-7, KM 250, O 75, Ts. W 34, Ts. E 498 || HS: CCh: Msg {Rlf.} *gerda* 'sorghum', {Ov.} *girda* 'Korn, Getreide', ZmB {ChC} *giraṇ* 'corn' ||| ECh: Smr {J} *gárdwē* 'corn' ¶ ChC s.v. 'corn', Lk. DQM 56.

659b. **giʔ^ro^r∇* '∈ grass' > HS: S: Ar ḡaʔr- 'herbe grande, longue, d'une végétation riche' ¶ BK I 244 || IE (mt.; × N **goRho* 'be\become big\long, grow?') **g^hreh^w-*/**g^hr^h^w-*: +ext.: NaIE **g^hrōs-*/**g^hrās-* 'grass, herbs' > Gt *gras* (· χόρτος, λάχανον) 'Gras, Kraut', OFrs *gres*, *gers*, OSx, OHG *gras*, NHG *Gras*, AS *zræs*, *zærs* 'grass', NE *grass* ||| L *grāmen* 'grass, turf' (< **g^hrās-men*) ||| Sl **grōzdъ* (genitive **grōzda*), **grōzdъ* 'cluster' > OCS *гроздъ* *grozdъ*, Slv *grōzd* 'cluster of grapes', SCr *grōzd* id., 'grapes', Blg *грозд*, R *гроздъ*, Δ *грозд* 'cluster (of berries, grapes etc.)', OR, RChS *гроздъ* *grozdъ* 'grape' | + another ext.: AS *zræd* 'grass' ||| L *herba* 'springing vegetation, green plant' (× N **goRho* 'be(come) big\long, grow', q.v.) || Ht {Pv.} *kariyant-* 'grass', *karitasxa* 'grassland, lawn' ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454,

KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, Bern. I 355, ESSJ VII 142-3, StSS 178, Glh. 250, WH I 639-40, Pv. IV 80, Ts. E I 507, 510 || **A** * $\text{K}_{\text{ö}}\text{ü}:\text{r}$ - > NaT * $\text{K}_{\text{ö}}:\text{r}\text{än}$ 'sedge' > VTt, Bsh kürän , SbTt kürän , Brb {RI.} körön , Xk köreṅ ot , StAlt, Tlt {RI.} körön id. ¶ ET KQ 147-8, RI. II 1251, 1454 || M: WrM {MED} kürmeli , HIM {MED, BMR} хүрмэл 'sedge (*Carex*)', Kl {Rm.} kürsṅ 'eine Pflanze (giftig), sedge (*Carex*), henbane' ¶ KW 248, MED 506, BMR IV 190, Kow. III 2650 || **D** * kīr - 'greens, vegetables' > Tm kīraṅ id., 'potherbs', Ml cīra 'greens, eatable leaves', Δ kīra , cīra 'spinach', Kt ki·r , Td ki·ry '*Amarantus*', Kn kīre , ki·re '(various species of) greens', Tl kīra , kīre 'herb, vegetable, greens' ¶¶ D *-r- < post-N **-ʔr- < N *-ʔ'o'r- ¶¶ D no. 1617 ◇ T *k'- and M *k- are probably from *gʔ < N *gʔiʔ- ◇ Blz. L no. 71c (suggesting the comparison between IE, D and T).

660. *geʔr 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'to build walls\huts') > HS: C: EC: Ged {Hd.} gōʔre , Brj {Hd.} gōre 'shed for animals', Or {Grg.} gōrrō 'partition, wall' || SC: Irq {Wh.} $\text{gâr}^{\text{h}}\text{ai}$ (pl. $\text{gâr}^{\text{h}}\text{awē}$) 'wall of the verandah', {E} garṣay 'verandah of house', {MQK} garṣāy 'front of the house, area near the house' (× N ***gAR** 'belly, inside?') || Bj {R} $\text{gā}^{\text{h}}\text{ra} \sim \text{gar}^{\text{h}}\text{a} \sim \text{gara}$ 'fenced courtyard around the house'; eBj or Ag * gaṣrat ⇨ (or ⇐ ?) Tgy {R} ḡarət ⇨ Bln/Sa {R} 'qāṣrat id. ¶ Tgy ḡarət is isolated within S and EthS, while Bj $\text{gā}^{\text{h}}\text{ra}$ has cognates among the C lges, suggesting a C origin of the Tgy word ¶ R WBd 87, R WB 234, Grg. 181, Hd. 94, 242, Wh. SI, MQR 37, ≈ E SC 233 (pSC * gād - 'dwell, reside, abide' based on an unc. comparison of the Irq word with Dhl * gād - 'stay') || Ch: WCh: Hs gárgáří 'low wall or mound to prevent rain water from flowing into a booth' || ECh: Mkl {J} gârà (pl. gâr-dârí) 'clôture d'épineux' ¶ Ba. 366, J LM 98 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 852 (* $\text{ga}^{\text{h}}\text{ur}$ - 'wall, yard') and no. 956 (* gor - 'wall, house, dwelling') || **A** * $\text{gæ}^{\text{h}}\text{r}$ 'house, tent, wooden framework of a tent' > M * $\text{ge}^{\text{h}}\text{r}$ 'house' > MMgl {Iw.} gehir 'house', MM [S] {H} gehit pl. 'houses', [LM, S, MA, IM, IsV] ger , WrM {MED}, WrO ger , HIM {MED, BMR} ᠭᠡᠷ 'yurt (Mongolian tent), house', Ord, Mnr H {SM} g_er , Mgl {Rm.} ge' , Brt ᠭᠡᠷ , Ba {T} gar , Dg {Mrm., T} geri , ge' , Dx gie 'house' ¶ H 49-50, Pp. MA 170, 437, Pp. L III 69, Lg. VMI 30, MED 377-8, BMR I 481-2, Chr. 171-2, Ms. O 259-60, Krg. 770, SM 133, T 322, T BJ 136, T DgJ 131, T DnJ 114, Klz. D I 133, Iw. 103, Luv. 133, KRS 138 || T * $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{kæräk'ü}$ 'latticework wooden frame of a yurt', 'yurt (tent)' > OT {Cl.} kär ä:kü : 'latticework wooden frame of a yurt', {DTS} kerägü 'yurt (tent)', OT Kr

[MK] *kerəkü* 'yurt', Tkm † *gerege*, Bsh *kirägä*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg *kerege*, Alt/Tlt {RI.} *käräṣä*, Uz *keraga* 'latticework wooden frame of a yurt' ¶ Cl. 744, DTS 300, ET VGD 24-5, RI. II 1090, Sht. 125, KrkR 315, UzR 209, Dr. TM III no. 1629 || *AdS* of (infl. on) Tg **gerbe-* 'make perches, clean trunks from boughs' < N **gor*∇*b|p*∇ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 542-3 (pA **gēr*∇ 'house, house poles' > Tg **gerbe-*, M **ger*, T **gErekü* [without taking into account MMgl *gehīr* and MM pl. *gehīt*]), DQA no. 503 (T, M, Tg) || | D **ker-* ({{GS}} **k-*) > Kn *kir* v. 'confine, close, shut, block up, make a fence, cover', Tm *cer* v. 'control (as the senses), hinder, prevent', *cirai* v. 'restrain, imprison, dam up', Ml *ceriyuka* 'be thronged', *cerukkuka* 'dam up, enclose', *cira* 'enclosure', Kt *čer* 'imprisonment', Td *kerf-* '(water) is dammed', Tl *cer* 'prison, imprisonment', Knd *ker-* v. 'close, shut (as a door, box); build a board (as enclosure)' ¶¶ D no. 1980 || | ? K: G *da-v-h-gurgur-eb* 'ich hege um' ¶ Chx. 217 || | Possibly an *AdS* of IE (NaIE) **ǵ^hor-to-* 'encircled land'; the N etymon in question is hardly the main source of NaIE **ǵ^hor-to-*, because the latter has no long vw. (the expected trace of the N lr.) (see N **ǵāRd^ā* 'encircle, surround, fence in', q.v. ffd.) ◇ It is tempting to adduce FU *k^ār*∇ > Prm **kar* 'settlement, fortified settlement', but the FU vw. *ā* (> Prm **a*) suggests that the word belongs to N **q*∇*yo¹R*∇ 'heap of stones, stone wall, (walled) settlement' ◇ The N lr. (probably **ʕ*) is suggested by the reflexes in Bj (?), Tgy (ʕ), K (lack of **ʕ*) and M; the N vw. between **ʕ¹* and **r* is suggested by the M and D ev. (D **-r-* from intervoc. **-r-* rather than from a **r*-cluster).

661. **g¹ūr*∇ 'look, look for' > K **og¹r*∇ (or **oga|ār*∇) > Lz, Mg *gor*-v. 'look for' ¶ Chik. 264-5; GM S 334-5 and Test. KV ∇ (both on the origin of Lz and Mg 0) || | HS **√gr* > S **√gr* *'look, see' > Ar جَعْرَانَةٌ *ǧīrān-at-* 'eye' ¶ BK I 300 || | Eg fMK *ǰūr* v. 'search out, investigate; seek' (× N **čūr*∇ ~ **čūr*∇ 'to see, to look' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 539, Fk. 320 || | EC: Af {PH} *gorrise* v. 'look for, search, seek', *goran* 'searching, studying', Sa, Sa I {R} *gūr-* 'look for', {Wlm.} *gúro-kiō* 'I shall look for' ¶ PH 115, R S II 161 || | ? B: Nf *sə-ggar* 'look for', possibly also **√grw* 'find' > Ah, Tdq *aǧru*, ETwl, Ty *aǧrəw*, Gh *aǧraw*, Tnsl *iǧrəw* id. ¶ La. S 214, NZ 857, 895-6 || | Ch {JS} **√gr* 'look for' > CCh: Db {LnG} *ǧūr*, Msy {Mch.} *ǧər*, Ms {J} *ǧārā*, ? Bdm {Lk.} *kerə* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'look for', ChL,

JS 171, Lk. B s.v. *kerā*, LnG s.v. *gūr* || IE: NaIE **ǵ_lh₁erā-* ~ ? **ǵ_lh₁werā-* > Sl inf. **zbrěti* / 1s pres. **zbrǫ* 'look, see' > OCS *зѣрѣти* *zbrěti* / *зѣрѣ* *zbrjǫ* {StSS} 'see, look', SCr *zrěti* / *zrēm*, Slv *zrīti* / *zrēm*, R *зреть* / *зрю*, P *źrzeć* / *zrzę*, Cz *zřítí* / *zřím* id. | Lt *žiurėti* 'to look (at)' ¶ Frn. 1316, Tr. 366, StSS 242, ≈ Glh. 700 (??σ: Sl **zbrěti* < IE **ǵ_lh₁erā-* / **ǵ_lh₁rē-* 'shine') || A **gor^ri-* (or **gōr[∇]-??*) 'see, look' > T **k'ör-* (or **k_lör-*). 'see' > OT, MQp, XwT, Chg *kör-*, Tk *gör-*, Az, Tkm, Qmq *gör-*, ET, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, SY, Xk, Tv, Yk *kör-*, CrTt *ko^r-*, VTt, Bsh *kür-*, Uz *kwr-*, Qzl {Dom.} *kör-*, {Jk.} *kör-* ~ *kör*, Qb {Cs.} *kör-*, Tf *k^lör-*, Chv *күр-* *kur-*, Chv *Δ.кoр-* *kor-* 'see'; T **k'ör* (or **k_lör*) 'eyes' (< N **ǵ^rü^r∇yí*, where **yí* 'a couple' is a marker of dual) > OT {Cl.} *kō:z*, XwT, MQp *köz*, Chg, OOSm *göz*, Tk *göz*, Az *göz*, Tkm *гөз* *göδ*, CrT *gōz* ~ *koz*, Qmq *göz*, XT {Dr.} *ge^rz*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Tb, ET, Ln, SY *köz*, Uz *kωz*, StAlt, Xk *kös*, VTt *küz* (↪ Chv *күç* *kuś* ~ *koś*), Bsh *küδ*, Qmn *köz* ~ *kö* ~ *küs* 'eyes' ¶ Cl. 736, Rs. W 292, 295, ET VGD 60-3 and 77-9, Ra. 240, Md. 49, 170, Ash. VI 307-17, Fed. I 310-11 and 314-15 (Chv *күç* ↪ VTt *küz*), Jeg. 118-20, ChVS 96, ≠ Md. 50 (T **k'ör's* 'eye') || Tg **ǵur-* 'learn (erfahren)', **ǵurpun-* 'hinausschauen' > Sln *guru-* 'learn (узнaть), understand', Ul *gurpun-*, Ork *gōrpon-* ~ *gurpon-* 'look out (hinausschauen), appear (выглянуть, показаться)', Nn Nh *gurpun-* {STM} id., {On.} id., 'anblicken, schauen' ¶ STM I 163-4, 174, On. 121 || M **gori* n. 'hope, expectation' > WrM {MED} *gori*, HIM {MED, BMR} *горь*, Brt *гори* id., Ord *g_lori* and *g_lori-ug^ωī* 'c'est en vain, cela n'ira pas' (with *-ug^ωī* 'without') (÷ WrM *gori ügei* 'without hope) ¶ MED 361, BMR I 439, Chr. 157, Ms. O 307 || pKo {S} **kírì-* 'long for, miss, think of' > MKo *kírì-*, NKo *kiri-* ¶ S QK no. 915, Nam 68, MLC 237 ¶¶ SDM 567-8 (pA **ǵōre* 'see, understand' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 554, S AJ 281, Rm. PKE 85, ADb. SR 14 || D **kur_li_l* ({ǵGS} **ǵ-?*) 'mark, sign' > Tm, Ml, Kn *kur_li* 'mark, sign, aim', Tm *kur_li-* v. 'draw, sketch outline in painting, design', Kt *guryv* 'good aim', Td *kur_ly* 'aim', *kur_lp* 'a mark (made by a person to show he was there)', Kn *kur_li* v. 'mark, take note of, regard', Kdg *kuri* 'drawing, sectarian mark', *kuri-* v. 'paint', Tu *guri* 'aim, mark', Tl *gur_li* 'an aim, design', Ku *gur-* v. 'aim at', Mlt *kurke* v. 'write' ¶¶ D **-r_l-* goes back to post-N **-r-* (with loss of N **ǵ*) < N **-ǵr-* ¶¶ D no. 1847 ◇ If the N vw. was **ü* (suggested by IE), we still have to explain the M back vw. **o* (regr. as. ***ü*...â > **o*...∇??).

662. *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)' > IE *ǵ^herH̄-/ *ǵ^hreH̄- > NaIE *ǵ^herə-/*ǵ^hrē- '≈ shine' > OIr grían f., NIr grían 'sun' (< *ǵ^hrējnā) || ON grá-r, NNr, Dn grå, OFrs grē, OHG grāo, NHG grau, AS Ʒræw, ƷræƷ 'grey', NE gray ~ grey ('grey' ← *'bright') (Gmc *ē < NaIE *ē < *eH̄); with the sx *-u-: ON grújandi f. 'dawn' || Prusari ([z-]) f. 'Glut', Lt žarà f. 'aurora, sunray', Žāras id., Žeréti 'to shine, to sparkle, to twinkle', Ltv zars 'ray' | SI *zo'ra (accus. *zò'rq) 'sunrise, aurora' ("stem I" *ǵ^herə-) > OCS pl. зорѣ zorje, McdS зора, SCr zòra, Slv zórja, Cz zoře, P zorza, R pl. 'зори, Р Δ зорѣ (pl. Р зори); SI *za'ra id. > OCS зарѣ zarja 'aurora, light, ray of light', Blg, R за'ря, Slv zárja, Cz záře 'aurora, Morgenrot' ¶ P 441-2, Thr. §§ 222, 470, ≈ Bc. 54, Dnn. 383, Vr. 185, Schz. 154, Kb. 405, KM 268, Ho. 135, Frn. 1290, En. 242, StSS 232, 239, Glh. 699-700, EI 514 (*ǵ^her- 'shine, glow') || HS: WS *ǵ^hr > Ar جهر ǵ^hr G v. 'dazzle so. with the sunlight' (of the sun), Sr ǵ^hr G 'be dazzled' (of the eyes), Mh {Jo.} ǵ^hr (pf. ǵ^hēr, sbjn. Ʒǵ^hör), Jb E/C ǵ^hr id., Sq {L} ǵ^hrr 'être\devenir clair', Tgr ǵ^hr G v. 'glow, coal (verkohlen)' ¶ BK I 343, Hv.102, Br. 107, JPS 62, L LS 104, Jo. M 117, Jo. J 73, LH 559, DRS 104 || Ch: Hs ǵarí 'sky' || CCh: Msg {Rlf.} ǵerna 'day', Msg G {Trn.} ǵèrnâ, Msg P {Trn.} ǵèrna, Msg {Ov.} ǵirná 'today', Msg G {Trn.} ǵèrvèdî 'daytime', Msg P {Trn.} ǵèrvèdzy 'moment', ǵèrvèdzy marbay 'noon' (marba- 'in the middle') ¶ Ba. 367, Abr. H 306, Trn. LM 90, Trn. LDM 17, 23, Lk. M 56, ChC s.v. 'day' || A *gaRæ- or *gæRâ- 'light [lux]' > M *geren 'light, brightness' (× N *g'e' Ʒrâ 'fire, hearth') > MM [IM] gere 'light', [S] gere 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM gere {MED} 'light, lustre, brightness; dawn; torch', HIM гэрэз {MED} id., {BMR} 'torch (лучина, факел), light before dawn, Morgenrot; Beleuchtung', Brt W гэрэ 'torch (лучина)', Kl {Rm.} ǵerā 'Fackel, Licht (für nächtliche Wanderungen)', Ord ǵere 'lumière', Mnr H {SM} ǵzrîē 'lumière, clarté, éclat, rayon', {T} gere 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx ǵīeren 'light, ray'; ⇨ M *gerel 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] gerel 'light', [S] gerel 'Glanz', WrM gerel {MED} 'light, beam of light', HIM гэрэл {MED, BMR} id., Kl {KED} ǵerl ǵerl id., {Rm.} ǵerl 'Licht (light), Glanz', Ord ǵerel 'clarté, lumière' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, KW 134, MED 378-9, BMR I 484, Chr. 1733, KRS 139, KW 134, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 260 || Tg: [1] Tg *garpa 'ray' > Ewk garpa, Ork ǵarpa, garpa 'ray', Lm garpa, ǵarpu 'rays of the sun', Neg ǵatpa id., 'ray of light'; Tg

*garpa- v. 'shine (leuchten)' > Ewk garpa-, Lm garpu-, Neg gatpa-, UI garpačĭ-, Orc gappa- id., Ud gakpa- 'rise' (sun, moon, stars), Ork galpa-, garpa- 'shine' (sun, moon), Nn Nh garpa- {On.} 'rise, shine' (sun. moon), {STM} 'shine' (sun, stars) ¶ STM I 142, On. 99] [2] ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} гэрэ- v. 'dawn', Mc Sb {Y} гeрэмэ 'to break' (of a day), WrMc {Z} цсиха гэришэ-мби 'a\the star shines' ¶ Z 324, Y no. 2662 ¶¶ SDM 531 (pA *gar|ři or *gar|řo 'light [lux]' > M, Tg *garpa), DQA no. 1535 ◇ IS I 228-9 [no. 82].

662a. *gaHR∇ (= *gaʔR∇?) '(ε?) fish' > HS: Eg G gr 'fish' (coll.) ¶ EG V 180 || C: ? SOM: Hm {Ldl} kara 'fish' ¶ Bnd. AL 150, Ldl H s.v. kara || U *kōre 'ε fish' ('whitefish?') > F kuore / kuoree- 'smelt, *Osmerus*', Krl kūrēh, Vp kōreh id.; BF → R корюха, корюшка id. | ? Z, Vt gurina 'gudgeon' || Sm: Slq: N {Cs.} kor, UO {Cs.} kuor, Tz {Cs.} kuor, kōr, Kar {Cs.} kūr 'Coregonus muksun (a Siberian whitefish)' (Castrén's k is very likely to represent Slq q), Kms {Pls.} kuru 'lenok (*'Salmo lenoc'* [= *'Brachymystax lenoc'* ?]), Koyb {Coll. ← Pls.?)} hurru '*Salmo corregonoides*' ¶¶ Coll. 29, SSA I 441-2, Vs. II 344, LG 83, Cs. 118, 181, Pl. Z no. C-356, Rs. W 282, BIG 287, Rl. II 550 || D: McTm *kāraĭ > Tm kāraĭ 'a sea fish', Ml kāra 'a fish' ¶ D no. 1476 ◇ D *-r- (reg. from *r-clusters) and the long vw. in U and D suggest the presence of a lr. (sc. D *-r- < N *-HR-); U *ō < pre-U *ā < N *aH; on U *ō < pre-U *ā see Db. OS xxv-xxvi. The absence of the lr. in Eg suggests that the N lr. was *ʔ (= *ʔ or *h, which are the only laryngeals liable to be lost in Eg) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [no. 65] (suggested to equate D with T, U, SOM + unc. with Tg).

663. (₂?) *gūʔw¹R∇ '(roof of a) hut; to dwell' > HS: WS *-gūr- v. 'dwell' > Hb -gūr- (pf. ḡḡr, ip. ḡḡḡ ya-'gūr) 'dwell (as alien and dependent)', MHb -gūr- (ḡḡr / ḡḡḡ ya-'gūr) 'dwell (wohnen)', Ug {TOu I} gr (✓ ḡwr) 'être un hôte, séjourner', {OLS} ✓ ḡw|yr N 'hospedarse, acogerse', ✓ ḡrḡr 'avecindarse', Md guara 'temporary dwelling, (?) exile', Sb ✓ ḡwr v. 'visit (a sanctuary)'; → WS *gaʔwir- 'inhabitant' > BHb ḡḡr 'protected citizen, stranger living in so.'s country', MHb ḡḡr, JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡr-ā 'stranger, proselyte', Sr ḡḡr-ā 'alien, foreigner, stranger; proselyte', Ar جار ḡḡr-, Gz ḡḡr, Tgr, Tgy ḡḡr, Mh ḡḡwyr, Hrs ḡḡr, ḡwīr 'neighbor'; → : Gz ✓ ḡwr TL (pf. tagāwara) 'dwell together in a neighborly way', Jb C pf. ḡḡr (sbjn. ḡḡḡḡr) 'become so.'s neighbor' ¶ KB 193, KBR 184-5,

201, TOu I 588, BGMR 51, Js. 236, OLS 150, Sl. 278-9, JPS 68, DM 82, L G 207, LH 592, Jo. M 128, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, DRS 109 || EC: Sml {ZMO} *guri* 'house, home', Rn *gūra* 'move to a new dwelling place', ?σ Arr *gūr-* 'migrate' (unless akin to Arr *gōr* 'road, way'), Sd {Gs.} *gare* 'tribe, people, village' ¶ ZMO 170, DSI 281, PG 131-2, Hw. A 32-3, Gs. 116 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} **gar*∇ 'town' > Bl {ChL} *gə̀r̥wú*, {Bnt.} 'gōr u, ɿ Ngm {Stl.} < ?} *gargu*, Krf {Sch.} *gírí* 'town' | Hs *gàrĩ*, Gw {Mts.} *gèrí* 'town, inhabited environment' | Dw {ChL} *gə̀rí* (<b- Hs *gàrĩ*?) 'town', Jm {Gw.} *gír̥ga* 'village' ||| ECh: Jg {J} *gér* 'village', EDng {Fd.} *gégèr* 'town' ¶ Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 685], Stl. VZCh 67, Abr. H 305, Ba. 367, Bnt. 22, Sch. BTL 54, ChL, ChC s.v. 'village' ¶¶ Not here Wl {C} *g u o l l ē* 'house', which is probably a loan from Or (Or {Brl.} *gola* 'a room within a hut', {Sr.} *gola* 'room', {Th.} *gola* 'capannuccia') (see N **gũT̥A* 'dwelling' [→ 'house']) ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 78-8 ||| D **kūr-* ({ǰGS} **k-*) ≈ roof, hut' > Tm *kūr̥ai* 'sloping roof (commonly thatched with grass or palm leaf), small hut', Ml *kūr̥a* 'hut, thatch', Klm *kurođi* 'hog house' ¶ D *-r- < N *-wr- ¶¶ D no. 1904 ||| ?φ ǰ: AmTg **guy-* 'roof' > Ork *gui-* ~ *guy(u)-*, Nn Nh *gui-*, Nn Bk *guyu-* id., Ul *guyū-* id., 'v. 'thatch'; ⇨ : Ork *guidz* ~ *guydz*, Nn Nh *guič̣ε*, Nn Bk *guyɕz*, Ul *guič̣z* ~ *guyč̣z*, *guiptz* 'a roof' ¶ STM I 168 ¶ This AmTg word is a valid cognate only if the absence of *-r- in AmTg can be explained (AmTg *-y- < **-ry-?) ◇ The N cluster **w̥R-* yields D *-r- (while intervoc. *-r- would have yielded D *-r̥-).

664. **gar*'ɿ' i 'old' > HS: EC: pOr {Bl., Ss.} **ger̥i-* 'grow old' > Arr *gèr* 'old man, elder, husband', Or *žār-* (< **žar̥-* < [mt.] < **žar̥i-*), Gato, Turo, Kns *ker-*, Msl, Bss *ker̥-*, Gdl {Ss.} *ker̥-*, {Bl.} *kerđ-* id., Arr *gair* 'old', Or {Grg., Brl.} *žarsa* 'old person', {Brl.} *žar-ti* 'old woman', ?φ Arr *žàʔár* 'old woman' (generic) ¶ Bl. 207, Ss. PEC 37, AD VZ 208, Hw. A 360, 369, Grg. 229 || Ch {JS} **√gr* ({Nw.} **gar̥*) 'grow old' > WCh: BT: Krkr {ChL} *gàrà* 'old', Krf {Sch.} *gàrò* 'old' (of a thing) | NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} *ʒer̥á* 'grow old', *gàrà s̥anna* 'old (person)', *gàriyák̥wá* 'old woman', ? *gʷàráná* 'old' (of a thing), Cg {Sk.} *gār̥l̥is̥n* 'old' (man), *gār̥úmé* 'old woman', Kry/Mbr {Sk.} *ʒár-*, Jmb {Sk.} *ʒâr-* 'grow old', My {Sk.} *ʒàràhòzèhè* 'old man', *ʒàràhòzákù* 'old woman', P' {MSk.} *fiarà* 'grow old', Sir {Sk.} *ʒr̥á* id., *ʒâr̥wá* 'old' (thing), *gžr̥á* 'old woman' | SBc: Grn {Gw.} *garan* 'old man', {Hrn.} *gàgàr̥in* 'old person', Buli {ChL} *gòrmbàm* id., *gòrmz̥s̥è* 'old woman' | Ngz {Sch.} *gàrú* 'grow old' | ? Hs *gířmã* 'exceed in age, be older than' (unless <ɸ Hs *gířmã* 'bigness; to grow big') ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} *gōrɕ*, ? Gzg

{Nw.} gal 'grow old' ||| ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} gúé 'grow old' ¶ ChC s.v. 'old (man)', ChL, Nw. no. 64, Ba. 390-1, Abr. H 326, Hrn. no. 170, Sch. DN 69, Sk. HCD 85, Lk. ZSS 33 || IE: Ht kar ū 'early, formerly', kar u(u)ili 'former, ancient' ¶ Pv. IV 112-15 || A: NaT *KarI 'old' (of human beings and animals) (× N *kiryaHa [= *kiryaHa?] 'old') > OT, MQp XIII, Osm ≥XIV, Chg XV qar I, Tkm г арры, Qq garrI, Qq, Qrg, StAlt qarI, Uz qari, ET qeri, Xk к ир и kirI id., Qzq {DQA} qāri id., {MM} qariya 'old man', ET qeri, Xk к ир и kirI id., Az gari 'old woman', Tk karI, Ggz qarI 'wife, married woman', d.: Qq qariya 'old man'; pT *K'ari- ({Md.} *K'ari-) > OT qarI- ({Cl.} qarI:-) 'be(come) old', Tk karI-, Tkm garrI-, Uz qari-, ET qeri-, Qrg, StAlt qarI-, Tv, Tf qiri-, Xk к ир и – kirI-, Yk kiriy- 'grow old', Az gari- 'remain unmarried after the common age for marrying' (of a woman) ¶ The variant with i, I or e of the first syll. (T ≈ *KEri > *Kiri?) may be due to the infl. of the reflex of N *kiryaHa 'old' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 311-12, Ra. 223, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 671-2 (pA *k_l'_jēru 'old, worn out' > T + qu. pJ *kūtā- > J kutabire- 'be tired' + err. M *qari-, *qar_la_j-si- v. 'weaken, become old'), ≈ DQA no. 775 || E: AchEl qa-ra 'alt' ¶¶ HK 437-8 ◇ The rec. of N *ʕ is based on EC {Ss.} *ʕ, which is only tentative (what is certain is that it is a lr. resembling *ʔ and lengthening the preceding vw. in Or). Therefore our N *ʕ¹ here is tentative and not free of doubts. A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N *goRho 'be\become big\long, grow' may be suggested only if one can explain away the discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the final vowels involved ◇ Blz. E no. 68 (E, HS) ◇ Gr. II no. 283 (*kara 'old') (IE, A + err. J + qu. EA).

665. ₂ *gARʕ ▽ 'belly, inside' > HS: pC {E} *garʕ- > LEC {Bl.} *garʕ- 'belly' > Gwd {AMS} karʕ-étto, Gln {AMS} karʕitto, Hr/Dbs {AMS} karaʕ-čé, Or gara-ʔ ({Bl.}: < *gara-a < *garʕ-a), Kns kár-itta, Turo kér-itta, Gato kár-a, Msl, Bss karʔ-a, Gdl karḍ, Dsn gēre, Elm g'ére, Arr geréʔ id. ||| ?? amb Bj {Rop., Fl.} gar i 'body, trunk', Bj A {AD} garoyy- 'self', e.g. ʔU ga'rōy-u 'myself', ʔU garō'yok 'thysself' (× N *gER ▽ 'entrails', q.v.) ||| SC: Irq {MQK} garʕāy 'front of the house, area near the door', {E} garʕay 'verandah' (× N *geʕ¹ ▽ r ▽ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v.) ¶ E PC no. 500, ≈ AD SF 205, R WBd 87, Rop. 186, Bl. 207, AMS 167, 207, 232, Hn. NBLK 205, Hw. A 360, To. DL 49, MQK 37 || D: SD *kar(a_l)- 'entrails' > Ml karal, karul 'lungs and heart; liver, bowels; heart', Ml karil, Kt karl 'heart', Kn karul, karal u 'an entrail,

bowels', Kdg *karI* 'interstines', Tu *kar(a)l̥u* 'bowels, liver' ¶ D *-r- < N *-R̥- ¶ D no. 1274 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 73a (incl. C, D; no distinction between the reflexes of N *gAR̥, N *gER̥ 'entrails' [q.v.] and N *guR̥ 'belly' [→ 'body'] [> U *kur̥ 'body, SC *gur̥ 'belly'])).

666. *giR̥ 'to cut' > HS: WS *✓gr̥ 'cut' > BHb *גַּרַג* ✓gr̥ 'cut down, trim (a beard), diminish', JA ✓gr̥ 'cut (head hair, beard), diminish', JEA ✓gr̥ G 'be inferior, shave the head', Sr ✓gr̥ 'shave (hair\beard), deprive of hair, make a tonsure', Plm *גַּרְטָנִים* gr̥t̥ pl. 'hairdressers', Mh ✓gr̥ (pf. *גִּרְא*, sbjn. *יִגְרַעַף*) 'shave (usually the head)', Jb C ✓gr̥ (pf. *גִּרְאֵי*, sbjn. *יִגְרַעֵי*) 'cut, shave off (all the head hair)', Sq {L} ✓gr̥ (pf. *גַּרְאֵי*) 'cut (hair)' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, Lv. I 363, Sl. 304, Br. 134, JPS 79, HJ 235, L ESAC 16, Jo. M 123, Jo. J 78, DRS 190 || EC: Sa, Af ✓gr̥ 'cut (off)' > Sa {Wlm.} -igr̥- id., Sa {R} ✓gr̥- (p. *'i-gr̥i̯a*, inv. *e'gr̥ī̯a ~ i'gr̥ī̯a*) 'ab-\ein-schneiden', Af {R} ✓gr̥- (p. *'i-r̥gi̯a*, inv. *i'r̥gī̯a*) 'abschneiden (Baum, Hals)', {PH} *ir̥gi̯e* 'cut, cut down, harvest', *gar̥aie* v. 'cut off in the middle of doing sth.', *gar̥u* 'harvest, mutilation', ?φ Arr *קָרַר*- 'cut, reap, castrate, cut down'; but EC *gawra- v. 'cut the throat' is probably derived from the reflex of N *gúr̥E or *gúr̥V 'throat, neck' (q.v.) ¶ AD SF 316, R S II 161-2, R A II 60, PH 110-11, 137, Hw. A 381 || U *kir̥ > FP *kir̥ä- 'hew, strike' (× N *k̥i'r̥ú̯V 'strike, hit' [q.v.]) > Er *ker̥a*- v. 'hew, fell' | Chr L *кър-ащ*, *кър-ем* v. 'beat, strike, thresh', Chr E *кър-ем*, Chr M *ki'r-ем* 'I strike (with a stick\hammer)' | Prm *ker̥- v. 'hew' > Z *kerav-*, Yz *keral-*, Vt *kora-* id. ¶ It. no. 398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97 || pY {IN H} *ki̯re* (?) > OY O {Mat.} *кире* or *кирье* ({IN *ki̯re*} 'knife' ¶ It. no. 398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97, IN HDY 213, IN UJ 306, ≈ IN UJ 228 || A *gir̥u̯- 'cut, carve, shear' > Tg *giri̯- 'cut out, cut out cloth for dressmaking' > Ewk *gir̥-*, Lm *gir̥-*, Neg *gī̯- ~ gi̯y-*, Orc *gī̯- ~ gi̯yi*, Ud *gī̯-*, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/LU *giri̯-* id., WrMc {Z} *гирн-* v. 'trim; cut off (grass, branches)' ¶ STM I 153-4, On. 107, Z 337, Bz. 21-2 (*g̥rl̥-), S AJ 224 [no. 280] (*giri̯-) || M **gur̥- ⇨ [1] M *gur̥i̯bi- n. 'cutting' > WrM {BMR} *горби* n. 'carving', HIM *гурви* {Luw., BMR} 'резьба, нарез', Brt *гурьба* n. 'cutting, cutting into pieces (резка, нарезка)', Kl {Rm.} *gúr̥wi* 'Ornament, eingeschnittenes Basrelief', *gór̥wi* 'Zierate, Ornamente (auf Silber und andere Metallen)' ¶ BMR I 463, Luv. 127, Chr. 161. KW 152, 156 | [2] (× N *g̥o'R̥Hw̥V 'to pound, to scrape' or sim.): WrM *гуранзу* 'whetstone', HIM *гуранз* {MED} id.,

{BTM} 'точило, наждак' ¶ MED 369, Luv. 127, BMR I 463 || pJ *kìr- 'cut' > OJ k̄ir-, MJ k̄ir-, J T k̄ír-, J K/Kg k̄ir- ¶ S AJ 272 [#194], S QJ no. 194, Mr. 704, 709, Kenk. 974 || ? pT *°K̄i_L;_Jr- > MT [IM] k̄i¹r- 'cut off, clip' ¶ Cl. 643 ¶¶ The vw. *-u- in pM *gur- may be due to regr. as., hence the most probable pA rec. is *ḡiru- ¶¶ SDM 556-7 (pA *ḡi_Ló_r | r̄o > Tg, M + unc. pJ *kár- 'shear, mow' [going back to N *k̄āRt∇ 'cut', q.v.]), DQA no. 528, S AJ 288 [no. 297] (pA *ḡir∇ > pJ *kir-, T, Tg) || D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ ({ǂGS} *k-) 'shave, cut (with a sickle)' (partial coalescence with N *K̄ir¹X¹∇ 'scrape, scratch') > Tm c̄ir̄a_i 'shave, cut with a sickle', Ml c̄ir̄a 'shaving', Kn k̄ir̄i 'shave', Tu k̄ir̄ej̄un̄i 'cut (as straw, grass stumps)', Klm k̄er̄k-, Nk k̄er-, Mlt q̄é̄re- 'shave', ? Brh k̄ar̄ȳiṅ 'shear, crop down, mow down' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-R̄_L- and *-r¹X¹- ¶¶ Tm c̄ir̄āy 'get scratched', Ml c̄ir̄ekk̄a '(shave), scrape' and Kn k̄er̄e 'scratch' go back to N *K̄ir¹X¹∇ '↑' ¶¶ D no. 1564.

667. *ḡoR̄_L∇ ≈ hill, (small?) mountain' > HS: S: Tgr ḡ̄C̄ó ḡ̄3r̄f 'Bergkamm, mountain ridge' (hardly ← Tgr ḡ̄3r̄f 'neck, throat'), ??σ Ar ḡ̄ar(a)ḡ̄-at- 'monticule de sable, terrain sablonneux' (if 'monticule' is the primary meaning) ¶ LH 576, BK I 281 || C: [1] EC: Sml {DSI} ḡuro 'the highest point of sth., summit', Or {Ss} ḡ̄ōrr̄ō 'mount, small hill', {Th} ḡ̄ōr̄o 'elevazione, collinetta, terrapieno', {Brl.} ḡ̄oro 'terrapieno, mucchio, luogo elevato, collinetta' (Brl. did not indicate the length of vowels) || [2] C *ḡā¹r- (× N *ḡaRH̄ā 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point') > Ag: Q {R} ḡ̄ara 'rock' || EC: Or {Th.} ḡ̄āra (nom. ḡ̄ārr̄i) 'montagna, catena di montagni, altezza', {Grg.} ḡ̄āra 'mountain', Sd {Gs.} ḡ̄āra 'hill, small mountain' ¶ DSI 282, Ss. B 84, Th. 151-2, 173, Brl. 182, AD SF 61, Grg. 157, Gs. 175 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} ḡ̄ur̄á, Anf {Gt.} ḡ̄ur̄á, HzMa {Fl.} ḡ̄ura, Na {Fl.} ḡ̄^uara, Shk {Fl.} ḡ̄3ra 'mountain' ¶ ≈ Lm. Sh 311, Gt. 352, Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} ḡ̄îr̄í 'rock' (but EDng {Fd.} ḡ̄ir̄p̄i and Mgm {JA} ḡ̄ûr̄b̄ú 'rock' are plausibly cognate with S *√gr̄b 'rock, highland') || ? CCh: Gdr {Srp.} ḡ̄ir̄m̄āa, {Mch.} ḡ̄arm̄a 'mountain' ¶ ChC s.v. 'mountain' and 'rock', JA LM 89 || K: GZ *ḡ̄ōra- 'small mountain, hill' > G ḡ̄ora, Mg ḡ̄ola- ~ ḡ̄vala- 'mountain', Lz ḡ̄ola- 'summer roaming place' ¶ K 64, K² 31-2 || IE: NaIE *°ḡ̄_L^ω_{JL}h_Ler- (att. in BSI) 'mountain', ? 'forest' (× N *kur̄_L∇h_L∇ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd. × N *ḡ̄uR̄∇ 'forest') > pSl *ḡ̄o¹ra (accus. *ḡ̄ōr̄o, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS ḡ̄opa ḡ̄ora, R, Uk ḡ̄o¹pa, SCr ḡ̄ōra, Cz, HLs ḡ̄ora, P, LLs ḡ̄óra id., Slv ḡ̄óra id., 'mountain forest', Blg ḡ̄o¹pa 'forest,

wood(s)', Slk *hora* id., 'woody mountain' | Lt *girià*, Lt Z *gìrè*, Ltv † *dzir̃a*, *dzire* 'forest, wood(s)' ¶ ESSJ VII 29-31, StSS 174, Vs. 438, Frn. 153 ◇ Cp. FP **kur*∇ 'hill, steep slope' and D **kur*- ({{GS}} **k*-) 'hill country' (both most probably from N **kur*∇*h*∇ '†') ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 111d (suggesting to add Shn, Anf, Dng and Mgm), ≈ Blz. KM 133-4 [no. 7], ≈ Blz. LNA no. 17 (*÷ OSA ✓ *grb* 'campus montanus, saxum', M and pJ words for 'stone').

668. (₂?) **g*∇*Ræ*∫*û* (= **g*∇*Ræ*∫*û*?) '≈ to fell, to strike; to fall in' > IE: NaIE **gʰrēu*-/**gʰrau*-/**gʰrū*- 'fall upon, attack, assail' > Gk χράω, Gk Hm ἔχρα(ν)ε 'fall upon, attack, assail' || L *ingru*-*ō*-, -*ere* 'fall upon, assail' || Lt *griáuti* (pres. *griájū*) 'to bring\throw down, to overthrow; to tear down, to demolish', Ltv *gr̃aû*t (pres. *gr̃aûjū*, p. *gr̃â*∇*u*) 'to destroy, to wreck', Lt *griúti* (pres. *griū*∇*u*) 'to fall (down), to crash\tumble down, to fall in', Ltv *gr̃ū*t 'to collapse, to break down' ¶ ≈ WP I 647-8, ≈ P 460, F II 1114-15, WH I 700-1, Frn. 171 || HS: S **o*✓*gr*∫ > Ar عرج ✓ *ǧr*∫ *Gt* 'break (a piece of wood)', *Sh* (ʔaǧrafa) 'fall' ¶ BK I 280 || EC: Sml N {Abr.} *garā*∫- 'hit', 'beat (a drum)', Sml {ZMO} *garā*∫- 'knock, beat, thrash' ¶ DSI 25, Abr. S 87, ZMO 154 || ?ϕ K: G *ngr*- 'destroy (a building); fall in' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 977 ¶ In G *ngr*- the initial *n* is strill to be explained ◇ If G *ngr*- belongs here, the N rec. is with *∫ (**g*∇*Ræ*∫*û*). otherwise it is with *∫.

669. (*id.*?) ≈ **g*E*rH*∇ 'to belch, to eruct' > HS: B [1] **o*✓*gr*∫ 'belch' > Ah *ágr*i v. 'belch', Ah *ta-ǧray*-t (pl. *ti-ǧraīn*) ~ *tuǧray*t (pl. *tuǧraīn*), Gh *ta-ǧray*-t (pl. *č̣i-ǧrain*) n. 'belch, eructation'; [2] ? *id.* eB **o*✓*gr*∫ > †→ Ar Mgr ✓*gr*∫ 'belch' (in Ar Mrc {DMA} pf. *gerrā*∫ 'cause to belch', pf. *tgerra*∫ 'v. 'belch, burp') †→ Kb {Dl.} ḡḡarǧa∫, {NZ} ḡḡurra∫, BMn {Bs.} *gurra*∫, Izd {Mrc.} *garra*∫, Shl/CM/Fgg/Shw/Mz {NZ} ✓*gr*∫, CA *gurra*∫, Zng {NZ} *agarra*∫ v. 'belch' ¶ Fc. 483, Dl. 273, DMA I 44, 167, NZ 899, 903 ¶ The root is likely to originate in eB (at the time when *∫ still existed in B) or have its *∫ due to onomatopoeia || ECh: Ke {Eb.} ḡḡrḡí v. 'belch', Smr {J} ḡḡrsá, Mkl {J} ḡḡrè id. ¶ Eb. 50, ChC s.v. 'belch' || U: FU **ker*∇- 'belch, ruminant' > Prm **gör*ǧ- ({{LG}} **gör*ǧ-) 'belch' > Z *гордзъöd*- *gorǧ*zd-, Yz 'gurǧót-, Vt *гурзъыны* *gurǧ*-, Vt B *gör*ǧ-, Vt SW *gür*ǧ- id. || Vg: T *kērkañtākt*-, LK *kerā*t- 'belch', Sg *kēra*t- id., 'ruminant' | Hg *kér*ódz- 'ruminant' ¶ UEW 151, MF 354, LG 78 || A ≈ **k'āk*'Er- 'belch' > T **k'āk*ir- (or **k_āk*ir-) id. ({{Md.}} *k'āk*ir- = {{Md.}} **k'ēk*ir-) > OT *kāg*ir- ~ *kāk*ir-, OT Kr *kek*ir-, MT {PC} *geg*ir-, {MA}

kekir-, Tk gegir-, Ggz gīr-, Tkm gāvir-, Az кәжир- gäyir-, Xlj {DT} gāgür-, VTt, Bsh кикер- kiky-, Qzq кекір-, Uz kekī(r)- & kekiy-, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg kekir-, StAlt kegir-, Tv кегир- kevir-, Xk кигір- kigir-, SY kekirt-, Yk кәҗәрт- kevert- (with shortening *ā̄ > e in a polysyllabic stem?), Chv какәр- kaḡr- id. ¶ Cl. 712, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 37, TkR 239, Jeg. 85, Ash. VI 23, Fed. I 213, Jeg. 85, ChVS 65, Md. 35, DT 117 || M *kekere- 'belch, eruct' > MM [MA], WrM {MED} kekere- id., HIM хәхрә- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'eruct', Brt хәхәр-, Kl {KRS} кекр- кекыр- id., {Rm.} kekṛ- 'rülpsen, aufstoßen' ¶ Pp. MA 213, MED 446, BMR IV 228, Chr. 654, KRS 290, KW 223 || Tg *keker- v. 'eruct' > Ul кәхәрзәц-, Nn кәрзәц- id., WrMc {Z} кәхәрә- id., 'hiccup' ¶ STM I 445, Z 266 || ??φ on. pKo *kài'ò- 'vomit' > MKo kài'ò-, NKo keu- id. ¶ Nam 29, MLC 109 ¶¶ SDM 633-4 (pA *kāk'i v. 'belch, choke' > M, T, pKo + unc. Tg *каха- 'choke'), S VL 200 (pA *kāk'ir∇) ¶¶ The pA root ≈ *kāk'Er- may be explained by rdp. and as.: reduplicated *gErH∇-gErH∇ > **gErHgErH∇ > **gErk'ErH∇ (*Hg > *k') > (regr. as.) *kErk'Er∇ > *kāk'Er∇ (loss of *r with Ersatz-dehnung) || ?? on. D: Kn ḡar_r_a (sound in imitation of loud belching), Tl ḡar_r_u (sound produced in belching) ¶¶ Kn, Tl a < N *ā̄, unless this word is an independent onomatopoeia ¶¶ D no. 1401.

670. *goRho 'be\become big\long, grow' > IE *gʰreH^ω-/*gʰrH₂^ω- > NaIE *gʰrō-/*gʰrā- 'grow, become green' > ON gróa, OHG gruoen 'to flourish, to grow', OSx grōian 'grünen', AS ʒrōwan 'to grow', NE grow] ⇨ ON græn-n, NNr, Dn grøn, Sw grön, OHG gruoni, NHG grūn, OFrs grēne, OSx grōni, AS ʒrēne 'green', NE green] + ext.: (× N *gi?'o'r∇ 'grass') AS ʒræd 'grass' || L herba 'springing vegetation, green plant, weed'] ?? WGmc *grauṭa- 'big' > AHG groz, NHG groß, OSx grōt, Dt groot, AS ʒrēat id., NE great ¶¶ WP I 645-6, P 454, Vr. 190, 192, KM 268, 272-3, 275, Schz. 154-5, Kb. 413, Ho. 137-9, Ho. S 28-9, Fs. 220, WH I 639-40 || HS: S (+ext.) *°✓grhm > Ar جرّهم, ḡirhām- 'huge' (of a camel), 'huge camel', ḡurāhim- 'big, huge' ({Fr} 'magnus', {BK} 'gros, corpulent') ¶ Fr I 271, BK I 284 || B *-Hgur- (> *-:g^ω∇r) 'be bigger than', ?? B *°✓grw 'be much\many' > Kb {Dl.} aj^ωar (3m pf. yuj^ωar), Sll {Ds.} ag^ωar (3m pf. yūḡar), Ah {Fc.} aḡar, Izn, Rf {Rn.} aḡar v. 'surpass', Tmz {MT} aḡar (pf. uḡar), ASgr {MT} aḡar id., 'be older\ bigger, be more numerous, be better', ETwl {GhA} aḡar (3m pf. oḡr) 'être plus grand que, être supérieur à', Gd {Lf.} āḡar (3m pf.

yū́ger) 'l'emporter sur, surpasser, être plus grand que', Ntf {Dray} agur
 (3m pf. yuger) 'surpasser', Zng {TC} pf. yuger 'être plus grand', ?? Izn
 {Rn.} yarru ({Rn.} ✓grw) 'be much\many' ¶ Fc. 468, GhA 56, 246 (on
 Pcj. I A 3), Rn. 352, MT 162-3, Dl. 267-8, Ds. 270, Lf. I 255 and II no.
 O524, Dray 452, DCTC 289 (fn. 29), NZ 846-8 || Ch: [1] *✓gr v.
 'surpass' > WCh: BT {Stl. VZCh} *gar- id. > Krkr {Lk.} gar-, {ChL} gîrân,
 g̃ru-, Ngm {ChL} gîrá, {Nw.} garan id. || ECh: Kwn {Lk.} garáte 'big' | [2]
 Ch *g∇r- 'long' > WCh: Ngm {ChC} g̃râ, Bl {IL} garan 'long', Kry {Sk.} g̃r
 'long (a long time)' | CCh: Nz {ChL} g̃r, Bcm {ChC} g̃rêg̃rê 'long' ¶ Stl.
 VZCh no. 71, Stl. VZCh B no. 93, JS 257, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'big', ChC s.v.
 'long' and 'long, a long time', ChL || K *°gwar- > G gvar- 'wachsen,
 gedeihen' ¶ Chx. 189 || A: Tg *gora 'far', 'long' (of time) > Ewk goro, Lm
 gor, Orc, Ud gō, Nn Nh/Bk/KU goro, WrMc {Z} ropo id., Sln goro 'far' ¶
 STM I 161-2, On. 115, Z 345-6 || ??σ M: MM gür [HI] {Lew.} 'universel,
 général, vaste, grand', {Ms.} 'universel, entier, multitude', [S] {H}
 'universal, allgemein, sämtlich, gesamt', ?σ WrM gür ~ güre {MED}
 'crowd of people; cavalry; brigade', HIM {MED} ryp id., {BMR} 'crowd
 of people; state', Brt rypэ(н) 'state' ¶ H 52, Ms. H 58, MED 391, BMR I
 375, Lew. II 39, Chr. 166, Rs. W 319 ¶ The M cognate may be valid only if
 Lewicki's interpretation as 'vaste, grand' is justified || ?σ T *kür > Tk
 gür, Az, Chg, Tkm gür, Kr kür, Qmq kür id., VTt/Bsh kör 'courageous,
 stout-hearted', Qrg kür 'powerful', Tv xür 'healthy, well-fed', Yk kür
 'wide, broad', Chv L кёр 'thick; stout-hearted', Chv L кёре, Chv H кёрё
 'fest (крепкий; прочный), strong', OT {Cl.} kür 'stout-hearted,
 courageous' ¶ Rs. W 310-11, Cl. 735, ET KQ 106, Ash. VII 275-6, 287,
 Fed. I 277-8, ChVS 84-5 || D ?φ *kar- ({†GS} *k-) > Tm karu māy
 'strength, greatness', Ml karu, karu 'stout, hard', Kn kara, karu
 'greatness, abundance, power', Tl karamu 'much, great, very' ¶¶ D no.
 1287 ◇ IE *h^ω, S *h and D *-r- (regularly from N *-RH- rather than
 from N *-r- between vowels) point to the presence of a lr. in the N
 etymon ◇ A hypothetical connection between this N etymon and N
 *gar^{r̥}i 'old' may be suggested only if one can explain away the
 discrepancy created by the difference between the laryngeals and the
 final vowels involved ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA no. 13 (N *gori 'long, far, high' > Ch,
 A, WGmc *÷ K *gr̥ze]- 'long' [see N *gaRž∇ '≈ to stretch'], FV *korka
 'high' [see N *ĶâRĶub|p∇ 'top, summit']).

671. *gārĥ ▽ 'try to obtain, wish, need' > **HS:** WS *✓grĥ > Ar جرح ✓gĥrĥ 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)', {Ln.} 'apply oneself with art and diligence to get\obtain\gain\acquire', Ar D {L←?} Ar جرح ✓gĥr G (mt.) 'emporter', Sq {L} ✓grĥ G 'ramasser' ¶ BK I 275, Ln. 405, L LS 115 || **IE** *g^her₁h_x- > Ht kar-i(ya)- 'be gracious towards, gratify', Ht kargaranti 'readily, willingly, eagerly' (acc. to Ts., a fossilized dat.-loc. of a prtc. from *kar-kar- with intensive rdp.; according to Pv. ← Lw sg. ntr. pres. prtc. [in -anti-] of *kar-kar-) || NaIE *g^her₁a₁-, {EI} *g^hor-(ye/o)- 'desire' > OI ✓har-: 'haryati 'yearns for, likes, is fond of', ? Av zara- 'striving, aim' (if this semantic interpretation of the word is valid) || Gk χαίρω v. 'rejoice', χάρις 'grace, favour' || Um heri 'vult', HERIEST 'volet', L horior, hor(i)tor v. 'urge on, incite' || OHG girī 'greediness, covetousness, ambition', NHG Gier n. 'wish, desire', Gt gairnei (· προθυμία, ἐπιπόθησις) 'Wunsch, Begeh'r'; OHG ger 'covetous, greedy' ({Schz.} 'verlangend, begierig nach'), gerno 'voluntarily, greedily', NHG gern(e) adv. 'willingly, gladly, with pleasure', ON gjarn, AS zeorn 'desirous, eager', Gt gairnjan (· ἐπιποθεῖν, ἐπιθυμεῖν) 'begehren, gelüsten', ON girna, OHG gerōn 'to desire, to wish, to strive to', NHG begehren 'to covet, to desire', AS ziernan id., 'to yearn', NE yearn ¶¶ Pv. IV 80-1, 89, Ts. E I 511, Frd. HW 101, P 440-1, EI 158, M K III 583, M E II 804, F II 1062-5, WH I 657-8, Bc. G 336, Fs. 186, Kb. 327-9, 369, Schz. 150-1, KM 60, 250, 257, Vr. 168, 170, Ho. 127, 129 || **U** *karma- v. 'want, wish' > Er/Mk karma- v. 'want, intend' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} χαρῶα- v. 'wollen, Lust haben, mögen', En X {Cs.} κόμα, B {Cs.} κομα- v. 'want', Ng {Cs.} karbutu- id., Mt {HL.} *karznžzr- (or *harznžzr-?) 'want' (Mt: M {Sp.} харындржэргамъ 'I want') ¶¶ Coll. 22, UEW 128, Cs. 304, Hl. M #429 || ?φ,σ **A:** NaT *k^hærgæ- ~ *k^hæraek- (or *k_hærgæ- ~ *k_hæraek-) 'be necessary' > OT {Cl.} kargä- 'be deficient (?), be worthy (?)', OOSm كركمك k^he^hr^hg^hek-, Tk gerek-, CrTt, Nog kerek-, SbTt kārāk- 'be necessary'] ⇨ NaT *k^hærgæ-k 'necessary', 'necessity' > OT {Cl.} kargäk id., Tk gerek, Az кәрәк gārāk, Tkm герек gerek 'is necessary', 'necessity', Qmq gerek, CrTt, Qry Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, SY kerek, Bsh kārāk 'is necessary', Blq, StAlt kerek id., 'need'; T ⇨ M: WrM kereg {MED} 'need, necessity', 'thing' (abstr.), 'matter'. HIM хэрэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'business, activities (дело, занятие, деятельность)',

'event, case, fact' \rightarrow : Tv $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa$, StAlt $kerek$, Xk $kirek$, Yk $kere\chi$
 'business, matter' ¶ Bsh and SbTt point to a NaT *ä of the first syll. ¶ Cl.
 742-3, Rs. W 256, ET VGD 25-7, TvR 475, MED 455-6, BMR IV 222-3 ||
 ?σ D (att. in SD) *kar- ({{ǧGS} *k-) 'aim at, intend, think, point' > Kn
 $karu$ v. 'point, aim at', Tm $karutu$ v. 'intend', Kt $kart$ 'purpose, aim
 strenuously striven for' ¶ D *-r- < N *-rĥ- ¶ D #1283 ◇ Ar ĥ and Ht
 zero point to N *ĥ. The absence of traces of the lr. in NaIE is still
 puzzling. But cf. NaIE * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1er\bar{a}$ - 'look' (see N * $\overset{\circ}{g}'\bar{u}'r\bar{a}$ 'look, look for').
 U *a in the first syll. of *karma- is likely to be due to vw. harmony: eU
 *kärma- > U *karma- ◇ ≈ Gr. II #93 (*keri 'desire') (IE, U, A, Ai, EA).

672. * $\overset{\circ}{g}ur_1E_1w\bar{a}$ (T∇) 'young (carnivorous) animal' > HS: S (or WS)
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}ur_1i_1w$ - id. > BHb $\gamma\bar{u}r$ 'cub (of a lion, a jackal etc.)', JPA $\gamma\bar{u}r$
 'cub', JEA $\gamma\bar{u}r$, Sr $\overset{\circ}{g}ur$ -ā 'young lion', Ar $\overset{\circ}{g}urw$ -
 'young carnivore', 'cub', ?φ,σ Ak LB $girru$ 'lion' ¶ KB 177, KBR 185, GB
 125, BK I 283, AD V 94 || B: Rf Bq a-garrud 'young partridge', SrSn
 $awarrud$ 'young of an animal' ¶ Rn. 352, NZ 866 || A: NaT *Kürt- 'wolf'
 > OT, OUg MOg, Chg xv $qurt$, XwT $qurd$, Tk $kurt$, Tkm $gürt$, Az $gurd$,
 CrTt {Rs.} $qurt$, XT $gurt$ \neq $gurt$ \neq $gört$ \neq $gört$, Bsh $\Delta qört$ 'wolf', Ggz $kurt$
 'predator' ¶ Cl. 648, DTS 203, Rs. W 303, ≈ ET Q 167-8, ≈ TL 160 (unc.:
 ← *kurt 'worm' as an Og tabuistic replacement; in fact, the word is
 present in different ds of OT and in different branches of NaT, within
 proper names and in the totem name $idi qurt$ ['lord-wolf'] of ancient
 Turks, see TL 643), DH ChT s.v. $gurt$ || D {tr.} *kur- ~ {tr., GS} *kur-
 'young of an animal' (× N * $\overset{\circ}{k}ur_1y\bar{a}$ 'young of an animal, child', q.v. ffd.)
 ¶¶ D *-r- in *kur- belongs to the heritage of N * $\overset{\circ}{k}ur_1y\bar{a}$ ◇ O HSN 121 (N
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}UyR\bar{a}$ 'wild [animal]' > HS * $\overset{\circ}{g}\bar{a}r$ - 'young animal, dog' + err. IE [{AD}
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1w\bar{e}r$ - 'wild animal'] and A [{AD} * $\overset{\circ}{g}UR\bar{E}$ - 'deer, wild herbivorous
 animal'], which goes back to N {AD} * $\overset{\circ}{g}\bar{u}R\bar{a}$ 'beast']).

673. ?σ (₂?) * $\overset{\circ}{g}'o'R\bar{a}Hw\bar{a}$ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}h_1\bar{g}hr\bar{a}u$ - 'scrape, rub away' > Gk $\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ * (att.: ipf. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$, cnj. aor.
 $\chi\rho\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta$) v. 'scrape, graze, wound slightly' || ON $grjón$ 'groats, flour'
 (< *'ground corn'), Far $grón$, $grún$, NNr $grjon$, Dn, Sw $grun$ 'groats'
 ¶ ≈ P 460-2 (* $\overset{\circ}{g}hr\bar{e}u$ -/* $\overset{\circ}{g}hr\bar{a}u$ -/* $\overset{\circ}{g}hr\bar{u}$ - reconstructed due to adduction of
 highly qu. cognates and stem variants with extensions), Vr. 190, F II
 1115-16, 1120-1 || U: FU * $\overset{\circ}{k}'o'r\bar{a}$ - 'scrape, whet, rub' (× N
 * $\overset{\circ}{g}or\bar{a}b|p\bar{a}$ 'scratch, scrape', q.v. ffd.) || A: M (× N * $\overset{\circ}{g}iR\bar{a}$ 'to cut'):

WrM {MED} гуранзу, HIM гуранз {MED} whetstone', {BMR} 'точило, наждак' ¶ MED 369, BMR I 463.

674. *guR'X'a 'antelope, male antelope' > HS: C {AD} *√gʷr'h¹ > Bj {R} гаруа 'das Männliche von Agazen \ der Kuhantilope' ||| EC: Sd {Gs.} guruʔm-iččo (pl. guruʔme) id., 'gazelle, roe' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} gʷarēh, {Wh.} gʷarêhi, Grw {Fl.} gʷeraʔahi, Alg {Fl.} gʷeraʔai, gʷarehe 'dik-dik antelope', Brn {Fl.} gʷereha 'decula antelope' ¶ AD SF 72-3, R WBd 102, Wh. DI, MQK 43, Fl. p.c., Gs. s.v. guruʔm-iččo || NrOm: Wl/Dwr {C} gārā id. ¶ C SO 30, Blz. OL no. 157 || Ch: WCh: Gmy žirri ~ žirri 'roe', Ngz {Sch.} gərəfìyà 'e antelope' ||| CCh: Bdm ḡǵrì, Lgn (Lk.) garia 'antelope' ||| ECh: Kwn {J} žármā id. ¶ Sch. DN s.v. gərəfìyà, Hf. AG, ChC s.v. 'antelope' ||| **A** *gūran or *guran (× N *gūr∇ 'beast') > M *gura(n) (= *gūra(n)?) 'antelope', {STM} 'roebuck' > MM гура {IS ← ?} 'e hornless antelope', WrM гура(n) {MED} 'roebuck, wild goat', HIM гур {MED} id., {BMR} 'male roe', {Gl.} '(male) saiga (a sheeplike antelope *Saiga tatarica*)', Brt гур(а(н)) 'male roe', Kl Ö {Rm.} guru 'Rehbock, eine männliche Antilope, Saiga', Ord gūrur 'cheval svelte'; M → Ewk S gūran 'wild goat'; the length of pM *u is suggested by the loanword in Ewk ¶ MED 368, BMR I 462, Gl. II 230, KW 155, Chr. 160, Ms. O 316 || pKo {S} *kòrání > MKo kòrání 'deer, elk', NKo korani 'elk' ¶ S QK no. 271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. AEN 16 (suggesting that Ko is a loan from pChK *qoraŋi 'reindeer') ¶ S QK no. 271, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125, Choy 902-3, Vv. AEN 16 (on the ev. of Ko Δ korani & koreŋi & koreŋ Vv. suggested that the Ko word is a loan from pChK *qoraŋi 'reindeer') ¶¶ SDM 574-5 (pA *gú|óri|e or *gú|óri|e > M, Ko + unc. Tg *gurm∇ 'hare' and *gurn∇ 'squirrel' [{AD} from N *gūr∇ 'beast', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 572 (id.), Yu 63, MLC 138, Rm. SKE 125 ||| **D** *kuṛ- ({{GS} *k-) 'e deer, antelope' > Ml kūrān 'hog deer', Klm kori, Prj kuri, Ku kurhu & kruhu & kluhu 'antelope', Gdb kuruy 'deer', Gnd kurs 'deer, antelope', Kui kruhu & krusu 'barking deer, jungle sheep'; D → OI kurariga- 'e antelope', 'antelope\deer (in general)' ¶¶ D no. 1785 ¶¶ D *-r- suggests an original cns. cluster (*-R'X¹-) ◇ IS I 234-5 [no. 90]. Cf. N *korê ≈ e deer, antelope' and N *gūr∇ 'beast' (≈ Gr. II 8: *gura '[wild] animal') ◇ AD NM no. 36, Vv. AEN 16 (doubts about the Ko reflex), S CNM 6-7 (÷÷ Sino-Tibetan, Yeniseyan; Starostin suggested a different interpretation of M *gūra, equating it with pTg *ḡūr 'male' [of

small wild animals] and probably with T *uri 'male child, son' < pA *ɲura [*ɲ- > *g regularly]).

675. *gor▽b|p▽ 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g^hreb^h- id., 'dig' > Gt graban (· σκάπτειν) 'graben', ON grafa 'to dig', AS zrafan, OHG graban 'to dig, to carve', NHG graben, OSx gravan 'to dig' ||| Ltv grebt (pres. grebju) 'to carve, to hollow out, to scrape', greblis 'gouge, scraper', Lt grėb-ti 'to rake', greblỹs 'rake' || SI *greb- v. 'scrape, rake, dig, row' > OCS 1s pres. грѣбѣ grebq / inf. грѣти greti, R 1s pres. гре'бѣ / inf. гре'сти v. 'row', Blg гре'ба 'draw (liquid), dig, row', SCr 1s pres. grėbēm / inf. grėpsti 'scrape, scratch', Slv 1s pres. grėbem / inf. grėbsti 'dig, scratch', Cz 1s pres. hřebu / inf. hřebsti ~ hřesti 'bury', Slk 1s pres. hriebú / inf. hriebst' 'dig, rake up', P † grześć 'to bury'; -> SI *grebt (gen. *grebene) 'comb' > Blg 'гребен, SCr grėben, Slv grebēn, VCz hřeben, Slk hrebeň, P grzebień, R 'гребень, Uk 'гребінь id. ||| -> NaIE *g^hrob^h- (with sxs) 'pit' > Gt graba (· χάραξ) 'Graben', AS zrafu 'cave, grave', ON grqf id., 'pit', OSx graf, OHG grab 'grave, tomb', NHG Grab, AS zraef 'grave', NE grave ||| SI *grobь 'grave, pit' > OCS гробъ гробъ 'grave, sepulchre', {StSS} 'могила, склеп, гробница', Blg гроб 'grave, tomb', SCr grōb, Cz, Slk hrob, P grób, Uk гріб 'grave', Slv grōb id., 'pit for potatoes', R гроб 'coffin' ¶ WP I 653-4, P 455-6, EI 159, Fs. 218-19, Vr. 184, 193, Ho. 135-6, Ho. S 28, Kb. 403-4, Schz. 153, KM 266, Kar. I 310-11, Frn. 165-6, ESSJ VII 109-13, 133-4, StSS 178, Glh. 245-9 ||| HS: WS *✓grp (prm. *-grup-) 'sweep away, (?) scrape' > BHb ✓grp G (ip. yī-'grōp) {BDB} 'sweep away', Ar ✓ǧrf جرف G (ip. yaǧrufu) id., MHb, JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓grp G 'scrape, sweep', JEA {Sl.} G 'rake (an oven), scrape clean', Ar SL جرف ✓ǧrf G vt. 'rake up', Mh {Jo.} ✓grf G (pf. gṣrōf, sbjn. yṣgrēf), Jb E/C ✓grf G 'sweep \ muck out', {DRS} 'balayer' ¶ Hv. 86, BK I 280, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 124, BDB 175, Js. 272, Sl. 305, ≈ DRS 190-1 ||| U: FU *k^or w▽- 'scrape, scratch, rub' (× N ? *g^or w▽H w▽ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim., q.v.) > F kar v i- 'scrape, scratch, rub, polish' || Prm {LG} *kur- (or *kEr-) 'scrape, rake (out, together)' > Vt kuryar i-, Vt Ur kúrjal-, Vt B ko'ryal- ({JLG} kErjal-) 'scrape, eat the rest of the food', Z kur-av- 'scrape\rake out, gather, eat the rest of the food', kurt- v. 'rake (hay), kuran n. 'rake' ||| Vg MK karśal- '(mit der Angel kratzend) umhertappen,

(mit dem Hamen im Teiche) durch das Wasser ziehen (um Fische zu fangen)' | Hg Δ horol-, hurul- 'rub, whet, scratch' ¶ F -i- in karvi-, Prm *-al, *-yal-, Vg -śal- and Hg -l- are sxs of frequentativity ¶ UEW 188-9, MF 302-3, LG 146, Ht. no. 239 || D *kōr- v. 'scratch' > Kn gōr_u id., Tm kōr_ai 'a scratch (as on the body)', Tl kōr_a vt. 'scrape with a grater, scratch', Kui grōpa / p. grōt- vt. 'claw, scratch' ¶¶ D no. 2257 ¶¶ The length of *ō is due to the loss of *w in the cluster **rw (Ersatzdehnung). The ancient cns. *r changed to D *r̥ after the loss of *w || A: Tg *gerbe- v. 'clean trunks from boughs, prepare perches (incl. those used in building a tent)' > Ewk g3rb3- id., Lm g3rb3n- 'prepare perches from trunks', Ork g3lb3n- id., 'cut (sticks, boughs)', Neg g3yb3- 𐌆 g3db3- 'go to prepare perches', Orc g3bb3- 'prepare perches', Nn g3rb3- 'make perches by cutting trunks, prepare rods, cut twigs' ¶ STM I 181, On. 138-9 ¶ The unexpected vw. *e of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ◇ IE, D and possibly U point to N *b, while S suggests N *p, and Tg data are ambiguous. This discrepancy is still to be explained.

676. *gaRŪ'ĉ¹a 'crush, break into pieces' (or *g∇RŪŝ|ĉ∇ 'crush') > HS: WS *√grŝ 'crush, crumble' > Ar جرش √ğršš (pf. ġarašša, ip. -ğrišš- ~ -ğrušš-) v. 'bray, bruise (wheat, salt)' (-> جارشة ġāriššat- n. 'hand mill for groats'), BHb 𐤂𐤓𐤋 √grs G 'be ground', (→) 'languish', 𐤂𐤓𐤋𐤁𐤎 wayya-g¹res 'caused (teeth) to grind' (𐤂s < ŝ in late BHb), IA {HJ} √grs D 'grind', JA/MHb {Js.} √grs D 'crush, split, grind', SmA √grs G 'crush, mash', Sr √grs G (pf. gə'res) 'be broken into pieces, be shattered\ crumbled', JEA, Sr √grs D 'break into pieces', Amh √g^wrs (pf. (a)g^werresə) 'make coarsely ground flour', Gz d. ġārŝā 'soft or powdery food'; -> CS (or WS?) *'gar_l∇_lŝ- 'crushed grain' > BHb 𐤂𐤓𐤋𐤁𐤎 'ğεrεŝ 'crushed grain, groats', Sr gār's-ā {JPS} 'meal, flour', SmA grs 'crushed grain'; -> CS *garīŝ- 'ground' > Ar جريش ġarīšš- 'coarsely ground, roughly milled (wheat); groats', MHb 𐤂𐤓𐤋𐤁𐤎 gə'rīš 'groats', JA 𐤂𐤓𐤋𐤁𐤎 garīš-ā id., 'crushed beans' ¶ KB 195-6, KBR 203-4, HJ 235, Sl. 304, Js. 270-1, Tal 159, Fr. I 266, Hv. 85, HJ 235, JPS 72-3, L G 203, DRS 192-3 || IE: NaIE *g^hreus-/ *g^hrouš- vt. 'crush, break into pieces' > Sl *grušiti 'to crush, to pound' > SCr grúšiti 'to pound', Cz hrúšiti id., 'to crush', R Δ rpy'шитъ 'to destroy, to break, to break into pieces', Blg 'rpyша v. 'destroy'; Sl *gruša > Slv grúša 'coarse sand,

gravel', possibly Sl *gruxati > Blg **гpухам** vt. 'thresh (corn), pound (corn)', R Ps 'гpухать 'to rumple, to press in (мять, вминать)' || Gmc: MLG **grūns** 'broken stones' ¶ ESSJ VII 156-7, ≠ 155, ≠ P 405-6 || **А**: Tg: WrMc {Z} **гарчжа-** vi. 'fall to pieces, burst, break into pieces (трескаться, растрескиваться, разбиваться вдребезги, разламываться, портиться)' ¶ STM I 141, Z 312 || Cf. also (??) T: OT **qirčat-**, **qirčal-** 'hit and split' (< N ***Ḳ'i'RûCâ** 'to strike', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 647 ◇ If the Tg cognate is rejected, the N rec. must be ***g∇Rûš|č∇**.

676a. ₂ ≈ ***g∇Rć∇q∇** or ***g∇Rq∇ć∇** 'ε stinging insect' > K: GZ {K} ***grçq-il-** 'flea' > OG **grçgil-**, G (r)çgil-, G X **girçqil-**, M çqir-~çqzr-, Lz **mçķi(r)-**, **mçir-** id. ¶¶ ≈ K² 33 (G, Zan + unc. adduction of Sv **ziszq-** ~ **ziszq-** 'flea') || **HS**: CS ≈ ***g∇rķ∇s** > 'ε stinging insect' > Sr {DRS} **gargā's-ā** ~ **gargī's-ā** 'ε mosquito', Ar SL **ğirğis-** 'bedbug', ? Ar **qirqis-** 'ε petit moucheron' ¶ DRS 18, BK I 275 and II 723 || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} **garsī** 'clothing louse' ||| NOM: Gf {Blz. ← ?} **angarço** 'ε insect' ¶ Fl. OWL, Blz. KM 134 || Ch: CCh: Mlw {Trn.} **ηársâ**, Msg P {Trn.} **ηarsa** 'louse' ||| ECh: Kwn {J} **ηârsí**, Ll {Cp.} **ηgárssà**, Nd D {J} **~gársà**, Tmk {Cp.} **ηgírsà** ~ **ηgársà**, Skr {Lk.} **ηgírsa**, Mkl {J} **gèrsé** id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'louse', Trn. LDM 27, Trn. LM 109, Cp. 88, J LM 101 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 134 [no. 8] (incl. K, Om), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 10 (Om, Ch, K + unc. EC ***?azgir-** 'louse').

677. ***gäRd'ä** 'encircle, surround, fence in' > IE ***ǵherdh-** ~ ***ǵhṛdh-/** ***ǵhordh-**: **[1]** ***ǵherdh-** 'surround, encircle; a fence' > Lt **žárdiena** 'abgeschlossene Wiese um das Gerüst zum Erbsen-, Flachs- und Getreidetrocknen', **žar̃dis** {Frn.} 'Roßgarten, großer umzäunter Weideplatz', {DLKZ} 'aptverta vieta gyvuliams', **žárdas** 'cattle pen'; ? Lt **žárdas** 'grate for drying flax, peas and corn' and Ltv **zārd̃s** (pl. **zārdi**) 'Gestell, worauf Erbsen, Leinsamen usw. zum Trocknen aufgestellt werden', 'rack, стожары, вешала' (unless Lt **žárdas** and Ltv **zārd̃s** are loans from Sl [cp. P **žerdž**, Blr **жердзь**, R **жердь** 'pole, rod']), Pru **sardis** ([z-]) 'Zaun, umzäunter Raum' || Sl ***zordь** > R **Δ zo'pord** 'fenced place for a stack; stack' ||| Phr (Latinized) **-zordum** 'city, town' (in **Manezordum** and other names of settlements) ||| Gmc ***garda-s** (< IE ***ǵh|ǵherdh-** × IE ***ǵhordh-to-** 'encircled land' [f below **[3]**]) > Gt **gard̃s** (· **αὐλή, οἶκος, οἰκία**) 'Hof, Haus, Familie', OSx **gard** 'field' (pl. 'house'), ON **garðr** 'fence, hedge, courtyard', AS **zearð** id., 'enclosure', NE **yard**; ⇨ Gmc ***gardan** > Gt **garda** (· **αὐλή**) 'Hürde,

Viehhof' (Joh. 10.1: 'sheepfold'), OFrs *garda*, OHG *garto*, NHG *Garten*, OSx *gardo* 'garden'; Gmc \rightarrow OFr Nr *gardin* (\rightarrow NE *garden*), MFr *jardin* (\rightarrow Sp *jardín*, It *giardino*), Fr *jardin* 'garden' || Clt {Matas.} **gorto-* 'fence, inclosure, pen' > OIr *gort* 'field', W *garth* 'field, pen', OBr *-(o)tth* 'pen', MBr *garz id.*, Br {Hm.} *garzh* 'haie, clôture', Gl n. l. *Gorze*, **gortia* \rightarrow Fr Δ (Limousin) *gorsu* 'fence' || amb Ht *gurtā-* 'citadel, acropolis' (< **gh̥gʰr̥dʰo-* or **gh̥hor-to-*, see below [3]); the vw. *u* is puzzling ({Čop}: *gurtā-* < IE **gh̥ordʰo-* "mit Schwa secundum gerundeter Art") || [2] There is a variant NaIE stem **gh̥rdʰ-* / **gh̥ordʰ-* 'fence', v. 'enclose, fence' > OI *gr̥'ha-h̥* 'house', Av *gar̥əda-* 'cave of daēvas' || Lt *gar̃das* 'pen; fence, enclosure' || Sl **gorditi* 'to enclose, to fence' > OCS *градити graditi id.*, 'to build' ('οἰκοδομεῖν, κτίζειν, aedificare'), Blg *градя* v. 'build, erect, fence', SCr *grāditi* 'to make, to build', Slv *gradíti*, OR *goroditi*, R *горо'дить*, Uk *горо'дити* 'to enclose, to fence', P *gradzić* 'to enclose by a fence', Cz *hraditi id.*, 'to fortify', R *ого'родить* 'to fence in, to enclose'; SI **górdъ* (gen. **gor'da*) 'wall, enclosed settlement' (\rightarrow 'town, city', 'garden') > OCS *градъ gradъ* ('πόλις, κώμη) 'civitas, urbs', ('τεῖχος) 'Stadtmauer', ('κῆπος, παράδεισος) 'hortus, garden, Park' ({StSS} 'сад, парк'), Blg *град*, P † *gród*, R, Uk 'город' 'city, town', SCr, Slv *grād id.*, 'fortress', Cz *hrad*, P *gród* 'fortress, castle', Slk *hrad* 'castle', OR *городъ gorodъ* 'fence, fortress, city\town', Blg 'града, R Δ 'город' 'fence' || pAl {O} **garda* > Al T *gardh* 'wicker fence, fence' || ? Phr *-gordum* (in place names, like *Mannagordum* 'city of Manne') || [3] **gh̥gʰordʰ-to-* > NaIE **gh̥gʰor-to-* 'encircled land' (\times N **ge'ʕr̥r̥* 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place', q.v. ffd.) > Gk *χόρτος* 'enclosed place, farmyard' || L *hortus* 'garden', *cohors* / gen. *cohortis* 'an enclosure, yard (esp. for cattle, poultry)' (**kon-* + IE **gh̥r̥tis*) || Clt: Gl {Billy} **gorto-* 'enclos', **gortiā* 'haie' ({Wb.} \rightarrow Fr *gourse*, Prv Δ *gorsu* and place names), OIr *gort* 'seges' 'field', NIr *gort* 'field, corn field, garden', MW, W *garth* 'enclosure, garden', OBr {Flr.} *gortth* 'enclos' (in cds), Br *garzh* 'haie, clôture', Gl \rightarrow It Lm *gorz* 'sieve, cespuglio' ¶ *-to- in **gh̥ordʰ-to-* is a sx of pp., so that **gh̥ordʰ-to-* has the etl. meaning 'encircle+-ed' ¶ The loss of palatalization **gh̥rdʰ-* > **gh̥rdʰ-* may be due to the preconsonantal position (the morphophonemic sonant **r̥* has phonetic features of a cns.); the apophonic grade **gh̥ordʰ-* is an Ablaut from **gh̥rdʰ-* ¶¶ WP I 608-9, P

442-4, EI 199 (*^lg^hord^hos ~ *^lg^hortos 'fence, hedge; enclosure, pen, fold'), M K I 344, F II 1113-14, WH I 42-3, 660, LP § 64, SB 115, Dtn 260, Billy 84, Flr. 179, YGM-1 232, Hm. 310, Wb. fasc. IV 200-1, TF 129, Ho. S 24, Vr. 156, Fs. 197-8, Ho. 125, Ho. S 24, Kb. 319, Schz. 148, KM 233-4, O 110, Frn. 135-6, 1290-1, DLKZ 966, En. 242, Vs. II 105, ESSJ VII 35-8, Glh. 242-3, StSS 177, Ts. E I 658-60, Pv. IV 275-6, Čop IAU 15, Dv. no. 668, Matas. E 164-5 || **HS:** (mt.?) WS *^lgdr 'fence' > BHb גִּדְרֵי gā'dēr 'stone wall', JPA גִּדְרֵי gādēr-ā id., Ar جَدْرٌ ḡadr- 'wall (mur, muraille); enclosure, fence', d. ḡidār- (pl. ḡudr-, ḡudur-) 'mur, muraille', ds: جَدَارٌ ḡidār- id., جَدِيرٌ ḡadīr- 'enclosed by a wall', Mn {MA} ḡdr 'wall (mur), enclosure', Mh ḡīdōr, Jb E 'ḡi'dōr, Jb C 'ḡe'dōr 'wall, cairn, piled stones', Hrs ḡōdōr 'cairn, wall', Tgr {d'A} ḡudur 'parois de la hutte, mur de la maison', Tgy {LH} ḡidarō 'Schuppen aus Holz und Dornen für die Tiere'; Ar جَدْرٌ ḡdr (pf. ḡadara, ip. -ḡdur-) v. 'wall, enclose (sth.) in walls', Mh ḡdr (pf. ḡōdōr, sbjn. yḡdēr), Hrs ḡdr (pf. ḡōdōr), Jb E/C ḡdr (pf. 'ḡō'dōr) 'pile up stones, build a wall'; Pun *ḡadir → B: Ah a-gādir, Gh a-dažir (mt.), Sll {Ds.} a-gādir 'mur', Tmz {MT} a-gadir 𐤀 ayadir (pl. i-gudar-ḡ) 'mur, muraille' (the borrowing is suggested by the vocalism of the B form: full vowels for the expected *a in the inherited pB words, *see* La. MChB 3) ¶ KB 173-4, KBR 181, BK 263, MA 36, Jo. M 114, Jo. J 71, Jo. H 38, LH 600, DRS 102, Fc. 400, MT 447, NZ 734-5 || **A:** T *Kä:;rtā > Bsh kārtā 'fence, stall', VTt kirtā 'fence, cattle pen', SbTt Tō kirtā 'cattle pen', Chv карта kard_a 'fence, cattle pen, farmyard' ¶ TatR 258, Ash. VI 110-17, Fed. I 232 (unc.: Chv карта ← кар- v. 'fence' [in fact 'curtain off'] < T *ker- 'stretch'), Jeg. 91, ChVS 71, Tm. 99 ¶¶ But Sln *x3rj3 'kitchen garden' is hardly a genetic cognate (x- instead of the reg. ḡ-); it may be a loan from some T lge (< pT *Kārtā, cp. Bsh kārtā 'fence, stall', T → R Sb карта id.) or from Yk χαρῆαχ 'a fenced-in pasture' (*see* STM I 482, Pek. 3367) ◇ The cns. *ḡ^h for the expected *ḡ^h in the IE variant stem *ḡ^hrḡd^h- / *ḡ^hord^h- still requires explanation (in *ḡ^hrḡd^h-: loss of palatality in preconsonantal position?).

678. ₂ *ḡE|aRd▽ 'to plait, to tie, to gird (to wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE *^oḡ^h|ḡherd^h- v. 'gird' > Gmc: Gt bi-gaírdan and uf-gaírdan 'umgürten', ON gyrðá, AS zýrdan, NE girth, OHG gürten 'to gird', Gt gaírda (·[ὠνη]).'Gürtel', ON gjǫrð 'belt, girdle', d.: ON gyrðill, OHG gürtil ~ gürtel, NHG Gürtel, AS zýrdel 'girdle, belt', NE girdle ¶ ≈ WP I 608-9, ≈ P 444, EI 199 (*ḡ^herd^h- 'gird'

-d> *^hg^hord^ho-s 'fence, hedge, enclosure', see N *gärd∇ 'encircle, surround, fence in'), Fs. 90, 185-6, Vr. 171, 197, Ho. 140, Ho. S 24, Kb. 418, Schz. 156, KM 277 || HS: EC: Or B {Sr.} gurdā v. 'belt; sth. worn around the waist', Or Wl {Brl.} gurdā id. ¶ Sr. 317, Brl. 190 || ? CS *✓grd > MHb {Lv.} גרד ✓grd G 'weave', גרד גרד 'gered', JA {Lv.} גרד גרד gar'dā ~ גרד גרד gir'dā 'Faser\Franse eines Gewebes', Sr {Br.} גרד גרד gar'dā 'web (tela, textura)' ¶ In these forms there is contamination with Hb, JA, Sr v. ✓grd 'scrape, comb' (BHb גרד גרד hitgā'red 'scrape oneself'); Sr גרד גרד gardāyā'yā and JA גרד גרד gar'day ~ גרד גרד gir'day 'weaver' are contaminated with (or borrowed from) Gk ὑέρδλος ~ ὑερδλόγ 'weaver' ¶ KBR 202, Br. 132, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299 ◇ Cf. N *keRt∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait'.

679. *guR'k'U' 'throat' > HS: C: Ag *g^ωErK^ω∇m 'gullet, throat' > Bln {R} gūrgū'mā (pl. gūrkūm) id., 'Adam's apple', Knf {TBZAC} gurgum, Aw {Hz.} gurgóm, Dmt {CR, R} g^ωergem 'neck'; Ag ⇨ Tgy {Bsn.} גרג גרג g^ωerg^ωmma 'trachea' || Bj {R} 'gūrgūma 'Adam's apple; gullet, throat, Rachen' || EC: Sa {R} dūrgū'mā id., Af {R} gūrdū'mē 'gullet, throat' ¶ R WB 161, R WBd 101, R S II 114, R A II 60, Hz. NSA 139-40, Blz. CWL, Bsn. 872 || B *^o✓grgf > Tmz, CM {NZ} gərgəf 'swallow a big gulp of liquid' | B ḡ *g∇rgv^m > Si {Bs.} ta-gorgum 'gosier' (if not a misspelling for ta-goržumt), B (× AfR reflex of the VL *gūrga [accus. *gūrgam] 'gorge' [> Fr gorge 'throat', OIt gorga 'Kehle, Schlund']) ⇨ Ar Mgr {Bss.} قرجم q^ržm, {Dl., Beg.} garžuma ⇨ North Berber words for 'throat, oesophagus': Tmz a-garžum, Kb a-jaržum, ṭa-jaržum-ṭ, Wrg tkuržamt, Sll ageržum, Izd agaržum, Nf taguržama, Si tagaržumt; in view of the exact corr. of B **g∇rgv^m with Bj 'gūrgūma, Aw gurgóm etc. the VL word cannot be the only source of the North Berber word ¶ MT 166-7, Dl. 274, Dlh. M 63, Dlh. Ou 155, Ds. 143, La. S 244, Beg. 236, NZ 874, Dauz. 368, Kö. no. 4401 (VL *gūrga, *gūrgēs 'Strudel, Schlund, Gurgel'), ML no. 3921 || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gāgārāk 'throat' (× N *gūr^ʕE or *gūr^ʕ∇ 'throat, neck') ¶ Nt. 14 || U: FU *kur_lk_l∇ 'throat, neck' > F kurkk_u, Es kurk 'throat, gullet' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kurga > pMr {Ker.} *k^zrga ({Ker.} *k^zrga) 'neck' > Er кирьга kír^zga, Er Kal/Trb {Ps.} korga, Mk крга k^zrga id. | Prm *gūr^k 'hollow (in a tree trunk)' > Vt gīrk id., 'cavity', Z gīrk^sa 'having a hollow' (of a tree trunk), gīrk 'cavity within a body (e.g. abdominal cavity)' (μφ: 'throat'

→ 'entrance into a cavity', like Fr *gorge* in the meaning 'entrance into a flower' or 'entrance into a hollow in timber' [in carpentry]) || ? Sm: Ne T *xopaka* 'throat; neck opening of a garment (BopopT)', Ne T O {Lh.} *χōrak·ã* 'oberster Teil der Brust und unterster Teil des Halses; Kragen', Ne F {Lh.} *korrã·k·ã̃* 'oberster Teil der Brust', Koyb {Sp.} *кyрy* 'voice, shouting' ¶¶ IS I 235-6, ≈ Coll. 89, ≈ UEW 676, Ker. II 61, PI 130, ERV 266-7, Ps. M 86, LG 85, Ter. 771, Lh. 192-3 ¶¶ IS rejected the hyp. (shared by SK, Vr. and other scholars) about the NrGmc origin of F *kurkkū* and Es *kurk* (ON *kverk* would have yielded F **verkk*∇) ¶¶ Acc. to Jn [p.c.], the corr. between the FU and Sm vowels is irreg. || A: Tg **gôrka-kta* > Neg *gorkakta* ~ *gurkakta* 'palate', Ork *gojaqta* ~ *gojjoqta* 'uvula, root of the tongue' ¶ STM I 161 || Gil: Gil A *qorqr* / *χorqr* / *gorqr* [*gorg-r*], Gil ES *qorqr* 'throat' ¶¶ ST 145, Krn. N 476 ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [no. 91] ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 390 (**kur* 'throat') (U, Gil + err. IE, A).

680. **gARʔAm*∇ 'scrape, pound to small pieces, grind' > IE: NaIE **gʰrem-* 'crumble, grind, zerreiben' > Gt *gramst* (· *κάρπος* [?]) '(?) Holzsplitter', NGr Sw {TF} *grummelle* 'kleiner Brocken, Brosamen, Griebe' || Lt *gré mžti* (pres. *grè mžiu*) 'to scrape, to scratch', *grá mdyti* 'to scrape', Ltv *grė mžt* 'to gnaw' || (+ext.) NaIE **gʷhrendʰ-* (< **gʷhremdʰ-*), {EI} **gʰrendʰ-* 'grind' > Gmc **ogrindan* 'to grind, to scratch, to rub' > AS *zrindan* id., NE *grind* || L *frendō* / *-ēre* vt. 'crush, bruise, grind', vi. 'gnash the teeth' || Lt *gré sti* (pres. *grè ndžiu*) 'to scrape, to scratch', int. *grandýti* ¶ WP I 655-7, P 458, EI 247, TF 142, Fs. 219-20, WH I 545-2, Frn. 167, ≈ 172, HDEL 1518, Ho. 137-8 || HS: CS **✓grm* > JA *✓grm D* 'grind bones' (× *gar'm-ā* 'bone), BHb *✓grm* 'gnaw\break bones' (× *←d* 'gεrεm 'bone'), Ar *جرم* *✓ǵrm* (ip. *-ǵrim-*) 'cut, lop off (a palm tree), shear (sheep), bone (the meat)' ¶ KB 195, KBR 203, BK I 270, Hv. 86 || D (att. in McTm) **karant-* > Tm *karantū* v. 'scrape, paw (as a dog), gnaw (as a rat)', Ml *karantuka* v. 'scrape the inside of metal vessels with a grating noise' ¶ D no. 1268 ◇ D *-r- points to a N cns. cluster, possibly *-RH- (most probably *-Rh- or *-Rʔ-, because the N lrs *h and *ʔ are the only that may disappear in S).

681. **gUrand*∇ 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE **gʰrendʰ-* 'log, beam' > L [Y] *grunda* {EM} 'gutter of a roof, gargoyle', L *suggrunda* ~ *sugrunda* {EM} 'projecting roof, entablature, dripstone' || ON *grind* 'grating, grated door', AS *zrindel* 'bar, bolt', OSx *grindil* id., 'plough

handle', OHG grintil 'bolt, bar, plank; Riegel, Balken, Stange', MLG grindel, grendel id., 'transom (Querholz)' || Lt grindis, griñdas, grindà 'floor board', grandà 'plank in the flooring of a bridge', Ltv grīda, grīds 'floor', grōdi pl. 'planks, beams (of a bridge, below the floor etc.)', akas grodi 'framework of a well, well curb', Pru grandico 'Bohle' 'plank' | Sl *grēda (accus. *grēdō) 'log, beam' > Blg гpe'да, SCr, Slv gréda, OCz hřada, Slk hrada id., RCS ГРАДА gređa [grʲa'da] 'beams, the top of a building', R Δ 'Гряда ~ гряда 'crosbeam, shelf', P grzędą 'roost (for hens)', Cz hřada id., 'roof beam, rafter'; Sl *grědbъ > RCS ГРАДЪ grědbъ [grʲad], Slv grēd (gen. grēdī) 'perch, beam, shaft'; it is not clear if P grzędą, RCS ГРАДА, Uk 'Гряда 'oblong height, ridge, bed in garden' and R 'Грядка 'bed in garden' belong here ¶ P 459-60, WH I 623-4, EM 283-4, Vr. 189, Kb. 409, Schz. 154, OsS 352, Ho. 138, Ho. S 29, Frn. 170-1, Turk. 181, En. 180, ESSJ VII 120-2, Glh. 246, Kmc 572 || D *kurañt- ({{GS}} *k-) 'log, tree trunk' > Ml kurañtu 'log', kurañti 'board used as seat; stump', kuraťu 'piece of wood', Tm kuraťu 'small block or chump of wood, plank', Td kud 'large stick, club', Kt kud id., 'bar of door, log', Kn, Tl koradı 'trunk of a lopped tree, stump', kodañti 'log', Kdg kuťť 'small piece of wood', Tu kudañti, kodañti 'small log', koradı 'log, stump'; cp. N *kuyRV 'wood (Holz), log' ¶¶ D no. 1842 || HS: SS *gund- 'trunk of a tree' > Gz gʷand, gund 'log, trunk, stem of a tree', Tgy gʷandi 'trunk', Tgr gāday, Amh gānd id., Mh gāndēt (pl. gānēd), Jb E gāndēt, Jb C gāndēt (pl. gānūdt) id.; EthS → Sa {R} 'gūnde, Af {R} 'gūndi (pl. Sa, Af 'gūned) 'Holzstrunk, Strunk eines Baumes', Brj {Hd.} gundā 'trunk' ¶ L G 197, Jo. M 122, Jo. J 77, R S II 157, R A II 59, Hd. 195, ≠ Ss. B 86 (EC *gund-), DRS 153 || EC *ginde 'tree stump, (lower) trunk of a tree' > Ged {Hd.} ginde, Kmb {Hd.} gidēla id., Rn gindó 'base, lower trunk of a tree', Arr gín 'base, bottom, bole', gína koret 'trunk of a tree'; ?σ: Sd {Hd.} ginde 'heel' and Arr ginnbá id. ¶ Hd. 93, 242, 318, 366, PG 125, Hw. A 361 ¶¶ In S and EC *-nd- < **-rnd- (due to S and C morphophonemic laws) || U: FU *kanta 'stump, tree trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *kañíV (ťV) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The loss of *r before the cns. cluster in FU, S and EC (FU *-nt-, S and EC *-nd-) is due to S, C and U morphophonemic laws.

682. (₂?) *gERŠV (probably *gāR's|š'V, if this is the main source of FU *°kärs|š'V) 'congeal, grow numb, stiffen' > HS: B *✓grs v. 'freeze' >

Kb əjrās id., ajris 'froid glacial; glace, gelée', Ah tağrāst, ETwl tagrāst, Ty tagarāst, Tnsl tažrāst, Awj tegerišt 'winter', Rf B afris 'gelée', Shl {NZ} agris ~ ag^wrs 'givre, gelée blanche', CM ✓ grs 'geler, être gelé', Gd εgrās 'be very cold' (of weather), Zng {TC} atgārs° 'saison froide' ¶ DL 276, Fc. 487, GhA 59, Rn. 353, Lf. II no. 0462, NZ 887-9, TC D 11 || IE: NaIE *g^hers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle' > OI {MW} 'harṣatē', hrṣyatī v. 'become erect\stiff\rigid, bristle' (hair of the body), 'become on edge' (teeth), Av zaršayamna- 'feathers upright', Psh ziž 'rough, stiff', KhS {Bai.} ʔsīra- 'rough' || Gk χέρρος, Gk A χέρρος 'dry land, Festland' || L horreo, -ēre v. 'be rough, bristle' || AS gors^t 'gorse, Steckginster', NE gorse ¶ P 445-6, EI 547, MW 1303, M K III 583-4, M E II 807-8, Bai. 352, F II 1089-90, WH I 659 || ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *kārs|š[∇]- (× N *KāR₁ʔ₁ûs|š[∇] 'to congeal') > ObU {JHl.} *kārāθ- / *kērāθ- 'grow numb (with cold etc.)' > pVg *kārt- 'grow numb (erstarren)' > Vg: T kārtaw^y-, LK kōrt-, MK kōrt-, NV kārt- / kart-, P/SV/LL/UL/Ss kārt- id.; pOs *kērāθ- ({JHl.} *kīrāθ-) 'become numb with cold \ from illness etc. (steif werden, erstarren)' > Os: K kārāt-, Kr kērt-, Nz qārāt-, Kz qarāθ-, O qārā- ¶ Ht. no. 320, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 679, BV 34.

683. *gaRž[∇] '≈ to stretch, to drag' > HS: S ✓ grš (~ ✓ grš̂) v. 'drag, drive out' > BHb ✓ grš G ✓ grš v. 'drive out', 'cast out (a wife)', ✓ grš D 'drive out (vertreiben)', M'b grš 'drive away', SmA ✓ grš D 'expel', ? OAk ✓ grś G, Ak ✓ grš G 'come\go to so.:'; *°✓ grš̂ > Mh ✓ grš̂ G 'drag, pull out, push', Jb ✓ grš̂ G 'drag into' ¶ KB 196, KBR 204, HJ 236, Br. 135, Tal 160, Sd. 272, CAD V 49, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79 || K *gr̥z- v. 'stretch' ('натягивать, вытягивать'), be long' > OG, G gr̥z- v. 'prolong, continue', Mg gin̥z-or- v. 'stretch, pull out', Sv {TK}: L g̥z-ən- (msd. li-g̥zən-e), UB/Ln g̥z-ən- (msd. li-g̥zən-e) v. 'stretch'; ⇨ GZ *gr̥ze-l- 'long' > OG gr̥zel-, G g̥(r)zel-, Mg g̥r̥za-/e- ~ girze- ~ g̥nza-/e-, Lz ginze-, gunze- id. ¶¶ K 65, K DE 361, K² 33, FS K 86-7, TK 428 || IE *g^herH_x- / *g^hreH_x- / *g^hroH_x- / *g^hrH_g- v. 'be salient, be prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants) > Gk χοιράς (gen. χοιράδος) {F} 'Meerklippe', {P} 'emporstehend, hervorragend; hervorragende Klippe im Meer' (< *g^horyo-), Gk [Λ] χάρμη ([?] = ἐπιδορατῖς) 'point of a lance, spearhead', Gk [Hs.] χαρῖα (= βουνός) 'hill, mound' || ? Sl *grotъ 'sharp point' > P grot 'head of a spear, dart, javelin', Cz hrōt 'sharp point, spitzen Ende, острие', R † грот 'spear, dart' || Gmc: Nr Δ garē 'point

(Spitze)', *g^hrē-ti- > MHG grā t (pl. græ t e) 'sharp fish bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain ridge', NHG Gr a t 'edge, ridge', Gr ä t e 'fish bone' etc. (× NaIE *g^her-, *g^herə-/ *g^hrē- 'sharp point' < N *g^oráHä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 440, F II 1075 (no et. of the Gk words), Hofm. 420, LS 1978, 1980, 1996, F s.v. χολράς, ESSJ VII 140 ◇ The correspondence between IE *H, S *š and a K vd. sibilant suggests a N sibilant *ž, but the affricate *ʒ for the expected *z in K is still without clear explanation (the variation *ʒ ~ *z is a rather usual phenomenon in K). The appearance of a lateral *š in SES is puzzling, too.

684. *g^oráR^zæ 'to feel' > K: OG, G gr^zn- v. 'feel, perceive; understand' ¶ Ser. 41, Chx. 207-8, DCh. 331 || IE: [1] NaIE *g^hreH- (< IE *g^hreH-?) vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N *g^oráHæ 'to track [game], to smell, to hear; ear' [q.v.]) > OI jighrāti, 'ghrāti 'smells (sth.)' (pp. ghrā'ta-), ghrānam, grānā n. 'smell, nose' || Gk ὄσ-φραίνουμαι 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< *odes g^hre-) (Gk aor. ὠσφρόμην) || [2] ? NaIE (in Blt only) *g^og^herd^h- > Lt girdéti (3s pres. girdi, 1s pres. girdžiù), Ltv dzirdēt 'to hear' ¶ WP I 697, Frn. 153, ≠ P 478, P 495-6, ME I 552, M K I 433, F II 438-9 || HS: B *√grz > Tmz {MT} t-graz 'se repentir, regretter' (used in 3f only in an impers. construction with the [pro]noun of the person as an indirect object: targaz iyī 'I am sorry, I regret' [literally '{it} sorries to me']), Sll {Ds.} at-g^haz 'se repentir', Ah {Fc., Crt.} mu-ǵrāz 'se repentir de, regretter', ETwl, Ty m^h-gr^hz (rf.) 'regretter (vivement), se repentir de', a-m^h-gr^hz 'regret, repentir', Zng {MH → Nic.} 3m aor. i^hammugraz 'repent' ¶ ≡: Sp lo siento mucho 'I am very sorry about it' ← 'I feel it much' ¶ MT 469-70, Ds. 247, Fc. 1173, Crt. 407, 413, GhA 60, Nic. 315, NZ 899, 901-2 ◇ The K affricate *ʒ|ž and the IE cns. *-d^h- (in Blt) point to a N affricate *ž. In IE *g^hreH- the lr. seems to suggest N *z, but this apparent ev. is not decisive because IE *g^hreH- goes back to a merger of the N etymon in question with N *g^oráHæ.

684a. (on.?) *g^orá^h (r^h) 'to thunder' > IE: NaIE *g^hrem- v. 'thunder, roar, rage', *g^hromo-s ({EI} *g^hromo-s) 'thunder, loud and low sound' > Av gram 'be angry/furious, be angry at so.', NPrs غ^hرم ḡār(ä)m 'anger' || Gk χρόμη, χρόμος 'crashing sound', [Hs.] 'neighing of horses', Gk χρεμετίζω, [Hs.] χρεμίζω 'neigh, whinny' || ON gramr, AS ʒram 'angry', OHG gram 'furious, gloomy', OSx gram 'hostile

(feindselig)', *grīman* 'to rage, to roar (with anger)', MHG *grīmen* 'to rage with distress or pain (vor Zorn oder Schmerz wüten)', AS *ꝥruméttan* 'to roar, to grunt; to rage' || Lt *grumėti* 'to thunder', Pru *grumins* (:"dunreyn") 'drizzling rain' ({Bzb.}: ← 'a distant thunder?'), ? *grīmikan* 'song' | Sl **grьměti* 'to thunder' > OCS **ГРЬМѢТИ** *grьměti*, SCr **гр̑мети** *gȓmjeti*, *gȓmljeti*, *gȓmiti*, Slv *grméti*, Slk *hrmiet'*, Pol *grzmieć*, OR, RCS **ГРЬМѢТИ** *grьměti*, **ГРЕМѢТИ** *greměti* 'to thunder', Cz *hřměti*, *hřmíti*, R *гре'меть*, Uk *гре'мити* id., 'to produce a crashing sound', Blg *гър'мя* v. 'thunder'; Sl **grōmь* 'thunder' > OCS, OR **ГРОМЪ** *gromь*, Blg, R *гром*, SCr *grōm*, *grōm*, Slv *grōm*, Cz, Slk *hrom*, P *grom*, Uk *грім* id. ¶ P 458-9, Mn. 337-8, 340-1, EI 582, Brtl. 529, Vl. II 605, Sg. 885, F II 1116-17, Vr. 184, Ho. 136, 139, Ho. S 28-9, Kb. 405, Schz. 154, OsS 347, Lx. 76, Frn. 163, En. 181, ESSJ VII 138, 163-4, StSS 179, Glh. 249 ¶ Some of the words apparently belonging to this IE √ (such as MHG, MLG *grummen* 'brummen, murren') may be independent onomatopoeic innovations || K **gr̥gwin-* v. 'thunder' > G *gr̥gvin-*, Mg *gurgin-*, g*virgvin-*, Lz *girgin-*, Sv *gurgwn-* id.; K **gurgwal-* id. > G *gurgwal-*, Lz *gurgul-* id., Sv *gərgal-* 'produce a crashing sound' ¶¶ K 64, 66, K² 32; FS K 89-80 and FS E 94 (K **gurgw-*) || HS: Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *g̃ə̃r̃ə̃n* 'thunder, lightning' || CCh: ? Bdm {Nc.} *žirgāgālo* 'thunder' ¶ Sch. DN 60, ChC s.v. 'thunder(storm)' || D **kaṛa^rL¹*- ({†GS} **k-*) v. 'thunder' > Tm *kaṛaṛu* id., Klm *karadil* v. 'strike with lightning' (for 'it lightens' they say 'the sky [abar] strikes with lightning'), Nk *kaṛalil* v. 'lighten' (*īž kaṛalil* 'the lightning [īž] lightens') ¶¶ D no. 1354.

685. *gæra - *gærya or ***gE^rara - *gE^rarya** 'to step, to walk' > A **g^ræ¹, ar[∇]*- 'walk, step' > T **k^rær-* (or **k₋ær-*) v.. 'walk about' > OT *käz-* id., 'travel, traverse', XwT XIII-XIV *kez-* 'walk about\through', Chg \geq XV *kez-* 'ramble, travel', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV *kez-* 'traverse', Kr Cr *gez-* 'go for a walk (spazieren gehen)', Az *gäz-*, ET *käz-* ~ *gäz-* id., 'walk', Tk *gez-*, Tkm *geḍ-*, Qmq *gez-* id., 'travel', Nog, Qrg *kez-*, Tf *kes¹*- 'walk about', Uz *kez-*, ET *kez-* ~ *käz-*, Ggz *gez-* id., 'walk', Qq *gez-* id., 'travel', VTt *giz-*, Bsh *giḍ-* 'travel', Tv *kez-* 'make the round of snares and traps (to check them)' ¶ Cl. 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 10-11, DTS 305, KumRS 94, TatR 115, BR 149, Ra. 203 || M **gara-* 'go\come out, climb, pass over\across' > MM *gar-* ([ChSc] *ḡar-*, [ArSc] *غار- ḡar-*) 'go\come out',

WrM *gar-* {MED} id., 'emerge, climb, ascend, pass over/across, through', HIM *гара-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'go\come out, go away, appear', Brt *гара-* id., 'go out', Kl {KRS} *һар-* *ʏar-* id., {Rm.} *ʏar-* 'hervortreten, herauskommen, empowachsen, bergauf gehen, sich zeigen', ShY *gar-* 'go\come out', Mnr H {SM} *g_ari-* 'sortir, germer, naître, se produire, monter, apparaître', Ord *g_ar-* 'sortir, disparaître; apparaître; se produire; monter' ¶ H 61, MED 350, BMR I 387-9, Chr. 148, KRS 159-60, KW 145, SM 120-1, Ms. H 88, Ms. O 293-4, Pp. MA 176-7 || Tg **g_iari-* ~ **g_ira-* v. 'step (schreiten), go for a walk' > Ewk *gira-cta-* v. 'step (schreiten), Lm *g_iraŋ-*, *g_irqъ-* id., 'walk', Neg *g_iyān-* 'шагнуть', Ul, Ork, Nn *g_iran-*, Orc *gia-*, Ud *geāna-*, *geä-li-*, Ul *g_eri-*, Nn Nh *g_iari-*, Orc *gä:ri-*, Ud *geä-li-* 'go for a walk' (гулять), WrMc {Z} *гяри-* 'обходить, объезжать' ¶ STM I 142, 147, 154-5, On. 103, Z 373-4, S AJ 224 [no. 285] || J **kàtí* n. act. 'walking' > OJ *kati*, MJ [RJ] *kàtí*, J T *káćí*, J K *káćí*, J Kg *káćí* id. ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 199], S QJ no. 199, Mr. 444, Kenk. 747 ¶¶ SDM 550-1 (pA **g_ǎrá* v. 'walk, step' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 518, S AJ 74, 289 [no. 321], SDM97 s.v. **g_ǎra*, ET VGD 11, ADb. SR 13, Mill. JAL 125-6 || **HS:** WS **√gry* > Sr *√gry|w G* (pf. *gə'rā*) 'run\trickle down, be dragged\carried away', Ar *جری* *√ǧry* (ip. -*ǧriy-*) *G* 'run, flow', Mh *√gry* (sbjn. *y3-grā*, condit. *y3-'gr3y-3n*) v. 'precede', 'pass' (of time), Hrs {Jo.} *√grw|y G* (pf. *g3rō*, sbjn. *y3grī*) 'run' (blood, water), 'flow', Jb C *√gry* (pf. 'ge're, sbjn. 'yeǧ3r) 'follow, go after' ¶ JPS 77, BK I 284-5, Ln. 415-16, Jo. M 125, Jo. J 79, Jo. H 41, DRS 186 || ?ϕ B *-*gūr-* (< ***-guyr-* or ***-guHr-*?) v. 'go, walk' > Rf Wr/B/A *u-ʏur* (habit. *əgǧur*), Izn *uyur* (habit. *əgǧur*) id., Mz -*žur* (inv. *ižur*, pf. *yi-žur*) 'marcher, couler', CM {NZ} *gǧur-* (aor. int.) 'go, go away, walk', Shw *ugir* ~ *ugʷir* ~ *uyir*, Nf *ugur* 'go, walk' ¶ Rn. 352, Dlh. M 70, NZ 854-5 || C: Bj {R} *gerwel-scw*. 'schnell gehen' ¶ R WBd 102 || **IE:** NaIE (+ext.) **ghredh-* v. 'step, walk', {EI} 'step, go' > Av {P ← SLv.} *aiwi-gərəθ-* 'begin' || L *gradior* 'I step', *gradus* 'step' || Gt **grips* (attested: the accus. *grid*) (· *βαδμός*) 'Schritt', MHG [ʏ] *griet*, *grit*, *griit* 'step', NGr B *gritt* id. || (*-n-present): Clt {Matas.} **grind-o-* 'follow, drive' > OIr *do-greinn* id., {P} OIr *in-/ad-grenn-*, *to-grenn-* 'pursue' (-*enn-* < **-ŋdʰ-n-*), ?σ MW *grynnuaw* 'push. press, thrust' || Lt *gridyti* 'to walk, to roam' || (*-n-present) Sl **gręd-* (inf. **gręsti*, pres. **gręd-*) > OCS inf. **ГРѦСТН** *gręsti* / 1s pres. **ГРѦДѦ** *grędę* 'go, come', Blg Δ **Гредам**, Blg SW **ГрендѦм** id., SCr inf. *gręsti* / 1s pres. *grędēm* 'go, walk', Uk inf.

гря'сти / 1s pres. гря'ду 'run\drive (fahren) quickly and noisily', R Δ гредут 'they go' ¶ WP I 651-2, P 456-7, EI 546, WH I 615-16, Fs. 222, LP § 566, Thr. §§ 842, 857, Frn. 170, Bern. I 349, ESSJ VII 123-4, StSS 180, BER I 277-8, Glh. 246, Matas. E 168 ¶ IE *g^h- was not palatalized (reg. in preconsonantal position) ◇ Tg *gⁱarⁱ- suggests pN *gæʔa^{ra} or *gæʔa^{Rya} ◇ O HSN 120-1 (N *giʔa^{ra} 'ходить' > A, HS).

686. *go^{ra} 'hot; to heat; embers' > IE: NaIE *g^wher- 'burn, heat' > [1] v.: OI ghr^o'nā-h^h 'ardour, heat', Λ, Γ ghr^o'nō^ti 'shines, burns' ||| Clt {Matas.} v. 'warm up, heat' > OIr {P} fo-geir v. 'heats', guirid 'warms', OIr {P} gorim 'I heat, I warm', MⁱIr {Matas.} geirid, -geir 'warm up, heat', NⁱIr {P} goraim id., 'I hatch', NⁱIr {P} gor 'heat', Br {Hm.} gor 'chaleur', 'chaux', W {P} gori 'to hatch'; Brtt {RE} d. *guressākos 'warm, hot' ({P} < *g^whre-ns-0-) > W gwresog, Cm gwresak, B gwrezek id. ||| Sl *gorěti (3s pres. *gori-ťb) vi. 'to burn' > OCS горѣти gorěti (3s pres. горитъ goritъ), SCr гòрети & gòrjeti, Slv goréti, Cz hořeti, Slk horiet', P gorzeć, goreć, R го'реть, Uk го'рїти vi. 'to burn', Blg го'ря vi. 'burn' ||| [2] NaIE *g^whoros ntr. 'heat, embers' > OI ḡ 'haras- 'flame, heat' (one of the possible semantic interpretations) ||| Gk θερος 'summer', θερομαι 'become hot\warm' ||| pAl {O} *žera > Al zjarr {AlbED} 'heat', {BFU} 'fire' ||| Arm զեր ջեր 'heat, warmth; fine weather' ||| Lt gāras 'steam, vapor, carbon monoxide in the air', Ltv gars 'steam' | NaIE *og^whēro- > pSl *žarъ > SCr, Slv žār, P źar, R, Uk жар 'heat, embers', Cz žár 'heat' ||| [3] NaIE *g^whrē- vt. 'warm, heat' > Sl *grē-ti (pres. *grē-j-ŋ) ~ μ *grēja-ti (< pres. *grej-) 'to warm, to heat' > OCS грѣяти grějati (pres. грѣѣ grějŋ) ('θερμαίνειν, calefacere') id., RChS, OR грѣти grěti id., OCS грѣти сѧ grěti сѧ 'to warm oneself', R греть (pres. грею), Uk грїти, SCr grějati ~ grījati & Δ grèti, Slv gréti, Cz hřáti, Slk hriat', P grzać (pres. grzeje) 'to warm, to heat', Blg грея v. 'warm' | Ltv grēmens & Δ grēmeles & Δ grēmes 'heartburn' ||| pAl {O} *en-grāya > Al ngroh- ~ ngrof- vt. 'warm' ||| [4] NaIE (+ext.) *g^whermo-, *g^whormo- 'warm, warmth', {EI} *g^wher'mo-s 'warm' > OI ghar'ma-h^h 'glow, heat', Av gar^əma- adj. 'hot', n. 'heat', KhS grāma- 'hot' ||| Gk θερμός 'hot, warm' ||| L Γ formus, L formidus id. ||| Gmc *warmā- (< IE *wer- < N *wAr'E' 'to burn, to heat', q.v. ffd.) > ON varmr, AS wearm, OHG, NHG warm adj. 'warm', NE warm adj., Gt warmjan (· θάλπειν) 'wärmen' ||| Thr {EI} ger mo- 'warm' ||| Arm զերս ջերս

'warm' || pAl {O} *žerma > Al G/T zjarm n. 'fire' || Ltv gar̂me 'warmth', Pru gorme id. || [5] another NaIE d.: *g^ωhor-no-s 'oven, heating fire' > L fornus ~ furnus 'oven' || OIr gorn 'fire' || pSl *gьrnъ ~ *gьrno > SCr gr̂no 'burning coal for heating iron in a smithy', Slk gr̂no, OR ГЪРНЪ гьrnъ, R, Uk ГОРН 'forging furnace' ¶ P 493-5, EI 88, 263, M K I 357-8, 360 and III 579, M E I 513, 515-16 and II 804, Bai. 92, F I 664-6, WH I 532-4, Fs. 552, Thr. § 184, YGM-1 245, LP § 38, Hm. 323, Dnn. 378, RE 143, Vr. 646, Kb. 1147, Ho. 387, Hamp AIEW 146, BFU 642, O 296, 524-5, AlbED 966-7, Slt. 73, Frn. 134-5, En. 179, ME I 652, ESSJ VII 42-3, 116-17 and 210-11, StSS 145, 180, Vs. I 441, 456 and II 35, Glh. 239, 248, Chr̂n. I 291-2, Matas. E 146, Hm. 323 || HS: S: Ar جَرَّةٌ ġarr-at- 'pain cuit dans les cendres'; (× N *g^re¹lyr̂â [or *g^re¹ir̂â] 'fire, hearth'): Ar جَايِرٌ ġāyir 'feu; grande chaleur dans le corps, causée par la soif\fièvre\colère' ¶ BK I 272, 361 || C: Bj {R} ✓ g^ωr v. 'cook, fry' (1s: p. a'gūr, pres. an'g^ωīr; vb. n. 'g^ωārī-) ¶ R WBd 99 || Ch: WCh: Hs ġūrā v. 'cause fire to blaze up' | AG: Ang {Flk.} kūr 'charcoal', Su {J} kūr 'ashes' | BT: Tng kuro 'charcoal' | Tmbs {J} kuru id. || CCh: Dgh {Frk} g^wv^ré (sc. g^wv^ré?), {ChL} ùvùre, Glv {Rp.} yúvra, Gv {ChC} yúvùrà id. | Lgn {Lk.} gurwake 'embers' || ECh: Ke kóráy 'ashes', ? Bar garuī 'firewood' ¶ Stl. VZCh no. 72, Ba. 411, J T 106, J S s.v. kūr, ChC s.v. 'charcoal' and 'ashes', ChL, Eb. 73 || A: T: [1] T *k^ōr̂ or (in view of MOg) *k^ōr̂ 'embers, live coal' (× N *kūr^r∇ 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat') > OT {Cl.} kōz, MQp, XwT, Chg, OOSm kōz, MOg gōz, Tk kōz, Tkm κεζ kōδ, Az kōz, Bsh Δ küδ, Ln, Xk, Tv kōs 'embers, live coal', Tf kōs 'live coal', Ch кавар к̂var, Δ к̂var id., 'burning embers'; [2] T *Kōⁱṛ̂ 'live coal' > Bsh куз quδ, Qq qoz id., StAlt qos id., embers' ¶ Cl. 756-7, ET KQ 85-6. ET Q 74-5, TL 365-6, TkR 411, ARL 173, RI. II 1300, Grøn. 155, Ra. 204, ≈ DTS 321 (OT kōze- 'stir'), ≈ Md. 48, 170 (*k^ōr̂ with unjustified *k^o'), ChVS 77, Jeg. 97, Fed. I 247 ¶ The paronymous T word *Kōr̂ 'embers' belongs to N *k^arh²U¹ 'to burn (sth.), to heat' ¶ ≈ SDM 857 (pA *k^oṛ̂k∇ 'glowing coals' > T *k^ōr̂ + [not belonging here] Tg *χurk- 'soot, sulphur'), ≈ DQA no. 1161 (id.) ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g^ro¹r̂ ἄγορετ̂), ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (*gUR̂ ἄ 'burning coal').

687. *gur̂∇ (d∇) (or *gur̂∇y∇ (d∇)-) 'hip, side' ([in some descendant lges] → 'back side') > K: GZ *gwerd- 'side, flank' > OG gwerd-i id., 'rib', G gverd-i 'side, flank', i-gurd-i v 'near, side by side',

Mg gverd-i, gwerd-i, Lz gver(d)- 'half' ¶ K² 29, Ser. 42, DCh. 312, Q 216
 || HS: B: Sll {Ds.} agərru (pl. igurra), Shl {NZ} agrru 'hip (hanche)' ¶ Ds.
 150, NZ 848 || WS *✓grd > Ar جرد ġarad- 'back (dos)' (← *'back
 side' ← *'side'), Tgr žėrid '(muscles of the) neck', Grg Sl ġərđid 'nape of
 neck' ¶ Fr. I 264, BK I 276, LH 550, L EDG III 291, MiK I no. 1.92 || Eg fOK
 {EG} ʒrww 'Rippengegend des Körpers, Seite', {DW} ʒrww(ww)
 'Seitenfläche; hintere Rippengegend; Seiten-fläche der Nase', {Fk.}
 ʒrww 'side, flank (of a body)', 'wall (?)' ¶ EG V 602, DW 1909-10, Fk.
 324 || Ch: CCh: ZmD {J, ChC} ġuráy, {KNC} ġuráy 'thigh', ?? Mln {ChL}
 ġirgátigí id. (unless derived from or compound with CCh *ġir∇ 'bone')
 || WCh: Cg {Sk.} ġárábùn 'rib' ¶ ChC s.v. 'rib' and 'thigh', ChL, KNC 9 || A:
 T *Ku₁:₁ṛ > NaT **Kuz > OT {Cl.} quz 'the northern (shady) side of a
 mountain', Tk kuz, Δkoz ɘ guz 'shady side'; NaT *Kuzar₁ṛ > Az гүзей
 guzey ~ гүзей ġüzey 'the northern (shady) side of a mountain', Tkm
 guḃay 'shady side (of a mountain, of a house etc.)', Tk kuzey 'north';
 d.: Tb {Rl.} qusqay 'northern' ¶ Cl. 680, ET Q 106-7, Rl. II 1015, ARL 86,
 89, Tkr 207 || D {tr.} *kuṛ∇₁ṛk, {GS} *kuḃuṇ 'thigh, loins' (× N *kūr₁U¹
 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > Tm kurar₁ku, Kt korg, Tl kuruvu, Klm kudug, Prj
 kudu ɘ kuḃu, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kuruku ɘ kurki ɘ koχki, Knd kurgu, Mlt
 qosge, Kui kuḃu 'thigh', Ku kudugu id. ɘ kūdgū id., 'lap', Ml kuraku,
 kuravuvu 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D
 no. 1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [no. 382], 55 [no. 152] || ? Gil: Gil A
 kədr / ʒədr / ġədr [ġədr] 'back (dos)' ¶¶ ST 125 ◊ D *-ṛ- (rather than
 the expected *-ṛ- < N *ṛ) may be due to the merger with N *kūr₁U¹.
 Alternatively, T *-ṛ- may go back to **-ry- < N *-r∇y-.

688. *g¹e¹ly₁râ (or *g¹e¹ṛirâ) 'fire, hearth' > HS: S *g¹i¹rr-, *✓grr ~
 *✓gyr > Ak fOB ġirru 'fire', Amh ✓grr (pf. ġerrərər) {L} 'be scorching'
 (sun), {DRS} 'étinceler, être brûlant' (feu); Ar جائر ġāyir 'feu, grand
 chaleur dans le corps (causée par la soif\faim\colère)' (× N *góræ 'hot;
 to heat; embers') ¶ CAD III 93-4, L CAD 207, BK I 361, DRS 192 || Eg G
 ʒr ≈ fire' ¶ EG V 595 || C: EC *ġīr-a 'fire' > Sa, Af ġira id., HEC *ġīra
 id. > Sd, Hd, Ged, Kmb ġīr-a 'fire', Brj žīr-a 'flame', Sd, Hd ġīr- vt.
 'burn' || SC: Brn {E} ġiṛru, Alg {E} ġiṛri 'embers', ?? Irq ġilṛi {E} id.,
 {MQK} id., 'red-hot charcoal' ¶ Ss. B 110, Hd. 64, 279, 366, E SC 238,
 MQK 39 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 210 || U: FP *ker∇- {UEW} 'offener Steinofen' > Es
 keris (gen. kerise, kerikse), Δkiris (gen. kirise) {W} 'upper
 part of a stove (in peasants' houses), lighthouse', {Slv.} keris

'vaporizing furnace (with big heated stones)' | Prm {LG} *gǫr ({{LG} *gǫr) 'stove' > Vt гур gur, Vt B/SW gur, Prmk, Yz gur 'stove', Z gōr / gory-, Z US gǫr 'stove in a sauna\barn' ¶ UEW 660, LG 78, W EDW 265, Slv. 110 || А *gÉrE- > Т *Kír- 'get\be hot' > МТ XIV [IM] qiz- 'be warm', MQp XIV, Chg ≥XV, OOSm qiz- 'be hot', Cmn qiz- 'glow with heat', Tk kiz-, Qmq qiz-, VTt кыз- қыз-, Bsh қъδ-, Tv qis- 'get very hot', Chv хёр- хыр- id., 'калиться, накалиться; закаливаться', Tkm gıδ-, Nog qiz- id., 'get warm', Az gız-, Qzq qiz- 'get warm', Ggz kiz-, Qq qiz- 'get very hot, flame up'; NaT *Kızı- > Qrg qizi-, Uz, ET qizi- 'get very hot', StAlt qizi- id., 'catch fire'; it is possible (but not certain) that one may adduce the pT verb *Kír- 'get red' (× N *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)') (> OT qiz- 'get ruddy' [of complexion], Tv qis- 'get red') and its d. *Kírıl 'red' (> OT qizıl, Chv хырл, Tk kizıl, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qzq, Qrd, StAlt qizıl, Tkm gıδıl, Uz, ET qizıl, Yk qihıl 'red') ¶ ≈ Cl. 681 (unc.: qiz 'be hot' ← qiz- 'be red') and 683-4, ET Q 187-9, 194-7, Md. 70, 168, TkR 228, Ash. XVII 27-8, Fed. II 343, Jeg. 298, ChVS 249, Ra. 223-4, Rl. II 875, PC 447 || ?σ М *geren 'light (lux), brightness' (× N *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light [Licht]', q.v.) > MM [IM] gere 'light', [S] gere 'brightness (Glanz)', WrM gere {MED} 'light, lustre, brightness; dawn; torch', HIM гэрэз {MED} id., {BMR} 'torch (лучина, факел), light before dawn, Morgenrot; Beleuchtung', Brt W гэрэ 'torch (лучина)', Kl {Rm.} герэ 'Fackel, Licht (für nächtliche Wanderungen)', Ord g_ere 'lumière', Mnr H {SM} g_зrîē 'lumière, clarté, éclat, rayon', {T} gere 'brightness, lustre (сияние, блеск)', Dx gîeren 'light, ray'; ↗ М *gerel 'light, brightness, beam of light' > MM [HI] gerel 'light', [S] gerel 'Glanz', WrM gerel {MED} 'light, beam of light', HIM {MED, BMR} гэрэл id., Kl {KRS} герл gerel 'light, ray, brightness', {Rm.} герл 'Licht, Glanz', Ord g_erel 'clarté, lumière' ¶ Pp. MA 437, H 49, KW 134, MED 378-9, BMR I 484, Chr. 1733, KW 134, KRS 139, SM 134, T 322, T DnJ 114, Ms. H 56, Ms. O 260 ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (s.v. *g'orā 'гореть', vi. 'burn'), ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (N *gURā 'burning coal') ◇ The SC cognates (Brn gî?ru, Alg gî?ri) and the long i in EC suggest the presence of a Ir. (*? = *?|h) in the N etymon (unless both SC *? and the EC vw. length are of prosodic origin) ◇ If the N etymon is *geyrâ, the N vw. *-e- was narrowed to a pre-T *-i- (> Т *-i- due to vw. harmony) under the infl. of the adjacent *y or *?i.

688a. *gūr̥E or *gūr̥∇ 'throat, neck' > HS: EC {Ss.} *gawraɪ- 'cut the throat' (× EC *✓grɪ 'cut' < N *gīR̥∇ 'to cut', q.v.) > Sml gowraɪ-, Rn gōrraḥa 'slaughter an animal by cutting its throat', Bn kūraʔ-, Sd gorʔ-, Kmb gor-, Or gorraʔ- 'slaughter an animal'; Or ⇨ Brij gorraʔ- v. 'slaughter' ¶ Ss. B 84, Abr. S 96, ZMO 166, Grg. 182, PG 127 || WS *gurɪ- 'throat, gulp (gorgée)' > Gz gʷarɪē 'throat, neck, palate', Tgr 𐌒𐌄𐌆 gʷɪrɪ 'throat', Ar جَرَعَة ġurɪ-at- ~ جَرَعَة ġarɪ-at- 'gulp (gorgée, ce qu'on boit et avale d'un coup)', ✓ ġrɪ (pf. جَرَع جَرَع ġaraɪa) 'swallow at one gulp' ¶ L G 200-1, BK I 280, Hv. 8, ≈ DRS 175-6 || Ch (× N *geR̥∇ 'throat?'): WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} gàgàrák 'throat' (× N *guR̥'k'U' 'throat?') || BT: Krkr {Kœ.} gurgosli 'throat' || P' {MSk.} gùrgʷàṣá id. || CCh: Msg G {Trn.} gurđok, Mlw {Trn.} gùrđôk 'throat' || Mtk: Mf {BLB} gʷɪrɪ- 'swallow with difficulty', MfG {Brr.} gʷɪrɪdan 'palate' || Tr {Nw.} ʷùʷʷar id., gora 'neck' (if the glottalization of g reflects the HS lr.) || BB: Gude {Hsk.} id. gùrɜk 'swallowing noisily' || Lame {Sa.} id. gùròk id. || ECh: Mu {J} gōró (pl. gōròr), Tmk {Cp.} ġēṛ, Kwn {J} kʷɪr̥, Ke {Eb.} kùr 'neck' (in KwK *g- > k- regularly) ||| Cf. also nouns with supposed pxs: Ngz {Sch.} ngúɪɪɪɪɪ 'throat', Db {Mch.} mungur lum, Hs màkǒgʷàɪ, Gw {Mts.} màkóngòro id. ¶ Hsk. 194, Nt. 14, ≈ Sk. HCD 194-5, MSk. 179, Sch. DN 127, Cp. 62, Nw. WLT 38, Trn. LM 92, Trn. LDM 22, BLB 149, Brr. MG II 120, Mch. D 196, Sa. L II 502, ≈ Stl. VZCh no. 76, ChC 'neck', ChL, Eb. 75 ¶ Gude gùrɜk and Lame gùròk are results of secondary ideophonization (cf. R [in fairy tales and literature for children] зайчик прыг-прыг 'the hare jumped', lit. 'little hare jump-jump', where the deverbal d. прыг [without being ideophonic by origin] functions as an ideophone) ¶ The Tmk and Tr words for 'neck' belong here if the retroflexity of r in Tmk and the glottalization of *g in Tr reflect the HS lr. in N *gūr̥E or *gūr̥∇ || B *-gur̥/ɬ- 'neck' (possibly from *gurɪ-at-) > Kb aḡʷar̥ (pl. iḡʷar̥ɪan, iḡʷar̥ɪaḡ) 'neck opening of a garment, collar (encolure, col)', Awj {Prd.} a-'gàràɬ (pl. gər'ɬá:wən) 'neck', Zng {MH → Nic.} aḡar̥ (pl. gər̥ɪn) 'gosier; haut du cou', {Bs.} اگارد agard 'gosier', {Nic., Bs.} اكرض agard 'goulot', Izd {Mrc.} agər̥ (pl. iḡər̥ɪan) 'cou, goulot, encolure', ?σ Ah eḡar̥ 'têtière (de licol)', ETwl, Ty eḡər̥ (pl. iḡər̥ɪn) id., 'nape of neck', ZAS {Loub.} aḡar̥, Zn {Rn.}, Tmz {MT} a-gər̥ 'shoulder', Tmz ✓ gr̥ (inv. gər̥) 'tordre le cou; avoir le cou tordu'; d.: Sll {Ds.} amḡər̥ (pl. imḡər̥), Izd {Mrc.} dim. tamḡər̥ (pl. timḡər̥), Zn {Rn.} amḡər̥ 'neck', ZAS {Loub.}

amgərǫ 'cou, col', Kb amjərǫ (pl. iməjraǫ) 'neck, nape of neck'. Cf. also Wrg {Dlh.} a-gərduɿ (pl. i-gərdaɿ) 'gorgée longue de liquide' (survival of *ɿ in a B dialect??). In addition, it is worth paying attention to B *guHr∇z_L∇y_L (< **gurH∇z_L∇y_L?) > Ah ä-ǧūrāh 'larynx', ETwl, Ty a-gurzɔy (pl. i-gərzan) 'throat', Ttq {Msq.} korzī 'throat over the Adam's apple', as well as to Kb a-jərǯuǯ ~ a-jərǯuǯ (pl. ijərǯuǯən) 'throat, larynx, trachea' and to Ntf {La.} a-gərgur 'goitre' (× N *g e R ∇ 'throat') ¶ Prd. 163, Rn. 352, Ds. 77, MT 465-6, Dlh. Ou 62, Fc. 480-2, Loub. 547, Mrc. 64, 281, Pr. H no. 110, GhA 58, 60, Dl. 273-4, Msq. 139, Msq. Z 501, Nic. 313, Bs. MS I 124, La. N 57, NZ 868-9 || A ≈ *guræ-g|kæ > M *güreæen '(ε part of the) neck', {SDM} 'front part of he throat' > WrM gürege(n) {MED} 'area of the neck below and in front of the ear', HIM гүрээ(н) {MED} id., {BMR} id, 'Halsader', Brt гүрөө 'carotid', Kl {Rm.} güreñ ~ güre ' {?} die Seite des Halses', Ord güre 'les côtés du cou, veine d'eau souterraine', MM [IM] gü:rü:n sudusun 'arteria cervicalis', WrM {MED} güregen-ü sudasu, Kl {Rm.} güreñ sudasñ 'Halsader' (sudusun, sudasñ, sudasu is 'vein, sinew'); M ⇨ Chg [MA] kürü:n in kürü:n tamur 'arteria cervicalis', Qrg kürō, kürō tamir 'jugular vein', WrMc {Z} гүрэхэ id. (гү- [rather than гү-] is usual in loanwords) ¶ MED 392, BMR I 475, Chr. 166, Pp. MA 172, KRS 149, KW 139, Ms. O 278, MYC 309, Jud. 470-1, Z 363, Hr 385, ≈ STM I 175 || T *Kô_Lrgak 'palate' > Shor qurqaq id., Xk xurɣax id., Brb qorɣaq 'jaw' ¶ TL 230, Dm. JBT 154, Rs. W 303 || Tg: [1] Tg *gorga-hta 'palate, hind part of the tongue' > Neg gorgakta ~ gurgakta 'palate', Ork goǰoqta ~ goǰǰoqta 'root of the tongue, uvula', WrMc {Z} гункань 'Adam's apple' ¶ STM I 161, 173, Z 549 | [2] Tg *gure-ke 'nape' (× N *gub_L∇_LRE 'back, back side nape [of the neck]', q.v. ffd.) > Nn Bk gur(з)хз, Nn KU guruxз 'nape', Nn Nh gurзхз {STM} id., {On.} 'withers (загривок)', WrMc {Hr.} gurexe 'breite Sehne am Rinderhalse', {Z} гүрэхэ 'a large sinew on cattle's neck' ('большая становая жила'), гүрэхэ-лэ- 'tie around (a bow or sth. broken) with oxen's sinews (to strengthen it)' ¶ STM I 174-5, On. 122, Z 363-4, Hr 385 ¶¶ SDM 573 (pA *gurgi 'palate' > Tg *gorgakta, T, M) || D *kuṛuṅk- ({ǧGS} ≈ *guṛuṅg-) > Nk guṛuṅga 'neck', Gnd B guṛuṅgā 'oesophagus', Gnd Ch/G/HMB/KM guṛuṅga 'throat', Gnd DM guṛuṅgā id., 'neck', Gnd RSr guṛuṅga, Gnd A gurṅā 'Adam's apple', Ml koṛṅā, Kn goṛke 'throat', ? gōṛ ~ gōṛ 'neck' ¶¶ D no. 1645 ||] The N word in question may be an AdS of D *kUra|l- 'throat, voice' (< N

kôrih|xû* 'throat, neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D **kuṛuŋk-* (≈ **guṛuŋg-*) suggests N **-r̥-*, while D **kUraI-* (if it belongs here) points to N **-rH-* (unless D **-r-* belongs to the heritage of N **kôrih|xû* ◇ M **ü* suggests either a N **ü* or a N vw. **u* influenced by the front vw. of the next syll. ◇ The N etymon is qu. and hard to reconstruct, because the potential cognates outside HS are not distinguishable from N **kôrih|xû* '↑' (due to the neutralization of the glottal oppositions in anlaut) ◇ ≈ IS I 235-6 [no. 91] ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 390 (kur* 'throat') (A + err. IE, U, Gil).

688b. **garHä* 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE **g^her-*, **g^herH̄-*/**g^hreH̄-* > NaIE **g^her-*, **g^hera-*/**g^hrē-* 'sharp point' (partially × N **gaRž* ▽ '≈ to stretch, to drag') > Gk χάρμη 'point of a lance, spearhead' (< **g^hr̥o-* without *lr.*) ||| Nr Δ *gare* 'point (Spitze)'; **g^hrē-ti-* > MHG *grāt* (pl. *græte*) 'sharp fish bone (Fischgräte), awn, peak (of a mountain), mountain ridge', NHG *Grat* 'edge, ridge', *Gräte* 'fish bone', MDt *graet* id., Dt *graat* id., 'ridge' ||| Sl **grōtъ* 'sharp point' > Cz, Slk *hrot* id., P *grot* id., 'arrow, dart' ¶ P 440, F II 107, Lx. 75, KM 268, Vr. N 217, ESSJ VII 140 ||| U **kara* 'sharp bough (of a coniferous tree), stick' > F *karā* 'peg, bar (of a lock), tang (of a knife), (metal) rod, denuded tail of a bull', *karahka* 'bough, young fir tree', *karas* 'young fir tree, long bough of a fir', Es {W} *karā* 'denuded tail of an animal (entblöbte Rute der Tiere)', *jummi-karā* 'icicle' || Sm: Ne: Т х ар в, Т О {Lh.} χārβ, F {Lh.} kārβ 'larch'; Ng {Cs.} 'karu 'dry larch', En B {Hl.} kaδī, {Ter.} kaδī 'spruce', {Cs.} kađi, {Prk.} kađe 'fir tree', En Kr {Dolgix} kađi, En X {Cs.} kari id.; the metonymy 'bough' → 'tree' is parallel to that found in F *karahka*, *karas* ¶¶ SK 160-1, W EDW 208, Ter. 747, Lh. 166-7, Cs. 47, 245, KP 80 ||| A **garæ* 'sharp edge' > Tg **gara* 'bough, stick' > Ewk *gara* 'bough, dry branch, stick', Sln *gar*, *gara* 'branch', Neg *gaya*, Orc, Ud *gā*, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk *gara* 'bough, branch, rowlock (made of a bough) in a boat', ? WrMc {Z} г ар га, гаргань 'bough, branch' ¶ STM I 141, On. 99, Z 310-11 ||| T {S} **kær* ({S} **k_{er}*) 'notch of an arrow' > OT Kr *kez*, Az *gäz*, Qzq *kez*, Bsh d. kiđe, Tv, Tfl *kes* id., MT *kez* 'arrow shift', Tkm *keđlik* 'small knife', Tk *gez* 'rear sight of a gun (прорезь прицела)', Ggz {ET} *gez* ~ *kez* 'noth on an arrow (for a shooting bowstring), Tk d. {THADS} *kez* 'Kerbe' ¶ Cl 756, Rs. W 260, ET VGD 12 ||| pKo {S} **kār^h* 'knife, sword' > MKo *kār* / *kār^h*-, NKo *k^hal* ¶ S QK no. 415, Nam 19, MLC 1669 ||| pJ {S} **kātà^{nà}* 'knife' > OJ *katana*, MJ *kātà^{nà}* id., J K *kātà^{nà}*, J Kg *kataná*, J T *kataná* ~

katána {Kenk.} 'sword, blaze' ¶ S QJ no. 419, Mr. 443, Kenk. 872 ¶¶ SDM 531-2 (pA *gǎ́r̥á 'sharp edge' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 483, Mr. KJ 251 (Ko, J), Lee CSMK 111 || D *kar̥ > Tm karu 'prong, barb, spike'; D *kar̥kk- ({ǧGS} *k-) > Tm karukku 'teeth of a saw\sickle, jagged edge of palmyra leafstalk', Ml karukku 'teeth of a saw\file, thorns of a palmyra branch', karikku 'edge of teeth', Kn karaku, karuku 'a jag, notch, dent, toothed part of a file\saw', Tl karagasamu 'a saw' ¶¶ D no. 1265 || HS *g̥r̥_lH_l- 'thorn, sharp point' → (?) 'summit of a mountain' > WCh *✓gr 'thorn' > Klr {J} gírím. (pl. gírēr), gíríf. (pl. gírýér) 'thorn' | Ang {ChL} gǧr 'thorn' | ? Hs gársání 'a very thorny weed', ? mágáryá 'jujube (a thorny tree) (*Zizyphus jujuba*)' ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [no. 741] (*h_lgar̥ 'thorny plant'), ChL, ChC s.v. 'thorn', J R 352, Ba. 369, 744, Abr. H 534-5 || C *g̥á_r- 'rock, mountain' (× N *g̥oR̥ '≈ hill, [small?] mountain', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ IS I 226 [no. 78] (IE, U, D, Tg; * ÷ M *gar- 'go\come out, emerge, appear'); OS RPV I 67 no. 4 (adduction of the Hs and Ang words to N) ◇ IE and D (D *-r- goes back to N cns. clusters with *r or *r̥) suggest the presence of a lr. The absence of traces of the N (and IE) lr. in Gk χάρμη is puzzling.

688c. *g̥o_rHæ 'to track (game), to smell, to hear; ear' > IE: NaIE *g̥^whr̥ē- vt. 'smell, scent out, feel' (× N *g̥^oR̥_zæ 'to feel' [q.v.]) > OI jighrāti, 'ghrāti 'smells (sth.)' (pp. ghrā'ta-), ghrāṇam, grāṇā n. 'smell, nose' || Gk ὀσ-φράνομα 'catch scent of, smell, track' (< *odes g̥^whr̥-) (Gk aor. ὠσφρόμην) | ⇨ NaIE *g̥^whr̥ē-ti-s n. 'smell, smelling (Geruch)' > OI grāti_h id., Gk ὀσ-φρησις 'the sense of smell' ¶ WP I 697, P 495, M K I 433, F II 438-9 || HS: B *✓gr̥H > Zng {TC} ɔgr̥h 'hear', {Bs., Msq.} g̥ara (pf. i g̥ra) 'listen, hear', ?σ: Ah aǧru 'discerner (comprendre et distinguer)', ETwl ɔgru, Ty aǧru 'discerner, apercevoir', Tnsl {Pr.} aǧr̥ah 'discerner', {DTM} pf. iǧr̥h 'discerner, comprendre, voir' ¶ Bs. MS I 169, Msq. Z, Pr. H no. 106, DCTC 288, NZ 876-8, Ks. VZ 84-5 (claiming that -h in Zng is secondary, but cf. Tnsl) || Eg Md gr̥y.t 'a part of the ear (earhole?)' ¶ EG V 181, DW 921 || EC: Kns kurrá, Mos koworó 'ear', Or: {Th.} gurra, nom. gurri, {Grg., Brl.}, B/O {Sr.}, W {Sr., Hn.} gurra, T {Mrn.} 'gurrā, H {Ow.} gurrá, M {AD} 'gurrā, nom. gu'rri' 'ear', W {Sr.} gur(r)ī 'earwax'; an unknown C lge ⇨ Amh ǧoro 'ear' ¶ Th. 180, Brl. 191, Grg. 188, Sr. 317, Hn. W 67, AD MO, Lm. SKE 534 ¶¶ Blz. DA no. 12 || AdS of S *✓gr̥h > Ar جرح ✓ǧr̥h G 'look for, try to obtain (as animals looking for food)' (< N *g̥ār̥h̥ 'try to obtain, wish, need') ¶ BK

I 275 || **A:** M *göreven n. 'hunting, chasing; game' (× N *güR∇ 'beast', q.v.) > WrM gōr ŭge(n) {MED} 'hunting, chasing; game', HIM гөрөө {MED} id., {BMR} 'Jagd, Fischerei, охотничий промысел', Kl {KRS} гөрә gōrā 'Jagd', {Rm} gōrē 'Jagd; wildes Tier', Ord g_ōrō 'chasse'; M *göreve-le- v. 'hunt' > WrM {MED} gōr ŭgele- id., HIM {MED, BMR} гөрөөлө- id., Kl {KRS} гөрәл- gōräl- id., {Rm.} gōrēl- 'auf die Jagd ziehen, jagen (Wild)', Brt гүрөөл- v. 'hunt', Ord g_ōrōlō- 'aller à la chasse, chasser' ¶ MED 387, BMR I 446-7, Chr. 166, KRS 147, KW 138, Ms. O 271 ¶ The M stem either contaminated with M *göreve-sün 'wild herbivorous animal' (< N *güR∇ '↑' (q.v.) [whence WrM gōr ŭge(n) 'game']) or goes back to it. In the latter case the M √ does not belong here || **D** *kuṛ- 'ear ring, ear' (× N *qUR₁W₁∇ [= *qUR₁W₁∇?] 'ear' [q.v.] × N ? *ko^r₁W₁∇ 'ear [external ear]?') > Tm kuṛaṁ, Ml kuṛa 'ear ring, ear', Kn B kōḍige, Tu koḍarṅgæ, Klm kuḍka, Gnd kuṛka 'ear ring', Tu kuḍka, kuḍki 'female's ear ornament' ¶¶ D no. 1823 ◇ Blz. DA 152 [no. 13] (D, HS), Blz. NDA no. 12 (Q, HS).

689. ₂ *gEy∇ŝ∇ 'to cast (spear); spear' ([in S]: → 'wage war'; 'host [armed force]') > **IE:** NaIE *g^hajso-s, {EI} *g^hajso-s ~ *g^hajses- 'javelin, spear' ({EI} 'throwing spear') > OI 'hēsah₁ 'weapon', {EI} 'missile' (?? ← hi'nas-ti ~ Vd 'himṣati 'injures, hurts, destroys') || Clt {Matas.} *gayso- 'spear' > OIr {P} gáe, {Matas.} gae 'spear', {P} fo-gae (later foga) 'javelin (Wurfspieß)', OW {Flr.} guoiu, MW gwaew, W gwayw 'spear', OCrn [γ] hoch-wuyu 'venabulum', Crn gew 'spear', OBr guugaiou id., Br {Hm.} goaf 'lance; gaffe, perche munie d'un croc' (× Fr. gaffe 'boat hook, gaffe'), Gl *gayso- → L gaesum and Gk γαῖσος ~ γαῖσον 'long heavy javelin (originally a Gaulish weapon)' || Gmc *gajzas > AS zār, OSx gēr, OHG gēr, NHG Ger, ON geirr 'javelin, spear' || ?? Gk χαῖος 'shepherd's staff' (μφ from 'spear?') ¶ WP I 528, P 410, EI 537, WH I 575-6, SB 104, Flr. 204, YGM-1 260, Matas. E 154, Hm. 320, LP §§ 14, 23 (3) and 34 (3), Billy 76, F I 282-3 and II 1061-2, Vr. 161-2, Kb. 327, Schz. 150, Ho. 124, Ho. S 25, KM 249; ≠ M K III 595, 601, 611 and M E II 820-1 (in both: 'hēsah₁ * ← hiṣ- / hēs- 'injure, hurt' without IE et.) || **HS:** WS *¹gayaŝ- 'troop, armed force' > MHb 𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇 'gayis (< AHb *¹gayiŝ) (pl. 𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇), JA 𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇 (*gayiyə₁'sā) 'troop; pack of robbers', JEA {Sl.} 𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇 gayiyə₁'sā 'band of marauders\ robbers', Sr W 𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇𐭀𐭃𐭆𐭇 gayi's-ā 'troop, army', Ar جيش ḡayš- 'army', Sb gpyŝ 'unit, detachment', d.: Mh ✓ gpyŝ (pf. gzyōŝ) v. 'rally, collect the tribe (in troubled times)', Jb E ✓ gpyš (pf. 'gēŝ), Jb C Sh šzyēŝ

id. ¶ Dlm. 73, Br. 114, Sl. 279-80, ≈ Lv. I 325 (erroneous vocalization MHb 𐌆𐌿𐌸𐌰 ǵaƿ'ƿā̅s), BGMR 52, Jo. M 128, Jo. J 81, DRS 116 || C: EC *✓ǵš̅ ({{Ss.}*ǵš̅i) pcv. 'kill' > Rn {Ss.} -ǵis-, {PG} -ǵī̅s- / p. -ǵis- / -ǵā̅s- (n. act. ǵǵō̅s), pBn {Hn.} *-igā̅s- / *-igis- (> Bn K -igā̅s- / -igis-, B/J -iyā̅s- / -ī̅s-), Arr {Hw.} -eķes- / (ip.) -aķas- (1s ʔigis-, inv. 2s ʔigís) 'kill', Dsn {Ss.} -ē̅s-, {To.} ʔās / -es- (pcv.), Elm -ekis- id., whence scv.: Or {Ss., Grg.} aǵē̅s-, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} iǵē̅s-, Kns {Ss.} ikaš- / išš-, HEC ({{Hd.} *siy-): Sd {Ss.} šiy-, Kmb/Ged {Ss.} šī-, Hd {Ss.} š-, Brj siy- 'kill', Brj si'iyā 'warrior' ||| Bj {R} ✓ǵʷš̅ʔ (1s: p. a-'uǵš̅aʔ, pres. aǵʷan'š̅ī; prtc. 'ǵʷiš̅ʔa) v. 'cast a spear' (and *'throw' → ✓ǵʷš̅ʔ 'zu Boden strecken, unterjochen'?) ||| SC *✓ǵʔs 'kill' > Kz ǵaʔis-, Asa ǵas, Alg, Brn ǵas- 'kill', Irq ǵā̅s- 'kill, break'; SC ʔ → Mb -ǵaʔa 'kill' ¶ R WBd 103, Ss. B 167, PG 62, 238, Hn. BD 114, Grg. 11-12, Sr. 331, Hw. A 267-9, Hd. 86, To. DL 200, E SC 263, E K 11, MQK 37, Blz. CP s.v. 'kill' || ʔσ Ch: CCh: Mofu {Brr.} -ǵà̅ž- 'throw', MfG {Brr.} -'ǵž̅- 'throw, drop' ||| WCh: ? Kry {Sk.} kuse, Kir {ChC} guse v. 'throw' ||| ECh: Jg {J} ǵiš̅- 'throw' ¶ JS 267, ChC s.v. 'throw', Brr. MG II 121 ◇ FU *küš̅∇- v. 'fall' (Coll. 79, MK 225-6) should be kept apart (it has a better et. connecting it with N *küš̅'ʔ∇ 'to fell, to fall', q.v.).

690. *ǵ'ä'iyš̅∇ʔa 'be frightened\sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *ǵʰeįs- 'be frightened, be scared', {EI} 'frighten' > Av zaēš̅a- 'horrible', zōi(ə)š̅nāv- zusammenschreckend, schaudernd', KhS ƿsās̅ʔa 'hateful, hostile', NPrs زشت zeš̅t 'hideous, ugly; bad' ||| Gt us-geisnān (ἐκπλήσσεισθαί, ἐξίστασθαί) 'sich entsetzen, er-staunen', us-ǵaisjan 'erschrecken', Ic ǵeisa 'to rage, to be ferocious', ǵeiski n. 'fright, terror', ON ǵeiska-fullr 'frightful' (lit. 'full of fright') ¶ Hardly here (for both phonetic and semantic reasons and against P's opinion) NaIE *ǵʰoįsd- > OI 'hēđa- 'anger', OHG ǵeist 'spirit, soul', NHG Ǵeist 'spirit', AS ǵæst ~ ǵāst 'spirit, ghost', NE ghost; OI 'hēđa- 'anger' is likely to belong to N *ǵič̅∇ 'injure, irritate' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ EI 214, ≈ WP I 553-4, ≈ P 427, Brtl. 1651, 1692-3, Bai. 353, Sg. 617, BM 260, Vr. 162, Fs. 531-2, Kb. 324, Ho. 122, Bv 219 ||| A *ǵasa- > Tg *ǵasa- v. 'worry, grieve' > Neg, Ork ǵasa- v. 'worry', Ul ǵasa- 'be sad, grieve (тосковать)', Nn Nh/Bk ǵasa-, Nn KU ǵaso- 'be sad, grieve, worry', WrMc {Z} ǵasa- 'grieve, be sad (сетовать скорбеть, высказывать скорбь)', {Hr} ǵasa- 'beklagen, bemangeln; unzufrieden sein, sich beschweren', Mc Sb {Mrm.} ǵasa- id. ¶ STM I 143, On. 100, Z 304, Hr

337, Klz. MS 175 || M *gasala- 'be sorrowful\afflicted, grieve' > WrM {MED} gasal-, gasala- {MED} id., HIM гасла- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'morn over (оплакивать)', Kl {Rm.} gasl̥- 'betrübt sein, sich grämen', Ord g₁asal- 'se désoler, s'affliger, se lamenter'; ⇨ M *gasalan > WrM gasalanη {MED} 'sorrow, grief, affliction, misfortune; discontent', HIM гаслан(г) {MED} id., {BMR} 'sorrow, grief. affliction, misfortune, переживание, тревожение', Kl {Rm.} gasal₁η ~ gasl₁η 'Gram, Betrübnis, Unglück', {KRS} насл₁η yasl₁η 'grief, sorrow', Ord g₁asalan 'charin, affliction; cause de chagrin \ d'affliction' ¶ MED 353-4, BMR I 392-3, KRS 160-1, KW 146, Pp. MA 178, SM 121, Ms. H 89, Ms. O 296 || HS: S *^o✓gśʔ > Ar جشأ ✓ǧšʔ G 'éprouver une agitation\secousse\inquiétude' (se dit du cœur en proie à quelque émotion), {Fr.} 'commota et excita fuit' (anima moerore vel concepto terrore) ¶ Fr. I 279, BK I 295, Hv. 90.

691. ?₂ *g^uʔś∇ʔa (~ *g^uʔś∇ʔ∇) 'belch, vomit' > HS: S *✓gśʔ ~ *✓gśʔ > Hb (mt.) ✓gśʔ TL (pf. hiṭgōʔeś) 'vomit loudly', Sr pf. G gəʔsā (*✓gśʔ) 'vomit', Ar ✓ǧšʔ G 'belch', Gz ✓g^wśʔ G 'belch, vomit', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} gʒšō, Sq ✓gśʔ, Jb C {Jo.} šʒ-ʔgeśi 'belch', Ak LB geś ū (*✓gśʔ) 'to belch' ¶ KB 200, CAD III 64, Br. 126, JPS 75, BK I 295, L G 205, L LS 117, Jo. M 126, Jo. H 42, Jo. J 80, Sd. 287, Mik I no. 2.17 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ga^ʔ - 'belch' > Hs g^uāçè | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj ŋʒś-, Kry ŋʒśʒ-, My gʒla- id., Cg gāzān n. 'belch', Jmb žižáśú, Diri gʒśá v. 'vomit' | Ngz {Sch.} gāḍžú 'belch' || ECh: Dng {Fd.} gōlṭyè 'vomir quelques gorgées de boisson' ¶ Stl. ZCh 217 [no. 669], ChC s.v. 'belch' and 'vomit', Sk. NB 12, Sch. DN 66, Fd. 329, ≈ Tk. NB 178-9 (pNrBc *gʒś- > *gʒž- ~ *gʒç- [secondary glottalization]) || A: T *Kus- 'vomit' (× N on... *quʔ₁∇, sê 'to vomit, to cough', q.v.) > OT quś- 'vomit', Tk kus-, Tkm quθ-, Az gus-, Ggz kus-, Uz, ET, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, SY quś-, Qzq қҫс-, VTt qʔs-, Bsh qʔθ-, Xk χus- id., Chv хăс- хъс/z- id. (рвать, плевать, изрыгать) ¶ Cl. 666, Rs. W 301, ET Q 174-5, Ash. XXVI 365, Fed II 334-5, Jeg. 295, ChVS 247 ◇ Qu., because the supposed T cognate has an alt. et.

692. ?₂ *gAʔit∇ 'body, flesh' > HS: ?σ,φ EC *gid- 'body, flesh, meat' > Rn žíḍ- 'flesh, meat', Sml žiḍ, Sml J žiṛ 'body', Hr {AMS} gid-0 'mageres Fleisch' ¶ PG 166, ZMO 220, Hn. S 61 (pSam *gid), AMS 158, ≈ Ss. WOKS 133 (EC *gid), Blz. RL 260 || Eg fP ʒ.t 'Leib, Körper' (reinterpretation of *ʒtʔ) ¶ EG V 503-6 || D: SD *kaṭṭ- 'body, corpse' > Tm kaṭṭaṭ id., Kn

kaḍuku 'a headless trunk'; D ⇨ OI kaṭa- 'corpse' ¶ D no. 1152 ◇ EC *-ḍ- points to the existence of a N *ʔ (*-ʔ...t- > EC *-ḍ-).

693. ₂ *gû't'₁H₁∇ 'small, little' > HS: C: SC {E} *gʷat₁-/ *got₁- ({}E} *gʷat₁-/ *got₁-) 'child' > Irq {E, MQK} garma 'boy', Qz goʔolayo 'bull calf' ||| Dhl {EEN, To.} gʷícca 'child' ||| C ⇨ Mb -gitutú 'little, small' ¶ E SC 263, WQK 37, EEN 32, To. D 134 ||| D {tr.} *kuṭṭ-, {IS} *kuḍḍ-, {GS} *guḍḍ- 'small' (× N *kUṭ∇ 'small') > Tu giḍḍa 'short, small', Kn giḍḍu, guḍḍu 'shortness, smallness', Tl giḍḍa 'small, dwarfish', Δ guḍḍu 'short', Tm kuṭṭa 'smallness; young of a monkey', Ml kuṭu 'small, narrow', kuṭṭan 'boy, lamb, calf', Td kuṭ, Kdg kuṭṭi 'child (of any caste except for Coorgs)', Kui gūṭa 'short, dwarfish', Krx guḍru 'dwarfish', Brh ṣuḍḍū, guḍḍū 'small' ¶¶ D no. 1670, GS 166 [no. 419], 184 [no. 465] ◇ IS (p.c.) supposed here a sx with a lr. ** -t-H- > D *-ḍḍ- (cf. IS SS 320) ◇ Both the SC rec. and the pN one are questionable.

694. *gāṭā 'grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *gʰed- v. 'acquire', n. 'acquisition' > Oss I zɜd, Oss D zud 'greedy, greediness' ||| Gmc *git- > Gt bi-gitan (·εύρισκεν, ἀνεύρισκεν, ἔχειν) 'finden', ON geta 'to create, to obtain, to procreate' (NrGmc ⇨ ME geten > NE get), OHG bi-gezzan 'to get (erhalten), reach', OSx bigetan 'to find', AS bi-zietan 'to receive, to find; to procreate' (> NE beget) ||| OL praída, L praeda 'booty' (< *prai₁-heda) ¶ WP I 589-90, P 437-8 (*gʰend- and *gʰed-), Fs. 90, Mn. 317 (*gʰed-; *÷ ChS žadati 'to desire'), Ab. IV 317-18, WH II352-3, Vr. 165, WW 113, Kb. 331, Ho. 120, Ho. S 26, HDEL 119, 554 ¶ WP and P postulated a variative root *gʰend- ~ *gʰed-, based on Brugmann's theory of a nasal infix (BD II/3 293ff.) and therefore adduced the reflexes of IE *gʰend- (> Gk χανδάνω 'ich fasse', {LS} 'take in, hold, contain', L praehendō [> prēhendō] id. etc.), but Mn. is probably right in rejecting it and reconstructing a separate root *gʰed- (our *gʰed- with *gʰ- on the ev. of Oss I zɜd, Oss D zud 'greedy') ¶ IE *-d- rather than *-t- (< N *-t-) is due to the IE incompatibility law ruling out voiced aspirates and voiceless cns in the same root ||| HS: C: EC {Ss.} *gaḍ- > Brj gaḍ- 'take', Rn χāta (< *kāt- < mte. *gāḍ-) 'take; capture, seize', pKns *kēḍ- v. 'take' > Kns, Turo, Gato qēḍ-, Msl gēḍ-, Gdl kēḍ- id., ?σ Or E (with a caus. sx) gaḍḍīs- 'set free, let go' ||| Dhl {EEN} geṭ- 'take, send', geṭṭokum- 'carry', {To.} get- 'bring, send' ||| ? SC (× N *gōt∇ 'pull, draw??): Irq {Wh.} -gagár-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ Ss. B 75, Bl. 254, PG 186,

≈ AD SF 245, EEN 31, Th. 143 (Or *gaddisu* ~ *gaḏisu* 'congedare, licenziare, lasciare andare'), ≈ E SC 237, To. D 134, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || ?σ S *^o✓ gtt > Ar ✓ ḡtt (pf. جتّ ḡatta) 'touch a domestic animal in order to know if it is fat' ¶ BK I 251 ¶ S *-t- for *-ṭ- is due to deglottalization in S (likely to be compulsory in certain conditions, as can be concluded from the absence of *g-ṭ-roots in pS) || U: FU *katt∇- v. 'grasp, hold' (*katt∇ from **kättâ due to vw. harmony?) > Prm *kut- > OPrm, Z kut- 'catch, hold', StVt inf. кутыны, Vt S kut-, Vt G {W} kut+- 'catch, seize' || OHg hat- 'possess', Hg hatalo, 'power, violence' ¶ UEW 130-1, LG 147-8, MF 275-6 || D *kat- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'seize' > Tm katuvu 'seize, grasp', Kn kaḏubu 'seize or hold firmly', kaḏi v. 'steal', Tu kaḏipu, kaḏupu, kaḏpu n. 'stealing, theft', Tl kaḏumu 'seize' ¶¶ D no. 1200, ≈ Km. 322 [no. 242] (*kač- > kat-).

694a. ≈ *gôṭ∇ 'ant', (?) 'worm' > HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} gōṭāmo coll. 'ε ants', gōṭān-čō 'ant', as well as (with as. *g...ṭ > *ḡ...ṭ): Ged {LmS} ḡōṭāmo 'ant' and Sml {ZMO} quḡānyo 'ants', ??? Sml god 'ε ant' (in godka qurānyada), Dsn {LmS} kūḡin 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380, ZMO 334, 452, Gs. 130 || NrOm: Wl {LmS} guṭṭun-iyā 'worm', Omt {Mrn.} guṭune, Gf {Mrn.} guḡəne 'worm', Gm {LmS} guḡune 'worm, meat worm', Malo {LmS} guṣine, Dc/Zs {LmS} guḡume 'worm' ¶ AD SF 249, LmS 380, Mrn. O s.v. guṭune || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} (mt.) gāndīf 'ant' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gòḡnòy 'ε ant' ¶ ChC s.v. 'ant', J R s.v. DfB gāndīf, Eb. 51 || U: FP {UEW} *kutke 'ant' > Es kuk-lane (gen. kuklase) 'ant', Lv kukki 'bug, insect' || pLp {Lr.} kotkə 'ant' > Lp: S gārke, U gādhka, L kār'ħkå, N {N} goṭ'kå, Kld kot:k id. || pMr {Ker.} *kutkə- > *kotkə- > Er коткудав, {W} kotkodov id. || pChr {Ber.} kutkə- id. > Chr: Н кыткы 'кѣткѣ, L кутко 'kutko, Uf/B kutko id. || Prm: pZ *kōṭ|d > Z кодзувкот koṣuv-kot, Z US koṣul-kō, Z K kot-koṣul 'ant' (koṣul 'ant') ¶ UEW 678-9, Lr. no. 463, Lgc. no. 2581, ERV 298, Ker. II 68, Ber. 25, MRS 250, 272, Ep. 53, LG 135 || D *kott- ({ḡGS} *g-) > Kn godda 'ε black ant' ¶ D no. 2096 ◊ Blz. DA 159 [no. 72] and Blz. NDA no. 74 (in both: C, NrOm, D).

695. *gôṭ∇ 'pull, draw' > HS: C {AD} *✓ g^wt 'draw, pull' > Ag: Xm {R} g^wit- id.; Ag ⇨ Tgr {LH} gətət ʔabla, Tgy g^wətətəta id. || ?? EC: pSam {Hn.} *gīt/*gītā v. 'pull' (unless it is EC {Ss.} *zīt- v. 'pull' < N *zed_hü|u 'pull, drag, draw', q.v. ffd.) > Sml žīd-, Rn {Hn.} žīt / 'žita, {PG} žīta 'pull, drag', pBn {Hn. BD} *(hǎ́)-šīd or {Hn. S} *šīd 'pull' > Bn: Bi (hǎ́)-šīd, J/Kj hǎ́-šīd, K hǎ́-sīd id. || ??φ SC (× N *gātâ 'grasp, take,

possess'): Irq {Wh.} -gagár-, {MQK} gagār- 'carry (a load)', {E} gagar-, Alg geger- 'carry' ¶ AD SF 245, R Ch II 363 (s.p. 49), Hn. S 61, Hn. BD 122, Abr. S 140, Sim 11-12, 15, PG 166, Wh. SI, MQK 36 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} ΓΟΧΗ- v. 'pull, draw' ¶ STM I 163, Z 344-5 || E: AchEl ku-ti-iš 'er trug, führte mit sich, brachte', NEI ku-ti-na 'er soll tragen!' ¶¶ HK 546-7 ◇ Blz. E no. 101 (E, HS) || ?? U: FU (??) *°kut(t)∇- ({MF} *°kut∇-) v. 'tear, draw' > Vg T/P kat- and Vg LK/Ss xat- v. 'tear' (unless these Vg verbs go back to pUgr *kupэ-тэ- 'pull, draw' > Vg Sg xūpt- 'put on boots, put load on one's back', Os Ty qop+t∇ 'zerstückeln', Os D χāpāt- 'fällen' and Os O χāpāt- 'loswinden' [UEW 859]) ¶ MF 3123-3 ◇ WrMc {Z} -c- (-s-) points to a N *-t̥-. HS *t results from deglottalization of N *t̥ (a regular process).

696. *gät̥t̥ā' 'to pass through\over, to get through, to cross' > HS: WCh: BT: Bl {Lk.} gād- 'vorbei-\weiter-\hinein-gehen; übertreffen', {Bnt.} gā'dāwō 'pass by', Krkr {Lk.} gād- id., ?? Tng kadε vt. 'go to meet' ¶ Stl. VZCh, Lk. PVB II 135, Bnt. 24, J T 95 || S *°✓k̥t̥t̥ v. 'go through, cross' > Ar ✓q̥t̥t̥ (ip. -q̥t̥aṣ-) v. 'cross (a river), traverse (a country)', 'migrate (from a cold land to a warm one)' (of birds of passage)' (unless from ✓q̥t̥t̥ 'cut') ¶ Fr. III 465, BK II 768 ¶ The S glottalized initial cns. *k̥- is due to as. within forms with a cns. cluster (**-g̥t̥aṣ- > *-k̥t̥aṣ) || A *gæt̥ā' - 'go, come', (?) 'pass through\over' > M: [1] M *gatul- v. 'cross (a river\mountain)' > WrM {MED} gatul-, HIM {MED, BMR} гатла- v. 'cross a river', Kl {Rm.} gat̥l̥- '(ein Wasser) überschreiten, überfahren (mit dem Boot)', {KRS} һатл- gat̥l̥- 'cross a river \ a mountain', Brt гатал- id., Ord g̥at̥'ul̥- 'traverser', g̥ol̥ g̥at̥'ul̥- 'passer une rivière'] [2] M *getül- > WrM {MED} getül- v. 'traverse, cross, ford, wade', HIM гэтл- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'cross (a river); 'get across (переходить на другую сторону)', Ord g̥et̥'ül̥- 'traverser (rivière)', Kl {Rm.} get̥l̥- 'über (einen Fluß) fahren, hindurchwaten', Brt гэтэл- 'cross (a mountain, a river)'; ?σ: Kl {KRS} гетл- 'get rid of', WrO getel- v. 'save from, escape', Brt үбшэнһөө гэтэл- 'get rid of an illness' ¶ MED 354-5, 380, BMR I 393-4, Krg. 766, Chr. 151, 173, KW 135, 147, KRS 141, 161, Ms. O 263, 299 || NaT *k'æt- 'go, go away' > OT {Cl.}, MQp XIII ket- id., XwT XIII, Chg XV get- 'go', MQp [CC] ket-, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln ket-, ET kät-, Δ ket-, VTt, Bsh kit-, Ggz get- 'go away', Tk git-, Tkm git- (aor. gider), Az ġet-, Qmq get-, Nog, Uz ket- 'go, go away' ¶ Cl. 701, ET VGD 49-50, Rs. W 258 || pJ {S} *kítá-r- 'come, arrive' > OJ k̥itar-, MJ kítár-

, J: T kitár-, K kítàr-, Kg kìtâr- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1389, Mr. 709, Kenk. 982 ¶ pJ *-i- is due to regr. as.? ¶¶ SDM 534 (pA *gǎt'ì 'go, come' > M *getül-, T, J), DQA no. 489 ¶¶ The vw. *a in M *gatul- is probably due to regr. as. || D {Km., Zv., Pf.} *kaṭṭ-/ *kaṭ-∇ ({GS} *kyaḍ-) v. 'pass through, cross (sth.)' > Tm kaṭa v. 'pass through, traverse, cross', Ml kaṭakka v. 'pass over/out, transgress, surpass', Kt kaṛv- (p. kaṛd-) v. 'cross (a river)', Td kaḍ- v. 'leave, pass, cross', Kn kaḍe v. 'pass over, transgress, get through', Kdg kaḍa-, Prj kaḍp-, Gdb karp-, Mnd kṛā- v. 'cross', Tu kaḍapuni v. 'cross, ford, pass', OTI\TI kaḍacu, TI gaḍacu, gaḍucu id., Knd gaṛvi- v. 'go beyond the boundary of a village', Kui gṛāsa- v. 'pass sth. over/through', Ku grānčali- v. 'cross over', Krx kaṭṭ-, Mlt kaṭe- id., v. 'cross', Brh xarr- v. 'proceed on foot, make one's way' ¶¶ D *-ṭṭ- / *-ṭ- < post-N *-t- (deglossalized *-t- due to the infl. of the lr. *-ṣ-) < N *-ṭṣ- ¶¶ Zv. 101, ≈ D no. 1109 (without distinguishing between this √ and *kaṭ- 'end'), Km. 236, Pf. 65 [no. 404], 84 [no. 534], GS 206-7 [no. 522], 28 [no. 16], 164 [no. 407], 166 [no. 417] ¶¶ D *-ṭ- ({GS} *-ḍ-) is probably from *-ḍṣ- < N *-ṭṣ- (as.) ◇ The origin of NaT *-e- (that DQA interprets as pointing to A *-a...i) still needs investigating.

697. *gǎwṣ∇ (or *gǎwṣ∇?) 'to call' > IE *ǵʰoʷ(H₂)χ- 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE *ǵʰoʷ(ə)- 'call, invoke', *ǵʰoʷo-s 'a call', pp. *ǵʰu(:)-to- 'called, invoked' > OI 'hāvātē 'calls, invokes', hū'ta- 'called, summoned, invoked', Av zāvā'ti 'ruft verwünschend an', Av zāvā- n., OI 'hāvā-h 'call, invocation' || Gk καυχ-άουαι 'speak loud, boast' (the vw. -α- is due to contamination with N *kaw∇ 'call [exclaim], shout') || OIr guth 'voice' (< *gutu-s) (× *g- because of contamination with N *kaw∇) || Lt žavėti 'to charm, to fascinate', Ltv zavēt 'to charm, to cast a spell, to conjure' ('zaubern, hexen') (← *'to invoke charms') || Sl *zъvǎ-ti (1s pres. zǎv-ǫ) 'to call (rufen, звать, appeler, crier)' > OCS зъвати zъvati / 1s pres. зовѣ zovǫ (· καλεῖν, κράζειν) {StSS} 'звать, зывать, восклицать, кричать', SCr zavǎti / 1s pres. zǎvēm, Slv zvatī / 1s pres. zóvem 'call (nach j-m rufen), name', OCz zvatī / 1s pres. zovu, Cz zvatī / 1s pres. zvu, Slk zvat' / 1s pres. zvem, P zwac' / 1s pres. zowe, R звать / 1s pres. зову, Uk 'звати / 1s pres. зову 'call (nach j-m rufen), name', Blg зо'ва 'I call (invite), I name' || Tc B {Wn.} kuwā-, {Ad.} kwā- 'call, invite' ¶ P 413-14 (NaIE *ǵʰau(ə)- 'call, invoke', *ǵʰawo-s 'a call', pp. *ǵʰu(:)-to-), EI 89-

90 (IE *ǵʰau(H)-), M K III 585-7, M E II 809-11, F I 802-3, ≈ LP § 62 (Oir ǵu t h < NaIE *ǵʷoʷ- [> Gk βοή 'a loud cry, shout']), Frn. 1203, Vs. II 85, Glh. 702, Wn. I 292 (Tc < IE *ǵʰāu-), JGH 59, Ad. 235 || HS: CS *✓ǵɣy v. 'call, low' > Sr ✓ǵɣy (pf. ǵə'ɣā) v. 'call out\upon, implore, low, bellow', BHb ✓ǵɣy (pf. ǵā'ɣā) v. 'roar, low', MHb ✓ǵɣy (p. ǵā'ɣā) 'cry loudly, roar, low', Ug ǵɣt 'lowing of cattle', JA ✓ǵɣy (p. 'ǵā'ɣā, ǵā'ɣā) v. 'low' ¶ KB 191, KBR 199, A no. 679, Br. 127, Js. 261, DRS 164 ¶ The meaning 'low, bellow, roar' is due to onomatopoeic reinterpretation of the verb || ?φ Eg fP ǵɣy 'call upon' ('rufen, anrufen') (× N *ǵúʷ'i'ɣ∇ 'shout, cry, utter sounds' [*inter alia* of an animal] [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 ¶ The loss of the expected *ɣ is still hard to explain || A: M *ǵuyu- v. 'ask, implore, require' (← 'pursue') (× N *ǵuyE 'be hungry, desire, want' × N *ǵEhōʷy∇ 'go away, drive away') > MM [HI, S, MA] ǵuyu- 'ask, solicit, require', WrM {BMR} ǵuyu-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ǵuy- 'ask, request, beg, solicit', Ord ǵuy- 'supplier, prier, demander avec instance; mendier', Mnr H {SM} d. ǵuēr̄la- 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' ¶ M *-u- of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶ Pp. MA 180, H 74, MED 365, BMR I 457, Chr. 159, SM 124, Ms. H 92, Ms. O 311 || D *kauv- ~ *kaʷ- 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *kaʷ∇ 'call', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *a suggests that the N front vw. is to be specified as *ā, but the D ev. is not conclusive (because of the ambiguous origin of the D √).

698. *ǵay∇ 'side, outside' > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} ǵayú 'aside', {E} ǵayu 'beyond, on the other side', {MQK} ǵayu 'other side (esp. of a river), area on other side', ? C → Mb {E} ǵána, ǵahana 'outside' ¶ Wh. SI, E SC 237 [no. 22], MQK 37 || K: [1] a compound preverb: GZ {K} *ǵa-mo- 'heraus-, out of' > OG ǵa-mo 'out of, from', G ǵa-mo-, Mg, Lz ǵo-mo- id.; [2] compound adverbs: GZ *ǵa-re '(in the) outside, beyond' > OG, G ǵare, Mg, Lz ǵale id. ({Q} 'voilà, outside, outdoors'); [3] GZ *°ǵan- 'side, outside' (× N *ǵänħ∇ 'side [of sth.], width', q.v.) > OG, G ǵan- 'side, outside', GZ *ǵan- 'outside, outwards' (preverb) > OG ǵan-, G ǵa(n)-, Mg, L ǵo- id., 'out of, from'; [4] K *°-ǵan (× N *ǵänħ∇ nu 'from the side [of]', see N *ǵänħ∇ 'side of' and N *nu 'from, of') > OG, G -ǵan 'from, out of' (case ending) ¶ K 59, K² 26-7, FS K 72-3, Ser. 17, 21-36, Q 212-13, 218, Dt. 14 || U *°ka|oy∇ (or *ka|o'ı∇*°ka|o'ı∇) > Sm {Jn.} *ka'ıy 'side' > Ng {Cs} kai, kei, {Mik.} kɛy id., Slq Tz {KKIH} qō 'side of body', qōq+t prep. 'near' ¶ Jn. 57-8, KKIH 163 || A: Tg *ǵa 'out!', 'BOH!' > Neg ǵa

'out!' (a ritual interjection of chasing the illness spirit), Nn ga id. ¶ STM I 132, On. 95.

699. *goy ▽ 'man, people' > HS: S (or WS) *ga w y- 'people (Volk)' > BHb 'l̄ gō y 'people, nation; people (persons)', EpHb pl. g y y m 'the heathens', Ph, Pun g ω 'community, corporation', Sb g ω - m, g ω y, Mn g ω 'community group', Ak M g ā (ʔ|w|y)-um 'people (Volk)' ({DRS}: ← Cn) ¶ KB 175, KBR 182-3, HJ 215, 221, BGMR 51, MA 57, Sd. 284, CAD V 59, DRS 107 || U *koye 'man (male person), male' > FU: Lp Kld {SaR} k̄j̄j̄, {TI} kuj, Lp T {Gn.} k̄j̄j̄ 'husband' || ObU {Ht.} *kūy 'male' > pVg *kūy > Vg: MK kuy śīs, P kuj śēs 'male wolf', Ss xuy śīśi 'male ermine'; pOs {Ht.} *kuy 'male' > Os: V qu / quy-, D/O χoy 'man, husband'; (in cds: animal name X + *kuy): Vy/Ty quy, K/O χuy, Nz/Kz χūy 'male (X)' || Sm: StNe T x a e π ā̄ - v. 'have a husband, be married' (of a woman), Ne T O {Lh.} χ ā y ū - p ā̄ - 'having a husband, married' (of a woman) || pY {IN} *kōy 'man (vir)' > Y K/T {IN H} kōy 'young man, boy', K {Krn.} koy 'young man' ¶ Coll. 13, UEW 166-7, SaR 131, Ht. no. 232, Jn. 76, Ter. 72O, 76O, IN H 215-16, IN UJ 22, Krn. JJ 236, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 21] (Y ← U) || A: Tg *goy^r 'other, different' (← *'stranger') > Ul goy ~ goy_i, Ork go_i ~ goy, Nn Nh goy, Nn Bk go_i id., WrMc {Z} г y в а, Mc Sb quā 'other, different, strange (fremd)', WrMc {Hr} г y в а r̄alma, {Z} г y в а нялма 'another person, stranger' (r̄alma {Z} нялма] means 'person') ¶ STM I 157-8, On. 111, Z 244-5, 353, Hr 397, Y no. 3O23 ¶ For the meaning cp. Hb gōy 'people' → 'heathen' → 'not Jewish' ◇ AD LRC no. 133 (HS, U).

700. *gā_ry ▽ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' ([later] → 'to wave to so., to beckon') > U: FU (att. in Vg) **°°kây ▽ - > Vg: P {Kn.} kuyt- v. 'wave to so., beckon', LK/Ss {Kn.} xuyt- 'verführen, antreiben', N {Mu.} χ u j t i, ML {Mu.} k h u j t i, K {Mu.} k h u j t i ɘ k h ω ɔ j t i 'hetzen, aufreizen, rufen, locken, treiben' ¶ UEW 858, MK 117 || A: Tg *gay ▽ ω - v. 'wave one's hand, point with one's hand\finger' > Ewk Brg/Z/Np gayiω- 'wave to so., beckon', Ul gayawčy- ~ gayaoč_i- v. 'point with one's finger at', gayawčy(n-) čumučy(n-) 'index finger', Nn Nh {On., STM} gayāč_i- v. 'show the direction to dogs', {STM} gayaoč_i- ~ {On., STM} gayos_i- ~ gayoč_i- v. 'point with one's hand\finger' ¶ STM I 136, ≠ SDM 527-8 (unc.: Tg *gayi- < pA *gay ▽ 'surprise' [> M *gayika v. 'wonder, marvel' and pT *Kay- 'pay respect']), On. 95 || HS: Eg P 33y 'extend (an arm), oppose to', {EG} id., 'das Gesicht jemandem zuwenden' ¶ EG V 514, Fk. 318.

701. *gähya 'throw, leave, let' > **U**: FU *kaya- 'throw, pour' > Er/Mk kaya- 'throw away, take off (clothes), pour' | Prm {LG} *koy- 'throw, throw away' > Vt koy- id., Z koy- id., 'scoop out, pour out' | Hg hajit- 'throw, hurl, cast, fling' ¶ UEW 116-17, MF 215-16, LG 128 || **IE**: NaIE *g̃hē(j̃)- 'hurl, cast' > OI ✓ hay-: hi'nōti 'hurls, casts, sends forth, sets in motion, impels', Vd hē-'ti-h̃ 'missile weapon', Av zaena- 'weapon' || Gmc: Lngb gaida 'spear', AS ȝād 'goad, point' (< *'spear') > NE goad ¶ WP I 546, P 424-5, M K 595-6, M E II 802-3, MW 1297, 1303, Ho. 121 || **HS**: CS *✓ghy v. '≈ let, be set free' (× N *gEhōwy▽ 'go away, drive away?') > Sr ✓ghy (pf. |^o gā'hā, ip. neg'hē) 'flee, escape', Sh (pf. ʔag'hī) 'set free, deliver, eschew', Md ✓gh? 'flee, escape', BHb 𐎠𐎡𐎢 gē'hā 'healing', ✓ghy|w G (ip. yig'hē) 'heal, cure' (< *'set free from the illness'), Ar ✓ğğh TD (pf. tağahğaha) 'reculer, se reculer, s'abstenir de qch.', ✓ğhh G (pf. ğahha) 'chasser ignominieusement' ¶ Br. 106, JPS 61-2, KB 174, KBR 181, BK I 341, DRS 104 ◇ U *a (for the expected *ä) may be due to vowel harmony (regr. as.).

702. *goXey▽ 'light, sunshine, dawn, daybreak, aurora' > **HS**: WS *gawh- 'aurora, dawn' > Ar D {Lb.} جَوْحُ ġawh (or d. جَوَّاحُ ġuwaḥ) 'la lumière qui précède la lune avant qu'elle se lève, la première clarté qui précède le soleil levant, l'aube', Gz gōh, Amh goh 'dawn'; WS v. *✓gawh 'dawn' > Gz ✓gawh (pf. gōha), Tgy goha v. 'dawn', Ar D ✓ğwḥ (pf. جَوْحُ ġuwaḥ) 'luire, briller' ¶ L G 207, Lb. 308, Lb. D II 906-7, DRS 107 || EC {Bl., Ss.} *guyy- 'day' > Or {Bl.} گۇيۇا?, {Grg.} guyyā 'day', Or M {AD} guyya', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} guyyā 'day, daytime', Or Wl {Brl.} guya 'giorno, chiaro del giorno', Or H {Ow.} guyā 'day', {Th.} guya, Or Wlg {Brl.} guya-awu v. 'dawn', Kns {Bl.} kuy'uāta, Gln kuyy-a?-akkó 'day', kuyyú, Gwd kúyy-ankó 'today' ¶ AD SF 220, Ss. PEC 44, Bl. 134, 213, Grg. 191, Th. 178, Brl. 193, Sr. 318, Ow. 262, AMS 210, 248, 272 || NrOm: Wl {C} gey- v. 'dawn (albeggiare)' ¶ C SO 30 || **IE**: *g^wheHy-/*g^whHgy- > NaIE *g^whāj̃- - *g^whāj̃- 'light (hell), bright' > Gk φατός 'grey, of any color mixed of black and white' (< *g^whāj̃wos - *g^whāj̃sos) || ? (d.?) NaIE {EI} *g^whāj̃dro-s 'bright, shining' > Gk φαδρός 'bright, beaming, beaming with joy' || Lt giēdras 'clear, serene' (of weather, sky etc.), giedrà ~ gaidrà 'fine weather', Ltv dziedrs 'light-blue', dzidrs 'clear, serene', dzidrumis 'clearness, serenity, limpidness, lucidity' ¶ If Gk φατός is from *g^whāj̃sos, it may be equated with Lt gāĩsas 'glow' ¶ P

488-9, F II 981, 984, Frn. 128, EI 83 || **U:** FU *ko_{ye} 'redness in the sky (daybreak, evening glow), light in the sky' > F ko_i 'dawn, daybreak', Es d. ko_it id., cd ko_i-va_{lge} 'evening glow' || Z k_{ya} k_{ta}, Δ k_{iva} 'redness in the sky (aurora)' || ObU ≈ *kūy > pVg *k'ū'y > Vg: T ko_y ({MK} k_ho_j ~ k_ho_j), NV/UL ku_y, ML/LL/P {MK} k_hu_j, N {MK} χu_j {Coll.} 'morning redness', {MK} 'Morgendämmerung', {Ht.} 'зарница' ¶ But Hg h_{aj}na_l 'dawn, daybreak' and pOs *ku_ñā_l 'redness in the sky' do not belong here (⇔ UEW, MF 246-7), they go back to N *K'ū'y_ñā_lH_íE ~ *K'ū'y_ñā_lH_íE-_ñ*K'ū'y_ñā_lH_íE 'sunshine, daybreak' (q.v.) || Sm {Jn.} *k_āy_ā, {Hl.} *ka_{ya} {AD} 'sun, daylight, bright sky' > En {Ter.} ka_{ya} 'sun', Ne d.: NeT O {Lh.} χ_āy_{er}ā 'leuchten', StNe T x_aep_a-c_ś 'to start shining (заблестеть)', 'to become sunny' (weather), 'to clear up' (the sky), x_aep_ē-c_ś 'to shine, to glimmer, to sparkle' ⇨ x_aep_ś 'sun', Ne F {Lh.} k_āy_{er}ā- 'klares Wetter sein', χ_āy_{er}? 'sun', Ng {Cs.} ko_u 'sun', d. ko_ur_u? 'clear' || ?? Slq: Tz {Cs.} k_ue_t, NP {Cs.} k_ue_t, UO k_ue_te 'Hitze' || Kms {KD} k'ū_{ya}, Koyb {Sp.} ky_{ya} 'sun' || Mt {Hl.} *ka_{ya} 'sun, day' (Mt: T {Mue} c_haj_a, K {Muel.} c_hai_ī, M {Pls.} k_{ai}ya id., {Muel.} c_haj_a 'sun') || pY {IN H} *qo_y- > Y K/T qo_y 'God', Y T {Krn.} qo_y-_l, {Ku.} x_oy_{-l}, T K/T {Iox} x_oi_l 'God', OY K {Bil.} c_hai_l 'God', K {IN H} qo_yid_āy_e, T {IN H} qo_yid_āy_e 'priest', cd: K {IN H} qo_yn-num_ō 'church' (lit. 'God's house') ¶¶ Coll. 90, ≈ UEW 167 (Os < *ku_y-n_āl), ≈ Sm. 543 (FU, FP *ko_ji, Ugr *ko_jī 'dawn'), It. no. 93, LG 148-9, Ht. no. 742, MK 116, Jn. 58, Ter. 720-1, Cs. 124, 236, KD 33, Hl. M no. 389, Krn. JJ 274, Ku. 304, Ang. 255, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 22] (Y ⇨ U), IN H 383 || **A** ≈ *g_æ'y'∇ (⇨ ≈ *g_æ'y'U'w'∇??) 'day, daylight' > Tg *g_E-a_wan 'dawn, daybreak (aurora)' > Ewk, Neg g_ēwan, Lm g_āw_{un}, Orc g_āa_wan, Ud {Krn.} g_āwa, g_āwa, {STM} g_ēā_{wa}, {Krn.} g_āwa ~ g_āwa, Ul, Ork g_ēwa(n-), Nh/KU g_iw_ā, Nn Bk g_iwa(n-) id. ¶ STM I 145, Krn. 221, On. 103, SDM 553 (Tg *g_ia_ñam with unj. *-ñ-) || pKo {S} *k_úi 'dawn' > MKo h_áis-k_úi, NKo h_äk_wi id. ¶ S QK no. 467, Nam 484, MLC 1815 || pJ {S} *ka(i) 'day, period of time' > OJ ke id., -ka 'days' (sx): pa_{tu}-ka 'twenty days', i_{tu}-ka 'five days' etc. ¶ S QJ no. 1597, Mr. 430, 448 || M: **[1]** M *g_ey_i- v. 'beam, shine, emit light, dawn' > M M [MA] {Pp.} g_ei₋ 'shine, emit light, glitter', [S] {H} g_ey_i- 'hell werden' (Tag), WrM g_ei₋ {MED} 'shine, emit light, dawn', HIM гий- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'освещаться, озаряться; 'clear up' (sky, weather), Brt гий- v. 'dawn', WrO g_ii₋ 'shine', Kl {Rm.} g_i- 'leuchten, klar machen', g_ēn 'hell; Licht, Tageslicht', Dg g_ey_i- 'get light' (the sky), Ord g_i-

's'eclaircir, se mettre au beau' (temps) ¶ Pp. MA 169, H 50, MED 374, BMR I 400, Krg. 773, Chr. 153, KW 135, 137, Ms. O 265 | [2] M *gegeʁen 'dawn, daylight' ({SDM} *gegeʁe < *gegeʁe) > MM gegeyen, gegen, WrM gege(n), gegenge(n), HIM, Brt гегээ(н), Dg gegēn, Ba gegəŋ id., Mnr H {SM} g_əg_ēn 'clair, serein, lumineux, brillant', Kl {KRS} гегəн 'daylight, dawn', adj. 'hell', {Rm.} gegēn 'Tageslicht; hell, licht', Ord gegēn n. 'clair' ¶ MED 373-4, BMR I 476-7, Chr. 167, KRS 134, KW 132, SM 132, Ms. O 256 ¶¶ SDM 553-4 (pA *gǵǵǵu 'dawn, daylight' > Tg *giańam (for Tg *gE_awan with unjustified *-ń-), M *gegeʁe [> *geʁeʁe], J, Ko + err. T *k'üń(e)l ~ *k'üńal 'sun, day, sunny place, sun heat' [going back to N *k'u'ńyaHÍE ~ *k'u'yńaHÍE ~ *k'u'ńaHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak']), DQA no. 531 ◇ The IE lr. *H (rather than the expected *ĥ), NaIE *ā and *a need explaining. We may suppose an early loss of the N vw. *E in the prehistory of IE: N *goXey∇ > **goXy∇ > IE *gʷheHy- / *gʷhHy- and (+ suffixes) NaIE *gʷhajdro-s. Tg *gE_awan and Sm {Hl.} *kaya suggest a final vw. *a in N (*goXeya), which is at variance with the FU and M ev. (*-e in FU *koye, *-i- in M *geyi-) ◇ IS I 230-1 [no. 85]; IS compared IE, U, A, C (Or) and Om cognates, but did not adduce the S root *✓gʷh 'dawn' (probably because the Ar D and the appropriate EthS sources were not available to him). He reconstructed *gohya, but indicated that on the ev. of U (lack of lengthening of the vw.) this *H is likely to be identified as *ĥ. Now the S material confirms his theoretical prediction. This is one of the cases of IS's linguistic insight similar to Leverrier's discovery of Neptune. Another case is Jb χαν'ṭi 'front, front part', which was unknown in the 60's and has become a brilliant confirmation of IS's historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon *qanṭa 'forehead, front' (see N *qañṭ∇ id.).

703. *gaź∇ 'slanting, skew, bent' > K: G gez-ad 'schief, schräg, schieel' ¶ Chx. 187 || U: FU *°kâś∇ > Vg N {MF} kusī 'curved' (of a tree) ({MF} 'görbe', {Stn.} 'schief [Baum]'); Os: V/Vy qãsaʁ 'schief, gekrümmt (Baum)', D/Nz/Kz χασəŋ 'krumm, gekrümmt, schief', Vy qãsaʁ lǵʁ {Stn.} 'Pferd, das den Kopf aufrecht trägt' (misprint for '...nicht aufrecht...?'), D/Kr χασə 'Biegung, Krümmung' ¶ Ht. no. 761, Stn. D 564 || HS: Eg fMK gɔɔ ({}EG} gɔɔ) 'sich neigen, schief sein', {Fk.} v. 'tilt, favour (so.)' ¶ EG V 205, Fk. 292 || A ≈ *gaźi- > M *gaźi- > WrM {MED} gazi- vi. 'warp, bend, get out of shape', HIM гажи- {MED, BMR} id., Brt гажə- id., 'become crooked', Kl {Rm.} gāžī- 'sich biegen, seitwärts gebogen sein, schräg\ schief sein', Ord g_āž_i- 'se tordre, se courber'; M

*gāžig₁∇₁ > WrM {MED} гaзиг 'crooked, bent; deviation, anomaly', HIM гaжиг {MED} id., {BMR} 'perversion, distortion; deformity, abnormality', Kl {KRS} гaжг 'crooked, bent', {Rm.} гažig 'schräg, schief, zurückgebogen'; M *gāžiyu 'crooked, curved, slanting, corrupt' > WrM гaзигу {MED} id., HIM гaжyу {MED} id., {BMR} 'crooked, curved, bent', Brt гaжyу id., Kl {Rm} гažū 'krummgebogen, schief, schräg', Ord gāžigū 'pervers, dépravé, faux, injuste' ¶ MED 356-7, BMR I 340-2, Chr. 139, KRS 152, KW 141, Ms. O 286 || T *Kiy- > OT [MK], MT қiy-, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Tv қiy-, Tkm giy-, Uz қiy-, Xk χiy- 'cut aslant, make notches', OT {Cl.} қiyiq 'crooked, cut on a slant' ¶ SDM 544 quoted the above-mentioned words and erroneously adduced Ggz қiy- 'cut into small pieces', Tk кiy- {SDM} id., {Akd.} v. 'mince, chop up' and Chv Δ.жăйă 'лучина' ({SDM} 'chip, sliver'), which belong to pT *qiy- 'cut' (cf. ET Q 197-200, Fed. II 318 and Jeg. 289) ¶ SDM 544 (pA *giyo 'notch', v. 'cut aslant' > T *Kiy- + [not belonging here]: Tg *gia- 'plane, notch; chips, shavings' and pJ ki 'notch'), Cl. 676 (supposing that OT қiyiq goes back to pT *kiδik), Rs. W 261, ET Q 197-200, Akd. 601 ¶ T *-iy- may go back to pre-T *-ayī- (regr. as.) ¶¶ ≠ SDM 544 (pA *giyo v. 'notch, cut aslant' > T + pJ *ki n. 'notch' and Tg *gia id., v. 'plane'), ≠ DQA no. 509 (id.).

704. (2?) *g¹a¹ž∇ 'to go; way, path' > K {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× N *gū¹ž¹∇ or *gu¹ž¹E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass') > OG gza-y, G gza 'way, path', Mg za- 'way' (pl. za-l), o-rz-oli 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', o-gz-a-l-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv lā-z-i 'wegzuehend', mē-z-i 'hingehend', nā-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ z9z- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 || **HS:** S *o-gū¹š¹- > Ak NA ✓ gwš (inf. gūāšu 𐎎𐎍 gāšu, p. -gūš) v. 'go, come' ¶ CAD V 58 (determining the meaning of the word on the basis of recent research), ≠ Sd. 283 (gāšu "etwa 'schnell laufen'") || ? **IE:** NaIE *g^hē(j̥)-/*g^hi- or *g^hē(j̥)-/*g^hi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen') (× N *gEhōwy∇ 'to go\drive away' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ P 418-19 (without distinguishing this √ from the parohomonymous verb *g^hē-, *g^hēj̥- 'be empty, lack, abandon'), AHDI 21 (considering the stem with meaning 'go' to be the middle voice' of *g^hē- 'release, let go'), M K I 426 and II 589, M E II 813-14 (connecting OI jīhītē with the root hā- 'leave' only) ◇ In K *gza- there is merger of the N etymon in question and of N *gū¹ž¹∇ or *gu¹ž¹E '↑'. The main

source of the K root is likely to be N *g'a'ẓ∇ (as suggested by the K cns. *z).

705. ₂ *gæẓ∇ 'ε hair, wool' > HS: S *gizz- 'wool, fleece' > BHb ṭḥ 'gez 'fleece of sheep' (Dt. 18.4, Job 31.20), MHb ṭḥ 'gez 'wool', Sr ṭḥ^o gez'z-ā, Ak gizzu 'fleece of sheep', CS *gizz-at- > BHb ṭḥ^o gizzā 'fleece, wool', JEA {Sl.} ṭḥ^o gizz-ā 'fleece', JA [Trg.] ṭḥ^o gizzat-ā, Sr ṭḥ^o gizzat-ā, Md gizzat id., SmA gz {Tal} n. act. 'shearing', Ar جَزَّة ḡizzat- 'wool clipped at one time; fleece'; S *gizz- ⇨ S *gzz v. 'shear, cut (wool)' > Hb, Ug, Amr, JA, Plm, Sr, Md, Ak gzz, SmA gzz 'shear (sheep)', Ar gzz id. ¶ KB 178-9, KBR 185-6, OLS 154, HJ 219, G A 19, Sl. 273-4, 279, Tal 139-40, DM 89, BK I 285-6, DRS 110 || EC: pDI {Tk.} *gāz- 'hair' > Gln {AMS} kās-o, Cm {Hbl.} gāz-o, Gwd {AMS} gēs-o id. | ?σ Sd gāze 'long (hair)' ¶ AMS 246, Gs. 117 || Ch: WCh ({Stl.} *g'a'ẓ∇) 'hair' > Hs gāšì (pl. gāšúšúwà, gāšú, gāšúšúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gāša 'hair, beard, feather'; ?? Hs gīzō 'long matted hair on a man's head', ?? Hs gēzā 'mane' (qu. because of Hs {Ba.} gířāzā, considered by Ba. as pl. of gēzā) | NrBc {Tk.} *gəz- 'hair' > Cg gə'síyá, Wrj gəžáy, Kry gəžì, P' ngèzá, Mbr ngəží, My ágəžù, Sir gəží, Jmb gəza 'hair' | Ngz gùzáj (pl. gùzàzín) 'pubic hair' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} g^ωĉc, Gzg D {Lk.} ng^ωič 'hair' | Glv {Rp.} gùžá, Gdf {IL} g^ωúž[^] id. | ?φ Tr ṽos id. | ZmD {Srp.} gesaúa, ZmB {Sa.} ngəzā wá id. ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. no. 66 (pCh *gas i 'hair'), Stl. ZCh 216 [no. 658], Ba. 370, 379, 393, Abr. H 309, 316, 329, Mts. G 42, Sch. DN 77, Sk. NB 25, Tk. NB 172 ¶ The presence of three different roots in Hs suggests that here there are several Ch roots, only one of them being the legitimate descendant of the N etymon in question ¶¶ Tk. PAA 16 (NrBc, DI), ≈ Sk. HCD 83 || IE: NaIE *g^ha₁s₁s₁- > Av gaēsa- 'Kraushaar, Lockenhaar', Prs gēs 'herabhängende Haare, Locken' || Clt {Matas.} *^ogaysseto- 'mane, hair of beasts' > Mlr {Matas.} gaisid id., {P} 'steifes Haar, Borste' ¶ P 410, Matas. E 154-5 || A: M *gežige > WrM gežige {MED} 'plait or braid of hair, pigtail, queue; hair in general', HIM гэзэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Zopf', Brt гэзэгэ id., 'Zöpfchen der Männer', MM [MA] gežige 'withers', Kl {KRS} гижг gižag 'plait\braid of hair', {Rm.} gižigə 'Haarzopf', Ord g_ež_ige 'natte portée dans le dos; cheveux' ¶ M: × M *gežige (< *gedige) 'nape of neck' (> WrM gežige, HIM гэзэг id., Kl {KRS} гижг gižag ~ gižgə 'occiput', {Rm.} gižigə 'Nacken', Ord g_ež_ige 'nuque'), akin to M *gede-η, *gede-s

'zurück' and to T *kæð id., 'back part' ¶ MED 381, BMR I 479, Pp. MA 170, Cr. 169, KRS 142, KW 131, 135, Rs. W 946, Ms. O 255.

706. *gū^ʹǰ^ʹ∇ or *gu^ʹǰ^ʹE 'tracks, path; to go, to pass' > K {K, K²} *gza-, {FS} *gz- 'way, path' (× N *g^ʹa^ʹǰ^ʹ∇ 'to go; way, path' [q.v.]) > OG gza-y, G gza 'way, path', Mg za- 'way' (pl. za-l), 0-rz-0li 'Wegzehrung', Lz (n)gza- 'way', 0-gz-a-l-u 'to go', Sv UB/L lī-z-i, Sv LB/Ln lizi msd. 'to go away', Sv lā-z-i 'wegzugehend', mē-z-i 'hingehend', nā-z 'gegangen', zz- ~ z9z- v. 'send' (n. act. li-zz-i) ¶¶ K 62-3, K DE 359, K² 30, FS K 81, FS E 84-5, Shan. ESh 733-4, 736, TK 489 || **HS:** S: [1] WS *-gūz- v. 'go, pass' > Ar جون ✓ǧwz (pf. ḡāza, ip. ya-ḡūzu) v. 'go, go through, walk, pass', SmA ✓ǧwz 'go across, pass', BHb ✓ǧwz (pf. ٿٿ ḡāz, pf. c. ٿٿ ٿٿ wayy^ʹḡā-gwz) 'pass (vorübergehen)', JA, ChrPA ✓ǧwz G 'go through', JEA {Sl.} ✓ǧwz G 'cease, pass away', Sb ✓ǧwz (pf. gz) v. 'go, pass, pass through' ¶ KB 175, KBR 182, Tal 134-5, Lv. I 309, Sl. 268, BK I 353-4, BGMR 51, DRS 106-7] [2] S °*✓gzɣ > OYmn ✓gzɣ 'go, go away', Ar Y جزع ✓ǧzɣ 'go, go away, pass by' (× S °*✓gzɣ > Ar ✓ǧzɣ 'cut, cross'; the merger accounts for ɣ) ¶ Slw. 61 || C *gi₁ɣ₁ɣ₁- 'road, way' > Ag: Bln {R} giɔ (pl. giɣ) 'way'; Ag ? ⇨ Gz ḡaɣz 'journey, wandering, walk' ||| pEC *giz- > pLEC d. *gitt- (< *gid-t-) > Af gita 'trail, road, way', Sml N {Abr.} žid (pl. židad), Bn šid 'road', Rn žít (pl. žítát) 'road, path' ¶ AD SF 60-1, R WB 139, L G 175, Bl. 184, Hn. S 61, PG 168, PH 114, Oo. 71 ¶ The origin of Gz ɣ (<⇨ C *₁ɣ₁?) is not clear (a merger with some other ✓?) || **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *°küć∇- v. 'follow the tracks of, follow the way' > pOs {Ht.} *kōć- ({}HL.} *kūć-) v. 'follow the tracks of; to find the tracks; to follow' > Os: V kōť- 'Spuren verfolgen; nicht vom Weg abweichen, den Weg finden', Vy kōť, D qōť-, Nz/Sh/Kz/Sn qūś- 'Spuren verfolgen, (ver)folgen' || OHg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany; to follow (verfolgen)', Hg kíser- v. 'go with, accompany' ¶ MF 367, EWU 756-7, Stn. D 707-8 ◇ The rec. of N *ǰ rather than of *ǰ is based on K *gza-, but since the latter is of ambiguous origin, N *ǰ is not certain.

707. ≈ *gUǰ^ʹŦ^ʹŦ^ʹ (or ≈ *gUǰ^ʹŦ^ʹŦ^ʹ) 'laugh, amuse' > **HS:** S °*✓gɔl > Ar ḡaɔil- 'merry', ✓ǧɔl (np. -ḡɔal-) v. 'be merry' ¶ BK I 269-70, DRS 103 || Ch ({}JS} *✓g₁y₁l v. 'laugh'): WCh: Klr {J} giyel 'laugh' || NrBc: Sir {Sk.} ɣàtlí id. ||| ECh: Nd D {J} ḡsâ, Tmk {Cp.} ḡáǰ id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'laugh', Cp. 60 ||| **IE:** [1] NaIE *gh^hleu₁- (< IE **gh^hleu₁- < **guǰ^ʹlu-?) v. 'be merry, joke' > Gk χλεύη 'joke, jest' ||| ON glý 'joy', AS ǰlēo, ǰliez, ǰlīw 'mirth,

jest, ridicule; music; pleasure' || Lt Δ gláuda 'a joke', gláudoti, Ltv glaudāt 'to joke' || SI *gluma > OCS ГЛОУМА gluma ('vaniloquentia, magniloquentia') 'Geschwatz, Prahlerei', {ESSJ} 'болтовня, хвастовство', Blg глума 'joke, mockery', SCr glúma 'шутка, веселье, игра', Slv glúma 'joke'; SI *glumiti > OCS ГЛОУМИТИ СѦ glumiti сѣ (· ἄδολεσχεῖν, μετεωρίζεσθαι, μετεωρεῖν, loqui, garire) 'пустословить, хвастаться', R inf. глумиться 'to mock, to jeer' ||] [2] NaIE *gʰoǵ̌los 'merry, wanton' > Gt gailjan (· εὐφραίνειν) 'erfreuen', AS ƶǣl 'wanton, frivolous', OHG gēil 'wanton, insolent', geili 'haughtiness, insolence', NHG geil 'luxuriant, voluptuous', ON géilig-r 'beautiful' ¶ WP I 634, P 451-2, EI 255-6 (*gʰleu- 'revel'), ESSJ VI 147-50, F II 1103, Fs. 185, Ho. 123, Kb. 323, Schz. 149, KM 242, Vr. 161, Bern. I 308, Frn. 155 ||] А: T *k'ül- (or *k_ül-) v. 'laugh' > OT, MQp, Cmn, XwT, Chg kül-, Tk güл-, Tkm, Ggz güл-, Az күл- ḡül-, Uz күл- kwл-, Blq, Qry Cr, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Yk küл-, VTt, Bsh көл- kbл-, Chv L күл- kul-, Chv Δ.кол- id., Xk küл- id., 'smile' ¶ Cl. 715-16, ET VGD 98-100, Md. 69, 171, Rs. W 307, Ash. VI 271-3, Fed. I 304, Jeg. 115, ChVS 94 ◇ The IE and T cognates are likely to go back to the variant *gUǵ̌ŤǓ.

708. ₂^* gUǵ̌ŤǓ 'wish, be hungry' > HS: WS *✓gš̌ť > Ar جشع ✓ǵš̌ť G {Ln.} 'be affected with the most vehement desire \ eagerness \ avidity', {BK} 'désirer ardemment qch., en chercher avec avidité', Jb C {Jo.} gš̌ť 'greedy person' ¶ Ln. II 427, BK I 296-7, Jo. J 79 || EC: Sml gāž̌o, Sml N gāž̌o 'hunger' ¶ DSI 243, Abr. S 85 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bele gùhì 'hunger', gùž̌-àmmá 'thirst' (àmmá 'water'), Glm gúš̌ì, ? Grm kúž̌ú 'hunger' || Ngz {Sch.} gž̌ì, Bd ʔž̌an 'thirst' || Zul {ChL} gùzumì, Plc guzum 'hunger' ||] CCh: Lgn {Lk.} ʔǵǵ̌m 'hunger' ¶ JI II 196-7, Sch. BTL 147, 155, Sch. DN 59, ChC s.v. '(be) hungry, hunger' and 'thirst, -y', ChL, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [no. 707] (*guzi 'hunger', Stolbova included words belonging to both N *gUǵ̌ŤǓ and to N *Ǩašʔ̌ 'be hungry, wish'), Lk. L 95 ||] А: Tg *guje(-n)- > Ewk, Neg gujɜn-, Lm gujɜn-, Ork gujilɜ-, gujilɜ-, gujɜlɜ- v. 'love, caress', vt. 'pity (жалеть)', Lm gujɜn n. 'love, tenderness', Sln gujɜn- v. 'love', Orc guž̌an-, guž̌asi-, Nn Bk guž̌in- vt. 'pity' ¶ STM I 167-8.

709. *gûb̌ 'to plait, to interlace, to wattle' ([in descendant lges] → 'to weave') > IE *χub- / *χweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ubʰ-/*webʰ- v. 'plait, weave' > OI ubh'nāti v. 'laces up', 'ūrnā-'vabhī- 'spider' (← *'wool spinner'), Av ubdaēna- 'made of web' ||] Gk ὑφή 'web', ὑφος id., ὑφάνω 'weave' ||] ON vefa, OHG weban 'to weave, to plait, to

spin', NHG *weben*, AS *wefan* 'to weave', NE *weave*; AS *webbian* 'anspinnen' || pAl {O} **webn̥ya* (< **web^hn̥yō*) > Al *ve j* 'weave' || pTc {Ad.} **wāp-* > Tc: A *wāp-*, B *wāp-* 'weave' || Ht {Pv.} *hup(p)ai-*, *huppiya-* v. 'interlace, entangle, ensnare', *hup(p)ala-* 'net' ¶¶ WP I 257, P 1114-15, EI 572 (**h₂|h₃eb^h-* 'weave'), Mn. 1495, M K I 107, F II 976-7, Vr. 649-50, Kb. 1155, Schz. 312, Ho. 387-8, O 498, Pv. III 384-6, Wn. I 557, Ad. 586, Ad. H 35 || K: GZ {K, FS} **ʷob-*, {K²} **ʷweb-* v. 'wattle, weave' > G *ʷob-* v. 'weave, wattle a fence, fence in', Mg *ʷob-* 'plait, fence in', Lz *ʷob-* v. 'plait'; -d> K **ʷob-e-* 'wattle fence' > OG, G *ʷobe-*, Mg *ʷober-*, Lz *ʷobe(r)-* id., Sv *ʷweb* (pl. stem *ʷob-*) 'beehive' ¶¶ K 205, K² 225, 231, FS K 350, FS E 393, DCh. 1354, ≠ K IEK 72-4 (K ← IE; unc.: plaiting is not a new technology [as K claimed], but one of the most ancient industrial techniques) || HS: S: Ar ✓ *ʷbn G* (ip. -*ʷbunu*) 'fold and hem (the edge of a garment, a skin)', {BK} 'faire un pli et le coudre pour raccourir le vêtement' ¶ Fr. III 257, BK II 433, Hv. 516
 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (by those who do not recognize the legitimacy of cognates that are isolated within HS), the N etymon will be reconstructed as **ṛúbn̥*.

709a. **ga¹ṛ¹n̥* (or **ga¹ṛ¹ic¹n̥*?) '(leafy) branch, bough' > HS: S **ṷ^oṇ¹ṛ¹n̥* ~ **ṷ^o|χa¹ṛ¹cc¹-* > Ar *ʷuṣn-* (pl. *ʷiṣan-at-*) 'branch', bough, shoot', Ak M {CAD} *ḫaṣṣ-u* 'leafy branch' ¶ BK II 473, Hv. 526, CAD VI 12 || ?σ C: Ag: Xm {R} *χaṣā* (pl. *χaṣ*), Bln {R} *a¹šā* (pl. *aš*), {Bnd.} *āšā*, Q {R} *ašā*, Aw {CR} *χaṣ ī*, {Bnd.} *ʷuci* 'leaf' || EC: Kns {BISO} *hāššā* id., ?σ Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} *ḥāšše* 'Kaffeeblatt, Kaffeepflanze', Cm {Bnd.} *ḥāšše* 'leaf' ¶ AD SF 157, R WB 55, R Ch II 272 (s.p. 58), R QW 35, BISO 34, AMS 163, 253, Blz. CL 179 || ?σ NrOm: Dwr {Bnd.} *ḥayca*, Anf {Gt.} *ēčo* or *ēžo*, She {Bnd.} *aīsi* 'leaf', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} *ḥayca* id. (× or ← *ḥayca* 'ear, orecchio') ¶ AD SF 157, Bnd. PO, Mrn. O 146 || IE **χχosd-o-* 'bough' > Ht {Pv.} *ḥasduer-* 'twigs, sticks, brush(wood)' || NaIE **osd-* 'branch, bough' > Arm *nun ost* (**o*-stem) id. || Gk ὄζος, Gk L [Sappho] ὕσδος, Gk Ae ὕσδος 'bough, branch, twig' || Gt *astis* (κλάδος, βάλον, στοιβάς) 'Ast, Palmzweig, Streu', OHG, OSx *ast* 'branch, bough' ¶¶ EI 80 (**h₂osdo-s* 'branch'), Pv. III 239-40, Mn. 893, F II 353, Fs. 60, Ho. S 4, Kb. 47, EWA I 373-5, Schz. 91, KM 34, Sl. 324, IS I 277, ≠ P 785 || A: M **ačan* 'bifurcated branch of a tree' > WrM {MED} *aca(n)* 'fork; pitchfork; bifurcation', 'bifurcated, split', HIM *ac(ah)* {MED} id., {BMR} 'pitchfork; bifurcated branch of a tree (развилина), рогулька', Brt *aca asa* 'bifurcates branch (in a tree\boughs), pitchfork', Kl {KRS} *ac*

acъ 'bough, branch; bifurcated, double', {Rm.} acā 'Ast, Gabelung', Mkl (ArSc) {Wr.} āčā 'Astgabel, Gabelstock (für Zelte)', Ord ač'a 'fourche de bois, branche fourchue, bifurcation' ¶ MED 7, BMR I 180-1, Chr. 62, KRS 58, KW 18, Chr. 63, Wr. B 118, Ms. O 34-5 ◇ ≠ IS I 276-7 (*^ς ῶ ζ ῶ 'branch'; IE + unc. S *^ςϗ {IS's interpretation of S *^ςiš̌-} 'tree' and allegedly related Eg, B, C and Ch words). See AD PNCPh § B (discussion of the problems of comparison).

710. ? (₂?) *^ρg¹oK̄∇ŝ|Ĉ∇ (R∇) '∈ canine' > HS: (mt.) B *^ρ✓w¹sk¹n 'jackal' > BSn, Rif, BSlh, BMn, Kb, Shw uššān, pl. uššān, Gd {CM} uššin id. ¶ Dl. 976, Hy. DFCh 93, Rn. 282 || Om {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N *^ρkaĉ̌∇ 'young dog' and N ? *^ρkaž̌∇ '[young] dog'??) > SOm: Ari {Bnd.} (?)aksi 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} aks, aksi (pl. aksən), Ari U {Fl.} aksi, Ari G {Bnd.} akšī, Hm B {Fl., Ldl} kaski, Hm K {Fl.} kaski id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL no. 124, Ldl H s.v. kaski || S *^ο✓y¹ŝ¹rb > Ar yušarrab- 'lion' (*-b- is a sx of animal names < N adjectival particle *^οbA forming animal names [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 470 || U: FU (in ObU only) *^ο✓w¹okš̌∇r∇ 'fox' (× N *^οw¹u¹ž̌E, K̄o ~ *^οw¹o¹K̄∇ž̌∇ '∈ a canine', q.v.) > pObU *wākšār > pOs *wāksar ({Hl.} *wīksar) 'fox' > Os: Y wāqsar, Nz/Kz wōχsar, D/K wāχsār, O ōχsār id.; pVg *žkšar id. > Vg: T okšār, LK/MK oksar, P/ML oxšar, Ss oksar id. ¶ Ht. no. 679 || ?ϕ A: Tg: Ewk guskə 'wolf' ¶ STM I 175 ◇ Qu., because the sound correspondences are not exact, and several supposed cognates have alt. etymologies.

711. *^ρg¹e¹r¹∇ (w∇) 'to rise in waves' (of water) > HS: S *^ο✓yly > Ar غلى ✓yly G (ip. -yḷī) 'boil' (of a cooking pot) ¶ Fr. III 292 || K: OG yelva-y 'tempestas (aquae)' (Luke 8.24), 'waves' (Mark 4.37), G yelva 'Wogen, Wellengang' ¶ Ser. 169, Chx. 1619, DCh. 1358, ≠ K² 222 (yelva ⇨ yel- 'be nervous') || IE: NaIE *^οaldh- 'wave' (*^ο-gr. of **el-dh-?) > ON alda 'Welle', Nic, NNr, Far, OSw alda, ODan aldaē 'wave', NrGmc ⇨ F aalto, Vp ālto id., Lp L altā 'big wave', Lp Sw (pl.) {Fri.} aldoh 'fluctus, unda maior' ¶ WP I 92, P 31-2 (≡σ: the NrGmc word ← NrGmc word for 'trough' < NaIE *aldh- 'trough'), Vr. 5, SK 1, Fri. 17, LLO 23, Qv. NLL 88, Vs. II 540, Ho. 84 || D *^ρe¹r¹∇v- 'a wave' > Klm elava 'a wave', Gnd helva 'a wave, flood' ¶ D no. 830.

712. N *^ρg¹L∇ (= *^ρg¹l∇?) 'to destroy, to fight; war' > HS: S *^ο-yūl- > Ar ✓ywl (ip. -yūlu) v. 'cause to perish, destroy; attack suddenly' ¶ BK II 518, Hv. 539 || C: (pC {AD} ✓*ywl or *yull-, {E} *yol- v. 'fight'): EC *yol- > Sml yól 'army, enemy', Rn hól 'quarrel, argument (involving

physical violence); anger', Bn B/J/K $\acute{o}l$ 'war, quarrel', Elm $i\acute{s}-o\acute{l}o\acute{l}-$ v. 'quarrel', Sd {C} $o\acute{l}-$ v. 'fight', Hd $o\acute{r}-a$ 'fight'; rdp. {JE} $*\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}-$ > $**o\acute{l}\acute{o}l-$ > Arr $l\acute{o}l$ 'anger', $l\acute{o}l-$ 'be angry', Or $l\acute{o}l-$ v. 'fight' ¶ Bl. 243, Ss. PEC 21, Hn. S 77, Hn. BD 136, PG 142, AD SF 162, E PC no. 492, Grg. 265-6, Hw. A 382 || IE $*\chi^{\omega}\nabla l-/*\chi o l-$ 'destroy, defeat' > Ht $hulla-$, $hulliya-$ {Pv.} v. 'smash, defeat' ({Frd.} $hullāi-$ 'bekämpfen, niederschlagen'), $hullanza-$ {Frd., Ts.} 'fight', {Pv.} 'defeat' (× N $*h\acute{u}L\nabla$ 'push, butt, pierce') || NaIE $*o\acute{l}-$ (× N $*w\nabla L'h'\nabla$ 'to hit, to attack' [q.v.]?) > Gk Hm/A $\acute{\upsilon}l\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota$ (< $*\acute{\upsilon}l-\nu\acute{\upsilon}-\mu\iota$) 'destroy, make an end of', Gk $\acute{\upsilon}l\lambda\acute{o}\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'destructive, deadly' || L $ab-o\acute{l}\bar{e}-$ 'destroy' ¶¶ Frd. HW 73-4, Frd. HW EH II 73-6, Pv. III 13-14, 363-8, Ts. E I 273-80, WP I 87, P 777, EI 158 ($*h_3el\acute{h}_1-$ 'destroy'), WH I 4-5, F II 378-9 (no et. of the Gk words) || K: GZ $*\acute{\upsilon}ul-$ 'destroy, beat' > OG {FS} $m\acute{o}-m-\acute{\upsilon}ul-ali$ 'destroyed', {FS← Abul.} 'zerquetscht, zertreten, vernichtet', G $m\acute{o}-m-\acute{\upsilon}ul-ali$ 'beaten (a track)', Lz $me-\acute{\upsilon}ur-u$ 'vernichten, zerstören, verwahrlosen', $me-\acute{\upsilon}ur-as$ 'will be destroyed' ¶ FS K 358, FS E 402, Abul. 270 || ?σ D (att. in McTm) (× N $*\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}\nabla$ [= $*\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}\acute{u}?$] 'starve, die'): Tm $ulaj$ 'perish, be ruined', $ulakkaj$ 'end, ruin, death', Ml $ulacaj$, $ulav\upsilon$ n. 'ruin' ¶ Tm and Ml $-l-$ suggests N $*-l-$, but this ev. is not decisive, because the MvTm root is contaminated with N $*\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}\nabla$ ¶ D no. 671 || ?σ E: NEI $hul-lak$ 'er wurde geplündert\ausgeraubt\ gebrandschatzt', $hi-ul-li-in$ 'Plünderung, Beute', MEI $hi-il-la-an-ra$ 'einer, der plündert\raubt', $hi-il-la-áš$ 'er entnahm, er nahm an sich' ¶¶ HK 660, 673, 691 || ??σ A: T $*\acute{o}l-$ 'die' and M $*\acute{o}l\acute{u}-$ 'starve' (× N $*\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}\nabla$ [= $*\acute{\epsilon}o\acute{l}\acute{u}?$] 'starve, die; dead', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. E no. 92 (E, HS) ◇ If Tm $ulaj$ and Ml $ulacaj$, $ulav\upsilon$ belong here (which is qu.), the N rec. must be $*g\acute{u}l\nabla$ ◇ The D root was added by Blz. (Blz. L no. 55 and Blz. LNA no. 18).

713. $*g\acute{i}l^{\prime}u^{\prime}$ 'boy, young man' > HS: CS $*^{\prime}\acute{\upsilon}al_{\downarrow}m-$ 'young man, a youth' > Hb עַלְמָן 'עלעמ, paus. "עַלְמָן, Ug $\acute{\epsilon}lm$ id., Pun {HJ} ALAM 'man' or 'young man', Plm $\acute{\epsilon}lm$ 'servant'; ⇨ CS f. $*^{\prime}\acute{\upsilon}alam-at-$ 'maid, young woman' > Hb עַלְמָנָה $\acute{\epsilon}al^{\prime}mā$ 'young woman (until the birth of her first child)', Ph $\acute{\epsilon}lmt$, ALMA 'virgin, maid (demoiselle)', Ug $\acute{\epsilon}lmt$ 'girl (demoiselle)', Plm $\acute{\epsilon}lmt$ 'female servant'; ⇨ (dim.) CS $*\acute{\upsilon}ulaym-$ 'boy, young man' > OA $\acute{\epsilon}lym$ 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm $\acute{\epsilon}lym$ 'servant', JA עַלְמָנָה $\acute{\epsilon}ul\acute{e}^{\prime}mā$, JEA {Sl.} עַלְמָנָה $\acute{\epsilon}ul\acute{e}^{\prime}mā$ 'young man', Sr $\acute{\epsilon}alaym-ā$ 'boy, a youth', Ar $\acute{\upsilon}ulām-$ 'young man, lad, young slave', ⇨ CS f. $*\acute{\upsilon}ulaym-at-$ 'maid, girl' > SmHb $\acute{a}l\acute{i}ma$ 'maid', IA $\acute{\epsilon}lym^{\prime}h^{\prime}$, $\acute{\epsilon}lymt-$, Plm $\acute{\epsilon}lymt?$

'female servant', Ar ψ ulāmat- 'young girl, female slave' ¶ KB 790-1, KBR 835, JH 214, HJ 862, FrdR § 229, A no. 2150, OLS 156, Sl. 847, Br. 528 || EC *il∇m- ({Bl.} *ilm-) (× ← EC *il- 'give birth, beget', cf. Sd, Ged, Kmb il- id.) > Or {Grg.} ilm-a 'boy', Or B/O {Sr.} ilma 'son', pSam {Hn.} *ilem- > Sml ilm-o 'child, baby', Sml N {Abr.} ílmó 'child', pBn *éleŋ > Bn J/B éleŋ (pl. Bn B/K iyâl) 'boy'; Sd {Gs.} ilme 'young of donkeys and horses' ¶ The Bn pl. form suggests that *-m- may go back to a sx ¶ Bl. 221, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 96, Abr. S 128-9, Grg. 224, Gs. 175, Hd. 70, Sr. 332 || U: FU: [1] FU ≈ *il|]m∇ 'person' > F Δ ilminen, Ing ilmihīn id., ?? Es inemine id. | ? pLp *ǝlm- 'person, man' > Lp: S almedje, P almmaš, L almatj 'person', N âlmai 'man' ||| Vg: K {Mu.} ēlām-χolās, W yēlm-kals, N ēlām-χōlas 'person' (χōlās, kals, χōlas 'strange') ||| [2] FU (att. in FL) *°ülkä 'boy, young man' > F ylkä 'bridegroom', Es {W} ülg 'Bräutigam, Mann'; pLp {Lr.} *ǝlkē 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} älgie 'son', L {LLO} al'hkē 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I alge 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} алльк, {TI} e:lg_ǝ_ 'son' ¶ SK 105-6, 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. no. 10, Lgc. no. 47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24, SSA I 225, ≈ UEW 81, 627 (deriving F ilminen from * ψ ilma 'sky, heaven' > F ilma 'air, weather'), ≠ Ht. no. 189 (deriving Vg K ēlām-χolās from pVg *yīlām 'weather' < ObU *yīlām 'weather, world') ¶ The labialization *i- > *ü- in *°ülkä may be caused by N *-U. The elements *-m∇ and *-kä are likely to go back to sxs || D *il∇ 'young, young man' > Tm, Ml i|a 'young, tender', Tm i|ai 'youth, tender age', Td e| 'young', Kt e| id., 'time of youth', Ka e|, e|a, e|e 'tenderness, youth', Kdg e|eə 'youth', Tu e|atb, e|e 'tender, not fully grown', ellpāye 'a youth, junior', Tl ela 'young, tender', Prj ileđ 'young man, youth', ile 'young woman, girl', Gdb ile 'bride', ? Brh ilum 'brother' ¶¶ D no. 513 ||| N *gil'U' may underly diminutive and hypocoristic suffixes in K, NaIE and U (unless they are a reflex of the N diminutive pc. *l∇, q.v. ffd.): K *-il- ~ *-∇l-, diminutive sx (G P mam-il-a 'daddy, Väterchen' from mama 'father', in other Georgian dialects vocative forms: mam-il-o 'daddy!', ded-il-o 'Mütterchen'; Sv dīn-ōl- [dim. of dīn 'girl']) ¶¶ Vogt ACS 104, Chinch. XT 82-4, K'ob. 161, GP US 96 || IE: NaIE *-el∇-/ *-l∇-, sf. of diminutives, e.g. *porĕ-el- '(young) pig' (← *porĕo- 'swine') > L porculus, OHG farhilī(n), NHG Pferkel, Lt paršēlis id.; OI sí'sūla-s 'Kindchen' (← 'sí'su- 'Kind'), Gk ἄρκτύλος 'bear's cub', L animula (hypocoristic from anima 'soul'), OHG niftila (dim. of nift 'niece'), Lt tēvēlis

(hypocoristic of *tévas* 'father'), *mergēlē* 'girl' (< *mergà* 'maid') ¶ BD II/1 364-7 || U *-_li_l∇- ~ *-_li_l∇-, diminutive *sx* > F *pyōrylä* 'small circle, small ring' (< *pyōry* 'wheel'), *iso-la-mpa* 'a bit larger' (from *iso-mpa* 'larger'), Z *gop-al* 'small pit' (from *gop* 'pit', Os Vy *kulaí+* 'a small fish' (< *kuł* 'fish'), Hg (dial.) *hãńjāí* 'ant' (from Hg *hangya* id.) ¶ Sz. 88, Coll. CG 259, Lh. PUAS 145-52, Rus. SXJ 164, TmK 171, Slv. 138, W EDW 399 ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 46] (D, EC, FU) ◇ The rec. of N *_l is based on the ev. of D *_l (reg. from N *_l or *_ĺ) and of Vg *l* (reg. from N *_l or *_ĺ) ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 46] (D, EC, FU).

714. *g^ro^lLpa (or *guLpa?) 'weak, small' > K: G Gr *ψalp-i* 'weak', ? G I *ψlap-* 'baby' ¶ Shar. GL 71, Ghl. 582, 591 || IE *^rχ^welp-/ *^rχ^wlp- 'small' > Ht *huelpi-* 'young, new, fresh, unripe; newborn animal' || NaIE *olp-/ *alp-/ ?*lp- > OI 'alpa- 'small, little' ¶¶ P 33, ≈ EI 528 (adducing Ht *alpa(nt)-* 'sick, weak' and reconstructing [with "??"] IE **h_əelpos* 'weak'), F I 64, Pv. III 331-2, Ts. E I 259-60, Kron. EHS 266, M K I 56, ≠ M E I 129 (rejecting all connections of OI 'alpa-) || A: M *ulba|u- (unless with *φ-) > WrM *ulbai-* {MED} 'be(come) soft\weak\limp\feeble\exhausted; waste away', HIM *улбай-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'schwach\schlaff\welk werden', Kl {KRS} *улви-* *ulwi-* 'schwach\schlaff sein', {Rm.} *ulwi-* 'weich\schlaff sein'; M *ulba|u-gar > WrM {MED} *ulbagar* ~ *ulbugar*, HIM {MED, BMR} *улбагар*, Kl {KRS} *улвһр ulwъʋʀ* 'soft, tender, weak', {Rm.} *ulwaʋαr* 'weich, zart' ¶ MED 872, BMR III 323, KRS 531, KW 449 ◇ M *ulba|u- suggests a pN **u*, but in the light of the K cognate a N **o* is preferable ◇ ≈ IS I 239-40 [no. 96] (K + unt. IE **help-* 'weak', Tg *alba* 'unable', see N ?σ *^rʻaL_lo_lp∇ 'weak, exhausted').

715. *gaí∇ 'cereals' > HS: S (WS?) *^rʋll > Ar *ʋall-at-* 'crops', OYmn *ʋlyl* ({Slw.} *ʋalīl-*) 'mixture of cereals', Ar *ʋalīl-* {Ln., Slw.} 'date stones mixed with ^ققatt- (ε trefoil) or with dough for a camel, which is fed therewith' ¶ Hv. 531, Ln. 2278-9, Slw. 166 || K: G *ʋalva* 'zu mähendes reifes Korn'; ? *ʋala* 'reicher Ertrag des Feldes' (unless a loan from Ar *ʋall-(at)-* through a third lge) ¶ Chx. 1611 || IE **χel_l∇_lĝ_lh_l-* ≈ 'cereals, grain' > NaIE **al_l∇_lĝ_lh_l-* id. > Gk *ᾠλξ* {Ch.} 'gruau d'épeautre', {EI} 'spelt' → L (h) *alica* 'spelt, cooked spelt' || Irn **arzana-* > NPRs *ارزآن* *ärzän*, Psh *ždän* ({Asl.} *гдән*) 'millet' || Tc B *lyekşye* 'millet' || Ht *halki-* 'grain, corn, grain crop', ? Lc *qelehi* 'of the grain god' ¶¶ Pv.

III 35-9, Juret 20, WH I 29 (ἄλλξ ← ἄλέω v. 'grind'), F I 73 (quoting the above et. of Gk as a possibility), EI 237 (IE ? *h₂h₃(e)lg₁h₁ 'grain' or 'millet'; Gk ἄλλξ ← AnIE), Mrg. 106, Asl. 486, Ad. 567 || A *a¹∇ 'ε vegetables as food (corn, berries)' (× N *ʔ¹a¹'U' 'food') > T *a¹ 'corn (cereals), seed, crops' (→ 'craft, scion [Pfropfreis, привой]') > Qrg aš, Yk as, ahilīq 'fruit of some wild plants, berry', Qmq {Stb.}, StAlt aš, Xk as 'seed, cereal, crops', Nog as 'grain, seed', QrB aš-ügü 'ε a cultivated plant', OT Kr aš-līq 'crops', Kr, QrB, VTt, Bsh, ET, Slr ašlīq, Uz ašlīq, Qzq, Qrg aštīq 'crops' ¶ ET Gl 210-12, Jud. 83, Stb. 73, Rs. W 30 || M *alirsun (unless it is *φalirsun) > WrM alirsu(n) {MED} 'red bilberry, cranberry, *Vaccinium vitis*', HIM алирс {MED} id., {BMR} 'cowberries', Brt алирһан 'bilberry, aftergrass (отава)', Kl {Rm.} älsn 'Spreu', ?σ 'Schale der Früchte'; M *°alir- (unless it is *°φalir-) > Brt алир- 'be covered with succulent grass' ¶ MED 32, BMR I 77, Chr. 43, KW 22, Luv. 31 bivvh9j || Ko al 'seed, grain, corn' ¶ Rm. SKE 6-7 || ??σ Tg *aluϕ 'currants', 'ε berry' > Ewk aluϕ, Neg aloy, Ul āly, Ork ally 'currants', Orc ālä: 'моховка (a kind of berry)' ¶ STM I 33 ¶¶ SDM 294-5 (pA *a¹∇ 'fresh crops, germinated seeds' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 32 ◇ AD NM no. 17, S CNM 13.

716. ₂ *ʔ¹am∇ 'mouth', (?) '(inside of) cheek' > HS: EC: Sml ɣan, ɣam- (pl. ɣam-an), Sml N ɣán, pl. ɣám-án {Abr., DSI, R} 'cheek', {E} 'inside of cheek' ¶ Abr. S 13, DSI 87, R SS II 59, E PC no. 475 || ? S *°✓ϕmm '≈ mouth of animal, muzzle' > Ar d. غمام (and غمامة) ɣimām-(at-) {Hv.} 'covering for the mouth of a donkey or a camel', غمامة ɣimām-at- {BK} 'sac en cuir qu'on met sur le museau d'un chameau pour l'empêcher de manger ou de mordre', غمام ɣumām- 'prepuce' (← *'front part ["muzzle"] of a penis') (× ✓ϕmm 'cover') ¶ Fr. III 292-3, BK II 498-500, Hv. 534 || ? Ch: WCh: Wrj {Sk.} ɣ^wumáy, My {Sk.} áwum 'cheek' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} ɣúmɜla 'cheek', FIG ɣ^wòlòmõ id. (mt.?) || ECh: Mu {J} gǔmí, pl. gòmàm 'cheek', Mgm {JA} gàmè, Nd D {J} dá-gòm id. ¶ JI II 68-9, ChC s.v. 'cheek', JS 65, ChL, RpB 96, RpM 150 || A *aman 'mouth', *ama- v. taste' (and *ama-s∇, *am∇-t∇ n. 'taste?') > M *aman 'mouth' > MM [HI, MA, L, IM] aman, [S] ama(n), WrM {MED} ama(n), HIM {MED, BMR} ам(ан), Brt ама(н) id., Kl {KRS} амн 'mouth, orifice', {Rm.} amṅ 'Mund, Mündung, Öffnung, Loch', Mnr H {SM} ama, Dx, Ba, ShY aman, Dg am(ã) 'mouth', Ord ama 'bouche, ouverture, orifice'; M

*amsa- v. taste' > MM, WrM {MED} amsa-, HIM {MED, BMR} амса-, Brt амһа-, Kl {KRS} амс-, {Rm.} аmsa-, Mgl, Shr amsa-, Mnr {SM} amusa- 'goûter', Ord amsa- 'apprécier par le sens de goût, goûter'; M *am_lu_ltan n. 'taste' > WrM {MED} амта(n), HIM {MED, BMR} амт, Brt амта(н) id., Kl {KRS} амтн амтѣn id., {Rm.} амтѣ 'Geschmack', Mgl amta, Dg anta n. 'taste', Mnr {SM} amut'a 'goût, saveur', Ba amtæg n. 'taste', Ord amt'a 'goût', Dx anda-tu 'tasty', Dg anta- v. taste' ¶ Pp. MA 99, 432, Lg. VMI 16, Iw. 85, MED 35, 39, BMR I 83-4, 92-3, Chr. 46-7, 50-1, KW 9-10, KRS 40, 42, T 314, SM 5, 7, T DnJ 110, T BJ 133, Rm. M 22, Ms. H 35, Ms. O 18-19, 21-2, H 6 || Tg *am_la_lḡa 'mouth' > Ewk amḡa, Δ amma, Sln amma, {Iv.} amá, amaxá, amḡá, Lm amḡъ ђ amḡa ђ amḡa, Neg amḡa, Orc amma, Ud, Ul aḡma, Ork, Nn KU amḡa, Jrc {Md.} amḡa, {Kiy.} amḡa, WrMc {Z} аḡга, Mc Sb aḡa 'mouth'; WrMc аḡга has several meanings: 'mouth', 'mouth of animal', 'mouth of a river', 'orifice, ravine' and hence may go back to a merger of three words: Tg *aḡa 'mouth of animal', Tg *am_la_lḡa 'mouth' and a WrMc loanword аḡга 'fissure, cleft, ravine' (← WrM аḡ 'fissure, ravine'); NrTg *amta- v. 'taste' > Ewk, Neg amta-, Lm amtъ- id.; Tg *amtan n. 'taste' > Ewk, Orc, Ud, Ul amta, Lm, Neg amtan, Ork apta, Nn Nh amtã id., WrMc {Z} амтань, Mc Sb amtan id., 'sweet taste' ¶ STM I 38-9, Z 16-17, 46, Kiy. 124 [no. 494], Md. ChF 133 ¶¶ SDM 296-7 (pA > Tg, M, J, Ko + unc. pT *um-, *um-sa- 'hope, envy'), DQA no. 34, S AP I 79-81, II 88-9, 185, 205 || pJ *ámá- 'tasty, sweet' > OJ ama-, MJ áamá- id., J T àma-, J K ámà-, J Kg áma- {Kenk.} 'sweet'; pJ *ántí n. 'taste' > OJ adi, MJ ádí, J T àḡi, J K áḡí, J Kg áḡi id. ¶ Mr. 389, 825, Kenk.15, 26 || pKo *más 'taste (Geschmack)' > MKo más, NKo mas mat ~ məs mət ¶ Nam 203, MLC 588, 614 ¶¶ SDM (pA *ámó 'mouth', *amo-ta, *amo-sa 'taste' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), Rm. EAS I 116, 140, Pp. VG 68, Mr. KJ 248, Kol. ChA 73-7, S AJ 467, 70, 291 ◇ Cf. otherwise IS I 244-5: IS interpreted M *ama(n) 'mouth', Tg *aḡa or *aḡma (sc. *am_la_lḡa) 'mouth' and T *am 'vulva' (actually from N *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva', q.v. ffd.) as a pA derivative *aḡma ← *aḡa- v. 'open (F N *ḡaḡa 'to open').

717. *g∇m∇ 'darkness, night' > K: GZ {FS} *ḡam-, {K} *ḡamen- 'night', {K} *ḡame- 'last night' > OG, G ḡame- 'night, at night', Mg ḡuma 'last night', Lz ḡoman ~ ḡoma 'yesterday' ¶ K 200-1, K² 220, FS K 342, FS E 384, Chik. 198, Q 352, Ser. 169, DCh. 1356-7 || HS: WS *√ ḡmm ~ *√ ḡm y|w 'be dark\dim' > BHb √ ḡmm *Hoph* (ip. 𐤒𐤍𐤏 ḡ-ū-ḡam) 'be

darkened' (of gold) ([Vulg.] 'obscuratum est'), MHb [Tos.] **מַחֲמִים** ✓ *ʕmm* *G* (pf. **מָחַמְּ** *ʕā'mam*) 'be dim (cease to flame)' (of coals), JA [Trg.], **מַחֲמִים** ✓ *ʕmm* *G* (pf. **מָחַמְּ** *ʕā'mam*) {Js.} 'be(come) dim', {Lv.} 'be(come) dark\darkened', JA ✓ *ʕmy|w* *G* (pf. **מָחַמְּ** *ʕā'mī* ~ **מָחַמְּ** *ʕā'mā*) 'be\become dark\dim', **מָחַמְּ** *ʕam'y-ā* {Lv.} 'darkness', {Js.} 'dimness, twilight', JEA ✓ *ʕmy* *G* 'grow faint', Ar *ʕamm-* 'dark' (e.g. *laylat-un ʕamm-un* 'a dark night') (× v. ✓ *ʕmm* 'cover'), Mh *ʕzmōm* 'fog', Jb C/E *ʕiūm* 'heat mist, fog', Mh C ✓ *ʕmm* *Sh* (pf. *aʕmēm*) 'see only as a blurred image, see as in a fog', Jb C ✓ *ʕmm* *Sh* (pf. *aʕ'mim*) 'make a smoke screen \ dust cloud' ¶ KB 800-1, Lv. T II 223, Lv. III 661-2, Js. 1087, 1089, Sl. 870, BK II 498-500, Jo. M 137, Jo. J 86 || C: Bj {R} 'humnay ~ 'humne 'late afternoon, evening', {Rop.} *himni* 'afternoon, the period between 2 p.m. up to sunset' || EC: Hd *hēmačā* 'black', Hd {Hd.} *hīmo* 'evening, night', Sml J *hamīn* id. (× pSam {Hn.} **hibēn* id.?) || DhI *himmate* 'black' || C → Mb -*háme* id. ¶ R WBd 121, Rop. 196, Blz. CL 177, Hd. 282, Hn. S 63 || **A** Tg: Ewk Sm *umulgz* 'shadowy place under a tree' ¶ STM II 270 ◇ IS MS 368 (s.v. **ʕam* 'dark'), IS SS no. 9.4.

718. *geñ'ä' 'be large, be copious' > HS: WS *✓ *ʕny* > Ar *ʕanīy-* 'riche, opulent', **غنى** *ʕinā(-n)* 'richesse, opulence', Mh *ʕe'nay*, Jb E/C 'ʕa'ni 'rich', WS *✓ *ʕny* *Sh* (caus.) 'make so. rich' > Ar ✓ *ʕny* *Sh* (af'ala), Mh pf. *heʕnō*, Jb C pf. *aʕ'ni* id., Ar ✓ *ʕny* *T* 'become rich', Jb C *T* pf. *ʕutni* id. ¶ BK II 512-13, Jo. M 139, Jo. J 87 || **U** *eñä 'big, large, much' > F *eñä* 'big, much' (*eñää* 'more', comp. *enempi* 'more'), Es comp. *enam* 'more' || pLp {Lr.} **ēnē* 'much' > Lp: N *ædne*, S *jienje*, L *iednē*, Kld *jiēne-* id. || Er *ine*, Mk *inä* 'big' || ObU **ᵐyēn* 'big' > pVg {Ht.} *yänəʃ* > Vg: T *yinəw* *ᵐ* *yänəw*, LK/UK *yäni*, MK *yāni*, P/NV/SV/LL *yäniʃ*, UL/Ss *yaniʃ* 'big', T *yünt*, P/NV/SV/LL *yānt*, UL/Ss *yaniṭ* 'as big as', pOs {Ht.} **eñä* 'big' > Os: V/Vy *eñə*, Ty *āñə*, D/K *enə* id. || Sm {Jn.} **inā* 'elder brother' > Ne T dim. **нинека**, {Lh.} *níñ'ē'k'a* id., Ne F {Lh.} n. + ppa. 1s *níyəkām* 'my elder brother', En {Ter.} *inā* 'elder brother', Ng {Mik.} *níñt* 'father's younger brother', Slq NP {Cs.} *inré* 'elder brother' ¶¶ UEW 74-5, SSA I 106, Lr. no. 231, Lgc. no. 866, Ht. no. 191, Jn. 27, Cs. 107 || **A**: NaT **æŋ* > OT {Cl.} *eŋ* (before adj.) '(the) most' (pc. of sprl.), Cum *eŋ*, Tk *en*, Tk *Δ*, CrTt, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt, Tv *eŋ*, Tkm, Qmq, VTt, Bsh *iŋ*, Az *än*, Ggz *hen* id., T → (?) Kl {Rm.} *eŋ*

'sehr, ganz' ¶ Cl. 166, Rs. W 45, MM 148, ET Gl 365-6, KW 122 ◇ Gr. II no. 236 (*ena 'large') (U, T, CK + qu. M, Tg).

719. $_2$ ***g**¹ûh|h̄ ▽ (or ***g**¹ûh|h̄ ▽) drink, eat' > **HS**: C: LEC {Bl.} ***ɣ**un- > Sml **ɣ**un-, Rn **h**un- 'eat', Or {Th., Brl.} **h**un- v. 'sip, take a sip, taste (a beverage), suck', Arr {Hw.} **ʔ**un- v. 'taste, drink a small amount of' ¶ Bl. 105, 161, 207, Th. 206, Brl. 219, Hw. A 344, Abr. S 243, PG 144 || **ʔ**σ S ***o**-**ɣ**īn- (or ***o**-**ɣ**ūn-) > Ar ✓ **ɣ**un G (ip. -**ɣ**īnu) 'be thirsty' ¶ BK II 526 || **D** {tr., GS} ***u**ñ- 'drink, eat, suck' > Tm **u**ñ 'eat or drink, suck (as a child)', Ml **u**ñ **u**ka 'eat (esp. rice), suck', Td **u**ñ- 'drink', 'take breast' (a child), Kn **u**ñ 'eat', **u**ñ **i**ke 'taking a meal', Kdg **u**ñ- 'eat a meal', Tu **u**ñ (**u**)pini id., 'dine, eat rice', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Mnd **u**ñ-, Gnd undāna, Knd, Png **u**ñ-, Kui **u**ñba, Ku **u**ñdali **ɔ** un-, Mlt {Drs.} óne v. 'drink', Krx **o**ñ- v. 'drink, eat (rice)', **ʔ** Brh kunij 'eat, drink, bite' (k- by contamination with Sindhi **k**^hājnu 'eat') ¶¶ D no. 600, GS 175 [no. 443a], 55 [no. 151] ◇ The rec. of N ***g**- is unequivocal only if the S cognate is valid, otherwise it may be N ***ɣ**-, ***ɣ**- or ***g**-.

720. ***gar**¹i¹ 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > **HS**: CS ***ɣ**ār- 'valley, cave' > Ar غار **ɣ**ār- 'lowland' (BK: 'terrain plat et plus bas que les lieux d'alentour, terrain encaissé, pays plat entouré de hauteurs'); 'hole, cavern, cave'; S d. ***m**▽-**ɣ**arr-at- ~ ***m**▽-**ɣ**ār-at- 'cave' > Hb מַעְרָה **m**əɣārā, Ph מערת **m**ɣrt, Ug mɣrt, IA cs. מערת **m**ɣrt, IA, Plm em. מערת **m**ɣrt[?], JA [Trg.], JEA מערת **m**əɣārət-ā, Sr مَعْرَاتُ **m**əɣart-ā, Ar مَعْرَاةُ **m**əɣārat- ~ مَعْرَاةُ **m**uɣārat- 'cave', Cn (Ancient Ph?) **h** → Gk μέγαρα ~ μάγαρα nom. pl. 'sorte de cryptes dans lesquelles, aux Thesmophories, on jettait des porcs vivants', {LS} 'pits sacred to Demeter and Persephone, into which young pigs were let down in the Thesmophoria', (?) Gk Hm μέγαρον 'grande salle; appartement des femmes', {LS} 'the chief room in the Homeric palace; women's apartment'; Cn **h** → Eg N {Alb.} mɣrt 'cave' (in syllabic spelling magarata); cp. also CS (or WS) ***ɣ**aw₁i₁r- (← ***ɣ**ār-?) > Ar **ɣ**awr- 'bottom, lowest part', Ug {OLS} **ɣ**yr 'depresión, pozo, profundidad' and possibly Sq {L} **ɣ**eyreh 'lake' ¶ KB 582, KBR 615-16, JH 163, HJ 672, Fr. II 189 and III 301, Sl. 697, BK II 516, Ln. 2307-8, Ch. 674, EG II 164, Alb. VESO 44, OLS 161, L LS 308 || **K**: GZ ***ɣ**are- 'gutter, furrow' > MG [VTq.] **ɣ**ar- 'groove' (VTq. 608), G **ɣ**ar- 'gutter, furrow', Mg **ɣ**ore- 'gutter of mill; wooden dam' ¶ K² 221, Chx. 1615, DCh. 1357 || **IE** ***χ**ery- ~ ***χ**ry- ({EI} ***h**₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (× N ***χ**ar¹ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' ×

[possibly] IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' < N ***ǵ**'a'**1**Hr∇ 'low place, valley') > Ht har i-s (gen. har iγas) 'valley' || NaIE: Lt ar muō (gen. ar meñs) {PiesS} 'soil, ground; precipice, abyss' || Arm **ալբայր** 'cavern, grotto, den, antre' ¶¶ Ts. E I 172-3, ≠ WP I 56 and P 50 (in both: Arm **ալբ** ÷ Gk ἄντρον 'antrum', 'a cave, inner chamber'), Pv. III 143-4 (IE *A₁er-y- ñ *A₁r₀y-), EI 96, Frd. HW 57, Čop IGW-2 135, PiesS 55, Xud. I 43, Bdr. 22 || **U**: FP *ar∇ in the meaning 'valley, ravine' (× N ***ǵ**ar∇ or ***ǵ**a**ǵ**r∇ 'earth, land, place') > F ar o 'vallis inter colles' || ?? pPrm ***ǵ**'r- > Vt N {UR} ur-kīrem 'ravine, gully' (kīr- 'break through, wash away'), Z kзǰ-зрэм 'old riverbed in the bend of the watercourse' (kзǰ 'bend of river'); of course, the other semantic variety of FP *ar∇ ('lowland, [?] low place, riverbed') goes back to N ***ǵ**ar∇ '↑', and the meaning 'grasbewachsenes Tiefland' of the F word ar o is probably due to both sources ¶ KW 9, SK 24, UEW 17, LG 207, UR 310, Ht. 196 [no. 712], ≈ Coll. 72 || **A**: T: [1] NaT *āra 'space between two places' (× N ***ǵ**a**ǵ**r∇ 'earth, land, place', cf. N ***ǵ**ar∇ id.) > OT ara-miz-da 'among us'; in later T lges it is used in the meanings 'space between two objects, interval' and 'middle': Tk ar a, ET, CrTt, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, Tv ara, Uz ara 'space between two objects, interval', Tkm āra, Kr, Qmq, QrB ara id., 'middle', Az, Nog, SY, Xk ara 'space between, between', Yk āra 'in the way, one in the way between two places', Chv L {Jeg., ChVS} вap n. 'middle, centre, belly, stomach' ¶ The length of the first vw. (preserved in Tkm and Yk āra) may be explained as the heritage of N ***ǵ**a**ǵ**r∇ (see s.v. N ***ǵ**ar∇ 'earth, land, place'); [2] another case of partial merger is probably pT ***ǵ**:'r 'valley' > OT öz, OOSm, Tk Δ öz id., OT Kr özi 'passage between two mountains', Chv L {Ash., Fed., ChVS} вap 'deep and dry ravine, trockenes Flußbett', ({Ash., Fed.} 'обдернелый овраг с пологими краями, лог, дол': this T word is likely to go back primarily to N ***χ**ar'ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' (q.v.) with T ***ǵ**- due to regr. as. ¶ Ash. V 167, Cl. 196, 278, 281, ET Gl 162-4, ≈ 506-8, TL 532, Pek. I 126-7, TkR 47-8, Ash. V 162, Fed. I 100-1, Jeg. 47, ChVS 28 ◇ Čop I-1974 32 (IE, FU), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 21 (N *Har i 'pond, bank'; unc. equation of IE and FU with the HS and D reflexes of N ***q**e₁'r∇ or ***q**er₁'∇ 'brook, stream', q.v.).

721. ***g**or∇ 'cry, speak, produce vocal sounds' > K ***ǵ**ar-/ǵr- 'cry, sing' > OG, G mǵer- 'sing', eNG [SSO], G ǵr- (ǵr-ial-) 'shout, bellow, cry (weap loudly)', Mg ǵor- ǵvar- v. 'shout, low', Lz mǵor- id., Sv ǵar-/ǵr- 'sing' ¶¶ FS K 343-4, FS E 385-6, K 201, Q 352, DCh. 914-15,

1366, Chx. 898, 1649-5, Chik. 349 || HS: SES *✓ ʏry > Mh {Jo.} ʏzrōy (pl. ʏzryēh), Jb C/E 'ʏa'rdʔ n. 'talk, speech, language', Hrs ʏzrōy (pl. ʏzrīyʒn) 'speech, language; words'; Mh/Hrs ✓ ʏry Gt (pf. Mh 'ʏatri, Hrs 'ʏatʒri) v. 'speak', Sq ✓ ʏry Gt (pf. {Jo.} 'ʏtʒri) 'call', {L} pf. 'ʏetiri 'speak' ¶ Jo. M 142, Jo. J 88, Jo. H 46, L LS 326-7 || ?φ Eg {AnC} ʏrω 'crier', Eg fO ʏr 'says he, says N' (devoicing *ʏ > ʏ due to syntactically conditioned as.), Eg NK ʏrt.ω 'utterance (of a god, a king), oracle' (× N *gU₁?₁∇ 'speak, call?'), ?σ Eg fP ʏrω 'voice' ¶ AnC-1 10, EG III 317-18, 324-5 || IE *χ^ωe(:)r-/*χ^ωr- ≈ speak, call' > NaIE *ōr-/*ar- > L ōrā- v. 'speak, pray', Osc URUST 'oraverit' ({EI} 'he pleaded') || Gk ἄρᾶ, Gk ἰ ἄρῆ 'prayer', Gk ἄράομαι 'pray, curse', Gk ἄρῶω 'speak, call' || Sl: R o'pa-тъ 'to yell, to bawl', SCr òriti se 'to resound, to be heard' (of a sound) || Lv {EI} hīrūt- 'curse' ¶¶ Ht ar(υ)wai- ('prostrate oneself, fall down, make obeisance' rather than 'pray, worship') and OI ārya-nti ({M} 'they acknowledge' (rather than 'praise'), adduced by some scholars, are to be kept apart ¶¶ P 781, EI 450 (*h₁|h⁴er- 'ask the gods, consult an oracle', *h₂eru- ≈ pray, curse') and 536 (*h₁|h⁴er- 'speak a ritual formula'), WH II 224, Pln. II 709, F I 127, 158, Vs. III 149, Glh. 456, Pv. I-II 183-5, M K I 78-9, M E I 172 || A *ôri- 'cry (schreien), shout' > M *uri- ~ *ori- 'shout, call, invite' > MM [HI] uri- 'call (appeler)', [MA] uri- 'invite', Dg {T} ori- 'shout, call, invite', WrM {MED} uri- 'call, summon, invite', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ури- id., Ba {T} ure-, Dx {T} uru- 'call, invite', Mnr H uri- {T} id., {SM} 'inviter', Ord uri- id.; M *ori-la- > WrM {MED} orila- 'cry out, shout, scream', HIM орило- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'weap', Kl {Rm.} or]- ~ or]- 'schreien, rufen'; ? WrM {MED} urila- 'call, summon, invite' (unless a WrM derivative from WrM uri- id.) ¶ Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 366, MED 619, 881, 884, BMR II 489, KW 289, T 369, T DgJ 160, T BJ 148, T DnJ 137, SM 476, Ms. O 740 || Tg *orē- > Ewk orē- 'shout, bellow', Ewk orē-, Nn Bk orīnda- 'imitate the beckoning call of a female Manchurian deer', Sln o'ē- 'call (призывать)' ¶ STM II 23 || T *ori- 'shout, outcry' > OT {Cl.}, MT XIV [IM] ori- id.; ⇨ NaT *o₁:r-la- 'make a loud noise, shout' > OT orla- id., Xk orla- id., 'howl, bellow, emit a loud noise' (of animals), Qb {Rl.} orla- v. 'moo'; (?φ) ⇨ *uran > Qzq ʏpān uran, Qq uran 'war cry; public address (призыв)', Qzq {Rl.}, Chg {Bu., Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.} urān ({ET} < *uraʏan) 'war cry', Tlt {Rl.} urān 'Geschrei', Brb {Rl.} uran 'Schrei', uran-la- 'cry (schreien)', {Tm.} ōran 'war cry', Qq {KrkR} uran, Qzq {MM}

ұран 'боевой клич во время битвы, Aufruf, parole', Shor {Rl.} uran-na- 'cry (schreien)', 'sing' (of drunk people), Yk uran 'родовой клич' ¶ Cl. 197, ET Gl 601-2, BIG 130, Rl. I 1064, 1653-4, Bu. I 121, MM 489, Sht. 290, KrkR 67, Tm. 162, MM 489, KrkR 678, Jud. 806 || pJ {S} *úru-tápa- v. 'complain, sue' > OJ urutapa-, MJ uttáφ- id., J K úttáe-, J Kg ùttàè-, J T ùttae-, uttaé- 'sue' ¶ S QJ no. 1487, Mr. 781, Kenk. 2117 ¶¶ SDM 1061-2 (pA *óru 'cry, shout' > T, M, Tg, J), DQA no. 1582 (id.), IS MS 345 ◇ IS MS 345 (pA > M, Tg).

722. *gU¹y¹q¹R∇ 'skin' > HS: WS *y¹u¹rr- > Ug {OLS} ḡr 'skin', BHb עור פֹּר (pl. עוֹרוֹת פֹּר 'rōt) 'skin, leather', Ph ʿrt pl. 'skin', ? Ar yurr-at- ~ yarr-at- 'pli (d'une peau, d'une étoffe)', rdp.: Mh {Jo.} yzryār, yzryzrōt 'side of throat', Jb C {Jo.} yzr'yzrōt, yar'yzrōt 'dewlap', ?σ Ar yuryur-at- ~ yaryar-at- 'bird's gizzard' ¶ OLS 159, KB 803, Tmb. 256, Hv. 520, BK II 457, Jo. M 141, Jo. J 88, MiK I no. 1.106 || D *ur₁i- v. 'peel' > Tm uri v. 'peel (skin, bark)', Ml urikka v. 'flay, skin (a jackfruit, a coconut)', Td ušt v. 'take off (ring, bangle, shirt, coat)', Kn uricu v. 'flay, strip off skin\covering', Tu (u)rumbu v. 'tear off (as leaves from a twig)', rumbu 'stripping, plucking', rumbuni v. 'strip\pluck off', Nkr uyp- v. 'take off (clothes wrapped round middle)', Prj uyk- v. 'slough its skin' (of a serpent), Gnd Mn uy?- id., Gnd Mu uy- 'be flayed', Gnd K uysp- v. 'flay', Krx ur-nā 'rub off the leaves of a branch', Mlt uryre ~ urwre 'fall off' (hair), 'slip off'; D *ur₁i, n. 'skin, peel' > Tm uri n. 'rind, bark, peel, skin stripped off', urivaḡ 'skin, hide, peel', Ml uri 'skin', Ku žuka 'slough of snake' ¶¶ D no. 652 || A: M *örümen 'scum on boiled milk' > WrM {MED} örümē id., Brt ypmə(н) id., HIM epəm {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Sähne', Dg {Pp.} úrüm, {T} urum 'scum', WrO örömö 'cream', örömede- v. 'cream over, get scummy', Kl {KRS} epm 'scum on boiled milk, saure Sähne (сливки)', {Rm.} örmḡ 'Schmand, Rahm', Ord örmö 'crème du lait codifiée par cuisson'; Mnr H {SM} yermiän id., 'crème du lait'; M → WrMc {Z} oromy, Ewk urumu 'scum on boiled milk, cream', Yk örümä ~ ürümä id., 'film' ¶ MED 644, BMR III 41, Krg. 150, KRS 424, KW 300, Chr. 513, SM 492, T DgJ 171, Ms. O 538, STM II 288, Z 133 || ? IE: NaIE ≈ *erph^h- (< *Heyp^h-?) / ? *werph^h- ≈ 'tear off', 'skin (that can be torn off)' > Gk ἕρπος 'a skin (e.g. of a serpent)' || ?σ Arm qerphē m 'I plunder\ravage\pillage' || ?σ Sl *vьrp- / *vorp- > OR inf. вьрпстн vьrpsti / Is pres. вьрпѣ vьrpu v. 'tear, plunder', {Srz.} 'spoliare',

ChS d. **НАВРАПЪ** na-*vrapъ* 'pillage', Kshb **варрас** 'reißen, ziehen', Slv {Mikl.} z-*vrapati* 'entreißen' ¶ Ch. 377 and F I 571 (both: no et. of Gk ἔρπος), ≈ Vs. I 355, Srz. I 462, WP I 291-2 ◇ D *-r- (usually going back to a N cns. cluster with *R) suggests that in the pN etymon there was a cns. (*w, *y or *ʔ?) adjacent to *R, that later disappeared in the descendant lges, but this cns. has not been identified so far. The N cns. *w is ruled out by the M cognate (N *w > M *b). The N cns. *y|ʔ is more likely to have preceded (rather than followed) *R, because in the IE lge N *y|ʔ disappears before a sonant. Therefore the most probable N wtymon is *gU'y|ʔ'R∇.

723. *garH∇ 'crush (the soil), grind' > K: GZ *yerʷ- v. 'grind (coarsely)' > G yerʷ- id., Mg yarʷ- id., 'talk nonsense'; ⇨ K *yerʷil- 'coarse-ground flour' > OG yerʷili 'ground grains', G yerʷil-, Mg, Lz yarʷil- 'course-ground grains' ¶ K 202, K² 223-4, FS K 346, FS E 388-9, Chx. 1620-1, Chik. 173 || HS: S *^o✓ ʷ|χrr > Ak \wedge ✓ χrr (inf. χarārū) 'grind' ¶ CAD VI 92 || IE *Her₁Hχ]- or *Har₁Hχ]- ({EI} *^h_herh₃ye/o-) > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' > Gk ἄρῶν v. 'plough, till' || Gt arjan (· ἄροτραῖν) 'pflügen', ON erja, OHG erien, erren, AS érian 'to plough, to till', NE Δ ear v. 'plough, till'; OHG art 'cultivation, aratio' || Lārā- v. 'plough' || Clt {Matas.} n. 'ploughing', *ar-yo- v. 'plough' > OIr ar {Matas.} 'tilling, the land ploughrd, husbandry', ar- (pres. airim) v. 'plough, till', aired 'arable land', MW {Matas.} ar 'ploughed land', arddu n. 'ploughing', W {P, Vn.} arddu, {YGM, Bc.} aredig, MBr {Matas.} 'p[oughing', Br arat v. 'till, plough', {Hm.} 'labourer'; Clt. {Matas.} *aratro- n. 'plough' > OIr arathar n. 'plough, tillage', MW aradr, MBr arazr id. || Lt árti (pres. ariù), Ltv art (pres. aru) id., Lt artójas, Pru artoys 'ploughman' | SI *oráti (1s pres. *ṓrǫ) 'to plough' > OCS, OR inf. **орати** ora-ti (1s pres. **орѣ** orjǫ), SCr inf. orati (1s pres. òrēm), Slv inf. oráti (1s pres. orjem), Cz inf. orati (1s pres. ořu), Slk inf. orat' (1s pres. oriem), P inf. orac (1s pres. orze), R †, Uk inf. о'рати (1s pres. R о'рю) id., Blg о'ра v. 'plough' || Arm **արար** arar 'a plough' || Tc A, B āre id. ¶¶ Not here Ht hars-, harsiya- 'till the earth' (← S *^h✓ hrθ id.) ¶¶ P 62-3, Bc. 495, EI 434, F I 147-8, WH I 69, Vn. A 43, 81, Fs. 56-7, Vr. 104, Ho. 94, EWA I 347-9 and II 1129-32, Schz. 126, Frn. 17, En. 143-4, Tp. P A-D 107-8, Tr. 13, Vs. III 148-9, StSS 415, Glh. 456, Slit. 126, Me. EAC 152, Ad.49, Matas. E 40, 42-4, Hm. 41 || D *ar- (+ suff.) n. 'plough' > Tm

araka n. 'plough with bullocks etc.', Mlt are n. 'plough' ¶¶ D 198 ◇ D *-r- < N cns. cluster with *r (in this case *-rH-). In IE and D the N word *garH∇ 'to crush' acquired new meanings: 'to plough' (sc. 'to crush soil') and 'a plough', connected with the appearance of agriculture.

724. ₂ *g∇R∇b∇ (or *-p-) 'dark' > IE: NaIE {P} *ēreb^(h)- / *ōrob^(h)- 'dark' > Gk ὀρφυρός 'dark, dusky', ὀρφυράτος 'dark, murky', ὀρφυρη (Gk I ὀρφυρᾶ) 'the darkness of night; night', ὀρφυλίνοσ 'brownish grey' || ON iarpr 'brown', OHG {OsS} ěrpf 'fuscus', AS earp 'dusky, dark', eorþ 'swarthy' ¶ P 334, F II 431-2, Vr. 291, Sw. 48, 52, Ho. 93, OsS 150 || HS: S *✓ ʔrb 'dark' > Ar ✓ ʔrb G (pf. غَرِبَ ʔariba) {Ln.} 'be black', {BK} 'être très noir', Ak fOB erēpu inf. 'to become dusky\dark', StB erpu (~ erbū) 'dark', BHb בֵּרָב 'ערעב' 'evening'; (× S *✓ ʔrb 'enter' [> Ug, Ph ✓ ʔrb, Ak erēbu id.], responsible for the unexpected ʔ-): Ug ʔrb 'sunset', Sb mʔrb 'west'; on CS *ʔara'pill- 'dark cloud' (< N *ʔ∇R_L∇_LP∇ 'cloud' with infl. of *g∇R∇b|p∇) see s.v. N *ʔ∇R_L∇_LP∇ ¶ BK II 449, Ln. 224O, CAD IV 234-5, 279-80 and 304, OLS 87-8, KB 830-1, BGMR 18, Rk. IQ 123 || C: Ag: Bln {R} arəb- 'be black\blue', arə'ba 'blackness, black color' || EC: Sa {R} ôr'ba, war'ba 'a cow with black spots' ¶ R WB 47-8, R S II 44 ¶¶ R WB 47 (C, Ar).

725. *gu'rir'∇ (or *gu'∇ - *gu'∇r∇ - *gur'∇r'∇?) 'skill; ruse, deceit; to deceive' > K *ʔor- v. 'deceive, tell lies' > G, Mg ʔor- id., Lz ʔor- v. 'tell lies, lie to', ʔord-, ʔerd- 'deceive', Sv ʔr- 'tell lies, deceive' ¶¶ K 205-6 and K² 232 (G, Z), Chik. 350, FS K 351, FS E 394, Chx. 1543, Q 351-2 || HS: WS *✓ ʔrr, *-ʔurr- ~ *-ʔrur- v. 'deceive' > Ar ✓ ʔrr G (ip. -ʔurr, msd. ʔurūr-) 'deceive, allure', ʔarrār- 'deceiver', Mh, Hrs, Jb E/C ✓ ʔrr G 'deceive' (sbjn.: Mh, Hrs yʔʔrōr), Jb C ʔʔʔ'rer 'be led astray' ¶ BK II 445-7, Jo. M 139-40, Jo. H 45, Jo. J 87 || A *ūr'∇ 'craftsman' > T *ūr' > NaT *ūz- > OT {Cl.} ūz 'skilled craftsman', MT uz, StAlt, Tv us 'master, skilful, skilful craftsman', ET us {Naj, BN} 'ловкость, skill (умелость)', ئوز uz ({Naj.} üz [err.ü?]) 'skilful craftsman, master; skilful', Xk us 'skilful craftsman', Yk ūs id., 'craftsman', Tk uz 'good, fit', Tkm † ūδ 'good, excellent, beautiful', Qrg uz 'skilful; skilled craftsman' ¶ Cl. 277, ET Gl 569-70, Naj. 123, 126, BN 162 || M *ura- ⇨ [1] M *ura-n 'skilful; art, craft, skill' > MM [HI] uran 'artisan', [MA]uran 'skilful, masterly', [IM] uran 'handicraft', WrM uran {MED} n., adj. 'artisan, craftsman; art, craft'; adj. 'artistic, crafty', adv. 'artistically, masterly', HIM ʔp(ан) {MED} id., {BMR}

'Meisterschaft, art; artistic, crafty, изящный', Brt уран adj. 'skilful, masterly', Kl {Rm} урḡ 'Künstler, Meister; Handwerker', {KRS} урн n. 'Meister', 'Meisterschaft', adj. 'skilful, artistic', Mnr H {SM} уран 'dexterité, habileté', Dx {T} уран 'master', Dg {T} уран id., 'skilled craftsman', waran 'skilful (искусный)', 'Gewandtheit, skill (ловкость, умение); skilful (искусный)', Ord уран 'habile, habileté'; **[2]** M *ura-la- 'make (sth.) skilfully, use artifice' > WrM {MED} урала- 'make (sth.) artistically\skilfully', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} урла- id., vt. 'мастерить', Brt урла- ~ урал- id., Kl {KRS} урл- id., {Rm.} ур]- 'etwas meisthaft ausführen, feine Arbeit machen, ein Meister sein', WrO {Krg.} урала- v. 'contrive, use artifice; be master of, be a craftsman', Ord урала- 'faire un travail avec grand soin et habilité'; **[3]** WrM {MED} урасуд pl. 'artisans, craftsmen', HIM {MED, BMR} урчуд id., WrO ураси 'craftsman', Kl {Rm.} урḡ 'Meisterin, sehr geschickte Frau', Ord ураḥ'ūt pl. 'artisans, artistes, couturières' ¶ Ms. H 106, Pp. MA 365-6 and 449, MED 879-90, BMR III 338, 346-7, 351, Chr. 472-3, 476, KRS 536-7, KW 451, Rs. W 451, SM 473, T DnJ 137, T DgJ 129, 171, Krg. 179, Ms. O 738 ¶¶ The length of the pA vw. *ū- may have been caused by compensatory lengthening (*ūr- < **ur- < N *-urir-?) ¶¶ SDM 1505 (pA *ur'∇ 'craftsman' > M *uran, T *ūr), Pp. VG 102, Dr. TM II 145 (err.: M ← T) || ?σ D: McTm *orur- 'spy out' > Tm orru v. 'spy out', Ml orru 'private intelligence, secret information', orran 'a spy' ¶ McTm *o- (for the expected D *u-) needs investigating (cp. SD *o < D *u before a derivative *a, see Zv. 65-70) ¶ D no. 1022 ◇ D *-ur- and S *-ur'∇ suggest the presence of a second *r in the N etymon. T *-r- is probably from *-ry- < N *-rir-?

726. ₂ *gotK∇ 'popliteal space (inside of the knee), armpit' > HS: S (att. in SES) *o✓ ytk > Jb C {Jo.} yat'ket (pl. 'ye'tjktz), Jb E {Jo.} yat'ket 'popliteal space', Mh {Jo.} yat'kayt (pl. yat'ktzn) 'hollow at the back of the knee' ¶ Jo. J 90, Jo. M 144 || A: d.: M *ogu-da-sun 'armpit gore of clothes' (unless with *φ-) > WrM {Kow.} ogudasun id. ('chateau de l'habit de dessous le bras'), Kl {Rm.} oγadaḡ, oγdaḡ 'Ärmelzwickel' ¶ KW 283, Kow. 365, S AJ 243 [no. 254] ¶¶ S AJ 297 [no. 594] (pA *oK∇ 'popliteal space, armpit' > M + err. Ko), SDM97 s.v. *jk'∇, KW 283 ¶¶ S AJ 297 suggested a Ko cognate *òkóm 'popliteal space' (> MKo òkóm, NKO ogim id., Ko Kw oγumpē {Vv.} 'the inside curve of the knee\elbow'), but Vv. AEN 16 rejected it on morphological grounds: òkóm ({Y} ωòkwóm)

←d ok- 'bends (inside) with a nominal sx -óm || AdS of IE: NaIE *aks- → *aġ(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit' (< *XakEC∇ 'shoulder [Achsel], armpit'): *aks- > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa ~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, ũehse 'armpit'; with a sx *-n-: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS ōxn 'armpit'; with a sx *-t-: ON óst, óstr 'throat pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr Δ ōste, AS ocusta ~ ōxta id., NE oxter 'armpit'; (NaIE *aġs-el- → *aks-el- >) ON oxl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel id. || L āla (< *aks-la) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx -illa); ↳ OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠 (< *asnuth) 'armpit' || ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggesting IE *ok- without *-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. no. 243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ṛe_ḱs- 'shoulder, shoulder joint; axle'; *h_ṛe_ḱsleh_ṛ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-16, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ The connection between *aks- 'armpit' and *aks(-el)- 'shoulder' is not clear (derivation or semantic change [and if so, in which direction?] or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?). Connection with IE *ak̂s- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶¶ The IE root may belong here only if N *t_ḱ may yield IE *ks (cp. AD SShS) or if IE *-s- is a sx ◇ In AD NM no. 107 I reconstructed the N word as *g_o|at_ḱE (> HS, A, IE), S CNM 12 ("*G_o|at_ḱE ... The A and IE forms point rather to *H_o|a_ḱE"; this is a misunderstanding: here "*G_o|at_ḱE" is S's notation for N *g_o|at_ḱE. N *g yields regularly A zero and IE *H; there is a contraction *t_ḱ (from N *-t_ḱ-) > *K, so that *H_o|a_ḱE is a reduced variant of N *got_ḱ∇); Vv. AEN 16 (rejecting the Ko cognate and misquoting my former rec. of N *g_o|at_ḱE as *g_o|at_ḱE).

727. *gužê ≈ 'sheep, goat' > HS: S: Ar d. ṽaḍīy-, ṽaḍawīy- 'kid (young of goats)', ṽaḍ(aw)īyū-l-māli 'young of camels' ¶ BK II 445 || Ch: it is tempting to adduce BT (Bl {Mk} ošī 'billy goat', Krkr ṽōč'í and Ngm {Mk} ošī id.), but in the light of the Krkr pl. ṽōkàḷ 'goats' it seems more plausible to equate the BT forms with Jmb àk^ωá 'goat' and similar forms of other Ch lges (< N *H^oḱE 'goat' [q.v. ffd]) || U: FU {Db.} *ūčē, {UEW} *učē 'sheep' (or 'ē an animal resembling a sheep') > F uuhī (gen. uuhēn), Es utt (< prt.), Δ uhe 'ewe' || Mk yča u'ča, Er Kd uč'a 'sheep' || Chr: L yжга už'ya, Uf/B užya, H ыжга 'bžya 'fir coat'

|| Prm {LG} *ůž > Z, Vt ЫЖ †ž 'sheep' || ObU {Ht.} *āč id. > pVg *āš id. (> OVg E TM осч, Vg: LK ős, MK/UK ős; OVg W P/Sol ошъ, Vg: P oš [du. ősš̄x], NV/ML oš, SV/LL oš / ősī id.; OVg N: SoG/Ber ősч, Chd/SoO ошъ, Vg Ss ős id.; OVg S: Vt ачь, SSs асч, ősčч id.), pOs *ač id. > Os: V/Vy ач, Ty/Y ач, D oš ь оч, K oš, Nz/Kz ьš, O as id. ¶ The long *ū- (suggested by F u u h i) may be accounted for by the loss of the initial *g- ¶ UEW 541, Sm. 552 (FP *u u č i 'sheep'), Db. OS xxxii, Ker. II 178, MRS 625, 762, LG 328, Ht. no. 4 ¶ UEW reasonably remarks: "Das Vorhandensein des Wortes für 'Schaf' in der FU Grundsprache ist noch kein Beweis für die Schafzucht, aber durchaus für das Kennen eines schafähnliches Tieres". Since wild *Oves*, *Caprae* and *Capreoli* are (and were) absent in the presumed homeland of FU (both sides of the Urals, Northwestern Siberia), but are typical of the Turan and the mountains of Southern Siberia, this word suggests a southern (Turanic, South-Siberian?) ancient habitat of the early pU lge. Napolskikh (Nap. IU 122-3) suggesting a possibility of reconstructing pFU *oč̄a and supposing that it is a loan from Indo-Iranian *až̄a (> OI a'j̄a-h̄ 'male goat', a'j̄a 'goat') < IE *aḡ̄(a) 'goat'. But his *oč̄a is at variance with the phonetic laws (F u u h i cannot go back to *oč̄a), so that his hyp. is untenable || A: NaT *ǖ:çk̄ü ~ (dis.?) *ē:çk̄ü 'goat' > Chg ≥xv üčk̄ü, Tv öšk̄ü 'goat', ET öčk̄ä ~ ečk̄ü, Xk ösk̄t 'goat, he-goat', Ln öčk̄ü, SY üšk̄ö, Sg üsk̄ī ~ üsk̄ä 'he-goat', OT e|äčk̄ü, XwT xiv ečk̄ü, MQp, MOg, Tk Δ, Uz, Kr, Qmq, Qrg ečk̄i, StAlt ečk̄i, VTt Δ ичк̄i, Nog, Qq ešk̄i, Qzq ešk̄ī 'goat' ¶ Cf. T *k'äç̄i 'goat' < N *k'ä'č̄U or *k'ä'č̄∇w∇ 'wild goat' (q.v. ffd.) (mutual infl. of both T roots?) ¶ NaT *-kü may go back to a dim. sx ¶ Cl. 24, ET VGD 35-6, Shch. Zh 117-18.

728. (₂?) *gUž̄∇ 'feel, smell (sth.)' > HS: Eg G ɛ̄z̄ v. 'smell, hear', Eg fMK ɛ̄z̄ v. 'perceive' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 || S *°✓̄ ʏ̄ δ̄ δ̄ > Ar ʏ̄ ā̄ δ̄ δ̄ - 'sentiment, sens, faculté de sentir' ¶ BK II 443 ¶¶ Acc. to Tk. (Tk. I 176-86 and 263), the Eg cognate of S *δ̄ is z̄ rather than ž̄. This is true about the word-initial position, but for the Inlaut Tk. quoted only two lexical correspondences: [1] Ar ✓̄ š̄ δ̄ f 'obtain, get' ÷ Eg š̄ z̄ p 'empfangen, entgegennehmen, ergreifen', [2] Ar ✓̄ ħ̄ δ̄ w̄ 'be over against, be opposite to' ÷ Eg ħ̄ z̄ ʏ̄ 'face aggressively, meet (enemy), turn back, turn away'. The example [2] is highly suspicious, because the real meaning of the Ar word (acc. to BK) is 's'asseoir, se placer en face, vis-à-vis à qn'. Eg ɛ̄ z̄ contradicts Tk.'s law of sound corr. (for the Inlaut position) and suggests the necessity either of reformulating it or to find explanation of ž̄ in Eg ɛ̄ z̄ || A *ǖž̄æ- (× N *ħ̄ǖž̄E (g∇) 'look, see', q.v.) > M *ǖž̄e- v.

'see, look' > MM [HI, IM, IsV] $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ -, [MA] (h) $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ - 'see, look', WrM {MED} $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ -, HIM {MED, BMR} $\check{y}z\bar{e}$ - 'see, behold, look at', Brt $\check{y}z\bar{e}$ - 'look at, betrachten (рассматривать)', Kl {KRS} $\check{y}z\bar{e}$ - $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ - 'look at, see', {Rm.} $\check{u}z\bar{e}$ - 'sehen, durchsehen', Mnr H {SM} $u\check{z}\bar{i}\bar{a}$ - 'voir, regarder, examiner', {T} $u\check{z}\bar{e}$ - 'see, look at'. Dx $u\check{z}\bar{e}$ -, MMgl $\check{o}\check{z}\bar{a}$ -, Mgl {Rm.} $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{a}$ - v. 'see', Dg $u\check{z}\bar{i}$ -, $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ - v. 'see, look at', Ord $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ - 'voir, apercevoir, regarder' ¶ Ms. H 108, MED 1014-15, BMR III 398-400, Chr. 498, KRS 547, KW 460, SM 465-6, T 368, T DnJ 137, Pp. MA 190, 377, 499, Ms. O 749, Lg. VMI 72, Iw. 121, Klz. D II 140 || T: [1] NaT $*\check{u}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ - v. 'feel passion, feel sexual desire' > OT {Cl.} $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ - 'feel sexual desire' (?); \rightarrow NaT $*\check{u}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ -ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ g id., XwT $\check{u}\check{z}\bar{i}$ g 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50, DTS 622 || ?? [2] NaT $*\check{o}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ - > OT \check{o} - 'think, understand', Yk $\check{u}\check{o}\bar{y}$ - id. ¶ Cl. 23, Rs. W 368 || Tg $*e$ je- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc $z\check{z}\bar{e}$ -, Ud $z\check{z}\bar{e}$ z- 'understand', Ul, Nn Nh/KU $z\check{z}\bar{e}$ z- v. 'remember', Ork $z\check{d}\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{u}$ 'get accustomed', WrMc {Z} $z\check{c}\bar{z}\bar{e}$ - v. 'notice, remember', Mc Sb $e\check{z}\bar{a}$ - 'memorize' ¶ Tg $*e$ - of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 439, On. 522, Z 84 ¶¶ SDM 491 (pA $*\check{e}\check{b}\bar{z}\bar{o}$ 'see, understand' > Tg, M, T $*\check{o}:\check{z}\bar{i}$ -) || IE $*H^w\bar{e}d$ -, $*H\bar{o}d$ - > NaIE $*\bar{o}d$ - v. 'smell (sth.)', $*\bar{o}d\bar{m}\bar{a}$ n. 'smell' (× N $*h^1\bar{o}t\bar{v}$ 'to smell (odorare, olere)' ◇ Qu., because the IE, T and M cognates have alt. etymologies.

729. (z ?) $*\check{y}^ra^{\check{c}}\bar{v}$ 'bite, chew' > K (K or GZ) $*\check{y}e\check{c}$ - v. 'chew' > G $\check{y}e\check{c}$ -, Mg $\check{y}a\check{c}$ -, Lz $\check{y}van\check{c}$ -, Sv $\check{y}ar\check{c}$ - id.; acc. to Mach. (Gm. SSh 21), Mg $\check{y}a\check{c}$ - goes back to pre-Z $**\check{y}a\check{c}\bar{k}$ - with subsequent loss of $*k$ due to dis. (in the presence of $*\check{y}$) ¶ Acc. to FS, Sv $\check{y}ar\check{c}$ - is a loan from Mg ¶¶ Gm. SSh 21 (G, Zan), K 202-3, K² 224, FS K 347, FS E 389, DCh. 1359, SSO II 250 || HS: S $*\check{o}\check{v}\check{r}\check{h}\check{h}$ 'bite' > Ar $\check{e}\check{z}\bar{z}$ $\check{v}\check{r}\check{h}\check{h}$ L 'bite each other'; ??? (with secondary lateralization?) $\check{e}\check{z}\bar{z}$ $\check{v}\check{r}\check{h}\check{h}$ 'bite' ¶ BK II 276-7, 291 || ?φ A: Tg: WrMc {Hr} $az\bar{u}$ -, {Z} $az\bar{u}$ - 'put into one's mouth, hold in one's mouth, chew', Mc Sb $pas\bar{z}\bar{m}\bar{z}$, $pa\check{s}\bar{u}\bar{m}\bar{z}$ 'hold in one's mouth' ¶ Z 29, Hr 62, STM I 60, Y no. 1538.

730. ?φ $*\check{r}\check{a}\check{c}\bar{u}$ (= $*\check{r}\check{a}\check{c}\bar{o}$ or $*\check{g}\check{a}\check{r}\check{i}\check{c}\bar{u}$?) (ε) grass' > K $*\check{o}\check{y}\check{i}\check{c}\bar{v}$ > G $\check{y}\check{i}\check{c}\bar{a}$ {Chx.} 'Sonchus, Gänsedistel', {DCh.} $\check{o}\check{c}\bar{o}t$ (*Sonchus*), $\check{c}\bar{e}r\check{p}\check{y}\check{h}\check{a}$ $\check{p}\bar{o}l\bar{e}v\bar{a}$ (*Serratula*, sawwort), G K/Kx/P $\check{y}\check{i}\check{c}\bar{i}$ 'wolfberry (*Lycium*)' ¶ Chx. 1635, DCh. 1363 || U $**\check{a}\check{c}\bar{u}$ > FP $*\check{a}\check{c}\bar{v}$ ~ $*\check{a}\check{c}\bar{o}$ 'meadow, grassland' > F $ah\bar{o}$ 'meadow', 'clearing (left waste)', {SSA} 'aufgegebene Schwende (viljelemättä jätetty pelto) (clearing), Brache, trockenes offenes Gelände', Krl $ah\bar{o}$ 'old clearing on which a young forest has grown', Es Δ

a hu 'useless barren field' | pPrm {LG} *ež̃a 'turf (Rasen, дерн)', 'fallow land (залежь)', 'meadow' > Z эжа ež̃a 'turf, virgin soil, fallow land, meadow, grass', Yz iž̃a, Vt ožo ož̃o 'grass' ¶ LG 331, SK 6, SSA I 54 || ¶: ??φ T *o t 'grass, vegetation' (× N *q'a' t ∇ 'ε tree, stick', q.v.) > OT, Chg o t id., Tk o t, Tv ō t, Uz ω t, Xlj ūō t, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, StAlt, Xk, Yk o t, Ux ω t, VTt † ut id., Chv ʘTǎ ud_ʘ {Ash, Fed, Jeg.} 'hay', {ChVS} 'hay, grass', Chv Δ {Fed.} BʘTǎ vud_ʘ 'hay', QrB o t 'poison', Tf ō t' 'unmown grass (used as fodder for cattle)' ¶ KW 291 mentioned Kl o t_0 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel verwendet)', probably a loan from T ¶ Róna-Tás suggested Tc origin of the T word (Tc A/B ā ti 'grass' < IE *adōs 'cereals') (see Dm. NTE 172) ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 366, ET Gl 481-3, TL 119-20, Ra. 213, Ash. III 328-30, Fed. II 294, Jeg. 279, ChVS 234-5 || ??φ HS: SC: Irq {MQK} g i c_ō 'grass' ¶ MQK 40, Blz. CP s.v. 'grass' ¶ The unexpected Irq g- (if recorded well) is still to be explained ◇ The T word is a dubious cognate (the supposed change N *č̣ > T *t has no parallels in other N words). Irq {MQK} g i c_ō (if it belongs here) suggests that N *Γ āč̣'U' is to be interpreted as *g āč̣'U'. The vw. *o in NaT *o t may be due to regr. as. (N *ā...o > *o...). The vw. *i in K *o y i c_∇ and in Irq g i c_ō may be interpreted as suggesting the presence of the vw. *i within the N etymon (*g ā ? i c_∇'U'?). Irq g- from N *g-??

731. *ʘōč̣'∇ 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > HS: S (+ext.) *'ṣaθam- 'bone, (?) backbone' > Hb ʘʘʘ 'ṣεçεm (pl. ṣāçā'mō t), SmHb 'ṣā:ṣām (pl. ṣā:ṣā:māt), Ph ṣṣm, Ug ṣṣm, Ar ṣaθm-, Ak eṣemtu, Eb {Krb.} a-za-mu-u m 'bone', Sr ṣa t m ā {Br.} 'coxa, latus', {JPS} 'thigh, side', JPA {Sl.} ʘʘʘ ṣ t m 'thigh of an animal', Md a t m a 'thigh, side, flank', Mh ṣāθṣmēt and Hrs ṣaθ' m e t 'back', Gz ṣaṣ m ~ ṣaṣ m 'bone' (either lateralization of the sibilant due to the infl. of SS *✓ ṣṣṣ 'bone' [> Jb C 'ṣ i ṣṣṣ, Jb E 'ṣay ṣṣṣ, Mh, Hrs ṣā'ṣay ṣṣṣ 'bone'] or a purely spelling variation because of the merger of ṣ and ṣṣ in New EthS [acc. to Voigt]) ¶ KB 622-3, KBR 869, BH IV 215, A no. 2082, OLS 96, Br. 520, JPS 410, DM 13, Sl. P 401, Js. 1063, L G 58, Jo. M 14, 39, Jo. J 39, Jo. H 6, 14, MiK I no. 1.25 || ??φ Eg G ṣṣ 'bones' (dis. *ṣṣ > ṣṣ?) ¶ EG III 210 || NrOm: Mj/Shk {Fl.} ṣus 'bone' ¶ ≈ Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Tng {J} wos, Krkr {IL} ṣsu, osu, Krf {Sch.} wōšáńí, Bl {IS} ṣṣki, Gj {Sh.} ṣṣṣ 'bone' || CCh: Zm B {J} úšó, ? Lgn {Bou.} ṣṣṣ id. || ECh: Ll {Grgs} ísṣ, Kbl {Cp.} ṣṣṣ, Skr {Sx.} ṣṣṣ, {Lk.} óṣeṣgi, Mgm {J} ṣṣú, Mkl {J} ṣṣé, Jg {J} ṣaso, Brgt {J} ṣásó 'bone' ¶ JI II 36-7, ChC s.v. 'bone', Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bone' || K: G ṣōž-i 'fang, a

large tooth' ¶ Chx. 1646, DCh. 1365, K² 232 (G ὄσθ-ι ← Zan ὄεθ- 'swine'??) ¶ -θ- for the expected -č- due to as.? || IE *χ₂ost₁h₁- (E) *h₂ost [gen. *h₂est-s]) 'bone' > OI asthi-, Av ast- id. || Gk ὄστέον id. || Los (stem oss-) id. || Clt {Matas.} *astn₁iy₁o- 'rib' > OIr asna ~ esna 'rib', MW ass-en 'rib, lath'; W, OCrn asen 'rib'; Brtt cd {RE} *askornos 'bone' > MW ascwrn, W asgwrn, OCrn, Crn ascorn, MBr asco(u)rn, Br asko(u)rn id. (a cd, with the second element seen in W mi-gwrn, Br mi-gourn 'cartilage', W llos-gwrn 'tail') || pAl {O} *ašti|a > Al asht 'bone' || Arm nulyr oskr id. (E) < *h₂ost-w₁o || Tc B pl. āsta 'bones' || Ht hastai, hasti-, Lw has(s)a- 'bone' ¶¶ P 783, EI 77, M K I 67, M E I 150-1, WH I 225-6, F II 436-7, Vn. A 94-5, RE 84, O 11, Ad. 45-7, Pv. III 233-7, Ts. E I 202-3, Ivn. SANA 153, Matas. E 44 || A *ūč'a 'back, backbone' (× N *h₁U₁w₁č₁∇ [or *h₁U₁w₁∇č₁∇] 'loins, lap') > NaT *ūč'a 'sacrum, coccyx, backbone, back (dos)' > OT uč'a {Cl.} '≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūžā, [CC] uč'a 'back', OOSm XV už'a 'buttocks', Chg لچو (and هچو) uč'a 'back (dos)', Tkm ūž'a 'rump; dock (part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail); sacrum', Osm {Rh.} už'a 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [už'a] 'coccyx', VTt oca bś'a, Bsh oca bś'a 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt yca uca 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uč'a, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uč'a 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uč'a, už'a 'rump', QK {Rl.} +ž'a, Tb uč'a, Qmn {Rl.} +ž'a 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uč'a 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uca 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg uč'a 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY už'a ~ uč'a, Nog uša, VTt bś'a, Bsh Δ bś'a 'loins', Tv už'a 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uha 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} ыса шәмми +z_a šьmmi 'sacrum, rump', {ET} ыса +z_a 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3 and 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, Chv. 288 ¶ Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT *ū, while Yk u is likely to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?], mentioned by Poppe [F Pp. J 55]) ¶ The length of T *ū- may belong to the heritage of N *h₁U₁w₁č₁∇ or *h₁U₁w₁∇č₁∇ ¶ T → M: MM [LV, MA, IsV], MMgl [Z] ūč'a, WrM {MED} uquca 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM yyc {MED} id., {BMR} 'sacrum, loins, hind part of animal's trunk', Brt yyc'a 'croup, sacrum', Kl {KRS} yyc 'croup of a horse, rump, back (Rücken)', {Rm.} ūc'a 'das Kreuz im Körper, Hinterteil, Rücken, Steiß', Ord ūc'a 'la

partie postérieure du dos (chez un animal)', Mgl {Wr.} у́а 'Rücken'. The opposite direction of the borrowing (M *ū́а → T *ū́а) is hardly acceptable for two reasons: [1] chronological difficulties: the T form у́а is attested from the 8th c. A.D., sc. long before the Mongolian conquest; [2] pM long vowels lose their length in HIM, Brt and Kl, while here the vw. of these lges is long; so that the only possible solution is to accept Ligeti's proposal (Lg. VMI 71) of the T origin of the M word] ¶ MED 864, BMR III 372, Chr. 481, KRS 543, KW 455, Ms. O 545, Wr. 183, Lg. VMI 71 || Tg *у|о|:|ц|∇ка 'fish fin' > WrMc {Z} у́чика 'fin under the belly of fish (подбрюшные плавательные перья у рыб)', Neg о́цаха ≙ о́цака 'fish fin on the back' ¶ Z 165, STM II 29, 290, Hr 942 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1482-3 (pA *ū́' 'end, edge' > T *ū́- 'end, edge' + [not belonging to pA *ū́а 'back, backbone']) M *ǘgür 'end, edge' and pKo *у́ук 'top of a tree, upper branches'), ≠ DQA no. 2720 (A *ū́'∇ 'behind, rump, fish fin') ◇ The A and SS reflexes of the N word suggest an ancient meaning 'backbone' that coexisted with the wider meaning 'bone'.

731a. ≈ *'у́'ay'e'ĉ∇ 'seek, look for' > HS: S *'√'ŝŝ (~ *'√'у́'ŝŝ?) > Ar √'ŝŝ (pf. ʃašša) v. 'seek, acquire'; ? Gz √'χŝŝ (js. ʃaχŝa) v. 'seek, look for, desire' (a loan from an unknown C source **'√'у́'ŝŝ with further as. *-у́ŝ- > -χŝ-?) ¶ BK II 259, L G 266 || C: HEC *has- v. 'want, seek' > Brj hās-, Ged, Hd, Kmb, Sd has- id. ¶ The unexpected HEC *h- needs explanation ¶ AD SF 153 (s.v. *hAŝ- 'искать', 'хотеть'), Hd. 163, 195, 244, 281, 320, 369, Ss. B 88 || U: FU (att. in BF) *'e'ĉĉ'∇- > F eṭṣiä v. 'seek, look for', Krl A ečči-, Krl Ld ečči-, Vp eč-ġa, eč-ġä, Vo эцциа, Es oṭṣi-, Es Δ oṭṣi-, Lv v'oččā id. ¶ SK 42, Kt. 506 ¶ SK equated the BF word with Lp N oĉĉāt v. 'seek' (< pLp {Lr.} *oĉz id.), but acc. to the reg. sound laws Lp *oĉz does not belong here, but is akin to F udella v. 'be curious, inquire' < FU *uĉĉ∇, F Krh. 159, SSA I 109, Lr. no. 799 || IE: NaIE *aṷs-, *aṷs-sġ- v. 'seek, wish' ({EI} IE *h₁aeṷs- 'wish for, seek out') > OI 'ēṣati 'seeks, looks for', ē'ṣah₁ 'wish, choice', ic'chatī (< *aṷs-sġ-) 'looks for', Av iša'tī 'wishes' || Arm այց ալս (< *aṷs-sġā-) n. 'search, inspection' (→ 'visit') || L aerus-c-ō / -āre v. 'beg, ask', Um EISCURENT 'arcessierint' || Clt {Matas.} *isk-ā- 'look for lice' > Mlr v.n. escaid 'looking for lice' || OHG eiscōn 'to search, to question, to require', OSx êscōn, ēscian 'to require', AS āscian 'to try, to require, to ask (a question)' (> NE ask) || Lt ls pres. íeškau / inf. ieškoti 'look for', Ltv iēškāt 'to louse' || Sl inf. *jbskǎ-ti 'to look for, to seek' > OCS inf. ИСКАТИ iskatī (ls pres. ИСКѦ isko ~ ИЩѦ

išťq), R inf. ис'каты (1s pres. и'щү) id., Blg 'ища 'I look for', 'искам 'I want', SCr inf. ìskati 'to wish' (1s pres. ìšťēm), Slv inf. ískati, OCz inf. iskati 'to look for', P inf. iskać 'to louse, to seek, to search' ¶ Dv. no. 14, P 16, EI 629, M K I 85, WH I 19, Bc. G 333, Ho. 7, Ho. S 17, EWA II 1022-3, Kb. 196, Frn. 182, Slt. 366, ESSJ VIII 238-9, StSS 264-5, Glh. 278 || **A** (?) *iĉ'∇ 'hope', (?) 'see' > M *iĉa- (unless it is *φiĉa-) 'hope' > WrM {MED}, WrO iĉa-, HIM {BMR} яца- v. 'hope for, expect', Kl {KRS} иц- iĉ- id., 'believe', {Em.} iĉa- ~ iĉa- 'hoffen, vertrauen; glauben'; WrM iĉaġ, HIM {BMR} яцаġ, WrO iĉaġ, Kl {KRS} ицġ iĉaġ n. 'hope', {Rm.} iĉaġ 'Hoffnung, Vertrauen' ¶ Gl. I 190, MED 397, BMR IV 470, Krg. 99, KRS 275, KW 211-12 || ?σ Tg *iĉe- 'see' (× N *hūžE 'look, see') > Ewk, Neg iĉe-, Lm it-, iĉ-, Orc iĉe-, Ork ite-, Ud ise- 'see', Sln isö:- 'appear' ¶ STM I 334-5 ¶¶ SDM 579-80 (pA *iĉ'∇ v. 'hope, see' > Tg, M), DQA no. 588 ◇ M *i- < N *-y'e'-?

732. *ϣAĉ'∇ 'cut, cut into pieces' > K *°ϣeĉ- > Mg ϣeĉ- 'cut (hair), cut' ¶ Q 49 || **HS:** WS *✓ϣŝw 'divide, separate' > Ar عضو ✓ϣŝw (ip. -ϣŝū) 'dépecer (un mouton etc.), séparer par membres\parties, partager'; S d. *ϣiŝ- 'piece, portion' > Ar ϣiŝ-at- id., Gz ϣəŝ, ϣəŝā, Tgr ϣəŝ, Tgy ϣəŝa, ϣəŝa 'lot' ¶ BK II 283, L G 57 || ?σ C: **[1]** Irq {MQK} haĉ'á? 'different, other', haĉ'īĉ'īm- 'differentiate, sort out', {E} haĉ'a 'other'; **[2]** ??φ SC: Irq {MQK} ĥaĉ'īt- 'share, receive one another, take turns', {E} haĉ'it- v. 'share' ¶ ≈ E SC 336 (reconstructing SC *haĉ- v. 'be separated, be divided up'), MQK 47, 49 || Eg fOK ϣž {EG} 'hacken', Eg MK {Fk.} ϣž 'hack up, destroy' ¶ EG I 238, Fk. 51 ¶ Hardly akin (⇔ Tk. I 44, 249) to Sa {Wlm.} -uϣuġ- v. 'dig', Ang {Flk.} ok 'dig', Ll yaġi 'dig' || **D** *aĉ- v. 'cut' > Gnd aĉĉ'ānā v. 'cut off (hand, foot etc.), split, saw', Mlt aϣye v. 'chisel' ¶¶ D no. 46 || ?φ IE *χat- 'cut, pierce' > Ht hat-t- 'make a hole (in), pierce, stab, slash'; AnIE ↗ Arm hawun hat 'cut, cutting; fraction, fragment, piece', hawanawunel hatan-el 'to cut' (not an inherited word because of -t-, while in an inherited cognate one expects -t' < IE *-t-) || OIr áith adj. 'cutting, piercing' ¶¶ Pv. III 248-255, Ts. E I 215-17, Grp. IVAA 53, Vn. A 54 ◇ The rec. of N *ϣ- is based on S *ϣ-, Ht h- and K *ϣ-. The IE reflex is qu., because it has not been proved that N *-ĉ- yields IE *-t-.

733. ₂ *Γū'd∇ 'to tie; thong' > K *ϣwed- 'thong, belt, leash' > OG ϣwed- (spelled ϣued-) 'thong, leathern tie of a yoke', {K} 'leash of yoke', G ϣved- 'thong; leathern belt', G J ϣved- 'leathern tie of a yoke',

Mg $\psi\upsilon\epsilon(n)d-$ 'thong, saddle girth', Lz $\psi\upsilon\epsilon d-$ 'thong, leathern belt', Sv $\psi\upsilon\omega\epsilon d$ 'thong, strap' ¶¶ K 203, K² 225-6, ≈ K IEK 74-5 (K * $\epsilon b-$ IE), GP 269 || IE * $H\chi e\upsilon d^h-$ /* $H\chi o\upsilon d^h-$ /* $H\chi\omega\epsilon d^h-$ v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong': [1] IE * $H\chi e\upsilon d^h-$ /* $H\chi o\upsilon d^h-$ > Lt inf. $\acute{a}u\acute{s}t\acute{i}$ (1s pres. $\acute{a}u\acute{d}\acute{z}i\acute{u}$), Ltv $a\acute{u}\acute{s}t$ (1s pres. $a\acute{u}z\acute{u}$) 'to weave', Lt $\acute{u}\acute{d}i\acute{s}$ 'einmaliges Gewebe' || R $\Delta\upsilon\epsilon\pi\omicron$ 'web in the initial stage of weaving' || Arm $qo\eta$ z- $\acute{o}d$ 'withe, band; tie, bond', $qo\eta b\acute{u}$ z- $\acute{o}dem$ 'I tie\ bind\fasten\attach' (on the prepositional element z- see Me. EAC 94), $jo\eta\upsilon$ - $\acute{o}d$ 'bond, tie, link; articulation, joint, juncture', $jo\eta b\acute{u}\upsilon$ - $\acute{o}dem$ 'I tie\bind\unite', ? $o\eta\acute{o}d$ 'shoe' (Arm $o\acute{o} < eArm a\acute{u}$) ||| [2] IE * $H\chi\omega\epsilon d^h-$ 'attach, tie' > OI ' $\upsilon adhra-h_2$ ' 'leathern strap' || Gk [Hs.] $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\mu\acute{o}\acute{\varsigma}$ (' πολλοῦ, δεσμοῦ, πλόκαμοι) {Mn.} 'chains', 'ropes' or sim. || OIr $fedan$ 'Gespann, Geschirr', {Mn.} 'yoke, team', OIr $fedil$, W $gwedd$ 'yoke' || Gt $ga-widan^*$ (' συζευγύναι) 'verbinden' (attested: 3s p. $ga-wap$), OHG $w\acute{e}tan$ vt. 'to yoke, to join' ¶ P 75-6, 1116-17, Mn. 1497-8, F I 448, Fs. 211-12, Kb. 1186, OsS 1132, Frn. 26, Vs. IV 171, Sl. 290-1, ≠ Ach. III 412-13 and IV 607-8, M K IV 137 (rejecting the connection of OI ' $\upsilon adhra-$ with IE * $\omega\epsilon d^h-$) || D * $u\acute{t}\acute{t}$ - 'be trapped, be caught in a trap' > Gdb $u\acute{t}\acute{t}$ id., Gnd $urr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'be jammed in a trap' (of fish) ¶¶ D no. 595 ◊ Not here WrM $\acute{u}de-$ ~ $\acute{u}d\acute{u}$ - 'fasten with thongs, cord or thread passed through a hole or holes', because it goes back to pM * $\varphi\acute{u}de-$ (> Ba {MYC} $\chi\acute{u}du-$), see KW 455, MED 995, MYC 688 ◊ IS MS 364 (* $g\acute{u}d\acute{\alpha}$ 'свръзывать'), IS SS no-s 3.13 and 9.2.

734. (₂?) * $\Gamma UL \nabla$ 'knee, elbow' > IE * $\chi^{\omega}el-$ or * $\chi\chi ol-$ (/ * $\chi\chi el-$?) 'elbow' > NaIE * $\acute{o}l\acute{e}n\bar{a}$, * $o|elni-$ id. (× N ? ϕ ≈ * $gon^{\prime}H^{\prime}\acute{a}l\nabla$ ~ mt.: * $gol^{\prime}H^{\prime}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$ 'forearm?') > Gk $\acute{\omega}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}v\eta$, $\acute{\omega}\lambda\acute{\eta}v$ 'the arm from the elbow downwards, elbow', [Hs.] $\acute{\omega}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}v$ 'elbow' || L $ulna$ 'elbow bone, half ell' || Gt $aleina$ (' $\pi\acute{\eta}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$) 'Elle', ON qln 'forearm, ell', AS {Ho.} $\acute{e}ln$ id. (> NE ell), OHG $elina$ 'elbow, ell, ulna' > NHG $Elle$ 'ell' || Clt {Matas.} * $ol\bar{i}n\bar{a}$ > OIr $uilen$ 'elbow, angle', OW $elinou$, W, MCrn $elin$, Crn $elyn$, MBr $elin$, Br $ilin$ 'elbow' || OI $a'ni-h_2$ ~ $\bar{a}'ni-h_2$ 'the part of the leg just above the knee', ?? NPrs $\acute{a}r\bar{a}n$ 'ell' || ? σ Tc: A $\bar{a}lem du$. 'palms of hands', B $alyiye$ 'palm of hand' || Ht $haliya-$ v. 'kneel, genuflect', $halihla(\acute{i})-$ v. 'genuflect' ¶¶ P 308, EI 176 (IE * $h_3el\nabla n-$ 'elbow, forearm'), WH II 812, M K I 72, F II 1146-7, Vn. U 18, YGM-1 214, Fs. 35, Vr. 686, Ho. 90, Kb. 197, EWA II 1044-9, Horn 5, Matas. E 297-8, Hm. 394, Ad. 27, Pv. III 28-9, 31-2 || K: Sv: UP $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}y$ (gen. $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}i\acute{s}$, pl. $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}r$ ~ $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}r$), LB/Ln $\psi\upsilon l\acute{a}$, L $\psi\upsilon lay$ 'knee', L {Dn.} $li-\psi\omega lay-$

e 'to kneel' ¶ TK 797, Ni. s.v. 'колѣно', Dn. s.v. ყულაყ, GP 269 || **HS**: ? EC: Sa/Af {R} helūf ~ holūf 'elbow, ell' (Sa/Af {R} h = [h]?) (Sa/Af h- is a reg. representative of N *Г- [cp. Af h́éray 'pigs' < N *Г ▽ R ▽ 'wild boar', q.v.]) ¶ R S II 181 ¶ The cognate is valid if Reimisch's h = [h].

735. *Г uñ ▽ 'bend, be bent' ([in A] → 'fall') > **K**: GZ *ყun- > OG ყun-/ყon- 'bend', G ყun- 'biegen, krümmen', Mg ყun- 'bend' ¶ Abul. 129, 303, Chx. 1655-6, K² 22-3 (adducing OG bყun- 'bend' and reconstructing GZ *bყwen-/ *bყwn-) || **HS**: Ch: ECh: Kbl {Cp.} wòηlì 'bend' ¶ Cp. KL s.v. wòηlì, ChC s.v. 'bend' || **A** *ō|ūn ▽- 'fall, lie on one's back' > M *una- v. 'fall' > MM [MA, L] una-, [IM] on-, WrM {MED} una-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt уна- v. 'fall, fall down', Kl {KRS} ун- un- id., {Kl.} un- 'fallen, herabfallen, umstürzen', Dx una-, Mnr {SM} unā- 'tomber'; 'être perdu' (procès, récolte), {T} unā- 'fall', Mgl {Rm.} unō-, Dg wana-, Ba nā- ~ na- v. 'fall', Ord уна- 'tomber, s'abatre', ShY nā- v. 'lie (liegen)' ¶ Pp. MA 363, 449, Pp. L II 1261, MED 875, BMR III 331-2, Chr. 469-70, KRS 534, KW 450, SM 471-2, T 368-9, T DnJ 137, T BJ 143, Rm. M 41, MLC 674, Ms. O 732-3 || Tg *ōηk- 'fall flat \ lie on one's back, (?) turn over' > Ewk oηkān- 'fall on one's back (упасть\опрокинуться навзничь)', Ewk Np oηnī- vi. 'turn over', Lm oηki, Neg oηkapkī, oηkiskī, Ul oñdi, Ork oñdon, Nn Nh óñžī, Nn Bk уñžī 'навзничь (rücklings, auf den Rücken)', WrMc {Z} оньчохонь id., '(lying\falling) facing upwards (лицом вверх)', Mc Sb {Y} ρонѣзһән, ρонѣuhun 'facing upwards', {Mrm.} онѣхон 'ausgebreitet, auf dem Rücken liegend' ¶ STM II 21, On. 312, Z 142, Y no. 525, Klz. MS 238 ¶¶ SDM 1054 (pA *ō|ūn ▽- 'fall, lie [liegen]' > Tg, M).

736. *Г on̄_l ▽_l ga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'hook') > **HS**: Eg fOK ɛ n. t 'fingernail, claw; thumb' > DEg ɽ n. t 'fingernail, claw', Cpt Sd e i n e, i n e, Cpt B i r i 'thumb; hache à deux tranchants, instrument du charpentier' ¶ EG I 188, Er. 63, Vc. 64-5 || **K**: G I/Lch/Gr ყvanყv-a-l-i {Chx., Ghl.} 'hook\peg for hanging up baskets' ({Chx.}: 'Haken [zum Aufhängenvon Körben]', {Ghl.} 'grip of a basket') ¶ Chx. 1622, Ghl. 587 || **IE** *H^ωeng_l^h_lH_χo- / *H^ωnog_l^h_lH_χ- '(finger)nail, claw' (> NaIE *ong^ω_l^h_lH_χo-, *nog^ω_l^h_lH_χo-, ? *ənog_l^h_lH_χ- id.), ({EI} *h₃nog^h(ω)-) > OI na'kham 'finger-\ toe-nail, claw', pIrn *naħa- > Oss I ных пзχ, D ni χ 'fingernail, claw', ZrPhl n^ɽhωn, NPrs نأخن nāχon ~ نأخون nāχūn, Ygn naχna id., KhS nāhune 'nails' ||| Arm եղունգն eł-ungn 'finger-\toe-nail, claw, iron hook' (< a cd *ełn-ungn 'hind's\roe's hoof?') ||| Gk ὄνυξ,

gen. ὄνυχ-ος 'finger-\toe-nail; hoof (of horses and oxen); claw' (acc. to Bks, υ is due to dis.: ὄνυχ- < *onog^h- < *H₃nogh [sc. *H^ωnog^h-]) ||| L *unguis*, gen. pl. *unguium*, [Υ] *υνη* 'finger-\toe-nail' ||| Clt {Matas.} *ang^ωīnā 'nail' > OIr {P} *ingu*, *inga*, *ionga*, {Flr.} *ingen*, OW *eguin*, W *ewin*, OBr {Flr.} *euin* ~ *eguin*, Br *ivīn* 'fingernail' ||| pGmc d.: ON *nagl*, OHG *nagal* 'nail' (> NHG *Nagel*) (cp. L *ung-ul-a* 'hoof'), OSx *naga*, AS *næẏl* 'nail, claw', NE *nail* ||| BSl: Lt *nāgas*, Ltv *nags* 'finger-\toe-nail', BSl d. (dim.?) **noguti-* > Lt *nagūti-s* 'finger-\toe-nail' (dim.), Pru *nagutis* 'finger-\toe-nail', pSl **nōgъtъ* (gen. *nōgъta*) id. > OCS **НОГЪТЪ** *nogъtъ* id., 'claw', R 'ноготь', Cz *nehet*, P † *nogieć*, Slv *nōhet*, Blg 'нокът', pl. 'нокт-и', SCr *nōkat*, gen. *nōkt-a* 'finger-\toe-nail' (Blg and SCr -k∇t- < *-gt- by as. in the oblique cases and in pl. with subsequent generalization of -kt- in the declension paradigm) | BSl **nog-ā* > Lt *nagā* 'hoof', Ltv *nagas* pl. 'both hands, hands and feet', Pru *nage* 'foot', pSl **no'ga* 'leg, foot' > OCS **НОГА** *noga*, R но'га (accus. *ногу*), Blg но'га, SCr *nōga*, Slv *nóga*, Cz, Slk *noha*, P *noga* id. ||| ?φ pTc {Ad.} **mekwā* > A *маку* pl., B *мекωа* pl. '(finger-\toe-)nails' ({Ad.}: **m-* < **n-* by as.) ¶ P 780, Mn. 879, EI 389, Flr. 169, Frn. 478-9, En. 213, Glh. 440, StSS 383, Vs. III 78-80, Ma. CS 321-2, M K II 124, M E II 4, Ab. II 217-18, Bai. 181, WH II 818-19, Vr. 403-4, Kb. 711, Schz. 219, Ho. 230, Ho. S 54, KM 501, Bks IELG 47, Slr. 147-8, Vl. II 1271-2, F II 398-9, Ad. 467, Matas. E 36 ¶¶ IE *-ng^hωH- < pre-IE *-ngH- < *-ng- regularly ||| U: FU **oηt∇* 'thorn, spear' > Chr L {Ü} *умдо* *umdo*, *ундо* *undo*, Chr M *unto* 'spear, sting of insects', Chr Uf *unδъ* 'bayonet, sting of insects', Chr B *unδo* 'Bärenspieß, spear, sting' ||| ObU: pOs **oηtə(p)* ({Hl.} **ǣηtə(p)*) 'Bärenspieß, spear' > Os: V/Vy *oηtəw*, Ty/Y *ǣηtəp*, D *oηtə*, Sh *ēηtə*, Kz *oηti*, O *oηti*, N {Ahl.} *oηti*, *uηti* id.; pVg **ǣwt∇* 'spear' > Vg: T *awtā*, LK/P *owtə*, Ss *owta*, ML {Mu.} *ǣwtä* ~ *ǣwté* id. ||| ? Sm **ǣηtъ* 'blade (Schneide)' > Ne Т нянд, T O {Lh.} *ńá':nt*, Ng {Mik.} *ηa'tə*, En {Cs.} *Kh eddo*, En {Cs.} B *naddo*, Slq Tz {Prk.} *āηti*, *oηti*, Slq Tm {KD} *āηd*, Mt {Hl.} **āndā* (misprinted as **āndā*) id. (Mt K {Pl.} *éndide* id. [+ ppa. 3s]) ⇨ Mt {Hl.} **āndəkā* (misprinted for **āndəkā* [?]) 'sharp' (Mt M {Sp.} *андыка* id.) ¶¶ Coll. 105, UEW 342, Sm. 542 (FU **o|uηtǣ* 'spear' > FP **oηta*, Ugr ? **uηta*), Jn. 20-1, Hl. M no. 74, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 144-5, MK 399 ||| ?φ D **āñi* 'nail, peg' > Tm *āñi* 'nail, small spike, peg, linchpin', Ml *āñi*, Tu *āñi* 'peg, nail', Kt *āñy* 'nail of metal or wood', Td *ōñy* 'nail', Kn, Tl *āñi* 'nail, linchpin' ¶¶ The word is

etymologically connected with OI $\bar{a}n̥iḥ$ 'pin of the axle' and Pali $\bar{a}n̥i-$ 'linchpin, bolt, peg', but the direction of the borrowing is not clear: Caldwell suggested that the OI word is from Dravidian, while the 2nd ed. of the Dravidian Etym. Dict. assumed the opposite direction of the borrowing. Since the IE et. of OI $\bar{a}n̥i-$ (presumably from IE $*el-ni-$, whence OHG lun 'bolt, nail of a wheel' and NHG $lunse < *l-ni$, as suggested with a query by Mayrhofer) is highly qu., the D origin of the stem is still rather plausible. If D $*ān̥i$ is an inherited N word rather than a loan from IAr, its $*ā-$ (for the expected $*o-$) remains enigmatic ¶¶ The unexpected D $*ā-$ is still to be explained ¶¶ Cald. CGDL² 454ff, DED no. 295, D app. no. 10, M K I 72 ◇ But GZ $*nek̥lu-$ 'little finger' is not related to the above-mentioned IE root [\Leftrightarrow Blz. KM 138], because the change 'finger' \rightarrow 'little finger' contradicts the laws of semantic typology; on the origin of $*nek̥lu-$ see N $*n̥ik̥ʔu$ 'small, little'.

737. *Γaṅṅ'ĉ'U 'cheek' > HS: C: SC: Alg {E} $\varsunĉa$, Irq {MQK} $\varsunĉa$ 'inside of cheek', {Mgw.} $\varsunĉa$ 'cheek', Brn {E} $\varsuĉa$ 'cheek' (and/or Irq {MQK} $\varsanĉamō$, {Wh.} $ánĉamo$ 'molar', Brn {Wh.} $āĉimo$ 'tooth' [pl. $āĉo$]?) ¶ AD SF 307, E SC 278, Mgw. 115, Wh. IC 26, Wh. SI, MQK 15, 112 || U: FU: pOs {Ht.} $*ōñĉəʔ$ 'jaw' > Os: V/Vy $ɔñĉəʔ$, $oñĉəʔ$, Ty $ōñĉəʔ$, Y $ōñĉəʔ$, D/K $unšə$, Kz $ωw̄ñšĩ$, O $onsi$ id. ¶ Ht. no. 39 ($*\div$ Vg $*ānəʔ$ 'jaw') ¶ The final $*-əʔ$ in Os may be explained by the infl. of ObU $*ā'naʔ$ 'jaw' (< N $*Xān'ā'k̥$ 'jaw, palate', q.v.) || K {FS, K²} $*ʔaĉw-$ 'cheek' > OG $ʔaĉu-$ 'cheek' [Mt. 5.39], 'jaw' [Ψ 31.9], G $ʔaĉv-i$ 'cheek', $ʔaĉu$ 'the upper part of a cheek', Sv Lx $ʔāĉa$ 'cheek', Sv π $ʔāĉ-o$ (with a dim. sx) id. ¶¶ FS K 344, K² 222 || A: NTg $*anĉa$ 'cheek' > Sln $anĉā$, Lm A $añĉi$, Lm B/O $añĉin$, Neg $anĉān$ id., Ewk $anĉān$ \mathfrak{d} $hañĉan$ 'cheek, cheekbone' | ? (cd, d.?) AmTg $*andasj$ 'cheek' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh $andasj$ ¶ STM I 44, On. 43 ◇ Not here B $*gā'z̥z̥$ 'cheek' (> Ah $aǵaz̥$, pl. $iǵaz̥z̥an$, Gh $aǵaz̥$, Gd $aǵεz̥z̥$, pl. $ǵεz̥z̥εn$) because of the initial $*g-$. It $g u a n c i a$ 'cheek' does not belong here either, because it goes back to a loan from a Gmc lge (probably Gt $*wan̥gō$ 'cheek', attested in a derived word: Gt $waggarrja$ dat. 'Kopfkissen') (see KM 837, ML no. 9499, Fs. 540).

738. *Γoñt̥ 'heat; to heat' > K: GZ $*ʔwent-$ v. 'melt (wax, fat)' (\times K {K²} $*ʔwent-$ 'stream down' > Sv $ʔwēnt$ 'drop?') > G $ʔvent-$ (inf. $daʔventeba$) 'melt', Mg $ʔvant-$ v. id. ¶¶ K DE2 175, K² 226, Fn. KW-1 no. 72, FS K 348, FS E 390 || IE $*χχend-$ 'be hot; set fire to' > Ht $hantais-$ n. 'heat', Pal (bf.) $hā-$ 'be hot' || NaIE $*o̊nd-$ (= $*ond-$?) > OIr $and-$ v. 'kindle' (prtc. $andithe$ 'accensus', vb. n. $andud$) ¶¶ Ped. H 48

(Ht, OIr), Pv. III 107, Ts. E I 154, Vn. A 75 (no satisfactory et. for OIr) || **U**: FP *onta 'heat, warmth' > Prm: Z öдэд (obl. эдү-) 'embers in a stove; speed', {Rog.} öдд 'heat in a sauna', Vt öды эд+ 'strength' || Lp Pa {TI} qud_:'b_ 'Anlage; Eifer' || BF (with an irreg. *i-): Es Δ i n d (gen. i n n a) 'rut, heat' (of animals) ('kiima'), F i n t a 'desire, lust' ('halu, himo'), i n t o 'eagerness, ardour, zeal' ¶ UEW 719 (suggesting that the irreg. BF *i- is due to as.), TI 312, SK 108, LG 209 ◇ The absence of the expected labialization in IE (*x^we- > *o-) still requires explanation.

739. *Γûrû 'to flow, to stream' > **K**: GZ ≈ *ÿwar-/*ÿwr- > G ÿvar-/ÿvr- 'pour (out)', ÿvar-i 'stream' ('Regenbach, Gießbach, Strom [von Schweiß, Blut etc.]'), Mg {Q} ÿvarÿval- vi. 'flow, leak, boil', ÿvarÿval-i 'stream, strong current, boiling', ? Mg/Lz {Chik.} ÿvar- v. 'get soaked (промокать, мокнуть)' ¶ Chx. 1622, 1628-9, Q 350, Chik. 347 || **IE** *χχwr- ≈ 'sprinkle' > Ht hur nai-, hur niya- v. 'spray, sprinkle', Pal huwarninai 'sprinkles' || NaIE *w_ṛn-/*ūr-/*aur- v. 'rain, drip, trickle' (× N *w^ra¹qR∇ [or *w^ra¹Rq∇?] 'to rain, to drip, to trickle, to be strained' [q.v.] and possibly N *war∇ 'stream of water' [q.v.]) > Gk ῥάινω 'I sprinkle' (< *w_ṛn-y-ō), ῥανίς (gen. ῥανίδος) n. 'drop' || L ūr ī n a 'urine' (semantic infl. of Gk οὔρον 'urine' < NaIE *wors- / *wers- 'rain, dew' < N *w^r∇R₁∇,3∇ or *w^r∇3∇R∇ 'to pour, to flow', q.v.), ?σ L ūr ī n o r / inf. ūr ī n ā r i v. 'dive' || ON úr 'light rain, moisture', ON úrigr 'dewy', AS ūriȝ 'moist', ON aur-r (?) 'moisture, wetness' || Pru wurs (< Blt *ūras) 'pond' (× NaIE wer-/*ūr- 'flowing water' < N *war∇ '↑') ¶¶ Pv. III 402-4, P 80-1, 1182, F II 639-40, WH II 840, Vr. 20, 635, Ho. 372, En. 278, ≈ EI 636 (IE *¹welohr 'water') || **A** *ôrEs- v. 'flow, stream' > M *urus- 'flow, run, stream' > MM [MA, IsV] urus- id., WrM {MED} urus- id., v. "float; dissolve", HIM урса- {MED} id., {BMR} 'flow, stream', Ord urus- 'couler, devenir liquide', Mnr H {SM} urosz- v. 'flow, leak', {T} urose- 'flow, stream', Dx {T} urusu- 'flow', ? Brt урша байһан уһан 'fließendes Wasser', ?φ Brt урда- v. 'flow' ¶ Pp. MA 368, Lg. VMI 71, MED 886-7, BMR III 543, Chr. 475, 478, SM 478-9, T 369, T DnJ 137, Ms. O 743, Pp. IM 203 || T *ö^rö's > Yk örüs 'river'; T *ö^r- (< {DQA} *örs-) v. 'flow, stream' > Az Δ üz- v. 'flow, stream'; T *ö^r 'river' > Tk Δ öz id.; ⇨ T *örsän (> NaT *özän) 'river, river bed' > Tk Δ, Qmq, Qzq özen, Kr özen ≈ öžän ~ ezen, CrTt ozeń, 'river', Qrg özön, Uz ұзан ωzan 'river bed', QbB, Nog özen 'valley' (← *'river bed'), Tv özen, Tkm Δ öböñ id., Chv L васаһ vaz_an {Ash.} 'seichtes trockenes

Bachbett, in dem bei Regen und im Frühling Wasser fließt' (неглубокое отлогое сухое русло, по которому в дождь и весной течет вода)', {Jeg.} 'ravine (ложбина, лог, лощина)', Chv Δ. {Jeg.} в а с а н 'tiny brook (ручеек)', VTt üzän, Bsh übän 'valley, depression (дол)' ¶ ET Gl 510-12, UzR 579, NogR 256, TkR 499, Pek. 1968, AzDDL 399, Ash. V 179, Jeg. 47 ¶¶ SDM 1063 (pA *orusi 'river', v. 'flow' > M, T), DQA no. 1584 (id.), Pp. VG 102 (M, Tg) || D *ūr- v. 'spring, flow (as water in a well), ooze' > Tm ūr u id., Ml ūr u k a v. 'spring as water, ooze', Kn ūr u, Tl ū r u id., 'leak out', Td u' r- 'spring forth, ooze', Kdg utt-, Tu ū j u n i, ū s u n i, Gdb ū r- ē r- v. 'ooze', Klm u' r- 'leak' (of a house), Nkr ū r- v. 'leak, drip', Gnd ū s ā 'flow of water, flood', Knd ū s a 'spring', Kui ur- p a / ur- t- v. 'ooze, spring up', Ku ū t a 'spring, fountain', Mlt orbe v. 'fall in showers' ¶¶ D no. 761 ◇ IS I 240-1 (K, D, A + qu. S). It is worth paying attention to Sq {Ls.} 'ε e y r e h 'lake' and Ug {OLS} χ y r 'depression, well' ('deposición, pozo, profundidad'), but they are more likely to belong together with Ar ṽ a w r- 'bottom, lowest part' < CS *ṽ a w i r- ← CS *ṽ ā r- < N *g a r' i 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' (q.v.).

740. ₂ *Γ ∇ R ∇ 'wild boar' > K: GZ *ṽ o r- 'swine' > G ṽ o r-, Mg, Lz ṽ e ž- id. ¶ K 205, K² 232, FS K 351-2, FS E 394-5 || HS: EC: Af {PH} h é r a y 'pigs' (snglt. h e r á y t u 'pig'), {R} h e ' r ā y, Sa {R} 'h e r ā coll. 'wild boars' (snglt. -y t ā), Or {Brl.} e r i a 'wild boar'; C ↗ Gz h a r ā w y a 'swine' ¶ R S II 19, PH 128, L G 244, Brl. 138.

741. *ṽ e R ? ∇ 'eagle' or sim. > IE *χ̂ e r-/*χ̂ o r- 'eagle, big bird' > NaIE *e r-/*o r- > Clt {Matas.} *e r i r o 'eagle' > M i r i r a r ~ i l a r, M W e r y r, M B r e r e r ~ e r, B r / C r n (hpl.?) e r 'eagle' || Gmc {P} *a r a n- > G t a r a ('ἀετός)'Adler', O N a r i, q r n (< Gmc *a r n u z) 'eagle', A S e a r n, O H G a r o 'eagle', N H G A a r 'eagle; big bird of prey'; M H G a d e l - a r (lit. 'noble eagle\bird of prey') 'eagle' > N H G A d l e r id. || BSl d.: L t e r ē l i s, Δ a r ē l i s, P r u [E l.] a r e l i e (ce. for a r e l i s), L t v ē r g l i s (< *ē r d l i s) 'eagle' | Sl *o' r' b' l' b (gen. *o r b' l' a) 'eagle' > OCS o p' e l' b, Blg o' p' e l, S Cr o' r a o (gen. ó r l a), Slv ó r e l (gen. ó r l a), Cz o r e l, Slk o r o l, P o r z e ł, R o' p' e l (gen. o p' l a), Uk o' p' e l id. || Gk ὄρνις ~ ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιθος), Gk D ὄρνις (gen. ὄρνιχος) 'bird', Gk ὄρνειον id. || ?σ Arm n p n p o ʃ o ʃ 'sea mew, sea gull, cob', n l p n l p u ʃ u ʃ 'buzzard' || Ht h a r a s, h a r a n-, P a l h a r a s (-) (gen. ḥ a r a n a s) 'eagle' ¶¶ P 325-6, EI 173 (*h₃o r- 'eagle'), F II 421-2, LP § 256, Fs. 54-5, Vr. 13, 688, Ho. 86, Kb. 44, EWA I 341-4, KM 1, Frn. 122, En. 143, Tp. P A-D 101-3, StSS 415,

Glh. 455-6, Bdr. 57O, 58O, Matas. R 117-18, Pv. III 137-9, Ts. E I 170-1, Carr. P 8-9 || **HS**: S * $\text{ʕar}_L\text{a}_J\text{y}$ - > Ak OB/MB/NB $\text{er}\hat{\text{u}}$ (~ $\text{ar}\hat{\text{u}}$) 'eagle', Ak LB $\text{ar}\hat{\text{a}}\text{ni}\check{\text{s}}$ 'like an eagle', OA {HJ} (?) ʕr 'bearded vulture', JA [Trg.] ʕr ʕar , em. $\text{ʕar}'\text{y}-\bar{\text{a}}$ {Js.} 'e bird of prey' (prob. 'bearded vulture, *Gypaëtus barbatus*'), {Lv.} 'e eine Adlerart, Aar' (but {Dlm.} $\text{ʕ}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, em. $\text{ʕ}\bar{\text{a}}'\text{r}-\bar{\text{a}}$ 'e bird of prey') ¶ CAD I/2 231 and IV 324-5, Sd. 247, HJ 884, Lv. TM I 239, Js. 1109, Dlm. 307 || C: Bj {R} ' $\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}^\text{?e}$ ' 'white-tailed sea eagle' ¶ R WBd 28 || **K** *orb- 'eagle' > G orb-i, Sv werb id. ¶¶ K *b- goes back to the pN pc. of animal names N *bA ¶ DCh. 994, Blz. NDA no. 59 || **D** (att. in McTm) * eruvay > Tm eruvai 'e kite', Ml eruva 'eagle, kite' ¶ D no. 818 ◇ D *-r- goes back to N *R-clusters, which suggests the presence of an additional cns. after N *R. In the light of Bj ' $\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}^\text{?e}$ ' and IE it is likely to have been N *ʔ. The IE evidence favours N *ʔ, because it is the only lr. lost (rather than yielding NaIE *ə) in interconsonantal position (see Gk ὄρνις ~ ὄρνις) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 59 (D, HS, K, IE) ◇ ≈ Blz. IELA 19 [no. 79] (S * $\text{ʕar}(\text{an})$ - [err. for * ʕar -] 'eagle', IE).

742. ?σ * $\text{ʕ}_L\text{E}^\text{?}_J\text{aRgE}$ 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE * $\text{χr}\hat{\text{k}}\text{to}$ - ~ * $\text{χr}\hat{\text{t}}\text{k}\hat{\text{o}}$ - 'bear' ({EI} * $\text{h}_2\text{r}\hat{\text{t}}\text{k}\hat{\text{o}}\text{-s}$) > Ht $\text{hart}(\text{ag})\text{ga}$ - (= {Pv., EI} hartka) 'bear' || NaIE {WP, P} * $\text{r}\hat{\text{k}}\text{p}\hat{\text{o}}\text{-s}$ 'bear' > OI ' $\text{r}\hat{\text{k}}\text{s}\text{a}$ -, Av $\text{ar}\check{\text{s}}\text{a}$, Oss ars id. || Gk ἄρκτος id. || Arm $\text{wpr}\check{\text{z}}$ $\text{ar}\check{\text{z}}$ id. || L ursus id. || Clt {Matas.} *arto- 'bear' > OIr art 'bear, hero, warrior', MW, W arth , Br arzh 'bear' || pAl {O} *ar (> OAl XVII [Bgd.] ar) ⇨ pAl *arina > Al ari , pl. arinj id. || Lt $\text{ir}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\check{\text{v}}\hat{\text{a}}$ 'bear's den' ¶¶ Pv. III 201-2, WP II 322, P 875, EI 55-6, F I 141-2, LP § 28, Vn. A 91, WH II 84, Slt. 131-2, O 8-9, Matas. E 42-3, Hm. 49, ≈ Frn. 187 || **A** * $\text{yarg|k}'\nabla$ 'wild beast of prey' > pKo {S} * $\text{irh}\hat{\text{i}}$ 'wolf' > MKo $\text{irh}\hat{\text{i}}$, NKo iri id. ¶ S QK no. 273, Nam 406, MLC 1327 || Tg * yarg|ka 'leopard' > WrMc {Z} ярга ~ ярха 'leopard (with black spots)', Jrc {Kiy.} yartha 'panther', Ud yaga ~ $\text{yag}\hat{\text{a}}$ 'leopard' ¶ STM I 337, Z 191-2, Kiy. 105 [no. 148] ¶¶ SDM 602 (pA * $\text{j}\hat{\text{a}}\text{rgi|o}$ 'wild beast of prey' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 627 || **HS**: S * $\text{ʕ}\check{\text{r}}\text{g}$ > Ar عراج $\text{ʕur}\bar{\text{a}}\check{\text{g}}$ - pl. 'hyenas', $\text{ʕur}\check{\text{g}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{?}-\text{u}$ 'hyena' (the vowels belong to derivational patterns) ¶ BK II 210 ◇ IE *- $\hat{\text{k}}$ - is due to as. (**- $\hat{\text{g}}\text{h}\text{t}$ - > IE *- $\hat{\text{k}}\text{t}$ -) ◇ DQA no. 627 (A, IE).

743. * $\text{ʕ}'\text{o}'\text{Rk}\hat{\text{o}}$ 'bend, be bent\crooked' > **K**: OG, G $\text{ʕrek-}/\text{ʕrik-}$ id., OG $\text{ʕre}\check{\text{k}}\text{i}l$ - 'crooked', Mg $\text{ʕira}\check{\text{k}}-$ / $\text{ʕiri}\check{\text{k}}-$ / $\text{ʕir}\check{\text{k}}-$ / $\text{ʕiro}\check{\text{k}}-$, Lz $\text{ʕri}\check{\text{k}}-$ / $\text{ʕli}\check{\text{k}}-$ / $\text{ʕveli}\check{\text{k}}-$ v. 'bend', Sv ʕwrek- v. 'wind' ¶¶ K 206, K² 229 (GZ

*ϕ(ω)r-ek- / *ϕ(ω)r-ik- / *ϕ(ω)r-k-; Sv ϕwrek- "derives from a G source"), FS K 353-4, FS E 397, Chx. 1647, Chik. 270-1, Marr 201, IS I 240 || IE *Herkw- or *Herku- ({EI} *h₂erkw₀-s) > NaIE *arkw- → *arkw- 'a bow', v. 'be bent' (× N *ǵar̥k̥'u' 'sinew' [q.v. ffd.]) > OL gen. ar̥qu-ī, L arcus, -ūs n. 'bow', Um arc̥lataf 'articulatas, circular cakes' || pGmc *ar̥k̥wō (*'belonging to a bow' →) 'arrow' > Gt d. ar̥hazna (βέλος) 'Pfeil', ON q̥r (gen. q̥rvar), OSw arf, AS earh 'arrow', NE arrow ¶ WP I 81, P 67-8, EI 78, EM 78-9, WH I 64, Fs. 56, Vr. 688, Ho. 85, Coll. ULF 174, IS I 240, F I 142-3 || HS: CS *√r̥k̥l v. ≈ twist\distort; stray from the right way' > JA [Trg.] ער̥קל √r̥k̥l (pf. ʕar̥k̥el) {Lv.} 'verkehren, krümmen, verdrehen' (gab̥'rā d̥aməʕar̥k̥əlîñ millô'ū'î 'ein Mann, dessen Worte verkehrt sind', Trg. of Prov. 29.19), Sr √r̥k̥l {PS} 'torsit, implexit, irretivit' (mə-ʕar̥k̥el p̥ûr̥hā 'tortuosam reddit semitam'), Ar عر̥قل √r̥q̥l (pf. ʕar̥q̥ala) v. 'stray from the right course; distort' ({Fr.} 'deflexit a proposito; distorsit [sermonem]') (semantic infl. of *√r̥k̥l 'turn, twist' [Aram\Sr "Par'el conjugation"]) ¶ Lv. T II 247, PS 2964, Fr. III 145 || Eg: it is tempting to adduce Eg fOK ʕr̥k̥ 'bend', but Cpt Sd/B WAK o̥lk'plier, courber, contractor' suggests an Eg word-medial *l rather than *r (Vc. reconstructed the pronunciation of Eg ʕr̥k̥ as *ʕal̥k̥), so that the Eg verb belongs here only if HS *-r̥k̥- yields Eg *-l̥k̥- ¶ EG I 211, Vc. 249 || A: Tg *ur̥χ̥'ū'- vt. 'bend', adj. 'crooked, slanting' (?) > WrMc {Z} ур̥χ̥у 'кривой, косо́й, слонившийся на сторону́', ур̥χ̥ури 'crooked', ур̥χ̥у- vi. 'bend, become crooked, слоняться на сторону́', {Hr} ur̥χ̥u, ur̥χ̥ur̥i '(zu)geneigt, schief', ur̥χ̥u- 'zur Seite neigen, schief sein', Lm ur̥u-, Ork urru- ~ uru- vt. 'bend', Ewk ur̥ik̥ēn-, Neg uy̥ix̥ēn-, Ul ur̥īn-, Nn Nh ur̥iz-, Nn KU ur̥iz- vi. 'bend' ¶ The absence of any reflex of N *k̥ (and Tg *χ) in NrTg and AmTg is to be explained ¶ STM II 285, On. 432, Hr 969, Z 1734 || D *ōr- 'crooked' > Td w̥īry ({Em.} w̥ī·ry) 'steep hillside', Kn o̥ra, o̥re 'state of being aslant, oblique, bending; declivity, crookedness', Kdg o̥re 'slanting', Tu o̥re 'crooked, bent', Tl o̥ra 'oblique, sidelong, bent', Knd o̥ra ki- v. 'bend slantingly' ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to a N cns. cluster ¶¶ D no. 1062 ◇ The N vw. *o of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly by K (if the rec. *ϕw- is right). The final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (labialized velar *k̥w → *-ku). ◇ Cf. IS I 240 (N *ǵar̥k̥u > IE, K) ◇ The N vw. *o of the first syll. is suggested by D and possibly

by K (if the rec. * ψ w- is right). The N final *o or *u are evidenced by IE (*-k^w or *-ku).

744. $\text{₂} * \psi \nabla R_{\downarrow} \nabla_{\downarrow} P \nabla$ 'cloud' > HS: S * ψ arap(-at)- (~ * ψ ∇p∇r-) 'cloud' > Ak fOB erpetu ~ Ak YB urpatu, Ak \wedge erpu 'cloud', Ug ψ rpt, Mh {Jo.} ψ āfōr, Jb C ψ a'fōr id., Hrs ψ āfōr 'cloud, dusty wind' (× W S * ψ a'par- 'dust' > Hb ψ ā'pār-, Ar ψ afar- 'dust'); (× N * ψ ∇R∇b|p∇ 'dark', q.v. s.v. * ψ ∇R∇b|∇) CS * ψ ara'pill- 'dark cloud' > BHb ψ ā'pār (pl. MHb ψ ā'pār id. (> NHb ψ ā'pār (∅)ara'fel 'fog'), Ug ψ rpl 'nube, nubarrón', Sr ψ arpel'l-ā 'dark fog, mist, thick darkness'; CS * ψ - in * ψ ara'pill- belongs to the heritage of N * ψ ∇R∇b|p∇ ¶ Sd. 243, 1432, CAD IV 302-4, OLS 90, 160, A no. 2102, Jo. M 15, Jo. H 7, Jo. J 8, KB 840-1, Br. 549, JPS 429 || C: Bj B {Alm.} 'afra^t, Bj {Rop.} afra^d (pl. afra^{da}), {R} 'afra 'cloud' ¶ Alm. BS III 2, R WBd 9, 358, Rop. 145 || K: MG [VTq.], G ψ rub-el-i 'cloud' ¶ Chx. 1652, DCh. 1567 ◇ Not here (⇔ Tromb. CCS II 149 and Bm) NaIE *erb^h-/orb^h- 'dark' and S * ψ rb (~ * ψ rb??) 'evening, sunset', see N * ψ ∇R∇b∇ (or *-p-) 'dark' ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 25c (without distinguishing between N * ψ ∇R_↓∇_↓P∇ and N * ψ ∇R∇b∇ [or * ψ ∇R∇p∇] 'dark').

745. (₂ ?) * ψ ∇R_↓∇_↓'g'∇ 'gnaw' > HS: CS * ψ rk v. 'gnaw' > BHb ψ rk (G prtc. pl. m. ψ rk'īm) 'gnaw away', Sr ψ rk G 'gnaw, crunch', Ar ψ rq G 'strip (a bone) of the flesh' ¶ KB 841, KBR 808-9, Br. 550, JPS 429, Hv. 466 || K: GZ * ψ er ψ -, * ψ ry ψ -w η -, {FS} ψ ry ψ - v. 'gnaw' > G ψ ry ψ -, Mg ψ iry ψ on-, Lz ψ iry ψ ol-; G ψ er ψ - ¶ K 207, K² 235, ≠ 223 (* ψ er ψ - not distinguished from * ψ er ψ - 'grind'), FS K 356 || ? ϕ possibly IE (with several assimilative transformations and with onomatopoeic infl.) * ψ gru \bar{k} |k- ~ * ψ gru(:) \bar{g} ^h-/* ψ grou \bar{g} ^h ~ * ψ gru(:) \bar{g} -/* ψ grou \bar{g} - v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N * ψ kiR \hat{u} _↓h_↓gæ 'to gnaw') > Gk βρúκω ~ βρúχω 'eat greedily, gobble, gnash\grind the teeth' ||| BSl (< * ψ grou \bar{g} _↓h_↓-/* ψ gru(:) \bar{g} _↓h_↓-) > Lt gráušti (1s pres. gráušti), Ltv graūzt 'to gnaw' | pSl inf. *grīz-ti / 1s pres. *grīz-q v. 'gnaw' > OCS pres. грѣзѣ grīzq / inf. грѣсти grīsti v. 'gnaw, bite' ({ESSJ} 'грызть, кусать, глотать'), Blg гриза 'gnaw', R грызть, SCr grīsti, Slv grīsti, Cz hrýzti, P gryźć, OR, RChS грѣзти grīzti 'to gnaw with teeth', Cz hrýzti, Slk hrýzt', P gryźć 'to gnaw (грызть, глотать)', Slv grīsti id., 'to eat, to bite' ||| Arm կրծեմ kərsem (< *kurcem < NaIE * ψ gru \bar{g} -) 'I gnaw\nibble' ¶ P 485-6, F I 272-4, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, StSS 179, Glh. 237.

746. (₂?) *on.* *Γ∇RΓ∇H₂T∇ (= *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇?) 'ε waterbird' > K *γarγād- 'goose' > OG γeryed- ~ γeryeτ- id., Mg γorγonǰ-, Lz γorγoǰ-, Sv: UB γarγād, LB γarγad, L γarγānd id. ¶¶ K 201, K² 221, Chik.103, TK 792-3 || **IE** *Here|oHχd-/*HerHχd- 'ε waterbird' ({EI} ? *h₁orHdeh_ǝ- ~ *h₁r(o)Hdeh_ǝ- id., 'heron [?]) > NaIE *a|arōd- / *a|arad- > Gk ἔρωδιός, ῥωδιός, ἄρωδιός 'heron' || L ardea id. || ON arta, OSw ärtā 'teal (Kriekente, *Anas crecca*)', AS earthe, ON d. ertla 'wagtail (*Motacilla*)' || SCr rōda 'stork' ¶ WP I 146-7, P 68, EI 268, F I 572-3, WH I 64, Mn. 31, Vr. 15, 105, Ho. 86 || ?φ **HS**: S: *on.* Ar γarγarat- 'female partridge' ¶ BK II 457 ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 67 (K, IE). If Ar γarγarat- belongs here (rather than is an independent *on.*), the N rec. must be *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇.

747. *γ'ū'š∇ 'live' > **IE** *χχwes-/*χχweus- 'live, dwell, stay' ({Pv.} *A₁éws-/*A₁wés-) 'live', {EI} *h₂wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay' > Ht hues- / hwis- / hus- 'live, be\stay alive' || NaIE *wes- 'be, live, dwell' > OI 'vasati 'dwells, lives, stays', Av varḥa'ti 'verweilt' || Gt wisan (·εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν, ὑλνεσθαι) 'sein', ON vesa, vera, NNr vera, Sw vara, Dn være, AS wesan (whence NE p. was, pl. were), OSx, OHG wesan 'to be', NHG p. war 'was', prtc. gewesen 'been', Wesen n. 'being, essence' || Clt {Matas.} *wos-0- 'spend the night, remain' > OIr fo-aíð, -foi'spend the night, sleep with someone', MÍr fó(a)íð 'spends the night, stays', {SB} foss 'Bleiben, Ruhe', MW, W gwesti 'lodging', W gwest 'lodging, rest' || Arm qnǰgoy 'is, there is', qnǰgon '(they) are', ազանիմ aganim 'I spend the night' || Tc B wäs- v. {Pv.} 'rest, reside', {Ad.} 'dwell, abide, remain, lie (on)' || ? Gk λάω 'sleep, pass the night' (λάω νύκτα 'pass the night') (< {Pv.} *A₁wés- / *A₁ew-s-) / aor. ἔεσα(νύκτα) (< {Pv.} *A₁wes-s-ṃ) (⇔ F I 706, Ch. 454) ¶¶ Pv. III 332-41, Ts. E I 265-6, P 1170-1, EI 171, 281, M K III 171-2, SB 277-8, Matas. E 428, YGM-1 265, Fs. 567-8, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Kb. 1183, Schz. 320-1, KM 854, Gd. 41, KT 210, Wn. I 564-5, Ad. 597-8 || **HS**: WS *-fīš- 'live' > Ar ✓ fūš G (ip. -fīšū) 'live' ({Fr.} 'vitam duxit'), عيش fūš- 'life', Mh ✓ fūš (3m pf. fāyōš, sbjn. yāyēš), Jb ✓ fūš (pf. fēš, sbjn. yfīš) 'live, survive' ¶ Fr. III 249-50, Jo. M 38, Jo. J 20 || **D** *uĉ-, {GS} *us- v. 'live' > Tm uḡ- 'live, subsist', Ml uḡir ~ uśir, Kn usir, usur, usiru, Tu usuru, usulu, Tl usuru, usuru, Knd usur 'life, breath', Kt uĉr, Td ü·r, us+r 'life', Kdg us+r+ 'breath', Krx uĉĉ- 'have life,

reside, become animated', Mlt $u_2^z e$ v. 'live', n. 'life' ¶¶ D no. 645, Zv. 56, 75, 112, GS 124-5 [no. 320], 53 [no. 133] || **A**: NaT * $\text{æ} s \text{æ} n$ 'in good health, sound; safe' > OT {Cl.} $\text{ä} s \text{ä} n$ id., MQp XIII, OOsM \geq XIV, Chg \geq XV $e s e n$, Tk $e s e n$, VTt $i s \text{ä} n \sim \text{ä} s \text{ä} n$, Bsh $i \theta \text{ä} n$, Nog, Qzq, Qq, SY $e s e n$, Uz, ET $e s \text{ä} n$, Qrg $e s \text{ä} n \sim i s \text{ä} n$, StAlt, Tlt, QK, Sg, Kü $e z e n$, Xk $i z e n$ id., Tkm $e \theta e n$ 'благополучный' ¶ Cl. 248, ET Gl 308-9, TL 684 (* $e s \text{ä} n$), Rl. I 873, 889-90 ¶ Clauson was right in warning before confusing this \checkmark with NPrs $\text{ä} s \text{ä} n$ 'easy' ($\neq \sigma, \phi$: {ET} T from NPrs $\text{ä} s \text{ä} n$) || M * $e s e n$ 'healthy' (\leftarrow T?) > MM [IM] $e s e n$, WrM {MED} $e s e n$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\text{ä} s \text{ä} n$ id., Kl {Rm.} $e s \eta$ 'gesund' ¶ MED 333, BMR IV 439, KW 128, Pp. MA 437 ¶¶ The pT (and pA?) vw. * æ - of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as.

748. ($_2$?) * $\checkmark^1 i \hat{s} \nabla b \nabla$ (or: either * $\checkmark^1 \ddot{u} \hat{s} \nabla b \nabla$ or * $\checkmark^1 i \hat{s} U b \nabla$) to grow; vegetation' > HS * $\checkmark^1 \hat{s} b$ 'grass; to grow' > S * $\checkmark^1 \hat{s} b$ v. 'grow luxuriantly' (grass) > Ak inf. G $e \check{s} \bar{e} b u$ id.; S * $\checkmark^1 \hat{s} i u b$ - 'grass' > Hb בְּיָבֹוֹת 'יֵעָשֶׂה, pl. בְּיָבֹוֹת $\checkmark i \hat{s} b \bar{o} t$ 'herbage, weed', BA בְּיָבֹוֹת $\checkmark i s' b \bar{a}$, JA {Js.} בְּיָבֹוֹת $\checkmark i s' b \bar{a}$ 'herbage, grass', JEA {Sl.} בְּיָבֹוֹת \sim עֵשְׂבָא $\checkmark i s' b \bar{a}$ 'herb', Plm $\checkmark \check{s} b u$ pl. 'herb', Sr دَهَب $\checkmark a' s \varepsilon b$ / دَهَب $\checkmark \varepsilon s' b \bar{a}$ 'green herb, grass', SmA עֵשְׂבָא $\checkmark s b$ 'grass', Ak $i \check{s} b a b t u$ 'e grass\weed', Ar أَشْب $\checkmark u \check{s} b$ - 'green grass'; Cn \rightarrow Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} $\checkmark a - \check{s} - b u$ 'grass (?)' ¶ KB 842, KBR 889, HJ 890, Js. 1097, Sl. 860, Tal 648, JPS 420, BK II 260, Sd. 253, 392, CAD VII 233, Hlk no. 39, SivCR 78 || B \approx * $a - k \check{s} i | u \beta$ > Gd $a - \check{s} \check{s} a \beta$ 'herbe bonne pour le bétail', Ty, ETwl $a - k \check{s} a$, pl. $i - k \check{s} a t \bar{e} n$, Ah $a - k a s a$, pl. $i - k a s \bar{a} t \bar{e} n$ 'herbe fraîche et abondante' ¶ Lf. II no. O167, GhA 101, Fc. 909 || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} $\acute{o} s b \acute{a}$, Ngs {IL} $s \acute{a} p h \grave{a}$ 'grass' ¶ \approx JS 123, ChC s.v. 'grass', Eg MM s.v. $\acute{o} s b \acute{a}$ || ? σ EC: pSam {Hn., Bl.} * $\checkmark u s u b$ 'new' > Sml $\checkmark u s \acute{u} b$ 'new, fresh', Rn $\checkmark u s \acute{u} b$ 'new' ¶ ZMO 73, PG 144, Hn. S 78, Bl. 243 || **A**: Tg * $i s e b$ - v. 'grow, vegetate' (\times N * $w i \hat{s} ? \nabla$ 'to grow'??) > Lm $i s u$ - v. 'grow, vegetate', Neg $i s \check{s} w$ - id., Ewk $i s \check{s} w$ - v. 'grow', Ud {Krm.} $y i u$ -, {Shn.} $y \check{s} H u$ - v. 'grow' ¶ STM I 332, Krm. 242 || ? ϕ K: G Kx $\checkmark o \checkmark o \check{s} - i$ 'junges Gras; Trieb des Keimes' ¶ Chx. 1646 \diamond The vw. * u in pSam * $\checkmark u s u b$, in Ar $\checkmark u \check{s} b$ - and the vw. \bar{o} in G Kx $\checkmark o \checkmark o \check{s} - i$ may be explained in three ways: (1) the pN etymon was * $\checkmark^1 \ddot{u} \hat{s} \nabla b \nabla$ (with delabialization * \ddot{u} - > * i in the pre-history of EC, Tg and most S lges), (2) pN * $\checkmark^1 i \hat{s} U b \nabla$, and (3) a less plausible hyp.: infl. of * b , causing labialization of * i .

749. $_2$ * $\Gamma^1 o^1 w \nabla$ 'wild sheep\goats', (\rightarrow or \leftarrow) 'wild game' > HS: Eg fOK $\checkmark w . t$ 'small cattle (goats and sheep)', 'wild game', 'quadrupeds' ¶ EG I

170-1, Fk. 39 || ?? Ch ≈ *ϣ∇ω∇ 'goat' > WCh: pAG {Stl. VZCh} *ϣ∇ id. > Su {J, Hf.} ϣḗ, Ang ƿf̄ {Hf.}, Ywm ƿḗ, {J} Gmy ƿf̄ {Hf.} id. | Ron: Fy {J} ƿḗ id. | ? Wrj {Sk.} áwáy id. || CCh: BB: Nz {Mch.} hḡwḡ, Bt G {Srp.} hũé id. | Mdr: Nkc ɔʁ^ωa {Blg.}, Glv ʔág^ωà {ChL}, ág^ωà {Rp.}, Dgh ʁ^ωwè {Frk}, ʁ^ωè {ChL} id., pMM {Ro.} *aw(-ak) id. > Gzg ʔáw, Mada, Myn, Mkt, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwàk; McMs: Zm {Srp.} hḡ, ZmB {Sx. in ChC} úh^ωú id. || ? ECh: Skr {Sx.} ā-tú (pl. áw-tí) 'wild mountain goat', EDng {Fd.} áw-kò id. ¶ JI II 166-7, ChC s.v. 'goat', J R 88, J S 67, ChL, Hf. AG 25, no. 226, Stl. VZCh A no. 8, RpB 4, Lk. G117, Ro. 260 [no. 311] || IE *χ₁^ωḡwi- ({{EI} *h₂ḡwi-s, gen. *h₂eḡy-os) 'sheep' > Ht {Ts.} UDU-iš [*haw-is], Lw xawí-, HrLw {Mer.} ha-wa-s, Lc χawā id. || NaIE *h₁ḡwi-(s) 'sheep' > OI 'aví- id. | Wx ƿobc (< Irn *āvi-čī-) 'ewe' || Gk ῥύς, Gk Arg ῥύς 'sheep' || L ὄvis id., Um OUI, accus. pl. υνεφ 'oves', υνεμ accus. 'ovem' || Clt {Matas.} *ḡwi- 'sheep' > OIr {P} óí, MÍr {Matas.} oí (misprint for óí?) id.; Clt {P.,Matas.} *ḡwīka- {P} 'cerva' ({{Matas.} 'hind, doe') > Brtt: W ewīg, OCrn euhic {P} 'cerva'; Clt {Matas.} *ḡwignō- 'lamb' > MÍr úan, MW oen, ŵyn, MBr oeb, Br oan id., OCrn oin 'agnus', Crn oan ~ on 'lamb' || ON ær 'ewe', OHG ou, (?) ouwi 'ewe', OSx éwi, AS éowu, éowe 'ewe lamb', NE ewe, ds: Gt awistr (·αῦλή) 'Schafstall', awepi (·τοίμνη) 'Schafherde' || Lt avīs, Ltv avs 'sheep'; Lt āvinas, Ltv àuns, Pru [El.] awins 'ram' | Sl *ḡvb-'ca (accus. *ḡvb-'cŏ) (← dim.) 'sheep' > OCS **овьца** овьса, SCr, Slv óvca, Cz ovce, Slk ovca, Powca, Blg, R ов'ца, Uk вівця 'sheep'; Sl *ḡvb^hnb 'ram' > OCS, OR **овьнъ** овьнъ, SCr óvan ~ óvan, Slv óven, Blg о'вех, Cz oven || Arm հովիւ հօւիւ (< *h₁ḡwi-pā-) 'shepherd'; in addition, Mn. and Grgv. adduced OArm **աւղիք** aw-đi-k^h 'sheep' (pl.) (đi 'flesh, body' + -k^h [marker of pl.]) || Tc B eyē ({{Ad.}: < *h₂ḡwēj_s) 'sheep', pl. awí 'ewes' ¶¶ WP I 167, P 784, EI 510, Mn. 897, M K I 59, M E I 135, F II 367-8, WH II 329, Bc. G 340, Vn. O 14, Mn. AIE 56, 179, Me. EAC 31, Grgv. BEO 128 (believing that OArm awđi 'sheep' goes back to a Phr loan from DM), Slr. 174, Vr. 681, Fs. 70-1, Schz. 230, Kb. 751, 754, OsS 134, Ho. 93, Ho. S 17, Frn. 28, En. 149, Tr. APS 679, Tp. P A-D 178-80, Vs. II 113, 116, StSS 104, Glh. 461-2, Matas. E 301-2. Ad. 92, Ts. E I 230, Mer. HHG 58-9 ◇ Blz. IELA 10 [no. 28] (HS. IE) ◇ Cf. Bm. TPN 265 [no. 252] (IE, Eg) ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 42, S CNM 10 (comparing A *āba with IE *awā v. 'wound, hurt' [which I reconstruct as *wā-/wā-] and equate it with Eg wḥ^h 'hew [stones]; pluck; cut [crops]');

÷ ÷ ST, Yn), ≠ Vv. AEN 17 (rejecting the A cognate because of unj. doubts about the metonymy 'wild game' → 'hunt' in A).

750. *Γοϋ∇ 'carry, bring' > **K** {K} *ϣω- 'have, carry', {K²} *ϣ(ω)- 'take, take away', {GM, FS} *ϣ- v. 'carry' > OG ϣω-, G ϣ(ω)-, Mg ϣ-/ϣν- 'take, carry, have (sth.)' (msd. ϣνena 'have'), Lz ϣ-, Sv ϣ-/ϣω- 'have (sth. inanimate); take off (some article of clothing)' (msd. λιϣωενε 'to have', λιϣε 'to take off') ¶¶ K 203 (*ϣω-), K² 224, Chik. 343-4, Q 347-9, Schm. 138; FS K 341 and FS E 382-3 (in both *ϣ-), GP 175 || **HS: B** *✓Hω^ry¹ > Ah aωi 'carry, bring', Gh {Nh.}, Snd {Prov.} aωi d 'bring' (3s aor. iωi d; d 'her-'), Izn, Rf, SrSn, Sll aωi 'carry (away)', aωi d 'bring', SrSn T uωi id., Zng 3m aor. yuwa-ddäh 'brings' ¶ Fc. 64, Nh. 123, Prov. ZQS 99, Rn. 283, Ds. 18, 226, TC FL 2 || ??φ C {AD} *✓ħyω 'give' > Bj {Rop.} -hi(ω)- 'give' (pret.: 1s a'hε, 2m 'thīa, 3m yi'he, 2p 'thīna, 3p yi'hīn, inv. m. 'hīa, neg. inv. m. 'bahīwa, n. act. mīaυ), Bj A {AD} -hiy-/he 'give' || Ag *?3ω- 'give' > Bln {Bnd.} 3ω-, {R} uω-, Xm {R} eω- ~ (i)uω-, Xmt {CR} iyω-, Q {R} yuω-, Aw {Hz.} 3y- id. ||| EC {AD} *-ħiω-/*-ħuω-/*-ħuy- 'give' > Sa {Wlm.} -u-ħoy-/o-ħoy-/a-ħay-, pf. -o-ħoe, inv. uħu, Af {Ss.} -eħe-, {PH} 1s pf. eħē (inv. aħuω / aħuy / uħuy), HEC {Ss.} *uω(ω)-, {Hd.} *uωω- > Sd {C} uω-, (ω)oy-, {Mrn.} o- ~ u-, Hd/Ged {Hd.} uωω-, Brj {Ss.} uωω- id. ¶ Blz. CL 179, AD SF 151-2, Rop. 79, R WB 59, R QW 151-2, R Ch II 344 (s.p. 30), Ss. B 185-6, 230 (EC *-ħuω-), PH 95, Hd. 70, 224, 264, 302 ||| **D** {tr., GS} *oy- 'carry, drag' > Tm oy- v. 'drag along' (as a flood), 'launch' (as a boat), 'send forth, give', Td üy- v. 'chase', Kn oy, uy v. 'carry off, carry, convey', Tu oyipuni v. 'draw, pull, drag', Knd o- 'carry, take away', Prj uy-, Gnd oy-/ō- id., 'take', Png ō-, Mnd ū- 'take', Kui opa / ot- 'lead away, take away (persons)', Ku o_lyali-, ō- 'take away, remove', Krx ho?o 'take, receive, transport', Mlt oye- 'take away' ¶¶ D no. 984, GS 72 [no. 233].

751. *id.* ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', distal deixis) (\leftrightarrow N ***h'e'** 'hic' [proximal deixis] \leftrightarrow N *id.* ***h'i** 'iste' [or 'hic] \sim N *id.* ***h'u** 'iste' [intermediate deixis?]) > **HS**: WS ***hā-** > Ar **hāḏa** 'this', (\times N ***Hañ** ▽ 'other'?) > ***han** (\sim ***h'al**?) 'this' > df. art.: BHb **ha-** + gmc., Ph, M'b, Amn, Ed, Lh, Sf, Tmd **h-**, Hdr **-hri**, Sb, Mn, Qt **-ri**, ?? Ar **ʔal-** ¶ KB 225-6, HJ 263-4, GBr. JJAP 49-50, GBr. DJA 177-8, Bst. 31, \neq BL H § 262 (Hb **ha-** < ***hā**) || C: Ag: Aw **á-n** 'that' (\leftrightarrow **ǎ-n** 'this') || Af {PH} **a** 'this/these' (proximal dem. prn.) ¶ Hz. NSA 134, PH 27, 235 || NrOm: [1] (an inversion of the relation?): Wl {LmS} **ha** 'this' ({C} **a**) (\leftrightarrow **he** 'that'), Zs {C} **ā** 'this' (\leftrightarrow **ē** 'that'), Gf {Bnd.} **ha** 'this', Bsk {Bnd.} **hā** 'this' m., [2] Ym {Lm.} **a** 'der/die da' ¶ LmS 81-4, Bnd. MO 16-17, C SO 15, C SE III 190, Lm. Y 85-7 || B ***-ā**, a dem. pronominal sx ({Pr.}: an anaphoric dem. suffix [\approx 'the', 'ce'] of the 'état libre' = {Pr. PE} 'nominative [absolute] case'), Tmz, Kb **a** ({DI., MT}: dem. sx of proximal deixis) ¶ Pr. M I-III 191, Pr. PE ▽, DI. 1, MT 1-2 ¶¶ But the collective prn. B ***ā** > Tw **a** is more likely to go back to the N pc. of plurality ***ʔa** (q.v.) || K ***h₁a** 'this' > G **a-ka** 'here', **a-se** 'so', Lz **ha** \sim **a**, Mg **aš0-** 'here' (direction), **ašī-** 'so', Mg, Lz **a-k** 'here', Sv **aš** 'so' ¶¶ K 41, 44, 46, K² 1, 4, Schm. 92, Shan. G 51-2 || **IE**: ***Hx0/e-no-**, {Pv.} (?) ***o-n-yo-**, ?? {EI} ***h₂en-** 'that' (\times N ***hEñ** ▽ 'iste' \times N ***Hañ** ▽ 'other'; the element ***-no-** or ***-n-** may be alternatively explained as going back to the N genitive pc. ***nu**) > Ht **an(n)i-** 'ille' (remote deixis), **annaz**, **annisan** 'formerly, once upon a time', **anna(l)i-**, **anna(l)a-** 'former, earlier, old', Pal **anni** (dem. prn.) || OI **a'n-ēna**, **a'n-ayā** instr., OPrs **anā** instr. '(with) this', Av **ana-** 'this' || Lt **añs**, **anàs** 'that' || pSI ***on-** 'that' (m. ***onъ** / f. ***ona** / ntr. ***ono** / pl. m. ***oni** / pl. f. ***oně**) > OCS **онъ** **онъ** 'that, that one, he' / **она** **она** 'that, that one, she' / **оно** **оно** 'that, that one, it' / **они** **они** 'those, they' (pl. m.) / **онѣ** **онѣ** 'those, they' (pl. f.), **она** **она** (du. m.), **онѣ** **онѣ** (du. f. and ntr.); later 'he, she, it, they': m.: R m. **он**, Uk **вiн**, SCr **он** (\sim **он**), Slv **он**, Cz, Slk, P **он** 'he', f.: R m. **она**, Uk **вона**, SCr. **она**, Slv **она**, Cz, Slk, P **она** 'she', ntr.: R **оно**, Uk **воно**, SCr. **оно**, Slv **оно**, Cz, Slk, P **оно** 'it', pl.: R **они** 'they' (for all genders), R *arc.*, **они** 'they' m. and ntr., **онѣ** 'they' f., P **они** m. (of men), **онѣ** f., ntr. and m. (not of men), Cz **они**, **оне**, **ону**, **она** 'they' (with distinction of genders)'; still with remote deixis: R **во** **время оно** 'long ago, jadis' (lit. 'in illo tempore'), Blg **он-зи** (f. **онази**, ntr. **онова**) 'that'; prnl.: ChS, OR **онѣи** **онѣj**, SCr **онѣj**, Blg

оня 'ille' ||| Clt: OIr an-d 'here' ||| ? Gk D τῆνος 'ille' (< *τέ-ενος or *τή-ενος, cd with the dem. prn. *te/o-) ||| OHG U enēr prn. 'that', ON enn ~ ?φinn id. ||| Arm unjū so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< *k̄o-enə-) ¶¶ Pv. I 51-5, Carr. P 50, M K I 32, 56, Schz. 123, Kb. 522, Vr. 286, KM 332, Frn. 10, ESISJ-SGZ II 529-34, 565-6, Chrn. II 5, StSS 412-13, Glh. 454, 461, Vs. III 116-17, 140-1, Srz. II 673-4, ≈ Bks 202 (BSI *on- < *h₂en 'there'), F I 476, 515 and II 894, EI 458 ¶¶ It is possible that IE *ʔe- 'this\that' (> Ht a- 'this, that', -a- 'he, she, it', OI, Av a- 'he' in the obl. cases: gen. m. sg. OI a-sya, Av ahe, dat. m. sg. OI a-smāi, Av ah-māi, etc., F Pv. I-II 3-7, P 281-3) goes back to a merger: N *ha 'ille' × N *h'e' 'this' (hence the distance-deictically undifferentiated meaning 'he, she, it') ||| U *a, *an 'that' > FU *a id. > Hg a-z 'that', pChr *ā- > Chr H a-ń-ḃš, Chr L o-ń-ḃš 'dorthin', ? Prm: Z Ud ata 'here (?) ||| pY {IN H} *an- pc. of distal deixis >, T {IN H} an 'that'; K {IN H} an-di: 'there', Y K/T {IN H} a-dā 'there', K {IN H} a-dōn, a-diŋ, a-duŋ 'that' ¶¶ Coll. 73, IN H 104, IN UJ 218-19, ≠: UEW 332 and MF 102-4 (Hg and Z < U *o ~ *u) ||| D *ā ~ *a 'that, yonder' (dem. base for remoter persons or things) > Tm a-, aᵛᵛ-, Ml a, ā id., Kt, Td a- 'that (distant from the speaker)', Kn a- (remote dem. base), Kdg a'- 'that' (adjective prn.), a- 'that' (m. aᵛəŋ, f. aᵛa, inanim. adi), Tu ā-, a- 'that', Tl ā-, Klm a, Nkr, Prj ā 'that', Knd aya 'that' (adjectival pronoun), Kui, Krx a- 'that over there', ā id. (in adjectival function), Mlt ā (= ā ?) id. ¶¶ D no. 1 ||| A *a 'that' (deictic root) > T *°a (> SY a 'that'), T *a-n- (obl. cases of the prn. *o| 'that') > OT an- (gen. an-iŋ), Tk an-, Az, Tkm, Qrg an- 'that', Chv L {Ash.} yH, Chv Δ oH gen. 'of him\her', poss. prn. 'his, her' ¶ Rs. W 19, Cl. 165, ET Gl 444-6, ≈ 147-9, Ash. III 238 ||| pJ *á- 'that' (distal) (× pA *é 'that' < N *h'e' 'this', q.v.) > OJ a- id., J: T àre, K áre 'that, he\it', T à-no, Sh á-nù, Ns á-ṅ, Kg ái 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [no. 76], S QJ no. 76, Mr. 376 ¶¶ SDM97 (pA *a 'that'), ≈ SDM 487 (T, J + qu.: Tg *e 'this', M *e-ne 'this' [both from N *h'e' 'this'] and pKo *á-mò 'someone, some'), ≈ DQA no. 406 (id.), S AJ 111-12 [no. 26] ◇ Cp. IS I 258-9 ◇ I do not share IS's opinion that S *ha(:)- 'this' has a secondary *h- for the original *ʔ-: Aram -ā ḫ-, 'the' (adduced by IS as an argument) provides no information as to the identity of the original initial lr. The S and Om cognates point to the HS and N initial *h-. The apparently deviant loss of the expected IE strong lr. (regularly from N *h) is due to the grammatical use of the particle (its

history may be described as N *ha [× N *h'e'] > pre-IE *ʔ∇ > pIE *_lʔ_le) ◇
Cp. Gr. I 87-91 ("demonstrative A ~ E" [in IE, U, A, Ainu, Gil]).

751a. ₂ *h'a, particle of collectiveness > HS: B: pB {Pr.} *ā (or *ha) > Tw a, indefinite collective prn. ('pronom d'appui collectif') ↔ Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7, Vc. UB 321 (Tw indefinite and relative prn. a) || S (× N *ʔa, pc. of plurality?): nomina collectiva (→ plural forms) with the prefix *ʔa-: Ar رَجُلٌ ʔa-rǧul-un 'feet' (← riǧl-un 'foot'), ʔayyām-un 'days' (← yaʔm-un 'civil day [24 hours], сутки), ʔamṭār-un 'rains' (← maṭar-un 'rain'), OSA ʔbʕl 'owners' (← bʕl 'owner'), ʔhgr 'towns' (← hgr 'town'), Gz ʔa-znāb 'tails' (← zanab 'tail'), ʔadbār 'mountains' (← dabr 'mountain'), ʔaṣṭārār 'enemies' (← ṣarr 'enemy'), ʔabyāt 'houses' (← bēt 'house'), ʔaḥqūl 'fields' (← ḥaql 'field'); this pattern is used mostly (but not always) with inanimate nouns; if used with inanimate nouns, it is syntactically treated (in the predicate verb) as f. sg.] S *-ā, ending of pl. in the fem.-and-inanimate gender: pred. *-ā, nom.*-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen.*-ā-t-a(m); pred. f. pl. *-ā > Ak -ā (marṣ-ā 'they [f.] are ill'); in WS the stative turned into a verbal form denoting state and later into a "new perfective", accordingly the form with *-ā became a form of f. pl. of this aspect of state and of the "new perfective": *mawit-ā 'they (f.) are dead' → 'they (f.) died' (> Ar mā-t-ā 'they [f.] died'); nom. *-ā-t-u(m), accus.-gen. *-ā-t-a(m) are S forms of f. pl.: *ban-ā-t-um nom. f. pl. df., *ban-ā-t-im accus.-gen. f. pl. df. 'daughters' (> Ar bānātun [nom.], banātīn [accus.-gen.] 'daughters', BHb bā'n-ōt 'daughters' [without case distinctions]) ¶ Br. AG 98-9, Bst. 26, GBr. JJAP 56, Di. G 267-72, Jo. M 61, Sd. G 100-1, 8* || IE *-h₂ / (with thematic nomina) *-e/o-h (*e/o- belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. > NaIE *-ə/-ā > OI -i / -ā, Gt -a, pSl *-a, Gk -α, L -a, e.g: with *-e/o-stems: *yugā 'yokes' (↔ sg. *yugō-m) > Vd yu'gā, Gk ζυγά, L iuga, Gt juka; with consonantal stems: *b^her-ont-ə acp. pl. ntr. 'carrying' (> OI 'bharant-i, Gk φέρωντα), *nōmen-ə 'names' > Av nāmən-i, cp. Gk ὀνόματα 'names' || AnIE: Ht -a, ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. (genwa 'knees' ↔ sg. genu; aniyatt-a 'Leistungen' ↔ sg. aniyaz; salla 'big' ntr. pl. ↔ sg. salli) and a zero ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. with lengthening of the preceding vw. in the stem (compensatory lengthening?) (Ht uddār 'words, things' ↔ sg. uttar); acc. to Rsk., in Lw, Lc and Ld the ending of ntr. pl. is also -a || IE *-he within the pIE "primary" verbal ending of 2p

*-the ({Bks} th₁e): OI -t_he, pSl *-te (> OCS -т_е-t_е), Lt -t_е, Gk -т_ε, L -t_{is}, Gt -p, OIr -the (e.g. beirthe 'fertis'), Ht -ten_i ¶¶ Brg. KVG 393-4, Schmidt PN ∇, Szem. IEL 160, 186, Rsk. 54-63, Fs. 304, Kron. VLFL 107, Bks 232-5 ◇ The pN etymon is tentatively reconstructed with *h-, because it is the only lr. that may turn into *ʔ- and zero in S and be vocalized as *ə in NaIE. The AnIE representation of *h- as zero is probably conditioned by the grammatical functioning of the morpheme (unlike autosemantic words/roots where N *h- usually yields Ht h-). Cp. on one hand N *ha 'ille', N *h¹i 'iste' (or 'hic'), N *hEñ∇ 'iste', N *hæ₁ʔ₁w¹U¹ 'to fall, to sink' (partially grammaticalized in Ht), where N *h yields Ht zero, and on the other hand N *ha₁∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words, rejoice', N *h¹L∇ 'push, butt, pierce', N *h¹ʔEn|ñ|η∇ 'wave', N *h¹P₁U 'bad', N *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' and N *haR₁ka 'hold\grasp', where N *h- is represented by Ht h-. The particle *h¹a may be etymologically connected with N *ʔa¹h¹a 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. IELA 12 [no. 39] (HS, IE).

752. ?₂ *h¹æ ~ *o¹h¹U, dual marker (for nomina animata) > IE *-H̄(e) ~ *-H̄_u, dual ending (nom., animate gender) > [1] (with consonantal stems) *-H(e) > Av -a, Gk -ε, OIr -∅, [2] (with *-o-stems) *-o-H_x ~ *-o-H_x_u > OI -ā ~ -ā_u, Av -a ~ -ā, Gk -ω, L -ō (ambō 'both'), Lt -ū, OCS -a -a, [3] (with *-u-stems): IE *-u-H_x > OI -ū, Av -u, OIr {Bks} *-ū, Lt -ū, OCS -и -i, [4] IE *dwo-H^ω ~ *dwo-H_x_u 'two' nom. > OI dvā ~ dvā_u m., L duo m./ntr., OIr dá ~ da_u (or dá_u), Gt ntr.twa, AS ntr. tū ~ t_wā, OHG ntr. zwā ~ zwō, OCS m./ntr. двѣ двѣа, Lt m. du̇, Gk δύο₁ ~ δύο, [5] NaIE *wē 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N *o¹w∇y∇ h¹æ [with *w∇y∇ 'we']) > OCS вѣ вѣ, Lt vė (-du), Av G vā, OI Vd vā m (= vā-am) 'we' du., AS wit id. (-t goes back to the IE numeral *dwo-H^ω 'two) ¶ Bks 194-5, 214, Brg. KVG 364, 387-8, 399 (Übersichtstabelle), Fs. 184, Hirt UG II 108-9, Me. VIEJ 306-7, 342, StSS 164 | | HS: S *-ā, marker of the dual number (nom. and pred.) of nouns, adjectives and pronouns, *-ā-ni (marker of nom. dual df. [with the determiner *-ni < N *nE, dem. dual prn., q.v.]), *-ā, marker of du. in verbal forms > Ar -ā / -āni in nouns (nom.), -ā in pronouns and verbal forms (2nd and 3rd persons), Gz -ā in 𐎠𐎡𐎣 𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧 'twenty', Ak nom. du. -ā-n (with the ancient determiner *-ni > -n), Ak OB/OA nom. -a, -ā in 𐎠𐎡𐎣 'two', 𐎠𐎡𐎣𐎤 'twenty' ¶ Br. G I 455-9 [§ 244], Sd. G §§ 61c and 63h ◇ This marker of dual (< prn.) is used for nomina animata or for

the active case, while there is a different N marker of dual ***y i** (q.v.) for the nomina inanimata or for the non-active cases (> S ***-ay** [du. ending for oblique cases], IE ***-o-i̯ / *-i(:)** [du. for nomina inanimata], T palatalization [****y** in ****r+y > *r̥**] for paired nouns). Cf. also the N dem. dual prn. ***nE** ◇ The variation of vowels (N ***h¹æ ~ *o¹h¹U**) still requires explanation. Qu. because of the problem of vowels.>`

753. *id.?* ***h¹e¹** 'this', deictic pc. (proximal deixis) > K ***_lh_je** > G K/R/Lch/I/A **e** 'hic, iste', G Ing **he** 'this', OG **e-se**, G **e-s(e)** 'hic', OG **e-ge**, G **e-g(e)** 'iste', Mg **e** 'this', **e-na** 'this one, he', Lz **he** 'that', **he-m id.**, **he-a-** 'that one, he'; ***e-g-**, dem. pronominal stem: OG **ege**, G **eg-** 'this', Sv **ež i**, **eža**, Sv **U aža id.**; K ***e-s̥-** > G **ese** 'so', Mg **eš i**, Lz **eše** 'so, there', Sv **eš** 'so' ¶¶ K 77-8, K² 45, 47, Mrtr. N 146, Ghl. 216, Chx. 333, 351, Q 192 s.v. **ἄτογ, ἄτογῆς**, Marr 25-6, TK 244, Shan. G 51-2 ¶¶ Acc. to IS I 271, K ***e-** did not change into **a-** in Mg and Lz due to the deictic nature of the stem || **HS** ***h¹E** > NrOm: Wl {LmS} **he** 'that, those' (prn. of distal deixis) ¶ LmS 81-3 ¶ Inversion of the opposition *hic* ↔ *ille* (see s.v. N ***ha** 'ille') || C: Ag: Aw **z-n** 'this' ¶ Hz. NSA 134 || **IE** ***Hē-** > NaIE ***e-** (gen. ***e-syō**) ***he, this** > NaIE ***e-** > Clt {Matas.} ***ē** 'this, ttat' > OIr **é ~ hé** 'he', **ed** 'it', Gl **eia** 'she' || Sl ***e sь, *e se** 'ecce' (> OCS **ѣсе же-се ~ есе е-се**, OR **оце осе**, Uk **оць** 'ecce' [BOT], Blg **Δ есе** 'this, ceci' [BOT ЭТОТ], Slv **esej / esa / eso** 'this'), Sl ***e tь** (f. ***e ta**, ntr. ***e to**) 'voici, this' (> Blg **ето**, SCr **ето** 'voici', Slv **ete / eta / eto** 'this', but hardly R **это / эта / это** 'this' [a new interjection **э** + prn. **тот / та / то** 'that']) || OI **a-'ta_h** 'von hier' (< NaIE ***e¹-tos** 'from here') | IE ***Hē-** may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of the gen. OI **asya**, Av **ahe** 'of this', the dat. OI **asmā i**, Av **ahmā i** 'to this', OLat **e m** 'him', L **ecce** (<***e-d-ke**), Osc **ekku m** (<***ed-ke-um**) 'item' | NaIE ***e-m-** (× N ***ha** 'ille') > Clt: Brtt {RE} ***em-** 'he' > OW **e m**, MW **e, ef, W ef, fe**, Crn **ef**, OBr **e m**, MBr **eff**, Br **heñ** ¶¶ WP I 43, 99, P 282-4, M K I 13, 27, WH I 390, 399-400, Bc. G 315, RE 102, ≈ ESSJ VI 8, StSS 211, Matas. E 112-13 || **U** ***e-** 'this' > FU: Er **e-té** (pl. **e-ńe**) 'this', **e-še** (pl. **e-ś-ńe**) 'that', Mk **e-sa** 'da, dort', pPrm ***e-**: ***e-ž** 'BOT так, in this way' > Vt **ož**, Yz **íži id.**, pPrm ***e-tiś** 'from there' > Vt **otiś id.**, Hg **e-z, e** 'this' (↔ **a-z** 'that') || Sm: ? En {Prk.} **eke**, {Ter.} **ekke** 'this', eo 'hierher' || pY {IN H} ***en-** 'this' > Y K {IN} **ediŋ id.** ¶¶ UEW 67, LG 332, Lt. 134, ≈ MF 167-9, KP 73-4, IN H 159, IN UJ 219 || **A** ***æ** 'that' (deictic word) > M ***e-gün-** 'this' (stem of obl. cases), correlating with ***ene** nom. and ***ene-n-** for obl.

cases [\langle N ***hEñ** ▽ 'iste', q.v. ffd.) \rangle WrM {MED} e g ü n, HIM {MED, BMR} ү ү н; pl. M *e-de 'these' (\rangle MM, WrM {MED} e d e, HIM {BMR} э д, Brt э д э, Dg э д э id. Kl {Rm.} e d a 'diese, die, sie', Ord e d e 'ceux-ci, ils' ¶ Ffd. see SDM 487, Pp. IM 47, 226-8, IS I 272, MED 301, BMR III 430 and IV 398, KW 117, Chr. 758 || Tg *e-, proximal deictic stem (e.g., within *e-du/e 'in this, here', where *-du/e is a locative sx) \rangle Ewk э-р 'this', э-дū, э-лī 'here', Sln э(j)jэ, эр(i) 'this', э́́э 'here', Lm эр 'voici', эду 'here', Neg эдū 'here', эу 'this', Orc эду 'here', э́́и 'through this place', э́́и 'this', Ud э́́и, Ul, Nn э́́, Ork э́́э, эр(i) 'this', WrMc {Z} эрэ, Mc Sb эрэ, э́́и 'this', WrMc {Z} э-дэ, Mc Sb э-дэ 'in this, here', Jrc {Md.} e(r)se 'this' ¶ STM II 460-2, Ci. 267, Md. ChF 133, Krm. 313, Z 73, 84-5 || ?? pJ *á 'that' (\times pA *a 'that' \langle N ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. of distal deixis ['ille'], q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 487 (pA *é 'that' [deictic root] \rangle Tg, J + unc. M *ene 'this', T *an- 'that' in obl. cases [belonging to N ***ha** 'ille'], pJ *á- 'that' and pKo *á-mò 'someone, some'), DQA no. 406, S AJ 56, 111-12, 292, 277 [no. 141], SDM97 s.v. *e 'this' (\rangle M *e-güñ- 'this' [stem of obl. cases], correlating with *ene nom. and *ene-n- for obl. cases [\langle N ***hEñ** ▽ 'iste']), KW 122, Dr. MT 21, Rozycki MM 70 ◇ The particles of pronominal deixis ***ha** 'ille', ***h'e** 'this', ***h'i** 'iste' and ***h'u** 'iste' form a paradigm of N deictic particles. Therefore it may be tentatively suggested that not only ***ha** (in which ***h-** is reflected by S ***h-**), but all particles of this paradigm (even those, in which N ***h-** cannot be demonstrably distinguished from ***ʔ-**) had a N ***h-**.

754. *id.?* ***h'i** 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc. \rangle HS: B: Tw i, indefinite singulative prn. ¶ Pr. M I-III 185-7 || ?? Ch {Sch.} *-i, marker of definiteness (\times N ***h'e** 'this'): Dr gám-î: 'the ram' (\leftrightarrow gám 'ram'), Zr gэмān-i 'the husband' (\leftrightarrow гэмān 'husband'), EDng àk-í 'the fire' (\leftrightarrow àkò 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || EC *-i:₁, marker of the theme form \rightarrow marker of the subject case (nom.): Or -n-i, -i ({HW} nam-ni nom. \leftrightarrow abs. nama 'man', nom. fār d-i \leftrightarrow abs. fār da 'horse', nom. mūk-i \leftrightarrow abs. mūka 'tree'), Sd -i ({Mrn.} nu'gus-i až'ž až'ino 'the king ordered', 'min-i mi'namino 'the house was built'), Rn nom. (of f.) -è, Sm nom. -i (láf-ì nom. \leftrightarrow láf abs. 'bone', dāghàn-ì nom. \leftrightarrow dāghán abs. 'stones'; dem. ending: nom. -kàn-ì 'this' \leftrightarrow abs. -kàn 'this'), as well as Sml -ī within the df. art. of the remote type: m. -k-ī, f. -t-ī || ? Ag: Xm {Ap.} -i-/-y-, def. art. m. (in the obl. case, preceding the case ending): э́́э́р-и-э́́ э́́э́у́н 'I gave it to the man' ¶ HW 145, Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. NBLK 224, PG 17, 106,

AD KJ 34-5, Anr. DSN 119, Ap. DAX 16-22 || **K** *_lh₁i 'that' (distal deixis) > G Im/R/Lch/Mt/P/HA i 'that', G i-s 'he; that', i-gi id., Mg i-, Lz hi- 'that', Sv i- id.; K *i-ma- (deictic stem for remote objects) > G ima-, Mg imu, Lz (h)imu- id., Sv im-eg 'there' ||| GZ *-i, marker of nom. (> OG, G, Mg, Lz -i), which in the final account goes back to a dem. pronominal pc. (article?) *i ¶¶ K 99-100, K² 80-1, Q 230 s.v. 𐤒𐤓𐤏, Chx. 519-33, Ghl. 257 || **IE**: AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' || IE *_hei₁-/*_hi₁- (?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks} 'that, the (just named)' (× N *_yi 'he', [?]) 'that' [anaphoric], q.v.) > OI a'y-am m., GAv ay-ā m m., OI i'y-am f., OI i-'d-am ntr., OI i'm-am, OPrs imam m. accus. 'eum' ||| Gk Cp ἔν 'eum, eam' ||| L i-s m., i-d ntr., e-a f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') ||| OIr é ~ hé 'he' (< *i-s), ed ~ hed (< *id or *id-ā) 'it', pl. hé ||| Gt i-s 'he', accus. i n-a, ntr. i ta 'it', pl. eis 'they', ORu eR, iR, i aR rel. 'that, which', ON es, later er, OHG er 'he', i z ~ e z 'it', NHG er m. 'he', es ntr. 'it' ||| Lt jī-s 'he', jī 'she' || Sl *j- dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. *j b, f. nom. *j ā, ntr. nom.-accus. *j e > OCS, OR m. H i, f. H j ā, ntr. H j e; Sl *j- in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. H Γ O j e g o 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. H M O y j e m u 'to him, to it' etc. ¶¶ P 281-6, Mer. HHG 61-7 || **U**: Sm *i- 'iste' (> En {Cs.} i n ô ? 'dorthin', Kms {KD} ī d ā 'dieser da, der dort', Mt {Hl.} *i d i 'jener' [Mt K {Mll.} i d i -]) may go back either to U *i- or to U *e- || FU *i- 'this' (from the functional point of view a variant of *e- 'this', F N *^he¹ 'this') may be discerned in Es i-g a 'such', Hg i-t t 'here' (↔ o-t t 'there'), i-d e 'here' (direction) (↔ o-d a 'there' [direction]), í g y 'so', pOs *i- (proximal pronominal stem) > Os: V/Vy/Ty i n, Nz i n 'just now', K {Ps.} i n 'der, er' (von einem nicht näher Bekannten, Entfernten), Sh/Sn i n, LK {Ptk.} ī n 'ἔ τ ο τ, dieser, jener' (von einem oder etwas schon Erwähnten), V/Vy/Ty/Y i t 'now (jetzt)', O {Stn.} i t t ā 'sofort' ¶¶ UEW 67-8, Jn. 26, Hl. M no. 336, Stn. D 2-3, ≈ MF 167-9 || **A** *i 'iste', a deictic word > pKo *í > MKo í, NKo i 'this' ¶ Rm. SKE 66, S QK no. 88, Nam 397, MLC 1316 || pJ *i 'iste' > OJ {S, SDM} i ({Syr.} 'thou' mostly in deprecatory speech), as well as possibly the first element i- in the OJ {Mill.} spacially indefinite dem. i d u- (in the dem. prn. i d u r e, place adv. i d u - k u 'there\here', direction word i d u - t i 'thither\hither') ¶ Mr. 420, Syr. DJ 92, Mill. JL 341-2, S QJ no. 235 || T *i- in Xk i d i u d i, Sg {Rl.} i - d ä 'so'; *i n- in dem. pronouns\adverbs (< N *^hi¹ i n u [with the N genitive pc. *n u]): Yk i n n i k (*i n - l i k) 'such', i n j ä 'so, there', Blq i n - o l 'that', Az, Chg {Rl.}, Brb {Dm.} i n d i, SbTt Tb {Tm.}

инде (= [indь]?) 'now', Bsh инде indь 'now, already', VTt инде indь 'already' ¶ Ktw. PLA 20-3, Pek. 240, 256, BIG 65, Rl. I 1450, 1506, ARL 147, Dm. JBT 139, Tm. 56, BR 206, TatR 169 ¶¶ SDM 577 (*i, a deictic root > Ko, J, T *i-na- 'that' + unc. Tg *i 'he, she' and M *i-nu 'his, her' [both going back to N *yí 'he']), DQA no. 582 (id.), SDM 577 (T, J, Ko + err. Tg *i- 'he, she' and M), SDM97 (A *i > Ko, J + qu. T *ṓ 'inside'), S AJ 56-7, 297, Rm. SKE 66 || D *i 'hic (the nearer to the speaker)' > Tm i-, i v v-, Ml i, ī, Kt, Td i- 'this, hic', Kn i-, proximate dem. base, ī 'this', Tu ī, Klm i', Nkr, Prj, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku, Krx ī, Knd iya, Mlt í (= ī?) 'this', Brh i- (a base declined for case) ¶¶ D no. 410 ◇ Samoyed and Japanese suggest the original meaning 'iste', while other lges point to the meaning 'hic' ◇ The N initial *h- is tentatively reconstructed on the analogy of N *ha 'ille', because the paradigm of the deictical particles is likely to presuppose their similar phonological structure ◇ Cp. IS I 270-2 (IS combined together N *h¹i [incl. our *yí] and N *h¹e¹ as two variants of the same word *ʔi/(?)ʔe).

755. *id.*? *h¹u 'iste', dem. pc. (intermediate deixis?) > HS: C: Bj Hd {Rop.} ū (df. art. nom. m.), 0 (accus./obl. m.), {R} ū ~ ω ū (df. art. nom. m.), 0 ~ ω 0 (accus. m.) (allomorphs with ω- when preceding a noun beginning with ʔ-, otherwise allomorphs without ω-), Bj B {Alm.} ū (df. art. nom. m.), 0 - (accus. m.), Bj A {AD} 'ʔō ~ ʔū ~ ʔu ~ hu (df. art. nom. m.) (e.g. 'ʔō ga ω 'the house' nom., ʔū 'tak 'the man', ʔu 'haḏa 'the lion', hu 'ʔor 'son, boy, child', hu 'ʔēω 'the kudu antelope', hu 'ʔab 'the kid'), 'ʔō ~ ʔō ~ ʔo ~ hō ~ ho (obl. m.) (ʔō 'tak 'den Menschen', ʔo 'haḏa 'den Löwen, dem Löwen', 'ʔō ga ω obl. 'the house', hō 'ʔa ω i obl. 'the stone', ho 'ʔōr 'den Jungen, das Kind'); the variants with h- occur when the article precedes a noun beginning with ʔ-, otherwise the variants with ʔ- are used ||| EC: Sd {Mrn.} marker of subject case (nom.) '-u (nom. nu gu 's-u ↔ abs. nu gu se 'king', nom. maga'n-u ↔ abs. maga'no 'God'), Bn J -ū nom. (ír-ū nom. ↔ írз abs. 'goat', mōf-û nom. ↔ mōfз abs. 'snake', bāḏl-û nom. ↔ bāḏl abs. 'feather'), Sml -u (marker of nom. with dem. suffixes of nouns: -kàn-ù nom. ↔ -kán abs. 'this' m., -tàn-ù nom. ↔ -tán abs. 'this' f., -kēṛ-ù nom. ↔ -kēṛ abs. 'that' m.) || ? Af ωō 'that(those' (remote for both speaker and addressee) ¶ Mrn. S 26-7, Hn. BD 28, PG 146, AD KJ 35, PH 235 || LbB: B *ω-a m. sg. / *ω-i m. pl., dem. and rel. prn. > Shl, Tmz, ASgr ωa sg. / ωi pl. 'this', relative 'that of, which', B *ω-i- m. pl. (> Tw ωə-), px of the dependent state (état d'annexion, that

Pr. proposed to call 'cas subordonné'), typical, among others, to the postverbal subject noun (*w- is likely to go back to a thematic focalizer or "singulatif défini" [acc. to Pr.] or df. art. [acc. to Vc.] ← dem. prn.), compound pronouns: Tmz/ASgr wa-n, Shl wa-hin, Kb wa-hi 'that' || Gnc g u a (< *wa) 'that of', g u a n id. (< *wa + nota genitivi *n): g u a n c h i n e c 'that of Chinec, the man of Chinec' ¶ Pr. M IV-V 11-16, Pr. PE ∇, Ai. SKBJ I 17-22, 49-52, AiM 176, 210-11, 218, Brugn. EAB, Brugn. SNBO ¶¶ In my opinion, we may adduce the HS ending of the subject case *-u > pS *-u (> Ar, Ug -u), ending of the nominative case sing. (← thematic focalizer ← dem. prn.), pEC *-u (~*-i) (the nominative case ending); the S morpheme group *-u-m (nom. df.) (> OAk -u m nom. st. r., Ar -u n nom. indf., Ug -u nom. abs.); it would be tempting to equate S *mu't-u-m 'the man' nom. df. (> Ak m u t u m 'man' st. r.) with Hs m u t u m [mùtûŋ] 'man' (< AncHs *mutum, the final *-m reconstructed on the ev. of the gen. m u t u m i n [mùtúm-ìn]) and thus to suggest that the ending *-um existed already at the pHS level. We may also adduce the ending *-u of the pS relative mood (= Dk.'s pS "subjunctive", used in subordinated clauses) > Ak -u (rel. mood = traditionally called "subjunctive"), CS *-u of the new imperfective (> Ar -u id.); its semantic prehistory: N dem. *h¹u > rel. *-u 'that which' > *-u of the rel. mood ¶¶ F Ss. CCSB 111-26; on the pS endings and their meaning F AD MN ∇ and AD PhSS 7 (fn. 12); on S *mu'tu-m F AD PhSS 3; on the pS rel. mood see Dk. JDPa 254, 304, ≈ Eil. SA ∇ (W. Eilers equated the Ak -u-mood with the Ar -u-imperfective, but believed that the pS *-u-mood is indicative) || K *u-'it', marker of the objective version of the verb having a recipient of the 3rd pers. > G, Mg, Lz u-, Sv u-~o-: OG χ-u-ḡo ~ h-u-ḡo 'er tat es ihm(für ihn)', NG u-çer-s 'il l'écrit pour lui', u-çer-t 'il l'écrit pour eux' ¶¶ K 185, Vogt GLG 122-3, Shan. G 74 || IE *ʔu- / *ʔu- / *we- / *w0- 'iste', deictic pc. > Ht u-ni- 'jener, der da, der erwähnte; iste'; the former opposition of degrees of proximity to the speaker and hearer ('hic' ↔ 'iste' ↔ 'ille') (that probably existed in the pronouns eni-, unī- and anni-) was lost when these Ht pronouns became predominantly anaphorical; pv. u- '(hier)her' (↔ pe- 'hin', e.g. Ht u d a - '(her)bringen' ↔ pe d a - 'hinschaffen, forttragen', u w a t e - 'herbringen' ↔ pe h u t e - 'hinbringen' etc.), ? Ht -un (a rare OHT form) 'him, her' (side by side with -an) || NaIE *u- / *u- / *we- / *w0- 'iste' (→ 'ille', 'hic') > Sl *o v b̄ / f. *o v a / ntr. *o v o 'that', OCS, OR o b̄ o v b̄ 'that' (often o b̄ ... o b̄ 'that\one ... the other'), SCr †, Δ, Slv, OCz o v, P ó w

'that', prnl.: SCr $\acute{o}v\text{-}\bar{a}j$ (f. $\acute{o}v\text{-}\bar{a}$, ntr. $\acute{o}v\text{-}\bar{o}$) 'hic', P $\acute{o}\omega$ 'ille', OCS {Mikl.} $\acute{o}v\text{ь}$ 'hic', {SJSS} 'hic, ille' ||| ? OI, Av $a\acute{v}a\text{-}$ 'jener', OI $u\text{-}$ 'and, also, further, on the other hand' ||| * u in OI $asau$, Av $h\bar{a}u$ 'ille', OPrs $ha\acute{u}v$ 'this'; with a * r -formant: OI $a\acute{v}ah_2$, Av $a\acute{v}ar\bar{a}$ 'downwards', Um $ur\acute{u}$ 'illo'; * $w\bar{e}$, * $w\bar{o}$ - 'on the other hand' \rightarrow 'or' (\times * wu 'whether') $>$ OI/Av/OPrs $v\bar{a}$, Gk $\eta\text{-}(\mathcal{F})\acute{\epsilon} > \acute{\eta}$, L $-v\bar{e}$ 'or'; this morpheme is to be kept apart from the paronymous NaIE word * a_u 'or' ($<$ N ? * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}w\acute{u}$ 'whether?', 'or') in Gk $\alpha\acute{u}$ 'again, once more', L aut 'or', $autem$ 'but, however', Osc AUT $a\acute{v}t$, AUTI 'aut, autem' ¶¶ Ts. W 63, 95-8, SomF HAB 161, Frd. HEB 68, Mer. SGA 324, P 73-5, F I 183, 619, WH I 87, II 740-1, Bc. G 313, 350, Mikl. L 486, Mikl. E 229, ESISJ-SGZ II 558-61, SJSS XXII 508-9, StSS 403, Brtl. 163-76, 1730-2, M K I 58, 66, \approx Bks 202 (NaIE * $ow\text{-}$ $<$ * h_2eu 'away, again') || U: FU * $u\text{-}$ \sim * $o\text{-}$: FU * $u\text{-}$ is represented by Hg $o\text{-}d\bar{a}$ 'dahin, dorthin, dort', $ol\bar{y}$ 'such, so', ott 'there', $ug\bar{y}$ 'so', FU * $o\text{-}$ or * \bar{o} - is reflected by Chr H {Rm.} $umpal$ 'jene Seite, die andere Seite', Chr L/H {Ü} $umbalne$ 'there, in the distance', $umbalan$ 'there, to that place', $umbake$ 'there, to that point', $umbac\bar{e}n$ 'from there', FU * $u\text{-}$ \rightarrow * $o\text{-}$ $>$ pMr * $o\text{-}$ in Er $ombo$, Mk $omba$, oma 'other, second' (Chr and Mr $-mb\text{-}$ $<$ FU * $-mpa/\bar{a}$, sx of cmpr.) ¶ Rédei (UEW) explains irreg. sound corr. by mixing of different deictic stems, IS attributes FU * $o\text{-}$ to the infl. of the interr. * $k\bar{o}$ - ¶ UEW 332, IS I 258 || A * $o \sim u$ 'this, that' (deictic pc.) $>$ NaT * o 'jener dort' $>$ Tk o , $\Delta o \sim u$, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr o , ET, Bsh u , Uz $u\bar{d} o\bar{d} wu \sim hu$, SY, Ln $o \sim u$ 'that', Xlj o 'he, she, it, that', Tkm o 'he, she'; but T * o 'that' ($>$ OT ol , Tkm, Qzq, Yk, Tv ol , Chv L $в\bar{a}л\text{ь}$, Chv $\Delta v\bar{b}l$) does not belong here, it is better explained as going back to N * $\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}o\bar{v}$ 'that (visible)' ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Bu. I 106, DT 167, TkR 479, Fed. I 106, \neq SDM97 (A * $o(l\bar{v})$ 'this, that') || Tg {Bz} * $u\text{-}$ 'iste' in derivatives: WrMc {Z} $ub\bar{a}$ 'hoc; this', Ud uti 'this, it' (stem $uta\text{-}$: accus. $utawa$, dat. $utadu$, loc. $utala$) ¶ Bz. 114, STM II 293-4, Z 147 || pJ {S} * \acute{z} - 'this' (a deictic $\sqrt{\text{}}$) $>$ J: Sh $\acute{u}\text{-}n\grave{u}$, Ns $\acute{u}\text{-}\grave{n}\grave{u}$, Ht $\grave{u}\text{-}n\grave{u}$, Y $\grave{u}\text{-}n\acute{u}$ ¶ S QJ no. 147 ¶¶ SDM 1040 (pA * \acute{o} 'this, that' $>$ T, Tg, J + err. M * on 'other, different' [actually from N * $Ha\bar{n}\bar{v}$ [= * $Ha\bar{n}o$?] 'other', q.v.), DQA no. 1554 (A * o 'this, that' $>$ T, Tg, J), SDM95 s.v. * o , S AJ 280 [no. 136] (T, J) || D * u 'iste', deictic base and demonstrative pc.\adj. $>$ Tm, Kn $u\text{-}$ (a dem. base indicating a person\place\thing occupying an intermediate position or a position near the person[s] spoken to), Tm $u \sim uvv$, Kn \bar{u} , Ku \bar{u} , Krx $h\bar{u}$ 'iste', dem. adjective prn. ¶¶ D no. 557 \diamond The ancient meaning is best

preserved in D. Cp. UEW 332 (U, IE, T), IS I 257-8 (he adduced T * θ and considered U * θ to be a variant of the U deictic * a , arisen due to the infl. of the interr. * $k\theta$) \diamond On the reason of our tentative rec. of N * h - in this and other N demonstrative particles *see* above (s.v. * $h'e'$ and * $h'i$).

756. $\text{}^2$ * $hed\triangledown$ 'to break' > **HS**: S * \checkmark hdd > Ar \checkmark hdd G vt. 'break, crush' ¶ Hv. 818, \approx DRS 373 || Eg MK hđ 'break stones' ¶ EG II 505 ¶¶ But not here (\Leftrightarrow Tk.) Ch * \checkmark hđ 'break' (JS, Stl. ZCh 228 [no. 766]), because Ch * h hardly corresponds to S and Eg * h -; Ch * \checkmark hđ is more likely to correspond to S * \checkmark χ tt (> BHb 𐤇𐤍𐤁 ni'haṭ 'was broken', Ug {Grd.} χ t 'broken', Tgr χ atta 'was torn') ¶ KB 360, LH 81, Grd. UT no. 1020 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S + err. Ch) || **D** (att. in NED) * $e\checkmark$ - > Krx eṭ-nā 'tear in pieces, lacerate', Mlt eṭe v. 'deface, destroy' ¶ D no. 785.

757. * $h\hat{u}di$ 'rot, dissolve (by boiling), boil' > **HS**: WS * \checkmark hdy > Gz \checkmark hdy v. 'dissolve by overcooking, cook completely', Ar \checkmark hḏy Sh pf. 𐤍𐤁𐤁 'boil meal to shreds' (\leftarrow a S lge with * $-d-$ > $-ḏ-$) ¶ L G 215, Di. 18, BK II 1408 || **A**: M * \checkmark i- vi. 'rot' > WrM {BMR} \checkmark i-, HIM {BMR} \checkmark i- 'rot', Brt \checkmark i- vi. 'rot, go bad'; d.: WrM {MED} \checkmark i- e-, HIM {MED, BMR} \checkmark i- e- 'rot' ¶ M * \checkmark i- < ** $-di-$ ¶ MED 1017, BMR III 393, Chr. 496 || **D** * $u\checkmark$ - > Tl uḏuku v. 'boil, seethe, bubble with heat', uḏiki ncu, uḏiki(l)lu vt. 'boil, cook', Gnd uḏk ēr 'hot water', Ku uḏku 'heat', Krx ur̄tur- 'be boiled or cooked, be tired up to excitement' ¶¶ D no. 588.

758. * $hu|od\triangledown, \text{?}\triangledown$ 'be motionless, sleep' (\rightarrow 'be sleepy\giddy') > **HS**: S: [1] WS * \checkmark hd? 'be motionless\quiet' > Ar \checkmark hd? G (hada?a / -hada?u) 'take a rest, stop (somewhere)', acp. hādi?-'motionless, quiet', \checkmark hd? D vt. 'calmer, apaiser, adoucir', Mh {Jo.} hōdi 'quiet' (of a person), {Jahn} hōdī 'quiet' (of a wind), Hrs {Jo.} hedī, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'hudi 'quiet', Sq {L} 'hyode 'se calmer', Tgr \checkmark hd? G 'se calmer'; [2] + ext.: WS * \checkmark hdm 'be sleepy\giddy' > Ar hudām- 'giddiness' ({BK} 'mal de mer'), Gz \checkmark hdm v. D (pf. haddama) 'sleep, slumber' ¶ BK II 1397-8, 1402-3, Jo. M 152, Jo. H 50, L G 214, DRS 371 || EC {Ss.} * $hudr-$ 'sleep' > Rn udur / urd-, Sml (mt.) hurd- id. ¶ Ss. PEC 40, PG 285, Abr. S 113, DSI 319 || Ch: ECh: Brg 𐤍𐤁𐤁 , Kjk {DB} auḏu, ? Mu {Lk.} hēyít, {J} hāyāḏé 'sleep', Mgm {JA} 𐤍𐤁𐤁 'se coucher', {ChC} 'sleep' ¶ JI II 299, JA LM 113, Lk. ZSS 189, DB s.v. Kjk auḏu || **U**: FU * $\theta\delta a-$ v. 'sleep, (?) lie (liegen)' > pLp {Lr.} * 𐤍𐤁𐤁 - v. 'sleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} oār'e-dh, L āddā-, N {N} oadde-t (/d-), Kld {TI} \checkmark uḏe-ḏ / \checkmark uḏam / \checkmark uḏi- id. | Er 𐤍𐤁𐤁 - uḏo-, Mk 𐤍𐤁𐤁 -h uḏa- id. || ObU {Ht.} * $\text{w}\theta\delta-$ / ? * $\text{w}\checkmark\delta a-$ > pVg {Ht.} * \checkmark a- / * \checkmark a- > OVg S Vt о л о л а н т ы 'I am

dozing (дремлю)', Ovg S Kg алалахъ 'sleep'; pOs {Ht.} *a:la- / *ol- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Os: V/Vy äla-, Ty äča- / öč-, Y äč- / öč-, D/K ät-, Kz öč- id., d. Os: Y äčtə-, Nz uttə-, Kz wŭčtə-, O oltə- 'schlafen legen' ¶ UEW 334-5, Sm. 542 (FU *ođā 'sleep' > FP *ođa, Ugr *āđī), Lr. no. 817, Lgc. no. 4543, Hs. 1035, Ker. II 179, Ht. no. 662 || A: T *uδI- v. 'sleep' > OT uδI-, XwT uy₁u₁-, MQp XIII ūyī-, XIV uyI-, [CC] uy₁- id., Tk uy₁-, Ggz, Qmq uy₁-, SY, Xk, Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} uzu-, Tv udu-, Tf ud₁-, Yk utuy- id., VTt oe- ъуѡ- (inf. ою ъуу), Bsh ойо- ъуѡ- v. 'doze, slumber; grow numb' ¶ It is possible that T *ū n. 'sleep' (> OT u₁:, Xlj ū and Yk ū) goes back to an earlier **u₁:δ (so Cl. 2, Rs. W 508 and Pek. 3098), but the alternative et. relating T *ū to A *ηōy∇ 'sleep' (< N *ηuhy'a' 'to rest, to lie, to repose' [→ 'to sleep], q.v.) is more plausible ¶ The vw. *u in the verb *uδI- was not long (⇔ Cl.), as evidenced by Yk utuy-; if the noun *ū 'sleep' belongs here, the length may be compensatory (for the loss of * -δ) ¶ ET Gl 579-81, DTS 605, Cl. 1-2, 42-3 (deriving *uδI- from *ū n. 'sleep'), TAG 44, Ra. 236, TatR 408, 417, BR 412, Pek. 3064-5, 3098, DT 209-10, Rs. W 508 (err. initial *ū in Yk utuy-) ◇ Comparison of U and A: Rs. UAW 42, Coll. 147, IS MS 367, IS SS no. 1.14, UEW 334-5 (U, T + *÷ M umta- 'sleep').

759. ₂ *hak∇ 'slow, inactive' > HS: SS *✓hky > Gz ✓hky (pf. hakaya) 'be lazy\sluggish\inactive\weary', Tgr ✓hky (pf. haka), Tgy ✓hky (pf. hakəyə) 'be weary\indolent' (EthS б→ Bln {R} hakaу 'tired, weary', Km {CR} akēt 'laziness'), Mh {Jahn} ✓hky (pf. Gt 'hətkī 'abhängen, sich nach unten neigen') ¶ L G 216-17, Jahn 187, ≈ DRS 407 || A *a₁:k'∇- (and d. *a₁:k'ur-?) > NaT *a₁:kur- 'do slowly' > OT {Gbn} aqur- id., {Cl.} aq(u)ru-, Oosm XIV arqin ~ arqun ~ arχun 'gently, quietly, slowly', XwT XIV aqr u(n) 'quietly, peacefully', Cum aqrin ~ arqun 'slowly, quietly', QBl, Qzq, Qq, Qrg aqirin, VTt, Bsh äkrьн 'slow(ly), quiet(ly)' ¶ Cl. 89-90, DTS 49, ET Gl 123-4, Gbn ATG 295, Br. OTG §§ 104 and 136, Rs. W 14 || M: [1] M *aki- > WrM aki- {MED} v. 'advance' ({SDM} 'advance gradually'), HIM ахи- {BMR} 'outstrip\outrun gradually', Brt ахи- id. ('постепенно опережать, мало-помалу обгонять') || [2] ?φ M **açaži- ⇨ M *açaži-yu > WrM {MED} aгаzi- ду adj. and adv. 'slow(ly), sluggishly, leisurely, by and by, gradually', HIM аажуу {MED} id., {BMR} 'leisurely (неторопливый), замедленный, небыстрый, sluggish', d.: Ord āžagā 'qui est lent à faire qch.'; M *açaži-m adj. and adv. 'slow, slowly' > WrM {MED} aгаzim,

HIM {MED, BMR} аажим, Brt аажам id., Kl Ö {Rm.} āžm̄ 'langsam, träge', Ord āžim 'lentement'; cp. also WrM агаšар {MED} 'for a while, leisurely', HIM {MED} аашар 'for a while, leisurely', {BMR} аашаар adv. 'slowly (медленно, тихо)' and Ord āšār 'lentement, à son aise' ¶ MED 13-14, BMR I 6, 11, 178. Chr. 16-17, 66, KW 20-1, Ms. O 4-6, 33 || pJ *žkúr(á)- 'be\come late' > OJ okura-, MJ ókúrá- id., J T òkure-, J K ókúré-, J Kg okuré- {Kenk.} 'be late, be behind time' ¶ Mr. 741, Kenk. 1430 ¶¶ SDM 282 (pA *ǎk'è 'advance gradually\slowly' > J, M *aki- v. 'advance gradually', T *(i)akuru- 'slowly, quietly, gradually' + unc. M *akuу 'work, earnings, mode of life').

760. *h|X'ǎ'ka 'to need, to lack' > IE *H̄eg|ǵ- ({{EI}} *h₁eg- 'be in need, lack') > NaIE *eg|ǵ- 'lack' > L egē- 'be in need, want' || ON eklä n. 'lack, want, need', OHG еско-rōdi, еско-rōdo 'just, merely (nur, bloß, allein)' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ EI) Ht ak(k)-/ek- 'die' ({{Pv.}}: ÷ V nt ekupeθaris ~ ecupetaris ~ equpetars 'tombstone' < IE *₁ǵek- 'die') ¶¶ P 290, ≈ EI 343, WH I 394-5, Vr. 9, Kb. 196, EWA II 945-7, Schz. 122, Pv. I 17-23 || HS: HEC: Ged {Hd.} hāk- vt. 'lose, miss', vi. 'be unable', ?φ Brj hōk- 'be absent' ¶ Hd. 243, Ss. B 100 || ? S: Gz ?akkō 'by no means, no' (unless < *?al-kō), Tgr ?ikōn 'not, no' ¶ L G 14 || A: NaT *ægsü- (× N *Xa'ǵ'ü'gæ 'to lack, to want', q.v.) 'be\become defective\deficient\lacking' > OT ägsü- ({{Cl.}} egšü-), OT (BrSc) {Gb.} ägsö-, ET ögsü-, Oosm eksī- 'be lacking', Osm eksī- 'grow less, decrease', Tk eksī- 'sich verringern, wenif weden', Tk Δeysi-, eysi- 'be lacking', Qrg öksü- 'be lacking, be insufficient', Ln eksü- 'diminish, lessen, decrease', Chg öksü- id., vt. 'diminish, reduce', Tkm {ET} ešit- 'be(come) defective\deficient\lacking' ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188, Rh. 173, Tkr 265, Jud. 589.

761. *h'awk'a' 'light (lux); bright' > IE: NaIE **auǵ- v. 'shine' ⇨ NaIE *auǵ-ā, -ō(n) 'light, gleam' > Gk αὐγή 'daylight', pl. 'rays, beams' || pAl {O} *auǵa > StAl T ag 'twilight, dusk', agu i dritēs 'Morgengrauen', agu i syrit 'pupil of the eye', a'goj v. 'dawn', {Ç} 'il fait jour' || ?σ NLG auken 𐌱 ooken 'attic, garret' || ? W gwaωl 'light (lux)' ({{Mn.}} < *auǵlo-?) || ? pSl *juǵb 'south, southern wind' > OCS ЮГЪ juǵb, Blg, R, Uk юг, Slk juh 'south', OR оуғъ uǵb, SCr juǵ, Slv juǵ, Cz jíh id., 'southern wind', as well as SCr juǵo 'south', Uk юга 'drought' ¶ WP I 25, P 87, EI 314 (*h₂eǵ- 'shine, become bright'), Mn. 41, F I 183-4, YGM-1 259, Ch. 137, Hofm. 28, BFU 29, Kf. 38, Ç I 30-1, II 344, O 2, Vs. IV

526, StSS 791, Glh. 302 || **HS**: [1] S *^o✓ wky > Gz ✓ wky L (pf. wākaya) 'shine, glisten, glitter'; *^o✓ h|?kk? > Ak akakū t u 'brandon, tison, rougeoîment du ciel' ¶ L G 612, DRS 537 || [2] (× N *HäŋkU 'fire', q.v.): Ch {Nw.} *aku ~ *ak^ωa 'fire', {Stl.} *ʔakuw- id. > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ákâ, Bd {IL} ákà id. | Cg {Sk.} âk^ωé, Kry {Sk.} àkú, My {Sk.} ákú, Jmb {Sk.} ak^ωá, Dir {Sk.} akúwá, Wrj {Sk.} kèwáy, Sir {Sk.} kúwí, Mbr kúwá id. || CCh: Db {JI} ku id. | G'nd wā-ta id. | ? BM: Mrg {IL} ʔíʔí (= {JIL} ʔúʔú), Cb úʔù id. | Mtk {Nw.} ak^ωa, Mada {BrrB} okk^ωo, {Ro.} àk^ωá, Mofu {Brr.} áwòw, MfG {Brr.} áwàw, Gzg D {Lk.} ʔavó; {Ro.}: Mkt ákà, Myn àkú, Hrz, Vm ák^ωà, Zlg àk^ωá, Mlk àkó id. | Msg {Trn.} àfú id. | Lmn {Lk.} ùuʋù id. | Suk {IL} k^hú id. | Ms {Nw.} aku-da, {J} kúdá, ZmD {KND} kú, {Srp.} ku, ZmB {J} kú, LamP ku, Lam k^ωu, Bnn ku-da id. || Ech {Stl.} *ʔakouw- > EDng {Fd.} àkò, Bdy ʔàko, Mgm {JA} ókkò, Mkl {J} ʔùwó id. | Skr {Sx.} òkó, {Nw.} óko id. | Jg {J} ʔǎk, Brg {J} ʔàkù, Mu {J} kěwí id. ¶ JI II 138-9, Nw. 26 [no. 48], ChC s.v. 'fire', Stl. IF 124, KNC 13, Ro. 252 [no. 271], Brr. MG II 149, BrrB 151, Fd. 14, Blz. EChWL no. 27 || C (× N *HäŋkU 'fire'): EC: Arr {Hw.} ʔēg, Elm ēk, Yk iku, {E} ʔeku 'fire', ?σ Dsn ʔége 'ashes' || DhI ʔéga 'fire' || SC: Asa {To.} yogot, {E} yogo 'fire' ¶ Blz. CL 178, BlzT D 2, To. D 128, Hw. A 338, To. DL 481, Hn. NBLK 204, ≈ AD SF 262-3, E PC no. 106, E SC 318 || **A** *āK- 'light (Licht), white' (→ '≈ red?') > T *āk 'white' > OT āq, Tkm āq, Tk ak, Az aϕ, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, Shor, Tv, ET aq, Uz aq, Tf aq, Xk aχ id. ¶ Rs. W 12, ET Gl 116-17, TL 679-80, Ra. 154 || pJ {S}: [1] pJ *áká 'red, bright' ({S} *áká-rú 'bright') > OJ aka- {Mr.} 'red, bright', {S, SDM} 'red', MJ áká- 'red', J: T àka-, K/Kg ákà, Kg akaka, Ns hǎ-, Sh àká-, Ht ágà-, Y àgá-ntárí id., OJ {Mr.} akarú- v. 'get bright/red', áká-ru 'bright, light', akasu 'red, bright'; [2] *àkà- v. 'dawn' > OJ aka-/ake- id. ¶ S AJ 110 [no. 58], 267 [no. 60], S QJ no. 60, Mr. 675, 825, Kenk. 17 || (× N *yæKæ '(very) bright, white', q.v.): M *yagaʋan ({SDM} *yagaʋan) 'pink' > WrM {MED} yagʋan, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brr ягаан, Oyr {T} yagʋan id. ¶ MED 423, BMR IV 455, Chr. 795 || ??σ Tg {SDM} *ixere 'Leuchte (светильник), light (Licht)' > Ul, Ork, Nn, Orc ixere id. ¶ STM I 302 || ??σ Ko {SDM} *ikir > NKO igil-kəri 'burn lively, igil-igil-ha 'be deeply flushed (солнечно краснеть)' ¶ MLC 1319 ¶¶ SDM 598 (pA *iǎka 'light (Licht), white' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 634, S AJ 110, 277 || ?σ D (att. in NED) *a_Lw_Jk- '(expose to) the heat of the fire/sun' > Krx axrñā 'warm oneself (by the fire, in the sun)', Mlt a wge 'expose to the heat of the sun or fire' ¶ D no.

18 ◇ The tentative rec. of N *h- is based on indirect ev.: the only N lrs liable to disappear in S are *h- and *ʔ-, but N *ʔ- yields IE *ʔ, which is unable to produce coloring effect on vowels. Hence the only N lr. to be reconstructed is *h- ◇ Blz. NDA no. 108 (D, HS, IE).

762. ₂ *hUwäkê 'move, walk' > HS: S [1] ?σ S {KB} *°-hāk- > OA ✓ hk 'go' (1s ip. ʔhk, 3pm ip. ɥhkɾ), IA, EpJA ✓ hk, BA ʔʔʔʔ yə-^hāk 'go'; [2] ?σ WS *-hūk- or S *°-hūk- > Gz ✓ hwk (js. -hūk, pf. hōka) v. 'stir, stir up, move, disturb, agitate', ? Ar ✓ hwk TD (pf. taha w w a k a) 'tomber dans qch. par étourderie ou témérité' ¶ L G 220, Di. 10, BK II 1458, KB 1697, HJ 281-2 (s.v. hlk), ≈ DRS 387 | | U: FP *wäke- 'run, walk' or 'come' > pLp {Lr.} *vēkɜ- 'run, walk' > Lp: L {LLO} v i e h k a- 'run, walk', N {N} v i e k k â- / -g- 'run' | Prm *v0- 'come, arrive' (→ 'ripen') > OPrm v0-, Z B0 - v0-(n†), Z US inf. v0-n†, Yz inf. v0-n^ 'come, arrive', Yz v0is 'he came', Vt v0- (inf. Bɥ - ы н ы) 'reach, arrive, ripen' ¶ UEW 817, Lr. no. 1395, Lgc. no. 8670, LG 63 ◇ Qu.

763. *hakɜ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be' > HS: S *°✓ hkɜ > Ar ✓ hkɜ G 'take rest, halt' ¶ BK II 1433, Hv. 831 | | C {AD} *✓ ʔk v. 'be, become' > pAg {Ap.} *ʔak-/ʔax- id. > Bln {Plm.} ʔax-/ʔak-, {R} aɣ-, Xm {R} aɣ-, Aw {Plm.} -aɣ- v. 'be' | | EC *-ik(k)-/*-ak(k)- id. > Sml {Abr.} ah- v. 'be', Sa, Af -ekk-, sx of stative (← copula), HEC {Hd.} *ik- v. 'become' > Brj ih-, Sd ik-/ikk-, Hd, Kmb ik- id. ¶ AD SF 131, 260, Abr. S 7-8, Ss. B 103-4, Hd. 25 ¶ The vw. *i in EC *-ik- may go back to the 3m prefix *y- (*y-ak- > *ik-) | | ?φ U: Sm: Kms {Cs.} ig- 'be': igäm 'sum', igäl 'es', igä 'est' etc., imv. iʔ 'be!' (sg.), imv. pl. igä, {KD} igäm 'sum' ¶ Cs. GSS 576-7, KD 22 | | A: NaT *āg- v. 'rise' (← 'stand') > OT {Cl.} āɣ- v. 'rise (from sth.), climb (up sth.)', Tkm āɣ- v. 'climb (over), overflow, exceed (a stated period)', Chg aɣ- v. 'rise', Osm aɣ- v. 'rise, evaporate', QrB aω- v. 'climb (over)' ¶ Cl. 76-7, DTS 16, ET Gl 68-9, Rl. I 142, TkR 22, Rs. W 7 | | D *āk- v. 'be, become' > Tm ākɜ (ākī-) v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Ml ākuka v. 'be that, become that', Kt a·g- v. 'become', Kn āgɜ v. 'come into existence', Kdg a·g- v. 'become', Tl agɜ ~ avɜ v. 'be, become' ¶¶ D no. 333 ¶¶ It is not clear if D *ā- (> Tm ā- v. 'come into existence, happen, be', Kt a·- v. 'become' [gerund a·ʔy, a·ty], Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ā- v. 'be, become', Gnd ā- v. 'be', Kui āva- v. 'become, be, happen') is originally a morphophonemic variant of the same word (with N *-k- > D *-∅-) or a different verb ◇ T *-g- < N *-kɜ- regularly (cp. N *tekɜ∇ 'to touch' > T *t̥eg- id. and N *ĉEkɜ∇ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T

*çigru- 'trample') ◇ ≠ Blz. IELA 12 [no. 40] (HS + unk. IE *Heġ- n. 'lead, drive' [going back to N *ʔ^ra^kê 'to chase, to drive away']) .

764. ₂ *hokU 'copulate' > HS: S *^o✓hkk > Ar ✓hqq (pf. haqqa) 'cohabiter avec une femme avec violence' ({Fr.} 'vehementer inivit [feminam]'), hāqq- 'vehementer futuens' ¶ BK II 1430, Fr. IV 398 || B {ʔPr.} *^o✓wq^rH^r (*wqu^rH^r-) v. 'copulate' (× N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want'??) > Izn {Rn.} əqqi, Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əqqu, Sll {Ds.} qqū (pf. iqqū), Izd qqu 'copulate', Izd t-uqqu-t 'cohabitation, acte d'amour' ¶ Rn. 372, Mrc. 54 || ¶ *ok^r∇- > M *oqu- 'copulate' > MM [MA, IM] oqaba p. 'copulated' (of humans and animals), WrM {MED} oqu-, HIM {MED, BMR} o×o- 'copulate', Kl {Rm.} oχo- 'Beischlaf ausüben' (von dem Manne gesagt), Ord oχo- 'coïter' (dit de l'homme) ¶ Pp. MA 266-7, 443, MED 626, BMR II 505, KW 284, Ms. O 508 || Tg *oka- ({SDM} *oχa) Ewk oko- 'copulate' (← M?), ?σ: Nn Δ {SDM} uχara 'testicles', Ud ua 'female genitals', WrMc {Z} ɣxαλα, Mc Sb uhalā 'testicles' ¶ STM II 10, Z 145 ¶¶ SDM 1048 (pA *ok^r∇ 'coire' > T, M) DQA no. 1564.

765. on.? *hal∇ 'call out, call, utter magical words, rejoice' > IE: [1] *^rχ¹el-t-/*^rχ¹l-et- ({Pv.} *xel-t-/*xl-et-), d. *^rχ¹l¹tye/o- ({Pv.} *H₁l¹tyé/ó-) ≈ call' > AnIE {Pv.} *halt(i)ya- > Ht halzai- v. 'call out, cry, shout, exclaim, howl; cry for, crave; proclaim, recite, read; call, summon, invoke' || NaIE: acc. to Pv. II 5-64, NaIE *lō¹tā (< IE {Pv.} *xlo¹tā) > ORu laβu n. 'call, summons, invitation', ON lqǣ, AS laǣu 'invitation'; ⇨ Gt laβōn (· καλεῖν) 'einladen', ON laǣa, AS laǣian, OHG ladōn 'to invite, to call', NHG (ein)laden 'to invite' || ? OL lessus, accus. sg. lessum 'wailing, lamentation' (acc. to Čop, < *lets-tu-s < *H*lets-tu-s) || [2] on.? : Gk ἄλαλή, Gk D ἄλαλά 'loud cry' (esp. 'war cry') and Gk Hm ὀλολύζω v. 'cry with a loud voice' (so Ts. E) ¶¶ F I 63, Pv. II 53-64, Pv. EA 88, Ts. E I 139-40, Čop IGW-8 96-7, Fs. 323, Ho. 196, Vr. 343, 373, Kb. 585 || HS: S *^o✓hll ≈ rejoice, cry with exaltation' > BHb ✓hll G 'be boastful\infatuated', v. D 'eulogize', 'praise (God)', MHb ✓hll D 'praise', Aram ✓hll G (pf. halla) 'rejoice', SmA ✓hll D 'praise', Sr ✓hll D 'sing, praise', BHb hillū¹-īm 'festival exultation', MHb הילול hillū¹, JA hillū¹-ā {Js.} 'singing praises', JEA {Sl.} הילולא hillū¹-ā 'festivity, wedding feast', IA [Eleph.] {KB} h|allūlat 'noise', Gz ✓hll T (pf. tahalala) 'jubilate, utter cries of joy', Ak fOB ✓?ll: atlulu 'to shout alāla, to brag, to boast', šūlulu 'to hail, to acclaim, to utter a cry' ¶ KB 235, 238-9, KBR 245-9, Js. 346, 353, Sl. 378, Tal 210, Br. 176, BK II

1434-5, L G 217, CAD I/1 331-2, DRS 414-15 || B * \check{h} ?l ({{Pr.} \check{h}_2h_1 l) v. 'diriger un salut (vers un absent)' > Ah, Tnsl, ETwl, Ty uha \check{h} l, pf. y $\check{a}hul$, Gh pf. y $\check{a}hul$ id. ¶ Fc. 576-8, Pr. H no. 218, GhA 78, 251 (Pcj. II B 3) || U: FU *a \check{h} l ∇ - v. 'utter magial words, exercise magic forces', v. 'sacrifice' (× N * $\check{r}a\bar{h}\nabla$ [or * $\check{r}ah\nabla\bar{h}\nabla$?] 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae etc.] in order to produce a particular result' [q.v.]) > Er {Bd.} alta-, a \check{h} ta- v. 'promise', {ERV} alta- v. 'promise, dedicate', {Jv.} alta- 'doom', {Bd.} alsta- 'versprechen, zusagen, weihen; verwünschen' | Chr {Szil.} ulte- v. 'pray', Chr L {MRS, Ü} ul' δ a-š 'to pray, to say one's prayers' || pOs *a \check{h} - > Os: V/Vy a \check{h} l- v. 'curse, scold', Vy a \check{h} l- v. 'bewitch', V a \check{h} lta k $\check{u}l$ 'Fluchwort, malediction', a \check{h} m- v. 'curse, call down curses upon' | OHg á \check{h} d- v. 'sacrifice, opfern', Hg á \check{h} d- v. 'bless, consecrate', á \check{h} doz- v. 'sacrifice, offer; devote to' || ? pY {IN H} *i \check{h} e- > Y K {IN H} i \check{h} it \check{z} -, Y T {IN H} i \check{h} ite-'scold, abuse', Y K {IN H} i \check{h} id \check{z} - 'have an argument', Y T {IN H} v. i \check{h} ire-'growl', Y {Iox.} ilete- 'beschimpfen, schelten', Y K/T {IN H} ilit \check{z} -, Y T {Ku.} i \check{h} ete- 'scold' ¶¶ UEW 7, MF I 81, ERV 45, MRS 628, Stn. D 75, Trs. S 13, KC 16-17, Jv. 19, Ü 225, EWU 24, ≈ Rd. UJ 45 [no. 58] (Y ← U), Ku. 58, IN H 172, IN UJ 260, 300 || A *a \check{h} - > NaT *alka- v. 'bless, praise, conjure (supernatural spirits)' > OT alqa- v. 'praise' (both in the religious and the ordinary sense), v. 'bless', Qmq, Qrg, Qzq alqa-, Tv a \check{h} ya- v. 'bless', Xk a \check{h} ya- v. 'bless, thank', StAlt alqa- v. id., Yk a \check{h} ya- v. 'bless, praise, pray, conjure (supernatural spirits), cast a spell' ⇨ Ewk alga- v. 'bless, pray', alga 'blessing' ¶ Cl. 138, Rs. W 17, ET Gl 137-8, Rl. I 349, Pek. 74, STM I 30 || Tg *alg \check{h} -n 'fame, rumor' > Sln alg \check{h} 'rumor', WrMc {Z} алгинь, Mc Sb alg \check{h} an 'fame, rumor'; WrMc {Z} алгин-, Mc Sb alg \check{h} a- v. 'become famous' ¶ ≈ STM I 30, Z 36-7 || M *aldar 'fame' > MM [S] aldar id., WrM aldar {MED} 'fame, renown, reputation', HIM алдар {MED, BMR} id., Kl {Rm.} ald \check{r} 'Ehre, Ruhm', Dg {T} aldar ~ ald $\check{u}r$ 'fame; news', 'honorific name', Ord ald $\check{a}r$ 'renom, bon renom' ¶ H 5, MED 30, BMR 74, KW 6, T DgJ 120, Ms. O 14 ¶¶ SDM 293 (pA * \check{a} li v. 'know; listen, hear' > M *aldar 'fame' + (not going back to N * $\check{h}a\bar{h}\nabla$) Tg *ala- 'tell; teach, explain', T *e \check{h} it- 'hear' and pKo * $\check{a}r$ - 'know').

766. * $\check{h}a\bar{h}\nabla$ 'this' > HS: S * $\check{h}a\bar{h}$ -, dem. prn. > Ar $\check{h}a\bar{h}$ - (df. art.) and -a \check{h} - as a component in compound pronouns (e.g. $\delta\bar{a}lika$ 'this'), Ak A all \check{u} 'jener', Ug hl {A} 'this', {OLS} '¡he aquí, mira!', hl \check{r} ny, (AkSc) {Hnr.} hallin \bar{h} ya 'here, now then', ? Ar هل \check{h} hala ~ هال \check{h} halā 'here' (in $\check{h}ayya$ hala ~ $\check{h}ayya$ halā 'come here'), ??? CS * $\check{h}a\bar{h}\nabla$ -(aš), *la $\check{h}a\bar{h}\nabla$? \check{h} i 'further,

onward, thither' (with the directive case ending *-aš or with the preposition *la 'to') (× N *^hal₁iʔ₁E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Sd. 37, A no. 87, OLS 164-5, Hnr. 121, BK II 1435, KB 235, KBR 245, BDB no. 1973, PS 1009 || (× N *^ʔo₁∇ 'that [visible]'): EC *ʔ∇l- > Gdl ʔéle (nom. ʔélu) 'that (remote from the speaker)', Dsn -(a)l- 'this', Arr -ló 'this': faraw-ló 'this horse', ʔummo-ló 'these children' ¶ Hw. DP 13, Hw. A 191-200, To. DL 226-7 || | K: Sv: UB ala, LB ali, L/Ls ale 'he\it (near the speaker)', 'this', Sv al 'this' ¶ TK 39-40, GP 40, Top. SJ 83 || | IE: NaIE *al- (× N *^hal₁iʔ₁E 'on the other side', q.v. ffd.) in NaIE *al-i₁o-s 'other' ({EI} IE *h₁el₁o-s) (> Gk ἄλλοσ., L ali₁us id., Gl ALIOS, Clt. {Matas.} *alyo-'other' [> OIr aile, MW ell ~ all]id.] and Clt {Matas.} *ala₁i₁yo- [> OIr arail(1), OW arall id.], Gt aljis 'another'), *^oal-ter 'the other from two' (> L alter id., Os alttram 'alteram'), IE *^oal-ne₁ > Sl *olni 'last year' (> ChSl ЛАНН, R Δ πο'ни, Blg лани, SCr лāни and лāни, Cz loni, P łoni) ¶ P 25-6, EI 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, Vn. A 31-2, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, YGM-1 11, Billy 6-7, WH I 30-3, Slr. 270, Fs. 39, Vr. 100-1, Vs. II 516, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368, Matas. E 28-9 and 31 || | A: ? NaT *a₁:l 'that, he' > Qrg, Tb, Uz Δ al 'that', 'he', unless it is a secondary variant of T *ol 'ille' (F N *^ʔo₁∇ 'that [visible]') ¶ ET Gl 444-6, Jud. 42-4.

767. *hA1∇ 'to shine; bright' > HS: WS *^hhll v. 'shine' (of a heavenly body), 'be bright' > Ar hall- 'clair' (se dit des étoffes d'un tissu léger et clair), ^hhll (pf. halla) v. 'appear' (of a new moon, of a heavenly body appearing over the horizon), ^hhll v. TD (pf. tahallala) 'shine', 'be bright' (face, cloud), hall-at- {Fr.} 'vas, quo ellychnium et oleum continetur', sc. 'lampas', {BK} 'lampe', {Hv.} 'lamp', BHb ^hhll הכל Sh (Hiph.) v. (ip. כהי₁ yā'he₁, 3pm ip. כהי₁ yā'hellū) 'flash forth, light, shine', Tgr ^hhlh₁ D (pf. חלחל halhalə) v. 'blaze (lodern, flammen), חלחל halhalta n. 'blaze (Lohe, Flamme)', ?? Gz {DRS ← ?} ^hhll G 'être clair, se rasséréner' ¶ Fr. IV 400-1, BK II 1434-6, Hv. 832, KB 238, KBR 248, BDB no. 1984, LH 1-2, DRS 415 || | B *^ohll > Izn {Rn.} iuləlla pl. 'lightning' ¶ Rn. 287 || | K *₁h₁e₁- v. 'lighten' (× N *^hel₁ay₁∇ 'to shine; light [lux]', q.v.) > OG, G e₁-, G Ing he₁- v. 'lighten', Lz A a₁- v. 'sparkle, lighten', Sv he₁- ~ e₁- / -h₁- (masdar li-e₁-e 𐎎 li-h₁-) v. 'lighten', Sv. LB he₁ 'lightning' ¶¶ ≈ K 78-9 and K² 46-7 (both in K and in K²: *e₁-) (Klimov adduced Mg/Lz val- 'lighten'), ≈ FS K 122 (adducing Mg/Lz val- and reconstructing K *we₁-); on Mg/Lz val- see N *^we₁'í∇ 'to shine, to

lighten', IS MS 362-3,, IS I 281-2 || **D** *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N *XaLb∇ 'white') > Krx all- 'become clear' (of liquid left undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} ále 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui alga 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D no. 261, Pf. 184 ◇ To be distinguished from N *ɣ|g'æ'hīu or *r'æ'hīu 'reddish, yellow, brown' (q.v.).

768. ₂ *hiL∇ (or *hEyL∇??) 'new heavenly light' (≈ 'new moon, the first star seen in the sky') > **HS**: CS (or WS) *hilāl- (~ *°haylil-?) > BHb כַּלְהִילֵי hē'lēl 'morning star' (scriptio plena of the first ē, as always in BHb, points to a former *ay), Ug hll {A} 'crescent', {OLS} 'e divinidad astral', Ar hilāl- 'new moon', 'moon at the end of the lunar month', as well as Gz {L} hālāl 'new moon' and Amh hālal 'moon' (both from Ar?) ¶ KB 235, OLS 165, A no. 832, BK II 1435. L G 217 || B: Ah {Fc.} tallit (pl. tilil), Ttq {Msq.} tallit (pl. telil) 'new moon, lunar month', Tw Ud {Sdl.} tallit (pl. tilil) 'moon, month', Gt {Nh.} tallit (pl. čillil) 'month', Kb {Dl.} tallit 'moment imprévis: un instant, quelque jours' ¶ Fc. III 982, Msq. 178, 197, Sdl. 307, Nh. s.v. 'mois', Dl. 441 ¶¶ Cf. also CCh: Bdm {Cfr} h'illúgú, {Lk.} h'illógu 'star' (unless from Knr šillógu id.) (ChC s.v. 'star', Lk. B 104) || **A**: Tg: Lm ilān 'moon', 'month' (probably from *'new moon') ¶ STM I 306 ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA no. 19 (S, B *÷ Sa, Af als a 'moon, month', AnIE, D, Tg words for 'day', 'light', 'burn, kindle' [see N *hA1∇ 'to shine; bright', *yel₁ay₁∇ 'to shine; light (lux)' and *yil∇ 'burn, kindle']).

769. ₂ *hiL'U' 'stand, be, exist' ([in B] → 'have') > **HS**: WS *✓hlw 'be, exist' > Gz ✓hlw D (pf. ᵁᵁᵁ hallawa ~ ᵁᵁᵁ hallō) 'be, exist; there is', Tgr pf. ᵁᵁ halla, Tgy pf. ᵁᵁᵁ ᵁallo, Arg pf. halla, Amh pf. ᵁᵁ alle id., Hmr hl 'be', Ar Y {Mü.} pf. hallō 'there was', {Slw.} hall- 'there is' ¶ L G 217-18, LH 5, Mü. rEDG 399, Blv. XJ 69-72, Slw. 214-15, Bns. NJ I 23, DRS 412 || B: Ty ilu (3s pf. ila) [Pcj. I C 2] 'have', ETwl ɛlu [Pcj. I A 9-11], Ah əl (pf. ilā) [Fcj. 12 = Pcj. I A 11] 'have', Kb əl (pf. ila) 'have, belong to' ¶ Dl. 437-8, Fc. 974-7, PGG 108, Pr. M VI-VII 119-26 and 143-4 (on conjugations) || C: EC: Elm -el p. / -al-a pres. 'stand', Arr -ell- pf. / -all- ip., Sml -īl- ~ -ill- 'live, be' (3m p.: Sml yīl, Sml N 'yīl, 3s pres.: Sml N 'yāl, Sml C yāl(la)), Rn {PG} -īl- / -āl- 'live, dwell (wohnen)', pBn pf. *-īl- / ip. *-āl- 'stay' (Bn J 1s p. àkí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m p. àkí-y-īlᵁ, 1s pres. àkí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m pres. àkí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, Bn K 1s p. kí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m p. kí-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 1s pres. káᵁ-ᵁ-īlᵁ, 3m pres. kíᵁ-ᵁ-īlᵁ), Dsn yā 'stand' ¶ AD IPCV, Bell 32, 59, Anr. VVMS, Mrn. SS 100-7, 272-7, 357-8, Abr. S 1962, Ss. OKSV 164-9,

Ss. G 426-7, Ss. D 211-12, Hn. S 33-6, Hn. BD 35-9, 57-61, 76, PG 59, 150, Schlee 17-20, Hw. A 267-9, Vg. rSimO 165-7, To. DL 532, HL 67 (pEC *-āll- 'stand, be present') ¶¶ Coh. 80 [no. 20] || A *i||'∇ 'stand, stand up' > Tg *i||u- 'stand up, stop still' > Orc, Ud ili-, Ul ili- ~ i||u, Ork ili- ~ illi-, Nn ili-, Ewk il-, Lm, Neg il-, WrMc {Z} или- id., Mc Sb yili- id., ylla- id., 'halt', Sln il- 'stand up', Jrc ili-burn 'standing, vertically' ¶ STM I 302-3, Z 106, Y no-s 537-8, Kiy. 121 [no. 424], 131 [no. 604], Gru. SSJ no. 424, Md. ChF 135 || ? pKo {S} *ir- 'become, happen' > MKo ir- 'become', NKO irə-na- id., il- 'happen' ¶ S QK no. 733, Nam 405, MLC 1351, 1356 ¶¶ SDM 583 (pA *i||'∇ 'stand, become' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 596, Rm. SKE 71 (connecting Ko with Tg ī- 'enter'), Mr. CL 75 ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. 'быть' ('be') *le (U, HS + unc. K *r- 'be') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 29 (*le 'be', incl. Y, CK, EA, U *le- ÷ IE *le(i)- 'provide, obtain').

770. *hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce' > IE *χχwel-/*χχul- v. 'strike' > Ht hulla-, hulliya- v. {Pv.} 'smash, quash, defeat', {Ts.} '(nieder)schlagen' (× N *gûL∇ 'to destroy, to fight; war') || NaIE *wel- v. ≈ push, wound, damage' (× IE *welX- 'strike' < N *w∇L'h'∇ 'hit, attack', q.v.) > L volnus, vulnus (gen. volneris, vulneris) 'wound' ||| Gk οὐλή 'a wound scarred over, a scar', ἀναλίσκω (< *ἀνα- F αλίσκω) 'use up, spend' ¶¶ Pv. II 363-8 (distinguishing between IE *χχwel-h^ω- [{Pv.} H₁wel-A^ω₁ > Ht hulla-] and IE *wel-H₁X₁- [{Pv.} *wel-(A₁)- > *walh-]), Ts. E I 275ff., P 1144-5, F I 74 and II 443-4, WH II 744-5, 827, Fs. 564, Vr. 642, ≈ EI 567 (see N *w∇L'h'∇ 'to hit, to attack' and N *₁'w'A₁l₁iy₁∇ 'to draw, to pull out(off)') || HS: S *^o✓hlw v. 'push' > Jb C {Jo.} ✓hlw ({{Jo.} ✓hlw) (pf. 'he'le?) v. 'push (animals) into a pen\cave' ¶ Jo. J 97 || A: M *oli- v. 'butt' > WrM oli- {MED} v. 'butt' (of a goat, ram), HIM оли- {MED} id., {BMR} 'butt (with one horn)', Brt оли- 'подбрасывать на рогах, задевать рогами, butt', Kl {KRS} оль- o'li- 'butt', {Rm.} oli- 'mit den Hörnern stoßen' ¶ MED 609, BMR II 470, Luv. 297, Chr. 354, KRS 396, KW 285 ¶ The M ✓ belongs here unless it is *φoli- (which cannot be ruled out, because no reflexes are known in the lges distinguishing between *φ- and an initial zero). If this M root belongs here, its vw. *o (for the expected *u or *ü) requires explanation.

770a. *h'a₁i₁?₁E 'on the other side' > HS: C: SC: Irq {Fl., E} alu 'behind, after', {MQK} ?alu 'behind, reverse', {Wd.} alu 'back (side), reverse (side)', Alg {E} alu 'behind', Brn {E} aluη 'after, behind, in back of', Kz {E} alale 'afterwards' ¶ E SC 315-16 (s.v. SC *?ála 'behind, after'), Wd. no-s

269 and 746, MQK 13, Fl. p.c., cp. AD SF 222 || ?σ CS *'hal∇ʔ-(aš), *la 'hal∇ʔ_i, 'further, onward, thither' (with directive case ending *-aš or with preposition *la 'to') (× N *haĪ∇ 'this', q.v.) > BHb הַלְּאֵה 'hālāʔ-ā 'further (on), onward, thither', JA לַהֲלֵךְ lə-hallā, לַהֲלֵךְ lə-hallān id., Sr لَآلِ lə-hal 'afar, beyond, thenceforth', Ar لَآلِ halā 'forward, on!', but we must keep in mind possible infl. (or even alt. et.) of deictic particles and pronouns, cp. CS *hal 'this' [> Ug hl, (AkSc) al 'this', Ar df. art. ʔal-] ¶ KB 235, KBR 245, BDB no. 1973, PS 1009, OLS 164 || IE *Hal-, *H¹ol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus' ({EI} *h_aeinos 'beyond') (× NaIE *ol- 'that [remote]' < N *'oĪ∇ 'that [visible]') > L uls 'on the other side' || OIr al, all 'beyond', Gl alla 'other', allos 'second' and allo- in the ethnonym Allo-broges (allo- + broga 'pays?'), Brtt {RE} *allos 'other' (> Br all id.), W all-tud 'exile', d.: OBr alall, allall, arall, MBr, Br, MW, W arall, Crn aral 'other' || OI 'ārād 'aus der Ferne', 'araṇa 'fern, fremd' | NaIE *al-i_o-s 'other' ({EI} IE *h_aeilo-s) (× N *haĪ∇ 'this') > OIr aile '(an)other', MW eil, W ail, OBr, Br eil 'second', Gl ALLOS, ALOS 'second', ALLA 'other' || L alius id., Osc ALLO 'alia' || Gk ἄλλος 'another' || Arm ալլայլ id. || Gt aljis ('ἄλλος, ἕτερος) 'anderer', aljar 'anserswo', ON elliga(r) 'sonst', ellar, ella id., 'otherwise', AS elles, OHG alles, elles 'otherwise' | Other derivatives (× N *haĪ∇ 'this'): L alter 'one of two, the other of two', Osc ALTTRAM 'alteram'; Gl {Fs.} alla 'aluid', {P} alios 'anderer' | pSl *olni (< NaIE *o|al-nei) 'last year' > ChS ΛΑΝΗ lani, Blg лани, Cz loni, P łoni, R Δ лони, лони-сь, SCr, Slv lani ¶ P 24-6, EI 64 and 411, Brg. D 107, F I 76-7, EWA I 162-3, Vn. A 31-2, 57-8 and 61, RE 117, Flr. 155, Hm. 239, Vs. II 516, YGM-1 11, WH I 30-3, Billy 6-7, 35, Slr. 270, Fs. 38-9, Vr. 100-1, Ma. CS 275, Glh. 368 ¶ Here, as in S, there may be infl. of deictic and other dem. elements || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *äl∇, *äl_i∇_i-m∇ 'the other side' > pObU {Ht.} *āl-, *ālām > pVg *āl- > Vg LK ṽlwa (lative case) 'hinüber, auf die andere Seite des Wassers', pVg *ālām > (in cds) Vg: T älām-, LK/UK ṽlām-, P/LL ṽlām-, Ss älām- 'on the other side of ...' (e.g., Vg: T ä'lämpält, LK ṽlämpōlt, Ss älämpält 'hinter, auf der anderen Seite [des Wassers]', P älämpāl 'das jenseitige Ufer'); pOs *älām > Os: Y âḫām, D/K/Kr âḫām 'the other (side)', D/Kr âḫām-peläk 'the other side of a river\lake' | Hg Δ elv, elv̄, el 'jenseitige Gegend', postposition elv̄é, elv̄ett 'on the other side', elv̄ól 'from the other side' ¶ UEW 836, Ht. 125 [no. 19], Stn. D 78, MF 150 || A *a_iḫ- 'on the other side,

across' > M *alu-s 'distance, distant place; far' > MM [S] alus id., WrM {MED} alus, HIM {MED, BMR} алс id., Kl {KRS} алс als 'at some distance', (with gen.) 'across, over', {Rm.} als 'über, auf der anderen Seite', Ord alus 'au delà, au loin', ⇨ : Brt алас 'distant', алад 'distant place, даль'; M ⇨ Yk olus ~ als 'extremely, very much, more', Qzq алыс 'distant, far' ¶ H 6, MED 33, BMR I 78, Klz. MJ 16, KRS 36, KW 7-8, Ms. O 18, Pек. 88-9, JkR 271, MM 81 || Tg: WrMc {Z} алданга 'far, distant; from a distance (издали)', ?σ Mc Sb paladuḡa 'queer, unusual, weird' ¶ Hr 33-4, Z 39-40, Y no. 256O || ?σ pJ {S} *asu 'steep bank, precipice' > OJ asu (azu) id. ¶ S QJ no. 12O3 || ⇨ pA *ā́la- 'cross (a mountain)' (S AJ 197 [no. 259], S VL) > T *ā́l- v. 'cross (a mountain\mountains)' > OT а́л - v. 'cross, Chg а́л - v. 'exceed, surpass', Tkm ā́š- v. 'cross (mountains, other obstacles)', OOsM а́л -, ET, StAlt а́л -, Xk ас- id., v. 'overflow', Tk ас-, Az, Qrg, VTt, Ln а́л -, SY ас- v. 'cross (mountains)', Qzq ас- v. 'overflow the banks' (← v. 'cross the banks'), Qq ас- v. 'overflow', ET, StAlt а́л -, Xk ас- v. id., 'cross (mountains)', Yk ā́s- v. 'cross, pass' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 3O, ET Gl 212-14, BT 23-4 || Tg *ala-, *ala-n- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)' > Ewk Skh/Urm/Ucr ala-, alan-, Ewk Ald/Z/Tp alan-, Lm O ala-, Lm Ol/B/P olъn-, Neg alan- id.; Tg *ala-n 'mountain pass, crossing of a mountain ridge' > Ewk Urm alan 'mountain pass', Lm Ol alъn, Lm O alan id., 'crossing of a mountain pass' (n. act.), Nn Nh/Bk {STM} ala 'mountain pass' ¶ ≈ STM I 27-8 ¶¶ The pA cns. *-l- in *a:l;l- on the other side, across' is suggested by J *-s- in *asu and by the connection with the pA verb *ā́la- ¶¶ A *-l- is likely to go back to *-ly- from N *-liʔ-, with compensatory lengthening due to the contraction of the cns. cluster *-ly- ¶¶ SDM 292 (pA *ā́la 'cross [a mountain]' > T *(i)ā́l- v. 'cross [a mountain]', Tg *ala- id., 'mountain pass', M *alu-s 'on the other side, far away', pJ {S} *asu 'steep bank, precipice' + unc. Tg *ala- 'mountain'), DQA no. 65 (id.), S AJ 291, Pp. VG 96, Rm. EAS I 108, 139, STM I 28, ET I 214, Pp. VG 96 ◇ Cf. IS I 274-5 and IS MS 372 (IE *hel- 'over, above', A *ā́l- v. 'cross a mountain'), ⇔ AD LRC no. 64 (IE *al- ~ *ol- equated with A *olam- v. 'wade' and S *ʕal- 'on, above, top') and IS I 274-5 (N *ʕal- 'to cross a mountain' > A *ā́la- id., HS ✓ *ʕl v. 'cross a mountain, climb, summit', ? IE *hel- 'from\on the other side'). Today, when it has been shown that HS *ʕal- had a meaning different from IS's interpretation and has a better alt. et. (F s.v. N *ʕal- 'height,

top', 'climb, go up'), we must revise the rec. (N *ʕaí∇), formulated by Illich-Svitych (IS I 274-5).

770b. ₂ ***h**'a**l**i'**w**'∇ (or ***H**|**Q**a**l**i'**w**'∇) 'elephant' > **HS**: B ***✓**H**l**w id. > Ah {Fc.} ēlu (pl. ēlwān), ETwl {PGG} eləw, Ty {PGG} iləw, Gh {Nh.} alu, Zng {Nic.} ažəh, {Bs.} ižit (pl. āžāžərn) id. ¶ Fc. 982, PGG 201 || ? ECh: Mkl {J} ʔēlbí 'elephant', pl. ʔēlbìdǐ; ʔēlbìsó 'female elephant' ¶ J LM 96, JI II 125 || ?μ EC: pBn {Hn.} *alíšì 'female elephant' > Bn J alíši, Bn Kj alíšɜ, Bn K aléssɜ id. ¶ For the element *-šì cp. Mkl ʔēlbìsó 'female elephant' ¶ Hn. BD 104 || ?σ S: Ak Bg/LB alū 'bull (as a mythological being)' ({Blz. EH} 'mythical giant bull') ¶ CAD I/1 377, ASal. J 167, Dk. ESA 32-3 ¶¶ Cp. also Gk ἑλέφανς (gen. ἑλέφαντος) 'elephant' (a loan from some HS [perhaps Libyan] source?) ¶¶ Blz. EH 3-4 || **D**: McTm *alliyaṇ > Tm alliyarṇ 'stray elephant separated from the fold', Ml alliyarṇ 'female elephant' ¶ D 258 ◇ N ***h**' is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of Ak (Ak ə- rules out all laryngeals other than *ʔ- and *h-) and B (Ah long ē- favours a lr. other than *ʔ-). If Ak does not belong here, we have to reconstruct an unspecified N ***H**|**Q**- ◇ Blz. DA 157 [no. 50].

771. ₂ ***ha**L∇**K**'u' 'to step, to walk' > **HS**: S ***✓**h**l**k v. 'go, walk' > BHb **✓**h**l**k *G* id. (pf. ַהַלַּק hā'laq, inv. ַלַּק lek, 3m ip. ַהַלַּקְיָהּ yē'-lek), Ph **✓**h**l**k, Pun pf. ַלַּק, inv. LECH, M'b 1s ip. ַהַלַּק, inv. lk, Ug *G* **✓**h**l**k, Nab, Plm **✓**h**l**k, Ak **✓**ʔ**l**k *G* (inf. alākū) id., IA **✓**h**l**k *D* 'walk', Md **✓**h**l**k *D* 'proceed, go forward, travel, walk', Ar **✓**h**l**k *G* (pf. halaka) 'perish, pass away', Sq {L} 1p *Gt* nah'tilok 'we perish' ¶ KB 236-8, KBR 246-8, HJ 280-2, OLS 165, DM 148, BK II 1439-41, Sod. 31-4, CAD I/1 300-28, DRS 413-14 || B (mt.) ***✓**H**k**l v. 'walk' > Wrg {Dlh.} akəl (3m pf. yukəl) 'follow, walk, travel', Tmz {MT} akəl ɘ ašəl (pf. ukəl ɘ ušəl) 'marcher sur, piétiner, fouler', Skn akəl 'cheminer', BMn {Bs.} kəl (3s pf. iklə) 'walk', d. verbal stems: Ah sikəl 'marcher au pas' (of animals), Gh {Nh.} šikəl 'marcher droit son chemin', ds: n. act.: Ah tēkle 'marche au pas', Gh čikəlt (pl. čikkal), BSn tišli, BMn hišli, Zww {Bs.} tikli, Wrs {Bs.} tičli, Nf tikli n. 'walking (marche)', Kb tišli id., 'allure', Shnw {La.} hikli 'la marche, le pas' ¶ Fc. 781-3, Dlh. Ou. 142, La. S 193, La. Ch 143, Nh. 176, MT 331, Dl. 40, Bs. ZOu 145 || **A** *a**l**∇**k**'u' v. 'walk, step (schreiten)' > M *a**l**qu- v. 'step (schreiten)' > MM [MA] alqu-, WrM {MED} alqu-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt alxə-, Dg alku-, ShY algə- id., Kl {Rm.} alχə- 'steigen, treten, schreiten', Ord alχu- 'faire un pas, avancer en faisant des pas, marcher';
-d> : **[1]** *a**l**qu 'a step' > WrM

{MED} алqu, Brt алха id., Kl {KRS} алх алхъ id., {Rm.} алха 'Schritt, Tritt', Ord алху 'pas' | [2] M *alqum 'a step' > WrM {MED} алqu m n. 'step, pace, gait', HlM алхам n. 'step, pace, gait' {MED} id., {BMR} 'a step', Brt алхам id., Kl {KRS} алхм алхъм id., {Rm.} алхам 'Schritt, Tritt', Mnr H {SM} argu 'pas', MM [MA] алqu 'step (pas)', Ord алхум 'pas' ¶ Hardly here: Mnr H {SM} х argu 'pas', {T} х алqu, Dx hanku 'a step' ¶ Pp. MA 99, MED 34, BMR I 80-1, Chr. 45, KRS 38, KW 7, T 372, T DnJ 139, SM 13, 161, Ms. O 15-16 || pJ {S} àrùk- v. 'walk' > OJ aruk-, MJ àrík- id., J: T arúk- 'walk, go on foot, step', K àrùk-, Kg àruk-, Ns àkk^u-, Sh átč-, Ht àrùg-, Y àìg- 'walk' ¶ S AJ 270 [no. 84], Mr. 677, Kenk. 47 ¶¶ SDM 284-5 (pA *àlak' u v. 'walk, step' > M, J), DQA no. 22, S AJ 268 [no. 84] (*aluk' ▽), S QJ no. 84 ◇ HS *k < N *ḳ (HS deglottalization) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 178 (*al' go') (A, J + unc. IE, Sm, CK).

772. *hAÍUḶ'a' 'be hungry/thirsty', 'covet' > IE: NaIE *elk-/ *olk- (or *alk-?) v. 'hunger, be hungry' > Lt álk-ti, Ltv aĩk-t 'to hunger', Pru alkīns 'nüchtern' ({Tp.} 'sober-minded'), Lt álkanas 'one on an empty stomach' | Sl *olka-ti 'to hunger' > OCS ЛАКАТИ lakati ~ АЛЪКАТИ al'kati 'to hunger, to fast', OR ЛАКАТИ lakati (pres. ЛАУЎ) 'to hunger, to be thirsty', Slv lákati 'to hunger', Cz lákati, Slk lákati 'to attract', P łaknąć 'to hunger, to be hungry; to covet, to long for' ||| OHG ilgī 'famine' ¶ P 307, Frn. 8, En. 140, Tp. P A-D 75, Vs. II 452, SJSS I 27-8, StSS 69, Tr. 6-7, Kb. 496 || HS: WS *✓hlk > Ar ✓hlk G (halaka / -hlaku) 'être extrêmement avide de qch.', Mh h3'13kt 'thirst', Mh ✓hlk (pf. hī13k) 'be very tired and thirsty', Jb C ✓hlk (pf. 'helk) id., 'miss so. who has died', Tgr {DRS} hēlkēy 'tired' ¶ Jo. M 156-7, BK II 1439, DRS 413-14 || A: T *a₁íuk- > NaT *ašuk- > OT ašuq- v. 'long for'; ??σ → NaT *ašuk- 'be in a hurry' > OT ašuq-, Ln ašuq-, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qrg ašiq-, VTt, Bsh aš'q-, Nog, Qzq, Qq asiq-, Uz ašiq-, ET ošuq- id. ¶ Cl. 239, DTS 64, ET Gl 217-18 ◇ S *k is due to deglottalization of N *ḳ.

772a. ₂ *hamga 'dry, thirst(y)' > HS: S: Ar ✓?mğ 'be thirsty': pf. أمج pamiğa 'be thirsty', أمج pamağ- 'thirst; excessive heat (of weather)' ¶ Fr. I 58 || EC: pSam {Hn.} *'ángèg 'dry' > Sml engeg-, Bn aneg 'dry', Rn àngàgà 'be dry, dry out\up' ||| SC: Irq {MQK} agē-η^ω 'dry season', Alg {MousK} ēgē, Brn {MousK} ageη id. ¶ Ss. B 82, 169, Bl. 183, Hn. S 5, PG 65, Hw. A 361-2, R WB 189, AD SF 256, Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, Blz. CP s.v. 'dry'₂ || A: M [1] M *hanq|qa- 'be thirsty' > MM [S] {H} hanqa- v. 'be

thirsty', WrM {MED} аηγα-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt аηга- 'be thirsty', Dg {Mr.} hanke- 'get thirsty, need water', hankā 'make a person go without water, parch, make thirsty'; [2] WrM аηγα- {MED} 'be dry', HIM аηга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'vertrocken, trocken werden (иссохнуть, высохнуть)', Brt аηга- 'ausbleichen, verbleichen (выцветать, выгорать), fahl werden' ¶ MED 43, BMR I 109-10, Chr. 52, H 74, Pel. 203, Mr. D 156.

773. *^hh¹∇mP^ri¹ 'venomous vermin, (?) venomous reptile' > IE: NaIE *empi- ~ *emb^hi- 'stinging insect' > Gk ἐμπίς (gen. ἐμπίδ-ος) 'mosquito, gnat' ||| AS imbe 'swarm of bees', OHG imbi, NHG Imme id., NGr Wf īme 'bee' ¶ WP I 125, P 311, EI 312 (IE *h₁em¹pi-s 'gnat, stinging insect') ≠ F I 506, ≠ Ch. 344, ≈ Ho. 187, Schz. 173, OsS 443, KM 325, Kb. 496 ||| D *umm∇l- 'ε stinging insect' > Kn ummuṛi 'ε insect', Tu umilo ~ umbli 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ D no. 638 ||| HS: WS *✓hmm > Ar hām-at- 'venomous vermin\reptile (scorpions, serpents, worms, lice)', Jb {DRS} hām 'big snake' ¶ BK II 1443, Hv. 834, DRS 424 ||| Ch {Nw.} *ami 'bee' > CCh: pMM {Ro.} *ama > Gzg {Lk.} ?amam, {Ro.} ámám, MfG {Brr.} ámam, {Ro.}: Myn àmú, Mlk àmóm, Zlg àmúm, Mofu úwàm id. ||| ECh: Jg {J} ?ímó, Brgt {J} ?imiyú, Mu {J} ?ûm 'bee' ¶ ChC s.v. 'bee', ChL, Nw. no. 70, Lk. G 117, Ro. 209 [no. 57], Brr. MG II 75 ||| Cp. also the N word group *η∇í∇ 'h¹∇mP^ri¹ 'gnat, mosquito' (q.v. ffd.; the initial component may be connected with N *ń∇í∇ [or *ń∇l∇?] 'ε insect', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The assimilation N *-mP- > HS **-mm- (> S *-mm-, Ch *-m-) still needs inquiring.

774. *han∇ 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > HS: Eg G hn 'head', hn 'bis hin nach...' (unless < Eg fP hn 'box, chest'???) ¶ EG II 491-5, Fk. 158 ||| S *^oh¹ana > Ak ana, an 'towards, to' (Sd.: 'zu, [in der Richtung] nach'), ? Gz nē 'away to', 'towards' ¶ Sd. 47-8, L G 380 ||| C: HEC *hana 'over, above' > Sd āna 'over, on', Hd, Ged hana id. ||| ? Bj {R} -na 'mit, bei, an, auf' ||| C ⇨ Mb {Fl.} aná 'above' ¶ Hd. 109, R WBd 176, Fl. p.c. ||| ?φ CCh: Gudu {IL} yin 'head' ||| Tr {Nw.} jin id. ¶ JI II 182-3, Nw. WLT 37, ChC s.v. 'head' ||| IE *^rχ¹an ~ *^rχ¹anu ~ *(^rχ¹a)nō {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf' > Av ana, OPrs anā 'über ... hin', 'entlang, auf', Av anu, OPrs anuv 'nach, gemäß', 'längs, entlang', OI 'anu 'after, along, according to' ||| ? Arm (h)am - (h)am - verbal px: (h)am - pwan^ham (h)am-ba^rnam 'I raise up', (h)am - p^her^hem (h)am-be^rem 'ich ertrage' (-m- for *-n- due to generalization of the variant preceding

a nasal cns. of the $\sqrt{\text{V}}$) || Gk I/A $\delta\nu\acute{\alpha}$ 'up, upon' || Gt $\alpha\eta\alpha$ ($\epsilon\pi\iota, \epsilon\lambda\varsigma$) 'an, auf', ORu $\alpha\eta\alpha$, $\alpha\eta$, ON $\acute{\alpha}$ 'on', OHG $\alpha\eta\alpha$, $\alpha\eta$ 'at, on, over, in', NHG $\alpha\eta$, AS $\alpha\eta$, $\alpha\eta$ 'on', NE $\alpha\eta$ || ? Lt $\alpha\eta\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, $\alpha\eta\acute{o}\tau$ 'according to' ¶ P 39-40, EI 612 (IE $*h_2en-h_2e$ 'up [onto], upwards, along'), F I 100-1, Fs. 41, Vr. 1, Mkj. DR 119, Ho. 4, Kb. 23-4, EWA I 214-15, M K I 3, Frn. 11 || **U** $*n\acute{a}$ 'towards, into, near' > FU $*-n\acute{a}$ 'towards, into, to' > Os: N $-n\acute{a}$ 'towards, into' (lative, illative): $\chi\alpha\tau\eta\acute{n}\acute{a}$ 'into the house', ? E $-n\acute{a}\tau$, $-n\acute{a}\tau$ 'with'; Vg: T $-n\acute{a}$, $-n\acute{a}$, LK $-n\acute{a}$, $-n\acute{a}$, $-n$, P $-n\acute{a}$, $-n$, Ss $-n\acute{a}$, $-n$ 'to, into' (direction, lative case) | Hg Δ $-n\acute{i}$, $-n\acute{i}$ 'zu', Hg $-n\acute{e}k$, $-n\acute{e}k$ 'gegen, auf zu', OHg $-n\acute{a}l$, $-n\acute{e}l$ 'zu, bei', Hg $-n\acute{a}l$, $-n\acute{e}l$ 'bei' || Sm $*n\acute{a}$ (postposition): dat. sg. $*n\acute{a}-\eta$ 'zu', loc. sg. $*n\acute{a}-n\acute{a}$ 'bei', abl. sg. $*n\acute{a}-\tau\acute{b}$ 'von' > Ng dat. {Cs.} $n\acute{a}\eta$ 'zu', {Mik.} $n\acute{a}\eta$ 'bei', En X {Cs.} dat. $n\acute{e}$, En B {Cs.} dat. $n\acute{e}$ 'zu', Ne T {Ter.} dat. $n\acute{e}$ 'zu', loc. $n\acute{e}n\acute{a}$ 'bei', Kms $n\acute{a}:m\acute{b}n$ 'für, wegen' ¶¶ Jn. 99, MF 461-2, ≈ UEW 300 || **D** (att. in SD) $*a\eta\acute{n}_1$ 'upper part' > Tm $a\eta$ 'upper part', $a\eta\acute{a}$ v. 'lift the hand', Ml $a\eta\acute{a}$ 'upwards, above', Kn $a\eta\acute{e}$, $a\eta\acute{a}$, $a\eta\acute{a}$ 'excellence, purity', Tu $a\eta\acute{a}v\acute{u}n\acute{i}$, $a\eta\acute{a}v\acute{u}n\acute{i}$ v. 'look up, lift up the face, gaze' ¶ D no. 110 ¶ The cerebrality of $*\eta$ in the D $\sqrt{\text{V}}$ has not yet been explained ($*-n-$ + suffixal $*y$ > $*-n-$ > D $*-\eta-$?) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 110 (D, HS, IE).

775. $*h_2E\eta\sqrt{\text{V}}$ 'iste' > HS: WS $*h_2inn-$ 'here, voici, voilà' > Ug h_2n 'aquí', 'he aquí; ¡mira!; así', Hb h_2n 'voici', {KBR} pc. 'behold', Ph h_2n id., Ar h_2inna 'certainly, indeed', Sb {Bil.} h_2n 'behold, lo!', Gz {L} h_2n-ka 'so then', $h_2ng\acute{a}$ 'indeed' ¶ KBR 251, OLS 167, HJ 285-7, Bil. 22, L G 26, DRS 427 || B {Pr.} $*-h_2\eta\acute{n}$, deictic nominal sx of remoteness and position out of sight > Twr {Pr.} $-(h_2)\eta\acute{n}$ id., Kb $-ih_2n$, $-ih_2inna$, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible object), $-inna$, $-yinna$, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote visible person or object), Tmz {MT} $-nn$, $-nna$, invariable postnom. dem. prn. (remote or absent), Mz {Dlh.} $-n$, $-n\acute{a}$, $-in$, invariable deictic morpheme of remoteness or absence ($ar\acute{z}az-n\acute{a}$ 'cet homme-là'), Wrg {Dlh.} $-n$ id. ('that'): $argaz-n\acute{a}$ 'homme-là, cet homme-là', $ass-n\acute{a}$ 'ce jour-là', $w-n\acute{a}$ 'celui-là', $t-n\acute{a}$ 'celle-là', pl. $i-n\acute{i}$ 'ceux-là', $ti-n\acute{i}$ 'celles-là' ¶ AiM 217, Pr. M III 191-2, Dl. 282, 534-5, MT 456, Dlh. M 129, Dlh. Ou 208 || eEg $-n$, deictic element of proximity: m. pn 'this', f. tn , ntr. nn 'this', adv. sn 'so' ¶ Lpr. 68-71 || C: Ag: Bln {R} en , in 'der, dieser', $in\acute{z}\acute{a}$ 'jener', Xm {R} $(i)en$ 'dieser', Q {Hz.} zn 'this', in 'that', {R} en 'dieser', yn 'jener', Km {Hz., Ap.} zn 'this', {Ap., Hz.} in 'that', (CR) en 'ceci, celui-ci', $(y)in$ 'celui-là', Aw {Hz.} zn 'this', an 'that'; these forms

or part of them go back to N sequences ***ha** 'ille' + ***hEñ∇** and/or ***h' i** (dem. pc.) + ***hEñ∇**, producing the opposition 'this' ↔ 'that' ||| EC: Kns {BISO} ini 'this' ||| Bj {R} ūn nom. 'this' m. (accus. ōn, pl. nom. ān, pl. accus. ēn) ||| SC: ? Irq {Nb.} -síη 'iste, that near you': hē-síη 'iste homo' (the element -s- still requires explanation) ¶ Ap. K 321, Nb. 30-2, Wh. IC 79 (Irq -síη 'that [particular]'), Hz. AL 21, R WB 32-3, R Ch II 339 (3.p. 25), R QW 26, 150, R BedS III 32-6, Rop. 150, CR LK 165 || Ch nominal determiner (m.) *-∇n∇ > Hs dōkì-n 'the horse' (↔ dōkì 'horse'), Bd {Sch.} kʷàm-âni 'that bull' (↔ kʷàm 'bull'), Gude {Sch.} ráhá-ná 'this axe' (↔ ráhá 'axe'), Msg {Sch.} dif nà 'this man' (↔ dif 'man'), as well as (with loss of gender distinction): Mkl {Sch.} étròwó-η 'the woman' (↔ étròwó 'woman'), Ke {Sch.} hǝlgǝ-η 'the woman' (↔ hǝlgǝ 'woman') ¶ Sch. ED 156-9 ||| IE: [1] (× N ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc.) NaIE *eno- / *ono-, dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis) (× cd with N ***ha** 'ille?') > Lt anàs, ańs 'that, that one', an(à) 'behold' ||| Sl *onъ 'that, that one', (→) 'he' (f. *ona, ntr. *ono, pl.: m. *oni, f. *oně) > OCS ONЪ onъ m. 'that, that one, ille', 'he' / ONA f. / ONO ntr. / ONH pl. m. / ONĚ pl. f., in later lges mainly 'he' / 'she' / 'it' / 'they': R sg. m. OH / f. o'na / ntr. o'no, pl. o'ni, pl. f. † and Δ o'ne, Uk m. viH / f. vo'na / ntr. vo'no, SCr m. ōn (~ òn) / f. òna / ntr. òno, Slv m. òn / f. óna / ntr. onô (~ óno), Cz, Slk, P m. on / f. ona / ntr. ono, Cz pl. m. oni / pl. f. ony / pl. ntr. ona ||| OI ana- 'this', base of pronouns (in a'nēna, a'naγā, a'naγōh), Av ana- (anaya), OPrs instr. anā 'this' ||| Arm unjū so-yn 'this, that, he, self, the same' (< *k̂o-eno-) ||| Gk cd m. ἔκεῖνος (f. ἐκεῖνη, ntr. ἐκεῖνο) 'that' (distal deixis) (< *ἔ-κε-ενος) ||| L enim 'indeed, truly; namely', Osc íním INIM εινειμ, íní 'and' ||| Gmc cd (< IE *y-on-yos): OHG jēnēr 'that one', NHG jēner 'that, ille', AS h.l. zēon, OFrs jēn, MLG jēne id., ON inn ~ enn 'the', Sw, Dn -(e)n id. || Ht an(n)ī- 'that, yonder' (sg. com. annis), annaz 'formerly, once upon a time'; acc. to Pv., ann- < *on-yo- ¶¶ P 319-21, Frn. 10, Vs. III 140-1, Glh. 454, M K I 32, F I 476, 515, WH I 404-6, Bc. G 317, Vr. 286, Kb. 522, KM 332, Pv. I-II 51-5, EI 458 (*h_ǝen- 'that') ||| [2] ? IE *Hēn (or *pēn) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà' > Gk ἦν, L ēn id. (× N *ḡyUn∇ 'see, look' [q.v.]) ||| A *Enæ > M nom. *ene 'hic' ('this', 'he, she, it' [hic-deixis]) / stem of the obl. cases *ene-n- (× N *h'e' 'this', deictic pc. [q.v.]) (with suppletion: *ene nom., *egūn- for obl. cases and possibly *ede pl. 'these') > MM [S, MA] ene / obl. [MA] enen-, WrM {MED} ene, HIM {MED} энэ,

{BMR} энэ / obl. энэн-, Brt энэ / obl. энээн-, Kl {KRS} эн энэ, {Rm.} энэ 'dieser', Mgl enā / obl. enān-, Dg энэ, Mnr {Pp.} nīē / obl. {SM} enūn-, {Pp.} nīān id., Ord ene 'celui-ci, ceci' ¶ Pp. IM analyzed M *ene as *e-n-e (*e- + element -n- that "occurs in all pronouns": *mi-n-u, *čī-n-u, *i-nu + deictic *-e); Pp.'s analysis is untenable, because *-n- in *minu 'of me' etc. occurs in gen. (not in nom.) and goes back to the N genitive pc. *n u (q.v.), while *-n- in *ene occurs in the nom. and hence belongs to the stem ¶ MED 316, BMR IV 418, Chr. 768-9, KW 122, KRS 699, Ms. O 239-40, ≈ Pp. IM 225-7, Pp. GPMJ 82, GBJ 141-3, SM G 40-1, Snz. SMJ 53-5 || T *ina 'that' (× N *yī 'he', [?] 'that' [anaphoric]) > Tkm {SDM} ina-ru 'туда', Xlj ina {SDM} 'that', Tf in-da 'there', {Ra.} inārī 'туда', Indīy 'such (такой)', Tv in-da 'there (там)', Indīy 'such (такой)', Indī 'that (opposite) side', Indī 'that, other' ¶ SDM 577, TvR 596 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 577 (*i deictic root > M, T + [belonging to N *yī] Tg *i, J *i, Ko *i), Ra. 78, 80, TvR 596-7 || ? K: GZ *-n, subject marker of 3 sg. in verbs > OG, G, Mg, Lz -n ¶ K 144-5.

776. ₂ *hû?En|ñ|η∇ 'wave' > HS: Eg N h3nω 'wave; flood (of the sea)' > Cpt: Sd ʒoεim hoεim, ʒoime hoime, B ʒwimi hōimi, coll. ʒimh himē 'wave' ¶ EG II 481, ≈ Vc. 292 || ? C: Bj {R} haymo 'wave' ¶ R Bd 133 || IE *χχun- / ? *χχwen- > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', hunhunessar/n- id., ? hunhumazzi- id. || NaIE: pGmc *unθjō, *unθu- 'wave' > ON unnr, uðr (pl. unnir), OSx ūthia, AS ȳð, OHG unda id. || L unda id. ¶¶ ≈ P 79-80, Ts. E I 287, ≠ WH I 816-18, Vr. 635, Ho. 413, Ho. S 82, Kb. 1070.

777. *hAωη∇ 'sense, mind, soul' > HS: S *°✓hwn, *hawn- 'sense' > Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 haw'n-ā 'mens, intelligentia', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 h^aωā'nā ~ 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 h^aωō'nā 'Vernünftigkeit, Einsicht', JPA 𐎧𐎠𐎡 hωn 'sense'; ??σ CS *✓hwn 'be easy' (if from *'savoir faire'?) > Ar ✓hwn (pf hāna) 'become easy', BHb ✓hwn Sh (3p watta¹hīnū) 'regard as easy'; ???σ Ph hωn 'wealth', BHb 𐎧𐎠 hōn 'wealth, sufficiency; enough' ¶ Br. 173, Sl. P 161, Lv. I 458-9, Lv. T I 196, KB 232, BDB 22, HJ 276-7, DRS 388-9 || U: FU (att. in FL) *°a|āne 'spirit, ghost' (× N *?aηq¹i 'breathe' [q.v.]) > F aave, FΔ āvia, hāve, hoave 'ghost; presage, omen', Δ aavaita vt. 'feel|smell', Es {W} avistama 'erkunden, erkennen' || Lp I {SK} vūṣ̌ηηeẓ̌ 'spirit (water spirit, wood spirit, incumbent, gnome etc.)' ¶ SK 3-4, W EDW 56, SSA 20 || A *āηE- 'think' > T *āη ({Md.} *ạ̄η) 'mind, intellect, con-sciousness' > OT, Chg aη 'understanding, intelligence', Osm {Bu.} 𐎧𐎠 ark (= aη?)

'intelligence; intellect, mind' ('сметливость; умъ, понятие'), Tk an, Tkm āη, Uz aη, ET aη, QrB, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg aη, Chv а́нън 'Auffassungsgabe (соображение), Bewußtsein (сознание), Gedächtnis'; T *āη- v. 'remember, call to mind, understand' > OT, MQP, XwT aη- id., Chg xv aη- 'understand', Tk an-, Tk Δ, CrTt, Kr Cr aη-, Az aн- an- 'remember, call to mind', Tkm āη- 'understand, guess, recognize, feel'; ⇨ T *āη-la- v. 'understand' > OT anla-, Tk anla-, Chv а́нла-ънла- id.; acc. to SDM97 (s.v. *a|e|l|u|ok'∇ ~ *ä|ö|u-), WrM aηzirа- ~ anzirа- v. 'know, understand, comprehend' (MED 46-7) is a loan from *aη-sira-, a word in some Turkic (SDM: "Siberian Turkic") lges ⇨ T *āη- with the sx *-sira- (denoting uncomplete action) ¶ Cl. 165, 168, 186, ET Gl 153-4, Dr. TM II no. 565, Rl. I 123, Bu. I 73-4, Md. 104, 159, Ash. IV 42, Fed. I 83-4, Jeg. 40-1, ChVS 22-3, Jeg. 40-1 || ?σ Tg *°eηē- > Lm зηēli-, зηēt/ç- 'peep, observe, spy out, find out (разведывать)' ¶ STM II 458 || pJ {S} žmž-p- v. 'think' > OJ omop-, MJ òmòφ-, JT omó-, JK ómó-, J Kg òmò- ¶ QJ no. 160, Mr. 741, Kenk. 1442 ¶¶ SDM 511-12 (pA *ēη∇ 'think, understand' > T, Tg, J + unc. M *aγuda-la v. 'search, investigate, rummage'), DQA no. 462 (id.), S AJ 286 [no. 243] (pA *āη∇) || D *uηη- 'think, consider, look' (× N *ζôγUn∇ 'see, look; eye', q.v. ffd.).

778. *hûP_U 'bad', 'error' ([in the Altaic lges] → 'shame') > IE *xʷep-/ *xʷop-/ *xʷup- ≈ 'evil' > Ht {Ts., Pv.} huwappa- 'evil, ill, bad', {Pv.} huwapp- v. 'ill-treat, harrow, harrass, disfigure, spoil', hu(h)upa- 'evil', huipi- 'ruthless, pitiless', HrLw hupasanu- v. 'cause to be harmed' || NaIE: Gk ὕβρις 'insolence; wanton violence, arising from the pride of strength or from passion' (← IE ≈ *xuwappar- / *xuppar-?) (the unexpected spiritus asper is still to be explained) || Gmc (< *xupelo-): Gt ubils (·κακός) 'übel, schlecht', OSx uvil, OHG ubilo, NHG übel adj. 'evil, bad', AS yfel 'evil', NE evil || OIr fel 'bad' (< *xupelo-) ¶¶ EI 43 (IE *h₂|h₃wop- 'treat badly'), F II 954, Fs. 508, KM 799, Kb. 1061, Ho. 412, Ho. S 82, Ts. E I 290, Pv. III 358, 360, 430-2, Juret 71, Szem. OGL 154 (Ht ÷ Gk) || HS: B *°✓^hf > Ah aħəf 'dévier' ¶ Fc. 521, Pr. H no. 162 || ?σ S *°hūp- > Ar hūf- 'homme lâche et paresseux; peureux; sot, imbécile'; ??? Ar tahfīf- 'lâche, poltron; sot, imbécile' (unless ⇨ ✓ hff 'léger') ¶ BK II 1428-9 and 1458 || A *ûb|p- 'be ashamed, be perturbed' > NaT *ubut n. 'shame' > OT {Cl.} uvut 'modesty, shyness', {DTS} uvut 'shame', MT XII-XIII {Brv.} ovut ~ oγut id.; variants: NaT *ubat ~ *uyat (< **ubyat?) 'shame' > OT T {BG} uvyat, ET Δ {Jr.} ubat

𐎠 uwat, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, ET, StAlt, Xk uyat, Qzq ұят, VTt, Bsh Ёyat, Tv ıyat, Yk sāt id.; NaT *ubat- ~ *uyat- 'be ashamed' > ET Δ {Jr.} ubat- 𐎠 uwat- 𐎠 uyat-, Tk Δ, Xk uyat-, Tv ıyat-, Yk sāt- id. ¶ Cl. 6, ET Gl 561-3, Brv. T 230, 252, Jr. 321, BG AI 467 || Tg *ûb- ({{SDM}} *ûb-) > Ewk ibja- 𐎠 iŵja- 'be ashamed', Nn Nh/KU obosa- v. 'panic' (not registered by On.), Nn KU obosa- v. 'refuse, disagree (отказываются, не соглашаться)', WrMc {Z} ибѣя v. 'abhor, hate', цбѣя v. 'abhor' ¶ STM I 294-5, 639, II 4, Z 98, 149 || pJ {S} *зрзрз- 'perturbed, taken aback' > OJ op_Lω_Lop_Lω_Lo-si-, MJ obobosi- ¶ S QJ no. 1525, Mr. 838 ¶¶ SDM 620-1 (pA *juro 'be ashamed, be taken aback' > T, Tg, J + unc. M *(φ)ubaу 'consciousness, attention'), DQA no. 669.

778a. *hAr∇ 'rock, mountain, stone' > **HS**: S (in Cn) *'harar- 'mountain' > BHb 𐎧𐎡 har id. (hārār-ī 'my mountain'), Ph, Ug hr, OCn TA hārri 'mountain' ¶ KB 244, OLS 168 || EC: Ya {Hn.} hḗrɔʔ (pl. hērɔ́r) 'big rock' ¶ Hn. Y II s.v. hḗrɔʔ || B: Ah {Pr.} ā-hor 'amoncellement de rochers' ¶ Pr. H 69 || **IE**: Clt {Matas.} *arto- 'stone' > Gl artuas 'stones', Mlr art 'stone' ¶ Matas. E 43 || **D** *ar̥a- 'rock, stone' > Tm ar̥ay 'rock, grinding stone', Kt ar, Td ar̥ 'flat rock', Kn ar̥e, Tl r̥ayī, rayī 'stone, rock' ¶¶ D no. 321 || **E**: AchEl hār 'stone' ¶ HK 623, Blz. E 62 || ?σ **A** ≈*aRgE or ≈*æRga > M *ergE > WrM ergi {MED} 'steep bank, steep precipice\slope', HIM эрэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'bank (Ufer)', Kl {KRS} эрг erəg 'Ufer; Abhang (обрыв)', {Rm.} ergə 'steiles Ufer, Felsenufer', Ord erge 'bord élevé et abrupt d'une rivière, falaise, escarpement' ¶ MED 323, BMR IV 435-6, KRD 701, KW 124, Ms. O 344 || ?σ Tg: Ewk argas- 'cross a mountain ridge' ¶ STM I 50 ◊ Blz. NDA no. 89 (D, HS, E), ≈ Blz. IELA 13 [no. 41] (HS + unc. IE *h₁er- 'high' [going back to N *h₁erU 'go upwards, rise']).

779. *her∇ 'disintegrate, fall to pieces' > **HS**: CS *√hr~*√hyr v. 'disintegrate, be destroyed, hurt' > Ar هير √hyr D (pf. هير hayyara, D with factitive meaning) v. 'destroy' (BK: 'détruire, faire crouler, démolir'), {BK} هور √hwr (ip. -hwar-) 'démolir, abbatre (une maison)', 'crouler, tomber en ruines' (dit d'un édifice), {Hv.} √hwr (ip. -hūru) v. 'fall to pieces', 'crumble down' (of buildings), 'crush down' (of people), JA, Sr √hr Sh v. 'do harm, hurt' (Sr pf. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 a-har, ip. n-a(?)har, acp. ma(?)har), JA [Trg.] acp. sg. f. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 mah^arā 'beschwert' (krywt[?] mhrh lby[?] dgbr[?] 'Die Krankheit beschwert das Mannesherz') ¶ BK II 456, 466, Br. 182-3, JPS 106, Lv. T I 205, Hv. 839

|| IE * \hat{H} er(Hx)- (> NaIE *er₁ə₁- / *ər₁ə₁-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливаться') > OI 'ardh-ah₁ 'part, side, half', Av arəðā- 'side, half' || Gk ἐρήμος (< * \hat{H} ren-) 'desolate, lonely, solitary' (< *'separated') || L rārus (< * \hat{H} ren-ro-?) 'sparse, not dense' (> 'rare') || Lt ìr-ti 'to disintegrate, to fall to pieces, to break down' (with innovating accentuation), Ltv {ME} iřt 'sich auf-/los-trennen, sich bröckeln', Lt arđųti (caus.) 'to unrip, to destroy, to demolish' ({Frn.} 'Zusammengefügtes lösen, auftrennen, zerlegen, abbrechen'), Ltv èrst (1s p. èrdū) 'auseinanderbringen, trennen' | pSl *ori- (caus. with the *o-grade of apophony and with the sx *-i-) > OCS **орити** ori-ti {P} 'auflösen, stürzen, zerstreuen', Blg оря 'ruin'; ↗ SI *ob-ori-ti > OCS **оборити** oboriti 'to destroy, to demolish', SCr обòriti 'to fell', Cz обоřiti se 'to come down, to collapse'; SI *orz-ori-ti 'to ruin' > OCS **разорити** razoriti (καταλύειν, λύειν, διαλύειν) {StSS} 'zerstören, vernichten', SCr razòriti, R разо'рить 'to destroy, to ruin' ¶ IS I 246, EI 158 (IE *h₂erH- 'destroy'), F I 557, M K I 51, M E I 119, WH II 418-19, Frn. 15-16, ME I 576, 710-11, ≠ P 332-3, StSS 396, 572, Vs. III 152-3, 435 || **U**: FU *erä- *'disintegrate' > F er ä 'part, share', er ä ss ä 'separately', Es {W} ära ~ era 'Besonderes, Getrenntes, Eigentümliches', Es S er ä id. | ?σ Lp N {N} æra 'another' (< 'Eigentümliches?') | Chr L {MRS} ir(e)- (inf. и'р-аш) vt. 'disintegrate, pull apart, destroy, break' ('разваливать [что-либо сложное], разрушать, ломать') | pPrm *ōr- vt. 'tear off' > Vt ur-, Vt SW: Vt Ur/Shm ūr- and Vt B oʔr- ({Lt.} θr-) vi. 'tear off', 'break' (of an abscess), Z or- vi. 'tear off, be torn', Z US ωr-id.; Lytkin (LG) reconstructed Prm *ōr-, but the SW ds of Vt (the only ds distinguishing between pPrm *ō- and *ō [F Lt. 75]) provide ev. for *ō- || pOs *är- > Os {Stn.}: V/Vy ärəʃ, Ty/Y ärʃə, Nz/Kz ara, O ārri 'separately, apart' ('getrennt, auseinander') ¶ SK 40-1, W EDW 71-2, N III 870, MRS 137, Stn. D 155, ≠ LG 207, cf. IS I 246-7 || **A**: T *erü- v. 'melt, become liquid' (of ice, fat, wax etc.), 'boil soft in cooking' > OT {Cl.} ärü- ~ ärī- v. 'melt, become liquid', OXwT ärī-, Chg erī-, MQp XIV erī- ~ ärī-, Cum irī- v. 'melt', Tk erī-, VTt эр(е)- ьр(ь)-, Ggz ĵeri- id., Tkm Δ erī-, Qrg, Qq, Uz, StAlt, Tv eri- v. 'dissolve', Chv ирёл- ірьл- vi. 'melt; zergehen, zerschelzen' ¶ The Chv stem goes back to a merger: T *erü- × T *æř- v. 'knead, mash' (DTS 192, Rl. I 887). The latter T stem may, too, go back to the N etymon in question ¶ The stem-final *-ü- is probably a sx of intransitivity; Chv ир- ір- vt. 'dissolve' (ChVS 54, Fed. I 170) may go

back to an underived T transitive verb *^oer- ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 289-90, DTS 177, 182, Rs. W 47-8, BT 193, Ash. III 131-5, Fed. I 171, Jeg. 71 || D *i_o v. 'break into pieces, smash' > Tm i_ou (i_ou_v-, i_ou_r-) v. 'break, snap (as a stick)', i_ou(-pp-, -tt-) v. 'break off (as a branch), snap asunder, break in pieces', Ml i_ouka v. 'break, snap', Tl iri_ou v. 'be broken\smashed', Kui rēnga v. 'be broken in pieces', Krx esnā v. 'break, divide by force' (a stick, a tooth etc.), 'quell, crush' ¶¶ D no. 520
 ◇ D *i (for the expected *e < N *e, suggested by U and T) requires explanation ◇ Cf. IS I 246-7: IE, U A, D. The root-final lr. in IE (rec. of EI) is probably an innovation (< sx?), because both S and D do not suggest any lr. Another solution is N *herh|?▽ with loss of N *h|? in S and in pre-D (D *-r̥- < intervocalic *-r-).

780. *hoR'i' 'newborn, a young', 'bear (enfenter)', 'conceive (become pregnant)' > IE *H^wer- > NaIE *or- 'child; be born' > Arm **որդի** օրժի (gen. pl. **որդւոյ** օրժւօյ) 'son' (< *ord^hi_o-) ||| Gk {P} νε-ορτός 'neugeboren' (absent in LS and Ch.) ||| L orior / orīri / ortus 'be born' (× orior 'rise' < NaIE *or-/*er- 'rise' < N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') ¶ ≈ P 326-8, Sl. 324-5, WH II 222-3, ≈ F II 423 || **HS**: S *✓hry 'conceive, be(come) pregnant' > Hb הרה ✓hry, Ug ✓hry, OA ✓hry, Ak fOB/OA inf. arû ~ erû, Eb ʔà-rí-tum = {Krb.} harītym id., Sb {MiK ← BGMR} ✓hry 'be pregnant', hry 'pregnancy' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255-6, OLS 169, HJ 293, CAD IV 325, Sd. 72, Krb. EG 23, DRS 452-3, MiK I no. 2.21 || B *✓Hr_w v. 'bring forth, bear (a child), beget' > Ah aru (pf. yerəw), ETwl aru (pf. erəw), Ty aru (pf. yərəw), Gd āraw, Izd aru, Tmz {MT} arew, Kb {Dl.} arəw (pf. yurəw), Mz aru (pf. yirū), Si {La.} iru 'enfenter, accoucher', Gh {Nh.} aru (pf. iru) 'enfenter', aru (3f pf. čiru) 'accoucher'; in nouns: Ah āra 'child, young of animals', Wrg {Dlh.} ara 'progéniture, enfant', Mz {Dlh.} ar(ɽ)a 'progéniture, bébé', Tmz {MT} ara 'agneau d'un an', Ah ārraw, Ty {GhA} arɽaw 'boy', Kb arraw 'enfantement', Tmz arraw 'progéniture', Si {La.} tarawaj_n pl. children', Kb, Wrg tarwa 'postérité, enfants', Mz tarwa id., 'baby', Tmz tarwa 'enfantement, naissance', Si tarwa 'postérité, descendance; enfantement', Gd tarwa 'fils, progéniture' ¶ Fc. 1647-51, GhA 164, 246 (Pcj. I A), Mrc. 13, Lf. II no. 1385, MT 559, 591, Nh. 123, 156, Dl. 736-7, Dlh. M 168, 176-7, Dlh. Ou 266, 280, La. S 230 || C: Ag: Bln {R} er-t- 'conceive' (of a cow) ||| Bj A {AD} (h_u) ʔōr, pl. (h_u) ʔar, Bj {R} ʔōr, pl. ʔar 'son, boy' ¶ R WB 46, R WBd 27-8, ADP BFN, ≈ AD SF 82-3 || Eg fOK i_wr

v. 'conceive (a child), become pregnant' ¶ EG I 56, Fk. 13, Vc. 248 || ECh: Nd D {J} ʔárá 'be pregnant', Tmk {Cp.} ùr̀z̀r̀ 'make (a woman) pregnant, be pregnant' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to be pregnant', Cp. 97 ¶¶ Coh. 80 [no. 90], OS no. 1200 (S, ECh), Tk. I 278 (S, Eg, Bln, ECh) || ¶ ≈ *or̄▽ 'young' > M *ori (unless it is *^oφori) 'young' (→ 'energy' → 'completely') > WrM {Kow., Gl.} ori, HIM {BMR} opь adj. 'young, new', WrM {Rm.} ori 'young, boy; young man' (mentioned in Rm. SKE), Ord or̄: 'tard, sur le tard'; ???σ M *ori 'completely, very' > WrM {MED} ori, HIM {MED, BMR} opь 'completely, absolutely; only', Brt ори 'allein (совсем один), einzig (единственный)', Kl {KRS} op 'very, completely', {Rm.} ora, or 'ganz, durchaus, lauter' ¶ Kow. 439, MED 618, Gl. I 262, BMR II 503, Luv. 310, Chr. 360, KW 287, KRS 400, H 125, Ms. O 522 || pKo *^hri- 'young' > MKo ^hri-, NKo ^hri-(ta) adj. 'young' ¶ S QK no. 958, MLC 1128 || Tg *or-, *or^o-kan 'young of an animal', *or- (+ other sxs) id. > Neg oyokon, Orc orko ~ oroko ~ oroko(n-) 'young of bears', Nn KU orokō 'young of animals (birds, mammals)', Nn Nh {STM} orōkã id., {On.} orōkã: 'domesticated (при-рученный) young of a bird\mammal', Ud {Krm.} ō? 'animal', Ewk oronāt 'female bear (three-year-old)', WrMc {Z} opxoxo, opчунь 'small; newborn (baby)' ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 273, On. 315 || ??φ,σ T *a₁:rkun 'cross-bred horse' ({SDM}: if from 'young horse, stallion' ← 'young [animal]) > OT Kr arcun, ET a(r)yun, Qrg aryin 'cross-bred horse' ¶ Cl. 216, ET Gl 171 ¶¶ SDM 603 (pA *jaru 'young [of an animal]' > Tg, M *₁h₁ori 'young, energetic', T, Ko) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. 'зачать' *h/ux/r̄ (IE, HS). Cp. N *H|wur▽ 'male person\animal.

781. *hæ₁ʔ|y₁r^E 'male' > HS: Eg fP h3y 'husband' > Cpt Sd/B ʔaihai id. ¶ This word belongs here unless the variant hy (presumably underlying the verb hy 'act as a husband') is the original one (as Vc. supposes) and is akin to Bj {R} hiyo 'husband'. An alternative hyp. is that h3y 'husband' and the v. hy are not connected etymologically ¶ EG II 475, Vc. 240, Tk. I 81 || C: EC: Gdl hēro 'male, man', Or hēr-um- ps. 'marry' (of a girl) | AdS of EC {AD} *ʔar- and Ag: Aw {Hz.} ṅāra (< *ṅi-ara) 'her husband' (< N *ʔaR▽ 'member of one's clan\family', q.v. ffd.) ¶ AD SF 201, Hd. 82, Hw. A 336, Hw. B II 121, Grg. 206, HL 70 || Ch: Bks {J} re (pl. ʔarya) 'man' (× the above-mentioned N *ʔaR▽) ¶ J R 145 || AdS of NrOm: Anf {Gt.} arō 'man' (< N *ʔaR▽, q.v. ffd.) || ¶ *ār▽ 'man (vir), male animal' > T *ār 'male, man' > OT er, Tk er, Tkm ār, VTt, Bsh ir, Qq er adam, Tb ēr, Xk ir, CrTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Uz, SY, Tv er, Yk

är, Xlj här, Chv ap ar 'male person', Az är, ET er 'husband'; ⇨ NaT *ær-kæk 'man (vir), male' > OT, Tr erkek, Ggz, Tkm, Kr, QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg erkek, Az erkäk, Slr ärkek, Xlj hürkäk, Uz erkak 'man (vir)', StAlt erkek id., 'husband', VTt Δ irkäk 'male animal', Bsh irkäk 'male mammal', Tv irgäk 'male bear', Tf irhek 'male bear, male sable', Yk irgex 'male animal' ¶ Chv a- and Tkm ä- provide ev. for a pT *ä- ¶ The short vw. *æ (for the expected *ǣ) in NaT *ær-kek is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 192, Rs. W 46, Dr. TM II no-s 178-9, ET Gl 297-8, 321-2, DT 129, TL 303, 561, 661, Ra. 201, JkR 153, BR 213, TatR 174, Ash. I 302-3, Fed. I 54-5, Jeg. 30 || M *ere 'male person, male animal' > MM [HI, LV, IM] ere 'male', [IsV, MA] ę re 'man', [S] ere 'husband' (pl. eres 'men'), WrM ere {MED} 'male (person, animal)', HIM ap {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'husband', Brt apə id., Kl {Rm.} erə 'Mann, männlich', {KRS} ap erə 'male person; male (animal)', Mnr H {SM} rē 'mâle non châtré' (of animals); 'masculin, de sexe mâle', MMgl ę r r a, Mgl irrâ 'male', Dx {T} ere(kun), Ba ere kuŋ, Dg {T} er 'male person', Ord ere 'male (person, animal), husband' ¶ H 45, Ms. H 55, Lg. VMI 32, Pp. MA 161, 437, Pp. L II 1262, MED 321, BMR IV 419-20, Chr. 775-6, KW 123, KRS 700-1, SM 313, Iw. 102, T DnJ 144, T DgJ 140, T BJ 152, Ms. O 242 ¶¶ SDM 312 (pA *āri - *ēra 'man' > M *ere, T), ≈ SDM 607-8 (pT *er-kek 'male, man' < pA *jōre 'male, young male' [unconvincingly separating pT *er-kek from pA *ēr∇ 'male person, male animal']), S AJ 54, 283, KW 123, Vld. 324, Pp. VG 79, 106, Ci. EATR 45-9 || D *ēr̥o 'male, bull' (× N *qer∇ '[wild] ox') > Tm ē r u 'bull, male of certain animals (pig, deer, buffalo, tiger, lion)', MI ē r u 'bullock', ē r a n 'bull', Kt e r 'male buffalo', Td e r̥ id., 'bull'; ? (× N *?aR∇ 'member of one's clan\family'): Brh arē 'man (vir), person, husband' ¶¶ D no. 917 || ?σ E: {BLz.} *eri, *iri 'uncle' (attested words: OEl e-ri-ri, i-ri-ri 'Onkelchen [?]) ¶¶ HK 401, 774, Blz. E no. 17 (connecting the Elamic word with HS *ary- 'kinman' (see s.v. *?aR∇ 'member of one's clan\family') || ? Acc. to IS I 248, possibly IE *h̥ers- / *h̥rs- (≈ {AD} *H̄ers- / *H̄rs-) 'male' > OI r̥oṣa- 'bha-ḥ' 'bull', Av, OPrs arš an- 'man (vir), male animal' ||| Arm ա յ թ ա զ (gen. ա ն ն ա ռ ն) 'man', ա ն ն ի ա ռ ն-ի 'virile' ||| Gk I/Cr ἄρσην 'male', Gk ἄρσην id. ¶ ≈ P 336 (unc.: IE *ers- ← *ers- 'flow' [→ 'semen emittere']), F I 152-3, M K I 125, M E I 260-1, Slr. 121 ¶ The IE stem belongs here only if its *-s- is an ext. (according to IS l.c., induced by the synonymous IE *H̄uers- 'male' [→ OI v̥r̥oṣaḥ 'bull', Av varəšna- 'male']) ◇ The long vw. *ā- in A and the

vw. *ē- in D suggest the presence of N *y or of a N lr. (*ʔ or *h, to judge upon the HS cognates) after the vw. *æ. The discrepancy between the D data (suggesting pN *-e-) and those of pA (suggesting pN *-ä-) is puzzling ◇ O HSN 121 (N 'male' > D, A + err. IE [{AD} NaIE *ʔaryo- 'member of one's own ethnic group?'] and HS *ʔar- 'young male person' [both actually from N {AD} *ʔaR∇ 'member of one's clan\family']) ◇ IS I 247-8 [no. 108] (misprint 'έρσην for 'έρσην) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 259 (*er 'man') (T, M + err.: IE *r̥sen, U, Ko, Gil; cf. N *H|wur∇ 'male person\animal').

782. *h'o'R∇b∇ 'run' > HS: S *✓hrb v. 'flee' > Ar ✓hrb G (ip. -hribu) id., Sb hrb id., Mh, Hrs ✓hrb (pf. Mh hōrɛb, Hrs hɛrōb) 'put to flight, smuggle', Jb E hurb, Jb C o'hurb 'smuggle; run away (from prison)', Ak {Sd.} arbɔ 'fugitive' ¶ Fr. IV 382, BK II 1409, BGMR 56, Jo. M 159, Jo. H 52, Sd. 66, DRS 447 || Ch: CCh: Kbl {Cp.} àr̄z̄ 'go']?φ amb Ch {Stl.} *r∇w- / *r∇y- 'run' > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ráwa, Bade {ChC} rawan id. | Dir {Sk.} r̄iyá, Cg {Sk.} rey id. | Jimi {Gwrs} re, Zr {Sh.} ri 'go' ||| CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} ro 'go' ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} r̄ōr̄ó 'galopper', Jg {J} rer 'run' ¶ These words (except Kbl àr̄z̄) belong here unless they are akin to Ar ✓rwh 'go, go away' ¶ Sch. DN 138, Stl. IF 133, JA LM 120, J J s.v. rer, ChC s.v. 'run' and 'go' ||| K: OG rb-i, mi-rb-i v. 'run', G rb- 'run (laufen, rennen)' ¶ Ser. 1049-51, Chx. 132 ||| U: FU (mt.?) *'ow'rE- 'run' > Er inf. ardo-ms, Mk inf. ардомс arda-ms 'to run' (of animals), 'fahren', inf. арнемс arná-ms frq. id. | Prm *úr- > Z {W} írmaś- v. 'hurry', Z írskipti- 'begin to run, start with a jerk (рвануться)', Z Ss írskipti- 'vor Schreck in Galopp fallen' (of a horse), Vt írgat- 'anreizen, hetzen (den Hund)' (← *'make run') ||| OHg *ir- (OHg XIV ir u ele) 'laufen, rennen', OHg, Hg † ir am- 'rennen', Hg ir am- o d- 'rennen, schnell laufen', ir am 'pace, speed', ir ul- 'entweichen' ¶ MF 322, EWU 621-2 ¶¶ Mr a- and Hg i- apparently suggest FU *ō-, while Prm *ū- can be accounted by FU *ū-, but all these vowels together may be accounted for by a pFU *ow-.

783. (₂?) *hüRc'∇ ≈ 'wrinkle, rumple, crush, tear down' > HS: CS *✓hrs, *-hrus- > BHb ✓hrs (ip. -hāros) v. 'tear down' → 'annihilate', M'b ✓hrs G 'destroy', Ar G ✓hrs, -hrusu v. {Hv.} 'bruise, bray, crush down', {BK} 'battere, piler avec force'; cp. also S *✓hrŝ > OYmn ✓hrŝ ({{Slw.} haračā) 'tear (cloth)' ¶ KBR 256-7, BK II 1412, DRS 456-7, Slw. 213 ||| A: M *ürčiy- (unless ir is *φürčiy-) > WrM ūrcii- {MED} 'become shrunk and wrinkled; frown; wrinkle one's face', HIM үрчий- {MED} id.,

{BMR} 'become shrunk and wrinkled' (skin, leather, fabric etc.); 'wrinkle one's face', Kl {Rm.} ūrčī- 'sich runzeln, Grimassen machen', Ord ūrčī- 'se rider, être chiffonné', ūrčī- 'se rider, se froncer' ¶ The cognate is valid unless in pM there is an initial *φ- ¶ MED 1011, BMR III 423, KW 459, Ms. O 540, 763 || IE: ?σ Ht {Ts.} hars- 'aufreißen' ¶ Frd. HW 59, Ts. W 17, Ts. E I 182-3, ≠ Pv. III 184-5 (Puhvel believed that hars- 'aufreißen' [= {Pv.} v. 'pound'] is a stylistic usage of the Ht verb hars- v. '≈ till the soil' [which he considered to be a loan from S *✓hrθ id., see s.v. N *XaRč∇ 'rub, scratch'])).

784. *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' > HS: WS *✓hr̥g v. 'kill' > BHb, M'b, Yd, OA ✓hr̥g G id., Ar {Fr., BK} هرج ✓hr̥ġ G (hariġa / -hriġu) 'kill', Sb, Mn ✓hr̥g 'kill, slaughter', Qt ✓hr̥g v. 'kill, murder' ¶ KB 245, KBR 255, BK II 1410-11, Ltm. rRES-VII/3 377, BGMR 56-7, Rk. 47, DRS 448 || IE *χxer^gh¹ - 'disappear, die' > Ht har(a)k- 'get lost, disappear', {Ts.} 'umkommen, zugrunde gehn' || NaIE: Tc: B erkau 'cemetery', A {Wn.} *arkäm̄n- id. (-d→ adj. arkäm̄nāṣi) || Clt (× NaIE *perg- 'smite, destroy, kill' < N *Pär₁∇₁ga 'to strike, to split'): Gl ORGE imv. 'kill!', OIr org- 'smite, slay', OIr [ʃ] orn 'murder', W orn 'killing, destruction'; ?σ Clt {Matas.} *org-0- 'destroy' > OIr orgaid-, -org, MW yny-orth ¶¶ Hardly here Arm հարկանեմ harkanem (aor. hark) 'I smite, I slash' (probably from *perg- < N *Pär₁∇₁ga) ¶¶ Ts. W 175-6, Pv. III 157-68, P 818-19 (*perg-), Vn. O 30-1, Billy 116, Wn. I 150, Sl. 257-8, EI 158 (*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy'), Ad. 95-6, Matas. E 300 || D *i₂- v. 'die' > Tm i₂a 'die', Ml i₂u n. 'ruin'; D *i₂∇kk- v. 'kill' > Tm i₂akku id., Kn i₂ku ~ i₂ku 'kill, destroy', derivatives: Ml i₂akkuka- v. 'die', ? Kui e₂ga- v. 'die in childbirth' ¶¶ D no. 514.

785. (₂?) *haRḲa 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > HS: SWS *✓hr̥k v. 'take as booty, loot' > Sb mhr̥k 'booty', Gz məharkā 'booty, spoils, plunder', ✓mhr̥k (pf. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 māhraka [mahraka]) v. 'take as booty, plunder, loot, rob, pillage', Tgr pf. marəka, Tgy pf. marəḳə, Am pf. marrəḳə id.; EthS ⇨ Aw marex^wa, Xm, Q mirek id. ¶ BGMR 57, L G 334 || IE *χark- 'hold' > Ht har(a)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have' || NaIE *ark- > L arce-ō 'shut in, shut up; keep at a distance, hinder, prevent', arx 'stronghold, fortress' || Gk ἀρκέω 'ward off, keep off' || ? Arm արգելում arġelum 'I hinder, I restrain, I hold back' ¶¶ Pv. III 145-57, Ts. W 173-5, P 65 (*arek-), EI 270 (*h₂erk- 'hold back [to prevent of doing sth.], contain'), F I 141, WH I 62-3 || A *?aRk'∇k'- > T:

?σ OT арцац 'obstinate, refractory' ¶ Cl. 216, DTS 55 || M: WrM арцац {MED} 'chronic, continuous' (of sth. bad: арцац еbedcin 'chronic illness'), HIM аржаг {MED} 'chronic, continuous', {BMR} 'chronic' (of smth bad), 'застарелый, закоснелый, erschöpfend (изнурительный)' ¶ MED 55, BMR I 153.

786. *h¹aš¹o¹ 'burn' (of fire) > HS: C {E} *aš- vi. 'burn' > EC: Bs {HL} elen 'fire' || SC: Irq {Wh.} âša, {MQK} ʔaša, Grw/Alg/Brn {Wh.} aša, (→) Mb m^w-âša 'fire' || ??σ Ag ({E} *alâl 'burn'): Km {CR} al^l- v. 'be in heat' (of a horse), but of course not Bln {R} al^l- 'rosten' (not 'rösten', as Ehret has misread it); I have my doubts about the Km word as well: it is likely to belong together with Xm {R} iel^l- v. 'neigh', so that these words of Ag lges belong to the C √ in question only if the semantic development was as follows: vi. 'burn' → v. 'be in heat' (of a horse) → v. 'neigh' ¶ ≈ E SC 297 (s.v. SC *âša → *āša 'fire'), E PC no. 341, AD SF 290, Wh. IC 23, MQK 16, PB 137, HL 67, Gs. 19, R WB 26, R Ch. II 23, CR LK 163, Blz. CP s.v. 'fire' || ??? Eg XX išf '≈ verbrennen' ¶ EG I 135 || K *^oH∇š^w- > Sv: L {Dn.} √:š^w v. 'light\kindle a fire' (aor. 1s oχwāš^w, otwāš^w, pres. 1s χwīš^we 'разводить огонь', mīš^we 'у меня горит огонь'), Sv UB {GP} √:š^w / :š^u; masdar UB/L līš^we, LB/Ln liš^we (vt., 2nd version) v. 'set fire to', (vi., 1st vers.) v. 'catch fire' ¶ GP 179, Dn. s.v. √:š^u, TK 491 || IE *χes- → *χas- 'hearth, ashes', v. 'dry' > Ht has(ς)- 'ashes', hassa- 'fireplace, hearth, fire altar', Lw χaššaniti 'hearth' || OI 'āsaḥ 'ash, dust' (← 'burnt') || L āra 'sacrificial altar', Osc aasaí 'in ara', Um ase 'arae'; ? L ārē- 'be dry', āridus 'dry, arid' || ONaska, OHG asca 'ashes, dust', NHG Asche 'ashes', AS asce, æsce 'ash, dust', NE ash ¶¶ Acc. to Pv., the paradigm of Ht has(ς)- (nom. sg. ha-a-as, accus. sg. ha-as-sa-an, instr. sg. ha-as-si-it, accus. pl. ha-s-su-us) reflects IE nom. sg. *A₁ēs, accus. sg. *¹A₁esm_o ¶¶ P 68-9, Mn. 38, ≈ EI 32 (*¹h₂eHo-s 'ash' ← '≈ burnings'), Pv. III 210-12 and 221-4, Ts. E I 196-7, M K I 83, M E I 182-3, WH I 61, 65, Schz. 91, KM 33, Vr. 15, Ho 12, Kb. 46, EWA I 364-6 || A ≈ *aša- > M *asa- (unless it is *ʔasa-) vi. 'burn, catch fire, ignite' > WrM }MED} asa-, HIM }MED, BMR} asa-, Brt aha- id., Kl {Rm.} as- 'sich anzünden, brennen ¶ MED 55, BMR I 164, Chr. 67, KW 16 || NaT *as- v. 'cook' > AtAlt, Tlt, Shor, CrTt, Qzq as- id., Tkm aθ- v. 'cook' (in the expression naχar aθ- v. 'cook a meal' [naχar is 'meal'] etc., unless from aθ- 'hang' in contexts like et aθ- v. 'cook meat' ← v. 'hang meat [over the fire]') ¶ BT 22, Rl. I 533-4, TkR 54, NogR 50, TatR 42, Jud. 74, MM 43 || ? Tg: Ork aladu- v. 'roast

(поджаривать)' ¶ STM I 29 ¶ Tg *-l- suggests a pA cns. *-ŝ- (??) < N *-ŝ-, but this is doubtful because a similar development (pA *-ŝ- > Tg *-l-) is rare (in our materials only in Tg *_lχ_lu|-'fall down' from N *_lχ_lüŝ'ɾ' ▽ 'to fell, to fall'), in most cases N *-ŝ- yields Tg *-s- (cf. our items no-s 690, 748, 787, 955, 1211, 1213, 1214, 1819, 2128 and 2540). On M *-s- and Tg *-l- as reg. reflexes of N *-ŝ- see AD PNPh and S AJ 288 [no. 283] ¶¶ SDM 316-17 (pA *ase - *p'ase 'catch fire; hot' > M and T), DQA no. 54 (id.), S AI 288, KW 16 (M, T *as- v. 'cook') ◇ Otherwise IS I 262-3 s.v. *ʔaṣa 'fire' (not distinguishing between the N word in question and N *ʔisü [or *ʔüs ▽] 'fire'). I reconstruct N *h- on the joint ev. of HS and IE: the only cns. yielding χ- in Ht and zero in C is N *h- ◇ Gr. II no. 53 (*as 'burn') (IE, A, CK).

787. *hiŝ'u¹ 'to break' > HS: S *^o✓ hŝŝ > Ar hašš- 'fragile'; +ext: S *^o✓ hŝm > Ar ✓ hšm G 'crush, bruise' ¶ Ln. 2894, Hv. 328, Dz. II 757, BK II 1422, 1424, DRS 462 || A *is ▽ 'break, grind; bite' > Tg *ise- (or *χise-?) v. 'break' > Ewk Δ išš- id., Neg isi-ktš- v. 'slap (in the face)', WrMc {Z} исэлэ- v. 'butt each other, rival, compete, argue' ¶ STM I 336, Z 89 ¶ The Tg cognate is valid unless it is *χise- || pKo *isir- v. 'break into pieces, crush' > NKo isirə- id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 142], S QK no. 142, MLC 1287 || pJ {S} *ùsú 'mortar' > OJ usu, MJ ùsú, J T úsu, J K ùsú, J Kg usú ¶ S QJ no. 962, Mr. 564, Kenk. 2111 || NaT *isir- v. 'bite' > OT, Tk isir-, CrTt, Kr, Tf isir-, Xk, Tv izir-, Yk itir- id. ¶ ET Gl 671-2, Ra. 240 ¶¶ SDM 593 (pA *isú- 'crush, grind; bite' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 610, S AJ 281 [no. 149], Rm. SKE 73 || D (att. in NED) *içik- v. 'crack' > Krx isbg-nā v. 'open in long slits, chap, crack', isigkā 'crack, slit, chink', Mlt isge v. 'be well parched (as grain), be cracked (as the skin)' ¶ D no. 423, Pf. 185.

788. ₂ *h¹ot ▽ 'to smell (odorare, to get the odor of)', 'to smell (olere, to have an odor\scent)' > HS: B *^o✓ Hwt > Ah awt v. ps. 'sentir (une odeur)' ¶ Fc. 1536 || C: EC *ʔudg- - *ʔuzg- '(be) fragrant' > Sml {Abr.} udg-ōn 'fragrant', Rn ùyûg or úyùg 'pleasant smell, fragrance', Or urg-aw- v. 'exhale fragrance, have a good smell' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, Abr. S 242, PG 288, Th. 338, Sr. 198 || IE *χ^wed- 'odor' (× N *gUž ▽ 'feel, smell [sth.]', q.v.) > Arm hnut hot 'odor, smell', hnutiuf hotim 'I smell (sth.)' || Gk ὀζω, Gk D ὀσδω vi. (pfc. ὀδωδα) 'emit an odor, smell', Gk Hm ὀδμή, Gk D ὀδμᾶ 'smell, odor' || L odor 'smell' || pAl {O} *admā > Al G amē {AlBED} 'scent, fragrance', Al T d. am-ēz 'food odor; smell (of freshly ploughed

ground, of fire)' ||| Gmc: Sw os 'odor, smell of charcoal fumes (carbon monoxide)', Dn, Nnr os (< * od-s-o-) 'Dunst, erstinkender Dampf' ||| Lt 1s úodžiu (inf. úosti) vt. 'smell, sniff', Ltv 1s ôžũ (inf. ôst) vt. 'smell', vi. 'smell (of)' || OCz inf. jadati 'to search, to inquire' (< *'to smell out') ¶ P 772-3, EI 528 (* $\text{h}_3\text{ed-}$ v. 'smell'), Dv. no. 164, F II 353-5, Sl. 313-14, WH II 203, Wnt. AE 102-3 (Arm hōt may point to the IE lr. * $\text{O-} = * ḡ^{ω} -), Frn. 1167-8, AlbED 13, O 4 ◊ EC * ? - suggests a N lr. * h- or * ? -, but if Arm h- goes back to an IE lr., it cannot be N * ? -. Hence a tentative preliminary rec. of N * h- .$

789. $\text{haw}t\text{∇}$ 'speak, utter sounds' > IE * Heud- > NaIE * °aud- > Gk $\alpha\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}$ 'human voice, speech, sound', $\alpha\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'v. 'utter sounds, speak' ||| NaIE * wed- 'utter sounds, speak' (< IE ** hwed- [{M} * $\text{a}_2\text{ued-}$] × IE *'wed-/ *'ud- < N *'wot ∇ ? ∇ , E - *'wot ∇ E? ∇ 'speak, utter sounds; [?] organ of speech', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 251-2, P 76-7, M K III 133-4, F I 184, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, Ts. W 97-8 || HS: S * \checkmark hwt (*- hūt-) > Ar \checkmark hwt *D* 'call after so.', Hb \checkmark hwt *Pol* 2p ip. תַּהֲוֹתָהּ tə-hōtə'tū 'overwhelm with reproofs' ¶ KB 247, GB 178, BK II 1455 || Eg RT/G hwt 'jammern, klagen', {Alb.} 'cry' ¶ EG II 485 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 (Eg, S).

790. * $\text{haw}\text{∇}$ 'to desire, to love' > HS: CS * \checkmark hwy (*- hway-) v. 'love, desire', n. abstr. * hawway- 'desire' > Ar هوى \checkmark hwy (hawiya / - hā) *G* 'love, desire', n. abstr. هوى hawā(-n) 'desire, passion, love', Ug \checkmark hwy *G* v. 'desire' (ip. 3f tħw), Hb \checkmark hwy ~ \checkmark hwy : *D* ip. 3f תַּאֲוֶה təʔaw'wē 'desires, wishes, will wish\desire', 3m pf. הִאָוָה hāwā 'desired', הִאָוָה ʔaw'wā n. 'desire', הִאָוָה haw'wā n. '(evil) desire' (KB: 'Willkür, Gier'), Amr {G} \checkmark hwy v. 'desire' ¶ KB 20, KBR 20, 232, A no. 820, OLS 170, G A 19, Fr. IV 420, DRS 386 || C: ??? ϕ Bj {Rop.} \checkmark pwy 'be thirsty' (× N * $\text{Lûb}\text{∇}$ 'be thirsty, be hungry' [q.v. ffd.] and/or akin to S * \checkmark χwy 'be hungry') ¶ R WBd 243 ¶¶ Cal. 36 (S + Eg fP hzy [spelled OK h , fMK hy , Eg N hzy] 'husband' + unc. Bj {Rop.} hiyi 'husband, wife', {R} hiyo id. [Rop. 200, R WBd 133]) ¶¶ Vc. 390 rejected the comparison of these Eg and Bj words with CS * \checkmark hwy v. 'love'; I am inclined to support Vc.'s criticism both on semantic grounds (the semantic connection between 'husband' and v. 'love, desire', though quite natural today, is rather unlikely in an archaic society, like that of ancient Hamito-Semitic people) and on phonetic reasons (S * h- is not likely to correspond to Bj h-) ||| IE * Hew- (or * ʔaw-) ({EI} * $\text{h}_2\text{eu-}$ 'favour') > NaIE * aw- v. 'like, favour, want' > OI avati 'is pleased, strives', avi- 'favourable' ||| Gk

Ep/Hm $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\eta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ (gen. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\eta\acute{\epsilon}\theta\varsigma$) {LS} 'kind, gentle', {F} 'mild, sanft, wohlwollend', Gk D {LS} $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\varsigma$, {Ch.} $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 'a beloved youth' ||| Arm **ալիւն** $a\omega i\omega n$ 'libido, fury, enthusiasm' (> NArm **ալյ յուն** $a\upsilon y\upsilon n$ 'inspiration') ||| L $a\upsilon\bar{e}$ - v. 'long for, desire' ||| W $a\omega y\ddot{d}d\upsilon$ 'to desire', $a\omega y\ddot{d}d$ 'desire, eagerness', $e\omega y\ddot{l}l\upsilon s$ 'will' ||| ORu $a\upsilon j\grave{a}$ 'good fortune', Gt $a\omega i\text{-}li\upsilon\beta$ ($\text{-}\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$)-'Dank' ¶¶ The connection with Ht $u\omega ai\text{-}$ 'Weh, Leid, Not, Schwierigkeiten' (proposed by Mann) is not plausible. Since the AnIE reflexes are unknown, we cannot determine if the initial lr. was heavy or light. We reconstruct here a pIE unspecified *a-colored lr. (denoted as *H-) or *ʔ- ¶¶ P 77, EI 197, Fs. 70, Mn. 45-7, M K I 57, WH I 81-2, F I 47, 515-16, LS 565, Ch. 40, 348, Sl. 133, YGM-1 37, Ts. W 98 s.v. $u\omega ai\text{-}$ ||| D * $\bar{a}v\text{-}$ v. 'desire' > Tm $\bar{a}v\upsilon$, Ml $\bar{a}v\acute{i}kka$ v. 'desire', Tm, Ml $\bar{a}v\acute{a}l$ n. 'desire', Td $\bar{o}f\ddot{+}l$ 'desire to eat', Tl $\bar{a}b\acute{a}$ 'eagerness' ¶¶ D no. 394 ◇ Blz. IELA 13 [no. 43] (S, IE) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 80 (IE, HS), IS I 241-2 (IE, HS, D with references to earlier literature) ◇ Blz. EIAL 13 [no. 43] (S, IE).

791. *how^ri¹ 'become, appear' > HS: S * $\check{h}\omega y$ (*- $h\omega y\text{-}$) id., 'be' > Ak $\check{H}\omega y/w$ (inf. $e\omega\hat{u}m$, OB p. $\bar{i}\omega e < *y\acute{i}\text{-}h\omega\bar{i}$) 'turn (into), werden (zu), geschehen, sein', BHb $\check{h}y\omega$ (pf. c. $\omega ay\acute{y}\acute{a}h\bar{i}$, js. $y\acute{a}h\bar{i}$, ip. $y\acute{i}h'y\bar{e}$, pf. $h\bar{a}y\bar{a}$) 'become, be (werden, sein, bleiben)', Yd $\check{h}\omega y$ (pf. 3f $h\omega t$, 1s $h\omega y t$) 'be, happen', OA $\check{h}\omega y$ id. ($\check{h}^1\omega t$ 'she was', ip. $y\text{-}h\omega h$ 'he will be'), IA, BA $\check{h}\omega y$ (pf. $\aleph\eta h\omega\text{?}$, $\eta\eta h\omega h$) 'be, become, happen', Sr $\check{h}\omega\text{?}$ 'fuit, factus est' (with accus.: 'happened to ...'), Ar $\check{h}\omega y$ 'se leaaver, paraître', 'rise' (star) ¶ Nld. NB 92, KB 232-4, GB 177-9, 903, Deg. 76-8, Seg. AAG 303-7, BK II 1461, Hv. 841, Sd. 266-7, Sd. G 153, CAD IV 413-15, HJ 271-6, DRS 386 ||| B ? * $\circ\check{H}\omega H$ v. 'appear' > Sll $ag\acute{g}\omega$ (pf. $y\acute{u}g\acute{g}\omega a$) id. ¶ Ds. 18 ¶ Cp. B * $\check{h}\text{?}$ 'be in' < N * $\check{r}|\Gamma a\text{?}\nabla$ 'grow, become' (q.v.) ||| C: [1] Bj {R} $h\bar{a}y\text{-}$ / - $h\bar{e}$ 'be, exist' (3m p. ' $\bar{i}\text{-}h\bar{e}$ ', imv. 2m ' $h\bar{a}y\text{-}a$ ') ||| SC ({E} pSC * $h\acute{a}\omega\text{-}$ 'stay'): Irq {MQK} $h\bar{o}t\text{-}$ 'reside, stay', Irq {E}, Alg $h\bar{o}t\text{-}$ 'live, dwell', Asa $h\bar{u}t\text{-}$ v. 'stand (still)' (acc. to Ehret, - $t\text{-}$ is a sx) ||| EC: ? Sa {R} $h\bar{a}y\text{-}$ 'live' (if R's transcription of the lr. is valid and unless the word is not a loan from EthS; if it is a valid cognate, it may have contaminated with HS $\check{h}y\omega$ 'live' < N * $\check{X}ay\acute{u}$ 'live' [q.v.]) | [2] the EC, Bj and Aw sxs of person/number/gender of the suffix-conjugated verbs (see N * $\text{?}a$ 'become, be') have developed from prefix-conjugated forms of an aux. verb (or verbs), which may have been either *- $h\bar{a}y\text{-}$ 'be' (akin to S * $\check{h}y\omega$ 'be' and going back to N ? ***how^ri¹** 'become, appear') or *- $Ha\text{-}$ (< N * $\text{?}a$ 'become, be') ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, R WBd 132, R S II

200, AD SF 156 || IE: NaIE *-ew-(ō), *-euw-(ō), *-euu-(ō) 'be X', sx of denominative verbs > Lt 1s pres. *piemeniaujū* / inf. *piemeniaũti* 'be a shepherd' (akin to *piemuō* 'shepherd'), Gk βασιλεύω 'be a king' (<† βασιλεύς 'king'), θεραπεύω 'be an attendant, do service' (<† θέραψ, θεράπων 'attendant'), OCS 1s pres. **СЛОУГОУИѢ** *slugujō* / inf. **СЛОУГОВАТИ** *slugovatī* 'j-m dienen', {StSS} 'служить кому-либо' (<† **СЛОУГА** *sluga* 'servant') ¶ Mn. 256, Me. SC § 234, StSS 613 || **A**: Tg *ō- 'become, happen' > WrMc {Z} o-, oo- v. 'become, be', Mc Sb o-id., Ewk ō- (3s pres. ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear, happen', Sln ō-, Lm ō- v. 'become', Neg ō- (3s pres. ō-da-n) v. 'become, appear', Orc ōdoli-, Ud o-do-, Ul o- (o-sj-), Ork o-sj- id., Nn Nh/KU {STM}, Nn Nh {On.} o- v. 'become' ¶ The stem should be kept apart (as it is done in Vas., but not in STM and in IS) from the homonymous stem *ō- v. 'make' (> Ewk ō- [in 3s pres. ō-ra-n] v. 'make', Sln ō-, Lm ō- [in o-rъ-m, ōn], Neg ō- [in ō-ya-n], Orc ō- [in ō-y-ni], Ud o-~ō- [in ō-i-ni ~ ō-ri-ni], Nn Nh/KU {STM} o- v. 'make'). The etl. relations between the two stems (if any) are not yet investigated ¶ STM II 3-4, Vas. 312-13, On. 305, 315-16, Z 120, 130 ◇ N *i is tentatively suggested by IE *-y in *-euu-(ō)-, by S *y in *-hway- and by Bj -y- in hāy-. ◇ O HSN 121 (N *Ha 'become, be' > HS, IE + unc. D [does he mean pD *ā- 'come into existence, happen, be' of uncertain N origin, possibly from the N {AD} deictic pronominal pc. *ha 'ille'], cf. D no. 333).

792. *h'o'w∇ 'pit, depression' > HS: CS *ha w(∇y)- 'pit, abyss' > Sy **ܠܗܘܐ** *haw'*-t-ā (pl. **ܠܗܘܐܝܢ** *hawē*) 'an abyss, deep; great cavern', Ar hāwiy-at- 'deep valley, abyss' ¶ JPS 103, BK II 1462, ≈ KB 232 || **IE** (+ sx *-nt-): NaIE *a|owent- 'well, spring' > OI *ava'ta-h* (*a|ownto-s) 'well', *ava'ta-h* 'cistern' || Ltv *avõt-s* (*a|owontos) 'spring' || ? Clt: Gl *Aventia* (name of a well nymph) and several nomina loci ¶ P 78, EI 539 (? *h_aew(o)nt- 'spring'), M K I 57, M E I 130-1, Kar. I 93-4 ¶ Pokorny reconstructed IE *a- on the precarious ev. of place names and the nympe name *Aventia*; outside this ev. the distinction between NaIE *a- and *o- is impossible || **A** *oba- 'depression, lowland', {?} 'hole' > Tg: **[1]** Tg *oba 'depression, hollow in the ground' > Lm Al/O ōwa, Lm Sk ōba id. ('впадина, котловина'), Lm O ōwa 'spring (in mountains)' ¶ STM II 4] Tg *o|ub-gā 'burrow, hole' > Ewk ubgā, Lm ōwa id., Neg obgā- 'пролезть под снегом' (birds), ?φ WrMc {Z} o 'armpit' ¶ STM II 4, 243, Z 119 || NaT *o:; 'b'a 'lowland' or 'plain' > Tk ova 'plain, valley', Δ oba

'plain', Az ova 'plain', Ggz uva 'uncultivated field', ET ova, Uz uwa 'valley', Tv howu 'steppe' (with a puzzling h-), ?σ Nog ova 'трясина' ('marsh' or 'quagmire') ¶ ET Gl 403-4, Rl. I 1166, Bu. I 106, 161 || ?σ pJ {S} *úwa- v. 'plant (pflanzen)' > OJ uwa-, MJ úwa-, JT ùe-, JK ùè-, J Kg ué- ¶ S QJ no. 687, Mr. 777, Kenk. 2088 ¶¶ SDM 609 (pA *júb'u' 'dig'; 'hole' > Tg *ub-gā, T, J), DQA no. 653, ET Gl 403 (T, Tg) ◇ IS I 403.

793. *hæ̌ʔ, w'U' 'to fall, to sink' > HS: WS *✓ hwy (*-hwy- y-) v. 'fall' > Sr ✓ hwy|w 'fall' (pf. $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$ hə'wā), Ar ✓ hwy G (pf. $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$ hawā / ip. -hwi) 'fall', 'go down, set' (of a star), Hb ✓ hwy (inv. $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$ ~ $\int_{\text{e}}^{\text{o}}$ h'wē) 'fall' (of snow), 'fall upon (so.)', Mh ✓ hwy (pf. hzwū, vb. n. hōwi), Jb C ✓ hwy (pf. hē, sbjn. 'i'hi, vb. n. 'hbet) v. 'fall, swoop', Hrs ✓ hwy (pf. hzwō, sbjn. yəhwī) 'fall (upon sth.)' ¶ KB 231, KBR 241, MK II 1461, Hv. 841, Jo. M 162, Jo. J 100, Jo. H 53 || B *✓ HhH (pf. *-HhH-) > Ah i-hi v. 'fall' ¶ Fc. 498 || Eg fP hzy v. 'come\go down, descend', Eg fMK hzy 'fall' > Cpt: Sd zε hε, B hε xε, A zε x₂ε v. 'fall' ¶ EG II 472-4, Fk. 156, Vc. 285 || SC: Irq {MQK} hūʔ- 'drop, fall, tumble', Irq/Brn/Alg {E} hu- 'fall', Asa huʔ- 'fall' (of rain) ¶ E SC 381, MQK 52, AD SF 243 || Ch: CCh: Gf {Por. ← Sö.} hawai v. 'fall', Bdm {Lk.} hai, hey 'absteigen' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} áwé v. 'fall', ? Jg {J} ?ō 'hinabsteigen' ¶ JI II 131, Eb. 29, Por. IKK 70 ¶¶ Vc. 285 (Eg, Ar) ¶¶ Tk. I 72, Tk. SCC 98 [no. 28.6] || IE *hχou(ε) 'down, away' > NaIE *o|au(ε) 'down (herab), away' > OI 'ava 'down (ab, herab); off' (pv. and prep.), Av, OPrs pv. ava 'down', OI avah 'herab' || Pru, Lt, Ltv au- 'away, down' | possibly Sl *u- 'away, down': *u-pasti 'to fall down' (> OCS **упасти** upasti, Slv upásti, R y'пасть, P upasć), *u-běžati 'to run away', *u-xoditi 'to go away', *u-jęti 'to take away, to catch hold of, to seize' (> OCS ujęti 'to take away', P ująć, Slv ujęti 'to catch hold of, to seize'), *u-nesti 'to carry away', OCS ubežati, R убежать, SCr ubeći, Slv ubežati, P ubieżeć 'to run away', ChS **уходити** uхoditi, R yxoditi, P uchodzić ip. 'to go away', R y'ти, Cz ujíti, Slv uíti pf. inf. 'to go away', R yнес'ти, Cz unésti, P unieść 'to carry away' etc. || Ht awan in awan arha 'away, off', awan katta 'down' ¶¶ No connection with N *χawiʔ, 'drive, chase, pursue' because N *χ- does not yield zero in Ht ¶¶ P 72-3, EI 37 (*h⁴eu 'away [from]'), M K I 56, StSS 741-2, ESISJ-SGZ I 261-2 and ~ II 261, Vn. O 1, Frn. 24, Tp. P A-D 142-3, Pv. I-II 245 || A ≈ *Eb- (or *Eр-?) > Tg *ebu- v. 'descend, go down' > Ewk 3w- ʔ 3b-, Sln 3wū- ~

згӯ- ~ з?ӯ, Lm, Neg, Ork, Nn зw-, Orc, Ud, Ul зу-, WrMc {Z} эбц-, Mc Sb зу- id. ¶ STM II 433-4, Z 69-70 || ?ф M *ibE1- (unless it is *oφibE1-) v. 'descend' > WrM ibil- ~ ibel- {MED} v. 'descend, come\go down', НМ ивлэ- {MED} id, {BMR}. 'провалить, надавив обрушить вниз\внутрь' (unless ← *ibE1- v. 'flow'), ?σ Ord eʷel- 'laisser sortir facilement le lait' (une vache) ¶ MED 397, BMR II 259, Ms. O 251..

794. ₂ *ho₁w₁ʃa (or *ho₁wa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream' > HS: WS *✓hwʃ ~ *✓hyʃ v. 'flow' > Ar هوع ✓hwʃ G (ip. -hūʃ-, -hwaʃ-) v. 'vomit', هيع ✓hyʃ (ip. -hīʃ-, -hyaʃ-) v. 'fuse (lead)', Sb ✓h(y)ʃ v. 'flow, run (water)', hʃ-m 'flow of water, libation' ¶ Fr. IV 418, 424, BGMR 57-8, Bll. 109-10, DRS 404 || C {E} *waʃ- v. 'flow' > Bj {R} wīʃa 'rainy season', wāʃ 'pus' || SC: Irq {MQK} wāʃ- 'vomit, flood, overflow, flow', Irq/Alg/Brn {E} waʃ- v. 'vomit', Irq {E} waʃam- v. 'flow, trickle', Brn {E} waʃamu 'well', Alg {E} waʃamu 'river', Kz {E} waʃamuko id., (C →) Mb {E} -wa v. 'urinate' || EC: Sa/Af {Ss.} weʃ 'flowing water', Af {PH} wēʃa 'flood, torrent of water', ?? HEC: Hd wʃʃ, Kmb waʃa, wīʃa, Sd wā, Brj 'wā (gen. wayin-) 'water' (× N 'wetê '[flowing] water', q.v.); ? EC *ya₁ʃ- v. ≈ 'flow (away)' > Or {Grg.} yāʃ-, Brj yaʃ- v. 'flow', Sml {Abr.} yāʃ- v. 'flee helter-skelter, stampede', Gdl yeʃ- v. 'fall down in particles, sprinkle down' ¶ E PC no. 586, E SC 313 (s.v. SC *wa₁ʃ- v. 'flow'), MQK 113, Abr. S 254, Grg. 404, ≈ Ss. B 186 (a wrong et. for Sa/Af weʃ), Ss. B 192, PH 211 || U: FU *^rō¹wa (~ *uwaʃ?) n. 'stream', v. 'stream' > F vuo n. 'stream', Es {W} voo 'Strömung, Wellengang', ? Lv: E зva*, W i va*, Lv Slc ūva 'Strom, Strömung' || Lp OSw {LÖ} uwe, uvwe 'flumen placide fluxus', Lp N {Fri.} uvve (gen. uve) 'flumen placide labens, fluvium' || pObU *ōw- v. 'stream', *ow 'stream' > pVg *ǰw-, *ǰw > Vg: T/LK/MK/P/Ss ow 'stream', Ss ow- v. 'stream'; pOs {Ht.} *oʷ-, *oʷ ({{Hl. *ǰʷ-, *ǰʷ} > Os: V/Vy oʷ, Ty ǰʷ, Y/K/O ǰw, D/Nz/Kz ǰw 'a stream', V ǰʷa-, Ty ǰʷ, Y/K/O ǰw-, D/Nz/Kz ǰw- v. 'stream' ¶ Coll. 125, UEW 544-5, SK 1813-14, Fri. 790, Kt. 51-2, W EDW 1386, Ht. 123-4 [no. 8], Hl. rHt 71 ¶ The variant with *^rō¹- is represented by F and ObU, while Lv and Lp are likely to suggest a variant with initial *u- (from *o- → *ō- under the ass. infl. of *-w-?) || Cf. also NaIE *a|owent- 'well' (P 78), which is better accounted for by N *h^ro¹w∇ 'pit, depression' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cp. IS I 256: IS equated the FU stem with Altaic. He adduced a Tg stem reconstructed by him as *ū(а) 'wave' and the M word for 'water' (WrM uɜuɪn 'water' etc.). In the light of extant data this is untenable, because the Tg stem is

to be reconstructed as *ūge [= *ōgɜ] (or *ūpe) and in the pM word there was an initial *φ-: Mnr H fu₃u and ShY xsun~husun provide ev. for pM *φu-sun 'water'.

794a. ? *h∇ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > HS: S *^ohay > Gz hē, ≈ directive-locative pc.: k^ωalla-hē 'everywhere', k^ωalla-hē 'in every direction' (k^ωall- is 'all, every') ¶ L G 213 || IE: NaIE *-e_ǵ 'to', ending of the dative case > *ped-e_ǵ 'to the/a foot' (> OI pa'd-ē, L ped-ī), *mātr-e_ǵ 'to the mother' (> OI mātr-ē, L matr-ī, OCS МАТЕРИ mater-i), dat. of *dye_ǵ- '(god of) daylight' > OI di v-ē, Gk Cp Διφεύ- (in Διφεύ-φίλος 'son of Zeus'), L Io u ī 'to Jupiter'; the dative of thematic nouns underwent morphological changes (metanalysis etc.), resulting in the following forms: (dat. of *w_ǵk^ωo-s 'wolf') OI v_ǵk-āya, Gk λύκοι, Lt vilkuī, OCS ВѦКОУ v_ǵku ¶ Szem. IEL 160-92 || A: Tg: [1] *-ya as a designative pc.: *-ya-n 'for him' in Lm mō-yā-n 'einen Baum für ihn, Holz für ihn' (mō is 'tree, wood', -n is 'he'), Neg mō-yā-n 'Holz für ihn'; [2] *-ya, ending of indefinite accusative: Ewk, Sln, Neg -ya ~ -a, possibly here also the Orc ending of the designative case -ya ~ -a ¶ Ci. 256-7, Bz. 82-3 || ?σ M *-yi, accusative ending > MM -yi / -i, WrM -i (unless from ppM *-igi / *-igi, as supposed by Poppe on the basis of comparison with OT), pM *-yi in *č₂i-ma-yi accus. 'thee' and *i-ma-yi accus. 'him' (see s.v. N *mA [pc. of marked accus.]), Brt accusative ending -ye ¶ Pp. IM 191-3, Brtg. BJ 18-19 || ?? K *-a-, causative (← designative?) verbal px (that follows the personal prefix for objects ['me, thee, him']): OG, G -a-, Mg, Lz -o-, Sv -a-. e.g. OG m-a-su 'er tränkte mich, gave me a drink' (m- 'me' + -a- + su 'drink'), Sv χ-a-tre 'er tränkte ihn' (χ- 'him' + -a- + tre 'drink') ¶¶ Kl. 42, Dt. 73-6, 207 ◇ Qu., because the S, K and A cognates are not irreproachable.

795. ? *H₂i, pc. of past (preterite) > HS: B (one of several alternative interpretations): *-ī- (marker of the past tense) > Shl -i- in the pret. (ft-i-ϣ 'I went away', t-ft-i-t 'you [sg. m.] went away' ↔ aor. 1s ftuϣ, 2m tftut) ¶ Ds. 213 || U: FU *-i-, sx of the pret.: F sano-i 'he said', Lp N gullâ-i-mek 'we heard', Lp S {Hs.} gōl-i-b ɖ gōl-i-m 'I fished', Er кунд-ы-нь 'I caught' (↔ кунд-а-н 'I catch'), Chr L цж-ы-м 'I saw' (↔ цж-а-м 'I see'), Chr G лыд-ы-м 'ich las' pret. (↔ лыд-а-м pres. 'ich lese'), Z гиж-и-м 'we wrote' (↔ гиж-а-м 'we write'), Prmk мун-і-м 'we went' (↔ мун-а-м 'we go'), OHg men-í-k ~ men-é-k, Hg men-é-k 'I went', ũl-é-nk 'we sat' ¶ Sz. 122-3, Hs. 141-54, Fkt.

EJ-66 187-9, Kov. LV 231-2, Kov. GM 248, Lt. KZJ 291-2, Lt. KPJ 309 || D *-i-, sx of the past tense > Tm -i- (aríj-i-nēn 'I was scared' from aríj-v. 'fear'), Td -y-, Kdg -i-/-i-, Kn -iδ- ({An.} < -i- and *-d-), Tu -iy-/-iy-/-i-, Tl -e-/-i-, Krx, Mlt -y- ¶¶ An. SG 322-35, An. GTJ 113-17 || K *-e / ? *-i (? < **-ej/**-i), sx of the aorist (in the 1st and 2nd persons) > OG -e, ? Mg -i, Sv -Ø ¶¶ GM SAKS 62-73 || ? IE *e-augment of the past tenses > OI a-, Gk é-, Arm Է- e- ¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 249-50) [no. 111] tried to connect this IE *e-augment of the past tenses with the vw. *i or the cns. *y, that serve as affixes of the pret. in B, K, U, C and D (see above) ¶ BG III 10-19 ◇ This preliminary comparison may become valid only after reconstructing the prehistory of the corresponding morphological structures (verbal tenses etc.). In some cases forms of the past tense are likely to have been based on analytical constructions with verbal nouns. In any case, a direct comparison between *i, *e and *y as markers of past seems is premature and too shaky to be reliable. There is also a phonetic difficulty: the reg. NaIE reflex of N *H₂i should have been *ej rather than *e, but this apparent irregularity may be due to generalization of *e before a sonant (where *e < N *i regularly).

796. ₂ *H₁ičχ∇ → *-č- → *H₁ičΓ|h∇ 'father, head of a family' (→ or ← 'master, lord') > IE *h₁esχo-s ({EI} *h₁es'h₂o-s) 'master' > Ht isħa ~ esħa 'master, lord'; AnIE → Arm իշխան iščan 'prince, sovereign' || NaIE: OL esa, L era 'mistress', L erus 'master of the house\family, lord, owner' ¶¶ WH I 419, WP I 161 (both: no satisfactory et. of the L words), Pv. I-II 385, EI 371-2, Bdr. 246 || U *ičä 'father' > F isä, Es isa id. | pLp {Lr.} *zčē 'father' > Lp: S {Hs.} aattjie, L {LLO} ahtttjē, N {N} ač'čē, Klt ečč', Kld èčč':, T yīēččē id. | ? pMr {Ker.} *učä > Mk оця оцä 'father's elder brother', Δ 'father, grandfather' | Chr: H ѿза 'aza, KB əzä, L иза i'za, Uf iza, M i'za 'elder brother; father's younger brother' || Vg LK/P {Kn.} āś 'mother's brother' | OHg óś 'grandfather', Hg óś 'ancestor' || Sm {Jn.} *eysä 'father' > Ne Т нися, Ne F {Lh.} níēs:ä, Ng {Cs.} jase, {Ter.} 'десы, En {Cs.} ese, Slq Tz zst id. || pY {IN H} *ečē 'father' (× N *Häč|č'i' [= *X|Q|häč|č'i' ?] 'father') > OY: OY XVII {Wts.} otjé, OY K {Bil.} etchea, {Merk} aittsche, {Lndn.} otschè, OY Ch {Mat.} ete id., OY O eземь '(my?) father'; Y K {IN H} ečē 'father' ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 78, Db. OS xxxi, Lr. no. 2, Lgc. no. 129, Hs. 220-1, MF 516-17, It. no. 369, MRS 125, 768, Ker. II 102, Jn. 22, KKIИ 109, IN H 150, IN UJ 217-18, 299, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 9] (Y ← U) ◇ This word may be one of the etl. sources of the N pc. *ča → *c'a, a marker of relative constructions (in

descendant lges: → sx of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) (q.v. ffd.). Cp. a similar usage of Ar ʔabū 'father of' ◊ Gr. II no. 141 (*eċe 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK).

797. *Häč|č'ī (or *X|Q|häč|č'ī?) 'father, ancestor' > **U** *äčä 'father' > pLp {Lr.} *āččē ≙ *ēčē 'father' > Lp: S aattjie, L ahtttjē, N ač'če, Kld {SarS} аджъ, K {Gn.} а́žž' id. || ObU *āč > pVg *āč(∇) 'grandfather' > Vg: T āčī, K ǰś, UL āś; pOs *äčī 'father' > Os: Ty áťi, Nz aśa, Kz aśi, O áśi id. || Sm: Ne T BZ {Ter.} һэця, Ne T Y һаця 'daddy', Ne T O {Lh.} ηāče? voc. 'daddy', 'father!', En K {Mik.} а́ча? 'father' || pY {IN H} *ečē 'father' (× N *H₁ič₁χ∇ - *-č' - - *H₁ič'Γ|h∇ 'father, head of a family', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ UEW 22, Lr. no. 2, Lgc. no. 129, SaR 2O, Ht. no. 1, Ter. 391, 425, Lh. 2O, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [no. 4] (Y ← U), IN H 15O || **A** *äč'∇ 'elder relative, ancestor' > T *äč'č'ī 'ancestor, elder relative' > OT {Grøn.} eč'ī 'a close male relative younger than one's father and older than ego', Chv а́ча а́ž_a 'male animal; father' (+ppas: а́ч, а́р, а́ч, а́в а́р 'your [pl.] father', а́ш а́ш' 'his\their father'); but Tk † eċe 'old man' (and Tk Δ ež'e 'elder sibling'?) may be a loan from M *ež'en 'lord, master' ¶ Cl. 2O, Grøn. TSK, Rs. W 35, Ash. II 116-18, Fed. I 65-6, Jeg. 35-6, ChVS 19, TrR 259 || M *eč'ige 'father' > MM [S] eč'ige, [MA, IsV] eč'ige, WrM {MED} eč'ige, HIM {MED, BMR} эцэг, Brt эсэгэ, Dg {T, Pp.} eč'ig, {Iv.} ецы́ге, {Mrm.} e'č'ihē ~ e'č'ige, {Mr.} ecihe, Ord eč'ige id. ¶ MED 292, BMR IV 442, Chr. 776, H 41, Lg. VMI 28, Pp. MA 151, T DgJ 141, Ms. O 25O || NrTg *ač'ī 'ancestor, elder relative' > Ewk Vtm ač'ī 'ancestor', Ewk {Cs.} ač'ī 'cousin', ? (Ll.?) Sln {Iv.} a'č'a 'father' ¶ STM I 59 || pKo {S} *àč'∇- 'aunt, uncle' > MKo àč'ámí 'aunt', àč'ápí 'uncle', NKO až'ä 'aunt, uncle', až'uməni 'aunt', až'äbi 'uncle' ¶ S QK no. 978, Nam 341, MLC 1O76-7 ¶¶ T and NrTg *-i may go back to a sx ¶¶ Hardly here M *ež'en 'lord, master' (rather going back to N *ʔediN∇ 'pater familias', 'owner, lord' [q.v.]) ¶¶ SDM 271-2 (pA *āč'∇ 'elder relative, ancestor' > T, Tg, Ko), DQA no. 4 (A *āč'∇ 'ancestor'), S CNM 9, Vv. AEN 9 || **Gil**: Gil A 3s / 3z- 'lord, owner' ¶¶ ST 466, ST RN 448 || **D** *ač'č'a₁ 'father' > Tm accan, MI accan id., Kt až' ayñ 'very old man' (and až' av 'very old woman'), Kn ajja, Kdg až'ž'ə, Tu ajje 'grandfather'; d. words for 'mother': MI acca (bf.), Kn acci id., Kn, Tu ajji, Krx až'ž'ī 'grandmother', Mnd až'ī 'father's mother' ¶¶ D no. 5O (unc.: probably from OI ārya-, F Tu. no. 1347) || ??σ IE: Ht hassu 'king' ¶ Ts. E I 2O7-9, ≈ Pv. III 24O-6 (Ht hassu- 'king' ← 'Born One' or 'Begotten One' ← Ht has(s)- 'beget'),

EI 330 ◇ If Ht *hassu* belongs here (⇔ Pv.'s qu. et.), we may reconstruct a pN initial **X|Q|h-*, otherwise the quality of the initial lr. (or some uvular cns.) remains unknown. If this lexeme is a Lallwort, typological considerations point to an initial **ʔ-* ◇ Several scholars (including myself in AD NM) equated the A √ with U **iċä* 'father' (sc. N **H₁iċχ∇ - *ċ'- - *H₁iċΓ|h∇* 'father, head of a family'): ≈ AD NM 90 [no. 66] (**÷ M *eʒen* instead of M **eċige*), S CNM 8-9 (*÷÷ ST*), Vv. AEN 9-10 (WrM *eċige ÷ U *iċä*), but in the light of recent research it is preferable to adduce the pA root here (because of its vw.). The original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been **a* (still preserved in Tg), while the U, T and M front vw. (U, T **ä*, M **e*) may be due to the ass. infl. of the final front vw. (**i?*) ◇ Gr. II no. 141 (**ece* 'father') (U [incl. Y], A, Ko, Ai, Gil, CK) (without distinguishing it from the reflexes of N **H₁iċχ∇ - *ċ'- - *H₁iċΓ|h∇*).

798. **H₂eċ'U'* (or **H₂eH₂iċ'U'*??) 'to sink', (→ ?) 'to dip' > K: GZ **ċ'(w)-* v. 'dip' > OG, G ċ-, Mg ċ(∇)- (n. act. *geċuapa*), Lz nċ- (msd. *o-nċ-u*) id. ||| Cp. GZ **ċa-* pv. 'down, away' and **ċa-re* ~ **ċa-le* adv. 'downward' (< N **ċæ* v. 'away, downward' [q.v.]) ¶ K 241, K² 294, FS K 438, Chik. 391, Q 378, Marr 217 || U **eċ'∇-* v. 'sink' (× N **q'ē'ċ'∇,∇* 'sink') > Prm **'ö'ś-* v. 'fall' > Z *uś-* v. 'fall', Z Ud *uśə* 'falls', Vt *uś-*, Vt SW *úś-* v. 'fall' ||| Hg *eś-ik* v. 'fall, rain' | pObU **Es-* > pVg **is-* v. 'alight' (of a bird) > Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NV/UL/Ss *is-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **es-əl-* ({Hl. **ăś-əl-*) v. 'let' ('lassen') > Os: V/Vy *ěśel-*, Ty *ăśəl-*, Y *ăśə-*, D/K *estə-*, Nz *esə-*, O *esəl-* id. (**-əl-* is a transitivizing sx, / Majt. SM 367) || Sm **∇s-* > Kms {KD} *úzü'í-εm* v. 'fall, go down (fallen, niedersteigen)', Sq Tm {KD} *äs-* v. 'fall', caus.: Sq Tz {KKIH} *əst-*, Sq Ke *äset'ta-*, Sq Nr {Cs.} *äs-ta-u*, Sq NP {Cs.} *äsə-p'ta-m*, Slq UO {Cs.} *äs-ta-m* v. 'let fall, bring down' ¶¶ UEW 71, Coll. 10, Lt. 221, LG 298, MF 162-3, Ht. no. 67, Hl. rHt 71, Cs. 104, KD 82, KKI 109 ¶¶ The rec. of a geminated **-ċċ-* is based on Prm **-s-* (while **-ċ-* would have yielded Prm **-z-*) || A: M **iċe-* v. 'retire into hibernation' (× N **q'ē'ċ'∇,∇* 'sink' [q.v.]) > WrM {MED} *iċe-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *ичи-*, Kl {KRS} *ич-ič-* 'retire into hibernation', {Rm.} *iċi-* 'sich für den Wintwe zurückzuehen, sich zum Winterschalf niederlegen' (of animals), d.: Ord *eċ'ēle-* ~ *eċ'igle-* 'hiberner' ¶ MED 397, BMR II 290, KRS 275, KW 212, H 80, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 250 || D (att. in GnD) **iċ-* vt. 'soak, steep' > Kui *ihpa* (p. *ih-*) id., Png *ih-* (p. *ist-*) 'soak, steep (grain for preparing landa)', Mnd *ih-* v. 'soak,

brew (landa)' (landa is beer made from rice or mandeya [BB PnL 227]) ¶ D no. 426, BB PnL 196 ◇ M *i- and D *i- are puzzling. The problem can be solved by supposing a pN etymon *H₂eH₂ić.'U' with loss of the internal *-H₂i- in K and U.

799. *H₂üwd∇ (= *Γ₂üwd∇?) 'evening, night' > U *yūt∇ 'night' or 'evening' > Chr: L йүд yüδ, B yüt, Uf jüt, H {MRS} йыд, {Ep.} йыт yьt 'night' || pObU *₁y₁īt(∇) 'evening' > pVg *₁y₁īt, {Ht.} *īt > OVg S Vt етъ, Vg T yīt ɖ īt, Vg LK/MK/UK/NV/LL īt, Vg P ēt, OVg N Ber атъ, OVG N SoG êt, Vg Ss ēt id.; pOs {Ht.} *ät 'night' > Os: V ät, Ty/Y/D/O ât, Nz/Kz at id.; pOs *₁y₁itän, {Ht.} *itän '(in the) evening' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D itän, Nz/Kz yetän id. || Sm {Hl.} *ü₂t∇ (= *ūt∇) 'evening' > Slq: Tz {KKIH} üt+, Nr {Cs.} ůd, Kr {Cs.} ůte, Chl {Cs.} ůtö 'evening', Tur {Lh.} ūtit '(in the) evening'; Kms {KD} nūdi, Koyb niude, Mt {Hl.} *ñ|nūd∇ 'evening' (Mt T {Mll.} njúde 'evening', Mt M {Mll.} njúde id., {Sp.} нюдē 'late', нүдүнь 'evening', Mt K {Pl.} njude id.) ¶¶ Coll. 20, UEW 99, MRS 155, Ep. 33, Ht. no. 72, KKIH 194, Ps. B (s.p.) 70, Cs. 110, Hl. M no. 777 || A *ü₂d∇ (or *üt'∇?) > M *üden 'evening, in the evening' > MM [S] ůde id., 'late', WrM {MED} ůde, HIM {MED, BMR} yd, Brt ydэ 'noon', WrO ůde, Kl {KRS} yd üdэ id., {Rm.} üdü 'Mittag, Mittagsstunde', Dg {T} udu 'noon, midday', Dx {T} udu, Ba ude(r) 'day', Ord üde 'midi, repas de midi'; ⇨ M *üdesi 'evening', *üdesin 'in the evening' > MM [S] ůdesi, [MA] ůdesi 'evening', ůdesin 'of the evening', 'vespertinus', WrM {MED} ůdesi, HIM {MED, BMR} ydэш, Brt ydэшэ 'evening, in the evening', WrO ůdüşi 'evening', Kl Ö {Rm.} üdüš 'abends', Ord üdeš 'soir' ¶ H 158, Pp. MA 373, MED 995-6, BMR III 389-90, Chr. 494-5, Krg. 190-1, KRS 545, KW 455, T DnJ 136, T DgJ 170, Ms. O 648 ¶ The semantic shift 'evening' → 'noon, day' in the modern M lges may have been influenced by M *edür (> üdür ~ ödü|ör) 'day' (WrM edür, HIM edep, WrO ödör ~ ödür ~ ödur, Kl {KRS} edp, {Rm.} ödr, Dg udur, Ba ude(r) id., F MED 295-6, BMR III 12-13, KRS 412-13, Krg. 139, KW 293 and T DgJ 170) || Tg: Ewk Nor {Cs. ← Mdd.} ödü₂n 'evening' ¶ Cs. T 119 || ?σ NaT *öδ 'time (point/period of time)' > OT ö₁:δ ({Cl.} ö:δ) id., 'hour', MU XIII öz 'time', eChg [Rbg.] ۆ|öδ, MT [IM] öy, Tlt {Rl.} öy, ET Tar {Rl.} öt 'Zeit, Zeitpunkt'; ⇨ *öδ-läg 'time' → 'noon' > Chg {Rm.} özlāk, Tk öyle (spelled öğle), Kr Cr, Nog üyle, VTt Δ ülä, Slr üle, Tkm öylän, Ggz ülen 'noon' ¶ Cl. 35, 55-6, DTS 376-7, 395, Br. MT 138, KW 455, Rl. I 1172, 1259, ET Gl 516-17, TL 68-9 ¶ Clinton

postulated an OT long vw., probably on the basis of the Ar *plene* spelling, which is not a reliable source; Tkm öylän suggests a pT short *ö ¶¶ SDM 1042 (pA *odi|e 'day, time' > M *üd- 'afternoon, day, evening', T *öδ 'time [Zeit]'), KW 155, Vld. 153, TL 68-9 ¶¶ If T *öδ belongs here, the pA rec. is *üdü-, otherwise it may be either *üdü- or *üt'ü- || **HS: C** *✓ Hwd 'evening, night' > Bj A {AD} (?u) 'hawād 'evening (after the sunset), night', -hawid v. 'come late in the evening', {R} hawād 'night', hawid- v. 'spend the evening\night', rest' || Ag: Q {R} awāda 'late evening, night' || EC {AD} ≈ *Hawed- > Sml N {Abr.} řāwa 'tonight', řawéysín 'time from 7 p.m. to bedtime', Gdl {Bl.} aw'wedđ, Brj {Ss.} 'yedı, {Blz. ← ?} (hi)yedı 'night', Or {Grg.} (h)eda 'last night', Or BI {Sr.} ēda id., ēdana 'tonight' || Dhl {To.} heddo 'evening' ¶ AD SF 239-40, Abr. S 17, Bl. G 6, Ss. B 192, Grg. 133, Sr. 300, To. D 135, Blz. CL 179 || ?φ B *✓ βđ? ({Pr.} *h₂đh₁) 'night' > Gd {Lf.} ēβεđ, {CM} iβađ, Awj aβođ, Ntf iđ ~ iyad, Nf uađ, Ah {Fc.} ehod, Ty, ETwl ehđ, Gh ihad, Izn, Izd iđ, Kb iđ, Sll iđ, BSn {Bs.} ēđ, Si iđ, Zng {TC} iđ 'night' ¶ Pr. H 21, no. 145, Fc. 516, Dl. 170, Dray 339, Lf. II no. 0032, TC Z 306, NZ 26, 436-7 ¶ The B ✓ may belong here only if *-β- is a reflex of *-w-; the emphatic *-đ- is still puzzling ◇ IS I 257 [no. 120] (*Hütā 'rest hours'; U, M, Tg + qu. T *öδ-le 'noon'), Sauv. 76 (U, A) ◇ The N precon. *w is responsible for the length of the vw. in pSm (and pU), as well as for the vl. *t in U (N *d > U *t in the postcons. position). Sml ř- and Dhl h- are likely to suggest something like an initial N *Γ- (*Υ- or *g-).

800. (₂?) *HogE (or *HiʔogE) 'top, above' > **HS: B** *✓ H|wgH 'be on the top' > Ah {Fc.} aǵǵ (pf. yuǵǵa), ETwl {GhA} aggu (pf. ogga), Ty {GhA} aggu (pf. yogga) 'be above (sth.), be higher than (sth.)', Adgg agg^y- 'être au-dessus de', Gh yuǵa 'il est élevé\haut', Sll {Ds.} iggi 'on', Tmz {MT} agg 'see\look at sth. from above' ¶ Fc. 381, 2001 (Fcj. 17 = Pcj. I B 5), GhA 47, 248, MT 144-5, Ds. 94, 269, ≈ NZ 698-700 || C: Ag {Ap.} *ʔaʔ^w-, {AD} *ʔak^w- 'top, head' > Q {Ap.} awa, {R} awā, Km {CR} awā, Aw {Ap.} aʔa, Bln {R} awáy, Xm {R} ʔǵā 'top, Oberteil'; Ag {AD} *ʔak^w-et ({Ap.} ʔaʔ^w-är) 'head' (× N *¹H₂ŏkU 'head', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Ap. AV 3, R WB 19, R Q II 23, CR LK 162, 172 || **A** *Ug|kE- (or *i₁UgE-?) > M **öʔe-id. ⇨ [1] M *öʔe-de 'upwards' > MM [S] o₁ede 'entgegen, gegen den Strom, aufwärts', WrM ögedde {MED} 'upwards, uphill, upstream', HIM eed {MED} id., {BMR} 'upwards, upstream', Kl {Rm.} ödö 'aufwärts, nach oben, hoch', ödān 'aufwärts', {KRS} eedəh 'upwards', Ord öd₁ö 'en haut,

en amont, contre le courant, contre le vent', Brt $\Theta\Theta\Delta\varepsilon$, MMgl {Iw.} $\bar{o}d\varepsilon$ 'upwards, above', Mgl {Lg.} $\acute{o}:da \sim \underline{u}\acute{o}da$, {Rm.} $\ddot{o}\acute{a}d\acute{a}$, {Iw.} $\ddot{o}d\acute{e}$ 'upwards'; \rightarrow [2] M $*\acute{o}gs\ddot{u}$ - 'ascend, go upstream, go uphill' > WrM $\ddot{o}gs\ddot{u}$ - {MED} 'ascend, go upstream', HIM $\Theta\Gamma\Theta-$ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'go uphill', Brt $\Upsilon\Gamma\Theta\varepsilon-$ v. 'ascend, go upstream, gallop uphill', Kl {KRS} $\Theta\Gamma\Theta-$ $\acute{o}gs-$ 'ascend, go upstream\uphill', Kl \ddot{O} {Rm.} $\ddot{u}ks\ddot{o}$ - 'aufwärts gehen, bergauf \ den Fluß aufwärts gehen, in die Höhe steigen' ¶ H 121, MED 630, 632, BMR III 10, 31, KW 294, 303, Iw. 121, KRS 412, 419, Chr. 367, 490. Ms. O 527 || NaT $*\acute{o}j\ddot{u};g-$ 'upwards' (\times N $*\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\nabla\uparrow\uparrow$ or $*\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\uparrow\nabla\uparrow$ 'hill?') > OT $j\ddot{u}ger\ddot{u}$; \rightarrow NaT $*j\ddot{u};ks\ddot{a}-(l)-$ v. 'rise' > OT Kr $j\ddot{u}kse-$, MT $j\ddot{u}ks\ddot{a}t-$, Tk $\underline{y}\ddot{u}kse-$, Ggz $\ddot{u}:se-$, Az $j\ddot{u}ks\ddot{a}l-$, Kr $\ddot{u}kse-$ id.; NaT $*j\ddot{u};ks\acute{E}k$ 'elevated' > OT $j\ddot{u}ks\ddot{u}k$ id., Tk $\underline{y}\ddot{u}kse$ 'high' ¶ Cl. 915-16, ET J 263-4, TkR 936-7 || Tg $*ug\acute{E}$ - 'top, above, up' > Ewk $u\acute{x}\bar{i}$ 'top', Lm $uy\acute{d}$ uy id., 'upper', $\Theta\acute{x}\Theta\acute{x}$ \acute{d} $\acute{o}g\acute{o}\omega$ \acute{d} $ug\acute{z}g$ 'upper', Sln $\acute{o}g \sim ug$ 'bank (of a river)', Neg $uwu \sim u\acute{x}u \sim uu$ 'upper', $uw\bar{i}- \sim u\acute{x}\bar{i}- \sim uy\bar{i}-$ v. 'ascend', Orc $ui- \sim uy\bar{i}-$ v. 'raise', $ui-l\acute{z}$ 'above, up', Nn Nh/Bk $uy\acute{z}$ 'upper side, space above (sth.)', Ul, Ork $ui-l\acute{z}$, Nn Nh {STM} $uy\acute{z}-l\acute{z}$, {On.} $ui-l\acute{z}$, Nn Bk $ui-l\acute{z}$, Nn KU $uy-l\acute{z}$ 'above', Ork $uw\omega\bar{e} \sim uwu \sim ui$ 'upper, upper side, high', Ud $ui-xi$ 'up' ¶ STM II 245-6, On. 424, 426 || pKo {S} $*\acute{u}h$ > MKo $\acute{u} / \acute{u}h-$, NKo $w\bar{i}$ 'up, above' ¶ S QK no. 620, Nam 388, MLC 1258 || pJ {S} $*\acute{u}$ -pa-'up' > OJ $upe-$, MJ $\acute{u}\varphi e-$ id., J T $\acute{u}\acute{e}$, $\acute{u}e$, J K $\acute{u}\acute{e}$, J Kg $\acute{u}\acute{e}$ 'upside' ¶ S AJ 15, 81, Mr. 247, Kenk. 2087 ¶¶ SDM 614-15 (pA $*\acute{u}\acute{g}\acute{u}$ > T, M, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 658, SDM97 s.v. pA $*\acute{o}gi$ 'up, above', S AJ 15, 81, Rm. EAS I 146-7, Rm. SKE 284, Pp. VG 60, Mng. KA 291, Mr. KJ 247 || ? ϕ,σ U: pY {IN H} $*\omega\acute{o}\varphi\acute{o}$ > T {IN H, Ku.} $w\acute{a}\varphi\acute{a}$ 'face', {IN H} $w\acute{a}\varphi\acute{a}d\bar{i}l\bar{i}e$, {Ku} $w\acute{a}\varphi\acute{a}d\bar{i}l\bar{i}\bar{e}$ 'kerchief', $w\acute{a}\varphi\acute{a}d\bar{i}r$ 'head part of a bridle for reindeers (недоуздок)', $w\acute{a}\varphi\acute{a}ne$, $w\acute{a}\varphi\acute{a}ine$ 'own' (\leftarrow 'of oneself' \leftarrow 'of [one's] head'), OY O {Mat.} $w\acute{o}gg\acute{o}r\bar{i}-w\acute{o}g\acute{o}$ 'forehead' (lit. 'face of the face') ¶ IN H 457, IN UJ 250, Ku. 37-8 \diamond If T $*\acute{o}j\ddot{u};g-$ belongs here (rather than to N $*\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\nabla\uparrow\uparrow$ or $*\acute{z}\acute{o}g\ddot{u}\uparrow\nabla\uparrow$), the pA root is likely to be $*i\bar{u}g\acute{E}$ - and to suggest N $*Hi\acute{z}og\acute{E}$ \diamond Not here NaIE $*ag\acute{r}\acute{o}$ - 'top, point, uppermost (oberstes)' and Ht {Pv.} $h\acute{e}kur$ 'rock sanctuary, acropolis' (P 8-9, Pv. III 287-9), which belong to N $*\chi\acute{a}ko|aR\nabla \approx$ top part, tip, extremity' (q.v.).

800a. (\acute{z} ?) $*H\acute{A}k\nabla$ 'leaf', (?) 'branch' > HS: EC: Sd {Gsp.} $h\acute{o}'ga$ 'leaf of the wêse plant', Gln/Gwd {AMS} $\bar{a}\chi-itt\acute{e}$ (pl. $\bar{a}\chi e$) 'leaf', Sa/Af {R} $h\acute{a}k$, Sa I {Hw.} $\acute{h}\acute{a}k$ 'branch' ¶ R S II 179, Gsp. 162, AMS 234, Blz. L no. 98b ||

D *āk 'leaf' > Kn āku id., 'young sprout', Tl āku 'leaf, petal', Gnd āk 𐌆 āki(:), Knd, Kui āku, Png, Mnd āki, Ku akkū, āku 'leaf' ¶¶ D no. 335 | | ?σ **E**: NEI h`u-uk 'Holz', OEI hu-ki 'diesen Holz(pfahl) [?]', NEI hu-h-qa-ad-du- 'hölzern' ¶¶ HK 686, 689, 714 ◇ Blz. L no. 98b (N *hak∇), ≈ Blz. DA 16O [no. 84], Blz. NDA no. 87 (D, C + unc. B, ? Ch), Blz. E no. 64.

801. *H^okE (= *H^okū or *H^okæ?) 'goat' > **IE**: NaIE *o|aḡ- 'goat' ('he-goat?') > OI a'ja-h 'he-goat', a'jā 'she-goat', YAv aza- 'he-goat', ZPhl ʔz 'goat' || Lt ožỹs, Ltv âzis 'he-goat', Pru ωosee 'goat' || pTc {Ad.} *ās(e) 'goat' > Tc: A ās id., B aṣiye 'pertaining to a goat' ¶ Not here (⇔ P) Al dhi 'goat' (< pAl {O} d. *aḷziyā ÷ Gk αῖξ id.; acc. to EI 229, from IE *Hejḡ-s 'goat') ¶ ≈ P 6-7, M K I 23, M E I 51, Bai. 6, Frn. 519, O 83, Ad. 32, EI 229 (*h_{pe}'ḡo-s 'he-goat') | | **HS**: Ch ≈ *ʔo|ak^ω∇ 'goat' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔak^ωi 'he-goat' ({AD} 'goat') > Hs àkuyà 'he-goat', àk^ωíyà 'goat' | Kfr {Nt.} ɔk id. | Ron {J}: Df ʔāh, Btr āχ, Klr ʔāh id. | Krkr {Lk, J} ʔōč́í (pl. ʔōkàḷ), Krf {Sch.} wùčč́í, Bl/Ngm {Mk} ɔš́i id. | NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj àwàḷ, Kry àhùn, My áhú, Jmb {Sk.} àk^ωá 'goat' | Ngz {Sch.} ākù id. || CCh: BuP {Mk} k^ωi, Klb {Mk} k^ωa, Mrg {Hf.} kú id. | HgNk {Mk} uk^ωε, FIK {Mk} ku id. | Gude {Srp.} oxōá, {Mk} oh^ωa, Nz {Mk} hoε, Bt {Srp.} hué, Bcm {Sk.} hōtó id. | Lmn {Lk.} ógù id. | Glv {Rp.} āg^ωà, Dgh {IL} jóyè id. | Gzg D {Lk.} ʔaw, {Ro.} áw; {Ro.}: Mada, Mkt, Myn, Vm, Zlg àwák, Hrz àwá, Mlk áwàk id. | ZmB {Sa.} úh^ωú id. ¶ JI II 166-9, J R 212, 35O, ChC s.v. 'goat', ChL, Stl. ZCh 231 [no. 789], Ro. 26O, Sch. BTL, Sk. NB, Hf. M, Nt. s.v. ɔk, Sch. DN s.v. ākù | | **A**: M *uquna (~ *u^guna?) 'he-goat' > MM [HI] uḡuna ~ [MA] وقونة|uquna, WrM {MED} uquna ~ uqana, HIM {MED, BMR} yxha, Mgl {Rm.} uqōna, Dg {T} ukan id., Brt yxaha id., Kl Ö {Rm.} uxunα 'junger Geißbock', Ord uxana 'bouc' ¶ MED 892, BMR III 378, Chr. 483, KW 447, Pp. MA 365, Ms. H 105, Ms. O 725, T DgJ 17O, Rm. M 41 ◇ Ch ≈ *ʔo|ak^ω∇ and M *uquna suggest a labialized vw. in the pN second syll., while IE *o|aḡ- point to a pN front vowel (*ä or *e); we can suppose here a hypothetical pN *ü, if in the prehistory of pIE this *ü may have lost its labiality. In the prehistory of M we may suppose repeated assimilation of vowels: N *o...ü > *o...u (synharmonism) > *u...u ◇ The initial zero cns. in some Ch lges (including WCh) may serve as a highly tentative suggestion of a N weak lr. (*H₂-), if compared with WCh {Stl.} *h- in N *X^ot'i 'e fish' (> Wrj ʔèdáḷ, Cg hâtì, Kry ʔédé, My ʔédí), but this issue is still to be investigated.

802. * $\text{H}_2^1 \hat{\text{o}}\text{kU}$ 'head' > HS: C: Ag {AD} * ʔak^ω -(at), {Ap.} * $\text{ʔa}\text{ʔ}^\omega$ -(ar) 'head' (× N ***HogE** 'top, above') > Bln {Ap.} $\text{ʔax}^\omega\text{ar}$, {R} $\text{ʔax}^\omega\text{ar}$ (pl. $\text{ʔax}^\omega\text{at}$ -), Xm {Ap.} $\text{aw}3\text{r}$, {R} awr , Xm T {CR} $\text{aw}ú\text{r}$, Km {Ap.} $\text{a}\text{ʔ}^\omega\text{äy}$, {CR} $\text{aw}ē$, $\text{ax}^\omega\text{äy}$ (pl. $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ät}$), Dmb {R} $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ē}$, $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ē}$ 'head', Q {R} $\text{ax}^\omega\text{ē}$, $\text{aw}ē$ 'head, oneself', {Ap.} awa 'top', Aw {Ap.} $\text{a}\text{ʔa}$ 'top', {CR} $\text{ax}ā$ 'head, lord' ¶ R WB 19, R QW 23, CR LK 172, Ap. AV 3 || **U** {UEW} * u|ok^∇ 'head' > FU: ObU {Ht.} * $\text{ū}\text{ʔ}^\nabla$, {Hl.} * $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}^\nabla$ id. > pVg * $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}^\nabla$ 'bear's head' > LK {Kn.} āwt , P {Kn.} āwt , MK {MK} äw id., pVg * $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}ā$ {Ht.} 'bear's crane' ({AD}: or 'bear's head') > UL {Ht.} āwa 'bear's crane', Ss āwa {Ht.} id., {Mk} 'bear's head'; pOs * $\text{ɔ}\text{ʔ}$ 'head' > Os: V/Vy $\text{ɔ}\text{ʔ}$, Ty $\text{o}\text{ʔ}^\omega$, $\text{o}\text{ʔ}$, Y ow , D/K/Nz $\text{u}\text{χ}$, Kz/O $\text{ũ}\text{χ}$ id. || Sm {Jn.} * uk^b 'tip, front part' (× N ***ʕ¹okⁱ** 'sharp point/edge', q.v.) > En {Ter.} ub^b , ub , {Cs.} 'ṭḥḥ 'tip, front part', ? Ne T d. $\text{ḥ}\text{ʔ}\text{ʔ}\text{ḥ}$, {Lh.} $\text{ḥ}\text{u}\text{χ}^\text{b}$, ? Ne F {Lh.} $\text{ḥ}\text{ũ}\text{χ}^\text{b}$ id. $\text{ḥ}\text{ũ}\text{χ}^\text{b}$ id. 'upper lip' (← 'top'), Slq Tz {KKIH} ũk^b 'nose (of humans\animals), beak, front part, tip', Slq NP {UEW ← ?} ug^b 'tip (Ende), lip', Slq Nr {Cs.} ũg 'Ende, Schluß' ¶¶ UEW 542-3, ≈ Ht. no. 9 (without data of Vg LK/MK/P and with pVg * $\text{f}^\nabla\text{w}^\nabla$ 'bear's crane'), MK 59, Hl. rHt. 73, Jn. 30, KKI 191, Cs. 108 ¶¶ Coll. 44 and Hl rHt. 73 equate the ObU word with Lp N $\text{o}\text{a}^\text{b}$ 'head' and hence with U * $\text{o}\text{y}\text{wa}$ 'head', but UEW 542-3 rejects it on phonetic grounds, because U *- yw - cannot yield ObU *- y - or *- w - (F UEW 336-7 s.v. U * $\text{o}\text{y}\text{wa}$ 'head') || **E**: El uk-k^u , uk-g^i 'head' ¶¶ HK 1206, 1210-14 ◇ An initial weak Ir.* H_2^1 - is tentatively suggested by Ag * ʔ - ◇ On the possible connection with N ***ʕ¹ok^e** (= ***ʕ¹ok^ü**?) 'self' (whence rec. of a N etymon ***ʕ¹ok^ü** 'head' → 'self') see s.v. N ***ʕ¹ok^e**.

803. * $\text{H}^\text{1}\text{K}^\text{æ}$ 'eat' > IE * $\text{H}_\text{χ}\text{ek}^\text{-}$ v. 'eat' > OI $\text{as}^\text{-}$ (3s pres. $\text{as}^\text{-}\text{nāti}$) 'eat', ' asana 'eating, food' || ON, Nnr, Dn, Sw agn 'Lockspeise, Köder' || ?? μ Gk Hm ἄκολλος 'a bit, morsel' ¶ Cp. N ***ʕ¹æ¹go** 'drink' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ IS I 275-6 (s.v. * $\text{E}\text{K}^\text{u}$ 'water'), M K I 60, M E I 136, F I 55, Vr. 3, 681, P 23, Hofm. 10, Ivn. OPA 63 || **HS**: EC: Yk {Hn.} $\text{-ek}^\text{-}$ 'eat', éktó 'food'? (× N ***ʕ¹æ¹go** 'drink') ¶ Hn. Y II 124-5 || ? ϕ ECh: Nd D {J} $\text{yí}\text{g}^\text{â}$ v. 'eat (hard food)' ¶ JI II 119 ¶¶ Not here B * HksH v. 'eat', which is more likely to belong to N ? σ ***ʕ¹EK¹ʕ¹ʕ¹** '≈ to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals) (q.v. ffd.) || **A**: T: OT {Cl.} $\text{igi}\text{δ}^\text{-}$ v. 'feed (a person, animal), [MhK] $\text{ig}\text{d}^\text{i}\text{l}^\text{-}$ v. 'be nourished/fed' (× N ? σ ***ʕ¹EK¹ʕ¹ʕ¹** '↑') ¶ Cl. 10, 104.

803a. ≈ ***h₂'e1U** 'sprout, twig' > **HS:** S: ? Ak \wedge e1 \hat{u} 'sprout' (unless derived from S * \check{r} ɛly 'rise') (× N * \check{r} |gɔl ∇ y ∇ 'leaf'?? or derived from S * \check{r} ɛly 'rise') ¶ CAD IV 114 || SC {E} *h|ʔalēm- 'branch' (unless akin to Sml ɛalēn- 'leaf' < N * \check{r} |gɔl ∇ y ∇ 'leaf') > Irq halmi, Alg elemi, Brn alema 'branch' ¶ E SC 336 || **U:** FU (att. in FP) *e1| ∇ 'sprout, twig' > Er iíev 'twig', Δ iíey, iíiy, Mk iíi 'Rute' | Prm *ul 'twig, sprout' > Vt ул ul 'bough', Vt Δ {Wc.} ul 'bud, sprout', Z цв uv, Δ ul, Prmk, Yz ul 'bough, twig' ¶ UEW 624, LG 295, U3S 446 || **A** *öleŋ 'grass' (× N ***P₂û1 ∇ hû ∇** 'grass', q.v.) > T *öleŋ 'grass' > OT U {Cl.}, Chg {Cl.} öleŋ 'grass', Qq öleŋ, Uz öläŋ 'grass', Nog ölen 'grass', StAlt ölöŋ 'grass', VTt, Bsh үлэн 'grass', Qmq ölen 'soft grass, feather grass', Xk öleŋ 'feather grass', Yk ölöŋ 'couch grass', Tkm 'öleŋ Wiese, Weide'; T \rightarrow Kl {Rm.} öŋ 'saftiges Gras, Wiese' ¶ Cl. 147, DTS 383 (OT öläŋ 'лужайка, [?] трава'), ET Gl 527-8, TtR 750, DTS 383 (OT öläŋ 'лужайка, [?] трава') || **M:** **[1]** M *öleŋ > WrM ölüŋ {MED} 'sedge (*Carex*)', HIM {MED} өлөн(г) id., {BMR} өлөн 'sedge (*Carex*)'; Nährwertarmes Gras; dichtes Gras', Brt үлэн үбһэн 'sedge' (үбһэн means 'grass'), Kl {Rm.} öŋ 'saftiges Gras', {RKS} өлн цаһан өвсн 'sedge' (цаһан өвсн 'white grass'), Ord ölöŋ 'herbes épaisses constituées par les feuilles de *Lasinrostis splendens*'; M \rightarrow Qrg ölöŋ 'sedge, carex' and Qzq öleŋ id., Nährwertarmes Gras' ¶ MED 634, BMR III 17, Chr. 502, RKS 403, KW 295, Rm. SKE 215, Ms. O 534, Jud. 592, MM 794 || **[2]** M: WrM {MED} ulalzi 'sedge (*Carex*)', HIM улалж {MED} id., {BMR} 'осока желтая, осока стройная', Brt {SDM} улалж 'sedge' (not mentioned by Chr.) ¶ MED 871, BMR III 321 ¶¶ In pA *öleŋ the initial labial vw. is due to regr. as. (from N ***h₂'e1U**) ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1051 (pA *oía 'a kind of grass' > WrM ulalzi + [not belonging to the N etymon in qu.]: T *oí- 'a kind of plant' and pJ *asi 'reed, rush') || **D** *e1- 'leaf' > Tm ilai 'leaf, petal', Ml ila, Kt el, Td eɣ, Kn ele, e1a, Kdg elakañda, Tu elæ 'leaf', Gnd koʔk-ila 'new leaf' (koʔk 'sprout') ¶¶ D no. 497.

804. ***h₃iL^ʹi^ʹ** (= ***h₃iL^ʹi^ʹ?**) (or ***h₃i_ʹ|y_ʹL^ʹi^ʹ??**) 'entrails' > **IE:** NaIE *e \check{r} li- / *ili- / ? *yeli- (or *īli-) 'entrails' > L īliā / -iūm (pl.) (> īliūm sg.) 'entrails, guts; loin, womb, Schamgegend', (EM: 'flancs, parties latérales du ventre qui s'étendent depuis le bas des côtes jusqu'à la naissance des cuisses') || Gk [Hs.] ἄλλα (* μόρια γυναικεία) '(private) parts of women' (unless to be read δῶρα γυναικεία 'gift of women', as in some codexes), ἄλλον (* τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφήβαλον δηλοῦ) ('it means: woman's pubes') || SI {P, WH} *jelito, {ESSJ} *elito 'gut(s), entrails' > SCR

jelito 'sausage', Δ 'gut', Slv jelita 'ε sausage', Δ olito 'gut', Cz jelito 'ε sausage', Slk jelito 'sausage, stomach, gut', HLs jelito 'sausage', HLs Δ jěltο, LLs jelito 'entrails', P jelito 'gut, sausage', Slvnz älēta, Ук яли'ти 'entrails', Blr я'лi'ты 'testicles (of animals)' ¶ WH I 678-9, P 499, F I 722, EM 308, ESSJ VI 21-2, Brü. 206, ≠ EI 356 (L īliā < IE *isǵʰis 'loins') || K: G ilaο {Chx.} 'ε intestinal disease', {DCh.} 'colics' ¶ Chx. 523, DCh. 579 || HS: HEC {Hd.} *hillē 'intestines' > Hd hillenna, Kmb hillēta, Sd hel'le ¶ Hd. 84, 282, 321, 371 || A: Tg *ōilen 'spleen' (and 'liver?') > Ewk PT/VI/Nr īlɜn 'spleen', Ewk Y īlɜn id., 'gall', Ewk I īlɜn '≈ liver' (unless a loan from some M lge, cp. Brt эльгэ(н) 'liver') ¶ STM I 312, Chr. 764 ¶¶ But MM eligen, Brt эльгэ(н), WrM elige, HIM элэг / элгэн 'liver' (MED 309, BMR IV 407, Chr. 764) do not belong here, because (on the ev. of MM [Lg. VSU] helige and Mnr {SM} χalīēg_e) the pM word is *φeligen (F SM 152) ◇ HEC suggests that the initial lr. is probably to be reconstructed as *h̥-. If the IE etymon is *īli-, the IE and Tg long *ī- suggests the presence of some lengthening factor after *i (it is likely to have been either *y or a laryngeal; in the light of the K, Sl and HES zero reflexes of this lr. it may have been *ʔ). But if the IE etymon is *eǵli- / *ili- / ?*jeli- (which is preferable in the light of Sl) and if the length of Tg *ī is of prosodic origin, no pN lengthening factor is needed.

804a. *H'ä'í▽ (= *χ|q'ä'í▽?) 'female' > HS: EC *hal(ɫ)- 'female' > Sa {Wlm., Ss.} aɫ-a 'goats' (general and female), Sml hāl, Sml N {Abr.} hāl, Or hāl-ā 'she-camel', Rn aɫ-ó 'female camels', Af {PH} aɫa 'female camel which has given birth', Bs {Fl.} hileɫ ~ hɫɫɫɫ 'woman' ¶ Ss. PEC 37, 39-40, Abr. S 103, ZMO 178, PG 6, PH 37, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Male {Bnd.} lāli 'woman' ¶ Bnd. PO s.v. lāli || ECh: Gdr hālà 'girl', ?φ Ke {Eb.} hɜlgé 'woman' ¶ ChC s.v. 'girl' and 'woman', Eb. 56 ¶¶ AD SF 137, 193 (EC, NrOm) || A: T: OT [MhK] iš i or (Cl.'s alt. interpretation) ēs 'lady', MT XIV [IM] išler (to be read eš-lär?) pl. 'women' ¶ Cl. 256 || D *-aɫ, SD *-vaɫ, marker of fem. in pronouns and nouns > Ml a-vaɫ 'that woman' (↔ a-vaɫ 'that man' ↔ a-tu 'that thing'), Td a va 'that woman' (↔ {Shanm.} avēn 'that man'), Kt avɫ 'that woman' (↔ avn 'that man'), Tu āɫu 'that woman' (↔ āye 'that man'), Kn Bd av aɫ 'that woman', i vaɫ 'this woman', Tm, Ml mak-aɫ, Kn mag-aɫ 'daughter', kiri-y-aɫ 'girl', kandal-aɫ 'Geliebte', Kn maɫuv-aɫ, Prj koɫ-al bride', OTI VII manamar-āɫu 'grand-daughter', MTI kōɫ-alu 'daughter',

celi-ɥ-alu 'younger sister', (?) Png -el, fem. sx: toʀnd-el 'sister', harukad-el 'small woman', Kui -ali, marker of fem.: mriḡ-ali 'female cousin', kū-ali 'Kond woman', ḡah-ali 'sweeper (woman)', Klm -al, fem. ending: komm-al 'daughter', kor-al 'younger brother's wife', pod-al 'spouse's sister', Prj, Gdb kēt-al 'widow', murtal 'old woman', Gdb koʀ-al 'son's wife' ¶¶ *-v- in SD *-va| may be due to analogy with the marker of masc.*-van that occurs in the same context: Tm a-van 'that man', a-va| 'that woman', i-van 'this man', i-va| 'this woman', oru-van 'one man', oru-va| 'one woman' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 30-140 ◇ According to AD's hyp. (AD WIL), EC *h- goes back to pHS *χ-, sc. to N *q-.

805. *h₂am'U' 'be\become quiet\calm' ([in some descendant lges] → 'feel contentment', 'love') > K: G am- vt. 'quieten, calm, allay (pain)' ('beruhigen, stillen'), 'please (so.)' ¶ Chx. 15-16, DCh. 25-6, NCh. 36 | | ¶ *a₁:m'u' - 'be quiet' > Tg *ām- 'sleep, be sleepy' > Ewk āmз-, Neg, Ork āma-, Ul amasi- ~ amasu-, Nn Nh āmasi-, Nn Bk āmosi- 'be sleepy', Ewk āmī, Ul, Ork amī n. 'sleep', Nn Nh {On.} āmī n. 'sleep (sleepiness)', Ewk āmз, Neg āma, Ud {Krm.} amahi imprs. 'there is sleepiness, one is sleepy (спать хочется)', WrMc {Z} амга- ~ амха-, Mc Sb amaha- v. 'sleep, doze' ¶ STM I 2-3, Pt. 16, Krm. 206, On. 36-7, Z 42 | | M *amu- vi. 'rest, feel contentment, be relieved' > MM [IM] amu- v. 'rest', [HI] 'rest, be quiet', [MA] 'rest, feel pleasure', [S] {H} amu- 'ruhig sein, aufhören', WrM amu- {MED} vi. 'rest, relax, feel contentment, be relieved', HIM ama- {MED} id., {BMR} 'rest (sich erholen, sich ausruhen), Atem holen, aufatmen'; M *amur > WrM amur {MED} 'peace, calm, rest; quiet', HIM amar {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Wohlergehen, Wohlstand (благополучие, благоденствие)', Brt amar 'quiet, easy; calm, rest (покой), Wohlergehen', Kl {KRS} амр амрə 'calm, wellbeing, rest (покой)', {Rm.} амр n. 'Ruhe, Friede', adj. 'ruhig, friedlich, gesund, bequem', Ord амур 'paix, tranquillité; en paix, à l'aise; tranquille, aisé'; M *amura- v. 'relax, rest, be relieved, feel contentment\joy' > WrM amura- {MED} id., HIM амра- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'rest (отдыхать)' Brt амар- id., Ord amara- vi. 'se reposer, être tranquille', MM [S] {H} d. amurli- 'be\feel calm\secure', amuru- vt. 'calm', [HI] d. амрац [амрац] 'loving each other', Mnr H {SM} χamuraā- 'se reposer, se calmer, se guérir', 's'éteindre', {T} χamura- vi. 'rest', Ba hamera-, Dx {T} hamura- id., Kl {KRS} амр- амр- v. 'rest', {Rm.} амр- 'ruhen, Ruhe bekommen, ausruhen'

(Mnr χ- and Ba, Dx h- are due to contamination with the root of Mnr H {SM} χamuli-, {T} χambuli- vt. 'extinguish, efface') ¶ Pp. MA 101-2, 432, Ms. H 35-6, H 7, MED 40, BMR I 85-6, 92, Chr. 47-8, KRS 41-2, KW 9-10, SM 153-4, T 373, T DnJ 139, T BJ 150, Ms. O 19, 22-3 || NaT *a₁:₁m-u|I1 (with the derivational sx *-l [Cl. XIII]?) > OT am u|I1 'quiet, mild, peaceable', Tk Δ IMI1 ~ umul 'quietly, gently'; NaT *a₁:₁mira- vi. 'calm, be at peace' > OT {DTS} amra- v. 'love', Tv amira- vi. 'calm, take comfort, be glad', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} amira- 'sich beruhigen', Alt {Rl.} amra- id., 'in Ruhe leben'; ⇨ NaT *amur-t- v. 'quieten, calm (sth., so.)' > OT XI amur t- vt. 'calm (sth.)', Tk Δ amurt- vt. 'quieten, calm'; ⇨ NaT *amri|ul- 'be at peace' > OT VIII-XIII am r u|I1- id.; NaT *amir > (or M *amara- ⇨) Tv, SY amir, Qzq Δ ämir n. 'calm, peace', Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qb/Kü {Rl.} amir id., 'rest (Ausruhen, Erholung)', Xk amir 'peaceful, quiet' ¶ Rs. W 19, Rl. I 647-51; ≈ Cl. 160-3 (claiming that *am(∇)r- is based entirely on a loan from M amara-, which is highly doubtful because derivatives from *am(∇)r- are attested in OT from the VIII c. on (incl. the time before the Mongolian infl.); the idea of M origin may be valid for the T noun *amir only, because it is not attested in OT), ≈ ET Gl 59-6 O (without distinguishing between *abra- and *amra-), DTS 41, TvR 58-9 ¶¶ The long vw. in Tg may be a Tg innovation (not necessarily pointing to a pA long vw.) ¶¶ SDM 298-9 (pA *ã m∇ 'be quiet, sleep' > M *amu-, *ami- v. 'rest, be\become quiet', 'peace', T *am- 'gentle, wuiet', 'love', Tg *ã m- 'sleep'), DQA no. 72 (id.), KW 9, S AJ 292, Rs. W 19, STM I 2-3, ADb. SR 13, Rozycki MM 17 || D (att. in SD) *am- 'be(come) still\quiet' > Tm ama i 'become still\ quiet, abide, remain', amar - v. 'abide, remain\ become tranquil', Ml amaruka v. 'subside, settle, be settled, rest on', amarcca 'calmness, self-government', Tu amaru-ni 'to become quiet\calm; to settle', amaru-ni 'to quiet' ¶ D no. 161 || ?σ IE: NaIE *am- v. 'love' > L amā- (1s pres. amō, inf. amāre) v. 'love', amor n. 'love', amīcus 'a loved one, friend', Mrc AMATENS 'voluerint' || ?φ Phr [Hs.] ἄδαμεῖν ('τὸ φιλεῖν) 'to love'; [Hs.] καὶ φρύγες τὸν φίλον ἄδαμνα λέγουσιν ('Phrygians call a loved one ἄδαμνα) ¶ WH I 40-1, ≠ P 36 ◇ If the IE cognate is valid, the initial N lr. may be *r-, *h- or *h- (N *r|h|ha- > IE *he- > NaIE *a-), but not *ʔ- (N *ʔa- would have yielded IE *e-/zero).

805a. (2?) *H|qamb∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)' > IE: NaIE *amb^hō(u) du. 'both' > Gk ἄμφω id. || L ambō (m., ntr.), ambae (f.) id.

] NaIE loc. *amb^hi / *m̥b^hi 'from both sides, around' > Gk ἄμφω 'on both sides', 'around, about', ἀμφὶ - 'on both/all sides, for the sake of', ἄμφω-ς 'on both sides; round about' ||| L amb-, am-, an- pv. 'around' (amb-īō 'go around'), Osc am- 'amb-' (amfret 'they go around'), ampt 'around', Um AM-, AMBR- pv. 'around', amprehto 'ambito'] NaIE *m̥b^hi 'from both sides, around' > OI a'bhi-tah₂ 'on both sides', Av aiwito 'ringsher', OI abhi- 'around' ||| Clt: Gl ambi- (Ἀμφύ-δραυοῦ 'those living on both sides of the river Dravos'), W am(-), Crn, OBr, Br am-, em-, OIr imb-, imm- 'around' ||| ON umb, OHG, OSx umbi, NHG um, AS ymb, ymbe 'around'] with absence or loss of *m: ?? OI ubhā₂, Av uwa- 'both' ||| ?BSl: Lt abu², Ltv abi, Pru abbai id. | Sl *oba id. (m.), *obě (f., ntr.) > OCS oбa oба (m.) / oбѣ obě (f., ntr.), R 'oба (m., ntr.) / oбе (f.), Blg 'oба / oбе, SCr õba / õbje, Slv obā / obē, Cz oба / obě, Slk oба / obe, P oба / obie id. ¶ The loss of the labial cns. in Ir and BSl is not yet explained ¶ P 34-5, Bc. G 312, 327-8, F I 100, WH I 37-8, Flr. 60, YGM-1 12-14, M K 41-2, 107, Frn. 1, Glh. 446, Vr. 633, Ho. 412, Ho. S 80, Kb. 1064, Schz. 294, KM 802, ≠ EI 400 (*b^hō₂ 'both') ||| U: [1] FV *ompa 'other, other (further) side' > Er omb oombo, Mk omba 'omba, {Ker.} omba, {Ps.} ombā 'other, that of the opposite side', Δ {Jh.} omā id. ||| Chr: B umpal 'the other side', Chr {Szil.} umpake 'hinüber', L ym'бале, ymба'лан 'far away' ('палан 'far away') ||| [2] U *-mp[∇] 'more', sx of cmpr. > F -mpⁱ / -mpa-, sx of cmpr. (uudempi / uudempa- 'newer'), Es -m / gen. -ma, sx of cmpr. (nooree-m 'younger') | Lp (sx of cmpr.): Lp N -b / -b'bo (odđâsâb / odđâsâb'bo- 'newer'), Lp S {Hs.} -be (nuore-be 'younger') ||| Hg -bb, sx of cmpr. (újabbb 'newer') ||| Sm: Ne -мбой 'rather' (нарка-мбой 'rather big' < нарка 'big') ¶¶ UEW 332, Coll. CG 260-1, Hs. 109-10, Ker. 100, Jh. 107, Ter. 385-6 ¶¶ The vw. *o- (for *a-) in *om[∇] may be due to the labializing infl. of *m ||| ??σ HS: S *✓χnb > Ar χanāb-, χinnāb- {BK} 'long, grand, haut', {Hv.} 'tall, long', Ak ✓χnb (inf. χanābu, p. i-χnu₂) 'grow abundantly' ¶ BK I 636, Hv. 186, CAD VI 75-6 ◇ If S *✓χnb belongs here (which is not certain), the N initial cns. is *q (see s.v. *qañ[∇]b[∇] 'other, different, else, more (than)').

805b. *Hom_L∇,g^rü¹ 'breast' > HS: C ≈ *?∇ng^ω / *ng^ω - 'breast' > Ag {Ap.} *?3ng^ω - / *ang^ω - id. > Bln {Ap.} 3ng^ωi, Xm 3k^ω, Km 3ng^ω3, Aw ang^ω id. ||| EC: Sa, Af angu ({Ap.}: < Ag), Sml J {Blz. < ?} ?enek id. ||| Bj {R} nūg, nūg^ωe 'woman's breast' (× the etymon of EC *nūg, Ag *?∇ng^ω -

'suck the breast', unless the verb is derived from the noun) ¶ Ap. AV 4, Blz. CL 177, R WBd 181, R WB 35 (Bln $\underline{u}r'g\bar{u} \sim \underline{u}r'g\bar{u}-\bar{i}$ 'nipple') || **D** (att in SD) * $\text{o}\eta\text{k}$ - 'woman's breast' > Kn $\text{o}\eta\text{g}\text{u}$ 'teat, pap', ? Tm $\text{o}\acute{r}\text{i}\text{c}\text{i} \sim \text{o}\text{c}\text{c}\text{i}$ 'woman's breast (nursery)' ¶ D no. 943 || **A** * $\text{omE}_l\text{g}|k_j$ - or * $\text{öm}\nabla_l\text{g}|k_j$ - > NaT * $\text{ö}_{:,j}\text{mg}\text{æ}n$ (\times NaT * $\text{ö}_{:,j}\text{mg}\text{æ}_{:,j}n \approx$ neck' < N * $\text{om}_l\nabla_l\text{Kê}$ '[ϵ part of the] neck', q.v.) > Brb {Tm.}, SbTt Tv {Tm.} $\text{ö}\text{mg}\text{än}$ 'horse's chest', Qzq $\text{ö}\eta\text{men}$ 'breast, oesophagus' ¶ Cl. 150, Rl. I 1315, ET Gl 537, Tm. 165 || M * $\text{emü}ne$ 'front, south' > MM [S, MA] $\text{emü}ne$ 'in front of', [HI] $\text{emü}ne$ 'south', WrM $\text{emü}ne$ {MED} 'south, front', HIM $\text{em}\eta\text{e}$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'in front of; south', Brt $\gamma\text{m}\text{ə}\eta\text{ə}$ 'in front of', Kl {KRS} $\text{em}\eta\text{ə}$ 'front, south', {Rm.} $\text{ö}mn\ddot{o}$ 'vorn, vor; der vordere', Ord $\text{ö}m\ddot{o}n\ddot{o}$ 'devant, avant; est'; WrM {MED} $\text{emü}nesi$, HIM {MED} $\text{em}\eta\text{e}\text{w}$ adv. 'forward, southward', Kl {KRS} $\text{em}\eta\text{əc}$ 'from the front side', Mnr H {SM} $\text{mie}\acute{\text{e}}\text{z}$ 'devant, avant, partie antérieure', Ord $\text{ö}m\ddot{o}\acute{\text{e}}\text{ö}n$ 'vers l'est' ¶ M * e - for the expected labialized vw. may be due to regr. as. (* omE - > M * emE -) ¶ H 44, MED 314-15, BMR III 19-20, Chr. 504, KW 295, KRS 415-6, Pp. MA 155, Ms. H 54, Ms. O 532-3 ¶¶ SDM 505 (pA * emo 'front' > M, T + unc. Tg * ume - ~ * emu 'one').

806. ($_2$?) * $\text{H}^r\text{e}^1\text{m}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$ (= * $\text{?}^r\text{e}^1\text{m}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$?) 'oak, tree' > IE: OIr $\text{om}n\text{ae}$ 'tree, oak' ¶ Vn. O 22 || **A**: T * Emän 'oak' > Tkm imen , Uz eman , ET emän , VTt, Bsh imän , QrB, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg emen , Kr amän , StAlt ermen , Chv L юман yuman , Chv Δ . yoman 'oak' ¶ r in StAlt still requires explanation ¶ Rs. W 42, Dm. NRTAJ 185-6, Ash. IV 322-4, Fed. II 485, Jeg. 348, Md. 115, 165 (T * $\text{jaman} \sim$ * emen , NaT * emen), TL 124 (* ermen) || ? **HS**: Eg $\text{fO } \acute{\text{i}}\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}$ 'e fruit-bearing tree (date palm?)'; 'e sacred tree; wood used for statues and toils\utensils' ¶ EG I 79 \diamond If the Eg word belongs here, the N rec. must be * $\text{?}^r\text{e}^1\text{m}\nabla\bar{n}\nabla$.

806a. $_2$ * $\text{H}_2\text{ay}|\text{?EmP}\nabla$ 'heavy' > IE * $\text{hayEmP}\nabla$ 'weight' > Ht {Kas.} $\text{ay}\text{im}pa$, $\text{aim}pa$, $\text{im}pa$ 'weight, burden', ? ϕ Gk $\acute{\text{i}}\text{πο}\acute{\text{c}}$ 'poids qui tombe, presse' ¶ Kas. AL 154-5, Ch. I 467 || **A** * ambEn > Tg * amban > Nn $\text{amba}(n)$ 'heavy', Ul $\text{amba}(n)$ 'big, very', Ork $\text{ambaram}\acute{\text{z}}\acute{\text{i}}$ 'very', WrMc {Z} амба 'big, huge', Mc Sb aba 'big, many, very', Jrc ān-pān [* amban] big, strong' ¶ STM I 37, Z 42-4 || M * amban > WrM {MED} amban 'big, large; governor, dignitary', HIM амбан {MED} id., {BMR} 'big, larg, huge', Brt $\text{амба}(н)$ 'beautiful' (clothes); dignitary', Kl {Rm.} $\text{amb}\eta$ 'groß, erwachsen' ¶ MED 36, BMR I 87, Chr. 48, KW 9 || pKo * mì - 'heavy' {SDM} mì-kép - ($\text{mì-ké}\omega$ -), NKo mugəp 'heavy' ¶ Nam 225, MLC 652 || pJ {SDM}

* $\acute{z}m(p)\acute{z}$ - 'heavy' > OJ om(ω)o-, MJ ómó-, J T òmo-, J K, JKg ómo-, StJ {Kenk.} omoi 'heavy' ¶ Mr. 838, Kenk. 1434-5 ¶¶ Kas. AN 155, SDM 295 (pA *ámbe 'heavy, big' > Tg, M, J, Ko), S AJ 103, 277, Mr. 233 ◇ Kas. AL 154-5 (IE, A + unc. U *umpe 'whole, complete').

807. *Hañ∇ (= *Haño?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *a|on- (× N *ha 'ille?') ⇨ :
 [1] NaIE *a|on-yo-'other' > Iir *anjo-s 'other, different' > OI an'ya-ḥ, Av anyō, OPrs aniya id., Oss annä 'the other (of two, of many)' ||| ? Gk ἔνῃ (ellipsis from ἔνῃ ἡμέρα [with ἡμέρα 'day']) 'the day after tomorrow';
 [2] NaIE *a|ontero-s 'the other (of two)' (built on the analogy of *al-tero-s id.?) > OI 'antara-, Oss ändär 'other' ||| Gt anpar (· ἄλλος, ἕτερος, δεύτερος) 'anderer, zweiter', ON annarr (pl. aðrir), OHG ander, NHG anderer, AS oðer 'other', NE other ||| Lt aňtaras ~ aňtras, Ltv òtrs, Ltv E ūtors 'other', Pru antars ~ antars 'other, the second' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, ~ P 37-8 (unc.: *anios and *anteros <⇨ *an 'there, on the other side'), ~ EI 411 (*h₁en- ~ *h₁on- 'that', *h₁on-tero-s 'other'), Frn. 12, En. 142, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2 ||| **U:** Sm {Jn.} *añ∇- 'other' > Ne Т њани, Ne Т O {Lh.} ηāñī 'other, different', En {Cs.} ańí? 'aufs neue', Ng {Mik.} ηonə 'and', {Cs.} ηanai 'aufs neue, noch' ¶ Jn. 1, Ter. 383 ||| **A:** M *ondô¹∇n 'other, different' > WrM {MED} ondu, HIM {MED, BMR} ондоо, Kl {KRS} ондан, 'other, different', {Rm.} onđān 'ein anderer', ShY ondōn, Dg {T} enčū 'other, different', Brt ондо ондоо pl. 'different (разные)', ондоо 'different (другой, иной, отличный)', Ord ondōn 'autre, différent; étrange'; M *onc¹u¹ > WrM онци ~ онца {MED} adj. 'particular, specific, separate, unique, special, exclusive', adv. 'especially, particularly', HIM онц {MED} id., {BMR} 'particular, отличный, best, important', Brt онцо particular, exclusive, extraordinary', Ord онч'о 'seulement; seul, unique'; ⇨ M *oncôgôy > WrM онцигу {MED} 'peculiar, unusual; specific; separate, special', HIM онцгой {MED} id., {BMR} 'other, different; verschiedenartig; separate', Brt онцгой adv. 'отдельно, обособленно, специально', Ord онч'огĵ 'qui est à l'écart, isolé' ¶ MED 611-13, MYC 529, BMR II 478-9, 482-3, Luv. 300, Chr. 356-7, KRS 399, KW 286-7, T DgJ 140, Ms. O 512-13 ||| NrTg *aη- (unless it is *χαη-) > Lm aηili 'other, different', Neg aniskī: ~ aηiskī: id., 'otherwise' (thie NrTg word may have been influenced by Tg *χαηgi 'side', whence Neg aηili: ~ aηili: 'aside, far') ¶ STM I 46 ¶¶ M *o- suggests pN *Haño (with regr. as. N *-año > M *o-) ¶¶ SDM 1040 (err.:

M *on- < pA *ó 'this, that' || | ?σ HS: CS *han (dem. prn.) (× N *ha 'ille') > IA/EpJA hn {HJ} 'this', BHb ha- +gmc. 'the', Mo, Ph h- 'the', Ar {Nld.} han 'der da, das da' ¶ HJ 287-8, KB 225-6, ≈ Nld. NB 119 (unc.:Ar han 'iste' ← han- 'thing') ◇ If WS *han belongs here, the N rec. is *hañ∇, otherwise we remain with an unspecified *H- (N *Hañ∇) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 288 (*ena 'other') (IE, U, ?? Gil + err. J, A + unc. CK, EA).

808. *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *eḡn- > Sl *jьnъ(jь) (f. *jьna, ntr. *jьno) 'other, different' > OCS HНЪ инъ (f. ina, ntr. ino), OR, RChS HНЪ инъ, R и'ной, Uk 'иний, SCr ïn, ïnī, Cz jíný, Slk iný id., Blg 'иный, ин (f. ина, ntr. ино), Slv in, OP inu, P innu 'different' || | Ir *aḡn- > Oss I иHHæ īnnä 'the other one (from two)', the other (from many)', Xwr inī 'other' ¶ Brg. KVG 401, Me. OSJ 352-3, Frn. 12, En. 142, ≈ ESSJ VIII 233-4, StSS 262, Glh. 277, Bern. I 432, M K I 35-7, Ab. I 545, Fs. 53, Vr. 10, Ho. 243 || | D (att. in SD) *°ēḡ- 'other' > Tm ēḡai 'other, the rest' ¶ D no. 919 || | Gil: Gil A/ES ena- 'other, belonging to another person, strange', A ena-j, ES ena-nd 'be other, belong to another person, be strange' ¶¶ ST 482-3, Krn. N 493 || | HS *-(i)hEn- within the cd *ʔanihEn-n∇ 'we' (aut. prn.) (*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc., forming autonomous pers. pronouns] + *(i)hen- + *nu∇ 'we, our' [< N *ñ∇ 'we' excl.]) (× N *XAnḡ∇,ḡ∇ 'together, with' [q.v.]?) > S *ʔa'niḡnu|a 'we' (aut. prn.) (> BHb ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnū, Ph ʔnḡḡ, BA ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnā, IA ʔnḡḡ(h), Plm ʔnḡḡw, JA ʔnḡḡḡ(ḡ) (ʔa)naḡnā, JEA {Sl.} ʔnḡḡḡ ʔa'naḡnā ~ ʔnḡḡ ʔa'nan, Sr ʔnḡḡ nāḡan ~ [an obsolete form ʔnḡḡ] [unvocalized ʔnḡḡn, presumably to be vocalized as ʔnḡḡḡ] ʔanaḡnan], Ar ʔnḡḡnaḡnu, Gz nāḡna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nāḡā, Jb E 'nḡa, Jb C 'nḡan ~ 'nḡa, Sq {Jo.} ḡan ~ 'ḡanḡn, Ak (a)nīnu 'we') || C: Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nnen 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we' etc. (ffd. cf. AD SF 154-5) ¶¶ This is one of two alternative etymologies of HS *ʔanihEn-n∇ 'we'. It presupposes that *ʔanihEn-n∇ originally meant 'we others' (like Sp nosotros, Ctl nosaltres 'we' < L pl. accus. nos alteros 'we others', cp. also Fr nous autres). The other alternative explanation presupposes that *ʔanihEn-n∇ originally meant 'we together', with *-hen- going back to N *XAnḡ∇,ḡ∇ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) (> Eg fP ḡnḡ 'together with, and') ¶¶ Dk. JDPa 224-5, AD SF 154-5, KB I 69, BK II 1217, L G 395, Rop. s.v. he'nnen ◇ IE points to a N *i. Tm ē- for the expected reflex of a D *i- or ī- still requires explanation.

809. *on.?* *Hañ'g'∇ (t̥∇) (or *Haŋ'g'∇ (t̥∇)??) 'duck' > IE *H₂h₂ti- / *HenHti- ({M} *h₂h₂'ti-, {EI} *h_hh_hti- / *h_henh_hti-) > NaIE *anəti 'duck' > L *anas* (accus. *anatem* ~ *anitem*) id. || Gmc *anud- ~ *anid- 'duck' > ON *and*, OHG *anut* (~ *aneta*), nom. pl. *enti*, NHG *Ente*, Dt *eend*, OSx *anad*, AS *ened* id. || OI m. *ā'ti-h*, f. *ātī* 'duck', KhS *āce* 'aquatic birds, geese', Oss *acc* {OsR} 'wild duck; male duck' || Gk I *νῆσσα*, Gk A *νῆττα*, Gk B *νᾶσσα* 'duck' (< **νᾶττα*) || BSl *ānt- (< **anət-*) > Lt *āntis*, Pru *antis* 'duck' || Sl *ǫtī (gen. *ǫtǐve) 'duck' > ChS *ꙗтѣ* *ꙗтѣ* (gen. *ꙗтѣвѣ* *ꙗтѣвѣ*), OR *ꙗтѣ* *ꙗтѣ* (gen. *ꙗтѣвѣ* *ꙗтѣвѣ*), SCr *ꙗтѣ*, R *ꙗтѣ*, Slv {Vs.} *ꙗтѣ*, {Glh.} *ꙗтѣ*, Uk *ꙗтѣ*, Blr *ꙗтѣ*, *ꙗтѣ*, (? dim. →) R *ꙗтѣ* id. ¶ P 41-2, EI 171, M K I 72-3, M E I 163-4, Bai. 16, Ab. I 27, OsR 61, WH I 44, F II 317-18, Vr. 687, EWA I 291-3 and II 1075, Kb. 39, 200, KM 167, Frn. 11-12, En. 142, Tr. P A-D 95-6, Vs. IV 174, Glh. 568 || **U** *aŋ∇ 'ε aquatic bird (duck or sim.), ε game bird (*Tetraonidae*, *Phasianidae*)' > Lp: N {N} *hâŋ'ŋa* / -ŋŋ- ~ *hâŋ'ŋja* 'long-tailed duck; *Harelda glacialis*', L {LLO} *haŋŋā* ~ *haŋŋēk* ~ *haŋŋōk* 'ice duck, *Harelda hiemalis*', L Kld {TI} *aŋ'ŋ-ŋon':t:a* 'polar duck (*Harelda*)', L U {Schl.} *aŋŋàlahka* 'domestic duck' || ObU {Ht.} *f̄ŋk 'partridge, ptarmigan' > pVg *f̄ŋkā id. > OVg S SSs *angō*, *anka* ≈ id., Vg T {Mu.} *āŋghā*, Vg MK *ŋka*, OVg N BerG 'anga, Vg Ss *āŋxa* 'ptarmigan', Vg P *āŋka* id., 'partridge'; pOs *f̄ŋk > Os: V/Vy *f̄ŋq*, D/K *eŋx* 'partridge, ptarmigan' || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} *ŋa"ŋo ŋa?ŋo* 'diving duck (*Aythya*, *нырок*), long-tailed duck (*Clangula hiemalis*, *ꙗтѣ-морьянка*), {Lh.} *ŋāŋū* 'polar duck, *Anas hiemalis*', En {KD} *ŋau* 'duck', Ng {Mik.} *ŋaŋoŋa* 'duck', Slq Tz {KKIH} *ū* 'partridge', {Prk.} *u* 'ptarmigan', Slq Nr/Yel/Kar {Cs.} *ū* id., Kms *uŋa* 'partridge', Koyb {Pl.} *angat* '*Anas rutila*', Mt {Hl.} *oŋg₁o 'Schneehuhn' or 'Rebhuhn' (Mt: K {Pl.} *oŋhò* 'куропатка', [in Pl. Z] '*Tetrao Lagopus*') ¶¶ UEW 13, Schl. 6, TI 15, Ht. no. 45, Ter. 392, KKI 191, Cs. 108, Erl. 282, Hl. M no. 811, ≠ Jn. 19 || **A** *aŋg₁i- (~ *aŋki-) 'ε duck' > NaT *aŋit or *aŋkit 'wild duck\goose' > OT *aŋit* {Cl.} 'ruddy goose, *Anas casarca*', OOSm xv *aŋit* id., MQp XIV *aŋit* 'a bird called 'al-'unaysa (in Ar)', Chg [San.] *aŋkud*, Tk Δ *ankit*, Qmq *hankut* 'ε wild duck', SY *aŋit* {Ml.} 'wild duck with yellow feathers', Xk *aat āt* 'scoter (*Melanitta*, *тырпан*)', Tkm *aŋk* 'red duck', ? Yk *andi* ~ *anni* 'ε 'black duck', 'scoter, diving duck' (unless Yk ← Ewk *aŋir*) ¶ Cl. 176, TL 172, Ml. ZhU 16, Tn. SJJ 172 || Tg *aŋg₁i (~ *andi?) 'ε aquatic bird' > Nn Nh *āŋgī* ~ *ānī* 'loon (*Gavia*)', Neg *aŋī*, Ewk *anni* & *andi* ~ *aŋir*, Neg *aŋī*

'bluebill (чернетъ, *Aythya*)', Ewk Ucr зндз 'fish duck (*Mergus*)' ¶ STM I 43 and II 453, On. 40, 43 || M *aŋgir > MM, WrM {MED} aŋgir 'scoter (*Melanitta*)', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ангир id., Kl Ö {Rm.} äŋgr̥ 'ein Vogel'; M ⇨ Alt {Rl.} aŋar 'an aquatic bird (smaller than a goose, with a red-yellow breast)', {BT} aŋir 'варнавка (ε a bird)', Tv aŋyir, Qrg {Jud.} aŋir 'ruddy shelduck' (*Casarca ferruginea*), Tv aŋyir, Ewk Brg aŋir 'scoter, *Melanitta* (турпан)' ¶ MED 445, BMR I 112, Chr. 52, KW 23, Cl. 176, Rl. I 184, BT 19, Jud. 60, TvR 62, STM I 43, Z 18 || Tg: Ewk I aŋir 'hazel grouse', WrMc {Z} ангиръ нѣхэ 'scoter; ε big ellow wild duck' (нѣхэ means 'duck') ¶ STM I 43, Z 18 || pJ {S} *anti > OJ adi 'ε duck' ¶ S QJ no. 757 ¶¶ SDM 304-5 (pA *āŋat̪ 'ε duck' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 40, ADb. KL, S AJ 71, TL 172 || D (att. in McTm) *aŋr̥il (= *aŋt̥il) 'ε bird' (= 'ε duck?') > Tm aŋr̥il 'ε aquatic bird (OI cakraṽāka [= *Anas casarca*?])', Ml annal 'ε a bird of stately walk' ¶ D no. 331.

810. *Hoŋ|ŋka 'angle, joint\bend (of a limb etc.)' > IE: NaIE *o|ang- 'joint (of body), angle' > OI 'aŋgam 'limb' ||| Arm անկիւն ankiwn 'angle, corner' ||| L angulus id., Um ANGLOM-E 'ad angulum' ||| ON ekkja 'heel', dim. →: ON qkla, OHG ancala, ancra, anchla 'ankle, ankle joint; talus', AS anclēow 'ankle', NE ankle ||| Sl *oǵьль 'angle, corner' > OCS ѡгьль oǵьль, Blg 'ьгьл, SCr ūgao (gen. ūgla), Slv vōgəl (gen. vōgla), Cz úhel, Slk uhol, P węgieł (gen. węgła), OR ѡг(ь)ль ug(ь)ль, R 'угол, Uk 'вугол id. ¶ ≈ P 45-7 and ≈ AHDI 3 (both did not distinguish between NaIE *ank- 'bend' [see N *χ|q'a'ŋ̥, K̥ 'to bend'] and NaIE *o|ang-), M K I 21, M E I 48, WH I 48-9, Ho. 5, Vr. 99, 686, EWA I 260-1, Kb. 33, ≈ OsS 20, StSS 804, Sl. 286-7, Vs. IV 145, Glh. 650-1 ||| A *o|ö̥;ŋ̥K̥¹ - (or *o|ö̥;ŋ̥¹ -) > NrTg *o̥;ŋ̥- 'corner', *oŋŋī- v. 'bend as to form an angle' > Ewk oŋŋān 'internal corner', oŋŋī- v. 'bend\bend a stick in order to form an angle, bend a board (to make a ski with an arched front part)', Lm oŋit̥- ~ oŋiç- v. bend (together)' ('гнуть, сгибать'), Neg oŋŋi- ~ oŋŋi- 'bend a board (to make a ski)', Ork o, oŋi 'angle, corner' ¶ STM II 19 || M *öncüg (unless with *φ-) > WrM öncüg {MED} 'external corner, angle', HIM өнцөг {MED} id., {BMR} 'corner; end (of an object)', Kl {KRS}} өнцг öncəg 'external corner', {Rm.} öncög 'Ecke, hervorstehende Kante', Ord önc'ök 'extrémité d'un objet terminé en angle, coin' ¶ MED 636, BRM III 29-30, KRS 417, KW 296, Ms. O 535 ¶ The M element (sx?) *-cüg is of

unknown origin ¶¶ SDM 1053 ([A *ð̥ni|e 'angle' > Tg, M), DQA no. 1598 (id.) || HS: C: Bj {R} 'aɾkʷa 'hump', {Rop.} aɾkʷa 'hump of camel' ¶ R WBd 24, Rop. 152 || ?σ S: Ar حَنْكَة ḥanak-at- 'colline très élevée qui se dresse comme un tour' ¶ BK I 505 ◇ If Ar ḥanak-at- belongs here, the N word is *Xoñ|ɾka.

811. *HEñom∇ (= *ħEñom∇ or χEñom∇?) 'take hold of, have, own' > IE: NaIE {WH} *enm-/*nem-/*^ojem- 'take, acquire, have' (× IE *^ɾem- / *^ɾem- v. 'take, get, acquire, have' < N *^ɾem∇ 'seize, hold' [q.v. ffd.] × N *qAm∇ 'grasp, seize'): [1] NaIE *enm- > *em- > L emō, -ēre / ēmpsi / ēmptum 'take', Osc PERT-EMEST 'perimet', PERT-EMUST 'peremerit', PER-EMUST 'perceperit', Um eman̄tu(r) accipiantur' || OIr ar-fo-emāt 'they take' || Lt 1s pres. im̄ / inf. im̄ti 'take', Ltv jem̄u 'I take', Pru īm̄t 'to take' | Sl 1s pres. *ьm-ŕ / inf. *je-ti 'take' > OCS 1s pres. **ИМѦ** im̄ŕ / inf. **ИТИ** je-ti 'take', 1s pres. **ИМАМЬ** im̄am̄ 'I take, I grasp', 1s pres. **ИМѢЯ** im̄ějŕ / inf. **ИМѢТИ** im̄ěti 'have', as well as the cognate forms of other Sl lges; the Sl form *ьm-ŕ is found in the OCS compound verb 1s **ВЪЗЪМѦ** v̄z-ьm-ŕ / inf. **ВЪЗАТИ** 'take, receive', R **возьму** 'I shall take' || [2] NaIE *^ojem- > OI 'yamati 'holds' || [3] NaIE *nem- > Gt, AS **niman**, ON **nema**, OHG **neman**, NHG **nehmen** 'to take' || OIr **nem** 'gift' || Lt **núoma**, Ltv **nôma** 'rent, lease', Ltv **ņem̄t** 'to take' ¶ WH I 400-2, WP I 207, StSS 259-60, 807-8, Kb. 719-20, Bern. I 425-30, Frn. 512, ≈ EI 564 (*h₁em- 'take, distribute', *nem- 'take\accept legally') || HS: Eg fP **xn̄m** (= h₁n̄m) 'put one's arm around, touch; join' ¶ EG III 377-81, Fk. 202 || U: FP *oma 'own, property' > F, Es **oma** id. || pLp {Lr.} *ōmē 'property; a thing belonging to smb.' > Lp OSw {LÖ} **āme** 'res', Lp N {Fri.} **oabme** 'res, pecus, proprietas', {N} **oabme** / -m- 'sth. which belongs to so., property', Lp L **āpmē** 'property, thing', Lp I {SK} **oami** 'own, property' || ? Vt **умой** umoy 'good, fit' (← *'proper to...'), Vt G {Wc.} **умоу** 'good' ¶ UEW 717, Lr. no. 830, Lgc. no. 4572 ¶ The prehistory of FP *oma may have been: N *HEñom∇ > **Ē^ooma > *oma ◇ If Eg **xn̄m** is a valid cognate, the pN etymon is *ħEñom∇ or χEñom∇ ◇ It is tempting to tie in M *ōm̄cin > WrM {MED} **ōmci** HIM **емч** 'inheritance, share of property; property', HIM **емч** {MED} id., {BMR} 'property', Kl {KRS} **енчн** ončan 'inheritance', {Rm.} **ōmčj** ~ **ōnčj** 'Erbteil, Anteil' (MED 635, BMR III 22, KRS 417, KW 296), but it belongs here only if the meaning 'property' is ancient in M (which is not certain).

812. $\text{₂} *H^{\bar{a}}\bar{n}t\bar{\nabla}$ 'kernel' > IE: NaIE *endr- 'kernel', (?) 'egg' > Vd $\bar{a}n\bar{t}\bar{d}a$ - 'egg', du. 'testicles', $\bar{a}n\bar{t}\bar{d}i$ - 'testicles, OI $an\bar{t}\bar{d}a$ - 'egg, testicle', Kls 'ōndrak 'egg' || SI *ędro 'kernel' > RChS {P} ЯДРО jadro 'nucleus, testiculus', OR ЯДРО jadro, R, Blr я'дро, McdS jadro, SCr, Slv jédro, Cz jádro, Slk jadro, P jadro я'дро 'kernel', Uk я'дро 'grain of corn, kernel, testicle', HLs jadro 'kernel, testicle' ¶ ESSJ VI 65-6, EI 507-8 (IE *h₁en'dro-s 'egg, scrotum', err.: ← *h₁en- 'in'), ≠ P 774 (unc.: SI < IE *o₁d-), Vs. IV 547-8, ≠ M K I 26 (rejecting the connection of $an\bar{t}\bar{d}a$ - with SI and supposing that it is of Munda origin), M E I 162-3 (considering the OI-SI connection "überlegenswert") ¶ NaIE *-r- may go back to a sx || **D** (att. in SD) *an̄ṭi- 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N *Xäñṭṭṭ 'grain, kernel') > Ml $an\bar{t}\bar{t}i$ 'kernel, stone of mango etc., nut', Tm $an\bar{t}\bar{t}i$ -kkot̄ṭai 'cashew nut', Tu $an\bar{t}\bar{d}i$ 'stone of fruit (mangoes etc.)', Kdg maṅge aṅṅi 'mango stone'; D → Prkr $an\bar{t}\bar{h}i$, Hnd $\tilde{a}:ṭ^h\bar{i}$, Bngl $\tilde{a}:ṭ^h\bar{i}$ 'kernel', Ori $\tilde{a}:ṭ^h\bar{i}$ id., Hnd Bhj $\tilde{a}:ṭ^h\bar{i}$ 'kernel\pip of fruit' (× OInA *aṣṭi- [> OI Sk aṣṭi-] 'kernel'); NInA → Krx aṭhū 'mango stone', Mlt aṭi 'stone\seed of a fruit' ¶ D no. 126, Tu. no. 955 ◊ The positional neutralization of the N opposition *n ↔ *ñ is denoted here by the symbol \bar{n} .

813. *HängkU 'fire' > HS (× N *h¹awk¹a¹ 'light [lux], bright', q.v. ffd.): Ch {Stl.} *ʔakuw- 'fire' > WCh: Cg $\hat{a}kwé$, My $\hat{a}kú$, P¹ $\hat{a}kú$, Mbr $kùwá$, Jmb {Sk.} $akwá$, Dir $akúwá$, Ngz $\hat{a}kâ$, Bd $\hat{a}kán$, Wrj {Sk.} $kèwá$, Siri {Sk.} $kúwí$, Ngz {Sch.} $\hat{a}kâ$, Bd {IL} $\hat{a}kà$ 'fire' || ECh: Skr {Sk.} $\hat{o}kó$, Dng {Fdr.} ako , Mgm {J} $\hat{o}kkò$, Mkl {J} $\hat{u}wó$, Jg {J} $\hat{u}k$, Brg {J} $\hat{a}kù$ 'fire' ¶ JI II 13-89, ChC s.v. 'fire' || C: DhI {To.} $\hat{e}ga$ id. || SC: Asa {To.} $uogot$, {E} $uogo$ 'fire' ¶ To. D 128, E SC 318 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 95 [no. 26.2] || IE {EI} *Hng^wni-s > NaIE *ngni-s ({P, Dv.} *egni-/*ogni-) 'fire' > OI ag¹niḥ id. || L igni-s id. || Lt ugnis, Ltv uguns id. | SI *ognь 'fire' > OCS ОГНЬ ognь, Blg огън , SCr $\hat{o}ganj$, Slv ogenj $\hat{o}gán$, Cz, Slk ohně , P ogień , R, Uk огонь 'fire' ¶ P 293, EI 202, Dv. no. 33, M K I 18, WH I 676, Frn. 1158-9, StSS 404-5, Vs. III 118-19 || **U**: FU {UEW} *ǎṅṭ ($\{IS\}$ *eṅkṭ) 'fire', *ǎṅṭ- vi. 'burn' > Chr {Szil.} eṅ 'fire', {Ü} eṅdem vt. 'I incandence (on fire), I roast, I burn (bricks)', Chr: L ъ^{η} -aš vi. 'smoulder' ('тлеть, истлеть'), Uf/B eṅa-, H əṅgä - 'schwelen, anbrennen, angesengt werden, verkohlen' | Z {Savv.} ынь 'flame', {W} +ńal - 'flammen, entbrennen', +ńed - 'entzünden' || Os: Vy yǎṅlǎl -, Kz yǎṅəṭ - v. 'roast on fire' | Hg $\text{é}g$ - vi.

'burn' ¶ UEW 26, Ü 297, MRS 774-5 || D (att. in SD) *aṅal 'fire' > Tm aṅal, Ml anal 'fire, heat', Kn anaḷu 'heat' ¶ D no. 327 || ??φ E: OEL, MEI hu-un 'Licht' (?) ¶¶ HK 717 ◇ IS I 245-6 [no. 106] (*Henka), Blz. E no. 35.

814. *HUṅ't'∇ 'root' > HS: EC *Hund∇ 'root' > Or {Grg.} hundē id. (but not Or Wt {Hn.} hidda_ 'root', Brj 'hiddi 'root of big trees; bloodvessel, tendon', which are from EC {Ss.} *hizz- 'root', cf. Ss. PEC 20, 36) ¶ Grg. 218, Brl. 219, Th. 206, Hn. W 62, ≈ Ss. B 95 || U: FU (att. in FV only) *ont∇ 'root' > pLp {Lr.} *ṅntē id. > Lp: L {LLO} āttēṣ 'the main root of a tree' ('die größte, dickste, unverzweigte Wurzel, Hauptwurzel'), ? S {Hs.} vieddie, N {N} væd'de, Kld vyeñ'd, {SaR} vyeñteṣ 'root' | Mk цнкс unks id., Er Δ {Ps.} unduks ~ undoks 'root, stalk (of a cucumber etc.), sprout' ¶ UEW 719, Lr. no. 834, Lgc. no. 4541, SaR 62-3, Ps. B 130 || A *ṅṅtē 'root' > M *ündü-sün, {ADb.} *ünde-sün 'root' > WrM {MED} ündüsün, HIM {MED, BMR} үндэс, үндсэн, Brt үндэһэ(н), Kl {KRS} үндсн, {Rm.} ündüsṅ, Dg {Pp.} ünd_ūs, ündüsù, {Mrm.} undusun, {Mr.} unduse, {T} undus id., Ord ünd_üsü 'racine' ¶ MED 1007, BMR III 411-12. Chr. 506, KW 458, T DgJ 171, Klz. D II 141, MYC 693, Ms. O 757 || Tg *ṅṅte 'root' > Ewk ṅṅtэ ~ nṅtэ, Lm ṅṅtə, Neg niṅtэ ~ niṅtэ, Orc, Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} niṅtэ, Ud B iṅtэ, Ul muiktэ ~ niuktэ, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} muiktэ, Nn Δ niṅktэ id., Nn Nh {Pt., On., LN} muiktэ 'root', Nn Nh {On.} 'волоски боковых корней'; in Ul, Orl, Nn the word is reinterpreted as having a derivational sx -ktэ ¶ STM I 662, Krm. 272, On. 271, On. LN 105, Pt. 84 || pJ {S} *mṅtṅ > OJ moto, MJ mòtò 'root, foundation', J K mó'tò, J T/Kg motó 'root, beginning', StJ moto-ni 'under' ¶ S QJ 209, Mr. 486, Kenk. 1271-2 ¶¶ SDM 1033-4 (pA *ṅṅnt'e 'root' > Tg. M, J), DQA no. 1543 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *ṅṅte 'root', S AJ 18, 39, 92, 291, ADb. KL s.v. A *ṅṅte, KW 458, 1, MYC 693 ◇ A *ṅ- (> Tg **ṅ-, pJ *m-, M *∅-) is likely to result from regr. as. (*∅...ṅ > pA *ṅ...ṅ) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N *ṅṅnt'∇ > A, U, IE) ◇ Hardly here NaIE *wejt- 'dyer's woad, *Isatis inctoria* (a plant used to produce blue dye)' (> L vitrum 'woad') || Gmc *wajda- id. > OHG weit, NHG waid, MLG wēd, Dt weede, AS wād id., NE woad ¶ WP I 236, WH II 806, KM 833, Kb. 1164, Ho. 378), because such connection is semantically unj. (the most important part of the woad [used to produce dye] is its leaves rather than its root).

815. ₂ ≈ *HUp∇ (t∇k|g∇) or *HU₁P₁t∇k∇ ~ *HU₁P₁t∇g∇ (*H = *h or *ḥ?) 'stalk (of a plant), stem' > IE: NaIE {P} *a|o₁:₁d(e)g₁ω₁o- 'stalk' > OI [AthV] 'adga-h₁ 'cane, stalk' (× N *q∇t∇ or *q∇p₁∇₁t∇ 'tail, hinder

part' [q.v.?) || ??φ Lt *vedegā* 'adze' ({Frn.} 'ε Axt zum Aushauen, Zimmeraxt'), ?? Ltv *vedga* 'Brechstange (mit hölzernem Griff)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, M K I 29, M E I 63, Frn. 1164-5 || | HS: ?σ Eg *hpw.tj* 'ε Gestell, Kletterbaum (auf dem die göttlichen Vögel zu sitzen\hocken pflegen)' ¶ EG II 489 || C: Bj {R} 'ʔabka 'Stiel, Handhabe' || Or *hofa* {E} 'stalk, stem', {Brl.} 'lancia con punta di legno', {Grg.} *hofā* 'spear made of sharpened wood' || SC: Brn {E} *hopi-na* 'handle, haft' ¶ R WBd 336, E SC 309, Brl. 21, Grg. 211 || B ({ʔPr.} ≈ *✓wdg) > Sll *taddägt* (pl. *taddägin*) 'tige ligneuse', Shl {NZ} *addag* 'arbre, branche' ¶ Ds. 278, NZ 298 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} *udugu* ~ *edigu* 'ein Stock z.B. zum Walken' (but {CAD} *edigu* ["meaning incertain"]) ¶ Sd. 1402, CAD IV 33 ¶¶ Tk. I 147 and Tk. SCC 98 [no. 28.4] (Eg, C) ¶¶ The initial HS cns. is rather uncertain. Eg *hpw.tj* (if it belongs here) points to *h-, Ak YB *edigu* seems to suggest *h̄- (but its ev. cannot be decisive because Ak YB was not a really spoken lge), while the origin of Or h- is less clear (both HS *h- and HS *h̄ are not ruled out, cp. [1] Or *hēr-um-* ps. 'marry' and Eg *fP h3y* 'husband' < N **hæ̌ʔ|y,r'E* 'male' and [2] Or *hirriba* ~ *irriba* 'a sleep' < EC **hinrib-* 'eyelash, eyelid' < N *(*hiN*∇) *rimP*∇ or *(*him*∇) *rimP*∇ id.) || | ?σ A: Tg **upu-* 'pluck a fowl > Nn Nh {On.} *upu-* Nn KU *upu-*, Ud *oφodi-* id.; Tg **upu-kte* 'feather' (unless from N **ʔup*∇ 'take wing', 'up', q.v.) > Nn Nh {On.} *rc upukt3* ~ *opukte*, Ud *oφokto*, Ork *upukt3*, Nn Nh *upult3* ¶ *-kta/e is a sx of mass nouns ¶ STM II 281, Ci. 209, On. 432 ◇ Qu.

816. ₂ **H'æ'R*∇ 'goat, sheep' > HS: C: DhI {EEN} *hēri* 'goat, sheep' || SC: Irq {MQK} *ʔāri* 'she-goat', pl. *āra* 'goats', Irq/Grw/Alg/Brn {E} *ara* 'goats' ¶ EEN 15, E SC 297, MQK 16 || ?σ Ch: WCh: Mnt/Ywm {J} *ur* 'he-goat' || ECh: Ll *ōrē* 'goats' ¶ JI II 167, J ChMGB s.v. Mnt/Ywm *ur*, ChC s.v. 'goat', ChL ¶¶ Ember ESS no. 3.b.6, OS no. 1081, Tk. I 54, Tk. SCC 95 [no. 25.3] || | IE **H̄¹er(i)-* ({EI} **h₁er-* 'lamb, kid') > NaIE **er-*, *eri-* 'goat, sheep' (× N **ʔiR'i* ' [male, young] big ungulate' [q.v.] and N **ʔeRq'i* 'ε ruminant' [q.v.]); I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the contamination with N **ʔeRq'i*) > L *ariēs* (gen. *ariētis*) 'ram', Um *erietu* 'arietem' || BSl (< NaIE **er-*, **eri-* × IE **yeHr-* 'springtime, year' [< N **ńaʔrE* ≈ young, newborn', q.v.]) > Pru *eristian*, Lt (j) *éras*, Ltv *jērs* 'lamb' | Sl **jarьka* 'female lamb' (× Sl **jarьka* ← **jaro* 'springtime' < N **ńaʔrE*) > OR *яръка* *jarька*, R 'ярка, 'ярочка 'lamb (female)', Uk, Blr *ярка*, Slk *jarьka* 'year-old sheep', P

j a r k a 'heifer, a lamb of this year' ||| ? Arm *n p n o z o x o z* 'lamb' ([according to P] initial *o-* from **e-* by as) ||| NaIE **er(i)-b^h-* (with the *sx* **-b^h(o)-* of animal names) 'ε horned artiodactyl' (× N **ʕiR^{ʕi}* '(male, young) big ungulate', q.v.) > Gk ἔριφο-ς 'kid' ||| Clt: OIr *h e i r p* (**erb^h-ī-*) 'dama, capra', *e r b (b)* (**erb^h-ā-*) 'cow', NIr *e a r b* 'goat', ScGl *e a r b* 'roe (deer)' ¶ P 326, EI 511, F I 560, WH I 67, Bc. G 333, KSchm. TE, Ld. A 23ff., Ach. III 586, Frn. 121, En. 170, Tp. P E-H 72-5, ≈ ESSJ VIII 179-80.

817. **H₁erU* 'ascend, rise' > HS: B **✓ wHu|ir* 'be above' (× N **ʔürV* or **ʔurE* 'top', q.v.) > Ah {Fc.} *ǎ w r* (pf. *i w a r*) (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), Gh {Nh.} *w a r* (pf. *i w a r*) 'be on\above (sth.)', ETwl, Ty *a w a r* id., 'être levé' (lune, soleil) ¶ Fc. 1511, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, Nh. 208, GhA 201 ||| IE **h₁er-* (or **h^wer-*), **h₁w₁eru-* ({IS} **h^wer-*) 'ascend, rise' (× N **ʔürV* or **ʔurE* '↑') > AnIE: Ht *a r a i -*, *a r i y a -* '(a)rise, lift; raise, (a)rouse', Lw *a r i (y a) -* 'raise'; Ht *a r u -* 'high', *a r r i y a -* 'rouse, stir (from sleep), awaken; start (from sleep), be awake', *a r -* 'stand (by), remain standing' ||| NaIE **er-*/**or-* 'rise, move, stir' > Gk 1s pres. ὀρνύμι and ὀρνύω v. 'stir, stir up, urge on, incite', 1s pres. md. ὀρνυμαι (pfc. ὀρωρα) 'arise, start up; stir oneself', [Hs.] ἔρετο (* ὠρμήθη) 'was set in motion' ||| OI *r_o-r_uō-ti* vi. 'arises, moves', Av *a r a n a o t i* vt. 'moves' ||| Arm *j a n u t u y a r n e m* 'I rise, I stand up' (aor. *j a r t a j y a r e a y*) ||| L o r i o r v. 'rise, arise' ||| MW *cl_y-g_{yf}-or* 'height, high place' ¶¶ IS I 254 (**H^wer-*, in spite of Gk ὀρνύμι), Pv. I 104-8, 123-7, 138-9, 177-8, WP I 148-9, P 326-32, M K I 122, WH I 64-5 and II 222-3, F II 422-4, Vn. A 87, Sl. 103-3, ≠ EI 506 (*o r i o r* < **h₁er-* 'set in motion') ||| D **ēr-*, [GS] **ēr|d-* > Tm *ē r u* v. 'rise, ascend', Ml *ē r u k a*, Kn *ē r u* v. 'rise, increase', Kt *e r*, *e r e r*, *e r r* 'up', Td *ō r -* v. 'rise high', Kdg *a r -* 'rise to head' (liquor), Tu *ē r u -* v. 'ascend, climb, rise', Knd *ē r a s i* 'steep, steeply rising' ¶¶ D no. 916, GS 217 [no. 532], 61 [no. 184] ||| A: [1] pA **ōrV-* or **ōrE* > NaT **ōr-* 'rise' > Tkm *ō r -* 'rise', Tk Δ *ō r -* 'get up', VTt, Bsh *ür-* v. 'sprout', Qmq *ör*, VTt *ür* 'ascent', Nog, ET *ör*, Uz *w r*, Bsh *ür* 'ascent'; (× A {SDM} **p^ʕōre* 'top' < N **p_or^ʕā^ʕV* 'summit, top', q.v. ffd.) OT *ō r* 'height, high, high ground', Chg ≥XV *ör*, *örk* 'high ground, upwards', Tkm *ō r* 'steep ascent', Tkm NC *ō r* 'upwards', Tk *ör* 'high ground, hill', QrB, Qrg *ör*, SY *ür* ~ *jür* 'top', VTt *ür* 'high ground', Qq *ör* 'upper waters'; ¶ Cl. 193, ET Gl 542-3 ||| M (?) **örn_i-* (unless it is **φörn_i-*) > WrM *örni-* {MED} v. 'grow, increase, rise', HIM *ə p h e -* {MED} id., {BMR}. vi. 'grow, develop', ?σ Ord *örnö-* 'se laisser monter, se laisser entraîner' ¶ MED 242, BMR III 40, Pp. IM 54. Ms. O 538 ¶ Qu., because

the available sources (WrM, HIM and Ord) do not distinguish between *∅- and *φ- < *p- ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1173 (pA p'ṓre 'top' > T *ṓr- + [not belonging here]: Tg *poran 'top', M *horay, *horgil 'top' and J *p3r3 'top of carriage') and ≠ DQA no. 1837 (id.) || Tg: Ewk Brg 0r0- v. 'climb on sth.' ¶ Vas. 327 || pKo {S} *òr' - v. 'rise' (× A *ü|ö́r∇(-) 'to rise, up' < N *ʔǘr∇ or *ʔur'É 'top', q.v.) > MKo òr' - , òr- , NKo 0rI- id., {Rm.} 0rI- ~ 0ru- v. 'go upwards, rise, go up to' ¶ Rm. SKE 178-9, S QK no. 991, Nam 380, MLC 1199 ¶¶ The labialized vw. of the first syll. in the Altaic lges is probably due to the infl. of *U of the next syll. ¶¶ SDM 1065 (pA 'rise; up' > Ko + the M and T roots, belonging to pA *ṓr∇- or *ṓrÉ [cf. below]) || [2] pA *ṓr∇- or *ṓrÉ- 'rise; up' (× A *ü|ö́r∇(-) 'to rise, up' < N *ʔǘr∇ or *ʔur'É) > M *örgü- v. 'lift, raise' > MM {H, Lew.} ergu-, {Battal} wärgo-, {[IM] urg(i)-, WrM {MED} örgü-, ergü-, HIM {MED, BMR} örgö-, Brt ürge-, Kl {KRS} 0pɾ- örg- id., {Rm.} örgə- 'aufheben, in die Höhe heben', Dg ergue-, {Mr.} erewē-, Dx ugu-, ShY orgomžili, Mnr urgu- id., Ord ürgü- 'soulever, lever, élever' ¶ Lew. 33, MED 325, BMR III 39, Chr. 511, SM 475, MYC 548, KRS 424, KW 299, Ms. O 761 || T *ǘr 'on top, high above' > OT, MT üze, ShY üze, üzi, Yk ũhe, üöhe id., Tk üz'er 'upper part', Az üzäri 'on, over (на, над)' ¶ ET Gl 622-3, 638-9, Cl. 280-1, Rs. W 541, ARL 304 || pJ *ura(i) 'end of a branch, top of a tree' > OJ ora, ore, J T ura id. ¶ Mr. 563, BJRS II 363 ¶¶ SDM 1065 (pA *ṓri- 'rise; up' > M, T, J + unc. Ko *òr' - v. 'rise' [going back to pA *ṓr∇- or *ṓrÉ [see above]) ¶¶ For both above-mentioned pA roots: Rm. SKE 178, Rm. EAS I 107, Shch. RTM 131 (unc.: M <b- T) ◇ An alt. pN rec. is *H₁orÉ (based on the A reflex), but it is less acceptable because of the D evidence ◇ The reflexes are sometimes hard to distinguish from those of N *ʔǘr∇ or *ʔur'É 'top' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 254-5 (*Horä with *o in spite of D *ēɾ-), IS I 154 ≈ Gr. II 9 (*or 'arise').

818. *H|wur∇ 'male person\animal' > HS: NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} urā 'man (vir)', Zl {LmS} ūra, Gf LmS} ura 'man', Wl {LmS} issi-?ura 'someone', Kf {C} ūrō ~ wurō 'man (vir), 'person, male' (-> ūr-ē 'woman'), Mch {L} wuró 'male animal' ¶ C SE IV 403-4, C SO 25, L M 57, LmS 292 ¶¶ But hardly here CCh: Mdr {ChL} ?urà 'man, person', because its -r- is a reg. reflex of *-d-, cp. Glv {RpB} ūdà 'person' (unless in Mdr ?urà there is contamination of McMdr *uda with the Ch reflex of N *H|wur∇) ¶ JI II 267 || U: FU *ur∇ 'man, male animal' > Furos (gen. uroon ~ urhoon) 'adult man, brave man, hero', uros (gen. uroksen) 'male

animal, two-year-old male reindeer' || ? Lp: N {N} *vârres* /-r'ras- ~ *vâres* /-rras- 'male animal, a male', *vârek* 'two-year-old male reindeer', I *ârēk* ~ *varēk* id., *ârēs* 'male animal', Kld *ořes* id., adj. 'male' || OHg *úr* 'powerful person; lord, God; husband', Hg *úr* (accus. *urāt*) 'lord, mister; husband'; ⇨ OHg *ország* 'reign(ing) (Regierungszeit, uralkodás); country, empire', Hg *ország* 'country, state' ¶ Coll. 121, UEW 545, Sm. 542 (FU **urā* 'male' > FP **ura*, Ugr **ŭra*), MF 653-4, MTE II 1095, EWU 1070, 1579 || ¶ A **ūr*∇ 'male, young male' > Tg **ur* > Ewk *ur* (accus. *urw3*) 'man (vir), male animal', ? WrMc {Z} *yppəšəhə* 'one-year-old deer' ¶ Vas. 450, STM II 281, 284, Z 172 || M **üre*∇ 'young stallion' > MM [S] {H} *urī*∇ 'three-year-old horse', WrM *ūrege* ~ *ūrīye* {MED} 'three- to four-year-old horse', HIM *ypəə* {MED} id., {BMR} 'two- to four-year-old horse', Brt *ypəə* 'three- to four-year-old horse', Kl {KRS} *ypə ūrā* 'three-year-old horse', {Rm.} *ūrē* 'dreijähriges Hengstfüllen', Ord *ūrē* 'étalon de trois à cinq ans' ¶ H 166, MED 1011, 1013, BMR III 425, KW 459, KRS 553, Chr. 512, Ms. O 760 || NaT **u:ri* 'male child, son' (× A **p'uri* 'child, offspring[s]' < N **p.ôr'i* 'child, offspring') > OT *uri* 'male child, son', (× T **uru*∇ 'clan'): Tv *uru*∇ 'child, girl', Tf *uru*∇ 'child' ¶ Cl. 197, Ra. 237, ET Gl 604-6 ¶¶ SDM 603, DQA no. 630 || pKo {S} **óràpí* 'brother' > MKo *óràpí*, NKo {S} *orabi* id., {Rm.} *orabi* ~ *oräbi* 'brother (used by and in relation to a sister)', *or-əmi* 'brother's wife' ¶ Rm. SKE 177-8, S QK no. 791, MLC 1197 || pJ {S} **z̥t̥z̥* 'younger brother' > OJ *oto*, *otop̥i*, MJ *òtòùtò*, J T/Kg *otōto*, J K *ótótó* ¶ S QJ no. 368, Mr. 513, Kenk. 1471 ¶¶ SDM 607-8 (pA **j̥òre* 'male, young male' > T, M, J, Ko + unc. T **er-kek* 'man, husband, male' [going back to N **hæ̥p̥|y,r'E* 'male']), DQA no. 650, SDM97 s.v. **ur*∇ (T, M, Tg, Ko); Rm. SKE 177-8 and Rm. EAS I 107 (in both sources Ko, T + M **ori* 'young' [see N **hoR'i* 'newborn, a young']) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 adduced Tg **ηur* (Ewk *ηur* 'male dog') ({ADb} < A **ηur*∇ 'young male animal') and reconstructed N **η₁Ir*∇ 'male' ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 259 (**er* 'man') (U + err.: IE **r̥sen*, T, M, Ko, Gil; see N **hæ̥p̥|y,r'E* 'male').

819. **h₁âp̥∇r̥∇* (= **pa₁ur̥∇*?) 'long, big' > IE **h_xa|o¹h_xr-* 'long', (?) 'far' > OI *ā'rē* loc. 'far, in the distance', *ā'rāt* abl. 'from a distant place' || Tc A {Wn.} *aryu* 'long' (of time) || AnIE: Lv {Mlc.} *ārray(a)-*, {Lar.} *ara-*, *a(r)rai-*, *ari-*, HrLv {Mer.} *ara-* 'long' ¶¶ Wn. I 150-1 (with unconvincing proposal of an IE etymology of Tc *aryu*), Mlc. CL 26, Lar. 30, Mer. HHG 30, Ivn. SANA 153 (Lv *aryu-*), WP I 79 (IE **āro-* 'die

Freie, Weite, Raum'), ≈ M K I 78 || **D**: (att. in SD) *aṛ- 'great' > T m aṛ u v a m 'greatness, abundance', Kn a l u m b a 'excess, greatness' ¶ D no. 287 || **HS**: ECh: Mgm {JA} ṛârrò adv. 'loin, lointain' ¶ JA 66 || S (+ext.) *√ṛk 'be\become long' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Aram G √ṛk, Ak inf. aṛ ā k u id., Ar G √ṛk 's'arrêter longtemps (quelque part)', BA ṛ'ṛṛ, ṛārīk, Sr ṛar ī k, Md a r i k a 'long', Sb ṛ k '(?) duration of time' ¶ HJ 108, KB 85-6, 1674, OLS 49, Br. 49, Ln. 50-1, BK I 26, CAD I/2 223-6, Sd. 83-5, BGMR 7, Bll. 27, DRS 33 || **A** *uṛ∇ 'long' (→ old [not new]) > T *uṛa- 'be(come) long' > OT u z a- 'be(come) long, be long drawn out' (usually of time, less often of space), XwT XIV u z a- 'be long drawn out', Chg ≥XV u z a- 'be(come) long', Tk u z a- 'be(come) long, last long, be\go far away', CrTt, Uz, Ln, Tv u z a- 'be(come) long', Tkm u ḍ a-, Yk u ḥ a- 'get elongated', ET u z a y-, Qzq ṽ z a- u z a-, Qq, Qmq u z a- 'become longer, go away far', Kr G u z a- 'be(come) long, last long', StAlt u z a- id., 'move far away', Qrg u z a- 'go away far'; -ḍ: [1] T *uṛatī (gerund?) ~ *uṛata > ET u z a t i 'for a long time', Qrg u z a t a, StAlt u z a d a, Xk u z a d a id., 'further', Tv u z a d i 'prolonging' (gerund), Tf u z a d i 'in a drawling manner (протяжно)'; [2] T *uṛak 'long' > OT u z a q 'long drawn out, long lasting', 'far away, distant', MOsm XV u u z a q 'long' (of time)', Chg ≥XV u u z a q 'far away, distant', Qrg u z a q, VTt o z a k ḥ z a q, Bsh ḥ ḍ a q 'long' (of time), 'for a long time', Tkm u ḍ a q, ET u z a q, Qzq ṽ z a q, u z a q id., 'lasting; distant, remote', Tk u z a k 'remote', Xlj {DT} u z ā q, Chv в ā р а х ṽ ḥ r a x 'long' (of time); [3] T *uṛu;ḥn 'long' (of time and space) > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥XV u z u n, MQp XIII {Cl.} u z ū n, Tk u z u n, Tkm u ḍ ū n, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Uz, ET, Qrg, StAlt, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf u z u n, Qzq ṽ z y n, Nog, Qq u z i n, VTt o z y n ḥ z i n, Bsh o ḥ o n ḥ ḍ ḥ n, Yk u ḥ u n id., Chv в ā р ā м ṽ ḥ r ā m ḍ ḥ ḥ r ā m id., 'high'. ¶ Cl. 281-3, 288-9, ET Gl 570-2, Sht. 279, Nj. 123-6, Jud. 798-9, Ash. V 314-17, Fed. I 110, Jeg. 50, ChVS 31, TkR 657, BR 411, Ra. 238, DT 307, Md. 59, ≈ Rs. W 518 (unc.: T *uṛ < *puṛ-) || M *ur-tu 'long' > MM [L, MA, IM] u r t u 'long', [S] {H} u r t u 'long, distant', WrM {MED} u r t u, HIM {MED, BMR} у р т, Brt у т а, Δ у р т а 'long' (in time and space), 'length', Ord u r t ' u 'long, longueur', Dg {Pp.} o r ' t ~ o r ' t ḍ, {MYC} ortu, Mnr E {MYC} r d z 'long'; M *uri-da 'before' (with the locative *-da?), *uridu 'former', 'vordere' (sem. infl. of N *per∇ [= *per'o'] 'lip, edge' [→ 'front, vordere, before']) > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Ms.} u r i d u 'der frühere, antérieur', [MA] {Pp.} u r i d a 'before (vor, avant)', IM {Pp.} urida 'прежде', 'передний', WrM u r i d u {MED} 'former, past,

old', 'front (vordere). south', HIM урд {MED} id., {BMR} 'former, past, old', 'front, in front, south', Br урид, Kl {KRS} урд urdā 'before' (adv., postp.), {Rm.} urīdā 'vor, vorn; früher', MMgl, Mgl urtu, Dg {MYC} ordōn, Mnr E {MYC} urda 'before, former', Ord urid_a 'auparavant, anant. autrefois, jadis', urd_a 'avant toute autre chose, avant tous les autres'¶ But hardly here (⇔ S, SDM, DQA) Mnr H {T} fudur, Mnr Nr {SM} fudur, Dx {T} fudu, Ba {T} fdu 'long' (see N *P_U'h'₁∇₁d∇ (R∇) 'long, spacious, [?] far') ¶ S AJ 23 [no. 53], H 166, Pp. L I 1255, Pp. MA 366, 449, MED 883-5, BMR III 344, 348-9, Chr. 475-9, KRS 536, KW 450, Iw. 141, Rm. M 41, MYC 680-1, SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149, Ms. O 738, 741 || pKo {S} *òrá 'late, old (not new)' > MKo òrá, NKo orā id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 146], S QK no. 146 ¶ S AJ 23 [no. 53] ¶¶ SDM 623 (pA *júrō 'long, late' > M [with unc. adduction of Mnr φudur 'long, prolongé, longueur'], T, Ko + unc. Tg *χ₁i|ür- 'ancient, former'; pA *j- is erroneously reconstructed on the alleged ev. of Tg *χ₁i|ür-), DQA no. 2545 (id.), S AJ 34 (unc. adduction of Mnr φudur) and 283 (A *urA), S AI 34, 283, Rm. EAS I 112, KW 452, Pp. VG 81 ◇ The S cognate is not certain because of the cns. *k (from a sx, cp. T *urák 'long?'). If the S cognate is valid, the initial N cns. was *ʔ. The pA cognate is dubious because of the deviant vw. *u. A possible solution is to suppose a N *ʔaʔur∇ with a syncope (loss of the internal *-u-) in IE and D and with the loss of *a in A ◇ Blz. L no. 104c (IE, D, S).

820. *Ha₁w∇₁š∇ (= *ʔawiš∇?) 'male, male person' > HS: NrOm: Zl {CR} ašo, {C} asā, Shn {Lm.} aššà 'person, man', Bdt {Fl.} ače, Hrr {Fl.} ač i, Cha {C} asā, aččā, Gmr {Fl.} ac, {Bul.} ацъ, Bnc {Wdk.} ac, Ym {Wdk.} àsù 'person, man (vir), Kf {Fl.} aš(š)ō, {C} ašō 'person', Mch {L} ʔašō 'man', Amuru {Fl.} asō, Anf {MYTY} ašō, Doka {CR} asś, Wl {C} asā, Drz/Malo {Fl.} asa, Oyda {Fl.} a'si ʔ ass, Male {Fl.} asi, Bsk {Fl.} asɜ, BMa {Fl.} ε'se 'person' ¶ The forms with č, c may be due to the addition of a snglt. sx (*-t∇?) ¶ C SE III 68 and IV 406, Wdk. BY 97, 117, 164, Fl. OWL s.v. 'person', Lm. Sh 272, MYTY 116 || C: Ag: Xm {R} ās-aω / as-ō adj. 'male' (asō ω i'dīl 'ein männliches Junge', āsō dū'χarā 'male ass') (× [?] N *ʔiñ∇šê 'person, man' [q.v.], cp. Bln {R} rə's-āuχ adj. 'male') ¶ R Ch. II 28 || CCh: Mch {Mch.} aωus 'man, male', Mbara {TrnSL} wùs 'husband, male' ¶ JI II 231, TrnSL 281, ChC s.v. 'man (male)' ¶ The Ch cognate has been suggested by Blz. ||??σ S *°✓ ʔayš|s- > Ar ʔays- 'sperm of a male' ¶ BK II ¶¶ ≈ Blz. OL no. 51 (HS *aω₁u₁s- 'male, strength'), C SE

III 68 (Om, C) || **U:** FP *a|oš̄∇ 'male animal' > Chr: L oжo 'ožo, U/B ožo, H oжы 'ožь 'stallion', L {Ü} ožo sösna 'boar' (lit. 'male swine') ||| Prm *už > Z, Vt už 'stallion' ¶ UEW 607-8, Sm. 552 (FP *oš̄∇ 'stallion'), MRS 371, Ü 140, LG 296 || **A:** Tg **as- + sxs: *as-ī 'woman' (*as- 'male' + *-ī, probably a fossilized marker of female sex < N *ʔ'a'y∇ 'mother' [→ 'female', marker of fem.], q.v.): Ewk asī, Sln aš̄ē ~ aš̄ī, Lm, Ork asi, Neg asi:, ? Orc asa 'woman', Ul asi- (with a ppa.) 'wife', Nn Nh/Bk/KU asi 'female (animal), asi- (with a ppa.) 'wife' | Tg **as- + other sxs: *asātkān 'girl' > Ewk asātkān, Lm asatqan, Neg asatkān id., *asanta > Orc asanta 'woman', Ul a^Hanta 'girl, maiden' etc. ¶ STM I 55, On. 47 ◇ N *-w∇- is suggested by CCh (Msg aωuε, Mbara wùs). If Ar ʔays- belongs here, the N rec. must be *ʔawiš̄∇, otherwise it is to be reconstructed as *Ha_Lw∇,š̄∇.

821. *Haya 'pursue' > **HS:** Ch **√ʔy 'hunt' > NrBc: P' {MSk.} ʔíyà, Sir {Sk.} ʔíyá n. 'hunt' ¶ JI II 198, ChC s.v. 'hunt', Sk. NB, MSk. s.v. ndar ʔíyà || **IE** *oHx̄i- / (?) *oHx̄aj̄- or *oHx̄ej̄- > OI i'nō-ti, i'nvā-ti 'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av i'nəoⁱti 3s pres. 'vergewaltigt, kränkt' ||| ? Gk αἰνός 'dread, horrible, terrible' ¶ P 10, M K I 87, 128, F I 41, Ch. 35 || **U:** FU *aya- v. 'drive, pursue' > F aja- v. 'drive, chase, pursue, hunt; ride', Es aja- v. 'drive, pursue', pLp {Lr.} *vōjē > Lp N {N} vuooggje- / -j- v. 'drive (a horse, reindeer), drive on\over', Lp L {LLO} vuođjē- 'fahren (mit Renntier oder Pferd)', Lp Kld vujje-, Lp Nt vuajje- 'fahren, lenken' | pPrm *{LG} ay- v. 'pursue, run, rush' {≠ LG: v. 'run, rush'} > Vt C uy+- v. 'pursue', Vt N [URS] uy+- v. 'overtake (догнать)', Z вoй- voy- 'run downhill without restraint' (of a horse with a rider), Z Vm/I/Le voy-l+- 'бегать, носиться' ||| pObU **_Lw_Luyt- > pVg *_Lw_Luyt > Vg: MK {Kn.} woyt- 'verfolgen', UK {Mu.} vuyt- id., 'jagen' ¶ Coll. 129, UEW 4-5, Sm. 542 (FU *ājā- 'drive' > FP *aja-, Ugr *ājā-), LG 61, Lr. no. 1423, Lgc. no. 8751, MK 744, Mu. AKE 622 ¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 243) was right in rejecting the alleged Aryan (Ir) origin of FU *aya- (presumably from the stem, represented by OI aj- and Av az- v. 'drive'), because the Aryan stem was *až- ~ *až̄-, hence the expected FU stem should have been *aš̄∇- or the like rather than *aya- || **A** *a_L:y∇- 'go, walk'; (?) 'journey, military expedition' > M *aya-n 'journey, travel' > MM [S] аya(н) 'hunt, military expedition, campaign' ('Jagd, Kriegszug, Jagdzug'), WrM аyaн {MED} 'travel, journey, expedition', HIM аян {MED} id., {BMR} 'travel, journey, дальняя дорога, странствие', Brt аян id., Kl {KRS} аян

'military expedition', {Rm.} ауη ~ ауη 'Reise, Weg, Richtung', Ord ауап 'voyage, expédition, chasse' ¶ H 10, MED 23, BMR I 198, Chr. 40, KRS 60, KW 4, Ms. O 10 || pJ {S} *àyùm- v. 'walk' ({AD} 'step, walk') > OJ ауум-, MJ àyùm- {Mr.} 'step, walk', J T ауúm-, J K áyúm-, J Kg àyùm- id. ¶ S QJ no. 153, Mr. 679, Kenk. 70 || Tg *āy-: [1] Nn Nh {On.} āi- v. 'step (on sand\snow, entering deep in it)' | [2] ?σ Tg *ay₁a₁- 'run quickly' > WrMc {Hr} ауа-, {Z} ая- 'run fast' (of a horse), 'take wing, fly', Ewk ауіη 'swift-footed', 'fast' (of running, walking), Ork ауамапу(п-) 'беровой (fast-running?)' (reindeer, horse, dog)', ауамунžі adv. 'fast' ¶ STM I 20-1, Vas. 44, On. 30, Z 10, Hr 62-3 ¶¶ SDM 277-8 (pA *āya 'go, walk' > Tg *āy-, M, J + unc. T *Ay 'revolve, rotate, go round; tarry'), DQA no. 62 (pA *āya 'go, walk'; a questionable comparison with IE *e₁- 'go' [< N *ʔ'e₁y∇ 'come, arrive', q.v.]), Mr. 679 ◇ Cf. IS I 243: IE, U, A (N {IS} *Haya 'pursue, chase').

822. *H₂oy∇ (= *hoy∇?) 'by me, my' > K *^hw-, agentive px of 1s in verbs > OG v- / -w- (after the px χ- of 3s objecti), OG X χw-, OG H hw- (in the "absolute passive" forms: OG X χw-i-mal-v-i 'I hide myself', χw-i-qaV 'I was'), G v-, G In h-ü- (÷ G v-i-), Mg, Lz v- (before vowels), b-/p-/p̄- (before cnss), Sv χw- ¶¶ The initial lr. is probably identical with what Mach. (Mach. K 71-3) reconstructed as *h- ¶¶ Dt. 25-7, Fn. GAS 79, Marr 44-5 || **HS: [1]** HS ≈ *^oʔuy∇ > Eg ωy 'I' (enclitic prn.) (× N *w∇y∇ 'we'?) ¶ Ed. 75, EG I 270-1 ||| **[2]** S *^oyā- 'me' (stem of the prn. in oblique cases): Ak yā-ti 'me', OAk yā-šī(m) > Ak yā-šī 'to me' ¶ Sd. G 41 || C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} yī-t 'me', Bln {R} yi-t 'me, to me' ||| Bj {RHd.} -ē- (-h-ē-b 'me', sx of verbs) ||| EC: Sml N í 'me', í 'to me', Rn i- (verbal px) 'me, to me', Elm {Hw.} ye-se, yō-lo 'I', Dsn {Hw.} ye abs., yu nom. 'I', {To.} yú abs., yâ (subject) 'I', ye 'me', Arr yé 'I', Sd -ē 'me', as well as probably Hd. i- 'my' ¶ RHd. B 112, Ap. ACA, R WB 364-5, Abr. S 125, To. DL 210 ||| **[3]** HS *ʔ∇ya 'my' > C: HEC *-ʔ₁∇₁ya 'my' > Sd {Hd.} -ʔya, Kmb -e, -ī-ha m. / -ī-ta f.; LEC *-ya 'my' > Sml -k-ay(-gu) / -t-ay(-du), Rn {PG} -kāya / -tāya id., Or -k-i(y)ya / -t-i(y)a id. (in Sm, Rn and Or -k- and -t- are gender markers of the noun, Sml -gu and -du are gender-dependent determiners [≈ the']) ||| SC: Irq {Mous} -éʔ, Alg -í, Brn -ayí 'my' ||| Ag: Aw {Hz.} yí- 'my' ¶ Hd. HEC 258-9, Abr. S 125, 312-3, Mous 97, Hn. W, Sr. GBO, Sr. 121-3, Mrn. G || B *-y / *-ī 'my' > Kb, Shl, Tw, Si, Tmz, Wrg -i etc. 'my' (ffd. see Pr. M I-III 164 and AiM 215-17) || S *-ya 'my' (> *-ī after stem-final cnss) > Ak -ya / -ī, Hb, Aram -ī, Ug -y, Ar

-ya / -ī, Gz -ya 'my' ¶ Lip. 306-7 || Eg -y 'my' ¶ Lpr. 63-4 || Ch: Mrg -á yù, Msg -a, -ya, Hs -a 'my' ¶¶ Ap. Kh I 259, 263, Hd. HEC 258-9, Ow. 105, Sr. 121-3, Ss. D 207, RHd. B 112, AD EPCChL, AD KJ 29-31, PG 40-1, Hw. A 14, 215, To. DL 210, Mous 92 ¶¶ [4] HS *ʔ∇-, marker of 1s subiecti: S {Hz.} *ʔa- in active G-verbs > Ak a-, WS (in prefix-conjugated tenses): Hb ʔε- (before cns. clusters) / ʔā- (before single cns), Ug ʔa-, BA ʔε-, JEA ʔi- (before cns. clusters), Sr W ʔε-, Ar ʔa-, Gz ʔa-, Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq ʔʒ-; in the ps. verbal forms and in derived stems the marker of 1s is *ʔ- + a vw. that depends on the prehistory of the S ps. voice and derived stems (mostly *-u-) ¶ Hz. VP ∇ || C *ʔ∇-, 1s marker of prefix-conjugated verbs > Bj *ʔa-, Ag: Aw a-, EC: Sa, Af ʔu/i- (p.), ʔ-a- (pres.), Sml, Rn ∅- (Sml N i q ī n 'I know' ↔ t-i q ī n 'thou knowst' and y-i q ī n 'knows', i q i 'I say' ↔ 2s t-i q i, 3m y-i q i, Rn a m ī t 'I am coming' ↔ y-a m ī t '[he] is coming', t-a m ī t 'thou art coming') ¶ AD KJ 50, 118, PG 43 ¶¶ Dk. SHL 80-1, Lip. 370-1, Rsnt. GBA 44, Jo. MSA 15, AD IPCV || IE: [1] pIE stative marker of 1s *-χ¹a¹ > Ht -h₁i, NaIE *-Ha, e.g. *w₀i_d-Ha 'I know' (← 'seen by me') > OI √ēda, Gk *ἴδω*, Gt *wa it id*. ¶¶ [2] pIE marker ({Bks} *-h₂) of 1s in the medium voice (preceding the voice-marker *r) (with a complicated and obscure development, yielding Ht pres. -ha(ha)ri, p. -ha(ha)ti, L pres. md.-ps. -o-r etc.) ¶¶ [3] NaIE *-ō (< *-o-H), 1s marker in the pres. tense of the thematic verbs (*-o- being the thematic vw. of the stem) > OI -ā-(m i), Lt -ū, Gk -ω, L -ō, OIr -u (b i r u 'I carry'), Gt -a ¶¶ Kur. Ap 41-8, Kur. IC 61-2, Wtk. GIV 105-6, Fs. 547, Bks 238-42, Bks OH 72-6, ≈ EI 467 (1s *-h₂e₁, thematic 1s *-o-h₂) || D *y¹a¹ > Brh ī 'I', NaD *yān / (stem of the obl. cases) *ya_n- 1s prn.) > OTm yān / e_n, Ml *ńān-* / e_n-, OKn *ān* / e_n-, Tu yānъ ~ yēnъ / e_n-, Tl *ēnu*, Klm, Prj *ān* / an-, Krx, Mlt *ēn* / e_ng- ¶¶ The NaD element *-n- (< N *nu, marker of genitive → marker of obl. cases) is due to the levelling within the case paradigm of the prn. ¶¶ Zv. 35-6, 128, Zv. CDM 40-4, An. DL 68-74, D no. 5160 || E: MEI, LEI u 'I' < {Dk.} *hu id.; MEI -h (> AchEI -∅), verbal subject sx of 1s (MEI hu tta-h > AchEI u tta 'I do'); Diakonoff's hyp. is based on comparison of u 'I' with this postverbal -h 'I'; (h > ∅ regularly in the history of Elamite) ¶¶ Dk. JDP A 108, Rnr EL 76, 89-90, Paper RAE 93-7 ◇ The pK (> OG, G, Sv) syntax (at least in the past tenses) was ergative, the agens of the transitive verb being expressed by a noun in the agentive (ergative) case. This fact suggests that the agentive px of 1s *(h)w- goes back to a N prn. meaning

'by me'. The existence of an etymologically identical 1s px (*ʔ∇-) in HS suggests that in the prehistory of HS there was an ergative period, with the ergative construction being predominant in the language, hence the prevailing verb structure with *ʔ∇- as the marker of 1s subiecti. But it is likely to have coexisted with a HS nominative construction, as far as one can judge from its scarce traces: [1] the verb yom-mi 'I am' / yon-ti 'thou art' in Kmb, the form of the dependent verb in Hd: 1s 'yó-m-o, 2s 'yón-t-o, ending *-m∇ / *-t∇ of certain tenses in HEC (going back to the analytic construction of a verbal noun + the aux. verbum substantivum *yon-mi/*yon-ti, *F* AD PLOG 103-10), suggesting that verbs with *-mi as the subject ending of 1s (similar to and etymologically identical with verbs in IE and U) still existed in early pHS, [2] the accus. ending *-m∇ that survived in SOm, unlike in all other HS lges, where its absence may be explained by the predominantly ergative syntax and where patiens (later accusative) is the unmarked actant of the sentence ("actant" in Mel'čuk's terminology). The preverbal position of the agentive subject markers in K (*ʰw-) and in HS (*ʔ∇-) corresponds to the syntactic rules of pN: agentive pronouns do not occupy the post-predicative (sentence-final) position (as the N subject pronouns *mi 'I' and *t'ü'/*s'ü' 'thou' do), but are placed before the predicate (as all object words do). In apparent contradiction to this rule, the pIE stative marker of 1s *-xε and the other above-mentioned pIE endings of 1s follow the verbal stem rather than precede it. The contradiction can be explained away by supposing that these IE verbal forms go back to a pre-IE analytic construction of a verbal nominal + a prefix-conjugated aux. verbs (as in C) ◇ The N vw. *-o- is re-constructed on the ev. of K (pointing to a labialized vw.) and IE (IE *-xε rules out N *u and *ü) ◇ For ffd. *see* AD PP 67-74, 82-7, 93-103, 112 ◇ ≠ Gr. I 67 (connects IE *-H of 1s with "EurA" K 'I' > Hg. -k 1s etc.).

823. *hU₁w₁ĉ∇ (or *hUw∇ĉ∇) 'loins, lap' > HS: WS *huĉan- id. > Hb 𐎧𐎢𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 'fold of garment, bosom', Amr {G} ✓ hšn v. (?) 'embrace', Ar حَضَنَ hīĉn- {BK} 'sein; toute la partie du corps comprise entre les bras, les aisselles et les côtes; l'entre-bras; l'étreinte', Gz 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hāšn (pl. hāšān) 'bosom, womb, lap, embrace', Tgr 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hššn 'lap'; Aram (dis. *h...f > *h...ʔ > h...∅): JA [Trg.] 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hēnnā 'gremium, sinus', {Js.} 'lap, bosom', Sr 𐎧𐎢𐎫 hānnā 'lap, privy parts', Md hana 'lap, loins, embrace, privy parts'; hardly here (because of the initial χ-) (⇔ KB and other authors) Ak χišnu 'protection' (rather a derivative from the verb ✓ χšn 'shelter, receive in a friendly way') and Ak χušanru 'sash, belt' (⇔

MiK) (most probably a loanword) | with a de-emphasized sibilant: ?? S *^oħaš- > Ar ħaš-a-n, ħaš-wat-, ħiš-wat- 'viscère (toute partie intérieure du corps)', ?ϕ Ak fOB ḫaš ū {CAD} 'lungs, belly, entrails' (the unexpected ḫ- suggests that this is loan from a WS lge) ¶ KB 330, KBR 344, GB 252, G A 20, Js. 481, Lv. T I 269, Br. 242, PS 1317-18, BK I 435-6, 449, DM 124, Fr. I 394, L G 226, LH 102, CAD VI 129-30, 143, 203, 259, Sd. 335, MiK I no-s 1.128-9 || ?σ K *^oħač- > Mg oč-iš-i 'back (of the body)', oč-iš-a 'waist of a garment'; Mg -iš- (< K *-iš-) is a sx of gen., -i is the nominative ending, so that oč-iš-i means literally dors-ali-s ¶ Q 295 || A *ūč-a > T *ūč-a 'loins, haunches, rump' (× N *^uôč-∇ 'bone', [?] 'backbone' × N *^uoqEž-∇ or *^uož-∇q-∇ 'thigh, haunch', q.v.) > OT uč-a {Cl.} '≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūžā, [CC] uč-a 'back', OOsM XV už-a 'buttocks', Chg لچو | ~ هچو | uč-a 'back (dos)', Tkm ūž-a 'rump; dock, part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail; sacrum', Osm {Rh.} už-a 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [už-a] 'coccyx', VTt oča bš-a, Bsh oca bsa 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt yča uca 'back (dos), haunch, loins', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uč-a uca, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uč-a 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uč-a, už-a 'rump', QK {Rl.} +ž-a, Tb uč-a, Qmn {Rl.} +ž-a 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uč-a 'rump, back (dos)', StAlt uca 'thigh, rump, meat of the hind part of an animal, back', Sg uč-a 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY už-a ~ uca, Nog uš-a, VTt bš-a, Bsh Δ bsa 'loins', Tv už-a 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uha 'hind part of an animal', Chv L {Fed.} věče 'thighbone', {Ash.} id., 'область между ребрами и os illum', Chv Δ {Ash.} vāčā 'thighbone'; some NaT lge б→ Chv {ET} ыса +z_a 'rump', {ChVS} ыса шәмми +z_a š̄mmi 'sacrum, rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, TkR 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, 386, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288 ¶ Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT *ū, while Yk u seems to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a kind of shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe [F Pp. J 55]) ¶ T б→ M: MM [Mukaddimat al-Adab, Vocabulaire mongol d'Istanboul], MMgl [the Zirni manuscript] ūč-a, WrM uquca {MED} 'croup, sacrum, loins', HIM yuc {MED} id., {BMR} 'sacrum, loins, hind part of animal's trunk (задняя часть туловища)', Brt yuca 'croup, sacrum', Kl {KRS} yuc ūcъ 'sacrum, back (dos), croup of a horse', {Rm.} ūca 'das Kreuz im Körper, Hinterteil, Rücken, Steiß', Ord ūc'a 'la partie postérieure du dos (chez un animal)', Mgl {Wr.} uca 'back (dos)' (on the borrowing see s.v. N *^uôč-∇) (cf. MED 864, BMR III

372, Chr. 481, KRS 543, KW 455, Wr. B 165, Ms. O 745, as well as on MM $\bar{u}\check{c}a$: Pp. MA, Iw. and Lg. VMI) || Tg * $\bar{u}_{\cdot}c\grave{a}$ 'hind part of the body' (the possible length of * \bar{u} being suggested by the T cognate) > Orc $u\check{c}(\check{c})a$ 'hind part, stern of a boat', WrMc {Z} $\bar{u}c\grave{a}$ 'hind part, sternum, sacral bone', {Hr} $u\check{c}a$ 'weichgekochter Rinder-, Schaf- oder Hirsch-schwanz' ¶ STM II 290, Z 165, Hr 942 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1482-3 (pA * $\bar{u}\check{c}'i$ 'end, edge' > T * $\bar{u}\check{c}$ - 'end, edge' + [not belonging to pA * $\bar{u}\check{c}a$ 'back, backbone'] M * $\bar{u}\check{c}\check{u}g\check{u}r$ 'end, edge' and pKo * $u\check{c}uk$ 'top of a tree, upper branches'), ≠ DQA no. 2720 (pA * $\bar{u}\check{c}'\nabla$ 'behind, rump, fish fin') (see N * $\bar{y}\hat{o}\check{c}\nabla$ '↑') || D * $\bar{u}\check{c}$ - 'groin, lap, waist' or the like > Ml $o\check{c}i, o\check{c}uku$ 'groin', $u\check{c}a$ id., 'testicle of oxen', Kt $o\check{c}$ 'waist', Kn $u\check{c}i, u\check{c}a, u\check{c}u, u\check{c}e$ 'hip, waist', $u\check{c}i, u\check{c}alu$ 'pouch made in front by folding or doubling a part of the lower garment', Tl $o\check{c}i$ 'lap (part of body or of clothing)', Nk $o\check{c}i$ 'lap' ¶¶ D no. 947.

823a. * $\bar{h}u\check{d}\nabla$ 'sister', '€ female relative' > K * $\bar{u}_{\cdot}da$ 'sister' > OG, G $da-$, Mg, Lz $da(l)-$ id., Sv UB/L $udil-$, Sv LB $widil-$ 'sister (in relation to another sister)' ¶¶ K 69, K² 36, FS K 92-3, FS E 97 (all of them reconstructed K * $\bar{d}a-$), TK 725 || U * $\bar{r}o'\delta\nabla$ > Es $\check{c}de$ 'sister' || Slq Tz $\check{c}lenta, \check{c}lta$ 'younger niece-in-law, wife's sister, husband's sister' ¶¶ KKIH 195 ¶¶ The Sq cognate was suggested by Hl. (p.c., 1975) || HS: S: Ar $\check{c}ad\bar{a}d-at-$ 'woman, wife' ¶ BK I 388 || Ch: ECh: Ke $\acute{a}d\check{c}d\grave{e}$ 'daughter-in-law \ mother-in-law (of a woman); grandmother', Mgm {J} $\acute{a}y\check{d}\acute{e}$, Mkl {J} $\check{c}and\acute{e}$ 'daughter-in-law', 'mother-in-law' || CCh: Msg {To.} $\acute{a}d\check{c}$, Msg Ng {ChL} $\acute{a}d\acute{a}$, ? ϕ Klb $\acute{a}\check{c}\acute{c}i\acute{n}\acute{i}$ 'grandmother' ¶ Eb. 23, ChC s.v. 'daughter-in-law', 'mother-in-law' and 'grandmother', ChL || A: pJ {S} * $\bar{d}ia$ or * $\bar{d}ai$ 'elder brother\sister, elder relative' (× N * $\bar{t}a'q|g'ay'\hat{u}'$ 'relative-in-law', q.v.) > OJ ye ¶ S QJ no. 813, Mr. 392.

824. * $\bar{h}aL\hat{u}$ (or * $\bar{h}aLw\nabla$) '€ a leaf-bearing tree' > HS: S * $\bar{o}\check{c}h\bar{l}w$ > Ar {Fr.} $\check{c}al-\check{c}ul\bar{a}w\bar{a}(y)$ '€ a small tree', {Ln.} $\check{c}ul\bar{a}w\bar{a}(y)$ '€ a small (evergreen or thorny?) tree' ¶ Fr. I 421, Ln. 634 || K: G $alva, alvis-\chi e$ 'poplar' ¶ Chx. 14 || IE * $\bar{H}elis-$ 'alder' > L $alnus$ (* $\bar{a}ls-no-s$) id. || Gmc * $\bar{a}luz$, * $\bar{a}liso$ id. > OHG $elira \sim erila$ > NHG $Eller, Erle, Dt els, ON qlr, AS alor$ > NE $alder$; Gt * $\bar{a}lisa$ \rightarrow Sp $aliso$ id.; Gmc $lges \rightarrow$ Bsq $(s)altza$, It Cl $au\check{z}inu$ id. || Lt $\bar{a}\check{c}ksnis$ id., Ltv $\bar{a}\check{c}ksnis$, Pru * $\bar{a}l(i)skande$ (attested as $\bar{a}bskande$) 'alder' || Sl * $\bar{e}l\bar{x}a$ (\sim * $\bar{o}l\bar{x}a$) 'alder' > SrChS $\bar{\epsilon}l\bar{x}a$ $jel\bar{x}a$, Blg $el\bar{x}a$, SCr $j\acute{o}ha$, Slk $jel\bar{c}ha$, P $ol\bar{c}ha$, R $ol\bar{c}ha$; \rightarrow * $\bar{e}l\bar{s}\check{a}$ (< * $\bar{e}l\bar{x}-ya$) id. > Slv $j\acute{e}l\check{s}a$, Cz $ol\check{s}e$, Slk $jel\check{s}a$, P $olsza$ || Mcd [Hs.] $\acute{\alpha}l\check{c}\alpha$ 'white poplar' ¶ P 302-3,

WH I 31, Vr. 686, Ho. 3, EWA II 1049-53, OsS 132, Gml. 27, ≈ ML no. 345a, Frn. 8, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 53-4, Vs. III 137-8, EI 11 (*^h_heliso- ~ *^h_heliseh_h- 'alder'), 599-600.

825. ₂ ***h**∇LiL∇ 'flower, a plant with flowers' > IE ***h**_χle_{l̥}- > NaIE *le_{l̥}- ~ dis. *le_{l̥}r- '≈ flower' (?? × N *L|**z̥**i_{l̥}|í∇ [= *L|**z̥**i_{l̥}í∇?]) 'reed, ∈ water plant', q.v.) > Gk λείριον 'Madonna lily, *Lilium candidum*' || L līlium id. (↳ Al lil id., NHG Lillie id. ↳ Es lill 'flower' etc.) || Lt {Mn. ← ?} lielis 'spearwort, *Ranunculus*', lieliu_s 'water crowfoot, *Batrachium*' || Cz lilek 'nightshade, *Solanum*' ({Ma.}: a loan from L through Gmc) || Ht {Pv.} aləl- 'flower, bloom' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 32-3, Mn. 673, ≈ WH I 801 (believing that L līlium and Gk λείριον are loans from an East Mediteranean lge, like Eg ḥrr.t 'flower', B alili 'oleander', but Vc. 310 rejected the Eg origin of the L and Gk word), F II 100-1, ≠ Hub. MS 37-9 (ascribing the word for 'lily' to the "Mediterranean substrat"), Masson ESG 58-9 (Gk λείριον ↳ S), O 228, Ma. CS 270, Vc. 310 || **HS**: ?φ Eg fXVIII ḥrr.t 'flower, bloom', DEg ḥrru 'flower', Cpt: Sd **z̥p̥hp̥e** hr̥ire, B **z̥p̥hri** hr̥iri id. (dis. *✓**h**ll > *✓**h**lr > as. ✓**h**rr?) ¶ EG 149, Fk. 176, Er. 326, Vc. 310 || B *-li_{l̥}li_{l̥} 'oleander, rose laurel' > BMn/Grr/Wrs {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.}, Tmz {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} a-lili, BSn {Ds.} ā-līli, Izn {Ds.} a-li_{l̥}li, {Rn.} a-lili, Mtm {Ds.} a-līli, SrSn {Rn.} i-lili, Rf {Rn.} a-řiři id., Kb i-lili, Gh {Nh.} i-ləl, Ah {Fc.} e-ləl id. (coll.) ¶ Ds. 167, Ds. B 174, MT 366, Dl. 441, Fc. 1071, Rn. 337, Mrc. 153, Bs. ZOu 151, Nh. 172 || EC: Or ililli 'flower' ¶ Th. 213 ◇ Cp. also Bsq lili 'flower' ◇ Blz. NDA no. 84 (D, HS, IE) ◇ Qu., because some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

826. ₂ ***h**Em∇d∇ 'desire, covet' > **HS**: WS *✓**h**md id. > Ug, BHb, IA, JA ✓**h**md G id., Ph ḥmḏ G id., 'try to secure a coveted object', IA ḥmḏ 'sth. valuable, precious object', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **אֲתִדְדָּה** ḥemḏə'tā ~ **אֲתִדְדָּה** ḥ^amīḏə'tā 'Lust, Gelüste', MHb **הֲדָדָה** ḥem'dā {Lv.} id., {Js.} 'sexual appetite', JEA {Js.} **אֲתִדְדָּה** ḥam'dā id., {Lv.} **אֲתִדְדָּה** ḥem'dā 'Lust, Gelüste', {Sl.} **אֲתִדְדָּה** ḥmḏ[?] (unk. voc.) 'sexual desire', OCn (AkSc) **χamudū** [***h**amūdu] 'sth. valuable, precious object' (pp., a gloss = Ak **iapu** 'beautiful', ÷ BHb ḥa'mūḏ 'darling'), Ar ✓**h**md G 'praise', Sb ✓**h**md id., 'thank', Mh ✓**h**md (pf. ḥ₃mūd) v. id., ✓**h**md (pf. ḥayməd) v. 'thank (for a gift), praise', Hrs ✓**h**md (pf. š₃hāmōd) v. 'thank', Jb C ✓**h**md (pf. ḥōḏ) id. ¶ HJ 380, KB 312-13, KBR 325-6, Siv. GAG 171, 223, A no. 936, OLS 177, Js. 475, Sl. 468, Lv. II 70, Ln. 638-40, BGMR 168, Bll.

178-9, Jo. M 180, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 111 || K: OG, G *imed-i n.* 'hope', G *imed-* v. 'hope', OG, G *imedēuli* 'voller Hoffnung', {DCh.} 'обнадеженный' ¶ Abul. 188, Srj. 96, Chx. 525-6, DCh. 580.

827. **h¹oNca* (or **χoNca*) '(front) end, extremity, edge, tip' > U: FU **ońca* 'front end\part, forehead' > F *o t s a* 'forehead', Krl *oččā* id., 'front side', Es *o t s* 'end, extremity, tip, forehead', Lv *vūqncā* 'forehead' || Chr: L *oHчыкс, H aHзыкы* 'aHзъкъ 'forward', postp. 'in front of', L *oHчыл, Uf ońзыл, H aHзыл* 'aHзыл n. 'front side\part', adj. 'front' || Prm **oǰ* ({JLG} **oǰ*) 'front, front part' > OPrm *uǰǰ, Z вoдз v oǰ, Z US oǰ, Yz 'uǰ, Vt азь aǰ* id. || ? OHg *aǰy* 'skull, head, brain', Hg *aǰy* 'brain, marrow' ¶ UEW 339, It. no. 113, LG 591, MRS 28, 383, EWU 12 || A: T **ūç* 'tip, end' > OT *ūč*, Tkm *ūč* id., Tk *uç* id., 'summit, edge', CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Uz, SY *uč*, StAlt *uč*, Chv *вѣç v bś* 'tip, end', Az *uǰ*, Qq, Tv *uš*, ET *uč* id., 'tip', Ggz, Ln *uč* id., 'edge', VTt *oç bś*, Bsh *bś* id., 'summit', Xk *us* 'sharp edge' ¶ Cl. 17-18, ET Gl 611-12, TL 578, TkR 665-6, Ash. V 374-5, Fed. I 119-20, ChVS 35, Jeg. 52 || HS: Eg G *χςς* 'corner (Ecke)' ¶ EG III 400 ¶ The cns. *χ* (spelled *h* in the tradition of Egyptology) may be explained by reg. sound changes: N **h|χo-* > pre-Eg **hu-* > **hju-* > Eg [*χu-*] || SC: Irq {MQK} *ħaysō*, {Wh.} *ħayîso*, Grw {Wh.} *ħâyso*, Alg/Brn {Wh.} *ħayso*, {E} *ħayisi*, Kz {E} *ħayisowa*, Asa {E} *hesa* 'tail' ¶ Wh. IC 25, E SC 379, Blz. CP s.v. 'tail' ◇ IS I 253-4 [no. 115] (U, T).

828. ₂ **h¹añd* (or **χañd*) 'shade, darkness' > IE **Hend^h-* > NaIE **and^ho-* 'blind, dark' > OI *an'dha-h₂*, Av *andō* id. || Gl *↳ L anda-bata* 'a gladiator who fought with a "blind" helmet (that had no openings for the eyes)' ¶ Dv. no. 320, M K I 36, M E I 78-9, Billy 11, EI 70 (**h₂en₁d^ho-s* 'blind') || HS: C: Bj {R} 'andala 'shade' ¶ R WBd 22 || S (+ext.): Ar *√ hnds* 'be(come) very dark' (of a night), *ħindis-* '(intense) darkness, very dark night' ¶ BK I 502, Ln. 655-6 ◇ NaIE **a-* suggests a N Ir. different from **ʔ-*. Ar *√ hnds* points to the N Ir. **h* or **χ* ◇ A comparison of the above IE root for 'blind' with Ht *antara* ({Pv.} = *andra*) 'blue' and Sl **modrъ* 'blue' (proposed by Machek) is hardly acceptable, because the absence of reflexes of **a-* in Sl **modrъ* rules out an IE stem **h₂md^h-ro-*; but if this difficulty is explained away, the N etymon will be **h|χamd* (F Pv. I-II 77-8, Ma. HS 131-2, Ma. CS 304).

829. **h₂U₁n|mj₂p₂∇?∇* 'navel' > K: GZ **u₁m₂p₂e|a*, {K} **o(m)₂p₂e-* 'navel' > G *upe*, Lz *ompa* id., Mg *ompa* 'upper log of a roof' ¶ K 186, K² 146, IS I 248 || HS: Eg P/BD/Md *χp₃* 'navel' ¶ EG III 365; ≠ Ebb. MÄW 61-3 (in his

opinion Eg $\acute{x} p\acute{e}$ meant 'genitalia' rather than 'umbilica; cord' or 'navel')
 \Leftrightarrow DW 62 (note 2) and 682 ($\acute{x} p\acute{e}$ did mean 'navel') || CCh: Msg P {Trn.} hif-na 'navel' | Ms {J} hif-dá, {Mch.} hífā, ZmB {J} úfú, {Sa.} úfú id. ¶ JI II 251, J KKS, Trn. LM 256 || C: Bj {R} tēfa 'navel' (< *t∇ hefa [*t∇ < article of the f. gender]), Bj A {ADP} tōfta 'navel' (pl. tēfta) ¶ R WBd 222-3, ADP BFN ¶¶ Tk. I 40 (Eg, CCh) || HS cd ≈ *h∇NP∇?∇-t∇b∇r- > S ≈ *h∇NP∇?∇-t∇b_lūr-(at) 'navel' (the second component is identical with CS *t∇bbūr- 'navel' > MHb t̥ab'būr, BA t̥ib'būr) > EthS (< C??): Gz h̥anb̥art 'navel', Tgr h̥amb̥ər ~ h̥anb̥ər, h̥anb̥ərt, Tgy h̥amb̥ərti, h̥anb̥erti, Amh, Argb ʒmb̥ərt ~ ʒnb̥ərt id.; EthS \rightarrow Xm {R} her'bir and Q {R} gumb̥rā 'navel' ¶ Js. 529, L G 236 || C ≈ *h∇nt∇p∇r- id. > EC *h̥alun'dub∇r ({Bl., Ss.} *h̥alundu_lr-) 'navel' > Af {PH} hundub, Sa {R} h̥andub id. | pSam *^rh̥andūr ({Hn.} *handūr) id. > Sml hundur, Rn {PG} h̥andūr, {Hn.} han'dūr, pBn {Hn.} *h̥à'nūr (> Bn: Bi hanúr, J/Kj/K hanūr) id. | Arr {Hw.} hençur ~ hendur, Dsn h̥ònír, Elm uñur, Or {Grg.} (h)andūr-ā, Gdl hundūr-t, Gwd hundur-te, Hr hundur-če, Ya hendero id. | Brj {Ss.} han'ūr-a, {Hd.} han'dura, Ged {Hd.} ha'nura id. || Ag: Bln {R} eteba ~ itibā 'navel' ¶ AD SF 236-7 (C *x∇nt∇p(∇r)-), R WB 57, R Ch II 58, R S II s.v. h̥andub, L G 236, Bl. 107, 114, 196, Ss. PEC 24, 30, 39, Ss. B 91, Grg. 199, PH 131, Hn. S 62, Hn. BD 119, 145, PG 136, Hd. 104, 196, 244, Hw. A 366, To. DL 507 || B *-Hanbūt- (< *Hanbūt-t-?) 'navel' > CA tahanbut, Ah t̥abūtut (pl. t̥ibūtūtīn), ETwl t̥abūtut, Izn t̥aʃabbutt (pl. t̥iʃabbudin), Izd tabūtū, abud 'navel', ETwl abutu, Ty abutut 'gros nombtil e n s a i l l i e ' , S 1 1 {Ds.} abūd (pl. ibūd̥ən), Shl {NZ} abud, tabut 'navel, navel string' ¶ Fc. 108, Rn. 378, Ds. 199, Mrc. 176, PrGG 18, NZ 29, 136, Coh. no. 123 ¶¶ Coh. no. 123, OS no. 350, err. no. 1071 || IE *H^ωemb^h- ("base I") / *H^ωneb^h- ("base II") ({EI} *h₃nob^h-) > NaIE *omb^h-/*neb^h- 'navel' > Gk ὀμφαλός 'navel, umbilical cord' || OI 'nabhyaṃ 'nave of a wheel', 'nabhi-h̥ 'nave, navel, central point', Pali nābhi 'navel', Av nāfa- 'navel; family, relatives' (with -f- from an anomalous *-p^h-), nabā- nazdišta- adj. 'closest (relatives)', MPrs nāf, NPrs نَاف nōf 'navel' || L umbilīcus id., umbō / -ōnis 'the boss\centre of a shield' || Clt {Matas.} *ambliyōn 'navel' > OIr imbliu id. (< *embliōn- < NaIE *emb^h-, based probably on bf., sc. reinterpretation of *omb^h- as an *0-grade of apophony) || ON nōf, OHG naba, NHG Nabe, AS nafa ~ nafu 'nave', NE nave; ON nafli, OHG nabalo, NHG Nabel, AS nafela 'navel', NE

navel; (NaIE *omb^h- >) OHG ambon 'belly' || Pru nabis 'navel, nave', Ltv naba 'navel' ¶ P 314-15, EI 391, M K II 135, M E II 13-14, Brtl. 1040, 1062, Vl. II 1280, WH II 814, F II 201-2, Vr. 403, 414, KM 498, Kb. 710, Schz. 218, Ho. 231, Kar. I 613, En. 213, Matas. E 33 ¶¶ The anomaly in the Irn reflex with -f- (Av nāfā-, MPrs nāf, NPrs nōf) may suggest the presence of some reflex of N *ʔ || ??φ ʔ: NrTg: Ewk uʔ 'umbilical cord; aorta, vein', Lm O uʔ 'blood vessel', ?σ Sln ōg 'heart' ¶ STM II 243 ¶ This is a valid cognate only if NrTg *-g|ʔ- may go back to a labial stop (through the stage of hiatus: *uʔ∇ > *uʋ∇ > *u∇ > *uʔ∇?) ◇ IS I 248-9, AD MRV, K 186 (K, IE). The expected triple cluster **Nʔʔ (after elision of the stem-internal vw.) was simplified by losing the nasal cns. (in G and Eg) or the lr. *ʔ (in EthS and IE).

830. *(hīn∇) rimP∇ or *(him∇) rimP∇ 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd?) > **HS:** C: EC *hinrib- id. > Sml hirrib, Sml N hīrríb 'corner of the eye', Sml C hirrib 'eyelid', Kns {Bl.} hīrrīp-ā (↔ Gln hirrip-e), Gdl hīrrīp-itt 'eyelash', Yaku hereban 'eyebrow', Brj imbír-ō 'eyelid', Or {Grg.} hirrib-a ~ irriba 'a sleep', Or B/O/W {Sr.} (h)irriba 'a sleep, a nap' ¶ Bl. 165, Ss. B 105, Abr. S 121, DSI 635, ZMO 431, Grg. 210, Sr. 326, ≈ AD SF 156, Blz. DA no. 14 || ? B *✓ nHr (mt?) > Ah anar (pl. ānārān), Gh anar, TnsI {ABs.} inhār, anhar, ETwl/Ty {GhA} aṇar (pl. aṇarān) 'eyebrow' ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H no. 560 (*✓ nH₂r), GhA 149 || **IE:** Ht {Pv.} enera-, enira-, inira-, innari-, inniri- 'eyebrow' ¶ Pv. I-II 271-2 || **D** *iṛapp-(aṛ) ~ *iṛamp- 'eyelid' > Tm irappaṛ, rappaṛ, reppaṛ, Kn rēpper, rēppe, Tl rēppa, rēppa, Knd rēpa id., Knd rēma, Ku reppa 'eyelash', Kdg rēppe 'eyelid, hair of eyelashes', Tu rēppæ 'eyelid, eyelash', rampæ 'eyelid', (with kand- 'eye'): Klm kand-repa 'eyelid', Nkr kandle reppa 'eyelash', Gnd kand-reppa 'eyebrow' ¶¶ D no. 5169 || **U** (probably from the second element *rimP∇ of the N cd): FL *rim_lp∇₁se > Fr ipsi, Es rīpse 'eyelash' || pLp *r3m3s 'eyelid' > Lp: Ar ramas, L {LLO} ramās, N {N} râmâs, Kld pēmac rēmas id. ¶ ≈ SSA III 81, ≈ SK 809, Lr. no. 1006, Lgc. no. 5477, SaR 292 ◇ The first element of the compound *(hīn_l∇₁-) may be discerned in SC: Irq {Wh.} hāmhamo (pl. hāmhamā) 'eyelash', {MQK} hamhamō 'eyebrow, eyelid, eyelash' (MQK 48). If this Iraqw word belongs here, the N rec. must be *(him∇) rimP∇. The second element of the cd may be somehow connected with N *'rib∇ 'to cover' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 14 and Blz. NDA no. 14 (in both: D, C, FU [BF + err. Lp L rapsa 'membrane, napkin']).

831. **h₁op₁∇₁īE* 'flow down' > **HS** **✓h₁p₁l* v. 'flow, flow out (abundantly)' > **S** **✓h₁p₁l* > **Ar** *✓h₁fl* *G* 'be copious' (milk, water), 'pour torrents of rain' (the sky), 'flow abundantly' (tears) ¶ **BK** I 460-1 || (with mt.) **Eg** *P* *χ₃p* v. '≈ flow abundantly', **Eg** *fP* *χ₃p.t* 'Unwetter' ¶ **EG** III 362 || **K** **op₁*- 'sweat' > **OG**, *G* *op₁*- id., 'perspiration', **Mg** *up(u)*, **Lz** *up-*, **Sv** *wep-*, *wop-* 'sweat' ¶¶ **K** 151, **K²** 146 || **A**: **NaT** **ö₁:₁pü₁*- v. 'be sucked in, be swallowed' > **OT** *örü₁*- id., (??) **VTt** *убыл-* *убыл-* 'tumble in, collapse (в-/об-валиться)' ¶ **DTS** 387-8, **Cl.** 10, **TatR** 582 ¶ Reinterpreted as the ps. of **op-* v. 'devour, suck in' (**ET** *Gl* 464-5) || ?**φ** **U** **wop₁ta-* (or **wop₁sa-*, **wop₁śa-*) > **Sm** {**Jn.**} **wāptā-* v. 'pour' (× **N** **wop₁∇* 'pour, strew', q.v. *ffd.*).

832. **h₁ü¹rx∇₁ĉ¹∇* 'to scratch, to comb' > **K**: **GZ** **warcx-* v. 'comb' (× **N** **wAr₁∇₁ĉ¹∇* 'rub, scrape', q.v. *ffd.*) ⇨ [1] **GZ** **warcx-wn-* v. 'comb' > **OG**, *G* *varcxn-*, *G* *Gr* *barcxn-*, **Mg** *rcxon-*, **Lz** *(n)cxon-* id., *msd.* *o-(n)cxon-u*; [2] **GZ** *(*s*)*a-warcx-ar-* n. 'comb' > **OG** *savarcxal-*, *G* *savarcxel-*, **Mg** *orcxonž-*, *orcxond-*, **Lz** *o(n)cxož-* id. ¶ **K** 81, 169, **K²** 49, 173, **Abul.** 336, 356, **Chx.** 369, **Chik.** 180, **Ghl.** 60 || **HS**: **S** (**CS**?) **✓hrš* v. 'scratch oneself' > **Ar** *✓hrš* *G* 'scratch (gratter)', **Ak** *Λ* *✓χrε* *G* 'itch' ~ *✓χrš* id. (?); ⇨ **CS** **har₁∇₁š-* n. 'scab, itch' > **BHb** *ḥeres*, **JA** *ḥar's-ā*, **Sr** *ḥer's-ā* ~ *ḥarā's-ā* id. ¶ The unexpected **Ak** *χ-* and the variation *-s-* ~ *-š-* suggest that the **Ak** verb is a loan (from Aram?) ¶ **KB** 341, **BK** I 558, **CAD** VI 92, 96 || **D** **ir₁r∇₁ĉ¹*- v. 'scratch, comb' > **Gnd** *irsānā* *ḍ* *īrs-* v. 'comb the hair', **Krx** *irĉ¹*- 'scratch and turn over (as fowls in the ground), poke, dig into', **Mlt** *irĉ¹e* 'scratch the ground (as fowls do)', **Brh** *iris* 'a comb' ¶¶ **D** no. 493 ◇ Here **K** **c* is strange (taking into account that in the initial position the regular **K** reflex of **N** **ĉ¹* is **ĉ¹*). Is it a special development in a cns. cluster? Unfortunately, no other unequivocally reconstructible **K** roots with reflexes of **N** **ĉ¹* (in Inlaut) are known so far.

833. **h₁U¹rel₁í∇* 'reed' > **K**: **GZ** **lē₁*- 'cane, ∈ rush' (× **N** **L|ž₁l₁í∇* 'reed, ∈ water plant') > **OG** *le₁-i* 'cane', *G* *le₁-i* 'cane, rush (*Phragmites communis*)'; **cd** {**K**} **le₁-ĉem-*, {**K²**} **ler-ĉem-*, {**FS**} **le₁-ĉam-* 'cane, rush; reed (*Arundo donax*)' > **OG** *lerçam-* 'reed (κάλαμος)', *G* *lerçam-i* ~ *le₁çam-i* '*Phragmites communis*', **Mg** *larçam-i* ~ *larçem-i* 'reed' ¶ **K** 120-1, **K²** 108-9, **FS** **K** 199-200, **FS** **E** 218-19, **Abul.** 208, **Ser.** 82, **Chx.** 677-8, **Q** 270 ¶ **GZ** **le₁-ĉe|am-* is a **cd** with the *✓* **ĉem-* ({**FS**} **ĉam-*) 'grass' (see **K** 249, **FS** **K** 457-8, **FS** **E** 518-19) ¶ **GZ** **l-* in **lē₁*- belongs to the heritage

of N *L|ž̥i||í∇ || HS: S *hUr∇ll- > Ak OB/YB urull- 'e eine Rohrart', Ar hall-at- 'grand panier en jonc ou en roseau', hill-at- 'natte oblongue' ¶ BK I 474, Sd. 1436 || D *∇r̥e||- 'reed' > Kn r̥e||u 'a reed used to write with, *Saccharum sara*', Tl r̥ellu, r̥ellu 'a reed, *Saccharum spontaneum*', Ku relli tuppa 'bulrush' (D *tuppa 'e small bush' [see D no. 3322]) ¶¶ D no. 5171 ¶ The initial vw. is supposed because an initial *r̥- (as well as *r-) is ruled out by D morphophonemics ◇ Fn. KD no. 50 (K, D).

834. *hEyEšU or *hEyUšU 'faeces, filth; dirt' ([in pA] → 'soot, smoke') > HS: Eg P h̥s 'excrement, faeces' (= {Vc.} [h̥is̥y-]) > Cpt Sd ʔac has, Cpt B ʔoc hos, Cpt F ʔec hes 'fumier, excréments' ¶ EG III 164, Vc. 313 || C: Bj 'ōš̥a, 'ūš̥a(y), {Rop.} iš̥a 'urine', {R} ōš̥- v. 'urinate', {Rop.} oš̥- 'urinate, defecate' || ??φ EC *ʔus- 'contents of stomach (of ruminants)' (highly qu. as a cognate because of *ʔ- for the expected *h-) > Sml ūs id., Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} ʔus-ko id. ¶ R WBd. 33, Rop. 156, DSI 597, Ss. B 185, AMS 227, 261 || NrOm {Blz.} *ʔayš̥- 'dung' > Kcm {CR} oʔš̥ā 'cowdung', Gnj ʔāš̥ā 'dung' || SOm: Dm {Bnd.} ʔuš̥ 'faeces, dung' ¶ Bnd. AL, Blz. OLBP no. 27 || Ch {Stl.} *h̥¹esa|i 'faeces' > WCh {Stl.} *ʔesa id. > Su {J} j̥iy̥ɛs. Ang j̥j̥è̥s, Gmy ʔy̥è̥s, Cp è̥s, Kfr {Nt.} è̥s id. | Krkr {ChL} iš̥è̥, Dr ʔiš̥è̥ id. | Gj ʔiš̥ī̥, Buli ʔiš̥, Bgm y̥ī̥s, Zar y̥ī̥s id. || CCh: ZmB ʔísi 'dirt, dregs' || ECh: Smr ʔiš̥ī̥n̥, Nd ʔiš̥ì̥n̥, Skr {Lk.} issī̥, Jg ʔiš̥, Mu (pl.) ʔàsè̥, Mkl ʔī̥zī̥, Ke k-usi, Kwn k-ùsī̥(ñ) 'faeces' ¶ JI II 128-9, Stl. ZCh 230 [no. 786], Stl. IF 116-17, ≈ JS 97, ChL, J LM 111 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, Eg; Tk. saw here a reg. corr. of Su g̥y- with Eg h̥-) || IE: Ht i s u w a n 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains' ¶ Pv. I-II 486-7, Frd. HW 92, Ts. E I 440 || D (att. in SD) *eč̥č̥-, {ʁGS} *eč̥č̥- 'faeces, excretions of the body, remains of food (defiled by contact with the mouth)' > Tm e c c a m 'remains of food, spittle, dung (of birds, lizards)', e c c i l 'whatever defiled by contact with the mouth (saliva, spittle, remains of food), excretions of the body: faeces, urine, sperm', Ml e c c a m 'dung of lizards and flies', Kt e c l 'water that has been used to wash hands after eating, remnants of food', Td i c i l 'pollution of food by being left as a remnant, pollution caused by death or birth', Kdg e c c i 'scraps of food that falls to the floor during meal'; × D *e n c- v. 'remain' ¶ D no. 780, Zv. 115 || A *i|Iy i|IS∇ 'soot, smoke' > T *Iy̥I̥s 'soot', *iy̥is 'smoke' > OT i|IS 'soot, dirty smoke', Tk i s, Az h̥is, Uz is, VTt ʔs, Bsh ʔθ ~ y̥θ, Qzq, Nog, Qq IS 'soot', Qrg IS 'yellow dirt from smoke; smoking', SY IS 'soot, smoke', ET, Ln is 'smoke', Yk īs 'smoking', Chv L йăс-пăс {Ash., Fed.}

'schlechter Gruch (дурной запах)', {ChVS} 'fumes (чад)', {Jeg.} 'fumes (чад, угар)', Chv L {Ash, Fed., Jeg.} йăслан- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)', Nog, Qq iуis, Qzq иic n. 'smoke' ¶ Cl. 254, ET Gl 379-380, TL 370-1, Jeg. 76, KrkR 291, 76), NogR 117, 428, MM 200-1, 410, Ash. V 96-8, Fed. I 186-7, Jeg. 76, ChVS 58, Rs. W 167 || M *isü (unless with *φ-) 'soot' > WrM iсü {MED} 'soot, black', HIM ис {MED} id., {BMR} 'soot; dark', Brt эһэ(н) 'soot (сажа, копоть)', Kl {Rm.} iš 'Ruß, Kienruß' ¶ MED 417, BMR II 282, Chr. 779, KW 210-11 ¶¶ SDM 580 (pA *iуs ▽ 'soot, smoke' > M, T *iуs), Rs. W 167, KW 210-11, Pp. VG 116, S AJ 286, TL 370-1, SDM97 s.v. *ijсn 'soot, smoke' ◇ Blz. DA no. 38 (D, C, Om, Ch) ◇ Ht and M suggest a N final *-U. The labialized vw. in Bj, EC and SOm requires explanation (traces of an internal *U in a supposed N *hEyUṣU or the influence of the final *-U?).

835. *hüžE (q ▽) 'look, see' > HS: WS (mt.?) *√ hzy|w v. 'look' > BHb √ hzy|w G 'see, behold', Ph, OA, IA, Plm, SmA √ hzy G, DA √ hzω G 'see', Ar {Ln.} √ hzω|y v. G 'divine (particularly from the flight, cries etc. of birds)', {Hv.} √ hzω v. G 'augur (sth.) from the flight of birds', {BK} 'faire partir les oiseaux de l'endroit où ils se sont abattus, pour augurer de leur vol', {Fr.} √ hzy 'excitans aliquo loco aves ex earum volatu hariolatus est et omen cepit', {Fr.} hāzi(n) 'qui ex membrorum et faciei signis hariolatur', Tgr ҺҺ hāzā [hāzā] 'looked for'; ?σ Ug {A} √ hḏ'w' G 'nachsehen, prüfen', {OLS} √ hḏy G 'look, watch' ('mirar, contemplar') (apparently reflecting S *°√ hḏw|y with an enigmatic *ḏ for the expected *z) ¶ KB 288-289, KBR 301, HJ 357-61, Tal 259-60, Js. 443, Ln. 562-3, Fr. I 376-7, BK I 422, A no. 905, OLS 174 || K: pGZ *uçq- v. 'see, know' > OG uçq- 'know', Mg 0rçq- v. 'see', Lz 0ç(ḳ)- v. 'look' ¶ K 186-7, K² 196 || IE: Ht aуs- v. 'see' and уski- id. (within the framework of the Ht morphology уski- is interpreted as iterative); the verb aуs- was reinterpreted as a variant of ау- v. 'see' (of different origin) ¶ Frd. HW 236, Ts. W 10, 97, Ts. E I 95-98, Pv. I-II 234-244 || A *üžæ- > M *üže- v. 'see, look' (× N *gUž ▽ 'feel, smell (sth.)', q.v.) > MM [HI, IM, IsV] üže-, [MA] (h)üže- 'see, look', WrM {MED} üže-, HIM үзэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'study', Brt үзэ- 'look at, see, рассматривать', Mnr H {T} уžе- 'see, look at', {SM} уз_îâ- 'voir, regarder, examiner', Dx уžе-, MMgl öžä, Mgl {Rm.} üžâ- v. 'see', Dg узi-, üzi- v. 'see, look', Ord üž_î- 'voir, apercevoir, regarder' ¶ Pp. MA 190, 377, 499, MED 1014-15, BMR III 398-400, Chr. 498, Ms. H 108, Ms. O 749, T 368, T DnJ 137, SM 465-6, Lg. VMI 72, Iw.

121, Klz. D II 140 || NaT *ü₁δ- v. 'feel passion, feel sexual desire' (× N ***h'**ot∇ 'to smell [odorare, to get the odor of]', 'to smell [olere, to have an odor\scent]', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} üδ- 'feel sexual desire' (?); ⇨ NaT *üδ-ig 'passion, sexual desire' > OT üδig id., OXwT XIV üδüg 'passion' ¶ Cl. 39, 50 || Tg: **[1]** Tg *eje- v. 'understand, remember' > Orc 3ž3-, Ud 3gž3- 'understand', Ul, Nn Nh/KU 3ž3- v. 'remember', Ork 3d3mu 'get accustomed', WrMc {Z} 3чжэ- v. 'notice, remember', Mc Sb e3a- 'memorize' ¶ Tg *e- of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 439, On. 522, Z 84; | **[2]** Tg *iče- 'see' (× N ***γ'**ay'e'č∇ 'seek, look for'?) > Ewk, Neg iče-, Lm it-, ič-, Orc iče-, Ork ite-, Ud ise- 'see', Slr isö:- 'appear' ¶ STM I 334-5 ¶¶ SDM 491 (pA *ēbž0- 'see, understand' > Tg *eje-, M + unc. NaT *ö₁y₁- 'think, understand') and SDM 579-80 (pA *ič'∇ 'hope, see' > Tg *iče- + unc. M *(h)iča- v. 'hope, trust, believe'), SDM95 s.v. pA ?*üž∇ ? v. 'see"', ≈ SDM97 s.v. pA *ež0|u 'see, understand'.

836. *k o 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction) > **IE:** NaIE *g^ωe (adversative enclitic conjunction) 'but, whereas' > Gk δέ (postpositive adversative and copulative pc.) 'but (aber, hingegen)' ||| pSl *že 'whereas, as for; as you know; same' (enclitic pc. with adversative-thematic function, as well as with the functions of reminding the logical\causal connections of the event [like NHG doch: R Он же знал; Что же делать?] and indicating the similarity\identity: 'same', e.g. R тот же 'the same') > OCS, OR же же, R, Uk же, P -že, Cz že ¶ Delb. VS II 502ff., F I 353, ESISJ-SGZ II 759-60, STSS 212-15, Vs. II 39, SJSS 592-8 ||| ? **K:** OG u_̇ue 'же, уже' (cnjc. of causal reminder, adversative cnjc.), {Fn. in Shan. G} 'denn, folglich' (ray-me u_̇ue qopad ars čuenda 'Что же нам делать?' ['If so, what shall we do?'], vitar u_̇ue a_̇ h_̇edavs 'wie sieht er denn nun?' [Ioh. 9.19], šen u_̇ue ħara zēy ħmrtisa_̇y 'bist du denn Gottes Sohn?' [Lc. 22.70]), u_̇ue-tu 'but if, if': u_̇uetu šen ħar zēy ħmrtisa_̇y 'but, if thou art God's son' [Mt. 4.3], u_̇uetu ara 'but if not'); OG u_̇ue is probably a cd, the glottalization belonging to the first component ¶ Ser. 169, Shan. G 169 ||| **HS:** Ag *-'k' a > Bln {R} -ḡā 'nun, also, aber' (R: "wird an Worte angefügt welche als besonders bedeutungsvoll im Satze hervorgehoben werden sollen") ¶ R WB 131 ||| ?σ **U:** FU *-k_l∇_l 'also, the same, too' (× ??? N ***Қууа** 'manner', q.v.) > F -kin, -kaan / -kāän, Es -ka 'also' || Er -gak / -kak / -yak id. (сон-гак сы вечерс 'he, **too**, will come to the party', сонзэ-як примизь комсомолс 'they accepted him, **too**, to the Komsomol') || Chr L -гак -ѡак in тугак tu-ѡак, тыгак ть-ѡак 'also'; ? -ак -ак 'same' after dem. pronominals (тьѡау-ак 'of the same kind\quality', туšк-ак 'to the same direction') || ? Vt uk 'ведь, же' (cnjc. of logical reminder) (бере кылэд ук 'ведь останешься позади \ ведь опоздаешь', **don't forget that** you will remain behind \ be late'), ?? ik 'same' (сыѡе ик sīѡе ik 'of the same kind\quality', отчы ик otčī ik 'to the same direction', тунне ик 'just today, not later than today') ||| Vg Ss -k^ωe, pc. of emotional attitude towards the event ('unfortunately', 'I don't care' etc.): wos-k^ωe mīni 'let him go, **I don't care**' (wos mīni 'let him go'), kañiko_l ti-k^ωe ou+ħpi 'unfortunately, the vacation are just about to end' ¶ RERs 372, RMarS 172, 751-2, RUdS 242, Rmb. 198 ||| **A:** T *°-k|gu > ET -ϕu (pc. of logical reminder, 'ведь, же') ({BN} u-ϕu 'да он же!, это же!, это ведь!', ба(р) ϕu 'ведь есть') ¶ BN 57, 160 || Tg *-ka / *-ke / *-ko (a focalizing pc. that

emphasizes the theme): Ewk -ka/-kэ/-ko id. (bi-kэ 'я-то, as for me'), Nn -ka/-kэ (ńoani-ka didesi 'as for him, he will not come', 'он-то не придет') ¶ Vas. 758, Pt. 60 ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 71-3 || ? M *kü, pc. emphasizing the preceding word (× N *Ḳ'ü' [dem. pr., q.v. ffd.] × N *ʔ'o'kE [= *ʔ'o'kü?] 'self', q.v.).

837. ₂ *kU, particle of plurality (used mostly with pronouns) > K: GZ *tkwen 'you' (pl.), 'vos' > OG tkuen, G tkven, Mg, Lz tkva(n)-; GZ *tkwen- 'your, vester' > OG tkuen-, G tkven-, Mg, Lz tkvan- id. ¶¶ *°Sk... > Sv: UB sgäy, L sgay, Ln sgä 'you' (pl.), UB isgwey, L isgwe, LB isge, Ln iskwe 'your, vester', most probably from K *tkwen influenced by K *sen 'thou' ¶¶ K 176, K² 75-6, Chik. 223-4, TK 299, 703 ¶ This K prn. goes back to a cd *t̥ü 'thou' + *kU of plurality + *nu of genitive; this suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'voster = of you, yours' (pl.), but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G šen 'thou' < 'thy' [see s.v. N *t̥'ü' 'thou' and its assibilated N variant *ś'ü' on K *si]) || U *-k₁k∇₁, marker of pl. (× the N particle of collectivity *g∇): [1] with nouns: pLp {Krh.} *-k > Lp: N -k, S/L -h, -h̄, -∅, I -h (pLp {Krh.} *kōdē-k 'houses' > Lp N goade-k, Rr goātieh id., pLp {Krh.} *tuntēre-k > Lp N d̥uod'darak 'mountains') || Hg -k, pl. ending of nouns || [2] with pers. pronouns: BF (nom. case) *-k: Lv mēg̃ ~ meg̃ 'we', F, Es me (< *me-k); but in the oblique cases the marker of pl. is *j̃ rather than *-k: F gen. meidä-n, accus. meidä-t, prt. meitä, iness. mei-ssä, Krl K: gen. mjän, accus. mīāt, prt. mej-dä, Vp gen. mīde ~ mīden, iness. mīš, Vo gen. mejye-n, prt. mej-dä, iness. mej-z Es prt. mei-d, iness. mei-s || Os (verbal pers. ending of 2p): V -təʋ/-təʋ, D -tə, O -ti || OHg XII mi v ([miü]), Hg mi, Δ mü ɔ̣ mū 'we', OHg XII ti v ([tiü]), XVI thew, XVIII thū, Hg ti 'you' (pl.) (if OHg -ü goes back to *-ʋ < *-k); cp. also Hg Δ mik ɔ̣ mük ɔ̣ miŋk ɔ̣ münk 'we' || [3] with possessive pers. endings of nouns: pBF {Mark} (sg. possessi) *-me-k 'our', *-te-k 'your (vester)', *-se-k 'their', (pl. possessi) *-nnek (< *-n-me-k) 'nostri', *-ndek 'vostri', *-nsek 'their' > Ing Hv teijen valassanneg̃ 'in eurer Macht', heijen yumalasseg̃ 'their god', F (with loss of the final *-k) is ä m me 'our father', is ä n ne 'your (pl.) father', is ä n s ä 'their father'; Vo E -mmag̃ ppa. 1p, -ttag̃ ppa. 2p || pLp {Korh.} *-mek ppa. 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-dēk ~ *dēk ppa. 2p (> Lp N -dek) (see s.v. N *t̥'ü' 'thou'): Lp N ač'čamek 'our father', ač'čadek 'your (pl.) father', ač'česek 'their father' || Mr:

Er BI -mok/mek 'noster, nostra, nostrum' (sg. possessi), -nok/-nek 'nostri, -ae, -a (pl. possessi); in Standard Er and Mk the opposition of sg. ↔ pl. possessi is lost: StEr -nok / -nek 'our', Mk -ńkă 'our' < pMr {Srb.} -n-m∇k || OHg -mk ~ -ŋk 'our' (urōmc ~ urōnc 'our Lord'), Hg -nk 'our', -tok / -tök / -tek 'vester', -∇k 'their': Hg házunk 'our house', házatok 'your (pl.) house', házúk 'their house' || [4] with pers. endings of verbs: amb FU *-k as marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p: 1p *-me-k ~ *-mä-k, 2p *-te-k ~ *tä-k > Vo E -mmag_ 1p., -ttag_ 2p, F Δ -me? 1p (palamme? 'we burn'), -te? 2p, Es V -mi?, -de? || pLp {Krh.} *-mek 1p (> Lp N -mek), *-dēk ~ *δēk 2 pl. (> Lp N -dek) (see s.v. N *t'ü' thou) || Mr Δ -mok, ending of 1p (Er/Mk -nok id. may go back to *-n-mok) || OHg -mok 1p (vōgmuc 'sumus'), Hg -tek / -tok 2p || Os: (sbcj.): pOs {Ht.} *-ϕ^ω 'we' (> Os: V {Trs.} -öϕ, -ϕ, -ϕ, -öϕ, Vy {Trs.} -əw); pOs *-təϕ / *-təϕ 'you' pl. (> Os: V {Trs.} -ətəϕ / -ətəϕ, Sh {Stn., Trs.} -(ə)tə, Kz {Stn.} -(ə)ti) ¶ Laan. 154-6, 228-30, Krh. 280-3, Rv. N 67-9, 72, Wkm. FOUL 43, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Srb. IMMJ 52-4, Ber. GVF 325, Fkt. EJ-66 181, Fkt. MJ-66 203-4 ¶ The FU ending *-k is etymologically ambiguous, because it may belong together with FU *-kk∇, suffix of collectivity (> F -kkō / -kkö id. [koiivikkō 'birch forest', mānnikkō 'pine forest'], Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns) (see the N collectivity particle *q∇), but the close parallelism with the usage of K *tkwen- 'ye' suggests that the U-K comparison is more plausible ◇ Hardly here (for phonological and other obvious reasons) the Arm pl. ending -p-k^h in nouns, pronouns and verbs (am-k^h 'years', me-k^h 'we', duk^h 'you' pl., beri-m-k^h 'we carry', berr-i-k^h 'you [pl.] carry'). But other explanations of this Arm ending are not plausible either (see Me. EAC 56-7, 66-72, 91-2, 117-19) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 101-6 ("dual KI(N)" [partially → pl.] in U, Gil, CK, EA and Arm), 115-16 ("plural KU" in EA, CK, Gil).

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

preverb '(her-\hin-)aus-', probably also Sd {Mrn.} §-ka[?]e 'when' (ra¹we-ka[?]e wīdi'ra ful'tu 'on finishing [their work] they crossed to the other side of the river') ¶ AD KJ 34, 86-7, 89, Abr. S 143, Hn. BD 43, 67, PG 168-9 || K *-ka 'from' > Sv UB -ka 'out, through', Mg -k, -ki, -kɜ, -ku, Lz -k, -k0 (erg. case ending, presumably from an abl., as in NHG ∅oɾ: agens marker in passive sentences ← 'from') ¶¶ K S 48-52, 111-13, Kiz. ZJ 66-9, Q O21-2, O133, Marr 16, GP US 93 || A: Tg *-du-k_i / *-tu-k_i ({Bz.} *-du-k_l) 'from' (ending of abl.) > Ewk, Lm -duk/tuk, Sln -duxi/-tuxi, Neg -dukkoy, Ud -digi, Orc -duy(i) id., Nn Nh -duy ~ -duy 'than' (in comparison) ¶ The element *-du-/-*tu- is likely to go back the Tg dat.-loc. *-d¹U¹a₁ 'to, in' (< N *d₁oy₁a 'place [within, below], inside' and possibly N *ɣad∇ 'limit, edge'? [→ 'up to, until'] + N *k∇ 'out of, from') ¶ Bz. 79, Ci. 256-7, Sun. S 160-2, 210-25, On. 546.

839. *k∇ ~ *g∇ 'thee, thy' > HS: [1] HS *ku 'thee' > S: Ak ku(ω)āti > kâti ~ kâta 'thee' accus., ku(ω)āšim > kâšim 'to thee' ¶ Sd. 41 || C *ku 'thee' > EC {Ss.} *ku ~ *ki 'thee' (no gender distinction) > Sa, Sml, Bn ku, Af kō, Rn ki, Dsn k0, Or si, Kns ke, Sd hē, Brj šē, Elm ki-pv., Dsn kú0 'thou' (subject); Arr ké 'thou' nom., kéhe 'thee' (the variant *ki may go back to HS *k-i 'thee', see below [3]) || Ag: Aw {Hz.} kó-wa 'thee' (with the accus. ending -wa) ¶ AD SF 77-8, 260 || ?? Ch: WCh: Sy gu/gā (gā belongs to [2]) || [2] HS *k-a 'thee' m. > S *-ka id. (verbal sx) > BHb -kā, Ar, Gz -ka, Ak -ka || B *-ək id. (sx) > Tw -ək, Shl -ək ~ -k, Kb {Han.} -ik, Shw -ik- ~ -kək, Gd -šək, Si -(i)k 'te' accus., Si -a-k, -ka 'tibi' ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S 108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Ai. SKBJ I 39 || C *ka 'thee' m. > Ag: Bln {R} -kā (verbal sx) || Bj -hō-k(a), verbal sx || Ch *ka 'thee' m. > Hs ka, Bl kā, Ang/Su {Kr.} ṽa, Gm ga, Bl ka, Krkr kâ, Mu {Lk.} ka (Kr. RChP ∇, AD EPCChL ∇); probably (with loss of gender distinction): Sy gu/gā (gu < HS *ku?), Gv ṽa, Nkc ṽa 'thee' || possibly Eg kω 'thee' m (< *k∇-ω, where *-ω is a sx) ¶ Ptrv. 120, Kees AÄ 62, Er. 279, Vz. 70 || [3] HS *k-i 'thee' f. > S *-ki id. (verbal sx) > Ar -ki, BHb -k, Gz -kī, Ak -ki || Eg cω 'thee' f. (encl.) (< *ki-ω) ¶ Ptrv. 120, Kees AÄ 62 || C *ki 'thee' f. > Ag: Bln {R} -kī (sx) || Bj -hō-k(i), verbal sx || SC {∅E} *ki 'thou' (< *'thee') > Irq ki, kiη, Alg ki, Brn igi 'thou'; the object prn. 'thee' f. in Irq {Mous} is i (< *ki?) || Ch *ki 'thee' f. > Hs ki, Bl šī, Ngm čî, Su yi, Mu {Lk.} ki ¶ Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL || [4] HS *k-am 'thee' f. > B *-kam 'thee' f. > Tw -kām, Kb -(i)kām, Si -im, Gd -(i)kām ¶ Pr. M I-III 172-6, La. CBM 78-80, La. S

108-15, Lf. I 352, Han. GK 192-3, Ai. SKBJ I 40 || Ch *k∇m > Ngz, Du k̄m, Bade ḡm, Bdm {Lk.} -ḡm 'thee' f. || Eg cm 'thee' f. (encl.) ¶ EG V 367 || [5] HS *ku 'thy' > C: EC: Hr {AMS} -āhu 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Arr -k0, Dsn kú / kù (no genus possessoris) || Ag {Ap.} *k^ωz- > Bn h⁺-k^ωə- (px) 'thy', kũ-t [k^ωz t] 'thee' (-t is a sx of accus.), Xm {Ap.} k̄-t 'thee' accus. (→ k̄t 'thou' nom.) || SC: Brn {Wh.} oḡ(ú), {E} -ḡ/-oḡ, Irq {Wh.} ok, Alg {Wh.} óḡ, Irq/Alg {E} -k/-ok 'thy' (no gender distinction) || Ch: Gj ḡ^ωà, Sy wa, Gude -ku/-k^ωà, Mln -ḡu 'thy' (no genus possessoris); Bl -(k)kù, Tng -kò, Bdm {Lk.} -ḡu 'thy' (m. possessoris) || Eg amb -k 'thy' m. > Cpt -κ -k id. ¶ Ptrv. 121 || B amb *-ək 'thy' m. > Tw -(ə)k, with kinship nouns: Si -ək, Gd -ik, Shl {La.} -(i)k ¶ Pr. M I-III 164-70, Lf. I 351, La. CBM 47, La. S 114-15, Ai. SKBJ I 39 ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək are ambiguous: they may alternatively go back to HS *ka 'thy' m. (see [6]) || [6] HS *k-a 'thy' (masc. possessoris) > S *-ka id. > Hb -k̄ā, Ar, Gz -ka, Aram -k̄, Ak -ka || C: Bj -k̄ id. || EC *-ka 'thy' (without genus possessoris) > pSam {Hn.} -aḥa 'thy' > Rn -aḥa, Bn -aḥa, Sml -ā || WCh: Hs -ka, Su -ḡā, ? Bl -k0 'thy' (masc. possessoris) || Eg amb -k 'thy' (> Cpt -κ -k id.) || B amb *-ək id. ¶¶ Eg -k and B *-ək may alternatively go back to HS *ku || Ch: Hs -ka, Su -ḡa 'thy', Krf k̄ā 'thy' (masc. possessoris), Pdk m̄-ka, Glv ḡà, Klb -ḡà/-k̄à 'thy' (no genus possessoris) || [7] HS *k-i 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > S *-ki id. > Ar -ki, Hb, Aram -k̄, Gz -kī, Ak -kī || EC: Hr {AMS} -āhi id. || Ch: Hs -ki, Krf čǐ:, Bl -(š)šǐ id. || [8] HS *k-∇m 'thy' (fem. possessoris) > B *-∇m ({Pr.} *-əm) > Tw -(ə)m, with kinship words: Shl -m, Gd -im ¶ Pr. M I-III 64, La. CBM 47, Lf. I 351, Ai. SKBJ I 39-40 || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} -(ḡ)um, {Kr.} -zm 'thy' (fem. possessoris), Ngz (-ā)-k̄m ¶¶ AD PP 71, AD SF 77-8, 26O, Dk. JDPa 223-4, 226-7, Dk. SXJ 70-3, Br. SS 151, Sd. G §§ 41-2, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 172, Bl. 130-1, R BilS 618-20, 685-8, Ap. Kh I 263, Ap. ACA 202-11, Hz. NSA 134-5, Hn. S 30, Hw. A 185, 213, 228, AMS 91, To. DL 211, E SC 243, 245-6 (SC *ki *'thee' f., *ku *'thy' m., though the extant ev. points to a subject prns *ki 'thou' f. and *ku 'thou' m.), Mous 113-17, Wh. IC 17, 58, Blz. PPCh2 ∇, Brq. PS ∇, Kr. RChP ∇ || K *g- 'thee, to thee' (verbal px) > OG, G, Lz ḡ-, Mg ḡ- ~ r-, Sv ž̄-, ž̄ḡ- ¶¶ K 57, FS K 68-9, Top. SJ 84 || A: T (after vowels) *-ḡ, (after cnss) *-uḡ / *-üḡ 'thy' > OT (after vowels) -ḡ / -ḡ, (after cnss) -uḡ / -üḡ / -iḡ / -iḡ, Az Δ -ḡ / -ḡ / -uḡ / -üḡ ~ -w / -u w id. (gen. ḡōz-üḡ-ün 'of thy eye', baba-ḡ-in 'of thy grandfather', accus. at-u w-i 'equum tuum'), Chv L -ḡ / -ḡ (-u / -ü) The Chv sx -u / -ü

may go back only to rounded allomorphs *-ug / *-üḡ, hence I am inclined to assume that the OT unrounded allomorphs *-iḡ / *-iḡ are secondary. They are due to labial harmony of vowels, which is a rather recent morphophonemic phenomenon. Acc. to Tekin GOT 63, "in Orkhon Turkic the labial harmony is at its first stage of development". Side by side with the allomorphs *-g / *-ug / *-üḡ, there are nasalized allomorphs *-(u/ü)ḡ (~ *-iḡ/*-iḡ?). In OT we find both unnasalized and nasalized variants of the sx. In most later lges of the NaT branch, the allomorph *-(∇)ḡ is the only one in use. Acc. to Bz. Tsch 726-7, the nasalized variant is represented by the Chv optional allomorph -ъп-, used in the oblique cases side by side with the usual *-u/*-ü: the genitive -ъп-ъп 'of thy ...' alongside with -u-п. This suggests that Chv reflects the pT distribution: the allomorph *-(∇)ḡ was originally used in the oblique cases only, and it may be conjectured that it resulted from nasalization of the sx *-(u/ü)ḡ by the adjacent genitive ending *-п ¶ CafD A 302, Kon. GJTRP 148, Lvt. IM 14-15, Shch. OSMI 73, Shir. VL 44-5, Tekin GOT 122-4 ◇ AD PP 71-4, 112.

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

(for so.)), Mt {Hl.} ≈ *kaŋ- v. 'ask for' (Mt M {Sp.} кагнамъ 'I ask for, прошу') ¶ Jn. 56, ККИН 160, Hl. M no. 424.

841. *keʕi (or ₂*k|K̄ey∇??) 'make, do' > A *K̄ī- 'do, make' (× N *qoy∇ 'make', [?] v. 'pile up, build', q.v. ffd.) > M *k̄ī- 'do, act' > MM [S] kī-, [PP] k'ī- id., WrM kī- {MED}., HIM хий- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'ptroduce', Brt хэ- 'make, do', Kl {Rm.} kī-, ke-, kē- 'machen', MMgl {Iw.} k̄ī- 'do, make', Mnr H {SM} ḡi- 'faire, agir', Ord. k'ī- 'faire, fabriquer, travailler', Mgl {Rm.} keṇā, kinā 'power' ¶ Pp. IM 36, Iw. 112, MED 462-3, BMR IV 82-3, Chr. 653-4, KW 231, SM 135, Ms. O 419-20 || pJ *k̄i-túk- v. 'build' > OJ k̄i duk-, MJ k̄i túk-, J T k̄i zúk-, J K/Kg k̄i zúk- ¶ S QJ no. 1185, Mr. 710, BJRS I 406 ¶¶ SDM 675-6 (pA *kī ~ *k'ī 'do, make' > M, J + err. T *Kīl- 'do, make', which belongs to N *ku|∇ [or *kuwæ|∇?] 'to work', q.v. ffd.), DQA no. 791, KW 223, Vld. 260, Pp. VG 19 || D {tr., GS} *key- 'do, make' (× N *qoy∇ 'make'??) > Tm ceу, Ml ceуka, Kt geу- ~ key-, Td k̄iу-, Kn keу ~ kaḷ ~ geу, Kdg, Gdb key-, Tl cēуu, Klm (pres.) ka-, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kui, Ku kī- id., Brh (pres. indef.) kē- id. (other variants of the stem in the paradigm [kaŋ-, kaŋniŋ] are due to borrowing and contamination from Blc kaŋ- and Sin J kaŋ-) ¶¶ D no. 1957, GS 59-60 [no. 171], 66 [no. 209], Bray I 155 || K: GZ *g- 'build' > G, Mg, Z *g- id. ¶ K 57, K² 24, FS E 72 || HS: B *√gH 'do, make' > Ah aǵ (pf. iǵa), Gh aǵ (pf. iǵa), Mzb aǵ (pf. iǵu), BSn, Izn aǵǵ, Mtm, BSlh aǵǵ 'do', CM {NZ} aǵ ǵ ay ǵ aǵ 'do, act', SrSn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/A {Rn.} aǵ, Kb aǵ, Shwy, Nfs aǵ, Gd εǵ (pf. iǵω) 'do' ¶ NZ 694-7, Fc. 374-82, Dl. 246, Dlh. M 67, Rn. 350, Lf. II no. 469 ¶ In most B lges there is a homonymous verb *√gH 'put' (possibly a sd. of *√gH 'do') || Ch: CCh: Gzg ge 'do, make', Mtk ga 'make', ? Lgn ʔǵn 'do, make', 'work', LmP {ChC} gi 'do' || Ech: ǵ Smr {OS ← ?} giya 'build', ? Dng gínè 'do' ¶ JI II 229, Lk. G 122, Lk. L 95, ChC s.v. 'do', 'make' ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 912 (HS *gay∇ʕ; incl. B, Ch) ◇ The K and B cognates are valid if K, B and Ch *g- are from *kʕ (as.). If they are not, the N rec. (based on A and D only) will be *k|K̄ey∇. But even the latter rec. is valid unless M *-ī-, pJ *-i- and D *-ey- may go back to N *-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?) ◇ On N *-eHi- > M *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ GZ *g- < *kʕ- < N *keʕ- ◇ IS I 309 [no. 182] (N *Keуn 'делатъ' in D and A [T, M]).

842. ?₂*kEʕû 'pour, flow' > IE: NaIE *ǵ^heu-/ *ǵ^hu- v. 'pour', *ǵ^heu-mṇ 'sth. poured, libation' (× N *gEqû 'pour, flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP I 563-4, P 447-8, EI 448 (*ǵ^heu-), M K I 442, M E II 821, WH I 563-4, Ad. H 37 ¶

The absence of traces of the expected *lr.* (< N *q or *r|y) is still puzzling. One may suggest a mt. + loss of the *lr.*: N *gEqû > eIE *ġ^hHeu > *ġ^heu- || HS: S *°√křw (or *°√křw?) > Gz √křw v. (js. yækřaw) 'pour' ¶ L G 272 || SC: Irq {MQK} kuṛūs- 'spill', Brn {E} kuṛus-, Alg {E} kuṛumis- v. 'spill, pour'; SC ḅ→ Mb {E} -ku 'draw water' ¶ E SC 248 [no. 57] (pSC *kùṛ- or *kṛ- 'draw water'), MQK 63 ◇ Qu., because NaIE *ġ^heu-/*ġ^hu- is phonetically better explained as belonging to N *gEqû.

843. *kuřa 'to go, to advance, to follow', (< ?) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks' > IE *g^weh-/*g^wh₂- > NaIE *g^wā-/*g^wā- 'go' > OI 'jīgāti (P: ÷ Gk βίβησι*) 'goes', aor. 'ā-gā-m 'I went (away)' (= Gk ἔβην 'ich machte hin auf, ich ging'), OAv gāṭ 'soll hingehen', Av gāman-, MPrs gām, NPrs گام gām 'a step', OI gā-'tu-h 'Gang, Weg, Raum, Ort', Av gātu-š, OPrs gāṭu 'place, seat' || ? Arm կայ kay 'there is', կամ kam 'I stand, I am, I exist' || Gk ἔβην 'ich machte mich auf, ich ging', βήμα 'a step, pace', βάλω 'I walk' || Clt {Matas.} *°bā-, *°ba-yo- > OIr baíd, -bá 'die'; Clt {Matas.} *°bāsto n. 'death' > OIr bath id. MW bad 'pest, plague' || Blt (× N *gEhōwy ∇ 'go away, drive away'): Lt Δ góti 'to go', Ltv gājū 'I went' (-ḅ→ present stem *gāy- with the present tense sx *-y-) ¶ WP I 676-7, P 463-4, ≈σ EI 115 (*g^weh₂- 'come'), M K I 432, M E I 482-3, Vl. II 943, Horn 198, F I 208-10, Frn. 161, Kar. I 337-8, Tum. 407, Matas. E 52, 59 || HS: S *°√křy > Ar علك kārī-n 'qui prend la fuite' ¶ BK II 909 || C: Ag: Aw {Beke} ka-, Aw Kk {Fl.} ka- v. 'walk', Aw {Wldm.} ka- 'go', Aw {Bnd.}, Dmt {CR, R} kas v. 'walk' || SC {E} *kaw- v. 'advance, go forward' > Irq {MQK} kaw 'go to' ¶ E SC 241, Blz. CWL, MQK 60, Fl. p.c. || U: [1] FU *küy ∇- 'follow, follow the tracks of' > Z Ss kiyad-, Z Δ {SZ} kiyad- 𐎠 kiyed- 'lie in wait for, track (game), follow the tracks of' || Os V {Trs.} köy- 'scurry about, dart about, run to and fro'; Vg: T küy-, UK k^wäy-, K/MK/NV/SV/LL k^wāy-, P *k^wäy-/k^wāy-, UL/Ss köy- vt. 'track (game), follow, pursuit' | OHg kōvet- 'follow', Hg kōvet- 'follow, go' || [2] FU *k^ru¹y ∇- v. ≈ pursuit, hunt' > Vg: K/Ss xuyt- 'lead astray, drive on', P kuyt 'entice (a beast)' | ? Hg hajt- v. 'drive, propel' ¶ UEW 155, 858, SZ 185-6, Trs. VD 141, Ht. no. 745, LG 151, MF 203, 244-5, 378-9, EWU 826-7 || A *°Kob- (< **°Kow- with hiatus-filling *-w-) > T *Kob- 'follow the tracks of, follow, pursue' (× N *gEhōwy ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Pp. VG 49, Rs. W 275 (both equate T with M *guyu 'ask, implore', see

N *gâ₁?₁y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' [→ 'to wave to so., to beckon'] and N *kuyE 'be hungry, desire, want') || D *kā- 'go' > Krx k̄ā- 'go', Mlt (Drs.) k̄ále 'go, come to', Brh k̄ā- (pres. indef. k̄ā∇, k̄ā-s, k̄āe, k̄ā-n, k̄āre, k̄ār, pres.-ft. k̄āva, k̄āsa, k̄āik, k̄āna etc.) 'go, depart' ¶¶ D no. 1419 ◇ IE *g^ω- (rather than *ġ^ω-) points to a N *ku- (rather than *kü-). The vw. *ü in FU is probably due to vw. harmony (FU or pre-FU **küyE < *kuyE, if *-E belongs to a sx). D *-ā- < N *-u₁a- (contraction). FU *küy∇ and T *Kob- are likely to represent the primary meaning of the N word ('follow the tracks of').

844. ₂ *kab∇ 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *^ogab^h- 'goat, lamb' > Um habina(f) 'lambs' (accus. pl.) ¶ WP I 553, Bc. G 336, LP 48, SB 105, Flr. 173, YGM-1 230, Hm. 310, EI 229 || ? NaIE *kap₁∇₁rō- 'he-goat' > Gk κάρπος 'Eber' || L caper (gen. caprī) 'Ziegenbock, Bock' || ON hafir 'Ziegenbock', AS hæfer id. || Clt {Manas.} *gabrō- 'he-goat' (× IE *gab^h-) > OIr [ʃ] gabor, NIr gabhar, W gafir 'he-goat', OBr {Flr.} gabr, MBr gaffir 'goat', Br {Hm.} gaur 'chèvre', OCm [VC] gauar, MCm gaver ¶ WP I 553, P 529, Bc. G 336, LP 48, SB 105, Flr. 173, YGM-1 230, Hm. 310, EI 229, Manas. E 148, Hm. 310 || HS: S (+ext.) *¹kabaš- 'ram, lamb', *¹kabaš-at- 'ewe' > BHb כַּבֵּשׁ 'kəbēš ~ (mt.) כַּבֵּשׁ 'kəšēb, SmHb 'kā₁bāš 'young ram', pl. BHb kəbā₁š-īm, SmHb kā₁bāšām 'lambs', Amr {G} kabš(ān)um (f. kabšatum, kibšatum) 'lamb', SmA כַּבֵּשׁ kbš 'lamb' (← SmHb?), Ar كبش kabš- 'ram' (→ Sr كَبِشْ kəbš-ā id.), Mh {Jo.} 'kabš, Hrs, Jb E kabš 'lamb', Jb C כַּבֵּשׁ 'male lamb', Sq {Jo.} kubš '(?) lamb', Ak kabšū 'young ram'; S *¹kabaš-at- 'ewe' > BHb כַּבֵּשׁ kibšā (pl. kəbā₁šōt), SmHb kā₁bāšā id., Amr kabšatum p.n., Jb C {Jo.} kebšēt 'female lamb', Ak kabšatu 'young ewe' ¶ KB 438-9, KBR 460, 501, G A 22, BH IV 134, Tal 377, Br. 317, BK II 855, Hv. 641, Jo. M 202, Jo. H 66, Jo. J 125, Sd. 418 ¶ S *¹kabaš- goes back to a N cd (a word group), accounting for the ext. *š || LbB: B *k∇b∇H 'he-goat' > Dmn ikbi, NdA akbu (pl. ikba) id. || ? Gnc TEGUEVITE, TEQUIBITE, TEOFUIVITE = (Wlf.) tegebite sheep, female goat' ¶ Wlf. 489-90, Wlf. EAW 58 ◇ The B cognate was suggested to me by Blz. (p.c.).

845. *kab∇ 'rise, stand up' > HS: S *^o✓kb^ω > Ar ✓kb^ω (pf. kabā, ip. -kbū) 'rise' (dust), 's'élever en l'air (la poussière)' ¶ Hv. 642, BK II 856 || C: Ag *kib- 'stand up, rise' > Bln {R} kib-, kibb y- id., Xm {R} čib-t- 'remain, wait, stand', Xm T {CR} čibičú 'si levò in piedi' ¶ R WB 211, R Ch II 364 (s.p. 50), CR Kh s.v. čibičú || U: FU *kawa- 'rise' > F

каѵча-, карма- 'climb (a tree, over a fence), clamber (over the fence)' (-р- on the analogy of -р-/ -ѵ- stems) ||| Os: Vy қаҫаҫәл-, D χοωәт- 'mit dem Wasser aufsteigen', O χοωлә- 'rise to the surface (e.g. fat in a cooked soup, sweat)' ¶ UEW 131-2 ||| A: AmTg *kab- v. 'stand still, stop' > Ork қаω- ~ қау- v. 'stop, stand still', Ork қаω ~ қау, Nn Nh {On.} қаоқа adv. 'quietly (спокойно, смирно), motionlessly', {STM} қаωқа ~ қаоқа adv. 'motionlessly', Ork қаωун- vt. 'stop', Nn Nh каоҫараҫа- {On.} vi. 'stop', {STM} remain standing still' ¶ STM I 358, On. 209.

846. ₂ *kab∇ (or *kahb∇) 'calabash, gourd' > HS: Ch: WCh ≈ *kab∇ id. (× N *Қаб'Е?'∇ 'wickerwork, bag?') > Hs {Ba.} kǎbǒ 'a small calabash for load carried on the shoulder', kǎbǎkǐ 'ε large calabash of food', Ngz {Sch.} kǎmbí 'small calabash bowl used especially to store grain' ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh 205 [#561], Ba. 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || C: DhI {EEN} kίβο 'gourd', {To.} kίβο 'gourd, calabash' ¶ EEN 11, To. D 140 || Eg N kb 'vessel for wine and other liquids' ¶ EG V 117 ¶¶ OS 307 [no. 1407] (HS *kab- 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg kb, DhI, Hs) ||| A: NaT *Kāb 'pumpkin' > Tk Δ kap, QrB qab id.; ⇨ NaT dim. *Kābak 'pumpkin, gourd' > OT qabaq 'pumpkin, gourd', MQp XIII قَبَق, XIV [CC] qabaq 'pumpkin', Tkm (aš-) qābaq, Δ qāvāq, Tk kabak, Az qabaq, Ggz kabak, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg qabaq, Kr T qabaχ, Uz qawoq, ET qapaq, qava, {Jr.} qapaγ, Ln qava 'pumpkin' (aš 'food' is added in some lges [Tkm, Qrg], distinguishing this word from its homonym for 'eyelid') ¶ ET KQ 162-3, Jr. 238; Cl. 582 and DT 173 (both interpreted *kabak as 'small container', as if derived from *kāb 'bag, skin' [see N *Қаб'Е?'∇ 'wickerwork, bag']). The long *ā in NaT *Kābak suggests the presence of a lr. in the N word, which in the light of absence of lr. in Eg may be only *h; it is also possible that the length of *a in NaT *Kābak may be due to the infl. of T *kāb 'bag, skin'.

847. (₂?) *kib∇ 'hump, bend; to bend' > IE: NaIE *gejb^h- 'hump, bend' > L gibbus 'hump, hunch' ({P}: "expressive" gemination < *gībus), gibber / -a / -um adj. 'hump-backed' ||| Nr Δ keiv 'schief, gedreht, verkehrt', keiva 'left hand' ||| Lt Δ giebus 'awkward, clumsy (plump, ungeschickt)', Ltv ġeība ~ ġeiba 'Schwindel; ungeschickter, schwächerlicher Mensch' ¶ P 354, WH I 597, Frn. 143 ||| HS: S *✓kpp v. 'bend' (× N *ҚупЕ [or *Қүр∇] 'to bend') > JA, MHb, Sr, Ak ✓kpp v. 'bend', Sr كَٲِٲ kəp̄ī'p̄-ā 'hump', JA, Sr كَٲِٲ كَٲِٲ ✓kp̄w|y v. 'bow', ? Htr

к р р ? 'є architectural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar ✓ k f f 'wrap (the foot) in a rag', {BK} 's'entortiller les pieds etc. avec un chiffon' ¶ Sl. 596-7, Js. 661, Br. 339-40, Hv. 658, HJ 531, BK II 909 || **А**: M: WrM {MED} kōbügür ~ kübügür 'arch, convex, convexity', ⇨ M (× N *ҚурЕ [or *Қүр∇] '↑' [q.v.]): WrM kōbüre- {MED} 'bend, bow down, incline', HIM хүврэ- {MED} id., {BMR, Luv.} 'отнести назад ветром' ¶ MED 477, BMR IV 181, Luv. 572 ◇ In many lges N *k i b ∇ contaminated with N ? *g ü | u b | p E 'heap, hump, hunchback' (q.v.). This merger may be responsible for S *p (instead of the expected *b).

848. *k o b ∇ 'to hew, to cut' (→ 'to plane') > **К**: G k w a b - 'in Felsen hauen (z. B. Behausung)' ¶ Chx. 1551 || **HS**: B: Ah ta-kūba 'sword' (pl. ti-kūba-īn), Gh {Nh.} takuba id. (pl. čikubawin); Tw ⇨ Songhai {Sk. ← ?} takuba, Hs tákòbí 'sword' ¶ Fc. 726, Abr. H 843-4, Ba. 981, Sk. HCD 250 || C: Bj ✓ k w b b pcv. 'cut' ({R} 1s: p. 'a-k b u b, p q p f. 'i-k b u b, pres. a k w a m ' b i b), n. ag. k w a b i b || Ag {Ap.} *kab-/ *kāb- 'cut' > Xm {Ap.} k ā b -, {R} k a b -, Km {Ap.} k a b -, {CR} k a v -, Aw {Ap.} k e w - / k e p -, {Plm., Hz.} k e w - (1s k e p - < *k e b - ? -), Bln/Q {R} k a b - id. ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WBd 135 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k a b i 'long knife' > Su {J} к з р 'knife', Ang {Flk.} к ū р 'є long knife' ¶ Cp. also Ch *✓ g b 'cut' > WCh: AG: Ang H, Mnt g a p, Gmy {ChL} g з р, Kfr {Nt.} g á p, Chip {ChL} g з р, ? Dr {J} g з w - 'cut' || CCh: Nz g з b a d i id. ¶ The comparison with Ch *✓ g b is highly qu., because the Ch ✓ has more reliable connections with S *°g ū p - 'cut' (> Ar ✓ g w f 'pierce the abdomen with a spear') ¶ JI II 98, ChL, ChC s.v. 'knife' and 'cut', Stl. ZCh 205 [no. 557] and 214 [no. 641], Nt. 14, Flk. s.v. -k ū p, Hv. 105 || **А** *k'ôb- ({ADb.} *k o b -) v. 'plane' > Tg *k u b a - v. 'plane wood (строгать)' > Ewk k u w a -, Neg k o a - ~ k o w a - ~ k o y a -, Orc k o a - ~ k u (w) a -, Ul k u a - id., Lm q u w u n 'planing knife, shaving knife, скобель', Nn K U q o a t a m s a 'shavings, chips (стружка, щепки)', WrMc {Z} к у в а ф и х я - ~ х у в а ф и х я - 'scrape off, plane off' ¶ STM I 421, Z 288, 447 || NaT *K o l : j b l ∇ j a - > Qrg q o p š o - 'plane around, scrape off, clean the surface (with a knife etc.)', ?σ OT [MhK] q o v š a - ~ q o x š a -, OT U q o v u š a - 'polish' ¶ DTS 452, 462, Jud. 405 || ??σ M *°q o b l i j k i > WrM {MED} q o b i k i, {SDM} q o b k i 'є chisel with a grooved blade, gouge', HIM х о в х и {MED} id., {BMR} 'є chisel with a semicircular blade' ¶ MED 949, BMR 90, ¶¶ SDM 722-3 (pA *k o p ∇ v. 'plane, whet' > Tg, M, T + err. Brt 'scrape off, обирать, сдирать, отдирать, отделять,

вырывать' [{MED} erroneously added the meaning 'to plane']), Chr. 575
 || **Gil:** Gil A $\kappa\zeta\nu$ - / $k^{\prime}\zeta\nu$ - v. 'hew' ¶¶ ST 414, ST RN 374.

849. *k₂h₂ʳä¹b[∇] 'frog, toad' > **HS:** EC *k₂h₂p- > Kns kup-āta, Hr/Gln {AMS} hup-e 'toad'; HEC: Brj kōp-i {Ss.} 'toad', {Hd.} 'frog, toad' ¶ Ss. B 117-18, Hd. 204 || Om [1] N₂Om: Bdt koppe 'toad' (← EC?) | [2]: S₂Om: Dm {FL.} gōf₂r 'frog' || N₂Om: Bsk {FL.} gōfra 'toad', gōb₂r-si 'frog', Kf {C} gēppečč-ō, gēppečč-ē id. ¶ Fl. OO 318, C SE IV 447 ¶ The Om voiced cns. *g- still requires explanation || **IE:** NaIE *g^ωēb^h-ā / ? *g^ωab^h- 'toad' > Pru gaba^ωō id. (Tr.: < *g^ωab^h-) | Sl *žāba (< pre-Sl *gēbā) 'toad' > OCS жабѧ žaba 'frog, toad', Blg, R, Uk жабѧ, SCr žāba, Slv žába, Cz žába, P źaba 'toad' || ? L bufō 'toad' ({Ert}: ← OscU < *g^ωōb^hō) ¶¶ IE → K (GZ?) *^ož|gwebu- > Mg žvabu 'frog', Lz A mžvabu, Lz X (m)žvabu 'toad' ¶ P 466, Vs. II 31, StSS 212, Glh. 704, En. 174, En. APG 62 (on the derivational form of Pru gaba^ωō), Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, WH I 121, Ert ED 130, K IEK 110-12 || **D** *k¹a¹pp- 'frog' > Kt kepak 'frog, toad', Td kopin, Kn kappe, Kn Hv keppe, Tu kappæ, Tl kapp, Gnd kappe, Knd kapoki, Ku kappa 'frog', Kdg kappe 'toad' ¶¶ D *-pp- < N ***H₂ʳä¹b-** (with loss of the vw. *ʳä¹) ¶¶ D no. 1224(a) ◇ NaIE *ē (/ *ə?) points to a N lr., which in the light of the K zero reflex must be weak (N ***H₂**). L -f- and K -b- suggest a pN ***-b-**, while the vl. consonants. (-f-, -pp-, -pp-) in EC and Om make the impression of favouring N ***-p-**, but this devoicing is probably due to the lr. The discrepancy between D *a (which cannot go back to N ***o** or ***u**) and the IE and HS forms (that point to a N labialized vw.) may be explained by supposing a bisyllabic N sequence ***-oH₂ä-** (*ä suggested by IE *ē and D *a) ◇ Blz. DA 158 [no. 64] (suggesting to add the EC and D data), Blz. NDA no. 66 (D, HS, IE).

849a. (2?) *kob[∇]r[∇] 'many, big' > **HS:** S * \checkmark kbr 'many, big' > Amr {G} \checkmark kbr 'be great', BHb \checkmark kbr *Sh* (caus. verb) 'increase' (ip. 3m כִּבְּרִי $\text{יִּ$ y-a-kbīr 'will multiply [words]'), Yd, IA \checkmark kbr 'be plentiful', Yd kbr 'might (?)', OA kbr 'abundance', Sr كَبْر kab'bīrā 'much, big', BHb kab'bīr 'strong, mighty; great, much', Ar \checkmark kbr 'become stout\tall, grow big', kabīr- 'great, old', JA, Sr \checkmark kbr (pf. kə'ḥar) 'abound, increase', Sb kbr 'great', Gz \checkmark kbr 'be honoured\great', Ak \checkmark kbr (inf. kabār₂) 'be big\thick' ¶ KB 438, KBR 458-9, BDB 460 [no-s 3624 and 3627], JH 115, HJ 486-7, 531, G A 22-3, Fr. IV 3-4, BK II 853-4, Hv. 641, BGMR 75-6, L G 274, Sd. 415 || WCh: Hs káw¹í, Hs Skt/Kc {Ba.} kabri [kabrī?] Gw {Mts.} keberi 'thickness' ¶ Abr. H 506, Ba. 589, Mts G s.v. keberi ¶¶ OS

no. 1410, ≈ Sk. HCD 140-1 || ? D *kopp∇r- ({{θGS} *k-) ≈ 'increase' > TI kop(pa)ramu 'increase, rise, swell', kopparinta 'increasing', Krx xopōrxolā, xoporkā 'abundant, swarming' ¶¶ D no. 1731 (a) || A: M *kōbüre- > WrM {MED} kōbüre-, HIM xүврэ- {MED} v. 'grow, sprout, germinate', {BMR} 'germinate, sprout', Kl {KRS} xүврэ- χüvrə- vi. 'change, turn into', Kl Ö {Rm.} χüwrō- 'sich verändern, seine Gestalt und Farbe verlieren' ¶ MED 477, BMR IV 181, KRS 618, KW 203 ◇ The comparison with D is qu., because the D words may alternatively go back to pD *kupp- 'heap' < N *kuP_∇ 'heap, hill' (q.v.). If the D root belongs here, its cns. *r (that regularly goes back to cns. clusters with N *r) requires explanation. Does it suggest a N etymon *kob_∇r_∇?|h_∇ or *kob_∇r_w|y_∇?

850. *k^rä¹çu 'skin' > K *^okic̣|c_w- > G kic_v-i 'fish scales' ¶ Chx. 1561 || HS: CCh: BM: Br, Ngx kəsım, Tr kəzəm, Chb k^wuc̣i, WMrg k^wúç̣i, kúç̣è 'skin' ¶ JI II 296, ChL, ChC s.v. 'skin' || U: FP *k^rä¹ćća (> *kääćća / *kać_∇ć_∇?) 'skin, hide' > pLp *kääćć^rē¹ > Lp N {N} gač'čē / -čč- 'skin of porpoise or whale' | Prm *kuć- 'skin' > Z кучик kućik id., Prmk кучік kućik, {W} kuć 'skin, hide', Yz kú'ćik 'human skin', Vt {W} kućsi (= kući?) 'skin' (-k is a sx) ¶ LG 148, N II 4 ¶ Lp N gač'čē goes back to FU *kääćća, while Prm *kuć- points to a back vw. (*a or *o) in the first syll. of pFU; the discrepancy may be accounted for by vw. harmony: an early (pre-harmonic) stem *kääćća with subsequent as.: *kääćća > *kaćća and *kääćća > *kääćća || A *k^räçu 'skin, hide (шкура, кожа), covering' > Tg *kaçu(-ki) 'leather clothes' > Nn Nh {On} qačoi, Nn Nh/KU {STM} qačoi ~ qačoy ~ qaču_∇ ~ qačuy, Nn Δ qačiki 'leather garment for men', Ul qaču_∇ ~ qačuy 'fur coat (made of dog fell)', Orc qaču_i, Orc X kačuki 'garment made of elk skin', WrMc {Z} качики 'old coat from shabby hide (of deer or saiga antelope)' ¶ STM I 386, On. 213, Z 260 || pKo {S, SDM} *kàč² 'skin, leather, hide' > MKo kàčòk, kàč^h (kàs), NKo kažuk (Rm.: = kažok id.), Ko Sl kažuk, Ko N {Rm.} kažugi, Ko {S}: Ph sal-gat, Chs/Ks kažúk, Hm kažúk, Kw kažuk id., NKo sal-gat (/ sal-gač^h-) 'skin surface', NKo † kat (/ kač^h-) 'fur, leather, hide' ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 77], Rm. SKE 102, S QK no. 77, MLC 25, 63-4, 896 ¶¶ Rm. SKE I 102, S AJ 296 [no. 573] (*kač[∇] || T *^oKa_∇çaç ({{SDM} *KAç-(g)aç) > OT {Cl.} qačāč 'Chinese brocade, woven fabric' ¶ Cl. 590 ¶¶ A *a of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. (N *k^rä¹çu > pA *kaçu) ¶¶ SDM 627-8 (pA *káč[∇]u 'covering, skin' > T, Tg, Ko + err. M *quč²i- 'cover' [\leftarrow N *gûd^ri¹ 'hut?']), DQA no. 695

(id.), S AJ 297 (no. 573), Rm. SKE 102, Rm. PKE 74 \diamond Lp proves that the N medial cns. is emphatic (*-č|č̣-). In K and CCh the word-medial cns. was deglottalized (in K due to dis., in HS deglottalization is a typical phenomenon, a positional change dependent on supersegmental factors such as tones or on stress?).

851. *kEč̣'U' ~ *k'ü'č̣'U' (or *-č̣-) 'knife' > HS: C: Bj {R} 'kōsa ~ 'kūsa id. ¶ R WBd 148 || Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk} kíčà, Ngs {ChC} k'íč̣à id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'knife', Frk s.v. kíčà, ChL || U: FU *keč̣ ▽ ~ *küč̣ ▽ 'knife' > pChr {Ber.} *küč̣ь ({}Ber.} *küč̣ā) id. > Chr: L kűzö 'küzö, U/B küzö, M küžü, H кызыбі 'kəzə id. || pObU {Ht.} *kēč̣əy 'knife' > pVg {}Hl.} *käṣ̌kēj, {Ht.} *käṣ̌kāy > OVg: S SSs kotschljaj, N SoG kēsche, E TM kättschi; Vg: LK/MK kāsī ~ kāsī, UL/Ss kasay id.; pOs {Ht.} *köč̣əy > Os: V/Vy köč̣əy, Ty k̄č̣əy, Y k̄č̣əy, D/K keč̣ə, Kz keṣ̌ī, O kesi id. | Hg kéś id. ¶ UEW 142, Sm. 545 (FU *kăci, FP *kăči, Ugr *kăč-), Ber. 28 [no. 138], MRS 257, 276, Ht. 145 [no. 220] || A: Tg *kuç̣e(n-) 'knife' > Ul kuč̣z(n-), Ork kuç̣z(n-) ~ kuç̣zəz ~ kuti ~ kutiəz, Ud kusigz, Nn Nh kuč̣ẓ̌:, Nn Bk kucz(-), Mc Sb kuṣ̌ī id., Ul kuč̣złz-, Ork kuç̣złz-, Nn Bk kuczłi- v. 'prick with a knife', Nn Nh kuč̣ẓ̌łz- {STM} id., {On.} id., 'strike, beat', Mc Sb kuṣ̌īłz- v. 'cut with a knife', cp. Tg *χ̣uç̣i 'knife' > Ewk uçi, Sln usx̣ẓ̌:, {Iv.} ццикан, цчике, цч'кó id. ¶ The variant with *χ̣- (a regular reflex of N *Ḳ-), if correct, may be due to as. (N *k...č̣ > *ḳ...č̣) ¶ STM I 441 and II 296, Krm. 253, On. 236 || ?σ K: G K kič̣o 'meat hook (of a butcher)' ¶ Chx. 1562 \diamond If the K cognate is valid, the N affricate is *-č̣-, otherwise it is *-č̣|č̣-. It is tempting to adduce (in spite of the semantic distance) Bj {R} kōs 'tooth' and Dsn {To.} káč̣u id.

852. ₂ *k'ü'č̣ ▽ or *Ḳ'ü'č̣ ▽ 'ant' > HS: EC: Gwd kuč̣ā'čitē 'ant' ¶ AMS 229 || NrOm: Kf {C} k̄āč̣ō 'ε red ant', Wl {LmS} k̄āč̣uwa id., {C} k̄āč̣oā 'ant', Zl {C} k̄ač̣ō, Kcm {LmS} k̄ač̣o 'black ant' ¶ C SE IV 483, C SO 33, LmS 428 || Ch: CCh: Nkc {ChL} kùṣ̌éṣ̌é 'termite' || ECh: Ll {Grgs} gúṣí id. || ? WCh: Hs k̄íyāṣ̌í (pl. k̄íyāṣ̌ú) 'ε small ant' ¶ Grgs L s.v. gúṣí, Abr. H 528, Ba. 615, ChC s.v. 'ant', ChL || U *kuč̣ ▽ 'ant' > ObU {Ht.} *kōč̣yāy 'ant' > pVg {Ht.} *kāṣ̌əy > Vg (partially within cds): T kaṣ̌qāy, LK xoṣ̌əat, pl. xoṣ̌īt, UK koṣī, P koṣ̌ṣ̌iy, NV/ML koṣ̌ṣ̌ī, UL xōssuy, Ss xōswoy id.; pOs *koč̣əy ({}Hl.} *käč̣əy) id. > Os: V/Vy qoč̣η†, Ty qāč̣η†, Y qač̣ηi, D χ̣āṣ̌ŋāy, K χ̣āṣ̌yāy, Nz/Kz χ̣āṣ̌ŋa, O χ̣āṣ̌ŋā id. || Sm {Jn.} *kzč̣ ▽ (~ *k+č̣ ▽?) 'ant' > Slq d.: Tz {KKIH} k+ta, Tm {KD} qṣ̌ẓ̌_a id.; ⇔ Sm *kzč̣ ▽ mkā ~ *kuč̣ ▽ mkā id. > Ne T W xudumga, Ne O χ̣ūδumg_æ, Kms {KD} k'ēdāmgā,

Koyb {Sp.} кадума id. ¶¶ UEW 192-3, Ht. no. 221, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 65, ККИН 123 ◇ If the N etymon is *k'u'č̣∇, NrOm *ḳ- is due to as., otherwise (if the N word is *Ḳ'u'č̣∇) the EC and Ch intial cns. is due to HS deglottalization.

853. *k'a'd|t∇ 'rock, cliff' > A *k'ada 'rock, hill' > M *qada 'rock, cliff' > MM [S] qada 'Abhang, Felswand', WrM qada(n) {MED} 'rock, cliff, crag', HIM xad(ан) {MED} id., {BMR} 'rock, crag, каменная гора', Brt xada 'mountain', Kl {Rm.} xada 'Felsen, Berg', {KRS} xad xadъ 'rock, crag (скала, утес)', Dg xad(a), Dx {T} gada, Mnr H {T} gada id., {SM} g_a_d_a 'roche, rocher, caillou, rocheux', Ord xad_a 'rocher, pierre' ¶ H 55, MED 902, BMR IV 12-13, Chr. 529, SM 114, T 324, T DnJ 115, T DgJ 172, KW 158, KRS 565, Ms. O 320 || Tg *kada > Ewk, Lm kadār, Sln xadār, Neg kadā, kada(у)а 'rock, crag (скала, утес)', Ud kada 'large stone, stone', Ul qada|j, Orc kada 'rock, mountain', Ewk kadaуа, Ork qada 'rock (скала)', WrMc {Z} xada 'rock, peak (острая вершина горы)', Mc Sb xada 'rock, peak' ¶ STM I 153-4, Krm. 244, Z 386 ¶¶ SDM 629 (pA *kad∇ 'rock, mountain' > Tg *kada(r), M *qada + unc. T *ḳ|j_aуа 'rock, mountain, slope' [T *-y- does not go back to pA *-d- or *-t-] [{SDM} "PT -j- instead of the expected -d- is baffling"]), DQA no. 699 (id.), Rm. EAS I 46, 97, KW 158, Pp. VG 95, S AJ 288 || D (att. in GnD) *kāt|tī > Gnd kātī 𐌆 k'hātī 'cliff, bank', Ku gāti 'precipice'; D 𐌆 InA *g'haṭṭa ¶ D no. 1449, Tu. no. 4414 || HS: ECh: Jg {J} kokode 'stone hill' ¶ J J s.v. || B *kāt∇r ~ *gādīr: [1] *kāt∇r > Mz t-čatar-t 'petite levée de terre, petit talus', Wrg t-katar-t 'levée de terre', ?σ Ah tā-kātār-t 'petit bourrelet de terre (naturel ou artificiel) retenant des eaux'; [2] *gādīr > Izn, Rf B a-ždīr 'falaise, rocher à pic', Kb a-gadīr 'talus; terrain en forte déclivité, escarpement', Tmz a-gadīr 'talus', CA {NZ} tagudirt 'colline' ¶ Rn. 351, Dl. 251, Fc. 943, MT 147, Dlh. M 25, Dlh. Ou 158, NZ 735 ¶ The variants *kāt∇r and *gādīr my result from different directions of assimilation from the original **✓kdr || EC: ? Sa {R} kuḍō 'glatt ausgewaschener Felsen über welchen ein Wasserfall geht' (unless derived [acc. to R] from kūḍ- 'laufen, fliehen') ¶ R S II 208 || ?σ,φ S: Gz katamā 'extremity, summit' ¶ L G 298 ◇ The N rec. may be either *k'a'd∇ or *k'a't∇.

854. *kud∇ (or *Ḳud∇) 'to plait' > U: FP *kuḍa- v. 'plait, weave' > F kuṭo- id., Es kuḍu- id., 'knit' | pLp {Lr.} *kṷḷē- 'weave, knit' > Lp: S gürr'edh, U güddeet, L kātēt, N godde-, K {Gn.} kott'e- | Er, Mk

кода- weave, plait' | pChr {Ber.} *kuə- > Chr: Н кое- (inf. коаш), L inf. куаш, B/Uf кие- 'weave' | Prm {LG} *kü- > Z кы- kɨ-(nɨ) 'weave, knit, plait', Prmk {Rog.} inf. кый-ны, Yz inf. кү-'нл, 1s pres. кү'у-а 'weave, plait', Vt inf. ку-ыны 'weave' ¶ UEW 675, Sm. 552 (FP *куда-), It. no. 183, Lr. no. 440, Lgc. no. 2512, Ber. 23, MRS 201, 235, LG 152-3, Lt. J 138 || | D *kuɬ- ({ʁGS} *k-) v. 'plait' > Krx kuɬ- v. 'plait, braid, twist', Prj kuɬp- v. 'weave baskets etc. out of bamboo', Gdb kurp- v. 'plait split bamboos to make baskets', as well as words for wickerwork: Tm kuɬalaj 'basket of palmleaf, cover of palmleaf (against rain)', Kn kuɬpu 'small basket', Tu kuɬupu 'a strainer made of wickerwork' ¶¶ D no. 1653 || | HS (× N *k̄ad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork; wattle', q.v.): Ch {Stl.} *koɖa < *k̄oɖa 'pot' > WCh: BT: Bl {Mch.} kuɖa 'pot', Gera kʷàɖá 'calabash', Krf {Sch.} kʷàɖó id., ?ɸ kʷàtì 'cooking pot' || | CCh: HfF kʷadʷa 'small pot' || | ECh: EDng {Fd.} kóɖà 'a kind of small jar' ¶ Stl. IF 175, ChC s.v. 'pot', Sch. BTL 141, 151, Fd. 288 || | AdS of S *kadd- 'jar' (cf. N *k̄ad∇) ¶¶ Coh. no. 226, Cal. 212, Stl. IF 175.

855. (₂?) *küd'a¹ 'male person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (→ 'male relative-in-law') > U: FU {IS} *küðü 'male relative-in-law' > F куту 'husband's\wife's brother', Vp küdu, Es күди, Δ күдү 'husband's brother' || | ObU: pOs *kül∇ 'wife's sister's husband' > D kitə, O kili 'wife's sister's husband'; Os *kül∇ (× N *kälû 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes') > Os: V küli 'wife's sister's husband', niŋ-küli 'wife's sister' (niŋ- means 'woman'), Ty kiɬi, Nz kītə, Kz kīɬi 'wife's sister's husband, wife's sister', Kr kitə 'wife's younger sister, wife's younger brother's daughter'; Os ⇨ Vg: UL kil 'wife's brother', {Reg.} 'wife's sister; sister's husband', Ss kil 'wife's sister', N {Mu.} kil 'wife's brother, sister's husband; wife's elder sister' ¶ UEW 154, Trs. VD 143, Trs. S 125, Stn. D 620, MK 213 || | A *k'üda (or *k'üdä) 'relative-in-law' > T *k'üðä-gü 'younger sister's husband, daughter's husband' (-gü is an adjectival sx) > OT күдэгү ({Cl.} күдә:-гү); Chg күдәv, MXwT күдэгү, Qp küyägü 'bridegroom', [CC] küyägü 'daughter's husband', Tkm giyeω, Blq, Nog kiyeω, Uz kuyω, Qrg küyō, StAlt küyü, Tv күдē, Δ күтō, Tf хүдā, SY күзегі, Xk күзö id., ET küyoɣul id. (cd with oɣul 'son'), Tk гүvεу, Ggz güvā, Az göyü-m (with 1s ppa. -m), Δ kiyāω ≈ žiyāω, Qmq giyev, Qzq, Qq küyeω, VTt kiyāω, Bsh кыяω, Yk күтүō 'daughter's husband; sister's\cousin's husband, mother's younger sister's husband', Chv L

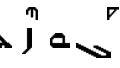
кѣрѹ кѣрѹ (gen. кѣрѣвѣн кѣрѣв-ѣн) id., 'younger sister's husband; bridegroom' ¶ Cl. 703, ET VGD 43-6, TL 297-8, Ra. 192, Ash. VII 284-6, Fed. I 283, Jeg. 109, ChVS 86, Pokr. TR 60-3, TvR 268 || M *quda 'father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law' (in pl.: 'the heads of two families related through the marriage of their children') > MM [S] χυδα, [HI] γυδα id., Mnr H {SM} γυδα id., WrM {MED} γυδα id., HIM χυδ {MED} id., {BMR} 'сват, кум', Brt χυδα id., Kl {KRS} χυδ χυδъ 'father of the son-\daughter-in-law (сват)', {Rm.} χυδυ 'Schwägerschaft; Leute, deren Kinder unter sich verheiratet sind', Ord χυδα 'les chefs et les membres mâles de deux familles aliées par le mariage de leurs enfants' ¶ Poppe (Pp. PLVM 8) reconstructed a long *a in the second syll. of this M word (*kudā) and supposed that originally this *ā goes back to a stressed vw. (*ku¹da). Poppe's rec. may be right only if his accentual theory of pM is justified ¶ MED 979, BMR IV 159, Chr. 597, KW 194, KRS 607, H 70, Ms. H 59, Ms. O 362-3, SM 123 ¶¶ SDM 732 (pA *kude 'relative-in-law' > T *k'üde-, M *quda), DQA no. 905 (id.) || ?φ K *kwiš-]o- 'wife's sister's husband' > G kvisl-, G Mt/M kvisele, Mg kvišil- ({IS} < *kwišol- < *kwiš-al-), Sv {TK} d.: UB me-kšwel (pl. lä-mkošla), L mekšol, Ln mokšäl (pl. lamokšala) id., Sv {K} me-kwšel ≍ me-kwšöl ≍ mo-kšāl id. (mo- < *me- due to the infl. of the lost stem-final *w, sc. K *kwiš-]o- yields eSv *kwišw- > Sv kšw-) ¶¶ K 198, K² 217, FS E 377 (*kwiš-), TK 217 ¶¶ Acc. to sound laws we expect K *kwid-. The observed pK stem *kwiš-al- may have originated from the genitive **kwid-iš- + sx *-al- (with a contraction *-dš- > *-š-). This can be understood if we take into account the K tendency of inflexion based on case sxs added to the genitive form, like in the case of OG t̥pil-is-i 'Tbilisi' (stem + gen. sx + sx of casus rectus) ◇ IS I 302-4 (N *küda), AD NM no. 110, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

856. *koʒd̥ ~ *kod̥ 'filth, dirt; abominable' > IE: NaIE *g^wōd^h- / *g^wēd^h- id. > Gmc *k^wād- > AS c^wēad, OFrs quād 'dung, excrement, dirt', OHG quāt ~ kōt 'dirt, manure', MHG quāt ≍ quōt ≍ kōt ≍ kāt, NHG Kot 'dirt, filth, mire, mud'; MHG quāt 'wicked, abominable', MLG quād, Dt kwaad 'wicked, ugly', ME c^wēd 'bad' ||| Sl: [1] Sl *g^ǎd̥ (< *g^wōd^h-) reptile, vermin, sth.\so. abominable' > OCS ΓΑΔЪ gадъ 'animal reptile, serpens', Blg гад 'vermin', SCr gād 'disgust, nausea; snake', Slv gād 'adder (Vipera)', Cz, Slk had, P gad, OR, RChS ΓΑΔЪ gадъ 'reptile, snake', R, Uk гад 'reptile; abominable person'; [2] Sl *žadati se (< *g^wēd^h-) > OP žadać się 'to loathe, to be

disgusted at', *žadъnъ-(jъ) > OP žadny, Slvnz žadnī 'ugly' | Lt gédā '(feeling of) shame', Pru accus. gīdan 'Schande', nigīdings 'shameless' ¶ Ho. 64, Kb. 577, KM 397, ESSJ VI 81-2, StSS 167, Bern. I 289-90, Glh. 225, Frn. 142, En. 177, 215, Tr. P E-H 231-3 || HS: S *°✓kd̥ > Ar kud̥-at- 'vil et méprisé' ¶ BK II 875 || ? B *°✓kyd̥ (and secondary *°✓Hkd̥) 'détester, mésestimer' (× N *K̥aHd̥ ▽ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety', 'anger, hate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ GhA 89, 104, Fc. 749, 769-71, Msq. 87 ¶ The emphatic *d̥ is likely to go back to the cluster *d̥ || D (att. in SD) *kott- ({ǂGS} *k-) 'dirt' > Tm kottai 'rottenness, blot, blemish', Ml kotta 'dust, dirt as on the clothes of a traveller', Tu kottæ 'trash, dirt' ¶ D no. 2094 ◊ D *-tt- (usually from N *-t̥- rather than from *-d-) may be accounted for by the N cns. clusters *-d̥- or *-ɣd̥-.

857. on. *k|K̥Ed̥ ▽ 'ś|ć' ū 'to sneeze' > HS: S *°✓kd̥s̥|s id. > Ar ✓kds G 'sneeze' (animals) ¶ BK II 874, Hv. 647 || IE: NaIE *kseu̯-/*kseu̯- (~ *skeu̯-/*skeu̯-) v. 'sneeze' > OI 'kṣāuti 'sneezes', 'kṣava-h̥, 'kṣut, kṣuta-m n. act. 'sneezing' || SI *kṣa-ti, mom. *kṣ-nq-ti 'to sneeze' > ChS kṣxn̥th kṣxn̥ti id., SCr Δ kṣxn̥ti, kṣxn̥ti 'to cough, to sneeze' (phonetic irregularities due to onomatopoeia); SI *čixa- (inf. *čixa-ti) v. 'sneeze' > Blg 'чихам 'I sneeze', Slv číhati, ULs čičać, LLs tsíchás, P czchać, R чи'хатъ 'to sneeze' | ?φ Lt čiaudėti 'to sneeze' | The metathetic variant *ske(:)u̯- is represented by Lt skiáudėti (pres. skiáudžiu), Ltv šķau̯t, šķiaũdīt 'to sneeze' ¶ P 953, M K I 287, 291, 295, ≈ M E I 429-30, Frn. 74, ≠ ESSJ XIII 176, 110, EI 133 (? *skeu̯- or *kseu̯- 'sneeze') ¶ ESSJ and M consider the OI and SI verbs to be pure onomatopoeia and reject any attempts of etymologizing them || U: [1] (+ext.) FU *kićnā- v. 'sneeze' > pLp {Lr.} *kṣnē- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gasn'edh, L {LLO} kasnēt, N {N} gâs'tet, Kld keš'neð id. | Er keš'na-, keš'ne-, Mk kš'na- | Vt кизъны- kižn̥-, Vt Sr kižn̥- id. ¶ UEW 662, Lr. no. 329, Lgc. no. 1982, Hs. 573-4 || [2] U *°kEṛt̥ ▽ 'ś' ▽ or *°kEṛt̥ ▽ 'ć' ▽ 'sneeze' > Sm {Jn.} *käs ▽- ⇨ *käs̥y̯r-, {Hl.} *käsir- id. > Slq Tm {KD} q'āčag̥ (1s aor.) id.; d. (augmentative) verbs: Ne F {Lh.} šá:tarás (< *käs̥y̯r-), Ng {Mik.} katirása, En (1s aor.: En X {Cs.} sériṇaro?, En B {Cs.} sēdiṇado? id., Kms {KD} qā:daríam 'I sneeze', Mt {Hl.} *kādār- 'sneeze' (Mt M {Sp.} кадыргамъ 'I sneeze') ¶ Jn. 63, Hl. M no. 448.

858. *k|gog̥U̯, ǂE̯ ▽ 'set fire to, burn (sth.)' > K: GZ *g(u)z- v. 'kindle, set fire' > OG, G gzn-, gz- id., G ma-guz-al 'charred log', guzguza сесχli 'flame (пылающий огонь)', ma-guz-, ni-guz-al- 'Glut', guzguz-

'Knistern des Feuers', Mg rZ-, Lz gZ-, z- v. 'kindle' ¶ K 62, K² 30, FS K 80, FS E 84, Ser. 40, Chik. 260, Q 305 || IE: NaIE *ks̄V̄- (or *k^ωs̄V̄-) v. 'burn' (× N *k̄oś_LH₂J̄V̄ 'to kindle', q.v. ffd.) > OI 'k̄s̄āyati vi. 'burns', k̄s̄ā'ti f. 'singeing, heat', caus. k̄s̄ā'payati 'makes (sth.) burn' || ???σ Arm gwal c^haω 'pain', gwasunum c^hasnum 'I lose my temper, I put myself in a passion', aor. gwasuay c^haseay (← 'hitzig sein'; s < *ps; all Arm words may go back to *k̄s̄āp-) ¶¶ The Arm cognate (if valid) points to IE *k̄s̄-, but for semantic reasons we cannot rely on Arm ev. ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. of the OI stem) ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. gor OI) ¶¶ The qu. Arm cognate (gwal c^haω 'pain', gwasunum c^hasnum 'I lose my temper, I put myself in a passion'), if valid, points to IE *k̄s̄- ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M A I 430 || HS: S (+ext.) *^ogawzV̄l- (< ?? *gaguzV̄l-) v. 'kindle' (att. in Aram lges) > Sr ✓ gwz l (pf.  gaw'zel) v. 'kindle, set on fire', gawzā'l-ā, gawzal-'t-ā 'flame, fiery coal, fire, heat', NENA {Orh.} gōzaltā id. (← Sr?), ? TA {Rt.} gizlayle 'Festakt am Weihnachtsabend, bei dem ein Holzhaufen in Brand gesteckt wird' ¶ Br. 111, PS 697-8, JPS 63, Rt. 177, Orh. 75 || Ch {Stl.} *guz- 'kindle' > WCh: Tng {J} kuzε 'light a fire, strike a light' || ECh: MfG {Brr.} m3-g3d̄ey 'allumer le feu', Mkl {J} gōzē 'activer\attiser le feu' ¶ Stl. IF 184, J T 102, J LM 105, Brr. MG II 279 || A: M *kōgǰi- v. 'begin to flame, blaze up' > WrM kōgǰi- {MED} id., 'rise, develop, progress', HIM жөгжи- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'rise, develop, progress', Brt жөгжэ- vi. 'ripen; develop, prosper', MM [MA] kōgǰi- vi. 'burn, shine' ({Pp.} kōgǰibe sara 'the moon shone'), Kl {Rm.} kōgǰi- 'auflodern, zu brennen anfangen', Ord k'ogǰi- 'commencer à devenir grend, devenir grandelet' (enfants), ?σ k'ogǰi- 'cesser de flamber' ¶ MED 481, BMR IV 127, Chr. 611, KW 236, Pp. MA 220, Ms. O 425 || D (att. in NED) *^okō(ĉ)ĉ- v. 'catch fire, inflame, burn' (× N *k̄oś_LH₂J̄V̄ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ S, Ch and K *g- is either original (< N *g-) or due to as. (*k...g > *g...g). M *k- points to a N *k-. IE *k- or *k^ω- (rather than *g-, *g^ω-, *g^h- or *g^ωh-) is caused by as. within the cns. cluster *K_L^ωs̄-.

859. id. *kaķE (= *kaķi?) (or *k̄-?) 'angry' ('böse'), ? 'bad' > K: G kik- v. 'blame, reprimand' ¶ Chx. 1561 || IE: NaIE *k|k̄ak|k̄- 'bad' > Gk κακός id. || NPhr κακο(υ)ν id. (?) (unless a loan from Gk) ¶ Ch. 482, F I 758-9 || A *k'ak'i|I- 'be angry' > T: [1] [2] NaT *Ka_L·k-, *Ka_L·kI- > OT qaki- ({Cl.} qaki:-) v. 'be angry' and prob. {Cl.} kāk 'a desire for

revenge' (← *'malice, spite, secret hatred'), Osm {Rh.} қақп- v. 'scold', Тк какі- v. 'blame, scold', Кр К қақп- ~ қаχп- v. 'blame (бранить, обличать)' ¶ Cl. 609, 707, ET KQ 223-4, Rh. 1419, Dr. TM III 1400 || М *°қақп- > WrM {MED} қақп- v. 'despise', HIM хажп- {MED} id., {BMR} 'быть неласковым, не любить; вспылить' ¶ MED 915, BMR IV 72, ADb. SR-D 16 (рМ *қақп- 'be angry') || Tg: Ewk какі- 'angry, ferocious' ¶ STM I 363 ¶¶ SDM 633 (рА *kāk'ī 'angry' > Tg [Ewk + unc. WrMc хажп 'hasty'], Т + unc. М *kek- ~ *kika- {SDM} 'arrogance; irritate, be angry, anger' (in fact 'choke, menace, intimidate, oppress', cf. MED 474 and BMR IV 237), ADb. SR-D 16 (рА *kak'ī-) ◇ In most lges (except for G and Ewk) the initial cns. is due to as. (e.g. IE **g|g̃ak|k̃ > k|k̃ak|k̃-). G *kik- may be explained by mt. of the vw. *i (*kaq̃i > *kik-).

860. *Koqe (r∇) (= *Qoqe (r∇) or *goqe (r∇)) 'chest, breast' (→ [in descendant lges] 'belly', 'heart') > HS: Ch: ECh: Mu {Lk.} gāk (pl. gōgúk) m. 'chest', f. 'female breast', Tmk {Cp.} gōgž̃ m., Mkl {J} gīg̃g̃iré 'poitrine' || WCh: Klr {J} kúkôh 'Brustkorb' ¶ Lk. ZSS 182, Cp. 64, J LM 101, J R 353, ChC s.v. 'chest' || ? S: Ak kɯkkɯ(b)bu 'pig's stomach' ¶ Sd. 421 || U: FP *kokt∇ 'belly' > F kōhtɯ 'womb', Es kōht (gen. kōhu) 'belly, abdomen, stomach (Magen)' || Prm: Vt kōt kət 'belly, stomach', Vt Sr/Kz {Wc.} kət 'belly, heart', Vt G {Wc.} kət 'stomach, heart', Z I kōt 'belly' in cds: kōt-ku 'peritoneum' (ku 'skin'), kōt-ku ū 'bottom part of the belly' (ū 'bottom'), Prmk {W} kəta 'pregnant' ¶ UEW 670 || A *k'ok'ü- or *k'ok'ü- 'breast; to suck; heart' [→ 'chest', 'belly']) > T: [1] T *k_ökür 'chest, breast' > OT köküz ({Cl.} kögüz) id., MQp, Cmn kögüs ~ kövüs 'breast, female breast', Tkm ΓΘΒΥC gövüθ, Az köküs ~ köks, ET köküs ~ kögüs, SY köküs ~ gös, Ln köküz id., Uz кўкc kwks 'breast, heart, soul', Tk gōğüs 'breast, bosom, thorax', Ggz gūs, StAlt kögüs, Xk kögīs 'breast, thorax', Yk köşüs 'breast, middle of the back, spine' || Chv L kākǎp kbg_ɔr 'breast (poitrine), female breast' || [2] NaT *k_üküræk 'chest, upper part of the body' > Chg XII [San.] kükrek, Tkm kükrek, Blq kökürek, Bsh kōkräk, Nog, Qzq, Qq kökirek, Qrg kökürök, ET kökräk 'chest, breast', Qmq kökürek, VTt kōkräk, Uz кўкрак kwkrak 'breast, female breast', Brb {Rl.} kökrök 'chest, upper part of the body', MQp {Rs.} kökräü 'Rumpf, Oberkörper', Tv kökerek 'anklebone of cattle', Slr {Tn.} küpräx ~ köp̃r̃ix 'breast' ¶ Cl. 712, 714, Rs. W 288, ET VGD 54-5, ET KQ 136-7, Grøn. 150, Ash. VII 107-9, Fed. I 249, Jeg. 98, BIG 87, ARL 173, Äz. 213, Nj. 652, UzR 229, Tn. SJ 393, 398 ¶ The T stem *k_ökür (if

originally 'female breasts') may represent an ancient word group with N *yí ('a couple' > a marker of dual) (*-r∇ yí > *-ry- > -r-), while in the stem *k_L'_Jöküræk 'chest' no marker of dual is present || M *kökün ({SDM} *kökön) 'female breast' > MM [MA] köken, [S] kokan [kökän] (pl. kokot [kököt]), WrM {MED} kökü(n), HIM {MED, BMR} xōx 'female breast, nipples', Brt xγxε(η) 'female breast, nipples of an udder', Kl {KRS} κεκη kökən 'female breast', {Rm.} kökη 'Zitzen, Brüste', Dx gogo, Ba kugo, ShY hgön 'female breast', Mnr H {SM} k'ug_U 'mamelles, sein', MMgl {Iw.} kökə 'nipple', Mgl {Rm.} kökã 'Zitze', Ord g_Uö^kxö 'mamelles, pis, tétine'; M *kökü- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > WrM {MED} kökü-, HIM xεxε- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'suck (a baby's dummy)', Brt xγxε- id., Kl κεκ- kökə- v. 'suck (breast); suck in', {Rm.} kökj-, kök- 'saugen, an seiner Mutter saugen', MM [MA] köke- v. 'suck (breast, water)', [S] kokō- [kökō-] v. 'suck, suckle', MMgl {Iw.} kökə- v. 'suck milk', Mgl {Rm.} kökə-nã 'sucks (mother's breast)', Ord g_Uö^kxö- 'sucere le sein, sucer la mamelle' ¶ Pp. VG 132, S AJ 234 [no. 13], MED 483, BMR IV 149-50, Chr.636-7, KW 237, KRS 313, SM 208, Pp. MA 220, H 103, Iw. 112-13, Ms. O 769 || Tg *χυκυ-n 'female breast' > Ewk ukun, Ewk UL hukun, Ewk Hng hukuhu id., Lm ôkan, Orc oko(n-), Ud {Shn.} oko, Ul kuз(n-), Ork qō(n-) ~ qū(n-), Nn Nh kũ, Nn Bk ku(n-), Nn KU ukuń id., 'milk', Neg ôxô'n 'female breast', ôxô'ńô 'milk', Ul kukuń 'female breast', WrMc {Z} x̄ȳx̄ȳh̄, Mc Sb χυχun 'female breast'; Tg *_Lχ_Jυκυ- v. 'suck (mother's breast)' > Ewk ukū-, Neg ôxô-, Lm ôk- id. ¶ STM II 254-5, Sun. UJ 206, On. 233, Z 448, S AJ 208 [no. 18] ¶ S, AD and Md. (SDM95) reconstructed Tg *χukun ~ *kukun 'female breast', the variant with *k- being based on Ul kukun (where the initial k- is due to regr, as.) || pKo *kokΛ_J- 'heart (of wood), pith, core' > MKo kokΛ_Jyaη, NKo kogäηi id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 138], S QK no. 138, Nam 45, MLC 134 || pJ *kèkèrε 'heart' > OJ kokoro, MJ kòkòró, J: T kokóro, K kókòrò, Kg kokoró, Ns kòró, Sh kúkúru, Ht kùkùru, Y kùgùrù ¶ S AJ 270 [no. 138], S QJ no. 138, Mr. 454, Kenk. 1024-5 ¶¶ SDM 713-14 (pA *kòk'è 'breast', v. 'suck'; heart' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 867, S AJ 15, 32-3, 280 [no. 128], ADb. SR 13, Pp. VG 108, Kol. ChA 78-84, Ci. EApk 106-7, Mr. KJ 248, Mur. EA 111, TL 272-3, Mill. JAL 147, Dr. MT 142, ≈ Dr. TM I 482 ("Elementarverwandschaft") ¶¶ A *k'...k'- for the expected *k'...k'- is probably due to the Lallwörter factor (cp. NHG Zitze, Рсисся 'mother's breast') ◇ ECh suggests pN *g-. If the pN etymon is *goQE (r∇), pA

*k'- may be explained by regr. as. Otherwise the pN etymon is to be reconstructed as ***K̄oK̄E** (r∇),

861. (₂?) ≈ ***k'Eho'ka** 'green\blue, green plants' > **IE *k̄eχko-** ({EI} *k̄eh₁ko-m) 'edible greens' > **NaIE *k̄ēko-** 'green fodder, greenstuff' > **OI śāka-m**, **Pali śāka** 'potherb, vegetable' || **Lt śékas** 'fresh-grass fodder', **Ltv sēks** 'fresh green forage', ? **Pru schokis** 'grass' || **Gmc:** [1] {Vr.} *xag^ωō > **ON, Ic há** 'aftermath, aftergrass', **NNr há, Δ háv, hov** id.] [2] ?φ *xag^ωja 'hay' (× ⇨ **Gmc *xawwan** 'to hew' < **NaIE *kəw-/ *kāw-/ *kū-** v. 'strike, hew' < **N *kaχü** or ***kaχyU** 'to strike\push', q.v.?) > **Gt hawī** (· χόρτος) 'Heu', **ON hey**, **OSx hōi, hōgi**, **OHG hewi**, **NHG Heu**, **AS hiež** 'hay', **NE hay** || **Ht kīkla-** 'greenery, grass' (< *k̄eko-lo-) ¶¶ **WP I 381, P 544, M K III 320-1, M E II 628, Tu. no. 12370, RhDS 701-2, Mn. 607, Vr. 199, 226, Fs. 252, OsS 377, Kb. 462, KM 306, Ho. 158, Ho. S 35, Frn. 970-1, En. 244, Pv. IV 174, EI 620** || **А *k'ōk'â** 'green\blue' > **M *kōke** id. > **MM [MA, IM] kōke**, **[HI] kōkō**, **WM {MED} kōke**, **HIM {MED, BMR} xəx**, **Brт xyxə** id., **Kl {Rm.} kōkō** 'blau, blaugrün, grün, aschgrau', **Dg kuke**, **Mgl {Rm.} kũkã** 'green\blue', **Dx kuğjz**, **Ba {T} koge**, **Mnr M {Pot.} кyкo** 'blue', **Mnr H {SM} k'uguo** 'bleu, azuré, vert, noirâtre', **Ord g_ō^kxō** 'bleu, vert' ¶ **MM [MA, IM] kōke** 'sky' is a sd. influenced by the T word for 'sky' (pT *k'ōk); this particular direction of infl. is suggested by the phonetic shape of the words for 'green\blue' and 'sky' in some M lges, e.g. **MMgl kōkə** 'blue' and **kōk** 'sky' (the latter obviously from **ET kōk** 'sky') ¶ **MED 482, BMR IV 149, Chr.635-6, KW 236, Rm. M 31, Pp. MA 220, 440, S AJ 243 [no. 213], T 340, T DgJ 151, T BJ 141, T DnJ 123, SM 209, Ms. H 72, Ms. O 268-9, Iw. 112, Pot. 412** || **T *k'ōk** 'blue\green' (→ 'sky') > **OT kōk** 'blue, blue-green, sky', **MT [IM] gō:k** 'blue, sky', **Tk gōk**, **Ggz gōk**, **Az göy**, **Blq kōk**, **VTt, Bsh kük** 'blue, sky', **Tkm gōk**, **CrTt kōk**, **Qmq gōk**, **Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET kōk**, **Uz kωk** 'blue\green, sky', **StAlt, Ln, Xk, Tv kōk**, **Tf k'j k'** 'blue\green', **Yk k'ūōχ** 'blue', **Chv L кăвак кьвак**, **Chv MK кyак** 'blue, green, grey-blue (сизый)'; **T ⇨ Hg kék** 'blue' ¶ **Cl. 708-9, Rs. W 287, ET VGD 66-8, TL 60, 604, Ash. VII 91-6, Fed. I 245-6, Jeg. 96, Ra. 204, Dr. TM I 64Off., Md. 48, 169, EWU 721, Gomb. BTL 21** || **Tg *kuku** 'blue\green, grey' > **Ewk kuku** 'blue\green', **Ewk I kuku-šin** 'stone, from which green dyestuff is produced', **WrMc {Hr} кyкy** 'grün, blau, grau', **{Z} кyкy** 'black', **{Hr} кyкy iħan** and **{Z} кyкy иħань** 'a grey cow', **{Hr.} кyкy fulan** 'blaugraues Pferd', **{Z} кyкy фулань** 'light grey

horse (беловато-серая лошадь) with a dark mane and a dark tail', Mc Sb kuku 'grey' (kuku unihan 'grey cow') ¶ STM I 426, Z 1081, Hr 599, Klz. MS 214 ¶ Both the Ewk and the Mc words may be of M origin ¶¶ SDM 714 (pA *kōk'e|i 'green\blue' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 897, IS AG 340-1 (pA *kōke 'green\blue'), S AJ 288, Cl. 154, Rs. W 287, KW 236, Pp. VG 56, Vld. 168, 324 || HS: ?φ WCh {Stl.} *gak i 'grass' > Hs hākī 'grass' | Ang gāk 'high grass on river banks' | ? P' h^uaḳa 'stalk' | ? Klr {J} ṛak^uén 'Busch, Wildnis' ¶ Stl. ZCh 223 [no. 727], J R 350, Abr. H 362, Ba. 437, ≈ Sk. HCD 102 || ?? E: MEI, AchEl ki-i k 'sky, heaven' ¶¶ HK 465 ◇ Tg *k- and T *k'- point to a N *k-, while IE *k̂- (for the expected *ĝ-) may be due to regr. as. ◇ The N words *k_ukE 'dark, black' and ≈ *k'Eho'k_a 'green\blue, green plants' (even without taking into account the questionable details of their reconstruction) cannot be identical for two reasons: (1) each of those words is represented in M by separate roots (M *kōge 'soot' < N *k_ukE and M *kōke 'blue\green' < N ≈ *k'Eho'k_a), and in M there is a phonological difference between them, which must go back to a difference in pN, (2) there is a semantic difficulty: if the basic meaning is 'dark, black', it hardly can change into 'green plants', and viceversa ◇ IE *k̂- (for the expected *ĝ-) may be due to as. (*ĝ...k > *k̂...k).

862. *k'a'la (or *kaliya ~ *kalaya?) 'vessel (Gefäß)' (→ 'boat') > K: G {Chx., DCh.} kila 'clay pot', G {Chx.} I/G kila 'ε a unity of dry measure (for corn and flour)', G {DCh.} kila 'weight measure (≈ 1 pud ≈ 16 kg.)' ¶ Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339 ¶ One cannot rule out the possibility of borrowing from some Aramaic dialect || HS: CS *'kaliy- ~ *kalay- '(?) vessel' > Hb כְּלִי kə'lī 'vessel, receptacle; piece of equipment; instrument' (pausal form כְּלִי 'kəlī, pl. [+ppa.] כְּלִינִי kəlīnī-nū 'our vessels\utensils', MHb pl. כְּלִימִי kəlīmī), Pun kl, M'b k'ly 'vessel', EpJA pl. klyr 'vessels', Ar O {Rnh.} kəlāw 'Krügel', Tgr {Mnz.} כְּלִי kəlī 'marmite' ¶ KB 456, KBR 478-9, LH 389, Rnh. 170, Vlr. rRnh. 514, HJ 512 || Eg MK kṣy 'ε boat of Nubian type', Eg NK kr 'small ship', ≈ boat' ¶ EG V 101, 132, Fk. 283 || EC: Or {Grg.} killa 'small bowl for roasted coffee and butter', {Th.} killa (nom. killa-r ~ kill-i) 'piatto, coppa, piccolo piatto rotondo', Or Wl {Brl.} killa 'scodella di legno per conservarvi burro e vivande; coppa; conca; piatto' ¶ Grg. 247, Th. 63, Brl. 232 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} kílé, Ngm k^uelle, Krkr kṣli 'pot' || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} káloē 'Gefäß' || ECh: Brg {J} kōlī 'pot' ¶ ChC s.v. 'pot', ChL, Nw. K 127, Lk. B 108, Nc. s.v. káloē ¶¶ Coh. no. 192 (S, Eg kṣy), OS no. 1423 (S, WCh, Bdm, Or; pHS *ka|∇y 'vessel') || A: Tg *kalan

'cauldron, vessel' > Ewk *kalan* id., 'iron bowl', Ewk Brg *kalan* 'vessel, cup', Ewk *kawa-kan* (dim.) 'kettle', Ud *kala(n-)*, Ul *qala(n-)*, Nn Nh/KU *qalã* id., 'saucepan' ¶ STM I 364-5, Krm. 244, On. 204 || D: [1] D **kał-* ({ǵGS} **k-*) > Tm *kalam* 'vessel, plate, utensil, earthenware, ship', Ml *kalam* 'pot, vessel, ship', Kt *kalm* 'clay pot in the making', Kn *kala* 'pot, vessel', Kdg *kala* 'big pot', Tu *kar a* 'earthen vessel', Tl *kalamu* 'ship', ? Brh *kalland* 'broken earthen pot, old pot' ||| [2] D **kall-* ({ǵGS} **k-*) > Tm *kallai* 'plate made of leaves sewn together', Kui *kali*, Mlt *kale* 'leaf cup', Knd *kala* id., 'cup', Png *kala* 'leaf plate'; D ⇨ Prkr *khallaga-*, *khallaya* 'leaf cup' ¶¶ D no-s 1301 and 1305 ◇ G *kila*, Or *killa* and the WCh word (e.g., Dr *kílé*) may be explained by regr. assimilation (**kaliya* > ≈ ***kiliy*∇).

863. **kał|í*∇ 'to debark (a tree), to remove vegetation'; → or ← 'bare, naked'. The etymon has two semantic variants, the second one ('bare, naked') may be a sd. from the first one ('bare' as 'peeled, debarked') or viceversa. If so, we have to reconstruct two semantic variants of the N word: [1] N **kał|í*∇ 'to debark, to remove vegetation' > D {tr., GS} **kał-* v. 'weed' (× N **gAí|í*∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck') > Tm *kał* v. 'weed, pluck', Ml *kał a* 'weed, tares', Kt *kał*, Kdg *kał e* 'weeds', *kał v-* 'take\scoop out, flick away dirt from (semi-)liquid (e.g. clay)', Kn *kał e* n. 'weed', Brh *xallin* v. 'uproot (vegetables)'; but D **kał*∇p- (> Tu *kalepini*, *kalepuni* v. 'strip off, remove' and Tl *kalupu* 'weeds') is likely to belong to N **gaí'ü*'P∇ 'to debark (a tree), to cut off', 'bark, peel' (q.v. ffd) ¶¶ D no. 1373, GS 167 [no. 420] ||| and [2] N **kał|í*∇ 'bare, naked' > IE: NaIE **g0|ał-* 'naked, bare' > Gmc **kał-wa-* 'bare, naked' > OHG *calo* (aadj. *calawēr*) ≅ *chalo*, NHG *kahl*, AS {Sw.} *calo* (gen. *calwes*) 'bald', {Ho.} *calu*, MLG *kale* 'bald, bare', NE *callow*; AS *calwa*, OFrs *kale*, MLG *kalewe*, OHG *cal(a)wa* 'bareness, mange' ||| Ltv {ME} *gāle*, Δ *gāla* 'thin ice crust (not covered by snow); ice on the ground (in springtime)' (today in: *ledus gāle* 'ice crust') ||| Sl **g0łь* (dadj **g0łь-јь*) 'naked' > OCS *голъ голъ*, Blg *гол*, SCr *gōl* (f. *gōla*), Slv *gōl*, Cz, Slk *holý*, P *голу*, R 'голый', Uk 'голий' id. ¶ Sw. 32, Ho. 43, OsS 469-70, Kb. 526, KM 339, P 349, Kar. I 283, ME I 617, Turk. 168, ESSJ VII 14-15, StSS 173, Glh. 236-7, ≈ EI 45 (err. adduction of the BSl word for 'head' and rec. of IE **g0ł(H)w0-s* 'bald, bare') ||| U: FV: F *kalju*, *kalja*, *kalea* 'bare, naked, bald, smooth' || ? Mk {Ahl.} *kalış* 'naked, bald', *kalış gada* 'get bald, remain naked'

(unless ← R ΓΟ'ΛΥΨ 'naked person\thing') ¶ Ahl. MM 155, SK 148 ||
D: Td κ0ϕ, 'without leaves' (a tree in winter), 'half dry, half green (when tree is being killed by stripping bark)' ¶ D no. 1373 ◇ Td -0- still requires explanation ◇ IS I 289 [no. 156] (IE, D, A, C; *÷ U *ka'w∇ [sc. U {UEW} *ka'w∇] 'film, thin skin', M *qali- 'bark', Or κ0λα 'skin, hide' [on all of them see N *Ka'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark'], Or källe 'skin, hide', A: T *Ka'-ka 'bald' [see N *Ka'ü 'bare, naked']).

864. *kälu' 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lges] → 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > **HS:** S *kall-at- 'daughter-in-law, bride' > BHb הַלְבָּהּ kall'lä, Ug {OLS} klt, JA אַתְּבָהּ kallä't-ä, Sr kallä't-ä, Ak kallä'tu, Ak A kallatu ~ kallutu id., Eb {Frnz.} kallatum 'wife, son's wife (sposa, nuora)', Ug klt {OLS} 'bride', (?) 'son's wife', {A} 'Braut, mannbare Tochter', Sb hklrn inf. 'to marry (a wife)', Mh kälön, Jb C/E 'kälun 'bride, bridegroom', Hrs kälönät 'bride', kälänin 'bridegroom', Sq {Jo} 'kälän 'bridegroom' ¶ KB 455, KBR 477-8, OLS 216, Js. 645, Sl. 584-5, JPS 216, OLS 216, A no. 1321, Sd. 426, Frnz. MLE 168, BGMR 77, Jo. M 209 ¶ The origin of the element *-n- in SES is not clear (the hyp. of a dis. *-ll- > *-ln- is too speculative) || Ch: WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Gj Mg, Zem D kälì, Gj G kälì, Gj B kälì, Zem Z kâl, Zem Ch kälän, Sy Zk kälè, Sy B käl, Sy Z käl 'woman' | ?φ Hs Kc kälì 'daughters' ¶ JI II 346, Sh. SB 13, ChL, Ba. 620-1 || ?? EC: Dsn {Fl.} gälíet 'woman' ¶ Blz. CWL, Fl. p.c. ¶¶ OS no. 1419 (S, Ch) || **K** *°kal- 'young woman, maid' > OG kal-i 'daughter, maid' (asa moxuda kali ese 'this maid has not died', Mt. 9.24), kala 'maid' (kala ... aydeg 'damsel, ... arise!', Mark 5.41), G kal-i 'woman, daughter', (čemi \ šeni \ misi) kal-i '(my \ your \ his) wife' ¶ Chx. 1534, Ser. 165 || **IE:** NaIE *g̃lōy- / *g̃lōy- / *g̃elu- 'brother's wife, husband's sister' > Gk A γάλας 'husband's sister' (and Gk {LS} γάλας with the vw. o that is still to be explained) || L glōs id., 'brother's wife' (secondary reinterpretation as a stem with a final -s), hence gen. glōris) || Phr [Hs.] γέλαρος ~ γάλαρος (ce. : -p- for -f-?) 'brother's wife' || Sl *z'ly+ (gen. *z'lyve) 'husband's sister' > ChS зъльва, Blg зълва, SCr zäova, Slv zölva, OCz zelva, P zełwa, zołwa, R Δ золва; ds: R зo'ловка, Uk зoлвиця id. ¶ ≠ P 367-8, FI 286-7, IS I 295, WH I 610, Glh. 692-3, ≈ EI 521-2 (*g̃lōh₃-wos 'husband's sister' with an unj. morpheme boundary) || **U:** U (or ppU) {Coll.} *kälu', ({It., UEW} *käl∇-w∇, {Jn.} käli-w) 'female relative-in-law' > F käly

'daughter-\sister-in-law' ('Schwägerin, Frau des Bruders, Schwester des Mannes oder der Frau'), Es *käli*, Δ *kälü* 'husband's brother, husband's brother's wife' | pLp {Lr.} **käl̥y-* 'käl̥y', **käl̥y-ēnnē* 'sister-in-law' (**ēnnē* 'mother') ({Lgc.} 'gegenseitige Ver-wandschaftsbeziehung der Frauen zweier Brüder') > Lp S {Hs.} *гаалuo-* '-in-law' (in cds: *гаалuo-jeen'edjeh* 'ianitricēs, wives of brothers or cousins'), Lp L {LLO} *käl̥ō-ji(ē)tnē* 'wife of husband's brother or cousin', Lp N {N} *gālō-jædne* 'sister-in-law (husband's brother's wife)' | pMr {Ker.} **käl̥ə* > Mk *кел* *кел* *кел*, Δ *kiyal* 'Schwägerin', Er *kiyalo* *кияло* 'brothers' wives (in relation to each other)' (Ker.: Er *kiyalo* < **kyalo* < **kyäl̥* < OMr **käl̥* < pMr **käl̥ə*) | Prm {LG} **keli* 'wife of husband's brother' > Z Ud/Lu *keV*, Z Ss/Le *kel*, Prmk K, Yz *kel̥ya id.*, Vt N *kałi* 'wife of husband's brother (older than ego)' (address of a younger daughter-in-law to an older one) ||| Os: Ty *kiḫi* 'wife's sister', Kr *kitə* 'daughter of wife's younger brother'; (× N **küd'a* 'male person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [\rightarrow 'male relative-in-law']): Os: Ty *kiḫi*, V *küli*, D *kitə*, O *kili* 'husband of wife's sister'; Vg: Ss *kil* 'wife's sister', UL *kil* 'wife's sister, wife's brother' || Sm {Jn.} **kel̥* (= {Jn.} **kel̥ə*) 'relative-in-law' > Ne O {Lh.} *śēḷ*, Ne F {Lh.} *ṣ́eḷ* 'husband of wife's sister, wife of husband's brother', En X {Cs.} *śéłi?*, B *śéri* 'Schwager', Ng {Cs.} *śalun̥*, *śealun̥* 'husband of wife's sister', Slq Tz {KKIH} *šel̥* id., Slq Nr {Cs. ms., Ps.} *šäl* 'свояк, Schwester-mann, Mann der Schwester des Mannes, Schwager' || pY {IN H} **kel-* > Y K {IN UJ} *kel-il* 'relative-in-law' (not registered in IN H), Y T *kel̥il* {IN H} 'brother-in-law', {Ku.} *kel̥il* 'male relative-in-law (свояк)', {Coll.} *kelil* 'the husband of wife's sister or female cousin; the wife of wife's brother or male cousin; the husband of husband's sister or female cousin; the wife of husband's brother or male cousin'; cp. also OY O {Mat.} *кальмо* 'maid (дѣвка)' ¶¶ UEW 135-6, Coll. 23, Coll. CG 406 (U **käl̥ü*), Coll. JU 78-9, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP **käl̥əw*, Ugr **käl̥ä-*, Sm **kelə* 'in-law'), Lr. no. 354, Lgc. no. 1902, N II 38, Hs. 517-18, Ker. II 52-3, ERV 269, LG 120, UR 121, Jn. 67, KKIИ 174, Cs. 67, 90, 277, Ps. B (s.p.) 148, Ku. 107, IN H 205, IN UJ 226, ≈ 245, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 19] (Y \leftarrow U) ||| A **k'ælin* (and **°k'æli-*?) 'female relative-in-law, bride' > T **k'ælin* ({Md.} *keḷ̥liḷ̥n*) 'bride, son's wife' > OT *käl̥in* id., Chg *kelin*, OXwT *käl̥in*, MQP [CC] *kelin*, Az *gäl̥in*, QrB *gelin* 'bride', Qmq *gelin*, VTt, Bsh *килен* *kil̥n*, StAlt *kelin*, Xk *килін* *kil̥n*, SY, Ln *kelin* 'daughter-in-law, young brother's wife', Tk *gelin*, Tkm, Ggz *gelin*, CrTt, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg *kelin*, Qzq *келін* id., 'bride', Uz

kelin 'recently married young woman, daughter-in-law, brother's wife', Tv kelin 'daughter-in-law', Chv кин 'young brother's wife, son's wife' (← VTt kılın?), Chv {Ash.} килёнтеш kılınтеś 'young female relatives-in-law in a house-hold' ¶ Cl. 719, DTS 296, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 16-18, ≈ TL 302, Fed. I 295-6, Jeg. 113, Md. 91, 167, Ash. VI 216-17, 223] The same root with a different extension is found in NaT *Kæ₁läš > VTt käläš 'bride, young wife', Brb {Rl.}, SbTt Tb/Tm {Rl.} käläš id., 'bride, sweetheart (Geliebte)' (TatR 320, Ra. 1114) ¶ According to Xak., the word without sxs is attested in OBlgh كِيَال (pronounced *kiġäl or *kiġal) 'wife' (possibly with vowel breaking [cp. Chv a < pT *ä]), but M. Erdal (Erd. ∇) did not confirm Xak.'s hyp. ¶ Xak. 79 || Tg *kelin > Ewk Ag/Skh/Chmk кэлин, Ewk Urm кэли, Lm кэли (pl. кэлин-il), Orc, Nn Nh/Bk/KU кэли, Ul, Ork кэли / кэлин- 'husband of wife's sister', Neg кэли 'husband of a woman from the wife's clan', WrMc {Z} кэли 'husband of wife's elder sister', 'male relative-in-law', хэжэ кэли 'wife of husband's brother' (хэжэ means 'woman') ¶ STM I 446, On. 237, Z 269, 404 ¶¶ SDM 659 (pA *kele|i|o 'daughter-in-law, bride'), DQA no. 755 ¶¶ Proto-Altaic *k'ælin is likely to go back to N *kälû nu (*kälû with a postposition *nu 'of') ¶¶ SDM 659 (pA *kele|i|o 'daughter-in-law, bride' > Tg *keli 'relative-in-law, girl, sister', T *k'elin 'bride, daughter-in-law'), Rs. UAW 18 || D (att. in NED) *kall₁i 'female relative-in-law' > Krx халлĭ 'father's younger brother's wife', Mlt qali 'mother's sister' ¶ D no. 1318, Pf. 189 ◇ The meanings 'bridegroom', 'male relative-in-law' are demonstrably secondary and are due either to broadening of meaning (by eliminating the semantic element of female sex) or to back formation (as in Hrs) ◇ IS I 295-6 (with further bibliography), AD NM no. 109 ◇ Gr. II no. 338 (*käl 'sibling-in-law') (IE, U, Y and A [all from IS], Gil., CK).

865. *k'o'1∇ 'bough, stick' > HS: C: *ka|l- 'stick' (× N *k'ä' |l'í'h'û 'stick, hook, bar') > Kns хал-itta 'crutch, stick', Gdl hal-itt 'stick', Sml N labáda kál 'the ulna and radius bones' (← *'the two sticks'), ? Dbs kal-te 'door pole' ¶ Ss. B 114, BISO, Bl. G, Abr. S 147 || NrOm: Bdt/Zs {C} kallō 'stick', Shn {CR} куллō 'wood (Holz)' (× N *k'ä' |l'í'h'û 'í?') ¶ C SE III 204 || IE: NaIE *g₁ω₁o|l- 'bough' > Arm կողբ կոխ (pl. կողբաբ կոխեա-к^h) 'bough, branch' || OR ГОЛЬ голь 'branch', Cz hůl 'wand'; → *golvje > R Δ голы'я, Uk гілля 'bough, branch', Blr голлє 'brushwood', Slv goljè 'boughs without leaves' (× Sl *golv 'naked, bare') ¶ WP I 640, P 403, Sl. 423, Vs. I 434, Ber. I 326, ≈ ESSJ VII 16-17

(without distinguishing it from *gōlb 'nakedness' < N *kaǵ|í∇ 'to debark [a tree], to remove vegetation'; → or ← 'bare, naked', q.v.), Srz. I 546 || | ?σ A: NaT: OT qolunā 'a young shoot of a plant or tree' ¶ Cl. 623-4 (supposing that the OT word is a loan from some IE lge) || D *kōl 'thin twig, stick', {GS} *kōl- 'stick' > Tm kōl 'stick, staff, branch', Ml kōl 'staff, rod, stick', Kt kōl, Td kω+·s, Kdg kōl+, Gnd kōlā, Klm kolā ≙ kōla 'stick', Ka kōl, kōlu, Tu kōlb ~ kōlu, Tl kōla 'stick, staff', Prj kōl, Gnd kōla 'shaft of arrow', kōl 'big wooden pestle', Png kōl, Mnd kōl, Kui kōdu, Ku kōlū ≙ kōlu 'pestle' ¶¶ D no. 2237, Zv. 64, GS 69-70 [no. 226].

866. *k'o'Li (or *k'o'Li?u?) (= *k'o'l|íi [or *k'o'l|íi?u?]) 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *gleǵ- v. 'paste, smear' > Gk γλύα 'glue' || L glūis / gen. glūtis, glūten 'glue', glis / gen. glitis 'humus tenax' || OIr glen(a)id (< *gli-nā-ti) 'sticks fast' (p. -gíuil), W glynu 'to adhere', MBr en-glenaff 's'attacher' || MLG klei 'glue', Frs clay, AS clǣz 'clay', NE clay; Dn klæg 'viscous loamy mud', OHG klenan 'to paint, to glue', ON klīna 'to smear' || Lt ls pres. glieju / inf. gliēti v. 'smear, putty' | Sl *glǵbъ > Cz Δ, Slk glej, R Δ глей 'clay', Uk глей 'sticky clay', SCr glēj 'ε clay' ||] the IE √ with exts: [1] *°gleǵbʰ- (> OHG klēbēn, NHG kleben 'to paste, to glue'), [2] NaIE *gleǵd- (> OIr gloéd 'glue', NE Δ clite 'glue, mud'), [3] NaIE *gleǵm- (> AS clām 'glutinous substance, glue', {Ho.} 'Leim, Mörtel, Klei; Pflaster', clǣman 'to smear', Lt gléimēs 'mucus, slime'), [4] NaIE *gleǵn-/glin- (Gk γλύνη 'glutinous substance', Sl *glína 'clay' > Blg, R, Uk глина, SCr, Slv glína, Cz hlína, Slk hlina, P glina), [5] NaIE *gleǵt- (> AS clīpan 'to adhere, to stick to', L glittus 'sticky, adhesive', Lt glitūs 'viscous, sticky, slimy'), [6] NaIE *gleǵw- (Gk γλωός 'glutinous substance, gum', Lt gléivēs 'mucus, slime', Sl **glěvъ > R Δ глєв 'slime of fish, slime on beverage, глєва 'slime on fish') (ffd. see P 363-4 and ESSJ 125-6) ¶ WP I 612-14, P 362-4, Sw. 6, Ho. 50, 52, OsS 496-7, Kb. 547, Vr. 317, KM 375, F I 312-13, WH I 611-12, LP §§ 34.2, 459.2, Thr. 45, YGM-1 236, Ern. 211, 259, Frn. 156-7, ESSJ VI 121, 125-6, 162, Glh. 231, ≈ EI 108 (*glōǵwō-s 'clay') || HS: B *✓k1H (*ku1∇H) > Sll kωli (pf. ikωla) 'smear with soot' ¶ Ds. 109 || Ch: Ngz {Sch.} kǵlǵú v. 'plaster, smear on' ¶ Sch. DN 87 || A: M *qolugua- 'rub, injure by rubbing' > WrM {MED} qoluga- ~ qolgu- 'injure\damage by constant rubbing', HIM холго- {MED} id., {BMR} 'натирать мозоли, натирать (ногу)', Brt холгоо- 'натирать мозоль', Kl {Rm.} χολυα- 'reiben, einreiben', inf. χολχα

'reiben, abreiben, massieren', Ord $\chi u l g u$ - 'blesser par frottement' ¶ MED 958, 960, BMR IV 99, Chr. 579, KW 182. Ms. O 366 || ?σ D (att. in SD) *kuḷi- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'wash oneself, moisten' > Tm kuḷi- v. 'bathe, wash one's body', Ml kuḷi 'bathing, ablution', Kdg kuḷi 'take bath', Tu kuḷuḥkuri v. 'wet, moisten', koḷambæ 'bath' ¶ D no. 1832 ◇ The apparently irregular D *u may be explained if we suppose a final labialized vw. in the pN source (*kʰoʷlʷiʔu) (suggested by M *qoluga-) and the regr. as. N *o...u > D *u...u. IE *g- (< N *ko-) is reg. in preconsonantal position. The N rec. *kʰoʷlʷi or *kʰoʷlʷiʔu is valid if the D root belongs here.

867. *kuḷiṽ (or *kuwæiṽ?) 'to work' > HS: Eg fP kə.t n. 'work, construction', Eg fMK kəw.ty 'e worker' ¶ EG V 98-102, Fk. 283 || S *oʷkll > Ar ʔkll D 'faire des efforts, agir avec zèle et empressement dans qch.' ¶ BK II 918 || A: T *Kil- 'do, make' > OT, MT qil-, Tk gil-, Az gil-, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Tv qil-, Uz, ET gil-, Xk xil- id., Chv ǝç n. 'work, business, field work' ¶ Cl. 616, Rs. W 263, ET Q 205-6, Ash. IV 140-1, Fed. I 158-9, Jeg. 66, ChVS 49 || D *kūli ({ǵGS} *k-) 'working for wages' > Tl kūli 'wages, hire, working for wages, kūlī 'hired labourer, coolie', Ml kūli 'hire, wages (esp. daily)', Tm kūli 'wages, pay', kūlikkāran, kūliy-āḷ 'hired labourer, coolie', Kn kūli 'hire, wages, day labourer, coolie', Kdg ku'li 'wages', Tu kūli 'hire', Prj, Gnd kūli 'labourer's wages', ʔφ Kt ku·ʒ 'daily wages' ¶¶ D no. 1905 ◇ The vw. *e in Tg and Kl may be explained if we suggest a pN etymon *kuwæiṽ ◇ In T and D there may be coalescence with N *Ḳuṯ'ä' 'clan, village' (whence later 'subordinate member of the clan' → 'slave') and N *ḡ'U'U' 'boy, child' (whence in T and D the meaning 'servant, slave').

868. *kUḷiṽ (or *kṽhōḷiṽ?) 'snake, worm' > HS: Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kωol 'male snake'; ? Dr {J} kúról 'cobra', ? Bl {Mch.} kurēdi 'snake' || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} kuḷi, Br {ChL} kuḷzmhá 'worm' || Ech: Smr {J} kʷàlā, {Nacht.} kúla, Ll {Grgs} káló 'snake' ¶ ChC s.v. 'snake' and 'worm', ChL, Lk. B 23, Lk ZSS 79, Grgs L s.v. káló, Flk s.v. kωol || ?σ S: Ar kahūl- 'spider' ¶ BK II 940, Hv. 668 || U *ka|o|uḷiṽ 'worm' > Prm {LG} *kol 'intestinal worm' > Z kov / kovy-, Z Lz kol, Z US škōl (LG: "with a prothetic š"), Vt kōl kəl id. || Os V quḷ 'tapeworm' || Sm: Ne T жалы 'a long worm' (я' жалы 'earthworm', сарё' жалы 'rainworm'), Ne O xaḷ·ḫ 'Angelwurm, Regenwurm', Slq Tz {KKIH} qḡ, Tz/Tm/Ch {KD} qā

'intestinal worm' || pY {IN} *kelinčs 'worm' > OY K {Bil.} kalnindsha, {Merk} kelnyntscha, Y K {IN H} keludś id. ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 227, LG 125 (U **ku|∇; broadening of the vw. due to the infl. of *l), Ter. 728, KKIH 164, IN H 205, IN UJ, 226, ≈ Rd. UJ 39 [no. 30] (Y ← U) || A *k'u|í∇ 'snake, worm' > Tg *ku|ī-n 'snake', with the dimin. sx *-kān: *ku|li-kān 'worm' > Ewk ku|īn, Ewk Tk kulunay 'snake', Ewk ku|li-kān, Ork qola ~ qolixa ~ qolia 'worm, insect', Neg kolixān 'worm, intestinal worm', Ud kuliga, Orc kulā, Nn Nh {On.} qolā: 'insect, worm', {STM} qolā 'worm, caterpillar, snake', Ul qolij 'ε an insect (living on water)', qola 'worm' ¶ STM I 428, On. 223 || pKo {SDM} *kuryəñí 'adder, viper' > MKo kuryəñí, NKo kurəñi id. ¶ S AJ 172 [no. 180], 293, SDM 736, Rm. SKE 132 ¶¶ SDM 736 (pA *ku|o|í∇ 'snake, worm' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 912, Rm. SKE 132, S AJ 293 [no. 438], IS I 308 (pA *ku|li) || ?φ K *gwel- 'snake' > OG guel-, G gvel-, Mg gwer-, ngwer-, Lz mgwer- id., Sv: UB/Ln {TK} uǰ-är, L {TK} uǰ-ar pl. 'snakes' (whence the bf. sg. Sv UB/Ln/L wiǰ- < *üǰ- < *uǰ-i), ?φ Sv Δ sg. hiǰw- 'snake' ¶¶ K 61-2 (adducing the Sv cognate), K² 29, FS K 79-80, FS E 83 (rejects the Sv word), TK 744, GP 103 ¶¶ The voicing N *k- > K *g- defies explanation || IE: it is tempting to adduce Gk χέλι-υδροσ 'amphibi-ous serpent', 'ε tortois' (the second component is from ύδωρ 'water'?) and L colubra 'snake', but the comparison is prevented by the initial Gk χ- and L c- [k-] that are not regular reflexes of IE *g^w- ¶ Cp. WH I 248, F II 108, Ch. 1253 ◇ IS I 308 [no. 179] (Ch, K, U, A), AD GD 18 (K, U, A) ◇ Gk χ- and L c- may go back to a cns. cluster of a velar cns. with a lr., suggested by Ar kahūl- (< N *k∇hō|∇?).

869. *ka?|∇ 'to lie (liegen)' (→ 'to spend the night') > IE: NaIE *gōl- / *gōl- / *gōl- 'lie (down)' > Lt ls pres. gu|liū / inf. gu|ĩti 'lie down, go to bed', Ltv gu|ĩt 'to go to sleep' (P: < *gōl-); Lt gu|léti 'to lie'; Lt gu|õlis 'bed, couch; lair, den (of animals)', Ltv gō|a 'Nest, Lager' (< IE *gōl-) || Arm {P} Կաղան Կաղան 'cave, lair or some other sleeping place of wild animals' || ?σ Gk γωλέος {Ch.} 'tanière, trou', {F} 'Höhle, Schlucht', {LS} 'a hole' || OSw kolder, Sw kull, Nr Δ kold, kuld 'litter \ brood \ nest of young ones; children of the same married couple' ({P}: ← 'from the same bed') ¶ P 402, Frn. 175-6 (IE *gwo|l-), Hlq. 522, Ch. 244, F I 336, Sl. 310 || HS: EC: Gdl {Fl.} kel-ađ- v. 'lie' ¶ Blz. CWL, Fl. p.c. || U: FU *ka|∇- 'stay overnight' > Prm: Vt inf. кō лыны k3l+n+ 'sleep, stay overnight', Z voykov / voykol- 'day and night (24

hours); time including one night' (< v o y 'night' + k o l - 'spending the night'), Z US o y k ɜ l -, Prmk o y k ɜ l - id. ||| ObU {Ht.} *k ū l - 'spend the night' > pVg k ū l - id. > Vg: T/P/SV k ō l -, LK/UL/Ss x ū l -, MK/LL k ū l -; pOs *ka l - id. > Os: V/Vy qa l -, Ty/Y qãɸ -, D/K x o t -, Nz x o t -, Kz x o ɸ -, O x a l - | Hg h á l - id., 'sleep' ¶ Coll. 8O, UEW 12O-1, Sm. 545 (FU *k ǎ l ǎ - 'stay overnight' > FP *ka l a -, Ugr *k ǎ l a -), MF 251, Ht. no. 247, LG 61 ||| A: T *K ā l - 'remain' > NaT *k' ā l - id. > OT q ā l - 'remain, remain behind', MQp, XwT, Chg qa l -, Xlj q ā l -, Tk ka l -, Az ga l -, Uz, Tf q a l -, Ggz ka l -, Qmq, Blq, Nog, ET, Tv qa l - 'remain', Tkm q ā l -, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt qa l -, Xk x a l -, Yk x ā l - 'remain, remain behind' ||| Chv L ю л - ju l -, Chv Δ й о л - 'remain' ¶ Cl. 615-16, ET KQ 226-8, Ra. 217, Rs. W 224, DT 174, Md. 11O-11, 169, Ash. IV 313-16, Fed. II 483, Jeg. 347 ◇ T *-ā - and the NaIE short *-a - suggest pN *-a ʔ - (N *ʔ is the only laryngeal that does not cause lengthening of vowels in NaIE).

869a. *k ʋ ʔ ũ l ʋ 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook' > IE: NaIE *g|ǵe ʋ l o - / *g|ǵo ʋ l o - 'glowing coals', {EI} *ge ʋ l o - ~ gu l o - ~ *gu l o - m 'fire, glowing coals' > ON kol 'charcoal', OHG kolo ~ cholo, col, NHG Kohle 'coal', AS col id., 'glowing coal', NE coal; NGr Sw cholle 'glow (glimmen)' ||| Clt {Matas.} *o ǵo ʋ l o - 'charcoal' > OIr {WP, P}, MÍr {Matas.} g u á l 'charcoal', NÍr g u a l 'coal' (< *g|ǵe ʋ l o - - *g|ǵo ʋ l o -) ||| Tc B é o l i ʋ e 'hearth' ¶ ≈ WP I 563, P 399, EI 1O4, Dnn. 387, Ho. 56, OsS 5O, Kb. 554, KM 388, Ad. 635, Matas. E 165 ||| HS: C: Bj {Rop.} ka lo - 'fry', ka lo na 'frying pan', {R} ki l o ʋ - scv. 'roast, cook' ||| SC ({E}*ka l : ɹ l -) > Kz ka le mu ko, C ɸ Mb i ka le 'charcoal' ||| EC *ku l - > pSam {Hn.} *k ū l á i l 'heat, warmth' > Sml ku la ʋ l id., Rn ku l ê l 'heat', Bn {Hn.} ku l ê l 'heat, pain'; Sml {DSI} ku l 'calore', Dsn {To.} ku ll á ʔ 'hot', Arr {Hw.} ku l d á 'hot', ku l i l - 'warm oneself', Elm {Hn.} k ū l l a ʔ 'Hitze' ¶ R WBd 142, Rop. 2O3, E SC 242, E K 12, Hn. S 67, Hn. E 28O, DSI 373, PG 2O4, To. DL 513, Hw. A 375, Blz. RL 261, Blz. DL s.v. 'warm', HL 118 ||| A *k' ũ l ʋ vt. 'heat, burn' > Tg *x u l d r ũ 'warm, heat', (?) 'flame' > Nn Nh/Bk x u l ʒ i - {STM} 'be warmed', Nn Nh {On.} 'become warm', Ul x u l d u 'hot', Ork x u l d u - 'warm', Ud u g d i v. 'warm, be warmed', Ewk u l d i, accus. u l d i - ʋ ɜ 'flame'; Nn Nh {On.} x u l u ʋ 'грея, вея\обладая теплом', {STM} x u l t a ʋ, x u l u ʋ t a ʋ 'warm' (of water) ¶ STM II 26O, On. 478-9 ||| M *k ō l č i - vt., vi. 'warm, become warm' > MM [MA] k ō l č i - 'warm oneself', WrM {MED} k ō l c ũ - ~ k ō l c i - 'warm, become warm\flushed', HIM {BMR} x o l c i - 'warm one's hands, sich wärmen (греться); be warmed (by wine)', IM {T} x ō l č i - vt.

'heat, warm (one's hands)', WrO *kōlcē* - 'heat up', Brt *жүлшэ* - 'warm oneself by fire', Ord *g_ölc'ī* - ~ *g_ölc'ö* - 'se réchauffer au feu, réchauffer au feu'; ⇨ : WrM *kōlcūge* - {MED} v. 'worm oneself by the fire', HIM *жөлчөө* - {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'worm (согревать, греть)', Kl {KRS} *көлчә* - *kölcä* - vi. 'worm oneself', vt. 'греть (руки etc.) у огня', {Rm.} *kölcē* - 'sich wärmen (beim Feuer)' ¶ Pp. MA 222, MED 484-5, BMR IV 136, Chr. 619, KRS 315, KW 238, T VM 24, Krg. 740, Ms. O 270 || T **k'ül* (or **k_ül*?) 'ashes, cinders' (× N **qULp* ▽ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones', N **kužm* ▽ [or **kuž* ▽ *m* ▽] 'smoke, ashes' and/or N **ḲE'y|ʔ* *a|a* 'to burn' [intr.], 'to burn [sth.]', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast') > OT *kül* 'ashes, cinders', MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg XV *kül*, Tkm *kül*, Tk *kül*, Az *күл* *kül*, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk *kül*, Uz *күл* *ku|^ʔ*, SY *ku|^ʔ*, Xlj *kül* ~ *ku|*, Slr *ku|*, VTt, Bsh *көл* *k^öl*, Tv *xül*, Tf *hül*, Chv *кёл* *кь|*, Chv H *k^öl* 'ashes (пепел, зола)' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 43, 171, Ash. VII 234-6, Fed. I 269-70, Jeg. 104, ChVS 83 ¶¶ SDM 849 (pA **k'uli|e* vt. 'heat, burn' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1140, S AJ 281 || D (att. in SD) **ko|l*- ({{ḡGS} **k*-) 'firebrand, fire' > Tm *ko|li* id., Ml *ko|li* 'firebrand, firewood', Kt *ko|y|* 'burning firewood', Td *k w + |_y* 'firebrand, embers', Kn *ko|li*, *ko|le*, Tu *ko|li*, *ko|li* 'firebrand' ¶ D no. 2158 ◇ D **o* (for the expected **u* from N **û*) requires explanation ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 4a and ≈ Blz. LNA no. 29 (both: IE, T + unc.: FU **kužm* ▽ 'ashes' [in fact from N **kužm* ▽ 'smoke, ashes', q.v.] and MKo *kírí-m* 'soot') ◇ The pA fortis **k'*- suggests pN **k* ▽ *ʔ* *û|* ▽ (pA **k'*- < N **k* ▽ *ʔ*-).

870. **ka_hl* ▽ 'power, force; be able' > IE: NaIE **g_hal*- 'be able' > Clt {Manas.} **galā* 'valor, ability' > Mir *gal* 'valor, fighting spirit', MW *gallu* 'be able', W *gallu*, Crngallos 'ability, power', 'be able', OBr {Matas.} *gal* 'might, ability', {Flr.} **gal* 'acte violent, activité, passion, force' (in proper names, cds and d. words, e.g. *im-ro-galou* 'activité, travail actif'), Br *gallout* v. 'pouvoir', *galloud* n. 'pouvoir, puissance', OIr *gal* 'bravery', Gl ⇨ VL {Wb.} **galia*, {Gml.} **gala* 'force', {Diez} **gala* 'bravery' (> ds: [?] Prv *galhart* ≈ 'brave, jovial fellow' ⇨ Fr *gaillard* 'jovial', Port *galhardo*, Sp *gallardo* id., 'brave', It *gagliardo* 'vigorous, energetic, brave') || Lt 1s pres. *galiù* / inf. *galéti* 'be able, be allowed', *gõlè*, *galià* 'might, power', *gálti* 'bei Kraften sein, sich wohl befinden' ¶ WP I 539-40, P 351, SB 107, LP § 35.7, YGM-1 231, ECCE 245, Flr.173, 220, Matas. E 149-50, Hm. 306, Dtn 258, Bally 76-8, Wb.

IV 30-1, ML no-s 36511 and 3657, Diez 151, Frn. 131, EI 3 (*gal- 'be physically able') || HS: S: [1] WS *-w-kał-, *√wkl 'be able' > BHb יכח' √ykl id. (3m ip. yū'k̄a) 'be able\capable of; endure, comprehend; prevail', BA (TV) יכח' yā'k̄il, (BbV) yā'k̄ol 'be able, prevail', IA √ykl id. (ip. 1s ʔ-kł, 2m t-kł, 3m ʔ-kł), ChrPA {Schlt.} yā'k̄ol 'be able, have the right to', Nbt ʔkl id., JA {Dlm.} √ykl G (3m ʔik'k̄ol), JEA {Sl.} √ykl G 'be able'; *√wkl (originally *D* and *Sh*?) 'entrust to' (← 'make so. be allowed to') > Ar √wkl *Sh* 'se confier dans qn', *G* (bf. from *Sh*?) √wkl 'confier \ racommander une chose\affaire à qn', OSA wkl (*D*?) 'entrust', Mh √wkl (caus. stem) (pf. awōk̄ɜ) 'entrust with', Jb C {Jo.} √wkl (pf. ōk̄ɜ) v. 'trust with, entrust to', Sq {Jo.} √wkl (pf. 'ōk̄ɜ) id.; [2] WS *√khl 'be able' > OA, IA √khl 'be able, have the right to, be allowed', BA prtc. *D* כהל kā'hēl 'able', JA, Gz √khl 'be able, can', OSA √khl 'be successful, réussir', khl̄t 'power', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} √khl 'be able (to do sth.)', Sq {L} k̄hel 'be able, know', ??σ Ar √khl (pf. kahala) 'reach mature age' (← *'be in position to do things'), كهل kahl-un 'grown up' ¶ KB 392-3, KBR 410-11, HJ 456, 489-90, Dlm. 183, Sl. 534, Schlt. G 137, Schlt. 83, BK II 1598-9, Hv. 668, Lb. III 2590, Lb. LAD 60, 66, Nld. rLb 417, BGMR 77, 160, L G 277, Jo. M 205-6, 426, Jo. J 128, 290, Jo. H 67 || C: Ag: Bln {R} kaħal- 'be able' (← EthS?), Aw {Hz.} kał(i)-, {Plm.} kał- 'be able, can' ¶ R WB s.v. kaħal-, Hz. VS s.v. kał-, Plm. VA s.v. kał- || D *kali ({ǝGS} *k-) > Tm kali 'strength, force', Kn kali 'man noted for valour and prowess, hero', EpTl kalitanamu 'bravery'; D ⇨ EpOI kali 'hero' ¶¶ D no. 1308.

871. *kaāʔ∇ 'approach, come' > HS: WS *√klʔ id. > Ar √klʔ *D* (pf. kallaʔa) 'aborder quelqu'un, s'approcher de quelqu'un', Mh √klw (pf. k̄ɜlū, subj. ʔɜklī) 'come, bring home (animals, a wife)' ¶ BK II 920, Jo. M 209 || C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *kāllèi ~ *kāléiā imv. 'come!' > Sml kālei, Rn 'kale(y), Bn 'kāle / kālíā id. || SC: Rt ≈ *k̄w̄al- (× N *k̄ôíʔ'û' 'track[s], way; to go, to travel') > Irq {MQK} q̄w̄aláŋ imv. 'come!', Brn {Dmw.} kw̄alē id. ¶ Hn. S 65, MQK 89, Blz. CP s.v. 'come'₃ || U *k̄∇|∇- > ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} qāł- v. 'run', qāłt+r(+)-, qāł+mp+-'walk, stroll (ходить, идти, гулять)' || pY {IN} *kel- 'come' > Y K/T kel-, K {Iox.} kel- 'come, arrive', OY xvii {Wts.} kalteı 'come' ¶¶ Gy. USz 304, KKI 159, UEW 134, Krn. JJ 273, 282, Ku. 106, AD KY, Ang. 112, 122 || A *k̄ā|í∇- 'come, approach' (× A *k̄el∇ 'come' < N *k̄ā|h'∇ 'walk, make one's way', q.v. ffd.) > M *qal(u)- 'come near, approach' > WrM qal(u)-

{MED} id., HIM хала- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'подходить вплотную', KI {Rm.} хала- 'nahe kommen, anfallen, sich über einen stürzen', Ord хал 's'approcher de, se rapprocher de'; ⇨ : MM [S] qalit- 'sich annähern, anschließen' ¶ MED 916, BMR IV 24, KW 162, H 58, Ms. O 325 || Tg *kāl- > Nn Nh qāl- {On.} 'sneak up to (подкрасться), approach imperceptibly', {STM} 'come near, approach', Ul kāl-id., 'attack', Ork qal- 'sneak up to (подкрасться)', Orc kalikun- 'let sb. come near (подпускать), ? WrMc {Z} халбү- 'let/lead into the house' (вводить\впускать\принимать в дом) ¶ STM I 366, 369, On. 203-4, Z 390 || T *k'el(ü)- (or *k₋el(ü)-) 'come, arrive' (× A *k'el∇ 'come' < N *käl'h'∇ 'to walk' [accounting for the T short front vw.]) > OT {Cl.} käl- 'come, arrive' (aor. kälür ~ [with analogical generalization of *i] kälir), OT U (BrSc) {Gbn} käl-, Chg XV kel- (aor. kelür, converb kelü), Tk gel-, Tkm gel-, Az ġäl-, Ggz gel- id., Qmq gel-, Uz, Ln, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Yk, Tv kel-, ET käl(-), VTt, Bsh, Xk кил- kil-, Tf k^uel- id., Chv L кил- kil- 'come, arrive, walk, go (gehen, fahren)' ¶ T *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch ¶ Cl. 715, Gbn ATG 313, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 14-16, Ra. 203, TvR 237, Md. OJ 172 [2.6.2.2] (on T *e > Chv i), 226 [§ 3.2.2.2] and 276, Ash. VI 199-204, Fed. I 292-3, Jeg. 112 || ??φ pJ {S} *kə- 'come' (× A *k'el∇ 'come' < N *käl'h'∇ 'walk, make one's way', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 637-8 (pA *ka|l'∇ 'near, come near' > Tg, M), ≈ KW 162 (adducing T *Kāl- 'stay behind'), STM I 366, 369, S AJ 292

◇ In some lges there may be coalescence with N *gûIE 'go (away), set out' (q.v.) ◇ The front vw. of the T cognate *k'el- 'come, arrive' may have resulted from contamination with N *käl'h'∇. Alternatively, effect of vw. harmony cannot be ruled out: A *k'alü > T *k'el(ü)- and M *qal(u)-, although in this case we would have to expect *k'äl(ü)-, because under the palatalizing infl. of vw. harmony *a usually becomes *ä rather than *e ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 71 (Eurasianic *kel 'come') (A *gel- and Yk kel- 'come, go' + err. U *kälä 'wade' [that in fact goes back to N *käl'h'∇ 'to walk, to make one's way with effort'] + err. IE *keleu- 'road', as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr.'s neglect of sound laws does not allow him to distinguish between three N sources, which proves that his method of impressionistic comparison is not reliable enough).

872. *kolpa 'to die; end' > IE: NaIE *g^ωel- v. 'die, feel pain' > Lt gālas 'death, end', Pru golis 'death' (accus. gallan), galintwei v. 'kill' || AS cwelan 'to die', cwellan 'to kill', ?? NE OSx qualm 'death,

murder', OHG *qualm* n. 'ruin, pain, torture', ? NE *quell* 'kill, slay, ??φ NE *kill* || OIr *at-baill* '(he) dies', OCrn [VC] *bal* 'pestis', MW *baluent* 'peste, fléau', W *ball* 'plague, death', *ballu* 'to die' (< *g^wl̥n-) || ?σ Arm **Կեղեւ** *keḷem* v. {Slit.} 'ich peinig, ich quäle', {Bdr.} 'I wound, I hurt' ¶ P 470-1, Ho. 64, Ho. S 59, OsS 692, Kb. 577, Vn. A 98, Frn. 145, En. 174, Tr. P E-H 142-5, 275, YGM-1 39, Slit. 380-1, ≈σ EI 349 (g^wel- 'strike, stab') || HS: S *^o✓kɫ? > Ar ✓kɫ? v. 'come to the end' (life) ({BK} 'toucher à sa fin, arriver à son terme' [se dit de la vie d'un homme qui meurt]) ¶ BK II 919, Hv. 662 || SC: Irq qāĉ {MQK} 'die' (of many) ¶ MQK 85, Blz. CP s.v. 'die' || U *kōla- v. 'die' > FU *kōla- > F *kuole-*, Es *koole-* id. | pMr {Ker.} *kūlb- > Er *kuolo-*, Mk *kula-* | Chr H/L/E *kole-* id. | Prm *kul- > Vt *kul̥-*, StZ *kuv-*, Z Δ *kul-* id. || *kōl-/ *kālā- id. > pVg *kāl- / *kal-ā- > Vg: T *kāl-/kāl-ā*, LK/UL *xōl-*, MK/UK/SV *kōl-*, P/NV/LL *kōl- / kol-*, Ss *xōl-* id.; pOs {Ht.} *kālā- / *kol- ({JHl.} *k̥lā-/ *kāl-) > Os: V/Vy *qāla-/qol-*, Ty *qāḫ-*, *qāḫa-/qōḫ-*, Y *qāḫ-* / *qōḫ-*, O *χāl-* and *χālā-*, D/K/Nz *χāt-* and Kz *χαḫ-* id. | Hg *hal-* id. || Sm *kā̆b- ({Jn.} *kā̆ē-), {Hl.} *kăb- v. 'die' > Ne T *ха-сь* 'to die', *ха-бэЙ* 'dead', Ne F Ks {Lh.} *kā-ś* 'to die', *kā-p̄* 'dead', Ng {Ter.} *кодя kuodā* v. 'die', {Cs.} 1s aor. *kū̄p̄am* ({JCs.} *kū̄p̄am*) id., *куа'буа* 'dead', En X {Cs.} 1s aor. *kār o?*, En B {Cs.} *kādo?* id., En X {Cs.} *kābe*, En B {Cs.} 'кабе 'dead', Slq Tz {KKIH} *qu-qo* 'to die', Kms {KD} pres. *k'úlem* 'I die', {Adl.} *ku ↔ be* 'dead', Koyb {Sp.} *cmpd. кулягандамъ* 'I die', Mt {Hl.} *kā- v. 'die' (Mt: M {Sp.} *хадаЙбага* 'death', K {Pl.} *схаāsiгаани* 'to die' -> Mt {Hl.} *kă:цма 'dead' (Mt: T {Ml.} *кchaíma*, K {Ml.} *gáima*, {Pl.} *gáhàima* 'dead', *кайма* 'мертвечина', M {Sp.} *кайма*, {Ml.} *khaíma* 'dead'), Koyb {Sp.} *кайма* 'dead'; Mt → Xk *хама* *χama*, *хаама* *χāma*, Qc {Rl.} *qāma*, *qamI* 'carrion' ¶¶ Coll. 28, UEW 173, Db. OS xxiv-xxv, Sm. 538 (U *kā̆xɫ- 'die' > FU, FP *kooli-, Ugr *kāl̥-, Sm *kā̆ē-), It. no. 155, LG 143, Ht. no. 253, Hl. rHt 71-3, Hl. M no-s 367 and 399, Jn. 56-7, KKIИ 165, Rs. W 228, Ker. II 79 ¶¶ The vowels of the first syll. in Mr, Chr and Prm suggest a FU stem-final *a, while -e in F and Es is an innovation (the verb was transferred to a different class of conjugation) ◇ IS SS no. 7.4 and IS MS 370 (IE, U; + err. K *g^wil- and D *kol- v. 'kill', that actually belong to N *qola 'kill' [q.v.]) ◇ Gr. II no. 96 (*kōla 'die') (IE, U, J, CK).

873. *kol_l∇_l∇_l (or *kol_l∇_l∇_l?) 'to peel, to debark' > U: [1] FU *kož∇ 'skin, peel' (× N *Қоž∇ 'to skin, to debark [wood]', q.v. ffd.) [2]

If F *kolο-* (inf. *kolοα, kolοτα*) v. 'debark, strip, peel' is etymologically different from F *kolο* 'hole', it may belong here as well; in this case FU *koʒ̂∇* represents a variant with elision of a pN internal vw.: N **koʔ̂∇ʑ∇* > **koʔ̂ʃ̂∇* > FU **koʒ̂∇*, while F *kolο-* represents a var. without syncope ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 14, SK 212 || HS: S **°✓kʃ̂* > Gz *✓kʃ̂* G 'pull out (the weeds), peel off, undress, strip off', Amh pf. *kəlla* 'take off the clothes' ¶ L G 282 || A **k'ol∇-* v. 'debark, skin' > Tg **Kola-* id. > WrMc {Z} *κολα-* v. 'take off the skin (of an animal's body), debark (a tree), break off (tile from the roof)', Mc Sb *qoləmə ~ qolumə* v. 'peel, pare, shell; peel off, pare off', Ewk *kōlū-* 'take off a film from sth.', Sln *χōl-*, *χōli-* 'tear off, rip off', Lm *qolq̄-* 'take off the skin from jerked fish' ¶ The Ewk and Sln forms may result from coalescence of the inherited Tg word with Mongolisms (M **qaɣula-* > HIM *хуула-* 'tear off, debark a tree') ¶ STM I 407, Y no-s 1166 and 1716, Z 281, BMR 176 || M **qol-t-ul-* v. 'peel off' > WrM {MED} *qoltul-*, HIM *холтло-* {MED} 'peel off, free from covering', {BMR} id., 'separate, обламывать кусками', Brt *холтол-* vt. 'peel off, break off', Kl {KRS} *холтл- χolt̄l-* v. 'debark, peel', ?σ {Rm.} *χolt̄* 'abnehmen (die Kante, von dem Rande ein Stück); M **qoltuči-* > WrM {MED} *qoltuči-*, HIM *холтчи-* {MED} vi. 'come off, peel off, be detached', {BMR} id., vt. 'separate, peel', Kl {Rm.} *χoltač̄i-* (< **qolta-č̄i-*) 'die Rinde abschaben, wegkratzen, losreißen'; M **°qoli-sun* 'fish skin' (× N **koʒ̂∇* '↑') > WrM {MED} *qolisun* 'fish skin', HIM {MED} *холис(он)* id., {BMR} *хольс* 'dressed fish skin'; M **qolta-sun* 'tree bark' > WrM *qoltasun ~ qoltusun* {MED} id., HIM {BMR, MED} *холтос*, Brt *холтоho(н)*, WrO *χoltosun*, Kl {KRS} *холтхсн χolt̄x̄-s̄xn* id., Kl Ö {Rm.} *χoid̄as̄n̄* 'Baumrinde' (× Kl Ö *χoid̄as̄n̄* 'abgeshabtes Stück'); ? M **°qoli-bar-* > WrO *χolibar-* 'fall off, peel off', ?σ Brt *холбо-* 'отскакивать, отлетать, отставать' ¶ MED 959-60, BMR IV 101-2, Chr. 579, 581, KRS 594, KW 183, Krg. 275, 277 || ?φ K: G *kil-* 'scale off, remove the skin (from cooked tongue), remove bristles\hair (from the hide\skin of an animal)' (× N **keʒ̂ʔ̂* 'skin; to skin' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 1558 ¶ G -i- belongs to the heritage of N **keʒ̂ʔ̂* ◇ IS I 171 (U, A), AD LZL 363 (HS, U, A).

874. **käl'h'∇* 'to walk, to make one's way (with effort)' > HS: B **°✓wkʃ̂* (× N **koʔ̂ʃ̂'û'* 'track(s), way; to go, to travel', q.v.) > Ah *s-ukel* v. 'travel, step (marcher au pas)', *tēkle* n. 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Tz, Ntf *ākəl*, Zww *ākul* 'piétiner, appuyer avec le pied', BMn *kel*

v. 'step', Kb {DI.} ащ^ωаl 'fouler', t_iшl_in. 'marche, allure; action de marcher', Si {La.} ukel 'walk', Skn {La.} ukal 'cheminer'; cp. B *√wk_l ~ *√kw_l 'track, footprint' (< N *k_ol₁'u' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ Fc. 781-3, DI. 401-3, La. S 257, La. MChB 259-60 || C: EC: Sa {R} kalāh- 'travel (verreisen, eine Reise machen, wandern)', kalāh n. 'travel (Wanderung, Reise)', ? Sml {DSI} kallah-, Sml N {Abr.} kalah- 'go (somewhere) in the early morning' || SC ({E} *k^ωāš-) v. 'go, travel' (× N *k_ol₁'u', q.v.) > Kz k^ωaš v. 'go away, depart', (C →) Mb k^ωa, k^ωašú 'path, road' ¶ R S II 215, Abr. S 147, E SC 265, MQK 89, Blz. CP s.v. 'come'₃ || Ch: Ang {Flk.} kel 'wander without aim' ¶ Flk. s.v. kel || U: FU {UEW} *kälä- v. 'wade' > pLp {Lr.} kälē- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gaal'edh, L {LLO} källē-, N {N} galle-, Kld källē- id.; {UEW (with a query)}: Lp → F kahlāa- ~ kaalāa- v. 'wade' → Es kahlā- v. 'wade, walk in water' || Er kelē-, Mk кялe- kälā- v. 'wade' || Chr: L кe'ла-ш 'walk through mud\water; wade', Uf/B kela-, H kelä- id. || Prm *kel- v. 'plod, make one's way (through)' > Z кевны keV-/kel-, Yz kól-, kel- id., Vt колыны 'beat a track\path (by walking)', Vt G kolĭ- v. 'wade', Vt Sr kol- 'ins Wasser treten' || ?σ ObU {Ht.} *kūl- v. 'rise, rise ashore' > pVg **k^ωāl- 'rise' > Vg: T k^ωāl- ~ k^ωāl-, LK/MK kōl-, NV k^ωōl- ~ kal-, P kōl- ~ k^ωal-, kal-, LL kōl- ~ kal-, UL/Ss k^ωāl- id.; pOs *kül- ~ *kōlāy- 'rise, rise ashore, land' > Os: V/Vy kül-, Ty kiφ-, Y küφ-, D/K kit-, Nz kkĭt-, Kz kĭφ-, O kil- id.; V/Vy kōlāy-, Ty keφay-, Nz qatĭy-, Kz qaφi- 'заехать', Uy kelāy- 'arrive to the shore, rise to the shore' || Hg kel- 'rise' || Y: [1] pY {IN H} *kile- > Y K {IN H} kile-, kil- 'wade', OY {RSt.} kilđik 'to wade', {AD} kiĭjiyoy 'wadable' (kiĭjiyoy pō'žĭ 'wadable river\stream', lit. 'wadable water'), {Iox.} kilĭiyoi 'бродячий', Y K {Iox.} kel- 'fahren'] [2] pY {IN H} *kel- 'come' (× N *kaĭ?V 'approach, come', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ It. no. 245, Coll. 20, UEW 133-4, Lr. no. 347, Lgc. no. 2081, Hs. 514, LG 120, MF 347-8, Ht. no. 133, Trs. S 118, 125, IN H 210, IN UJ 225-7, Ang. 112, AD YN s.v. kel-, Iox. JR, Krn. JJ 273, 282, ≈ Rd. UJ 46 [no. 64] (without distinguishing Y *kil- 'wade' from Y *kel- 'come') ¶¶ The meaning 'rise' is a Ugr innovation: 'rise' ← 'rise ashore after wading a river' (cp. Os Ty/Y {Trs.} ma utəkiφsəm 'I rose to the shore', Os UY kelāy- 'rise to the shore' [Trs. l.c.]) || A *k'elV 'come', (?) 'go' → *k'el(ü)- ({Md.} *ke-l- = {JMd.} *kĕl-) 'come, arrive' (× N *kaĭ?V '↑') > T *k'el- > OT {Cl.} käl- 'come, arrive' (aor. kälür ~ [with analogical generalization of *i] kälir), OT U (BrSc) {Gbn} käl:l-, Chg XV kel- (aor. kelür, converb kelü), pOg {Md.} *gäl- id., Tk gel-, Tkm

gel-, Az *ǵäl-*, Ggz *ǵel-* id., Qmq *ǵel-*, Uz, Ln, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Yk, Tv *kel-*, ET *kä(ł)-*, VTt, Bsh, Xk *кил-* *kil-*, Tf *kʷel-* id., Chv *кол-* *kil-* 'come, arrive, walk, go (gehen, fahren)' ¶ T *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch ¶ Cl. 715, Gbn ATG 313, Rs. W 248, ET VGD 14-16, Ra. 203, TvR 237, Md. OJ 172 [§ 2.6.2.2] (on T *e > Chv i), 226 [3.2.2.2] and 276, Jeg. 112, Fed. I 292-3 ¶ Acc. to IS I 294 the pT root is **kā̄l-* with an unj. reconstruction of a long vw., supposed on the basis of Tk SW and the Brahmi spelling of OT U (but not MK's Arabic spelling without markers of length), against the decisive ev. of Tkm and Yk (pointing to a pT short vw.); the quality *ä was reconstructed on the alleged ev. of Az, but recent research (Md., Md. OJ, ADb. SR) has shown that the Az distribution of e and ä is an innovation and does not reflect the pT opposition, which has remained in Chv and Yk only, so that the correct pT rec. is **k'el-* || ?φ pKo **ká-* 'go, go away' > MKo *ká-*, NKo *ka-* ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 72], S QK no. 72, Nam 2, MLC 6 || ?φ pJ {S} **kə̄-* 'come' > OJ *ko-*, MJ *kú-*, J: T/Kg *kú-*, K/Ht/Y *kù-*, Ns *kʷ-*, Sh *č-* ¶ S AJ 265 [no. 13], S QJ no. 13, Mr. 716, Kenk. 1115-16 ¶¶ SDM 538 (pA **gè̄le* 'come' [with unc. rec of **g-*] > T, J, Ko + qu.: Tg **ǵel-* 'get hardly on one's way' and M **ǵel-* 'walk slowly'), S AJ 99, 274 ¶¶ In SDM the T, Ko and J roots are connected with Tg **ǵel-* 'get hardly on one's way' (> Ewk *ǵɜl-*, Ork *ǵilín-*) and with M **ǵel-* 'walk slowly' (> WrM *ǵelürí-* 'walk slowly'), and the pA root is reconstructed as **gè̄le*). But the connection with Tg and M **ǵel-* is not convincing enough, and therefore the pA initial cns. must be reconstructed as **K || D* (in NED) **ka_l:_ll-* > Krx *kā̄l-* (inv. *ka_lā̄*, gerund *kā̄lā̄*, ft. *kā̄los* ~ *kā̄os*, inf. *kā̄nā̄* < **kā̄l-na*) 'go, lead to (as a road), progress', Mlt {Drs.} p. *kále* 'go, come to' (in Krx and Mlt the cns. l represents both D *-l- and *-l̄-) ¶ D no. 1419, Pf. 187-8 [no. 64] ◇ IS I 293-5 [no. 161] (IS did not take into account M **qal(u)-* 'come near, approach' and Tg **ka_l:_ll-* 'approach', as well as [probably therefore] did not distinguish between N **kä^lh¹∇* [his **kä^lh¹∇*] and N **ka^l∇* 'approach, come' [q.v.]) ◇ The change N *ä > T *e is still to be explained (see N **kä^lû* 'a woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > T **k'elin* 'bride, son's wife') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 71 (**kel* 'come') (U **kälä* 'wade' [< N **kä^lh¹∇*] + err. IE **keleu-* 'road' + err. A **k'el-* and Yk *kel-* 'come, go' [< N **ka^l∇* 'approach, come'], as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr. neglected sound laws and therefore could not distinguish between these N words, see above N **ka^l∇*)

875. *kaɫw∇ 'together, whole' > **HS**: S *kull- 'all, every, the totality' (× N *Ḳuṭā' 'clan, village' [→ 'everybody'], q.v.) > Hb כּוֹל / -כּוֹל 'kull- 'all' (cs. כּוֹל kɔl), Ph, M'b, Amn, Ug, OA, OSA kɫ, Pun kɫ, [Plt.] CHYL or CHIL, IA, Htr kɫ ~ kɫɫ, BA כּוֹל kɔl, em. אֵל כּוֹל'ל-ā, JEA {Sl.} כּוֹל kɫl'-ā, BA, JA, JEA cs. כּוֹל kɔl, Sr W kɫl \hat{w} / kull-, Sr E כּוֹל kɔl, Md kɫl, Ar کُلّ kull- id., Gz kʷəll- 'all', kʷəll-ū 'everything, everybody, all', Ak kull-ətu 'all, totality'; S *kʷa'ɫ- > Amr {G} kəla 'all' and possibly SES: Mh ka`Zl, kali 'all, whoever', Jb E kɔl, kɛl-, Jb C kɔhl (kɔl, 'kɔ), kɛl-, Sq {Jo.} kɔl, kaɫ id.; CS *✓kɫɫ v. 'unite, include' > Hb, Aram kɫɫ G id., Ug kɫɫ D {OLS} 'completar, acabar' ¶ KB 457, HJ 500-7, A no. 1320, OLS 213-15, Sl. 559-60, DM 206, Nld. MG § 226, Br. 326-7, BK II 918, BGMR 77, L G 281, Jo. M 207, Jo. H 67, CAD VIII 504-6, G A 22, MT 329-30, Dlm. 400 || Eg fP c r w (if {Tk.} < *✓kɫw) 'every, jeder' ¶ EG V 377-9 || C: DhI {EEN, To.} ʔákkale 'all' || ʔσ SC: Irq {E} kila 'very much, completely', {MQK} kilaʔ 'truly, perfectly, very' ¶ E SC 288, EEN 20, To. D 127, MQK 60 || SOm {Tk.} *kʷull- 'all' > {Bnd., Fl.}: Dm kull, Hm, Hm K wull 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} kálù 'gather' || ?? Sha {J} hʷalɜŋ 'alle' ¶ J R 275, Frz. P 35 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [no. 19.7] ¶¶ One of the sources (the main source?) of S *kull-, SOm *kʷull- and Sha hʷalɜŋ 'all' may be N *Ḳuṭā', while S *kʷa'ɫ-, the CS verb *✓kɫɫ, Eg kɜ, DhI and (?) Irq words may go back to N *kaɫw∇ or to both N etyma together || **A**: Tg *°kaɫb∇ 'together' > Ewk Ald/Ucr kaɫbuldī v. 'gather (rein-deer)', Ewk U kaɫo-kaɫo (interjection used to gather reindeer in a flock) ¶ STM I 365 || **D** *kaɫ- ({GS} *k-) 'unite, meet' > Tm kaɫa v. 'unite in friendship, form friendly\ matrimonial alliance with, copulate', kaɫakku 'joint', Ml kaɫappu 'the whole, sum', Kn kaɫi, kaɫe vi. 'join; come together, meet', Tl kaɫayu, kaɫiyu vt., vi. 'join, unite, meet, copulate', Gnd KS/RSr kaɫi-, Gnd DM kāliyaṅā v. 'meet', Knd kaɫi- 'meet, come together', Ku kaɫvi ā- 'be united together' ¶¶ D no. 1299 ¶ The ✓ is to be distinguished from D *kaɫ- v. 'mix' [D no. 1299] (unless 'mix' is not a secondary meaning developed from 'join') ≠ϕ IS SS 349 [no. 13.12] (HS ÷ K *q(w)ɫ 'all' [sc. *qɔwEɫ- 'all, one', see N *qaywE (L∇) 'alone', 'entire'])).

876. *kʷa'ɫX'E' 'call (appeler), shout' > **HS**: S *°✓kɫħ > Gz ✓kɫħ (pf. kaɫħa) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har ✓kɫħ (pf. kɛlaħa ~ kaɫħa) v. 'call so. by shouting' ⇨ Sa {R} kaɫlaħ- id. ¶ L G 282-3 || ? B *°✓wɫɫɫ (× N *ḲaL∇, ħ∇ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise') > Ah səkkəɫəɫ 'pleurer

bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || C: b→ Mb {E} -kaláʔe v. 'shout' (E [SC 268]: *÷ Irq k^walaʔ- ~ q^walaʔ- v. 'be joyful\glad', Kz k^waʔaliko 'voice') ¶ E PC no. 513 (*÷ Bj {R} k^wali 'singing', Ya -qēl- v. 'sing' and Sml qayl(i)- v. 'shout, cry'; on the latter see N *ḲAyilA 'shout, call') || This N etymon may be an AdS of HEC *kuł- v. 'tell' (see s.v. N *qU,ʔ,ʃ∇ 'speak, call') || Ch (pCh {JS} *k^ra¹l- v. 'call') > ECh: EDng {Fd.} kòlè v. 'call (appeler)', ? kôlè v. 'shout (crier)', Brg {J} kòlé v. 'call', kôlè v. 'shout', Jg {J} kol- 'nennen, rufen' || ??φ CCh: Glv {Rp.} xul-, Dgh {Frk} xw¹là v. 'cry' ¶ JI II 59, J J 114, Fd. 301-2, ChC s.v. 'call' and 'cry' || IE: NaIE *gal- v. {EI} 'call out, speak' > Clt {Matas.} *galw-o- v. 'call' > MW galw n. 'call, invitation', W galw v. 'call, tsummon', OBr galu 'clameur' (< *gal-w-) {Matas.} 'call', MBr galu {Flr.} 'appel', {Matas.} 'call', {Ern.} galver 'celui qui appelle', Br galv 'appel, cri', OIr {SB} gall 'famous' (< *gal-no-s), gleter dála 'die Versammlungen sind vorgeladen' || Gmc (× Gmc *kal¹za 'calling [Ruf]' < NaIE *ga|o|s0-s < N *kaLč∇ 'to speak\cry', ? 'voice'): ON kalla 'rufen, nennen, sagen' (b→ NE call), AS ceallian 'to call', OHG kallōn 'to chatter, to talk' || SI *golgol-ъ (< *gal-gal-) 'speech' > OCS глаголъ glagolъ 'speech, word' (b→ R глаголъ 'speech', 'verb'), Blg Δ 'glagulъ, McdS Δ glagol 'speech, conversation', SCr † глаголъ ~ глаголь, OCz hlahol 'speech', Cz hlahol 'noise'; SI *golgoli-, *golgola- v. 'speak' > OCS глаголати glagolati 'to speak', Blg † глаголя 'speak', SCr † глаголити ~ глагольити 'to speak', Cz hlaholiti, hlaholati 'to produce sounds, to speak' ¶ P 350, ≈ EI 89, SB 107, YGM-1 231, Flr. 173, Ern. 252, Matas. E 150, Hm. 307, LP § 256, Vr. 298-9, Kb. 526, ESSJ VI 204-5, StSS 169-70 || ?σ D *kōl 'slander, talebearing' (× N *Ḳohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie', q.v. ffd.) || A ≈ *k^ræ¹∇- > NaT *Ḳo_l∇- v. 'ask for, beg' (× N *go¹∇ 'look for, wish', [?] 'look'?) > OT, Chg, OXwT, MQp [CC], Kr qol- v. 'ask for', MQp xv qol- v. 'pray', Kr qol ʒ kol-, SY qol- ~ q¹ol- 'beg, beg one's pardon', Tv (d.) qoldan- v. 'ask for, beg', qoldančī 'beggar' ¶ Cl. 616-17, Rs. W 277, ET Q 36-7, Rl. II 584-5, TvR 246 || Tg *kē_le₁- v. 'call, ask' > Ewk PT kē₁ē₁-, Orc kē₁ē₁gi- v. 'invite, call', WrMc {Z} xэлнэ- v. 'go to ask, ask\call\ invite' ¶ STM I 447, Z 411 ¶¶ The front vw. of the Tg √ has not yet found explanation (as., vw. harmony?). A possible solution: the pA root is *k^ræ¹∇- (with regr. assimilation: pA *-æ- from N *-a...E) ◇ The IE guttural *g- points to the N vw. *a, while D and T suggest N *o. A possible solution may be contamination with N *Ḳohíü. The long vw. of

the initial syll. in Tg and D may be due to compensatory lengthening (loss of the original *lr.*).

877. (₂?) ***k**∇**L**₁∇₁**y**∇ 'lumbar region' > **HS** ≈ ***kulay-** 'kidney' > S ***kulay-at-** id. > BHb pl. כַּלְיֹת *kālā'y-ōt*, MHb (BbV) כַּלְיָהּ (*ce.* for כַּלְיָהּ?) *kol'yō* 'kidney' (*see* Yv. II 905; the Masoretic sg. כַּלְיָהּ *kal'yā* is a bf. from the pl. form), Ug *klyt*, Sr كَلْيَاتِ *kōlī't-ā*, Ar كَلْيَاتِ *kuly-at-*, Gz *k^ωalīt*, Mh {Jo.} *kəlyīt*, Hrs {Jo.} *kəlīt*, Jb C {Jo.} *ku'žēt*, Sq Δ {SSL} *kə'lyōt*, Ak *kālīt-um* 'kidney', JA *kul'yā* id., 'testicle' ¶ AD PSH 48, KB 479, OLS 217, Js. 620, Br. 329, BK II 926, Hv. 664, WKAS I 337, L G 284, Jo. M 209, Jo. H 8, Jo. J 131, SSL LSNP 1460-1, ≈ MiK I no. 1.156 (S ***k^ωaly-at-**) || C {AD} *(**m-**)**k^ω∇ll∇₁** 'kidney' > Bj {R} *ān'k^ωel^a* ~ *un'kul^a*, {AD} *han^{k^ωalāyt}* id. || EC ≈ ***kal(al)i** id. > Sml N *kéllí*, Rn {Bl.} *kalasi*, {PG} *kālāssi* ({Bl.}: < ***kalal-ti**), Elm *kal*, Kns *xallā*, Gwd *xalle*, Brj *kala'ttē*, Or *kalē*, Or M {AD} *kulalitj*, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *kalē*, Or Wt {Sr.} *kalēttī* 'kidney', Or Wl {Brl.} *kalé* id., 'side of body', Arr *kalan-té* f., *kalan-ó* pl. 'kidneys' || DhI {EEN} *kallú* pl. 'kidneys' || SC: pRt {E} ***k^ωal-** 'lumbar region' > Irq *karutome* 'second stomach', Kz *koli-ngayo* 'backbone' ¶ AD SF 77, 195-6, R WBd 25, E SC 333, 373, Ss. B 113, Ss. PEC 12, Bl. 16, 192, PG 177, Abr. S 151, Hw. A 371, Brl. 225, Sr. 343, EEN 10 || SOm: Ari G {Fl.} *kela* 'kidney' || NrOm: Wlt {LmS} *killahuwa*, Gm {Hw.} *kila'ho* 'kidneys', Dwr {C} *killē* 'liver' ¶ Bnd. AL 153, LmS 410-11, Hw. EG s.v. 'kidneys', Blz. OLBP s.v. 'kidney', Fl. p.c. || CCh: Br {ChL} *kuššī* 'kidney(s)' || G'nd *kùlkùlárà*, Hw *kùliša* id. || ? Ech: Ke {Eb.} *mo-korá* id. ¶¶ AD SF 77, AD SEC 133, Tk. SCC 90 [no. 19.8], E PC no. 95 || ? D ***kōl-** 'belly, entrails' (× N ***gōl₁**∇ 'belly, entrails', q.v. ffd.) || A: Tg ***kaldā-** 'internal organ' > Ul *qaldamī* 'part of stomach of the "kaluga" fish (used as a medicine)', Ork *xālda* 'diaphragm, peritoneum', WrMc {Z} *xaldā* 'spleen of fish; fish sound; epiploon of sturgeon (used for curing furuncles)' (↔ WrM {MED} *qaldā* 'spleen of sturgeon', HIM {BMR} *xald* 'spleen of fish; spleen of shark\sturgeon\beluga') ¶ STM I 361, Z 390, MED 918, BMR IV 25 ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 20], Blz. NDA no. 19 (D, HS).

878. ₂ ***kaLč**∇ 'to speak\cry', ? 'voice' > **HS**: S (att. in SES) ***✓klθ** v. 'tell, speak' > Mh, Hrs *✓klθ* id., Jb *✓klθ* v. 'tell' ¶ Jo. M 209, Jo. J 130-1 || Ch: Fy {J} *kalas* v. 'weep' ¶ JI II 342, J R s.v. Fy *kalas*, ChC s.v. 'weep' || B: Si *gals* 'weep' (× N ***gōl₁**∇ 'to weep; grief?') ¶ La. S 279, NZ 786 || IE: NaIE ***gālōs**-s, -m 'voice, a cry' > Oss: I *x^hælæc* *qäläs*, D *ȳäläs* 'voice, throat (глотка)' || Sl {IS} ***gōl's** (gen. ***gōl'sa**) 'voice' > OCS

ГЛАСЪ glasъ, SCr glās (gen. glāsa), Slv glās, Blg глас, df. гла'сът, R, Uk 'голос (gen. 'голоса), Cz, Slk hlas, P głos id. || Gmc *kałza n. (× N *k'a'īX'E' 'call [appeler], shout') > ON kalli 'calling (Ruf), name' ⇨ Gmc verb: ON kalla 'to call', AS ceallian id., 'to shout' (> NE call), AS calla 'Rufer', OHG kallōn ~ challōn 'to chatter, to talk', MHG kallen 'to speak much and loud' ¶ WP I 538, P 350, Ab. II 288-9, ESSJ VI 219-20, IS IA 111, StSS 170, Glh. 230, Vr. 298-9, Ho. 43 and 45, OsS 470, Kb. 526, Lx. 103, ≠ EI 89 (Sl and Gmc < IE *gal- v. 'call out, speak').

879. *koíu 'to fly', ([in descendan lges] → 'wing, bird') > IE: NaIE *g^ωelu- v. 'fly' > L volā- v. 'fly', volucer adj. 'flying, winged', volucris 'bird' || OI garut 'mant'- 'ε bird', garudāḥ 'ε a mythical bird'; but OI *garut 'wing' (mentioned in traditional Indian lexicons) is not an attested word, but a philological abstraction from garut 'mant'- ¶ Cu. GGE 474, Dv. no. 356a, WH II 828, M K I 325, M E I 471, WH II 828 || **HS:** C: EC *kōl- 'wing' > Bn kōl-i, Dsn kúōl, Elm kōl, Or kōl-a, Kns xōl-a, Brj 'kōl-i, Gwd xōl-akko, Gln hōl-o 'wing', Arr kollá 'wings' (→ 'leaves?'), Hr hōl-o 'feather', Or {Bl.} kōl-a id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} kōla id., 'feather', Or Wt kōlē 'feather' || DhI kōl- v. 'fly' || ? Bj {R} -kil v. 'fly' (1s p. a-'kil, pres. aḥ'kīl), ke'lāy 'bird'; but hardly here Bj {R} -kil v. 'kreisen' ¶ Ss. B 117, AMS 162, 202 and 242, Sr. 346, Hw. A 374, To. D 140, To. DL 513, E SC 245, R WBd 13 || **A** *Kuí∇ 'bird' > T *Kuí > NaT *Kuš 'bird' > OT, MT quš, Tk kuš, Tkm, Az, Slr guš, Ggz, Uz, ET, Qrg quš, Tv qúš, VTt кош qúš, Bsh кош qúš, Qzq, Nog, Qq qus, SY gus, Xk χus 'bird', Shor quš id., 'hen', Tf qúš 'capercaillie (глухарь)', Xlj guš ~ quš 'Sperling, Spatz', Yk kus 'duck' ¶ Cl. 670, Rs. W 305, ET Q 180-1, TL 168, Dr. TM III no. 1561, DT 122, Ra. 222 || M *quladu₁ 'ε bird of prey' > WrM quladu sibagun {Gl.} "white kite" ('белый коршун'), {Kow.} 'Falco buteo (buse, busard, cassard, мышелов)' (= 'Buteo buteo' ?) (sibagun is 'bird'), Kl {Rm.} χulda 'Sumpfwiehe oder ein weißer Falke', {KRS} хулд χулдъ 'harrier (лунь) ('Circus auriginosus)', Brt хулда id., Ord χulad₁ 'oiseau de proie qui mange des rats'; M ⇨ Brb qulad₁ 'vulture', Shor qilad₁, Chv L хълат хълат {Rm.} 'Mäusefalk', {Jeg.} 'кулада, коршун (kite)', {ChVS} 'сарыч, кулада, лунь (harrier, Circus)', коршун', Chv L {Ash., Fed.} хълат хълат, Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.} хълата хълад₁ 'ε bird of prey (ε hawk or kite), мышелов, коршун', Chv Δ {Md.} хълат хълат хълат id. ¶ Gl. II 169, Kow. 924, KRS 609, KW 195-6, Chr. 600, Ms. O 366, Rs. W 298, Ash. XVI 316-17, Fed. II 321-2,

Jeg. 29O, ChVS 214 ¶¶ SDM 851-2 (pA *k'ū́a|o|u 'ε big bird' > T, M + err. Tg *xōlī 'raven, crow', see N [₂?] *Ku|o|l∇ 'raven, crow'), SDM97 s.v. *k'ū́a|o|u id., S AJ 281 [no. 148] (pA **k'ṓ∇ 'ε bird' > T, M), TL 168, ADb. SR 9 ◇ The pA *u of the initial syll. (for the expected *o) may be explained by as. (N *kólu > A *k|k'ú́∇).

880. *kú∇ 'to flow, to gush, to leak' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} kíl / kḗl 'pour' ¶ J Mu s.v. kíl 'pour' || IE: NaIE *g^ωel- > OI 'galati 'drops (träufelt herab), falls down' || Gk βλύω 1s 'gush forth' ('quelle hervor'), {EI} 'well up' || OHG *quellen*, NHG *quellen* 'to gush, to well', NHG *Quell(e)* 'a spring' ¶ M E 329, KM 572, ≈ P 471-2, EI 207 || U: (+ext.): FU *kúk∇- v. 'stream, leak' (× U *kulke- 'swim, move [sich bewegen zu Lande und zu Wasser]') > Er, Mk kólge- 'triefen, rinnen, sickern' | Lp N gólgâ- / -lg- 'run' (liquids: water, tears, blood etc.) || ObU {Ht.} *kúləψ- > pOs *kúəψ- 'rinnen\fließen (Schweiß), fließen (Wasser in einem kleinen Bach)' > Os: Vy kúəψ-, Kz χólí-, O χul- id. ¶ UEW 198, It. no. 176, LG 149, Ht. no. 264, Stn. D 491, Trs. S 189 || D (att. in CD) *^okú- v. 'leak', 'run from a punctured vessel' (water) > Nkr kú- id., Klm ku'ł- (p. ku'ł-) 'run from punctured vessel or tap' (water) ¶ D no. 1919.

881. *kǘ∇ or *kúE 'cold; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *g̃|ge|l- 'cold', v. 'freeze' > L *gelū* 'frost, icy cold', *gelidus* adj. 'cold, icy-cold, frosty, icy', *gelā*- v. 'cause to freeze', Osc [StB] γελαν ('πάχνην) (accus.?) 'hoarfrost' || ? Gk [Hs.] γελανδρόν ('ψυχρόν) n. 'cold water' or 'cold' (but {EI}: γελανδρόν "is widely discredited") || AS *calan* 'to grow cold, to cool down', ON *kala* 'to freeze, to make cold'; Gmc prtc. *kald- 'cold' > Gt *kalds*, ON *kaldr*, NNr, OFrs, OSx *kald*, Sw *kall*, Dn *kold*, OHG, NHG *kalt*, MDt *cout*, AS *ceald* 'cold', NE *cold*; Gmc *kōlja- > OHG *kuoli*, NHG *kühl*, Dt *koel*, AS *cōl* 'cool, cold', NE *cool*; OHG *kuoli* n. 'coolness', ON *kólna* 'to grow cold' ¶ P 365-6, EI 113, WH I 585-6, Pln. II 683, F I 294, Vr. 297-8, 325, Fs. 306, Ho. 42, 45, 56, Ho. S 40, OsS 470, 525, Schz. 179, 187, Kb. 526, 573, KM 343, 411 || K *klωl∇- > Lz kor- ~ kir- v. 'cool', Mg {Chik.} kir- vi. 'freeze with astonishment (გაძვივძვივდა, обомлеть)', ? Sv: UB {GP} li-kwēle 'to cool off (food)', 'to be cooled off' (food), Ls {Dn.} li-kwēl-e 'to cool, to let catch cold (о-про-студить)', Ln {TK} li-kwele id., Sv {Ni.} χwi-kwel-i 'become cold', χwi-kwä́l-e 'make cold' ¶¶ Chik. 338-9, GP 173, Ni. s.v. 'холодѣть' and 'холодить', Dn. s.v. kwēl, TK 453 || HS: C: Bj {R} kǔ́línfe, kǔ́límfe 'rainy season' ¶ R WBd 142 || Ch (× N *KEL₄H₄∇

'cold?'): ECh: Kwn {J} kǎl, Kbly {Cp.} kǎlɜ, Dng {Lk.} kùlǔt 'cold' ¶ JI II 80-1, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'cold', ChC s.v. 'cold' || U: FP (+ an ancient sx?) *külmä 'cold' > F külmä adj. 'cold, cool', n. 'cold', Es külm adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' | pLp {Lr.} *kɜlmē- v. 'freeze' > Lp: S {Hs.} galm'edh, L {LLO} kal'mē- 'freeze' (humans), (imprs.) 'the ground is frozen', N {N} gâlbme-/-lm- (imprs.) 'freeze, cause a frozen crust\ice to form on snow\water', Kld {TI} kɛl'me- 'become cold, freeze'; L {LLO} kalmas, attr. kal'ma, Kld kɜlmias 'cold', N {N} gâlmâs /-lbm- 'frozen' | Er keíme, Mk keímä adj. 'cold', n. 'cold, frost' | Chr: L кылме кълме, Uf/B кълме, H кЫлмы кълмъ 'frozen' | Prm **kɜnm- > *kún 'frozen', *kún / *kúnm- 'frost, cold' > Z, Vt кЫН kɪn 'frozen', Vt Sr kɪn, Vt K kɜn / kənm-, Vt G kɪn / kɪnm- 'frost, cold', Vt, Z Ud kɪnmas 'feels cold' (a person), Vt kɪnmɪnɪ 'be frozen\congealed' ¶ It. no. 408, LG 152, UEW 663, Sm. 552 (FP *külmä), SK 254, Lr. no. 307, Lgc. no-s 1903-4, Hs. 555-6, TI 105, MRS 267, Ep. 55 ¶¶ In FU the palatality of N *í was lost in preconsonic position || A *kǒíɳ > M *köldē- vi. 'freeze, congeal' > WrM {MED} köldē- ~ köldü-, HIM {MED, BMR} xɛлдə-, Brt xɛлдə-, Kl {KRS} кəлд- id., {Rm.} köldə- 'gefrieren, übereist werde,, erfrieren', Ord k'öldd_ö- 'geler, se geler, se couvrur de glace'; M ↗ Ewk Nr küldɜ- 'freeze' ¶ MED 485, BMR IV 133, Chr. 617, KRS 314-15, KW 238, Ms. O 426, STM I 428 || T **Kǒí- > d. NaT *Kǒš'ijüg'- 'feel cold, freeze' > VTt кҮшєґ- küš'bg- vi. 'feel cold, be chilled, suffer from cold\dampness, become numb with cold' (a person), Bsh küš'bg- 'get drenched to the skin', Yk köhüy- [kösüy-] 'become numb with severe cold', Tv köžü- id., 'freeze', Tf kǒšü- id., v. 'stiff', Qrg köšü- 'become calm, be serene\untroubled', köšüp uyquya kirgen 'he fell asleep peacefully', {RI.} köšü- 'zittern, beben' ¶ ET KQ 127, TatR 345, JkR 182, Pek. 1172, Jud. 434, RI. II 1306, 1151 ¶¶ DQA no. 845 (A *k'ǒjüé 'freeze'), Posch AAL 383 ¶ In the T root there is secondary connection with T *KIí 'winter' (< N *g'U'íɳ 'season without vegetation' ['drought, dry season', 'winter']) || D (att. in SD) *kuɫ- ({{ɜGS} *k-) > Tm kuɫir 'feel cold, be cool, get numbed', MI kuɫir, kuɫur 'coolness, cool, refreshing', kuɫukɫu 'intense cold', Kt kuɫak in-, kuɫkuɫ in- 'feel cold' (hands, feet, body)', Kn kuɫir vi. 'be cool\cold', n. 'coldness, coolness, cold, snow, frost', Kdg kuɫɪ- 'cold feeling is' ¶ D no. 1834 ◇ IS I 304-5 [no. 176] ◇ The lack of reflexes of the labiality of the N vw. *ü or *u in IE *g̃|geɫ- (rather than *g̃|geuɫ-) may be explained by the law ruling out any sequence of two

sonants in a root (*see* AD NGIE § 12). Hardly here T *k'íí 'winter', for phonetic reasons it is better to refer it to N *gií∇ (> pCK {Md.} *γῖῖ 'ice, block of ice', *see* s.v. *gií∇, ∇'∇'∇ 'ice, frost; to freeze') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 168 (*kul ~ *kel 'freeze') (IE, U, A, Ko, CK).

882. ₂ *koíHa 'oak' > IE *g^ωelH₂-/*g^ωleH- > NaIE *g^ωelə-/*g^ωlā-'acorn, oak' > Arm **կաղիւ** kałin 'acorn, hazelnut', **կաղի** kałni 'oak, hazel tree' ||| Gk βάλανος 'acorn' ||| pBlt *gīl-s (< *g^ω∇:-s) [gen. *gī'les] -> *gīliyā ~ *gīliyā > Ltv zīle, † dzīla 'acorn', Lt gīlė, gylė, Pru gile id. ||| +ext. *-nd-: L glāns (gen. glānd-is) 'acorn' ||| BSl: Lt giléndra, giléndrė 'reiche Ernte an Eichen, Nüssen, Beeren, P i l z e n ' |||
Sl *želqdb 'acorn' > ChS **желѣдъ** želqdb, Blg **желѣдъ**, SCr **žělŭd**, Slv **žélod**, Cz **žalud**, Slk **žalud'**, P **żołędź**, R **желудь** id. ¶ Acc. to P, the primary meaning was 'oak' ¶ P 472, Dv. no. 870, EI 407 (*g^ωelh₂- 'acorn'), Sl. 166, Kar. II 560, ME I 556 and IV 732, F I 213, Frn. 151, En. 177, Tp. P E-H 234-5, Vs. II 44-5, Glh. 707, Frdr. PITA 131-2 |||
A: [1] pA *k'ólap'∇ 'oak tree' > AmTg *kolopo(-kta 'ε tree' > Orc † kolobo-kto ~ kopolo-kto 'ε fir tree', kopolo 'log', Ud X kopolo-kto 'ε tree', Ud I/Sm kopolo-kto 'dry thin trunks a of fir tree or larch' ¶ STM I 407-8, Krm. 251 || pKo {S} *kàràp 'oak' > MKo kàràp, NKo karam-namu id. ¶ Ko *-a- of the first syll. is due to regr. as.? ¶ S QK no. 896, Nam 3, Yu 19 || pJ {S} *kásípà '*Quercus dentata* (ε oak)' > OJ kasipa, MJ kásípà, J T kàsíwa, J K kàsíwà, J Kg kásíwa ¶ S QJ no. 974, Mr. 441, Kenk. 863 ¶¶ SDM 736 (pA *k'úlap'∇ 'oak' Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1113 ||| [2] pA *k'ôl|í∇ 'oak' (the deviant *k'- is due to the infl. of the descendants of N *k'ôR₁∇, ∇'∇'X₁∇ '≈ oak?') > AmTg *xolōηk∇ 'oak' > Nn Nh {On.} χorōηqola, {STM} χorōηqola, Orc oloηkā ~ oloηkī, Ud oloηkō id. ¶ STM II 16, Krm. 275, On. 473 || Ko *kur 'oak' > MKo kur-pam 'acorn', NKo kul 'oak', kul-pām 'acorn' ¶ Yu 89, MLC 216 || ???φ pJ *kasi '*Quercus acuta* (ε oak)' > OJ kasi, MJ kàsì, J T kásì, J K kàsî, J Kg kásí ¶ S QJ no. 976, Mr. 441, Kenk. 861 ¶¶ SDM 836 (pA *k'ol|ía or *k'u|ía 'oak' > Tg, Ko) ||| [3] (from a cd?) pA *K_a:₁KIg∇1∇ (or *K_a:₁KIb∇1∇) 'flexible branch/trunk of a tree' > NaT *Ka₁:₁gI1- > OT qaḡil ({Cl.} qāḡil) 'a fresh willow shoot, a rod used for chastisement', Xk **χᾶλ** 'rod' ¶ Cl. 610 (supposing that the vw. a was long on the insufficient basis of Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī's Arabic spelling with the letter 'alif), Rs. W 220 || M: [1] M ≈ *qaqu¹γ|β¹uli 'fishing rod' > WrM {MED} qaquuli ~ qaquul id., 'fishhook', HIM

{MED} хажуцұл ~ хажуцл id., {MED} хажуцл, id., 'самоловы, переметы с крючками (для ловли рыбы)', Kl {Rm.} гахūl; 'Angelhaken, Angelrute', {KRS} һажуцұл 'fishing rod', Brt хажуцули id. ¶ MED 947, BMR IV 72, Chr. 564, KW 141, KRS 162 ¶ The strange shape of the word and the unexpected long vw. ū in HIM, Brt and Kl {Rm.} suggest borrowing [2] M *qayila-sun 'elm' > MM qayilasun, WrM {MED} qayilasun id., HIM {MED} хайлс id., {BMR} хайлаас(ан) 'elm, Siberian elm', Brt хайлааһа(н) id., Ord хālasu 'orme', Dg хайлās 'elm' ¶ Lew. II 7, MED 912, BMR IV 16, Chr. 533, T DgJ 172, Ms. O 346 ¶¶ SDM 630 (pA *k|k'ag∇l∇ 'flexible branch/trunk of a tree' > M *qayia 'elm', T *K_lḡagil 'rod'), SDM97 s.v.*k'olā 'oak' ¶¶ The pJ cns. *-s- (as above in pJ *kasi and *kásipa) may go back to N *í (cp. pJ *dàs- [> OJ yàsa- 'be emaciated'] from N *z'á'í∇ 'be weak', pJ *sìsì 'meat' < pA {SDM97} *sæíwi 'flesh, meat' < N *šííw∇ 'shank, flesh/meat of a limb' and possibly pJ *kùsù 'strange' [← *'deviating'] < pA *k'iyí'ú' - 'deviate' < N *Ḳiy_l∇,í'í 'to bend, to bow'). On pJ *-s- < pA *-í- see Mill. JAL 114 and J AP 75-6 ◇ S NSShS no. 30 (A, IE).

883. *kama 'peel (rind, Rinde)' (→ 'dandruff', 'scab') > HS: S *^o✓ km y > Ar ✓ km y (pf. كَمَى kamā) 'se mettre une cuirasse sur le dos ou une casque sur la tête', pf. كَمَى kamiya 'être tout couvert d'une armure' ¶ BK II 932 || C: Aw {Beke} kamād 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} gāmād 'bark' (× N *kom_l∇,ṭ∇ 'to cover; lid, cover') ¶ Blz. CWL, Beke LDA s.v. kamād, TBZAC s.v. gāmād || U *kama 'crust, rind, peel' > F kamara 'crust, scalp, callus', Es kamār 'rind, crust' || Chr: L/B kom 'crust (as of bread)', Uf kom id., 'peel (of fruit/vegetables)', H kom id., 'shell' || Prm *komeí, ({JLG} *k_omeí) n. 'peel, crust; > Z Lu komíí, Yz 'kumíí 'peel of potatoes/turnip/ radish/swede', StZ komzí, Z US k_omzí 'lump of heavy dough (for baking a crust of pies etc.)', Vt kumeí 'bark of lime bast'; ? Prm *^ok'ol'm > StVt köm kэм n. 'crust, peel of fruit/potatoes, (egg-\nut-)shell', Vt Sr/G kэм, Vt Kz kōm id., 'bark' || Hg háml- v. 'peel, scale', OHg hámt-, Hg hánt- v. 'strip, peel off (bark)', OHg hámcс, Hg háncс 'inner bark' || ? Vg {Kn.}: LK p_oksäm-k_omtol, P n_or-kamtul 'nutshell' (p_oksäm, n_or 'nut') || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *kāmъ- '(fish) scales' > Ne T сяв, Ne O {Lh.} śāβ 'fish scales', Ng {Mdd.} kamu id.; Sq LTz {KD} qā:m 'scales', Slq Tz {Prk.} d. komtā 'fish scales' (inaccurate spelling for qomtā?) → ??σ {KKIH, Prk.} qomtā 'mint, money'; Kms {KD} q'ām ~ q'ām

'scales (e.g. fish scales), money' || pY *°kimer > Y K kimer {IN UJ} 'inner side of hide (Мездра)', {IN H} id., 'film of a sinew' ¶ Coll. 23. UEW 121-2, Sm. 545 (FU *kãmã 'skin' > FP *kama-, Ugr *kãma-), LG 132, MRS 212, RMarS 274, Ü 73, Ep. 46, Lt. J 135, U3S 216, EWU 522, Jn. 63, Erl. 76, 99, KKH 162, KD 25, Hl. M no. 465, IN H 211, IN UJ 227-8
 || A: M *°qama- 'be mangy' > WrM {MED} qama- id., M *qamaγun 'scab, mange' > MM [IM] قماًوو qama_{1,1}u, Brt xamyu id. ('парша'), WrM {MED} qamaγu 'scab, scabies, mange, itch', HIM {MED} xamyu id., {BMR} xamyu(н) 'scab, scabies, mange', WrO χαμου ~ χαμουu 'itch, scab, mange', Kl {Rm.} χαμῦ 'Krätze', Ord χαμῦ 'gale' ¶ Pp. MA 444, MED 923, BMR IV 35, Krg. 251, KW 165, Chr. 544, Ms. O 332.

884. *kam∇ 'grasp, press' > IE: NaIE *gem- v. 'press, squeeze, squeeze together, grasp' > Arm ճմլեմ ճմլեմ 'I press, I squeeze, I trample' || Gk [Hm] aor. 3s. ἔνετο 'grasped' (< *gen-to) || OIr {SB, P} gemel, W gefyn 'fetters' || ON kumla 'to squeeze', NNr kumla 'to knead, to press together' || Ltv gūmt (1s pres. gūmstu) 'to grasp' || Sl 1s pres. *žьm-ḡ / inf. žę-ti v. 'press, squeeze' > SrChS 1s pres. Жьмѣ / inf. Жьтн žę-ti, SCr 1s pres. žmēm / inf. žěti, OCz 1s pres. žmu / inf. *žietī, Cz Mr, Slk qs pres. žmu (inf. žmat', bf. from pres.), P 1s pres. žmę / inf. žąć, R 1s pres. жму / inf. жать, Uk 1s pres. жму / inf. 'жати id. ¶ P 368-9, EI 450 (misquoting Ltv gūmstu as Lt), F I 297-8, SB 111, YGM-1 232, Vr. 334, Kar. I 125, Vs. II 36, 59, Ma. CS 591
 || HS: B *✓kmm > Ah əkmaṁ 'serrer, presser' ¶ Fc. 810 || ?? S *°✓kmw|y: Ak kamû 'fetters', ?? ✓kmw|y (inf. kamû) 'capture an enemy' (if ← *'bind' or 'grasp') ¶ CAD VIII 128-31 || Ch: Hs kãmà 'seize, lay hold of, capture' || Dr {Nw.} kɜme 'pick (e.g. beans) one by one' || Bu {Hf.} kimta 'wegnehmen' ||? EDng {Fd.} gãmè 'arracher par force (les mains de qn)' ¶ Abt. H 463, Ba. 542, Sk. HCD 134, Nw. K 128, Hf. B 286, Fd. 310 || C {AD} *✓kmm 'seize, take possession of, possess' > Ag: Q {R} kəməm- 'besitzen, mächtig sein', Bln {R} kim 'Besitz, Macht', kim- 'sich in den Besitz setzen, erwerben, bekommen; haben, besitzen', Xm {R} kim 'Besitz, Habe, Reichtum', Km {CR} kemā 'bien, troupeaux, richesse', Aw {Plm., Hz.} kim- 'steal' || SC: Irq {Wh., Wd.} -kōm- 'possess' ¶ AD SF 217, R WB 220-1, R QW 84, R Ch II 376 (s.p. 62), CR LK 213, Wh. SI, Wd. no. 1865 || A *k'ama > Tg *kama- v. 'drängen, drücken (теснить, прижимать)' > Ewk kama-, Ork, Nn {SRM} kamali- id., 'oppress', {On.} id., 'forbid', Lm kam- v. 'squeeze, vice', Neg kamali- 'oppress, forbid', Ul qama_wli ~ qama_uli 'tightly (тесно)', qamolžu-

'press (теснить)', encircle (hunted animals)' ¶ STM I 36, On. 206 || ?σ NaT *Kaма- v. 'surround\encircle\ besiege (enemies), drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, capture' > Uz qaма- 'drive (cattle, horses) into an enclosure, arrest', Qzq, Qq, Qrg qaма-, ET qami- id., 'surround (enemies)', VTt, Bsh, Qmq qaма- 'surround, encircle, besiege', (× NaT *Kāba- < N *gaɣb∇ [or *gaɣb∇?] 'hold, seize; collect'): Chg [Rabg.] qaba- 'umfassen, umgeben, belagern'; NaT *Kamti- > Qq, Nog qamti- 'grasp', Qzq qamti- 'intercept, borrow, snatch' ¶ Rl. II 435, 479, Jud. 335, KrkR 366-8, Sht. 256, Nj. 590, ≈ ET KQ 159 | ?σ,φ NaT *Ka:ma- > OT qaма-, Nog, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, ET Δ qaма- 'ein Gefühl des Zusammenziehens im Munde haben (набивать оскомины)', Xlj gāmaš- id. ¶ ET KQ 242-3, DTS 414, Rs. W 228 || ?σ pJ *kə̀màr- 'be in a difficult position' > J T komár-, J K kómár-, J Kg kòmàr- {SDM} id., {Kenk.} 'suffer, be distressed, be in trouble' ¶ Mr. 712, Kenk. 1036 || ?σ pKo *kam- 'be unable to, be insufficient for' > NKr kam-gi- ¶ Rs. SKE I 91-2 ¶¶ SDM 642-3 (pA *kām∇ v. 'be weak; oppress' > Tg *kaма- 'oppress, prohibit', T, pJ, pKo + unc. M *kaма- 'scab, herpes, infection'), Rs. W 228, Rm. EAS I 47, Rm. SKE 91-2 || D *kam- ({ǵGS} *k-) > OTI kamucu 'hold, seize; occupy, seize by force', Tl kamucu- 'hold, seize', ? Mlt {Drs.} kam- 'gather one by one' ¶¶ ≠ D no. 1326, Km. 325 [no. 255] (both derive the Tl word from *kaV- 'seize') ◇ IS I 290-1 [no. 157] (*kam; S, B, C, Ch, IE, ?D, T, Tg; *÷ U, M and Ko) ◇ U *kom∇(r∇) 'hollow hand' belongs not here, but to N *goɣm∇ ⇨ *gomɣ∇ 'hand, fist' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 332 (IE, A, CK + err. U).

885. *kam∇ 'full, whole, all' > IE: NaIE *gem- '(be) full' > Gk γέμω v. 'be full' (of a ship), 'be full of', 'be laden' (of animals), γεμίζω v. 'fill full of, load' || Sl *žьmbьnь 'handful' > R, Blr, Uk жменя, Slk žmeň id., Cz žemně 'bundle of two handfuls of flax' || Um GOMIA, kumiaf accus. f. pl. 'gravidās'; Um ⇨ L gumia 'glutton, gourmand' ¶ F I 296, WH I 626, Bc. G 336, ≠ P 368-9 (considering *gem- '[be] full' a sd. from *gem- 'grasp'), Vs. II 58, Mikl. E 408, Ma. CS 593, Mul. 194, Pln. 737, ≠ EI 450 (γέμω < *gem- 'press') ¶ Coalescence (esp. in Sl) with IE *gem- 'grasp' || HS: C: EC: pBn {Hn.} *komōm 'all' > Bn Bi komōm, Bn Ba/J komōmo; Cm {Bnd.} xumme 'all' (if in Cm, like in other Dullay dialects, x- < EC *k-) ¶ Hn. BD 90, Blz. CWL || B *✓kmm 'gather (amasser)' > Kb щаммам, Tmz kammam id., ETwl/Ty kьmmьt 'ramasser' ¶ MT 334-5, Dl. 404, GhA 93 || Eg fMK km v. 'complete; total up to, amount; put an end to' ¶ EG V

128-30, Fk. 286 || WS (+ext.) * \checkmark km l > Ar kamal- 'the whole, totalité, le tout', Sb hkm l caus. v. 'complete (a work), be successful', Mh \checkmark km l (pf. kō m ɜ l) v. 'finish', kō m ɜ l id., Jb \checkmark km l: Jb C kō l 'be finished, complete', caus. v. ekū l 'finish', ekmi l v. 'finish', Hrs kē m ɜ l v. 'finish' ¶ Fr. IV 59-60, BGMR 78, BK II 930, Hv. 665, Jo. M 210, Jo. H 68, Jo. J 131 || Ch: WCh: Pr kēmò, Su {Tk.} kḥ:m v. 'fill', ? Wng {Sh.} kḥmsák id. || CCh: Gudu {ChL} kīma 'all' ¶ Ftz. P 36, Tk. CDAS 121, ChC s.v. 'to fill', ChL III 79' ¶¶ Tk. I 43 (Eg, Pr) || ¶ *k'am ∇ 'together, all' > M *qamu- v. 'gather together' > MM [HI] qamu-, WrM {MED} qamu-, HIM xama- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'загребать\захватывать всё', Brt xama-xa baxu- 'to seize everything' (baxu- means 'zusammenpressen'), Kl {KRS} xam- 'собирать вместе', {Rm.} xama- 'sammeln, zusammenraffen'; M *qamug 'all, whole; everyone, everything' (←b or b→ T?) > WrM {MED} qamug, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xamaγ id., Kl {KRS} xamγ id., {Rm.} xamaγ 'alle, all', MM [HI] qamuγ 'tous', Ord xamuq 'tous, tout'; M *qamsu- > WrM {MED} qamsu- 'be united\combined, come\be together', HIM xamsa- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be united, take part, act together with sb. else', Brt xamha- 'do sth. together with sb. else', Kl {Rm.} xamsa- '(etwas) zusammen mit einem andern machen, mit vereinten Kräften etwas ausführen', Ord xamž_i- 'se joindre a qn pour l'aider, s'aider l'un l'autre pour venir à bout de qch., prêter aide, aider'; M *qamtu > MM [MA, HI] qamtu, WrM qamtu {MED} 'together, jointly', HIM xamt {MED, BMR} id., Brt xamta 'together', Kl {KRS} xamt id., {Rm.} xamta 'alle zusammen, alle auf einmal', Mnr H {T} xamdu 'together', {SM} xamd_i, xamd_u 'ensemble, en commun', Mgl {Rm.} qamtu, Dx hantu, Ba hamte 'together', Ord xamt'ḥ 'ensemble' ¶ Ms. H 87, MED 924-6, BMR IV 32-3, 35, Chr.542-3, 545, KRS 573-4, KW 164-5, T 373, T DnJ 140, T BJ 150, SM 153, Ms. O 331-2 || NaT *Kamug 'all, whole' > OT, MQp qamuγ 'all', Chg qamug ~ qamiγ 'all', OOSm qamu 'all, the whole', Tk †, Δ kamu, Shor qamiq, SY qamiγ 'all', StAlt qamiq 'much, multitude', Xk xamiχ, Tv xamiq 'all', Yk xamiy-, xomuy- {Pek.} 'gather', {JkR} 'gather (the harvest), arrange, put in order' ¶ Cl. 627, ET KQ 243-4, Rh. 1473, DTS 414-16, TrR 504, TvR 467, Rs. W 229, Pek. 3291-2, JkR 478. 496 ¶ The word belongs here unless it is an early loan from MPrs hmʔg [hamāg] (as Cl. believes), which is unlikely in view of its presence in Tv and Yk. It may also be a loan from M *qamug (F above). Tv χ- (for the expected q-) suggest that the T word is a loan || Tg *kamur_i, 'together' > Ul, Ork qamor ~ qamur_i, Nn qamor ~ qamur

'together'; ds: Ork *qamur-* 'be united', Nn *qamorıgo-* 'be united; WrMc {Z} *камчи-* 'unite, gather together' ¶ STM I 371, Z 259-60 || ?σ pJ *kamà-
pa- v. 'arrange, set up' > OJ *камапа-*, MJ *kàmàpa-* id., J T *kamaé-*, J K
kámáé-, J Kg *kàmàè-* {S} id., {Kenk.} 'set up (a house), construct' ¶ Mr.
703, Kenk. 804-5 ¶¶ SDM 639-40 (pA *kàma v. 'unite', 'together' > Tg
*kamur-, M *qamu- 'gather', T, J), Pp. VG 67-8, KW 164, Vld. 391, Ci.
EApk 88 ¶¶ For the semantic change pA 'together, all' > J 'arrange' cp.
Yk *хаму-* ~ *хому-* 'gather (the harvest), arrange, put in order' ||
U *°k¹a¹mE- > Sm *°k¹z¹m- > Ng {HL} *kamsür-* 'be united with', *kamsaru-*
vt. 'add, join (присоединить)', *kamsü?maladesa* 'to unite with oneself
(объединить с собой)' ¶ HL US 118.

886. *kämê (or *kamê) 'blood' > U *°ka_{L:J}me 'blood' > Sm *kzm
({HL} *kēm), {Jn.} *kz_{L:J}m id. > Ne T *xám'*, Ne O {Lh.} *χ̄m'*, Ne F {Lh.}
kîē·m, Ng {Ter, Mik.} *kām* id., En {HL} *keʔo* 'coagulated blood', En X {Cs.}
kîĩ, En B {Cs.} *kiĩ*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *kzm*, Kms {KD} *k'zm* ~ *k'ēm*, Koyb
{Sp.} *камъ* 'blood', Mt {HL} *kzm 'blood' (Mt M {Sp.} *кемъ* id., Mt K
{Pl.} *гомду* 'his blood') ¶ Jn. 65, HL TO 43, HL M no. 477, KP 90 [no.
491], Cs. 81, KKIH 116 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} *кэминь* 'coagulated blood;
brain covered with blood' ¶ Z 270, STM I 448 || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Tal
{IL} *k^hiēm*, {Sch.} *k^hiēm* 'blood' || ECh: Smr {J} m. *k^ωamgē*, f. *kòm^ωín*, pl.
k^ωamg^Λd^Λ, *kòm* 'red' || CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} *kzémé* 'red' || ?φ Higi {ChL}: HgF
ʒémú, FIG *ʒém(i)*, Kps *ʒùme*, HgG *xùme* 'red' ¶ JI II 30, ChC s.v. 'blood'
and 'red', ChL || ? Eg fP *cmɛ* 'red, ruddy' ¶ EG V 369, Fk. 304 ¶¶ NrOm:
not here the Anf {Gt.} word '*ki mā* 'menstruazione' (Gt. 354), which is
identical with Anf {MYTY} *qimmo* 'dirt' (MYTY 118) and belongs together
with Shn *kīmà* 'Dreck' (Lm. Sh 326) || ?μ D *kem- ({ʔGS} *k-) 'red' >
Tm, MI *cem-*, Tu *kem-*, Tl *kem'* - (in a few composita) 'red' ¶¶ D no.
1931 ¶¶ The D cognate is valid unless *kem- is an extension of D *ke-
'red' > Tm, MI *ce-* etc. (D no. 1931) ◇ WrMc -э- and D *-e- suggest a
N front vw., while U *a may go back to N *ä (regr. as.). But if the D
cognate is rejected, there is an alt. hypothesis: N *kamê > U *ka_{L:J}me and
WrMc {Z} *кэм-* (regr. as. of the vw. from *kamê). The comparison with
D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. C). But D *kem- is a qu. cognate both for
phonetic reasons (*e instead of *a < N *ä) and because it is likely to be
an extension of D *ke-, *key- 'red' ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 45 (*kem 'blood').

886a. *kæm∇ 'to bite' > A *k_æma|o {SDM} *k_ëma|o 'gnaw, bite' > NaT
*¹k¹æmir- v. 'gnaw' > OT {Cl.} *kämür-*, Chg *kemür-*, Tk *gemir-*, Tkm,

Qmq gemir-, Az ġämīr-, VTt, Bsh kim̄ir-, Qzq кемір-, Uz kem̄ir-, ET kemī(r)-, Ggz, Kr, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt kemir-, Xk kim̄ir-, Tv xemir-, Tf {∂Cs.} hemir- id. ¶ Rs. W 251, ET VGD 18-19, TL 262, Pp. MA 215 || M: [1] M *kemki- 'bite, gnaw, (?) Knochen zerhauen' > WrM кемкі- {MED} 'bite, snap with the jaws', HIM хэмхэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'bite, gnaw', vt. 'wound' (of a beast), Kl {KRS} кемк- 'bite' (of dogs), {Rm.} кемкі- 'nagen, fressen, kauen, Knochen zerhauen', d.: Ord к'емк'хел- 'mordre à plusieurs reprises' (p. ex. a dog); M б→ WrMc {Z} кэмки- 'bite, grasp by teeth'; [2] M *kemī|ele- 'gnaw, nibble, chew' > MM [MA] kemile-, WrM кемели- {MED} id., HIM хэмлэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'bite, gnaw', 'nibble grass' (a horse), Brt химэл- 'gnaw (Грызть)', Ba камәл- id., Kl {Rm.} кемл- 'nagen; an Knochen nagen; Nüsse knacken', 'an seinem Zaumzeug kauen' (a horse); M б→ Yk kömüllā- id.; [3] ?σ Dg keme- 'chew the cud' (contamination with M *kebi- 'chew' < N *k̄ābʔā 'bite', q.v. ffd.)? ¶ Pp. MA 215, MED 451-2, BMR IV 216-18, Chr. 572, KRS 203, KW 225, Ms. O 413, T DgJ 149 || pJ {S} kām- 'bite' > OJ kam-, MJ kām-ú, J: T/Kg kám-, K/Y kām-, kamicuku, Ns kām̄-, Sh kánā's, kán-, Ht kām- ¶ S AJ 264 [no. 7], S QJ no. 7, Mr. 703, Kenk. 812 ¶¶ SDM 662 (pA *kēma|o 'gnaw, bite' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 759, S AJ 112, 274 [no. 6], KW 225, TL 262 || IE: NaIE *g̃embʰ- 'bite, tear asunder' (× N *k̄ābʔā 'to bite') > Arm Ժամեմ camem 'I chew' (aor. Ժամեցի camecʰi), Ժամելի cameli 'jaw, cheek' || OI jambhatē 'snaps at', {P} 'schnappt', caus. Vd jam'bhayati 'crushes to pieces', Av hām ... zambayaδwem 'zertrümmert!' (inv. 2p) || Lt 1s pres. žembiū / inf. žem̃bti 'cut to pieces' || Sl 1s pres. *zēb-ŋ / inf. *zē-ti 'tear asunder, lacerate' > OCS 1s pres. зѣбѣ zēb-ŋ / inf. *зѣти zē-ti 'lacerare', R зябѣ, Uk зя'бля 'land ploughed in autumn for spring sowing'] ⇨ *g̃ombʰo-s 'tooth' (× NaIE *genbʰ- /*gnobʰ- 'peg, stick' < N *g̃än, 'p' 'stem, stick, stake, picket', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h' 'tooth, tusk' || Gk γόμφ-ύο-ς 'grinder tooth, molar', Gk γόμφο-ς {EI} 'large wedge-shaped bolt or nail' || pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhēmb, G dhamb 'tooth' || Sl *zǫbъ (gen. *zǫ'ba) id. > OCS зѣбѣ zǫbъ, Blg зъб, SCr zǫb, Slv zōb, Cz, Slk zub, P zaб, R, Uk зуб id. || Blt *žambas 'tooth' (б→ BltF *šambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zōbs id., Lt žam̃bas 'sharp corner, edge', d. žam̃bis 'wooden plough' || OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kamb, Nnr kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb || pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc

B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369 (on *ġemb^h-, *ġomb^ho-), M K I 419, F I 319-20, Kb. 527, Lx. 107, O 82, StSS 242, 257, 407, 466, Glh. 699-702, BER I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5 and XXVI 115, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106 and 110-11, Vr. 299, Ho. 43, Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slr. 254-5, Wn. I 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, ≠ P 382 (without distinguishing IE *ġeb^h- 'eat, gnaw, chew' from *ġep^(h)- ~ *ġeb^h 'jaw, mouth') || HS: C: EC {Ss.} pcv. *-k₀m/*-k₁m- 'chew, bite, eat' (× N *K₁'o'mh₁∇ [or *K₁'o'mx₁∇?] 'eat, swallow'??) > Sa pcv. -q₀m-, Af pcv. -okm- 'chew, bite, eat', Rn {Ss.} -aħam-/-uħum- 'chew', {PG} -aħam- 'eat (sth.)', scv.: Dsn k₀m- 'eat' (k- is due to the former clustering of *k₁ and *m), Or kam- 'chew čat', Kns q₀m- 'chew', Brj k₁ām- 'eat, chew', ? Sd {Gs.} k₁āma 'eat\drink sth. mixed with sth. else' (unless the Bj and Sd words are borrowed from EthS?), ?ϕ Arr {Hw.} -ohom-/-aham- (= [-o'ħo'm-]/[-ā'ħā'm-]) pcv. 'eat' ¶ The EC glottalized cns. *k₁ belongs to the heritage of N *K₁'o'mh₁∇ ¶ Ss. PEC 25, Ss. B 121-2, 124, PG 62, Gs. 255, Hw. A 263-5, To. DL 512 || Ch: ECh: Smr {J} k^ω Ām 'eat (soft things)' ||| CCh: ZmB {J, Sa.} k₁ām 'eat (hard things)' ¶ Smr k^ω- is due to contamination with N *K₁'o'mh₁∇ (or *K₁'o'mx₁∇?) '↑?' ¶ JI II 119 and 121, ChC s.v. 'eat (soft food)' and 'eat (hard food)' ¶¶ SDM 662, S AJ 112, 274, KW 225 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 59 (*kem 'chew') (A, CK, EA + err. IE *kemə- 'hum').

887. ₂ *kEm∇ (or *kEmho) 'kin, family', 'to give birth' > IE *ġemH_x-, {EI} *ġemH-, {JpV.} *ġemH^ω- (= {Pv.} *ġem-A₁^ω-) 'marry' (of a male) > NaIE *ġem-/ *ġme- ({ϑPv.} *ġemə-) 'marry', 'relative, relative-in-law' > Vd j₁ā'mi-h₁ 'related' (brother and sister), OI (post-Vd) j₁ā'mi-h₁ 'daughter-in-law', Av z₁āmāoyā- 'son-in-law's brother', OI 'j₁āmātā / j₁āmātār-, Av z₁āmātār- 'son-in-law', NPrs د₁م₁د₁ dāmād {VI., BM} id., 'bride-groom', {Sg.} 'son-in-law; wooer, lover' ||| Gk γαμέω (aor. ἔ-γῆμα, Gk D ἔ-γῆμα) 'marry, take a wife' (of a man), γαμέτης 'husband, spouse', γάμος 'wedding', γαμβρός 'son-in-law, brother-in-law' || partially contaminated with IE *ġenH- 'give birth' (< N *k₁ānhæ id., 'acquire new relatives', q.v. ffd., whence L gener / -ī 'son-in-law', Ltv z₁nōts, Lt Žéntas 'daughter's husband', Sl *z₁e₁t₁ id., 'bridegroom', as well as AnIE: Ht kaena 'a relative-in-law, kinsman' [mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'], Ld k₁āna [a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband']) ¶¶ WP I 574-5, P 369-70, EI 369, Szem. KT § 20.3.1, M K I 430, VI. I 796-7, Horn 117, F I 287-8, WH I 590, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, Pv. IV 12-14, Ts. E I 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || HS: S *^okim- > Ak foAk/OB kimtu ~ kimatu

~ kintu 'family, kin', Ak LB kīmu 'family' ¶ CAD VIII 375-7, Sd. I 479
 || C: Ag: Aw {CR} kaman-, Bln/Q {R} kabən- 'give birth', Km {CR} kəban- 'mettre bas, être en couches, accoucher' || Dhl kēm- id. || SC: Asa komit- id. ¶ R WB 211-12, R QW 81, CR :LK 211, E SC 243, AD SF 65
 ◇ Identical with N *kāmê 'blood'? ◇ If Pv.'s rec. of IE *ǵemh^ω- (his *ǵem-A₁^ω-) is right, the N rec. must be *kEmHo. But in this case the absence of an Inlaut vw. in Ak kīmtu is strange. The only N lr. conceivable here is *h (it is regularly lost in Ak, but yields *ə in NaIE).

888. UA₂ *kōm∇ 'sth. hollow' > U: FU *k^o1m∇ 'hollow' (n., adj.) > F komi, komo id. || Chr H {Rm.} kom in palkom 'sky, the vault of heaven', koman 'with vaulted surface' §|| Os: V kōm in r+tkom 'Raum unter einem umgestülpten Boot', D χom, Kz χōm 'hollow\concavity (e.g. under an overturned boat)', V kōmər 'hollow under ice', Vy kōməl 'concavity' || Hg homorú 'hollow, concave' ¶ UEW 227 || A *k'Um∇ 'hollow, cavity' > Tg *kum- > Ewk kumηa 'hollow (in a tree); hole, burrow (of an animal)', ? Lm kumtutti 'precipice', WrMc {Hr} kumduh 'Leere', {STM} kumduh adj. 'empty, hollow (пустой, порожний, полый)' ¶ STM I 431, 450, Hr 600 || pKo {S} *kum- 'cavity (впадина), hole' > MKo kumk, kumú (kumúk-), NKo kuməη id. ¶ S QK no. 196, Nam 59, 63, MLC 201 || pJ {S} *kúma 'inner angle, cavity' > OJ kuma, MJ kúmá id., J: T kumá, K kúma {S} id., StJ {Kenk.} kuma 'corner' ¶ S QJ no. 255, Kenk. 1102 || M *kōmügE₁уE₁ > WrM {BMR} kōmūgī, HIM {BMR} хөмөг, Brt хүмэг 'gorge, ravine, canyon, cleft (ущелье, теснина, расселина)', Ord k'ōmögī 'le penchant d'une montagne\colline', ??σ WrM {MED} kōmūg, kōmūgēi 'overhang of a mountain', 'shed', 'roof' (esp. 'roof over a portico'), 'eaves; awning, canopy', ?σ Kl Ö {Rm.} χōngā 'hölenformige Vertiefung' ¶ MED 487, BMR IV 136, Chr. 620, KW 193, Ms. O 427 ¶¶ SDM 737 (pA *k'ú|ómi 'hollow, cavity, inner angle' > M *kōmüg, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 918 ◇ Resh. NNE no. 4 (A, U) ◇ Cf. also HS: S: Ar kumm-at- 'round cap', kimm- 'calyx of a flower, envelope of the palm blossom' (BK II 927, Hv. 664), but these words are more likely to be derived from Ar ✓kmm 'cover'.

889. *k^u1m∇ (L∇) '(stinging) insect' > U: FU *^okum∇1∇ ~ *^okam∇1∇ > ObU *kǫm∇1∇k ~ *kāmālak 'beetle' > pVg {Ht.} *kǫmlāk > Vg: P komlax, Yk {Vxr.} xomlax ~ xōmlax, NV komlāk ≙ komlāk, SV komlāk, LL kamlāk, Ss xomlax id.; pOs {Ht.} *kamālkay > Os: V/Vy qaməlq+, Ty qāməlq+, Y qāməlq+, D χōməlχay ≙ χāməlχay, K χōməlχāy, Nz χōməlχa,

Kz χōmæ]χα 'small insect, beetle' ¶ Ht. no. 269, BV 137, Trs. VD 146, Trs. S 144, Stn. D 496-7 || **A** *k'ûm∇ (Í∇) 'insect, spider' > T *°Kum- -d→ **[1]** T *°Kumíuy (< N *k'u'm∇ L∇?) > OT {Cl.} qumšuy 'louse' or 'tick' ¶ Cl. 629; **[2]** T *Kumir 'ant' > OT qumursça, MT qumursça ~ qumursça, Tk Δ kumursça, Slr qumusqa ~ qumusqən, Xlj gumurṽāč, Uz, Qrg qumursqa, Nog, Qzq qumirsqa, Kr qumurstqa, QrB qumirsqa ~ qumirsça, Qmq χumursça, VTt кырмыска, Bsh кымырçка qimirθqa, Xk χumusqa ~ χimisça, Shor qimistaš ~ qumistaš, StAlt qomursqa, Tv qimisqayaq, Tf himisqa', Yk kimirdaças id. ¶ Cl. 628, ET Q 140-1, TL 183-4, Rs. W 300, Ra. 193, BR 358; **[3]** OT kōmīčē 'gnat' ¶ Cl. 722 || NrTg *kumi_Lr_J, *kumir-kēn > Ewk kumikēn, Ewk Brg kumir, kumirkēn '(small) insect', Sln χumīχz 'ant'; Tg *kum∇ (-ke) 'louse' > Orc kumə, Ewk, Lm, Neg kumkə, Sln χuηkə, Nn KU kuηkə, Ud X/A kumugə, Ud A kumə 'louse'; NrTg *kime ({SDM} *kü|ime) > Ewk kimāyə 'gnat. mosquito', Lm kimə 'flea', ? Neg kimkay 'worm' ¶ STM I 394, 430 || pKo: **[1]** pKo {S} *kəmərí 'leech' > MKo {S} kəmərí, NKo kəməri id. ¶ S QK no. 972, Yu 41, Nam 32, MLC 84 || **[2]** pKo {SDM} *kəmíi 'spider' > MK kəmíi, NKo kəmi id. ¶ Nam 32, MLC 84 || M: WrM kōmōrege {Cev.} 'ε parasitic worm in the liver', HIM {Cev.} χəmpəγ xəmrög id. ¶ Cev. 710 || pJ *kùmuâ 'spider' > OJ kum_Lω_Jo, MJ kùmó, J T kúmo, J K kùmô, J Kg kumó id. ¶ S AJ 272, Kenk. 1104 ¶¶ SDM 704 (pA *k_Juma|o or *k_Joma|o 'blood-sucking insect' > Ko *kəmərí 'leech', Tg *kü|ime, T *°Kumíuy), DQA no. 847, ≈ SDM 738-9 (pA *ku|omi or *k_Jumi 'ε insect' > pKo {SDM} *kəmíi 'spider', pJ *kùmuâ id., Tg *kumke 'louse', M *°kōmōrege 'ε parasitic worm in the liver', T *Kumir 'ant'), ≈ S AJ 290 [no. 378] (A *ku|üm∇) || **HS:** S *√klm ~ WS *√q̄lm ~ WS *√q̄ml: **[1]** *√klm > Ak kalmatu 'parasite, louse (on animals, plants and human beings)', JA **קַלְמָא** kal'mā, **קַלְמָא'תָּא** kalmə'tā 'vermin', (as. *-lm- > -nm-): Mh {Jo.} kənəmūt (pl. kə'nawm), Bth {Jo.} kənəmīt, Jb E {Jo.} 'šinit, Jb C {Jo.} 'šinit, Sq {L} 'konəmə 'louse', BHb **קִנְנָא** kin'nām 'gnats' (acc. to the versions in LXX, Vulg., Philo and Origen) or 'lice' (acc. to Psh. and Trg.), MHb **קַנְיָמָא** kə'nim'mā 'worm'; **[2]** *√q̄ml ~ *q̄lm > OA q̄ml 'louse', JA **קַלְמָא'תָּא** q̄almə'tā 'vermin', Sr {PS} **قَلَمَاء** q̄al'mā 'louse', Ar qamlat- 'louse', coll. qamlat- 'lice, louse', Sb q̄mlt, q̄lm, q̄lmt 'insect pests, (?) locusts', Gz q̄wəməl ~ kəməl 'louse' ¶ CAD VIII 86-7, HJ 1013, Js. 645, 1378, Sl. 1021, PS 3635, Fr. III 500, BK II 816, BGMR 105, L G 432, L LS 221, Jo. M 212, KB 461, KBR 483, BDB 487-8 [no. 3654] || ???σ Eg

kmy 'ε snake' ¶ Mks III no. 4395 || C: EC {Ss.} *kilm- 'tick (insect)' > Af {PH} kilim, -i 'ticks', Sa {R} kilin, Brj 'šilm-ā, pSam {Hn.} *čilim > Sml N šílín (pl. šílmó), Rn {Oo.} č'ilim, {PG} č'ilím, Bn šílm-í 'tick', Arr silmé, Or 'silm-i? 𐤔 šilm-a / šilm-ī, {Grg.} silmī, Or WI {Brl.} silmi id., Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} šilmī 'small tick (on cows)' ¶ Bl. 156, 190, Ss. PEC 13, Ss. B 173, Hn. S 77, PG 85, Abr. S 232, PH 147, Oo. 72, 393, Grg. 358, Brl. 374, Sr. 389 || Ch: CCh: Bdm komāli 'black ant' ||| WCh: Hs kùmā 'flea (of rats, dogs)', Gw {Mts.} kuma 'flea of dogs' ¶ ChL, Ba. 637, Mts. G 68 ¶¶ In S and WCh there are root variants with secondary glottalization (*ḳ- for the expected *k-) of tabuistic and "expressive" origin and/or due to contamination with different roots ◇ The vw. *a in FU *°kaṃ∇∇ (> ObU *kāmaḷək and *kamaḷkay) requires explanation ◇ IS I 308-9 [no. 180] (? *ḳaṃ 'stinging insect'; HS [S, C, Ch], A).

890. *kū₁'ṛ'₁mâ 'man, person' > K: GZ {K, FS} *kmar-, {GM} *kmar- ~ *kmar- 'husband' > OG, G kmar-i, Mg, Lz komožī ~ komonžī, Lz kimožī 'husband', Lz i-komož-u 'married' (a woman); K *°km-∫- > Mg komoli ~ kumoli, Mg BM komoi 'man (male person)', Lz komoli ~ kimoli 'husband' ¶ K 198, Chik. 34-5, FS K 337-8, FS E 379, GM S 462, Q 345 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Zar K gumān 'husband' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} kùmā, ? Mgm {J} g'imú, ? Bdy {AJ} g'ēṇ, g'ēmò 'man (person)' ¶ JI II 267, JA LM 87, AJ 77, ChC s.v. 'man' and 'husband' ||| **IE:** NaIE *g̃^hom-/*g̃^hm- 'man (person)' > OL hemō 'person', accus. hemōnem (preserved in L nēmō 'nobody' < **ne-hemō), L homō (gen. hominis) 'person', Osc humuns 'homines', Um homonus 'hominibus' ||| Gt guma (· ἀνὴρ) 'Mann', ON gumī, OSx gumo, AS zuma, OHG gomo 'person, man'; cd words: OSx brūdi-gomo, OHG brūti-gomo, NHG Bräuti-gam, AS brūd-zuma 'bridegroom', NE bridegroom ||| Olt žmuō, accus. [Dk.] žmūni, Lt pl. žmónēs 'men', sg. (d.) žmogūs ~ žmōgus 'person', (d.) žmonà 'woman', Pru smūni [zmūni] 'person' (accus.?), smoy ([z-]; {P}: to read smoa?) 'Mann' ¶ But pTc *śāumō (> Tc A śom 'young man', Tc B śaumō [pl. śāmna] 'person. man') is better interpreted (after Wn. and Ad.) as d. from Tc *śáu- 'live' < IE *g^ωiou- 'live' ¶ P 415, WH I 654-5, Bc. G 337, Fs. 225-6, Vr. 194, Ho. 140, Ho. S 10, 29, Kb. 399, Schz. 103, 152, KM 97-8, Frn. 1319-20, En. 251, Ped. TIE 108, Wn. I 486, Ad. 636, Ad. H 118 ¶ In IE the labial element of N *ū disappeared due to the law ruling out sequences of two sonants in one √ (N *kū₁'ṛ'₁mâ > **g̃^heum- > *g̃^hem-) ¶ ≠ EI 366 (*d^hg̃^hmō-on 'man' < d-

*d^hǵ^hom- 'earth'), 248 (*d^hǵ^hemon 'man' ← *d^hǵǵ^h(e)men 'on[to] the ground'). An alternative solution of the problem is to reconstruct N *kū^ʳǵ^ʳmâ with *ǵ lost (quite regularly) in K, Ch, A and U || A *k'Um∇ > M *kümü-n (pl. *kümü-s) 'person' > MM [MA] kũmũn, [IsV] kũmũ, [HI] ǵũ^ʳũn, WrM {MED} kũmũn 'man, person' (pl. kũmũs 'Leute'), HIM {MED} ×ΥΗ 'man, person', {BMR} 'Mensch, Leute', {BMR} ×ΘΜΥΥΗ 'Mensch', MMgl kũ, Dx {T} kun, Dg {Mr.} χũ, {T} kũ ~ χũ, Ba {T} kuη id., Mnr H {T} kun 'man, person', {SM} k'un 'homme, personne', Ord k'ũn 'être humain, homme, personne' ¶ Pp. MA 441, Lg. VMI 52, Iw. 114, MED 501, BMR IV 186, Mr. D 25, SM 211, T 341, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, T DgJ 150, Ms. H 59, Ms. O 436 || Tg *komâ > Neg komo 'relatives, kinsmen', Nn Bk qomolj 'great-great-grandson' ¶ STM I 409 || ?? T *Kũ_ũn {SDM} 'people' > OT U elǵũn, OT Kr el kũn, MT el ωa kũn id., {DTS} OT el kũn 'people (Volk), {RI.} OT äI kũn 'Volk' ¶ DTS 168-9, RI. II 1435-6, Rs. W 309, TL 317, Cl. 121-2, 725-6 (rejecting the reading of el k i n and its interpretation as 'prople'), Dr. TM III 656-7 ¶¶ SDM 705-6 (pA *kǵúne 'person; people, country' > M *kümün, T *Kün + unc. M *küũn 'person', Tg *kũn 'relative, kinsman' and pJ *kúni 'country'), DQA no. 849 (id.), ≠ SDM97 s.v. *kiηo 'person; people, country' (A *kǵúne; unc. comparison of M and T *kümü-n with Tg and J *K-n-roots) || U *k'o^ʳm∇ 'man, person' > pZ *kɔm- ({JLg} *kɔm-) 'person' > Z, Prmk komi, Yz 'komi 'a Komi person (= Ziryene, Permyak and Yazvian)'; Vt kum in set phrases: v+ž+ kum 'a kinsman' (v+ž+ 'root, kin'), {W} sara kum 'Ziryene people' || Vg: T kom, LK xom, Yk {Vxr.} ×ΘΜ xǵm, P kum, Ss xum 'man (male person)', P k+m 'husband' || OHg hím 'male (animal)', Hg hím id., adj. 'male' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} qum / qup 'person' (morphophonemic variants; on their distribution *see* KHG 143-4), Ke qum, Tur qup id., Tm {KD} kop 'person, man, husband' ¶¶ Coll. 14, UEW 168 (reconstructing *koɥ(e)-m∇ without any direct ev. of *-ɥ-, only on the basis of a supposed derivational link with *koɥe 'man, person'), LG 132, BV 143. EWU 559, KKIH 165 ◇ The U and Tg back vw. *o is probably due to the infl. of the stem-final back vw.: N *kũ_ũǵ^ʳmâ > *komâ ◇ The unexpected IE *ǵ^h- and the initial cns. ǵ- in several Ch lges (rather than IE *ǵ- and Ch *k- [both from N *k-]) may go back to an initial cluster *kǵ- < N *kũ^ʳǵ^ʳ- (with further as. *kǵ- > *ǵ-). Another possible explanation of the inirial IE *ǵ^h-: a kind of folk-etl. connection with a different word, possibly with *ǵ^hdem-/ *ǵ^hdom- ({EI} *d^hǵ^hom-) 'earth', like in Hb: ǵā^ʳdām

'person' linked by folk et. with $\text{?}^{\text{a}}\text{d}\bar{\text{a}}^{\text{1}}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'earth' (in fact both going back to the S root $\text{*}\check{\text{?}}\text{dm}$ 'red') \diamond AD LRC no. 154 (IE, K, M, ??U), \neq S NSShS no. 5 (unc. comparison of M $\text{*k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{m}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{-n}$ [allegedly from $\text{*k}_1^{\text{1}}\text{u}\eta\text{i}$] with IE $\text{*gen}\bar{\text{a}}$ - 'be born' [see N $\text{*k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}h\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'give birth'] and GZ *gen - 'calf [suckling]', v. 'make suck') \diamond \approx Gr. II no. 292 ($\text{*kum} \sim \text{*kun}$ 'person') (IE, U, A, CK + err. Ko, J).

891. $\text{*k}\nabla\text{m}\check{\text{c}}\nabla$ (or $\text{*}\check{\text{K}}\nabla\text{m}\text{c}\nabla$) 'to jump' > K $\text{*}\text{ok}\nabla\text{n}\check{\text{c}}$ - > Mg $\text{ken}\check{\text{c}}$ - v. 'jump' ¶ Q 342 || HS: WS $\text{*}\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\check{\text{c}} \sim \text{*}\text{okmz}$ > Ar $\check{\text{q}}\text{m}\check{\text{s}}$ v. 'galoper, aller au galop', IA [Frh.] $\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\check{\text{s}}$ 'grasshopper', Gz $\check{\text{k}}\text{n}\check{\text{s}}$ 'leap, spring away', Jb C/E $\check{\text{k}}\text{mz}$ 'jump': Jb C pf. $\check{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{z}$, 3m subj. $\check{\text{y}}\check{\text{k}}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{z}$, pres. $\check{\text{y}}\check{\text{q}}\text{km}\check{\text{z}}$ 'jump', Jb E $\check{\text{k}}\text{mz}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}$ 'a leap' ¶ L G 435, Di. 450, Jo. J 132, Jo. M 212, HJ 1013, BK II 813 \diamond In the descendant lges there is progressive (N $\text{*k}\dots\check{\text{c}} > \text{*k}\dots\text{c}$) and regr. (N $\text{*k}\dots\check{\text{c}} > \text{*}\check{\text{k}}\dots\check{\text{c}}$) assimilation.

892. $\text{*kam}\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$ (or $\text{*}\check{\text{K}}\text{am}\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$) '(sth. connected with) a hand or an arm' > HS: S $\text{*}\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{1}} \sim \text{*}\text{okm}\hat{\text{s}}$ 'handful' (different directions of as. from $\text{*}\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{1}}$?) > [1] S $\text{*}\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{1}}$ - > BHb $\check{\text{q}}\text{om}\epsilon\check{\text{c}}$ 'handful', Ak NB $\check{\text{k}}\text{en}\check{\text{s}}\text{u}$ id. (?) (\leftarrow Aram?), $\text{?}\sigma$ Ug $\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\check{\text{s}}$ 'un montón de' (a measure); BHb, JA $\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\check{\text{c}}\text{G}$ 'enclose with the hand, take a handful/fistful', JEA {Sl.} $\check{\text{k}}\text{m}\check{\text{c}}\text{G}$ 'take a handful'; [2] S $\text{*}\text{kum}_1\nabla_1\hat{\text{s}}$ - > Ar $\text{kum}\check{\text{s}}\text{-at-un}$ 'handful' ¶ KB 1036, BK II 929, Js. 1386, Sl. 1026, HJ 1036, OLS 368, CAD XIII 209 || A: M $\text{*qam}\check{\text{c}}\text{u}_1\text{y}_1\text{n}$ 'sleeve' > MM [MA] $\text{qan}\check{\text{c}}\text{u}(\text{n})$ [IM] $\text{qan}\check{\text{c}}\text{u}$, [IsV] $\text{qan}\check{\text{c}}\text{i}\text{n}$, WrM {MED} $\text{qam}\text{cu}\text{i} \sim \text{qancu}\text{i} \sim \text{qancu}$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\text{xan}\check{\text{c}}\text{y}\check{\text{i}}$, Brt xamsy , WrO $\text{xan}\text{ca}(\text{n})$ id., Kl {KRS} $\text{xan}\check{\text{c}}\text{n}$ id., {Rm.} xanca , $\text{xan}\text{c}\eta$ 'Ärmel', MMgl {Iw.} $\text{qam}\check{\text{c}}\text{i}$, Mgl {Rm.} $\text{qam}\check{\text{c}}\text{i} \sim \text{qam}\check{\text{c}}\text{u}$, Dx $\text{qan}\check{\text{z}}\text{un}$, Ba $\text{qan}\check{\text{z}}\text{o}\eta$, Dg {Pp.} $\text{xan}\check{\text{c}}\text{'i}$ 'sleeve', Mnr H {T} $\text{xan}\check{\text{z}}\text{i}$ id., {SM} $\text{xan}\check{\text{z}}\text{i}$ 'manche d'habit', Ord $\text{xan}\check{\text{c}}\text{'u}$ id. ¶ Pp. MA 291, 444, Lg. VMI 42, MED 921, 927, BMR 43, Chr. 543, Krg. 233, KRS 576, KW 166, Ms. O 334, Iw. 122-3, SM 156, T 373, T DnJ 116, T BJ 137.

893. $\text{*kom}_1\nabla_1\text{dE}$ 'in basket, vessel' > U: FU *konte 'knapsack of birch bark' (\times N $\text{*kom}_1\nabla_1\text{t}\nabla$ 'to cover; lid, cover') > F kontti id. | Prm $\text{*kud}\nabla$ > Vt $\text{kud}\dagger$ 'bast basket', Vt Sr 'in large basket', Z kud 'bent basket of bast, (wickered) bast basket (лукoшкo)', Z Vm kuda 'large wooden box for flour and corn, пудовкa' ||| ? amb ObU {Ht.} $\text{*k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{nt} \sim \text{*k}\bar{\text{f}}\text{nt}$ 'large basket carried on the back' > pVg $\text{*k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{nt}$ > Vg: T $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{nt}$, LK $\text{x}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{t}$, MK kut , UK $\text{k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{t}$, P kunt id.; pOs $\text{*k}\bar{\text{f}}\text{nt}$ > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y $\text{q}\bar{\text{f}}\text{nt}$, D/K $\text{x}\bar{\text{e}}\text{nt}$, Nz $\text{x}\bar{\text{i}}\text{nt}$ id. (\times ObU $\text{*k}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{nt}$ - \sim $\text{*k}\bar{\text{f}}\text{nt}$ - 'carry on the back' < U *kanta - 'carry') ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 124, 177-8, Ht. no. 292, as well as Wc. TLP 76 and LG 741 (both sources

suppose a Chv origin of the Prm word) || **A** *k'oi:;m∇t'∇ 'box (Schachtel)' (× N *kom_l∇_lt'∇ 'to cover; lid, cover') > NaT *Ko_l:;m't'a > QK {Rl.} qomda 'box', Qb {Rl.} qomda 'coffin', SbTt Tb {Rl.} qumta 'ε ein Schächtelchen', SbTt Bkl {Tm.} qumta, SbTt Ltm {Tm.} qunta 'box, bag (коробка, сумка)', Bsh qumta 'small box\case'; Volga Qp *qumta → Chv L кунтă kund_ь ~ кунтăк 'bast basket', Chv Δ контă ɖ контă ɖ комтă ɖ контăк id. ¶ Rl. II 671, 1051, Tm. 133-4, BR 347, Ash. VI 284-5 and 297, Fed. I 307-8, Jeg. 118 (supposing a FU origin of the Chv word), ChVS 96 || **M** *qobdu 'case; box; quiver' (× N *Қор∇ 'trunk, log'??) > MM [MA] qobdu 'quiver for arrows', WrM qobdu {MED} 'case (Futteral); long and narrow box; quiver', HIM ховд {MED, BMR} id., Brt хобто 'box, Futteral, chest (сундук)', Kl {KRS} ховд 'long and narrow box; case (футляр), quiver', {Rm.} хобда 'Köcher, Pfeilbehälter', Ord хоб_d_o 'cercueil' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 949, BMR IV 89, Chr. 575, KW 181, KRS 591, Ms. O 347 || Tg *komtan > Neg komtaxan 'birch bark box for keeping small objects', Nn Nh/KU qomtã {On.} 'a cover (крышка)', {STM} 'a cover (Deckel), box', Orc kumta(n) id. (× Tg *komta- v. 'close, cover', 'lid' < N *kom_l∇_lt'∇ 'to cover', q.v.) ¶ STM I 409, On. 225 || ?σ pJ *kámátí- 'doorframe' > OJ kamati, JT kàmací, JK kámáćí, J Kg kamáćí ¶ S QJ no. 869, ≈ Mr. 431, Kenk. 804 ¶¶ SDM 719 (pA *k'ómt∇ 'box, frame' > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 876 (id.) and DQA no. 877 (A *kùmu 'wrap up, cover' [Tg equated with OT qum-, M *qumi 'fold, gather up, close tightly'], pKo *kàm- v. 'wind around' and pJ *kùm- 'plait, interwine, combine']) || **HS**: S *kand- 'jug' > Ug knd 'jug', Ak NB kandu 'ε a container of earthenware or silver, mainly for wine' (← WS?) ¶ A no. 1337, CAD VIII 148-9, ≠ HJ 487-8 (Ak kandu *← WS *kadd-) ◇ The cns. *-t- in U and A is probably due to contamination with N *kom_l∇_lt'∇ ◇ UEW 177 (FU, T, M, Tg).

894. *kom_l∇_lt'∇ 'to cover; lid, cover' > **U**: FP *komta 'lid, cover' > F kansí (gen. kannen) 'cover, lid, deck', Lv kōńĉ (pl. kōńdād_) 'lid (Deckel)', Es kaas (gen. kaane) 'lid, cover (of a book)' | Lp: K {Gn.} koamploš 'lid (Deckel)', T {Gn.} k'omte 'outer surface', N {N} goaw'de / -wd- 'projecting roof' | Er kundo 'lid (of a trunk, tub)', Mk {Ps.} kunda 'lid' | Chr: L/H комдыш комбъś, Uf комбъś 'lid' | Z kud 'cover, outer surface' ¶ UEW 671, Sm. 552 (FP *komta 'lid'), SK 157, Kt. 150, ERV 314, MRS 213, Ü 73, Ep. 46, LG 143-4, Db. OS x (FU *kamto- > *kamte- / *komta-) || **A**: [1] A *k'om_l∇_lt'∇- v. 'cover' and A *k'oi:;m∇t'∇

'a cover (Deckel)' (× N *kom_l∇_ldE '∈ basket, vessel', which is the main source of the pA n. *k'ó_l:_lm∇t'∇) > Tg *komta- v. 'cover, close' and Tg *komtan 'cover, box (крышка, коробка)' > Orc kumta- v. 'cover, close', Neg komtaxan, Ul qōmta(n), Nn Nh/KU qomtã {On.} 'a cover (крышка)', {STM} 'a cover (Deckel), box', Orc kumta(n) id.; ⇔ Tg *kumta-la- v. 'cover with a lid' > Ul qumtala-, Ork quptala-, Nn Nh/KU qomtala- id. ¶ STM I 409, On. 225 || M: WrM {MED} kōmǔg, kōmǔgei 'shed, roof', esp. 'roof over a portico', n. 'covermshelter', HIM {BMR} хөмөг ~ хөмрөг 'a place to find shelter, Zufluchtsort, Zufluchtstätte (убежище, пристанище; место, где можно укрыться) ¶ MED 487, BME IV 136 || T *ko_l:_lmt∇ 'box (Kasten)' > VTt, Bsh qumta, StAlt qomda, Xk xomdi, Tv xomdu id., Qb {Rs.} komda 'Sarg, Grab' ¶ Tv χ- (for the expected q-) suggests that Tv xomdu is a loan ¶ ET Q 6, Rs. W 279 || pJ *kámátí 'doorframe' (× N *kom_l∇_ldE '∈ basket, vessel', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 719 (pA *k'ómt∇ 'box, frame' > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 876 (id.) and DQA no. 877 (pA *kũmu 'wrap up, cover' [Tg equated with OT qum-, M *qumi 'fold, gather up, close tightly'], pKo *kàm- v. 'wind around' and pJ *kùm- 'plait, interwine, combine') || [2] pA {SDM} *k'u|omi|e 'eyebrows, hair on temples' (in Tg: → 'eyelid') > M *kōmūsge 'eyebrow(s)' > WrM kōmūsge {MED} id., HIM {MED, BMR} хөмсөг id., Brt хүмэдхэ 'надбровные дуги; eyebrows', WrO kũmũske ~ kũmũskũ ~ kōmũskũ id., Kl {KRS} күмсг күмсэг id., {Rm.} күмшкә ~ kōmшкә 'Augenbrauen', Ord k'ōmōsk'xō 'sourcil', Mnr H {SM} k'ūomōsg_ūo 'paupière'; M ⇔ WrMc {Z} хумсууи 'eyelids'; Dg {Mrm.} kumṛk 'eyelid' ¶ Battal IM 250, MED 487, BMR IV 137, Chr. 620, KRS 324, KW 239, 246, MYC 374, SM 213, Ms. O 428, Z 450 || Tg *kumb∇-kte 'eyelid' > Neg kumbuktз, Ul kumbiktз ~ kumtз, Nn Nh/Bk/KU kumuktз 'eyelid(s)', Lm {Pp.} кэмдэмкэ 'eyelids'; Nn Bk kumul-kumul ta- 'close the eyelids tightly' ¶ STM I 447, On. 233 || ?σ pKo {S} *kùmìt 'hair on temples' > MKo kùmìt ~ kumis id.; MKo kuimit^h, (reinterpreted as 'roots of the ears') NKo kuì mit^h [kuimit] 'roots of the ears' ¶ S QK no. 315, Nam 59, 65, MLC 228 ¶¶ SDM 738 (pA *k'u|omi|e 'eyebrows, hair on temples' > Tg *kum-, M *kōmü-, Ko), DQA no. 917, Pp. VG 19, 68 (M and Tg words for 'eyelid'), ADb. ZF 5, TL 214 || HS: S (mt. and as.) *^o✓ktm v. 'cover, close' > Ak ✓ktm (inf. kатāmu) v. 'cover, conceal', kатāmmu n. 'cover, lid (for a kettle or oven)' ¶ CAD VIII 297-303 || ?σ C: Ag: Aw {Beke} kamád 'skin', Knf {TBZAC} gāmād 'bark' (× N *kama 'peel [rind]

[→ 'dandruff, scab'], q.v. ffd.) ◇ Coll. 149 (FU, Tg) → UEW 671 (FU, Tg)

◇ Cp. Gr. II no. 82 (*kōm 'cover') (A, Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

895. *kañ|ń∇ (†∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' (→ 'log') > **HS**: S *kann- '≈ stem' → 'basis' > Ak karnnu 'slip (of a plant), stalk, shoot (of a tree)', Sr ⁹kan'n-ā 'stem (of a tree), stalk, root (of a plant)', JA kan'n-ā {Js.} 'base, stand', JEA {Sl.} kan'n-ā 'stem, stalk, original position', ? BHb T ⁹ken n. 'base, pedestal, office' (the vw. e of BHb T is puzzling) (/ +ppa. BHb {BL H 559} kan'n- and {BL H 563} ken'n-), Md kana 'base, fundament', Tgr ⁹kan-ət (pl. ⁹kənan) 'rowing pole' ¶ Br. 333, JPS 217, BDB 487 (no. 3653), KB 460, KBR 483, Js. 648, Sl. 587, DM 198, LH 416, CAD VIII 157 ¶ There is probably contamination of the S word in question with a different word, meaning '≈ place' || C: Ag {Ap.} *kan- 'tree' > Bln, Xm, Q kana, Aw kanī ¶ Ap. AV 12, R WB 221-2 || ?? WCh: Buli {IL} k⁹índè, {ChL} kíndz 'tree' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'tree' || **D**: [1] (att. in McTm) D *kañn- 'sprout, shoot' > Tm kaññi id., Ml kaññi 'shoot of betel vines' || [2] D *kañ∇kk- 'stick' > Kt kañk 'thin dry sticks', Kn kañike, kañuku 'stalk of millet', kañđike 'stalk, stem', Tu kañaku 'firewood', Tl kañika 'stick', ? Ku kandi 'stick, twig', Krx kañk 'wood, timber', Mlt kanku 'wood' || [3] ??φ D *kāñ- 'forest' > Tm kāñ 'jungle', kāñam 'woodland, grove', Ml kāñam 'jungle', Kn kānu 'forest', Tu kāna 'forest, jungle, wood', Tl kāna 'forest', D ⇨ OI {Tu.} kānana 'forest' ¶ D *kāñ- is a doubtful cognate because of the irregular *-ñ-; if it does not belong here, it may go back to *kā- + marker of obl. cases *-ñ- (< N *nu 'of'), which is suggested by D *kā 'forest' (> Tm, Kn kā 'forest') ¶¶ D no-s 1165, 1185, 1418 and 1454-5 || **U**: FU (+ext.) *kanta 'tree stump, tree trunk' (→ 'basis; Stand, Ständer, Halter') (× N *gUrand∇ 'log, trunk of a tree'??) > F kanta (gen. kannan) 'tree trunk, stem; base; standpoint; heel', kannas (gen. kannaksen) 'tree trunk; end of sleigh runner; neck of a land, isthmus', F kanto (gen. kannon), Es kand (gen. kannu) 'stump' | pLp {Lr.} *kōntōy 'tree stump' > Lp: S {Hs.} goodde, Kld kúñnd- 'windfallen tree', L {LLO} kuottōi id., 'stump', N {N} guod'do 'stump' | Er kando, Mk kanda '(wind)fallen tree' || ObU {Ht.} *kñnt∇ > pVg *kñnt(∇) 'wooden pillar functioning as the vertical support of a storehouse' > Vg: P/NV/LL kñnt, UL xānta id.; pOs *kant > Os: Vy (čoməl-)qant 'each of the two horizontal beams, fixed upon the pillar of a forest storehouse and serving as its base', Ty/Y {Trs.} qānt, Kz χōnt 'pillar of the storehouse', D

χοντ 'lattice base at the bottom of a storehouse (support of its floor)' ¶ UEW 123, Coll. 85, Sm. 543 (FU *kɪntā 'tree stump', FP *kɛnta, Ugr *kɪnta), Lr. no. 522, Lgc. no. 2865, TI 166, Ht. no. 293, Trs. S 144 | | A (+ext.) *kʰantʰE or *kʰæntʰa > Tg *kende- 'threshold' > Neg kɛndɜ, Orc kɛndɜrku ~ kɛndɜr(ɜ)xi, Ul kɛndɜrxi(n-), Nn Nh kɛndɜrxi, Nn Bk kɛndɜtixɜ(n), Ud {Korm.} kondopti id. ¶ STM I 448, Korm. 250 | | T *Kat 'layer, storey (of a house)' > OT qat {Cl.} 'layer, a fold, storey of a house', Az gat, Chv xyr xut ɘ xot 'layer, fold, storey (of a house)', Tkm gat, Uz qat 'layer, fold, row', Tk kat, Ggz kat, Tv qát, Tf qát 'layer, row, storey', ET, SY qat 'layer', Kr Cr, Qrg, StAlt qat, Xq xat 'layer, row', Qmq, Qq, VTt, Bsh qat 'layer, storey', Xlj qāt 'fold', Yk xat 'again' ¶ Rs. W 241, Cl. 593, ET KQ 335-6, Jeg. 310-11, Fed. II 371-2, Ra. 219, TvR 223 | | ?σ pJ *kantuá 'gate' (unless from pA *kayna 'wing' < N *kaʔiñ∇ 'wing, feather') > OJ kadwo, MJ kádó id., J T kádo, J K kádò, J Kg kadó {Kenk.} 'gate, door' ¶ S QJ no. 898, Mr. 460, Kenk. 749 ¶¶ SDM 664 (pA *kenta 'threshold, gate' > Tg, J), ≈ DQA no. 764 (A *kěnt'∇ 'threshold, floor') | | ?AdS of IE: NaIE *og|ǵenb_lh₁- / *og|ǵonb_lh₁- / *og|ǵnob_lh₁- 'peg, stick, piece of wood' (< N *gän_l∇₁ 'p'∇ 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket', q.v. ffd.) > Gmc: OHG kembil 'Fesselblock', ON kumbr 'Holzklotz', kappusteinn 'Rollstein', Dn kapesten id., NE chump; Gmc *knab(b)-, *knap(p)- > NGr Δ Knabe 'Stift, Bolzen', ON knefill 'stake, pole, stick', NHG Knebel 'short and thick packing stick, clog', Sw Δ knape 'Pflock, Knoten'; ON knefill 'pole', MLG knevel 'short and thick transom (kurzes, dickes Querholz)', NHG Knebel 'branch, club', Sw Δ knavel 'thin pole' ¶ P 369, 378-9 ◇ The N postalveolar or palatal *ñ|ń is reconstructed on the ev. of *ñ in D *kaññ- and *kañ∇kk-; in precon. position (U *kanta, D *kämp-) the postalveolarity is lost because of neutralization ◇ If the pA word is *kʰantʰE, Tg *e of the first syll. may be due to reg. as. (infl. of the root-final *E) ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 87, S CNM 4-5 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 76 (N 'forest' > HS, D *kā(ŋ)-).

896. *kʰonE 'to touch' ([in K] → 'work up') > U: FU *kon∇- v. 'touch' > ObU {Ht.} *kǎn- 'anrühren' > pVg *kǎn- id. > Vg: T/P kan-, MK kǎn-; pOs {Ht.} *kǎn- ({Hl.} *kǎn-) id. > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz xǎn- id. ¶ Ht. no. 276, Hl. rHt 71 | | A: M *könüʒe- > WrM könüʒe- {MED} v. 'harm, injure, hurt; torture, mistreat', HIM xəhəə- {MED, BMR} id., WrO {Krg.} kōnō- 'torment, torture, bother', Kl {KRS} kəhə- kōnä- 'suffer, мучиться', Kl B

{Rm.} künē- 'peinigen, martern' ¶ MED 490, BMR IV 140, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 246 ¶ The meaning of the M root suggests infl. on M *kōnde- 'touch, irritate, hurt' (from N *kōñdE 'to harm, to spoil') || K: G (amo-)kn- {Chx.} 'rühren, schlagen (z. B. Eier), einrühren; bearbeiten\gerben (Häute); zer-quetschen\drücken', {DCh.} vt. 'full (woolen cloth), roll (dough), dress (hides)' ¶ Chx. 1566, DCh. 31 ◇ The K cognate is valid if its primary meaning is 'touch'. If this is the case, the N initial cns. is *k-. Otherwise we cannot distinguish between N *k-, *k̥- and *q̥-.

897. *koñi (or *kuñi) 'woman, wife' > IE *g^ʷen(-e^{h1}), {EI} *'g^ʷenh_h / gen. *'g^ʷneh_h-s) 'woman' > NaIE *g^ʷen(-ā) / *gun(-ā) id., gen. *g^ʷn-ās > OI gnā 'goddess, divine female', Av gənā, ʒnā 'wife, woman', OI 'jani-h, Av jāini, NPrs زن zān id. || Arm կիւ կին 'woman' || Gk γυνή 'woman', Gk B βανῆ (< *g^ʷonā) id. || Clt {Matas.} *benā ~ *bena 'woman' > OIr ben (< *g^ʷenā), gen. sg. mná (< *g^ʷn-ās) 'woman, female', Brtt {RE} *benā > OW ben 'woman', benyw id. (← 'féminin'), OCrn benen 'sponsa', MBr berō 'woman', Br e-ben 'his wife' || ??? Al zonjē 'lady, woman' (if from *g^ʷen-ya, as suggested by Ped. GA 324.; but O 526 derived it from IE *wīk̄-pot-ny-ā); Al G grue, Al T grua 'woman, wife' cannot belong here (⇔ My. 132 and P 473). because IE *-n- did not rhotacize in Al G || Gmc: (IE *g^ʷenōn >) Gt qinō ('γυνή) 'Weib, Ehefrau', OSx quena 'wife', OHG quena ~ kwena, MHG quene 'woman, wife', AS cwene 'woman, female serf, whore', NE quean; NaIE *g^ʷēni-s > Gt qēns ('γυνή) 'Ehefrau', ON kvæn ~ kván ~ kvōn 'woman', OSx quān 'woman, wife'; ON kvinna 'woman, wife', NNr, Sw kvinna, Dn kvinda 'woman', AS cwēn 'wife, queen', NE queen; ON kona 'woman', NNr kona, Dn kone 'wife, woman' || Pru genno 'woman' || Sl *žēna 'woman' > OCS, OR жєна žena, Blg же'на, SCR žèna, Slv žéna, Cz, Slk žena 'woman, wife', P żona, R же'на 'wife', Uk жo'на 'woman' || pTc {Ad.} *śānā > Tc: A śām̄ (pl. śnu), B śana (obl. śno) 'woman, wife' || AnIE: Lv wanatti & unatti 'women' ¶¶ WP I 681-2, P 473-4, EI 648, M K I 351, 418, VI. II 44, Horn 148, F I 333-5, Vn. B 31-2, RE 147, Hamp AIEW 143, Huld 66, 136, Ped. GA 324 (Al zonjē < *g^ʷen-ja or < *g^ʷia- 'life'), Fs. 386, 388, Ho. 64, Ho. GEW 78, Ho. S 59, Sw. 38, Kb. 582, HDEL 1070, Vr. 325, 336-9, Schz. 189, St. 168-9, En. 176-7, Tp. P E-H 207-10, StSS 216, Glh. 708-9, Vs. II 46, StSS 216, Matas. E 61, Wn. I 476-7, Chr. I 298-9, Ad. 620, Ad. H 31, 34, 42 || HS: C: Ag {AD} *k^ʷz|in- ~ *ʔzk^ʷin- (pl. *ʔzk^ʷin-), {Ap.}

*ʔax^win-/*ʔax^wan- 'woman' > Dmb {R} k^wīnā, Knf {TBZAC} kuna, Aw {Hz., Bnd.} yuna, Aw D {CR} xuo'nā, Bln {Plm.} ʔax^wina (pl. ʔax^win), Xm {R} iwna (pl. uk^wn ~ iok^wn), Xm T {CR} eq^wen (pl. aqnu), Km {CR} yəwīna ~ wīna (pl. yəwīn) 'woman' ¶ AD SF 213-14, Ap. AV 6, R WB 18, R Ch II 339 (s.p. 25), CR LM 266, 271, Blz. CWL || NrOm {Blz.} *k∇n- 'woman' > Cha {C} kontirā 'woman', ʔσ Kf {C} kenešō, {Msr.} keneso 'cognata', {HHM} kenešo 'brother-in-law' || SOm: Hm K, Ari G {Fl.}, Ari {Bnd.} kan 'sister' ¶ C SE III 170 and IV 462, Blz. OL no. 62, HHM 295, Msr. 247, Bnd. AL 158, Fl. p.c. || B: Ah tē-kne (pl. tēknewīn), Tmz ta-kna (pl. ta-kanwin), ta-šna (pl. ta-šanwin), Kb ташна, Rif, SrSn тақна, Izn тахна, Wrg takna, Sll tākna (pl. tākniwin), Mz ta-čna (pl. tačniwin, tičniwin), Izn тахна, Izn ta-wašun-t 'wife', Ah əknu, Kb ✓ knw 'be a co-wife' ¶ Fc. 831, MT 339-41, Dl. 409, 411, Ds. 68, Dlh. M 24, Dlh. Ou 148, Rn. 346 || S: Ak YB {Sd.} kinītu 'Nebenfrau (?)' ¶ Sd. 480 || Ch: WCh: NrBc {Stl.} *kina 'co-wife' > {Sk.}: Wrj kinai, Jmb kina, My, Kry kin, Mbr kinā, Cg kīne id. ¶ Sk. NB 16, Stl. ZCh 256 [no. 120] || A *KūnE 'one of several wives' > NaT *k'ūni or *k_ūni 'co-wife' (× N *Kīnʔu [> *Kūnʔ'ū'] 'exercise magic', → [in descendant lges] 'be jealous') > OT kūrī, XwT XIV kūrī, Tkm güni, Az ğünü, Qrg künū 'co-wife', MQp [incl. CC] künī 'concubine', Tk Erz günü 'Freundin'; a cd with *-taš (> -daš/-däš) 'fellow-': Uz кундош kundoš, Qq kündes 'co-wife', ET kündäš, Qrg kündöš, Nog, Qzq kündes, VTt, Bsh кендәш kēndäš 'co-wife, rival' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 105-6, TkR 222, Jud. 467, BR 280, Nj. 664, UzR 224, Pokr. TR 66 || pJ {S} *kuanami 'first wife (in polygamy)' > OJ kwonamyi, MJ kónámí id. ¶ S QJ no. 1518, Mr. 456 ¶¶ SDM 739-40 (pA *kune ~ *gune 'one of several wives' > T, J), DQA no. 921 (id.) ◇ IS I 306-8 [no. 178]. The meaning 'co-wife' in HS and A obviously reflects the polygamous system of marriage. But it is not necessary to share IS's hyp. (IS I 308) interpreting it as traces of the archaic kinship system in which women of one exogamous moiety were potential collective wives of men of the opposite moiety; cf. the traces of this system preserved among the Gilyaks (Shtr. GO 129-284, Krn. N 259-93) ◇ Gr. II no. 431 (*kun 'woman') (IE, A, J + qu. EA) ◇ The vw. *ü in T *k'ūni may be explained by regr. as.

898. *kuñä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *goun-/gun- 'hair' > Av gaona- 'hair, color of hair', Psh yūna 'hair of the body', KhS ggūna- 'hair', Oss D yun, Oss I хъуын qw3n id., 'wool', OI gu'ṇaḥ 'thread, string, sinew, chord' (OI -ṇ- is still puzzling: a prakritism?) || ? Gt kuna-wida (· ἄλυσις)

'Fessel', OHG *kuna-wīd* 'chain, fetters', *cuonio-wīd* 'fetters', [ʏ] *khuna-wīthi*, *chun-wīdi* 'catenae' || ? Sl **guna* ~ *guña* > SCr *gūnja* 'body hair of a domestic animal', 'ε garment', Blg *гуня* 'furcoat', Cz *Δ huřa* 'woollen cloth with nap', Cz *houřa*, P *gunia* 'ε cloak of woollen cloth', R *Δ гуня* 'worn-out garment' ≍ 'furcoat', Uk *гуня* '(caftan of) coarse heavy woollen cloth' ¶ M K I 338, M E I 489-90, Mrg. 25, Bai. 86, Ab. III 326-7, Fs. 315-16, Kb. 569, 573, ESSJ VII 175-7, ≈ EI 252 (**gōwɾo* / **gu'n-os* 'body hair [of animals]') || U: FU (att. in FP) **kün|ñä* 'hair, wool, feather(s)' > F *куня* 'feather' || pPrm {LG} [1] **gūn* > Z *гын* *g+n*, Z Vsh *gūn* 'felt', [2] Prm {LG} **gōn* > Z *гөн* *g3n* 'feather(s), wool of horses\cattle', Yz *gōn* 'woollen mittens, felt', Vt *gon* 'wool, dough, hair of the body' ¶ LG 80, Lt. J 107, ≈ UEW 664 (equating BF **künä* with Z *кзун3с* 'small long coop') || D (att. in SD) **kūntal* ({ʒGS} **k-*) 'human hair' > Tm *kūntal* 'long flowing tresses of a woman', Ml *kūntal* 'woman's hair', Kn *kūdal* 'hair (of the head or body)', Tu *кузаль* 'hair of the head', Krg *kūdlu* 'hair'; D ⇨ OI *kuntalah* 'hair of the head, lock of hair' ¶ D no. 1892, M K I 229 ◇ FU **kün|ñä* results from synharmonic as.: **kuñä* > **kün|ñä*.

899. *kaʔiñ (often in cds) 'wing, feather' > HS +ext. (← cd?) **k∇n∇p* (∇r)-: S **ka'nap-* 'wing' > Hb *קנפ* *kā'nāp*, Ug *knṣ*, (AkSc) {Hnr.} *kanapu*, JA *קנפ* *kə'nāp*, em. *קנפ* *kan₁ə₁'pā*, JEA {Sl.} *קנפ* *kan'p-ā* (pl. *קנפ* *kan₁ə₁'pê*), Sr *قنفة* *kan'pā*, Ar *كنف* *kanaf-*, Gz *kānf* (pl. *kānaf*), Tgr, Amh *kānf*, Tgy *kānfi* 'wing', Ak *kappu* id. (× *kappu* < **kapp-* 'palm of hand'), Yd, IA {HJ} *knṣ* 'skirt of a garment'; EthS ⇨ Bln {Plm.} *kanfi* 'wing', {R} '*kānfə* 'feather', Aw {CR} *kenfī*, Qbn {L} *kānf^{wa}* 'wing' ¶ Brst. 184, KBR 486, GB 353-4, A 1345, OLS 220, BK II 937, Hnr. 138, Sl. 589, Js. 651, L G 287, HJ 519, R WB 224, MiK I no. 1.145 || C: Ag **k∇np-* (unless ⇨ EthS): Xm {R} *kiff* 'wing', Q {R} *kamb* id., 'feather', Km {CR} *kəmbī* 'wing' || ??φ Bj {R} *ʔan'būr* (pl. '*ʔanbir* ~ *ʔanber*), Bj A {AD} (hṽ) *ʔanbūr* (pl. hṽ *ʔanbir*) 'wing' || EC {Ss} **kimbir* 'small bird' > Rn *čimbír* id., Sa, Af {PH} *kimbir-o*, Bs {Ss.} *kimbir-i*, Dsn {To.} *kimírri* 'bird', Arr {Hw.} *kirmaté* 'bird(s)', Sml *šimbir*, Sml N *šímbir* 'male bird', *šímbír* 'female bird', pBn {Hn.} **šímmír* (> Bn *šimir* ≍ *šimmir* ≍ *simmir*), Or *šimbir-a* ≍ *simbir-a* ≍ *šimpirrē* 'bird' || ??φ SC: Irq {Wh.} *ḥāmpa* (pl. *ḥampêri*), {MQK} *ḥampa* 'wing' ¶ AD SF 30 (**kEmp∇r-* 'bird') and 65 (pC **kanṣ-* 'wing, feather'), R WBd 21, R Ch II 375 (s.p. 61), R QW 84, CR LK 214, Ss. PEC 13, 15, PG 85, Hw. A 373, To. DL 511, PH 147, Hn.

BD 95, E PC no. 381 (pC *kanf-/ kinf-), MQK 48, Abr. S 232 || ? SOm: Ari G {Fl.} kāfi (< *kanfi?) 'wing' ¶ Fl. OO 321 || ? Ch: CCh: Db {LnG} kòpók, {Sb.} kòpók 'feather' ||| WCh: Fy {J} kámāk id. ||| EC: Mkl {J} kâmbirsá (pl. kâmbàrí) 'wing' ¶ ChC s.v. 'feather', J LM 118, J R 87, LnG s.v. kòpók ¶¶ AD SF 65 (S, C), OS no. 1426 (S, Ag) ||| A *Kāna 'wing, large feather' (→ 'leaf of a door\gate') and probably pA *Kāna-ta (→ *Kāy'na-ta) 'wing' ({SDM} *kenta) > M: [1] *qana '∈ feather' > WrM qana {Gl.} 'the feathers (in a wing) immediately behind the "hairy feathers"', {Kow.} 'les petites plumes des ailes des oiseaux, cette-à-dire celles qui sont après les quatre ou cinq premières dans le même rang', HIM {BMR} xana(н) 'large feathers of a bird's wing (smaller than the largest feathers)', Kl {Rm.} xana 'die grossen Federn der Flügel, die ebene Fläche der Flügel'] [2] sd.: ?σ M *qanan 'wall of a yurt' > WrM {MED} qanan 'wall, lath; section of lattice wall of a yurt', HIM {MED} xana id., {BMR} xana(н) 'lattice wall of a yurt', Kl {KRS} xana id., Kl Ö {Rm.} xana 'Wandstücke, Wandgitter der Jurte', Ord xana 'treillis de tente, mur', Brt xana 'wall', ⇨ Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Qmn/QuK/Tb qanat, Xk xanat 'a section of lattice wall of a yurt' ¶ MED 927, BMR IV 36, Chr. 544, Kow. 719, Gl. II 68, KRS 575, KW 165, Ms. O 332, Chr. 544, ET KQ 252-3 || pT *Kānat (→ *°Kaīnat) 'wing' ({Md.} *kaīnat∇) > NaT *Kānat- ~ (?) *Kiīnat 'wing' > OT qanat, Tk kanat, Az ganad, Tkm gānat, Ggz kanat, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Ln qanat, Uz qanot, SY {Tn.} qana^ht (with preaspirated t) ~ qiīnat, {Mal.} qanat ~ qiīnat, Xk xanat, Tv {Ra.} qanat id., Tf hanat 'wing' (Md.: < *kaīnat), Yk kinat ~ kiīat 'wing' ||| Chv L çyhat súnat 'wing', Chv Δ çohat id. (acc. to Md. OJ 72, pT *kaī- > pre-Chv *kiā- > *xiā > Chv L sú-)] sd.: Tk kanat, Az g_anad_, Ggz, Nog qanat, Uz qanot 'leaf (of a door>window)' ¶ Cl. 635, ET KQ 252-3, TL 504, Ra. 186, Rs. W 520, Md. OJ 72, 217-18 and 274, Rl. II 111-13, ET KQ 252-3, S AJ 194-5 [no. 216], Ash. XII 245-7, Fed. II 137, Jeg. 218, ChVS 190, Tn. SJJ 199, Mal. ZhU 52, 63, AD AltAD || pJ {S} *kāntuā 'gate' (unless from pA *kenta < N *kañ|ń∇ (ṭ∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree') > OJ kadwo, MJ kádò id., J T kádo, J K kádò, J Kg kadó {Kenk.} 'gate, door' ¶ S QJ no. 898, Mr. 431, Kenk. 749 ¶¶ T *-ā- ~ *-ay- (and pA *-ā-) may go back to N *-aʔi- (in N *kaʔiñ∇) ¶¶ ≈ SDM 664 (pA *kenta 'threshold, gate' > J + unc. Tg *kende- 'threshold' [from N *kañ|ń∇ (ṭ∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree']), SDM 664-5 (pA *kēńa 'front leg, armpit, angle': unc. comparison of T *Kaynat with Tg *keńe, kuńe 'shin, stockings', M *qa(i) 'front legs' and pJ *kanai 'rule, gusset'), ≈ DQA no. 826 (A

*kēńa 'elbow, angle'), ≈ SDM97 s.v. A *kenta 'elbow, angle' (T + unc. Tg and pJ *kântuá 'angle, corner', see N *ka'm'ı̄,ǂ'ı̄ 'to bend'; n. 'bend, corner') || D ≈ *kent- ({{ǂGS}} *k-) 'feather' > Gdb kenduǂ (pl. kendukuǂ) 'feather', Gdb P kendiǂ 'hair, feather', Png kēndid (pl. kēndil), Gnd kendi 'hair' ¶¶ D no. 2002 ◇ The D vw. *e may be explained if it is supposed that N *-aǂı̄- contracted into Gnd and Gdb e. HS *kǂnǂp(ǂr)- may go back to a cd (N *kaı̄ǂı̄nǂ 'p'ı̄Rı̄ǂ, see N *'p'ı̄Rı̄ǂ 'wing, feather(s)') ◇ Blz. L no. 53c.

899a. *küı̄ı̄nı̄A (or *küı̄ı̄nı̄A) 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint' > HS *ǂknǂ (× N *ǂı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ 'to bend, to incline, to bow?') > CS *ǂknǂ '≈ be bent, bow, incline' > Ar kanı̄ı̄- 'estropié de la main, qui a la main cassée', ǂaknaı̄- 'mutilé et estropié de la main', ǂknǂ (pf. kanı̄ı̄a, ip. -knaı̄-) 'contractus et corrugatus fuit', 'être contracté\tordu', kanaı̄a ı̄alā v. 'submit to', BHb N pf. ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ ni-k'naı̄ 'have to submit, be humbled, humble oneself', SmA ǂknǂ G vi. 'yield, submit, be humble', JPA ǂknǂ pp. 'depressed, modest' ¶ Fr. IV 64, BK II 935-6, KB 461-2, KBR 484-5, Tal 397, Hv. 667, WKAS I 388 ¶ The Hb and Aram verb may go back to N *ǂı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ '↑' or to result from coalescence of both N sources || ? B *ǂknH v. 'incline' (× N *ǂı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄) > Izd pf. ikna, Sll knu (pf. ik'na) '(se) courber', Kb ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ (pf. ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄) 'se pencher, s'humilier, se courber', Gd ı̄knı̄ (pf. ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄, Lcj. 22) '(se) courber' ¶ Dl. 409, Ds. 79, Mrc. 65, Lf. I 264 (on Lcj. 22) and II no. O775 || IE *ǂenu-/*ǂonu-/*ǂneı̄- ({{EI}} *ǂonu / gen. *ǂenu-s) 'knee' > OI 'jānu, KhS ı̄sānuā-, Sgd z'ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄, MPrs zānūk, NPrs ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ 'knee' || Arm ı̄nı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ (pl. ı̄nı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ ı̄nı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ id. || Gk ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ id. || L genū (gen. genūs) id. || Clt {Matas.} *glūnos 'knee' > OIr glúın, Nlr glúın, MW pen-glin ~ pen-lin, W, Br glin, MBr penn-glin id., OCm [ǂ] penclin 'genu', Cm glyın 'knee' || Gt knı̄ı̄ı̄, OHG knio ı̄ knı̄ı̄ı̄, NHG Knie, AS cnéo 'knee', NE knee || pTc {Ad.} *kenw- > Tc: A kanw- (du. kanwemı̄), B keni (du.) id. || Ht genu, g|kını̄ı̄-, g|kanı̄ı̄ı̄- id. ¶¶ P 380-1, EI 336, M K I 429, Vl. II 107-8, Horn 144, F I 321, WH I 592-3, RE 107, LG § 268, Fs. 313, Kb. 551, Schz. 182, KM 382, Ho. 54, Slt. 165-6, Wn. I 187, Ad. 193, Ad. H 137-8, Pv. IV 146-51 || U: FU *küı̄ı̄nā(-rā) 'forearm, elbow' > F kyı̄ı̄nārā, kyı̄ı̄nās, Δ küı̄ı̄nārā 'ell', kyı̄ı̄nār pää 'elbow' (pää means end), kyı̄ı̄nār varsı̄ 'forearm' (varsı̄ 'stalk, shaft'), Es küı̄ı̄nar 'forearm, ell' | pLp {Lr.} *kǂrı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ 'elbow' > Lp: S {Hs.} garı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄, L {LLO} karı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄, N {N} garı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄ı̄, Kld

каѣне| id. | Er кенере кеѣеѣе, Mk кенерь кеѣеѣ id. | Chr: L кынервуй кѣѣер'wuy 'elbow', H кынервуй каѣерwuy 'elbow joint' (вуй 'head'), H кынер каѣер 'ell' | Prm *gūr 'forearm' > Z Ud g+r 'unity of length for measuring linen (ell)', Z g+ržžā, Vt g+rþum 'elbow' || ObU {Ht.} *kūñ- > pVg *kūñxal > Vg: LK k^wänxal, UL konlōw, Ss konlōw 'elbow'; pOs {Ht.} *kōññäy ({{Hl.} *kūññäy) id. > Os: V/Vy kōññi, Ty kōññi, Y kōññi, D kōññäy, K kōññäy | Hg kōnyök id. ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 158-9, Sm. 544 (FU *kūñärä 'elbow', FP *kūñärä, Ugr *kūñ-), SK 257-8, Lr. no. 322, Lgc. no. 1957, Hs. 565, MRS 269, 276, Ep. 55, MF 372-4, It. no. 415, SSK 257-8, LG 85, SZ 97, Ht. no. 281, Hl. rHt 71 || A: ? Tg *χῦήεν 'elbow' (× N *κονιῆ or *κονιῆ 'ε part of a leg', q.v.; this merger accounts for Tg *x-) > Nn Nh/KU xuyčž, Orc ἰϷο(n-), Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} isō, Ud K {Krm.} iso, Ul unčä(n-), Ork ūjtɜ, Ewk, Neg ἰϷῆn, Sln ἰnϷῆ, Lm ἰeϷῆn 'elbow' ¶ STM I 336, Krm. 239, On. 476 || ?σ D *kūñ ({{GS} *g-) 'a bend, curve, hump on the back' (× N *κυνῖγ 'to bend, to incline, to bow'?) > Tm kūñ, kūñal 'a bend, curve, hump on the back', Ml kūñ 'a humpback', Tm kūñan, Ml kūñan 'humpbacked', Td ku'n 'hunchback', Kn kūñ, Tu, Tl gūñ 'a hump', Kn kūñ, gūñ 'a humpbacked man', Kdg kūñ, Tu gūñæ 'hunchback', Tl gūñi 'humpbacked', Ku gu?u 'hump of cow', cp. also Kt ku'n- v. 'be in bowed position', Tm kūñ- v. 'curve', Gnd gun- v. 'bend' ¶¶ D *-ñ belongs to the heritage of N *κυνῖγ (q.v. for further details) ¶¶ D no. 1927 ◇ If D *kūñ belongs here, the N etymon may be *kūly,ñúA, while *-ñ (< post-N *-ñ-) in FU *kūyñä-(rā-) may be due to the ass. infl. of *y- ◇ MR TV 41-2 suggests N *-iŵ- instead of *-üy- (claiming that it explains the IE palatal *ḡ- better than in IS's theory) ◇ IS I 304 (*kūyñA = *kūyñA), ≈ S NSShS no. 28 (IE, Tg + unc. M and J) ◇ Gr. II no. 128 (*ken 'elbow') (IE, U, A + unc. J and EA).

900. (₂?) *kānhæ 'give birth', 'acquire new relatives' > IE *ḡenĥ-/ *ḡneĥ- 'give birth' ({{EI} *ḡenĥ₁- 'beget a child; be born') > NaIE *ḡenə-/ *ḡnē-/ *ḡnō- > [1] thematic present: OI 'janati 'gives birth' || OL gen-ō 'I give birth' || Gk γενέσθαι 'gives birth' (3p ip. OI a-jan-anta, Gk ἔ-γεν-εντο, cp. Arm aor. Ժնայ շնայ [1s pres. Ժնանիմ շնանիմ 'I give birth, I am born']) || Clt {Matas.} *ogn-iyō- 'beget, create, do' > OIr gniid, -gni 'do'; Clt {Matas.} *gan-yō- 'be born' > OIr gainidir ~ gainithir -gainedar 'be born', conj. -genathar (-ga(i)nethar 'is born'), MW geni (1s pres. ganaf), W geni 'be born, bear', MBr

guenell, Br genel 'give birth', Crn genys 'born' | [2] reduplicative present: (athematic) OI jajanti, Av zizanti, (thematic) Av zizananti 'they give birth'; (zero grade): Gk γύγνομαι 'I come into being, I am born', L gignō, -ēre 'bear, beget, bring forth', OIr ft. gignithir 'er wird geboren werden' | [3] pfc.: OI jaj'riē 'I am born' (3s ja'jāna), Gk γέγονα 'is born', OIr rogé nar (*gē-gn-) 'natus sum' | [4] *-sko-present: L nā-scor 'I am being born' | [5] NaIE *gēnH-o/es- ~ *gōnH-o/es- ntr. 'birth, kin' > OI 'janaḥ / janas- 'race (Geschlecht, Abkunft)', Av (in cds) zana- 'people (Volk), human race' || Gk γένος (gen. γένεος) 'race, stock, kin' || L genus (gen. generis) id., 'birth, descent, origin; kind' || Clt {Matas.} *genos- 'family, gens' > OIr ENIGENA 'daughter', OBr [γ] gen 'ethnicus' || Arm ծիւցին 'birth, origin', cp. OIr ganet 'birth' | [6] *-to-prtc. and sim.: (1) NaIE *gō-to-s, f. *-ā, *gōnō-to-s, f. *-ā 'born' > OI jā'ta-ḥ, Av zāta- 'born' || L nātus 'born' (with preservation of g-: co-gnātus 'related, connected by blood', a-gnātus 'born in addition to'), Pæl CNATOIS 'nātis' || Gl GNATUS (with a long *ā) 'son', GNATHA (with *-ā-) 'daughter' || ON kundr 'son', Gt -kunds 'descending from' (aírpa-kunds 'von irdischer Abkunft') || Gk γνωτός 'kinsman, brother' || Ltv znōts 'son-in-law' | (2) NaIE *gēna-to-s, f. *-t-ā > L genitus 'born' || Clt {Matas.} *genetā 'girl' > W geneth 'girl' (← 'daughter'), Gl geneta ~ genata ~ gnata 'girl' | ? (× IE {Pv.} *gēmh^ω- < N *kEm[∇] [or *kEmho] 'kin, family', 'to give birth'): BSl: Lt Žéntas 'daughter's husband', Sl *zētъ id., 'bridegroom' > OCS ЗАТЬ zětъ, Blg зет id., SCr zèt, Slv zèt' OCz zět', Cz zět', Slk zat', P zieć, R, Uk зятъ 'daughter's husband' || Al: T dhëndër, G dhândërr 'groom' || AnIE (× IE *gēmH_x- < N *kEm[∇] or *kEmho ↑): Ht kaena n. 'relative-in-law, kinsman' (mainly 'male ego's son-in-law or brother-in-law, wife's brother'), Ld kāna (a kinship term, possibly 'daughter's husband') ¶¶ Pv. IV 12-14 (suggesting that the words for relatives-in-law belong to the IE √ *gēmh^ω- [= {Pv} *gēm-A₁^ω]), P 373-5, EI 56, ≈ 369 (L gener and Al dhëndër < NaIE *gēm- 'marry'), M K I 415-16, M E I 567-8, Fs. 26-7. YGM-1 233, Billy 83-4, LP § 431.19 and 554, Thr. §§ 549, 597, 737 and 756, F I 297 and 306-8, WH I 597-600, Frn. 1301, Kar. II 566, Vs. II 112, SJSS XII 692, StSS 242, Matas. E 150-1, 157-8, 163-4, Hm. 312, Sl. 97-8, Ts. E I 459-60, Gsm. LW 150-1 || |

D: [1] D *kaṇ- ({{GS} *k-) 'bear, bring forth' (× N *Kañ[∇] 'begin, originate, be new') > Tl karu 'bear, bring forth', 'beget', Brh xaniṅ 'give

birth to'; [2] D *kaŋr̥- 'child, young of animals' (× N *k'an'E' 'young, child', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Km. 324, D no. 1411, Pf. 90 || | ?σ HS: S *°kann- > Ar kann-at- 'son's wife, brother's wife' ¶ BK II 932 ¶ ≡σ: Ltv z r o t s and Sl *z e t b 'son-in-law' || | ?σ Eg XX k r (an epithet of the Sun god as creator) ¶ EG V 131 ◇ My preliminary working hyp. (for the time being) is that the basic meaning of this N word was 'acquire new relatives', both through birth (whence the meaning 'give birth, beget') and through marriage; the latter meaning may be discerned in the IE *-t-derivatives meaning 'son-in-law' and in Ar kann-at- 'daughter\sister-in-law' ◇ ≠ S NSShS no. 4 (equating the IE √ with A *k_l'₁uni 'person; people, country' and K *gen- 'calf', v. 'suck the udder') ◇ D *-ŋ- (in *kaŋ- and *kaŋr̥-) is not a decisive ev. of a pN *-n-, because *-ŋ- in these D roots may belong to the heritage of N *Kañ∇ and *k'an'E'.

901. *kiñho ~ *kihño 'see, observe, examine, know' > IE *g^hen^hω- / *g^hneh^h- (= {EI} *g^hneh₃-) 'know' > [1] NaIE *g^henə- / *g^hñō- > OI j r ā- 'know', j ā 'n ā t i 'knows', Av p a i t i - z ā n ā n t i 'sie nehmen sich an', thematic: 2p p a i t i - z ā n ā t a 'you (pl.) recognize', OPrs 3s ipf. a - d ā n ā 'he knew (kannte)', Av z a n ā - t ŷ , z a n ā n , Psh p ē - ž a n ī 'recognizes', NPrs د ا د ā n - ā d 'is able; it is possible', (d.) د ا ن س ت ن d ā n e s t ā n 'to know, to be able', د ا ن د ā n ā 'learned' || | Gk ῥε-ϣνων 'I knew' || | Arm Ժ ա ն Ե ա յ c a n e a y 'I recognized', ա ն Ժ ա ն a n - c a n 'unknown', Ժ ա ն ա լ ք c a n a w t h 'known' || | Clt {Matas.} *gni-na- 'recognize' > OIr ad-gnin, -géna 'recognize', {P} i tar-gninin, asa-gninaim 'sapio', MW atnabol 'recognize', Cm aswonwos id. (3s pres. aswon) || | Gt kunnan (·ϣνῶσκειν) 'kennen, wissen', OSx, OHG inf. kunnan 'to know, to understand, to be able', ON, OFrs kunna, AS cunnan 'to know', NHG kōnnen 'to be able', p./pres. (< IE pfc.): Gt kann 'kann, weiß', ON kann, OFrs, OSx, OHG kan, NHG kann. AS can(n) 'can', NE can; ds: Gt kannjan, ga-kannjan (·ϣνῶρῥεῖν) 'bekannt machen', ON kenna id., AS cennan 'to explain, to determine', OSx kēnnian '(er)kennen', OHG ir-kennen, NHG erkennen 'to recognize', OHG bi-kennen, NHG kennen 'to know' || | Lt žinaũ / žinóti, Ltv z i n u / z i n ā t 'know, be aware', Ltv z ī s t u ~ z i n u / z ī t 'know, recognize, perceive', Pru p o s i n n a t 'bekennen' || | Tc A {Ad.} k n ā n ā - 'know' || | [2] NaIE pp. *g^hñō-'to-s 'known' > OI j r ā 't a - ḥ 'known' || | Gk ῥνωτό-ς id. || | L n ō t u - s id. || | Clt {Matas.} *gnāto- 'known, usual' > OIr gnáth 'known,

accustomed', MW gnawt id., W gnawd 'customary', OBr gnot 'usual', Gl Eposognatus n. pr. ('accustomed to horses') || Pru pasinnāts 'known' | [2a] a variant NaIE pp. *g̃n̄:-'to-s 'known (bekannt)' > Lt pažintas id. || ON kunnr, kuðr, AS cūð, OSx kūth, OHG, NHG kund id., Gt kunþ-s (- γνωστός) 'bekannt' || [3] NaIE n. act. *g̃n̄-ti- > OI 'pra-jñāti-h' 'knowledge (of the way to...)' || Gk γνῶσις id. || Ln̄-ti-ō 'knowledge' || Sl inf. *zn̄-ti 'to know' (> OCS знати, SCr zn̄ti, Slv zn̄ti, Cz zn̄ti, Slk znat', P znać, R знать, Uk 'знати') | Lt žinóti, Ltv zināt 'to know', Pru ersinnat 'to recognize (erkennen)' || [4] NaIE *g̃n̄-sk- > OL gnōsc-ō, -ēre, Ln̄sc-ō, -ēre 'become acquainted with, get knowledge of', cds: Ln̄sc-ō, -ēre id., 'get to know, learn', a-gnōsc-ō 'recognize' || Gk Epr γνῶσκω, Gk (rdp.) γιγνώσκω 'come to know, perceive' || OPrs cnj. xšnāsātiy 'daß er erkenne' || Ht ganes(s)-, kanes(s)- ({EI}: < *g̃n̄ēh₃-s-) 'recognize, discern, identify; acknowledge' ¶¶ P 376-8, Dv. no. 117, EI 337-8, M K I 429, M E I 599-601, Sg. 500-1, StSS 238-9, Horn 118, Mrg. 105, Me. VP 60, 103, F I 308-9, WH I 429 and II 176-8, LP §§ 9.1, 431.3 and 456, YGM-1 236, Fs. 307 and 316-17, Vr. 334, Ho. 46, 63-4, Ho. S 41, 44, Schz. 180, 185-6, Kb. 535, 569, 571, KM 364, 392, 412, SGGJ IV 412, Sl. 96-7, Frn. 1310-11, Matas. E 162-3, En. 232, Tp. P E-H 86, Glh. 698-9, Pv. IV 42-6, Ts. E I 478-80 || HS: WS *✓kh̄n 'be clever, foretell' > Ar ✓kh̄n (pf. kahana) v. 'foretell, soothsay', Mh 'kath̄n v. 'pretend (illness etc.) to attain one's object', Jb C 'kath̄n id., 'be cunning'; WS acp. *kā'hin- 'clever person, foreteller' > Ph, Pun, Ug, IA, Nbt kh̄n, Sr كَاهِنٌ kāh̄nā, Md kahna, Gz kāh̄n 'priest', BHb כֹּהֵן kō'hēn, JA כֹּהֵן kā'h̄en / כֹּהֵן kō'h̄en^a, JEA {Sl.} כֹּהֵן kō'h̄en 'priest, kohen (member of the hereditary clergy)', Ar كَاهِنٌ kāh̄in- 'foreteller, diviner; pre-islamic priest; businessman', Mh kō'h̄n, Jb E 'kuhun 'cunning, cheat', Hrs kēh̄n 'grown up, adult, clever' ¶ A no. 1294, HJ 490-2, KB 440-1, KBR 461-2, OLS 212, Js. 615, Sl. 554, Br. 319, BK II 940, L G 278, Jo. M 206, Jo. J 129, Jo. H 67 || C *✓k^r'n > Ag {Ap.} *kin-/kan- 'see, learn' > Bln, Xm k̄n-t- 'learn', Q kin-t-, Aw kan-t- 'see'; Aw {Hz.} a-q̄n 'I know', ya-q̄n '(he) knows' || EC: Sml (past tense stem) -iq̄n- 'know': Sml N p.: 1s 'iq̄n, 2s 'tiq̄n, 3m 'yiq̄n, 3f 'tiq̄n, 1p 'niq̄n etc., pres.: 1s aq̄n, 2s taq̄n, 3m yaq̄n etc.; Brj aq̄n-d- 'learn', aq̄n-s- 'teach', ? HEC: Ged egeʔn-, Sd egenn- 'know'; Ya -q̄noʔ 'know' || Bj {R} -kān pcv. (formally md.) (1s: p. a-'kān, pres. ak'tēn) 'know (kennen, wissen)',

{Rop., Alm.} -kən id. ¶ The cnss ḳ and q (< *ḳ) in Aw, Sml, Brj and Ya cannot be explained without postulating a glottalizing factor, which may have been a glottal stop *-ʔ- (< N *h?) that clustered with *k- in the prefixe-conjugated verbal forms: 3s *y∇-kʔ∇n > *y∇ḳ∇n; that is why the cnss. *ḳ (> q) has been preserved just in such verbal forms (in Aw and Sml), as well as in Brj and Ya forms presumably going back to similar prefix-conjugated verbs ¶ AD SF 63-4 (*✓kʔn), R WB 222, R WBd 142-3, Ap. 13, Hn. Y II 128 || ?φ Eg N cɾɿñ 'blicken auf ...' ¶ EG V 384 ¶¶ Tk. p.c. (1998) (adduction of Eg) || A: M *kina- 'examine carefully, observe, trace' > WrM {MED} kina-, HIM хяна- {MED} id., 'investigate', {BMR} id., 'check', Kl {Rm.} kin- 'forschen, durchmustern, sorgfältig durchgehen', {KRS} кин- 'be diligent\ assidu-ous', Brt жина- 'observe; check, revise', Ord k'ina- 'faire qch. avec soin, avec circonspection, avec prudence' ¶ MED 469, BMR IV 235, KW 231-2, KRS 301, Chr. 572, Ms. O 421 ◇ N *i > pre-IE *eᵢ > IE *e (loss of the glide before a sonant) ◇ Blz. IELA 13-14 [no. 46] (HS, IE) ◇ ≈ IS I 296-7 [no. 163] (*kE∇; C, IE + K *gen-/ *gn- 'understand, feel' [which to my mind belongs to N *gAn|n∇ 'see, perceive']; + unc. S *✓kny v. 'name', Eg cɾɿy 'distinguish', ? T *Kön(ä)- 'agree'), ≠ S NSShS no. 5 (NaIE *ḡenə-/ *ḡnō- equated with K *gen-/ *gn- and with T *Köne- 'agree, admit, acknowledge' [which is actually T *k'ön- 'be straight', see Cl. 726-7 and ET VGD 74-5]).

902. *kän_ɿy_u (or *kän∇y_u) 'cheek, side of the face' > IE: NaIE *ḡ|genu- id. > Gk γένυς, -υος 'jaw; side of the face, cheek' ||| L gena 'cheek' (instead of the expected *genu on the analogy of mala 'cheek, cheekbone') ||| Clt {Matas.} 'jaw' (× IE *ḡ^henu- < N *ḡenû 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) ||| Gmc (-nn- < *-nʷ- of the obl. cases, generalized throughout the declension paradigm): Gt kinnus (𐌵𐌹𐌸𐌰𐌶𐌰) 'Wange', ON kinn 'cheek', OSx kinni, OHG cinni 𐌸 chinni, NHG Kinn, AS cinn 'chin', NE chin ||| Tc A śanwem̄ du. 'jaws' (× NaIE *ḡ^henu- due to the Tc merger of IE *ḡ|g- and *ḡ^h-) ¶ No cognate distinguishes between reflexes of *g- and *ḡ-, hence rec. of unequivocal *ḡ- is justified only if we take into account NaIE *ḡonəd^h- '≈ cheek, jaw' (see below) ¶ WP I 587, P 381-2 (*ḡenu-), EI 322 (*^lḡenu- 'jaw'), F I 298, WH I 589-90, Fs. 312, Vr. 309, Kb. 551, KM 369-70, Ho. 49, LP § 72, RE 113, Flr. 174-5, YGM-1 233, Matas. E 158. Hm. 312, Wn. I 470-1 (Tc śanw- < *ḡēnu-), Ad. H 110 ||| U: FU (att. in FV) *kōńa > F κούνο 'muzzle, snout, nose, mouth', Vo kōno 'muzzle, snout', Es koon (gen. koonu) id., 'chin' ({W} 'Kinn, Rüssel,

Schnauze') || Mk końä, Er końa 'forehead' ¶ Db. OS xxv, SK 240, W EDW 358 || D (att. in SD) *kaŋŋ- ({ŋGS} *k-) 'cheek' > Tm kaŋŋam 'cheek, ear', Ml kannam 'cheek, jaw', konni 'cheek', Kn kanna 'the upper cheek' ¶ D no. 1413 and no. 1989 (Ml konni) || N *kän_uy_u∇d∇ (originally a cd *kän_uy_ud∇?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *g̃onəd^h- / *gnəd^h- '≈ cheek, (?) jaw' > Lt žándas 'cheek', Ltv zōds 'chin' || Gk γνάθος 'jaw, cheek', γναθμός 'jaw' || Mcd κάναδοι ('σλαγόνες, γνάθοι) 'jaws' ¶ Tr. 365, F I 316, Frn. 1289, P 381-2 || HS: Ch: WCh: Hs kúnčĩ 'cheek, side of face' (pl. kúmãtu with m on the analogy of words having the alternation of a precons. n [< *m] and prevoc. m), kúndùkukì 'cheekbone' || ? Dhl {Sk.} kunkumì 'cheekbone' ¶ JI II 63, Abr. H 552-3, Ba. 641, ≈ Sk. HCD 152 ¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 152 (Ch + unc. EthS, Ad, Eg) || A: Tg *k^{ra}ŋt∇- > Neg koŋtoŋki:~ koŋtopki: 'nose (of a deer/elk/bear)', Nn Bk koŋtoro 'nose (of a wild boar)', Ewk PT kaŋtakā-, kaŋtarat- v. 'grin, bare one's teeth', kaŋtarga- v. 'grin (скалиться)' ¶ STM I 375, 413 ◇ Tg *^{ra} and U *ō < *ā (rather than the expected front vowels) may be explained by regr. as. ◇ IE *-n- suggests that FV *-ń- (in *kōńa) and D *-ŋŋ- do not go back to N *-ń-. The source of FV (actually Mr) palatality is probably a N *-y- (lost in IE, HA and D), which is also responsible for the long vw. in FU (complementary lengthening due to the contraction of the N cluster *-ñy-). A different solution is to suppose that Mr -ń- is due to language-specific Mr processes (a y-sx?) ◇ FU *ō < pre-U *ā (a reg. change) < *ä: (due to harmony of vowels) < *ä with complementary lengthening). Tg *-^{ra}- < A **-ä- (regr. as., "harmony of vowels") ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 153 [no. 6] (D, IE, HS *gīn, *gūn 'face, cheek, forehead' without distinguishing between the reflexes of N *kän_uy_u and N *genū '↑'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 6 (D, IE + err. HS *gīn, *gūn).

903. *keñ_u∇_uc'∇d∇ 'joint (articulation), shoulder joint' > HS: S *✓knsd 'top of shoulder' > Mh kənsīd (pl. kənsōd) id., Jb C/E kəns'ed (pl. kə'nabsəd), Sq {Jo.} 'kozi (pl. 'kəzho) 'shoulder', Gz kəsād ~ kəsād 'neck' (Ê is purely graphic, due to the merger of OEth s and Ê in the new EthS lges), Ak kišādu 'neck, throat, necklace' ⇨ Md kšada {DM} 'throat', {Kfm.} 'neck ornament' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. H 69, Jo. J 133, CAD VIII 446, Sd. 490, DM 224, L G 296, Kfm. 64, MiK I no. 1.147 || ?ϕ K: G I {Chx.} kinč-i 'Nacken, Widerrist', G I/Rch {Ghl.} kinč-i 'neck (յոնցրո)' ¶ Chx. 1559, Ghl. 571 ¶ -č- < *-ct-?? || A: Tg *kende(-ke) 'shoulder blade' > Ewk kəndəkē, Lm kēndət, Neg kəndəxə, Ork kəndə id. ¶ STM I 448 ||

AdS of M *qoŋd∇- (< N *Kʷoʰn̄∇ 'back, rear', q.v. ffd.) ¶ KW 185, MED 962, Kow. 869, KRS 596, H 66 || D *keŋt̥-, {ǵGS} *geŋt̥- 'joint (articulation), ankle' > Tm keŋt̥ay 'ankle', Ml keŋippu 'joint (articulation)', Kn giŋŋu, geŋŋu 'joint (as of a finger), knot (as of sugar cane)', Kdg giŋŋi 'joint in wrist\ fingers, knot in cane', Tu gaŋt̥ɔ, gaŋt̥u 'ankle, knot in string\reed\cane', Tl gaŋt̥u, gaŋt̥a 'knot', Nkr kaŋde 'joint in bamboo'; ??? D ⇨ OI gaŋ'da-h̄ 'joint' ¶¶ D no. 1946, Tu. no. 3998, ≠ M K I 318 (supposing a different D source for the OI word) ◇ In most lges a contraction *-n̄d- > *-nd-. D *n̄ is postalveolar due to the ass. infl. of the following *t̥, which is the reg. reflex of N *d.

904. *koŋdE 'to harm, to spoil' > IE: NaIE *gʷendʰ- v. 'injure, damage' > OI [Dhat.] gan'dh-ayatē 'injures', OI [Λ] gandhana- 'Verderben', Pali gandhana- 'injuring' || Gk δέυνος 'reproach' (< *gʷendʰ-no-) || Lt 1s pres. gendū / inf. gés̄ti 'spoil; deteriorate', Ltv 1s pres. g̃instu / inf. g̃int 'be ruined; spoil, damage' ¶ P 466, Frn. 149-50, Tu. no. 4016; ≠ M K I 321 and M E I 461 (no etl. connections of the OI stem outside InA), F I 366 and Ch. 263 (no et. for δέυνος) ¶ The IE √ *gʷendʰ- was reinterpreted in some descendant lges (in Lt and probably in some others) as a present stem with a nasal infix, whence (bf.) Lt p. gedaũ, inf. gés̄ti and some derivatives, e.g. Lt pagadas 'damage', gadinti 'to spoil' || HS: NrOm: Kf {C} goŋd- v. 'harm, damage; be bad', goŋdō 'bad', {Cc.} gat- 'destroy (demolire)', Mch {L} goŋdo 'bad', Shn {Lm.} gōnda 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, C SE IV 446, R K (book) 42, Lm. Sh 309 || C: Ag *gʷa'd̄- > Bln {R} gʷãt- 'berühren, angreifen, Schaden zufügen', Q {R} gʷad̄ ~ gãd̄ v. 'schaden, schädigen', Km {CR} gæd̄ ɥ- 'endommager', Aw {CR} gʷæd̄- 'touch, attack; destroy'; Ag ⇨ Amh ገዳ ምዕዳ v. 'damage, injure, harm, ruin' || EC: Or {Grg.} gadē 'bad' ¶ AD SF 71, R WB 165, R QW 62, CR LK 195, L CAD 217, Grg. 61 || A: M *kōnde- 'touch, irritate, hurt' (× N *kʷonE 'to touch') > MM [S] kōnde- 'anrühren', WrM {MED} kōnde- 'touch, irritate', HIM xəndə- {MED} 'touch, irritate', {BMR} id., 'cause pain', Brt xγndə- 'touch, бередить (a wound)', WrO {Krg.} kōndō- 'bother, injure, offend', Kl {KRS} kəndə- 'touch, irritate, cause pain', {Rm.} kōnda- 'sich fühlbar machen' (šarxa kōnd̄b̄nā 'die Wunde macht sich fühlbar, schmerzt wenn man sie betastet'), Ord k'ōndō- 'occasionner de nouvelles douleurs à un membre blessé, causer l'ouverture d'une blessure fermée' ¶ H 104, MED 487, BMR IV 140, Chr. 624, Krg. 733-4, KRS 316, KW 239, Ms. O 428 ◇ The

voiced initial *g^w- in Om and C is not yet clear ◇ The meaning 'touch', preserved in Ag and M, may have been primary, so that the semantic development may have been as follows: 'touch, irritate' → 'harm, spoil' ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'портить' (*k^ro¹nd[∇] in IE and Om).

905. UA₂ *K^ru¹ñyaHÍE ~ *K^ru¹yñ^aHÍE ~ *K^ru¹ñ^aHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak' > A: T *Kuñáí ~ *Künäí {Cl.} 'blazing heat of the (midday) sun' > OT quyaš id., Chg, OXwT quyaš 'sun', MQp quyaš 'sun's rays', Tkm Δ quyaš 'sun, blazing heat of the sun', Tk Δ guyaš, Kr Cr, Qq, Qmn quyaš, Uz quyaš, VTt, Bsh q^oyaš 'sun', Nog qiyas 'blazing heat of the sun', Yk kuñās 'hot weather, intense heat (Sonnenglut, зной)', Chv L хёвел, Chv xöl 'sun' | (synharmonic variant of *Kuñáí) Chv L хёвел хьвeл, Chv Δ хöл 'sun' with the infl. of T *K^rün ~ *k_ün 'sun, day'; T *Künäí 'sunshine' > OT künäš 'sunshine, sunny place', Chg ≥xv künäs ~ künäš, Tk güneš, Δ köveš, Az күнәш günäš, Ggz, Qmq güneš, Kr Cr, Tlt küneš 'sun', Tkm güneš 'sun; blazing heat of the sun (солнцeпёк)' ¶ Cl. 679, 734, Rs. W 307, 309, ET Q 112-13, ET KQ 103-4, Ash. XVI 280, XVII 15-17 and 19-20, Fed. II 340-1, Jeg. 297 ¶¶ SDM 553-4 and DQA no. 531 (in both: the T root in question going back to A *g_lòy^hu 'dawn, daylight') || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *^okoyⁿ∇¹∇- 'glow in the sky' (× U *koye 'Morgen-röte') > Hg hajnal 'dawn, daybreak' (with loss of the palatality of *í) | Os {Ht.} *kuñáí 'red evening glow and morning glow in the sky' ('Röte am Himmel [morgens und abends']) > Os: V quñáí, Vy quñáí, Ty quñáí, Y quñáí, D/K χuñí, Nz χuñáí, Kz χ^oñáí ~ χuñáí id. (D/K/Nz í < pOs *í; -áí & -áí in Os Nz, Kz and O may be due to interdialectal borrowing) ¶ Ht. no. 742, St. D 522-3, EWU 514-15, UEW 167 (Hg-ObU word < U koyⁿ∇ 'dawn' + an unknown sx) ◇ *K^ru¹ñyaHÍE ~ *K^ru¹yñ^aHÍE (or *K^ru¹ñ^aHÍE?) may be a (Uralo-Altaic?) d. from (or a cd with) *K^ruñE 'sun, day' (see N *K^rüñ∇ ~ *K^ruñE). An alt. hyp.: the FU word is derived from FU *koya 'dawn', while T *Ku^rñáí ~ *Künäí is derived from T *k^rün, so that the resemblance between T *Ku^rñáí ~ *Künäí and FU *koyⁿ∇¹∇ is casual ¶ DQA no. 531 (trying to derive the T word from an unconvincing A *g_lòy^hu 'dawn, daylight') ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA no. 16 (A *^o÷ U *kuñe 'moon, month').

906. *kañ|mp∇ 'excrescence, lip, mushroom' > IE: NaIE {IS} *gemb- (or *g^wemb-) 'excrescence, tumor, lip, mushroom' > Psh yumba 'tumor, swelling', ? MPrs gumbad 'dome, fire temple' (← 'convexity?') || Lt gumbas 'bump; lump, knob; growth, excrescence, tumor', Ltv gumba

'tumor, swelling, heap' | Sl *gŏba 'sponge, mushroom, agaric', 'lip' > OCS ГѢБА gŏba 'sponge', Blg Гѣба 'agaric, mushroom', Slv góba, Cz houba, Slk huĭba 'sponge, mushroom', SCr gŭba id., 'tinder; tetter, leprosy', HLs huĭba 'mouth, muzzle', LLs huĭba id., 'lip', P geĭba 'mouth, face, muzzle', OR, RChS ГѢБА guĭba 'sponge, mushroom', R, Uk Гѣба 'lip', Blr Гѣба 'lip, mushroom' ¶ McK 38, Mrg. 25, Frn. 176, ESSJ VII 78-80, StSS 181, Glh. 252, ≠ P 396 (including the reflexes of this √ in an amorphous pool of different *geu-, *gəu-, *gū-roots) || HS: B *√knf > BSn {Bs.} t̥ä-šnāf-t̥ 'lip'; B *√knfr 'lip, muzzle' > Kb {Dl.}, Kb Z {La.} ašənfir 'lip', Shnw {La.} ačənfir 'large lip', Ntf {La.} kənfur 'muzzle'; B ↘ Ar Mgr χanfōrā 'muzzle' ¶ Dl. 98, La. MChB 110 || C *k∇mp∇r- 'lip' > Ag *k∇mp∇r- > Km {CR} kəmbər (pl. kəmbər-tən), Q {R} kanper, Xm {R} ki'fir (pl. ki'fir-t) 'lip'; Ag ↘ EthS: Gz ከኅፈር kanfar (pl. kanāfər), Tgr, Tgy, Amh ከኅፈር kənfər 'lip'; EthS ↘ Bln {R} kanfər ~ künfūr (pl. ka'nāfər ~ kə'nāfər), Sa {R} 'kamfer (pl. kanāfər) 'lip' (the form of pl. [typical of the EthS lges] proves that these words are Semitisms) ¶ R S II 217, R WB 224, R QW 85, CR LK 214, L G 286-7, LH 418, Bsn. 608 || S *°k∇np∇r- > Ar kinfir-at- 'tip of the nose' ¶ Fr. IV 65, ≈ MiK I no. 1.146 || U: FV *kamp∇(r∇) 'mushroom' > pLp {Lr.} kōmpər id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guobbere, L {LLO} kuoppar, N {N} guobbâr, Kld kūmbar, T kimbər id. | Chr (lost) *kūmba ↘ OBlgh *kümpä ↘ Chv кѣмпа кѣм_а 'mushroom', VTt, Bsh Гѣмбѣ gŏmbä 'mushroom' and Prm *göbE ({JLG} *göbE) > Z гоб gob, Z US gŏb 'Bolletaceæ (губчатый гриб)', Vt gubi, Vt Ur gŭbi 'mushroom' ¶ Lr. no. 519, Lgc. no. 2852, Hs. 680-1, SZ 81, LG 76-7, Ash. VII 142-4, Fed. I 253, ≠ Jeg. 99 (Chv ↘ OR gŏba), Sm. 552 (? FP *ko|amp∇) ◇ IS I 291-2.

907. *kuńčĕ (or *kuńčĕ) (probably = *kuńčĭ or *kuńčĭ) 'fingernail, claw, nail' > IE: [1] NaIE *gʷisti-s (or *gʷisti-s) 'finger' > Brtt: W bys, OCrm [VC] bis, bes, OBr (in ds), MBr bis, bes, Br biz 'finger'; Brtt ↘ OIr *biss in biss ega 'icicle' (lit. 'finger of ice') || ?σ: ON kvistr, NNr, Sw, Dn kvist 'branch' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 53, Flr. 83, Ern. 68, Hm. 84, Vr. 339 || [2] NaIE *gʷosdĭhĭo-, *gʷosdĭhĭi- 'nail' > Clt {Matas.} *bisti- 'finger' > Mlr bissib ega 'icicle', MW bys 'finger', Brt biz ~ bis id. || Sl *gvozďь (~ *gvozďь?) 'nail' > OCS ГВОЗДЬ gvozďь 'nail' ('ῥῆλος, clavis'), Blg гвозд, HLs hózdź, LLs gózdź, P gwoźdź, RChS ГВОЗДЬ gvozďь ~ ГВОЗДѢ gvozďь, R, Uk гвоздь 'nail', Blr

ГВОЗДЪ 'wooden nail' ¶ P 481, Vn. B 73, LP § 25.5, YGM-1 51, 65, Dnn. 73, ML no. 1239b, Vr. 339, ESSJ VII 185-6 (* ÷ SI *gʷozdъ 'forest'), StSS 168, Matas. E 66-7, Hm. 84 ¶ Here we should have expected a NaIE **y (< N *ń), which possibly really existed before elimination of **y due to the IE laws of root structure | | U *küñčē 'fingernail, claw' > FU *küñčē > F kŷnsi / kŷnte- 'fingernail, claw, hoof', Es küŷs 'fingernail, claw' | pLp {Lr.} *kɜncɜ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gadɜse, L {LLO} kadɜsa id., N {N} gâɜ'ɜâ, Kld {SaR} кѣнѣцъ, {TI} кɜn:ɜ 'fingernail, claw, hoof' | pre-Mr {Ker.} *kinčə > pMr *kinžə > Er кенже kenže, Mk кенже keńžə id. | pChr {Ber.} *küč id. > Chr: L кѹч küč, H кѣч kəč 'fingernail, claw, hoof' | Prm {LG} *gŷž∇ id. > Z ГЫЖ gŷž (/ *gŷžy-), Z Vsh/EV gŷž, Yz g^ž (gen. g^ž^), Vt ГИЖЫ gižŷ, Vt Δ gŷž id. | | ObU *küñč 'claw, fingernail' > pVg {Ht.} *küñš id. > Vg: T küñš, LK/UL kʷäš, MK kʷäns, UK kʷäs, Yk {Vxr.} käns, P käš, NV/SV kʷänš, UL/Ss kos, Ss {BV} кос ~ конс, N {Mu.} kʷasɜ id.; pOs {Ht.} *köñč id. > V/Vy köñč, Ty köñč, Y köñč, D/K köñč, Nz/Kz küš, O qus id. | | Sm {Jn.} *kьtā 'fingernail, claw' (× N *kayütā 'fingernail, claw' [→ 'nail'] [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ UEW 157, Coll. 30, Sm. 544 (FU *künci, FP *küñči, Ugr *küñčŷ), It. no. 409, Lr. no. 311, Lgc. no. 1870, Ü 92, Hs. 543, TI 102, SaR 147, Ker. II 55, Ber. 26, LG 84, Lt. J 107, Ht. no. 287, BV 40, Jn. 55-6 | | HS: S *kin|mθ|ç- 'shin' > Ak kimɜu ~ kinɜu ~ kiɜɜu 'shin, calf of the leg' (→ 'knee'), as well as Gz kʷəyɜ 'leg, shin' ('shin' ← *'hoof', like in SI *noga 'leg, foot' < BSI *nogā 'hoof' < IE *ongʰ- 'fingernail' or in OI 'arŷghri 'foot' from the same IE root *ongʰ- 'fingernail'); Gz k- for **k- results from glottalizing as.]??φ S *o✓gθw/y > Ar {Fr.} ✓ğθw/y (pf. ġaθā, ip. -ğθiy- ~ -ğθuw-) 'stetit in extremis pedum digitis', {BK} 's'élever sur le bout des pieds' ¶ CAD VIII 373-5, Sd. 478-9, L G 457 (Leslau did not accept any connection between the Gz and the Ak words), Fr. I 244, BK I 253 ¶ In the highly qu. Ar cognate the cns. *g- for the expected *k- may be accounted for by neutralization of the opposition vd. ↔ vl. within a cluster of two obstruents (*-kθ- ~ *-gθ-) | | Ch: ECh: Kwn M {J} kŷñžŷrgŷ 'fingernail' (and Kwn {J} kíñŷrkŷ 'finger?') | | WCh: Grm {J} kʷančà 'fingernail'; but hardly here Cg {Sk.} kŷn, Mnt {J} kàn-sáy id. and other words for 'fingernail' in the WCh lges without the expected sibilant and especially those with the initial k-, unless some contamination with a different word can explain the phonetic irregularities ¶ JI II 137, ChC s.v. 'fingernail', ≈ Stl. 212 [no. 628] | | A *kŷčŷi|I- (= *k'ŷčŷi|I-?) . Iscrape', *kŷčŷi|I (= *k'ŷčŷi|I?) n. 'claw, sharp stick' > Tg *χosŷ-kta 'fingernail,

claw' > Ewk *osīkta*, Lm *ostъ*, Neg *ōtta*, Ork *χosiqta* id., Ul *χusta* id., 'nail', Sln *ušikta* ~ *ušikta* 'fingernail, hoof', Nn Nh/Bk *χosiqta*, Nn Nh *χosaqta*, Ud {Krm.} *wahikta* ~ *wajikta* 'fingernail', WrMc {Z} *васиха* 'claw of birds', *ошохо* 'claw of birds and mammals' ¶ STM II 26-7, Krm. 219, On. 174, Z 127, 1106 ¶ The unexpected Tg *χ- (for *k-) and *-s- (for *-ç-) may be due to the association of the noun with the Tg verb *χosī- 'scratch' (STM II 26-7) ¶ Another explanation of the Tg sibilant *-s-: it may be a regular reflex of N *-ńč|č- (cp. N *s'ū'Nč'∇X∇ 'worm, snake, lizard' [q.v. ffd.] > Tg *isele(n) 'lizard') || T *KIç- ({SDM} *KIç-) 'scratch, scrape, scratch oneself (sich kratzen)' > MT *qīc-*, VTt *qīšī-*, Bsh *qīsi-*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, StAlt *qīčī-*, Qrg *qīčīš-*, Xk *χīčī-*, Tv *kižī-*, Yk *qīhiy-* id. ¶ ET Q 186-7, Rs. W 260, TvR 240, Jud. 501 || M: [1] ?σ Ord *χūč'ī-* 'écorcer; se détacher (objet adhérent à un autre)'; [2] pM *quč'il- ({SDM} *kuč'il-) 'scrape with fingers' > WrM {Rm.} *qucīl-* id., Kl {Rm} *χučl-* ~ *χušl-* 'mit den Fingern die Augen reiben', {KRS} *χučьl-* 'ковырять' ¶ Ms. O 374, KW 199-200, KRS 617 || pKo {S} *koč' 'spit (for roasting), skewer; awl, gimlet' > MKo *koč* id., NKo *koč kōs* 'a borer, awl, gimlet', *k:0žī* 'skewer' ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 170], S QK no. 170, Nam 54, MLC 164, 174 || pJ {S} *kùsì 'spit, skewer, comb' > OJ *kusi*, MJ *kùsì* id., J T/Kg *kuśí*, J K *kúśí* id., 'broach, prod' ¶ S QJ no. 201, Mr. 466, Kenk. 1120-1 ¶¶ SDM 813-14 (pA *k'jùčù v. 'scrape', 'claw, sharp stick' > M *kuč'il-, Tg, T, J. Ko), DQA no. 1073, S AJ 16, 77 and 280 [no. 347], Mr. KJ 241, Ci. EApk 99, Whtm. 135, 165, 223 ◇ If the S cognate *kin|mθ|ç- is not accepted, the reconstructed N affricate may be either *č̣ or *č̣̣. The NaIE cognate *gʷisti- is likely to confirm the rec. of N *-č̣- (cp. N *ʷôč̣'∇ 'bone' > IE *xʷest_lH₁- ~ *xʷost_lH₁-) ◇ The IE reflex of the N nasal cns. suggests that before *č̣-affricates the neutralization of the nasal cns. was not complete: N *ñ (*n|ñ) was still distinguished from *ń. The Tg vw. *-o- for the expected *-u- still requires explanation.

908. (₂?) *kanga 'to wrap, to tie', ? 'to plait' > IE: NaIE *gengʰ- v. 'wind, tie, spin, plait, weave' > ON *kǫngur 'winding, wickerwork' ⇨ *kǫngur-vāfa* ~ *kǫngul-vāfa* 'spin', MHG *kanker* 'ε spider', NGr Δ *Kanker* id.; ? ON *kinga* 'Brustschmuck, Brosche'; NrGmc ⇨ F *kangas* 'web', *kankuri* 'weaver' ||| Sl *gǫžь > Blg ΓЪЖ m. 'bandage, turban', Slv *gōž* f. 'leather strap (used to fasten the flail to the handle and the yoke to the pole [Deichsel])', OCz *húže* 'rope', Cz Δ *houž*,

ноуџе 'tight plait (жгут)', OR ГѸЖЬ гуџь, R ГУЖ 'tug, leather strap or loop (used to fasten the shaft of a cart to the shaft bow etc.)', R Δ ГУЖ 'rope, strap of a flail' ¶ P 380, Vr. 309, 342, SK 155-6, Lx. 103, ESSJ VII 93-4 || A: T *Ka₁:ŋga₁ > Osm {Rh.} قنغال qanğal, Tk kangal 'a coil, a skein', Chg, Osm {Rl.} قنغال qanğāl 'ein in Form eines Rades zusammengelegter Strick, ein gewundener Bündel', Osm {Rh.} qanğalla-, Tk kangalla- v. 'coil, wind in a skein', {Rl.} qanğalla- 'zusammenrollen', as well as possibly Tkm ганжыга qanğıya, StAlt {BT} кандьага qanğağa, Alt {Rl.} qanğıya, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qanğıya, Uz қанжиға qanğıya 'торока, der hintere Teil des Sattels, wo etwas zugebunden wird', Osm {Rh.} qanğıya 'breast strap at the front of a saddle', Xk Δ ханĉауіла- 'tie to the торока' and Chg {Rl.} qanğar- vt. 'die Zügel des Pferdes an den Sattelknopf festbinden' ¶ Rl. II 119-22, Rh. 1424-5, TkR 151, Jud. 340, BT 71, UzR 603 || ?σ,φ D: Mctm *kamp- > Tm камраі 'slips of wood forming the binding of a book made of palm leaves', Ml камра 'wooden peg which goes through a native book' ¶ D no. 1244.

909. (2?) *kang∇ 'e waterfowl' > A *k'a₁:ŋgu 'swan' > Tg *ka₁:ŋgu id. > Ewk Tng kangalas 'gosling', Orc kangu 'wild duck', Nn Nh {On.} kāŋgo, Nn {Pt.} kāŋго, Ul qanğul 'merganser (*Mergus*)', WrMc {Z} кангу нѣхэ 'loon (*Gavia*)' (нѣхэ means 'duck'); Ewk ⇨ Yk ханалас 'e goose' ({Pek.} 'гусь-стервятник') ¶ Vas. 191, On. 208, Pt. 62, Sun. UJ 202, Z 252, Pek. 3310 || M *qun 'swan' > MM қун, WrM {MED} қун, қун, HlM {MED, BMR хун, Brt хун, хунг, Kl {KRS} хун хунə, {Rm.} хунə, Ord хун id. ¶ Lew. II 14, MED 986, BMR IV 166, Chr. 601, KW 197, Ms. O 369 || pKo {S} *kón 'swan' (unless a loan from Chn) > MKo kón, NKo koni ¶ S QK no. 292, Nam 50, MLC 136 ¶¶ M *-u- and pKo *-o- of the initil syll. are due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 644-5 (pA *kãnu 'swan' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 721, Rm. SKE 123 || D *kaŋkaŋam ({ǰGS} *k-) 'e waterfowl' > Tm kaŋkaŋam id., Tl kaŋkaŋamu 'a large bustard with a red head' ¶¶ D no. 1083 || ?σ HS: Eg P krm.t 'e ein böser Vogel' ¶ EG V 132.

910. 2 *koŋ'3'∇ 'crotch (of body)' > HS: Eg Md kɾɪs (< *knz?) 'body part between the anus and the genitalia (= perineum?)', {DW after Dawson} 'hypogastric region', {Fk.} '(?) pubic region' ¶ EG V 134, DW II 907-8, Fk. 286 || A: M **qoŋʒu- ⇨ [1] M *qoŋʒıya-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch; back part' (× N *gaŋ∇ or *gaʔoŋ∇ '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks') > MM [S] qoŋʒıyasun 'Ausscheidungsorgane', WrM

{MED} $\varphi\sigma\eta\zeta\upsilon\varsigma\upsilon$ 'junction of the two thighs, crotch', Kl {Rm.} $\chi\sigma\eta\delta\alpha\sigma\eta\eta$ 'die Stelle unten zwischen den Schenkeln, Sitz', Mnr H {SM} $g_{\text{-}}\sigma\eta\zeta_{\text{-}}\iota\sigma\epsilon\zeta \sim g_{\text{-}}\upsilon\grave{\alpha}\eta\eta\zeta_{\text{-}}\iota\grave{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\zeta$ 'la derrière (des hommes, des animaux)', {T} $g\sigma\eta\zeta\sigma\epsilon$ 'back part'; behind', Brt $\chi\sigma\eta\zeta\sigma\eta\eta(\eta)$ 'anus'; [2] WrM {BMR} $\varphi\sigma\eta\zeta\iota\zeta\upsilon$, HIM {BMR} $\chi\sigma\eta\zeta\iota\zeta\sigma$ 'buttocks (задница)' ¶ H 66, MED 963, BMR IV 105, Chr. 584, KW 185, SM 122-3, T 325.

911. *kohP ∇ 'cave, pit' > HS: S * \circ kaḥp- > Ar kaḥf- 'grotto, cavern; shelter' ({Fr.} 'specus, spelunca larga et ampla' → 'asylum, locus effugii') ¶ Fr. IV 67, Hv. 668 || ? ϕ Eg fP $\sigma\rho\tau.t$ 'burrow, hole in the earth' ¶ EG V 364-6 || ? σ Ch: WCh: Hs kàfě {Ba.} 'hut made of wood (or cornstalks) and grass', {Ba., Abr.} 'verandah fixed to a house wall', Hs {Abr.} káfì 'hut of cornstalks' || CCh: Pdl {ChL} kúrì, Tr {Nw.} kɛba, {Mch.} kɛba, Gude {ChL} kùv^wá, {Mch.} kuva, FIM {ChL} kùvú, FIB {ChL} kùvún 'hut' ¶ JI II 202-3, ChC s.v. 'hut', Ba. 524, Abr. H 447 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 1430 || **K** *kwab- 'cave, hollow in the ground' > OG kwab-, G kvab- 'cave', Mg kvib- 'cave, hollow in the ground (котловина)', ? Sv (\leftarrow G?): UB/Ln {TK} kwäb (pl. kwabär), L {TK} kwab, Sv {K} kwäb, kwaba 'cave'; it is possible (but not certain) that G kvab- 'cauldron' and Mg kvib- 'small cauldron' belong here as well ¶¶ K 197, K² 216, TK 788 || **U**: FP *kōppa ~ *kōppe 'pit; hollow' (× N *gup ∇ ?^u 'hollow, empty, hole', q.v. ffd.) || **A** *k'ob'ü' 'hollow, cavity' > Tg {SDM} *kobi > WrMc {Z} коби 'hollow, depression; ямка, углубление; впалые места по обеим сторонам носа у ноздрей', {Hr.} $\varphi\sigma\beta\iota$ 'konkave Stelle, Einbuchtung, Aushöhlung, Vertiefung', Lm $\varphi\sigma\beta\iota\acute{\alpha} \sim \varphi\sigma\beta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ 'hollow in a tree trunk (Baum-höhlung, дупло)' ¶ STM I 402, Z 280, Hr 692 || M: [1] M * $\varphi\sigma\beta\iota$ - > Ord $\chi\sigma\omega\bar{\sigma}$ - 'avoir une forme concave\évasée', d. $\chi\sigma\omega\sigma\sigma_{\text{-}}\sigma\sigma$ 'concave\évasé', WrM {MED} $\varphi\sigma\beta\iota\lambda$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\chi\sigma\beta\iota\lambda$ 'groove', WrM {MED} $\varphi\sigma\beta\iota\kappa\iota$ 'ε chisel with a grooved blade; gouge', HIM $\chi\sigma\beta\iota$ {MED, BMR} id., [2] M * $\varphi\sigma\upsilon$ -sun (< ** $\varphi\sigma\beta$ -sun?) 'empty' (× N *gup ∇ ?^u 'hollow, empty, hole') > MM [HI, S] $\varphi\sigma_{\text{-}}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\eta$ id., WrM $\varphi\sigma\sigma\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\eta$ {BMR} 'emptiness; empty, void', HIM $\chi\sigma\sigma\sigma\eta$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'emptiness; empty', Brt $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$ id., WrO $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta \sim \chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$ 'empty, void', Kl {KRS} $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta \chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$ 'empty', {Rm.} $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta$ 'leer, Leerheit', Brt $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta(\eta)$ 'empty', Mnr H {SM} $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$ 'vide, désert, inhabité', {T} $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$ 'empty', Ba {T} $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$, Dg {T}, Ord $\chi\sigma\sigma\eta\eta$ 'vide; qui est à jeune; pauvre' ¶ MED 949, 953, BMR IV 90, 109-10, Chr. 574, 587-8, KRS 597, KW 191-3, Ms. H 90, Lew. II 45, H 66, Ms. O 361-2, Krg. 272, SM 169, T

375, T BJ 150, T DgJ 178 || pJ *kúmpuá 'cavity' (× N *gup∇?ʔú' '↑') > OJ kub_Lw_Jo, MJ kúbó id., J T kubo {Kenk.} 'a hollow, sunken (hollow) place, depression'; pJ *kúmpuá-m- 'be concave\hollow' > OJ kub_Lw_Jom-, MJ kúbóm-, J T kùbom-, J K kúbóm-, J Kg kubóm- id. ¶ S QJ no. 669, Mr. 61, 714, Kenk. 1089-90 || NaT *KobI 'hollow, ravine, pit, depression between hills\mountains' (× pA *gʔoʔb∇ [> Kl D {Rm.} gōwā 'niedrige Stelle, Tal', see N *gup∇?ʔú' 'hollow, empty, hole']) > OT [MhK] qovI 'hollow', Az gobu 'hollow in the ground, (narrow) gorge\gully', Az Δ gobu ɘ gobI ɘ govu 'ravine, pit, depression (often flooded)', StAlt qobI 'ravine, narrow gully, hollow in the ground', Alt/QK {Rl.} qōbI 'ravine, Talhöhlung ohne Fluß', MQp [BMTQ] {Zaj.} qobə 'creux, cavité, fosse', Osm {Rl.} قوبه qoba 'Loch, Grube, Graben' (↳ G Kzq qob-i 'Grube; Stelle im Wasser, wo sich die Fische sammeln'), Qzq, StAlt qobI, Tb qobI ~ qōbI, Tk Δ qobu ɘ qowu, Qmq Δ qowu 'depression between hills'] -> : (1) NaT *Kobuk 'hollow, empty' > OT qovuc id., 'a hollow', MQp [CC] qovuc, MOg qowuc 'anything hollowed out and empty', Osm qovuc ~ qovuc, Tk kovuk 'hollow' (n., adj.), 'cavity, cave', Tkm qowuc, Tk Δ govuk, goyuk, qawuc, gawik 'hollow, a hollow', Xk, Sg χαχ 'hollow' (a tree), 'hollow of a tree trunk', ET Δ quaq 'empty' (of a melon\watermelon), Az govug 'bubble'; (2) T *Kobu-í > MQp [CC] XIV qovuš, Nog quwis 'hollow', VTt кубыш quwš id., 'hollow of a tree trunk', Bsh qbwš, Qmq quwš 'a hollow', Osm qovuš ~ qovuš 'large hall, dormitory', Tk koğus ~ kovus, 'cell (in a prison)', Az Γορυς quwš 'hollow of a tree trunk', Qzq, Qq quwis 'cavity, hollow body', Nog quwis 'a hollow (depression)', Chv хăвăл хьвъл n. 'hollow of a tree trunk', Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.} хулă adj. 'empty' ¶ Cl. 583, ≈ Cl. 581, Rs. W 273, ET Q 5-7, 18-20, ARL 83, Rh. 1490, Ash, XVI 149 and 311-12, Fed. II 317, Jeg. 288, ChVS 243, Md. 44, 169, MKD 144, DTS 461, BT 84, Zaj. VAKBM I 39, AzDDL 144, Rl. II 657-60, Bu. II 69 ¶ ?? NaT *Kuy > OT quy 'a secluded spot, cave', StAlt, Tv quy, Tf huq, Xk хуq 'cave', Qrg quy 'deep ravine, rift caused by an earthquake' ¶ Cl. 674, Ra. 191. Jud. 438, TvR 163, BT 91 || ??? pKo *kór- 'become hollow' (if from **ko_Lul < **kobul) > NKO {Rm.} kól- id. (unless from pKo *kórh- 'be hungry\empty') ¶ Rm. SKE 122 ¶¶ SDM 710-11 (pA *kóbú [with unj. long vw.] 'hollow, cavity' > M *qovuc-su, T *Kobu-k, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 859, Rm. SKE 122 ◇ Eg p and U *-pp- go back to an earlier *-p- from pN -p∇?-

912. *k^oʳqʳp∇ 'mucus, slime' ([in some B lges] → 'saliva'), 'filth\dirty on the surface, mould (Schimmel)' > IE: NaIE *^og^ωēb^h-/*^og^ωab^h- 'slimy' ({P} 'schleimig, schwabbelig') (→ 'slimy fish') > Gmc: Nr Δ kvapa 'to secrete liquid', Sw Δ kvabba, NLG quabbeln 'von Fettigkeit zittern', NE quab; OSx {P} quappa 'burbot (*Lota*)' (absent in Ho. S), MHG quappe id., NHG Quappe 'burbot and other slimy fish (e.g. rockling, *Enchelyopus*)', OHG Δ ({OsS} OMG) quappa 'cappedo, ein Fisch mit breitem dickem Kopfe' || (× N *k^oh₂ʳäʳb∇ 'frog, toad', q.v. ffd.): BSl: Prugabaωo 'toad' and Sl *žǎba (< pre-Sl *gēbā) 'toad', as well as L bufō 'toad' ({Ert}: ← OscU < *g^ωōb^hō) ¶ P 466, KM 572, OsS 692, Vs. II 31, Glh. 704, En. 174, Tr. 8, Tp. P E-H 124-7, Ert ED 130 || HS: S: Ar kafχat- 'écume abondante' ¶ BK II 913 || B *✓kfH ~ * ✓kfs (partially id.) 'foam, saliva, slime' (× N id. *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble?') > Wrg {Dlh.} t-kuffi 'mousse, écume, tissu graisseux et floconneux dans les entrailles d'un animal qu'on écorche', ETwl/Ty {GhA} təkaffe 'mousse, écume', Ah {Fc.} tǎ-kuffe 'mousse blanche (de lait qu'on vient de traire; de savon), Kb Z {La.} t̄ikuf̄ta 'mousse', Tmz {MT} a-kuffi (pl. akuffan) 'écume, masse blanchâtre des liquides', Gh {Nh.} takufit, Gd {Lf.} təkaffe, Kb i-kuf̄tan, BSn {Bs.} a-kuffu, a-kufkuf, Rf Wr {Rn.} kuffi, Izn, Rf B/A {Rn.} tkuffi, Kb {Dl.} iʃuf̄tan (pl.), Zng {Bs.} ikuffan 'foam', Shenua {La.} iʃufa, BMn {La.} t̄ixuffa 'salive', Btw {La.} kufu 'crachat', Izn {Rn.} t̄ikuffa, Rf Tz {Rn.} ikuffän, SrSn {Rn.} ikufän, Ntf {La.} təkufas, Wrg tikufas 'saliva', Zng {Bs.} akuffo (3s pf. ikuffo) 'écumer'; ↗ Wrg {Dlh.} -kkəfkəf-, Ah sə-kkəfkəf v. 'foam' ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, La. MChB 121, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, Dl. 395-6, 399, Lf. II no. O736, Bs. MS I 231 || U: FV *kʳōʳpp∇ 'mould (Schimmel)' > pLp *kōppə id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guoppe, L {LLO} kuohpa, N {N} guoppâ, Kld kūbb || pChr {Ber.} *kup̄- (||Ber.} *kup̄â-) 'grow mouldy' > Chr Ch/YO/V kŭpa-, K k̄pa-, Chr E {Ü} kupa- id., Chr L kupaš ku'pa-š, Chr H kypaš 'k̄pa-š' 'to grow mouldy, to be covered with mould' (water); Chr B {Trc.} kup 'mould' ¶ UEW 680 (FV *kâpp∇), Lr. no. 528, Lgc. no. 2904, Hs. 691, Ber. 24 [no. 109], MRS 246, 270, Ep. 52, Ü 85 ◇ The Gmc verb and the B ✓ have ideophonic associations, which have influenced their form.

913. *keyp∇ (or *küyp∇?) 'light (not heavy)' > U {Coll.} *keypä id. > FU *kepā > F kepeä, keveä 'light, easy', Es {W} kebja, kebi 'light, quick, weak' || pLp {Lr.} *kēppē 'light (levis)' > Lp: S {Hs.} g'öppe-ke, N

{N} gæp'pâd, Kld kīēppēs id., L {LLO} kiehppeē 'light, easy', N {N} gep'pīs 'easy' || ? Vt Sr {W} kapčī 'leicht, mild' || Hg keves 'few' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *keyp∇- 'light (levis)' > Ne T cīбѣ, Ne O {Lh.} sīb_lī, En {Cs.} sébi, Slq Tz {KKIH} šēp+ ~ šēp+, ?? {Prk.} sзpen, Slq Tm {KD} šabāga id., Slq Nr {Cs.} s äbeak 'I am light', Mt {Hl.} ĭ *kühä, ĭĭ *kīhā 'levis' (Mt {Pl.} kú he - ki í he) ¶¶ UEW 146-7 (U *kepā), Coll. 24, Coll. CG 406 (*keypā), W EDW 258, Lr. no. 385, Lgc. no. 2272, Hs. 644, Jn. 67, Lh. 447-8, KKIH 174, Hl. M no. 570 || ¶¶ A *k'ö|op_l'_E 'light' (not heavy), 'floating on the surface' > M: [1] M *kōbö- 'float, drift om the surface of water, rise to the surface' > WrM kōb-, kōbū- {MED} id., HIM xөвө- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'swim', 'float on the surface of water', Brt xγбэ- 'float' (p. ex. clouds in the sky), Kl {KRS} көв- kōv- 'float, swim\drift om the surface of water, rise to the surface', {Rm.} köwə- 'auf dem Wasser schwimmen, auffließen', Ord k'öwö- 'flotter à la surface' ¶ MED 475, BMR IV 125, Chr. 611, KRS 310, KW 242, Ms. O 432 || [2] M: WrM kūbki- 'be very light' (of weight) ¶ MED 495, Kow. 2582 || Tg *kop'e'- ~ *kepu- v. 'swim', 'float on the surface of water' > Neg kopon- ~ кзрэн- 'aufschwimmen (всплыть)', Ewk кзрэн- ~ кзркэн- id., 'rise to the surface of water; Lm кэwумзт- 'swim, swim on the surface of water', кзбдуңçі- 'swim' (of sea animals), Ud kop'çol- 'swim on the surface of water', Ul kopto-, Ork kopitudu- id., 'aufschwimmen (всплыть)', Nn Nh {STM} koptol, кзртз, {On.} koptol desc. 'swimming, swimming on the surface of water' ¶ STM I 442, 451-2, Om. 226 || pKo {S} *kàp'á_l'- 'light' (of weight) > MKo kàp'á_l'-yáp-, NKo kabуəp- id. ¶ S QK no. 499, Nam 5, MLC 17 ¶ The unexpected pKo vw. *a is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 743 (pA > *kup'e 'light' (of weight), 'floating on the surface' > M *kōbö- 'drift on the surface', Tg, Ko), DQA no. 929 || HS: Ch: WCh *°k'w∇f- > NrBc {Sk.}: Wtj k'wófúrá, Cg kòfáfá, Kry k'wàk'wáfáná 'light (levis)' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kзfəŋ id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'light (not heavy)', Eb. 67 ◇ If the N etymon is *keyp∇, the labialised *k'w- in NrBc and *ü in M may be explained by the assimilatory infl. of N *p. If we accept the N rec. *küyp∇, the U vw. *e remains unexplained.

914. *kep_lH₂∇ (= *kep'∇?) 'jaw, chin' > IE *gēp_lHx_l- > NaIE *gēp'h- ~ *gēb'h- 'jaw, mouth' > Irn (< *gēp'h-): Av zafar-, zafan- 'mouth, jaws of animal (Maul)', Phl dahān, NPrs دَاهَان dāhān ~ دَاهَن dāhān 'mouth', Orm zānbə 'jaw' || OIr gop 'bill (of birds), mouth', NIr gob 'bill,

protruding mouth, snout', Gl \rightarrow VL Gl *gobbo- (with "expressive" gemination) > Fr gobet 'gobbet, mouthful', gōber 'to gulp down, to swallow (with greed)' || Gmc: MHG kiuwe & kiwe 'jaw, jawbone', 'throat (Rachen) (of animals and the devil)', kiuwel, kivel 'jaw, jawbone', NHG Kiefer, NLG keve 'jaw', ON kjaptr ~ kjǫptr 'jaw, jaws (of animals)' (Maul, Kinnbacke, Kiefer)', NNr kjeft, Dn kjæft *ab.* 'mouth, throat', Sw käft 'mouth (of animals)', *ab.* 'throat' || Sl *zobъ > R зоб 'crop, craw (of birds)', LLs zob, P dziób 'beak' ¶ But NGr Δ Kiefe 'gill (of fish)', NLG keve, ON káfi id. and Gmc *kēfala id. (> AS céaf1, NE jowl, jole, OSx kaflos) (⇔ EI) belong together with Sl *žabra 'gill' < NaIE *gēb^h- 'gill', which is likely to go back to a different IE √ ¶ P 382, Vl. I 944, Horn 131, Bai. 222-3, Brtl. 1657, Thr. KR 60, ML no. 3814, Kö. no. 4289, Dnn. 375, Vr. 311, Lx. 108, KM 367, Vs. II 31-2, 10, ≈σ EI 173 (*gēp- 'eat, masticate' [usually of animals]) || K *oqar- 'chin, 'jaw' > Sv: UB/LB qar-rä-y, U/LB qarä, Ln/L qaray {TK} 'chin', {GP} 'lower jaw, chin', Sv {Ni.} qarä 'jaw'; d.: *ni-qar- 'chin' > OG dat. ni-qar-sa 'to the chin' (p < *p̥ by as.), G ni-qar-i ~ ni-qar-i id., Mg nɜkɜ- & niɜu & nuɜu- 'chin', Lz nu(n)ɜu 'mouth, face', Sv Ln niɜpa, Sv L niɜba 'chin', Sv {Ni.} niɜpa 'jaw' ¶¶ K 148 and K² 142 (*ni-qar- 'chin'), FS K 169, FS E 184, Abul. 329, Q 291, Chik. 49-50, Ni. s.v. 'подбородокъ' and 'челюсть', TK 342 || HS: Ch {Stl.} *gobi 'chin, cheek' (× N *gAb∇ 'jaw, cheek', q.v. ffd.) WCh: DfB {J} kápâk (pl. kapâk) 'cheek' | Hs {Abr., Ba.} hábà 'chin' | P' {MSk.} gábà-čangá 'chin, lower jaw' | Gj {ChL} gús-gúbà 'chin' || CCh {Stl.} *ŋyobi > Cb {ChL} ŋgubæ 'cheek' | HgF {ChL} yubì 'chin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gábí 'cheek' ¶ JI II 68-9, Ba. 431, Abr. H 357, J R 216, Eb. 46, ChC s.v. 'cheek', Stl. IF 113 || A: Tg *kebe ({{ADb.}} *kepe, {S} *kewe) 'lower jaw' > Ewk kɜwɜ id., Lm kɜwɜ̄, Lm Sk kɜbɜ̄ id. 'chin' ¶ STM I 442-3 ¶ The rec. of Tg {ADb.} *-φ- is based on A. Dybo's version of the Tg historical phonology (ADb SR), where Ewk -ɜwɜ- and Lm -ɜwɜ- & -ɜbɜ- go back to pTg *-eφe- || D *kepp- 'cheek, temple' ({{ǰGS} *k-) > Ml ceppi 'cheek', Kn keppate id., keppe 'temple', Tu keppæ, kebbu 'cheek, temples', gebbu 'temples', ? Tl cēpa cekkuu 'gills' ¶¶ D no. 1989 ◇ K *k...p̥ < **k...p̥ (as.) ◇ NaIE *-p^h- ~ *-b^h- and Tg *-b- (rather than *-p- from N *-p̥-) suggest the presence of a N lr. The absence of any lr. in K points to N *ʔ, *ɣ or *ħ. Among these three the most plausible is *ɣ, because only *ɣ can account for the voicing in IE *-b^h- ◇ Cp. N *gAb∇ 'jaw, cheek' and N *k'a'wɪoɪp̥E or

*k₁'a'w₁o₁p₁∇y∇ 'skull; occiput'. In the descendant lges semantic and phonetic infl. of the heritage of these N words cannot be ruled out.

915. *ku₁p₁sa 'extinguish, exhaust' > IE *g^wes-/*g^wōs- id. > OI 'jasatē 'is exhausted' ||| Gk σβέννυμι 'I quench, I put out' (aor. ἔσβεσα) ||| ?σ Gmc: Gt qistjan, fra-qistijan (· ἀπολέσαι).vt. verderben', fra-qistnan (· ἀπόλλυσθαι).vi. 'verderben', OHG quist 'torment', fir-/ir-quisten 'to destroy' ||| Lt gēsti id. (1s pres. Olt, Lt Zh gęsu), Ltv dzēst 'to extinguish' | Sl caus. inf. *gas-i-ti (caus.) id. > RChS ΓΑΣΗΤΗ gasiti, Blg га'ся, SCr gāsiti, Slv ggasíti, Cz hasiti, Slk hasit', P gasić, R га'сить, Uk га'сити id.; Sl vi. *gas-nq- (inf. *gas-nq-ti) 'to be extinguished' > SCr gāsnu^{ti}, Slv gásniti, Cz hasnouti, Slk hasnú^t', P gasnać, OR gasnuti, R 'гаснуть, Uk 'гаснути id., Blg 'гасна 'be extinguished' ||| pTc *kās- > Tc A kās-, Tc B kās-, kes- {Wn.} 's'éteindre', {Ad.} 'come to extinction, be extinguished' || Ht {Pv.} kest-, kist-, gist-, {Ts.} kist- (md. v.) 'be extinguished, die out, perish' ||| IS I 311 adduced IE *k^wsep- 'dark' (presumably mt. from *g^wpes- with as. *g^ws- > *k^ws-) > IE 'kṣap-'night', Av xšap- 'darkness', Gk ψέφας id. (with a puzzling ψ- [Specht UID 11 supposed a tabuistic replacement]), Ht ispan^t- 'night' ¶¶ P 649, EI 188, M K I 285, 425, F II 685-6, Fs. 388-9, Kb. 583-4, Schz. 189, OsS 696, Frn. 149, ESSJ VI 104-5, Ts. E I 409-11, 592-4, Pv. I-II 431-5 and IV 167-8, Wn. I 210, Ad. 177, Ad. H 67, 70 || HS: CS *kb^w: BHb כבב^y ✓ kby|w G 'go out' (fire), D (pf. כִּבְּבָא kib'bā) 'extinguish', JA ✓ kby|w D id., JA {Js.} ✓ kby ~ ✓ kb^w G, JEA {Sl.} ✓ kby G 'be extinguished, go out', Ar ✓ kb^w v. G (pf. kabā) 'smoulder in the ashes' (of fire) ¶ KB 435-6, KBR 457, Sl. 550-1, Js. 608, BK II 857, Hv. 642 ¶ The absence of the expected *-š- may be explained by weakening *-š- > *-h- > zero, as in grammatical morphemes and pronouns || U *kupsa- 'extinguish; die out' (fire) > Lp T {TI} kopse- id. | Es kustu- 'be extinguished, die out', Lv kis:t-^đ kūs:t- id. (-i- ~ -ü- [normally from BF *-ü-] is irreg.; UEW supposes dis.) || Prm *kus- 'go\die out' (fire) > Z, Vt kus- ||| ObU: Os: V qāwla-, Ty *kōpā- id.; Os d. (with a *t-sx): V/Vy qowāt-, Ty/Y qopāt- vt. 'extinguish' || Sm {Jn.} *kəptā-, {Hl.} *kəpta- vt. 'extinguish', ĩ {Jn.} *kəptā- 'go out, die out' (fire) > [1] vt.: Ne T xābtac̄, Ne F kaptā-š 'to go out, to die out' (fire), Ne O {Lh.} χaptā- 'go\die out' (fire), Ng {Ter.} kaptu-^{da}, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. κόταβο, Slq Tz {KKIH} qapt+-qo, Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. qab₁tab₁, Kms {KD} 1s pres.

q'uptarǎlám ~ quʔbtarǎlám, Koyb {Sp.} 1s pres. кубдремъ, Mt {Hl.} *kabtā- vt. 'extinguish' (Mt M {Sp.} каптестъ 'I extinguish'), [2] vi.: Ne: Т хăбтѣсь, O {Lh.} χαπτ'ō, F kap'ćō (< *къртъ-уъу-), Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. картѡа-м (? < *къртā-у-), En X {Cs.} kotiaroʔ, Slq Tz {Prk.} qarpey-, Kms {KD} quʔbdōlám 'go out, die out' (fire) ¶¶ Coll. 29, UEW 214-15, Sm. 537 (U, FU *кѡрсӑ-, FP *кѡрса-, Sm *кѡртӑ-), It. no. 180, Kt. 130, LG 147, Trs. S 159, 176, Jn. 54, KKIИ 158, KD 33-4, Hl. M no. 372 || ¶ *gupE '≈ extinguis, lose (verlieren)' (× N *gup∇ʔ'û' 'hollow, empty') > AmTg *gūp- > Nn gūpu-, Ork gupu-, Ul gūpu-, gōkri- 'extinguish', Nn Nh gūp-, gūkpu-, Ork, Ul gūptu- 'go out' (fire) ¶ STM I 159, On. 121 ¶ The Nn and Ul cluster -kp- is to be explained (mt. from *-p-k-, where *-k- is a sx?) || ? M *geʒe- (< **geβe-?) v. 'lose (verlieren)' > WrM {MED} gegē-, HIM {MED, BMR} гээ-, Brt гээ- 'lose, abandon, leave', Klm {Rm.} gē- 'verlieren, verloren gehen lassen, wegwerfen', {KRS} гее- 'verlierenn (терять, утратить)', Mgl {Rm.} gē- 'lose', Dg {T} gē- 'lose (терять, утратить, лишаться), Mnr {SM} gē- 'abandonner, quitter, laisser', Ord gē- 'perdre, laisser en arrière, omettre (par négligence/ mégarde), répudier (une femme)' ¶ MED 373, BMR I 485, Chr. 176, KW 135, KRS 135, T DgJ 131, Mr. D 149, SM 131, Ms. O 254 ¶¶ SDM 560 (pA *gǰùp'a|u 'extinguish' > Tg + unc. T *Kip-'spark, ashes'), DQA no. 540 ◇ In IE the N cluster *-P_s- contracted to *-s- ◇ IS I 311 [no. 185] (*KuPśa, sc. {JAD} *KuPsa; IE, U + [with a query] unc. AmTg *gūp- 'extinguish'), AD SShS 297 [no. 1] (N *kupsa, adducing the S cognate; an attempt to explain the N word with a sibilant as a d. from that without sibilant, as in Tg and S) ◇ Gr. II no. 134 (← IS) (*kupsa 'extinguish') (IE, U, A + unc. EA).

916. *kar∇ 'twist, turn around, return' > **HS:** WS *✓kr̥r 'turn, twist' > Ar D {Lb.} ✓kr̥r G (pf. كَرَّ karra) 'faire un tour, rouler', Ar ✓kr̥r G (pf. كَرَّ karra) 'come back', 'follow by turns' (night and day), karr-at-'time (mal), repetition of an action', ✓kr̥r D 'repeat', Sb kr̥r 'return'; with root rdp.: WS *✓kr̥kr 'turn round' > Ar ✓kr̥kr 'turn the millstone', Ug kr̥kr 'tanzen lassen', {OLS} ✓kr̥kr 'torcer, retorcer', BHb prtс. מְכַרְכַּר mə-kar'kēr 'dancing', MHb ✓kr̥kr (p. kir'ker) 'auf- und abgehen, tanzen', כֶּרְכֹּר ~ כִּרְכֹּר kir'kūr {Js.} 'circle, circuit, round about way; whirl', JA [Trg.] כִּרְכָּר kir'kā'rān 'dance', Tgr ✓kr̥kr (pf. kerkere) 'roll', Gz na-k^ωark^ωar, na-k^ωark^ωār 'rotation, rolling, whirlpool', ✓k^ωrk^ωr N ʔank^ωark^ωara 'roll, roll around' ¶ OLS 223, Ln.

III 2562-3, BK II 878-9, 888, Hv. 648-9, L G 292, A no. 1383, KB 476, KBR 500, Lv. II 407, Js. 669-70 || **D** *kaṛ- ({{ḡGS}} *g-) 'whirl, turn around' > SD: Tm kaṛaṅku v. 'whirl', n. 'whirling, gyration', kaṛakku vt. 'spin (as yarn)', Ml kaṛaṅṅuka v. 'turn around, whirl', Kt gaṛa, gaṛagaṛa 'whirlingly, around and around', *id.* Tu gaṛъ, gaṛa, gaṛagara, gaṛraṅæ 'a whirling noise', Kn gaṛa, gaṛagaṛa 'whirlingly, around and around', ?φ koṛi, koṛe v. 'whirl' ¶ D no. 1387 || **A**: M *qari- vi. 'return' > MM [HI, MA, IM] qari- *id.*, WrM {MED} qari-, HIM {MED, BMR} xari- *id.*, 'go back', Kl {KRS} xap- xār- vi. 'return, уезжать домой', {Rm.} xār- 'zurück-kehren', Ord xari- 'retourber, mourir', Mnr H xari- {T} xari- vi. 'return', {SM} 'retourner, réitérer', 's'apaiser' (colère), 'mourir', Mgl {Rm.} inf. qarina, Dx qari-, Ba xare- vi. 'return' ¶ Pp. MA 293-4, 444, Ms. H 88, Ms. O 340, MED 937, BMR IV 59, SM 162-3, T 374-5, T DnJ 125, T BJ 149, KRS 590, KW 177, Rm. M 31 ◇ Not here WP's and P's erroneously reconstructed IE *ger- 'drehen, winden', based on an unc. comparison of ON karmr 'Brustwehr' and Sw karm 'Rückenlehne aus Flechtwerk' with OI gartaḥ 'high seat in a chariot' (WP and P arbitrarily: ← *'wickerwork') and with OI guṇaḥ 'thread, string' (which cannot belong here, because in the light of the Ir *ev.* its original meaning is 'hair', *F* N *kuñā 'hair') (*F* M K I 327, 338), as well as on adducing stems with extensions: *gerg-, *gerk- etc., some of which have their own N connections (*F* N *k'a'Rka 'to turn, to plait, to wrap').

917. *kaRṽ 'rise, get up, jump up, wake up' > IE: NaIE *ger- 'rise' > OI 'jaratē 'wakes up, is awake' (pfc. 'jāgara, jā'gāra), (rdp.) jā'garti 'is awake, awakes', Av gārē 'zu wachen über...', pfc. jāḡāra || Gk ἐγείρω 'awaken, rouse, stir up', ft. ἐγερῶ || pAl *en-grada > Al: T ngre 'lift, raise' ¶ WP I 598 and P 390 (in both: *ger-, *grēj-), M K I 421, 427, F I 437, Hamp AIEW 145, O 296 || **HS**: S *^o✓krr 'jump' > SES: Mh ✓krr (pf. kər, sbjn. yəkrēr), Jb C ✓krr (pf. kerr, sbjn. 'yakkur), Jb C ✓krr (pf. 'ker) 'jump, jump on to so.' ¶ Jo. M 212, Jo. J 131 || B: [1] *^o✓wkr (< **^o✓w-kr, with the px *w- of vi.) > Izn {Rn.}, Si {La.} əkkər, SrSn {Rn.} əkkər, Gd {Lf.} əkkər (pf. ikkər, Lcj. 8), Kb əщщər, Tmz AH {MT}, Izd {Mrc.} (pf.) kkər 'get up, rise, stand up', Nf {La.} əkkər vi. 'awake, wake up'; [2] *^o✓nkr (< **^o✓n-kr, with the px *n- of vi., reflexivity etc.) > Thg {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} ənkər 'get up, awake', Izn, Rf, SrSn ənkər 'se relever', Sll nkər, Tmz AH nšər 'get up, rise, stand up', Zng {TC} enkur / pf. yunker 'se

lever' ¶ Dl. 412-13, Mrc. 155, Rn. 394, La. S 252, MT 486-7, Fc. 1377-82, Ds. 169, Lf. I 242-4 and II no. O789, DCTC 289 || A: M *qaray₁i₁- 'jump, leap, skip' > WrM {MED} qarai-, HIM {MEd, BMR}, Brt xарай-, WrO qarai- id., Ord xarā- 'monter (une monture)' ¶ MED 233, BMR IV 48-9, Chr. 550-1, Krg. 264, Ms. O 339.

918. *kar∇ 'ε wild bird', 'crane' > HS: S: Ar karawān- 'ε partridge' ¶ BK II 892 || IE *ger₁Hx₁- ({P, EI} *ger-) 'crane' > Arm Կռնկ կռնկ id. || Gk γέρανος id., γέρην 'female crane' || L grū-s (gen. gru-is) id. || Clt {Matas.} *garano- 'crane' > MW 'heron, crane', W garan 'crane', Crn garan, MBr garan id., Br {Hm.} garan 'grue', Gl tri-garanos 'with three cranes' || MLG kran(e), krōn, OHG cranuh ~ cranih, MHG kran(e), kruon, kranech 'crane', NHG Kran 'lifting crane'; NHG Kranich, MLG kranek, AS cran, cranoc ~ cornuc 'crane', NE crane || Lt gėrvė, Ltv dzeĩve, Pru gerwe 'crane'; cp. also Lt garnỹs, Ltv gārnis 'heron' | Sl *žeravъ > Blg 'жеpав', SCr žèrav, Slv žerjav, Cz žeráv, P żóraw, Br 'жоров 'crane'; ⇨ Sl *žeravъjb > ChS, OR жєpавль žeravль, R жу'pавль, R Δ, Uk жуpавель, SCr ždrāl̄j > ždrāl 'crane' (← adj. 'of a crane') ¶ P 383-4, EI 140-1, F I 299 (no et. of the Gk words), WH I 624, Ho. 59, Flr. 173, Kb. 561, OS 510-11, Lx. 114, KM 400, Ho. 58-9, Slr. 171-2, Frn. 137-8, En. 177, Tp. P E-H 223-7, Vs. II 67-8, Matas. E 151, Hm. 308, Glh. 705, IS I 292 (supposing heteroclisism in IE), ≈ P 383-4 || U [1] U *kark∇ 'crane' > Lp: L {LLO} kuor'ka, N {N} guor'gā / -ra- id. | Er kargo, Mk karga id. || Sm {Jn.} *kъpъ, ? d. *kъpъyъy 'crane' > Ne T xǎpě, Ne O {Lh.} xap'w, Ne F {Lh.} ka'rw, En {Ter.} kori (all < *kъpъyъy), Slq Tz {KKIH} qa'ra, Slq Tm {KD} qara, Kms {Cs.} куро, (*kъpъyъy >) Kms {KD} k'uru'y'u, Koyb {Sp.} куръерокъ; Mt {Hl.} *kōru|ōh (Mt M {Sp.} куроў, Mt K {Pl.} kor'uh, kor'ù) id. || [2] U *kur₁∇₁k∇ 'crane' > F kurki (gen. kurjen), Es kurg (gen. kure) id. || Eartly pY {AD} *kur₁∇₁'k¹- ⇨ [1] pY {IN H} *°kurčэ- > Y K {IN} kurč'ej 'Siberian white crane (стерх, *Crus leucogeranus*)' (-č'e- is a nominal sx), {Ang. ← Iox.} курсеη 'Storch', Y K {IN H} kurčэkā 'short coat with fur inside or made of chamois which in winter is worn under an overcoat', kurčэη-lebeydi 'cranberry' (lit. 'crane's berry'); [2] Y K kureqztī 'Siberian white crane' ¶¶ UEW 128, Jn. 54, KKIИ 158, Hl. M no. 557, IN 230, Ang. 129, ≈ Rd. UJ 37 [no. 18] (Y ← U) ¶¶ The vw. *-u- in the FU and Yukagir words still needs explanation || A *k'ar∇ 'ε wild bird' > T **Kar- > [1] *Karliyač

'Schwalbe' > OT U qarlıyač, OT Kr qarlıyač, qarçılač, Tk {SDM} karlanğič, Az qaragloš, qaranguš, Tkm Δ qarlavač, Uz қалдирғоч, ET Δ qalıyač, VtT, Qzq qarlıyač, Bsh Δ qarlıyas, QrB qarılıyač, Qrg qardıyač, Nog, Qq qarlıyaš, Qmq qarlıyač ~ qarlayač, Xk qarlayas, Shor qarlıš, StAlt qarlayaš ~ qarılıyaš, Yk qarajačči 'Schwalbe'; [2] NrT *Karkara 'heron, crane' > Tk каркара 'є crane' ({TrR} 'вид хохлатого журавля'), Uz қарқара, ET қақира 'heron', Qrg qarqira 'demoiselle (журавль-красавка, *Anthropoides virgo*), Qzq {Rs.} qarqara, ET qarqira 'heron, crane', Tkm Δ qarqara 'feather, feather in the cap (гортаз)' ¶ Cl. 657, ET KQ 306-9, TL 175-6, TrR 516, UzR 601, 607, Nj. 587, Rs. Q 238 || M *qariyačay > MM {Lew.} qarıyasca 'Schwalbe', WrM {MED} qarıyascaı, HIM {MED, BMR} хараацай 'swallow (Schwalbe), martin', Brt хараасгай, Kl {Rm.} qarāčā 'Schwalbe', Dx qaranča id., Ord xarač'ā, Mnr {SM} xarančigē 'hirondelle', (mt.) WrM {MED} qarсагау 'falcon, hawk', HIM харцгай {MED} id., {BMR} 'hawk', Brt харсага 'hawk'; ?? Kl {KRS} харада, {Rm.} qarādā 'Schwalbe' ({Rm.} ← 'Schwarzling') ¶ Lew. 14, MED 936, 938, 940, BMR IV 62, 47-8, Chr. 549, 556, KRS 577, KW 168, Ms. O 338, T DnJ 125, SM 159 || Tg *kar∇ 'wild bird', 'crane, heron' > [1] 'crane, heron': Ewk karan, Ewk Δ karawul, karal, kraw 'grey crane', Nn {Prt.} коро 'crane'; [2] 'wild bird': Ewk kara 'wood cock', karaki 'hazel grouse', Neg karaxı 'wild birds (ducks, geese etc.) (дичь)' and qarmor 'sand martin (*Riparia*)', Ork qarı 'jackdaw', Nn Nh qarqay {On.} 'є a passerine song bird', {STM} 'є bird'; WrMc {Z} карчинь 'kite (коршун), 'bird of prey', {Hr} karčın 'kite' ('Milan') (unless borrowed from a M lge, cf. above WrM qarсагау 'falcon, hawk') ¶ ≈ STM I 379 (without distinguishing between the words for birds and that for 'black'), On. 212, Z 263-4, Hr 575 ¶¶ SDM 652 (pA *kār∇ 'є bird' > Tg, pM *qar- [in descendant lges 'crane, swallow'], T **K₁ar- 'heroin, crane, swallow, swift').

919. (₂?) *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch' > A: NaT *K₁ra- 'scrape, strip (hair)' (× N *K₁ir^r∇ 'scrape, scratch', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr.} *kīr-, {GS} *gīr- v. 'scratch, draw lines' > Tm kīr_u id., v. 'scribble, write', MI kīr_uka v. 'scratch, draw lines', Kn gīr_u id., 'scrape', kīr_u v. 'scratch, scrape', Tl gīr_u id., Kt kīr 'a mark, line', Tu kīruni, gīruni v. 'scratch, wound slightly by nails', kīrъ, gīrъ, gīr_u 'a scratch, superficial wound', Nk k^hīr, Gdb gīri, Ku giri 'a line', Prj gīr 'a line, mark', Gnd kirwān² 'a scratch', Knd gīr, Kui gīra 'line,

mark, scrape'; D \rightarrow OI *kirakā-* 'a scribe' ¶¶ D no. 1623, GS 190 [no. 483] || HS: B \checkmark *krkr* v. 'scratch' (\rightarrow 'itch'), 'rake' > Thg *kārkar* 'gratter (une chose) (pour en retirer un objet qui y est enfoncé)', ETwl, Ty \checkmark *krkr* (inv. *ḱḱḱḱḱḱ* with secondary uvularization of *r*) 'gratter, être gratté', Wrg {Dlh.} *kkərəkər* (pf. *yəttkərəkər*) 'démanger, éprouver du prurit, donner des démangeaisons \ du prurit', Shw {Hy.} *a-kərkar* (pl. *i-kərkar-ən*) 'rake' ¶ Fc. 874-5, GhA 98, Hy. 36, Dlh. Ou 149 || ?σ IE: NaIE \ast° *ḡ_her-* v. '≈ rake' > Lt 1s pres. *žeriu* / inf. *žer̃ti* 'glühende Kohlen zusammenscharren', Lt E nu-*žer̃ti* 'wegwischen, wegscharren' ¶ ≈ P 441 (\ast° *ḡ^her-* 'kratzen, ritzen, scharren'; \ast° ÷ Gk *χαράδρα* 'Erdriß, Erdspalte, Schlucht', *χαράσσω*, Gk A *χαράττω* 'spitze, scharfe, kerbe, schneide ein'), Frn. 13O2 ◊ The absence of *lr.* after the N cns. \ast° *r* is suggested by the D cns. \ast° -*r̥-* and by the accentuation in Lt.

920. ($_2$?) \ast° *korê* ≈ '€ deer, antelope' > A: Tg \ast° *kōrbe* 'male reindeer' (< N \ast° *korê bA*) > Ewk *kōrbē* \approx *korbo*, Neg *kō:rbō*, Ork *kōrbo* ~ *kurbo* ~ *kurbu* 'male reindeer', Ewk PT/Urm *kurbə* 'female elk, female sable' ¶ STM I 414 ¶ The long \ast° *ō* may be of positional origin: it is likely to be a reg. reflex of a N vw. in an open syll. ¶ Tg \ast° -*be* apparently goes back to the N pc. \ast° *bA* used in animal names (q.v.) || D \ast° *kor̥(r̥)e* ({ ϑ GS} \ast° *g-*) '€ deer' > Tl *gor̥re* in: *kukka-gor̥re* 'barking deer, *Cervulus muntjac*', *koṇḍa-gor̥re* ~ *koṇḍa-gorre* 'deer, antelope', Klm *goria* 'deer', Gnd KM *gorre* 'four-horned antelope', Gnd Mrd {Lind} *gorre* 'deer' ¶¶ D no. 2165b, BB CVG no. 12O9 || ?μ K: G *kurciḱi* '*Gazella subgutturosa*' ¶ G-*ciḱ-* remains unexplained ¶ Chx. 1588.

921. \ast° *ku|or̥* 'thick, fat' > IE (with exts): [1] NaIE \ast° *g^wretso-* 'thick, large' > L *grossus* 'thick' ||| Clt {Matas.} \ast° *brasso-* 'great, violent' > OIr *bras* {Vn.} 'grand; vaniteux, violent', {Matas.} great, boastful. defiant', MW, W *bras* 'thick, large', Cmn *brās* 'great, large', MBr *braz* ~ *bras* 'great', Br *bras* 'big, proud', {Hm.} 'grand; important, grave' ||| ? [2] NaIE \ast° *g^wrend^h-* 'big' ([in Gk] \rightarrow 'proud') > L *grandis* 'full-grown, great, large' ||| Gk *βρένθος* 'haughty carriage, arrogance', *βρενθόματι* 'bear oneself haughtily' ¶ P 485, EI 574, SB 183, WH I 617-18, 623, F I 266 (no et. of *βρένθος*), Vn. B 79, Matas. E 74, Hm. 103 ||| K \ast° *kur-* 'thick, stout' > G *kur-i* 'a thick cheek of a child', G Xv/P *kur-i* 'cheek, thick cheek', G *kur-ul-a* 'heap, multitude', Sv *kwr-iw* {FS} 'beleibt' ¶¶ FS K 340, FS E 381 ||| A \ast° *k'urE* > T \ast° *k'ür* 'thick (dicht), dense' > Tkm *gür* 'thick, bushy' (esp. of hair, eyebrows), Tk *gür*, Ggz, Az *gür*, Kr *kür*, CrTt *gu' id.*,

'abundant', VTt, Bsh κῆρ kḗr 'fat' (cattle), Tlt {Rl.} kūr 'fat, stout', Xk kūr ot 'thick quick-growing grass', Tv xūr 'well-fed', Tf {Cs.} kūr ~ hūr 'grob', Chv L κῆρ, Chv Δ κῆρῆ 'fat' (cattle), 'thick' (grass), abundant'; T → Kl {Rm.} kūr 'dick, fest' ¶ Tv x- for the expected k-) needs an explanation ¶ Cl. 735, Rl. II 447, ET VGD 106-7, Rs. W 309-11, BIG 97, ChVS 84, Cs. KKS 101, KW 246, Ash. VII 275-6 and 287, Fed. I 277-8, ChVS 84 || Tg: Ewk I kur 'swelling, tumor', Ewk Ucr korodop- v. 'be swollen and cause pain' ¶ STM I 416 || M **qur- → : [1] M *qur-la- > WrM {MED} qur la-, HIM {MED, BMR} xypna- v. 'accumulate fat in the course of a year' (animals), 'grow in clusters' (plants), Brt xypna- v. 'leave (food, fodder) as a reserve for the next year', Ord xur|ū|l- 'laisser engraisser (un animal)'; [2] WrM {MED} qur tai, HIM {MED, BMR} xypται 'having fat accumulated during the preceding year' (animals) ¶ MED 991, BMR IV 171-2, Chr. 602, Ms. O 372 ¶ Apparently a merger with M *qura- 'gather'. The cognates are valid unless they are ds from *qura- 'gather' || pKo *kūr- 'thick' > MKo kūr, NKo kulk- kuk- ¶ S QK no. 445, Nam 63, MLC 219 ¶¶ SDM 573-4 (erroneously connecting the Ko root with M *gur- 'wide, broad', Tg *gora 'far' and T *kūr 'stout-hearted, courageous' and reconstructing pA *gūrī 'wide, broad, thick'), DQA no. 569 (id.) || D *kor ({}GS) *k- 'fat (adj., n.), stout' > Tm kor u adj., n. 'fat', MI kor u adj. 'fat', Td kwap 'fat, in good circumstances', Kn korvu, korbu 'grow fat\thick\stout', TI k(r)ovvu 'become fat, fatten', Klm, Nkr koru, Gdb kor̄kuṭ ḍ koḍukuṭ ḍ koḍukuḍ, Gnd kor̄winṣ ḍ kurwinṣ ḍ kor̄venṣ ḍ kor̄vonṣ, Png, Ku kor̄va, Mnd k̄ruva, Kui k̄rōga 'fat', Gnd korū- 'become fat', Knd kor̄vu, Ku korowa 'fat of animals', Prj kor̄- ḍ kor̄v-, Png k̄rō- 'be fat', Kui k̄rōga 'fat, tallow, suet' ¶¶ The unexpected cns. ṛ in the GnD lges is still to ne explained ¶¶ D no. 2146 ◇ Fn. KD no. 87 (K, D).

922. *k'o'ṛR∇ or *k'o'Rṛ'û' (probably *k'o'ṽR∇ or *k'o'Rṽ'û') 'be heavy, be stout\thick' > IE *g^wreHχu-/*g^wṛHχu- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)-, *g^woru- 'heavy' > OI gu'ru-h̄ 'heavy, important, venerable' (cmp. 'garīyan, sprl. gārīṣṭha-h̄), Av (in cds) gouru, NPrs گران gerān 'heavy' || Gk βαρύς id. || L gravis (< *g^wrə-w-is) 'heavy, important', L (← OscU) brūtus 'heavy, immovable' || OIr *bair ([ṽ] accus. pl. bairi) 'heavy', W bryw 'strong, vigorous' || Gt kaúrjōs (· βαρέα) 'lästig, schwer' (nom.pl. f. of *kaúrūs · βαρύς) || Ltv grūts 'difficult', 'hard' (e.g. grūti laiki 'hard times') ¶ WP I 684-5, P 476-7, EI 264

(*g^wreH-u-/ *g^wṛH-u-), MK I 340, VI. II 959-60, F I 221-2, WH I 620-1, Vn. B 8, YGM-1 59, Fs. 310, Kar. I 321 || HS: S *^o✓kɪr > Ar ✓kɪr G (pf. kaṣira, ip. ya-kɪar-u) 'be big-bellied' (a child) ({BK} 'avoir le ventre tendu, gros, et être gras'), 'be fat-humped' (a camel), kaṣir- 'big-bellied', 'gras et qui a le ventre tendu' (a boy) ¶ Hv. 658, BK II 908 || A *k'ur₁g₁E- 'heavy, hard, difficult' > Tg *χurge- 'heavy' > Ewk urgə, Lm urgə, Sln urgərđi, Neg uyğəzdı, Orc ugğə, Ud Sm {Krm.} ugəhi, Ul xužzsi, Ork xudē, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} xuyğəz id., Nn Nh {On.} 'heavy', WrMc {Z} ɸчжэнэз id. ¶ STM II 283-4, Krm. 300, On. 476, Z 166-7 ¶ Tg *-rg- (< A *-rg-?) may go back to N *-Rɸ- (cp. Tg *b₁lga 'throat' < pA *b₁p'ī₁a₁lg'ū₁ 'throat' < N *b'ī₁a₁ɸa 'to swallow; throat' and Tg *pigi- v. 'be warmed, bask' < N *p₁ā'ɸ'ūwA 'fire') || pKo {S} ?σ *kor' - ~ *koro- > MKo kor'oi-, NKo kwero- / kwero- v. 'suffer, be troublesome\hard\painful', MKo koro₁om, NKo kwero-um 'suffering' ¶ S QK no. 176, Nam 46, MLC 189 || pJ {S} ?σ *kùrù-sì- 'hard, difficult, agonizing' > OJ kurusi-, MJ kùrùsi- id., J Kg kuruśí-, J K kúrúśì-, J T kuruśí- {Kenk.} 'painful, tormenting, agonizing' ¶ S QJ no. 217, Mr. 833, Kenk. 1117 || ?σ T *Kir- {SDM} 'archenemy' > OT Xk qir ɸaḡi 'an enemy who bears a secret grudge', Tk qiran 'pest', Tkm ɣыр душман 'ярый враг', Yk qirā- 'verfluchen, beschwören (прокли-нать, заклинать, предавать проклятию)' ¶ Cl. 641, Tkr 233, Pek. II 1405 ¶¶ SDM 826 (pA *k'juru- > Tg, J, Ko, T), DQA no. 1091, S AJ 80, 292, ≈ SDM97 s.v. *k'Ur ▽ ◊ A *k'- < *kʔ- < N *k ▽ ɸ- ◊ ≈ S NSShS no. 18 (IE ÷ A *k'ure 'heavy, difficult' [*k'- based on Tg *χ-]).

923. 2 *ko₁w₁r ▽ 'embers, hearth' > HS: S *kawr- 'kiln' (→ 'furnace') > Ak OB/OA/MA kūr- 'crucible (for metal and glass), kiln, brazier' ([?] б→ BHb כור kūr, JA kūr (em. kūr-r-ā) 'small smelting furnace', Sr kūr, -ā 'a fire, furnace, kiln, crucible, refining pot', Ar كور kūr- 'blacksmith's furnace, bellows', 'Esse, Blasebalg'), OSA {Mü.} kawr 'furnace (?)', Gz kawr 'furnace'; Aram б→ G kura 'forge hearth, furnace, cooking stove' ¶ CAD VIII 571, KB 445, KBR 466, Br. 323, JPS 211, BK II 942, WKAS I 431, Hv. 667, Mü. WMT 98, L G 300, Kfm. 65, Chx. 1586 || ?φ C: Ag *k ▽ k ▽ r' - 'hearth stone' > Bln {R} ka'g'al id. ¶ R WB 215-16 || A *k'ōrâ 'embers; burn' > NaT *Kōr 'embers' (× N *k₁arH₂'U' 'to burn [sth.], to heat?') > Tkm qōr, Osm قور qor, Tk kor, Az {Äz.} gor, Ggz koop kōr, Uz qūp qwr, Qrg qor 'glowing coal within ashes'; but T *Ko₁;₁ř (> Bsh күз quδ, Qq qoz 'live coal', StAlt qos id., embers') belongs to N *góræ

'hot; to heat; embers', q.v.) ¶ ET Q 74-6, TkR 189, ARL 84, Äz. 110, GRM 281, Jud. 405, UzR 637, RI. II 548-9 || Tg: Ewk PT korō- vi. 'burn down', Ewk Nk korowkān- vt. 'burn down' ¶ Vas. 912, STM I 416 || E: MEI ku-ra-na 'mit dem Brennofen (?)', OEI, MEI ku-ra-ak 'versengt, geröstet' (?), ku-ra-at 'versenge, röste! (?)' ¶¶ HK 518-19 ◇ Blz. E no. 99 (E, HS), ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (IS included the above-mentioned T √, together with several others, into the etymon *gūr ∇ 'embers').

924. ₂ *koyR ∇ 'male animal' > HS: C: EC *korm- id. > Sml {DSI} korme 'stallion', Or B korma 'male (animal), bull' || SC: Irq/Brn {E} karama 'steer', Alg {E} karama 'bull', Irq {MQK} karāma (pl. karmu) 'castrated animal' ¶ DSI 371, Sr. 347, E SC 262, MQK 39 || Eg P, DEg kɜ 'Stier' > OCpt ko ko 'taureau' ¶ EG V 94-6, Er. 555, Vc. 71 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [no. 19.5] || U *koyra 'male animal' (× N *gūr ∇ 'beast' [q.v.] and possibly a d. of U *koye 'male, man' < N *goy ∇ 'man, people') > F koira 'dog', koiras (gen. koiraksen) 'male animal', Es koer, Vp kojr 'dog' || Prm *kūr > Z кыр k+r 'male' (of carnivorous animals), StZ, Z UV/I {SZ} k+r pon 'male dog' (pon 'dog'), Z I {Wc.} k+r, Yz kAr 'male dog', Z UV {FF} k+r-kɜr 'male reindeer', Prmk k+r 'male' (of mammals and birds), Z Ud {Wc.} k+rɜs 'tomcat' || ObU {Ht.} *k̄r ∇ 'male animal' > pVg {Ht.} **k̄r id. > OVg E TM kār, OVg W P кep, OVg S Ss kähr, Vg: T kār, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ LL/ML kār, LK/UL/Ss xār id.; pOs {Ht.} *kar > Os: V/Vy qar, Ty/Y qār, D/K χor, Nz/Kz χor, O χar id. || Sm {Jn.} *korā 'male animal' > Ne T xopa id., 'male reindeer', Ne T O {Lh.} χōr-ā (gen. pl. χōr' < *korɜ-), Ne F {Lh.} kōrrāā id., En B {Ter.} kora, {Cs.} 'kura, En X {Cs.} kuḥa 'not castrated male reindeer', Ng {Cs.} 'kuru id., {Hl.} kuru 'bull', Slq Tz {KKIH} qōr+ 'male reindeer, sire bull', Kms {Cs.} kura 'bull (Ochs)', {KD} k'ora ~ qōra id., 'male animal', ku'ra t'o 'male reindeer' (t'o 'reindeer') ¶¶ UEW 168-9, LG 153, Lt. J 132, TmK 358, SZ 188, Wc. SW 109, KPR 213, FF 435, Ht. no. 319, Jn. 74, KP no. 600, Cs. 50, 81, 181, Hl. US 120, KKIH 163, KD 32, 34, 72, ≠ Sm. 543 (F koira etc. belong to FU *kōji 'male').

925. *kūr^r ∇ 'to shine; flame' ([in descendant lges] → 'be hot', 'produce heat') > IE: NaIE *g̃wer(ə)- 'shine; be hot' > OI jūr'ṇiḥ 'blaze, glowing fire', 'jvarati 'is feverish', jva'raḥ 'fever', jūr'tiḥ 'fever' || ? MDt coorts, Dt koorts, MLG kortɜ 'fever' || Ltv zvērōt 'to glow, to glare, to flash' ¶ WP I 647, P 479, M K I 443, 450, Vr. N 350, Kar. II 571-2 || HS: S: Ak StB kararû 'brilliance of the sun at midday; midday'

¶ CAD VIII 207 || C: Ag {Ap.} *k^war- 'sun' > Bln {Plm.} k^wara, {R} k^wara, Xm {R} k^wəra 'sun, day', Xm T {CR} χ^wəra, Q {R} k^wārā, Km {Bnd.} k^wāra 'sun' || ?φ EC: Sml {DSI} qorraḥ, Sml N {Abr.} qórráḥ 'sun' (secondary glottalization *k > Sml q?) ¶ AD SF 77, Ap. AV 14, R WB 225, R QW 86, R Ch. II (s.p.) 63, DSI 503, Abr. S 205, Blz. CL 180, ≠ Ss. B 156 (Sml qorraḥ * < EC *ʔorraḥ) || Ch: WCh: Bele {Sch.} kārā, Grn {Gw.} kar i sun' || ECh: Kwn {J} kārā, Kwn M {J} kārān 'morning'; Mu {J} kéré 'be hot', kèrít 'hot' ¶ JI II 312, ChC s.v. 'sun', 'morning' and 'hot', Sch. BTL 30 ¶¶ OS no. 1433 (Ak, Bele) || D *kur- ({ʔGS} *k-) 'glisten; shining (glänzend)' > Tm kuru v. 'glisten', kuru n. 'brilliancy, effulgence', kurumai 'lustre, brightness', Kt kurǰ 'beautiful\handsome person', Klm, Nkr, Gnd kuro, Nk k^hura 'silver' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-r^ʔ- ¶¶ D no. 1782 || A *k'ōrE (and *k'ōryE?) > T: [1] T *k'ōre- 'catch fire, flame up' > Tkm kōre- id., OOsM {Zaj.} kōr-, VTt kōjre- 'catch fire', Bsh kōjre- vi. 'burn, glow', Tk Δ d. kōrele- vi. 'start burning'] [2] T *k'ōře- vt. 'poke a fire' (× N *góræ 'hot; to heat; embers', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} kōze-, Qb {Rl.} kōze- 'poke a fire'; ? Tkm kōde- vi. {Cl.} 'burn up', {TkR} 'carbonize' (unless derived from NaT *kōz 'burning embers')] [3] T *k'ōr 'burning coal\embers' (× N *góræ) > OT {Cl.} kō:z, MQp, OXwT, Chg, OOsM kōz, MOg göz, Tk kōz, Tkm kəz kōδ, Az kōz, Bsh Δ küδ, Ln, Xk, Tv kōs 'embers, live coal', Tf kōs' 'live coal', Chv L kǎvar kǎvar, Chv Δ {Md.} kǎvar and Chv Δ {Jeg.} kop id., 'burning embers' ¶ T *-r- < N *-r- in *góræ ¶ Cl. 756-7, ET KQ 85-6, ET Q 74-6, Zaj. S II 87, TL 365-6, TkR 411, ARL 173, Rl. II 1300, Grøn. 155, Ra. 204, ≈ DTS 321 (OT kōze- 'stir'), Ash. VII 101, Fed. I 247, Jeg. 97, ChVS 77 || (+ext.?) Tg *kurgi 'flame', *kurgi- vi. 'burn' > Ewk kurgi 'flame', kurgi- vi. 'burn', 'scorch' (the sun), Sln xudji- vi. 'flame up', Neg kurgi-sin- 'blaze up, catch fire', id. ?σ Ul kurǰi- vi. 'crackle and buzz' (burning firewood) ¶ STM I 435 || ?σ M *kira^ʔa > WrM {Gl.} kiraga, ũr-ün kiraga 'at\before dawn', {MED} kiraga 'dusk before dawn', HIM {MED, BMR} хяраа id., {Luv.} үүрийн хяраа id., үүр хяраалах 'be dawning' (ũr, үүр 'daybreak, dawn') ¶ Gl. III 608, MED 470, Luv. 597, BMR IV 736 ¶ The M stem is a valid cognate unless the meaning 'dawn' is based exclusively on HIM {Luv.} ũr and үүр, while kiraga has an auxiliary semantic function (sth. like 'border', cp. WrM kira, HIM хяр 'summit, ridge', so that the literal meaning of ũr-ün kiraga is '≈ dawn's ridge'). If M *kira^ʔa is a valid cognate, its vw. *-i- may be

explained by delabialization of pA *-ü- ◊ D *-r- (regularly from N *r|ř- clusters, but not from the N intervoc. *-ř-) and the traces of the lr. in IE point to a N lr.; since the only N lrs lost in Ak and not transforming *a into e are *h and *ʔ, the N lr. is likely to be *h|ʔ. An alt. rec. is N *küri^ʔ∇, whence later: [1] **küriy∇ > **küry∇ > T *k'ōre- and *k'ōr, [2] (elision of *i): **kür^ʔ∇ > T *k'ōre- and D *kur- ◊ ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (he included this T √, together with several others, into the etymon *gūr∇ 'embers') ◊ T *k'- (suggested by Tkm k- [cf. S AJ 8-9]) is puzzling. It may be very tentatively explained as going back to pA **k'...ʔ- from N *k...^ʔ-.

926. *koR̥∇ 'eat (greedily), drink, swallow' > IE *g^wer(H_x)- > NaIE *g^wer(ə)- 'devour, eat, swallow' (× N *kōrih|χû 'throat, neck' [q.v.]?) > OI gi'rati, gr_o'nāti 'swallows, eats', Av jāraiti 'swallows' ('schluckt'), OI ga'raḥ n. 'drink, poison' || Arm Կեր կեր (gen. Կերոյ կերոյ) 'nourishment, food, prey', եկեր e-k'er 'ate' || Gk βιβρώσκω (aor. ἔβρωσα) 'eat, eat up', βορῆ 'food (of carnivorous beasts)' || L vorō, -āre 'eat greedily, swallow up' || OIr túarae 'food' (*to-g^wr-iyā?) || ON krás 'dainty morsel', AS {Vr.} crās id., 'nourishment', OHD querdar, NHG Köder 'bait, lure' || Lt geriù / inf. gér̃ti, Ltv dzer̃u / inf. dzer̃t v. 'drink' | Sl 1s pres. *žbr̃q / inf. *žérti 'swallow, devour' > OCS {StSS} пожрѣти po-žrěti (/ пожърѣ po-žbr̃q) 'verschlingen, auffressen (проглотить, сожрать)', RChS {Mikl.} 1s pres. жрѣ žr̃q / inf. жрѣти žrěti 'déglutir' ({Sr̃z.} 1s pres. жър̃ жър̃q / inf. жърѣти жърěti id.), SCr Sr 1s pres. ждрѣм / inf. ждрѣти, SCr Cr 1s pres. ždrēm / inf. ždr̃ijéti 'eat greedily/much, fressen' (and SCr d. inf. ždér̃ati id.), Slv 1s pres. žrēm / inf. žr̃éti, OCz 1s pres. žru / inf. žriet̃i, Cz 1s pres. žeru / inf. žrát̃i, Slk 1s pres. žerem / inf. žrat', P 1s pres. žre / inf. žreć, Uk 1s pres. жру / inf. 'жр̃ти ~ 'жрати, Blr 1s pres. жру / inf. жерць id., R 1s pres. жру / inf. жрать *ab.* 'eat' ¶ P 474, EI 175 (*g^wer(h₃)- 'swallow'), M K I 325, 335, F I 235-6, WH II 836, Vr. 329, OsS 64, KM 387, Vn. T 162, Frn. 148-9, Vs. II 62-3, Mikl. L 201, Glh. 706, Srz. I 890 || HS: S *^o✓kr̃i > Ar ✓kr̃i 'sip in (liquid), drink by sipping in, drink with the mouth without holding the vessel' ¶ BK II 886, Hv. 651 || D *kōr- ({ǥGS} *k-?) 'eat (greedily), drink' > MI kōrukā 'eat greedily', Kn ko|!u v. 'drink', TI krōlu 'drink, eat', Ku groñž- v. 'drink, guzzle' ¶¶ D *-r- > N *-R̥- ¶¶ D no. 2233 || A *k̃ur- (= *k'ur-??) > pJ {S} *kúr̃á-p- 'consume, eat' > OJ

kura-p-, MJ kúráφ- id., J K kúrá-, J Kg kurá-, J T kùra- {S} id., {Kenk.} 'eat, drink' ¶ S QJ no. 361, Mr. 716, Kenk. 1111 || T *°Kur- > Chv {Ash.} хурăç 𐌆 хорăç 'food (яство), meal (трапеза)' ¶ Ash. XVI 226-7 || ?σ M *qorgan 'melted fat (Schmalz)' > HIM хоргон id., Kl {KRS} χορηη χορυβη 'melted fat', {Rm.} χορυη 'geschmolzenes Fett, Talg', Brt хорготой adj. 'fat, (food) with fat' ¶ BMR IV 111, Chr. 588, KRS 598, KW 187 || ??σ,φ Tg *xürgi- 'feed' > Ewk irgi-, Lm irgъ-, Neg, Orc, Sln iggi-, WrMc {Z} цчжи-, Mc Sb uži- id., Ud d. igisi- id., Nn Nh χυυγiе- {STM} id., {On.} 'supply food' ¶ STM I 325-6, On. 476, Z 167-8 ¶¶ If Tg *xürgi- belongs here (which is far from being certain), the pA initial cns. was *k' - from N *k...ϣ- ¶¶ SDM 825-6 (pA *k'júrge|o > T, M, pJ, Tg).

927. *kor₁∇₁h∇ 'be angry\embittered' > HS: S: [1] with loss of N *h: CS *-kūr-, *✓krw|y 'be distressed, be in depression' > BA ✓krυ TD 3f pf. תַּרְיָא ~ תַּרְיָא ?i/εt-kar'y-at 'was distressed', JA {Dlm.} אֲרִיב kar'y-ā adj. 'suffering', Sr ✓krυ (pf.) 𐌆 kə'r ā ~ 𐌆 kə'r ī) 'be sad\displeased\annoyed, grieve', Md ✓kr ? 'betrückt sein'; [2] with preservation of *h: WS *✓krh 'dislike, hate, be angered' > Ar ✓krh (pf. kariha, ip. -krah-) 'disprove, dislike' (↳ Mh ✓krh [pf. kōrəh] 'dislike'), Mh ✓krh (pf. kərūh), Hrs ✓krh (pf. kərōh), Jb C ✓krh (pf. 'kerəh) v. 'hate', Mh karh ~ kerh, Hrs 'kerəh, Jb E/C kərh 'hatred', Jb C e'korəh v. 'anger'; [3] S *°kur₁h₁- > Ak fOB kūr u 'daze, depression, stupor', inf. kâr u 'be in depression, be in a stupor' ¶ BDB no. 3735, Br. 342, Dlm. 197, JPS 224, DM 222, Nld. MG 365, CAD VIII 240, 570-1, BK II 891-2, Hv. 652, Jo. M 214, Jo J 134, Jo. H 69, ≈ KB 1727 (*✓krυ|^rw¹ 'be distressed' ← *✓krw|y 'be short') || C: Ag: Xm {R} k^war- ~ kar-, Dmb {R} kar- 'be angry', Q {R} kār iη 'anger'; Ag ↳ Tgy H {R} ✓k^wry (pf. 𐌆 k^werəy) 'be angry' ↳ Sa {R} kūr āy ~ kūr ā (sc. k^wer āy ~ k^wer ā) 'Zorn, Ärger, Betrübnis', kūr āy- (= k^wer āy-) 'zornig sein, sich betrüben, traurig werden' ||| Dhl {EEN} kor- 'be in trouble' ¶ R Ch II (s.p.) 62-3, R QW 86, R S II 223, EEN 12 || NrOm: Kf {C} kār- v. 'anger (adirarsi)', kārō n. 'anger (ira)', ? Anf {MYTY} kār o 'fight' ¶ C SE IV 462-3, MYTY 117 ¶¶ OS no. 1482 (HS *kor- 'be angry') || Ch: Su {J} k^war 'hassen, ablehnen, nicht wollen' ¶ J S 71 ¶¶ OS no. 1482 (S *✓krh, WCh, Ag, Om, Dhl + err. Sa [in fact ↳ EThS ↳ Ag]) || ?σ IE: NaIE *°g^wer₁ə₁- 'scold' (× N *kuRh∇ 'shout, cry') > Gk Lc [Hs.] δειριῶν (*λοιδορεῖσθαι) 'to abuse, to revile' ¶ ≈ WP I 585, ≈ P 478, ≈ F I 358-9 (no et.) ||| A *k' o₁:r∇- (= *k' ōr∇-?) > NaT *K o₁:r- 'feel\be humiliated, be

angry' > Qzq {Rl.} qor, Qrg, Qq, Qmq qor 'despised \ humiliated by the society', Qzq {Rl.} qor 'Schande', Nog qor 'humiliation, abuse', SbTt Tb {Rl.} qor 'shame', SbTt B {Rl.} qor 'Angst, Qual, Trauer; Tadel, Beleidigung' ¶ Rl. II 549-50, Jud. 406, KrkR 401, Grøn. 200, TvR 484, Ra. 190 || M *qoruda- > WrM {MED} qoruda- 'be chagrined, be grieved\sad, repent, hate', HIM xopdо- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be angry, bear malice, repent, envy', Kl {KRS} xopd- 'bear malice, be resentful', {Rm.} xordо- 'böse\entzürnt sein'; M б→ Tv xorada-, Ewk korōdā- 'be angry' ¶ MED 968, BMR IV 111-12, KRS 599-600, KW 187, Krg. 282-3, TvR 484, STM 415 || Tg *kōr_u 'anger, resentment' > Ewk I koru 'angry', Ul qoru(n-) 'resentment', Nn Nh qōro {STM} id., {On.} 'it is a pity (обидно)', Ul qoroč_i-, Nn Nh qōros_i- v. 'resent', WrMc {Z} kopо- 'be grieved\sad, anger', kopо 'grief, offence', (M б→ ?) 'harm, damage' ¶ STM I 415-16, On. 227-8, Z 282 ¶¶ The pA word is *k'ōr_∇- unless the pTg (or Nn?) long vw. *ō is a Tg innovation || D *kor_z- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'anger' > Tl kor_zalu 'grow angry', kor_zakor_za 'angri-ly; anger, angry look', Tm id. kor_zukor_zu v. 'bubble with anger' ¶¶ D no. 2166, Km. 337 || U: FU *kur_∇ 'anger' > Er/Mk kor {Ps.} 'Verdruß, Gram, Ärger', Er XVIII {Dms.} kop 'reproach (укоризна)', ? Mk {PI} kop 'disposition\temper, envy', ? Er kop {KC} 'disposition, temper', (ERV), 'self-respect' || ObU {Ht.} *kōr- > pVg *kōr- > Vg: LK xor-, MK k^ωār-, P kor-, NV k^ωor-, SV k^ωōr-, LL k^ωār- 'scold (zanken)', SV k^ωarrakat-, LL k^ωarkat- id., {Mu} MK khār_j-, khōr_j- 'be annoyed\angry, become enraged'; pOs {Ht.} *korām- > Os: Vy qorām-, qāram-, Ty qōrām-, D/K/Nz xurām-, Kz xōrām-, O xorām- 'take offence at, be sulky', 'refuse to eat from grudge' (children) || OHg harag 'anger, angry', Hg harag 'irritation, resentment, grudge, anger' ¶ UEW 220-1, Ps. M 81, PI 126, ERV 292, Fkt. RMS 296, Ht. no. 308, Kn. VW 72, Stn. WV 132, Mu. AKE 297, Trs. S 173, EWU 527 ◇ IS I 301 [no. 172] (all relevant families) ◇ The Ar and NES forms point to a N lr. *h. D *-r_z- goes back regularly to a N intervoc. *-r-, which suggests either the presence of a vw. between N *r and *h or the loss of *h in pre-pD before the change N *-r- > D *-r_z- (in this latter case the hyp. of an internal vw. is superfluous). In A there is complementary lengthening of the vw. *o due to the loss of N *-r_zh-. The FU vw. *u (for the expected *o) requires explanation.

928. *kur_zh_z 'hill, mountain' > IE {EI} *g^ωorHx-/*g^ωr_zHx- ({P} *g^ωer-) > NaIE {Wtk.} *g^ωerə-/*g^ωorə- 'mountain' > OI gi'r i-h_z 'hill,

mountain, elevation', Av *gari-š* 'mountain(s)' || pAl {O} *gura > Al *gur* 'rock, stone' || Clt {Matas.} *barinā 'rock, rocky ground' > MBr *bairenn* id., Cm, MBr *brennic* id., Br *brenning* coll. 'rocks' || BSl (× N *gōRɪV ≈ hill, [small?] mountain', q.v.): pSl *gō'ra (accus. *gō'ro, accentual paradigm C) 'mountain' > OCS *ropa* *gora*, R, Uk *ropa*, SCr *gō'ra*, Cz, HLs *hora*, P, LLs *gō'ra* id., Slv *gō'ra* id., 'mountain forest', Blg *ropa* 'forest, wood(s)', Slk *hora* id., 'woody mountain' | ? Lt *girià*, Lt Z *gìrè* 'forest, wood(s)', Ltv † *dzirā*, *dzire* id. ¶ ≈ P 477-8 (* ÷ Gk *δεῦράς* / *δεῦρᾶδος*, Gk Cr *δηράς* 'ridge of a chain of hills', FFI 358), Dv. no. 801, EI 270, AHDI 25, MKI 335, O 127, ESSJ VII 29-31, StSS 174, Db. SA 24, Glh. 238, ≈ Kar. I 291-2 (adducing Ltv *garš* 'long'), Frn. 153, Matas. E 57 || HS: C: EC *kūr- > Sa {R} *kōro* 'Berg, Gebirge', Sml {ZMO} *kur* 'hill, mound', Sml N {Abr.} *kūr(-tī)* 'hill, mountain', Rn {PG} *kūr* 'small hill, hillock', Elm *kōran* 'mountain' || Bj {R} *kār* (pl. *kar*) 'Anhöhe, Hügel' ¶ R S II 220, R WBd 144, PG 204, ZMO 243, Abr. S 155, ≈ AD SF 80 || S: [1] S *kawr- > Sb *kwr* 'hill', Ar Hdr {Mü.} *kawr* 'mountain' ¶ BGMR 80, Mü. WMT 98 | [2] Gz *karīr* '(round) hill' (unless <∅ > ✓ *krr* 'round'); ? Mh *kər'mayn* (pl. *kərmōm*) 'mountain'; Ug {OLS} *krk* 'pico' ([Ak. sc.] *ku-re-ka-at* [?]) ¶ L G 294, Jo. M 214, OLS 223, Hnr. 140 || Eg fN *krkr* 'heap of stones' ¶ EG V 136 || CCh: Nz {ChL} *kūrōmó*, {ChC} *krámma*, Gude {Srp.} *krēmó* 'mountain' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'mountain' || U: FP *kurV 'hill, steep slope' (× N *K'ō'rV 'rock, isolated mountain') > ? Es Δ *kuruk* (gen. *kuruka*) 'small ridge of hills' | Lp L {LLO} *kārrā* 'long ridge of woody hills' | Chr: H {Ep.} *кырѣк*, L *кѹрѣк* 'кѹрѣк, кѹрѣк, Uf *kurѣк* 'mountain', B {Ps.} *kuruk* 'hill' | Prm *kūr > Z *кыр* *kīr* 'high abrupt riverbank, precipice (обрыв); mountain', Yz *kōryōlōn* 'auf der Höhe' (*yo* 'top, summit') ¶ UEW 677, MRS 249, Ep. 53, Ü 86, 97, Ps. OT 52, LG 153 || D *kur- ({GS} *k-) 'hilly country' (× N *K'ō'rV '↑') > Ml *kuricci* id., Tm *kuram* 'Kurava tribe of the mountains', *kurinci* 'hilly tract', Kn *kurumba* (name of a caste of mountaineers), Tl *korava* (name of a tribe of mountaineers), Gnd *kurmal* 'shepherd' ¶¶ D no. 1844 || ? A: [1] ?σ M *kūri 'rock, stone; 'Abhang (обрыв)' (× N *K'ō'rV 'rock, isolated mountain', q.v. ffd.) > MM *korī* 'rock, stone', Mgl *kurī* id., WrM {Cev.} *kūr*, HIM {BMR} *xyp* 'Abhang (обрыв)' ¶ SDM 843, BMR IV 189 || [2] NaT *Kīr 'crest of a mountain, mountain, high ground; foothills, slope' (× N *Kīr|gV or *gīrV 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v. ffd.] × [in some lges] N

***K̑ir** ▽ 'edge, end') ◇ ≠ S NSShS no. 7 (IE *g^ωer-/ *g^ωor- *÷ A *k'ori 'hill, embankment, boundary' [actually from N *K̑'o'r ▽] *÷ K *gora 'small mountain, hill' [in fact from N *goȒ ▽ '≈ hill, mountain']), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (the same unc. comparison and rec. of N *g^ω-), Blz. L no. 111c (suggesting to add Sb, Ar Hdr and EC), Blz. DA 161 [no. 89] (dubious equation of this N etymon with D *ku_l- 'island' and Elm kóran 'island') ◇ If the rec. of a lr. in IE (as in AHDI and EI) is right, the N rec. may be ***kur** ▽ **h** ▽ with loss of *h in S (where N *-h- is sometimes lost); the N word-medial vw. is suggested by D (because *-_l- is from the N intervocalic *-r-). Otherwise (if pIE is *g^ωer-), N rec. is ***kur** ▽ ◇ Blz. NDA no. 93 (D, HS, IE, U + unc. HS words belonging to N *K̑'o'r ▽ 'rock, isolated mountain' and FP *kork ▽ 'high' [FUV 672], interpreted as 'heightened place').

929. (₂?) ***kuRh** ▽ 'shout, cry' > IE *g^ωer_lH_{xl}- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'shout, sing, praise; wail' > OI gȓo'n̑āti, gȓo'n̑ī'tē 'calls, invokes, praises', Av a'bi-gar^ənte 'praises', garah- 'a praise, praise song' || OIr bard, W bardd 'bard', MBr barz 'village fiddler (ménétrier)', Gl ↳ L bardus id. (< *g^ωȓo-d_lh_o-s) || pAl *grisa > Al pres. gër'shas, aor. grisha 'invite, beckon to come' || Lt 1s pres. giriù / inf. girti v. 'praise, commend', Ltv (rf.) dzi^ĩtiēs 'to boast', Pru girtwei v. 'praise'; ? Lt gēras 'good' | Sl *gornъ, *gorno > OCS ȓanъ granъ, ChSl ȓano grano 'verse', Cz hrany pl., Slk hrana 'funeral knell', Hls hrano 'phrase, dictum', Lls grono 'speech, conversation; tale; proverb' || OHG quēran 𐌺 chuēran [xweraŋ] 'to sigh, to moan, to lament' || Gk Lc [Hs.] δειριῶν ('λοιδορεῖσθαι) 'to abuse, to revile' (× N *kor_l ▽ **h** ▽ 'be angry\ embittered') ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) Gk ὄρις, Gk D ὄρις 'voice, speech' (see F I 305) ¶ WP I 585, P 578, ≈ EI 449 (*g^ωerH- 'praise'), M K I 343, Hamp AIEW 145, O 115, Vn. B 18-19, Frn. 154, En. 17, Tp. P E-H 247-9, ESSJ VII 49, SStSS 177, ≈ F I 358-9 (no et. of δειριῶν), OsS 694, Kb. 582 || **HS:** B *-w-kur 'scold' (× N *kor_l ▽ **h** ▽ '↑', q.v.) > Thg {Fc.} ak^ωar, Gh akžar 'injurer', Izn/Rf {Rn.} akkar 'insulter', Izn t̑ykk^ωra, Rf t̑ykk^ωar 'an insult' ¶ Fc. 876, Rn. 345 || **WCh:** Ngz {Sch.} kú^úwâ n. act. 'shouting' ¶ Sch. DN 100 || **D** *kur- v. 'bark, shout, groan' (× N *quR^h ▽ 'to bark, to howl', 'to cry, to shout', q.v. ffd.).

930. ***kôrih**|**χ**û 'throat, neck' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^ωrīwā ~ *g^ωerwā 'the back part of the neck, nape, neck' (× N *gub_l ▽ **RE** 'back, back side, nape [of neck]' [q.v.]??): [1a] NaIE *g^ωrīwā 'nape of the neck, neck' >

OI $gr\bar{i}v\bar{a}$, Av $gr\bar{i}v\bar{a}$ id., Phl $gr\bar{i}w$ 'neck, throat', NPrs {VI., Sg.} گریبان, $ger\bar{i}b\bar{d}n$, {BM} گریبان $g\bar{a}r\bar{i}b\bar{d}n$ 'collar, opening\breast of a garment', Psh $gr\bar{e}wa$, $grawa$ 'collarbone, collar' ||| Ltv $gr\bar{i}va$ 'mouth (of a river), estuary' (\leftarrow *'throat') || SI * $gr\bar{i}va$ 'mane' > RChS, OR ГРИВА $gr\bar{i}va$, Blgr, R, Uk 'Грива, Blr 'Грива, SCr $gr\bar{i}va$, Slv $gr\bar{i}va$, Cz $h\check{r}\bar{i}va$, Slk $hr\bar{i}va$, P $grzywa$ id.; the ancient meaning '(part of) neck' is better preserved in OR ГРИБЪНЪИ $gr\bar{i}v\bar{b}n\bar{i}$ adj. 'of the neck', ГРИВА $gr\bar{i}va$, Slv $gr\bar{i}vna$ and Cz $h\check{r}\bar{i}vna$ 'necklace' ||| [1b] NaIE * $g^w erw\bar{a}$ > Gk A $\delta\acute{\epsilon}ρ\eta$, Gk I $\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}$, Gk L $\delta\epsilon\rho\rho\bar{\alpha}$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\bar{\alpha}$, Gk D $\delta\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha$, Gk Ar $\delta\epsilon\rho\mathcal{F}\alpha$ 'neck, throat' ¶ P 475, EI 391-2 (* $g^w erweh_{\rho}$ - ~ * $g^w riHw$ - eh_{ρ} -), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, VI. II 990-1, BM 422-3, Sg. 1086, Mrg. 24, F I 367-8, LS 375, Kar. I 317-18, ESSJ VII 129, Glh. 247 || [2] NaIE * $g^w er(\bar{a})$ - 'throat' (\times N * $koR\bar{i}v$ 'eat, drink, swallow?') > OI $galah$ 'throat', Av $gar\bar{a}man$ 'throat, neck', NPrs گولو $gol\bar{u}$ ~ گالو $g\bar{a}l\bar{u}$ 'neck, gullet, throat', Psh $\varphi ara\bar{i}$ 'windpipe, throat' ||| Gk $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\theta\rho\nu$, Gk Hm/I $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\nu$ 'gulf, pit' (\leftarrow *'throat') ||| Tc B kor 'neck, throat' ({Ad.}: unless from IE * $kuHr$ - 'hole, opening') ¶ P 474-5, EI 391-2 (* $g^w erweh_{\rho}$ - ~ * $g^w riHw$ - eh_{ρ} - 'neck'), M K I 353-4, M E I 509, Mrg. 26, VI. II 1026, Sg. 1096, Horn 207, F I 219 (no et. of the Gk words), ESSJ VII 129-30, Glh. 247, Wn. I 23, Ad. 203-4 || HS: S * $\check{r}krm$ > Ar $k\bar{a}ri\check{h}$ -, $k\bar{a}ri\check{h}$ -at- 'gosier, gorge' ¶ BK II 882 || B (+ext.) * $\check{r}krm$ 'neck, nape of the neck, back (dos)' (\times N * $\check{r}k\bar{a}m$, $\check{r}k\bar{a}m$ 'shoulder' [whence later 'nape'], q.v.) > Skn {La.} ta - $kr\bar{u}m$ -t (pl. ta - $k\bar{a}rm$ -in), Nf {La.} $tukrimt$ 'neck', Shl {La.} $akrum$, Nf $akr\bar{u}m$ 'back (dos)', Wrg {Dlh.} $akrum$ (pl. i - $krum$ -an), $takrumt$ (pl. $tikrumin$) 'neck, nape of the neck', Mtm $\check{t}a$ - $kr\bar{u}m$ - \check{t} (pl. $\check{t}i$ - $k\bar{a}rm$ - $\bar{i}n$) 'neck, nape', Mz $a\check{c}rum$ 'nape' ('nuque, haut du cou derrière la tête'), Gd {CM} $takurumt$ 'neck' ¶ Ds. 98, La. S 218, Dlh. M 24, Dlh. Ou 153 || C: Ag {AD} * $\check{r}krm$ 'throat, nape' > Bln {R} kir ' $m\bar{a}$, $kr\bar{o}$ ' $m\bar{a}$ id. ¶ R WB 227 || D {tr.} * $kUral$ -, {GS} * $ko\bar{r}al$ - 'throat, voice' (in Tm and Ml: \times N * $g\bar{u}r\bar{i}E$ or * $g\bar{u}r\bar{i}v$ 'throat, neck') > Tm $kur\bar{a}l$, Ml $kur\bar{a}l$, $kur\bar{a}l$, Kn $ko\bar{r}al$, $ko\bar{r}al$, $ko\bar{r}\bar{i}u$, $ko\bar{i}$, $ko\bar{i}\bar{i}u$ 'voice, throat', Kdg $ko\bar{r}\bar{a}$ 'gullet, windpipe', Tu $kur\bar{e}l\bar{b}$ 'nape of the neck', Tl $kr\bar{o}l(u)\bar{c}u$ v. 'sing, read out' ¶¶ D no. 1774, GS 221 [no. 539] ◇ NaIE * \bar{i} (\leftarrow * iH) and Ar * \check{h} suggest a N Ir. Among the two possible N Irs (* \check{h} or * \check{h} > S * \check{h}), the first one is preferable because it is more compatible with the loss of the Ir. in B, Eg (?), C and Ch. The expected sonant * i/\bar{i} was lost in the IE variant stems * $g^w erw\bar{a}$ and * $g^w er(\bar{a})$ - probably within clusters of two sonants (ruled out by IE morpho-

'ferment for kumiss; malt', SbTt B/Tr {Tm.} qōr, {Rl.} qor 'yeast, leaven', ET qor ~ qo 'sorrel', ?σ Uz qωr-quṭ 'accumulated wealth, treasure' ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 72-3, TkR 188-9, MM 449, Sht. 267, Jud. 405, BN 125, Nj. 601, Tm. 131, Rl. II 549 || M **quru- ⇨ [1] ⇨ *qurusi- 'become rancid' > WrM {MED} qurusi-, HIM хурши- {MED} 'be(come) rancid' (chiefly of fats and meat), {BMR} 'горкнуть' (of fat), Brt хурша- id., Kl {KRS} хурш- 'become rancid' (fats), Ord q_uršī- 'devenir vicieux, ne plus se maîtriser' animal gras qui est resté en liberté au pâturage); probably also [2] M *quru-sun 'ε cheese' > WrM {Rm.} qurusun 'ε cheese (?)', HIM {BMR} хурс 'sourish cheese (made from boiled milk)', Brt хурһа(н) 'Lebkuchen (пряники) (made of sour clotted milk and bird cherry)', WrO {Krg.} qurusun 'cheese', Kl {KRS} хурсн хурсьн 'dried curds', {Rm.} хурсη 'trockener Käse aus saurer gekochter Milch'; [3] M *quru^ϕu₁n₁ (? pl. *quru^ϕud) 'serum, sour milk' > MM [IM] qurūd 'serum', [HI] qurūt (= qurud), WrM {MED} qurud 'ε Mongolian cheese', HIM {MED} хурууд id., {BMR} хурут ~ хурууд 'zusammengepreßter Quark (спрессованный творог)', Brt хурууд id., 'самодельный сырок' ¶ Pp. MA 446, Ms. H 92, MED 991, BMR IV 172-3, Chr. 603, Krg. 298, KW 199, KRS 612-13, Ms. O 316 || D *koṛapp- ({GS} *k-) 'sour milk, curds' > Tu коцару id., nir-kuvel v. 'curdle, coagulate', Gnd korop ɖ korrop ɖ kurrop ɖ korrop 'buttermilk' ¶¶ D no. 2162 ◇ The cnss *-t- (in IE, Prm, B), *-z- (S), *-s- (M) and *-pp- (D) are likely to go back to the second elements of N cds (some of them functioning as derivational sxs in the descendant lges) ◇ From the history of culture we may infer that this N word was originally applied to coagulating blood, to fat, to meat and possibly to food made of corn, but only later (in the independent neolithic history of IE, HS and D) it was applied to milk ◇ BF (or FU?) *a may be due to partial contamination with N *k̲aR̲₁∇₁∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain'. The existence of the N internal vw. (*∇) is suggested by D *-r̲- (< N intervoc. *-r-) ◇ An alt.: two N etyma: [1] N *k̲^ü̲¹R̲∇ 'fade, rot, decay' (> IE *ġer-, Sv -kwer, WCh: Jmb k̲èr̲ùwá 'decay, rot') and [2] N *k̲U|ar̲₁u₁wa 'coagulate, get sour\rancid' (all the rest).

932. *k̲or̲₁∇w̲₁∇ 'ε a gallinacean' > HS: S *^okrw > Ar karawān- (pl. kirwān-) 'ε partridge' ¶ BK II 892 || Ch: WCh: SBc {Stl.} *k̲^ωa₁r / *k̲∇w̲∇r 'hen' (or 'chicken = hen\cock') > Zar {Sh.} k̲^ωā^àr id., Tala {ChC} k̲^ωari, Jm {ChC} korò 'hen', Buli {ChL, ChC} kor, Plc {ChL} koro 'hen' || Tng {J} k̲^ωartε ~ k̲^ωatrε 'guinea fowl' || CCh: Mkt {Ro.} k̲^ωá^àtà-k̲urúk

'francolin', Gude {Hsk.} kúrǎkìnǎ 'chicken house', ? Gude {Hsk.} kúrǎkútà, Gudu {ChL} kúrǎkútò 'dove' || ? Lame {ChL} kòròkú, LamP {ChL} kuruk 'dove' ||| ECh: Mu {J} kùrǎí 'hen' ¶ JI II 174, J T 109, Ro. 256 [no. 293], Stl. ZCh 264 [no. 24], ChC s.v. 'hen' and 'guinea fowl', ChL, Sh. BZ 28, Hsk. 217 || ??φ EC: Brj go'r(r)-itte (pl. go'r-ǎna) 'hen', Arr gorórrri coll. 'partridges, francolins' ¶ Ss. B 84, Hw. A 362 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1505 (CCh *kurak 'dove, francolin' and S *kurk- 'crane') ||| A *KorE or *Kürâ 'grouse' > M *qoru 'grouse' (× N *KôŕǎiŕǎE '∈ a gallinacean', q.v.) > WrM {MED} qorɔ 'hazel grouse, grey hen', WrO χorɔ id., Kl {KRS} χop χor 'capercaillie', (Rm.) χorɔ 'Auerhahn'; M *qoru → the T lges which are or were adjacent to the Mongols: Qzq {Rl.} qur 'wild gallinaceous fowl' (generic: 'Auerhuhn, Birkhuhn, Rebhuhn'), {RKazS} qur 'black grouse, wood grouse, partridge', qara qur 'wood grouse', Qrg {Jud.} qara-qur 'male black grouse', Qq qaraqur 'black grouse' (qara 'black'); later the stem was reborrowed from T into M: WrM {MED} qur 'black grouse', HIM χyp {MED} id., {BMR} 'grouse (*Tetraonida*, тетерев), grey hen (тетерка)', Brt χypǎ 'grouse', Kl {KRS} χyp xurǎ 'grouse (тетерев)', {Rm.} xorɔ 'Auerhahn', WrO χur 'heathcock' ¶ MED 968, 987, BMR IV 167, Krg. 284, 297, Chr. 601, KRS 597, 610. KW 187, Rl. II 918, Jud. 347, RKazS 131, 307, 812 || NaT *Kür-tük 'black grouse' (× N *KôŕǎiŕǎE '∈ a gallinacean') > StAlt, Shor kürtük, Xk kürkü ~ kürtü, Chl kürtü, Kü kürtä, Tv kürtü, Tf hürtü, Yk kurtuyaχ 'black grouse' ¶ TvR 269, Ra. 192, Rs. W 311 || ???σ Tg *kürekte 'black woodpecker' > Ewk kirǎktǎ, Neg kiyǎktǎ, Nn Nh/Bk/KU, Ul, Ork kurǎktǎ, Orc kiyoki, Ud {Krm.} kēxi, {STM} kijǎxi, WrMc {Z} k̄ypǎx̄y id. ¶ STM I 399, Krm. 248, On. 243, Z 294 ¶¶ SDM 707 (pA *kjure 'woodcock, woodpecker' T, Tg + unc. M *qur [actually a loan from T]) ||| D *korǎ- 'fowl' > Klm kor 'hen', {SR} 'cock, fowl', Nkr kor, Gnd korr, Knd korǎu 'hen', Prj korr 'cock, hen, fowl', Gdb kor ǎ korru 'cock', Png kuzu ~ kuzu, Mnd kuy, Kui korǎu, Ku koyu ǎ kojū 'fowl' ¶¶ D no. 2160 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 158 [no. 60] and ≈ Blz. NDA no. 63 (in both: HS, D + unc. φ IE *kerko- 'cock').

933. *ka'Ry' ▽ 'to dig' > HS: WS *✓ kry > BHb, MHb ✓ kry|w (pf. כָּרָה kārā) 'dig, hollow out', ? Pun 3m pf. krʔ (✓ kry) 'cut out, hew', Ug {OLS} ✓ kry G 'cavar, clavar', JEA ✓ kry|w (pf. כָּרָה kārā ~ כָּרֵה kārē) 'dig, drill', Md krʔ (✓ krw|y) 'dig out, excavate', Ar ✓ krw (pf. كَرَا karā) 'dig (the earth), dig a canal', Sb kry 'pit for trapping game', Gz ✓ kry (pf. karaya) 'dig (a well, in the ground), make holes, dig up, excavate' ¶

KB 472, KBR 496, BDB no. 3738, HJ 535, OLS 225, Lv. II 399-400, DM 222, BK II 892, Hv. 653, BGMR 79, L G 294-5 || **U**: FU *kara- 'dig' > Er/Mk kara- v. 'dig; peck, pick; hollow' || pChr {Ber.} *korā- 'ausgraben' > Chr: L kopē- kore-, H {Wc.} kare- v. 'make small gutters for drainage; furrow', Uf kore- id., v. 'flute' || Prm *kūr- 'dig, break through (a dam), wash away (a bank)' > Z Le k+r- 'dig (a gutter)', Z V k+r- 'dig around', Z кыр- k+r- 'be broken through', 'be washed away, collapse' (banks)', Vt кыр- k+r- 'break through the dam' (water) ||| Os: D χer-, O χir- 'dig' ¶ UEW 221-2, Coll. 85, SZ 188, ≈ LG 153, ERV 234, PI 102, Ber. 19 ¶ UEW reconstructed either *kur∇ (if Mr and Chr are excluded) or *kara (if they are not) || **A**: T *Kař- ~ *Kaři- 'dig' > OT qaz-, Tk kaz-, kazı-, Tkm qaδ-, qaδa-, Az gaz(I)-, Ggz kaz(I)-, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Xlj qaz-, Nog qazi-, Tt qazъ-, Bsh qaδ(ъ)-, Uz qaz-, qazi-, StAlt, Tv qas-, Tf qas'-, Xk, Yk χas- id. ¶ Cl. 806, ET KQ 185-6, Ra. 219, TvR 218, DT 176 || **D** (att. in GnD) *kār- ({{GS} *k-) 'dig' > Gnd HMB/DM kār-, Gnd Mu {Bh.} kār-~kār̃-, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku kār-, Kui kārpa / kār̃t- id. ¶ Most relevant lges and dls provide ev. for D -r-, against the ev. of Gnd Mu, where a variation -r- ~ -r̃- is observed ¶ D no. 1467 ◇ T *-ř- and D *-r- may be explained if a N *-Ry- is reconstructed. D *-r- goes back to N *R-clusters (in this case of *-Ry-). The original cluster accounts also for the D long vw.

934. *kuRy∇ 'young of an animal, child' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *g^werb^h- / *g^wreb^h- 'infant, young of an animal' (< *kURy∇ bA with *bA of animal names) > Gk βρέφος 'babe in the womb, foetus; newborn babe; young of animals (foal, whelp, cub etc.)' ||| OIr bro(m)mach 'foal' (< *g^wromb^hākos), Nir bromach 'colt' ||| Sl *žer'b-ę / *žerb-ęt- 'foal' > OCS жрѣбѣ žrěbę 'foal (of ass or horse), Cz hříbě, Slv žrebě 'foal, colt', Blg жре'бе, OSCr ždrījēbe, SCr ждрѣбе ždrījēbe, Slk žriebä, P žrebię, Uk жереб'я, Blr 'жеребе 'foal (of horse)', R pl. жере'бятa 'foals (of horse)', sg. (originally dim.) жере'бѣнок 'foal of horse' || amb Ht kurka- 'foal, colt', which may be alternatively equated with Phl kurrag, NPrs كُرَّه korre ~ كُره kore {Sg.} 'colt of a horse\ camel\ass (1 or 2 years old)', Arm (← Irn) քուռակ k^hurāk 'colt, foal' and Mcd [Υ] {LS} κύρνος 'bastard' ¶¶ WP I 689, P 485, F I 266, LS 1014, Vn. B 95-6, Dnn. 90, Vs. II 48, StSS 221, Glh. 705-6, BER I 554, Ts. E I 651, Pv. IV 267-8, Vl. II 826, Sg. 1026, EI 615 || **HS**: C *k^w∇r (~ *k^w∇r?) 'young of an animal', *k^w∇rk^w∇r 'puppy' > EC: Sa {R}

k^wərkūr 'puppy', ? kare (pl. karuwa) 'dog', Arr kér 'dog', kèr
 'bitch' || Ag: Xm {R} coll. k^wərkūr, sgl. k^wərkūrā 'puppy',
 krwur id. ¶ AD SF 77, R Ch II (s.p.) 63, R S II 220, 432, Hw. A 373 ¶ Ag
 {AD} *q^wɜr- / *ʔɜq^wɜr- v. 'beget, child' does not belong here, it is more
 likely to go back to N *ʔogU1∇ (or *H₂oqU1∇) 'offspring, child, young
 (of an animal)' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σφ S *karr- > Hb 𐤊𐤓 kar (pl. kārīm) 'lamb' ¶
 GB 361 || ?σ,φ B: Ah ekrar, Kb ikarri 'ram', Sll Δ ikru 'chevreau' ¶ Blz. E
 no. 56, Fc. 890, Dl. 416, Ds. 63 || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} k(ɜ)râ 'child, son', Kola
 {Sb.} kṛttí, Db {Psc.} krɜ 'child', {LienG} kirtí 'son', Msg {Mch.} kirti
 'son' || ECh: Ll {ChC} kōrmō 'male child', Kr {Eb.} kormɜ 'son', ? Dng {ChC}
 kṛgìnà 'child' ¶ JI II 75, ChC s.v. 'child', Psc. D, Sb. M s.v. k(ɜ)râ, Eb. 73
 || A. T *Kīr 'daughter, girl' > OT {Cl.} qī:z, Tk kīz, Δ gīz, Ggz kīz, Az
 qīz, Tkm qīδ, Xlj qīz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qīz, VTt qḅz,
 Bsh qḅδ, Uz qīz, StAlt, Tv qīs, Tf qīs', Xk χīs, Yk kīs id. || Blgh هير {Erd.}
 hīr id. (+ ppa. هيرى hīr - 'ī|i' 'his daughter'), Chv xěp xbr 'daughter,
 girl, девушка' ¶ Cl. 679-80, ET Q 190-1, Rs. W 269, TL 195-6, TkR 227,
 TvR 280, Ra. 223, DT 176, Erd. 46-9, 115 (suggesting that Erdal's Blgh
 h is an "alternant" of x and that OBlgh ī goes back to pT *ī), Ash. XVII
 28-31, Fed. II 344, Jeg. 298, ChVS 249, Md. 70, 168 ¶ The pT long vw. is
 due to compensatory lengthening (pN *-Ry- > T *-r') || D: [1] D {tr., GS}
 *koṛ- 'young, tender', 'infant', (→ ?) 'daughter, bride, daughter-in-law'
 > Tm kuṛa 'young, tender', kuṛaku 'youthfulness, beauty, infant', ?σ
 Tu koræ 'weak, small', Tl koḏuku 'son', kōḏalu 'daughter-in-law',
 Klm, Nkr kōvve 'young of a bird\ animal', Klm korāl 'younger
 brother's wife', Nkr korāl 'daughter-in-law, bride', Gdb koṛāl, Gnd B
 koriār 'son's wife, younger brother's wife', Nk kola id., 'bride', Gnd MB
 koṛiār, Ku kuṛia 𐤎 kūria 'daughter-in-law', Gnd Nr koṛiyaṛ id., 'sister's
 daughter, younger brother's wife', Prj koṛ 'very young', koṛol 'bride', Knd
 koṛo (pl. -k) 'female child', (pl. -r) 'male child', Mlt {Drs.} qóro 'infant',
 Brh xarruni 'wife' ¶¶ D no. 2149, GS 174 [no. 439] ¶¶ The D cognate is
 acceptable on condition that the meaning 'sprout' (present in most D
 lges) is either secondary or represents a different homonymous D √ |||
 [2] D *kur- ~ {tr., GS} kuṛ- 'young of an animal' (× N *gur₁E₁w∇ (T∇)
 'young [carnivorous] animal?') > Tm kuruku 'young of an animal', Kt
 kurl 'young cow (up to three years)', Tu kurulæ, kurælæ 'young pig; a
 baby', Png kurnṣa 'young male child', kurnṣi 'young female child', Klm,
 Nk, Prj kurra, Gnd kurra 𐤎 kurrā 𐤎 kura, Knd kuṛa, Ku kurra ḏālu 'male

calf', Krx *kurū* 'colt' ¶¶ D no-s 1791 and 1801, GS 154 [no. 391] || E: AchEl *kur-ri-ri*, *kā-ri*, *kā-ri-ri* 'Lamm' ¶¶ HK 441-2, 531 ◇ The length of the T vw. *i in *Kīr suggests that the original vw. was followed by a cluster (*-Ry-), while the quality of this vw. is "lautgesetzlich", because T *i may go back to N *u. This N *-Ry- is also suggested by the D cognate *kur- (D *-r- from *R-clusters) ◇ If the vw. of the N etymon is *u (as suggested by D *kur- ~ kur-, by Ht *kurka-* and by T *k'īr), the vw. *o in D *kōr- is still to be explained ◇ *÷ Bj *ṣōr* 'child, boy' and Ag *q^ωz^l- / *ṣq^ωz^l- v. 'beget, child', that underly my own err. pC rec. *k^ω∇r- 'child, son' (AD SF 82-3) (see N *hoR'i' 'conceive', 'newborn, a young' on Bj *ṣōr* and N *r'ogU1∇ [or *H₂oqU1∇] 'offspring, child; to beget, to bear a child' on Ag *q^ωz^l- / *ṣq^ωz^l-) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 156 [no. 45] (incl. D and T + err. C *k^ω∇r), Blz. NDA no. 44 (D, A, Ch + err. IE *kur- and C *k^ω∇r), Blz. E no. 56 (E, HS).

934a. *kiryaHa (= *kiryaHa?) 'old' > IE *g^{er}H₂x- > NaIE *g^{er}a- 'old, (?) grown up' > OI *ja'rā* 'old age', KhS *ysar-* 'be old', OI *jarati* 'makes old, grows old', *jaran* 'decayed', *jariman* 'old age' (heavy base), Av *a-zar* ^əšant 'nicht-alternd', *zarəta-* 'altersschwach', Phl *zarmān* 'old man; old age, decrepitude', NPrs *zār* 'old person', Psh *zōr*, Oss I *zār*, Oss D *zārā*, *zārwā* 'old age', Oss I/D *zārond* 'old' || Gk *γέρων* / *γέροντ-* 'old man', *γραιγή* 'old woman', *γηράσκω* v. 'grow old' || pAl {O} *grāwā 'old woman' > Al: T *grua*, G *grue* id. || Arm *ծեր* *սեր* (gen. *ծերոյ սերոյ*) 'old, aged; old man' || Gmc: ON *karl* 'man, old man', OHG *karl* *karal* *charal* 'man, husband, beloved', MLG *kerle* 'free man, strong man', NHG *Kerl* 'fellow', AS *céorl* 'man, free man of the lowest rank; husband', NE *churl* || Sl *zbrě-ti (1s pres. *zbrějō) 'to ripen' > OCS *збрѣти збрѣти* (· τύκτειν) (1s pres. *збрѣхъ збрѣжѡ*), SCr *zrèti*, Slv *zréti*, Cz *zrāti*, Slk *zret'*, OP *zrzec*, R *зреть*, Uk *зрїти* inf. 'to ripen', Blg (1s pres.) *зрєя* v. 'ripen' || pTc *kwär- > Tc: A, B *kwär-* v. 'age, grow old', B adj. pl. *śrārī* 'old' (of people) ¶ M K I 420-2, Vl. II 122, Sg. 612, Horn 146, LS 346, Ab. IV 299, 304-5, McK 98, Mrg. 103, F I 301-2, O 125, Slt. 164, Vr. 301, Schz. 179, Kb. 530, KM 365, Ho. 46-7, Glh. 700-1, Vs. II 106, ≈ P 390-1, Ad. 236, 644, EI 248 (*g^{er}h₂- v. 'grow, age, mature') and 409 || D (att. in SD) *kiṛ- ({}GS} *k-) 'old, aged; old age' > Tm *kiṛam*, *kiṛaṭu* 'old age', *cont.* 'aged person\animal\thing', *kiṛavan* 'old man', *kiṛavi* 'old woman', Ml *kiṛavan* 'old man', *kiṛavi*, *kiṛatti*

'old woman', Kn кeр̣ава, кeр̣ива 'old man', Tu к̄īръ 'ancient, old' ¶ D no. 1579; on i/e alternation in SD *see* Zv. 65-70 || HS: WCh: Hs K kíríbzá 'anything old', ? Hs *id.* kʰárárràḅē 'become old\infirm\decrepit' ¶ Abr. H 524, 601, Ba. 609, 703 || It is tempting to adduce the HS root ≈ *✓kʷr (or *kʷr-?) (> SC: Irq kuru, Brn kori, Alg kʷari 'year' [see E SC 245]) and Ch (Tala {ChL, ChC} kʷərsì 'old' [person], Jg {J} korm- 'aufwachsen' [*see* ChL and ChC s.v. 'old person']), but the HS rounded back vw. makes the comparison too shaky; it is more plausible to equate it with T *Kurt-ga- 'old woman' (ET Q 168-9) || А *Ḳari ~ *Ḳiri 'old, worn out' > [1] NaT: *Ḳari 'old' (of human beings and animals) (× N *garʿi 'old') > OT, MQp XIII, Osm ≥XIV, Chg XV қарі, Tkm гарры, Qq garrı, Qq, Qrg, StAlt қарı, Uz қарı *id.*, Qzq {MM} қариya 'old man', Az garı 'old woman', Tk карı, Ggz қарı 'wife, married woman', d.: Qq қариya 'old man'; NaT *Ḳari- ({Md.} *kʷari-) > OT қарı- ({Cl.} қарı:-) 'be(come) old', Tk карı-, Tkm гарры-, Uz қарı-, Qrg, StAlt қарı 'become old', Az garı- 'remain unmarried after the common age for marrying' (of a woman); [2] NaT *Ḳiri ~ *Ḳæri 'old' > ET qeri, Xk кипі kirl *id.*, Qzq {DQA} qäri *id.*, ET qeri, Xk кипі kirl *id.*; NaT *Ḳiri- > ET qeri-, Tv, Tf qiri-, Xk кипі-kirl-, Yk kiriy- 'grow old' ¶ Cl. 644-5, ET KQ 311-12, Ra. 223, Ra. 223, Md. 103, 166 || ??φ pJ *kùtā- > J T kutabiré-, J K kútábirè-, J Kg kùtábirè- {SDM} be tired, be worn out', {Kenk.} 'be tired, grow weary, be exhausted' ¶ Mr. 717, Kenk. 1123 || ??φ ???σ M: (1) M *°qari- > WrM {BMR} қарı-, HIM {BMR} хари- 'weaken, become old', Kl {KRS} хәр- хär- 'weaken'; (2) M *qara-si- > HIM {BMR} харши- 'become weak, 'become emaciated (истощаться, исхудать, страдать хроническим истощением)', Brt {SDM ← ?} хараши- (mentioned in SDM, but not registered by Chr.) ¶ BMR IV 59, Luv. 517, Cev. 666, 668, KRS 590 ¶¶ SDM 671-2 (pA *kʷəru 'old, worn out' > T, M, J ◇ D *-r- goes back to N *-ry- ◇ ≈ IS I 297-8 [no. 165] (*kirHΔ 'old': IE, D.

935. ₂ *ka|æRʿcʷ 'tie together, plait' > IE: NaIE *g|ġers- *id.* > Gk γέρον 'anything made of wickerwork: oblong shield, wicker body of a cart', pl. γέροντα 'wattled screens\booths' || Sw Δ kars, karse 'basket of willow twigs, small sack', ON kass(i) 'Weidenkorb', Sw karsa 'basket for fish, net sack', NNr kjessa 'basket, basketwork of bast' ¶ F I 300-1, ≈ P 392-3 (*ġers- 'drehen, winden'; *ġ- on the ev. of the unconvincingly adducted Arm օւռ սաբ 'tree' and օւռն սաբ 'crooked, bent'), Vr. 303 || HS: S *°✓krʿsʷ > Ak OB ✓kr̄s (inf. karāsū) 'tie, fasten' ¶ CAD VIII 209.

936. *kURc∇ 'scales, bark; to remove scales, to peel' > **K**: GZ *kurč- v. 'peel, remove husk' > OG na-kurc-eni n. 'peel (of fruit)', G kurc- v. 'peel, remove husk', {DCh.} na-kurc-eni 'scales', Lz do-kurč-ol-a 'removing maize husk', Mg *kurč- ⇨ G Gr {Ghl.} kurč-el-a 'peel of onion\garlic\maize, shell of nuts, pod of beans', {K²} kurč-al-a 'maize husk', G I {Ghl.} kurč-na 'to peel maize, to remove tassels from maize cobs', G (← Mg ?) {Chx., DCh.} na-kurč-ali {DCh.} n. 'peel (of onion, garlic etc.)', {Chx.} id., 'involucral leaves of maize cob' ¶ K² 220, FS K 340-1, FS E 382, DCh. 966, Chx. 931, Ghl. 193 || **HS**: S *°kurs|S∇m- > Ak FOB kursimt- ~ kuršimt- 'scale (of snakes)' ¶ Sd. 511 || **IE**: Ht kursa/i- 'skin, fleece, hide' || (× N *Kor'a¹ [or *KōRa and *K¹orü?]) 'to flay, to debark', n. 'bark, crust' NaIE *krūs- 'crust' > L crusta 'crust, rind, shell', ?? Osc krustatar {P} ≈ crusta< (gleba<) tegitor' (but Pln: ≈ cruentantor', Bc.: 'cruentetur'?) || (× NaIE *kreus- 'freeze, congeal' < N *KāR₁ʳ₁ûs|š∇ 'congeal') OHG (h)rōso {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' ¶¶ ≈ P 621, Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. E I 656-7, ≈ WH I 295-7, Bc. G 314, Pln. II 690, ≈ EI 112-13 (unc.: EI 113 (crusta < IE *kʷrus'tēn '[freezing] cold'), Kb. 803 ¶¶ NaIE *k- for the expected *g- is the heritage of *Kor'a¹ '↑'.

937. *kiRû₁h₁gæ 'to gnaw' > **IE**: NaIE (with several assimilative transformations and with onomatopoeic infl.) *gʷru(:)ḡ^h-/*gʷrouḡ^h ~ *gʷru(:)ḡ-/*gʷrouḡ- ~ *gʷruk|k- v. 'gnaw, bite' (× N *ʷ∇R₁∇₁'g¹∇ 'gnaw') > BSl (< *gʷrouḡ^h₁-/*gru(:)ḡ^h₁-) > Lt gráušti (1s pres. gráušti), Ltv graūzt inf. 'to gnaw' | pSl inf. *grīz-ti / 1s pres. *grīz-ŋ 'gnaw' > OCS 1s pres. ГРЪЗЪ grīzŋ / inf. ГРЪСТН grīsti ('δύκνειν, ἔστίειν, mordere, rodere') v. 'gnaw, bite' ({ESSJ} 'грызть, кусать, плотать'), Blg гри'за v. 'gnaw', SCr grīsti, Slv grīsti, Cz hrýzti, P gryźć, OR, RChS ГРЪЗТН grīzti, R ГРЫЗТЬ inf. 'to gnaw' || Arm կրծեմ kərceṃ 'I gnaw\nibble' || Gk βρῦκω 'eat greedily, gobble', ?σ βρῦχω id., 'gnash, grind the teeth' ¶ WP I 697-8, Sl. 447-8, Frn. 164-5, ESSJ VII 160-1, StSS 179, F I 272-3 || **K**: G I kirkn- v. 'chew (with a toothless mouth)' ¶ Chx. 1560 || **A**: Tg *kirge- ~ *kirke- v. 'gnaw' > Ewk kirgз- 'gnaw (a bone)', Lm qirgъ, Ul kirkiču- 'gnaw (грызть)', Nn Bk kэркэ-, Nn Nh {STM} kэркиэли-, kэркэли-, qarqialī- 'gnaw' (of mice, rats), {On.} kэркэли- 'gnaw' (of rodents) ¶ STM I 398, On. 240 ◇ Sl *† and Gk ū- (both from IE *ū) suggest the presence of a N Ir. (*H). K *-k- may either go back to N *-Hg- or result

from assimilative devoicing (N ***k...g** > ***k...k**). The labialization of the initial cns. in IE is due to assimilation (infl. of the rounded vw. of the second syll.).

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

939. ₂ ***kuR∇k̄∇** 'crane' > **HS:** WS ***kurk_L∇y_L** 'crane' (unless the words in S lges are loans from Ak ← Sum kur.gi 'goose') > JA {Lv.} כּוּרְקַיִךְ kurkə'y-ā ~ כּוּרְקַיִךְ kurkiy'y-ā, Sr كورق; حاء kurkə'y-ā (pl. kurkawā't-ā), Md kurkia, Ar kurk-īy- (pl. kurākīy-) 'crane', Gz kōrkī id., k^warākī id. ({L}: ← Ar pl. kurākīy-); Ar (or EthS) → Sml {R} 'kurki id. ¶ Lv. II 405, Br. 346, Fr. IV 28, BK II 888, L G 291, R SS II 247, CAD VIII 561-2 || **D [1]** ***kUruk-** ({ǵGS} ***k-**) 'heron, crane' > Tm kuruku 'heron, stork, crane', Ml kuriyan, Td košk 'heron', Tu korngu 'crane, stork', Tl pegguru ~ begguru (< *peru-kuru) 'adjutant crane', Gnd Mrd koruku 'crane' || **[2]** ? ***kokk-** (< ****kork-**) ({ǵGS} ***k-**) 'crane' > Tm, Kn kokku, Tl kokkera, Prj kokkal, Gdb kokalin, Ku kokoṛa 'crane', Ml kokku, Gdb kokkale 'heron' ¶¶ D no. 2125 ¶¶ D ***-r-** in ***kUruk-** is still to be explained (N ***kuR[?]∇k̄∇?**) ◇ IS I 292-3 [no. 159] (***kar∇/*kur∇**).

940. ₂ ***käREm∇** 'wall, walled\fenced enclosure' > **HS:** S (WS?) ***'karim-** 'vineyard' (← ***'fenced garden?**) > Hb כּרְמִי 'kerem, SmHb 'kāram (pl. kā'rēmam), Ph, Amn, Ug kr m, JA [Trg.], JEA כּרְמִי kar'm-ā, Sr كرم; حاء kar'mā, Ar karm- id., Gz karm 'vine, grapevine'; ??σ Ak karmu n. 'ruin, ruin heap'; Ak karmu belongs here if its meaning goes back to 'ruined settlement' ← 'walled\fenced settlement' (which is

suggested by the contexts in the Ak literature) ¶ AD SNSE 78, KB 474, KBR 498, BH IV 144-5, OLS 223, Sl. 603, Js. 671, Br. 347, BK II 889, L G 293, HJ 53, CAD VIII 218 ¶ S *i of the second syll. is evidenced by SmHb pl. and Gz || Eg P/OK k3nʷ 'vineyard' ({Vc.} = *kaʔnaʷ < *karmaʷ ~ *karnaʷ), Eg fXIX k3m 'garden (with vine, flowers, vegetables)' ({Vc.} [= *kaʔmu < *karmu]) > DEg k3m 'garden' > Cpt Sd/B бʷм cōm 'garden, vineyard, field', pl: Cpt: Sd боом соом, A бооме сооме id. ¶ EG V 106, Fk. 284, Vc. 340, Er. 557 || B *-yʷrʷm- 'walled settlement, village' > Ah a-yʷrəm (pl. i-yʷarm-ān) 'village, ville, bourg; tout lieu habité par des sédentaires', ETwl, Ty aʷrəm (pl. i-yʷarman) 'ville', Ttq aʷarəm (pl. i-yʷarman) id., taʷarəmt 'village', Tmz {MT} i-yʷrəm (pl. i-yʷarman), Dmn {La.} 'village, ksar, village fortifié', Mz a-yʷarm 'cité, ville, village entouré de remparts \ de murs', Dmn {La.} i-yʷrəm, Ntf {La.} tiʷarəmt 'maison flanqué de tours; forteresse' ¶ Fc. 1758-9, GhA 72, MT 204, Dlh. M 154, Msq. 357, La. MChB 1-2 || A *k'æREm > Tg *keren 'fence' > Nn Nn KU x3r3̃ 'stall for cattle, stable, shed', Nh k3r3̃ {STM} id., {On.} 'Pferdestall', Ork k3r3(n-), Neg k3y3(n-) 'fence', Ul k3r3(n-) id., 'stall', 'border, frontier', Ork, Ul k3r3n-, Neg k3y3n- v. 'fence in', WrMc {Z} x3p3hь 'Pferdestall' ¶ STM I 482-3, On. 241, Z 413 || M *kerem 'mound, wall, rampart; walled enclosure' > WrM {MED} kerem, HIM x3p3m {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'fortress (крепость)', WrO {Krg.} kerem, Kl Ö {Rm.} kerṃ 'Festung, Mauer', Kl {KRS} † керм, Brt x3p3m 'wall of a fortress, fortress (крепость)', Ord k'erim 'rempart, grande muraille'; M б̣ Sln x3r3m 'town wall', WrMc {Z} k3p3ṃ id., 'rampart (of a military camp)', {Hr} kereṃu 'krenelierte Stadtmauer, Zinne, Lagermauer' ¶ MED 457, BMR IV 225, KW 227, Krg. 725, KRS 296, Chr. 652, Hr 583, Ms. O 417, Z 272, STM I 482 || NaT *Kæ̣:̣ṛṃæn 'fortress, town, city' > MQp [CC] keṛmen 'civitas', OOṣm [AH] ḳäṛṃän 'town, city', Kr Cr keṛman, Kr G ḳeṛmen 'town, city'; some NaT lge б̣ Chr L карман {Ash., Fed.} 'укрепление'; T б̣ NPrs کرمان kirmān [kermān] 'castle, emporium', {Vl.} 'urbs munita, castrum, emporium' б̣ Tk † kirmān 'fortress'; T б̣ OR керемень керемень 'fortress' ¶ Rs. W 256, ET KQ 52-3, TAG 97, Nm. ET 12ff., Rl. II 1108, Fed. I 230, Ash. VI 102, Dr. TM III no. 151 [= 2096] and IV 300-2 (supposing that the Tk word is derived from T *kir- 'umspannen'), Vs. II 224, Sg. 1024, Grøn. 149, Vl. II 822 ◇ T *r before a cns. may go back both to N *r and to *ṛ, therefore we have no ev. distinguishing between these two N cns ◇ N *ä is evidenced by Chv

L a (< T *ä < N *ä). B *ʁ- suggests a N emphatic cns. (*k|g-), but *k- in S, Eg and Tg point to a N plain vl. *k-.

941. *kiR∇P∇ '(ε?) fish' > HS: Ch *kir∇p- 'fish' > WCh: Hs kīfī | AG: Tal {IL} kyèp, Ywm {IL} kʰirəpʰ id. | Klr {J} kírîf id. | BT: Dr šúrúwó, Krkr čarafù, Bl {IL} kerwo, Gera {ChL} kîrfá, Ngm {ChL} kérúwô id. | NrBc: Krf {Sk.} kârfí id. | SBc: Bg {Sh} kīp, Kir {Sh.} čirəp id. || CCh: Skr {IL} kʰířáf id. | Gudu {ChC} xir̥fu, Gude {ChC} h̥řfin, {ChL} xur̥fìn id. | ZmB {J} kérfé id. | (infl. of N *Kola '[big] fish?'): CCh *kʰi|u|ʰip- 'fish' > BM *k∇lf∇ > Klb kàlfi, Br kəlfà, Mrg xilif, WMrg kúlfà ~ kûlfà, Ngx kulfu, Hld kalfī, Wmd kálfì id. | Higi sb.: HgNk kə̀lə̀pé, HgB kə̀lə̀pó, Kps kùlùpʷé, HgG kùlùbí, HgF kùlùpu id. | McMdr: Mdr kúlfè, Glv kúlfà, Dgh kúlfè, Gv kilifa, Nkc kə̀lə̀tè id. | Mtk klef, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kléf, Myn, Gzg, Mofu kílíf, Mkt klífì, Mlk kíléf id. | Db {LnG} kílíf, Kola {Sb.} kilíf id. | Ms kuluf-fa, {ChL} kulufna, Bnn kùlùvá 'fish' ¶ JI II 140-1, ChC s.v. 'fish', ChL, Ro. 252, Ba. 636, Abr. H 518 || **A**: Tg *kirpu > Nn Nh kirpu, Nn Bk/KU kirpu 'sturgeon', WrMc {Z} кирпу 'barbel (*шип, Acipenser nudiventris* [a species of sturgeons]) ¶ STM I 399, On. 219-20, Z 277 || **IE**: NaIE *og̃r̥b- > Gmc *karp- 'carp' > OHG karpfo, NHG Karpfen, MDu carpe(r), Du karper, Ic karfi id., Gmc (Gt *karpa?) → Late L carpa id. (first attested in Cassiodorus [a Latin writer of Gothic origin, 6th. c.]), Sp, Port, It, Prv carpa id. → Fr carpe id. → ME carpe 'carp' > NE carp; OHG karpfo → R † карп, R, Ukr карп, P карп, Cz kapr 'carp' ¶ KM 354, Vr. 301, Vs. II 202, HIK 163.

942. *käRt∇ 'cut' > HS: S *✓krt 'cut off' > Hb ✓krt (pf. כָּרַת kārāt, ip. כָּרַת yi-|krot) 'cut off/down, fell', Ph, M'b ✓krt 'cut', Tgy ✓krt G 'cut', Tgr ✓krtt id., Ak ✓krt G 'cut off, break off' (but Ak ✓krt 'strike' does not necessarily belong here) ¶ KB 476, KBR 500-1, GB 364, BDB no. 377, HJ 538-9, CAD VIII 215, L ESAC 27, LH 401, Bsn. 592-3 || **K**: G I/R {Chx.} kirčn- 'in kleine Stücke\Brocken zerteilen, zerstückeln', G Mt karčn- 'umhacken' ¶ K *č < N *t + a sibilant or an affricate (belonging to a sx)? ¶ Chx. 1561 || **A** *k'ärt'i- > T *k|k'ärt- v. 'notch' (× N *kæRt∇ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces?') > OT {Cl.} kərt- v. 'gash, cut a notch in', Ggz, Nog, Qzq, ET, StAlt, QK kert-, VTt, Bsh, Xk kirt-, Tf kiert-, Chv L карт- 'cut a notch', Tk kert-, Tkm, Uz, SY kert- id., 'make an incision', Tv kert- v. 'notch, carve (by chopping, cutting)', Az kärtik, Tkm kertik n. 'notch', Qmq kert, Az kärt, VTt kirt 'incision', Chv карт

n. 'notch' ¶ Cl. 738, ET KQ 54-5, Rl. II 1102, Rs. W 257, BT 81, RAltS 267, B DLT 162, B DChT 127, TvR 238, Ash. VI 106-10, Fed. I 231, Jeg. 91, ChVS 71, Md. 168 ({}Md.) *k'ēr't- = *k'ärt'-) ¶ Chv a points to a pT *ä || M **kerti- > *kerċi- v. 'make incisions, notch' (× N *k̄VRċV 'to cut', q.v.) > WrM {MED} kerċi- and HIM {MED, BMR} хэрчи- v. 'cut, slice', Brt хэршэ- 'zerkrümeln, cut into small pieces; an-\ein-schneiden', Kl {KRS} керч- kerċ- v. 'cut into small pieces; Kerben in Bäume schneiden, an-\ein-schneiden', {Rm.} kerċi- 'schneiden, zerschneideh, an-\ein-schneiden', Ord g_erċ'ī- 'couler en tranches, couper en petits morceaux, hacher', Mnr H {T} kiržī- 'hauen, zerhauen; zer-krümeln', {SM} k'iržī- 'hacher, couper en tranches', Dx kiċċi- v. 'cut into pieces, cut off'; M б→ Ewk кэрċi-, Ul кэрċu/i-, Nn кэрċi- 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', WrMc {Z} кэрчи- 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' б→ Neg кэтċi- id. ¶ MED 455, BMR IV 222, Chr. 650, KRS 296, KW 228, SM 204, T 339, T DnJ 123, STM I 453-4, Z 272-3 || J *kár- v. 'shear, mow' > OJ kar-, MJ kár- id., J T kār- {Kenk.} v. 'cut, clip, crop' ¶ Mr. 704, Kenk. 856 ¶¶ Proto-A *k'- (rather than *k'- from N *k-) belongs to the heritage of N *k̄æRtV
 ◇ Hardly here Ht kartai- 'cut, clip, sever', because it is obviously related to IE *ker-t- 'cut' (Vd kr̄n'tati, Av kar̄antaiti, Lt kertū / inf. kiřšti, OCS inf. ċrěsti) ¶ Ts. E I 523-4, Pv. IV 109-10.

943. *keRtV 'to tie, (?) to plait' > IE: NaIE *_lg̃|gerd- > Gk ὑέρδλος ~ ὑερδός 'weaver', ὑέρδς id. || L (← Gk?) gerdius id. ¶ F I 300, WH I 594 || **HS:** B *✓krd v. 'tie' > Ah, ETwl, Ty əkrəd id., Gd əkrəd v. 'tie, knot' ¶ Fc. 850, GhA 97, Lf. II no. 0799 ¶ The voiced *d is probably due to the influence of the reflexes of N *gE|aRdV 'to plait, to tie, to gird' (q. v.) || **U:** FU {It.} *kert_lt_lV- 'tie together' > Lp I {It.} kořt'εδ 'anbinden (mit Schlingen)' || Prm *kärt- 'tie together' ({}LG} *kert-) > StZ kərtaV-, Z Δ kərtaI- 'tie, attach', Vt kertt-in+ 'tie, tie together' || ?φ Os V kárt-, Os Ty kárt- v. 'sew' (unless ← pOs {Ht.} *kir- 'sew, put on shoes') ¶ It. no. 346, LG 142, ≈ UEW 139 (attaching the Prm word to the FU ✓ *kärV 'tie'), Ht. no. 310 ◇ On the connection between the Gk word and CS *✓grd 'weave', 'web (tela, textura)' see s.v. N *gE|aRdV '↑'.

944. (₂?) *kVRTV (~ *gVRdV?) 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *ogred- / *ogrod- v. 'scratch' (pointing to N *kVRTV) > Gmc *krattōn (with intensivity gemination): OSw kratta, MLG kretten, OHG krazzōn ȝ chrazzōn, MHG, NHG kratzen 'to scratch'; Gmc б→ It grattare,

Fr *gratter* id. ¶ Vr. 331, Schz. 184, OsS 511, Diez 222, KM 401, Kb. 561, ≈ P 405 || HS: B *✓krđ 'scratch, scrape' (suggesting N *k∇Rt∇) > Tw *əkrəđ* 'être raclé, se racler', Gh *əkrəđ* 'racler', Sll *kəřđ* (pf. *ik^wəřđ*); *gratter*, *râcler*', Kb *əřđəđ*, Izd *kəřđ* 'gratter', Tmz *kəřđ* *šəřđ* '(se) peigner; racler', Tmz AH *šəřđ* 'gratter' ¶ Fc. 854, MT 345, Ds. 145-6, Dl. 417, D. DFK 118-19, Mrc. s.v. *kəřđ* || WS *✓grđ 'scrape, scrape off' (pointing to N *g∇Rd∇) > BHbTD *ḥiṭ-gā'red* '(he) scraped himself', Pun *mgrđ* 'scraper, scratcher', JA, Sr ✓grđ G 'scrape\scratch off', JEA ✓grđ G 'scrape', MHb ✓grđ G v. 'scratch, scrape, comb', Md *grida* 'scanty, scraped', Ar *جرد* ✓ğrd G (pf. *ğarada*) 'strip (a branch of its leaves, a tree of its bark, a skin of its hair)', Jb C ✓grđ (pf. *'gɔ'rd*) vt. 'strip (a tree of its branches), strip so. of his uniform, disarm', Mh ✓grđ (pf. *gɔrōd*) vt. 'undress, strip so. of everything, cut (a branch of a tree)' ¶ KB 194, KBR 202, HJ 594, Js. 265, Lv. I 356-7, Sl. 299, Br. 132, DM 96-7, Ln. 405-6, BK I 275-6, Hv. 84-5, Jo. J 78, Jo. M 123-4 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kúrtí* v. 'rub', Mu {J} *kòròđé / kúrút* 'scratch' ¶ ChC s.v. 'scratch', Eb. 75 || ?σ A: NaT *Ka_l:rt ≈ scab, eczema' > OT *qart* 'ulcer', Qrg *qart* 'scab on a wound', sari *qart* 'eczema' (sari 'yellow'), Tv *qart* 'crust', Tf *qart* 'bark (of shrubs), bast, nutshell, peel' ¶ Cl. 647, ET KQ 314-15, Jud. 316, 353, TvR 230 ◇ NaT *Ka_l:rt does not solve the problem of distinguishing between N *r and *r', because in precon. position N *r' yields T *r ◇ The variation of the glottal features (*t ~ *t' ~ *d, *k- ~ *g-) still defies explanation (different directions of as., ideophonic influences [so called "expressivity" and "intensivity"]?).

945. *ku^wR∇t|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect' > HS: B *kūr_l∇_ld- 'flea' > Kb *a-řurəđ* (pl. *iřurđan*), Tmz *akurdu* ~ *agurdu* (pl. *ikurdan*), BMn {Bs.} *kūrəđ*, Shl {Bs.} *akurđ*, SrSn {Rn.} *aķurdu*, {La.} *aķurđu*, Rf Wr/B/A *ķorđu*, Izn *šurđu*, Nf *kurdi* id. ¶ Rn. 343, La. S 284, Bs. NLB II-III 82, Dl. 416, MT 344 || Ch: WCh: Hs *k^wârk^wátà* (~ *ķ^wark^wata*), Gw {Mts.} *k^wârk^wátà* 'louse' | NrBc: Mbr {Sk. HCD} *kurtu* '(?) flea, louse' (not mentioned in Sk. NB, ChC and ChC) | ?μ,φ SBc: Bg {Sh.} *k^wârí*, Grn {Hrn.} *kúryá*, Buli {ChL} *kòrgúđò* 'flea, louse' | ? Pr {ChL} *kóróómò* 'louse' (or to N *KURm∇ 'worm, insect?') || CCh: ?μ Bdm *kirbābo* 'flea' || ?μ,φ ECh: Mgm {JA} *kùrgitínè* 'worm', EDng {Fd.} *kùrgità* 'ε worm', as well as (??) Ll {Cp.} *karà* 'louse', Bdy {JA} *kúrāne* 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} *kûrílè* 'larva of locust' ¶ Abr. H 597, Ba. 690, Mts. G 72, AlJ 92, J LM 129, JA LM 102, Hrn. G no. 156, Sh. BZ 30, ChC s.v. 'louse', 'flea' and 'worm', ChL, ≈ Sk. HCD 162 ¶ The words of Ll, Bdy, Bdm and Mkl may alternatively belong

to N ***KŌR'E'** 'worm, maggot' || ? SES (mt. and regr. as.?) *✓gdr: Mh gǝdērət (pl. gǝdārtən), Hrs gǝdər ētōr 'worm', Jb E gǝdī'rət 'woodworm', Jb C zǝdī'rət 'small insect that eats wood\clothes' ¶ Jo. M 114, Jo J 71, Jo H 38 || **A**: T *K ūrt- 'worm', (?) 'beetle' (× N ***KŌR'E'** '↑') > OT, Chg, OXwT qurt, Tkm gūrt, Az gurd, XT gurt ǝ gōrt, gurdāq ǝ gōrdaχ, NrXT Shi gurt da^ha, Qzq, Qq, QrB, CrTt, Qrg, Uz, ET qurut, Yk χurt, Tv qurt, Xlj {DT} qūřt 'worm', VTt, Bsh qōrt 'worm, bee', Tf qūrt' 'worm, beetle', Yk kurjaɣa 'vermin', Chv L χурт χurt, Chv Δ χорт 'worm, caterpillar, larva; insect, bee' ¶ Cl. 648, ET Q 167-8, TL 181-2, Ra. 222, Rs. W 313-14, DT 180, DH ChT, Ash. XVI 230-5, Fed. II 367-8, Jeg. 309, ChvS 256, ≈: Md. 68, 170 and Md. OJ 153, 280 (T ****k'-**) || **D** (att. in CD) *kur∇t... 'leech' (× N ***k'Ū'R'∇'d∇** or ***k'ŪRt∇∇** 'stinging insect') > Prj kurṭubi, Gdb kurṭum 'leech' ¶ D no. 1798 ◇ B and T *ū point to a N ***uH** (in the light of the S cognate most probably ***uʔ**), which may also explain D *r (< N ***ʔR**).

946. ≈ ***kaŕo** (or ***k'o'ŕo**?) 'onager, wild ass (?)' > **HS**: S *°kurr- > Ar SL kurr- 'young donkey, donkey colt', {Hv.} 'ass'; S *°kurr- may be the source of the NaIE loanword *k^ho|ar- 'donkey' (> OI 'kharā-h, Av ḥarō, KhS kharā-, Prs خَر χār, Oss χäräg id.; pAl {O} *kara > Al T/G kēr r 'donkey, foal'); this IE word cannot be an inherited cognate of the S word (⇔ Blz. DA), because there is no genetic correspondence between S *k- and IE *k^h-, while borrowing (S *°kurr- ⇨ IE *k^hor-) is phonetically plausible (the non-glottalized S *k- is likely to have been slightly aspirated, cp. Kartvelian: Georgian /k/ = [k^ʰ] ¶ Hv. 648, ≈ M K I 302-3, Ab. I 57, GI 562 (fn. 2), O 183 ¶ But not here Jb C/E 'kē'raḥ 'male donkey', Jb C 'kēre'ḥēt 'female donkey' (possibly from ✓k^hrḥ 'be bald\hornless') [Jo. J 149, Jo. M 235] || NOm: Kf {C} kurō, Mch {L} kúro, Cha {C} kurā, Anf {Gt.} kurō, She {CR} kur, Hz {SiW} kúrur 'donkey' ¶ C SE III 171 and IV 463, L M 37, Gt. 355, SiW BA 11, CR NGS 621 || Ch words for 'donkey': WCh: BT {ChC}: Krkr korō, Ngm kórō | Ngz {Sch.} k^ωǎǎá, Bd {ChC} korō id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} kóró id. | BM {ChL}: Bu, Ngx k^ωzra, Cb, Wmd, Mrg k^ωara, WMrg k^ωzrɜ ~ k^ωara, Hld k^ωarā id. | McHigi {ChL}: HgNk, HgG k^ωarā, HgB, Kps, FIK k^ωara, HgF k^ωzra id. | BB: Gudu {ChL} k^ωarā, Bcm {Sk.} k^ωarété id. | McKtk: Bdm {Cyffer} kórō id. | Msg {GKrs.} kurék id. | McMs {ChL}: Ms korota, Lamé káró, LamP korō, Bnn k^ωzrda, BnnM korora id. || Kwn {ChC} kúrā, Kwn M {J}, Kbl {Cp.}, Smr {J} kúrá, Ng D {J} kúrō, Tmk {Cp.} kóra 'donkey' ¶ ChC s.v. 'donkey',

ChL, Sch. DN 196 ¶¶ OS no. 1480 (pHS *kor- > S, Ch, Om) || IE: NaIE *g_L^ωorde¹b^ho-s {EI} 'wild ass (*Equus hydruntinus*)' or 'onager\kulan (*Equus hemionus*)' > OI garda¹bha- 'ass', garda¹bhi 'she-ass, jenny ass', Tc B керцапо 'ass' ¶ EI 33-4, ≈ M K I 327-8, P 214-15, Bc. no. 3.46, Ad. 195-6 || D *ka¹ut- ({ǂGS} *g-) 'ass' > Tm ka¹uta¹, Ml ka¹uta, Kt ka¹t, Td katy, Kn ka¹te ~ katte, Kdg katte, Tu katte, Tl gā¹di¹da, Klm ga¹ḍdi, Nkr ga¹ḍi, Prj gade ḍ garad, Gnd gā¹ḍi, Ku gā¹ḍe id. ¶¶ D no. 1364 ◇ The IE element *-b^ho- in *g_L^ωorde¹b^ho- goes back to the N adjectival pc. *b^A (q.v. ffd.). If the NaIE initial stop was labiovelar (*g^ω-), it points to a N *o, but if it is velar (*g-), it points to a N *a. The D cognate suggests that N *ka¹ro is more plausible than *k¹o¹ro (S and Om *u and the initial k^ω in the Ch lges being explained by regr. as. of vowels) ◇ In the light of the history of the ass and its domestication (due to archaeological data) it may be supposed that the word originally denoted the wild ass or the onager. On the history of the wild ass, onager and on domestication of the ass see EI 33-5, GI 562-4 and Bökönyi 299 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 157 [no. 55] (suggesting the equation between D, HS and the IE root of OI kharā- [considered to be a genetic cognate]).

947. *k¹a¹ṛ¹∇ (= *k¹a¹ṛ¹U?) 'hawk, ∈ bird of prey' > K: GZ *kor- 'hawk' > OG, MG, G, Mg kor-, Lz kur-, mkur-, mki(r)- id. ¶ K² 218-19, Chx. 1576, DCh. 1344, Chik. 103 || A *k¹art¹∇ '∈ bird of prey' > T: [1] NaT *Kart¹a¹l ({Cl.} *Kart¹ā¹l) > OT qartal 'eagle, vulture', Osm {Rh.} qartal 'Arabian vulture, *Vultur monachus*', Chg qartal, Tk kartal, Ggz 'kartal, Az, Tkm Δ qartal 'eagle', SY qaltar '∈ bird of prey (living in the mountains)'; [2] Yk kīrt 'hawk' ¶ Cl. 648-9, ET Q 316-17, ≈ TL 169, Rh. 1445, Rl. II 200, Rs. W 239 || M *qar¹ci (< **qarti) > WrM {Gl.} qar¹ci 'cormorant (*Phalacrocorax*, баклан)', Kl Ö {Rm.} qar¹čj 'Wasserrabe (*Phalacrocorax carbo*)'; M *qar¹ci¹ay > WrM {MED} qar¹ca¹ay 'falcon, hawk', HIM харцгай ~ харцага {MED} 'falcon, hawk', {BMR} 'hawk', Brt харсага id., Kl {KRS} харцх харсъхъ id., {Rm.} qar¹čyā 'Habicht', -b→ Sg/Qc {Rl.} qar¹čyay 'hawk', Uz qar¹čyay, Tkm гарчыгай qar¹čyay 'goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*), Tlt/Kr {Rl.}, Qrg {Jud.}, VTt, Qmq qar¹čyā, Bsh qar¹čyā, Qzq, Qq, Nog qar¹šyā, QrB кьартджыгъа qart¹čyā, ET {BN} qa(r)čyā, Sg/Qrg {Rl.} qart¹čyā, Alt {Rl.} qar¹čā 'hawk', Qmn qartaq, Xk, Tv qar¹čyā, Tf hart¹čyā 'falcon', Shor {Rl.} qarta¹čyā 'hawk, vulture', QK dim. {Rl.} qartā¹čyā (Rl.: < qarta¹čyā + -čyā) 'small hawk' ¶ KW 170, Rs. W 237, ET KQ 317-19, Pp. MA 293, Ms. H 88, H 61,

MED 936, BMR IV 62, Chr. 556, KRS 581, Kow. 850, Gl. II 135, Krg. 267, KRS 581, Rl. II 200-4, Jud. 354, ≈ TL 169 || Tg *kar- 'e bird', (?) 'bird of prey' (× pA *kar∇ 'e wild bird' < N *kar∇ id.) > Nn qarqay 'e bird', WrMc {Z} карчинь 'kite (коршун), 'bird of prey', {Hr} karčir 'kite' ('Milan') (unless borrowed from a M lge) ¶ STM I 379, Z 263-4, Hr 575 ¶¶ M *qarčigay may be analyzed as *qarti- + *-gay, possibly a nominal sx of quality bearers which may be identical with the sx *-gay/*-gey forming poss. pronouns from the gen. of pers. pronouns: WrM minū 'of me' ⇨ minū-gey 'mine', manu 'of us' ⇨ manu-gay 'ours' etc., as well as with *-gay/*-gey of nomina imperfecti (performer of an action that has been and still is: *yabu-gay 'one who has been walking\going'), F Pp. IM 219-21, 73 ¶ T *Kart'āl is qu. as a cognate, because it may go back to a cd with the first element T *Kara, M *qara 'black' (cp. NaT *Kara Kuš 'eagle', lit. 'black bird') ¶¶ For more details on the word in the Altaic lges see ET KQ 317-19 (with further literature) ¶¶ The word was borrowed by some Sl, U, Irn and some Caucasian lges (see Dr. TM I no. 278), incl. Chr H kəršüŋgəš 'hawk' and R коршун 'kite' (Rm. BT 47, Vs. II 342-3) || D (att. in SD) *kaṛu ({GS} *k-) 'e bird of prey' > Tm kaṛu, kaṛuku 'griffin vulture (*Gyps indicus*), eagle (*Aquilina falconida*)', Ml kaṛu, kaṛuku 'eagle, vulture', Td koṛḏ 'kite', Tu kaṛu ḏ kaḷu 'vulture' ¶ D no. 1362 ◇ If the final vw. of the N etymon was labialized (as in the D reflex), we may try to explain the vw. *o in GZ *kor- by regr. as. (N *k'a'ru > *kor∇) ◇ The prehistory of Yk ī in kīrt is not clear (it may suggest something like pN *kaṛi'ru with loss of *-ṛi- in most descendants lges).

948. *koṛû 'stick, log' > IE: NaIE *g^weru- 'sharp stick, roasting spit' > L verū (gen. verūs) ntr. 'javelin, spit', Um berua pl. 'spits (verua)', berus abl. pl. 'verubus' || OIr bir (accus. biur) 'spit, spear', NIr bior, MW ber, W bêr 'spear, lance', OCrn [VC] ber, Br ber 'roasting spit' || Gt qaírū (σκόλοψ) 'Pfahl, Stachel' || ?σ Gk {Hs.} βάρυες ('δένδρα) 'trees' || ?σ Pru garian ~ garrian accus. 'tree' ¶ But Av grava- 'stick, cane', Phl graω 'cane' and Tc A kru 'reed' belong rather to a different etymon ({Ad.} ? *g^h₁rewo-m 'reed, rush') ¶ WP I 689, P 479, Mn. 357, Brtl. 529, McK 37, LS 307, F I 253 (no et. of βάρυες), WH II 766-7, Bc. G 330, Pln. II 729, Vn. B 51-2, YGM-1 44, Fs. 386, En. 175 (Pru ÷ Lt girià, Ltv dzirca 'forest', see N *kur₁∇h₁∇ 'hill, mountain'), EI 481 (*g^h₁rewo-m 'reed, rush'), 536 (*g^weru 'spear, spit') || HS: B: Sll a-kuṛay 'large stick for beating'; ? Thg ã-kāra 'petite tige de

bois (qui se place dans la bouche des chevreaux pour les empêcher de téter)', Gd {Lf.} a-kraru 'bâton à remuer\tourner les sauces\bouillies etc.' ¶ But B *ȳari- 'stick' is to be kept apart, it rather belongs to N *Ḳarí∇ '(sharp) stick, peg' (q.v.) ¶ Ds. 34, Lf. II no. O793, Fc. 848 || ? WS *✓krk > Mh kəršədūt (pl. kəršēd), Jb E kəršə'dət, Jb C kəršə'dət (pl. ko'rošud) 'knobbed club'; ? amb Ug krk {OLS} 'pico', {Grd.} 'shovel (?)' (× S *°✓krk < N *Ḳarí∇ '↑', q.v.) ¶ Jo. M 215, OLS 223, Hnr. 140, Grd. UT no. 1303 || A: Tg: [1] Tg *kōri- v. 'build (out of logs)', *kōri 'building' (← **'log') (× N *Ḳur∇ [or *Ḳurû?] 'plait\wattle\tie together?') > Nn Nh qorī- {STM, On.} 'build a log hut', {On.} 'build log walls', 'zusammenlegen (складывать)', Ork qorima, Neg koyma 'made of logs', Neg koṣa 'wall made of logs', Ul, Neg koṣan 'log hut (сруб) for a bear', Nn Nh qorī {STM} id., 'storehouse for food', {On.} 'log hut (сруб); 'log hut for a bear', small wooden storehouse for keeping fish in winter', Ul qorī 'shed (хлев), stable; cage for birds', Orc koī (← *koṣi < *kōri) 'wooden storehouse for food; могильный домик', Neg koṣ (← *kōri) 'log house' ¶ STM I 415, On. 227 | [2] ?φ Ewk kar 'rod, thin branch (прут, лоза) ¶ STM I 380-1 || D (att. in SD) *koṣ- 'bar of metal' > Tu koru, Tm koṣu id., Tm, Ml koṣu 'ploughshare', Kn kuṣa, kuṣu, guṣa, guṣu id., 'iron used in cauterizing', ? Kt koṣ 'iron point of plough' ¶ D no. 2147.

949. ₂ *koṣ∇ '≈ fig tree' > HS: B: Izd {Mrc.} a-kurr (pl. i-kurr-an), {MT} a-kuṣṣ (pl. i-kuṣṣ-an) 'figue précoce', as well as with secondary uvularization k- > q-: a-quṣṣi-, a-quṣṣu (pl. i-quṣṣ-an) id.; in other B dialects (with uvularization): {La.} Zmr, Tmz Iz āqorṣṣo (pl. iqorṣṣan), ASgr qorṣṣo, Tfl taqorrit 'green fig' | a Wanderwort presumably of Berber origin: B ≈ **✓k'rm' 'fig tree' (> Kb a-šamlal 'ε a kind of fig tree?') ⇨ AfR *karmus ⇨ Ar Mgr {Gass.} كَرَمَة karama (pl. kiram) 'fig tree', كَرْمُون karmūn 'fig', Ar Mrc {DMA} keṣmuṣ 'fig' ⇨ Kb lkaṣmus, akaṣmus, takəṣmust 'figuier de Barbarie, figue de Barbarie' ¶ Gass. 808, DMA I 65, Mrc. 291, MT 538, La. MChB 421-2, Dl. 95, 419, ≠ Zav. LS 99 (claiming that in Ar karmūn an AfR ending *-us was added to Ar karm- < HS *✓krm 'vine') || D: Tm koṣiṣi 'trees or plants, as the figs, which bear without blossoming' ¶ D no. 2254.

950. *kuḥr∇ (or *küḥr∇?) 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season' > HS: S *°✓khwr > Ar kahwar- 'big black cloud'; +ext.: WS *✓krm v. 'rain', n. 'rainy season' > Ar ✓krm (pf. karuma) 'yield rain' (clouds), Ar D ?el-karamāt 'the rainy months', Gz karamt 'rainy season (Juni-July

to September)' (→ 'year'), Tgy *kərəm̄ti* (→ Bj {R} *ke'rinti*), Tgr *kərəm*, Amh *kərəm̄t* 'rainy season'; EthS → : Sml N {Abr.} *kárán*, *kárán-ti* 'the lesser rainy season (in the autumn) in Western Somaliland', Sml {R} *ke'ran* (pl. *ke'ramo*) 'lesser rainy season in October', Sml {DSI} *karan* 'pioggia di fine d'estate', Sa {R} ✓ *kr̄m* (3m p. 'ḡi-kr̄ma) 'die Erde befeuchten' (der Regen), *kar'mā* (pl. 'karmām) 'rainy season from July to October', Af {PH} *karma* (pl. *karmōmi*) 'autumn rainy season' ¶ Fr. IV 28, 67, BK II 888-9, 939, Hv. 652, Lb. II 1455, L G 292-3, L CAD 157, LH 398, Bsn. 590, DSI 359, Abr. S 148, R SS II 247, R S II 222, PH 144 || **K**: G *kurux-* 'get covered with rainclouds', (→) 'darken, grow gloomy' (a person's face) ¶ Chx. 1587 || **A** **k'ūrE* (or **k'ūrā*?) 'autumn; rain, storm' > T **Kūr* 'autumn' > OT *kūz*, Tk *gūz*, Ggz, Qmq, Qq *gūz*, Tkm *gūjδ*, VTt *keḗz* *kḗz*, Bsh *keḗz* *kḗδ*, CrTt *kuž*, Blq, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qrg, ET *kūz*, Uz *kuz*, StAlt *kūs* id., Alt {Pek.} *kūs orto* 'mid autumn' (*orto* 'middle') || Chv L *keḗp* *keḗr*, Chv Δ {Md.} *kḗr* 'autumn' ¶ Cl. 757, Rs. W 312, ET VGD 94-5, Ra. 204-5, Dom. 66, BT 101, TvR 269, Ash. VII 271-3, Fed. I 277, Jeg. 106, Md. 171, ChVS 84, JkR 201, Pek. 1339-44 || **M** **qura* 'rain' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, HI, P] *qura*, WrM {MED} *qura*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Kl {KRS} *xyp*, {Rm.} *χur*, Brt *xypa*, Dx, Ba *gura*, Dg *χwar*, Ord *χura*, ShY *χura*, Mnr H {SM, T} *χurā* id. ¶ Pp. KP 156, Pp. MA 310, 445, Lg. VMI 47, Ms. H 91, MED 987, BMR IV 167, Chr. 601, KW 197, KW 197, T 377, T DgJ 178, T DnJ 116, T BJ 138, SM 184, Ms. O 370, Mr. D 29 || Tg **kurege* (or **kūrē-ge*?) storm, whirlwind' > Nn Nh {On.} *kūrz* 'snowstorm' (вьюга, метель), Lm *kur* id., *qurgī* 'ветер (переменный)', Ewk *kurgzkūn* 'whirlwind', Ul *kūrz(n-)* 'storm' ¶ STM I 436-7, On. 234 ¶¶ SDM 747-8 (pA **kūrē|i* 'autumn; rain, storm' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 943 (id.), S AJ 294 [no. 510], TL 175.

951. ?? (₂?) **ko'ṛ'ṛ'ṛ'w'ṛ'* 'ear (external ear?)' > **A**: Tg **kora-hta* 'external ear (ear conch)' > Ewk, Orc *korokto*, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh *qoroqto* id., Lm *qorḗt* id., 'ear'; Tg **°korṛ'* > Ork *qoro-lon-* v. 'move one's ears' (animals) ¶ STM I 416, On. 228 || **U**: FU **korwṛ'* 'ear' (× N **qUR'w'ṛ'* 'ear' [q.v.]) > F *korva*, Es *kḗrv* 'ear' || Lp N {N} *bæll'je-goar've* 'earhole' (*bæll'je* is 'ear') ¶ UEW 187, MF 266-7, It. no. 97, EWU 528 || **D** **kuṛ'* 'earring, ear' (× N **qUR'w'ṛ'*) > Tm *kuṛaḗ*, MI *kuṛa* 'earring, ear', Kn B *koḗige*, Tu *koḗar'gæ*, Klm *kuḗka*, Gnd *kuṛka* 'earring', Tu *kuḗka*, *kuḗki* 'female's ear ornament' ¶¶ D no. 1823 ◇ Qu., because two of the three cognates have alt. explanations.

952. $\text{₂} *k|geHs \nabla$ 'warm, hot, warm\hot season' > **HS:** B $*\checkmark (w-)kHs$ 'be warm\hot' ($\times N ? *K\check{e}\check{Z}E$ 'warm, warm weather'??) > Ah ukas (pf. $y\check{a}kkus$) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) s-ukas vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.} ekkous [əkkus] (pf. [ikkus]) 'être chaud', ikkousen 'chaud' ¶ Fc. 900-2, Nh. 140 || Ch: ECh: Skr {Nc.} góssuro 'heat', Mgm gázání 'heat', gázantà ~ gásantà 'hot (as fire)' ||| WCh: Zul {ChL} gisi, Buli {ChL} kìs 'dry season' ¶ Lk. ZSS 33, JA LM 86, ChL, ChC s.v. 'hot' || **U:** FV *kesä 'summer' > F kesä id. | pLp {Lr.} *kēsē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} giesie, L {LLO} kiesē, N {N} gæsse, Kld kīēšš id. | pEr *kizə 'summer' > Er кизэ kize id., Mk киза kiza ɘ kizə 'year' ¶ UEW 660, Lr. no. 393, Lgc. no. 2294, Hs. 603-4, Ker. II 62.

953. $*kasw \nabla$ 'grow, increase; (become) big' > **HS:** S $*\circ\checkmark kš|šw|y - * \circ\checkmark kš|š?|h$ > OAk kasā?um inf., Ak kasŭ inf. {Sd.} 'stark zunehmen', {CAD} 'to yield profit', D kuššŭ {CAD} 'to make profit, to make strong' ¶ Sd. 463, CAD VIII 294 || **U:** FU *kaswa- 'grow, increase' > F, Es kasva- vi. 'grow, increase' | Er kaco- kaso-, Mk kaco- kasə- id. | Chr: L кушка- kuška- id., H {Rm.}, Uf/B kuška- vi. 'grow' ||| OHg haszon 'Fruchtertrag, Ertrag von Nutztieren; (materieller usw.) Vorteil, Nutzen; Gewinn', Hg haszon 'advantage, benefit, profit, gain' ¶ UEW 129-30, Coll. 86, Rm. BT 59, Ker. II 50-1, MF 273-4, EWU 535 || **D** *kač- ({θGS} *g-) 'great, big' > Tm каҫа 'great', Ml каҫа, Png gaʒa 'big', Tl gaja 'large', Ku kaʒa ɘ kaʒʒa 'big, great' ¶¶ D no. 1093.

954. $*k^r\ddot{u}^1\check{s}?\nabla$ 'gravel, (coarse) sand' > **IE:** NaIE *gējs- 'pebbles' ($\times N *K\check{E}^r\eta^1\hat{c}\nabla \sim [?] *K\check{E}^r\eta^1\hat{c}\nabla$ 'gravel, pebble[s], coarse sand') > MHG kies, NHG Kies 'gravel'; AS ciosol, cisel id., OHG kisil ɘ chisil, NHG Kiesel 'pebble', NLG keiserling, keserling, kieserling 'pebble, small stone' ||| Pru siɣdo ({En.} [zigzdo]) 'sand', Lt žiezdrà 'gravel, coarse sand', {Frn.} 'grain of sand \ of coarse sand', Žiēzdras 'sand' ||| Phr [StB] ὄσσεα 'stone' ¶ P 356, Ho. 49, OsS 492, Kb. 546, KM 368, Frn. 1307, En. 248 || **K** $*\circ kwiš-$ > OG kwīša, mkwīša, G kwīša 'coarse sand, pebbles'; G \rightarrow Sv {Ni.} kwiše 'sand', {TK} kwišār adj. 'of sand, sandy' ¶ Abul. 459, Chx. 1558, DCh. 1339, Ni. s.v. 'пѣсокъ', TK 790 || **HS:** B $*\checkmark k\check{w}\check{z} \sim * \checkmark k\check{z}\check{z}$ 'coarse sand' ($\times N *K\check{E}^r\eta^1\hat{c}\nabla \sim [?] *K\check{E}^r\eta^1\hat{c}\nabla$ '↑') > Ah e-kəwəz 'coarse sand', Tmz {MT} əkzəz 'sand'; B $*\circ\check{y}zz$ > Ah taɣəzzit 'sable gros' ¶ Fc. 838, Crt. 430, MT 358 || ? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} kēsə 'sand' (unless \leftarrow Knr čésà id.) ||| ECh: Dng {ChC} kòskò 'sand', Smr {J} kúsraín 'pebbles' ¶ Lk. B 112, Lk. KL 191, ChC s.v. 'sand' and 'pebbles' || ?φ C: Ag:

Bln {R} 'q̄ūšā (pl. q̄ūš) 'sand' (× N *ḳE'ŋ'ĉ̄∇ ~ [?] *ḳE'ŋ'ĉ̄∇) ¶ R WB 245 || U: FU {UEW} *kâč̄∇ 'sand, gravel' > Prm *gŭžā 'gravel' > Vt ГЫЖЫ, ГЫЖ 'grain of sand', Z kžžā, Yz 'kŭžā 'gravel' || pOs *k+č̄ > Os: V/Ty q+č̄, Kz/Sn χ+š̄, O-χis id. ¶ Coll. 80 (FU *kač̄∇), UEW 226, LG 139, Stn. D 429 ◇ FU *-č̄- is likely to go back to **-*č̄- < N *-š̄? - ◇ NaIE *ḡeḷs- for the expected **ḡweḷs- is due to the infl. of *ḳE'ŋ'ĉ̄∇ ~ (?) *ḳE'ŋ'ĉ̄∇ ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135 [no. 12] (equating the FU root with reflexes of N *ḳeč̄∇ 'clay, earth' and N *ḳE'ŋ'ĉ̄∇ [~ *ḳE'ŋ'ĉ̄∇?] 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand').

955. *kăřš̄∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel' > HS: CS *√křš̄ ~ *křš̄ > BHb 𐌆𐌆𐌆 'kařaš̄ ~ (after the change š̄ > s) 𐌆𐌆𐌆 'kařas 'vexation, anger', JA 𐌆𐌆𐌆 kařā-s-ā 'anger', Hb, IA, SmA, JA √křs 'be vexed\angry', JEA √křs 'be angry', Ar √křš̄ (pf. kaš̄iřa, ip. -křš̄ař-) {Bl.} 'être dans l'anxiété', {BK} 'être troublé et inquiet' ¶ KB 467-8, KBR 491, HJ 528, GB 357, Js. 656, Sl. 594, Tal 402-3, Fr. IV 38, Bl. 697, BK II 902 || U: FU *k'äš̄∇ > OHg ≥XIV késa 'Kampf, Streit' ¶ EWU 740-1, ≠ UEW 162 || D *kač̄- ({řGS} *ka's̄-) 'quarrel' > Ml кауака v. 'quarrel, abuse', Kt kač̄ 'party in a quarrel', Tu кассāṭa 'quarrelling', Tl каууамu 'quarrel, dispute', Prj каури 'enemy', Gdb кауар 'anger, sorrow', Kui kāsē 'hostility, enmity, blood feud' ¶¶ D no. 1089 || ?σ: A *k'æš̄∇ 'suffer' > Tg *kese- id. > Ewk kēsē-, Ud kēsē- id., Nn Bk kēsē- 'repent', NnNh {On.} kēsē- 'испытать\прочувствовать всю тяжесть наказания, намучиться, извлечь урок', ds: Nn Nh {On.} kēsūli- 'punish', kēsūč̄i- frq. 'punish', Ul kēszič̄u- 'make suffer, torment', Neg kēszič̄i- ~ kēszič̄i- 'punish (beat), Jrc ke-si-ge-bulu 'sad'; ??σ WrMc {Z} kēsamburu 'scoundrel (мерзавец, негодяй)' ¶ STM I 454-5, On. 241, Z 267, Kiy. 368 || pKo {SDM} *kḷḷs- v. 'suffer, undergo, experience' > MKo kḷḷs-, NKo kḷḷk̄- ¶ S QK no. 745, Nam 44, MLC 114 || ??σ pJ {S} *kasika- 'exhausted, wasted' > OJ kasika- {S} id., MJ kásiká- id., J T kaž̄ike- {Kenk.} 'be stunted\dwarfed, shrink' ¶ S QJ no. 1690, Kenk. 780 ¶¶ SDM 672-3 (pA *kes∇ 'suffer' > Tg, T, J, Ko + unc. M *keseře- vt. 'punish, correct'), DQA no. 777, Rs. W 258 (T, M, Tg), Pp.VG 18, 65 ◇ Cf. N *ḳažiχ∇ 'to scold'. The phonemic distinction between -s- and -cy- in Tl kasar u 'scold, rebuke' (< N *ḳažiχ∇, q.v.) and каууамu suggests that this distinction is of pD origin, sc. that there was a pD phonemic distinction between the D reflexes of N *-ž̄, ∇, χ- and *-š̄-.

956. (₂?) *kíś₁?₁∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck' > HS: S *^o✓kś? > Ar ✓kś? v. 'peel' (× N *keŷ?ê 'skin; to skin', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *kíś|śk∇- v. 'tear (off), pluck' > F kīśkō- 'jerk, twitch; pluck; tear; pull (by)' ('abziehen, losreißen, zerreißen'), Es kīśkū- 'tear, pull, pluck' | pLp {Lr.} *kzśk̄- 'tear, pull, jerk' > Lp: S {Hs.} gājku- 'abreißen, abbrechen', L {LLO} kai'ħkō- 'zer-\entzwei-\los-\nieder-reißen', N {N} gāi'kō-/-ik- 'tear, pull (sth. or at sth.)', Kld кышшкэ, K {Gn.} kīśke- 'tear, tear asunder' | Mk киськоря- kīśkə'ra- v. 'pinch', {UEW} kśte'ra- 'zwicken, kneifen', Er скиря- śkī'ra- 'pinch, nibble' ||| ?σ Hg Δ kīśá1- 'ärgern, aufreizen' ¶ UEW 162, Lr. no. 331, Lgc. no. 1884, Hs. 547, SaR 144, PI 114, ERV 591, MF 366-7 ¶ Not here FU *keŷ∇- v. 'tear' (UEW 151-2) (see N *KĒŠU (or *K'ŷ'ŷ∇?) 'to skin, to tear') || D *kićć- ({ǵGS} *kićć-) v. 'pinch, pluck' > Tl gićcu v. 'scratch, pinch', Klm kism-, kīseŋ, Nk kis-/kićć-, Prj kīk-, Gdb kisk-, Gnd kisk-, kism-, kićć-, Png, Mnd kić-, Kui kisa, Kui, Ku kićć- v. 'pinch', Prj kićć- v. 'pluck (strings of instrument with finger)', Knd kis- v. 'pinch, nip, squeeze with fingers', Krx kićć- v. 'break into very small pieces with the fingers', ? Mlt kise v. 'dig out a thorn from the flesh', Brh kiśkiŋ v. 'pluck, break off' ¶¶ D no. 1513, Km. 343 [no. 363] || A: M *kisu- (× N *KĒŠU [or *K'ŷ'ŷ∇?] 'ŷ', q.v.) > WrM {SDM} kīśu- ~ quśu- 'scrape, shave', HIM хуца- {SDM} id., {BMR} v. 'scrape (скоблить), shave', Brt хюћа- id., Kl {KRS} хуц- id., {Rm.} χус- 'abschaben, abkratzen', WrO d. χуsulda- 'be scratched', Mnr H {SM} k'iz_3- 'ratisser, racler, enlever en raclant', Ord q_ūsq_ū- 'racler, gratter' ¶ MED 473, 992, BMR IV 173-4, Chr. 656, KRS 614, KW 199, Krg. 291, Ms. O 317, SM 202.

957. *kat∇ 'speak, think' > IE: NaIE *gō(:)d- (~ *gō(:)d-?) 'speak, think' > OI 'gadati 'says, speaks' ||| Sl *gada- (inf. *gadati) v. 'guess, talk, speak' > OCS ГАДАТИ gadati {ESSJ} 'гадать, высказывать догадки', Cz hádati, Slk hádat' 'to guess, to think (to be of the opinion), to suppose', OR ГАДАТИ gadati id., 'to think (meditate), to discuss', Uk га'дати 'to think', R га'дать 'to guess', Slv gádati id., 'to chatter', Blg га'дая v. 'guess', Cz Δ gadat', R Sml га'дать 'to speak', Slvnz {Lrz.} gā'dāc 'to speak, to talk', P gadać 'to talk' | Lt žādas 'speech, language', žōdis 'word, speech', Ltv zādīnāt 'to speak to'; the Blt words have an apparent reflex of IE *g̃- (against the ev. of Slavic), which still defies explanation ¶ M K I 319-20, ESSJ VI 77-8, Vs. I 381, ≈ Bern. I 288, Frn. 1283-4, 1321-2; ≠ EI 535 (OI < *g^ωet-

say', see N *koṭṭṭ ~ *kuṭṭṭ '≈ magic utterance and its results') || HS: B *✓ktH ~ *kty 'think, remember' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} ɔktu id., Thg, Gh əktu (pf. ikta), Gd ɛktət 'remember', Sll {Ds.} ək^ωti (1s pf. k^ωtiɥ, 3m pf. ik^ωti) id., Tmz {MT} ktəy (pf. kti) id. ɔ štəy (pf. *sti) 'recall, think', Izd {Mrc.} kti 'recall, remember', Zn {Rn.} əkt̪i 'recall', Zng ✓kty: {MH → Nic.} uktəyəg-ɔə^h 'je me rappelle' (= 'il me revient', 'je me prends à me souvenir [que]') ¶ Fc. 923, Nh. 208, Ds. 216, 267, MT 355, Lf. II no. O835, Mrc. 214, 240, Rn. 341, GhA 207, Nic. 329 || ?φ EC: Arr gēd- 'say' (× N *koṭṭṭ ~ *kuṭṭṭ '↑') ¶ Hw. A 360 || U *^ok^ra^rt̪t̪ṽ- (or *k^ra^rs|šṽ-) > Sm *kət- ~ *kətṽ-, d. *kətṽ- 'say, relate (erzählen)' > Ne: T inf. xət̪a-ɔɔ 'to say, erzählen', O {Lh.} χət̪ā, F {Lh.} k̪t̪a- 'say, erzählen'; En {Mik.} inf. k̪ita-ś 'to relate (erzählen)'; Slq Tz kət̪-ɔɔ 'say', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. k̪ə^hda id. ¶ Jn. 66, Ter. 803, KP 92, KKIИ 117.

957a. ₂ *kætṽ 'walk, go' > HS: ?σ Eg ktkt 'sich bewegen' (unless sd. from ktkt 'zittern, beben') ¶ EG V 146 || ECh: Kwn {J} kote 'follow', Mu {J} kət 'go out', Brg {J} kət̪i 'go, go out' ¶ JI ChLR II 161, 163, J KKS s.v. Kwn kote || A: T *k'et- 'go, go away' > OT {Cl.} ket- 'go', ET T, Tkm {Cl.}, Qzq, Qrq, Nog ket-, VTt kit- 'go away', Qmq gēt- 'go away, go (somewhere)', Az gēt- 'go away, walk, come', Tk git- 'go away' ¶ Cl. 701, ARL 178, TrR 340, MM 210, NogR 164, KumRS 98-9, KrkR 318-19 || M ?σ *ködel- vi 'move' > WrM {MED} ködel- 'move, budge, shake', HIM xədlə- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'move, arise, sich in Bewegung setzen', Brt vi. xγdɔl- 'move, шевелиться', Kl {KRS} vi. kədl- id., 'begin to move', {Rm.} ködd̪- 'sich bewegen, in Bewegung sein', Ord k'ödd̪- 'se mouvoir, se remuer' ¶ MED 497, BMR IV 129, Chr. 614, KRS 312, KW 235, Ms. O 424 || pKo {S}

958. (₂?) *k^rä^ritṽ (or *kæ^ritṽ?) 'suck, (?) eat liquid food' > IE: NaIE *gēid- 'suck' > Lt 1s pres. žĩrdũ / inf. žĩstĩ, Ltv 1s pres. zĩžũ / 3s pres. zĩd / inf. zĩst v. 'suck' || Gk Hm νεο-γυλλός (or νεο-γυλλός) 'newborn, young (of animals)', {Ch.} 'tout jeune' (acc. to Scholia Odysseæ, γάλακτι τρεφομένης 'nourished by milk'), interpreted by Schw., F, P and other scholars as 'recent sucker' ('seit Kurzem saugend' [von Tierjungen]) and reconstructed as *νεο-γυδός with *γυδός 'saugend, Säugling' ¶ Frn. 1314, Schw. GG I 323, F II 304, Ch. 744, P 356 || HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} kaṭ- (= kaṭ-) scv. 'suck' ¶ R WBd 137, Rop. 202 || ?σ D (tr., †GS) *kaṭṭ- 'soup (of pulses)' > Kn kaṭṭu 'the water in which pulses have been boiled, decoction of pulses', Tl kaṭṭu id., 'dal soup', Tu kaṭṭɔ 'essence', bēlɛta kaṭṭɔ 'decoction of

pulses', Prj kaṭ 'soup' ¶¶ D no. 1150 ◇ Bj *-ḍ- < **-ṛt- < N *-ṛit-
 ◇ If D *kaṭṭ- belongs here, the N rec. is *kǎṛitṽ, otherwise it is
 *kǎṛitṽ.

959. *kiṛṽt'U' 'to tickle', ? 'to itch' > IE: NaIE *geṷd- > ON, NNr
 kitla, Sw kittla, Dn kildre, AS cítelian, OSx kitilōn, Dt
 kittelen, OHG {KM} kizzilōn ǣ kuzzilōn, {OsS} chizilōn,
 chuizlōn, NHG kitzeln 'to tickle' || ? Arm Կծեմ կծանեմ
 kcanem 'I sting, prick, nip, itch' ¶ P 356, EI 451, Vr. 310, Ho. 50, OsS
 494, Kb. 543, 577, KM 372 || ¶ A: id. ≈ *k'it'u'- > T *Kit'ik- v. 'tickle' > Tk
 gıdık, Ggz gıdıq, Az gıdıq, VTt, Bsh qəṭṭəq, Qzq qıṭıq, Qq, Nog, Qmq
 qıṭıq, Qrg qıṭıṽı, Uz qıṭıq, ET qıṭıq, Chv кǎтǎк кǎḍ_ǎк n. 'tickling', VTt
 {Rl., TatR} qəṭṭəq-la- v. 'tickle' ¶ Rl. II 787-8, Jeg. 102, MM 467, TrR 335,
 TatR 316, Jud. 500, BR 363, KrkR 433, NogR 204, ARL 90, UzR 617,
 RNog. 711, KumRS 216, GRM 125, Fed. I 263, Jed. 102 || Tg: [1] Tg
 *χôṭô- v. 'itch, tickle' (× N *k̄u|od'a'hṽ 'pierce; sharp', q.v.) > Nn Nh
 χotorıaq {STM} '(it is) tickling', {On.} descr. 'itching', {On., STM}
 χotorsı- v. 'itch', Ul χotırsı-, Orc xutunsi- ~ xutuńisi-, Ewk utuni ~
 utuńi-, Lm ıtuń-, Neg otoxon- id., Ud {Shn.} utuniHi, Ud Sm {Krm.}
 utunihi, Orc xutuńā, xutuńisi 'it itches' ¶ STM II 294-5, On. 474 || [2] ?σ
 Tg *χıdar 'bitter, acid, ätzend (горький, едкий)' > Ewk idari- 'feel
 bitter\acid\pungent taste of food', Neg idasi 'bitter', Lm idır- idari- 'be
 sour', idırın 'bitter', WrMc {Z} идарша- 'feel stitch in the breast
 (ощущать колотье в груди)' ¶ STM 297-8, Z 102 ¶¶ The labial vw. in
 the initial syll. of Tg *χôṭô- belongs to the heritage of N *k̄u|od'a'hṽ ||
 pKo *kàráb- v. 'itch' > MKo kàráp-, karyap-, karyəp-, NKo karyəp- id. ¶
 Yu 3-4, MLC 11 || ???φ pJ *kàyu- adj. 'itchy, itching' > OJ kayu-, MJ kàyu-,
 J T/Kg kayú-, J K káyú- id. ¶ Mr. 831, Kenk. 886 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 795 (pA
 *k'jãda 'itching, pungent' > Tg *χıdar, J, Ko), DQA no. 1038 (id.), Mr. KJ
 234 (J, Ko) || D [1] *kit- ({{GS} *k-) > Kui kīti 'tickling', Mnd kiti ki-
 id., Tu kidǎkılǎ, kid(ǎ)kelǎ, kidkǎǎ 'armpit, tickling' || [2] Kt kuṭ
 'clitoris' (× N *k̄ôṭ'E' or *koṛUṭE 'female genitalia, anus') ¶¶ D no-s
 1551a and 2049 ◇ The vw. u in the initial syll. of Tg *χutu- and Kt kuṭ
 may point to a labial element (rounded vw.) at the end of the stem (regr.
 as.).

960. *koytṽ 'filthy liquid, filth' > IE: NaIE *g^ωeṷd- id. ({{EI} 'be foul\
 purulent') > Gk δεῦσα 'slime, filth' (P: < *g^ωeid-s-a) || ? Gmc: ON, NNr
 kvēisa, Sw kvēsa 'bump, tumor (Beule, Geschwulst)', Sw Δ kvīsa,

kvesa, MLG $quēse$ 'blood blister' || SI * $ǵid-ǵkǵ$ 'watery' (liquid) (× IE * $ǵʷheǵd-/*ǵʷhoǵd-$ > Arm $q̄ṣṣ$ $gêṣ$ / gen. $q̄ṣṣn$ $giṣoy$ 'humid, moist') > ChS $жндѣкъ$ $ǵidǵkǵ$ 'υδαρός, (too) watery', SCr $židak$, Slv $židek$, Cz $židký$, R 'жидкий' 'watery, liquid'; SI * $ǵidja$ > R 'жижа' 'slush, filthy liquid; liquid part of soup', d.: Blr 'жыжка' 'slush; liquid food' ¶ P 469, EI 490, F I 359, Vr. 337, Vs. II 53-4, Glh. 709, Chrn. 302, Ld. A 74-5 (SI ÷ Arm) || HS: CS * $✓ktm$ 'be dirty\stained' > BHb (N prtc.) $םתבן$ $ni-k'tām$ 'stained', JA [Trg.] $םתבן$ $kə'tīm$ id., MHb $םתבן$ 'קעטעם, JA $םתבן$ $ki'tmā$ '(blood)stain', Sr $✓ktm$ G v. 'stain, defile', Ar $katam-$ '*Isatis tinctoria* used as dye for hair', {Hv.} 'plant for dyeing the hair black' ¶ KB 480, KBR 505, BDB no. 4387, Br. 352, WKAS I 53, Hv. 644 || ?σ $א$ * $k'Ut't'∇$ 'bog, marsh' > NrTg * $kuta$ 'marsh, quagmire' > Ewk $kuta$ 'peat bog, quag-mire', Ewk Nr $kuta$ 'clay', Lm $kuta$ 'quagmire, marsh (топь)', Neg $kota$ 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 439 || NaT * $KötEr$ ~ * $Kötræ$ id. > VTt Mn/I, Bsh $kütər$ 'quagmire', Bsh $Δ$ $kütər$ 'swamp, puddle', Sg $ködre$ 'quagmire, marsh', Shor {Rl.} $ködrä$ ~ $küdrä$, Alt {Vrb.} $küdre$, Chv (← VTt) $күтәр$ $küd_ər$ 'swamp' ¶ ET KQ 154-5, TTDS 286, Ash. VII 89, Rl. II 1286, 1488, Vrb. 189 || pJ {S, SDM} * $kutai$ 'bog, marsh' > MJ $kute$ ¶ S QJ no. 1383 ¶¶ SDM 749-50 (pA * $kut't'i$ 'bog, marsh' > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 938 || D (att. in GnD) * $°koṭṭ∇r-$ ({ $ǵGS$ } * $g-$) 'dirty' > Kui $goṭri$ 'muddy, dirty', Gnd MB {Ph.} $g'honṭo$, Ku $groṭa'$ 'turbid' ¶ D no. 2067 ◇ Qu., because P's IE rec. is far from from being reliable, and the S cognate has an unexplained extension * m .

961. * $ku't'HE$ (or * $kü't'H∇$) 'to rise; (?) high place' > $א$ * $k'ü|öt'E:$ v. 'lift, raise' > NaT * $k'|k_öt'i-$ 'rise', 'raise, carry on the back' > OT U {DTS} $köti-$ 'rise' (rejected as dubious by Cl.), Yk $köt-$ 'fly', $kötöḫ-$ 'lift up', Az {Rl. → Rs.} $ǵöt-$ 'aufheben, abnehmen' (not registered in ARL, Äz., AzRL and AzDDL), Az Kz {Dzh.} $ǵötü-$ 'raise', Slr {Tn.} $k'öht-$ ~ $küht-$ ~ $küt-$ ~ $kut-$ 'carry in the back'; ⇨ caus. NaT * $k'ötær-$ ~ * $k'ötür-$ 'lift up, raise' > OT {Cl.} $kötür-$, ET {Nj.} $كوتار$ $kötär-$, Uz $кўтар$ $kwtar-$, Qmq $göter-$, Blq $kötür-$, Nog, Qzq, Qq $köter-$, VTt, Bsh $kütär-$, Qrg $kötör-$, StAlt $ködür-$, Qmn/Tb {B} $ködür-$, $ködör-$, QK {B} $ködör-$, SY $köhtir-$ ~ $köwtir-$ ~ $k'öhtir-$, Xk $көдир$ $ködür-$, Tv $ködür-$ id., Tkm $göter-$ 'lift up, carry', Tk $götür-$, Ggz $götür-$ 'carry (away), bring' (the meaning dependent on the case of the adverbial modifier of place), Az $көтүр$ $ǵötür-$ id., 'take'; T (or NaT) * $k'|k_ötær-$ ⇨ M * $köter-$ 'lift up' > $¿$ WrM {Rm. ← ?} $kötür-$, Kl {Rm.} $kötür-$ 'aufheben, heben' ¶ DTS 319-20, Cl. 702, 706, ET VGD 86-8,

Rl. II 1279-85, 16O2, Rs. W 294, Dzh. 48, Pek. 1174-8, Tn. SJ 397, Tn. SJJ 189, Nj. 646, TkR 204, TvR 256, TrR 352, ARL 187-8, KW 239, YkR 182 || M: [1] WrM *kũtũgũr* {MED} 'elevation, hilly country', {Kow.} 'élévation, hauteur, lieu élevé; une bosse sur la poitrine' | [2] M **kõtũl* 'hill, mountain pass' > WrM {MED} *kõtũl* 'mountain pass, low pass', HIM *хөтөл* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'hill, небольшая отлогая горка', Brt *хүтэл* 'small height, hill; low mountain pass', Kl {KRS} *көтл* 'small height, hill, курган', {Rm.} *kõtũ* 'Hügel, Anhöhe, Steigung, niedriger Bergübergang', Mnr H {SM} *k'ud'or* 'col, pass', Ord *g'öt'öl* 'passage à un endroit moins élevé entre deux sommets de montagne' ¶ MED 493, 509, Kow. 2596, BMR IV 148, Chr. 633, KRS 319, KW 242, SM 206, Ms. O 272 || Tg **kute-* > Lm *kõtəʋ* n. act. 'ascent, climbing (a mountain)', *kõtəʋə* id., 'hill', *kõtəpki* 'on the top (of a mountain), uphill', *kõtər-* v. 'climb (a steep mountain)', WrMc {Z} *хэтэ-* vt. 'raise, lift' ¶ STM I 421, Z 408 ¶¶ SDM 728-9 (pA **kõt'i* v. 'lift, raise' > Tg **kutu-*, M **kõtũ-*, T **k'öt-* + unc. pJ **kutu-* 'turn upside down'), DQA no. 893, S AJ 288, Rm. EAS I 147 (T, M + unc. Ko *kət-* 'aufsammeln, aufrollen, vollenden'), KW 242, Dr. TM I 459 || U: FU **küδ∇-* (or **külâ-*) > pObU {Ht.} **kũl-* 'stand up' > pVg **kʷāl-* > Vg: T *kʷāl-/kʷäl-*, LK/MK *kāl-*, NV *kʷāl-/kał-*, P *kāl-/kʷal-*, *kał-*, LL *kāl-/kał-*, UL/Ss *kʷāl-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **kũl-/käləʋ-* > Os: V/Vy *kũl-*, Ty *kĩł-*, Y *kũł-*, D/K *kit-*, Nz *kĩł-*, Kz *kĩł-*, O *kil-* id. ¶ Ht. no. 249 || ?σ D **kuʈʈ-* ({ʈGS} **guʈʈ-*) ~ **kuntʈ* ({ʈGS} **gunʈ-*) 'hill, high place' > Kn *guʈʈa*, *guʈʈu*, Gnd *guʈʈa* 'mountain, hill', Tl *guʈʈa* id., 'heap', *guʈʈe* 'field on mountain slopes, a high field', Knd *guʈe* 'hill field', Gdb *guʈiʋa* 'small field for cultivation of vegetables', Ku *guʈia* 'field of dry cultivation', Png, Mnd *guʈi* 'bank of river', Kdg *guʈe* 'heap'; a nasalized variant is present in Tm *kuŋʈu* 'small hill' ¶¶ D no. 1682 ¶ Both the phonetic shape (presence of a nasalized variant) and the meaning (esp. 'heap') raise doubts about the validity of this cognate || ? HS: C: SC: Irq {E} *kutuw-* v. 'swell' (a wound etc.); SC *↳* Mb *-kútu* 'climb' ¶ E SC 247 [no. 43] ◇ The fortis **-t'*- in pA (> T, M, Tg **-t-*) and the geminated *-dʈ-* in D lges suggest a N lr. after the dental stop.

962. **k'o'tê* 'belly' > IE: NaIE **gʷet-* 'belly' > L *bōtulus* 'gut, sausage' (← OscU) || Gt *qīpūs* (· στόμαχος, κοιλία, μήτρα) 'Magen, Mutterleib', ON *kviðr* 'belly, womb', AS *cwið(a)* {Ho.} 'Bauch, Leib', {Sw.} 'womb', OHG *quiti* 'vulva, womb', d.: MHG *kuʈel* 'entrails' || Gk [Hs.] βύττος (· γυναικὸς ἀλδοῦον) 'pudenda muliebria' || pTc {Ad.} **kācān-* > Tc: A *kāts*, B *kāts* 'belly, stomach, womb' ¶ WH I 112-13, EI 2

(*¹g^wetus 'stomach, womb'), Ert ED 27, 68, Fs. 390, Vr. 338, Ho. 66, Sw. 39, Kb. 584, OsS 691, ≈ WP I 560, 671, ≈ P 481, ≠ F I 278, ≠ Ch. 203, Ad. 156 || **HS**: Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} k^wàtʰn, Tala {Sh.} kādu 'belly' || CCh: BuP {Mk} kuta id. | Lmn {Mk} xudi id., {Lk.} xudī '(?) my belly' | Mdr {Eg.} húḏé, Glv {Rp.} xùda, Gdf {Sh.} x^wodà, Dgh {Frk} x^wḏè id. | Suk {Mk} xut 'belly' | Mtk {Sb.} h^wâḏ, pMM {Ro.} *h^woḏ > Mlk {Ro.} h^wóḏ, Mkt {Ro.} hùḏ, Mada/Myn {Ro.} hóḏ, Mofa {Ro.}, MfG {Brr.} h^wáḏ 'belly' || ECh: Mu {J} hàt, ? Ke {Eb.} gīdʒ, Nd D {J} gūʒ id. ¶ JI I 9 (pCh *✓kt and *✓kḏ 'belly'), JI II 20-21, ChC s.v. 'belly', Ro. 210-11, Brr. MG II 132 || **U**: FU *küte 'middle, middle of the body' (× N *gudE?∇ 'belly, middle', q.v. ffd.) > Chr: L кыдал къ'ба́л 'waist (поясница)', Н кыдал 'ка́бал id., {Rm.} къба́л 'Hüfte', Н кыдалаш ка'балаś, (Rm.) каба́лаś adj. 'middle, L къба́лan 'in the middle', Uf къба́л 'middle of the body, middle', B къба́л 'Weichen' || ObU {Ht.} *kü't 'middle' > pVg {Ht.} *küçá' > LK/MK/UK k^wäçá, UL/Ss koçá id.; pOs {HT.} *kö't > Os: V/Vy kö't, Ty/Y kö't, D/K qō't, Nz/Kz qū't, O qut 'space between', d.: V kö'təw, O qutəp 'middle', D qō'təpnə 'in the middle' | OHg köz n. 'middle', Hg köz 'interval, intermediate space' ¶ UEW 163, Coll. 91, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kü'ti, Ugr *kü'tī 'middle'), MRS 264, 275, Ber. 15, Rm. BT 46, MF 379-80, Ht. no. 337, Trs. VD 145 ¶¶ FU *-t- (for the expected *-tt-) is puzzling. Is it due to the merger with N *gudE?∇ 'belly, middle' (q.v.)? || **A**: NaT *k'ö₁t 'anus, buttocks' (× N *Kōt'E' or *ko?UḏE 'female genitalia, anus', q.v. ffd.) ◇ N *o is suggested by NaIE *g^wet-; FU *ü results from regr. as. N *o...e > *ü...e [a case of the U "harmony of vowels"]).

963. ₂ *koṭû 'to drip, to exude liquid' → 'sap, pitch' > IE: NaIE *g^wetu 'pitch' > OI 'jatu 'lac, gum' || L bitūmen 'asphalt, bitumen' (← Clt or OscU) || OHG quitī, cutī 'glue, resin' > MHG kü't(e) > eNHG Kūt't, NHG Kitt 'cement, mastic cement', AS cwidu, cwiodu, cwudu 'mastic (a gum)' ({Ho.} 'Gekautes, Baumharz'), NE cud; with apophony: ON kváða, Sw káða 'pitch', ODN kvæde, Nr Δ kvæde 'birch sap', kōða, kvæða 'beestings' ¶ P 480, EI 500, M K I 415, WH I 107, Vr. 335, Hlq. I 542, Ho. 65, Lx. 120, Kb. 584, KM 372 || **HS**: WS *✓kṭr 'drip; pitch' > Ar ✓qṭr (ip. -qṭur-) 'drip', qaṭr- 'resinous juice of the dragon's blood', qāṭir- 'dripping; gum', qaṭr-at- 'drop', qaṭrān- ~ qīṭrān- 'wood tar' (→ Gz kaṭrān, Sq {L} kaṭrān, Fr goudron 'tar, pitch', Sr {PS} kṭrān 'oleum picinum'); a merger with N *Kot∇ (R∇)

'smoke' (q.v.): JA ✓ *k̄t̄r Sh* (pf. *ʔak̄t̄ar*) 'let the incense rise', Ar *قطر* ✓ *q̄t̄r v. D* (pf. *qaṭṭara*) 'perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes wood', JEA {Sl.} *קָטָרָה* *k̄əṭā'rā* 'incense', BHb *קָטָרָה* *k̄əṭorēt* 'incense', JA *קָטָרָה* *k̄əṭur't-ā* 'incense', SCn **k̄at̄a'r-ōtu/i pl.* (< ***k̄at̄u'rōtu/i* on the analogy of other segolate nouns) ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) *k̄a-d̄a-rū-tá* 'incense'; Sb *m̄k̄t̄r* 'incense altar' ¶ Fr. III 463-5, BK II 765-7, Hv. 614, KBR 1095-6, L G 454, L LS 373, PS 3597, KB 1022-4, Js. 1352, 1357-8, Sl. 1008-9, BGMR 109, Hlk no. 239, SivCR 46 || C: Ag {AD} **k̄ωz̄t-* 'be humid\wet\fresh', {Ap.} **q̄ωz̄t-* 'be wet' > Bln {R} *q̄ωeṭ-* ~ *q̄ūṭ-* (= *q̄ωəṭ-*) 'be humid\moist', 'be green\fresh' (grass)', Xm {R} *q̄ūṭ-* (= *q̄ωəṭ-*) id., 'be raw' (meat), 'be unripe' (fruit), Q {R} *h̄ωeṭ-* ~ *ωeṭ-* 'be humid\moist\raw', Km *xotām ~ x̄ωātām* 'humid' || ?φ EC: Or {Th.} *ḫiḏā* 'humid, soft, fresh', *ḫiḏu* 'be humid\soft\ fresh', {Grg.} *ḫiḏā* 'wet, fresh', Or H {Ow.} *ḫiḏā* 'wet', Or Wt {Hn.} *ḫiḏ-* 'be wet', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *ḫiḏā* 'wet, humid' ¶ R WB 247, R Ch. II 69, R QW 78, CR LK 209, Ap. AV 17, AD SF 256, Th. 165, Grg. 235, Ow. 265, Sr. SO 340, Hn. W 64 ◇ Ag **k̄ωz̄t-* may have resulted from mte. (**k̄ω...t* < **k̄ω...ṭ*).

964. **koṭ∇* ~ **kuṭ∇* ≈ magic utterance and its results' (→ [1] 'public utterances', [2] 'be fortunate') > HS: S **o✓k̄t̄t̄* > Ar *q̄iṭṭ-* 'sentence, arrê (d'un juge)' ¶ BK II 764 || C: Bj {Rop.} *k̄ωatī* 'fortunate, happy', {R} '*k̄ωati* 'happy (glücklich)', {Rop.} *k̄ωatīm-* 'be fortunate\happy' || ?φ EC: Arr *geḏ-* 'say' (× N **kat∇* 'speak, think?') ¶ Hw. A 360, Rop. 209, R WBd 150 || A **k'ut'∇* 'happiness, luck' > T **Kut* 'good luck, happiness' > OT {Cl.} *qut* 'the favour of heaven, good fortune, happiness', Osm *قوت* *qut*, Tk *kut*, Tkm *gut*, Qzq, Uz *qut* 'good luck, prosperity, happiness', StAlt *qut* 'vis vitalis, foetus', Xk *χut*, Yk *kut*, Tv *qut* 'vis vitalis, spirit, soul', Tlt {Rl.} *qut* id., 'spiritual life', Nog, Qq, Qrg *qut* id., 'happiness', VTt, Bsh *q̄b̄t* 'soul, spirit, good fortune, happiness' || Chv {Ash.} *кӑт кьт 'счастье'* ¶ Cl. 594, Rs. W 305, ET Q 175-7, Rh. 1480, Rl. II 990-1, Jud. 452, BIG 294, TvR 82, Pek. 1261-3, Ash. VII 194 || M **qutuḡ* 'happiness', (→ ?) 'holiness' > MM [HI] {Ms.} *qutuḡ* [qutuḡ] 'happiness', [S] *qutuḡ* ({H} *ḫutuḡ*) 'holy', WrM *qutuḡ* {MED} 'sanctity, holy rank; happiness, bliss; benediction', HIM *хутар* {MED} id., {BMR} 'sanctity; happiness, well-being', WrO {Krg.} *χutuḡ* 'holiness, sanctity', Kl {Rm} *χutuḡ* 'Glückseligkeit, Heiligkeit', Ord *ḡut'uq* 'félicité, béatitude, sainteté'; ⇨ : MM [MA] {Pp.} *qutuḡtu* 'happy', [IM]

قَطْفَنُو (misspelling for قَطْفَنُو) qutuɣtu 'blessed', [S] qutuɣtu ({H} h̄utuhtu) 'holy, blessed', WrM {MED} qutuɣtu 'saint, holy', HIM хутагт {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'ис-полненный святости', Brт хутагта id., 'holy', Mnr H {SM} χud_uɣ_t'u 'saint' (titre porté psr certsins lamas), Ord ɣ_ut'uɣ_t'u 'saint' (titre de lama) ¶ Ms. H 92, Pp. MA 313, 446, H 73, MED 992, BMR IV 174, Chr. 605, Krg. 291, KW 200, SM 174, Ms. O 318 || Tg *kutu > Ewk kutu 'happiness, luck', WrMc {Z} хутури 'luck, fortune (счастье во всем, благополучие)', Jrc ху-тур 'luck, fortune'; ↗ Dg χотор 'happiness; philanthropy, charity' ¶ STM I 440, Z 438-9, Hr 475-6 and Kiy. 116 [no. 343]. T DgJ 176, SDM 749 (Tg *quturi) || Ko {Rm.} kut 'magic, sorcery' ¶ Rm. SKE 132 || ?φ pJ *kántuá 'ability, talent' > OJ kaδ₁ω₁o, MJ kàdó ¶ S QJ no. 886, ≈ Mr. 432 (treated together with a word for 'corner') ¶¶ SDM 749 (pA *kùt'á 'fortune' > T *Kut, M *qutug, Tg *kutu-ri, J *kántuá), DQA no. 937, Rm. EAS I 142, Pp. VG 18, 50 || ?σ IE: NaIE *g^ωet- 'proclaim, utter' (→ 'ban') > L v et-ō 'forbid' || ON kwiðja 'poem', kv eðja 'to say, to speak', Gt qipān (·λέγειν) 'sagen', OSx quethan, AS cweðan 'to say, to speak', OHG quedan id., 'to talk', ON kv eðja 'anreden, begrüßen, fordern, aufbieten', ON kv íðr 'Mitteilung, Aussage, Urteil', AS cwide 'what is said, expression, statement; proverb, saying; decree', OSx quidi 'speech, word' || Arm կոչեմ կոչեցի 'I call, I name' || ? Irn: Sgd žut 'says' (× N *kat∇ 'speak') ¶ P 480-1, Mn. 358, WP II 776, Fs. 389-90, Vr. 337-8, Sw. 38, Ho. 65, Ho. S 59, Schz. 187, Kb. 576, Sl. 381-2, ≈ EI 535 (? *g^ωet- say'; + unj.: OI gadati 'says', in fact from N *kat∇ (↑)) ◇ IE *g^ωet- and Ar qitū- belong here if their meaning goes back to something like 'magic utterance'. Otherwise (e.g. if the original meaning of IE *g^ωet- is 'say') we have to do with two homo- or paronymous N words, one of them meaning '≈ say', the other one 'be fortunate'. There is discrepancy in vowels: IE points to a N *o, while pA suggests *u. A possible solution is postulating two N words: [1] *koṭ∇ 'public utterance' (see above N *koṭ∇ '≈ magic utterance and its results') > IE: NaIE *g^ωet- 'proclaim, utter' and HS: S *^o✓kṭṭ > Ar qitū- 'sentence, arrêt (d'un juge)' || EC: Arr ged- 'say' and [2] *kuṭ∇ 'good luck, happiness' (← 'magic, sorcery?') (see above N *koṭ∇) > HS: C: Bj kωatī 'fortunate, happy', k^ωatīm- 'be fortunate/happy', A *k'ut'∇ 'happiness, luck' (ffd. cf. above). Ko {Rm.} kut 'magic, sorcery' may belong to either of these N words or to both (contamination).

965. *kaɣɬɯ 'hard, dry' > **HS:** S *^o✓kɣɬ > Ar ✓qɣɬ G (pf. qɑɣɑɬɑ, ip. ɣɑqɣɑɬu) 'être sec\desséché\aride' ¶ ВК II 782-3 || **А** *k'at'ɯ 'hard' > NaT *Kat 'hard' > Tk Δ qat 'hard, dry', Qmn {B} qat 'firm', Chv L хытă, хыт 'твердый, жесткий', NaT *k'at- 'be\become hard\firm\tough' > OT qat- id., Chg qat- 'be hard\tough', Tkm qata-, Nog, Qq, Qrg, VTt, Bsh, ET qat- vi. 'harden', Chv хыт- id., 'erstarren, застывать, коченеть', Uz қот- qat-, StAlt, Tv qat-, Tf qǎt'-, Xk, Yk xat- id., 'dry up', Qmq qat- id., 'freeze', Qzq qat- 'harden, freeze'; d. *k'at'ig 'hard, firm, tough' > OT qatiɣ, Tk kati, Tkm gati id., Az gati 'dense, hard, tough', Uz, ET qattiq, VTt, Bsh qatъ, Qzq qatti, Qrg qattu, StAlt qatu, Xk xatiɣ, Tv кадыг, Tf qǎt'ig 'hard, tough' ¶ Cl. 395-8, ET KQ 334-5, Ra. 219-20, ARL 76, TkR 163-4, Ash. XVI 107, 109-15, Fed. II 385-6, Jed. 315-16, ChVS 262 || **М** *qata- vi. 'get dry, dry up; become hard' > MM [HI] qada- 'get dry', WrM {MED} qata-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xata- vi. 'get dry', Kl {KRS} xat- xatъ- vi. 'get dry\hard', {Rm.} xatъ- vi. 'vertrocknen, verdorren, trocken und hart werden', Ord q_at'a- 'devenir sec, devenir très maigre', Mnr H {T} xadā- 'get dry', {SM} xadā- 'devenir dur\sec\robuste, se raidir, s'affermir', Dg {T} xata-, {Mr.} kate- 'get dry', MM [HI] d. qata-ar 'manque de pluie, sécheresse', [MA] d. qatāqsan adj. 'dried', MMgl {Iw.} d. qatād 'unobtainable'; -> **[1]** M *qata'ɣ'u 'hard' > MM [MA, HI] qata-u id., WrM qatagu {MED} 'hard, steadfast, tight', HIM xatuy {MED, BMR} id., Brt xatuy id., Ord q_at'ū 'dur, raide, résistant'; **[2]** M *qatan > MM [S] qatan 'steel', WrM qatan {MED} 'hard, strong', HIM xatan {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'stählern, булатный (made of damask steel)', Brt xatan 'made of steel, булатный', M -> Yk xatan 'hard, firm'; **[3]** M *qatanu 'hard, strong' > WrM {MED} qatanu 'strong, hard, harsh', {H} hatanghu 'hard as steel, firm', HIM {MED} xatanga 'strong, hard, harsh', {BMR} 'strong, hard, rauh (жесткий)', Brt xatanga adj. 'dried, dry', Mnr H {T} xadon 'hard, firm', {SM} xadōn 'dur, ferme, fort, constant'; M -> Yk xatan 'hard, firm'; **[4]** M *qata- vi. 'dry, get dry, harden' > Mnr H {SM} xadā- vi. 'devenir dur\sec, se raidir, devenir robuste', Kl {KRS} xat- vi. 'get dry, harden', 'trocknen\verwelken' (plants), vi. 'temper (steel)', {Rm.} xata- 'vertrocknen, verdorren, trocken und hart werden', Dg }{T} xata- vi. 'get dry, rauh werden (становиться жестким)'; **[4a]** M *qata-ɣa- vt. 'dry (make dry), harden' > MM [HI] qada- vt. 'dry, make dry', WrM {MED} qataga-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xataa- vt. 'dry; harden or

temper (iron)', Mnr H {SM} χad_ā- vt. 'redre dur\sec', Dg {Mr.} katā- vt. 'dry, make dry', Kl {KRS} χата- χата- vt. 'make dry', 'temper (steel)', {Rm.} χatā- 'trocknen werden lassen, hart und trocken machen; härten (Staal, Ziegel)', Ord g_at'ā- 'sécher; tremper (lame)' ¶ H 63, MED 943-4, BMR IV 66-8, Chr. 560-2, KRS 582-3, KW 172, SM 146-7, T 372, Mr. D 181-2, Ms. O 298-9, Pek. 3399, Ms. H 85, 89, Pp. MA 295-6, Iw. 124 || Tg *kata- > Ewk Ald/Z kata 'dry, meager', Ewk {Cs.} ката 'firm (крепкий)', Ewk PT/Np/Nr katā 'sharp' (a knife), Orc kata 'hard, firm', Ork qata, qatta 'firm', Nn Δ katā, Nn Nh/KU χatā 'firm'; Ewk Ald/NB/Tng/Ucr katā- vt. 'get dry (from drought)', WrMc {Z} ката- vi. 'harden, get dry' ({Z} 'засыхать, твердеть после сырости и просушки, высухать, быть провялен'), Mc Sb qatə-mə 'become bone-dry'; there is partial contamination with loans from M (e.g., Neg kata- 'temper [metal], UI χата(н-) 'sharp, firm', Nn χatā 'firm', as can be seen from their meaning ['temper'] or from their phonetic shape [χ-]) ¶ STM I 383-4, On. 458, Z 255, Y no. 1819 || pKo {S} *kūt- 'hard' > MKo kūt-, NKo kut- ¶ S QK no. 614, MLC 216, Yu 88 || pJ {S} *kátá- 'hard' > OJ kata-, MJ kátá- id., J T kàta-, J K kátà-, J Kg káta- {S} 'hard, firm', {Kenk.} 'hard, solid; difficult' ¶ S QJ no. 560, Mr. 831, Kenk. 868-9 ¶¶ SDM 785-6 (pA *k'é't'ò 'hard' > M *qata-, T, Ko, J + unc. WrMc {Z} этӯх̄ӯнь 'strong, hard' [presumably from Tg *_χ_χ_etu-], cf. Z 173), DQA no. 1020 (id.), S AJ 70, KW 172, Vld. 195, 318, Rm. SKE 132-3, Mr. KJ 233, Lee CSMK 114, Dr. TM I 410 || D *kaṭṭ- ({ṬGS} *gaṭṭ-) 'hard' > Tm kaṭṭ- vi. 'harden, consolidate', Ml kaṭṭi 'what is condensed, solid, ingot', Kt kaṭṭy 'solid lump', Kn gaṭṭi 'firmness, hardness', Knd gaṭṭi, Gdb gaṭṭin 'hard', Tu gaṭṭi, gaḍḍḍ 'firm, hard', Tl kaṭṭu 'become hard', gaṭṭi, gaḍḍuḍu 'hard', Klm gaṭṭi 'thick (dense)', keḍk 'hard', Kui ḍṛahpa 'be hard', ḍrai 'hard, stiff', ? Krx kaṛṛ-, kaḍr- v. 'congeal, freeze' ¶¶ Km. 321 (D *kaṭ-/ *kaṭṭ-), ≈ D no. 1148 (without distinguishing between the √ in question and homonymous roots meaning 'tie', 'bind' etc.) ¶¶ D no. 1148, ≈ An. SG 132 (Tm -ṭṭ- < *-ṇṭṭ-) ¶¶ D *-ṭṭ- goes back to a N cns. cluster (*-ṣṭ-) ◇ Tg *k- points to N *k-, while S *ḱ- in *°√ḱṣṭ is due to regr. as. (N *k...ṭ > *ḱ...ṭ).

966. *kayüṭa 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'nail') > HS: S *°ḱuṭṭ- (× N *ḶotṶ 'tip, end, sharp point') > Gz ḱᵂaṭṭ, ḱᵂaṭṭā 'butt end of spear, spear with squared iron part, slender spear' (ass. glottalization of the initial *k-) ¶ L G 452 || K: GZ *ḱit- 'finger' (and 'fingernail?') > Mg, Lz ḱit-i 'finger', G {KEGL} ḱit-i ~ kit-i 'thickened bottom part of a stalk\trunk near the

root', ? G Kzq {FS} $\kappa\acute{i}t-i$ 'stick', ??σ G {FS} $\kappa\acute{i}t-i$ 'ε kind of vine branch' ¶ FS K 184, FS E 202, Fn. KL 179-80, KEGL IV 1219 || U * $\text{ku}^{\text{r}}\text{t}_{\text{t}}\text{a}$ (regr. as. from * $\text{kü}^{\text{r}}\text{t}_{\text{t}}\text{a}$ > N ***ka $\acute{y}\ddot{u}\text{t}\text{a}$** ?) > Sm {Jn.} ***кѣтѧ**, {Hl.} ***кѣта** 'claw, fingernail' (× U ***kü $\acute{n}\check{c}\acute{e}$** 'fingernail, claw' < N ***kü $\acute{n}\check{c}\acute{e}$** or ***kü $\acute{n}\check{c}\acute{e}$** '[finger]nail, claw'?) > Ne T **хѧда**, Ne T O {Lh.} **χḗ δḗ**, Ne F {Lh.} **kattā \bar{b}** 'fingernail, toenail, claw', En X {KD} **kōδa**, {Ter.} **коδa** id., {Cs.} 'кога, En B {Cs.} 'кода 'fingernail', Ng {Cs.} 'кату id., Slq Tz {KKIH} **qat+** 'fingernail, toenail, claw, hoof', Slq Ch {Cs.} 'каче ({Jn.'s interpretation} **k'āčē**), Kms {KD} **k'ā'da** 'claw, hoof, nail', Koyb {Sp.} **кода** 'fingernail', **куда** 'hoof', Mt {Hl.} ***kada** 'fingernail, hoof' (Mt: M {Sp.} **кадамъ** 'my fingernail', **кадыде** 'its hoof', K {Pl.} **chadada** 'his fingernail') ¶ Sm ***ь** may go back only to U ***u** (see Sm. 484) ¶ Jn. 55-6, Ter. 714, Ter. SILSJ 286, Lh. 160-1, KP 97 [no. 541], KKH 158, KD 24, Cs. 48, 80, 114, 221, Hl. M no. 377 || A ***k'a $\text{,}it'a$** - > Tg ***okita-kun** 'fingernail, toenail' > WrMc {Z} **хитахунь** ~ **хитхунь**, Mc Sb **kjataχwn** id. ¶ STM I 466, Z 418-19, Y no. 76 || T ***Katak** 'nail (гвоздь)' > Tk Δ **gadak** id., Tkm **gadaq** {Rl.} 'Pfund' (weil die Pfunde auf den hölzernen Stabwaagen mit Nägeln bezeichnet sind), Qrg **qadō** {ET} 'nail (гвоздь)', {Jud.} 'заклепка, скрепка; прикол (для привязи животных); stake (for impaling ['mediaeval execution])', Az **gadaq** 'заклепка (ножниц)', VTt **кадак**, Bsh **qabaq**, Qzq **qada**, StAlt **qadu** 'nail', Chv L **хутав** {Ash., Fed.} wooden nail (for hanging sth. on it), **чека**', Chv Δ {ChVS} **хутав** 'nail (гвоздь)'; T ***Kata-** 'stick in, hineinstoßen, (hin)einstecken (вонзять, втыкать)', 'annageln' > Qrg, StAlt **qada-** 'hineinstoßen, (hin)einstecken, Tv **qada-** 'einschlagen (вбивать, вколачивать), Tf {Ra.} **qada-** 'annageln, anschlagen (приколачивать [гвоздь])' ¶ ET KQ 180-2, Rl. II 307-8, Ra. 216, S AJ 197 [no. 252], AzRL I 390, Jud. 314, Ash. XVI 257, Fed. II 373, ChVS 257, Jeg. 311 (Chv **хутав** 'nail'), MM 420, BT 66 || M ***qada-** > WrM {MED} **qada-**, HIM {MED, BMR} **xada-** v. 'nail, drive in, knock in', Brt **xada-** 'einschlagen, ansclagen (прибивать, приколачивать), Kl {KRS} **xad-** id., {Rm.} **xada-** 'festschlagen, einschlagen (einen Nagel); einstecken, stecken', Dx **gada-**, Ba **gada-** vt. 'nail', Ord **xad_a-** 'fixer, clouer, fixer en clouant', Dg **xada-** 'sew on a button', Mnr H {SM} **gada-** 'fixer en enfonçant'; M ***qada- \acute{y} a-sun** > MM **qada $\text{,}asun$** , WrM {MED} **qadagasun** 'nail (гвоздь), peg, spike', HIM **xadaac(ан)** {MED} id., {BMR} 'nail (гвоздь), Brt **xadaaħa(н)** id., Kl {KRS} **xadacn** **xada \acute{s} en** id., {Rm.} **xadā \acute{s} η** 'Nagel', Ba **gadas \acute{o} η**, Dg **gatā \acute{s}** ,

Dx {T} qatasun 'nail (ΓΒΟΖΔΒ)', Ord χad_āsū 'clou, crampon', Mnr H {SM} gadasa 'clou, cheville, poteau', (from another derivative of the same root?) ?σ Ord ḡad_ūsū 'piquet, poteau pour attacher un animal' ¶ MED 902-3, BMR IV 13-14, Chr. 529-30, KRS 565-6, KW 158, Ms. O 285, 321, T DgJ 131, 172, T DnJ 125, SM 114-16 || ?σ pJ {SDM} *kiátá (~ *káitá) 'beam, cross beam' > OJ k_Ly_Jeta, MJ keta, J T kèta, J K kétá, J Kg ketá id. ¶ Mr. 448, Kenk. 926 || ?σ pKo *kìt > MKo kitòḡ, kit, NKo kiduḡ, (arch.) kit 'pole, pillar' ¶ Nam 78, 80, MLC 263, 278, 282 ¶¶ Tg *-t- suggests pA *-t'- (from N *-t̥-). The unexpected M *-d- (rather than *-t- from N *-t̥-) may be due to the infl. of N *k_u|od'a'h▽ (~ *k_{ad}l_ah▽?) 'pierce; sharp' ¶¶ SDM 632 (pA *k_āyta-'nail, bar', 'stick into' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 740, KW 158, Vld. 325, S AJ 208 [no. 22] (pA *kiāta-'НОГОТЬ, ВОИЗАТЬ' > Tg *^okita-kun, T *kāta-, M *qada-y-), S AJ 290 [no. 348] (pA *kiāt'a 'ΓΒΟΖΔΒ, ВОИЗАТЬСЯ'), SDM97 114 (Tg *kiāta-kun) ◇ The S initial *k̥- < N *k- is due to regr. as., in K one may suppose shift of glottality *k...t̥ > *k̥...t. An alternative hyp.: a N *k̥- and de-emphatization (due to an unknown cause) *k̥- > *k- in Tg ◇ Blz. KM 135 [no. 13] (adducing K {Fn.} *k̥it-i 'finger').

967. *kaω▽ 'call (exclaim), shout' > IE: NaIE *g_oω-/ *g_oω- 'shout' > OI 'g_av_atē (3s) 'sounds', redupl. 'j_og_ū- (gen. pl. 'j_og_uv-ā m) 'praising' || Gk γόος (< γόφοος) 'weeping, wailing', γόω v. 'groan, weep', γόης 'sorcerer, wizard'; Gk βοή, Gk D βοά 'a loud cry, shout' (β- < NaIE *g_oω-) || OIr g_ut_h 'voice' (< *g_ut_u-s) (× NaIE *g̃^ha_u(ə)- 'call, invoke', pp. *g̃^hu(:)-to- 'called, invoked' < N *g̃^hā_ω▽ (or *g̃^hā_ω▽?) to call) || OHG g_i-k_ew_er_en 'to call, vocare', AS c_īe_za_rn 'to call, to call out, to name' ¶ WP I 634-5, P 403, M K I 331, 445, F I 247-8, 317-18, Schz. 180, Kb. 539, OsS 485, Ho. 47, ≈ LP § 62 (OIr g_ut_h < NaIE *g_oω- [> Gk βοή 'a loud cry, shout']) || HS: C: Bj {R} i_ku_ω-, i_k^ω- scv. 'lament, wail, shout', 'utter a cry' (animals) ¶ R Wbd 13 ¶ Initial i- is probably a rest of the personal px that remained after restructuring the former prefix-conjugated verb into a suffix-conjugated one || D *ka_uv- ~ *ka_v(v)- ({θGS} *k-) 'sound', v. 'call' (× N *g̃^hā_ω▽ [or *g̃^hā_ω▽?] '↑') > Tm ka_uv_ai 'sound, noise, roar', ka_va_r v. 'call, summon', Tu ha_uji 'noise, tumult, alarm', Prj ka_vd- v. 'curse, abuse', Krx ka_uωā_r 'tumult of angry voices, roudy shoutings', Mlt ka_ωye v. 'use vile language'; here also pseudo-onomatopoeic (secondary interpretation as onomatopoeia):

Kn *kavā* (a pseudo-imitative ideophone for the sound of angry language), Tl *kavakava* 'aloud' (of laughter) ¶¶ D no. 1341.

968. **kiw_L∇_Lh'ê'* 'stone' > HS: Ch **✓kw* ~ **✓g_w* (or **k^w∇?* ~ **g^w∇?*) 'stone' > CCh: Mtk {ChL} *k^wa?* 'stone', Mf {BLB} *k^wa*, {Sb.} *k^wâ* id. | Bdm {Cfr} *kāú*, {Lk.} *ka_u*, Ktk Af {ChC} *ka_o* id. | Nz {Mch.} *k^wā_a*, {Mk} *k^waa* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'stone', ChL, BLB 198, Y s.v. *kāú* || WS ≈ **✓kw_h* > Gz *k^wak^wa_h* (pl. *ka_wā_ka_h*) 'stone, rock, stony ground', Ar *kā_h-*, *kī_h-* 'rugged face of a mountain, side of a valley consisting of the hardest and roughest stone', {Hv.} 'foot of a mountain', {BK} 'versant d'une montagne' (in the prehistory of Ar: **∇w∇* > *∇*) ¶ L G 280, Hv. 669, BK II 941 || **K:** GZ **k_wa-* 'stone' > OG *k_va-y*, G *k_va*, Mg *kua* ~ *k_wa*, Lz (n)*k_va*, mk_va id. ¶ K 197, K² 215-16, FS E 376-7, Q 346, Chik. 187 || **U:** FU **ki_we* 'stone' > F, Es *ki_vi* id. | Er/Mk *кев* *ké_v* id. | Chr L/H *кү* *kü*, Uf *kü*, B *kü_y* id. | Prm **ki* 'stone, millstone' > Vt *кө* *k₃*, Vt SW *кө'* 'millstone', Z *iz-ki* id. || ObU {acc. to Hl.'s theory} **k_äw* 'stone' > pVg {Ht.} **k_äw* > Vg: T *kü_w*, LK/MK/P *k_äw*, UK/NV/SV/LL/ML *k_äw*, UL/Ss *ka_w* id.; pOs {Ht.} **k_öʏ* 'stone' > Os: V/Vy *k_öʏ*, Ty/Y *k_äʏ^w*, Y *k_äw*, D/K/Nz/Kz/O *кew* id. | Hg *кѳ* (accus. *кѳvet*) id. || pY **qay-* 'stone' > Y T *qay-í* id. (nominal *sx -í*) ¶¶ Coll. 89, It. no. 180, UEW 163-4, Db. OS xxx, Sm. 543 (FU **ki_wi*, FP **ki_vi*, Ugr **k_iw_i*), Ht. no. 235, Ker. II 58, LG 123, IN 244 || ?σ **IE:** Ht *ку(wa)nnan* 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N **Ḳon'h'∇* 'yellow?') ¶ Ts. E I 688-92, Pv. IV 308-11 ◇ IS I 298 [no. 166] (Ch, K, U), AD GD 16 (K, U), AD NM no. 83, S CNM 8 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn, ST), Uchitel p.c. [May 14, 2000] (he drew my attention to the Ht word).

969. **koy∇* ~ **kay∇* 'to draw (schöpfen)', 'scoop, spoon' > U **koy∇* 'spoon, scoop' > Lv {Kt.} *kō_i* *к_äi* 'spoon' | Prm **koy* (JLG) **koy* 'shovel' > Z LV *koy* 'small shovel for throwing hot stones into the brewery tun', Z USs *koy*, Yz *koy* 'hunter's shovel', Vt M *kuy* 'spade'; Prm **koy-* (JLG) **koy-* v. 'draw (schöpfen), shovel' > Z *koy-* 'draw liquid (from a vessel) and pour it out' (a merger with **koy-* v. 'throw'), Z I *koy-* v. 'shovel snow' || Sm {Jn.} **kuy* 'spoon' > Ne: T Y/E *ху*, O {Lh.} *χū*; Ng {Mik.} *kü*; En d.: X {Cs.} *к_ur_i*, B {Ter.} *кубе*; Slq Tm {KD} *ку_yа_g* 'spoon', Slq MKe {KD} *k_uy:а_η* 'puukuppi (wooden cup\dish)'; Kms {Cs} d. *ку_iгу* 'spoon' ¶¶ UEW 117, LG 128 (s.v. *кoй* and *кoйны*), Jn. 74, KP 103-4, Ter. SSJ 205, ≠ Sm. 552 (Vt *kuy*, Z *koy* < FP **ка|oj_wa* 'dig, spade') || **A** **к'∇y-* (= **к'ayü-*?) > M **qayiba* 'kettle', ? 'spoon' > WrM {MED} *цайба* 'large kettle, frying pan', HIM {BMR} *хайв* 'котелок', Ord *χ_äwa t'og_o*

'marmite à large ouverture et dont le bord s'avance en dehors' (t'оg_ō 'chaudière, marmite'), ?σ Brt хайба 'spoon', ??σ Kl Ö {Rm.} х а у а 9 'Schiff, Boot' ¶ MED 911, BMR IV 17, Chr. 533, KW 161, Vht. 533, Ms. O 347 || Tg *кuyE (= {Bz.} *kōy∇) > Neg кuyэ̄mi ~ кuyэ̄ni, WrMc {Z} к̄ӯй и, к̄ӯй̄ ни 'spoon' (= {Sin.} кuy-i ~ кuy-ni), {Hr} кӯīli 'spoon' ¶ STM I 425, Z 288, Hr 599, Sin. TM 358 (on the value of Mc {Sin.} ку) || D (att. in SD) *каууīl ({GS} *k-?) 'spoon, ladle' > Ml каууīl, Tu каīlъ 'ladle, spoon', Krb kīl+ 'ladle' ¶ D no. 1257 ◇ U and T point to a rounded vw. of the first syll., while M and D suggest a pN *a. This discrepancy requires explanation.

969a. ₂ *k'ā'ṛy'ū' 'wind' > HS: Eg cзω 'Luft, Wind' ¶ EG V 350-2 || WCh: P' {MSk.} kēi 'wind', {J} key id. ¶ MSk. PW s.v. kēi 'wind', J PW s.v. P' key 'wind' || A *k̄æy'uū' 'wind, air' > M *keyi > WrM {MED} кеi 'air, wind', HIM жий {MED} жий id., {BMR} жий(н) 'id., 'breath', Brt жии 'air', Kl {KRS} ки 'air, emptiness'; Seele, Geist', {Rm.} kī 'Luft', Ord k'ī 'vent. air, gaz' ¶ S AJ 239 [115], MED 444, BMR IV 79-80, Chr. 569, KRS 297-8, KW 233, Ms. O 419 || AmTg *куе 'whirlwind, snow storm (пурга)' > Neg куе, Orc кue, Orc куwe, Ud {Krm.} кue id. ¶ STM I 245, Krm. 253 || pJ {S} *k'áin-púri > OJ {S} k'yeuri 'smoke', J {S}: T kēmuri, K kēmuri, Kg kēmui, Ns kìbùšì, Sh kìbùšì, Y kìbúnncì 'smoke' ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 69], Kenk. 910-11 || pKo {SDM} *kùrì- 'be smelly\stinking' > MKo kùrì-, NKo kori- ~ kuri- ¶ Yu 83, MLC 200 ¶¶ SDM 685-6 (pA *k'jáyú 'wind, air' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), S AJ 277 [no. 65] ◇ O HSN 122 (N *k̄äy∇ > A, HS).

970. *k'ā'ṛy'ū '(small) bird' > HS: Eg fXVIII қу 'bird' ¶ EG V 17 || Ch: WCh: Hs Δ қ'ā'wà 'ε a bird'; AG: Ang {Flk.} kī 'fowl', {Brq.} kī 'hen', Su {J} k'wē, Mnt kiye id., Gmy {Hf.} kē, Kfr {Hf.} kō 'hen, chicken', cp. also {Nt.} k'wóm 'bush fowl', Su {J} k'wōm 'partridge' || ECh: Kwn {J} k'óyū 'bird' || CCh: ?σ Mdr куе 'hawk' ¶ JI II 23, Ba. 705, J S 71, Flk. s.v. kī, Hf. AG 24 [no. 197], Nt. 22, Brq. AP ¶¶ OS no. 1598 (*kou-) (Eg, AG, ECh, Mdr) || U *k̄äy∇ '(small) bird' > Prm *кау id. > Z кай кау id., Vt кыйкай k+y-кау '(hunter's) game, wild birds and mammals' (< *k+y 'catch, hunt' + *кау 'bird') (rather than *k+y 'snake' + *кау, as in UEW 133) || ObU: Vg Ss {Kn.} коу 'small bird (Vöglein)', wās-коу 'duckling', lunt-коу 'gosling' (wās 'duck', lunt 'goose'), Vg N {MK} коу, коуi 'Sprößling, Kind'; Os Kz қўу 'young of a fowl (duck\hen\goose\swan)' || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *кау 'goose' (Mt: M {Sp.} кай, {Mll.} k'ai, T {Mll.} kai, K {Mll.}

gai, {Pl.} гай, ghai) ¶¶ UEW 133, LG 115, Ht. no. 743, WVD VII 327, 464, MK 217, Stn. D 597, Hl. MTKV 21, 65, ≈ Hl. M no. 383 (unc.: Mt *kay ← T *kař 'goose') || A: Tg *kuyū-ken 'young bird' > Ewk kuyūkən 'young fowl (duckling, gosling, chicken)', Sln xuyūx̄z̄, Lm kuyukən 'young bird', Neg kuyix̄z̄n ~ kuyux̄z̄n & kuyukən 'duck', WrMc {Z} xойхо 'tailless chick'; Tg *°kuyū'kī > Ewk kuyukī ~ kuyzkī 'goose' (*-ken/kan is a dim. sx, *-kī is a sx of animal names, F Vas. 761) ¶ STM I 425, Z 421 ◇ The discrepancy between the words pointing to N *k- (Tg, AG, ECh) and those suggesting N *K̄- (Eg, Hs) may be explained away by postulating a lr. (most probably *ʔ), lost in most lges, but producing a cluster *kʔ (> *k̄) in the prehistory of Eg and Hs. The labial element in the first syll. (in some Ch lges and in Tg) is probably due to regr. as.

971. *kô'ç'y'û' (most probably *kô'ç'y'û') 'larva, worm' (→ 'moth') > U: FU {UEW} *koye ~ *koya id. > F koi, koja 'moth, maggot, mite', Es koi 'moth' | Lp Nt {TI} kūāijūā, kūājē, kūāijja 'grub that gnaws clothes and food', ? Lp Kld {TI} kôj̄·x̄a, K {Gn.} k̄ūāij̄x̄ 'moth' | Er ki 'clothes moth' | Chr L {Ü}, B {Wc.}, M kiye 'moth' | Prm *käy {LG} *кеу 'moth' > Vt кей, {W} kōī id., Z UV kzy 'small white hard worm (in meat)' || ObU: Vg T {Kn.} kiy & käy 'moth'; Os V {Stn.} key id. || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *kiwä 'worm, snake' > Ne: T cибя, O {Lh.} síb̄_e 'larva of a gadfly under reindeer's skin', F {Lh.} síþ̄:āā id.; Slq Tz {KKIH} š̄ü 'snake', üt-š̄t 'leech' (üt 'water') ¶¶ UEW 167-9, TI 141, 159, Gn. 125, Ü 67, LG 139, SZ 170, Stn. D 596, Jn. 72, KKIИ 177, 193 || A *k'uyE 'noxious insect, parasitic insect' > T *Kūyæ 'moth' > OT {Cl.} kūyā: '(clothes) moth', Tk güve, Tkm гүе güye, Az күвә güwä, Uz куя, ET küyä, Qmq гюе güye, VTt, Bsh кб̄үә, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, StAlt күе, Qrg kübö, Uz күя, Xk kō id., Yk d. кейүр kuyūr id.; ↗ HIM {DL}, Brt хүйр 'moth', Ewk куур 'moth', Lm куур 'larva of beetles' || Chv кёве кьве, Δ {Ash, Fed.} к̄је, Δ {Md.} k̄ve 'moth' ¶ Cl. 754, ≈ Rs. W 297, ET VGD 94, ARL 189, RKumS 413, RAIS 303, Ash. VII 66, 228. Fed. I 267-8, Jeg. 103, ChVS 82, DL I 489, STM I 425 || Tg *kuyī-кта 'larva of a gadfly (under reindeer's skin)' > Ewk kuyīkta ~ kuwīkta ~ kuyakta ~ kuyiktz id., Lm kōyit, Neg kuyiktz, Ork kūńikta ~ kuńittz 'gadfly larva'; Tg *kuyī- > Ewk кuyī- v. 'penetrate under reindeer's skin' (gadfly larvae), Lm kōyin- v. 'lay eggs' (a gadfly); Ewk ↗ Yk кuyukta 'gadfly larva' ({Pr.} 'личинка оленьего овода') ¶ STM I 424 ¶¶ ADb. KL (pA *kuy∇), Rs. W 297, Rs UAW 19, Pek. 1198 || ?σ IE: NaIE *g̑w̑y- (× *g̑w̑y- 'disgusting, filth') > Sl *gav-ěďb, *-ěďa coll.

'small creeping animals (lizards, frogs, vermin) (*-e₁db is a sx of collective and uncountable nouns) > Blg Γαβεδ 'small creeping animals (ράβες)', SCr gā₁vēd coll. 'wild animals', Cz Δ hāvěd' 'parasitic insects', 'poultry', Slk hāvěd' id., 'rabble', P gawiedź 'small animals' (→ 'kiddies', 'gaping crowd'), R Δ Γαβεδα 'creeping animals (lizards, frogs etc.); disgusting insects' ¶ P 484, ESSJ VI 110-11, SBR 186 || HS: EC: Af {PH} kǎ₁ay 'flies', {R} qā₁i, Sa {R} 'qā₁e n. 'fly' ¶ R S II 230, R A II 74, PH 140 ◇ The rec. of the final vw. *û is justified if IE *^og^wō₁ belongs here ◇ IS MS 349 (*g^rō₁γ₁ 'moth' in U and A) → Gr. II no. 268 (*koua 'moth') (U, A, Ko, Ai), Rs UAW 19 (U, A).

972. *kou₁rō₁' (or *ku₁rō₁') 'fat, healthy' (→ 'to fatten, to nourish') > HS: Eg fMK k₃ 'nourishment, food', ?? Eg fP k₃ 'the Ka (spirit as part of personality), strength' > Eg (AkSc) ku, (GkSc) χου (in the month name Χουακ) (unless from k₃ 'name', see N *ko₁r₁' 'to call'); Vc.'s vocalization of k₃ 'the Ka' is *ku ¶ EG V 86-91, Vc. 74 || IE *g^we₁h^w-/*g^wyeH^w- 'be healthy, live' ({EI} *g^we₁h₃- 'live') > OI 'gayah₁ 'vital strength, life', Av gayō 'life, lifetime' || Arm Կեամ keam (aor. Կեցի keci) 'I live, I am alive' (< *g^wi₁-ā) || Gk Hm ζώω, aor. ἐβίωον 'live' || Clt {Matas.} *biwō- 'alive' > Oglr BIVI-TI, OIr béo id., OCrn [γ] biu id., MW byw 'living, alive; life', MBr beu 'alive', Br {Hm.} bev 'vivant. vif'; ?σ Clt {Matas.} *biyato-, *bēto- 'food' > OIr {Vn.} biad, biad 'nouriture, tribut de vivres' (the unexpected b- due to a loan from Brtt and/or the infl. of OIr betha 'life'); MW bwyd, OCrn [VC] buit, MBr boet, Br boued ~ boed (< NaIE *g^wei-to) 'food, nourishment', OCrn [γ] buit 'cibus' or 'esca' || Lt gýti 'to get better, recover', Ltv dzīt 'to recover'; Lt ãr-gajus 'rest, Erholung' || Sl *žǐ-ti 'to live' > OCS ЖИТИ žiti id., SCr žiti, Slv, Cz žiti, Slk žit', P żyć, R жить 'to live'; (caus. >) Sl *gojiti vt. 'to fatten, to cure' > Blg Γο₁я vt. 'fatten', SCr gōjiti vt. 'to bring up (a child), to nurse; to fatten', gōjiti se 'to be well fed, to fatten', Slv gojiti vt. 'to nurse, to fatten', Cz hojiti, P goić vt. 'to cure', Slk hojit', R Δ Γοιτή, Uk гоїти 'hojitu 'to cure (wounds)', OR ΓΟΗΤΗ goiti {Srz.} 'ЖИВИТЬ' || L vīta, Osc biítam 'life' || pTc {Ad.} *sāw- ~ *sāy- > Tc: A só-, B sáy-/ sáy- 'live' || d. IE *g^wiH^w-wō- > NaIE *g^wi(:)-wō- 'alive, living' > OI jī₁va-, OPrs jīva-, Av jūua-, YAv jūia- id. || L vīvus, Osc (nom. pl.) bivus id. || OIr béu, béo id.; Brtt {RE} *biwos id. > W byw, Crn bew, Br bev id.; derived verb: W byw 'to

live, to dwell', Crn бeвa, MBr бeвa, Br бeвañ 'to live' || Lt gývas, Ltv dzīvs 'alive, living', Pru gīwa, giwīt 'live', gi(j)wan 'life' | pSl *ǰīvb 'alive, living' > OCS ЖИВЪ živъ id., Blg жив, SCr, Slv žīv, Cz, Slk živ 'alive', R жив 'is alive', R жив-ой, Uk жив-ий, P žywyj adj. 'living' | ? (with shortening *ī > *i) Gt adj. qīus (·.ǰōv) 'lebendig' || Gk βίος 'life' ¶ P 467-9, EI 356, M K I 324, 439-40, M E I 467-8, 594-5, F I 237-9, 618-19, Fs. 390-1, WH II 808-10, Bc. 313, Slt. 98, Vn. B 37, 47-8, RE 110, Flr. 88, Matas. E 64, 67, Hm. 80, 95, Frn. 154-5, ESSJ VI 1196-7, Vs. II 51-2, 57, StSS 217-19, Glh. 710-11, Db. SDKI (on shortening *ī > *i in Celto-Italic and Gmc), Wn. I 484-5, Ad. 627, Ad. H 31 || U: FU *kuye 'fat' > F куу 'tallow, fat' | Er кууа, Mk кууа, {Ahl.} кууä n., adj. 'fat', Er/Mk кууа- 'grow fat' | pChr {Ker.} *koua > Chr: Л коя ко'уа, В коуа 'fat, tallow', adj. 'fat', U коуа, H {Ep.} кауа n. 'fat' | Prm *°kōy ({}Lt.} *kōy) > StVt кōй кзy, Vt Sr кзy, Vt Kz kōy 'tallow, fat', adj. 'fat', Vt G кзy n. 'fat'; Prm *kouy ({}Lt.} *kōy-) is represented in Vt куайыны kway-īnī 'to grow stout' || Hg háj n. 'leaf lard, fat' ¶ UEW 195-6, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *куji, Ugr *kūjī 'tallow'), Ber. 18, Ker. II 70, MRS 229, Ep. 36, Ü 70, U3S 218, 220 || ?σ A *Koyv 'thick (dickflüssig, dicht), satt' > M *°qoua > WrO {Krg.} qouotā 'satt', qoua ūgei 'nicht satt' (ūgey 'not'), Kl {Rm. ← Gl.} qouo, qouotē 'nahrhaft, reichlich' ¶ KW 181, Krg. 279, 281 || T *Koyu- 'get thick (dense)' > Xk qoyi-, Tv qoyu- id., Qq qoyi- id., v. 'curdle'; ↗ T *Koyu-g- 'thick (dickflüssig, dicht), viscid' > OT {Cl.} quyuḡ id., Tk коуу 'thick' (liquid), 'dense', VTt, Bsh, Nog qoyi, Uz quyuq, ET qoyuq, Qzq, StAlt qoyu, Qq qoyiw, Tv qoyuy, Yk qoyū 'thick (dickflüssig, dicht)' (beverage, grass, forest) ¶ Cl. 676, Dr. TM III 562, ET Q 32-3, KrkR 396-7, JKS 492-3 || Ko *kə-r- 'be thick, fertile' > MK kər-, Nko kəl- ¶ Yu 47, MLC 97 || pJ *kuá- {SDM} 'thick, dense (густой)' > OJ kwō-, MJ kó-, J T/Ky kó-, J K kò-, StJ koi 'thick (dicht)' ¶ Mr. 832, Kenk. 1009, BJRS I 652 ¶¶ SDM 734 (pA *k'k'guyv 'thick, saturated [густой]' > T *Koyu-g-, J, Ko), DQA no. 908 || K: GZ *gʷ- vt. 'feed, fatten' > Mg gʷ- id. (v-o-gʷ-an-u-an-k 'ich füttere, ich mäste', i-b-gʷ-an-u-n-k 'ich werde fett'), Lz gʷ- (gʷ-an-er-i adj. 'fat'), Sv gʷ-/gu- (lu-gʷ-ar adj. 'fat', li-l-gʷ-ar-i 'to feed [animals], to fatten') ¶ FS 76-7, FS E 80 ◇ The K voiced *g- suggests that the N lr. must have had voicing effect in the prehistory of K. It must have been *ɣ (because the other N voiced "laryngeal" *ʕ would have been reflected in K as a pharyngeal). In Eg the N lr. *ɣ must have been changed into ʒ due to an incompatibility law (kɣ-

is not attested in any word in Eg). If the original N etymon is ***kuyʰoʰ** (with ***u** suggested by FU), the variant ***kouʰoʰ** (underlying the M, T and [most probably] the IE cognates) may be due to regr. as. of vowels ◇ The U, K and Eg cognates point to the pN meaning 'healthy', K and U suggest the ancient meaning 'fat, fatten'. The meaning 'live' is represented in NaIE only and must be considered an IE semantic innovation ◇ IS I 299 [no. 168] (IE, U, M); ≈ S NSShS (A, IE, K).

973. *kouH∇ 'skin, bark' > IE ***gʷeǵHx-** (***gʷeHxǵ-**?) / ***gʷiHx-** 'skin' > NaIE ***gʷēǵ-** / ***gʷī-** > OI **jī-rā-m**, **jī-lā-h** 'leathern bag' || Mir {P} **biān** 'peau' ¶ WP I 666, P 469, M K I 437-9, ≈ Vn. *B* 48-9 (Ir **biān** * < IE ***bʰei-** 'couper') || **U**: FU ***koua** 'bark, fruit skin', (in Os) 'fur' (← 'skin'?) > F **koja**, Krl **koja** 'bark' || Lp Vfs {Lgc.} **gūō·yε-** v. 'debark (a tree)', **kuō·y·z** 'bud (of a tree or grass)' || Z {W} **kzya** 'agaric (on a tree)' || Os Ty **qōy** 'fur from the forehead of an animal (reindeer, cow, bear etc.) used to make soles of footwear' || OHg **hāj** 'bark, fruit skin', Hg Δ **hāj**, Hg **hėj** 'fruit skin, shell, bark, eyelid, pillowcase' ¶ UEW 166, Lgc. SL no. 817, KrT 280, Stn. D 440, EWU 543-4 || **A** ***k'ōy∇** 'skin', (?) 'bark' > NaT ***Kuy-ka** 'skin' (*-ka is a sx) > OT {Cl.} **quyqā** 'skin, fur', ET **quyqa** 'skin of the head (of humans); singed and cooked skin of a sheep's head', Nog **quyqa** 'tetter, mange', Bsh **койка q'oyqa**, Qq **quyqa** 'singed skin', Qzq **қыйқа** 'singed head of an animal', Tv **күйга quyya**, StAlt **күйка quyqa**, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} **quǵa**, Tlt {Rl.} **quyqa** 'skin of the head', Qrg **күйка quyqa** id., 'skin of a singed head (of sheep\goats)', Xk **күйга хууа** 'skin of the head (with hair)', Yk **куйаха** 'skin of the head, singed hide' ¶ In ET and Qrg there is contamination with N ***Kæ'h'uy∇** 'to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 113 || M ***quyqa-** (× N ***Kæ'h'uy∇**) > WrM {MED} **quiqā** 'animal skin from which the hair has been singed; scalp', HIM **хуйх** {MED} id., {BMR} 'skin of the head; singed skin of animals', Brt **хууха** 'skin of the head, scalp', Ord **хууха** 'le cuir chevelu', Kl {Rm.} **χῦχα** 'Schwarte, die Haut auf dem Kopfe', {KRS} **хуух** 'thick skin'; ⇨ M ***quyqa-la-** > WrM {SDM} **quiqāla-** 'singe\burn (hair, feathers grass etc.)', HIM **хуйхла-** {MED} id., {BMR} 'singe (legs and head of an animal before cooking)', Brt **хуухал-** id., Kl {KRS} **хуухл-** v. 'singe, burn (e.g. head and legs of a sheep), burn {versengen, verbrennen) sth.', {Rm.} **χῦχαl-** 'die Schwarte sengen, das Kopfhaar absengen (z.B. am Schafskopfe)', Ord **хуухала-** 'passer à la flamme pour brûler les poils encore implantés dans le peau' ¶ MED 983, BMR IV 162, Chr. 607, KRS 615-16, KW 195, 201, Ms. O 164-5 || Tg

*kōkta (< ≈**kou-hta?) ~ *kōkton 'bark' (esp. 'bark of cork oak') > WMc {Z} xоктоh 'bark of young trees used in manufacturing bows; a float (Schwimmer, поплавок) of seines or boats', xоктоh моо 'cork oak' (моо is 'tree'), Neg kōkta 'float (of a fishing net)', kōkta mōhṇ 'cork oak', Orc kōkto, Ul qoqto 'a float', Nn Nh/KU qōqtō, Nn Bk qoχto 'cork oak, a float', Ud {Shn.} kokto '*Phellodendron* bark; a float', {Krm.} '*Phellodendron* (a tree with light bark, бархатное дерево)' ¶ STM I 405, Krm. 250, On. 223, Z 425 ¶ Tg *-kta is a sx of mass nouns ◇ The vw. *u (for the expected *o) in T and M requires explanation ◇ AD MR 261 (IE, U), IS I 299-300 (*kouHa; IE, U, ? T).

974. *kouh ▽ 'be strong, overpower, take possession of' > IE: NaIE *g^ωeyā- 'overcome, ruin', *g^ωiyā 'violence' > Gk βύα, Gk I βύη 'bodily strength, force' || ON kvēita {P} 'to overpower', {Vr.} 'ein Ende machen, umbringen', ? Gt qistjan, fra-qistjan (· ἀπολέσαι) vt. 'verderben', us-qistjan (· ἀπολέσαι, ἀποκτεῖναι) 'zu Grunde richten, töten' || Ir: OI jyā, jiā 'power, violence', parama-jyā-h (· ji'āh) 'having the greatest power', jyā- (pres. ji'nāti) {MW} v. 'overpower, oppress, deprive so. of property' ¶ The supposed Irn cognates (YAv {M} zināt 'bringt jemandem um etwas, beraubt', {Brtl.} zinaka adj. 'schädigend' [?], OPrs adīn- 'entreißen, rauben', KhS ysän- 'carry off' and OI jyā- in the meaning 'deprive of property') belong here if the meaning 'deprive, carry of' is secondary (← 'overpower, ruin') ¶ WP I 66-7, P 469-70, EI 158 (*g^ωyeḥ- 'physical power; overcome, oppress'), M K I 448, M E I 602-3, MW 426-7, Brtl. 1697, Hinz 43, Bai. 350, F I 235, Vr. 337 || HS: CS *√kwh 'be strong', *kawh- 'strength' > BHb ḥ³ 'kō^ah 'power, strength', EpHb kh 'strength', Md √khw 'be strong', Ar √kwh (pf. kāḥa) 'overpower', n. act. kawh- ¶ KB 446-7, KBR 468-9, BK II 941, Hv. 669, DM 195, 205, HJ 496 || K: GZ *kw-, *kwn- (*kun-) 'have, possess' > OG kw-, kwn-, G kv-/kon-/kn- 'have, possess', Mg, Lz kun- put on: Lz dolo-kun-u 'to put on; clothes', Mg miḡa-kun-ali, gekun-al-oba 'clothes' ¶ FS E 381, Fn. G 236, Chx. 1571-4.

975. *kāy ▽ 'chew' > IE: NaIE *g^ēyew- ~ *gyew- 'chew' > Irn *žyav- (< *g^ēyey-) > NPrs {Horn} جاويدن žōvīdān, {BM} جویدن žāvīdān, Psh {Mrg.} žō'v-ul 𐰽 žōyāl 'to chew' || OHG kiūwan 𐌺 chiuwan, MHG kiūwen, MMG kûwen (↳ NHG kauen, Yid 'kayen), MDt cauwen 𐌺 couwen, Dt kauwen, AS céowan 'to chew', NE chew; OHG {OsS} chuwâ 𐌺 chiwâ 𐌺 chēwâ, MHG kiuwe, kiwe, kēwe 'jaw' || Ltv

žaunā́t 'to eat quickly and greedily; to eat slowly', ??σ Lt žiáuna 'jaw'
 and Ltv žaũnas f. pl. 'jawbone(s)' | pSl 1s pres. *žuj-ŋ / inf. *žvva-ti
 'chew' > SrChS 1s pres. ЖУИЖ žujŋ / inf. ЖВВАТИ žvvatī, OCz 1s
 pres. žvu / inf. žvátī, Slk 1s pres. žujem / inf. žvat', P 1s pres.
 žuje / inf. žuc ~ žwe / žwac, R 1s pres. жу'ю / inf. же'вать id.; Sl
 {BER} *žuna > Blg 'жуна 'lip' || pTc {Ad.} *śuwa- 'eat' > Tc A/B {Ad.}
 śuwa-, {Wn.} śwa-, B śu- id. ¶ P 400, ≈ EI 175 (*g̃yeuH-; unc.
 adduction of ON tuggja 'chew, eat'; *-H- reconstructed probably on the
 ev. of -ggj-; on tuggja see Vr. 600-2 s.v. ON tugga 'bite'), BM 157,
 Horn 93, Mrg. 106, Vr. N 309, Ho. 47, Schz. 181, Kb. 543, OsS 493, Lx.
 109, Frn. 1302-3, Vs. II 39-40, Chrn. I 294, BER I 559, Wn. I 490, Ad.
 631-2, Ad. H 65 || ¶ *k' āb|p∇- 'chew' > T *k' āb(æ)- 'chew' (the stem-
 final *-æ- is evidenced by the OT aorist kāvār) > OT kāv- id., Osm
 {Rh.} geV- 'chew; mumble in the mouth, as a beast its cud', Tk {TrR}
 geV- 'chew by a mouth without teeth'; ⇨ T *Kābīl 'chewing; cud' > Tk
 geviš id., Tkm gāvüš, Az gōyüš, Bsh күйүш k'byš, Qzq күйіс 'cud',
 ⇨ T *k' ābilE- 'ruminates, chew' > OT kāvše- 'chew the cud', Chg
 kāvšä-, Az көвшә- gōvšä- ~ көjšә- gōyšä- 'chew', Tkm gāvüše-, Tk
 Δ geVšen-, Uz kawša-, ET köyši- ~ köši-, Δ köšä-, Qmq güyše-, Bsh
 k'byšä-, Nog küyze-, Qq güyse-, Qzq küyse-, Qrg küyšö-, Qrg, StAlt керše-,
 Tv kežžen- 'ruminates', Ggz geVšen-, VTt küšä- 'chew, ruminates', Xk
 kipsen- 'eat/ruminates (while walking)', Chv L кавле-, Chv Δ кевле- &
 кавля- & келле- 'ruminates'; ⇨ Chr kavulem 'I chew', Er kavíla-ms,
 Mk kavíla-ms 'to chew (slowly)' ¶ Cl. 687, 692, Rs. W 244, Rl. II 1578,
 1581, ET VGD 5-7, S AJ 196 [no. 245], Rh. 1602, TrR 333, TkR 239, UzR
 197, TvR 294, Ash. VI 19, 187-8, Fed. I 210-11, Jeg. 84, ChVS 64, Eckm.
 ChM 187 || M *ke_lbi- (= *kēbi-?) 'ruminates, chew the cud' > MM,
 WrM {MED} kebi-, HIM {MED, BMR} живэ-, Kl {KRS} кеv- id., {Rm}
 kew- 'widerkäuen, aufstoßen', Mnr H {T} keyi- 'ruminates', {SM} k'ēyi-
 'ruminates', Ord k'ewe- id. ¶ Pp. MA 212, MED 439, BMR IV 79, KRS 288,
 KW 229, T 338, SM 199, Ms. O 418 || Tg *ke_lb- > Lm kēwrī- v. 'gnaw'
 ¶ STM I 442-3 ¶¶ SDM 667 (pA *kēpu 'chew' > Tg, M, T + unc. pJ *kùp-
 'eat' [more likely to go back to pA *k'æ'p_l'u 'bite' from N *kābʔā 'bite',
 q.v. ffd.]; the rec. of pA *kēpu, proposed by SDM on the supposed ev. of
 the pJ word, is not accepted), DQA no. 787, S AJ 15, 69 (*kābi ~ *kebi),
 109, 279, S VL no. 230 (*gābi), Pp.VG 20, 46, ADb. SR 14, KW 229, TL
 227 || HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} k^warj- 'chew, bite' ¶ R WB 224 ◇ IS I 293 [no.

160] (IE and A [T, M, Tg]), Mng. E-1 ◇ Not here D *kaVu]- 'cheek' (D no. 1337), because the OI loanword *карола* 'cheek' (Tu. no. 2755) suggests an eD stem with a labial stop (*kaVu]-, whence later *kaVu]-) and thus favours an etl. connection of the D stem with N *qAbV 'jaw, cheek' or (less plausible) N *gabV (|I|V) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') (q.v.).

976. UA₂ *kou₁i₁w^ra¹ 'a tree with bright bark' (→ birch tree, birch bark) > U *kouw^ra¹ 'birch bark' > F *коиву*, Es *кѳив* (gen. *кѳиву*) | ? Lp P {Set.} *кḡăyěvū* ~ *кḡăivū* id. | pMr {Ber.} *kiy-ke^r/**куу-ке^r* 'birch bark' (*ke^r 'bark') > Er *кигор* *kiḡor*, *гигерь* *giḡe^r*, *ΔkiV-ge^r*, Mk *кевгор* 'keVḡar, *куйгор* 'куyḡar 'birch bark'(-ḡor, -ḡar-, -ge^r 'bark') | pChr {Ker.} *ku 'birch tree' > Chr: L *куэ* *kuē*, Ug/B *куе*, H *куги* *kuḡi* ~ *коги* *koḡi* id. || Vg: T *кēí* *ḡ* *kēí*, LK/So *ḡāí* id. | ?? Hg *Һајó* 'ship', *Δhijjó*, *hijó* 'small trough-like boat, made of a tree trunk' (← *'boat of birch bark'?) || Sm {Jn.} *kou₁y 'birch tree' > Ne: T *хо*, O {Lh.} *χḡ*, F d. *ku¹yɔḡu* id.; Ng {Hl., Mik.} *kūā*, {Cs.} 'куа; En {Ter.} *коа* *ḡ* 'куа; Slq Tz {KKIH} *qā*, {Prk.} *qā*, *qwā* id.; Kms {KD} d. *k¹u¹ḡ*, *k¹o¹ḡ*, {Cs.} *кууḡ*, Koyb {Sp.} d. *кую*; Mt {Hl.} *ku₁ḡa (Mt: M {Sp.} *ко*, {Mil.} *куа*, K {Mil.} *куḡа*, {Pl.} *куḡà*, T {Mil.} *куо*) id. ¶¶ UEW 169-70. Coll. 25, Set. FUS 42, Ker. II 60, Ber. 22, Ps. OT 50, Rm. BT 52, Jn. 73, Hl. US 120, Hl. M no. 565, KP 95, KKIH 159, Dobrod. MB V (proving that Er *килей* *kiíey*, *Δkiíey* and Mk *келу* *ke¹lu* 'birch tree' do not go back to the FU [and N] word in question [↔ Coll., Ber. and FUV]) || A *k¹u¹y¹iba or *k¹u₁iba 'birch tree' > M ?ḡ *qu-sun ({Adb.} *ku₁-sun, sc. *quβ-sun) 'birch tree' > WrM {MED} *qu¹sun*, HIM {MED} *хус*, {BMR} *хус(ан)*, Brt *хуһа(н)*, WrO *хусum*, Kl {KRS} *хусm*, {Rm.} *хусḡ* id. ¶ Rs. UAW 27, KW 199, MED 991, BMR IV 173, Chr. 608-9, Krg. 291, KRS 613, KW 199 || NrTg *kībe > Ewk *kiwz* *ḡ* *kīwz* 'birch bark', Ewk Nr *kiwz* 'birch tree', Lm *kīwz*, Lm Sk *kībz* 'birch bark' ¶ STM I 390-1 || T *ka₁ḡbak ~ *kI₁ḡbak > Tk *качак* {SDM} 'white poplar', {TkR} 'poplar', Az *говар*, ET *Δ* {Jr.} *qaraq* {SDM} 'white poplar', Tv *χāq*, Tf *hã:q* 'willow (*Salix*)', purple willow (*Salix purpurea*)', Chv L *хăва* 'willow' ¶ ET KQ 170-1, TkR 523, Ra. 187, Jr. 238, Ash. XVI 307-8, Jeg. 288, ChVS 243 || ?σ pJ *kàpàì ~ *kàpìa > OJ *каp₁y₁e*, MJ *kàpè* 'ε cypress of Thuya' ¶¶ Modern J *каба* 'birch tree', although phonetically resembling the A word, does not belong here, because it goes back to OJ *kaniḡa* < *kanīpa id. (Mr. 431) ¶¶ SDM 676 (pA *k¹ib|pa 'a kind of foliage tree' ['a tree with distinct bright bark'] > Tg, T, J), Adb. KL (pA *k¹aw-), Prl. JUA 171 (U *kouwa *ḡ

OJ kupa, J kuwa 'mulberry tree') ◇ IS I 300 [no. 170] (N *koɥw'a' 'birch tree'). The word may have been borrowed by the N dialects underlying U and A from aboriginal Iges of Northern Eurasia. The details of the phonetic prehistory of M *qu-sun and NrTg *kībe are not clear.

977. *kežʔê 'skin; to skin' > HS: S *okšʔ (× N *kišʔ, ∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck') > Ar ✓ kšʔ G (pf. kašʔa, ip. yakšʔa) v. 'peel', 'écorcher, dépouiller d'écorce ou de la peau supérieure, de coque', ✓ kšʔ G (pf. kašʔa, ip. yakšʔa) 'être pelé\écorché de manière que la peau de dessous paraisse sous la peau extérieure' (se dit d'un outre), 'avoir la peau dure et gercée au point qu'elle s'écaille' (se dit des mains) ¶ BK II 900 || K: G kil- 'scale off, remove the skin (from cooked tongue), remove bristles\hair (from the hide\skin of an animal)' (× N *kol, ∇, ∇ [or *kol, ∇, ∇?] 'to peel, to debark?') ¶ Chx. 1558 || U: FU *keže 'skin, leather, peel (of fruit)' > F kes i (gen. ked en) 'membrane, pellicle, film, scale', kes i- v. 'scale off, peel off', Es kes i (gen. kee) {W} 'leere Hilse\Schote; abgeworfene Schlangenhaut' | Lp I -katt (gen. -kāḍa) in sarve's-katt 'reindeer skin', Lp T {Gn.} katt 'Fell' | pMr {Ker.} *kedā > Er кедь, {Ps.} ked ~ käd, Mk кедь ked 'hide, skin, skin of fruit' | Prm *kií (× U *kaíw ∇ < N *Kaí'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark', q.v.) > Z kií 'seed coat, surface film, outer (scaling off) layer of birch bark, dandruff', Vt kií 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' || Vg: LK -kᵂā́lan 'hide' (in yälprənyukᵂā́lan 'deer hide', lit. 'hide of a holy beast'), P -kā́lan 'hide' (in wuykä́lan 'bear hide', lit. 'beast hide'), NV kᵂā́lam 'bear hide', UL -koína 'hide' (in pupakᵂkoína 'bear hide' [pupakᵂe is 'bear']) ¶ UEW 142-3, W EDW 269, Ker. II 58, ERV 247, LG 124 || A: Tg: Ewk Tk/Tmt kə́lkə́ 'fur overshoes', Ewk Ucr kə́lkə́ id., 'fur boots (унты) for children (made of hide on reindeer legs)' ¶ STM I 446.

977a. *kužm ∇ (or *kuž ∇ m ∇) 'smoke, ashes' > IE: NaIE *ogʷelm- > Gmc: NHG Qualm 'smoke', NGr Gtn Quulm 'thick smoke', MLG quallem, NLG, Dt kwal m 'smoke', Dn kval 'steam' ¶ KM 572, Vr. N 373 || U: FU *kužm ∇ 'ashes' > pre-Mr {Ker.} *kulʔm > pMr *kūlāw > Er кулов kulov, Δ kulow ≙ kulon, Mk кулу kulu id. || ObU {Ht.} *kūžm ∇ id. > pVg {Ht.} *kū́m ∇ > OVg: W P кy(л)ма, S Tr хyлма, W Sol кyльмь, Vg: T kṓlam, LK/Ss xū́lam, MK/UK/LL kúlam, P/NV/SV kúlam id.; pOs {Ht.} *kayam > Os: V/Vy qayam, Y qā́yam, D/K xoyam, Nz/Kz xoyam | Hg hamu id. ¶ UEW 194-5, Ht. no. 229, MF 259, It. no. 239, Ker. II 70-1 || A: T *k'ül 'ashes, cinders' (× N *k ∇ ʔ ū́ l ∇ 'glowing coals'

[q.v.], N ***qULp**∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones' and N ***ḲE'y|ʔ'a|a** 'to burn' ('гореть'), 'to burn (sth.)', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast') OT **kūl** 'ashes, cinders', MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg XV **kūl**, Tkm **kūl**, Tk **kūl**, Az **күл** **kūl**, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk **kūl**, Uz **күл** **kuḷ**^y, SY **kuḷ**^y, Xlj **kūl** ~ **kuḷ**, Slr **kuḷ**, VTt, Bsh **көл** **kḅl**, Tv **xūl**, Tf **hūl**, Chv L **кӧл** **kḅl**, Chv H {Md.} **kḅl** 'ashes (пепел, зола)' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 43, 171, Ash. VII 234-6, Fed. I 269-70, Jeg. 104, ChVS 83 ¶¶ T ***k**'- belongs to the heritage of N ***qULp**∇ || HS: S ***kušš**- > Ar **kušš**- 'pollen of palm trees' (← *'dust' ← *'ashes?') ¶ BK II 494, Hv. 855 || Ch: WCh: Tala {Sh.} **kīsi**, Plc {ChC} **gīz** 'ashes' || ECh: Kwn {J} **kīsé**, Ll {WeibP} **kūsá**, {Grgs} **kūsá** 'smoke', Ke {Eb.} **késé** id., 'vapor' ¶ JI II 4, ChC s.v. 'smoke' and 'ashes', Eb. 65, WeibP s.v. **kūsá**, Blz. EChWL no. 77 ◇ Sauv. 92 (U, T), as well as ≈ Blz. L no. 4a and ≈ Blz. LNA no. 29 (both sources: U, T + unc. IE ***geu**l- 'coal', see N ***k**∇**ʔ**ū^l∇ 'glowing coals').

978. ?₂ ***ka**3∇ '(young) dog' > HS: Eg MK **czm** (< Eg O ***czm** - ***csm**) 'hound, dog' ¶ EG V 409-10, Fk. 308 || B ***-K**∇**zīn**- ~ ***-K**∇**zzūn**- (***-k**∇**zīn**-, ***-k**∇**zzūn**-...) > as. ***-gzīn**- and (with secondary uvularization of the initial cns.) ***-qzīn**- ~ ***-q**∇**zzūn**- '(young) dog' > Sll {Ds.} **ikzin**, Nfs **ugzin**, Skn **gzīn**, Tmz **ikzin** ~ Δ **iqzin**, Izn {Rn.} **aqzin**, Rf A/B {Rn.} **aqazzun** id., Kb {Dl.} **aqžun** (pl. **iq**^ʷ**žan**) 'dog' (term of abuse); Si **agurzani** 'dog' (a re-borrowing from a Berberism in a local dial. of Ar, to judge from the pl. **ałgurazan**?) ¶ Dl. 657-8, MT 357, Beg. 222, Rn. 370, La. S 114, NZ 935 || C: Ag {Ap.} ***gz**33ŋ- 'dog' (*-ŋ- < *-m-) > Bln {R} **gidíŋ** (pl. **gižíŋ**), Xm {R} **gizíŋ**, Q {R} **gezerŋ**, Aw {R} **geséŋ**, Knfl {TBZAC} **kassan** id. ¶ Ap. AV 11, R WB 143, R Ch II 49, R QW 69, TBZAC 102 || amb SOm (× N ? ***g**¹**o**Ḳ∇**š**ĉ∇ (R∇) 'ε canine' × N ***Ḳa**ĉ∇∇ 'young dog'): Ari {Bnd.} (?)**aksi** 'dog', Ari B {Fl.} **aks**, **aksi** (pl. **aksən**), Ari U {Fl.} **aksi**, Ari G {Bnd.} **akš**i, Hm B {Fl., Ldl} **ḳaski**, Hm K {Fl.} **kaski** id. ¶ Bnd. AL 148, Fl. OWL s.v. 'dog', Blz. OL no. 124, Ldl H || ECh: Brg {J} **kážàŋ** 'dog' ¶ JI II 107 ¶¶ Tk. I 186, Blz. OL no. 124 (Om, Ag, Eg, B), Ap. AV 11 (Ag, Eg) || A: Tg ***ka**ç̣i- 'puppy (Hündchen)' (× N ***Ḳa**ĉ∇∇ 'young dog') > Ewk **kaç̣i**-**kān**, Sln **χas**-**χã**: id. (-**kān**, -**χã**: is a dimin. sx), Lm **qaça**, Neg **kaç̣i**, **kaç̣i**-**xān**, Ud **kas**^ʔ**anžiga**, {Krm.} **kasanžiga**, Nn Bk **qasqa**, Nn KU **qač̣qa** 'young dog' and possibly (in spite of the aberrant vocalism) Ork **kəç̣ikə**, Nn Nh {STM} **kəç̣č̣ẓ̌**, {On.} **kəç̣č̣ẓ̌**: id., ⇨ dim. {STM} Nn Nh {STM} **kəç̣č̣ẓ̌kẓ̌** 'small puppy', {On.} **kəç̣č̣ẓ̌kẓ̌**: id., 'small young dog' ¶ STM I 385,

Krm. 246, On. 237 ¶¶ Tg vl. *-ç- for the expected voiced *-j- belongs to the heritage of N *K̄aĉ̄ı̄ ▽ ◇ Tg *k- and Eg ɔ- point to a N plain vl. *k-. The voiced *g- in Ag and in some B lges is due to regr. as. (*kz > *gz). But the emphatic q- in several B lges remains unexplained; in any case, it cannot be ancient (pB), because HS *k̄, unless geminated, yields B *ç and never B *q.

979. *Ka, a pc. of request > IE: NaIE {Brg.} *kā, *kom/*kem, emphatic pc. (of request and sim.) > OI kam (Vd 'tiṣṭhā 'su kam maghavan 'bleib doch sogleich stehen, oh Herr', 'avā 'nu kam 'juāyān yaj'nāvanasaḥ 'hilf als Stärkerer den Opferliebenden'); this emph. pc. is used after imv. (as well as after dat. and after other particles) || Lt -k, -ki, ending of imv.: eĩk, eĩki 'go!' || R -ka, Δ -ko, pc. asking for immediate fulfillment of the request\order (expressed by the imv. or otherwise), ? Slk -k- (has moved before the imv. ending): sadkaj(te) imv. 'sit down!' || ? Gk κε / (prevoc.) κεν, Gk D κᾶ, enclitic pc. of potentiality (convergence with a homonymous particle [or particles] of different origin?) (Gk Hm ὤς κε ν οἷ γ α ῖ α χύ ν ο υ ! 'O, if the earth had yawned for him! [= 'had swallowed him!']) ¶ BD II/3 1000-1, ≈ P 515-16, ≈ M K I 159 (kam 'well'), MW 251-2 (kam as an affirmative particle 'yes, well'), LS 847, 933, ≠ F I 805, Vs. II 147, Bern. I 463, Ma. CS 185 || U *-k∇, sx of imv. > FU: F Δ -k ~ -? (2s imv. ending) (lue-k 'read!'), F -∅ (< *-k) (ending of 2s imv.): lue 'read!' sg., Vo E lug3-g, Lv lúg id.; BF 2p imv. *-ka-ta / *-kä-tä (*-ta/*-tä pl.) > F luke-kaa 'read!' pl., Vp luge-ga-t id. || Lp N -kku-, marker of imv. in 1s and 3s (lě-kku-m 'let me be'), *-k > -∅, imv. 2s (the former presence of *-k is evidenced by the weak grade of the syll.-initial cns.: boade 'come!' < *pota-k) || Mr -k, 2s imv.: Er soka-k 'plough!' || Sm *-k, 2s imv. > Ne T -? ('', e.g. xaj-'' 'call!'), En, Ng -?, 2s imv. (En mota-?, Ng matu-? 'cut!'), Ng -gu-, marker of imv. in 1s (matu-gu-m 'let me cut'), Slq Kt {Cs.} -k, 2s imv. (tāde-k 'set on fire!') ¶¶ Coll. CG 304-5, Laan. 235-7, Cs. GSS 524, 533 || A: Tg *-ka/*-ke, sx of 2s imv. (with variants: *-ka1/*-ke1, *-ki) > Nn KU -ka, Orc -ka/-k3/-ʒa/-ʒ3, Sln -xa id., Ewk -ka1/-k31/-ko1, Neg -χa1/χa1 id., WrMc {Z} -κι (neutral-polite imv. used when addressing an equal); the suffix *-ki- is use also in forms of 1s and 3s imv. > Ewk -gi-, Ul -ži-, Ud -hi- ¶ Ci. 278-9, Ci. N 35, Ci. S 236, Bz. 144-5, Vas. 726, 759, Sun. G 187-8, Sun. M 170, Sun. KUD 100, Sin. LM 272 ¶¶ Acc. to IS, here also M *-qu/*-kü within the benedictive sx *-dqu-n/*-dkü-n, which is hardly convincing, because benedictive is actually a participle, sc. originally a derived noun (ffd. see Pp. IM 253-4) || ?σ D *-k∇, sx of optative > OTm -ka id. (kaη-ka 'look!', 2s opt.), CITm {An.} -(u)ka (opt.: seγ-ka 'let him do'), Kt -k- (sx of optative), OKn {Gai} -(u)ge/-ke id. (tan-ge 'prosper!'), ClKn -(u)ge/-ke (sx of opt.: ker`u-ge 'pereat!, percant!'), Tu -k-/-g-, sx of imv. in 1s and 1p

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

980. ? *Ka, substantivizing, singulative or distinctive (singling out) pronoun, name of quality bearers > IE: NaIE sx *-k- in Iir *a₁-ka- 'one' > MtA *a₁ka- 'one' (in Ht ayka-wartanna {Pv.} 'one turn'), OI ēka-h₂, NPrs ڪي yek 'one'; OI 'asr₀k 'blood' nom. sg. (↔ gen. sg. as'nah₂) || L -k- in senex (sene-k-s) 'old man' (-k- only in nom. sg., cp. gen. sg. sen-is, nom. pl. senes) || Gk -k- in κῆρυξ 'herald' (cp. OI kā'ru₂ 'Lobsänger'), μύρμηξ 'ant' (cp. Gk μύρμος, OI vamarī id.) | NaIE *-ko- (f. *-k-ā), sx of denom. adjectives and nouns: OI marja-'ka-h₂ 'male', sana-'ka-h₂ 'old', OCS великъ veli-kъ 'big', тънъкъ тънъ-къ 'thin'. The same sx is probably present in the Sl pronominal adjectives and adverbs *jakъ(jъ) 'what kind of?, which?', *jako ~ *ako 'how?', *takъ(jъ) 'such' and *tako 'so', as well as in Lt tók-s m., tokia f. 'such', Lt E m. tókias, f. tókia id., Lt jóks 'irgendeiner' ¶ Hirt IG III 114-18, 552-3, Pv. I 14, Fr. 194, 1105, ESSJ I 64-5, 171, StSS 110, Vs. I 289, IV 12 and 76-7 || A *-k > T *-k, nominal sx for concrete objects: OT qulqaq ~ qulaq 'ear', qarraq 'eyeball' (acc. to Cl., ← 'small black thing' ← qarā 'black'), bičraq 'knife' (← bič- 'cut'), kesek 'piece (cut off from sth.)' ← kes- 'cut, cut off' ¶ Cl. xlv, 293, 620-1, 652, 748-9 || Tg *-k > Ewk -k for quality bearer ('the one having the quality X'), e.g. sagda-k 'the elder person; first-born one' (← sagdan- 'get older'), n. ag.: julgāk 'neighbor (person)' ← julgā- 'live in the neighborhood' ¶ Vas. 341, 757 || U: U *-k^a, sx of denom. nouns: Lp T {Gn.} māyueg, Lp K {Gn.}

māyey, Krl, F Δ {Kt.} maḷoā (< *māyaya), Er miyav 'beaver', Lp T kāyeg, Lp K {Gn.} kāyey, Vp kayag, Vd kayaga, Es S kayak 'sea gull', Os Ty {Lh.} wāsax 'duck', Ne T O {Lh.} tařē-ha 'squirrel', En B {Cs.} faeha 'Salmo peljet' (cp. Vt paya 'Abramis brama') | FU *-k¹a¹, sx of denom. adjectives: Lp N {N} bāččā / bāč'čāg- 'bitter, fetid', Vp vayag, Vd vayaga 'unvollständig', Chr H {Wc.} yak¹šar-ʂa, Chr Uf yoš¹kar-ʂa 'red, red color' (Chr yak¹šar ʂ yoš¹kar attr. 'red'), Vg LL yānī-ʂ 'big' ||| U *-kk-, pronominal sx of distinctiveness (singling out): Er séke 'the same, that same' (← sé 'that'), Ne T O {Lh.} čúk·ū 'this', Ng {Cs.} takā 'iste' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 333-43 || E: AchEl ki 'ein, eins' (× N *qaywE 'alone', 'entire') ¶¶ HK 459, 465, 468-9 ◇ Hardly here Jg {J} kē 'one' (J J s.v.), probably from N *qaywE ◇ Blz. E no. 80 (E, HS: Eg kyū 'another', EC *kaww- 'one, alone', etc., see N *qaywE); ≈ Gr. I 123-9 ("absolute K" in EA, CK, Gil, Ko, T, IE).

981. *Ḷo 'who?' > U *ko- ~ *ku- 'who' > F ku-ka 'who?' (↔ mi-kā 'what?'), koska 'when?', Es ku-ʂ 'where (wohin)?, ku hu where?', kui 'when?', kuidas 'how?' | Lp: N gu-, gq-, goa- in derivatives: gutti / gud- 'who, which', goab'ba 'which of two?', L kābbā id., S {Hs.} gūt'te 'which of many?', goābba 'which (of two)?', Kld kū (gen. kōn) rel. prn. 'who, which' | Er kona 'which?', Mk kona 'which' (rel.), Er/Mk koda 'how?', Er kodamo, Mk kodama 'what for?', Er koso, Mk kosa, koza 'where?' | Chr: L kö, H kü 'who?', L kudo, H kьдъ 'which?', L kuze 'how?', kušto 'where?' | Prm {LG} *kod- ({{LG} *kōd) 'who?', 'which?' > OPrm kōd- 'who, which' rel., Z kod 'who?', kod- 'which (of two)?', Z US kōdi 'who?', Prmk kzd-, Yz 'kud-, kudik 'which?', Vt куд kud, кудиз kudiz 'which (of two)?' ||| ObU *kō- 'who?' > Vg: T kan, LK xon, xan, x^wan, P kon, Ss xṽṽka 'who?'; Os: V qoyt, D xōyā, O xōy id. | ObU {Ht.} *kūn 'when?' > pVg *kūn id. > Vg: T kōn, LK xūn, MK kūn, UK/P/NV/SV/LL kūn, UL xūn, Ss xun; pOs *kun id. > Os: D/K/Nz/O xun, Kz xūn, V/Vy/Ty/Y quntā | Hg ho- in hol, Hg Δ hon, hun 'where?', OHg ha 'when' rel., Hg ha 'if' || Sm {Jn.} *ku- 'what?, who?', 'which?' > Ne T O {Lh.} d. xu'i 'wohin, wer?', Ne T xānyā 'where?', xyrka 'welcher?', kaqoy? (qualis?'), Ne F {Lh.} ku'kkf 'who?', Ng {Cs.} d. kuā, kunie 'welcher', En {Cs.} hōke id., Slq Tz {KHG} qay 'what?, who?', kuti 'who?' (with an irreg. k- for the expected q- < U, Sm *k-), Kms {KD} q'āda 'how', k'ūm·en, Koyb {Sp.}

кУМИНЭ 'how much\many?', Mt {Hl.} *ku- (stem of interr. pronouns) (Mt: M {Sp.} кУЛГУ 'what for? [qualis?]', кУЙ 'from where?'); Sm {Jn.} dat. *ku-η, loc. *ku-η̄ 'where?' > dat.: Ne T хУ?, Ne O χῦ̄, Ne F {Pl.} куη, En {Ter.} кУО?, {Cs.} кῦ̄ id.; loc.: Ne T хУНА, Ne F kunnā, Slq Tz kun, Mt {Hl.} *kuna (Mt: M {Sp.} кУНА) || pY {IN H} *qa- > Y K qadi, Y T qaduη, qadugi 'which?', OY {Mdl.} каdik 'which?', Y T {Krn.} qadi, Y T/K {Krn.} хади (= /qadi /?) 'who?', 'which?', Y K {IN H} qanin ~ qayn, Y T {IN H} qañin 'when?', Y K {IN H} qanidэ 'where to?', Y K {IN H} qadingэ, Y T {IN H} qaduηdei 'where?', Y T qadā 'where?', qawde 'what kind of?, how?' ¶¶ UEW 191-2, Brgl. SG 61, Hs. 122-9, Kov. LV 230, Kov. GM 247, LG 125-6, Lt. DPJ 133, Lt. J 94, TmK 290, SZ 158, U3S 224, Ht. no. 279, Jn. 75, Cs. 49, 82, KHG 296-8, Hl. M no-s 563, 571, 576 and 589, IN H 373, IN UJ 246, Krn. JJ 88-91, Krn. IMJJ 234-5 || IE *k^ωo- / *k^ωe- / *k^ω-, a generalized interr. stem, used in combination with morphemes of deictic, gender-differenciating and postpositional origin, e.g. *k^ωo-s 'who?' (with *-s, marker of nom. of the active gender), *k^ωo-d 'what?' (with *-d of the non-active gender), *k^ω-i-s 'who?' (with deictic *-i- and active nom. *-s), *k^ω-i-d 'what?' (with deictic *-i- and non-active *-d) etc.: *k^ωo-s 'who?' > OI kaḥ, Av kō, OPrs kaš, Gt huas, OSw hvar, AS hwa, NE w ho 'who?', Pru kas, Lt kās, Ltv kas 'who\what?', Gk Hm τέο, Gk A τού 'whose?' (< *k^ωe-sjō), *k^ωej 'who?' > L quī, Clt ({Matas.} unj. rec.: pClt *k^ωēs): OIr cía, Brtt: OW puī, MW, W pwy, Crn pyw, OBr pow, MBr piν, piou, Br {Hm.} piν; *k^ωe-s 'who?' > OHG (h)wër, NHG weř id., as well as Al T kë, Al G kâ 'whom?' (< accus. *k^ωe-m); *k^ωo-d 'what?' > Vd 'kad, L quod, Pru ka, OW, MW, W pa; *k^ω-i-s 'who?' > Av čiš, Gk τίς, L quis, Osc pis ~ pís PIS, Ht, Pal, Lw kuīs id., OPrs čiš-čiy 'whoever'; *k^ω-i-d 'what?' > Gk τί, L quid, Osc píđ, Clt {Matas.} *k^ωid (> Oir cid, OW pi, MW, Crn py, OBr pi, pe, MBr, Br pe), Ht, Pal kuīt, ? Lw kui 'what?'; *k^ω-u (and cds) 'where?' > Vd 'kū, Av kū, L ubī, Osc puf, Um pufe PVFE, pue PVE 'where (wo)?', Gk Cr ῥ-πυι, Gk Sr πῦς (< *πυι-ς) 'where (wohin)?', MW cw, cwđ 'where (wo, wohin)?', as well as ?? Ht kuwapī 'where (wo, wohin)?, when?' (but Ts.: cd of *k^ωo-); according to Ad., in Tc the prn. for 'who?, what?' goes back to a cd of *k^ωu 'where?' or *k^ωis 'who?' + dem. prn.: pTc *kuse (accus. *kučē) > Tc A kuś (accus. kuś), Tc B kuse (accus. kuśe) 'who, what?' ¶¶ P 644-8, Bks 203-7, M K I 192, WH II 410-13, Bc. G 342, Fs. 282, Pln. 702, F II

903-4, Vn. C 91-2, RE 145, LG 373, Kb. 1170, KM 853, Frn. 199, En. 190, Tp. P I-K 244-58, O 207, Ts. E I 611-14, 693-4, Pv. IV 218-32, KT 165, Matas. E 178-80, Hm. 646, Wn. I 246, Ad. 186-8, Ad. H 156-7, EI 455-7 || **HS:** C: Bj {R} k̄ā-k(̄) 'how?' (interr. k̄ā- + -k(̄)) ('as, like', sx denoting manner) (*see* N ***Ḳuya** 'manner' [→ 'like, as']), {Rop.} k̄āk 'how?' ¶ R WBd 138, Rop. 203 || NrOm: Mch {L} k̄o 'who?', Kf {C} k̄ō-ne, k̄ō-n 'who?', k̄ō-č 'to whom?', {HHM} koni, konoč i 'who?', Shn {Lm.} kónnī, Anf {MYTY, Lm.} k̄o-nne 'who?' ¶ L M 35, Lm. Sh 328, C SE IV 282-4, R K 53, HHM 409, MYTY 113 || ?? WCh: Hs k̄à, k̄àk̄à 'how?', Gw k̄ò 'how?'; the structure of k̄àk̄à may be as in Bj (interr. + *-k̄∇ 'as, like') ¶ Abr. H 437, 456-7, Ba. 513, 531, Mts. G 65 ¶¶ Hardly here Mh {Jo.} k̄ō ~ k̄oh 'how?', 'why?', Hrs {Jo.} k̄ō(h), Jb {Jo.} E/C k̄oh 'why?' (= {Btn.} k̄o, adduced by IS with a query), where k- goes back to S *ka- 'as, like', just as in Ar kayfa 'how?' (*see* N ***Ḳuya** ↑) || **A** *k'a-, interr. pronominal stem > Tg {Bz.} **χα- with sxs: *χα-i 'what?', 'who?' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh {On.} χay id., WrMc {Z} ай, Mc Sb ай 'what?', 'which?' and possibly Sln aʒū 'who?'; Tg {Bz.} *χα-dū 'how much\many?' > Ul χadū, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} χado ~ χadū, Nn Nh {On.} χado, WrMc {Z} удуд, Ewk, Sln, Neg adī, Lm adi, Orc adi id.; Tg *χα-lī 'when?' (< prolative case) > Ul, Ork χālī, Nn Nh χālī, Orc ālā ~ āli, Ewk alī, Neg ālī id. ¶ Bz. 114, STM I 4-5, 14-15, 32, 286-8, On. 439-40, 447-8, Z 1-2, 155 ¶ But Tg *ya 'what?' does not belong here, it goes back to N ***ya** 'which?' (q.v.) || NaT *Ka- (interr. pronominal stem, preserved in derivatives): *Ka-ńu 'which?', 'what?' (> OT қайу ~ қаріу, Qzq қай, Tv қайI, Yk қайа 'which?'), NaT *Kaç 'how many?' (> OT қаč, Tk каç, Ln kač, SY qač ~ qaš, Xk χas, Tv каш qaš, Tf qdš', Yk χas), NaT *Kaçan 'when?' (> OT қаčan, ET, Ln, SY, Qrg qačan, StAlt qačan, Tk каçan, Az hačan, Ux qačan, Bsh qasan, Qzq qašan, Uz qačan, Xk χažan, Tv qažan, Tf qáñʲin, Yk χahan), NaT *Kay-si 'which?' (> OT қайси, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Tf qaysi, Tkm χayθi, Uz qaysi, VTt qaysъ, Bsh qayhъ, StAlt qažī, Tv qayizī, Xk χayzi), NaT *Kay-t'a ~ *Kan-t'a 'where?' (> OT қайда ~ қанда, Tkm χanda, Uz, ET, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf qayda, Bsh qayδa, Xk χayda, Yk χanna) etc. ¶ Rs. W 226, 232, 271, Cl. 589, 632-3, ET KQ 191-3, 340, DTS 418, Ra. 217-19, Rl. II 99-100 || M **qa- in derivatives: *qa-ʷa 'wo?, wohin?' (> MM [HI, S] қа-а, WrM {MED} қага, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xaa, Kl {KRS} xa, Ord χā id.), *qa-miʷ|ya 'where? (place

and direction) (> WrM *qamiqa*, {Rm.} *qamiya*, Kl *χamā*) etc. ¶ MED 895, 923, BMR IV 1, Chr. 522, KW 164, 175, Ms. H 85, Ms. O 320, H 54 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *k'e- / *k'a-, KW 175 (M, T) ◇ The vw. *a (for the expected rounded vw.) in T, M, an Tg still requires explanation ◇ The original opposition N ***Κο** 'who?' ↔ N ***mi** 'what?' was neutralized in IE (where N ***Κο** was generalized as the main interr. prn.) and partially in HS (S, Eg, B, C, where the generalized prn. was N ***mi**). The ancient opposition has been preserved in U (*kō- 'who?' ↔ *mi- 'what?'), in Chv (*кам* *kam* 'who?' ↔ *мѣн мѣн* 'what?') and in Itelmen (*кѣ* 'who?' ↔ *мин* 'what for, which?') ◇ IS I 355-6 (HS, IE, U, A + * Sml *ku-ma* 'who?' [in fact *ku-* is a marker of masculine] + *÷ words for 'as, like' in HS, which are better accounted for by N ***Κυα** 'manner' → 'like, as', q.v., because the semantic change from 'who?' to 'as, like', though not ruled out, is too complicated to be preferable) | | | In U and A there are forms traceable back to N (dialectal?) ***ΚΕ** 'who?' (with a hic-deixis?) > U **ke-* 'who?' > F *ken* 'who?', Es *kes* (gen. *kelle*) id., 'which?' | Lp: S {Hs.} *gie*, Vfs {Lgc.} *gîē*, *gĕā* 'who?', N {N} *gī* / *gĕ-* 'who?', 'what kind of' (of persons), Kld *kîē* 'who?', 'which?' | Er *ки ki*, Mk *кие kiya* 'who?' | Chr: L/Uf/B *kō*, H *kū* 'who?' | Prm **kin* 'who?' > Z Δ, Prmk, Yz, Vt *kin* | | Hg *ki* 'who?' | | Sm {Jn.} **ki-*, **kim*(∇) ~ **kimä* 'who?' > Ne Т *хибѣ*, Ne F {Lh.} *kim'āā* (both from **kimä*) 'who?', En {Mik.} *šie*, {Prk.} *sie*, {Ter.} *sēa*, Kms {KD} *cd šūn·de, šūn·di* ~ *šin·da*, Koyb {Sp.} *семъ*, Mt {Hl.} **kim* (or **kim*) 'who?' (Mt M {Sp.} *кымъ*) | | pY {IN H} **kin* > Y T/K {IN H, Krn., IN} *kin* 'who?' ¶¶ UEW 140-1, Lgc. SL 47, Hs. 122, PI 111, Ker. II 59, Jn. 69, KP no. 1221, KD 64, 66, Hl. M no. 486, Krn. JJ 87-9, Krn. IMJJ 233, IN H 211, IN UJ 228 | | A **k'E-* 'who?' > T **k'Em* (= **k'im* ~ **k'äm*) 'who?' > OT *kim* ^ḏ *käm*, Tk *kim*, Tkm, Az, Uz, ET *kim*, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg *kim*, Slr *käm*, SY *kem* ^ḏ *kim*, StAlt *kem*, Qmn/Tb {B} *kem*, Xk *kem*, Yk *kim*, Tv *qim*, Tf *qum* (labialization from **qim*?) id. | | Chv L *кам* id. ¶ Cl. 720-1, Rl. II 1202, 1402, Rs. W 271, Ra. 222, Jeg. 87, Tz. UIS s.v. *kim*, Ash. VI 48-9, Fed. I 219-20, Jeg. 87, ChVS 67-8 | | M **ken* 'who?' (also 'which?') > MM, WrM {MED} *ken*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хэн*, Kl {KRS} *кєн*, {Rm.} *ken*, Mnr H {T} *ken*, {SM} *k'än*, MMgl [Z] *keyan*, Mgl *ken*, Dx *kîēn*, Ba *kaṅ*, Ord *k'en* 'who?' ¶ MED 457, BMR IV 218-19, KW 225, SM 195, T 338-9, T DnJ 123, T BJ 141, Ms. O 413-14, Iw. 111 ◇ IS I 348 (pN ***ΚΕ** 'who?' > U, A) and 355-6

(N * K_0 'who?' > HS, IE, U, A), Gr. I 217-24 ("interrogative K" in IE, U [including Y], A, Ai, ChK, EA + unc. Gil) \diamond Acc. to IS's hyp., * K_E is a Uralo-Altaic innovation, a variant interr. word based on the analogy of the dem. particles\pronouns. The opposition of the N iste-deictic * h^re^1 'this' (\approx Illich-Svitych's * ?i / (?) * ?e) vs. pronouns with back vowels (e.g. N * ha 'ille') was introduced into the system of interr. pronouns, so that alongside with N * K_0 'who?' a new hic-deictic interr. prn. * K_E 'wer hier?' appeared. Starostin, A. Dybo and Mudrak try to unite the A reflexes of N * K_0 and * K_E by reconstructing pA * $\text{k}^r\text{a}_1\text{y}_1$ (SDM97 s.v.), which is not a good solution, because the difference between N * K_0 and * K_E has survived not only in A, but also in U. The variation * $\text{e} \sim \text{ä} \sim \text{i}$ in the U and A lges is still to be explained.

982. * $\text{K}_E^r\text{ü}^1$, dem. prn. (animate?) > IE * $\text{k}^r\text{e}-$, * $\text{k}^r\text{i}-$, * k^re_j- , * $\text{k}^r(i)\text{yo}-$ 'this' > NaIE: Arm u-s- 'this' (anaphoric, hic-deixis), $-\text{u-s}$ def. art. (hic-deixis) ||| Gk * $\text{ke}-$ in κεῖνο-ς , ἐ-κεῖνο-ς 'that person\thing, the person there', ἐκεῖ 'there', {EI}: Gk Mc za-wē-te , Gk σῆτες 'heuer, this year' ({EA}: < * $\text{k}^r\text{yeh}_A\text{-wētes}$) ||| L ce- in ce-do 'give here!', hi-c 'this', hi-s-ce 'this', si-c 'so', nun-c 'now', * $\text{k}^r\text{i-}$ in cis 'on this side of', ci-tro 'hither' ||| Clt {Matas.} * ki / * koy / * kē (a dem. prn.) > OgIr ci , coi 'this', OIr $\text{ce} \sim \text{cé}$ (< * k^re_j) (a dem. particle): in bith cé 'this world ('ce monde-ci')', Gl κουτ 'here, on this side', iso-c 'thus' ||| Gt hi- dem. pronominal stem in: himmā daga (σήμερον) 'an diesem Tage, heute' (himmā dat.), ntr. hita in und hita (ἕως ἄρτι [τοῦ νῦν]) 'bis jetzt', ON hann , OHG F hē , OHG [HB] hēr , AS hē 'he', NE he ; OHG cds: hiu-tu 'today' (> NHG heute), hiu-ru (< * hiu-jāru) 'this year' (> NHG heuer) ||| Lt ši-s , Ltv ši-s , Pru schis 'this' | pSl * s_b m. / * s_i f. / * s_e ntr. (prnl. * $\text{s}_b\text{-j}_b$, * $\text{s}_i\text{-ja}$, * $\text{s}_e\text{-je}$) > OCS m. сѣ сѣ / f. сѣ сѣ / ntr. сѣ сѣ 'this', SCr Δ sāj / sa / se , Slv sej , R † , Uk ceй ||| Al so t 'today' (< {EI} * $\text{k}^r\text{yeh}_A\text{-dihte}_j$) 'this year' > Al si vjet 'this year' (< pAl * cye_j wete_j dat.-loc.) || AnIE: Ht ka- / ki- 'this' (the variants ka- and ki- distributed within the inflexional paradigm of genders, cases and numbers), kinun 'now', Pal ka- , ki- 'this', Lc ki 'this' ntr., Car ka-t 'here (?)', Lw za- / zi- , HrLw za- 'this one' (z < IE * k^r) ¶¶ P 609-10, Bks 202, Me. AAE 59-61, Gd. 107-8 (OArm so- this'), Tum. 272-7, F I 475-6, WH I 193, 222, 644-5 and II 187-8, Vn. C 51, Fs. 255, Vr. 209, Krahe GSW II 67-8, Schz. 124, 160, KM 169, 306-7, Zhr. IN 230, Ho. 150, Ho. S 31, Frn. 990, En. 243-4, Vs. III 591-2, Glh. 537-8, O

397, 399, Matas. E 203, Pv. IV 3-12, ABIv III 215-19, Shv. K 327, EI 453 (*^lk̄ is 'this [one]'), StSS 676-7 || HS *k∇- 'this' m. > C {AD} *k∇- 'this' m. (↔ *t- f.) > EC {Ss.} *ka (nom. *k-u) dem. prn. m. (↔ f. *t-pronouns) > pSam {Hn.} *k-, marker of m. in dem. pronouns (↔ fem. *t-) (*k-an 'this', *k-a 'this [there]', *k-ās 'that', *k-ō 'that [there]', *k-ī 'that [referred to earlier]' ↔ fem.: *t-an, *t-a, *t-ās, *t-ō, *t-ī), nom. *-k-u (> Sml [-k-] [= -k-/-g-/-h-/-ḥ-] [marker of m. in dem. and poss. pronouns and clitics, opposed to the marker of f. [-t-] = -t-/-d]), Bn -k- m. ↔ -t- f. (Bn J -ka 'this' m. ↔ -ta 'this' f. etc.), Rn -k- m. ↔ -t- f. (e.g., -ka(n) 'this' m. ↔ -ta(n) 'this' f.), Or Wt ka(n) 'this' (↔ t-a(n) f.), kù 'this' nom. (↔ t-ù f. nom.), kǎni 'this specific' (↔ t-ǎni f.), Or Wt k-, a marker of masc. in possessive pronouns (-ki 'my', kía 'mine' m. possessi [↔ -ti 'my', tía 'my' f. possessi] etc.), Or H {MAZ} 'kana 'this' m. (nom. 'kuni) (↔ 'tana 'this' f., nom. 'tuni), k-, marker of masc. possessi in possessive pronouns: 'k-iyya 'my' m., 'k-ē 'thy' m. etc. (↔ 't-iyya 'my' f., 't-ē 'thy' f. etc.), Dsn ka (determiner), Elm -k-, masc. gender marker in predicative de-monstratives: tǒf ì-'k-àlù 'this is the snake' (tǒf 'snake' is m.) ↔ hárúwá-té ì-'t-àlù 'this is a girl', pHEC {Hd.} *ka / nom. *ku 'this', demonstrative determiner, m. (↔ *ta / nom. *ti 'this' f., dem determiner [f.]), *konne / nom. *kūni 'this', dem. prn., m. (↔ *tenne / nom. *tīni 'this', dem. prn. [f.]) > Sd {Hd.} the dem. determiner m. ko(nne) / nom. kuni (↔ the dem. determiner f. te(nne) / nom. tini), Ged {Hd.} the dem. determiner m. konne / nom. kunni (↔ the dem. determiner f. tenne / nom. tinni), Kmb {Hd.} the dem. determiner m. ka / nom. ku (↔ ta / nom. ti f.), Hd {Hd.} the dem. determiner m. ka / nom. ku(k) (↔ ta / nom. tu(t) f.), Brj {Ss., Hd.} 'ka (nom. 'ku) 'this' m. (↔ ta, nom. čì 'this' f.), Sd {Hd.} konne / nom. kuni 'this', dem. prn. m. (↔ tenne / nom. tini 'this' f.) || Dhl (ʔú)k^wa 'this' m. (↔ (ʔ)ita f.), (ʔú)ku 'that' m. (↔ (ʔ)itu f.) || SC: Irq {Mous} qáʔ 'that (visible)', ʔ ká 'this' (for neuter nouns) ¶ AD SF 258-9, Ss. PEC 62, Ss. B 111, To. DL 225, To. D 39, Anr. DSN 119, MAZ 11-12, Hn. S 27-9, Hn. BD 30-1, Hn. W 36-8, Hn. NBLK 185, 227-8, PG 40-1, C SE II 129-31, Hd. 153, Mous 90-1, Blz. CL 180 || SOm: Ari ko_ɿná, ka 'this', kase, konase 'that', Ari G okona, kōn- (+ sxs) 'that', Hm ka 'this, that' ¶ Bnd. AL 159-60 || WS *-ku ~ *-ka, deictic element of iste- and ille-deixis, added to dem. pronouns: BA 𐎠𐎡 dē-k̄ 'that', f. 𐎠𐎡 dā-k̄, pl. 𐎠𐎡 𐎧 𐎠𐎡 𐎧 il̄l̄ē-k̄, IA [Eleph.] 𐎠𐎡

zk, 𐤆𐤍𐤏 znk id., Ar *ḏāli-ka* ~ *ḏā-ka* 'iste' m. (f. *tāli-ka* ~ *tā-ka* ~ *til-ka*, pl. *ṯawlāṯi-ka*), Mh {Jo.} *ḏē-k*, *ḏay-k* 'that', (as an introductory particle) *ḏz-k*, pl. *elyē-k*, Hrs *ḏēk*, *ḏīk* (pl. *lzk*) 'that', Bth *ḏε-k*, *ḏz-k*, pl. *īlā-k*, Jb E {Jo.} 'ḏw'kun, 'ḏi'kun, pl. *i'zō-k*, Jb C {Jo.} 'ḏw'kun, 'ḏukun, pl. *i'zō-k*, Gz {Br.} *zə-kū* 'that', accus. *zə-k^ω-a*, pl. *ṯallə-kū*; CS **kā* 'here, so' > Pun *k[?]*, (RomSc) [Plt.] *CO* 'here', BHb 𐤍𐤊 *kō*, Ug {OLS} *k*, BA 𐤍𐤊 *kā* 'here, so', Nbt, Plm *k[?]* 'here', DA, OA *kḥ*, IA *k[?]* 'thus' ¶ Br. G I 318-23 [107], Br. AG 30-1, Fr. I 93, Jo. M 79, KB 439-40, 1723, KBR 461, OLS 207, HJ 483-4, 489 || Ch **k-*: WCh: Hs *k^ʷānī* 'this' (ham *k^ʷānī* 'this water' ↔ ham 'water'), Ang {ChL} *kò-ḡ^ʷì* 'this', *kò-p^ʷáná*, *kò-ḡà* 'that', Ngz {Sch.} *gùzèp-gú* 'the slave' (↔ *gùzèp* 'slave') || CCh: Mrg {Hf.} dem. enclitic *kī* 'this [near]' (↔ *tā* 'that [far]' ↔ *nā* 'that [known]'), dem. prn. *kí* 'this one' (↔ *tá* 'that one [far]' ↔ *ná* 'that one [known]') | Glv {Rp.} *k^ʷàn*, *k^ʷán* 'this', *k^ʷànna* 'this (one)', *k^ʷaḡ(a)* 'that', Gzg *ha* 'this' (*ḡgōs-a ha* 'this woman' ↔ *ḡgōs* 'woman') | Ms *kaynī* 'this', *kayna* 'that', Lame *k^ʷàmèné* 'this', *k^ʷàmèní* 'that' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} *ka* [*ká*], a marker of masc. within demonstratives (↔ *ta* [*tá*] fem. ↔ *ku* [*kú*] pl.), e.g. *í-kà* 'that (relative proximity)' m. ↔ *í-tà* f. ↔ *í-kù* 'those' pl., {Sch.} *būr ăḡ-kà* 'this lion' (cp. *būrì* 'lion' m.), Smr *ka* 'this', *alo-ka* 'that', Ll {WeipP} *káj* 'this' m. (↔ *táj* f.), *kolōḡ* 'that' m. (↔ *tolōḡ* f.), Jg {J} *kô* 'this' m. (↔ *tô* f.), Mu *gāḡ* 'this' m. (↔ *dāḡ* f.), Mgm *kānè* 'this' m. (↔ *tānè* f.), *kō* 'that' m. (↔ *tō* f.), Bdy *kānè* 'this', *kō* 'that' ¶ ChL, RpB 56-7, Hf. M 85-8, Fd. 32, 262, Sch. ED 158-9, PG 19, Blz. EChWL no-s 84-85 || A **K₁ü₁* 'this' > T **K₁ö₁* 'that (seen)' > SY {Tn.} *gō* ~ *gū* ~ *kō* ~ *ku* id. ({Ml.} 'BOH TOT'), Qmq {Dmt.} *gōne* 'there (far, but seen)' ('BOH TAM'), Qrg *tī-gī* 'that (seen)' ('TOT, BOH TOT'), 'he (seen)' ({Jud.} 'OH, BOH OH'), {Rl.} *ṯīḡī* 'jener, der dort gegenüber-liegende', Xk *ṯīḡī ṯḡḡ* 'BOH TOT', Shor/Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} *ṯīḡḡ*, Brb (Rl.) *tī-gī* 'jener, jener dort' || Chv: L *ku* 'this', H *kō*, Δ *k^ʷv* *k^ʷ* id. ¶ Tn. SJJ 77-8, Ml. ZhU 23, Dmt. GKJ 80, Jeg. 114, Fed. I 300-2, Lvt. IM 32-4, Jud. 731, Rl. III 1353, 1419, BIG 227, 416, S AJ 192 [no. 149] (mentioned Slr *ku*, not confirmed by other available sources), SDM 709-10 (s.v. T **K₁ö*) || pKo **kī* 'this' > MKo *kī*, *kī-i*, NKo *kī* 'this' ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 89], Nam 76, MLC 231 || pJ: (1) pJ **k^ʷá-* 'this' > OJ *kō*, MJ *kó-* 'this', J: T *kòre*, K *kóré*, Kg *kóí*, Ns *kú-ḡ*, Sk *kú-nù*, Ht *kù-nù*, Yn *kù-nú* id.] (2) pJ **ka-* 'that' (from a cd?) > MJ *ka-* 'that', J: T *ká-re*, K *kárè* 'he, she', Ht *kà-*

n_ù, Y kànú 'that' ¶ S AJ 268 [no. 77], S QJ no. 77, Mr. 430, 452, Kenk. 852 and 1055 || M *kü, pc. emphasizing the preceding word, including the preceding dem. prn. > WrM {MED} kü id., HIM {MED} xγγ id., WrM {MED} ene-kü 'the same, the very same' (ene is 'this'), tere-kü 'the same' (tere is 'that'), MM [HI] kü ~ gü {Ms.} particule corroborative, [S] kü ~ gü {H} hervorhebende Partikel ¶ M *kü may go back to a coalescence of the N dem. prn. *Ḳ'ü', N *ʔ'o'kE (= *ʔ'o'kü?) 'self' and possibly N *ko 'whereas, but, also, doch' ¶ MED 494, H 51, 105, Ms. H 57 ¶¶ SDM 709 (pA *k'ü'o 'this' > M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 895, S AJ 49, 56, 104, 277 [no. 73], Rm. SKE 114 (Ko, M), Rm. EAS I 46, Mr. KJ 244, Ktw. PLA 71-3 (adducing ET үу 'ведь, же' [{BN} u-үу 'да он же!, это же!, это ведь!', ba(r) үу 'ведь есть'], which may be better explained as belonging to N *ko '↑', q.v., cp. IE *g^ωe 'but, whereas' of the same origin) || Gil: Gil A ku(-) 'that (absent, just mentioned)' ¶¶ Pnf. I 241, ST 22 ◇ HS *k- results from deglottalization of *Ḳ, which is likely to suggest a pN *Ḳ- (rather than *g-), but the argument is not decisive, because the deglottalization could happen after the pre-HS merger of *Ḳ and *g ◇ In IE, Mrg and A (Chv, Ko) the word means 'this', which may be the original meaning, while in S and SY it has got the deictic meaning of 'iste' or 'ille'. In EC, EDng and Gmc this word (→ morpheme in HS) has got the meaning of masc. demonstrative (opposed to HS *t[∇] fem. and IE *t-ntr.), which may suggest that pN *Ḳ'ü' referred to animate beings only ◇ Gr. I 91-4 ("demonstrative KU" in A [including J], Gil, EA, AnIE).

983. *Ḳ[∇] (= *Ḳ[∇]?) 'towards', directive pc. > HS *Ḳ[∇] ~ *k[∇] > WS *k[∇] 'at, in' (of time), ? (in Mn only) 'to' > Mn {CR} k- 'to' (k-ʔsɔ 'to Asad, ad Asad, Asado'), OSA Sb k- 'when, lorsque', Mh {Jo.} k(ʒ)- 'at, in' (of time), Hrs {Jo.} k-, Sq {L} kE id., Ar SA k- 'at, in' (of time) (k-sōbāḥ 'in the morning'), BHb kə-/ki- (+ infinitive) 'when' (lit. '≈ at/in ... [his] -ing') (אָבְרָם kə-'bō 'when he came' [Gen. 12.14]; כִּשְׁמֹעַ kī-š'ṣmōaʔ 'when he/she/they heard'), כִּאֲשֶׁר kə-ʔa'šer 'when' (lit. '≈ at/in which') ¶ KB 433, BGMR 75, Jo. M 200, Jo. H 65, L LS 211, CR CAME 165 || B *y[∇] (< *Ḳ[∇]) 'towards, in' > Tmm {BoudL} y a 'to(wards)' (direction), BMn {Bs.} y- id. (iruh y-iχt n tala 'il alla à une fontaine'), Shl {Stm., La., Ds.} y- 'in' ({Stm.} y-wulīnu 'in my heart') ¶ BoudL T 505, Stm. 109, La. CBM 110, Ds. 85-6, Bs. ZOu 60 ¶ In my opinion, Rf/SrSn g ~ gi, Si/Wrs/BMn g and Kb ḡ 'in' (Rn. 350,

Ib. DRE 159, La. S 130, Dl. 133, Bs. ZOu 59-60) do not belong here, they are rather a reduced form of B *gīg and *d∇g ~ *g∇d 'in' || EC *-k∇ > Af {R} -hō, -h 'to' (dative), {Clz.} -ak 'to' (dative, directive) (**abbak** ... ĩyan 'they told **the father**' ['dissero **al padre**'], 'bā^ʕel-ak a'mōd ta'məta 'venne **presso il marito**', ha!-ak '[tied] to the tree'), Sa {R} -kā, -k, {TB} -ak (a marker of dat.-accus.: {R} jō-k 'to me', {TB} **fáras-ak** illó ohóya 'I gave **the horse** bread'), Sml N {Abr.} ku (/gu) (preverbal proclitic) 'on to, on, to' ('kúrsigī bū ku 'fáđīstay 'he sat down on the chair', mél dōw ínankīsī ku árkay 'he saw his son in a near place', 'búrso bū 'nó gu yi'mī 'he came to us at Bur'o'), ? Bn K -ka (loc.) in hak-ka 'there', Dsn {To.} ká 'her-, to' (adposition [≈ preverb\postposition] of movement towards the speaker), Elm {Hn.} -ka 'to' (dative) (preceding the indirect object), -ka- 'to, for' (benefactive) (preceding the verbal stem) (yesé nūm a'nán-ka 'héle kōne 'I brought the children [hele] food', yesé nūm 'héle a'nán-ka-kōne id., yesé mín hele an-ká-dis-a 'I built a house for the children'), Sd {Mrn., TB} -ho 'to' (dative) (bē'tō-ho 'to the girl') ¶ R A II 854 [= 62], R S II 202, Clz. 72, Abr. S 153, Hn. NBLK 196-7, Hn. BD 54, To. DL 232-3, Mrn. S 28, TB LA 515, AD SF 259 || NrOm: Na {AY} -qa 'in' (isi hay-qa wūta 'he fell in [sc. 'to'] the water'), Shk {AY} -qa 'in' (ínčú-qa 'in the tree'), Bnc {Wdk.} -qán ~ -kan 'in, at', Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} -ko 'towards' ¶ AY NG 25, AY ShM 6, Mrn. O 30, Wdk. BY 160 || ??φ CCh: Bdm {Lk.} g3 prep., {Nc.} ge, go, ga, g 'to' ({Lk.} nača g3 woli-an3 'er sprach zu einem Jungen', {Nc.} dōmō ū ge na 'ich komme zu dir', dōmo gateri g au 'mich sandtest du nach Feuer'), Lgn {Lk.} ga ~ gā 'to' (prep. with a noun denoting a person) 'zu, chez, κ (κoμy-π.): ndɔy 'wag3r ga g3n3m 'I went to the woman'), gi, gī 'towards, to' (direction: ndɔy 'wag3r 'gī ʔa'ʔa 'ich ging zum Hause hin', 'yālō 'gī ʔule'gā 'sie kamen zur Tür'), ? ge, gē 'in' (locative prep.) ¶ Lk. B 67, Lk. L 54 || **U** {Coll.} *-kk∇ / *-k∇, directive (= lative, {Hj.} lative-prolative) case marker > Ing -k (sx in adverbs: ala-k 'nach unten'), -ʔ in F dialects and in Standard F (alaʔ 'nach unten', lūōʔ 'towards') † Lp N dir.-loc. -g (after disyllabic stems), -kko, -kkō, -gō, -kō / -kě (after mono-syllabics): dōkkō 'thither', dei'kě 'hither', dâggō 'there, that way' (of a movement), bæi'væg 'by day', ik'ko 'at night', Lp Ar {Lgc.} -k 'in' (temporalis): kirrak 'in springtime', iyyak 'in the night' † Mk/Er prolative ('along,

no') -ga ~ -ka ~ -va ({Srb.}: intervoc. -v- < *-y- < *-k-) | Chr L -ke ~ -ko ~ -kö 'to(wards)' in adverbs and postpositions: oHЧЫКО 'on^zä-ko 'ahead' ('vorwärts'), ül-kö 'down, nach unten', čod'ra 'vel-ke 'towards the forest' || Os V {Trs.} prolative -öx / -oy (kiriw way-oy manwəl 'the steamboat sails **on** [sc. **along**] the river Vakh'), translative -əx / -by, -ka, -qa (ač-əx yəxiəən 'turned **into** a sheep', itn-əx yəməxä 'the evening came', tələkkə yəməxä 'the winter came' [lit. '**into** evening\winter it became']), Os Sr {Ht.} translative -yъ / -xə (kāt-yъ '[transformed] into a house'); Vg N {Rmb.} translative -x / -ix (piyanēr-ix patsum 'I became a young pioneer', nāyω-ix 'на дрова, to be used as firewood') || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} translative -qo (for nouns with ppas), -t-qo (< gen. -n + -qo) and possibly infinitive sx -qo; it is interesting to note that Cs. and Lh. sometimes wrote the marker of translative qo as a separate postposition: {Cs.} kait qo ippand? 'warum liegst du?' ¶¶ Coll. CG 295-6, Sz. 58, Hj. US 220, It. LC 56, Décsy UP 70, Lgc. SWL 114, Srb. IMMJ 25-6, Rmb. 54-5, Trs. VD 54-5, Ht. XJ 309, Hl. SelJ 365-9, 371, Hj. LIKSz 124, 128 and Hj. LIS 271 (in both papers Hajdú explained the Slq endings as going back to U *k-lative); Kü. SUKF I 99; ≠ Kü. SUKF I 100, 145-51 (*: Slq qo interpreted as a prtc. *∇/kâ 'being') || A *-KA > T *-ka/*-kä 'to' (dative-directive case ending) > OT O -qa/-kä, O Y/U -qa/-kä/-xa/-gä, OT Og -qa/-kä/-xa/-gä/-ya/-yä, OT (different dialects) (after ppa.) -a/-ä, ET, VTt, Bsh -qa/-kä/-ya/-gä, Uz -qa/-ka/-ya, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog -qa/ -ke/-ya/-ge, Shor, Tv -qa/-ke/-ya/-ye and (with vowel stems) -: (lengthening of the stem-final vw.), Qrg -qa/-qo/ -ke/-kö/-ya/-yo/-ge/ -gö, StAlt -qa/-qo/-ke/-kö/-ya/-yö/-ge/-gö and (with vowel stems) -: Xk -xa/-xö/-ke/-kö/-ya/-yö/-ge/-gö/-:., Yk -ya with 2O positional allomorphs, Az -a/-ä/-ya/-yä-, Tkm -a/-ä/-:., Tk -a/-e/-ya/-ye, Slr -qa/-ke/-kä/-(y)a/-(g)e/-(g)ä, Chv -a/-e ¶ Ajd. 149-53 (wrongly interpreting the Runic letter ä as e [cf. Thomsen LM]), Kon. GJTRP 149, 153-4, Nas. JTPU 36-8, Isx. IS 103-19, Tn. SJ 106-7 || M: acc. to Rm., in an adv. the fossilized affix *-ya (< *qa) (loc. and possibly dir.) is preserved: WrM qami-ga ~ qaga, HIM xaa 'wo?, 'wohin?', to which we may add WrM qaga yaga 'here and there'; on the M stem *qa- in *qa-ya 'wo?, wohin?' see s.v. N *K̅o 'who?' ¶ MED 905, 923, BMR IV 1, Rm. VAJ 39-40 || ?? Tg *-k- within the lative-prolative sx *-k̅ī is preserved in some adverbs (e.g.

*sola-kī 'upstream' > {Ci.}: Ewk solokī, Neg soloxī, Lm holakī, Ud solónxi, Ul soli id.) and in the compound sx of the allative case *-tikī- (> {Ci.} Ewk -tkī, -tikī, Sln -txī, -tixī, Neg -tki, -tiχi, Lm -tkī, -takī, Ud -tigi) ¶ Ci. 256, 268-9, Bz. 85-7 ¶¶ On Korean: Rm. VAJ 41-2, BooK 51 and after them IS I 369 assume that the Ko cognate of the above pA sx is Ko NW -(e)ge (dative). In fact, Ko NW -(e)ge goes back to MKo -ʌy kəy, sc. gen. ending -ʌj + dative postposition kəj 'to', e.g. arahannʌy-kəj ~ arahannʌy-kə 'to the arhat' (F Lee GKS 203-4). Lee Gi-Moon (l.c.) identified this postposition kəj with the adv. kəj 'an dem Ort'. The Altaic et. of the Ko marker of dative is valid only if MKo kəj 'in the place' may be connected with T *-ka/*-kä, which is qu. ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 39-42 || D: dative ending *-k- (post-consonantal) / *-kk° (postvocalic) (= {Zv.} *-(k)ku) > OTm, CITm, MI -ku / -kku, OTI -ku(n) ~ -ki(n), CollTm, TI -ku ~ -ki, Irl -(k)ke ~ -(k)kye, Kt, Td -k / -g, OKn, ClKn -ke / -kke, -ge / -gge, Kdg -kī / -gī, Tu -k† / -g†, Klm, Prj, Gdb S -(u)ŋ (< "empty morph" -n- + *-k°), Prj N -(u)g, Knd -ŋ, Gnd -k, Kui -gi / -ki, Ku -(t)aki ~ -ki, Krx -ge(:) / -ke(:), Mlt -(i)k 'to' (dat.), Brh -ki 'for' ¶ Zv. CDM 29-31, Shanm. DN 264-368, 378-81 || IE: NaIE *k^u 'towards' > Clt {Matas.} **k^ωo- 'to' > OIr cō, MW pū id. || Sl *k^b(n) id. > OCS, OR κ^b, R κ / κo, SCr k / k^a, Slv k, Cz k / ke, Blg Δ κ; in Blg κ^bm 'towards' the element -m is secondary (× κ^bm 'near, oκoπo' [÷ L cūm 'with?']) || Sgd ku (Sgd B/M [?]k^ω, k^ω, k^ω?, ChrSgd c^ω) 'to' (direction, dative), 'in' ¶ The IE cognate is qu., because there is an alt. et. of the Sl and Sgd forms drawing them back to IE *kom / *k^m (> OI k^am [after dative] [reinforcing pc.: dat. + k^am = 'in order to': śu'bhē kam 'um zu glänzen'], Av k^am [benefactive postposition after dat.] 'in favour of') ¶ Vs. II 146-7, LivXr SJ 505, Bn. SI 70-3, M K I 159 and III 664, M E I 304-5, Matas. E 180, ≠ P 515-16 (an unc. hyp. drawing back Sl *k^b 'towards' to IE *ka(:) ~ *ke ~ *kom 'wohl'), ESISJ-SGZ I 99-106, ESSJ XIII 170-1, StSS 299-300, unc.: EI 646 (Sl *k^b < IE *k^o(m) 'with') || ?? K: MG [VTq] k^en (postposition of direction), G -k^en(a) 'to, towards' (marker of dir. case) ¶ DCh. 603, NCh. 246, Vogt GLG 72, Chx. 365 ¶ The G cognate is highly qu. because this postposition\ending is added to the gen. form of the noun, which suggests that it goes back to a pre-G or pK noun ◇ IS I 368-9 (HS, U, A, D), Gr. I 137-9 ("dative KA" in A, Ko, U, Y, Gil, CK). IS I 368 saw a M cognate in the lative sx *-gsi / *-gsi within adverbs, which is not certain; I prefer to equate this M sx

with the FU translative ending *-ksi (> F -kɫi, -kɫe, Mr -ks) and to look for their common N source without necessarily connecting it to the N etymon in question.

983a. *kʷAʔiʔb∇ or *kʷiʔAʔb∇ 'cold, ice' > HS: Eg fP kɫb(b) 'be\ become cool', Eg fMK kɫb(b) 'die Kühle', DEg kɫb 'kühl sein, sich kühlen; kühl' > Cpt: Sd KBA kba ~ KBO kbo, B XBOB kʰbob id. ¶ EG V 22-4, Er. 533, Vc. 71 || C: EC *kʷab- 'cold' > Sml N qabów 'cold', Rn 'χóbo 'coolness; cool', Arr kʷabbanoω- 'become cold', kʷabbat 'cold thing, cold', Or kʷabbana, Kns qappanāω-, Gdl kʷappanaw- 'become cool' || Ag *ka(n)b- 'be cold' (with a puzzling *n): Bln {R}, Q {R} kanb ~ kamɫ 'be cold' ¶ Bl. 180, Abr. S 197, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 112, AD SF 81, Hn. S 71 (pSam *qabō 'cold'), PG 191, Hw. A 377, R WB 223, R QW 84 ¶¶ AD SEC 135 and OS no. 332 (both: EC, Eg) || K: G kʷopiča 'frozen ground' ¶ Chx. 613 || D (att. in NED) *kʷiv- > Krx kʷibā 'frost, ice', Mlt {Drs.} kʷiwe 'cold, cool' ¶ D no. 1618 ◇ N *ʔ is suggested by K (N *-ʔb- > *-ʔb- > K *-p-) ◇ Blz. L no. 26c and Blz. LNA no. 32 (HS, D) (Blz. LNA: N *kʷib∇).

984. *kʷoʔbE (or *koʔbE?) 'full; whole' > HS: S *°✓ kʷb > Ar ✓ qʔb 'boire beaucoup et se remplir de' (with min + name of beverage), 'manger\boire, prendre ce qui est dans une vase' (× N *kʷäbʔâ 'bite' [→ 'eat']); ʔ Ak gabbu 'entirely, all, every' ¶ BK II 656, CAD V 4-5 || ?? C (SC?) → Mb kabuna ~ xabuna 'all' ¶ E SC 249 || K: G I kʷapan- 'schwer beladen', G kʷeb- v. 'feed' ('nähren, füttern') ¶ Chx. 549, 576 || A *kʷöpE 'all', (?) 'ganz' > NaT *kʷöp- 'abundant, much' (× N *kʷup∇ 'heap, hill?') > OT kōp 'abundant, luxuriant, much', Chg, OXwT kōp, Osm {Rh.} kōp, ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Tv kōp, VTt, Bsh küp, SY {Tn.} kōpʰ ~ kepʰ, Tf kōp 'much, many', Tkm, Kr, Qmq kōp, Uz kʷp id., 'very'; here also (?) Tv χōy 'much, many' ¶ Cl. 686-9, DTS 317, Rs. W 219, ET KQ 107-8, Rh. 1580, S AJ 187 [no. 115], TvR 258, 488, Tn. SJJ 187, Ra. 204 || M *kʷöb-č in 'whole, all' > WrM kōbcin {MED} 'whole, complete, all, everything', HIM {MED} xōвч, xōвчин id., {BMR} xōвчин 'whole (ganz), all', Ord gūbč in 'tout, tous', WrO kūbcin 'entirely, wholly, all', MM [S] gubč in 'ganz, völlig, alles, insgesamt'; M → WrMc {Z} fūbчи id., Mc Sb /gufəč̣ī/ [gufč̣ī] 'entire, whole' ¶ MED 475, BMR IV 126, Ms. O 273, Krg. 749, H 51, Hr 378, Y no. 2812, STM I 426, Z 360-1 || Tg: [1] Tg *χupka- 'all' > Ewk upkat/ç-, Ewk M/Nr/Tk/Tt/Urm upkał, Ewk Tng

upka-t, upka-l, Ewk Tkm opkat 'all, everybody, whole', Neg opkał, Ud upał 'everybody' ¶ STM II 281 | [2] Tg *kupu-(-kte, -l∇) 'whole' > Ewk kūktz ~ kuwukti, Lm kubəç, Neg, Nn Nh kupuktz, Ul kuptz, Ork qopolo, kupuktz, kupuču 'whole', Sln xokkoji 'entirely', Ud kuφula & kuφulz id., 'every-where' ¶ STM I 426, On. 234 || ??σ pJ {S} *kùpá-pa-v. 'add' > MJ kùpàpá-, JT kùwae- ~ kuwaeé-, JK kúwáé-, J Kg kuwaeé- ¶ S AJ 271 [no. 176], S QJ no. 176, Mr. 718, Kenk. 1125 ¶¶ The pTg cs. *k- (for the expected *χ-) in Tg *kupu- needs explanation (dissimilation *k'...p' > *k...p' in the prehistory of Tg?) ¶¶ SDM 724 (pA *kōp'∇ 'all [весь]' [T, M, Tg *kupu-, without pJ, which was mentioned in earlier versions: SDM95, SDM97]), DQA no. 884 (id.), S AJ 27, 285 [no. 233] || D *kopp- ({θGS} *k-) v. 'be full' (-d→ v. 'fill') > Prj kopp- v. 'be full', kopip- v. 'fill up', Gdb kop- v. 'be full', kopup- v. 'fill', koppen 'full', Mnd kupki- v. 'fill', Ku kuppu ānay v. 'overflow'; Tm kuppam may go back to a coalescence: D *kopp- v. 'be full' × *kupp- 'heap' ¶¶ D *-pp- < N *-?b- ¶¶ D no. 1731(a) (without distinguishing between *kopp- v. 'be full' and *kupp- 'heap'), cp. GS 50 [no. 124] (*kup- 'heap') ◇ The pTg cs. *k- (for the expected *χ-) in Tg *kupu- needs explanation (dissimilation *k'...p' > *k...p' in the prehistory of Tg?). An alternative hypothesis: pN *ko?bE 'full; whole' > pA *k'ōPE 'all', (?) 'ganz' and with secondary glottalization (*ko?- *k'∇?) Ar q∇?-, pK *k'-, T *k'- and Tg *χ-.

985. (₂?) *k' u₁?, bE 'thorn' > IE: NaIE *keuḡb- 'thorn, thorny plant' > OHG hiufo 'haw, wild rose, hawthorn', MHG hiefe, NHG Hiefe 'hip, haw', NNr hjūpa, OSx hiopo 'hip (Hagebutte)', AS héopa 'hip, brier', NE hip 'Hagebutte' ||| Pru kaāubri ({En., Tp.}: ce. for *kāubri) 'thorn' ¶ WP I 380-1, P 595 (a wrong rec. of *k̄-), OsS 403, Ho. 157, Ho. S 34, Kb. 471, Lx. 88, KM 307, En. 186, Tp. P I-K 104-6 || HS: CS *kubb- 'thorn, a prickly plant' > MHb כּוּבּ כּוּבּ kuḡ (pl. kub'b-īm ~ kub'b-īn), JA [Trg], JPA אֲבָבָא, אֲבָבָא kub'b-ā id., Sr كُوبُّ كُوبُّ kub'b-ā 'spina, baculus spinosus', Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} kubb- 'salsa et amara planta' ¶ Br. 315, Lv. II 282-3, Js. 616, Fr. IV 2 || ?σ K: G Lch k. op. -i 'Nabe (am Rad des zweiradigen Wagens mit Ochsen- oder Büffelgespann)' (× N *k. up. ∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance?'), ? G I k̄ip̄k̄ipa 'collarbone' and ? G R k̄ip̄k̄ipa 'chicken's forked bone (furcula)', as well as possibly G k̄ubera 'Ährchen (an der Getreideähre)' ¶ Chx. 594, 612-13, 635 ¶ The

glottalization of the labial cns. may be due to as. | | ? A: M *kögü| (if from **köbü|) > WrM kögü| {MED} 'aloe tree, blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*)', HIM {DL} xθrθl 'blackthorn, *Prunus spinosa*', Kl {KRS} κθrл kögə| id., {Rm.} kög| id., 'Dornstrauch' ¶ MED 481, DL II 611, KRS 310, KW 236 ◇ If the K words belong here, the N initial cns. is *ḳ, otherwise it is *Ḳ (sc. *either *q or *ḳ). The IE *-b- for *-bʰ- is explained by the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √. In S there is a deglottalized *k-. If the N etymon is *'ḳ' uʔbE, we have to assume that S and IE lost the precons. *ʔ, while in Kartvelian the N cluster *-ʔb- yielded *-p̣-.

986. *Ḳab'Eʔ'∇ 'wickerwork, bag' ([in descendant lges] → 'vessel') > HS: S: [1] S *ḳaḅy- 'wickerwork; vessel' > Ak {Sd.} ḳaḅû 'Geflügelstall', ḳaḅût-u 'Becher, Kelch', Sr كَبْأُ ḳaḅ'ûā 'Behälter' [2] CS *ḳabb- '(ε) vessel' > BHb כַּבַּ ḳaḅ '(ε) a measure of capacity', IA ḳb, JA, JEA كَبْأُ ḳaḅ'b-ā, Sr كَبْأُ ḳaḅ'b-ā id. (S ḅ → Gk κῦβος id.) and ĩ Plm ḳb 'crater, bowl (?)' ¶ Ell. 147, BDB 866 [no. 6894], Lv. IV 232-3, Sl. 977-8, Br. 639, KBR 1060, Sd. 889-90, ≈ F I 750 || Eg fMK ḳḅy 'jar for beer' (> Cpt B КНБИ, КАВН 'cruche') ¶ EG V 25, Fk. 277, Vc. 71 || WCh (mte.) *ḳaḅ∇ 'basket' > Su {J} ḳaḅen 'game bag made of leaves' || DfB {J} ḳaḅâ 'basket', Sha ḳaḅá 'basket for millet' || (× N *ḳaḅ∇ 'calabash, gourd', q.v. ffd.) Hs ḳaḅákí 'ε large calabash for food' ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh 205 [no. 561] (*ḳaḅ|ḅ∇ 'calabash'), Ba. 515, Abr. H 438, J S 68, J R 216, 286, Sch. DN 92-3 || IE: NaIE *kap- 'box, vessel' (IE *-p- < *-bʔ- < N *-b∇ʔ-) > Gk κῦπη 'crib, manger' || L capula 'scoop', capulus 'coffin', capēd-o / -inis '(ε) an earthen bowl used in sacrifices', capsa 'box, case (for books etc.)', capsus 'Wagenkasten' || OHG hafan, havan 'dish, vessel, kettle', NHG Hafen 'earthen pot\vessel' ¶¶ P 527-8, WH I 157, 162-3, F I 783, Kb. 421, ≈ OsS 361, Schz. 158, KM 280 || A *Ḳāp'a 'ε vessel, box', {AD} 'bag', 'ε vessel, box' > T: [1] NaT *Ḳāb 'bag, sack' > OT qāb 'leather bag, wineskin', OQp XIII قَبْ qap, Cum XIV hap 'sack', Chg XV qab 'vessel, wineskin', Osm XVI qav 'a sloughed snake's skin', Tkm qāp 'sack, earthenware', Tk kap 'earthenware, dishes, vessel', Az rāb qab 'vessel, case', Ggz kap 'earthenware', ET, Ln, SY, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Bsh, Qrg qap, Uz қоп qop, Xk, Tv xap 'sack', VTt qap 'sack of bast mat', StAlt qap 'leather bag' ¶ Cl. 578, ET

KQ 266-7, TAG 86, Dr. TM III no. 1364, ARL 67] [2] T (?) *Kapırçak 'box, Koffer' > OT {DTS} qabırcaq, OT Kr qapırcaq id., OT {Cl.} qabarčāq '?', Tk koburçuk 'coffin', Tkm gapıržaq 'box, Koffer', Qzq qabıršaq, Qrg, StAlt qabırčiq, Tlt {Rl.} qabırčaq 'fish scale, mollusk shell'; Blgh б → Hg kopoposó 'coffin', T б → M: WrM qağurcağ, qaуırcağ {MED} 'small box, chest', HIM хуурцаг, хайрцаг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Kasten, Truhe, kleiner Koffer, шкатулка', Brt хуурцаг 'coffin', Kl {KRS} хээрцг 'Kästchen, шкатулка'. {Rm.} χārcāğ 'Kiste, Schachtel', Ord χārc'aq 'boîte rectangulaire, petit bassin rectangulaire' ¶ Cl. 586-7, ET KQ 276-8, DTS 399, Rl. II 451, MED 899, BMR IV 21, 178, Kow. 760, Gl. II 86, KRS 587, KW 180, Pp. MA 285, Ms. O 347, Krg. 238, BT 72 ¶ Tekin (Tekin ZS 61, Tekin OZS 127) suggested that WrM qağurcağ goes back to pT *qabturğa (i.e. *kabturğa) 'pocket' || M (d.?) *qabturğan 'bag' > MM [MA] {Pp.} qabturğa 'pocket', WrM qabtagan {MED} 'bag, pouch, purse; pocket', HIM хавтга {MED, BMR} id., Ord g_ab_t'arg_a 'sachet, bourse qu'on porte suspendue à la ceinture dans laquelle on met le tabac et la pipe', WrO хабтага ~ хабтаха 'bag, pouch, pocket', Kl {KRS} хавтх 'pocket', {Rm.} χαρταχα 'Tasche, große Seitentasche', Kl Ö {Rm.} χαπτρυα 'Beutel, Tasche'; M б → Alt {Rm.} qaptırya 'small leather bag', {BT} 'small box for threads, buttons and needles' ¶ MED 910, 914, BMR IV 7, Kow. 760, Gl. II 86, KW 167, KRS 562, Pp. MA 285, Ms. O 282, Krg. 238 || *AdS* of Tg *χapsa 'bag' (< pA *k'apsa < N *K̄aP̄, ∇, Sa 'box') > Ewk awsa, Lm awсъ id., Ork χapsau, χapsaw 'bag, box (коробка)', WrMc {Z} абса 'box of birch bark (түес), boat of birch bark' ¶ STM I 9, Z 26 || pJ {S} *kārī 'scoop, ladle, spoon' > OJ kapīi, MJ kâφí id. ¶ ≈ S QJ no. 149, Mr. 433 ¶¶ The long vw. in pA *K̄āp'a may be explained by complementary lengthening (pN *-abE? > **-ab? > pA *-āp'-). The short *a in the initial syll. of T *Kapırçak 'box' needs explanation. This T word may have been re-borrowed from eM *qaburçaq. Tekin (Tekin ZS 61, Tekin OZS 127) suggested that *Kapırçak is derived from T *kabır 'bark of trees' ¶¶ SDM 763-4 (pA *k'âp'â 'a kind of vessel, box' > T *kapırçak and *Kapsak, M *qağurçay, Tg, J), DQA no. 972, Vld. 206 || *AdS* of K: G k̄uprieli, Sv k̄upr 'wineskin' (< N *k̄'ü'Ry∇p∇ 'sack, wicker basket' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The K root suggests N *k̄-, but since the N word in question is not the main source of the K word,

one cannot distinguish between N *k̥- and *g̥- ¶¶ DCh. 635, Ni. s.v. 'мѣхъ', TK 351, GP 132 ¶ K *-p̥- is likely to go back to N *-b̥ʋʔ-.

987. *k̥äbʔâ 'bite' (→ 'eat') > IE: NaIE *g̥ebʰ- v. 'eat, gnaw, chew' > Lt 1s pres. žėbiũ / inf. žė̃bti v. 'eat slowly', 1s pres. žė̃biũ / inf. žė̃beti 'essen, picken' | Sl *zoba-: pSl inf. *zōbati 'to eat' > OCS **ИЗОБАТИ** izobati 'to eat up' ('aufessen, verzehren') (of a person) ({StSS} 'поестъ'), **ОЗОБАТИ** ozobati 'to eat off, to destroy (e.g. a vineyard)' (of an animal) ({StSS} 'объестъ, съестъ'), **ПОЗОБАТИ** pozobati 'to eat/peck up' (of birds) ({StSS} 'склеватъ'), SCr zōbati, Slv zōbati, Blr за'баць, 'зобаць, Uk Δ зо'бати, Cz zobati, Slk zobat' 'to eat (esp. corn, fodder)' (of animals), Blg зобам 'eat (esp. corn, fodder)'; ⇨ Sl *zōbъ 'food (corn) for animals' > Blg зоб id., Slv zōb f. 'fodder corn', SCr zōb id., 'oats', Cz zob 'fodder for birds', P zób 'fodder (корм)' ||| MHG kifer 'to gnaw, to chew' | NaIE *g̥embʰ- 'bite, tear asunder' (× N *k̥æmʋ 'to bite') > Arm ծամեմ camem 'I chew' (aor. ծամեցի camecʰi), ծամելի cameli 'jaw, cheek' ||| OI jambhatē 'snaps at', {P} 'schnappt', caus. Vd jam'bhayati 'crushes to pieces', Av hām ... zambayadwem 'zertrümmert!' (inv. 2p) ||| Lt 1s pres. žembiũ / inf. žem̃bti 'cut into pieces' | Sl 1s pres. *zēb-ŋ / inf. *zē-ti 'tear asunder, lacerate' > OCS 1s pres. **ЗАБЪ** zēb-ŋ / inf. ***ЗАТИ** zē-ti 'lacerare', R зябъ, Uk зя'бля 'land ploughed in autumn for spring sowing' | ⇨ *g̥ombʰo-s 'tooth' (× NaIE *genbʰ- / *gnobʰ- 'peg, stick' < N *g̥än̥ʋ, 'p̥'ʋ 'stem, stick, stake, picket', q.v.) > OI 'jambha-h̥ 'tooth, tusk' ||| Gk γόμφου-ς 'grinder tooth, molar', Gk γόμφου-ς {EI} 'large wedge-shaped bolt or nail' ||| pAl {O} *zamba > Al: T dhēmb, G dhamb 'tooth' ||| Sl *zǫbъ (gen. *zǫ'ba) id. > OCS **ЗАБЪ** zǫbъ, Blg зъб, SCr zūb, Slv zōb, Cz, Slk zub, P ząb, R, Uk зуб 'tooth' | Blt *žambas 'tooth' (⇨ BltF *šambas > F hammas id.) > Ltv zóbs id., Lt žam̃bas 'sharp corner, edge', d. žam̃bis 'wooden plough' ||| OHG kamb 'comb', {Kb.} 'crest, crown', ON kamb, NNr kamb, Sw, Dn kam, OSx kamb, NHG Kamm, AS camb 'comb', NE comb ||| pTc {Ad.} *keme > Tc A kam, Tc B keme 'tooth' ¶ P 369 (on *g̥embʰ-, *g̥ombʰo-), M K I 419, F I 319-20, Kb. 527, Lx. 107, O 82, StSS 242, 257, 407, 466, Glh. 699-702, BER I 650-1, SJSS XII 692, XIII 755, XXIII 524-5 and XXVI 115, Frn. 1288-9, 1294-5, Srz. I 1015, Vs. II 102, 106 and 110-11, Vr. 299, Ho. 43,

Ho. S 40, OsS 470-1, Slr. 254-5, Wn. I 186, Ad. 194, Ad. H 34, 38, ≠ P 382 (without distinguishing IE *ǵebʰ- 'eat, gnaw, chew' from *ǵepʰ)- ~ *ǵebʰ 'jaw, mouth') || HS: WS *^o✓k̥bʔ ~ *^o✓k̥ʔb > Ar ✓qbʔ 'manger, se remplir de boisson', ✓qʔb 'manger et boire, prendre ce qui est dans un vase' (× N *k̥obE 'full; whole'); (??) +ext.: S *^o✓k̥bç > Mh, Hrs ✓k̥bç v. 'sting, bite' (of a scorpion/snake) ¶ BK II 656-7, Jo. M 222, Jo. H 73 || K: GZ *k̥b- v. 'bite' ⇨ *k̥b-en-/*kb-in- v. 'bite' > OG, G k̥ben-/k̥bin-, Mg k̥ibir-, Lz k̥ibi(n)- v. 'bite'; ⇨ K *k̥b-il- 'tooth' > OG, G k̥bili, Mg k̥zbir- ~ k̥ibir-, Lz k̥ibi(r)- ~ k̥ibr- ~ k̥irb- ~ çibr- id. ¶ K 106-7, K² 87, Schm. 16-17, FS K 171 || A *k'äP̄u 'bite' > Tg *керу- v. 'gnaw, bite' (× pA *k'äb|p̄- < N *k'äȳw̄ 'chew') > Orc k̥zputi- id., 'gnaw through', Ud k̥zpuğz- v. 'bite in pieces' ('разгрызать'), Lm k̥v̄ri-, k̥v̄r̄z- 'gnaw, bite' ¶ Tg *-p- is from A *-P̄- < N *-bʔ- ¶ STM I 442, 452 || T: [1] T *k'äb- v. 'chew' > OT {Cl.}, OT Kr кеv-, Tk геv- id., Yk kebiy- 'gnaw'; T *k'äbiE- 'ruminate, chew' > OT k̥ävš̄ä- 'chew the cud', Chg k̥ävš̄ä-, Az кəвшə- ḡöṽš̄ä- ~ кəjšə- ḡöyš̄ä- 'chew', Tkm ḡävüš̄ä-, Tk Δ geṽš̄en-, Uz kaṽš̄ä-, ET köyši- ~ köši-, Δ köš̄ä-, Qmq güyš̄ä-, Bsh k̥yš̄ä-, Nog küyze-, Qq güyše-, Qzq küyše-, Qrg küyš̄ö-, Qrg, StAlt керš̄ä-, Tv keṽž̄en- 'ruminate', Ggz geṽš̄en-, VTt küš̄ä- 'chew, ruminate', Xk kipsen- 'eat/ruminate (while walking)', Chv L кавле-, Chv Δ кавля- ~ кевле- ~ калле- 'ruminate'; T *k'äbií 'cud' > MT кеv̄iš̄, Az ḡöyüš̄, Tkm ḡävüš̄, Xlj k̄äv̄iš̄, Bsh koyöš̄, Qzq küyis 'cud' ¶ SDM 667, Cl. 687, 692, BT 80, TvR 234, KrkR 142, Jud. 462, YkR 216, Ash. VI 18, 187-8, Fed. I 210-11, Jeg. 84, ChVS 64 || [2] T *Kap- v. 'bite' (× T *Kap- 'grasp, seize' < N *Ḳap̄ ~ *Ḳap̄ id.) > Az, Tkm ḡap-, Nog qab-, ET {BN} qap- v. 'bite', Qq qap-, Qzq qab- id., 'seize with the teeth', Uz қоп- қар- v. 'bite' (of animals), VTt qab- v. 'take into the mouth, seize with the teeth', Qrg, StAlt qap- v. 'seize with mouth/teeth', Bsh qab- v. 'bite', Tf q̄ap- v. 'seize with the mouth' (of a flying insect), v. 'bite' (of a fish), Chv жьп- x̄ip/b̄- v. 'take into the mouth, eat' ¶ The vw. *a in T *Kap- may belong to the heritage of *Ḳap̄ ~ *Ḳap̄ ¶ Rs. W 218, ET KQ 264-6, Ra. 218, Ash. XVI 84, ARL 73, TkR 154, KrkR 373, MM 419, NogR 131, TatR 200, Jud. 343, BT 72, UzR 622, BN 118, Fed. II 380 ¶ The merger of T *Kap- v. 'bite' with T *Kap- 'seize' explains the polysemy in Az ḡap- v. 'grasp, bite', Qq qap-, Qzq qab- id., 'seize with the teeth', Tkm ḡap- v. 'catch (sth. thrown in the

air), seize, bite', Chv \times IP- v. 'take into the mouth, seize', Qrg ϱ ap- v. 'seize with hands, seize with the mouth\teeth' etc.; there is also infl. of the onomatopoeic factor. The pT back vw. *a may be explained by those two factors and/or by vw. harmony: pA *k'äp₁'₁u > *Kap- || M *kebi- 'chew' > MM кеби- id., WrM {MED} кеби-, HIM {MED, BMR} хэвэ-, Brt жибэ- 'ruminate, chew the cud', Kl {KRS} кеv- кеv- 'chew the cud', {Rm.} кеw- 'wiederkauen, aifstoßen', ShY кеwə- 'ruminate, chew the cud', Mnr H {SM} k'ēyi-, Ord k'ewe- 'ruminer' ¶ MED 439, BMR IV 204, KRS 288, KW 2129, SM 199, Ms. O 418, SM 199 || pJ *kùp- 'eat' > OJ kup-, MJ kùφ-, J T kú-, J K\Kg kù-, J Ht hò-, J Y φú- id. ¶ pJ *-u- may be due to mt. (infl. of the pA word-final *-u) ¶ Mr. 718, S AJ 269 [no. 119], S QJ no. 119, Kenk. 1124-5 ¶¶ The cns. *k'- in pA *k'äp₁u (and in T *k'äb- and *k'äbií) belongs to the heritage of N *käy_w∇ 'chew' ¶¶ SDM 667 (pA *kēpu- 'chew' > T *gēb- [i.e. *k'äb-], Tg, M, J), KW 229, Pp. VG 20, 46, S AJ 15, 89, 109, 279, TL 227, ADb. SR 14. Oz. NM 208-9 || D *ka_vv- ~ *kapp-, {GS} *kabb- > Tm ka_vv_u (p. ka_vv_i), ka_uv_u (p. ka_uv_i) v. 'seize with the mouth', ka_vv_u n. 'bite, seizing by the mouth (as dog), eating', kapp_u v. 'gorge, cram into mouth', Ml ka_uv_uka v. 'seize with mouth, bite', kap_uka 'snap at, eat as a dog or a madman', Tl ka_vv_u v. 'seize by mouth', ? Png/Mnd kap- 'bite', Kui kavali giva v. 'chew the cud', Ku gab- v. 'eat fast', ? kap- v. 'eat fast like a dog'; D б→ OI kavala 'mouthful, morsel', Pali kabala 'small piece, mouthful'; the variant *kapp- may be due to contamination with N *Kap∇ ~ *Kap_u∇ 'to seize' ¶¶ D *-pp- < N *-b?- ¶¶ D no. 1222, GS 107 [no. 279] || ?σ U: FU *°kapp- > Er Δ {Jv.} каподемс kapod-ems inf. 'to swallow', Mk 'каподемс kapod-ams id., Δ {Jv.} 'to take sth. into the mouth' (× N *Kap∇ ~ *Kap_u∇ '↑') (N *-b?- > *-p- > FU *-pp- > Mr -π-) (× FU {Sz.} *kapp- '≈ grasp, take' < N *Kap∇ ~ *Kap_u∇ '↑') ¶ Jv. 176, PI 101-2 ◇ The vw. *a in FU *°kapp- and T *k'ap- (as mentioned above) may be due to regr. as. (N *ä...â > *a...∇) ◇ IE *ġ- for the expected *k̂- is due to the IE rejection of **teg^h-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) ◇ IS I 313-14 (without distinguishing between N *k̂abʔâ 'to bite' and N *Kap∇ ~ *Kap_u∇ 'to seize') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 60 (*kep 'bite').

988. *KæbL∇ (or *KæLb∇?) 'to support, to lean' ([in IE] → 'to help') > IE: NaIE *k̂elb- ~ *k̂elp- ~ ? *g₁^helb₁^h- 'help' (different

results of compulsory dis. from the original $**\widehat{k}elb^h-$, due to the IE root-structure rejection of $**teg^h-$ -roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same \check{v}) > Gt hilpan, ON hjalpa, OSx, AS helpan, NE help, OHG helfan, NHG helfen 'to help' || Lt ls pres. šelpiù / inf. šeĩpti v. 'support', (NaIE $*g_l^h,elb_l^h-$ >) OLt gélbti, Lt gelbéti, Ltv gēlbēt inf. 'to help', Pru galbimai 'we help' ¶ WP I 447, P 554, EI 266 ($*\widehat{k}elb-$), Fs. 255-6, Vr. 231, Ho. 154, Kb. 451, Schz. 163, KM 302, Frn. 144, 971-2, En. 17, Tr. P E-H 134-6 || HS: B ✓ kb| v. 'support' > Ah əkbəl 'soutenir (empêcher de tomber en étayant par dessus ou par côté)', ETwl, Ty əkbəl 'soutenir, maintenir debout' ¶ Fc. 729-30, GhA 88 || A: M $**kelbe-$ (× N $*\check{K}iy_l\nabla_l\acute{I}i$ 'to bend, to bow') ⇨ $*kelbey-$ v. 'lean \ be inclined (to one side), deviate' > WrM kelbey- {SDM} id., HIM хэлбий- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'incline, bend; deviate (уклоняться)', Brt хэлбы- 'be inclined (быть наклонным)', Kl {Rm.} kelwi- 'sich lehnen, seitwärts biegen', Ord k'elbī- 'être hors de son aplomb, pencher'; M ⇨ WrMc {Z} кэлфи- v. 'lean, incline to one side'; M $*kelberi-$ > WrM {MED} kelberi- ~ kilbüri- 'lean, incline', HIM хэлбэрэ- {MED} id.; {BMR} 'vom richtigen Weg abweichen', MM [S] kelberil- (caus. of kelberi-) 'schief\schräg werden lassen', kelbes 'mit einer Wendung' ¶ MED 446, 466-7, BMR IV 208-9, Chr. 642, Kow. 2531-2, Ms. H 69, H 97, KW 224, Ms. O 411, Z 269-70.

989. $*\check{K}'\acute{a}'\acute{c}U$ or $*\check{K}'\acute{a}'\acute{c}\nabla w\nabla$ 'wild goat' ([in some HS lges] → 'e antelope') > K $*\acute{o}k'icw-$ ~ $*k'wic-$ 'female ibex', (?) 'colt' > O G $k'icw-$, G Δ, Mg $k'vic-$ 'colt', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} $k'wic-ra$ 'female ibex' ¶¶ K² 95, TK 354-5, Ni. s.v. 'коза' || HS: B [1] $*\check{v}us'y'$ 'goat, sheep' > ETwl, Ty te-yse (pl. ta-ysiwen) 'goat, sheep', Ah {Fc.} ti-yse, Gh {Nh.} čičsi, Kb {Dl.} tixsi 'goat', Izn/Rf {Rn.} tixsi (pl. Izn tixaswin) 'sheep'] ?? [2] $*\check{v}kss$ > Tmz {MT} a-ksas (pl. i-ksas-n) 'mouton à laine courte ou frisée', ? Kb ✓ kss 'commencer à brouter (agneau, chevreau)' ¶ GhA 73, MT 351, Dl. 424-5, 908, Fc. 908, 1781, Rn. 366, Nh. 141 || NrOm {Blz.} $*keṣ-$ 'goat' > Bnc {Wdk.} kēš, Gmr {Bul.} кэцъ id. ¶ Blz. OL no. 147, Wdk. BY 105 || Ch: WCh: Hs káčáwřì 'male duiker' (unless from Niger-Congo lges, F Hehe {Sk. ← ?} kicimba 'dikdik'), Ngz {Sch.} gáskâḷ 'roan antelope (*Hippotragus equinus koba*)' || CCh: Mkt {Sk. ← ?} kucub 'gazelle' (unless from the afore-mentioned Niger-Congo source), Klb kušiši 'goat', FB kàžàrən

'gazelle' ¶ JS s.v. Hs káčáwřì, Ba. 586, Sch. DN 70, Sk. HCD 140, ChL III 28 || A: T *k'äç i or ?? *k'äçü (Md.) *k'e-č'i 'goat' > NaT *k_äç i or ?? *k_äçü > OT Og, Chg káč i, Kr káč i, Tk keç i, Az, Ggz keč i, MQp {Cl.} kă:č i ~ kăš i, Tkm, NWXT A, NrXT D1/Shu/Ze, NETX G/J/L geč i, SEXT Chs, SWXT H/QB/SA gáč i, SEXT XO gáčč i, NrXT D2, NWXT ShT gečč i, NrXT Dg geč i, SWXT J/PK gáč i, NrXT L, NEXM M, NrXT Q geč i, SEXT R gatč i, Xlj {DT} gočü, VTt kăžă, Bsh kăžă, ET K {Bu.} kăčk i id. || Chv L качака kaž_a-g_a 'goat', Chv (Δ?) {Ash.} кача kaž_a 'she-goat'; it is not clear if NaT *üçkü ~ (dis.?) *eçkü 'goat' has anything to do with this N word, it may go back to N *gužê '≈ sheep, goat' (q.v. ffd.) with the T dim. sx *-k∇, but mutual infl. of both etl. sources is highly probable ¶ ≈ Cl. 24, Rs. W 246, ET VGD 34-6, ≈ TL 426, DT 108, Bu. II 116, Ash. VI 169-70, Fed. I 242, Jeg. 95, ChVS 75, Md. 35 (pT *k'e-č'i), DH ChT no. 123 (in word lists of different XT dialects), Shch. Zh 117-18 ◇ The unexpected *k_ω- in K *k_ωic- is still to be explained (mt. *k_īc_ω- > *k_ωic-?). If the N etymon is *k'ä'ć∇ω∇ (as suggested by Ch), the final syll. was lost in T ◇ AD NM no. 44, S CNM 10 (÷÷ NrCs).

990. *k_ēc∇ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *kēs- v. 'cut, stab, chop' > OI śas- v. 'cut down, slaughter' || Gk κεάζω v. 'split, cleave (wood)', Gk Hm κείων acp. 'cleaving' || OIr ces 'spear' | ⇨ NaIE {P} *k_ōstro- 'knife, spear, javelin', {EI} *kōs-trom ~ *kōs-dhrom 'cutting instrument, knife' > OI śastram 'knife, dagger' || Gk κέστρο {LS} 'hammer; bolt (hammered in to pack τόνου in a torsion engine)' ({By} 'marteau pointu, poinçon') || pAl {O} *cestrā > Al thadēr 'adze' || d.: L castrō, -āre v. 'castrate' ¶ P 586, Mn. 494, 614, EI 336, F I 806, ≈ F I 820-1 (κέστρο ⇨ κεντέω v. 'prick, goad'), LS 944, WH I 179-80, M K III 319, M E II 626, Vn. C 79, Vr. 225, YGM-1 84, O 471 || K {IS} *°k_āç-/*°k_č- v. 'cut', (?) 'chop' > Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB {IS ← Top.} k_č- 'chop', {GP} msd. li-k_č-e 'chop down (a tree)', {IS ← Top.} na-k_āč_ω 'scar (рубец)', {GP} na-k_āč_ω 'chopped; wounded with a knife', Sv L {IS ← Top.} k_č- v. 'cut', {Dn.} k_č-/ k_īč- 'cut off' ¶ IS I 320, GP 175, 230 (with k for k_ due either to the idiolect of the Svan lge speaker [Ms. Chato Gudjedjani] or to inaccurate recording), Dn. s.v. k_īč || H S *k_∇c- > amb S: [1] *°√ k_śś > ĩ BHb √ k_śś Po (3m ip. םבּוּק' yāqō'ses) 'tear out, pluck out' [Ex. 17.1] (a qu. traditional interpretation based on the JA Targum translation םבּוּק' yāqō'p 'he will pluck'), MHb {Lv.}

הַחֲסִיּוֹת *ḥasā'sā* (pl. חֲסִיּוֹת *ḥasā'sōt*) 'abgeschnittenes Stück, Erdscholle', MHb ✓ *ḥss* (pf. חָסַס *ḥāsas*) 'zerkauen'; [2] S *✓ *ḥçç* ~ *✓ *ḥçy* v. 'cut off' (as. **ḥç* < S **ḥs*) (× N **ḥUç∇* 'cut\chop into small pieces' × N **ḥoç∇* 'cut off' × N **Ḥeç'a* 'tip, end [extremity]') > BHb ✓ *ḥçç D* (pf. חָצַע *ḥiç'eç*) v. 'chop off, trim', Ug ✓ *ḥṣṣ* {OLS} 'cut (trinchar)', Sr ✓ *ḥṣṣ* (pf. حَصَّ *ḥasṣ*) 'cut off', JA {Js.} ✓ *ḥçç G* (pf. חָצַע *ḥaç* ~ חָצַע *ḥa'çaç*) 'cut, fell', JEA {Sl.} ✓ *ḥçç G* 'cut down\off', Ar ✓ *ḥṣṣ G* (pf. قَصَّ *qaṣṣa*) v. 'cut off', Ak {Sd.} ✓ *ḥṣṣ* (inf. *ḥasṣāṣu*) 'abschleifen'; CS *✓ *ḥçy* > BHb ✓ *ḥçy|w D* (pf. חָצַע *ḥiç'eçā*) 'cut off piece by piece, break\chop off', Pun ✓ *ḥṣy D* v. 'cut, extirpate', JA {Js.} ✓ *ḥçy* (pf. חָצַע *ḥa'çē*) ~ ✓ *ḥçw* (pf. חָצַע *ḥa'çā*) 'cut, break into pieces', JEA ✓ *ḥçy G* 'cut off, set aside', Sr ✓ *ḥṣw* (pf. حَصَّ *ḥasṣā*), ChrPA حَصَّ *ḥṣ?* (= ✓ *ḥṣw*) v. 'break off (bread)', Ar ✓ *ḥṣw* (pf. قَصَّ *qaṣṣā*) 'couper le bout d'une oreille (d'une chamelle\brebis)', [3] S (+ext.) *✓ *ḥsm* v. 'cut' > MHb {Js.} ✓ *ḥsm Sh* 'cut', SmA ✓ *ḥsm v. G* 'divide', Ar ✓ *ḥsm v. G* {BK} 'casser\ rompre de manière que les deux parties se séparent', {Hv.} 'divide, distribute, separate', Ak ✓ *ḥsm* (inf. *ḥasām*) v. 'cut (trees, wood), cut weeds, cut\chop herbs' (with reg. deglottalization responsible for the absence of **ḥs*-roots in Ak), MHb {Lv.} חָסַם *ḥī'sēm* 'chip, splinter', JEA {Sl.} חָסַם *ḥê'smā* 'chip' (→ NHb חָסַם *ke(y)'sam* id.); S *✓ *ḥsm* v. 'practice divination' (> Hb, SmA, Sr, Md, Sb, Gz ✓ *ḥsm* id.) hardly belongs here, it is semantically nearer to WS **ḥisṣṣm*- 'share' (→ 'lot') (see N **Ḥawc'∇* 'share [Anteil]') ¶ CAD VIII 240-1, BK II 737-9, 755-6, Hv. 605, 607, Klein 577 and 585, HJ 1022, KB 1041-2, 1046, 1050-1, KBR 1116, 1125-6, BDB no-s 7096 and 7112, OLS 376, Js. 1397, 1405, 1407, Sl. 1014, 1033-4, Tal 789, Sd. 457, Lv. IV 346-7, 362 || ?σ B *✓ *ḥs* (< *✓ *ḥs*), *✓ *ḥqs* (× N **ḥUç∇* 'cut\chop into small pieces') > Tz -*ḥas-* (~ -*ḥaz-*) 'zwicken, stechen', Izd {Mrc.} ḥḥas 'piquer (insecte)', Kb ḥḥusu 'être fendu' ¶ Stm. 181, Dl. 629, Mrc. 193 || U: FU (att. in Prm) **ke|äç∇*- v. 'cut' > pPrm {LG} **koç*- v. 'cut' (→ 'cause pain') ({LG} 'рубить, резать, колоть') > Vt *kaça- kača-* vt. 'skin and chop into pieces (a carcass)', {Mu.} *kačal-* (= *kačal-*) v. 'cut\chop into pieces (meat, wood)', Z *kočog* *kočog* 'colic', Z Sk *kočog b+čkz* 'has a stitch in his side' (LG consider the correlation Z 0 ÷ Vt a to be a typical reflex of **ç* when followed by

a palatal cns.) ¶ LG 137 || ?ϕ A: Tg *χεje- v. 'unrip, rip up' > Nn Nh χ3ž3-li- id., χ3ž3-či- frq. id., χ3ž3-k3 'unripped', Ul χ3ž3-li- ~ χ3ž3-č3-, Ork χ3d3-çi-, Orc 3ž3ti-, Ud 3ž3si-, Ewk, Neg 3j3-, Lm 3d- / 3j- v. 'unrip, rip up' ¶ STM II 439, Krm. 313, On. 486 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 786 (pA *k'ēž'a|o 'rip, tear apart' > Tg + unc.: M *qaž'a- v. 'bite' and T *Kajira- v. 'whet, sharpen'), ≈ DQA no. 1021 (id.) ¶¶ The voicing of the intervocalic N affricate in Tg still defies explanation || D (att. in CD) *kēč' - ({ϑGS} *k-) 'shave' (with puzzling quality of the vw.) (× N *K̄ayCä 'hair'??) > Prj kēč'-, Gdb kēs- v. 'shave', Gdb kesal 'razor' ¶ D no. 1995 ◇ IS I 320-1 [no. 196] (HS, K, IE + *÷ U *kăć∆ / keć∆ 'knife, point', ? A *k'äsä, ? D *kacc- v. 'bite'). A {DQA} *k'ăsi 'cut; piece' (> T *k'äsä-) hardly belongs here because of the irreg. *s (for the expected affricate). D *kacc- v. 'bite' is not a reliable cognate (≠σ). The forms ascribed by IS to the U root *kăć∆ / keć∆ belong in fact to FU *keč'∇ 'knife' (UEW 142) and to FU *kaća 'Ende, Spitze' (UEW 110) (actually from N *K̄ec'ra' 'tip, end').

990a. *k̄ec'∇ 'clay, earth' > HS: WS *kaçç- > Ar qaçç- 'gypsum', {BK} 'plâtre', Sq {L} qaçç(ç) [= kaçç(ç)] 'plâtre, argile' ¶ BK II 745, Hv. 607, L LS 382-3 || ??ϕ,σ WCh: Hs k̄ásă, Gw {Mts.} kaša ≍ kasa 'earth, soil, land' ¶ Abr. H 494-5, Ba. 575-6, Mts. G s.v. kaša ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 168 (Hs, Gw + unc. parallels in branches of HS) || K *k̄ec- 'clay, clay vessel' (× N *k̄o?ac'∇ 'basket, wickerwork', [in descendant lges) → 'earthen vessel') > OG k̄ec- 'clay, earthen vessel, tile', G k̄eci, Mg k̄ici ≍ k̄eci 'frying pan of clay', Lz k̄ic- 'pan of stone', Sv UB/LB/Ln/L k̄ec 'large earthen wine pitcher (dug in the earth)', 'grand pot (creusé dans la terre)', ʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒʒ ¶¶ K 108 (GZ *k̄ec- 'clay'), K² 90, FS K 175, FS E 191, Abul. 197, Chx. 573, 575, Q 259, TK 347 || D: SD *keč'ar- 'mud' > Kn kesar 'wet soil, mud', Tu kesarъ 'mud, mire' ¶ ≈ D no. 2020 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135 [no. 12] (incl. K, S, Hs, D).

991. ₂ *k̄ic'∇ (or *K̄ic'∇?) 'thigh' > IE: NaIE *keijs- 'thigh, forearm (Vorderarm), thigh muscle' (infl. of N *gi'č'∇ 'hip, thigh' [q.v.]) > Dt hijs, hijszē {vD} 'piece of smoked meat (stuk rookvlees)', {P} 'Muskel, Lendenstück, Keule', Dt Lm hies 'popliteal space' || Lt kiš-kà 'thigh, haunch', {Frn.} 'Kniekehle, Unterschenkel, Hachse (von Tieren)', Ltv cis-ka 'thigh, haunch' || ?? OI kiśku- 'forearm' (Frn.: k- for the expected c- due to the infl. of kakṣā 'Achselgrube'; it may alternatively be explained as a Dravidism from

ppD ***kic̥-**) ¶ WP I 365, P 543, Frn. 260, ≠ M K I 213, M E I 355 (kīṣku- 'Stiel einer Axt' → later 'forearm'), Kar. I 182 (Ltv cīṣka and Lt kiška < *kikšā through mt.) || **HS:** S ***kis̥-** 'thigh, loins' > Ak kislum, kaslu 'thigh, thigh muscle (Lende, Lendenmuskel)', BHb כִּסְלָא 'kēsēl, JA [Trg.] kis̥l-ā 'loins, side', Ug kasl {A} id. (coll.), {OLS} 'lomo, espalda', SmA (ʔ)kasl 'loins', Ar kisl- {Fr.} 'nervus dimissus de arcu', {WKAS} 'die Sehne des zum Krempeln der Wolle gebrauchten Bogens' ¶ KB 466, KBR 489, BDB no. 3689, Js. 654, Tal 401, Sd. 486, A no. 1357, OLS 226, WKAS I 194, MiK I no. 1.153 ◇ Here S ***k-** results from deglottalization of N ***k̥-** (rather than of ***q̥-**), which suggests a pN ***k̥-**, but the argument is not decisive, because the deglottalization could occur later than the merger of N ***k̥-** and ***q̥-**.

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

993. *kʷas- 'basket, wickerwork' ([in descendant lges] → 'earthen vessel') > IE {EI} *kʷas- 'basket' ⇨ NaIE *kʷas-yo-, *kʷas-lo- 'wicker basket' ('geflochtener Korb'), 'Flechtwerk' and *kʷe(:)sɟā 'vessel': [1] *kʷas-yo-, *kʷas-lo- 'wicker basket' > L *quālu-m* ~ *quālu-s* id. (< *kʷaslo-m/-s, as can be seen from the dim. *quāsillu-m/-s* with -s- from an emphatic *-ss-) ||| pSl *kòšb (*kʷasjos) / gen. *koš'a 'basket' > OCS, OR **кoшb** **кoшb**, Blg, R **Δ** **кoш**, SCr **кòš**, Slv **кòš**, Cz, LLus **кoš**, Slk **кôš**, HLus **кòš**, P **кoшz**, Uk **кiш** 'basket', pSl *koš'elb, *koš'ela, *koš'elb 'wickerwork, a wattle, Geflecht' > LLs **кóš'ela** 'wattle fence', OP, P **кoшz'ela**, OR **кoш'elb** **кoš'elb** 'wicker basket', R **кoш'ель** id., 'small sack' | [2] *kʷe(:)sɟā 'vessel' > pSl *č'áš'a 'cup' > OCS, OR **чаша** **чаша**, R 'чаша' 'cup, bowl', Blg 'чаша' 'a glass', SCr **чаша** 'bowl', Slv **чаша** 'cup, a glass', P **czasza**, OCz **čieše**, Cz **číše** 'bowl' | Pru [El.] **kiosi** · "Becher" ||| OI 'cāṣakaḥ' 'drinking cup'; Irn ⇨ Arm **ճաշակ** **č'ášak** 'cup, mug, glass' ¶ WP I 507, P 635, EI 52, WH II 397, M K I 380, ESSJ IV 30-1, XI 187-9 and 195-7, StSS 292, Glh. 173, 337, SPS II 117-18, En. 193, Tr. P I-K 371-3 || **HS: S** *kaʷas- 'vessel' > BHb **כוס** **kōs**, SmHb {BH} **kuwāš** 'shell-shaped goblet, cup', Ug, Ph, IA, Htr **כס**, Ph **כס** (כ < *k...?), SmA **כס** ~ **כאכ** **kʷs** 'cup', JA **כוס** **kā's-ā** ~ **כוס** **kas's-ā** {Js.} 'cup, calyx', JEA {Sl.} **כוס** **kā's-ā** 'cup, bowl', Sr **كأس** **kās** / **كؤ** **kā's-ā**, Md **каса** 'drinking bowl, cup', Ar **كأس** **kaʷs-** '(wine) cup' ({BK} 'coupe à boire [surtout remplie de vin]'), Ak **kāsū** 'drinking bowl'; SCn *kōs- ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} **кṷ-сṷ** 'cup', {EG} **кC** 'Krug aus Metall', Eg L **кз** 'vessel of silver' ¶ KB 444 (WS ⇨ Ak), KBR 466, OLS 225, BH II 491 and IV 136, HJ 521, 1018, A no. 1348, PS 1776, BK II 849-50, WKAS I 13-14, Js. 652, Sl. 590, Tal 399-400, DM 199, Sd. 454, CAD VIII 253-6, SivCR 9, 20, 47 and 86, EG V 148, Hlk 523 [no. 265], Tk. AANM 1 ¶ The distribution of the vowels and the glottal stop in the lges provides ev. for a pS *¹CaʷaC-structure; the hyp. of Sum origin of the S word is unfounded (CAD VIII 256) || B *k¹ū¹ss- 'pot, drinking vessel' > Ah, Gh **akus** (pl. **ikassan**) 'pot, vase pour boire', Gd **twkəs** (pl. **təkassan**) id. ¶ Fc. 911, Lf. II no. O317 || C: Ag: Xm {R} **кṷскṷсā** (pl. **кṷскṷс**) 'Wasserkrug'; Ag ⇨ EthS: Gz **kʷaskʷas** 'pitcher, pot', Tgy **kʷaskʷasti** 'phial of glass or metal' (⇨ Af {R} **кṷс'кṷс'тi** 'Gefäß, Krug, Schale'), Amh **кʷзскʷзst** 'water jug' ¶ L G 296, R Ch II 63, R A II 78 ¶¶ Ap. ANH 22 and Tk. AANM 1 (both:

Eg κс ← S) || K: [1] G κ̣vaçia 'small earthen pot' ¶ Chx. 575 || [2] K *κ̣ec- 'clay, earthen vessel' (× N *κ̣eć∇ 'clay, earth', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *koća 'basket (made of birch bark), vessel' > FΔ κοςιο, κала-κοςιο 'großer Fischkorb aus Birkenrinde' (κала 'fish'), Krl A κοζια, κοζια 'kleiner Rindenkorb mit Henkel aus Birkenrinde' | Lp: N {Fri.} гуо̄щ̄е 'Rindenkorb', T {Gn.} ki°šš'e, K {Gn.} kũjšš, Nt {Gn.} куо̄jšš 'Tragekorb aus Birkenrinde', Klt {TI} ко̄чек 'schmaler Korb aus Birkenrinde' | Mk куцю, Δ ко̄цу 'spoon' || ObU *kōć- > Vg Ss {Kn.} s̄ān-xos 'kleiner Rindenkorb', {BV} санхос 'чуманчик' (ε 'birch bark vessel'), Vg LK {Vxr.} s̄ān-xōs, s̄ān-xōsp id. (сан, s̄ān 'Birkenrindenschachtel', 'чуман' [ε 'birch bark vessel']); Os: V {Trs.} qoťa]k†, A/UA/Ty/Y/UY {Trs.} qōťi, Vy {Trs.} qōťəq 'a birch bark scoop used to drink water from and to scoop out water from a boat' ({KrT}: Os Ty qōťi, Os V qoťa]q† 'Trinkgefäß aus Birkenrinde', Os Vy qōćəq 'Rindenschachtel von der Form einer Schöpfkelle, die in die Wiege gestellt wird') ¶ UEW 192 (FU *kuć∇ 'Korb, Schachtel aus Birkenrinde') and 164 (FU *koća id., FU *koća or *kuća 'Trinkgefäß'), Gn. 194, TI 151, PI 137, BV 99, KrT 345, Trs. S 176, ≈ Sm. 544 (FU *к̣уц/щ̄ i 'birch bark vessel', FP *к̣ущ̄ i, Ugr *к̣ũčĩ [what does Sammallahti mean by Chr кууžaa, Vt коž, Z куžaa, where are they registered?], *к̣ũц̄äη id. > FP *к̣ũč̄ä-, Ugr *к̣ũč̄ä-) || A *k'āçu (or *k'U, aç∇) 'ε vessel (Gefäß)' > Tg *χaçu-χαν 'cauldron' > Orc χačuan, Ul χačoa(n-) 'cauldron', Ork χačyua(n-) 'suspended cauldron', Nn Nh χačoxã id., Nn KU χačoxoxã ~ χačã id., 'birch bark box', WrMc {Z} хачухань мучань 'small cauldron, three-legged cauldron for boiling water' (мучань is 'cauldron'), ?ф хань чухань 'cauldron (for coal)' ¶ STM I 464-5, On. 459, Z 379, 393, Vv. AEN IO (believing that in the AmTg lges the word id a loan from Mc) || NaT *Kāça 'ε vessel (Gefäß)' > ET Δ {Ml.} qaça 'clay bowl', {Jr.} qaça ~ qačä ~ qači 'bowl, vessel', Tkm qar qāžaq 'kitchen earthenware', Az qab qažaq 'tableware, dishes, kitchen ustensils', Tk каркасаk id., {Bu.} qar qačaq 'pots and pans' ¶ ET KQ 342-3, Rs. W 217, Ml. UN 122, Jr. 235, Bu. II 1 || ?ф M: WrM {Kow.} к̣үсе 'théière', {MED} күсе ~ г̣үсе 'small kettle used for tea, oil etc.', HIM г̣үц {MED} id., {BMR} 'чайник', Brt г̣үсэ 'small tea kettle' ¶ This M word makes the impression of being a loan from some unknown source and therefore is highly qu. as a cognate ¶ MED 388, 495, BMR I 476, Kow. 2613, Chr. 166 ¶¶ If the supposed M cognate does not belong here, the pA rec. is

*k'āč̣u, otherwise it is either *k'U₁ač̣∇ or *k'āč̣u (with regr. as. of the labial vw. in M) ¶¶ SDM 752 (pA *k'āč̣'a 'ε vessel' > T, Tg), DQA no. 984, S CNM 2 (pA *k'ač̣'a) || D (att. in SD) *ku|oč̣-a- (+ sx) ({†GS} *k-, ? *-s-) 'potter' > Tm kuyam (/ kucam- as the first member of cds) 'potter caste', kuyavan ~ kucavan 'potter', Ml kuyavan ~ kusavan id., Tm f. kuyatti ~ kucatti, Ml f. kuyatti 'potter (woman)', Tm kō, Kn kōva, kuvara, Tu kisave 'potter' ¶ D 1762 ◇ ≈ IS I 365 [no. 241] (*K₁Uc₁∇ = {IS} *K₁Uč̣∇): HS (incl. S *✓k₁wsr 'basket'), IE, U), ≈ AD NM no. 23, S CNM 2 (suggesting to adduce the T cognate). The change of vowel quality in A (*ā for the expected *ō) needs explanation, the word may be a loan ◇ Gr. II no. 75 (*koca 'container') (IE, U, J).

994. ₂ *ka₁H₂c|č̣∇ 'young man' (→ '[grown-up] man') > K *kač̣- 'man, person' > OG, G kač̣-i id., Mg, Lz kōč̣- id., Sv: UB/Ln č̣äṣ̌, L č̣äṣ̌ 'husband' ¶¶ K 106, K² 87, FS K 170-1, Schm. 118, Chik. 43, TK 860-1 || U: FU *ka₁:₁č̣a 'young man' > Chr L kače kače 'bridegroom, young man', {Ps.} kače, Chr Y {Tv.} kăč̣ь 'bridegroom' (Chr ↗ Chv L kač̣ă kăč̣ь, Chv Δ kač̣и 'unmarried young man, a youth, bridegroom'; the direction of the borrowing is suggested by the fact that the Chv word is isolated in T and A, while the Chr word has obvious cognates within U) || Vg: N {Mu.} xūś, ML {Mu.} khūś ~ khūš, P {Mu.} khūś 'servant; knave (of cards)', LL {Kn.} kxūś, Ss {Kn.} xūẓ̌ id., 'worker, serf', P/SV {Kn.} kuś, NV {Kn.} kūś 'knave (of cards)' || OHg hūś ~ hēs 'young man, hero', Hg hōś, Δ hēs 'hero' || Sm {Jn.} *ka₁sa (= {Jn.} *ka₁sa), {Hl.} *ka₁sa 'man, person' > Ng d. {Mik.} kōdumu, {Cs.} kajúmu, En {Ter., Cs.} kasa, Ne T xacava, Ne O {Lh.} xasaβ̣-ā id., xāṣ'e 'young man', Ne F Ny {Lh.} kas'sa 'man, young man', Kms {KD} k'usa, Koyb {Sp.} kyza 'man, person', Mt {Hl.} *ka₁:₁sa 'person' (Mt: M {Pl.} kasa, kaza, {Sp.} kazy, K/T {Mll.} chása, A {Adl.} chasa) ¶¶ Ps. OT 57 (Chr ↗ Chv), UEW 110 (Chr Y kăč̣ь 'bridegroom' ↗ Chv), Coll. 15, MRS 184, WVD VII 133, MK 130, MTE II 159, EWU 584, Jn. 61, Hl. M no. 438, Ash. VI 175-6, Fed. I 242, Jeg. 95, ChVS 75 ◇ IS I 315-16 [no. 191] (*kač̣∇ 'man, young man' > K, U) ◇ Sm *a₁ (= {Jn.} *a₁ = {Hl.} *a₁) points to a additional element (most probably lr.) within a √. This lr. (denoted as *H₂) may be *ʔ, *h, *ɣ, or *ħ (because these are the only laryngeals that yield zero in K) ◇ AD NM no. 23, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs).

995. ${}_2$ * $\text{Ḳawc}^1 \nabla$ 'share (Anteil)' (\rightarrow 'lot', 'fate') > **IE:** NaIE * kaus- ($\{\text{WP}\}$ * qau-s-) v. 'draw lots' > Gk $\{\text{LS}\}$ καυνός 'lot' (* kaus-no-s) (not καῦνος , as was believed earlier [\mathcal{F} P 537], but καυνός , on the ev. of Herodianus Grammaticus) ||| Sl * къщъ > RChS, OR къшь къщъ 'lot (Los), fate', ChS, OR къшнѣ сѣ къщити сѣ 'sortiri, to cast lots', прѣкъшнѣ прѣкъщити 'to win at dice' ¶ WP I 332, P 537, Ch. 506, LS 932, HrdG I 178, Bern. I 672, ESSJ XIII 247, Srz. I 1416 ||| **HS:** WS * $\text{ḱis}_L \nabla$ m- 'share' (\rightarrow 'lot') > Ar qism- 'portion, share', qismat- 'repartition, allotment; lot/fate (decided by God)', Hb קִּסְמָה ḱesem {KBR} 'prediction, survey of future events; decision (by means of an oracle)', SmA ḱsm 'division', JA קִּסְמָה ḱis'm-ā {Lv.} 'Zauberei, Ausspruch', {Js.} 'divination, divining tool', JA {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} ḱsm \checkmark ḱsm G 'divine', JEA {Sl.} קִּסְמָה ḱassā'mā 'diviner', Sr ḱesmā 'lot, sortilege, soothsaying', Plm $\text{ḱsm}^?$ 'soothsaying'; hence some d. verbs in descendant lges: Ar \checkmark qsm G v. 'divide, distribute', SmA \checkmark ḱsm v. 'divide', BHb \checkmark ḱsm G (ip. $-\text{ḱsm}$) v. 'consult an oracle or the spirit of a dead person, soothsay', JA \checkmark ḱsm , Sr \checkmark ḱsm v. 'soothsay', Md \checkmark ḱsm v. 'tell fortunes, soothsay, bewitch', Gz ḱastakāsama , ḱastakāsama 'divine by omens, foretell by means of magic'; \rightarrow SmA ḱsm prt. G 'sorcerer', Sb mḱsm 'oracular decision' ¶ GB 432, KB 1042, KBR 1115-16, BDB no. 7081, OLS 226, Js.1397, Sl. 1030, Tal 788-9, BK II 737-8, Hv. 605, DM 222, BGMR 108, L G 446 ||| SC: Irq {E} qasis- 'divide', {MQK} qasīs- id., 'distribute' ||| DhI {EEN} ḱātāḱ 'divide' ¶ E SC 250, MQK 85, EEN 19.

996. * ḲayCä 'hair' > **IE:** NaIE * kaḷs- ($\nabla r-$) '(long) hair' > OI kēsarā- 'hair, mane' ||| L caesariēs 'hair of the head' ||| Tc A śisri ($<$ * śisri-) 'mane' ||| ? BSl: Lt kasā , Ltv kasa 'tress, braid' || Sl * ko^1sa (accus. kōsq) 'hair of the head; tress, braid' > ChS коса kosa , Blg коса . SCr kōsa , OCz, P kosa 'hair of the head', OR, RChS коса kosa , R, Uk коса 'tress, braid' ¶ The loss of * $-\text{ḷ-}$ (of NaIE * kaḷs-) in BSl seems to suggest contamination with N * $\text{ḱa}^1\text{c}^1\text{U}$ 'scratch, scrape off scales', but this is semantically not plausible ¶ WP I 329-30, P 520, WH I 133, M K I 268, M E I 401, Frn. 226, Vs. II 345, ESSJ XI 131-3, Glh. 335, \approx EI 251 (* $\text{k(e)h}_\text{ḷ} \text{is} \nabla r-$ 'mane'); \neq Čop IU IV 152 [no. 49] (equating IE * kaḷs- [his * kaḷ-s-] with U * $\text{ka y} \nabla$ 'hair') ||| **HS:** Ch: WCh: Grn G/Mb {Sh.} $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{āsār}$ 'hair', Jm {Gw.} kysesko id., as well as (?) Bg {J} kēbsi , Bg/Kir {Sh.} $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{āpsì}$ id. || ?? Hs gǎšì (pl. gǎsúśúwà , gǎsú , gǎsúśúkà) 'hair, feather', Gw gáša 'hair,

beard, feather' (if *g-* instead of *q-* may be explained by the infl. of nearly-synonymous words like *gēzā* 'mane' or *gīzō* 'long matted hair on a man's head', *F* s.v. N **gæz* ▽ 'ε hair, wool'; alternatively, it may be a loan from Ful *gāsa* 'hair') ||| ECh: ?? Kbl {Lk.} *kesebo* 'hair' ¶ JI I 85 and II 176-7, Nw. 27 [no. 66] (Ch **gasi* 'hair'), Sh. SB 47, Abr. H 309, Ba. 370, Mts. G 42, Sk. HCD 80, Zb. 190, Lk. ZSS 92, Blz. EChWL no. 37 ||| A: NaT **qæçæ* 'felt' > OT {Cl.} *keçē*, Osm XVI *kečä*, Chg {PC, Bu.} *كيجه* *kečä*, Tk *keçe*, Ggz *kečä*, Az *кеча* *kečä*, Tkm *keče*, Xlj {DT} *käčä*, ET Δ {ML.} *gäži* *gēži* id., Chv (← a NaT lge?) *кěççe* *kǎśśe*, Chv Δ *кěçe* id., 'κοшма (dünner Filz)' ¶ Cl. 694, ET KQ 59-60, ARL 16, DT 146, PC 483, Bu. II 116, 174, Ash. VII 306, 312, Fed. I 287, Jeg. 110, ChVS 87 ||| ?σ,φ D (att. in CD) **kēč-* ({†GS} **k-*) 'shave' (× N **qec* ▽ 'to cut', q.v. ffd.).

996a. ₂ **qäç* ▽ '(be) cold; freeze' > HS: S: Ak fOB *kaṣ ũ* 'become cold, cool off', Ak StB/NB *kaṣ ũ* 'cool' (of the evening) (deglossalization **q* > *k-* due to the Ak law of incompatibility of two glottalized cns in the same root) ¶ CAD VIII 269-70 ||| C: EC {Ss.} **qīz-* 'cold' > Sd, Ged, Hd *qīda*, Alb, Qbn *qī'za* (deglossalization *-ç- > *-z-?) ||| Ag: Bln {R} *qazqaz-*, Q {R} *χeχez-* 'abgekühlt sein\werden, kalt sein', Xm {R} *qazqaz-* 'kalt\kühl werden'; Ag → EthS: Tgr *qezqez* 'be cold', Amh {L} *qezzeqez* vi. 'cool', 'be cold' (of water) ¶ L Z 120, L CAD 79, Ss. PEC 4, R WB 245, R Ch II 382 (s.p. 68), LH 257 ||| NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *kōčó* ~ *kōčó* 'be cold' | Shk {AY} *qeq*, Mj {Fl.} *qeq-us*, {AY} *qequz*, ? Na {AY} *qequ* 'cold' (of air) ||| SOM: Hm B {Fl.} *qzži* ~ *qzži*, Hm K {Fl.} *qaza* ~ *qaza-mu*, Bako {Fl.}, Ari G {Fl.} *qazi*, Ari U {Fl.} *qazi* ~ *qazi*, Dm {Fl.} *qizin* 'cold' ¶ Wdk. BY 129, 148, AY WShND, Fl. OWL s.v. 'cold', Blz. OL s.v. 'cold' ||| U: FP **káč* ▽- 'become cold', 'freeze' (of a person) > Chr H *kižē-* (inf. *kižäš*) 'feel cold' | Prm **kež-* > Z *көдзыд* *kžž+d*, Vt *кезъит* *kež+t*, Δ *kež+t* 'cold', Z *kžžav-n+* 'become cold' ¶ UEW 648, Ep. 43, Ber. 17, LG 139 ◇ Not here (⇔ Sauv. 106) WrMc *geceω* 'frost' and Nn **geči* (actually *gžkči-*) 'freeze' (< Tg **gekti-*, see STM I 178) ◇ Blz. L no. 26b (HS, U), Blz. LNA no. 26.

997. **qec* 'a' 'tip, end (extremity)' > HS: CS **qičç-* 'tip, end' (× N **qec* ▽ 'to cut') > BHb *qeq* / +ppas. *qičç-* (*qičç-ō* 'his end') 'end, border', Ug *qṣ* 'end, tip', JA *qeq* / *qičç-ā* 'end, term', Sr *قصة* *qeq-ā*, SmA *qṣ* 'end'; CS **qičç-at-* > Ph *qṣt* cs., Pun *qičç*

քնշի, Plm քնտի 'end, border', Sr 𐌺𐌽𐌸𐌹𐌺 քնքնքնա՛տ-ā (cs. 𐌺𐌽𐌸𐌹𐌺 քնքնքնա՛տ) 'extremity, outskirt' ¶ KB 1044-5, KBR 1118, HJ 1021, A no. 2434, OLS 375, Tal 793, PS 1404, JPS 515-16 || U **keća 'tip, point, end' > (vw. harmony) FU *kaća ~ *kećä > [1] (from *kaća): F kasa 'sth. protruding, end (Ecke), corner (Winkel)', Es {W} kirve kadsa 'lower tip on the blade of an axe' || [2] (from *kećä): pLp *kēćē 'tip, point (Spitze)' > Lp: S {Hs.} giedīje, L {LLO} kiehtjē, N {N} gæčče, Kld kīēžž' || Hg hēgy 'tip, summit, mountain' (× U *kažv 'mountain' < N *kaļv 'rock, hill, stone') || pY {IN H} *kič- ~ (before consonants) *kit- 'end' > Y K/T kičil 'end, beginning', Y K {IN H} kičitš-, {Krn.} kičitš- v. 'finish', Y K {IN G} kitňš-, Y T kitnu- v. 'reach, finish somewhere', Y T {Ku.} kičīl 'end, edge', K {Iox.} kičīl 'Ende', kič- 'Ende' ¶¶ Coll. 86, UEW 110, Db. OS x, xxxi, Lr. no. 379, Lgc. no. 2237, Hs. 591, Ang. 115, Ku. 93, IN H 213, IN UJ 227, ≈ Rd. UJ 45-6 [no. 63] (Y ← U) || A: M *kičir 'ends of a bow' > WrM {MED} kicir, HIM {MED, BMR} хичир id., Ord nūmū g_eč'ir 'les bouts de l'arc' (nūmū 'bow') ¶ MED 464, BMR IV 87, Ms. O 264 ¶ M *i of the first syll. (for the expected *e) may be explained by regr. as. (*e...i > *i...i) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 125 (*kaci 'edge') (U, Ai, ? Ko + err. A *koše 'end' + unc. J).

998. *kUčv 'cut\chop into small pieces' > K {FS} *kUč- id. > G {Chx.} kUč- 'shred (into small pieces)', '(in kleine Stücken) zerhauen, zerhacken, zerstückeln', Mg kUču 'small, low', {Q} kUču-kUču 'small, low-statured', {FS} kUču 'small, low'; Sv {TK}: UB/L kōčōl, UB kwečōl, UB/Ln k(w)ečōl ~ kōčōl 'little, small, a little' (< N *kUčv × N *kUt v 'small' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ FS K 195, K² 105 (GZ *kUč-), FS E 214, Chx. 647, Q 263, TK 349-50, GP SED 131, Ni. s.v. 'маленький' || HS *kUč- v. 'cut\chop into pieces, cut off' > S *-kūč- v. 'cut off', (× N *kēcv 'cut' × N *kocv [or *qocv] 'cut off'): S ✓ kčč v. 'cut off, cut into pieces' > BHb 𐌶𐌵𐌺 ✓ kčč G v. 'break off, cut off piece by piece; chop off', MHb 𐌶𐌵𐌺 ✓ kčč (ip. -koc, 2m imp. 𐌶𐌺𐌺 tə'koc) v. 'cut (off) (e.g. one's nails, plants)', Ug ✓ kšš v. 'cut (trinchar)', JA [Trg.] 𐌶𐌵𐌺 ✓ kčč v. 'cut down (a tree)', JEA {Sl.} ✓ kčč v. 'cut down/off', Sr ✓ kšš (pf. kās, ip. -kūs, -kās) v. 'cut short, clip (wings\beard)', SmA ✓ kšš 'cut', Mh, Jb ✓ kšš v. 'chop', Mh aq'sayš, Jb C ekš'seš v. 'shave\cut off (one's moustache)', Sq {Jo.} kšš v. 'cut', Ak ✓ kšš D

v. 'cut short, clip (wings, nails)' (dis. $\kappa \dots \varsigma > k \dots \xi$) ¶ KB 1050-1, KBR 1120, BDB 893 [no. 7112], A no. 234, OLS 376, Js. 1339, Lv. T II 352, Lv. IV 272, 361-2, Sl. 1034, PS 3699, JPS CSD 512-13, Tal 793, Jo. M 328, Jo. J 151, Sd. 457 || B: Kb $\upsilon \upsilon u s u$ (pf. $i \upsilon i s i$) 'être fendu' (ustensile) (\times N *** $\kappa e c \nabla$** 'cut') ¶ Dl. 629 || ? C: Bj {R \leftarrow Stz.} 'k^w aš a 'Beschneidung' (\times N *** $\kappa o c \nabla$** [or *** $g o c \nabla$**] '↑') ¶ R WBd 150 || ? **Gil**: Gil A [$q o \zeta l$] in $q o z l m o q s$ '(chopped up) block of wood' ('чурка') ($m o q s$ is 'piece') ¶¶ ST RN 457 || **D** *** $k u c \check{c}$** - ($\{\theta G S\}$ *** k** -) 'splinter', 'stump' (\times N *** $\kappa o c \nabla$** or *** $g o c \nabla$** '↑' [q.v.] and N *** $\kappa u \iota \upsilon \hat{s} \nabla$** 'tree' [\rightarrow 'Holz'], 'trunk of a tree') $>$ Tm $k u c c u$ 'splinter, bit of stick, stalk', $k u c c i$ 'splinter, peg, stick', Ml $k u c c u$ 'chip, piece of straw', ? Kn $k u t t i$ 'stump', Tu $k u c c i$, $k u t t i$ 'stump of a shrub', Prj $k u c \check{c} i$, Gdb $k u s u n$, Knd $g u s i l$, ? Png, Mnd $g r u c$ 'stump of a tree' ¶¶ D no. 1640.

999. *** $\kappa ' o ' \check{c} \nabla$** (or *** $\kappa ' o ' \check{c} \nabla$** ?) 'bone' $>$ **IE**: NaIE *** $k | k^{w} o s t$** - 'bone, rib' $>$ L $c o s t a$ 'rib' || Sl *** $k o s t b$** 'bone' $>$ OCS **к о с т ь** $k o s t b$, R **к о с т ь**, P **kość**, Cz $k o s t$, Blg **к о с т**, SCr, Slv **k o s t** 'bone' ¶ P 617, WH I 281, Glh. 336-7, Vs. II 349, StSS 292, \approx ESSJ XI 167-173 (unjustified rejection of the obvious L-Sl connection) || **K**: G $\kappa o \check{c}$ -i 'ankle of the foot' ¶ Chx. 618 || **HS**: Eg fP $\kappa \varsigma$ 'bone', Cpt Sd/B **κ α c κ α s** id. ¶ EG V 68-9, Fk. 281, Vc. 87-8 || B *** $\upsilon a s \iota s$** 'bone' $>$ ETwl, Ty $e \upsilon \beta s$ (pl. $i \upsilon \beta a n$), Ah {Fc.} $e \upsilon \alpha s$ (pl. $i \upsilon \alpha s a n$), Gh $i \upsilon \alpha s$ (pl. $i \upsilon s a n$), Gd $\upsilon \alpha s s$ (pl. $\upsilon \bar{a} s a n$), Izn, Rf $i \upsilon \alpha s$, Izd $i \upsilon s$ (pl. $i \upsilon s a n$), Sll $i \chi s s$ (pl. $i \chi s a n$), Wrg $i \upsilon \alpha s$, Si {La.} $\bar{i} \upsilon \alpha s$ (pl. $i \upsilon s \bar{a} n$), Kb {DL.} $i \upsilon \alpha s (s)$ (pl. $i \upsilon s a n$), Zng {TC} $i \eta s o i$ 'bone' ¶ Fc. 1780, Lf. II no. 1255, Dl. 629, Dlh. Ou 246-7, GhA 73, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || **EC**: Dsn {To.} $g \acute{a} s$ 'leg' ¶ To. DL 502, AD SF 298-9 (*** $\kappa \nabla \check{c} (\check{c})$** - 'bone') || NrOm: [1] Na {Fl.} $\kappa u s$ 'bone', [2] ?σ {Blz.} *** $\kappa u s$** 'foot, leg' $>$ Na {Fl.} $\kappa u s$, HzMa $k \acute{a} s i$ id. || SOM: Dm. {Bnd.} $\kappa \upsilon s$, {Fl.} $\kappa u s$ 'bone' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 20, Fl. OO 317 || Ch {Stl.} *** $\kappa a s ' i$** 'bone' $>$ WCh: Hs $\kappa \acute{a} s \acute{i}$ id. || Su {J} $\jmath e s$ id. || NrBc {Tk.} *** $\kappa a s$** - 'bone' $>$ Wrj $\kappa \acute{a} s u n \grave{a}$, Kry $\kappa \acute{a} s \grave{u}$, My $k \acute{u} s \acute{i}$, P' {MSk.} $\kappa \acute{z} s - k \grave{i}$, Cg $\kappa \acute{e} - \kappa \acute{e} s \grave{e} - n$, Mbr $\kappa \acute{a} - \kappa \acute{a} s \grave{e}$, Jmb $\kappa \grave{z} - \kappa \acute{a} s i$ id. ({Stl.}: all either from *** $h a - \kappa a s i$** with regr. as. or with rdp.) || DfB {J} $k \acute{y} \acute{a} s$, Bks $k \acute{y} a s$, Klr $g \acute{y} a s \acute{a} w$ 'bone' || CCh: Tr $g \acute{z} \acute{s} \acute{i}$ id. || HgNk {ChL} $g \acute{i} \acute{s} \acute{a}$ id. || Mlw {Trn.} $k \acute{e} \acute{s} - k \acute{e}$, Msg P {Mch.} $k \acute{e} \acute{x} - k \acute{e}$, {Trn.} $k e \acute{s} k e$, Msk {Trn.} $k \acute{z} \acute{s} \acute{z} \acute{t}$ id. || ECh: Dng {Lk.} $k \acute{a} s o$, $k \acute{a} s i$, EDng {Fd.} $k \acute{a} s \grave{o}$, Ke {Eb.} $k \acute{z} s k \acute{z} \eta$, Kwn {ChC} $k \acute{i} s i g \acute{i}$, Nd {J} $g \acute{u} s \acute{e}$, Smr {J} $g \acute{u} s \acute{a} \acute{n}$, Bdy {J} $k \acute{a} s - k o$ 'bone' ¶ JI II 36-7, ChC s.v. 'bone', ChL, Abr. H 499, Ba. 579, Stl. IF 103, J R 217, Sk. NB 47, Tk. NB 182, Trn. LDM 26, Trn. LM

98, Lk. ZSS 17, Blz. EChWL. s.v. 'bone' || S: [1] ? ϕ S * \circ ✓ κ ss or * \circ ✓ κ šš > Ar ✓ κ ss 'ronger les os' (unless a semantic derivative of Ar ✓ κ ss 'chercher', 'seek after sth.') | [2] ?? ϕ S * \circ κ ačč- > Ar qaššū- 'poitrine, os de la poitrine' ¶ Fr. III 449, BK II 735, 745 ¶¶ If the glottalization in S *č is ancient (rather than caused by assimilation), S *č for the expected * θ (< N *č) is due to the rather frequent S (or HS) loss of a marked phonemic feature, which may explain the rareness of the phoneme * θ in S (cp. the same process in N *č \grave{a} wχ∇ 'to cry, to exclaim' > S *✓ ζ wħ) ¶¶ OS no. 1557 (B, Eg, Ch, EC, Om), Tk. PAA 20 (WCh, Eg, B), ≠ Sk. CDH 168 || ? ϕ A: Tg * \circ χ ā]∇ > Ew ā]з 'bone of elk's hind leg' ¶ STM I 17 ¶ The length of the vw. ā is probably due to a special Altaic type of lengthening of the vw. in open syllables (resulting in T short vowels and Tg long vowels). The quality of the vw. still requires explanation. The unexpected Tg voiced voiced cns. * \circ -j- (if it is a good reconstruction) still needs explanation || D (att. in NED) *kōčč∇L 'bone' > Krx xōčol, Mlt qočlu id. ¶ D no. 1288 ◇ Not here pMr *keskə 'sacrum (Kreuzbein)' (> Er каське kaśke, Mk кеска keska) (it goes back to FP *keske 'middle', F Ker. II 57). If the N etymon is * κ 'o'č∇, the K glottalized *-č- (and S *č) may be due to as. (infl. of * κ -) ◇ IS MS 345, IS I 344 (reconstructing * κ aS∇ 'bone': HS [Eg,C,Ch,B], IE + * \div S and FU), AD SF (HS [C, Ch, Eg, B], IE); Blz. DA 156 [no. 42], Blz NDA no. 41 (D, HS, IE + [unc.] FP {Blz.} *kask∇ 'backbone'). The meaning 'breastbone' in Ar and 'rib' in L may be ancient ('≈ bone of the breast').

1000. * κ ačč∇ 'to advance with effort' > HS: S (+ext.) * \circ ✓ κ θ] > Ar ✓ κ θ] 'tirer un pied après l'autre, comme qn qui marche dans un bournier épais et cherche à s'en retirer', 'marcher comme un homme embourbé' ¶ BK II 776 || U: FP *kōčče- v. 'crawl, clime (klettern, kriechen)', 'run' (of animals) > Lp: N Δ {Fri.} guoccat v. 'run' ('løbe'), OSw {LÖ} qwotset v. 'run' (of animals), Tn {Lgc.} kuoc-, A {Lgc.} kuoc- v. 'crawl, kriechen' (of a snake), v. 'run' (of a dog), L {Wk.} kuöca- {Wk.} kuəca-) id., 'klettern', Vfs {Lgc.} kuöc- 'klettern', Tf kuoc-/kuoc- 'hinaufklettern', I {Tv.} kuos'id 'über das Wasser hinlaufen' (von Schwimmvögeln) | Vt: {W} gžilt- 'kriechen', Δ {U3S} гыжылт- v. 'linger, loiter', Sr/G {Mu.} gžilt- 'langsam gehen, kriechen', Uf {Wc.} gžilt- 'schleichen, to walk slowly', M gžilt- v. 'crawl' (of babies) ¶ Tv. IA 70, Wk. LLW 51, Lgc. no. 2860, U3S 417 || A: NaT *Kač- ({Tz.} *kač-) v. 'flee, run away' > OT qač-

id., Tk kač-, Tk WAn {Tz.} qāč-, Tkm, Az гач- gač-, StAlt, Tb qač-, Ggz kač-, ET, Kr, Qmq, Qrg qač-, Uz qoč-, Uz Af {Tz.} qāč-, VTt kač- qač-, Bsh qas-, Nog, Qzq, Qq qaš-, Tv qaž-, Xk, Yk χas- id. ¶ Cl. 589-O, Rs. W 217, ET KQ 340-2, Tz. UIS 95 ¶ Tezcan (Tz. UIS 95) reconstructed here a half-long vw. (on the ev. of Anatolian and Uz dialects) ◇ Cp. IS I 309 [no. 181] (*Kač̄̄: U, A) ◇ U (FP) *ō (< pre-U *ā) reflects N *a₁ (in pU there is no *ā).

1001. *Kâ'ç'ōč̄ 'ram, sheep' > IE: NaIE *k^het- (?) ({WP} *qhet-) 'sheep' > OIr cīt 'sheep (mouton)' (< *ketni-?), cītén 'lamb', cetnat 'ewe' || Arm խոճ 'ram' ({WP} < *qhoti-), ռչխար 'sheep' ({WP} < *qhotjuqh-), խաչն 'flock of sheep; sheep' || ?φ ON haðna, MHG hatele, NGr Δ hätte & hättel & hättel 'goat' ¶ WP I 384 (the Ir-Arm comparison is considered dubious and is rejected by Pokorny), Vn. C 108, Vr. 200 || A *Kôč̄ 'ram' ({ADb.} *k₁'uč̄- 'ram, wether') > NaT *Koc̄ 'ram' > OT Og ≥XI, MT qoč, Tk koc, Az, Xlj goč, Kr qoč, Qq qoš, Uz Δ goč & gōč 'ram', Tkm goč 'uncastrated ram; ibex', Qzq, Qq qos (a quieting interjection for sheep during milking), Qrg qoč ~ qoš (an interjection for sheep), Qq d. qošaqan 'lamb', Nog d. qošanaɣ *end.* 'lamb, kid'; T ⇨ Hg koc, G qoč-i 'ram'; NaT *Koc̄nar '(uncastrated) ram, sire ram' > OT {Cl.} qoč̄nār & qoč̄zar & qoč̄uḡar 'ram', OT Kr qoč̄nar, Tk koc̄kar 'fighting ram', Tkm goč̄gar 'young uncastrated ram', QrB qoc̄xar, Qq qoškar, SY qušyar, Slr qošqur & qoškor & koškor 'ram', Chg xv qoč̄qar 'wild ram, ram', ET qoč̄qa(r), Uz, MQp [CC], Qmq, Kr qoč̄qar, VTt Δ quš̄qar & quč̄qar & qucqar, Bsh Δ qusqar, Slr qošqor, qošqur, Nog, Tv qošqar 'ram', Qzq, Nog, Qq qošqar, Qrg qoč̄qor 'uncastrated ram, sire ram', StAlt qoč̄qor 'wild mountain ram' ('дикий каменный баран') ¶ Cl. 592 (Clauson believed that T [Og] *qoč̄ is a loan from M, which is hardly acceptable because the word is attested in Og long before the Mongolian conquest), Rs. W 274, ET Q 87-9, TL 432-3, TkR 190-1, DT 119, Tn. SJ 390, 465, MM 452, NogR 175, KrkR 405-6, KRPS 372, Jud. 410, BT 80 || M *quč̄a(n) 'ram, lamb' > MM [IM, IsV, HI] quč̄a 'ram', [MA] quč̄a 'lamb', WrM {MED} quca(n) id., 'uncastrated lamb', HIM {MED, BMR} хуц id., Brt хуца uncastrated lamb', Kl {KRS} хуц хусь id., {Rm.} хуца 'Hammel, Widder', Ord q₁uč̄'a 'bélier', Mnr H {SM} хуž_îâ 'bélier', хуž_îâ хорг_а 'agmeau mâle non châtré' (хорг_а 'lamb') ¶ Lg. VMI 40, MED 979, BMR IV 180, Chr. 604, KRS 617, KW 200, Ms. H 91, Ms. O 318, Pp. MA 307, SM 174 ¶¶ SDM

711-12 (pA *k_L'_Loč_L'_L∇ 'ram' > M, T), DQA no. 863, Rs. W 274, ADb. KL 8, Pp. VG 62 || HS: S *°k_aʁ'θ¹- or *°k_aʁt- > Ar قَعَطُ qaʁt- 'troupeau nombreux de moutons' ¶ BK II 782 ¶ S *t̥ (for the expected *θ) is due to defricativization of *θ (Ar θ̣) at the pS (or Ar?) level (possibly due to borrowing from Aram, where S *θ yields t̥) ◇ If this comparison is right, IE *k^het- may be explained as resulting from mt. of aspiration: *k^het- < *ket^h-, the phoneme *t^h going back regularly to N *č̣. The labial vw. in the pA initial syll. suggests pN *Ká'ʁ' oč̣∇. IE *k^he- is likely to go back to post-N *ḲHa- (from N *Ḳáʁ- with metathesis of the vw. *-á-).

1002. ₂ *Ḳayeč̣∇ 'heat, summer heat' > HS ({OS} *ḳayič̣-): WS *ḳayθ- 'summer' > OCn [EA] ḳēç̣u, Hb ʔ'ḳ' ḳayič̣, Ug ḳθ, OA 𐤀𐤆𐤊𐤏 ḳyṣ² (= ḳay'θ-ā) 'summer', JA {Js.} 𐤀𐤆𐤊𐤏 ḳē't-ā ~ 𐤀𐤆𐤊𐤏 ḳay't-ā 'heat, summer', JEA 𐤀𐤆𐤊𐤏 ḳay'tā 'summer', Sr 𐤀𐤆𐤊𐤏 ḳay't-ā id., Ar قَيْظُ qayṯ- 'summer heat, the hottest part of summer', Sb ḳyθ 'summer, summer crops', Mh ḳayθ 'summer before the rains', Jb E/C ḳuθ 'spring (which is hotter than the rainy season)', Hrs ḳayθ, Sq {Jo.} 'ḳəyaṯ 'summer' ¶ KB 1026-7, HJ 1020-1, A no. 2439, OLS 379, Hv. 637, BK II 847, Js. 1357, Sl. 1012, BGMR 112, Jo. M 247, Jo. J 157, Jo. H 81 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} ḳēç̣ 'heat', {Bnd.} ḳēç̣ 'warm', Kf {C} ḳēč̣ō 'heat (hot weather)', Mch {L} ḳeč̣č̣i(ye), {Lm.} ḳēč̣č̣o 'heat', Shn {Lm.} ḳēc̣á 'heat, warmth', Anf {MYTY} ḳoç̣o 'hot', Ym {Wdk.} ḳič̣ú 'hot', Mj {Bnd.} ḳecua 'warm' ¶ Wdk. BY 106, 158, 178, C SE IV 482, L M 45-6, Lm. Sh 345, Bnd. PO 150, MYTY 121, Blz. OL no. 198 (pOm *ḳoyč̣- 'warm') || ECh: Mu {Lk.} ḳàj̣áw 'fever' ¶ Lk. ZSS 187 ¶¶ OS no. 1563 (pHS *ḳayič̣-), Blz. p.c. (pHS *ḳayč̣-) || U: [1] FU *kač̣∇ 'warmth, summer heat, (effects of the) sunlight; be warm' > Prm {LG} *g̣oẓ̌ ({}LG} *g̣oẓ̌|) 'full blaze of the sun' > Vt guẓ̌a-n+ 'be bleached in the sun' (cloth), Z g̣oẓ̌ / g̣oẓ̌y- n. 'sunburn', g̣oẓ̌ √oẓ̌+n '(right) in the sun', Z g̣oẓ̌-y+-, Z US g̣oẓ̌-y+-, Yz g̣oẓ̌-yi- v. 'spend the summer'; -d> Prm *g̣oẓ̌-3m 'summer' > Vt guẓ̌em, Z g̣oẓ̌3m, Z US g̣oẓ̌3m, Yz 'g̣oẓ̌^m id. || ObU: pOs *kač̣- > Os: Vy qač̣-, Ty/Y qāč̣- 'be warm\hot', pOs *kač̣am 'warm', 'maintaining warmth' (of clothes, house) > Os: V/Vy qač̣am, Ty/Y qāč̣am, D/K χoč̣am, Ni/Kz χoṣ̌am, O χasam || [2] FU *keč̣ä 'sun, day' > pChr {Ber.} *keč̣ä > Chr: L/B keč̣e, H keč̣ä, Chr Uf keč̣e, B keč̣e id. || pMr {Ker.} *kač̣i > Er č̣i, Mk ṣ̌i id. ¶

UEW 114, 141-2, Coll. 80, Sm. 552 (FP *keččä 'sun'), LG 77, SZ 81, Lt. J 105, Stn. D 427-8, Ber. 13, Ep. 43, Ker. II 157 ◇ IS I 348-9 [no. 224] (*ḲEč̣ä) ◇ FU *kesä 'summer' (> F kesä etc.) hardly belongs here (⇔ IS l.c.), but probably goes back to N *k|geHs▽ 'warm, hot, warm\hot season' (q.v. ffd.). This is suggested by FU *-s-, which is not a reg. reflex of N *-č̣-.

1003. *Ḳa'č̣'U 'scratch, scrape off scales' > IE *kes-/*kseu- v. 'scratch, comb' > Gk [Hdt.] κέσκεον 'tow (Werg)', ξέω 'shave\plane timber; carve wood; scrape smooth, polish', ξύω v. 'scratch, scrape' ||| Clt {Matas.} *kīsrā, {Vn.} *kēs-rā n. 'comb' > OIr cír 'comb' ||| Sl inf. *čes-āti (1s pres. *čěššō) 'scratch' > OCS inf. ЧЕСАТИ česati (1s pres. ЧЕШѦ česŕ) 'kratzen (чесать), pflücken (срывать плоды)', SCr česati, Slv česati, Cz česati, Slk česat', P czesać, R чесать, Uk чесати inf. 'to scratch', Blg чеша 'I scratch' ||| Blt: Lt inf. kās̄ti 'to dig', † 'to scrape, to scratch (scharren)', iter. † kasúti id., Ltv Δ {ME} inf. kast (iter. kasīt) 'scharren, Erde aufwerfen, harken']? mt.: Blt *skū- ~ (+ext.) *skūt- 'scrape, scratch, peel' (× NaIE *sk_L^ω_Jēu- 'poke\rake\stir' < N ?σ *ća|oxû '≈ mix, process grains') > Ltv inf. skū̄t (1s pres. skuju ~ skuvu ~ skūnu, 1s p. skuvu) 'shave'; (+ext. *-t-): Ltv inf. skust (1s pres. skutu) 'scratch, shave', Lt inf. skūsti (1s. pres. skutū) v. 'scrape, scour, shave, peel, scale' ||| Ht kes-, kis(ē)-, kisaī- v. 'comb' ¶¶ WP I 329-30, P 520, 585-6, WH I 133, M K I 268, M E I 401, ≈ EI 251 (*k(e)h_βis▽r- 'mane'), EI 570 (*kes- 'comb'), Mn. 494, F I 834, II 335-6, 341-2, Vn. C 105-6, Matas. E 204, Vs. II 345 and IV 340-50, ESSJ IV 85-6 and XI 131-3, StSS 777, Glh. 175, 335, Kar. II 212, Frn. 226, 823-4, ME II 168-9, Frd. HW 111, 108, Ts. E I 587-8, Pv. IV 157-9; ≠ Čop IU IV 152 [no. 49] (equatlng IE *ka_Js- [his *ka_J-s-] with U *ka_y▽ 'hair') ||| K *°Ḳač̣|č̣wr- (as. from **Ḳač̣wr-) > G Ḳač̣r- ~ Ḳač̣wr- v. 'scratch, kratzen' (× N *Ḳ▽r_L▽_Jč̣▽ 'to scratch') ¶ Chx. 560, DCh. 599 ||| HS: CS *✓Ḳš̄š̄ ~ *✓Ḳš̄w '≈ rub, scrape off' > Ar ✓qšš G 'broyer, écraser en frottant dans la main', ✓qšw v. G 'wipe (the face), debark (wood), skin (a snake)', ? Hb תַּבַּחַבַּח Ḳaš̄'Ḳεšēṭ, pl. Ḳaš̄Ḳā'š̄īm 'scales'; WS *✓Ḳš̄r 'scales' > Ar qīš̄r- 'rind, fish scales', Gz Ḳaš̄š̄ār 'fish scales, shell', ✓Ḳš̄r D v. 'peel, scrape, take off scales' ¶ BK II 740, 744, Hv. 605, 607, KBR 1150, L G 448 ||| NrOm: Kf {C} Ḳuč̣č̣- v. 'scratch' ('grattare'), Ḳuč̣ō 'itch, scab', Anf {Gt.} Ḳuśá 'scabbia' ¶ AD SF 88, Gt. 358, C SE IV 483 ||| Ch: CCh {Stl.}

*ko|ec₁- 'scrape, scratch' > Gude k^ωacɜ 'scratch slightly' (a mouse) || Dgh {Frk} xçà 'shave' || Mf k^ωeče-k^ωeče 'chatouille', MfG -kɜč- 'gratter (la terre)' || WCh: Hs kǒçà 'slight wound of abrasion' ¶ Stl. ZCh 221 [no. 708], Stl. IF 182, ChC s.v. 'shave', Ba. 625, Frk s.v. xçà || ¶ A: pJ {S} *kàsù-r- v. 'scrape' > OJ kasur-, MJ kàsùr-, J T/Kg kasúr-, J K kásúr- {S} id., StJ kasur- {Kenk.} 'graze', {BJRS} 'царапнуть' ¶ S QJ no. 497, Mr. 705, Kenk. 866, BJRS I 371 || ¶ D {tr.} *kačč- ({{GS}} *kažž-) 'itch, scab' > Knd kažžì, gažžì, Tu gažžì id., Kdg kažžì 'itch', Tl gažžì 'itch, scab', kaɜi 'itching, desire', Nkr k^hažž, Prj kažžra, Gnd gažžì ~ gažžù, Knd gazi, Kui kasa 'itch', Krx k^hasrā id., xās- v. 'scratch for relief' ¶¶ D no. 1104, GS 90 [no. 262], 116 [no. 308] ◇ Cp. IS I 343-4 (S, IE, D, his rec. is *k₃as^hɜ) ◇ The sibilants in most descendant lges are regular reflexes of N *-č̣-. The glottalized affricate in K and Kf is explained by progr. as. (N *k₃...č̣ > *k₃...č̣) ◇ T *kIç- v. 'scratch (gratter), itch' and Tg *χosī- v. 'scratch (égratigner)' do not belong here (≠φ: the vw. of the first syll. and the Tg *-s-).

1004. *k₃ač̣ɜ (= *k₃ač̣ɜ?) 'young dog' (→ [in S] 'beast of prey') > HS: WS *✓k₃ṣ̌ɜ(m) 'beast of prey' > Jb C {Jo.} 'k₃e'ṣ̌ɜt (pl. 'k₃e'ṣ̌ɜṣ̌) 'wolf', Ar qaṣ̌ɜ- 'male hyena', quṣ̌āɜ- 'cri de l'hyène', qaṣ̌ɜam- 'hyena', ?'lion' (unless the latter is from qaṣ̌ɜam- 'old'), OYmn قشة qṣ̌ḥ ({{Slw.}} qišša) 'beast of prey', Ar Y {Slw.} qiša (pl. qišāt) id. ¶ Jb, OYmn and Ar Y are likely to have lost S *ɜ ¶ Jo. J 153, BK II 743, Slw. 178-9, Rossi AS 163 || B *qqɜzīn ~ *qqɜzzūn 'young dog, dog' (× N ? *k₃aɜɜ 'young] dog?') > Izd {Mrc.} a-k₃zin (pl. i-k₃zin) 'chien, chiot', Izn {Rn.}, Rf Wr/T {Rn.} aqzin (pl. iqzinən), Rf B/A aqəzzun (pl. iqzinən), BSn a-qzīn, Tmz {MT} ikzin (pl. ikzinn), ASgr {MT} iqzin ~ aqzin (pl. iqzinn), BMn {Bs.} aqžun (pl. iqzan), Grr {Bs.} aqzin (pl. iqzinan), Jrb {Bs.} aɣzim, Kb Z {Bs.} aqžun, Shw {Bs.} اقرن aqzin, {Hy.} agzim (pl. igzemen) 'petit chien', SrSn {Rn.} t₃a-qzin-t 'chienne', Kb {Dl.} aqžun (pl. iq^ωžan) 'dog' ¶ Mrc. 51, 291, Rn. 370, Dl. 667-8, MT 357, 553, Bs. NLB I 310, Hy. 21, Hy. DFCh 100 || S Om {Blz.} *aksi 'dog' (× N ? *'g'oK₃ṣ̌č̣ɜ (R₃) 'ε canine', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Blz.) Eg czm 'dog' and Ag *gɜzɜɜ- id. (both from N ? *k₃aɜɜ '↑') ¶¶ Blz. OL no. 124 (Om, Ag, Eg, B) || U: FU (att. in Prm) *°kač₁č₁ɜ (or *°kUč₁č₁ɜ) > Prm {LG} *ku|úč₁ɜ 'young dog' > Z кычи k^hč₁i, кычан k^hč₁an, Vt кучапи kuč₁api id. ¶ LG 155 || A: Tg *kaç₁

'puppy (Hündchen)' (× N ? *kaʒ∇ '[young] dog', q.v.) > Ewk kaçî-kān, Sln χas-χã: id. (-kān, -χã: is a dimin. sx), Lm qaça, Neg kaçî, kaçî-xān, Ud kasʔanžiga, {Krm.} kasanžiga, Nn Bk qasqa, Nn KU qačqa 'young dog' and possibly (in spite of the aberrant vocalism) Ork kəçikə, Nn Nh {STM} kəçčẽ, {On.} kəçčẽ: id., ⇨ dim. {STM} Nn Nh {STM} kəçčəkẽ 'small puppy', {On.} kəçčəkẽ: id., 'small young dog' ¶ STM I 385, Krm. 246, On. 237 || ? K: one may take into account Sv {Ni.} kəçəɔl 'young dog' (from K ?*əçU¹ç¹- and the merger with Sv {Ni.} kəçəɔl 'little'), unless it is a sd. of kəçəɔl 'little' or a mistaken transcription of kəçəɔl 'little' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'маленькій' ◇ The N cns. *ĉ is reconstructed as lateral on the ev. of S (and FU, where *ć < N *ĉ regularly) and as a voiceless affricate on the ev. of U. The voiced sibilant in B may go back to a cluster: N *-ĉʁ- > (assimilatory voicing) *-zʁ- > *-z- > B *-z-.

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

1006. *kad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle' ([in descendant lges] → 'v. 'build', 'make pottery', n. 'pottery') (⇨ N cd *kad∇ L∇ 'wattle fence' [→ 'wall', 'building']) > IE: NaIE *kat- 'fence, pottery' > L catīnus 'dip dish\bowl', ?σ catēna (< *kates-nā) 'chain'] (× NaIE *kot- 'fence, shed' [→ 'house'] < N *KotA 'fence,

wall, hut, settlement', q.v. ffd.) > Sl *kotъ, *kot-ьсѣ 'shed, stall' || Gt hepjō (· ταμειῶν) 'Kammer', AS heaðor 'enclosure, prison' || Irn *k a t - 'house' > Av k a t a - 'chamber' ¶ P 534, ESSJ XI 211, 214-15, Horn 188, WH I 181-2, Fs. 254-5, Ho. 153, ≈ EI 282-3 (*ket- 'room') ¶ IE *-t- for the phonetically reg. *-dʰ- is due to the IE root-structure rule that rejects **gʰet-roots (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in the same √); in some cases the contamination with N *KotA '↑' may have played a role as well || K *k̄ed-/k̄d- v. 'build' > G {DCh.} k̄ed- 'cornerstone', Lz VAr k̄id-, Lz X k̄od- v. 'build', Mg k̄id- vt. 'partition with a wall' ('перепоразивать'); K *k̄edel-/k̄del- 'wall' > G k̄ed-el- (gen. k̄ed-l-is), Lz k̄ida, k̄oda 'wall' (loss of *-l due to metanalysis of the pl. form k̄idal-epe, cp. on such cases GM S 88), Mg Sn k̄ida(la)-, Mg SmZ k̄zda(la)- ~ k̄zdelā- 'wall' (< *k̄del- with an anaptyctic ə ~ i), Sv: L č̣wed, UB/LB/L č̣wäd (pl. č̣wäd(w)-är), Lx č̣ed id. ({IS}: *k̄ed-]-(a) > pre-Sv *č̣ædw > č̣we|ad(w), F IS rGM 129) ¶¶ IS I 316, K 107, K DE 358, K² 87-8, FS K 166, 462 (Sv č̣wed-, č̣wäd- < K *č̣wad-), Q 257, 261, Chik. 294, Schm. 107, Zhgh. LT (on the origin of w in the Sv noun), TK 864 || HS: S (with a deglottalized *k-; × N *kud∇ or *Kud∇ 'to plait?'): [1] CS *kadd- 'jar, vessel for liquid' > Hb כַּדְּ kadd (pl. כַּדִּים kadd'im) 'pitcher', Ph kd (*kad(d)) 'pitcher, jar' [↳ Gk κῦδ(δ)ος 'jar, vessel for water\wine' ↳ L cādus 'jar' and probably Mg kōto 'pot'], Ug kd, (AkSc) kaddu {A} 'jar', {OLS} 'ε measure of capacity for liquids', JA כַּדְּ kadd-ā 'jar', [Trg.] כַּדְּ kadd-ā ({Js.}: ce. for כַּדְּ kaddā-'t-ā?) 'jug', JEA {Sl.} כַּדְּ kadd-ā 'storage vessel', Sr {Cst.} کَدْدْ kaddā'n-ā 'small narrow-necked jug' (in PS and JPS printed as کَدْدْ kaddā'n-ā), Ar kadd- 'mortar' (an alt. et. was proposed by B. Podolsky, who suggested that this S word is a loan from D *kiñt- 'jug'); [2] WS (+ext.) *k̄∇d∇r- 'earthen pot' > MHb כַּדְּ k̄ādēr, כַּדְּ k̄ādērā, JA כַּדְּ k̄ādērā ~ כַּדְּ k̄id'r-ā, Sr کَدْرْ k̄ed'r-ā '(earthen) pot', JEA {Sl.} כַּדְּ k̄id'r-ā 'cooking pot', Ar qidr- 'chaudron; marmite en cuivre', qadar-at- 'petit flacon', Mh k̄ād̄r 'pot'; but the adduction of Ar qadd- and Ak *qadû 'pot' (IS I 316 and AD SF 67-8 after Cal. 212 and Coh. no. 226) is to be rejected because the Ak word does not exist, and Ar qadd- has been quoted after Cal.'s misinterpretation (repeated by M. Cohen); in fact, qadd- does not mean 'form' (as in Cal. 212 and Coh. no. 226), but

'skin of a lamb\kid' → 'body, size' [Ln. 2491, Fr. III 404, BK II 682-3], which has no semantic connection with the N word in question; [3] N ***ḳad**∇ L∇ 'wattle fence' (→ 'wall') may be represented in CS *'kutal-'wall' > BHb כִּתְלָא *'koṭɛl* 'wall' (att.: כִּתְלֵנוּ kɔt̪l-ēnū 'our wall'), MHb כִּתְלָא 'koṭɛl, BA כִּתְלָא kə'tal 'wall', JA [Trg.] כִּתְלָא kuṭl-ā, JEA {Sl.} כִּתְלָא kuṭl-ā 'wall', ?σ Sr كُتْلَا kuṭl-ā 'stern, poop', but an alt. hyp. (with better phonetic corr.) attributes this S stem to N ***Ḳota** 'fence, wall' (→ 'house') (see s.v. N ***Ḳot**A [~ ***Ḳot**A] 'fence, wall, hut, settlement'); [4] ?σ CS *✓kd̪n v. 'bind' (→ v. 'couple, yoke') > Sr {JPS} ✓kd̪n (pf. kə'd̪an) v. 'yoke, couple, join, bind', MHb ✓kd̪n (pf. kā'd̪an) v. 'yoke', Ar ✓kd̪n G {BK} 's'entourer les reins avec les pans de sa robe en guise de ceinture', {Hv.} 'wrap oneself in clothes' ¶ KB 439, KBR 460, 505, BDB no. 3537, OLS 210, Hnr. 136, Js. 612, 614, 627, 1318, Sl. 553, 567, 1010, Br. 318, JPS 205, PS 1068, Cst. 151, F I 551-2, Masson ESG 44, Q 261, BK II 686, 872, 875, Hv. 647, HJ 487-8, Lv. IV 248-9, Jo. M 224, ≠ Pod. NHE 199-200 || Eg fP ḳd̪ v. 'make earthenware, build, shape, create' > Cpt Sd/B КУТ kōt, КЕТ- ket-, КОТ- kot- id.; Eg Md ḳd̪ 'pot' ¶ EG V 72-5, Fk. 281-2, Vc. 89-90, Crn. 64-5, Crum 122 || NrOm: Zs {Lm.} ḳeč̪e 'Zaun des Geheges', Shn {Lm.} kaç̪ç̪à id., 'Gehege für Rindvieh'; the Om word for 'house' (Kf {C} ḳē t̪ō etc.) belongs not here, but rather to N ***Ḳot**A (~ ***Ḳot**A) 'ḥ' (q.v.) ¶ Lm. Sh 335 || Ch {Stl.} *koḏa < *ḳoḏa 'pot' (× N ***kud**∇ 'to plait?') > WCh: BT: Bl {Mch.} kuḏa 'pot', Gera kʷàḏá 'calabash', Krf {Sch.} kʷàḏó id., ? kʷàtì 'cooking pot' || CCh: HgF {ChL} kʷádʷà 'small pot' || Ech: EDng {Fd.} kóḏà 'a kind of small jar' ¶ Stl. IF 175, ChL II 174, ChC s.v. 'pot', Sch. BTL 141, 151, Fd. 288 ¶¶ Coh. no. 226, Cal. 212, Stl. IF 175 || ?φ A: NaT ***Kat**- v. 'weave, plait'; spin (wool into thread) (сучить) > VTt, Bsh, StAlt qat-, Xk χat- 'twist, plait, spin (threads) weave (ropes)', SY qat- 'weave (a rope)', Yk χat- 'winden (Fäden), twist (сучить, вить)', Tf qat'- v. 'spin (вить), plait', Tv {TvR} qáttā- v. 'weave, spin (a thread, rope)' (× Tv qáttā- 'add layers' ← qát 'layer'); the irreg. phonetic form is probably due to contamination with T ***Kat**- v. 'mix' (< N ***ḳat**∇ 'mix') ¶ Ra. 219, TvR 233, Cl. 594-5, Rs. W 219, 241, ≈ ET KQ 336-7, JRS 488 || D [1] (tr., ḡGS) ***kaṭṭ**-, {Km.} ***kaṭ**- v. 'tie, build' > Tm, Tl kaṭṭu, Ml keṭṭuka, Kt, Klm, Gdb kaṭ-, Td koṭ-, Kdg kəṭṭ-, Tu kaṭṭuni, Nkr, Prj kaṭṭ-, Nk kaṭ-/kaṭṭ- id., Kn kaṭṭu v. 'bind, tie, dam', Gnd kaṭṭā 'a dam in the river for catching fish', Knd kaṭa

'bundle (of hay)', Kui $k\bar{a}\check{t}$ - v. 'fix, fasten', Mlt $ga\check{t}a$ 'rope, cord'; [2] \rightarrow (?) (att. in GnD) $*ka\check{t}\check{t}\bar{i}$ \rightarrow (?) $*katt\bar{i}$ 'mat, mat wall' > Gnd $ka\check{t}\check{t}\bar{i}$ 'palmleaf mat', $katti(:)$ \rightarrow $ketti$ 'mat', Knd $kati$ 'wall', Ku $katti$ 'mat wall' \rightarrow $kati$ 'wall' ¶¶ The variant $*katt\bar{i}$ (if based on accurate transcription of the sources) requires explanation ¶¶ D no-s 1147 and 1205, Km. 320-1 [no. 234] \diamond NaT $*-t-$ (for the expected $*-\delta-$) is to be explained. It may suggest sth. like pN $*\check{ka}d\check{v}\check{v}$ \diamond IS I 316-17 ($*\check{ka}d\check{a}$ 'сплестать из прутьев' > K, IE, A, Ch), AD GD 16 (Eg, K, IE), AD NM dno. 91; S CNM 3 ($\div\div$ the N root related to NrCs).

1007. $*\check{k}'\check{a}'d'i'$ 'take, hold' > K $*\check{k}id-$ 'take, hang sth.' > OG $\check{k}id-$ v. 'take, hang' ($a\check{y}\check{i}\check{k}ida$ $m\check{q}arta$ $twista$ 'she took it on her shoulders', Gen. 21.14), G $\check{k}id-$ 'hängen, aufhängen, aufpacken', Mg $\check{k}i(n)d-$ v. 'take with the hand', Lz $\check{k}id-$ 'snatch, hang', Sv $\check{k}id-/k\check{e}d-/k\check{a}d-/k\check{d}-$ v. 'take' ¶¶ K 112, FS K 171-2, Chik. 292, Chx. 586-8 || HS: S $*\check{c}\check{k}dy$ > Sr $\check{c}\check{k}dy$ D (pf. $\check{c}\check{k}a\check{d}'\check{d}\bar{i}$) v. 'keep possession of, not let go, hold fast, retain' ¶ Br. 646, JPS 489 || Ch: $\check{c}\sigma$ WCh {Stl.} $*k\check{v}t-$ v. 'get' > AG: Su {J} $k\check{a}t$ 'bekommen, erlangen, finden', Ang {Flk., Hf.} $k\check{a}t$, Gmy {Hf.} $k\check{a}t$ v. 'find, get', Kfr {Nt.} $k\check{a}t$ v. 'meet, get, find', Mpn {Frz.} $k\check{a}t$ v. 'find' || Bl kut v. 'get', Tng {J} $k\check{o}t-$ v. 'hold, keep' ¶ Stl. ZCh 206 [no. 570] (+ Hs $k\check{y}\check{a}u\check{t}a$ 'present' [with a query], which is phonetically qu.), Stl. SF, J S 69, J T 102, Nt. 18, Hf. AG 23 [no. 188], Frz. DM 25, ChC s.v. 'get' and 'find' || A: M (< d.?) $*qadagala-$ 'preserve, save, keep, take care of' > MM $qadagala-$ [S] 'besorgen', [HI] 'prendre soin de, gouverner', [MA] 'take care of', WrM $qadagala-$ {MED} v. 'place in safekeeping, preserve, save, keep', HIM $\check{x}ad\check{g}ala-$ {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'preserve, save, keep', Brt $\check{x}ad\check{g}al-$ 'preserve, save, hide', Kl {KRS} $\check{x}ad\check{h}l-$ $\check{x}ad\check{y}\check{b}l-$ 'aufbewahren (preserve, save, хранитъ, сохранять)', {Rm.} $\check{x}ad\check{a}\check{y}\check{b}l-$ 'behüten, bewahren, bewachen', Ord $\check{x}ad\check{a}\check{g}ala-$ 'conserver, garder, avoir la garde de' ¶ H 55, MED 902, BMR IV 14, Chr. 530, KRS 566, KW 158, Ms. H 85, Ms. O 321, Pp. MA 285 || E: AchEl $ki-ti-$ 'haben, behalten' ¶¶ HK 489-90 \diamond K $*i$ and Elamite i suggest that a front vw. in the N etymon is more likely than $*a$. M $*-a-$ of the first syll. is likely to go back to N $*-\check{a}-$ (regr. as. $*-\check{a}...a-$ > $*-a...a-$).

1008. $*\check{k}'\hat{o}d\check{v}$ (= $*\check{K}\hat{o}d\check{v}$ or $*\check{K}\hat{o}\check{v}id\check{v}$?) 'destroy, break, cut' > IE: NaIE $*g^{\omega}ed^h-$ 'destroy' (\times N $*gud\check{v}$ 'cut, tear' [q.v.]) > ? OI Λ $gan'dhayat\bar{e}$ 'injures' || Gk $\delta\epsilon\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ v. 'abuse, revile', [Hdt.] $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma$

n. 'reproach' ||| Blt (× IE *g^{wh}end^h-, cp. L of-fendo): Lt 1s pres. gendù / inf. gèsti v. 'spoil, deteriorate', 1s pres. gadinù / inf. gadinti v. 'spoil', Ltv 1s pres. ġinstu / inf. ġint v. 'be destroyed' ¶ WP I 665-6, P 466-7, 491-2, MK I 321 (OI < IE *g^{wh}end^h-, cp. L of-fendo), FI 366 (no et. of δεννύζω and δέννοϛ), Frn. 149-50 ¶¶ IE *g^{wh}- for the expected *k^{wh}- is due to the IE incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ ¶¶ If the N etymon is *Ḳôʔid∇, the IE short vw. may be due to contamination with N *gud∇ || ? K: GZ *k_od- vi. 'hew, hollow; cut\peck\chop\wound' (× N *Ḳu|od^ra^h∇ [~ *Ḳad_aḲ∇?] 'pierce', 'sharp', q.v. ffd.) || HS: WS *✓k_odd (*-k_oudd-) > Sr ✓k_odd v. 'tear\cut away', MHb {Lv.} ✓k_odd G 'cut, separate, perforate', Ar ✓q_odd v. G 'cut lengthwise, dilacerate (leather, cloth), cut off into shreds', Gz ✓k_odd v. 'cut, cut open, tear apart' ¶ Br. 645, Lv. IV 244-5, BK II 682, Hv. 590, LG 420 || ? φ A: Tg *χidar- v. 'hurt by pricking; (be) prickly, (be) bitter' > Nn Nh sidari {On.} 'it is painful, it is pricking', {STM} 'pain from a blow\needle\ splinter in one's skin', Ewk Tt idar 'bitter (горько)', Ewk idari- 'feel bitter\sour\piquant taste, feel acute pain from burning', Lm idar- be sour; turn sour' (fish), d. Ork sidāruli- 'sour'; -d: Ul sidarsi 'prickly (колкий, колючий)', Nn Nh {On.} sidarsī- 'feel pain from pricking', Nn Nh {SDM}, Ul sidarsī-, Ork sidari-sī- v. 'be pricking\smart, burn (one's skin)', Lm idarsī 'едкий, bitter, sour', Neg idasi 'bitter' ¶ STM I 297, On. 359-60 ◇ If Tg *χidar- belongs here, the N etymon may be very tentatively reconstructed as *Ḳôʔid∇ (with loss of N *-ʔi- in IE, K and S) ◇ Qu., because the IE and Ugr recs. are still open to discussion ◇ If GZ *k_od- belongs here (rather than to N *Ḳu|od^ra^h∇), the initial N cns. is *k_o-, otherwise it may be either *k_o- or *q_o-.

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

1010. *ḲAʔû^rd∇ 'neck, (?) nape, shoulder' > HS: S: Ar qawad- 'length of the neck' ¶ BK II 832 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} ket̄t̄ō, Mch {L} kättó, Amuru {Fl.} kétto, Anf {Fl.} kεtto, {C} ket̄t̄ō, {Gt.} ket'to, Shn {Lm.} kēt-ta, Omt {Mrn.} kōdē, Wl {C} kōdē 'neck', Zl {C}

ʔoɖiɣā id., {LmS} ʔoɖiya 'throat', Gf {AIA} ʔōde, {C} ʔoɖā, ʔuoɖā
 'neck', {LmS} ʔōɖa 'throat', Bdt {C} ʔoɖē, {LmS} ʔoɖe 'throat', Bsk
 {LmS} ʔoɖa, Dk {Blz.} ʔōɖ, Cha {C} ʔiɖɖa, Malo {LmS} ʔōde, Dwr {AIA}
 ʔōɖiya, Gm {Hw.} ʔōɖe 'neck', Dc {LmS} ʔōɖe 'throat, neck' || BMa {Fl.}
 ʔitišē, Sz {Fl.} kiɖiši, Sz1 {SiW} kéšē, ketéšé 'neck' ||| SOm: Ari {Bnd.}
 ʔadá, ?? Dm {Bnd.} gēte 'neck, throat' ¶ C SE III 116, 174 and IV 489,
 Gt. 358, Mrn. O 156, LmS 436-7, L M 48, ≈ Blz. OLBP no. 84, AIA ODS
 4 [no. 26], Hw. EG, SiW ABK 15, Fl. OWL, Bnd. AL 155 || ? SC: Brn ʔosa
 'nape of neck' ¶ E SC 268 (pSC *ʔ^ωaɖ^ɣa) ||| D *kutt- 'throat, neck' >
 Kn kuttige id., Tl kutika, kutuka 'throat', kuttuka,
 kuttuka id., 'gullet', Nkr kutka, Knd gotika 'throat', Knd Sv kutu
 'neck', Prj kunda gōlu 'nape of neck', Png kuta aspond, Mnd kuta
 ahpond, Ku kuta ve'uri ɖ kutha wiuri 'hiccough' (Ku ve'uri
 'hiccough') ¶¶ D no-s 1718 and 5383 ||| U *kūt[∇] ~ *kūt[∇]
 'shoulder, back' (× N ≈ *ʔ_uɣ_tɣ_ɣɣ_ɣ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.) ◇
 Ar ʔawad- suggests that D and U *-tt- (as well as -tt- in Omotic lges)
 may be explained as going back to the cns. cluster *-ʔd- < N *-ʔ^ʔɖ^ʔd-.
 But if Ar ʔawad- does not belong here, the N etymon is *ʔ_uɣ_tɣ[∇] ◇ ≈
 Blz. DA 155 [no. 27] (incl. D, Om, SC, U + unc. equation with HS
 **ʔur^ti ~ **ʔur^li).

1011. *ʔoɖ_ad[∇] 'be deprived of; deprive of' > HS: S *^oʔɖ > Ar
 ʔɖ G : pf. 3f ʔaɖad-at 'had no husband', {Fr.} 'conjugate orbata fuit'
 (× ʔiɖād- 'conjug') ¶ Fr. III 471-2, Hv. 617 ||| K *^oʔwɖd-/*^ok^wd- > Sv
 {Ni.} li-ʔwɖdune 'to deprive of', ʔwäd 'loss (caused by death)' (×
 K *^oʔwɖd-/*^ok^wd- 'die' < N ? *ʔ_ud[∇] 'die') ¶ Ni. s.v. 'лишить,
 лишение', ≈ K² 91-2 ||| IE: NaIE *ka(:)d- v. 'deprive of, destroy' > Gk
 Hm κεκαδῶν asp. 'depriving of', ft. κεκαδησει 'will deprive of', Gk Δ
 [Hs.] aor. inf. κεκαδησαι (βλάψαι, κακῶσαι, φεισάσθαι, στερῆσαι) ≈ to
 harm, to maltreat, to deprive of' ||| OI kadana^m 'destruction' ||| ??
 Tc A kat 'destruction (?)' ¶¶ *d- for the expected *-d^h- is due to the
 IE root structure laws that reject **g^het-roots (asp. vd. + vl. cns. in
 the same √) ¶ WP I 341, P 516, M K I 149, F I 811, Ch. 510-11, Wn. LE
 27, Wn. I 190 (Tc < IE *(s)kod-) ||| A: ? T *^oʔo_uɖ^ur > OT {Cl.} ʔoɖuz
 'a woman who no longer has a husband because he is either divorced
 or dead', [MhK] 'femme seule ('al-mar'atu-ḏ-ḏayyib)' (unless
 derived from {ET} *koɖ- [{Cl.} ʔōɖ- with an unjustified long vw.] v.
 'put down, abandon') ¶ Cl. 595, 608, ET Q 279, MKA I 305, MKD 141
 ||| D *koɖɖ-, {ʔGS} *goɖɖ- 'having no children, barren' > Tm koɖɖu,

Kn godđi 'barren woman', Kt godḡ 'man who has no children', godḡ 'barren woman', Kn godđu 'state of being barren', Tu godđu 'barren', Tl godđu id., 'empty', Knd godḡ 'barren' ¶¶ D no. 2074 ◇ IE *k- points to a N vw. *a (suggesting a pN *koḡad ▽ > [syncope] **kad ▽ > IE *kad-).

1012. *KaHd ▽ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety' (→ [in some lges] 'care'), 'anger, hate' > IE: NaIE *k|k̄ād-/*k|k̄ad- 'troubled state of mind, anger, hate' > Gk κῆδος, Gk D κῆδος n. 'care about, anxiety, grief', Gk κῆδος pl. 'troubles' ||| Osc CADEIS AMNUD 'inimicitiae causa' ||| Clt {Matas.} *kādo- n. 'regret, anger' > MW caudd 'anger', W XVII [Dv.] caḡdd 'offensa, ira, indignatio', Crn keuth ~ cūth 'sorrow, grief, trouble', MBr {Matas.} cuez ~ queuz n. 'regret, affliction', {Ern.} cueuz n. 'regret', Br {Hm.} keuz n. 'regret', keuz v. 'repentir'; MW cadw, cadu v. 'care about', W cadw v. 'keep, preserve, save, guard', MBr {Ern.} cuezaff v. 'regret' (× N *k̄ā'd'i' 'take, hold?'); OIr cais n. 'hate; love', OW, Crn, MBr cas, Br kas 'hate' (< *kad-si), W cas 'hateful; hatred', cas 'hater, enemy', casáu v. 'hate, detest, abhor' ||| Gt hatıs ('ὄργη, θυμός)'Haß, Zorn', ON hatr, heti, NE hate, OHG haꝛ, NHG Haß, AS hete 'hatred'; Gt hatan, OSx haton, OHG haꝛꝛēn, NHG hassen, OFrs hatja, AS hatian 'to hate', NE v. hate ⇨ n. hate, hatred ||| ?? Av sādra 'suffering, pain' ¶ P 517, EI 259 (*k̄ehdes- ≈ concern, hate'), M K III 61-2, F I 836-7, Bc. G 313, Vn. C 22, YGM-1 77, ECCE 229, Ern. 137, Vr. 213, Fs. 247-8, Matas. E 183, Hm. 455, Ho. 150, 157, Kb. 440, Schz. 160, KM 292 ¶ If Av sādra belongs here, the IE etymon will be *k̄ād-) ||| **A:** NaT *Kaδgu 'sorrow, grief, anxiety, care' > OT {Cl.} qaδḡu, Tkm ḡayḡi, Tk kayḡi, CrTt, Kr, Qrg ḡayḡi, Uz ḡayḡu id., Qmq ḡayḡi, VTt, Bsh ḡayḡḡ, Ln ḡayḡa 'grief, sorrow', Az ḡayḡi, Blq ḡayḡi 'care', Chv L хуйхă хууḡḡ, Chv Δ хойхă ḡ хуйăх ḡ хойăх ḡ хуйăхă 'grief, sorrow, кручина, невзгода' ¶ Cl. 598-9, ET KQ 201-3, Rl. II 8-10, 295-6, Nj. 596, Ash. XVI 142-4, Fed. II 352-3, Jeg. 302, ChVS 253 ||| **D** *kat- ({ḡGS} *k-, -t-) v. 'be angry' > Tm kataḡu id., Ml katam 'wrath', Kn kāti ~ kati 'anger', Klm kati 'anger, hate', ? Ku kandri 'anger' ¶¶ D *-t- < N *-Hd- ¶¶ D no. 486 ||| **HS:** B *✓kyḡ (and secondary *✓Hkḡ) 'detester' (× N *koḡd ▽ ~ *kodḡ ▽ 'filth, dirt; abominable?') > Ah akyaḡ 'mésestimer, avoir la rancune contre ..., avoir du ressentiment contre...', ETwl, Ty akyaḡ 'mésestimer, sous-

estimer, détester', Gh $\text{akya}\check{\text{d}}$ (noun) 'hate', Ttq {Msq.} $\text{k}\hat{\text{i}}\text{a}\check{\text{d}}$ 'détester', ETwl, Ty $\text{ak}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$ id. (n. act. $\text{akk}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$), Ah $\text{ak}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$ 'avoir horreur (aversion extrême)', $\text{ikk}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$ 'horreur (aversion extrême)' ¶ The Tw verb $\text{ak}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$ belongs to Fcj. 66 = Pcj. I A 3, which apparently presupposes rec. of a pB stem $*\text{-Hku|i}\check{\text{d}}$, but the Ah, ETwl and Ty noun $\text{ikk}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$, $\text{akk}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}$ suggests that the conjugation pattern of this verb in Ah is not original, but results from morphological reinterpretation ¶ Fc. 749, 769-71, GhA 89, 104, Nh. 167, Msq. 87 || ? (mt.) S: Ar $\check{\text{h}}\text{qd}$ G (ip. $\text{-}\check{\text{h}}\text{q}\text{idu}$) 'brood a secret hatred' ¶ BK I 466, Hv. 134 || If E.'s SC reconstruction of pSC $*\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}} \sim *k\check{\text{a}}\check{\text{d}}|r\text{-}$ is valid, we may add Asa aririt 'quarrel' and SC $\text{b}\rightarrow$ Mb -xaro 'be angry' (see E SC 250) ¶¶ The cns. q in Ar $\check{\text{h}}\text{qd}$ needs explaining (contamination with another root?) ◇ D $*\text{-t-}$ is likely to go back to post-N $*\text{-}\check{\text{t}}\text{-}$ < N $*\text{-Hd-}$.

1013. $*k\check{\text{A}}\text{hd}\hat{\text{e}}$ (or $*k\check{\text{A}}\text{d}\hat{\text{e}}$?) 'to cover' > IE: NaIE $*k\check{\text{a}}|\text{ad}^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ v. 'protect, cover' ('hüten, schützend bedecken') > OHG huoten 'to guard' ('behüten, bewachen'), NHG $\text{h\ddot{u}ten}$ 'to guard, to keep, to take care of'; OHG $\text{h\ddot{u}ta}$ 'hut, cover of a tent', {Schz.} 'Wache', NHG Hut 'hat; keeping, guard, shelter', AS $\text{h\ddot{o}d}$ (> NE hood), OFrs $\text{h\ddot{o}de}$ 'Obhut', ON $\text{h\ddot{o}ttr}$, Ic hattur , $\text{h\ddot{o}tue}$, AS $\text{h\ddot{a}tt}$ 'hat', NE hat || L cassis / gen. cassidis 'helm' (< $*k\check{\text{a}}|\text{ad}^{\text{h}}\text{-tis}$) || Clt {Matas.} $*k\omega\text{wdo-}$ 'hiding place' > MW cudd 'hidng place, concealment', MBr cuz 'hiding place', Br {Matas.} kuz id., {Hm.} kuzh adj. 'caché, secret' ¶ WP I 341, P 516, Ho. 146, 167, Vr. 282, OsS 433, Schz. 172, Kb. 492, KM 322-3, WH I 177, Matas. 219, Hm. 497 ¶¶ The deviation of the IE incompatibility law (that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root) still requires explanation (infl. of the Ir.?) || HS: S: [1] CS $*\check{\text{h}}\text{d}$ v. 'hide' > BHb $\check{\text{h}}\text{d}$ D v. 'hide, conceal', Sh v. 'efface; hold', Sr $\check{\text{h}}\text{d}$ D 'put to shame', G 'revere, be modest'] [2] ? (+ext.) WS $*\check{\text{k}}\text{dn}$ v. 'cover, wrap' (× N $*k\check{\text{a}}\text{d}\nabla$ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle') > Ar $\check{\text{k}}\text{dn}$: kadana bi- v. 'wrap oneself in (clothes)', {BK} 's'entourer les reins avec les pans de sa robe en guise de ceinture', Ar D maqdana 'cover of an oven', Gz $\check{\text{k}}\text{dn}$ G v. 'cover, wrap, clothe', Tgr $\check{\text{k}}\text{dn}$ G v. 'cover, clothe', Tgy $\check{\text{k}}\text{dn}$ G v. 'cover' ¶ KB 447, KBR 469, BDB no. 3582, BK II 875, Hv. 647, L G 275-6 || C: EC: Or {Th.} $\check{\text{k}}\text{ad}\check{\text{a}}\text{du}$ v. 'cover, close', {Grg.} $\check{\text{k}}\text{ad}\check{\text{a}}\text{da}$ 'put a lid on', {Th.} $\check{\text{k}}\text{ad}\check{\text{a}}\text{da}$, $\check{\text{k}}\text{ad}\check{\text{a}}\text{do}$ 'coperchio, tappo, turacciolo', {Grg.} $\check{\text{k}}\text{ad}\check{\text{a}}\text{da}$ 'cover, vessel, gourd' || Ag $*k^{\omega}\text{zt-}$ ~ $*k^{\omega}\text{zd-}$ v. 'cover' > Bln {R} $\text{k\ddot{u}t-}$, $\text{k\ddot{u}t-}$ v. 'cover, veil (bedecken, zudecken, verhüllen)', $\text{k\ddot{u}d}$

'Deckel', Q {R} *kũt-* 'verdecken, verhüllen', Dmb {R} *ked-* v. 'cover' ¶ R WB 230, R QW 89, Th. 267, Grg. 314 ¶¶ AD SF 35 || K *^o*ke₁t-* > G (da-) *ket-* v. 'close' ('schließen, zumachen'), (gamо-) *ket-* 'einschließen, einsperren', (mi) *ket-* '(zu-\ver-\ ab-)schließen' ¶ Chx. 571 || U *^o*käde-* (or *^o*ki₁de-*, *^o*kä|ire-*) > Sm **ker(ь)* v. 'put on (clothes), wear' > Ne Т серă(сь), Ne F {Lh.} *šje·ra-ś*, Ng {Mik.} *šerădi* id., En X {Cs.} 'seribo, B {Cs.} 'seribo 'anziehen' (1s aor. s/obj.), Slq Tz {KKIH} *šēr-* v. 'put on, wear', Kms {KD} *šērālam* id. (1s pres.), Koyb {Sp.} серля 'I am putting on', Mt {Hl.} **ker-* vi. 'dress', d. **kerat(ə)-* v. 'put on' (Mt: M {Sp.} кернамъ 'I am dressing myself' ['одеваюся'], керытьямъ 'I put on') ¶ Jn. 68, Hl. M no-s 470 and 472, Cs. 90, KKIH 174 || A **k'æd-* > NaT **κæδ-* v. 'put on (clothes, footwear), wear' > OT *käδ-*, Tk *giy-*, Qmq *giy-*, Az, Tkm *gey-*, Tk Δ, ET Δ, Ln *keç-*, CrTt, Kr, VTt, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Uz, Qzq *kiç-*, Bsh *kby-*, SY *kez-*, Xk *kis-* *kis-*, Tv *ket-*, Tf *ket'-*, Yk *kät-* id. ¶ Cl. 700, ET VGD 12-14, Ra. 203, Rs. W 246, BIG 78 ¶ StTk *g-* suggests pT **k'-*, while Tk Δ *k-* points to a fortis **k'-*, hence the identity of the pT initial cns. remains uncertain || M **kedür-* v. 'wear (a garment) over one's shoulders' > WrM {MED} *kedür-*, Brt *xэдэр-* id., Kl {KRS} *kөдр-* id., {Rm.} *ködrg-* 'über (seine Schultern) werfen, sich bemanteln', Ord *k'edür-* 'porter (un vêtement) étendu sur les épaules'; M **kedürge* '(rain)coat, cover (Bedeckung)' > WrM {MED} *kedürge*, HIM {MED} *xэдрэг* 'coat', {BMR} *xөдөргө* 'cloak (плащ, накидка, мантия)', Kl {KRS} *kөдрг* 'raincoat', {Rm.} *ködrgä* 'Mantel, großes Tuchstück über die Schultern geworfen, Bedeckung', Ord *k'edürge* 'manteau' ¶ MED 442, BMR IV 131, Chr. 641, KRS 312, KW 236, Ms. O 409 || Tg [1] *^o*χ₁a^hd^hu* 'cloth' > WrMc {Z} *аду* id., Jrc {Kiy.} *hätu* 'dress, clothing' | [2] *^o*χ₁etu-* v. 'put on, wear' > WrMc {Z} *эту-* id., *этук̄у* 'garment', Lm *этik* 'upper garment of women' ¶ STM II 469, Z 31, 73, Kiy. 127 [no-s 551 and 554] || pJ **ki-* v. 'put on, wear' > OJ *ki-*, MJ *kyi-*, JT *kì-*, JK/Kg *kí-* id. ¶ Mr. 709, Kenk. 974 ¶¶ SDM 683 (pA **kjādi* 'put on, wear' > T, M, pJ), DQA no. 806 (pA **kjādi* or **k'ajdi* 'put on, wear' > T, M, ? Tg *^o*χ₁adu*), S AJ 72, ADb. KL 14 (T, M), KW 236, Pp. VG 19, Oz. NM 197-9, Mill. JAL 72-3, 136 ¶¶ The vw. *-a- in Tg *^o*χ₁a^hd^hu* may be explained by regr. as. In Tg *^o*χ₁etu-* the vl. *-t- requires explanation (*-t- from N *-hd-?) ◇ The

doubtful rec. ***κAdê** is valid only if the S cognate is * \checkmark kdñ rather than * \checkmark khd.

1013a. ***κawud**∇ (r...) (or ***κawüd**∇ (r...)) 'tail' > IE: NaIE ***kaud-** (more plausible than ***kouđ-**) 'tail' > L *cauda* 'tail', *cōda* 'tail' (> Sp *codā*, Rm *coadã*, Fr *queue*); acc. to Ernout, *cōda* is an early dialectal monophthongization from *cauda*; alternatively, *cauda* may be a hyperurbanism for *cōda* || ? Lt *kuōdas* 'tuft of hair, of feather' ¶ Ert ED 140, WH I 185, ≠ Frn. 311 (Frn. believed that Lt *kuodas* is a bf. from *kuodēlis* 'Flachsbüschel' [← Blr *күдзеля* 'flax tow' < pSl **kōdelb*], which is less semantically plausible than to suppose that Lt *kuodēlis* 'tuft of flax tow' results from a merger of *kuodēlis* 'small tuft of hair' [dim. from *kuodas*] with Blr *күдзеля*, because the semantic change 'tail' → 'tuft, Schopf' is widespread [cp. below WrMc {Hr} *irge-ce* 'schopfig' < Tg **χürgü* 'tail']) ¶ If the NaIE stem is ***kaud-**, it suggests a pN ***κaw**∇**d**∇, but if it is ***kouđ-**, L *au* for the expected *ū* < **ow* is unexplainable. Therefore the NaIE rec. ***kaud-** is more plausible || **K** ***κud-** / (?) ***κwed-**, {FS} ***κwad-** 'tail' > OG *κud-* 'tail', G *κud-* 'tail, end', Mg, Lz *κudel-*, Sv: UB *haκwäd*, LB *häκed*, L *aκwed-*, Ln *aκwaṭ* 'tail' ¶¶ K 117, K² 103, FS K 176, FS E 192, Schm. 120, Chik. 92, GM S 311, TK 891 || **HS**: B ***k**∇**w**∇**d** - 'tail' > Izn *i-šuwāḫ*, Rf Wr/T *a-šugg^waḫ* id. ¶ Rn. 349 ¶ Here *š* < pB *k* (cp. Rf B/A *t-κira* ÷ Rf Tz *t-šira*, Izn *t-i-šira* 'cire', Rf Bq/A *a-κarra* ÷ Rf Tz *a-šarra* 'grêle' etc., / Rn. 23: "š. Stade le plus avancé... d'altération de l'occlusive post-palatale {sc. k} s'observe constamment chez les Tz et quelquefois dans les autres parlers") || ? Ch ***k**∇**t**∇**r** ~ ***k**∇**d**∇**r** > WCh {Stl.} **kitari* 'tail' > BT: Tng {J} *kodɔr*, Pr {Frz.} *kérèt*, Grm {Sh.} *kìtìrì*, Krf {Sch.} *kìtìrì*, Krkr {Al.} *čàtár* id. | NrBc: Wrj {IL} *k^wátáré* id. | SBc: Kir {Sh.} *kàr*, Tala {Sh.} *kítəe*, Grm {Sh.} *klrau*, {Jgr} *kèru*, Buli {Sh.} *klɔdar*, Tule {Sh.} *k^yērɜ*, Wnd {Sh.} *člr*, Zar K {Sh.} *kír*, Zar GL *k^yír*, Zar L *kîr*, Sy B *k^yērɜ*, Sy Zk *kīrɜ*, Sy Z *kier* id. | Ngz {Sch.} *kùtáɽ*, Bd {IL} *uktír* id. || CCh: Cb {IL} *k^wudæ* id. | Lmn {Lk.} (*ù*)*xṭìrì* id. | Mdr *káta^lɽ*, Gdf {IL} *xoṭhílɔ̀*, Dgh {IL} *xóthòlè*, Ngs {IL} *xṭhíl* id. | Gdr {Mch.} *kútrə* id. | Msg P {Mch.} *gíder* id. | Ms {J} *gìdèrdà* id. ¶ JI II 316-17, ChC s.v. 'tail', ChL, Stl. ZCh 207 [no. 573], Sh. SB 32 ¶ Here infl. of Nigritic lges is possible; cp. pBantu **-kída* 'tail' (Mssn 53) || **A** ***k'ûdûrûk** 'tail' > T **Kuḫuruk* > OT {Cl.} *quḫruq*, Tk *kuyruk*, Az *guyrug*, Slr *guruḫ*, Ggz *kuyruk*,

Qmq, Blq, Qrg, StAlt, Qmn, Tb, QK, Uz quyruq, Tkm guyrug, ET qu(y)ruq, VTt койрык q̇yrẏq, Bsh q̇yrẏq, Qzq, Nog, Qq quyruq, Xk xuzuruq, SY guz(u)ruq, Xlj qurduq, Tv, Tf quduruq, Yk kuturuk, Chv L хўре xüre, хёвре, Chv Δ хивре 'tail'; ⇨ T *Kuδurgun 'crupper, Schwanzriemen' > OT [MhK] quδurɣun, {Cl.} quδurɣūn id. ⇨ M *qudurga 'crupper, breeching (harness)' ('Schwanzriemen [des Sattels und des Pferdegeschirrs für Wagen]') > MM [MA] quδurga 'crupper (harness)' ('подхвостный ремень'), WrM {Rm., Kow.} quδurgan 'Schwanzriemen, croupière', {MED} quδurga(n) 'crupper, breeching (harness)', HIM {MED} худрага id., {BMR} хударга 'breast collar in harness (шляя)', Brt хударга id., "crupper under the tail (подхвостный ремень)", Kl {Rm.} χudr̥ɣa 'Schwanzriemen (des Sattels oder des Pferdegeschirrs für Wagen)', Dg χudurga 'crupper under the tail'; ср. also WrM quδusa id. (probably a loan from a T lge, ср. Chg [MA] quyuɣ̣ qun id.) ¶ Cl. 604-6, DTS 463-4, Rs. W 296, ET Q 114-17, TL 145, Ra. 221, DT 180, Ash. XVI 119, 282-4 and XVII 14, Fed. II 377, Jeg. 313, ChVS 248, 260, Pp. MA 308, KW 195, MED 980, BMR IV 161, Chr. 598, KW 195, MYC 385, Md. 62 and Md. OJ 99-102 (Mudrak reconstructed a special pT cns. *ǰ for the cases of sound corr. NaT *-δ- ÷ OChv *-y-: pT *k'udruk 'tail' > NaT *kuδruk and Chv хўре xüre id. [< OChv *xuyre], but it is easier to explain these cases, almost always preceding T *-r-, as a positional treatment of pT *δ before T *r: pT *δr > OChv *-yr-, otherwise *-δr- would have yielded Chv *-rr-, which does not exist in words with this root) || Tg *χürgü ({ADb.} < *χuyrgen) 'tail' > Ewk irgi, Sln iggi ~ irgi, Lm irgə, Neg L īxi ~ iygi, Neg H idgi, Orc iggi, Ud igi, Ul χuʒu, Ork χudu, Nn Nh χuygu id., Mc Sb {STM} irge 'метелка' (= 'crest on bird's head, Schopf?'), WrMc {Hr} irge-se 'schopfig', {Z} иргэчэ нѣхэ ~ эргэчэ нѣхэ 'хохлатая утка' (= 'schopfige Ente') (нѣхэ is 'duck'), {Hr} irgece rēxe 'mandarin duck' ¶ STM I 325, On. 476, Z 88, 118, Hr 503, Pp. VG 33 || pKo {S} *s-kòrí 'tail' > MKo skòrí, Ko: Ph/Chj k:ori, Sl korí, Chs k:óri, PhN k:ɔndɛŋ, Ks korandē, Hm ko_rī_ id. ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 86], S QK no. 85, Nam 50, MLC 140 ¶¶ SDM 814-15 (pA *k'júdo(rg∇) > T, M [treated as a branch of pA rather than a loan from T], Tg, Ko), DQA no. 1074, SDM97 s.v. *k'üdorg∇ 'tail', S AJ 53, 284 [no. 208] (pA *k'udurgi), Vld. 322, ADb. KL 9 ◇ L cauda and B *k∇w∇d∇- suggest a pN *k'aw∇d∇, which in the light of the K and A

evidence is to be interpreted as ***k̥awu|ü d ▽** ◇ IS I 327-8 (K-IE-A-Ch); Md. OJ 101-2 (÷ err. φ D *k̥o|]- 'tail').

1014. *k̥oXad ▽ 'dip, plunge, descend' > IE *g^ωeHd^h- > NaIE *g^ωād^h- 'plunge, dip in' > OI 'gāhatē 'dives, plunges into', Av accus. pl. vi-gāθō 'Schluchten', guḏa- 'Tiefe' || OIr báidid 3s 'plunges, drowns', W boddi 'to drown, to be drowned', Crm bedhy, bodhy, {ECCE} būdhy (pres.-ft. būth), MBr beuziff, Br beuzirñ 'to drown' || Gk βῆσσα, Gk D βῆσσα 'wooded combe, glen' (< *βῆϑα), Gk βυθός, βυσσός 'depth of the sea' (β for γ due to the infl. of βῆσσα) ¶ WP II 665, P 465, EI 160 (? g^ωād^h- 'dive'), M K I 334-5, ≠ M E I 486 (OI < NaIE *g^ωāgh-, cp. SCr gāziti 'treten, waten'), F I 234, Vn. B 6, ECCE 217, YGM-1 49, Ern. 65, Hm. 80 ¶ IE *g^ω- for the expected *k^ω- is due to the IE morpho-phonemic rejection of **tegh^h-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √) || **D** (att. in SD) *k̥ōt̥aj̥ ({}GS} *k-) 'west' (< *'sunset?'), {GS} *k̥ōd̥-aj̥ 'monsoon' > Tm k̥ōt̥aj̥, Kn k̥ōd̥e 'west wind, cool wind', Ml k̥ōt̥a id., 'west', Kt k̥eṛ 'southwest monsoon', Td k̥wāṛ 'monsoon' ¶ D no. 2203, GS 68 [no. 217] || **HS**: S (mt.) *^o✓k̥d̥h > Ar ✓qd̥h G (pf. qadaḥa, ip. -qdaḥ-) 'be sunk in its socket' (eye) (× S *✓k̥d̥h G 'perforate' < N *k̥u|od̥'aḥ ▽ [~ *k̥ad̥aj̥h ▽?] 'pierce' sharp', q.v. ffd.) ¶ BK II 684, Hv. 590, ≠ MiK I no. 2.35 || ?φ EC: Brj {Ss.} gōd- 'go down, descend', Or E {Hw.} gadō 'downhill slope' ¶ Ss. B 81, Hw. s.v. gadō || NrOm: Kf {HHM} k̥ito v. 'fall, die' (× N ? *k̥Ud ▽ 'die', q.v.) (Kf t < *d̥h ¶ HHM 61, 97 || **A**: T *k̥oδ- v. 'put (down), let' > OT qōδ- 'hinlegen, lassen' ({}Cl.} qōδ- without convincing ev. of the length of o), Tk koṽ-, Ggz koṽ-, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, Slr, Qmn, Tb qoṽ- v. 'put', Tkm, Az goṽ- v. 'put, let', Tk WAn goṽve- 'freilassen', VTt, Bsh quṽ-, SY quz- v. 'put', Uz quṽ- v. 'pour'; with loss of -y-: Osm {Rh.} -قو qo- (aor. qo-r) 'put, place, set', Tk ko- (~ koṽ-), Kr {Rl.} qo- id. || Chv L xyp- xur- v. 'put' ('legen, stellen') ¶ Cl. 595-6, Rs. W 273-4, ET Q 27-9, Rl. II 498-9, Rh. 1497-8, TrR 557, 564, Md. 41, Ash. XVI 180-6, Fed. II 361, Jeg. 306, ChVS 254-5 || ? **Gil**: Gil A xut- (xud̥) 'be drowned', xut-ku- caus. v. 'drown' ¶¶ ST RN 421-2 | ??? Gil A {k'ut'} v. 'fall (from above)' ¶¶ ST 125 ◇ The long vw. in NaIE and D point to a lr., but its identity cannot be determined by S (because of the ambiguity of S *✓k̥d̥h) ◇ The HS (S and NrOm) root suggests that the N initial cns. is *k̥-.

1015. *ḲôXAd∇ 'scold', (?) 'shout' > IE *kouH₂xd- / *kuH₂xd- > NaIE *kouəd- / *ku(:)d- v. 'scold', (?) 'shout at' > OI kut-'sā 'abuse, blame', kut'sayati 'abuses, blames', NPrs نكوهيدن nākūhīdān ~ nekūhīdān inf. 'to despise, to blame' ||| Gk κυδάζομαι 'I am reviled', κυδάζω 'I revile, I abuse', κύδος n. 'reproach, abuse' ||| Gmc: OGtn huta 'to call in (herbeirufen)', Nr Δ huta- v. 'shout, make noise, shout threateningly at (a dog), treat with disdain', ON hótta 'to threaten', OSx for-hwātan, OHG wāzan ({P} hwāzan) {Kb.} 'to oppose', fir-wāzan 'to curse, to damn'; Gt hōta (· ἄπειλή) 'Drohung', ON hót 'threat'; *kud-sko- > AS husc, OHG hosc, OSx hosk 'insult, mockery' ||| Sl *kudi- > OCS коудити kuditi inf. 'vituperare', {StSS} 'to blame (порицать, хулить)', RChS, OR kuditi inf. 'to insult, to blame', Blg 'кудя v. 'talk scandal, blame', Slv kúdi ti, Slk kuditi' inf. 'to blame', SCr kùdi ti id., 'to slander' ¶ WP I 348-9, P 595-6, M K I 228, Vl. II 1345, Sg. 1423, F II 40, Vr. 250, Fs. 286, Ho. 179, Ho. S 38, Kb. 1153, OsS 419, Schz. 312, WW 366, ESSJ XIII 82-3, StSS 298 ¶ IE *-d- for the expected *-dʰ- is due to an IE incompatibility law (that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root) || HS: S *°√k dʰ > Ar √q dʰ (ip. -qdaḥu) 'speak ill of', {BK} 'attaquer l'authenticité de la généalogie de qn', L (pf. qādaḥa) 'revile one another' ¶ In S (or Ar) there is mt.: N *ḲôXAd∇ > S *°√k dʰ (or Ar √q dʰ) ¶ BK II 684, Hv. 590 || U *°kot∇- (or *°kat∇-, *°-tt|k|s|k|š|š'k-) > pSm {Jn.} *kāt v. 'scold' (× N *ḳazix∇ ~ *-ž- 'to scold' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: ppM **qoti- > M *qoĉi- 'blame, slander' > WrM {MED} qoci 'mockery, parody; nickname', HIM xoc {MED} id., {BMR} 'nickname', Ord qoĉ'i 'réprimande, tracasserie'; M *qoĉila- > WrM {MED} qocila- v. 'slander, vilify, calumniate; blame; make fun of; give a nickname', HIM xoclo- {MED} id., {BMR} 'give a bad nickname, calumniate', Kl xoclo- xocʎl- 'be jealous, suspect', Kl Ö {Rm.} xocʎl- 'zurechtweisen, einem einen Verweis erteilen, ausschelten', Ord qoĉ'ilo- 'susciter continuellement des difficultés à qn, tracasser, causer de la mésintelligence entre les gens unis' ¶ MED 951, BMR IV 122, KRS 602, KW 191, Ms. O 309 || D {tr.} *kaṭi- v. 'reproach, scold' > Tm kaṭi- v. 'reprove, rebuke, chide', Mlt qarʔe v. 'reproach, scold, abuse'; another D cognate: D {tr.} *kat-∇r-, {᠑GS} *gad-∇r|d- 'shout, scream, make noise' > Tm kataru 'cry aloud from pain\grief, scream, yell', Ml kataruka v. roar, lament', Kn gadaru 'produce a

loud sound', Tu gaddala 'noise', Tl gadumu, gaddincu v. 'rebuke, scold' ← D {GS} *gad- 'scream, yell, scold' ¶¶ The cns. *-t- ({GS} *-d-) in D *kat-∇ꞥ may be explained as going back to *-Xd- from N *-XAd- ¶¶ D no-s 1126 and 1189, GS 25 [no. 7] ◇ U *-t- and ppM *-t- (> M *-ċ-) (for the expected vd. consonants) are likely to result from devoicing within the cluster *-Xd- < N *-XAd- ◇ The meaning 'shout' is represented in NrGmc and D only. Therefore we must either suppose that this meaning belongs to the ancient heritage and has been lost in most lges or to admit here a typologically rare case of semantic change from 'scold' to 'shout' (the opposite of the reg. change from 'shout' to 'scold').

1016. *k̥u|od'a'h∇ (~ *k̥ad_la,h∇?) 'pierce', 'sharp' > ?σ IE: NaIE *k^ωe(:)d-/ *k^ωo(:)d- v. 'sharpen', *^ok^ωod- 'sharp' (× N *Kot∇ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.]) > Gmc {Wtk.} *h^ωatjan > ON hvætja 'to sharpen', AS hwēttan (> NE whet), MLG wetten, OHG (h)wezzen, NHG wetzen 'to whet'; AS hwæt, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, quick' || ?L tri-quetrus 'three-cornered, triangular' (acc. to WH, < *tri-k^ωadros 'three-pointed, 'with three sharp points') ¶ WP I 513 and II 554, ≈ P 636, AHDI 33, EI 510 (*k^ωed- 'whet, sharpen'), WH II 706, Vr. 272, Ho. 179, 181, Kb. 1186, OsS 437, Schz. 321, KM 856 || HS: WS *✓k̥d̥h v. 'bore, perforate, pierce' > JA, Sr, MHb ✓k̥d̥h G v. 'bore, perforate', JEA ✓k̥d̥h G 'bore through, break through', Ar ✓qd̥h v. G 'perforate, make a hole', Sq {Jo.} ✓k̥d̥h G (pf. k̥ādaḥ) 'pierce' ¶ KB 998, KBR 469, Lv. IV 245-6, Br. 645, Js. 1314-15, Sl. 983, Fr. III 405, BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, Jo. M 223 || EC {Ss.} *k̥ud̥h- ~ *k̥ad̥h-, {AD} ≈ *k̥udaḥ- (> [var.] *k̥adaḥ-) 'thorn' > Sml N qódáḥ, Rn kùdáḥ (cs. kuḍakkí), Elm eḍ, Arr {Hw.} k̥èḍèḥ, Or {Bl.} k̥orā-tti, {Brl.} k̥oré / k̥oratti, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} k̥orā(t)tī, Gdl k̥ud̥d-ēt, Kns qḗt-ta ¶ Bl. 180, Abr. S 203, Ss. PEC 49, PG 203, Hw. A 378, Brl. 346, ≈ Th. 75 (Or kore), Sr. 354, AD SF 81 || K *^ok̥od- v. 'cut\peck\chop\wound' (× N *^rk̥¹ôd∇ 'destroy, break, cut') > OG k̥od- 'hew (wood), G k̥od- v. 'castrate; chop; hollow'; šemo-k̥od- v. 'carve signs on trees', G k̥od- v. 'wound, hurt' ('verwunden, verletzen'); ? ⇨ GZ *k̥odal- 'woodpecker' > G k̥odal-, Mg k̥idu- ~ k̥ɜdɜ, Lz k̥id-, (m)k̥ud- id.; G W k̥odara- id.; GZ *k̥od- 'vessel made of one piece of wood, tub' > Mg, Lz k̥od- id., MG, G k̥od- 'vessel (and measure) for dry substances, tub' ¶ K 113, K² 97-8, FS K 187-8, FS E 205-6, Chx. 605-6, Chik. 106-7, Ghl. 297 || A ≈ *^rk̥¹adô^rg¹ô- > M

*qad^rg¹u- v. 'pierce, stab, prick' > MM [MA, S] qatqu- id. ('stechen, stecken'), [IM] qatγu- 'strike with a spear', WrM {MED} qadqu-, HIM {MED, BMR} xatγa-, Brt xadxa- 'pierce, stab, prick', Ord q_{ad}χ_u- 'piquer', ?φ Mnr H {SM} q_{as}q_u- id.; M → Chg {Bu.} qada- v. 'nail (sth. to sth.), pierce, prick', Qzq qada- v. 'dive (sth.) in, thrust, stick in; sew', Nog qada- 'pierce, nail to', VTt qada- v. 'prick', Tv qada- v. 'stick in, thrust', Tf qada- v. 'nail to, prick'; Clauson suggested that this T √ is a loan from M because it is not attested in the T texts previous to the Mongolian conquest ¶ Pp. MA 296-7, 444, H 63, MED 904, BMR IV 68-9, Chr. 531, SM 121, Sht. 251, Rs. W 217-18, Ra. 216, ET KQ 180-2 || NaT *Kaδu- v. 'stitch\sew (a garment)' > OT {Cl.} qad^δu- v. 'sew or stitch (e.g. a garment) firmly', Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qayI-, VTt qayb-, Bsh qay-, Tkm qaya- 'sew (a garment, a hem etc.) with a small stitch' ¶ Cl. 596, Rs. W 219, ET KQ 199-200, Jud. 324, Sht. 253 || ?σ Tg *χô^tô- 'itch, tickle' (× N *ki?∇t^rU¹ 'to tickle', ? 'to itch' [q.v.]) > Nn Nh χotoraq {On.} '(it is) tickling', χotorsi- ~ χotorisi- {On.} vi. 'itch', {STM} v. 'be pricking\smart, burn (one's skin)', Ul χotursi-, Orc χutunsi- ~ χutuñisi-, Ewk utuni ~ utuñi-, Lm utuñ-, Neg otoχon- id., Ud {Shn.} utuni^Hi, Ud Sm {Krm.} utunihi, Orc χutuñā, χutuñisi 'it itches' ¶ The cns. *-t- in Tg *χô^tô- is probably inherited from *-?∇t- in N *ki?∇t^rU¹ ¶ Tg *χô^tô- (if it belongs here) points to a pA initial cns. *k'- ¶ STM II 294-5, Krm. 303, On. 274 ¶¶ SDM 793 (pA *k'jãda 'itching, pungent' > Tg *χidar-, J, Ko), DQA no. 1038 (id.), Mr. KJ 234 (Ko, J) || D *kutt- > Tm kuttu v. 'puncture, pierce, bore', Ml kuttuka v. 'pierce, stab', kuttu 'a stab, prick', Kt kut- v. 'pierce, prick', Td kut- v. 'pierce, stitch, sew', Tu kuttuni v. 'bore, pierce', Knd gut- v. 'stitch, pierce', Mnd kut- v. 'punch with fist', Png kund- id., 'pierce with spear', Kui kuta, Ku kut- v. 'prick' ¶¶ D *-tt- < post-N *-d^h- < N *-d^ra^h- ¶¶ D no. 1719 ◇ The Tg apparent delabialization *u > *i is still to be explained. Cp. a similar case: N *b^ru¹X^ra 'watercourse, river' > Tg *b_ira 'river, brook' ◇ The variant *k_{ad}a_h∇ of the N lexeme resulted probably from regr. as. *-u|o...a- > *-a...a-.

1016a. ₂ *KAdX∇ 'strike fire, kindle' > HS: WS *✓k^dh id. > BHb ✓k^dh G v. 'set fire to', Pun D or Sh (prtc.) {HJ} m^qd^h 'one who lights (the lamps in the temple)', Ar ✓q^dh v. G 'strike fire (with flint)' ({Hv.} 'strike fire with a steel'), Sr ✓k^dh G 'catch fire, blaze

up', JEA {Js., Sl.} ✓ kḏḥ *G* 'be inflamed', Mh, Hrs, Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓ kḏḥ (pf.: Mh 'kḏwḏḥ ~ kḏdōḥ, Hrs kḏdōḥ, Jb 'kḏdaḥ) 'strike a spark \ a light' ¶ KB 998, KBR 469, HJ 986, Br. 645, JPS 489, Js. 1315, Sl. 983, Fr. III 405, BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, Jo. J 141, Jo. H 73 || D: SD *katt- ({ḡGS} *k-) v. 'kindle, burn' > MI kattuka id., kattikka v. 'set on fire, burn', Kt kat- (p. katy-) vi. 'burn', 'light' (lamp), kat- (p. katč-) vt. 'set fire to', Td kot- (p. koty-) vi. 'burn with flame', 'light' (lamp), Kn kattu 'begin to burn with flame, cause to burn with intensity', Kdg katt- 'burn with a blaze', Krg kanti v. 'kindle' ¶ D no. 1207 ◇ SD *-tt- < N *-dX-.

1017. *k'ôd∇X∇ 'pour (liquid); draw (schöpfen) (water)' > HS: WS *✓ kḏḥ id. > Gz ✓ kḏḥ id., Ar ✓ qdḥ v. *G* 'ladle out (soup from the pot)', qadaḥ- 'drinking cup, bowl', Sb mḏḥ '(ḡ) cup\vessel (for offerings)' ¶ BK II 683-4, Hv. 590, L G 420, BGMR 103, Fr. III 405 ¶¶ The ✓ is found in C: Bj {R} ✓ ḡḏḥ pcv. 'ladle out', Ag: Bln {R} ḡadaḡ^w- v. 'ladle, pour', Xm {R} qadaq-, Q {R} hedax- v. 'ladle', but it is probably a loan from Semitic (Ag from EthS ✓ kḏḥ, Bj from Ar ✓ qdḥ) (*F* ¶ R WB 235, R WBd 91, AD SF 284) || A *k'ôd∇ 'pour (liquid)' > NaT *Kuḏ- id. > OT {Cl.} quḏ-, MT quḏ- 'pour out (liquid)', Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Uz, ET quḏ-, ShY quz-, Xk ḡus- 'pour (liquid)', Tkm quḏ-, Kr, Qrg quḏ-, Yk kut- 'pour (gießen, schütten)', VTt, Bsh qḏy- id., 'shed (leaves)', 'shed (hair)' (of animals), Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} quḏ- v. 'cast (metal)', Tv quḏ- 'pour, pour in', Tf quḏ'- 'pour in' ¶ Cl. 596, Rs. W 296, ET Q 109-11, Ra. 222, Rl. II 888-9, JKS 194, SDM 731-2 (err. adduction of Chv L жыв- 'put [классть]' [in fact 'put, put in , pour in', which is more likely to belong to pT *Koy- 'put [legen]', cf. Jeg. 314 [Chv L жыв- 'put, ссыпать хлеб в закрома'], ChVS 260 [Chv L жыв- 'put in'], Ash. XVI 80-3 [Chv жыв- 'put, ссыпать, pour in'], Fed. II 379 [Chv жыв- наливать, лить'], ET Q 110, Pp. ChJ 28 || AmTg (from a compound) *kodUr- v. 'scoop (schöpfen)', 'ε ladle' > Nn Nh {On.} qodori- v. 'scoop (черпать)', Ul qodurpu(n-), Nh/KU qodorpo/ũ, Nn Bk qodorpo(n-) id., Nn: Nh qodoripo/у {STM} id., {Pt.} 'берестяная чашка для масла' ¶ STM I 403, On 222. Pt. KN 52, Sun. KUD 78 ¶¶ The pA lenis *k'- (> Tg *k-) for the fortis *k'- is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 731-2 (*k'ùdá 'be submerged, pour out' > T, Tg + unc. pJ *kàntùk- v. dive'; the meaning 'be submerged' is based on the qu. J cognate) || D (att. in McTm) *kotḏ- 'pour\shoot out' >

Tm $k\acute{o}\ddot{t}\ddot{t}u$ v. 'pour forth, shower down, empty the contents of a basket\sack', MI $k\acute{o}\ddot{t}\ddot{t}uka$ v. 'shoot out, empty a sack'; \rightarrow D $*k\acute{o}\ddot{t}i$ ($\{\text{þGS}\}$ $*k-$) 'passage to carry out excess of water, outlet (of a tank) for surplus water' > Kn $k\acute{o}\ddot{t}i$ id., Tm $k\acute{o}\ddot{t}i$ 'weir of a tank, outlet for surplus water', TI $k\acute{o}\ddot{t}i$ 'outlet of tank' ¶¶ D no-s 2065 and 2197 ◇ D $*-\ddot{t}\ddot{t}-$ (from N $*-d-$ in the intervocalic position) suggests a vw. after N $*-d-$).

1018. $*\text{K}'a'd\text{K}ud\text{V}$ 'tip, top' > IE: NaIE $*kakud-$ 'peak, summit' > OI $ka'ku\acute{d}-$ (nom./acc. $ka'ku\acute{t}$) id. || L $cac\bar{u}men$ 'the extreme point, top, tip, summit' || ? Gmc $*\text{xagu}-$ \rightarrow $*\text{xagu-la}$ > $*\text{xagila}$ > OFrs $\{P \leftarrow ?\}$ $heila$ 'head' (not mentioned in Stlr.) ¶ P 588-9, \neq M K I 135, M E I 287, WH I 127 ||] *AdS* of NaIE $*kaput \sim *^{\circ}k|k\acute{a}u\acute{p}ut$ 'head' (< N $*\text{K}'a'w_{\text{L}}o_{\text{P}}E$ 'skull; occiput', q.v. ffd.) || HS: S $*\text{K}ad\text{K}ud-$ \sim $*\text{K}ud\text{K}ud-$ 'crown (of the head), sinciput' > BHb $\text{קָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶד}$ id. (+ppa: $\text{וְקָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶד}$ $\text{קָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶד}$ 'his crown\ sinciput'), JA $\text{קָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶדְקָוֶד}$ id., 'summit', MNA $ko\acute{t}ke$ 'skull', Ug $\text{K}ad\text{K}ad$ 'crown of the head, head', Ar (a derived word) $muqadd-$ 'le derrière de la tête; partie de la tête et du cou, comprise entre les deux oreilles', Ak $\text{K}ak\text{K}ad\text{u}$ 'head, top', Eb $gag-g\acute{u}-tum\text{K}ak\text{K}udum$ (= Sum SAG. IGI \approx crown of the head' or 'front of the head') ¶ KB 1002, KBR 1071, Js. 1317, A no. 2392, OLS 363, Sl. P 476, OJ M 180, BK II 683, Sd. 899-900, CAD XIII 100-12, Krb. EG 12-13, MiK I no. 1.159, HR SDG 472-3, 830-49 ||] D: [1] D $*k\acute{o}\ddot{t}\acute{o}/*k\acute{o}\ddot{t}\ddot{t}-$ 'summit, top' (\times N $*\text{K}ot\text{V}$ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.] and N $*\text{K}V\text{R}_{\text{L}}\text{V}_{\text{L}}\text{tV}$ 'summit, top') ||] [2] NED $*kukk-$ (\times N $*\text{K}\hat{a}\text{R}\text{K}ub|p\text{V}$ 'top, summit, crown of the head') > Krx $kukk$ 'head, extremity', Mlt $kuku$ 'head' ¶ D no. 1630 ◇ IE $*d$ (rather than $*d^h$) is due to an incomptibility law.

1019. $*\text{K}akU$ (or $*\text{K}okU$?) 'hook', 'tooth, fang' > K: {AD} GZ $*\text{K}akw-$ 'hook' (\times N $*\text{K}akU$ 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal') > G $\text{K}akvi$ 'hook' ('Haken, H\ddot{a}kchen'), Lz $\text{K}ok-a, \text{K}okari \sim \text{K}ukari$ id. ¶ FS K 167-8 (GZ $*\text{K}ak-$), Chx. 543, BU 219 ||] HS: S $*kakk-$ '(ϵ) tooth, sharp stick' > JA, Sr $ka\acute{k}-\bar{a}$, Md $kaka$ 'tooth, molar', JEA $ka\acute{k}-\bar{a}$ 'molar tooth', Ak $ka\acute{k}-u(m)$ 'stick, weapon' ¶ Br. 326, Lv. II 325, Sl. 580, DM 197, Sd. 422 ||] IE: NaIE $*kog-/*keg-$ 'hook, claw' > pGmc $*\text{x}\acute{o}ka-$, $*\text{x}akan-$, $*\text{x}\acute{e}kan-$ 'hook' > OHG $h\bar{a}ko, h\bar{a}go, h\bar{a}kko$, NHG *Haken*, OFrs hok , MLG. $h\acute{o}k$, MDt $hoek$, AS $h\acute{o}c$ 'hook', NE $hook$; ON $h\acute{e}kja$, NNr $h\acute{o}kja$ 'Krücke' ||] Sl $*kog\acute{y}t\acute{b} \sim *kog\acute{y}t\acute{b}$ > OR $\text{KOGOT}\acute{b}$ $\text{KOGOT}\acute{b}$, R, Uk

'коготь, Cz Δ kohát 'claw', HLs kocht 'awn', 'костерь' (ε 'a weed gramineous grass') || Ht kaka-σ 'tooth' ¶¶ P 537-8, Vr. 203, 278, Ho. 167, Kb. 423, OsS 365, ESSJ X 109-10, Vs. II 275, Pv. IV 14-15, ≈ EI 272 (*ko(n)gos 'hook'; *(n) on the problematic ev. of MlR alchaining 'weapon rack' and Lt kéngé 'hook on the wall' [in fact borrowed from MLH henge 'Hänge' ← Gmc verb for 'hang'], see Frn. 239) ¶ The lack of labialization of the IE stem-final cns. is still to be explained (infl. of N *goP₁a₁Ḳa 'hook, sharp stick'?) || U *kokka 'a protruding point, hook' > FL *kokka > F koka 'sth. protruding, a protruding point; stem of a ship (Vorderstevan); penis', F Δ koka 'hook, fishhook', Krl koka 'hook, Vorderstevan', Krl A kokku 'penis', Krl Ld kōk, kokke' 'hook, penis' | pLp {Lr.} *kōkkē (× N *goP₁a₁Ḳa '↑') > Lp: N goakke {SK} 'hoe', {N} 'hood on a cradle', L {SK} kō²kke 'ein sich rückwärts biegendes Holz, das aus dem Vorderteils des Schlittens hervorsticht', {LLO} k²hke 'Holzbogen als Schutzdach der Wiege', Nt {TI} k²kkē, I {It.} koakki 'hook', Kld kuə²ka₁ id., {SaR} куэ²к² 'hook (вешалка, крючок)', K kōa²kkā 'hoe, hook' || pY {IN H} *^okōkz > Y K {IN H} kōkz 'head (of a fish\animal)' (× N *ḲâRḲub|p² 'top, summit, crown of the head', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ UEW 171-2 (FU, Y), Lr. no. 468, Lgc. no. 2614, Hs. 630-1, SK 208-9, 225-6, Lr. no. 468, IN H 216, IN UJ 228-9, IN RJ 8, Ang. 122, Iox. JR s.v. kōka || A ≈ *k'ō|ük- 'tooth, nail' ({†SDM} *k'ūuk-) > Tg *χūkte or *χüykte 'tooth' (probably < **χūk-kte or *χüy-kte, where *-kte is a sx) > Ewk īktz 'tooth', Neg īktz 'tooth, canine', Nn Nh χukte 'tooth', ? WrMc {Z} вэйхэ 'tooth, fang, horn', ? Jrc ωeyhe 'tooth' ¶ STM I 300, On. 476, Z 1112, S AJ 215 [no. 129], Kiy. 124 [no. 182] || ??σ T *Kök, *Kökän 'hinge, nail, peg, clasp' > OT Kr kögen 'rope for tethering calves\foals during milking', MT, Chg kök 'nail', Tk kök 'peg of a musical instrument', VTt, Bsh kügän, Tv kügen 'holdfast (of a padlock), hinge (of doors)', Tk Δ, Tkm köken, Uz kukan, Qrg kögön, Qzq kögen, Qq güwen, ShY küken 'tether', Chv кăкан {ChVS} 'боковые ушки ведра или котла, на которые надевается перевесло', {Ash., Fed.} 'ушко ведра или котла' ¶ Cl. 712, Rs. W 287, ET KQ 91, 93-4, TatR 332, Ash. VII 105-6, Fed. I 248-9, ChVS 78 || pJ {S} *kunki 'nail, peg, hook' > OJ kug₁i, MJ kùgì ~ kúgí id., J T kùgì, J K kúgí, J Kg kúgì {Kenk.} 'nail' ¶ S QJ no. 889, Mr. 462, Kenk. 1097-8 ¶ On the reflexes of Tg *-kt- (incl. *-kt- > Mc -x-) see Ci. 229-30 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 833-4 (pA *k'ōkí 'hinge, hook' > J *kunki + (not

belonging here) Tg *kūkta 'rowlock' and M *kōgene 'a sring with a loop [for binding animals]), ≠ DQA no. 1128 (id.), Vv. AEN 11 (Tg *χūkte ÷ MJ kiba 'fang' < pJ *ku|q-⊥i-n^o-pa 'fang tooth' [Mr. 450]; Vv. denied the connection of Tg *χūkte with the N etymon in question) || D (tr., †GS) *kokk- 'hook' > Tm, Tl kokki id., Ml kokka 'clasp, hook', Kt koky, Td kω+k_y, Kn kokki, kokke, Kdg kokke 'crook, hook', Tu kokkæ 'hook, clasp', Gnd kokki 'hoe' ¶¶ D no. 2032 ¶ The association of this D noun with the paronymous verb *kōkk- / *kokk- 'bend' is secondary (folk et.). It brought about merged forms like Tl kōk_yki 'hook' ◇ The N vw. *a is reconstructed on the ev. of K and IE (initial *k- without labialization and palatalization). U long *-kk- and K *-k- may be explained by as. (N *k_{ak}U > **k_{ak}U) ◇ The rec. *k_{ak}U presupposes that the labialization of the vw. in U, D and Tg is due to N *U (still preserved in K as *w). But if we prefer to suppose that the labialized vw. in U, A and D is ancient, the N rec. must be *k_{ok}∇ (which does not explain IE *k- and K *-a-) ◇ Fn. KD 342 (K, D) ◇ AD NM no. 91; S CNM 3 (÷ ÷ ST; suggesting to adduce A *gek^o 'hook', which is less plausible from the phonetic point of view).

1020. *k_UKE 'dark, black' > K: G I k_uk_un-aχ-i 'dark, black', G k_uk_un-et-i, k_uk_un-at-i 'darkness' ¶ Chx. 638 ¶ K *-k- (rather than *-k-) is probably due to as. || HS: Eg fP k_κω (= {Vc.} *k_ik_yaω) 'darkness' > Cpt: Sd k_{ak}e k_{ak}e, B x_{ak}h k^hak_i 'obscurité, ténèbres' ¶ EG V 142-3, Fk. 287, Vc. 74 ¶¶ Blz. KM no. 10 suggested to add Ak k_uk_u 'darkness', but it is likely to be a loan from Sum k_u₁₀.k_u₁₀ 'darkness' (CAD VIII 499) || A: M *k_öye 'soot' > MM [MA] k_öyē, WrM {MED} k_öge ~ k_ögege, HIM {MED, BMR} x_θθ 'soot', Brt x_θθ 'coal', Kl {KRS} κ_θ 'soot (σαζα)', {Rm.} k_ö 'Ruß', Mnr H {SM} k^o, Ord k^o 'suie, nielle des épis' ¶ MED 478-9, BMR IV 141, Chr. 593, KRS 308, KW 243, SM 204, T 339, Ms. O 423 || Tg: WrMc {Z} k_uy_u 'black', ? {Z} k_uy_u 'soot on the bottom of a kettle', {Hr} k_u "Rußansatz des Kesselbodens' (from M?) ¶ Z 288-9, Hr 597 ¶ Mc k- (regularly from Tg *k-) instead of Tg *χ- is probably due to as. ◇ Fn. SK 97 [no. 160] (K, Sum k_uk_u 'verdunkelt, Finsternis'), Blz. KM 116 [no. 10] (K, Eg. Ak).

1021. ₂ Ll. *k_aka 'penis' > IE: NaIE *kak- 'male genitalia' > AS hazan 'genitalia', MHG {KM} hagen, NHG Hagen, NGr Δ Hegel,

NGr Sb {KM} heigel 'bull kept for breeding' ('Zuchtstier'), Наксч 'Zuchteber', NHG hecken inf. 'to mate' (birds), NE he tch; OHG hegidruos, hegidruosa, hegidruosi 'penis, testicle, pudendum', MHG hegedruos, heidruose 'testiculus, pudenda' ||| Ltv kakale 'penis, scrotum' || RChS КОУАНЪ кочанъ 'membrum virile' ¶ WP I 334, Kb. 443, OsS 378, Lx. 83, KM 295, ME II 132; ≠ Vs. II 356-7 and ≠ ESSJ X 104-5 (both: КОУАНЪ ← кочанъ 'cabbage head') || U: FU id. *^okakk ∇ > pObU *^okāk- > pVg *kāk- 'penis' > Vg: N {Mu.} kōk, UL {Kn.} kō:k, Ss {Kn.} kōg id. ⇨ Vg N {Mu.} kōktī 'coire' (the preservation of the stop -k may be due to ideophony or to the Lallwort association of the Vg noun) ¶ WVD VII 142, MK 218, UEW 172 ◇ Any etl. connection with N *KaḲu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal'?

1022. *KaḲu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal' > HS: B: Ah ā-kakkawa 'stick' ¶ Fc. 777-8 || IE: NaIE *keku- {P} 'keulenformiger Stock', 'Stock mit hammerartigem Quergriff' > Av čakuš- n. 'hammer\battle-axe for throwing' ('Wurfhammer, Wurfaxt'), NPrs چکش čäkoš 'a brazier's hammer' ||| Pru [El.] quēke "Stecle" ('Tannenast als Zaunstab'), Ltv čaka {Kar.} 'a cudgel with a side branch', {ME} 'Knüttel mit Knorren\Wurzelende als Griff' ¶ WP I 381, P 543, Brtl. 575, ≈ Kar. I 184 (connecting Ltv čaka with IE *kāk- 'bough, branch', which is err., because IE *k̄- yields Ltv s- rather than č-), ≈ ME I 401 (unc. comparison of Ltv čaka with Cz čakan 'morning star'), En. 200, Tr. P K-L 380-2, Vl. I 584 ¶ The irreg. Ltv č- (for the expected k-) may be due to dialectal palatalization (F Rudz. LD 306-8) or borrowing from a different Baltic lge || A ≈ *k'ök ∇ or *k'Uk'E 'stem, root' > T *k'ök (or *k_ök) 'root' > OT, MU, MQp, Chg [San.] kōk, Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr, CrTt, Qzq kōk, Tk kōk, Tv kēk, Chv L как кѣк, Chv Δ {Md.} kōk 'root' ¶ Cl. 708, Rs. 287, ET KQ 91-2, TL 109, S AJ 182 [no. 67], Ash. VII 104-5, Fed. I 248, Jeg. 97-8, ChVS 77, Md. 51, 169 (*k'ök') || pKo *kòkìrì ~ *kòkòrì 'stalk' > MKo kòkìrì ~ kòkòrì, NKo kōkčì id. ¶ S QK no. 481, Nam 401, MLC 1330 || pJ *kùkù-i 'stem, stalk' > OJ kuki, J T/Kg kukí, J K kúkì id. ¶ S QJ no. 166, Mr. 462, Kenk. 1101 ¶¶ SDM adduced Tg {SDM} *χüy_k_e 'horn' (> Ewk, Neg, Orc iуз, Lm īу, Ul, Ork, Nn хујз, Ud j̄з, WrMc {Z} уухе, weухе, Mc Sb vixз, Jrc huуeхе id. [STM I 298-9, Z 136, 1112, Klz. MS 32, Kiy. 602]), but here there is no real semantic connection with pA ¶¶ In the pA root the rounded vw. of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. If the pA root is *k'Uk'E, its vw. *-E is likely to belong

to a pA sx ¶¶ SDM 815-16 (pN *k'juyk'è 'root, stem' > T, J, Ko + unc. Tg {SDM} *χüy_lk_je 'horn' [in fact from N *k_ak_u 'hook', 'tooth, fang']), DQA no. 1076, S AJ 284 [no. 199] (T, J + ubc. Tg *χūkte 'tooth'), TL 109, Whm. 132, 222 || K: GZ *k_ak_w- 'hook' (× N *k_ak_u '↑', q.v. ffd.).

1023. *k_ok_e 'to look, to see' > IE: NaIE *k^we_{k̄}-/*^ok^wo_{k̄}-, *^ok^wō_{ḡ}-, *k^we_{k̄}-s- 'see': NaIE *^ok^wo_{k̄}- > OI 'k_as_at_e 'appears, is brilliant, shines' (medium voice, which may be interpreted as 'is seen'), caus. (a_va)k_as_ayati 'läßt hinblicken', Av ākasa_t 'erblickte', NPrs **𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀** āg_oh 'aware, wary; intelligent, knowing; prudent', **𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀** neg_oh ~ **𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀** neg_äh n. 'look, aspect; glance; observation' || NaIE *k^we_{k̄}-s- > OI 'ca_st_e (3p ca_ks_at_e) md. v. 'sees, appears', Av čaš-te, -āite 'teaches', MPrs čaš_itan 'to teach'; Av, OPrs čašman-, NPrs **𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀** čäšm 'eye' || Gk τέκμαρ, Gk Ep τέκμωρ 'fixed mark\boundary; fixed line of separation' || NaIE *^ok^wō_{ḡ}- > Sl inf. *kaz_a-ti (1s pres. *kaž_o) 'to show' > OCS inf. **КАЗАТИ** kazati 'to show' ({StSS} 'указывать'), Sly inf. k_azati, inf. R по-казать, Δ ка'зать 'to show', SCr inf. k_azati 'to show, to say', Blg 'кажа v. 'say', RChS, OR inf. kazati, R inf. с-казать, Δ ка'зать, Uk inf. ка'зати, Blr inf. ка'заць 'to say', OCz inf. k_azati, LLs inf. kazaś, HLs inf. kazać 'to order', Cz inf. k_azati, Slk inf. k_azat' 'to preach, to order', P inf. kazać 'to narrate, to preach, to order' || ?φ It is tempting to adduce WGmc {KM} *guggjōn > OHG (?) guckan 'to look', NHG gucken 'to look, to peep', Yid **קוקן** kuk_o 'to look', NLG kucken, ? Dt kijken id., but both the cnss and the vowels violate the reg. sound corr. (ideophonic factor, as.?) ¶ P 638-9, M K I 204, VI. I 45 and II 1342-3, Sg. 90 and 1424, F II 66-7, ESSJ IX 168-70, StSS 280, Kb. 415, KM 276, Vr. N 368-9, Glh. 314-15, EI 25 (*k^we_{k̄}- ~ *k^we_{ḡ}- 'appear') || **HS:** C: SC: Kz kekem- v. 'hear' || DhI kēk- v. 'watch, look at' || ? Ag: Aw {Hz.} **𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑**, **𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑**, Knf {TBZAC} e_g^wa_w v. 'hear' ¶ E SC 243, E K 13, EEN 11, To. D 139, TBZAC s.v. e_g^wa_w, Blz. CWL || **U:** FU *koke- v. 'see, experience, find' (× N *gokE [= *gok_i?] 'track' [→ 'way'], 'follow the tracks of?') > F koke- v. 'experience, find out', Es koge- v. 'fear', as well as 'experience, undergo' (a recent innovation due to the infl. of F) || Lp Kld {TI} ku_o]k'ǎ- v. 'inspect the fishing equipment' || Sm {Jn.} *ko- v. 'see, find' > En (1s obj. aor.): En X koab_o, En B kuab_o 'suchen, finden', Ne T x_o-c_b, T O {Lh.} xōś 'to find', Ne F

{Lh.} $k\bar{o}-\acute{s}$ id., Sq Tz {KKIH} $qo-qo$ 'to find, to catch sight of, to discover', Kms {Cs.} $ku\acute{i}im$, {KD} 1s pres. $k'u\acute{i}\acute{a}m$ 'I see, I examine, I perceive, I find', Koyb {Sp.} $kybamb\grave{y}$ 'I see', $kylam\grave{y}$ 'I find', Mt {Hl.} $*ko-$ 'see, find' (Mt: M {Sp.} $kojam\grave{y}$ 'I find', K {M} $ischi\grave{n}go$ 'I do not see' [$ischi\grave{n}$ 'I do not']) ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 171, SK 208, Jn. 72-3, Cs. 80, 181, KKIH 162, KD 34, Hl. M no. 513 || **D** (att. in GnD) $*k\bar{o}kk-$ v. 'raise the head or project the neck in order to see sth.' > Knd $k\bar{o}k-$ 'raise\project the head while seeing a distant object', Kui $gopka$ (< $*g\bar{o}k-pa$, p. $g\bar{o}kt-$) 'stretch forth, stretch the neck in order to observe sth.', Ku $g\bar{o}k-$ 'look up, await' ¶ D no. 2180 ◇ IE $*-\bar{g}-$ in $*\bar{o}k\omega\bar{o}\bar{g}-$ (> Sl $*kaz\acute{a}-ti$) still requires explanation.

1024. id. $*k\bar{r}o^1k\bar{v}$ 'beak', *on.* 'to peck' (of a bird) > K: GZ $*k\bar{e}k-$ v. 'peck, poke (with the beak), knock' ($\times on.$) > G $k\bar{e}k-$ id., 'snatch a hasty meal', Mg $k\bar{a}k-$ v. 'pound, grind, knock', Lz $k\bar{a}n\bar{k}-$ id.; GZ $*k\bar{e}k-\omega\eta-$ v. 'peck' (of a bird) > G ($am\bar{o}$)- $k\bar{e}n\bar{k}-$ v. 'pick up (grain from a vessel, from the ground with the beak)', (a)- $k\bar{e}n\bar{k}-$ v. 'pick up (grain from the ground)', (da)- $k\bar{e}n\bar{k}-$ v. 'break sth. with the beak', Mg $k\bar{z}k\bar{o}n-$, $k\bar{i}k\bar{o}n-$ v. 'peck' (of a bird), Lz $k\bar{i}k\bar{o}n-$ id., 'eat a little at a time' (' $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ $\pi\omicron\eta\epsilon\mu\eta\omicron\gamma\upsilon$ ') ¶ K 108, K² 88, FS K 174 ($*k\bar{e}n\bar{k}-$) || **U:** FU $*\bar{o}k\bar{v}kk-$ v. 'peck' (of a bird) > pPrm $*k\bar{v}k-$ id. > Z inf. $k\bar{o}ka\bar{v}-n\bar{t}$ v. 'peck, gouge', Z US $k\bar{v}ka\bar{l}-$ id., Yz $k\bar{o}ka\acute{s}-$ v. 'have sexual relations', Vt $k\bar{u}k\check{c}\acute{a}\acute{s}k\bar{i}-$, Vt Ur $k\bar{u}k\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{s}k-$ v. 'peck' (of hens) ¶ LG 129, SZ 161 || **A:** AmTg $*\chi ak\bar{r}o^1-$ ~ $*\bar{o}\chi\bar{o}ko-$ 'beak' > Nn Nh $\chi aq\bar{o}\bar{a}$, Ul $\chi aq\bar{u}a(n-)$ 'beak', Ud {Shn.} $\bar{p}ai$, {Krm.} $a\bar{p}$ ~ $\bar{p}a$ id., Ork $\chi\bar{o}q\bar{o}(n-)$ id., 'nose (= front part) of a fish' ¶ STM I 17, Krm. 203, On. 445, 512 || **D** $*k\bar{o}kk-$ ({ $\bar{v}GS$ } $*k-$) 'beak' > Mnd $k\bar{o}kk\bar{u}$ 'long beak, bill', Kn $k\bar{o}kk\bar{u}$, Tu $k\bar{o}kk\bar{u}$, $k\bar{o}kk\bar{a}\bar{y}i$, $k\bar{o}k\bar{a}\bar{y}i$ 'beak, bill', Kdg $k\bar{o}k\bar{k}i$ 'beak' ¶¶ D no. 2034 ◇ The absence of regular correspondence of vowels of the first syll. may be attributed to onomatopoeia and ideophony.

1025. $*k\bar{e}la$ (= $*k\bar{e}la$?) 'stalk, a hair' > IE: NaIE $*\bar{k}el-$ 'stalk' (\rightarrow 'arrow') > OI ($\times N$ $*k\bar{e}r\bar{v}$ [= $*k\bar{e}r\bar{u}$?] 'hair') $\acute{s}a'ra-$ 'reed (*Saccharum sara*), arrow', $\acute{s}a'la-h$ 'staff', ' $\acute{s}ala-$ 'hedgehog's needle', $\acute{s}al'y\bar{a}-$ 'spearhead, arrowhead'; (\times NaIE $*\bar{k}er-$ 'hair' < N $*k\bar{e}r\bar{v}$ 'hair?') the second part ($*\acute{s}ala-$) of OI $ka'p\bar{u}c\bar{c}halam$ 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (cd with $*kaput-$ 'head') ||| Arm $u\omega\eta\omega\rho\bar{p}\bar{s}a\bar{t}a\bar{r}t^h$ 'leafy branch, leaf, long hair' ||| Gk $\kappa\eta\lambda\omicron\nu$ 'shaft of a narrow', $\kappa\eta\lambda\alpha$ ntr. pl. 'arrows' ||| OIr $c\acute{a}il$ 'spear (lance, javelot)'

(< *k_l-yo-) || ON *hali* 'point of a shaft; tail' || Pru *kelian* 'spear' (a centum reflex of **k̂*-), unless it is from IE **kel-* v. 'prick' || pAl {O} **cala* > Al *thel* (< **k̂ol-ni* or **k̂l-ni*) 'big nail, spike' ¶ P 552-3, M K III 306, 313-14, M E II 615-16, 621-2, F I 838, Vn. C 10-11, Vr. 204, En. 192, Tp. P I-K 307-8, O 473-4, ≈ EI 537 (**k̂el*(H)- 'spear]point') || ¶ **k'ılil*∇ (or **k'ılilk*∇??) 'hair' > T **Kıl* ~ ? {Md.} *°*KılK* id. > NaT **Kıl* id. > OT *qıl* 'hair' (esp. 'horse hair, bristle'), MU *qıl*, Tb *qıl* 'hair of the tail', Tkm *gıl*, Ggz *kıl*, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt *qıl*, Uz, ET *qıl* 'hair', Tf *hıl* 'horse hair', Tk *kıl*, Az *gıl*, Qmq *qıl*, Tv *χıl* 'hair, bristle', VTt, Bsh *qъл* 'horse hair, bristle', Ln *qıl*, Xk *χıl* 'hair, wool', SY *qıl* 'wool' || Chv L *хѣлѣх ѡьльх* 'horse hair, Saite, Angelschnur' ¶ Acc. to Mudrak's hyp. (Md. DKCh 220-1), the pT word-final cluster *-*лK* regularly yields NaT *-*л* and Chv -*лѣх* or -*лѣх* (distribution of *ѣ* and *ѣ* acc. to the laws of vw. harmony) ¶ Cl. 614, Rs. W 262, ET Q 204-5, TL 196-7, Ra. 192-3, Ash. XVII 18, Fed. II 342, Jeg. 297-8, ChVS 248, S AJ 178 [no. 37], Md. 70, 168, Dr. TM III 574-5 || M **kilga-sun* 'horse hair' > MM [S] {H} *kılqasun* 'hair of horse tail', WrM *kılqasun* {MED} id., 'hair of the main and tail', HIM *хялгас(ан)* {MED} id., {BMR} 'horse hair, Saite', Brt *хилгааһа(н)* 'horse hair', Kl {Rm.} *kılγasŋ* 'dickes Pferdehaar, Schwanzhaar', {KRS} *килһсн* 'hair, horse hair', Dg {Mrm.} *хилас, хиласе, хиласѣ* 'thread, string (Schnur)' {Mr.} *šilāse*, {T} *šilās* 'thread', Ord *k'ılqasu* 'crin' ¶ H 102, MED 466, BMR IV 233, Chr. 571, Klz. D I 139, KRS 300, KW 231, Mr. D 216, T DgJ 183, Ms. O 621, MYC 352 || Tg **χին̄*-*ηa-кта* 'hair' > Ul *sին̄aqta*, Ork *sին̄aqta*, Orc *ին̄aqta*, Ewk *ին̄akta*, Lm *ին̄ə̄t*, Neg *i(ն̄)ն̄akta* ~ *ին̄akta* 'animal's hair, wool, down', Nn {Gru.} *хир̄а-хта*, Nn KU *ին̄a-qta*, Nn Nh *sին̄a-qta* {STM} 'wool, down', {On.} 'animal's hair, fur', Ud *ին̄akta* 'wool, human body hair', Sln *ին̄akta* ~ *ін̄atta* 'wool, hair', WrMc {Z} *ин̄г а х а* 'down (of birds and mammals)'; Tg **χին̄ηa-* 'take off the hair from the hide' > Ewk *ін̄ηa-* 'take\strip the hair off from the hide', Neg *ін̄ηa-* 'strip the hair off from the hide with a knife' ¶ STM I 317, On. 364-5, Z 95 || pKo {S} **kār*(h)- 'hair, horse's mane' (× N **Қaly*∇ '[lock of] hair, eyebrow, eyelash') > MKo *kārki* 'horse's mane', NKo *məri-k^harak, məri-k^hal* 'hair (of the head)' (*məri* means 'head'), *kālki* 'mane', NKo: Chs *k^hal*, PhN *k:al*, Ks *k^hál*, Hm *k^hâl*, Sl *q^hal* 'hair', MKo *kālgı* 'horse's mane' ¶ Ko **a* belongs to the heritage of N **Қaly*∇ ¶ S QK no. 115, MLC 43, 608, Yu 28, HMC 308 || pJ: Starosin (S AJ 255 no. 115) adduced pJ

*káǰ 'hair' > OJ ke, MJ ké, JT kè (S QJ no. 34, Mr. 447, Kenk. 889-90), but the word may alternatively (to my mind, more plausibly) belong to N ***Kaly∇** '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ SDM 788-9 (pA *k'íla 'hair' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), ET 197, ADb. SR 4, KW 231, Vld. 172, Pp. VG 19, Md. OI 69, S AJ 29, 75, 87, 276, Mill. JAL 71-2, Str. JPAL 640 || D *kel(l)- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'hair, feather' > Gnd kel (pl. kelk) id., Knd kelu (pl. kelku), Png kel (pl. kelku), Ku kellū (pl. kelka) 'feather', Kui kelu (pl. kelka) 'large feather, quill', Krx kalgā 'plumes' ¶¶ D no. 1973 ◇ The D and IE cognates point to the N vw. *e, so that the vowels *i and *I in the Altaic lges are still to be explained ◇ Cp. IS I 351-2 [no. 228] (*Kila 'stalk, a hair'; IE, A, D + * ÷ FU *kalke 'hair' [actually belonging to N ***Kaly∇**]).

1026. ***K'eǰA** 'speak, say' > A ≈ *Kä:ǰ∇ - > T *Kä:ǰlä- v. 'speak, say' (→ 'ask') > Chv капа - 'speak, say', Xk küle- 'ask for', VTt K keläü n. act. '(to) pray', VTt Δ keläü n. act. 'wish'; d.: NaT *Käläçü 'speech, word(s)' > OT {Cl., DTS} keläčü, Chg käläči, käläčü, Tk Δ keležī ǰ geležī, Tk EAn gäläžī, Blq kelecī, Qmq geleči id. ¶ The vw. *ä in the first syll. (unexpected in the light of the D cognate) may be due to the infl. of N ***KAyila** (> *KäyLa) 'shout, call' ¶ Cl. 716, Rs. W 248, ET KQ 32-3, DTS 296, TTDS, Ash. VI 26-8, Fed. I 214-15, Jeg. 85-6, ChVS 66 || pKo {S, SDM} *k'aró- 'say' (× N ***KAyila** 'shout, call' and possibly N ***ǰUǰǰ∇** 'speak, call') > MKo k'aród'ǰ, NKo kalodue 'say' ¶ S QK no. 91, Nam 11, MLC 12 ¶¶ SDM 796-7 (believing that the T and Ko roots belong to pA *k'ǰǰli [i.e. *k'ELEn] 'tongue', see N ***KEHlé** 'tongue') || HS: EC: Sa {R} -kal- ~ -kal- v. 'say, think (sagen, meinen)' (p. 'əkələ ~ 'əkelə, pres. 'aḱālə ~ 'əḱələ ~ 'əkelə) (× N ***ǰUǰǰ∇** '↑') ¶ R S II 232 || D *kel- ({ǰGS} *k'elǰ-) v. 'speak, say' (× N ***KAyila** '↑?') > Tm kiǰa- v. 'express clearly, mention\state specifically', kiǰavu 'word, speech', kiǰappu 'speech, utterance', Gnd kel(l)- v. 'tell' ¶¶ D no. 2017b ◇ The attempt to find a common source of the above words for 'speak, say' and those for 'tongue' (our ***KEHlé** 'tongue') (IS I 346-7, no. 221 [*Kǰ'ǰH'ä > U, A) and my own former investigation) is less convincing from both semantic and phonetic points of view (e.g. the discrepancy between *l in the N lexeme for 'speak, say' and *ǰ in that for 'tongue').

1027. (₂?) ***keǰ∇** (or ***keǰǰ∇**) 'lack, be insufficient' > K *°kel- / *kaǰ- > OG, G kel- / kǰ- v. 'lack, be short of, diminish' (× N ***Ka'ǰ∇**

[be] few, [be] too small\thin\light', q.v.): aorist -*qel* (da-v-a-*qel* 'ich zog ab, ich ver-minderte'), pres. m-a-*q̣l*-s 'I lack' (literally 'to me is insufficient'), G X *q̣al*-/*q̣l*- v. 'lack, be insufficient', Mg, Lz *q̣or*- v. 'need, wish' (acc. to IS I 323, the stem-final *r* in a verb suggests a denominative origin: Zan **q̣or* 'a need' < K **q̣al*-), Sv m-a-*q̣u* 'I need' (*q̣u* < **q̣l̥*-), *q̣l*- (x-o-*q̣l*-i 'he lacks', li-*q̣l*-i 'to lack'); acc. to IS, Sv *q̣l*- is a loan from G *l̥* -> GZ *m-*q̣l*-e- 'deprived, lacking' (→ 'short') > OG, G mo*q̣le*-, G X m*q̣le*-, Lz m*q̣ule*- 'short', Mg cd χe-*q̣ule* 'deprived of a hand' (with χe- 'hand') ¶¶ K 106 (**q̣al*-), K² 89 (**q̣el*-/*q̣l*-) and 123 (*m-*q̣l*-e-), Schm. 119, F KW3 24, FS K 173, FS E 189 (**q̣el*-/**q̣l*- 'diminish, be deprived of, lack'), Chik. 296, Mach. XS 270 || U **kel*l̥- > FU **kel*l̥ke- v. 'need, must, shall' > pLp {Lr.} **ḳɜḷɜ*- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} galgedh, U {Schl.} gal'gat id., L {LLO} kal'kat 'werden, sollen, müssen', N {N} gâl'gât 'shall, must', Kld ḳɜl:geδ 'need, shall, must' | Er † кельге- ke'ige-, Mk кельго- ke'iga- v. 'love' | Chr L күл күл (inf. күлеш), Chr H 'келеш kel- 'it is necessary, must', Chr Uf күл- v. 'need, must', Chr B күл- 'nötig sein, brauchen' | Prm {LG} **ḳɜl*- > StZ inf. ков-ны, Z US ḳul-, Prmk, Yz ḳol- v. 'be needed\necessary; want, like', StVt күлэ kule, Vt Ur/B kule, Vt Shm kuwe 'is necessary, should be' || Hg ḳell- v. 'be wanted\nneeded' || ? F келраа- v. 'fit' ('taugen, annehmlich sein') may belong to U **kel*l̥∇-, but not to FU **kel*l̥ke- || Sm: Slq Nr/Ch {Cs.} келемна- v. 'lack' ('fehlen, mangeln') ¶¶ Coll. 87 (**kel*ke-), UEW 145 (FU **kel*ke-), Sm. 543 (FU, FP **kel*ki-, Ugr **ḳilḳĩ*- 'must'), Db. OS xxxii, Lr. no. 305, Hs. 551-2, ERV 250, PI 108, MRS 190, 258, Ep. 41, LG 125, MF 348-9, Sz. MNyH 122 || A: ?σ NaT **Ḳị:̣ḷæ*- ({Md.} **Ḳile*-) 'wish, ask for' > Chv к̣ёле к̣ёле- id., 'клянчить, betteln (попрошайничать)', QrB келе- v. 'want', VTt Msh келя- к̣lä- v. 'wish, want', Xk к̣іле- к̣іле- v. 'ask, care', Ln келе-, Slr келе- ~ к̣lä- ~ к̣eli- 'ask, wish', Slr U к̣lä-, Slr E келе|ä|i- 'be required\incumbent' ¶ Tn. SJ 379, TTDS 237, Ash. VI 236-8, Fed. I 270-1, Jeg. 104, ChVS 83, BIG 79, Md. 75, 168 ◇ If NaT **Ḳị:̣ḷæ*- belongs here, its deviant vw. **i* is to be explained ◇ IS I 323 (**q̣el* in K, U, Slr *÷ T **k'ärgä*- 'be insufficient, lack').

1028. **q̣ola* '(big) fish' (or **q̣ol̥∇*?) > IE: NaIE **ḳ^ωol̥al*- 'e big fish' > KhS, YAv karā, Sgd k^ω k^ω к^ω 'e monster fish' || OHG **hwalis* > MHG *wels* > NHG *wels* 'sheatfish, *Silurus*', Gmc **x^ωalirōn* id. > OHG {P< ?} *hwelira*, NHG {Paul} *weller* id. (but OHG *walir*,

walira 'whale'); Gmc *x^walaz ~ *x^waliz 'whale' > ON hvalr, AS hwæl, NE whale, OHG (h)wal, MHG wal, NHG wal, Walfisch id., MHG wels 'sheatfish' || Pru kalis ('Welz') 'sheatfish, *Silurus glanis*' | ?σ SI {Trb.} *kl_obъ ~ *kl_obъ 'Gobio fluviatilis (ε 'a small fish)' > P kielb, R Δ κολβ, κολβ id. | Lt kilbūkas id., 'fish' (unless from P) || ?? A possible cd *Hs-k^wal- may be represented by Gk ἄσπαλος 'fish' and L squalus 'ε 'a big fish' ({WH} 'Meersaugfisch?') (unless we accept P's suggestion that s- in L squalus is based on the analogy of squatus 'ε 'a big fish' and squāma 'scale') ¶ Bai. 53, WH II 581-2, P 958 (*(s)k^walo-s or *k^walo-s 'eine größere Fischart?'), LS 259, F I 167-8, SevR IEShF, Vr. 268-9, Ho. 179, Kb. 1136-7, OsS 435, 1082, Schz. 307, Lx. 306, 317, KM 834, 851, Paul 719, 734, En. 188, Tp. P I-K 168-71, ≈ EI 510 (*(s)k^walo-s 'sheatfish, wels'), Trb. SE29-39 38 || HS: EC: Af {PH} kúllum, Sml {DSI} kallūn, Sml N {Abr.} kállūn 'fish', kallūm- v. 'catch fish' ¶ PH 151, DSI 357, Abr. S 148, ≠ AD SF 81-2 || Ch: WCh: Hs kúlmā 'ε 'big fish', kúllúmè 'catfish' || CCh *k^ri|u^lip- 'fish' (× N *kiR∇P∇ '[ε ?] fish', q.v. ffd.) > BM *k∇lf∇ > Klb kàlfi, Br kəlfà, Mrg xilif, Cb {IL} kulfá, WMrg kúlfà ~ kûlfà, Ngx kulfu, Hld kalfī, Wmd kálfì 'fish' | Lm {Lk.} kálfí | Higi sb.: HgNk kə̀lə̀pé, HgB kə̀lə̀pó, Kps kùlùp^wé, HgG kùlùbí, HgF kùlùpu id. | McMdr: Mdr kúlfè, {Mch.} kə̀lfé, Glv kúlfà, {ChC} kilf, Dgh kúlfè, Gv kilifa, Nkc kə̀lə̀tè, Gdf {IL} k^hiləfà, Ngs {IL} k^hilf id. | Mtk {Sb.} kílfêf, pMM {Ro.} *kilif > Mada, Zlg kléf, Myn, Gzg, Mofu kílíf, Gzg D {Lk.} kə̀lef, Mkt klífì, Mlk kíléf id. | Db {LnD} kílíf, Kola {Sb.} kilíf, Msgy klif id. | Msg {Mch.} hílif id. | Gdr {Mch.} kílfì id. | Ms {Mc.} kúlf, {J} kúlfná, Bnn kúlùvá 'fish' ¶ JI II 140-1, ChC s.v. 'fish', ChL, Ba. 636, Abr. H 550, Ro. 252 || ? S: SES: Jb {Thm.} kāl, Mh {Thm.} kə̀ll 'whale' || ?? Ak kulīl- ~ kulull- 'a fabulous creature, part man and part fish' (a reborrowing from Sum or borrowing of a Sum cognate of the N word?) ¶ Thm. 100, CAD VIII 526-7 ¶¶ OS no. 1496 || U *kala 'fish' (from N *Kōla with regr. as. of the vw. in the initial syll.?) > FU *kala > F, Es kala id. | pLp {Lr.} *kōlē > Lp S {Hs.} gūollie, L {LLO} kuollē, N {N} guolle, Kld kūll' | Er/Mk kal id. | Chr H/L/Uf/B kol id. || ObU *kūl id. > pVg *kūl > Vg: T kōl, LK/UL/Ss xūl, MK/UK kūl, P/NV/SV/LL/ML kul, pl. kūlət id.; pOs *kul > Os: V/Vy qul, Ty/Y quḏ, D/K χut, Nz χūt, Kz χūḏ, O χul id. | Hg hal id. || Sm {Jn.} *kālā, {HL.} *kale 'fish' > Ne Т жаля,

Ne O {Lh.} χā́í·e, Ne F {Lh.} kā́í·áā̄, Ng {Mik.} kolí, En X {Cs.} ка́е, En B {Cs.} karé, Slq Tz {KKIH} q̄ēlí, Kms {KD} k'ōlǎ, Koyb {Sp.} кола, Mt {Hl.} *kälä 'fish' (Mt: M {Mll.} chállä, {Pl.} ghallä, галле, {Sp.} kele, K {Mll.} chállí, {Pl.} kalé, T {Mll.} kállä) || ?? pY {IN} *qal- {IN UJ} 'fish (??)' > cd: Y T {IN H} qaldawe 'fish scales, tree hide', {Ku.} qaldawa 'scales, bark' (qal- 'fish [?]' + sawa 'hide, skin') ¶¶ Coll. 21, It. no. 18, UEW 119, Sm. 538 (U, FU *kålå, FP *кала, Sm *кåла 'fish'), Lr. no. 511, Lgc. no. 2886, Hs. 689, Ht. no. 245, Jn. 59, KKIИ 161, Hl. M no. 461, IN H 375, IN 244, Ku. 250, 295 || ¶ A: [1] pA *k'ol̄ 'big fish' > M *qalimu 'whale' > WrM {MED} qalimɯ, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt халим, Oyr {T} χalim id.; M ⇨ (possibly) Tg: Ewk kalim 'whale', Ewk A kalim id., 'fish in its seasonal running in rivers (ходовая рыба)', Lm qalim, Neg kalim, Orc kalima ~ kālma, Ud kalima, Ul qalma, Ork, Nn Nh/KU qālīma, WrMc {Z} калиму 'whale' ¶ MED 920, BMR IV 27, Chr. 538, T OS s.v. халим, STM I 366-7, Ci. 309, On. 205, Z 257 ¶ The M word may be a loan (explaining the unexpected vw. *-a- of the initial syll.) || Tg *χol-sa 'fish' > Ewk ollo, Lm olr̄, Neg olo 'fish', Orc olto, Ud {Krm.} oloho, Ul χolto(n-), Nn Nh/KU χolto 'boiled fish' ¶ STM II 14, Krm. 275, On. 467 ¶ The cluster *-ls- is reflected by Lm -lr-, Ud -loh- etc. (in spite of Vovin's doubts [Vv. AEN 3-4]) || pKo {S} *kòràj 'whale' > MKo {S} kòràj, {Vv.} kuòlày, NKo korä id. ¶ S QK no. 1081, MLC 138 || pJ *kàra 'plaice' (unless from pA *kalu ↓) > MJ kàrèφí, J T kárei, J K kárèì, J Kg kareí id. ¶ Mr. 440 ¶¶ SDM 848 (pA *k'ùla '≈ big fish' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 1042 (id.), Dr. MT 91 (considering the M word to be a loan from Tg); S CNM 2 (Starostin reconstructed pA *k'ula and suggested to adduce Ko-J [sic!] *kur̄-ra 'whale'); Vv. AEN 3-4 (Vovin did not find the reason to reconstruct *-sa in Tg *χol-sa) || [2] ?φ pA *kal̄ 'ε fish' (*-ā- due to regr. as. from N *K̄ola?) > Tg *kalí 'ε a freshwater fish' > Ewk kalí 'crucian (carp)' ('карась'), Ud kalí 'cisco (*Coregonus*)' ('сиг') ¶ STM I 366 || M: HIM {BMR} хулд 'trout' ({SDM} хулд, хульт 'salmon' [err. semantic definition?]), KI {KRS} хулд заһси 'trout' (заһси 'fish') ¶ BMR IV 164, SDM 637, KRS 608 ¶¶ The unexpected pA *k- (for *χ-) suggests borrowing (from an unknown source) ¶¶ SDM 637 (pA *kalu 'ε fish' > T, M), DQA no. 713 (id.) || D *koll- ({ϑGS} *k-) 'ε fish' > MI kollí, Tu koleji 'ε fish'; ? Gnd kīl 'fish' ¶¶ D no. 2139 ◇ IS I 288-9 [no. 155] (*kala >

Tg *kalima, U, HS), AD GD no. 161 (U, C, Tg *χολ-sa 'fish'), MichMR 8-11, AD NM no. 73, S CNM 7 (÷÷ Yn), Vv. AEN 3-4. The vw. *a of the first syll. (for the expected *o) in U *kala and in Tg *kali needs explanation, so that we may suggest two N words: (1) *kaI∇ for U and for Tg *kali, (2) *K̲oI∇ for the rest ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 156 (*kaI 'fish') (IE, U, A, Ko, Gil, CK + qu. EA + err. J).

1029. ₂ *K̲oI|Ía 'beat, strike' > HS: S *^o√kly > Ar √qly (pf. قَلَى qalā, n. ag. qaly-) 'frapper qn à la tête; renverser, abattre d'un coup porté à la tête', 'frapper le bois qulat-un avec un autre appelé miqlā?- (jeu d'enfants)' (قُلَّةٌ qulat- 'petit morceau de bois placé verticalement sur le sol et que l'on frappe et renverse avec un morceau de bois appelé miqlā?-') ¶ BK II 808 || D *koI- v. 'strike, hit' (× N *K̲oI|Íqa 'to knock, to strike, to hit' and partially N *qola 'to kill') > Tm koI v. 'strike, hit', kōI 'killing, murder', Ml koIka, koI|ikka v. 'hit', Kt koI-/koñ- v. 'pain, trouble', Td kω+I- v. 'quarrel', v. 'trouble' (the urine), sc. 'trouble one who wishes to urinate', Tu kor̲ipini v. 'hit', koI|puni, kolpuni v. 'come into collision', Klm gōI- v. 'beat, shoot with bow', Nkr gōr- v. 'strike, beat, kill' ¶¶ D no. 2152 || IE: in BSl the expected reflex of N *K̲oI|Ía (NaIE *^ok_Lω_JeI- 'strike') is likely to have merged with IE *k_Lω_JoIH-/*k_Lω_JleH- > NaIE *k_Lω_JoIə-/ *klā- v. 'strike, beat' (< N *K̲oI|Íqa '↑', q.v. ffd.), but the accentuation in the BSl infinitive (Lt káIti, Ltv kaIt 'to strike, to hammer, to forge', pSl *kóI-ti 'to split, to slaughter'), in Lt káItas 'chisel' and káIvīs 'smith' points to a lr. in the IE √, so that the main source of the IE root is N *K̲oI|Íqa.

1030. *K̲oIE (or *K̲∇?oIE?) 'long, far' > IE: NaIE *k^oeI- 'far, distant' > OI cara'ma- 'last, the outermost', KhS tcarama- 'last, even' ||| Gk τῆλε 'far off, at a distance; to a distance, afar', Gk τηλοῦ, Gk Ae πῆλυι 'afar, far away', Gk πάλαι 'long ago' ||| Brtt {RE} *pellōs 'far' > OW, MW, W, Crn, Br pell 'far', OBr pell 'far (in time)' ({Flr.}: 'far in space' is not attested), W pellaf 'the outermost' ¶ WP I 517-18, P 640, M K I 377, M E I 533, Bai. 136, F II 465, 891-2, RE 93, Flr. 282 (Clt < IE *k^oeIso) || U: FV *kü|ilyä 'wide, broad' > pLp {Lr.} *kəlyē 'broad' > Lp: S {Hs.} guljeke, L {LLO} kal'jē, N {N} gâli'je | Er keíe, Mk keí 'breadth'; Er keíey, keíew, keíeŋ, Mk keíi 'broad' ¶ UEW 663, Lr. no. 304, Lgc. no. 1911, Hs. 678 || A: M *qola 'far, distant' > MM [IM, MA, IsV] qola id., WrM {MED} adj./adv. qola id.,

'remote', HIM {MED, BMR} $\chi\omicron\lambda$ id., Brt $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron$ 'far', Kl {KRS} $\chi\omicron\lambda$ $\chi\omicron\lambda\beta$ 'far, remote', {Rm.} $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron$ 'fern, die Ferne', Mnr H {T} $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron$, {SM} $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron \sim \chi\upsilon\lambda\omicron$, Ba, Dx $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron$, Dg $\chi\omicron\lambda$, MMgl $q\omicron\lambda\bar{a}$, Mgl {Rm.} $q\omicron\lambda\omicron$ 'far', Mnr H {SM} $\chi\upsilon\lambda\omicron$ 'loin, loin de, éloigné, distant', Ord $\chi\omicron\lambda\omicron$ 'loin, au loin, lointain, éloigné' ¶ Pp. MA 306, 445, MED 956, BMR IV 97, Chr. 580, KRS 592-3, KW 182, T 376, SM 180-1, Ms. O 350, Iw. 127 || ?? *AdS* of pKo *kîr- 'long', v. 'prolong' (< N ***ĶER**∇ 'grow, be[come] big') > MKo kîr'ú-, NKo kîrî- 'prolong', kîl- 'long' ¶ S QK no. 49, Nam 81, MLC 264, 279 ¶¶ SDM 695-6 (pA *k' | k'j̥o|j̥o or *k' | k'j̥u|j̥o 'long, far' > M, Ko), S AJ 295 [no. 524] (pA *k' | k'u|∇ 'long, far') ¶ The final vw *-a in pM *qo|a may be due to as. (N *-o...E > M *-o...a) ¶¶ SDM 695-6 (pA *k' | k'j̥o|j̥o or *k' | k'j̥u|j̥o 'long, far' > M, Ko), S AJ 295 [no. 524] (pA *k' | k'u|∇ 'long, far') || **HS**: *AdS* of Eg fP $ḳẓy$ 'be high', 'high, tall', $ḳẓ.w$ 'h eight, length' (its main source is N ***Ķa**Ṭ_hi 'high; be high'; more likely than N ***ga**?i or ***ga**?y∇ 'high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 1-4, Fk. 275 || **D** *kōl ({ǰGS} *k-) > Kn kōl, kūl 'length, largeness', Tl kōlu 'big, huge; much, very' (× N ***Ķa**Ṭ_uw∇ 'thick', q.v.) ¶¶ D no. 2239 || **Gil**: Gil A k'al- 'be long', k'zla 'long' ¶¶ ST 126 ◇ The IE ev. rules out pN *-Ly- (apparently suggested by FV *kü|ilyä) because a palatal element within a N word would have brought about a "movable *s-" in IE. Therefore *y in FV and Eg is likely to go back to a sx. If the FV cognate is *külyä, its vw. *ü is due to regr. as. ◇ Blz. L no. 104b and Blz. LNA no. 27 (suggesting to equate A with D).

1031. ₂ ***ĶôL**∇ (bA) (or ***Ķ**-?) 'dog\wolf, whelp' > IE: NaIE ***ḱ**ωo|l- / ***ḱ**u|l-, ***ḱ**ωe|b- / ***ḱ**ωo|b- '(young?) dog' > Lt kalē, kälē 'bitch' || Gmc ***x**welpo-z, ***x**walpo-z 'whelp, young dog' > ON hvelpr, Dn hvalp, Sw valp, MDt welp, wulp, wolp, OHG welpf 𐌺 welp̆h, MHG welf, NHG welf, AS, OSx hwelp id., NE whelp || ? Gk El [Hs.] $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ (* $\sigma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$) 'young dog' (or 'young animal') || Al kélysh 'young of an animal, cub' ¶ Vr. 271, Ho. 181, Kb. 1168, OsS 438, Schz. 315, KM 851, Frn. 208, F II 47, O 176-7, ≈ EI 168 (?? *(s)kōli 'young dog') || **HS**: S: [1] S ***ka**l_ab- 'dog' > Hb $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\beta$ (pl. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{a}'\beta$ -īm), Ph, Ug, IA, Sb klb, Amr {G} kalbum, JA {Trg.}, JEA $\kappa\alpha\lambda'b$ -ā id., Sr $\kappa\alpha\lambda'b$ -ā id. (abs., cs. $\kappa\alpha\lambda'\epsilon\beta$ with ε [e] due to a late Aram distribution: the second vw. in nomina segolata is always e unless preceding a lr. or r), Md kalba, Ar kalb-, Gz kalb, Tgr kēlb, Tgy kēlbi, Ak kalbu(m) 'dog', Sq {L} kalb 'dog,

wolf', Mh {Jo.} kaʷb (pl. kəʷb), Hrs {Jo.} kaʷb ~ kōb (pl. kəʷb), Jb E/C {Jo.} kəb (pl. 'kə'kəb) 'wolf, dog' ¶ KB 453, A no. 1313, OLS 214-15, Dlm. 188, Sl. 580, BK II 921, G A 22, L LS 218, L G 282, Jo. M 208, Jo. J 130 ¶ The SES cognates (Mh kaʷb etc.) point to S *'kaʷb- rather than *'kaʷab-, because the reg. Mh reflex of *'kaʷab- would have been *kaʷēb] [2] a variant without deglottalization: S *'kʷb in OYmn kʷb ({Slw.} qillaʷb-) 'Schakalwolf' ¶ Slw. 183-4 || B: Ty {Fc.} ākūlan 'wolf, lycaon' ¶ Fc. 799 || CCh: BM: BuP {ChL} kula, Bu {ChL} kilà, Cb {ChL} klyà, WMrg {ChL} klyà, klyà 'dog' || McKtk: Bdm {Cfr} kʷlé, {Lk.} keli, Lgn {Lk.} kʷlè, {Bou.} gʷléw, Glf {Lk.} gʷleu (pl. gʷlē), {Lbf.} gʷlew, Ktk Mk {Lbf.} kʷlew, Ktk Ks {Lbf.} kʷle, Ktk Af {Lbf.} gʷlē id. ¶ JI II 107, ChC s.v. 'dog', ChL, Lk. ZSS 145, 147, Lk. B 112, Lbf. VC 162 ¶¶ OS no. 1521 ◇ HS *k results from deglottalization of *kʷ, which suggests that in this etymon the initial cns. was *kʷ-, but *qʷ- is not excluded either (if the merger of *kʷ and *qʷ preceded the HS deglottalization) ◇ N *bA (within *kʷôL∇ bA) is an adjectival pc. forming animal names (see N *bA) ◇ Cf. Trnt. NE2 20 (S, IE: Gmc, Lt), BmK 474 s.v. *kʷ[h]alp'- / *kʷ[h]əlp'- (S, IE: Gmc). The identification of the rounded vw. in pN is still a problem. The Elean Gk and Tayert Tw cognates point to a N *u. Cp. N *'gUhÍE bA (see N *'gUhÍE ≈ a canine animal').

1032. *kʷuī'á' 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') > IE: NaIE *kʷel- 'clan, troop' > OI kr̥'ē t̥i- 'man, people, race' || Gk τέλος 'body of soldiers', {Ch.} détachement militaire ou naval, troupe' ({P} 'Schar', {LS} 'military station, military unit') || Sl *čel'adъ (< **čel-jadъ) 'family', (coll.) 'younger\ subordinate members of the family' > OCS ЧЕΛΑΔЪ čeljadъ (λαός, populus, familia) 'servants, family', Blg 'челяд, 'челед 'children, family', SCr čel'jad 'women\members of the family' (coll.), 'family', Cz čeled' 'servants, clan', Slk čel'ad' id., 'relatives', OR ЧЕΛΑΔЪ čeladъ [čel'adъ] 'slaves, servants', R 'челядь 'house serfs' (coll.); Sl *čelo-več'kъ 'person (human being)' (lit. 'child [*več'kъ] of the clan [*čel-o-]) > OCS ЧЛОВѢКЪ človeč'kъ, Blg чо'век, Slv čl'ovek, Cz člověk, P człowiek, R чело'век 'person (human being)', SCr чо'век ≈ čòvjek, SCr K človек 'person, man (male person)', Uk чоло'вік 'male person, husband' ¶ WP I 517, P 640, M K I 263-4, Ch. 1101, F II 871-3, ESSJ IV 40-2, 48-50, StSS 777, 781-2, Glh. 181 || HS [1] C: Bj {R} 'kilmo 'Gehöft,

Dorf', Or *kalō*, {Th.} *kalu* 'pasture land' ('prato, prateria') ¶ R WBd 142, Th. 57 || Ch (× N ***güṬA** 'dwelling?'): ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kuli* 'village, house', Kwn {J} *kùlù*, Smr {J} *kùlù*, Li {ChC} *kúl* 'hut', Brgt {J} *kàlsó* 'hut, house' || WCh: SBc: Bg *kʷàl* 'house, hut', Kir {ChL} *kʷàl* 'house', Buli {ChL} *kəla*, {IL} *kàlā* id. | Ywm {J} *kálu* 'hut, house' ¶ JI II 202-3, ChC s.v. 'house' and 'hut', ChL, Eb. 74 || ?σ B: Adgg *akal*, Zwr *akka*, Ntf *akäl* 'pasture land, earth', Ah {Fc.} *ākāl* 'pays, territoire', Kb *aḵal* 'sol, terre (matière)' ¶ Blz. E no. 36, Fc. 787, Dl. 401 || [2] (× N ***kalw∇** 'together, whole'): S ***kull-** 'all, every, the totality' > Hb כָּל *'kol / -כָּל* 'kull- 'all' (cs. כָּל כָּל), Ph, M'b, Amn, Ug, OA, OSA *kl*, Pun *kl*, [Plt.] CHYL or CHIL, IA, Htr *kl ~ kwl*, BA כָּל *kol*, em. כָּל *kol* 'l-ā, JEA {Sl.} כָּל *ku* 'l-ā, BA, JA, JEA cs. כָּל כָּל, Sr W *kul* כָּל / *kull-*, Sr E כָּל *kol*, Md *ku*, Ar كَلْ *kull-* id., Gz *kʷall-* 'all', *kʷall-ū* 'everything, everybody, all', Ak *kull-atu* 'all, totality'; S ***kull-** → B: Tmz *ku*, *ku*, Kb *ku*, *mkul*, *-mkull* (followed by a noun in état libre) 'every, all off' (the hyp. of borrowing is confirmed by a phonetic argument: in Kb the cns. *k* has not undergone either lenition or palatalization ***k** > *ʃ* [compulsory for intervoc. ***k** in Kb]); S ***k'a** 'l- (***-a-** due to the merger with N ***kalw∇**): Amr {G} *kala* 'all' and possibly SES: Mh *kāl-*, *kali-*, Hrs *kal*, *kāl*, *kall-*, Jb E *ka*, *ka*-, Jb C *ka*, *ka*, 'ka, Sq {Jo.} *ka*, *ka* id. ¶ KB 451-2, 1724, HJ 500-7, A no. 1320, OLS 213-15, Sl. 559-60, DM 206, Nld. MG 226, Br. 326-7, BK II 918, BGMR 77, L G 281, Jo. M 207, Jo. H 67, CAD VIII 504-6, G A 22, MT 329-30, Dl. 400 || SC: Irq {E} *kila* 'very much, completely' ¶ E SC 288 || SOm {Tk.} ***kʷull-** 'all' > {Bnd., Fl.}: Dm *kull*, Hm, Hm K *wull* 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144 || U: FU ***küllä** 'dwelling, house, village' (× N ***güṬA** 'dwelling, house', q.v. ffd.) || E: MEI *ki-el* 'Gebiet, Bezirk', NEI *ku-el* 'Gebiet' ¶ HK 463, 501 || D: AdS of D ***kūli** 'working for wages' (< N ***kul∇** 'to work' × N ***g'U'L'U'** 'boy, child') ◇ Not here Sv L *qlaw* 'child, boy' (⇔ S CNM 9), see N ***g'U'L'U'** '↑' ◇ IS I 362-3 [no. 239] (***Külä** 'community, clan'), Blz. E no. 36 (E, HS [Or, B]).

1033. ***KuloṬ∇** 'dark-colored (brown, dark-grey and the like)' > HS: B ***°-yūwāl-** 'be brown' > Ah, ETwl *i yūwal* 'be brown' ¶ Fc. 1746, GhA 74 || A ***k'ōl∇** (= ***k'u**∇?) > NaT ***Ku**ːːː *la* > OT {Cl.} *qulā* 'dun with black mane and tail' (of horse's coat), Chg, Osm, StAlt *qula* 'light brown, brown', Tk *ku* *la* id., 'red, russet', 'a red horse', Nog, Qzq *qula*, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tb *qula*, Xk *χula* 'light bay with black mane

and tale (саврасый)', VTt, Bsh қўла id., 'light dun, isabella', QT қула 'light dun', Qmq қула 'brown', Ggz кула, Tk Δ қула 'blond' ¶ Cl. 617, Rs. W 298, ET Q 121-2 || M: [1] *qula > WrM {MED} қула 'fawn-colored, tawny; bay; having a black stripe along the spine, with black tail and mane' (horse), HIM жұл {MED} id., {BMR} 'саврасый, светло-гнедой' (horse), Brt жұла 'саврасый (horse)', Kl {Rm.} хулү 'hellbraun mit schwarzer Mähne und schwarzem Schweif' (horse), Ord хула 'fauve, à queue et crinière noires avec bande noire sur l'échine' (horse) | [2] ?ф M *küyilen ({SDM}: dis. from **küliilen) > WrM {MED} күйлен 'grey, bluish', HIM {BMR} жүйлэн 'grey (сивый) with a dark mane and a dark tail' (horse), Brt жүйлэн 'grey (сивый)' (horse) ¶ MED 498, 963, BMR IV 162, 183, Chr. 599, 615, KW 195, Ms. O 365 || AmTg *χол- > Ud холігі, хоіо 'yellow', ??ф Nn Nh {On.} χōğǰō 'grey, dark-grey', {STM} χоğǰō 'grey, brown' ¶ AmTg *o (for the expected *u) still requires explanation ¶ STM I 469, On. 462 ¶¶ SDM 849 (A *k'ūli 'yellow, brown, grey' > T, M *küyilen), DQA no. 1158 (A *k'ūli 'yellow, brown, grey' > T, Tg, M *küyilen).

1034. *Қу|о|∇ 'raven, crow' > **U** *ku|∇ > **FU** *°ku|∇(k∇) 'raven' > **ObU** *kū|∇k∇ 'raven' > **pVg** *kūlāk > **OVg N BerG** chúlach, **OVg W Sol** кўлаҳъ, **Vg:** T kolāk, **LK** холәх, **MK** k^ωоләх, **P/NV/SV/LL/ML** kulәх, **UL/Ss** холәх id.; **pOs** *кә|әк > **Os:** V/Vy кә|әк, **Ty** коләк, **Y** коләк, **D/K/Nz** хуләх, **Kz** х̄|әх, **O** холәх id. || **pSm** {Jn.} *кульу id. > **Ne T** хулы, **Ne T O** {Lh.} ху'л̄, **Ne F** {Lh.} ку'л̄, **Ng** {Ter.} кула, {Cs.} күла, **En X** {Cs.} кү'л̄ке, **En B** {Cs.} күреке id. | **Slq Tz** {KKIH} күlä, **Slq Tm** {KD} күlä id. | **Kms** {KD} k'ū'li ~ k'ū:lī, **Koyb** {Pls.} куллæ, {Sp.} куле id. ¶¶ UEW 200, Coll. 15, MF 292-3, Ht. no. 259, Jn. 77, KKIИ 122 || **А:** **Tg** *χōlī 'raven, crow' > **Ewk** oīī 'raven', **Ewk Ag** ólī, **Sln** o'ie ~ o'lī 'crow', **Lm** o'līnja '∈ raven (носач)', **Neg** o'lī, **Ud** wali, **Orc** o'lī, **Ul** o'lī, **Ork** o'lī 'raven', **Nn Nh** {STM, On.} χōlī 'raven' ¶ STM II 13, On 466 ¶¶ ≠ **S AJ** 281 (pA *k'ō'la '∈ bird'), ≠ **SDM** 851-2 (∈ 'big bird' > **Tg** + [not belonging here]: **M** *kuladu 'duck hawk' and **T** *Ku' 'bird, duck'), ≠ **DQA** no. 1157 (id.); in the light of **N** etymology the connection of **Tg** *χōlī 'raven, crow' with **T** and **M** names of other birds is not justified || **HS:** **ECh:** **Kbl** {Cp.} гз'згз '∈ 'crow' ¶ **ChC** s.v. 'crow', **Cp.** **KL** s.v. **Kbl** гз'згз.

1034a. *Қў|∇ 'fall, fall down\apart' > **HS:** **S** *-қ'ī- > **Ug** ✓ қ'w|y| **G** 'fall', **Ak OA/OB** inf. қ'īālu ~ қ'ālu id. (?), **Ak OA** қ'īlu adj. 'prone'; ??

Gz $\kappa^{\omega}al\kappa^{\omega}ala$ 'bring down, go downhill' ¶ OLS 364-5, A no. 2408, Sd. 918, CAD XIII 75-6 ($\kappa i \bar{a}l\iota \sim \kappa \hat{a}l\iota$ "uncertain meaning"), 252, L G 430 || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} $ka\bar{l}$ -, Gude {ChL} $k^{\omega}u\bar{l}i\check{c}(a)$ v. 'fall' ¶ JI II 131, ChC s.v. 'fall', ChL || **U**: FU $*k u \bar{l} \nabla$ - (~ $*k \ddot{u} \bar{l} \nabla$ -?) v. 'fall, fall down\apart, drop off, crumble away' (× FU $*k u \bar{l} \nabla$ - 'come to an end') > Hg $h u \bar{l} l$ - 'fall, fall down', Vg: LK $\chi o \bar{l}$ -, P $k u \bar{l}$ -, Ss $\chi u \bar{l}$ - 'peel off' (bark of trees) | ObU: Os: Nz $k u \bar{l} a y$ 'crumble' (ice in spring), Kz $k \ddot{u} \bar{l} a m$ - 'zerfallen, auseinanderfallen, sich zerkrümeln'; Vg Ss {Kn.} $k \ddot{u} \bar{l} a t$ - 'abgetragen\abgenutzt werden; zergehen, so daß nur die Gräten übrig bleiben' (Fische, wenn sie lange gekocht haben) || Prm: Z $g \bar{l} a v$ -n†, Δ $g \bar{l} a \bar{l}$ - 'fall' (of many objects), 'fall out', $g \bar{l} \bar{z} d$ -v. 'drip' ¶ MF 308-9, LG 84, UEW 156, 199-200, Coll. 97 || **A** $*k' u \bar{l} \nabla$ - v. 'fall' > T $*K u \bar{l} ; \bar{l} a$ - 'fall down, collapse' > Qzq, Uz $q u \bar{l} a$ -, Bsh $q \bar{b} \bar{l} a$ - 'fall, tumble down', Qq, ET $q u \bar{l} a$ - 'tumble down, collapse' ¶ ET Q 122-3 || Tg $*_{\bar{l}} \chi \bar{l} u \bar{l}$ - > WrMc {Z} $\bar{u} \bar{l} \bar{a} \bar{c} \bar{z} \bar{z}$ - 'fall down, crumble, collapse' (of earth, stones on a steep slope, a bank), Ewk PT/Y $u \bar{l} u \bar{l}$ -, Ewk Ucr $u \bar{l}$ - id., Ewk PT/Y $u \bar{l} u$ 'precipice, landslide, landslip', Lm $\omega \bar{l} s a$ - 'collapse' (of ground, bank etc.) ¶ STM II 263, Z 158 ¶ The Tg $\sqrt{\quad}$ may result from coalescence of the N word in question with N $*\kappa \ddot{u} \bar{s} \bar{r} \bar{l} \nabla$ 'to fell, to fall' ¶¶ SDM 850 (pA $*k' \ddot{u} \bar{l} o$ 'roll, turn' > the T and Tg verbs for 'fall' + unc. T $*K u \bar{l}$ - 'roll', J $*k \bar{z} \bar{r} \bar{z}$ -mp- id., Ko $*k u b i r$ id., Tg $*\chi o \bar{l}$ -/ $*\chi u \bar{l}$ - 'dance, climb down', M $*k o \bar{l} k i$ - 'be restless') ◇ ≈ IS I 358-9 [no. 235] (N $*\kappa \bar{l} u \bar{l} \nabla$ U 'падаты, опадаты' > U $*k u \bar{l} \nabla$ 'падаты, выпадаты, изнаживаться', pA $*k' u \bar{l} \nabla$ 'падаты, сваливаться, обваливаться'), Blz. L no. 48.

1035. *KĒHĪĒ 'tongue' > **U** $*k \bar{e} \bar{l} e$ 'tongue, language' > F $k i e \bar{l} i$, Es $k e e \bar{l}$ id. | pLp {Lr.} $*k \bar{e} \bar{l} \bar{z}$ 'tongue' > Lp: L {LLO} $k i e \bar{l} l a$, N {N} $g i e \bar{l} \hat{a}$, Kld $k \bar{i} \bar{l} \bar{l}$ id., S {Hs.} $g i \bar{e} \bar{l} e$ 'voice, language' | Er $k e \acute{l}$, Mk $k \bar{a} \acute{l}$ 'tongue, language' | Prm $*k \ddot{u} \bar{l}$ id., 'word' > OPrm, Vt, Z $\Delta k \bar{l}$, Z $k \bar{l} v$, $k \bar{l} v y$, Yz $k \bar{o} \bar{l}$ id. || ObU: Os V $k \bar{o} \bar{l}$ 'word, news, language', Os D $k e \bar{t}$ 'word', Os Kz $k e \bar{c}$ 'word, news' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} $*k e \bar{p} y$ 'tongue' > Ne F {Lh.} $\acute{s} \bar{l} \bar{e}$; En d. {Cs.}: En X $s i o \bar{r} o$, En B $s i o r o$; Ng d. {Mik.} $\acute{s} \bar{e} \acute{d} a$, {Cs.} $s i e j a$; Slq Tz {KKIH} $\acute{s} \bar{e}$; Kms d. {KD} $\acute{s} e k a$, Koyb d. {Sp.} $s e k a$; Mt {Hl.} $*k \bar{e} y$ (= $*k \bar{a} \bar{e} | i y$) id. (Mt: M {Mil.} $k i$, K {Mil.} $g e i$ id., M {Sp.} $k a \bar{s} t e$, T {Mil.} $k \bar{a} s c h t \bar{a}$, {Pl.} $k \bar{y} \bar{s} t \bar{y}$, K {Pl.} $g \bar{y} \bar{s} t e$ 'his tongue') ¶¶ Coll. 25, UEW 144-5, Db. OS xxi, Sm. 538 (U $*k \bar{a} \bar{x} \bar{l} i$, FU, FP $*k e e \bar{l} i$, Sm $*k e e y$), SK 188, Lr. no. 419, Lgc. no. 2412-13, Hs. 594, LG 149, W SDW 134-5, Jn. 66, Lh. 433, KKIH 174, Hl. M no-s 450 and 508 || **A** $*k' E L E n$

'tongue' > M *kele(n) ({IS} *kele(n)) 'tongue, language' > MM [IsV] kele(n) 'tongue', [MA] kele n 'narration', WrM {MED} kele(n) 'tongue; language, speech', HIM хэл(эн) {MED, BMR} id., Brt хэлэ(н) id., MMgl {Iw., Lg.} keḷa, Mgl {Rm.} kelān, Dg χeli, Dx {T} kīēlīēn id., Mnr H {T} kilīē id., {SM} k'īlīē 'langue', Ord k'ēle 'langue, langage, nouvelle'; ⇨ M *kele- ({IS} *kele-) v. 'speak' (× N ***Ḷ**ēḷA 'speak, say') > MM [MA, IsV] kele- 'speak', WrM {MED} kele-, HIM {MED BMR}, Brt хэлэ-, Mgl kelā-, Dx kīēlīē-, Ba kele-, Mnr H {T} kilīē- 'speak, say, tell', {SM} k'īlīē- 'parler, dire, raconter', Ord k'ēle- 'dire, parler, raconter' ¶ Lg. NVM I 113-15, 119, 121-4 and Lg. LML 136 (both on the M vw. ē), Lg. VMI 49-50, Pp. MA 213, MED 447, BMR IV 207-8, 213-14, Chr. 644-5, Iw. 111, SM 203, T 339, T DnJ 123, T DgJ 175, T BJ 141, Ms. O 411 || Tg *χilηü 'tongue' > Nn Nh siηmu ~ sirmu, Nn {Gru.} ximmu, Ork sinu, Ul siñu, Ud iηi, Orc iηi, iηηi, Ewk ilηi ɖ inni ɖ iñηi, Neg iñni ~ iñηi, Sln iηi, Lm ḷzηηъ, WrMc {Z} илэнг̄ү, Mc Sb (y)ilzηu, Jrc {Kiy.} ileηu id. ¶ STM I 316-17, Z 104, Kiy. 125 [no. 499], On. 365, 367, Gru. GDW s.v. ximmu ¶¶ SDM 796-7 (pA *k'ḷäli 'tongue' > M, Tg, Ko + unc.. T *kele- 'speak' [i.e. T *Kä:ḷä- v. 'speak, say'] and Ko *kʰró- 'say', which go back to N ***Ḷ**ēḷA 'speak, say'), DQA no. 1041 (id.), S AJ 57-8, 292 [no. 422] (reconstructing pA *k'älḷ and adducing MKo {DQA} ηyá 'tongue') || **HS:** ECh: Kbl {Cp.} kʰlā-, Ll {Smn.} kilā-, ? Kwn kílisi 'tongue' ¶ JI II 329, ChC s.v. 'tongue', Blz. EChWL no. 88 ◇ IS I 346-8 [no. 221] (N *ḶäḷHä 'tongue' > U, A).

1035a. *ḶUHä (= *ḶUHä?) or *ḶUHä 'lake, small body of water' > **HS:** C: Ag {AD} *kʰzr-/*kʰzll- (= *kʰzrr-) 'river, brook', {Ap.} *kʰzr-/*kʰzr- 'river, valley' > Bln {R} kūrā, {Ap.} kʰara 'river', Xm {R} aqūal 'Strom, Fluß, Bach', Xm T {CR} qʰära 'brook, stream, river', Km kʰra, {CR} kurā 'ruisseau, rivière' || EC: Sml N {Abr.} kál 'depression full of water' ¶ AD SF 198 (pC *ḷḷkʰḷ-/*ḷḷkʰḷ-), R WB 225, R Ch II 22, CR LK 215, Ap. AV 14. Abr. S 147 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} kʰäl 'valley' (← *'river valley') || CCh: Bdm {Lk.} kʰlu 'lake', {Nc.} 'kulū 'large body of water (the Chad lake, the Shari river)', Ngl {Lk.} kulā 'pond', Lgn {Lk.} kula 'lake, pond' ¶ J S 71, Lk. L 102, Lk. B 112, 115, ChC s.v. 'lake' || B: Gh {Bs.} kulama 'sea, river' ¶ Bs. NLB I 325 || **U** *k'ü'lä 'small lake, marsh, bay' > pPrm *kól (= {LG} *kól) > Vt kalim 'puddle (of stagnant water)', {Mu.} kalē m 'inlet or bay in a

river' (LG: *o > Vt a due to the infl. of l), Z тѣкѡла t+kɛla 'small lake' (тѣ t+ means 'lake') || ObU *küly∇ 'marsh' > pOs *kǝly id. > Os: V/Vy kǝly, Ty keḷə, D kǎlə, Kz kaḷ id.; pVg kīlə (with unexplained delabialization **k^ωī- > *kī-) id. > LK kēlī (nom. pl. kelɣət), MK/UK kēlī, P/UL/Ss kelī, NV/SV/LL kēli (nom. pl. kellət) id. || Sm: Slq: ? Tm {KD} kōl (inexact transcr. for qōl?) 'Flußbusen', Tz {KKIH} qals+ 'bay in a river or in the riverbed of a tributary (filled with water in spring)', ? Tz {KKIH} qolt+ large river', {Cs.} tagandes-kold 'the Yenisei' (lit. 'broad river'), Tz/Yel/B {Cs.} kold, Kar {Cs.} kuld 'the Yenisei', Nr {Cs.} kold, Ke {Cs.} koltte, NP kolttu 'the Ob' ¶¶ UEW 134-5 (U *kāl∇) and Ht. 149 [no. 258] (ObU *kīly∇); Stn. OUV (pObU *-ü-, which is preferable to Ht.'s rec.), LG 140, Coll. 21-2, Cs. 118, 238, KKIH 156, 161 || A *k'ōlE 'lake, body of water' > T *Kōl (= *k'ōl?) large body of water (natural or artificial), lake, pool' > OT {Cl.} kō:l id., Tk göl, Qrg köl 'lake, pool', Tkm kōl, Az кәл gōl, Ggz göl, Uz кўл kωl, ET, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg köl, VTt, Bsh kül, Alt, Xk köl, Tv xōl, Tf hōl, Yk kūōl, Chv кўлě külb 'lake', OQp {TAG} كول kōl 'pool' ('Pfütze'); ↗ M: HIM {BMR} кәл 'lake' (Xәл һуур 'the lake Иссык-куль [Qrg Ысык-кәл 'the Hot lake']), Brt xyl 'lake' (used in names of lakes), WrM {IS ← ?} kōl {IS} 'bay', WrO kōl 'bay', Kl {Rm.} kōl 'flood (of a river)' ('Überschwemmung, Wasserflut') ¶ Cl. 715, ET KQ 95-6, TL 91, Dr. TM III no-s 1682-3, Ra. 190, TAG 100, Jeg. 123, Fed. I 321, Krg. 739, BMR IV 132, KW 237, Chr. 617, IS I 306 (treating the M word is a genetic cognate rather than a loan from T) || Tg *xule- 'channel, (whirl)pool' > Lm ūl 'deep place in a river (омут)', ulgin 'a quiet and deep place in a river (заводь)', Orc, Ud ūle 'channel (протока)', Ork xulu-pti 'whirlpool', WrMc {Z} цләнъ 'canal around the ploughed field (for drainage of rain water), ditch (in ploughed fields)' ¶ STM I 477, II 257, 264, Z 158 || pKo *k^λr^λm 'lake, big river' > MKo k^λr^λm id. ¶ S QK no. 226, Nam 11 ¶¶ SDM 834-5 (pA *k'ōli 'lake, basin' > Tg, T, Ko + unc. M *^okūyil-sū 'island in a river, shallow place in a river'), DQA no. 1129 (id.) ◇ IS I 305-6 [no. 177], Blz. C (suggesting to tie in Gh kulama), ≠ S NSShS no. 22 (A *÷ IE *g^ωeī- 'spring'). Illich-Svitych reconstructed here N *k- on the apparent ev. of HS, but in HS the N emphatic cnss may have de-emphatized reflexes, as in all grammatical words and pronouns (see above Introduction, 2.2.2).

The cognates providing ev. for an original N ***K̑-** are found both in HS (Xm aqǔal) and in A (the Tg √ with ***χ-**). The connection with IE ***g^wel-** v. 'drop, well out' (proposed with a query by IS) is unlikely. Cp. N ***gowlu** 'deep; valley' (in some lges that do not distinguish between N ***K̑-** and ***g-**, there might have been contamination of N ***K̑UH̑ä** - ***K̑UH̑ä** and ***gowlu**).

1036. *K̑eHu'h'lüHê (or ***K̑e'h'u_{ly}ê**??) 'hear' > IE: NaIE {P} ***k̑leu̯a-**/***k̑lu(:)-** 'hear' > OI **śȓ'ñō-ti**, Av **surunaoitī** 'hears' ||| Gk aor. ἔκλυον 'I heard' ||| L **cluē-** (**clueo**, **-ēre**) v. 'be called (heißen)' ||| Clt: [1] Br {Hm.} **kleu** 'sens de l'ouïe'; [2] Cl {Matas.} ***kli-nu-** 'hear' > OIr **cluīn-** v. 'hear' (**ro-cluīnethar** 'hears'), **clúas** n. 'hearing, faculty of hearing, ear', **clóth** 'news, rumor, fame', W **clod** 'fame'; Brtt {RE} ***kluwami** v. 'hear' > MW **cluwaf** 'I hear', W **clywed**, Crn **clewes**, Br {Hm.} **kleuout** 'entendre' ||| ON **hljóð**, OHG {OsS} **hliuth** 'Zuhören, Gehör, Laut', Gt **hliuma** (· ἄκοή) 'Gehör', OHG (**h**)**liumunt** n. 'hearing (Gehör)', 'call, rumor, fame'; (from ***k̑lū-**): OHG **lūt**, NHG **laut**, OSx, AS **hlūd** 'loud', NE **loud** ||| Sl inf. ***sl̑-ti** (1s pres. ***sl̑v-ŏ**) 'to have the reputation\name\fame of' > OCS inf. **сл̑ути** **sluti** (pres. **сл̑оуѣ сл̑оуѡ**) {StSS} 'to have the reputation of' ({P} 'heißen, berühmt sein'), Slv inf. **sl̑úti** (pres. **sl̑óvem**, **sl̑ūjem**) 'to be known\famous as', OCz inf. **sl̑úti** (pres. **sl̑oуu**), Cz inf. **sl̑outi**, Slk inf. **sl̑ut'** id., 'to be called', R inf. **сл̑ыть** (pres. **сл̑ы'ву**), Uk inf. **'сл̑ити** 'to have the reputation of' ||| Ltv Δ {ME} inf. **sl̑ūt** (p. **sl̑uṽa**), inf. **sl̑uṽēt** {pres. **sl̑uṽ**) 'to spread' (of a rumor), 'to become known' ||| pTv ***kl̑āw-** > Tc: A, B **kl̑āw-** 'be called\named' ||| NaIE inv. ***k̑lu-d^{hi}** > OI **śru'dhi**, Gk **κλ̑ύθι** 'hear!' ||| NaIE pp. ***k̑lu(:)-'to-(s) '*heard** → 'renowned, famous' > OI **śru'ta-h̑**, Av **sȓūta-** id ||| Gk **κλ̑υτός** id ||| L (with a px) **in-clutus** id. ||| Clt {Matas.} ***kluto-** 'fame' > OIr **clóth**, MW **clod**, Crn **clos** id., OBr [ʃ] **clot** 'rumoris', Br {Hm.} **klod** 'gloire, renom' ||| OHG **hlot-**, **hlud-** id. (in proper names: **Hlot-hari**, **Clothilde**, **Hluderich** = Gl **Cluto-rigi**) ||| Arm **լ̑ու Լու** 'the hearing' (in **լ̑ու առնել Լու** **առնել Լու** **առնել** 'to make known, to bring the news', **լ̑ու Լինել Լու** **լինել** 'to be heard of, to be made known') ||| NaIE ***k̑lew0(s)** 'fame, announcement' (→ 'speech, word') > OI **śrawah̑** 'glory, praise, renown' ||| Gk **κλ̑έος**, Gk Ph **κλ̑έφος** 'rumor, report, news' ||| Clt

{Matas.} *^okluwos 'fame' > OIr clú ntr. 'fame' ||| pAl {O} *klāyśna (d. from IE *^{k̄}lewos) > Al: T quaj, G quej v. 'call, give a name' ||| pTc {Ad.} *kälwe > Tc B ríem-kálywe {Ad.} 'fame' ||| BSl (L-gr.): Lt ślově 'glory, humour' | Sl *sláva 'fame, glory' > OCS **СЛАВА** slava {StSS} 'fame; honour', Blg, R, Uk 'слава, SCr slàva, Slv sláva, Cz, Slk sláva, P sława 'fame, glory' ||| other ds include: NaIE *^{k̄}lou-sō > Av sraōša- 'hearing, obedience' ||| Clt {Matas.} *klus-ī- 'hear' > MW clywet ~ clybot, Cm klywes, MBr clevet id., Br {Hm.} klevēd 'sens de l'ouïe'; Clt {Matas.} *klowstā n. 'hearing, ear' > OIr clúas, MW clust ||| Lt klausà 'hearing, ear, musical ear' ||| Sl *slúxъ ~ *slūxъ n. 'hearing, rumor' > OCS **СЛУХЪ** (·^ukoŋ) 'hearing (Gehör)', Blg, R, Uk слух 'hearing, rumor', SCr sluḥ, Slv slūh, Cz, Slk sluch, P słyuch 'hearing (Gehör)'; ⇨ *^{k̄}lous- (+ sx) > OI śrōṣati 'hears' ||| Msp klaosi 'hear!' ||| Lt inf. klausyti, Ltv inf. klausīt 'to hear', Pru klausiton 'to hear, to listen' | Sl inf. *slúšati 'to listen' > OCS **СЛУШАТИ** slušati, SCr slušati, Slv po-slušati, Slk slušat' 'to listen', Cz slušet 'to suit, to become (to so.); Sl inf. *slīšati 'to hear' > OCS **СЛЫШАТИ** slīšati 'to hear', R 'слышать, P słyyszec' id., Cz slyšet 'to hear (of, about), to listen', SCr slīšati 'to listen to, to hear out'; Sl *slōvo (*-es-stem, see gen. *slōves-e) 'speech, word' > OCS **СЛОВО** slovo (·^loγos, ῥῆμα) 'word, speech', R, Uk, Blg 'слово, P słow 'word', Cz, Slk slovo 'word', sloveso 'verb', SCr slōvo 'letter (Buchstabe)' ||| pTc {Ad.} *^{k̄}ley- > Tc: A klyos-, B klyaus- {Ad.} 'hear', {Wn.} 'hear, listen', d.: pTc {Ad.} *kleucā (iä)n > pA klotś (du. kloś äm̄), B klautśo (du. klautśne) n. 'ear' ¶ P 605-7, M K II 372-4, Thr. 338, SB 102, WH I 237-9, FI 869-70, 877, Vn. C 124-8, RE 103, Vr. 238, Fs. 264, Ho. 164, Kl. 626, 643, OsS 47-8, Frn. 265-6, 1008-9, ME III 942-3, En. 194-5, Tp. P K-L 49-53, Vs. III 664, 673, 678-80, StSS 609, 611-12, 614-15, Glh. 558, 563-4, Chrn. II 173-8, Xud. I 476, Slr. 94-5, Matas. E 208-11, Hm. 166-7, Wn. I 218, 221-4, Wn. KTW 112-14, Ad. 222, 230, 232-3, 270, 363-4, Ad. H 16, 70-1, 137, JGH 222, EI 262 (IE *^{k̄}ley- 'hear', *^{k̄}lu'to-s 'known, renowned', IE *^{k̄}ley- 'hear'), 192 (IE *^{k̄}lewes 'fame') and 534 (IE *^{k̄}leytrom 'a sound') ||| **HS:** S *^o-k̄u'h̄l- > Ak v. -k̄ūl- (inf. k̄âlū) 'heed, listen' ¶ Sd. 895-6, CAD XIII 72-5 || C {AD} *m-k̄^ω∇l-/ *ma-k̄k̄^ω∇l- 'ear' (≈ {E} ✓ m̄k̄^ωl 'hear') > Bj A {AD} ʔan'g^ωīl (pl. 'ʔang^ωil), Bj {Bnd.}

ang^wīl, {R} aŋ'g^wil 'ear' || EC *maḳl- v. 'hear' > Sml maql-, Bs {HL} māl-, Dsn {To.} māl- id. || Ag {AD} *ʔɜnḳ^w- 'ear' > Bln {R} ɯnkũwǎ, Q {R} enḳ^wǎ, Aw ɜnkoʋi 'ear', Aw ɜnkoʋ-/ənkoóq v. 'hear' ¶ AD SF 183, E PC no. 140, R WBd 24, R WB 40, R QW 28, Ap. AV 4, Bl. 261. 265, To. DL 516, HL 188, Abr. S 173 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} ḳ^wal- 'hear' > AG {AD} *ḳ'ɜ'ɜ'ɜ'ɜ'η-, {Stl.} *ḳ'ɜ'ɜ'ɜ'ɜ'η 'hear' > Gmy {Hf.} ḳe leŋ, Su {J} kɜliŋ, {Hf.} kɜliŋ ~ kɜlɜŋ, Ang {Flk.} kaɮũŋ, Cp kɜliŋ, Mnt {Hf.} kɜlɜŋ, Ywm {IL} kɜl, {Stl.} kaɮ-mok, Tal {IL} k^wɜl, Kfr {Nt.} kɜlɜŋ 'hear'; BT: Krkr {ChL} kɜlá, {J, Lk.} kaɮ-, Grm ip. kùlǎ, Ngm k^wɜlí, Krf {Sa.} k^wálú-wò id. || CCh: Bt {Mch.} klɔ, Bcm {Sk.} kúɮ id. ¶ JI II 184-5, ChC s.v. 'to hear', ChL, Stl. ZCh 213-14 [no. 639], Hf. AG no. 202, Nt. 19 || U *kūle- 'hear', *kūle 'ear' > FU: F, Es kuule- v. 'hear' || pLp {Lr.} *kuɮ- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} guvledh, L {LLO} kullat, N {N} gullât, Kld kulleð id. | Er куля- kuía-, Mk куле- kuía- 'hear' | Chr L/Uf/B/H kola- id. | Prm *kúl- > Vt, Z Δ k+l-, Z k+v- id. || ObU {Ht.} *kūl- 'hear' > pVg *k^wāl- > Vg: T k^wāl ɮ kāl-, LK/UL xōl-, MK kōl-/koɮ-, P/NV/LL kōl-, Ss xūl- id.; pOs *kuɮ- > Os: V/Vy quɮ-, Ty/Y quɮ-, D/K/Nz qut-, Kz qōɮ-, O xol- id. || Hg hall- id. || Sm: Ne T xa, Ne F k̄ā ~ ka, En X {KD} kūʔ, {Cs.} kû, En B {Cs.} kô, Ng {Hl., Cs.} kou 'ear' || ?σ pY {IN} *qol- > Y K qol-il 'sound, noise' (× N *ḡU,ʔ,ɜ'ɜ'ɜ'ɜ' 'speak, call', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ UEW 197-8, Coll. 93, Sm. 544 (FU, FP *kuuli-, Ugr *kulĩ- 'hear'), Lr. no. 492, Lgc. no. 2781, Hs. 705-6, It. no. 233, Ker. II 70, LG 149, Ht. no. 246, MF 253-4, KP 93, Hl. US 119, IN H 384, N UJ 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 24] (Y ← U) || A *k'uɮ- 'ear; hear' > T *Kul-kāk ({Md.} *ku.lgāk) 'ear' > OT quɮqɑq ~ quɮxɑq ~ quɮɑq, Tk kulak, Az gulaq, Tkm gulaq, Uz qulaq, Qzq қўлақ, VTt колак q̄ɮlaq, Bsh колак q̄ɮlaq, Ggz kulak, ET, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Ln, Tv, Tf qulaq, CrTt, Slr qulax, Xlj qulāq, Xk xulax, Yk kulʋāx 'ear' || Chv L хǎлха, Chv Δ хулха ɮ холха 'Ohr, Gehör' ¶ Cl. 620, Rs. W 298, ET Q 124-7, TL 204-6, S AJ 177 [no. 22], Ra. 222, DT 179, Ash. XVI 153-4, 321-4, Fed. II 322-3, Jeg. 291, ChVS 245 || M *qula-ki 'middle ear' (→ 'earwax'), {?} 'ears of animals' > WrM quɮki, quɮɑquɮ {MED} middle ear; earwax', HIM {MED} хулих, {BMR} хулхи id., Brt холхи ~ хулхи, Klm {KRS} хулх 'earwax', {Rm.} хулхъ 'Ohrenschmalz', Ord хулцугу 'oreilles (des animaux); l'orifice de l'oreille'; other ds of the √: M *qulmaɮ- > WrM quɮmai- {MED} 'have the ears laid back, be crop-eared', HIM хулмай- {MED} id.,

{BMR} 'have the ears laid back in order to bite' (of a horse), 'испуганно озираться', Brt жұлмай – 'have the ears laid back', Kl {Rm.} χυλμά- 'scheu\bang sein, verstohlen (auf jemanden oder etwas) sehen', Ord χυλμά- 'être couchées' (oreilles de certains animaux), d. χυλμυγυρ 'collées contre la tête' (oreilles); M *quluγur > WrM қулуγур {MED} 'laid or pressed back' (of ears), 'crop-eared', HIM хулгар {MED} id., {BMR} 'crop-eared', Kl {KRS} хулһр id., {Rm.} χυλυφыр 'der kleine oder gleichsam abgeschittene Ohren hat' ¶ MED 984, BMR IV 164, Chr. 581, 600, KRS 608, KW 196, Ms. O 366-7 ¶ The semantic prehistory of M *qula-ki 'middle ear' is easy to understand on the analogy of Sp οἶτρο 'middle ear, organ of hearing' (< L auctitus 'hearing, Gehör'): like Sp, M distinguishes between the (external) ear (pM *ćikin, like Sp ορεја) and the real organ of hearing (middle ear) and derives the word for the latter from the verb 'hear' || Tg *χῠl- (and *χῠl-?) 'be heard, sound' (of a sound) > Nn Nh {Pt., STM} χῠlḗḗ- (not mentioned by On.), Ul χῠldḗ-, Lm ῠldḗ- id., Ork χῠlḗḗ 'echo', Ork χῠlbun, Neg ῠlbun-, Ewk ῠlta- ḗ ῠlta- 'be heard' (echo). ¶ STM II 263, Pt. 144 || pKo {S} *kúi 'ear' (× N *Қаҗе¹ω∇ 'to hear, to notice', [in descendant lges] → 'ear') > MKo kúi, NKo kyi, NKo ds: Ph kyi, Chs kú:, Ks kyî, PhN/Chj kῠi, Sl kῠi, Kw kῠ 'ear' ¶ S AJ 252 [no. 22], S QK no. 22, Nam 64, MLC 226-7 ¶¶ SDM 847 (pA *k'ῠylu|o 'ear; hear' > T, M, Tg, Ko + unc. pJ *k'í-k- 'hear' [going back probably to N *Қаҗе¹ω∇ 'to hear, to notice', q.v.]), DQA no. 1156 || D (att. in SD) {tr., GS} *kēl- v. 'hear, listen' > Tm, Kn keḗ, Ml kēlkkə id., Kt, Td ke·l-, Kdg k^·l- 'hear', Tu kēḗḗḗḗ 'listen, be attentive' ¶ D no. 2017(a), GS 170 [no. 428a], 60-1 [no-s 174 and 181] ◇ The discrepancy between U *-l- and D *-l- may be explained if we suppose the following prehistory of D *-l-: [1] N *-lῠHé > **-lῠ∇ > **-ly∇ > D *-l∇ or [2] (if the N etymon is *Қеḗh¹ulῠy,é] N *-lyé > **-ly∇ > D *-l∇ ◇ Rec. of an alt. (shorter) pN etymon (e.g. *Қеḗh¹ulῠy,é) is possible if we admit mt. of laryngeals and/or *w/u-phonemes in the prehistory of some branches of N ◇ IS MS 366 (*q'íw¹lῠ). Not here (⇔ IS) K *qur- 'ear', which is better explained otherwise (F N *qURῠw,∇ 'ear'). Therefore in the N etymon I reconstruct an unspecified *Қ- rather than *q-.

1037. *ҚЕHῠy¹ü¹ or *ҚЕHῠy¹ü¹ 'testicles' > HS: S ≈ *°✓k|w > Ar Mgr qə|wə 'testicle' ¶ Coh. 127 [no. 243] || C {AD} *қω∇l(1)-

'testicle(s)' > Ag: Bln {R} $\kappa^{\omega}el\bar{a} \sim \kappa^{\omega}l\bar{a}$ ($\kappa^{\omega}al\bar{a}$) '(pair of) testicles' (pl. $\kappa^{\omega}l\bar{i}l$) || EC: Kns {BISO} $ku\bar{l}-\bar{a}$ 'testicles' ¶ AD SF 200, R WB 238, BISO 86 || ? NrOm: Bdt {Hw.} $\kappa o'lo\bar{p}\bar{p}o$ 'testicles' ($\times N *gU'í|í'E$ 'penis?') ¶ Hw. NKL 215 || ??φ Ch: WCh: Hs $\kappa^{\omega}al\bar{a}t\acute{a}y$ 'testicles' || CCh: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} $\kappa^{\omega}al\bar{e}y$ 'testicle(s)' || ?φ Gdr {Mch.} $g\acute{e}l\bar{e}$ id. || Ms sb.: Zm {J} $g\acute{e}l$, {Sa.} $g\acute{e}l$, LamP {ChL} $g\acute{i} g\acute{e}l$ id. || ?φ ECh: Kwn {J} $k\acute{\alpha}l\acute{\alpha}s\acute{\alpha}$, Ke {Eb.} $k\acute{\alpha}l\acute{\alpha}\eta$, Kbl {Cp.} $g\acute{\alpha}l\acute{i}$, EDng {Fd.} $g\acute{u}l\acute{\alpha}$, Mgm {J} $g\acute{o}l\acute{i}l\bar{e}$, Brg {J} $g\acute{u}l\bar{a}l\bar{i}$, ?φ Mu {J} $g\acute{u}r\acute{l}i$ id. ¶ JI II 322-3, ChC s.v. 'testicles', ChL ¶¶ Coh. 127 [no. 243] || IE: NaIE {Bern.} $*\bar{k}\bar{e}u\bar{l}- / *k\bar{o}(\bar{u})l-$ 'testiculi, scrotum' > L $c\bar{o}l\bar{e}u\bar{s}$ 'testicle', $c\bar{o}l\bar{e}i$ pl. 'scrotum' (> OIt $co\bar{g}l\bar{i}a$, Rm $co\bar{i}u$, Prov $colh-s$ 'scrotum', OFr $co\bar{i}l$, Fr $co\bar{u}ille$ 'testicle'), L $c\bar{o}l\bar{e}\bar{o}$, $-\bar{o}n-is$, (γ) $c\bar{u}l\bar{i}\bar{o}$ 'testicle' (> It $co\bar{g}l\bar{i}one$, Sp $co\bar{j}\acute{o}n$, Fr $co\bar{u}illon$, Prv $colh\acute{o}$, Ctl $coll\acute{o}$) || SI $*\check{s}u\acute{l}e(t-)$ (< $*\check{s}ul-j\bar{e}(t-)$ with the dim. $sx *-\bar{j}\bar{e}(t-)$) > R (\dagger , Δ) ntr. $\check{s}u'ly\bar{a}$ 'testicle (pl. $\check{s}u'ly\bar{a}t\bar{a}$), Blr $\check{s}u'ly\bar{a}t\bar{y}$ 'testicles' ¶ WH I 244, Kö. 286, ML no-s 2036 and 2038, Bern. I s.v. $*\bar{k}\bar{e}u\bar{l}- / k\bar{o}(\bar{u})l-$, ≈ Vs. IV 486 || U: FP $*ko\acute{l}e$ 'testicle(s)' > Es $\Delta ko\bar{l}i$ 'testicle', F $ko\bar{l}li$ 'dog\cat in heat; tomcat', $ko\bar{l}li-k\bar{i}ssa$ 'tomcat, cat in heat' ($k\bar{i}ssa$ means 'cat') || pLp {Lr.} $*k\bar{o}l\bar{z}$ 'testicles' > Lp: N {N} $guoll\hat{a} \sim guol'l\hat{a}$, S {Hs.} $guole$, L {LLO} $kuolla$, Kld $k\bar{u}ll$ id. || pPrm $*k\bar{o}'l$ 'testicle' > Z Lu $k\bar{z}\acute{i}$ {UEW} id., Prmk {KPR} $k\bar{z}\acute{i}$ 'scrotum', Vt S $k\bar{o}'lan$, Vt Uf {Wc.} $k\bar{z}\acute{i}lan$ 'testicles' ¶ Set. FUS 55 and UEW 175 (both equate this FP $\sqrt{\quad}$ with one of the Sm words for 'penis' [\mathcal{F} s.v. N $*gU'í|í'E$ 'penis']), SK 211-12, Lr. no. 510, Hs. 688, KPR 192 || D ?σ $*ko\gamma'i'l-$ 'pudendum muliebre' > Ka $gulli$, Tu $ko\gamma il\bar{a}$, Tl $goll\bar{i}$ id. ¶¶ D no. 2138 ◊ D $*l$ points to N $*l$ (rather than $*l'$), which suggests that FP $*-l'$ is likely to go back to N $*-ly-$ or $*-yl-$ ◊ ISSS 335 [no. 7.3] and IS MS 373 s.v. $*q\bar{o}l\bar{\Delta}$ 'яичко (testiculus)' (in both sources U, HS + unc. K $*q\bar{w}\bar{e}r-$ 'testicles').

1038. ($_{2}$?) $*\bar{K}a\omega'h'oL\bar{\nabla}$ 'outgrowth, inflation, abscess, hernia' > IE: NaIE d. $*k\bar{a}\omega_{\bar{a}}l\bar{a} / *k\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ 'inflation (in a body), hernia' > Gk I $\kappa\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta$, Gk A $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ 'tumor', esp. 'rupture, hernia', 'bump (on a buffalo's back)' (< $*k\bar{a}\omega_{\bar{a}}l\bar{a}$) || ON $haull$, AS $h\acute{e}ala$, OHG $h\bar{o}la$ 'hernia' (< $*k\bar{a}\omega_{\bar{a}}l\bar{a}$) || BS1 $*k\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ (< NaIE $*k\bar{u}l\bar{a}$) > Sl $*k\acute{\ddot{z}}la$ 'hernia, inflation' > ChS $\bar{k}\bar{y}l\bar{a}$ $k\acute{\ddot{z}}la$, $\bar{k}n\bar{l}\bar{a}$ $k\acute{\ddot{z}}la$, Blg 'кила, Cz $k\acute{y}la$, Slk $ky\bar{l}a$, P $k\acute{i}\bar{z}a$, Uk 'кила, ки'ла 'hernia', SCr $k\acute{i}\bar{l}a$ 'hernia, swelling, outgrowth', Slv $k\acute{i}\bar{l}a$, R $k\acute{i}l\bar{a}$ 'hernia, outgrowth' || Lt $k\acute{u}l\bar{a}$ 'outgrowth', $k\acute{u}l\bar{a}s$

'hernia' ||| Oss: I кѳуыллау $\kappa\omega\zeta\lambda\lambda\omega$, D $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ 'hernia' (the glottalized κ - requires explanation) ¶ WP I 333, P 536-7, EI 268 (* $\widehat{\kappa}e\upsilon\eta$) / gen. * $\widehat{\kappa}u\eta$ '-os 'hernia'), F I 839-40, Vr. 214, Ho. 150, Kb. 476, OsS 414, Frn. 206, ESSJ XIII 262-3, Glh. 317, Ab. I 648 ||| **HS**: ? S: Ar $qayl$ -at- ~ $q\bar{i}l$ -at- 'hernia' (unless borrowed from Gk I $\kappa\eta\lambda\eta$ 'hernia'), $q\bar{i}ll\bar{i}t\bar{u}$ - id. (t on the analogy of $qal\bar{t}$ - 'deformation?') ¶ Fr. III 489, 523, BK II 848 ||| ? ϕ B * $\circ\check{g}lh_2|z$ > Ah a. $\acute{g}\bar{e}lhah$ (pl. $i\acute{g}\bar{a}lh\bar{a}h\bar{a}n$) 'hernia' ¶ Fc. 429 ||| **A**: M * $qolq\bar{u}y$ - > WrM {MED} $qolq\bar{u}i$ -, HIM {MED, BMR} холхой - 'be inflated, have a big belly', Kl {KRS} холха - $\chi ol\chi\bar{a}$ - 'be inflated', {Rm.} $\chi ol\chi\bar{a}$ - 'zu weit sein' (von Anzug), 'schlampig werden, schlampen' ¶ MED 960, BMR IV 101, KRS 594, KW 183 \diamond In NaIE * $k\bar{a}\omega\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ the reflex of the lr. (the length of * a) precedes * ω , while in NaIE * $k\bar{u}l\bar{a}$ the underlying lr. follows * u ; this controversy still needs resolving \diamond Qu., because the M cognate has an unexplained final *- $q\bar{u}$ (from a sx ?), while the Ar words may be of Gk origin.

1039. ₂^* **ҚоХЛа** 'be dry' > **HS**: S * $\circ\check{q}\bar{h}l$ > Ar $\check{q}\bar{h}l$ G (pf. $qa\bar{h}ila$) 'become dry, dry up' ¶ BK II 828, Hv. 589 ||| **A** * $k'\bar{o}L(\bar{u}\nabla\bar{g})$ - vi. 'dry, get stale' > Tg * $\chi ol\bar{g}a$ 'get/make dry' > Nn Nh/Bk $\chi ol\bar{g}o$ -, Ewk, Sln, Neg $ol\bar{g}\bar{o}$ -, Lm $ol\bar{g}\bar{b}$ - \bar{z} $ol\bar{g}a$ -, Ud $og\bar{o}$ -, Orc $og\bar{i}pta$ -, WrMc {Z} $ol\bar{g}o$ - ~ $ol\bar{x}o$ - 'get dry'; Tg * $\chi ol\bar{g}i$ - vt. 'dry' > Ewk, Sln $ol\bar{g}\bar{i}$ -, Lm, Neg $ol\bar{g}\bar{i}$ -, Orc $og\bar{g}i$ -, $og\bar{g}i\bar{c}i$ -, Ud $wag\bar{i}si$ -, Ul $\chi ol\bar{z}\bar{u}$ - / $\chi ol\bar{z}\bar{i}$ -, Ork $\chi ol\bar{d}o$ -, Nn Nh/Bk $\chi ol\bar{g}\bar{i}$ -, $\chi ol\bar{g}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{i}$ -, WrMc {Z} $валгя$ - vt. 'dry' ¶ STM II 12-13, On. 465-6, Z 128-9, 1109-10 ||| pKo {S} * $korh$ - v. 'get stale, go bad, rot' > NKo $kolh$ - kol - ¶ S QK no. 168, MLC 160 ||| pJ {S} * $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ - 'dry out, become ripe' > OJ $kara$ -, MJ $k\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ - id. ({S} 'dry out, run dry'), J T $k\bar{a}re$ -, J K $k\bar{a}r\bar{e}$ -, J Kg $kar\bar{e}$ - {S} id., {Kenk.} 'dry up, run dry' ¶ S QJ no. 493, Mr. 704, Kenk. 853 ¶¶ SDM 834 (pA * $k'\bar{o}l\bar{u}la$ - or * $k'\bar{i}o\bar{u}la$ - v. 'dry, get stale' > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1114, Rm. SKE 121-2 (Ko, Tg), S AJ 290 \diamond \neq S NSShS (equating A with K [GZ] * $g\bar{w}al$ - 'be' [of drought], see N * $g'\bar{u}'\bar{i}\bar{\nabla}$ 'season without vegetation').

1040. ₂^* **ҚАуИЛа** 'shout, call' > **HS**: Sml $qayl(i)$ - v. 'shout, call', Sml N {Abr.} $q\bar{a}ylo$ 'a shout' ¶ Abr. S 202, DSI 496 ||| **A**: M * $qayila$ - v. 'call, shout, weep' > MM [S, MA, IM] $qayla$ - v. 'shout', WrM $qayila$ - {MED} v. 'weep, cry', HIM хайла - {MED, BMR} id., Kl {Rm.} $\chi\bar{a}l$ - 'rufen, schreien', Mnr H {SM} $\chi\bar{e}la$ - 'crier' (animaux), 'chanter' (oiseaux), Ord $\chi\bar{a}la$ - 'mugir' (taureau) ¶ MED 912, BMR IV 18, KW

179, H 57, SM 167, Ms. O 146, Pp. MA 287-7, 444 || ? pKo {S} *kʰrót- 'say' (× N *ḲEHĭê 'tongue', q.v. ffd.) || ??σ,φ AdS of D *keļ- v. 'speak, say' (< N *Ḳ'eļA 'speak, say', q.v. [× N *ḲaL_L∇_Lh∇ 'shout' × N *k'a'ṬX'E' 'call, shout']) > Tm kiļa- v. 'express clearly, mention\state specifically', kiļavv 'word, speach', kiļarpu 'speech, utterance', Gnd keļ(ł)- v. 'tell' ¶¶ D no. 2017b ¶¶ D *keļ- may belong here only if N *Ay can yield D *e ◊ Gr. II no. 357 (*keļ 'speak') (qu. Y, Ko, Gil, CK, EA + err. IE [< N *ḲaL_L∇_Lh∇ 'shout'], U, A [cp. N *ḲEHĭê 'tongue'])).

1041. *ḲE'y|ʔ'a|a 'to burn' ('гореть'), 'to burn (sth.)', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast' > A *k'i_La|a 'burn', 'be hot', 'embers' > M *qala- v. 'be\become\feel warm\hot' > WrM qala- {MED} id., 'be warmed', HIM жала- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be warmed, накаливаться, обжечься', Brt жала- 'sich verbrennen, verseggen (обжигаться, опалиться)', Kl {KRS} жал- жаль- 'become hot, накаляться, раскаляться', {Rm.} жалa- 'heiß werden, sich erhitzen', Ord жалa- 'devenir chaud'; M *qala-yun 'hot, warm', n. 'heat, warmth' > WrM {MED} qala-yun, MM (ArSc) قالدون qala-yūn, (ChSc) жалa-yun, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt жалун id., Kl {KRS} жалун жалun id., {Rm.} жалūn 'heiß, brennend', Mgl {Rm.} qalūn, qalōun id., {Wr.} qal'lon 'hot, warm', 'heat, warmth', Ord жалūn 'chaud, brûlant'; M *qala-y'a- vt. 'heat, burn' > WrM qalaga- {MED} vt. 'warm, heat; burn, scald', HIM {MED} жалаа- id., {BMR} vt. 'warm; glühen (обжигать)', Brt жалаа- vt. 'warm, heat', Kl {KRS} жала- id., {Rm.} жалā- 'heiß machen, erhitzen', Ord. жалā- 'faire éprouver une sensation de brûlure', 'brûler' (objet très chaud, par son contact avec le peau) ¶ MED 916-17, BMR IV 22-3, 29, Chr. 537, 539-40, H 57, Ms. H 87, Pp. MA 288-9, KRS 569, 571, KW 162-4, Rm. M 31, Wr. B 176, MYC 232, 318-19, Ms. O 326, 329 || Tg *χi_Lal-(ta) 'embers, charcoal' > Ewk ēlla 𐎠 ēlda id., Lm ālrъ 𐎠 yaldъ id., ālrъ 𐎠 āllъ 𐎠 ēlla 𐎠 jāldo 𐎠 yāldъ 'charcoal', Neg ēla, Ud yalaha, Ul sēlta 𐎠 sjalta, Ork sēlta id., Nn Nh sial-ta, Nn Bk sēl-ta, Nn KU yala', Nn {Gru.} хéalta, Ud {Krm.} yalaha 'coals that have died out (погасший уголь)', 'charcoal', Sln ilçi 'embers, charcoal'; another d.: Ewk Np ilakan 'charcoal; coals that have died out'; Tg *χi_Lalb^u_L- > Ewk ēlbikan 'live coals (used to roast meat)', Neg ēlbu 'live coals', Nn Nh sialb_L, Nn Bk salb_L 'piece of live coal', Ul sēl-bu 𐎠 sjalbu; Orc (j)āl-u- v. 'get dirty

with charcoal', Ewk ēl-la- vt. 'char, burn to become charred', Neg ēla 'charcoal', WrMc {Z} ялманги 'soot (сажа)', ?ф іōлонги id., 'soot (копотъ) on the ceiling, сыплющиеся из пламени искры и пепел' ¶ STM I 289-90, Krm. 241, On. 357, Z 187, 202 || ? Т *Kała- 'burn' > Chg, Slr, ET Δ qała- vt. 'burn', Az qała-, Tk Δ, ET Δ, Qrg qała- v. 'fire (a stove, hearth)', Tkm Δ qała-, Tk Δ qała- 𐰇 qała-, Qrg, ET Δ, Ln qała- 'kindle (fire)', StAlt, Tlt {Rl.} qała- vi. 'burn, catch fire'; acc. to Cl. 617, these words are loans from M *qała- and †*qała-ʁa- (hence the root is absent in the Turkic texts of the pre-Mongolian period) ¶ ≈ ET Q 228-9 (considering *Kała- 'burn' and *Kała- 'put' to be the same word), Rl. II 226, IS I 333, Rs. W 294, ET KQ 228-9 ¶¶ But hardly here pKo {S AJ} *kírí-m, {S QJ} *kìñîr- 'soot' > MKo {S AJ} kírím, {S QJ} kîñîrím, NKo {S AJ} kırım, {S QJ} kiirim (S AJ 257 [no. 186], S QK no. 659 (see s.v. N *K'ü'ń ▽ 'to burn'), IS I 333 (pA *k'ǰala- 'hot', vt. 'burn, kindle') ¶¶ SDM 796 (pA *k'ǰā|ǰā 'hot, ashes' > Tg, M, without T and Ko), DQA no. 1040 (id.), Rm. SKE 162 || | D {tr., †GS} *kā]- vi. 'burn' > Ml kā|uka id., kā|al 'flame', Tl kāl|u vi. 'burn, be baked', Prj kāl- v. 'smart' || HS: S *√kly vt. 'roast, fry, burn' (mt. from **√kly??) > Ak √kly|y (inf. kaly) vt., vi. 'roast, burn', BHb √kly|y (pf. קָלָה kālā) v. 'roast', JA, Sr √kly (pf. קָלָה, Sr קָלָה kālā), Md √kly (spelled kl?) v. 'roast, parch, fry', JEA √kly G vt. 'burn, roast', Ar √qly|w (pf. قَالَى ~ قَالَى qalā) 'frire dans un poêle à frire', Gz √kly|w (p. ቀለወ kalawa), Tgy √kly|w (p. ቀለወ kalawa) v. 'roast, parch', Sb tkl|t 'burning of limestone for plaster (?)', Sq {L} √kly ▽ 'roast, fry', {Jo.} 'kała? v. 'roast (corn)', Mh √kly ▽ v. 'cook, fry', Jb √kly ▽ v. 'fry' ¶ GB 714, KB 1029-30, KBR 1101, Lv. IV 310, Sl. 1017-18, JPS CSD 506, BK II 807-8, L G 431, L LS 375, BGMR 105, Jo. J 145, Jo. M 230, CAD XIII 69-71 || ? Eg NK krr [*kly:l-] 'holocaust (Brandopfer)' > DEg gl|l, gly|l > Cpt βΑΙΑ clil id., but not necessarily Eg fP krr v. 'fire (pottery), broil' (that may belong to N *kary₂'U' 'to burn [sth.], to heat' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 61, Fk. 281, Vc. 338 || | IE: NaIE *kel- 'warm, hot; warm weather' (× N ? *keze 'warm, warm weather', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Illich-Svitych (IS I 332-3) adduced words meaning 'cold' as well (OI sísirā-, Lt šáltas id., OCS cлaнa 'hoarfrost' etc., F Mn. 634), which is very doubtful: it is difficult to imagine functioning of a lge which has the same stem meaning both 'hot, warm' and 'cold'. In my opinion, these are rather two different etl. sources (going back to two N words), which were somehow (at least accentually or prosodically)

distinguished. IE * $\hat{k}el-$ 'cold' goes back to N * $\text{KEL}_1\text{H}_1\text{V}$ 'cold' (q.v. ffd.) and is not related to * $\hat{k}el-$ 'warm, hot' \diamond Cp. IS I 332-3 (N * Kayla 'hot; burn [brennen]' > S, IE, D, A ([T, M, Tg]). Cf. AD AltAD no. 6. ¶¶ IS I 332-3 (N * Kayla 'hot; burn [brennen]').

1042. * $\text{Ka}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$ (or * $\text{ka}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$?) 'throw, leave' ([in descendant lges] → 'remain, wait') > IE * $\text{k}leH-$ 'lay' ({EI} * $\text{k}le\text{h}_\text{H}-$ 'spread out flat') > NaIE * $\text{kl}\bar{a}-$ 'lay, spread out' > Lt 1s pres. $\text{kl}\acute{o}\text{j}\text{u}$ / inf. $\text{kl}\acute{o}-\text{ti}$ 'spread, make the bed', Ltv 1s pres. $\text{kl}\hat{a}\text{j}\text{u}$ / $\text{kl}\hat{a}\text{t}$ id., 'lay (the table)' | Sl 1s pres. * kladq / inf. * $\text{kl}\acute{a}\text{sti}$ 'to lay' > OCS 1s pres. $\text{KΛAΔ}\bar{\text{X}}$ kladq / inf. KΛACTH klasti , McdS KΛAΔE , Slv 1s pres. $\text{kl}\acute{a}\text{dem}$ / inf. $\text{kl}\acute{a}\text{sti}$, Cz 1s pres. kladu / inf. $\text{kl}\acute{a}\text{sti}$, P inf. $\text{k}\lambda\acute{a}\acute{\text{c}}$, OR 1s pres. kladu / inf. klasti , R 1s pres. $\text{KΛA}\bar{\text{D}}\text{Y}$ / inf. 'KΛACTB' 'lay', SCr 1s pres. $\text{kl}\acute{a}\text{d}\bar{e}\text{m}$ (~ $\text{kl}\grave{a}\text{d}\bar{e}\text{m}$) / inf. $\text{kl}\grave{a}\text{sti}$ id., 'put' || Gt inf. $\text{af-hlap}\bar{a}\text{n}$ 'beladen', ON $\text{hla}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{a}$, AS, OSx hladan , OHD hladan \hat{d} hlathan , NHG laden 'to put as a load, to load, to put', NE load ¶ P 599, EI 539, Frn. 274-5, ESSJ IX 187-9, StSS 284, Glh. 32O, Fs. 6-7, Vr. 234, Ho. 161, Ho. S 34, OsS 405, KM 418 || HS: WS * $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ 'leave, throw, sling' > Mh {Jo.} $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ 'let, allow, leave; leave off', Hrs $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ 'let, leave', Jb E/C {Jo.} $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ 'let, allow', Sq {Jo.} $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ 'drop, let fall', Hb $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ v. 'sling (stones)', JA/Sr $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ v. D 'sling', Gz $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ v. G 'throw from a sling, hit a ball', ? Ar $\check{\text{K}}\text{l}\bar{\text{f}}$ v. G 'pluck, snatch off; drive (sth.) away; take off (one's clothes)', 'arracher, ôter qch. de sa place', Hb קָלַף $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$, JA קָלַף $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$, Sr קָלַף $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$ 'a sling', Ug $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$ {A} id. (but {OLS} Ug $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$ 'sword'); Sr קָלַף $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$ 'at- {PS} 'glans fundæ, globulus e funda iactus', {BK} 'pierre que l'on enlève du sol pour la lancer', Sr מַקְלָאֵת $\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{t}$ 'ballista, catapulta, funda', Ar מִקְלָאֵת -, Gz מִקְלָאֵת 'sling' ¶ Jo. M 229, Jo. J 144, Jo. H 75, KB 1033-4, KBR 1106, PS 3638-9, BK II 803-4, Hv. 624, L G 426, A no. 4213, OLS 366 || Eg fMK $\text{q}\bar{\text{e}}\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{f}$ {Fk.} 'vomit', {EG} 'ausspeien, ausbrechen' > Cpt Sd $\text{K}\bar{\text{A}}\text{B}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}$ $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{b}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}$ id. ($\text{B}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}$ means 'außen, außerhalb') ($\times \div$ S * $\text{-k}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'vomit', see GB 711-12, KB 1024) ¶ EG V 7, Fk. 275, Vc. 70 || ? B * $\text{w}\bar{\text{q}}\text{l}$ (= * $\text{w}\bar{\text{y}}\text{l}$) ~ ? * $\text{y}\bar{\text{l}}$ (* w- goes back to a px of middle voice verbs) > Ah $\text{əqqə}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'wait', ? Zng {TC} $\text{a}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{h}}$ 'attendre' ¶ Fc. 1713, DCTC 288, TC FL 2 || U * $\text{ka}\hat{\text{z}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'leave, let' (\rightarrow 'remain') > pLp {Lr.} * $\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'leave' > Lp: L {LLO} $\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}$, N {N} $\text{g}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{t}}$, Kld $\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{d}}$ id. | Er $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}$ -, Mk $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'leave, let' | Chr H/L/Uf/B $\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'leave', $\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'remain' | F $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{t}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}$ (inf. $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{-}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}$), Es $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'get lost, disappear,

vanish' | Prm *koí- (JLG *koí-) 'leave, remain' > Z koí-, Z US koí-, Yz 'kuí- id., Vt k+í-, Vt B ko'í- (JLt.) kθ-í-) 'remain without sth., be deprived of; fall behind, be late' || ObU {Ht.} *kū́b- ~ *k̄b- 'leave' > pVg {Ht.} *kū́l- 'leave, abandon (verlassen)' > Vg: T kṓl-, LL/ML kū́l-, UL/Ss xū́l-; pVg *kū́l-t- 'remain (bleiben)' > Vg: T koít-, LK xoít-, MK kʷoít-, UK kʷuít-, P/NV/SV/LL kuít-, UL/Ss xuít- id.; pOs {Ht.} *k+ɣ- (? ~ *kǎɣ-) 'leave behind' > Os: V/Vy qǎɣ-, Ty/Y q+ɣ-, D/K/Kz/O xǎɣ-, Nz x+ɣ-; pOs *k+ć- (~ *kǎć-?) 'remain behind' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y q+ć-, D/K xet-, Nz xǐś-, Kz xǐś ~ xǎś-, O xǐś- id.; pOs *kaćaɣ- id. > Os: Ty qǎtaɣ-, K xatɣa-, Kz xɔś- | Hg hɔɣ- v. 'let, leave' || Sm {Jn.} *kǎɣä- 'lassen, zurücklassen' > Ne T (inf.) xae-съ 'to leave, to leave behind', Ne O {Lh.} xāɣ·ē-, Ne F inf. kāɣyīēš, Ng (1s aor. sbcj.) {Cs.} koaeʔema, En {Cs.} kae- (1s aor. kaiɓo), Slq Tz {KKIH} qǎć+ 'leave, leave behind', Mt {Hl.} *koɣo- 'bleiben, (?) lassen' (Mt: M {Sp.} koë-xo 'оставляю'); Sm {Jn.} *kǎɣь-, {Hl.} *kaɣo- 'remain, remain behind (bleiben, zurückbleiben)' > Ne T xae-съ, {Lh.} xāɣ·ó-, Ne F kāɣyō-š, Ng {Cs.} (1s aor.) kōɣʔam, En (1s aor.) {Cs.}: En X kaijaroʔ, En B kaijadroʔ, Kms (1s pres.) {KD} qoɣōlám id., Koyb {Sp.} koëgamъ 'ich bleibe', Mt M {Sp.} (1s aor.) немнда-хоëгамъ 'I remain' || ? Y: Y K {Iox.} kudiel vt. 'leave (lassen)' (not mentioned in IN H) ¶¶ Coll. 22-3, UEW 115-16, Sm. 537-8 (U, FU *kǎďǎ-, FP *kadǎ-, Ugr *kǎďǎ-, Sm *kǎjǎ- 'leave'), Lr. no. 503, MRS 203, LG 131, It. no. 14, Ht. no. 227, MF 240, Jn. 58, KKIИ 160, Hl. M no. 531, Ang. 128, Krn. JJ 273, ≈ Rd. UJ 36-7 [no. 15] (Y ↔ U) || **A** *k'ala- 'wait, be late' > T *Ka:ɿ- 'be old', (?) 'be slow/tired' > OT qal- 'to be ... years old', OT Kr qal 'old man', MT qal- 'come to an end', StAlt qala- 'be tired', Chv хуллен {Ash, Fed., Jeg., ChVS} adv. 'slowly', {Ash., Fed.} adj. 'slow' ¶ Rs. W 224, Cl. 615-16, Ash. XVI 151, ChVS 253, Frd. HEB 355-6, Jeg. 303 || Tg *xala- 'wait' > WrMc {Z} аля-, Nn Nh xalačǐ-, Nn Bk xalčǐ-, Ul xalačǐ/ɥ-, Ork xalā(t)çǐ, Orc alāčǐ-, Ud alasi-, Ewk, Neg alāt- ~ alāç-, Sln alāš-, Lm alat- ~ alaç- 'wait'; WrMc {Z} алякя- 'wait (поджидать)', алянъ n. 'waiting (ожидание)', Nn Nh xalanpān- 'wait a little for smb. (подождасть в ожидании кого-то)' ¶ STM I 29-30, On. 447, Z 36 || ???σ pJ {S} *kára- > OJ kara- 'stay away, get apart', J T kara-re-ru 'be driven by, be carried away by' ¶ S p.c, Kenk. 851 ¶¶ Not here (↔ SDM and SDM97) M *qala 'bitter life experience' (> WrM

qala {MED} id., 'hardship; injuriousness, harmfulness, detriment', HIM xal {MED} id., {BMR} 'experience, bitter experience', Ord χala, Kl χal {KRS} 'difficulty', Kl Ö {Rm.} χal 'Mühe, Arbeit', cf. MED 916, BMR IV 22, KW 161-2) ¶¶ SDM 756-7 (pA *k'ala|u 'wait, be late' > T, Tg + unc. M *qala), DQA no. 962 (id.), S VL 199 || ??σ K {IS} *°qe| > ζ Zan {IS} *ka| > Lz go-nka| 'go away', Mg gī-ki-ir-u 'to remain with empty hands' ¶ Chik. 288 ◇ U *-ẑ- < N *-īẑ- (reg.); IS reconstructed N *k- (rather than *q-) on the precarious ev. of the highly qu. K cognate (ζ Zan *ka|). If we do not rely on the K ev., the N word is to be reconstructed with an unspecified *K- (sc. *k|q-) ◇ IS I 318 (ka|a 'go away, leave'), AD LZL 358 (N *ka|εa, sc. *ka|εa) ◇ The semantic history of this item may be represented as follows: [1] 'throw' → 'leave' ⇨ 'be left' → 'remain' → 'wait', [2] 'throw' → 'put sth. somewhere'.

1043. *kaLsa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' ([in descendant lges] → 'slaughter') > IE: NaIE *kelə-/*klā- v. 'hew, chop' (× N *qAÍ|lε∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck' [q.v.]?) > Gk δί-κελλα 'two-pronged fork', κόλλος adj. 'docked', 'stump-horned' (of oxen and other horned animals) || Lt inf. kál-ti 'to forge, to mint, to coin', káltas 'chisel', kélmas 'tree stump; sth. cut\split', Pru kalo-peilis ('Hackemesser') 'chopping knife, chopper', preicalis {Tp.} 'anvil' || Sl inf. *kól-ti (1s pres. *kól-ŏ) 'to prick\stab, to slaughter' > OCS inf. ΚΛΑΤΗ {ESSJ} ('pungere') 'stechen', {StSS} (· σφάττειν) 'закалывать, убивать', Blg "коля v. 'prick\stab, slaughter', SCr inf. kláti / 1s pres. kòljēm, Slv inf. kláti / 1s pres. kóljēm id., Uk inf. ко'лоти / 1s pres. 'колю v. 'prick\stab, chop', R inf. ко'лоть / 1s pres. ко'лю id., за-ко'лоть 'to slaughter', Cz inf. kláti 'to prick\stab, to kill', Cz Δ inf. kláti 'to split', P inf. kłóć / 1s pres. kolę v. 'chop\split' (see also N *Koz|íqa 'to knock, to strike, to hit')] Cz klát 'tree stump, log of wood, club\ cudgel' || ? (+ext.) Clt: OIr claidim 'dig', Brtt {RE} *kla(:)d- id. > Crn cledhya, clüdhya, Br klazař 'to dig', W claddu 'to bury, to dig' || NaIE *klā-ro- 'piece of wood, board' > Gk κλήρος, Gk D κλήρος {P} 'Holzstückchen als Los, Los, Anteil', {LS} 'lot' || Clt *klāro- {Matas.} 'board, plank' > OIr clár 'plank, flat article', OW claur (pl. cloriou) 'board', W {YGM} clawr 'cover, lid, surface', Br kleur 'limon de charette, cheville qui retient les traits (shaft of a forked thill [in a vehicle])' ¶ P 545-7, ≈ EI

431 (*k_lH-ro-s 'plank' ←d [unj.] *kel- 'strike, hew'), F I 392-3, 872-3, 902-3, Vn. C 113-14, RE 88, , Matas. E 206-7, YGM-1 87-8, Hm. 464, 466, Frn. 211-12, En. 235, Tp. P I-K 175-6, Bern. I 551-2, ESSJ X 154-6, StSS 284, Glh. 320 ¶ SI *k^ol-ti 'to slaughter' belongs here rather than to N *qola 'to kill', which is proved by its acute intonation indicating an IE √ with a lr. (*kelə- rather than *k^oel- resulting from N *qola) || K *^okal- > G k_l-/ k_a-/ k_v- v. 'prick\stab, slaughter, kill' ¶ Chx. 597-8 ¶ The variant k_v- is probably secondary || HS: CS *√ k_lɿ > Hb √ k_lɿ v. 'carve', Ar qilɿ-at- (pl. qilaɿ-) 'piece split lengthwise, morceau coupé ou fendu en long' ¶ ≈ KB 1033, ≈ KBR 1106, BK II 803, Hv. 625 || EC *kal- v. 'cut off' > Sa ka_l- v. 'cut off', Sml N qa_l- v. 'carve up', ? Or {Th., Sr.} ka_l- v. 'flay' ('scorticare una bestia uccisa'); EC *kal- v. 'slaughter' (× N *qola 'kill') > Or {Th., Sr.} ka_l-, Kns qa_l-, Gdl ka_l-, Dsn g^ál-, Rn xa_la, Hd alalēs- vt. 'slaughter' ¶ AD SF 68, Ss. PEC 49, Abr. S 199, Bl. 197, Bl. G 64, BISO 155, Th. 269, Sr. 351, PG 187, To. DL 502 || CCh: Dgh {Frk} k^à 'cut' || ?φ,σ pBT *kul- v. 'shave' > Tng {J} ku_lε id., Pr {Frz.} kú_lè id., kú_lè 'act of shaving' ¶ JI II 97, ChC s.v. 'cut', Stl. VZCh B no. 119, J T 104, Frz. P 38, Frk s.v. k^à || A: Tg *xaldi- v. 'hew, carve' > Ewk aldi-, Neg aldi-, Orc, Ud agdi-, Ul xaldi- ~ xaldy-, Ork xalžj- id., Nn xalžj- {STM} id., {On.} 'trim wood with an axe', WrMc {Z} анъчжи- v. 'hew, trim', Lm aldb- id., v. 'debark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 31, On. 447, Z 16 || Ko: Rm. SKE 14 compared the Tg √ with Ko aro-sägida 'to carve, to cut' ¶¶ M √ *qul- (represented in WrM qulai-, HIM хулай- v. 'have cropped ears' and in Kl {KRS} xul-ɸar 'having cropped ears') (MED 984, BMR IV 162, KRS 608) is not likely to belong here ◇ Because of the coalescence of N *q and *k in some descendant lges (outside K) the homonymic merger with N *qA^l|ɿɿ∇ 'to break, to tear' (q.v.) is possible.

1044. *kalɿ∇ 'rock, hill, stone' > IE {EI} *kolH-ōn- ~ *k_lH-'n-os 'hill' > Gk κολώνη, κολώνός 'hill' (ω < *oω?) || L collis 'hill' || Gmc: AS hyl 'hill' > NE hill (< Gmc *xul-ni-z < IE *kolə-ni-s), MDt hill, hille 'hill'; Gmc *xulma(-z) > OSx holm id., ON holmi, holmr 'island'; Gmc *xulma- ⇨ SI *x^álmb 'hill' > OCS хлѣмъ хлѣмъ, Blg хълм, SCr hūm, Slv hól^lm, Cz chl^lm, P chók^lm, R холм id. || Lt kálnas, Ltv kaîns 'mountain' ¶ WP I 433-4, P 544, EI 270, F I 906-7, WH I 245, Bc. 23-6, Frn. 209, Ho. S 35, Ho. 183, Skeat 271, Vr. 248, StSS 761, Glh. 271-2, Vs. IV 255 || HS: S *^o√ k_lɿ > Ar qulāɿat-

and qullāṣat- {Fr. after [Jh.]} 'magnum saxum in planitie extans', [Qam., Jh.] {Fr.} 'gleba saxumve de solo avulsum ad iaciendum', {BK} qalaṣat- 'rocher séparé des autres sur une montagne d'un accès difficile' ¶ Fr. III 490, BK II 803 || B: Kb Z {Bs.} i-ṣil (pl. i-ṣallān), Kb AX {Bs.} ṭi-ṣil-ṭ 'hill' ¶ Ds. 190, Bs. NLB I 158 || **K** *k̄l̄de- 'rock' > OG, G k̄lde-, Mg k̄zrde-, k̄irde- id., Sv {K} k̄əlde, k̄(īl)de id. (← G?), Sv UB/Ln/L k̄oṣ̣ 'cliff, rock' ¶¶ K 113, K DE 359, K² 97, GM S 95-6, GP 131, TK 350 || **U** *kaṣ̣ ({{UEW}} *kaṣ̣a) 'mountain' > Hg hēgṣ 'tip, summit, mountain' (× FU *kaśa ~ *keśä < N *K̄eç̣'ā 'tip, end [extremity]') || Sm: Ne T {Ter.} xоЙ 'mountain, mountain ridge, hill', Ne O {Lh.} xoy 'Landrücken (Wasserscheide), mountain ridge', En X {Cs.} куpео, En B {Cs.} куижу 'Landrücken', Ng {Cs.} коaja 'mountain ridge', Slq Tz {KKIH} qз ({{KD}} k'ée) 'steep bank' ('яp', {KD} 'hoher Uferabhang'), 'mountain' ¶¶ UEW 115, Ter. 768, KKIH 160, Cs. 48, 81, 116 ¶¶ Acc. to UEW, the front vw. in Hg may be due to the palatalizing effect of *-ṣ̣- (sc. the obstruent *-l̄-). An alt. explanation is the infl. of a front stem-final vw. (vw. harmony) || **D** {tr., ṡGS} *kall̄ 'stone' > Tm kal id., Ml kal, kallu 'stone, rock', Kt, Png kal, Td kaṣ̣, Kn kal, kalu, kallu, Kdg kall̄i, Tu kall̄, Tl kallu, Prj kel, Gnd kal ḍ kall(i) ḍ kalu, Knd kalu, Brh xal 'stone', Nkr k'halbada 'stone slab for pounding' ¶¶ D no. 1298 ◊ IS I 334-5 s.v. *KaLi '(поднимать(ся))' (without distinguishing between N *kaṣ̣ and N *kaṣ̣h̄i 'high; be high'). ◊ U *-ṣ̣- < N *-l̄- (reg.) (F AD LZL ṡ).

1045. *k̄'ü'ṣ̣ (or *k̄'ü'ṣ̣?) 'dirt, mud' > HS: CS *k̄ulaṣ- 'mud, silt' > Sr 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣 k̄ulāṣā {Br.} 'lutum, gleba', {JPS} 'lump of earth, earth', Ar qullāṣ- 'cracked dry mud\clay, silt' ({{BK}} 'boue\limon qui se crevasse pendant la sécheresse') ¶ Br. 669, JPS 494, BK II 804, Hv. 625 || ? B *o√nkl v. 'be\make dirty' > Ah ənkəl 'souiller, être souillé' ¶ Fc. 1374-5 || **K**: Sv UB {GP}, Sv {Ni.} k̄ol 'excrement' (< **k̄ṣ̣l̄-?) ¶ GP 131 || **U**: FU *ok̄'ü'ṣ̣ > ObU *k̄ū'ṣ̣ ~ (with delabialization) *k̄ī'ṣ̣ 'swamp' > pOs *k̄j̄əṣ̣ > Os: V/Vy k̄j̄əṣ̣, Ty keṣ̣əṣ̣, D k̄āṣ̣, Kz kaṣ̣ id.; pVg *k̄īləṣ̣- > Vg: LK k̄ēlī (pl. keṣ̣ət), MK/UK k̄ēlī, P/UL/Ss k̄ēliṣ̣, NV/SV/LL k̄ēli, kēlāt id. ¶ Ht. no. 158 || **A**: T *k'ül (or *k_ül?) 'ashes, cinders' (× N *k̄ṡ'ū'ṣ̣ 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook', q.v.) > OT k̄ül 'ashes, cinders', MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg xv k̄ül, Tkm kü'l, Tk k̄ül, Az күл kü'l, Ggz, ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk kü'l, Uz

күл kul^u, SY kul^u, Xlj kùl ~ kul, Slr kul, VTt, Bsh көл k^ol, Tv xül, Tf hül, Chv кёл kьl, Chv H {Md.} k^ol 'ashes' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-8, Md. 63, 171, Ash. VII 234-6, Fed. I 269-70, Jeg. 104, ChVS 83 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 281 [no. 146] ◇ The N lr. is to be reconstructed as ***ʕ** if N *-**lʕ**- yields U *-**lʕ**- and if K ***k̥**- goes back here to ***k̥ʕ**-; otherwise it must have been ***ʕ̥** (FU *-**ʕ̥** or ObU *-**əʕ** being a sx); Altaic vw. length is due to the loss of the lr.

1046. *ka^hh₁i 'high; be high' > IE *kel₁H₂X₁- > NaIE *kel₁(ə)₁- v. 'be high, rise (above)' > L ante-/ex-/prae-cello, -ēre v. 'be outstanding, excel', celsus (originally a pp.) 'high', column 'that which is raised on high, high, summit' || Lt inf. kél^eti (1s pres. kelⁱù), Ltv inf. ceî^t 'to raise' ¶ WP I 433-4, P 544, WH I 197, ≈ 249-50, Frn. 237-8, ≈ EI 270 (column < IE *kelH-men < *kelH-'project, tower up', whence IE *kolH-ōn 'hill' [see N *ka^hh₁i 'rock, hill, stone']) ¶ The IE lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of the syllabic intonation in Lt and Ltv (IS I 334); but one cannot rule out the possibility of a later morphological restructuring in Blt || **HS**: S *^o✓k^ll v. 'lift/raise' ~ *^o✓k^lly 'high' > Ar {Hv.} ✓q^ll G 'lift/raise', TL (pf. taqālla) 'rise high' (of the sun), {BK} 'être placé haut', qullat- 'top of the head, summit of a mountain', قُلَى qulā (✓q^lly) 'summits of mountains; tops of men's heads' ¶ Fr. III 485, 494, Hv. 622, 626, BK II 794-5 || B **✓q^lly (> *✓ʕ^lly/*✓q^lly) v. 'rise' > Sll {Ds.} ǎʕ^lli (pret. iʕ^oli) v. 'climb, rise' ('monter [un escalier, sur un arbre\une table/etc.]), Tz {Stm.} ʕu^lli^h, hab. ǎqqǎ^hlāy 'emporsteigen', ASgr {Bs.} eʕ^lli^h v. 'rise' ¶ Stm. 182, Ds. 190, Bs. NLB I 158 || Eg fP k̥^hʕ^h (< *k̥^hʕ^hry-) 'be high; high', Eg fP k̥^hʕ^h (later k̥^hʕ^h) 'hill, high ground', Eg fP k̥^hʕ^ht id., Eg fXVIII k̥^hʕ^ht id., 'arable land' (× N *ka^hR₁ʕ^hʕ^h 'peak, rock, steep mountain', more plausibly than with N *ga^hi or *ga^hy^h 'high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 5-6, Fk. 275 || Ch: Hs k̥^hʕ^hl^h, Hs Kc k̥^hʕ^hl^h 'top, summit', Hs {Abr.} k̥^hʕ^hl^hwǎ ~ k̥^hʕ^hl^hl^hwǎ id. || CCh {ChL}: WMrg kùld^h v. 'lift' || HgNk {ChC} kùl^ht^h, Kps {ChC} k̥^hl^ht^h, HgG {ChC} kùl^hd^h id. ¶ Abr. H 534, Ba. 620-1, ChL, ChC s.v. 'to lift' ¶¶ Cal. no. 322 (Eg, S), OS no. 1604 (S, B, Ch), Tk. I 65 (Eg, S, B, Hs) | A possible semantically dubious cognate: NrBc {Tk.} *k̥^hul-k̥^hul- 'deep' > {Sk.}: My k̥^hul^hul, Mbr k̥^hul^hul^o, Kry kul^hkul^hna, Cg luk̥^hʕ^hluk̥^hʕ^h id. ¶ Sk. NB 18, Tk. NB 182 || **K**: Sv: {Ni.} k̥^hʕ^hl^h-i, L {Dn.} k̥^hʕ^hl^h-i, UB {TK, GP}, L {TK} k̥^hʕ^hl^h-i, LB k̥^hʕ^hl^h-i, Ln {TK} k̥^hl^ht^h-i 'high', UB/LB/Ln {TK} na-k̥^hl^ht^h-i, L na(n)k̥^hl^ht^h-i 'height' ¶

GP 132, TK 355, 611, Ni. s.v. 'высокій' and 'высота', Dn. s.v. қәлтχ-
 і¶ The element -тχ- may be an ext. (< the second component of a
 cd?) || А *қали- > NaT *Kali- v. 'rise in the air' (→ v. 'jump up') > OT
 қали- v. 'rise in the air', Tkm gal- 'stand up, rise', StAlt қали- 'jump
 over sth.', Tv хали- v. 'jump, run', Tlt, QK, Qb, Sg қали- v. 'jump, jump
 up', SbTt Tb {Tm.} қали(у)- v. 'soar', Yk киліу- 'jump on one foot (a
 game)'; -> : [1] NaT *Kal-dir- 'raise' > Az galdır-, T kaldır-, Ggz
 kaldır-, [2] NaT *Kalk- 'rise' > Tk калк-, Tkm galq-, Az galχ-, Gg, Uz,
 Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh қалq- id., [3] OT {Cl.} қалиқ 'air, atmosphere,
 (visible) sky', sc. 'space above the earth'; in spite of the English
 translation 'air', this word has nothing to do with the meaning 'air,
 wind' and therefore cannot be equated with D *kāl 'air, wind' or with
 D *kālī 'wind' (⇔ Blz. DA 162 [no. 97]) (see N *gAÍ|∇ 'wind') ¶ Cl.
 617, 620, ET KQ 224-6, Rl. II 239-40, Rs. W 226, BT 70, Tm. 117, ET
 KQ 224-6 || М *qali- > WrM {MED} қали- v. 'fly \ soar \ skim (in
 flying); flow over the brim of, overflow' (of a vessel\river), HIM v.
 хали- {MED} id., {BMR} 'soar (парить), fly up (взлетать), fly', Kl
 {Rm.} халі- 'hoch schweben, überfließen, wegfliegen, wegfließen',
 {KRS} халь- v. 'soar', Brt хали- 'flow over the brim of, overflow',
 Ord хали- 'planer' (oiseau), 'raser, toucher légèrement en passant,
 effleurer' ¶ MED 919, BMR IV 27, Chr. 5389, KRS 572, KW 163,
 Ms. O 328 ◇ IS I 334-5 s.v. *қалі '(поднимать(ся))' (without
 distinguishing N *қаліhі 'high' from N *қалі∇ 'rock, hill, stone'). If
 there was a lr. in the IE stem, it must have gone back to N *h (the only
 lr. easily lost in HS and able to yield *ə in IE) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 309 (*kāl
 ~ *kel 'rise, sky') (IE and A [← IS] + unc.: J, Gil, CK, EA).

1047. *қ'ā' | | 'h' ū 'stick, hook, bar' ([in descendant lges] → 'bar
 for locking') > HS: C *kal- ~ ?? *қал- 'stick' > EC: [1] ĩ Or {Tut.} қала
 'cudgel'; [2] {Ss.} *kal- 'stick' (× N *k'o' | ∇ 'bough, stick', q.v.) > Kns
 хал-itta 'crutch, stick', Gdl hal-itt 'stick', Sml {Abr.} labáda kál 'the
 ulna and radius bones' (← *'the two sticks'), {ZMO} kal 'bone of the
 forearm', ? Dbs kal-te 'door pole' ¶ Ss. B 114, AD SF 68, Abr. S 147,
 ZMO 230, BISO s.v. хал-itta, Bl. G s.v. hal-itt || NrOm (× N *k'o' | ∇):
 Bdt/Zs {C} kallō 'stick', Shn {CR} куllō 'wood (Holz)', ? Kf {C} қалло
 'stick (?)' (unless = Kf қулло 'sphere', 'bastone di palla') ¶ C SE III
 204, C SE IV 485 || S *o'✓ қл(w) > Ar qul-at- (pl. quluwān-) {Hv.}
 'pieces of wood with which children play', {BK} 'petit morceau de bois
 placé verticalement et que l'on frappe et renverse avec un morceau

de bois plus grand' ¶ Fr. III 493, Hv. 626, BK II 807-8 || ? Ch {Stl.} *kolu 'hoe' > WCh: Gera {ChC} k^walli, ? Krkr kàlà 'hoe' (unless ← Hs) || Jm {Gw.} k^walo id. || ?? Hs kǎláǎ 'worn out long-handled hoe' (unless ← Knr {Lk.} kǎle 'old iron piece of a hoe') || CCh: Wmd {ChL} kùl, Hld {ChL} k^wùlù 'hoe' ¶ Stl. IF 95, Ba. 537, Lk. KL 207, ChC s.v. 'hoe' || K: OG k^wli^te {Abul.} 'bar (for locking), lock', {Ser.} 'key' (Luc. 11.52), G k^wli^te 'lock' ¶ Abul. 200, Ser. 79, Chx. 602 || IE *kleHw- ~ *kleH̄w- > NaIE *klāw- ~ *klēw- 'stick, hook, locking bar, lock' > Gk: D κλάίς (gen. κλαῖδος), I κληίς (gen. κληῖδος), OA κληγ, A κλειγ (gen. κλειδος) 'bar\bolt (drawn or undrawn by a lath or thong)', 'key (a kind of catch\hook, by which the bar was shot\unshot from the outside)' (→ later 'key'), 'hook or tongue of a clasp' || L clāvis 'key', clāvus 'nail, spike', claud-o, -ēre v. 'shut, close' || OIr cló (pl. clóí) 'nail', MW clo 'bolt (Riegel, Verschluss)', pl. cloe u 'clavi', OBr Γ clo u {Flr.} 'aiguillon, ferrement', MBr clo u 'ferrement', claou 'pointe de fer', W clo 'lock', Br {Flr.} klao(u) 'verrou', {Hm.} klaouenn 'ferrement, bout de fer' || Lt inf. kliū^ti (pres. kliū^vù) vi. 'to hook (on), to be suspended', Ltv inf. k^laustītiēs 'to hang, to be suspended', caus. Lt inf. kliudytī vt. 'to hang' || Sl *kíučь 'hook, key' > OCS κλυѣ κíučь 'key, hook (for torturing)', Blg, R κλυϷ, P κλυϷ, HLs κλυč 'key', Blg Δ κíuč 'hook for hanging a kettle\saucepan over the fire', SCr κλυč, Slv κλυč, Cz κlíč, OP κλυϷ, LLs κλυϷ 'hook, key'; Sl *kíuka 'hook, stick with a bent end' > R κλυ'κα 'stick with a bent end', SCr κλυčка, Slv κλυčка, Cz κlíка, OP, HLs κλυка 'hook', Uk 'κλυка 'stick with a hook, hook'; ? Sl *kíuna > SCr κλυčна 'hook' ¶ P 605-6, EI 272 (*kleh_ρwi-s 'bolt, bar, [wooden] hook'), LS 957, F I 866-7, WH I 229-31, Vn. C 121, Flr. 109, Hm. 464, YGM-1 89, Frn. 274, ESSJ X 50-6, StSS 286, SJSS XV 31-2, Glh. 323-4 || U: FU (< d.?) *^okälta > ObU ≈ *käl^t (× N *gE1^v 'stalk, twig') > Vg Ss {Ht.} kalt 'pole, Stange' in pāts-kalt 'a pole of the перевес (a device for catching ducks)', Vg N {MK} patas-kält 'Stange des Vogelnetzes'; pOs *kält > Os: V/Vy kält, Ty/Ag kâ^ϕt, Y kâ^ϕ(t), Kr/K kâ^t, O kält 'a long pole supporting the net for catching ducks' ('eine der beiden langen Stangen, zwischen denen das Entennetz [перевес] aufgehängt ist'), Nz qat, Kz qat id., 'poles on both sides of the opening of a fish trap (Reuse)' ¶ Ht. no. 747, Trs. S 101, MK 188, BV 70, Stn. D 622 ¶¶ The cns. l in Os and Vg for the expected *l̄ or *l̄́ is accounted for by

its position: since there are no ObU words with *ʎt or *íʎt (in contrast to the existing cluster *ʎt, *F* Ht. no-s 590 and 684-5), we may suppose that the opposition *ʎ ↔ *ʎ ↔ *íʎ was neutralized before *t (a cluster *ʎt) || **D** *kāʎa-, {ʁGS} *gāʎa- 'hook, fish hook' > Kn gāʎa, gāṇa id., Ml kāʎam 'fishing hook to catch aligators', Tu gāʎa, Nkr gaʎ, Prj gēlam, Gnd gālam 'fish hook', Tl gāla(:)m u id., 'a many-hooked instrument for taking out anything fallen in a well'; D *b*→ OI, Prkr gala-, Pali gaʎa- 'fish hook' ¶¶ D no. 1495 ◇ Not here S *kilʎʎ- (> Hb אֲבִיבִי 'kəʎə [~ אֲבִיבִי kəʎə] [+ppa. of 3m: אֲבִיבִי kilʎʎ; pl. אֲבִיבִיבִי kəʎəʎə] 'imprisonment, prison', Ak kīlʎ 'Festhalten, Haft', *F* KB 453, KBR 475), which is derived from the S verb *✓klʎ 'hold, hinder', but it is still possible that N *kʎ'ā'ʎ'í'h'û 'stick, hook, bar' (→ 'bar for locking') may have influenced the S noun in question. The N front vw. of the initial syll. is qu., because it is reconstructed on the ev. of Os only (D *a is from both N *ä and *a regularly). The IE lr. *H (with pIE *eH > NaIE *ā, which rules out N *ʎ) and the absence of lr. in the S root suggest that the pN lr. was *h.

1048. ₂ *KĒLH, ∇ 'cold' > IE: NaIE *kēl- 'cold' > OI śísira- 'cool season, cold', Av sarəta- adj. 'cold', ZPhl sart, NPrs سرد sārd, KhS sādā 'cold', Oss D/I sald 'frozen', Oss I sālən, Oss D sālun v. 'freeze' || ON hēla 'hoarfrost' (< rdp. *he-hla), ?μ AS heolca 'hoarfrost', Dt hal 'frozen ground', ? NGr B hāl 'slippery ice-covered ground' (× the Gmc root for 'smooth, slippery': ON háll id., OHG hāli 'smooth') || Lt 1s pres. šalū (inf. šalti) 'freeze, congeal; be frozen\chilly, feel cold'; Lt šaltas, Ltv saīts adj. 'cold' (< *kolatos); Ltv saīna 'light frost on the background of warm weather (заморозки)' (e.g. 'first autumn frosts, morning frost'), Lt šalnà id., 'hoarfrost' || Sl *solnà (Glh.) *sol'na) 'hoarfrost' > RChS слана, Blg слана, SCr Δ slānā, SCr (with transformed accentuation) slāna id.; IS reconstructed here a pSl oxytonic accentual paradigm (preserved in SCr Δ: nom. sg. slānā, accus. sg. slānū, nom./acc. pl. slānē etc.) ¶ P 551, Mn. 634, M K III 345-6, Bai. 424, Vr. 221, Vr. N 232, Ho. 156, Vl. II 273, Ab. III 27, 64, Frn. 960-1, LKV 609, IS IA 155 (on accentuation in Sl), Glh. 557-8, ≈ EI 112 (*kēlto- 'cold') ¶ NaIE lost the root-final lr. probably in forms like *kēlH∇ > *kēl∇ (the lr. in prevocalic position) which were later generalized || **HS:** EC: Sa {R} qalaʎ-ō n. 'cold (Kälte), qalaʎ-it- 'feel cold' ¶ R S II 232 || ? Eg P s-ḫḫ 'erfrischen' ¶

EG IV 315-16 || ECh: Kwn {J} kãl, Kbly {Cp.} kàlɜ, Dng {Lk.} kùlũt 'cold' (× N *küí∇ or *kuíE 'cold; to freeze' [q.v.]) ¶ JI II 80-1, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'cold', ChC s.v. 'cold' ¶¶ Ember ESS no. 3.b.27, Vrg. PhHE 129 no. 26 and Tk. AANM 1 suggested to equate the Eg word with S *'k̄ar_L∇_Jχ- 'ice' (see N *k̄i?ar_LU_Jqa or *k̄ir_LU_Jqa 'ice, hoarfrost'), which is qu. (because Eg ħ is not cognate with S *χ) || AdS of U: FP *küll|mə 'cold' (× N *küí∇ or *kuíE '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≠ IS I 304-5 [no. 176] (*kṹl̄ ʾ 'freeze, cold': U, D, A + K [Zan *k̄r̄_o-] + IE *ḡr̄gel- 'cold') and IS I 332-3 [no. 208] (*k̄ayla 'hot; to burn' > IE *k̄el- 'warm, hot' and later 'freeze, cold').

1049. *k̄aL_L∇_Jħ∇ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise' > HS: WS *°√k̄lh (~ *°√k̄lχ?) v. 'shout, bellow' > Ar {Fr.} √qlħ v. 'low repeatedly' (of camel), {Fr., BK, Hv.} √qlχ v. 'low' (of camel), ?? Gz √klħ (pf. kalħa) v. 'cry (out), shout, howl', Har √klħ (pf. kəlaħa ~ kalħa) v. 'shout to call so.' ¶ Fr. III 486, BK II 798, Hv. 623, L G 282-3 (the Eth word can be alternatively [and better] equated with IE *gal- v. 'shout', F N *k'a'IX'E' 'call [appeler], shout') ¶ The variant Ar root √qlχ is likely to be secondary (due to the onomatopoeic factor or to contamination with a different root) || ? B *°√wkll (× N *k'a'IX'E') > Ah sakkələl 'pleurer bruyamment' ¶ Fc. 785 || K: G -k̄el-/-k̄l- (aor. 1s a-v-i-k̄eli, 3s a-i-k̄lo) 'ingendwo einen grossen Tumult machen, ein Geschrei erheben' ¶ Chx. 599 || IE *kelh̄ - {EI} 'call out to' > [1] NaIE *kel-/*k̄olē-/*k̄olā- (or *k̄l̄-?) v. 'call, shout, make noise' > Gk καλέω v. 'call, summon', Gk Ae κάλημι id. || L calā- v. 'call, summon', Um kařitu, kařetu, CARSITU 'calato, appellato' (< *kalētōd) || OHG (h)luoen, luogen 'to roar', MHG lüejēn id., 'to bellow', AS hlōwan 'brüllen; OHG gi-hel 'sounding', {OsS} hēl 'loud, sounding' ('laut, tönend'), MHG hal, NHG Hall 'sound', ON hjala 'to chatter' || OI usā-kala 'cock' (lit. 'dawn caller') || Clt: OIr cailech, W ceiliog 'cock' (≡σ R πετυχ 'cock' ← *'singer') || Ltv inf. kaļōt 'to chatter', Lt kalbà 'language', Pru kaltzā, kelsāi 'sie lauten' || AnIE {ABIV.} *kalla-, *kle- > Ht kalles(s)-, kal(l)is(s)- v. 'entice, lure, evoke, summon up, adduce', Lc kileima 'fame' ¶¶ P 548-9, F I 762-3, WH I 141-2, Bc. G 330, Frn. 207-8, En. 188-9, Vr. 230, Kb. 347, 641, OsS 384, 407-8, Ho. 164, Lx. 79, ≠ KM 302, ABIV. III 219, Ts. W 32, Ts. E I 465-6, Pv. IV 22-4, Tp. P I-K 182-4 || [2] NaIE *klaug- v. 'weep' > Gk I κλάω, Gk A κλάω v. 'weep' (< *κλαF-jω, see ft. κλάωσαι, aor. ἔκλαυσα, as well as the adjectives κλαυτός ~ κλαυστός

'zu beweinen') || NaIE *°klaun-y- > pAl {O} *klaunya, {Huld} *kíań- 'cry, weep' > Al: T қај, G қанј, SG/D қуау, P қай, Ç қлау, Sl kía, V kíań id. ¶¶ WP I 490, P 599, F I 865, O 353-4, Hamp AIEW 146, Huld 106, EI 90 (*kelh₁-) ◇ Gr. II no. 357 (*kel 'speak') (IE + indiscriminate pêle-mêle of reflexes of three N words: *k₁aL₁∇₁h₁∇ 'shout', *ҚАҮІЛА 'shout, call' and *ҚЕҢІÊ 'tongue' in U, A, Y, Gil etc.). Without HS cognates and without serious historical phonology nothing better can be achieved.

1050. *Қоқ|Іа 'knock, strike, hit' > IE *k₁ω₁o|H-/*k₁ω₁leH- > NaIE *k₁ω₁o|ə-/*klā- v. 'strike, beat' (× NaIE *°k₁ω₁e| 'strike' < N *Қоқ|Іа 'beat, strike') > Lt kal-ù (inf. kál-ti), Ltv kal₁u ~ kalu (inf. kál-t) v. 'strike, hammer, forge', Lt káltas 'chisel', kálvis 'smith' || Sl 1s pres. *ko'íq / inf. *kó|l-ti v. 'split, slaughter' (× N *қалҫа 'cut, hew, chop, stab' [→ 'slaughter'], q.v.) > Blg 'коля 'slaughter', R 1s pres. ко'лю / inf. ко'лоть 'split, slaughter', Slk inf. klāt', Slv inf. kláti, Slk inf. klāt' 'to split, to slaughter', Cz inf. kláti, OR inf. КЛАТН klāti 'to kill'; but not here the homonymous *kol'yo / *kó|l-ti v. 'prick' that belongs to N *қалҫа '↑' (and probably even to a different IE √ *kolH-/*kleH-), though later in BSl (and Gk?) they were reinterpreted as two semantic variants of one verb; the differentiation between Sl *kol'ti 'to slaughter' and *kol'ti 'to prick' was first proposed by A. Meillet in 1907 (Me. *MSL* XIV 374) || Gk κλάω v. 'break'; ??φ: κόλαφος 'a slap, buffet', κολαφίζω v. 'slap, buffet' || ?φ Clt {Matas.} *°kellāko- n. 'fight, war' > Mir cellac h id. ¶ Hofm. 146, 152, Ch. 538-9, Db. SA 203, 249-50 (accentual rec. of the pSl forms), ESSJ X 154-6, Glh. 320, Frn. 211-12, F I 866-7, 897, Matas. E 199; ≈ WP I 436-8, P 545-6 (*kelh₁- 'strike') (P 545-6 did not distinguish this √ from NaIE *kelə-/klā- 'hew, chop, slaughter' [< N *қалҫа '↑']) ¶ The accentuation in the BSl infinitive (Lt kálti, Ltv kal₁t, pSl *kó|l-ti) and in Lt káltas, kálvis points to a lr. in the IE √ (*kolə- < *kolH-) ¶ The Clt cognate is questionable (Clt *k- pointing to IE *k- or *k̄- rather than to *k^ω-) || HS: S *°√ k|χ > Ar √ q|χ G (qalaxa / -qlaxu) 'heurter, frapper un corps sec contre un autre corps sec', D (pf. qallaχa) 'frapper qn fortement avec un fouet' ¶ Hardly here Ar √ q|y (pf. قلى qalā, n. ag. qaly-) 'frapper qn à la tête; abattre d'un coup porté à la tête', because this Ar √ has no lr. (expected in the light of external comparison) ¶ BK II 798, 808 || U:

FP *koʻɫʷ- ~ *kaLʷ- v. 'knock, strike': *koʻɫʷ > F kolata, kolahtaa v. 'knock, strike', kolhia v. 'batter (up), maul, pound (up)', Vp koʻʒyta, koʻāta v. 'knock, strike', Es kolata-(ma) v. 'kock' | Z USs goʻɫʷ v. 'clatter' ||| FU *kaLʷ > Mk {SK} kaɫdadʒms 'to knock' | F kalata, kalahtaa v. 'knock, rattle' ¶ This is a √ with onomatopoeic infl. (where the meaning 'noise, rattle' is involved) ¶ SK 146, SSA 282, 210, LG 77, 131, SZ 82, PI RMS 574 || D *koɫ- v. 'strike, hit' (× N *Kɫoɫʷa 'beat, strike', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The K √ *kɫaɫ-/kɫɫ- (represented in G kɫɫ-/kɫaɫ-/ kɫwɫ- v. 'prick\stab, slaughter, kill') is semantically and phonetically nearer to N *kɫaLʷa 'cut, hew, chop, stab' (→ 'slaughter'), q.v. In several descendant lges the reflex of *Kɫoɫʷa coalesced with or was influenced by N *gola 'kill' (q.v.).

1051. (₂?) *Kɫaɫʷu, wʷ √ 'thick' > HS: S: Ak kɫāɫɫ {Sd.} 'thick', {CAD} 'solid (?)' ¶ Sd. 895, CAD XIII 72 || A *kʷaɫʷɫʷ- (and *Kɫaɫʷ-??) > T *Kɫaɫɫɫ ({Md.} *kʷaɫɫɫ) > OT qalɫɫ 'massive, dense, thick', Tk kalɫɫ, VTt, Bsh qalɫɫ, Tv qɫɫɫ, Tf hɫɫɫ, Yk xalɫɫ 'thick' (of flat objects), Az, Tkm galɫɫ, Uz qalɫɫ, ET qelɫɫ, Δ {Jr.} qāɫɫɫ, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qalɫɫ, Xk xalɫɫ 'thick', Chv L хулăн хулън ~ хулăм хулъм, Chv Δ холăн холън 'thick', 'dicht' (Getreide, Haar) ¶ Cl. 622, Rs. W 226, ET KQ 238-9, Ra. 193, Ash. XVI 149-50, Fed. II 355, Jeg. 303, ChVS 363, Md. 103 (T ÷ M *goliy- 'thick'), 166 ¶ The loss of pA *-b- in T needs investigation || M *qalbayi- > WrM {MED} qalbayi-, HIM {MED, BMR} халбай- 'be broad\wide\baggy' (esp. of garments), Brt халбай- 'быть широким' (or 'быть мешковатым'), Kl {Rm.} xalwā- 'breit und flach sein' (z.B. Ruder, Spaten); M *qalbagar > WrM {MED} qalbagar, HIM {MED, BMR} халбагар 'broad, wide, baggy', Brt халбагар 'flat, просторный', Kl {Rm.} xalwaxar 'breit, flach' ¶ MED 918, BMR IV 24, Chr. 538, 540, KW 164 || Tg: [1] Tg *ɫɫalbi-n 'broad' > Ewk PT albin, Ewk Sm ilbun, Neg albi-n, Ud agbi 'broad', WrMc {Z} халфянь 'flat'; other words of the same √ (without *-n): Ewk albi-gū- v. 'broaden', Ud agbi-la-ni 'breadth'; [2] Tg *kalbi-n 'broad, flat' > Ewk kalbin 'broad-shouldered', kalbiyur- vt. 'broaden', Lm Ol qāɫbaydɫ, Lm T qalbatɫ 'flat', Lm Ol qalbi-n 'broad', WrMc {Z} калфянь 'flat' ¶ The unexpected cns. *k- in Tg *kalbi-n is still to be explained ¶ STM I 30, 365, Z 259, 390-1 ¶¶ The loss of the pA *-b- in T needs explanation || ?φ E: El ku-li 'thick' ¶¶ HK 510-11 || AdS of D *kōɫ ({ǂGS} *k-) 'long, large' (< N *Kɫoɫɫ or *Kɫʷʷoɫɫ 'long,

far', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., because the Ak word is isolated within HS and both its meaning and reading ($\bar{a} = [\bar{a}]$ or $[\bar{e}]?$) are questionable.

1052. *Kaly (lock of) hair, eyebrow, eyelash' > HS: C {AD} *k^l∇^ln∇p|b- > Ag *k^l∇^ln∇b- > Xm {R} (el) qer'nib 'eyelid(s); Ag b→ EthS: Gz qarnab ~ qarnab ~ qarnab 'eyelash, eyelid, top of an ear of corn', Tgy qarnab 'eyelid, eyelash', Amh, Arg qarnab, Grg SI/WI qarnab, Grg M/Ms/Go/So qarnab 'eyebrow, eyelash' ¶ R Ch II 381, L G 442, L EDG III 496 || NrOm: Kf {C} qilfō ~ killifō 'eyebrow(s)' ¶ ≈ C SE IV 285 || U: FU (in FV) *ka|l|ke 'hair' > F kalki (gen. kaljen) 'hair, straw' | pLp {Lr.} *kōlkə 'hair' > Lp: S {Hs.} guolge 'hair', L {LLO} kuol'ka 'hair (but not the hair of the human head)', N {N} guol'gā 'hair (of human head), coat', Kld kūlg 'old hair' | Er kalgo, Mk kalga 'awn, chaff (of flax|hemp)' ¶ UEW 644, SK 149, Lr. no. 512, Lgc. no. 2883, Hs. 688-9, Ps. M 72 || A: T *Kā́ 'eyebrow' > OT qaš, Tk kaš, Az qaš, Tkm qāš, Ggz kaš, Uz, ET, Ln, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt qaš, Nog, Qzq, Qq qas, Uz qas, Xlj qāš, Yk χās id., Xk χas 'edge, riverbank', Tf haš 'hillside, slope (κοσορορ)'; Chg قاليان qalyaq 'Haarschopf, die Stirnhaare der Pferde' (pT *í > l in the preconsonic position) || Old Chv {Rs.} *xul|ol b→ Chr xal, Chr Δ ol ʔ ul 'eyebrow' ¶ Rs. W 240, Cl. 669, ET KQ 34, DT 173, Ra. 186, MRS 654 || ?φ pJ *káj 'hair' > OJ ke, MJ ké, J: T kè, K kē, Kg ké, Ns kí, Sh/Y kí, Ht kī ¶ S AJ 266 [no. 34] (acc. to Starostin the word belongs to pA *k'íl∇(-ka) 'thick hair', F N *Kēla 'stalk, a hair'), S QJ no. 34, Mr. 447, Kenk. 889-90 || D (att. in SD) *kāl- ({{GS} *k-) 'lock of hair in plaiting' > Tm kāl id., Kn kāl 'a strand or lock of hair in plaiting, tie rope (used in tethering cattle)' ¶ D no. 1482 ◇ T *-í- and D *-l- point to N *-ly-. The contraction of this ancient cluster is responsible for the vowel lengthening in T and D.

1052a. *Kaly (m∇) 'spot, stain; be spotty' > IE: [1] NaIE *kel-'spot, stain' > NPrs چرك čerk 'dirty; matter (pus, sanies vulneris)', ?σ OI kar'ka- 'white, a white horse' || Gk κιλλόξ 'ash-coloured, grey' (the vw. ι is still to be explained), κελαινόξ 'black' || [2] NaIE *kel-mo- 'stain' > OI kalmasa-h 'stain, dirt', NPrs {Sg., BM} چرمة čärme 'white\grey horse', Krd čerme 'white' || NGr Sw Helm 'a white blaze on the cattle's forehead', Sw Δ hjälm {Hlq.} 'white blaze on the cattle's\horse's forehead', Sw hjalmig 'having a white head or a

white blaze on the forehead' (of cattle\horses) [3] ?φ NaIE *kāl- / *kəl- 'stain' > Gk κηλτός, gen. κηλτόςδος, Gk D κελτός 'stain' || L cālidus, callidus {WH} 'mit einer Blässe auf der Stirn versehen' (of horses), Um CALERSU kaleřuf accus. pl. 'cal(id)idos, with a white forehead (oxen)', ? L caligo 'fog, darkness' || ? OIr caile, later (Mlr) gaile 'stain' || Lt kalýbas, kalývas 'white-necked' | Sl *kaľь 'dirt, mud' > OCS, OR каалъ каľь, SCr kāl ~ kào 'dirt, slime', Blg кал 'dirt', Slv kāl 'dirt in a puddle', Cz, Slk kal 'liquid dirt, mud', P каł 'dirt, puddle', R кал 'Exkremente' ¶ P 547-8, M K I 171, 184, Vl. I 570, BM 163, Sg. 891, F I 813-14, 840-1, WH I 139-40, Bc. G 330, Vn. C 11-12, LP 258, Frn. 208, Hlq. 357, ESSJ IX 127-9, StSS 281, Glh. 310 || HS: S *^o✓kalm 'stain' > Gz kalm-at n. 'stain, blemish' ({Di.} 'macula') ¶ ≈ L G 428 || A *kaľ- > M *qali'ɣ'un > MM [S] qali,un 'brown horse with black mane and black tail', WrM qaligun {MED} 'brown, isabella, color of horses which may vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black', HIM халиун {MED} id., {BMR} 'буланый, каурый, бурый, yellow-brown with dark-colored mane and tail' (horses), ? Ord xalǰan 'qui a une grande tache blanche sur le chanfrein' (horse), 'qui a une grande tache blanche sur le front' (camel, bull, goat); M *qaltar 'variegated, spotted' > WrM qaltar {MED} id., HIM халтар {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'dirty, запачканный, замызганный', Blg халтар 'light-bay' (horse), 'having red hair on legs and muzzle' (dogs), Kl {Rm.} xaltro 'braun mit hellem Maul oder weißer Mähne' (horse); M ⇨ Alt/Tlt/Sg/Qc/QK/Qb {Rl.} qaltar 'brown with a white mane' (horse), R Δ халтарый 'bay with brighter spots' (horse), WrMc {Z} калтара 'dark bay with a white breast, a bright muzzle and a white blaze on the forehead' (horse) ¶ MED 920, BMR IV 27-8, H 58, KW 163, Ms. O 327, Rl. II 259, Z 257-8 || T *kaľ- 'white blaze', 'grey, bright' (× T *kaľ 'bare, without hair' < N *kaľɣu 'bare, naked') > Chg قاش qaš 'a white blaze on the forehead of a horse', Xk xazar- 'turn grey' (of hair), 'become white\ bright', Tv qažarar- 'go grey' (of hair), 'show white (from afar)', Tlt {Rl.} qažay- id., qažajvan čač 'grey hair'; T *kaľ-ka 'white blaze' > OT {Cl.} qašya 'with a white head and darker body' or 'with a white blaze on the forehead', Tkm Δ, Az qašya 'white blaze on the forehead of an animal' (esp. horse), Tk Δ, Uz, ET, Ln, VTt, Bsh, Qrg qašqa, Blq qašxa, Tkm Δ qašya, Nog, Qzq,

Qq, SY qasqa, Xk χασχα, Chv L (← a NaT lge) хушқа, Chv Δ хуршқа id. ¶ Cl. 671, ET KQ 350-1, Rl. II 395, 398-9, TvR 218, Ash. XVI 237, 236-7, Fed. 376, Jeg. 312-13, ChVS 259 || | D (att. in SD) *kał- ({}GS} *k-) 'stain, spot' > MI kałā n. 'mark as of smallpox, scar, mole', Kn kałe, kałi 'scar of an old wound, mark of smallpox, stain of mud\oil', Kdg kałe 'scar, white spot on nail', Tu kałæ 'scar, mark, blemish, stain'; D ⇨ OI kałar̥ka- 'stain, soil, impurity', kałana- 'stain, blot' ¶ D no. 1313, M K I 177-8.

1053. *kōt̥v̥y̥v̥ (= *kōt̥v̥y̥v̥?) 'round; to turn, to turn around, to roll (sth.)' > IE: NaIE *k^ωeł- 'round, circle', v. 'turn around' > OI 'carati vi. 'moves, walks, wanders' ||| Gk πέλ-ομαυ ~ πέλ-ω v. 'be in motion' (← Gk Ae, hence πε- for *k^ωe-) ||| Clt {Matas.} *k^ωal-na- 'go around' > OIr imm-cella 'surrounds', ?? σ MW pallu 'run out, fail, die, perish' ||| pAl {O} *čel₁na > Al sjell 'I turn' ('drehe'), sjell rrotull 'drehe herum', sjell 'I turn\direct to...' ('lenke auf, richte auf...'), (→) 'I bring' ||| NaIE *k^ωek₁ω₁lo- ({}EI} *k^ωek^ωlo-m ~ *k^ωok^ωlo-s) 'circle, wheel' > OI ca'kra- 'wheel', Av čaxrō, NPrs چرخ čärχ id. ||| Gk κύκλος 'ring, circle' ||| Phr κύκλην 'Ursa major' (lit. 'the chariot') ||| ON hvel ~ hjól, MHG wël, AS hwéol ~ hweohl ~ hweozol ~ hweowol 'wheel', NE wheel ||| pTc {Ad.} *kuk(ä)le > Tc: A kukäl, B kokale 'cart, wagon, chariot' ||| NaIW *k^ωolo- 'circle, wheel' > Gk πόλος 'pole of the axis; pole passing through the axle tree of a carriage; axis of the celestial sphere' ||| L colus, -ūs 'distaff' ||| Clt {Matas.} *k^ωol°- 'wheel' > OIr cūl 'chariot' or 'ε part of a chariot' (< du. *k^ωolō 'two wheels') ||| Pru kelan 'wheel' | Sl *kōlo / gen. *kōlese 'wheel', (?) 'circle' (< NaIE *k^ωeł-os ntr. / gen. *k^ωeł-es-es) > OCS коло kolo (gen. колесе kolese) 'wheel', Blg коло ~ коло, SCr kōlo, Slv kolō 'wheel, circle', Cz kolo, P koło, OR коло kolo 'wheel'; generalization of the stem of the obl. cases: SCr Δ, Slk koleso, R колесо 'wheel', Cz koleso 'big wheel' ||| Tc B kele 'navel, centre' (← *'nave of a wheel') ¶ P 639-40, EI 640, M K I 366, Vr. 232-3, 270, Ho. 181, En. 191, Tp. P I-K 305-7, ESSJ X 141-4, StSS 288, Glh. 329, O 397, Matas. 173, Wn. I 239-40, JGH 60-1, 71, Ad. 197-8, 200 || | K *k^ωe₁l- / *k^ωāl- 'sth. round' > Lz kōrkola 'curly hair; sheep dung', Mg k^ωar-k^ωal-ia 'round' (dis. *r...r > r...l), Sv: UB k^ωāšī, L k^ωāšī, Ln k^ωāšī 'round flat cake of maize flour' ('чупек, дѣдѣно') (Sv ṧ < *l, F GM S

82) ¶¶ Lz, Mg *-l- is a regular representative of K *-l- ¶¶ K 110, ≈ K² 93 (Lz, Mg < GZ *ḳwer-ḳwer-), FS K 181, TK 353, IS I 326 ¶¶ K *ḳwer- (G ḳver- 'a round flat cake', 'a round sugar loaf, a round cheese' and Lz, Mg ḳwar- 'round flat cake, a round loaf [κολοβοκ]) are to be kept apart because of the cns. *-r- || HS: WS (+ext.) *✓ḳlb 'turn over' > Ar ✓qlb v. G 'turn upside down', 'turner, retourner', Sb ✓ḳlb v. 'till, turn over (soil prior to cultivation)', Gz ✓ḳlb v. 'serve, turn over, overturn', Mh {Jo.} ✓ḳlb v. 'turn, return', Sq ✓ḳlb {Jo.} id., {L} 'turner, rouler', Jb {Jo.} ✓ḳlb v. 'turn, return, overturn' ¶ BK II 796, Hv. 622, L G 426-7, L LS 374, Jo. M 229, Jo. J 144-5, BGMR 104 || B [1] *yly > Ah əyli 'turner autour de..., être autour', Gh əyli 'turner autour de...'; [2] *✓wql (> *✓wyly) 'return, become' > Ah {Fc.} əqqəl (3m pf. iqqəl) vi. 'return, become', ETwl/Ty əqqəl (3m pf.: ETwl iqqəl, Ty yəqqəl) 'retourner\revenir à', Gh əqqəl 'revenir à\chez', Kb qqʷəl, uyəv v. 'become', Izd uyūl 'revenir', ? Shl {La.} ayūl id., Tmz {MT} ayūl 'devenir, revenir' ¶ Fc. 1713-18, 1723-7, 2002 (on Fcj. 27), La. S 289, MT 185, Dl. 607-8, Mrc. 224, Pr. M VI-VII 92 (on Pcj. I A 2), GhA 67, 246-7 (on Pcj. I A 2) ¶ B *w- is likely to go back to the px of intransitivity *w- || C: Bj B {Alm.} kʷalāl 'kugelrund', Bj {R} kʷalāl 'kugelrund, Kugel', kʷlāl = kʷalāl (pl. kʷlāl = kʷalāl) 'Kreis, Umkreis; Armband, Fußring' || EC: Sml N {Abr.} qōl (pl. qōlāl) 'loop', Sml {ZMO} qōl 'halter, collar, neck piece', Rn χállì 'strip of animal hide (tied to people\animals in traditional ceremonies)' ¶ Alm. BS III 41, R WBd 141, Abr. S 203, ZMO 332, PG 188 || Ch: Hs kʷalāl-kʷalāl {Abr.} large and round', {Ba.} 'very large' (on spheroidal objects) ¶ Abr. H 579, Ba. 672 || U: FU *kolya 'circle' > BF *kolja > F kolja (pl. koljat) 'necklace (made of gold\silver)', Lv kol: (pl. kōlād) 'ring' || ??φ Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} kolá 'wheel, circle', kolák '(go) round' ¶ F kolja < FU *kolya × ← Fr collier, whence the F variant pl. form koljeet. The Slq cognate is highly qu. because the reg. reflex of U *k- is q- rather than k- ¶¶ SK 210, Kt. 144, KKI 112 || A *k'ô:l∇- vi. roll, turn' > NaT *Ku:la- vi. 'roll (down), fall down' > Slr kulen- ∂ kulen- v. 'roll', Qrg, Qzq qula- v. 'fall down, crash down', Qq, Uz qula- id., v. 'fall', Bsh q̄la- v. 'fall, fall down', SbTt B/Tr q̄la- v. 'fall', Nog qula- v. 'go straight forward (through water\silt without choosing one's way)', ET yuli- 'fall down, crash', d. yulat- 'overturn' ¶ ET Q 122-3, Jud. 440, Tn. SJ 395, KrkR 408, MM

471, NogR 186, BR 337, Tm. 127, Rl. II 96, Nj. 565-6, UzR 629 || Tg *χô:li- v. 'go round', 'be curve' (a way) > Ul, Ork χōli- ~ χōli-, Nn Nh χōli-, Neg olišīn- v. id., 'etw. herum-gehen\fahren', Orc uli- vt. 'go round, double (a promontory in a river)', Ewk uli-s- v. 'twist\meander' (of a river), Ewk ulikā, ulisīn 'a bend\curve (of a river)', Lm ulīna id. ¶ STM II 261, On. 266 || ?σ M *qol-ki- 'move to and fro, unbeständig sein' ({SDM} 'be restless') > WrM {MED} qolki- 'move to and fro, move loosely', HIM холжи- {MED} id., {Luv.} 'шляться, шататься без дела', {BMR} id., 'болтаться, двигаться во все стороны, хлябать', Brt холжи- 'расшатываться, шататься, расхлябываться', холжи 'shaky, wobbly', Kl {Rm.} χuίγδδ- 'unbeständig sein, sich hinundher wenden, ab und zu gehen', Ord q_ol^kxid_0- 'se mouvoir dans un mouvement de va-et-vient, aller e venir, balloter' ¶ MED 959, Luv. 534, BMR IV 101, Ms. O 305 || pJ {S} *k'úr'z-mp- vi. 'roll' > MJ korob- id, J T kòrob-, K kórób-, Kg korób- {Kenk.} vi. 'roll (over)' ¶ S AJ 271 [no. 190], S QJ no. 190, Mr. 713, Kenk. 1059 ¶¶ SDM 850 (pA *k'úlo 'roll, turn' > M, T, J, Tg *χol-/ *χul- 'go round' + unc. Tg *χol-/ *χul- 'dance, climb down\out of a vehivle' and pK *kubir- 'roll' [(> MKo kù'ir-, kù'ur-, NKo kùl-, kuri-)]), DQA no. 1141, S AJ 288 [no. 281] ¶¶ The J root is ambiguous, because it may be alternatively equated with WrM kōrbe- v. 'turn over, turn from one side to another', Tg: Ewk kurbu-, Sln xubbu- ~ xurbz- and WrMc {Z} k̄yrbu- id., as well as with WrM kūrdu(n) 'wheel' (as suggested in Rm. SKE 129) and with WrMc {Z} k̄yrdun' 'wheel' ◇ There are possible (but highly qu.) D cognates: [1] D *kol- 'bend, curve' > Tm kulavva id., Kui klōnga 'be contracted, be bent up', Krx xolk^h- 'cause one to bend the head', xolk^{hr}- ~ xolxr- 'bend the head, bow', Mlt kolge vt. 'curve, bend' (D no. 2136; the semantic connection with the N word is not close enough) [2] Illich-Sviych (IS I 327 ← ?) proposed a highly qu. D cognate: D *ku_l:_l- > ζ Tm ku_lal, ku_laj 'turn round, вертеться' and Mlt {Drs.} gūli 'round'; I have not been able to find the above Tm root in the available Dravidian and Tamil dictionaries; Illich-Svitych probably meant Tm kur_lal v. 'curl' [D no. 1818] (the mistake being caused by the notation l for r, which is current in literature) ◇ IE, U (as well as D *kol-) suggest a pN *o, while the vw. *u in T and Tg still requires explanation ◇ NaT *-l- (in *Ku_l:_lla-) suggests N *-l̄y- or *-l̄y-, because N *-ly- or *-ly- would have yielded T *-l̄- (NaT *-š-). IS (IS I

326-7) reconstructed *κῶλῶ, but the T cognate (with *-l-) rules out N *-í- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 402 (*kul 'turn') (IE, U, A, J, Gil, CK + qu. Ko).

1054. ₂^* κᾶλῶα (~ *κᾶλκα?) 'to wind, to twist' > IE: NaIE *kelg- vi. 'wind\|twist', 'winding; crookedness' > AS hylc n. 'bend, turn', 'Wendung, Drehung; Höcker', NE hulch 'bumped' ||| Sl inf. *čьlga-ti ~ *čьlka-ti, {SPS} *čǰga-ti 'to creep' > OP czołkać się, P czołgać się, Slvz {Lrn.} čěukǎc id., Uk 'човгати 'to shuffle one's feet, to walk slowly' ||| OIr celg 'ruse, trāitrise' (↳ W celg 'deceit') ||| ?φ Arm Կեղծք kełc-kʰ 'hypocrisy, falsification', Կեղծ - kełc- v. 'feign, pretend' ||| NaIE *kleng- ~ *klenk- v. 'bend, wind, twist together': *kleng- > L [Fest.] cling-ō, -ěre 'cingo' or 'cludo' ||| ON hlykkur 'Schlinge, Bucht', hlekkur 'ring, chain', AS hlence {Vr.} 'a ring (a link) in a chain', {Sw.} 'link', pl. {Sw., Ho.} 'armour, Panzer', MHG gelenke 'Biegung', NHG Gelenk 'link (in a chain), articulation', gelenk 'flexible, pliable' | NaIE *klenk- > BSI *klenkj- > Ltv inf. klencēt 'to hobble', Lt inf. klėnkti 'to walk quickly', Sl inf. *klečiti 'to bend' > P klećzyć 'to bend into an arc', OR, RChS κλᾶυνητι kljačiti 'to bend down, to limp', R Δ 'κλεχίτι 'to twist tight, to tighten, to tie up'; ?? Sl inf. *klečati 'to kneel' > OCS κλᾶυατι klečati, Slv klečati, Cz klečeti, P klećeć, Uk кля'чати id., SCr klěčati 'to kneel, to squat'; ?? Sl *kleka- (inf. *klekati) 'squat, kneel' > Blg 'клякам v. 'squat', Cz klekati, Slk kl'akat', P klekać, Uk кля'кати, Blr 'клякаць 'to kneel'; ?? Sl inf. *klek-nō-ti 'to squat\|kneel down' > SCr klěknuiti id., Blg 'клекна v. 'squat down', Slk kl'aknuť 'to squat down', Cz kleknouti, P kleknać, Uk 'клякнүти 'to kneel down' ¶ WP I 447, 498-9, P 554, 603, WH I 233-4, Vr. 237, 240, Ho. 183, Sw. 90, 98, KM 244-5, Vn. C 60, YGM-1 82, Frn. 289, ESSJ IV 141 and X 28-9, 32-4, StSS 286, Bern. I 166, Sl. I 124, Lrn. I 147, SPS II 21, EI 62 (*kleng- 'bend, turn') ||| К *oκlak-wŋ- > G κλακν- ~ κλακν- 'sich krümmen, winden' ¶ Chx. 599.

1055. *κῶλρῶ (or *Κῶλρῶ) 'middle; 'inside, lap, sth. within an angle' > IE: NaIE *klēp- 'lap', v. 'embrace' > OHG *hlāftara > MHG lāfter 'fathom' ||| Ltv klēpis 'lap, a lapful', Lt klėbũs 'length of an arm, fathom, armful', inf. klėbti 'in die ausgebreitete Arme nehmen, umarmen' (↳ due to the infl. of glėbũs 'ausgebreitete Arme', 'armful?') ||| ?φ Clt: Brtt {RE} *kalonā 'heart, (?) entrails' > W

calon, OCrn, Crn colon f. 'heart', Crn colon m. 'guts', OBr calon(n), Br kalon 'heart' ¶¶ The variant with an initial *g- (Lt glébũs '↑', MHG klāfter, NHG Klāfter 'fathom') is likely to result from a merger with *gleb- v. 'embrace' (> Lt glébtī, OFrs kleppa id.); the infl. of *gleb- may be responsible for the meaning 'embrace; armful, length of an arm\arms' in IE *klēp- ¶ P 604, Frn. 156, 267, RE 103, Lx. 108, 120 || HS: S: [1] S *k̑al̑∇,b- ~ *k̑abal- 'middle' (→ 'heart') > Ak k̑abl-ṽ, k̑abalṽ- 'middle, center', Ar qalb- 'heart' (→ Mh k̑āb, Jb k̑εlb id., Hrs k̑alb 'sense, mind, heart', Gz k̑alb 'thought, wish') | [2] S mt. *k̑ap̑pa,l- 'middle' > Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 k̑āp̑ə'lā 'armful, sheaf' ({PS} 'brachii complexus, manipulus inter brachia comprehensus'), 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 k̑εp̑'l-ā {JPS} 'an inmost recess, inner chamber', {Br.} 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 k̑ap̑'lā 'sinus, interiora', ? Ak kappaltu 'groin, the area between the thighs' ¶ Br. 683, PS 3692-3, JPS 514, Fr. III 482, BK II 796, Sd. 444, 887, CAD VIII 184-5 and XIII 1-12, Jo. H 75, L G 427, MiK I no. 161 || ? K: G k̑alta (< **k̑alpta?) 'lap' ¶ Chx. 545 || A: T *°K̑ȏ:l̑biç > OT q̑olbiç 'armpit' (a cd?) ¶ Cl. 617, DTS 454 ◇ T *l in preconsonantal position (in a N cns. cluster) provides no ev. as to the identity of the N lateral cns. ◇ IE *k- (in the preconsonantal position) is a legitimate reflex of N *k̑o- ◇ If the G word belongs here, the N etymon must have an initial *k̑-, otherwise it is *K̑-.

1056. *K̑aí'ũ|u' (= *k̑aí'ũ|u'?) 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE *k̑l̑no- 'callosity, hard skin' > L callum, callus 'hardened thick skin, callosity' ||| OI 'kiñā 'callosity' (← MI < *k̑ȓñā) ¶ The stem may have been semantically influenced by IE *k̑k̑al- 'hard' (> OIr calad 'hard') ¶ WP I 357 and P 523-4 (*kalno-, *k̑l̑no- ← *kal- 'hard'), ≈ EI 523 (*k̑l̑no-s 'callosity' ← *kal- 'hard'), M K I 208, WH I 140-1, EM 87, Vn. C 25-6 || U: FU {UEW} *kaíw∇ (< pre-U *kaíU-?) ({Db.} *kaíe) 'film, thin skin' > F kalvo 'film, membrane', Es Δ kale, kalu, Lv kaíġ_ 'cataract (of the eye)' | Prm *kií > Z kií 'seed coat, surface film, outer (scaling off) layer of birch bark, dandruff' (× FU *keže < N *kež?é 'skin; to skin'), Vt kií 'scales that come off from the bark, dandruff' ||| Hg hályog, Δ hajag, halyag, hálog 'cataract (of the eye)' | ObU: pOs {Ht.} *k̑ǎí'í' 'crust, scab' > Os {KrT}: V/Vy k̑ǎí'í', Nz χǎíta, Kz χǎí'í' 'scab, crust' ¶ Coll. 85, Coll. CG 405, UEW 121, LG 124,

Db. OS xxxi, MF 256–7, KrT 382, ≈ Ht. no. 265 ¶ Not here pVg *kǎ́ǎp 'outer layer of birch bark' and pOs {Ht.} *kǎ́ǎp id., 'dandruff' (Ht. 150 [no. 265]), which belong (together with S *√kǎ́ǎp 'bark') to N *qǎ́ǎ'ü'P∇ 'to debark (a tree), to cut off', 'bark, peel' (q.v.). The Prm √ is ambiguous: it belongs here only if its *i is accounted for by the ass. infl. of cnss; otherwise it belongs unambiguously to FU *kežê < N *kežê'ǎ'. If we take into account the traces of a front root-final vw. (F Db. OS xxxi), the pre-U √ may be reconstructed as *kaľü | | A *k'ǎ́ǎE- > M *qali-sun 'the outer layers of sth.; skin, shell (Schale)' > MM qalisu 'skin, shell', WrM qalisu(n) {MED} 'the outer layers of sth.; husk, hull, rind, peel, shell; bark, skin', HIM халъс {MED} id., {BMR} 'the outer layers of sth.; Schale, Hülse, Hülle, Rinde', Brt халъһа(һ) 'the outer layers of sth.; skin, peel, rind, bark', Kl {KRS} халъсһ хǎ́ǎsǎn 'the outer layers of sth., pellicle, peel', {Rm.} хǎ́ǎsǎ 'Rinde, Schale, Schuppe', Mnr H {SM} хǎ́ǎǎǎ 'pellicule, membrane, écale, épiderme', Ord хǎ́ǎǎ 'pellicule, membrane. enveloppes fœtales, écorce, enveloppe de fruit, mue de serpent'; M *qaldagan > Kl {Rm.} хǎ́ǎǎǎ 'die dünne Haut am Penis', WrM {MED} qaldaga, HIM {MED, BMR} халдага 'penis', Ord хǎ́ǎǎǎ 'testicules' ¶ MED 919–20, BMR IV 25, 31, Chr. 541, SM 151, T 372, KRS 572, KW 162, 177, Ms. O 327, 329 || Tg *хǎ́ǎǎǎ- > Ud B aľu 'dandruff', WrMc {Z} алхүва 'outer pellicle (of brain\kidneys\heart), skin of fruit'; Tg *хǎ́ǎǎǎ-kta 'inner side of hide (мездра)' > Lm aľǎ id., Ork хǎ́ǎǎǎ, Nn Nh/Bk хǎ́ǎǎǎ, Nn KU aľǎǎ, Ewk, Orc, Ud aľukta, Neg aľta 'the inner side of hide'; Tg *хǎ́ǎǎ- > Nn KU aľu- v. 'remove the inner side of hide', Lm aľǎǎ- id., v. 'remove a film' ¶ STM I 33–4, On. 448, Z 38 || T *°kǎ́ǎǎǎǎ > Tv keš 'skin, hide'; possibly also the semantic derivative T *k'ǎ́ǎǎ 'quiver, belt' > OT, XwT XIV keš ({Cl.} kēš), Kr {Rl.} kǎš, Tv NE keš, Tf hēš'-, Yk kǎsǎχ (with dim. sx -ǎχ) 'quiver', OT Y {Ml.} keš 'belt'; (?) T б→ Psh keš 'cotton blanket, shawl; silk cloth (камка)' ¶ ET KQ 60–1, TvR 239, Cl. 752, Ra. 188, Ml. JPT 107, Shch. SFTJ 195 (*keš), Asl. 713 || pJ *kǎ́ǎǎ 'scab' > OJ kasa, MJ kǎ́ǎǎ id., J T kǎ́ǎ, J K kǎ́ǎǎ, J Kg kǎ́ǎǎ {Kenk.} 'scab, slough, syphilis' ¶ Mr. 441, Kenk. 858 ¶¶ SDM 758 (pA *k'ǎ́ǎǎ 'napless skin', 'membrane' > T, Tg *хǎ́ǎǎǎ-kta, M *qali-sun), DQA no. 963 (id.), SDM 851 (pJ *kǎ́ǎǎ [unc.] from pA *k'ú́ǎ 'bark, scales, scab'), Ci. EApk 82 || **Gil:** Gil ES {Krn.} һǎǎ 'human skin', Gil A һǎǎ id., 'human body' ¶¶ ST 422, ST RN 182, Krn. N 398,

490 || **HS:** EC *k̄¹ō¹l- > Bn B {Hn.} k̄o¹l̄3 (pl.) 'bark', Gdl {Bl.} k̄ō¹le 'skin', Or {Grg.} k̄o¹la 'peel, pod, shell, husk', {Brl.} k̄o¹la 'membrana; scorza; pellicola', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} k̄o¹la 'bark', Sd {Gs.} k̄ō¹la 'husk, peel, bark' (← Or?), Hr {AMS} qō¹lo 'skin', Arr k̄í¹l 'leather', as well as ? Gdl {Blz. ← ?} k̄o¹ᶜalla 'bark' (though in Bl.'s description of Gdl there is no phoneme ᶜ) and Or {Tut.} ka¹lo 'tanned skin' ¶ Brl. 344, Grg. 326, Bl. G 69, Gs. 266, Hw. A 379, Blz. CWL, AMS 182, Hn. BD 93. Sr. 354 || | ?φ **K:** G k̄rō¹-i 'outer shell of a nut\chestnut' ¶ Chx. 633 ◇ If the K root belongs here, the initial N cns. is to be reconstructed as *k̄-. N *k̄a¹í¹ü¹|u¹ is to be distinguished from paronymous N words, such as *k̄o¹z̄¹∇ 'to skin, to debark (wood)', N *q̄a¹í¹ü¹ P ∇ '↑' and N *ka¹l̄|í¹∇ 'to debark (a tree), to remove vegetation; → or ← 'bare, naked' (q.v.). This latter N word (rather than N *k̄a¹í¹ü¹|u¹) is the source of D *ka¹l̄- v. 'weed' (↔ Starostin, F S CNM 5) ◇ AD NM no. 94, Vv. AEN 6, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST) ◇ Gr. II no. 341 (*ka¹l 'skin') (U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

1057. (₂?) *k̄a¹í¹∇ '(be) few, (be) too small\thin\light' > **HS:** S *k̄all- adj. 'light, few' > BHb k̄al 'light (levis)' (f. k̄al¹lā), Sq {L} q̄al 'young', Ak k̄allum 'light, scanty'; this adjective in its predicative form was reinterpreted as a verb (WS verbal form of the "New Perfect" and Ak stative), so that a verb ✓ k̄ll came into being: Hb 'k̄al (3p k̄al¹lū, 2m ka¹l¹lō¹tā) 'is small\insignificant, is fast', Ug k̄l {OLS} 'ir ligero, correr', Ar ✓ q̄ll (pf. qalla) v. 'be few in number, be small in quantity, be rare', Gz ✓ q̄ll v. 'be light\easy\slight\swift', Jb C {Jo.} k̄ell, Sq {Jo.} k̄el 'was little', Sq {L} q̄el(1) 'être petit', Ak ✓ k̄ll (inf. k̄alālu) v. 'be light'; d. WS *k̄a¹l̄|í¹l- adj. 'light, quick' > JA k̄al¹l̄l, Sr k̄allī¹lā, Md k̄alil 'light of weight', Ar q̄alī¹l- 'few, small, rare', Sb k̄ll 'little, scanty', Gz k̄alī¹l 'not numerous, small' ¶ KB 1028-31, KBR 1100-3, OLS 365, ≈ A no. 2409, Js. 1376, Sl. 1019, Sd. 894, BK II 794, Hv. 621-2, L G 428, L LS 374, Jo. J 144, Jo. M 228, BGMR 105 || C {AD} *k̄all- > EC *k̄all- (or *k̄al?-) 'thin, insignificant' > Or k̄allā 'subtle, thin, meagre', Or B {Sr.} k̄allā (f. k̄allō) 'narrow, thin, slender', Kns qalla?- 'thin', Gdl k̄alla?- 'narrow', Rn xalma 'become thin' (ipv. xalām), Brj k̄all- ~ k̄al?- v. 'be thin\narrow', k̄all-anē- 'thin' ¶ Ss. PEC 22, Ss. B 124, Sr. 351, AD SF 196, PG 187-8 || NrOm: Kf {C} k̄all- v. 'be cheap', Mch {L} k̄all-ī- v. 'despise', ? Dwr {L} gēla 'cheap', ? Bsk {Bnd.} ḡalla 'small' ¶ C SE IV 484, L M 47 ¶¶ AD SF 196 ||

А ** $\text{K}_{a_{i,j}}\acute{I}$ - or $\text{K}_{a_{i,j}}\text{L}\acute{C}$ - > **М** * $\text{qal}\acute{c}i$ - > **WrM** {MED} qalci i -, **HIM** {MED, BMR} **жалчий**- v. 'be(come) too thin or light' (garments); **↔** : **(1)** **М** * $\text{qal}\acute{c}igar$ - > **WrM** {MED} qalci gar , **HIM** {MED, BMR} **жалчгар** 'light and thin' (garment), **Kl** {KRS} **жалцжар**- 'become thin' (hair, wool), **(2)** **Brt** **жалсагай** adj. 'having short wool' (Schaffell, шкурка) ¶ **MED** 918, **BMR** IV 31, **Chr.** 539, **KRS** 571-2, **KW** 163 || **Т** * $\text{K}_{a_{i,j}}\acute{I}$ - (or * $\text{K}_{a_{i,j}}\text{L}\acute{C}$ -) > **OT** $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'lazy, underdeveloped, lean', **Az** {Rl.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'dünn, fein, zart', 'schön' (of women), **Chg** {Rl.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'unansehnlig, mager, abgezehrt', **Uz** $\text{qa}\acute{s}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'poor, beggar', ? **Az** **SI** **каши** $\text{qa}\acute{s}i$ 'of poor quality', as well as possibly (?σ): **Chg** **XV** {Cl.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'lazy, unpleasant', **ET** $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ {BN} 'lazy, obstinate, blunt', {Nj.} 'lazy, blunt', **ET** **Tr** {Rl.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'stumpf; langsam', **Qrg** {Jud.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'lazy, sluggish', **StAlt** $\text{qa}\acute{z}a\eta$, **Chv** (← a **Qp** lge) **хашан** $\text{x}\acute{a}\acute{z}_an$ 'a lazy person, lazy', **ET** {Jr., Nj.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}ar$ - v. 'become blunt', {Nj.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}at$ - 'make blunt', **Qrg** {Jud.} $\text{qa}\acute{s}ar$ - v. 'be lifeless' (e.g., of a country), **Qq** $\text{qasa}\eta$, **Qrg** $\text{qa}\acute{s}a\eta$ 'lazy' ¶ **Cl.** 673, **ET** **KQ** 348-50, **BN** 119, **Jr.** 241, **Rl.** II 390-1, **Nj.** 585-6, **Jud.** 363, **KrkR** 383, **AzDDL** 253, **Ash.** XVII 76, **Fed** II 315, **Jeg.** 287 || **К** {K} * $\text{k}\acute{e}l$ -/* $\text{k}\acute{a}l$ - v. 'lacking, be short of' (× **N** * $\text{k}\acute{e}\bar{I}\nabla$ or * $\text{k}\acute{e}\acute{e}\bar{I}\nabla$ 'lack, be insufficient' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The **pM** cns. *- \acute{c} - in * $\text{qal}\acute{c}i$ - may go back to a **sx**; if it is so, the **pA** rec. * $\text{k}_{i,j}\text{a}\text{L}\acute{C}$ - is to be rejected ◇ The **K** root suggests **N** * $\text{k}\acute{-}$, but its evidence is not decisive (because of its etymological ambiguity). If the **K** word belongs here, the **N** etymon must have an initial * $\text{K}\acute{-}$.

1058. (₂?) * $\text{k}\acute{u}\acute{I}\bar{I}\bar{I}\nabla$ 'short, (?) low' > **K**: **GZ** *- $\text{k}\acute{l}$ - (*'shorten') ↔ {GM} * $\text{m}\acute{o}-\text{k}\acute{l}$ -e 'short' > **OG** $\text{m}\acute{o}\text{k}\acute{l}e$ 'short, short-armed', **G** $\text{m}\acute{o}\text{k}\acute{l}e$, **G X** $\text{m}\acute{k}\acute{l}e$, **Lz** $\text{m}\acute{k}\acute{u}le$ 'short', **Mg** $\text{k}\acute{u}le$ id., $\text{x}\acute{e}-\text{k}\acute{u}le$ 'without an arm' ($\text{x}\acute{e}$ 'arm') ¶ **FS** **K** 219-220, **FS** **K** 241-2, **Chx.** 797-8, **Chik.** 229-30, **GM** 106-7 || **D** (att. in **SD**) * $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}$ - ({**GS**} * $\text{k}\acute{-}$) 'short (of stature)' > **Tm** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{a}m$, $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{a}l$, **Kn** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{u}$ 'shortness in stature', **Kt** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}$ 'shortness and broadness of figure', **Ml** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{a}n$ 'young, short, stunted', **Tm** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{a}n$, **Ml** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{a}n$, **Kt** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}(\acute{n})$, **Kn** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{a}$, **Kdg** $\text{k}\acute{u}\bar{I}\bar{I}\bar{a}$ 'short man' ¶ **D** no. 2137 || ?σ **HS**: **WS** * $\checkmark\text{k}\acute{l}y$ (~ * $\checkmark\text{k}\acute{l}w$?) 'deep', 'light (levis)' (← *'low') > **Gz** $\checkmark\text{k}\acute{l}y$ (js. $\text{y}\acute{a}-\text{k}\acute{l}\bar{I}$) 'be deep', $\text{k}\acute{a}l\bar{u}y$ 'deep (like an abyss)', $\text{k}\acute{a}l\bar{a}y$ 'depth (of river\sea)', **Ar** $\text{q}\acute{i}l\bar{w}$ - 'light (of weight)' ¶ **L** **G** 431, **BK** II 808, **Hv.** 626.

1059. * $\text{K}\acute{o}h\acute{I}\bar{u}$ 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie' > **IE**: **NaIE** * $\text{k}\acute{r}\bar{e}l$ - / * $\text{k}\acute{r}\bar{o}l$ - / * $\text{k}\acute{r}\bar{a}l(w)$ - v. 'deceive' > **Gk** **A** $\text{x}\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (with an original - η -) v.

'charm, bewitch, beguile', κόλαξ 'flatterer, fawner' || L calvor, -ī v. 'form intrigues, deceive', calumnia 'false accusation, calumny' || Gt hōlōn (· συκοφαντεῖν) 'durch Betrug schädigen, verleumden', ON hól 'praise, boasting', hǫla 'to praise, to boast', AS hōl 'slander', hōlian 'to slander', OHG huolen 'to deceive' ¶ WP I 446, P 551, EI 154 (*kel- 'deceive'), WH I 143, F I 839, Fs. 267, Vr. 247, Ho. 168, Schz. 17, Kb. 490 || **HS:** S *^o✓khl > Ar ✓qhl (qahala / -qhalu) v. {BK} 'médire de qn', {Fr.} 'res turpas memorans vituperavit (aliquem)' ¶ Fr. III 511, BK II 828-9 || Ch: WCh *^o✓k^wl- ({Stl.} *k^wal/r-) v. 'lie (lügen)' > Ang {Flk.} k^wolin, {ChL} k^wɔlɜm, Su {J} k^wulap, P' {MSk.} k^wálì v. 'lie', {Sk.} k^wali 'a lie', Hs kàřyā 'a lie' (Hs ř < WCh *l) || ECh: Smr {J} kùlàgè 'a lie' ¶ Stl. ZCh 213 [no. 637], ChL, ChC s.v. 'lie (lügen)', Ba. 574, Abr. H 492-3, MSk. 169, J S s.v. k^wulap, J LS s.v. kùlàgè, Sk. NB 29, ≠ Sk. HCD 168 ¶ The rec. of a variant with *-r- is unjustified, because Hs ř is a reg. reflex of WCh *l || **A** *k'ôí∇ > M *qulag(u)- v. 'steal' > MM [MA] qulaq-ba, [IM] qulagu-ba p. 'stole', WrM {MED} qulagu-, HIM {DL} хулгуу- 'steal' (HIM {MED} хулга- [err.-a-?] 'steal'), Brt хулгуу-, Kl {KRS} хулха- 'steal', Mnr H хулаq-a- id., 'do sth. by stealth', MM [HI, MA, S] qulaḡay, WrM {MED} qulagai, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt хулгай 'theft; thief', Kl {KRS} хулха 'theft', {Rm.} хулχā ~ хулχā 'Dieb; falsch, diebisch; Diebstahl', Ord хулаqā 'voleur, vol' ¶ MED 983-4, DL I 85, BMR IV 163, Chr. 599-600, KRS 608-9, KW 196, SM 180, Ms. H 91, Ms. O 366, Pp. 309, 445, H 71 || T *^oKö_l:_jíi- 'hide' > OT {Cl.} kōš'i- id., rf. kōš'in- 'shade oneself, be hidden' ¶ Cl. 753-4 || Tg *χol- ~ *χul- 'deceive', *_lχul^le^lk 'a lie, deceit' > Nn Bk χoltō-, χoloqta-, Nn Sn xolo- v. 'deceive', Ewk ulɜk, Sln ölöx ~ ɜlöx, Lm ólɜk, Neg ólöx ɜ ólók 'a lie, deceit', Orc olokí- v. 'lie, deceive', oloko 'a liar, deceiver', WrMc {Z} цлукэнь {STM} 'falsely' ({Z} 'ложно, болтливо') ¶ STM I 407 and II 265-6, Z 159 || pJ *kasu-m- v. 'steal, rob' > OJ kasum-, kasume-, MJ kásúm-a-, kàzò-φ- id. ¶ Mr.705 ¶¶ SDM 696 (A *k_loía 'steal, deceive' > M *qulagay 'robber', J + unc.: Tg *kōla 'cunning, deceit' and T *K_lai- 'lazy, vile'), DQA no. 873 || **D** *kōl 'slander, talebearing, abuse' (× N *k'a^lTX'E^l 'call (appeler), shout', q.v.) > Tm kōl 'calumny, aspersion, talebearing, falsehood', ko_luttu v. 'slander, calumniate', ?σ Kt kōl 'laying information about sth. heard', Kn kōl 'calumny, false imputation', Gdb gōler- v.

'abuse', *gōle* n. 'abuse' ¶¶ D no. 2251 ◇ The absence of labialization in IE *k- can be explained in the framework of AD's hypothetical prehistory of IE vowels (AD NGIE, AD NVIE) if we suppose a stem-final sonant *w, that remained in L *calvor*, *calumnia*, but was lost in the Gk and Gmc. In this case the prehistory may be hypothesized as N [??] **Ḳohíü* > pre-IE **kuhlu* > (diphthongization) **kαu̯hl(u)*- (where *α symbolized the vw. underlying the apophony *e/*o/zero) > **kαhl(u)* (loss of pre-sonantal *w) > **keh̄l-/ko̯h̄l-/k̄h̄l(u)*- > **kēl-/kōl-/kəl(w)*-. M *u (of the first syll.) (for the expected *o) still requires explanation.

1060. **Ḳiy̯, ∇, í* (or **Ḳiy̯, ∇, í ∇, í*?) 'to bend, to bow' > IE: NaIE **klej̯*- v. 'bow, incline', {EI} 'lean' > OI 'śrayatē' 'clings to, leans upon', 'śrayati' {MW} 'causes to lean\rest on, lays on\in, fixes on', Av *srīta*- 'gelehnt', *sray*- 'lean' ||| Gk *κλίνω* v. 'cause to lean, make to slope\slant' ||| L *clinā*- v. 'incline, bend, lean', *clinātus* 'inclined, bent, leaned', *in-clinā*- v. 'bend, incline', *clīvus* 'a slope, rise' ||| OIr *clen* 'tendance, inclination, désir' ||| Mir *clé* 'left; defective, bad', W *cledd* 'left' ||| OHG (h)*linēn* 'to lean', AS *hlinian* vi. (> NE *lean* vi.), OHG *leinen*, NHG *lehnen*, AS *hlānan* vt. 'to lean' (> NE *lean* vt.), Gt *hleiduma* (sprl.) ('ἀριστερός, ἐνώνυμος) 'link' ||| Lt 1s pres. *šliejũ* (Lt Zh *šleju*), inf. *šliēti* 'lean against', *pā-šlitas* 'windschief, seitwärts geneigt', {PiesS} *pā-šlyti* 'to lean on one side' ||| ?σ Tc: A *klā(w)*-, B *klāy*- 'fall'; Tc B *klāsik*- 'set' (of the sun) ¶ WP I 490-2, P 600-2, EI 348, M K III 388-9, WH I 234-5, Vn. C 116, F I 873-5, OsS 405-6, Kb. 601, 619, KM 431, Frn. 549, 1004, 1006, PiesS 518, Wn. I 218-21, Ad. 220-3 || HS: C **✓k̄l̄s* > EC: pSam {Hn.} **qallōs*- v. 'bend' > Sml *qallōs*- 'become crooked', Rn {Hn.} 'χόλοχε ~ 'χόλοhe 'bend' ¶ Hn. S 71, Abr. S 199 || ?? S: Gz *kalɫad* 'arch, circle' ¶ L G 427 || A **k'iy̯, ∇*- v. 'deviate, slant' > T **Kiy̯, í*- > OT *qīš*- v. 'deviate', MT XIII *qīš*- v. 'turn away', Osm {Zn.} *qīš*- 'sich krümmen, sich neigen', Tk *gīs*, 'deception, swindle, perfidy', Tkm *gīšiq*, Qmq, Nog *qiyšiq* 'crooked, slanting', Nog, Qrg *qiyšay*-, Qq *qiyşay*-, ET *qiyšay*- vi. 'bow\bend to the side, get crooked', Qzq *qiyşaqta*- vi. 'bow, bend, sway' ¶ Rs. W 268, Cl. 670, Rl. II 835, Dr. TM III 571-3, Jud. 481, Sht. 272, KumRS 211-12, Nj. 631-2, DQA no. 1107 || M **kilu*- v. 'look askance at, squint' > WrM {MED} *kilui*- ~ *kilai*-, HIM {MED, BMR} *хялай*- id.,

Brт хилай- 'коситься', Kl {Rm.} kulī- 'schielen, schief auf etwas sehen'; M *kilu-gar > Kl {Rm.} kulūγar 'schief, seitwärts blickend', WrM kilagar {MED} 'cross-eyed, squint-eyed; askew, slanting', HIM {MED} хялгар id., {BMR} хялгар 'squint-eyed'; Brт хилар 'squint-eyed, кривой'; WrM kilab qulub {MED} 'looking askance, giving a squinting\mean look'; M {Rm.} *kilu-r (~ *kila-r) 'squint-eyed' > WrM {BMR, SDM} kilar, HIM {BMR} хялар id., Kl {Rm.} kulṛ 'schiefäugig' (M *-u- is suggested by Kl kulṛ); WrM б→ Tkm {Rs.} qılıy, VTt qıl̄y 'squint, crooked'; ? +ext.: M *kelte- > WrM keltei- {MED} 'incline from the perpendicular, lean, be crooked', HIM хэлтий- {MED} id., {BMT} 'incline from the perpendicular, stoop, покачнуться, крениваться', Brт хэлты- id., Kl {Rm.} kelte- 'auf der einer Seite, seitwärts gebogen liegen'; M *kelbe- (× N ***ḲæbL** ▽ [or ***ḲæLb** ▽?]) 'to support, to lean', q.v. ffd.) > WrM {MED} kelbei-, HIM {MED, BMR} хэлбий- v. 'lean or to be inclined to one side', Brт хэлбы- 'geneigt sein (быть наклонным), крениваться' ¶ MED 450, 467, BMR IV 208, 210, 232-3, Chr. 570, 642, Kow. 2531-2, TatR 310, KW 224, 244, Rs. W 263, Dr. TM I 472-3 || Tg ≈ ***χ₁īl**- v. 'pass by (vorbeigehen)' > Ewk, Neg iltən-, Lm jeltən- & iltən-, Lm A yēltən- id., ?φ Ul/Ork/Nn sī- id. ¶ STM I 310-11, On. 357 || ?σ pJ {S} *kùsù 'strange (← *'deviating') > OJ kusu, kusi, MJ kùsù ¶ S QJ no. 1232, Mr. 833 ¶¶ SDM 788 (pA ***ḱ**'īyū v. 'deviate, slant' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1107, KW 244 (M, T), Rm. EAS I 108, Dr. TM I 472 ◇ A vw. after N ***y** is tentatively suggested because in a preconsonantal position the N sequence *-iy- is more likely to lose the cons. *y or to produce a long vw. ī (in the descendant lges) than in the intervocalic position (in fact this ***y** survived in T) ◇ EC points to the presence of a laryngeal (***ḷ** in ***Ḳiy₁ṽ₁íṽ₁i**), but then the absence of a lr. in the IE root must be explained. It is quite possible that the EC lr. does not belong to the heritage of the N etymon ◇ The K verb ***ḳlaḳ-wṇ**- (> G ḳlaḳ(w)n- v. 'bend, swaddle' = 'krümmen, winden', F Chx. 599) is better explained as going back to N ***ḳalḳa** (~ ***ḳalka**?) 'to wind, to twist' (q.v.) ◇ On pJ *-s- < pA *-í- see Mill. JAL 114 and S AP 75-6.

1061. ***Ḳaíṣû** 'bare, naked' > IE ***k₀h₂wo-** > ({WH} NaIE ***k₀ləwo-**) 'bald' > L calvus 'bald, without hair' ||| OI 'ati-kūrva-h₂ ~ 'ati-kūlvā-h₂ 'entirely bald', NPrs كَل käl 'bald' ¶ P 554 (***k₀ləwo-**), ≈ EI 45 (adducing Av kauvra-), WH I 144, MK I 243, Sg. 1039, ≈ Vl.

II 802, 858 (NPrs *käl* = *käčäl* 'bald') || **HS**: S ✓ *q̄l̄ɣ* > Ar ✓ *q̄l̄ɣ* (pf. *qalāɣa*) 'take off (one's clothes)' (unless ← {BK} 'arracher, ôter qch. de sa place'), Gz ✓ *q̄l̄ɣ* *G* 'uncover, bare, open, strip, unveil', Tgy ✓ *q̄l̄ɣ* (pf. *q̄l̄ɣe*) 'disclose, uncover' ¶ Hv. 624, BK II 802, L G 426 || **A** **q̄al̄i-* > T **kaí* > Tf *haš* 'bare, without hair' (of a fell\hide), ? Tv *χaš* 'thin dressed leather', -d> **kaí-ga* 'bald; having a white head or a white blaze' (× N **q̄aly∇* (*m∇*) 'spot, stain; be spotty') > OT *qašɣa* 'having a white head and darker body', 'having a white blaze on the forehead' (on animals), Chg *qašqa* id., Qzq *qasqa* id., 'bald' (of a person)', Tkm Δ *qašɣa*, Nog *qasqa*, Shor {Rl.} *qašqa* 'bald spot, white blaze', SbTt B {Rl.} *qašqa* id., 'bald' (of a person)', Qrg *qašqa* 'having a white blaze', 'clean, transparent', Bsh, Ln *qašɣa* 'white blaze; bald' ¶ ET KQ 350-1, Ra. 186, TvR 471, Cl. 671, Rl. II 394-5, Rs. W 241 || **M**: **[1]** M **qal̄ca-gay* 'bald' > MM [MA] *qal̄caɣay* 'bald', WrM *qal̄caɣai* {MED} bald, bare, hairless, grassless, featherless (spot)', HIM *жалцгай* {MED} id., {BMR} 'облезлый, kahlköpfig (плешивый); with scanty\short vegetation\hair' (of grass, fur), Brt *жалсагай* 'short-wooled' (sheepskin, fell), 'spärlich behaart, облезлый' (ein Tier), Kl {KRS} *жалцжа* 'grassless' (ground), {Rm.} *χal̄caɣā* 'bar, nicht bewachsen; haarlos, graslos', M ↗ Chg [MA] *qal̄ciɣay* 'bald'; MM [MA] *qal̄caq* 'having a white blaze' and Tv *калчан* 'bald, bald spot, grassless'; **[2]** M **qal̄za-n* > WrM *qal̄zan* {MED} 'bald-headed; blaze on the forehead', HIM *жалзан* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Waldlichtung (прогалина), открытое место', Brt *жалзан* 'bald-headed', MM [MA] *qal̄žan* 'having a white blaze', Ord *χal̄žan* 'qui a une grande tache blanche sur le chanfrein' (cheval), 'qui a une grande tache blanche sur le front' (chameau, bœuf, chèvre), 'qui a une grande tache noire ou d'une autre couleur sur le front' (mouton), 'qui, au sommet, a du sable blanc' (colline, hauteur); **[3]** M **qal̄žay-* > WrM {MED} *qal̄žai-*, HIM {MED} *жалзай-* v. 'grow bald', Ord *χal̄žā-* 'perdre ses poils à certaines parties de la tête' (animaux), 'devenir chauve' (hommes); M ↗ Tv *калчай-* id.; **[4]** ? M **qal̄ci-* > WrM *qal̄ci-* {MED} 'remove unevenness, level off; remove hair from skin or fur', HIM *жалчи-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'eine Bodenerhebung\Erdhäufchen abtragen (срыть)' ¶ Pp. MA 289, MED 918, 922, BMR IV 26, 30-1, Chr. 538-9, KW 163, KRS 571-2, Ms. O 327-8, TvR 222-3 ◇ It is tempting to adduce U {UEW} **kaíw∇* 'film, thin skin' and thus to find a parallel for IE *-w-, but for semantic

considerations it is better to refer the U root to N ***K̑aí'ú|u'** 'skin, film, bark'.

1062. *k̑óíʳ'ú' 'track(s), way; to go, to travel' > **IE: [1]** NaIE ***kelw-** / ***kleu-** v. 'travel' > Lt **keliáuti**, Ltv **ceļot** id.; Lt **kēlias** 'way, road', Ltv **ceļš** id. (acc. to P, a bf. from the verb) ||| Gk **κέλευθος** 'road, path; journey, voyage' ({Brgm.}: < ***κλευθος** on the analogy of **ἐλεύσομαι** 'I shall come/go') (a problematic word: an irreg. succession of two ***e**-grade syllables, unexplained **-θ-**; for discussion *see* F I 815-16) ||| **[2]** NaIE ***ka1-n∇-** 'path' > L **callis** 'narrow track, footpath, cattle track' ||| Sl {Glh.} ***kol'nycb** > SCr **klánac** 'narrow path', Slv **Δ klanec klánac** 'gorge, narrow pass (Hohlweg)' ¶ Frn. 236, F I 815-16, P 554, WP I 356, WH I 140, Bern. I 547, ESSJ X 140-1 (against the comparison of Sl with L), Glh. 319 || **HS: S** ***^o✓k̑lʳ** > Ar **qulʳat-** 'way' ({Fr.} 'iter, eiusque mobilitas, iter maritimum navi'), {BK} **qāliʳ-** 'qui part, qui se lève de sa place' ¶ Fr. III 490, BK II 803-4 || B ***^o✓wk1** > Ah **s-ukel** v. 'travel, step (marcher au pas)', **tēkle** n. 'marche au pas (marche sans courir)', Tz, Ntf **ākə1**, Zww **ākul** 'piétiner, appuyer avec le pied', BMn **k̑el** v. 'step', Kb {Dl.} **ашʷə1** 'fouler', **ṭiʷli** n. 'marche, allure; action de marcher', Si {La.} **ukel** 'walk', Skn {La.} **ukə1** 'cheminer' | B ***^o✓wk1** ~ ***^o✓kw1** 'track, footprint' (× N ***k̑ā1'h'∇** 'to walk, to make one's way [with effort]') > Ah **tə-kkil-t** (-kk- < ***-wk-**) 'track, footprint (empreinte de pied)', **a-kūkə1** 'trace', BSn **tīšə1** id., Kb **ṭiʷʷə1-t** (pl. **ṭi-kwə1** ~ **ṭi-ʷʷə1**) 'fois, moment' ¶ Fc. 781-3, Dl. 401-3, La. S 257, La. MChB 259-60 || **SC: [1]** ({E} SC ***kʷāš-**) v. 'go, travel' (× N ***k̑ā1'h'∇** '↑') > Kz **kʷaš** v. 'go away, depart', (C ↔) Mb **kʷa**, **kʷašú** 'path, road' | **[2]** Rt ≈ ***k̑ʷə1-** (× N ***ka1ʔ∇** 'approach, come') > Irq {MQK} **qʷaláŋ** inv. 'come!', Brn {Dmw.} **kʷalē** id. ¶ E SC 265, MQK 89, Blz. CP s.v. 'come'₃ || **K: GZ** ***k̑wə1-/ *k̑w1-** 'track, footprint' > OG **k̑uə1-i**, G **k̑və1-i** 'track, trace', G d. **k̑vle-/ k̑vli-**: (**ga-**) **k̑vle/i** v. 'find the way', **mi-k̑vle/i-** 'auf die Spur kommen, auf-aus-spüren', Mg d. **u-kul-i** 'after, then', Lz **i-kul-e** 'after', **-kule** ~ **-kule** 'after' ¶ K² 90-1, Ser. 80, Chx. 572, 583-4 || **U: FU** (in ObU only) ***^ok̑ā1∇** (= ***^ok̑ó1∇?**) > ObU ***k̑ā1∇** 'track(s), sign' > pOs ***ka1** > Os Kz **χῶρά** 'Anzeichen'; pVg ***k̑ī1** > Vg: LK **xā1**, MK/UK **kī1**, P **ki1**, UL/Ss **xī1** 'track, sign'. The pOs vw. ***a** is a reg. reflex of pFU ***^o** and ***ō**, but the origin of the pVg vw. ***ī** is not yet clear. If the Vg vw. results from a conditioned change, the pFU form will be ***k̑ó1∇**. Much less probable

as a cognate is FU *kulke- v. 'walk\travel\run' (> F kulke- v. 'walk, go, travel', Es kulge- v. 'proceed, take one's course, run' | pLp {Lr.} *kolke- v. 'run' [of water], v. 'float [with the current]' > Lp N {N} gq'l'gâ-/ -lg-, Lp S {Hs.} gâlgedh, Lp L {LLO} kâl'kâ-, Lp Kld kol'ge-id. | pMr {Ker.} *kuíge- > Er koíge-, Mk koíge- v. 'leak' | Prm: Z k+vt-, Z Δ k+lt-, k+la|-, Yx kólt- v. 'float' ||| pOs *kɔʷə|- > Os: V qɔʷə|- v. 'step', D χοχət-, Kz χῶχəφ- v. 'run' | Hg halad- v. 'go, advance, proceed, travel') || ? Sm {Jn.} *ku- v. 'drift\float' > Ne Т ху"ла-сь, ху"лë-сь 'to drift, to float', Ne Т BZ хуВ, Ne Т Y хӯ, Ne F kūβ 'vom Wasser an das Ufer getriebener Baum', Slq Tz {Prk.} qur+- ~ qūr+- 'tragen\treiben [der Strom]') ¶¶ FU *kulke may be accepted as a cognate (d.) only if we find the factor responsible for the depalatalization *í > *l and for the discrepancy between the vowels of *kulke and *kâ'∇ (where *â cannot be interpreted as *u because of the Os reflex) ¶¶ Ht. 200 [no. 748], UEW 198, Lr. no. 442, Hs. 552, LG 149, Jn. 76, Erl. 82, Ker. II 64 ◇ The non-labialized IE *k- may be explained in the framework of AD's hypothetical prehistory of IE vowels (AD NGIE, AD NVIE): if the original vw. of the first syllable was *u, then N *kû'í'ú' yielded pre-IE *keʷl(ʷ)- > IE *kel(ʷ)- (loss of the *u-glide before a sonorant); but even if the N vw. was *o, it changed into *u due to the infl. of the vw. *u|ü of the following syll. ◇ Hardly here M *kölgen '(means of) transportation' > MM [HI] kölgēn {Lew.} 'char, véhicule', WrM kölgē(n), HIM хөлөг, Kl {Rm.} kölgēn 'mount or other means of transportation'; M ⇨ Qzq келік 'horse and cart; means of conveyance', Qrg kölük 'beasts of burden', Nog kölik id. ('тягло, тягловая сила'). It is more plausible to suppose that this is a d. from M *köl- v. 'harness, hitch (a draft animal) to a vehicle' (> MM [S] köl-, WrM köl-, HIM inf. хөл-өх id.), though a contamination is also possible ¶ MED 484-5, Lew. II 57, H 103, Ms. H 72, KW 238, Jud. 421, Sht. 133, NogR 178, Rs. W 288 ◇ Cp. Čop IU IV 159 (IE, FU) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 71 (*kel 'come') (IE + err. U *kälä 'wade' [in fact from N *käl'h'∇ 'walk, make one's way with effort'] + err. A *k'el- and Yk kel- 'come, go' [< N *kaī'∇ 'approach, come'], as well as Gil., CK, ? Ai; Gr.'s disregard of sound laws did not allow him to distinguish between three N words, which proves that his method of comparison is wrong).

1063. ₂ *kō'í'∇, w∇, 'pair, one of a pair', ? 'bind together' > HS: S *✓kl? 'pair, both' > Ug kl₂t du. f. 'both (hands)', BHb ם'אָל כַּ

kilʔayim 'of two kinds; both', Gz kəlʔ-ē, kəlʔ-ettū 'two', Mh {Jo.} kəl̄(h), f. kəlayt, Hrs {Jo.} kəl̄, f. kəlayt, Jb C {Jo.} 'kəl̄(h), Jb E {Jo.} 'kəl̄(h), Sq {Jo.} 'kala 'both (of)', Ak kilān, f. kilat_tān 'both', (× S *kull- 'all') Ar kill-āni ~ kull-āni 'both, the two' ¶ KB 453, KBR 475-6, A no. 1312, OLS 214, Rb. AWA 69, BK II 919, Jo. M 207, Jo. J 129, L G 282, Sd. 475, CAD VIII 353ff. || SC: Brn {E} kalel- 'be similar' ¶ E SC 366 ¶¶ Ro. 139, 245 [no. 240] reconstructed pMM *kal- 'be equal', which is (even if reconstructed well) is a loan from Fulani kala 'pareil' (Zb. 289) || ? Eg fP kɥ 'other' ¶ EG V 110-14 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 90 [no. 19.9] || ¶ *_ok'jō' ~ *k'ō'j' b' 'couple', v. 'couple, combine' > T *Kō' > NaT *k'ōš 'a pair, one of a pair' > OT {Cl.} qōš id. (the long vw. is unj.), Tk Δ kōš, 'pair of horses', Tkm qōš 'pair (yoke) of oxen\horses for ploughing', qōša 'pair, two; double', Kr Cr, ET qōš, Nog, Qzq, Qq qōš, Xk χōš 'pair', SY qōš 'forming a pair', Uz qωš, VTt, Bsh quš id., 'double', Qrg qōš id., 'pair', Tv qōš, Tf qōš', VTt, Bsh quš, Uz qωš 'double; twin, consisting of two similar parts', Yk χōš 'additional, the second one (of a pair)'; ET Q 91 mentioned VTt quš and Bsh qωš ('double?') that are not registered in standard dictionaries and have a strange change of the reg. u into uš, ωω that resembles processes in Chv; ⇨ NaT *Kōš- 'link to' > Tk kōš- 'add, harness', Tkm qōš-, Qzq qōš-, Qrg, StAlt qōš- 'add, link to', Tv qōš/qōž- 'add a new part (to the garment, footwear); unite in pairs', Tf qōš'- 'add a new part (to the footwear)'; NaT ⇨ M: WrM {MED} qōš ~ qōuš, HIM {MED, BMT} xōš 'pair', Kl {Rm.} χōš 'Paar; doppelt, zwei Stück', {KRS} xōš 'вторая юрта (при главной)' ¶ Cl. 676, ET Q 90-3, Ra. 221, TkR 191-2, ≠ Shch. SFTJ 194 (T *kōš with unjustified *ō), MED 970, 974, BMR IV 118, KW 189, KRS 602 || M *qōlba- ~ *qōlbu- v. 'couple, unite, combine, link to' > MM [MA] qōlba- 'be combined to, add', WrM qōlba-, qōlbu-, HIM {MED, BMR} xōlbo- vt. 'unite, combine, connect, link to', Brt xōlbo- 'zusammenbinden, anbinden (связывать, привязывать)', Kl {KRS} xōlv- χōlv- 'unite, combine, link to', {Rm.} χōlv- 'paaren, vereinigen', WrO {Krg.} χōlba- v. 'couple, join', Ord χōlbo- 'lier plusieurs objets l'un à l'autre, unir, joindre', Mnr H χōlō- {SM} 'lier ensemble, joindre, unir', {T} 'anbinden, zusammenbinden, vereinigen'; M *qōlbuḡan > WrM qōlbuḡa(n), HIM {MED} xōlboo 'tie, link, combination; union', {BMR} xōlboo(h) id., xōlboo

'привязь', Brt холбоо(н) 'connection (связь)', WrO χολβā 'pair, coupled', Kl {Rm.} χολwān 'die Vereinigung, das Gepaartsein, Band, Verbindung', Ord χολβō 'longue corde à laquelle on lie ensemble les moutons et le chèvres pour les traire' ¶ MED 957, BMR IV 98-9, Chr. 579, KRS 593, KW 183-4, SM 181, T 377, Pp. MA 301, Krg. 276, Ms. O 349, H 65 (MM qolba(,a)ra- 'vereinigen, zusammentun') || Tg *χulbu- '(Indian) file \ string of objects; move in Indian file, be bound together' > Ewk ᵘlbu-, Lm ulbuᵇçi-, Neg ulbul- 'move in Indian file (following one another)', Nn Nh χuelbi- 'bind together, wrap', Ewk, Lm ulbulᵗз 'Indian file, line\string of objects', Lm ulbukз 'vertebral column', Ork ulbumž'i adv. 'in Indian file', Nn KU χulbīз, Nn Nh {On.} χuelbi 'вязанка, связка; узел, сверток', {STM} χuelbikз 'bundle' ¶ Nn Nh -ue- needs explanation ¶ STM II 258, On. 485 || pKo {S} *kʰrb- 'compete, match, compare, line together' > MKo kʰrp- (kʰrw-), NKo kalp- kap-, karu- id.; *kʰrb- > ⇨ MKo kʰr'ó- 'form a couple' ⇨ MKo kʰr'ó-kí, NKo karogi 'twins' ¶ S QK no. 348, Nam 21, 23, MLC 12, 48 ¶¶ SDM 836 (pA *k'ó'íba 'couple', v. 'couple, combine' > T, M, Tg, Ko + unc. pJ *káśá 'size, layer'), DQA no. 1115, Rm. EAS I 109, KW 184, Str. A *l(V)b 287.

1064. *k'ám'o' 'to cover' > HS: B (+ext.) *✓ ᵘms > Izn, SrSn ✓ ᵘms, inv. əᵘməs v. 'cover oneself with clothes or a blanket', ETwl, Ty əᵘməs v. 'wrap\cover' ¶ Rn. 364, GhA 69 || ?φ K: Sv: {Ni.} -kwem v. 'cover', UB/LB/Ln {TK} -kwem 'put on (clothes)', UB {GP} li-kwem msd. 'put on (dress) from above' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'покрыть', TK 453, GP 173 || IE: NaIE *k'em- v. 'cover\veil', 'garment' > Gmc *xamiθja- > OHG hemidi 'shirt, garment' (> NHG Hemd 'shirt'), OSx hēmithi, AS hemeðe 'shirt'; Gmc *xamiθja- ⇨ Gl ⇨ L camisa 'shirt'; Gmc: ON {EI} hamr 'skin, slough', {Vr.} 'Hülle, Gestalt', Sw, Dn, NNr ham 'skin, husk', AS хама 'garment, dress; skin', NE hame 'undergarment' || OI śāmulya- 'garment (of a bride)', śāmūla- 'ε garment' ({EI} 'thick woolen shirt') ¶ WP I 386, P 556-7, EI 134, WH I 147-8, M K III 325, M E II 6, Ho. 148, 154, Ho. S 32, Kb. 455, OsS 388, KM 303, Vr. 208 || A: M *°qamki- v. 'shut, close, draw together in order to close' > WrM {MED} qamki-, HIM хамхи- {MED} id., {Kow.} 'fermer, serrer, joindre', {BMR} 'прикрывать, складывать, запахивать, смыкать, close (the mouth)'; see also WrMc {Z} камни- v. 'unite, close'; the word may be a loan from M, which will explain the unexpected initial к- ¶ MED 924, Kow. 813, BMR IV 36,

STM I 370, Z 259 ◇ The apparent reflex of deglottalization $*k̥-$ > $*k-$ in Sv still defies explanation. The rec. of the N initial $*k̥-$ (rather than an unspecified $*K̥-$) depends on the validity of the Sv cognate. The vw. $*a$ in M is due to regr. as. (a kind of vw. harmony): $*ā...o > *a...â$. This and the palatal IE $*k̄$ presuppose a N $*ā$. The labial element in of Sv $*k̥w-$ is due to regr. as. (infl. of a lost labialized vw. of the second syll.) within Sv (F Test. S) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 68 ($*kum$ 'cloud') (IE $*kem-$ 'hide, cover' ÷ $*FU *kum∇$ 'cloud' etc.), Gr. II no. 82 ($*kom$ 'cover' > A [M, Tg, err. T $*Kunda-$, in fact from N $*koṃ∇_1ṭ∇$ 'to cover?'], Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

1065. $*Ḳom∇$ (bA) (or $*Ḳum∇$ (bA)?) 'forehead, front part': [1] $*Ḳom∇$ or $*Ḳum∇$ > U: FU $*kum∇$ 'forehead, front side' > Prm $*ḳum-es$ 'forehead, face' (LG: $*-es$ is a derivational sx) > Z $кымөс$ $ḳiṃɛs$, Vt $кымес$ $ḳiṃɛs$ 'forehead, face'; Prm $*ḳum > Z$ $sin-ḳim$ 'eyebrow' (sin is 'eye') || Hg $ḥom-l-ok$ 'forehead, front side' ¶ LG 151-2, MF 296-8, ≠ Rd. rLG 424, UEW 201-2 (unc. hyp.: the Prm and Hg words < U $*kuma$ 'gebeugte, umgestürzte Lage; sich beugen'), ≈ Sm. 537 (U $*kuṃā$ 'face down' > FU $*kuṃā$, FP $*kuṃa-$, Ugr $*ḳūma-$, Sm $*ḳeṃə$) || A: Tg $*o_1χ_1omkat∇$ 'forehead' > Ewk, Neg $omkoto$, Lm $omq̣t$ ¶ STM II 17 || [2] $*Ḳom∇$ bA ≈ that of the front part' (see N $*bA$ [pc. of names of quality bearers] ffd.) > HS: B $*ỵnb$ 'face', $*ỵanbū_b_1$ 'beak' (× N $*gona$ (P∇) 'nose' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?σ D $*komp-ay$ ({θGS} $*k-$) 'ε protecting wall' > Tm $koṃmay$ 'rampart, bulwark', Kn $kuṃbe$ 'wall on a flat roof that serves for a balustrade', Tl $koṃma$ 'the upper part or coping of a fort wall' ¶¶ D no. 2118 ◇ Tg and D point to a N vw. $*o$ in the first syll., while U suggests $*u$. The problem created by this discrepancy still needs resolving.

1066. $*Ḳum∇$ 'sand' ([in descendant lges] → 'snow') > HS: CCh {ChL}: Bnn $kunkuṃà$, Ms $gumgumma$, BnnM $gumguma$, LmP hum 'sand' || HgNg $ḳẉẓmṃè$, FIG $ḳẉẓḳuṃa$ 'earth (substance)' ¶ ChL || U $*kum∇$ 'thin snow' > Vt G $ḳiṃ id.$, Vt M $ḳiṃ$ 'hoarfrost' || Hg $ḥó$ (accus. $ḥaṿat$) 'snow' || Sm: Ne $χ̣aẉ?$ 'thin hard snow that is over soft snow', Kms {KD} $ḳ'aṃo$ 'snow crust' ¶¶ UEW 204, ≈ Jn. 64 || A $*ḳ'um∇$ 'sand' > T $*Kum$ 'sand' > OT, MQp, Chg qum , Tkm, Az gum , Tk kum , Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Uz, ET, Tv qum , VTt, Bsh $q̣'um$, Tf $hum id.$ ¶ Cl. 625, Ra. 191, ET Q 133-4 || M $*qumag > WrM qumag$ {MED} 'fine sand', HIM $хумаг$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'earth, Sandkörnchen', Kl

{KRN} хумг хумъг 'Sandkörnchen, Staubkörnchen', {Rm.} хум_a⁹ id. ¶ MED 985, BMR IV 165, KRS 609, KW 196 || Tg *χimana- v. 'snow' > Ewk, Sln, Orc imana-, Lm imъn-, Neg imana-, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh simana-id., WrMc {Z} нимагги n. 'snow' ¶ STM I 312-13, On. 363, Z 233 ¶¶ Lm kimэwun 'sea shore' and Orc kīma 𐌿 kīmma 'beach' hardly belong here (⇔ Gr.) ◇ The Tg apparent delabialization *u > *i is still to be explained. Cp. a similar case: N *b'u'X'ra 'watercourse, river' > Tg *bira 'river, brook' ◇ Gr. II no. 323 (*kum 'sand') (U, A, Gil + qu. Y).

1066a. *Ḳum∇ 'black, dark' > HS: Eg fP km 'be black; black' (✓kmm > Cpt: Sd **кмом** kmom, B **хмом** k^hmom; Sd **кһм** kē m, B **хһм** k^hēm 'become\be black' ¶ EG V 122-4, Vc. 81-2, Crum 109 || C: EC: Hr/DbS/ Gln {AMS} kúmma, Gwd {AMS} kumma 'black', Hr/DbS {AMS} kumm- 'become black' || ?σ Ag: Aw {CR} кеманā 'evening', кем- 'get dark, decline towards evening (вечереть)' ¶ AMS 267, CR A s.v. кеманā and кем-, ≈ AD SF 86 || ?σ NrOm: Wl {LmS} қamma, Dwr {Bnd.} қamma, Bdt {C} қамā, {Bnd.} қamma, Oyda {Bnd.} қāma, Bsk {Bnd.} қamma 'night', Gm {LmS} қamma 'day (of 24 hours)', Gdc {Bnd.} қāmani_ 'night', Dc {LmS} қamma 'yesterday', Kcm {LmS} қamma-на 'evening' ¶ AD SF 86, LmS 432-3, Bnd. O || S: JA [Trg.] 𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹 𐌸uk'kām, em. 𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹 𐌸ukkām-ā 'black, dark-complected', MHb ✓?km G (pf. 𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹 𐌸ā'kām) 'be sunburnt\black' (< caus. *✓š-km) ¶ Js. 25, 64 ¶¶ Cal. no. 449 (Aram, Eg) || **U** *kum∇ 'dark' (× N *ḳüm∇ (Tä) 'fog, mist, cloud', q.v.) > Hg hi málɥ 'obscurity, darkness'; twilight, dusk' || Z Δ k+mэd- vt. 'shade, screen from light' ('затенять, заслонять свет') || Sm: Mt {Hl.} *kündəhā 'black' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} kúntūhā, K {Mll.} gúndehā) ¶¶ UEW 204-5, LG 151, Hl. M no-s 592-3 || **A** ≈*k'umE or ≈*k'üm∇ 'black' > T *k'ömür (or *ḳ_ömür?) 'charcoal' > OT, Cmn XIV, XwT XIV kōmūr, MQp XIII kāmūr, Chg xv кемūr ~ kōmūr, Xk kōmūr, Tlt kōmür, Yk kōmör 'charcoal', Tk kōmūr, Tkm, Ggz, Az, Qmq, Qrg kōmür, ET kōmü(r), Ln kōmüy, Kr Cr kōmür ~ kōmir, Nog, Qq kōmir, VTt, Bsh күмър, Uz kwmūr, Tv xōmür, Chv кăмрăк кьмгьк 'charcoal' ¶ Cl. 723, ET KQ 102-3, TL 365, Ash. VII 145-6, Fed. I 253, Jeg. 99, ChVS 99 || pKo {S} *kəm- 'black' > MKo kəm- ~ kəm-, NKo kəm-/kəm-/kām-/kām- id. ¶ QK no. 8, Yu 48, MLC 101, Yu 48, HMC 278 || ?σ Tg: WrMc {Z} хумара- 'soil the face with dirt' ¶ Z 441 || JK: Kgr {Mill.} *kāmūl

'black' ¶ Mill. OKA 8 ¶¶ SDM 852 (pA *k'ume or *k'jume 'black, coal' > T, Ko, Kgr, WrMc), S AJ 295 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 14 (Om, C, Ch, A + unc. D *kam- 'be singed', Ch and IE roots for 'cloud' [see N *küm∇ (Tä) 'fog, mist, cloud']), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 30 (suggesting to add Aram [unc.]: *÷ D *kam- 'be singed' and FV *kūma 'heiβ').

1067. *küm∇ (Tä)/(R∇) 'fog, mist; cloud' > IE: Ht kammarā- 'mist, fog, vapor; shade, dimness (of sight)' || NaIE: Gk [Hs.] κέμερος (· ἄχλυσ, ὀμίχλη)-'mist, fog' ¶¶ Gk κεμ- and Ht kam- may be explained as going back to IE *k̂∇m- < **k̂∇um- < N **küm- ¶¶ Pv. IV 35-7, Ivn. SANA 154, Čop IU I-1974 99 || **HS:** Ch: CCh: Mdr {ChC} kúmbà, Glv {Rp.} ákùmba, {ChL} ?ákùmba, Hrз {Ro.} kúmbà 'cloud' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kamrá 'clouds' coll. ¶ Eb. 62, RpB 4, ChC s.v. 'cloud', ChL, Ro. 227 [no. 142] || B: Ah kumb-ət 'brouillard humide' ¶ Fc. 807 || **K** {K} *k̂wām-/ *k̂wm-, {FS} *k̂wam- v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > OG k̂um- v. 'emit smoke' (q̂oweli igi m̂tay k̂umoda 'all mountains emitted smoke'), OG k̂um-, G k̂m- 'burn incense', Mg k̂um- v. 'smoke', d. o-k̂um-apu 'censer, thurible', Lz m̂om- v. 'emit smoke', Sv {K, FS} k̂wām- id. (msd. li-k̂wāme, 3s pres. k̂wām-e) || -d→ K *k̂wam̂- n. 'smoke' > OG, G k̂wam̂-i, Sv: UB/Ln {TK, GP} k̂wām, L {TK} k̂wam, {Dn.} k̂wām id. ¶¶ K 108-9, K² 91 (*k̂wām-/ *k̂wm- v., *k̂wām̂- n.), FS K 177, FS E 193-4, Chik. 161, 168, TK 352, GP 130, Dn. s.v. k̂wām ¶¶ IS I 312 tentatively adduced (to N {IS} *KümTä) Sv UB mu-t̂k̂win 'fog, dark' (but GP SED: Sv UB mu-t̂k̂win 'dark [color]' without mentioning 'fog' or 'mist'); IS suggests that Sv -t̂k̂win- may go back to **k̂win̂- (mt.), which is hardly convincing || **U** [1] *kümtâ- 'fog, haze' > F k̂ont̂o 'fog' (the back vw. o under the regr. ass. infl. of the final back vw.) || Prm *k̂'ō'd > StVt чынкыт č̂in-k̂it 'haze (дымка, марево)', Vt Sr {Wc.} č̂ŷnk̂id 'mist', Vt Kz {Wc.} č̂ẑyk̂ẑd 'schwacher Nebel, Dunst' (k̂it, k̂id, k̂ẑd means 'smoke') || Hg k̂ō'd 'fog, mist, haze' || Sm *kümt̂ 'smoke' > Ne T ĉюн, {Lh.} sún̂, Ne F {Lh.} sún̂ 'smoke, steam', Ng {Mik.} k̂int̂a, En {Cs.} ŝud̂do, Slq NP {Cs.} ŝum̂de 'smoke', Kms d. {Adl.} ŝcĥun̂ĵú id., Koyb d. {Sp.} ĉюн̂ě, ĉюн̂ě 'smoke (дымъ, чадъ)', Mt {Hl.} *kündü 'smoke' (Mt M/T {Mll.} k̂únd̂ö, Mt M {Sp.} кюндү, Mt T {Adl.} kund̂o, Mt K {Mll.} ĝúnd̂u 'smoke', {Pl.} gund̂ucĥanu 'mist' [cĥanu means 'dew, moisture in the air']) -d→ Mt {Hl.} *künd̂äĥä 'black' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} k̂únt̂ü̂hä, K {Mll.} ĝúnd̂eĥä) (× N *K̂Um∇ 'black, dark', q.v.) ¶¶ U *-mt- is

reconstructed on the ev. of Slq ¶¶ UEW 158 (*kint∇ – *künt∇; UEW rejects the F cognate because of its back vowels), IS I 312 (*kümtä; IS did not mention the F word), MF 370, Jn. 79 (Sm *küntъ), Hl. MTKV 10, 36, Hl. M no-s 592–3 (Sm *küntъ), Cs. 162, ≈ Sm. 537 (U, FU, FP *künti 'smoke', Ugr *küntī, Sm *küntə; Sammallahti did not take into account the F and Slq cognates) ¶¶ [2] ? FU *kum∇ 'cloud' (× N *KUM∇ '↑', q.v.) > F kumuri 'small cloud' | Er kovol 'cloud' | Prm: Z кымор 'cloud' || Vg Ss sēnkiϥ χομχατας 'es wurde nebelig', χομχατας 'es entstand ein dichtes Schneegestöber, das die Luft ganz verdunkelt' ¶ UEW 204–5, LG 151 || A: pKo *kim 'steam, vapor, breath, smell' > MKo, NKo kim ¶ S QK no. 748, MLC 281 || pJ {S} *kümüá-n, {SDM} *kümua 'cloud' > OJ kumuo, J T/K kúmo, Kg kumó ¶ Acc. to SDM 835, pJ *kümüa goes back to pA *k'òlm∇ 'shadow, cloud' ¶ S AJ 264–5 [no. 11], Kenk. 1104 || ? M *küdeη (if M *-d- < N *-m...T-) 'fog, mist'??) (× N *Kot∇ 'smoke') > WrM {MED} küdeη 'fog, mist; darkening, dimness', HIM {BMR} xγdεη 'dicker Nebel (мгла), Nebel', Kl {Rm.} küdη 'Nebel, Dunst, Dunkel', Kl D {Rm.} küdη 'Nebel, Dunkel, Rauch', Ord k'üde 'brouillard sans vent' ¶ MED 497, BMR IV 181, KW 244, Ms. O 434 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 677 (pA *kiym∇ 'vapor, stem; anger' > pKo *kim + unc. T *Kiyu- 'move', M *kimura 'be in disorder' and Tg *kīmu- 'be inimical'), ≠ DQA no. 795 (id.) || D: Gnd kum 'smoke' ≍ kumpoq 'smoke' ¶ ≈ D no. 1752 ◇ IS I 312 [no. 187] (*Kümtä in U, M [+ unc. T], [?] K: Sv mu-ṭkwin), Čop l.c. (IE, U), ≠ Blz. KM 135–6 [no. 14] (unc. equation of the K root with the S, Bln, FV and D reflexes of N *Kum?∇ '[be] hot, smoulder', q.v.), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 35 (CCh, IE, U, Ko, J; unc. adduction of Awn kemana 'evening' and NrOm *kam- 'night' [see N *KUM∇ 'black, dark']) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 68 (*kum 'cloud') (FU *kum∇ 'cloud' ÷ * IE *kem- 'hide, cover' etc.).

1068. *KU?äm∇ (n∇) 'a hand with five fingers' > IE *de-ḱmt 'ten' ({{Szem., Erh.}: < *d_lw_le- 'two' + **ḱomt 'hand with fingers') > OI 'dasá, Av dasā, OPrs *daθa, Phl dah, NPrs 𐎠𐎡𐎣dā, Oss dās, Psh las 'ten' || Arm unuuñ tasn id. || Gk δέκα id. || pre-Al {Hamp} *djeθat_l∇ > Al dhjetë id. || L decem id., Um *desen 'ten' in DESENDUF 'twelve' || Clt {Matas.} *dekam 'ten' > OIr deich n-, OW dec, MW, W deg, Crn, OBr dec, Br {Hm.} dek 'ten', Gl decan-, decametos 'tenth' || Gmc *texun 'ten' > Gt taíhun, ON tíu, NNR

tie, Sw tio, Dn ti, OSx tehan, tian, OHG zehan, NHG zehn, AS
 tien id., NE ten || BSI (< d. *dekm̄ti- 'decade'): Lt dešimtīs, Ltv
 desmit, Pru desempts 'ten', dessimpts 'tenth' || Sl *desęt̄b
 'ten' > OCS ДЕСАТЬ desęt̄b, Blg десет, SCr dèset, Slv desęt̄t,
 Cz deset, Slk desat', P dziesięć, R, Uk десять 'ten' || pTc *śāk
 > Tc: A śāk, B śak id. (its prehistory is not yet clear) || AnIE {Blz.}
 *deyanta- (< *degn̄to- < *dekm̄to-) > HrLw tinata- 'tithe', Lc sñta
 'ten' (< d. *dk̄m̄t-ā) || NaIE *k̄m̄'tom 'hundred' (< **dk̄m̄'tom {EI}
 'tenth decade', {P} '[Zehner]dekade') > OI śa'tam, Av sata m
 'hundred'; Irn ⇨ Sl *sъto id.; Ary ⇨ FU *śatam id. || Gk ἑκατόν
 'hundred' (< *sem k̄m̄tom 'one hundred') || L centum
 'hundred' || Clt {Matas.} *kantom 'hundred' > OIr céit, OW, MW, W
 cant, OBr cant, Br kant, Crn cans 'hundred', Gl ⇨ VL Gl [Isidore
 of Seville] cantedon '100 feet' || Gt hunda pl. 'hundreds' (in
 prija hunda '300', fimf hunda '500' etc.), OSx, AS, OHG (in
 cds) hund 'hundred'; cd ('Hundertschaft' → 'hundred'): O N
 hundrað, OSx hunderod, MHG hunderit, hundert, NHG
 hundert, AS hundred 'hundred', NE hundred || Lt šimtas, Ltv
 simts 'hundred' || pTc *kānte > Tc: A kānte, B kante id. ¶¶
 Szem. N 69, Bks 213-16, EI 403-5 (*'dekm̄ ~ *'dekm̄-t- ~ *'deku-
 'ten'), ≈ EI 405 (*k̄m̄'tom 'unit, large unit, hundred'), ≈ Erh. S 93, ≈
 Blz. N I 290-312, P 191-2, M K II 26, F I 359-40, WH I 327-9, StSS
 187, Bc. G 332, LP 8.1, Frn. 91, En. 159, Tp. P A-D 332-4, Hamp AN
 916-19, O 84, Fs. 275-6, 471, Vr. 590, Ho. 347, Ho. S 74, Kb. 1242,
 Schz. 333, KM 877, Glh. 191-2, Matas. E 93-4, 188, Hm. 148, 420,
 Wn. I 475-6, Ad. 139, 619 || **HS**: Ch {JS, JI} *√k̄mn 'hand' > WCh: P'
 {IL} k̄maṇ, ? {MSk.} d̄ak̄ṇ, Sir {Sk., IL} k̄ámí, Kry {Sk.} k̄ám, Jm {Sk.}
 k̄ámá 'hand', My {Sk.} k̄am 'arm' || ?? Hs (× k̄ámù 'act of seizing' ←
 k̄áma 'catch, seize') {Ba.} k̄ámù 'the distance from the middle of the
 chest to the tip of the fingers when the arm is extended; a cubit',
 {Abr.} k̄ámù 'measure of 18 inches' || ? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} ḡéń 'hand' ¶ JI I
 86-7 and II 178-9, ChC s.v. 'hand', ChL, Abr. H 463-4, 468, Ba. 542,
 547 || C ≈ *kUṽn 'five' > SC {E} *koʔan id. > Irq {Wh., E}, Brn/Alg {E}
 koʔan, Irq {MQM} kōʔán, Kz {E} koʔana id. || EC: [1] Sa {R} kawān ~
 kōn, {Bl.} kaûn, Af {PH} konoy (gen. kōna) 'five'; [2] EC *ken- 'five' >
 Bs keni, Dsn čèn, Elm kên, Arr {Hw.} čénn, Or {Grg.} šan, Or H {Ow.}
 šání, Or B {Sr.} šani, Or Wt {Sr.} šeni, Kns ken, Msl xene, Gdl héne,

pSam {Hn.} čan > Rn čán, Sml šán(-tī), Sml J šaη, Bn šâη id. ¶ E SC 245, MQK 61, PH 149, Bl. 110, 147, 190, 296, Ss. PEC 12-13, Hn. S 77, PG 83, Sr. 104, Ow. 90, Hw. A 350, Grg. 368, AD SF 29-30, To. DL 489, Abr. S 230 || U: FU *kāme(ne) 'palm of hand' > F kämmen, Es kämmal, kämmel 'flat of the hand, palm' || Lp: N {Fri.} kiem (gen. kiemann) 'palm of hand', Nt {TI} κῆμᾶ 'Handteller, Hand' || Os V köman-kǎʕar 'hollow of the hand, fist, handful' (kǎʕar 'fist, handful') || U *küme(ne) 'ten' > F kymmenen, † kymmen, Es kümme (gen. kümne) id. || Er, Mk камень кемеń id. || pY {IN} *kumne- 'ten' > OY O {Mat.} кимнелъ 'ten', Y K/T {IN} kuneí id. ¶¶ UEW 137, 679, TI 101, KrT 292, Ang. UJ 72, Krn. JJ 182, 191, 282, Krn. IMJJ 115, Ku. 102, IN 229 || A: Tg *χῦμνυ 'back side of the hand, upper side of the foot' > Ork χῦμνῦ, Lm ῦνμῦ, Neg onmῦ id., Orc umnu 'upper side of the foot', WrMc {Z} ῦμῦχῦνῦ id., 'Mittelfuß (плюсна)' ¶ STM II 274, Z 164 ◇ SC *koʔan and Sa kawān, as well as the labialized vw. in C, in Tg *χῦμνυ and in U *kümene suggest a tentative N rec. *ḲUʔämῦ (nῦ); the cognates without labialized vw. or its traces (in IE, Ch, part of EC, FU *kāme(ne)) are accounted for by the loss of *-ʔ- and a subsequent crasis (*Uä > a front vw.). The final *nῦ may be identical with the N genitive prtc. *nu (turned to a marker of obl. cases and later generalized in the paradigm of cases).

1068a. ₂ *Ḳimʔῦ 'fat' > HS: S: Ar ✓ qmʔ 'être gras' ¶ BK II 809 || A: Tg *χῖμῦ- 'smear with fat, melt down (fat)' > Ewk imῦ- id., Lm imῦn- ḍ imḍῦn- ḍ imnῦn- 'melt down (fat), churn butter', Neg imu- 'smear (смазывать)', Orc imti- 'smear with fat (an idol)', Nn Nh/Bk simu- 'smear with fat (мазать салом\жиром)'; ⇨ Lm imῦn, Orc imtiῦz, Orc simurz 'fat (сало, жир)', Neg imnῦn 'Sahne', WrMc {Z} имэнги, Jrc ῦi-miῦη-ηῦ 'oil'; ⇨ Tg *χῖμῦ-kse > Ewk imῦksz 'fat (сало, жир)', Nn Nh/Bk simuksz id., 'butter', Nn Nh {On.} simsz id., Sln imukčz', Ud imoHo, Ul simsz 'fat, butter' ¶ STM I 313-4, On. 364, Z 111 ¶¶ SDM 800 (pA *k'ǰǎrme 'fat' > Tg *χῖμῦkse 'fat (жир, сало, масло)' + unc. pJ *kuama 'fat, greasy' + err. (going back to N *Ḳoʕar'ῦi 'fat, tallow' [q.v. ffd.] rather than to N *Ḳimʔῦ): M *qarbin [i.e. *qarbiη] 'inner fat, placenta', T *KI,ar'I 'inner fat' and pKo *k'irim 'fat [жир]).

1068b. *Ḳumʔῦ '(be) hot; smoulder' > HS: Ch: WCh: Bl {IL} kuméni || HS: Ch: WCh: Bl kuméni 'hot, hotness' (regular shift: Bl k- < WCh

*k̄-, see Stl. ZCh 53-6) || CCh: ? Bdm {Nw.} kómog^ωá {Nc.} kómōge
 ~ kómege 'Hitze' and kómog^α 'very hot' (unless these words have
 been borrowed from Knr {Nc.} k̄em̄ége 'heat' ¶ ChC s.v. 'hot', ChL,
 Lk. B 114, Nc. s.v. Bdm kómōge ~ kómege , kómog^α and Knr
 k̄em̄ége || S *^o✓k̄mh|? > Ak fOB and MA q̄amû inf. (pf. i k̄m̄i ~
 i k̄mu, imv. q̄im̄i ~ q̄umu) vt. 'burn' ¶ CAD XIII 76-8 || ? Eg k m
hier. *'heap of burning charcoal' ¶ EG V 122 || U: FV *kūma 'hot,
 glowing' > F k u u m a 'hot, burning', Es k u u m 'hot; heat', {W}
 'glühend, heiß, Glut', {W} k u u m a - 'glühen', Lv {Kt.} kūmi 'glühend
 heiß' || Er кумуха kumuxa, {W} kumoka 'fever' ¶ UEW 675-6, SSA I
 457, W ESS 424, Kt. 171, ERV 313 || D *kum- 'be hot, smoulder' > Tm
 k u m a i 'be hot\sultry', k u m p i 'hot ashes', Ml k u m u r u k a,
 k u m i r u k a 'be hot', Kn k o m e 'begin to burn', Tu g u m u l u - 'be
 hot', Tl k u m m u 'smouldering ashes', k u m u l u v. 'smoulder, burn
 without flame' ¶¶ D no. 1752 || A: M *kūn-kūni- > MM k ū n k ū n i -
 'schmecken oder riechen nach etwas abgebranntes', Dag k u n š u n
 'Geruch von et was angebranntes' ¶ S AJ 242 [no. 200], T DgJ 151 ||
 Tg: Ork xumɜsɪkɜ 'Ruß (сажа)', Nn Bk xupɜksɜ 'Ruß (копоть)' ¶
 STM I 477 ◇ If Ak belongs here (in spite of the semantic distance),
 the N rec. is to be *K̄um^ɀ∇, otherwise the reconstructions *k u H m ∇
 ~ *k u m H ∇ are possible as well. The lr. is evidenced by the Ak long
 vw. in q̄amû and by the length of *ū in FV. The short *u in D
 suggests that the N lr. followed the cs. *m ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 135-6
 [no. 14] (incl. Ak, Bl, FV and D).

1069. ₂ *K̄^o1m^h∇ (more probable than *K̄^o1m^χ∇) 'eat, swallow'
 > HS: S ✓k̄m^h 'eat', (?) 'swallow' > Ar G ✓q̄m^h (pf. q̄amīḥa) 'take
 into the mouth and eat (parched food), drink', {BK} 'manger qch. de
 sec', Gz ✓k̄m^h (pf. Φ ḥ q̄amīḥa) 'eat (grain or other fodder), graze',
 Amh q̄amē 'swallow without chewing', Har ✓k̄m^h (pf. q̄emaḥa) 'take a
 mouthful'; ⇨ S *^lq̄am_la^h- 'cereals, flour' > Hb ḥḥḥ^l q̄emaḥ, Ug q̄m^h,
 JA [Trg.] {Dlm.}, Sr q̄am^h-ā, JA {Js.} q̄im^hā, JEA {Sl.} q̄am^h-ā ~
 q̄im^hā, Ak q̄ēm_u(m) 'flour', Ar q̄am^h- 'wheat, corn', Gz q̄am^h n.
 'produce, yield, fruit, leguminous plant' ¶ Lb. 2527, L G 471-2, L EDH
 125, KB 1035, KBR 1107-8, A no. 2419, OLS 367-8, BK II 809, Hv.
 626, HJ 1013, Dlm. 364, Js. 1384, Sl. 1023 || ? C: EC {Ss.} pcv. * -
 q̄om/*-q̄m- (> *q̄om-) 'chew, bite, eat' (× N *k̄æm∇ 'bite', q.v.) > Sa
 pcv. -q̄om-, Af pcv. -okm- 'chew, bite, eat', Rn {Ss.} -aḥam-/ -uḥum-

'chew', {PG} -aḥam- 'eat (sth.)', scv.: Dsn kó'm- 'eat' (k- is due to the former clustering of *k̥ and *m), Or k̥am- 'chew čat', Kns qom- 'chew', Brj k̥ām- 'eat, chew', ? Sd {Gs.} k̥āma 'eat\drink sth. mixed with sth. else' (unless the Bj and Sd words are borrowed from EthS?), ?φ Arr {Hw.} -ohom- / -aham- (= [-o'ñom-] / [-a'ñam-]) pcv. 'eat' ¶ The EC glottalized cns. *k̥ belongs to the heritage of N *k̥'o'mh̥ ▽ ¶ Ss. PEC 25, Ss. B 121-2, 124, PG 62, Gs. 255, Hw. A 263-5, To. DL 512 || IE: NaIE *k^ωem- 'swallow' > OI 'cāmati ~ 'camati '(he) sips, drinks, eats' | pIrn *čjam- > Av a-šam- 'sip', šāma- 'gulp', KhS tsām- 'sip'; NPrs مچ čäm 'food (cibus potusque)', Oss I цымын сэмэн, Oss D cumun 'to sup, to sip' ||| Arm քիւ-քիմ-կի 'palate' ||| Gmc: Ic h^voma [χōma] 'to swallow' (< *h^vāma < NaIE *k^ωemō) ¶ WP I 514, P 640-1, EI 175, M K I 382-3, Vl. I 589, Horn 99, Ab. I 321-2, Bv 323, Slt. 343-4 ◇ The exstant ev. does not allow to distinguish between N *h̥ and *χ, but *h̥ seems more probable, because a cluster *mχ usually tends to change into *ηχ (or *nχ) by as., and as long as traces of such as. are not detected, *h̥ is preferable.

1070. *k̥a'm' ▽, č'o' 'to bend; bend, corner' > U: FP *k^ra'n|ñč ▽ 'a bend, curve' > Er kańžamo 'popliteal space' | pPrm *kōž (= {Lt.} *kōž) > Z kž 'bend of a river', Yz kŭž 'large bend of a river', Vt kōž 'quiet backwater in a bend of a river' ('заводь, омут', {LG} 'bay') ¶ LG 138, U3S 203, ERV 231 || HS: S *^o✓knθ|š|š̂ or *^o✓kmθ|š|š̂ > Ak ✓knš̂ vi. 'bend', ✓kmš̂ v. 'bend, kneel' ¶ Sd. 431-2, 435-6 || K: G k̥unč- 'jem-n in eine Ecke drängen' ¶ Chx. 643 || IE: NaIE *kant^ho- 'edge, bend' > Gk κανθός 'corner of the eye' ||| Clt: W cant 'rim, tyre', Br kant 'circle', Gl *kantos 'iron tyre; rim, edge (Rand, Ecke)' (in glosses and inscriptions: καντεμ, καντενα, καντεν) ⇨ L canthus 'tyre of a wheel; rim, edge' (Quintilianus: from lges of Africa or Spain [sc. Clt?]) and VL *kantus > Sp, Port, It canto, Prv can 'edge, rim, corner, side', OFr chant id. (⇨ chantel id.) > Fr chant 'face étroite d'un objet', chanteau 'hunk of bread' ||| Sl *kŏtъ 'corner' > ChS кѣтъ kŏtъ, Blg кѣт, SCr kŭt, Slv kŏt, OCz, Cz kouť, Slk kŭť, HLs/LLs kut, P kət 'corner', OR кѡтъ kutъ 'corner in a house', Uk, Blr, R Δ кут 'corner' ¶ P 326-7, F I 777-8, Kö. no. 1851, Krüger GS 219, ML no. 1616, Vn. C 84-5 (showing that OIr céttas 'siège' does not belong here [⇔ P a.o.]), Hm. 420, YGM-1 74, GH 99, Daut. 160, Dtn 241, Thr. KR 53, ESSJ XII 75-8, Glh. 363, ≈ EI 143

(*kan-t^(h))₀ 'corner, a bending') || A: pJ {S} *kàntuá 'angle, corner' > OJ kaduo, MJ kàdó {S} id., J K kàdó, J Kg kadó, J T kádo {Kenk.} 'corner' ¶ S QJ no. 856, Mr. 432, Kenk. 749 ◇ N *m is reconstructed on the ev. of Ak √ kmš, in the rest of the cognates *m > *n|ñ by as. to the adjacent affricate. The N word-final labialized vw. is suggested by J and by G -u- (regr. as. *ḳa'ṃ₁∇₁č̣'o' > G ḳunč̣-); the absence of *u or *ụ-glide in IE suggests that the labialized N vw. was *o.

1071. *ḳU₁U₁m∇č̣∇ (or *-č̣-?) '(≈) shin, thigh' > HS: S *ḳ^ʷu¹ym∇^{ʃ̣}- '(ε) part of the leg' > Gz ḳ^ʷəyč̣ ~ ḳ^ʷəč̣ 'leg, shin, shinbone, thigh' (a late spelling for *ḳ^ʷəyč̣, *ḳ^ʷəč̣?), Ak ḳimč̣u, ḳinč̣u, ḳič̣č̣u 'Unter-schenkel' (in Gz *ḳ^ʷ>ḳ^ʷ by as. to č̣ or *č̣) ¶ L G 458, Sd. 478 || C *ḳ^ʷanč̣-/ *kunč̣- 'buttocks' (≈ {E}: *ḳ^ʷandl/ *kundl) 'buttocks' or 'muscle') > Bj {Rop.} ḳ^ʷanč̣īč̣ 'buttocks of an ape' || SC: Irq {E} kuč̣ʔama 'buttocks', ʔφ Kz {E} kuʔuko 'muscle, tendon, sinew'; ?? Irq {MQK} kuč̣uʃumō 'hip, broad backside' (× ← kuč̣ūʃ- v. 'bulge, bent, not straight') ¶ E PC no. 354, E SC 367 (reconstructing pRt *kuč̣- 'large muscle'), MQK 63, Rop. 208 || K *^oḳ^ʷ∇nč̣∇χ|q- > Mg ḳvinč̣iχe 'thigh, haunch (бедро, ляжка)' ¶ Q 256 || A: NaT *Kö₁č̣ük 'buttocks' > OT {Cl} kōč̣ük (unvocalized) id., kōč̣ükle- v. 'beat on the buttocks', Sg/Shor {Rl.} kōč̣ük 'buttocks' ¶ This T cognate is valid unless it goes back to **kōt-č̣ük ← T *kōt 'backside, buttocks' (Cl. 700) ¶ Cl. 697, Rl. II 1289 ◇ If Irq {E} kuč̣ʔama is not valid (derived from the v. kuč̣ūʃ-), the N sibilant is *č̣|č̣.

1072. ₂ *ḳæm₁U₁ʃ̣∇ 'shoulder' > HS: S: Ak fMB ḳumār- {Sd.} 'shoulder and upper part of the arm (?)', {CAD} 'ε part of the arm' ¶ Sd. 824, CAD XIII 304 || B *-krūm- 'back (dorsum), nape of the neck, neck' (× N *kōrih|χû 'throat, neck?') > Skn {La.} ta-krūm-t (pl. ta-karm-in), Nf {La.} tukrimt 'neck', Shl {La.} akrum, Nf akrūm 'back (dos)', Wrg {Dlh.} akrum (pl. i-krum-an), takrumt (pl. tikrumin) 'neck, nape of the neck', Mtm ṭa-ḳrūm-ṭ (pl. ṭi-ḳarm-īn) 'neck, nape', tikarmīn 'back, spine', Mz ač̣rum 'nape' ('nuque, haut du cou derrière la tête'), Gd {CM} takurumt 'neck' ¶ Ds. 98, Dlh. M 24, La. S 218, Dlh. Ou 153 || A: NaT *ḳ'æḅʀe (or *ḳæḅʀe) 'shoulder blade' > Chg kebze [San.] 'shoulder', {PC} id., 'shoulder blade', Osm {Rh.} كَبْزَه kabzä, Tk kebze, Ggz kebze, Tkm keḅ, Qzq kebze, Δ {Rl.} köüzü 'shoulder blade', Az ġäbzä 'handle, grip', Qq kebze 'breast', VTt käüsä 'trunk of a tree', Bsh käüḏä 'trunk (of body)' ¶ TL 242-3, ADb. SR

141, 188-9, RI. II 1198 and 1218, TrR 528, TkR 386, San. 323, PC 455 ¶¶ A. Dybo (ADb. SR 47 and 306) equated this T √ with Tg *kēnde 'shoulder blade' and reconstructed pA *kemré (Tg *kēnde going back to N *keñ_L∇_Lc'∇d∇ 'joint [articulation], shoulder joint'), which is hardly convincing ◇ ADb. SR 306 (A *kemré ÷ IE *g^werwā / *g^wrīwa 'nape, back, arm', D *kenṭe 'carry under the arm'; cp. N *gub_L∇_LRE 'back, back side, nape (of neck)' and N *keñ_L∇_Lc'∇d∇).

1073. *k_{am}∇_L't'∇ 'burn (be on fire)', 'shine' > IE: NaIE *kend- v. 'shine' > OI [Dhat.] candati 'shines, is bright' ||| L candeo / candēre / candui 'be of a shining white, shine, glitter', candidus 'shining white' ||| W can 'white', cannaid 'white, luminous', OBr cann 'shining, white' (in cds), Br kann 'd'un blanc brillant' ¶ P 526, M K I 372-3, WH I 151-2, Flr. 95, ≈ EI 514 (*(s)kand- 'shine, glitter') || HS: B *√ kmḍ vi. 'burn' > Rf, Izn, Shl √ kmḍ ¶ Rn. 345 ¶ In B we may see a mte. **k_{mt} > **kmṭ (> *kmḍ) || D *kaṅṛ- ({ḡGS} ≈ *kaṅḍ-) 'be scorched (by sun or fire), fade' > Tm kaṅṛu 'be scorched\sunburnt, fade', Ml kaṅṛuka 'be scorched', Kn kaṅḍu 'be scorched by the sun or by fire, be charred', Tu kaṅḍuni 'be fade, wither', Tl kaṅḍu 'blackness\ discoloration caused by scorching', kaṅḍu 'be scorched' ¶¶ The prehistory of D *kaṅṛ- ({ḡGS} ≈ *kaṅḍ-) is still to be investigated ¶¶ D 1410 || K: G kaṅkaṅ- v. 'shine, glitter' ¶ Chx. 546-7 ◇ If the K cognate is valid, the N etymon has *k_ḡ-, otherwise it must be denoted as *K_ḡ- (= *k_ḡ|ḡ-).

1074. *k_{an}'E' 'young, child' > HS: S (in SES) *^o√ k_{nn} > Mh k_{3n}'na_wn (f. k_{3n}'n₃t) 'child; little, young', Hrs k_{3n}nōn (f. k_{3n}'n₃t) 'little, small', 'small' (= 'young, of a child'): 3ḡōrb₃h m-h₃s k_{3n}nōn 'I have known him since he was small', Sq {Jo.} 'k_{an}hoh 'baby animal', Mh, Hrs m₃k_ḡ'na_w, Jb E m₃k_ḡ'ni 'baby, baby boy', Mh m₃k_ḡ'na_wt, Hrs m₃k_{3n}ōt, Jb E m₃k_ḡ'nit 'baby girl', Hrs m₃k_ḡnī 'grandson', m₃k_ḡnīt 'granddaughter' ¶ Jo. M 232, Jo. H 76 || ? Eg XXII k_ṛny 'child in its mother's lap (?)' (unless from Eg fMK k_ṛny v., n. 'embrace') ¶ EG V 51, Fk. 280 || EC: Sml {DSI} qān 'camel foal, calf', Sml N qān 'camel foal'; Or k_{ondā}la {Hd.} 'young man', {Grg.} 'young soldier; young man of "draft age"' ¶ Abr. S 200, DSI 477, Grg. 327 || IE: NaIE *ken- 'young; child, young of an animal' > OI Vd ka'nīna- 'young', OI kan'yā, Av kaine / kainī- 'girl, virgin', YAv gen. sg. kainīn- id., NPrs كنين

känīz 'maiden, girl; female slave, maidservant', Δ kīna 'daughter', Krd kanī, kēnī 'bride', (pIrn *kan-tī- >) Oss I čənɜ, Oss D kinzä 'bride, son's wife' ||| Clt {Matas.} *kanawon- 'young animal. young dog, whelp' > OIr {SDM} cano ~ cana 'whelp (of a wolf), puppy', MĪr {Matas.} cana ~ cano 'cub, whelp', MW ceneu, W {SDM} cenau (pl. cenawon) id., OBr [ʏ] cenewan 'catulaster', MBr kenou, Br {Matas.} kenow 'small animal' ||| Sl *čędo 'child' (unless a loan from Gmc, cp. OHG kind id.) > OCS ѸѡΔо čęдо, Blg 'чедо, Cz čадо 'child', R, Uk 'чадо id. ¶ Not here (⇔ EI) words for 'begin, new' (OCS ЗАУАТИ за-čęti 'to begin', L re-cēns 'new, fresh, recent', Gk καινός 'new, fresh' etc.) (see N *Kañ∇ 'begin, originate, be new') ¶ WP I 397-8, P 563-4, ESSJ IV 102-4, StSS 788, SPS II 191, M K I 151, 153-4, M E I 297-8, Vl. II 902-3, Sg. 1057, Horn 194, Mrg. 19, Ab. I 607-8, SB 76-7, Vn. C 31-2, ≈ EI 213-14 (*ken- 'fresh') ||| A (+ext.) *k'ænɜ̃∇ 'young, 'late-born' ([in M] → 'late') > NaT *k'ænɜ (or *k_ænɜ) 'child, young of an animal' > OT känč ({Cl.} kä:nč) id., OT U VIII kenč urı kızlar 'young boys and young girls', Osm {Bu.} كنج genč, Tk генс, Ggz genč, Az ğänč 'young'; NaT *k'ænɜE (or *k_ænɜE) 'young' > Tkm Δ genče, ET känči, ET {Zn.} كنجه genče, Uz Δ gänčä, Qmq kenče, Nog, Qq кенже, Tv хенче, Xk kɪnče 'young', SbT кинца, Bsh кинһә 'youngest' ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 20-1, TL 657-8, GRM 110, Rs. W 252, Sht. 124, NogR 160, KrkR 313, Bu. II 139, Rl. II 1082, Zn.-2 763, BRS 260, BN 83-4 ||| M *kenžе 'late-born child, late-grown crop, 'late, aftermath' > WrM {MED} kenze 'child born of old parents, late-grown crop', HIM хәнз {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'отава', Brt хәнзә 'child born of old parents, late-grown crop, 'born in autumn' (of animals), Kl {Rm.} kenzə spätgeboren', 'vom alten und schwacheln Eltern geboren', 'in Herbst geboren' (Vieh)', Ord k'enž_i 'late-born' (second lamb or yearling of the same year), Mnr H {SM} kinžele- 'agneler deux fois par an'; M б Chg كنجة kenče {Rl., Rs.} 'youngest daughter', {Cl.} 'a child born to elderly parents', Qzq, Nog, Qq kenče 'the youngest child', 'last-born young' (of domestic animals), ET känči 'last-born (child), late (crops)', Uz Δ genča ڭ gänčä, Qmq †, Qrg kenče 'young' ¶ MED 454, BMR IV 219, Chr. 648, KW 226, Ms. O 414, SM 204 ¶¶ SDM 664 (pA *kènžé 'late' > M, T + unc. pJ *kənsá 'last year, last night') ||| D *kanɟ- ({ʃGS} ≈ *kanɟ-) 'child, young of animals' (= {Pf.} *kanɟ-) (× N *känhæ 'give birth') >

Tm kаnṛu 'calf, colt, young (of various animals), young tree', Ml kаnnu (obl. kаṛṛu) 'young of cattle, young plantain tree', kаnnu / (obl. c.) kаṛṛu- 'calf' (esp. 'buffalo calf'), Td kоṛ 'female buffalo calf below one year', Kn kаndа 'young child', kаṛu, kаṛa, kаṛuṽu 'calf', kаndu 'calf, young plantain trees, foetus of beasts', Tu kаṛṇi 'calf', Tl kаndu 'infant', Gnd kаṛаṇi 'half-grown young pig', Krx xadd 'child, young animal or plant', Mlt qade 'son' ¶¶ The prehistory of D *-ṛ- ({{ṽGS}} ≈ *nṛ-) is still to be investigated ¶¶ Km. 324, D no. 1411, Pf. 90 || | ?σ K: OG kṇin-aṛ-i 'very small', MG, G kṇin- 'small, little, tiny, insignificant', G kṇin- 'diminish, make smaller' (if the semantic connection is sufficient and unless the G word is an Iranism [from an unspecified source]) ¶ Srj. 100, DCh. 620, Chx. 605 ◇ If the A cognate is valid, the vw. (*ä in T, e in M) is due to vw. harmony: N *a...E > *ä...ṽ ◇ This N word may be identical with N *Ṛaṇṽ 'begin, originate, be new' (q.v.) ◇ If the K word belongs here, the N rec. must be *Ṛan^ṽE', otherwise it is *Ṛan^ṽE' with an unspecified *Ṛ- ◇ IS I 335-6 [no. 211] (*Ṛanṽ 'give birth, be born'; IE, S, B, C, Om, D) || | The same N word underlies diminutive suffixes in A and possibly in IE, K and U: A: M *-qan/*-ken, originally dim.: WrM {MED} keṽken 'child, infant' ← WrM {MED} keṽ (> kṽṽ) 'son'; if *-qan/*-ken (> WrM -qan/-ken, HIM -хан/-хэн) derives words from adjectives, it denotes a slight degree of the quality and has a hypocoristic connotation: WrM öndörken 'slightly high', hpc. 'high' (≈ Sp 'altito') (← öndör 'high'), saiqan 'nice, good looking, fine' (hpc. of sain 'good'), ulаgаqan (hpc. of ulаgаn 'red'); with stems of numerals it means 'only': gurbаqan 'only three' (← gurban 'three'), Brt -хан/-хон/-хэн, dim. sx: баабгайхан 'bear cub' (← баабгай 'bear'), басагахан (hpc. of басаган 'girl, daughter'), галхан (dim. of гал 'fire'), гэрхэн (dim. of гэр 'house'), саһахан 'a snowflake' (← саһан 'snow') ¶ MED 369, 461, Pp. GPMJ 107, Hmb. 7, GBJ 70 || Tg *-kan/*-ken, dim. sx > Ewk -kān/-kēn/ -kōn (birakān 'small river' [← bira 'river'], ayakān [hpc. of аya 'good'], dagakān 'very near' [← daga 'near']), Neg, Lm, Ul, Nn -kan/-кэн, dim. sx (e.g. Nn dэрэкэн [dim. of дэрэ 'table'], morikan 'foal' ← morin 'horse', tugṽзкэн 'young of a lynx' ← tugṽз 'lynx'), WrMc {Z} -кань/-кэнь (e.g. яргякань 'more or less true' ← яргянь 'true', нэчикэнь

'almost straight' and dim. of *нэчинь* 'straight') ¶ Vas. 759, Pt. 23, Z 191, 220-1 || T: OT -aḡ / -ek / -uḡ, (after vws.) -ḡ / -k, dim. sx, e.g. OT *aḡiraḡ* 'young stallion' < *aḡir* 'stallion', *özek* 'small valley' < *öz* 'valley', *qasuḡ* 'small piece of bark' < *qas* 'bark'); (rare) {Cl.} -qir̄na / -kir̄ne, dim. sx ¶ Cl. xi-xii, 47-9, 278, 285, 665-6 || ? IE *-i-k(0)-, *-u-k(0)- dim. (× *-iko-, sx of nouns derived from adjectives: Lt *jaun̄ikis* 'young lad, bridegroom' < *jaunas* 'young') > Lt *rankikē* (dim. of *ranka* 'hand'), *mergikē* 'girl' (< *mergā* 'maid'), *ožiūkas* ~ *ožūkas* (dim. of *ožūs* 'he-goat'), Pru *ωosux* 'Bock' (an etymological cognate of *ožūkas*), Lt *broliūkas* (dim. of *brólis* 'brother') || OCS *градѣць* *gradьсь* (dim. of *градъ* *gradь* 'Stadt, Garten'), ChS *сынѣкъ* *synькъ*, R *сын-ок* (dim.\ hypocoristic of *сынѣ* *synь*, R *сын* 'son')-|| OI *kumara'kaḥ* 'little boy' || L (dim. -(i)co- + dim. -ulus, -ula): *folliculus* 'little sack\bag', *mus-culu-s* 'little mouse' || OI *śisū'kaḥ* 'Kindchen' (< 'śisū- 'Kind'), OI *paśukā* 'kleines Tier', Av *pasuka-* 'Haustier' (< OI *pa'sū-*, Av *pasu-* 'cattle, animal'), OI *aśva'ka-ḥ* (dim. of *aśva-ḥ* 'horse') || Gk -akō-, -ak-. e.g. *βῶμαξ* (dim. of *βωμός* 'altar'), *μεῦραξ* 'young girl' || It is tempting to adduce Gmc *-ke|in- > OSx *skipikin* 'small ship', *mannekin* 'Männchen', early NHG [Luther] *Sönichen*, *Hensichen* (hypocoristic from words for 'son', 'Hans'), NHG -chen (dim. and hpc.), but Gmc *-k- for the expected *-h- defies explanation; an alt. et.: the Gmc sx goes back to the reflex of NaIE **ǵenə-to-m* 'born' (OHG, OSx *kind* 'child', see N **kānhæ* 'give birth') ¶ BD II/1 487-96, Zhr. IN 325, StSS 177 || ? K: OG {Fn.} -aḡ- dim., e.g. *mçire-aḡ-i* 'tiny, small' (< *mçire* 'small, little'), *ḡidoban-aḡ-i* 'small box', G -aḡ- dim., e.g. *gor-aḡ-i* 'small mountain, hill' (< *gora* 'mountain'), *çign-aḡ-i* 'notebook' (dim. of *çigni* 'book'), -iḡo, hypocoristic sx (-o from the voc.): *iliḡo* (hpc. of *ilia* 'Elias'), *tin̄iḡo* (hpc. of the female name *ḡina*), *suliḡo* 'darling' (hpc. of *suli* 'soul') ¶ Fn. GAS 50, Vogt GLG 227 || U: FL *-kka/*-kkä, dim. sx > F *vasikka* 'calf, fawn' (< *vasa* 'fawn'), *penikka* 'whelp, puppy' (< F XIX *peni* 'dog' {SSA II 335}, cp. Es *peni* 'dog'), Ing *vālakka* 'whitish' (from the word for 'white', cf. F *valkea* 'white'); FL *-kko/*-kkö, dim. > F *pääkko* 'small head' (< *pää* 'head'), Vo *kotikko* (dim of *koti* 'Sack'), *čiutikkz* (dim of *čiuto* 'shirt') || Mr: Er *суркске* *surks-ke*, Mk *суркскя* *surks-'kä*

(both: dim. of суркс *surks* 'ring'), Мк сукскя *suks*-¹*kä* (dim. of сукс *suks* 'worm'), Ер таташке *tataške* (dim.\hpc. of татай *tatay* 'toy'), цёрка *ćorka* 'boy', hpc. 'son' (← цёра 'son, male person') || Prm: Vt пиоке *pioke* (hpc. of пи *pi* 'son'), нылок *n+lok* (hpc. of ныл *n+l* 'daughter'), Prmk нянёк *ńañok* (dim. of нянь *ńañ* 'bread'), кóчок *kžćok* (dim. of кóч *kžć* 'hare') (× infl. of R dim. *sx* -ок) ||| Os: Kr -*kə* dim. (*e wəka*, dim.\hpc. of *e we* 'daughter, girl', *māńakə* (hpc. of *māńə* 'younger brother'), Ty *íťaki* hpc. (addressing a young boy, ср. Os O *íśi* 'younger brother'); Vg Ss *tūrka* (dim. of *tūr* 'lake'), *māńk^ωə* (dim. of *māń* 'small') ¶ Laan. 209, 222-3, PI 260, 335, ERV 649, 722, TepIL PJ 153, Sauer NBO 153 || The *sx* *-*ka/ä* is found within FL **ülkä* 'boy, young man' > F *ylkä* 'bridegroom', Es {W} *ǔlg* 'Bräutigam, Mann', pLp {Lr.} **žlkē* 'boy, son' > Lp: S {Hs.} *älgie* 'son', L {LLO} *al'ħkē* 'boy (between 8 and 10 years)', I *älge* 'son, boy', Kld {SaR} *алльк*, {TI} *el:g_ǎ* 'son' (see N **gil'U* 'boy, young man') ¶ SK 1859, W EDW 1272, Lr. no. 10, Lgc. no. 47, Hs. 234-5, TI 8, SaR 24 ◇ The IE, K, U and T cognates presuppose a reduction N *-*к∇n*- > *-*к*- , which makes these cognates less certain (though this kind of reduction in derivational *sxs* is typical of lges) ◇ Öhm. 87-9 (FU, IE).

1075. **Ḳan'E* 'to sing, to sound' > IE: NaIE **kan-* id. > L *cano* / inf. *canēre* 'sing', Um *kanetu* 'canito', аѣ-*kani* 'accinium, priests' chant' ||| Gk ἦϊ-*καυός* 'cock' ('morning singer'), aor. *καυάξαι* 'poured with a gurgling sound', *καυαχῆ* 'sharp sound', esp. 'ring, clang (of metal)' ||| Clt {Matas.} **kan-o-* 'sing' > OIr *canid* , -*caín* v. 'sing', OW *canam*, MW, W *canu*, Crm {Matas.} *kana*, {SDM} *cane*, MBr *canaff*, Br *kanañ* v. 'chanter', *kan* n. 'singing (chant)'; ⇨ Clt {Matas.} **kantlo-* n. 'song, singing' > OIr *cétal*, MW *kathyl* ~ *kathl* id., MBr *quentel*, Br {Hm.} *kentel* 'leçon' ||| Gt *hana* (ἄλέκτωρ) 'Hahn', AS *hana*, ON *hani*, OSx, OHG *hano*, NHG *Hahn* 'cock'; ⇨ Gt Cr *ano*, AS *henn*, NE *hen*, OHG *henna*, *hanīn*, NHG *Henne* 'hen', with ablaut: OSx *hōn*, OHG *huon*, NHG *Huhn* 'hen' ¶ But Tc A *cam* (gen. *canis*), B *kene* 'melody, tune' do not belong here (because IE **a* does not yield pTc {Ad.} **e* [> Tc A *a*, Tc B *e*], but goes back to NaIE **ǵ^hwonos* 'sound', as suggested in Wn. I 186, Ad. 193 and Ad. H 27) ¶ P 525-6, EI 519, Dv. no. 368, F I 776, WH I 154-5, Bc. G 329-30, Fs. 243-4, Vr. 208, Kb. 431, 456, Schz. 164, OsS 370, 432, Ho. 149, 155, Vn. C 30-1, RE 128, Ern. 94, Matas. E 187-8,

Hm. 418, 449 || **HS**: S: [1] EthS * $\sqrt{\text{kn}}\text{ny} \sim * \sqrt{\text{kn}}\text{w}$ 'raise a sound of music, sing' > Gz $\sqrt{\text{kn}}\text{ny}$ L (pf. $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{naya}$) 'raise a sound of music', Tgy $\sqrt{\text{kn}}\text{ny}$ (pf. $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{y}\bar{\text{e}}$), Tgr pf. $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'sing'; \rightarrow Sa $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'song'; [2] CS * $\sqrt{\text{kn}}\text{y}$ 'sing' > BHb $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'funeral song, dirge', Sr $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'r-t-ā 'song, chant; Hymnus, Klage lied', Md $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'song', Ar {Dz.} (ʔa)qyana v. 'sing', qayn-at- {Hv.} 'songstress', {Bl.} 'esclave chanteuse', {BK} 'fille esclave qui connaît le chant et la musique' ($\times \leftarrow \text{qiyān}$ 'slave') ¶ KB 1025-6, KBR 1097, BK II 848, Bl. 676, Hv. 638, L G 437, Br. 664, LH 253 || **A**: $\text{?}\phi$ Tg * $\text{ke}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ - 'sing, produce a sound' > Orc $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'voice (of a person capable to sing)', Ewk $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ - v. 'praise, thank', Sln $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ - v. 'praise', Neg $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ - id., 'be proud of', Ud $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ - v. 'scold', Ork $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ - v. 'boast' ¶ STM I 449 ¶ The Tg front vw. *-e- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. The Ewk and Neg platal cns. - $\bar{\text{n}}$ - is probably due to as. The long vw. of the initial syll. in Ewk, Sln and Neg may be a NrTg innovation || **D** * $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}$ - ({ GS } *k-) v. 'sound' > Tm $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}$ v. 'sound (as a drum), bellow, neigh', Ml $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ v. 'sound, low (as oxen)', Kt $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{v}}$ - 'bellow for calf' (cow, buffalo), Td $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{f}}$ - (p. $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{t}}$ -) v. 'roar' (of wild animals, children), Kn $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ v. 'neigh', Kdg $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ '(act of) bellowing', Kui $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'sound, noise' ¶¶ D no. 1409 \diamond The Tg cognate is qu. because of its *k- (for the expected * χ -).

1076. * $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$ (or * $\text{ka}_{\text{;}}\text{n}\bar{\text{y}}\text{r}\bar{\text{a}}$??) 'to tie' > K * $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - v. 'tie together' > OG $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'bundle', MG [SSO] $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - v. 'tie together (flowers, twigs etc.)', G $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - v. 'tie' ($\check{\text{s}}\text{e-k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n-v}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'to tie together', $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n-a}$ 'bundle, sheaf'), Sv $\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n-}/\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n-}$: UB $\text{li-}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n-i}$ {K²} 'to tie together', Sv {K²} $\text{li-}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n-e}$ 'to be wrapped', Sv UB {GP} $\text{li-}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n-e}$ 'to tie round, to wrap up', $\text{a-}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n-e}$ 'wraps up', $\check{\text{z}}\text{-an-}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n-e}$ '(he) wrapped up', $\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{c}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}$ prtc. 'wrapped up' ¶¶ K 114, K² 98, FS E 206, Abul. 201, TK 483 || **HS** * $\sqrt{\text{kn}} \sim * \sqrt{\text{kn}}$ v. 'tie, plait' > B *- $\check{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - \sim *- $\check{\text{y}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}$ - 'rope, band' > Ah, Gh $\text{a-}\check{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ 'corde', Ah $\text{ta-}\check{\text{y}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n-t}$ 'rêne', Tmz $\text{ta-}\check{\text{y}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}$ 'footwear'; * $\sqrt{\text{w}}\check{\text{y}}\text{n}$ (\leftarrow * $\sqrt{\text{w-}\check{\text{y}}\text{n}}$) v. 'tie' > Ah, Gh, BSn, Si $\text{aqq}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ v. 'tie' ('lier'), Gd $\text{aqq}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$, Nf {La.} $\text{aqq}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$, Mz, Kb $\text{aqq}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$, Tmz $\text{qq}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ 'lier, attacher', $\text{uqq}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}$ 'lien, attache' ¶ Fc. 1733-40, Dlh. M 162, La. S 197, MT 192-4, Dl. 667, Lnf. II no. 1283 || Eg: G $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ v. 'weave', MK $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ n. 'mat', MKL $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{w}}$ 'weavers' ¶ EG V 48, 50, Fk. 279 || S * $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - > Ak $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ - 'fetter, band, rope, belt, wisp of straw to bind a sheaf' ($\times \leftarrow \check{\text{v}}\bar{\text{k}}\text{n}\bar{\text{n}}$ [inf. $\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}\bar{\text{u}}$] v. 'twist?') ¶ CAD VIII 142-

3, 156-7 || Ch {JS} *√kn v. 'tie' (?? ~ *√kn id.), {Stl.} *k̄∇n- 'tie to (attacher)' > WCh: SBc: Bg {Sh.} k̄ān, Buli {ChL} k̄ənnu, {Csp.} kinnu, Tala {Csp.} k̄ānu id. || ?? NrBc: Cg {Sk.} k̄ún- 'tie', unless from pNrBc *√d̄kn (> Wrj {Sk.} d̄Ik̄ən- id.) || CCh: Hw k̄ún̄n̄, G'nd {ChL} k̄ən̄n̄č̄i, Gbn {ChL} k̄ən̄n̄č̄i, Bk {ChL} k̄èn̄àd̄á, Tr {Nw.} ḡəni, Pdl ḡəna v. 'tie' || Msy {MCh} k̄ərn id. || Lame {ChL} k̄ənw̄á 'plait (mat\hair)', ZmB {ChC, ChL} kan, ZmD k̄ān v. 'plait (hair)' || ECh: Mkl {J} sbjn. k̄ìní, pf. ḡìní, ip. k̄òníyó 'plait (mat\hair)' ¶ JS 269, Stl. IF 104, ChC s.v. 'to tie', ChL, J LM 122, KNC 11, Sh. BZ s.v. Bg k̄ān ¶ OS no. 1546 (*k̄ān- 'plait' in Ch, B, Eg) || IE: NaIE {P} *kenk- v. 'gird, tie\bind around, tie on' > OI Λ 'kaĩcatē 'binds', OI 'kaĩcī 'girdle, belt' || Gk κλυκλίδες pl. 'lattice gates' || L cing(ēre) / cinxī / cinctus v. 'gird' → 'surround, encircle' || Lt 1s pres. kinkaũ / inf. kinkúti v. 'harness (horses)' ¶ P 565, EI 224 (*kenk- 'gird, wrap around'), M K I 139-40, F I 849, WH I 216-17, Frn. 255 ¶ IE *-k- is an extension (originally a sx?) || A: M: WrM qarqad- 'be solidly attached' ¶ MED 929 || Tg *χ₁uhn- 'tie, tie together' > Ewk uñā- v. 'tie\fasten to, bandage', Lm 0:ñ3- 'tie to\together', Orc uñā- 'tie together', Orc uñā, ? Ud unž'u 'bundle', WrMc {Z} цнѣри cord, bowstring' ¶ STM II 277, Z 139 ◇ If the rec. *kañ₁y, 'ô' is right, the N cluster *-ñy- can explain both the Tg cns. *-ñ- and the long vw. in K (compensatory lengthening *-∇ñy- > K *-∇:n-). The labial vowels of K (*ō) and Tg (*u) may be due to regr. as. (*-añ₁y, 'ô > K *-ōn∇, Tg *-uhn-).

1077. *Kañ∇ 'begin, originate, be new' > IE: NaIE *ken- ~ *kan- 'begin, originate, be born, be recent\young' > Gk καινός 'new, fresh' || L re-cens / re-cent-is 'new, fresh, young, recent' || OIr cinid 'il sort de, il descend de, il est mis au monde', cenél 'race, peuple, espèce, genre', ciniud, OW cenetl 'gens, genus, natio', W cenedl 'nation, race', Crn kinethel 'generatio'; Gl Cintus, Cintugnātus ('Primigenitus'), OIr cētne, cēt- 'first', W cun(t) 'erst, vor, eher' || ?σ Gmc: Brgn HENDINOS 'king' || Sl 1s pres. *čbn-q / inf. *čę-ti 'begin' > OCz 1s čnu / 2s čneš / inf. čieti; usually used with pxs: pres. 1s *na-čbn-q / inf. *na-čę-ti v. 'begin' (> OCS 1s НАУЬНѦ na-čbn-q / inf. НАУАТИ na-čę-ti, Blg на'чена, SCr inf. načēti, Slv inf. načéti, OCz inf. načieti, OP, P Δ inf. nacząć, R 1s ft. нач'ну / inf. нач'тать id.), Sl 1s *po-čbn-q / inf. *po-čę-ti v. 'begin' (> SCr 1s počnēm / inf. počēti, Cz 1s

ро́чнѹ / inf. ро́чи́ти, P inf. ро́сзачъ́ id.), Sl 1s *za-čьn-q / inf. *za-čę-ti v. 'begin, conceive (of a woman)' (> OCS inf. ЗАЧАТИ за-čę-ti, R inf. за'чатъ 'to begin, to conceive', P inf. за́сзачъ́ 'to begin'); Sl *копъ́ 'start, beginning' (→ 'end'; the semantic change is understandable in the light of SCr od kона до kона 'from the beginning to the end') > OCS кон- in ИСКОНИ is-кон-і (·̀ἀπ'ἀρχῆς) 'from the beginning', R иско́ни 'from time immemorial', SCr ко́п '↑', OR ко́пъ ко́пъ 'end', Cz ко́н (in до́кона 'up to the end', до́конати 'to end one's life'); ⇨ Sl *коп-ьсь 'end' (> OCS ко́пъць ко́пъсь 'finis, terminus' ({ESSJ} 'конец; край, граница'), Blg, R ко'нец, Uk кі́нець, SCr ко́нас 'end', Cz ко́нец, Slv kónec 'end, tip', Slk, P ко́нієс 'end') ¶ P 563-4, M K I 151, 153-4, M E I 297-8, F I 754, WH II 423-4, Vn. C 64, 103, Mrg. 19, Ab. I 607-8, SB 76-7, ESSJ IV 109, X 195-6, XI 5-6 and XXI 226-7, StSS 234, 265, 357, Vs. II 140, 307, 310 and III 51, Ma. CS 217, Brü. 423-4, Glh. 490-1, StSS 234, 265, 289-90, 357, ≈ EI 213-14 (*ken- 'fresh'; no distinction between reflexes of N *Kañ ▽ 'begin, be new' and N *'k'an'E' 'young, child') || HS: S *√kny|w > BHb √kny|w v. 'create, acquire, buy', Ph, Pun, SmA √kny|w 'create', Ug √kny 'create, acquire', Amr {G} √kny, Ar √qny ~ √qnw G id., IA √kny|w 'acquire, buy', JA {Js.} √kny ~ √knw 'acquire, obtain', JEA {Sl.} √kny 'acquire possession', Gz √kny 'acquire', Ak OB √kny (p. i k̄nī) 'keep for oneself', Ak NA √knw (p. i k̄nū) 'acquire' ¶ KB 1038-9, KBR 1111-12, A no. 2426, OLS 369-70, Js. 1391, Sl. 1027-8, BK II 825-7, Hv. 631, Tal 785, G A 29, Sd. 898, Fr. III 508-9 || B √*yn'ʔ' > ETwl, Ty ь ynu 'être commencé, être créé', Ah əynu (pf. -yni ~ -yna) id., 'avoir son origine' ¶ Fc. 1739, GhA 69 || EC: Dsn {To.} k̄na 'new' ¶ To. DL 509 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} k̄nū / k̄nū 'generate, give birth', {Lm.} k̄n- 'gebären', {C} k̄n- v. 'generate (generare)', {Wdk.} k̄ntó / k̄ntò, {Lm.} k̄n-t-, {C} k̄n-t- 'be born' ¶ C SE III 82, Wdk. BY 129, Lm. Y 353-4 || WCh: NrBc {Sk.} *k̄zn- ~ *k̄an- 'buy' > {Sk.}: Wrj, Mbr, My k̄zn-, P' k̄an-, Jmb gzn-, Kry k̄zn-, Cg k̄an ~ k̄ān id. ¶ Sk. NB 14, Tk. NB 182 (NB *k̄an- > *k̄an- ~ *k̄zn-), ChC s.v. 'to buy' || D *kan- 'bear, bring forth', *kan- 'child, young of animals' (× N *k̄anhæ 'give birth', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Km. 324, D no. 1411, Pf. 90 ◇ If the K word belongs here, the N rec. must be *Kañ ▽, otherwise it is *Kañ ▽ with an unspecified *K- ◇ This N word may be identical with N *'k'an'E'

'young, child' (q.v.) ◇ IS I 335-6 [no. 211] (* ζ ar \wedge 'give birth, be born'; IE, S, B, C, Om, D).

1078. * ζ æñ|ŋ'û' 'empty' > IE: NaIE * \bar{k} en_L(e)w_J- 'empty' > Arm u \bar{h} ñ s i r̄ (gen. u \bar{h} ñ j s n o y) 'empty, vain' || Gk Hm κενε_Lς, Gk Cp κενευς, Gk I κελνός (< *κενς), Gk A κενός 'empty' ¶ WP I 390, P 564, Bc. no. 13.22, Bois. 434, F I 189, Slit. 441, EI 179 (? * \bar{k} e'no-s) || HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} g i r̄- 'be empty, be without (sth. expected)' ('leer, bar, ohne sein'), g i 'r̄ā 'emptiness' ¶ R Ch II 47 || ?σ,φ S: Gz kantū (accus. kantō) 'nothingness, empty thing, emptiness', in cs. 'vain, empty' ¶ L G 288 || A [1] pA *k'æŋTû- 'hollow, empty' > M *kōndey 'hollow, empty' > MM [IM] kōndey 'hollow', WrM kōndei ~ kōndüi {MED} 'hollow, empty; cavity, hole', HIM жөндий {MED, BMR} id., Brt x y н д ы, WrO kōndöi, 'hollow, empty', Kl {KRS} к ө н д а kōndä id., {Rm.} kōndē 'höhl, leer', Ord k'öndī 'creux; enfouissement, excavation, vallée' ¶ M *-ö- (< pA *-æ-) is due to regr. as. (infl. of pA *-û-) ¶ Pp. MA 440, MED 487, BMR IV 138, Krg. 734, Chr. 622, KRS 316, KW 239, Ms. O 428 || Tg *χ'entū- 'empty' > Orc kəntu, kəntuku, Lm zəntəkçz, zəntərən, Neg zəntukin 'empty', zəntus- vt. 'empty', Ewk zəntukīn 'not full' (a vessel), zəntu- vt. 'diminish the amount (of liquid in a vessel)' ¶ Orc k- may be due to the infl. of Tg *keŋk- ¶ STM II 458 [2] Tg *keŋk- > Ewk kəŋkutək 'emptiness', Lm kōŋkī- vt. 'empty' ¶ Tg *k- (for the expected *χ-) in *keŋk- may be due to as. (pA *k'..k > *k...k) ¶ STM I 450 ¶¶ SDM 666 (pA *kēŋi 'hollow, empty' > M, Tg *keŋ- 'emptiness, empty' + unc. T *k'ejir 'nasal cavity' and pKo *kiń- 'nest'), DQA no. 765 (A *kēŋi 'hollow, empty'), Rm. EAS I 141, Pp. VG 18 ◇ ≈ IS I 349-50 [no. 226] (* ζ eñu = * ζ eñu; IE *÷ U *keñ∇ and pA *k'änü 'light, levis').

1078a. * ζ 'o'ñ∇ 'back, rear' > HS: S * ζ inn- (~ * ζ ayn-?) > Ak fOB/OA ζ i r̄ n a t u 'anus, buttocks; rear', Tgr ζ ə n 'lower\back part; vulva', Ar qayn-at- 'derrière, le bas du dos' (← d. with the dim. infix -ay-?) ¶ CAD XIII 254-6, LH 252, BK II 848 || EC: Or {Grg.} ζ ī n t ī 'spine (esp. at the waist line)', {Brl.} ζ i r̄ t i 'lombi, natiche' ¶ Grg. 322, Brl. 341 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} kəñòk, Mnt ζ ŋ 'back (dos)', ?σφ Hs ζ ā n i y ā 'perineum, female pudenda, anus' (not 'anus', as in Blz. LNA) || CCh: Glv {Rp.} kūnya, Dgh {Frk, ChL} k^w indà, {IL} k^w indò, Gv {IL} k^w indà, {ChL} k^w indà, Nkc {ChL} k^w indà 'neck' ¶ JI II 6, ChC s.v. 'back (dos)' and 'neck', ChL, RpB 55, Ba. 552 || U: FU *koñ|n∇ (+ oblique case

endings) 'rücklings, auf den Rücken' > Er κυηστ kunst 'backward, upon/on the back' (πραμς κυηστ 'to fall backwards', ασημες κυηστ 'to lie on one's back'), Mk Δ {Ahl.} kunč 'rücklings' || ObU {᠑HI.} *kṽṇ(č)ṽω ({Ht.} *kṽṇ(č)ṽψ) 'auf den Rücken' > pVg *kānəψ id. > Vg: T kanāω, LK χonī, MK/UK konī, P kōnəψ, NV/SV kōni, LL kōnā, UL χōni, Ss χōni id.; pOs *kōṇčəψ id. > Os: V/Vy kōṇčəψ, Ty kōṇψ†, Y konψ†, K χōnčā, Nz/Kz χōnšā, O χōnsa ¶ UEW 179, ERV 315, Ht. no. 288 ¶ Os *ṇ may be postalveolar due to as. (*Nč > *ṇč) and therefore provides no ev. for a pFU *ṇ || **A: [1]** pA *kṽṇg- > NaT *Kṽṇ 'buttocks, rump, thick part of the thigh' > OT qṽṇ ät 'muscle, firm flesh' (ät is 'flesh, meat'), Qrg {Jud.} qṽṇ 'the soft flesh of the thigh', Qq qṽṇ 'meat of the thick part of the thigh', Qzq qṽṇ id., 'rump', 'croup of a horse, {Cl.} qṽṇ, qṽṇ eti 'the thick part of the thigh', ET qṽṇ 'hind part, hind quarters', Tv qṽṇ ét 'meat without bones' (ét 'meat', τυσα), Yk quṽṇ 'meat without bones'; T ⇨ WrM {Rm. ← ?} qṽṇ, Kl {Rm.} χon 'Steiß, das dicke Fleisch am Rückenende', HIM {BMR} xon 'buttocks, rear part of the body, croup', Ord χon 'croupe, partie du dos située sous la région lombaire' ¶ Cl. 632, MKD 142, ET Q 58-9, DTS 456, Jud. 403, Nj. 606, Pek. 1219, Rl. II 899, ≈ Rs. W 280 (T ⇨ M), BMR IV 104, Ms. O 353 || M: WrM {Cev.} qṽṇḡ, HIM {BMR, Luv.} xonḡ 'fleshy rear part of the thigh', (d.?) Kl {Rm.} χonḡ ~ χonā 'Steiß (der Kinder)' (in the lge of children) (÷ ḡ WrM {Rm.} qṽṇḡ) ¶ Cev. 689, BMR IV 104, Luv. 536, KW 185, Ms. O 353 || **[2]** pA *k'ṽṇtḡṽ 'rump, anus' > M **qṽṇḡ- ({DQA} *qṽṇḡ-) ≈ 'rump, hind part' (× possible infl. of N *keṇḡṽc'ṽḡṽ 'joint [articulation], shoulder joint'??) ⇨ **(a)** M *qṽṇḡ-sun > Kl {Rm.} χondasṇ 'die Stelle unten zwischen den Schenkeln' ({Rm.}: ÷ ḡ WrM qṽṇḡsun id.(?) ⇨ WrMc {Rm.} χonsun [= WrMc {Hr.} χonsun 'Hämorrhoidengeschwür?']); **(b)** WrM qṽṇḡlai {MED} 'rump, hip', HIM xондлой {MED} id., {Kow.} 'cuisse, partie supérieure d'une cuisse', {BMR} 'crup (of a horse), hip(s), buttocks', Brt xондлой 'buttocks, posteriors (of humans), rump (of an animal)', Kl {Rm.} χondalā 'das dicke Fleisch, Steiß, Schenkel', Ord χondolā 'croupe'; **(c)** HIM {BMR} xонжиго 'buttocks', M *qṽṇḡiya-sun 'crotch, anus', *qṽṇḡu-sun 'junction of the two thighs, crotch; back part' (× N *kon'3'ṽ 'crotch of body', q.v. ffd.) > MM [S] {H} qṽṇḡiyasun 'Ausscheidungs-organe', WrM qṽṇḡusu {MED} 'junction of the two

thighs, crotch', {Kow.} 'соединение обеих лядвий, задница, l'extrémité des organes excrétoires, l'organ de l'excrétion', Brt {Chr.} хонзооһо(н) 'anus', Kl {Rm.} хондасη 'die Stelle unten zwischen den Schenkeln, Sitz', Mnr H {SM} ɢ_ɥänž_ĩäsz 'la derrière (des hommes, des animaux)', {T} ɢoηžose 'back part'; behind'; **(d)** HIM {BMR} хондцаг 'Gesäß (сeдалищe)', Ord хонд_оц'оq 'croupe, partie du dos située sous la région lombaire', Kl {KRS} хондсх хондъсхъ 'rump, hind part (of an animal)', {Rm.} хондасха 'Schenkelfleisch, Steiß, Sitz; Schenkel' ¶ Kow. 869, 874, MED 962-3, BMR IV 104-5, Chr. 583-4, KRS 596, KW 185, H 66, Ms. O 352-3, Ha. 595, SM 123, T 325 || Tg (att. in NrTg) *kuηdu > Ewk kunηukī ɘ kundukī ɘ kuηnukī 'rump (of an animal); sacrum', Lm ɢońńa 'female genitals' ¶ STM I 410, 432 || pKo *kuηtuη- 'rump, buttocks' > MKo kuntuη'i, NKo kuηduηi ¶ S QK no. 760, Nam 91, MCL 222 ¶¶ The cns. *k'- in pA *k'u|oηt|d∇ may be due to the infl. of some other root, e.g. N *kü_ɥ_ñûɣA 'a joint in a limb?). Another version: Tg *kuηdu is a loan from M lges, and therefore the pA root *k'u|oηt|d∇ is to be reformulated as *k'|k'u|oηt|d∇ ¶¶ SDM 742-3 (pA *ku|oηt'∇ 'rump, anus' [with unj. *t'] > Tg *kuηdu, *qoηdu- ~ *qoηži- 'rump, buttocks, anus', M *qoηdu-, *qoηži- 'rump, buttocks; anus; posterior', T *koη 'thick part of the thigh, muscles', pKo *kuηtuη- 'rump, buttocks'), Rm. EAS I 141, Pp. VG 18 || **D** *kuñ-, *kuñt- 'buttocks, posteriors, rump' > Tm куηт̣и 'buttocks, rump', Ml куηт̣и 'posteriors, anus', Kn куηт̣е id., 'buttocks', Tl кут̣т̣е, Gdb kund 'anus', Ku kūna 'buttock' ¶¶ D no. 1693A ◊ CCh, M, Tg, Ko and D point to a N phrase *K'ɔ'ñ∇_K|Q∇_T∇; the meaning of the element *_K|Q∇_T∇ is unknown; the Ch data suggest that it is identical with *K_Aʔ'û'd∇ 'neck, (?) nap, shoulder'; it may be also connected with N *K_ɔt∇ 'tip, end'. FU, T and M point to a pN *ɔ of the first syll., while *u in Tg and D, although within the framework of regular phonetic correspondences (see above Introduction, 2.4), still requires explanation ◊ Proto-Altaic *η is likely to go back to N *-ñ...K|Q- in *K'ɔ'ñ∇_K|Q∇_T∇ ◊ The HS-U-D equation was proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. L no. 6g); ≈ Blz. LNA no. 34.

1078b. *K_uñ∇ 'belly, chest' > **HS:** NrOm: Sz {Fl.} ka'ni 'belly'; ??σ Wl kanca, Dwr {Beke} канца 'stomach', Gf {Fl.} қанца, Dc қанце 'belly' and Gm {Hw.} қанцэ 'belly, abdomen' (unless from NrOm *ganC- > Oyda gançе, Zl {C}, Hrr {CR} ɢanži 'stomaco', Shk {AY} ɢɜnɟa, Na {AY}

gənzu, Mj {AY} ganzu 'belly') ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 13, Fl. OWL s.v. 'belly', Hw. EG s.v. 'abdomen' and 'belly', CR H s.v. gənǰi , AY WShND s.v. 'belly' || Ch: WCh: Hs k̄undū 'gizzard of chicken or ostrich', tā y i k̄undū 'she is pregnant', Jmb {Sk.} kʷan 'heart, liver', Ngz {Sch.} k̄unú 'stomach (Magen)', Bd {IL} kunu 'belly' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} gègʒn 'ventre' ¶ JI II 20-1, ChC s.v. 'belly' and 'heart', ChL, Abr. H 554, Ba. 641, Sch. DN 98, Cp. 61 || ?σ Eg fMK k̄ny 'Umarmung, Schoß' > DEg k̄n '(le) sein', Cpt KOYN- kun- 'sein, giron, parties sexuelles', Eg fMK k̄ny v. 'embrace' ¶ EG V 50-1, Er. 538, Vc. 82, Crn. 59 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP no. 13 || U: FU *kuṇa 'belly' > Z k̄+nəm, Prmk k̄+nəm, Yz k̄^'n^m 'belly' || Os: V k̄ñ, D/O χñ id. | OHg XIV i unhum, yonhan- 'heart, liver', Hg Δ yoh ɖ yuh ɖ ēh ɖ īh 'das Innere, Bauch, Magen' ¶ UEW 208, LG 152, Lt. J 132, Trs. VD 152 || D [1] *kuṇt̄- (†GS) *g-) 'chest, heart, internal organ' > Tm kun̄t̄i 'heart, kidney', Ml kuṇt̄i-kk̄āy i 'cashew fruit with the nut' (analogy of kidneys), Kn guṇḍige 'heart', Tu guṇḍigæ id., 'breast', guṇḍe 'courage', Tl guṇḍe 'chest, heart', Nkr gundur-kāya 'kidney', Gnd B gundur-kāyā id., Gnd Δ {Kmbh.} gundē 'chest', gundēr kaya 'heart', Knd guṇḍa 'chest', Mlt konḍa 'heart' || [2] ?φ *kump̄ > Kdg kumme, Gnd kummi 'stomach', Kui k̄umba 'lower part of the abdomen' ¶¶ Valid if *-p̄ is a sx (ext.); D *kump̄ may be also related to pA {SDM, DQA} *k'èmi 'entrails, liver' (> M *kim 'sausage', Tg *χemu-gde 'belly, entrails', pJ *k̄imua 'liver') ¶¶ D no-s 1693 and 1757, SDM 775, DQA no. 1002 ◇ This comparison was suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. L no. 10a) ◇ Blz. LNA no. 33 (Eg, Om, WCh, U, D *kuṇt̄-).

1079. *kuṇ̄ (r̄) 'small mammal (carnivorous and gnawing)' > K (GZ?) *k̄wenr- 'marten' > OG k̄uerna-, G k̄verna-, Mg k̄vinor-i, Lz k̄venur-i id.; Sv: UB/Ch/Ln k̄wen, Lx k̄en, L k̄wen ~ r̄k̄wen id. ({K²): Sv ← G Lc *r̄k̄ven-?) ¶¶ K 110, K² 92, FS K 180-1, FS E 19, TK 353 || IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *okeuṇ-/*kouṇ- 'marten' > Lt ki áunē, ki aunē, Ltv caûna, -e, Pru caune id. | Sl *kuna 'marten' > ChS {Mikl.} KOYNA kuna 'ἄλιουρος, felis' ('cat'), Blg 'кyна, McdS кyна, SCr, Slv kúna, Cz, Slk, HLs, LLs, P kuna, OR KOYNA kuna, R Δ 'кyна ~ кy'на, Uk кy'на 'marten'; Sl d. *kunica id. > ChS {Mikl.} KOYHHA kunica 'ἄλιουρος, felis' ('cat'), Blg Δ 'кyница *Mustela foina*', SCr kùnica, Slv kúnica, P kunica, OR KYHHA kunica, R кy'ница, Uk кy'ниця 'marten' ¶ Frn. 249, En. 191, Tr. P I-K 279-

83, ESSJ XIII 102-6, Glh. 358-9, Tr. 122 || HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} qaínâ?i/a, {MQK, E} qayna?i 'civet cat'; ?? SC → Mb kenďá 'zorilla (*Poecilictis libyca*)' ¶ Wh. SI, MQK 86, E SC 252 no. 24 (SC *k_Lω_Láyìnà - *k_Lω_Láná) || ? Ch: WCh: Hs k^ʰâŋwà, Pr {Frz.} kándà 'cat', Bl {ChL} šžnwa 'wild cat' || ECh: Smr {Nacht.} kójnà 'cat' ¶ Abr. H 601, Ba. 702 (k^ʰânwà), Frz. P 34, Lk. ZSS 79, ≈ Sk. HCD 163-4, ChL || ? S *^ok_L∇nd∇r- (< **k_L∇nr-?) > Ar قندر qndr (with unknown vowels) 'beaver' ({Fr.} 'animal ad ripam magnorum fluviorum vivens; exstruit sibi domum duabus portis praeditam. Piscibus alitur') ¶ Fr. III 503 || A *k'ürænae (mt. from **k'ünæræ) 'marten, polecat' > T *Küræn > OT {Cl.} küzän 'polecat', XwT XIV, MQp küzen, [CC] qara küzen id., küzen 'Mustela', Tkm {Shch.} göðen ({Shch.} гөзән), Uz сассиқ кўзан sassiq kwzan, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Alt, Xk küzen, ET küzän, VTt көзән kǝzän, Bsh kǝðän 'polecat', Qmq gözen, Qrg küzön 'marten', Tf küzen 'Siberian weasel', Tv küzen id., 'marten' | Blgh → Hg görény 'polecat' ¶ Cl. 761, Shch. Zh 146, TL 163, RUzS 537, TvR 269, Gomb. BTL 72-3 || M *kürene > WrM {MED} kürene 'skunk, polecat, weasel', HIM хүрнэ {MED} id., {BMR} 'polecat', Kl {KRS} күрн id., {Rm.} kürn 'iltis', Ord k'ürene ~ k'ürine 'espèce de putois' ({Pot.} 'Mustela putorius', sc. 'fitchew') ¶ MED 504, BMR IV 190, Kow. 2636, KRS 328, KW 248, Ms. O 439 || Tg *_Lχ_Lurike (< a derivative with a dim. sx?) > Ewk urikэ 'marmot', 'gopher (суслик)' (*Citellus*), Lm urgžhэ 'young tarbagan', ? Orc (μφ?) urikэ ~ urkэ 'black seal (нерна) with white stripes' ¶ STM II 285 ¶¶ SDM 856-7 (pA *k'urē|i 'a kind of fur animal' > M, T, Tg *xur- 'bear, gopher, young tarbagan' [for Tg *_Lχ_Lurike]), TL 162-3 (T, M, Tg), TL 163, KW 248 ◇ The word may have denoted some small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat; they are found in different parts of Eurasia, including Southwestern Asia; in modern Israel the marten is well known as נמי'ya) ◇ IS MS 346 (K, IE, A), Blz. C (÷ SC, WCh and Somray); AD NM no. 91; S CNM 3 (÷ NrCs, Yn), Vv. AEN 10 (the supposed mt. in A makes the comparison less reliable).

1080. ₂ *Kün or *KūnE 'sun, day' > A: T *Kün ({Md.} *k'ü-n) 'sun, day' > OT күн, Tk güñ, Az күн güñ, MQp, OOsM, Chg, Tkm, Ggz, ET, Ln, Qmq gün, XT gīn ɖ gi'n, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Yk күн, VTt, Bsh көн kǝñ, Tv xün, Tf hün, Uz kun, Xlj kīn ɖ kün 'sun, day', Kr күн ɖ kún, SY kun, OBlgh {Erd.} күен ({RTF, Erd.} küwen), Chv L күн, Chv Δ {Fed.} көн 'day' ¶ Cl. 725, ET VGD 100-2, TL 64-5, DT

152, Ra. 679, TkR 221-2, Md. 59, 171, Ash. VI 285-7, Fed. I 306-7, Jeg. 117, CgVS 95, Erd. 153-4 | T *Künt'ür' ({Md.} *k'ü-ndür') 'daytime, midday' > OT küntuz id., Chg kündüz 'day', XwT kündüz 'by day', Tk gürdüz, Az gündüz, Tkm gündīδ, Yk күнүс 'daytime, by day', Qmq, Qrg, ET kündüz id., 'midday', Xk күндүс 'midday', күндөс 'by day', VTt күндьз, Bsh күндьδ, Nog күндіз, Qzq күндіз, Tv хүндүс, Tf хүндүс 'by day', Qrg, ET kündüz, Uz kunduz 'day, daytime', Yk күнүс 'day, by day', Chv L каһтап күндьр, Chv Δ {Md.} күндьр 'midday, south' ¶ Acc. to Gab. and Md. (TL 78), T *Künt'ür' goes back to an adverb with a loc. sx *-t'ur'/*-t'ür' ÷ M loc. *-dur; cp. T *bal-t'ur ~ *bil-t'ur 'last year' (Cl. 729), but in the light of broader comparative ev. the element *-t'ur'/*-t'ür' may go back to N ≈ ≈ *t'U'r'i 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ The long vw. in the second syll. of Tkm gündīδ is probably a Tkm innovation (cp. the short vw. in the second syll of Yk күнүс and in pT *-t'ür' (see the comparative data s.v. N ≈ *t'U'r'i '↑') ¶ Cl. 729, DTS 328, ET VGD 102-3, TL 78, Ra. 192, Md. 59, 171, Ash. VII 153-6, Fed. I 255, Jeg. 99-100, ChVS 79 ||| d.: OT küntün ~ küntin 'southern' ¶ DTS 327-8 || HS: WCh *k^ω∇n∇ 'day' > Hs k^ωāná 'a day (period of 24 hours)', Gw k^ωana id. | Krkr {ChL} ?əŋ k^ωuní 'today' ||| CCh: ?φ DGh {Fr.} ḡnà 'a day (period of 24 hours)' ¶ Ba. 677, Abr. H 582-3, Mts. G 71, ChC s.v. 'a day (period of 24 hours)', ChL, ≠ Stl. ZCh 213 [no. 630], 220 [no. 701], ≠ Sk. HCD 160 ◇ Cp. N *K'u'n̄yaHÍE ~ *K'u'yāHÍE ~ *K'u'n̄aHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak' (which may be a U-A d. of the N etymon in question).

1081. ?φ ≈ ≈ *Ka'g'Eñā 'be hungry/thirsty, desire, long for' > HS: C (≈ *√khn): EC: Af {PH} i-khin-e v. 'like, love, be pleased with', kaḥānu n. 'love', Sa {R} √khn 'love, wish' (p. 'akhena ~ 'ikhena, inv. ek'hēn), ka'han ~ ke'han n. 'love', Sa I {CR} -kahan/-kehin- 'love, wish', ?φ Arr kaʔím 'lover' m., kaʔim-té 'lover' f. ||| Bj {R} √khn 'love' (1s: p. 'akhan, pqp. 'īkhan, pres. akan'hīn; prtc. ke'hana), Bj A {AD} -khan id., khanu n. 'love' ||| Xm {R} eқан 'love, wish, desire' (inv. e'қан, pfc. eқа'n-un), Aw {Hz.} 3nkan v. 'love, like' ¶ AD SF 63, R WBd 138, R S II 210-11, R Ch II 336, PH 134-5, 142, Hw. A 171 ¶ The pC vl. lr. *ḥ may go back to *ʔ due to ass. devoicing || B *√gn 'wish, desire' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} a-gna (pl. agnatbn) 'goût, désir, prédilection', Ty {Fc.} ã-gna 'souhait' ¶ GhA 55,

Fc. 459 ¶ B *-g∇n- < *-gʷ∇n- < (as.) *-kʷ∇n- < N ***Қа'г'Епа**; Af -h- is probably from ** -ʷ- (assimilative devoicing in the cluster -kʰ- < ** -kʷ-) || A *k'In∇ (= *k'Ino?) 'desire, covet, long for' (→ 'coire) > T *KIn- v. 'desire, covet, long for' > OT {Cl.} qIn- 'long for, covet', Sg/Shor {Rl.} qIn- 'wish', Kü {Rl.} qIn- 'fall in love', Xk хын- χIn- v. 'wish, want, love', Yk kIn- v. 'mate'; NaT caus. v. *k'In-tur- > OT/Osm {Cl.} qIntur- 'arouse desires (in so.); ⇨ T *KInik- > Tk Δ qIniq- 'be zealous' ⚡ qInik- 'do one's best to succeed', Qlt/Tlt/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} qIniq- id., 'be excited', VTt Δ qIniq-, Qrg qIniq- id., 'begin to enjoy', Qq qunIQ- 'begin to enjoy' || Chv Л хăнăх- хънъх-, Chv Δ хăнăк- 'get accustomed', {Jeg., ChVS} 'приучатъся' ¶ Cl. 632, 636, Rs. W 264, ET Q 216-17, Rl. II 725, BIG 299, Pek. 1395, Ash. VII 337-8, Fed. II 328, Jeg. 292, ChVS 245 || ?σ M *kina- v. 'investigate, observe, trace' > WrM kIna- {MED} 'examine carefully, investigate, check, verify; observe, trace', HIM хяна- {MED, BMR} id., Brt хина- v. 'observe, control', Kl {Rm.} kin- 'forschen, auseinandersetzen, durchmustern', Ord k'ina- 'faire (qch.) avec soin\circonspection', Dg kinima 'careful, cautious' ¶ MED 469, BMR IV 235, Chr. 572, KW 281, Ms. O 421, MYC 353 || Tg *χIon- > Ewk onī-, Lm ondā- 'search (for lost deer), Lm onmōt- 'wait-, Ewk ondōgdō, Neg ondōgdō 'domestic reindeer trained for searching wild deer (олень-маншик)' ¶ STM II 19 || pJ: [1] pJ *kənz-m- v. 'like, wish' > OJ konom-, MJ kōnom- id., J K kónóm-, J Kg kònòm-, J T konóm- {Kenk.} 'like, be fond of' ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 210], S QJ no. 210, Mr. 712, Kenk. 1050 | [2] pJ *kunank- 'coire' > OJ kunagapɥi 'sexual intercourse', MJ kunag- 'have sexual intercourse' ¶ SDM 820 ¶¶ If the pA etymon is *k'Ino-, the labial vw. of the initial syll. in Tg *χIon- and pJ *kunank- may be explained by regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 820 (pA *k'jũnu 'long for, covet [sexually]' > pJ *kunank-, T, M, Tg), KW 231 (T, M) || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *°kEnt∇ 'desire' > OHg kēdv 'benevolence, wish, enjoying, temper', Hg kēdv 'mood, temper; liking, pleasure' | the ObU cognate is likely to have coalesced with the reflex of N ***ҚЕнт∇** 'be angry, be in despair' (q.v.), whence pObU {JHl.} *kěnt 'anger' ¶ UEW 861-2, MF 344, EWU 718-19, Ht. no. 290, BV 33-4 || IE: NaIE *kenk- 'be hungry, long for' > OI kēnk̄ati 'wishes, desires, longs for', 'kakātē 'is thirsty' || (*kṅkru- >) > Gmc {Fs.} *xunxru- > Gt hūhrus (·λυμός) 'Hunger, Hungersnot', ON hungr, OSx, OHG hungar, NHG Hunger, AS

hunzor 'hunger', NE hunger; Gt huggrjan (·πεινῶν)-'hungern', AS hunzr(i)an, OSx gihungrian 'to be hungry, to suffer hunger', OHG hungarōn, hungaren {Kb.} 'to be hungry for' ||| Gk [Hs.] {EI} κέϣκελ 'is hungry' ¶ M K I 134, 194, P 565 (*÷ Gk, ON and Lt words for 'burn', 'pain' etc.), Fs. 272-3, Kb. 488, Schz. 171, KM 321, Ho. S 38, Ho. 178, Vr. 267, ≈ EI 284 (*kenk- 'hunger' [← 'burn, hurt']) ¶ *÷ (⇒ EI) Lt kankā 'Qual, Pein, Marter' (← keñkti 'to harm', see Frn. 240) ¶¶ A possible prehistory of IE *kenk-: N ?φ ≈ *Ḳa'g'Eñā 'be hungry/thirsty, desire, long for' > (progressive as.) *Ḳaḡṽnṽ > (mt.) *Ḳanḡṽḡṽ > IE *kenk- || E: El ḡ|kani v. 'love, want' ¶¶ HK 431 || Gil: Gil A -aϣń- 'want' ¶¶ ST RN 448 ◇ FU *E is likely to have contracted from N *-a'g'E-, while the pT back vw. *I may go back to a front vw. with the infl. of the heritage of the N word-final *-a (vw. harmony).

1081a. *Ḳa'pōñṽ 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade' > U: FP (att. in FL) *°kansa 'pair; one of a pair, comrade' > Prm *kōz ({{LG} *kōz} 'pair, couple' > Z ḡoz / ḡozy-, Z US ḡōz, Yz 'ḡuz, Vt kuz, Vt B ko'z ({{LG} kθ-z) 'pair', Z ḡozya 'married couple' | Es kaasa, Δ kās 'comrade; spouse' | Lp: N {N} ḡaz'ze 'household (⇒ 'a single individual)', Vfs {Lgc.} nūō'rz ḡ_ācc'ε 'young couple' (nūō'rz 'young'), Kld {TI} kāñc 'comrade' ¶ It is not yet clear if F kansa 'people' and Lp N ḡaz'ze 'assembly of people' belong to the same √ (with the semantic change: 'couple; married couple' → 'household' → 'folk, people'), or it is a homonymous word of a different origin (maybe a loan from eGmc *xansā [> Gmc *xansō > Gt hansa (·σπεῖρα, κλήθρος)-'Schar, Manipel, Kohorte; Menge', OHG hansa, AS hōs 'troop', MHG hanse, hense 'society'], see Fs. 245-6) ¶ UEW 645 (FP *kansa 'Volk, Leute; Genosse, Freund'), LG 77, Fs. 245, Kb. 431 ||| A *k'a, on- 'other; companion, friend' (→ [in descendant lges] 'neighbor', v. 'match') > M *qani 'friend, companion' > WrM {MED} qani, HIM {MED, BMR} хань, Brt хани 'friend, companion, partner', WrO хани 'friend, comrade', Kl {KRS} хань 'fellow traveller, companion', {Rm.} хані 'Freund, Kamerad, Kompagnon', Dg {T} хани 'friend, companion', Ord хани 'compagnon, ami, partisan, adhérent'; WrM {BMR} qanila- 'become friendly, become friends', HIM ханила- {{MED} id., {BMR} id., 'be married', Brt ханил- 'be friends', Ord ханила- 'se lier d'amitié, s'accointer avec qn, avoir des relations amoureuses', MM [H] qanil-

qa- inf. 'vergleichen, gleichstellen' ¶ MED 93O, BMR IV 44, Chr. 546, Krg. 232, KRS 576, KW 165, T DgJ 173, H 6O, Ms. O 334 || Tg *χan-gi ({SDM} *χān-gi) 'other, other side' > Lm āḡilī id., Neg aḡi-ski id., 'away, otherwise, В сторону, away', Ul χaḡi-si 'В сторону, away; otherwise', Ork χaḡ-nē, Nn Nh χaḡi-a {On.} 'another, opposite, the other side', {STM} 'В стороне, the other side' ¶ In the Lm and Neg words there may be contamination with N *Hañ∇ 'other' ¶ STM I 46, On. 451 || pJ *kànāp- v. 'match' > OJ kanāp-, MJ kànāp-, J: T/Kg kaná-, K káná- {Kenk.} v. 'match' (an equal, rival) ¶ S QJ no. 761, Mr. 703, Kenk. 816 || T **Kon- ⇨ [1] T **Koḡu, ÍI > NaT *Koḡu, šI 'neighbor' (unless derived from T *Kon- 'settle down', cf. ET Q 55-6, Cl. 634, 637) > OT (BrSc) {TTS} koñuṣu (= qoḡuṣu?) 'neighbor', OT, MQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg XV qoḡšI, MQp XIV [CC] qoḡšI ~ qoḡšU, OOSm ≥XIV qoḡšI ~ qoḡšI, Tkm {ET} qoḡšI, Tk komṣu, Ggz qomšU, Qrg qoḡšU, Nog, Qq qoḡšI, Uz qošni, Δ qoḡšč 𐎠 qoḡš, Az ḡoḡṣy ḡoḡšU, Qmq χoḡšU, ET qošna ~ χošna, Xk χoḡšIχ id.; [2] T *Konak 'friend, guest' > OT qonaq id., OT Kr qonuaq, Tkm Δ ḡonaq, Chv L xǎna χǎna, Chv Δ. {Md.} χ^ωǎna 'guest' ¶ The cns. m in Tk komṣu and Ggz qomšU is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 64O, TTS IV 2635-8, ET Q 66-8, BIG 286, TkR 187, Ash. XVI 334-6, Fed. II 327-8, Jeg. 292, Md. 42, ChVS 245 ¶¶ SDM 759-6O (pA *k'āno 'match, other side' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 985 (id.) || HS *✓knw > S *kināw- 'comrade, person of equal social status' > Ak kinātu ~ kinattu id., 'colleague', IA knṯ 'companion, colleague', BA 𐎎𐎏𐎑𐎒 (pl. +ppa.) kə'nāw-āṯ-ēh 'her colleagues', {GB} 'her comrades', Sr 𐎎𐎏 kə'nāṯ, 𐎎𐎏 kə'nāṯ-ā 'companion, fellow servant, colleague' (Sd., Zimmern, Kaufman a.o. suppose that the Aram word is a loan fom Ak) ¶ CAD VIII 381-3, Sod. 479, HJ 52O-1, KB 1725, GB 91O, JPS 22O || B *✓knw 'be a twin' > Ah əknu, Kb ✓knw (imv. iṣniw) id.; Ah ē-kne, SII i-kni ~ i-kinnu, Mz a-čniw (pl. a-cniwəḡ), Kb i-ṣəḡ, Wrg i-kin, akniw, Izn iḡəḡ, aḡniw, SnSr aḡəḡ 'twin', Mz tačniwt, Kb ṯi-ṣəḡ-ṯ, Wrg tikint, takniwt 'female twin' ¶ Dl. 411, Fc. 831, Ds. 163, Dlh. M 23-4, Dlh. Ou 147, Rn. 346 ¶¶ In B and S the reflexes of this N word coalesced with those of N *koñi 'woman, wife', whence the meaning 'co-wife': Ak YB {Sd.} kinītu 'Nebenfrau (?)', NrBc {Stl.} *kina 'co-wife' (cf. N *koñi ffd.).

1082. **Ḳûyñä* 'basket', 'bucket' > **U:** FP **küyn|ñä* 'wooden vessel, trough' > Es *kũñä* 'trough', F *күñä* id., 'drinking trough; gutter-like brewing vessel' (× F *күñä* 'feather' → 'quill' → 'gutter') † Z *кзүñзс* 'kneading trough; wooden vessel for milk', Prmk *кзñзс* 'tub, vat', Yz *kõñis* id.; to my mind, Z *-yn-* reflects the original cluster, while Prmk/Yz **-ñ-* goes back to **-yn-* (a typologically frequent change) ¶ UEW 664-5 (recon-structing FU **kíñä* ~ **küñä* and trying to explain Z **-yn-* by a "sporadic change" **-ñ-* > *-yn-*), LG 139 || **A** **k'uyñiy* ∇ 'basket, bucket, vessel' > **M:** **[1]** WrM {MED} *қуñиуа(н)* 'pot-shaped basket of birch bark', HIM *хүñиа* {MED} id., {BMR} 'түес, vessel of birch bark, folding dish of birch bark' ¶ MED 986, BMR IV 166 † **[2]** ?φ M **quyi* 'sheath, scabbard' > MM *қуу,i, қуу*, WrM {MED} *қуi*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *хүй*, ShY *χui* id., Kl {KRS} *хү*, {Rm.} *χū* 'Scheide (des Schwertes)', Mnr H {SM} *χwē* 'fourreau, étui', Ord *χуу* 'gaine. gousse, cosse, étui, crosse du fusil' ¶ MED 981, BMR IV 161, Chr. 599, KRS 617, SM 176, KW 204, Ms. O 364, MYC 386 || T: **[1]** NaT **k'õñæk* (< **k'õynæk*?) ({DQA} **k'õynæk*) 'leathern vessel\bucket\pail' > OT *kõñek* id., Tkm *kõñek*, Qzq *kõñek*, Qrg *kõñök* 'leathern milking pail', Uz *кўñак* *kõñak* 'large skin for fermented mare's milk', Nog *kõñek* 'leathern pail', Brb *kõñäk* 'bucket, pail', Δ *künäk* 'birch-bark bucket', Bsh *күñак* *künäk* 'wooden tub (кадка), bucket', һөт *күñаге* *hõt künägь* 'milking pail' (һөт 'milk'), StAlt *kõñök*, Xk *kõñek* 'bucket (of wood or metal)', Qmn *kõñök* 'bucket', Tv *хөñек* *xõñek* 'teapot'; T → M: WrM {MED} *kõñüg* 'bucket, pail', {Kow.} 'bucket, wooden vessel', HIM *хөñөг* {MED} 'bucket, pail', {Luv., BMR} 'wooden bucket', Brt *хүñэг* 'hölzerner Kübel, Eimer', Kl {KRS} *көñг* *kõñög* 'vessel for milk products and araq (alcoholic drink)', {Rm.} *kõñgö* ~ *künägä* 'Trinkglas' ¶ Cl. 73, ET KQ 104-5, TL 52, TvR 490, MM 224, BR 294, NogR 179, Dm. JBT 161, Jud. 422, B DK 226, TkR 413, BIG 90, UzR 230, MED 490, BMR IV 140, Chr. 625, KRS 316, Luv. 553, KW 240, Kow. 2565 † **[2]** T **Ki:n* 'sheath, scabbard' > OT Kr, MT *қiн*, Tk *кiн*, Ggz *кiн*, Az *gиn*, Tkm *gīn*, Uz *qin*, Kr, VTt, Bsh, KrB, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET. SY *qиn*, Xk. Tv *χиn*, Yk *кыын* *kīn*, Chv L *йёñё*, Chv Δ {Ash.} *ёñё* id. ¶ Cl. 630-1, Rs. W 264, TL 571, ET Q 217-18, Ash. V 120, 125-6, Fed. I 195-6, Jeg. 79, ChVS 60 || Tg **χônji* ({SDM} **χunji*) > Nn Nh {On.} *хонжі* 'wooden quiver', Ewk *зñjikān* 'wooden vessel (Gefäß)' ¶ STM II 273, On. 468 || pKo {S} **kùñí* 'manger, trough' > MKo *kùñí*, *kùñyú*, NKo

kuyu ¶ S QK no. 1005, Nam 60, MLC 206 ¶¶ T *-n- rules out pA *-ń-, proposed by SDM and DQA ¶¶ SDM 822 (pA *k'jũńu|a 'sheath, scabbard' > Tg, M *quy, T *KĪn), DQA no. 1159 (pA *k'ũńe), Vld. 174
 || HS: CS *k̑an̑an̑n̑- 'vessel' > JA {Js., Lv., Dlm.} קַנְקַנְ קַנְקַנְ k̑an̑an'n-ā 'vessel, jug (Krug)', JEA {Sl.} קַנְקַנְ קַנְקַנְ k̑an̑ə'nā, MHb {Js.} קַנְקַנְ קַנְקַנְ k̑an'k̑an 'wine/oil vessel; cylindrical vessel let into the ground of the cellar', {Lv.} קַנְקַנְ קַנְקַנְ k̑an'k̑ān 'jug, long-necked vessel', ? Ug kkn̑t {A} 'jugs', {OLS} 'vessel, jug' ¶ Js. 1394-5, Lv. IV 342-3, Dlm. 367, Sl. 1030, A no. 1307, OLS 212 ◇ The Tv word points to a N emphatic *K̑-, while the HS words allow the rec. of both N *k- and *K̑- (taking into account frequent de-emphatization of N *K̑- in HS). We reconstruct N *-y̑n|ñ- rather than *-ń- (suggested by the FU rec. of *ki|ũńä, as proposed in FUV) on the ev. of T *-n- in *k'ȭnæk (because N *-ń- would have remained in pT as *-ń-) and the preceding pT (> Tkm) long vw. *ȭ (< **öy < N *uy [regr. as.]); regr. as. *-uyñä > pre-T **-öynE.

1083. *K̑ũy̑ȃñ ▽ 'wolf, dog' > IE nom. *k̑w̑on- / *k̑w̑ōn, obl. *k̑un- 'dog' (in nom. the L-grade of apophony) (MR) *k̑ȋw̑n- 'dog' > OI śvan- / nom. sg. śvā / gen. śun-as, Vd śuvan- / nom. sg. śuvā / gen. śun-aḥ, Av spā / gen. pl. sūnam, Med [Hdt.] σπάκα, Phl sak, NPrs كَلْب sag 'dog' ||| Arm շուն śun / gen. շան śan id. (š- is not yet explained) ||| Gk κύων (gen. κυν-ός) 'dog' ||| OL canēs, L canis id.; the unexpected form of the word (vw. a etc.) has no generally accepted explanation; its hypothetical origin is traced in Leum. 124, EM 92 and other papers [listed in WH I 153]: gen. *k̑w̑anes (< *k̑w̑o'nes, F Hirt IGV 86) changed into L gen. canis (c- for *qu-) on the analogy of the nom. *k̑ōn (< *k̑w̑ōn) and the accus. *konem (< *k̑w̑onm̑), subsequently the stem of canis spread over the entire paradigm, whence the nom. canis and the accus. canem ||| Clt {Matas.} *k̑w̑on- 'dog' > Gl Cuno-pennus 'Dog-head' (n. pr.), OIr cú (gen. con), Brtt {RE} *k̑ūn (gen. *kunōs) 'dog' > MW ki ~ ci, pl. cwn, W ci (gen. con, pl. cŵn), OCm [ȝ] ci, Cm kȳ, pl. kuēn, MBr {Vn.} con ({SB} quy, pl. quon), Br {Hm.} ki / pl. kon 'dog' ||| Gt hunds (< *k̑w̑ŋ-'to-), ON hundr, AS, OSx hund, OHG hunt, NHG Hund 'dog', NE hound ||| Lt šuõ (gen. šuñs), Ltv suns (gen. † suns, [in Modern Ltv] sunā), Pru sunis 'dog' ||| Tc A/B ku

(accus.: A kum̃, B kwem̃) id. || AnIE: Ht {Pv.} kuwan- 'dog, hound', HrLw s̄ uwanas (gen.), s̄ uwanai (accus. pl.) 'dog(s)', {Pv.} zuwan- 'dog'; HrLw s̄- < IE *k̄ before HrLw -u-, like in s̄ urna 'horn' ¶¶ P 632-3, EI (*k̄(u)'wōn / gen. *k̄u'n-os), MR ITV 41-2, M K III 4O2-3, VI. II 3O5-6, Horn 164, F II 58-9, WH I 152-3, Fs. 276-7, Schz. 172, Ho. S 38, Ho. 178, Kb. 488, KM 32O-1, SB 92, Vn. C 257, RE 89, Dtn 249, Billy 6O, Frn. 1O33-5, En. 259, Sl. 56-7, Wn. I 238-9, Matas. E 181, Hm. 457, 483, Ad. 179, Ad. H 19, Mer. HHG 112, ABIV. III 25O-1 (on HrLw s̄- < IE *k̄-), Pv. IV 3O5 || HS: S: Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} qānib- 'lupus latrans', {BK} 'loup qui hurle' (in all probability, from N *K̄üy, a, n̄ ▽ + N marker of animal names *bA; in Ar the word was transferred into a 1a:2i3-pattern due to its reinterpretation as an act. prtc. [of a non-existing verb]) ¶ Fr. III 5O2, BK II 818 || LbB: Gnc GC {Wlf., AiM} CUNA 'dog', Gnc T {AiM} CANCHA ~ CUNCHA 'dog, puppy' ¶ Wlf. 483-4, AiM 256 || Om {Blz.} *k̄jan- ~ *kyan 'dog': NrOm > Mj {C} kyano, Na {Fl.} kiano, Bnc {Wdk.} kyán, Shk {Fl.} keanu, Ym {Wdk.} kàná, Bdt/Bsk/Male/Oyda/Drz/BMa {Fl.}, Kcm/Dc/Gm/Dwr {Lm.}, BMa/GaMa {Bnd.} kana, Zs/Cha/Wl {C} kanā, Wl {Bnd.} k3na, Anf {MYTY, Gt.} kano, {MYTY} kenon, Kf {C} kurāno, Mch {L} kũna'no, Shn {Lm.} kaná 'dog' || SOM: Dm {Si.} kenε, Ari G {Fl.} kan̄ id. ¶ Blz. OL no. 123, Blz. rLmS 148, 153, C SE III 78, 115, 17O, 2O4 and IV 462, C SO 31, 44, L M 37, Fl. OWL, Wdk. BY 1O6, 127, 15O, Bnd. AL 148, Lm. Sh 227, ≈ HL 12O, MYTY 117, 121, Gt. 354 || EC: Ya kohen 'dog', pl. kwehman ¶ Hn. Y II 123 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} k^wéŋ 'dog' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} kàhá, Jg {J} kań, Brg {J} káyàŋ, Mgm {JA} kâhà id. || ? CCh: Gmrg {Gr. ← ?} kenī, {Bnt.} kénee 'dog' ¶ JI II1O6-7, J R 87, J J 59-6O, ChC s.v. 'dog', JA 97, Gr. N 371 ¶¶ Blz. rLmS 153 || U: FP *küyn|hã ({IS} *küynã) 'wolf' > Prm {IS} *kôyin ({LG} *kôin) - *kion) 'wolf' > Z k3in, Yz kôin, Vt G k̄yon id., in other Vt dialects with as. *ty > i(y): Vt Δ kiyon, StVt kion id. || Lp N XVIII {Leem} gaidne 'wolf' (Wc.: "veraltet"), Lp N {Fri.} gãidne 'devil (diabolus, fanden)' (interpreted by LG 139 and IS I 361 as gâid'ne) ¶ LG 139, Lt. J 129, Wc. EPS-1912 131, U SC 93 || A *Kan ▽ 'dog' > pKo {S, SDM} *kàn- 'dog' > MKo kàhí ({S}: < *kàn-h- < *kan ▽-k-; {AD}: < *kàn-h- < *kan-K-?) 'dog', NKo kã, Ko ds: Ph/PhN/SI/NW kã, Chs kã, Ks kê:, Hm kã id.; MKo kàn'ac̄í > NKo kãnaž̄i 'puppy' ¶ S QK no. 18, Rm. SKE 84-5, Nam 8, 28, MLC 61, 65 || NaT *KançIk 'bitch' (from a derivative) > OT, MQp [CC] qančiq, Chg, Qmq, QbT, Brb, Qrg qančiq, VTt Δ qanč̄̂q, SbTt qanč̄̂q, MQp XIII

qančīq, Tk канчик, Az ганчыг qanžiq, Tkm qanžiq, Ggz kanžik, Uz, ET qanžiq, Nog qanžiq, Qzq, Qq qanšiq, TbTt/Qmn {Rl.} qančiq, Bsh qansay id. ¶ Cl. 634-5, ET KQ 255-6, TL 190 ¶¶ The pKo cns. *-ŋ- may be explained by as. (*kan-K > *kaŋ-K) and does not necessarily point to a pA *-ŋ- ¶¶ S AJ 296, SDM 645 (pA *káŋ▽ 'dog' > T, Ko + unc. Tg *kaçi-kān 'puppy'), DQA no. 723, S AJ 295, Rm. SKE 84-5, Mng. KA 270-1, ADb. SR 9, STM I 385-6, Dr. TM III 520 ("alles unsicher") ¶¶ SDM adduced Tg *kaçi-kān 'puppy (Hündchen)' (> Ewk kaçikān, Ork kēčike, Nn keyčē(kē), Ud kaśanžiga and Sln χασχā id., cf. STM I 385). Acc. to SDM 645, this Tg word belongs here only if it goes back to **kaŋ-čikān, which is extremely doubtful, therefore (to my mind) the Tg word cannot be accepted as a cognate ¶¶ In pA {SDM} *káŋ▽ the unequivocal rec. of pA *k- is based on the alleged Tg cognate and therefore is to be rejected ¶¶ The pA √ belongs here only if the pN etymon was *Ḳūyañ▽ with loss of N *-ūy- in the prehistory of pA ◇ IS I 361-2 [no. 238] (IE, Om, U + unc.: S *ka|a|b- 'dog', Sa karē, Ch *√kr and *√kl 'dog', Tg *(ŋ)inda- 'dog') ◇ Gr. II no. 105 (*kan ~ *kun 'dog') (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA + qu. Ko).

1084. *Ḳaŋʔi 'to hasten, to endeavour' > IE: NaIE *ken- v. 'hasten to do (sth.), strive with zeal' > Gk [Hs.] κνεῖν ('ἐπεύχεσθαι, ἐνεργεῖν) 'to hasten to do\act', Gk ἄ-κονιτῖ 'without effort', ἄ-κόνιτος 'without combat\struggle', ἐγ-κονέω {EI} 'I make haste' ||| L cōnor / cōnārī 'exert oneself (eine körperliche Anstrengung machen), endeavour, attempt' ||| pClt *kān- ≈ 'accomplish' > MW di-goni 'makes, does', MW dičawŋ, diğawŋ, W dičon 'can', digoni v. 'labour, be able' ||| ?? Sl inf. *kon-ati 'to do, to achieve' (× *konati 'to complete, to carry to an end' ← *konъ 'end') > Cz konati 'to do, to achieve', Slk konat' 'to fulfill', Slv konáti 'to accomplish', OP konác 'to act', P do-konác 'to fulfill', R Δ κονατῖ 'to do, to perform', ChS **оукопъ** ukonъ 'execution, deed' ¶ P 562, WH I 262, ≈ LS 977 (unc.: κονέω 'hasten' ← 'raise dust'), ≈ Ch. 562 (unc.: ἄ-κονιτῖ 'without struggle' ← ? *'without dust' ← κόνις 'dust'), YGM-1 173, 181, ESSJ X 181-2, EI 362 (*kon- 'do, make') || **HS:** WS *√kŋʔ 'be zealous\eager', 'be jealous\envious' > JA {Js.} √kŋy D 'be zealous for, be jealous', Gz √kŋʔ 'be envious\jealous\zealous\eager', BHb √kŋʔ D (pf. **𐎧𐎡𐎱𐎠** kŋin'nē, ip. 3s **𐎧𐎡𐎱𐎠** yə-kan'nē) (+ -𐎧 la- + noun) 'be envious\jealous of, fight for, become excited about\against', ChrPA √kŋʔ D 'sich bemühen um, nacheifern', Mh/Sq {Jo.} √kŋʔ 'be

jealous' ¶ KB 1036-7, KBR 1109-11, Js. 1390-1, L G 433, Jo. M 232 ¶ In the S √ the meaning 'be jealous, envy' is due to the contamination with the reflex of N *K̑inʔu 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' (q.v.) || D *kañn̄- 'quick(ly)' > Tm kaṇṇa 'speedily, quickly', ? Tl kranna, krannana 'quickly, rapidly, soon, at once' (the cns. r is puzzling; n for the expected ṇ may be due to as. caused by a n-sx) ¶¶ D no. 1181.

1085. *K̑inʔu (> as. *K̑ünʔ'ü') 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' ([in descendant lges] → 'be jealous, envy') > IE: NaIE *k̑wen- 'exercise magic' (→ 'participate in magic ceremonies, sacrifice') > Av cmpr. span-yah 'more sacred, sanctior', sprl. spaništa- 'most sacred, sanctissimus', (with an *-es-sx of abstract nouns) spanah- 'sanctity' || Ltv svinēt (pres. svinu) 'celebrate' || ({P} NaIE *k̑w̑n̑-ʒlo- >): Gt hunsl (· θυσία) 'blutige Opfer', AS hūs(e)l id., 'Eucharist', ON húsl ~ hunsl 'Eucharist' || NaIE pp. *k̑wen-to- 'magic' (→ 'holy') > Av spanta- 'holy' || Lt šventas, Pru swent- (in place names) 'holy' | SI *svētъ, *světъ-jь > OCS СВѢТЪ свѣтъ, Blg свет, SCr svēt, Slv svēt, Cz svatý, Slk svätý, P świećy, R cвя'той, Uk cвя'тий 'holy' ¶ P 630-1, Brtl. 1612, 1618-23, Vr. 268, Frn. 1041-2, Kar. II 339, En. 260, Glh. 597-8, Vs. III 585, StS 598, EI 493 (*k̑wen(to)- 'holy') || A *k'üni or *k'inû > M *kinu- > WrM {MED} kinu- ~ kina- 'have a secret grudge; desire the death of a person', HIM хяна- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be indignant with, 'have a secret grudge', Kl {Rm.} kin(ь)- 'vor Zorn kochen, sich grämen', MM [MA] kīnetu ere 'rancorous man' (ere 'man'), ?φ Mnr H {SM} ć'inǰ_i 'colère', ć'inǰ_ila- 'être en colère, se mettre en colère', {T} činčila- 'be angry' ¶ Pp. MA 219, MED 470, KW 231, BMR IV 235, SM 451-2, T 380 || NaT *Küni 'jealousy, jealous; envy' > OT {Cl.} küni:, Chg küne 'jealousy, jealous', ET künä n. 'envy', Tk güñü, Tlt {Rl.} künü, Yk küñü 'envy, jealousy', VTt кьнь, StAlt күñү küñü 'jealousy', VTt Δ k̑ññ-ś̑̑ 'jealous', Bsh көнлә- k̑ñlä-, Xk күñне- küñne-, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} küñnä-, Tv xüñnā- 'be jealous', Qq, Nog küñle-, VTt көнлә- k̑ñlä-, Brb/Kr {Rl.} küñlä- 'be jealous\ envious', Alt {Rl.} küñürköt- 'make so. jealous', Kr {Rl.} küñüwč'i 'envious', Uz küñči id., 'jealous'; (× N *koñi 'woman, wife'): T *k'üni or *k_üni 'co-wife' > Tkm güñi id., Az күñү güñü 'new co-wife' etc. (F s.v. N *koñi '↑') ¶ Cl. 727, ET VGD 104-6, Rl. II 1441-2,

BN 90, BT 100, BIG 96, Pek. 1303, TvR 498 || Tg *χuni- > Ewk uni- v. 'envy, get one's feelings hurt, be unsatisfied (with one's share)', Lm ōń- 'get one's feelings hurt', Ul, Nn Nh χuńi-, Nn KU uńi- 'get ill (because so. ate in the presence of so. else and did not invite him to share his food)', Neg uńi- id., 'suffer (emotionally)', uńi-ktɜ 'hurt feelings', Ud uńi- 'get ill' ¶ STM II 273-4, On. 481 || ??σ pJ *kuna- {SDM} 'madness, psychosis' > OJ kuna-tabure, kata-kuna 'stupid, obstinate' ¶ Mr. 443 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 739-40 (pA *k|gune 'one of several wives' > T *küni 'co-wife, envy, jealousy' and pJ *kuanami 'first wife [in polyfamy]') [without distinguishing between the reflexes of N *K̄inʔu and those of N *końi 'woman, wife'), ≈ DQA no. 923 (A *kuni|e 'envy, respect' > T, M), ≈ SDM 665 (pA *kēńu 'distress, envy' [supposing that pJ *kuna- is related to Tg *kēńe- 'be superstitious', M *ken- ~ *kin- 'psychosis, distress' and T *kōń|y- 'suffer, grieve'), ≈ DQA no. 786 (A *kēńu 'distress, envy') || D *kin̄- ({ʔGS} *k-) > Tm cina 'be enraged, be very angry', Ml cinam 'wrath', Td sinm 'anger', Kn kinisu 'be(come) angry', kinisu n. 'anger, wrath', Tl kiniyu 'be angry\ displeased\ irritated' ¶¶ D no. 1600, Km. 330 (pSD *kin-) || HS: WS *✓k̄nʔ 'be jealous\envious' (× N *Kańʔi 'to hasten, to endeavour') > JA ✓k̄ny D 'be jealous', JEA {Sl.} ✓k̄ny D 'warn one's wife for unfaithfulness', Gz ✓k̄nʔ 'be jealous\envious', BHb ✓k̄nʔ D (pf. X̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ k̄in'nē, ip. 3s X̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ yə-k̄an'nē) (+ -ɔ̄ lə- + noun) {KBR} 'be envious of, rebel against', {trad.} 'be jealous of'), Mh/Sq {Jo.} ✓k̄nʔ 'be jealous' ¶ KB 1036-7, KBR 1109-10, GB 716, Js. 1390-1, Sl. 1028, L G 433, L ESAC 47, Jo. M 232 ◇ The IE, T and Tg cognates point to post-N *K̄ünʔ'ü', which is probably a secondary variant resulting from assimilation *i...u > *ü...ü' ◇ IS I 352-3 [no. 229] (*K̄i r'α' 'be angry\jealous'; S, T, M, D + *÷ Eg k̄rɔ 'be angry' [belonging to N *K̄Eñt̄∇ 'be angry']).

1086. *K̄on'h'∇ 'yellow' (or 'ε a yellow substance?') > HS: Eg fNK k̄ny.t 'ε a yellow mineral used as dyestuff' ¶ EG V 52 || C: SC ({E} *k̄áń- 'yellow, tan, grey'): Irq qań {MQK} 'white, red and black dotted color of cow (with white stripes)', Asa {E} ʔańet 'grey clay', ?? SC ⇨ Mb makéńa 'new grass', -keńa 'young' ¶ E SC 251, MQK 84-5 || S *°✓k̄nʔ > Ar ✓qnʔ 'be red', ʔaqnaʔ- 'red' ¶ BK II 818 || IE *k̄w̄n̄H̄x- / *k̄w̄n̄H̄x- > NaIE (+ ext.) {P} *k̄onə'ko- (for *k̄w̄n̄ə'ko-) (< IE *k̄w̄n̄h̄(o)ko- ~ *k̄w̄n̄h̄ko-) 'yellow (as honey or gold)' > OI 'kanaka-

(< *¹konh_hko-) 'gold', kārīcana- 'golden', kārīca¹nam 'gold' || Gk κνῆκος, Gk Mc kanako 'safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*)', '*Carthamus leucocaulis*', 'blessed thistle (*Cnicus benedictus*)' (↔ Gk κνηκός, Gk D κνᾶκός 'pale yellow, tawny') || Pru c u c a n (mishearing or miswriting for *kunkan?) 'brown' || the Gmc word for 'honey' (× IE *k_honk-s {AD} 'honey; honey-colored' < N *k_hU¹ñ_hU_h∇ 'bee'): ON hunang, OSw hunagh, OSx huneg, honeg, OHG honag, NHG Honig, AS hunez 'honey', NE honey || AnIE ↔ Gk κύανος 'dark-blue enamel (used to adorn armour)', 'lapis lazuli', 'blue cornflower'; ?? Ht ку(ωα)риан 'copper; ornamental stone' (× N *kiw_h∇_hé¹ 'stone') ¶¶ Hardly here (↔ WP, P, EI) L canicae 'bran' (adduction that leads to an unj. rec. of IE *k-) ¶¶ WP I 400, P 564-5, ≈ EI 271 (*k_honk-s / gen. *k_hon_hok-os 'honey-colored, golden'), M K I 195, F I 882-3 and II 37, Ch. 547, Vr. 266, Kb. 478, Schz. 169, Ho. 178, Ho. S 38, En. 198, Tr. P K-L 349-51, Frd. HW 118, 122, Ts. W 43, Ts. E I 688-92, Pv. IV 308-11 || ¶ A: M *qon_hgôr > WrM {MED} qon_hgur 'fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut' (of a horse), HIM хонгор {MED} id., {BMR} 'blondköpfig' (a person), 'falb, hellgelb, rehbraub, goldfarbe (буланный, светложелтый, саврасый, каурый)' (a horse), Brt хонгор 'light-bay, light-chestnut (соловый, светлорыжий)' (a horse), Kl {Rm.} хонгор 'hellbraun, gelblich braun' (a horse), Ord хонгор 'alezan, fauve' (robe de cheval), ?φ Mnr H {SM} хонхо 'de couleur rose' ¶ MED 962, BMR IV 104, Chr. 583, KW 185, Ms. O 354, SM 172 || ?φ D (att. in in McTm) *^oka_h∇_h 'copper' > Tm ka_h 'copper work, copper', ka_hā_h 'brazier', Ml ka_hā_h id. (unless a WW, cp. Ht) ¶ D no. 1402 ◇ Both the typology of color names and the ev. of Eg, Gk and SD suggest that the N word in question was not a pure color name but rather a name of some yellow substance ◇ The N lr. that turned to ? in Ar, but survived in IE, may have been only *h. This lr. has left traces in M (N *-n^h - > M *-ng-), but lost in Eg. IE and M point to a pN *^o, therefore the D cognate is dubious because of its unexpected vw. *-a-.

1086a. (₂?) *k_hU¹ñ_hU_h∇ or *k_hU¹ñ_h∇ 'bee' > HS: EC {Ss.} *kinn- ~ *kann- 'bee' > Or kann-i-sa, Or B kinn-i-sa, Kns xan-ta, Gdl han-t(a), pSam {Hn.} *činn-i > Sml šinn-í 'bee(s), Rn činn-i id. ¶ Ss. PEC 6, 24, Hn. S 77, Abr. S 252 || ? B: [1] *^o✓knd_hw > ETwl/Ty {PGG} kandəwi 'miel végétal, jus d'anzan mûr (fruit de l'arbre t̃dant)' [2] ≈ *y_hz_w¹ > Tmz {MT} ti-yinžgg^ωa 'guêpes (vivant dans les trous)',

Zn {Loub.} a \check{y} z̃(n)žugg ω i 'guêpe' ¶ PGG 158, Loub. 532, MT 496 || D: SD *ku|o \check{n} ' \check{n} 'i 'bee' > Irl, PaK kunn \check{i} , Kt ku \check{n} y id., Tu ko \check{n} i, ko \check{n} đi 'a sting' ¶ D no. 1867 || ? IE * $\text{k}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{honk-}$ / * $\text{k}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{H}\eta^1\text{k-}$ ({EI} * $\text{k}\eta^1\text{honk-s}$ [gen. * $\text{k}\eta^1\text{H}\eta^1\text{k-os}$]) {AD} 'honey, honey-colored' (× N * $\text{K}\eta^1\text{on}^1\text{h}^1\text{v}$ 'yellow', q.v. ffd.) > Gmc *hunanga- 'honey' > ON hunang, Sw honung, Dn honning, OHG hona(n)g ~ honig, NHG Honig, OSx huneg, honeg, hanig, Du honi(n)g, AS hunez id., NE honey || ?? AdS of Tc B {Ad.} kro(n)kśe 'bee' (< N * $\text{K}\eta^1\text{ER}\eta^1\text{v}\check{z}\text{v}$ 'hornet, wasp') ¶ EI 271, KM 315-16, Ad. 217 ◇ If IE * $\text{k}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{honk-}$ and B ≈ * $\check{y}\eta^1\text{z}\omega^1$ belong here (which is not obvious), the initial N cns. is * $\text{K}\eta^1-$, otherwise it may be * k- . N * H is to be reconstructed only if the IE cognate is valid and has inherited the lr. from the pN etymon in question rather than from N * $\text{K}\eta^1\text{on}^1\text{h}^1\text{v}$ 'yellow'. If IE * $\text{k}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{honk-}$ does not belong here, one of legitimate N reconstructions is * $\text{k}^1\text{U}^1\eta^1\eta^1\text{v}$ ◇ Blz. DA 159 [no. 69] and Blz. NDA no. 71 (in both: EC, D, Gmc).

1087. * $\text{k}\eta^1\text{a}\eta^1\text{y}\text{v}$ (= * $\text{k}\eta^1\text{a}\eta^1\text{y}\text{U}^1$?) 'skin, film, bark' > HS: EC: Brj 'kana, 'kanō {Ss.} 'bark of tree', {Hd.} 'piece of bark'; HEC d. v. *kan-s- (with the causative sx *-s-) > Brj kān-s-, Ged kōn-š-, Kmb kan-š- v. 'peel (e.g. sugar cane)'; → : Brj {Hd.} kansa 'strip of bark' and Kmb kanšanata 'strip of bark of sugar cane' ¶ Hd. 111, 203, 207, Ss. B 114 || K * $\text{k}\eta^1\text{an-}$ 'skin, bark' > G $\text{k}\eta^1\text{an-i}$ {Chx.} 'skin, hide', {DCh.} 'fine skin, skin of fruit, film, fine leather, bark', Sv: {Ni.} kän 'bark', UB {GP} kän 'skin of plants', UB/Ln {TK} kän, L {TK} kan 'skin' ¶¶ Chx. 547, DCh. 592, GP 128, Ni. s.v. 'kopa', TK 344 || IE: NaIE *(s) $\text{k}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{en-(d-)}$ 'skin': [1] * $\text{k}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{en-(d-)}$ > OIr ceinn 'coquille, écaille', W {Vn., YGM} cen, {P} cenn (< *kend-n-) 'film, scales', OCrn cenn-en 'film, skin', OBr {Flr.} cenn-enn 'membrana (pellicule, envelope)', MBr quenn 'skin', Br kenn 'scurf', 'crasse de la tête, pellicules; scories', -ken 'skin' in cds: bu-gen 'skin of cattle' etc. || ON hinna 'thin skin, peritoneum' (< *kend-n-), Sw hinna, Dn hinde, NNr hinne 'film', AS hionne 'meninx' ('Hirnhaut') || [2] * $\text{sk}|\check{k}\eta^1\text{en-}$ 'skin' > Br skant 'scales' (< *sk $\eta^1\text{to-}$) || ON skinn '(stripped off) skin, hide' (→ AS scinn 'Pelz' > NE skin), Sw, NNr skinn, Dn skind 'skin, hide, fur', MHG schint 'skin of fruit', Dt Δ schinde 'skin, hide, bark'; d.: OHG scinten d scinden, MHG, MLG schinden 'to skin, to mistreat' ¶ WP II 563-4, P 929-30, Vn. C 55, Flr. 102, YGM-1 82, Hm.

446, 725, Vr. 228, 493, Ho. 160, 279, Kb. 884, OsS 796-7, Lx. 184, KM 650 || **п**: [1] **п**A *k'ö:n- 'skin, cover, cloth' > M *könžile 'blanket' > MM *konžile*, WrM {MED} *könžile(n)*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хөнжил*, Brt *хүнжэл* id., Kl {KRS} *көнжл* *könžäl* id., {Rm.} *könžil* 'Decke, Schlafbett', Mnr *könžile*, Dx *gwanžulje*, Dg *gwanžilen* 'blanket', Mnr {SM} *g_uänž_iliēn* 'couverture de lit', Ord *k'öñžil* id. ¶ SDM 719, Lew. II 23, MED 490, BMR IV 140, Chr. 624, KRS 316, KW 239-40, SM 138, Ms. O 429 || NaT *k'ö:n 'tanned skin, leather' > OT *kön*, MT, Tk *gön*, Az, Kr, QrB *gön*, Tkm *gön*, Uz *кўн*, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt *kön*, VTt, Bsh *kün* ¶ Cl. 725, ET VGD 72-3, TL 384, 476-7 ¶¶ The **п**A long vw. may be due to complementary lengthening (N ***қап̄у'U** - > **п**A *k'ö:n-). The **п**T and **п**A lenis cns. *k'- is still to be explained. The **п**A labialized vw. is probably due to regr. as. (infl. of *-**U** of the next syll. in N ***қап̄уU**) || [2] **п**A *K_ ań- > T: [a] NaT *Kańak 'cream, butter' > OT *qayaq* ~ *qanaq* id., Xk *χayaχ*, Sg/Qb/Qc/ Bltr {Rl.}, Shor *qayaq* 'butter', SY *qayaq*, Xlj *qānaq* 'cream', Yk *χayaχ* ~ *χaȳaχ* 'butter mixed with water and milk, white Yakut butter'; [b] NaT *Kaymak (< **Kańmak?) > Chg, MQp *qaymaq* 'skin of milk, cream on the top of the milk', Tkm *qaymaq*, Qmq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Brb, Bsh, ET, StAlt *qaymaq* 'cream, sour cream' (↔ Chv L *хайма хьума* id.), Ggz *kaymak*, Tk *kaymak*, CrTt, Qzq, Qrg *qaymaq*, Uz *qaymaq* 'cream', Blq *qaymaq*, Qzl *χaymaχ* 'sour cream' ¶ Cl. 636, Rs. W 231, ET KQ 200-1, TL 454, DTz. WCh 173, Md. 31, 166, BIG 266, 282, Rl. II 90, Tn. SJJ 199, Ash. XVI 302-3, Fed. II 319-20, Jeg. 289, ChVS 214 ¶ The variant *Kaymak may be interpreted as going back to *Kańmak with *-mak due to some lexical\morphological attraction (possibly of *Kasmaq 'пенка, пленка, корка' [> VTt *qasmaq*, Chv *хысма* etc.] or other words with the nominal sx *-mak, which is used to build abstract nouns [→ nomina collectiva], / Rs. MTS 134-5, Ash. XVI 101, Jeg. 315, Fed II 383-4, Md. 103, 166) || **п**Ko {S} *k^ń^m 'cloth, material' > MKo *k^ń^m* id., NKo *kám* 'stuff, material' ¶ S QK no. 967, Nam 13, MLC 49 ¶¶ SDM 719-20 (**п**A *k'óni|e 'leather, cloth' > M *kön-žile, T *k'ö:n, Ko), DQA no. 2743 (id.) ◇ The labial vw. in NaT *k'ö:n and M *kön-žile suggests the presence of a labial vw. in the N etymon (***қап̄уU**?) ◇ Acc. to IS's theory, the *s *mobile* in IE is connected with the presence of a palatal element (here ***у**) within the original √.

1088. ***ҚәN∇уû** (= ***Қәη∇уû**?) 'light (levis)', ([in descendant lges] → thin', 'small') > **U**: FU (in Ugr only) *küñ_lyü (~ *kiw^ñ∇?) > ObU

*küñəɣ-/ *küñəɣ- ~ *kĩɣʰñ- 'light (levis)' > Vg: T küñke-ś, LK/MK kəɣnə, UK kĩɣnə, P/NV/LL kinna id.; pOs *köñəɣ ({{JHl.}} *kǝñəɣ) 'light, easy' > Os: MY kǝñəɣ, Y köñəɣ, D/K/Kr/Nz/Sh kenə, Kz keñ, Sn keñ, O qon || Hg kǝrnyǝ́ 'light, easy' ¶ UEW 862, Stn. D 648, PD 693 ¶¶ In Ugr one may see assimilative labialization of the first vw. in *küñ_ly_lü and a mt. of the labial element in *ki_wʰñ_l∇ || ¶ *k'äñ_l∇y_l 'light (levis), thin' > Tg *χeñü 'light (levis)' ({{SDM}} *xəñü, {Bz.} *χäniü-) and TG *χeñ'ü'mk'un' id. > Nn Nh/Bk χzñü, Ork χzñumi, χznumi, χznuli, Ewk əñimkūn, Sln znikkũ:, Lm zɣim, zɣumkun 'light', Orc χzñimi, UI χzñü, χzñumu 'light', (?) 'easy', Ud {Krm.}: B zñimzsz?, Sm zñimusa? 'easy' ¶ STM II 455-6, Krm. 314, On. 490, Bz. 38 [51b], Pt. 151, Shn. 33, Sun. UJ 255, CiR RES 246 || T *Kä_lñäs 'easy' (× N *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep') > OT [MhK] keɣes 'easy' (e.g., of a task), 'shallow (water)', XwT XIV keɣes ~ keɣez 'easy, convenient', OQp XIII keɣēz 'easy' || Chv {Ash.} канас kanas 'idleness, rest' ('безделье, покой, отдых') (× N *gAHn∇ 'lie [liegen], sleep') ¶ But Chv {Ash., Md.} канăç kanăs 'покой' cannot belong to T *Kä_lñäs 'easy' (for phonetic reasons), it is more likely to go back to N *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 734, Pek. 1029, Ash. VI 53, 57, Md. 35 || M *köñgen 'light (levis)' > MM [MA, IsV] kǝñgēn, [IM, HI] kǝñgen 'light, cheap', WrM {MED} kǝñgen, HIM {MED, BMR} хөнгөн id., Brt хүнгэн χüñgen 'light (levis), cheap', WrO kǝñgen 'light', Kl {Rm.} küñgŋ ~ güñgŋ 'leicht', Mnr H {T} koñgen 'light (levis)', {SM} k'üñg_lü_län 'léger, peu considerable', Dx koñgen 'light', Ord k'öñgen 'léger', Mgl {Rm.} küñgōn 'light (levis)'; M → Yk känän 'simple-hearted, naive'; M *köñge- 'be(come) light' > MM [S] d. kǝñgelegü- 'erleichtern', WrM {MED} kǝñge- 'become easy/free', HIM {BMR} хөнгө- 'sich erleichtern, etw. loswerden (освобождаться от чего-либо, избавляться), WrO kǝñgü- 'be easy, light' ¶ pM *-gēn (> WrM -gen) is a sx of nominal derivation (F Pp. GWM 45, Pp. GPMJ 95) ¶ The M labial vw. *-ö- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. (infl. of the pA labial vw. of the next syll.) ¶ Pp. MA 223, 440, Lg. VMI 51, Ms. H 72, MED 488-9, BMR IV 137-8, Chr. 621-2, KRS 316, KW 246, Rm. M 31, T 340, T DnJ 123, SM 214, Krg. 735, Ms. O 429, H 104, JkR 219-20 || pKo {S} *k'ánár- 'thin, fine' > MKo k'ánár-, NKo kanıl- ¶ S QK no. 446, Nam 9, MLC 5 || pJ {S} *kəmə- 'small (мелкий, menu), thin' > MJ kəməka-, J Sh guma-, J Y

gumá- id., J K kómákà-, J Kg komaká-, J T komaká- {Kenk.} 'small, fine' ¶ S QJ no. 127, Mr. 455, Kenk. 1037 ¶¶ SDM 776-7 (pA *k'èńó 'light, thin' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1004, Ci. EApk 1U3, IS I 350 || HS: Ch *✓k̄(y)n 'small' > WCh: Hs k̄àŋk̄ánè 'small, little', Mbr {Sk.} kíyìn 'small' || CCh: Mln {ChL} k̄éŋ, Bdm {Lk.} ḡerá, Lame {ChL} k̄ánz̄yǎǎ id. || Ech: Kwn {J} končé, Jg {J} kóyán, Kjr kańi id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'small', ChL, Ba. 554, Abr. H 473, Blz. EChWL no. 76 || ? S rdp. *°✓k̄n̄k̄ɪ > Ar qunquɪ- 'small, short' ¶ BK II 825 ◇ The labialized vowels of the first syll. in pU (*ü) and pM (*ö) are due to regr. as. ◇ ≈ IS I 349-50 [no. 226] (*k̄er̄ɪɯ = *k̄er̄n̄u; U, A + unc. IE *k̄en- 'empty') ◇ IS supposed that Tg *-ń- ia a reg. reflex of N *-ń-, which is not confirmed by other examples. I prefer a tentative rec. of *y in pN *k̄ǎN̄yû. FU *ü and M *ö of the first syll. are labialized as a result of regr. as. (*-ǎ...û > FU *-ü...ü... and M *ö...).

1089. *k̄uñy 'ashes, dust' > IE: NaIE *(s)ken̄H₁- id. (< ***(s)keuñ-?) > L c̄in̄is (gen. c̄iner-is) 'ashes' ({WH}: < **kenis) || Gk κόνις (gen. κόνιως ~ κόνιως) 'dust, ashes' || Tc B eńcuwańe kentse 'rust' (lit. 'iron ash\dust') || pAl {O} skina > Al hi ~ hî 'ashes' ¶ WH I 217-18, F II 911-12, Ad. 193-4, O 147, EI (? *kenHi-s 'ashes'), P 559-60 || U: FU *ko|un|ñ̄ > FP *ko|un̄ 'ashes, lye' > pLp {Lr.} *kun̄z 'ashes' > Lp: S guvne, L kutna, N gudnâ, Kld kunn id. | Chr: L/H/B kon 'lye' | Prm: Z Lu/I kun 'lye', Z кунва kun-va 'lye (alkaline solution)' (ва 'water') || ? Y K {Krn.} kun-te-m 'he soiled (загрязнил)' (acc. to Krn., < kud-u-l 'dirt') ¶¶ UEW 672, Lr no. 406, Lgc. no. 2796-7, MRS 216, Ep. 46, LG 146, Krn. IMJJ 24 || A: pKo *k̄ińir- 'ashes' > MKo k̄ińir̄im, NKo kir̄im ¶ S QK no. 659, Nam 69, MLC 240 || D *kuñta, {GS} guñda 'dust, powder' > Tl guñda, Mnd guñda 'powder', Prj guñdam id., guñda 'dust', Knd guñda 'powder, dust', Png guñda, Ku guñda ɘ gūndū 'flour', Krx guñdā id., 'powder', Mlt guñdi 'dust'; D ɘ OI guñdaka- 'dust, powder' ¶¶ D no. 1692, GS no. 466, Tu. no. 4193 ◇ IE s- *mobile* and pKo *-ń- suggest the presence of a word-medial palatal element (sc. N *y in *k̄uñy). As mentioned in the Introduction (2.4), N *k̄u- (with word-medial *y) loses its expected labial element in IE *(s)k- (rather than *(s)k̄-) ◇ Blz. L no. 4c (IE, U; Blz. was the first to adduce the Yukagir cognate).

1090. *k_onĭč_∇ 'to scratch (so.'s body or sth.), to wound, to make suffer' (→ 'to suffer') > HS: S *^o✓knθ > Ar كَنْظ ✓knθ G vt. 'grieve' ¶ Fr. IV 64, BK II 935, Hv. 667 | | K (mt.): G k_eč_n- 'jem-m eine Streifwunde beibringen, jem-n streifen, ritzen', 'make incisions' ¶ Chx. 573, DCh. 606 ¶ The plain *k_o- (for the expected *k_ow-) is still to be explained (delabialization connected with the mt.?) | | IE: NaIE *k^went^h- v. 'suffer' ('leiden, dulden') > Gk πένθος 'grief, sorrow; unhappy event, misfortune', πάσχω (< *k^went^h-s^{k̄}-) 'I suffer' (ft. πείσομαι 'I shall suffer' < k^went^h-so-) ||| Lt inf. kēstī (1s pres. kēnčī) 'to endure, to suffer' ('aushalten, leiden'), Ltv inf. cīest 'to suffer, to endure' ||| Clt {Matas.} *^ok^wend-s_o- 'suffer' > OIr {Matas.} césaid, -césa id., {P} césaid 'he suffers', céss(a)im 'I suffer' (< *k^went^h-se/o- or < *k^wη^t-se/o-) ¶ As shown by J. Rasmussen, the pres./ft. forms with *-s^{k̄}- and *-se/o- (Gk πάσχω, OIr céss(a)im) point to a monophonemic origin of *t^h, otherwise we would have expected *ə preceding the cnss (like Gk *πατάσχω etc.) ¶ P 641, F II 478-9, Frn. 246-7, Vn. C 79-80, Matas. E 176, Ped. VG I 53, 87, 178 and II 486, Rsm. AT 86, EI 413 (*k^went^(h)- 'suffer') | | ?σ U: FU *koñč_∇-₁ {Rd.} 'Striche ziehen, Striche zeichnen' > Prm: Z {W} šera koč 'a spot (on animal's hide) (šera 'many-colored, motley)', Z P/Sk/Ss/Ud {SZ} šera koča, Z I (šera) kuča 'рябой, пестрый', StVt, Vt S кучо kučo, Vt Kz къчо 'motley, piebald (a horse)' ('пестрый, пегий, чубарый'), Vt Y күчо, Vt Uf кӱч° 'motley, spotted' ||| ObU {Ht.} *kǎñč- > pVg *kǎñš-, *kǎñšāñ- > Vg: T {Mu.} khǎñš-, P {Mu.} khañš-, T/P {Kn.} kañš-, K {Mu.} khǎñs-, N {Mu.} xañs- v. 'write', T {Mu.} khǎñšāñ 'bunt'; pOs *kǎñča-/ *kǎñč+-, *kǎñčañ ({Hl.} *kǎñča-/ *kǎñč+ / *kǎñčañ) > Os: V qǎñča-, V/Vy qǎñč+-, Ty qǎñč-, Y qǎñč-, D/K χǎñč-, Nz χaš-, Kz χǎñš-, O χǎs-, χǎns- v. 'write', Os d: V/Ty qǎñčañ, D/K χǎñčəñ, Kz χǎñšəñ 'bunt' ¶ UEW 176, Ht. 152 [no. 283], SZ 167, U3S 236.

1090a. ₂ *k_onĭč_∇ or *k_onĭč_∇ 'a part of leg' > K: G kanč-i 'shin, shank' ('Unter-schenkel', {DCh} 'голень') ¶ Chx. 549, DCh. 593 | | A *k^onĭč_∇ or *k^onĭč_∇ > NaT *Konīç '(ε a part of) leg, bootleg, leg of trousers' > MQp [CC] qonč 'gamba', = (ε part of) leg', Tkm gonč 'bootleg, leg of trousers', Tk konç, Az ğunç, VTt qunbš, Qzq, Qq, Nog qonış, Tbl {Rl.}, Tb qonīç, Qrg qonč, StAlt qonīç, {Rl.} qonč, Uz qwnç, ET qonç, Qmq χonč 'bootleg', Tv χonču, Tf hoñçu 'leg of trousers' ¶ ET Q

57-8, Grøn. 199 || Tg: [1] Tg *χουης∇ 'shank, shin' > Orc uηsi, uηsui, Ul χουσα, Nn Nh χουσοã, Nn KU omsoqã, omsoquã, Ewk PT uηnukī, umuki, Ewk Tt umoki, Neg ouηixi:, Ud uηku 𐌺 uinki ~ uηki id. ¶ Tg *-s- may be due to the infl. of a different Tg or pA root [2] ??σ Tg *χῦήεν 'elbow' (× N *kūly,ñûςA or *kūly,ñûςA 'a joint in a limb [knee, elbow]; to bend in a joint?') > Nn Nh/KU χουχῖ, Orc ἴου(η-), Ud X/I/Sm {Krm.} isö, Ud K {Krm.} iso, Ul unčä(η-), Ork ūjtз, Ewk, Neg ἴου, Sln ἴου, Lm ἴου 'elbow' ¶ STM I 336, Krm. 239, On. 468, 476 || ?σ M *qančun 'sleeve' > MM {Lig.} qančun, {Lew.} kančun, {H} qanču, WrM {MED} qancui, HIM {MED, BMR} ханцуй, Brt хамсы, Kl {KRS} ханцн id., {Rm.} ханс ~ ханс 'Ärmel', Mgl {Rm.} qanši ~ qanču, Dg {T} kanči ~ qanči, Dgl ganžun, Ba ganžou, ShY ханžūn, Mnr {SM} ханž_i ~ ханč'i 'manche d'habit', Ord ханč'у id. ¶ MED 927, BMR IV 43, Chr. 543, KRS 576, KW 166, Lew. 22, T DgJ 148, SM 156, Ms. O 334, MIC 327 ¶¶ SDM 819 (M, T *Konç 'top(s) of boots', Tg *χῦήεν 'elbow'), DQA no. 1103 ◇ Tg *η in *χουης∇ suggests a pN rec. *κονιῖ∇. But if this Tg cns. *η, just as its *s, is due to the infl. of another root, the N rec. should be *κονιῖ∇ (supported by the cns.*-n- in NaT *KonIç).

1091. *k¹uñigU (= *k¹unigU?) 'to bend, to incline, to bow' > IE: NaIE *kneig^{ωh}- vi. 'bow, incline, bend' (× N *ηa^ʔi¹igu 'to bow, to bend [down], to hang [by sth.], to hang down' [q.v.]) > L cōniveō (< *kon-knī(g)ueō) (inf. -ēre, pfc. cōnīvī ~ cōnixī) 'close the eyes, wink, blink with the eyes', nītor (inf. nīti, prtc. nīsus ~ nixus, [Fest.] gnixus) 'lean, support oneself, rest' (nītor genibus 'I kneel', nītor cubito 'I lean on my elbows'), Um CONEGOS, kunikaz 'conixus' || Gmc *xnīϝ-/ *xnīϝ-/ *xnaiϝ-: inf. *hnīϝ-an 'to bow, to be bent, to sink' > Gt hneiwan (p. hnaiw) (· κλίνεω) 'sich neigen', [Lc. 9.12] 'declinare' (of the day), anahneiwan (· κύψαι) 'sich neigen', pres. prtc. anahneiwands 'procumbens' [Mark 1.7], ON hnīga 'to bow, to sink, to fall', AS hnīzan 'to bend/sink down, to bow', OSx hnīgan 'sich neigen, anbeten', OHG nīgan 'to bow (sich neigen vor, niederbücken)', NHG neigen 'to bend over, to incline' ¶ P 608, ≈μ EI 348 (*kneig^{ωh}- 'lean'), WH I 261, Som. L² 646, Bc. G 331, Fs. 265-6, Vr. 242-3, Ho. S 35, Ho. 166, Kb. 726, OsS 409, KM 506-7 || **U** *^okuηk¹e¹ > Sm {Jn.} *kuηk¹ n. 'curve, bend' > Ne T † хуηг, T O {Lh.}

x̄ūḡk 'Bug des Bootes', x̄u·ḡḡarć 'doppelt biegen', Ne F {Lh.} kuḡkarḡtaś
 'gekrümmte Ränder haben' ¶ Jn. 78 || A *k'uḡi|I- v. 'bend, bow' >
 Tg *x̄uḡke- > Ewk uḡk̄ēldī- vi. 'bow (before so.)', uḡk̄ēru- id., 'bow
 one's head', Ud x̄ēḡki-, Ul k̄ēḡk̄ēl̄ē-, Ned k̄ēḡk̄ēl̄ē- 'bow (before so.)',
 Nn Nh {STM} id., ?σ {On.} 'put the head on sth.' ¶ The cognates with k-
 may be due to as. (?) ¶ STM II 278 || T **K̄Iḡ- > [1] d. *K̄IḡIR
 'crooked, squint-eyed' > OT q̄iḡiR id., Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, ET Δ q̄iḡiR
 'crooked', Tkm q̄iḡiR 'angry', Kr q̄iḡiR, Uz q̄iḡiR, Ln q̄ini, Xk x̄iḡiR
 (< *x̄iḡiR?) 'crooked', Tv x̄iḡiR 'squint-eyed'; [2] Ln d. q̄iḡla- 'become
 crooked \ leaning on one side', Yk k̄iḡḡay- vi. 'incline, bend on one
 side'; [3] Qrg q̄iḡḡay- 'be leaning over, become crooked'; [4] T
 *K̄IḡiḡiR > Chg {PC} قينچير q̄iḡiḡiR, Uz ("Chg") {Rl., Bu.} q̄iḡiḡiR, VTt
 Δ q̄ēḡḡēR 'squint-eyed', Chv L x̄āḡḡap x̄ēḡḡēR id., 'crooked'; [5]
 Tkm ḡiḡiḡ 'crooked, oblique' ¶ The delabialization *u > T *i is
 attested in several roots (cp. N *K̄u'ḡi'ć ▽ 'worm' > NaT *°K̄Iḡiḡi
 'intestinal worm') and is still to be investigated ¶ Cl. 639, Rs. W 264-
 5, ET Q 220-1, PC 452, Rl. II 860, Bu II 106, BIG 298, TkR 230, Ash.
 XVI 343, Fed. II 329-30, ChVS 246, Jeg. 293 || M *keḡe- 'oblique,
 slanting' > WrM {MED} keḡege, HIM {MED} x̄ēer 'slanting, leaning
 to one side', WrM {MED} keḡede-, HIM {MED, BMR} x̄ēedē- 'bend
 down, lean\slant to one side'; WrM {MED} keḡele- 'to lean\fall to
 one side'; WrM {SDM} k̄iḡiḡaḡ '?', Kl {Rm.} k̄iḡē- 'schief
 sein\werden', k̄iḡēḡ 'schief, schielend', HIM {MED, BMR} x̄ēelē- id. ¶
 MED 445, BMR IV 206, KW 235, SDM 822-3 || pJ {S} *k̄úḡk̄úḡm- 'be
 curved\bent' > OJ kugum-, MJ [RJ] k̄úḡúḡmar- ¶ S QJ no. 1328, Mr. 715
 ¶¶ T *-i- and M *-e- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM
 822-3 (pA *k'ḡiḡu v. 'bend, bow' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1082 || i K
 *°k̄unḡ- (or *°k̄unḡ- ?) > Zan **k̄unḡ- → G Gr k̄unḡ- 'sich
 bücken\ducken' ¶ Chx. 642 ¶¶ Zan *ḡ goes back to a palatalized *ḡ??
 || D *k̄ūḡ- ({ḡGS} *k-) 'be in a bowed position' > Kt ku·n- id., Tm
 k̄ūḡu- v. 'curve', k̄ūḡn. 'bend, curve; hump on the back', Ml k̄ūḡn.
 'a humpback', k̄ūḡnuka- v. 'stoop, be crookbacked', Gnd ḡun- v.
 'bend' ¶¶ D no. 1927 || AdS of HS *√knḡ '≈ be bent, bow, incline'
 (< N *k̄ūḡḡn̄ḡA or *k̄ūḡḡn̄ḡA 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to
 bend in a joint', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D *-ḡ- may go back either to N *-n- or to
 *-ḡ- < N *-ḡiḡ-. Therefore an unequivocal rec. of a N *-n-

(*^rk¹unigU) is not justified enough. The rules and conditions of the Turkic delabialization of N *u (*u > T *I) need investigating ◊ We can be sure about the N initial *k₁- only if the K cognate is valid. Otherwise we have to reconstruct an unspecified N *K₁- (= *k₁- or *q₁-).

1092. *K₁an₁K₁E (or *K₁aη₁K₁E) 'to singe', (?) 'to glow' > IE: NaIE *kenk- v. 'parch, dry up, cause burning pain' > Gk Hm κάυκαυος 'dry (trocken, dürr)', Gk [Hs.] καυκαύνει '(he) parches, dries (sth.)', Gk Hm πολυ-καυκής (δίψα) 'parching' (of δίψα 'thirst'), Gk πολυ-καυκής 'very dry (land)' || Lt karkà 'pain', kėĩktĩ 'to harm, to hurt' ¶ ≈ WP I 401, ≈ P 565 (* ÷ Gmc {Fs.} *xunxru- 'hunger'), ≠ EI 284 (*kenk- 'hunger' ← 'burn, hurt'; * ÷ words for 'hunger', see N ?φ ≈ *K₁a^gEñā 'be hungry'), F I 750-1, Ch. 478, Frn. 240 || A *k'æη∇ 'be burnt' > M *keŋsi- ~ *^okö|üŋsi- > WrM keŋsi, HIM {MED} xəŋɯɯ- vi. 'burn slightly, brown (as food)', {BMR} xəŋɯɯ n. 'taste and smell of burnt food (being fried, roasted, boiled)', Kl {Rm.} köŋšj- & küŋšj- vi. 'übel riechen (von etwas angrbranntem)'; M *keŋsi-ʒün n. 'smell of burning' > WrM {MED} keŋsi gūn, HIM {MED} xəŋɯɯ, Brt xŋɯɯ n. 'smell of frying food \ of burning', HIM {BMR} id., 'спаленный, горелое', Ord k'ēŋšū 'relent de friture, odeur de graisse \ d'os \ de viande brûlés', WrO keŋšōū 'odor, fragrance', Kl {KRS} күңшү küŋšü n. 'smell of burning', Kl Ö {Rm.} köŋšū n adj. 'angebrannt', n. 'Geruch von etwas angebranntem (Knochen, Fett)', D {Rm.} 'abgebrannt; Brandgeruch'; HIM {BMR} 'pleasant smell of fried\roasted food', M ⇨ WrMc {Z} k̄ɯŋɯɯ adj. 'smelling of sth. slightly burnt (food, wool)', {Hr} куηśун 'angebrannt, brenzlich', {Z} k̄ɯŋɯɯ- v. 'boil milk', {Hr} куηśун- 'anbrennen (Speisen)'; Kl D {Rm.} kü'ηkūn- 'Brandgeruch\Brandtgeschmack haben, abgebrannt sein', Dag kunšun 'Geruch von etwas angebranntem', WrM {Rm. ← ?} ĵ küŋkūni- (id.?) ¶ MED 454, BMR IV 220, Ms. O 414-15, Krg. 71, Chr. 625, KRS 326, KW 240, 246, S AJ 242, Z 289, Hr 602, S AJ 242 (err. recobstruction: pM *kūn-kūni-), T DgJ 151 || Tg *χeŋg- > Nn Nh χēŋgi- {STM} vt. 'singe\scorch on fire', {On.} 'singe jerked fish (юкола) on fire', Ewk ɜŋgurē- vi. 'get slightly burnt' (of roasted\fried food) ¶ STM II 457, On 489 ¶¶ SDM 778 (pA *k'æη∇ > Tg, M), S AJ 11, 286, Ci. EApk 110-11 ¶¶ The pA front vw. *-æ- is probably due to vw. harmony (N *K₁an₁K₁E > pA *k'æη∇) || D *kaŋ- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'burn, glow, be very

hot' > Tm *kaŋi* 'be redhot, glow, get angry', *kaŋal* 'fire', Ml *kaŋal* 'live coals', *kānal* 'heat, glare', Kt *kaŋ* redhot', Kn *kaŋal* v. 'glow like live coals', Tl *kaŋalu* 'be angry, burn, give pain', Kui *kamba* 'be burned/injured by fire' ¶¶ D no. 1406.

1093. ₂ **ḲE'nit* ∇ 'louse, nit' > IE: NaIE **knid-* ~ **k̄nid-* 'louse, nit' (× N ? **ḡitū* 'worm[s], maggot[s], nit', q.v.) > Arm *անիտ* *anic* 'nit' (c < *d-s) || pAl {O} **canidā* > Al: G *th(ē)nī*, T *th(ē)rī* 'louse' || Gk *κονύς*, mostly pl. *κονύδες* 'eggs of lice, fleas and bugs; nits' (o on the analogy of *κόνη* 'dust') || W pl. *nedd*, Crn *nēth* coll. (snglt. *nedhen*), Br *nez* 'nits' || AS *hnitu*, NE *nit*, OHG *niȝ*, MHG *niȝ*, *niȝze*, NHG *Niȝ*, *Nisse* 'nit' || In Gmc and BSl there is a NaIE variant **g^hni(:)d-* 'nit' (**g^h-* due to the infl. of **g^hen-* 'scratch'??) > ON, Nr *Δgnit*, OSw *gnether*, Sw *gnet*, Dn *gnid* 'nit' || Ltv *gnīda* 'nit', ? Lt *glīnda* id. (dis.: < ≈ **gni_lnda* and/or × ÷ *L lens / lendis*?) || Sl **gnida* 'nit' > Blg, R, Uk 'Гнида', SCr *gnjīda*, Slv *gnída*, Cz, Slk *hnida*, P *gnida* id. ¶ P 608, F I 912-13, Hm. 598, YGM-1 342, ECCE 774, Hamp AIEW 146, O 476, Ho. 16, Kb. 732, OsS 410, Lx. 152, Vr. 179-80, Slt. 121-2, Frn. 157-8, Kar. I 304, ESSJ VI 173-4, EI 357 (**k̄(o)nid-* 'nit') ¶ The variant **g^hni(:)d-* may be due to euphemistic, tabuistic or other "expressive" modifications || HS: WS **kinn-* 'louse' > MHb *כִּנָּה* ~ *כִּינָה* *kin'nā*, JEA *כִּינָה*, *כִּינָה* *kin'nā* 'louse, vermin (Ungeziefer)', BHb *כִּנָּה* *ken*, pl. *כִּינָה* *kin'n-īm* {KB} 'Stechmücke', {KBR} 'gnat', Jb C *שִׁינִית* (pl. *kúnúm*) 'louse', Sq {Jo.} 'kenum (pl. 'kenhawm) id. ¶ KB 460-1, KBR 483, Lv. II 348-9, Jo. J 133 || EC: Sml {DSI} *qandířil*, Sml N {Abr.} *qandířil* ~ *qindířil* 'nits' ¶ DSI 487, Abr. S 200 ¶ Sml *ḡ* (< **ḡ* regularly) may be accounted for by an earlier glottalizing as. (**ḡ...t* > **ḡ...ṭ*) || ? NrOm: Kf {C} *čindō* 'small louse' ¶ C SE IV 422 || ? Ch: CCh: WMrg *k^wunda*, *k^wutna* 'worm' || (× N **ḡE'yU'* (ḡ ∇) 'larvae, worms, nit[s]', q.v.) WCh: AG: Gmy *ńit*, Cp *nīyēt* 'worm' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'worm'.

1094. (₂?) **ḲAñt* ∇ 'genitalia', 'gland, gland of genitalia (glans penis, clitoris)' > HS: C: Bj {Rop.} *kaŋṭal* 'penis' (ṭ = [t]) || EC {ḡSs.} **kaŋṭ-* ({Ss.} **k'and'₁-*) 'gland' > Sml N *qánžid* 'lymphatic gland', Rn {PG} *χánid* 'gland', Kns {Bl.} *qanditta* 'udder; swollen or abnormally big gland', Brj {Ss.} 'kaŋṭ-i ~ kaŋṭ-i 'clitoris' ¶ Rop. 205, PG 189, Ss. B 124, Abr. S 200 || SOM: Ari/Gll {Bnd.} *kaŋti* ~ *qanti* 'testicles' ¶ Bnd. AL 159 || CCh: Pdl {ChL} *kândí*, Bk {ChL} *kândà*, Hw {ChC} *kànà*

'vagina' || ? ECh: LI *gúnžùló* 'testicles' ¶ JI II 323, ChC s.v. 'testicles' and 'vagina', ChL II 4 and 43 || B *✓knd̥ (< *✓kn̥t̥) > BSn *ta-kunnīṭ* (pl. *ti-kunnīḍ-īn*) 'derrière de l'homme' ¶ Ds. B 95 || D (att. in SD) *kant- ({ǵGS} *k-) '≈ membrum muliebre' > MI *kar̥tu* 'membrum muliebre', Td *koḍ* 'pubic hair' ¶ D no. 121O || ? IE: CINPrs, NPrs *kūn* 'vulva' ¶ ≈ EI 507 (IE *kuts'no-s) ◇ Blz. DA 155 [no. 34] and Blz. NDA no.33 (in both: C, Om, Ch, D).

1095. ₂ ***ḲEṇṭ** ▽ 'be angry, be in despair' > HS: CS *✓k̥n̥t̥ id. > MHb *Sh* *חִיָּקְרִי* *hiḳ'rīṭ* 'annoy, vex, make angry', Sr ✓k̥n̥t̥ *G* v. 'fear', Ar ✓q̥n̥t̥ *G* (pf. *qaniṭa* ~ *qanaṭa*) 'despair', 'désespérer (de qch.)' ¶ BK II 823, Hv. 63O, Klein 584 || Eg fMK *k̥r̥nd* 'be furious\angry, be angry with (so.)', DEg *kn̥t* 'anger', Cpt: Sd **ḲWNT** *cōnt*, B **ḲWNT** *zōnt* 'get angry', Sd **ḲONT** *cont*, B **ḲONT** *zont* 'angry' ¶ EG V 56-7, Fk. 28O, Er. 565, Vc. 342 || U: FU ***kEnt** ▽ > pObU {JHl.} **kēnt* 'anger' > Vg **kānt* > Vg: MK {Mu.} *kānt*, N {Mu.} *kant* 'anger', Ss {BV} *kant* 'эпо', {Kn., BV} *kantəŋ* 'angry'; pOs {Ht.} **kēnt* 'anger' > Y/D/K *kēnt*, Nz *qānt* ¶ Ht. no. 29O, BV 33-4.

1096. ₂ ***ḲEñ** ▽ or ***ḲENy** ▽ 'nest' > HS: S **k̥inn-* id. > BHb *קֵן* *q̥en* (pl. *q̥in'n-īm*), JA *קֵן* *q̥in'n-ā*, Sr *קֵן* *q̥en'n-ā* id., JEA *קֵן* *q̥in'nā*, Md *q̥ina*, Ak *q̥in'n-um* 'nest, family' ¶ KB 1036, Js. 1387, Sl. 1013, DM 411, CAD XIII 257, Sd. 922 || A: pKo {S} **kíñ-* 'nest' > MKo *kíñ-* v. 'nest', *kís* n. 'nest', NKo *kis kit* id. ¶ S QK no. 993, Nam 83, MLC 282 ◇ K: it is tempting to adduce G P *q̥anaṭia* 'nest' (Chx. 547), but the structure of the word (its vowels) suggests that it is a loan (from an unknown source). If nevertheless the G word is inherited, the N initial cns. is ***Ḳ**.

1097. ₂ ***Ḳ'ū'ñ** ▽ 'to burn' (intr.) > A ***Ḳü|öñE** or ***ḲuñE** 'burn (brennen), get burnt' > NaT ***Köñ-** (~ ****Küñ-**) vi. 'catch fire, burn' > OT *קָרַן-*, StAlt *küy-* id., Tkm *köy-*, ET *köy-* ~ *küy-* vi. 'burn down', Xk *köy-* vi. 'burn, burn down', Osm *göy-*, Tk *göy-* vt. 'burn, burn up', Uz *күй-*, Qzq, Qrg *küy-* vi. 'burn', Qq *küy-* 'burn oneself', Nog *küy-* 'be burnt' (food), 'be sunburnt', Qmq *güy-*, Tkm, ET, Ln, Xk, Qc, Qb, Sg *köy-*, ET *köy-* ~ *küy-*, StAlt, Tlt, SY, Ln *küy-*, VTt, Bsh *көй-* *köy-*, Uz *күй-*, Xlj *күй-*, Yk *köy-* ({ET}: < ***köy̆-*) vi. 'catch fire, burn', Tv *хүюк* '(smell of) sth. burnt' ('гарь') ¶ Cl. 726, Rs. W 286, 307, 309, ET KQ 88-9, Mng. G 746 ¶ Tkm -*ö-* suggests a pT short *-*ö-*, the length in Yk is an innovation (T **ō* yields Yk **ūō*) || ???φ pM **köye* 'soot' (if

from ****końye** > MM [MA] *kũye*, WrM {SDM} *kõye* (a late orthographic *kõye*, based on HIM *xõ* rather than on Old M **köye*), HIM {SDM, BMR}, Brt *xθθ xõ* id., Kl {KRS} *κθ* id., {Rm.} *kõ* 'Ruß', Dg *χυē*, ShY *kũ*, Mnr H {SM} *k'õ* 'suié, nielle', Ord *k'õ* 'suié' ¶ MED 478, BMR IV 141, Chr. 593, KW 243, KRS 308, Mr. D 165, SM 204, T DgJ 179, Ms. O 423 || pKo {S} **kìñìr-* > MKo *kìñìrìm*, NKo *kiirìm* 'soot', NKo *kiil-* 'be covered with soot' ¶ S QK no. 659, Nam 669, MLC 240 || pJ {S} **kuànkàra-* 'be burnt' > OJ *kuogara-*, MJ *kògàra-* {Mr.} 'be burning' (→ 'be passionate\ yearning'), J K *kógáré-*, J T/Kg *kogaré-* {Kenk.} 'burn with passion for'; pJ **kũanka-sa-* {Mr.} 'burn, scorch; yearn for' > J *kogasu* {Kenk.} 'burn, scorch, singe, char' ¶ S QJ no. 1074, Mr. 711, Kenk. 1003 ¶¶ SDM 853 (pA **k'ùñe* v. 'burn, get burnt' > T, J, Ko, M), DQA no. 1145, S AJ 11, 286 [no. 256] || HS: WCh **kʷʷan* vt. 'burn' > Hs *kʷóné* id. | Wrj {IL} *kʷánùnà*, {Sk.} *kʷánúná*, Cg {Sk.} *kʷênú*, Kry {Sk.} *kʷánú*, My {Sk.} *kʷánú*, Mbr {Sk.} *kʷánú* 'smoke' | Kir {Sh.} *kʷaŋa*, Tala {Sh.} *kʷōn*, Buli {ChL} *kònú* vt. 'burn'; Kir {Sh.} *kʷn*, {ChL} *kʷn*, Tala {Sh.} *kunu*, Gj {Sh.} *kùnó*, Buli {Sh.} *kunè* 'smoke' ¶ JI II 54, Stl. ZCh 212-13 [no. 629], ChC s.v. 'burn' tr., ChL, Abr. H 537, Ba. 622 || Om {Blz} **okʷi(e)n-* 'burn' > NrOm: BMa {Fl.} *kʷɛni* vt. 'burn' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'burn', Blz. OL no. 204 ¶¶ ≠ Sk. HCD 174 ◇ Not here (⇔ DQA no. 1145) D **kaŋ-* 'burn, glow' (see N ***K̄an,K̄E** 'to singe', (?) 'to glow').

1098. ₂ ***K̄o'ńć'∇** (or ***K̄oN'ńć'∇**) 'bark of trees' > HS: EC **✓k̄unč-* > Or {Grg.} *k̄unčē* 'peel, fibre covering on plant stem', Or S {Sr.} *k̄unčē* 'bark of a tree', Ged *k̄ūnčē* 'piece of bark' ¶ Grg. 336, Sr. 356, Hd. 325 || **U** **końćk∇* ~ **koćk∇* 'ε bark' > F *kosku*, *koskus* 'thick bark of trees', Es {W} *kosk* 'in langen Streifen abgezogene Fichtenrinde oder dicke Rinde' | Prm **kać(ka)* 'ε bark' > Z *kać* 'bark of fir tree (used as food during famine years)', Yz {Lt.} *'kaćka* id., {UEW} 'inner layer of bark', Z US/LL *kać* 'bark of trees' || Os Ty {KrT} *q+ńt* 'sap layer under the bark of pine and birch trees' | OHg *hassag*, *hassu* 'bast, strifes of linden bast, lime tree forest', Hg *hárs* 'lime tree' || Sm {Jn.} **käsã*, {Hl.} **käsã* 'bark of trees' > Ng {Mik.} *kasu*, En {Cs.} *'sessa*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *q̄s+*, Kms {KD} *k'ãzã* id. ¶¶ Coll. 91, UEW 179-80, LG 119, MF 269-70, W EDW 350, Lt. J 124, EWU 533, KrT 321, Jn. 65, KKIH 164, Hl. M no. 474.

1099. **kuńć* > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} *ķešā* (pl. *ķiš*), Xm {R} *eđasā* ~ *hesā*, Q {R} *χešī*, Km {CR} *χīšā* (= *χəšā*) ~ *χəšā* (= *χăšā*) (pl. *χas*) 'worm' ||| Dhl {EEN} *ķúci* 'bee larva' ¶ AD SF 30, E PC no. 613, R WB 245, R QW 77, R Ch II 336 (s.p. 22), CR LK 208, EEN 19 || **U** **kuńća* > FU **kuč* ~ **kuńća* 'worm (within the body)' > Chr H *kučъ* 'intestinal worm', Chr Y *kučъ*, M *kućo*, YU *kuco*; ↳ Chv L Δ {Ash.} *куччă* ("read as *кучы*") 'intestinal worm' ||| ObU {Ht.} **kūñč* > pVg **kūñš* 'intestinal worm' > Vg: T *kōš*, P/NV/SV/LL *kunš*, UL *xūns* id.; pOs **kuñč(∇)* > Os: K *χunč*, D *χučə*, Kr *pūy-χunč* 'tapeworm', Km *χunč* 'intestinal worm (also in fish)' || ??φ pY {IN} **kōńćə* 'maggot' > Y K/T *kōźə* 'maggot (on a reindeer)', T {Krn.} *kōdeŋ* 'worm' ¶¶ UEW 205, Ash. VII 57, Ht. no. 205, Stn. D 511, IN 229, Krn. JJ 273, ≈ Rd. UJ 47 [no. 69] (Y ↳ U) ¶¶ The unexpected Chr *ć* and pY **ć* are still puzzling || **A**: NaT **°KI:ǰI* (< ***KIyǰI?*) > SbTt {Tm.} *qICI*, SbT B {Tm.} *qIčā* 'intestinal worm', SbTt Tb {Rl.} *qIčI* 'tapeworm (Bandwurm)' (unless all of them are loans from FU?) ¶ Tm. 143-4, Rs. W 260, Rl. II 792 ¶ The delabialization **u* > T **i* is attested in several roots (cp. N **kuńigU* 'to bend, to incline, to bow') and is still to be investigated ◊ N **ń* is tentatively suggested by **y* in pre-T ***KIyǰI*.

1100. **kuńź* > *-*ńć*-, *-*ńś*- (or **g|kuńź* > *-*ńć*-, *-*ńś*-?) 'star' > IE: NaIE **°g_hwōǰsd_h*- 'star' > BSl: Lt *žvaigždė*, Δ *žvaizdė* & *žvaiždė*, Ltv *zvaī(g)zne* id., L *gvegždátė* 'Sternchen' || Sl **gvězdā* 'star' > P *gwiazda*, Cz *hvězda*, Slk *hviezda*, Plb *gjozdă*, HLs *hwězda*, LLs *gwězda*, OCS *свѣзда* *zvězda*, Blg *звѣзда* > *звезда*, SCr *звѣзда* & *zviјézda*, Slv *zvezda*, R *звездá*, Uk *зві́зда* id. ¶ Assimilation between the Anlaut and the Inlaut of this long Baltic stem may have caused variability of the initial cns. (**g...z* > *z...z*, **g...ž* > *ž...ž*) and the appearance of the unetymological medial *g* ¶ Tr. 373-4, Frn. 1324, ≈ ESSJ VII 181-3 (the authors of ESSJ derive the BSl stem from IE **ǵ^hwōǰ-* 'shine' and believe that the Slavic **gv-* is a secondary development from **zv-*), Glh. 702-3, StSS 223 || **HS**: Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *gžžăŋ* ~ *gžšăŋ*, Bd {IL} *gusiaŋ* 'star' || Bole {IL} *žinžá* id. || ? Tula, Kir *ŋgaš* id. (ŋ- is a px, as in Tera *anžinžá*?) || CCh: Glv *k^wàžàžà*, Gv *k^wèžèžè*, Suk *gùmžà*, Db {LnG} *gìmžà*, {ChL} *gámžà*, Gudu *g^wòšù*, Mln *gùmlá*, Nz *gəmleki* 'star' ¶ ChC s.v. 'star', ChL, Sch. DN 62, Büchner SG, LnG s.v. *gìmžà* || **U** **kuńć* > FU: Prm {LG} **kò|ožíl* ({JLG} **kò|ožíl*) 'star'

> Z кодзув ко́зув, Z US koǰ+1, Prmk kǰǰ+V & kǰǰ+1, Vt XVIII кузели, Vt кизили kiǰííi, Vt B ko'žo'íi ({Lt.} kə-žə-íi) 'star' || ObU {Ht.} *kúńć ▽ id. > Vg {Ht.} *kūńć ▽ > OVg S ChusO and OVg S Vt конча, OVg S Kg конся, OVg S SSs koondse, Vg T kōńć id.; pOs {Ht.} *kǰs > Os: V/Vy qǰs, Ty/Y qos, D/K/Nz χus, Kz χῶs, O χos id. || Sm {Jn.} *kǰns ▽ kǰnyъ, {Hl.} *kǰns ▽ kǰnyъ 'star' > Slq Tz {KKIH} qǰǰǰǰǰ, Slq Kt qesaqa id., Slq Tm {KD} qǰǰǰǰǰ id., 'moon', Kms {KD} kǰńǰǰǰǰǰ, kǰńǰǰǰǰǰ, kǰńǰǰǰǰǰ, Koyb {Klp.} kǰnyǰǰǰǰǰ 'star', Mt {Hl.} *kǰńǰǰǰǰǰ id. (Mt T {Klp.} kǰńǰǰǰǰǰ, {Mil.} kǰnschik-i, Mt K {Mil.} kǰnschik-ei, {Pl.} gǰndzschiki, Mt M {Sp.} кинджикей, {Mil.} kǰnschikei id.) ¶¶ UEW 210-11, Coll. 15, Sm. 537 (U, FU *kǰnsǰǰ, FP *kǰnsǰǰ, Ugr *kǰnsǰǰ, Sm *kǰnsǰǰ 'star'), MF 307, Ht. no. 299, LG 126, Lt. 41-2, Jn. UK 263, Cs. 285, KD 35, Sp. SJM 72, Hl. M no. 489 || ¶ A: Tg *χǰsi-kta 'star' > Nn Nh χosaqta ~ χosǰqta ~ χosǰqta, Orc χosaqta, Ul χosǰta ~ χosta, Ork wasǰqta, Ud {Krm.} wahikta, Ewk ǰsǰkta, Sln ǰǰǰkta ~ ǰǰǰitta, Lm ǰsǰqat, WrMc {Z} ycyxa, Jrc {Kiy.} oǰǰǰǰǰ, {Md.} hosǰǰǰǰǰ id. ¶ STM II 27, Krm. 219, On. 474, Z 152, Bz. 23, S AJ 104 [no. 119], Kiy. 97 [no. O12], Md. ChF 134 ¶¶ S AJ 292 [no. 417] (pA *°k'ǰsi 'star'), SDM 845-6 (pA *k'ǰǰǰ ▽ '∈ star' > Tg + unc. T *Kǰǰǰ 'constellation of Cancer'), DQA no. 1155 (id.) ◇ Tg *ǰ (for the expected *uǰǰ) still requires explanation ◇ AD MR 263, Sin. USN 392-3 ◇ It is not yet clear which of the variants of the stem (that with N *Kǰ- or that with *kǰǰ-) is the original one. If it is N *Kǰǰǰ ▽ (suggested by the Tg cognate), the IE initial *ǰǰǰ- (most probably *ǰ-) is due to the IE root-structure rejection of **teǰǰ-roots (vl. + asp. vd. cns. in the same √). The N rec. with *kǰǰ- is less acceptable (because if the Tg cognate) ◇ N *-ńć- yields Tg*-s- (a regular sound change, cf. Introduction, 2.1, remark 15).

1101. (2?) *Kǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ '∈ blood vessel (with blood), blood' or sim. > HS: S *°kǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ- > Ar qǰǰǰǰǰ (pl. qǰǰǰǰǰ) 'membrane qui entoure le cœur; racine' ¶ BK II 823 || ?? WCh: pNrBc {Sk.} *takǰǰǰǰǰ- 'bleeding, cupping blood' > Dir, Sir takǰǰǰǰǰ, Mbr takǰǰǰǰǰ, My takǰǰǰǰǰ id. ¶ Sk. NB 13, S 250 [no. 34] ¶ In all probability, NrBc *takǰǰǰǰǰ- goes back to **√kǰǰǰǰǰ 'blood, bleed' || ¶ A *k'ǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ (= *k'ǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ?) 'blood, blood vessel' > M *qǰǰǰǰǰ- v. 'open a vein', 'bleed (an animal, a person)' > WrM {Kow., MED, Gl.} qǰǰǰǰǰ-, HIM {MED. BMR}, Brt xǰǰǰǰǰ- id., Kl {Rm.} χǰǰǰǰǰ- 'zu Ader lassen', {KRS} xǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ- χǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ- 'open a vein

(пускать кровь)', Ord χ ana- 'tirer du sang en ouvrant une veine, saigner' ¶ MED 927, BMR IV 37, Chr. 345, KW 166, Kow. 719, Gl. I 68, H 59, KRS 575, Ms. O 332 || pT *KE₁ān 'blood' ({Md.} *k'jān 'blood') > NaT *Kān > OT, MQp qān, [CC] qan, OT U, XwT. Chg ≥xv qan, Tk kan, Az gan, Ggz kan, Tkm gān, XT, Xlj {DT} qān, Slr {Tn.} qān 𐤒 qan, ET, Ln, SY, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt qan, Uz qan, Xk, Tv χ an, Tf qan, Yk χ ān id. || Blgh {Erd.} χ jan, Chv L юн jun, Chv Δ йон id. | NaT *Kāna- > OT qana- v. 'bleed (a patient, animal)', Tlt, QK {Rl.} qana- 'zur Ader lassen, пускать кровь', Osm {Rl.} qana- 'bluten', Tkm gāna-, Tk kana- 'bleed', VTt, Bsh, Qz, Nog, Qrg, StAlt qana- id., Qq qana ω n. 'bleeding' ¶ Cl. 629-30, 634, Rl. II 102-4, 109, DTS 417-18, Rs. W 230, ET KQ 251, Ra. 217, Dr. TM III 360-1, Erd. 81, 115, 123, 152-3, 163, Md. 111-12, 169, Ash. IV 330-1, Fed. II 486, Jeg. 349, ChVS 292, DT 173, TrR 506, TatR 222, BR 319-20, MM 430-1, KrkR 368-70, NogR 143, Jud. 338, BT 70-1 || Tg * \circ χ u η i- v. 'flow' (of blood) > Ewk Skh/Urm u η i- id.; T * χ u η i, * χ u η i-kta 'blood vessel' > Ewk VI/Y u η i id., Ewk u η i \bar{k} ta, Neg o η tā ~ o η i \bar{k} ta, Lm u η t \bar{b} , Ul χ o η g \bar{i} qta → χ o η goqta, Ork χ u μ uqta, Ud umakta, umukta id., Nn KU χ o η g \bar{i} aqta, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} χ o η g \bar{i} qta id., Nh Nh {On.} χ o η g \bar{i} qta 'vein' ¶ STM II 278, On. 468 ¶¶ T *KE₁ān suggests a front vw. in the pA initial syll. The Tg back vw. *-u- may be due to pA regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 797 (pA *k'jāno > Tg * χ u η i-kta, T *k'jān), DQA no. 1068, KW 166 (M, T), S AJ 281 [no. 151], S VL 198-9 (pA *k'uā η ∇ > T, Tg), Cl. 634 (M qana- ← T), SDM97 (A*k'ō η a > T, Tg) || ?σ D (att. in GnD) *ku η - ({ \oint GS} *k-) 'root, tuber' > Png kū η i id., Knd ku η i, Mnd kuni 'tuber', Kui kuna 'tuberous root', Ku kunna 'yam, potatoes', kuna ku \bar{c} a 'radish' ¶ D no. 1683 ¶¶ The meaning 'vein, sinew' is often transferred to roots, because both veins\sinews and roots were used as ropes and bonds ◇ Tg *- η - suggests N *- η -. T *-n (for the expected *- η) requires explanation. The length of the T vw. is due to the contraction of the A disyllable *- \bar{u} ω a- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 45 (*kem 'blood', incl. A, EA + unc. Sm *kem 'blood', Yk čeme id., actually from N *kāmē 'blood').

1102. * κ E $\bar{\eta}$ ' \hat{c} ∇ (or * κ Em \hat{c} ∇?) (~ * κ E $\bar{\eta}$ ' \hat{c} ∇?) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand' > HS: S * \circ ✓ κ a \hat{s} ∇- > Ar قَصَصْ qa \hat{c} ∇ \hat{c} - {Br.} 'sand and pebbles', {Hv.} 'pebble', qa \hat{c} ∇ \hat{c} -at- 'small pebbles', Ar Y {Slw.} qa \bar{d} ā \bar{d} 'eine als Mörtel verwendete Mischung aus roter Erde und Kalk', OYmn {Slw.} قَضَصْ qa \hat{c} ∇ \hat{c} D ({Slw.} qa \bar{d} ā \bar{d} a) 'zementieren' or 'bewerfen' ¶

BK II 758-9, Hv. 611, Slw. 180-1 || B * $\sqrt{k w z} \sim * \sqrt{k z z} \sim *^{\circ} \sqrt{z z}$
 'coarse sand' (× N * $k^{\prime} \ddot{u}^{\prime} \check{s} \check{?} \nabla$ 'gravel, [coarse] sand' [q.v. ffd.]) || C: Ag:
 Bln {R} $k \ddot{u} \check{s} \bar{a}$ (pl. $k \ddot{u} \check{s}$), {Fl.} $qu \check{s}$ 'sand' (× N * $k^{\prime} \ddot{u}^{\prime} \check{s} \check{?} \nabla$ '↑') ¶ R WB
 245, AD SF 88, Fl. p.c. || Om * $k a n \check{c}$ - 'sand' > NrOm: Kf {C} $k a \check{c} i n \bar{o}$,
 Mch {Fl.} $k a \check{c}$ -o, Bnc {Wdk.} $k \acute{a} m \check{c}$, She {Beke} $k a \check{c}$, Gmr (= She?) {Fl.
 AGC} $k a \check{c}$, Malo {Fl.} $k a \check{c} e$, Nao {Fl.} $k a \check{s} a$ id. ||| SOm: Gll {Fl.} $k a \check{c}$ 'sand'
 ¶ Blz. OL no. 101, C SE IV 484, Fl. AGC 617, Wdk. BY 106, AD SF 88 ||
 WCh: Ngz {Sch.} $k \grave{a} \check{c} \grave{a} \check{r}$ 'small stone, piece of gravel' ¶ Sch. DN 90 ||
 IE: NaIE * $\check{g} e \check{i} s$ - 'pebbles' (× N * $k^{\prime} \ddot{u}^{\prime} \check{s} \check{?} \nabla$ '↑', q.v.) > MHG $k i s$, NHG
 $K i e s$ 'gravel'; AS $c i o s o l$, $c i s e l$ id., OHG $k i s i l$ & $c h i s i l$, NHG
 $K i e s e l$ 'pebble', NLG $k e i s e r l i n g$, $k e s e r l i n g$, $k i e s e r l i n g$
 'pebble, small stone' ||| Pru $s i x d o$ ({En.} [$z i g z d o$]) 'sand', Lt $\check{z} i e z d r \grave{a}$
 'gravel, coarse sand', {Frn.} 'grain of sand \ of coarse sand',
 $\check{Z} i \check{e} z d r a s$ 'sand' ||| Phr [StB] $\gamma \acute{\iota} \sigma \sigma \alpha$ 'stone' ¶ P 356, Ho. 49, OsS 492,
 Kb. 546, KM 368, Frn. 1307, En. 248 || K: G $k \epsilon n \check{c}$ -i 'a pebble, small
 stone' ¶ Chx. 568 || ?φ $\mathbf{A} *^{\circ} k^{\prime} \nabla \eta \check{c} \nabla > \check{i} *^{\circ} k^{\prime} \nabla \eta \acute{n} \nabla$ (progr. as.) > Tg
 * $\chi o \eta \acute{n} \nabla$ 'sand' > Ewk $o \acute{n} i \eta$ 'sand, dust', Orc $o \acute{n} o k t o$ 'mud (?)'
 ('грязь'), Ud $o \acute{n} o k t o$ 'sand', Ork $\chi o \eta \eta \eta o \chi \iota$ 'grain of sand', $\chi o \eta o k t o$
 'sand' ¶ STM II 20 ◇ The original affricate may have been * \hat{c} (if the
 G word is a loan from Zan, which presupposes a pK rec. * $k \nabla n \hat{c}$ -). The
 cns. * $\eta | \acute{n}$ changed into m in Bnc, into *n in K (as. * $\eta \mathbf{C} > *n \mathbf{C}$) and
 disappeared in most other descendant lges (* $\nabla \eta | \acute{n} \hat{c} > * \check{v} \hat{c} > * \nabla \mathbf{C}$). In
 the prehistory of IE the original cluster * $- \acute{\eta} \hat{c}$ - is likely to have
 changed into * $- \acute{n} \hat{c}$ - (regr. as.) > * $- \check{i} s$ - (N * $\acute{n} > IE * \check{i}$ regularly),
 supported by the heritage of N * $k^{\prime} \ddot{u}^{\prime} \check{s} \check{?} \nabla$ (* $\ddot{u} > *i > * \check{i}$). An alt. rec. is
 * $k \check{E} m \hat{c} \nabla$, which is less probable in the light of Tg * $\chi o \eta \acute{n} \nabla$. The cause
 of the de-emphatization in pre-IE (N * $k^{\prime} > *k$ - [> IE * \acute{g}]) or the
 voicing in IE (* $k^{\prime} > * \acute{g}$ -) is still not clear. The unexpected Tg *o of the
 first syll. still requires explanation (regr. as., as suggested by Orc
 $o \acute{n} o k t o$, Ud $o \acute{n} o k t o$, Ork $\chi o \eta \eta \eta o \chi \iota$ and $\chi o \eta o k t o$?). Tg * \acute{n} (for the
 expected * \check{c}) may be due to assimilation (* $- \eta \check{c} > \check{i} *^{\circ} \eta \acute{n}$ -).

1103. * $K a w i \eta g \nabla$ 'shoulder joint, armpit' > U * $k a w i \eta \nabla - a | \check{l} \nabla$
 'armpit' (lit. 'under the shoulder joint', with * $a | \check{l} \nabla$ 'under') > FU: F
 $k a i n a l o$, Es $k a e n a l$, Vp $k a \check{i} n a l \sim k a \check{i} m o l$ 'armpit', Es $\Delta k a n g l a$,
 $k a n g e l$, $k a n g l e$ 'shoulder joint (Achsel)' | pLp {Lr.} * $k \bar{a} \eta \eta \bar{e} l (\bar{e})$ 'armpit'
 > Lp: S {Hs.} $g a a j n j \acute{e} l e$, Vfs {Lgc.} $g \grave{a} \check{i} \eta \epsilon \check{z}$, Ar {Lr.} $k \bar{a} \check{i} \eta g \check{i} e l$, Nt
 {TI} $k \acute{a} \check{i} n e l d \check{g} k$, Kld $k a \check{i} \eta e$, T $k \acute{a} \check{i} \eta e$ id. | Er $k a v a l - a l k s$, $k a v a l - a l$ id.

(alks, al 'being under [sth.]) | Chr: L конла кон'ла 'armpit gore in a shirt', Н коныла конъла, В конла, L/Uf конлайымал конлауь'mal 'armpit' (yəmal 'being under [sth.]) | pPrm *konul ({LG} *kɔnu) > Z LV/Ud kunuv, Z P/MS k+ñul, Prmk konuvt, Yz 'kunul, Vt кунул kunul 'armpit', Z кунлӧс kunl-зс, Z LV kunul-зс 'armpit gore in a shirt' ||| ObU: pVg {Ht.} *kǎln∇ ~ *kanəl 'armpit' > Vg: T kaInā, LK xǎnəl, MK/UK kǎnəl, P/NV kanəl, UL/Ss xanəl id.; pOs *kuŋən ~ *kunəŋ (as. from **kuŋəl ~ **kuləŋ?) 'armpit' (within cds) > Os: Nz χuŋən, Kz χŵŋən, V/Vy/Ty/Y qunəŋ, D χǫnəŋ, K χǎnəŋ, O χǫnəm id. | OHg holna, holnya 'shoulder joint (Achsel), armpit', Hg Δ hól n- (+ppa.), hólny, hany, Hg hóln, hóln-alj 'armpit' || Sm {Jn.} *kǎlŋ 'armpit' > Ne: T сял', T O {Lh.} śāł̄ǎ̄, F {Lh.} śgǎ·ł̄ ǎ̄ śgǎ·ł̄ŋǎ̄; Ng {Cs.} kałiŋ, {Mik.} kałi; En X {Cs.} séł̄i?, En B {Cs.} séri; Slq Tz {KKIH} qǫl+ñ, Slq LTz {KD} qǎlǎñ, Slq Tm {KD} q'ǎli', Kms {KD} q'ǎłəŋ, xǎłəŋ id. ¶¶ UEW 178, 645, SK 142, ZM 170, Lr. no. 339, Lgc. no. 1886, Hs. 511, TI 81, KMS 136, MRS 220, Ep. 46, LG 146, SZ 180, 187, Ht. no. 282, EWU 573, Jn. 63, KKIИ 164, ≠ Sm. 543 (FU, FP *kon i 'armpit', Ugr *konĩ-) ||| А *k'a|o'b'∇n|ŋ∇ 'armpit, bosom' > ppT ≈ *ko'w' i|un > NaT *koyn 'bosom, armpit' > OT qoyin ~ qoyun ~ qoy, MQp qoyun, Qmq, Qrg qoyun, Ggz koyun, Nog, Qzq, Qq, StAlt qoyin, VTt куен quyъn, Bsh quyъn, Xk χoyin, Uz qoyin, Tf hōy 'bosom', MU qōy, qōyun 'bosom, bosom of garment', Chg qoy(у)n, Oosm qoyun 'breast, bosom, armpit', Tk koyun 'bosom, breast, pocket', Az qoyun, ET qoyun, Ln qoyun, qoyin, qoyin, Xlj qōn 'bosom, an embrace', Tkm qoyun 'an embrace', Tv χoy 'bosom, breast', Yk {Pek.} χōy, χoin 'armpit, bosom' ||| Chv L хѣв, хѣ, Chv Δ хѣве ǎ хив 'bosom (Busen, пазуха)' ¶ Cl. 631, ADb. SR 158-9, ET Q 26-7, Rs. W 280, Ash. XVI 119, 279 and XVII 4, Fed. II 340, Jeg. 297, ChVS 248, 259, Ra. 189, Pek. 3439-40, JkR 499, DT 178 || Tg *xa'b'ani 'armpit' ({SDM} *χob∇ni) 'armpit' > Nn Nh/KU xawani ~ xawani, Ul xawa(n-), Ork xawani, Sln owonī ~ oxonī, Neg oxonī 'armpit', Ewk oxonī ǎ owonī ǎ ɔwɔnī, Lm oxni ǎ āwni ǎ owni, WrMc {Z} oxo {STM} id., 'bosom ({Z} мышка, подпазуха)' ¶ STM II 6, On. 437, Z 125-6 || ?σ M *qoŋgil, *qoŋg∇r 'hollow, cavity' > WrM {MED} qoŋgil, HIM хонгил {MED} 'hollow, cave, narrow ravine', {BMR} id., 'Baumhöhlung (дупло)', WrM {MED} qoŋqur 'hollow, cavity, pit, cavern', HIM хонхор {MED} id., {BMR} 'углубление,

выбоина, впадина, ухаб, рытвина', Brt хонги 'Baumhöhlung (дупло)', d. хонг е'о id., d. хонгирхуу adj. 'mit einer Baumhöhlung (дуплистый)', Kl {KRS} хөңгл хөңгәл 'углубление, впадина, пещера', Kl Ö хөңг] 'Vertiefung, Höhle', Ord хонхор 'petite cavité, petit creux, petite fossette' ¶ MED 962-3, BMR IV 104, 107, Luv. 536-7, Chr. 583, KRS 603, KW 193, Ms. O 354, SDM 830 (pM *qoŋ-) || ?σ pJ {SDM} *kàrìná 'arm' > OJ каруina, MJ kàrìná, J T káina, J K káiná, J Kg kainá id. ¶ Mr. 433, Kenk. 771 ¶¶ SDM 830 (pA *k'òbàni 'armpit' > Tg *χob∇ni) 'armpit', M *qoŋ- 'hollow, cavity', T *Kōyŋ 'armpit, bosom', J), ADb. SR-D 449, 454-5 (pA *k'awìŋ∇, 'armpit), ADb SR 316, TL 244 || D {IS} *kavυŋk∇ 'armpit' ({ϑGS} *k-) > Kn kavυŋkur, kavυŋk (a), koŋkur, koŋkar (a), Tm kamυkkaṭṭu (with ass. nasalization *-v- > -m-), Td komkw+r̄, Tu kavυka, Prj kavkor, kavkoḍ 'armpit', Gnd kākri, kākriŋ id. (kāk- due to the infl. of Hnd/Mrt kāk^h), Kdg kavŋki 'vital spot', Tl kavriŋgili 'bosom, breast, an embrace', Prj kavriŋgil, kavriŋgil, Gnd kalgiŋ 'lap' ¶¶ D no. 1234 || ?φ HS: Ch: CCh: Dgh {Frk} kwàk'w'sé 'armpit' || ECh: Mu {J} kũgí (pl. kàyàk) id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'armpit', Frk. s.v. kwàk'w'sé ◇ NaT *-n (rather than *-ŋ) still requires explanation (cp. N *moyAnŋ∇ 'neck, nape of the neck' > T *moyuŋn) ◇ IS I 344-6 (*Kawing∆ 'armpit'; U, A, D), ≈ Gr. II no. 14 (*kon 'armpit').

1104. *KäŋKa₁h∇, (~ *KäKa₁h∇?) 'shell, conch' > IE: NaIE *kōnk^ho- ~ *kōk^ho- 'conch, shell' > OI śarñ'kha- 'conch' || Gk κόρυχη, κόρυχος 'mussel, anything like a mussel shell', κόχλος 'shellfish with a spiral shell (murex), land snail', κοχλίς 'snail with a spiral shell' || Ltv Δ {ME} sence ~ zence 'ε Muschel' ¶ P 614, M K III 290-1 (hyp.: the lexeme is a Wanderwort), M E II 604, F I 889-90, ME III 816 and IV 713, EI 512 (*konkh₂o-s 'mussel[shell]') ¶ IE *k^h or *kH still need explaining (a trace of a N Ir.?) || A *K₂E₁ak- (= *K₂i₁ak-?) 'shell' ({S, SDM95} *k₂akta) > Tg *ki₁akta (< **ki₁ak-cta) 'conch, shell' > Ewk kēkta, Orc k₂akta 'shell', Nn Bk qāχta, WrMc {Z} кайкари, кайкамари petrified conch (окаменелая раковина), Ul qiaqta ~ kiyakta ~ k²akta 'conch; shell (скорлупа)', possibly Ewk hēki-kt ~ kiki-cta 'skin' ¶ STM I 386-7, Z 250 || pJ {S} *kàkî 'shell, oyster' > OJ kakyi, MJ kàkì id., J T kákì, J K kàkî, J Kg kakí 'oyster' ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 219], S QJ no. 219, Mr. 434, Kenk. 789 ¶¶ SDM 686 (pN *k|k'j₂aka 'shell' > Tg, J), DQA no. 811, S AJ 293 [no. 471] || D *kāk-/ *kakk-

({ǵGS} *k-) > Ml kākka 'shell, cockle', Tl kāki cippa 'a bivalve shell', Klm kāke 'shellfish, shell of snail', Nk kāki 'shellfish, snail'; D → Sk kākinī- ~ kākinī- 'the shell *Cypraea moneta*' ¶¶ D no. 1423 || HS: S: Ar qinqin- 'e coquillage marin' ¶ BK II 825 || Eg XVIII k̄k̄ 'e vessel of alabaster', Eg G k̄k̄.ty '(?) bark', Cpt: Sd KOKKE kuke, B KOKKI kuki 'skin, bark', ? Eg G k̄k̄, Cpt Sd/B KWK- kōk- ~ KOK kōk- v. 'debarck' ¶ EG V 71, Vc. 74 || NrOm: DMa {Fl.} qoqaše, Shn D {Fl.} gōqa 'inner bark'; but hardly here Shn {Lm.} gōqa 'dried skin', Kf {C} gōkko 'pelle, pellami', Shk {Lm.} gōkko 'skin', which are loans from C (Sd gōgā 'skin', Or {Th., Brl.} gōga 'skin, bark' etc.) ¶ Fl. OAM 27, Lm. Sh 308, C SE IV 442, Gs. 126, Th. 171, Brl. 179 || WCh: Tal k̄k̄ 'bark', ? Ang {Flk.} kuk 'skin' || Klr {J} àk'ú'k'w'èg 'bark' || ?? Tule kàkàkàrè id. || CCh: ? Mdr {ChL} gōgōgō, {Mch., ChC} ḡgōgō 'skin' ¶ JI II 8, ChL, ChC s.v. 'bark' and 'skin', Flk. s.v. kuk ¶¶ Tk. SCC 91 [no. 21.2] (Eg, Om, Ch + unc. Irq qaway 'strip of hide' and Dhl kawē 'eggshell', see N *qew∇ 'bark, crust, shell') ◇ Tg *k- (for the expected Tg *χ- < N *K̄-) may be due to assimilation. The IE palatalization of the guttural stop and D *ā point to a N *ä. The absence of the N cns.*ḡ (of *K̄äḡKa₁h∇₁) in pA, D, NrOm, Ch and in NaIE *kōk'ho- suggests a variant *K̄äKa₁h∇₁ of the pN etymon in question.

1105. *r̄k'apa 'to close, to cover' > HS: S *°✓kpp, as well as +ext.: *°✓kpl and (with deglottalization) *°✓kpr and *°✓kpn: [1] *°✓kpp > Ar ✓qff (pf. qaffa) 'se fermer comme un panier'; [2] WS *°✓kpl > Ar ✓qfl v. G 'lock (serrer)', 'ramaser et serrer dans un magasin', Gz ✓kfl 'overlay, cover', Mh/Jb/Sq {Jo.} ✓kfl v. 'close, lock'; [3] *°✓kpr v. 'cover' > Ar ✓kfr G id., BHb ✓kpr D v. 'cover over, pacify, atone for sin'; [4] WS *°✓kpn > Ar ✓kfn v. G (pf. kafana) 'cover bread with hot ashes, shroud (a corpse)', kafan- 'shroud (linceul)', Gz ✓kfn G v. 'cover, veil', Mh, Jb ✓kfn 'enshroud (a corpse)' (← Ar?) ¶ BK II 786, 791, 916, Hv. 660, BDB 497, L G 276, 424, Jo. M 235, KB 470, KBR 493-5 || B *°✓kyf > Gd ekēf v. 'hide' ¶ Lf. I 252, 296-7, II no. 0732 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kùb'í v. 'cover', kùb'í n. 'cover (Deckel)' || CCh: ?ZmB {J} kùb'ó v. 'cover', ZmD {KNC} kùb'ó? ?í 'close the eyes' || WCh: Ang {Orm.} kup v. 'cover', {Flk.} kup v. 'close tight, shut up (a fist)' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to cover', Eb. 74, Orm. s.v. kup, Flk. s.v. kup, KNC 14 || K: G kēpan-i 'a cover (for covering

food' ¶ Chx. 571, DCh. 605 || **A** *k'apa- > T *Kap(a)- > Tkm Δ gap- v. 'close', Tk kap-a-, Ggz kap-a-, Kr Cr, Nog qapa- v. 'close, lock', Chv {Ash. Fed.} xyp- 𐌔 xop- id.; 𐌔 T *Kap-gak, *Kap-ug 'a cover, lid' > OT qaraq 'lid, cover, eyelid', MQp, MOg qaraq, Chg qabaγ/q 'eyelid', OOsM qaraq 'eyelid', Tv χαναq 'forehead', XwT qabaq 'eyelid, virgin's hymen', Tk kapak, Tkm garaq, Az garaq, Ggz kapak, Nog, ET, Ln qaraq, Qrg qarraq, Qzq, Qq, StAlt qarraq 'a cover, lid', Xk χαχραχ, Yk χαρραχ, ET qaraq id., 'eyelid', Chv L xypǎ, Chv Δ xopǎ 'Deckel (крышка, покрывка), adj. 'bedeckt', Chv L xypax, Chv Δ xopax 'eyelid' ¶ Cl. 582-3, ET KQ 263-4, TL 212-13, TvR 460, Ash. XVI 35, 170-2, 176, Fed. II 358-9, Jeg, 305, ChVS 254 || **M** *qay-a- (< **qaba-) > MM [HI] qa-a- v. 'close (fermer)', WrM qaga- {SDM} v. 'close, block, surround', HIM xaa- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'close, lock, block up', Brt xaa- id., Kl {KRS} xaa- χā- v. 'close, lock', {Rm.} χā- 'zuschließen, zumachen', Mnr H {SM} χā- 'fermer, couvrir, défendre, cacher', Ord χā- 'fermer, couvrir, recouvrir' ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 905, BMR IV 3, Chr. 524, KRS 561, KW 175, SM 145, Ms. O 320 || Tg: **[1]** Tg: Nn {Prtd.} xapty 'a cloth for covering the face of a dead person', Nn Nh {On.} χāptō 'kerchief covering the head from the chin to the sinciput; a cloth worn by a clan's judge when investigating a case' ¶ On. 455, Prtd. s.v. xapty | **[2]** ?σ Tg *χap-ki- v. 'strangle, suffocate' > Ewk apki-, Lm apq̄-, Neg apku- id., Ork apq̄i ~ χapq̄i- ~ χapq̄i- id., 'catch by the throat', Ewk Sm apki- v. 'strangle, suffocate; slaughter (a reindeer)' ¶ STM I 47 ¶¶ SDM 765-6 (pA *k'ǎp'ù 'barrier' > M, T, Tg *χapki- + unc. T *Kap- 'gate, door' and pJ *kupai 'fence to keep away animals' || **U**: FU (in BF only) *°kapal- > F kapalo, Krl A kapalo, Krl Ld, Vp kabał, Es kapala-voö 'swaddling band', Vo kapaloittā 'to swaddle, to wrap in swaddling bands' ¶ SK 159, SSA I 304 || **D** *kapp-/ *kav- ({ǃGS} *k-) v. 'cover' > Tm kapru v. 'overspread (as a cloud)', kav-i v. 'cover, overspread', Ml kapruka id., kaviyān 'wrapper, pillowcase', Kt kavč- v. 'cover with a garment', Td kofč- id., Kn kapru v. 'cover, spread, overspread', kav-i, Tl kapru, Prj kapp- v. 'cover, overspread', Tu kabiyuni v. 'besiege, surround, overspread', Knd kap- v. 'overcast the sky' (of clouds), Ku kapʰanaḷ v. 'outflank', Krx kʰap- v. 'cover exactly' ¶¶ D no. 1221 ◇ Arm կոպ կօբ 'eyelid' and կափուցանեմ kapʰucʰanem (aor. կափուցի kapʰucʰi) 'I

cover, I shut, I close' (with an irregular k- and irregular vowels) are likely to be loans from an unknown source ◇ The N initial cns. is *k̥- unless G *ḳepan-i* is a loanword. If *ḳepan-i* is a loan, the N etymon is **Ḳapa* ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 342 (**kapa* 'skin, bark, cover(ing)') (IE, A, Ko, J, Ai + err. U).

1106. **Ḳap̥'a* 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof' > HS: S **kapp-* 'palm of hand' > Hb *ḳṗ* 'kap̥ (pl. *ḳṗṗ* *kap̥p̥ṗ*), OCn (EgSSc) *ka-p̥a* (= **kappa*), Ug *kp*, JA [Trg.], Sr *kap̥*, em. *kap̥p̥-ā*, Md *kaḫa*, Ar *كف* *kaff-* 'palm of hand', IA {HJ} *kp* id., 'hand', DA {HJ} *kp* 'hand', Mh {Jo.} *kaf* (pl. *kəfəf*), Hrs {Jo.} *kef* (pl. *kəfūf*), Jb E/C {Jo.} 'kef (pl. *əkʿəf*) 'palm of hand; paw, claw', Gz *kāf* 'heel, palm of hand, sole of foot', Ak (× S **ka'nap-* 'wing') *kaḫḫu* 'arm, hand; wing'; Cn *ḫ* → Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} *ka-pu* 'hand' ¶ KB 468, HJ 528-9, OLS 221, ≈ A no. 1364, Hoch 318, Js. 657, Br. 339, Sl. P 266, JPS 222, BK II 910, Ln. 658, Jo. M 204, Jo. H 67, Jo. J 127, CAD VIII 185-9, Sd. 444, Hlk no. 249, SivCR 85, MiK I no. 1.148 ¶ Hardly here WS **χṽpp-* 'hoof' > Ar *خف* *χuff-* 'sabot, pied (de l'autruche ou du chameau); plante de pied; bottine', Mh {Jo.} *χaf* (pl. *χə'faʷf*) 'hoof, sole of the foot', Hrs {Jo.} *χef* 'paw, hoof', Jb C {Jo.} *χaf* 'hoof' (BK I 598, Jo. M 438, Jo. H 140, Jo. J 298, MiK I no. 1.135) || Eg P *kb.ʷy* 'soles of feet', Eg FP *cb.ʷ* 'sole of the foot', *cb.t*, *cb.ʷt* id., 'sandal' ¶ EG V 118, 361-3, Fk. 304 || EC: Sml {ZMO} *qōb*, Sml N {Abr.} *qōb* 'hoof of horse\donkey\cattle'; LEC {Bl.} **ka|ob-* 'sandal' > Or {Grg.} *koḫē* 'sandals, shoe', Or B *kóbeʔ*, Or W *koḫeʔ*, Sml *káb*, Bn *kob*, Arr *kob*, Gdl *hop-ā*, Elm *kop*, *kóp-oʔ*, Gwd *χopé* 'sandal', Gln *hop-akkó* (pl. *hop-e*) '(sole of) foot, sandal', Rn *kób* 'shoe, sandal', Af *kab-el*, Kns *χóp-ta* (pl. *χóp-ā*) 'sandal, footprint', Gdl *hóf-t* 'footprint' ¶ Abr. S 203, ZMO 331, Bl. 151, 175, 192, Hw. A 374, AMS 202, 264, PG 198 || ?? NrOm: Anf {Gt.} *kiḫḫo* 'arm (braccio)' ¶ Gt. s.v. *kiḫḫo* || Ch: [1] Ch: Hs *ḳáfà* 'foot', ? Hs Kc *ḳàfà* 'hoof', Gw *kápa* 'foot, leg'; ? Ang {Flk.} *kāp* 'sandals' || ? ECh: Kbl, Gabri {AF} *koḫ-in* 'my hand' (-*in* is 'my'), Nng {AF} *keḫúng*, Drm {AF} *koḫóng* 'my arm' (-*ng* or -*ung* means 'my'), Kaba {AF} *koḫí* 'arm', *kabi kāsí* 'hand' || [2] WCh **ḳ|qof-* 'hoof' > Hs Sk *ḳwáfà*, Hs *kōfatò*, Gw *kòhóto* 'hoof', Ang {Flk.} *kḫēb*, {OS} *kḫēp*, {Stl. IF ← ?} *kḫap* 'hoof', {Sk.} *kḫep* 'foot of all hooved animals except horse' || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} *kábē* 'hoof', ? Lgn {Lk.} *koáfē*, {Mch.} *koḫe* 'fingernail' ¶ Ba. 527, Mts. G 61, Lk. ZSS

87-92, ≠ Sk. HCD 165, ChC s.v. 'fingernail', Flk. s.v. $k\bar{a}p$, Lk. L s.v. $k\bar{o}áfe$ ¶¶ OS no. 1428 (* $kap-$ 'hand' > S, Eg $k\bar{p}$), no. 1406 (* $kab-$ shoe, sandal': Wanderwort in Eg, Ch), Blz. OLBP no. 1 (S, Om, Ch) || IE: NaIE * $k\bar{o}ap-$ 'hoof' > Gmc (× N * $\text{ḶEP}_\text{V}\bar{z}\bar{V}$ 'paw, hoof?'): ON $hófr$, NNR, Dn, Sw hov , OHG $huof$, NHG Huf , AS $hōf$ 'hoof', NE $hoof$ || SI * $kop\bar{t}-o, -a, -ъ$ 'hoof' (× d. from SI * $kopa-$ 'dig?') > Ch, OR $к\bar{o}п\bar{y}т\bar{o}$ $kop\bar{t}o$, Blg $к\bar{o}'п\bar{t}o$, SCr $k\bar{o}p\bar{t}o$, Slv $kop\bar{t}o$, Cz, Slk, P $к\bar{o}p\bar{y}т\bar{o}$, R $к\bar{o}п\bar{y}т\bar{o}$, Uk $к\bar{o}п\bar{t}o$ 'hoof' || OI $к\bar{a}p\bar{t}\bar{i}$ 'two handfuls' (× NaIE * $kap-$ v. 'seize' < N * $\text{Ḷap}_\text{V} \sim *Ḷap\bar{V}$ 'seize') ¶ Av $с\bar{a}f\bar{a}-$ and OI $с\bar{a}p\bar{h}\bar{a}-$ 'hoof of a horse' are kept aside (they belong to IE * $\bar{k}opH-$ < N * $\text{ḶEP}_\text{V}\bar{z}\bar{V}$ 'paw, hoof') ¶ ≠ P 346-7 (IE * $\bar{k}a|op\bar{h}o-$ > Gmc, OI, Av), ≈φ EI 272 (* $\bar{k}o'p\bar{h}_2o-s$ 'hoof'), M K I 154, Ho. 168, Kb. 489, OsS 431-2, KM 318, Vr. 247; ≈ ESSJ XI 33-8 and Glh. 332 (SI * $kop\bar{t}o$ ← * $kopa-$ rather than < IE * $k\bar{o}ap-$), Ma. CS 276 || U: [1] FU (att. in FV) * $k\bar{a}pp\bar{a}$ ≈ paw, foot' > F Δ $k\bar{a}pp\bar{a}$ 'paw' ⚡ $k\bar{a}(p)p\bar{a}$ '(seizing) hand', Krl $k\bar{a}pp\bar{a}$ 'bird's foot', Es $k\bar{a}pp$ (gen. $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}$) 'paw', {W} id., 'hand (of little children)', Lv $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ 'foot (of a dog, cat); ⇨ BF * $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ > F $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, Vr $k\bar{a}b\bar{a}l$ 'paw, foot' || Er $к\bar{e}п\bar{e} к\bar{e}p\bar{e}$, Mk $к\bar{y}п\bar{e} k\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ 'barefoot' || [2] FU * $\bar{k}a|pp\bar{r}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{V}$ > Chr H $к\bar{a}p\bar{a}l$ 'heel', Chr {Ü} $к\bar{a}в\bar{a}л$ 'heel (talon, каблук)' ¶ UEW 651-2 (* $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ 'paw, hand'), SK 260-1, SSA I 474, W ESS 246, ERV 254, Ü 57 || ?φ A ≈ * $\text{Ḷ}^a'p\bar{u}$ (or ≈ * $\text{Ḷ}U\bar{p}\bar{V}$?) 'hoof, heel' > pKo {S} * $k\bar{u}p$ 'hoof' > MKo $k\bar{u}p$, NKo kup ¶ S QK no. 514, Yu 90, MLC 220 || pJ {S, SDM} * $kup\bar{i}-(mp\bar{i})su$ 'heel' > OJ $kup\bar{i}p\bar{i}su$, MJ $k\bar{u}b\bar{i}su$, J T $k\bar{u}b\bar{i}su \sim k\bar{i}b\bar{i}su$, JK $k\bar{u}b\bar{i}su$, J Kg $kub\bar{i}su$ ¶ Mr. 461, S QJ no. 487, Kenk. 1089 || ?φ M * $qay\bar{i}r-$ (if from ** $qap\bar{i}r-$) 'kick with a hoof' > WrM {MED} $q\bar{a}i\bar{r}\bar{a}-$, HIM {MED, BMR} $х\bar{a}й\bar{p}\bar{a}-$ v. 'kick forward with a hind leg' (of horses), Brt $х\bar{a}й\bar{p}\bar{a}-$ v. 'kick with the hind legs' (of cows, camels, sheep, goats), Kl {KRS} $х\bar{a}p\bar{r}- х\bar{a}r-$ v. 'kick with the hind legs' (of cows, bulls and camels), {Rm.} $х\bar{a}r-$ 'einen Fußtritt geben, ausschlagen' (von Ochsen und Kamelen), Ord $х\bar{a}r-$ 'donner des coups de pieds de côté au moyen des pieds de derrière', WrO $х\bar{a}i\bar{r}\bar{a}-$ 'kick' (of horses); ?φ MM $q\bar{a}p\bar{i}-$ v. 'tread' ¶ MED 913, BMR IV 20, Chr. 534, Ms. O 346, Krg 253, KRS 587, KW 180, Ms. O 346 ¶¶ SDM 690-1 (pA * $k\bar{u}'\bar{i}a'p\bar{u} \sim *k\bar{u}'\bar{i}e|ap\bar{u}$) 'hoof, heel' > M, J, Ko), DQA no. 835, Whtm. 182, 226 ◇ Eg b for the expected p is still to be explained.

1107. *id.* ***Ḳap** ∇ ~ ***Ḳap** ∇ 'to seize' (***Ḳ**- = ***q**-?) (with a N variant ***Ḳab** ∇, possibly due to the infl. of N ***gaɣb** ∇ 'hold, seize' and N ***ḳäbʔâ** 'bite') > HS: S *^o✓**ḳb**ω > Ar ✓**q̄b**ω (pf. **qabā**, ip. -**qbū**) v. 'hold\take with fingers', *^l✓**ḳp**- ~ *^l✓**ḳb**- +ext.: CS *^o✓**ḳp**š > Ar ✓**q̄fs** *G* 'saisir qn aux cheveux, saisir violamment une chose comme pour l'arracher', {Hv.} 'take hold of so. by the hair, grasp', Sr ✓**ḳp**š *D* 'catch with the open mouth', *^o✓**ḳb**θ > Ar ✓**q̄b**θ v. (ip. -**qbiθu**) 'saisir', *^o✓**ḳb**ç > Ar ✓**q̄b**ç (ip. -**qbiçu**) 'take (sth.) with the ends of the fingers', *^o✓**ḳb**ḡ > Ar قبض ✓**q̄b**ḡ (pf. **qabaḡa**, ip. -**qbiḡu**) 'serrer\fermer la main en contractant les doigts', ps. (pf. **qubiḡa**) 'be seized with the hand, be grasped'; less plausibly WS *^o✓**ḳb**l v. 'receive, accept' (> BHb ✓**ḳb**l *D* 'accept, receive', Aram, Sr, Mh, Tgy ✓**ḳb**l [mainly *D*] v. 'receive', Ar ✓**q̄b**l *G* id.) which may be alternatively explained as d. from S *^l✓**ḳabil**- 'in front of' ¶ KBR 1061-2, Br. 686, BK II 657-61, 665, 670, 789, Hv. 584-6, BDB no. 690, L G 418-19 || Eg P **ḳfr** 'fassen (jemandes Hände)' ¶ EG V 32 || EC ***ḳab**- {Ss., Bl.} v. 'catch, have' > Sa {R} **ḳab**- id.; pSam ***ḳab**- > Sml **qab**- {Abr.} v. 'catch hold of, have', {DSI} 'avere, tenere', Rn {PG} **ḳab**- 'have, possess', **ḳab**-s- 'hold, get hold of; catch, grab'; pBn d. ***ḳab**-**ḳd**- ({Hn.} ***qab**-**ḳd**-) v. 'catch, seize' > Bn K **ḳabaʔ**-, Bn Ba **ḡabd**-, Bn J **obḳd**-, Bn Bi/Sa/Kj **owḳd**-; Or {Grg.} **ḳab**- 'have, seize', Or H **ḳab**- v. 'have, hold', Or S **ḳab**- ~ **ḳaw**- v. 'have, catch, seize', Kns {BISO} **qap**- v. 'catch, have, hold', Gdl {Bl.} **ḳap**- v. 'catch, have'; Dsn {To.} **ḡáb** 'have', Arr **ḳab**- v. 'have', 'mate' (of a male animal); Gwd {Ss.} **ḡap**-, **ḡep**-, Gln {AMS} **ḡap**- v. 'catch' ¶ Bl. 197, 317, Bl. G 65, Ss. PEC 14, 48, Ss. D 216, Hn. BD 97, R S II s.v. **ḳab**-, Abr. S 196-7, DSI 479, Schlee 33, Sim 16, 26, PG 186, Th. 264-5, Sr. 350, 352, Grg. 311-12, Ow. 266, BISO 156, Hw. A 377, AMS 200, To. DL 502 || ??σ NrOm: Kf {C} **ḳap**- v. 'swallow', Mch {L} **ḳappa** v. 'finish, take a mouthful' ¶ L M 47, C SE IV 486 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} ***qaf**- 'grasp' > P' {MSk.} **ḳáḑā** 'take a handful of', Plc {ChL} **ḡup**-tu, Ngz {Sch.} **ḡáfáú**, Bd **ḡaf** 'grasp', Tng **k̄be** 'catch a thing', ? Hs {Ba.} **kaf** (an ideophone that emphasizes security of hold); SBc ***k** ∇ **b**- (mte. from ***ḳ** ∇ **b**|p-) > Dw **kəbiy** v. 'seize', Kir **kuby** v. 'seize, hold' ¶ ChL, Stl. IF 111 (+ unc. Ang **ḡap** 'tongs'), Sch. DN 66, Msk. s.v. **ḳáḑā**, Ba. 522 ¶ Plc **ḡuptu**, Ngz **ḡáfáú** and Bd **ḡaf** may alternatively (⇔ Stl.) belong to N ***gaɣb** ∇ 'hold, seize' || IE: NaIE ***kap**- v. 'seize' > Gk **κῑπτω** v. 'gulp down', **κῑπη** 'handle (of an oar, of a sword etc.)' || pAl ***kapa** (< IE

*kap-) > Al kap 'I seize, I grasp'; pAl *kapmi (< IE *kap-mi) > kam 'I have' ||| L capio / capere / cēpi / captum v. 'take' ||| Clt {Matas.} *kaxto-'prisoner, slave' > OIr {S} cacht 'maidservant, bondmaid' (÷ L capta), MIr {Matas.} cacht ā- f. 'female servant', cacht o- 'slave', Brtt (÷ L captus): MW caeth 'bond, captive; captivity', W caeth 'slave', OCrm [γ] cait 'servus', MCrn {S} caid 'captive', MBr quæz 'poor, unfortunate', Br {Hm.} keaz 'pauvre (unglücklich), malheureux, misérable' ||| Gmc: Gt haban (· ἔχειν, κρατεῖν) 'haben, halten', ON hafa, AS habban, OHG, NHG haben 'to have', NE have; Gt hafjan (· ἄρειν) 'heben', ON hefja, OSx hēbbian, hēffian, OHG hefjan, heffan, hevan, NHG heben, AS hēbban 'to raise', NE heave; Gmc pp. (÷ L captus): ON haptr 'Leibeigener', AS hæft 'prisoner, captive, slave', Gt haft's 'married' (← pp. 'behaftet'), OHG haft 'hold (gehalten), tied, caught', NHG -haft (sx of adjectives: lebhaft 'lively', schmerzhaft 'painful' etc.) ||| Ltv kàmp̃t (pres. kàmp̃ju) 'to grip, to snatch, to seize' (generalization of the nasalized form of pres.) ||| OI kapat̃ī 'two handfuls' (× N *K̃ap̃'ā' 'palm of hand, sole of foot') ¶ P 527-8, EI 563, WH I 159-60, F I 783-4, Vn. C 3, O 167-9, Huld 142, 145, 167, Fs. 229-30, Ho. 143-4, 153, Ho. S 31-2, Kb. 419, OsS 360, 362, 378, KM 278-80, 295, Kar. I 375-6, M K I 154, Matas. E 197, Hm. 411 ||| id. U: FU {Sz.} *kapp- '≈ grasp, take' > Er каподемс 'to grasp, to take quickly', Δ {Jv.} 'to swallow', Mk 'καποδε- kapədə- v. 'swallow, seize' and Δ {Jv.} 'take sth. into the mouth' (× N *K̃äbʔâ 'bite') ||| Vg: ML/LL/P/K {Mu.} khãpeji 'umnehmen, schnell anziehen (Schuhe)', N {Mu.} χãpéji ~ χãpéji id., 'erwischen' ({Mu.} é ≈ [ə]) ¶ Sz. 35, KC 89, ERV 233, Jv. 176, PI 101-2, MK 106-7 ¶ F kaappa- v. 'take, capture, lay hold of', Es kãega kaapa- v. 'seize by hand' and Hg kap- v. 'get, receive' are to be kept apart as independent onomatopoeic formations (on the ev. of the etymologically irreg. phonemes: ā in BF [F, Es] and k- in Hg) (I am grateful to Jn. who helped me to analyze the FU data) ||| A *k'ap|b∇- 'seize, hold' > T *Kap- v. 'grasp, seize' > OT qap-, Tk kap-, Ggz kap-, CrTt, Ln, SY qap- id., Az gāp- 'snatch, seize', Tkm qap- v. 'catch, grasp, seize with the teeth \ by mouth', ET qap-, Nog qap/b- 'bite', Qq, VTt, Bsh qap-, Tf qãp-, Chv χip- 'seize with the teeth, take into the mouth, bite', Qzq qab- v. 'grasp, seize with the teeth', Qrg, StAlt qap-, Xk χap-


id., 'seize', Qmn, Tb qap- v. 'seize, catch', Xlj qap- 'rob', ? Tv χαβιρ- 'expropriate, raise (taxes), levy (a tribute)' ¶ Cl. 580, ET KQ 264-6, Rs. W 218, Ash. XVI 84, S AJ 194 [no. 211], ARL 73, TkR 154, KrkR 373, MM 419, TatR 200, Jud. 343, BT 72, B DChT 123, B DK 219, BIG 273, Fed. I 380, DT 174 ¶ The meaning 'take into the mouth' is due to contamination with N ***ḱäbʔâ** 'bite' || M *qabu-la- v. 'grasp' > WrM {Rs.} qab(υ)la-, {Gl.} qabla- 'catch by hands\mouth', WrO χαβλυ- ~ χαβλα- v. 'seize by mouth or by hands', Kl {KRS} χαβλ- 'catch, seize by mouth', {Rm.} χαω] - 'nachjagen und einholen', 'gut treffen' (vom Geschossenen); 'festnehmen, ergreifen'; ?σ M *qabu 'skill (esp. in handling a bow), strength' > MM [HI] qabu- in qabutan 'bons archers', WrM {MED} qabu ~ qaba 'skill in hunting \ handling a bow etc.', HIM χαβ {MED} id., {BMR} 'adroitness, courage, strength, skill in shooting a bow', WrM {Kow.} qabu 'exercice, exercise en tire d'arc, adresse, agilité', Brt χαβ 'strength, might, ability', WrO χαβα 'capacity, comfort', χαβ ügei 'unskilled, a bad shot' (lit. 'no χαβ'), χαβυται, χαβαταρ 'skilful', Kl {KRS} χαβ χαβ 'dexterity, marksmanship', 'Geschicklichkeit (z.B. zum Schießen)', Ord χαωα 'adresse, habileté (à la chasse, à manier l'arc ou le fusil)' || qu. (??σ,φ): SDM97 adduced M *kab- 'pinch, squeeze, grasp' (actually *qabč̣i- 'squeeze, pinch' [> WrM qabč̣i- id. etc.] and *qabsi- 'put together' [> WrM qabsi- id.]) ¶ Gl. II 86, Ms. H 85, Ms. O 343, MED 900, BMR IV 3, Kow. 756, Chr. 524, KRS 561, KW 173-4, Krg. 236-8, SDM97 150 || Tg *°χαβ' - > Ork χαω- 'buy' ¶ STM I 457 || pJ *káρ- 'buy, exchange' > OJ kap-, MJ káφ-, id., J: T kà-, K/Kg ká- 'buy' ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 198], S QJ no. 198, Mr. 706, Kenk. 880 ¶¶ SDM 766-7 (pA *k'ap'∇ 'press, grasp' > Tg *χαρki- 'strangle', M *qab- 'pinch, squeeze; grasp, hold', T *Kap- 'snatch, take; bite'), DQA no. 974 (id.), ≈ SDM 760-1 (pA *k'áρ∇ 'buy, pay back' > pJ *káρ- 'buy, exchange', Tg *χab- 'buy + [not going back to *Ḳap∇ ~ *Ḳap∇ 'to seize'] Tg *χab- 'complain, start' and pKo *kàphí- 'compensate, pay back'), S AJ 289 [no. 318] (T, M, Tg, J) || D (att. in SD) *kapp- ~ *kavv- ({{ḡGS} *k-) v. 'seize with mouth' (× N ***ḱäbʔâ** '↑') > Tm kappu v. 'gorge, cram into mouth', kavvu v. 'seize with the mouth', Kdg kabba- 'seize with wide-open mouth' (of dogs, tigers etc.) ¶ D no. 1222 ◇ Stl.'s WCh rec. *qof- (if valid) is likely to suggest a N etymon *qapa ◇ IS I 313-14 (*ḱaba/ḱap'a 'хватать': HS, K *ḱb- v. 'bite', IE, U, D, A); IS did not distinguish between this √, N ***ḱäbʔâ** 'to bite' (→ 'eat') and N

***gafb** ▽ 'hold, seize' ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 331 (*kap 'seize') (IE, U, A, J + unc. Ko, Gil).

1108. *k'a'p'U' 'bird' > HS: Om: NrOm: Kf {C} kafō, {Msr.} ka'fo, {HHM} kafo, Amuru {Fl.} káf̄fa, Zl {C} kafō, Zs {Si.} ka'φo, Zrg {Si.} 'kapo, Wl {LmS} kafuwa_, {C} kafō, {Fl.} kafo, Gf {C} kafā, Gm {Hw.} kapó, Omt {Mrn.} kapo ~ kafo, Bdt {C} kabō, {Fl.} kaffo, Anf {Gt.} kafo, {C} kafō, Cha {Fl.} kafa, Shn {Lm.} kafá, {C} kafā, Dwr {LmS} kafwa ~ kaffo, Bnc {Wdk.} káp, Gnj {Si.} ka'ho, Gcm ka'φo, Hz {Siw} kábbi, Sz I kawĩ?, Sz II kaw i?, Malo {Fl.} kafó, Bsk {Fl.} kafa id. | Mj {LmS, C} kēbi, Na {C} kap^hu, {Fl.} kab, Shk {Fl.} kēbi, {LmS} kafo 'bird' ¶ C SE IV 460 and III 204, C SO 31, 44, 50, 61, 69, Lm. Sh 325, LmS 409, Wdk. BY 143, Si. ACh 12, SiW BA 10, Fl. OWL s.v. 'bird', Gt. 354, HHM 11, Msr. 195, Hw. EG s.v. 'bird', Mrn. O 148 || Ch: CCh: Kola {Sb.} kábárâm, FIJ xùbwàtì 'bird' ||| WCh: Zul kiburi, Kir kuk^wàbər, Buli kubər 'dove' ¶ JI II 23, ChC s.v. 'bird' and 'dove', ChL, Sb. K s.v. kábárâm || ? Eg fMK ɓ b ħ. ω 'waterfowl' (pl.) ¶ EG V 30 ¶¶ A connection of this root with S *ka'nap-, C {AD} kanp- 'wing' and C *k▽mP▽r 'bird' is not convincing enough (see s.v. N *kaʔiñ▽ 'wing, feather', AD SF 65) ¶¶ Blz. OL no. 159 || D: SD *kuppul- 'bird' > Kn Hv kuppulu 'a bird', Tu kupulu ~ kup(u)l̄u 'crow pheasant' ¶ D no. 1735 || ?σ IE: NaIE (+ext.) *kops- 'blackbird' > Gk κόψ-ιχος id., Sl *kosъ id. > RChS kocъ kosъ, Blg, McdS koc, SCr, Slv kōs, Cz, Slk, P kos, Uk Δ κic id. ¶ P 614-16, EI 70, F I 930, ESSJ XI 175-8, Glh. 335 || K: G {Chx.} kapoeti & kapuēti 'a bird older than one year', 'ε bird of prey', {DCh.} kapoeti 'a year-old bird' ¶ Chx. 550, DCh 593 ◇ The geminate *-pp- in D and probably the glottalized -ḫ- in Kola and Zul may be accounted for by a N emphatic *p̄. In Ch there is deglottalization *k̄- > *k-. The voicing *p̄ > Eg ɓ defies explanation (a reflex of the second component of the underlying cd [voiced cns. + *Vħ|χ]?). SD *u of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. ◇ The equation between Om, Ch and D was suggested by Blz. (Blz. L no. 12b).

1109. *kAP_ ▽ 'leaf' > K: OG kēp-i 'sheet (in a book)' (Jer. 36.23), G kēp-i 'sheet (of paper)' ¶ DCh. 606, Chx. 572 || A *ok'ap▽... > Tg: [1] Tg *χabda- 'leaf' > Ewk abdanna, Lm əbdanra, Neg abdana, Ul χabdata, Ork χamdata, Nn Nh χabdata, Nn Bk χabtana, χαφtana, χabna, Nn KU abdana, Orc abdasā, Ud {Shn.} abdeHä id.; [2] Tg *χabda-qa- (~ *χaba-qa-?) > Neg abdaχān 'small leaf, flower', Nn Nh abaχa

leaf', WrMc {Z} абдаха 'leaf', афаха 'leaf (floating on water)', {Z, Hr} афаха афаха 'sheet of paper', Mc Sb афзһз 'leaf', {Mrm.} афха 'leaf; sheet of paper, paper', Jrc {Kiy.} абуха 'leaf' ¶ STM I 3, 5, On. 436, Z 26-7, 56, Hr 12, Krm. 203, Kiy. 104 [no. 119], Y no. 2137, Klz. MS 93 || HS: ECh: Kwn {J} kǎpǐ 'leaf', {Blz. ← ?} kǎpǎŋ id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'leaf', Blz. EChWL s.v. 'leaf'.

1110. *Қор ▽ 'trunk, log' > HS: Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} kǎpǎŋ 'tree', Mgm {JA} kǎpǎ '(\epsilon) tree' ¶ ChC s.v. 'tree', Eb. 68, JA LM s.v. kǎpǎ || ?φ S *ogūb- > Sr  gū'ǎ-ā, cs. gū'ǎ 'beam, joist, plank' ¶ JPS 62, Br. 100 || U: FU *k'ǎ'pǎ'E' 'log, boat' > Vt кыпы kǎpǎ 'log (колода)' || pObU {Ht.} *kǎpǎ ▽ 'boat (Kahn)' > pVg {Ht.} *kǎpǎ ▽ > OVg: S ChusO kǎeba, S VT/Kg каба, S SSS каһбе, W P капъ, E TM kǎp, Tb кыпы, N SoG сһар, N SoO хабъ; Vg: T kǎ'p, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML kǎp, LK/UL/Ss kǎp id.; pOs {Ht.} *kap id. > Os: K χор, Nz/Kz χор, O χар ¶ Coll. 93, U3S 244, Ht. no. 302 || A: [1] pA *Қор ▽ 'trunk, log, trough, box' > M *qobu'ǎ'a > WrM {MED} qobuǎa 'trough, well bucket', HIM ховоо {MED} id., {BMR} 'well bucket', Brt хобоо 'Futterkrippe (für Lämber, Schwene und Kälber), Holzklotz', Kl {KRS} хова, {Rm.} χowā 'ein eimerähnlicher Lederschlauch an langer Stange (um Wasser aus dem Brunnen zu schöpfen)', Ord oŋoč'o χowō 'auge pour abreuver le bétail' (with oŋoč'o id.) ¶ MED 950, BMR IV 90, Chr. 574, KRS 591, KW 191 || pJ *kǎpǎ > OJ kapǎi, MJ kǎpǎ 'scoop, ladle, spoon' ¶ Mr. 433 || T: (a) NaT *kobǎa 'pail, bucket' > OT {MK} qovǎa 'pail, bucket', Tkm {ET} qowǎa 'well bucket of leather', Nog qawǎa id., Tk kovǎa 'pail, bucket', Kr qovǎa, qorqǎa, Qz {ET} qawǎa, Qq gawǎa ~ {ET} qawǎa 'well pail\bucket' id. ¶ ET Q 12-13, DTS 461, KrkR 153, NogR 132 || (b) ?? AdS of T: > Tk gǎvǎe, Az кевдә 'trunk (of a tree\body)' (< N *gǎ'ǎ'Uǎ ▽ 'body', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ET VGD 52-3, Cl. 688 ¶ ≈ SDM 763-4 (pA *k'ǎp'ǎ 'a kind of vessel' > pJ *kǎpǎ + err. [belonging to the below-mentioned pA *ҚаPǎi|Ircǎk] M *qayurǎag ~ *qayirǎag 'small box, chest' and T *КаPǎi|Ircǎk + err. [belonging to N *ҚаPǎ, ▽, Sa 'box'] Tg *χapǎa 'box, bag, delved boat' and T *Kapsak) || [2] pA *ҚаPǎi|Ircǎk > T *КаPǎi|Ircǎk 'box' > OT {DTS} qabirǎaq 'box, Koffer; coffin', OT Kr qapirǎaq, MT qabirǎaq ~ qaburǎaq, Tk koburǎuk, Δ kapurǎak 'box, coffin', Tkm гапыржак 'box (ящик, коробка)', VTt {Rl.} qǎpǎrǎǎq 'Kasten, Schachtel'; T ⇨ ChS kovǎhegǎ, Blg, R, Ukr, SCr

ковчег 'arc, shrine' ¶ Cl. 587, ET KQ 276-8, DTA 399, Tkr 154, Rl. II 685, Vs. II 272-3 || M *qaϑir̄caḡ ~ *qaϑur̄caḡ (< ppM **qaβir̄caḡ) > WrM {MED} qaϑir̄caḡ 'small box, chest', {Rm.} qaḡur̄caḡ 'box', HIM {MED, BMR} хайрцаг, {BMR} хуурцаг, Brt хайрсаг 'small box, chest', Kl Ö {Rm.} χūrcaḡ 'großer Kasten, Sarg', Ord χār̄c̄'aḡ 'boîte rectangulaire' ¶ MED 914, BMR IV 21, 178, Chr. 535, KW 202, Ms. O 347 || [3] pA *k'op̄ira 'bridge, ford in a river' > M *köϑürge 'bridge' > MM [HI] ke,ürge, WrM {MED} kögerge(n) ~ kögürge, HIM {MED, BMR} хөөрөг, Brt хүүргэ 'bridge', Mnr H {T} kōlgo id., {SM} k'ōrg_ūō 'pont', Ord k'ōrgö id., ?φ Kl {Rm.} gūr 'Brücke, kleine Brücke (über einen Fluß)' ¶ Ms. H 71, Ms. O 430, MED 480, BMR IV 142, SM 205, T 340, KW 140, Chr. 634, Cl. 690 (M ← T *köprüg) || T *Köpür, *Köpürüg 'bridge' > (a) T *Köpür > QrB, Kr Cr köpür, Tk Δ köpür ~ köper ≙ küper, Qzq, Qq, Nog köpir, VTt, Bsh küp̄r, Slr kömur 'bridge', Chv кёпер kab_er id., 'Gerüst (помост), мостки'; (b) T *Köpürüg > OT {Cl.} köprüg, MQp XIII köprü:, XIV (incl. CC) köprü:, XwT XIV köprü(g), Chg ≥XV köprük, ET köprük, Uz köprük, ET kövrük, Tv kövürüx, Tv NW xövürüg, Tf köprüg ~ képrüg, Tk köprü, Tkm köprü, Az körpü 'bridge' ¶ Cl. 690, ET KQ 112-13, Ash. VII 262-3, Fed. I 275-6, Jeg. 106, ChVS 84 || Tg *χυρου 'bridge, Stromschwelle' > Jrc χυρου 'bridge', Nn Bk χυρου, Ewk ὄραν 'Stromschwelle, 'shallow sandy place in a river (перекат)' ¶ STM I 479 and II 23, Dr. TM 136 [no. 561] || pJ *kápara 'shallow sandy place in a river or sandy place on its bank' > OJ kapara, MJ kapara id., J T kàwara, J K káwára, J Kg kawára {Kenk.} 'dry riverbed, river beach' ¶ S QJ no. 1372, Mr. 446. Kenk. 882 ¶¶ SDM 841-2 (pA *k'óp'ira 'rift in a river, bridge' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1125, ≠ Rm. SKE 131.

1111. *id.?* *KupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble', (?) 'to breathe' > IE: NaIE *keup- 'boil, evaporate', (?) 'breathe' > OI 'κυρῶτι 'is excited, is angry' (< *'is boiling'), 'κόρα-ἦ 'fury, passion, wrath, anger' || Gk κάπος· ψυχή, πνεῦμα {LS} 'breath', [Hs.] κάπυς {LS} id., Gk καπνός 'smoke' || OL uapōs (< *kypōs), L vapōr 'vapor, steam', L cupio 'I desire, I long for' (< *'I boil with desire') || Clt {Matas.} *ok^wef- 'pant, breathe' > W peuo 'roar, breathe'; ??φ,σ OIr {Thr.} ad-cobra (< *-kuprāt) 'desires' ({AD} ← *'boils with desire?'), vb. n. accobor || BSl: [1] Lt kvāpas 'breath, smell', inf.

кверѣ́ти vi. 'to smell (of sth.)', inf. кверѣ́рти 'to pant, to breathe',
 Ltv inf. ку́рпт 'to ferment' (of wine), Pru ку́рпсінс 'fog'; [2]
 (with a long vw. *ū): Lt inf. ку́рпꝛо-ти 'to pant, to breathe with
 difficulty', inf. ку́рпѣ́ти vi. inf. 'to boil', Ltv inf. ку́рпѣ́-т 'to smoke, to
 reek, to steam' || SI *kǫ́rǫ́ti vi. 'to boil' > OCS inf. кѣ́рѣ́ти кѣ́рѣ́ти
 ('salire, ἄλλεσθαι') id., Blg ки́пя, SCr inf. кѣ́пети & кѣ́рјети, Slv
 inf. кѣ́рѣ́ти, Cz inf. курѣ́ти, P inf. кѣ́рјес, R inf. ки́петь, Uk inf.
 ки́пити id., SCr inf. кѣ́пети & кѣ́рјети, Slv inf. кѣ́рѣ́ти, Cz inf.
 курѣ́ти id., Slk inf. ку́рјет' id., 'переливаться через край' ||| IE
 *keuṛH-/*kwh₂r- (> NaIE *kwh₂r-) (from *keuṛ- + sx *-H-) > Gk Hm
 κεκαφηότα θυμόν 'breathing forth one's life' (κεκαφηότα prtc. pf.) |||
 Gmc (with anomalous Gmc *p < *pH?): Gt inf. af-hvarjan ('
 συνπνύγειν, αποπνύγειν, σβεννύναλ)'ersticken, auslöschen', af-
 hvarnan ('[ἀπο-, συμ-]πνύγεσθαι, σβεννύσθαι){P} 'erlöschen', MHG
 verwerpfen 'to get stale/ropy' (of wine), ON {Fs.} hvar 'dropsical
 flesh', Ic hvar {Bv} 'flabby flesh/muscle' ¶ P 596-7, M K I 230, F I
 781-2, WH II 732-3, LS 876, Thr. 227, Frn. 313, 325, En. 199, Tr. P
 K-L 296-300, ESSJ XIII 265, StSS 302 (OCS кѣ́рѣ́ти 'бурлить,
 пениться, вытекать'), Glh. 318, Fs. 7, Lx. 285, Bv 319, Matas. E 176
 || A: T *k'ör(∇)- (or *k_ör(∇)-) v. 'swell, foam, boil over' (*k'k_- on
 the ev. Osm and Tk) > MQp]CC] kōb-, Osm XVI kōp- 'swell', MQp XV
 kōp- 'boil over', Az, Blq, ET, Xk, Yk kōp-, Qmq gōp-, Nog kōb-, VTt
 küb- (↳ Chv L кү́п- küb_-), Bsh кү́бе- kübb-, Qq кер- 'swell, be
 blown up', Alt/Tlt/ QK/Kü {Rl.} kōp- 'swell (anschwellen)', Shor kōp- v.
 'foam, ferment' ('schäumen, säuern, sauer werden'), Qrg kōp-mō
 'swollen'; ↳ T **k'k_örík 'foam, froth' > OT, Tk kōpük, Qzq кө́бік
 id., Az кө́пүк kōpük, Chg, OXwT, OQp, Ggz, Tkm, ET кө́рүк, Qmq
 göbük, Qq, Nog köbik, VTt, Bsh кү́бек kübbük, Qrg köbük, Xk кө́бік
 köbük, Tv кө́бүк, Tf {ET} кө́рүк, Chv L кăпăк кăб_үк 'foam', SY {ML.}
 kevik ~ kivek 'foam (in camel's mouth)' ¶ T *-ö- goes back to N *-u-
 with regr. as. (N *-u...E > T *-ö-) ¶ Cl. 687, 689, ET KQ 109-11, Rs.
 W 291, Bu. II 143, Rl. II 1310-11, ARL 174, GRM 287, Jud. 413, 426,
 Ash. VII 76, 160, Fed. I 255-6, 323-4, Jeg. 100, 124, ChVS 80, 100
 || ?φ U: FU: Lp T {TI} k̄t̄vva- 'boil up, foam (up)' (3s p. k̄t̄vai, 1p
 k̄t̄ven) and possibly a verb for 'cook' {SK}: Lp T k̄t̄te-δ, Kld kij̄t̄e-
 δ, Nt k̄t̄te-d vt. 'cook' ¶ TI 127, SK 178, UEW 143-4, Coll. 23 ¶¶ IS
 I 364 suggested to adduce words of other branches of Uralic that

have no traces of *p (F *keittä* etc.), but this is too speculative to be accepted, the more so that they have been explained in the UEW as going back to U **keye-* vi. 'boil', 'be cooked', 'be ready' (of cooked food), 'ripen' (UEW 143-4) || HS: B **✓kff* ~ **✓kfy* > ETwl *ukaf*, Ty *akaf* 'se gonfler, être gonflé' (both from B **✓wkf* with a HS md.-ps. px *w-), Zng {IS ← ?} *ukfey* v. 'boil', {Bs.} *✓kf^w* (*akuffo*, aor. *yakuffo*) v. 'foam', u-*kfuč* 'ébullition', ? *id.* Kb *шшafkaf* 'faire un bruit d'eau qui court en bouillonnant' | B **✓kfh* ~ **✓kfs* (partially *id.*) 'foam, saliva' (× N **ko^rq¹p[∇]* 'mucus, slime' [→ 'saliva'], 'filth\ dirt on the surface, mould (Schimmel), soot' [q.v. *ffd.*]) ¶ GhA 89, Fc. 754-5, MT 327, Dlh. Ou 140-1, Rn. 341, Dl. 395-6, 399, Lf. II no. O736, Bs. MS I 231 ◇ IS I 363-5 [no. 240] (**Ḳüpa* in IE, T, M, Zng *✓kfy*, Lp T *k+p^{te-}*). Cp. N **Ḳ^ru^p[∇]* 'bubble, pustule, blister' (belongs here as a sd.?) ◇ The front vw. in T may be due to vw. harmony.

1112. **ḲupE* (or **Ḳüp[∇]*) 'to bend (a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee etc.)', 'elbow' > HS: S **✓kpy* ~ **✓kpy* ~ *-*kūp-* ~ **✓kpp*: **✓kpy* 'elbow' > Mh *šəf¹fay* (pl. *šəfōf*), Hrs *šəffi* ~ *šəf¹fəy*, Jb E *šəfəf*, Jb C *šəfəf* 'elbow'; S **✓kpy* v. 'bend (a knee), bow' > JA {Lv.} *כפא* *✓kpy|w*, Sr *✓kpy* (pf. *כפא* *kəpā*) *id.*, JBA {Sl.} *✓kpy* 'bend over, overturn'; S *-*kūp-* > Ak StB *kāpu* v. 'bend (?)', JA {Js.} *כוי* *✓kwp* v. 'bend' (act. prtc. *כוי כוי* *kā'pīp* ~ *כוי כוי* *kā'yip* ~ *כוי כוי* *kā'yep*), Sr *✓kwp* *id.* (pf. *כוי* *kāp* 'flexit'), *כוי* *kaw'pā* 'flexio'; S **✓kpp* (× N **kib[∇]* 'hump, bend') > BHb *✓kpp G* (pf. *כוי כוי* *kā'pap*) v. 'bend, bow down', JEA {Sl.} *✓kpp G* vt. 'bend, overcome', Sr *✓kpp* (pf. *כוי* *kāp*) v. 'bow, bend (a knee)', JA *✓kpp* (pf. *כוי כוי* *kə'pap* ~ *כוי כוי* *kə'pep*) v. 'bend, curve', Ak *✓kpp* 'bend', Sr *kəpīp-ā* 'hump', ? Htr *kpp[?]* 'ε architectural form (vaulted room?)', ?σ Ar *✓kff G* 'wrap (the foot) in a rag', 's'entortiller les pieds etc. avec un chiffon' ¶ KBR 484-5, Lv. T I 378, Sl. 594-7, JPS 222, Js. 623-4, 661, Br. 323, 339-40, BK II 909, Hv. 658, Jo. M 398, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 268, CAD VIII 192, HJ 531 || Eg fP *kfrn* '(Arme [in Demut]) beugen' ¶ EG V 32 || Ch {Stl.} **gufi-* 'knee' > WCh: Hs *g^wīwā* *id.* | Ngz {Sch.} *kùfú* *id.* | ? Buli {Sh.} *gāfìn* *id.* || CCh: ZmD {Srp} *giffi*, Msm *guf* *id.* || Ech {J}: Mgm *gìppì*, EDng *gípó*, Bdy *gèpé* *id.* | Jg *giφo*, Brg *gífi*, Mu *gìp* (pl. *gòbúb*) *id.* | Smr {J} *gùbé*, Tmk {Cp.} *gùb*, Nd D {J} *gùb¹* *id.* ¶ Stl. IF 164-5, ≈ JI I 106 (**g[∇]p-* < Ch **✓grp* 'knee'), JI II 214-15, Stl. IF 164-5, ChC s.v. 'knee' || IE: NaIE **k|keub-* 'sich im Gelenk biegen' > Gk *κύβος*

'hollow above the hips of cattle', [Rh.] 'knucklebone' → 'a dice' (↳ L cubus 'Kubus, Würfel, Kubikzahl'), Gk [Poll.] κύβωλον 'elbow' || L cubitus, cubitum 'elbow' ↳ Gk κύβιτον id. || Gmc (× N ≈ *Kū₁y₁t₁∇₁P₁∇ 'shoulder', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 589-90, Mn. 579, WH I 297-8, F II 39-40, Fs. 277-8, Ho. 184, Kb. 484, OsS 428, KM 319 || **A** *K₀PE- v. 'bend, incline', n. 'convexity' > M: WrM {MED} köbügür ~ kübügür 'arch, convex, convexity', ↳ M (× N *kib∇ 'hump, bend'): WrM köbüre- {MED} 'bend, bow down, incline', HIM х₁в₁р₁э- {MED} id., {BMR, Luv.} 'отнoсить назад ветром' ¶ MED 477, BMR IV 181, Luv. 572 || pKo {S} *k₀p-, *kup- 'be bent' > MKo k₀p-, kup-, NKo kop-, kup- ¶ S QK no. 1066, Nam 52, 63, MLC 163, 220 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 723 (pA *k₀p'é 'bend, elevation, convexity' > M, pKo + [not going back to N *K₀upE 'bend'] Tg *kupe- 'swell up; hill', T *k'öpe(ne) 'haystack' and pJ *kэmpu 'lump, hump'), ≈ DQA no. 883.

1113. *K₁'u₁p₁∇, ₂ *K₁'u₁p₁∇ |∇ 'bubble, pustule, blister' > **U:** [1] FU *kupp∇ 'abscess, tumor' > F ку₁р₁ра 'bubble, blister, tumor', Es ку₁р₁р 'bump, boss', {W} 'Blase, kleine Beule, Knopf; Buckel' | Mk ко₁па ко₁ра 'boil, furuncle (Geschwür, Beule), Er {W} ко₁ра 'Beule; Schamgegend' || Hg Δ hupo₁lyag, hu₁p(ρ)alag, hu₁po₁jag 'pustule, water bubble on the skin, furuncle-like tumor; swelling (on a tree etc.)' || [2] FU *kupe(-n|ha) 'fish sound, swimming bladder' > F ку₁р₁i₁на₁s, Krl kup₁ino id. | Lp: I ko₁pp'ān, Pa ko₁з₁p'ēn id. (↳ Krl?) || Vg: T kārān, LK xū₁-xō₁pān, P kul-kō₁pān, Ss xū₁-xō₁pna id. (xū₁, kul 'fish') || [3] FU *kup₁'|a 'bubble, foam bubble' > F ку₁р₁ла 'water bubble, fish sound, swelling, tumor', Es kubel / kubl- 'bubble, blister, pimple' | pLp {Lr.} *kop₁lē 'bubble, fish sound' > Lp: Kld {TI} ko₁p:|ē₁s, Nt {TI} ko₁ppā₁žē₁s id., N {Fri.} go₁blo, Vfs {Lgc.} g₁q₁bq₁žū₁' 'lung' | Chr L ку₁вы₁л ku₁w₁l, Uf ku₁w₁l, H k₁w₁l 'water bubble' || ObU: ?φ Os: K χ₁ō₁m₁l 'bubble, pustule, wheal, corn (on the foot)', V qom₁l₁ə₁η, D χ₁ō₁m₁l₁sō₁χ, Nz χ₁ō₁m₁l₁sō₁χ 'fish sound' (sq₁χ 'fell'), Vy yē₁ηki qō₁m₁l₁ə₁η 'water bubble, wheal', K χ₁q₁m₁l₁ə₁χint- 'produce water bubbles' (of burned skin); Os m is irreg. | Hg hō₁lyag, Δ hō₁jig, ho₁jog, holag, ho₁w₁lag, hō₁lag 'bubble, urinal bladder, water bubble', (Δ) 'fish sound' ¶ UEW 212-14, Lr. no. 457, Hs. 539, W EDW 413, Tamm 223, PI 125, TI 148, MRS 236 || **D** (att. in SD) id. *ko|upp-, ko|upp₁'a₁|- ({θGS} *gobb- ~ [?] *kopp-) 'bubble; pustule, blister' > Tm kop₁pa₁lam, kop₁pu₁l, kop₁pu₁lam id., kop₁pa₁l₁i, kop₁pu₁l₁i v. 'blister, rise in bubbles (as

water)', *кoppū̄r* 'pustule, blister', *Мl кoppу!* 'bubble, pustule', *Кн кupaḷiṣu v.* 'blister', *Кн T gōbbe*, *Tu gōbbuḷi n.* 'bubble' ¶ D no. 2106 || **A** *^oκ^ʼU^ʼP_a(κ∇) ~ ?φ *k^ʼaP_∇(κ∇) > **M** *^oqu^ʼβ^ʼq∇, *qu^ʼβ^ʼqanag 'scrotum of animals' > **HIM** {**BMR**} *хууx*, **WrM** {**MED**} *quqanag*, **HIM** {**MED, BMR**} *хууxнаг*, **Brт** *хууxанаг* id. ¶ **MED** 993, **BMR** IV 179, **Kow.** 875, **Gl.** 147, **Chr.** 607 || **T** *Kabuk 'bladder' > **OT** {**Cl.**} *qavud* ~ *qaxud*, **OQp** XIV, **Chg** ≥XV *qawud*, **OOsm** ≥XIV *qavud*, **Tk** *каvиk*, **Tkm**, **Az** *gōwud*, **Uz** *қовуқ* *qawud*, **Qzq**, **Qq**, **Nog** *quwıq*, **VTt** *quwъq*, **Bsh** *qъwъq*, **Xk** *χōχ*, **Yk** *χabaχ* id., **Osm** {**RI.**} *qawıq* 'hollow object' ¶ **Cl.** 583, **ET** **KQ** 174, **RI.** II 467-8 || **Tg** *χαρ- 'fish bladder' > **Ewk** *αψ*, **Ul** *χāpa* (↔ **Neg** L *xāpı*), **Neg** U *āpı*, ?φ **Ewk** *kapata* id. ¶ **STM** I 11 and 376 ¶¶ **SDM** 801 (**pA** *k^ʼi^ʼḍba(κ∇) ~ *k^ʼi^ʼḍbu(κ∇) 'bladder, scrotum' > **M, T** + unc. **Tg** *χubgu 'vein, artery'), **DQA** no. 1049 (id.), **Pp.** **RCV** 132 (**T, M**) ¶¶ The vw. *a in **T** and **Tg** is puzzling. It may suggest either **pA** *^oκ^ʼU^ʼP_a(κ∇) (with regr. as. in **T** and **Tg**) or the reconstruction of the **pN** etymon in question as *κ^ʼu^ʼHaρ∇ ◊ Is it connected with **N** *κupE 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble'?

1114. *κup∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance' > **HS**: **S**: [1] **S** *^oκupp- > **Ar** *quff-* 'hill, a height (terrain ou pays plus élevé que les entours); back (dos, dessus d'une ch.)'; [2] **WS** (or **CS**?) *kupp- ~ *kipp- > **MHb** *הַפָּב, הַפָּבִי* *kip'pā* 'heap, pile', **Ar** *kūf-at-* 'mound of sand', 'monticule arrangie de sable' ¶ **BK** II 786, 944, **Hv.** 619, 670, **Js.** 635, **Lv.** II 375 || **SC**: **Kz** {**E**} *kipeto* 'anthill' ¶ **E** **K** 12 || **IE**: **NaIE** *κoupo- 'pile, heap, hill, mountain' > **OPrs** *kaufa-*, **CINPrs** *كوه* *kōh*, **NPrs** *كوه* *kuh* 'mountain', **NPrs** *كوهان* *kūhān* 'camel's/yak's hump', **Av** *kaofa-* 'mountain, camel's hump' ||| **pAl** {**O**} *kūpa > **Al** *qipi* 'stack' ||| **OSx** *huvil* 'hill, hillock', **OHG** *hubil* 'hill', **NHG** *Hübel* 'hillock'; **NNr** *hov* 'a height, small hill' ||| **Lt** *kāipas* ~ *kaĩpas* 'heap, pile', *kūpstas* 'hill' || **Sl**: [1] *куръ 'heap (куча)' > **OCS** *коупъ куръ* (σωρός), **Blg** *куп*, **SCr** *ку̀р*, **Slv** *ку̀р* 'heap (куча)', **Cz** *куп* id., 'multitude', **RChS**, **OR** *коупъ куръ* 'hill, могильная насыпь'; [2] *kupa > **OR**, **RChS** *коупа кира*, **Cz**, **P** *кира*, **R** Δ, **Uk** *купа* 'heap (куча)', **SCr** *ку̀ра* 'heap, cone', **Blg** *купа* 'heap, pile, stack' ¶ **P** 591-2, **Brtl.** 431-2, **Ho.** 168, **Ho.** S 38, **Kb.** 484, **OsS** 427, **KM** 318, **O** 361, **Frn.** 23, **StSS** 299, **ESSJ** XIII 107-8, 114-15 ||| **K** *қор- > **G** *қор-ı* 'bump/lump (on one's head)', {**Chx.**} 'Beule', **Sv** {**Ni.**} *қwep* id., ? **Sv**

UB {GP} $\kappa\omega\epsilon\rho$ 'button of clothing' ¶¶ Chx. 612, Ni. s.v. 'шишка', GP s.v. $\kappa\omega\epsilon\rho$ || **A:** NaT *k'öp- 'abundant, much' (× N *k'opE 'full; whole' [q.v. ffd.]) || **D:** [1] {tr.} *kupp- 'heap, hill', {GS} *kup- 'heap' > Tm $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha\mu$ 'multitude, heap', Ml $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$ 'heap (of dirt\refuse)'. Kt $\kappa\iota\rho$ 'heap of weeds\rubbish', Td $\kappa\iota\rho$ 'rubbish', Tl $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$ 'heap, pile', Kn $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\epsilon$, $g\upsilon\rho\rho\epsilon$ id., 'dunghill', Kdg $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\iota$ 'a dropping of dung', Tu $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha\epsilon$, $g\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha\epsilon$ 'heap', Prj $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$ 'stack, mound', $\kappa\circ\rho\rho\alpha$ 'small hillock', Gdb $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$, Mnd $\kappa\upsilon\rho\alpha$ 'heap', Gnd $\kappa\circ\rho\epsilon$ 'hill', Knd $\kappa\upsilon\rho\alpha$ 'heap of grain', Png $\kappa\upsilon\rho\alpha$ 'heap, stack', Kui $\kappa\upsilon\rho\alpha$ 'hillock', Ku $\kappa\bar{u}\rho\alpha$ 'mound', $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$ 'stack', Mlt $q\circ\rho\epsilon$ 'heap, pile' || [2] *kupp- ({}GS) *gubb-) 'knob, protuberance' > Kn $g\upsilon b b i$ id., $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\upsilon$, $g\upsilon\rho\rho\upsilon$ 'an abnormal globular excrescence of the body', Ml $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\iota$ 'brass knob on tip of bullock's horn', Tu $g\upsilon b b i$, $g\upsilon b b \alpha$ 'stud, knob, button', Tl $g\upsilon b b \alpha$ 'knob, protuberance, woman's breast', Knd $\kappa\circ\rho\alpha\rho\alpha\mu$ hump of bullock', Mlt $g\upsilon\rho\rho\epsilon$ 'hump of ox' ¶¶ D no-s 1731 and 1743 || ?**U:** FU (att. in BF) * $\circ k \ddot{a} p \ddot{u}$ 'cone (of conifers)' > F $k \ddot{a} p \ddot{u}$, Es $k \ddot{a} b i$ id. ¶ The unexpected vw. * \ddot{a} requires explanation ¶ SK 261, SSA II 475.

1115. *KuP∇ 'box, basket' > **HS:** S * $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho(-at)-$ > Ak $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho-u(m)$ 'box' ('Kasten'), MHb $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\bar{\alpha}$ 'basket, box' ('Korb'), IAr $q\rho h$ (emph. $q\rho t?$) 'basket', JPA $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\bar{\alpha}'t\bar{\alpha}$ 'basket, tub', NSr {PS} $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\bar{\alpha}$ 'cophinus cum manubrio instructus', NENA {Mcl.} $\kappa\hat{u}\rho\hat{\alpha}$ 'basket with a handle for marketing', Md $\kappa\upsilon\rho\alpha$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho t\alpha$ 'basket, round basket boat', Ar {Fr.} $q\upsilon f f - a t -$ 'cophinus\qualus (peculiariter ex foliis palmae contextus) in quo mulier gossypium reponit' ¶ Sd. 928, Lv. IV 270-1, Js. 1338-9, HJ 1019, PS 3552, Mcl. 274, DM 409, Fr. III 478 || Ch: ECh: Mkl {J} $k\hat{u}\rho$ 'boîte', ?? σ Mgm {JA} $k\hat{u}\rho\epsilon$ '(ϵ) tree' || *AdS* of WCh {S} * $\kappa\alpha b \nabla$ 'basket' (< N * $\kappa\alpha b 'E ?' \nabla$ 'wickerwork, bag' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ S ZCh 205 [no. 561], J S 69, J R 216, 286, JA LM 102, 126, Ba. 515, Sch. DN 92-3 || ?**K:** G $\kappa\upsilon b o$ 'coffin' (here, unless it is a loanword [from L $\kappa\bar{u}\rho\alpha$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$ '↓?']) ¶ Chx. 635, DCh. 632 || **IE:** NaIE * $\kappa\circ\upsilon\rho-$ / * $\kappa\upsilon\rho-$ ≈ 'vessel' (× N * $g\upsilon b \varsigma 'E'$ 'basket', [in descendant lges] → 'vessel') > Gk $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ 'big-bellied drinking vessel, beaker, goblet', $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'ε a measure of corn' || L $\kappa\bar{u}\rho\alpha$ 'cask' or 'butt', L [γ], VL $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\alpha$ 'cup, beaker' > Rm $\kappa\upsilon\rho\bar{\alpha}$, Fr $\kappa\circ\upsilon\rho\epsilon$, Sp, Prt, Ctl $\kappa\circ\rho\alpha$ id., ⇨ OHG $\kappa\circ\rho f$ \ddot{a} $\kappa\circ\rho f$ 'mug, bowl, head', NHG $\kappa\circ\rho f$ 'head', AS $\kappa\upsilon\rho\rho\epsilon$ 'cup', NE $\kappa\upsilon\rho$ || Pls

(?) \rightarrow Gk κόφος {LS} 'basket load', κόφινος 'basket' \rightarrow L *cofinus* 'basket, hamper' > It *cofano*, Sp *cuévano* id., OFr, Fr *coffin* id., 'coffin' (\rightarrow NE *coffin*), Fr *coffre* 'trunk, coffer' \rightarrow NHG *Koffer* id. || ? Gmc: ON *húfr* 'hull of a ship', NLG *Wph hūve*, AS *hūf* 'beehive', NE *hive* ¶ Long *ū in some lges may be due to the heritage of N *qUbsʹEʹ ¶ P 591, WH I 310-11, Wn. P 103, F I 936-7 and II 51-2, ML no-s 2207 and 2409, Vr. 265, Kb. 555, Ho. 63, 183 || A *kʹop|b∇ 'box, coffin' (× N *qUbsʹEʹ '↑' × N *kom_∇dE 'ε basket, vessel') > M *qobdu (~ *°qobtu?) > MM [MA] *qobdu* 'quiver', WrO {Krg.} *χobdo* 'quiver, case', WrM *qobdu* {MED} 'case, long and narrow box, quiver', HIM *ховд* {MED} id., {BMR} 'Futteral, ein langes und schmales Kästchen (ларец); деревянная колода, вдолбленная в виде корыта для хранения серебра', Brt *хобто* 'Kasten, Koffer (сундук)', Kl {KRS} *ховд* 'Futteral, ein langer und schmaler Kasten', {Rm.} *χobda* 'Köcher, Pfeilbehälter', Ord *χob_d_o* 'cercueil' ¶ MED 949-50, BMR IV 89, Chr. 575, KRS 590, KW 181, Ms. O 347 || Tg *χobu, *χobur 'coffin' > Nn Nh *χzur*, Nn KU *χzwur*, Ud *χзу* (\leftarrow STg), Ul *χzuli*, WrMc {Z} *хобо*, Mc Sb {hovə} [χov] 'coffin', WrMc {Z} *хоборго* 'наружный гроб, футляр на гроб' ¶ STM I 464, 467, On. 495, Z 426, Y no. 752 || pKo {S} *kob∇r 'coffin, box' > MKo *kór* id. ¶ S QK no. 1035, Nam 54 || pJ {S} *k_∇u_i 'coffin' > OJ *k_∇i*, MJ *ki* ¶ S QJ no. 1329, Mr. 449 || NaT *Ko_∇bur ~ *Ka_∇bur (× N *qUbsʹEʹ 'basket') > Chg {Rs.} *qobur* 'Gefäß, Etui', Kü {Rl.} *qoɣur* 'coffin'; OT [MhK] {Rs.} *qabirčaq*, OT Xk {Cl.} *qabirčāq* 'box, coffin', OQp XIV *qaburčaq* 'box, basket', Chg {Rs.} *qoburčaq* 'kleine Büchse' ¶ Rs. W 235, 274, Rl. II 517, Cl. 586-7 ¶¶ SDM 812 (pA *kʹ_∇ubu 'box, coffin' [with unjustified *_∇] > M, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 1072 (id.), Lee CSMK 112 (Ko, Tg) ◇ IE and U point to a pN vw. *u of the first syll. Therefore the M, Tg and T vw. *o (< A *o?) requires explanation.

1116. *qah₂æP_∇ (= *qahæP_∇?) 'chop, dig' > K *qāp-/ *qēp- ({IS} *qāp-/ *qēp-) v. 'chop, cut': K *qāp- > G *qap-* (aor. -qap-e < *-qāp-) v. 'beschneiden, stutzen; (in Stücke) zer-hauen\hacken', {DCh.} 'chop (wood), beat, kill', G {DCh.} *qep-* (aor. -qep-e < *-qēp-) v. 'chop, cut', Sv *qāp- > Sv UB *qap-* v. 'cut into small pieces (сечь)', Sv L *lə-qāp-ə* prtc. 'chopped, cut'; K {FS} *q_∇e_∇ṛ- v. 'chop into small pieces' > G {DCh.} *qep-* ~ *qer-* 'chop, cut', {Chx.} *qep-* 'chop\cut into small pieces' (aor. *da-qepa* 'er zerhackte in kleine Stücke', inf. *qep-va*), Sv {FS} *qəp-*

'chop\cut into small pieces' (msd. li-ḳəp-n-e id., čwad-ḳəp-n-e 'er zerhackte in kleine Stücke') ¶¶ IS rGM 133, IS I 318, FS K 174, FS E 190, Srj. FLK 23, Chx. 557-8, 568-9, DCh. 597-8, 604-5 || **HS**: EC: Sd {Gs.} kōfa 'make a dam', Or {Grg.} kāba 'put soil up around a plant', Or {Vit.} kōf- v. 'dig' ¶ Sr. 346, Gs. 196, Grg. 239, Vit. s.v. kōf- || NrOm: Kf {C} ḳəpp- v. 'chop, hew', {HHM} ኮፖ ኮፖፖ 'hew', ኮፖ ኮፖፖ 'split' ¶ C SE IV 486, HHM 118, 313 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k'a'p- v. 'dig, bury' > Hs káftà v. 'dig ground deeply with big hoe (preparatory to planting cassava etc.)' || Sbc: Kir kəbe, Zul {ChL} ya kəpe, Buli {ChL} kəbu 'bury' ¶ Stl. ZCh 205 [no. 556], Abr. H 448, Ba. 525, ChL, ChC s.v. 'bury' || S *o-ḳūb- > Ar √ qwb (ip. -qūb-) 'dig (the ground)' ¶ BK II 829, Lv. 632 || ? Eg Md kfɥ vi. 'gape' (of a wound) ¶ EG V 120, DW 904 ¶¶ The plain vl. k in Eg and C is due to the HS deglottalization || **IE** *ke₁h₁p- > NaIE *ke(:)p- v. 'chop, dig' > NPrs کافتن kōftān 'to split, to cleave, to dig', کاو kōv 'excavation, digging' || Gk κόπτω 'I cut off, I chop off, I cut down \ fell (trees)', ft. κόψω, aor. ἔκοψα, pfc. κέκοψα (× κόπτω 'I smite, I strike' of different origin) || pAl *kapa > (umlautized) Al кер vt. 'sharpen, hoe, dress (a stone) by flaking' || OHG habba, heppa 'vine knife, billhook, scythe (Rebemesser, Sense, Hippe)', NHG Hippe 'pruning knife, scythe' (< Gmc *xēβjō) || Lt karóti, Ltv karāt 'to chop' || Sl *kopa- v. 'dig' (inf. *kopá-ti) > OCS inf. копати kopati, R inf. копать, Blg ко'пая, SCr inf. kòpati, Slv inf. kópati, Cz inf. kopati, P inf. kopac id. ¶ P 931-2 (without separating this IE √ from forms belonging to IE *skerp- 'split' [< N *čap₁č₁a 'beat, strike, chop', q.v.]), Horn 186, Vl. II 775-6, 786, F I 915-16, OsS 272, Kb. 419, KM 310, Frn. 217-18, ESSJ XI 18-20, Glh. 331-2, StSS 290, Vs. II 317, AlBED 376, O 175 || **D** *kappo ~ *kāvo ({{ǵGS} *k-) > Kn карру 'dig', карру, карра 'hole in the ground, pit', Tl kāvua 'pit, well' ¶¶ D no. 1223 ◇ The most probable N laryngeal (yielding IE*₁h₁, K length of vw. and a zero in S and Eg) is *h ◇ IS I 317-18 [no. 193] ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 87 (*kap 'cut off') (IE, Sm, A, EA).

1117. *Ḳoh₂ap'U' (= *Ḳoʔ|ʃap'U'?) 'bark', (?) 'skin' > **HS**: C ({E} *ḳāf- 'hull, rind') > Ag *ḳapp- > Aw {Bnd.} qar, Bln {R} ḳāf 'bark' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} qafi (pl. qafō) 'membrane, cover', {Bnd.} qafi, {E} qafa 'bark', {Wh.} qāfta 'peel of fruits', Alg {E} qafaʔi, Brn {E} qafa 'bark' || ? EC: Rn χàbdáħ 'dry tree bark' ¶ AD SF 67, 233, E SC 386, E PC no.

145, R WB 236, Mgw. 105, PG 186, Blz. CP s.v. 'bark', Blz. RL 257, Wh. SI s.v. qâfta || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k^ωaHab∇ 'bark' > Hs k^ωab|p|f-tò, Ang kōp, Su k^ωaγap, Gmy {Sh.} kōp, Zar K k^ωàbà, Zar GL kàbú, Sy Z kóbək id., as well as possibly Gj gùpŝŝη 'bark', Bg kòpŝan, Kir {Sh.} k^ωopŝan, Tala {Sh.} koplan id. || CCh: Tr {J} gèbà, Pdl {CWL} gèbèr 'bark', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) Gude {ChL} ku∇u?u∇ and Nzn kù∇^ω 'skin' || ?? ECh: Kwn {J} kàbàrów, Smr {J} kàbèráló 'bark' ¶ JI II 8-9, ChC s.v. 'bark', ChL, Sh. SB 20, Stl. ZCh 205 [no. 558], Blz. EChWL s.v. 'bark' || U *kopa 'bark, skin' > Es kōba 'fir bark' | Er кyвo 'crust, rind', Mk кyвa id., 'bark' | pChr {Ber.} *kuwə > Chr Δ kuwo ∂ kuwū ∂ kuwъ ∂ kũwo {Szil.} 'Hülse, Schale, Schuppe', {Ü} кyвo 'chaff' | pPrm {LG} *ku 'bark, skin' > Vt ku id., Z ku 'fell, skin' || Sm {Jn.} *kopā, {Hl.} *kopa 'skin, bark' > Ne T xobă 'skin (of an animal), шкyркa', Ne F L {Lh.} kōp:ă, Ng {Cs.} 'kufu, En X/B {Cs.} 'kobă 'skin', Slq {KKIH} qop+ 'fell of an animal, skin, bark, rind', Slq K/NP {Cs.} koppa 'skin', Kms {KD} k'uba, k'upa 'skin, hide, leather', Koyb {Sp.} кyбa 'skin', Mt {Hl.} *koha|o 'skin, hide, (nut)shell' (Mt M {Sp.} kō 'skin', Mt K {Pl.} kōroto 'his skin') ¶¶ UEW 180-1, Coll. 25, Sm. 537 (U, FU, Sm *kopā, FP *kopa), Ber. 26, Jn. 73-4, Cs. 81, 121, KKIИ 162, KD 33, Sp. SJK 41, Sp. SJM 75, Hl. M no. 520 || A *kāp∇ 'bark' > T *Kābuk 'bark, shell' > OT qavıq, [QB] qavıq 'bran', Tk kabuk, Az qabıq, Slr qoχ, Nog, Qrg qabıq, Bsh qabъq, Ggz kabuk, Blq qabuq, CrTt qabuχ, ET {Rl.} qobuq 'bark, shell', Tkm qābıq, Qzq, Qq qabıq, VTt qabъq, Qmq qabuq, Uz qabıq 'bark, peel (of a fruit)', Chv L xypă, xyp, Chv Δ xopă id., shell (скорлyпа), Xk xabıχ, Tv xawıq 'husk' ¶ Cl. 583, ET KQ 168-70, Jeg. 305, TvR 460, Rl. II 660-2, Ash. XVI 171, Fed. II 358-9, Jeg. 305, ChVS 254 || M *qayuda-sun (< **qapuda-sun) 'bark of trees' > WrM {Kow., Vld.} qagudasun 'bark', {MED} qagudasu(n) 'sheet of paper', HIM {MED} xuydas id., {BMR} xuydas(an) 'bark of trees, bast (лыко), sheet of paper', Brt xuydah(a) 'sheet of paper', Kl {KRS} xuydc xūdъs id., {Rm.} xūdāsη 'Rinde (der Bäume)'; M *qayura- (< **qapura-?) vi. 'peel off' > WrM qagura- ~ qaura-, HIM {MED, BMR} xuyra- id., Brt xuyra- id., vi. 'scale off (шелушиться)', Mnr H {SM} xūrā- 'se peler, s'écorcher, s'écorcer, se détacher', Ord xūrā- 'se détacher' (un objet qui adhérait à un autre), 's'écailier'; M *qayul- (< **qapul-?) vt. 'peel' > MM [S] xa, ul-

'abhäuten, abschinden', WrM {MED} qagul - 'peel off, skin, flay', HIM {MED, BMR} xуyла - id., Brt xуyла - 'abziehen, abreißen (сдирать, срывать)', Kl {KRS} xуyл - xūl - id., {Rm.} xūl - 'abreißen, abschaben, abziehen (z.B. die Rinde, die Haut, das Fell, das Dach)', Mnr H {SM} xūli - 'peler, écorcher, écorcer', {T} 'abreißen, abschaben, abziehen', Ord xūl - 'enlever le peau à un animal, enlever l'écorce à un arbre'; M * qayurqa - (< ** qayurqa -?) > WrM {Rm.} qayurqai , Kl {Rm.} xūrχā ~ xūrχā 'losgerissen, abgerissen' (z.B. die Rinde, ein Blatt aus einem Buche); M * qobqul - vt. 'peel, flay' > WrM qobqul - {MED} id., HIM xовхло - {MED} id., {BMR} id., abreißen (сдирать, обдирать)', Brt xобхол - 'peel off, abreißen, separate; ausreißen' ¶ MED 909-10, 951, BMR IV 91, 175-6, 178, KW 201-2, KRS 614, Kow. 744, Chr. 575, 604-5, SM 180, 184, H 63, Ms. O 365, 371 || ?σ Tg * $\text{χ}abda$ - v. 'clean a tree from branches' > WrMc {Hr} abdala - 'abbrechen', {Z} abtala - 'clean a tree from branches, clean branches' ¶ STM I 5, Z 26-7, 56, Hr 12 || pKo * $\text{kāp}^h\nabla r$ ~ * kāp^h - (+ sxs). 'bark, skin' > MKo $\text{kāp}^h\acute{ir}$, $\text{kāp}^h\acute{r}$, $\text{kāp}^c\acute{ir}$ 'bark', NCo $\text{kāp}^c\acute{il}$ 'skin, bark, shell', $\text{kāp}^t\acute{eki}$ id., 'husk, peel', Ko: Ph $\text{kāp}^c\acute{il}$, PhN $\text{kāp}^c\acute{il}$, Ks $\text{kāp}^c\acute{i}$, Hm $\text{kāp}^c\acute{i}$, Sl $\text{kāp}^c\acute{il}$, Chs $\text{kāp}^t\acute{égi}$, Kw $\text{kāp}^t\acute{égi}$ 'bark', Chj $\text{kāp}^t\acute{égi}$ id., 'skin' ¶ S AJ 251 [no. 3], MLC 103 || pJ * kapa 'skin, leather; bark' > OJ kapa , MJ kāp^a , J: T kāw^a id., Kg kāw^a , Ns kó , Sh kā , Y ka id., K kāw^a 'skin', kāw^a 'leather' ¶ S AJ 258 [no. 3], 26 [no. 3], S QJ no. 3, Mr. 445, Kenk. 880 ¶¶ SDM 764 (pA * k'āp^a 'bark, skin' > M, T, Ko, J + unc. Tg * $\text{χ}abda(\text{nsa})$ 'leaf'), DQA no. 988, S AJ 15, 38-9, 67, 92, 274 [no. 2], KW 201, Mr. KJ 225, Vld. 255, TL 107 ¶¶ Acc. to SDM 764 and DQA no. 1007, the A √ has a variant {SDM 778} * k'ēp^a 'husk, shell' > pJ * kāp^i 'egg, shell', T * k'ēbū - 'straw' anf M * kēbe 'husks, chaff'. These two variants may represent two different results of synharmonic levelling, suggesting the existence of a front vw. in the second syll. of the N word ◇ The presence or traces of a rounded vw. (* o ?) in U and Ch as opposed to the presence of * a in A and C may be explained by assuming a trisyllabic etymon with both * o and * a . This hyp. is directly suggested by Su k^wayap 'bark' and indirectly by the long vw. in T * k'ābuk . In view of Su k^wayap the etymon * $\text{Қон}_2\text{ар}^1\text{U}$ is preferred to * $\text{Қан}_2\text{ор}^1\text{U}$ ◇ IS MS 344 († q^1op^1 'bark') ◇ IS (l.c.) proposed to equate U * kopa 'bark' with M * qobuyā 'well bucket (usually made of skin)' (MED 950, KW 191) and with ET qobuq , qobuzaq 'bark' (which is a labialized var. of pT * k'ābuk 'bark'). His

rec. of *^rq̄- is based on comparison with K *^tq̄ab-/ *^tq̄aw- 'skin, fell', which is hardly acceptable (≠φ). The Ag *-pp- and the cns. *-b- in some Ch lges may be explained by the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ or *ɣ). In T *k'ābuk and possibly in Ch (Sy Z kóʔɛk) one may discern traces of a suffixed element. There is an interesting parallel between M *qa^rβ^rurqay and ECh (Kwn kábárów, Smr kábə́rə́w 'bark') ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 93 (*^ʔq̄a^rβ^r|^ʔɣ^rɛ^r), S CNM 5, Vv. AEN 6.

1118. *^ʔq̄'a^rw₁o₁p₁E or *^ʔq̄'a^rw₁o₁p₁∇y∇ 'skull; occiput' ([in B, IE] → 'head') > HS: WS *^ʔq̄a^rpa^y- 'occiput, skull' > Sr ^ʔq̄āp₁ə₁'y-ā, ^ʔq̄əp₁āy-ā, ^ʔq̄əpp₁ā'y-ā 'nape of the neck', Ar قَفَا qafa-n id., {BK} 'derrière du cou, nuque; derrière de la tête, occiput', قَفَن qafan- 'back of the head', Har ^ʔq̄afət, Grg SI/WI/Z ^ʔq̄əfət 'forehead', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} ^ʔq̄əfē, Jb C {Jo.} ^ʔq̄əfē 'back (dos)'; cp also a S variant stem *^oq̄'ī^rħap- > Ar qihf- (pl. qihaf-at-) 'os de la tête qui garantit le cerveau', {Hv.} 'skull' ¶ Br. 683, JPS 513, BK II 679, 792, Hv. 589, 621, ≈ MiK I LIX, no. 1.164, L EDH 122, L EDG III 473, Jo. M 226, Jo. H 74, Jo. J 142 || B *^yafi (< *^ʔq̄apⁱ or *^ʔq̄ap∇y) 'head' > Ty, ETwl e-^yʔf (pl. i-^yʔfʔwʔn), Ah e^yaf, Wrg i^yaf, i^χf, Si a^χfi, Nf i^yaf, Zng {TC} i^ʔf 'tête' ¶ Fc. 1700, GhA 65, Dlh. Ou 237, La. S 301, TC Z 310 || ECh: Jg {J} kofō 'occiput, brain', Mgm {J} kúpó, EDng {Fd.} kòpò 'occiput', Mu {J} kōbó 'nuque' ¶ J J 114, JA LM 102, ChC s.v. 'occiput', Fd. s.v. kòpò ¶¶ OS no. 337, MiK I no. 164 || K *^ʔq̄ap- > Mg ^ʔq̄ope ~ ^ʔq̄ope 'crown of the head', USv {TK} ^ʔq̄äp 'nape', Sv (rdp.): UB {TK} ^ʔq̄äq̄äp, LB {TK} ^ʔq̄oq̄ep, L ^ʔq̄ek̄epay, Ln ^ʔq̄ek̄epa 'nape, skull'; G {SSO, DCh.} ^ʔq̄epa 'occiput' may have a deviant vw. e due to the merger with an Aramaism (cp. Sr ^ʔq̄əp₁āy-a 'nape of neck'), while G J ^ʔq̄ap̄a 'skull' may be a loan from Ar قَفَا qafa-n (or from Aram?) ¶¶ TK 341, 343, GP 128, ≈ Fn. KW-1 34 ({Fn.} *^ʔq̄ep- 'occiput, crown of head' > G ^ʔq̄epa, Sv ^ʔq̄ek̄ep-a 'skull') ¶ Cp. also K *^oq̄ap- 'chin, jaw' < N *^ʔkep₁h₂∇ (= *^ʔkep₁ɣ∇?) 'jaw, chin' (q.v.) || IE: NaIE *kaput ~ *^ok|kauput 'head' (× N *^ʔq̄'a^rd^ʔud∇ 'tip, top', q.v.) > L caput / gen. capit-is 'head' || Gmc: ON hofuð, Gt haubip, ON haufuð, OHG houbit, NHG Haupt, OSx hôvid, AS héafod 'head', NE head || OI ka'pucchalam 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (a cd with sála- 'hair'), kapuṣṣṇikā 'tuft of hair on each side of the head' ¶ But *^ʔq̄ap∇l- 'occiput, skull' (> OI ka'pālam 'cup, skull', AS hafola 'head') belongs to N *^ʔq̄a₁p₁∇L∇

'occiput, skull' ¶ ≈ WP I 346-7, P 529-30, EI 260-1 (*kaput), M K I 155-7, M E I 300, 302 (no et. of OI words), WH I 163-4, Fs. 248, Vr. 279, Kb. 481, Schz. 170, OsS 420, 150, 293-4, Ho. 147, 150 || U: FU *koppa 'skull; hollow object' > F k o p p a 'the front part of the skull, forehead; basket, pannier, shell' (× N *qUbr'E' 'basket'), p ä ä - k o p p a 'skull' (p ä ä is 'head'), Es Δ k o p p (gen. k o p a) 'Schale, kleines Gefäß' || Lp: Kld {TI} v f š ne - k i p p e 'skull', Nt ū ē y v - k ū ē h p id. (v f š ne 'brain', ū ē y v 'head') || Mk {Ahl.} p r e a - k o p a š k a 'skull' (p r e a 'head') || ObU: Vg (in cds) T k a p ā, LK x ā p, MK/P k o p, Ss x o p i 'skull'; Os Z χ ō p a id. ¶ Coll. 90, UEW 181-2, SK 217, SSA I 400, TI 1730, 1744, Ht. no. 754, KrT 324, Stn. D 530 ◇ The hypothetical N *o is preserved in FU *koppa (with a syncope *-awo- > *o) ◇ IS I 319-20 (S, B, ECh, K, IE, U + qu. Om: Kullo {Brl.} h u p e a 'head').

1119. *k'ä'yap_L (or *q'ä'yap_L) 'sharp stone\rock' > IE: NaIE *kēipō-/ *kōipō- '≈ sharp object' > OI 'śēpa-h 'tail, penis' || L c i p p u - s 'pointed pale, stake' || pAl {O} *caipa > Al thep 'sharp peak, sharp point' ¶ P 543, WH I 219-20, O 474, ≠ M K III 372-3 || HS: S *'kayap- 'stone, rock' > Ak k ā p - id., BHb 𐤊𐤍 *'kēp* 'rock' (att.: pl. 𐤊𐤍𐤍 kē'pīm), ChrPA 𐤊𐤍𐤍 kē'pā, Sr E kē'p-ā, Sr W ke'pā 'stone', JA [Trg.] 𐤊𐤍𐤍 kēp, em. 𐤊𐤍𐤍 kē'pā, JPA {Js.}, JEA {Sl.} 𐤊𐤍𐤍 kē'pā 'stone, rock' ¶ Sd. 445, KB 467, KBR 492, Lv. T I 361, Dlm. 187, Js. 634-5, Sl. 577 || A: NaT *Kaya '(sharp) rock, cliff' > OT q a y a 'rock, sharp outstanding rock or rocky cliff', Tk k a y a, Az, Tkm g a y a, Tkm Δ g ā y a, Ggz k a y a, Blq, Nog, Bsh, SY, StAlt q a y a, Qq, Qrg q i y a, VTt q ū y a, ET q i y a, Uz q a y a, Xk, Yk, Tv χ a y a, Tf h a y a 'rock, cliff' ¶ Cl. 674-5, ET QK 198-9, TL 96, Ra. 185 ¶ In T the N cns. *P_L was lost (a reg. loss at the beginning of the third syll.?) ◇ S *k- results from deglottalization of *k̥-, which suggests a pN *k̥-, although N *q- is not excluded either (if the merger of *k̥ and *q preceded the HS deglottalization).

1120. ₂ *KaP_LL 'occiput, skull' > HS: S *o'kap_Ll- > Ar 𐤊𐤍 qaf l - a t - 'occiput, derrière de la tête' ¶ BK II 791 || IE: NaIE *kap(e|ē)lo- 'skull' > AS hafol, OFrs héila (< *havila) 'head' (× N *k'a'w_Lo₁pE or *k'a'w_Lo₁p_Ly_L 'skull; occiput') || OI ka'pālam 'cup, bowl, skull' ¶ WP I 346, M K I 155, M E I 300, Ho. 147, EI 261 (*kapōlo- '≈ head, skull').

1121. ₂ *Ḳ'u'P_∇'∇ 'hump' > IE: NaIE *k'u'p∇r- id. > OHG hofar ~ hovar, AS hofer 'hump' || Lt kuṑrā, Ltv kuṑr(i)s 'hump, hunch' ¶ P 591-2, Kb. 473, OsS 411, Ho. 168, Frn.314 || D (att. in GnD) *kuṑ∇r̃- 'hump' (× N ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback') > Gnd koparam 'hump of bullock', Mnd gupeṙ 'hump of ox', ? KK: Kui kopa 'hump, cow's hump', Ku guṑu 'hump of ox' ¶ D no. 1731a.

1122. ₂ *ḲaP_∇, Sa 'box' (unless a WW) > IE: L capsa 'box, case' ↳ Gk κύψα 'basket, case' ↳ JA Ḳṑṑṑṑṑṑ Ḳuṑ'sā 'box' ¶ WH I 162-3, Js. 1339 || A *k'apsa > T *Kaṑ:ṑpsa, *Kaṑ:ṑpsak > MQṑ [CC] qaṑsa 'box, coffin' (unless borrowed from L capsa), Tk Δ qaṑsa 'large basket', Tk kaḑsak 'basket' ¶ ET KQ 277 || Tg *Ḳapsa > Ewk aṑsa ḑ absa 'box, bag', Lm aṑsḑ 'small bag', Orc aṑsanḑa 'long narrow bag for hunt equipment', Ork Ḳapsaw ~ Ḳapsau 'small bag (for women)', WrMc {Z} aḑca 'birch-bark box, boat'; ↳ M: WrM {MED} absa(n), HIM abc(aH) {MED} 'coffin, basket', {BMR} 'coffin', Brt aḑca 'coffin, basket', Kl {Rm.} aṑsḑ 'Kasten' ¶ STM I 9, Z 26, MED 5, BMR I 29, Chr. 24, KW 20 ¶¶ SDM 763-4 (pA *k'āp'ā 'a kind of vessel' > T *Kapsak, Tg + unc. [going back to pA *ḲaP_i|Irḑak from N *Ḳoṑ∇ 'trunk, log', q.v. ffd.] pJ *kāṑi 'scoop, ladle, spoon', T *KaṑIrḑak 'box' and M *qaṑirḑag ~ *qaṑurḑag 'box, chest'), Vld. 206, Tekin OZS 127.

1123. (₂?) *ḲEP_∇z∇ (= *ḲEP_∇z∇?) 'paw, hoof' > HS: S *°/ḳpṑ > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} ṑaqfāz- 'anteriores pedes atque genua albicantes habens' (equus), {Br.} 'qui a les pieds de devant blancs jusqu'aux genoux' (cheval), Ar quffāz- 'long felt gloves (up to the elbows)' ¶ Fr. III 480, BK II 788, Hv. 620 || IE: *ḲoṑHx- > NaIE *Ḳoṑh- 'hoof, claw' > OI śa'pha- 'hoof of a horse, hoof', Av safa- 'hoof of a horse', KhS saha-, Psh swa, Oss I/D säf-t-äg 'hoof' || ON hófr, OHG huof, NHG Huf, AS hōf 'hoof', NE hoof (× NaIE *ko|ap- < N *Ḳap'ā' 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof', q.v.) ¶ SI *kop+to 'hoof' hardly belongs here (because of *k- for the expected SI *s- < IE *Ḳ-; see N *Ḳap'ā' '↑') ¶ WP I 346, P 530, EI 272 (*Ḳo'ph₂o-s 'hoof'), M K III 297, M E II 608, Ab. III 55-6, Mrg. 71, Bai. 423, Vr. 247, Kb. 489, OsS 431-2, Ho. 168 ¶¶ IE *H < N *z or *ž || U: FU *kEps'ā' 'paw, fell from a paw\leg' (× N *gā'p'ṑ, Sa 'hand' [q.v. ffd.]).

1124. *k̄ar ▽ 'curse, scold, (?) be hostile', ? 'punish' > **K**: G k̄rul- v. 'curse, damn' ¶ Chx. 633 || **HS**: WS *√k̄r w|y > Sb √k̄r w|y *Gt* (ip. ɥk̄ tr n) 'be punished', ? Ar √q̄r y *TD* (pf. تَقَرَّى taqarrā) 'pursue (fugitives)', ??φ Jb C {Jo.} 'k̄eraɣ 'get into a rage', k̄ar'ɣun 'quick to anger' ¶ BGMR 107, Bll. 467, Jo. J 148 || WCh: Su {J} kárī, Ang {Flk.} kār v. 'punish' || ?σ NrBc {Tk.} *k̄ʷar- > Jmb {Sk.} k̄ʷar, P' {MSk.} ak̄ʷar, Sir {Sk.} akur 'be angry' || ?? Tng {J} k̄urm̄s 'annoyed, vexed' ¶ J S 69, Flk. s.v. kār, ≈ Stl. ZCh 213 [no. 635], Sk. NB 10, J T 105 ¶¶ Tk. PAA (NrBc., Jb) || **IE**: NaIE *kar- v. 'abuse, blame, punish' > Gk [Hs.] κάρνη· ζημία 'damage' or 'penalty' || L carinā- v. 'jeer' || Clt {Matas.} *karyā n. 'mistake, sin' > OIr cair e f. 'fault, blame', OW [ɣ] cared 'nota, nequitiae', MW cared ~ karet {Matas.} 'mistake, sin', W caredd 'fault', kerydd 'blame', MBr carez id., Crn cara {Matas} id., {SDM} v. 'blame' || OHG harewēn, {Vr.} harawēn v. 'mock, deride' ({OsS} 'exasperare'), AS hierwan v. 'despise, deride, blaspheme, condemn', hornian v. 'insult', ON herfiligr {Vr.} 'verächtlich' || Ltv inf. karināt 'to tease', Lt E inf. k̄irinti id., Lt inf. káirinti 'reizen, aufbringen, erbittern' || pSl *kori- (inf. *kori-ti) v. 'blame', *korъ n. 'blame' > OCS коръ коръ 'contumelia, ὕβρις', оукоръ ukorъ id., {StSS} 'оскорбление, поношение, унижение', inf. корити koriti 'probris onerare', OR, RChS inf. корити koriti 'to scold, to abuse, to blame', R inf. ко'рить, Slv inf. koríti, SCr inf. kòriti 'to reproach', Blg ко'ря v. 'reproach, scold', Cz inf. kořiti 'to humiliate', P inf. korzyc 'to reproach, to humiliate'; Sl *kara 'punishment' > ChS кара kara, R 'кара, SCr kára, Cz kára, P kara ¶ WP I 353, P 530, F I 790, WH I 168-9, Vn. C 20-1, Ho. 159, 170, Vr. 223, Ho. 159, OsS 272, Mn. 474-5, Frn. 183, 203-4, ESSJ IX 151 and XI 74-7, Glh. 334, Mikl. L 304, 1046, StSS 733, Matas. E 192 || **A**: NaT *Karit 'abuse, insult' > OT [MhK] qarit n. 'abuse, insult'; NaT *k'arga- v. 'curse, invoke charms on' > OT {Cl.} qargā- ~ qirgā-, Chg ≥xv, MQp xiv (incl. CC) qarɣa-, Tk kargi-, Az gargi-, Slr, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg qarɣa-, Qq qarɣa- ~ garɣa-, Xk ɣarɣa-, Yk kirā- v. 'curse', Qrg qarɣa- id., 'invoke charms on', Tkm garɣa-, Bl, Nog, Uz, Alt, Tv, Tf qarɣa-, Kr T/G karɣa- 'curse; scold, insult' ¶ Cl. 648, 655, DTS 428, ET KQ 304-5, DTS 426, 428, Rs. W 237 ◇ ≠φ,σ Gr. II 6 (*kor 'angry').

1125. ₂ *k̄aR ▽ 'to bend; crooked' > **IE**: NaIE *ker- 'bend' > Gk κορωνός 'curved, crooked', κορώνη 'anything hooked or curved', κυρτός

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

1126. *K'a'R∇ 'to hang' > IE: NaIE *k0(:)r- vi., vt. 'hang' > Lt kar̄i ū / kār̄ti v. 'hang, hang on the line', Ltv kar̄u / kār̄t vt. 'hang', Pru paccaris 'Riemen' 'thong' ||| Gk κρεμάννυμι, κρέμνημι vt. 'I hang' ¶ WP I 412, P 573, F II 13-4 (no et. of the Gk words), Frn. 224-5, En. 218 ||| HS: S *°✓krr 'remain (somewhere)' > Ar ✓qrr (pf. qarra) 'substitit, mansit (aliquo loco)', {BK} 'rester, se fixer dans (un endroit)', {Hv.} 'settle in (a place)' ¶ Fr. III 415, BK II 698, Hv. 594 || B: Ah kar̄iri vt., vi. 'hang' ¶ Fc. 891 || C: Ag *kaRkaR- v. 'hang' > Bln {R} karkar-, Q {R} kəkər- id. ¶ R WB 226 ||| Gil: Gil A eḡro-/xro-/k'ro- vt. 'hang' ¶¶ ST 477, ST RN 82 ◊ ≠ Gr. II 185 (*kar 'hang') (IE + qu. J, Gil + unc. A, Ko, CK).

1127. *k_aR∇ 'to fight; war, troop' > K: G k̄riv- 'boxen, mit den Fäusten kämpfen' ¶ Chx. 631 ||| IE: NaIE *koro-, *koryo- 'war, troop', *koryo-no-s 'commander in war' > Lt k̄aras, k̄arias 'war', Ltv kar̄š 'army', Pru [El.] kragis (ce. for kargis) [karjis] 'troop', Pru caryawoytis 'Heerschau' (accus. sg.), karigewayte 'Ansprache an das Heer' ||| OPrs kār̄a- 'host, people', NPrs cd 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 kār-zār 'battle, battlefield' ({Vl.} 'locus pugnae') ||| Gk κούρανος (< *κούρονος) 'captain, ruler; king' ||| Crn {Matas.} *koryo- 'troop. tribe' > OIr cuire 'troupe, armée', Mir cuire {P} 'Schaar, Menge', {Matas.} 'troupe', MW cordd 'tribe, clan', Gl (in names) -corio (Tricorii 'those of three

tribes', *Petrucorii* 'those of four tribes) || Gt *harjis* 'army', ON *her* (pl. *herjar*), AS *here* id., OHG *hari*, *heri* 'army, crowd, troop' > NHG *Heer* 'troop' ¶ P 615-6, Mn. 535, Brtl. 465, Vl. II 764-5, F I 894, Kb. 457, Vn. C 275, Frn. 220, Matas. E 218, En. 189, Tp. P I-K 221-4, EI 30-1 (**koryo-s* 'war') || HS (with root-extensions) *✓*krb*, ? *°✓*kr_lw_l* > S *✓*krb* 'fight' > BA, BHb *כָּרָב* *ḳā'rāb* 'battle' (Hb ←b- Aram), JA [Trg.], Sr *ḳārā'b-ā*, Md *ḳraba* id., JEA *ḳārābā* id., 'war', Ak MB *taḳrubtu* 'fight', Aram ←b- Ak NA *ḳārābu* 'battle, fight' ¶ KB 1059, 1775-6, KBR 1135, Js. 1411, ≈ Sl. 1038 (Aram ←b- Ak), Br. 691, CAD XIII 125-6, Sd. 1324; KB and KBR interpret Hb *ḳā'rāb* as 'hostile approach, battle' on the basis of their err. etymologizing of *ḳā'rāb* as a d. from ✓*krb* 'be near' || B ***krp* > **γrf* 'people, tribe' > Ah *a-γraf* id. ¶ Fc. 1773 || Ch {Stl.} **qaraw-* ~ **qawar-* 'fight, war' > Hs *ḳā'ró* n. act. 'fighting (with so.:'; WCh {Stl.} **ḳ'iraw* 'wrangle' > Hs *ḳèrauḳèrau* 'wrangling' || Ang {Flk.} *kōr* v. 'quarrel, wrangle' || CCh: Glv {Rp.} *ψ^ωará* 'war' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} *kūri* v. 'fight', Tmk {Cp.} *kəraw* 'war' ¶ Stl. IF 110, Stl. ZCh 213 [no. 634], Flk. s.v. *kōr*, Ba. 572, 596.

1128. **ḲärE* 'trunk, (piece of) wood' > HS: S **ḳār-*, **ḳar-* 'trunk of a tree, log' (× N **ḳuyr* ▽ 'wood (Holz), log') > BHb *הַרְבָּ* *ḳō'rā* 'timberwork, beam', MHb {Js.} *ḳō'rā* 'joist, beam, post; trunk of a tree', Sr em. *ḳar-ī-tā*, abs. *karī* {Br.} 'trabs, lignum', {JPS} 'beam, plank', Ar *qarīyat-* 'stick, yard of a ship (Rahe)', 'poutre dans laquelle on emboîte piliers qui supportent la maison', ?σ Ak fOB *ḳārīt-u* 'storehouse, granary' ¶ KB 1020, KBR 1091, Hv. 603, BK II 731, Js. 1342, Lv. IV 275, JPS 519, Br. 696, BK II 731, Wehr 903, Hv. 603, Sd. 903-4, CAD XIII 132-3 || U: FU *°*kärE* > Prm **ker* / **kery-* 'log' > Z *ker* / *kery-*, Yz *ker*, Vt *kor* id. ¶ LG 121 || D {tr., GS} **kaḷ-* 'wood (lignum)', {GS} 'stick' > Tm *kaḷal* 'firewood, fuel', Tl *kaḷra* 'wood, timber', ? Kt *garl* 'quill of feather', Klm *garr* 'quill of porcupine', Prj *karra* id., 'tooth of comb', Gnd KM *karra*, Knd *gaḷī* 'shaft of arrow', Gnd B *karrē* 'a long thin pole of a carrying yoke', Knd *kaḷu* 'piece of wood\twigs used as fuel' ¶¶ D no. 1389, GS 153 [no. 389] || ?σ IE: NaIE *°*kred-* (or *°*k̂red-*?) ~ *°*kl_lord-* 'top of a building, beams, roof' (× N **ḳ_lRV_lt_l* 'summit, top' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ IE **k-* (rather than **k̂-*) is reg. in the precon. position ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136 [no. 15] (adduces IE and K, namely Mg), Blz. DA 159 [no. 75] (HS, D) (without distinguishing between this etymon and N **ḳuyr* ▽ 'wood [Holz], log').

1129. *k̑är∇ 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie" > **K** *k̑ar-/k̑r- v. 'tie together, sew' > G k̑ar-/k̑r- 'tie together' (Chx: '[zusammen]binden, fesseln'), Mg k̑ar-, *k̑ir-, Lz *k̑or-, k̑ir- 'tie together', G k̑er-, Sv čar-/čr- v. 'sew' ¶¶ K 106, K DE 359, FS K 169-70, FS E 185 || **HS:** S *okarr- > Ar karr- 'rope' | WS *✓k̑rn v. 'attach sth. to, bind together' > Ar ✓qrn G id., {Hv.} 'conjoin (sth. with), couple (two horses)', {BK} 'atteler (p. ex., deux chameaux ensemble avec une corde)', Tgr ✓k̑rn (pf. k̑erene) v. 'couple under the yoke, zu zweit anjochen', Tgy ✓k̑rn (pf. k̑erene) v. 'bind two things together', Amh k̑arēnē 'shackle', Gz ʔastak̑ārana v. 'bind in pairs'; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} k̑arēn- 'einjochen die Ochsen, aneinander binden', Sa {R} ✓k̑rn (sbn. e'k̑run, p. ⇔ o-k̑ronē) 'einjochen die Ochsen zum Pflügen' ¶ BK II 726-7, 879, Hv. 602, 648, L G 442, R WB 243, R S II 237, LH 242-3 || **B** *✓qrw (> *✓yurw) > Ah ayraw 'cordelette', ? Zng {Nic.} t-yarr-ak 'j'enveloppe' ¶ Fc. 1778, Nic. 284 || **IE:** NaIE *k̑er- 'cord, thread in a weft', v. 'plait, conjoin' ({P} 'Schnur, Gewebefaden; flechten, knüpfen') > Arm **uwrh-psari-k^h** 'cord, band, rope, sinew' (< *k̑reyā), **uwrh-sard** / gen. **uwrh-sardi** (< NaIE *k̑rti) 'spider' || Gk καῦρος (< *k̑ryō-s) 'the row of thrums in the loom (to which the threads of the warp are attached)', κατρώω 'I make fast the threads of the warp' || ? OI εῖροῖ κῆλαῖ 'chain, fetter' ¶ WP I 409, P 577-8, F I 756, M K III 368-9, MW 1057, Stt. 330-1 || **U:** FU {UEW} *käre- v. 'tie, bind, tie with string' > Mk kārks 'garland, row, cord', Er {Rv.} keῖks 'Bund, Aufgefädertes', {ERV} 'bunch (of beads, ring-shaped cracknels)' || Chr H {Wc.} kerä- v. 'thread a needle, string (beads)' || pLp {Lr.} *kērē 'thread, cord' (> 'catch with a cord') > Lp N {N} gierre 'a twist (twisted cord/rope)' (= {Fri.} 'snur, tvind'), S {Hs.} d. giērestakke 'Laufschlinge (z. B. an einem Lasso)', L {LLO} d. kierastit 'mit dem Fangleine\Lasso einfangen' || ?? BF: F, Es kääri- v. 'wrap', Krl kēārīē 'bunch' (adduced by IS with an assumption of a secondary lengthening *ä > BF *ā [Jn. in a p.c. rejects the BF cognate]) || possibly also Z röpōd g̑rzd and Vt rēpd gerd 'knot' || ObU *kīr- > pVg *kīr- 'einflechten' > Vg: T/LK/MK/UL/Ss kēr-, UK/P kēr-/kēr- id., T kērāy- & kārāy- id.; pOs {Ht.} *kir- > Os: V/Vy kir- 'put on shoes', D/O kir-, Nz/Kz kīr- v. 'sew', V/Vy kārantaʔal- 'put on shoes'; amb: V kärt-, Ty kárt- 'sew' (cp. N *keRt∇ 'to tie, [?] to plait') || Hg Δ kür- & kūr- & ker- & kör- 'einjochen, in das Joch spannen' ¶ UEW 139-40 (does not mention the BF and Lp cognates), Lr. no. 428, Lgc. no. 2439, N II 98, Fri.

223, Hs. 598, LLO 217, MF 380-1, Ht. no. 310, LG 142 ¶ Prm *kärt- v. 'tie together' (> Z inf. көртав-ны, Vt inf. кертыны) [which UEW mentions as belonging here] may be alternatively explained as going back to N *keRt∇ '↑' (q.v.) || ? D (in McTm) *kaṛṛ- 'bundle' > Tm kaṛṛai 'collection (as of hair), bundle (as of straw, grass)', MI kaṛṛa 'bundle (as of grass), sheaf of corn'; the D cognate is valid unless its ancient form is *kaṛṛt- = *kaṛṛ- (as supposed by An. on the ev. of Kn kante 'bundle'; IS tentatively ties in the Kn word by assuming that it goes back to *kaṛ-nt-) ¶ D no. 1400, An. SG 129 || A *k'är∇ > T *Kä:ṛEm 'rope' > Bsh kiräm 'flat strap, rope (used to climb boughless trees)', Blgh *käräm > Chv L капём {Ash.} 'snare made of ropes', {Fed.} 'snare made of horse hair'; Blgh ⇨ Chr k'erem 'rope'; IS and SDM97 tried to adduce here T *kär- 'stretch, spread out' (supposing that the original meaning of the verb was 'strain' ← *'tie tightly'), which is unc. on semantic grounds ¶ Chv капём suggests *ä in the first syll. (*Kä:ṛEm) ¶ Rs. TschL 98, BR 263, Cl. 735, Rs. W 254, Ash. VI 94, Fed. I 228 || M *kerü- ({DQA} *kere-) v. 'attach, tie, bind' > WrM {MED} kerü- id., 'weave', HIM хэрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'zusammenflechten', Brt хэрэ- 'перевязывать крест-накрест', Kl {KRS} кэр- 'tie together', {Rm.} ker- 'binden, anbinden, nacheinander festbinden', Ord k'erü- 'lier les chevrons de t'õno (les cerceaux de bois et les arcs de bois qui se croisent au milieu)' ¶ MED 458, BMR IV 226, Chr. 652, KW 227, KRS 296, Ms. O 418, 667-8 || Tg *xerke- v. 'tie together' > Ewk 3rk3- id., Nn Nh/Bk {STM} x3rk3- v. 'tie around', Nn Nh {On.} x3rk3- id., 'umwickeln', Ul x3rk3- v. 'wrap' ¶ STM 369-70, On. 491 || pKo {S} *k'är- 'hang on, put on sth.' > MKo k'är-t'hí- id., NKo k'äl- id., k'älč'hí- id., 'spread out' ¶ S QK 578, Nam 38, MLC 97, 100 || pJ {S} *kàràṁ- v. 'wind around, cling to' > OJ kararm-, MJ kàràṁ- id., J T/Kg karám-, J K kárám- {Kenk.} 'twine (coil) round, get twisted' ¶ Mr. 704, Kenk. 851 ¶¶ SDM 669-70 (pA *kèr|rà 'bind, wind around' > M, J + unc. Tg *kergei- 'circle, ring', 'bind into bunches'), DQA no. 771 (id.), S QJ no. 53, KW 227, ≠ Rm. SKE 104 (connects Ko kaṛ|l- 'hook on, fasten' with M kere-) ◇ IS I 321 [no. 197] ◇ Gr. I no. 421 (*kir 'weave' (A, J, Ai + unc. EA + err. IE *kert- 'plait').

1130. *kæR∇ (or *kER∇) 'horn' > HS: S 'karan- 'horn' > Hb הַרְן 'kæren 'horn', du. הַרְנַיִם qar'nayim, pl. (with secondary [derived] meanings of the noun) קַרְנֹת qarā'nōt, SmHb 'qārān, pl. cs. qārāni, Ph,

Ug $\text{ḳ}r̄n$, Amr {G} $\text{ḳ}ar̄num$, JA [Trg.] $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, em. $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, JEA $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, Sr $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, abs. $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, Ar $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, Gz $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$, Mh $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$ (pl. $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$), Hrs $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$ (pl. $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$), Jb E/C $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$ (pl. $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$), Ak $\text{ḳ}ar̄n$ (m) 'horn' ¶ KB 1067-8, A no. 2456, OLS 372, Lv. T II 389, Js. 1423, Sl. 1044-5, BK II 727, G A 29, Sd. 904, L G 442, Jo. M 236, Jo. H 77, Jo. J 149, MiK I no. 1.168 || Eg NK $\text{kr}̄.t̄$ '(two) horns' ¶ EG V 134 || NrOm: Kf {C} $\text{ḳ}ar̄$, Mch {L} $\text{ḳ}ar̄$, Anf {MYTY} $\text{ḳ}ar̄$ 'horn', as well as possibly Shn {Lm.} $\text{ḳ}ar̄$ and Ym {Wdk.} $\text{ḳ}ar̄$ id. ¶ Lm. Sh 338, C SE IV 488, L M 48, MYTY 118, Wdk. BY 127 || K * kr - 'horn' (\times K * rka - 'horn' < N * $\text{r}̄\text{ḳ}ar̄$ 'horn') > Zan * kr -a > Lz kra , ka , Mg {Q} ka , {Brs.} - kra (written with an Abkhazian article a - as a-kra); more ancient forms are discernible in a derived verb: Lz n-kin- ~ n-kir- v. 'butt' and possibly (with a semantic change) Mg kirin- v. 'wave, wave sth. against so. (взмахивать, замахиваться)'; but G karassa 'horn of ibex', Sv UB {GP, TK} kārāχs , {TK} karāχs , L {TK} kerāχs id., 'small horn for drinking' are likely to be loans from Gk κέρας 'horn' ¶ Q 341, Brs. 74, \neq K 157-8, DCh. 1327, Ni. s.v. pog , GP 266, TK 780 ¶ The deglottalization of the initial * ḳ - still defies explanation || IE: NaIE * ker -, * ker-w/u- , * ker-as- 'horn' > Av sr̄u- , sr̄vā- 'horn' || Gk κέρας , Gk Ep gen. κέραος id., Gk Mc ke-ra 'horn (material)', ke-ra-υο 'made of horn', Gk κορύπτω 'butt with horns' || Tc B karsee \approx deer, stag' (< \approx * kr̄so- 'horned one') || Ht karāwar 'horn(s), antler(s)', Lw {EI} zarwani(ya) - 'of horn' || IE * kr̄no- , * kr̄n- 'horn' > L cornū id. || Clt {Matas.} * karno- 'horn' (+ [unc.] 'hoof' > MW carn 'hoof') > OIr corn 'corne à boire, trompette, cor', ? cern 'réipient (d'une certaine capacité', Brtt {RE} $\text{ḳ} * kornos 'horn' > MW, W, Crn corn id., OBr [ḳ] carn 'ungula caballi', Br corn 'horn', Gl [Hs.] $\text{κάρνον} \cdot \tauὴν \sigmaάλπιγγα$ accus. 'war trumpet', {Matas.} 'Galatian trumpet' (the Ir and Brtt words may be loans from L, but the root in Gl points to its original presence in Clt) || Gmc: ORu accus. horna , Gt hárn , ON, NNr, Sw, Dn, OHG, AS horn , NHG Horn 'horn', NE horn || pSl * sъrna 'chamois' > RChS сръна sr̄na , OR сръна sr̄na , R 'серна, Uk сер'на , Blg сър'на , McdS срна , SCr, Slv sr̄na , Cz sr̄na , P sarna id. || OI sr̄ngam 'horn' || HrLw {Melch.} zurni 'horn' ¶ P 574-7, EI 272-3 (* ker- \rightarrow * kr̄nom , * $\text{kerh}_2(s)$ 'horn'), \neq EI 273 (* koru 'horn' instead of 'horned animal', see N * KERŪ 'deer, roe'), M K III 369-70, F I 825-7, WH I 276, Vn. C 76, 210, RE 105, Fs. 251, Vr. 249, Fs. 251, Ho. 170, Kb.$

479, Schz. 16, KM 316-7, Vs. III 609, Glh. 577, Matas, E 190-1, Hm. 477, Ad. 145, Nsb. ∇v, Pv. IV 77-9, Iv. SA 162 ◇ IS I 350 [no. 227] (IE, K, HS + * ÷ [with a query] U: BF *kīrek 'occiput, crown of the head') ◇ *-n- in IE *k̑er-n- and in S *'q̑aran- go back to the N genitive postposition *nu (q.v.) (> the IE marker of oblique cases *-n- in the so-called IE heteroclisis, F Ptrs. H 5-7: IE nom. *k̑oru, gen. *k̑er-'n-es) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 202 (*ker 'head') (IE, Ai kirawe 'horns' + unc. CK).

1131. *k̑ar∇ (qa) (= *k̑arU (qa)?) 'small stone' > HS: C: EC: pOr {Bl.} *k̑ir- 'gravel, small stone' > Or čír-r-ačča {Grg.} 'coarse sand', {Bl.} 'small stone(s)', Kns qír-itta 'small stone', qír-a 'gravel' || ?? Ag *k̑ȓəŋ 'stone' > Bln/Xm/Q {R} kriŋ id. ¶ Bl. 198, R WB 227, Grg. 84 || K: GZ *k̑urqa- > G k̑urqa- 'stone of a fruit', Lz k̑urqa id., 'grain' ¶ K² 104, DCh. 636 || IE: NaIE *k̑orkā 'gravel' > OI 'śarkarā f. 'grit, pebbles, gravel', OI Ep śarkara > Pali sakkharā-, Prkr sakara-, Hindi sakkara 'granulated sugar' (an InA source → Gk σάκχαρ(ον), NPrs شکر šä(k)kār, Ar sukkar- 'sugar', and the words for 'sugar' in the European languages [It zucchero, NHG Zucker, Fr sucre, NE sugar, R 'сахар, etc.]) || Gk κρόκη, κροκάλα 'abgerundeter Kieselstein am Meeresufer' ¶ P 615, M K III 308-9, M E II 618-9, Vl. II 49-O, Sg. 752, Ch. 985, F II 22, BK I 1114 || D *kar∇č- ({{GS}} *g-) 'gravel' > Kn garasu, garusu, Tl garusu id., Tu karñkallu id., 'hard sand' ¶¶ D no. 1260 ◇ K *-u- is puzzling (mt.: GZ *k̑urqa- < *k̑arU qa?). D *-r- (regularly from a cns. cluster with N *r) needs explaining.

1132. (₂?) *k̑ær∇ ≈ 'ε pod, fruit' > HS: WS (with an ext.) *k̑r∇r∇θ- id. > Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 k̑erāt- 't̑-ā 'fruit of the locust or carob tree'; S → Gk κεράτια, κεραιωνία 'carob tree'; Ar قَرظ qaraḏ- 'fruit of acacia', OYmn k̑rθ ({{Slw.}} qaraḏ-) 'Acacia arabica and its leaves', Tgr {LH} k̑erəḏ 'Acacia etbaica, Acacia mellifera', Tgy k̑erəḏ 'ε mittelgroßer Baum *Osyris abyssinica*', ??σ SmA 𐤎𐤒𐤓 k̑rṯ 'grass' ¶ Br. 694, JPS 518, PS 3742, BK II 716, Ln. 2517, Slw. 177, LH 245, Tal 799 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} kerem 'bean(s)' || ECh: Kwn k̑irī, Ke k̑irī, Jg g̑ir(k) id. ¶ ChC, Eb. 71 || IE: NaIE *k̑ik̑er- 'pea(s)' > Arm uḥutn̄n̄ siseṙn̄ 'chick-pea' || L cicer id. || Gk κρόγ id. ({{P}}: < *κικρογ) || Mcd [Hs.] κικερροι 'birds' pease (*Lathyrus ochrus*)' || pAl {O} *cerā > Al thjerrē 'lentils' (from the original IE unreduplicated variant *k̑er- or with loss of reduplication: *k̑ik̑er- > **k̑k̑er > *k̑er-?); × IE *k̑er- v. 'grow' (see N ?? *k̑ER∇ 'grow,

be[come] big') ¶ P 598, ≠ F II 21-2 (κρούς 'chick-pea' ← κρούς 'ram'), WH I 212, Slr. 331-2, O 479, EI 106 (*k̑ȋker- 'chick-pea' ~ 'garbanza'), 248-9 (Al thjerre < IE *k̑er- 'grow') || ?σ A (with an ext.) *Kæ̑:rt̑m̑ ~ *Kæ̑:rt̑m̑ > T *Kæ̑:rtmæ 'pear' > MQp [CC] kertme 'pear', [AH] 'elma', QrB kertme, Nog kertpe 'pear', Qmq gertme 'wild pear (Holzbirne)'; T ⇨ OHg ≥xv, Hg kōrte, OHg ≥xi, Hg kōrtvély 'pear'; ?? Tk Δ ġärmäšik 'red dogwood, *Cornus sanguinea*' ¶ Rs. W 257, Grøn. 141, Rl. II 1105, NogR 163, RKB 127, EWU 822 || M *kedmen > HIM {BMR} хэдмэн, WrO kedme(n) 'pear', Kl {KRS} кедмн id., {Rm.} kedmŋ 'Birne' ¶ BMR IV 206, KW 222, Krg. 718, KRS 288, KW 222 || pJ {S} *kù(n)tàmənè 'fruit' > OJ kùdàmònò, JT kudámono, JK kùdàmònò, J Kg kudamonó ¶ S QJ no. 1101, Mr. 461, Kenk. 1095 || ?σ Tg: Nn Nh kutumie-kte 'black currant' ¶ STM I 440, On. 235 ¶¶ SDM 699-700 (pA *kȋrtème 'pear, fruit' > T *gertme, M, J), DQA no. 836 (id.), KW 222 (T, M) ¶¶ The absence of *r in pA *Kæ̑:rt̑m̑ needs explanation ◇ S *-θ- and A *-t̑m̑ may go back to the second part of composite nouns ◇ AD NM no. 61; S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs). The A cognate is acceptable if the semantic change 'leguminous plant' → 'fruit, pear' is attested in other lges.

1133. (₂?) *K̑ERŪ 'deer, roe' > IE: NaIE *k̑erwo-/*k̑rwo- 'deer' (and d.: *k̑erw-ā 'female deer') > L cervus 'deer, stag', cerva 'female deer' || Clt *karwo- 'deer' (< NaIE *k̑rwo-, {EI} *k̑eru) > OW caru 'deer', W carw, Cm carow, MBr caru ~ caro 'deer', Br {Hm.} karv 'cerf' || Gmc {Vr.} *herutaz > ON hjqrtr, AS heorot, OSx hirot 'deer, stag', OHG hiruz {Kb.} 'red deer' || Blt *širvis > Pru sirwis 'roe' ({En.} 'stirna') and a loanword: F hirvi 'deer, elk' | NaIE *k̑erwā 'female deer' was borrowed by BSl from a centum lge. (acc. to Trubachev, Clt) with a semantic change 'female deer' → 'cow', whence Sl *kóřva 'cow' (> ChS крѡва křava, Blg 'крѡва, SCr kràva, Slv kráva, Cz kráva, Slk křava, P krowa, R, Uk ко'рова) and Blt: Pru curwis 'ox' and Lt kárvē 'cow' (with replacement of *-a by the Lt female-marking sx -ė) ¶ ≈ P 576-7 and ≈ WH I 208 (both dictionaries derive the stem from *k̑e/or- 'horn'), ≈ EI 273 (*koru 'horn' - instead of 'deer, horned animal'), Vr. 234, Kb. 471, Ern. 100, YGM-1 77, En. 199, 248, ESSJ XI 106-112, Glh. 345-6, Frn. 225, Matas. E 192, Hm. 429 || A: Tg *χirun 'wild deer' > Nn Nh sirũ, Ul {Sun.} s̑iȓ(n-), Orc iyu, Neg iyun, WrMc {Z} ирэнь id., Ewk Skh/Urm/Chmk irūn, Ewk O/Tkm/Urm irē id.,

'male elk'; Tg *χirki > Ewk irki 'wild deer, Ud sigisa 'Manchurian deer' ¶ STM I 327-8, On. 368, Z 116, Sun. UJ 234 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 808-9 (pA *k'jǝ́ro|u 'lamb, deer' > Tg + [not belonging to N *KĒRŪ 'deer, roe'] M *qurigan 'lamb' and T *Koří 'lamb'), ≠ DQA no. 1061 (id.) || ? U: FU: Prm: Z köp kər (/kəry-), Yz {Lt. ← Gn.} kōr 'deer' (unless this is a loan from Ne O χora 'male animal, male wild reindeer', as suggested by Rd. [UEW 168-9], see N *kouR∇ 'male animal') ¶ LG 141, Lt. KY 129.

1134. (??₂) *KĒR∇ 'grow, be(come) big' > HS: ?μ B **√mκr > *√mϣr 'be(come) big' (× N *m'a'K∇R∇ 'big, long') > Ah √mϣr (pf. imϣar) 'be big', Kb √mϣr (in geminated forms m∇qq^ω∇r) 'be/become big' (inv. imϣur ~ umϣur, pf. məqq^ωər), Izd √mϣr 'croître, grandir', mqqor 'grandir', Gh əmϣər 'be big', məqqər 'big', Gd {Lf.} məqqur 'be big' ¶ Mrc. 130, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 508 ¶ pre-B *√mκr ← **√κr || IE: NaIE *k̑er- v. 'grow, make grow, breed, feed' > Arm utp̑ut̑ seř(-em) v. 'breed, beget', utp̑ut̑ seřim 'be born, grow' || ?σ: Gk aor. ἐκόρεσα / ft. κορέ-σω 'sate, satiate', κόρος one's fill, satiety, Sättigung' || L Cerēs, -eris 'goddess of fertile land', Cerus manus 'creator bonus' (-r- in the OL spelling stands for -rr- < *-rs-), L pro-cērus 'tall' (← 'grown upwards'), creā- v. 'produce, create', crē-sc- v. 'grow' || ON hirsī, OHG hirso (< *k̑ers-ion-), hirsī, hirsā, NHG Hirse 'millet' || Lt šeriu / šerti v. 'feed, fodder', pãšaras 'fodder, forage' || ?? pAl {O} *cerā > Al thjerrē 'lentils' (× N *KæR∇ '≈ ε pod, fruit of a leguminous plant', q.v.) ||| *korwo- 'adolescens' > Gk *κόροϝος > Gk A κόρος, Gk Hm/I κόρος, Gk D κόρος 'adolescens', Gk Mc κο-ωο 'boy' ||| Irn: Krd kur 'son' ¶ P 577, WH I 204-6, F I 218-9, Vr. 229, Kb. 470-1, OsS 402, KM 311, Frn. 975, Sl. 265-6, O 479, EI 248-9 (*k̑er- 'grow'), 656 (? *korwo-s 'youth') ||| A: pKo *k̑ir- 'long', v. 'prolong' > MKO k̑ir'ú-, NKO kirī- 'prolong', k̑il- 'long' ¶ S QK no. 49, Nam 81, MLC 264, 279 || AdS of D (in SD) *k̑iȓ-a- 'old (aged)' (< N *kiȓy∇Ha 'old' [q.v.]) ◇ Highly qu. Valid unless B *√mϣr goes back exclusively to N *m'a'K∇R∇ 'big, long' (q.v.).

1135. *KĒRU (= *KĒRU?) 'hair' > HS: S (+ext.): Gz qarnəb ~ qarnəb ~ qarnəb, Tgy qarnəb 'eyelash, eyelid' ¶ L G 442 || IE: NaIE *k̑er- 'hair' > Gmc {Vr.} *xāra 'hair' > ON hár, NNr, Dn, Sw hár, Dt haar, OSx, OHG hār, NHG Haar, OFrs hēr, AS hær, NE hair ||| Lt šerỹs 'bristle, animal's hair', Δ širỹs 'hair', Ltv sars (usually pl. sarī) 'bristle, hair of horse's mane\tail; mane, hair', Lt šér-ti-s (pres. šeriuós), Ltv

sērtiēs 'to lose one's hair'; Blt *šarya > F har ja 'bristle' || ???φ the second part (*śāla-) of OI ka'pucchalam 'tuft of hair on the hind part of the head' (cd. with *kaput- 'head') (× N *Kēla 'stalk, a hair') ¶ ≈ WP I 427, ≈ P 583, M K I 156-7, Vr. 210, Vr. N 229, Schz. 160, Ho. 145, Ho. S 31, Kb. 434, KM 278, Frn. 973, ≈ EI 252 (*kē(ēs)- '≈ (rough) hair, bristle') || A: T *k'ürk 'fur' > OT, MQP XIII, [CC] XIV kūr k id., Chg XV kūr k 'fur, wool', Tk kūr k id., Ggz, Az, CrTt {Rl.} kūr k 'fur coat', Tkm Δ kūr k 'sheepskin coat', Chv L кёрёк кьрёк, Chv Δ {Md.} kōrōk 'fur coat' ¶ Cl. 741, Rs. W 311, ET KQ 148-9, TL 475-6, Dr. TM III no. 1628, Rl. II 1457-9, Ash. VII 288, Jeg. 108, ChVS 85 ◇ Identical with N *kärV 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie' (q.v.)? ◇ T *-ü- may be due to the labializing effect of the N labialized vw. *U of the next syll.

1136. (₂?) *KīrV 'edge, end, (?) bank (Ufer)' > HS: Eg N k̄r 'end (of a book)', DEg k̄r > Cpt κρο κρο, κρα κρα, χρο κ^hρο 'bank (Ufer)' ¶ EG V 58, Vc. 85 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *k̄Vr- v. 'finish' > Hs k̄āfè v. 'complete, finish', Buli {ChL} k̄eru v. 'finish' || ECh: Kwn {J} k'ár id. ¶ Abr. H 486, Stl. ZCh 213 [no. 631], ChC, ChL, ≠ Sk. HCD 166 || A *k'ir'a' > T: [1] T *Kī:ṛ > Chv L хёр- хьр- (used only with ppa. of 3s: хёрё хьр-ь, хёрри хьрр-и) 'bank of a river, edge of a forest'; [2] T *Kī:ṛ ≈ edge, border' (× N *ḡ'ir'ṣ'V 'top, summit, crown [of the head]' [q.v.] × N *kur_ṽh_ṽV 'hill, mountain' [q.v.] × ?? N *gōRṣV ≈ hill, [small?] mountain') > OT QU {Cl.} qīr 'dam', OT {Rs.} qīr '(river)bank, dam', Ln qīy, Uz qīr 'bank of river\lake', VTt, Bsh q̄r, Qmq Δ χīr, Qq qīr 'edge, facet (грань, ребро)', Tv qīr id., 'side (of a solid)', Qzq, Qrg qīr 'edge, facet', StAlt qīr id., 'riverbank', Xk χīr 'edge, riverbank', Tlt/Sg {Rl.} qīr 'edge' ('Ecke, Kante'), QK {B} qīr 'edge, high bank', ET 'slope, hilly steppe, edge', {Nj.} qīr 'boundary (between plots of land), edge (as of a table)', StAlt qīr, Xk χīr 'edge (край, грань)' | [3] NaT *Kīrig > Qmq qīriy 'edge (край)', Sg χīriy, Xk хри χri, Yk kīrī id., 'riverbank', Qrg qīrū, VTt q̄r̄y 'edge, facet' | [4] NaT *Kīrgag 'edge' > OT [MhK] qīrḡaḡ 'the selvages of a garment and its edge', OT Og [MhK] qīr aḡ, Az гыраг gīraḡ, Tk kīrak, kīran, Xlj qīrāy, ET qī(r)ḡaḡ, Δ {Jr.} qīrḡaḡ, Ln qīyaḡ, Uz qīrḡaḡ 'edge, bank', Tkm gīra id., 'seashore', Uz qīra 'edge, facet', Tv χīra 'a margin (кайма) (made of bone or metal) of the saddle pommel', qīri 'side (of a solid), facet'; T → M: WrM {MED} kīrqaḡ 'border, edge', HIM {BMR} хярхаг 'кайма, кромка, край (у сукна)', Brt хирхаг ~ хярхаг 'кайма, кромка (у

платка, материи)', as well as possibly Mnr H {SM} ć'irīē 'bord, limite' and {T} čirē 'edge, brim of a hat' ¶ Cl. 641, 653, DTS 445, ET Q 225-7, 242-4, TL 95, Md. 70, 168 (*k'ir∇ 'edge'), Ash. XVII 26, 45, Fed. II 344, Jeg. 299, ChVS 249, Tkr 233, Nj. 623, Sht. 275, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DLT 175, B DChT 134, DT 172, TvR 278-9, 500, Rs. W 265-6, Rl. II 732-3, Br. MT 155, DTS 445, TatR 310, BR 358, KrkR 428, BIG 300, ARL 92, JakR 211, SM 458, T 380, MED 473, BMR IV 237, Chr. 573, 657 || M *kīra > [1] WrM {MED} kīra 'slope; a strip (usually of horn) attached to the front and rear edges of the saddle', HIM хяр {MED} id., {BMR} 'накладка (на луке седла)', Ord k'irā 'ligne de faîte (d'ine chaîne de collines)' (homonymous with WrM kīra, HIM хяр 'summit/ridge of a mountain', Ord k'irā 'arête', F N *Kīrǰ|g∇ 'top, summit'); M ⇨ Tg: Ewk kīra, Lm qīrǰy ~ qīrǰn, Orc kīa ~ kīya 'edge', Ud {Shn.} kǰä, {Krm.} kǰā, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU qīra 'edge, bank (Ufer)'; [2] WrM {MED} kīrǰe- 'shorten gradually, trim/clip evenly, level up', HIM жирвэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'trim/clip evenly (подравнивать), срезать под корень', Brt жирбэ- id., ⇨ : Ord k'irweger 'égalisé en coupant', Brt жирбэгэр 'ровный'; WrM {MED} kīrǰegele-, HIM {MED} жирвээлэ- 'trim, border; furnish with a hem or fringe', {BMR} жирвээлэ- ~ жирвээслэ- 'besäumen (обшивать), mit Pelz besetzen (оторачивать мехом, опушать)' ¶ MED 470-1, BMR IV 86, 236, Chr. 572, Ms. O 422, 422, STM I 397, On. 219 ¶¶ SDM 767-8 (pA *k'āre 'edge' > T *Kīr 'isolated mountain, mountain top. mountain ridge', M *kīra 'edge, ridge' + unc. Tg *χāri- {SDM} 'border, hem' [actually *χāri-'umsäumen' and *χāriça 'Stoffkante, обшивка'] [probably from N *kayer∇ 'in bark, skin', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 990 (id.), Rm. EAS I 144, KW 232, Pp. VG 114, TL 96, ADb. KL 12, Dr. III 568, ET Q 226-7, || ?σ D (in SD) *kīr- ({ǰGS} *k-) > Ml kīrǰi 'corner of the mouth', Kdg kīri 'lip' ¶ D no. 1591 ◇ Hardly here G qūr- 'edge' ([acc. to Klimov] ← K *qūr-'ear') ¶¶ K 213, K² 246, FS K 374-5, FS E 420.

1137. *Kor'a' (or *KōRa and *K'orü?) 'to flay, to debark', 'bark, crust' > HS **k'u'rm, **kūr-: CS *✓krm v. 'debark; crust' > Ar ✓qrm v. G 'debark (a tree)', qarm-at- 'morceau de peau enlevé par incision du nez d'un chameau', MHb קרמ ק'ə'rūm 'crust, membrane', JA קרמ ק'ə'rā'mā 'skin, membrane', {Lv.} 'Haut, Kruste', JEA {Sl.} ק'ə'rā'mā 'membrane, thin skin', Sr ק'ə'rā'm-ā, abs. ק'ə'rā'm 'layer \ plate \ covering (of metal, wood, skin), bedspread' | (× N *KūRm{E} 'to

cover') BHb ✓ k̄rm G 'cover above' (of skin, with skin), JA ✓ k̄rm G 'overlay, cover (as skin)', Sr ✓ k̄rm v. G 'overlay, plate, encrust' ¶ Lv. IV 381, Js. 1414,1421, Sl. 1043-4, BK II 723-4, Hv. 601, KB 1067, Br. 696, JPS 520 || B *-yurm-/*-yūrūm- 'crust' > Ah a-yurum 'crust of bread', ta-yormit 'thick crust (of a wound)', Tz {Stm.}, Tmz {MT} a-yurum, Kb {Dl.} pl. i-y^warm-an 'bread' (← *'crust of bread') ¶ Fc. 1758, Stm. 160, MT 203-4, Dl. 626-7 || Ch {JS} *✓k^wr 'skin' > WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Kir k^wār, Tala, Buli kūr, Wnd kur id., Plc {ChL} kōrî 'bark' (× N *k̄oRup̄ ∇ ~ *k̄aRup̄ ∇ 'bark of trees' [ε ?], 'skin') || NrBc: P' {Grgs.} kurrî 'skin (of human body)' || Hs k̄ířgì 'untanned oxhide' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} kurgumne 'outré en cuir pour transporter le mil'; ?? Smr {J} gārē, gārē, Nd D {J} ḡrē 'skin' ¶ JS 231, JI II 296-7, Fd. 306, Ba. 609 ¶¶ But Bj {R} 'k^warbe ({{R} k̄rbe) 'skin (Haut)' (R WBd 245) is better explained as going back to N *k̄oRup̄ ∇ ~ *k̄aRup̄ ∇ '↑' || IE: [1] Sl *kora 'bark' (× N *k̄ayer ∇ 'ε bark, skin') > OCS kopa kora, Blg, R ko'pa, SCr kōra, Slv kóra, Cz kůra, P kora 'bark'; [2] ?? IE (× N *kURc ∇ 'scales, bark'): Ht kursa/i- 'skin, fleece, hide' ||| NaIE *krus- 'crust' (ffd. see N *kURc ∇) ¶¶ Pv. IV 270-5, Ts. E I 656-7, ≈ WH I 295-7, Pln. II 690, ≈ EI 112-3, Kb. 803, ESSJ XI 44-5, Glh. 332-3 ¶¶ The presence of the consonant *s in Ht kursa and NaIE *krus- is due to contamination N *kURc ∇ || U *kora- v. 'flay, skin' > ObU {Ht.} *kōr- > pVg {Ht.} *kōr- > Vg: T kor-, LK x^wār-, xor-, MK k^wār-, LL k^war-~k^wār-, P k^worət- v. 'peel, flay (schälen, enthauten)'; pOs {Ht.} *kōr- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y qōr-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O χōr- v. 'flay, debark' || ?φ Sm {Jn.} *k̄rā-, {Hl.} *k̄ra- v. 'flay' > Ne T хыра(-сь), Ne O x̄rā-, Ne F k̄rrā-, Slq Tz {KKIH} k̄rī-, Kms {KD} k'z̄r'ā́im, {Cs.} khiríim, Koyb {Sp.} 3s кырле, Mt {Hl.} *k̄l̄jra- v. 'flay' (Mt M {Sp.} κριямъ 'I flay') || Y: Y K {IN H, IN UJ} qār 'skin', {Ang. ← Iox.} χar ~ (?) χār 'Balg, Fell, Haut', Y T {IN H} qayr skin', OY K {Bil.} c̄har id. ¶¶ Coll. 26, UEW 184, Ht. no. 306, Stn. D 542, Jn. 69, KKIH 117, Hl. M no. 495, IN H 379, IN UJ 332, IN RJ s.v. кожа, Ang. 252, ≈ Rd. UJ 46 [no. 66] (Y ← U) || A *k'Ur ∇ (= *k'ör ∇?) > T: [1] NaT *°Kȫl̄:r̄ü- > Osm {Rl.} kōrū- v. 'die Haut abnehmen, abkratzen' ¶ Rl. II 1252 || [2] ?φ T *Kl̄:r̄t̄ī > NaT *Kl̄:r̄t̄īš 'bark, upper layer' (unless the original meaning was 'surface' > OT qirt̄īš and StAlt qirt̄īš 'surface') > MT qirt̄īš, Tk Δ, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Tv qirt̄īš 'bark, upper layer' ¶ Cl. 649, Rs. W 267, ET Q 241-2, TL 391-2 ¶ But T *k'ōrük 'bellows' (> OT kōrük, Tkm kōrük, Yk kūört, etc., see

ET KQ 118) is either akin with or borrowed from M *köøerge 'bellows' (> WrM köøerge, HIM жөөрөг 'bellows', see MED 480 and BMR IV 142) || M *körü-sün 'bark, peel, rind' > MM [S] korisυ (= {S} [körüsü]) 'skin, uppermost stratum of earth', WrM {MED} körüsün id., 'peel, rind', HIM жөрс(өн) {MED} id., {BMR} 'film (кожица, пленка), thin cover', Brt хүрһэ(н) 'soil; layer of earth', Kl {Rm.} körsü 'Rinde, harte Kruste, Haut', Ord k'örös 'la couche supérieure du sol', k'örösü 'couche supérieure, épiderme' ¶ H 104, MED 491, BMR IV 147, Chr. 628, KW 240, Ms. O 431 || Tg *χura-kta n. 'bark' > Lm ұртъ, Ud wakta, uakta, Ul χoraqta ~ χuraqta, Ork χuraqta 'bark', Nn Nh/Bk χoraqta 'bark, nutshell', ? WrMc {Z} уриха 'заболонь; плева, оболочка, перепонка'; Tg *χura- vt. 'cover with bark' > Lm ұра-, Ork χura-la- id. ¶ STM II 282, On. 471, Z 170 || ? pKo {S} *kúr 'oyster' (← 'shell') > MKo kúr > NKo kul ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 181] || ? J {S, SDM} *kùrí ≈ 'shellfish (and its shell)' > OJ pama-guri, MJ φàmàgùrí {STM} id., J T hamáguri 'the shellfish *Meretrix meretrix* L.' ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 218], BLRS II 425 ¶¶ SDM 827 (pA *k'jùrú 'bark, shell' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1092 (id.), S AJ 38. 128 [fn. 75], 293 [no. 441] (pA *k'ora- 'bark, shell') ◇ NaT *°Kö;ürü-, M *körü-sün, and (possibly) IE *krus- suggest a N etymon ***Ḳ'orû**, while U *kora, Sl *kora, and Tg *χura-kta point to a N word ***ḲoRa**. It is not yet clear if these are two different N words or variants of the same word. But if *-ü- in NaT *°Kö;ürü- and M *körü-sün goes back to a sx, a N etymon ***Ḳor'a** may be the best rec.

1138. *ḲôR'E' (or *ḲôR;∇,wE?) 'worm, maggot' > A: M *°qor∇ > Kl T {Rm.} χor 'die Maden der Viehbremse (in Vieh)'; M *qoru-qay 'worm' > MM [MA] qoraçay, [IM] qoruçay, WrM {MED} qoruçay 'insect, worm', HIM хорхой {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'larva, caterpillar', Brt хорхой 'worm', Kl {KRS} хорха, {Rm.} χorχā 'worm', MM [HI] qoroqay 'insect', [IsV] qorçay, WrO χoroχoi ~ χoroχai, Dx gugî, Dgr {T} χorgo 'insect, worm', Mnr H {SM} χorguī, Ord χoroχī ~ χorχī 'ver, insecte' ¶ KW 187-8, Pp. MA 302, 445, MED 970, BMR IV116, Chr. 591, T DnJ 116, T DgJ 177, SM 173, Krg. 283, Ms. H 90, Ms. O 358, 360, Lg. VMI 45 || Tg *χ;ūre 'earthworm' > Ewk ūrē, Neg, Ud uyз ¶ STM 289 ¶¶ S AJ 54, 282 [no. 224] || T *K ūrt 'worm' (× N *ku?R∇t|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 807-8 (pA *k'jōrō 'worm, gadfly' > T, M, Tg), DQA no. 1069 (id.), S AJ 54, 285, KW 188, ADb. SR 8, TL 182 || U *°kür∇ > Sm {Jn.} *kür 'maggot, fly' > Ng {Cs.} kir 'maggots in tainted meat', {Mik.} kir 'fly', Kms {KD} šūr 'worm', d. {KD}

šurǎīār, {Cs.} š ũreär 'fly', Koyb d. {Sp.} сурусари, Mt {Hl.} d. *kürär(ä) 'fly' (Mt M {Sp.} куряррь, курярря id.) ¶ Jn. 79, Hl. M no. 605 || IE: NaIE (att. in Sl) *^ok_lʷ₁ṛōwi- 'worm' > Sl *čǫrvъ 'worm' > OCS **УРЬВЬ** črǫvь, Blg 'черев, SCr cǫv, Slv čǫv, Cz, Slk čerǫ, P czerw, OR, RChS **УРЬВЬ** črǫvь, **УРЬВЬ** črǫvь, **УЕРВЬ** čerǫvь, R червь, Uk черв id. ¶ ESSJ IV 171-2, ≈ Glh. 167-8 (unc.: Sl *čǫrvъ < IE *k^oer- 'make'), ≠ EI 649 (Sl *čǫrvъ < IE *k^oṛmi-) || ?σ HS: ECh: Ll {Cp.} karà 'louse', Bdy kúrāne 'flea of fowls', Mkl {J} kûrîlè 'larva of locust' (× N *kuʷRǫt[dǫ '↑') ||| WCh: Hs k̄wâr̄k̄wátà ~ kwarkwátà 'louse' ¶ AJJ 92, 156, J LM 129, ChC, Ba. 690, Abr. H 592 ◇ The Tg and T long vw. and *w in IE (Sl) and Hs may point to a N *-w- (***ḲôR_lǫ₁wE**) ◇ ≈ IS I 358 [no. 234] (***Ḳor̄** 'to gnaw; worm': IE *k^oṛmi-, A [M, as well as T *Kûrt 'worm']). Cp. N ***ḲuRmǫ** 'worm, insect', N ***Ḳ'û'R'ǫ'ǫ'dǫ** - ***ḲûRtǫ'ǫ'ǫ** 'stinging insect', N ***ḲiRgǫ** (or ***ḲiRkǫ**) 'e stinging insect', and N ***ḲERH₂ǫ'ǫ'ǫ** 'hornet, wasp' (some of them originally connected as derived or compound words?).

1139. ***ḳoru** (or ***ḳorü**) 'bite, gnaw, chew, eat away' > HS: (+ext.) CS (or WS) ***ḳr̄ḣ** > Ar **قَرَضَ** qaraḣa / ip. -qriḣ-u) 'gnaw' (of mice), Ug **ḳrḣ** 'bite', ?σ Gz **ḳr̄ḣ** 'lacerate, tear away' (semantic infl. of **ḳrḣ** 'incise, scar?') ¶ BK II 713, Ln. 2514-5, Hv. 598, OLS 373, L G 440-1, 444 || IE: NaIE *k^oerū- v. 'chew' > OI 'carvati 'grinds with the teeth, chews' ||| Gk [Hs.] πύρνος - ψωμός 'morsel, bit' ||| W por i v. 'graze, browse, eat, pasture', por'fau v. 'pasture, graze' ¶ P 642, F II 630-1, M K I 379, Fw. WE 49, YGM-1 366 ¶ IE *k^oerū- v. 'chew' × *k^oerū- v. 'crush' (< N ***ḳur_lǫ'ǫ'û** 'to hammer, to pound') ||| K: G ḳril- 'gnaw, make holes' (of woodworms) ¶ Chx. 631 ||| U: FU *ko|arǫ- v. 'bite' > Prm *kurtć- 'bite (укусить)' > Z курччыны kurććin+, Vt куртчыны kurtćin+ || ?? Lp OSw {LÖ} karva- 'rodere', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} g_âráwâ'sti 'beißen, schnappen' (going back to a FU root variant with *ä - probably due to vw. harmony) || ?? Chr kar- 'eat' (unless from *kačk-, as supposed by UEW) ||| Hg harap- v. 'bite, take a bite out of sth.' ¶ UEW 129 (rejects the Lp and Chr cognates), LG 147 ||| D {tr.} *koṛ-, {GS} *koṛ- v. 'bite, nibble' > Tm koṛi v. 'nip off the husks of grain, nibble grain', Ml koṛikka v. 'nibble (as a mouse); eat grains by nipping off the husk', Kn koṛuku, koṛaku, kuṛuku, Tl koṛuku v. 'bite, gnaw', Kdg kori- 'eat grain by cracking husk' (of rats), 'strike' (of

snakes), Tu $\kappa\omicron\sigma\alpha\lambda\upsilon$ v. 'gnaw' (as rats), Klm $\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa$ - v. 'bite, sting, nibble', Nkr $\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa$ - v. 'bite', Prj $\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa$ - v. 'cut with the teeth, gnaw, nibble', Gdb, Gnd $\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa$ - v. 'gnaw', Knd $\kappa\omicron\mathring{\rho}\kappa$ - 'crush with the teeth, bite' ¶¶ D no. 2164, GS 149 [no. 377] ◇ IS I 358 [no. 234] (IE – A; supposes that N * $\kappa\omicron\mathring{\rho}\kappa$ [sc. {AD} N * $\kappa\hat{\omicron}R'E$] 'worm' is identical with the etymon in question).

1140. (₂?) * $\kappa\hat{\omicron}r\mathring{\nabla}$ 'rock, isolated mountain' > HS: S * $\circ\kappa\bar{u}r$ - > Ar (coll.) $q\bar{u}r$ - \rightarrow (sg.) Ar $q\bar{a}r$ -at- 'knoll of a mountain, isolated hill', 'colline isolée, énorme rocher isolé' (× N * $\kappa aR\mathring{\nabla}r\mathring{\nabla}$ 'peak, rock, steep mountain') ¶ BK II 833, Hv. 633 || **A** * $\kappa'Ur\mathring{\nabla}$ - > NaT * $\kappa\omicron_{:j}rum$ 'rock(s); stones (fragments of rock)' (× \leftarrow * $\kappa\omicron r$ - 'crumble, collapse' [> Tkm Δ $g\omicron r$ - id.]) > OT {Cl.} $q\omicron r\omicron m$ 'a massive rock; pile of rocks', Xlj {DT} $g\omicron r\omicron m$ 'Hügel, Anhöhe', ET Δ {Jr.} $q\omicron ram$ \neq $q\omicron yam$ \neq $q\bar{u}r\bar{a}m$ 'rock', Qzq Δ $q\omicron r\bar{u}m$ 'small stones', Qrg $q\omicron r\omicron m$ 'pile of rocks (big rock stones); big stone (валун)', Alt, QK, Tb $q\omicron r\omicron m$ 'fragments of rock (россыпь)', Tv $\chi\omicron r\omicron m$ id., 'burial mound', Tf $h\omicron r\omicron m$ 'rock', Xk $\chi\omicron r\omicron m$ id., 'very big rocks', QK/Shor/Tlt {Rl.} $q\omicron r\omicron m$ 'Bergsturz; das Geröll, das sich durch Einstürzen von Feldmassen gebildet hat' ¶ Cl. 660, ET Q 80-1, Ra. 190, Jr. 252, Jud. 409, BT 88, Rl. II 562, BIG 279, TvR 485, B DChT 129, B DLT 166, DT 121 || Tg * χure 'mountain' > Ul $\chi ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}(n-)$, Sln $ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}$ id., Ork $\chi ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}(n-)$ 'mountain, wood(s)', Nn Bk $\chi ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}(n-)$, Nn KU $ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}$ id., Nn Nh $\chi ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}$: {STM} id., {On.} id., 'hill (сонка)', Ewk $ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}$ \neq $ur\bar{\mathcal{B}}$ 'mountain, mountain woods', Neg $uy\bar{\mathcal{B}}$ 'mountain, isolated hill (сонка)', Lm $ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}k\check{\mathcal{B}}n$ id., 'stone' ¶ STM II 289, On. 783, S AJ 212 [no. 79] || pJ * $\kappa\hat{u}r\hat{u}a \sim *k\hat{u}r\hat{u}a$ 'embankment, small height, boundary' > OJ $\kappa ur\mathring{\omega}j\omicron$ -tuka 'embankment on boundary', MJ $\kappa\hat{u}r\acute{o}$ 'dike, boubdary', J T $\kappa ur\omicron$, J K $\kappa ur\omicron$ {BJRS} 'Rain (межа), small height' ¶ SDM 843, BJRS 518, KnSh 47 || pKo * $\kappa\hat{o}r\acute{a}n$ 'embankment, boundary, furrow' > MKo $\kappa\hat{o}r\acute{a}n$, NKo $\kappa\omicron ran$, $\kappa\hat{o}l$ id. ¶ MLC 138, 156, Yu 63, HMC 163 || M * $\kappa\hat{u}ri$ 'precipice (abrupt declivity, обрыв); rock, Steinplatte' > WrM {Cev.} $\kappa\hat{u}ri$ 'precipice', HIM {BMR} $\times\gamma\rho$ 'precipice (Abhang, обрыв)', Mgl {Wr.} 'Steinplatte', MM $\kappa\hat{u}ri$ {Battal, Lig.} 'rock, stone' ¶ Cev. s.v. $\kappa ur\acute{i}$, BMR IV 189, SDM 843 ¶¶ SDM 843 (pA * $\kappa'ori$ 'hill; embankment [насыпь], boundary' > T, Tg, Ko, J, M), DQA no. 1148 (id.), S 291, KnSh 47 (J, Ko) || ? **U**: FP * $\kappa ur\mathring{\nabla}$ 'hill, steep slope' (× N * $\kappa ur\mathring{\nabla}h\mathring{\nabla}$ 'hill, mountain', q.v. ffd.) || ? **D** * $\kappa ur\mathring{\mathcal{B}}$ - ({ $\mathring{\mathcal{G}}$ GS} * κ -) 'hilly country' (× N * $\kappa ur\mathring{\nabla}h\mathring{\nabla}$ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ There may have been other cognates, but because of reg.

phonetic changes in some descendant lges they coalesced with reflexes of other N words. Namely, in lges that lost certain vowel oppositions the reflexes of N * $\text{K}_1\text{r}\nabla$ 'rock' may have coalesced with those of N * $\text{kaR}_1\nabla$ 'peak, rock, steep mountain' (q.v.).

1141. * kurE ($\text{c}\nabla$) 'run, run away' > **K** (+ext.) * $\text{okurc|c}\chi$ l- > G $\text{kurc}\chi$ l- v. 'run away, race, gallop' ¶ Chx. 645-6 || **IE**: NaIE * kers- v. 'run' > L curro / $\text{cucurr}\bar{\text{i}}$ / cursum v. 'run' (curr(e)- < * $\text{k}\text{r}\text{s}\text{o-}$) || Gk ἐπί-κουρος 'assistant' (← *'running to help') (- κουρος < * korso-s ÷ L cursus n. act. 'run') || Clt {Matas.} * $\text{karr}\text{o-}$ 'wagon' > OIr carr 'vehicle' ({Vn.} 'charette, fardier, camion, voiture'), MW carr , W car 'vehicle', OBr, MBr carr id., Br {Hm.} karr 'voiture, char, charette', Gl [ED] {Billy} κάρρος, κάρρον 'char à l'usage militaire' → L carrus 'ε four-wheeled baggage waggon' || MHG hurren vi. 'to move quickly, to hasten' || Lt karšti (pres. karšiu) 'to go quickly, to run' || pTc {Ad.} * $\text{k}\text{w}\text{ars}\text{är}$ > Tc B $\text{k}\text{w}\text{ars}\text{är}$, A $\text{k}\text{urs}\text{är}$ {Ad.} 'league; course, path' | → NaIE * $\text{k}\text{r}\text{s}\text{o-s}$ 'vehicle, chariot' > L currus 'chariot' ¶ P 583-4, ≈ EI 491 (* $\text{k}\text{ers-}$ 'run' with unj. * k-), WH I 215, F I 537-8, Vn. C 41-2, Flr. 97, YGM-1 77, Billy 44, Lx. 96, Frn. 224, Matas. 191-2, Hm. 426, Wn. I 245, Ad. 234, Ad. H 17 ¶¶ IE * kers- < pre-IE * keurs- with loss of a glide * u before a sonant || **U** * $\text{ok}\text{ur|ir|de-}$ > Sm {Jn.} * $\text{k}\text{ür}\text{b-}$ 'run away, flee' > En B {Cs.} 3s aor. $\text{si m}\hat{\text{i}}$ 'er lief davon' (< * $\text{k}\text{ür}\text{w}\text{ə-?}$), Ne T d. $\text{сюрмб}\hat{\text{a}}$ - сб , T O {Lh.} $\text{ś}\text{ürmb}\hat{\text{a}}$ - v. 'run' (< * $\text{k}\text{ür}\text{ə-mp}\nabla$ -), Ne F {Lh.} $\text{ś}\text{ur}\beta\text{a-}$ id., ? Slq Nr {Cs.} $\text{š}\text{órm}\text{b}\text{a}$ 'es tropft, fließt', Kms {KD} $\text{š}\text{úr}\hat{\text{r}}\text{em}$ 'run' ¶ Jn. 79, Ter. 590-1, Cs. 132, KD 66 ¶¶ Not here F karata 'run away' (↔ AD GD no. 166) || **A** * $\text{Kur}\nabla$ - > NaT * Kürä- v. 'run away, desert' > OT kürä- id., SbTt Tv/Tar (= Qurdaq, Turali) {Rl.} kürä- 'auseinanderlaufen, auseinanderfließen', Yk kürä- 'flee, go away', kürän- vi. 'run away, hide, avoid' ¶ Cl. 737, Rs. W 320, ET KQ 146, DTS 238, Rl. II 1448-9, Pek. 1226, JkR 201 || NKo kilk- [kik-] 'run away, escape' (of a criminal) ¶ Rm. SKE 115, Gale 126, S QK no. 1112 || ? ϕ Tg: Lm kora- 'drive away' ¶ STM I 416 ¶¶ If Lm kora- belongs here (which is uncertain), the pA initial cns. is * k' - (rather than the expected * k' -), which creates a problem to be solved ¶¶ SDM 745 (pA * kure- 'run', 'quick' > Tg, T, Ko + unc. M * qur(u)- 'rapid, quick'), DQA no. 930 (id.), Rm. SKE 115 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 319 (IE, Sm, A. Ko, Ai, Gil + err. FU + qu. CK).

1142. * $\text{k}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}'\text{U}$ (= * $\text{k}\text{ur}'\text{U}$?) 'foot, hoof' (→ 'hand') > **A** {ADb.} * $\text{k}'\text{uru}$ > Tg * $\text{χ}\text{uru-n}$ 'hoof' > Ewk $\text{ur}\hat{\text{u}}\text{n}$, Ork $\text{χ}\hat{\text{u}}\text{r}\hat{\text{u}}$ 'hoof (of a reindeer)', Orc

ūḡki, Ud ū, Nn B χορο(n-) 'hoof'; Tg *χuru 'handful' > Ewk ur, urū, Ud ū, Ul, Orc χυρυ ~ χυρῡō, Nn Nh {STM} χōrō ~ χōroã id., {On.} χōrō id., 'Handfläche' ¶ STM II 287-8, On. 472 || M *quruṣan 'finger, toe' (< 'hoof?') > MM [IM] qurṣan, [IsV] qurṣan, [MA, LV] qurūn, WrM {MED} qurugun, HIM {MED} χυρυυ, {BMR} χυρυυ(η), Brt χυργα(η) id., Kl {KRS} χυρηη χυρυβη 'finger', {Rm.} χυρυη 'Finger', Mnr H {SM} χυρι, {Pot.} χυρυ, Mnr M {Pot.} κυρυ, MMgl [Z] qurūn, Mgl {Rm.} qurūn, Dx {T} gurun, Dg {T} qorō, Ord χυρū 'finger, toe' ¶ MED 991, BMR IV 172, Chr. 602, KRS 611, KW 198, Pot. 417, Pp. MA 312, 445, Pp. L III 63, Iw. 129, Rm. M 32, SM 185, T 378, T DgJ 30, T DnJ 117, Ms. O 372-3 ¶¶ SDM 856 (pA *k'ú'ra 'pole; finger, toe' > Tg, M, Ko + unc. T *K'a'rguk 'pole, peg'), Rm. EAS I 113, Ci. EApk 118, ADb. SR 316-17 || IE: NaIE *kern-/*korn- (or *k̑|korn-, if the Sl cognate is rejected) 'hoof, (?) handle' > Clt: W, Crn carn 'hoof', OBr carn id. ('ungula caballi, sabot de cheval'), Br karn 'hoof' ('sabat de bête') || ? Sl *černъ 'handle' > Blg, R 'чепен 'handle, haft, graft', SCr crēn, Slv črēn, Hls črona, P trzon id. ¶ YGM-1 76, Flr. 97, Hm. 426, ESSJ IV 69-70, ≠ P 576 (< *k̑er- 'das Oberste am Körper'), ≠ EI 272 (W carn < IE *k̑rnom 'horn') || U: FP *kurm∇ 'hollow of the hand' > Chr H kormыж 'kormъž', Chr L/Uf/B kormъž id., 'handful' | Mk курмозь kurmaž 'handful' | Prm {LG} *kūrim 'hollow of the hand' > StZ кырым 'hand', Z I/Ud, Prmk k+r+m 'hollow of the hand, handful', Yz kΛ'rΛm, Vt кырым 'handful' ¶ UEW 677, MRS 223, Ker. II 73, Ep. 46, Ü 75, LG 154, Lt. J 132 || D {tr.} *kuṛ∇lḡk°, {GS} kuḡuḡ 'thigh, leg, loins' (× N *gu'∇ (d∇) or *gur∇y∇ (d∇)- 'hip, side', q.v.) > Tm куṛaṛku, Kt korg, Tl куṛuṛu, Klm kudug, Prj kudu ᠘ kuḡu, Gdb kuyug, Gnd kuruku ᠘ kurki ᠘ koχki, Knd kuṛgu, Mlt qosge, Kui kuḡu 'thigh', Ku kudugu 'thigh, leg, loins' ᠘ kūdgū id., 'lap', Ml куṛaku, куṛau 'thigh, loins, quarter of animals', Krx kosgā 'leg, thigh' ¶¶ D no. 1840, Zv. 51, 95, 139, GS 151 [no. 382], 55 [no. 152] || HS: S *k̑ursul- 'ankle' (< N *k̑ur∇ sú'∇ 'e bottom [bone] of the leg\foot', ffd. see N *sú'∇ 'heel, sole of foot, bottom') || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' (< N *k̑ur∇ sú'∇, ffd. see N *sú'∇) ◇ If the Sl cognate is accepted, the IE √ has an initial *k-, in that case the pN rec. must be *k̑ur'U' (N *u > *u̯ is lost in IE if it is followed by a root-final sonant). But in this case the (otherwise plausible) connection of the N etymon with the cd *k̑'ü'rû y∇c∇ 'shin' (with a front vw. suggested by IE *k̑- in *k̑rūs- > Arm sṙun-k^h 'leg[s], shank[s]') is ruled

out. Otherwise, if the qu. Slavic cognate *černъ 'handle' is rejected, the N etymon is likely to be *kūr'U', in accordance with its connection with N *kūr'U' rû y∇c∇ ◇ The D, IE, and U cognates are likely to go back to a cd or cds (≈ N *kūr'U' n∇..., *kūr'U' m∇...) ◇ The meaning of D *kuṛ∇₁ṅ₁k° 'thigh, leg, loins' may be explained as a semantic change from N 'foot', influenced by the contamination with N *gūr'U' (d∇) or *gur∇y∇ (d∇) 'hip, side'.

1143. *Kūr∇ (= *Kūr'U'?) 'plait\wattle\tie together' > IE: NaIE *k^wer₁u₁- 'build, make' (→ *k^wer₁u₁- 'pot, kettle') > OI ka'rōti, karō'ṅōti (pp. krō'-ta-) 'does, makes', Av čōrəṭ 'er schafft', kərənao 'they will make', YAv kərəta-, OPrs (unvocalized script) krt pp. 'made', KhS kar 'do, make'; OI ca'ru- 'pot, kettle' ||| Clt {Matas.} *k^wer- 'make, cause' > W {Matas.} peri v. 'cause, create, make', {P} paraf 'I make, I accomplish', MBr paras 'made, caused' (3s p.); OIr cruth, W pryd 'form (Gestalt)'; {P}: OIr co(i)re, W pair 'kettle' ||| ON hverr, OHG (h)wer 'kettle', AS hwer 'kettle, pot' ||| BSl: [1] Lt kūr'ti 'to make up, to create, to build', Pru kūra 3s p. 'built' or 3s pres. 'builds' ||| Sl *čara 'cup, bowl, goblet' > OR YAPA čara, Pczara id., R 'чара 'goblet', Uk 'чара, R, Uk 'чарка 'wineglass'; ??? ChS къръни кърчъji and R † корч, корчий 'blacksmith, boilermaker' (more likely to be a loan from T, smth. like OQp *qurč-čī → OQp qurč 'steel' (see Cl. 647)] ?σ [2] (→ *'practive withcraft'): Lt kerāĩ pl. 'witchkraft, spell, sorcery', keréti 'to practice witchcraft' ||| Sl *čarъ, *čara 'witchcraft, magic, spell' > OCS, RChS, OR YAPъ čarъ, RChS, OR YAPA čara 'spell, witchkraft', Cr čara, Slv čār, čára, Cz čary id., Pczary, R 'чары id., 'charm', Blg чар 'charm', Uk чар 'magic potion' ¶ On the typological acceptability of the semantic change 'make' → 'practice witchcraft' see Bern. I 136-7 and Bu. 494-6 (≡σ: Sp hechizo < L facticius); an alt. connection of the BSl stem for 'witchcraft' is NaIE *kar- v. 'abuse, blame, punish' (< N *kar∇ 'curse, scold', ? 'punish'), because abusing and blaming may be originally perceived as magic ¶ ≈ P 641-2, EI 362 (*k^wer- 'do, make, build'), M K I 169, 258, M E I 307-9, Frn. 241-2, 319, Vs. IV 316-7, Vn. C 256, Vr. 272, Ho. 181, Kb. 1170, OsS 439, En. 199, Tp. P K-L 300-7, ESSJ IV 21-6, Glh. 171-2, Matas. E 178 ||| U *kur∇- v. 'fold, bind, tie with string' > F kuro- v. 'gather, pucker up (in a garment)', {UEW} 'fälteln, mit Falten versehen, kräuseln;

abschnüren, schnüren', курє 'gather, pucker; wrinkle, crumple; fold' | pLp {Lr.} *kōrз- 'tie together' > Lp: S {Hs.} gārredh '(zusammen-\an-\um-\ zu-)binden', Vfs {Lgc.} kōrro't 'tie together', L {LLO} kārā t 'tie\stitch together (with strings, twigs, root fibres, etc.), N {N} gōrrā- 'tie together', Kld kōrrā-ḏ v. 'tie' || Sm {Jn.} *ku(y)rā-, {Hl.} *kura- v. 'tie, plait', vi. *kurъ- 'be tied, plaited' > Ne T хурасъ id., {Lh.} χurā 'die Last im Schlitten festschnüren', Ne F {Lh.} kur·ḡa·ś id., Ng {Mik.} kūrūda 'entangle, enmesh (запутать)', Slq Tz {KKIH} kur+ id., v. 'bandage ('забинтовать)', En {Ter.} 3s aor. sbcj. кураса 'he tied up, strapped (увязал)', Kms {KD} kūrīām, Koyb {Sp.} курлямъ, Mt {Hl.} *kurā- v. 'plait' (Mt M {Sp.} курамъ 'plait') || pY {IN} *kur- > Y K {Iox.} курит 'сцепившись' ({Ang.} 'sich verkettet habend', {IN H} v. 'clutch') || A variant FU (FP) stem *kōr∇ (proposed in IS I 359) > Krl {It.} kōrūo- v. 'stitch' | pLp {Lr.} *kōrō 'sew' > Lp: S {Hs.} gōārudh, L {LLO} kārōt, N {N} gōarrot, Kld koarreḏ | Prm {LG} *kōr- > Z kōp- kōr- 'gather (in a garment)' || U *kur∇ ~ *kōr∇ is probably the source of some words for wickerwork: Chr E kurukś 'basket of bark' || ObU {Ht.} *kūrāy ~ *kīrāy 'sack' > pVg *kūrāy > Vg: T kōrāw / pl. ko(:)rkāt, LK xūri, MK kurī, UK kūrī, P kūrīy / pl. kurret, NV/SV kūrī, LL kūrī / kurrāt, UL/Ss xūrīy; pOs *kīrāy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y q+rāy, D/K xera, Nz xīra, Kz χīr, O χīr || Sm *kōr 'vessel' > Ne T хоръ "χōr? 'bucket, keg', 'Fass', Ne F P {Lh.} kōφ 'birch bark bucket', Ng {Ter.} кур, {Cs.} kūr 'barrel', En {Cs.} ку id., 'box (Kiste)', Slq Tm {KD} kōrḡnžā 'birch bark basket', Kms {KD} qōri? 'small box for fat' ¶¶ UEW 215, Coll. 29, Lr. no-s 459, 480, Lgc. no-s 2568, 2668, Hs. 566, TI 149, It. LC 115 (Lp N gōarrot, Krl), LG 141, Jn. 74, 76, KKIИ 121, Hl. M no. 601, Ht. no. 321, IN H 228, IN UJ 230, Ang. 130 || A *kūr∇- > T *Kur- 'put sth. in working order, erect (a building), establish' > XwT XIII qur- 'set up', Chg XV qur- id., 'erect', Tk kur- 'install, build', Tkm, Az gur-, Uz, ET, Nog, Qmq qur-, VTt kop- qōr-, Bsh kop- qōr- 'build, erect', Qzq, Qq, Qrg qur- 'set up, establish, build' ¶ Cl. 643, Rl. II 920, ET Q 156-7 || ?σ M: [1] M *qōri- 'enclose, shut in' (× N *kōHri 'to cover, to protect, to guard', q.v.) > WrM {MED} qōri- 'enclose, shut in, imprison; prevent, prohibit', HIM хори- {MED} id., {BMR} 'enclose (загораживать), imprison, forbid', Brt хори- 'forbid, отговаривать', Mnr H {SM} χūōri- 'enfermer, enprisonner, mettre à l'étable', Ord χōri- 'enfermer, mettre aux fers; prohiber, défendre, empêcher'; M *qōri'γ'ul > WrM {MED} qorigul

'enclosure, enclosed place, pigsty, sheepfold; hindrance; interdiction', HIM хориул {MED, BMR} id., Brt хорьюл 'interdiction, taboo'; M *qori'y¹aʁan 'courtyard with houses' > MM [S] qoriya₁an 'Hofraum, umfriedeter Platz, Schutzwehr', [HI] qoriyan 'cour avec habitations', WrM {MED} qoriyan ~ qoriga 'courtyard, enclosure', HIM хороо(н) {MED} id., {BMR} id., Stadtviertel', Dg {T} χορέ 'courtyard, fence', {Mr.} horiē id., 'stockade for horses and cattle, corral', Ord χορῶ 'enclos pour enfermer le bétail; enceinte; résidence du prince; caserne'] [2] M *küriyen > MM [HI] {Ms., Lew.} güriyen 'enclos', WrM {MED} kūrīyen 'anything girding\encircling\enclosed; fence; enclosure, yard', HIM хүрээ(н) {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'circle', WrO kūrē 'enclosure, monastery', Kl {KRS} күрә 'monastery', {Rm.} kūrē 'Lager, Kloster, Hof', Ord k'ūrē 'qch. qui ceint\entoure; enceinte, clôture, enclos, cour, mur d'un enclos'; WrM {MED} kūrīyele- v. 'fence off, enclose, encircle, surround', HIM хүрээлэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'umzäumen einfassen; umsäumen', WrO kūrēle- 'surround, encircle', Ord k'ūrēle- 'encercler, entourer d'une clôture', 'faire entrer dans un enclos (bétail)' ¶ Ms. H 58, 90, MED 506, 966-7, BMR IV 113-15, 193-4, H 67, Lew. II 39, SM 183, T DgJ 177, Mr. D 164, Ms. O 358, 360, 438-9, Krg. 758, KRS 326, KW 247 || AdS of Tg *kōri- 'build (out of logs)', 'building' (basically from N *kōrū 'stick, log', q.v. ffd., as can be seen from Tg *k- < N *k-) || ? pJ {S} *kuru-wa 'rampart of a fortress, quarter in a city' > OJ kuruwa id., J T kuruwa, J K kúrúwá, J Kg kuruwá {Kenk.} an enclosure, quarter in a city; district ¶ S QJ no. 891, Kenk. 1118 ¶¶ SDM 745-6 (pA *kuri 'wattle, fence, enclosure, building' > T, M *küriyen, Tg, J), DQA no. 931 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *k₁'uru id., KW 187, Rm. SKE 125, Pp. VG 88, Dr. TM I 434 || D (in SD) *kur∇v-, *kur- 'basket' (× N *k'ūr¹ry∇p∇ 'sack, wicker basket', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ HS: CS *k₁∇wr- 'thread' > Hb קור קūr 'thin thread, spider's web', Ar qawr- 'good and strong cotton rope; new cotton' ¶ KB 1020, KBR 1091, BK II 833, Hv. 633 ◇ IS I 359-60 [no. 236] ◇ D *-r- suggests the presence of some cns. following *r in the prehistory of D (reg.: D *-r- < N *r + another cns.) The most probable additional cns. for this case is *w or *y (the lrs. are ruled out for lack of traces in S and IE). Such pre-D *w may go back to N *-u or *-ū. Direct traces of N final *û may be discerned in OI ца'ру and in D (Ml kurutti, Kn kurve, Tu kurvæ) ◇ Gr. II no. 258 (*kur 'make') (IE, U, A, J, Ai).

1144. *k̥u'r√ 'short' > IE: NaIE *ker-t-, *ker-... 'short' > OI kr̥'dhu- 'shortened', Av kərədušā 'in Kürze' || L curtus 'short' || Sl m. *kor't-ъкъ id. (f. *kórtrьka, ntr. *kórtrьko) > ChS кратъкъ кратъкъ, Blg 'кратък, SCr krátak, Slv krátek, Cz krátký, P krótki, R ко'роткий, 'короток || ?φ Gmc: ON kortr, kurtr, OSx kurt, OHG kurz ̣ churz, NHG kurz 'short' ¶ WH I 316-7, MK I 260, ME I 393, ESSJ XI 101-4, Glh. 345, Vr. 327, Ho. S 44, Kb. 575, Schz. 187, KM 414 ¶ IE *ker- < **keur- is due to the law requiring the loss of any sonant preceding the final sonant of the √. Gmc *k- for *h- is still to be explained ¶¶ The connection (if any) with IE *(s)kert- 'cut' is secondary || HS: WS *√kry 'be short' > Sr √kry (pf. كَرِيَ kərī ~ كَرَا kərā) 'be short', Sq {L} kirī 'be short' ¶ Br. 342, L LS 225 || B *√kry 'be too short' (of stature, etc.) > Sll kri (pf. ikri) 'be short', Kb √kry (inv. əшri) 'être malingre, de petite taille pour son âge', ? Ah əkrū 'avoir une petite figure chiffonnée', ??φ Zng {TC} yikyīy 'devenir court' ¶ Ds. 79, Dl. 421, Fc. 842, DCTC 291 || A *k'or√ 'short; be diminished' > NaT *Kora- > OT qora- 'be diminished, suffer losses' ({ET Q} pT *Kor̥:√r- 'harm, Schaden [вред, убыток]), Qrg qoro- vi. 'diminish, decrease', Tlt qoro- 'sich verkleinern, sich verringern, abnehmen', Xk {BIG} vi. xora- 'diminish', Sg/Qb/Shor {RI.} qora- 'sich vermindern', Yk {Pek.} v. xor- 'spend (расходовать). 'причинять расход, пускать в расход' ¶ Cl. 645, Rl. II 551-2, Jud. 407, Pek. 3497, ET Q 73-4 || M *qoru- vi. 'diminish, decrease' > WrM {MED} qoru-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt xoro-, Kl {KRS} xop- id., {Rm.} xor- 'knapper\weniger\kürzer sein\werden', Ord xor- 'devenir moindre, devenir moins nombreux, diminuer' ¶ MED 968, BMR IV 115, Chr. 590, KW 188, H 68, KRS 600, Ms. O 360 || Tg *xurum- 'short' > Nn Nh/Bk/KU xurumi ~ xurmi, Ork xurumi, xurdumi, Ul xurmi, Orc ūmi, Ewk, Lm urum-kun, Sol. uruḡku(n) id., Ewk urumūr- vt. 'shorten' ¶ STM II 287-8, Ci. 326, Vas. 454, On. 482-3 || pKo {S} kor- vi. 'diminish' > Nko kol-da ¶ Rm. SKE 122, S AJ 257 [no. 177] ¶¶ SDM 8434 (pA *k'oru 'short; diminish, grow less' > T, M, Tg + unc. pKo *korh- 'suffer loss'), S AJ 292 [no. 435], KW 188, ADb. SR 13, ≈ Rm. SKE 122 || D *kur̥- ({φGS} *k-) 'short' (of stature) > Tm, Tl kur̥u 'short, dwarfish', Ml kur̥u 'short, little, brief', Kt kūr 'shortness of stature', Td kur̥x- 'be short', kwar̥- 'be reduced in size or esteem', Kn kur̥u 'smallness', kor̥e 'grow little\less\short, diminish', Kdg koru 'defect, deficiency', korate 'diminishing', Tu korā 'brief, short', kuru 'little, small', Gnd M

kurrā 'short of stature', Knd kur̥i 'short, shortness'; ?? D *kūr̥- > Tm kúr̥.əi̯ 'that which is short' ¶¶ D no-s 1851. 1914 ◇ IE *ker-t-, *ker- rules out the possibility of reconstructing *o in the N etymon. Hence the T and the M vw. *o (together with pA *o) (for the expected *u) is still to be explained. IE *ker(-t-) is likely to go back to **keur- < *Ḳur̥ ◇ IS MS 345, IS I 367-8 (*Ḳur̥ ḥ 'short'; HS [S, Ch], D, A, ? IE).

1145. *ḲoHri 'to cover, to protect, to guard' > **A** *k'ōr̥- 'protect, guard (i.a. by covering, fencing in)' > NaT *Kōri- > OT {Cl.} qorī- v. 'fence in, protect (a piece of ground)', Chg XV qorū- v. 'restrict, protect', Chg [MA] qorū- 'defend', Qrg qorū- 'protect (against sth.), guard, fence in', Tk korū- v. 'protect, defend, spare', Tkm qōra- 'protect (against so.\sth.), defend' ({ET} qōra-), Az qorū-, Qmq, ET qorū-, Qrlq qorī-, Uz qwri- 'guard, protect, defend', Qzq inf. қорұ қорұw, Nog qorī- v. 'defend', StAlt qorū 'defence, (protective) fence (ограждение)', Tv xorū- v. 'forbid', vi. 'lurk\hide out of fright' (of birds and other animals); ? Chg {Rs.} qor̥ya- 'mit einer Mauer umgeben' ¶ Cl. 645-6, Rs. W 282, ET Q 76-8, TkR 189, Jud. 409, BT 88 || M *qori- 'protect; shut in, confine' (× N *Ḳur̥ [or *Ḳur̥ú?] 'plait\wattle\tie together', q.v.) > MM [S] d. qorilaldū- 'sich gegenseitig oder einer dem andern (den Zutritt) absperren', ? qoriya, an 'Hofraum, umfriedeter Platz, Schutzwehr', WrM qori- {MED} v. 'protect, prohibit; shut in, confine', HIM xori- {MED} id., {BMR} 'prohibit, ausreden (отговаривать); take into custody, imprison; загоразживать', Ord xori- 'enfermer, mettre aux fers, enfemer, prohiber', Mnr H {SM} xūōri- 'enfermer, emprisonner, mettre à l'étable, prohiber, défendre, empêcher'; MM [MA] qori- v. 'defend' (× ← OT or MT qorī- id.) ¶ Pp. MA 303, MED 966, BMR IV 113, SM 183, Ms. O 858 || Tg *xura- ({SDM97} *xurā-) 'escape a danger\death, return to life, recover (from an illness)' > Ewk urā- ~ ūra-, Ud uya-, Nn Nh xora-, Lm ūr- 'escape a danger\death', Lm ūr-, Ul xora-, xura-, Ork xura-, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} xorago- 'regain consciousness', Nn Nh {On.} xorago- vt. 'return to life (оживить, воскресить, возвратить к жизни), render more healthy, nüchtern machen', Ewk urā- ~ ūra- vt. 'save (so.)', Sln d. urgī-, Lm ūr- 'recover (from an illness)', Lm ūr, Neg oyaygī-, Orc uwa- ~ uya-, Ul xora- ~ xura- 'return to life' ¶ STM II 282, On. 471 || pKo {S} *kàrí v. 'cover, shield' > MKo kàrí-, NKo kari- ¶ S QK no. 742, Nam 13, MLC 13 ¶¶ SDM 842-3 (pA *k'ōra|o|u- v. 'protect, guard' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA

no. 1131 (id.), Rm. SKE 98, Rm. EAS I 47, 107, 141, KW 193, TL 575 ||
HS: WCh: Tng k₀r_ne v. 'protect, guard, keep, preserve, shelter' | Ang
 {Flk.} k₁r v. 'tend (as of cattle)', Su {J} k₁y₁r 'hüten, bewachen; füttern' |
 ? (× N ***qARŪH₂∇** 'cover, keep [sth.] out of sight, hide') Hs k₁ā₁r₁ v.
 'protect, guard; interpose (sth.) to screen from view', k₁ā₁r₁y₁à
 'protection; interposing an object to prevent (sth.) from being seen\hit;
 screening off a place' ¶ Stl. ZCh 210 [no. 604] (pWCh *ka₁y₁ar- 'protect,
 guard'), Flk. s.v. k₁r, J S I 71, J T 102, Ba. 567, 570, ≈ Sk. HCD 137 ¶
 BK II 719 || ? SC: Kz k₁ulum- vi. 'hide' (acc. to Ehret, Kz -l- goes back to
 pSC *-r-) (× N ***qARŪH₂∇** '↑') ¶ E K 14, E SC 254 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg XIX
 k₁r₁ω 'shield', because Cpt 6₁ā₁c₁al 6₁ā₁c₁al points to an Eg [1] (EG V
 59, ≠ Sk. HCD 137) || **U:** FU *kor∇ (or *-u-) 'roof, covering (Bezug) of
 an object' > pLp *^ok₁r- > Lp N {N} g₀ar₁ân 'hairy skin covering fastened
 round a reindeer's dragrope' || ObU *k₁ūr > pVg *kur₁ > Vg: UL x₁ur₁
 'roof of a boat', Ss x₁ā₁p-x₁ur₁ id. (x₁ā₁p is 'boat'), x₁ur₁ 'roof, birch bark tilt
 of a sledge'; pOs *k₁ō₁r₁a 'roof\tilt (over a boat\sledge), cover' > Os
 V/Vy/Ty/Y q₁ō₁r₁a id. (V/Vy k₁ir₁ω q₁ō₁r₁a 'roof a boat', peč₁k₁ā₁n q₁ō₁r₁a 'case of
 a rifle', Ty/Y ā₁y₁ω₁l q₁ō₁r₁a 'tilt of a sledge', Ty s₁āk q₁ō₁r₁a 'cover of a coat'),
 V/Y q₁ō₁r₁a 'roof (of a house), D x₁ō₁r₁a 'birch bark tilt of a boat, leathern
 case of a rifle', Nz x₁ō₁r₁a, Kz/O x₁ō₁r 'roof\tilt of a boat\sledge' ¶ UEW
 188, Coll. 79, Ht. no. 313, Trj. S 184, Stn. D 548-9.

1145a. *Ka₁H₂r∇ 'sharp' > **HS:** EC *k₁ar- 'point, peak; sharp' > Sml
 q₁ār, Or k₁ār-a? 'edge', k₁ar- v. 'sharpen', {Grg.} k₁ara n. 'point, sharpness',
 Gdl k₁ār 'blade', k₁ara 'sharpness', Kns q₁ār-ta 'tip, blade, sharpness', HEC
 *k₁ar- v. 'sharpen (knife)', *k₁are 'point; sharp' > Ged k₁ara 'sharp', Sd
 k₁ara 'point', k₁ar-ā₁m₀ 'sharp, pointed', Hd {Ss.} k₁ā₁r₁a 'sharpness' ¶ ZMO
 325, DSI 489, Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 49, Ss. B 46, Grg. 317, Hd. 131-2, 415 ||
IE: NaIE *k^har- 'sharp, pointed, rough' (× N ***ćor∇** 'tip, top, edge' [q.v.]
 × N ***qaH₂r'∇** 'hard, firm', whence the meaning 'hard' in NaIE *k^har-) >
 OI k^har₁a- 'hard, rough, sharp', NPrs خ₁ār 'thorn, thistle' || Gk
 κ₁ρ₁χ₁α₁ρ₀ς 'sharp-pointed, jagged' ¶ WP I 355, M K I 302, Vl. I 634-5, Sg.
 487, Horn 102, F I 796 ¶¶ NaIE *k^har- < pIE *kHar- < (mt.) N ***Ka₁H₂r∇**
 × N ***qaH₂r'∇** || **D** *ka₁r₁- ~ kar- ({₁GS} *k-) 'sharp' > Ml ka₁r₁u 'rough',
 ka₁r₁u₁m₁a 'sharpness of sword', Kn ka₁r₁aku, ka₁r₁ku 'sharpness', Tl
 ka₁ra 'sharp', ka₁r₁aku, ka₁r₁uku 'rough(ness), sharp(ness)', Gnd
 karkara 'sharp', Tm ka₁ra₁ṭ₁u 'roughness', Ml ka₁ra₁ṭ₁u, Kn ka₁ra₁ḍ₁u

'what is rough and uneven', Tu karadъ, karadу 'rough, coarse' ¶¶ D no. 1265.

1146. *k_ul_wr^E '(severe) cold' > HS: WS *kurr- 'cold' (noun) > BHb 𐌀𐌿𐌵𐌵𐌹, Ar qurr-, Sr 𐌵𐌹𐌵𐌹; Gz k^warr id.; CS *karr- adj. 'cold' > BHb 𐌀𐌿𐌵𐌵𐌹, Ar qarr- id. ¶ BK II 699-700, L G 443-4, KB 1052-3, 1071-2 || EC *korra > Or {Grg.} korra 'cold, coldness', korra v. 'freeze, make cold', {Th.} 𐌵𐌹𐌵𐌹𐌹𐌹 'freddo intenso, gelo', 𐌵𐌹𐌵𐌹𐌹 'congelarsi', Or M {AD} korra 'cold, hoarfrost', Sd {Gs.} korra- 'become/feel cold, freeze', korra 'frost, hoarfrost, severe cold', Ged {Hd.} kōrra 'frost' ¶ Gs. 269, Grg. 332, Th. 280, Hd. 251 || ? B *✓krr (× N *k_i?ar_lU_lqa or *k_ir_lU_lqa 'ice, hoarfrost') > Rf akarra 'grêle' ¶ Rn. 343 || K *°k^wra¹r- > Sv UB/LB/L/LB {TK} k^warem, Ln {TK} k^wārem 'ice', Sv {Ni.} k^warem 'frost, ice', lu-
kurāme 'frozen', Sv UB {GP} k^warem 'ice', k^warmob 'frost, freezing', li-
k^wremi v. 'freeze' ¶ GP 130, 156, Ni. s.v. лёдъ, морозъ, мёрзнуть, мёрзлый, TK 352 || U *ku_lw_râ 'hoarfrost' > F ku_ura, Krl A kūru id., 'white frost', Es † kuureg, Δ kuurukene (gen. kuurukese) 'kleiner, über den Weg gewehter Schneestreifen' | pLp *kor[∇] > Lp L {LLO} kār^rālahka 'ice crust on trees, sheet ice (Glatteis)', kār^rō- 'hoarfrost covers the trees' | pPrm {LG} *gūer 'white frost, hoarfrost' > Vt g⁺r, Vt Tl g⁺zr, Vt NE g⁺er id., Z гыöп g⁺zr, Z US g⁺zr, Z UV g⁺ver 'hoarfrost' || ? Hg † hóhar mat 'hoarfrost', Hg har mat 'dew' || ? Sm: Slq UKe {KD} kur 'fine snow, hoarfrost', Kms {KD} quro 'Reif, Frost' ¶¶ UEW 215 (U *kura), SK 251, LLO 336, LG 85, KD 34 || A *Kö|ür[∇]- > M *kör_lü_l- v. 'cool off, freeze, congeal' > MM kö^r- (MM [HI] p. pf. kö^rbē_l) v.. 'freeze, congeal', WrM kö^rü- {MED} vi. 'cool off, become cold; freeze', HIM хө^pө- {SDM} id., {BMR} 'cool off, become cold; freeze', Brt хү^pэ- id., Kl {KRS} кө^p- kö^r- id., {Rm.} kö^r- 'frieren, kalt werden', Ord k'ör- 'se congeler, se geler; devenor froid' (boissons, aliments), Mnr H {SM} k'ü^ori- 'se geler, être gelé', M ⇨ Ewk kurer- 'cover (windows) with ice, freeze (on windows)' and Lm kurilkэ 'snowdrift (сугроб, намет) after a snowstorm'; M *kör_l∇_l > WrM {MCD} kö^r, HIM {Gl.} χör 'snow (frozen to ice) on grass', {BMR} хө^p цас 'hardened snow, залежи снега' (цас means 'snow'), Brt хү^p 'snowdrift (сугроб)', Kl {KRS} кө^p kö^r id., {Rm.} kö^r 'dicker Schnee, Schneewehe' ¶ Absence of any final vw. in WrM may be due to the infl. of T *Kürt? ¶ MED 490, BMR IV 147, Chr. 625, 630, Gl. III 665, Luv. 555, KRS 318-19, KW 240, SM 215, Ms. H 72. Ms. O 430, STM I 436-7, MCD 375-6 || T *Kü_lrt > Tk Δ kürt, VTt {Rs.,

TatR} кѣрт k^ort 'heap of snow, snowdrift', VTt {RI.} күрт 'hoch-aufgestürmter Schnee', Shor {RI.} күрт 'avalanche', ET Tr {RI.} күрт 'frisch gefallener Schnee', Qmq, StAlt күрт, Chv L кѣрт, Chv Δ {Md.} к^oрт 'snowdrift' ({Jeg.} 'заметенный вьюгой сугроб, снежный занос'); d.: T *k^ort^o-ik 'snowdrift, deep snow' > OT körtük, Tlt {RI.} körtük, Xk körtük, Tv xörtük, Tk Δ, Qrg kürtük, Qzq күртик, Nog kürtik, Yk kürjük ¶ Cl. 739, ET KQ 149-50, RI. II 461, Rs. W 311, TatR 328, Md. 55, 170 (k^ort^o-ik), Ash. VII 296, Fed. I 282, Jeg. 108, ChVS 86 || pJ {S} *k^ort^o- 'freeze' > OJ kór-, J: T/Kg kór-, K kòr- ¶ S QJ no. 618, Mr. 713 ¶¶ SDM 724 (A *kóre 'to freeze' > TM, T, J + Tg [Ewk kurer- and Lm kurilkz, treated as genetic cognates rather than loans from M()], DQA 886 (id.), KW 240, Rm. W 311.

1147. *qayer∇ 'ε bark, skin' > A *k^oayEr∇ > ? M *^oqayir₁∇₁ > Brt хайр 'hardened parts of skin (in heels)'; M *qayir₁∇₁-sun 'scales' > MM [HI] qairsun 'fish scales', WrM {MED} qairsun ~ qairasun, HIM {MED, BMR} хайрс 'scales (of fishes and reptiles), Kl Ö {Rm.} xārsu 'Schuppe, harte Rinde, Schwiele', Ord xārsu 'écaille (p. ex. de poisson)' ¶ Ms. H 86, MED 913-14, BMR IV 20, Chr. 534, KW 180, Ms. O 347 || T:[1] VTt {Rs.} qayraq 'hard tumour' (homonymy with qayraq 'whetstone' causes a popular et.: 'tumour as hard as a whetstone'), VTt qayr 'bark, lime bast (кора, луб, корьё)', Chv L хуйәр хуяр, Chv H {Md.} хуяр 'bark', ? Qzq qayraq 'hard ground\bottom (of lakes\ivers)' || [2] T *Ka₁:₁ 'bark of trees' (*^o < *yr?) > OT {Cl.} qāz ~ qās, OT U qas, Qb {Rs.} qas, Tlt {RI.} qāza 'birch bark', Az Δ gazmaγ 'a crust of bread which remains on the walls of the furnace' ¶ Cl. 665, Rs. W 223, RI. II 363, TatR 212, MM 423, Ash. XVI 141-2, Fed. II 352, Jeg. 302, ChVS 253 ¶ SDM95 (s.v. M *k^oejir) || Tg: [1] Tg *χere- v. 'debark (a tree)' > WrMc {Z} эрэ- v. 'debark a birch tree', Ul, Nn Nh {On.} χэрэ- v. 'scale (dried fish skin)'; Tg *χere-kte n. 'bark, skin' > Ewk эрэктэ id., Neg эрэктэ, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk χэрэктэ, Orc эктэ 'human skin', Lm эртэ id., 'skin of a bird', 'scales' ¶ STM II 466-7, On. 493, Z 85 || [2] ? AmTg *χāri- 'umsäuen', *χāriça 'Stoffkante, обшивка' > Nn Nh {STM} χāri- 'umsäuen, Nn Nh/KU {STM}, Ul χāriča 'Stoffkante, обшивка' ¶ STM I 371 || ? pKo {S} *k^oár-č^hā₁η > MKo k^oár-č^hā₁η 'young skin of a plant' (mentioned in SDM95, but absent in SDM97 and DQA) || pJ *kárà 'shell' > OJ kárà, J: T kará, K kàrà, Kg kára ¶ S QJ no. 480, Mr. 438 ¶¶ SDM 782-3 (pA *k^oérà 'bark' > M, Tg, J, T *Kár + unc. T *Kár-di^o [for *Kaδi^o] 'bark'), DQA no. 996 (id.), SDM97 155 (pA *k^oeyro 'bark'), S AJ

38, 80, 285, Mill. JAZS 157-72, Mill. EIR 151, TL 107 || IE: NaIE *ker- 'skin, hide, bark', (←) *kermen- 'skin' > OI 'c̄arma 'skin, hide', Av č̄arāman- 'hide, leather', OPrs č̄arman- 'leather' || L corium 'thick skin, hide, bark' || Gk κώρυκος 'leather sack' || Clt: ? W corw̄g, c̄wrw̄g 'coracle' (unless ← NE coracle) || Pru kērmens 'body', ? Lt karnà ~ kardà 'lime bast' || SI *kora 'bark' (× N *Kor'a¹ 'to flay, to debark', 'bark, crust') > OCS kopa kora, Blg, R ko'pa, SCr kōra, Slv kóra, Cz kůra, P kora 'bark' ¶ P 939-41 (does not distinguish between the IE √ in question and other *ker- and *(s)ker-roots), M K I 378, F II 63-4, YGM-1 100, ≈ Frn. 221, En. 192, Tp. P I-K 326-31, ESSJ XI 44-5, Glh. 332-3, WH I 256, ≈ EI 522 (*'kermen; unc.: ← *(s)ker-'cut') || K: G κροί- 'shell of a nut' ¶ Chx. 633 || U: [1] pre-U **'kayEr∇ > **kayr∇ > **kār∇ > FP *kōr∇ 'skin, bark' > F kuori 'skin, peel, bark, crust, shell', Es koor 'shell (of eyes), peel, bark' || Er/Mk kař 'bast shoe' || Prm {LG} *kōrs̄ > Z kīrs̄ 'bark' || Sm {Jn.} *kār (?) 'skin, shell' > Ne T сяр" 'skin, surface', Ne O {Lh.} šār? 'harte Innenfläche der Tierhaut', Ne F {Lh.} šār? in nūm šār' 'Himmelsgewölbe', Slq Tz {Prk.} qora 'hide' || pY {IN} *qar 'skin, hide' > Y K {IN} qar id., {IN RJ} χār 'skin', šān-χār 'bark' (lit. 'tree skin'), OY K {Bil.} c̄har 'skin', tshangar 'bark' || [2] pre-U **ka'yer∇ 'ε bark' > FU *kere > F kerī 'the bark which grows on the birch tree after the first bark has been removed', Es {W} kere 'lime bast' || pLp {Lr.} *k̄r̄ > Lp: S g'irre, L {LLO} karra, N {N} gâr râ, Kld k̄r̄ || Er керь keř, Mk кяр kār 'bark, sheet of lime bast (лубок)' || Chr: H к̄р̄ k̄r, L к̄р̄ k̄r, B k̄r id. || Prm {LG} *kōr > Z kor / koru- 'peel', (in a set phrase) 'sheet of lime bast (луб)', Z Lu kor 'upper layer of bark', Z US k̄r 'bark', Vt, Prmk кур kur, Vt SW k̄r, Vt B ko'r 'lime bast' || ObU {Ht.} *kīr(∇) 'bark' > pVg *kīr > Vg T/LK/MK/UL/Ss k̄r id.; pOs *kīr 'snow crust' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/K kīr, Nz/Kz/O ker id.; pOs *kār 'bark' > Os: V/Vy kār, Ty/Y/D/K/O kār, Nz/Kz kar || OHg k̄r 'Zwerchfell', (in cds) -k̄r 'thin skin, film', Hg k̄r̄g 'bark, crust' ¶¶ UEW 148-9, 184-5, Db. OS xxi, xxiii, Sm. 543 (FU *keri|ä 'bark' > FP *keri, Ugr *kīr̄), It. no. 308, Lr. no. 318, Lgc. no. 1963, Hs. 611, LG 133, 154, SZ 164, Ht. no. 317, MF 133, Jn. 64-5, IN 245, 326, 332, IN RJ s.v. 'кожа' and 'коpa', W EDW 263 || One may try to adduce here HS (S *✓k̄rm, B *k̄rm > *✓ȳrm 'crust', Bj {R} k̄r̄be 'skin', Ch ✓k̄r 'skin'), but I prefer to connect this HS √ with N *Kor'a¹ (or *KōRa and *K̄'orü?) 'to flay, to debark; bark, crust' and (in the case of Bj) with N

k̄oRup** ∇ ~ ***k̄aRup** ∇ 'bark of trees' (ε ?), 'skin' ◇ N ***-e-** is suggested by U ***kere**; M ***qayir₁∇₁-** and Tg ***χere-** also point to a front vw. in the N internal syll. ◇ IS I 341-3 (K̄ar̄ä** misprinted as ***K̄ar̄ ä**), Vv. AEN 6, S AJ 38, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST; they suggested to adduce G **k̄ro₁-i**; believing that FU ***k̄ōr** ∇ belongs together with A ***k'juru** 'bark, shell' and is to be regarded as a different N etymon). In my opinion, this A √ (reconstructed by me as ***k'ōru-**) belongs together with U ***kora-** v. 'flay, skin' to N ***K̄or'a'** 'to flay' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 26 (***ker** 'bark').

1148. *k̄e₁y₁riʔA 'cry, shout, call' > **HS**: S √ **k̄rʔ** v. 'call' > BHb, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} **Ⲭⲓⲛ** √ **k̄rʔ** 'call, proclaim, recite, read', IA √ **k̄rʔ** 'call, declare', JA {Js.} √ **k̄rʔ** ~ √ **k̄ry** G, JEA {Sl.} √ **k̄ry** G 'call, summon; read', Ph, Pun √ **k̄rʔ** 'invoke', Ug **k̄rʔ** 'call (rufen, anrufen), invite', Amr {G} √ **k̄rʔ** 'call', Ar √ **qrʔ** G 'read, recite, transmit salutations', OYmn {Slw.} √ **k̄rʔ** v. G 'call (rufen)', Sb, Mn √ **k̄rʔ** v. G 'order, command', Ak **q̄arāʔu** ~ **q̄arū** ~ **q̄erū** inf. 'to invite', Eb {Krb.} **q̄araʔum** (**ḡa-r̄u₁₂-um** ~ **ḡa-ra-um**) 'to call' ¶ KB 1053-5, KBR 1128-31, Slw. 176, BK II 701, Hv. 395, BGMR 106, MA 72, A no. 2448, OLS 370-1, Lv. T II 382, Js. 1418, Sl. 1039-40, G A 29, BDB no. 7121, CAD XIII 242-3, HJ 1025-8, Krb. EG 18ff., Krb. PE 44 || B ****√k̄rH** > ***ȳrH** > Ah **əȳar** (pf. **īȳrā**) 'call (appeler), mention, read', Gh **əȳar** pf. **īȳra**), SrSn, Rf Wr **əȳar** (habit. **əqqar**), Sll {Ds.} **ȳər** (pf. **īȳ^ωra**), Izd **ȳar** (pf. **īȳra**) 'call', Tmz **ȳar** 'call, invite', Izn **ȳar** (habit. **əqqar**), Kb **ȳar** (pf. **ȳəȳra**), Zng {TC} **āȳri** 'read' ¶ Fc. 1761, Rn. 361, Ds. 18, La. S 195, Dl. 621, MT 197-8, Mrc. 22, DCTC 288, TC Z 311 || **K** {IS} ***k̄īr-** (or ***k̄īl-**) 'cry, shout' > Lz **k̄ir-**, **k̄iy-**, Mg **r̄k̄i-** (mt.) ¶ Chik. 297-8, IS I 328, Zhgh. ChMP 75, ≠ K 112 || **U**: FU ***ker₁ȳä-** v. 'call; beg, ask (for)' > F **kerjää-**, Es **kerja-** v. 'beg (betteln)' | Prm ***k̄or-** 'call, ask' > Z **кoр-** **kor-**, Z US **k̄or-** 'call (звать), ask, beg (betteln)', Yz **kor-** 'call, invite, ask', Vt inf. **кyрыны**, Vt SW/B **kur-** 'ask' || Hg **kér-** v. 'ask' ¶ UEW 149 (FU ***kerä-**), LG 133, SZ 165, Lt. J 128 || **A** ≈ ***k'æ₁riya-** > Tg ***χērī-**, ***χērsī-** v.. 'shout, call (звать)' > Ewk **ērī-** id., 'invite', Sln **ērī-**, Lm **ērī-**, Ul **χērsi-**, **χērsu-**, **χērčī-**, **χērču-**, Nn Nh **χērsi-** v. 'call (звать)', Neg **ēyī-** id., 'shout' ¶ STM II 464, On. 492 || M ***qariya-** > WrM **qariya-** {MED} 'curse, swear, abuse', HIM **xapa-** {MED} id., {BMR} 'curse, swear, verfluchen', Brt **xapa-**, Dx **qara-**, Kl {KRS} **xapa-** id., {Rm.} **χarā-** 'schimpfen, scelten, fluchen', Mnr H {SM} **χarā-** 'maudire, faire des imprécations, injurier', Ord **χarā-** id., 'se répandre en malections', Ba **χara-** 'verfluchen', WrO **χarā-** v.

'curse' ¶ MED 938, BMR IV 47, Chr. 549-50, KRS 578, KW 168, SM 159, T 374, T DnJ 125, T BJ 149, Krg. 261, Ms. O 337 || T *Karga- ~ *Kirga- v. 'swear, curse' > OT qarɣa- ~ qırɣa-, MT qarɣa-, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Alt, Tv qarɣa-, Tkm ɣarɣa-, Uz qarɣa-, ET qa(r)ɣa-, Xk xarɣa-, Yk kirā- id, d.: Chv {Ash.} хăррăн 'angrily (злобно)' ¶ Cl. 655, ET KQ 3045, Rs. W 237, Ash. XVI 363 || ?σ pJ *kátár- > OJ katar-, MJ kátár- 'speak, relate' ({S, SDM} 'speak, tell [рассказывать]'), J T katar-, J K kátár-, J Kg katár- {Kenk.} 'talk, relate' ¶ Mr. 705, Kenk. 872-3 ¶¶ SDM 781-2 (pA *k'ērō 'shout, speak' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1024 (id.), Vld. 201 || IE (+ext.): Sl *krikъ n. 'shout' (> ChS крнкъ крѣкъ 'clamor', SCr, Slv krīk, Cz křik, Slk krík, Hls křik, LLs kśik, P krzyk, R, Uk крик, Blr крык n. 'shout') and inf. *kričati 'to shout' (> OCS, OR крнѹати kričati, R кри'чатъ, SCr, Slv kríčati, Cz křičeti, Slk kríčat', P krzyceć, R кри'чатъ, Blr кры'чаць, Uk кри'чати inf. 'to shout', Blg кри'ча v. 'shout') ¶ The loss of the expected palatalization of *k- in IE is accounted for by its preconsonantal position ¶ ESSJ XII 149-50, 154-6 || D *kīr̥- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'shout' > Kt kir̥y-, Td kir̥č- v. 'shout', Kn kīr̥u, cīr̥, cīr̥u, Kui kihpa v. 'scream, cry out', Tl cīr̥u 𐎠 cīr̥u v. 'call', Ku kīr̥r̥ 'shout, moan', Brh kireṅ v. 'abuse', Tm kir̥āvu 'cry (as a peacock)' ¶¶ D no. 1590 ◇ IS I 323-4 [no. 199] (*qerjā) ◇ S *ʔ and B *H suggest an ancient N lr., D *-r̥- rules out a N cluster *-ry-, so that *-y- in BF (if it belongs to the N heritage) is accounted for by a N vw. *i between *r and *ʔ. The N final vw. is likely to be *a (> *a in M, as well as *ä in FU due to vw. harmony). The change from N *e to D *i may be due to regr. as. (N *qe,y,riʔA > pre-D **kiri- > D *kīr̥-). M *-a- of the first syll. may be due to regr. as. (*e...*a > M *a...a).

1149. *q̥uyr̥ 'wood (Holz), log' > HS: EC {Ss.} *q̥or- 'wood' > Sml qor- v. 'trim timber', qor-i 'wood', Dsn ǵór 'tree, wood', Kns {Bl.} qór-ā, {Ss.} qoyr-a, Gdl qór-ā, Elm ór-oʔ, Arr {Hw.} qór m., Or {Bl.} qór-āni 'wood', {Grg.} qorān 'firewood', Rn {PG} χór-ò id., Arr qòr f., Dsn ǵór 'tree' || DhI qoro 'tree' ¶ Bl. 111-2, 197, Ss. PEC 48, Hw. A 380, Grg. 181, PG 193, To DL 502, To. D 138, Blz. CL 180 || S *q̥ār̥(iy)-at- 'beam, trunk, stick' (× N *Q̥ār̥E 'trunk, (piece of) wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ AD SEC 135 (S, EC) || K *°q̥war- > G {Chx.} q̥var-i 'Kienspan' ⇨ Mg {Q} q̥vari 'chip of wood (лучина)' ¶ Chx. 575, Q 255 || IE {EI} *kʷr̥sto- ~ *kʷr̥sti- 'woods' (× N *q̥ôR̥, ∇, ǰ (∇χ) ∇ '≈ oak') > Clt {Matas.} *kʷresno- 'wood, tree' > OIr

crann, MW prenn id., W prys 'woods', OBr pren, MBr prenn 'wood, tree', Br {Hm.} prenn 'bois de construction', OCrn [ʏ] pren 'lignum', Crn pren 'wood, tree', Gl [ʏ] prene 'arbrem grandem' || OHG horst, As hyst 'wood, wooded eminence' ¶ EI 598-9, P 633, ≈ F II 595, Matas. E 181, Hm. 664 || U: FU *kuyr∇ 'a hollowed-out log, trough, boat, wooden vessel' > F kuiru 'long and narrow boat', kuiri, kuirilo 'spoon; boat' | Prm *gūr / *gūry- 'wooden mortar' > Z gīr / gīry-, Z Vsh/EV gūr, Yz gār, Prmk, Vt gīr || ObU {Ht.} *kūr∇ 'trough, wooden vessel\quiver' > pVg {Ht.} *kūrā > Vg: LK xorā 'wooden quiver for arrows', MK k^ωorā 'box for fish', Ss xura 'trough, dish (Schüssel)', ḥāl-xura 'box for arrows', śāy-xura 'cup for tea'; pOs {Ht.} *kur+ 'trough' > Os (partially in cds): V/Ty qur+, Y quri, D kūrā, Nz χūrā, Kz χūr, O χuri id., V yu-qur+ 'mortar, trough' ¶ UEW 196, Coll. 26, LG 85, Ht. no. 316 || D *kuṛaṇṭ- 'piece of wood, log, trunk' (× N *gUraṇd∇ 'log, trunk of a tree', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136 [no. 15] (adduces IE and K, namely Mg), Blz. DA 159 [no. 75] (HS, D) (without distinguishing between this etymon and N *KärE 'trunk, [piece of] wood').

1150. *kaR₁∇?,∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain' > K: G qarqar-i 'high rock, cliff, steep slope', qarqatovani 'steep mountain', ? qorṭox-i 'hill, high ground' ¶ DCh. 596 || HS: B: Sll i-yār 'hill', Ntf i-yir 'rock' ¶ Stm. 188, La. N 117 || ? HEC {Hd.} *qara 'edge, blade' > Hd {Hd.} qareʔalla 'edge' (× N *KarX∇ 'bank [Ufer], edge'), *qar- v. 'sharpen (a knife)' ¶ Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 48-9, Ss. B 46, Grg. 317, Hd. 131-2, 415 || Eg fP q₃₃ 'hill', later q₃₃.t 'high ground' (× N *kaT₁h₁i 'high; be high' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 5, Fk. 245, Tk I 65 || S: Ar qār-at- 'knoll of a mountain, isolated hill', 'colline isolée, énorme rocher isolé' (× ← qūr- id. [coll.] < N *K'o'r∇ 'rock, isolated mountain', q.v. ffd.) ¶ OS no-s 1551-2 (*kar- 'finish', *qar- 'mountain') || IE: NaIE *ker- 'rock, stone' > Arm pwp k^haṛ (< *kr̥-) 'stone' || ? Gk κρανάος {LS} 'rocky, rugged' || OIr carrac 'rock', OW carrec (< kr̥s-?) 'rock, stone' || Gmc: Nr Δ horg 'round mountain top', ON horgr 'heap of stones, place of heathen sacrifice', AS hearz 'heathen temple', OHG harug 'grove, place of sacrifice', {OsS} 'lucus, nemus, fanum'; NrGmc → F harju 'mountain ridge, cliff' ¶ P 532; F II 6 and Ch. 577 (both propose no et. for the Gk word), Vn. C 42-3, Vr. 281, Ho. 152, Kb. 438, OsS 375 ◇ N *? is suggested by the second 3 in Eg q₃₃ ◇ IS I 340-1 (*Kar^h 'rock, steep height' in HS [S, Eg, B, C, Ch], IE, D *÷ A *kira 'edge').

1150a. *K̑iȓ|g∇ (= *q̑iȓ'ʕ'∇?) 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE {M} *k̑ȓH-, NaIE {P} *k̑ȓ- ~ *k̑ir- 'head' > OI ś̑irah̑ (ś̑iras) / gen. ś̑īȓṣ̑'ṇ̑-ah̑ ntr. 'head, top' (M: *k̑ȓṣ̑₂-os / *k̑ȓṣ̑₂s̑'-n-es), Av s̑āȓa-, s̑aȓah̑-, Sgd s̑r- 'head', MPrs s̑ar, NPrs سار s̑ār 'head, top', Oss s̑ār 'head, upper part' ||| Gk κράς 'head' (Gk Hm gen. κράτος < *k̑ȓṣ̑₂s̑-ṇ̑-), κάρηνα ({F}: < *καρσνα) 'heads, mountain peaks', Gk κρᾶνόν 'the upper part of the head' ({P}: < *k̑ȓṣ̑₂s̑-n-, {F}: < *κράσατος), Gk κάρᾱ, Gk I κάρη 'head' ({F}: < analogical *κάρσασα), ἐπὶ κάρ 'headlong' ||| L cernuus 'falling headlong', cerebrum 'brain' (< *kerH̑s-ro-) ||| OHG hirni, hirn, NHG Hirn, ON hjarni 'brain', Dt hersens, hersen-en (pl.) 'brain' (WP: < *k̑ersniom), ON hjars̑i 'crown of the head' ({WP}: < *k̑erson)||| OBr [ʕ] cirn-am 'in fronte' ({Flr} ← 'pointe élevée, sommet [de la tête]'), MBr quern, quernn 'tonsure, crâne' (actually 'crown of the head'), 'somet (d'une montagne)', qern ar penn 'crown of the head', Br kern id., W cern 'side of the head', {CSWD} 'cheek, jaw' ||| Tc B kȓāri (< *k̑ȓH̑s̑n-i-) '(nape of the) neck' ({Ad.}: ← *'occiput') || Ht cd kit-kar 'at the head (of)' ¶¶ WP I 403-8, P 574-7, M K III 341, M E II 638-9, Horn 160-1, Brtl. 1565, 1572, Ab. III 73-6, F I 784-5 and II 6-7, LS 990, WH I 206, Vr. 231-2, Vr. N 254, Kb. 470, OsS 402, Flr. 108, Ern. 550-1, Hm. 453, YGM-1 84, CSWD 45, Ad. 214, Pv. IV 201-2, EI 260 (*k̑ȓ'reh₂ / *k̑ȓ'h₂-os, snglt. *'k̑orh₂sȓ, coll. *k̑erh₂or 'head') || U: FU: BF *k̑irek > F kiire, Es kiir 'sinciput, crown of the head', Lv kiṑr 'occiput, crown of the head' ¶ SK 191, Kt. 129 || A *K̑ira > M *k̑ira > WrM {MED} k̑ira, HIM хяр {MED}} 'summit/ridge of a mountain', {BMR, DL} id., 'Gipfel (макушка горы)', Brt хяра 'ridge of a mountain', Kl Ö {Rm.} k̑ira 'Bergwiesen', ūlin k̑iȓēr, ūlin k̑iȓār 'die Seiten des Bergrückens entlang', Ord k̑'iȓā 'ligne de faîte' ¶ MED 470, BMR IV 236, DL I 447, Chr. 657, KW 232, Ms. O 422 || NaT *K̑ir 'isolated mountain, crest of a mountain' (× N *kuȓ∇h̑∇ 'hill, mountain' × [in some lges] N *K̑ir∇ 'edge, end, [?] bank [Ufer]', q.v.) > OT q̑ir 'isolated mountain or block of mountains, crest of a mountain, high ground; foothills, slope', MQp q̑ir 'top of a mountain', Chg ≥xv {Cl.} q̑ir id., 'a height', Uz q̑ir 'high ground, hilly steppe', Qzq, Qrg, SrAlt q̑ir 'mountain ridge', Tb {B} q̑ir 'mountain', Qmn {B} id., 'crest of a mountain', Qrg q̑ir 'crest of a mountain', Qq q̑ir 'mountain ridge, high ground', Xk χir 'mountain, high ground, hill', Qrg, Tv q̑ir 'mountain ridge', Qzq q̑ir id., 'high ground with pastures and areas under

cultivation', Qq qIR id., 'a height', Tkm qIR 'hilly stony steppe', (?) Tk kIR, Ggz kIR, Nog qIR 'field, steppe' ¶ Cl. 641, DTS 445, ET KQ 225-7, TL 95, TkR 233, MM 463, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DChT 134, BIG 300, RI. II 732-3, TvR 278-9 || ?σ HS: S *k̄ur_L∇_Lϑ_L - > Gz k̄^ωarϑ 'helmet, headpiece' ¶ L G 439 || ??σ K: *^oqir- > G {Chx.} qira n. 'Kopfstand', qiramala 'upside down (mit dem Kopf nach unten)', 'head foremost (kopfüber)' ¶ Chx. 1694-5, DCh. 1380 ◇ If K *qir- belongs here, the N etymon is *qir'ϑ'∇, otherwise we remain with a less specific N *K̄irϑ|g∇.

1151. *K̄arûϑ'∇ (or *K̄arûg∇) 'female breast, milk' > IE *kruH_X-t- > NaIE *krūt- 'female breast' > Lt krūt̄is, Ltv krūt̄is 'breast, bosom' ||| W c r o t h 'breast, uterus, vulva' ¶ ≈ P 624, ≈ Frnk. 291 || HS: CS *√krϑ (or *√krϑ?) > Sr كَرَاءِ k̄arā'ā 'first milk after birth, curdled milk', ?σ (× N *korϑ'∇ 'eat [greedily], drink, swallow'): Ar √krϑ v. G 'sip in', 'humer, boire en humant, en aspirant l'eau' (← *'suck milk') ¶ Br. II 348, Hv. 651 ¶ If Ar √krϑ does not belong here, the S root is *√krϑ|ϑ || B *^okruH > Ah a-kru, Tyr a-k̄ru 'curdled milk' ¶ Fc. 844. PGG 161 || C: Bj kar 'butter' ¶ R WBd 144 || D: SD *kaṛ- v. 'milk' > Tm kaṛa v. 'milk, yield milk (as a cow)', Ml kaṛakka v. 'milk to flow out, milk, give milk', kaṛava, kaṛavu, kaṛru 'milking', Kt karv- v. 'milk', Td kaṛ- v. 'milk, give milk', kaṛ n. 'milk', Kn kaṛem kaṛi v. 'milk, cause to milk', Kdg kara v. 'milk' ¶ D no. 1385 ◇ Blz. DA 163 [no. 113] (HS, D).

1152. *k̄i'rûϑ'∇ 'strike, hit' > HS: WS *√k̄rϑ (× N *k̄ur_L∇_Lû 'to hammer, to pound') > Ar √qrϑ v. G 'beat, strike, knock', Jb √k̄rϑ v. 'strike a spark; sting', Gz √k̄rϑ 'hit the head with a stick', maḳraḳ 'means of hitting the head, whip, stick' ¶ BK II 716-8, Hv. 599, Jo. J 148, L G 439 || Ch: WCh ≈ *k̄ir- v. 'forge, pound' (× N *k̄ur_L∇_Lû '↑', q.v.) > Glm {Sch.} k̄ír 'mortar' || ? Hs k̄ířà 'forging, smithing', k̄éřè v. 'forge', Gw {Mts.} k̄íra id. ¶ Sch. BTL 85, ChL III 11, Ba. 596, 607 || K: OG k̄r- (inf. k̄rva) v. 'strike, hit', G k̄r- (inf. k̄vra) trans. class (two-obj. form) pres. -k̄r-av 'jemandem mit etw. einen Schlag\Hieb\Stoß versetzen' ¶ Chx. 620-6, 654, DCh. 628-9 || IE: NaIE *^ok̄|kreu̯ə- *'strike' > ?σ Gmc: OHG (h)riuwān (h)riuwān 'bereuen, beklagen, Buße tun, reuen' (> NHG reuen 'regret, repent'), AS hréowan 'to cause sorrow\repentance', hréow 'grief, sorrow, repentance; sad', ON hrygggr 'sad (betrübt, traurig)' ¶ WP I 480-1, P 622-3, Kb. 800, Schz. 240, Ho. 173, Vr. 262-3, Lehm. GEL 213 (ON -gg- as ev. of a lr.) || U: FP {It., UEW} *kirä-

'strike, hew', {Sm.} *kirä- 'hit' (× N *gir̥ṽ 'to cut?') > Er kerá- v. 'hew, fell' || Chr L k̄r-aš, k̄r-em v. 'beat, strike, thresh', Chr E k̄r-em, Chr M k̄r-em 'to strike (with a stick\hammer)' || Prm *ker- v. 'hew' > Z kera v-, Yz keral-, Vt kora- id. ¶ It. no. 398, UEW 666, Sm. 552, LG 121-2, MRS 270, Ü 97 || D {Zv., Pf.} *kēṛ-, {GS} *kyēḍ- v. 'winnow' > Ml cēṛuka, Td köṛ-, Kn kēṛu, Δ gēṛu, Tl ceruḡu, Nkr, Nk kēd-, Prj kēd-, kēḍ-, Gdb kēy-, Gnd hēč- ḍ hēh-, Png ʒēč- v. 'winnow', Kt keṛ-, Klm keḍ-, Krx kēs- v. 'winnow with up-and-down motion', Png, Mnd, Ku hēč̣i, Kui sēsi 'winnowing fan', Mlt kése v. 'sift' ¶¶ D no. 2019, Zv. 60-1, 117, Pf. 383, GS 205-6 [no. 519], 151 [no. 383] ◇ The origin of the D vw. {Zv., Pf.} *-ē- ({GS} *-yē-) is still to be investigated.

1153. *Ḳir̥ṽṽ 'to tear, to break' > HS: CS *✓ḳr̥ṽ v. 'tear' > BHb, JEA, JPA 𐤒𐤒𐤒 ✓ḳr̥ṽ G v. 'cut up into pieces, tear; rip into pieces (as sign of mourning or excitement)', JA [Trg.] ✓ḳr̥ṽ D 'tear, rend', Md ✓ḳr̥ṽ G, Ar Mgr {GB} ✓qr̥ṽ 'tear' ¶ KB 1069-70, KBR 1146-7, Js. 1424, DM 415 || D {tr., GS} *kīṛ- > Tm kīṛu v. 'slit, tear, cut', kīṛu 'gash, cut, slice, piece', Ml kīṛu 'rag, shred', kīṛuka 'be slit, torn; tear, rend', Kt, Kdg kīṛ-, Td kīṛ-, Tl gīṛu v. 'tear', Tu kīṛuni v. 'split', Gnd kirr ḍ kir 'a wound' ¶¶ D no. 1624, GS 44-5 [no. 103] || IE *k̄erH₂x- > NaIE *k̄erā- 'destroy, break' > OI śr̥oṛ̥ā-ti, aor. a-śarī-t 'smash, crush, break' (ī is a lengthened grade of *i < *ə), Av a-sarəta 'unbroken' || Gk κεραιζω 'slaughter, ravage, plunder' || pAl *cera > Al ther v. 'pierce, hew, slaughter' || L carīēs 'rottenness, decay' || OIr ar-a-chrīn 'falls to pieces' ¶ P 578, M K III 371-2, F I 842-3, WH I 167-8, Vn. C 237-8, O 474-5 ◇ The vw. (*ṽ) following *r in N is suggested by D *-ṛ-, which is the reg. reflex of N *-r- in the intervocalic position only, while a N cluster *rṽ would have yielded D *-r- ◇ N *Ḳir̥ṽṽ 'to tear' may be a semantic variant of N *ḳ̣'ī'r̥ṽṽ 'strike, hit'.

1154. *ḳur̥ṽṽṽ 'to hammer, to pound' ([in IE] → 'to grind') > HS: S *°✓ḳr̥ṽ (× N *ḳ̣'ī'r̥ṽṽṽ 'strike, hit', q.v.) > Ar ✓qr̥ṽ v. G 'knock at (the door), beat (the drum), hit the butt (arrow)' ¶ BK II 716-8, Hv. 599 || C: EC: Or {Grg.} ḳuraṽa v. 'hit, beat' || DhI kur- v. 'mince' || SC {MQK} karērā pl. 'smiths', Irq {E} kareramo 'blacksmith', {E} karerus- v. 'forge', Brn {E} kirara 'axe', C ḅ Mb m-kirané 'blacksmith' ¶ EEN 13, Grg. 337, MQK 59, E SC 244 || Ch: CCh: FIJ {Kr.} kura v. 'forge' || WCh ≈ *ḳir- v. 'forge, pound' (× N *ḳ̣'ī'r̥ṽṽṽ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ OS no. 1610 (S, Or, Ch), ≈ Sk. HCD 170 || K: G ḳver- 'kalt hämmern, (an)legen (z. B. Weg)',

gamo- κ ver- v. 'forge', κ ver-i 'hammer' ¶ Chx. 579 || IE: NaIE * k^w eru- v. 'grind' > OI 'carvati 'grinds with the teeth', cūrṇa-m 'flour, powder' || Gk Hm πύρνον (pl. πύρνα) 'wheaten bread' ¶ P 642, F II 630-1, M K I 379, 397-8, ≈ F II 630-1 ¶ The IE √ has coalesced with the homonymous * k^w eru- v. 'chew' of different origin (N * κ oru 'bite, gnaw, chew', q.v.) || D * κ ur- ({{GS}} * k -) v. 'pound, strike' > Tm κ ur ϵ v. 'pound in a mortar, husk', κ ur ϵ v. 'pound, strike', Gnd A kurkaḷ 'pestle' ¶¶ D no. 1850 (a) ◇ The Ir. * ϵ in S * \checkmark κ r ϵ is not necessarily ancient, it may belong to the heritage of N * κ 'i'rû ϵ ∇ 'strike, hit'. The D cns. * ϵ (that goes back to * r outside cns. clusters) may go back either to N * κ urû or to * κ ur ϵ ∇ ϵ û.

1155. * κ û|ur ϵ ∇ 'sharp' > HS: S * \checkmark κ r ϵ > Ar ʔaqrā ϵ -u 'very sharp and excellent' (of a sabre) ¶ BK II 719 || A: M * k ürü- > WrM κ ürü- v. 'sharpen an arrow' ¶ MED 1206 || D * k ūr- ({{GS}} * k -) > Tm κ ūr- 'be sharp (as the edge\point of an instrument)', κ ūr 'sharpness, pointed edge', Ml κ ūr 'sharpness, point of an arrow', Kn κ ūr, Tu κ urpu 'sharpness', Tl κ rūr ϵ 'sharp' ¶¶ D no. 1898 ◇ IS MS 363 (D, U + * \div HS \checkmark κ wr), ≠ Cald. 608 (D * \div Hb κ ūr 'to pierce, to bore' * \div "Sanskrit κ hur 'to cut'" [he probably meant Sk Bd κ urāḥ 'knife' ← MI κ urā- < OI κ surā-ḥ 'knife']) ◇ D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster, therefore the preferable S cognate is * \checkmark κ r ϵ rather than * \checkmark κ wr 'bore, pierce' (as suggested by Cald. and IS MS).

1156. * κ arhA 'black' > HS: S * \checkmark κ rh > Ar \checkmark qrh (pf. qarīha) 'be black or dark blue due to blows' (of skin, body) ¶ BK II 729 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} κ ará, Wl {LmS} κ arē-tta, Zl {C} κ arecā, Chr {C} κ artā, Zs {C} κ artc, Gf {Mm.} κ areṭa ~ κ areṭa, Gm {Hw.} κ aré-ccì, Bdt κ ar-ci, Hrr {CR} κ arzā 'black', Kcm κ ār-ṭa id., κ ār- 'make black' ¶ LmS 416, Lm. Y 355, Wdk. BY 127, AD SF 206-7, Blz. OL no. 196 (HS * κ ari 'black'), Hw. EG s.v. 'black' || IE: NaIE * κ er- '≈ black, dirty' > Gk [Hs.] κ αρμύον· μέλαν accus. sg. 'black' || OI κ ardamaḥ 'mud, dirt', κ ardaḥ, κ ardataḥ id., NPrs جرده čārde 'colour; bay horse; blackish locust' || AS hrūm 'soot', OSx hrōt, Dt roet, NHG Ruß id. || +ext.: * κ ers-n-, * κ rs-no- 'black' > OI κ rs ϵ ṇāḥ 'black, dark', OPrs κ irsnā 'black' || Pru κ irsnan 'black' | Sl *čьrnъ id. > OCS чрьнь, Blg 'черен, SCr c̃r̃n, Slv čr̃n, R 'чёрный, Uk 'чорний, Cz černý, P czarny || pAl {O} *čārsnā 'crow' > Al sorrē id. ¶ WP I 485-6, P 573, 583, M K I 173, 264, Vl. I 569, Sg. 391, Ho. 176, KM 616, En. 194, Tr. P

K-L 26-8, ESSJ IV 155-7, Glh. 166-7, O 399, ≈ EI 69 (*k^wṛs¹no-s with unj. *k^w-) || **A** *Ḳara 'black' > T *Kara id. > OT qara, Tk kara, Ggz kara, Az, Tkm, SY gara, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Tv, Tf, Xlj qara, Uz qara, Xk, Yk ḫara, Chv L xupa xura ¶ Cl. 643-4, Rs. W 235, ET KQ 286-8, TL 592-6, Dr. TM III 426, Jeg. 306, Fed. II 362, Ra. 218 || M *qara 'black' > MM [MA, IM] qara, WrM {MED} qara, HIM {MED, BMR} xap, Brt xapa, Kl {KRS} xap ḫar, {Rm.} ḫara, MMgl qarā, Mgl {Rm.} qarō, Mnr H {SM} ḫara, Dg qar, Dx qara id., Ord ḫara 'noir, obscur' ¶ Pp. MA 292, 444, MED 931, BMR IV 44-6, Chr. 547-8, KRS 576-7, KW 168, SM 158, T 347, T DgJ 28, T DnJ 125, Ms. O 336-7 || pJ {S} *kùruà- 'black' > OJ kùruò-, J T kúroi, J K kúròi, J Kg kuróka id. ¶ Mr. 833, Kenk. 1114 ¶¶ SDM 651-2 (pA *k|k'aru 'black' > M, T, J), DQA no. 734 (id.), S AJ 54-5, 73, 103-4, 264 [no. 8], 274 [no. 7], S QJ no. 8, Rm. EAS I 107, Vld. 324 || **D**: [1] D {tr.} *kar(-) ~ *kār(-) 'black', {GS} *kar- > *kar(-) > Tm karu, Ml kari, karu, Kt kar, Kn kari du, Kdg kari, Krg kardi, Nk karen, karan, kareyan 'black', Td kary 'charcoal' ||] [2] *kar- ({†GS} *k-) 'grow black; black' > Tm karu 'grow black', kār u 'be blackened', Ml karā 'blackness', karu 'black', Kt kar id. (or to [1]?), karp 'blackness', Td kar 'dirt, stain', karf- 'become black\dirty', Kn karē, karī 'blackness', kararīgu 'turn black', Kdg kara- 'become black', Tl karā 'blackness, a stain', karī, Gdb karkāl 'black', Knd karī 'blackness'; *kār(-) > Tm, Ml kār 'blackness, darkness', Kt kār, Klm kārī, Gnd kārīal 'black', Kn kār 'blackness', Tu kār ъ, kārī 'black, dark', Tl kār u 'black\dark colour' ¶¶ D no-s 1278, 1395, GS 34 [no. 50] ¶ In the variant *kar ~ *kār the cns. *-r goes back to a cns. cluster (N *-rh-?), while in the variant *kar- the cns. *-r- is a normal reflex of a former intervocalic *r (loss of the N lr. in some position?) ◇ Ar ✓ qrh and D *kar/*kār suggest the presence of an ancient lr. (*h) ◇ IS I 337-8 [no. 213] (*Ḳar¹ä¹) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 44 (*kura 'black').

1157. *ḳarh₂'U¹ (= *ḳarh¹'U¹?) 'to burn (sth.), to heat' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: Gmy {Sh.} ḳūr, Krkr {Lk.} kār- vt. 'burn' ||| CCh: Glv {ChL} kārā id. ¶ ChC, ChL || ?? Eg fP ḳrr v. 'fire (pottery), stoke (a kiln), broil' (unless akin to Eg NK ḳrr [*ḳ∇lí:l-] 'holocaust, Brandopfer', which is read by Vc. as [*ḳ∇lí:l-] on the ev. of DEg gll ~ glyl and Cpt ḳαια clil id.) ¶ EG V 61, Fk. 281, Vc. 338 || **K**: OG *ḳera-y 'fireplace, hearth' (↳ Sv: UB ḳeräy, LB ḳerä, L ḳeray, and possibly Sv U ḳärä id.), G ḳera id. ¶ Chx. 569, Ni. s.v. очагъ, T 346 ¶ The G vw. e (for the expectes *a) still defies

explanation || IE: NaIE *kerā- vt., vi. 'burn' > Gt hauri 'coal', ON hurr 'fire' || Ltv {ME} cēri pl. 'Glutsteine auf dem Gewölbe des Riegen- oder des Badstubeofens' | ? Sl {Bern.} *černъ, {ESSJ} *čerěнь > P trzon 'hearth', Uk че'ринь, Blr чарэнь 'bottom of the hearth', Blg {Ger.} чюрень, черень 'upper part of the hearth', SCr MN черје н 'place over the fire' || ?? +ext.: (1) *-d- after the lr.: OI kūđayati 'scorches, burns' (if from *kr̥:d-) || (2) L carbo 'coal' ¶ But hardly here NaIE *k̥kert- (> OHG herd 'oven, stove', OSx herth, AS heorþ 'hearth', NE hearth), which is likely to belong to N *k̥r̥t̥ 'flame' (q.v.); but the latter N word may have influenced L carbo and OI kūđayati (hence the root-medial dental stop) ¶ P 571-2, Fs. 250-1, Vr. 275-6, Kb. 457, Kar. I 167-9, ME I 375, WH I 165-6, M K I 252, Bern. I 146, ≈ ESSJ IV 64-5 (Sl *čerěнь 'net'), EI 88 (*ker-, *kerH-'burn') || D (in SD) *kar̥- > Tm kari (ft. -v-, p. -nt-) ({ǰGS} *k-) v. 'be charred, scorched, become black' (× D *kar- 'black' < N *k̥arhA 'black'), kari (ft. -pp-, p. -tt-) v. 'char', kari 'charcoal, charred wood', Ml kari, karu 'charcoal', Kt kayr 'charcoal, soot', Td karу- (p. kars-) 'be singed, scorched', karу- (p. karč-) v. 'heat (new pot to purify it), Kn kari v. 'be scorched, singed, charred', 'fry, roast', Kdg kari- 'be singed', Tu kari 'soot, charcoal' ¶ D no. 1278 (a) || ? A: AdS of NaT *kōr 'embers' (< N *kōw,r̥ 'embers, hearth', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS I 340 [no. 215] (*k̥ar̥; HS (Eg *÷ S *÷ B), IE, D, ? U *korpe- 'burn' [qu. on phonetic grounds]), earlier: AD GD 17 (HS, IE), ≈ IS I 239 [no. 95] (attributing the T word to N {IS} *g̥r̥ 'burning coal').

1158. *k̥ir̥u,q̥a 'ice, hoarfrost; to freeze' > HS: S *k̥ar̥v̥χ- 'ice' > Bhb k̥erāh 'ice, frost', Sr k̥ar̥h-ā, Ak k̥ar̥χ-u 'ice', Ak ✓ k̥r̥χ (inf. k̥ar̥āχu) v. 'freeze, ice up' ¶ KB 1064, KBR 1140, Sd. 903, CAD XIII 126, 131 || ? B *✓kr̥r (× N *k̥u,w̥r̥E' '[severe] cold') > Rf akarra 'grêle' ¶ Rn. 343 ¶¶ Ember ESS no. 3.b.27, Vrg. PhHE 129 [no. 26], IS I 353-4 and Tk. AANM 1 suggest to equate the S word with Eg P ɛ-ɜk̥h 'erfrischen' (EG IV 315-6) (Tk. AANM 1: Eg ɛ.ɜk̥h ← S), which is doubtful for both phonetic and semantic reasons (see N *k̥el̥h̥v̥ 'cold') || K: G Lch k̥ruχ-v̥a n. 'cold' ('Kälte') ¶ Chx. 634 || IE: NaIE (with extensions) *k̥erno-s, *k̥er-m-, *k̥er-sn- 'ice crust (наледь), snow crust, hoarfrost' > Arm սառն սա̄րն (gen. սառիս սա̄րին) 'ice, frost', սառնում սա̄րնում 'freeze' || Gmc (< NaIE *k̥ernos): ON hjarn 'frozen snow crust', OHG hornung 'February' (← *'month of ice \ snow

crust') ||| pSl {IS} *sérnъ (gen. sernà) (< *^lk̄ernos) > RChS срѣнъ, srěnъ, OR сєрєнъ serєnъ, P śron ~ śrzon 'hoarfrost', Blg 'сєрєн 'snow that has frozen together', Cz střín, stříní 'ice on branches of trees'; with traces of the new acute intonation: R Δ ce'pēn 'hoarfrost', Uk [Ber.] {Ves.} ce'pєn 'frozen hard snow', Slk srieň, Δ srieň 'hoarfrost'; with secondary accentuation change (mobile accentual paradigm): Slv srēn, R Δ, Uk 'сєрєн id. || Blt (< *^lk̄er-sn-, *^lk̄er-m-): Lt šer̃kšnas, Ltv sērksnis, sērsna 'hoarfrost', Lt inf. sr̃šnūti 'to get covered with hoarfrost', šarmà, šar̃mas, Ltv sar̃ma ~ ser̃ma 'hoarfrost' ¶ P 573-4, EI 287 (*^lk̄er(s)no-, *^lk̄or(mo/meh_θ), Sl. 329-30, Vr. 231, Kb. 480, Schz. 170, IS IA 136, Vs. III 608, Frn. 965, 973-4, Kar. II 173 ¶ The absence of the expected lr. in the IE stem *^lk̄erno- suggests that the reflex of N *^q was lost in the intercons. position (which is quite natural for a stop that cannot be syllabic) ||| U: [1] FU *^okir∇ > ObU *^okīr > pOs {Ht.} *kir (= {Hl.} *kīr) 'snow crust' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/K/Kr kir, Nz/Kz/O ker id.] [2] +ext.: FU *kirte ~ *kerte 'snow crust, frozen soil' > BF *kirte > F kirsī (obl. cases kirte-) 'frost on the ground, ice crust', Es {W} kirs 'Eisschicht'; BF *kerte > F kersī 'thin snow crust' || Chr H kært 'snow crust' ||| Os {KrT}: D kâ·rd̄am, Kr kârtam 'thin snow crust', Ty p'ǔj̄ q'a·rt'aχ 'thin ice crust on the snow' (p'ǔj̄ means 'snow crust') ¶ The variant *kerte (> BF *kerte, Os Ty kãrt̄aχ, and possibly Chr H amb kært) is due to the infl. of the FU word *kere 'bark' (UEW 148-9) ¶ UEW 150, Coll. 89, KrT 418, 435, Ht. no. 317 (does not distinguish pOs *kir 'snow crust' from pOs *kâr 'bark' and pVg *kir id. of different origin), ≠ ItK 372 (BF *kirte ← Lt skirsti 'to be covered', apskirsti 'to freeze' [??]) → LCM. NLP 15 ||| A *k'î|I₁a₁;₁r 'snow, hoarfrost' > T *KI₁a₁;₁r ({SDM, Md.} *k'j̄ār) 'snow' > Chv L юр jur, Chv Δ йор 'snow' ||| NaT *Kār 'snow' > OT {Cl.} qār, Tkm gār, Az qar, Ggz каар kār, Xlj qār, Tk kar, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt qar, ET qa(r), Uz qar, Xk χar, Tf qar 'snow', Tv χar, Yk хаар χār id., 'year (of age)'] d.?: Tk kirç 'abundant hoarfrost', Ggz kirč 'hoarfrost, ice crust (изморозь, наледь, иней)'] another d. or cd NaT *KI₁;₁rлаç 'the coldest part of winter' > VTt †, Δ q̄rлаç id., Qrg qirdač 'six coldest days of the winter', Xk χirlas 'two coldest months of the year', Chv (← VTt) кърлач ~ кър;ачă, Chv Δ кърлаç 'the coldest month of the year' ¶ Cl. 641, Rs. W 235, ET KQ 284-5, ET Q 237-8, GRM 311, Ra. 218, Md. 112, 169, Ash. IV 349-51,

Fed. I 258-9 and II 490, Jeg. 101, 350, ChVS 80, 293, DT 173 || M *kirayun 'hoarfrost' > MM [HI] kir_au, WrM {MED} kiragu(n), HIM {MED, BMR} хяруу, Brt хюруу, Dx qireu id., WrO kiriuñ id., 'frost, rime', kirγun ~ kiriuñ ~ kiru 'frost', kiruu 'hail, frost', Kl {KRS} кирү kirü 'hoarfrost', {Rm.} kirū 'Reif, gefrorener Tau', Ord k'irū 'gelée blanche'; M *kirayun ⇨ NaT *k'iragu 'hoarfrost' > OT [MhK] qirāγū id., Chg ≥xv qiraw 'hoarfrost that falls from the sky to the ground in cold nights', XwT xiv qiraxu, MQp qirawū, [CC] kirov, Tk kirağı, Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Xlj qiraw, VTt, Bsh q̄raw, StAlt quru, Az ғыров girov, Uz q̄raw, Yk kirīā, Tv, Tf χirā 'hoarfrost' (cf. Md. and SDM97 [M *kirayun ⇨ T], Vv. AEN 15 [M ⇨ T, as evidenced by the presence of the M gu-sx in T], Rs. W 265-6, ≈ Cl. 656 [M *kirayū ⇨ T], ET Q 230-1, TL 36, DT 177) | M *kira-mag 'fine snow, newly-fallen snow (пороша)' > WrM {MED} kiramağ 'fine snow, first snow', HIM хярмаг {MED} id., {BMR} "fine snow, newly-fallen snow', Brt хирмаг ~ хярмаг id., Kl {Rm.} kirmag 'der erste, feine Schnee', {KRS} кирмг kirmag 'newly-fallen snow' (пороша), Ord k'irmağ ž_{as}u 'petite neige qui parvient à peine à couvrir le sol' (ž_{as}u means 'snow') ¶ The element *-mag is a diminutive sx(/ Pp. GWM 41) ¶ M *kira-mag ⇨ Yk kiramaχ ~ kiramay 'newly-fallen snow' and possibly T *kirpaq 'first (thin) snow' (> Tkm, QrB, Qmq qirpaq id., VTt q̄rpaq 'thin snow', Bsh q̄rpaq 'newly-fallen autumn snow', Xk χirbix 'fine snow', Chv Δ {Ash.} хәрпәк хьрпәк ḏ хәрпәх хьрпәх 'thin fine snow') ¶ Pp. IM 41, MED 470, BMR IV 236, Ms. H 72, T DnJ 126, Krg. 732, KRS 302, KW 232-3, Chr. 572, 656-7, Ms. O 422, Rs. W 267, TL 28, Ash. XVI 363 ¶¶ SDM 799 (pA *k'jāra or *k'jōra 'thin snow, hoarfrost' > T + unc. M *qarig 'strong cold'), SDM97 s.v. *k'āre 'snow, hoarfrost' (T, M + err. Tg *χimansa 'snow'), DQA no. 978 (id.) ◇ IS I 353-4 [no. 230] (*qir_h 'иней': IE, U, A [T, M], HS > S *✓k_rχ + *÷ *✓k_rš, B *γrs [see N *KäR₁γ₂ûs|š₃ 'to congeal'], and Eg s-žk_h 'erfrischen' [see above]); AD NM no. 10; S CNM 3 (÷÷ NrCs, ST).

1159. *k_aR'iwu' 'come in contact (meet, come across, touch)' > HS: WS *✓k_rγ v. 'meet, encounter; happen' (× N *qihUr_γ - *qUhir_γ 'reach, enter', [→] 'happen', q.v.) > Sr ✓k_rγ (pf. |ق_رγ qə'rā) 'meet, encounter; happen', Hb ק_רγ ✓k_rγ|w ~ ק_רγ ✓k_rγ id., 'happen to', Ug {A, OLS} ✓k_rγ 'treffen, begegnen, sich entgegenstellen; toparse, encontrarse con, salir al paso', Ar ✓q_rγ ق_ری G v. 'receive (as a guest)',

Gz ✓ қры (pf. қарауа) id., 'give hospitality' ¶ KB 1061-4, KBR 1131-2, 1137-8, Hv. 603, BK II 730, A no. 2454, OLS 374-5, L G 445 || Eg fMK қры {Fk.} 'draw near, attend', {EG} 'bei jem./etw. sein, sich zu jem. gesellen', 'zu jem. hinkommen' ¶ EG V 59, Fk. 280 || K: G қар- v. '(let) approach, touch' (Chx.: 'heran-, zu-lassen, anrühren, berühren, sich nähern') ¶ Chx. 551-2 || IE: NaIE *krej- 'über etw. drüberhinstreifen, berühren' > ON hrǫna 'come across, touch', AS, OSx hrīnan, OHG (h)rīnan 'touch' || Ltv 1s pres. kreju, krèju, inf. krīet 'take the cream off (from the milk)' ¶ P 618, Vr. 256, Ho. 174, Ho. S 37, Kb. 793, Schz. 239, ≠ Kar. I 425-6 || A: ppA **қарw'u' > A *қарb'u' > NaT *Karba- 'grope for, touch, grasp' > OT {Cl.} qarvā- v. 'grope for' (< 'touch'), Tk кавра- 'grasp, take hold of', Tkm garba-, Yk харbā- 'grasp', Xk харба- 'grope for, grasp with hands, take a handful', QK/Sg/Kü/Shor {Rl.} qarba- 'mit den Händen fassen' (a paronymic merger with T *k'arma- 'packen, ergreifen?') ¶ Cl. 646, ET KQ 302-3, BIG 276, Rl. II 213, 216 || M *qargu- 'come across, meet' (< **qarβu-?) > WrM qarqu- {Kow.} 'heurter contre qch., rencontrer', {MED} qarqu- v. 'meet with, encounter', HIM харга- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'aneinandergeraten (сталкиваться, вступать в конфликт)', Kl {KRS} харh- харуь- id., {Rm.} харуα- 'gegen etw. kommen, begegnen, treffen' ¶ MED 936, BMR IV 53, KRS 597, KW 169, Kow. 845 ¶¶ Early proto-Altaic *w may point to a labial element at the end of the N word (i.e.. N *қaRiwu or *қaRwi) or go back to a sx.

1160. *қürw∇ - *қurwE 'hard roe, young of a fish' > IE: NaIE *krek- 'fish eggs, frog spawn' > ON hrōgn 'roe' (↳ ME row, NE roe), OHG rogan 'roe, spawn', NHG Rogen 'roe' || Lt kurkulaĩ, Ltv kuŗkulis 'frog spawn' || Sl *krekъ ~ *krěkъ id. > Slv krék, žabo-kréčina, krāk, OP, P (rare) krzek, R Δ крек, крэк, кряк id.; in Sl there is contamination with the onomatopoeic imitation of croak, whence the unexpected variations in the form ¶ P 619, AHDI 32, EI 205, Frn. 316, Vr. 259, Kb. 801, OsS 425, KM 604, ESSJ XII 114-5, 144, Vs. II 391 || A: Tg *χurbe- v. 'spawn' > Ewk irbз 'spawning', Ewk irbз-, Ul χulbi-, Nn Nh/KU {STM}, Nn Nh {On.} χurbз-, Nn Bk χurбу- v. 'spawn' ¶ STM I 324, On. 482 || ?? T: Az kürü, {Rl.} küri 'hard roe' (ARL 176, Rl. II 1454), unless a loan from Lzg kür id. < pLzg *k^wir (S CNM 14); S CNM adduces "T *körppe 'newborn, newborn lamb'", but the T word does not belong here, because it actually means 'produced late\early in the season' (of animals and crops) (> OT [MhK] كربا اغل körpä oγul 'a boy born in

summer', *körpä* 'a lamb born late in the season', Qzq *körpeš* 'lamb born before the regular lambing season', Qrg {Jud.} *kürpöh* 'a lamb born in winter, before the regular lambing time', *körpö* 'early lucern', Qzq {Cl.} *qurpi* 'early crop like lucern', Tkm *körpe* 'youngest' [of a son], 'fresh, early' [of vegetables]) ¶ Cl. 737, Shch. Zh 114, Jud. 429, 471, TkR 415-6 || **K**: G {DCh.} *kvirita* 'hard roe, soft roe', {Chx.} *kviriti* 'spawn of fish/frogs' (unless ← Abkh *a-kʷart* id., but G → Abkh is possible, too) ¶ Chx. 1557, DCh. 1338, DCh. RGS 128, 170, NCh. 403 ¶ The lack of glottality in the initial cns. is irreg. ◇ NaIE **krek-* may be explained as going back to pre-IE **kruek-* < N **kʷúrʷ* + ext. ◇ AD NM no. 78, Vv. AEN 12-3 (suggests to reconstruct Tg **χürbe*, which is not different from my rec., because his **ü* = my **u*), ≠ S CNM 14.

1161. **k̑arX* 'bank (Ufer), edge' > HS **k̑arh-* > Eg fOK *k̑h* 'Ecke, Winkel, Seite' = {Vc.} **[k̑aʃhaʷ]* (as. **ʔh* > *ʃh*), DEg *k̑h* 'angle, corner, side', Cpt: Sd *kooʔ* *kooʔh*, B *kooʔ* *kooʔh* 'angle, corner' ¶ EG V 19-20, Er. 547, Vc. 91, Crn. 68, Crum 132 || HEC {Hd.} **k̑ara* 'edge' (× N ? **k̑aȒ* 'peak, rock, steep mountain') > Hd {Hd.} *k̑areʔalla* 'edge' ¶ Hd. 131-2 || ? S **ok̑ȓh* > d.: Ar *qurāhītāni* 'les deux flancs, les hypocondres' ¶ BK II 708 || **A**: Tg **χāri* 'border, hem' > Nn Nh *χāri-*, Ul *χarpu-* v. 'hem with a border, border (clothes)', Nn Nh/KU *χārič̑a*, Ul *χār(i)č̑a* 'hem, edging (of clothes)', Nn Nh *χārp̑i*, Nn Bk *χarf̑i(n-)* 'hem, ornament on the border of a robe' ¶ Tg **-ār-* from N **-arX-* (complementary lengthening) ¶ STM I 371, On. 455 || **D** **kar* 'shore, bank, edge, boundary' > Kn *kare*, Tu *karæ* id., Tm *karai* id., 'ridge of a field, border of cloth', Ml *kara* 'shore, riverside', *karal* 'border, margin, edge', Kt, Td *kar* 'stripes on end of cloth', Kdg *kare* 'bank', Tl *karā* 'shore, bank', Brh *karrak* id., 'brim, border', ? Gnd *kar(r)um* *karuŋ* *garre* 'near' ¶¶ D no. 1293 ¶¶ D **-r-* < N **-rH-* (reg.) ◇ ≈ DQA no. 990 (A, D).

1162. **k̑irX* 'scrape, scratch' > HS: WS **ok̑ȓh* 'scratch, be\make bald' > BHb *ok̑ȓh* *G* 'have one's head shaved', *ok̑ȓhā* 'bald patch', JA *ok̑ȓh* *G* 'make bald, become bald', JPA Bz *ok̑ȓh* 'make bald', JEA *ok̑ȓh* *G* 'be bald', Sr *ok̑ȓh* v. *G* 'become bald', *k̑arāh* 'bald', Ar *ok̑ȓh* *G* 'creuser en vain la terre pour trouver de l'eau', *ok̑ȓh-at-* 'white spot on horse's forehead', Gz *ok̑ȓh* *D* 'shave, make bald'; (× N **k̑uȒX̑* 'blood'): Ar *ok̑ȓh* *G* vt. 'wound', *ok̑ȓh-* 'ulcère, plaie qui fait mal' ¶ KB 1063-5, Js. 1415, Sl. P 504, Sl. 1039, Br. 693, JPS 518, BK II 707, Hv.

596-7, MiK I no. 2.38 || Ch: Bdm {Nc.} *kārū* v. 'scratch, rub' ¶ Lk. B 110 || D **kir*∇ ~ **ker*∇ ({ǂGS} **k-*) v. 'scratch, scrape, shave' > Tm *cīraī* v. 'shave, cut with a sickle', *cīrāy* 'get scratched', Ml *cīra* 'shaving', Kt *kekar*∇, *kekr*∇- v. 'scratch lightly', Td *kerf-* v. 'scratch, egg on', Kn *kere* v. 'shave, scrape, scratch', Tu *kerēpuni* v. 'scrape, polish', Klm *kerk-*, Nk *ker-* v. 'shave'. Prj *kir-*, *kir*∇- v. 'scratch', Mlt {Drs.} *qére* v. 'shave' ¶¶ D no. 1564 || A: T **KIr(a)-* 'scrape, strip (hair)' (× N **kirâ* or **girâ* 'to scratch') > OT *qīr-* v. 'scrape, strip (hair)', Chg ≥*xv* *qīr-* 'scrape, shave', Tkm *gīr-* 'rub, scrape', VTt *кыр- qыр-*, Bsh *кыр- qыр-*, Qzq, Nog *qīr-* 'scrape, shave', Qq, Qrg, StAlt *qīr-*, ETt, Uz *qīr-*, Xk, Tv *χīr-*, Chv L *хыр-* 'scrape', Tf *qīr-* 'scrape, scrape clean a hide with a special scraper' ¶ Cl. 643, ET Q 227-8, Rs. W 265, TkR 234, Nj. 624, Ra. 223, TvR 500, BT 105, BIG 300, Ash. XVI 93-4, Fed. 381-2, Jeg. 314, ChVS 261 ◇ IS I 354 adduces IE **k̑erH-* 'destroy, break', which is actually nearer to N **Ḳīr*∇*ḡ*∇ 'to tear, to break' (q.v.). The assumption of a N lr. is confirmed by the D reflex, because D **-r-* is a reg. reflex of N **-rH-*, but not of N **-r-* (that yields D **-r̥-*) ◇ IS I 354 [no. 231; HS, D, T + * ÷ IE, M, and Tg].

1163. *Ḳur¹**Ḳû**¹ 'blood' > IE: NaIE **kreuH-*/*kruH-* 'blood (in the body of an animal\human)', 'flesh with blood' > OI *krā*¹*vīṣ-* 'raw flesh with blood', *krāvya*m 'blood', YAv *xrūm* accus. 'piece of flesh', {Brtl.} *xrvīṣ-**yant-* 'blood-thirsty' || Gk *κρέας* 'flesh, meat', *κρέα* 'raw flesh' || L *cruor* 'the blood which flows from a wound, gore; the blood circulating in the body', *cruentus* 'bloody' || Clt {Matas.} **krū-* 'blood' > OIr *crú* (< **krūs*) (gen. *cráu*) 'sang répandu', {Matas.} 'gore, blood', *cró* (< **kruwos*), MW *creu*, W {GM} *crau*, Cm *crow* 'blood' || Lt *kraũjas*, Pru *crauyō*, accus. *krawian* 'blood' || Sl **kr̥t̥* (< NaIE **krū-s*) id., gen. **kr̥v̥-e* (< **kreu-es*) > OCS **крѣвь** *kr̥v̥* / gen. **крѣве** *kr̥ve*, Blg **крѣв**, SCr **kr̥v̥** / gen. **kr̥vi**, Slv **kr̥t̥** / *kr̥v̥t̥*, Cz **kr̥v̥** / *kr̥ve*, P **kr̥w̥** / *kr̥wi*, R **крѣвь** / 'крѣви' || ?σ ON *hrār* 'raw, fresh, juicy' (← *'with blood'), OHG (*h*)*rāo*, *rō* 'raw, rough', NHG *roh*, OSx *hrāo*, AS *hréaw* 'raw', NE *raw* ¶ WP I 478-9, P 621-2, EI 71 (**kreuH*_A / **kru*¹*h*_A-os, **kreu*¹*h*_A-s, **kreu*¹*h*_A-yo- 'blood [outside of body], gore'), M K I 277, M E I 411, Brtl. 539, F II 11-2, WH I 294-5, Bc. 206, Vn. C 248-9, Frn. 290, En. 197, Tp. P K-L 159-65, ESSJ XIII 67-70, Glh. 355-6, Vr. 251, Kb. 801, OsS 422, KM 605, Ho. 172, Ho. S 36, Matas. E 227, YGM-1 102 || HS: Eg P/NK *cr* 'blood' ¶ EG V 386 (interpreted the

word cr [att. in NK] as "Bezeichnung für Blut" without explicit justification), Mks. III no. 3496 (cr 'blood' on new textual ev.) || B $\checkmark \text{krHy}$ > Ah a-karray (pl. i-karray-an) 'piece of cooked meat' ¶ Fc. 870 || S $\text{*}^{\circ}\checkmark\text{urh-}$ ($\text{*}^{\circ}\checkmark\text{urh-?}$) > Ar qurh- 'ulcère, plaie qui fait mal', {Hv.} qarh- 'wound, ulcer', (\times N $\text{*}\checkmark\text{ir}'\text{X}'\nabla$ 'to scrape, to scratch') $\checkmark\text{qrh}$ G vt. 'wound' ¶ BK II 707, Hv. 596 ¶¶ Tk. I 41 (rejects any comparison with Kwn $\text{k}^{\circ}\text{w}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'blood' and Ke k°r id., explaining these ECh forms as containing a px. $\text{*k}\nabla\text{-}$ + Ch $\text{*b}\nabla\text{r-}$ 'blood') ¶¶ The HS plain *k (underlying Eg c- and B *k-) is due to HS deglottalization of $\text{*}\checkmark\text{-}$ || D (in SD) *kuruti ({ tGS } *kurudi) 'blood' > Tm kuruti 'blood, red colour', Ml kuruti 'blood', Kn kurudi 'coloured red water', Tu kurdi , kurudi 'red liquid (used for auspicious purposes)' ¶ D no. 1788 ◇ IE $\text{*}\text{-H-}$, S $\text{*}\text{-h-}$, and D $\text{*}\text{-r-}$ (going back regularly from N $\text{*}\text{-rH-}$, but not from N $\text{*}\text{-r-}$) suggest a lr. within the N word. The loss of the N lr. in Eg needs explaining ◇ IS I 360-1 [no. 237] ($\text{*}\checkmark\text{ur}$ in IE and D).

1164. $\text{*}\checkmark\text{or}'\text{üy}'\nabla$ (or $\text{*}\checkmark\text{or}'\text{i}$) 'lamb' > K: GZ $\text{*}\checkmark\text{raw-}/\text{*}\checkmark\text{rw-}$ 'lamb' > OG $\checkmark\text{raw-}$, G $\checkmark\text{rav-}$, Mg $\checkmark\text{zrib-}$ ~ $\checkmark\text{irib-}$ ¶ K 115, K² 99-100, FS K 190, FS E 208 || HS: S *karr- 'lamb' > BHb $\checkmark\text{kar}$ 'young ram', Ug {A} kr 'lamb', OAk {Sd.} kerru , Ak M {Sd.} karru 'ram', Ak {CAD} kirru '(ϵ a breed of) sheep' ¶ KB 472, KBR 496, A no. 1387, OLS 222, Sd. 468, CAD VIII 410-1 || B $\text{*k}\nabla\text{rar-}$ > Ah ē-kar , Ty $\text{e-}\checkmark\text{r}^{\text{b}}\text{r}$ ({GhA} $\text{e-}\checkmark\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$) 'ram', Nf a-krar 'billy goat', B *karr- , *karrī > ETwl $\text{b-}\checkmark\text{r}^{\text{b}}\text{r}$ ({GhA} $\checkmark\text{r}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$), Izn $\text{i-}\checkmark\text{arri}$ (pl. $\text{a}\checkmark\text{rarən}$), Rf Wr/B/A, SrSn $\text{i-}\checkmark\text{arri}$ (pl. $\text{a}\checkmark\text{rarən}$), Rf $\text{i}\checkmark\text{arri}$, Kb, Mtm $\text{i-}\checkmark\text{arri}$, BSn $\text{i-}\checkmark\text{arri}$ 'ram', Sll $\text{t}\checkmark\text{i-}\checkmark\text{arr-at}$ 'ewe'; B $\text{*k}\nabla\text{rw-}$ 'lamb' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.} a-karwāt , pl. ikarwātən , Ty/Twl $\text{b-karw-}\text{b}$ ({GhA} $\checkmark\text{-}\checkmark\text{arw}\text{a}$) 'lamb', Sll i-kru 'young ram' ¶ Fc. 888, 890, GhA 99-100, Rn. 343, Dl. 416, La. S 204 || EC: Arr kāriy-té (coll. kāriy) 'heifer goat' ¶ Hw. A 371 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} kīr 'fattening ram', Wnd/Sy {ChL} $\text{k}^{\text{r}}\text{ò}$ 'ram', Zar K {ChC} kārò 'sheep', Tng {J} kārwa 'cattle' ¶ J T 94, Flk. s.v. kīr , ChC, ChL, Stl. ZCh 209 [no. 601] ¶¶ OS no. 1432, Rö. SL 134 || A $\text{*}\checkmark\text{or}'\text{i}$ 'lamb' (or A $\text{*k}'\text{or}'\text{i}$ '€ herbivore') > T *Kor'i (or *Kur'i?) 'lamb' > NaT *Kozī (~ *Kuzi?) > OT {DTS} qozī , {Cl.} quzī , MU, MOg quzī , XwT quzī , MQp qozī ~ quzī , Chg qu|ozī , Tk kuzū , Tkm quδī , SY quzī ~ qozī , Xlj quzī , Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln qozī , Uz qwzī 'lamb', Az guzu , Ggz kuzu , Blq qozu , VTt t quz b 'lamb, young sheep', ET qozā 'sucking lamb', Tv kozaga qozayā 'kid (of a wild goat)' ¶ Cl. 681 ($\text{*}\text{-u-}$), ET Q 108-9 ($\text{*}\text{-o-}$), Df. III no. 1559 ($\text{*}\text{-o-}$)

DTS 462, Rs. W 285, ET Q 108-9, TL 433, TvR 245, Shch. Zh 113, TatR 293 || M **quri- ⇨ [1] M *quri-gan 'lamb' > MM [IsV] قريغان quriḡan, [S] quriḡan, [MA] quraḡan, WrM {MED, Rm.} quragan, {Rm.} qurigan, HIM {MED} хурга, {BMR} хурга(н) 'lamb', Kl {Rm.} χurḡḡ 'Lamm', Mnr H {SM} χorg_a 'agneau', {T} χurḡa 'lamb' Mgl {Rm.} qurḡana [sic] 'Lamm', Dx qugan, Ba χurḡaḡ 'lamb', Brt хурьга(н) 'lamb, young sheep', MMgl qurḡan 'lamb, kid', Ord χurḡa 'agneau dans sa première année'; [2] M *quri-sqan 'skin of a newborn lamb' > WrM {Rm.} qurısqan, Kl Ö χursχα, Kl D χürsχα 'bereitetes Lammfell', Kl {KRS} хурсх χursχə 'lamb skin (мерлушка), HIM {BMR} хурьсага 'lamb skin (ягнячья шкура, мерлушка)' ¶ H 72, Pp. MA 310, MED 987, BMR IV 170, 173, Chr. 604, KW 198-9, 203, KRS 612, Gl. II 124, SM 172, Lg. VMI 47, T 378, T DnJ 126, T BJ 150, Ms. O 372, Iw. 129, Nov. IE 118 || ?σ Tg *χirun 'wild deer' > Ewk irē, Neg iyun, Ul surun, Nn Nh sirũ, WrMc {Z} ирэнь 'wild deer', Ul surun 'deer' ¶ STM 328, On. 368, Z 116 ¶ If Tg *χirun belongs here, the Tg vw. *-i- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 808-9 (pA *k'jǝ́rǝ|u 'lamb, deer' > M *qurigan, T, Tg), DQA no. 1061 (id.), Rm. EAS I 46, 113, KW 198, Vld. 361, TL 433, Nov. IE 118 || D *kor̥i, {GS} *kor̥-i 'sheep' > Tm kor̥i, Td kur̥y, Kdg kori, Tu kuri, OTl gor̥iya, Tl gor̥e, gor̥re, gor̥riya, Klm, Nkr, Nk gorre id., Kt kory a·r̥ id. (a·r̥ 'goat'), Ku gōri ~ gorri ~ gōre, Gnd gorre ɖ gore id., 'goat', Ml kor̥i 'ε a small kind of sheep', Kn kur̥i, kor̥i 'sheep, ram', Knd gor̥e 'goat' ¶¶ D no. 2165 (a), GS 153-4 [no. 390], 68 [no. 220] ◇ The discrepancy between the ev. of T *-r̥- (suggesting an ancient palatal element) and that of D *-r̥- (suggesting a N intervoc. non-palatal *-r̥-) may be removed if we reconstruct N *ḡor̥'üy'∇, whence pre-Altaiic **kory∇ > A *kor̥'i' > T *Kor̥i, while in the prehistory of D the N intervoc. *-y- was lost: N *ḡor̥üy∇ > *ḡor̥ü > D *kor̥i. An alt. explanation (proposed by IS): in N we should reconstruct *-r̥i, but in pre-D the palatality of *-r̥- was neutralized before *-i. The K and T reflexes suggest an emphatic N *ḡ-, which lost its emphaticity (was deglottalized?) in HS due to a reg. change (*ḡ- > *k-) in some unknown (prosodic?) conditions ◇ IS I 302 [no. 173] (*KOr̥i), Mng. E-3 264-9 (T, D).

1165. *ḡur̥'y'∇ 'sprout from a root' (⇒ 'sprout', 'root') > IE: NaIE *kʷer-/kʷor- 'root' > Sl *korenь 'root' > OCS корень korenь, SCr kòrēn ~ kòr̥ijēn, Slv kor̥ēn, Cz kořen, P korzeń, R 'корень

(gen. *корня*) id. || Lt *kēras*, Lt Zh *kērē* 'stump', ?σ Ltv *cērs* 'bush, shrub' || Gk *πρέμιον* 'bottom of the trunk of a tree, stump', Gk [Hs.] *πρέμιον* · πᾶν ῥίζωμα 'any root' || ?? OIr *crann* 'tree; wood (Holz)' ¶ F II 59, Vn. C 222-3, ESSJ XI 62-6 and XIII 242 (on Sl **kъrb* 'bush', which was erroneously interpreted by scholars as meaning 'root' and belonging to IE **k^wer-/k^wor-*), Bern. I 570, Glh. 333, Frn. 241, Me. SKK 85-6 || A: WrM *qur* 'shoots, sprouts from the roots' ¶ MED 987 || D (in SD) **kur-* ({*ǵGS*} **k-*) 'shoot, sprout' > Tm *kuruttu*, *kuruntu* 'sprout', Ml *kuruttu*, *kurunnu* id., *kurukka* 'to sprout, shoot', Kn *kurule* 'plantain sprout', Tu *kurulæ*, *kurlæ* 'fresh shoots of grain' ¶ D no. 1791 (coalesced with **kur-* 'young of an animal') || ?σ HS **✓kry* 'stick' (× N **QärE* 'trunk, [piece of] wood') > S **✓kr^ry* 'stick' > Ar قرية *qarīy-at-* id. ¶ BK II 731, Hv. 603 || B ***kry* > **ury* 'stick' > BSn *ta-yrī-t*, Izn *ta-ureyt*, Rf Tz pl. *ti-yary-in*, Tz {Stm.} *akuray* id. || C **k^rur-* 'stick' > Sml N {Abr.} *qār(-tī)* (pl. *qārró*) 'big-headed stick', Sml {DSI} *qār* (pl. *qārró*) 'clava, grosso bastone' ¶ DSI 478, Abr. S 200 ◇ The D cns. **-r-* (usually from N clusters with **r*) suggests an additional cns., which (on the ev. of HS) is likely to have been **y*. The absence of final *vw.* in WrM *qur* needs explaining.

1166. **Qar^r∇b^ri*' (= **Qar^r∇b^ri*?) 'belly, inside' > HS: S **✓kar_r∇_rb-* (or **✓kir_r∇_rb-*) 'inside' > OAk *qerbum*, Ak B *qerbu(m)*, Ak OA *qarbu* ~ *qerbu* 'inside, inner part, middle', Eb {Krb.} *kir-bux* (*kirbu*) id., BHb *qεεb*, SmHb *kērāb* 'entrails, inward parts', Ug *qrb* 'inside of the body; within, in'; ? Ar *qurb-*, *qurub-* 'side, flank' (unless from S **✓krb* 'be near') ¶ KB 1059-60, KBR 1135, BH IV 253, OLS 371, CAD XIII 216, Hv. 596, BK II 704, Krb. EG 22, G OA 226, MiK I no. 1.165 ¶ Ak OA *qarbu* provides ev. for a pS **a* (**✓kar_r∇_rb-*), while SmHb apparently suggests **i* (**✓kir_r∇_rb-*). The controversy may be solved if we know more on the prehistory of the SmHb vowels || Eg fMK *qəb* 'intestine, middle (of land)', m *qəb* 'in the midst of' ¶ EG V 9-10, Fk. 175 || B: Ah *akbār* (pl. *ikabrān*) 'bas ventre' ¶ Fc. 735 || ?φ C: Ag: Bln {R} *ge'rōb*, *grōb* (pl. *ge'rōf*, *grōf*) 'shape, body' ('Gestalt, Leib, Körper') || LEC **garb-* 'belly' > Af *garba* 'belly', Sa {R} *garbā* id., 'stomach, womb', pSam {Hn.} **gārāb* (pl. *garb-o*) > Rn {Bl.} *gārāb* 'back', {PG} *gārāb-* 'beside', Gwd {AMS} *kerpe* 'breast'; (× N **gub_r∇_rRE* 'back, back side, nape [of the neck]', q.v.): Sml *gārāb* (pl. *garb-ō*) 'shoulder', Bn *kārūb* (pl. *karōb'tə*) id., Rn {PG} *gārāb* id., 'shoulder blade' ¶ Bl. 181, R WB 159, R S II 162-3,

Hn. S 60, PG 121, AMS 236 ¶¶ OS no. 343 (*k̑iȓb in S, Eg, Gwd), Tk. I 59 (Eg, S) || K ≈ *°karb-a 'belly' > Lz korba, Mg Sn kora, Mg SmZ kv̑ara id. ¶ Chik. 68, Q 345 ¶ The deglottalization N *k̑- > K ≈ *k- is still to be explained. This K cns. points to a pN *k̑- rather than *q- || IE: NaIE *kerp-/*krep- (or *k̑erp-/*k̑rep-) 'body, belly' > MPrs karp 'body', Av k̑arəfš̑ (pl. k̑əhȓpō) 'appearance, visible shape (das sichtbare Äußere, äußere Gestalt)' (the earlier meaning 'body' is still discernible in the cd k̑arəfš̑-x̑ar 'Leichenfresser'), OI 'kȓp 'shape, beautiful appearance' || L corpus / corpor- 'body' || Clt {Matas.} *krif- 'body' > Mir crí 'body, flesh' (+ unconvincingly adduced by Matas.: MW cryf 'strong', OCrn [ʁ] crif 'fortis', MCrm creff ~ cref 'strong', MBr creff id., Br {Hm.} kreñv 'fort, solide'); Clt {Matas.} *krittā- 'body, frame, shape' > Mir crett, creit id., MW creth 'nature, appearance, form' || Gmc: AS hrif 'belly (Unterleib), womb', OHG (h)rēf 'lap, womb' ¶ WP I 486-7, P 620, EI 76 (*krep-s / gen. *kȓp-os 'body'), WH I 277-8, Dv. no. 349, M K I 260, Brl. 467-9, Kb. 776, Schz. 235, OsS 422, Ho. 174, Matas, E 224-6, Hm. 488 ¶ IE (rather than from N) is due to the IE incompatibility law (ruling out co-occurrence of a vl. and a vd. aspirate cns. wuthin a root) || A: ≈ *k̑aȓb- > M *qarbi-sun 'uterus, placenta' > MM [S] qarbisun 'placenta', WrM {MED} qarbisun, HIM {BMR} харвис 'uterus of an animal, plecenta' ¶ H 61, MED 935, BMR IV 53 || T *karim ({Md.} *k'arin) 'belly, abdomen' > NaT *k'arin > OT qarim id., Tk k̑arin, Az qarim, Qmq, Alt, Xlj qarim, Bsh qaȓn, Uz qarim 'belly, abdomen (Bauch)', Tkm qarim, Ggz karim, Blq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg qarim, VTt qaȓn, Xk qarim, Tv qarim, Tf hirim id., 'stomach (Magen)', Nog qarim 'womb, belly', Yk qarim 'stomach, first stomach of the ruminants' || Chv qaȓm 'stomach, belly, womb' ¶ Cl. 661, Rs. W 238, ET KQ 321-3, TL 277, 353, Ra. 193, Md. 103, 166, Pek. 3375-6, Jeg. 314, Fed. II 382 ¶ pT *-m- may go back to *-b-n- (with *-n- < N genitive pc. *nu 'of: N *k̑aȓb'i' nu > *k̑aȓmn̑ > pT *k'arim) || pJ {S} *kárán̑tá 'body' > JT kàrada, JK kárádá, J Kg karáda id. ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 115], S QJ no. 115, Mr. 438, Kenk. 849-50 ¶¶ S AJ 281 [no. 147] (pA *k|k'gaȓ 'belly, body, ribs' > T, J + *÷ pKo *kari 'rib') || D *kaRub-, {GS} *karb- 'uterus, foetus' > Tm karu 'foetus, embryo, young of animal', karuppai 'womb', MI karu 'embryo, yolk', Kt karv 'foetus of animals', Td kef 'pregnant' (of animals), Tl kari 'uterus of animals', karuvu 'foetus', Prj kerba 'egg'

¶¶ D no. 1279, GS 30-1 [no. 30] ◇ T *KarIM points to a N vw. after *-r-. Tm, Ml and Tl -r- (a regular reflex of N *-r- before consonants) suggests that in the prehistory of Tm, Ml and Tl the vw. *-u- was lost (unless GS's rec. *karb- is accepted) ◇ IS I 338-40 [no. 214] (*Ḳarḇi' 'belly, entrails').

1167. (₂?) *Ḳi'RŪĈĀ (= *Ḳi'RŪĊĀ?) 'to strike' > IE: NaIE *krou̯s- 'push, strike' > Gk κρούω 'I push, strike' || ON hrōsti 'mashed malt' || Lt inf. krū̯sti (pres. krū̯ti) v. 'smash, crash; grind, bruise', Ltv inf. krāusēti v. 'stamp, trample' | pSl *kruḡ, *kruḡa 'piece' (← 'broken') > ChS кроуѡъ kruḡ, Cz kručh id., Blg круѡ 'piece of salt', SCr kruh 'bread'; Sl *krušiti 'to break into pieces, to crumble' > Slv krúšiti, P krušyć id., OR кроушнѣ krušiti, R крушить 'to break into pieces'; Sl *krŭḡa 'crumble' > ChS крѡѡа krŭḡa, SCr † krha id., R кроха id. (→ dim. 'крошка id.) ¶ P 622-3, F II 27-8, Frn. 302-3, Vr. 261, ESSJ XIII 41-52, Glh. 354, EI 549 (*kreu(-s)- 'strike'), Vs. II 384 || A: T *°Kl̥:r̥ca- > OT qirċa- {Cl.} v. 'hit the side of', {DTS} 'задеть (brush\strike against)' (cp. also N *gaRŪĈĀ 'crush, break into pieces') ¶ Cl. 647, DTS 445 || ?σ HS: ?σ S *°✓krθ > Ar ✓qrθ (pf. qarīθa) 'grieve (affliger)' ¶ BK II 706, Hv. 596 ◇ If Ar ✓qrθ belongs here, the N et. is *Ḳi'RŪĈĀ. IE *k- (rather than *k̂-) is due to its precon. position.

1168. *Ḳi'rŭ ḡcḡ 'shin' > HS: S *kurāḡ- (~ *ku'raḡ-?) 'shin' > Ug krḡ {OLS} 'jarrete, artejo', JA [Trg.] {Lv.} קר'ינ kar'īn, em. קר'ינ karāḡayyā 'die Schenkel, Unterschenkel', JEA {Sl.} קר'ינ karā'ā 'leg, foot', Sr קר'ינ karā'ā 'leg\shank\shin (of animals)', BHb du. קר'ינ karā'āyim '(two) lower legs, fibulas' (from *kuraḡ- or an Aramaism), Ar kurāḡ- {BK} 'la partie la plus mince de la jambe entre le pied et le genou chez l'espèce ovine et bovine; os du tibia', {Hv.} 'shank, trotters (of sheep\oxen)', Ak kurītu 'shin (of animals)', Sb krḡ 'leg of a camel', ? Gz kʷarnaḡ 'elbow, forearm'; CS *✓krḡ 'buckle at the knees, kneel' > BHb, Ug {A} ✓krḡ G id., JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} ✓krḡ G 'bow, bend the knee', JEA {Sl.} ✓krḡ G 'bow down' ¶ KB 47, KBR 500 (קר'ינ *ka'rāḡ 'lower leg, fibula'), Lv. T I 390-1, Br. 348-9, Sl. 604, ≈ Js. 673 (קר'ינ kar'īn 'knee, leg'), BK II 887, Hv. 651, Sd. 510, CAD VIII 560, L G 293, BGMR 78, ≈ MiK I no. 1.157 (S *kʷirāḡ-), A no. 1389 || K *Ḳwirċ- ~ *Ḳwarċ-, {FS} *Ḳwarċ-, {K} *Ḳwarċ], {K²} *Ḳwi(r)ċ- 'foot, bottom part' > OG *Ḳuarcχl-, MG, G *Ḳvarcχl- 'foot' (in OG cd

քարալեռ(ր)ք-, MG քարալեռք- 'footstool, pedestal'), OG
 մկալեռ(լ)-, G m-կալեռ- 'pedestrian', Mg կալեռ-, Lz կալեռ- 'foot,
 leg', Sv UB {GP} չիճալ 'leg', Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L/Ln չիճալ 'нога, ցընո' ('foot'
 or 'leg'), pl.: UB/LB չիճալ, L չիճալ ~ չիճալ ԳԳ K 109, K² 95, FS K
 178, FS E 194-5, Srj. 10, Chik. 63, Q 262, GP 281, Chx. 575, Abul. 201,
 TK 862-3 || IE: NaIE *k^hrūs- 'shin, shinbone' > Arm **սրուկ** s^hrun-k^h
 (pl.), gen. **սրուկ** s^hranč^h, **սրուկ** s^hrunic^h 'leg(s), shank(s)' || L
 crūs / crūr- 'shin, shinbone, leg' Գ WP I 49, P 62, WH I 295-6, Slt.
 431-2 || D *kurač- ({{GS}} *g-) 'hoof' > Tm kuracu, kuraccai
 'horse's hoof', Kn gorasu, gorase, gorise, gorusu, Tl gorija,
 gorise 'hoof' ԳԳ D no. 1770 ԳԳ D *-r- < pre-D *-rH- (reg.) < N *-
rH- ◇ The reflex of N *c was lost in S due to the tendency towards
 triconsonantic roots (sc. due to analogy) ◇ The etymon is a N cd with
 the first element *k^hūr 'foot, hoof' (see N *k^hūr 'foot, hoof'), but
 only if the latter has a front vw. (N *ū) in the first syll. (which would
 mean that the supposed Sl cognate *černъ 'handle' does not go back to
 N *k^hūr 'foot, hoof').

1169. ₂ *k^hurč 'sharp' > HS: WS *✓k^hrc v. 'pinch, prick' > MHb
 ✓k^hrc v. 'pinch', JA (incl. [Trg.]) {Lv.} ✓k^hrc 'pinch, sting, make an
 incision', JEA {Sl.} ✓k^hrc 'bite, sting', Sr ✓k^hrs, Md ✓grs 'prick', Ar
 ✓qrš G 'pinch, sting (gnat)', Gz ✓k^hrs G 'incise, scar, cut' Գ Lv. IV 385,
 Lv. T II 389-90, Sl. 1046, Br. 699, JPS 520, Hv. 598, LM 97, L G 444 || A
 *k^hurča- 'sharp' > M *qurča 'sharp, acute' > MM [S, MA, HI] qurča, WrM
 {MED} qurca, HIM {MED, BMR} хурц, Brt хурца id., Kl {KRS} хурц
 хурсъ id., {Rm.} хурца 'scharf, beißend', Mnr H {SM} хурц 'tranchant,
 aigu, pointu, pénétrant', {T} хурц 'sharp', Ord q^hurč 'a 'tranchant, aigu,
 bien aiguisé, affilé' Գ Pp. MA 311, 445, Ms. H 92, H 72, MED 988, BMR IV
 172, Chr. 602-3, KRS 612-3, KW 199, SM 174, T 377, Ms. O 316 ԳԳ Pp.
 VG 121 || NaT *k^hurč 'sharp' (× T *k^hurč 'tough, hard' < N *k^hūr 'hard') >
 StAlt, Qmn курч qurč, Tb {B} qurč, Tlt {RI.} qurč 'sharp', Qrg
 qurč 'sharp, steel' Գ ET Q 170-1 ԳԳ SDM 747 (pA *k^hūr 'cut out',
 'sharp' > M, T + unc. Tg *k^hūri [> WrMc {Z} кори- 'delve, cut out', Nn
 Nh {On.} k^hūrč, k^hūrč-v. 'wound accidentally', cf. STM I 415 and
 On. 228]), KW 199 ◇ Identical with N *k^hūr 'hard' [q.v.]?

1170. *k^hūr 'hard (жесткий)', 'to dry up, to harden' > HS: S
 *✓k^hrs > JA [Trg.] pp. қә'р̄ 'hardened', MHb ✓k^hrs N, Sh (← Aram?)
 'zusammenschrumpfen, verhärtet werden', Sr ✓k^hrs (pf. қә'р̄)

v. 'dry up, harden', 𐤒𐤓𐤕 $\text{qar}^{\prime}\text{s-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'cold, dry', Ak $\text{qar}\text{s}\text{u}$ 'dry, hard' (< Aram?), $\text{?}\sigma$ Ar \checkmark qrs (pf. $\text{qarasa} \sim \text{qarisa}$, ip. $-\text{qris-}$) 'être très rigoureux' (le froid), {Hv.} 'be severe' (winter), 'be congealed' (water) (\times N * $\text{q}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}$ 'to congeal'); Ar qars- 'severe cold' ¶ Lv. IV 385, Br. 698, HJ 1035, BK II 710, Hv. 597, Js. 1425 || K: G Kx $\text{qora}\check{\text{c}}$ - v. 'be completely dry' (bread), $\text{qora}\check{\text{c}}\text{-i}$ 'completely dry bread' ¶ Chx. 613 || IE: NaIE * $\text{k}\bar{\text{k}}\text{ers-}$ 'hard' (partially \times N * $\text{qan}_2\text{r}'$ 'hard, firm?') > NNr herren 'stiff, hard', MHG hersten 'erstarren' || Lt $\text{šiu}\text{rk}\check{\text{s}}\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}$, $\text{šiu}\text{rg}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}$ 'rough, coarse' || Sl: OR серехъкъ $\text{serex}\check{\text{x}}\text{k}\check{\text{x}}$ 'траχύς, rugged, rough', R Δ шорох 'rough surface', R шершавый 'rough', шороховатый 'rough, rugged', Cz Mr $\text{srch}\check{\text{k}}\check{\text{y}}$ 'hard' (of flax, hemp, cloth), Cz L $\text{srch}\check{\text{l}}\check{\text{y}}$, Slov srhek 'rough' ¶ \approx P 583, Lx. 87, Frn. 994, Vs. IV 431-2 (misprint траχύς for траχύς), 467-8, Srz. III 340, Ma. CS 468 || A * $\text{Ku}\bar{\text{u}}\text{:ri}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$ > T * $\text{Ku}\bar{\text{u}}\text{:ri}\check{\text{c}}$ 'tough, hard' > OT [MhK] $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'solid and hard (mušmat šalb)', $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}} \bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'hard (šila:b) men', [QB] $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}} \bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'hard\tough man', [MhK] $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$ - v. 'become hard', $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}} \text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ 'hard iron', sc. 'steel', Kr T $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'strong, firm', Nog $\text{qur}\check{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}$ 'fragile, brittle'; in younger T lges particularly applied to metals, whence 'steel' and 'sharp' (of steel, sword) (\times N * $\text{Ku}\bar{\text{u}}\text{R}\check{\text{c}}\check{\text{c}}$ 'sharp' or 'prick'): StAlt курч $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$, Tlt {Rl.} $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'sharp', Qrg $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'sharp, steel', ET Δ {Jr.} $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}} \sim \text{quru}\check{\text{c}} \sim \text{quyu}\check{\text{c}}$, Uz Srt {Rl.}, Kr {Rl.} $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$, VTt корыч $\text{q}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}$, Bsh корос $\text{q}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}\text{s}$, Tbl {Rl.} kuruc , Chv L хурăç $\text{xur}\bar{\text{b}}\text{s}$, хурçă $\text{xur}\bar{\text{s}}\text{b}$, Chv Δ хорěç xorăç , хорçă 'steel', Qzq {Sht., Rl.} кұрыш 'white steel', Uz $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'bronze', but also with the meaning 'brave' and sim.: Alt {Rl.} $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}} \text{k}\bar{\text{i}}\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'brave man', Qrg {Jud.} $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}} \check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{g}\bar{\text{i}}\text{t}$ 'a daring man of decision', Qmq къурч $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'courageous, daring (бравый, удалой; бодрый)'; with the original meaning: Uz $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}$ 'dense; weighty', Bsh корос $\text{q}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}\text{s}$, VTt корыч $\text{q}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}\text{s}$ 'firm, strong, stable' (Bsh корос күллы кеше 'a man with strong hands') ¶ Cl. 647, 665, Rs. W 303, ET Q 170-1, DTS 467, BT 96, Rl. II 952-3, Jud. 451, UzR 632, Jr. 256, Sht. 282, BR 339, Ash. XVI 226-7, 229, Fed. II 367, Jeg. 308, ChVS 256, KumRS 207-8 || M * $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$ 'sharp', 'fat\rich' (of food) > WrM {MED} $\text{qur}\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$ 'sharp, acute; 'too oily\greasy, rich' (of food), HIM хурц {MED} id., {BMR} 'scharf, angeschleift', 'fett, scharf, beißend' (of food), 'too oily\greasy, rich' (of food), Kl {KRS} хурц $\text{xur}\check{\text{c}}\text{b}$ 'fat' (of food), 'sharp', {Rm.} $\text{xur}\check{\text{c}}\text{a}$ 'scharf, beißend', Brt хурца 'sharp, pointed', 'fat\rich, жирный' (of food) (Brt хурца мяхан 'fat meat', хурца

ҺҮН 'fat milk', хурса шүлэн 'fat soup, strong broth'), (× N ***ḶURṼĊ'Ṽ** 'sharp' or 'prick'): Mnr Н {SM} χυζῖᾱ 'tranchant, aigu, pointu, pénétrant', Ord ḡ_{ur}č'a 'tranchant, aigu, bien aiguisé, affilé' ¶ Н 72, Pp. МА 311, Ms. Н 92, MED 988, BMR IV 172, Chr. 602-3, KRS 612-13, KW 199, SM 174, Т 377, Ms. О 316]?φ М *ḡoržuy- > WrM {MED} ḡorzi- ~ ḡorzi- , HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt горзой- v. 'dry up, harden (as skin)', Kl {KRS} хорза- 'rauh\hart wrden' (Haut), 'оцепеневать от холода', {Rm.} ḡorzā- 'steif und unbiegsam werden', 'steif frieren' (von Menschen und Tieren), Ord ḡ_{or}žῖ- 'devenir rigide et sèche' (le peau) ¶ MED 362, BMR I 438, Chr. 157, KRS 167. KW 152, Ms. О 306]? М *körž- (× N ***ḶERṼĊ'Ṽ** 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle?') > WrM {MED} körzei- 'become rough, uneven, hard', HIM хөрзий- {MED} id., {BMR} 'chap, become rough (if dried out), sich schalen [шелушиться]' (of human skin), Ord k'öržῖ- 'être rugueux, être inégal' ¶ MED 492, BMR IV 145, Ms. О 430 ¶¶ SDM 747 (pA 'cut out; sharp' > М *qurč'a 'sharp', Т *Kurç 'sharp' + unc. Tg *kōri- v. 'delve, carve out, pick out, wound accidentally'), KW 199.

1171. ***ḶURṼĊ'Ṽ** (= ***ḶarUč'Ṽ**?) 'to scratch' > IE: NaIE *kars- 'scratch, rub', {EI} 'scratch; comb (wool)' > OI kaṣati 3s pres. 'scratches, rubs' || Lt ls karšiu / inf. karšti v. 'card, comb', Ltv ls kāršiu / inf. kārst id. || Sl *korsta 'scab, itching skin disease' (× NaIE *krus- 'crust' < N ***ḶURcṼ** 'scales, bark', q.v.??) > OCS краста krasta 'crusta lepræ, scab', Blg 'краса 'scabies', SCr krāsta 'scab, smallpox, leprosy', Slv krásta, Slk chrasta, R ко'роста 'scab', OCz krásty 'tetter', Cz chrásta 'tetter, scab', chrásty 'scabies', P krostá 'rash, scab' || L carr-o / -ēre 'comb (wool)' || MDt harst 'rake' ¶ ≈ P 532-3, EI 570, WH I 173-4, Frn. 224, ESSJ XI 93-4, M K I 190 || К *°ḷač|č'w,r- > G ḷačr- / ḷačvr- v. 'scratch' (× N ***ḷa'č'U** 'scratch, scrape off scales' [q.v.]) ¶ Chx. 560 ¶ mt. of N ***r** and ***č|č** || HS: WS *√ḷrç v. 'nip, pinch' (× WS *√ḷrç 'prick' < N ***ḶURṼĊ'Ṽ** 'sharp' or 'prick') > Hb √ḷrç Pu 'be nipped off', יַיִן קָרַץ ḷā'raç 'ṣayin {KBR} 'screw up one's eyes, blink', ? Ug √ḷrç {A, OLS} 'gnaw (nagen, abkneifen; mordisquear, roer)', Ar √qrç G 'pinch', Mh, Hrs, Jb √ḷrç v. 'nip' ¶ KB 1070-1, KBR 1148, A no. 2457, OLS 373, BK II 712, Hv. 598, Jo. M 236, Jo. J 150, Jo. H 77 || A: NaT *ḷu:ṽrç- v. 'scratch, itch' > Osm {Rl.} قورچة qurč'a n. 'scratching (das Kratzen)', Tk k u r c a 'scratching, excitation', kurcala- v. 'scratch', Tb {Rl.} qurč'aṅ 'scab

(Grind, шелуда)', Chg {VZ} قورچالمق qurčal- 'sich blutig kratzen', Qq quršañı 'tetter (парша) of horses', Nog quršañı 'tetter of sheep', Vt корчаңгы qǫršañǫ, Bsh qǫrsañǫ 'scabies' ¶ Rs. W 303, Rl. II 953-4, KrkR 413, NogR 189 || ? D *kir∇č- ({{ǫGS}} *k-) v. 'scrape' > Tu {BhK} kiresъ, keresъ id., {Mnr.} kirejuni v. 'scrape\clear (as the ground)', Prj kirč- v. 'scratch', Krx xerč- / xirč- v. 'rub off, score', Mlt {Drs.} qerсе v. 'scrape' ¶¶ D no. 1564, Mnr. 142 ¶¶ The unexpected vw. *i may be due to the infl. of D *kir∇ ~ *ker∇ v. 'scratch'. Alternatively, D *kir∇č- may have been derived from D *kira (if so, it does not belong to the N etymon in question) ◇ If the pN etymon is *ḲarUč'∇, the vw. *u in T *Ḳurç- may be due to vowel breaking: *Ḳaruč'∇ > *Ḳuarč'∇ > T *Ḳurç-. If the N etymon was *Ḳur₁∇₁č'∇ (as may be suggested by NaT *Ḳurç-) we have to suppose the loss of the glide *u in the prehistory of IE: *Ḳur- > *Ḳ∇ur- > *Ḳ∇r-, but in this case the IE vw. *a remains unexplained, therefore *Ḳur₁∇₁č'∇ is a less probable rec.

1172. (2?) *ḲER∇č'∇ 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle' > IE: NaIE *ḱerst-/*ḱrst- 'rough hair, bristle' > Sl *sьrstь 'animal's hair' > SrChS, OR сьрсть сьрсть, Slv s̄rst, Cz, Slk srst', P sierść, R, Uk шерсть || OHG {EI←?} hursti 'crest' || L crista 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' ↳ Al kreshhtë 'mane, rooster's comb' ¶ ≈ Vs. IV 431, ≈ WH I 292, O 19, ≈ EI 252 (*ḱer(es)- '≈ [rough] hair, bristle') || HS: S: [1] Ar qarθaf-at- 'poil fin et court chez les bestiaux' | [2] Ar qarīṣ- ~ qarīṣu- 'nettle'; the var. qarīṣu- is influenced by ✓qrṣ 'piquer' < W S *✓ḱrç v. 'pinch, prick' cp. JA ✓ḱrṣ G 'bite, pinch, sting' (see N *ḲUR∇č'∇ 'sharp' or 'prick') ¶ BK II 707, 711-2, Js. 1425 || ? B: Kb {Dl.} aṽriṣ, Tmz {MT} aṽriṣ 'fils de chaîne coupés, restés sur le métier après que le tissage achevé ait été enlevé', Kb taṽriṣt 'frange' ¶ Dl. 628, MT 205 || A: M *körz̄- 'become rough' (× N *ḱ^hu^hR∇č'∇ 'hard [жесткий]; to dry up, harden?') > WrM {MED} körzei-, HIM хөрзий- {MED} 'become rough, uneven, hard', {BMR} 'chap, become rough (if dried out), sich schalen [шелушиться]' (of human skin), Brt 'ощетиниваться, ошериваться; 'be rough (быть грубым)', Kl {Rm.} kürži- 'hart und rissig werden', Ord k'örz̄ī- 'être rugueux, être inégal' ¶ MED 492, BMR IV 145, Chr. 649, KW 247, Ms. O 430 ¶ The M labialized vw. *ö may be due to the infl. of *ḱ^hu^hR∇č'∇ ¶ MED 492.

1173. * $\text{ḱ} \nabla \text{R} \check{\text{C}} \nabla$ 'to cut' > HS: S * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \theta$ > Ar قَرَط $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \theta$ G v. 'cut' ¶ BK II 716 || ? ϕ B * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ > * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ v. 'tear, cut, cut the throat (of a person\animal)' > BSn {Bs.} $\text{s}\check{\text{a}}\text{-}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$, ETwl/Ty {GhA} $\text{a}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ 'cut', Sll {Ds.} $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$, Si {La.} $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ 'couper des régimes de dattes', Izn, Rf $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ 'tear, cut the throat', Mtm $\text{q}\check{\text{a}} \text{r} \text{s}$ 'be torn', caus. $\text{a}\text{s}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ 'tear', Ah, Gh, Mz, Wrg $\text{a}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$, Izd $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ 'cut the throat of', Gd $\text{e}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ (pf. $\text{y}\check{\text{e}}\text{-}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$) 'immoler, égorger', Zng {TC} $\text{e}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ (pf. $\text{y}\check{\text{u}}\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$) 'égorger' ¶ GhA 72, La. S 219, Ds. 78, Fc. 1776, Dlh. M 155, Dlh. Ou 246, Mrc. 95, Lf. I 232 and II no. 1250, Rn. 362, DCTC 287 ¶ B * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ < * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{s}$ < N * $\text{ḱ} \nabla \text{R} \check{\text{C}} \nabla$ × HS * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \hat{\text{s}}$ (> S * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \hat{\text{s}}$ 'cut' > Ar $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \check{\text{s}}$ 'couper', Ak $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \check{\text{s}}$ 'trim\carve [meat], see BK II 711, Hv. 598, CAD XIII 128), HEC * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{e}\check{\text{s}}$ - 'break (bread)' (> Hd $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{e}\check{\text{s}}$ -, Kmb $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{e}\check{\text{s}}$ -), see OS no. 1592 || K: GZ * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{e}\check{\text{c}}$ - / * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{i}\check{\text{c}}$ - / * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \check{\text{c}}$ - 'cut, cut off' > G $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{e}\check{\text{c}}$ - / $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{i}\check{\text{c}}$ - 'cut, cut (hair), clip' ('scheren, stutzen'), Mg $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{a}\check{\text{c}}$ - / $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{i}\check{\text{c}}$ -, Lz $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ} \text{r} \text{i}\check{\text{c}}$ - ¶ K * $\check{\text{c}}$ > Zan * $\check{\text{c}}$ (rather than * $\check{\text{c}} \text{ḱ}$) due to the presence of * $\check{\text{r}} \text{ḱ}$ ¶ K² 100, Chx. 614, 1561, DCh. 625, SSO I 384, AxT 188 || A: M * $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N * $\text{k}\check{\text{a}} \text{r} \check{\text{t}} \nabla$ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' × N * $\text{k}\check{\text{a}} \text{r} \check{\text{z}} \text{i}$ 'to cut into pieces, to split, to divide') > WrM $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - {MED} v. 'cut, slice', HIM $\text{x}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - {MED, BMR} id., Kl $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}}$ - {KRS} id., {Rm.} 'schneiden, zerschneiden, ab-\ein-schneiden; hauen, zerhauen, eine Kerbe machen', Brt $\text{x}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - id., Ord $\text{g}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ -, Mnr H {T} $\text{k}\check{\text{i}} \text{r} \check{\text{z}} \text{i}$ -, {SM} $\text{k}' \text{i} \text{r} \check{\text{z}} \text{i}$ - 'hacher, couper en tranches', Ord $\text{g}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - id., 'couper en petits morceaux', Dx $\text{k}\check{\text{i}} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - v. 'cut into pieces, cut off'; M \rightarrow Ewk $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ -, Ul $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{u} / \text{i}$ -, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', Nn Nh {On.} 'cut (meat, fish, vegetables) into small pieces', WrMc {Z} $\text{k}\check{\text{e}} \text{r} \check{\text{c}} \text{i}$ - 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' ¶ MED 455, BMR IV 222, SM 204, Chr. 650, KRS 296, KW 228, T 339, T DnJ 123, Ms. P 261, STM I 453-4, On. 241, Z 272-3.

1174. * $\text{ḱ}\check{\text{a}} \text{r} \text{d} \nabla$ 'breast, chest' ([in descendant lges] \rightarrow 'heart', 'internal organs') > K * $\text{m}\check{\text{ḱ}} \text{e} \text{r} \text{d}$ - / * $\text{m}\check{\text{ḱ}} \text{r} \text{d}$ - 'breast, chest' > OG, G $\text{m}\check{\text{ḱ}} \text{e} \text{r} \text{d}$ - (gen. $\text{m}\check{\text{ḱ}} \text{r} \text{d}$ -is-a), Mg $\check{\text{q}} \text{i} \text{d} \text{i} \text{r}$ -i, $\check{\text{q}} \text{a} \text{d}\check{\text{z}} \text{r}$ -i, Sv: UB/Ch $\text{m}\check{\text{u}} \check{\text{c}} \text{w} \text{e} \text{d}$, Lx $\text{m}\check{\text{a}} \check{\text{q}} \check{\text{e}} \text{d}$, L/Ln $\text{m}\check{\text{u}} \check{\text{c}} \text{od}$ id. ¶¶ K 135, K² 123, FS K 219, FS E 241, Gud. BT (on the loss of initial * m - in Mg), T 581-2 || HS: Ch: WCh: Hs $\check{\text{q}} \text{i} \check{\text{r}} \check{\text{z}} \text{i}$ 'chest, breast, bosom', Gw K $\check{\text{q}} \text{i} \check{\text{r}} \check{\text{z}} \text{i}$, Gw Cn $\text{g}\check{\text{r}} \text{i} \check{\text{z}} \text{i}$ 'chest, breast' || ? ECh: EDng {Fd.} $\text{k}\check{\text{ó}} \text{r} \text{k}\check{\text{i}} \check{\text{d}} \text{o}$, {Lk.} $\text{k}\check{\text{ó}} \text{r} \text{k}\check{\text{i}} \check{\text{d}} \text{e} \text{r}\check{\text{i}}$ 'breast (poitrine)', Dng {Lwn.} $\text{k}\check{\text{ó}} \text{r} \text{l}\check{\text{o}}$, Mgm $\text{k}\check{\text{ó}} \text{r} \text{l}\check{\text{á}}$ 'heart' ¶ Ba. 610, Fd. 301, Mts. G 64, Mts. GD 32, ChC, \neq Sk. HCD

172 || ? EC *g∇r¹d¹ - 'belly' (mte. *g∇rd¹ - < *k¹∇rd¹-?) > Arr {Hw.} geré? (pl. gerđó) 'belly, abdomen', Gdl kard¹, Kns kar-itta id., Kns kara postp. 'inside (an area)', Hr/Dbs karařčé, Gln karřitto, Gwd karřétto, Gwd D karřéččó 'belly'; the rec. of EC *đ is justified if we find the factor responsible for the change *-rd¹- > Kns -r-, Dl -rř- ¶ Bl. G 49, BISO 67a, AMS 232, Bl. 281 (on reflexes of EC *g-), Hw. A 360-1 || ?σ WS *kard- > Ar qard- 'neck', Mh {Ho.} kard 'throat, voice', Hrs {Jo.} kard, Jb C {Jo.} kard, Sq {LLS} kəyruđ pl. 'throat', ??σ Ar qurdūd- 'back (dos)' ¶ BK II 709, Jo. M 235, Jo. H 77, Jo. J 148, SSL LSNP 1463, MiK I no. 1.166 ¶ The stem structure of the SES lges points to the absence of a pS posttonic vw. (sc. *¹kard- rather than *¹kar∇d-) || ?σ B *y∇rd- (< *k¹∇rd-) > Ty, ETwl ti-yard-en (pl.) 'partie du corps située en-dessous du cou et entre les deux omoplates', ??σ: Zng {TC} to?ruđ, Ntf {Dray} tayarut (pl. tiyorad), Sll tayrūtūt (pl. tiy^wrād) 'omoplate', BSn {Ds.} tayrūt 'épaule', Kb tayrut 'omoplate, épaule' ¶ PrGG 120, TC Z 310, Dray 344, Ds. 204, Ds. B 119, Dl. 625 ¶¶ MiK I no. 166 (S, B) || IE *k¹erd-/*k¹ērd-/*k¹rd-/*k¹red-, {EI} *k¹erd / gen. *k¹rd-os 'heart' > NaIE: OI || Arm uhrun sirt id. (gen. uhrun srti) || Gk π κήρ (< *k¹ērd) id., Gk A καρδιά, Gk Hm καρδίη id., 'stomach' || L cor / cord- 'heart' || Clt {Matas.} *kridyo- 'heart' > OIr cride 'heart, middle', W {YGM} craidd 'centre, middle', Cm cre(y)s, MBr [SB] creis 'middle', Br {Hm.} kreiz id., 'center' || Gt háirtō, ON hjarta, OHG herza, NHG Herz, AS heorte 'heart', NE heart || Lt širdis, Ltv sirds, Pru seyr (= [sīr]?) (gen. sīras, accus. sīran) 'heart' | pSl *s¹rd-ъce id. (with the dim. sx *-ъce) > OCS срѣдьце srědyce, Blg сърдце, SCr srěce, Slv srcē, R 'сердце, Uk 'серце, Cz srdce, OP sierce > P serce id., pSl *ser¹d-á (accus. *sērd-ŏ) 'middle' > OCS срѣда srěda 'middle, Wednesday' (↳ R сре'да 'unvironment; Wednesday'), Blg сре'да, SCr срѣда ~ srijéda, Slv srěda 'middle, Wednesday', Cz středa, Slk streda, R Δ, Uk сеpe'да (R Δ accus. 'середу), P środa 'Wednesday' || Tc {EI}: A kri 'will', B kāryān pl. 'hearts' | NaIE *kred dhē- 'vertrauen' (lit. 'put the heart') > Vd śrad dhā- 'vertaruen', Av zrazdā- 'vertaruend, ergeben', OPrs adrazdā 'glaubig' || L crēd-o 'I believe' (inf. crēd-ere) || Clt {Matas.} *kred-dī- 'believe' > OIr creitid, -creiti, MW credu, MBr crefiff, critim, Cm cresy, krysi, cregy 'believe' || Ht {Ts.} ker / obl. kard-, {Pv.} kir(ti)/kart(i)- (< *k¹erd / *k¹rd-), Pal ka-a-ar-ti id. (dat.-lat. sg.), Lw zar(t)-, HrLw zar-za id. ¶¶ P

579-80, EI 262-3, F I 787-8, WH I 271-2, Fs. 234-5, Vr. 232, Kb. 462, Schz. 166, Ho. 157, Vn. C 235-6, YGM-1 101, Ern. DELM 455, Hm. 487, Slt. 205-6, Frn. 986-7, En. 245, Glh. 574-7, M K III 386-7, Matas. E 221, 223-4, Hm. 487, Vs. III 605-7, Ts. E I 556-8, Pv. IV 189-91 || D *kar∇|- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'internal organ (heart, bowels?)' > Tm kar a|, kar u| 'lungs and heart, liver, bowels, heart', kar i| 'heart', Kt kar| 'heart, mind', Kn kar u|, kar a| u 'an entrail, bowels; love', Kdg kari 'intestines', Tu kar a| b, kar| b 'bowels, liver' ¶¶ D no. 1274 ¶¶ D *-r- < N *r-clusters; D *-|- is possibly a sx ◇ IS SS 328 [no. 4.14], IS I 324-5 [no. 200] (IE, K), ADDZ VIS (added the Hs cognate), Glh. l.c. (added the EC cognate) ◇ IE *d (rather than *d^h from N *d) is due to the IE incompatibility law that rules out the occurrence of mediae aspiratae and tenues in the same root (F IS SS 348 [no. 13.1]). The connection between 'breast' and 'neck' (as within HS) is quite natural in a society of hunters or cattle breeders, having such notions as 'dewlap'.

1175. ₂ *ḳiRd∇ 'to scrape' ([in descendant lges] → 'to comb') > HS: S *✓ḳrd > MHb ✓ḳrd D (pf. 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀. ḳē'rēd) 'curry, scrape', Ar ✓qrd G 'ramasser en grattant (p. ex. le beurre ou le lait sur les parois d'une vase)', Ak ✓ḳrd (inf. ḳar ād u) 'pluck wool' ¶ Js. 1412, Lv. IV 372, BK II 709, CAD XIII 126, MiK I no. 2.36 ¶ Not here WS *✓grd 'scrape, scratch' (< N *k∇RT∇ [~ *g∇Rd∇?]) 'to scratch, to scrape', q.v.) || A: Tg *χi^rdâ- v. 'comb' > Jrc irdihun, WrMc {Z} ичжифунь 'a comb', WrMc {Z} ичжи-, Ewk igdi-, Sol idda- ~ irda-, Lm id-, Neg igdi-, Orc, Nn KU igdi-, Ul sigdu-, Ork sigdi-, Nn Nh/Bk sigǰi- {STM} 'comb', Nn Nh {On.} sigǰi- 'auskämmen (расчесывать)' ¶ STM I 296-7, Kiy. 127 [no. 549], On. 359, Z 115-16, Pp. VG 33 (on the reflexes of Tg *χ- before *i) ◇ Cp. N *k∇RT∇ (~ *g∇Rd∇?) '↑'.

1176. ₂ *ḳi^rd₁∇ 'monkey' > HS: WS *ḳi^rrad- > Ar qird- (pl. qirad- and qiradat-) {BK} 'singe', {Hv.} 'baboon, ape', Gz qard ~ qard, qardināt, Amh qard 'monkey' ¶ L G 440, BK II 709, Hv. 597 || EC: Arr qārran 'vervet monkey', ? Rn kārāw 'Guereza monkey' ¶ Hw. A 377, PG 180 || SOm {Blz.} *qaray > Ari {Bnd.} qa₁r 'vervet monkey, Dm {Fl.} qare id., Ari B {Fl., C} qara 'Capuchin monkey' || NrOm: Gongga: Mnj {Fl. after C} qeriyō 'monkey' || COmt (Gf?) {Mrn.} qarō 'monkey' ¶ Mrn. O 155, Blz. OL no. 122, Bnd. AL 154, Fl. OO 320 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ḳ∇r∇ 'monkey' > Su kar, Ang ker 'monkey' || ECh: Mgm {J} mékèrdà 'monkey' ¶¶ OS no-s 1568-9 ¶¶ The words for 'Colobus (monkey)' in Oromo (Or {Th.} gureza 'scimmia biancanera', {Brl.} guresa 'Colobus', goresa

'scimmia del mantello di lungo pelo bianco sul nero'), in Ari ({Bnd.} gōyr, and in Dime ({Bnd.} gūrū) hardly belong here (because of the voiced g-) ¶ Brl. 182, 191, Th. 179, Bnd. AL 154 || D *kuraŋk- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'monkey' > Tm kuraŋku id., 'ape', Ml kuraŋŋu 'monkey' (chiefly 'macaco'), Kt korg 'black monkey', Td kwarg, Kn korarŋgi, Tu kurarŋga, Tl k(r)ōti ¶¶ D no. 1769.

1177. *k̄'û'R'ǵ∇'d∇ ~ *k̄'ûRt̄∇ǵ∇ 'stinging insect' > HS: S: [1] WS *'k̄'û'r₁a₁d- 'tick' > Ar qurd- 'tick of camels\horses', qurād- 'tick', Tgr ⚡⚡k̄erad 'tick'; [2] S *°✓k̄rdǵ ~ *°✓k̄rt̄ǵ > Ar qirdaǵ-, qirdiǵ- 'louse (living on camels and hen)', qarṭaǵ-, qirṭiǵ- 'louse (living on camels)', qurdūǵ- 'small ant' ¶ Fr. III 422-3, 427, BK II 709-10, Hv. 507, LH 244 || C: Ag: Bln {R} k̄'ar̄pad-ā (pl. k̄'ar̄pad) 'tick'; Ag ⇨ Tgr {R} k̄'ar̄paday, Tgy {R} k̄'ar̄padat id. ¶ R WB 242 || K: G k̄virṭ-i, k̄ruṭ-i 'wasp' ¶ DCh. 610, DCh. RGS 222 || D (in CD) *kur∇t̄... ({ǵGS} *k-) 'leech' (× N *kuṽr∇t̄|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect') > Prj kurṭubi, Gdb kurṭum 'leech' ¶ D no. 1798.

1178. *k̄iRg∇ (or *k̄iRk̄∇) 'stinging insect' > K: GZ *k̄r̄k̄il- 'moth' > Gr̄k̄il-, Mg k̄i(r)k̄il- ~ k̄ik̄it̄- ¶ K 116, K² 100-1, FS K 191 || HS: S: Ar qirqis- 'small flea' ({Fr.} 'parvorum culicum species') ¶ Fr. III 432, BK II 723 || B: Ah korkōr 'moth (teigne)' ¶ Fc. 875 || ECh: Mgm {JA} k̄urgit̄inè 'worm', EDng {Fd.} k̄urgit̄à 'ver fin et long, qui fait enfler la peau', ?σ Bdy {AIJ} k̄urgāsà 'insect' ¶ AIJ 94, JA LM 102, Fd. 305 || A: Tg *χirga(-kta) 'gadfly, horsefly' > Ew irgakta, Ewk Tng irgakt̄z, Lm irgat̄ & irgot, Neg iygakta, Ud iga, Ul siž̄aqta ~ siž̄iqta (< **s̄irgaqta < *χirga-kta), Ork siž̄iqta ~ s̄iriqta, Nn Nh/Bk sigaqta {STM} 'gadfly, horsefly (овод, слепень)', Nn Nh {On.} sigaqta 'gadfly (овод, паут)', WrMc {Z} ичжа 'gadfly, insect' ¶ STM I 324-5, On. 359, Z 115.

1179. *'k̄'iR'ug|k̄'∇ or *'k̄'eR'ug|k̄'∇ 'bird of prey' > U: FU *kerk∇ id. > Lp P k̄ierk̄è 'falcon', Lp OSw {LÖ} kirgeč 'eagle' {Lp -č̄₁∇₁ is a derivational sx} || Os {KrT}: V k̄öräk, G k̄öräk, Kz qūrāq 'eagle' ¶ UEW 149, Coll. 79 || A *K̄i|iruguy (unless M ⇨ T) > T *K̄irguy ≈ hawk, falcon' > OT {Cl.} q̄irḡūy 'sparrow hawk, *Accipiter nisus*', Qzq, Qq qirḡuy, ET {Nj.} qirḡuy, ET Δ {Jr.} qurḡuy ~ qirḡuy, Qrg кыргый qirḡuy id., Tkm girgi id., 'red-footed falcon, *Falco vespertinus* (кобчик)', Az girḡi 'hawk', Osm {LCq.} qurḡay 'eine Habichtart', ET Δ {Mng.} ḡurḡuy 'Falco apivorus', ET Tr {LCq.} qirḡuy 'Sperber (*Accipiter nisus*)', qirḡuy 'Jagdfalk', Xk dim. χirḡayaχ 'small hawk', Chv хёрхи хьрḡ₁ & хьрḡ₁

'*Falco vespertinus*' ¶ Cl. 654-5, ET Q 232-3, KrkR 429, Sht. 276, TkR 233, ARL 92, BIG 300, Jr. 256, Mng. G 721, Nj. 623, Jud. 494, Jeg. 300 || M (← T?) *kiruguy > MM [HI] kiručuц 'petit épervier', WrM kirgui {Kow.} 'un petit épervier, petit gerfault' (малый ястреб, кречеток), {Gl.} '*Falco vespertinus*'; small gerfalcon', {MED} 'small hawk, small predatory bird', HIM хяргуй {MED} id., {BMR} 'соссух, gyrfalcon (копчик, кречет)', Kl Ö {Rm.} kirvū ~ kirvū 'Sperber', Kl {KRS} кирһү kirvū 'id., *Falco vespertinus*', WrM kirugucai {MED} 'ε (a kind of) small hawk', {Gl.} 'ублюдок орла, ястреба и копчика' ¶ Ms. H 72, Kow. 2552, Gl. III 609-10, MED 471-3, BMR IV 236, KRS 302, KW 232 || K: G kırķiṭa '*Falco tinniculus* (Turmfalke)', {DCh.} 'кобец, овсянка' ¶ Chx. 595, DCh. 616 ◇ If the G word belongs here and its қ- is not due to as. (which is qu.), the initial N cns. is *қ-, otherwise we have to reconstruct an unspecified velar (*K-). The U cognate points to a pN *e, while T, M and K suggest a vw. *i. The phonetic laws that are responsible for this discrepancy are still to be discovered.

1180. *Қorg|kU 'dirt, dung' > IE: NaIE *g^ωorg^ω(or)o- 'dirt' > Arm կորկ kork 'dirt spot, dirt, filth, ordure' || Gk βόρβορος 'mud, mire, filth' ¶ WP I 694, P 482, F I 252 || HS: C: Ag *ʔak^ωaɾ > Bln {R} aχ^ωar ~ ăχar ~ ɔχar coll. 'dry cow dung', Xm {R} aχǔl 'dry dung'; Ag ʔ > Tgr {R}, Tgy H {R} ǰh^ωak^ωer, Tgy {R} ǰh^ωak^ωer (these words are not registered in standard dictionaries of Tgr and Tgy, namely in LH and Bsn.); (Tgy and/or Tgr ʔ > ?) Sa {R} a'k^ωar ~ ă'kar, Af {R} a'k^ωar ~ ă'kar ~ ɔ'kār 'dry dung' ¶ R WB 20, R Ch II 20, R S II 24, R A II 14 || B **қ^ωrrāg > **ү^ωrrag 'dung' > Ah a-γarrağ 'gros excrément (de quadrupède herbivore, d'insecte, d'oiseau)', ta-γarrak 'fumier, large dunghill', ETwl aγarreg 'droppings of camels, goats, etc.', Gh a-γarrağ 'fiente', ?? Sll ta-q^ωarq^ωayt 'fumier de chameaux' ¶ Fc. 1773, PrGG 121, Nh. 161, Ds. 137 || A *k^ωor_lg_l- (or *k^ωōr_lg_l-?) > M *qorgu-sun 'droppings of sheep, goats, camels' > MM [S] qorqosun 'Stück Schafmist', WrM {MED} qorgusun 'droppings of sheep and camels', HIM {BMR} хоргос id., Brt хоргооно(н) id., Kl {KRS} хорһсн хорүъсьн 'ball(s) of droppings (of sheep, goats, camels) (катыш)', {Rm.} χορυαση 'runde Kotkugel (der Schafe, Kamele, Pferde)', Mnr H {SM} χοργ_ō_зз 'fiente de moutons, chèvres, chameaux, lièvres'; M *qorg^ul > WrM qorgal ~ qorgul {MED} 'droppings of animals', HIM хоргол {MED} id., {BMR} 'droppings of sheep, goats, camels', Brt хоргол, Brt W хоргол id., Ord χοργοl 'fiente en forme de bouls (moutons, chèvres,

chameaux, etc.); chevrotine'; M *^oqorquy- > WrM qorquī- {MED} 'be dirty\untidy', HIM xopxой- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich beschmutzen (пачкаться)' ¶ H 67, MED 965-6, 970, BMR IV 111, 117, Chr. 588, SM 172, KRS 598, KW 187, Ms. O 358 || Tg *χōri-ktā 'dung of reindeer' > Ewk ōrikta, Lm ōrit, Ork χoriqta id.; Tg *^oχori-na- > Ewk ōrina- v. 'defecate' (of reindeer)' ¶ STM II 23-4 ¶ The long *^o may be due to complementary lengthening (Ersatz-dehnung), connected with the loss of *-g- || pKo {S} *kərim 'dung' > NKo kərim ¶ S QK no. 1122, MLC 82 ¶¶ SDM 844 (pA *k'ōr∇ 'dung, excrements' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 1132 (id.), Dr. TM II 24 || | D (in SD) *kor- ({ǰGS} *k-) 'mud' > MI kuraríri 'mire, mud, fine clay', Kt kor 'manure, filth, mud', Td kwar 'mud' ¶ D no. 2123 ¶ D *-r- < N *r-clusters (in this case presumably *-rg|k-) ◇ The B and Tg cognates point to N *Ḳ-, while the apparent IE and C reflexes of N *k- are due to as. The N word-medial *r was probably followed by a velar stop, which is evidenced in M, B, and (indirectly) in D by reflexes of a N word-medial *g, while in IE there are traces of a N postconsonantic *k. The variation is still to be investigated. In C and Tg the word-medial velar was lost (a kind of dis. or a reg. development of the N cluster *-rg|k-?).

1181. *ḳ∇R∇kE 'skin, bark' > K: GZ: G kerk- 'bark, crust, peel', Lz Ar kyark- 'skin of the hand' ¶ Chx. 1548-9 || | IE: NaIE *kroǵ-no- 'skin, hide' > Clt: OIr cro(i)cenn 'skin', Brtt {RE} *krok- id. > MW, W croen, MBr crohenn, crochenn, Br cros'hen 'skin', OCrn [ɣ]croin ('mastruca' 'sheepskin'), Crn crōnek 'skinny'; Gl b→ L crosina 'leather garment' || | SI *ḳṛẓno 'fur coat' ({ESSJ}: 'cloak, Mantel, плащ') > ChS ḳṛẓ(̣)no ḳṛẓ(̣)no 'vestis pellicea', McdS ḳṛẓno 'fur', Slv ḳṛẓno 'leather, hide, fur', Cz ḳṛẓno 'military cloak, coat, fur coat', OR ḳop̣(̣)ẓno ḳop̣(̣)ẓno, ḳ̣p̣ẓno ḳ̣p̣ẓno, ḳṛẓno ḳṛẓno 'cloak'; Sl b→ OHG krusina, kursinna, OFrs kersna, AS crus(e)ne 'fur coat' ¶ Vn. C 243-4, RE 129, WH I 296, ≈ ESSJ XIII 244 (against the Sl-Clt connection), ≈ Vs. II 327-8 (believes that the Sl word is a loan from some "Eastern" lgs: Os ḳārc 'fur' [actually 'fur coat'] ⇔ ESSJ and Ab. I 582), Srz. I 1404, Kb. 575, P 943 (NaIE *krok-no-; supposing a connection with IE *(s)ker- 'cut') || | A: M *qoruṣun (× N *ḳoRup̣∇ 'bark of trees' [ε ?], 'skin'??) > WrM qorqu ~ qoru {MED} 'film\cataract\spot in the eye', HIM xypuy {MED} id., {BMR} 'wall-eye', Kl {KRS} xop̣ḥḥ χorḥan 'wall-eye, cataract in the eye' ¶ MED 970, BMR

IV 172, KRS 598 ◇ In K there is as. *k...k < N *ḳ...ḳ, in Clt in the opposite direction: IE *k...ḡ > Clt *k...k.

1182. *ḲáṚḲub|p̣ ▽ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > HS: S *°ḳaṛḳab|p̣- 'skull' (× N *ḳ'á'ẉḷọp̣E or *ḳ'á'ẉḷọp̣ ▽ y ▽ 'skull; occiput' → 'head?') > JA קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ, em. אַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ-ā 'skull, head', אַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ-t-ā id. (→ MdHb אַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ id.), Sr קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ-t-ā ~ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ-t-ā 'head, summit of a mountain' ¶ J. Levy supposes that JA קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ is from the Gk loanword found in MHb texts (Mishna, Tosephta) in the form of קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ-līn ~ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ 'der Schädel dessen Haar\Fleisch abgeschunden wurde' (< Gk κῆρα 'head' and κεφαλή 'head?'), but Sr קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ קַרְקַבְּ-t-ā makes Levy's hyp. untenable ¶ Lv. IV 390-1, Sl. 1046, ESh 1230, PS 3758, Br. 701, Js. 1426-7 || Eg fMK קַבְּ.ת 'skull' ¶ EG V 11 || IE: NaIE *kakubh- 'summit, tip' > OI κα'κυρ, κα'κυβη- 'peak, summit' || L cacūmen 'extreme point, top, tip, summit' (transformed on the analogy of acūmen 'sharp point of anything') ¶ M K I 135, M E I 287, WH I 127 || U: [1] U *kokka 'head; a protruding point, hook' (× N *ḳakU [or *ḳokU?] 'hook; tooth, fang', q.v.) > pY {IN H} *°kōk3 > Y K {IN H} kōk3 'head (of a fish, of an animal)', {Iox., texts} koke, {Iox. JR} 'koka 'head of an animal' || FL *kokka 'protruding point, hook' (cf. ffd. N *ḳakU) || [2] FU *°koḳḳ ▽ p ▽ 'ε hook' (× FU *kopkka < N *goP̣Ka '(ε) tooth, hook, sharp stick' [q.v. ffd.]) || [3] FP *kork ▽ 'high' > F korkea, Es kōrge id. | Mk kurka 'deep' | pChr {Bwer.} *kuṛk 'mountain' > Chr: Н кырык кырык, L кырык 'kuṛk, Uf kuṛk, B kuṛk ⚡ kuruk | ? Prm *kūr > Z ḳir / ḳiry- id., 'bluff, precipice', Yz ḳar-ỵaḷan 'auf der Höhe' (ỵaḷ- ÷ Z ỵiv 'top') ¶¶ IN H 216, IN UJ 228-9, IN RJ 8, Ang. 122, Iox. JR s.v. kōka, UEW 672, Ber. 24, MRS 249, Ep. 53, LP 153 || D (in NED) *kukk- > Krx kukk 'head, extremity', Mlt ḳuḳu 'head' (× N *Ḳ'á'ḍḲud ▽ 'tip, top', q.v.) ¶ D no. 1630, Pf. 188 [no. 69] ◇ In D the final syll. of the N word was lost (*-b- > *-w- > zero?). The loss of the reflex of N *-b|p- in U *kokka still needs explaining. Eg 3 (usually from precon. *r) suggests that the cns. *R is ancient (and lost in some lges) rather than an Aramaic innovation (an epenthesis of *r) ◇ Blz. LB no. 77b (FL *kokka, Y, D + qu.: IE *kakud- 'tip, point, peak' [better from N *Ḳ'á'ḍḲud ▽ 'tip, top'] and IE {Mn.} *kakupit- [err. for *kaput-] id., 'head' [< N *ḳ'á'ẉḷọp̣E or *ḳ'á'ẉḷọp̣ ▽ y ▽ 'skull; occiput; → 'head'])).

1183. **ḲuRm'E'* (or **ḲoRm'E'*?) 'to cover' > HS: S **✓krm* (× N **Ḳor'a'* [or **ḲoRa* and **'Ḳ'orü?*] 'to flay, to debark', 'bark, crust?') > BHb, JA [Trg.], Sr, Ak *✓krm* v. G 'cover', Ak *ḳirmu* 'a garment', MHb {Js.} *ḳḳḳ* 'ḳεrεm 'fine cloth, gauze' ¶ KB 1067, KBR 1144, Js. 1421, Lv. T II 388, Br. 696, CAD XIII 127, 268-9 || IE: NaIE **k^ωarmo-* 'a cover, lid' > Gl *↳* L *parma* 'a short round shield', W † {Wld.} *parfaes* 'shield', *parfa* 'Schutzplatte, Feuergitter' || ON *hvarmr* 'eyelid' ¶ WP I 506, WH II 256, Vr. 269 || A: M **kürmen* > WrM *kürme(n)* {MED} 'short jacket (worn by men **over** their long gown at formal occasions)' (← 'a cover'), HIM *хүрэм* {MED} id, {BMR} 'jacket worn over one's regular clothes', Brt *хүрмэ* 'fur jacket worn over one's fur coat', Kl {Rm.} *kürmḡ* 'mongolische Jacke', Ord *k'ürme* 'tunique courte se boutonnant sur le devant et se portant par dessus des autres vêtements (vêtement masculin)' ¶ MED 284, BMR IV 182, Chr. 626, KW 248, Ms. O 440 ◇ Gr. II no. 434 (**kurm* 'worm') (IE, U + err. A **k'jōru* 'worm, gadfly', Gil).

1184. **ḲuRm∇* 'worm, insect' > IE: NaIE **k^ωṛmi-* / **k^ωerm-* 'worm' > OI *'kr̥mi-h₂* 'Wurm. Made', NPrs *كرم* *kerm* 'worm' || pAl {O} **krim-* id. > Al: T *krimb*, G *krym* || Clt {Matas.} **k^ωrimi-* 'worm' > OIr *crúim* 'worm, maggot', Brtt {RE} **primis* 'worm' > MBr {Vn.} *preff*, {Ern.} *preuf*, Br *preñv* id., OW *prem*, MW *pryf* id., W *pryf* 'insect, vermin', MBr *preff*, Br *preñv* 'worm', MCrn [γ] *prif* 'vermis', Crn *pref* 'worm, vermin', pl. *pruves* 'insects' || Lt *kirmis* 'worm, snake', Ltv *cirmis*, *cirmiņš* 'worm, maggot', *cirmenis* 'maggot, grub', Pru *girmis* ({En, Tpr} [*kirmis*]) 'maggot'; (**k^ωerm-* >) Ltv *cèrme* 'earthworm', *ceŕme* 'worm' || Sl **čьrmь* > Slv *čr̆m* {P} 'Karbunkel, Fingerwurm'; *↳* Sl **čьrmьнъ* 'red' (red dye was obtained from cochineal insects ["worms"], cp. L *vermiculus* 'small worm, maggot, cochineal' > a name of the red or scarlet colour in some Romance lges: Fr *vermeil*, Prv *vermelh*, Ctl *vermell*, Sp *bermejo* 'scarlet', Port *vermelho* 'red') > OCS *чрьмьнъ* *чрьмьнъ*, Cz *čermný*, *črmný* 'red', R Δ *че'рёмный* 'red-haired' ¶ WP I 523, P 649, ≈ EI 649 (**k^ωṛmi-s*; unj.: + OCS *чрьвь* 'worm'), M K I 261-2, Vn. C 252, Ern. 511-2, RE 148, ECCE 283, Frn. 257, En. 178, Tp. P E-H 243-5, Bern. I 169, ESSJ IV 149-50, Vs. IV 334-5, Bc. 1056, O 197, EM 725, ML no. 9230, Matas. E 181-2, Hm. 665 || U: FU (att. in FL) **kuḷi,rm∇* 'larva, maggot' > F *kurmu* 'gadfly maggot' || pLp **kurm∇* > Lp N {N} *gur'bmā* 'larva of *Oedemagena tarandi*' ¶ Not necessarily a

loan from IIr, as tentatively supposed in IS I 358 ¶ SK 246 (F ← Lp), N II 240 || **HS**: EC: Sa {R} qar'ma 'ε fly' ¶ R S II 237 || WCh: Pr {Frz.} kórómè 'louse' || ??φ,σ ECh: Kbl kúrré, Ll kòré 'fly' ¶ Blz. EChWL no. 30, ChC.

1185. ₂ ***ḲERṼṽ** 'to cover' (→ 'roof') > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱropo-** (or ***ḱrapo-**), ***ḱrōpo-** {EI} ***ḱropo-s**, ***ḱrōpo-s** 'roof' > ON hróf 'roof of a boat house; a shed under which ships are built or kept', MDt roef 'roof, lid, deck', Dt roef 'deckhouse, cuddy (of a barge)', MLG rōf, rūf 'lid, sheltering roof', OFrs rōf 'roof', AS hrōf 'roof, ceiling', NE roof || SI ***stropъ** (< **sropъ < NaIE ***ḱro|apo-**) > OCS, OR **cтpоnъ** stropъ 'roof', Blg cтpоn 'garret', Cz, P **strop** 'ceiling', Slv **strôp** (gen. **strôpa**) id., 'rafters' || amb Clt: OIr cráu, cró 'stall, hut, wooden partition', {EI} 'hovel, stall', W craw, Crn crow 'stall', Br kraou 'étable' (× NaIE ***ḱrū-**/***ḱrowa-** v. 'cover, hide' < N ***ḱARŪH₂** 'to keep [sth.] out of sight, to hide' [q.v.]?) ¶ WP I 477-8, P 616, EI 488, Vn. C 240-1, SB 96, Vr. 259, Ho. 176, Sw. 94, Tr. 309, Vs. III 781-2 || **HS**: [1] Eg ME kǝp 'Schutzdach', Eg NE kǝp.ω 'roof', Eg NE/G kǝp 'ein Gebäude bedachen' || [2] (× N ***ḱA|ÍAb|p** [? *'to cover' →] 'to hide, to conceal'): Eg fXIX kǝp 'sich verstecken, sich verbergen' > DEg kǝp 'verbergen, sich verstecken' > Cpt Sd **κωπ** kōp, Cpt B **κωπ** k^hōp vi. 'hide, be hidden', vt. 'hide' || [3] S: Gz **ḱarb** 'eyelid' ¶ EG V 104, Er. 53, Crum 113-4, Vc. 84, L G 440-1.

1186. ***ḱoRup** ~ ***ḱaRup** 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' > **K**: G **ḱorp-i** 'bark of cork oak, cork' ¶ Chx. 614 || **HS**: WS ***ḱr̥p** 'peel off' > Ar **ḱr̥f** id., Gz **ḱr̥f** 'v. peel off, skin, debark'; WS ***ḱirap(-at)-** n. 'bark' > Ar **qirf-** 'bark of pomegranate', **qirf-at-** 'bark', pl. **qiraf-**, Gz **ḱarəft** 'bark, skin, peel, rind'; probably also WS ***ḱurab-** (~ ***ḱirab-**?) > Ar **qirb-at-** (pl. **qirab-āt-**) 'a large skin for milk or water', Tgy **ḱ^ωerbət**, Amh **ḱorbət** 'skin for milk', {L} **ḱurbət** 'tanned hide used as a sleeping mat', Tgr **ḱerbət** 'dressed skin; skin for water\milk\honey', Gz **ḱ^ωarbābit**, Amh **ḱ^ωarbēbičča** 'leather bag' ¶ Lv. IV 381, Js. 1414, BK II 704, 723-4, Hv. 596, 600, L G 440-1, LH 242, L CAD 72 || EC: Cm {Bnd.} garb 'skin'; C (← EthS??): Bj {R} 'k^ωərbe ({R} kūrbe) 'skin (Haut)' || pAg ***ḱ^ωṽrb-ṽt-** 'skin' > Xm {R} **q^ωər'bī** 'skin, hide', Xm Wg {R} **q^ωər'bir**, Xm T {Bnd.} **kerbir** 'skin', Q {R} **qōrbē ~ kōrbē ~ kōrbī** 'skin, leather' ¶ R Ch II 381, R Q II 86, 91, R WBd 145, Blz. EDB 16, ≠ AD SF 67, 279 || Ch: WCh: Cg {Sh.} **ḱórōpé**, Wnd {ChC} **k^ωòrɿp** 'bark' || ECh: ? Smr {J} **k^ωàbžráw** 'bark' (mt.) || CCh: ??? Plc **kòrî** 'bark'

(× N ***qayer**∇ 'ε bark, film') ¶ ChC, ChL || IE: NaIE ***kreup-** 'crust, crusted', 'rough' > Clt: [1] L (← Gl) **cruppellari** 'armoured people, sc. the Gaulish gladiators who fought in full armour'; [2] Clt {Matas.} ***krok(ke)no-** 'skin' > OIr **croicenn** id., MBr **crochenn** id., Br {Hm.} **króc'hén** 'peau; écorce', MW **croen** 'peel. hide, rind' || ON **hrufa** 'crust of a wound', NGr B **Ruff** 'Kruste auf rasch getrocknetem Erdreich', OHG **gi-rob** {Kb.} 'crude, thick', NHG **grob**, Dt **grof** 'coarse', ON **hrjúfr** 'crude, rough', AS **hrēof** id., 'leprous' (> NE **rough**), OHG **hriob** 'leprous' || Ltv **kr'aũpa** 'scab, wart', **kr'aũpis** 'scab', **nu-krúpeš** 'scurfy', Lt **kraupūs** 'coarse', Lt inf. **krùp-ti**, Ltv inf. **krupt** ~ **kr'upt** 'to become scabby' || pTc ***kärpiye** > Tc: A **kärpi**, B **kärpiye** 'common, raw, rough' ¶ P 623, WH I 295, Vr. 261, Kb. 370, OsS 305, KM 272, Frn. 290, Ad. 164, EI 490, 523, Matas, 226, Hm. 492 | in some IE lges ***kreup-** contaminated with *(s)**kerp-** / *(s)**kerp-** of different origin (> OHG **scorf** {Kb.} 'scab, dandruff', AS **scēorf** 'scurf', Lt **karpa** 'wart'; F P 944, Kb. 889) || A ***k'oRuP**∇ ~ ***k'aRuP**∇ > M: [1] ppM ****qorubun** > M ***qoruṽun** (× N ***qVRVKE** 'skin, bark') > WrM **qoru** ~ **qorgu** {MED} 'film\cataract\ spot in the eye', HIM **хурпу** {MED} id., {BMR} 'wall-eye', Kl {KRS} **χορηη χορηη** 'wall-eye, cataract in the eye' ¶ Not here M ***qaru-** vt. 'scrape, plane (wood) (hobeln)' (> WrM {MED} **qaru-**, HIM {MED, BMR} **хара-** id., as well as WrM {MED} **qarugul**, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt **харүүл**, Kl {KRS} **харул харул** 'carpenter's plane', {Rm.} **харūl** 'Hobel', Ord **харūl** 'rabot' → WrM {MED} **qarugulda-**, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt **харүүлда-** 'plane [hobeln]', Kl {KRS} **харулд- харулд-** 'hobeln', Ord **харūlda-** 'raboter'), which go back to pA {SDM} ***k'aṛa|u|-** 'scrape, grind, bite' (cf. SDM 768-9) probably from N ***qir'X**∇ 'scrape, scratch' and N ***qoru** [or ***qorū**] 'bite, gnaw' ¶ (for both M ***qoruṽun** and M ***qaru-**) MED 940-1, 970, BMR IV 52, 60, 172, Chr. 556-7, KW 187, KRS 598, Ms. O 341, Pp. IM 98 (on *-β- > *-ṽ-) || AmTg ***χarp**∇- vt. 'plane\shave (wood)' > Nn Nh **χarpič̣i-**, Nn KU **χarφič̣i-**, Ork **χαlpin-** id. ¶ STM I 59 ◇ N ***o** is suggested by M ***qorubu**, K and WS, while Tg *-a- point to a N ***a**; IE ***k-** (rather than ***k^w-**) may be due to its precons. position. It is possible that the var. with N ***a** is primary, while ***o** in N ***qoRuP**∇ is due to regr. as. The meaning 'scrape\plane (wood)' in Tg goes back to *'remove the upper layer (of wood)' ← v. *'debark (a tree)' ◇ AD NM no. 98, S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), ≈ Vv. AEN 13 (M ***qorubu** is considered

a "teleological reconstruction", because the attested M lges fail to distinguish *-β- from *-ϕ-).

1187. *K̄ūr̄p̄ 'to turn (round, towards)' > IE: NaIE *k̄w̄erp- ~ *k̄w̄erb_l^h_l- v. 'turn' > Gmc: ON *hverfa*, OSx *hwervian* 'to turn (wenden, drehen)', AS *hworfian* 'sich wenden, zurückkehren', OHG *wēren* 'wenden, kehren, drehen', Gt *hārfan* 'περιπατεῖν, to walk about', AS *hwarf* 'circle' || Gk κύρβις (pl. κύρβεις) 'a 3-sided pyramid, turning on a pivot, on which the early laws were inscribed', ??σκαρπός 'wrist' (P: ← *'turning point of a hand') (< *κυάρπος with loss of *u due to dis.?) || Sl *sv̄rdьlo, *sv̄rdьль 'borer' (< **sv̄rb-dlo) > SrChS СВРЪДЬЛЪ sv̄rdьль, Blg 'сврѣдел, 'сврѣдел, SCr sv̄r̄dao, Cz sv̄ider, P świder id., R Δ 'свердел id., R свер'по id., 'drill' || Tc B *kurp-* 'be concerned with' ({Ad.}: ← *'turn oneself towards') ¶ F I 793 and II 53, WP I 472-3, P 631, EI 607 (*k̄w̄erp- 'turn'), Vr. 271, Ho. 181, Ho. S 39, Fs. 279-80, Kb. 1173, Vs. III 573-4, Ad. 184-5 || HS: WS *✓krb > Ar ✓krb v. G 'twist (a rope)', Mh ✓krb (pf. k̄r̄üb) v. 'screw' ¶ Fr. IV 21, Hv. 649, Jo. M 212-3 || Eg Md/BD/G *krf* v. 'curve, bend' ¶ EG V 60 || A *k̄ōrb|pE > M *k̄örbe- v. 'turn over' > MM [S] *k̄örbe-* 'sich umwenden, sich drehen', WrM {MED} *k̄örbe-*, HIM {BMR} *x̄erb̄e-* vi. 'turn over, change', Brt *x̄yrb̄e-* id.,. Ord *k'örw̄ö-* 'se rouler étant couché; être infidèle à la parole donnée', mt.: Kl {KRS} *x̄yrb̄e-* *χ̄üv̄ar-* vi. 'change, turn into', Kl Ö {Rm.} *χ̄üw̄r̄-* 'sich verändern' ¶ H 104, MED 490, BMR IV 145, Chr. 473, 625, KRS 618, KW 203, Ms. O 432 || Tg **kurbu-* vn. 'turn round' > Ewk *kurbu-* id., Sln *χ̄ubbu* ~ *χ̄urb̄e-* vn. 'turn (ворочаться), turn over', WrMc {Z} *k̄yrb̄y-* id. ¶ STM I 435, Z 295 ¶¶ Pp. VG 107, Rm. SKE 129 ¶ The unexpected Tg *k- (for *χ-) may be due to as.: N *K̄...p̄ > *k...p̄ || ?φ D **kuru-* ({ϕGS} *k-) v. 'curl' > Tm *kurūl-* id., Ml *kurūl-*, *kur̄al-* 'curls', Kn *kurūl*, *kur̄lu* 'curl, lock of hair', Tu *kurumbilu* 'curled hair', Tl *kutulu* 'hair, curls of hair'; D ⇨ Sk *kurala-*, *kurula-* 'curl' ¶¶ D no. 1794, Tu. no. 3327.

1188. *k̄'ūr̄ry 'sack, wicker basket' > K: G *q̄uprieli*, Sv {Ni.} *q̄upr*, Sv: UB {GP}, UB/LB {TK} *q̄upr* 'wineskin' (× N *K̄ab'E? 'wickerwork, bag, vessel') ¶¶ DCh. 635, Ni. s.v. мѣхъ, TK 351, GP 132 ¶ Mt. and as. *K̄...p̄ > *k̄...p̄ || HS: S *✓krp > Ak *kuruppu* 'basket', *karpu*, *karpatu* 'earthen container, pot', Ug *krpn* 'drinking vessel', {OLS} 'cáliz, copa'; ? Gz *karabō* 'woven basket'; mt.: WS *k̄p̄p̄r- 'basket, vessel' > BHb כפּוֹר *kəp̄ōr* 'Becher (aus Gold oder Silber)', MHb כפּוֹר

kā'pōr 'plated vessel', Sr 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤏 kāpār't-ā {Br.} 'vas e libro palmae textum et picatum', {JPS} 'earthen vessel, crock', Ar kāfir-at-, pl. kawāfir- 'amphoras, jars', {BK} 'jarres de vin', Gz kafar 'basket, bushel' ¶ A no. 1390, OLS 224, BK II 914, Hv. 660, L G 276-7, 290, GB 358, Js. 657, Br. 340-1, JPS 223, CAD VIII 219-21, 581 || Eg MK krf 'bag', Md/MP krf.t 'linen bag' ¶ EG V 60, Fk. 280 || IE: [1] NaIE *krep- ~ *kreb-/ *korb- 'basket, bag' > L corbis 'wicker basket' (→ ON karfa, kqrf, OHG corb 'basket' > NHG Korb) || Lt krėpšas, krepšỹs 'basket, bag', karbas 'basket', Ltv kārba 'bag made of alder\birch bark' || Sl *korbъ, *korba 'basket, box' > Slv kraba 'box', P kрoбa 'woven basket', OR кoрoбъ 'box, woven basket, chest (сундук)', R 'кoрoб 'box' || Gmc *xrepaz, *xrepiz > ON hríp {EI} 'pack basket', {Vr.} 'Rückenkorb', OHG ref 'frame for carrying sth. on one's back', {Kb.} 'Korb, Gestell, Trag-\ Rücken-korb' || ? OIr criol 'sac, coffret, panier' || [2] NaIE *ōkūrþ- > OI śūrþa-m 'winnowing basket' ¶ ≈ WP I 487, ≈ P 948-9, EI 52-3 (*kreb-), M K III 366, Vn. C 238, SB 97, Frn. 294, TF 103, Vr. 256-7, Kb. 555, 776, KM 394, ESSJ XI 52-4, ≠ P 948, WH I 272-3 || A: T *kīl;ír > OT kiz {Cl.} 'perfume box, wardrobe, clothes bag; cupboard', {DTS} 'bag, vessel for musk' ¶ Cl. 741, Rs. W 273, DTS 311, ET V-D 43 || D (in SD) *kurv-, *kur- ({{GS} *k-) 'basket' (× N *KūrV [= *Kūrû?] 'to plait\ wattle\tie together') > Tu kurvæ 'basket', Kn Hv kurve 'small basket', Ml kuriyav, kuriccan 'matbag, light basket of pandanus leaves', kurutti 'basket for catching fish' ¶ D no. 1779 ◇ T *r and D *-r- (reg. from N *r-clusters) point to N *-ry-.

1189. *K̄rH̄P̄ 'piece of leather (used esp. as footwear)' > IE: NaIE *kerap-/ *krēp- 'piece of cloth, ε footwear' > L carpisculum 'ε shoe' || Clt {Matas.} *karafyo-(mon)- 'shoemaker' (< **kariamios, IE *k̄r̄ap-) > OIr [γ] cairēm 'sutor', MW, W crydd ({{P} < Clt. *ka'riyos), Crn chereor, MBr kere ~ quere 'shoemaker', Br {Hm.} kere, kereour 'cordonnier' || ON hriflingr 'leather shoe', AS {Vr.} hrifeling 'lace-up shoe', MHG ribbalin 'ε boot' || Lt kūrpe, Ltv kuĩpe 'shoe', Pru kurpe 'ε shoe' || Sl: [1] *kьpa 'piece of cloth' > ChS {Mikl.} крѣпа крѣпа 'ύφασμα, textura' ('web'), Blg 'кѣрпа 'shawl', McdS крпа 'rag, shawl, towel', SCr k̄pa, Slv k̄pa 'rag, patch'; [2] *kьpъ, *kьpъ, *kьpja 'ε footwear' > Cz †, Δ krp 'high boot', OCz {Zv.} krpec 'sandal', P Δ kierp 'ε footwear', karpie 'ε footwear with

a wooden sole', SCr Δ kr̥plje 'ski', SCr kr̥plja 'wooden hoop on shoes for walking on deep snow' || Gk κρηπίς / κρηπίδος 'ε half boot, men's high boot' ¶ P 581, WH I 172, EI (*kr̥h₁pi-s 'shoe'), F II 16-7, Vn. C 21, Ern. 150, Frn. 318, En. 199, Vr. 255, Lx. 167, Tp. P K-L 323-33, ESSJ XIII 237-40, Glh. 352-3, Matas. E 189-90, Hm. 452 || **HS:** Ch {JS} *✓krp 'footwear' > WCh: Cg {Sh.} kàràpátàn, Mbr {Sh.} kàrákəm 'shoe' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} kìráp, Kola {Sb.} kráp, Msg {Kr.} harabág id. ¶ JS ChLR II, ChC || **D** {tr.} *ker▽pp-, {GS} *kyerp- 'footwear (sandals, etc.)' > Tm ceruppu, Ml cerippu, Kt kevr, Td kerf, Kn keravυ ~ kerahu ~ kerpu, Tl ceppu 'sandal, shoe', ? Klm, Nkr kerri 'shoe, boot', Png ċerup, ċerpu, Gnd serpum 𐌆 sarpum 𐌆 sarpo 𐌆 sarpu 𐌆 herpunъ 'sandal', Knd sepu 'shoe', Ku seppu ~ seppū id., ċerpuṅga 'sandals', Krx k^harpā 'straps (without sole) crossed over and worn round the ankle' ¶¶ D no. 1963, GS 205-6 [no. 521], 63 [no. 193] ¶¶ D *-r- < pre-D *-rH- ◇ AD NM no. 100, Zv. DP 361-2 ◇ The IE reflexes of this N etymon and those of N *k₁oRup₁▽ 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' are different and hence suggest that these are separate N words. Nevertheless, their more ancient etymological connection cannot be ruled out (F S CNM 11).

1190. *K̥äR₁ʔ₁ûs|š▽ 'to congeal' > IE: NaIE *kreus- 'freeze, congeal; ice' > G τὸ κρύος 'frost', κρυσταίνωμα 'I am congealed with cold, I freeze', κρύσταλλος 'ice, rock crystal', κρῦμός 'frost' (< *krusmos) || OHG (h)rosō {WW} 'ice crust' ('Eisrinde'), {Kb.} 'crust' (× N *kURc▽ 'scales, bark'??) || Ltv pl. kruvešī, sg. kruvesis, Δ kruesis 'frozen dung', Lt {Zp.} inf. at-krūsti (p. at-krūsaũ) 'to come to life again' (of a frozen person) (← *'to become defrozed' || pTc {Ad.} nom. *krośče / accus. *krośčänä > Tc: A accus. krośśäm, B krośce / accus. kroścäm adj. 'cold' ¶ WP I 479-80, P 622, F II 28-9, Kar. I 431, ME II 291, Frn. 290, 303, Zp. G 124-5, Kb. 803, OsS 723, WW 238, Ad. 218-9, ≈ EI 112-3 (*k^ωrus'tēn '[freezing] cold' with unj. *k^ω-) ¶ IE *k- < *k̄- in precon. position || **HS:** CS *✓krš > JA 𐤊𐤓𐤕 ✓krš v. G 'congeal, become solide', MHb {Js.} 𐤊𐤓𐤕 ✓krš v. G id., 'contract', JEA {Sl.}, SmA ✓krš v. G vi. 'congeal', Sr 𐤊𐤓𐤕 ✓krš 'become chilled/frozen', 𐤊𐤓𐤕𐤀 q̄ar'š-ā 'snow', Ar قرس ✓qrs (qarasa / yaqrisu) 'be congealed' (of water) (× N *k₁'u¹R▽c₁▽ 'hard [жесткий]; to dry up, to harden') ¶ Lv. IV 393, Js. 1428, Sl. 1047, Br. 701, JPS 521, Tal 803, Fr. III 423-4, BK II 710, Hv. 597 || B **✓krHs > *y₁rHs > Ah {Fc.} y₁arəs 'être figé (du froid, du peur)', Tns {Pr.} y₁urhəs id., ETwl/Ty {GhA} y₁ьрьс

'être figé, glacé, gelé par le froid'; Ah $\alpha\upsilon\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ 'frozen water', BMn {Bs.} $\alpha\chi\rho\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ 'ice' ¶ Fc. 1759, Pr. H no. 585 || U: FU (att. in ObU) * $\circ k\ddot{a}rs|š\check{\nabla}$ 'grow numb (with cold, etc.)' (× N * $gER\bar{s}\check{\nabla}$ [= * $g\ddot{a}R's|š'\check{\nabla}?$]) 'congeal, grow numb', q.v. ffd.) || D (in KK) * $ka\check{c}$ - ({ $\check{\nabla}GS$ } * k -?) > Kui $ka\check{z}a$ (p. $ka\check{z}i$ -) 'be congealed/solidified by growing cold', Ku $ka\check{z}ali$ 'be congealed, become curdled' ¶ D no. 1102 ◇ B * H is either an unexplained innovation or an inherited N Ir. * $\check{?}$ or * h (the only N Irs. that are liable to fall in pS).

1191. $_2$ * $k\check{u}'R\check{\nabla}$ $\acute{s}\acute{u}'\check{\nabla}$ '€ part of the foot' > HS: S * $k\check{u}|arsull$ - 'ankle' > BHb $\check{k}ar\check{s}ol / \check{k}arsull$ -, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} $\check{k}arsul'1-\bar{a} \sim \check{k}arsul'1-\bar{a}$, Sr $\check{k}arsul'1-\bar{a}$, Tgr $\check{k}arsol$ 'anklebone (of men), fetlock (of animals)', JEA {Sl.} $\check{k}arsul'1\bar{a} \sim \check{k}arsul'1\bar{a}$ 'ankle', ? Mh {SSL} $\check{k}zr'\check{s}\acute{a}t$ 'kneecap', Ak $kursinnu$ id., $kis\check{s}allu$, $kis\check{s}illu$, $kisallu$, $kisillu$ 'ankle bone' ¶ KB 1069, Lv. T II 390, Js. 1423, Sl. 1045 Br. 700, LH 240, SSL LNPM 226, Sd. 511-2, 488, CAD VIII 434, MiK I no. 1.169, Frnz. LS2 274 [no. 2.94] || K: GZ {K} * $kurs\check{\nabla}$ - 'heel' ({FS} * $kurs$ - id.) > OG, G $kusl$ -, Lz kus -, ku(r)- id., Mg $kurs$ -, $kurc$ -, kur - id., 'kick by hoof' ¶ K 200, K² 219-20, FS K 340, FS E 381-2, Abul. 459 ◇ For details (on S and K) see N * $\acute{s}\acute{u}'\check{\nabla}$ 'heel' ◇ The etymon is a N compound of * $k\check{u}'r'u'$ 'foot, hoof' (see N * $k\check{u}'r'u'$) and * $\acute{s}\acute{u}'\check{\nabla}$ 'heel'. It is preferable to reconstruct here the cns. * \acute{s} (evidenced by K) rather than * \acute{c} (suggested by S) on the ev. of the N etymon * $\acute{s}\acute{u}'\check{\nabla}$. The vw. * \check{u}' is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the reflexes of the N cd * $k\check{u}'r'u' \check{y} \check{\nabla} c \check{\nabla}$ 'shin' that shares the first component with the compound in question.

1192. * $kurt\check{\nabla}$ 'belt; to gird' (→ [in descendant lges] '€ garment') > IE: NaIE * $kerd$ - v. 'gird', * $kerd-so/u$ - 'belt' > Clt: [1] OIr $cr\check{i}d\check{i}g$ - 'ceindre, entourer', [\check{y}] fo - $cr\check{i}d\check{i}gedar$ "accingat"; [2] Clt {Matas.} * $krissu$ - 'belt' ({Vn.}:< IE * $k\check{r}d$ -tu-) > OIr $cri(u)s$ 'belt, circle', {P} fo - $chrus$ 'Gürtung', MW $crys$ 'shirt', W $crys$ {YGW} 'shirt', OCrn [\check{y}] $kreis$ 'camisia', MCrn $kreis$, MBr $cres$ 'shirt', Br {Hm.} $kre\check{z}$ 'chemise, tunique', ⇨ cd: OW pl. $g\check{u}ecrissou$, W $g\check{w}regys$ (< * $g\check{w}e$ - $grys$ < * $g\check{w}o$ - $grys$) 'belt, girdle', MCrn $grugis$, MBr $gouris$, Br {Hm.} $gouriz$ 'ceinture' ||| pSl * $\check{c}ers\check{b}$ (Bern.: < * $kerd-so$ -) 'belt' > Slk $\check{c}eres$ 'belt for men', P $trzos$, Uk B $\check{c}eres$, R Δ 'чepez 'leather girdle for carrying money' (in R transformation from $\check{c}eres\check{b}$ due to the neutralization of the opposition $s \leftrightarrow z$ in the word-final

position), R Δ 'чepec 'belt' ¶ WP I 423, P 579, EI 224 (?*kerd-), Vn. C 238-9, Bern. I 148, ESSJ IV 76-7, YGM-1 111, 269, Hm. 333, 490 || HS: S *°kūrṭ- > Sr 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎷 kūr't-ā {Br.} 'cingulum, tunica', {PS} 'pallium, tegumentum e lana', {JPS} 'a woolen jacket with wide sleeves; a long wrapper'; Sr kūr't-ā ↔ NPRs {Sg.} كُورْتَة kūrte 'tunic, waistcoat, jacket', d. كُورْتَاك kortäk 'short tunic' and (through Prs) Ar قُرْطَاق qurṭāq- 'ε a garment (vestis tunicaeque species)', {BK} 'ε tunique' ¶ Br. 695, JPS 498, PS 3562, Sg. 1021, Fr. IV 427, BK II 716 ¶ S *°kūrṭ- < **kūrt- is due to as. || K: GZ *kūwart- 'ε garment' > OG kūwarti 'long shirt', Mg, Lz kūrta 'underpants' ¶ FS K 177, FS E 194, Chik. 178 || A: NaT *Kūr ~ *°Kurt 'belt' > OT, MT qūr, Tk kūr, Uz Δ, Tv, Tf qur, Yk kur, SY qur ~ qor 'belt', ET qur qušaq 'adorned belt', Qrg, Alt, Qmn/Tb {B} qur, Xk χur 'belt; lace, braid (завязка, тесьма)', Qzq, Qq qurt 'woolen band that fastens together lattices of a tent'; ↔ NaT *Kūrša- vt. 'gird' > MT qurša-, Az, Kr qurša-, Qq qursa-, Tv qurža-, Trm, Ggz quša- id. ¶ Cl. 642, ET Q 150-2, Ra. 222, DTS 466-8 ◇ The absence of labiality in IE *k- can be explained by loss of the expected glide *u before the sonant *r (F AD NVIE, AD NGIE - on the prehistory of the IE vowels). In T *Kūr we may suppose the loss of the reflex of N *t in a word-final cns. cluster.

1193. *kūrṭ, tūr 'summit, top' > K: G κούρτοχ-ι 'hill, a height' ¶ Chx. 614 ¶¶ as. N *k...t > k...t || HS: CS *ka|itar- 'top, headgear' > Ar kaṭr- ~ kiṭr- 'camel's hump', BHb 𐤊𐤏𐤕𐤓 'keter, JA [Trg.] 𐤊𐤏𐤕𐤓 ka'tar / 𐤊𐤏𐤕𐤓 ki't-ā 'crown, high turban (of the Persian king), headdress (of a horse)', Cn ↔ Gk κίδαρις ~ κίταρις 'ε Persian headdress' (prob. 'tiara'), [Hs.] κίτταρις · διάδημα ὀφιορῶσι Κύπριοι 'diadem worn by Cypriots'; BHb 𐤊𐤏𐤕𐤓 ko'teret, Pun ktrt 'capital of a pillar' ¶ KB 482, KBR 506-7, HJ 548, LS 950, Lewy SFG 90, Ch. 529, Js. 682, WKAS K 46, BK II 860, Hv. 643 || B **√krd > *√yrd v. 'finish' > Ah, ETwl, Ty əyrad id. ¶ Fc. 1768-9, GhA 71 || IE: NaIE *°kred- (or *°kr̥ed-?) ~ *°kṷord- 'top of a building, beams, roof' (× N *KārE 'trunk, [piece of] wood' [q.v.]) > Gmc: Gt hrōt 'roof, house', ON hrót 'roof, garret', (*krod-s-t- >) OSx hrōst '(carcass of) rafters' ('Sparrenwerk'), AS hrōst id., 'perch', Dt roest 'henroost', NE roost; Gmc *xrēta- > MHG rāz, rāze 'funeral pile' || SI *kōrda 'wood pile' > OCS κρᾶδα krada 'funeral pile, (?) oven', {Mikl.} 'πυρά, rogos, κάμινος', RChS κρᾶδα krada 'funeral pile, bonfire, altar', Uk Δ 'κορδα 'pile of firewood',

Slv *kráda* id., '(bon)fire', OCz *krada* 'Feuerzeug, Leuchte', P Δ *króda* 'pile of sheaves in the field, shock' ¶ WP I 485-6, P 617-8, ≈σ EI 213 **kr̥ed* or **kr̥eh₁d-* 'framework, beams'), Sw. 94, Ho. 176, Ho. S 37, Fs. 270-1, Vr. 261, Ho. 176, Lx. 164, ESSJ XI 58-60 || ? D **kōt̥*/**koṭt̥-* 'summit, top' (× N **Ḳot* ▽ 'tip, end, sharp point' [q.v. ffd.] and N **Ḳ'a* d*Ḳud* ▽ 'tip, top').

1194. *ḲæRt̥ ▽ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' > HS: WS **✓ḳrt̥* > Ar *✓qurt̥* G 'chop\cut into small pieces', Mh *✓ḳrt̥* (pf. *ḳzrūt*), Jb E *✓ḳrt̥* (pf. *'ḳṵ'rṵṵ*) 'chop' ¶ BK II 714, Hv. 599, Jo. M 236-7 || K: G *ḳort̥n-* {Chx.} '(aus)hacken, (be-\ab-)rupfen, grob behauen', å{DCh.} 'notch\chip wood (дѣлать насѣчку, насѣкать, нарубить)' (the same meaning already in eNG {SSO} *ḳort̥na* 'xet mcired daḳoda'), but G *ḳort̥n-* 'pinch, tear feathers with the beak' goes back to GZ **ḳrt̥-wṅ-* v. 'pluck (out), nip' derived from GZ **ḳert̥-/ḳr̥t̥-* 'pluck out' (K² 90, 101-2) ¶ Chx. 614, 1561, DCh. 625, SSO I 384, AxT 188 ¶ The meaning 'to notch' suggests infl. of the reflexes of N **kāRt* ▽ 'cut (off), notch' || A: NaT **k'ært-* 'chop, crumble' > StAlt *kert-* 'chop into small pieces, crumble (sth. hard)', Xk *кирт-* *kirt-* 'chop, crumble'; (× N **kāRt* ▽ ↑', q.v. ffd.) > Tk *kert-*, Tkm, Ggz *kert-* v. 'notch', Az *kārtik* n. 'notch' ¶ BT 81, BIG 77, ET KQ 54-5 || M **kerč̥i-* v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N **ḲæRč̥'i* 'cut into pieces, split, divide' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The unexpected 0 in G needs explaining.

1195. *Ḳ'o'Rt̥ ▽ 'flame' > HS: S **°ḳurt̥-* > Ar *qurt̥-* 'flame', {Hv.} 'blaze of fire' ¶ Fr. III 427, BK II 715, Hv. 599 || U: FU (attested in FV) **ḳorta-* v. 'scorch, singe' > F Hm *ḳort̥ta-* 'singe (a slaughtered hog)', 'scorch' (of the sun) | pLp {Lr.} **k̄rt̥ē-* vt. 'heat (on sun\fire), roast' > Lp: N {N} *goar'det* id., S {Hs.} *goārd'edh* vt. 'scorch, burn' (of sun, fire), 'sunburn', 'roast on fire', L {LLO} *kārt̥ēt* 'be hot' (the sun), Kld *kōārd'ad* 'singe (a plucked bird)' | Er *kurta-* ~ *kirta-*, Mk *крхта-кār'ta-* 'scorch, be hot' (of the sun) | Chr B *ḳorḑe-* 'fumigate (before a sacrifice\prayer)' || ? Sm: Slq NP *kūr̄ra*, UO *kūr̄ra* v. 'singe (wood)' ¶¶ UEW 186-7, SK 220, It. no. 94, Lr. no. 481, Lgc. no. 2573, Hs. 634, TI 134-5, Ker. II 62 || IE: NaIE **°kert-* (or **°k̄ert-*) > Gmc **xerθ-* 'hearth' > OSx, OFrs *herth*, MDt *hert*, Dt *haard* 'hearth, fireplace', OHG *hērd* 'hearth, floor of a fireplace, home', {Kb.} 'oven, stove', AS *heorþ* 'hearth, fire, furnace', NE *hearth* ¶ The connections with L *carbō* 'charcoal' and OI *kūđay-* 'brennen machen' are more than qu. ¶ Ho. S

33, Ho. 157, Sw. 87, OsS 390, Schz. 164, Kb. 457, KM 304-5, P 571-2, M E I 385 ¶ The absence of labiality in IE *k- may be explained by supposing either a N etymon ***ḲoRt̥u** (> ***Ḳur̥t̥u** with subsequent loss of the expected glide ***u̯** before the sonant ***r** [due to the IE law of eliminating clusters of two sonants]) or N ***Ḳur̥tu** (this against the FU ev. of ***o**), / AD NVIE, AD NGIE (on the prehistory of the IE vowels and on the conditions of the loss of the glide ***u̯** in the prehistory of IE).

1196. ***ḲERh₂ṽ₃ṽ** (= ***ḲERhṽ₃ṽ**?) 'hornet, wasp' > **K**: G **ḱrazana** {Chx.} 'wasp', {NCh.} 'wasp, hornet', {TorT} id., 'botfly', {DCh.} 'bumblebee (шмель садовый)' ¶ Chx. 626, MRKL 377, 395, 806, DCh. 627, NCh. 253 || **IE**: NaIE ***ḱr̥s-r/-en-** (= ***ḱras-r/en-**) {P} 'hornet (Hornisse)' > L **crābrō** (< pre-L ***krāsrō** < ***ḱ_orasron-**) 'hornet' ||| OHG **hornuz**, **horni_zzō**, NHG **Hornisse**, **Horlitz**, AS **hyrnet(u)** 'hornet', NE **hornet** ||| Lt **širšuō** (gen. **šršeñs**) 'e wasp, hornet', **širšė** 'wasp', **širšuonas**, **širšūnas** 'hornet', Ltv **sirsis**, Pru **sirsilis** id. ||| Sl: OR **сыршень** ~ **сьршень** 'σφῆξ, wasp', R, Uk 'шершень' 'hornet', RChS **стръшень**, **сръшень**, Blg 'стършел, 'штърсел, SCr **střěljěn**, Slv **sřšen**, Cz **sršeň**, OP **sierszeń**, P **szerszeń** id. ||| Tc B {Ad.} **krō(n)kśe** 'bee' (× N ***Ḳ'U'ñ₁H₂ṽ** 'bee?') ¶ P 576, Dv. no. 870, Kb. 480, KM 317, Ho. 184-5, Frn. 988, En. 248, Vs. IV 432, ≈σ EI 272-3 (***ḱerh₂sṛ_o** 'horn'), Tls. 575. Ad. 217 ||| **HS**: S ***ḱr̥c** > Mh **ḱarōš** (pl. **ḱar'šayn**), Jb E/C 'ḱe'raš (coll.) 'mosquito, bug' ¶ Jo. M 236 ◇ The most probable N Ir. (yielding NaIE ***ə** and zero in S and K) is ***h**.

1197. ***ḱôR₁ṽ₁ṽ₂ḱ₁ṽ** '≈ oak' > **HS**: S ***ḱurzṽh-** > Ar [Qam.] **qurzuḥ-** 'e tree' ({Fr.} 'nomen arboris') ¶ Fr. III 423 || B: BMn **a-karrūš** 'green oak' ||| **K** ***ḱr̥cḱṽm_o-** 'hornbeam, *Carpinus caucasica*' > OG **kr̥cxeml-**, G **cḱila**, G Δ **cḱemla**, **rcḱemla**, Mg **cḱemur-** ~ **cḱimur-**, Lz **cḱemu(r)-**, mcḱubr-, Sv **cḱa₁m-ra** ~ **cḱum-ra** ~ **cḱwim-ra** (Sv -ra is a tree-designation sx) ¶¶ K 200, K² 219, FS K 402-3 (***cḱeml-**) ||| **IE**: [1] NaIE ***ḱ^wres-(no-)** 'e tree' ('oak?'), 'wood' (× N ***ḱuyRṽ** 'wood [Holz], log') > Gk **πρῦνος** (< NaIE ***ḱ^wr̥s-nos-s**) 'evergreen oak (*Ilex*)' or 'scarlet oak (*Quercus coccifera*)' ||| Gl [GIE] **preⁿne** accus. 'arborem grandem (e)', W, Crn, Br **preⁿn** 'tree, wood (Holz)'; OIr **crann** (gen. **cruinⁿ**) id.; W **prys** 'Gehölz' (< NaIE ***ḱ^wr̥s-to-**) ||| OSx, OHG, MLG **horst** ~ **hurst**, AS **hyrst** 'Gebüsch, Gehölz', NE **hurst** 'a grove or wooden knoll', OHG **hurst** 'Gebüsch, Gestrüpp, thicket'; Gmc **h** > Sl ***хvorstъ** >

ChS **ХВРАСТНІЕ** *xvrastije*, R **ХВОРОСТ** 'brushwood', OScR, SCR **Δ** *hrāšće* 'oaks', Slv *hrást* 'oak' ¶ WP I 524 (**kʷres-no-*), P 632 (**kʷres-* / **kʷers-* with **kʷ-* reconstructed on the dubious ev. of Sl **xvorstъ*, which he interprets as an inherited word), EI 598 (**kʷresno-* s 'tree, brushwood'), F II 595, Vn. C 222-3, Billy 121, Ho. 185, Kb. 492, ESSJ VIII 130-1 (considers the Sl stem to be onomatopoeic) ||| [2] Possibly also NaIE {EI} **kʷr̥sto-* ~ **kʷr̥sti-* 'woods' > W *prys* 'woods', OHG *horst*, AS *hȳrst* 'wood, wooded eminence' ¶ EI 598-9, P 633, ≈ F II 595 ◇ In the IE roots the reflex of the N lr. was lost (possibly due to some restrictions of root structure) ◇ Attention is to be paid also to Ar *qirḡī-*, name of a rare tree ('arbore rarae nomen in deserto crescentis, cuius flores flaviores sunt') (Fr. III 426), in spite of the phonetic irregularity: Ar *قِرْغِي* does not correspond to K **ḥ*. The non-emph. **k-* in B and K (for the expected B **ḥ*-, K **ḥ*-) is still to be explained.

1198. **ḥærǰi* 'cut into pieces, split, divide' > HS: S **ḥr̥s̥* '≈ cut, trim' > Ar *ḥqrš* (pf. *qarašā*, ip. *-qrušū*) 'couper, retrancher en coupant', {Hv.} 'curtail', Ug *ḥrš* {A} 'eine Abteilung, Wohnung oder Park', {OLS} 'reservado' → 'apartamento; capilla\alcoba sagrada; morada', Ak *ḥqrš* (inf. *ḥarāšū*) {CAD} v. 'trim\carve (meat), make dough into loaves (?)', {Sd.} 'zerschneiden' ¶ BK II 711, Hv. 598, A no. 2461, OLS 373, Sd. 903, CAD XIII 128 || K: G (mi) *ḥerz-* v. 'allot so. his share' ({Chx.}: '(jemandem etwas) zuteilen, (jemandem) seinen Anteil zukommen lassen'), *ḥerzō(v)-* v. 'separate, isolate' ¶ Chx. 570 || A: M **kerčī-* v. 'cut\chop into pieces, slice' (× N **ḥærṭ* v. 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces' × N **ḥr̥č* v. 'to cut') > WrM {MED} *kerčī-* v. 'cut, slice', HIM *хэрчи-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'schneiden, zerkrümeln', Brt *хэршэ-* 'chop\cut into small pieces', Kl {KRS} *керч-* id., {Rm.} *kerčī-* 'schneiden, zerschneiden, abschneiden, einschneiden', Mnr H {T} *kiržī-*, {SM} *k'iržī-* 'hacher, couper en tranches', Dx *kič+* v. 'cut into pieces, cut off', Ord *g_erc'ī-* 'couper en tranches, couper en petits morceaux; hacher'; M → Ewk *kэрçī-*, Ul *kэрçū/i-*, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} *kэрçī-* 'cut into (small) pieces (крошить, резать на куски)', Nn Nh {On.} 'cut (meat, fish, vegetables) into small pieces', WrMc {Z} *кэрчи-* 'cut (meat) into pieces \ small pieces, separate pieces of meat in the joints' ¶ MED 455, BMR IV 222, SM 204, Chr. 650, KRS 296, KW 228, T 339, T DnJ 123, Ms. O 261, STM I 453-4, On. 241, Z 272-3.

1199. **ḥar̥* '(sharp) stick, peg' > HS: B **ḥari-* 'stick' > Skn {La.} *ta-ḥari-t* (pl. *t-ḥar-ta*), Nf {CM., La.} *ta-ḥri-t* 'stick (bâton)', Gd {Lf.}

ta-ϣε'ri-t (pl. ta-ϣeri-ēn), {CM} ta-ϣri-t (pl. taϣuri-in) id., Snd {Prov.} ta-ϣri-t (pl. ti-ϣari-in), Awj {Par.} tāϣarīt (pl. tϣariwīn) id., Ntf {La.} ta-ϣōri-t 'pilon du mortier' ¶ Lf. II no. 124O, La. S 2O1, La. MChB 3O, CM 1O4, Prov. 1O1, Par. A 16O || S *^o✓krk > Ug krk, (syllabic script) ku-re-ku, pl. ku-re-ka-at {OLS} 'pico', {Grd.} 'shovel (?)' (× S *^o✓krk > Mh kəršəḏūt, Jb E kər'šə'dəḏ, Jb C kər'šə'dəḏ 'knobbed club' [< N *kōrû 'stick, log']??) ¶ OLS 223, Hnr. 14O (Ug ku-re-ka-at [?]), Grd. no. 13O3 || **D** (in SD) *kaṛ- ({{GS} *k-) 'pointed stick, stake' > MI kaṛu, kaṛuku 'stake for impaling malefactors', Tm kaṛu id., 'sharp-pointed pieces of wood strung around cow's neck; trident', Td ko·w 'point, pointed stick, wooden skewer, peg', Kn kaṛ, kaṛu 'an instrument for perforating an elephant's ear' ¶ D no. 1361 || **A** ≈ *KaRam∇Ka (= ≈ *Ka'ram∇Ka?) > M *^oqaraṅga 'long front teeth of domestic animals, small arrow' > WrM {MED} qararaṅga, HIM {MED} хараṅга id. ¶ MED 934 || NaT *k'armak ~ *k'armuk 'hook' > Tkm qarmaq, Osm qarmuq, Tk kar muk 'hook', Chg {RI.} قارماق qarmaq, Az qarmaq, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, VTt, Bsh, SbTt B/Tb/Tr (RI.), Tlt/Qb/Sag {RI.} qarmaq, Qrg, StAlt qarmaq, ET qa(r)maq, Ln qaymaq 'hook, fishing rod', Qq, StAlt qarmaq, Uz qarmuq, Xk xarmaχ, QK/Shor/Sag/Qb {RI.} qarbaq, QK {B} qarbiq 'fishing rod', Tv xarmaq 'fishing hook', Tv Δ qarmaq 'fishing rod' ¶ ET KQ 3O9-1O, RI. II 214-9, TvR 23O, OTS 243, 63O, KRPS 294, RKB 653 ¶ Depalatalization N *r̥ > T *r in preconsonic position (Helimski's law) || ?φ,σ pKo *kármo > MKo kármo 'axle, metal tube for axle' ¶ Nam 19 || ?φ,σ pJ *kàrimə > OJ karimo 'axle, metal tube for axle', MJ kàmò id. ¶ Mr. 436 ¶¶ Acc. to SDM 549 the meaning 'axle, metal tube for axle' in MKo, OJ and MJ has developed from 'thin stick' ¶¶ SDM 649 (pA 'thin stick, rod' > T, Ko, J + unc. Tg *kar- 'rod, thin branch').

1200. ₂ *k̥A'í∇ 'be full, fill' > K: G k̥or- 'ein Loch in der Mauer ausfüllen, mit Bruchstein ausmauern; sich den Bauch füllen, sich voll(fr)essen' ¶ Chx. 1713 || **D** *kaṛ- ({{GS} *k-?) 'be full, overspread' > Tm kaṛumu 'be full, abundant', Tl krammu 'spread, extend, overspread', Kui garʒa 'spread out, increase' ¶¶ D no. 1368 ◊ G 0 still needs explaining.

1201. *K̥ô'í?E '∈ a gallinacean' > IE: NaIE *k̥_lω₁ou̯r(ə)- '∈ a gallinacean fowl' > OI 'cakraḥ *Perdix rufa*' (< NaIE reduplicated *k̥_lω₁ek̥_lω₁ou̯ro-) || SI *kurь 'cock' > OCS, OR куръ kurъ, Blg, Uk, R Δ

кур, SCr Δ kūr, Slk kūr, P kur id.; ⇨ SI *kur-a 'hen' > Slv kúra, OCz kura, kúra, Cz Δ кура, кура, HLs, LLs, P кура, OR **КОУРА** кура, R Δ кура, R pl. 'куры, R d. 'курица, Uk, Blr 'кура 'hen'; SI compound *kuro-рѣтѣ 'partridge' (gen. *kuro-рѣтъve) (with *рѣтѣ 'bird') > SCr †, Slk †, Cz Δ куроpтвa, OCz куроtвa, Cz куроpтeв (gen. куроpтve), P куроpатвa, Uk куро'патвa, OR **КОУРОПАТКА** куроpаткa, R, Blr куро'паткa 'partridge', Slv kurnprat '*Scolopax rusticola*' ¶ Pts. TPN 133, Bern. I 650-1, ≈ WP I 332, P 536 (*kau- ← o *kau-/keu-), EI 112, ≈ M K I 365, Vs. II 422, ESSJ XIII 118, 127-30 (rejecting the connection between the OI and SI roots and considering them onomatopoeic) || HS: CS *kārī? (or *kaŋrī?-) 'partridge' (secondary association with the verb ✓ kūr? 'cry, exclaim') > BHb 𐌸𐌵𐌹𐌺 kūrē 'partridge', Ar qārīyat- 'partridge, 'bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*)', {Hv., BK} 'short-legged and long-beaked green bird' ¶ KB 1056, KBR 1132, Hv. 603, BK II 731 || Ch: WCh *kʷaṛ / *kʷaṛ / *kur- 'fowl' (× N *kor, ʷa, ʷa '∈ a gallinacean', q.v. ffd.) || A *kōRE or *kūrâ 'grouse' (× N *kor, ʷa, ʷa '↑', q.v.) > M *qoru > WrM qору {MED} 'hazel grouse (рябчик, *Tetrastes bonasia*), grey hen', {Rm.} qоrа 'Auerhahn', WrO qору 'black grouse', Kl {KRS} xop xop 'capercaillie', (Rm.) xopо 'Auerhahn'; M *qoru ⇨ the T lges which are or were adjacent to the Mongols: Qzq {Rl.} qur 'wild gallinaceous fowl' (generic: 'Auerhuhn, Birkhuhn, Rebhuhn'), {RKazS} qūr 'black grouse, wood grouse, partridge', qara qūr 'wood grouse', Qrg {Jud.} qara-qur 'male black grouse', Qq qaraqur 'black grouse' (qara 'black'); later the stem was reborrowed from T into M in the narrowed meaning 'black grouse (тетерев)': WrM {MED} qur, HIM {MED, BMR} xур, Kl {KRS} xур хуръ, Brt xуpа 'black grouse (*Lyrurus tetrix*)', as well as WrO xур 'heath cock (male black grouse)' ¶ MED 968, 987, BME IV 167, Krg. 284, 297, KW 187, Chr. 601, KRS 597, 610, Chr. 601, Rl. II 918, Jud. 347, RKazS 131, 307, 812 || NaT *Kür-tük 'black grouse' (× N *kōr, i, ʷa '∈ a gallinacean') > Alt, Shor kürtük, Xk kürkü ~ kürtü, Chl kürtü, Kü kürtä, Tv kürtü, Tf hürtü, Yk kurtuyax 'black grouse' ¶ TvR 269, Ra. 192, Rs. W 311 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 707 (pA *kiure 'woodcock, woodpecker' > T, M *qur [actually a loan from T] + unc. Tg *kürekte 'black woodpecker' [> Ewk kirзктз, Neg kiүзктз, Nn Nh/Bk/KU, Ul, Ork kurзктз, Orc kiүoki, Ud {Krm.} kēχi, {STM} kṷχi, WrMc {Z} kypax̄ id., cf. STM I 399, Krm. 248, On. 243 and Z 294]) || D *kōrī, {GS} *kōr- 'gallinaceous fowl' >

Tm kōṛi id., Ml kōṛi, Kt ko·y, Td kw+·ḍy, kw+·y, Kdg ko·li, Tu kōri, kōli, Tl kōḍi, Gnd gōgōṛi 𐌆 gugoṛi 𐌆 ghogṛi 𐌆 gogṛ 'fowl', Kn kōṛi 'cock, hen', 'fowl' (generic) ¶¶ D no. 2248, GS 173 [no. 433].

1202. *Ḷoyaṛ₁w₁i 'fat, tallow' > **HS**: S *^o-Ḷw̄r- (*^o-Ḷwār-) < Ar ✓qwr (XI stem) (pf. ʔiqwārr-, ip. -a-qwārr-) 'be fat' (of person), muqawwar- 'fat' ¶ Fr. III 513-4, BK II 833 || **A** *Ḷi|₁arw- > T *K₁ar₁i ({Md.} *k₁'₁ar₁i) > NaT *KaZI n. 'fat on a belly' > OT qazi 'fat on a horse's belly; rolls of fat on a man's belly', Bsh казы қабъ, Alt, Tv, Tf qazi, Xk xazi, Yk хаха 'fat on a horse's belly', Nog, Qzk, Qq, Qrg qazi, ET qez_i 'fat on a horse's belly, sausage made from such fat', Uz qazi 'horse-flesh sausage', Bsh Δ қабъ 'rolls of fat on a man's belly'; T б→ NPrs غازی ʔāzī {Sg.} 'sheep's chitterlings stuffed with spiceries', {Vl.} 'intestina adipalia rebus necessariis referta; genus alimentorum inocularum Turaniae' ||| Chv L юрвар jur-var, Chv Δ йорвар jor-var 'meat\milk\eggs as food; any food other than bread' (var ÷ OT üz 'fat', F Cl. 278-9) ¶ Cl. 681, Rs. W 243, Md. 169, ET KQ 189-80, Ash. IV 352, Fed. II 490-1, Ra. 220, Dr. TM III 359-60 [no. 1356], S AJ 199 [no. 285], BM 121, Vl. II 596, Sg. 878 || M *qarbiṇ > WrM qarbiṇ {MED} 'the fat of the abdomen of an animal', HIM жарвин {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'отвислое брюхо', Kl Ö {Rm.} χārῶη 'Bauchfett, Schmerbauch', Ord χarwīṇ 'aine; graisse de l'aine \ du ventre' ¶ MED 935, BMR IV 52, KW 24, 178, Ms. O 342 || pKo {S} *k₁ir₁-m n. 'fat' > MKo k₁ir₁m, NKo k₁irim ¶ S AJ 252 [no. 28], S QK no. 28, Nam 78, MLC 359 ¶¶ SDM 800-1 (pA *k₁'₁ar₁me 'fat' > M, T, Ko + unc. Tg *χimū-ṛkse 'fat [жир, сало, масло]' and pJ *kuama 'fat, greasy'), KW 178, Pp 17, 96 (T, M + unc. Tg: Ewk kalbiṇ etc.), Pp. VG 87 (unc. adduction of Tg *kalbiṇ > Ewk kalbiṇ 'Fettpolster unterhalb), S AJ 296 [no. 552], Dr. TM III [no. 1356] || **D** *koṛ₁∇v_o ({}GS} *k-) > Tm koṛu adj./n. 'fat', Ml koṛu adj. 'fat', Td kwa|p 'fat', Kn koṛvu, koṛbu v. 'grow fat\thick\stout', Tl k(r)ovvu 'become fat', 'fat', Klm, Nkr koṛu, Kui k₁ōga n. 'fat', Prj koṛ(v)-, Gnd koṛū- 'be(come) fat', Knd koṛvu, Mnd k₁uva, Ku korowa 'fat of animals' ¶¶ D no. 2146, Zv. 148.

1203. ₂ *ḶUṢE 'grown-up man, old (person)' > **HS**: CS *Ḷašš- 'old (man)', *✓Ḷšš v. 'be old', *Ḷaššīš- 'old' (× N *Ḷac∇ 'grey [esp. of hair], white') > MHb, Sr қаш 'has become old, is old' (WS new pf. of the verb ✓Ḷšš < pS predicative adj. *kašša 'is old'), JEA 𐌆𐌆𐌆𐌆 қаш'š-ā {Lv.} 'senior, senator, hoher Beamter der Regierung', {Sl.} 'elder', Sr қаш'š-ā,

Ar qass-, Sb қәсә 'Christian priest', Gz qass 'priest, presbyter', JA [Trg.], JEA ✓ қәсә v. 'grow old', MHb, JEA 𐰽𐰺𐰽𐰾 қәсә 'old', Htr, Plm қәсә 'old man, elder' ¶ HJ 1039, Lv. IV 394-5, 400-1, BK II 735, L T II 395, Sl. 1048, 1050-1, Br. 702, L G 447 ¶ Ar qass- and Gz қәсә were semantically influenced by Sr қәсә || WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} k^ωasá 'old (person)' | SBc: Tule {Sh.} k^ωōšī 'person' | NrBc: Sir {Kr.} k^ís^íng^úv^ωz^r 'old man', k^ís^íng^ùt 'old woman', Zar K {Sh.} k^ìsⁿi 'old' || CCh: ZmB {J} k^ís^á 'old' ¶ JI II 266, Nt. 22, ChL I 209, ChC || A: Tg *χüse 'man, person, hunter' (× N *Қү,ү,ṣ̣ṢṢ - *Қү?iṣṢṢ 'look for, desire?') > Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk χusε 'man (male person), male (animal)', Ewk isεgdin ε ihεgdin, Lm isεγdε 'person, hunter', Neg isεgdin 'hunter' ¶ STM II 332, 336, On. 483-4 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. pA *^ok^ʷuse 'hunter, man'.

1204. ₂ *ҚуSṢṢ 'nut' > IE: NaIE *kos(e)lō- (or *k^{l̥}kos(e)lō-) 'hazel' > L corulus 'hazel tree', colurnus 'made of hazelwood' || Clt {SB. Matas.} *koslō- 'hazel' > Gl koslō- id. (in proper names), OIr coll id., OW [γ]coll 'corulus', MW coll(en) (pl. cōyll), W collen 'hazel', Crn col-widen 'hazel', OBr [γ]col-guid 'colurnus (made of hazelwood)', MBr queluez, Br {Hm.} kelvez 'coudriers, noisetiers' || ON hasl, OHG hasal(a), NHG Hasel, AS hæsel 'hazel', NE hazel ¶ WP I 464, P 616, EI 260 (*^{l̥}kos(e)lō-s), Frdr. PITA 73-7, WH I 280, Dv. no. 822, SB 92, Vn. C 157-8, Flr.114, YGM-1 97, Vr. 213, Kb. 439, OsS 375, Ho. 146, Matas. E 218, Hm. 437 ¶¶ The absence of the expected glide *^u (*koušelō- → *kušelō- → *k^ωuselō-) is still to be accounted for || A *k^ʷusi|ikṢṢ > NaT *Ku₁:sik 'nut' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} qusiq 'pine kernel', StAlt {BT}, QK/Qmn {B} қузук quzuq, Xk χuzuχ 'nut', Tlt/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} quzuq 'cedar nut' ¶ Cl. 667, Rl. II 1019-20, BT 94, B DChT 131, B DK 227, BIG 291, Dr. TM III no. 1490 || M *qusi-(gan) 'nut' > WrM qusi-gan (pl. qosi-d) {MED} 'nut, walnut', HIM хушга {MED} id., {BMR} 'walnut', Ord q_uš^ʷiga 'noix' ¶ MED 991, BMR IV 180, Ms. O 317 || Tg: [1] *χusikta, (and *^oχusika?) 'acorn, nut' > Ud {Krm.} uhikta, Ul osta, Nn Nh χosaqta ~ osaqta 'acorn', WrMc {Z} цсиха 'fruit with a hard shell and an edible kernel (walnut, acorn, chestnut, etc.)', Ewk usikta 'oak' (if ← 'acorn') [2] pTg {SDM97} *kosi-kta ~ koçi-kta (with *k- and *ç due to contamination with another root?) (× N *Қу,ү,ṣ̣ṢṢ 'tree') 'nut tree, walnut tree' > WrMc {Z} хусиха 'walnut tree', Ewk koçikta 'nut tree', Ud kusikta 'Manchu walnut', Ul qač_uaqta 'nut', Nn Nh qočoa, Nn KU qoçiq, Nm Bk koco ~ koco 'Manchu walnut'

¶ STM I 419 and II 291, On. On. 230, 315, Z 152, 437, Krm. 303 || pJ {S} *kusi > OJ {S} kusi '€ nut', ? {Vv.} kusa 'seed' ¶ S QJ no. 975 ¶¶ SDM 748-9 (pA *kušu 'nut' > Tg *kosikta, M, T, J), DQA no. 935 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *kosi-hta ~ *koçi-hta, S AJ 17, ADb. SR 14 ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 56 (IE, T, Tg + unj.: M *qusi 'cedar' [in fact from N *kuuš 'tree'] and Olt kasulas 'Jägerspieß' [after Ndr., WH, and P]), S CNM 10-1, Vv. AEN 3.

1205. *KUs 'to bend, to bow' > HS: S *°kawš-, **kawšat- (> *°kašat-) 'shooting bow' > Ar qawš- id.; *°kašat- id. > Hb תַּשֵּׁבֶת 'kəšəṯ, Ug kšṯ, JA [Trg.] תַּשֵּׁבֶת 'kəšəṯ, אֶת־תַּשֵּׁבֶת kəš't-ā, JEA kəš'tā, SmA תַּשֵּׁבֶת kšṯ, (Arabicised) Hmr [Hmd.] {Slw.} qasḏ-, Gz kəst, Ak kəš'tu(m) 'bow' ¶ KBR 1155-6, OLS 377, Lv. T II 395, Sl. 1051, Tal 806, BK II 834, Hv. 633, Slw. 178, L G 447 || Eg fP kšy ({EG} kśj) 'bend down, bow down' ¶ EG V 139, Fk. 287 || CCh: Dgh {Frk.} ksá v̄ə v. 'bend' ¶ ChC || U: FU *°kUsk- > Prm *kosk- v. 'bend' > Vt kos'kam 'cramps, contracting, bending' ¶ ≠ LG 155 || D (in SD) *kuč'(č)- ({ǧGS} *k-) v. 'bend, stoop' (> 'contract, shrink') > Ka kusī v. 'bend, stoop, be lowered, hang down, sink', Tu kusīyuni, kusīpuni, kusīpuni 'to contract, to shrink in', Krg kusī 'below' ¶ D no. 1636.

1206. *kÜš 'breathe heavily' ([in descendant lges] → 'pant, sigh, moan') > K *kwes-/°kUs- v. 'moan' > OG kunes- id. (< d. *kUs-en- with mt.), G kus-un- ~ krus-un- (-r- of ideophonic origin?), Mg kus-an-s '(he) moans', kus-ap 'to moan', Lz kus-ap-s '(he) moans', a-kus-u 'to moan', Sv kwec- v. 'moan' ¶¶ K² 94, FS K 182-3, FS E 200, K 117, Chik. 300, GM S 48 || HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} kāž- v. 'breathe' || NrOm: Kf {C} kaš(i)- v. 'breathe', Mch {L} kaša v. 'rest', Kf {C} kašō, Shn {C} kasō n. 'respiro', {Lm.} kašš- 'ausruhen', {CR} 'kāssō 'breath', Anf {MYTY} kašo, {C} kašō id., Hrr {CR} kāc- v. 'breathe' ¶ C SE IV 463, MYTY 118, ≠ Lm. Sh 332 ¶¶ AD SF 292 || IE: NaIE *kwes-/°kUs- v. 'sigh, pant, breathe heavily' > OI 'śvāsiti 'blows, snorts, hisses', Av sušī du. 'the lungs', NPrs شش šš 'lung(s)' || L queror / querī / questus sum v. 'complain, lament, bewail' || ON hvæsja 'hiss, sizzle, snort', {Vr.} 'zwischen, schnauben', AS hwæst n. act. 'blowing (Blasen)' || Tc B kwæs- 'lament, bewail' ¶ P 631-2, M K III 401, WH II 403-4, Vr. 274, Ho. 179, Ad. 237, EI 82 and 518 (*°kwesH-mi 'breathe deeply, sigh' with unc. *H) || D *kuč'- ({ǧGS} *k-?) v. 'whisper' > Tm kucukucu-, Ml kusukuku id., Kn kucu, kusa, kusu 'a sound imitating

whispering', Tl *g u s a g u s a* 'whisper', Gnd *kuskusa* *v a r̥k-* vrb. clc. 'whisper' (*v a r̥k-* v. 'say'), Krx *kusmusʔanā* 'to whisper'; D *↳* (?) InA **kʰusu-kʰus*∇- v. 'whisper' > Prkr *khusukhusa* id., etc. ¶¶ D no. 1638
 ◇ K 117 (K, IE).

1207. **Ḳüly, s̄*∇ *↔* **Ḳüʔi s̄*∇ 'look for, desire', (← ?) 'be hungry(?)' > IE: NaIE **k̄|kwaḷs-* or **°k̄|kwaḷs-* (or **°kʷa|aḷs-*) > L *quaer-* / pfc. *quaesīvi ~ quaesī* / pp. *quaesītō-/-ā* 'look for, ask (a question)'; Clt {Matas.} **ad-kʷis-o-* 'see' > OIr *ad-ci-, -aicci*, (pret.) *-accai*, pp. *ad-cess, -aiccess* ¶¶ The Clt cognate is rejected by Vn C 89-91 ¶ WP II 480, WH II 396-7, Matas. E 25 || **HS:** WS **✓kçd* 'look for' > Jb E/C **✓kçd* *G* 'look for', Mh **✓kçd* 'seek sth. out', ? Ug *kšd* 'look for' ('buscar'), but not here Ug *kšd* 'reach' ('alcanzar'), which goes back to S **✓kšd* (> Ak *kašādu* 'erreichen, ankommen; erobern') ¶ Jo. M 239, OLS 229, Sd. 459-61 || B **✓yʃH* 'want, wish, love' (× N **Ḳas, ʔ, ʔ*∇ 'be hungry, wish', q.v. ffd.) || WCh ({Stl.} **quzi, *qʷuzim* 'hunger'): Kfr {Nt.} *kəzəm* 'hunger' | Bl {Lk.} *kuzum*, Krkr {Lk.} *kúžəm*, Pr {Frz.} *kóžəm*, {ChL} *kʷúžəm*, Ngm {ChL} *kìzî*, {Sch.}: Dr *kíyím*, Glm *gúšì*, Gera *kúžəmí*, Grm *kúžú*, Bele *gúhì*, Krf *kúšúñù* 'hunger', Tng {J} *kûm* 'hunger, famine', Krf *kúšúm àmmá*, Bele *guž-àmmà* 'thirst' (lit. 'hunger of water [àmmá, àmmà]) | SBc {Sh.}: Bg *kusum*, Kir *kùs+mšimé*, Zul *gùzúmí*, Plc *gùzúm*, Gj *kúžèŋ*, Zar K *kusun* 'hunger' | Ngz {Sch.} *gèžì*, Bd {ChL} *ègžán* 'thirst' | Hs *ḱíšì* 'thirst', *ḱíšír wá* id. (ʔSk.: = *ḱíši-rūwá* 'thirst of water' [*rúwá* is 'water']), Gw K/T/Kr/G *kí síruwa*, Gw Ch *kʷíhʷíruwa* 'thirst'; but more probably these Hs-Gw words belong to N **Ḳas, ʔ, ʔ*∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ Stl. ZCh 221 [no. 707], J T 104, Sch. BTL 29, 56, 83, 117, 147, Sch. DN 59, Frz. P 36, ChC, ChL, Ba. 613, Abr. H 526, Mts. G 65, Mts. GD no. 247, ≈ Sk. HCD 172 ¶ There is no proof that Stl.'s pWCh **q* and **q* are indeed uvular rather than velar || **A** **kʷüsæ* > T **Kü, :sæ-* 'wish, desire, long for' > OT *küse-* id., MQp XIII *küse-* 'long for', XwT XIII *küse-*, Nog *küse-* 'wish', Qq *küse-* 'wish, long for', Uz *kusa-*, Qrg *küsö-* 'wish, want', Tv *küze-* (ftp. *küzār*) id., 'dream of' ¶ Cl. 749, KrkR 345, NogR 225, UzR 225, Jud. 472, TvR 269 || M **küse-* v. 'wish' > MM [MA] *küse-* id., WrM {MED} *küse-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *×γcə-* v. 'wish, desire, long for, crave', Brt *×γhə-* v. 'wish, want', Kl {Rm.} *küs-* 'wünschen, wollen', *küs* 'Wunsch, Trachten, Begierde', {KRS} *κγcπ küsəl* n. 'wish, goal', Ord *güse-* 'désirer' ¶ Pp. MA 230, MED 508, BMR IV 194-5, Chr. 637, KRS 329, KW 248, Ms. O 279 || Tg: [1] Tg **°χ, us-* > Ewk *uslɜ-* v. 'go

hungry, collapse from hunger' ¶ STM II 291 [2] Tg *_Lχ_L'ü¹se- > Ewk išiganił-, Sln iš'igā- 'be anxious, worry about'; possibly also Tg *χüse- (+ sx) 'hunter, person' (× N ***ḲUṢE** 'man, person, hunter') > Nn Nh χusəgžž, Neg isəgdin 'hunter', Ewk isəgdin 𐌆 ihəgdin, Lm isərdə 'hunter; person', Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk χusə 'man (vir), male'; the semantic filiation is 'wish' → (1) 'be anxious', (2) 'hunt, hunter' → 'vir' ¶ STM I 332, 336, On. 484 || pJ {S} *kəs- v. 'wish' > OJ -kəs- (sx of the volitive verb form) ¶ QJ no. 1382 ¶¶ SDM 829-30 (pA *k'ü¹se- 'to wish' > Tg *χüse-, M, T, J), DQA no. 1106 (id.), Vld. 362 (T, M), Oz. NM 207-8 (M, J).

1208. ***Ḳas_Lʔ_L∇** 'be hungry, wish' > **IE** *kes- 'be hungry' > Ht kas_t-, ki_st- 'hunger, starvation, famine' || pTc *kest > Tc: A kas_t, B kest 'hunger' || Ir: OI 'k_sut / k_sudh- 'hunger', 'k_sudhyati 'feels hungry', Av šud- 'hunger' ¶¶ EI 284 (*Kos-t- 'hunger'), Pv. IV 121-3, Ts. E I 535-6, Wn. I 189, Ad. 199, JGH 223, Pch. 55, M K I 291-2, M E I 440 || **HS:** B **✓_{ks}H (× N ***Ḳü_Ly₅∇** - ***Ḳü¹ʔi₅∇** 'look for, desire') > *✓_{ys}H v. 'want, wish, love' > Izn əχs (pf. yəχs, hab. əqqas), Rf T/Wr/A əχs id., Wrg {Dlh.} əχs (pf. iχsa), Mz {Dlh.} əχs (hab. yəqqas) 'want, love', Si əχs (pf. yəχsa ~ iχsa), Nf yəs v. 'love, want', Awj {Par.} a'yäš v. 'love' ¶ Rn. 366, Dlh. Ou 372, Dlh. M 155, La. S 192 || **EC:** Or {Th.} **ḳač_o** 'hunger, appetite', **ḳač_oč_o** - ~ **ḳač_ot_o** - 'be hungry, have appetite', **ḳač_ot_ot_u** 'hungry' (Or -č_o - < *-sʔ-?) ¶ Th. 266 || **NrOm:** Gf {Mrn.} košay- 'venir fame', košā n. 'hunger', Dc {LmS} kōšā id., Wl {LmS} košā id., 'famine, starvation', Dwr koč_o-et- 'be hungry' ¶ Mrn. O 149, LmS 418 || ?σ S *°✓_{ks}š or *°✓_{ks}ss > Ar ✓_{qss} (pf. qassa) 'chercher, rechercher, poursuivre qn. avec persistance' ¶ BK I 795 || **Ch:** WCh: Hs **ḳiši** 'thirst', **ḳiširwā** id. (†Sk.: = **ḳiši-rūwā** 'thirst of water' [rūwā is 'water']), Gw K/T/Kr/G **ḳísíruwa**, Gw Ch **ḳíh¹íruwa** 'thirst' ¶ Ba. 613, Abr. H 526, Mts. G 65, Mts. GD no. 247, ≈ Stl. ZCh 221 [no. 707] (***quzi** 'hunger', adduces words belonging to N ***Ḳas_Lʔ_L∇** 'be hungry, wish' and to N ***ḡU¹ʔ_L∇** 'wish, b hungry') ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 172 || **U** (before vw. harmony) **kase-, **kaske- > FP *käse- ~ *käske- v. 'want, order' > F **käske-**, Es **käski-** v. 'order, command' || pChr {Ber.} ***küšt_a** - > Chr: L **küšt¹-aš** id., E {Ps.} **küšt-** v. 'command (befehlen)' || Prm: [1] ***kōs-** ({LG ***kōs-**}) > Z **kəsyt-** v. 'want, wish', [2] (with delabialization) ***kε|es-** > Vt **kəs-** v. 'compel, order', StZ **kesyəd-** v. 'charge (with some work), Z UV **kesyət-** id. ¶ UEW 653, Sm. 552 (FP ***käski-** 'order'), Ber. 28, MRS 264,

PsS 58, ≈ It. no. 250, ≈ LG 122-3, 143, Rd. rLG 423 ¶ The final part *-ke is likely to be a sx, otherwise the Vt verb k0s- cannot be explained ◇ Ht kās t- proves that no N lr. other than *ʔ may have followed *s, while B *✓ ysh (with *H reconstructed on the ev. of vowels: pf. Si yəχsa ~ iχsa, Wrg iχsa) points to a N lr. *ʔ ◇ The IE velar *k- suggests that the N vw. was *a; if so, FP *ä is due to vw. harmony.

1209. *k0s₁H₂∇ 'to kindle' > K: GZ *k₁wes- 'strike fire' > G k₁ves-, Mg k₁vas- id., OG k₁ves- 'steel', na-k₁ves- 'spark' ¶ FS K 199, K² 94 (err. GZ *k₁wes₁-), ≠ K 111 (rejected by K²), Chx. 579 || D (in NED) *ko(ĉ)ĉ- v. 'burn, catch fire' (× N *k|gog₁U₁ǰE₁ʔ∇₁ 'set fire to, burn [sth.]') > Krx x0ss-/xuss- v. 'burn without flame, catch fire, (fire) catches', Mlt q0se v. 'be burnt, burn', q0s-tre vt. 'burn', 'inflamm' ¶ D no. 2042, Pf. 189 [no. 92] || IE: NaIE *ks₁∇- (or *k^ωs₁∇-) v. 'burn' (× N *k|gog₁U₁ǰE₁ʔ∇₁) > OI 'kṣāyati vi. 'burns', kṣā'ti f. 'singeing, heat', caus. kṣā'payati 'makes (sth.) burn' || ???σ Arm gawl c^ha w 'pain', gwuñnuñ c^hasnum 'lose one's temper, put oneself in a passion', aor. gwuñnuñ c^haseay (← 'hitzig sein'; s < *ps; all Arm words may go back to *k̂sāp-) ¶¶ The Arm cognate (if valid) points to IE *k̂s-, but for semantic reasons we cannot rely on Arm ev. ¶ WP I 500, P 624, M K I 288, M E I 430 (no IE et. of the OI stem) ◇ IE *k- or *k^ω- (rather than *g- or *g^ω-) is caused by as. within the cns. cluster *K₁^ωs₁-.

1210. ₂ *k₁U₁s₁d∇ 'to chop, to cut' > HS: WS *✓ k₁ç d > Ar ✓ q₁ç d (ip. -q₁ç udu), ✓ q₁ç d G, D 'casser un morceau de bois', {Hv.} vt. 'break asunder', Mh ✓ k₁ç d (pf. k₁ç₁'š a w d), Jb C/E ✓ k₁ç d (pf. 'k₁ç₁'š ç d, Jb C sbjn. 'y₁ç k₁ç ç d) v. 'chop (sth. big)', Hrs ✓ k₁ç d (pf. k₁ç ç ò d, sbjn. y₁ç k₁ç ç ò d) v. 'chop', Jb C k₁ç ç d v. 'lop, chop' ¶ BK II 748, Hv. 608, Jo. M 239, Jo. H 78, Jo. J 151-2 || K *k₁wes₁t-/*k₁wst- v. 'chop, cut off' > OG k₁wet- (k₁uet-), G k₁vet-/*k₁vt-, Mg, Lz k₁vat- id., Sv d.: UP me-k₁wš₁de, L mek₁wes₁d, Ln mek₁wes₁d₁e 'short' ¶¶ K 111 (*k₁wes₁(s₁)t-), ≈ K² 92 (*k₁wet-/*k₁wt-), ≈ FS K 180 (*k₁wet-), TK 563 ◇ This is one of the roots suggesting the law: pre-K *st, *št, *št > K *št (= {K} *(s₁)t > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd): cf. z S *šašarat- → K *ašt- 'ten', S *χamišat- → K *χušt- 'five', N *š₁∇ t∇ w∇ 'cold weather' (> S *š₁ita w- 'winter') > K *š₁to w- v. 'snow' (→ *š₁to w₁- 'snow'), ? N *d∇ š₁t∇ 'moon' > K *d|tuš₁t- id.

1211. *K₁E₁Ū (→ *K₁'ü₁ Ū₁∇?) 'to skin, to tear' > HS: S *°✓ k₁Ū₁ (× N *K₁0₁Ū₁∇ 'to skin, to debark [wood]') > Ar ✓ q₁š₁ w (ip. -q₁š₁ ū) 'peler un morceau de bois et le dégrossir; ôter la peau à un serpent' ¶ Fr. III 448,

BK II 744, Hv. 607 || B *✓ wks > Sll {Ds.} kki s 'enlever, ôter', BSn {Ds.} ækkəs (pf. 3m iksu) id., 'arracher' ¶ Ds. 110, Ds. B 16, 115, 256 || U: FU *küš ▽-/ *keš ▽ (< *kešU?) v. 'tear, debark, flay' > pPrm {LG} *kōś- ({{LG} *kōś-) v. 'rind, tear' > Vt keś- '(zer-)reißen, spalten, zerschneiden', Prmk kōś- v. 'rind', Z LL kōś- v. 'tear, rind', Yz 'kuś-al- v. 'tear' || pObU *kūšš-/ *kūšš- > pVg {Ht.} *kʷīšš- ({{Stn.} *kūšš-) > Vg LK kūštāl- 'abziehen (Birkenrinde), loslösen (den Fisch aus dem Netz)', NV kʷän-kūšəp- 'sich lösen (z. B. der Hund)', pOs *kōs- ({{HL.} *kōs-) '(zer-, nieder)reißen' > Os V kōs-, Ty kōs-, Y kōs- | OHg XIV kuzwunufch ~ kuzuenus, Hg kōszvény, Δ kōszven & kōszfin 'gout, podagra' (← *'limb-tearing illness') ¶ UEW 151-2, It. no. 370, LG 135, MF 376-7, Stn. D 690-1, RWU 824 || A: Tg: [1] Tg *χesi- v. 'scrape off scales from fish' > Ork, Nn Bk χəsi-, Nn Nh χəsis-, Nn KU əsi-, WrMc {Z} əwə- id., -> Tg *χesi-kte 'scales of fish' > Neg əsikətə, Ork, Nn Nh χəsikətə, Nn KU əsikətə, WrMc {Z} əwə id.; aberrant words with -k- (Ewk əki-, əkikətə, Ewk əki-, Neg əχi- 'scrape off scales from fish') either do not belong here or are due to a merger with a different root ¶ STM II 442-3, Z 71-2 | [2] ?σ Tg *χuššē- & kuššē- 'knife' > Ewk uçi, Sln usχš:, Ud kusigə, Ul kučə(n-), Nn Nh kučš: id. ¶ STM II 296 || (× N *kiš̌, ʔ, ▽ 'tear [off], pinch, pluck'): M *kisu- ~ *qusu- > WrM {MED} kiśu- ~ quśu-, HIM {MED, BMR} χycə- v. 'scrape, shave', Kl {KRS} χyc- id., {Rm.} χus- 'abschaben, abkratzen', WrO d. χusuldə- 'be scratched', Mnr H {SM} k'izə- 'râcler, ratisser, enlever en râclant', Ord gūsū- 'ratisser, gratter' ¶ M *k- belongs to the heritage of N *kiš̌, ʔ, ▽ ¶ MED 473, 992, BMR IV 173-4, KRS 614, KW 199, Krg. 291, SM 202, Ms. O 317 || pJ *kùsà, *kə̀sà-i > MJ kùsà, kòsè 'eczema' ¶ Mr. 458, 465 ¶¶ SDM 809-10 (pA *k'jòššē 'scrape, shave' > Tg *χusi- ~ *kusi- 'knife', M *kisu- 'scrape, shave', J + unc. T *Kas 'skin, shell, peel, bark'), DQA no. 1063 (id.).

1212. (₂?) *Kuš ▽ or *Kuč ▽ 'to compensate' ([in descendant lges] → 'to pay') > IE {Pv.} *keus- 'compensation, price' > Ht kussan 'wages, pay, fee, salary, rental price', kusata 'bride-price', Lc qehñ 'rent' || NaIE *°kūsyā 'pay' > Gmc *xū'zō - *xūz(i)'jō > OSx hūria, AS hūr 'hire, wages', MHG hūr 'Miete', NHG Heuer 'hire, wages (of seamen)', NE hire; -> v.: MHG hūren, MLG hūren, Dt huren, AS hūran 'to hire', NE hire ¶¶ Frd. HW 120, Ts. E I 671-4, Pv. IV 290-5, Ho. S 38, Ho. 184, Sw. 98, Lx. 96, KM 306 || HS: WS *✓ kšy > Ar قضى ✓ qđy (pf.

qā̂, ip. -qā̂ i y-) 'payer ce qui est due', {Hv.} 'pay (a debt) to', Hrs ✓ k̂ŷ y 'pay blood money', Mh ✓ k̂ŷ y (pf. k̂zŷō, sbjn. yz k̂ŷ ā), Jb C ✓ k̂ŷ y (pf. 'k̂e'ŷe, subj. yek̂zŷ) id., 'pay' ¶ BK II 762, Hv. 612, Jo. M 248-9, Jo. J 158, Jo. H 81 ¶ as. *k̂ - ŷ > *k̂ - ŷ (if the N rec. is *K̂uŷ ▽) || C: Bj {R} -k̂ŷ i, {Rop.} -k̂ŷ i v. 'pay one's debt' ¶ R WBd 148, Rop. 209 || ?σ A: M *quĉa- v. 'save, economize' > MM [S] {H} ĥuĉa- id., WrM quĉa- id. ¶ H 70, MED 979 ◇ The N sibilant may have been either *-ŷ- or *-ĉ- (which is supported by the qu. M cognate).

1213. *k̂u_uŷ ▽ 'tree' (→ 'wood, Holz'), 'trunk of a tree' > HS: S *k̂ayŷ- > Sr k̂ay'ŷ-ā 'wood (Holz)', JA [Trg.] k̂ē'ŷ-ā ~ k̂ē'ŷ k̂ē'ŷ-ā {Lv.} 'Holz, Scheit', {Js..} 'twig, chip, wood; tree', JEA {Sl.} k̂ē'ŷ k̂ē'ŷ-ā 'wood (Holz), twig', Ak fOAK {CAD} k̂ē'ŷ tu (pl. k̂ē'ŷ ā tu) 'forest, grove', Ak fOB k̂ē'ŷ tu 'thicket' ¶ Br. 665, Lv. T II 359, Lv. IV 299, Lv. T II 359, Js. 1364, CAD XIII 272-5, 280-1 || K *o_kŷ ▽ - > Sv {Ni.} k̂waš 'firewood' ¶ Ni. s.v. дрoвa || A *k'us ▽ 'tree' > M *qus i 'coniferous tree' > WrM {MED} quŷ i, Brt x_ywa 'cedar, Siberian pine', HIM x_yw {MED} id., {BMR} 'cedar', Kl {Rm.} xōš 'Zirbelfichte', {KRS} хошун модн 'cedar, *Cedrus*' (модн 'tree'), Ord guš i 'thuya' ¶ MED 991, BMR IV 180, Chr. 609, KW 189, RKS 232, Ms. O 317 || Tg: [1] Tg *x_uŷ i-kta 'oak, acorn' (× N *K̂uŷ ▽ 'nut', q.v.) > Ewk usikta 'oak', WrMc {Z} x_yŷixaxa 'walnut tree', y_yŷixaxa 'fruit with a hard shell and an edible kernel (walnut, acorn, chestnut, etc.)', Ud {Krm.} uhikta, Ul osta, Nn Nh xōsaqta ~ oŷaqta 'acorn' || [2] Tg *kosi-kta ~ *koç i-kta (with *k- and *ç due to contamination with another √?) (× N *K̂uŷ ▽ 'nut', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM I 419 and II 291, On. 230, 315, Z 152, 437, Krm. 303 || ? pJ {S} *kasi 'oak *Quercus acuta*' > OJ kasi, J: T kás i, K kàsí, Kg kaś i id. (→ NKo kasi 'acorn'); → pJ kás i-pà 'oak *Quercus dentata*' > OJ kás ipà, J T kàsí wa ¶ S QJ no-s 974, 976, Mr. 441, MLC 21 ¶¶ SDM 857 (pA *k'usa 'tree [cedar, oak]' > Tg *x_uŷ i-kta, M, J), DQA no. 1151 (id.), S CNM 10-1, ADb. KL, Ci. EApk 118 || **D** [1] *kuĉĉ- 'stalk, stump of a tree' (× N *k̂Uĉ ▽ 'cut\chop into small pieces', q.v. ffd.) || [2] ?? D *kūĉĉ- 'post' > Tm kūĉĉam 'small post used in building', Kn kūĉĉ, kūĉĉa, Tl gujj_u 'post\pillar in a wall for the support of beams', Tl kūĉĉam_u, Png gūĉ₃ (pl. gūĉ₂ku) 'pillar\post', Tu gujj_i, gujj_u 'pillar\post in water' ¶ The long *ū may go down to N *uy ¶¶ D no-s 1640, 1878 ◇ S CNM 10-1.

1214. **ḳüšʿ* ∇ 'to fell, to fall' > **K** **ḳüš* | s- > OG *še-gus-* v. 'fell, bring down' ¶ Ser. 176 ¶¶ The **K** voiced **g-* may be accounted for by the **K** creation of "harmonic complexes" (sc. a kind of obligatory mt. and as. of consonants): **N** **ḳüšʿ* ∇ > **ḳüš* | s- > **güš* | s- > **K** **güš* | s- || **HS**: **S** **ḳüš* | s- > Ar قشع ✓ *qšʿ* (ip. -*qšʿa* (-)) 'jeter qn. par terre de manière qu'il tombe la face contre la terre' ¶ BK II 742 || ? **Ch** ({**JS**} *(**N**)*gž* 'fall') > **ECh**: ? **Skr** {**Sx.**} *gžlé*, **EDng** {**Fd.**} *gžlè*, **Jg** *gžal*, **Mgm** *gžalaw*, **Brg** *gžlí* v. 'fall' ||| **CCh**: **Glv** *gž-*, **Suk** *gžížì* id. ¶ **JS** II 98, **ChL** s.v. 'fall' ||| **U**: **FU** **küš* ∇- 'fall to the ground, tumble down' > **pLp** **kžććž* v. 'fall' > **Lp**: **S** {**Hs.**} *gattjeth*, **L** {**LLO**} *kahtttjat*, **N** {**N**} *gâč'čât*, **Kld** {**TI**} *kžžžžeð* id. ||| **pVg** **kūš* | s- > **Vg** **ML/P** {**MK**} *kūšepi* ~ *kūš'epi* (= ≈ *kūšepi* ~ *kūš'epi*) 'fall' ¶ **Coll.** 79, **Lr.** no. 302, **Lgc.** no. 1877, **LLO** 194, **MK** 225 ||| **A**: **Tg** **χ* | ul- > **WrMc** {**Z**} *цлц-* 'fall down, crumble, collapse' (of earth, stones on a steep slope, a bank), *цлэчжэ-* id., 'hinabstürzen, umfallen' ({**Z**} *сваливаться, упадать*), **Ewk** **PT/Y** *ulul-*, **Ewk** **Ucr** *ul-* id., **Ewk** **PT/Y** *ulu* 'precipice, landslide, landslip', **Lm** *ωlsa-* 'collapse' (of ground, bank, etc.) ¶ **STM** II 263, **Z** 158-9 ¶ **Tg** *- | - may go back to *-*ž* | s- (by as. from *-*š* | s-). The **Tg** ✓ may result from coalescence of the **N** word in question with **N** **ḳû* | ∇ 'fall, fall down\apart' (q.v.) ||| **D** **kuč* | i- ({**ḳGS**} **k-*) v. 'sink, descend' > **Kn** *kuš* | i 'bend, stoop, be lowered, sink, tumble in', *kušuku* 'state of being lowered or low', **Krg** *kusi* 'below', ? **TI** *kuč* | i *ц* 'sink, go down' ¶¶ **D** no. 1636, **Km.** 334 ¶ The **D** ✓ may have resulted from coalescence with a different **N** word meaning 'bend, contract' (whence **Tu** *kuš* | i *ц* *u* *n* | i 'contract, shrink in') ◇ **Cp.** **IS** I 358-9 [no. 235] (**Tg** ÷ **T** **Kula* 'fall down, crash down' and **FU** **ku* | ∇ 'be worn' < **N** {**IS**} **ḳul* | ∇ 'падать, опадать' [**N** {**AD**} **ḳû* | ∇ 'fall, fall down\apart', q.v.]).

1215. **ḳat* ∇ 'mix, adjoin, gather' > **K**: **GZ** **ḳet-* v. '(ad)mix, add, gather' > **OG** *ḳet-* 'decorate', **G** *ḳet-* 'make, create', **Mg** *ḳat-* 'add, mix in, gather', **Lz** *ḳat-* 'add, gather, accompany' ¶ **K** 108, **K²** 88, **FS** **K** 172-3, **FS** **E** 188, **Q** 250, **Chik.** 286-7 ||| **HS**: **S**: **Ar** ✓ *qtt* **G** (pf. *qatta*, n. act. *qatt-un*) 'mix, gather' ('mêler des aromates avec de l'huile; ramasser, réunir petit à petit'), {**Hv.**} 'gather, cook aromatics' ¶ **BK** II 670-1, **Hv.** 587 ||| **A**: **NaT** **Kat-* > **OT** *qat-* 'mix (two things); add (sth. to sth. else)', **Tk** *kat-* 'adjoin, add, mix', **Tkm**, **Az** *gat-*, **Ggz** *kat-*, **Nog**, **Qq**, **VTt**, **Qrg**, **Alt**, **Ln**, **SY**, **Xlj** *qat-*, **Xk** *χat-* 'mix, admix', **Bsh**, **Qzq** *qat-* id., 'season (soup)', **ET** *qat-* 'add, harness', **Tv** *qât/d-* id., 'add, fold', **Tf** *qât'* - twist

(wool into thread)' ¶ Cl. 594-5, ET KQ 337, TvR 216, Ra. 219 || **D** *kaṭ-
 ({ǂGS} *kaḍ-) 'churn, stir' > Ml kaṭ ayuka, Kt kaṛv-, Td kaṛ-, Gnd
 karrih- ǂ karahtānā ǂ karah-, Mlt gaṭye v. 'churn', Tm kaṭai id., v.
 'mash to pulp', Kn kaḍe, kaḍi 'churn, stir', Tu kaḍeyuni,
 kaḍeyuni 'stir up', kaḍerūcuni v. 'knead', Kui kaṛsa id. ¶¶ D no.
 1141 ¶¶ The D root coalesced with different homonymous roots (one of
 them meaning 'polish, lathe').

1216. (₂?) *Ḳāt∇ 'hand' > **HS:** S *°ḳāt- 'hand' > Ak ḳātū 'hand, paw'
 ¶ CAD XIII 183-200 || NrOm *ḳat_{ly}- 'hand' > Oyda {Fl.} ḳattī 'palm of
 hand', Dk ḳassa 'upper arm', ? Anf {MYTY} kišō 'hand (palm)' ¶ Blz.
 OLBP no. 51, MYTY 118, Fl. p.c. || **U:** FU *kāte 'hand' > F kāsī / gen.
 kāde-n, Es kāsī / gen. kāe | pLp {Lr.} *kēt₃ 'hand, arm' > Lp: S {Hs.}
 giēde, N {N} giēttâ, L {LLO} kiehta, Kld κῆδτ, {TI} kī_lt: | pMr {Ker.}
 *kāda > Er ked, Mk kād 'hand' ||| pChr {Ber.} *kit 'hand, arm' > StChr L
 κιδ, Chr H/Uf/B/M/Y/V/K kit, Chr YO/Ch kat | Prm *ki / *ke- 'hand' >
 Z, Prmk, Yz, Vt ki id., Z ke-piš 'mitten' (lit. 'hand-mitten'), ke-kar 'back
 of the hand' ||| ObU {Hl.} *kēt∇, {Ht.} *kēt∇ 'hand, foreleg' > pVg
 *kāt∇ > OVg S ChusO kata, OVg S Kf kata, OVg SSs kaate, OVg E TM
 kât, OVg N SoG kat, Vg: T kât, LK/MK/UK/NV *kīt, P/SV/Llz kīt, UL/Ss
 kât id.; pOs {Ht.} *köt ({Hl.} *kīt) 'hand' > Os: V/Vy köt, Ty kīt, Y köt,
 D/K ket id. | Hg kéz (accus. kezet) 'hand' ¶ Coll. 87, UEW 140, Wc.
 SW 100, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *kätti 'hand, arm', Ugr *kättī), Sz. 23, SK
 263, Lr. no. 433, Lgc. no. 2452, N II 100-2, SaR 108, Ker. II 57-8, Ber.
 17, MRS 195-6, Ep. 43, LG 123, Ht. no. 340, Hl. rHt 71 ||| ?σ **A:** pJ *kátá
 'shoulder' > OJ kata, J T káta, J K kátá, J Kg kátá id. (× N
 ≈ *Ḳü_{ly}t_l∇_p∇ 'shoulder') ¶ Mr 442, Kenk. 866 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 530-1
 (pA *gāra 'arm' > J + [not belonging to *Ḳāt∇ 'hand']: M *gar 'hand,
 arm' and T *Kar 'hand'), S QJ no. 200 ◇ ≈ IS I 227 [no. 80] (*gät_i; FU
 *kâte + *÷ IE *ḡ^{hes}-, D *kač²- + qu. Om *✓kč_l 'hand', F s.v. N
 *gä^rp_l∇_sA 'hand') ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 192 (*kati 'hand') (U + err. A, Ko,
 J, CK, EA).

1217. *Ḳot∇ 'tip, end, sharp point; cutting instrument\weapon' >
IE: NaIE *k^we(:)d-/*k^wo(:)d- 'sharp point; to sharpen' (× N *ḳu|od^ra^h∇
 (~ *ḳad_aḥ∇?) 'to pierce' [q.v.]) > ON hvatr 'sharp, quick', OSx
 hwat, OHG (h)waz 'sharp, vigorous'; ON hvettja, AS hwettan
 'to sharpen, to incite', NE whet, MLG wetten 'to whet', OHG
 hwezzan, wezzen 'to whet', NHG wetzen 'to whet', AS hwæt,

OHG (h)waz 'sharp, quick' || L tri-quetrus 'triangular' (lit. 'dreispitzig') (acc. to WH, < *tri-kwadros 'three-pointed, 'with three sharp points') ¶ WP I 513 and II 55, P 636, WH II 706, Vr. 272, Ho. 179, 181, Kb. 1186, OsS 437, Schz. 321, KM 856 || HS: C: HEC *kotto 'small axe, hatchet' > Sd {Gs.} kotto id., as well as possibly HEC *kotto 'digging stick, hoe' > Sd kotto {Hd.} id., Brj kotto, kottō, Ged kotto id., and even (??) the EC verb *kōt- 'dig, plough' > Dsn gót- 'dig', Elm ot-, Arr kōt-, Or, Brj, Ged kōt-, Kns qōt-, Gln, Hr, Dbs kōt-, Gdl kōš- 'dig, plough', Sd kōt- id., 'cultivate', Sml qod-, Bn od-, Bs ot- 'cultivate', Rn χut- {Bl.} id., {PG} 'dig' ¶ Hd. 50, 208, 252, 381, Gs. 270, Ss. B 127, PG 193, Grg. 333-4, HL 27-8, Hw. A 380, AMS 219, 245, 262, To DL 503 ¶ If the EC verb *kōt- does not belong here, the semantic variant *kotto 'digging stick, hoe' may have resulted from coalescence of a derivative from this verb and the noun *kotto 'axe' || ?σ S *kūt- (× N *kayūta 'fingernail, claw, nail?') > Gz kʷat̥t̥, kʷat̥ta 'butt end of spear' ¶ L G 452 || A ≈ *k'UtE- (= *k'ütE-?) > Tg (att. in NrTg) *χ₁ut∇-kēn (with dim. sx *-kēn) > Ewk utkēn 'hatchet (тесак, пальмá)', Lm ōtkēn id., 'sword' ¶ STM 294 || M *kituga₁n₁ ~ *qutuga₁n₁ > MM [LM, IM] kituga, [MA] qituga, [IsV] {Lg.} kiduqa 'knife', WrM {BMR} kituga ~ qutuga ~ qutaga 'knife, knife-like cutting tool\weapon', HIM {MED} хутга(н), {Pp.} χut'ūg id., {BMR} хутга(н) 'knife, knife-like weapon', Brt хутага id., Mnr H {SM} č'id_og_u 'couteau', {T} čidogo 'knife', Mnr M {T} čitogo 'couteau', Dx {T} qutogo, Ba {T} htoge, MMgl [Z] qətqaj, Mgl {Rm.} kitkεj 'knife', ?φ Ord ut'aga 'couteau' ¶ Pp. LM III 69, Pp. MA 299, 440, Lg. VMI 50, MED 474, 992, BMR IV 174, Chr. 605, SM 445, Ms. O 744, Iw. 126, Rm. M 32, T 379, T DnJ 126, T BJ 151 ¶¶ SDM 810 (pA *k'jōt'e '∈ knife\arrow' > Tg, M + unc. T *kēt-men [err. rec. for *kāt-män] 'hoe, mattock'), DQA no. 1096 (A *k'jūt'u '∈ knife\arrow') || D *kōt̥/*kōt̥t̥- ({ǂGS} *k-) 'end, summit, top' (× N *K'a'dKud∇ 'tip, top' and N *K∇R₁∇₁t∇ 'summit, top') > Tm kōt̥u 'summit, peak', Ml kōt̥i 'top, extremity', kōt̥u 'end', Kt kōt̥ 'top tuft of hair', ? kuṭ 'clitoris', Td kωit̥ 'tip, nipple', Kn kōd̥u 'point, peak, top of a hill', kōt̥t̥u 'point, nipple', Kdg kōd̥i 'top (of a mountain, tree, etc.)', Tu kōd̥i 'point, end, extremity', Tl kōd̥i 'tip, top', Klm kōr̥i, Gnd A kōd̥i 'point', Gnd RSr kōd̥d̥i 'end, tip' ¶¶ D no. 1049 ◇ The apparent reflexes of N *-t̥- in S and A may be due to as. M

*u of the first syll. in *qutuga₁n₁ may be due to regr. as. (**o...u > *u...u), but M *i in *kituga₁n₁ is still puzzling.

1218. ₂ *Kot∇ 'to finish' > HS: S *^o✓k̥t̥w|y̥ ⇨ *^o✓k̥t̥w|y̥ > Ak ✓k̥t̥w|y̥ G (inf. k̥at̥û) v. 'come to an end, perish, become completed', D k̥ut̥t̥û vt. 'finish, complete, bring to an end' (the second cns. may go back either to N *t̥ or to *t̥̥, due to the Ak incompatibility of two glottalized cns. in one √) ¶ CAD XIII 177-83 || Ch ({JS} *✓k̥t̥): WCh: Fy {J} k̥it̥ vt. 'finish' || Tng {J} k̥ʷaḍe id. || Sir {Sk.} k̥ʷata, Diri {Sk.} k̥úḍú id. || CCh {ChL}: Wmd k̥úḍùrù vt. 'finish', k̥úḍḍi vi. 'finish', WMrg k̥ʷúḍèy, k̥úḍè, Mrg k̥úḍù / àk̥úḍèɾí, HgF k̥úḍí, FIG k̥íḍàmt̥í v. 'finish' ¶ ChC, ChL, JS 105 (Ch *k̥it), J R 87, J T 108 ¶ In CCh and in some WCh lges there is shift of glottality N *k̥...t̥ > *k̥...ḍ̥, where *ḍ̥ is the only Ch glottalized dental stop) || ¶ A *k'ot∇- > Tg *χodi- vt. 'finish, stop' > Ul χodi|/u-, Ork χo|j|j|-, χo|j|j|-, Nn Nh χoʒ|j|-, Nn KU oʒ|j|-, Orc odi-, Ud wadi-, Ewk, Lm od-, WrMc {Z} вачжи- id. ¶ STM II 6, On. 462-3, Z 1111 || NaT *Kod̥- 'abandon' (× T *Kod̥- 'put down, let' < N *Koxad∇ 'dip, plunge, descend') > OT qod̥-, OOSm ≥XIV qoɥ-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qr, Ln qoɥ-, Tkm, Az goɥ-, Uz qwoɥ- 'abandon' ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 27-9 ¶¶ The unexpected T *-ḍ̥- (rather than *-t̥̥-) suggests pA *k'od̥∇-, but it is likely to be caused by the infl. of another root (going back to N *Koxad∇?) ¶¶ SDM 831 (pA *k'ōḍa|u- v. 'finish, abandon' > Tg, T), STM II 6, A 1110 (*k'ōḍa|u v. 'finish, abandon'), Dr. TM II 6.

1219. *Kot∇ (R∇) 'smoke' > IE: NaIE *k₁ʷed̥- 'smoke', v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > Sl inf. *kad̥i-ti 'to emit smoke\fume' > OCS inf. кӑд̆ит̆и kad̥iti, R inf. кӑд̆ить 'to emit fume, to burn incense', Blg кӑд̆я 'emit fume\smoke, burn incense', SCr inf. кӑд̆ит̆и 'to smoke sth.', Slv inf. kad̥íti id., 'to emit smoke', Cz inf. kad̥iti 'to fumigate, to emit fume', Slk inf. kad̥it' 'to emit smoke (дымить, чадить)', P inf. kad̥zić 'to burn, to incense, to fumigate, to give a stink'; Sl *čad̥ь 'smoke, (unpleasant, suffocating) smoke' > Blg, R чад, Cz, Slk čad̆ id., 'Kohlendunst', Slv čãd̆ id., steam', SCr čãd̆ '(unpleasant, suffocating) steam, caligo', P czad̆, Uk чад 'carbon monoxide (угар), charcoal fumes (Kohlendunst)' || Pru accod̆is (< *at-kod̆is?) 'a hole for discharge of the smoke' || ???σ Iir: OI 'kad̆ru- 'reddish-brown', NPrs كَهْر kähär 'chestnut\bay colour (of a horse\mule)', Khw k̥hadur 'dirty' (if the semantic history is: 'brown' ← 'dark' ← 'colour of smoke') ¶ P 537 (*ked̥- 'rauchen, rußen' with *k- on the alleged ev. of the

unconvincingly adduced word for 'juniper': Gk κέδρος, Lt kadagū̄s, Pru kadegis), ESSJ IV 8-10 and IX 109-11, En. 139-40, Tp. P A-D 70, Tp. P I-K 111-7, M K I 150, M E I 295, Sg. 1066, Tu. no. 2715 || **HS:** S **ḳut*∇r- ~ **ḳit*∇r- 'smoke' > Ak *ḳuṭru*, JA {KB} *ḳiṭṭr-ā* 'smoke, fume, fog', JEA {Sl.} *ḳuṭrā* ~ *ḳiṭṭrā* 'smoke', Ar قُتْرَة *qutrat-* 'tas de fumier', Ug *ḳṭṭr* 'smoke, incense', ? Amr {G} *ḳatarum* 'smoke, incense'; ⇨ S **ḳutār-* > Ak *ḳutār-* 'fumigant', Eb {Krb.} *ḳutāri* (gú-ḏa-rí-im) '?' (in a proper name), Ar قُتَار *qutār-* n. 'smell of cooked meat \ of aloes wood', Gz *ḳattār, ḳattārē* 'incense, fumigation', ? BHb *ḳiṭṭōr* 'smoke, thick fog' (the irreg. *ī* suggests that it is a loan from a different Semitic lge.); S v. **ḳṭr* > Ak *ḳṭr G* 'rise, billow' (of fog, smoke), *D* 'cause sth. to smoke, make an incense offering', BHb *ḳṭr D*, MHb *ḳṭr v. G* 'make a sacrifice (by burning one's offering), go up in smoke', JA *ḳṭr Sh* (pf. *ʔaḳṭar*) 'burn incense, let the incense rise', JEA *ḳṭr Sh vt.* 'burn on the altar', Ar قُتِر *ḳṭr G* 'exhale its odour' (of cooked meat), قطر *ḳṭr D* (pf. *qaṭṭara*) 'perfume (clothes) with the smoke of burning aloes wood', Gz *ḳṭr D* 'fumigate'; BHb *ḳaṭṭōrēt* 'smoke\odour of burning sacrifice, incense', JA *ḳaṭṭūr-t-ā* 'incense'; Sb *mḳṭr* 'incense altar' ¶ In Hb, Ug, Aram, and Sb there is as. **ḳ...t* > **ḳ...ṭ*; the Ar forms with -ṭ- are likely to be loans (from Aram?) ¶ CAD XIII 166-8, 321-7, Sd. 930-1, KB 1022-4, KBR 1094-5, BDB 882-3, v. T II 356, Js. 1352, 1357-8, Sl. 990, A no. 2404, OLS 378, G A 29, Fr. III 396-7, BK II 672, 765-7, Hv. 587, 614, BGMR 109, L G 452, Krb. PE 44 || **A** **ḳ'ro'd*∇- > M **küdeṅ* (× N **ḳüm*∇ (Tä) 'fog, mist'??) > WrM {MED} *küdeṅ* 'fog, mist; darkening, dimness', HIM {BMR} *×γδḗn* 'dunkler Nebel, Nebel', Kl {Rm.} *küdn̄* 'Nebel, Dunst, Dunkel', Kl D {Rm.} *küdn̄* 'Nebel, Dunkel, Rauch', Ord *k'üde* 'brouillard sans vent' ¶ MED 497, BMR IV 181, KW 244, Ms. O 434 || Tg **ḳoḵi'r-a'n* 'snuff' > Ul *ḳoḵoro(n-)* 'snuff (in a smoking pipe)', Nn Nh *ḳoḵorō*, Nn KU *ḳoḵorā* id., 'soot', Nn Nh {STM} *ḳoḵira-* ~ *ḳoḵora-*, {On} *ḳoḵira-* ~ *ḳoḵira-* 'clean the pipe from snuff' ¶ STM I 468, On. 462-3, 475 ¶¶ M **ü* in **küdeṅ* may be due to regr. as. (***o...e* > **ü...e*) and to the infl. of N **ḳüm*∇ (Tä).

1220. **ḳ'aho't'o'* 'bite, chew, eat' > IE: NaIE **ḳh₁u₁ād-* v. 'bite, eat' > OI *ḳhādati* 'chews, bites, eats', KhS *ḳhaca* 'food' (Bai.: < Irn **ḳad-čā* < **ḳad-* 'eat'), Prt *ḳ^z* 'devour', NPrs *ḳāī-dān* 'to chew, to

gnaw' ||| Arm **խաճախեմ** *χacanem* 'I bite, chew' (< *k^hω₁ā₁d-s) ||| ? Nr Δ *hātra* vt. 'itch, irritate the skin', 'sting' (of mosquitos and other insects) ¶ WP I 341, M K I 308, Sg. 446, Bai. 70-2, ≠ P 634, Slt. 380 ¶ If Nr *hātra* does belong here, the IE √ is *k^hā₁d- (which suggests N ***Κα^hΗ¹**...), otherwise we cannot distinguish between IE *k^hā₁d- and *k^hω₁ā₁d-. The NaIE vw. *ā suggests the following sequence of phonetic changes: ***Κ^hα^hο¹τ^o** > (ass.) pre-IE *k^hahat₁ > IE *k^hā₁d- || **HS**: S *^o√₁k₁wt > Ar *G* √₁qwt (ip. -qūt-) 'feed, nourish'; ?? *^o√₁k₁tm > Ar √₁q₁tm *G* 'bite', {Hv.} 'seize with the teeth', qatmat- 'bit, fragment' ¶ BK II 773-4, 830-1, Hvc 616, 632 || C: Dhl *g^ωa₁t₁*- v. 'chew' (mte.?) ¶ ≠ E SC 264, EEN 32 || Ch (pCh {Nw.} *ki₁di 'bite, chew', {JS} √₁k₁d 'bite'): Ngz {Sch.} ki₁dú 'eat sth. which requires chewing (meat, nuts, etc.)', Bl {Nw.} ηga₁du 'bite' ||| Tr *k₁z₁d₁* 'bite' ||| Tmk {Cp.} *g₁z₁d₁*, Nd D {J} *g₁z₁d₁* 'bite' ¶ Nw. 22, ChC, Cp. 62, Sch. DN 96 || **D**: [1] D *katukk- ({₁GS} *k-) v. 'gorge, lap' > Tm *katukku* v. 'gorge, glut', Tu *gud(α)kuni* v. 'lap, bolt', Tl *katuku, gatuku, gaduku* v. 'lack, lick up, eat food defiled by others', Gdb *katjap-* v. 'lap like a cat' ||| [2] D *kott- ({₁GS} *k-) 'bite' (of snakes), 'peck' (as a bird) > Tm *kottu* id., Ml *kottuka* 'bite (as snakes)', Kt *kot-*, Td *kwiθk-* v. 'peck, bite', Kdg *kott-*, Knd *kot-* v. 'peck', Tu *godduni* v. 'peck or devour (as a fowl)', Kui *kospa-* v. 'peck, bite, sting' ¶ The stem belongs here only if the homonymy with *kott- v. 'hoe, chop' happens to be coalescence of etymologically different roots. Otherwise (if *kott- 'bite, peak' is a mere sd. from *kott- 'hoe, chop, mince'), this D stem is not a valid cognate ¶¶ D no-s 1197, 2091 ¶¶ D *-t- is a reg. reflex of N *-**τ**- and not of *-**t**-; it is possible that a post-N cluster *-**Ht**- (< N *-**H₁τ₁**-) yielded a fortis similar to the reflex of N *-**τ**-, sc. D *-t(t)- || **U** *kat^o- v. 'feed, graze' > pLp *kōtō > Lp: N {N} *guotto* / -d- id., 'feed on, graze on', L {LLO} *kuoh₁tō*- vb. n. 'graze', *kuoh₁tō* 'pasture, pastureland' || Sm **кѣтъ* > En {Ter.} *зр козына* 'they graze' (reindeer), Ne T *хадо*, Ne O {Lh.} *χαδū* 'winter pastureland', Ne T Y *хăдă-сѣ* 'to loosen snow in search of reindeer moss' (of reindeer) ¶ × Sm **кѣтъ* 'scratch' ¶¶ The traditional Uralic comparative philology does not recognize stem-final vowels other than *-a/ă and *-e, so that all cases of stem-final rounded vowels in the U lges are interpreted as sxs. (F s.v. N ***kā₁lū** 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes'); but there are many cases in which a rec. of a U stem-final rounded vw. would fit well with data both within and outside U. In sich cases I tentatively reconstruct a pU

rounded vw. (with uncertainty brackets: *-'o', *-'u') ¶¶ UEW 131, ≠ Jn. 56 (does not distinguish the Sm √ in question from *k̥t̥b̥ 'scratch') ◇ IE *k^h- points to a N lr. It is most likely to be *h, because *h and *ʔ are the only N lrs. capable to be lost in S, while *ʔ does not produce aspirates in pIE.

1221. *K̥ey₁a₁t₁∇ 'to fall' > IE: [1] NaIE *k̥ad- v. 'fall' > OI śad- v. 'fall off, fall out' ||| L cad-o / -ēre v. 'fall' ||| Arm g u ō c^hac 'low', g u ō ū n u m v. 'become\grow low, go down, fall' (P: < *k̥ad₁o-) ||| ?σ OIr casar 'hail; lightning' (P: < k̥ad-t-arā; ← 'falling from the sky?'), MW kesseir, W cesair 'hailstones', Cm ceser, Br kazar c^h 'hail' ||| [2] NaIE *k̥|ke₁d- v. 'fall' > W cwyddo 'to fall; to cast down', Crn cothe, {ECCE} codha 'to fall', Br {P} koezaff 'I fall', {Hm.} kouezharñ 'to fall' ||| Gmc (P's interpretation): ON hittaa á 'meet (treffen)' (lit. 'fall on ...'), hittaa i 'get into ...' (lit. 'fall into ...'), Dn hitte på 'auf etwas verfallen', ME hittan 'auf etwas treffen, finden', NE hit (← 'fall [on ...]') ¶ P 516, 542, EI 191 (*k̥ad-), M K III 294, M E II 607, WH I 128, YGM-1 84, 117, SB 75, Vn. C 46, Hm. 432, 480 ¶ P's interpretation of ON hittaa, etc. is qu. (and not accepted by Vr.) ||| D {tr.} *ke₁t̥-, {GS} *ke₁d̥-a- 'lie (liegen), fall' > Tm ki₁t̥a v. 'lie, lie down', Ml ki₁t̥akka v. 'lie, rest, dwell', Kn ke₁d̥e 'fall down', Kdg ka₁d̥ake 'bed', Tu ke₁d̥aguni v. 'fall\slip down', Tl ke₁d̥ayū 'fall, fall over', Gnd ker- 'fall at the face', ? Mlt ko₁d̥e 'lie down' ¶¶ D no. 1524, GS 78 [no. 247], 162 [no. 400] ||| A: M *kede- 'lie (liegen)' > MM [MA] ke₁te- 'liegen', Mnr H {T} kidē- id., {SM} k'id₁ē- 'se coucher' (les animaux), 'gîter', Dx {T} ki₁ž₁ē- 'lie, lie down, sleep' ¶ Pp. MA 217, T 339, T DnJ 123, SM 200 ||| HS: SC {E} *k̥at- 'lie down, sleep' > Irq {Mgw.} qāt- 'lie down', Alg/Brn {E} qat- 'lie', Kz {E} k̥at- 'lie, sleep' ¶ E SC 368, E K 14, Mgw. 106, Blz. SCL s.v. 'lie' || Ch: ECh: Kwn {Lk.} kodám 'lie' ¶ Blz. EChWL no. 48 || ? S *√ m₁k̥t (← *m₁∇-k̥∇t-) 'fall' > Ak √ m₁k̥t (inf. ma₁k̥ā₁tū) 'fall down, collapse; fall to the ground', SS: Sb m₁k̥t̥t 'setting of the sun', Mh me₁k̥aw₁t̥ 'run off', Jb mo₁k̥ot 'disappear in a flash, slip away', OYmn {Slw.} m₁k̥t̥ 'Ende (gesagt vom Festland)' ¶ CAD X/1 240-51, BGMT 87, Jo. M 265, Jo. J 171, Slw. 200 ◇ IS I 349 [no. 225] (*K̥e₁t̥; IE, D).

1222. *K̥ut₁∇ (or *K̥ut₁∇?) (probably *K̥ut₁|t̥₁∇) 'cut off, tear (off)' > HS: CS *√ k̥t̥₁ 'cut\break off' > MHb √ k̥t̥₁ G 'cut off', JA √ k̥t̥₁ G id., 'break off', JEA {Sl.} √ k̥t̥₁ G 'bite off', Ar √ q̥t̥₁ G 'cut, curtail' ¶ Js. 1351, Sl. 1007-8, BK II 767-9, Hv. 614 || C: Bj {R} √ kt̥₁ pcv.

'cut\ break off\asunder' ('ab\zer-schneiden\brechen') (1s: p. 'aktaʔ, pres. akantīʔ), ke'tūʔ (pl. 'ketʔa) 'Schnitt' (here unless borrowed from Ar) ¶ R WBd 151 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *kut∇- 'tear, draw' > Hg húz- v. 'draw, tear' | Vg: T/P ka-, LK/Ss xat- v. 'tear' ¶ MF 312-3, ≠ UEW 859 (adduces Os [Ty qōp̄t̄ə- 'zerstückeln', Os D χāp̄ət- 'fell trees', etc.] and reconstructs pUgr *kup∇-t∇) || A: T *KI;δ- (unless it is *KI;γ-) 'ε cut, chop' (delabialized from **Ku;δ- due to the infl. of the final unrounded vw.?) (× pA *gud∇- < N *gud∇ 'ε to cut, to tear') > OT [MhK] qiy- (ol jīḡāč̄ qiydī 'he cut the piece of wood on the slant'), Chg XV qiy- 'cut into small pieces', Tk kiy- 'chop', Ggz, StAlt кый- qiy- 'cut, cut off (twigs, small trees)', Qmn qiy- 'chop, cut on the slant', ?σ Tv χidi- 'exterminate' ¶ Xk χiy- 'cut, cut off' points to T *-y- (unless a loan from a -y-language) ¶ If the pT root is *KI;γ-, it does not belong here ¶ Cl. 595, ET Q 200, RI. II 688-90, BT 102, B DK 230, BIG 297, TvR 499 ◇ The Ugr cognate points to N *-t- rather than to *-t̄-, hence *-t̄- in CS is due to as. (*✓k̄t̄ < **✓k̄t̄). T *-δ- (for the expected *-t-) may be due to the infl. of the N voiced laryngeal (N *-t̄- > T *-δ-) or belong to the heritage of N *gud∇.

1223. ≈ *K̄ü,y,t̄,∇,P̄∇ 'shoulder' > IE: NaIE *k̄up-(t-) ~ *sk̄up-(t-) id. > OI 'śupti-h̄, Av supti-h̄, KhS sut̄a-, MPrs s̄uft, NPrs سفت soft 'shoulder' || pAl {O} *cupa > Al {AlBED} s̄up 'upper surface of the shoulder; shoulder' (loss of the stem-final *-t-) || Gmc: [1] Gmc {Vr.} *skuftu > MLG schuft, Frs E, Dt schoft 'front shoulderblade (Vorderschulterblatt) of horses and cows'] [2] ? (× NaIE *keub- 'body juncture' < N *K̄upE ~ *K̄üp∇ 'to bend [a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee, etc.]', 'elbow') > Gt hups (stem hupi-), OHG huf, NHG Hüfte, AS hype 'hip', NE hip; ON aptr-huppr, Nr Δ hupp, hump 'buttocks (of animals)' ¶ P 590, 627, EI 516 [* (s)k̄up-], M K III 357, O 405, Vr. N 622, Fs. 277-8, Kb. 484, OsS 428, KM 319, Ho. 184 ¶ The IE *s- mobile appears before the original emphatic stops in the presence of palatal elements within the N word (in this case *y [or *ü?]) (see Introduction, § 2.2.5) || HS: WS *kit̄,∇,p̄-, S *ka'tip- 'shoulder: WS *kit̄,∇,p̄- id. > Ar kitf- id., 'shoulderblade' ({Fr.} 'scapula, omoplate', {BK} 'omoplate, os des omoplates'), Mh katf, Hrs k̄ətf, Jb C/E k̄ətf 'top of back, back of shoulder' (in SES the development of vowels is reg., cp. S *'birak- 'knee' > Mh bark, Jb berk); S *ka'tip- > Hb קַתְּפָה k̄ā't̄ēp̄, JA קַתְּפָה kat̄'p̄-ā ~ קַתְּפָה kit̄'p̄-ā, JEA, Sr kat̄'p̄-ā, Md kadpa

'shoulder', Ar *katif*- 'shoulder, shoulderblade'; here probably also (though unvocalized) DSA *kṭp* 'shoilder' and Ug *kṭp* id., 'collarbone'; Ak d. *katappātu* 'sternum' or 'e part of the ribs' ¶ KB 481, KBR 505-6, HJ 258, Fr. III 9, BK II 862, Hv. 644, Sl. 610, Br. 353, MD 195, Jo. M 52, 212, Jo. H 71, Jo. J 137, A no. 1407, OLS 230, Br. 353, CAD VIII 303, MiK I 1.154 || EC: Sd {Gs.} *ḳo'te* 'shoulder' ¶ Gs. 269, Hd. 133, 381 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krkr *kàtə̀bə̀ká*, Krf {Sch.} *kàbàṽá* 'shoulder' | ? Hs *kāfādā* id. ¶ ChC ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 131 (Hs, S + * ÷ other lges) || U **kūt̪t̪* ∇ ~ **kütt̪* ∇ 'shoulder, back' (× N **ḳaʔú'd* ∇ 'neck, [?] nap, shoulder?') > FU **ku:ṽtt̪* ∇ 'back (dos)' > Hg *há t̪* 'back (dos), backside' | ObU {Ht.} **kūt̪*- {AD} 'behind, in the shadow of' > pVg **kūt̪* ∇ ṽ > Vg: {Mu}: N *ḫūt̪ä*?, ML *khūt̪ä*, LL *khūt̪a* ~ *khuta*, K *khuti* 'behind' (direction) (LL *kwäl khu:ṽta minen* 'go behind the house!', *jīw-khu:ṽta uttəm* 'ich setze mich hinter den Baum'), {Ht.}: LK *ḫūt̪i*, MK/UK *kūt̪ī*, P *kūt̪əṽ*, LL *kūta* 'im Schatten' (= 'in the shadow of?'), 'im Schutz'; pOs {Ht.} **kutəl* > Os V *kutəl* 'von etwas bedeckte\ geschützte Stelle', Os Y *yuw kutəṽ-nə* 'unter dem Baum hervor' || Sm.: Slq Tz {KKIH} *qottä* '(fall) on one's back'; Sm **küt̪* 'shoulder blade' > Ne: T *с юды*, T O {Lh.} *śūṽt̪*, F {Lh.} *śūṽt̪* id. (< **küt̪-yṽ*), Slq Tm {KD} *šü'dāi lāpa* id., Slq Tz {Prk.} *šūt̪+kot̪* 'the top part of the spine together with the shoulderblades' ¶¶ UEW 225, MF 276-7, Ht. no. 335, KKIH 163, Jn. 80 || ?φ A: pJ **kātá* 'shoulder' > OJ *kata*, J T *káta*, J K *kátá*, J Kg *katá* id. (× N **ḳāt̪* ∇ 'hand') ¶ Mr. 442, Kenk. 866 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 530-1 (pA **gara* 'arm' > J + [not belonging to N ≈ **ḳü:ṽt̪ṽP* ∇]: M **gar* 'hand, arm' and T **Kar* 'hand'), S QJ no. 200 ◊ IE *-*tp̪*- may result from mt. (< *-*tp̪*-) or from contraction of cns. clusters (F AD SShS); in the latter case IE *-*t̪*- is a sx; in a similar way U *-*t̪ṽ*- may also result from contraction of the cluster *-*tp̪*-. The vowels in S **ka'tip̪*- belong to the derivational pattern of adjectives, so that **ka'tip̪*- may have originally meant 'referring to the shoulder'. The final syll. of **ḳü:ṽt̪ṽP* ∇ was lost in U **kūt̪t̪* ∇ ~ **kütt̪* ∇, probably due to some structural limitations for roots in U.

1224. **ḳ'a't̪* ∇ (or **ḳaʔit̪* ∇?) 'kill, wage a war' (in B, C, NOm, K[?]: → 'die') > HS: Ch {JS, JI} ✓ *kḍ* 'kill' > CCh: Gv {IL} *kʰəḍəḍgānā*, Dgh {IL} *kʰəḍəḍayā*, {Frk.} *kḍā*, Gdf {IL} *kʰəḍəḍgānā* | Mtk {Sb.} *kəḍ*, pMM **kaḍ*, > Mkt {ChL} *kəḍāi*, {Ro.} *kəḍ*, Mofu {Brr.} -*kəḍ*-, {Ro.} *kìḍé*, Gzg D {Lk.} *kaḍ*, {Ro.} *kəḍā*; Mada/Myn/Mlk {Ro.} *káḍ* 'kill' ¶ JS 153, JI I 105 and II 212-3, ChC, Ro. 398 [no. 277] || B *✓ *kt̪y* > Ah *kətiyət* 'to die' ¶ Fc. 935 || C:

Ag *k3t- v. 'die' > Bln k3r-, Xm k3r-/k3t-, Q ki-/k3y-, Aw k3r-/k3t- ¶ R WB 208, Ap. AV 14 || NrOm: Kf {C} kit-, Mch {L} kiti(yé) v. 'die', Shn {C} kitó 'death' (not mentioned in Lm. Sh), Ym {Wdk.} kitú / kitù v. 'die' ¶ C SE III 78-9 and IV 465, Wed. BY 129, Lm. Y 358 || S +ext.: S *✓k̥t̥l ~ *✓k̥t̥l v. 'kill' > Hb, IA, BA, JA, Sr ✓k̥t̥l, Md ✓g̥t̥l, OA, Yd, Sb, Gz, Ak ✓k̥t̥l, Ar ✓q̥t̥l id. ¶ KBR 1092, GB 710, HJ 1006, Js. 1349, Sl. 1006-7, BK II 673-4, Hv. 587, Br. 658, MD 87, Fr. III 398, BGMR 109, L G 451, CAD XIII 162 || AdS of K *°k̥wed-/*°k̥wd- 'die' (< N *k̥Ud̥ 'die') > G k̥vd- v. 'die', OG m-k̥ud-ari 'dead' ¶ ≈ K² 91-2, Chx. 575-6, Ser. 102 || IE: NaIE *kat- v. 'fight' > Clt {Matas.} 'battle' > Gl cātū- *'battle' in the gentilicium Cātū-rīx (lit. 'battle king'), OIr cāth 'battle', OW cāt., MW cad id., W cad 'battle, army', Crn cas 'fight' || ON hōð 'fight (Kampf)', Hōð-r 'god of war', AS heaðū- 'fight, war', OHG hadū- 'battle, fight' (in proper names, e.g. Hadū-mār, Hedwig), MHG hader 'wrangle, fight' || SI *kōtorā ~ *kōtera > OCS КОТОРА kōtorā 'pugna', ChS КОТЕРА kōtera id., 'quarrel', R Δ κοτορα ~ κοτορα ~ κοτορα, Uk κοτορα 'quarrel' ¶ P 534, M K III 294, Vn. C 47-8, Billy 47, Vr. 278-9, Ho. 153, ESSJ XI 20-1, Matas. E 195, EI 201 (*katu 'fight') ¶ Hardly here OI śāt-rū-ḥ 'enemy, rival' (possibly akin to Gk κότος 'spite, anger', see EI 22; M E II 607 does not find et. for śāt-rū-ḥ) || D (in SD) *kāt- ({}GS} *kād-) v. 'kill, fight' > Tm kātū v. 'kill, murder', Kn kādū v. 'wage war, fight, contend with', Tu kādūni v. 'quarrel, fight, wrestle', kādāṭa 'a fight, war, battle' ¶ D no. 1447 ◇ The length of *a in D, the palatality in IE, and the irreg. reflexes of the dental cns. (reflexes of *t and *d rather than of *ṭ) in some lges suggest the presence of an additional element in the middle of the word (N *kaṛit̥?); in this case IE *-t-, D *-t-, and Ch *-ḏ- go back to a secondary *-ṭ- < *-ṛṭ-.

1225. *Kot̥A (~ *Kot̥A) 'fence, wall, hut, settlement' > HS: Early pS *'kut̥l̥- > as. S *'kut̥l̥- 'wall' > BHb כַּתֵּל *'kot̥el* 'wall (of a house)' (att.: כַּתֵּלֵנוּ k̥t̥l̥-ēnū 'our wall'), MHb כַּתֵּל 'kot̥el 'wall', BA pl. em. אֲבָתֵי כַּתֵּלֵי k̥t̥l̥-ay̥'yā 'walls', Plm kt̥l̥?, JEA {Sl.} כַּתֵּלֵי k̥t̥l̥l̥ā 'wall', Ak kut̥lu {CAD} 'rail, fence', {Sd.} 'Seitenwand', ?σ Sr كُتْلُ k̥t̥l̥-ā 'stern, poop'; e-pS *'kut̥l̥- 'wall, fence' → GZ *k̥edel- id. (× ← K *k̥ed-/*k̥d- v. 'build') > OG k̥edel- 'wall, fence', G *k̥edel- 'wall', Mg k̥ida(la)- ~ k̥ɜdala-, Lz k̥ida- ɜ k̥oda- id.; for S *-t- → K *-d- cf. S *šab̥at- 'seven' → K *š̥wid- 'seven', F K² 251 ¶ KB 480, 1728, KBR

505, GB 368, Js. 627, Dlm. 201, Sl. 567, Br. 352, Sd. 518, CAD VIII 610, K 107, K² 87-8, FS K 166-7, FS E 181-2, LH 211 ¶ *-a| is probably a sx, cp. Tm, MI κοτῦιλ 'cow stall, shed, hut' || NrOm *kēṭṭ∇ 'house' > Kf {C} qēṭō, {HHM} ከጦkeṭo, {Mrn.} keṭo, Chara {C} qietā ≅ qietsā, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} keṭa ≅ keṭa, Zl/Gf/Bdt/Bsk {C} qietsā, Gm {Hw.} kēccé, Wl {LmS} ketta, Dawro {LmS} keca, Dache {LmS} kēcca, Zs {Si.} 'kēc, {C} kiets, {LmS} kēcc, Zrg {Si.} 'kēc, Male {Si.} 'kēc, Kcm {LmS} kēṭa, BMa {SiWd} kṭṭṭṭ id.; ? Shn {Lm.} kaṭṭā 'pen (Gehege) for cattle, fence of a pen' ¶ Cerulli spells these words with q, which he describes as "emphatic" (sc. ḳ) (C SE IV 22-3), but Habte Wold Habte Mikael (a native Ethiopian) spelled the Kf word in Eth script with a plain vl. k, which corresponds well to the words of the NrOm lges recorded by Hayward, Moreno, Lamberti, Sottile, Siebert, and Wedekind; to my mind, Cerulli's q- is an inaccurate transcription of k- ¶ C SE III 116, 174, 205, IV 488, HHM 119, C SO 34, 44, 50, 63, Mrn. O 149, LmS 420-1, Hw. EG s.v. 'house', Si. ACh 16, Si. M 9, SiW ABK 17, Lm. Sh 33 || IE: NaIE *kot- 'shed, wall, hut' (→ 'house') (× N *ḳad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle') > Sl *kotъ, *kotъсь 'shed, stall' > SCr Δ kōt 'shed for livestock', OCz kot, kōt 'stall, shop (in the market)' ('будка, лавка [рыночная]'), ChS котъць котъсь 'small room' ({Mikl.} 'νοσπιαί, mansiuncula, nidus'), McdS котец, Blg 'коце 'fishweir' ('рыболовный закол'), SCr kōtas id., 'shed, partition in a shed', 'corn bin', Cz kotec 'shed, partition in a shed', Slv kótec id., 'pigsty', 'cage', OP kociēs 'enclosure for livestock\{fowl}', RChS котъць котъсь 'cage', R Δ ко'тец 'fish trap (made of cane\brushwood), кот'цы 'fishweir, fishing net', Uk ко'тець 'round fishweir' || Gt ηερjo 'room (ταμειῶν, Kammer)', AS ηεαḑor 'enclosure, prison' || Irn *kat- 'house' > Av kاتا- 'room, house', NPrs 𐬕𐬀 käd, Sgd ktṛky 'house', Oss kät 'stable', KhS {Bai.} kاتا- 'covered place, house' (× Irn *kat- 'cover'?) || Ht kutt- {Pv.} 'wall', {Ts.} 'Wand, Mauer, Seite', HrLw {Mer.} kutaś¹r- 'Mauer', ? Lc {Shev.} kuti (supposedly 'an der Wand') ¶¶ P 534 (*kat- 'flechtend zusammendrehen, zu Ketten, Stricken, Hürdengeflecht'), ESSJ XI 211, 214-5, Ab. I 490, Horn 188, Bai. 50, ≈ Pv. IV 297-8 (unc.: kutt- < IE *ḡhu-t- ← *ḡheṽ- 'pour'), Ts. E I 676-8, Mer. HHG 77, ≈ EI 282-3 (*ket- 'room') ¶ NaIE *k- (for the expected *k^ω-) is due to the merger with N *ḳad∇ '↑' || U: FU *kota 'tent, hut, house' > F kота 'Lappish tent, hut', Es kода 'house, home' ||

pLp {Lr.} *kōtē 'tent, hut' > Lp: L {LLO} kāhtē, N {N} goatte, Kld kuedd' id., S {Hs.} goādie id., 'house' || Er kudo, Mk kud 'house, home' || Chr: L кудо 'кудо 'hut, summer kitchen', Н куды кубь 'hut, house, dwelling', Uf кудо 'summer hut', B кудо 'summer kitchen' || Prm: OPrm -ko ~ -kō 'house' in the cd viž-ko ~ viž-kō 'church', Z вичко vić-ko, Z US vić-kō, Z Ud vić-kz, Yz vić-'ku, Prmk vić-ku 'church', Z -ka, -ko, -ku, -kz 'house' in cds, Z ker-ka, Prmk, Yz ker-ku, Vt kor-ka 'house; Prm d. *kwo-la 'hut' > Z kola id., Vt kuala 'hut (serving in summer as a kitchen and a dining room)' || Os: V qat, D хот, O hat 'house' || Hg ház 'house' ¶ Coll. 130-1, UEW 190, Sm. 543 (FU *kotā 'house, hut' > FO *kota, Ugr *kātá), Lr. no. 487, Lgc. no. 2692, Hs. 627-8, MRS 240, Ep. 48, LG 115, It. no. 99, MFU 278-9 || **A** *kōt'∇ > M: [1] M *qotan 'enclosure, wall, settlement' > MM [HI] qoton 'city, town', [S] qoton 'enclosure', pl. qotat, qotot, WrM {MED} qota(n) 'city, town, village; enclosure', HIM хот {MED} id., {BMR} 'town, city'; group of nomading tents (группа юрт, совершающая совместную перекочевку); enclosure for cattle, pen', Kl {KRS} хотн хотън 'village', {Rm.} хото ≡ хотъ 'Zaun, Einzäunung', Dg хотон ~ qoton 'city. town', Mnr H {T} kude 'house, family, ménage (хозяйство)' {SM} k'ud_u 'la maison, la famille, le chez soi, ménage', Ba kute 'house, home, family', Ord q_ot'о 'enclos pour enfermer le bétail, camp militaire, ville'; M б→ WrMc {Z} хотонь 'town, enclosure, settlement (обитаемое место, обнесенное каменной или деревянной стеною или земляным валом), eine hohe und dicke Mauer, eine Stadtmauer', Sln, Nn Nh/KU хотō, Neg хотон, Orc хото(n-) 'city, town'; M б→ Uz qotan 'sheep pen', Qzq qotan id., 'pen', Nog, ET qotan 'enclosure for animals', Yk хотон id., 'stall' б→ Ewk koton, Lm qoton 'stall, farmyard for animals'; [2] M *kōte 'tent' > WrM {MED} kōte 'tent', Ba kete 'house, family', Dn kide id. ¶ H 98, Ms. H 90, MED 493, 972, BMR IV 119, KRS 601, T DnJ 123, Z 428, T BJ 142, T DgJ 178, SM 206, KW 190, Ms. O 308-9, STM I 418-9, On. 474, ET Q 82-3 || T *°Ku:tu > OT [QB] {Cl.} qutu 'class/group of people' ¶ Cl. 596 || pKo *kót > MKo kót, NKo kos kot 'place, locality, site' ¶ Rm. SKE 127, S QK no. 759, Nam 50, MLC 169 ¶¶ SDM 729 (pA *k'kòt'∇ or *k'kùt'∇ 'village, locality' > T, M *qoto [for *qotan], Ko), DQA no. 894 (id.), Rm. EAS I 154, Rm. SKE 127 || **D** {tr., ṡGS} *kot̥t̥∇ 'hut, shed' > Tm kot̥t̥am 'cattle shed', kot̥t̥akaj̥ 'shed with sloping roofs, cow stall', kot̥t̥il 'shed, hut'. MI kot̥t̥il 'cowhouse, shed, house', Kn kot̥t̥age,

koṭ(ṭ)ige 'stall or outhouse (for cattle), barn, room', Kdg koṭṭi, Gnd koṭa, koṭam 'shed', Tu koṭṭa 'hut or dwelling of Koragars', koṭya 'shed, stall', Tl koṭṭāmu 'stable', koṭṭāyi 'thatched shed', Klm koṛka, Nkr kʰoṭa 'cowshed', Mlt koṭa 'hamlet' ¶¶ D no. 2058; some of the words in the D lges are influenced by OI ḡoṣṭha- 'abode for cattle' and its descendant New Indo-Aryan words ◇ The N variant ***Ḳota** (in S, U, and D) is likely to be secondary (regular deglottalization in S, dis. in U and D?). Alternatively, we may suppose a pN ***Ḳota** with assimilative glottalization ***-t- > *-ṭ-** in pre-IE, Om, and A. The NaIE cns. ***k-** (for the expected ***kʷ-**) still needs explaining.

1226. *Ḳôṭ'E' (or ***koṭUṭE**) 'membrum muliebre, anus' (→ 'male genitalia') > **HS**: C: Ag: Xm {R} × ʷædā 'pudenda mulieris, anus' ||| EC: Sml N {Abr.} qōḏq, qōḏqo 'penis cum testiculis', Or B {LLC} ḵutune 'penis'; C → Amh ḵiṭ 'anus' ¶ AD SF 249, LLC 145 || ?σ Ch {Stl.} *ḵoṭud 'testicles, penis' > WCh: Hs ḵōḏà 'testicles' || ?? Krkr gáwǰá id. ||| CCh: Gv ḵiḏi-nʷa, Mdr šè-kuḏà id. || Pdk {Mch.} kúḏa-ma id. || Ms {J} húḏá, BnnM {ChL} hudo-no id. || Mf {BLB} kʷúḏéč id., MfG {Brr.} kʷuḏey, Mada {BrrB} kʷḏe 'penis' | Mf {BLB} kédár 'vulva' ¶ JI II 323, Stl. IF 104, ChC, ChL, BLB 187, 200, Brr. MG II 14, BrrB 152 ||| **IE**: NaIE ***kut-** 'pudendum muliebre, anus' > L **cunnus** (< ***kut-no-s**) 'pudendum muliebre' ||| Gk [Hs.] **κυσός** (< ***kut-y-os**) 'buttocks; pudendum muliebre', ? Gk **κύσθος** 'pudendum muliebre' ||| ? W **cwḏ** 'scrotum' (× NaIE ***(s)keuṭ-** 'skin', × W **cwḏ** 'bag, purse, sack?'), W **† cwṭhr** 'rectum, anus' ||| CINPrs **kūn** 'vulva' ||| perhaps Gmc: OFrs pl. **hothan**, OHG **hōdo**, {OsS} **haodo**, NHG **Hode** 'testicle' (× NaIE ***(s)keuṭ-** 'skin') ¶ WH I 309, F II 56, Ch. 603, YGM-1 114, 117, Kb. 473, OsS 410, KM 313, ≈ P 952, ≈ EI 507 (***kut'so-s** ~ ***kuts'no-s** 'anus, vulva') ||| **A**: [1] NaT ***Kōṭ; tak** 'penis' > Chg **قوتاق** {Rl.} **qotaq**, {Bu.} **qutaq** 'penis', QrB {Rs.} **qotaq** 'horse's penis', Qzq {Rl.} **qotaq** 'penis', 'tail (Schweif)', Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} **qottoq**, Shor/Sg/Qc/Qb/Kü {Rl.} **qodaq**, ET {AD} **qotaq** 'penis'; this word for 'penis', which exists in several T lges, is ostracized as "undecent" by the authors of dictionaries of literary lges and therefore lacks lexicographic fixation; d.: ET Δ {KtnM} **qotaγ-la v.** 'begatten' ¶ Rs. W 284, Rl. II 606, 610-1, Bu. II 70, Mng. G 102 || [2] NaT ***k'ö; t** 'anus, buttocks' > OT {Cl.} **köt** 'buttocks, backside', MQp XIII **köt** 'buttocks ('al-'ist)', Tk **göt** (/göt-: **göti** 'his buttocks'), Ggz **göt**, VTt, Bsh **küt**, Kr Cr, Qzq {Ilm.} **köt** 'buttocks', Chv **күт** **kut** ≈ **köt** 'nates, podex; cunnus', {ChVS} 'hind part

of the body', Qrg, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} köt 'buttocks, 'genitalia (male, female)', Uz ket 'hind part, tail'; T *k'ö_l:_jten 'anus, buttocks' > MQp köten, Nog köten, Tk Δ göden, Az gödän, Qrg kötön, StAlt ködön, ET Δ kutän id., Chv L кутана kud_ana 'Mastdarm' ¶ T *k'ö_l:_jt belongs here if its primary meaning is 'buttocks' rather than 'backside' ¶ Cl. 700, MKD 111, ET V-D 84-5, TL 281, Fed. I 316-17, Jeg. 121, ChVS 99, Md. 50, 170 (T *k'öt'), UzR 210 || D: [1] SD *kūti ({ǵGS} *kūdi) 'pudendum muliebre, anus' > Tm kūti 'pudendum muliebre', Ml kūti id., 'posteriors', Tu kūdi id., 'anus', Td ku·θy 'anus, buttocks' ||| [2] Kt kuṭ 'clitoris' (× N *ki?∇t'U' 'to tickle', [?] 'to itch') ¶ D no-s 1888, 2049 ◇ Ch {Stl.} *k̄oʔud and the long *ū in D suggest the presence of a N lr. (*ʔ?), that may account for the variation *k- (in T) ~ *k̄- (reflected in HS and IE), if it is supposed that this *k̄- goes back to *kʔ- ◇ Cp. also pKo {S} *kú't 'hole, pit' (> MKo kút, NKo kut, kudə,ŋi, see S QK no. 462, Nam 62, MLC 197, 216). If the Ko word belongs here, the primary meaning of the N word was 'hole' (see SDM 727-8 s.v. pA *kòt'e 'hole') ◇ Blz. DA155 [no. 35] (D, HS).

1227. *k̄Uṭ∇ 'small' > HS: S *√k̄t̄n 'be(come) small\little\thin' > Hb √k̄t̄n 'be little', Sr √k̄t̄n 'become \ smaller \ weaker', Md √k̄t̄n 'be fine\thin\narrow', Gz, Tgr √k̄t̄n 'be thin \ fine \ lean', Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq √k̄t̄n 'become thin', Ak √k̄t̄n 'become thin\narrow'; Hb k̄ā't̄ān / f. k̄at̄an'n-ā 'small', IA k̄t̄yn, JEA 'ḫ̄ḫ̄ k̄at̄'t̄īn, JA/Sr ḫ̄ḫ̄ ḫ̄ḫ̄ k̄at̄'t̄ī'n-ā 'something small', Gz k̄at̄'t̄īn 'fine, thin, subtle', Ar (× √qt̄n 'reside in a place') qat̄īn- {Hv.} 'residant slaves, servants', {BK} 'gens de la maison, domestiques', Ak k̄at̄nū 'thin, fine, narrow, younger'; a CS (pCn) stem *√k̄t̄t̄ without extensions may be suggested by MHb {Js.} k̄it̄'t̄k̄et̄ v. 'make fine' and Ug {A} ḫ̄ √k̄t̄t̄ (imv. k̄t̄) 'zerkleinern' (not mentioned in OLS) ¶ KB 1021-2, KBR 1092-3, BK II 774, Hv. 617, Js. 1348, Sl. 1005, BK II 774, L G 453, LH 262, Jo. M 245, Jo. H 80, Jo. J 155, Sd. 908, CAD XIII 163-4, 173, Js. 1347, A no. 2398 || C: Ag {AD} *k̄^ωʔtt- 'be small' > Bln {R} oqt̄ [k̄^ωʔt̄] 'be small, little, few', Xm {R} ωit̄, Q {R} ʔet̄, it̄ id., Bln oqt̄ 'small number of', oqt̄-ux̄ 'few, little (quantity)' ¶ R WB 24-5, AD SF 83, Ap. AOL 3 (pAg *oqt̄-/k̄^ωʔt̄t̄-) || NrOm {Blz.} *kōt̄ > Shk {Fl.} kōta 'small', Gmr {Fl.} kōt̄ id. ¶ Blz. OL no. 153, Fl. OWL s.v. 'small', Fl. AGC 601 || Eg fMK kt̄t̄ 'small', {Fk.} kt̄ 'pettiness', {EG} v. 'be small, little', {EG} kt̄t̄ 'child, young of a bird', {Fk.} 'girl' ¶ EG V 147, Fk. 287 || Ch {JS} *√k̄d̄m 'small' > WCh: Hs {Ba.} k̄āḏān 'a few, a small quantity' ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} k̄óḏómá 'small' ||| ?? ECh:

Mtk {ChL} k^ωotr 'small' ¶ JS 238, ChC, ChL, Ba. 819, Nw. WLT 45 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1615 (*k^utun 'small'), ≈ Sk. HCD 130 || K *k^ut^u- 'small' > G Gr/I k^uta- 'boy', G I, Mg, Lz k^ut^u- 'boy's penis', Sv {TK}: UB/L k^otōl, UB k^weṭōl, LB k^weṭol ~ k^otōl 'little, small, few' ¶¶ Cp. Sv k^očōl ≙ k^wečōl ≙ k^(w)ečōl ~ k^očōl id. < N *k^uç[∇] 'cut\chop into small pieces' (q.v.) × N *k^ut[∇] 'small' ¶¶ K 118, K² 105, FS K 195, FS E 214, Q 263, TK 349-50 || A: M *qotuli > WrM qotul(i) {MED} 'two-year-old marmot, young deer', HIM {MED} хотол ~ хотоль id., {BMR} хотол 'young of an elk, young elk', Brt хотоли 'year-old marmot, female marmot (*Marmota sibirica*)', Kl Ö {Rm.} хот^l 'young elk, young deer' ¶ MED 973, BMR IV 119, Chr. 592, KW 190 ◇ IS I 329-30 (HS, K, D), AD GD no. 139 ◇ It is worth paying attention to IE: NaIE *kat- 'young of an animal; to give birth (of animals)' > L catulus, Um katel 'young of an animal' || SI *kotiti se 'give birth (of mammals)' (> R ко'титься, Blg 'коти се, Cz kotiti se, P kocić się, etc.), Sl *kotъ 'brood' (> SCr kōt, Slv kòt) || ? ON haðna 'young goat' (P 534, Mn. 479, ESSJ XI 204-5, 211). But the unexpected IE vw. *a and the lack of traces of N *u prevent us from recognizing IE *kat- as a valid cognate ◇ Gr. II no. 346 (*kut ~ *kit 'small') (J, CK. EA + err. A *k'ič[∇] ~ *k'ič[∇]).

1228. *k^äw[∇] 'cavity, hole' > IE: NaIE *k^we^wl^a₁- 'cavity' > pAl {O} *cawila > Al thellē 'deep' (< *k^wowilo-) || Gk [Hs.] κόου· τὰ χάσματα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰ κοιλώματα ('the hollows of the earth and the cavities'), Gk κοῖλος adj., n. 'hollow' (< *k^wowilo-s), L-gr.: Gk κῶος 'cave, prison' || L cavus ({P} < *k^wowos) 'hollow, concave' || Clt {Matas.} adj. 'hollow' > Mir {S} cúa (< *k^wouyos) 'hollow', cúaas 'cave', MW keu 'hollow, closed', W {YBM} cau 'hollow, concave', MBr {Ern.} queu 'creux, cavité', Br {Hm.} keu adj. 'creux', n. keu 'caverne, grotte', {Flr., P} keo 'grotto' || Ltv {ME} šāva 'scheidenartige Spalte oder Höhlung am Baum' || SI *suj- > OCS, OR соуѣн суѣъ 'vain', Blg cyeta, ChS соуѣта суѣта 'vanity' (→ R cyeta, SCr sujeta id.) || with heteroclis: {EI} *k^wouH^r / *k^wuHⁿ-os > NaIE {M} *k^we^wl^r ~ *k^wl^r / *k^wlⁿ- {AD} 'hole, emptiness' > OI śūn'yaṃ 'emptiness, Einöde', Av sūrā- 'hole, lacuna' (< k^wur-), NPrs سورأخ sūrāx 'hole, orifice' || Arm unpr sox 'hole, opening; den' (< *sovaro-) || Gk κύαρ 'hole' (< *k^wur^r) || ?? L caverna 'cave' (unless from Etr; -erna is considered to be an Etr sx, e.g. in cisterna) ¶ P 592-4, Vl. II 346, M K III 365, WH I 191-2, F I

891-2 and II 38, Vn. C 258, YGM-1 79, Flr. 98, Ern. 552, Hm. 455, ME IV 13, Slr. 206-7, Xud. II 374, O 474, Vs. III 797, Glh. 593, Matas. E 230-1, YGM-1 79, Hm. 455, EI 96 (*^lkouH-, *^lkouHr / *^lkuH'n-os 'hole, opening')
 || HS: CS *ka^ww- 'hole, opening' > JA אֲבֹתָא ka^w'w-ā, אֲבֹתָא ka^ww-
 ə't-ā 'hole, opening, window', JEA {Sl.} אֲבֹתָא ka^wwə't ā (pl. אֲבֹתָא
 ka^w'wê) 'window, small opening', Sr كَوَّةٌ ka^w'wā, كَوَّةٌ ka^wwə't ā
 'opening, aperture, hole, window', Ar كَوَّةٌ ku^ww-, كَوَّةٌ ku^wwat- 'garret
 window, mural aperture' ¶ Lv. II 301, Sl. 557, Br. 320, JPS 20, Fr. IV 68,
 BK II 940, Hv. 669 || EC *ka^l:₁w- 'hole' > Sml qa^w-, Kns qā^w-a, Gdl k̄ā^w,
 Brj k̄a^w-a, Or B {Bl.} k̄a-á, {Sr.} k̄ā, Or Wl {Bl.} k̄ā^ww-a 'hole', {Brl.}
 k̄a^wa id. ('bucio, foro') ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Sr. 35, Brl. 339 || D *ka^v-
 i ({θGS} *ga^vi) 'hole, cave' > Tm ke^vi 'deep valley, cave', Kn ga^vi
 'cave', Tu ga^vi 'cave, hole, cell', Tl ga^vi 'cavern' ¶¶ D no. 1332 || ?φ
 R: NaT *Ku^l:₁y > OT qu^y 'a secluded spot, cave', Alt, Tv qu^y, Tf hu^y, Xk
 χu^y 'cave', Qrg qu^y 'deep ravine, rift caused by an earthquake' ¶ Cl. 674,
 Ra. 191 ◇ Cp. N *Ka^yl₁wa 'to dig' (q.v.).

1229. *Ka^ra^re^lw[∇] 'to hear, to notice' ([in descendant lges] → 'ear') >
 IE *ke^w- / *ke^u- ({EI} *ke^uh₁-) 'listen to, perceive, pay attention to' > OI
 ka^vi-h₁ 'skillful, wise; seer, sage, poet', Av čəvīšī 'ich erhoffte,
 versah mich' || Gk κoέω 'I notice, hear', ? κῆδος 'glory' || L caveō /
 cavēre v. 'guard against, beware; take care for, provide', {EI} 'take
 heed' || AS hāwian 'look at' || Sl inf. *čŭ-ti (1s pres. *čŭjŏ) 'to hear,
 to feel' > OCS inf. ЧУУТИ ču^ti 'to feel, to notice', Blg 1s pres. ЧУ-М,
 'ЧУВ-ам v. 'hear, listen, guard', SCr inf. čŭ-ti, Slk inf. ču^t, Uk
 inf. чути, Blr inf. чуць 'to hear, to feel', Slv inf. čŭ-ti 'to hear, to be
 awake', Cz inf. čítí, P inf. czuć, OR inf. ЧУУТИ ču^ti 'to feel', μ: R
 inf. 'чуятъ id. || ? Ld ka^we- 'priest' ({EI}: < *kou^lh₁e₁ 'seer') ¶¶ P 587-
 8, EI 361 and 418, M K I 187-8, F I 890-1, WH I 186-7, Fs. 251-2, Vr.
 226, Ho. 159, Ho. S 36, OsS 417, KM 316, ESSJ IV 134-6, Glh. 182 ||
 HS: NrOm: BMa {Fl.} k̄ēw-, {SiW} k̄éwá, Sz {Fl.} k̄iwe, Sz 2 k̄wāk̄wā v.
 'hear', ? Mch {L} k̄ābbi id. (-bb- < *-ww-?) ¶ Fl. OWL, L M 45, SiW ABK
 16, SiW BA 13 || ?φ EC: Cg {AMS} qabaq- 'hear', Hr/Dbs {AMS} k̄apaq-, ?
 Gln/Gwd apaq- (dis.?) ¶ Acceptable only if -b- and -p- go back to *-w-;
 alternatively, the Dullay and Mocha words may be tentatively equated
 with D *kapp- > Krx kapp- 'feel with the hand\feet, know' (D no. 1225),
 which suggests a N etymon *Ka^rap[∇] ¶ AMS 171, Ss. B 24 || U *ka^lo^w[∇]
 ({Jn.} *k̄ā^w+) > Sm *k̄ā^w 'ear' > Ne xā, {Lh.} χā, Ne F {Lh.} k̄ā ~ ka, Ng

{Cs.} *kou*, En X {Cs.} *kû*, En B {Cs.} *kô*, Slq UTz {KKIH} *qô*, Kms {KD} *q'u*, Koyb {Sp.} *ky*, Mt {Hl.} **kuh* (Mt: T {Pl.} *гокта*, {Ml.} *gócta* 'his ears', K {Ml.} *guk* 'ears', {Pl.} *кукта*, *kúcta* 'his ear', M {Ml.} *gu*, *guk* 'ears', {Pl.} *кукда* 'his ear', {Sp.} *кума* 'my ear') ¶ Jn. 62, KKIИ 163, Hl. M no. 569, unc. Sm. 538 (Sm **kǎw* 'ear' ÷ FP **kovra* [> F *korva* 'ear, ? Vt *kwar* 'leaf', ? Z *kor* id.] < FU **kǎwi* < U **kǎw+* 'ear') || A ~ **k'U₁E* or **k'U₂E* > NaT **Kü:ü* (× N **gu₁∇* 'to perceive' × *o₂*?) > OT {Cl.} *kū:* 'rumour; fame, reputation', Qrg *kū* 'melody, tune', Brb {Tm.} *kū* 'sound, voice, noise', Az *küy* 'sound', Shor {Rl.} *küḡ* 'Lärm, Ton', Brb/Tlt {Rl.} *kū* 'Ton, Lärm, Stimme, Geschrei' (in Brb and Tlt: × T **Kü:üḡ* 'melody' [{Cl.}: < MChn *k'ḡok* 'song']), Qrg *o kū* 'rumble, boom; fame'; < NaT **Kü:ü-lük* 'famous' > OT {Cl.} *kū:lūk* id., Qrg *kūlū* 'in good condition, quite fine', Sg {Rl.} *külük* 'hero', Xk *külük* 'wise, clever; wisdom', Qzl {Jk.} *ku'lük* 'verständig, geschickt'; T < NPrs Δ {Dr.} *كولوك kūlūk* 'geschickt'; T **Kü:ü* > OT {Cl.} *kū:*- in the phrase *kūyū közedū tut-v*. 'protect and keep' ¶ Cl. 686-7, 709, 717-8, ET KQ 128-9, Tm. 105, Jud. 472-3, Rm. W 306, Dr. TM III no. 1686, Rl. II 1416-7, 1426, 1470-2, BIG 96, Jud. 473, Shch. SF 195 || Tg **χοῦῖπον* 'earrings' > Ul *χοῖπο(ν-)*, Nn Nh *χοῦρῶ*, Nn Bk *χοῦφο(ν-)*, Ud *waḡga ḡ oḡga*, {Krm.} *wayga ~ wayga*, Lm *oḡwun ~ oḡwun* id. ¶ STM II 8, Krm. 217, On. 464 || pKo {S} **kúi* 'ear' (× N **ḲeHu'h' lüHê* [or **Ḳe'h' u₁y₂ê*??] 'hear', q.v. ffd.) || D {tr., GS} **ke₁v-* 'ear' > Tm, Ml, Tl *cevi*, Kt *keyv ḡ kev*, Td *kif₁y*, Kn *ki₁vi*, Tu *kebi*, Klm, Nkr *kev*, Gnd *kevi ḡ kawī ḡ kav₁i*, Krx *ḡebdā*, Mlt {Drs.} *qethwa*, Brh *ḡaf* id. ¶¶ D no. 1977(a), Zv. 57, 119, 153, GS 59 [no. 169], 66 [no. 210] ◇ The comparison with Om, EC, Sm, Ko, and Tg was suggested by Blz. (p.c., Blz. DA 153 [no. 12]), Blz. LB no. 42a reconstructs pN **ḡabi*, which excludes IE, T, and Tg.

1230. **Ḳ'oha'w'i* ~ **Ḳ'oha'w₁i₂∇* 'sinew, thread' ([in descendant lges] → 'bowstring') > IE: NaIE **g^ωiyā*, **g^ωi'yos* 'sinew, bowstring' > OI 'jyā ~ ji'ā, Av ḡyā- 'bowstring', pIrn d. **ḡya-ka/-kī* > NPrs *هزّه* 'bowstring, lace' and Psh *ḡāī*, *ḡāī* 'bowstring' || Gk βύς 'bowstring; bow' || Clt {Matas.} **gyo-* 'sinew' > MW *giēw* 'sinews', OCrn [y] *goi₁ven* 'nervus', Crn *gyew* 'sinew' || amb BSl: Lt *gi₁jā*, Ltv *dzija* 'thread' || Sl **ḡī-ca* > OCS *жица žica* 'sinew', SCr *žica* 'sinew, string', Blg 'жица 'thread, wire', R Δ *жица* 'combed wool yarn' (× NaIE **g^ωhe₁ǵa-*/**g^ωhī-* 'vein, sinew, rope') ¶ IE **g^ω-* < pre-IE (before the cns. shift) **k^ω-* <

k_ho- < N *k_hoh- ¶ WP I 670, 694, P 481, 489, EI 78 (*g^ω(i)'^heh_h / gen. *g^ωi'^hh_h-os), M K I 448, Sg. 630, VI. II 160, Morg. 105, F I 237, Tr. 87, 90, Frn. 150, Vs. II 57-8, Glh. 709, Matas. E 170 || **HS: WS *k_aw_w- 'string, thread', *✓k_w? 'weave' > BHb 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗 ~ 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍 'string for stretching and measuring', MHb 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍 'thread, line', → 'circle, zone', JA [Trg.] pl. 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍 - īn 'webs', JEA (Yemenite trad.) '𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍. kēwā²ē, '𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍 'threads', JA {Lv.} 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍 - ā 'thread', pl. 𐤊𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍𐤏𐤗𐤍 - īn 'web (Spinnewebe)', Sr k_awē 'woven', {Br.} 'textilis', pl. k_awīn, k_awayūā 'textā', Md k_auā 'web', Sq {L} k_a 'thread'; hardly here Ak k_u(m) 'measure (measuring vessel, etc.)', though this Ak word may have influenced Hb k_aw~k_aw ¶ KB 1010-1, KBR 1081, Lv. IV 257, Br. 651, DM 399, L LS 365, Sd. 924-5 (Ak ← Sum g_u), CAD XIII 288-91 || B **k_ah_lw_y > *y_ay_y > Ah ta.-y_ay_e 'shooting bow' ¶ Fc. 1710 || **A**: M *quya_n > WrM quya_n {MED} 'tendon, sinew, nerve; rheumatism, arthritis', HIM х_yян {MED} id., {BMR}} 'muscle, muscles; Gelenkrheumatismus, немота в суставах', Ord х_yуа_n 'rheumatisme', Brt х_yян(г) 'онемение\одеревенение (рук или ног), neuralgia'; M *quyi ~ *küyi 'umbilical cord' > MM [S] quī id., WrM {MED} küī, HIM х_yй {MED} id., 'navel', {BMR} 'umbilical cord', Brt х_yй id., 'navel', Kl {KRS} ки 'umbilical cord (cut off)', {Rm.} kī 'Nabel', Ord k'ū 'cordon ombilical'; ⇨ M *küyi-sün 'umbilical cord, navel' > Kl {KRS} киисн kīsān id., {Rm.} kīs_n 'Nabel', MM [MA] küyisūn, WrM {MED} küyisūn, HIM {MED} х_yйс, {BMR} х_yйс(эн) 'navel', Brt х_yйэн id., 'umbilical cord', Ord k'ūsū 'ombilic, nombril' ¶ H 71, MED 498, 983, BMR IV 181-3, Chr. 609, 615-16, Pp. MA 226, KRS 298, KW 234, Ms. O 365, 441 || **D** *k_ō- ({θGS} *k-) v. 'string, thread' > Tm k_ō-, k_ōr-, Ml k_ōкка, k_ōrкка, Kn k_ō-, Kdg k_ōya-, Prj k_ōp- / k_ōt- v. 'string', Tm k_ōccil 'what appears like a string, pod', Kt k_ōv-, Kl_m k_ōnz-, Nkr k_ōn_z- v. 'string, thread', Tu k_ōpæ 'a string of fruits', Tl k(r)_ōva 'a string', ? Gnd k_aĉ- v. 'thread needle', 'string' (of garland, beads), ? Mlt kunye v. 'string (as beads)' ¶¶ D 2176.

1231. *k_Ah_w∇ 'seize, grasp, hold' > **HS**: S *✓k_hw > Ar ✓q_hw (ip. -q_hū) {Hv.} v. 'snatch, take the whole of', {Fr.} 'cepit omnino (opes)', {BK} 'râfler, 'enlever, emporter tout' ¶ Fr. III 403, BK II 681-2, Hv. 590 || B **✓k_wy (> *✓y_wy / *✓q_wy) > Sll {Ds.} ăy^ωi (3m pf. i_y^ωi, hab. i_qq^ωay) 'seize' ¶ Ds. 254 || **K** *k_aw-/*k_w- v. 'seize, hold, take' > G k_av- v. 'take, hold, occupy', da-k_av-eba 'festhalten', še-k_av-eba

'zurückhalten', da-a-kaV-a 'er hielt ihn fest', Lz kn- v. 'seize with the hand', Mg d. kun- ~ kin- 'hold, draw', Lz d. kn- v. 'grasp (with a hand), snatch', Sv {FS} kaW-, kW- 'take, catch': li-kW-en-i 'anhalten, festhalten, fangen', xW-a-kW-en-i 'ich fange', č-ot-käW 'ich hielt fest', la₁-käW 'festgehalten, besetzt' ¶¶ K 104-5 (*k-), K² 84 *kaW-/kW-), FS K 167, FS E 182 (both reconstruct *kaW-), Chik. 293-4 || D *kaV- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'grasp' > Tm kavar v. 'seize, grasp, catch', MI kavaruca v. 'plunder, rob', Kn kavar v. 'take away by force, seize', Krg kamdi v. 'steal', TI kavayu v. 'embrace, copulate', ? OTI, TI kamucu v. 'hold, seize' ({Km.} -m- < *-v-); D ⇨ OI kavarakī- a captive female prisoner' ¶¶ D no-s 1326, Zv. 45, Km. 325 ◇ Fn. KD no. 24 (K, D).

1232. *kaχü ~ *kaχyU 'strike, push' ([in descendant lges] → 'hew', 'touch') > HS: EC: Or {Th.} ku²-a (nom. ku²an) 'colpo, percossa, bastonata', {Grg.} ku²a v. 'chip off', ??σ Arr kēh- v. 'split, tear' ¶ Th. 282, Grg. 334, Hw. A 378 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} ku²- v. 'wound' ('ferire'), ku²-is- v. 'strike' ('percuotere'), WI {LmS} ku²- 'split' ¶ Mrn. O 156, LmS 427 || K: GZ *kweχ- 'push in, fill in' > G I/Gr kvex- vt. {K²} id., {Chx.} 'ingendwo hinein-stecken\zwängen, einkeilen, einquetschen', Mg kvax- 'push\fill in' ¶ K² 94, Chx. 580-1 || IE *kaHw-/kH₂w- ~ *ka₂H₂- > NaIE *kaW-/kāW-/kū-, *ka₂l₂- v. 'strike, hew' (× N *gE²ú 'to shape [an object] by chopping, beating, etc.') v. 'form an object by chopping\ hammering' > ON hōggva, OHG houwan, NHG hauen, AS hēawan 'to hew', NE hew || Lt inf. káuti (pres. káuju, p. kóviau) 'to beat, to fight, to kill', kovà 'a fight', Ltv inf. nò-kaūt 'to kill, to slaughter'; Lt kújis 'sledgehammer', Pru cugis 'hammer' | Sl inf. *kovǎ-ti (1s pres. *kūj-ǫ ~ *kōv-ǫ) 'to forge, to hammer' > OCS inf. КОВАТИ kovati (1s pres. КОВѦ kovǫ), SCr inf. kòvati (1s pres. kùjēm), Slv inf. kováti, OCz inf. kovati, Cz inf. kouti, Slk inf. kovat', P inf. kuć (1s pres. kuję), Δ kovac', R inf. ко'вать (1s pres. ку'ю) id., Blg ко'ва v. 'forge, hammer'; pSl *kǰb 'hammer, stick, cudgel' > OCS КЪИ kǰb, SCr † kij 'hammer', Lls kij 'stick, cudgel, hammer', Slv kij 'large (wooden) beetle', Cz kuj 'stick, cudgel', P kij 'stick', OR, RChS КЪИ kǰb 'hammer, cudgel', R Δ кий 'stick, hammer (for stunning fish and building stoves)', as well as R кий 'billiard cue' (× ← Fr cue id.) || pTc {Ad.} kau- > Tc: A ko-, B kau- v. 'strike down, destroy' ¶ WP I 330-1, P 535, EI 549 (*keh₂u- 'strike, hew'), Mn. 483-4, Lehm. GE 213 (ON -ggv- < IE -wX-), Vr. 280, Kb. 483, OsS 491, KM 293,

Ho. 153, Frn. 232, En. 198, Тр. P K-L 238-41, ESSJ XII 10-1, Glh. 340, Vs. II 231, Wn. I 227-8, Ad. 208 || U: FU *kay∇- v. 'hit (the target), touch, push against sth., knock against' > ObU {Ht.} *kāy- id. > pVg *kāy- 'hit (the target), touch, knock against' > Vg: T kāy-/kay-, LK xōy-/xoy-, MK kōy-/koy-, Ss xōy-; pOs *kay- v. 'dash, strike, hit, hit (the mark)' > Os: V/Vy qay-, Ty/Y qāy-, D/K xoy-, Nz/Kz xoy-, O xay- || F kajot'a 'to touch, to touch upon' ¶ UEW 118, Coll. 85, SK 145, Ht. no. 230, MK 95, BV 13, Trj. S 143, Stn. D 437-8 || A: M *qayī- > WrM {MED} qayī-, HIM {MED} xay- v. 'hew, cut, chop', Brt xay- v. 'обрезать, подрезать (копыта); behauen (обтесывать)'; ⇨ [1] M *qayī-čīn 'scissors' > WrM {MED} qaiči(n) id., 'tongs, pincers', HIM {MED} xayč, {BMR} xayč(in) id., Brt xayša 'scissors', Mnr H {SM} χέξ'í ~ χέξ'í (on p. 166 misprint χέξ'í) 'ciseaux', {T} χέξ'í, Mnr M {T} qayžī, Dx qayčī 'scissors', Ord χāč'í 'ciseaux'; [2] M *qayī-čī-la- v. 'cut, clip, shear' > WrM {MED} qaičila- id., HIM xayčla- {MED} id., {BMR} 'cut (hair, fingernails)', Brt xayžal- 'обрезать, cut with scissors; scheren', Mnr H {SM} χέξ'í-la- couper avec les ciseaux, tondre', Ord χāč'í-la- 'couper au moyen de ciseaux' ¶ MED 911-2, BMR IV 22, Chr. 535-6, SM 166, 168, T 375, T DnJ 124, Ms. O 347.

1233. *Kay∇ 'look, look for' > HS: C {E} *kay- 'hunt, look for' > Ag: Bln {R} qay-, qāy- (q = [k]) 'hunt, chase after (nachsetzen jemandem)', Xm {R} xay- 'bewachen' || EC: ??σ Ya -qaj- 'kill' ¶ E PC no. 153, R WB 248, R Ch II 59 || IE: NaIE *k_l^ωey-/*k_l^ωoy- 'observe, look' > OI 'cāyati 'perceives, is afraid of' || SI *čaja-ti (pres. *čaj-o) 'to expect, to hope' (× N *koyE 'be hungry, desire, want') > OCS, OR YA JATH čajati 'to expect', SCr čājati, Slv čājati 'to wait, to expect', Cz čajáti 'to wait for, to hope', R чаять 'to expect, to hope' ¶ OI 'cāyati 'respects' and Gk τίω 'appreciate, respect' do not necessarily belong here (for lack of reliable semantic ties) (they belong rather to {EI} *k^ωeh₁(y)- 'fear, revere' and/or *k^ωej₁- v. 'take revenge, repent; worth, price', see N *Koy∇ 'compensate, take revenge'), hence we need not reconstruct IE *k^ω- ¶ P 636-7, M K I 383, M E I 531. ESSJ IV 10-1, ≈ EI 198 || A: M *qayī- v. 'seek, search; look all around' > WrM qai- {MED} id, HM xay- {MED} id., {BMR} 'look for, search', Brt xay- id., 'aufspüren', WrO xai- 'seek, search', Kl {KRS} xəə- χā- id., {Rm.} χā- 'suchen, nachspüren', Ord χā- 'chercher, examiner' ¶ MED 911, BMR IV 21, Chr. 535, Krg. 255, KRS 587, KW 179, Ms. O 345.

1234. * $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{E}}\text{y}\hat{\text{u}}$ 'person of the same clan' ([in descendant lges] → 'friend') > **IE:** NaIE * $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{e}}\text{j}\omega\text{-}$ 'person of the same clan' > OI 'δέυα- 'dear, intimate' || OL *ceivis*, L *cīvis*, Osc CEUS 'citizen' || OHG *hīwo* 'married man, husband', {OsS} id., 'member of the clan (Hausgenosse), servant (Knecht)', AS *hīwan* pl. 'family, household', *hīw-cund* 'domestic, familiar' (> NE *hind* 'farm labourer'), OSx d. *hīwa*, OHG d. *hīwa* 'wife', ON *hjú(n) ~ hjón* 'one of the household', pl. 'married couple, members of a family', Gt *hejwafrauja* 'οἰκοδεσπότης, master of the house' || Ltv *siēva* 'wife' ¶ P 539-40 (believes that * $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{e}}\text{j}\omega\text{-}$ is an extension of * $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{e}}\text{i-}$ 'lie, liegen'), M K III 376, WH I 224-5, Bc. G 314, Vr. 233, Fs 253-4, Schz. 168, Kb. 472, OsS 404, Ho. 161, Ho. S 34, Fs. 253-4, Kar. II 179, EI 214 and 622 (* $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{e}}\text{j}\omega\text{-s} \sim *Ḷ^{\text{i}}\omega\text{-s}$ 'belonging to the household') || **HS:** C: Bj {R} 'к^ωāуа 'comrade, friend' ¶ R WBd 154 ¶ The labialized *k^ω*- is probably due to the spread of labiality **u|ω* (sth. like * $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{E}}\text{y}\hat{\text{u}}$ > ** $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{u}}\text{y}\hat{\text{u}}$ > Bj 'к^ωāуа) || Eg fP {EG} куу, {Fk.} ку 'other' (≡σ: Sl **drugъ* 'friend' - **drug-ъ/-оуь* 'other') ¶ EG V 110-5, Fk. 285 || **A:** M **qayalid* 'second cousin of the father's side' > WrM {MED} *qayalid*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хаяалид* id. (unless derived from **qoyar* 'two'), ? Brt d. *хаяалсар* 'son(s) of a second cousin']??σ M **qayira* 'love; grace, mercy, compassion' > WrM {MED} *qaira*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хайр* id., Brt *хайра* 'compassion, жалость', Kl {Rm.} *χḗra* 'Gnade, Gnaden-bezeugung'; ⇨ : [1] M **qayirala-* v. 'love, have mercy' > WrM {MED} *qairala-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хайрла-* id., MM [HI] *qairala-* 'témoigner de l'affection', *qayirala-* 'avoir compassion', [S] *qayirala-* 'have pity of, care for', [MA] *qayirala-ba tundi* 'did him a favour', [2] M **qayiran* 'dear (chéri)' > WrM {MED} *qairan*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хайран* 'dear, nice; pitiable, regrettable; precious', Brt *хайран* 'poor (worthy of being pitted), жалкий', Kl {Rm.} *χḗran* 'Gnade, Gnadenbezeugung' (sem. and grammatical infl. of Kl *χḗra* '↑'), Ord *χḗran* 'digne de compassion; qui est l'objet d'un amour; dont on n'aime pas à se défaire', Mnr H {SM} *χḗran* 'cher, chéri' ¶ MED 913, BMR IV 19-20, 76, Chr. 534, 567, KW 180, SM 167, Pp. MA 288, Ms. H 86, 89, H 64, Ms. O 346 ¶ For the semantic change 'friendship' → 'love' cp. R род'ной ('of the same family' → 'beloved').

1235. (₂?) * $\text{Ḷ}^{\text{u}}\text{y}\hat{\text{u}}\nabla$ 'compensate, take revenge' > **IE:** NaIE **k^ωeǵ-* v. 'take revenge, reprove', 'worth, price' > Av *kāy-* 'vergelten, büßen', *čikaçat* '(he) carries out reprisal, punishes, takes revenge', OI

'caуatē 'revenges, punishes' || Gk A τύω, Gk Ep τύω v. 'pay honour, honour', Gk τύνω v. 'pay (a price by way of return), pay (penalty)', τύσις 'payment (by way of return\recompence), retribution, vengeance' || ? OIr cín (gen. cínad) 'faute, crime, culpabilité, responsabilité' (P: < *k^winu-t-s) || Sl inf. *kǎjati 'to reprove, to blame' (→ vt. 'confess') > Slv inf. kájati 'to reprove', OR, ChS inf. ΚΑΡΑΤΗ kajati, R Δ inf. 'каятъ vt. 'to reprove, to blame; to confess', Sl *kǎja-ti se 'to repent' > OCS ΚΑΡΑΤΗСА kajati se, SCr kajati se, Slv kájati se, Cz kǎti se, Slk kajat' sa, P kajać się, R 'каяться id., Blg 'кая се v. 'repent' || -d→ NaIE *k^wojnā 'compensation, price' > Av kaēnā 'penalty, vengeance', {Brtl.} 'Strafe, Vergeltung, Rache', ZPhl kēn 'revenge', NPrs كين kīn id., 'hatred, enmity' || Gk πολυή 'quit money for blood spilt; price, requital, penalty' || Mir {EI} cín 'guilt, crime, payment due' || Lt káina 'price, cost, worth'; Pru d. er-kīnint 'to liberate (from the devil)' | Sl *cě'na (accus.*cěno) 'price, worth' > OCS ЦѢНА cěna, Blg ce'na, Slv céna, Cz, Slk, P cena id., R ce'na (accus. цену), Uk ci'na, SCr céna & cijèna 'price' ¶ P 637, M K I 376, Brtl. 429, 464, Bai. 440, Sg. 1070, F II 573-4, 906-7, Vn. C 101, Frn. 203, En. 170, Tr. P E-H 75-8, ESSJ III 182 and IX 115-7, Glh. 162, 309-10, EI 123 (*k^wojneh_h 'compensation' <-d *k^we_h- 'fine, punish'), ≈ 198 (*k^weh₁(y)- 'fear, revere') || HS: B **✓ (w)k_H 'take revenge' > Ah əqq 'être vengé, se venger', Ah, ETwl, Ty eṣa 'vengeance', BMn 1s pf. ūṣī-ṣ 'I took revenge', hab. ttaṣ ¶ Fc. 1683, GhA 64 || ?σ D (att. in NED) *°kōy- v. 'measure' > Krx *xoy- v. 'measure, ascertain the extent \ quantity \ capacity of', Mlt qoye v. 'weigh, measure', as well as ?? Gnd kah- & ka?- v. 'measure, count' ¶¶ D no. 2227.

1236. *Ḳuya 'manner' (→ 'like, as') > U: FU *kuya 'custom, manner; as, like' > Er/Mk koy '(national) custom, peculiarity, way of life', Mk кодыма postp. 'like, similar to' | ? Es kujū 'shape, form, figure' | Prm {LG} *kod ({{LG} *kōd) 'as, like' > OPrm koyd, Z кодь kod, Z US kōd, Yz 'kuđ, Vt кадь kađ || Vg {Kn.}: T kəytə, LK xojtə, P koytə, Ss xōytə ~ xōīt 'like, as (gleich, wie, nach Art)' ¶ UEW 195, Slv. 38-9, W EDW 402, LG 127 || HS: [1] *ka₁ya₁ > S *ka ~ *°kay(a) 'like, as' (preposition of comparison or identity) > OA k-, IA, BA -ḳə-, Ar ka- 'like, as', Hb -ḳə- kā- / -ḳə- kə-, ḵḵḵə kə-'mō 'like', ḵḵḵə kā-'zē 'such' (lit. 'like this'), Ug k, Amr {G} ka, ki 'as, like', Ar ka-miθli-hi 'as him' (lit. 'as his likeness'), Sb k 'as, like', Tgr kə-m 'according to, like', ? Ak kī ~ kē (< *kay) 'as, just

as'), *kī* 'how?', Eb {Krb.} *ga ka*, *gi kī* 'as, like'; S *-ka, ending of adverbs of manner: **ʔay-ka(y)* 'how?' (lit. 'which like?') > Hb *ךְ'אֵי ʔē-קְ ~ הַכְּ'אֵי ʔē-קְ*, Ug *ʔīk* [**ʔēka*], OA, Aram *ʔyḵ*, Ak *akī ~ akē* 'how?'; **ka-ka ~ *ka-ka(y(a))* 'so' (lit. 'this like') > Hb *כְּ'אֵי ~ הַכְּ'אֵי*, Ak *kīkī ~ kīkē ~ kīkiya* 'so' ¶ KB 38, II 432-3, 458, KBR 39, 455-6, Seg. AAG 351-2, HJ 45, Br. AG 114, LH 394, Grd. UT §§ 10.9, 12.3, OLS 205-6, G A 22, Ln. 2998, BGMR 237, Sd. 468f., CAD VIII 316-29, 351, Krb. PE 84, 86 || C: Bj {R} *kā-k(ʷ)* 'how?' (interr. *kā-* [< N **Ḷo* 'who?'] + *-k(ʷ)* of manner), {Rop.} *kāk* 'how?, what... like?', Bj {R} *bak ~ bakʷ* 'so, like this/that' || Ag *-*ka* 'as, like' > Xm {Ap.} *wá-qā* 'how much\many?', Km *wɜ-xa* 'how many?', *wa-ʃ* 'how?' (*wa-*, *wɜ-* is interrogative, cp. Km *wä*, Xm {Ap.} *wír* 'what?') || EC: Arr *kā-kó(h)* 'how much\many?' (*kā* of quantity [*← *manner*] + interr. *-kó(h)*, cp. *mākó(h)* 'when?', *bukó* 'which one?' m.), possibly Or: Or B {Sr.} *ak(k)a* 'way, manners, customs; as, like', Or H/Wt *akka* 'as, like' ¶ R WBd 46, 138-9, R BedS §§ 182, 192, Rop. 203, Ap. Kh I 264, Ap. K 321, Hw. A 232-4, Sr. 261-2, Grg. 13, Brl. 12-3 || B: Gd *ammak* 'how?', 'de sorte que, de manière que' (interr. **m∇-* + *-*k* 'as') ¶ Lf. II no. O993 || [2] ? HS *-*κ∇* ('as, like?') > Ch: Hs *ḵāḵā* 'like' (prep.), *ḵōḵā* 'as, like'; the structure of *ḵāḵā* may be as in Bj (interr. + *-*κ∇* 'as, like') ¶ Ba. 531-2, 619 || IE: [1] NaIE *-*kl̥u* (ending of adverbs of manner and of denom. adjectives) > Sl *-*ko* 'as, like' in the pronominal adverbs **ja-ko* 'how?, like' (**ja-* 'which' + *-*ko* 'like, as'), **ka-ko* 'how?' (IE inter. **kwo-* + *-*ko* 'like'), **ta-ko* 'so' (**to-* 'this' + *-*ko*) > OCS *jačo, kačo, tačo*, R *как, так*, P *jak, tak*, etc.; this et. is especially plausible if the corresponding Sl adjectives **jakъ* 'qualis', **kakъ* id., and **takъ* 'talis' are based on the adverbs and not viceversa; but even if the basic form were adjectives, an underlying IE *-*ko* 'like' is not ruled out || [2] NaIE **ku̯i:* 'how?' (< cd **k̥u̯-ku̯i:* 'which way? quomodo?') > MLG *wū*, OSx *hwō, hū*, OFrs, AS *hū* 'how?', NE *how* || ?ϕ OIr *co* 'how?' || ?ϕ Av *čū* 'how?' ¶ Brg. KVG § 399, Rch. § 375, Vn C 134, Ho. 177, Ho. S 37-9, ESSJ I 64-5 (s.v. **ako* / **jačo?*), VIII 171 [**jakъ(jъ)*], and IX 118-9 [**kačo, kakъ(jъ)*], ≠ P 647-8 || A: NaT *-*ki ~ -g* in **tāk(i) ~ *täg* postp. 'like' (< dem. prn. + *-*g* 'as' > OT *täg* 'like' (postp.) (a long vw. suggested by MK's spelling), OAz *täki ~ tāk* (*sän tāk* 'comme toi'), Tkm *däk*, Uz *-däk* (*tämir-däk* 'like iron'), Tv *дег* 'as, like' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 468, Shch. OSMN 88, TvR 151 || Tg *-*k* (an ending of essive) > Ewk Urm *-k* (essive before the verb

ō- 'become': burkilē-k ō-mi '[he\she] becomes ill'), Lm -k (ending of the essive case) ¶ Vas. 757 || ?σ A possible (but highly questionable) source of a **U** sx, represented by FU *-k_L∇_J 'also, the same, too' (ffd. see N *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch') ◇ If NaIE *ku_Lː_J, *°-k_Lω_Jo and Hs k̄āk̄ā do not belong here, the N rec. will be *k|K̄uya.

1237. *k̄uyE 'be hungry, desire, want' ([in descendant Iges] → 'be in heat, lust') > **HS**: S *°✓k̄w̄y 'be hungry' > Ar ✓q̄w̄y (np. -q̄w̄ay-) 'be very hungry', قَوَى qawā- ~ قَوَا qawā?- 'hunger' (× Ar ✓q̄w̄y 'être vide') ¶ BK II 842-3, Hv. 636 || B *✓w̄q_LH_J (< **✓q̄w̄_LH_J) v. 'copulate' (× N *hoK̄U 'copulate', q.v. ffd.) || **K** {FS} *k̄o- 'desire' > Mg m-o-k̄o 'I want' (lit. 'mihi est voluntas'), g-o-k̄o 'you (sg.) want', o-k̄o 'wants', Lz k̄o:-b-k̄vat-i-k̄o-n 'ich möge zerschneiden', b-č̄ar-a-k̄o-n 'ich möge schreiben', Sv k̄u:-m-a-k̄u 'ich möchte', ž-a-k̄u 'du möchtest', χ-a-k̄u 'er möchte' ¶¶ FS K 187, FS E 205 || **IE**: NaIE *k̄w̄o_J- 'desire' > OI kēta-h̄ 'desire, will, intention', Av kaēta- 'Begehren' (in a cd) ||| Gk κίττα, Gk A κίσσα 'false appetite (of pregnant women)', Gk κισσάω, Gk A κισσάω v. 'crave for strange food' (of pregnant women), 'long to do (a th.)' ||| Pru quāits n. 'will (Wolle)', quoi '(he) wants', Lt 1s pres. kvieč'iũ / inf. kviești v. 'invite' ({Db.}: Lt iē points to the absence of any lr.) ¶ WP I 475-6, P 632, M K I 265, M E I 399, F I 860-1, Frn. 326, En. 200, Tp. P K-L 366-74, 384-6, Db. SA 235-262 || **U**: FU *k̄uyē (or *k̄eyē-) 'lust, amorous calling sounds' (× FU *k̄Eȳ∇- 'utter the mating call' [of birds in courtship ritual], 'sing' < N *gaḷūgæ 'covet, long for', [→ ?] 'mate, copulate') > Prm *k̄oy- 'emit amorous calling sounds' (of male capercalxies, etc.) > Z Δ koy-, koyt-, Z US k̄oy- id., Z koy-t, Yz 'kut 'birds' mating season\place' ||| Hg kéj 'carnal\sensual pleasure; pleasure, enjoyment' | ObU {Ht.} *k̄ēy- ~ *k̄ōy- v. 'emit amorous calling sounds' (of birds) > pVg *k̄āy- 'balzen' > Vg: T kiy-, UL/Ss *k̄ay-, LK/MK/UK/P/SV/LL k̄āy-; pOs {Ht.} *k̄ōy- ({JHl.} *k̄ōy-) id. > Os: V/Vy k̄ōy-, Ty k̄ōy-, Y k̄ōy-, D k̄ēy-, K k̄āy-, Nz/Kz key-, O qoy- id. ¶ Coll. 79, Sm. 543 (FU *kixi 'rut' > FP *kixi-, Ugr *k̄ĩgĩ-), LG 128, MF 346-7, Ht. no. 231, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 596-7, Trj. S 167 || **A** *K̄uy∇ > M *quyalī > WrM {MED} quyalī, HIM {MED, BMR} хуял 'lust, lascivious-ness; lusty, lewd', Ord xuyal eme 'femme qui se conduit mal' (eme 'woman;'), d. xuyalī 'fornication, adultère', ? Kl {Rm.} χūlj 'Hure, Kebsweib (der Fürsten)' ¶ MED 263, BMT IV 181, KW 201, Ms. O 365 || ?σ NaT *k̄_Lː_JI_Lː_Jy- (unless ← *kiy- 'hew, cut' [ET Q 200]) > OOsm {Ergin} q̄iy-

'intend to', Ggz, Qzq, Qrg қІу-, VTt қъу- 'take a decision to do sth.' ¶ Chv хăй- хъу- means 'wagen (сметь, осмеливаться)' rather than 'take a decision to do sth.' (as in the first edition of this dictionary) and therefore does not belong here ¶ ET Q 197-8, Ergin DK II 183, Fed. II 318, Jeg. 289, ChMS 214 ¶¶ ≠ DQA no. 701 (incl. T).

1238. *k̑æ'h'uy∇ (or *k̑æ'h'üy∇?) to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.) ([in descendant lges] → 'to boil, to cook') > IE: NaIE *k̑ēu-/*k̑əu-/*k̑ū-vt. 'set fire to, burn' > Gk I καίω, Gk A κάω 'I set on fire, light, kindle' (< *καϜ-jω), Gk Ep (med.) κηράμην, καῦμα 'burning heat (of the sun)' ||| pTc {Ad.} *k̑āun > Tc: A kom̑, B kaṽm̑ 'sun' (← *'burning heat of the sun') ||| ?? Blt: Lt inf. k̑ūléti 'be blighted, brandig werden' (of corn), k̑ūléš 'brand, smut, blight (of corn)', Ltv k̑ūla 'last year's withered (← *'burnt') grass'; the ancient meaning has been preserved in a loanword in BF: F kulō 'Waldfeuer, withered grass' ¶ P 595, EI 88 (? *k̑eh_hω- 'burn'), F I 756-7, Frn. 306-7, SK 234-5, Ad. 210-1 || **HS:** S *✓kwy (*-kwiy-) vt. 'burn' > BHb G prtc. הַיָּבֵשׁ kō'wē 'burn, scorch' (h.l. Jr. 23.29), (N ip. 2m) הַיָּבֵשׁ תִּיקְכָּא'wē 'be scorched', JA [Trg.], ChPA, Sr ✓kwy|w (כֹּבֵשׁ, כֹּבֵשׁ) vt. 'burn', Ar ✓kwy (pf. k̑āwā, ip. -kwiy-) vt. 'cauterize', ? Ak fOB ✓kwy|w (inf. k̑awû) vt. 'bake' (unless this is a secondary variant of kamû id., as claimed by CAD VIII 131 against the ev. of Ak OB: kakkartum ku-wi-i 'bake kakkartum-bread') ¶ Br. 320, KB 441, KBR 463, Lv. II 302-3, BK II 946, Hv. 671, Sd. 441, 466-7 || **SOM:** Hm K {Fl.} kaʔo vt. 'burn', Hm B {Fl.} kōka id. ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'burn' || ?? C: Ag *k̑aw- 'warm' > Bln {R} k̑aw-s- 'erwärmen', k̑aw-r- 'sich erwärmen', k̑awrnā 'die Wärme', Q {R} k̑ō-t- 'such wärmen', k̑aw-t-anā 'Wärme' ¶ R WB 231 || Ch: WCh: BT: Krf {Sch.} k̑āʔʔú-wò vt. 'burn', Tng {J} k̑awε vt. 'fry (groundnuts, meat)'; NrBc: P' {J} k̑ù vt. 'fry, roast', {MSk.} ku 'fry', Wrj/Jmb/My {Sk.} k̑aw-, Kry {Sk.} k̑āw-, Cg {Sk.} kuwa, Sir {Sk.} k̑ū 'fry'; Ngz {Sch.} k̑āyū 'fry (in oil)' ||| CCh: Bdm {Cyffer} k̑áwái 'fry' ||| ECh: Ll {Grgs.} k̑ūy 'fry', Ke {Eb.} k̑í vt. 'burn', Mu {J} k̑èwí 'fire' ¶ JI II 54-5, 154-5, 274, J T 96, Sk. NB 22, Eb. 70, Sch. BTL 55, Sch. DN 95 ¶¶ Blz. OL no. 103 (HS *k̑awy- 'burn'), OS no. 1441 (HS *k̑aw- 'set fire') ||| **U** *keu'e- vi. 'boil, be cooked, ripen' > F keittä- vt. 'boil, cook', kiehu- vi. 'boil', Es kee- vi. 'boil, cook' || ? Lp K {Gn.} kihte- k̑ēhte- vt. 'cook' || Chr: L k̑ja- k̑üa-, Uf k̑üa- vi. 'be cooked, baked, ripen', H k̑jə- k̑üä- 'be cooked, baken', B k̑üa- 'ripen, be baked' ||| Hg Δ k̑ōved- 'abgekocht, gedünstet, im großen und ganzen

gekocht werden' || Sm: Ne F: Ks *kū-* v. 'ripen' (of berries), Ny *kūb_ī* 'ripe soft cloudberry' ¶¶ UEW 143, Coll. 23, MRS 256, Ep. 50 || ¶: [1] NaT **Кауina-* vi. 'boil' > OT *қауiн-*, *қауна-* id., Tk *кауна-*, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, Alt, Xlj *қауна-*, Kr *кауна-*, Xk *χауна-*, Tv *χауiн-*, Tf {Ra.} *ḥējn-*, {TL ← ?} *χαεν-* 'boil (sieden)', Az, Tkm *гауна-*, Ggz *кауна-*, Uz, Slr *қауна-* id., 'boil (be cooked)', Yk {Pek.} *кiуiн-* ~ *кiуiн-* 'cook, be cooked', {JkR} *кiу-* 'boil (sieden)' ¶ Cl. 678, ET KQ 203-5, Ra. 188, JkR 215, Pek. 1371-2 || M **қауiра-* > WrM *қairа-* {MED}. v. 'fry, grill, roast; singe with hot iron', HIM *хайра-* {MED} id., {BMR}. v. 'fry, grill, roast; cauterize a wound with hot iron', Brt *хайра-* 'fry, roast; burn through while ironing', WrO *χair-* v. 'brand', Kl {KRS} *хәәр-* *χā̄r-* v. 'singe, roast', {Rm.} *χā̄r-* 'braten (über dem Feuer), brennen, plätten (mit dem heißen Plätteisen), im Kessel etwas schnell trocknen' ¶ MED 907, 913, BMR IV 20, Krg. 257, KRS 587, KW 180, Chr. 534 || pKo {S} **kò'ī-* v. 'boil, cook' > MKo *kò'ī-*, NKo *kō-* ¶ S QK no. 536, Nam 48, MLC 137 ¶¶ The vw. *-a- (instead of *e or *ä) in pA may be due to vw. harmony ¶¶ SDM 657 (pA **k'кеуу* v. 'boil' > M, Ko, T **Кауiн-*), DQA no. 751 (pA **k'кеуу* 'boil, cook') || [2] ?φ NaT **к'үн-* vi. 'catch fire, burn' (if *-н- is from *-уn-, as suggested by Cl.) > OT *кү́r-* 'burn', Qmq *güу-*, Tkm, ET, Ln, Xk, Qc, Qb, Sg *köу-*, ET *köу-* ~ *küу-*, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Tlt, SY, Ln *küу-*, VTt, Bsh *көй-* *кб̄у-*, Uz *кωу-*, Xlj *кiн-*, Yk *кб̄у-* ({ET}: < ***köŷ-*) vi. 'burn', Tk *гөу-* vt. 'burn, singe (жечь, обжигать)' ¶ Cl. 726, ET KQ 88-9, TrR 352 || M **қууiқа* 'scalp; animal skin from which the hair has been singed' (× N **кoyH∇* 'skin, bark', q.v.) > WrM {MED} *қуiқа* 'animal skin from which the hair has been singed; scalp', HIM *хуйх* {MED} id., {BMR} 'skin of the head; singed skin of animals', Brt *хууха* 'skin of the head, scalp', Ord *хууха* 'le cuir chevelu', Kl {Rm.} *χūχα* 'Schwarte, die Haut auf dem Kopfe', ?σ Kl {KRS} *хуух* 'thick skin'; M **қууiқа-la-* > WrM {MED} *қуiқала-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *хуйхла-*, Kl {KRS} *хуухл-* 'singe, burn (hair, feathers, grass etc.)', {Rm.} *χūχαl-* 'die Schwarte sengen, das Kopfhaar ansengen', Brt *хуухал-* 'singe (legs and head of an animal before cooking)', Ord *хуухала-* 'passer à la flamme pour brûler les poils encore implantés dans le peau'; M → (?) Qrg *қууқала-* 'singe (a hen, a sheep)', StAlt *қууқала-* 'singe (a hen, a swine), Tv *қууҗала-* 'singe (a hide)' ¶ The Qrg, StAlt and Tv verb is likely to be a loan from M, but it may have been derived within the T lges as well, because the verbal derivational *sx -la-* is productive both in M and

in T (Pp. GPMJ 135, Cl. XLV) ¶ MED 983, BMR IV 162, KRS 615-16, KW 201, Chr. 607, Ms. O 364-5, Jud. 438, TvR 263, BT 94 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 853 (pA *k'úñe- 'burn, get burnt' T *köñ- 'burn' + [not going back to N]: M *köʷe 'soot', pJ *kuànkàra- 'be burnt' and pKo *kìñìr- 'soot') || D (in SD) *kuy- ({{GS}} *k-) vi. *'burn' > Tu kuyuluni vi. 'inflammé (as the eyes or a boil)'; Kdg {Em.}: Kdg NI kuyⁿ- (fts. kuyyuⁿ-), Kdg MV kuynd- 'feel prickly' ¶ D no. 1761 ◇ U *-e- of the first syll. (for the expected *ä or *a) is still to be explained (regr. as. **ä|a...e > *e...e?).

1239. *K̥ay₁ʔ₁∇ 'wilderness, desert, woods (esp. in the mountains)' > IE: NaIE *kaj̥to- {Dv.} 'uninhabited land, heath (brughiera)', {P} 'woods, uninhabited land' > Clt {Matas.} *kayto- 'wood' > OW coit, W coed 'trees, wood', OCrn [ʃ] cuit 'silva', MCrn cōys, cos 'forest', MBr {Matas.} coat id., Br {Hm.} koad 'bois', koadeg 'forêt' || AS hæð, MLG hēde 'heath (land)', MHG heide, NHG Heide 'heath, moorland', Gt haiþi 'field, arable land' (← 'uninhabited land, heath, steppe'), ON heiðr 'highland', Gtn haid 'large forest, woods', Sw hed, Dn hede 'heath, uninhabited land', NE heath ¶ P 521, Dv. 165, 500 [no. 804], LP § 14, YGM-1 94, Hm. 469, Fs. 237, Vr. 217, Sw. 80, Matas. E 198, Hm. 469, Ho. 146, Lx. 83, KM 297 ¶ The element *-to- goes back to a sx || HS: S *^o✓ k̥w|yʔ > Ar قَيّ قَيّ-, قَوًّا qawa- (< *kaway-), قَوًّا qawāʔ-, قَوًّا qiwāʔ- 'desert, uninhabited land' ¶ BK II 843 || EC: Ya {Hn.} qē (pl. qēʔ) 'mountain', {Gr.} kaiet 'mountain, forest' ¶ Hn. Y II 130, Gr. M s.v. kaiet || NrOm: Male {Gr.} kaho, Cha {C} kuwi 'forest (boscaglia)' ¶ C SE III 170 || D (in SD) *kā ({{GS}} *k-) 'forest, jungle' > Tm kā 'forest, pleasure grove', kāṇam 'woodland, grove', Tm K kāvam 'forest', MI kānam 'jungle', Kn kā 'forest', Tu kāna 'forest, jungle, wood'; D ⇨ OI kānana- 'forest' ¶ D no-s 1418, 1438, Tu. no. 3028.

1240. *K̥uyh∇ 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose, to be comfortable' > HS: S *^o✓ k̥w|yh > Ar qāh- 'commode, aisé' (se dit de l'état, de la vie d'un homme riche), 'obéissance', {Hv.} 'comfortable' (life), 'obedience' ¶ BK II 842, Hv. 636 || IE *k^ωeĵH̥-/ *k^ωiĵeH̥- > NaIE *k^ωeĵa- / *k^ωiĵē- {P} v. 'be at rest, repose' ({{P}} 'behaglich ruhen') > L quiē- s cō / pfc. quiēvi / sup. quiē- tum 'rest from work, lie down, sleep', quiē- tus adj. 'resting', sleeping, at peace', quiēs (gen. quiēt- is) n. 'repose, quiet; repose at night, sleep; peace' || Irn *čyā- {Bai.} 'be at rest, happy' > Av šyā- 'be glad, happy', OPrs šiyātaŷ-, YAv šātaŷ- 'Freude, Wohlbehagen, Glück', OPrs {Hinz} šiyātiš

'Glückseligkeit, Segensfülle, Wohlstand', Oss: I äncoy, D äncoyñä n. 'rest (quies, Ruhe), rest from work; prop' (< Irn *ham-čyā-na-), I äncayun, D äncayun v. 'stop, cease, calm\quiet down, become quiet' (< *ham-čyā-), I/D äncad adj. 'quiet, calm' ||| Arm հանգիստ han-gi-st 'repose; ease, tranquility; well-being, leisure' (-gi- < *k^wi-), հանգչիմ hangč^him 'I repose, am at ease, rest (from work)' ||| Sl **čī-ti {SPS} 'to be at rest' in ds and cds: cd *po-čī-ti 'to repose, to fall asleep' > OCS поуити роčiti (1s pres. поуитѣ роčiję) id., 'to have a rest', R б по¹чить, Slv роčīti, SCr d. роčīnuti 'to have a rest, to die', Cz spročinouť 'to rest', Blg по¹чина 'have a rest, die', Uk спочити 'to take a rest, to repose', ip. *po-čī-va-ti 'to rest (from work, etc.), to repose' > OCS поуивати роčivati, P спoczynаć id., R б, † почи¹вать 'to rest, to sleep', Uk спочивати 'to sleep'; Sl d. *čī-la 'a while' > OCz čila id., OCz, Cz Δ včile 'now, immediately'; Sl *koj-i-ti vt. 'to lay (to rest), to calm' (caus. of *čī-ti) > Cz kojiti, Slk kojit', OP, P koic vt. 'to calm', ? Sl *kojiti 'to rear, to bring up' > SCr Δ kōjiti, Slv kojíti id., Cz kojiti 'to breast-feed'; Sl *po-kojь n. 'rest, quiet' > OCS покои рокоі, R, Blg по¹кой, Uk ¹покій, SCr рокој, Slv, Cz, Slk рокој id., P рокој 'peace' ||| ⇨ NaIE *k^wī-lo- 'quiet' > L tranquillus (< trans- + *k^wil-n-os) (~ ĩ {WP, P ← ?} tranquīlus) 'quiet, calm'; the shortening *ī > *i is problematic ||| Gmc *xwīlō 'rest, a while' > ON hvíla 'place of rest, bed', Sw vīla, Dn hvil(e) 'rest', Gt heila, OHG (h)wīla, NHG Weile, Dt wijl, OFrs hwīle 'a while', OSx, AS hwīl(a) 'a while, time', NE while; ⇨ Gt heilan 'cease', ana-heilan {Fs.} 'beruhigen, erquicken', ON hvíla 'to have a rest, to let so. rest', Sw vīla, Dn hvile sig 'to (have a) rest', OHG (h)wīlōn 'sich aufhalten, bleiben', NHG πweilen 'to stay, to stop, to abide, to tarry, to linger', verweilen 'to stay, to remain, to tarry, to linger', Dt verwijlen 'to stop, to remain' ¶ ≈ WP I 510, ≈ P 638, EI 474-5 (*k^weih₁ 'rest, quiet'), ≈ M K I 390, Brtl. 1716-8, Hinz 127-8, Bai. 146, Ab. I 150-2, Vs. III 305, 347-8, SPS II 198, 218, StSS 470, 494, ESSJ X 113, Chr. II 50, 63, ≈ Glh. 310, WH II 406, 700, EM 699, Fs. 284, OsS 439-40, Ho. S 39, Ho. 182, Kb. 1198, HDEL 1453, 1525, Vr. 272, Vr. N 780, 837, KM 848 ||| **U**: FU {UEW} *kuy∇- 'lie (liegen)' > pChr {Ber.} *kiyə- 'lie' > Chr: H {UEW} kie-, {Ep.} inf. киәш kiäš, L kiye- (inf. кияш ki'y-aš), E kiye- id. (pChr *i < *u due to the palatalizing effect of *-y-?); Chr B kuya- 'fleischlichen Umgang pflegen' ||| Prm {LG} *kEy]- v. 'lie' > Z

күйлыны куйł+~nł, Yx күłłı-ı-, Vt кыллыныны kłłł+nł id. || ObU: pVg *kũy- v. 'lie, sleep' > Vg: T/MK коу-, LK чоу-, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ ML куу-, UL/Ss чуу- id.; Os O чоу- id. ¶ UEW 197, Coll. 89, Ber. 16, Ht. no. 744, MRS 199, Ep. 43, LG 144, Stn. D 440 ◇ Alternatively, IE *k^ωe_h-, U *куу∇, and Ar qāh- may be considered belonging to N *g^ewih∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless' (see N *g^ewy∇ id.), but in this case the U vw. remains unexplained. But even if N *Қууh∇ and *g^ewy∇ these are two separate etyma, some semantic infl. of N *g^ewy∇ on U *куу∇ is probable ◇ ≈ IS I 357-8 (*Қоуh 'покоиться [ruhen]' > HS, IE, D, ? A), IS MS 355 (*Қ¹ууа 'покоиться'), AD GD no. 135.

1241. (2?) *Қау₁і₁wa 'to dig' (→ 'spade') > IE: NaIE *ko_hw- 'pit, hole' ({Specht}: a heteroclitic noun *kaiw_o-t, {EI} ? *kaiw_o(t) / *kaiw_ot-os 'cave, fissure in the earth') > OI 'кēvaṭa-h 'cave, hollow' (-ṭ- < *-rt-) || Gk καετός 'fissure produced by earthquake', Gk D καιάδᾱς ~ Gk [Eust.] καιάτας 'a pit or underground cavern in Sparta' ¶ F I 753, M K I 267, LS 858, F I 753, Specht D 25, WP I 327, P 512, EI 96 || U {Db.} *кауwo-, {UEW} *коуwa- v. 'dig, draw (water), ladle (out)' (× N *kou∇ ~ *kay∇ 'to draw [schöpfen]', 'scoop, spoon' [q.v.]) > F kai_o-, Es каевa-, Lw коу_o- v. 'dig', F kai_o-, Es каев 'well (Brunnen)', Lw kōi, kã:i 'spoon' || pLp {Lr.} *kōy_o 'ladle (out), dig' > Lp: L {LLO} kãi_oṭ, N {N} гоai_oṭ id., 'shovel, kick up', S {Hs.} гоaj_oudh vt. 'dig', 'dig out with hooves' (of reindeer), 'ladle', Kld коауve- vt. 'ladle' || Er койме коуме, Mk кайме 'каумə 'shovel (Schaufel)' || pChr {Ber.} *кууь- v. 'shovel (schaufeln, (с)грести лопатой)' > Chr: L куэ- кие- (inf. ku'aš), E кие-, H коэ- кое- (inf. коaš) id. || Sm {Jn.} *käy_o 'spade, shovel' > Ne Т сивa, Ne O {Lh.} síβ·ă, Ne F síβ·ăə 'shovel', En {Cs.} сеa, Ng {Mik.} 'каубу 'spade', Kms {KD} qō 'oar' ¶¶ UEW 118, It. no. 16, Lr. no. 467, Lgc. no. 2610, Hs. 630, ERV 276, PI 98, Ker. II 63-4, Ber. 22-3, MRS 235, Ep. 44, Jn. 63, IS I 334 (*÷ Er/Mk кауa- 'throw', Prm *коу- id., 'pour') || A: ?σ M *qayib∇ 'oar' (← 'spade?') > WrM {MED} qai_oba, qai_obi, qai_obi, HIM {MED, BMR} хайв 'ε oar for a raft or boat', Brt хайба 'boat', Kl {KRS} хэав хāw 'oar', {Rm.} хāw₁ 'Ruder' ¶ MED 911, BMR IV 17, Chr. 533, KRS 585, KW 181 ¶ The M √ is a valid cognate unless it belongs to N *kou∇ ~ *kay∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)'; scoop, spoon' ◇ IS I 333-4 [no. 209] (*Қауwa 'dig': U, IE [does not distinguish this etymon from the reflexes of N *Қāw∇ 'cavity, hole'] *÷ M *qay_oa- throw'), UEW 170 (U, M [borrowings]) ◇ If M *qayiba

belongs here, the N rec. must be trisyllabic: ***Ḳayīwa**. It is quite possible (even inevitable) that in some descendant lges the N paronyms ***Ḳay₁i₁wa** 'dig' and ***Ḳāw∇** 'cavity, hole' influenced each other and contaminated.

1242. ***Ḳ∇wǰ∇** ~ ***Ḳ∇ʔûǰ∇** (or ***Ḳ∇wǰ∇** ~ ***Ḳ∇ʔûǰ∇**) 'to draw (schöpfen); (to) ladle; (?) to dig out' > **K**: GZ ***Ḳ₀wz-** 'spoon' > OG, G **Ḳ₀vz-**, G **ΔḲobz-** **ḌḲomz-** **ḌḲoz-**, Mg **Ḳ₃z-** **ḌḲiz-** id., Lz **Ḳuz-** ~ **Ḳiz-** 'wooden spoon' ¶ G **ΔḲomz-** may have been influenced by some T lge. (see MT XIV [IM] **kamīč** 'ladle') ¶ **K** 113-4, Chik. 170, Abul. 201, Chx. 606, DCh. 622, Q 257, Cl. 626, Rs. W 229 || **IE**: Ht **kaśd-** 'auslöffeln, ausschöpfen' ¶ Ts. E I 538 (not found in Pv.) || **HS**: B **✓**Ḳʔz** > *✓**ʔz** v. 'dig' > Ah {Fc.} **əʔəh** v. 'be digged', BSn **əʔz** (hab. **qaz**), Izn, Rf, Mtm **əʔz** (hab. **qaz**), Izd **ʔəz** v. 'dig', Zng {TC} **aʔž** (pf., aor. **ʔaʔž**) 'creuser un trou' ¶ Fc. 1702, Pr. H no. 565, DCTC 294 || **C**: Ag ***Ḳ^ω∇S-** v. 'dig out' > Bln {R} **qũš-** (= **Ḳ^ωəš-**) 'aufgraben, durchlöchern' ¶ R WB 245 ◇ The **K** cns. ***z** suggests pN ***ž**, but neither N ***ǰ** is ruled out (variations ***z** ~ ***ǰ** are sometimes found in **K**). The Ht reflex (if valid) points to an affricate.

1243. ? ***ḲežE** 'warm, warm weather' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱel-/ḱl-** (~ ***ḱol-**) id. (× N ***ḲE^ʔya₁a₁** 'burn, heat, be heated, roast') > L **caleo**, **-ēre** v. 'be warm' ({EM}: < ***ḱol-**), **calidus** 'warm, hot', **calor** 'warmth, heat' || Clt {Matas.} ***ḱlito-** (< NaIE ***ḱl-to-**) 'warm' > MW **clȳd** 'warm, sheltered', W **clȳd** 'warm'; ? W **clæar**, ? Br **klouar** 'lukewarm' || Lt (1s pres.) **šylù** (1s p.) **šilaũ** (inf. **šilti**), Ltv inf. **siļt** v. 'become warm', Lt **šiļtas**, Ltv **siļts** 'warm', Lt **šilumà**, Olt [Dk.] **šilimà**, Lt **E šalimà** 'warmth' || Gmc: ON **hlær** 'mild, warm' (of weather), **hlana** 'to become mild' (of weather), OHG **lāo**, NHG **lau** 'lukewarm'; ON **hlýr** id., **hlý** 'warmth', AS **hleow**, **ǰe-hleow** 'warm, sunny', NE **lew** || Oss I **särd**, Oss D **särdä** 'summer', Psh **psarlay** 'springtime' (< pIrn ***upa-sarada-ka**), possibly also ?σ OI **śarad-** (nom. **śarat**) 'autumn', Av **sarəd-**, OPrs **θar₁∇₁d-**, BdhSgd **srδ-**, MPrs **sāl**, NPrs **سَال sāl** 'year' ¶ P 551, Dv. no-s 305, 551, Ab. III 80, M K III 304-5, M E II 616, WH I 137-8, EM 86, Frn. 959, 984, YGM-1 87, 91, Vr. 235, 240-1, Matas. E 208, Ho. 163, KM 426, Kb. 591, OsS 535, ≠ EI 112 (L **caleo**, **calidus** < ***ḱel-/ḱol-** 'cold') || **U**: FU (att. in FV) ***kež^hde** 'springtime' > pLp {Lr.} ***kiδə** id. > Lp N {N} **giđ^hđâ**, Lp S {Hs.} **g'ijre**, Lp U {Schl.} **giđda**, Lp L {LLO} **ki tã**, Pa {TI} **kiδδ^h**, Lp Kld {SaR} **кыдт**, {TI} **ki^ht**: id. | pMr ***keðə-**

y 'of spring' > Er *keđi y* 'spring-sown' (of crops), Mk *кеди се́рот* 'keđi šorət 'spring crops' (šora 'crop[s]') ¶ UEW 656-7, Lr. no. 399, Lgc. no. 2318, Hs. 607-8, SaR 139-40, TI 115, Ker. II 58 || HS: SC {E} *k̄āš- {AD} v. 'warm oneself by the fire', {E} v. 'dry out by the fire' (as in drying meat) ↳ Mb -kašā 'warm oneself by the fire'; Ehret adduces here DhI -k̄āš- v. 'harden' ¶ E SC 250 || B *^o✓ w k H s 'be warm, hot' (× N *k|g e H s ▽ 'warm, hot; warm\hot season') > Ah *ukas* (pf. *yakkus*) 'être chaud, avoir chaud', (caus.) s-*ukəs* vt. 'warm, heat', Gh {Nh.} *akkus* (pf. *ikkus*) 'be warm, heat' ¶ Fc. 900-2 ◊ Qu. for several reasons: the roots of IE and B are ambiguous, SC *k̄āš- is based on a loanword only, and U *-ž- is not the only possible rec. of the intervoc. cns.

1244. *k̄ož ▽ 'to skin, to debark (wood)' > HS: S *^o✓ k̄š w (× N *k̄eš u [- *k̄'ü' š ▽?]) 'to skin, to tear', q.v.) > Ar ✓ qš w (pf. *qašā*, ip. -*qšuw-*) v. 'debark (wood), skin (a snake)' ¶ Fr. III 448, BK II 744, Hv. 607 || U: FU *k̄ož ▽ 'skin, peel' (× N *k̄o_L ▽, ▽ ▽ [or *k̄o_L ▽, ▽ ▽] 'to peel, to debark') > pChr {Ber.} *k̄uḁakš- > Chr L *кудаш-* *кудаш-*, Chr P/M/Uf *кудаш-*, Chr Ch/YO/V *кудакš-*, Chr H *кыдаш-* *къдаш-* 'take off (one's dress, a knapsack)' || Prm *k̄u'í- 'take off, debark (a tree), skin (an animal)' > Z *ku'í-* id., Yz *kú'í-* 'debark (a tree), skin', Vt *k+í+ñ+* 'to take off (one's dress, shoes)' || Vg: LK *xāít-*, UK *kēít-*, UL *xāít-* v. 'peel, scutch (hemp, nettle)', T *kēíā'ntol* 'refuse\chaff (of flax\hemp)' ¶ Coll. 89, UEW 165-6, LG 145, Ber. 22, MRS 239, 265, LG 145, SZ 179 || A *k'óí- > M [1] *^oqoli-sun 'fish skin' > WrM {MED} *qolisun*, HIM {MED} *холис(он)* 'fish skin', {BMR} *хольс* 'dressed fish skin' (× N *k̄o_L ▽, ▽ ▽ [or *k̄o_L ▽, ▽ ▽?]) '↑' × N *k̄ola '[big] fish') || [2] M *qolt'a' -sun 'bark (of a tree)' (× N *k̄o_L ▽, ▽ ▽ [or *k̄o_L ▽, ▽ ▽?]) '↑') > WrM {MED} *qoltasun* ~ *qoltusun*, HIM {BMR, MED} *холтос*, Brt *холтоho(н)*, WrO *χoltosun*, Kl {KRS} *холтхсн* *χoltχъ-сьн* id., {Rm.} *χoldasη* 'Baumrinde' (-d- due to the phonetic infl. of *χoldasη* 'abgeschabtes Stück') ¶ MED 959-60, BMR IV 101-2, Chr. 579, 581, KRS 594, KW 182, Krg. 275, 277 || ?σ T *k'ú' > NaT *k'uš > Qzl {Jk.} *χūs*, Tk *куς* 'a hairless spot (on horse's skin)' ¶ Rs. W 305 || ?σ Tg *χolda-ksa 'board (Brett)' > Ewk *oldokso*, Ul *χoldoqso* id., Lm *oldus*, Neg *oldokso*, Ud *ogdo*, Ork *χoldoqso*, Orc *ogdokso* 'coffin' ¶ STM II 13 ¶¶ SDM 851 (pA *k'ú'ía 'bark, scales, scab' > T, M, Tg + unc. J *káśá 'scab' that better matches N *k̄a'í'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark', q.v.), DQA no. 1137 (id.), KW 182, S AJ 293 [no. 467] (pA *k'ü'í ▽ 'кора, чешуя' > M *qoli-sun, Tg), Mill. OJR

129 ◇ IS I 301 (? N *koš∇ 'обдирать' [U, A]) ◇ AD NM no. 99, S SN 152 ◇ This et. may be superfluous, because the Ar √ is explainable from N *KĒŠU (→ *K'ū'š∇?) 'to skin, to tear' (q.v.), while the FU and A words in question may go back to N *kol₁∇₁∇ (or *kol₁∇₁∇?) '↑' (q.v.).

1245. *kū₁h|∇₁z|z∇ (r∇) 'neck' > K: OG *ķiser-i* 'neck', G *ķiser-i* / *ķisr-* 'neck, nape' ¶ Abul. 199, Chx. 596 ¶ The vl. OG -s- (from pK *-š|s-) may be explained by the infl. of a N Ir. (N *-h|∇₁z|z- > pK *-š|s-) | | HS: C: EC: Sml Ji qož 'neck', ? Gdl {Bl.} *κóροτ* 'front half of neck' || SC ({E} *k^ωa^τya 'neck' [?]): Brn qosa 'nape', Kz k^ωanzuko 'throat', SC → Mb *kikoža* 'ε necklace' ¶ E SC 268, E K 14, E PC no. 162, Bl. G 132 | | Om: (× N *KA?ū¹d∇ 'neck, [?] nap, shoulder', q.v.): NrOm: Wl/Zl {C} *κυοδε̄*, Zl {LmS} *κοδιya*, {C} *κοδιyā* 'throat', Gf {C} *κυοδε̄*, {LmS} *κōda*, {Mrn.} *κοδε*, Bdt {C} *κοδε̄*, Malo {LmS} *κōde*, Gm {Hw.} *κōδε*, Cha {C} *κi¹t¹ā*, Kf {C} *κε¹t¹ō*, Mch {L} *κättó*, {LmS} *κētto*, Anf {Gt.} *κε¹t¹ō*, Bsk {C} *κo¹ā* 'neck', Dc {LmS} *κōδε* id., 'throat' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} *kada* 'neck, throat' ¶ C SE III 116, 174, 218, IV 489, C SO 33, 45, 50, 63, 65, Mrn. O 156, LmS 436-7, Hw. EG s.v. 'neck', L M 48, Bnd. AL 155 | | A *kū₁z∇ ({S} *k₁'₁ū¹z∇) 'neck' > M *kū₁z₁ū-*šün* 'neck' > MM [S] *ku¹z¹ū₁n*, [HI] *gū¹z¹ū₁n*, [MA, IM, IsV] *ku¹z¹u:ri*, WrM {MED} *ku¹z¹ū₁gū₁n*, HIM {MED} *xγzγγ*, {BMR} *xγzγγ(H)*, Brt *xγzγγ(H)* 'neck, jugular vertebra', Kl {KRS} *κγzγH* *küzün* id., {RM.} *küzün* 'Hals', Dx *gužun*, Dg *kužū* 'neck', {Mr.} *χuzū* id., MMgl {Iw.} *kūžūn*, Mgl {Rm.} *kužūn* id., Mnr H {SM} *gužī* 'cou, goulot', {T} *γυδji* 'neck', Dg *kužū*, Dx *gužī* 'neck', Ord *k'ū¹z¹ū₁* 'cou, goulot, vertèbre du cou' ¶ Pp. MA 226, 440, MED 510, BMR IV 182, Chr. 615, Iw. 114, KRS 323, KW 249, Rm. M 31, SM 140, T 323, T DgJ 151, T DnJ 116, Lg. VMI 52, Mr. D 25, SM 149, Ms. O 434 | | Tg **kuj¹ū¹* 'neck' > Ork *qožī* id., Tg **kuju-* ~ **kuji-* 'bow one's head' > Ork *qožī* 'neck', WrMc {Z} *χ¹γ¹χ¹γ¹* 'bow one's head, bend down, bow low (in kneeling position)', Nn Bk *kužū-* 'bend down', Neg *kujit/ç-* 'kneal and boe down' ¶ STM I 403, 424, Z 450 | | pKo {S} **kíč* 'collar' > MKo *kíč*, NKo *kiš* [*kit*] id. ¶ S QK no. 29, Nam 82-3 ¶¶ SDM 750 (pA **kū¹z¹ī* → **kò¹z¹e* 'neck, collar' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 939 (id.), S AJ 294 [no. 505] (pA **k₁'₁ū¹z¹∇* 'neck, collar' > M, Ko) ¶¶ The de-emphatization in Tg or pA (**k-* for pA **k'-* → Tg **χ-*) is still to be explained | | D (in NED) **ok¹ē¹č¹∇r* 'neck' > Mlt *qasru* id., Krx *xesar* 'neck, shoulders' ¶ D no. 1996, Pf. 189 ◇ The vw. of the first syll. of the D cognate needs iunvestigating.

1246. *k̥aʒiχ∇ (~ *-ǰ-) 'to scold' > K: G k̥içχ- v. 'scold, blame, revile' (regr. as.: N *k̥aʒiχ∇ > **k̥iʒiχ- > G k̥içχ-) ¶ Chx. 597, DCh. 617 || HS: S *^o✓k̥δɣ > Ar ✓qδɣ (ip. -qδaɣ-) v. 'revile so.' ((BK) 'dire à qn. des injures, des gros mots'), qaδaɣ- 'foul speech' (× Ar qaδaɣ- 'dirt') ¶ Fr. III 415, BK II 695, Hv. 594 ¶ The unexpected -δ- (for -z-) remains to be explained (a merger with Ar {Fr.} ✓qδɣ 'percussit fuste' and qaδaɣ- 'dirt?') || U *^okas|š∇- (or *-o-, *-t-|-tt-|-ks-|-kša-|-šk-|-sk-) > pSm {Jn.} *k̥aṭb- v. 'scold' (× N *k̥ôχAd∇ 'scold', [?] 'shout [q.v.]') > En {Cs.} d.: En X kar u'rar o', En B kadudado' 'insult, scold'; Slq {Cs.}: Nr kuedak, MO/UO kuedaŋ, Ke kuettarŋ, Chl kuedčarŋ (everywhere {Cs.} k = [q]); Kms {KD} d. qudōí·ám 'I scold', Koyb {Sp.} кудолламъ id. ¶ Jn. 61, Cs. 79, 124 || A: M *qaʒi- > WrM qaʒi- {MED} v. 'hate, blame, tease', HIM xажи- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'despise, hold in contempt', Kl {KRS} xаз- χаз- 'to scold' (in Kl: × χаз- 'to bite' < M *qaʒa-) ¶ MED 948, BMR IV 15, KRS 568 || D *kač- ({ǰGS} *k-) v. 'scold, abuse' > Tm T kasar u v. 'bargain biterly', Kn gajar (u) v. 'produce a loud sound, scold', Tl kasar u 'scold, rebuke' ¶¶ D no. 1089 (does not distinguish between this ✓ and D *kač- 'quarrel', F s.v. N *k̥äɣš∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel').

1247. *k̥oʒi∇ 'tree trunk' > K: G k̥oč-i 'beam', {DCh.} 'the upper beam of the roof' (unless ← k̥oč-i 'ankle' < N *k̥'o'č∇ [or *k̥'o'č'∇?] 'bone') ¶ Chx. 618, DCh. 626-7 || HS: CS *guδ_L∇_L- ~ *giδ_L∇_L- 'tree trunk' > Ar ġiδɣ- 'palm-tree stock', BHb 'gezaɣ ~ 'gezaɣ 'stump, root-stock; shoot of a stump', MHb 'gezaɣ 'tree trunk', Sr 𐤊𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤔 ɡuz'ɣ-ā 'trunk\stump of a felled tree; shoot, rod' (a Canaanism?) ¶ KB 179, KBR 187, BK I 269, Hv. 82, GB 136, Lv. I 319, Br. 112, JPS 63 || B: Sll agb̄žžā (pl. igb̄žžān) 'tree trunk', ? agayyu 'dry trunk of a dead tree', Shl {NZ} agždi ~ agžži 'tronc, poutre', CM {NZ} ageždi 'piquet au milieu de l'aire à battre, auquel sont attachées les bêtes qui dépiquent', Ntf tigeždit 'solive, perche', Kb tigeždit ~ tig^weždit 'pilier de bois', Shw tagiždit 'colonne' ¶ Ds. 285, DMA 42, Dlh. Ou 107, NZ 754-5 || C: EC {Ss.} *gāzz- ~ *gēzz- 'tree' > Sml gēd, Rn {PG} gēy, Bn kēd- 'tree', Bs gā (pl. gād-ōl) 'forest, tree, wood', Dsn gā-č (pl. gāsam) 'shade, shadow', Or gādd-isa 𐤎𐤁𐤔𐤔𐤁𐤓 gās-sa 𐤎𐤁𐤔𐤔𐤁𐤓 gādd-itū, Kns kāt-t-a, Gdl kāt-t-unna id., Dbs/Gln {AMS} kāsē 'Verkörperung der Seele in einer Spinne', Brj {Ss.} gādd-ō 'shadow' ¶ Ss. EDB 72, PG 123, Th. 143, To. DL 498, AMS 268 || U: FU *koč'a 'e conifer tree, branch of a conifer' > F kataja, katava, Es

kaḏakas 'juniper' | pLp {Lr.} *kōccēvē 'branch of a conifer' (→ 'conifer
 needle') > Lp S XVIII {LÖ} kãtse 'ramis et folia abietis, pini vel juniperi',
 Lp: L kãhttsē 'conifer needle', N {N} goac'ce 'pine needle', Kld {Gn.}
 kuθ,hceν 'branch of a conifer tree' || Vg {Knn.}: Vg E kós 'a large
 conifer (pine, spruce, larch, cedar)', Vg P k^ωós pəyüω 'spit of conifer
 wood' (yüω is 'tree, wood'), Vg Ss χῦś ῠίθα 'a long, thick, branchless
 cedar' (ῠίθα 'cedar') ¶ UEW 165, Lr. no. 465, Lgc. no. 2598 | | A: M
 *qož'ı'ψ'ula > MM [S] {H} qož'ı,ula-s pl. 'dead standing trees, tree
 stumps', WrM {MED} qozugula ~ qozıgula 'tree trunk, stump', HIM
 {MED} xozyulь id., {BMR} xожyул 'stump; snag (коряга)', Ord
 χυž_ūla 'souche d'arbre ou d'arbrisseau' ¶ MED 975, BMR IV 94, H 65,
 Ms. O 364, ≠ Vv. ANE 14 (M *qož'ı|ugula * ← ζozui- 'be erect, rise,
 stick up', but *q ≠ ψ!) ◇ AD NM no. 86. The voicing of N *ḳ- in pHS
 may be due to as.; K *-č̣- and FU *-č̣- are from N *-č̣- (through the
 stage *-č̣̣-?).

1248. (₂?) *lA, a marker of verbal constructions (noun + *lA = analytical verb) ([in descendant lges] → sx of denom. verbs) > U *-l∇, sx of denom. verbs: Lp N {N} (together with the passive sx -u∇∇â-): Šálkâ-l-u∇∇â- v. 'harden' (← Šálkâ 'hard') || Er экшеля- екше-ía- v. 'bathe' ← 'cool oneself' (← екше 'cool') || Chr L йѳштылаш yüstь-'la-š 'to bathe' (← {Lw.} 'to have a cold shower bath') ← йѳштō yüstō n. 'cold' || ? Es {W} arg-le-ma 'to become shy/fearful' (← arg 'shy, fearful') || Z {W} pзr+śl+n+ 'to get old' (← pзr+ś 'old'), Z US gзtral- vt. 'marry so. to' (← gзt+r 'wife') || Vg N āšam-l- 'be sick' (← āšam 'illness'); Os V lopal- v. 'angle (fish)' (← lop n. 'fishing rod'); possibly also the Vg Ss sx -l for the result of an action: Vg Ss {ChCh} yaktil 'Schnitt, разрез' (← yakt- 'cut'), posal 'Wasserriß im Fluß, прорва, промой (на реке) (a place that was "washed through" in a river)' (← pos-'wash') || ? Sm: Ne T мириле- miriē- 'ask an excessive price' (← мир" mir? 'price'), Ng {Hl.} (in IS II) kamz-lz- 'smear with blood' ← kām 'blood', Slq Tz {Hl.} apt-al- 'smell (sth.)' ← apt+ n. 'smell' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 161-4, Gy. WBU 40, Coll. CG 272-3, N LL I § 325, ERV 776-7, MRS 158, W EDW 39, W SDW 252, Ter. 255-7, ChCh 55, IS II 14-16 || | A *-lā- / *-lā- > T *-lā- / *-lā-, sx of denom. verbs: OT баś-la- 'begin' (← баś 'head'), Yk -lā- / -līā- / -lūō- / -lūō- (sx of denom. verbs), Chv -ла- (Chv L пуѳла- ruś-la- 'begin', cp. пуѳ 'head') ¶ Cl. XIV, 375, 381-2, Andr. ChJ-66 54, Ubr. JJ 417 || M *-la- / -le-, verbal denom. sx: WrM {MED} darqa-la- v. 'do the word of an artisan, craftsman or smith', HIM {MED, BMR} дархла- id., Brt дархал- 'make, мастерить, изготовлять', Kl {Rm.} darχal- 'sich mit Schmiedehandwerk beschäftigen, Schmied sein', Dg darχalā- 'make, мастерить; schmieden', cp. WrM {MED} darqan 'artisan, craftsman', HIM дархан {MED} id., {BMR} if., 'blacksmith, умелец', Kl {KRS} дархн 'blacksmith', {Rm.} darχan 'Schmied' ¶ IS supposed that here Dg preserved the pM length of vowels ¶ Pp. IM 75, Pp. PLVM 13 (on pM long vowels), MED 236, BMR II 41, Chr. 389, KW 78, KRD 185 || Tg *-lā- / -lē-, sx of denom. verbs > Ewk, Lm -lā- / -lē-, Nn, Ul -la- / -lā-, WrMc {Z} -ла- / -лэ-, e.g. Lm mū-lē- 'carry water' (← mū 'water'), mō-lā- 'bring firewood' (← mō 'wood') ¶ Bz. 116, Vas. 766 ¶¶ Rm. VMT 80-2, Rm. VAJ 173-4, Pp. PLVM 9 ¶¶ The length of the vw. in the T, N and Tg suffixes still need explanation || | ? HS: traces of the denom. verbal sx *-l- may be discerned in S: S *°✓rb| v. (> Ar ✓rb| v. G 'multiply; have many children, flocks') presumably ← S *rabb- 'numerous, big' (> BHb בָּרַבְּ rab)

/ - רַבּ rabb- id. etc.), S *^o✓š̂.ʕl v. (> Ar ضَالٌ ✓š̂.ʕl v. G 'be lean/thin/little') presumably derived from a S adj. *^oš̂.a'ʔay- underlying the Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} pf. ضَايَ š̂.a'ʔā 'tenuer habitus corpus' ¶ ≈ E O3C 136 (with a different semantic interpretation if the derivational pattern in question), Fr. III 1, BK I 812 and II 1, Hv. 239, 412 ◇ IS II 14-16 (U, A).

1249. ***l̥A**, analytical ([in descendant lges] → synthetical) marker of collectivity) (or N ***ʔE_{l̥}A**, dem. prn. of collectivity, probably connected with N ***ʔel̥**∇ 'clan, tribe?' [q.v.] > K *-l-, *-^oāl- > pSv *-āl- (> Sv: UB -āl-, LB -āl-, Ls -āl-, Ln -āl-), verbal sx for plurality of objects: Sv Ln li-ppriśd-al-i 'to baptize many', pSv -āl (> Sv UB -āl), sx of pl. in nouns: Sv UB dīnāl 'girls' (↔ dīna 'girl'), meš̂χāl 'black' pl. (↔ sg. meš̂χe), mārāl 'Menschen' (↔ māre 'person') (Top. SJ 81 mentioned dialectal variants mārēl and marol 'Menschen'), pSv *la-...-a (pl. of some nouns of kinship: Sv UB lä-χχw-a 'wives' [↔ sg. χeχw 'wife'], la-χwb-a 'brothers' [↔ sg. mu-χwbe 'brother']), pSv *-āl- and *-iēl-, pl. markers in passive participles: Sv lə-mār-āl-e 'parati, prepared' (pl.); a Zan cognate of the Sv -l-plural may be discerned in the presuffix -l- in some Lz and Mg nouns (preceding the regular pl. suffix -epe: Mg kua-l-epe, Lz kwa-l-epe 'stones'). As to the most productive Sv pl. ending *-är/*-äl (with the allomorph *-äl after the stem with *-r-), it does not necessarily belong here (because its main and primary allomorph is *-är). It is possible that the reflex of the N pc. ***l̥A** is represented in the Sv verbal marker of 1p incl. subiecti l(ə)-...-d (Sv UP l-i-mār-i-d 'we [incl.] prepare ourselves', l-ä-r-id 'we [incl.] exist', lə-gem-d 'we [incl.] stand it') ¶¶ Test. S, Top. SJ 81, 84, Top. SE 238, Dt. 66-8, GP US 22, 61-88, Zhgh. ChMP 171, ≈ Q O26-O27 | | HS: EC *-∇l-, *-_{l̥}∇l-, sx of pl. > Sml Db -yēl- (miŋ 'house' - pl. miŋ-yēl-+̄, b+l̄lāw+̄ 'knife' - pl. b+l̄lāwi-yēl-+̄), Sml N -yāl- (ābbo 'father' - pl. ābba-yāl, wadno 'heart' - pl. wadna-yāl, billāwe 'knife' - pl. billāwe-yāl, garwān-le 'hunter' - pl. garwān-le-yāl, šēko 'tale' - pl. šēki-yāl, pl. of pl. and mass pl.: nāg 'woman' - nāg-o 'women' - nāga-yāl 'groups of women, women in mass'), Sml B -yāl (furo 'slave' - pl. furō-yāl, abēso 'snake' - pl. abēso-yāl), Sml Dgl -yāl (ʕēl 'well' - pl. ʕēl-yāl, habaš 'Negro' - pl. habaš-yāl), Sml J -yāl (gū 'year' - pl. gūwe-yāl), Bn -(i)yāli (ábi 'sibling' - pl. abi-yāli, síddah 'father-in-law' - pl. sídda-yāli, sirir 'bed' - pl. sirir-yāli), Rn -l- (lúħ 'leg' - pl. lùħ-ló), Bs -ēl, -ōl, -āl, -allo, -olē (wórab 'he-goat' - pl. worab-ēl, čačaw 'scorpion' - pl. čačaw-ōl, lef 'bone' - pl. lef-āl, sūl

'nail, claw' - pl. *sūlallo*, *gārša* 'old man' - pl. *gāršōle*), Or -*ōlē*, -*ōlī*, -*olī*, -*ēli*, -*lē* (*muča* 'child' - pl. *mučōli* ~ *mučēli*, *mōti* 'king' - pl. *mōtōle* ~ *mōtole*, *žabbī* 'calf' - pl. *žabbile*), Gdl -*ala*, -*alla* (*dīlk-át* 'elbow' - pl. *dīlk-alla*, *peʔa* 'young goat' - pl. *peʔ-alla*), Sd -*ulle*, -*ōle*, -*olle*, -*allo* (*danča* 'good' - pl. *dančulle*, *kaḳḳo* 'child' - pl. *kaḳḳulle*, *hayy-ičča* 'sorcerer' - pl. *hayyōle*, *mōt-ičča* 'lord, master' - pl. *mōt-olle*, *labba* 'male' - pl. *labballo*) || ? Ag: Km -*la* ({Ap.} *xʷzra* 'child' - pl. *xʷzr-la*), {CR} -*li* (*bər* 'lake' - pl. *bər-li*, *tarara* 'hill' - pl. *tararə-li*) || Bj {R} *b-a'lī-n* 'those' nom. m. (↔ sg. *b-ē-n*), *b-a'lī-b* 'those' accus. m. (sg. *b-ē-b*), *b-a'lī-t* 'those' nom./acc. f. (↔ sg. *b-ē-t*) ¶ Zab. MNPC 68-72, 93-4, 99-100, 141-2, 168, 237-8, 261 and 297, PG 214, Ap. K 323, R BedS III 32 || S: WS **ʔil(l)ay* 'these' (× N **ʔel∇* 'clan, tribe' [→ 'all', prn. of plurality], q.v. ffd. × N sequences **h'e'* *lA*, **h'i* *lA* and **h'u* *lA* [with the N deictic particles **h'e'*, **h'i* and **h'u*, q.v.]) || A *-*l*, sx of pl. > Tg *-*l*, pl. ending > Neg -*l*, Ewk -*l*, Nn (unproductive, fossilized after nouns) -*l* in Nn {Ci.} *nɜgi-l* 'younger sisters' (Nn Nh *nɜil* 'younger brothers and sisters'), pTg **puri-l* children > Nn Nh *puril*, Sln *uril*; in most lges *-*l* coexists with (or has been replaced by) a compound pl. ending *-*s^la^l* > Nn -*sāl*, Ul -*sali*, Sln -*sul* / -*çul*, Neg/Ewk/Lm -*sāl*; with participles the ending *-*l* is the main pl. marker in Ewk, Lm, Sln, Ul and Nn, as well as one of the pl. markers in Sln ¶ Ci. 254-5, Bz. 75-8, On. 297, 344, 548 || M *-*l*, rare pl. ending, surviving in MM [S] *daba_lal*, {Lew.} *dabaḡa-l* 'mountain passes' (↔ sg. {Lew.} *dabaḡa*, {Pp.} *daba_lan*), possibly MM *kimul* 'fingernails' (↔ sg. *kimu-sun*), as well as in WrM {MED} coll. *baḡacu_l*, HIM {MED, BMR} *багацүүл* ({Pp.} *baḡačūl*), Brt *багашүүл* *baḡašūl* 'children' (↔ sg. WrM *baḡacu_d*, HIM *багацүүд* *baḡačūd* {MED} 'youth, young man'), where *-*l* is added to the derivational sx {Pp.} *-*čū* (cp. pM **qara-čū* [WrM *qaracu*, HIM *хаpц* 'common people'] [lit. 'a black one'] and pM {Pp.} **boru-čū* 'uneducated person' [lit. 'a grey one']) ¶ Pp. IM 177, Lew. I 123, Chr. 74, Sin. UAP 216-17, MED 87, 933, BMR I 209 ¶¶ Hardly here (↔ IS II 14) T **iki-lä* (Cl. **ekki-lä*) 'twice', because this is a shortened var. of the gerund form **ekki-läyü* (or **ikiläyü*) from the T verb **ekki-lä-* (**ikki-lä-*) 'do for the second time' (←d **ekki* or **iki-*) 'two' with a denominative verbal sx *-*la*/**lä-* [F Cl. xiv, 108]) ¶¶ Not here the NaT plural ending *-*lar*/*-*lär*, going back to N **larw∇* 'many' (q.v.) || D *-*l*, pl. ending > Tm B/W *iččaya_l* 'flies' (sg. *iččay*), Tu *tare-l_u* 'heads', *āṇi-l_u* 'nails', OTI/TI {An.} *somandakəm-u_l* 'subordinated persons', TI *pāṭa-l_u* 'songs', Krg

kelesi-lu 'barbers', Klm kaye-l 'fishes', kī-l 'hands', Gdb ki-l id., Prj keyu-l id., ēnu-l 'elephants'; this ending appears within the compound pl. sx *- (n)k∇l(u) (in CITm āñ-kaḷ 'men, males', Kn marm-gūḷ 'trees' etc.) ¶¶ An. SG 178-80, Zv. CDM 12-13 || ? U *-lḷa (/ *-lḷä), sx of n. coll. > FU: Chr Δ {Wc.} -la (sx of collectivity, used also as pl. marker): kož'la 'pine forest', {MRS} 'fir forest' (← kōž 'pine' or 'fir'), kornə-la 'roads' (↔ kornə 'road'), Chr Ur βož'-la 'roots' (↔ βož 'root'), ? MkMr {Ahl.} -na-l, sx of n. coll.: sālī-nal 'elm forest, kuz-nal 'pine forest' (← sālī 'elm', kuz 'pine'); on the other hand, forms like Chr kož'la may be understood as substantivized adjectives ({MRS} kož'-la 'of fir trees, еловый') || Slq Tm/Ke {Hl.} -la, marker of plural: loga-la 'foxes' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 150-1, Wc. TNB 16, Ahl. MM § 56, MRS 205, Ü 70, ≈ Cs. GSS 109, 141 ◇ IS II 14-15 [no. 246] (*-l'ā', sx of n. coll.), Sin. UAP 214-16 (U, A), Gr. I 117-18 ("collective L" in U, A, CK).

1250. *lA, locative pc. > HS: S *la 'to, towards' > BHb ('to, towards' and the prefix of the inf.) -lā- (before a stressed syll.: ḥem 'to them', lā-'hō 'to come') / -li- (li- < *la- < *lā-) / -lā- (generalized allomorph, originally before an unstressed syll.), Ph l-, Pun l-, [GkSc.] λα-, (LSc.) [Poen.] LA- ~ LI-, Ug l-, (AkSc) li-, OA l-, IA l-, (GkSc) λα-, JA -lā- / -li-, Sr lā- / la-, Ar li-, Sb, Mn l-, Gz la-, Ak lā- 'to, towards'; the variant li- (in Ar, Ug, ? Pun) is on the analogy of the preposition (> px) *bi 'in' ¶ KB 482-4, HJ 549-58, A no. 1422, Dk. JDPa 262, Br. AG 114-15, Hnr. 142, Deg. 61-2, Br. SG 82, BGMR 81, L G 303, Sd. 520 || C *-l∇ > Ag *-l {AD} marker of locative-directive case ({Ap.} dir. case ending) > Bln {R} -l, -lī dir., Xm {Ap.} -l loc., Q {R} -lī 'in, on, at, from', Km {Ap.} -al(i) loc. || EC: Sa {R} -l loc.-dir. 'in, to' (bā'ḷ- 'im Lande, ins Land'), Af {R, Clz.} -l 'in' (bu'ḷ- 'in the village'), 'to/towards (so.)' (rē'dantū-l 'zum Häuptling', yō-l 'zu mir'), {Hw.} -l 'at, in, on' (wō' bāḷ- 'in that country') ¶ Ap. ANH 8, Ap. K 327, Ap. Kh I 258-60, R BilS (book) 680-1, R Q 110-11, R S II 240, R A II 873, Clz. 74-5, PH 289, TB LA 514 ¶¶ Hardly here (↔ Tk. I 141) Eg ∇ r 'to, towards' (EG II 386-8, Vc. 37), because it is a reduced variant of ḷr and because its r did not represent [l] (on the ev. of DEg r and most Cpt dialects) (see N *ḷil'A' 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > Cpt F ελα- elā 'to, towards') || K: Lz -le, morpheme of direction in adverbs of place: tude-le 'down (nach unten)', ga-le 'nach außen', me-le 'to the other side'; Mg -la-, morpheme of direction within compound pxs: a-la- 'hinab-, herab-', e-la- 'hinauf-,

herauf-', ga-la- 'far away (hinweg-)' ¶¶ IS II 25 adduced Sv -la '(a person) from' (with nomina loci): ädišī-la 'a person from Ädishi', but it is semantically nearer to the N adjectivizer *ṭeḷʔṇ, (= *ḷeḷʔṇ?) (q.v.) ¶¶ Marr 38, Q O118-O120, Dirr E 126 || U: FU *-ḷA 'on', 'in': BF sx *-la / *-lä ('the place in/on'): F taka-la 'the place behind' (cp. taka- 'hind' [in cds], taka-r 'behind'), setä-lä 'uncle's home, chez l'oncle' (← setä 'uncle'), etelä 'south' (← 'place in front of'); BF *-l-, the initial element of the compound endings of the exterior local cases (denoting a position or a movement relating to the surface or the next environment of sth.) > F, Es -l- id.: BF *-l-na / *-l-nä adessive 'on, at' (> F -lla / -llä, Es -l), BF *-l-ta / *-l-tä abl. 'from (the surface of)' (F -lta / -ltä, Es -lt), BF *-l-en allative (dat.-dir.) 'to (the surface or the environment of)' (> Ing -len ~ -llen, Krl A -le, F -lle, Δ -llen, Es -le) | Lp N {N, It.} -l, locative sx in adverbs: vuoḷle-l 'farther down' (← vuoḷle n. 'down'), lulle-l 'farther south' (← lulle n. 'south'), -l-ḷ (abl. ending) 'from' in vuoḷle-l-ḷ 'from down', lulle-l-ḷ 'from the south', Lp S {Hs.} -lie, locative sx in dem. pronominal adverbs: daalie 'here, now', dällie ~ dillie 'then', duḷlie 'there (dort, da drüben, sieh dort)', duḷlie '(sieh) dort in der Ferne' | Er, Mk -l- in adverbs: Er икеле ikéle 'in front, before', Mk инголе iṅgáľ 'in front' ({Lh.:} cp. Mk {Ps.} iṅkšă 'wegen, für'), Er мейле méyľe, Mk меле 'méľă 'later, after that', Er васоло vasolo 'far away' (← vaso vaso 'far') | Chr: L күдылнө 'küḍʔ-l-nö, B {Wc.} 'küḍʔ-l-nö adv. 'near, in the vicinity', 'küḍʔ-l-kö 'to the vicinity' (cp. L күдыкө 'küḍʔ-kö id., B {Wc.} küḍʔ-ń 'with') (Chr -l- belongs here unless it goes back to the N adjectivizing *ṭeḷʔṇ, (= *ḷeḷʔṇ?) [q.v.]), possibly also in the ending of dat.-dir. ({Kov.} dat.): Chr L -лан -lan, Chr H -лан, {Wc.} -lan / -läṅ, Chr U {Wc.} -lāṅ / -lan, as well as in the ending of abl.: Chr H {Wc.} -лес, Chr U {Wc.} -leš | Vt -l- in adverbs: азьло aź-lo, {Wc.} aź-la 'at the beginning, before', азьлане aźlańe, азьлань aźlań 'forward' (← азь aź 'front, front side'), кузяла kuźa-la, {Wc.} kúźala 'lengthwise' (← кузь kuź 'long'), Z UV/Sk {SZ} бэр-лаń 'backwards', Z U {Wc.} бэр-ла, бэр-лаń 'again' (← Z бөр бэр 'hind part'), in Prm {LG} *kwo-la ({JLG} *kwoḷa) 'hut' (← Prm **kwo that is preserved in the Prm lges as a sx of names of buildings/dwellings, e.g. Z керка, Prmk керку, Vt kopka house) > Z kola 'hunters' and fishers' small house without windows, Waldhütte', Vt kḷala 'hut [tabernacle] used in summer as a dining room', as well as possibly in Vt/Z {Wc.} case endings: adessive Vt -len, Z -lən, -len,

allative Vt/Z -l̄t̄, abl. Z -l̄t̄ś, Vt -l̄t̄ś, -leś, approximative Vt/Z -lań || Vg N -l̄, -l̄e in adverbs: ēla-l̄ 'forward' (← ēla 'far away'), muļa-l̄ 'towards the front corner of the house' (← muļa 'to the front corner'), kōna-l̄ 'outside' (direction), 'from the house' (← kōna 'outside, out of doors'), nālwā-l̄ 'towards the body of water', alʒa-l̄ 'upstream', yola-l̄ 'down' (direction), noŋʒa-l̄ 'up' (direction), {BV, Rmb.} yuʷ-l̄e 'back' (direction), 'home, into the house' (cp. yuʷ- pv. 'back, home'), {Rmb.} t̄t̄ʒ-l̄e 'in this direction' (← t̄t̄ʒ 'here'), tuʷ-l̄e 'in that direction'; Os Kz yox-l̄i 'home' (direction), in a compound ending with the abl. marker -t̄-: Os E ta-l̄-ta 'from there' | OHg {Srb. and IS} -lan / -len, a locative sx in adverbs ¶ Coll. CG 291-2, Lh. PUAS 149-50, Laan. 165-7, N 570-1, 810-12, It. LC 55, 181, Hs. 160, ERV 111, 206, 372, PI 92, 162, MRS 256, Kov. LV 226-7, Kov. GM 243, Wc. TNB 13-15, Wc. TT-2 113-15, U3S 22-4, 226-7, Fu. GA 135-50, LG 114, U 198-202, SZ 18, 26, Sz. MNyH 73-5, Srb. PGS 42, Srb. IMPJ 47-53, Galkin IG I 53-4, BV 148, Rmb. 188, 192 || ¶ [1] Tg *-lā / *-lē, loc. sx (× N *ʔil'A' 'place to stay', 'stand still, stay') > Ewk, Sln, Neg -lā / -lā̄, Lm, Orc -la / -lā̄ (:), Ud, Ul, Nn Nh -la / -lā̄ (loc. sx: Ewk, Sln, Neg mō-lā 'in/on a tree', Lm, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn Nh mō-la id., Ewk, Lm, Neg, Orc mindu-lā̄, Sln mindu_lā̄, Ud, Nn mindulā̄, Ul mindu_lā̄ 'in me'), WrMc -lo / -le (loc. sx in adverbs: {Hrl.} dolo 'dedans', dele 'en haut', tule 'dehors') ¶ Ci. 256-67, Bz. 84, Hrl. 66-7, On. 548 || [2] pA *La-Ka 'on this side, near' (< the N locative pc. *lA + deictic pc.) > M *naʒa > Kl D {Rm.} nā 'diesseits'; ⇨ : (a) loc.: WrM {MED} naɣana 'on this side, nearer', HIM наана {MED, BMR}, Brt наана 'on this side, nearer', Ord nāna 'de ce côté-ci'; (b) M *naʒa-du 'situated on this side' > WrM {MED} naɣadu, HIM {MED, BMR} наад, Brt наада id., Kl {Rm.} nād_a 'auf dieser Seite', Ord nād_u 'qui est de ce côté-ci, qui est en deça', Ord nād_kxi id., Kl {KRS} наадк nād_kъ 'situated on this side', {Rm.} nātk_i 'der Diesseitige'; (c) M *naʒa-gur 'on this side' > WrO {Krg.} nāʒuɣr, Brt наагцур id., WrO nāʒār 'hither, to this side', Ord nāg_ūr 'through this side (par ce côté-ci)', Kl {KRS} нааран 'hoerher, nearer (сюда, поближе)', {Rm.} nārān ~ nārŋ 'hierher, her', d.: WrM {MED} naɣaɣurda-, HIM {MED} наарцурда- 'be on this side'; (d) Kl {Rm.} nāʒās 'von dieser Seite ab'; (e) Ord nāš_i 'vers ce côté-ci, vers ici', Dg {Mr.} nā-š_i 'towards here, hither'; (f) Ord nāt'ā 'de ce côté-ci, en deça' ¶ MED 556-7, BMR II 370, Krg. 205-6, KRS 364-5, KW 272-3, Mr. D 194, Ms. O 479-80, 483-5 || ?σ AmTg *laka(-) adv. 'near' > Orc laki id., Ork laqa ~ laχā ~ laqqa ~ laχā̄

id., adj. 'nearest'; AmTg *laŋ adv. 'near' > Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU laŋ, Ud Íaŋ 𐌺 laŋ-laŋ id. ¶ STM I 488, 492, On. 245 ¶¶ SDM 859 (A *la- 'on this side, near' > M, Tg + unc. pKo *nǐʒk 'side'), ≈ DQA no. 1175 (id.), S AJ 293, STM I 488 || ? D (att. in SD) *-uǀ, loc. sx > OTm, Ml -uǀ, Kt -ǀ, OKn -uǀ / -oǀ, Tu -oǀu id. (× D *uǀ n. 'house, inside' < N *ʔuh_ǀ∇_ǀǀ∇ 'hut', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Hardly here SD *-ilE, loc. sx (> OTm, Ml -il, Irl -li ~ -ili, Td -ǀ, OKn, LKn -alli, Kdg -lǀ, -alli, ?? Tl -lō), because D *l is not cognate with FU *ǀ; it is more plausible that SD *-ilE goes back to the noun *il_ǀ∇_ǀ 'house, place' (> OTm il '(this) place' [D no. 494, An. SG 219]) and belongs together with S *ʔilay 'towards' < N *ʔil^rA^r 'place to stay' (q.v.) ¶¶ Subb. 156, Cald. 3O4, 319, Zv. CDM 28-3O, 32, An. SG 219-2O, D no. 698 ◇ IS II 25-6.

1251. *ǀ∇, pc. with diminutive meaning ([in descendant lges] sx of diminutives) > K *-∇ǀ-, diminutive/hypocorictic sx > G P mam-il-a 'daddy', in other G dialects vocative mam-il-o 'daddy!', together with the dim. sx *-iǀ-: G R naʒv-iǀ-ǀ-a dim. 'fir tree', vir-iǀ-el-a dim. 'donkey', Sv UB -ōǀ-: dīn-ōǀ- (dim. of dīn 'girl') ¶¶ Vogt ACS 1O4, Chinch. XT 82-4, K'ob. 161, GP US 96 || IE: NaIE *-el∇-, sx of diminutives, e.g.: [1] NaIE *por^k-el- '(young) pig' (<ǀ *por^ko- 'swine') > L porculus, OHG farhilī(n), NHG Pferkel, Lt paršēlis '(young) pig', [2] OI v^rǀa^llah_ǀ, dim. of 'v^rǀā 'man, male', [3] Gt barnilō ntr. (· τέκνον, τέκνον) 'Kindlein' <ǀ barn (· παιδίον, τέκνον) 'Kind', [4] Lt galv^ēl^ē, dim. of galv^a 'head' ¶ BD II/1 364-7 || U: FU *-ǀ∇, diminutive sx > Vt S {W} gopal 'small pit' (<ǀ VT rōn gop 'pit'), Z rōp^ov g^rǀǀv, Δ g^rǀǀǀ 'reddish' (<ǀ rōp^o g^rǀǀ 'red'), Z Δ pem^oǀ 'a little dark' (<ǀ pem^oǀ 'dark') || F iso-la-mpa 'a bit larger' (<ǀ iso-mpa 'larger'), pite-lä-mpä 'a bit longer' (<ǀ pite-mpä 'longer') || Os Kz {Rus.} -ǀe, dim. sx: šov^oǀe (dim. of шовыр šov^oǀ 'hare'), qu^oǀar-ǀe (dim. of qu^oǀar 'chipmunk'), Os D {Tv.} tāg^oǀǀə 'small piece\crumble' (<ǀ tāk 'piece, crumble'); Vg {Sz. ← ?} t^oǀrām-ǀə 'Göttlein' <ǀ t^oǀrām 'god' (but MK, WVD VII, Ahl. WW, BV, ChCh., Rmb. and all other available sources of Vg do not mention this diminutive); Sz. 88 also adduced Vg k^oǀtlä 𐌺 k^oǀtlä 'Händchen', but both Munkácsi (MK 2O2) and Kannisto (WVD VII 164) interpreted the word as 'Vorderbein, Vordertatze (des Bären)', so that the original diminutive meaning of the Vg sx remains qu. || Hg Δ {Sz.} h^oǀǀǀāǀ ~ h^oǀǀǀāǀ 'ant' (<ǀ Hg hangya id.) ¶ Sz. 88, Coll. CG 259, Lh. PUAS 145-52, Rus. SXJ 164, TmK 171, Slv. 138, W EDW 399 ◇ Öhm. (IE-U).

1252. * $\bar{l}e_1\bar{?}\nabla_1$ (= * $\bar{l}e_1\bar{?}\nabla_1$?) 'being, having', analytical adjectivizer ([in descendant lges] → formative of adjectives and quality-bearing nouns) > K: [1] GZ *-l-, *-il-, sx of deverbial adjectives > OG, G -il-, Mg -il- ~ -ir-, sx of participles: G $\zeta\epsilon\rho$ -il- 'written', Mg $\tau\alpha\chi$ il- 'broken', ulir- 'gone (who has gone away)', K * κ b-il- 'tooth' (← prtc. 'biting', cp. GZ * κ b-in- v. 'bite') > OG, G κ bil-, Mg κ βbir- ~ κ ibir-, Lz κ ibi(r)- ~ κ ibr- ~ κ irn- ~ $\check{\zeta}$ irb- 'tooth', GZ * \check{s} wil- 'child' (← 'born' ← * \check{s} w- 'give birth') > OG, G \check{s} wil-, Lz skir- ~ s κ ir- 'son, child', Mg $\omicron\chi$ ora-s κ il-i ~ $\omicron\chi$ ora-s κ ir-i 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law' (lit. 'house's child', cp. $\omicron\chi$ or-i 'house'); [2] GZ *m-...-el-, circumfix of nomina agentis: OG m-t χ ov-el-i 'one who asks (bittend)', m-targmn-el-i 'who translates, translator', ma- \check{s} eneb-el-i 'who builds', me-t ζ g ω -el-i 'saying (sagend)', Mg ma- \check{c} ar-al-, prtc. pres. 'the writing one, writer', ma- ζ vil-ar-i 'murderer', ma-gurap-al-i 'teacher'; [3] Sv -la '(a person) from' (with names of villages, places): ädiš-i-la 'a person from Ädishi, ein Ädischer', mästiä-la 'ein Mästier, a person from Mästia' ¶¶ K 101, 106-7, 214-17, Chik. 21-3, Fn. GAS 76-7, Q O94, 295, Dirr E 126 || IE *-l-, sx of adjectives: L -il- id. (hum-il-is adj. 'on the ground' (← humus 'ground, earth, soil'), L -īl- (sen-īl-is 'of an old man, senile'), L -lu-/-lo- < *-lo-, sx of nomina agentis: legulus 'fruit gatherer' ← leg-o v. 'gather' || OHG -l, sx of nomina agentis: tregil 'carrier' ← tragan 'to carry' || Sl m. *-lъ / f. *-la / ntr. *-lo, sx of past participles: *bī-lъ 'who was', *nes-lъ 'who carried' etc.; later in the history of some Sl lges this prtc. (with the verbum substantivum *jes-/ *s- or with subsequent loss of this verbum substantivum) have rise to forms of past tense or composed perfective tenses (e.g. the sxs of the R past tense: m. -л, f. -ла, ntr. -ло, pl. -ли) || Tc A -l, Tc B -lye, sx of deverbial adjs || OI pēśa'lah 'artificially formed, decorated, beautiful' < NaIE {Eul.} *po \check{i} ġ ∇ lo- 'verziert' ← NaIE *pe \check{i} ġ- 'hew out, carve' (> OI pres. pi \check{m} 'ś-atī id. etc.); OI bahu'lah 'thick, dense, wide, abundant, cp. OI ba'hu \check{h} 'much, abundant, great, large' || Gk ποικίλος 'many-colored' (÷ OI pēśa'lah < NaIE *pe \check{i} ġ- 'hew out, carve'); παχυλός 'thickish' (cp. παχύς 'thick, stout') (÷ OI bahu'lah, sc. NaIE *b \check{h} aġ \check{h} u-lo-); the meaning of παχυλός apparently suggests that it was originally a diminutive (sc. belongs to the *l ∇ -diminutive [q.v.]), but the OI parallel pēśa'lah makes it less plausible || AnIE: Ht attā-la-, HrLw tātā-li- 'father's, patrius', {Mer.} 'väterlich', Lw ulant-alliya- 'mortal' (← ulanti 'death'), Ld maneli-ś 'Manes's' (← Manes) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 328, Eul. 118-19, M K II 267-8,

342, 424-5, Kron. EHS I 171-4, 214, 232, Ivn. OPA 49-50, Mer. HHG 126
 || **U** *l̥- (It.) *l̥-, {UEW} *le-) 'be, become' > Es lee- 'become', F lie-:
 3s lie nee 'may, perhaps is' || Lp: N l̥-, l̥-, l̥kke- 'be' (copula),
 'exist, occur', S Δ {Hs.} leä-, le-, ? L liehke-, l̥hke- id., K {Gn.} lea-, la-,
 lie-, l̥-, l̥-, l̥-, le- 'be, become' || Chr: L лия- liya- (inf. лияш li'ya-
 aš), H liä- (inf. лияш li-aš) 'be, become', Uf lia- id. || Prm *l̥- (LG) *l̥-
) 'be, become' > OPrm l̥-, Z l̥-, Vt lu- id., Yz lu- 'become, occur' || Hg l̥-
 , Δ lé-, l̥-, l̥j- 'be, become', Hg lé t 'being, existence' || pY {IN} *l̥- > Y
 K/T {IN} l̥- 'be; be (there is), exist', l̥- 'have' (-l̥- is a sx of vt.) || It. no.
 217, Hs. 141-2, Coll. 32, UEW 243-4, MF 402-3, Gn. 1315, MRS 288, 291-
 2, LG 161, IN H 237, IN UJ 232, Krn. JJ 274, 282, ≠ Rd. UJ 47 [no. 70] (Y
 ← U) || U adjektivizing *-l̥- 'that of X, having X': FU: F v̥etelä 'watery,
 wet, fluid' (← v̥ete- 'water'), Krl {Gn.} v̥edelä, Krl A {Gn.} v̥edel
 'watery', Es v̥edel 'liquid, fluid', 'thin' (of a liquid) || Chr L марла
 mar-'la adj. 'a Cheremis' (cp. ма'riy 'Cheremis') || Prm {LG} *yum∇l 'sweet'
 (← *yum 'dough made of rye malt') > Vt юмал yumal 'sweet,
 unleavened', Z юмов yumov, Δ yumal id., 'not sour' || Os *-l̥-: Os {Coll.}
 śarnəŋ-qūr-yīt-ālor̥t 'a hero with golden insteps' (yīt 'instep') (Coll. did
 not indicate the dialect of Os, which is crucial for the et. of the sx), Os:
 V/Vy {Trs.} wiŋkäl̥i, Ty {Trs.} wiŋkl̥i 'hook' ({Lh.} 'Haken zum
 Aufhängen') ← Os: V/Vy {Trs.} wiŋt̥ä, Ty {Trs.} wiŋkt̥ä 'to hook, to be
 caught on (задеть, зацепиться)', cp. Os V q̥iŋelt̥ä vi. 'to hook, to hang
 (задеть, повиснуть)'; Lh. PUAS 159-60 quoted some other Os words
 with the sx *-l̥- || Sm: Ng {Cs.} ŋamta-l̥ä 'horned' (← ŋamta 'horn');
 Slq Tz -l̥ä, sx of gerund (deverbal adverb, like Fr en ...-ant): sūr-ííä
 ilentak 'by hunting I shall live', ŋ̄ntalpl̥ä laŋkalpa 'being happy, he cried
 out' || Cs. 44, KHG 256 || ? Y: l̥-suffixes of deverbal nouns, e.g. [1] Y T
 -ol/ -ūol, sx of nomina resultati: Y T idilwey-kiyol 'what Idilwey gave,
 given by Idilwey', met-yanaspeyreūol 'what I have forgotten, forgotten by
 me', [2] -l̥, sx of nomina actionis (masdar): Y T saṣane-l̥ 'sitting, staying;
 to sit\stay', ewie-l̥ 'doing, to do', kel-u-l̥ 'coming, to come', Y K ayil
 'shooting, a shoot', ɣarji-l̥ 'bathing', ald-u-l̥ 'cursing, a curse' || Coll. CG
 259-60, Cs. 44, Lh. PUAS 152-6, Trs. S 524, Gn. VK 189, Gn. A 146, LG
 335, Krn. JJ 104-5, Krn. IMJJ 95-7 || **A** *-l̥ > T *-l̥, sx of deverbal
 adjectives (and substantivized adjectives), e.g. *Kl̥il 'red' (> OT q̥izil,
 Chv хёрлѣ хьрль etc.) ← *kl̥- 'be red, be red hot' (> OT q̥iz- etc.), OT
 ūkil 'numerous' ← ūk- 'heap up, accumulate' || Cl. 681-3, Rs. MTS

132-3, Br. OTG 115-16 || M *-l, sx of deverbal adjectives (and quality-bearing nouns): M *tanil (> WrM {MED} танил 'familiar person, an acquaintance', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'приятель', Brт танил 'familiar person, an acquaintance', Ord t'anil 'personne qu'on connaît pour avoir eu des relations avec elle, commaosamce') <- M *tani- (WrM тани {MED} 'know, be familiar with', HIM тани- {MED} id., {BMR} 'recognize, erkennen, узнать', Brт тани- id., Ord t'anī- 'reconnaître') ¶ MED 778, BMR III 189-90, Chr. 413-4, Ms. O 645 || Ко -l, -il, sx of prtc. ft. ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 132-44 || ?? D: Mlt -le, sx of past prtc.: tuñd-le 'who saw' ¶ Drs. s.v. -le || HS: EC: Sml -le '-er, -or; owner\keeper\seller of sht.': damēr-le 'owner of a donkey', dukān-li-hī 'shopkeeper', hilib-le 'butcher', Rn lē-aḥe (aḥe is 'be', y-aḥe is 'is') 'have (some quality), be (of some kind)': žīra kumurrōné lē-yaḥe 'Jira has wealth' = 'Jira is rich', žīra séyhó lē-yaḥe 'Jira has laziness' = 'Jira is lazy' ¶ ZMO 257, PG 210 ◇ The N cns *l and *l̥ can be distinguished only on the ev. of U and D (namely some ds of Os and certain D lges, but not Mlt). In this case the only ev. for N *l̥ (rather than *l) is an Os sx of rather questionable semantic connection with the meaning of the N etymon; hence we cannot be sure that the N etymon had a cns. *l̥ rather than *l. The U long vw. *ē points to a lr. in the pN etymon. The loss of the lr. and its traces in K, EC and IE suggest that the lr. was *ʔ ◇ IS II 20-1 (IS included here both the formant of adjectives and the pc. with diminutive meaning [see N *l̥ ▽, diminutive pc.]), Gr. I 186-91 ("gerundive-participle L" in IE, U [Sm, Y], A [T, Ko], Gil., ChK, EA) ◇ The presence of the vw. i (and similar vowels) in K *-il-, L sen-īl-iṣ, Gk ποικίλος, T *ük-il, *kír-il suggests a merger with N *hil̥U 'stand, be, exist' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ The long vw. in U *l̥ē- suggests the presence of a pN lr. The only N lr. that is not reflected by NaIE *ə or a long vw. is *ʔ. Therefore our tentative rec. of the N word is *le̥ʔ ▽, or *le̥ʔ ▽ ◇ The functional change from an autosemantic word to a derivational sx may have been as follows: noun X + N *le̥ʔ ▽ (or *le̥ʔ ▽) 'X-seiend, who is X, who has X' (e.g. Rn žīra kumurrōné lē-yaḥe 'Jira has wealth' = 'Jira is rich', žīra séyhó lē-yaḥe 'Jira has laziness' = 'Jira is lazy') → a derivational sx: T *kír-il 'what\who is red' <- *kír- 'be red', Sml. damēr-le 'who has a donkey, owner of a donkey', Ng ḡamta-lā 'having a horn, horned', F veteleä 'watery' ← 'having water']; this sx spread also into the realm of deverbal nomina agentis (→ participles).

1253. $\text{₂} *l\text{u}^{\text{?}}\nabla$ or $*l^{\text{r}}i^{\text{?}}u\text{w}^{\text{r}}\nabla$ 'ε bovine' > HS: S $*li^{\text{?}}$ - 'wild bull' (and d. $*li^{\text{?}}$ -at- 'wild cow') > Ar $\text{لآف}^{\text{r}} lā^{\text{r}}a(n)$ 'wild bull, buffalo', Ar $la^{\text{r}}āt$ - 'wild cow', ? BHb $\text{לֵא}^{\text{r}} lē^{\text{r}}ā$ 'Lea' p.n. | Jb C/E {Jo.} $le^{\text{?}}$ 'cow', $lhóti$ 'cows', Sq {Jo.} $l̥ha$ (pl. $el^{\text{h}}it̥n$) 'cow', Mh {Jo.} $l̥hayt̥n$, Hbt {Jo.} $l̥hēt̥z̥h$ 'cows' (secondary -h- in the SES lges?) | Ak $lū(-m)$ (< $*li^{\text{?}}u-$) 'bull (Stier, Bulle)', f. $lī-t-u \sim lit̥tu$ 'cow' ¶ Sd. 557-60, GB 374, KB 487-8, BK II 954, Jo. M 253, Jo. J 158 || C: Ag {Ap.} $*l̥w$ 'cow' > Bln {R} $luwī$ id., Xm {Ap.} $l̥wa$, {R} $luwā$, Aw {Ap.} $l̥wa$ || EC {Ss.} $*l̥o^{\text{?}}$ - id., 'cattle' > Af {PH} $lā$ (nom. $lāhi$, gen. $lāhi$), Sa {R} $lā$ 'cattle, cows' | pSam {Hn. BD} $*l̥oi^{\text{?}}$ 'cattle (cows and bulls)' > Sml {ZMO, DSI} $l̥o^{\text{?}}$ 'cattle', Sml N {Abr.} $l̥ó^{\text{?}}$ 'cows', Sml Jb {Hn.} $l̥ó$, Rn {Hn.} $l̥óílyo$, {PG} $l̥ólyò \sim l̥óyyò$, pBn {Hn.} $*l̥óí$ (> Bn Bi/J/Ba/K {Hn.} $l̥óí$) 'cattle' | Or H {Ow.} $low-ání \sim l̥óní$, Or nom. $l̥óni$, {Th.} lon (nom. $loni$), {Grg.} $l̥on$, Or Wt {Hn.} $lawōni$, Or B/O {Sr.} $l̥oni$, Kns $l̥ów-ā$, Gdl $l̥óh-a$ id. | Gwd/Grs {AMS} $l̥ó^{\text{?}}$ -o, Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS} $l̥ó^{\text{?}}$ -o (pl. $le^{\text{?}}e$), Cm {Hbl.} $l̥o^{\text{?}}$ (pl. $l̥ē^{\text{?}}ē$) id. | Dsn $lo-$ (px of ox names), Arr {Hw.} $l̥it̥$ 'bull' | HEC: Sd $lāl-o$, Hd $lār-a$, Brj $lali$ 'cattle' (< $*la^{\text{?}}$ + pl. marker $*-l-$?) || Bj {R} $lyuwe$, {Fl.} $yíwe$, Bj B {Alm.} jue ([yue]?) 'young cow' ¶ Ap. AV 15, Bl. 210, Ss. PEC 52-3, Ss. B 132, PH 153-4, R WBd 304, R WB 261, R Ch II 382 (s.p. 75), R S II 242, Alm. BS 36, Abr. S 166, ZMO 260, Grg. 267, Th. 227, Ow. 268, Sr. 360, Hn. W 58, Hn. S 67 (pSam $*l̥oi^{\text{?}}$, Sml $l̥o^{\text{?}}$ [an err. transcription for $l̥o^{\text{?}}$?]), Hn. BD 98 (pSam $*l̥oi^{\text{?}}$), PG 213, Abr. S 166, DSI 390, Hw. A 382, AMS 172, 211, 254, To. DL 515, AD SF 169, Fl. p.c. || Ch: WCh: Dr {J} $lā$, {ChL} $lā$ 'cow' || CCh: Gude {Srp.} $lā$ id. (unless l- is from $*\text{ɬ}-$) | ? Ch $\approx *l\text{U}^{\text{?}}\nabla$ 'animal, meat' > WCh: BT: Pr {ChL} $l̥ó$, {Frz.} $l̥ó$, Tng {J} $l̥o$ 'animal, meat', Dr {J} $l̥ú$, Krkr {Lk.} $l̥ó$, Grm {Sch.} $l̥áu$, {Sh.} $l̥éú$, Gera {Sch.} $l̥áwí$, {ChL} $leywi$, Bele {Sch.} $l̥ó^{\text{?}}o$ 'meat' | AG: Su/Cp {J} $luwā$ 'animal, meat', Mpn {Frz.} $l̥úa$ id., 'flesh', Tal {Sh.} lwa^{h} , Ywm {Sh.} lia , Gmy {ChL} $lowa$ 'meat' | Ron: Fy {J} $l̥ó$ 'animal, meat', Bks {J} $l̥ó$, DfB {J} $lo(h)$, Sha {J} luw 'meat' || CCh: Tr sb.: G'nd {ChL} $liwa$, Jr {Mk} lu (unless from $*\text{ɬ}u$) id. | BB: Gude {Mk} $luwa$, Nz {Mk} $lyuwe$, {Mch.} $liwe$, BtZ {Mk} lio id. | Suk {Mk} lwi , {IL} ywi id. (unless l- \sim $y-$ < $*\text{ɬ}-$) ¶ JI II 92-3 and 232-3, ChC s.v. 'animal' and 'meat', ChL, J S 73, J R 217, J T 115, Frz. DM 35, Frz. P 40, Sch. BTL 30, 118, 137, 149 || ?? Eg $\text{ل}^{\text{r}}w̥$ 'cattle (Rind), ox' ¶¶ This HS root and N $*L\hat{u}^{\text{b}}\nabla$ 'be thirsty, be hungry' suggest that Eg $l̥-$ and Bj $y-$ may go back to an initial $*L-$ (palatalized by the following $*i$ or $*i_u^{\text{?}}$) ¶ EG I 49, Fk. 12, R WBd 243 ¶¶ Ap. AV 15, OS no. 1632 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) $*\text{oluw}\nabla$ 'horse' > ObU {[HI.]

*l^rū¹ w id. > pVg {Ht.} *lū w > Vg: T lo w, LK/MK lo, P/UL/Ss lu w, NV/SV/LL/ML lū (pl. lut) id.; pOs *lo y ({{Hl.} *lǎ y) > Os: V/Vy lo y, Ty ɤǎ y^w, Y ɤǎ w, D/K tǎ w, Nz tɔ w, Kz ɤɔ w, O la w id. | OHg XIV lo w, Hg ló (accus. lo v-at), Hg Δ lo ɔ lu ɔ lū id. ¶ UEW 863-4, ≈ Ht. no. 350 (unc. ObU *lū y), Hl. rHt 73-4 (on pObU *-w- ↔ *-y-) and 75, MF 405-6, EWU 902.

1254. *L ▽ ɣ a 'to hide, to lie hid, to lie in wait' > **HS**: C: DhI {To.} lāɣ- vi. 'hide', lāɣ-at-, {EEN} lāɣ-a_ḡ- vt. 'hide' ||| SC: Irq {E} luɣ- vt. 'hide' ¶ To. D 141, EEN 41, E SC 206 ||| **IE** *leH- > NaIE {P} *lā-/ *lǎ- (*lǎ_ḡ-) 'be hidden, lie in wait' > L late-ō / latē-re 'lie hid, be concealed' (← prtc. *lǎ-'to-s) ||| Gk [Hs.] λήτο, λήτο (* ἐπελάθετο) 'was forgotten' ({P} 'war verborgen'); +ext. *-d^h-: Gk λήθη, Gk D λάθη 'forgetting, forgetfulness', Gk λήθη, Gk D λάθη v. 'lateo', Gk λανθήνω 'lateo, I escape notice' ||| Gmc: Ic {Bv} lómur 'deceiver, cheat', Nr {Vr.} lōm 'Falschheit'; ↗ Gmc: ON lóm-bragð 'List, Betrug' and lóm-geðr 'deceitful'; MHG luo {Lx.} 'Nachstellung, Not' ||| Sl *lajati > OCS ЛАЖАТИ lajati 'insidiari, to lie in ambush', {P} 'nachstellen', RChS ЛАЖАТИ lajati 'to make an ambush, to lie in wait' ¶ WP II 377-8, P 651, WH I 768-9, F II 80-2, Vr. 365, Lx. 131, Bv 421, Bern. I 687, ESSJ XIV 21 (without mentioning P's et. of Sl *laja- from IE *lā-), StSS 304 ||| **K**: G l- (3s pres. e-l-is) 'wait for' (← *'lie in wait') ¶ Chx. 687 ◊ Cp. also Tg *jaya- vt., vi. 'hide' (> Ewk jaya-, Lm jay-id., Sol jayannā- vt. 'go to hide', Neg jaya-, Orc, Nn žaya-, Ud {ðSTM} žeä-, {Krm.} žā-, Ul žay-, žaya-, Ork day-, daya-/ dayl- vt. 'hide' [STM I 243, Krm. 232]) and S *^o✓ šhḥ (> Ar ✓ šhḥ [pf. šahḥa] v. 'be stingy/niggardy of' [BK I 1196, Hv. 353]) that may suggest an alt. N et. ***ǰ ▽ ha_ḡ y ▽**, 'to hide, to conceal', but the latter is less plausible in the light of the K and C cognates.

1255. *Lab ▽ 'grasp, get, obtain' > **IE**: NaIE *lab^h- / (with a nasal infix) *lamb^h- 'seize, grasp' > OI 'labhatē ~ 'rabhatē ~ 'lambhatē 3s md. (p. 'a-labha) 'seize, catch' ||| Gk λάφυρα pl. 'spoils (taken in war)', ἄμφι-λαφής 'taking in on all sides', ἄμφι-λάφεια 'wealth, abundance', ?σ λαμβάνω 'take, seize' (with a puzzling -β- for the expected -φ-) ||| ?σ Blt: Lt lōbis 'possessions, riches', lōb-ti 'to grow rich', but less probably: Lt lāb-as, Ltv, Pru lab-s 'good' ¶ WP II 385, P 652 (*lab^h-), EI 564, Mn. 698 (adducing Oss I läbūrɜn, Oss D läborun 'attack', but Ab. proposed a different et. of this verb), Dv. no. 571, M K III 42-3, M E II 434-5, Ab. II 16-17 (Oss I läbūrɜn, Oss D läborun < Irn *fra-bur- ÷ NPrs B bur 'attack'), F II 91, Frn. 327, En. 200, Tp. P K-L 401-10 ||| **HS**: Ch: WCh: AG {Stl.} *lāb v.

'receive' > Su {J}, Kfr {Nt.} láp, Gmy {Fp.} lap, Ywm {Fp.} lāp, Mnt {Fp.} lāb id. || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} luwō id., Gzg {Lk.} -lup- 'carry (a child)' ¶ Stl. VZChJ A no. 133, ChC s.v. 'receive', J S s.v. áp, Lk. G s.v. -lup- || S: [1] SES *✓lbb > Hrs ✓lbb: pf. ʒltʒbōb 'put on arms', Mh ✓lbb: pf. ʒwtʒbūb 'wrap oneself in a waistcloth'; [2] + ext. *k: S (att. in Aramaic); *°✓lbb > JA [Trg.] ✓lbb v. G {Js.} 'hold fast', {Lv.} 'ergreifen, erfassen', Sr ✓lbb v. G 'lay hold, take hold, seize', Md ✓lbb v. G id., 'hold fast, capture' ¶ Hardly here Ak ✓lpt ~ *✓lbt 'touch (lightly)' (adduced by IS with an untenable translation as 'схватывать, цепляться') ¶ Jo. H 82, Jo. M 250, Js. 689, Lv. T I 400, Br. 355-6, JPS 234, DM 224 || B *✓lby > Ah, ETwl, Ty -lbyu 'extraire', imv. Ah əlbɪ, ETwl/Ty əlbəy (Fcj. 32 = Pcj. I A 1, sc. stem -lbyu) ¶ Fc. 989-91, 2002, GhA 109, Pr. M VI-VII 87 || A: NTg *labā-dā- 'carry with the teeth' > Ewk lawādā-, Ewk D labādā- id., Neg lawādā- id., Sln lawada- 'seize with the teeth' ¶ STM I 485 ◇ IS II 29 (N *Lab∇ 'хватать, добывать' > HS, IE, A).

1256. *Lab∇ (or *Layib∇?) 'be soft' > HS: B *✓lbb > Wrg ilbib 'être ramolli, être tendre (pain, couscous, fruit etc.)', ulbib 'mou, ramolli, tendre (pain, fruit etc.)', ? Izd ulwu (pf. y-awu) 'être ramolli, se ramollir'; ?? B *°✓lbb'ʕ (× N *Libh∇ K∇ 'wet; be\get wet') > Izd ✓lwʕ 'être lisse, être mou' ¶ Dlh. Ou 163, Mrc. 157, 170, 213-14 || EC: Arr {Hw.} lāfná 'weak', (× N *LAS∇ 'be weak, be worn out'): Or {Grg.} lāfā 'weak, soft', lāf- 'become soft', Or B {Sr.} lāfā 'weak', Or Wt {Sr.} lāfā 'ill', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} lāf- 'be weak\mild', Or H {Ow.} lāfā 'soft', ¶ Grg. 258, Sr. 357, Ow. 267, Hw. A 381 || Ch: Wch: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} ləbələbəná, Cg {Sk.} lúbùlúbùná, Kry {Sk.} lúbùlúbù, P' {MSk.} lúbù-lúbùtì, Sir {Sk.} líllìbènní, Mbr {Sk.} lúbùlúbù, Dir {Sk.} nè ləbùləbù 'soft' | SBc: Kir {ChL} ìlúbùb, Plc {ChL} lùplùp, Buli {ChL} láwùt id. | BT: Krf {ChL} lúpìlúpì, Ngm {ChL} liwit id. | Ngz {Sch.} l+fí:d 'softness (of skin, hide products, ground)', l'bbá-d- l'bbá-d 'soft' || ? CCh: Glv {Rp.} lipe 'weak' || Ech: Smr {J} láw 'be soft', Nd {J} láw, láb' láb' (= láb' láb'?) 'soft' ¶ Hardly here Hs láwší 'softness', which is likely to be a loan from Ar lawθ- 'weakness' ¶ ChC s.v. 'soft', ChL, Abr. H 616, Ba. 723, Sch. DN 102 || S +ext. *°✓lbb ~ *°✓lbb > Ar ✓lbb G (pf. labāqa) 'amollir, adoucir', {Hv.} vt. 'soften', Ak ✓lbb (inf. labāku) 'become soft', labku 'soft' ¶ BK II 960-1, Hv. 676, Sd. 521, 526 || K: GZ *lab-/°lb- 'become tender\soft; moisten' ({K} *lb-, {GM} *lb-, {FS} *lab-) (× N *Libh∇ 'wet; to get wet') > OG, G lb-, Mg lib-, Ls lob- ~ lib- 'become tender\soft; moisten', G lb-il-i, Mg lib-u 'soft' ¶ K 120, K² 106, GM S

124, FS K 196, FS E 215, Chik. 303, Chx. 673-4, DCh. 848 || **A**: ?σ T (att. in NaT) *jaba-í 'mild, gentle, peaceable' (with a sx *-í of deverbal adjectives) > OT jаvаś id., OOsM XIV {Cl.} jаvаś 'peaceable, patient, mild', Osm {Rh.} **ياواش** jаvаś 'slow; gentle, mild; soft in sound', Tk jаvаś, 'gentle, weak, light (levis)', Az jаvаś 'quiet' (a horse etc.), 'mild', 'slow', CrTt jаvаś 'slow', Tkm юваш juvаś 'quiet, mild, slow', Uz ювош juvаś 'quiet' (horse, child), 'slow', ET žuvaś ≈ jаvаś id., 'gentle', Δ {Jr.} jаvаś 'good, gentle, quiet, mild', Qmq jаvаś 'quiet', Qzq жуас žūwas 'quiet, mild', Qrg жоош žōš id. ('смирный, кроткий'), Qq жуас, Nog juvas, VTt юаш juаś, Bsh jъwas, StAlt {BT} дьобош žoboš, Tv чааш čāš 'quiet, mild' ('тихий, смирный, кроткий'), Xk čabas 'quiet' (animal), Sg {BIG} čabas ~ čamas 'quiet' (animal, person); T *°jaba-l- (with a passivizing sx -l-) > OT javal- 'betamed, calmed, quietened' ¶ Rs. LTS 125, Rs. W 175, Cl. 877, 880-1, MKD 219, ET J 51-3, Rl. III 278, 290-1, Rh. 2195, Sht. 105, Jr. 151, TkR 800, Nj. 486-7, 782, Jud. 261, BIG 304, 310 || **D** *nav- 'become soft' > Tm navu id., 'be saddened by boiling, rot, decay', Kn navuru, navaru, naviru 'that is tender, soft, fine', Tl navuru, nauru 'soft, delicate' ¶¶ D no-s 3617-18 || (from N *Layib∇?): IE: NaIE *lej̥bʰ- '≈ weak, lean' > OSx lēf 'weak, sick', AS lēf 'weak' || Lt láibas 'slender, slim, delicate', líebas 'lean, thin', Sl *libъ (dadj. *libъjъ) 'lean' > OCz libí, OP lubu id., 'feeble (щуплый)', Slvz lebi 'too high and weak' (of plants, animals, humans); d. Sl *libavъ > ChS ЛНБАВЪ libavъ 'gracilis', McdS либав 'weak, not hard enough', Slvz lebavi 'lazy', P Δ lebaуу, lubaуу, R Sml любавый adj. 'without fat' (meat); d. Sl *liběvъ ~ *libivъ > ChS ЛНБѢВЪ liběvъ ~ ЛНБНВЪ libivъ 'λεπτός, gracilis', OR, RChS ЛНБѢВЫН liběvци 'lean, meager', OCz liběvу, Blg Δ либѣцъ 'without fat, lean' (meat) ¶ WP I 388, ≈ Frn. 329-10, Ho. 197, Ho. S 45, ESSJ XV 70-1, 74-5 ◇ The IE root (if it belongs here) and some Ch forms suggest the presence of a vw. *i (probably N *Layib∇).

1257. *Lib∇ (or *Lib∇'ʔ'∇?) 'heart' ([in descendant lges] → 'life', 'middle') > HS: S *libab- 'heart' > BHb לב לב leḅ / +ppas libb-, pl. לִבּוֹת leḅā'ḅ-ōt, Ph, Ug lb, DA/OA/IA lbḅ, BA cs. לב לב leḅab, JA em. לב לב lib'b-ā ~ לב לב lib'ḅ-ā, Sr **لب** leḅ'ḅā, Md abs., cs. libab, em. liba, Gz labb, Hrs {Jo.} ḥʿ-lbēb (pl. ḥʿ-labb-ʿt), Mh {Jo.} ḥʿ-wbēb (pl. ḥʿ-wbōb), Jb {Jo.} E/C 'ub (pl. eb'ḅʿt), Sq {Jo.} 'ʔʿlbḅ, Sb, Mn, Hdr lb, Eb

{Krb.} li-bu (libbu) 'heart', Ar لُبُّ lubb- 'heart, middlepart, mind, intelligence', Ak libbu 'heart, 'inside of a container', IA libb 'centre, inside of an object', JEA {Sl.} libb-ā id., لُبُّ لِبُّ ləbā'ḥ-ā 'inner part' ¶ A no. 1434, OLS 240-1, AD PSH 92, HJ 562-3, Tmb. 155, KB 488-90, 1730, DM 228, Sl. 616, 623-4, Nld. MG 78, BK II 674, Jo. M 250, Jo. H 82, Jo. J 159, BGMR 81, MA 56, L G 304-5, CAD IX 164-75, Krb. 22, MiK I no. 1.174 || Eg √, DEg ḥb 'heart' > OCpt ḤB- ḥb- id. ¶ EG I 59-60, Fk. 14-15, Er. 26, Vc. 243, Ws. 264 || B ≈ *ʔul^β - (≈ {Pr.} *✓ ḥ₁lḥ₃) 'heart' > Ah, WTwl, Ttq {Msq.} ul, Ty {Pr.} ul ~ əwəḥ, Tnsl {Pr.}, Tw D {Sdl.} ulh, Gh {ABs.} ul, {Nh., ABs.} yul, Kb ul, Sll {Ds.} ul, t-ul-tūt (Pr.: tūt < *H-t), BSn {Ds.} ūl, Tmz {MT}, Izn/SnSr {Rn.}, Wrg/Mz {Dlh.}, Shw {Msq.} ul, Rf {Rn.} uř, Nf {Beg.}, Awj {Prd.} ūl, Si {La.} uli, Zng {Msq.} uř, {TC} ūy (dim. aḥ-ūl, pl. eḥlūn) id. ¶ Pr. H 27 (no. 482), Fc. 981-2, Sdl. 279, Dl. 440, MT 365-6, Rn. 284, Dlh. Ou 163, Dlh. M 102, Beg. 317, Prd. 164, La. S 216, Msq. 57, Msq. Z 499, TC D 4, TC Z 316 || C {AD} *lḥbb-, {E} *lḥb- 'heart' > EC {Ss.} *lubb- 'heart, soul' > Kns {Bl.} lupp-ō'ta id., Elm rupai? 'heart', Dsn {Bl.} lúbba? 'life', Af {Hw.} lubb-i 'heart, soul, yolk of egg' (unless ← Ar lubb- 'heart, middle part'), ?φ Sml {Ss.} rub(b)ad 'life' in rub(b)ad žar- 'kill', ?φ Rn {PG} rúbéy 'heart, spirit; (one)self', Or {Bl., Grg.} lubb-ū 'soul, (vital) spirit', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} lubbū 'soul, life', Sd lubb-o, Brj lubb-ō 'soul' (unless Sd, Brj lubb- ← Or lubb- ← Ar lubb- 'heart, mind, intelligence'); Sml {ZMO, DSI} lāb 'chest, breast; inner thought, emotions ("cuore" come sede dei sentimenti)', Sml N {Abr.} lāb 'chest', Or lapḥē 'heart' || Ag {Ap.} *lābāk- 'heart' > Bln/Q/Km {Ap.} ləbəkā id. || SC: Asa {E} liba 'chest' ¶ AD SF 163-4, E PC no. 312, Bl. 259, Grg. 262, 267, Sr. 360, Ss. B 135-6, Ap. AV 15, Ap. WLQ 10, R WB 351, ZMO 249, Abr. S 160, DSI 377, PG 250, Brl. 277, E SC 205 || Om: SOm: Ari U {Fl.} lḥpa ~ lḥpa 'heart', Ari G {Fl.} liba 'belly' || NrOm: Wl {LmS} uluwa, Dwr {LmS} ulwa, Malo {LmS} ʔulo, Gm {Hw.} ʔulo 'belly'; Kf {C} ribbō 'heart, mind', Anf {Gt.} ḥibbo, Shn {Lm.} nibbā, Ym {Wdk.} nibā 'heart' (unless ← EthS ləbb 'heart') ¶ Fl. OO 318, Fl. OWL, Bnd. AL 145, LmS 286, ≈ Lm. Sh 367, Hw. EG s.v. 'belly', C SE IV 477, Wdk. BY 132 || Ch: CCh: [1] Db {ChL} libī, Msg {Mch.} lib 'belly'; [2] Dgh {ChL} rúvè, árè, Gv {ChL} ʔúrè 'heart', Pdk {Lk.} arwa 'chest', Ktk Af {Lbf.} (ə)rfu 'heart', {Stz.} rphih (= {Sö.} rfi₁) 'soul' || ECh: Mkl {J} ʔulbé 'heart' || WCh: ?σ Cp ləb 'lung' ¶ JI II 21, J LM 189, ChL, ChC s.v. 'heart' and 'belly', Lk. ZSS 127, Sö. 264-5 ¶¶ OS no. 1668 || K: G lib-i 'axle' (← *middle' ← *heart') ¶ Chx. 682 || IE: NaIE {P} *lejb^h- or

{WH} *lejb_l^h_l- 'live' > Gmc {Fs.} *līb- id. > Gt liban, ON lifa, OHG lebēn, leben, NHG leben, OSx libbian, AFrs libba, AS libban, lifian 'to live', NE live; ON líf, Dn, NNr li v, Sw lif, OSx líf, MDt lij v, OHG līb 'life, living body', NHG Leib 'living body', AS líf 'life', NE life; ? OHG bi-līban, NHG bleiben, OSx bi-līvan, OFrs b(i)līva, AS be-līfan 'remain' (≡σ: NE survive) ||| L caelebs 'unmarried' (man) < (hpl.) {WH} *kajwelo-lib_l^h_l- 'alone-living' from IE *kajwelo- 'alone' (< N *gaywE (L ▽) 'alone', 'entire' [q.v.]) + IE *lejb_l^h_l-; alter-natively {WP, P} < IE *kajw0- 'alone' (see N *gaywE (L ▽)) + lejb^h- ¶ WP I 326 and II 403, P 670, EI 12 (on L caelebs), WH I 130, Fs. 330, Vr. 355, Ho. 200-1, Ho. S 46, 48, Kb. 596, OsS 64, 551-2, Schz. 192,195, KM 83, 429 || ?φ Gil: Gil A/ES ηif 'heart' ¶¶ ST 232, Krn. N 481 ◇ The cnss -p̄- and -b̄- in SOm and Db (as well as Or lap̄p̄ē) may point to the presence of a N lr. (sc. N *Lib ▽ 'p̄' ▽?).

1258. *L'o' b ▽ '€ grass' ([in descendant lges] → 'medicinal\poisonous grass?') > HS: S *°lub̄b- > Ar lubb- 'poison' ¶ BK II 955 || IE: Gmc *lubu'a' > OHG {OsS} luppi 'stark wirkender Pflanzensaft; Gift, Vergiftung', {Kb.} lubbi 'magic, poison', MHG luppe id., ON lyf 'Heilmittel, Zaubermittel', Ic lyf 'drug', Gt lubja-leis 'giftkundig', lubjaleisei ('φαρμακεία) 'Giftkunde', OSx lubbi 'juice, poison', AS lybb 'poison, sorcery', NE lib; OHG luppōn, {Kb.} lubbōn 'to poison' ¶ OsS 579, Kb. 638, Ho. 208, Ho. S 48, Vr. 36, Fs. 337 || ?σ D *nuv- 'sesamum' > Tm nū, nū v u, Klm nuvvū, Nkr ū, Prj, Gdb nuvul, Gnd nūη(g), Knd nū id., Tl nu(:)v u, nuvv u 'gingili seed' ¶¶ D no. 3720 ◇ D *u (for the expected *o) may be due to the as. infl. of *-v-.

1259. *Lûb ▽ 'be thirsty, be hungry' ([in descendant lges] → 'wish, love') > HS: S *°-lūb- > Ar ✓ lw̄b (ip. -lūb-) 'be thirsty' ¶ Hv. 699, BK II 1036 || Eg v īb̄y id. > Cpt: Sd ειβε, B ιβι id. ¶ EG I 61, Fk. 15, Vc. 61 || C: EC: Sa {R} luw-, Af {PH} luwu'te 'be hungry', Sa {R} lu'wā, Af {PH} lu'wā n. 'hunger' ||| Bj {Rop.} ✓ yw̄y 'be thirsty' (1s p. 'a-yw̄ay, inv. yīw̄aiy-a) (× N *haw ▽ 'to desire, to love'???), {R} yuwāy- pcv. 'be thirsty', {Rop.} 'yawe, {R} 'yawa 'thirst' ¶ R S II 251, R WBd 243, 273, PH 157, Rop. 251 || WCh: BT: Tng {J} l̄ob̄l (v.n. l̄op̄l, pl. l̄ob̄ud̄l) v. agree, accept, like', Dr {J} law- / lab̄- v. 'want', {Nw.} l̄ibi / -w- 'agree' (if 'agree, like' ← 'love', cp. IE) ¶ J T 115, Nw. KL 129, ChC s.v. 'to want' ¶¶ Not here B *✓ rHf 'be thirsty' (adduced with a query by IS as *✓ rwf), which is cognate with S *✓ r̄yb 'be hungry' and Sml rab- 'wish' (see AD SF 170)

¶¶ EG I 61 and Vc. 61 (Eg, S), ≈ OS no. 1681 (Eg, S + unc. Dh1 $\hat{S}\bar{u}b$ 'to sip')
 || IE: NaIE * $leub^h$ -/* $louub^h$ -/* lub^h - 'desire, love, agree' > OI $lubhyati$
 'desires eagerly', $l\bar{o}bh\alpha$ - n. 'desire', $lub'dha$ - 'avid, lascivious' || Gk
 [Hs.] $\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ (' $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, $\pi\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\eta$) 'hetaera, whore' (\div OI $lub'dha$ -) (\times
 influence of L $lupa$ 'whore') || pAl {O} * $laubitya$ > Al $\Delta laps$ {Kf.} 'I wish
 (' $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\omega}$ '), {O} 'wish, want' || OL $lubet$, L $libet$ 'it pleases, it is
 agreeable', L $lib\bar{i}do$, † $lub\bar{i}do$ 'violent desire, appetite, longing', Osc
 LOUFIR 'vel' || Clt {Matas.} * $olub-o-$ v. 'love' > Gl inv. $lub\bar{i}$ 'love!' || Gmc
 * $leubaz$ (< IE * $leub^h$ -s) > Gt $liuf\bar{s}$ adj. (' $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) 'lieb', ON $ljúfr$ 'lieb,
 wert', ORu $liubu$ ({Fs.} $liub\bar{u}$), OSx $liof$, OHG $liob$ 'dear (lieb, teuer)',
 NHG $lieb$, AS $léof$ 'dear, beloved', NE $lief$; Gmc * $lub-\bar{o}$ (< IE * lub^h - \bar{a} -) >
 OHG $lupa$, AS $lufu$ n. 'love', NE $love$ n.; OHG $liub\bar{o}n$, NHG $lieben$,
 AS $lufian$ 'to love', NE $love$ v.; Gt $us-laubjan$ (' $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\alpha\iota$)
 'erlauben', OHG $ir-louben$ 'to permit', NHG $erlauben$ 'to allow', OSx
 $or-l\bar{o}f$ 'Erlaubnis', AS $l\bar{i}efan$ 'to allow', 'lieb\teuer machen', ON $leufa$
 'to allow, to praise'; ON lof 'praise, permission', OSx, AS lof , OHG lob ,
 NHG lob n. 'praise'; Gt $ga-laubjan$ (' $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'glauben', AS $z\acute{e}$ -
 $l\acute{y}fan$, OSx $gi-l\bar{o}vian$, OHG $gi-louben$, NHG $glauben$ 'believe' ||
 Lt $liaups\acute{e}$ v. 'eulogy, praise', $li\acute{a}upsinti$ 'to eulogize, to praise' || Sl
 * $\acute{i}ub\bar{y}$ (j\bar{y}) > OCS ЛЮБЪ $ljub\bar{y}$, ЛЮБЫН $ljub\bar{y}i$ 'gratus, dilectus,
 desideratus', 'nice, pleasant (милый, приятный)', SCr $ljub$, Slv $ljub$, Cz
 $lib\acute{y}$, Slk $l'ub\acute{y}$, P $lub\acute{y}$, Uk 'любий', Blr 'любый', R Δ 'любый' 'dear,
 beloved', R $лю'бой$, Uk $лю'бий$, Blr $лю'бий$ 'anyone (quilibet)'; Sl inf.
 * $\acute{i}ub\bar{y}iti$ 'to love' > OCS, OR inf. ЛЮБИТИ $ljubiti$, R inf. $лю'бить$, Uk
 inf. $лю'бити$, SCr, Slv inf. $ljubiti$, Slk inf. $l'ubit'$, P inf. $lubis$ 'to
 love', OCz inf. $libiti$ id., Cz inf. $libiti$ se 'to be liked', Blg 'любя v.
 'love' ¶ NaIE * $leub^h$ - 'desire, love' is hardly from 'in Unordnung
 sein\geraten', as supposed by M E II 483-4; the latter meaning (as in Vd
 $lubh$ - 'in Unordnung sein' and in NPrs ألفتن $\bar{a}loft\bar{a}n$ [< CINPrs $\bar{a}luftan$] 'to
 be confounded\afflicted') is likely to be secondary (e.g. 'have violent
 desire' \rightarrow 'be confounded\ afflicted?') or to go back to a different N word,
 such as * $L\bar{a}b\bar{\nabla}$ 'grasp, get, obtain', * $L\bar{i}b\bar{\nabla}$ 'heart' or even * $L'o'b\bar{\nabla}$ 'e
 grass' ([in descendant lges \rightarrow 'medicinal\poisonous grass?'] > Ar $lub\bar{b}$ -
 'poison' and OHG $lub\bar{b}\bar{o}n$ 'to poison'; NPrs ألفتن $\bar{a}loft\bar{a}n$ 'to grow mad
 with love' may go back to contamination of * $L\hat{u}b\bar{\nabla}$ with some of the
 above-mentioned N words) ¶ WP II 419, P 683-4, EI 358, Mn. 682, 715,
 AHDI 37, M K III 107-8, \neq M E II 483-4, Ch. 651, F II 146, Kf. 178, O 213,

WH I 793-4, Bc. G 318, Mkj. DR 133, Vr. 361, 363, Fs. 187-8, 333, 533, Kb. 620, 625, 628, 634, OsS 454, 564-5, 567, 573 and 579, KM 44O, Ho. 199, 201, 206-7, Ho. S 47-8, 57, Frn. 362, ESSJ XV 174-89, Glh. 391-2, Bern. I 756-8, Vs. II 544-5, StSS 315-7, Matas. E 246-7 || **K**: G *lub-* 'get emaciated, lose flesh, mager werden' (of domestic animals) (← *'go hungry'), *lub-i* 'emaciated, lean' ¶ Chx. 694 ◇ IS II 34 (IE, S, Eg, Bj).

1260. *Libh̥ (= ***l̥ibh̥**?) 'wet; to get wet' > **HS** **√*lbh̥* > Eg MKL/Md *l̥ibh̥* {EG} 'feucht sein von etw.', {Fk.} 'stream (with liquid), be suffused (with blood)', MK *l̥ibh̥.ω* 'libationes' ¶ EG I 64, Fk. 16 || B *√*lbH* > ETwl/Ty *ɓlbɔ* 'être trop humide pour la marche' (terrain) (Pcj. I A 7 [12uH-stems], pointing to a pB final *H), Kb (with rdp.) *lb̥ub̥i* 'être trempé\mouilli' (-i < *-ī < pB *-iH) ¶ Dl. 443, GhA 108, Pr. M VI-VII 109 || S *°√*lfb* > Ar √*lfb* v. G 'drivel' (of a child), *luṣāb-* n. 'drivel of a child', *luṣābu-l-naḥli* 'honey' (naḥl- 'bee'), *luṣabīyat-* {Hv.} 'juice of some fruits', {BK} 'goutte de liqueur transparente sur certains fruits' ¶ S *°√*lfb* < (mt.) **√*lbf* < (as.) **√*lbh̥* ¶ BK II 999-1000, Hv. 688 || Ch: CCh *√*lb̥* ({Stl.} **luḥa*) 'moist' > BM: {ChL} Bu *l̥b̥enta*, Cb *l̥úpt̥i*, WMrg *l̥íbd̥i*, *l̥òbd̥í*, Ngx *l̥íbt̥à*, Klb *á l̥úbt̥ú*, Hld *l̥úḅúr̥i* 'moist' || Higi {ChL}: Kps *l̥ùḅí k̥è*, HgF *l̥ùḅí š̥í* id. || Db {ChL} *l̥ùḅ* id. || ZmD {KNC} *lab̥* v. 'moisten' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} *l̥úbí* v. 'dip in', Smr {J} *l̥áwé*, Nd D {J} *l̥wáḅ* 'wet' ¶ ChC s.v. 'moist' and 'wet', ChL, Eb. 78, KNC 15 ¶¶ OS no. 1689 (Eg, Ch; HS **l̥übaḥ-* 'be wet') || **K**: GZ **lab-* / **lb-* vt. 'become tender\soft; moisten' (× N ***Lab** ▽ 'be soft' [q.v. ffd.]) || **IE**: NaIE **leḷb-* 'pour, be liquid\wet', {EI} 'pour, make a libation' > Gk *λεῖβω* 'pour, pour forth; let flow, shed', ps. *λεῖβουμαι* 'melt', *λῦψ** (gen. *λυβός*, accus. *λύβα*) {Ch.} 'ce qui goutte\coule', *λῦψ* 'the southwestern wind' ('bringing wet weather') ||| L *l̥ībā-* 'pour our, make a libation (offer [wine, oil etc.] to gods)' (to be distinguished from the homonymous *l̥ibā-* 'take away from') ||| Brtt {RE} **l̥ībos* 'flood', {RE} **l̥īb-* 'flow' > Crn *l̥ūḅf*, Br *l̥iṣvad* 'flood', W *llif* 'stream', W *llif* 'to flow', Crn *l̥ūḅva* 'to flood, to inundate', Br *l̥iṣvaṣ* 'to overflow' ¶ WP supposed that Gk Hm ὄψρα *λλεῖψαυτε* (the long α reconstructed on metrical ev.) provides ev. for Gk **λλ-* < IE **sl-*, which was refuted by Chantraine (Ch. GH I 176) → F II 97 ¶ IE **b* (rather than **b^h* < N ***b**) is due to the devoicing infl. of N ***ḥ** (*-**bḥ-** > *-*pḥ-* > IE *-*b_lH₁-*); in the prevocalic position the N lr. left no traces in NaIE ¶ ≈ WP II 393, EI 351 (> L, Gk only), F II 96-7, 120-1, WH I 794-5, Ch. 627, RE 96 || **A**: NaT **j̥i:ḷbi* 'moist' > OT {MKD} *j̥ibä* 'moist', {Cl.} *j̥äbä*: 'moist, moisture' (with a tentatively reconstructed ä of the first

syll.), Chg xv *ibir-* v. 'become moist', *ibit-* caus. vt. 'moisten', Kr T/G *jibi* ~ *ibi*, Qmq *jibi-*, Bsh *јѣѣ-*, Uz, ET *иви-*, {ET} *jivī-*, VTt *Џѣѣ-* 'get wet', Qq *žībī-*, StAlt *дыби-* *žibi-*, Shor {Rl.} *čibi-* id., 'become moist', Nog *jibi-*, Qrg *žibi-* 'become moist', Qzq *жиби-* (inf. *жибу*) vi. 'thaw', d. *жибит-* *žībī-t-* 'soak, steep' ¶ Rs. W 202, MKD 224, Cl. 872, ET J 196-7, Sht. 109, MM 185, Rl. III 532, 2154, IV 157 and 162 || ?φ **U**: FU (att. in FP) **l|lōppa* 'wet, moist' > Es Δ *лорр* (gen. *лора*) 'snow mixed with water', Es *лорута-* v. 'rinse' | Er *лоравто-*, *лораfto-* vt. 'wet, soak', Mk *лоподе-лораде-* 'get wet' | Chr: L *лүпката* *lүpkat'a* 'moist, cool', H *лыпката* *lәp'kata* id., Chr L Δ {Trc.} *лup* 'damp, moist' | Z *lap+d* 'moist, damp' ¶ UEW 693, MRS 306, 311, LG 157-8 ||| N **Lib_h∇ K∇* 'wet; be\get wet' > HS ***√lb^rk¹* > S **√lbk* > Ar *labak-at-* 'morceau de pain trempé et mitonné', ? *√lbk* G 'mêler (p.ex. du froment avec le miel)' ¶ BK II 961 || B **√l^rb¹γ* > Kb *lb_ub_əγ* 'être trempé, être mouillé, être dégouttant d'eau\d'huile', ? (× N **Lab∇* 'be soft') Izd *√lwγ* 'être lisse\mou' ¶ Dl. 443, Mrc. 157 ¶¶ Kb *γ* provides ev. for a HS **k₁*, while S **k* is due to the ass. infl. of the non-emphatic **p*: **p₁k* > **pk* ||| **A**: AmTg **ligb∇* (< ***likb∇* < ***libK∇*?) > Orc *libba* 'phlegm (coughed up)', Ud *ligba* 'snivel' ¶ STM I 497, Krm. 256 ◇ FU *-pp- may go back to a cluster *-p_h- (< *-p∇-*h*∇?). If FU **l|lōppa* belongs here (in spite of the irreg. vocalism), the initial N cns. is **l-* or **l̥-*, otherwise we are left with an unspecified lateral sonorant **L-*.

1261. ₂ **L^ri¹c¹∇ (t∇)* 'jaw' ([in descendant lges] → 'edge, uterus, Leiste') > HS: CS **li|as-at-* > MHb *לסעט* 'leset' 'cheek, jaw', JA [Trg.] *לסעט* *lis't-ā* id., 'Unterleib', Sr *לסעט* *los't-ā* 'praeputium, uterus' ¶ Lv. II 514, Lv. T I 411, Js. 713, PS 1913, Br. 368 ||| **IE**: NaIE **l^re₁st-* '≈ edge, hem, stripe' > OHG *līsta* 'edge, hem (Rand, Saum, Leiste)', OSx *līsta* 'bandformiger Streifen, Saum, Leiste', NHG *Leiste* 'strip (of wood, metal etc.), border; groin', AS *līste* 'hem, border', ON *lista* 'Rand, Leiste' (unless ← ML *aureæ listæ* 'Ornamentstreife der Dalmatika' {Vr.}) ¶ Pokorny adduced Al **leth* 'der erhöhte Rand eines Grundstückes, Rain, Mauer, Flußufer' (sc. misspelled *ledh* 'embankment, river levee, dike; alluvial land, mud') and reconstructed NaIE **le₁sd-* / **lo₁sd-* 'Rand, Saum', but En. and Orël connected Al *ledh* 'mud, alluvial bank' (< pAl **la₁da*) with Pru *laydis* 'clay' ¶ ≈ WP 389-92, P 672, Vr. 358

(the Gmc word ← ML), Ho. 204, Sw. 109, Kb. 624, OsS 563, AlbED 443, O 216, En. 201.

1262. *Lawčǵ 'weak, soft' > **IE**: NaIE *^oleu̯s-/lou̯s-/lus- '≈ loose' > Gmc: Gt laus (: κενός) 'los, leer', inf. fra-liusan (: ἀπολέσαι) 'verlieren', NHG verlieren 'to lose', ON lauss 'free, lax, vacant' (↳ NE loose), OHG lōs 'loose, lax', NHG los 'loose', AS léas 'loose; false' ¶ P 682, Fs. 163-4, 325, Vr. 348, Kb. 631, OsS 570, Ho. 197, Skeat 348, WW 184, ≈ EI 481 (unc.: *leu̯s- ← *leu̯H- 'release, cut off') || **HS**: S *-lūθ- v. 'knead, mix' > BHb ✓ lωš (ip. -lūš) 'knead'; JA, Sr, SmA, Md ✓ lωš id. (← Cn?); Ar ✓ lωθ (ip. -lūθ-) 'mix, chew; soak', Gz ✓ lωs G 'knead, mingle, mix', Ak lāš u 'to knead', d. līš u 'dough'; rdp.: Ar ✓ lθlθ 'be weak\feeble\ irresolute' ¶ KB 499, Sl. 621-2, Br. 362, DM 234, Tal 430, Hv. 699, BK II 1037, L G 321, Sd. 556 || B: BMnc i-llisu 'fané' ¶ Bs. NLB IV-V 56 || C *l^ra^rs- 'soft, tender' (× N *LASǵ 'be weak, be worn out', q.v.) > Ag: Bln {R} li s- 'fein/zart/hübsch/schön sein', Xm {R} li s- 'weich/zart/sanft sein/werden' || EC *lǵs- > Sa {R} li silī s prtc. 'being tender\soft' (of human skin), Sd {Gs.} lēssa 'tender' (leaf, grass); (× EC *lāf- > Arr lāfná 'weak', see N *Labǵ 'be soft'): ? Or {Grg.} lāf- 'be weak\soft', lāfā 'weak, soft', {Brl.} laf- 'ammorbidire, ammollarsi', Or O/Wt {Sr.} lāf- 'be weak\ mild', Or B {Sr.} lāf- id., 'be soft', Or H {Ow.} lāfā 'soft' (unless Or lāf- is akin to Dhl {To.} lāf- 'be tired', {EEN} *lāfune 'weak' and unless the Dhl ✓ is a loan from Or) || ??? C (SC?) ↳ Mb {E} -lasu 'be old' ¶ R S II 250, R WB 259, R Ch II 389 (s.p. 75), Grg. 258, Brl. 274, Sr. GBO 203, Sr. 357, Gs. 209, To. D 141, EEN 42, E SC 327, Ow. 267 ¶¶ E PC no. 314 (C *lās- 'be soft\weak\limp'), ≈ OS no. 1669, ≈ Tk. SCC 103 [no. 32.10], AD SEC 136 (S, C) ¶¶ The semantic prehistory of S *-lūθ-: 'knead' ← 'make soft' ¶¶ The seemingly irregular EC *-s- is still to be explained || **U**: FU (att. in FV) *Lawčǵa 'soft, weak' > Flaughā 'mild' (as winter), 'genial' (as climate), 'gentle, mellow, bland' | Lp Sw {SK} lause 'loose, soft, weak' | Er лавшо lavšo 'weak', {W} 'schlaff, matt, schwach', Mk лавча lavča 'weak' ¶ UEW 685, SK 280, ERV 323, PI 144 ◇ ≈ IS II 31-2 (*Lawšǵ 'слабый, ненатянутый').

1263. *Ličǵ 'to pass, to go away' > **HS**: S *^o✓ lθθ > Ar لث ✓ lθθ 'éloigner, chasser de sa présence', {Hv.} 'pursue, drive away' ¶ BK II 998, Fr. IV 108, Hv. 687-8 || **IE**: NaIE *lejt^h- ~ *li(:)t^h- v. 'go, go away, pass', {EI} → 'die' (× N *Zä^rkⁱdǵ 'move, go' [q.v.]?) > Gt inf. af-leipan (: ἀναχωρεῖν, ἀπελθεῖν, πορεύεσθαι) 'weggehen', ga-leipan (: ἔρχεσθαι,

ἄπερχεσθαι) 'kommen, gehen, fahren', OSx inf. *līthān* 'to go, to pass away', OHG inf. *līđan* 'to go, to travel, to pass', AS inf. *līđan*, ON inf. *líđa* 'to go, to pass', Sw, NNr inf. *lida*, Dn inf. *lide* 'to go, to pass'; → Gmc caus. inf. **lejtjan* 'to lead' > ON inf. *leiđa*, OHG inf *leiten* ~ *leitōn*, NHG inf *leiten*, OSx inf *lêđian*, AS *læđan* id., NE *lead* v. || Av *raēθ-* (pres. *iriθya-*, pp. *irista-*) {Bai.} 'depart', {Brtl.} 'die', KhS *hārīscya* 'abandonment' (< **frā-risti-*) || pTc {Ad.} **lit-* > Tc A *lit-* / *let-*, B *lit-* / *lait-* v. 'pass on, move' ({Wn.} 's'éloigner, tomber'), A/B *litk-*, B *l(y)aitk-* 'remove, avert' (< NaIE **lit^h-sĕ-e/0-* × NaIE **lejt-* / **li(:)t-* 'go') ¶ Tc A/B *litk-* (from **lit^h-sĕ-e/0-*) proves, acc. to Rsm., that there was no lr. between **t^h* and **-sĕ-*, hence **t^h* is originally monophonemic ¶ P 672, EI 228 (**lejt(H)-* 'go away\forth'), Mn. 674, 698 (adducing OI *rī'tih* 'going, motion, course' [but in fact it is derived from OI ✓ *rī-*, 3s pres. '*rīyatē* 'rinnt, gerät ins Fließen']), Rsm. AT 87, Fs. 8, 189, Vr. 330, 354, Ho. 191, 204, Ho. S 45, 47, Kb. 602, 611, OsS 545, 553, KM 435, Brtl. 1480-2, Bai. 479, Wn. I 263-4, Ad. 554 || A: [1] M **ničū-* v. 'go back, (?) step back' > WrM *ničū-* {MED} 'go back; give up, fail to carry through', HIM *няца-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'go back, отступать, отказываться', ??φ MM [S, HI] *ičū-* 'zurück-treten\ -gehen\ -kehren', 'se retirer', ?φ Ord *ič'a-* 'se retirer devant qn (par peur de lui)' ¶ MED 577, BMR II 452, H 80, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 389 ¶ If MM *ičū-* and Ord *ič'a-* belong here, the loss of their initial cns. may be due to metanalysis (?) | [2] pA **L|ničE* 'late' > pKo {S} **nič-* 'late' > MKo *nič-*, NKo *nič-*, Ko Ph *nič-* / *ničī-n* id. ¶ S QK no. 212, Nam 90, 118, MLC 375 || ?σ pJ {S} **nətī* 'after, afterwards' (× A **η¹o¹č² '∇* 'late' < N **'ηUč|č² ∇* 'late, evening, night') > OJ *noti*, MJ *nòtì*, JT *nočí* ~ *nòci* id., JK *nóčí*, JKg *nočí* {S} id. {Kenk.} 'next time; the future', {Kenk} StJ *nočini* 'afterwards' ¶ S QJ no. 288, Mr. 501, Kenk. 1379 || NaT **°ji₁:₁çæ* ({SDM} **°jič₁e*) > OT *jič₁e* 'as before, previously' ¶ Cl. 882 ¶¶ SDM 965 (pA **n|leč₁'è* 'late' > T **°jeç₁e*, J, Ko), DQA no. 1420, Mr. KJ 234-5.

1264. *TewdA (or ***ẓewdA**?) 'look for, find' > K: OG, G *lod-* / *lodin-* / *lodn-* v. 'expect, wait for' ¶ Abul. 210, DCh. 652, Chx. 867 || U **l|ewδä-* > FU **l|ewδä-* 'find' > F *löytä-*, Krl A *löüdü*, Vp *íöütä-*, Vo *leütä*, Es *leida-*, Lv *léüdü* 'find' || OHg XIV *lewl-*, Hg *lel-*, Δ *lēl-* id. || ?σ pY {AD} **leyd-* 'know' > Y K {IN} *leydī-*, Y T {IN} *leyrī-* id., {IN H} K/T *leytey-* 'recall, learn' (-*dī-*, -*rī* and -*tay-* are sxs of vt., but the Y forms may go back to **leyd-dī-*, **leyd-tey-*) ¶¶ UEW 247, Sm. 545 (FU, Ugr **lewdä-*, FP

*levdä- 'find'), Db. OS xxxii, Coll. 95, SK 323, Sz. MNyH 151, MF 397, EWU 886, IN H 238 and IN UJ 231 (in both: pY *ley-) || D (att. in SD) *nēt- ({{ǰGS}} *net-) 'seek, look for, obtain' > Tm nētū 'seek, look out for, desire, aim at, earn', nētūam 'acquired property', MI nētūam 'acquisition, gain', nētūkav. 'obtain', Kdg n9d- v. 'earn', n9ta 'earning'; but Kn nitūisū 'look at' (adduced [with a query] in D no. 3766) hardly belongs here (see N *nid∇ '≈ eye; to look') ¶ D no. 3766 ¶ The long vw. *ē is likely to go back to *ew ¶¶ Cp. D *nā- ({{ǰGS}} *nād-) 'seek, desire, follow with the eyes' (D no. 3637) < N *r'o'dE 'to seek, to wish' ¶¶ IS explains D *ā (for *ē) in D *nā- by the infl. of the open vw. of the next syll. ◇ IS II 17-18 (U, D; N ? *lewdä-; D *nēt- is misprinted as *nēt-).

1265. *lEga 'lie (liegen), lie down; lay, put' > K *lag-/*lg- 'lay, put, plant' > G (da-)lag- 'lay, put in order', (a-)lag- 'put away', (ča-)lag- 'put into sth., pack', log-ini 'bed', a-lag- n. 'place', Sv {K} laž- / lž- v. 'plant (pflanzen); attach, fasten' (msd. li-lž-eni), amb Mg/Lz rg- id. (× GZ {FS} *rg- 'plant?') ¶ Klimov adduced G rg- v. 'plant', but FS separated between the K root in question and GZ √ *rg- v. 'plant' (> G, Mg, Lz rg-) ¶¶ K 118-19, K² 106, FS K 254, FS E 280, Chx. 656-8, GP 158 || IE *leg^h- 'lie (liegen), lie down' > NaIE *leg^h- > Gk [Hs.] λέχεται ('κοιμᾶται) 3s 'lie down (esp. to sleep)', EpGk ft. λέξομαι id., Gk λέχος 'couch, bed' || L lectus 'couch, bed' || Clt {Matas.} *leg-o- 'lay, lie down' > OIr laigid, -laig 'lies (down)', lige 'bed, grave' (< *leg^huom), W {YGM} lle, Cml le 'place' (< *leg^ho-) || Gt inf. ligan ('κεῖσθαι, κατακεῖσθαι) 'liegen', OHG inf. liggeren, NHG inf. liegen, OSx inf. liggian, AS inf. licžan 'to lie (iacere)', NE lie || Lt † {Ju.} inf. pa-lég-ti 'to lay down', Lt {Frm.} palégỹs 'Bettlägerigkeit, Wochen-bett' || Sl inf. *lèg-ti (1s pres. *lègq) 'to lie down' > OCS inf. леґти lešti (1s pres. pf. леґа леґq), R inf. лець (1s ft. 'лягу), SCr inf. lèći, Slv inf. lèčì, OCz inf. léci, Cz † inf. léc ~ léci, P inf. lec id.; Sl inf. *ležāti (1s pres. *ležq) 'to lie (liegen)' > OCS inf. леґати ležati (1s pres. леґа леžq), R inf. ле'жаты, SCr inf. lèžati, OCz inf. ležěti, Cz inf. ležeti, Slk inf. ležat', P inf. ležec id. || Tc B lyač- 'lie (liegen), lie down'; pTc {Ad.} *leke > Tc A lak 'bottom of a river', Tc B leke 'bed, resting place', {Wn.} 'couche' || Ht {CHD} lak- v. 'fall', {EI} lāki 'lays aslant', lagārī 'lies aslant' ¶¶ P 658-9, EI 352, F II 110-12, WH I 777-9, LG § 419, Fs. 330-1, Ho. 201, Ho. S 46, Kb. 613, OsS 555, Schz. 196, KM 441, Frn. 328, 350-1, ESSJ XIV 99-100, 156-65, StSS 305, Glh. 371-2, SSS 464, Matas. E 236, YGM-1 304, Wn. I

254, 271, Ad. 559, 566, CHD L-N 17-18 || **U**: FU *^o]iʃ¹∇- > ObU *^o]īʃ- > pVg {Ht.} *līʃ- 'fall off' > Vg: ML lēw- 'shed\lose hair', LK/MK lēwр-, UK lewр-, P/Ss lēʃр-, NV/LL lēwр-, UL leʃр- 'fall off (abfallen, abgehen, abspringen)'; pOs *lākən- ~ *lōkən- 'losgehen' > Os: V lōkən-, Ty lekʷən-, D lākən, Nz laqən-, Kz laqən-, O loqən- 'losgehen', {Trs.} 'вылезать, выпадать, выниматься'; this Os verb coalesced with the synonymous pOs vb. *lākən- ~ *lōkən- id. ← pOs *lōʃ- ÷ Vg N {Mu.} lēwät- 'hervorziehen', ср. another d. of the same pOs √: Os V loʃim-, Os Kz lawemə- 'herausziehen', {Trs.} 'вынуть, вытащить, выдернуть' = 'take out, pull out' ¶ Ht. no-s 347 and 355, Hl. rHt 75, Trs. VD 159 || **HS**: WCh: Su {J} lè 'setzen, legen, stellen', {ChL} lē 'put down', Mpn {Frz.} lé 'put (several objects)' || BT: Tng {J} luyε 'put, place', Dr {ChL} lóyì 'put down', Pr lí-ʃò id. (imv. lú) ¶ Csp. 70, ChL, ChC s.v. 'put', J S 72, J T 115, Frz. DM 33, Frz. P 40 ◇ ObU *ī (actually Vg *ī only) suggests a N *i, which is at variance with the K data. Therefore it is preferable to reconstruct an unspecified N *E. Os *lākən- ~ *lōkən- 'losgehen' is of ambiguous origin, hence it provides no unequivocal ev. of a FU *l-, therefore here we cannot distinguish between FU *l- and *l- ◇ IS II 35-6 (K, IE; N *L ḡga = *L ∇ga) ◇ Blz. L no. 101 (suggesting to add the WCh word for 'put down').

1266. *La₁H₁ga (= *LaXg∇?) 'cut, chop' > **IE**: NaIE *lag^h- (or *lag^h-) v. 'cut, dig', 'cutting\digging instrument' > Gk λαχαίνω (aor. ἐλάχηνα) v. 'dig' || OIr láige 'spade', NIr láige 'spade, mattock, the blade of a spade', OIr {LP} laigen, NIr laighéan 'spear, javelin', W llain 'blade, sword', llain 'patch' ¶ Fick VW II 238, WP II 881, F II 92, P 652, LP § 35.1, Dnn. 414, YGM-1 302 || **U** (+ext.): FV *Lakśe- 'hew' > Lp N {N} луок'ща- / -вщ- 'cut out a hole in wood (with a mortise chisel)' || Mk лаксемс 'lakśa-ms 'to hew, to trim, to roughhew (обтесывать, тесать)', Er лаксе- lakśe- id., carve with an axe' || Chr: L локшинчаш lokš'in'ča-š 'to hew, to trim (обтесать, тесать)', B lokš'in'ča-, M lokš'zn'ča-, H {Rm.} lokš'ьнса- id. ¶ UEW 683, PI 142, ERV 328, MRS 294 || **HS**: CCh: Gude làgìč v. 'cut' ¶ ChL III 40 || ?S *^o√lhg ~ *^o√lg^h n. 'hollow' > Ar لَحْجٌ laḥǧ- 'orbit of the eye', لَحْجٌ luḥǧ- 'socket\orbit of the eye', 'trou en terre étroit à l'orifice et s'élargissant à mesure qu'il descend', لَحْجٌ luǧḥ- 'hollow in a valley or in a well' ¶ BK II 968, 972, Hv. 679 ◇ If S *^o√lhg belongs here (which is not certain), the N etymon is *LaXg∇, otherwise the rec. of the N Ir. is less specific (*H).

1267. *Ligǵæ 'lick, sip, suck' > IE: NaIE *leǵh- v. 'lick' > OI rēdhi, lēdhi, lihati 'licks', Av 3p raēzaitē 'they lick', NPrs inf. لشتن leštān / 1s pres. لیسیم līs-ām 'lick' (-s- for -z- on the analogy of other verbs like نوشتن neveštān / نویسیم novīs-ām 'write'), KhS rīstā 'he licks' ||| Arm լիզեմ lizem pres. 'I lick' (aor լիզեցի lizec^hi), լիզում lizum, լիզանեմ lizanem 'I lick' ||| Gk λείχω 'lick up, lick' ||| L ling-ō / -ēre 'lick' (with the infix *-n-), ligurriō v. 'lick' ||| Clt {Matas.} *lig-o- 'lick' > OIr ligid / -lig 'lick', MW llyu id., W {YGM} llyfu 'to lick', MBr leat 'lick', Br {Hm.} leat 'lécher' ||| Gt inf. bi-laigōn* (ἐπιλέγειν)-(attested: 3p p. bilaigōdēdun) 'belecken', OSx inf. likkon, OHG lekkōn, lecchōn, NHG inf. lecken, AS inf. liccian 'to lick', NE lick ||| Lt inf. liēžti (pres. liežiū) 'to lick', iter. inf. laižyti, Ltv inf. laizīt id. ||| Sl inf. *lizǎ-ti (1s pres. *līž-q) 'to lick' > OCS inf. лнзати lizati (1s pres. лнжѣ ližq), R inf. лизать (1s pres. 'лижу). P inf. lizać (1s pres. ližę), Cz inf. lízati, Slk inf. lízat', SCr, Slv inf. lízati id., Blg лнжа v. 'lick' ¶ P 668, EI 351-2, M K III 72-3, M E II 463, Bai. 364, Horn 212-13, 235, VI. II 1008, 1109, F II 102-3, WH I 801, 806, Fs. 91, Ho. 200, Ho. S 47, Kb. 604, OsS 545, KM 430, Frn. 369, Bern. I 725-6, Glh. 380, ESSJ XV 162, StSS 306, Slr. 92-3, Matas. 239., YGM-1 317, Hm. 508 ¶ The expected Ir. was lost in NaIE in prevocalic position ||| HS: C: Bj {Rop.} -ligag pcv. 'sip milk for another person (it is taboo for a man to be the first to drink what he has milked himself)', rf. a-t-ligag 'sip fresh milk' ¶ Rop. 72, 211 ¶ The voiceless k (for the expected g) may be due to the infl. of the Bj scv. lak- 'lap, sip (as a dog)' (< N *ṭak^U 'to lick, to lap' [q.v.]) ||| WS (or SS) *✓lgǵ > Jb ✓lgǵ G (pf. 'legaǵ, sbjn. 'yǵlgaǵ) 'suck (teats)', OYmn ✓lgǵ Sh ({Slw.} ǵalǵaǵa) 'jemandem eine Backe voll zu essen geben', Ar Y {De.} liǵǵ 'morsel, mouthful' ¶ Jo. J 161, Slw. 193, De. 148 ||| Ch: WCh: Sha {J} lîg 'auflecken', P' {MSk.} likʒn 'lick' ||| CCh: G'nd {ChL} lèktá, Gbn {ChL} lèkté, Boka {ChL} lektʒ 'lick' (× N *ṭak^U '↑' [q.v.]?) ||| ECh (× N *ṭak^U '↑'): Tmk {Cp.} laǵ v. 'lick, suck', Nd D {J} lǵgîâ 'lick' ¶ JI II 224-5, J R 286, ChC s.v. 'to lick', ChL, Cp. 79 ||| A: Tg *legbe- 'eat greedily' (× N *Lûka m ▽ 'to swallow', see s.v. *Lûka 'to swallow') > Neg mt. lǵbǵʒ- 'eat greedily', Nn Nh lǵbǵʒǵi- 'eat greedily' (of animals), Ul lǵbǵʒ- 'eat greedily, eat enough', Ud lǵbǵʒ- 'eat by large pieces\gulps' (of dogs) ¶ STM I 514, Krm. 257, Ord. 352 ◇ Tg *e of the first syll. requires explanation (regr. as. *-i...e- > *-e...e-?).

1268. *Laguř ∇ 'body of water' > HS: S *lugg- > Ar لُجُّ luğğ- 'pleine mer, abîmes de la mer', لُجَّة luğğ-at- 'masse d'eau, pleine mer' (semantic infl. of Ar luğğ- 'abondance'), Gz laḡ^wat- 'abyss, depth, pool of water', Tgr laḡḡ^wät-, Tgy laḡ^wät- ~ naḡ^wät- 'depth, whirlpool' ¶ BK II 967, L G 308 || LEC: Sml lāḡ (pl. laḡaḡ) {ZMO} 'water channel', {DSI} 'affluente', Or B {Sr.} laḡa 'small river', Or O/Wt {Sr.} laḡa 'river', Or laḡa {Grg.} 'river valley', {Brl., Ss.} 'river, brook' ⇨ Brj 'laḡ-i id., Kmb laḡa, Sd la'ḡa, laḡḡa 'river' ¶ ZMO 250, DSI 378, Brl. 274, Grg. 360, Sr. 358, Ss. B 131, Hd. 124, 209, 330, 382 || ¶ A: M *naḡur 'lake, pond' > MM [S] {H} na₁ur 'lake, sea', [IsV] نَاورُ {Lg.} na₁ur 'lake', [IM] نَاورُ {Pp.} na₁ur 'sea', WrM naḡur {MED} 'lake, pond', HIM нурур {MED} id., {BMR} 'lake', Brt нурур id., Mnr H {SM} nūr 'lake, pond', {T} nūr, Dg {T} naur, Kl {KRS} нур nur (gen. нурин nūrin) 'lake', {Rm.} nūr id., 'pond', Ord nūr 'lac' ¶ H 114, Lg. VMI 56, Pp. MA 442, MED 558, BMR II 429, Chr. 333, KRS 386-7, SM 290, T 353, T DgJ 156, KW 282, Ms. O 501 || ?? OKo {Lee} *narih, MKo nāḡ / nāḡh-, NKo nā 'river' ¶ An alt. hypothetical origin: N *níhR'a¹ 'to stream; a stream' (q.v.) ¶ Lee GKS 80, S QK no. 229 (pKo *nāḡh-), Nam 101, MLC 315 || ¶ D (att. in GnD) {ǧGS} *nāḡ|ḡur- 'river' > Png, Ku nāḡurì, Mnd nāḡur id. ¶ D no. 3636, GS 191 ◇ N *-r- was lost in HS (probably due to some morphological processes and/or due to the infl. of N *laḡ^ru¹ 'body of water' [q.v.]) ◇ Blz. L no. 96f (N *nakuřì > M, D) and Blz. LNA no. 39 (N *nakuřì > M, Ko, D).

1269. *luḡ ∇ 'wash, rinse' > K: on.? (rdp.) G laḡlaḡ- v. 'rinse' ([im Wasser] schwenken, spülen', {DCh.} 'полоскать') ¶ Chx. 608, DCh. 644 || HS: B (rdp.) *✓lHl > Kb lil (pf. i-laḡ), Tmz lil 'être rincé, être passé à l'eau', Mz ilil 'be rinsed', Wrg lil ~ il(l)il 'être rincé, être net, luire', caus.: Kb/Tmz/Izd/Mz s-lil, Wrg slil caus. v. 'rinse', Sll s-lil 'wash'; questionably here (for lack of any reflex of a lr.) Ah {Fc.} on. laḡḡwät 'be washed, wash\rinse oneself', ETwl./Ty {GhA} laḡḡwät 'laver légèrement, nettoyer légèrement' ¶ Dl. 437, Ds. 168, Stm. 221, Mrc. 225, 395, Rn. 338, MT 365, Dlh. Ou 162, Dlh. M 101, Fc. 1073, GhA 115 || Eg √ i^cy 'wash' > Cpt: Sd ειω eiō, ειογε eiue, B ιωι iōi, ιω iō, A ειω eiō, F ιωωι iōōi 'wash' ¶ EG I 39, Fk. 10, Vc. 60 || IE *lou_uH₃- ({EI} *leu_h₃-) 'wash, bathe' > NaIE *lou-, *lowə- 'wash' > Gk Hm λόω, Gk A λούω 'I wash', Gk Mc re-ωο-te-re-yo 'for bathing' || L lav-ō / lav-ěre, lavā- (pfc. lāv-ī) 'wash, bathe', lautus prtc. 'washed' || ON lauga 'to

bathe, to wash', OHG *luhhen* 'to wash, to rinse', NGr Sb *lichen* 'to wash', Dt *logen* 'to leach'; ON *laug* 'Lauge, Bad, Wäsche' (< **loukā*), OHG *louga* 'lye, leach', NHG *Lauge*, AS *léaz* 'lye', NE *lye* || Arm **[nqawɪw]** *loganam* 'I bathe' | ⇨ NaIE **lowə-tro-* 'washing basin' > Gk Hm *λοετρόν*, Gk A *λουτρόν* 'a bath, bathing place' || Clt {Matas.} **lowatrrō-* 'bath' > Gl [GIE] *LAUTRO-* 'a bath' ({Billy} 'bain'), OIr {Thr., SB} *lóathar* 'basin', {Matas.} *loathar* 'bath', MBr *louazr* id., Br {Matas.} *lovazr* id., {Hm.} *laouer* 'auge', Br V {Ern.} *loëhér* 'auge' || ON *lauðr* 'soap, lather', AS *léaðor* 'lather', NE *lather* ¶ P 692, EI 108, WH I 773-5, F II 138-9, Thr. 71, SB 249-50, Ern. 375, Hm. 505, Billy 92, Vr. 346-7, Ho. 196-7, Sw. 105, Kb. 636, 640, OsS 572, KM 427, Slt. 251-2, Matas. E 243, Hm. 505 || **U**: FU (att. on ObU) **luw|y∇-* v. 'wash' > pObU {JHl.} d. **lōw-∇t-* v. 'wash' > pVg d. **lōw-t-* > Vg T/UK/MK/ LK/SV/LL/UL/Ss *lowt-* id.; pOs **loyit-* ({JHl.} **lāyit-*) > Os: V/Vy *lōyit-*, Ty *ḫōyitə-*, Y *ḫōwitə-*, Kz *ḫōxit-*, D/K *ḫōxētə-*, Nz *ḫōxətsə-* id. || pY {IN H} **loyo-* 'wash' > Y T {IN H} *loyo-re-*, {Ku} *loyo-rə-* 'bathje', {IN H} *loyo-dé-* 'wash', Ku.} *loyo-žə-* 'bathe', {IN H} *loyorī-* 'rags for washing up; blood of a reindeer used to wash hands after a funeral' ¶¶ ≈ Ht. no. 349 (**loy-*), Hl. rHt 73-4, Stn. WV 254, 340, KrT 1115, IN H 245-6, IN UJ 232, Ang. 123-4, ≈ Rd. UJ 47 [no. 72] (Y < U) ¶¶ The Y ev. suggests that some traces of the obstruent N **-g|y-* survived in pU || **A**: T **jub-* vt. 'wash' > OT {Cl.} *jū-*, {Ml.} *jū-* ~ *jūw-*, MT XIII? [Tf.] *jūv-*, XwT XIII *jū(w)-*, XIV [QB] *jū-* ~ *jūv-*, MQp *jū-* ~ *jūv-*, [CC] *jū-* ~ *jūw-*, Osm XIV-XVI *jūv-* & *jūç-*, Tk Δ *jūv-* & *jūy-* & *jōy-* & *jū-*, Tkm, Kr, Nog, Uz *jūw-*, SY *jūw-* & *jū-*, Qmq, QrB *žūw-*, Qzq, Qq *žūw-*, Bsh *jiw-*, VTt *juy-* *jūw-*, Az {Bu.} *-يوو* *jūw-*, Az *juy-* *jū-*, Ln *jū-*, ET *juy-*, Xlj *jū-*, Qrg *žū-*, Xk, Tv *čuy-*, Tf *ču-*, Yk *sūy-* id. || Chv L *çy-* *śu-*, Chv Δ *çăb-* *śbv-*, Δ {Md.} *św-* / *śbv-* id. ¶ For the development of *-y-* (< **-w-* < pT **-b-*) cp. pT **sub-* 'water' (F N **s'ū'whâ* or **sEʔuwħ∇* 'moisture, water') ¶ Cl. 870, Ml. PDP 390, Rs. W 209, DTS 277, ET J 238-9, Brv. T 163, Ash. XII 198-9, 313, Fed. II 128, Jeg. 216, ChVS 188, Md. 162 (T **jū(b)-*), ≈ Md. 60, Rl. III 569 and IV 163, Bu. II 384. Ra. 198 ◇ If the K cognate is rejected as onomatopoeic, the N etymon may be reconstructed with **-f-*, **-y-* or **-g-*, otherwise N **-f-* is ruled out, so that the N rec. must be **luΓ∇*.

1270. ? ϕ_2 **L∇'Γ'U* '≈ fig tree' > K: GZ **l'e¹yw-* 'fig tree, fig' > OG *λεγλι* *leγwi*, G *leγvi*, Mg, Lz *luγi* id. (⇨ G *luγi* 'fig') ¶ FS E 216, K² 107, ≈ K 119 (Klimov did not distinguish this √ from the paronymous

*laʷw- 'meat'), Abul. 208-9, Chik. 122, Chx. 680, DCh. 648-9, 654 ||
HS: ?φ Eg fP n.h.t 'sycamore' ({Vc.} ≈ [*nāha-t] or [*nāhi-t]), n.h.t nt dʒb
 'fig tree', Cpt Sd **NOYʔε** nuhe, Cpt B **NOYʔI** nuhi 'sycamore' ¶ EG II
 282-3, Fk. 135, Vc. 151 || ?μ EC: Sa {R} malaha'lō 'Ficus lutea'; C ⇨
 NrOm: Kf {C} mellō 'sycamore'; acceptable, if Sa ma- goes back to a px ¶
 R S II 266, C SE IV 471 ◇ Qu., because the corr. K *-ʷ- ÷ Eg h is not
 demonstrably reg. (so far).

1271. (₂?) ≈ *L|žagU_Ly∇, 'fat meat' > K *°la|eʷw- 'meat' > Sv
 UB/LB/Ln/L leʷw 'meat' ¶ TK 413, GP 146, FS K 197, ≈ K 119 (did not
 distinguish this √ from the homonymous *laʷw- 'fig') || IE *lH_gy- or
 *la_j- 'fat' > NaIE *la_j- 'fat', *layos 'lard, animal fat' > L laetus adj. 'fat,
 rich' (of animals) → 'pleasant, fortunate', ? lārīdum, lardum 'the fat
 of bacon, lard' ({P} < *layes-idom?) || ?? Gk λᾶρῖνός 'fatted, fat' ({Osth.}:
 < *layes-rīnos) ¶ WP II 379, P 652, WH II 750, 764-5, F II 85-6 || ? **A:**
 T *jāg n. 'fat, suet' (× N ≈ *ǰE^ʔa_Lʔ_Lg∇ 'fat', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Not here Ch
 ≈ *lUʔ∇ 'animal, meat' (see N *luʔ∇ - *l'īʔu¹w¹∇ 'ε bovine') ◇
 Doubtful, because the IE rec. is qu. and the T reflex *-g- of N *-g- is not
 demonstrably reg. (at least so far).

1272. ₂ *lAkU 'circle' > **HS:** B *lak-: Ah tālakat 'circle', ETwl/Ty talʔkat
 (pl. tilʔkatēn) 'wheel' ¶ Fc. 1029, GhA 113 || ?? Eg (att. in NK) m r k.f
 'neben (jemandem), um (jemandem)'; but Eg fOK m r k.f 'at the time of
 (so.)' may be either a sd. of m r k.f 'neben' or a direct des-cendant of N
 *r'a¹Kâ 'time, term' (q.v.) ¶ EG II 457-8 || **U:** FU *°lāk^w∇ or *°lak^kU >
 ObU *lōk 'ring, circle' > pVg {Ht.} *lāk^w id. > OVg S Tr (labeled "TuraG")
 лакъ, Vg T lāk, Vg LK lōx^w (pl. lōk^wat), Vg MK/UK lōx^w (pl. lōk^wat), Vg
 P lax, lax^w (pl. lōk^wat), Vg LL lax, OVg N Ber лакъ, Vg UL lāk^w, Vg Ss
 {Kn.} lāk, {Stn.} lāk^w, OVg N SoO лякы id.; pOs {Ht.} *lōk > Os: V/Vy lōk,
 Ty lek^w, D lāk, K lok, Nz lak, Kz lak, O loχ id. ¶ Ht. no. 351.

1273. *LiK∇ 'be ill, suffer disaster' > **IE:** NaIE *le_jg- / *lo_jg- / *lig- id. >
 Lt ligā 'illness, disease', Ltv † ligā id., 'pestilence, disaster', Lt † inf.
 liegti 'to be seriously ill, to be an invalid, siechen' || Gk λουγός 'ruin,
 havoc' (of death by plague, by war), λούγτος 'pestilent, deadly' || pAl {O}
 *liga > Al lig adj. 'evil, wicked; bad; sick'; pAl {O} *ligā > Al ligē 'bad
 situation, immoral behaviour; serious disease' || ?φ OIr {P} líach {EI}
 'suffering, unfortunate', {P} 'elend, unglücklich' ¶ Hardly here (⇔ WP, P
 and EI) Gk ὀλίγος 'little, small' and Arm աղքատ aṭk^hat 'poor, needy,
 necessitous, miserable' ¶ WP II 398, P 667, ≠ EI 516 (*h₃ligos 'ill, bad'),

Mn. 689-90, 703, F II 134, Tr. 161, Frn. 370, ME II 166, Kar. 530, Bc. 302-3. AlbED 439-40, O 227 || **HS**: C {AD} *lak- > Ag {AD} *lak- / *lakk- ⇨ Ag *lak-an- ({Ap.} *laʏ-än-) n. 'wound' > Bln la'g'án (pl. la'kān), Xm {Ap.} laxan, Q {Ap.} naʏän, {R} nağen, Km {CR} nağan (pl. naخان-t), Aw {Hz.} lagen, {Ap.} laʏen id.; possibly also Bln/Aw {R} lağ- 'anfeinden, beschuldigen, ausschelten', Gz (← Ag) lāk^ωā, lak^ωā, lak^ωē 'altercation, strife, conflict', ✓ lk^ωy v. TL (pf. talāk^ωaya) 'quarrel with one another, dispute, reprimand' ¶ AD SF 261, Ap. AV 14, R WB 251-2, R QW 105, CR LK 236, L G 314 || **A**: T *ji:ḡ 'illness, disease' > OT {Cl.} i:ḡ id., MQp XIV {TAG} jiḡ 'an illness', ? jiḡ kōr- 'be hateful', Tk An iḡ ɖ iḡ 'illness', Tkm īḡ-li 'sickly, ailing', 'rachitic' (of children) ¶ The long vw. ī in Tkm may be either inherited from pT (then the pT word is *jīḡ) or be due to complementary lengthening (then the pT source is *jiḡ) ¶ Cl. 98-9, Rs. W 169, TAG 20, 32, Tkr 345.

1274. *Luka 'to bend' ([in descendant lges] → [?] 'flexible twig') > **IE**: NaIE *leuḡ- / *luḡ- 'bend, bind together, entwine' > Gk λυϑόω 'tie fast', λυϑίζω 'bend\twist as one does a withe; turn, play (as a joint in the socket)', λύφος n. 'withy', λυϑό-δεσμός 'bound with willow twigs' || L lux-us adj. 'dislocated', luxā- v. 'dislocate' || Lt lūgnas 'flexible' || ON inf. lυkna 'to bend knees' ¶ WP II 413-14, P 685, EI 62-3, Mn. 717, F II 141, WH I 841, Frn.388-9, Vr. 370 || **HS**: B *✓lk 'be bent' (× N *ḡaíḡu 'to bend') > Ah lakāt 'tourner (changer de direction), décrire une courbe, être courbé', Mz {Dlh.} llaklak 'être ébranlé, bouger, être disloqué; plier sous le poids', as well as possibly Ah elakāt 'branche', ETwl/Ty ləkāt 'être courbé en rond (en anneau)' ¶ Fc. 1028-9, 1051, PrGG 190, Dlh. M 105 || **A** *Lō:ḡ:kḡ v. 'bow, bend' > Tg *lōka- vt. 'hang down' > Sln, Neg loko- ~ loxo-, Lm Ol/B/P noq-, Lm A laq- id., Orc lō-, loʷo-, loko-, Ud l'ō-, Ul lō-, lōqo-, Nn Nh/Bk lō-, Nh KU loqo-, WrMc {Z} лакя- id.; ⇨ Tg *lōkān₁ḡ₁ 'device (made of perches) to hang fish\meat for jerking' > Ewk lōwān, Neg lōwan, Orc lōkońi, Ork lōn, Nn Nh/Bk lōḡqo id.; ⇨ Tg *°lo:ḡkān- 'hang down (fish, meat)' > Ewk lowān- ¶ STM I 501-2, On. 247-8, Z 843 || M **nugḡ- ⇨ [1] M *nugul- > WrM {MED} нугул-, HIM {MED, BMR} нугала- vt. 'bend, fold; curve', Brt нугал- 'bend (сгибать, перегибать)', Ord нуг_ул- vt 'plier; faire diminuer d'intensité', WrO {Krg.} нугул- vt. 'bend, fold', Kl {KRS} нугл- vt. 'fold', {Rm.} нуḡул- 'umbiegen, falten', Ord нуг_ул- 'plier', ? Mnr H {SM} nu'ḡ_u'la- 'tourner et retourner qch. entre les mains'; [2] M *nugura- > WrM {MED} нугура- ~

{SM} нугара-, HIM {MED, MRS} нугара- vi. 'bend, stoop', vi. 'be folded', Brt нугар- 'be bent/folded', WrO {Krg.} нугур- vi. 'bend, wrap, curve', Kl {KRS} нугур- 'be folded', {Rm.} нуџур- 'gefaltet\umgebogen werden, sich falten', Ord нугура- ~ нугара- 'se plier, se replier sur soi-même', ?σ Mnr H {SM} ну'гу'рā- 'branler, osciller'; the WrM graphic variants нигул- and нигура- (mentioned in KW 281, but not found in Kow. and MED) may be explained as hypercorrect spelling of нугул-, нугура- (due to the regular as. -igu- > -ugu- in many other words) ¶ MED 595, BMR II 422-3, Kow. 679, Krg. 227, KRS 385, KW 281, Chr. 333, Ms. O 499-500, SM 288 || T *jūkūn- v. 'bow, kneel' (× N *r̥'ūḱ'ū' 'lie down, sink, bow (down)', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *nǝki- ~ *nyaki- 'hanging edge of roof, eaves' > OJ н_у_о_к_и_и, MJ nókí, JT nòki, JK nókí, J Kg nóki {S} id., {Kenk.} 'eaves' ¶ Mr. 500, S QJ no. 1533, Kenk. 1381 ¶¶ The front short vw. *ü in pT belongs to the heritage of N *r̥'ūḱ'ū' ¶¶ SDM 879 (pA *luke 'bow, bend' > M *nugu-, T, Tg, J), DQA no. 1224 ◇ ≠ S NSShs no. 24 (IE *÷ A *lak'u- 'bend, hang', ≈ IS III 61-6 (A *nugu ~ *nuku- 'bend' < N {IS} *Nucc'ü' 'bend, bow' ≈ N {AD} *nūq▽ 'to bend, to swing, to sink').

1275. *lukê 'to gather' ([in descendant lges] → 'to count [zählen]) > IE: NaIE *leg̃- 'gather, count' > Gk λέγω vt. 'gather, pick up; count (zählen), tell' || L leg-ō / -ěre 'collect, gather together, pick, read' || pAl {O} *ambi-leza > Al mbledh- (aor. mblodha) vt. 'gather, collect' ¶ WP II 422, P 658, EI 242, F II 94-6, WH I 780, AlBED 502-3, O 251, Huld 145, 156 || HS: S (+ext. *t̥) *√lq̥t̥ 'gather, pick up' > BHb, MHb בָּקַע √lq̥t̥ G 'gather, glean', JA [Trg.], JEA {Sl.} √lq̥t̥ G id., 'pick up', Sr √lq̥t̥ id., 'collect', OA √lq̥t̥ G 'glean', Ar √lqt̥ 'pick up, glean' (→ Izd laqqad 'gather'), Mh {Jo.} √lq̥t̥ (pf. ʕw'k̥awt̥) 'pick up (a thing, sth. small)', Jb √lq̥t̥ (pf.: Jb E 'lq̥k̥at̥, Jb C lq̥at̥) id., 'pick up off a tree, pluck', Ak √lqt̥ G (inf. laq̥āt̥u) 'einsammeln' ¶ Ass. glottalization **k...t̥ > *q̥...t̥ ¶ KB 508-9, HJ 584, Js. 717-18, Sl. 632-3, Br. 370, JPS 244-5, BK II 1014-15, Hv. 693, Jo. M 255, Jo. J 164, Sd. 537-8 || U: FU *luke- v. 'count', *luk▽ n. 'count, number' (→ 'ten') > F luke-, Es luge- v. 'count, read', F lukku 'number; reading', Es lugu 'number; story' | pLp {Lr.} *lokē 'ten' > Lp: N {N} lq̥ge / -kk-, S {Hs.} lūkkie, L {LLO} lākkēv, Kld lokk' 'ten', N {N} lq̥kke / -g̃-, L lāhkē 'ten' (as last part of cds), 'ten altogether'; Lp N {N} lq̥kkâ / -g̃-, Lp K {Gn.} lokke- v. 'read, reckon, count' | Er лово- lovo-, Mk лυво- luvə- v. 'count; consider' | Chr: L лудаш lu'da-š, E luδa-, H inf. лыдаш 'льда-š v. 'read, count'; pChr *lu 'ten' > Chr L/E/H lu

'ten' | Prm {LG} *lú-d n. 'count, number' (*-d is a sx) > Z, Vt лыд lid, Z Vsh/EV lú d id. || ObU {Ht.} *lō̃yat- v. 'count' > pVg *lō̃want- v. 'count (rechnen)' > Vg: LK/MK/UK lownt-, Ss ловиньт-, {Ht.} lowint- 'count, read'; pOs *lonət- (|{Hl.} *lā̃nət-) > Os: V lonət-, Ty/Y фō̃nət-, D/K tō̃nət-, Nz tū̃nət-, Kz фū̃nət-, O lunət- 'read, count (e.g. money), calculate (rechnen)'; ObU *°lō̃ʳʲ 'ten' > pVg {Stn.} lō̃w > Vg: T {Stn.} фō̃w, MK/Ss {BT}, UL {Stn.} low id. | ? Hg olvas- v. 'read, count' || ?? Sm: Ne T лажана-, T O {Lh.} la·χnā- 'speak, talk', Ne T {Ter.} лажарю- 'say', T O {Lh.} lā̃χα·rū· 'Unterhaltung, Gespräch' ¶¶ Coll. 131, UEW 253, Sm. 545 (FU *lukī-, FP *lukī/a-, Ugr *lū̃kī- 'count'), Lr. no. 598, Lgc. no. 3499, N II 555-8, Hs. 872, ERV 348, Ber. 33, MRS 298, 308, Rm. BT 71-2, Ü 109, LG 164, Ht. no. 358, Trs. S 216, Trs. VD 158, BV 46, Stn. D 784-5, Stn. WV 236, 254, 346, 357, MF 502-3, Ter. 181, Lh. 715 || ¶ *L[nʳʲ]k|g∇ > M *nō̃ʁe- > WrM {MED} nō̃ge- 'economize, save for the future; put aside, keep in reserve', HIM нѠѠ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'economize, save for the future, keep in reserve', WrO nō̃- 'save, hoard, economize', Brt нѠѠ- 'store up, accumulate, economize', Kl {KRS} нѠѠ- nō̃- id., {Rm.} nō̃- 'sparen, verheimlichen, verhehlen', Ord nō̃- 'faire des épargnes, amasser les biens, thésauriser' ¶ MED 592, BMR II 420, Chr. 332, Krg. 225, KRS 384, KW 280, Ms. O 497 || T *jiġ- vt. 'collect, assemble' > OT jīġ- id., XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC], Chg XV jīġ- id., Tk ɟiġ- v. 'amass, accumulate, pile up', Az jīy-, SY jīy- ~ jīq-, ET jīy-, StAlt дьɟ- žu- 'collect, accumulate', Slr jīy-, Ln jīy- ~ jīq- 'collect', Tkm jīy-, Qmq žīy-, Nog jīy-, Qzq, Qq žīy-, Uz jīy- 'collect, accumulate, harvest', VTt ṣ̌y- 'collect, hide', Bsh j̣y-, Xk čīy- id., 'accumulate', Tv čīy- (ftp. čīr) 'gather (e.g., people), pick (berries etc.)', Tf čīy- 'gather (horses, cattle)' ¶ Cl. 897, Rs. W 200, ET J 271-2, TvR 560, Ra. 199 ¶¶ SDM 992 (pA *n|l̥uġu- 'put in' > T, M + unc. Ko *nyəh- 'put in'; the alleged meaning of the pA root is based on Ko only, while M 'economize' is closely connected with pN 'gather' rather than through the meaning 'put in' ◇ The delabialization *u > T *i is a rather frequent phenomenon, that is still to be investigated ◇ The IE vocalization may be explained as going back to pre-IE *lyek̥- < *lukê (see AD NVIE). In the light of the U *l- the N lateral is *l- rather than *l̥- (suggested by IS) ◇ Coll. IUS 12 (U, IE), AD GD 3 (IE, U), as well as ≈ IS MS 366 and IS SS 331 [no. 5.18] (*łok̥ = *l̥ok̥∇ 'gather' [> 'count']): IE, U + unc. M *toʷa 'number' and D *tokk-/ *tok∇- 'gather, count') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 70 (*lek 'collect') (IE. U, CK).

1276. *Īūkê 'beat, strike, break' > **IE:** NaIE *leuǵ-/ *louǵ-/ *luǵ- 'break, break off' > OI ru'jati 'breaks, shatters' ('zerbricht, zerschmettert'), rug'na- 'broken', Av uruxti- n. act. 'breaking, tearing apart' || Lt inf. láuž-ti (pres. láuži u), Ltv inf. laūzt (pres. laūž u) vt. 'to break', Lt inf. lūžti (pres. lūžtu) vi. 'to break, to burst' || SI *luz- > R Δ mom. inf. луз- 'ну-ть' 'to strike, to lash' ('ударить, хлестнуть'), McdS лужна, лужно 'scar' || ? AS inf. to-lúcan 'to destroy', {EI} 'to pull\tear to pieces' (unless ← AS inf. to-lúcan 'to pull asunder' ← lúcan 'to pull up') || ?σ OIr luchit 'part, troop, people', W llwyrth 'tribe' ¶ WP II 412-13, P 686, ≈ EI 81, M K III 64-5, M E II 465, LP § 52, YGM-1 316, Ho. 207, Sw. 109, 174, Frn. 347, Bern. I 747, Vs. II 530-1, ≈ ESSJ XVI 216-17, BER III 494 || **HS:** CS *√ lkk (*-lukk-) G 'beat, mix (by beating)' > Ar √ lkk (pf ٱلَكَّ lakka, ip. -lukk-) 'cuff, thump so. on the neck; mix sth.', MHb √ lkk G (pf. לִכְךָ la'kək) {Js.} 'mix thoroughly, beat (oil and wine)', {Lv.} 'vermischte Flüssigkeiten quirlen', JA לִכְךָ lik'k-ā n. act. 'das Zerklopfen, mit dem Quirl schlagen, quirlen', JEA {Sl.} לִכְךָ lik'k-ā 'beating into a mixture' ¶ BK II 1019, Hv. 694, Js. 711, Lv. II 506-7, Sl. 625 || **U:** FU *|l̥ü'ʒ'e- 'strike, chop' > F l̥yö-, Es löö- 'strike, hit, beat' || Hg Δ löv- / lö- 'schlagen, hauen'; this FU √ is to be distinguished from FU {UEW} *lewe- 'throw, shoot' (> Chr lüye- ʒ lüe- 'shoot', Z l+y- 'shoot, throw', pVg {Coll.} *liʒ- id., Hg lö- / löv- v. 'shoot') ¶ ≈ UEW 247 (FU *lewe-), ≈ Coll. 96 (*lüye-), Sm. 545 (FU, FP *lexi-, Ugr *ligĩ- 'hit, shoot') (UEW, Coll. and Sm. do not distinguish the √ for 'throw' from that for 'strike') ◇ ≈ IS MS 358 (*l̥uk̥ 'destroy'), ≈ IS SS 331 [no. 5.24] (in both: IE + dub. Ar √ lwk 'ronger' + err. Or ilka 'tooth', which actually belongs to N *ʔæžEKU 'thorn, hook' [q.v.]), ≠ S NSShS no. 29 (IE equated with A *luk'i 'break through').

1277. *Īiʔvku 'let, let go, move (bewegen)' > **HS:** S *√ lʔk v. 'send' > Ug √ lʔk G 'send' (imv. sg. m. lʔk, ntr. 3m ʔlʔk), Sb √ lʔk G 'send, dedicate', Gz √ lʔk G 'send' (3m js. ʔa-lʔak), Tgr, Tgy √ lʔk G id.; -d> *malʔak- 'messenger' > Ug mlʔk, Ph mlʔk, Sr مَلَأْكَ malaʔk-ā, Ar malʔak- id., IA mlʔk 'delegate, envoy; angel (messenger of a god\goddess)', Ak {CAD} malāχu ≈ 'ε god\deity' (← a Cn lge), BHb מְלֶאכֶּת malʔāk 'God's messenger, angel' -b> BA malʔak* id. (with ppa. 3m: מְלֶאכֶּת malʔāk-ēh), JA {Trg.}, JEA מְלֶאכֶּת malʔāk-ā, Gz malʔak id., Ar malʔak- 'angel'; Ar √ lʔk Sh (pf. ʔalʔaka) 'send (so.)' ¶ KB 488, 1735-6, GB 374, HJ 629, A no. 1432, OLS 239-40, 273, Js. 786, Sl. 676-7, BK II

952, Br. 354, PS 1874-5, Hv. 673, Bll. 256, L G 303, LH 42, CAD X/1 152, Sd. 593 || C * \checkmark l \checkmark k \checkmark \rightarrow * \checkmark lkk 'send, let go' > EC: Sa {R} pcv. -lāk (pf. 'i-līk- Θ , imv. e-'līk) 'send', C \rightarrow Amh \checkmark l \checkmark k \checkmark (pf. lə \checkmark k \checkmark ə \checkmark ə) 'let go, let free, let out', Tgy \checkmark l \checkmark k \checkmark (pf. lə \checkmark ə \checkmark ə \checkmark ə) 'relâcher; abandonner, laisser, lâcher' ¶ R S II 247, L CAD 7, CS 91 || IE: NaIE *le \checkmark k ω -/*lo \checkmark k ω -/*lik ω -/*link ω - 'let, leave' (3s pres. *li'nek ω -ti) > OI ri'ri'nak-ti 'leaves, gives up, releases' (3p ri'ricanti), rik'ta- 'empty, free (from sth.)', ricyatē 'wird befreit (von etwas)', Av raēk- 'freigeben, überlassen', 'rinaxti 'räumt, läßt frei', KhS par rīj- 'deliver' (< *pari-raičaya- 'leave'), eNPrs {Sg.} inf. ريختن rēχtan, NPrs {BM} inf. ريختن rīχtān / 1s pres. ريزم rīz-äm 'pour, pour out, scatter' || Clt {Matas.} * \circ li-n-k ω -o- 'leave, let' > OIr léici \checkmark d / -léici 'leave' || Arm լքանեմ lk \checkmark anem 'I leave, I abandon, I desert, I forsake' (3s aor. ելիք elik \checkmark) || Gk λέύπω 'leave, quit; leave behind; forsake' || L linqu-ō id., re-liquus 'left behind, remaining', liceō 'be for sale' || Gmc {Vr.} inf. *lī \checkmark an > Gt inf. leih-an ('δευνέ(ζ)ειν)'leihen, borgen', ON ljá, AS līon, OSx, OHG līhan, NHG leihen inf. 'to lend' || Olt liek-mì, Lt liekù 'I am left, I remain', inf. lìk-ti 'to be left, to remain', pa-likti 'to leave', pa-laik-aĩ pl. 'remains, legacy', Ltv inf. lìkt (1s pres. liēku) 'to put' (likt mierā 'to leave alone'), liēk-s 'superfluous, odd', Pru polīkins 'verliehen', polīnka 'remains' | Sl *lěk \checkmark > RChS лѣкѣ lěk \checkmark {Srz.} 'remainder', OCS отълѣкѣ ot \checkmark lěk \checkmark id. ('τὰ κατάλοιπα) ¶ WP II 396-7, P 669-70, EI 348-9, M K III 59, Horn 141, Sg. 601, Bai. 216-17, F II 99-100, WH I 808-9, Fs. 327, Vr. 359, Ho. 203, Ho. S 46, Kb. 614, OsS 556-7, KM 434, Frn. 372-3, En. 231, StSS 430, Srz. II 71, Vs. II 477 and III 134, Sl. 96, Matas. E 240 || U *l \checkmark kk ∇ - 'move' (vt.?) > FL: BF d. (ps.): F, Es liikk \checkmark - vi. 'move, stir' | Lp: N {N} lik'kâ- / -kk- 'change position\place, stir; shift, move', L {LLO} lihkk \checkmark - vi. 'move' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} laq \checkmark - vi. 'stir', laq \checkmark r \checkmark - vt. 'swing, loosen' ('раскачивать, шатать'), Nr {Cs.} laga- 'sich rühren', lagara- 'in Bewegung setzen, erschüttern' ¶ ≈ UEW 249 (adducing ObU *lūk- 'jump, enter suddenly', that belongs to N *lūH \checkmark a [~ *Lū \checkmark a ∇ ?] 'to jump' [q.v.]), SSA II 73, KKIH 124-5, Cs. 129-30 || A *n|LEkô 'leave, put aside' > M: [1] M (? ϕ , σ) *ni'γ \checkmark u- v. 'hide, conceal' > MM [S] ni \checkmark u- id., [MA] ni \checkmark ū- v. 'hide, be hidden', WrM {MED} ni \checkmark u-, HIM {MED, BMR} нѹу-, Brt нѹу- níū- 'hide, conceal, keep secret', Kl {KRS} нѹу- id., {Rm.} nū- 'verheimlichen, verschweigen', Dx {T} niu- id., Mnr H {T} niū- id., {SM} niū- 'cacher, tenir secret, faire qch. en secret; se cacher', Ord nū-

'cacher; se cacher'; → M *ni¹γ¹uĉa 'secret', MM [S] ni₁uĉa id. (adj.), WrM {MED} ni₁γuĉa 'secret, mystery; hidden, mysterious', HIM н₁γ₁у₁ц {MED} id., {BMR} n., adj. 'secret', Kl {KRS} н₁γ₁у₁ц id., {Rm.} nūca 'Verheimlichung; geheim', Brt н₁γ₁у₁ца nūsa n., adj. 'secret', Ord nūĉ¹i 'secret' ¶ H 117, Pp. MA 257, MED 579, BMR II 429-30, KRS 387, KW 281-3, Chr. 347, SM 279, T 351, T DnJ 130, Ms. O 499, 503 | [2] ?σ M *nōgū-γe 'other' > MM noko₁e-, WrM nōgūge- {MED} 'the other, opposite', HIM н₁г₁θ₁θ {MED} id., {BMR} 'other, different, second', Brt н₁γ₁г₁θ₁θ 'other, different', Kl {KRS} н₁г₁θ₁ id., Ba noge 'he', Ord nōgū 'l'autre' ¶ MED 592, BMR II 418, KRS 383, T BJ 144, Md. O 497 || pKo {S} *nōh- 'put, let go' > MKo nōh-, NKo noh- no- id. ¶ S QK no. 699, Nam 114, MLCh 353 || pJ {S} *nək- 'leave, put aside' > OJ nok, nokos-, MJ nōkos- id., J T/Kg nokós-, J K nókós- {S} id., {Kenk.} 'leave (behind), leave over' ¶ S QJ no. 632, Mr. 737, Kenk. 1383 ¶¶ SDM 967 (pA *nēko > J, Ko, M *nōgū-γe 'other' + unc. Tg *neku- 'carry, lead' [going back to N *næK¹ū¹ 'carry, bring', q.v.]), DQA no. 1426, SDM97 (A *niKo > M, Ko, J), Mr. KJ 239 || | ?σ D *nīkk- 'put aside, remove' (× D *nī- 'go away, depart'?) > Tm nīkku 'remove, exclude, put aside', Ml nīkkukā 'put away, aside, remove', Td nīk- 'brush away', Kdg nīk- 'put aside, remove', Tl nĩ:gu ~ ĩ:gu 'remove' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 3685 ◇ The apparent reflexes of a N emphatic *K¹ in IE (*-k^ω-), in U (*-kk-) and possibly in EthS (-k₁-, -k₂-) are due to secondary glottalization (*-?₁∇₁k- > *-k₁-) ◇ DQA no. 1426 (A, D) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 241 (IE + err. U, A, Ko, J, Ai, Gil, CK).

1278. *Lo¹ʔ¹ika 'cutting instrument' > IE: NaIE *sleǵ- 'cutting instrument' > L ligō (genitive ligōn-is) 'mattock' ||| OIr {Vn.} sloichreth 'sword' ||| AS slicc (< *sliġa-) 'hammer' ¶ WP II 707, P 961, WH I 800, Vn. S 137, Sw. 961, Ho. 298 ||| A: Tg *lok¹a¹-n 'cutting weapon, blade' > Orc loχo(n-) 'sword', Ul loχo(n-), Neg loχon id., 'sabre', Nn Nh/KU loχō, Nn Bk loχō(n-) id., 'poniard', Ud lō ~ lo^Ho 'sabre', WrMc {Z} лoχo 'sword, sabre', Mc Sb {Y} lohз 'sabre', Jrc {Kiy.} loho 'blade'; Tg *luk¹∇-çi- 'cut with a weapon' > Ul loχo-ĉi- 'cut with a sword', Ewk d. lukučīūn 𐌆 (Tit.) лyкyчиyр 'sword' ¶ STM I 509, Krm. 256, Z 857, Hr 626, Y no. 607, Kiy. 110 [no. 235] ||| HS *√l₁k₁(k₁) > *√l₁k₁(k₁) > B **li|u₁k₁(k₁)- > *li|u₁q-/l₁∇₁γ₁- 'knife, poniard' > Ah {Fc.} tē-ləq (pl. te-l₁γ₁-īn 'poniard', ETwl {GhA} te-ləq (pl. te-l₁γ₁-en) 'small knife', Gh {Nh.} ĉ-ləq (pl. ĉi-l₁γ₁-in) 'knife', Gd {Lf.} tē-ləqt 'poignard de bras' ¶ Fc. 1109, GhA 111, Lf. II no. 0912 ||| ?φ D *alak- 'blade of a cutting instrument' > Tm

alaku 'blade of a weapon\instrument, head of an arrow', MI alaku 'blde of sword\knife\ spear', Kn alagu, alugu 'blade of a knife\sword', TI alũgu 'tip of an arrow\sword' ¶¶ D no. 237 || ?φ E: NEI ul-ki-na 'Waffe' or 'Rohrpfeil' ¶¶ HK 1218, Blz. E 56 ◇ Blz. NDA no.122 (D, Elamite + unc. Eg rωz 'Bogensehne' and Ch *r▽g- 'bow') ◇ D *a- and El u- are puzzling. A possible solution: the D and El words go back to a cd with the first component beginning with a N lr. ◇ Tg *-k- and B *k̄ (> y/q) < *-k̄- < N *-ʔik-. The IE *s- reflects the presence of *y in pre-IE *Louka < N *Loʔika.

1279. *Luʔäka 'valley, low-lying lands, plain' > IE: NaIE *louko- 'open land, field, woods and meadows' ({Porzig} 'Lichtung im Walde', that Porzig connected with *leuk- 'shine') > OI lō'kaḥ 'open space, place, world' || OL louco- > L lūc-us (gen. -ī) 'sacred grove\wood', Osc lúvkeí loc. sg. 'in luco, in (a)the grove' || Gmc *lauhō > MDt loo 'bebuschte Ebene, Wald', AS léah 'meadow, field', ON ló 'glade, meadow', Nic ló 'von den Wellen gespülte Strandebene', NNr lo 'meadow', OHG lōh {Kb.} 'grove, wood; Hain, Lichtung', {OsS} 'mit Gebüsch bewachsene Lichtung' || Lt laũkas 'field, acre, land', Ltv laũks 'field', Pru lauc̄ks 'acre, field' ¶ The connection with *leuk- 'shine' is secondary (folk et.) ¶ Mn. 713-14, ≈ WP II 408-12, Bc. G 318, Dv. no. 315, M K III 113, M E II 481, WH I 828, Ho. 196, Sw. 105, OsS 568, Lx. 177, Vr. 361-2, Frn. 343-4, En. 203, Porzig WS 303 || A: M *nugu ~ (?) *°nigu 'meadow, plain' > WrM {MED} nugū 'meadow in the winding of a river', Brt, HIM {MED} нуга id., {MED 594} 'meadow', {BMR} нуга 'durch Überschwemmung bewässerte Wiese (заливной луг), займище', WrM {MED} nigū 'meadow', Kl Ö {Rm.} нуу 'Wiese an einer Flußbiegung'; the semantic element 'winding' is induced by the infl. of the pM verb *nugul- 'bend' (see N *Luʔ▽ka 'to bend'); the original meaning 'meadow, plain' is preserved in WrM nigū, HIM {MED 594} and in loanwords of M origin: SbTt Tb {Rl., Tm.} nou 'plain, lowland', Tb {Rl.}, VTt {Rl.} нуω 'meadow, hay meadow', VTt Ks {TTDS} nou 'hay meadow' (StVTt 'чабын'), Ewk Nr {STM ← Cs.} нуу 'meadow' ¶ MED 574, 594, BMR II 422, Chr. 332, KW 280, Rl. III 693, 708, Tm. 159, TTDS 341, STM I 608, Tm s.v. nou, Rl. III 693, 707 ¶¶ Acc. to SDM 967, M *nigu 'meadow' (MED 579, KW 260) is connected with Tg *nekte 'filth, tillage, lowland' (pA {SDM} *neku 'lowland, water meadow') || U: FV *Läkä 'valley (of a river), depression' > pLp {Lr.} *lĕkĕ > Lp: N {N} lække / -æĕg- 'depression, hollow (in terrain), dell, valley', S {Hs.} liegie 'Grube,

Tal', L {LLO} liehke 𐌿 lāhkē 'langgestrecktes kleineres Tal mit ebener Sohle', Nt {TI} l̥e'žk̥k̥o 'depression, valley' | Mk лѣй l̥äy, Er лeй l̥ey 'river', Er Iv l̥ey 'ravine' ¶ UEW 685, Lr. no. 581, Lgc. no. 3345, Hs. 850, ERV 335 ◇ The apparent contradiction between the M and FU ev. for the N plain *k and the IE ev. for an emphatic *k̥ can be resolved if one supposes the presence of a N lr. (most probably *ʔ, which does not yield NaIE *ə in intercons. position [like *loʔak-]). In this case IE *-k- goes back to *-k̥- < *-ʔk-. Such conjecture helps to resolve the problems of the vocalism in view of the apparent conflicting ev. of IE and M (pointing to a N *u) and that of FV (suggesting N *ā in the first syll.). The FU word-final *-ä is from N *-a due to vw. harmony.

1280. *Lukäʔ▽ ≈ flexible rod ([in descendant lges] → 'thong, whip') > IE: NaIE *loḡ- 'rod, sapling' > Phl rāz, NPrs رز rāz 'vine, vineyard, grape' ||| Sl *lo'za 'flexible rod' (→ 'vine') > OP łozā 'rod, willow (*Salix cinerea*)', P łozā 'flexible rod, willow, pussy willow, vine', R лo'зa 'flexible rod (esp. of willow and vine)', OUk лoзa 'willow shrub', OCz lozā 'trunk of a tree'; in the Southern Sl lges, in Slk and in Cz Δ the word has developed the meaning 'vine': OCS лoзa lozā, Blg лo'зa, SCr lōza, Slk, Cz Δ lozā 'vine', McdS лoзa id., 'flexible rod, creeping stalk', Slv lóza 'sprout, vine' || ?? Ht alkista(n)- 'branch' (alternatively: ÷ OI *alka- 'root fibril' in vɥalkasā- 'nach allen Seiten Wurzelfasern habend', see M K III 796); may al- reflect IE *l̥-ʔ ¶¶ The adduction (proposed by Pv. and EI) of Gk [Hs.] ὀλόφυλον (·ὀλῶδες, συμπεφυκός) {EI} 'branchy' is too brittle; the word is parallel to Gk [Hs.] ὀλόπτοον.....(· συμπεφυκότα) and is likely to be a cd with initial ὀλο- 'all- (whole, entire, complete)' ¶¶ P 691, McK 71, Vl. II 28, Glh. 383-4; ≈ Vs. II 512-13, ≈ ESSJ XVI 118-23 (supposing that Sl *lozā is derived from *lěz-ti 'to climb, to creep' and rejecting all extra-Slavic connections), StSS 310, Ma. C 242, Ma. CS 277, ≈ Pv. I-II 35-6, ≈ EI 80 (*h₃loḡ- 'branch') || HS: S *°✓lkʔ > Ar v. ✓lkʔ 'percussit aliquem flagello', {Hv.} 'lash' ¶ Fr. IV 122, Hv. 694 || ?? C: Bj {R} l̥ā'k̥w̥āy 'stick' (unless a cd with k̥w̥ā'lāy id., as suggested by R) ¶ R WBd 140, 158 || ? Ch: Ngz {Sch.} l̥ākō'di 'whip' (× N *TuḲUž▽ 'twig, strap, lash, whip') ¶ Sch. DN 103 || A: pre-T **jugænan > NaT *jüḡænan ~ *jugan 'bridle' (× N *yûka 'attach, tie\bind to') > OT jüḡün ({Cl.} jüḡü:n) 'bridle', XwT XIV jüḡän, Chg {RI.} jügen ~ ügen ~ uyan, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq jügen, Kr T juḡañ, Kr G iügen, MQp jügen, üygen, uyan, MU, StAlt üygen, OOsM XIV oyan, Tk oyan, Δ ügen 𐌿 uyan, Az

jüyän, Tkm St jügön, Tkm uyan, Δ üyen 𐌆 üyön id., ET jügän, Uz юган jugan, Uz Δ jügän, VTt, Bsh jǫgän, QrB žügen, Nog jüwen, Qq žüwen, Qzq žügen, Qrg žügön, Ln yuŷan, SY juŷin, Xk, Shor, Tv čüŷen, Yk ün, Chv L йёвен jьven id. ¶ Cl. 913, ET Gl 577, Rl. I 1305, 1807, 1815 and III 593, TL 556, AzRL II 588, Ash. V 112, Fed. I 189-90, Jeg. 77, ChVM 59 ¶ The existence of two synharmonic variants of the word (*jügän and *jugan) suggests the existence of a pre-synharmonic form *jugän with subsequent as. in two opposite directions.

1281. *l̥ük₁∇₁?A (or *l̥ük₁A?) 'push, shove, thrust, fasten to' > HS: S *^o✓lk? 'affix, fasten to' > Gz ✓lk? 'imprint, coin (money); affix, nail down, fasten to' (the latter semantic variant is influenced by S *✓lkʕ [> Ar ✓lkʕ 'agglutinate on, stick to', Tgr ✓lkʕ 'fasten with nails']) ¶ L G 313, Hv. 695 || ?ϕ EC: Sa {R} pcv. laḡam, -lḡum- (p. 'u-lḡum-⊖) 'load one's gun (shove a bullet into it), fill one's pipe' ¶ R S II 245 || U: FU *l̥ukkä- 'push, shove, thrust' > F l̥ykkää-, Es l̥kkä- id. || ObU *l̥ük- > pVg {Ht.} *l̥ük- 'pile up, heap up (firewood)' > Vg: LK läk^ω- / lāk^ω-, MK lāk^ω-, UK lāk^ω-, P lāk- id.; pOs {Ht.} d. *l̥ōləmə- 'shove (schieben), push' > Os: D lōkəmə-, Nz likəmə-, Kz l̥qəmə-, d. Os Ty l̥kəmtə- id. | Hg lök-, Δ lik-, lük- 'give a push\shove, thrust' ¶ Coll. 96, UEW 248-9, Sm. 545 (FU, FP *l̥kkä-, Ugr *l̥kkä- 'push'), MF 409-10, Ht. no. 354, EWU 911 || A: [1] ?ϕ A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *ligd- 'stick in' > Ewk ligdirēn- 'stick in (a knife, an axe), push through (a stuck object)', ligdirē- 'be stuck in', Lm nid- 'press\push into, stick in' ¶ STM I 497 || [2] ?? A *LUK'E 'break through, make a hole in' (× N *TowK∇₁∇ 'hole, opening' [q.v. ffd.]) > Tg *lōktū 'hole', pJ *nók- 'break through, pass through', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) M *nūken 'hole' ¶¶ SDM 880 (pA *lúk'i v. 'break through' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 1228, S AJ 75 || D *nūkk- v. 'shove, push' > Tm nūkku, Kn nūku, nūgu, nūñku v. 'shove, push, thrust aside', Kdg nu·k- 'push', Tu nūku- 'thrust, push, reject', Tl nūku 'shove, push violently, thrust out', Klm nu·k- 'push so as to move' ¶¶ D no. 3722 ◇ If the Gz ✓ belongs here, the N etymon is *l̥ük₁∇₁?∇ (U *-kk- and A *-k'- < *-k- < *-kʔ-), otherwise it is N *l̥ük₁A ◇ IS II 28-9 (*ł ŭ k ɹ [= *l̥ük∇] 'pierce, thrust': U, M, Tg + err. NED *tukk- 'push, thrust'). The NED root actually belongs to D *tukk- 'push, shove' (D no. 3286) < N *t̥'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push' (> IE *tuk- 'thrust, stab, prick', C, U, A) (q.v.). IS's hyp. about D *t- as a representative of N *ł- (i.e. *l̥-) is based on 3 items: D *tāk- 'walk' (unconvincingly connected with N *l̥'a'Ka 'foot'), NrD

*tukk- 'push, thrust (ТОЛКАТЬ, СОВАТЬ)' (actually meaning only 'push', [cf. D no. 3286] and unconvincingly connected by IS with N *l_uk_ʷA 'pierce, thrust' instead of *t_ʷü_ʷka 'to thrust, to stab, to push') and D *tonka (translated by IS as 'bend', but actually meaning 'hang, be suspended' [vi.]), erroneously connected with N {IS} *lonka (i.e. *l_ʷo_ʷka) 'to bend'. Therefore IS's hyp. (D *t- from N *l_ʷ-) cannot be accepted ◊ Cp. also S NSShS no. 29 (IE A *luk_ʷi 'break through' equated with IE leug- [sc. IE *leuǵ-/ *louǵ-/ *luǵ-] 'break').

1282. *l_ʷuks ▽ 'needles of conifer trees' > HS: S *lukš- > Ak lukš u 'needles of the cedar', MHb {Js.} לְעֻשׁ 'le_ʷεš, JA {Js.} lukš-ā ~ luǵš-ā {Js.} 'the wooly substance of cedar twigs' (contrary to the opinion of Levy [Lv. II 477]: according to him, MHb 'le_ʷεš ~ 'le_ʷεš, JA luǵšā 'eine Weide, deren Bast [Wolle] als Docht benutzt wurde' is from Gk λύγος {LS} 'twigs or withes of *Vitex Agnus castus*') ¶ Fr. IV 122, CAD IX 240, Js. 694, 711, LS 1063, F II 141 || U: FP *l_ʷuks ▽ ~ *l_ʷusk ▽ 'needles\branch of a conifer' > Chr: L лѹсѡ l_ʷś 'branch with needles (of conifers)', M l_ʷy_ʷś, B l_ʷy_ʷš, Uf l_ʷš id., 'needles of conifers' | Prm *l_ʷs / *l_ʷsk- 'n > Z лѹс л_ʷs, Z EV/Vsh l_ʷsk- (= {LG} l_ʷsk-), Vt лѹс л_ʷs 'conifer tree, needles of conifers' ¶ It. no. 439, UEW 691, Sm. 552 (FP *l_ʷk_ʷi 'twig [of spruce\pine]'), MRS 306, LG 164 || K: GZ *lepš- 'needle' > Mg *le(p)š- ~ *li(p)š-, G Δ leps(a)- ≍ neps(a)- id. ¶ K 121, K² 141 (*nemš-) ¶¶ The unexpected labial cns. may be due to the infl. of another √, namely that represented by OG/G nems-, Lz lemš- 'needle' (and S *√lmd v. 'prick?'). Another solution of the problem: the cns. *p may have developed from *k in the precon. position due to the labializing infl. of the vw. (cp. Chr lupš 'whip' < FU *l_ʷukš ▽, see N *l_ʷuk_ʷž ▽ 'twig, lash, whip').

1282a. (2?) *La_ʷka 'leg' > HS: pre-B **l_ʷak- > B *l_ʷak 'leg'; 'e part of the leg' > Ah ē-l_ʷak (pl. ē-l_ʷakān) 'lower leg (from the knee to the foot), its bones and flesh', 'partie du membre postérieur comprise entre le jarret et la cuisse (chez les quadrupèdes)', Ttq {Msq.} il_ʷak (pl. il_ʷakān) 'lower leg (between the knee and the heel)', Mtm {Ds.} ī-l_ʷak, Izd i-l_ʷak (pl. a-l_ʷak-i_ʷakān), Kb i-l_ʷak (pl. i-l_ʷakān) 'leg', Tmz i-l_ʷak (pl. i-l_ʷakān) 'calf of the leg' ¶ Fc. 1108, Msq. 160, Ds. B 181, Mrc. 146, Dl. 459, MT 373 || C: EC {Ss.} *lak- ~ *lik- ~ *luk- 'foot, leg' > Sa {Wlm.}, Af {PH} lak 'leg', Af {Ss.} lak 'leg, thigh', Or l_ʷka 'thigh', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} luka 'leg', Kns loq-ta, Msl {Ss.} lux-t, Gdl l_ʷkk-et {Bl. G}, Δ {Ss.} luhe 'leg', {Bl.} 'leg, foot', Sml {ZMO} lug id., Sml N l_ʷg, Rn {PG} l_ʷh 'leg', Bs {HL} luk 'leg, foot', Arr {Hw.} lukk, Elm l_ʷk 'leg', Hr, Dbs luh-té (pl. luqe) 'leg, foot', Gln {AMS} luhté (pl. l_ʷhe,

lúqqe), Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hbl.} lukté 'leg'; HEC {Hd.} *lokka > Sd, Ged lekk-a, Alb lokk-a, Kmb lokk-a-ta, Hd lokk-o, Brj {Hd.} 'lukka 'foot, leg' || DhI {To.} lúka 'leg (from thigh to knee)', {EEN} luka 'thigh' ({To.}: <b- Sml lug 'leg?') || Ag {Ap.} *lɜkʷ- ({JAp} *lɜkʷ-) 'foot, leg' > Bln, Q, Aw lɜkʷ, Xm lɜkʷ || Bj {Blz. < Rop.} lekway 'on heels' ({Rop.} tə'lɛkway atʔagīg I am squatting on my heels') ¶ AD SF 272 (C *lɜkʷ-/*lɜkkʷ- 'leg, foot'), Blz. CWL, Bl. 140, 189, Bl. G 76, Ss. PEC 5, 12, 41, Ss. B 136, Sr. 360, Hw. A 382, PG 214, HL 124, AMS 173, 211, 233, 243, PH 154, Hd. 66, 210, 253, 292, 331, 382, To. D 141, EEN 42, Ap. AV 15, Wlm. s.v. lak, Rop. 145, Abr. S 166, ZMO 261 ¶¶ Coh. EC no. 419, AD SF 272, OS no. 1696, Rop. 145, Blz. CL 179 || IE: NaIE *lak- 'foot, ∈ part of leg' > Gk λύξ adv. 'with the foot', λύξδην id., λακτύλω v. 'kick with the heel\foot' || Gmc *lagiz > ON leggr 'lower part of the leg, bone', arm-leggr, hand-leggr 'arm', fót-leggr, lær-leggr 'calf of the leg'; OScn b> ME, NE leg; Lngb lagi 'Schenkel'; Gmc *laxaz- or *lēxaz- > ON lær, OSw lār, Dn lār 'thigh'; Gmc *liřizan- > AS līra 'fleshy parts of body (shank etc.), flesh' || Pru lagno 'trousers' ('garment for legs', cp. NHG Beinkleid) || ? Arm nlnp olok^h 'shinbone' (o- from the first part of a cd?) || ?? L laceratus 'upper arm' (obscure morphological structure) || ? Tc A lyaṣkäm du. 'haunches' ({Ad.}: < *leks(e)ko-) ¶ ≈ P 673 (without distinguishing this IE √ from *lek- 'biegen, winden, springen, zappeln'), F II 82-3, WH I 742-3, Vr. 349-50, 372, Ho. 204, Sw. 108, ≠ WH I 743-4, En. 201, Tr. P K-L 416-18, Slit. 322-3, ≠ EI 323 (ON leggr < *lek 'jump') || ?σ U: Sm: Slq: Ke {Cs.} lâka, NP {Cs.} lâkka n. 'step' ¶ Cs. 129 || ??σ FU d. *läkte- 'start going, go, go away\out' (if < v. 'step') (× N *zä'kī'd∇ 'move, go' [q.v. ffd.]) || pY {IN H, IN UJ} *laq- > Y K/T {IN H} laqil 'tail', Y T {Ku.} лажил 'buttocks, hind part; tail; back side (of garments)' (-il is a nominal sx) (× N *r∇g_l∇_l∇ [or *l∇g_l∇_l∇] 'foot, paw'), Y K laqušī 'stern steer of a boat' ¶ IN H 234-5, IN UJ 307, Ku. 119 || A: Tg: ?σ Ewk Brg lɜksɜ 'knee'; Tg *lek∇- v. 'put on footgear' > Ewk lokɜ- 'put on Tungusian boots (untī)', lɜkɜmī ɘ lokomī 'light untī', Neg loχomū 'footgear (made of reindeer leather)', Nn Nh lɜmī {On.} 'footgear for indoors', {STM} 'footgear for indoors (made of fish skin)', Nn KU lɜmī 'slippers', UI lɜmī id., 'footgear for indoors', Ud lɜxɜmɜ 'lower part of the untī, slippers', Orc lɜmīlɜ- 'wear footgear' ¶ STM I 516, Krm. 258, On. 253 ◇ The IE reflex points to N *-a- ◇ In FU *läkte-, Ewk lɜksɜ and Tg *lek^o- the front Inlaut vw. (instead of *a) may be due to the ass. infl. of the vw. of the next syll. FU

*ä may belong to the heritage of N ***žä'k̄i'd**∇. The labialization of *k in Ag and that of the vw. in some EC lges is still hard to explain (reflex of a nominative ending *-u?) ◇ This etymon is to be distinguished from N ***r∇g_l∇_l∇** [or ***l∇g_l∇_l∇**] '↑' ◇ IS II 22-3 (***l̄'a'k̄a** [= ***l̄'a'k̄a**] 'leg' > HS, IE, U [Slq + unc. ObU] + unc. CD ***tāk-** 'walk').

1283. ***lak̄u'** 'body of water (lake, river etc.)' > IE: NaIE ***laku-** / ***lakw-** 'lake, pool, puddle, pond' > Gk **λάκκος** 'pond (in which water fowl were kept); pit, reservoir' (< ***lakwō-s**) ||| L **lacu-s** (gen. **lacūs**) 'lake; trough, basin, tank' ⇨ Crn **lag-en** 'pond, puddle, slough', MBr **laguenn** 'lake', Br **lag** 'puddle', **lag-enn** 'cloaque' ||| Clt {Matas.} ***loku-** 'lake, pool' ({EI}: < ***la|oku**) > OIr **loch** 'lake', W **lŵch** 'lake', Gl **-lōco-** 'lake' in toponymy (names of lakes): **Penne-lōcos** etc.; possibly Clt {Matas.} ***lokku-** > OBr **loch**, Br **loc'h** 'lake' ||| OSx **lagu** 'sea', AS **laȝu** 'sea, flood, water', ON **lǫgr** 'sea, water, moisture' ||| Sl ***lok̄** (gen. ***lok̄ъv-e**) '≈ puddle' > OCS, OR **ЛОКЪ** **lok̄** (gen. **ЛОКЪВЕ** **lok̄ъve**) 'pool, basin' (**лужа, водоём**), Slv **lōkev** (gen. **lōkve**) 'puddle, pond', μ: Slv **lōkva** id., Blg **локва** 'puddle', SCr **lōkva** id., 'swamp, lake' ¶ P 653, Mn. 661, F II 75-6, WH I 748, Thr. § 80, ECCE 263, YGM-1 314, Ern. 350, Hm. 501, Ho. S 44, Ho. 189, Sw. 103, Vr. 373-4, ESSJ XVI 10-11, StSS 310, Glh. 381, Matas. E 243, ≈ EI 343 (***lo'ku-s** 'lake, water, pool, pond, cistern') ||| HS: Ch: WCh: Krf {Sch.} **lōkkó** 'river' ||| CCh: Db H {Srp.} **lākūā** 'river', Bdm {Lk.} **l̄əʒəmi** (pl. **l̄əʒəm**), {Mch.} **léǵəmi** id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Sch. BTL 56, Lk. B || Om: SOm: Ari {Bnd.} **lōk** 'water', Ari B {Fl.} **luqa**, Ari U {Fl.} **luqa** ~ **loʒa**, Ari G **lu'qa** ~ **lo'qa** id. ¶ Blz. LO no. 91, Fl. OWL s.v. 'water', Bnd. AL 161 ¶¶ OS no. 1637 (C, CCh) ||| U: FU ***lakte** 'bay' > F **lahti** (gen. **lahden**), Δ **laksi**, **laaksi**, Es **laht** (gen. **lahe**, **lahi**) 'bay, gulf' | pLp {Lr.} ***lōktz** 'bay, gulf' > Lp: N {N} **luoktā** 'creek, inlet, bay (of sea\lake)', S {Hs.} **luokte** 'Bucht', L {LLO} **luokta** 'gulf, bay (of sea\lake)', K {Gn.} **lūχt** 'gulf, bay' ||| ObU ***lāk-** ~ ***lōk-** 'bay' > pVg ***lāk** 'bay (in a sea\river)' > (partially in cds) Vg MK/P **lōk**, OVg I, OVg W U **лoгъ**, OVg N SoO **лoгъ**, Vg UL/Ss **lōx** 'bay'; pOs ***lōk** ~ ***lōk** ({HI.} ***lāk**) 'long narrow bay' > Os: V/Vy/Ty **lōq**, D **lōχ**, Kz **lōχ**, O **loχ** id., d.: Os Ty **lōq̄**, Os K **lōχə** id. ¶ Acc. to UEW, ObU *-k is an irreg. reflex of FU *-kt- ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 234-5, Lr. no. 619, Lgc. no. 3626, Hs. 876, LLO 440, Gn. 1333, Ht. no. 346 ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA no. 37 (N ***lōwkk**∇ 'lake, [reservoir of] water; semantically unjustified equation of SOm, CCh and IE with U ***lōwkk**∇ 'Loch, Grube').

1284. *on.?* ***Ṭaḳ'U'** 'to lick, to lap' > **HS:** WS * $\sqrt{\text{lk}}$ ḳ, *-luḳḳ- v. 'lap, lick' > BHb $\sqrt{\text{lk}}$ ḳ (ip. -loḳḳ-: 3m $\text{לִּקְּקָ} \text{yā}^{-1}\text{loḳ}$, 3pm $\text{לִּקְּקָ} \text{yā}^{-1}\text{loḳḳū}$), Ar $\sqrt{\text{lqq}}$ (ip. -luqq-) v. *G* 'lap', MHb {Js.} $\sqrt{\text{lk}}$ ḳ v. *G* 'lap, lick', $\text{לִּקְּקָ} \text{lāḳ}$ adj. 'lapping, greedily', Tgr $\sqrt{\text{lk}}$ ḳ (pf. $\text{לִּקְּקָ} \text{leḳleḳe}$) v. 'lick' ¶ KB 509, Hv. 692, Js. 716, 719, LH 36 || C: Bj {R} lak- scv. 'lap, sip (as a dog)'; ? Bj {R} -lik pcv. (3m: p. i-'lik, pres. i n' līk; prtc. 'likə) 'lap, sip (as a dog)' ¶ R WbD 157 || B * $\sqrt{\text{wl}}$ ḳ 'lick, suck' > Ah əlləḳ (pf. i lləḳ) 'lick', Gh {Nh.} əlləḳ (pf. i lləḳ) 'suck', Zng {TC} elli (pf. yəlle) 'lécher' ¶ Fc. 1101-4, Nh. 208, DCTC 286 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} loḳ, Bks {J} loḳ 'lick' || ECh (× N ***Ligḡæ** 'to lick, to sip, to suck' [q.v.]): Tmk {Cp.} lāḡ v. 'lick, suck', Nd D {J} lǝḡáâ 'lick' || ? CCh (× N ***Ligḡæ** [q.v.]): G'nd {ChL} lèktá, Gbn {ChL} lèkté, Boka {ChL} lek tɜ 'lick' ¶ JI II 224-5, J R 144, 217, ChC s.v. 'to lick', ChL, Cp. 79 || **K** *lōḳ- ({IS II} *lōḳ- ~ *lak-) 'lick' > G loḳ-, Mg, Lz loḳ-, Sv {K} lāḳ-, Sv UB {GP}, L {Dn.} lōḳ- id. ¶¶ K 121, K² 110, FS K 201, FS NE 221, Chik. 303, GM S 245, GP 158, Dn. s.v. loḳ- || **IE:** NaIE *lak_lḳ- 'lick' ({P} 'schmalzend lecken') > Arm **լակեմ** lak-em 'I lick' (-k- < *-kk-, with gemination due to the onomatopoeic factor) || Lt inf. lakti, Ltv inf. lakt 'to lick' | SI inf. *loká-ti (pres. *loč-q) 'to lick' > ChS inf. **ΛΟΚΑΤΗ** lokati (pres. **ΛΟΥΞ** ločq) 'to lick', Cz inf. lokati 'to swallow, to drink greedily', SCr inf. lōkati (pres. ločēm), Slv inf. lókati 'to lap', R inf. локать id. (the standard spelling: л'а'к'а'т'ь), Δ л'о'к'а'т'ь (pres. л'о'ч'у) 'to drink greedily', Blg Δ л'о'к'а'м 'I lick' ¶ P 653, EI 352, Frn. 337-8, ESSJ XVI 6-7, Glh. 380, Vs. II 514, Sl. 379-80 || **U:** *on.* FU * $\sqrt{\text{lak}}$ ḳ- 'lap, lick' > Es lakḳ- 'lick' | Chr: L л'о'к'а'ш lō'ka-š 'to drink greedily', {Ü} 'лак'а'т'ь' = 'to lap' | Z л'а'к' - lak- (-a- preserved due to the onomatopoeic factor?) || ? Hg jól-lak- 'be sated' (jól 'well') (Hl.'s hyp.) ¶ LG 157, IS II 15, MRS 296, Ü 108 || **σ** **A:** M *lagu- > WrM {MED} lagu- 'eat greedily or gluttonously' (usually said of pigs), HIM лага- {MED} id., {BMR} 'eat' (of pigs), 'champ, е'сть неоп'рятно' (the preservation of *l- [usually changed to *n-] may be due to the onomatopoeic factor), ? Mnr H {SM} lag_śz- 'faire du bruit en mangeant, manger goulûment, dévorer', cp. Kl {Rm.} id. lag in lag lag gēž i deχə 'große Stücke essen\verschlucken' ¶ MED 515, BMR II 298, SM 218-19, KW 250 || **D** *nakk-/*nāk- 'lick, lap' > Tm nakku, Tu nakku- ~ nekku- id., Ml nakkuka, Kt nak-, Td nok-, Kn nakku, nekku, Kdg nakk-, Tl nāku, Klm, Nkr na'k-, Prj, Mnd nēk-, Gdb, Gnd, Knd, Png, Ku nāk-, Kui nāka v. 'lick' ¶¶ D no. 3570, ≠ Km. 412 ◇ K *-ō- in *lōḳ- is puzzling

(acc. to IS II 15, it may be explained by onomatopoeia) ◇ Rosen OS 69 (Sv, IE), Tromb. CL 287-8 (HS, K, IE, U), AD GD 3 (HS, K, IE), IS II 15 (*lax̣ɑ 'lick': HS [S, C], K, IE, U, D) ◇ Gr. II no. 243 (*lak 'lick') (IE, U + unc. EA).

1285. ₂ *LŪḲa 'to shine' > HS: eB *luḳḳ- > B *-luqq- > Gd luqq (pf. yə-luqq) 'shine (briller)'; rdp. eB *√lḳlḳ > B *√lyly > Gh {Nh.} d. imv. əmləylyəy, pf. imləylyəy 'briller' ¶ Lf. II no. O913, Fc. 1105, 2009, Pr. M VI-VII 208, Nh. 164 || S *°√lwly > Ar (d.) liyāq- {BK} 'flamme, feu qui s'élève en flamme', {Hv.} 'blaze' ¶ BK II 1049, Hv. 704 || IE *leuk- 'shine' > OI 'rōcatē 'shines, is bright', rō'ka- n., rō'ciš n. 'light', Av raok- v. 'shine' || Arm [n]ju loys (gen. [nlun] lusoy) n. 'light' || Gk λευκός adj. 'light, bright', Gk Hm λευκός 'white' || L lux (gen. luc-īs) n. 'light', lucē- 'be bright, shine' || Clt {Matas.} adj. 'bright. light (lichtig)' > OIr {P} luchair 'Glanz', MIr luach ~ lóch {EI} 'shining', {Matas.} 'glowing white', MW {Matas.} llug 'eyesight, perception', W {YGM} llug n. 'light', Br {Hm.} luc'h 'lumière, éclat', adj. 'brillant'; Clt: OIr lóchet, W lluched (-χ- < *-ks-), OCrn luchet, Br {Hm.} luc'hed, luc'hedenn 'éclair'; W {YGM} lleuad 'moon', Brtt [RE] *ligrā 'moon' > OW loyr, W {YGM} lloer, OCrn luir, Cm lōr, OBr loir, loer, Br {Hm.} loar id. || Gt liuhap (·φῶς) 'Licht', OSx, OHG liohht 'bright', n. 'light', NHG Licht, AS léohht n. 'light', NE light || Lt laũkas, Ltv làuks adj. 'with a white spot on the forehead' || Sl *lŭča ~ *lu'ča 'ray, beam of light' > OCS, OR ΛΟΥΥΑ luča, Blg † луча, SCr lŭča id., Uk Δ луча 'sunray'; Sl *lučb 'ray, beam' > Blg лъч, † луч, OR, RChS ΛϺΥЪ lučb, R луч id., Slv lŭč 'light (of fire)', SCr lŭč id., 'light, torch for lighting', OCz лouch 'torch for lighting', Cz лouch 'chip for kindling wood' || pTc {Ad.} *luk- > Tc: A/B luk- v. 'illuminate' || Ht luk(k)- 'grow bright, dawn', lukat 'at dawn'; possibly here also luk(k)-, luk(k)ī/a- 'set fire to' ¶¶ P 487-9, EI 513, M K III 76-6, M E II 463-4, F II 108-9, WH I 823-4, LP §§ 13.1 and 35.3, RE 112, YGM-1 313, Hm. 532-3, Fs. 334-5, Ho. 199, Ho. S 47, Kb. 621-2, OsS 562, KM 439, Frn. 344-5, ESSJ XVI 160-4, StSS 311, Glh. 384-5, Vs. II 537, Slt. 40-1, Matas. 2456, YGM-1 308, 311, 313, Hm. 532, 524, Wn. I 269, Ad. 556, Ad. H 24, 76, 102, CHD L-N 74-9.

1286. *LŪḲa 'to swallow' > HS: WS (+ext.) *√lḳm G 'swallow' > Ar √lqm G (pf. laqima, ip. -lqam-) 'avalier promptement', luqm-at- (pl. luqum-) 'bouchée, morceau qu'on avale en une fois', Tgr √lḳm G (pf. ləḳmə) 'eat, devour, swallow', 'essen, verzehren, verschlingen', Tgy √lḳm

G (pf. 'lɛx̣ɛmɛ, js. -lɛx̣ɛm) {CS} 'manger (des grains etc.) par petites parts à la fois', {Bsn., L} 'eat roasted grain', *Gz* {L} ✓ ḷḳm *G* (pf. laḳama) 'chew on food that is hard and makes noise when it is eaten', *Mh/Jb* {Jo.} ✓ ḷḳm: *L*: *Mh* pf. alōḳəm, *Jb E* pf. ε'luḳum, *Jb C* e'loḳum (sbjn. yə'loḳɛm) 'put into one's mouth', *Hrs* pf. alēḳʌm 'make so. swallow', *Gt*: *Mh* pf. 'latḳɛm, *Jb E* 'lɔḳum, *Jb C* 'lɔḳɛm 'swallow', *Hrs* pf. 'latḳʌm (sbjn. yʌl'teḳʌm) id., 'chew, put into the mouth', *Mh* əwḳɛmēt (pl. əwḳām), *Hrs* ʌlḳɛ'met, *Jb E/C* ləḳ'met (pl. əl'ḳam) 'mouthful' ¶ BK II 1016-17, L G 317, LH 36-7, CS 92, Bsn. 21, Jo. M 255, Jo. H 84, Jo. J 164 || C: [1] LEC *luḳ- v. 'swallow' > *Kns* {Bl.}, *Hr/Dbs* {AMS} loq- id., *Gln* {AMS} loq- 'schlucken', ? *Gdl* loḳ- 'lap up', *Rn* lōχχó 'throat' ¶ [2] EC {Ss.} *luḳm- 'neck; (?) throat' > *Elm* {Hn.} luk (pl. lūm-uʔ), *Arr* {Bl.} lúko, *Dsn* {To.} lû-ti (pl. lug-u) 'neck', *pOr* {Hn.} *lu(g)ma_, *Or BI* {Sr.} lummē, *Or Wt* {Hn.} luma_ id., *Or B* {Vnt.} lumme / -ri 'bone of the neck', *Or* {Ss.} lumm-ē 'neck of ox', *Gwd* luqúm-te 'sides of neck', *Hd* lōm-e 'Adam's apple', *pSml* {Hn.} *luqum (pl. *luqumo) 'neck' > *Sml N* {Abr.} lúqún (pl. lúqúmó), *Rn* {Hn.} lu'χúm (pl. luχu'mó), {PG} lùχúm (pl. lùχùmó), *pBn* {Hn.} nuʔún 'neck' (as. *l...n > n...n) (> *Bn* Bonuʔun, *Bn J/Kj/K* muʔún); the ancient meaning 'throat' still survives in *Or d.* liḳim-s- 'swallow' (↔ *Ged* liḳin-s-, ? *Hd* liḳ-ičč- id.) ¶ *Hn.* S 67, Bl. 261, Ss. PEC 21, 49, Sr. 360, Vnt. 100, Hn. W 61, 69, Hn. BD 119, PG 213-14, AMS 173, 211, Hd. 147, 253, 291, To. DL 516, Abr. S 167 || Ch: [1] *lik|g- v. 'swallow' ({JS} *✓lk id.) > CCh: Ms {J} líkḡā, Bnn {ChL} ligimu, BnM {ChL} liga, ZmB lík id. || ECh: Ke {Eb.} lígí 'schlucken' ¶ [2] ECh: Tmk {Cp.} lagɛm 'eat (hard food)', Kbl {Cp.} liyé'm 'eat (soft food)', ləyi 'eat (hard food)', L1 lèé id. ¶ JI II 119, 121 and 315, JS 258, Eb. 78, ChL, ChC 'eat (soft food)', 'eat (hard food)' and 'swallow' ¶¶ OS no. 1673 (*liḳam- ~ *liḳim- 'eat, swallow': S, ECh, Or), ≠ no. 1697 (LEC *liḳ- ~ *loḳ- 'swallow' < HS *ḷṽḳ- 'lick') || K: *G* luḳm- 'eat with appetite, eat greedily'; but MG [VTq.] luḳma, *G* luḳma 'Bissen', 'piece' and the initial part of *G* luḳma-puri 'piece of bread' may have been either borrowed from or influenced by *Ar* luqmat- '↑' ¶ Chx. 694, AxT 194, NCh. 261 || IE: ?σ NaIE *leuḳ- (~ *olauḳ- ?) 'throat' > *Gk Hm* λαυκανύη, *Gk* λευκανύη 'throat' || Lt pa-li aũki s 'dewlap of a bovine', li auka 'gland (of the throat)' || NaIE *oluk₁^ω- v. 'swallow, drink' > Lt inf. lukénti, lukróti 'to drink with the beak sunk deep in water' (of doves), ¿ {ESSJ ← ?} inf. lùkinti 'to drink greedily' || Sl: *Blr* inf. лкаць (-↔ iter. 'лыкаць) 'to swallow, to drink', (iter. >) *Cz* inf. lυkati, *P* inf. ჳუკაძ 'to swallow', *R* Δ inf. 'лыкать, *Uk* Δ inf.

'ликати 'to drink greedily' ¶ The BSl verb is hardly connected (contra ESSJ) with NaIE *(s)leug- (> MHG inf. *slucken* 'to swallow', OIr *slucc-* v. 'hiccup, swallow', Gk *λύζω* 'have the hiccup, sob violently') because of the difference between IE *k and *g ¶ WP II 380, P 655 (*lauk-), F II 90, 142, ≈ Frn. 361-2, 389, ≈ ESSJ XVI 241-2 and XVII 25-7 || A: Tg *legbe- (from **lekbe- < **lek'me-?) 'eat greedily' (× N *Ligǵæ 'to lick, to sip, to suck') > Neg mt. *lɔbgɔ-* 'eat greedily', Nn Nh *lɔgbɔɔ'i-* 'eat greedily' (of animals), Ul *lɔgbɔ-* 'eat greedily, eat enough', Ud *lɔgbɔ-* 'eat by large pieces\gulps' (of dogs) ¶ The Tg vw. *e of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶ STM I 514, Krm. 257, On. 252 || D (att. in McTm) *nu|okar- 'swallow, eat' > Ml *nukaruka* v. 'swallow', Tm *nukar* 'enjoy, eat, drink' ¶ D no. 3695 ◇ In S, C, Ch, K and possibly Tg we find N *Lûka m ▽ 'to swallow', which goes back to a N cd *Lûka + another word (maybe *ǵim'ê' 'suck, swallow' [q.v.] or the like?). In the latter case this is a cd of two synonymous or nearly-synonymous words like in Chinese, like a chain of verbs in C and other African lges or like Yiddish *er iz ge'kumen cu* 'geyn 'he came' (lit. 'he came to go\walk', sc. 'he came by walking'). In the light of the N syntax rules (AD NMI 26) we may suppose that N *Lûka 'swallow' served as a subordinate word (verb) of the N head verb *ǵim'ê' 'suck, swallow' and indicated the exact way of swallowing \ sucking ('≈ sucked by swallowing').

1287. *Tuk'æ' '∈ canine' (→ 'lynx') > K: GZ *lekʷ- 'young carnivore (whelp, cub)' > OG *lekʷ-i* 'cub', G *lekʷ-i* 'puppy, whelp', Mg *lakʷ-i* 'puppy', Lz A *lač-* 'dog', Lz *lak-* 'whelp, dog' ¶ K *e and *ē regularly change into Z a (GM S 146, 416-18), but K *e yields Zan a only under certain conditions (e.g., in open syllables), while in closed syllables Z preserves the quality of the short K *e (Test. KV 66-9), which apparently suggests that the pK √ had a long *ē (*lēkʷ-i); however, there are reasons to suppose that K *kʷ behaved as a single cns. and that the syll. boundary preceded *kʷ (*le,kʷi), hence we preserve the rec. *lekʷ- (as suggested by K and FS). GZ *lekʷ- < **lwekʷ- (mt. of *w) ¶ K 120, K² 108, FS K 199, FS E 218, Chx. 677, Q 270, Chik. 85-6, Schm. 121 || IE: NaIE *luk̄- (~ *lun̄k̄-?) 'lynx' > [1] *luk̄-, *lūk̄- > Arm {Hb.} *լուսանուխ* *lusanunk^h* pl. 'lynxes' (× NaIE *lun̄k̄- 'lynx' < N *Lū|uŋ'gæ? ▽ '∈ beast of prey', q.v.) || OSw *ló* 'lynx' (< Gmc *luxa-); with a suffixed *-s-: OHG *luhs*, NHG *Luhs*, AS *lox* 'lynx' ({EI}: WGmc *-ks- is due to the infl. of the word for 'fox': OHG *fuhhs*, AS *fōx* etc.) || Gk *λύκος* 'wolf' (× NaIE *w|kʷo-s < N

*w¹U¹ẓ_LE_JQ_o '€ a canine' [q.v. ffd.] || [2] NaIE *lunĕ- 'lynx' (× N *Lü|uŋ¹gæ?¹∇ '€ beast of prey' [q.v. ffd.] ¶ ≈ P 690 (connecting this √ with IE *leuĕ- 'shine, be bright'), EI 359-60 (luĕ-), F II 143-4, Ho. 207, Kb. 640, OsS 576, KM 448, Hü. 454, Sl. 161-2 || HS: S ≈ *°l∇k_L- or *°p̣il_L∇_Jk_L- > Ar p̣ilq- {Hv.} 'wolf', {Ln.} 'male wolf' ¶ BK I 47, Ln. 81 || U: Sm {Jn.} *lok∇ 'fox' > Sq d.: Tz {Prk., KKIH} loqa, Tm {KD} lo'ya, Ke {Cs.} lokka id.; Mt {Hl.} *lzy 'fox' (Mt: T/K {Mll.} lui, K {Pl.} луй, lui, M {Mll.} li, {Sp.} лей) ¶ The prehistory of Sm *o is still to be elucidated ¶ ≈ Coll. 32, ≈ UEW 252 (the authors connect FU *luγ∇ with the above Sm √, supposing that Slq -k- is a suffix), Pl. Z I 86-7, Jn. 84, KKIH 126, Cs. 131, 224, Hl. M no. 624 || A *Lôk∇ 'lynx, {?} jackal' ({S} 'lynx, fox, dog', {ADb.} 'young of a lynx') > Tg *lukâ ({SDM} *luK∇) > WrMc {Z} лужа 'young of a lynx', Ewk luku 'polar fox', Orc loke 'lynx' ¶ S AJ 225 [no. 290], Z 858, STM I 509 || M: [1] {SDM} *nogu-ya| > WrM {Kow., Gl.} ногоол ~ нугуул, {MED} нугуул, HIM {BMR} ногоол ~ ногул, Brt ногоол 'young of a lynx' ¶ Kow. 679, Gl. II 47, MED 595, BMR II 408-9, Luv. 26, Chr. 328 || [2] ?? M *noqay_Li 'dog' (× N *hōk_L∇ or *hagōk_L∇ '€ canine', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {SDM, S} *nik 'jackal' > NKo niktä {MLC} 'wolf', {Gale} 'jackal' ¶ S QK #781, Gale KED 905, 314, Rm. SKE 169, MLC 367 || ?φ,σ pJ {S} *niakua ~ *nāikua 'cat' > OJ nekω, JT néko, JK nekò, JKg nekó id. (SDM: "The J vocalism is aberrant; pJ *-ia- ~ *-ai- may require a rec. [{AD} a pA rec.] like *lòyk'∇") ¶ S QJ no. 67, Mr. 495, Kenk. 1348 ¶¶ SDM 880 (pA *l¹ù¹k¹|k¹∇ 'lynx, wild cat' > M *nogu-ya|, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 1233 (id.) ¶¶ M *o (rather than *u) is still to be explained || ?φ D *nak_L∇ 'fox, jackal' (× N *hōk_L∇ or *hagōk_L∇ 'h̄', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The D vw. *a may be due to the heritage of N *hagōk_L∇ and/or to the infl. of D *nari 'jackal, fox' ◇ In M and D, sc. lges without phonemic distinction of the original initial *L-cnss and *N-cnss, the N etyma *Tuk¹æ¹ and hōk_L∇ or hagōk_L∇ inevitably coincide ◇ Not here (≠φ,σ) FU {UEW} *luγ∇ (> Chr: L луй луу, Н лый лъу 'marten', OVg {Pl.} loisa 'Mustela martes' [see UEW 252]) and MKo nkori 'badger' ◇ IS II 34-5, Glh. 528.

1288. *LähaQ_o 'to grow; sprout, twig' > HS: S *°√lhk_L > Gz √lhk_L G (js. ya-lhak) 'grow, grow up' ¶ L G 309 || B: [1] *°l∇y_L- > Kb i-laγ (pl. i-lγ-an) 'branche coupée assez courte', [2] ? *la_LH_Jk∇t- (× N ? *L∇¹r¹k∇ 'branch of a tree, stick, club'??) > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.} e-lakət (pl. i-ləkt-ān) 'branch', ETwl/Ty {GhA} e-ləkbət (pl. iləkbətən) 'small fresh twig' ¶ Dl. 459, Fc. 1051, Msq. 41, GhA 114 || IE: NaIE *lēk^ω- {WP, P ← Vn.} '≈

flexible twig (× N ***ṬuḲUǾ** 'twig, lash, whip'?) > AS *lǣl* 'twig, whip' ((WP, P) < Gmc **lāx_lil*-) || *Laqueus* 'trap; noose, halter, snare', (× N ?σ ***LṽḲ_lṽXṽ** ~ **LṽX_lḲa|æ** 'to grasp, to catch', q.v.) *laci-ō* (inf. *lacēre*) 'ensnare, entice' ([Fest.] *laciť · induciť in fraudem*) ¶ WP II 421-2, P 673-4, WH I 744-5; otherwise Ho. 191 and Mn. 676 || **A**: M **nakiya_l* > WrM {MED} *nakiya*, HIM {MED} *нахиа*, {BMR} *нахиа(н)* 'shoot of grass, leaf bud', Ord *nab_c'i na^kχā* 'feuille (de plante, d'arbre), légume' (*nab_č'i* means 'leaf'), *nab_t'as na^kχā* 'lambeau d'étoffe' (*nab_t'as(u)* means 'rag, tatter') ¶ MED 561, BMR II 400, Ms. O 479.

1289. *LEHḲæ (= ***LEṽḲæ**?) 'make one's way with effort (crawl, climb)' > HS: B **√_lw_llHṽ* v. *M* 'crawl' > Izn inv. *mullaṽ* (hab. *tmulluṽ*), Rf Wr/B/A *muǾǾaṽ* (hab. *tmuǾǾuṽ*) 'ramper, se traîner' ¶ Rn. 338 || ??? S **√_lḳṽ* > Ar *√_lqṽ* *G* 'passer rapidement' (× N ***lühḲa** [~ ***LühḲaṽ**?] 'to jump') ¶ BK II 1015 || **IE**: NaIE (att. in BSl) **lēg_lh_l*- 'crawl' > Ltv *Δ* {ME} inf. *lēzēť* (pres. -*ējṽ*) 'langsam\lauernd gehen', inf. *lēžuoť* 'sehr langsam gehen, sich schleppen', inf. *lēzēties*, *lēžâtiês*, *lēžuoťiês* 'to toboggan downhill', Ltv {Ul.} inf. *lēžât* 'rutschen', Pru *līse* 'kriecht' || Sl inf. **lězti* (1s pres. **lězō*) 'to crawl, to climb, to clamber' > SCr † inf. *ljěsti* (1s pres. *ljězēm*), Slk inf. *liezť*, R inf. *лезть* (1s pres. 'лезу), Uk inf. 'лізти id., Slv inf. *lésti*, Cz inf. *lézti*, P inf. *leźć* 'to creep, to crawl, to sneak', OR inf. **Лѣзти** *lězti* 'to creep, to crawl, to clamber; to go', Blg {Ger.} 'лѣзѣ I crawl, I climb'; Sl iter. inf. **lǎziti* 'to crawl, to climb' > ChS inf. **Лазити** *laziti*, SCr inf. *lǎziti*, Slv inf. *láziti*, Cz inf. *laziti*, Slk inf. *lazitť*, P inf. *łazić*, R inf. 'лазить id., Blg *лазя* 'I crawl, I climb' ¶ ≈ WP II 425-6, ≈ P 669, ME II 464-5, Tr. 161, Kar. II 517-18, En. 204-5; ESSJ XV 36-8 and Vs. II 476-7 (both unconvincingly adduced ON *lággr* 'low', MHG *lāge*, Lt *lěkštas* and Ltv *lēžens* 'flat'), Glh. 370 || **E**: NEI *la-gi* 'vorstoßend, überquerend', *la-gi-ik* 'angereist', AEI *la-gi-ma-na* 'für ihre Reise', *la-ak* 'unterwegs', *la-ak-kar-ra* 'ein Durchreisender', *la-ki-ib-ba* 'Durchreisende, unterwegs Seiende' ¶¶ HK 800, 806, 811-13 ◇ IE -*g_lh_l*- may be accounted for by the as. N ***-yḲ-** > ***-g-** (if the N Ir. ***H** was ***y**); alternatively (and much less plausibly) HS ***-ḳ-** goes back to ***-k-** or ***-g-** with secondary glottalization caused by N ***ṽ** (if the N lar. was ***ṽ**).

1290. *lühḲa (~ ***LühḲaṽ**?) 'to jump' > HS: WCh: DfB {J} *luk* 'jump high', 'springen (auf und ab)', Bks {J} *luk* 'auffliegen, fliegen' ¶ JI II 210, J R 144, 217, ChC s.v. 'jump' and 'to fly' || ??σ S **√_lḳṽ* (× N ***LEHḲæ**

[= *LEϜKæ?] 'make one's way with effort [crawl, climb]) > Ar ✓ lqϜ G (prm. -lqɑϜ-) 'passer rapidement' ¶ BK II 1015 || IE: NaIE *lēk-/ *lōk-/ *lāk- 'jump, leap (lebhaft springen), fly' > Ltv inf. lēk t (pres. lez u) 'to jump, to leap, to hop, to spring', iter. inf. lēk ā t 'to jump (about), to skip', Lt inf. lēk-ti (pres. leki ū) 'to fly', lakst ū ti 'to fly about, to jump' || Gk [Hs.] ληκῶν (' τὸ πρὸς ῥῶδῆν ὀρχεῖσθαι) 'to dance to the music of singing' || L lōc u s t a 'locust' || ?ϕ Clt {Matas.} *oleng-o- 'jump' > OIr lingid, -ling 'jump' ¶ ≈ WP II 420-1 (IE *lek- and *lēk-/ *lāk-), Bc. 688, F II 115, Matas. E 237-8, WH I 818-19, Frn. 353-4, Kar. I 513 || U: FU *olūkk∇- > ObU {Ht.} *lūk- > pVg {Ht., Stn.} *lūk- 'enter suddenly' > Vg: LK lāk^ω-, lāk-, P lāk-, SV/LL lāk^ω-, UL/Ss lak^ω- id., d.: T lāk^ωat- ∂ lākāt-, P/NV/SV lāk^ωat-, lāk^ωāt-, LL lāk^ωāt- v. 'jump', d. MK lāk^ωalt- id.; pOs *lōk- 'aufspringen' ({Hl.} *lūk-) > Os: Ty ϕōk-, D tōq-, Nz, Kz tūq- id. ¶ Ht. no. 353, Stn. WV 279 || A *LUK- (= ≈ *l'ū'K-??) > Tg: Ewk Np luktin- 'run (a certain distance)' ¶ STM I 508 || ?ϕ pJ *nīnká 'run away, escape' > OJ nīgá- id., J T/K nígé-, J Kg nìge- {S} id., {Kenk.} 'flee, run away' ¶ S QJ no. 1308, Mr. 735, Kenk. 1361-2 || ?ϕ M *zīg- > ? Ord žīgūl 'qui ne se laisse reprendre une fois qu'il a été mis en liberté'; d. M *zīguta₁ϕa₁- (and ≈ *zūgat|du-??) ({SDM} *zīgutu-, {DQA} *zīguta-) 'flee, run away' > WrM {MED} zīgutu- ~ zīgutaga- ~ zūgtaga- ~ {SDM} zīgutu-, HIM {MED} зугтаа-, {BMR} зугта-, Brt зугтаа- id. ¶ The pM rec. *zīgutu-, proposed in SDM, is not based on any words of the M lges, attested in SDM or other available sources ¶ MED 1051, 1077, BMR II 234, Chr. 261, Ms. O 195 ¶ The M word may belong here only if M *z- reflects pA *l'- (hyp. of SDM) and if N *l'- (evidenced by U *l-) was palatalized to *l'- due to the infl. of the following pA *ü ({SDM} *lū) ¶¶ SDM 888 (A *lūōki 'run away' Tg, J, M *zīgutu- 'run away'), DQA no. 1212 (id.), Oz. NM 269.

1291. *LeqEKa 'cut, tear' > HS: [1] S *o✓ lχk > Ar luχqūq- 'trou dans la terre qui sert de repaire à un animal'; [2] ??σ S *o✓ lkḳ > Ar لُقْ laqq- 'crevice, slit, furrow', لُقْ luqq- 'furrow', لُقْفَة laqaaq-at- 'ditches narrower in the upper part' ¶ BK II 1012, Hv. 692 ¶¶ Hardly here Eg BD rkϜ 'tear out (the heart)' (EG II 343), which probably belongs to N *h ū KϜ∇ 'tear, tear out' (q.v.) || IE: NaIE *lēk-/ *lōk-/ *lāk- 'tear asunder' > Gk λ ακύ Ϝ (gen. λ ακύ δο Ϝ) 'rent, rending', λ ακύ ζ ω 'tear, split', Gk Cp [Hs.] ἄ π έ λ η κ α (' ἄ π έ ρ ρ ω ϕ α) 'broke off, sundered' || L lacer (f. lacer a, ntr. lacer um) adj. 'torn, mangled', lacer ā- v. 'tear to pieces', lacinia 'lappet/flap of

a garment' || ?φ NPrs رَاحِنَةٌ rāχne 'breach in a wall, hole, crack' || Sl *laxъ (< *lōk-s-), ? *lox- (< *læk-s-?) 'torn garment, rag' > P Δ λαση id., Uk 'лаха, лях, Blr Δ лях 'rags', Cz L λax 'ragamuffin'; ds: R лox'мoтъя pl., R Δ лox'ман, лox'мон 'rags', 'лохма, 'лохмы 'torn pieces of cloth, rags' ¶ WP II 419-20, P 673 (*lēk-/ *læk-), EI 568 (*lak-), WH I 742-3, F II 75, BM 243, VI. II 27, Sg. 572, ESSJ XIV 17-19 and XV 250-5 || U *Leykkā- v 'cut, split' > F leikkāa- v. 'cut, harvest', Es lōika-, leika- id., 'carve' (BF × ← Gmc {SSA} *blajkjan 'to cut a notch in a tree, lyöä pilkka puuhun'??) || Hg lék, Δ lyeék & lík n. 'icehole, leak', † 'Öffnung, Riß, Spalte' || Sm {Jn.} *lekkā- (or *leč|s|tkā-) vi. 'split' > Ne: T лeкa-сь 'to split', T O {Lh.} íēk·ā'-, F K {Lh.} ѳεξkkā'- v. 'split'; En {Ter.} лэке-сь 'to split'; ↔ Sm *lekkāptā- (or *leč|s|tkāptā-) vt. 'split' > Ne T лeкaбтa-, T O íēk:āptā', F L {Lh.} ѳḗξk:b_tāη:āt; En {Cs.} leketábo id. (obj. 1s aor.); Mt {Hl.} *lEgābtz- vt. 'split' (Mt M {Sp.} лeгeптьямъ 'колю') ¶¶ UEW 244, EWU 885, Jn. 83, Hl. M no. 620, ≠ SSA II 59 (BF ← Gmc [with a query]).

1292. *TowK∇Ϛ∇ 'hole, opening' > U *|lōwkk∇ id., 'corner' > F loukka, loukas (gen. loukkaan) 'Schlupfwinkel', loukku 'Spalte, Höhle', loukko 'corner, grotto, cave', Krl loukko 'opening, hole, cave', Es lōugas 'stone wall (serving as a seat) in front of the hearth, hearth stone' | Chr: L лyк luk, Uf luk, H лык лък 'corner; bend, curve (of a road\river)' || Hg лyк 'hole, opening' (unless ← M) || Sm: Ne T лoxo 'corner, cape (in a lake\river)', Ne T O {Lh.} лoxe? 'corner (in a house, in a lake) ¶¶ UEW 252, MRS 299, 309, EWH 916, Ter. 193, Lh. 228, ≠ SSA II 97 || A *LUK'E 'break through' > ppM **lūken > M *nūken 'hole' (× N *ñūK∇ or *ñuKЕ 'hole', q.v. ffd.); possibly ppM *lūken ↔ Hg лyк 'hole, opening' (Hl.'s hyp.) (unless from FU *lōwkk∇) || Tg *lōktU 'hole' (× N *lūk_l∇_?A or *lūK_A 'push, shove, thrust, fasten to') > Neg loktiki:n- ~ loktoki:n-, Ud lotogo- vi. 'get holed\leaky' (прорваться, продырявиться, протечь)', Neg loktoxo & loktoko, Ul luktu 'hole, puncture', Orc lokto-lokto bī 'gaping' (of a hole), Nn Nh luktuz adj. 'having a hole, pierced', Neg loktol-, Ud lotoli-, Ul luktulu-, Nn Nh luktuli- 'make a hole, pierce', Ork luktos, Nn Nh/KU luktu adv. 'through and through' ¶ STM I 502-3, On. 250 || pJ {S} *núk- 'break through, pass through' > OJ nuk-, MJ núk-, J T/Kg nùk-, J K núk- {S} id., {BJRS} 'pierce' ¶ S QJ no. 912, Mr. 738, BJRS I 707 ¶¶ SDM 880 (pA *lú|ók'i 'break through' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 1228, S AJ 75 || HS: S *°✓lq̄ > Ar ✓lq̄ G 'sting

so.' (a snake) ¶ BK II 1015, Hv. 693 || IE *^olugǵ_LH_J- > NaIE *^olugǵ- ≈ hole, opening' (unless < IE *leuǵǵ- 'break') > OHG loh (gen. lohhes) 'hole, opening, cave; Loch, Öffnung, Höhle', MHG loch 'hole, cave; verborgener Wohnungs-\Aufbewahrungs-ort', NHG Loch 'hole' ¶ OsS 568, Kb. 629, Lx. 129, ≈ KM 444, P 686 (Loch < IE *leuǵǵ- 'break') ¶ IE *-gǵ_LH_J- is likely to go back to *-k_∇∇- ◇ IS II 28-9 (N *^hük_∇ 'протыкать, совать' > U, ? A + unc. D *tukk- 'совать' [based on the unc. hyp., connecting N *^h- with D *t-])

1293. (2?) *LŪK_La_JH∇ 'see, know' > HS: eB *^o✓l_KH > B {Pr.} inv. *^olu_Yut / pf. *^oyilli_Yat > Tw {Pr.} inv. la_Yat, pf. illa_Yut, Ah {Fc.} inv. la_Yat / illa_Yat (Fcj. 102, Pcj. V app. I) 'faire connaître' ¶ Fc. 1105, 2009, Pr. M VI-VII 208 || IE: [1] NaIE *leuk- 'see' > OI lōkatē, lōcatē 'sees, perceives (erblickt, wird gewahr)', lōca_Yati 'beholds (be-trachtet)', lōka_Yati id., 'watches, looks at (schaut)', lōcanam 'eye' || Gk λεύσσω 'look\gaze upon; look\gaze' || Brtt {RE} *lukatos 'eye' > MW llygat, W llygad, OCrn, MBr lagat, Crn lagas, Br lagad id.; W am-lwg 'evident', cyf-lwg, eg-lwg 'conspicuous', go-lwg 'sight' || Ltv lūks 'Schauender, Freier, Kundschaftler', inf. lūkot [lūkuôt] 'schauen, auf etw. sehen, absehen' → 'to try, to venture', Lt inf. láukti 'to wait (for so.)', Pru inf. laukīt 'to search, to look for', kāima-luke 'sucht heim' || ?σ SI inf. *lučiti 'to find, to hit (the goal)' > RChS inf. luhi lučiti 'to meet, to receive', Blg лyчa v. 'hit (the goal)', SCr inf. lúčiti 'to find, to receive', P inf. лyчyć, R inf. по-лyчить 'to receive' || [2] NaIE *la|ok- ({WP} *lak-) 'see, look' > OHG inf. luogēn (in older dictionaries: luagēn, luogēn, luagan) 'to look, to see; lügen, schauen, erblicken', {OsS} 'aus einem Versteck hervorsehen, schauen, lügen', NHG inf. lügen 'to look out, to spy about, to peep', OSx {Ho.} inf. lōkon 'lügen, blicken', AS inf. lōcian 'to see, to look', NE v. look ¶ In NaIE the reflex of the lr. is lost in prevocalic position, IE *la|ok- < pre-IE *lu_∇k- ("state II") < N *LŪK_La_JH∇ ¶ P 689, M K III 112-13, M E II 480 (supposing that probably OI lōk- 'see' is derived from lōka- 'lichter, freier Raum'), F II 110, Frn. 345, En. 187, 203, WP II 381, EI 505 (*leuk-), LP § 263.1, RE 92, Hm. 501, Ho. 205, Ho. S 48, KM 449, Kb. 641, Schz. 203, OsS 578, HDEL 769, ≈ Vs. II 538, ≈ ESSJ XVI 162-3 (SI *lučiti < **lučiti 'illuminate' < *lučb 'ray of light') || ? A: M: Mnr H {SM} nū- v. 'look' ¶ SM 287 || pKo {S} *nún 'eye' > MKo nún, NKo nun, Ko Hm nún id. ¶ S AJ [no. 27], S QK no. 27, Nam 115, MLC 359.

1294. ?σ₂ *L∇K_L∇_LX∇ ~ L∇X_L∇_LK_a|æ) 'to grasp, to catch' > **HS**: S *√lqḥ 'take' > BHb √lqḥ *G* (ip. -kḥaḥ) 'take', Ph, IA lqḥ *G*, Pun, Yd lqḥ *G* (ip. -kḥ), M'b, DA, OA -kḥ *G* ip. 'take', Ug √lqḥ (ip. -kḥ) 'take, grasp', JA {Lv.} √lqḥ *T* (3pf ip. תִּלְקַחְתְּ תִּלְקַחְתְּ תִּלְקַחְתְּ tillakḥūn) 'be married' (of girls) (lit. 'be taken'), OCn TA (AkSc) inf. la-kā-ḡu (= *lakāḥu) 'to take', Ar √lqḥ (pf. laqāḥa) 'conceive' (female), 'be impregnated' (palm tree), (pf. laqāḥa, ip. -laqāḥu) 'impregnate', Sb √lqḥ 'take, seize, capture, arrest', Mn √lqḥ 'take \ seize illegally', Gz √lqḥ *D* (pf. laqḥāḥa) 'lend' | OAk, Ak A laqāḥu, Ak B leqū 'take, take a wife' ¶ KB 507-8, A no. 1482, OLS 246-8, HJ 580-4, Lv. II 521, Js. 717, BK II 1012-13, Hv. 692, Bll. 262, MA 57, L G 317, CAD IX 131-47, Sd. 544-6 || ?σ **IE** *^olH₃k|k̄- (× N ***TuK_UŽ∇** 'twig, lash, whip' [q.v.]) > NaIE *^olak|k̄- > L [Fest.] lax 'deceit, fraud' ([Fest.] lax fraus), [Fest.] lacio, -ēre 'entice' (Fest.: lacit · inducit in fraudem) (× ← laqueus 'noose, halter, snare' < N ***LāhaK_o** 'to grow; sprout, twig' [q.v.]) → L ē-licio 'lure out, entice out' ¶ ≠ WP II 421-2, ≠ P 673-4, ≠ WH I 744-5 ◇ Highly qu., because the IE √ may be explained otherwise (see N ***TuK_UŽ∇**).

1295. ***TuK_UŽ∇** 'twig, lash, whip' > **U**: FU (att. in FV) *^ll_{uk}š∇ 'lash, whip' > Er локшо lokšo id. ('кнут'), Mk локша lokša 'lash, whip (кнут, хлыст)' | Chr: L лупш lupš, E {It.} lupš, H лыпш lъpš 'lash, whip (кнут, плетка)' ¶ It. no. 220, ERV 349, PI 149 || **A**: Tg *l_{uks}- ~ *l_{usk}- 'trace strap' (× N ***riq_uz'∇** 'to tie') > Ewk lukšipka & lukšipkān, Ork nusku & ḥusku '(central) trace strap in a team of reindeers', Neg nusku ~ nuski, Nn Nh luksur, Nn Bk luksuri, Nn KU nuksur, Orc nuksu & noksu, Ud B nukī, Ud I/Sm nuχī, Ud K {Krm.} luχī, UI nusku '(central) trace strap in a team of dogs' ¶ STM I 509, Krm. 267, On. 250 || **HS**: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} lākōdi 'whip' (× N ***Lukā?∇** ≈ flexible rod) ¶ Sch. DN 103 || B: BSn lakkud, Izn lakk^uud 'whip' ¶ Ds. B 138 || **IE** *^{le}Hk^ω- > NaIE *^lēk^ω- {WP, P ← Vn.} ≈ flexible twig (used to make a whip and a snare for animals)' (× N ***LāhaK_o** 'to grow; sprout, twig' [q.v. ffd.]) > AS lǣl 'twig, whip' ({WP, P} < Gmc *^lāx_lil-) || L laqueus 'trap; noose, halter, snare' ¶ WP II 421-2, P 673-4, WH I 744-5 ◇ The voiced cns. *d in B and Ngz and *H in IE suggest a N voiced sibilant (*ž) ◇ The order of consonants in IE *^{le}Hk^ω- may be explained by mt. and/or by the infl. of N ***LāhaK_o**.

1296. (₂?) ***LiL∇** 'water, sea' > **HS**: C: Bj {Rop.} līl- scv. 'be liquid, melt', {R} līl- scv. 'be wet\humid\liquid' ¶ R WBd 158, Rop. 86 || LbB *^lil_u 'sea, (?) water' > Lb [Hs.] λιλυ 'water' || Jrb {Bs.} i-lil, Jrb / Nf /

Snd / Mtm {La.} i-ləl 'sea' ¶ Msq. Z 517, La. S 259, Vc. NN 380-1 (on Lb λυλυ) || S {Vc.} *nīl- (dis. < **līl-) 'large river, flood, watering' > Ak nīlu(m) 'watering, flooding', Ar šaṭṭu-n-nīli (name of an ancient riverbed in Mesopotamia), ʔan-nīl-u 'the Nile of Egypt, the Nile of Kufa (Mesopotamia), the Indus'; S (or [less convincingly] {Vc.} Eg) ⇨ Gk Νεῦλος 'Nile' ¶ CAD XI/2 234, Sd. 694, 790 (connects Ak nīlu- with Ak ✓nʔl 'befeuchten' and [?] with Ar ✓nhlv. 'quench thirst, drink a first draught'), Vc. ACBM 106-7, BK II 1358, 1376, Hv. 804, Vc. ONN ∇, Vc. NN ∇ || ?? CCh: Suk {Mk.} llau 'river' (unless from N *lak'u' 'body of water') ¶ ChC s.v. 'river' ¶¶ OS no. 1674 (HS *lil- 'water, be wet' > Lb, Bj + unc. Fgg ill 'weep') ¶¶ Alternatively, it is possible (after IS) to explain B *l∇l- and Bj līl- as rdp. of N *L∇yh∇ 'to pour; water' ¶¶ Vc. NN 280-1 || IE: NaIE *oliro- (dis. from *lilo-?) > Clt: OIr le r (gen. lir) 'sea', NIr le ar 'sea, flood, surface of the sea', W † llûr 'sea' ¶ Bc. 36-7, YGM-1 318, Dnn. 426 || ?σ E: OEI la-li 'Quell (?)' ¶¶ HK 813 || ??? AdS of A: T *ju:,j] 'spring, fountain' (< N *z'u'g,∇,í∇ [- *z∇g'u'í∇?] 'flow, pour', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS II 32-3 (*L'ä'γ), Blz. E no. 37.

1297. (2?) *L|ẑi|í∇ (= *L|ẑi'í∇?) 'reed, ε water plant' > K: GZ *lēl- 'cane' (× N *h'U'rel|í∇ 'reed') > OG, G lel-i 'cane.'; cd *lēl|r-çem- 'reed' (cd *lēl- + çem- 'grass') > Mg larçam- ~ larçem- 'reed' ¶ K 120-1, K² 108-9, 306 (on K *çam-/*çem-), FS K 199-200, FS E 218-19, Abul. 208, Ser. 82, Chx. 677-8, Q 270 || IE: NaIE *lejl- ~ dis. *lejir- '≈ water plant' (× N *h∇LiL∇ 'flower, a plant with flowers' [q.v. ffd.]) || D *∇rel|- 'reed' (× N *h'U'rel|í∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The lack of cns. in the Anlaut belongs to the heritage of N *h'U'rel|í∇ || ? A: T *oju:,j] - > Tlt jIšqIt 'rhubarb' ¶ Rl. III 498 ◇ If Tlt jIšqIt belongs here, the N etymon must be *L|ẑi'í∇; if not, but the D word does belong, we reconstruct N *L|ẑi|í∇ ◇ Fn. KD no. 50 (K, D). Qu., because some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

1298. *Īum∇ 'magic, spell, fortune' > U: FU (att. in FV) *|luma- v. 'charm, bewitch' > F lumoa-, Es lumma- id. † Lp N {N} lâbmo- / -m- 'get bewitched, bewitch', Lp Pa {TI} lqm'a- v. 'charm, bewitch' † Chr H sänzäm l̂mem, Chr U šínčam lumem 'I blind (so.) by withcraft' (lit. 'I bewitch the eyes') ¶ UEW 694, TI 221 || A *L|n'U:,j]m∇ > T *jom ~ *jum 'luck, omen, magic device' > Chv {Ash.} çam sám 'Arznei; пугало, monster', MT [AH] jom 'omen, divination' (Tk 'fal'), Tk yum ~ yom 'luck', Tk Δ jom 'omen, prediction; tale, legend' ⇨ T *jom-(y)ak 'tale' > SY łomaq id. (preservation of the ancient *l- or its apparent restitution

resulting from phonetic laws of SY?), Kr, Qmq jomaq, Nog jumaq, Xk nimaχ id., Qrg žomoq, Uz žwmbač 'legend', Qzq жҫмбaқ 'riddle', Tkm jomaq 'wit'; T *jom б→ M *dom 'sorcery or ceremony for ridding of diseases or calamities; magic formula of cure' > WrM dom {MED} id., HIM дом {MED} id., {BMR} 'sorcery for ridding of diseases, magic, знахарство, Zauberei', Brt дом 'sorcery for ridding of diseases, знахарсий приен, снадобье, Kl {Rm.} dom 'Zauber (als Heilmittel), Zauberwort, Zauberformel, das Anblasen', {KRS} 'домашнее средство для лечения, Arznei', Ord d_om 'cérémonie religieuse pour conjurer le mauvais sort, éloigner les maladies, les malheurs, etc.' ¶ The T vw. *o (for the expected *u) is still to be explained ¶ ET J 220-1, Rs. W 206, SDD III 1537, Tn. SJJ 190, Ash. XII 35, MED 260, BMR II 50, Chr. 195. KW 95, KRS 206, Ms. O 151 || pJ {S} *nəm- > OJ nom- v. 'pray' ¶ ≠ SDM 888-9 (the T word is erroneously equated with Tg *nim-ηā- 'shamanize; fairy tale' and pKo *ni'jaki 'tale, story' [both from N *'nim?∇ 'name', q.v. ffd.], with pJ *na(N) 'name', as well as with M *dom, *domag 'magic, legend' [actually borrowed from Early T]), DQA no. 1213, S AJ 69 (err.: T *jom < pA *n∇m∇ 'Märchen, Zauberspruch'), 276 (err.: T *jom < pA *nium∇ 'name') || HS: S *o✓lmm > Ar lam-m-at- 'sort, fortune; mauvaise fortune', lamam- 'folie; obsession, commence-ment de la folie attribuée à l'action des démons' ¶ BK II 1022-3, Hv. 695 ◇ Rs. W 206 (Tu, M, FU).

1298a. ₂ *to'ʔ'm∇ 'hot ash, cinder(s)' > U: FU *l|lom∇ id. > Chr KB {Rm.} lompržž, Chr B lomžž 'Asche', Z Vm loma 'schwelendes Holzschreit (головня, головешка)' ¶ UEW 250 || HS: S: Ak laʔmu ~ lāmu 'embers' ¶ AD IX 60 || Eg fBD žmω 'Glut' ¶ EG I 10 ◇ O HSN 123 (N *lam∇ 'ash, cinders').

1299. *lāʔl∇m'U' 'crust, scab' > HS: S: Ar ✓lʔm G 'dress (a wound)', laʔm-at- 'breast plate (cuirasse)' ¶ BK II 952-4, Hv. 673-4 || U: FU (att. in FP) *l|läm'U' '≈ scurf, scab' > Er лем íem 'e eczema on the head', Δ {Rv.} íeme 'rash, scurf (esp. on the head of a child)' | pChr {Ber.} *limə > Chr: Uf lümö 'Schorf', L лүмө 'lümö 'sore, scab', H лим lim id. | Prm *lōm 'scurf, scab' ('струп, короста') > Vt лом lom id., Z лөм lzm id., 'mange' ¶ LG 162, UEW 686, ERV 337, Ber. 36, MRS 289, 305, Ep. 61 || A: M *namur-sun > WrM намурсун ~ namусун {MED} 'herpes, tetter; dead tissue; scab; ulcer', HIM намарс {BMR} 'pustule, herpes (прыщ, лишай), eczema', Brt намарһа(-н) 'scab' ('струп'), Ord намус(у) 'espèce d'ulcère qui se développe sur le visage' ¶ MED 564, BMR II 392, Chr. 320, Ms. O 483.

1300. * $\bar{l}_E'g'$ umi (= * $\bar{l}_i'g'$ umi?) 'wet\cold weather, dew; snow' > **HS:**
 B mt. * $\bar{l}\nabla muH$ - > Wrg {Dlh.} ta-lmu-t 'brume basse, brouillard léger des
 bas-fonds', Ah tã-lãmu-t 'dew', Kb a-lãmlum 'temps gris, brumeux';
 ? llãmlãm v. 'être gris\brumeux\nuageux' (temps) ¶ Fc. 1077, Dl. 453,
 Dlh. Ou 169 || C: Ag: Km {CR} lu \bar{g} om 'fine rain' || EC: ?? Or {Th.} ligidi
 'very cold weather (freddo glaciale)' ¶ CR LK 223, Th. 225 || **U**
 ** \bar{l}_i ume > FU * \bar{l} ume 'snow' > Flumi (gen. lumēn), Es lumi 'snow' ||
 Lp N {Fri.} lobma, lobme, Lp S {Hs.} lubme, Lp Vfs {Lgc.} župmž 'snow',
 Lp T lã'mma- v. 'fill with snow' || Mk, Er лов loV, Er A/LP loη 'snow' || Chr:
 Н лым ъм, L лум lum, Uf, B lum id. || Prm *lũm > Z лым l+m (obl. l+my-
), Z Vsh/EV lũm, Vt лымы l+m+ id. || OHg XVIII lom 'hoarfrost', Hg lom,
 lam n. 'wet; floating ice (in spring on rivers)' || Sm {Jn.} *yom- v. 'snow'
 > Ne T ёмзе- id., ёмзя 'soft fluffy snow', T O {Lh.} yōm'ē?, T F {Lh.}
 yūm'ssā'kāt 'dünner spärlicher Schneefall', Ng d. {Mik.} 'jumv v. 'snow',
 Slq Nr {Cs.} čom'na 'it snows', Slq UO {KD} čopsa v. 'snow in large flakes'
 ¶¶ The discrepancy between FU * \bar{l} - and Sm *y- points to a pU palatalizing
 factor (*i after the initial cns.?) ¶¶ UEW 253-4 (U *lume), It. no. 186, IS
 III 34-5 (U *luhe), Sm. 538 (U *lom+ 'snow', FU, FP *lumi, Ugr *lũmĩ,
 Sm *jom), 552, Hs. 868-9, Ker. II 81, LG 164, MF 408, EWU 906, Jn. 46
 || **A** *LūñE 'snow' > NTg *lūñe 'wet snow' > Ewk lūñz, Neg luñz id., Ewk
 lūñz- v. 'snow' (of wet snow), Neg luñi- v. 'snow in flakes' (of wet snow) ¶
 STM I 510 || pKo *nūn 'snow' > MKo nūn, NKo nun 'snow' ¶ Rm. SKE 172, S
 QK no. 216 ¶¶ SDM 891-2 (pA *lūñi|e 'snow' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 1232, S
 AJ 19, Rm. I EAS 77, Rm. SKE 173, Mng. KA 281 ¶¶ The palatality of the
 initial cns. in pA, suggested by SDM, is not justified ◇ Rs. UAW 31 (U, A),
 IS MS 366 (*lurige 'snow': U, A), IS III 34-5 (*lurige 'snow': U, A) ◇ N
 *-E'g'um- > FU *-m- ~ (in Mr) *-ŋ-. N *-E'g'umi (= *-igumi?) >
 **-Eugmi > **-uŋmi > **-ūŋi > pA *-ūñE (the palatalizing infl. of *-i is
 likely to transform **-ŋ- into *-ñ-) ◇ Sm *y- points to the presence of a
 palatalizing factor after *l-. It may be ** \bar{l}_j - < N * $\bar{l}E'g'$ - ◇ The rec. of N *-
 'g'- is tentatively based on C *-g-, B *-H- and zero in U and A.

1301. * $\bar{l}ahm'U'$ 'swamp; body of water' > **HS:** S: Ar [Gol.] lahim-, luham-
 'mare amplum', [Qam.] liham- 'big sea' ¶ Fr. IV 131, BK II 1034 || **B**
 (mt.?) * $\bar{l}\nabla m'u^1H$ 'big swamp, humid grassland' > SrSn {Rn.} a-lmu 'prairie',
 ta-lmu-t 'trou d'eau, marais, prairie marécageuse', Rf A {Rn.} taħmat id.,
 aħma 'grande mare, prairie', Kb alma 'prairie naturelle', talmat 'prairie;
 endroit marécageux, humide et herbeux' ¶ Rn. 340, 354, Dl. 454 || **K**

* \circ la₁:₁m- > G lam-i 'silt, dampness', {DCh. 641} lam- vt. 'wet, moisten' ¶ DCh. 641, Chx. 661 || IE *leHmeH > NaIE *lāmā 'puddle, swamp' > L lāma 'bog, slough' || Blt (× IE *lem- v. 'break'): Lt lomà (accus. lōmā) 'depression, low place, valley', Ltv lāma 'puddle, swamp, pit' ¶ WP II 385-6, P 653-4, WP I 753, Tr. 162, ≈ Frn. 385 (unc. rejection of the links between the Blt word and L lāma) || U *l|ampe 'small body of water, puddle, pond, bog' > F lampi 'small lake, pond', Es {W} dim. lammi kas 'Schlammfütze, Moor' | pLp *lōmpz > Lp N {N} luo₁b₁â / -b₁b- 'small lake through which a river runs', Lp Kld lām₁mp, K {Gn.} lām₁pe 'swamp, marsh'; pLp {Lr.} d. *lōmpz| 'small lake, pond' > Lp: N {N} luo₁b₁â₁, S {Hs.} luo₁b₁e₁e, L {LLP} luo₁ppa₁, Kld lūmba₁id. | Chr L лоп₁лор 'wet depression \ lowland' || Sm {Jn.} * \circ l+mpā- 'be swampy' > Ne Т лымба- id.; Ne Т лымбад 'swamp', Ne Т О {Lh.} řu₁mb₁āδ 'Schlamm, naßer Ton', Ne F {Lh.} 'naßgiebige Stelle (im Moor)', Slq Tz {KKIH} l+mpā 'swamp' ¶¶ Coll. 30, UEW 235, Lr. no. 620, Lgc. no. 3609, Hs. 873, MRS 295, SaR 154, Jn. 83 || A *LāmU 'body of water, swamp' > Tg *lāmu 'sea' > Ewk lāmu 'sea, the Baikal lake', Lm, Neg nām, Lm A lām, Orc nāmu, Ud namu, Ul, Ork namu, Nn Nh {STM} namo ~ namu, {On.} namo, Nn Bk/KU lamu 'sea, ocean', WrMc {Z} namu 'ocean, sea' ¶ STM I 490-1, Krm. 265, On. 281, Z 210-11 || M *namug 'swamp' > WrM {MED} namug 'marsh, swamp, mire, bog', HIM намаг {MED} id., {BMR} 'marsh, swamp; Sumpf, Sumpfland (трясина, топь)', Brt намаг id., Kl {KRS} намг namъg id., {Rm.} namg 'Sumpf, Teich'; M *namurgan > MM [S] {H} namur₁han 'puddle', Brt намарга 'swamp, marsh' ¶ MED 563, BMR II 391, Chr. 320, KRS 367, KW 271, H 113 || JK: Kgr {DQA} nuami 'pond, sea' ¶¶ SDM 866-7 (A *lāmō|à 'sea, wave' > Tg, M + unc. pJ *nāmì 'wave'), DQA no. 1187 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *lāmō, Mur. EA 62 ◇ IS II 29-30 (*LaHm/u/ 'swamp': K, IE, U, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 375 (*lama 'swamp') (IE, U, A, J, Ai + err. Ko).

1302. \circ L¹U¹m[?]∇ 'lion' > K {GI} *lom- id. > OG, G lom-i, Sv {Ni.} lwem, {GI} lōm id. (← G?) ¶¶ DCh. 652, Chx. 689, GI II 510, Ni. s.v. 'левъ' || HS: CCh: McMs: Lame {ChL} lúmú, LamP {ChL} lum, ZmB {J} lúm, {KNC} lúm 'lion'; less probably here the forms in BM {ChL}: Klb lév₁arí, Hld lúv₁arì, Mrg l₁v₁ar₁ 'lion', in McHigi: HgNg {ChL} lìv₁erí, HgF lùv₁erí id., as well a FIM lùv₁arí id. because they are obviously akin to Dgh {Frk} rvírè, {ChL} àrvírè, Db {LnG} źrvàrè, Mdr {ChL} řúruv^wžerì, Glv {Rp.} áržvarà 'lion' and further to Eg, DEg r_w 'lion' and CS *řar^ry¹ay- id. (see N *ř¹ü¹ř¹∇w∇ 'large feline') ¶ JI II 227, ChC s.v. 'lion', ChL, KNC 15 || S *l₁abu[?]- 'lion' > BHb

𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 labā'īm pl. 'lions', Ug lb_u, Amr {G} labw-um, labūm, IA lb_u, Sb
 lb_un, OAk, Ak OA lab_u, Ak fOB lāb_u, Ak labb_u 'lion', d. BHb 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀
 lā'bī 'lion' (originally an adj. 'having the qualities of a lion'), ⇨ S *lab_u-
 at- 'lioness' > Ar labuʔat- ~ labwat- ~ lubaʔat-, BHb 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 (ī on the
 analogy of 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 lā'bī), Ug lb_ut, OAk, Ak √ lābat_u, Ak YB labbat_u
 id. ¶ KB 490-2, HJ 562, A no. 1435, OLS 241, G A 24, BK II 956, Bll. 256,
 Sd. 526, CAD IX 23-5 || Eg: N_{Eg} {Spg.} ≈ lb 'the god Min (represented as a
 lion)', N_{Eg} {Psn.} r_u or lb_u 'lion', D_{Eg} lb_u 'bear; lion', Cpt Sd/B 𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀
 laboi 'lioness, female bear' ¶ Vc. 94, Er. 262, Psn. NO √ ¶¶ In S (and Eg?)
 *-b_u- < **-m_u- like in S *√nb_u 'name, give a name' < N *'nim_u 'name'
 (q.v.) ¶¶ The above S name for 'lion' (or Eg r_u 'lion' with the original *r,
see D_{Eg} r_u [Er. 243] and N *'ū'í'w_u) was borrowed by IE either at the
 pIE level (as suggested in GI II 507-10) or later, at the level of the
 dialects. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov reconstructed pIE *lew- 'lion' > pGk
 *lewont- (Lej. MPM 165) (> Gk Mc re-w_o-, Gk λέων [gen. λέοντος]
 'lion'), Gmc *liu_u-az id. (< *lew-_{os}) (> OHG lew_o, MHG lewe,
 louwe, NHG Löwe, πλεω id.), Tc lu 'beast' (Wn. I 267-8), ??φ Ht/Lw
 walwa ({GI}: partial rdp.); Gk ⇨ L leō; Gmc ⇨ pSl *lv_u 'lion' (*see*
 ESSJ XVII 05-7). But the hypotheses of S (*√lb_u) or Eg (r_u or lb_u) origin
 of the IE word do not explain irreg. phonetic changes: S or Eg *-b_u- > IE *-
 w- (if the origin is S *√lb_u or Eg lb_u) and Eg r- > IE *l- (if the origin is Eg
 r_u).

1303. *īam_u d_u 'low' > IE: NaIE *lend^h-/*lond^h- 'plain, lowland' > Clt
 {Matas.} 'open land' > OIr {P} land 'open place', {EI} lann 'open land',
 {Matas.} lann 'land, plot', 'church' (probably from 'church land'), MW
 llann 'area; church yard', W {YGM} llan 'parish, village' (→ 'church')
 'yard', Crn lan 'open land; 'enclosure, monastic close', MBr lann 'Heide,
 Steppe', Br {Hm.} lann 'lande', Gl *landa (⇨ VL {ML} *landa 'moor,
 heath, barren land' [> Itl, Ctl landa id., Fr lande 'moor, heath, waste
 land'] and ⇨ Bsq landa 'field') || Sw Δ linda 'fallow land', Gt land
 (· ἄγρός, πατρίς) 'Land, Landgut, Gegend', OHG lant, NHG Land, ON, Sw,
 Dn, NNr, OSx, Dt, AS land 'land', NE land || Pru accus. lindan 'valley' ||
 Sl *le_udo (~ *le_uda) {ESSJ} 'terra inculta' > Blg 'ляда 'waste land, field',
 Cz lado, lada 'waste land', OR 𐌱𐌿𐌳𐌰 lado, R Δ 'лядо 'a place (in
 a forest) cleared and stubbed for an arable field'; ⇨ Sl *le_ud ína > ChS
 𐌱𐌿𐌳𐌰 𐌱𐌿𐌳𐌰 le_udina 'ager incultus', Blg ледина, лядина 'waste land,
 a meadow\clearing in a wood', S_{Cr} le_udina, Slv le_udina 'terra inculta',

R Δ 'лядина, ля'дина 'an arable land formed from a cleared and stubbed place in a wood' ¶ WP 438-9, P 675, EI 200, Mn. 678, YGM-1 302, Ern. 351-2, Hm. 504, ECCE 263, ML no. 4884, Fs. 321-2, Vr. 345, Kb. 590, OsS 533, KM 421, Ho. 194, Ho. S 45, En. 204, Vs. II 549, ESSJ XV 41-8, Glh. 372, Matas. E 232-3, YGM-1 3)2. Hm. 504 || U *l|amte 'low; lowland' (× N *laPT∇ 'flat, low?') > Flansi (gen. lannen) 'low, lowland', lantea 'low', Es laas '(primeval) forest', {SK} 'thick deciduous forest on moist ground', Δ land (gen. landu) 'stagnant pool' | ? pLp {Lr.} *lōmtē 'lie down, rest' > Lp: K {Gn.} lūm:de-δ id., N {N} luoω'de- / -ωd- 'lie down flat' (of animals), 'lie down resting on one's knees and elbows', L {LLO} luoβ'tē- ~ luoγ'tē- 'sich mit eingeknickten, untergeschlagenen Beinen auf den Leib legen' (von einem Rentier), 'lie down resting on one's knees and arms' | Er, Mk ландя- лан'да- v. 'squat down' | Chr Н ландака вәр lan'daka vār 'low place, depression (котловина)' (вәр 'place') | Prm *lud > Z луд lud 'small meadow\pasture (in a forest)', Vt луд lud 'field' || Sm {Jn.} *l̄mt∇-, d. *l̄mt̄y 'low' > Ne: T ламдо, T O {Lh.} λamty', T d. ламдик 'low', FL {Lh.} ramtū id.; En: T {Pl.} лодду, M {Pl.} роддо, X {Cs.} loddu, B {Cs.} luddu, {Ter.} лодо 'low'; Slq: UO {Cs.} lamdi, Nr {Cs.} lamdek id. || pY {IN H} *lamtz- 'low' > OY Ch {Mat.} лаудапъ adv. 'low (низко)', OY NW {Lndn.} namdātschit adj. 'low' ¶¶ Coll. 31, UEW 235-6, SK 275, Lr. no. 621, Lgc. no. 3611, ERV 331, MRS 280, Ep. 59, LG 163, Jn. 81, Ter. 174-5, Ter. EJ 446, Pl. 205, KP 109, Cs. 130, IN H 233, IN UJ 230-1 || A: M *namda- > WrM {MED} namda- 'become lower, abate, subside', HIM намда- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become lower', 'abate, subside' (storm, буря), Brt намда- 'become lower', 'sich legen' (Wind), Ord namnā- 'se baisser, s'aplatir, être plat'; M *nam 'low' (*-m < *-md in Auslaut) > WrM {MED} nam, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt нам id., WrO {Krg.} nam 'low, small, minor', Kl {KRS} нам 'low', Kl Ö {Rm.} nam 'niedrig', Kl {KRS} нам һазр nam hazыр 'lowland'; ds: M *namt∇yi- 'be flat\low' and *nabtar ~ *namtar 'low, not high' (× N *laPT∇ 'flat, low') > Kl {Rm.} namtā-, namtī- 'flach sein, niedrig sein', WrM {MED} nabtar adj. and n. 'low, not high; hanging down, suspended, tattered; rags, tattered garment', HIM навтар {MED} id., {BMR} 'klein' (von Wuchs), (a person, малорослыйб низкий'), Brt набтар id., 'приземистый'; 'not high' (a mountain), Brt A/NU namtār 'low', Kl Ö {Rm.} namtr̄ 'kurzgewachsen, zwergartig, niedrig' ¶ MED 555, 562-3, BMR II 382, 391, 393, Chr. 316-17, 320-1., Krg. 208, KRS 367, KW 270-1, Ms. O 482-3 ◇ IS II 30-1 (*Lamd/i / 'low' > IE, U, M), Glh. 372.

1304. *Lüm∇g∇ 'ε eat, swallow' > HS: CS *^o✓lmg ~ *^o✓lgm id. > Ar لمج ✓lmg̃ (ip. -lmağ̃-) 'eat with the extremity of the mouth', MHb d. הַגְּיָה לֶאֱגִימָא n. act. {Lv.} 'das Schlucken, Kosten', {Js.} 'quaffing, taking a draught; eating and drinking' ¶ BK II 1023, Hv. 696, Js. 692, Lv. II 476-7 || **A** *Lüm₁E₁(K∇)- v. 'swallow' > Tg *lüm₁ηe- id. > Nn Bk lumgз-, Nn Nh, Ul lunbз-, Ork numgз ~ nuηbз-, Ud {Krm., Shn.} X/B/K/Sm niηmз-, Ud I {Krm.} iηmз ~ liηmз-, Orc nímmз-, Ewk, Neg niηmз-, Sln niηз- id., WrMc {Z} нунгэ- ~ нунги- v. 'swallow' ¶ STM I 595, Krm. 267, On. 251, Z 240 || pKo {S} *nəmku- > NKo nəmgu- 'swallow' ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 74], S QK no. 7, Rm. SKE 164 || pJ {S} nəm- 'drink' > OJ nom-, MJ nòm-, J: T/Kg nóm-, K nòm-, Ns nùm₁-, Sh núm-, Ht/Y nùm- id. ¶ S AJ 111, 265 [no. 16], S QJ no. 16, Mr. 737, Kenk. 1385 ¶¶ SDM 877-8 (pA *lǐjǔm₁o|e v. 'swallow, drink' > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1219, SDM97 (A *lǔme 'swallow, drink'), Pp. VG 74, S AJ 19, 69, 105-6, 274, Rm. SKE 164 (Tg, Ko) || **D** *nuηk- v. 'swallow, devour' > Tm nuηku-, Kn nuηgu- id., Brh nuṣuṣiη id., 'gulp down', Tm noηku, Tu niηgu-, niηguḏu-, nuηgъ, Krg nuñudu, nunu, Mlt nuηge v. 'swallow', Kt nuηg-, Td nuḡ- 'gulp down', Krx nun₁ḡ- 'swallow without chewing, gulp hastily, devour' ¶¶ D no. 3697, Zv. 52 || ?φ IE: NaIE (on.?) *✓(s)lung- / *✓(s)leuḡ- '≈ swallow' > OIr {P} -luηgu 'eat, drink', W llewa 'to devour, to drink, to gulp' (< *lugamā) || ?σ Gk λύγξ (gen. λυγγ-ός) 'hiccup', λύζω 'have the hiccup; sob violently (from fear or cold)', λυγμός 'hiccup' || Nr slūka, MHG slucken, NHG schlucken 'to swallow' || SI *lǐga-ti inf. 'to swallow' > Cz r. lųgati, P lųgac', Uk 'лигати, Blr лы'гаць id. ¶ P 964, F II 142, KM 659-60, ESSJ XVII 25-7, YGM-1 308 ¶¶ *-g- (for the expected *-g^h-) may be due to the onomatopoeic factor; *(s)- may be due to the influence of paronymous IE roots, such as *(s)lu(n)k- / *(s)leuḡk- (> OIr slucc-, W llyncu, Br lonka- v. 'swallow', Gk [Suid.] λυγκάειν 'sob', Cz lųkati 'to swallow', see P 964, KM 659-60, Vn. S 139, ESSJ XVII 25-7).

1305. (2?) *L|ž₁a₁?∇₁ñ∇ 'side (of body)' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *lend^h- 'loins, kidneys', {EI} *'lond^hu / gen. *lṅd^hʷ-os 'loins' > L lumbī 'loins' (later sg. lumbus id.) || Gmc {Vr.} *lendwīō > OHG lentī 'kidney', pl. lentī(n) 'kidneys, loins', NHG Lenden pl., AS lēndenu pl. 'loins', ON, Nr lend, Sw länd, Dn lænd id. || SI *lēdv-a, *-o, *-b(je), *-bje 'loins, kidneys; hip' > ChS ЛАДВЬ lēdvъ, ЛАДВНЯ lēdvija, ЛАДВНІЄ lēdvije 'loins, kidneys', SCr Ch лѣдва 'side, hip', SCr лѣђа 'back (dorsum)', léďa 'lumbus, renes, dorsum', Slv léďje, OCz ledvie 'hips', P leḏzwie

'loins, reins', R † лядвѣя 'hip' || OI *r andhr am* (by as. from **r andhv am*) ≈ 'loins' ¶ WP II 438, P 675, EI 356, WH I 832, Vr. 352, Ho. 198, Kb. 605, OsS 546, KM 436, ESSJ XV 48–50, Glh. 372–3, Tls. 236 || **A**: (1) T **jān* > Chv L *џум* *śum*, Chl Δ *џом* 'side (of body), a place near sth.', 'neben etw.'; NaT **jān* 'hip, pelvis; side of body' ({Cl.} → 'side, flank') > OT {Cl.} *jan* 'hip', Tf {Ra.} *ján* 'pelvis' ('тазовая часть тела человека'), Xk *nan* 'upper part of the hip', Tkm, Uz Δ, ET Δ, Xlj *jān*, Tk *џан*, Az, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, SY, Ln *jan*, Uz *jan*, StAlt *дван* *žan*, QrB, Qrg *žan* 'side (of body)', VTt d. *jan* *тъq* id.; (2) ? NaT **ja₁jan-* vi. 'turn back' > OT {Cl.} *jan-*, ET, SY, Ln, Chg *jan-* id., Uz *ән-* *jan-* vi. 'return' (unless related to Tg **ηenu-* vi. 'return') ¶ Cp. also N **žan* and **žan* *b* 'tail, back' ¶ Cl. 940–2, Ra. 208, ET J 111–14, TL 157, BT 46, DT 218, Fed. II 135, Ash. XII 222–34, Jeg. 218, ChMS 189, TatR 711 ¶¶ ADb. SR 13 (T **jan-* ÷ Tg **ηenu-*) || ?σ **D** **nañn-* 'approach' (← *'move to the side of') > Tm *nar₁ru* 'draw near, approach', Gdb *nan-* *nann-* 'enter' ¶¶ D no. 4588 ¶ The semantic change 'side' → 'to the side of' → 'approach' is parallel to that of the cognate T derivatives: T **jān* 'side' → Tk *џана* dat. 'to the side, towards' → Tkm *jānaš-*, Tk *џанас-* v. 'approach' ¶¶ A. Dybo (ADb. NNN 35) proposed an alt. et of the D word: N {ADb.} **η₂án* 'take with oneself' > D, A {DQA} **ηāní* 'take with oneself', IE **neh₂-* 'führen' ◇ The long vw. in NaT **jān* 'hip, pelvis; side of body' suggests N **L|žan* with **-ʔ-* > IE zero. NaIE **lendh-* (without traces of a N lr.) points to N **-ʔ-* (all other laryngeals are ruled out, because they would have been preserved in PIE as laryngeals).

1306. **leyña* (or **leyña*?) 'soft, weak' > **HS**: WS **-līn-* 'be soft' > Ar ✓ *ly n* (ip. *-līn-*) *G* 'be soft\tender\smooth', 'be mild\kind', 'be relaxed' (of belly), Mh/Jb {Jo.} ✓ *ly n G* (pf: Mh *lyōn*, Jb C/E *lēn*, sbjn: Jb C *lyen*) 'become soft', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} ✓ *ly n Sh* (pf: Mh, Hrs *alyīn*, Jb E/C *zlyin*) vt. 'soften', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} *lyōn* 'soft' ¶ BK II 1050, Hv. 704, Jo. M 259, Jo. H 86, Jo. J 167 || Eg fMK *nnu* {EG} 'be tired\lazy', {Fk.} 'be weary\inert', fLMK *nn.ω* 'fatigue, feebleness', {Fk.} 'weariness, inertness' ¶ EG II 275, Fk. 134 || WCh: AG: Ang {Flk.} *len* 'fine, thin' (of flour), 'weak' (of wood), Gmy {ChC} *lên*, Cp {ChC} *lênlen* 'soft', Kfr {Nt.} *lēn* 'soft' (of cloth) ¶ ChC s.v. 'soft', Flk. s.v. *len*, Nt. 24 ¶¶ Cal. 65 (S, Eg), OS no-s 360–1 (S, Eg, Ch) || **IE**: NaIE **lej₁n-*, **lej₂n-* 'soft, tender, weak' > Gk {LS} *λινό-σαρκος* 'with soft and tender body', Gk *λίανον* {Ch.} 'relâcher les câbles', ? Gk [Hs.] *λειρώς* ('ὀλιχρὸς καὶ ὠχρός) 'withered and pale' (or 'dry and pale') ||

OIr {SB} lían (*le_j-no-) 'sanft' || ON linr 'soft, flexible', Sw len 'soft, tender', ? Dt lenig 'flexible' || Blt *le_jnas ~ *le_jlas > Lt leĩnas 'slender, slim', leĩlas id., 'thin', Ltv leĩns 'bow-legged' | SI *linēti ~ *liñati vi. inf. 'to weaken, to lose strength' > SCr línjati id., Blg ли'нея, McdS {TIS} линее 'weaken, lose strength', R Δ ли'нѣть inf. 'to disappear imperceptibly' (here also *linēti ~ *liñati 'to shed hair, to cast the coat, to fade, to lose color') ¶ P 661-2, LS 1051, Ch. 638, ≈ F II 119, SB 248, Vr. 358, Vr. N 392, Ho. S 45, Frn. 329, ESSJ XV 70-5, 108-11, Vs. II 499 || U: FU *leu_na 'weak, loose' > Fleina 'soft, weak' (× ← Blt *le_jnas) | Prm: Z лѡнь лѡ 'quiet, calm' || ObU *l^ri^rñ > pVg *liñ > Vg UL {Kn.} liñ 'loose' (of a rope), Vg N/ML {MK} liñ 'loose (locker)' (of a thread, rope), liñmi 'get loose (locker werden)'; pOs *l^rēñ ({JHL.} *l^riñ) > Os {Karj.}: Kr liñ, Kz l^rāñ, O leñ 'schlaff' ¶ UEW 242 (*leñ∇), LG 157, 162, MK 260, Karj. VES 223 ◇ IS II 26-7 (*le_jna = *leu_na in HS, IE, FU; IS was right in reconstructing U *l_j-, though he did not mention the Os reflex, which is the only ev. of *l_j-) ◇ The N etymon may have been either *leu_na or *leu_na. In the former case N *-ñ- yields IE *l_j, so that *-n- in *le_jn- is a suffix. If the N etymon was *leu_na, N *-yn- could yield IE *l_j (*-yn- > *-ñ- > IE *l_j, as suggested by IS), as well as remain *-j_n- (hence the variants *le_j- ~ *le_jn-).

1306a. *l_jEnd∇ 'to fly' (→ 'bird') > U: [1] FU *Lentä- v. 'fly' > F inf. lentä 'to fly, to soar', Krl lendeä & lendiä, Es lennata inf. 'to fly' | [2] FU *l^rint^ra 'bird, flying insect' > F lintu 'bird', Es lind (gen. linnu) 'bird; poultry', 'flying insect' (esp. 'bee'), 'game', Lv lin:d_ (gen. līnda) 'bird, game, bee'; acc. to UEW, F and Es -u is a sx || Os: V/Vy lūnti, Ag/UA/Ty/Y linti, D lintə, Nz līntə {Stn.} 'снегирь, *Emberiza nivalis*, Schneeammer' (according to BSE XXIII 1878, снегирь is *Pyrrhula pyrrhula*) ¶ UEW 249-50, SK 287, 296-7, KrT 485, Trs. S 239-40, Stn. D 837 || A: Tg *^olendu- v. 'fly, flutter' > Ewk ləndut₃- & lənduldi- v. 'fly, flutter (летать, порхать)' (of insects), ləndul₃- 'flutter in the wind' (of clothes, branches), ləndū- 'swing from wind' (of trees) ¶ STM I 517 || HS: NOM: Oyda {Fl.} landə 'bird' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'bird' || ?φ Eg MK n_n.t 'e bird' ¶ EG II 272 || ??φ WCh: Sir {Gw.} liy^ri^rñi 'bird' || CCh: ? Ms {J} láyná id. ¶ JI II 22-3, CCh s.v. 'bird' || IE: It is tempting to adduce SI *let- (inf. *let-ěti) v. 'fly' > OCS лѣтѣти letěti, Slv letěti, Cz letěti, P lecieć, R лѣтѣть 'to fly'. The adduction may be valid unless the questionable equation of SI *let- with Lt lek- 'fly' is accepted (see ESSJ XIV 147-8). SI

*let- is controversial as a cognate because of the unexpected vl. *-t- and the absence of *-n-; the latter may be explained if the N etymon was ***l̥eńt** (> IE ***lejt-** > [Schwebeablaut] ***liet-** > *let-) ¶ ESSJ XIV 145-8, StSS 305 ◇ Hardly here (because of *l- [evidenced by Os V l-] and *u) FU ***lunta** 'wild goose' (UEW 254), which may be tentatively equated with Tg ***ńuńńa** 'goose' (STM I 646-7) and pKo ***ńńń** ({S} ***ńńń**) 'bustard (*Otis*)' (> MKo **ńńń**, NKo **ńńńä**, see S QK no. 258, Nam 104) (on pA see DQA no. 1508) ◇ The comparison between FU, Tg and Oyda was suggested in 1989 by Blz. (Blz. L no. 12a).

1307. *L̥u|uŋ'gæʔ 'beast of prey' > HS: C: SC: Alg {Fl.} **longaʔi** 'civet cat' ||| Bj {R ← Mnz.} **lengig** 'leopard' ¶ R WBd 160, Fl. p.c. || IE: NaIE ***lun̥k-** 'lynx' (× N ***l̥uk̥'æ'** 'be canine' [→ 'lynx']) > Gk **λύξ** (gen. **λυκ-ός**) 'lynx' ||| OIr {P} **luŋ** (gen. **loga**) id. ({IS}: -g- < *-n̥k-?) ||| BSl: Blt ***lunš**i- > Lt Z **lunšis**, Lt **lūšis**, Ltv **lūšis**, Pru **luyšis** id. | Sl ***r+s̥b** (*+ < *ū < *un) 'lynx' (*r- due to the infl. of ***r+s̥b** 'reddish, fawn-colored' > Cz **ryšy**, HLs **ryšy** id.) > SrCS, OR **рѣсь** **ryšь**, Blg **рис**, SCr **rīš**, Slv **rīš**, Cz, Slk **rys**, P **ryś**, R **рысь**, Uk **рись** 'lynx' ||| Arm {Hb.} **լուսանկ** pl. 'lynxes' (× NaIE ***lun̥k-** 'lynx' < N ***l̥uk̥'æ'** 'be canine', q.v.) ¶ ≈ P 690 (connecting this √ with IE ***leuk-** 'shine, be bright'), ≈ EI 359-60, F II 141-2, Ped. VG I 186-8, Frn. 392-3, En. 206, Vs. III 530-1, Glh. 528, Sl. 161-2 ||| A: Tg ***li|eŋg** > Orc **lingapu** 'wolverine'; ??φ AmTg ***yeŋgu** > Ul **yeŋgul(i)** 'wolf, racoon-like dog', Nn Nh/KU **yeŋgur**, Nn Bk **yeŋguru** 'wolf', ??φ: Orc **ńiŋgu**, Ud **ńzeŋu** id. (× N ***z̥iw̥m̥l̥gE** 'leopard' or 'lion?') ¶ STM I 498, 639, 650, On. 184 || ?? M: WrM {BMR} **žingēr** 'bitch (сукка)' and HIM {BMR} **жингэр** 'bitch, female wolf' (× N ***z̥iw̥m̥l̥gE** 'leopard' or 'lion', q.v. ffd.).

1308. ₂ *L̥Aŋk̥ 'tongue' > HS: C: Ag {Ap.} ***lan̥k-** id. > Bln {R} **lan̥k̥ī**, Xm {R} **lḁk̥**, Q {R} **lan̥χ**, Km {CR} **lān̥χ** 'tongue', Aw {Ap.} **lanq** 'palate of mouth'; Ag ⇨ Amh **lan̥ka** id. ¶ Ap. AV 14, R WB 257, R Ch II 386 (s.p. 72), R QW 95, CR LK 225, L A 10, ≈ Blz. CL 180 || Ch: ECh: Kjr {DB} **alīnati** 'tongue' ||| WCh: Gj {IL} **l̥áká**, {Sh.} **leka**, Tule {Sh.} **lāga** id. ||| CCh: Mtk {Sb.} **léné** id. ¶ JI II 328-9, ChC s.v. 'tongue', DB s.v. Kjr **alīnati**, Blz. EChWL no. 88 ||| D ***nāŋku** ~ ***nākku** 'tongue' (× N ***ńaŋgü** 'tongue', q.v.) > Tm, Ml **nakku**, Gdb **nāŋgu** id.; AdS of D ***nāl̥k̥** 'tongue' (see N id. ***ńāl̥** 'tongue') ¶¶ D no. 3633, Zv. 128, 131 ||| IE: possibly AdS of L **lingua** 'tongue' (< N ***ńaŋgü** 'tongue', q.v. ffd.).

1309. *l̥ʰoʰŋk̥a 'to bend' ([in descendant lges] → 'a bow') > HS: Ch: WCh: Hs lánk̥wásá vt. 'bend', lánk̥wásà 'become bent']??φ Ch ≈ *r̥∇nK ~ *l̥∇nK 'shooting bow' (× N *r̥∇_lw_lk̥æ 'sinew' [in descendant lges → 'cord, rope'], 'to tie', q.v. ffd.) > WCh: Krkr {J} rɛnká, Ngm {Mk} r̥ink̥a, Dr {ChL} rúʒà, {Mk} r̥lga, Krkr {J} rɛŋká, Gera {ChL} r̥iká, Ngm {ChC} r̥lŋkà 'shooting bow', Tng {J} r̥iga v. 'hunt with bow and arrows' ||| CCh: BM *laga n. 'shooting bow' > Mrg {Hf.} lágà, Klb {Mk} laga, Wmd {ChC} lzhà, Hld {ChC} làgà id. | McHigi {ChL}: Kps r̥lgi, FIG r̥rge (< *nr̥∇g-), FIK iŋy-nuʔ, HgG ŋgi, HgF r̥igi, HgNk r̥ìgí id. | BB: Bcm {ChL} r̥àgéy, Nz {ChL} r̥àgzy, FIM {ChL} r̥àgú, FIB {ChL} r̥àgún, FIJ {ChL} làgìy, Gudu r̥àgá id. | BB: Gude {Mk} raga, {ChL} r̥àgá, FIM r̥àgú, FIB r̥àgún, Mln r̥âgó id., possibly also FIJ làgìy id. | ? Lmn {Mk} lɛxɛ id. | McMdr: Gv {ChL} làʒà, Dgh {Frk, IL}, Glv/Dgh {ChL} láʒà, Mdr {ChL} r̥úlíkà, {Mch.} əlkə, {Mk} l̥kà id. | McMtk: MfG {Brr.} leléŋ, {Ro.}: Mofu {Ro.} lálàŋ, Gzg {Ro.} lék, Myn {Ro.} àlká, Mkt {Ro.} álàk, Hrz {Ro.} l̥kà, Vm {Ro.} l̥gà, Mlk {Ro.} mánŋè-lék, Mada {Ro.} élèkéđ, Zlg {Ro.} l̥ikéđ, Mf {BLB} lekeđ, Mtk {Sb.} l̥èkêđ id. ¶ JI I 18 (Ch *✓rg) and II 38-9, Abr. H 614, Ba. 720, Ro. 215 (pMM *l̥zka), Brr. MG II 157, BLB 212, ≠ Sk. HCD 185, Stl. IF 134-5 (Ch *ni-raʒ̥ - 'shooting bow'), Nw. 23, ChC s.v. 'bow' n., ChL, Sch. BTL 17 || Eg fP r̥wz 'cord; bowstring; sinews' (× N *r̥∇_lw_lk̥æ '↑' [q.v.] × [possibly] N *ʒar̥k̥u' 'sinew' [→ 'bowstring, bow']; for phonetic reasons the connection with N *r̥∇_lw_lk̥æ is preferable) ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148, Tk. I 249-50 ¶¶ Tk. I 249-50, Gr. LA 53 ||| IE: NaIE *lenk- v. 'bend' ({IS} 'сгибать, отгибать'), *lonko-s 'bow, shaft bow' > Blt: (*lenk- >) Lt inf. leñkti (1s pres. lenki ù) 'to bend, to crook, to curve; to bow'; (*lonko-s >) lañkas 'shaft bow (лук); hoop', Ltv lòks 'bow, arch, arc, shaft bow', {ME} 'wheel rim', Pru lonki · "Steig"; Lt inf. liñkti 'to bend', {Frn.} 'sich neigen, sich bücken, sich biegen', inf. linkéti (1s pres. linki ù) 'to wish' (← 'sich neigen zu'), Ltv l̥ikt inf. 'to bend', l̥iks 'crooked, curved, bent'; Pru lunki s 'corner' ("Winkel") ||| SI *lek- v. 'bend' (< IE *lenk-) > ChS 1s pres. л̥к̥ л̥к̥-қ / inf. л̥цн̥ л̥э̥ти v. 'flectere', R Δ 'лякий 'crooked, curve'; (IE *lonko-s >) SI *lókъ (gen. *lók̥-a) 'arc, shooting bow' > OCS л̥к̥ь lókъ, Blg л̥к, R лук 'shooting bow', SCr l̥k, Slv l̥k, Cz, Slk luk, P łek, Uk лук 'arc, shooting bow' ||| Gmc *lan̥ha- > AS pl. lō(a)n 'in sceaft-lō(a)n 'straps attached to shaft of a missile' (sceaft means 'shaft of spear\arrow'), ON lengja 'strap (Riemen, Streifen)', Dn længe 'Seilstrippe' ¶ P 676-7, ≈ EI 62 (*lenk- 'bend; traverse, divide'), Ho. 206, Sw. 146, Vr. 352-3, Frn.

356-7, En. 205-6, Tr. 159, ESSJ XV 62-3 and XVI 148-9, StSS 319, Vs. II 531, Glh. 387 || **U**: [1] *l̥'ä'nka (~ *-U-) 'dull arrow' > FU: Vg P/SV lax (pl. laŋkət) id.; Os: Ty l̥'äŋk, D l̥'äŋk id. || Sm: Ne T BZ локы, Ne T Y лукы 'dull arrow (Klumpffeil)', Ne O {Lh.} l̥'uk·f̄ id., Ne F K/Ny {Lh.} l̥'uk·f̄ 'arrow', En B {Cs.} локы 'round-pointed arrow, Klumpffeil' || Y: T/K {Iox.} локил ~ локкил 'bow', {Coll. ← ?} локкил 'an arrow with a rounded head made of bone or wood, used for squirrel hunting in order not to spoil the skin', Y K {IN H} lukil ~ lokil 'blunt arrow without a head used as child's toy', Y K {Spir.} локкил 'bow' ¶¶ Coll. 30, Ht. no. 765, Ter. 192, Lh. 229, Cs. 17, 84, 259, Ang. 143, IN H 253 (pY *luki), IN UJ 266 || [2] BF *lonk- > F olla longallansa 'to lie on one's side', lonko- v. 'hang', Es lonk: silmad longus 'die Augen sind gesenkt', kōrvad longus 'die Ohren hängen' ¶ UEW 256, Ht. no. 363, Coll. 94, IS II 27-8 || **A**: NrTg *luŋkE- v. 'bow' > Ewk luŋkin- v. 'bow the head', Lm nōŋkə- id., 'bow down (склониться, наклониться)' ¶ STM I 510-11 ¶ D 305 [no. 3478] ◇ IS II 27-8, Coll. 145, AD NM no. 27, Sin. TAE 543-4 (Sm, Y, ObU words ← Tg), Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the Tg cognate, because it is isolated within A), ≈ Gr. II no. 17 (*lonk 'arrow') ◇ Hardly here M *tonŋa- 'hang' and D *tonku- id., because the connection of N *l̥- with M and D *t- has not been proved by other etymologies.

1310. *l̥'æ'p̥A 'spleen' > HS *H∇_{l̥}∇_{l̥}-l̥∇p̥ > C: EC: Af {Clz.} al'e'fū (pl. a'lef-it) id. || SC → Mb {E} lubúra id. ¶ Clz. 105, E SC 205 || WCh: pAG *l̥lap 'spleen' > Su {J} l̥lap, Kfr {Nt.} l̥ap, Mnt {Hf.}, Ang {Hf., Flk.} lap ¶ J S 73, 213, Nt. 23, Flk. s.v. lap, Hf. AG 21, Stl. ZCh 243 [no. 57] ¶¶ The element *H∇_{l̥}∇_{l̥}- in Ch is typical as the first component of compound names of body parts, it appears in some WCh words as *h̥∇- (e.g. WCh {Stl.} *h̥∇-gari 'tooth' [Stl. ZCh 222, no. 717]) ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1651 || **U** *läpp∇ (or *lepp∇) 'spleen' > FU: Chr lepə ð lep id. | pPrm *l̥op > StVt lup, Vt SW lup, StZ lop / lopt-, Z US l̥op, Yz l̥op id. | pLp **ðapðe id. (by as. from *lap-ðe with a sx **-ðe) > Lp N {N} dawide ð daðive, Lp S {Hs.} daabrie, Lp U {Schl.} h̥abidee, Lp L {LLO} tabitē, Lp Klt {TI} täb'dd, Lp Kld {TI} tām̄p:(ā), {SaR} т̄āммьп 'spleen' || Os Ty f̄āp̄atne id. | Hg lép id. || Sm: Ne F: P f̄ap̄śa, Ny rap̄śa id. ¶¶ UEW 242, Lr. no. 220, Lgc. no. 7685, N I 465, 505, Hs. 398, TI 571, SaR 344, Ber. 29, LG 161, Lh. 235, It. 213 (on FU *ä ~ *e in this word) || **A** *L̥i|p̄'ā 'spleen' > Tg: Ork lipçe 'spleen' ¶ STM I 499 || ppM *ni'β'alta > M *niϕalta 'spleen' > WrM {MED} nigalta ~ nagalta, HIM {MED, BMR} наалт, Brt няалта, Ord nālt'a

id. ¶ MED 557, BMR II 380, Chr. 346, Ms. O 481 || NaT *°jI₁pa₁ or *°ja₁pa₁ id. > Tf {Ra.} ćáp'al, Tv NE číval, Tv (d.?) čavana id. ¶ Assimilation *-I...a- > *-a...a-? ¶ Ra. 194, TvR 505 ¶¶ SDM 875 (pA *ljap'∇ 'spleen' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1208 (id.), S CNM 5 || ?σ IE: NaIE *lep- 'liver' > Gmc *liβ-r-ō > ON lifr, Sw, Dn lever, OHG lēbara, MHG lēbere, NHG Leber, AS lifer id., NE liver ||| Arm ԼԵԱՐԻԼ ʎard / gen. ԼԵՐԻԻ ʎardi id. (< *lep-r_o-t) ¶ ≈ P 504, Vr. 355, Hlq. 570, Ho. 20, Kb. 595, OsS 552, Lx. 123, Sl. 157-9, Bdr. 255 ◇ IS II 17, S CNM 5, ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. 'селезенка'; IS equated Lp N dađve and Lp S háb'die 'spleen' (actually Lp U háb'dee) [referred by him to U *žä^[ž]wä] with A *tä₁∇ 'spleen', which is untenable [F N *tāχ₁a₁t'o¹ 'spleen']).

1311. *Lip∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' (⇒ [in some lges] 'smear') > HS: S *°lipi'y¹- (or *°lipi?|h-) (*-iy- may be a derivational sx) > Ak fOB lipû ~ lipiu ~ līpu ~ lēpû 'adipose tissue, fat, tallow', JPA Bz לִיבָהּ lybh 'fat, butter', ? Md lupata pl. 'fat, tallow', ??σ MHb לִיפִּי לִיפִּי lip'liḅ 'glutinous substance, pus' (presumably ← *✓ lplp v. D) ¶ CAD IX 202-5, Sd. 555, DM 243, Sl. P 281, Js. 715, ≈ MiK I no. 1.180 || ?σ B *✓ l:f (= {θPr.} *✓ wlf) > Kb T it̄allaf 'masser', S ssəlf 'passer la main sur; frictionner doucement; caresser', Tmz {MT} əllaf 'masser' ¶ Dl. 445, MT 445 || EC: Hd {Hd., L} lab- 'anoint, smear', lap̄p- 'anoint oneself' ¶ L ANK 986, Hd. 290-1 || IE *leḷp- v. 'smear, smear with fat', n. 'fat' > OI rīp- ~ lip- (pres. lim'pati) v. 'smear' || ?φ Srk rofam 'beschiere' ||| Gk λιπος (gen. λιπεος) n. 'animal fat, tallow', λιπαρός adj. 'oily, shiny with oil; fatty, greasy', ἀλείφω 'anoint the skin with oil' ||| ?σ,φ L liprus 'having inflamed\ watery eyes' ||| ?? (× N *LIPXa 'to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue') Sl *lěpí-ti caus. inf. 'to plaster, to glue, to mould' > OCS ЛѢПИТИ lěpiti {Mikl.} inf. 'conglutinare', SCr лѣпити њ lijépití inf. 'to lime, to glue, to paste, to stick, to gum', Slv lepíti vt. inf. 'to plaster', Cz lepíti, Slk lepít' inf. 'to glue together', P lepíc inf. 'to glue, to plaster, to mould', R лепить inf. 'to mould (as of clay), to sculpture', Blg {Ger.} лѣпѣ vt. 'plaster, model (as of clay)', Blg Δ 'λεῖβ 'smear', 'λεπα 'paint white (a house)' || Ht {EI← ?} lip̄p- 'smear, paint' (not mentioned in CHD and Ts. W) ¶¶ P 670-1, ≈ EI 528 (*leḷp- 'adhere, stick; smear'; no distinction between reflexes of N *Lip∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' and N *LIPXa 'to stick; sticky, glue'), M K III 60-1, M E II 460, F II 126-7, WH I 811-12, ESSJ XIV 217-19, Glh. 375-6, Drd. 270, Tls. 237 ||| U: pY {IN H} *°lepe- > Y K {IN H} lepni- v. 'smear with mud or clay', lepegzdey- id.,

лєрнэ- 'smeared with mud or clay' ¶ IN H 240, IN UJ 231-2 || A *Lip_l'_a- 'smear' > Tg *lipa- (× N *LIPXa '↑') > Ewk Z lipa- 'smear around', Ewk I niptɜrɜn- 'wipe clean (hands, dishes)', Nn Nh nīptɜŋi 'нутряной жир (Fett des Eingeweides)' ¶ ≈ STM I 498-9, 598, 639, On. 291, On. RN 65, 213 || pM **ni^β'_a- > M *ni_ɥa- 'smear' > MM [S] ni_ɥa- 'anleimen', WrM {MED} nig_a- ~ na_a- v. 'paste, glue, stick, smear', HIM наа- {MED} id., {BMR} 'leimen, anleimen', Brt няа- nā- id., WrO {Krg.} nā- v. 'paste, affix', Kl {KRS} наа- nā- 'smear', {Rm.} nā- 'leimen, beschmieren' (Brt хилээмэндэ тоһо няаха, Kl {KRS} өдмгт тос наах 'to butter bread'), Dx ni_a- 'paste, smear', Mnr H {SM} niā- 'revêtir d'une couche (de mortier etc.)' ¶ Mnr H niā- 'coller' and Ord nā- 'coller' do not belong here, they go back to pM *ni_ɥa- 'stick to' < N *LIPXa 'to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ H 116, MED 556, 578, BMR II 381, Chr. 347, SM 269, Krg. 205, KRS 365, KW 27, Ms. O 478 ¶¶ Pp. IM 64, Pp. IAL 39, T 347, T DnJ 130 || D *nīv- vt. 'stroke, smear' > Tm nīv_u id., 'rub gently, wipe off', Td ni_f- v. 'stroke', Kt ni_v- v. id., 'massage', Kn nīv_u, Kui nēra- 'rub softly, stroke', Tu nēvaripuni 'fondle, caress', Tl ni_{vuru}, nimiru v. 'stroke, pass the hand over gently', ?φ Klm nīgeŋ v. 'massage', ?φ Krx nīr̄;ŋnā 'besmear' ¶¶ D no. 3691 ◇ It is hard to determine if N *Lip_∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' and N *LIPXa 'to stick; sticky, glue' are originally semantic variants of the same N word or two different words ◇ IS II 18-20 (*lip[∇]'_a 'sticky': HS, IE, Sm, A, D + qu. Ne lap[∇]e- + unc. K *lap-/*_ɔp-'dirt' + unc. FU *Lip_∇ 'slippy' [see N *Lüpi[∇] 'to slip']; IS did not distinguish between N *Lip_∇ and N *LIPXa '↑').

1312. ₂ *Lip_∇ 'crawl, clamber' > HS: SES *_✓lp_y|_w > Mh _✓lf_y|_w: 3m pf. ɜwfū, 1s pf. lɜfk 'be able to climb up (a ladder, a mountain) easily', Jb _✓lf_y: Jb C 3m pf. εl'fe, sbjn. ɥɜl'fε id., Jb E 3m pf. 'lfe id. ¶ Jo. M 254, Jo. J 160 || IE: NaIE *le_ip- 'climb, clamber' > Lt li_p-ti 'to climb, to clamber', Ltv Δ li_p-t, frq. li_p-î^ht id. || Gk [Hs.] ἄλιψ·πέτρα 'rock', {P} eigentlich 'unersteiglich', Gk ἀλῦ-λιψ 'steep', {F, P} sc. 'climbable only by goats' (but not here, if we accept LS's interpretation: 'destitute even of goats') ¶ F I 31, ≈ P 670-1 (without distinguishing this verb from *le_ip-'be sticky' < N *LIPXa 'to stick'), Frn. 376.

1313. on.? *La[∇]p_∇ '≈ to gulp, to eat (esp. liquid food), to eat greedily' > HS: S *_✓lp_p 'eat greedily, gulp' > Gz _✓lp_f (js. -lp_{af}) 'take a morsel, gulp, eat greedily', ἄλῦ lā[∇]f [la[∇]f] 'food, morsel, bait', Sq {Ls.} _✓lp_f G 'eat', Ar _✓lp_f G (ip *-lp_{af}-) 'eat becomingly' ¶ L G 303, L LS 228, BK II 952, Hv.

673 || EC: Arr λέβητε 'throat' ¶ Hw. A 381 || IE: *on.*? NaIE *lab- ~ *lab^h|p^h- v. 'gulp, swallow' (× NaIE *lab- ~ la_ṽ|p^(h)- 'lick, lap' < N ? *on.* *L'a¹p_ṽH_ṽ∇ 'to lick') > Gk λαφύσσω 'I swallow greedily, I gulp down', λάπτω 'I drink greedily' || OSw lapa 'trinken, schlürfen', AS lapan 'to sup up (liquid with bread)' || ?? BSl: Lt lapénti, lap(n)óti, lapséti inf. 'to eat\gulp greedily' (of pigs) | Sl *lopa-ti inf. 'to eat greedily\much' > Blg лaпaм, McdS лoпa 'I eat greedily\much, devour', SCr Δλόρατι inf. 'to eat greedily, to gulp food without chewing', Slv lópati inf. 'to eat\drink greedily', Cz Δχοραč inf. 'to drink', R 'лопaть inf. 'to eat much\greedily' ¶ P 651, F II 85, 91-2, Ho. 195, Sw. 104, Frn. 340, ESSJ XVI 45-6 || A *L'a¹p_ṽE_ṽ- > M *labsi- > WrM labσι- {MED} 'eat greedily', *on.* 'champ', HIM лавши- {MED, BMR} id., Mnr H *on.* lab_šz- 'faire du bruit en mangeant, manger goulûment, dévorer' ¶ MED 513, BMR II 298. SM 219 || Tg: [1] Nn KU ləpsi- 'eat (liquid food, such as soup)' ¶ STM I 518 | [2] Tg *lebge- 'eat greedily' > Neg ləbgz-, Ul, Ud ləgbz-, Nn Nh ləgbzči- id. ¶ In Tg *lebge- the vw. *-e- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶ STM I 514, On. 252 ¶¶ SDM 869 (pA leb|p∇ 'eat greedily' > Tg *lebge-, M), DQA no. 1193 (A *leb∇).

1314. *le'äpa 'leaf, foliage' > HS: S *^o✓lapp- 'thick foliage' > Ar laff- 'arbre touffu, plante touffue' ¶ BK II 1008 || C *laHa'p¹- 'leaf' > EC: Gdl {Bl.} 'lapitt-, Msl {Bl.} lahapitt- id. || ???φ SC ≈ *loh∇s- 'leaf' > Brn lohisa, Irq {MQK} lōsi (pl. lōsō), Alg losi- id. ¶ Bl. 299, Bl. G 73, Blz. CL 179 (pKns *labah-), Blz. CP s.v. 'leaf', MQK 67-8 || IE: NaIE *lep- 'leaf' > Lt lāpas, Ltv lapa id. | Sl d. *lepenь ~ lepenь 'leaf' > OR Λεπενь leperñ, Slv lépen, OCz, Cz lupen 'leaf', Slk luperň 'petal' || Clt {Matas.} *lubī ~ *lubā 'herb, plant' > OIr luib id., OBr -lub ~ ?lob id., Br {Matas.} lou id., OW [γ] pl. luird 'horti', W {YGM} lluarth 'kitchen garden' || pAl {O} *lapā- > Al lapē 'piece of skin\hide, leaf blade, leaf' (× IE *lep- v. 'debark, strip off' < N *lup_ṽpa 'bast, bark [q.v.] || ? AS læfer 'rush, bulrush', NE †, Δ levers *Iris Pseudacorus* L.; any sword-bladed plant', ¿ OHG {Ho. ← ?} leber 'Binse' (not mentioned in OsS and Kb.) ¶ Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XIV 119-21, IS IA 48-9, Bern. I 701-2, Srz. II 17, O 213, Ho. 191, Matas. E 247, YGM-1 312, OED VI 228, ≠ EI (Lt lāpas < *lep- 'peel') || U ≈ *le'äpā > Sm: [1] Sm {Jn.} *yāpā 'leaf' (*yā- < *lyā- < *leä-) > Ne: T {Ter.} вэба wэba, T O {Lh.} β^ωзb_ā (< *wъpā), F L {Lh.} β_ṽie·p·ā_ṽ (< *wepā) id.; En M {Pl.} дéве, {Klp.} дéwe; Slq Tz {KKIH} čōp†; Kms {KD} dába & tába, Koyb {Sp.} джаба id.; [2] ? Sm {Jn.} *lämpä, {Hl.} *le|ämpä|e

'leaf' (with an unexplained *m) (or to N ***la^ɾq^ɾpa** 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat?') > Ne: T лембя 'blade (of a spade, oar)', T O {Lh.} **lé·mb_e·** id., F L {Lh.} **řl̥emǰä** 'shoulder blade'; Slq: Tm {KD} **la·mb_** 'Vorderteil des Stiefels', Tz {Cs.} **laamb** 'Fußblatt'; Mt {Hl.} ***nāmbä** 'leaf' (Mt T/K/M {Mil.} **nembä** id., {Sp.} **намбэда** 'leaf of a tree') || FU ***l^ɾe^ɾp^ɾ ~ *l^ɾap^ɾ** 'leaf' > F **leve** (gen. **lepeen**) 'splinter, scale, small leaf' || Er **lopa** 'leaf' (< FU ***l^ɾap^ɾ**, unless ← Blt) || ObU: pVg ***lapta** (~ ***lupta**?) 'leaf' > Vg {Kn.}: T **lap^{tā} & lāptā**, LK/MK **łoptə**, P **łuptā**, NV/SV/LL **laptā**, ML **luptā**, UL/Ss **lūptā** id. (the forms with u due to the labializing effect of p?); pOs ***l^ɾpət** id. > Os: V **l^ɾwət**, D/O **lipət** || OHg **le^vél** 'leaf, paper (document)', Hg **le^vél** 'leaf, letter (Brief)' ¶¶ Jn. 41, 82, KP no. 249, KKIH 106, Hl. M 86, 317 [no. 736], UEW 259, SSA II 66, ERV 350, Kn. VW 182, MF 401-2, EWU 894-5, LG 157 || **1** ***LE₁a^ɾp^ɾ** 'leaf' > NaT: [**1**] d. ***japurgak** 'leaf' > OT **japur^ɾaq** ({Cl.} **-ɟāq**) 'leaf', OT U, MOg [IM] **japur^ɾaq**, MQp **jap^ɾaq**, Chg xv **jap^ɾaq**, **jap^ɾaq**, **japur^ɾaq**, **japur^ɾaq**, Tk **ɟap^ɾak**, Tkm, CrTt, Kr Cr, Bsh **jap^ɾaq**, VTt **ja^ɾaq**, Qmq, Nog **ja^ɾaq**, Uz **ja^ɾaq**, Az **ja^ɾaq**, SbTt Tb **ja^ɾaq**, Qzq, Qq **žap^ɾaq**, QrB **čap(ɾ)aq**, Qrg **žap^ɾaq**, Yk **sābirdäx** id., a variant ***japirgan** > Chg {Rl.} **japir^ɾan ~ japur^ɾan**, OOsM **japir^ɾan** id.; [**2**] d. ***japurmak** id. > ET **jopu(r)maq**, ET Δ **japorma^ɾ & jupurma^ɾ & juputmaq**, ET X **jopurma^ɾ** id.; [**3**] variants with a secondary l (infl. of T ***jalbi-** 'flat?'): OT **jalp^ɾaq**, **jalbir^ɾmaq**, MQp **jabild^ɾaq**, Qrg **žalb^ɾaq**, StAlt **žalb^ɾaq** 'leaf', MQp [CC] **jabuldr^ɾaq** 'leaf, foliage' ¶ Both ***japurgak** and ***japurmak** may have had a secondary connection with T ***japur-** vi. 'flatten' < N ***la^ɾq^ɾpa** '↑' (q.v.), which may have influenced their form (a kind of folk et.), but they hardly go back to ***japur-** 'flatten' ¶ Cl. 879-80, ET J 130-2, Rs. W 188, TL 111-12, S AJ 179 [no. 46] || M ***laba** 'leaf' > MM [IM] **لَبْلَابا₁** id.; d. M ***labč^ɾin** (or ***lab^ɾrc^ɾin**?) 'leaf' > MM [MA, IsV, HI] **nabč^ɾin**, [PP] **nabč^ɾ'in**, WrM {MED} **nabci(n)**, HIM {MED} **навч**, {BMR} **навч(ин)**, Brt **набша**, Ord **nabč^ɾ'i**, Mnr H {SM} **labś^ɾi**, {T} **lavč^ɾi**, {Prn.} **лапчи**, ShY **lapč^ɾik**, Dx [T] **lač^ɾin**, Ba {T} **labč^ɾoŋ**, Dg {Pp., T} **larč^ɾi**, Ord **nabč^ɾ'i** id. ¶ Dg **larč^ɾi** seems to suggest pM ***lab^ɾrc^ɾin** (cp. *-r- in T ***japurgak** and ***japurmak**) ¶ Lg. VMI 55, Pp. IM 100, Pp. KP 154, Pp. MA 244, 441, Ms. H 77, Ms. O 479, MED 555, BMR II 383, Chr. 317, SM 218, T 342, T DgJ 152, T DnJ 127, T BJ 142, S AJ 253 [no. 47], Ms. O 279 || pKo {S} ***ní^ɾh** 'leaf' > MKo **ní^ɾ / ní^ɾh-** 'leaf', StKo **ip / ip^{h-}**, NKo dialects: Ph/Chl/Chj **ip**, Hm **î^ɾ**, Sl/PhN **ipšagū^ɾ**, Ks **ipšági** id. ¶ S AJ 253 [no. 47], S QK no. 47, Nam 126, MLC 1370 || pJ {S} ***nà^ɾai** 'sprout' >

OJ nape, MJ nàpè {S} id., J K nàé, J Kg naé {S} id., {Kenk.} 'seedling, sapling, young plant' ¶ S QJ no. 462, Mr. 490, Kenk. 1301 ¶¶ Though the root connections of the T and M words are rather obvious, the derivational prehistory of T *japurgak and M *labçin remains unknown ¶¶ SDM 874 {pA *lĵap'ā' 'leaf' > T, Ko, J, M *labç(i), DQA no. 1209 (id.) SDM97 s.v. *läp'e, S AJ 19, 42, 282 (pA *lĵap'∇), TL 112, Rm. EAS I 75, KW 272, Vld. 369, Pp. VG 37, 44 ◇ S and IE suggest that the pN lr. was *ʔ, because this is the only N lr. that does not cause vowel lengthening in NaIE and because *ʔ and *h are the only N lrs liable to be lost in pS roots. Therefore -h- in Msl lahapitt- may be understood as a hiatus-filling lr.: *l̥eʔä- > *la₁a- > laha-. If the pN lr. was *ʔ, one must reject the etymological connection of this N word with Dhl šābu 'leaf, leaves' and Ch *š∇p- ({AD} *√š₂p) id. (> My, Kry šipí, Sir šāpí 'leaf', ZmB šápá or šab, Lame, LamP šab, Mdr {Mk} †apa id.). Even if one admits that š may go back to a cluster *lH (with a voiceless lr. like *h), this is unlikely to be the case with lʔ (l + glottal stop). Therefore the above Dhl and Ch word is more likely to belong to N *ĉ'ay'p∇ 'vegetation, leaves' (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS II 23-5 (*l̥ap'a 'flat'), ≈ AD SShS 297-9 (*laP̥t∇ 'flat, leaf'); both sources do not distinguish between the N word in question and N *l̥a'q'pa 'palm of hand; sth. flat'.

1315. *LahP∇ 'flame; to burn, to shine' > HS: S *lahab- 'flame' > BHb להב 'lahab, JA [Trg.] להבא lah^ab-ā, Ak la^ʔb^u 'flame', Ar لهب lahāb- 'blaze, ardour of fire', 'flamme (pure, sans fumée)'; S *√lhb > Ar √lhb v. G (pf. لهب lahība) 'blaze fiercely' (of fire), Gz √lhb vi. G 'burn, blaze, flame'; ʔφ Ar {Sg.} √lfh v. 'burn, scorch' ¶ KB 494, BK II 1029, Hv. 697, Lv. T I 403, Js. 693, L G 308, Sd. 526, Sg. AED 923. || Eg BD rhb n. 'Glut des Feuers', Cpt Sd/B ελζωβ elhōb 'steam' ¶ EG II 440, Vc. 42 || C: EC: Hr {AMS} lup- vi. 'burn' || Ag: Km {CR} S ləb-aš, ləb-əš- caus. v. 'put on fire, heat, cook' || Bj {R} -luω pcv. 'burn, burn up, light' (1s: p. a'luω, pqp. 'īluω, pres. an'līū; prtc. 'luωa), {Rop.} -liω vt. 'burn', rf. -la^u 'be burnt, burn' (intr.) (× N *ĉ∇χ∇ 'to burn [brûler]') ¶ CR LK 222, AMS 135, R WBd 160, Rop. 213, Blz. CL 177 ¶¶ OS no. 1670 || K: G laplap- 'shine, give light, glitter' ('glänzen, leuchten, schimmern'), laplap-i 'Glänzen, Glanz, Leuchten, Schimmern' ¶ Chx. 664 || IE *lahp-/*lh̥p- > NaIE *lāp-/*ləp- vi. 'shine, burn' > Gk λάμπω 'give light', 'shine' (of the gleam of arms) || Lt lópē n. 'torch, light', Ltv lāpa 'torch', Pru lopis 'flame' || Ht lap- v. 'glow', lappiya- 'fever, incantation of the fire', Lw lapassa- 'fever' || NaIE *ləp-s- > Clt {Matas.} *laxsarō- 'burning, shining'

> OIr *lassa(i)r* n. 'flame', MW [ʃ] *llachar* 'coruscus, igneus', {Matas.} 'shining, shiny, brilliant', W {YGM} *llachar* 'flashing, glittering, bright, brilliant' || ? Gk *λοφνύς* 'torch' || NaIE **lap-sk̄-* > OIr *losc-* 'burn', Brtt {RE} **loskīmi* id. > MW *lloski* (3s *llysc*), W *lloggi*, Crn *lesky*, *losky* 'to burn', OBr *lescsit* 'burns' (3s of **loskim*), MBr *lesquiff*, Br *leskiřĩ* 'burn' (trans.) ¶¶ P 652-3, EI 513 (**lap-*), F II 79-80, LP § 25.1-2, Matas. E 235, YGM-1 300, RE 85, Hm. 511, Frn. 386, En. 205, CHD L-N 39-40, 44, Ts. E II 32, 42 ◇ ≈ Blz. EIAL 117 [no. 63] (AnIE, Ar ✓ *lfh* v. 'burn, scorch' [instead of the more certain S **lahab-* 'flame' and its Eg and C cognates]).

1316. **la^rq^rpa* 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat' > HS: WCh: Mpn {Frz.} *lāp sár* 'palm of hand', Ang {Flk.} *lep-sar* id. (*sár, sar* 'hand'), *lep-šĩ* 'sole of foot' (*šĩ* 'foot') ¶ Frz. DM 32, Flk. s.v. *lep* || C: EC: Arr {To.} *lába* 'hand' (not mentioned in Hw. A), Dsn {To.} *lebič* (pl. *Tēbim*) 'shoulder blade' || SC: Kz {E} *lupa?-iko* 'hand', Asa {E} *lupa?-ok* 'upper arm' || ??σ Dhl {EEN} *líppa* pl. 'feathers' (sg. *líppane*) ¶ E SC 207, EEN 42, BlzT D 1 [no. 27a], To DL 514 || ?σ S **laχ_L∇_p-* > Ar *laχf-at-* 'petite pierre plate', ? *laχf-* 'couche très mince de crème sur le lait' ¶ BK II 981 || ? B ✓ *lfs* > Ah *əlfəs* 'aplatir', ETwl/Ty *əlfəs* id., 'appliquer' ¶ Fc. 1001-2, GhA 110, PGG 184 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 102 [no. 32.7] (SC and Dhl + unc. Eg *ϣϣϣ* 'fly') || IE **leH_p-* or **laH_p-* 'palm of hand, sole of tfoot' > Krd K *پ ه ل* *lep* 'palm of hand, paw', Krd Sr *lep* 'paw' || Gt *lōfa* 'flache Hand', ON *lófi*, Nr, Sw, Dn *love*, OHG *laffa* 'palm of hand', MHG, NGr *Δ laffe* 'flat hand' || Lt *lópa*, Ltv *lāpa, lēpa* 'paw' | Sl **lapa* 'paw, sole of foot' > OR *ΛΑΠΑ* *lapa* id., R, Blg *лапа, P łapa, Slk laba* 'paw', SCr *Δ laḗpa* 'sole of foot (of a bear, dog)'; ?? *AdS* of Sl **lopata* 'spade' [< NaIE **lēp-/ *lap-* 'spade, shovel' < N **ḷEH₂P_∇-* ~ **ḷiH₂EP_∇-* (or **LEH₂P_∇-* ~ **LiH₂EP_∇?*) '≈ spade, shovel', q.v.] ¶ WP II 428, P 679, EI 209 (**leh_{pp}- eh_{pp}-* 'foot, paw'), KrdJ 591, Far. 294, Fs. 336, Vr. 363, Kb. 586, OsS 568, Lx. 120, Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XIV 26-7 and XVI 39-43 || U: [11] U **lap_p∇* 'flat surface, flat object' > F *lape* (gen. *lappeen*), *lappi* 'flat side', *lappea, lappia* id., 'flat', Es {W} *lapp* 'flat' | Er *lapuža*, Mk *lapš* adj. 'flat'; Mk *lapa* 'paw' (unless ← R *лапа* id.), *piłgã* *lapa* 'sole of foot' | Chr H/L *лап* *lap* 'low' (of objects), L *лапка* *lap'ka*, B *lapka* adj. 'low, flat', H {Ep.} *lapa* 'palm of hand', *kid* *lapa* 'hand' (lit. 'palm of arm') | Vt *лап* *lap* 'low' (of objects), 'gently sloping, squatting', *лапег* *lapeg* 'low' (of things), 'short' (of humans) || ObU **lāp-* ~ **l'ōp-* > pOs **lāpsak* ~ **lāpsak* > Os:

Ty/Ag/Y/Uy [ǎpsəq {Trs.} 'flat', {Stn.} id., 'platt', V {Stn., Trs.} [ǔwsəq, Sn [ǔpsəx 'flat, low', Z [ǎpsəq 'oar blade', Nz [ǔpsəx, Kz [ǔpsəx, O [ǎpsəx 'flat', 'low' (of vessels and boxes), 'platt (broad and not high)' (any or both variants of the ObU √ may belong to [2] as well) | Hglap 'surface', 'plate, sheet; page', lapos 'flat; plain, even' || Sm: Ne T лaбцѣй 'flat, flattened', inf. лaбцǎр-ць 'to become flat (сплyщиться, приплюснуться)', пe' лaбця-кo 'palm of hand' (пe' id.), Ne T O {Lh.} лapcā- 'eben\platt hauen (z.B. mit der Hanfläche, mit einer Schaufel)', Ne F P {Lh.} лapśā 'Platte (breit und glatt)', Slq Tz {KKIH} лapcā́ 'flattened (приплюснутый, сплyщенный)', lǎpā́ 'even, flat, smooth' || [2] U *l|lapa 'flat surface (Fläche)' > F лapa 'blade (of an oar, axe, leaf), shoulder blade', Es лaвa 'flat surface\side of sth., roughhewed side of a beam', Vp laba 'metatarsus' | pLp {Lr.} *lǎpē > Lp: N {N} лappe / -āb- ~ -āv- 'broad\flat termination of sth. (esp. of the sole of foot)', L {LLO} (s)lǎhpē 'broad\flattened termination of sth.', T lēppe 'shoulder blade' | Prm: Z лoп лop / лopt-, Z US лop, Yz лop 'blade (лопасть)', Z pań-лop 'bowl of a spoon', Z peł+s-лop, Prmk pev+s-лop 'oar blade' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *lǎp∇ ~ *lǎpā 'oar' > Ne: T лaбя, T O {Lh.} łab_e', F Ny {Lh.} d. rapǎzǎ v. 'row'; En: X {Cs.} lóba, B {Cs.} lóbi 'oar'; Ng {Cs.} d. labar id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} лap+, Nr {Cs.} lǎb, Ke/NP {Cs.} лapри 'oar, Tz {Prk.} лappo, Tm {KD} лap:a 'spade'; Mt {Hl.} ≈ *lǎhä 'oar' (Mt M {Sp.} ля id.) ¶¶ UEW 236-7, W ESS 457, ≈ Lr. no. 570, Lgc. no. 3263, ERV 332, PI 144, MRS 281, Ep. 59, Ü 104, U3S 252, Ht. no. 769, MF 387-9, Jn. 81, Cs. 55, 85, 130, KKIH 125-6, Hl. M no. 621, Ter. 167-8 ¶¶ Not here (because of the initial *l-) U *lapT∇ 'flat' (< N *lapT∇ 'flat, low') || A *lap∇ 'a flat object' (× N *lapT∇ '↑') > T {ET} **lap- 'flat' ({SDM} 'be smooth') ⇨ [1] NaT *lap-k > Az lapıy 'flat, flattened', Tkm lapı 'slope' (← *'gently sloping'), Qrg žabıq 'depression (of ground)', [2] NaT d. *lap-ur- (with the caus. sx *-ur-) vt. 'smooth and level' > OT japur- id. ([MhK] ol jērig japurdi 'he smoothed and levelled the ground'), {Cl.} d. japrit- or japrīδ- vi. 'flatten', Qb/Qc {Rl.} jabir- 'become low', Qrg žapir-, Qzq, Qq žapir- vt. 'press\fell down (a plant) to the ground', Sg čabir- vt. 'press down, ram'; [3] NaT *lap-l|ur' 'low, flattened' > Qrg žapiz id., StAlt žabis, Xk čabis, Tv čawis 'low'; [4] other derivatives: Qmq lap-alaq 'flat, flattened', ET Tr {Rl.} lap-čuq 'flachnasig', Tv čaw-it 'low' (as a house), 'dwarf' (a tree) ¶ Cl. 879, ET J 16-17, ARL 376, Rl. III 271, 280, TvR 506 || *Add. source* of M **labta- 'flat, low' (from N *lapT∇ 'flat, low') ⇨ [1] M *labta-yi- 'v.

'flatten out, become low or slanting' > WrM *набтай-* {MED} 'flatten out, become low or slanting', HIM *навтай-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'become flat\low (становиться плоским\низким), Brt *набтай-* 'hang down; 'нависать' (clouds), Ord *наб_т'ā-* 'pendre et flotter au gré du vent' and [2] M **nabta-gar-* > WrM {MED} *набтагар* 'slanting, sloping; low, short', HIM *навтгар* {MED} id., {BMR} low, of small stature', Brt *набтар* id., Dg *lartagar* ~ *labtagar* id., WrO *набтаҗар* 'stocky, squat' ¶ MED 355, BMR II 297, 382-3, Chr. 316-17, Luv. 256-7, T DgJ 157, Krg. 206, Ms. O 478) || pKo {S} **nāp-* ~ **nəp-* 'level, wide' > MKo *nāp-* ~ *nəp* id., NKo *nap-čak* 'flat' ¶ S QK no. 66, Nam 99, 105, MLC 311 || ?σ,φ pJ {S} **nípá* 'yard (Hof)' > OJ *nipa*, MJ *nípá* id., JT *nìwa*, JK *níwá*, J Kg *níwa* 'yard, courtyard, garden, ground' ¶ S QJ no. 594, Mr. 498, Kenk. 1375 ¶¶ SDM 867-8 (**lāp'ì* 'flat, broad' > T, Ko, J, M **labta-*), DQA no. 1180; Rm. SKE 160 (Ko, T, Tg, M) and ≈ Pp. VG 37 (in both: no distinction between the reflexes of N **lāq'pa* and those of N **laPṬ*) ◇ The existence of two different reflexes in U (**lapp* and **llapa*) creates a problem. The latter variant may have developed on the basis of generalization of the weak grade of cns. gradation. It is also possible that there were two N words, distinguished by the quality of the labial (**p̥* and **p*) and possibly by that of the initial lateral (**l̥* and **l*), but since both oppositions are completely or partially neutralized in most descendant lges, we cannot distinguish between these two (theoretically possible) paronymous and nearly synonymous N words ◇ ≈ IS II 23-5 (**lāp'ā* 'flat'), ≈ AD SShS 297-9 (**laPṭ* 'flat, leaf'); both sources do not distinguish between the N word in question and N **le'ṛ'āpa* 'leaf, foliage' ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 159 (**lap* 'flat') (IE, U, A, Ko, J + unc. CK).

1317. (₂?) **LayP* 'good, beautiful' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) **lajp-* id. > Ltv *laĩpn-s* 'kind, friendly' ¶ ME II 410 | SI **lěpъ* (f. **lě'pa*, ntr. **lěpo*, dadj. **lěpъ-jь*) 'beautiful' > OCS, OR *лѣпъ lěpъ*, Blg *леп*, {Ger.} *лѣпый*, SCr *lěper*, Slv *lěp*, Cz, Slk *лепу*, R † *лепый* id., R *не лепый* 'preposterous, absurd' ¶ ≈ ESSJ XIV 25-8, Vs. II 485 (both prefer to derive the SI root from IE **leip-* 'kleben, smear'), Glh. 375 ||] Possibly (but not necessarily): NaIE **leip-* 'covet' > Gk *λύπτωμαι* 'be eager, long for', Pru *pallaipsītwei* 'begehren', ?σ Lt inf. *liēpti* (pres. *liēpi*) 'to order' ¶ WP II 404, P 671, Tr. 155, Frn. 367, 530 || **А** **LaP* 'more, better' (× N **rab* 'much, big', q.v. ffd.) || **HS:** CCh: Msy {Mch.} *lǎw* 'good' ¶ ChC s.v. 'good' || ?σ EC {Ss.} **la|eb-* 'big, many' (HEC {Hd.} **loba*) (× N **rab*)

'↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., because all presumed reflexes other than IE and Ch are explainable otherwise.

1318. ${}_2UA$ * $\uparrow|\hat{z}a_{L}y_{L}P_{L}\nabla$ 'stick to' (→ [in some T lges] 'build') > **U**: Sm: Ne T лăбцѣ – vi. 'stick to, be pressed tightly to', лăбцѣ – vi. 'stick together', Ne T O {Lh.} ларѣ – 'festkleben', rf. 'sich anheften'. Ne F P {Lh.} φαρσῆς 'to stick together' (of two flat surfaces) ¶ Ter. 165–8, Lh. 220 || **A** * $L a_{L}y_{L}P_{L}\nabla$ v. 'glue, stick to' > T * $jap-$ > OT [MhK] {DTS} $\dot{z}jap-$ vt. 'stick to' (išlar ötmäk japtı 'the women stuck the loaves [to the wall of the oven]', but MKD interprets this verb as 'bake'), OT [MhK] $jap-$ v. 'stick' or 'fix' (both: of bread in the oven), 'build (a wall)', Az $jap-$ 'mould (bread, pieces of dung) for baking or drying', MQp $jap-$ 'make (bread)', XwT $jap-$ 'build'; T rf. * $jap-i\dot{z}$ 'stick to' > OT {Cl.} $japış-$ ~ {MKD} $japuš-$ 'adhere, stick to', MQp XIV $japış-$ 'adhere', Chg XV $japış-$ id., 'stick to', Tk $yapış-$, Ggz, Az, Trm $japış-$, Kr $japış-$ ~ $japuš-$ & $jabuš-$, Uz $japış-$, ET $jepiš-$ ~ $jopuš-$, Qmq $japış-$ ~ $jabuš-$, Nog $jabis-$, Qzq, Qq $žabis-$, VTt $jabъš-$, Bsh йабеш – $jäbъš-$, Qrg $žabis-$, Alt d. $žapšın-$ 'stick to'; cp. T * $Jip-i\dot{z}$ id. (< N ***L i P X a** 'sticky, glue', 'to stick, to stick to', q.v.) ¶ ARL 376, Cl. 870–1 (connecting * $jap-$ v. 'stick, build' with NaT * $jap-$ v. 'shut [a door], cover [things]') and 880–1, DTS 236, MKD 214, ET J 132–4, BT 47 || Tg * $lap-gan-$ 'stick to' > Neg $labgan-$, Lm $nabgan-$, Ud $lagban-$ 'stick to' ¶ STM I 484, Krm. 255 || ppM {Pp.} * $ni\beta a-$ > M * $ni\gamma a-$ 'stick to' (× N ***L i P X a** '↑', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {SDM} * $nàimpà-r-$ → * $niàmpà-r-$ v. 'glue, stick' > MJ $nemar-$ {S} id., J T $nebár-$, J K $nébár-$, J Kg $nèbàr-$ {:Kenk.} 'be sticky\adhesive' ¶ S QJ no. 904, Mr. 734, Kenk. 1344 ¶¶ SDM 861–2 (pA * $làyp'\nabla$ 'glue, stick to' > T, M, Tg, J; no overt distinction between the reflexes of N * $\uparrow|\hat{z}a_{L}y_{L}P_{L}\nabla$ and those of N ***L i P X a**, but with a suggestion of this distinction), DQA no. 1210 (pA * $li\grave{a}p'e'$), Vld. 209, 369, Pp. VG 39, 47, 74, S AJ 75, Md. OJ 91, Mill. APA I 203 ◇ There may be an original connection with N ***L i P X a** '↑' (as. * $i...a$ > * $a...a$, as supposed by IS II 29 for Sm and T) and obviously contamination with it.

1319. * $\uparrow up_{L}\nabla_{L}pa$ 'bast, bark, film (e.g. of a plant)' > **HS**: S * $\circ\check{v}lp?$ > Ar $\check{v}lf?$ v. *G* 'debark (a tree)', 'strip (the flesh) from a bone', $lafip-at-$ 'piece of meat without bone' ¶ BK II 1009, Hv. 691, ≠ MiK I no. 1.180 (supposing that Ar $lafipat-$ goes back to S * $li/ap\nabla?$ 'fatty, fleshy tissue', see N ***L i p** ∇ 'fat') || B * $\circ\check{v}lflf$ > Ah $\check{a}-liflaf$ 'a film on a newborn camel\lamb' ¶ Fc. 999–1000 || **IE**: NaIE * $leyp-$ ~ * $leub-$ ~ * $lep-$ (< * $lyep-$) v. 'debark\peel', n. 'bark, skin': [1] NaIE * $leyp-$ > Lt inf. $l\grave{u}p-ti$

'to debark (a tree), to peel, to skin', inf. *лаур-ти* 'to pluck off, to strip off, to tear', inf. *лаурѣ-ти* 'to debark a tree and to pluck off the leaves' || SI {Glh.} **lūr-ī-ti* inf. 'to debark (a tree), to peel' > ChS {Mikl.} inf. **ΛΟΥΠΗΤΗ** *lurīti* 'detrahere', SCr inf. *lūrīti* 'to peel, to debark', Δ *lūrīt* 'to peel maize', Slv inf. *lūrīti*, P inf. *łuric* 'to peel', R inf. (об-) *лурпितъ* id., 'to shell (an egg)', Cz inf. *louřiti*, Slk inf. *lūrīt* 'to plunder', Blg 'лурпя, McdS лурпи v. 'peel'; ⇨ SI **lurь* 'bark, peel' (sc. 'sth. debarked, peeled') > SCr *lūrь* 'shell of a nut', Slv *lūr* 'rind (of fruit and vegetables)', Cz *лур* 'husk, dandruff', OP *ωεζωωυ λур* 'snake's slough' (*ωεζ* 'snake') ||| OI 3s pres. *lum'pati*, iter. *lō'payati* {MW} 'hurts, injures, spoils, breaks, violates' (← *'strips') ||| ?σ Gmc {Zlz.} **laubb-a-z* m., **laubb-a-n* ntr. 'leaf, foliage' > OHG *louub* id., ON *lauf*, NHG *laub* 'foliage', Gt *laufs* (pl. *laubōs* [·φύλλα]) 'Blatt', OSx *lōf*, Dt *loof*, AS *léaf* 'leaf', NE *leaf* (the semantic development may be due to the infl. of NaIE **lep-* 'leaf' (see N ***лe'ʔ'äpa** 'leaf, foliage') ||| [2] NaIE **leub-* > L *liber* (< **luber*) 'inner bark of a tree' → 'book' ||| SI **lubь* 'bark of trees' > Blg, R, Uk *луб* 'inner bark', SCr, Slv *lūb* 'bark of a tree', P *łub* id., 'lime bark' || Lt *laũbti* 'to peel off', *lūberna* 'peeled off skin, peel of fruit', *lūoba* 'rind, peel', *lūobas* 'bast', Ltv *lobš* [lūōbs] 'Schale', inf. *lōbt* [lūōbt] 'to peel', inf. *lōbīt* 'to shell, to hull, to pod, to peel, to husk', *луба* 'bark of lime, bark of fir tree' ||| ON *laupr*, AS *léap* 'basket' (< *'made of inner bark'), MLG *lōp* 'small wooden vessel' ||| [3] **lep-* > Gk *λέπω* v. 'strip off the rind\husks, peel', *λοπός* ~ *λόπος* n. 'peel' ||| pAl {O} **lapā-* > Al *lapē* 'piece of skin\hide\flesh, leaf blade, leaf' (× IE **lep-* 'leaf' < N ***лe'ʔ'äpa** '↑' [q.v.]) ||| Lt *lōpas* 'patch' || SI **lap-*, **lapьт* > OR **ΛΑΠΟΤЬ** 'bast shoe', R *лапотъ* id., Δ *лапик*, Uk *лапоть*, SCr Δ *lāpat* 'rag\shred', P *łarpcie* 'bast shoes' ¶ P 690-1, EI 550 ('*louub^h-o/-eh_h* - 'bast, bark') and 567-8 (**leup-* 'peel', **lep-* id.), WH I 790-1, F II 105-7, LG § 47, Thr. 186, Dnn. 450, Zlz. M I no. 19.24 and M II 169, Fs. 323-4, Vr. 346-8, Vr. N 410-11, Ho. 196-7, Ho. S 48, Kb. 633, OsS 571, KM 426, Frn. 343, 385-6, 388 and 391-2, ESSJ XIV 32-4 and XVI 156-9, 177-8, 180-8, Vs. II 459, Bern. I 691, Glh. 384, 388-9, M K III 108-9, M E II 482, MW 904, O 213, Matas. E 247 ||| U: FU **l̥âpp* ∇ 'vessel\basket made of bark' > Chr {Szil.} *lupo* 'knapsack made of bast' ||| Vg LK {Kn.} *lap* 'birch bark receptacle, looking like a knapsack', *lapsop* 'birch-bark vessel used in fishing' ¶ But Er *pola* 'leaf' (adduced in IS II 34) belongs to FU **lap* ∇ < N **лe'ʔ'äpa** 'leaf, foliage' (q.v.) ¶ Col. 96, UEW 256-7, Ber. 35 |||

K: GZ *l̥ran- 'bast' > G lapan- '(lime) bast', Mg lipon-i 'bast board (лубок)'. It is to be distinguished from G lapan-i and Mg lipon-i '*Pterocarya* (лапина, крылоорешник)', name of a nut-bearing tree, which is probably a loan from a European source ¶ DCh. 643, Q 273 ◇ The IE variant *leub- points to a pN *p (rather than *p̥), while IE *-p- in *leup- goes back to *-p̥- < *-pʔ-. The vw. between *p and *ʔ is suggested by the preservation of the reflexes of *-p- in IE and U (otherwise the cluster *-pʔ- would have inevitably contracted in *-p̥-). The vw. of the first syll. in the K lges (G a, Mg i) is puzzling ◇ IS M 351, IS II 33-4 (*Lopʔʰ; HS, IE, FU, K).

1320. *Lüpiʔ̥ (~ *Lipüʔ̥) (> later *Lʷip̥yʔ̥?) 'to slip; slippery' >
K: G lip̥i 'slippery, smooth', lip̥- 'be\make slippery\smooth' ¶ Chx. 684, DCh. 650 || **HS:** ?σ WS *√lpy|w ~ *°√lby > Gz √lfy G 'err, move here and there', √lby D 'err, be ignorant, blunder', ? Ar √lfw v. G {BK} 'faire une reduction dans ce qui est dû à qn, amoindrir la part qui lui revient', {Hv.} 'wrong so.' ¶ L G 306-7, BK II 1012, Hv. 692 || **IE:** NaIE *sleub^h- 'slip; slippery' < L lubricus 'slippery' || Gmc *sleup- > Gt inf. sliupan (· ἐνδύνειν).(p. 3s slaup) 'schleichen, schlüpfen', AS inf. slūpan 'to slip', Dt inf. slūpen 'to sneak', OHG inf. int-slupfen 'to slip away, to escape', NHG inf. schlüpfen 'to slip, to glide', schlüpfzig 'slippery'; Gmc *sleip- > OHG inf. slīfan ~ slīphen sv. 'to glide', inf. sliffan ~ slipfen wv., MHG inf. slipfen 'to glide away', NHG Schleife 'slide, sledge', Dt inf. slippen 'to slip, to escape', AS slipor adj. 'slippery', ME inf. slippen (wv.) vt. 'to slip', NE slip v.; ? OScn inf. *slempan sv. 'to glide', inf. *slampjan wv. 'to let glide, to let go' > ON inf. sleppa sv. 'to glide', Ic inf. sleppa sv., Sw inf. slippa 'to slip out, to escape', ON inf. sleppa wv. 'to let glide\escape', Ic inf. sleppa wv., Nr inf. sleppe, Dn inf. slippe 'to let go\escape' ¶ WP II 710, P 963-4, EI 527 (IE *sleub^h- 'slide'), WH I 822-3, Fs. 438, Ho. 299-300, Skeat 571, Kb. 914, OsS 822, 828, KM 660, Vr. 515, Bv 652-3 || **U** *°Lipa > FU (att. in BF) *°Lipa, d. *Lipeδa > Flipa, Es liba 'slippery', Flipeä 'lye', lipakka 'slippery', Vp libed, Es libe (gen. libeda) 'slippery' ¶ SK 297-8, ≈ IS II 19 (unconvincingly referring BF *lipa, *lipeda to N *lipʰ 'sticky') ◇ IE *s- points to a *y-element within the prehistory of the IE √, sc. either N *Lʷip̥yʔ̥ or N *Lʷipiʔ̥ > *Lʷip̥ya. K *-p̥- suggests a N Ir. *ʔ (N *-piʔ- > *-pʔ- > K *-p̥-). Hence the preferred N rec. is *Lʷipiʔ̥. K *l- and U

*L- may point either to N *L- or to *ǵ-, but S *l- and IE *sl- cannot go back to N *ǵ-.

1321. ? *on.* ₂ *L^{ra} p_L H_J ∇ 'to lick' > HS: EC: Sml lēf- v. 'lick' ¶ AD SF 235, DSI 386, ZMO 257, Abr. S 164 || WCh: Hs lébè, Pr {ChL} lóvòk 'lip' (semantic infl. of N *ǵap_L? ∇ 'lip' [q.v.]?) ¶ Ba. 725, Abr. H 618, ChC s.v. 'lip', ChL I 109 || IE: NaIE *lab- ~ la_L:p^(h)- 'lick, lap' > Arm լ ա փ ե ս լ ա ր^h-em 'I lap up, I lick up' || Gk λάπτω (ft. λάψω, pfc. λέλαφα) 'lap with the tongue' (of wolves), 'drink greedily' (× NaIE *lab- ~ *lab^h|p^h- v. 'gulp, swallow' < N *on.* *La?p ∇ '≈ to gulp, to eat greedily') || pAl {O} *lapa > Al lap v. 'slobber, lap up' || Ic inf. lerpja 'to slurp', OHG inf. laffan 'to lick', OSw, Sw inf. lapa, AS inf. lapan 'to lick, to lap up', NE lap || ? (with a nasal infix) L lamb-ō / -ēre 'lick' ¶ WP II 383-4, P 651, EI 352 (*lab-), F II 85, WH I 754, AlbED 437, O 212, Kb. 584, OsS 530, Ho. 195, Hlq. 560, WH I 754, Sl. 251 ◇ Doubtful (because onomatopoeic origin is possible).

1322. *LIPXa 'to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue' ([in descendant lges] → 'to make earthenware') > HS: S *^o✓ lbh > Gz ✓ lbh G 'make earthenware' ¶ L G 305 || IE: NaIE *leip- 'be sticky' (× N *Lip ∇ 'fat; to smear with fat?') > OI rēp- 'an etwas kleben', lip'ta- {MW} 'sticking\adhering to', {M} 'angeklebt' || Lt inf. līpti (pres. limpu) 'to stick', Ltv inf. līpt 'to stick, to adhere' || (× N *Lip ∇ 'fat; to smear with fat?') Sl {ESSJ} *льр-но-ти > Sl inf. *льно-ти vi. 'to stick to' > OR inf. ЛЬНУТИ льнути 'to cling\stick to', R inf. льнуть 'to cling to', OCz inf. lnúti 'to cling\stick to', Cz inf. lnouti 'to adjoin (closely) to'; Sl inf. *lip-но-ти > Cz † inf. lernouti ~ lírnouti 'to cling to', Slk inf. lipnúť 'to cling\stick to', R inf. 'липнуть, Uk inf. 'липнути 'to stick to'; Sl inf. *льрě-ти (pres. *льрjо) v. st. 'to stick\adhere to' > ChS {Mikl.} inf. ЛЬПѢТИ льрěti 'haerere', OR inf. ЛЬПѢТИ льрěti 'festkleben (прилипать)' R Δ {Dal} inf. ли'петь 'приставать, приклеиваться', Slv inf. lerpéti, Cz inf. lrěti, lrítí 'kleben (липнуть)', OP inf. lriec 'adhaerere'; Sl inf. *lěpi-ti caus. > OCS inf. ЛѢПИТИ лěpiti 'conglutinare', eBlg † лѣпѣ, Blg лепя v. 'paste, glue, model', Slv inf. lerpíti, Cz inf. lerpíti, Slk inf. lerpít' vt. 'to glue, to glue together', P inf. leric, R inf. ле'пить 'formen (Skulptur, Bildwerk), modellieren, kneten, bosseln' ¶ P 670-1, MW 902, M E II 460 (without distinguishing between OI rēp- 'smear' and r|lēp- 'glue, stick'), Frn. 375-6, ESSJ XIV 217-19 and XVII 91-3 ¶ The loss of the expected lr. in IE may be due to

the infl. of N *Lip∇ 'fat; smear with fat' || А *LiP∇- > Tg *°lipa- v. 'smear around, coat (обмазатъ)' > Ewk lipa- id., ?σ Tg *lipan n. 'mud' > Ul lipa(n-), Nn Bk lipa ~ lipa, WrMc {Z} лифань 'mud' ¶ STM I 498-9, Z 856 || М: ppM {Pp.} **niβa- > pM *niϕa- 'stick to' > MM [S] ni_γa- 'zusammenleimen', {MA} ni_γa- v. 'stick to', d. ni_γaqčī- 'sticky (липкий)', d. na_γaldū- 'be stuck to (приклеиться)', WrM {MED} ni_γa- ~ na_γa- vt. 'glue, stick', HIM наа- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'glue', Brt няа- 'kleben, ankleben', WrO {Krg.} nā- id., Kl {KRS} наа- nā- id., {Rm.} nā- 'zusammenkleben', Ord nā- 'coller', Mnr H {SM} niā- 'coller; se coller, s'attacher, s'adhérer', {T} nā- v. 'glue, mould (клеить, лепить)', Mgl {Rm.} d. niōldu- vi. 'ankleben' ¶ H 116, Pp. MA 244, 249, Pp. IM 64, MED 556, 578, BMR II 381, Chr. 347, SM 269, Ms. O 478, Krg. 205, KRS 365, KW 272, Rm. M 34, T 347, T DnJ 130 || Т *jI_γri_γ- (infl. of Т *jap-, *japri_γ- 'stick to' < N *T|ž_au_γP∇ 'stick to' [q.v.]) > Tv čipšīn- vi. 'stick to', Chv L џыпăџ – śib_γś- vi. 'festkleben (прилипать, приклеиваться), 'приставать', {ChMS} id., 'прицепляться', ??φ Yk sisin-, sistar- id., 'approach' ¶ Ash. XII 107, Jeg. 225, ChVS 191, Md. 99, 160 (Т *žāri_γ-), TvR 557, Pek. 2499-500 || J: MJ {S} ni_bè 'fish glue' ¶ S p.c. ¶¶ ≠ SDM 861-2 (pA *lāup'∇ v. 'glue, stick to' [> М *niϕa- + the Tg, T and J reflexes of pA *La_γu_γP∇ < N *T|ž_au_γP∇ 'stick to', q.v. ffd.]), ≠ DQA no. 1210 (pA *li_γap'ē' v. 'glue, stick to' [> reflexes of both N *LiPΧa and N *T|ž_au_γP∇]), Pp. IM 64, Pp. IAL 39 ◇ IS II 18-20 (*lip'∇ 'sticky': HS, IE, A + qu. D *nīv- and HS *lp- 'smear' + qu. Ne lap_γe- + unc. K *lap-/ *]p- 'dirt' + unc. FU *Lip∇ 'slippy' [see N *Lūpi?∇ 'to slip']; no distinction between N *LiPΧa and N *Lip∇ 'fat; smear with fat').

1323. (₂?) *laPT∇ 'flat, low' > U *lapT∇ 'flat' > Flattea, F Δ latakka id., Es latakas 'broad and flat', latak 'a broad and flat object' | Chr: Uf {Wc.} lapte 'platt, flach', L лaптыргаш лaптыr'ga-š 'to become flat (сплющиться), to squat/kneel down', E {Ps.} OT lap_γtertem 'platt machen', лaптыr'γem 'abgeplattet werden', H лaптыра лaпты'ra 'not high (приземистый)' (e.g. of trees) || pOs *lap_γtək > Os: Kz чaптəχ 'flat', V/Vy la_γwtəq 'even, smooth, gently sloping', Nz təptəχ 'flat, low' (of a plate, bowl) || Sm {Jn.} *lāptā, {Hl.} *lāpta 'even, low' > Ne: T лaбта, T O {Lh.} лaптā 'low, even', 'lowlands', F {Lh.} rāāpta id.; En {Cs.} lota 'ebene Stelle'; Mt {Hl.} *labta 'low' (Mt: K {Pl.} лaптā, M {Mil.} lāpta adj. 'low', {Pl.} лaпта adv. 'low') ¶¶ UEW 238, Coll. 31, Coll. CG 70, MRS 282, Ps. OT 62, Stn. D 795, Hl. M no. 617 || А *LaPt∇- > М **labta- -d> [1] М

*nabtaɣi- > WrM набтай- {MED} 'flatten out, become low or slanting', HIM навтай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become flat\low (становиться плоским\низким), Brt набтай- 'hang down; 'нависать' (clouds), Ord nab_t'ā- 'pendre et flotter au gré du vent' ⇨ Ord nab_t'agla- 'pendiller, pendre et flotter au gré du vent', nab_t'aŋ 'qui pent, pendant'; M *°labtaɣi- > WrM {MED} лавтай- v. 'sprawl, stretch oneself', HIM лавтай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'niederbeugen, sich beugen (наклоняться, нагибаться, сгибаться)'; [2] M *nabta-gar- > WrM {MED} набтагар 'slanting, sloping; low, short', HIM навтгар {MED} id., {BMR} 'low, of small stature', 'hanging down, loose-hanging (свислый, отвислый)', Brt набтагар 'hanging down', 'нависающий' (clouds), набтар 'low, of small stature', Dg lartagar ~ labtagar id., WrO набтаҗар 'stocky, squat'; d. M *nabtar ~ *namtar 'low, not high' (result from the merger of the reflexes of N *Ṭam, ∇, d ∇ 'low' [q.v. ffd.] and N *laP t ∇ 'flat, low') ¶ MED 355, BMR II 297, 382-3, Chr. 316-17, Luv. 256-7, T DgJ 157, Krg. 206, Ms. O 478 || Tg *lapta- 'low, flat' ~ *|nepte- 'flat, even' > Ewk I lapta-кта, Ewk PT наптама- 'low' (of place), 'flat', Orc нэртэнгэ 'even, smooth', Ud нэртэлэ 'flat' ¶ STM I 584, 624, Krm. 268 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 867-8 (pA *láp'i 'flat, broad' [without distinguishing between descendants of pA *La p, ' ∇ 'a flat object' [ffd. cf. N *la'q'pa 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat'] and pA *LaP t ∇ -), ≈ DQA no. 1180 (id.), ≈ Pp. VG 37 (without distinguishing between A *láp'i and A *LaP t ∇ -) || ?σ HS: S *°√ lbd > Ar √ lbd G (pf. labada, ip. -lbud-) 'squat on the ground' (× √ lbd v. 'stick', whence the meaning 'être par terre et presque collé au sol') ¶ Hv. 675, BK II 957 ◇ AD SShS 297-9 (*laP t ∇ 'flat, leaf' in U, A + err. S *l t ?), ≈ IS II 23-5 (*ṭap'a 'flat') (without distinguishing this N word from N *la'q'pa 'ṭ', in spite of the different initial laterals), IS MS 355 (*lap t ∇ 'flat' as a variant of [or a derivative from] *lap ∇ id.).

1324. *L ∇ q U 'be moist\liquid, flow' > K *leq w- / *laq w- / *lq w- v. 'thaw, melt' > G lχ v- / lχ -, Sv {FS} leq w- / laq w- / lq w- id. (msd. li-leq w), leq w-ni 'es taut\schmilzt', a-lq w-eb-i 'es wird tauen', a-laq w 'es taute\schmolz') ¶¶ K² 109, Fn. KL 178, FS K 201, FS E 220 || HS: S *°√ lχχ ~ *°√ lħħ 'be moist\fresh\humid' > BHb ḥḥ laḥ (pl. ḥḥ la'ḥīm < *laḥ-ḥīm) 'still moist, still fresh' (of plants), MHb ḥḥ laḥ 'fresh', JPA √ lħlħ vt. 'moisten', ChrPA ḥḥ ~ ḥḥ l(γ)ḥ? 'moisture', Ar √ lħħ caus. (pf. ṭalahḥa) 'give a continuous rain' (of a cloud), ? Ak ∧ lāχ u 'young sprout'; Gz lāḥlāḥa 'become moist', laḥāḥa 'be humid\damp\soft' ¶ KB

499, GB 383, Hv. 679, BK II 971, L G 310, Sd. 528, CAD IX 45 (Sd. and CAD interpret Ak $l\bar{a}\chi u$ as a loan from WS) ¶ The cns. \dot{h} in Ar and Gz (for the expected $*\chi$) is hard to explain (a loan from a different S lge?) || Ch: CCh: Ms {Mch.} $l\bar{a}\omega$ 'rain', {Caït.} $l\acute{a}\acute{w}$ 'rain; god of rain', Dw {ChL} $l\bar{e}\omega\omega\bar{e}n$ 'rainy season' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} $l\acute{a}\omega$ vt. 'wet', Smr {J} $l\bar{a}\omega e$ adj. 'wet' || ? WCh: Ang {ChC} $l\bar{e}$ 'pour' (\times N $*L\bar{\nabla}y\bar{h}\bar{\nabla}$ 'to pour; water'), Bgm {Sh.} $l\bar{w}\acute{a}y$ 'rain' ¶ ChC s.v. 'rain', 'rainy season', 'pour (liquid)' and 'wet', ChL, Caït. 106, Cp. 80 ¶¶ \approx OS no. 1659 (Tmk + Ang $l\bar{e}$ 'pour' + Sa $l\bar{a}ye$, Af $l\bar{a}y$, $l\bar{e}$ 'water', which are more likely to belong to N $*L\bar{\nabla}y\bar{h}\bar{\nabla}$) || IE: Ht $l\bar{a}h$ - 'pour, pour out (liquids)', $l\bar{a}h(h)u$ - / $l\bar{a}h(h)u\omega\bar{a}i$ vt. 'pour (liquid, salt etc.)', vi. 'overflow' || ??? OIr {SB} $l\acute{o}$ - $chasair$ 'rain' (unless $<$ N $*pu\bar{l}u$ 'to spring forth', q.v.) ¶¶ CHD L-N 4, 13-15, Ts. E II 3-8, P 692, Bm. TPN 123, SB 249-50 (pClt $*l\bar{e}\nu\acute{o}$ 'ich spüle') || ? A: AdS of T $*jag$ - v. 'pour down, pour rain' ($<$ N $*yak\bar{\nabla}$ \approx pour, be covered with water', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ Gil: Gil A $l\bar{o}qr(-)$ 'raw, fresh' (meat, food) ¶¶ ST 162, ST RN 380, 416 ◇ \approx Blz. KM 116 [no. 11] (incl. K, S, IE + unc. ObU $*l\bar{o}\bar{y}$ - 'wash' (see N $*lu\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\nabla}$ 'wash, rinse') and Om $*l\bar{\nabla}k$ - 'wet, water') ◇ \approx Blz. EIAL 16-17 [no. 62] (S $*\check{v}l\bar{h}\bar{h} \sim * \check{v}l\bar{h}l\bar{h}$ 'be moist\moistened', IE [att. in AnIE] $*l\bar{e}H\chi(w)$ - v. 'pour').

1325. $*LAq\hat{u}$ 'tender, mild' (\rightarrow 'sweet') > K: GZ $*l^ra^q$ - 'tender, mild, sweet' > G Gr $luq\bar{i}$, $luq\bar{-e}$ 'nicht scharf, mild', Lz $l\bar{o}q\bar{-a}$ 'sweet' ¶ The labialized vw. in G Gr (Western Georgia) may be due to Zan infl. ¶ FS E 221 || HS: B $*\check{v}l\bar{y}\bar{y} \sim * \check{v}l\bar{w}\bar{y}$ 'soft, tender, mild' > Kb $ilq\bar{i}q$ 'être mou\tendre', $al\bar{a}qqaq$ 'tendre\mou (à toucher)', $ll\bar{a}y\bar{l}\bar{a}y$ 'être ramolli', Izn $al\bar{a}qqaq$, Rf $al\bar{a}qqa\bar{y}$ 'tendre, mou, doux à toucher', Sll $ilu\bar{i}y$ 'être tendre', Izd $l\bar{w}i\bar{y}$ 'être lisse\mou\tendre', BSn $al\bar{a}qqa\bar{y}$ 'mou, lisse, tendre' ¶ Ds. 276, Ds. B 200, 230, 340, Rn. 339, Dl. 458, 460-1, Mrc. 157, 170-1, 248 || D (att. in KK) $*l^rak$ - 'be sweet' > Kui $napka$ ($<$ $*nak\bar{-p}$) (p. $nak\bar{-t}$) 'be sweet', Ku {Slz.} $lakne$, {Fzg.} $rakhne$ 'sweet', Ku Su {BB, Isr.} $\bar{r}ak$ - 'be sweet' ¶ D no. 5180 || IE: NaIE $*d\bar{u}k\bar{k}u$ - 'sweet' ($<$ N $*da\bar{l}\bar{\nabla}$ 'tasty, sweet' + N $*LAq\hat{u}$) > L $dulcis$ ($<$ $*d\bar{u}k\bar{k}wi\bar{-s}$) 'sweet, pleasant' || Gk $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'sweet' (P: $\gamma\lambda\bar{-}$ $<$ $*\delta\lambda\bar{-}$ due to dis. from the word-medial $-k\bar{-}$) ¶ WP I 816, P 222, EI 560 ($*d\bar{u}ku\bar{-s} \sim *gluku\bar{-s}$), WH I 379-80, F I 314-15, Ch. 228-9, Hofm. 46.

1326. ($_{2}$?) $*\bar{T}arw\bar{\nabla}$ 'many' (\rightarrow [in descendant lges] marker of pl.) > K $*larw\bar{-}$ > Sv UB sx of pl. $-larw$ ($mu\bar{-}larw$ 'fathers' \leftrightarrow mu 'father', $di\bar{-}larw$ 'mothers' \leftrightarrow di 'mother', ?σ G $larv\bar{-}i$ 'a field sown by different kinds of seed' ¶¶ DCh. 642, GP US 51 || A $*l\bar{a}r$ > NaT $*\bar{-}lar$ / $*\bar{-}l\bar{a}r$ ({Grøn.} sx of

nomina collectiva → plural sx of nouns and finite verbs) > OT -lar / -lär, Tk -lar / -ler, Az, Tkm, ET -lar / -lär, Uz -lar, Qmq, Nog -lar / -ler, VTt -lar / -lär / -nar / -när, Bsh -lar / -lär / -tar / -tär / -dar / -där / -ḡar / -ḡär, Qzq -lar / -lär / -tar / -tär / -dar / -där, Qrg -lar / -lär / -lor / -lör / -tar / -tär / -tor / -tör, Alt -lar / -lär / -lor / -lör / -tar / -tär / -tor / -tör / -dar / -där / -dor / -dör, Xk -lar / -ler / -tar / -ter / -nar / -ner, Tv -lar / -ler / -tar / -ter / -dar / -der / -nar / -ner, Tv -lar / -ler / -tar / -ter / -dar / -der / -nar / -ner, Yk -lar / -lär / -lor / -lör / -tar / -tär / -tor / -tör / -dar / -där / -dor / -dör / -nar / -när / -nor / -nör, plural sx of nouns and finite verbs ¶ Grøn. S §§ 65-6 (*-lar / *-lär as a sx of n. coll. → sx of pl.), Gbn ATG 84 ("in sorgfältigen Handschriften [of OT] wird dies Formans mit dem Nomen nicht verbunden geschrieben"), Dmt. KCh 65-7, 69-71 || M *-nar / *-ner, suffix of pl. > MM -nar / -ner id. (with nouns denoting people and anthropomorphous beings), WrM -nar, HIM -нар, {Pp.} -när, Ord -nar, Brt -нар, Kl -nr̥; it may be genetically identical with WrM nar in nar-mai 'all, everything' (Cincius's hyp. [CiL MA 220]) ¶ Pp. IM 181-3, H SMD 55 || Tg: WrMc {Z} лар сэмэ {SDM} 'densely, in multitudes' ({Z} 'густо, часто, толпою') (сэмэ is an adverbializing word, lit. 'saying') ¶ Z 851 ¶¶ ≈ CiL MA 222-4 (denying the connection of T *-lar/*-lär with M *-nar) || D (unless a variant of the sx -ar): OTm -nar, -när, pl. sx: vilai̇-nar ~ vilai̇-när 'merchants', munai̇-när 'warriors', ki̇lai̇-när 'relatives', vinȧi̇-när 'farmers, servants', pakai̇-när 'enemies' ¶ Shanm. DN 40-1.

1327. ?₂ *L∇^rk∇ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' > IE: NaIE *lorgā, *lorgi- 'stick, club, cudgel' > Clt. {Matas.} *lorgā 'stick, club' > OIr lorc (lorg) {P} 'club, cudgel, penis', {Matas.} 'staff, srick, club', OIr ({LP}: Mir) lurga 'shinbone' (× N *r∇g_L∇_J∇ [or *l-] 'foot, paw' [q.v.]), MW llwry ~ llory 'club', W {YGM} llory 'cudgel, weapon', MW llorf 'leg of a harp', W {YGM} llorf 'leg, column', OCrn [ʃ] lorçh 'baculus', MCrn {Matas.} lorgh 'staff, stick, club', Crn lorgh 'pilgrim's staff, walking stick, pole', Br {P} lorç'henn 'pole of a wagon (Deichsel)' (not mentioned in Hm.); Clt → AS lorȝ 'pole; weaver's beam' || ON lurkr, ODN lȳrk, NNR lurk 'cudgel, club', Sw lurk 'a blockhead' ¶ WP II 443, P 691-2, EI 112 (? *lorgeh_h- 'club'), LP § 37.2, Matas, E 244-5, YGM-1 312, ECCE 265, Vr. 368-9, Hlq. 597, Sw. 109, Ho. 206 || ?ϕ HS: S: Ak fOB larû 'branch' ¶ CAD IX 103-4 || ?ϕ B *la_LH_Jk∇t- 'branch, twig' (× N *LähaḲo 'to grow; sprout, twig' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ N *r (more probable than *r̥) is

reconstructed on the ev. of IE, because the presence of a palatal element (in N **ř*) is likely to cause an IE **s*-mobile ◇ Doubtful.

1328. *LAS ▽ 'be weak, be worn out' (or ***LAs** ▽ 'rub, wear out' → 'weaken') > HS: C **l̥a*'s- (× N ***Lawč** ▽ 'weak, soft' [q.v. ffd.]) > EC **las*- > SC {E} **lās*- 'old, worn-out' ⇨ Mb -*lasu* v. 'be old' ||| Or B {Sr.} *lāfā* 'weak', Or Wt {Sr.} *lāfā* 'ill', (× EC **lāf*- > Arr *lāfná* 'weak', see N ***Lab** ▽ 'be soft'): Or {Grg.} *lāfā* 'weak, soft', *lāf*- become soft', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *lāf*- 'be weak/mild', Or H {Ow.} *lāfā* 'soft' ¶ E SC 327, Grg. 258, Sr. 357, Ow. 267 ||| IE: NaIE **les*-/**los*- 'weak, damaged, bad' (possibly × N ? ***lŭš** ▽ 'weak') > L [Plt.] *sub-les-tus* 'sick, weak' ||| Gt *las-iw-s* (·*ἄσθενής*) 'schwach', ON *lasinn* 'loose, slack, weak', Ic *lasinn* 'sick, damaged', *larad̥r* 'tired, exhausted', MHG inf. *er-leswen* 'to become weak', NHG *laß* 'lax, weary', MLG *lasich* 'schlaff', NE *lazы* ||| Sl **lošb* (-*jb*) > ChS **ЛОШЬ** *lošb* 'macilentus', Blg *лош*, 'лоший', McdS *лош* 'bad', SCr *loš* 'unfortunate, bad, miserable; weak', R Ks 'лоший' 'bad', Slv d. *lošer* 'bad' ||| L *sub-les-tus* 'ill, weak' ||| Tc B *leswi* pl. 'attacks of weakness' ¶ ≈ P 680 (**las*-), EI 637 (**losiwos* 'weak'), WH II 618, EM 1167-8, Fs. 322, Vr. 346, Lx. 47, Skeat 333, Bv 396, ESSJ XVI 92-4 (rejecting the above-mentioned IE connections of Sl **lošb* as "semantically unjustified"), Glh. 383, Ad. 560, IS II 16 (adducing L *sublestus*) ||| D {Pf.} **nač*- '≈ wear out, decay, be ill' > Tm *nači*- 'be worn/frayed (as cloth)', *načeu* 'disease', Kn *naši* v. 'wear out/away, waste away, wither, decay', Tu *neiluni* v. 'fade', Krx *nas*- 'cause men/cattle to sicken/languish/die', *nasr*- 'be ill, pine away' ¶¶ D no. 3575, Pf. 124 [no. 1038] ||| It is worth paying attention to K: GZ **les*- v. 'rub, whet, sharpen' > OG *les*- 'whet, sharpen', G *les*- 'rub, whet, sharpen', Mg *las*- 'rub out, destroy', Zn d. **las-ir*- prtc. 'whetted' ⇨ Mg *lasir*- v. 'whet' ¶ K 121, FS K 200, FS E 219-20, Chx. 678-9, DCh. 648, Q 270-1 ◇ The K root is semantically distant. But if nevertheless the K √ belongs here, the N etymon must be ***LAs** ▽ 'rub, wear out' → 'weaken' ◇ IS MS 365 s.v. 'слабый' (IE, D), ≠ IS II 16-17 (***lAs** ▽ [= {JIS} **lAs* ▽] v. 'rub, damage' > IE, D, K **les*- v. 'rub, sharpen'), Glh. 383.

1329. *Lis ▽ 'to gather' > IE: NaIE **les*- v. 'gather, pluck' > Gmc inf. **lēsān* > Gt inf. *lisan* (·*συλλέγειν*) 'lesen (to pluck, to gather)', ON inf. *lesa* 'to gather, to pluck', OSx inf. *lesan* 'to gather, to pick up/out', OHG inf. *gi-lesan* 'to gather', NHG inf. *auf-lesen* 'to gather, to pick up', *aus-lesen* 'to select, to pick out', AS inf. *lesan* 'to collect, to

gather, to pick, to glean', NE *lease* v. 'glean'; (a loan translation of L *legere* 'to read' ← 'to gather'): ON *lesa*, OSx, OHG *lesan*, NHG *lesen* inf. 'to read' || Lt inf. *lēs-ti* (pres. *lesū*), Ltv inf. *lest* 'to peck, to pick up by pecking', iter.: Lt inf. *ap-lasūtī* 'to pick out, to select', Ltv inf. *lasīt* 'to gather, to pick, to glean' and (loan translation from NHG) 'to read' ¶ WP II 440, P 680, EI 222 (**lese/o-* 'pick up'), Fs. 331, Vr. 353, Sw. 107, Ho. 200, Ho. S 46, Kb. 607, OsS 550, KM 436-7, Tr. 160, Frn. 359 ¶¶ N ***Lis** ▽ > **ljēs-* > IE **les-* (see AD NVIE) || U: FU (att. in FV) **Lisä-* v. 'add, increase' > F *lisä* 'addition, increase', Es *lisa* 'addition, supplement', F *lisää-*, Es *lisa-* 'add' | pLp {Lr.} **l̥sē* 'addition, increase' > Lp: N {N} *lāsse / -s-* id., L {LLO} *lassē* id., Kld {SaR} *лашшь*, {TI} *łeššē* 'additional supply (Zuschuß, добавка), Wucher', N {N} *lāsēti-* 'add, put on, increase', S {Hs.} d. *lāsσανιd̥h* vi. 'increase' | Er *лезэ* *léze* n. {Ps.} 'addition, increase (lisä)', {MRV} 'help, profit', *лезэв* *lézev* 'useful', Mk {Ps.} *léza* 'addition, increase (lisä)', {PI} *лезкс* n. 'help, assistance', Er *лезда-* *lézda-* {Ps., ERV} v. 'add, increase, help', Mk *лездо-* *lézda-* {Ps.} 'add, help', {PI} v. 'help, support' ¶ UEW 691, Lr. no. 554, Lgc. no. 3179, Hs. 840, TI 195, SaR 156-7, ERV 335,145, SK 298-9 || ?σ HS: S **°√ lšš* (or **°√ lss*) > Ar *√ lss* (ip. *-luss-*) v. G 'graze (cattle), eat, lick (a vessel)' (× N ***L** ▽ *š* ▽ 'to lick' [q.v.]) ¶ BK II 989, Hv. 685 || A: Tg: WrMc {Hr} *nisiχay* 'mitsamt, dazu, insgesamt', {Z} *нисихай* 'together with, also' ¶ STM I 600, Z 231, Hr 710.

1330. (₂?) ***LISâ** 'small, little, thin' > IE: NaIE **lejs-* / **lojs-* '≈ small, thin' > Gmc **lajsiz* 'less' > OSx *lêś*, OFrs *lēś*, AS *læś* id., NE *less*; Gmc cmpr. adj. **lajsiza* 'less, smaller' > OFrs *lessa*, AS *læssa*; sprl. OFrs *lērest*, *lēst*, AS *læst*, *lærest*, NE *least*; Gt Cr *lista* 'parum, zu wenig' || Lt inf. *líesti*, *lyūsti* 'to become thin, to lose flesh', *líesas* 'lean, thin, skim', Ltv *líess* 'lean, meager' || ?? Gk Hm *λερός* 'warm, lukewarm', 'warm, soft' (of wind), 'gentle, balmy' (of sleep) ¶ ≈ WP II 387-9, P 662 (**lejs-* = **lej-* with an ext.), Fs. 331, Ho. 192, Ho. S 46, F II 120 (no definite et. f *λερός*), ≈ Frn. 329, 376 || A: Tg **njs-* 'small' > Ewk *nisima* 'small, fine (as beads), minute (as handwriting), thin (as seam)', Lm *nisa* 'beads', Neg *njsimkūn* 'small, fine', WrMc {Z} *нисикай* ~ *нисиха* 'small fish' ¶ STM I 600, Z 231 || ??σ K: G R *lisa* 'sand' ¶ Chx. 684 ◇ If G *lisa* belongs here, the N etymon is ***Lis|śâ**.

1330a. ? ***Īiś** ▽ 'eat; food' > HS: S **°√ lš|św* > Ar *√ lsw* G 'eat greedily'; S **°√ lšš* (or **°√ lss*) > Ar *√ lss* G 'eat, graze' (× Ar *√ lss* 'lick'

from N ***Lǵšǵ** 'to lick' and possibly N ***luħašǵ** or ***laħušǵ** 'lip, mouth') ¶ BK II 989, 992, Hv. 685 || **U**: FU (att. in FL) ***l̥išā** 'meat, flesh' > F, Es liħa, Vp Íihä, Krl K liħa, Krl Ld Íihä 'meat, flesh', Lv leya 'Leib' | d.: pLp {Lr.} liškē 'human skin, flesh' > Lp: S lijkēē, L {LLO} lii'ħkē, N {N} lii'ke, Kld {SaR} лышшък l+ššk 'human skin', {TI} l+šške id., 'flesh, body' ¶ SSA II 72, SK 292, ZM 289, Kt. 187, Lr. no. 588, Lgc. no. 3395, LLO 420, SaR 1175, TI 215 || **IE**: NaIE (att. in InA) ***ol̥res-** v. 'taste' (× N ***Lǵšǵ** 'to lick', q.v. ffd.) || **K**: GZ ***lǵš-** > G lošloš- 'eat (greedily)', lošloši 'gieriges Fressen', Mg rʒskon- ~ riskon- {K} 'fressen (жрать)' (× N ***Lǵšǵ** 'to lick') ¶ K² 111, Chx. 691, Q 314 ◇ K and Ar seem to suggest an ancient meaning 'eat greedily' ◇ Not here G leš'i 'corpse, carrion' (← NGr λέσσι 'carrion') ◇ Qu., because its most reflexes (all but FU) are also explainable as those of N ***Lǵšǵ** 'to lick' ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA no. 36 (err. equation of FU with G leš'i).

1331. ?₂ ***l̥ušǵ** 'weak' > **IE**: NaIE ***los-/les-** 'weak, damaged, bad' (× N ***LASǵ** 'be weak, be worn out' [q.v. ffd.]) || **U**: FU (att. in FP) ***l̥iuška** 'weak, loose' > Chr: L лыш 'weak, loose', L лышкаш luš'ka-š, Н лышкаш 'l̥ška-š v. 'become weaker' | Z лышкыд l+šk+d 'generous, not stingy' ¶ UEW 694-5, MRS 302, 310, LG 164 ◇ This N etymon is hardly ***z̥ušǵ** (though IE and U ***l-** may go back to N ***z̥-** as well), because ***z̥...š** would have probably undergone assimilation ◇ Qu., because the IE root has an alt. etymology.

1332. ***Lǵšǵ** 'to lick' ([in descendant lges] → v. 'taste', 'tongue') > **K**: GZ ***l̥š-** v. 'lick, devour' > OG luš- {Chx.} '(ab)lecken' (Num. 22.4: aḡ-luš-os 'will lick up, will eat [it] up'), G luš- id., lošloš- 'eat (greedily)'; GZ ***l̥š-wḡ-** v. 'lick' > OG lošn- / lušn- id. (pres. vḡlošni, aor. vlošne, lušna) 'lick', G lošn- v. 'kiss with moist lips', {K²} 'kiss (rudely)', Mg v. rʒskon- ~ riskon- {K} 'fressen (жрать)', {K²} 'gorge, nibble', {Q, K} 'gnaw (грызть)' ¶ K 122, K² 111, Vogt NEG 68, Chx. 691, Ser. 82, Q 314 || **HS**: S ***ol̥šš** > Ar **lss** v. 'eat, lick' (× N ? ***l̥išǵ** 'eat; food', possibly × N ***luħašǵ** or ***laħušǵ** 'lip, mouth' and ***Lisǵ** 'to gather'); S ***lišān-** 'tongue' > BHb cs. **לִשָּׁן** lə,šān, abs. **לִשָּׁן** lā,šān, Ph [Diosc.] λασουν, Ug lšn, (AkSc) {Hnr.} la-šā-nu, OA, SmA lšn, IA **לִשָּׁן** lšn, (AkSc) li-iš-šā-an, BA, IA **לִשָּׁן** liš'šān / em. **לִשָּׁן** liššā'nā, Sr W **لِشَان** leššā'n-ā, Ar **لِسَان** lisān-, Sb lšn, Gz **لِسَان** lasān, Mh **לִשָּׁן** ləššān, pl. ləššān, Hrs **לִשָּׁן** lēššān, pl. ləššānət, Jb E lšín, Jb C **לִשָּׁן**, pl. **לִשָּׁן**, Sq {L} **léšin**, pl. **líšhen**, Ak

lišān-, Eb {Krb.} li-sa-nu = lišanu ({AD}: lišānu?) 'tongue' ¶ The replacement of *i by *a (> BHb ā) in the Cn lges is due to some phonetic and analogical process(es); e.g., in Hb and Ph it may be explained as a bf. from the status consructus la,šōn based on the analogy of the by far more numerous nouns of the Cā'CōC-pattern: Hb cs. la,šōn - abs. lā'šōn like cs. ša,lōm - abs. šā'lōm 'peace, well-being' ¶ KB 509, KBR 536, OLS 249, Eil. FN 81, Tal 445-6, Br. 371, Lv. II 530-1, Fr. IV 102-3, BK II 989, 991, Sd. 556, CAD IX 209ff., Krb. EG 8, MiK I no. 1.181 || Eg fP rṣ 'tongue' = {Vc. VLE} *[lis-], {Smsz.} *[li.s-] > DEg lṣ 'tongue' > Cpt: Sd/B/O ΛΑC, A/F/L ΛεC id. ¶ EG II 320, Fk. 139, Er. 263, Vc. 99, Vc. VLE I 110, 123, Vc. GÄSW 395-6, Smsz. PCV 44 || B *ʔi-lis (pl. *ʔilisaωʔn) ({Pr.} *hilis / *hilisaωʔn) 'tongue' > Ah īlās / pl. ilāsāwʔn, ETwl ilās / ilāsawʔn, Ty ilās / pl. əlsawʔn, Gh {Nh.} ilās / ilsawʔn, Gd {Lf.} ēlās / elsawʔn, Kb, Nf ilās-, Sll ils / alsīwʔn, Mz, Wrg ilās / ilsawʔn, Si īlās / ilsān, Zng {TC} ašši id. (-šš- < *-yšš- < *-ls-) ¶ Fc. 1124, Pr. M IV-V 124-5, GhA 118, Lf. II no. O922, TC Z 313 || ʔφ C: EC: Arr {Hw.} leč-, Rn {PG} lažā v. 'lick' || ʔʔφ Ag: Bln {R} larīž- id. ¶ Hw. A 381, PG 308, R WB 258 || ? Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} lilizdʔn 'he licks', liçu imp. 'lick!' || ? NrOm: Cha {Fl.} hals-os 'he licked', hals-na inv. 'lick!' ¶ Fl. OO 319 || Ch: [1] Hs lāsā (× HS *✓lḥs 'lick'), Gw rīšé v. 'lick' || [2] {JI, JS} Ch *✓ls₃ 'tongue' > WCh {Stl.} *ḥa-lisi-(um) 'tongue' (probably, lit. 'head tongue', because the px *ḥa- of body parts is likely to go back to WCh *ḥama- 'head') > Hs hářšè, Hs Skt halšē (pl. halusa) 'tongue' | pAG *lis > Su, Mnt, Kfr, Tal līs, Ang {Hf.} līs, Ywm {J} lis id. | Ron {J}: Fy léś, DfB līs, Bks ʔalis, Klr {J} ʔalúš id. | pBT {Stl.} *lisim > Bl {IL} lisim, Dr lus, Krkr {J} lūsəm, Grm {Sch.} límši, Krf {Sch.} ílímší id. | SBc.: Zar {Sh.} rīsín, Grm {Jgr} laši, Bg {J} ηελες, {IL} ηιλīs id. || CCh: ✓nš id. (dis. from ✓lš?) in Lgn {Lk.} nšì, pl. šàšàn (< *lṽšṽn ?) and in Mbara {Trn.} nášày, as well as ✓ls (dis. from *✓lš?) in Msg {Trn.} àlés and in Msg Ng {MB} ελεσι 'tongue' || ECh *l'is- 'tongue' > Mu {Lk.} lísí, {J} lěsí, Brg {J} līsì, Jg {J} lěsó, Mkl {J} ʔèlzé, EDng {Fd.} lěsé, Smr {J} dī-lěsé, Kwn kí-lisí id. ¶ JI I 169 (pCh *✓ls₃- 'tongue'), JI II 328-9 and 224, Abr. H 379 and 615, Ba. 455 and 721, Mts. G s.v. rīšé, ChC s.v. 'tongue' and 'lick', ChL, AD ChCS no. 22 ¶¶ It is possible to reconstruct an additional HS root *✓lḥs ~ *✓lḥš 'lick' (> Ar, Gz, Tgr, Mh ✓lḥs, Ar ✓lḥs [↳ B] {R} lehas-), Ak lāšū, Hs lāsa 'lick') (cf. Vc. 99, AD PSH § 6.3 [no. 181], BK II 973, 1032, L G 311, Sd. 540, OS no. 1666 [pHS *les-] and no. 1640 [*lahas- 'lick'], Tk. I 187-8, ≈ Sk. HCD 108, 186) || IE:

NaIE (att. in InA) *^ol|res- v. 'taste', 'tongue' > OI *rasati*, *ra'sayati*, *rasyatī* '(he) tastes, relishes', OI [Yajñ.], OI EpSk *rasanā-* 'tongue', OI EpSk [MBh], Pali, Prkr *rasa-* m. 'taste', ? Vd, OI ClS, Pal, Prkr *rasa-* 'juice, sap' ¶ MW 869-70, RhDS PED 566, Tu. no. 10650, ≠ M K III 48, ≠ M E II 441-2 ¶ In the OI/Pali/Prkr noun *rasa-* 'juice, sap' there may have been contamination with IE **ros-* 'dew' ◇ S **lišān-* and OI *rasanā-* may go back to N ***L**∇š∇ *nu* (with **nu* 'of, from' → a marker of oblique cases, q.v. ffd.).

1333. ***luhaš**∇ or ***lahuš**∇ 'lip, mouth' > K: GZ **laš-* 'lip' > OG *laš-* 'lip' (in *laš-parto* 'large-lipped'), G P/Mx/Kzq {Ghl.}, G Kx/P/X {K} *laš-* 'lip (of animal), mouth', G *laš-daṽebuli* '(one) with an open mouth', Mg *lečk*v-, Lz *lešk-* 'lip' ¶ K 120, K² 107, Chik. 52, Chx. 670, Ghl. 325 || **HS**: S: [1] S *^ol|š 'lick' > Ar ^ol|š G 'lick', Ak G inf. *lāš* u 'lick'; [2] WS *^ol|š 'whisper, murmur' > BHb ^ol|š D '(Schlangen) beschwören', TD 'unter sich zischeln\flüstern', MHb {Js.} ^ol|š G, JA {Js.} ^ol|š G 'whisper', Sr ^ol|š G 'whisper, murmur', Gz ^ol|š G 'murmur' ¶ BK II 973-4, GB 384, Js. 704, Br. 364-5, JPS 240-1, L G 311, Sd. 340 || **U**: FU *^ol|uš|s∇ (or *^ol|a|o|š|s∇) > pOs **ḫuḫ* 'mouth' > Os: V *lu*l, Vy *ju*l, Ty/Y *ḫuḫ*, D/Nz *tut* id. ¶ Stn. D 753, Trs. S 218 || **A**: Tg **lus*∇*ma* 'upper lip, muzzle, snout' > Nn KU *lōsoma* 'upper lip (of an elk\horse), upper part of the nose (of an elk)', Nn Nh {STM} *losōã* id., {On.} *lōsōã* 'soft part of the nose of an elk' Ork *lūsima* 'upper lip (of an elk), muzzle, snout', Ud X {Shn.} *li^himo*, Ud I/K/Sm {Krm.} *lühimo* ~ *luimo* 'muzzle, snout; nose (protruded part of the face) of a dog\elk\pig', Ewk *lusmā* 'upper jaw, nose, front part of the muzzle (of a deer\elk)', Lm *nusma* 'muzzle, snout' ¶ STM I 513, Krm. 257, On. 249.

1334. ***L**'**a**'**t**∇ 'skin\leather, bark' > **HS**: Ch {JS} *^ol|t v. 'skin' > WCh: Fy {J} *lüt* v. 'skin (häuten)', Klr {J} *led* v. 'skin (abreißen, häuten)' † Zar {Sh.} *lät*, {ChL} *lät*, {IL} *læd* (or *léd*?) n. 'skin (of humans)', Sy {Csp.} *lät* n. 'skin, leather', Sy Zk {Sh.} *lät*, Zar K {Sh.} *lät*, Zar GL/L {Sh.} *lät* n. 'skin', Zar K {Sh.} *lut* v. 'skin', Zem *lāti*, Zmb *lät*, Zar *lat*, Δ *lät* ¶ JI II 296, JS 233, J R 87, 353, ChC s.v. 'skin' n. and 'to skin', ChL, Sh. SB 31, Csp. 56, 65, Stl. ZCh 237 [no. 838] (**l*∇*d* 'skin, hide'), Sh. SB 31 [no. 44] || Eg L/G *ntt*, Eg Md {EG} *ntnt*, {DW} *ntn.t* f. 'skin', {Hng.} 'membrane, skin, fell' ¶ EG II 356-7, DW I 490 (showing that -*t* is a sx of f.), Hng. 442 || ? S *^ol|tt > Ar *lutāt-* 'crumbled tree bark' (× ^ol|tt vt. 'bray, crumble'); +exts: [1] S *^ol|tp > Sr ^ol|tp G 'debark (a tree)', [2] ?? S *^ol|tm > Ar *milṭam-* 'pièce

de cuir que l'on étend par terre sous un panier à dattes' ¶ Fr. IV 85, 107, BK II 963, 998, Br. 365 ¶¶ OS no. 1655 (*lat- 'skin': Eg, WCh), Tk. I 134 ||
IE (+ext.): NaIE *letrō- 'leather, skin' > OIr lethar, W lledr 'leather', OBr [ʎ] d. ledr_in_i 'cartilago', MBr lezr, B ler 'leather' ||| Gmc *leθra 'leather, (?) skin' > ORu lepro id., ON leðr 'skin, leather', NNr lēder, Sw läder, Dn læder, OHG leðar, NHG Leder, OSx lethar, MLG led(d)er, MDt le(d)er, Dt leder, AS leðer 'leather', NE leather ¶ WP II 428, P 681, EI 269 (*letrom 'leather'), YGM-1 305, Flr. 238, Ern. 365, Hm. 511, Vr. 349 (rejecting the hyp. of Clt origin of Gmc *leθra), Vr. N 387, Ho. 200, Ho. S 46, Kb. 596, OsS 540, KM 430 || **А**: Tg: WrMc {Z} латихи '(pieces of) old bast mats, rags' ¶ STM I 495, Z 847.

1335. *l̥₁l̥₂l̥it̥ ▽ 'exercise magic forces against so., detest; suffer from' > **HS**: CS *-lūl̥it̥- > Sr ✓ lw̥t̥ (pf. lḁ̄t̥, ip. -lū̥t̥) {Br.} 'detestatus est', {JPS} 'curse' (μ from *✓ly̥t̥, -lī̥t̥-), BHb 𐤀𐤏𐤁𐤏 lḁ̄t̥-īm 'sorcery' ¶ Br. 361, JPS 273, KB 501 || **IE**: NaIE *l̥₁l̥₂le̥it̥- v. 'detest' > OIr {P} liuss 'aversion, abomination' (< *lit-tu-) ||| ON leiðr adj. 'verhaßt, leid', Dn leð 'bothersome, boring', Sw leð id., 'repugnant, Δ 'ugly', Dn leð, OSx lêth 'suffering; hostility', OHG leid 'nicht lieb, verhaßt; sad, bad, painful', NHG leid 'disagreeable', AS lāð 'hostile, hated, hateful', NE loath; ON leiða n. 'Unlust, Wuderville', NNr leida, Sw leða, Dn lede 'repugnance', OHG leid 'Leiden, Böses, Betrübniß', NHG Leid 'harm'; ON leiða 'verhaßt machen, verleiden', OHG inf. līðan, NHG inf. leiden 'to suffer', AS inf. lāðan 'to hate, to cause to shun, to revile', NE loathe ||| ?σ Gk ἀλείτης ~ ἀλοῦτός 'sinner', ἀλιταίνω v. 'sin, offend against' ¶ P 672, Vr. 350, WW 177, 180, Sw. 103-5, Ho. 193, 195-6, Ho. S 26, Kb. 599, OsS 541, 553, KM 433, F I 67, ≈ EI 259 (*h_hle̥it̥- '≈ do sth. hateful\abhorrent') ||| **U** *o^ol̥it̥ ▽ (unless it is *o^ol̥it̥ss ▽-) > Sm *l̥itt̥ ▽ (or *-č̥č̥-, *-ss-) 'suffer, endure' > Ne F {Cs.} reāhtar angam 1s aor. 'ich stand aus, ertrug, litt', Slq Tm {KD} le't·ab_ 'suffer, endure (kärsiä)', {Prk.} lättimp̥i- 'endure (терпеть)', l̥itt̥imp̥i- 'endure, утерпеть' ¶ Jn. 83 ◇ On the Gk prothetic vw. and underlying prosodic phenomenon (denoted as N *^o-) see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1336. *Lu₁? ▽₁t̥ ▽ 'mud' > **IE**: NaIE *lut- 'mud, mire' > L lutum 'mud, mire; moist earth' ||| Clt {Matas.} *lutā 'mud, dirt' > OIr loth 'dirt', {SB} 'palus, coenum', {Matas.} 'mud, mire', W {SB} lludedic 'muddy', ?φ {YGM} llaid 'mud, mire' and llaidiog 'muddy' ||| Lt † {Ruh., Nsl., Krsch.} luty nas (Frn.'s emenda-tion: liuty nas) 'quebbiger Ort, Pfuhl,

Lehmpfütze' ¶ Frn. 380, Nsl. 376, WH I 840, SB 250, Matas. E 248-9, YGM-1 301 and YGM-2 182, ≈ WP II 406-7, ≈ P 681, ≈ EI 160 (*leu- 'dirt', see N *liwř|ħa 'dirt, silt') || K: Mg leṭa 'dirt, clay', Lz leṭa 'earth' ¶ Q 273, Chik. 186 || HS: B *-lūd- (unless ← L l u t u m) (× N ?φ *w∇L₁∇₁ṭ∇ 'moist, moisture?') > Gd a-lwḍ, Shw {Hy.} luḍ, BSn {Ds.} lūd, Izd {Mrc.} a-luḍ (pl. ilaṭṭān) 'boue', Kb a-luḍ 'boue (plutôt liquide), grosse boue', Tmz a-luḍ (pl. aluḍn, ilaṭṭān) id., 'glaise, eau boueuse', Mz luḍ 'limon, vase' ¶ Lf. II no. O878, Hy. 326, Ds. B 46, Dl. 445, MT 369-70, Dlh. M 103, Mrc. 75, Msq. Z 493 ¶ The pB long *ū suggests an underlying *u∇ || CCh: Dgh {ChL} lúḍè, {Frk} lǎḍè 'dirt' ¶ ChC s.v. 'dirt', ChL ¶¶ B *-lūd- may be suspected as being a loan from L l u t u m, but the voiced emphatic *-ḍ- and the Ch cognate (lúḍè) make the hyp. of loan less plausible ¶ Flk. AM, ChL ◇ B *-lūd- points to the presence of some lengthening element after N *u, which is most likely to be *ʔ (a lr., that can be lost in pIE without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vw.). Mg and Lz e may go back to some vw. that followed *ʔ (N *Lu₁ṭ∇₁ṭ∇ > pre-K *lṭṭ∇ (with loss of *-₁ṭ∇₁-) > Mg, Lz leṭa) ◇ IS II 31 (*L¹ṭ¹ṭ > IE *lat-, K, WCh + unc. S *√rṭw 'moist').

1337. *liwř|ħa 'dirt, silt' > IE *leuH₂x- > NaIE *lewə- / *lū- 'dirt, filth, mire' > Gk λῦ-μα (gen. λύματος) {By} 'souillure, impureté, ordure' (but λύματα {LS} 'water used in washing' or 'dirt removed by washing' belongs rather to NaIE *lowə- 'wash' < N *luΓ∇ 'wash, rinse' [q.v.]), ?? λῦ-μη 'outrage, maltreatment (esp. by maiming)', ?? λῦμαίνομαι v. 'outrage, maltreat', Gk λύθρον or λύθρος 'defilement from blood\gore', λύθρος {F} 'geronnenes, dickes Blut' (the short υ may be due to the merger with NaIE *lut- < N *Lu₁ṭ∇₁ṭ∇ 'mud' [q.v.] || L polluo / pollui / pollūtum / -ēre 'befoul, defile, pollute' || OIr {SB, P} con-luan 'dog's excrements', MBr {Ern.} louan 'moisi', Br louan 'dirty' || Lt liūnas 'quag, quagmire', Ltv lūnis 'moorige, sich bewegende Stelle', lūnis 'swamp' ¶ ≈ WP II 406, ≈ P 681, EI 160 (leu- 'dirt'), F II 144-5, ≈ WH I 840 and II 334 (all of them connect the L v. with L l u t u m 'mud, dirt' [see N *Lu₁ṭ∇₁ṭ∇ 'mud']), SB 250 (Clt *louno- 'dirt'), Ern. 374-5, Hm. 528, Frn. 380-1 ¶ Cf. also N *Lizû 'saliva, mucus, (?) 'slime' || HS: S (mt.) *°√lř|ħw or *°√lř|ħy > Ak fOB luṭû 'to dirty (an object), to defile\desecrate (a sanctuary, a rite)' (D p. ulaṭi ~ uleṭi, prtc. mulaṭû ~ muleṭû, OB stative luḫḫu), Ak LB luṭû (f. luṭûtu, luṭîtu) 'soiled, dirty, unclean, sullied' ¶ CAD IX 258-9 || K: G lia 'silt, mud, quagmire, dirt', G K/Kx lia 'puddle', OG {Abul.} liempalo 'mud' ¶ Chx. 681, DCh. 650, Abul. 209 ||

U: FU *līwa 'mud, sand' > Fl i i v a 'pulp, mash', Δ {SK} 'bog, mud', Es li i v, Vo līva 'sand' | Prm *lūa 'sand' > Z лыа līa, Z Vsh/EV lūwa, Vt lu o id. || Os Kz lōwī 'mud, quagmire' ¶ Coll. 95, UEW 250 (*liwa), SK 294, LG 163 || **A:** Tg *leben ~ *libin (< **liben?) 'boggy swamp, marsh, quagmire' > Ewk lэwэ ɔ lэbэ, Neg lэwэ id., Lm A liwin 'puddle', ? WrMc {Z} лэбэнги 'boggy, swampy', 'swampy place, топь, 'swamp, никогда не просыхающее место', лэбэнги дэрбэхунь 'wet (covered with water) low-lying lands'; Tg *lib∇- ~ *leb∇- (< **libe-?) 'stick (увязнуть) in mud/swamp' > Ul liwu- ~ liwi- ~ liwэ-, Ork f, Nn Nh/KU {STM} liwэ-, Nn Nh {On.} liwэ-, Ewk, Neg lэwэ- id. ¶ STM I 514, On. 246-7. Z 853-4 ◇ N *l̥h is reconstructed on the joint ev. of the IE lr. (causing a NaIE vw. lengthening), K zero, Ak ʔ and the Ak transformation of the adjacent *a to e ◇ ≈ IS II 27 (IE, U, K, S; *l̥iwa = *liwa; not distinguishing this N etymon from the reflexes of N *Lu₁?∇₁t∇ 'mud'), AD GD 3 (IE, U).

1338. *L^{ra}χ∇ 'to strike, to fight' > **HS:** CS +ext. *✓lhm 'fight' > BHb ✓lhm G (inv. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 la'hām) vt. 'fight', N (pf. 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 ni-l'hām) vi. 'fight', M'b v. Dt or Gt lhm (1s ip. ʔlt'hm) 'make war, fight', Md G ✓lhm v. 'gather for fighting\attacking; threaten, attack', ✓slhm 'fight, attack', Ar ✓lhm G ps. (pf. لُحِمَ luḥima) 'be killed\slaughtered', TL (pf. تَلَا حَمَ talāḥama) 'kill one another'; CS *malham(-at)- > BHb 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 milhā'mā 'war', Ar مَلْحَمَةٌ malḥamat- 'fight, army', مَلْحَمَ malḥam- 'slaughter, fight' ¶ KB 500, HJ 571-2, DM 231, 467, BK II 977-8, Hv. 681 || **IE** *laχ- (or *leχ-/*loχ-?) ≈ attack, fight' > Ht {CHL} lahha- 'military campaign', la(h)hiyai- v. 'attack, make war on, operate against', lahhiyatār- 'military expedition, campaign, military obligation' (to distinguish from the homonymous root: lahha- 'journey, trip', la(h)hiyai- v. 'travel, wander'; a merger of both roots: la(h)hiyai- 'go on an expedition'), HrLw laha- 'attack', Lc {Ts.} laχa- 'strike (schlagen)' || ? Gk λεία, Gk I ληύη, Gk D λῆα 'booty, plunder', Gk ληύς (gen. ληύδος), Gk D λείς 'booty, spoil (mostly of cattle)', Gk ληύζομαι v. 'plunder' || ?μ,σ Phr lawagtaei 'military leader' ¶¶ CHD L-N 4-10, Ts. E II 8-11, F II 96, EI 31 (*leh₂- ≈ military action) || **K:** G laχ- / ga-laχ- 'verhauen, verprügeln'; 'unterkriegen (z.B. beim Ringkampf)', OG laχuari, G laχvari 'spear' ¶ Chx. 672, DCh. 645-6, Abul. 280, Ser. 82 || ? **E:** NEI la-ha-na 'nachdem

geschlachtet worden sind', MEI la-h-lu-uš 'er zerhämmerte, zerschlug', la-h-lu-h-[pi] 'ich hämmerte für sie (pl.)' ¶¶ HK 808-9.

1339. *LEχ|qo 'be ill; ache' > K *^oleχ|q- 'be ill' > Mg laχ- id., laχ-a|a 'illness', leχ 'sick' ¶ Q 271 || HS: C: Bj {R} le h- scv. 'be(come) sick\ill', {Rop.} le h- ~ lə h- ~ i l h- id., 'hurt, pain' (part of the body), {R} 'lē h-ani ~ 'el h-ani 'I am becoming sick\ill', {R} 'lē ha ~ 'el ha, {Rop.} lə ha adj. 'sick\ill' || EC: Sa {R}, Af {Clz.} lā'hō 'illness, pain', Sa {R} lā'hō-s- caus. v. 'make ill; pain, hurt', T lā'hō-t- 'become ill', Af {PH} laħaw n. 'being in labour, fait d'être en couche', ? laħuω 'stinging tail (of fish\bee)'; ?? C ⇨ Gz lāħ 'mourning, grief, dirge', ✓ lħω (pf. laħawa ~ lāħawa, js. yalħaw) 'mourn for, lament, bewail' ¶ AD SF 168, PH 154, R S II 246, R WBd 155-6, Rop. 211, Clz. 126, L G 312 || Ch: pAG {Hf.} *lā 'be painful\sick' > Ang {Flk.} le 'sick; sickness, pain', {Brq.} lé 'ailing', {Hf.} lē v. 'pain', Gmy/Mnt {Hf.} lā id., Su {J} lā id., n. 'wound', Kfr {Nt.} lá 'painful', Mpn {Frz.} lā 'pain; wound' ¶ Hf. AG no. 129, Flk. s.v. le, J S 72, Frz. DM 32, Nt. 23 || ? B {ṢPr.} **✓ w|H v. ⇨ *w[̃]laH 'fever' > Kb {Dl.} taωωla (pl. tiωliwin), Kb Z {La.}, Izd {Mrc.} taula, Tmzg taωla (pl. tiωliwin), SrSn {Rn.} taula, Sll {Ds.} täula 'fever' ¶ The B word belongs here if *w[̃]- goes back to the HS prefix of intransitivity ¶ Dl. 863, MT 760, La. S 238, Rn. 423, Ds. 127, Mrc. 117 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 1631 (WCh *la[?]- 'be sick' ÷ S *✓ l?y 'be tired\slow') || D *nō- (< *lō-, att. in Ku?) ({GS} *ńō-) 'feel pain, ache; illness' > Tm nō id., Ml nōka v. 'pain', nōi, nōi 'weakness, pain', nō v u 'pain, ache', Kt nō·v 'disease, pain', Tl nu· 'sickness', Kn nō v. 'suffer, pain, ache', Kdg nō-, Tl nōccu v. 'pain, ache', Klm o y- 'hurt, pain' (a wound), Nkr o y-, Prj, Gdb nō y-, Png, Ku nō- v. 'pain', Kui nō v a 'be painful, ache', Nk o y-, Gnd nō- vi. 'hurt', Knd nō-, Mnd nū- v. 'pain, ache', Ku {Isr.} lun³- v. 'ache, throb with pain', luh- v. 'cause pain', Krx nuń³- v. 'smart, pain', Mlt nun³e v., n. 'pain' ¶¶ D no. 3793, GS 144 [no. 369] ¶¶ l- in Ku lun³-, luh- may have remained from pD (*lō-?) ◇ It is worth paying attention to A: M *niyan 'epidemic' > WrM {Kow.} niyan 'peste, épidémie', {MED} niyan, HIM {MED. BMR} нян 'infection; epidemic' (Kow. 666, MED 583, BMR II 451) ◇ IS II 36 ({IS} *Lah^h > C, K).

1340. *LawXv '(piece of a) trunk, bough' ([in descendant lges] → 'board, plank') > HS: S *lawh- ~ *lūh- 'plank, board' > Ak fOAK lē[?] u '(wooden) board, writing board, sheet of precious metal', BHb ḥ^h ḥ^h 'lūaḥ 'plank, board; tablet', Pun lḥ 'tablet', OCn TA [Akkadianized] lēχ u, Ug lḥ

'writing board' → 'message', IA l w ḥ 'board, tablet', Nbt l w ḥ 'tablet', JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} אָהַב לִּי l ū 'ḥ-ā 'tablet, board', JEA {Sl.} אָהַב לִּי l a w 'ḥ ā ~ אָהַב לִּי l o ḥ ā 'wooden plank', Sr لَوْحٌ l ū 'ḥ-ā (abs. l ū ḥ) 'tablet, writing tablet', Ar لَوْحٌ l a w ḥ- 'board, plank; tablet' (↳ Gz l a w ḥ 'board, table; parchment'); Mh/Hrs {Jo.} l a w ḥ 'board', Jb E/C لَوْحٌ id., Sq {L} לֹחַ 'planche' (all ↳ Ar?) ¶ CAD IX 156-9, KB 497, A no. 1449, OLS 243, HJ 569-70, Lv. II 482, Js. 696, Sl. 619, JPS 227, Sd. 246, BK II 1039, Hv. 700, L G 320, L LS 229, Jo. M 258, Jo. J 166, Jo. H 86 || EC: Af {PH} laḥdi 'shelf inside a grave on which a corpse is placed' ¶ PH 154 || IE: NaIE *lō|ā w- 'board, plank' > Sl *lāv a 'bench' > ChS ΛΑΒΑ lāv a, OCz, Cz lāv a, P łāv a, R Δ 'лава, R d. 'лавка id., OR ΛΑΒΑ lāv a 'a broad bench; small bridge', Slv lāv a 'a low sideboard' || Lt ló v a 'bed', Ltv lā v a 'sweating shelf (in steam bath); plank bed, bunk'; Blt ↳ Sw lāv e 'sweating shelf, bench (in bath), plank bed, wooden box for seedlings' || pScn {Vr.} *lō w an > ON lófi, láfi 'threshing floor', Sw loge, Dn lo id., Nr lā v e id., 'barn, granary' ¶ ≈ Mn. 667 (IE *lā w-(ā)), ESSJ XIV 52-5, Frn. 387, Tr. 153, Bern. I 695, ≈ WP II 407, Hlq. 563, 585-6, Vr. 363 || U: FL *lāv a 'board' (× ↳ BSl ??) > F lāv a 'platform, scaffold; stage; bed', Es lāv a 'stage, platform', тара́лава 'scaffold', pLp {Lr.} *lō v ē 'board, scaffolding' > Lp: L {LLO} l u o v v ē 'scaffolding for keeping hay or fodder', Ar {Lgc.} l ū o v v f ē 'auf Pfähle gebautes Aufbewahrungsgerüst', N {N} l u o v v e 'kitchen shelf', Kld лѸввѸт 'board' ¶ SK 282, Krh. 132, SaR 166, Lr. no. 632, Lgc. no. 3660 ¶ The FL word may be either semantically influenced by or even borrowed from a BSl lge, but the common origin of inherited words is equally possible and semantically plausible || A: Tg *laba 'bough' > Ewk Tmt lāv a 'bough, отросток рогов', Ewk Ald laparā 'weitausgelegt, ветвистый' (reindeer's horns); Tg ↳ Yk labā 'bough, branch' ¶ The direction of the borrowing must have been from Tg to Yk and not vice versa, because Yk words of T origin (just as pT words) never have an initial l- ¶ STM I 485, JkR 225.

1341. *L' o' y x i ʔ a 'cheek' ([in descendant lges] → 'face') > K: G lo ʔ a 'cheek' ¶ Chx. 691, DCh. 653, SSO I 423 (lo ʔ a 'animal's cheek') || HS: S *l a ḥ i y- 'jaw, cheek' > BHb לְחֵי l a ḥ ī, paus. לְחֵי l ē ḥ ī 'cheek, jaw', Ug l ḥ (du. l ḥ m, pl. l ḥ t) 'cheek, jaw', JA [Trg.] אָהַב לִּי l o ḥ ā 'jaw', JPA Bz P {Sl.} הַיּוֹד לְחֵי l ḥ y y ḥ 'cheek', Ak fOA/OB l ē t u ~ l ī t u 'cheek, side', Ar لَحْيٌ l a ḥ y- {Hv.} 'chin, underjaw, part on which the beard grows', لَحْيٌ l a ḥ ā -n

(pl. laḥīy-) {BK} 'côté de visage où la barbe pousse, bas de la joue', d. الحية liḥy-at- (pl. لحي liḥā) 'beard', ? Gz d. maltāḥt (= maltaḥt) 'jaw'; a CS lge (Aram?) → Ak LB/Nz laḥū 'jaw' ¶ KB 499, GB 382-3, OLS 243, BK II 979, WKAS II 401, 408, Hv. 682, CAD IX 44-5, 148, Sd. 546, Lv. T I 407, Sl. P 280, Js. 702, L G 319, MiK I no. 1.178 (S *liḥ(a)ḥ(-at)-) || IE: NaIE *leḡk- 'face, cheek' > Blt: Pru laugnan (< *laḡknan) id. | Sl *lice 'cheek, face' > OCS ЛНЦЄ lice 'face, cheek', Slv líce, Plíce 'cheek, face', OCz líce 'cheek', Cz, Slk líce, Blg лице 'face', Blg Δ pl. 'лици 'cheeks', McdS лице, SCr líce, R, Uk лицо 'face', R Ol/Ar/Vlg/Rz лицо, OUK лице, Uk Δ лицо 'cheek'; Sl *líkь 'face' > OR ЛНКЪ líkь id., 'portrait (of a saint)', Blg π, McdS лик, SCr lík, Uk лик, Blr лик 'face', Slv lík 'shape' || ? OIr lecco (gen. leccon), NIr leasa 'cheek' ¶ WP II 395-6, SB 251 (pClit *lík'kōn 'cheek' < **lík'nōn-), Bc. 223 ({Thr.}: OIr lecconn ← leth 'side' + conn, cenn 'head'), En. 201, Bern. I 719-20, ≈ ESSJ XV 75-8, 106 (denying the above IE et. of Sl *lice, líkь), StSS 308-9, Glh. 377 ◇ K *-ḡ- and IE *-k- go back to *-ḡ- < *-χʔ- < N *-χʔ-. M *-ḡ- is likely to go back to *-χʔ- < N *-χʔ-. S *-ḥ- goes back to N *-χ-, the glottal stop being lost.

1342. *laḡyʔ or *layʔ 'not; to disappear' > HS: C: Ag {Hz.} *-la 'not' (verbal sx): Aw pres.-ft. 1-3 sg. -'a-la, Bln pres.-ft. 3s -'e-llā, p. 3m -lā, Q 3m: pres.-ft. -e-lā, p. -lā, Km {CR} pres.-ft. 3m -a-lā || EC: Sa {R} pcv. -lay (p. 'a-leḡ(u)ḡ, inv. e'leḡ) 'fortziehen auf nimmer wiedersehen, verschollen gehen, verkommen', Af {PH} -eḡeḡy- pcv. be lost, stray'; Rn lā ~ lā ~ lān 'without', Sml {ZMO} laʔ 'less, without', {Abr., ZMO} laʔā 'be without, lack' ¶ Hz. AL 30-1, Vet. OA 270-4, R S II 251, PH 95-6, PG 206-7, ZMO 249, Abr. S 160 || S: [1] S *laʔ 'not, no' (unless from N *ʔāla, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation [q.v.]?) > Ak lā, BHb لا lā (spelled loʔ), Ug l, (AkSc) lā, IA lʔ, BA لا ~ لا lā (spelled lāʔ ~ lāh), JA/Sr لا /لā (spelled lāʔ), Md la-, Ar لا lā, Mh, Jb E/C laʔ 'no', Mh ʔal lā, Jb ʔal ... loʔ 'not', Hrs lā, laʔ, la 'not', Mn lʔ 'not'; [2] ? S *°√lwy > Ar √lwy G (pf. لاوى lawā, ip. -lawiy-) 'nier, désavouer (p. ex. une dette)', Sh 'faire périr qn' (la mauvaise fortune), 'être fané' (unless ← *°√lwy 'tordre, courber') ¶ The SS lges provide ev. for the S lr. *ʔ that was lost in (most) CS lges and in Ak ¶ KB 486-7, 1729, A no. 1426, Hnr. 141-2, HJ 558-60, Deg. § 47a, Seg. AAG 539, BK II 951-2 and 954-5, 1045, Sl. 613-4, Br. 354, DM 227, 1045-6, Jo. M 249, Jo. H 84, Jo. J 158, Sd. 520 || IE: Ht lē 'do not!', 'not' || NaIE *leḡ- 'disappear, shrink' >

ON *linna* 'aufhören lassen, hemmen', AS *linnan* 'to desist, to part from' (-*nn-* < **-nʷ-*) || ? Gk *λιάζομαι* 'go aside, recoil, shrink' ¶¶ WP II 387-8, P 661-2, Fs. II 119, Vr. 358, Sw. 108, Ho. 203, Ts. E II 50-2, CHD L-N 55-7 || K: OG *mo-leu-* 'be used up, be spent' (Mark 5. 26), MG [VTq.], G *le(v)-* / *li-* / *liu-* 'wear out, exhaust, finish' ('abnutzen, beendigen; sich abnutzen, zu Ende gehen'; 'истощать, истощаться, ослаблять, ослабляться') ¶ Chx. 674-7, DCh. 647, Ser. 106 || ?σ U: FU (att. in Ugr) **lâu* ▽ 'little, small, weak' > ObU: pVg **l'ā* u > Vg {MK}: ML *läi*, N *lai* 'little, weak' ('klein, zart, kraftlos, schwach'); pOs > Os Kz *louamti* (yə)ϕ- 'grow weak\decrepit' (senile infirmity) | OHg *xilean*, *xileajn*, Hg *lěánu* 'daughter, girl' ¶ UEW 864-5, MK 246, EWU 878 || A: Tg: WrMc {Hr} *laua-* v. 'fade', 'umsinken, welk herabhängen', *laufara-* 'weich\welk werden, einschrumpfen', {Z} *лаифара-* 'be exhausted\weakened\fade' ¶ STM I 487, Z 841, Hr 613, 619 ◇ Kas. AN 163-4 (connecting the Ht word with U **älä* ~ **ala* 'do not' [prohibitive]) ◇ It is quite possible that there are two different N words: **L'ā*? ▽ 'not' and **lau* ▽ 'disappear, shrink'.

1343. ₂ **L* ▽ y h ▽ 'to pour; water' > HS: EC: Sa {Wlm.} *lae*, Sa I {CR} *laue*, Sa A {CR} *lau*, *leu*, Af {PH} *lē* (pl. *lelwa*) 'water' ¶ PH 155, CR SAA, Wlm. S s.v. *lae* || B **l* ▽ *l* H₁ 'body of water' > Shw {Hy.} *tala* (pl. *tiliui*) 'marais, mare', {Msq.} *tala* 'lake', Zng {Bs.} *el*, *eli* (pl. *ellun*) 'sea', {MH → Nic.} *el*, *el* (pl. *ellun*) 'sea, big river, lake' ¶ Bs. MS I 142, Nic. 429, Hy. 482 || Eg {Mks} *ny* v. 'fill with water', *nyw* 'primordial ocean' ¶ Mks II no-s 1974-5 ¶ IS II 32 adduced Eg fP *nwy.t* 'water, flood' and Eg fMK *nwy* 'water' (EG II 221), which is more questionable because of the unexpected *w* (better to N **r* ▽ *w* ▽ 'water' [q.v.]) || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} *le* 'pour (out)', {ChL} *lè* 'pour' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} *lāw-* vt. 'wet', ? Skr {Lk.} *ileo* 'pour in' ¶ Lk. ZSS 34, Cp. 80, Flk. s.v. *le*, ChC s.v. 'to pour', ChL ¶¶ OS no. 359 (Ch, Sa, Af; HS **lau* 'water, pour') || IE **le* ₁ H₂ X- / **li* H₂ X- > NaIE **le* ₁ a- / **li*- '≈ flow, pour' > OI *li-* / 3s pres. *lauatī* {MW} 'melt, liquefy, dissolve', [AV] {M} (v₁-) *liyatē* vi. 'löst sich auf, zergeht, schmilzt' || Clt {Matas.} **li* y-0- 'flow' > MW *dillydd* 3s pres. 'flows'; Clt {Matas.} **li* n-0- 'flow, flood' (from **li* ₁ ant-s) > OIr {P} *liē*, {LP} *liæ*, NIr {Matas.} *líon* 'a fill, flood', MBr {Matas.} *lin*, Crn *lyrn* 'flow, flood', MW {Matas.} *llin* 'flow of flood, pus', W {P} *lli* 'flood, sea' || Gt *leipw* (· *σύκρεα*) 'Obstwein', OHG *līd* 'Trank, Getränk, Obstwein, Wein', OSx *līth* 'fruit wine, wine', OFrs *līth* 'alcoholic beverage', AS *līð* id., 'apple wine', ON

líð 'beer' || Lt inf. líeti (1s pres. Olt léju, Lt líeju) 'to pour', inf. lýtí (3s pres. líjā) v. 'to rain', Ltv inf. liēt 'to pour', inf. lít 'to rain' | Sl inf. *lí-ti / 1s pres. μ *lǝjǫ 'pour' > OCS inf. ЛИТИ lití / 1s pres. ЛЬЮ lǝjǫ, SCr inf. lítí / 1s pres. líjēm, Slv inf. lítí / 1s pres. líjem, Cz inf. lítí / 1s pres. líji, P inf. лас / 1s pres. леје, R inf. лить / 1s pres. лью, Uk inf. 'лити / 1s pres. 'лию ~ илью 'pour', Blg 'лея 'pour' ¶ WP II 392, P 664, MW 903, ≈ МК III 102-3, ≈ МЕ II 475, LP § 146, YGM-1 309, ECCE 266, Fs. 229, OsS 553, Kb. 611, Schz. 196, Ho. 204, Ho. S 47, Frn. 368, Glh. 379-80, ESSJ XV 157-9, Vs. II 504, Matas. 240-1, 243 ◇ I reconstruct N *-h-, because it is the only Ir. that yields IE *Hχ and may be lost in Eg ◇ ≈ IS II 32-3 (*L^{ra}ǝjǫ 'water', vi. to pour'). Cf. also N *LILV 'water, sea'.

1343a. *L^{ra}ǝjǫEυ, ∇ 'crooked', 'to bend, to twist' > IE: NaIE *laǝwǝ- 'crooked' → 'left (gauche)' > Gk λαός 'left' || L laevus id., L [χ] laevi (boves) 'quorum cornua terram spectant' || Lt inf. išlaiuóti 'Biegungen machen' | pSl *lěvъ / *lěvъjъ 'left (gauche)' > OCS ЛѢВЪ lěvъ, Blg ляв, SCr líjevī ≈ лѣвī, Slv leṽ, Cz leṽý, Slk l'avý, P lewυ, R левый, Ul ливий id. ¶ P 652, WH I 750-1, ESSJ XV 29-31, StSS 314, Glh. 376-7 || HS: WS *√lwy G 'twist, bend' > Ar √lwy G vt. (pf. lawiya, ip. -lawiy-) 'twist (a rope), bend (sth.)', Mh √lwy G vt. (pf. lawū) 'bend', mǝlawayīt 'winding mountain pass', Jb C/E mǝl'bet 'corner', Hrs √lwy G vt. (pf. lawō, subj. yǝlawī) 'bend, wrap up', ??σ BHb הַיְיִבִּי liw'yā 'wreath' (if ← 'twisted') ¶ BK II 1045-6, Hv. 702, Jo. M 258-9, Jo. H 86, BDB 531 [no. 3880], ≈ KB 498 (unc.: liw'yā ← √lwy 'accompany') || A ? *Lǝb|p∇ > M *lebevi > WrM lebei- 'become ill-proportioned' ¶ MED 515 || ? Tg: Ork nəwtǝy 'to the left!' ¶ STM I 615 ◇ Blz. L no. 99a (IE, Ar, Hb).

1344. *Lizû 'saliva, mucus, (?) 'slime' > K: GZ *ležw- 'saliva, mouth foam' > G lezv-i 'saliva, slaver, mouth foam' ({Chx.} Speichel, Geifer', {DCh., NCh.} 'saliva'), Mg ležva- 'foam (on horse's mouth)', Lz lažv-er-i 'slobbery boy' ¶ K² 108, FS 198-9, Chx. 677, DCh. 647 || HS: B *√lzz > SrSn {Rn.} i-lazzaz-ən, Ntf {La.} i-lazzāzān 'bave' ¶ Rn. 337, La. MChB 121 || A: M *nisun 'Naselschleim (morve)' (× N *nīśu 'smell [odorare], breathe heavily' [sth.]) > MM [HI] nisun, WrM {MED} nisun(n), HIM {MED} нус, {BMR} нус(ан), Brt нюна(н), Kl {KRS} нусн nusən 'nasal mucus', {Rm.} nusŋ 'Rotz. Schleim', Mnr H {SM} nūsōŋ, Ord nusū 'morve'; M *nisuta- > WrM {MES} nisuta- {MED} v. 'discharge nasal mucus', HIM

нуста- {MED} id., {BMR} 'den Schnupfen kriegen (получить насморк)', Kl {KRS} нуст- nust- 'быть сопливым', Ord n_usūt'a- 'être couvert de morve'; ? WrM {MED} n_is_uq_u 'abscess, boil' ¶ MED 586, BMR II 428, Chr. 346, KRS 386-7, KW 281, Ms. H 79, Ms. O 502, H 117, SM 291 ◇ Cf. also IE *leu_h₂x- > NaIE *lewə- / *lu(:)- 'dirt', but it is preferably connected with N *l_iw_hā 'dirt, silt' (q.v.).

1345. *L∇ǰ∇ (or *L∇wǰ∇) 'ε nut', 'nut tree\bush' > K: G lež'a 'green walnut shell' ¶ Chx. 681 || HS: S (att. in Cn) *°lūδ|z or WS *lawδ|z- 'almond tree' > BHb 𐤀𐤊𐤍 lūz, Cn 𐤁𐤊𐤍 Aram: Sr 𐤀𐤊𐤍 lū'z-ā, SmA 𐤀𐤊𐤍 lωz, Md luzā; Aram 𐤁𐤊𐤍 Gz lawz id., Ar lawz- 'almond (tree and fruit)', Har lāz 'groundnut' ¶ KB 497, KBR 522, L G 322, Nld. NBSS 43, Tal 428, Js. 696, BK II 1040, Hv. 701, Br. 361, DM 232, Fr. II 135, Frn. 145 ¶ The discrepancy between *°lūδ|z and *lawδ|z- is still to be explained || IE: NaIE *lasd- 'hazel bush' > Lt lazda ~ lazà 'hazel stick, hazel bush', lazdy_nas 'hazel bush', Ltv la(g)zda, lazds, legzda, legzds 'hazel bush', Pru laxde id. | d. Sl *lěs-ka 'hazel (bush)' > Blg лес'ка, SCr лэска њ lijéска, Slv léска, Cz Δ íaska id., Cz leska 'a bush with small hazelnuts', Slk lieska 'ε a hazel bush', P ласка 'stick; hazel bush', Blr 'ляска 'stick'; (× Sl *lěsъ 'forest'): SCr lēс, R Δ леша 'hazel (bush)' || ?σ Arm 𐤀𐤊𐤍 last ' (wooden) raft; ship; bedstead' ¶ WP II 387, Frn. 348, En. 203, ESSJ XIV 239-41, Jokl LKU 203-5 (adducing Al lajthi 'hazelnut, hazel tree'), O 211 (showing that Al lajthi, Al BE lakθi 'hazelnut, hazel tree' does not belong here), Sl. 421.

1346. *í∇ (< *?íí∇?), pc. in deverbal nominal constructions that nominalize verbal action ([in descendant lges] → sx of nomina actionis) > K: GZ *-il-, formant of nom. actionis (masdar): OG, G -il- (OG 𐤆𐤊𐤍-il- '[act of] weaping', 𐤆𐤊𐤍- n. 'shout'), Mg -ir- (k_itχ-ir- 'act of reading, act of questioning', 𐤆𐤊𐤍-ir- '[act of] bying') ¶ Dt. 217, K 101 || IE: NaIE *-l∇-, sx of nomina actionis > Arm -l, sx of inf., e.g. uhrēl s_irē-l inf. 'to love' || possibly NaIE *sed-(o)lo- ~ *sed-(o)lā 'seat' (n. loci ← n. actionis?) > Gk Lc ἔλλα 'seat', Gl -sedlon (in caneco-sedlon 'goldner Sessel?'), L sella 'seat, chair', Sl *sedь|ь-lo 'saddle' (> OCS d. оседълати оседьлати vt. 'to put a saddle on (a horse)', ChS, OR седьло sedьlo, Blg, R сед'ло, Uk сід'ло, SCr sèdlo, Slv sédlō, Cz, Slk sedlo, P siadłō 'saddle'), Gt sitl-s (· θρόνος, κατασκήνωσις) 'Sitz, Stuhl', OHG sēz zāl 'seat, throne', NHG Sessel 'seat', AS seotul id., NE settle 'large wooden bench', but (acc. to KM) Gmc *saðula 'saddle' (> ON

sōđull, OHG satul ~ satal, NHG Sattel, AS sadol id., NE saddle) is a loan from another IE lge (where PIE *-d- was not devoiced) ¶ Me. AAE 93-4, Fs. 425, Kb. 846, KM 625, 704-5, StSS 417, Vs. III 589-90, BD II/1 362 || **A** *-í > T *-IÍ / *-ií / *-uÍ- / *-üÍ-, sx of nomina actionis, {Cl.} 'a way of (doing sth.)' > OT alqıš n. 'praise' (← alqa- v. 'praise'), ũlũš 'share, portion' (← ũle- 'divide [into shares], distribute'), arviš 'magic spell, a charm' (← arva- 'make magic, cast spell'), busuš 'grief, sorrow' (← *busa- in d. busan- v. 'grieve, be sorrowful') ¶ Cl. xiv, 127, 137-8, 153, 199, 374 || **M** *-l, sx of abstract nouns: WrM {MED} qural, HIM {MED, BMR} xypal n. 'meeting, gathering' ← WrM {MED} qura- vi. 'gather, assemble, accumulate, HIM {MED, BMR} xypa- id. ¶ Pp. GPMJ 99, MED 987, BMR IV 169-70 || **D** *-u|-, sx of abstract nouns: Tm akal-u| 'width, expanse, greatness' (← akal v. 'spread, widen, extend'), iyavu| 'leadership, god, way' (← *iya- found in Tm d. iyavu 'way, leading'), ceyyu| 'action' (← ceu v. 'do, make'), pāyttu| 'a spring, leap' (cp. pāy v. 'spring, leap'), vikku| n. 'hiccup' (← vikku v. 'hiccup'), veppu| 'heat' (cp. veppu v. 'heat'), D *čir-u| 'darkness' (> Tm, MI iru|, Tu ir|ъ, ir|ъ, Tl irulu id., Kt ir|, Td i|, Kn iru|, ir|u, iral|u 'night', Kdg iril| 'nighttime') (← *čir- 'be dark; black' > Tm iru 'black, MI iru 'dark', Klm čiry| 'very dark'), D *aru| 'grace, mercy, favor' (> Tm aru| id., MI aru| 'grace, favor', Kt ar| 'voice of a god spoken through diviner', Tl arulu 'tenderness, affection' [D no. 227 suggested that it is connected with D *ār-/ *ar- in Tm ārvam 'affection, love', ārvu 'desire', MI āromai| 'darling', Kn arume 'love', Tu arti 'fondness', Tl ariti 'love, affection', Ku armeli 'period of heat in animals']); less probable (as found in Kn only) OKn {Ktl.} -al, NKn {Jens.} -alu, sxs of the inf.: OKn ir-al 'to be', uŋ-al 'to eat', NKn {Jens.} māđ-alu 'to make', kare-y-alu 'to call', ko|l-alu 'to take' ¶¶ Hardly here D *-talai|, sx of nomina actionis: Tl dala (MTl {MhS} -dala: arugu-dala 'digestion' [← arugu v. 'digest'], paṭṭudala 'perseverance' [← paṭṭu v. 'hold']), Tm -talai|, Kn tale, Td -taḥ / -daḥ; D *-tala is hardly an acceptable cognate because of the unexplained *-ta- and the cns. *-l- (not cognate with T *-l-) ¶¶ Em. SDNF 164-9, Ktl. G 120-1, Jens. GK 91, MhS 111, D no-s 8, 227, 381, 2552 and 5517 ◇ **N** *í (rather than *l or *l̥) is reconstructed on the ev. of T and D. In K, T and D the lateral is preceded by a high vw. (*i in K, *i/i/u/ü in T, *u in D), which suggests a N *HÍÍ∇. The absence of NaIE *ə- (a reflex of most N laryngeals) points to a N *ʔ-

(that yields zero in the preconsonantal position). Hence we may tentatively reconstruct a pN ***ʔií∇**.

1347. *íihç'∇ (or ***īihç'∇**?) 'to press, to squeeze' > **HS**: CS ***√lhç** > BHb **ܦܢܒ** **√lhç** 'push (so. to a corner, against sth. etc.); oppress, torment', MHb **√lhç** *G* 'press, squeeze', SmA **√lhç** 'be narrow; oppress', Ar **√lhç** *D* (pf. **lahħaṣa**) 'put so. in (a strait)', {Fr.} 'in angustias redegit, pressit', {Hv.} **lahīṣ-** 'straitened, narrow' ¶ GB 384, KBR 524, Js. 704, Tal 433-4, Fr. IV 91, Hv. 680 || Černý equated the S **√** with Cpt B/Sd **Λ ω χ ζ** **lōzḥ** 'effacer, broyeur, écraser', which is highly doubtful because of the semantic distance between the words (Vycichl admitted a possibility of root contamination: "une certaine confusion entre plusieurs verbes de signification[s] différentes qui ont pu s'influencer mutuellement") ¶¶ Crn. 76, Vc. 102 || **U**: FP ***íic'∇**- v. 'press, squeeze' > Flitsaa-, litso-, Krl liččoa- v. 'squeeze, press together', Es litsu- 'press, squeeze' || Chr E {Wc.} **Δ lazerte-** **⊕ lǝzerte-** **⊕ lǝzerte-** 'zerdrücken, quetschen' || Z личкы- **íick+**- v. 'press, press to (давить, прижать)' ¶ LG 160, UEW 690 (believing that Z **í-** is from ***l-**) || **K** ***°leç|ç-** > **G leç-** 'dreschen; zerschmettern, zerstören, einschlagen' ¶ Chx. 681 || **?**φ,σ **IE**: NaIE ***°la|ak-** > Gk **λάκτις** (gen. **λάκτιος**) 'pestle' (its IE et. is not certain) ¶ P 673 and Hofm. 173 (both equated the NaIE root in question with NaIE ***lek-** ~ ***lĕk-** / ***lak-** 'biegen'); F II 82 and Ch. 619 (no IE et.; both authors connected it with Gk **λάξ** 'mit dem Ferse\Fuß') || **?**σ **D** (att. in NED) ***niç-** v. 'smooth down (earth); smooth' > Krx **nišbg-** / **nišg-** v. 'overlay with a coating of earth carefully smoothed down', Mlt **nišge** v. 'smooth', **nišgro** 'smooth' ¶ D no. 3666 ◇ FP ***í-** goes back to a pN ***í-** or (which is less probable) results from assimilative palatalization (caused by ***-i-**) of a N ***l-** or ***l-** ◇ NaIE ***°la|ak-** is a valid cognate if the N postcons. ***ç** may yield an IE ***K**.

1348. *í'ü'k|g'∇ 'thick' (of liquids), 'dense', 'narrow, tight' > **HS**: S ***°√lkk** > Ar **likāk-** 'presse, pression (p. ex. des hommes en foule dans un espace étroit)', **lukk-** 'qui a chairs compactes' (homme) ¶ BK II 1019-20 || B ***√lglg** > Kb (imv.) **lləglləg** v. 'be thick' (of liquid), ETwl/Ty **aləglug** (pl. **iləgləg**) 'lieu touffu (couvert de végétation touffue)' ¶ DI. 447, GhA 110 || **U**: FU {Coll.} ***íükk∇-**, {UEW} ***íekkk∇-** v. 'be narrow' (of space), 'be thick\dense' > Prm: Vt **íuk+t** 'narrow' (of space) || pObU ***íükk** 'thick' (of liquid), 'tight, narrow' > pVg ***íükk** > Vg UL/Ss **íak^ω** id.; pOs ***íök** ({H1.} ***íükk**) > Os: VK **íök**, Ty/Y **íök**, Nz **íüq**, Kz **íüq** id. ¶ Coll. 96, UEW 260-1, Ht. no. 162 || **A** ***L'ü'k|g'∇** > NaT ***jigi** ~ ***jigi** 'thick (dicht), dense; compact' > OT **jigi** ({Cl.} **jigi:**) 'close (dicht), compact', '(tightly sewn) seam',

{DTS} 'thick' ('густой, частый, густо'), 'dense' ('плотный, плотно'), Qzq жиі 'thick (dense), frequent, often', Qq жийи žiçi 'often, more often', Tk цигі 'concentration (сосредоточение)', Tkm йыгы, Nog йыйы 'thick (dicht), dense', Tv чык долу (čiq dolu) 'cram-full (переполненный до отказа)'; NaT *°jig-tür- v. 'squeeze, compress' > OT jigtür- {Cl., DTS} v. 'squeeze, compress' ¶ Cl. 911-12, DTS 260-1, MM 176, KrkR 251, TrR 926, TkR 375, NogR 127 || M: [1] M *lüg > WrM {Rmc.} lüḡ 'thick' (of fog), HIM лүг {Rinc.} id., {BMR} adv. 'густо (densely)' (of fog, clouds) ({MED} WrM lüḡ kizü budanṭa- v. 'become foggy', HIM {Luv., BMR} лүг хийж будантав 'густо стелился туман', {BMR} тэнгэр тэнгэр лүг хийж бурхэн 'небо густо заволо тучами'), {BMR} adv. лүг 'душно, знойно', Kl {Rm.} (← a cd) lüḡlē- 'dick\grob\schwerfällig sein', M ⇨ Chg {Rm.} lük 'dick, grob, dumm', Osm {Rh.} lük 'thick, spiss' | [2] M *niḡ > WrM {MED} niḡ adj./adv. 'solid(ly), dense(ly), condensed', HIM няг ~ ниḡ {MED} id., {BMR} adj. 'dense, dicht (густой, плотный)', 'частый (dicht)' (of a net), Kl {Rm.} niḡ_ 'dicht, hart, fest' (z.B. Tuch); M *niḡta adj./adv. 'thick(ly), dense(ly), compact(ly)' > WrM {MED} niḡta, HIM нягт {MED, BMR} id., Brt нягта 'dense, dicht (густой, плотный)', 'частый (dicht)' (of cloth), Kl {KRS} ниḡт niḡta 'thick (dense), firm', {Rm.} niḡta ~ niḡta 'dicht, fest aneinander, ohne Zwischenraum', Ord niḡt'a 'peu espacé, compact', Brt d. нягтар- 'sich verdichten (уплотняться); M ⇨ Qzq, Qq, Nog niḡ, VTt, Bsh нык ньḡ 'firm, solid', Chv L {Ash., Fed., Jeg.} нăк, Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.} нăх ђ нăкă 'firm, плотный, здоровый', Qrg ык iḡ, нык niḡ 'firm, solid', нык тойгон 'having eaten one's fill' ¶ MED 518, 578, BMR II 305-6, 401, 448, Luv. 231, Chr. 347, Rinch. 123, KRS 376-7, KW 235, 276, Ms. O 492, MM 255, KrkR 485, NogR 238, Jud. 558, 925, Ash. IX 52-3, 57, Fed. I 371, Jeg. 138, ChVS 120, Rh. 1644 || Tg *lôḡ|k- ({Bz.} *lôḡ|k) 'dense, thick (густой)' > Lm нḡү 'dicht' (Haar der Tiere, Fell), Neg лохо id., 'лохматый, мохнатый', Ewk luku id., 'haarig (волосатый), zottig', Orc лохо, luku, Ud лохо 'лохматый, мохнатый', Nn KU, Nn Nh {On.} luku 'лохматый', WrMc {Z} лүкү 'dicht' (Haar, Wolle, Wald), 'лохматый, пушистый'; Ewk нуḡti 'dicht' (Nebel), Ud luktu, Ork luḡjē, luḡji, Nn Nh luḡži {STM} 'dense, thick (густой, частый)' (of a forest), {On.} 'dense, üppig' (hair, grass), Ul luḡdi 'thick (густой)' (of grass, fur, animal's hair), Ewk lōḡdi, ləḡdi 'dicht' (Haar der Tiere, Fell), Neg loḡdi, Nn KU loḡdi 'dicht' (Haar der Tiere, Fell, Gras), WrMc {Z}

лукдѹ, локди 'dense, thick' (of forest, vegetation etc.) ({Z} 'густой, частый, сросшійся, плотный', {Hr} loqđi 'dichtstehend, buschig, üppig', luqđu id., 'dichtgedrängt'); Ul logdo-logdi bi 'лохматый'; Ud logbo-logbo biHi id., 'пушистый', Ul lugbu- v. 'become thick (густеть)' (of grass) ¶ STM I 501, 508-9, 609, Krm. 257, On. 250, Z 857-9, Hr 626, 629 ¶¶ SDM 877 (A *liu^rk¹u 'thick [dicht], dense' > Tg *lōgdī-, *luku(tu), M *nigta, *lūg-, *lug-, T *jigi/*jigi), DQA no. 1221 (id.), STM I 508 (Tg, M) || ?σ,φ D (att. in SD) *nik- ({ǃGS} *-gg-) v. 'fill up (as a hole)' > Ml nikakka, nikaḷuka, Kn Hv nigī id., Tu neggi 'full, complete', nigyuni 'be levelled, be filled up as a pit' ¶ D no. 3658 ◇ S, T and M (as well as possibly B) point to N *-k-, while U *-kk- apparently represents N *-ḳ-. The solution of the problem may be found in supposing a N lr. *-ʔ- following the velar stop and lost everywhere, but responsible for the emphatization *-k- > *-ḳ- in the prehistory of U and Tg.

1349. *ǃlayUǃǃǃ (= *ǃayUǃǃ?) 'to sleep; sleeping time (night)' (← Ll.) > HS: [1] S *layl- ~ {KB} *laylay- 'night' > BHb π לַיַל 'layil ~ לַיַל lēl, BHb לַיַל לַיַל 'laylā (cs. לַיַל lēl) id., M'b, DA llh, OA, Yd em. layl^ʔ, BA em. לַיַל לַיַל lēl_ə'y-ā, JA [Trg.] {Lv., Dlm.} לַיַל לַיַל lēl'-ā ~ לַיַל לַיַל lēl_ə'y-ā, JEA {Sl.} לַיַל לַיַל lēl'y-ā, Sr abs. {Nld.} laylē^ʔ ≈ laylay, Sr E lēl'yā, Sr W לַיַל li_;'yā ~ לַיַל lēl'y-ā, SmA {BH} līli, Md lilia, Ar layl-, layl-at-, Qt layl, Gz lēlī-t, Tgr lali, Amh let, lelit, Mh {Jo.} 'laylzt, līlzt, Hrs {Jo.} lēlzt, 'lzylzt (pl. lēl, lzy) 'night', Sq {Jo.} 'lilzn 'last night', Ak līliāt_u, līlât_u 'evening, night'; EthS ⇨ Aw D {CR} liēlā'gī 'night'] [2] S (att. in Cn) *°-lūlīn- 'pass the night' (dis. from **lūl- or *līl-, a verb derived from *layl- or *laylay- 'night, time to sleep') > BHb √ lwn / √ lyn G {pf. לָן lān, ip. -līn, inf. לִין līn ~ לִין lūn) 'stay overnight', MHb √ lwn / √ lyn id., 'take night lodging, be kept overnight', Ph √ lw|yl TD (3p ip. ytlrnr), Ug √ lw|yn 'pass the night, sleep'; d. Cn *ma'l'a^rw¹n- > BHb מַלְוֹן mā'lōn 'camp for the night'; d. Cn *malū'n-at- > BHb מַלְוֹנָה mā'lū'nā 'watchman's hut' ¶ KB 502-3, 556, 1731-2, Lv. T I 409-10, Js. 899-900, Sl. 626, HJ 574-5, A no. 1470, Grd. UT no. 1376, BK II 1050, Br. 366, Nld. CSG § 146, Nld. MG 127, DM 236, L G 314, Jo. M 259, Jo. H 86, CAD IX 184-5 || EC: Sml {ZMO} lułow- 'feel sleepy', luło 'sleepiness', lułmo 'drowsiness, sleepiness', Sml N {Abr.} lúlo 'drowsiness', ? Or Wl {Brl.} luḡu 'sleepwalker' ¶ ZMO 262, Abr. S 166, Brl. 285 || K: GZ *lul- 'sleep, doze' > OG dis. rul- 'dozing, Schlummer', rul- v. 'doze', G lul- {Chx.} 'die Augen halb schließen, blinzeln', rul- 'light sleep, dozing', h-rul-s 'is asleep', Mg ki-di-rul-i 'fell

asleep', mt. *lur-*: *lur-s* 'is asleep', *lur-enž-i* 'schlafend', Lz *lir-* v. 'doze' ¶ K 123, K² 110-11, FS K 202, FS E 222, Chik. 302, Chx. 697, 1077 || D **na*|- ~ **nā*|-, {GS} **ńā*|- 'night' (probably from eD **La*₁|-, as suggested by Ku words) > Tm *na*|-, Klm *a'le*, Nkr *ā*|-, Nk *ā*len, Knd *nā*'a, Png *nā*ñ'a, Kui *nā*ḍaṅgi, Ku *lāl'aṅa* ḍ *la'aṅa*, Brh *nan* 'night', Prj *nendu na*|- 'midnight', Mnd *nā*laṅ 'darkness, night' ¶¶ D no. 3621, Zv. 132, GS 142 [no. 361] || A: ?σ T **jo*₁|- > OT *još* 'twilight', OOsM XIV *još* 'dimmed (by weeping)', 'dazzled by the sun' (of eyes) ¶ Cl. 976 ◇ N **í*|-*ayUí*|- (= **í*ayUí|-) is originally a Lallwort (cp. NE *lullab*U). The N word-medial **-í*|- (or **-í*-) is reconstructed on the ev. of D **-*|- (and possibly T **-í*-), while the N initial **í*|- (or **í*-) is conjectured on a typological basis: in Lallwörter the medial cns. is usually identical to the initial one ◇ ≈ IS MS 367 (**lul*Δ 'sleep' > HS [C, ?S], K).

1349a. **í*'*u*'*m*▽ 'insect' > HS **lum*▽ id. > CCh **lumi* 'termit' > Bu, Kps *lumà* ; Cb *limà* id., ECh: Jg *lwa*l▽*m* 'ant' ¶ O HSN 123 || C: Sml *lullumo* 'mosquito lššššarva' ¶ ZMO 262 || U: FU **í*'*ō*'*m*▽ (or **λ*'*ō*'*m*▽?) 'small insect or larva' > Chr M *lumi*y, Chr KB *lɜme* 'einw sehr kleine Fliege', Vt *lum* 'sehr kleine gelbliche Fliege', Vg KU *íōm*ay 'Mücke' ¶ FUV 262 ◇ O HSN 123 (N **í*um▽ 'small insect').

1350. **í*'*am*₁X₁▽ 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead' > HS: S **°*✓ *lh*m > Gz ✓ *lh*m G 'be tender\soft' ¶ L G 311 || ? B +ext. **°*✓ *lm*ḍ v. 'be soft\tender' > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.} ✓ *lm*ḍ 'be soft', ETwl/Ty {GhA} ✓ *lm*ḍ 'be soft\easy', Kb *aləm*ḍi 'tendre' (legume); B **°*✓ *lm*ḡ > Gh {Nh.} ✓ *lm*ḡ 'be weak' ¶ Fc. 1079-80, Msq. 203, GhA 116, Dl. 455, Nh. 159 || ? C: Ag **°*✓ *lm*ḍ ~ **°*✓ *lm*lm 'be verdant\fresh\mild' > Km {CR} rf. *ləm*əy-t-, Q {R} *lələm*-, Xm {R} *lilem*-, Xm T {CR} *lam*lim- 'be verdant\fresh', ↳ EthS: Tgr ✓ *lm*ḍ (pf. *ləm*ḍa), Tgy ✓ *lm*ḍ (pf. *ləm*məḍe) 'be green\tender', Gz ✓ *lm*lm (pf. *lam*lama) 'be verdant\fresh\mild, become soft' ¶ R QW 94, R Ch. II 74, CR LK 225, L G 315 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} *límí*:s 'soft (as a cushion)', Bd {ChL} *lɜmalɜmaḍà* 'soft' || Ang {Flk.} *lōm* 'soft, pliable' (of leather, cloth), 'thin' || Hs *lá*ušī, Δ *lam*šī 'softness', 'tenderness' (of meat), 'fineness' (of ground flour), Gw {Mts.} *law*šī 'softness', 'fineness' (of grain) || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} *lam*ḍ, Ll {Grgs} *lōm*dī 'soft' || ? ZmD {KNC} *lúlum* 'mou, tendre, doux à toucher', ZmB {Sa.} *lúlum* 'soft', Azm {Pc.} *lum*, *lam* 'softly', *lulum*ḍa, *lulum*ḍa 'humble, meek', *lulum*una id., 'quiet' ¶ ChC s.v. 'soft', ChL, Sch. DN 102, Ba. 723, Abr. H 616, KNC 15, Pc. 264, 274 || IE: NaIE **í*'*lem*₁|- 'weak, mild' > OIr {P} *lem* adj. 'fade,

töricht, impotent', MW {P} llyveithin 'weak' (< *lemekt-) || OHG luomi 'matt, schlaff, mild', MHG inf. lüemen 'erschlaffen, ermatten', NHG Δ lumm 'schlaff'; ? ON lami, OS, OHG, MHG lam (< *lom-), NHG lahm 'lame, crippled', AS lama 'crippled; weak, sick', NE lame || Gk νωλεμές, νωλεμέως 'unceasingly, without pause' ({F, P}: from ν(ε)-privativum + *ῥο-λεμος [< IE {P} *lem- 'zerbrechen'] with prosthetic ῥ-) ¶ ≈ P 674, F II 331, Vr. 345, Kb. 642, OsS 532-3, 578, Lx. 121, 130, Ho. 194, H. S 44 || **U**: FU *íam∇ 'weak(ness)' > F lama 'weakness of cattle because of hunger; week in the feet', lamassa 'paralyzed, stunned, crippled', Es {W} lame (gen. lameda) 'weak, not intensive' | Lp: N {N} labme / -ām- 'weakness of birds in the moulting season', labmo- / -ām- v. 'become incapable of flying' (of a bird), 'lose one's vigour, become tired out (of work)', L {LLO} lapmō- 'become unable to fly because of moulting' (of birds) | pPrm *íam- > Z Ss íam mun- 'entkräftet niedersinken, wenn man einen heftigen Hieb\Schlag bekommt', íamal- 'angedrückt, niederdrückt werden', Prmk íama∇- 'von einem Hiebe entkräftet werden, so daß man nicht gehen kann', ? Z лям- íam- v. 'blunt a blade (затупить, иступить [лезвие])'; Yz íam- 'quetschen' || ?? Hg lankad- (< *lan-kad-) v. 'weaken, grow faint\feeble; grow languid', (?) here also lankad- v. 'flag, droop' (the Hg supposed cognate is qu., because the change from FU *í- to Hg l- is not attested elsewhere, as indicated by UEW) ¶ UEW 684 (ignoring the ev. of Prm *í- and reconstructing *lama), LG 165, W EDW 453 || ? D *ńam- 'press, squeeze' (× N *ńam'о' 'squeeze, grasp', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS II 21-2 (* íama 'разминать, размягчать': HS [S, WCh + unc. Ak ✓ lmm 'chew'], IE, U, D + unc. K: G lam-/lm- 'hurt'). IE, C and FU cognates suggest that N *m was not preceded by a lr. (but probably followed by it), while Gz ✓ lhm may be explained by mt.

1351. *m A ({IS} *-m A), pc. of marked accusative > **IE** *-m / *-m̥, id. accus. case ending of nouns of the animate (active) gender > AnIE: Ht -n / -an, Lw, HrLw, Pal, Car -n, Ld -v id. || NaIE *-m (accus. of m. and f.) > OI, L -m, Gk -v, OIt nasalization of the stem-final vw.; after the NaIE stem-final cnss *-m̥ > OI -am, Gk -α, L -em, Lt -i ¶¶ Bks 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, Hirt IG III 45-6, Rsk. 54-5, Kmh. HPL 193-7, 301, Hb. L 406-9, KrlSh. XLJ 19, 25, 62 || **HS**: Om: SOm {Fl.} accus. ending *-m > Ari {Hw.} -m, Dm {Fl.} -im, Hm {Ldl} -(d)Λm / -(d)Λn (positionally conditioned allomorphs, in which, acc. to Hw. CO 28, -m/-n go back to *-m) ||| NrOm: Krt {Hw.} -m- within the predicative forms of pers. pronouns: ta-m-akko 'it is I', ne-m-akko 'it is you (thou)', nu-m-akko 'it is we' (pred. ← accus., as in NE it is me and Fr c'est moi), Bnc {Brz.} -m as a dative-benefactive ending of pers. pronouns: ta-m 'to me' (dat.-ben. ← generalized oblique case ← accus., as in M *č̣i-ma- obl. of 'thou' < N *ṭ'ü⁷ m A 'thee', see below); but, acc. to Hw. CO 26-9, hardly here the NrOm accus. ending *-n (> Kf/Bsk/Ym {C} -n, Mj {All.} -n) (see N *nu 'from, of') ¶ Bnd. MO 167-8, Hw. CO 26-30, Hw. NAL 443, Fl. OO 316, Fl. D 518, Ldl H 412, All. D 390, Zab. CO 625 || **U** *-m, *-m∇, accus. case ending of definite nouns > FP *-m, ending of accus. > F -n, Lp J -m, Lp S {Hs.} -m ɘ -b, Chr L/H -m (F kala-n, Lp J guole-m, Chr kolə-m 'piscem') ||| Vg {Lml. ← Kn.}: SV/LL/ML -mā, -m, LK/MK/UK -mə, -m, T -mɜ, -mi, -m, marker of accus. of definite object || Sm: accus. ending: Ne T -mĩ, Slq Tz -m, Kms -m, Mt M {Sp.} -m; ending of definite accus.: Ng -m ¶¶ Wkm. FOUL 11-12, 24-5, 56, 63-71, 145-9, Coll. CG 284-6, Hs. 97-103, Lml. HFW 24-41, Beronka II 146-7, Mu. VNYJ II 56, III 363 and IV 158, Lav. TJM ∇, Rmb. MJ-93 290, Srb. PGS 70-2, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter. NgJ 80-2, Hl. SelJ 364, Hl. MTKJ 377, Kü. KJ 383 || **A**: pTg *ba/*be, (after a noun-final *n) *ma/*me, postp. of accus. of definite nouns > NrTg and AmTg accus. ending *-ba/*-be, (after a stem-final *n) *-ma/*-me > Ewk -ba/-bɜ, (after a vw.) -wa/-wɜ, (after a nasal) -ma/ -mɜ, Lm -w, -m, Neg -wa/-wɜ, -pa/-pɜ, -ma/-mɜ, Nn, Ul, Ork, Sln -ba/ -bɜ, (after a vw.) -wa/ -wɜ, Ud {Krm.} -wa/-wɜ/-wɔ/-ma/-mɜ/-mɔ, WrMc be (marker of accus., still preserves traces of the original analytical status of N *m A, evidenced by the lack of vowel harmony) ¶ Ci. 256, Bz. 78-9, Hrl. 35, 74-5, Krm. 86 || pJ {ʃS} *bɜ, {Vv.} *bɔ > OJ, CIJ wɔ, accus. and emph. (focalizing?) pc. > J 0 id.; b- is still preserved in some Ryukyu dls (M. Robbeets, p.c., 2003) ¶ pJ *b- is probably a regular reflex of N *m- in grammatical particals and pronominal roots (cp. pJ *ba 'I, we' from N *mi ʔa 'we') ¶ Vv. LDROJ 106, Mur. KAJ 130, Mill. JAL 25-7, BBl. 52, 57, 96, Hag. W ∇, Syr. DJ 106-8 || M *-ma- in the

accus. and other oblique cases of pronouns: M *^či-ma-yi 'thee' (originally accus. *^či-ma 'thee' + nominal accus. *-yi that was added by analogy [see s.v. N ? *h∇ya 'for']) > MM čimayī, WrM cimai 'thee' etc., M *i-ma-yi 'him' accus. (demonstr. *i + accus. *ma + M nominal accus. ending *-yi). The prehistory of these forms may be reconstructed as follows: N *^{t̥}ü' m^A 'thee' (= *^{t̥}ü' 'thou' + *m^A accus.) > ppM *t'ima 'thee' > pM *^či-ma-yi 'thee', the form *^či-ma- being generalized as the stem of the oblique cases, whence the dative *^čima-dur, the ablative *^čimača etc. ¶ AD PP 78-9, Pp. IM 209-14 ¶¶ Mng. JA 11, 14 | | ? D *-n (if from *-m), accus. case ending > Kt -ŋ, Td -n, -ŋ, OKn -a(:)n, Tu -nъ, OTl -ŋ (-v), -iŋ (-iv), -ŋu, Klm -(u)n, Prj -(i)n, Gdb -(i)n ~ -(i)ŋ, Knd -ŋ, Png -iŋ, Krx -in, -an, -an, Mlt -e(n), -i(n). Traces of the former ending *-m may be discerned in the OKn accus. ending -am ¶¶ Zv. CDM 27-30, MhS 165, Shanm. DN 370-1, Ktl. G 43, Gai 42, An. SG 202-5, Rmn. OT 191 ◇ IS II 48-51 (*-m^A > IE, U, A, D), AD PP 92, Mng. MP 21-36, Coll. IUS 21, Coll. HUV 130, Ivn. VNZN 148 (on the original analytical status of this accus. ending), Gr. I 129 (IE, U, A, incl. J) ◇ I am grateful to Blz. for drawing my attention to the Om cognate. In IE the nouns of the non-animate (neuter) gender do not distinguish between nom. and accus. (and hence have no accus. ending), because there is no syntactic necessity for it: nouns of the non-animate gender do not usually appear as subjects of a trans. verb, therefore in sentences with trans. verbs they always function as their object. In other words, in IE (as in many lges) the marker of accus. is used only when it is necessary for syntactic distinctions. It is a trace of an old N syntax that had no obligatory grammatical categories (unlike in later IE lges with their grammatical categories of compulsive usage, even when not necessary for communication). In F the morpheme of accusative is not used after the imv., which reflects the same original situation: the form is not used wherever the syntactic function (object of the verb) is obvious from the context. In Sm and Tg this case marker denotes a definite object. All this suggests that originally *m^A denoted a marked accusative.

1352. *m^A, a marker of nominalized syntactic constructions (≈ subordinate sentences), nominalizer (originally a prn.) that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis and other derived nouns > **HS** *m∇-, prefix of derived (mainly deverbal) nouns: S: [1] S *m∇- as a px of prtcs: (α) *mu-1a2¹2i3-, act. prtc. of the *D*-stems > Ak mu1a22i3-, Ar mu1a22i3-, BHb mə1a2¹2ē3, Aram mə1a2¹2e3, Sr mə1a2¹2ε3 (on the meaning of ε in Sr cf. below in the chapter "Phonetic symbols and other signs used in the etymological entries", III, B]), Gz mə1a22ə3 id., (β) *mu-1a2¹2a3-, ps. prtc. of the *D*-stems > Ar mu1a22a3-, Sr mə1a22a3, BHb (with an analogical u) mə1u22a3, (γ) *mu-ša1¹2i3-, act. prtc. of the *Sh*-stem (causative) > Ak

m u š a 1 2 i 3 -, Ar m u 1 2 i 3 -, BHb m a 2 ' 2 ī 3, Sr m a 2 ' 2 ε 3 etc. | [2] S nomina actionis *m a 1 2 a 3 - > Ar m a ṭ k a l - '(act of) eating', BHb מֵאֲכָל m a ṭ ' a k ā l 'food', מַסָּע m a s ' s a ṣ 'trip' (← ṣ n s ṣ 'fahren'), Gz m a n ṣ a r 'the front part exposed to view' (← 'looking at' ← ṣ n ṣ r 'look [at]'), whence nomina loci *m a 1 2 ∇ 3 - > Ak m a ṣ k a n u m 'place, tent', BHb מִשְׁכָּן m i š ' k ā n 'dwelling (place)', Sr m a r b a ṣ 'womb' (← ṣ r b ṣ 'lie down'), Ar m a q b a r - 'cemetery' (← ṣ q b r 'bury'), Ak m ū ṣ a b u m 'seat, dwelling place' (ṣ w š b 'sit, reside'), BHb מוֹשָׁב m o ' š ā b 'seat, dwelling place'; nomina abstracta *m ∇ 1 2 ∇ 3 - a t - > Hb מִלְחָמָה m i l ḥ ā ' m ā 'fight, war', Ar m a ḥ m i d a t - n. act. 'praise', Gz m a n g a ṣ t 'government, kingdom', JA m a 1 2 a 3 [inf. of the G-stem], Ak m ū r a k u m 'length' (ṣ ṣ r k 'be long') etc. | [3] S *m a 1 2 i 3 - ~ *m a 1 2 a 3 - a t -, patterns of nomina instrumenti > BHb מַפְתֵּחַ m a ṭ ' t ē a ḥ 'key' and Ak n i p t ē t u m id. (both ← ṣ p ṭ ḥ v. 'open', Ak n - < *m -), BHb מַרְכָּבָה m e r k ā ' b ā, JA מַרְכָּבָתָא m a r k a b ' t - ā, Sr مَرْكَبَةٌ; مَرْكَبَةٌ m a r k a b ' t - ā and Ak n a r k a b t u m 'chariot' (*ṣ r k b v. 'ride, voyage') | [4] ? possibly a S s x * - m - : Ar f u ṣ ḥ u m - 'wide', ṣ a d q a m - 'wide-mouthed' ¶ Br. G I 375-82 [§§ 195-203], Br. 731, JB NB 233-73, Sd. G 64-6, Js. 844, MSUS 80-3 || Eg m ∇ -, px of derived (deverbal and denom.) nouns (nomina loci, instrumenti): m z ω t 'food made of wheat' (← z ω t 'wheat'), m s ḫ n 'abode (of gods)', m s ḫ n t 'bearing stool; necropolis' (← ṣ ḫ n ṣ 'descend'), m ḫ ṣ t 'balance (Waage)' (← ḫ ṣ ṣ v. 'measure'); m ∇ -, px of prtcs and nomina actoris: m n ḥ z y ω 'bewachende' (← n ḥ z y 'wake'), m ḥ n k 'Beschenker' (← ḥ n k v. 'present so. with') ¶ Ed. 109-10, Fk. 119 || C: Bj {R} m a - / m e - / (before sibilants) m i -, px of n. act.: m a - ' d i r ~ m a - ' d ē r n. act. 'killing' (← - d i r 'kill'), 'm a - f n i k ~ m a - f ' n ē k ~ m e f n e k 'Biß, das Beißen' (← - f n i k 'bite'), m i - ' s ā ṣ ~ m i ' s a ṣ 'seat, sitting' (← - s ā ṣ 'sit, sit down') || Af m -, px of derived abstract nouns (n. act. etc.): m ā b a k a 'birth, being born' (← o b o k e - 'be born'), m a b u l 'observation, sight' (← u b l e - 'see'), m i d i r 'possessions' (← e d d e r e - 'possess') ¶ R BedS §§ 305 and 358, R A || Ch: Hs circumfix of nomina agentis m a - ... - ī (m. pl. m a - ... - ā, f. sg. m a - ... - i y ā, f. pl. m a - ... - i y a i) (m a ḍ i n k ī 'tailor' [← ḍ i n k a 'sew'], m a ḡ i n ī 'builder' [← ḡ i n a 'build'], m a ḳ ē r ī 'smith' [← ḳ ē r a 'forge'], m a ṣ i y ī 'ear' [← ṣ i 'hear']), Hs circumfix of nomina instrumenti m a - ... - ī (pl. m a - ... - a i) (m a b ū ḍ ī 'opener, key' [← b ū ḍ a v. 'open'], m a ḍ a y k ī 'handle' [← ḍ a y k a v. 'lift']), Hs circumfixes of nomina loci m a - ... - ī and m a - ... - ā (for both of them the pl. is m a - ... - a i) (m a ṣ i ḡ ī 'ford' [← ṣ i ḡ a v. 'enter'], m a k ᵂ a n č ī 'lair' [← k ᵂ a n t a 'lie down'], m a f i t ā 'exit' [← f i t a 'come out'], m a k a r a n t ā 'school' [←

karanta v. 'read') || Mrg mɜ-, px of nomina loci: mɜč'íḅ' 'corral, fence' (← č'íḅ' v. 'fence [in]'), mɜ-ndɜlâ 'escape hole' (← ndɜlâ 'go\break through'); *mɜ-...-i, circumfix of nomina agentis: mɜš'ž'ž'èḅ' 'pupil' (← š'ž'ž'èḅ' 'learn, teach'), Msg/Gdr {Mch.} mɜ-, Pdk {Mch.} mɜ-, sx of derived nouns ¶ Taylor 63-4, Hf. M 48-9, Mch. VCQP 67-8 ¶¶ Zab. HSP 35-8 ¶¶ HS *°-m∇, nominalizing suffix > C *-m∇ > EC: Af {Hw.} nominalizing sx -m / -im, e.g. yō ḥate-m 'the one(s) who helped me' (← ḥate 'help'), řasaám 'the red one(s)\thing(s)' (← řasa 'red'), iyuyínim 'whose one(s)\thing(s)' (← iyuya 'who'), nammám 'two, the two, both' (← nammay 'two'); it functions as nominalizer of sentences (≈ infinitive, gerund): is ká digibta-m máfaḍḍa 'she doesn't want **to marry him**', yamāté-m kāk faḍen 'they wanted **him to come**', gīrisám duddah 'she can (is able) **to swim**', úsuk yō yuble-m āḍigeh 'I know **that he saw me**'; Sml -mo-, sx of nomina actionis (and nouns denoting the result of an action): dīd-mo(-da) 'refusal' (← dīd-i v. 'refuse, deny'), ḥir-mo(-da) 'bundle, sheaf' (← ḥir- v. 'tie'), deg-mo(-da) 'settlement, camp' (← deg- v. 'live [in a place], reside') (-da is an ending of the df. form); Sd {Gs.} -umma ~ -imma, sx of nomina abstracta: dančumma ~ dančimma 'beauty, goodness' (← danča 'good, beautiful') || SC: Irq {Mous}: -īma sx of denom. abstract nouns (daḡariīma 'prosperity' ← daḡār-mo 'rich person'), -ēma sx of abstract nouns derived from adjectives (ĉērēma 'length' ← ĉēr 'long') ¶ R BedS IV 15, R WBd 80, 194, PH 157-68, 236, 287-8, Dbn. 70, ZMO 89, 93, 431, Gs. 67, Mous 77, 81-2 || K: [1] *m-, *me-, px of prtcs and nomina agentis > OG m- (m-ḡe 'helper', m-dḡom-i 'who stands'), G m- (da-m-ḡer-i 'author', m(e)-brɜl-i 'fighter' and prtc. 'fighting'), Lz m- (me-m-ž'yon-i 'leader'), Sv mə- (mə-ḡer 'striker', mə-ḡed 'who sees', Sv UB mə-māre 'who prepares', Sv mə-š'kid 'smith'); GZ *me-ḡwel- 'milch (cow etc.)' (← *ḡwel- v. 'milk') > G meḡwel, Mg mač'wal-, Lz manč'wal-u id.; [2] *m-...-e, me-...-e, circumfix of prtcs > OG m-ɜl-e(-y) 'mighty one', G m-ḡip-e 'ripe', Lz m-š'in-e 'who remembers', Sv mə-tr-e 'who drinks', mə-ḡč'-e 'who catches'; GZ *me-up-e- 'owner, possessing' (← *up- 'possess') > OG meupe-, G mepe-, Mg mapa- 'king', Lz mapa- 'king' (in a place name); [3] GZ *m-...-el-, circumfix of prtcs (OG m-ḡap-eli eḡlisa 'chariot driver', G m-ḡed-eli 'smith', Mg m-ḡḡad-u id., Lz m-š'um-u 'drinker'); [4] GZ *m-...-el-, circumfix of gentilicia > OG m-egwipḡ-eli 'an Egyptian (person)', G m-ruv-eli 'bishop of Ruisi', m-egr-eli 'a Megrelian', Mg m-arg-al-i id.; [5] *ma-, derivational px (px of nomina agentis, nouns\adjectives of quality bearers etc.) > OG ma- (ma-r'ḡw-i 'destroyer'), G ma- (mar-r'ž'v-e 'geschickt, geeignet' etc.), Mg, Lz mu- (Mg mu-

r3gV-i 'successful'), Sv ma- (ma-qäd 'harvest', ma-šäd n. 'helper', ma-zwäb 'spring of water') ¶¶ K 123-4, 131-3, K² 111-13, Dt. 224-5, FS K 204-5, FS E 224-8, Chx. 225, 738-44, Q O94, Top. SE 220, GP US 96 || IE *-mo-, sx of denom. and deverbal derivatives: NaIE *d^hū-mo-s 'smoke' (←d *d^hū- v. 'blow') > OI 'dhūmah, L fūmus, Lt pl. dūmai, Ltv pl. dūmi, Pru dumis 'smoke', Gk θūμός 'breath', Sl *dīmъ 'smoke' (> OCS, OR ДѢМЪ dīmъ, Blg, Uk дим, SCr, Slv dīm, Cz dým, Slk, P dym, R дым id.); Tc B -mo (pālka-mo 'brilliant, splendide', F Wn. I 357), Tc A -m(o) || AnIE: Ht {Ts.} werite-ma n. 'fear' (←d werite 'be afraid') ¶¶ Brg. KVG 343-8, P 261-2, Ts. W 105, Kron. EHS I 177-81, StSS 202, Glh. 196 || U *-ma/*-mä, derivational sx of deverbal and denom. nouns/adjs and of prtcs (e.g. FU *oδa-ma n. 'sleep, dream', *śur(e)-ma 'death') > F juo-ma 'beverage', kalja-ma 'skating rink' (←d kalja 'smooth'), kuole-ma, sur-ma 'death', Es surm id., sure-ma inf. 'die' || Lp N ællem (< *elä-mä) 'life' || Er нилима nili-ma n. act. 'swallow', udomo, Mk udoma n. 'sleep' || Chr Hкау-мъ (past prtcs.) 'gone away', Chr U o'мъ, Chr L udomo n. 'sleep' || Vt kule-m, Z кулз-м 'dead', Vt um n. 'sleep' || OHg almu ~ alom, Hg álom n. 'dream, sleep' || ObU {Ht.} *wūδam/ *wūδm∇ 'dream' > pVg *ūlm∇ id. (> OVg S Kg олма, OVg S Vt олмъ; Vg S: T ðlām; Vg E: LK/MK/UK ūlām; Vg W: P wulām, NV/SV/LL ulām; OVg N Chd цлмъ, Vg N: UL/Ss ūlām id.); pOs *wulām 'dream' > Os: V/VY ulām, Ty uφam, D/K otām, Nz utām, Kz wūφam, O wulām 'dream'; pOs *alām n. 'sleep' > Os: V/Vy/O alām, Ty/Y aφam, D/K otām, Nz utām, Kz utām id. || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} χᾷε·β·ᾷ n. act. 'going away', T F NI {Lh.} kᾷem:ᾷ id., Ng {Cs.} matu-mu-naŋ firam 'I can chop', En {Hl.} badī-ma n. act. 'hunt for wild reindeer', adj.: Slq Tz {KKIH} ćūrī-m/p 'thick' (←d ćūrī 'thickness'), Koyb {Sp.} джярямъ 'thick' ¶¶ Lh. PUAS 82-113, Sz. 87-8, Coll. CG 266-9, Srb. IMPJ 114, 153-4, UEW 489-90, MF 85-6, EWH 30, Ht. no. 664, KKIH 107 || A *-ma / *-mä, sx of nomina actionis and other deverbal nomina > T *-m / *-im / *-im / *-um / *-üm, sx of n. act.: OT öl-üm 'death', ičim 'a single drink', Tk bil-im, Az, Tkm, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Qrg bil-im, Qz bīlīm, VTt, Bsh бльм 'knowledge', Yk kül-üm 'a smile', Chv -ǎm / -ěm (sx of n. act.); T *-ma / *-mä > Chv inf. ending -ма / -мэ; the same sx is preserved in NaT *-mak / *-mäk (> OT -maq / -mäk etc.), sx of n. act. (in most lges) and inf. (in the Og lges, in Qmq, ET, Uz etc.) ¶ Cl. xlii-xliii, Cl. TMS 148, 154, Rs. MTS 133-4, ET B 139, Andr. ChJ-66 56, ChMS 308, 318 || M *-m in nomina actionis: WrM {MED} nagadum 'play, game' (←d nagad- v. 'play'), barim n. 'grip' (←d WrM {MED} bar i- v. 'seize'); M *-ma / *-me, sf. of deverbal adjectives and

nouns: WrM {MED} г а і қ а - ма, HIM {MED, BMR} г а й х а м 'wonderful, astonishing, surprising' (← WrM г а і қ а -, HIM г а й х а - v. 'wonder, marvel'), MM д а қ а - ма 'menstruation' (← д а қ а - 'follow'), Mnr H {SM} г _ у р ма 'tresse, natte (braided hair)' (← г _ у р u - < *gürü- v. 'braid, weave') ¶ Pp. IM 261-2, Pp. GWM 48, MED 65-6, 345, 556-7, BMR I 359, SM 143-4 || Tg *-ma / *-me, sx of deverbial and denom. adjs: Nn п а у - ма 'human', Ewk g i r k u - ма 'pedestrian' (← g i r k u - v. 'walk'), ç u l a m a - 'green' (← ç u l a - v. 'be green'), Tg *mō-ma 'wooden' (← *mō 'wood') > Ewk, Neg, Ul, Nn Nh mōma, Ork mōma ~ mōmo, Orc, Ud mōmo 'wooden' ¶ Bz. 91, Vas. 769, STM I 540-1, On. 267 || a Korean unproductive sx of deverbial nouns: ċ u g ɣ m 'corpse' ← ċ u g - 'die' ¶¶ Rm. NM 255-64, Rm. KhK 94-5, Rm. VAJ 192-4, Pp. NSM 102, 120-1, Grz. 44-5 || D *-maу, sx of derived abstract nouns > Tm -maı̇ (p o r u - maı̇ 'patience, self-control' ← p o r u v. 'bear, sustain, endure'), Ml -ma (p o r u - ma 'patience'), OKn -me ({Gai} m u d i - me 'dominance' ← {D} m u d i - 'advance in growth, increase'), Tl -mi (m u d i - mi 'old age' ← m u d i 'old') ¶¶ ≈ Cald. 541, D no-s 4565 and 4954, Gai 96, Ktl. G 200-1 ¶¶ D *maу- may go back to N *m A + N *y i 'he, (?) that' (pc. forming construction with adjectival meaning) (q.v.) (see IS II 47) ◇ The N nominalizer *m A may be etymologically connected with the N prn. *m u ʔ æ ʔ 'this, that' (q.v.) (cp. Af n a m m á - m 'the two' and the S determiner *-m) ◇ U, A and D provide evidence for a final *a or *ä ◇ IS II 45-8 (*m A), Gr. I 169-73 ("nominalizer M" in IE, U, A, ChK, EA, Ai).

1353. *mä or *mähʔoʔ 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative) > HS: S *omā 'not' > Ar mā 'not'; ? ✓ m h m h (pf. mahmaha) v. 'prevent from', TD (pf. tamahmaha 'abstain from' ¶ Br. G I 500 [§ 253e], BK II 1052, 1163, Hv. 737 || Eg ∇ m 'do not!', prohibitive pc.; survives in Cpt as the initial element of the negative Cpt Sd pc. M П W P m p o r and B M Ф W P m p h o r 'do not!', as well as some negative verbal pxs: Cpt Sd M П P - m p r -, Cpt B M П E P - m p e r - 'do not...!', the px M П E - m p e - of the negative perfect I, the px M П O Y - m p y - 'you (f. sg.) did not', the Cpt Sd px M П A T E - m p a t e - (and Cpt B M П A N T E - m p a n t e -) 'not yet', Cpt Sd M A P E - m a r e - ~ M E P E - m e r e - ~ M A - m a - ~ M E - m e -, B M П A P E - m p a r e - ~ M П A - m p a - (px of the negative aorist) ¶ EG II 3-4, Vc. 118-19 || ? B: Tz 'amīa 'nothing' ¶ Stm. 100, 164 || C: EC: Af ma- and Sa mā-, negative px of verbs (incl. the prohibitive form: Af ma-...-in, Sa mā-...-in), Sml ma (Sml N má) 'not', the negative px of verbs ma-, Bn {Hn.} mǎ- (negative verbal px of the pfc.), Elm {Hn.} má-/m- (negative px of verbs), Rn {PG} má 'not, is not', Arr {Hw.} ma (with an allomorph m-) (negative pc. of verbs: má yek(k)ení

inv. 'do not swallow!', ma yék(k)éní 'he did not swallow', ma-na nék(k)eno 'we did not swallow' ||| SC: Irq {Wh.} ma (/m- before a vw. of the next morpheme) 'do not!' prohibitive (e.g. má dâqawar 'don't go!' sg., má dâqawara 'don't go!' pl., m-í gâsar 'don't kill me!'), {Mous} m- proh. pc. (m-u aminus-ār 'don't believe him!') ¶ PH 258-78, TB LA 548, Abr. S 168, 271-2, PG 214, Hn. BD 55, Hn. NBLK 190-5, 232-6, Hw. A 261-5, Wh. IC 47, Mous 151-2 || Ch: Tng {J} -m 'not' (negation of verbs and nouns: na wê-m 'I shall not see', na sānĭ-m 'I am not eating', mu-m 'nobody' (lit. 'not a man'), wa-m 'nothing' (lit. 'not a thing'), Ang {Flk.} mān(ṭa) 'don't, let not' (+ vb.) ||| Mrg {Hf.} māĭ 'not' ¶ J T 61, Flk. s.v. mān(ṭa), Hf. M 22, 178-80, 233, RK 123 ||| IE *meH̄ ({M} *meH̄₁) > NaIE {EI, AD} *mē, prohibitive pc. (with the inv.): OI, Av, OPrs mā, KhS, Oss ma id. ||| Gk A/I/D μή, Gk EI μᾶ 'not' proh. ||| Al ↓ mo id., StAl mos id. (< pAl {O} *māč̣ < *mē-k^ωe 'and do not') ||| Arm ւի մի 'not' (neg. pc.) ||| pTc {Ad.} *mā > Tc A/B mā 'not' (neg. and proh.) ¶ P 703, EI 395, Brg. KVG 612-14, M E II 343, F II 222, O 274, KT 172, Slr. 399-400, Wn. I 282-3, Ad. 445-6, Ad. H 19 ||| K prohibitive pc. *mā- and {K} *mad id. > Lz {Marr} mo id. (mo čarem 'don't write!', mu mečam 'don't give him!', mo muler 'don't come!'; {FS, K ← ?} moṭ, prohibitive pc.; Sv L {Shr.} mā ~ mō, {Dn.} mā (pc. of negation), Sv UB {GP} māḍ (pc. of modal negation), mōḍ(e) (pc. of negation) ¶¶ FS K 206-7 and FS E 227 (*ma), K 124-5 and K² 113 (*mad, a verbal prohibitive pc.), Marr 168, Shr. UNS 289-327, Dn. s.v. *mā, GP 209, 221 ||| A {SDM} *ma 'not' (a negative pc.) > T *-ma-/*-mä-, negative infix in verbal forms > OT -ma-/-mä-, Az, Bsh, ET -ma-/-mä-, Tkm, QrB -ma-/-me-, Qzq, Xk -ma-/-me- (with positional allomorphs -ba-/-be- and -pa-/-pe-), Tv -ma-/-me- (with positional allomorphs -ba-/-be- etc.), Uz -ma(-), VTt -m∇-, Qrg -ba-/-be-/-bo-/-bö-, Chv -ma-/-me-/-m- ¶ Rm. supposed that the T negative forms with *-ma-/*-mä- go back to a verbal noun with *-m + negative verb *e- (cp. U and Tg negative verb *e-, M *e-se-, see N *ʔæ 'not') ¶ Lvt. IM 53, Rm. VAS 210-11, Rm. VAJ 101, Pp. L 1266, Pp. MA 87, 169 ||| M *bū 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) > MM [LM, IM, MA] bū, WrM {MED} bū (Lg. reads it as bū) ~ bū, Ord bū, HIM {MED, BMR} bū ({Pp.} bū), Brt bū ({Pp.} bū), Dg {Pp.} bū, Mgl {Leech [reported by Lg.]} bū, be, {Rm., Wr.} bi ¶ The denasalization *m- > *b- is reg. in M monosyllabic words (having no other nasal cns.). The pM vw. *-ū suggests that M *bū goes back to a cd of two words, the second one responsible for the vw. ¶ Pp. IM 290, Rm. VAS 198-9, Rm. M 24, Lg. VMI 22, Lg. NVMI 135, MED 141, 153, BMR I 310, Chr. 119-20, Wr. 143, Ms. O 88 ||| STg *ume 'do not' (proh.) > WrMc {Z} ɥmɛ, Mc Sb emɛ, Jrc {Kiy.} umɛ id. ¶ STM II 272, Z 163,

Hr 96O, Y no. 3005, Kiy. 123 [no. 472] || Ko {Rm.} neg. m⁰- 'not, un-', pKo {S} *m⁰-t > MKo {S} m⁰t 'impossible' ({Rm.} Ko m⁰t 'no'), NKo m⁰s m⁰t 'not (possibly), definitely not' ¶ Rm. SKE 150, S QK no. 631, Nam 215, 217, MLC 635, 647 ¶¶ SDM 893 (a pA negative pc. *ma > Tg *-me, T *-ma-, J *-ma, pKo *m⁰-t), DQA no. 1234 || D: Gnd {Grr.} -mā, prohibitive sx: kē-mā 'don't do!' sg., kē-mā-ṭ 'don't do' pl. (← kī- 'do'), āyī-mā 'don't be ...!' (← {Grr.} āyā, {D} ayā- 'be' [aux. verb]), man-mā 'don't be ..., don't stay!' (← {Grr.} māyā- 'be, stay') || ? Tm -mał in the negative adverbial sx -amał || NED: Krx mał 'not', mał-nā 'not to be (so)', mał[?]a 'not, no', Mlt mała 'not, no', mał- 'be not' ¶¶ Grr. IV 487, D no. 4743, Pf. 194 [no. 184] ◇ AD GD 2 (HS, K, IE), IS II 56-7 (*mä prohibitive in HS, K, IE, D, A), Gr. I 213-14 ("negative M" in IE, T, ?? Ai). ◇ In IE, K, D (Gondi), Irq and M the particle functions as prohibitive, in Ar it is negative (of the indicative mood), while in C, Ch and T it is used in both functions, so that we have no definite ev. to determine which of the two functions was primary, though it seems preferable to suppose that originally it was prohibitive. The length of the vw. in Ar, NaIE, K, M and D (Gondi) suggests the presence of a lr.; the only lr. that may have been lost in S is *h, hence we tentatively reconstruct a *h of the second syll. (suggested also by the Ar reduplicated verb ✓mhmh). The ev. of most lges points to the vw. *A (sc. *a or *ä) of the first syll., but M points to a front vw. (probably *ä). The labialized vw. in M *bū and in the Sv variant mō, mōd(e) point to the infl. of a labial factor (final *o?), but the IE e-colored lr. *H̄ (for the expected labialized *H^ω) still requires explanation ◇ IS II 56-7 (pN *mä, prohibitive pc. > HS, H, IE, D, A).

1354. *mi 'I' > IE: [1a] *-mi 'I', so-called "primary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti (in the present tense of the athematic verbs) > OI -mī, Gk -μι, L -m, Gt -m, Lt -mī, Gl -mī, OCS -мѣ -мь, Ht -mī || [1b] *-m 'I', so-called "secondary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti (in the past tenses): aorist OI -m, Gk -ν, L -m, OCS -ѣ -ь, Ht -n || [2a] *me(:)-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s, e.g. accus. *mē, *me(:)-m (with the accus. case ending *-m): OI mā, mā-m, Gk με, L mē, Gt mī-k, OHG mī-h, Sl *me ~ *me̋ > OP mīe, OCS МА me; there is a variant *ʔ|h̄e-me (with an additional element *ʔ|h̄e-): Gk ἔμε accus., Ht ammu-k accus. 'me', Arm hufim gen. ('of mine, my') (F...below at the end of the entry); Gt -k, OHG -h and Ht -k are likely to go back to the enclitic (focalizing?) pc. *-ge ~ *-gē (> Gk γε in ἔμέ-γε, ? OCS жє žє); in Clt this prn. is used as aut. prn. (nom.): Clt {Matas.} *mī, *me 'I' > OIr mé, OW, MW 'I, W {YGM} mī 'I, me', Crn me, my, Crn my ~ me, OBr, MBr, Br {Hm.} me, Br V mī 'I' || [2b] gen. *me-ne ~ *mej-ne 'of me, my' (< N *mī nu, sc. N

***mi** 'I + N gen. pc. ***nu**) > Gt *meina*, OCS **MENE** *mene*, Av *mana*, OI 'mama (< *mana) gen. 'of me', Gt *meins*, NGH *mein*, NE *mine*, Lt *māno* 'my, mine' ||| [3] the N postnominal usage of ***mi** as a poss. prn. 'my' survives in AnIE: Ht -*mi*- ppa. 'my' (nom. com. -*mis*, nom./accus. ntr. -*met*, voc. -*mi*, accus. com. -*man*, gen. -*mas*, gen. anim. -*man*, dat./lat. -*mi* etc.), HrLw (enclitic poss. prn.) (a)*mi*- (nom. com. (a)*mis*, accus. com. (a)*rin*, nom./accus. ntr. *amazā*, dat./lat. (a)*mi* etc.), Lc, Ld *ēmi*- ¶¶ Brg. KVG 407-13, 589, Bks 207-11, 222 (on the pc. **gē*), 232-57, LP §§ 337-49, RE 105, Rsk. 66-72, Mer. SGA 316-21, Mer. HHG 18-22, ≈ EI 454 (**h₁eme* / encl. **h₁me* 'me'), Fs. 352, 357-8, StSS 67, 212-5, Matas. E 270, YGM-1 332, Hm. 554 || U: [1] ***mi** nom. 'I' / ***min**∇ (obl., which is based on N ***mi nu** 'of me' [a form of gen. with the genitive marker ***nu**, that was generalized for all oblique cases]) > Prm: Z/Prmk/Yz *me* 'I' / obl. (stem of obl. cases) *men*- || Os {Vrt.}: nom. V/Vy *mā*·, Y *mā*·, Ty/Kz *ma*·, Nz *ma*·, Sh *mā*, Cng/O {KrT} *mā* 'I' / obl.: V/Vy *mān*- (accus. *mān*-t, dat. *mān*-ä), Y *mān*- (accus. *mā*·n-t, dat. *mānt*-e·m), Kz {Vrt.} *mān*- ~ *ma*·n- (dat. *mān*-em), Nz *mān*- (accus. *mā*·n-t, dat. *mā*·n-e·m), Cng {KrT} *mān*- ~ *m(ə)n*- (accus. *mān*-t, dat. *mān*-e·m ~ *mn*-e·m), O {KrT} *mā*·n- (dat. *mā*·n-em); in pVg the stem is {JHt.} nom. **ām* / obl. **ām(ā)n*- (mt.: > **ānm*-) > Vg: T nom. *εm* / accus. *ε*'*mān* ~ *ε*'*nām* / lat. *ε*'*mān*, P nom. *am* / accus.-lat. *amno*ān, UK nom. *om* / accus. *ō*ānām / lat. *omna*·n; a similar development may be supposed for Hg: FU **ä-mi-n*∇ (stem for the obl. cases), whence (acc. to MF) pre-Hg **εmEnE* (nom.?) > **εmnE* > **ennE* > **enn* > OHg nom. *en en* ~ *êr ēr* > Hg *ér* 'I' || pY {IN} **mət* 'I' > Y K *mət*, T *met*, OY Ch {Mat.} *мота* 'I' ||| In most U lges the stem of the obl. cases was generalized for the whole declension paradigm: F nom. *minā*, gen. *minun*, accus. *minut*, prt. *minua*, Vp nom. *miñä*, gen. *minun*, Es nom. *mina* ~ *ma*, gen. *minu* ~ *mu*, prt. *mind* || pLp {Wk.} nom. **munna*, **mun*, ill. **munn*- + case ending, gen.-accus. **mun* (> **mū* in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a back formation) > (1) nom.: Lp: N {N} *mon* ~ *mōn*, L {LLO} *mānne*, {Wk.} *mon*, *monno*, Ar/M {Wk.} *mon*, Kld {Kert} *monn* ~ *mun*, T/Nt/A {Wk.} *mun* ~ *mun*, (2) gen.-accus.: Lp: Kld {Kert} *monε*, T {Wk.} *munj*, N {N} *mu* ~ *mu*, L/Ar {Wk.} *mū*, *mu*ωωa, L {Schl.} *mū*, M/Nt/A/I {Wk.} *mū*, (3) in other cases **mun* (with or without traces of **n*), e.g. Lp N ess. *mūnen*, Kld {Kert} ess. *monεñ* || Er/Mk nom. *mon*, gen. *moń* || Chr H nom. *мынь* *тәń*, gen. *мыньын* *тәńьн*, accus. *мыньым* *тәńьм*, Chr L nom. *мый* *тъу*, gen. *мыйын* *тъуьн*, gen. *мыйым* *тъуьм* (y < pChr **ń*), Chr B nom. *miń* || Vt

nom. mon, gen. mone, accus. mīnam || Sm *mъn T > (partially from compound forms) Ne T мањь маń, Ne F {Lh.} маń, En {Ter} moji, mo], Ng {Mik, Ter.} 'mənɜ, Slq Tz nom./gen. man (~ mat from a sandhi variant), Kms {KD} nom. man / obl. mana, Koyb {Sp.} моњь T, мањь 'my', Mt {Hl.} *mɜn T (Mt M {Sp.} мыњь, {Mll.} men, Mt T {Mll.} men) || Y: OY O {Mat.} мєня T || [2] U {Coll.} *-m ~ *-mi, verbal ending of 1s subiecti > F -n (palan 'I burn'), Es -n (maga-n 'I sleep'), Lp N -m (buolam 'I burn' < *pala-k-mi), Lp S {Hs.} -m ɖ -b (b'issem ɖ b'isseb 'I wash'), Er/Mk -n (vanan 'I see'), Chr -m (wiðem 'I lead'), pVg *-_L∇_Lm, verbal ending of 1s subiecti (Vg: Ss {Rmb.} tē-ɜ-əm 'I eat', tē-s-əm 'I ate', LK {Vxr.} wæřām 'I do, I shall do', wæřsəm 'I did'), pOs *-m, verbal ending of 1s subiecti (Os: V tulam [{Trs.} tulām] 'I bring', tuɣəm [{Trs.} tuɣām] 'I brought', Vy wělam 'I take', wěyām 'I took', D waχtam 'I ask\call', waχəm 'I asked\called', K pāntam 'I put\do', pānəm 'I placed\did', Sh mātəm 'I give', māśəm 'I gave'), Hg -∇m (in the -ik-conjugation and in the -t-past: eszem 'I eat', ettem 'I ate', in the conjugation with a definite object: ismerem Pétert 'I know Peter'); Sm *-m^ri, -m: Ne T -mí, -β, Ng -mə, Slq Tz -m (qoŋam 'I find', qōsam 'I found'), Kms {Kü.} -m (nuɣam 'I stand', nub^ham 'I stood'), Mt {Hl.} *-(∇)m (Mt T {Mll.} chandijum 'I sleep'); Es -n and Lp N -m suggest the presence of a final vw., because the FU word-final *-m is regularly lost in these two lges || [3] U {Coll.} *-mi 'my' > F/Es -ni (< *n-mi), FI -mi, FΔ -m (poĭkam 'my son'), Vp -m ~ -iŋ (tatam ~ tataiŋ 'my father'), Lp N -m (čæccam 'my uncle [younger brother of my father]', ak'kum 'my grandmother'), Lp S {Hs.} -me / -mme (viēlleme 'my brother'), Lp Kld -m ({Kert} puazam 'my reindeer'), Er -m (kudom 'my house'), Chr L -m (knigam 'my book'), Chr H -m, -em (sola-m 'my village', tāng-em 'my friend'), Vt accus. -me 'my' (↔ accus. -de/-te 'thy', accus. -ze/-se 'his'), loc./ill. -am 'my' (↔ -ad 'thy', -az 'his'), pOs *-(∇)m 'my' (> Os: V/Ty qut-ъm, Kz χot-em, O χat-am 'my house', V qatqam, Ty qātlam, Kz χotφam, O χatlam 'my houses', V köɜ-ām 'my stone', köɜlām 'my stones', kür-im 'my axe', D χot-em 'my house', χottam 'my houses', Sh {Trs.} mis-em 'my cow', mis-tam 'my cows'), Hg -om/-am/-em/-öm 'my' (madar-am 'my bird' etc.), pl. possessi -i-m/-ai-m/-ei-m (madar-ai-m 'my birds'; -i-/-ai-/ -ei- is a marker of pl.); Sm *-m^ri, {Hl.} *-m / *-mə > Ne T -mi ~ -β 'my' (sg. possessi), Ng -mə, Slq Tz -mi id., Kms -m (tura-m 'my house'), Mt M {Hl.} -m (after vowels), -mä/-mā (after cnss) 'my' ¶¶ Vrt. ∇, UEW 294, Stn. WV ∇, Coll. CG 299-302, 308-10, Wkm. FOUL 19, Laan. 181-3, 191-4, Hs. 118-20, 141-56, Wk. EUL 278-86, It. LC 46-9, 144, Schl. 554, Kert SJ 156-60, 173, Fkt. EJ-

66 181-5, Fkt. MJ-66 208, Kov. LV 227, 230, Kov. GM 244-6, Ber. 37, Lt. KPJ 308, Lt. J 61-2, Tepl. UJ 265, Rmb. 115-44, BV 208-21, Ht. ChrO 107-40, Trs. XJ 324-7, MF 154, Jn. 86, Ter. NJ 333-4, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. EJ 447, Ter. NgJ 96-102, 161, KHG 288-9, Hl. SelJ 365-9, Hl. M 141, 164-5, 298, no. 627, Hl. MTKJ 377-8, Kü. KJ 383-7, ≈ UEW 294 (*mǝ [sc. *mĒ] 'I'), IN H 265, 267, IN UJ 234-5, 310, 329 || **A** *mi 'I' (> *bi in the absense of following *n) > M nom. *bi / gen. *minū (< N *mi nu) 'I' > MM nom. bi / gen. minu ~ mini, WrM {MED} nom. bi / gen. minu, HIM {MED, BMR} nom. Би bi / gen. миний minī, Brt nom. Би / gen. минии ({Pp.} me'ñī ~ me'ñi), Kl {KRS} nom. Би / gen. мини, {Rm.} bi / gen. mini, Mnr H bu 'I' / mune ({SM} muni) 'my', Mnr M bi 'I' / mini 'my', Dx nom. bi 'I' / gen., accus. mini ~ miyi 'me', Dg nom. bī 'I' / gen. minī, Ba nom. be 'I' / gen. mene, Mgl {Wr.} nom. bi 'I' / gen. mini (> -mini ~ -mni ~ -mi 'my', ppa. 1s). In Brt, Kl, Dg and Mgl the pM pers. prn. *bi, when used in a postpredicate position as a marker of 1s, has turned into an ending of 1s (of both verbal and nominal predicates): *bi 'I' > Brt -b (ерэжэ-б 'I shall come', багша-б 'I am a teacher'), Kl {KRS} -в -w (йов-на-в 'I go', багш-в 'I am a teacher'), Dg {T} -bī ~ -bē (ičim-bē 'ich fahre, werde fahren'), Mgl -bi (irā-nān-bi 'I come') ¶ Pp. IM 208, MED 101, 539, BMR I 241 and II 333, GBJ 139, Snz. GKJ 57, 83-5, SM 30, 247, T 319, 347, T DnJ 28, 112, T BJ 43, 79, 135, T DgJ 53, 63-8, Rm. M 24, 56-7, Wr. 121-37 || Tg nom. *bi 'I' / obl. *min- > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Lm, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn Bk/KU nom. bi 'I' / obl. min-, Nn Nh nom. mi 'I' / obl. min-, WrMc {Z} nom. Би 'I' / obl. мин- | Tg *bi in postnominal position meant 'my' and in the NTg and AmTg lges became a ppa.: {Bz.} Ewk, Neg -w, -bi 'my', Sln -bi, Ud, Nn -i ~ -bi | In the NTg and AmTg lges (but not in Mc) there is a verbal ending of 1s, reconstructible as *-bi (Lm bū-ri-w 'I gave' < *bū-ri-bi), with the tense sx *-n-: *-n-bi > *-mbi (Sln, Ud wā-mi 'I kill', Neg wa-m id., Nn wā-ja-mbi, Ewk wā-јз-м 'I shall kill') ¶ Ci. 270-1, Bz. 108-10, 129-41, STM I 79, Krm. 90, Avr. G I 145, 248-50 || pT 1s pron.: nom. *(Ē)mi 'I' (> *(Ē)bi) / obl. *mæn(-) (*bæn(-)) > Chv nom. эпě ebъ 'I' / gen. маһăһ маһъһ ~ маһ man, dat. and accus. маһа mana || NaT (with generalization of the stem of the obl. cases) *mæn 'I' > OT {Cl.} mǎn ǎ bǎn, Tk ben, Az, LN, ET mǎn, Tkm, Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Alt, Shor, SY, Tv men, Tf mén, VTt, Bsh, Xk, Yk min, Slr men (~ mǎn ~ mē) 'I'; the same stem is in gen. (OT m|bǎniŋ) and later in other obl. cases, except dat. > NaT accus. *mini > OT mini ~ birni; the same stem in OT loc./abl. min-tǎ ~ mindidǎ (F. Gbn ATG 91, Rs. MTS 13, 16) | NaT dat. *maŋ-a (< **m|ban-ga?) (*-a- under the ass. infl. of *-a of the case ending?) >

OT $\text{b}\alpha\eta\alpha \sim \text{m}\alpha\eta\alpha$, Tkm, ET $\text{m}\alpha\eta\alpha$ 'mihi', as well as Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Xk, Shor $\text{m}\alpha\gamma\alpha$ id. (restructured on the analogy of the nominal dat. ending $-\gamma\alpha$) | NaT $*\underline{\text{m}}\text{æn}$ 'I' as a post-predicative subject prn. was a separate word in OT ($\text{m}\text{ä}\text{n}$) and still is in Tv (men), but in most lges it has turned into an agglutinated ending of 1s of verbs and predicative nouns (the so called "full" ending), e.g. ET $-\text{m}\text{än}$, Uz $-\text{man}$, Qmq $-\text{men}/-\text{man}$, VTt $-\text{m}\text{ɛ}\text{n}/-\text{m}\text{ɛ}\text{n}$ (today in verbal forms only), Bsh $-\text{m}\text{ɛ}\text{n}/-\text{m}\text{ɛ}\text{n}/-\text{m}\text{ɛ}\text{̇}\text{n}/-\text{m}\text{ɛ}\text{̇}\text{̇}\text{n}$, Qzq $-\text{m}\text{in}/-\text{min}/-\text{bin}/-\text{bin}/-\text{p}\text{in}/-\text{p}\text{in}$, Qrg $-\text{m}\text{in}$ (with syn-harmonic allomorphs), StAlt $-\text{m}\text{in}/-\text{min}/-\text{bin}/-\text{bin}/-\text{p}\text{in}/-\text{p}\text{in}$, Xk $-\text{m}\text{in}/-\text{min}/-\text{bin}/-\text{bin}/-\text{p}\text{in}/-\text{p}\text{in}$, Yk $-\text{bin}/-\text{bin}/-\text{p}\text{in}/-\text{p}\text{in}$ ||| In a similar way Chv $\text{эпӗ eb}_\text{ь}$ has been agglutinated to the verb (pres. and ft.) as a 1s ending $-\text{ӗп} -\text{ьр} / -\text{ӗп} -\text{әр}$ | pT $*-(\nabla)\text{m}$ 'I', old ("short") ending of 1s in verbs > OT $-\text{im}/-\text{im}/-\text{um}/-\text{ü}\text{m}$ (with the t -pret. of verbs), in most T lges $-\text{im}/-\text{im}/-\text{m}$ or $-\text{im}/-\text{im}/-\text{um}/-\text{ü}\text{m}/-\text{m}$: ET $-\text{m}$, $-\nabla\text{m}$, VTt/Bsh $-\text{m}/-\text{im}/-\text{ьm}/-\text{ьm}/-\text{̇m}$, Qzq, Qrg, Xk $-\text{m}$, Tv, Yk $-(\nabla)\text{m}$, Chv $-\text{ӗm}/-\text{ӗm}$ (1s ending in the $-\text{t}/-\text{r}$ -pret. and in inv.); in some lges this ending $*-(\nabla)\text{m}$ has spread to the function of 1s marker of nominal predicates (partially through contamination with the reflexes of $*-\text{m}|\text{b}\nabla\text{n}$ 'am'), whence Tk $-(\text{y})\text{im}/-(\text{y})\text{im}/-(\text{y})\text{um}/-(\text{y})\text{ü}\text{m}$, Az $-(\text{y})\text{am}/-(\text{y})\text{äm}$ 'am' (cp. Deny OMTT 199; Kon. GTJ 222 tried to trace Tk $-(\text{y})\nabla\text{m}$ back to Tk ben 'I'), Tkm $-\text{in}$, $-\text{m}$ (Bazin T 313) | pT $*-\text{m} / *-\text{im} / *-\text{im}$ 'my', postnominal possessive affix > Chv (after vowels) $-\text{m}$ / (after cnss) $-\text{ӗm}/-\text{ӗm}$ ||| NaT (after vowels) $*-\text{m} /$ (after cnss) $*-\text{im} / *-\text{im} / *-\text{um} / *-\text{ü}\text{m}$ > Tk, Tkm, Qmq $-\text{m}/-\text{im}/-\text{im}/-\text{um}/-\text{ü}\text{m}$, ET $-\text{m}/-\text{im}/-\text{um}/-\text{ü}\text{m}$, Uz $-\text{m}/-\text{im}$, VTt, Bsh $-\text{m}/-\text{ьm}/-\text{ьm}$, Qzq $-\text{m}/-\text{im}/-\text{im}$, Qrg, StAlt $-\text{m}/-\text{im}/-\text{im}$, Xk $-\text{m}/-\text{im}/-\text{im}$ ¶ The ancient vw. $*\text{i}$ (of N $*\text{m}\text{i}$) was preserved in the OT accus. $\text{m}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i} \sim \text{b}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i}$ and in the loc.-abl. $\text{m}\text{i}\text{n}\text{t}\text{ä}$; in pT gen. $*\underline{\text{m}}\text{än-}\text{i}\eta$ (> Chv L $\text{m}\alpha\eta\text{ä}\text{h}$, OT $\text{m}\text{ä}\text{n}\text{i}\eta$) and in NaT nom. $*\underline{\text{m}}\text{än}$ the ancient vw. $*-\text{i}-$ was replaced by $*-\text{ä}-$ due to unknown factors (hardly because of the "reduction of the final vowel", as supposed in IS II 65, because this NaT reduction is younger than the pT change $\text{i} > *\text{ä}$) ¶ Cl. 346, Isx. M 208-35, Tn. SJ 127-8, Tn. SJJ 76, B SS ∇, JN II ∇, Dmt. IAS ∇, Dmt. GBJ 51-7, 140-57, Gbn ATG 90-9, 112-13, Rs. MTS 9-26, Lvt. IF 14, 29-30, 57-8, ChVS 314-17, Kon. GTJ 222-51, 387-8 || OJ {Mill.} mi 'I' (preserving Early Altaic $*\text{m}\text{i}$ 'I' before the de-nasalaization $*\text{m}- > *\text{b}-$) ¶ Mill. JAL 158 ¶¶ Altaic nom. $*\text{b}\text{i}$ 'I' < N $*\text{m}\text{i}$ with the reg. change $*\text{b}- < *\text{m}-$ in monosyllabic CV-words (cp. N $*\text{m}\text{u}^{\text{r}}\text{æ}$ 'this, that' > A $*\text{m}\text{u},\text{E}$ > pT $*\text{b}\text{ü} /$ obl. $*\underline{\text{m}}\text{u-n-}$, as well as N $*\text{m}\text{ä}$ prohibitive > A $*\text{b}\text{E}- > \text{M} * \text{b}\text{ü}$ id.) (IS II 56-7, 65, 70-1) ¶¶ Ktw. PLA 4-6, Rm. EAS I 79, DQA no. 126 (pA $*\text{b}\text{i}/*\text{m}\text{i-ne}$ 'I') ||| K: [1] K c. rect. $*\text{om}\text{i} / * \text{me}$ (< $*\text{m}\text{i} / * \text{m}\text{j}\text{e}$ < N $*\text{m}\text{i}$) / obl. $*\text{men-}$ (< N $*\text{m}\text{i}$ nu) 'I' > Mg

ma / obl. *man-, Lz ma, Lz Ch man, OG men ~ me, G me, G P/Mt/Ing/ArX men(a) 'I', Sv mi 'I', mi-šgwi 𐌺 mi-šgu 'me'. The ancient distribution of the allomorphs *me and *men- survives in Mg, while in OG and Lz Ch the form *men has spread to the casus rectus [2] K *m- 'me, to me', verbal px of 1s obiecti > OG, G, Sv m-, Mg, Lz m-/p-/p̄-/b- (allomorphs conditioned by the subsequent cns.) [3] K *č(ω)e-m- 'my' (< N *č'ü' 'that of..., that which' + N *mi 'my') > OG čem- (deday čemi 'my mother') ~ čeym-, G čem-, Mg čkim-, Lz čkim- 𐌺 škim- 'my', Sv: LB/L mi-šgwi, UB mi-šgu ~ mi-šgwi, Ln miškw̄i 'me' ¶¶ K 123, 132 (*me(n)- 'I'), K² 119, 255, FS K 203-4, 212-13, FS E 223-4, 233-4, Dt. 28, Gm. SSh 44, GImn. AXK 324, Fn. GAS 80-1, TK 570-1, Top. SJ 83, GP US 45 | | HS: C: N *mi survives in HEC as a sx of 1s subiecti: Kmb {Mrn.} yom-mi 'am' (↔ 2s yon-ti ↔ 3s yōʔi ↔ 1p yom-mi ↔ 2p yon-ta); this verbum substantivum (with *-m̄ as an ending of 1s) functioned as an aux. verb within an analytical construction underlying HEC tenses of indicative (pres. and p.): HEC 1s *it̄∇∇∇ y∇∇n-m̄ 'I eat' > Alb itam, Sd {Mrn.} itemmo, itam, Kmb, Hd itommo (↔ 2m *it̄∇∇∇ y∇∇n-t̄ 'edis' > Alb ittanti, Sd itatto, Kmb ittanti, Hd itotto), HEC *it̄∇∇∇ y∇∇n-m̄ 'I ate' > Sd itommo, Kmb iččem(i), Hd itammo ¶ AD PLOG ∇, Mrn. ApCA 269-79, Mrn. S, L K ∇, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, Coh. VS ∇, Sim DHEC 434-5 || ? Ch: SBc: Tala L/Sh/Z mi 'I', Zar K/GL/L mia-, Gj Mg ami, Gj G àmì, Gj B amì, Sy Zk/B/Z ami- 'I' ¶ Sh. SB 41 ¶¶ AD PP 73, ≠ Ap. ANH 10 | | | On N *mi ʔa 'we' (*mi 'I' + *ʔa of plurality) see below N *mi ʔa. On Ch {Kr.} *mu-n ({Blz.} *muni) 'we, us, our' incl. (probably < N *omi n̄'ä') see N *n̄'ä', prn. of collectivity and plurality. On N *mi t̄'ü' 'we' incl. (N *mi 'I' + N *t̄'ü' 'thou') see below s.v. N *mi t̄'ü' ◇ In IE, FU and Chv there is a variant form N *HE mi (> Gk ἔμε, Ht ammu-k 'me', Arm im 'my', pVg *ām [obl. *ām(ā)n], Hg é n 'I', Chv эпě eb_b 'I'). IS II 64 identified the N additional element *HE with the N deictic pc. *h'e' (his *ʔe) (indicating the nearest object), which is not obvious and poses a phonetic problem: Vg *ā- suggests U *ä, which is not the reg. reflex of N *e ◇ IS II 63-6 [no. 299] (*mi 'I'), 52-6 [no. 290] (*mä 'we'), AD PP ∇, Gr. I 61-7 ("first-person M" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA).

1354a. *mi ʔa 'we' (N *mi 'I' + N *ʔa of plurality) > IE: [1] *-me, verbal ending of 1p subiecti; OI, Av and Clt have preserved the ancient distinction between the "primary" ending *-mes ~ *-mos (*-s is originally a marker of pl.) and the "secondary" ending *-me (specialized for different verbal tempora): "primary" in OI -mas(i), in Av -mahī and in the Ir absolute -mi (*-mesi), "secondary" in OI -ma, Av ma, Ir conjunct -m; in other lges the functional

distinction is lost, but the form *-mes is still preserved in Gk D -μεσ, L -mυσ, OHG -mēσ; in other descendant lges: Gk A, I, Ae -μεν, Al -mī, -mē, Gt, ON, OHG -m, Lt -me, Sl *-mъ (> OCS -МЪ -mъ, R, Blg -m, Cz, OP -m) ~ *-m† (on the analogy of *m† 'we' or [according to Meillet] being originally a positional variant of *-mъ before *j- of the next word) and *-me ~ *-mo (possibly from the "primary" *-mes ~ *-mos) (> Cz -me, SCr, Slv, Slk -mo, Uk -mo, e.g. Cz jsmе, SCr jesmo, Uk єсьмо jeśmo 'we are') [2] NaIE Δ *me-^rs^r 'we', pers. prn. of 1p > Arm **մեք** mek^h 'we' (if Arm -k^h is connected with IE *s-) ||| Blt *me-s 'we' > Pru mes, Ltv Δ mes, with secondary lengthening (due to the infl. of Lt/Ltv jũs 'ye'): Ltv mēσ (gen. mūσu, dat. mums, accus. mūσ), Lt mes (gen. mυσu, dat. mūmσ, accus. mūσ) | Sl *m† 'we' (with *-† induced by *v† 'ye') > OCS МЫ m†, Blg, Uk ми, R мы, SCr, Slv mī, Cz, Slk, P my ¶¶ In Early proto-Indo-European the prn. *me-s 'we' probably lost its status of a separate word (displaced by synonyms), but survived as a verbal ending; later it was probably reintroduced as a separate word (on the analogy of the verbal ending) in Arm and BSl ¶¶ BD II/3 616-23, Brg. KVG 591, the table on the p. 596, ≠ 408, Szem EVS-70 216-17, Frn. 441-2, En. LG 377-8, En. CPh § 305, En. APG 133, Me. EAC § 59, Me. SC §§ 339-41, 516, StSS 337, Glh. 407-8, Bks 208-9 || K: GZ *m- 'us' > OG m- id. *ἔε-μ-ι-ϙαλεν ἔυεν* 'have pity on us!'), Mg, Lz m- (with positional allomorphs: p-, p-, b-) (Mg *čki m-iϙuna* 'nobis est') ¶ K 123, Q O8O || U: [1] **m^riä^r 'we' > *me ~ *mä ~ *miϙ∇ ({It.} *me ~ mi) > Lp: Rr miϙe, N {N} mī, L mij, S {Hs.} mijjieh (gen. mijj'ēn), Kld miϙ 'we' pl. | Er, Mk минь miń | pChr {Ber.} *me, {Rd.} *mε > Chr: L me me (gen. мемнан мемнан, accus. мемнам мемнам), B/M me, H mä mä (gen. мәмнан мәмнан, accus. мәмнам мәмнам) | Prm *mi 'we' / gen. *miyan > Z ми mi (gen. miyan), Z Δ miϙз ^d miз, Prmk miϙз ~ mi (gen. miyan), Yz 'meϙΛz (gen. mi'yan), Vt ми mi (processive case miϙa, gen. mi'lam); Vt -m†, Z, Prmk -n†-m, Yz -ni-m 'our' ('noster, nostra, nostrum, nostri, nostrae') (-n†-, -ni- is the marker of pl. possessoris for all persons) || ? Sm *me- (and *me- + sx) 'we' > Ng {Mik.} m†η, Slq Tz mē, Kms {KD} mi? ~ mē, {Kü.} mi?, Koyb {Sp.} ме; but Ne Т ма́на̃ 'we' (pl.), En В {Ter.} 'modína? and Mt {Hl.} *mendä (Mt M {Sp.} мэндэ, {Pl.} мендя) id. are derivatives from the prn. of 1s (Ne ма́, En modí, Mt {Hl.} *мэн) ¶¶ Lp Rr miϙe, Lp Kld miϙ, Prmk/Z Δ miϙз and Prm gen. *miyan (and possibly Es meie) are likely to go back to the bisyllabic (and conservative) variant *miϙ∇ (< *m^ri₁A¹ < N *mi ?a) ¶¶ -n, -ń, -η in different lges are accounted for by generalization of the stem of obl. cases (with the N *nu, pc. of gen.) ¶ The element -N in Mr miń goes back to the N genitive pc. *nu (it represents the stem of obl. cases < N *mi ?a nu, best preserved in Prm

gen. *miyan); in some lges the stem of the obl. cases was generalized throughout the case paradigm of the prn. [2] ??? Sm ({Hl.} *-mat/ *-met 'our' (pl. possessoris) (× N *mi t'ü' 'we' incl. [N *mi 'I' + N *t'ü' 'thou'], unless it goes back exclusively to N *mi t'ü', q.v. ffd.) [3] The same U prn. **m'ia' 'we' (pl.) (sometimes together with additional affixes) is used as a personal sx of verbs (1p of the subject) > Mk (sbcj.) -ma -ma, -me -mé | Prm: Z -m, Prmk -m, -mз, Yz -m^, -m, Vt -m+ id. ||| Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -m+t/n (1p ending), Ng {Ter.} -mu?/-mü?/-m+?/-mi? (1p ending, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. obiecti), Ne T {Ter.} -wa- id. (pres. -wa-?, p. -wa-ć), En {Ter.} -ba-/-a- id. (pres. -a-?/ ba-?, p. -ba-ç), Kms {Kü.} -be? ¶¶ The Chr nominal possessive ending -na (Chr L -na, Chr H -na/-nä) 'our' and the verbal ending -na 'we' may either go back to *-mn∇ (also + sx?) or be connected with N *ñ∇ 'we' excl. (q.v.) ¶¶ UEW 294-5, ≈ IS II 54-5, Hs. 118, Ber. 36-7, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. GM 244-9, LG 171-2, Lt. J 61, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, Jn. 91-2, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Ter. GNJ 342-57, 364-5, 371-9, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Hl. M 144, 303 [no. 655], Kü. KJ 383-6 || ¶ nom. *bü_a / gen. *m'ü_a'nu (or *bi_a / *m'i_a'nu) 'we' pl. excl. > Tg nom. *bu_e ({Bz.} *büä) / obl. *mun- id. > Ul bū ~ buз / obl. mun-, Nn Nh buз / obl. bun-, Nn Bk bū, Nn KU mū / obl. mun-, Orc, Ud, Sln bu / obl. mun-, Ewk, Lm bu / obl. mun- ¶ STM I 98, Bz. 108, Krm. 91, On. 83 || M *ba / gen. *manu / dat. *man-a 'we' excl. > MM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana, WrM nom. ba / gen. manu / dat. mana id., Dg bā / gen. māñī id., Mgl -ū 'we' (sx), mōni 'of us, our', HIM маһай ({Pp.} manāē) 'of us' excl., Ord {Pp.} mani, Brt {Pp.} manā, Kl {Pp.} manā, mañ id. ¶ Pp. IM 215-18, 220 || pJ {S} *bà- 'I, we' > OJ wa-, a-, J: Ht bànù, K wàte, Kg ói, Ns/Sh wàñ; ⇨ : [1] MJ [RJ] wátákúsí, J T wataku sí, wàta sí 'I, myself'; [2] OJ wa(re) 'we', J: K wàtére, Ht bàimà, Y bán tá id., StJ ware 'oneself, self, ego' ¶ pJ *b- is probably a regular reflex of N *m- in pronouns and grammatical particals (cp. pJ *bз [accus. and emph. pc.] from the N pc. of accusative *mA). In the pronoun in question the denasalization *m- > *b- occurred already in pA ¶ S AJ 266 [no. 38], S QJ no. 38, Syr. DJ 90-1, Mr. 569, Kenk. 2130 and 2135, Mchz. ∇ (J watakusi < *wa-tu-(a)ku si lit. 'my place direction') ¶ But pKo *úrí 'we' is likely to go back to a combination of N *mi with the N plural marker *r∇ yE (see s.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 57, 276 [no. 36] (pA *bā 'I'), SDM 341-2 (on pA *bi 'I' > Tg *bi, M *bi, T *be- 'I', mentioning the stem of oblique cases of 1s [M *min-] and the pronoun of 1 pl. [Tg *bue, *min-, M *bue, *min-, T *bi-r 'we'] + unc. pKo *úrí 'we'), Pp. IM 261-2), Pp. IM 261-

2), DQA no. 126 (pA *ba/*mju-n- 'we') || HS: ? C: HEC *-m∇, verbal ending of 1p > Sd -mo, Hd -mo, -miya, Hd Lb -mina, Kmb, Alb -mi ¶ The ending may go back either to N *mi ʔa or (acc. to Blz.) to the HS *(ʔan)muni 'we' with *-muni as a compound form parallel to the 2p *(ʔan)tun∇ 'ye' ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 1-4 ¶¶ IS II 53 tried to adduce the Ch pers. prn. of 1p incl. *mun (reconstructed by IS as *m(ɾ)). But in the light of Chadic comparative ev. and the existence of the Ch prn. *kun 'ye' it is more likely that Ch *mun is a pCh (or pHS) innovation based on *m (1 person) + *-un (pl. ending). The pCh system may be reconstructed as follows:

	sing.	pl.
1 pers.	?	*mun∇
2 pers.	*ku (2m)	*kun∇

This suggests a prn. of 1s *m∇ (< N *mi [q.v.]) and the composite origin of Ch *mun∇ 'we' incl. ¶¶ Blz PPCh, Kr. RChP, Brq. PS, AD EPCChL || D *ma- ~ *mā- 'we' excl.: > Tl mā- ~ man- obl. 'we' excl. mā-namu (obl. māna-) we incl.; Gnd mā- obl. 'we' excl., Knd mān (obl. mā- 'we') (no opposition incl. ↔ excl.), Kui, Ku ma- obl. 'we' ¶ An. DJ (table 10 after p. 60), D no-s 3647 and 5154 ◇ Cf. N *ʔa, pc. of plurality ◇ ≈ IS II 52-6 (*mā, 1p incl.), MR ISNT 64-7. ◇ Unlike IS, I do not believe that this prn. (N *mi ʔa) was originally specialized as either incl. or excl. In M and Tg it was opposed to the inclusive M *bidanu and Tg *miti ~ *minti (both from N *mi t'ü' 'I + thou' and *mi nu t'ü' 'I + genitive pc. + 'thou') (Pp. IM 220, MED 102, Bz. 107, STM I 539) and therefore acquired the meaning of an exclusive 'we'.

1354b. *mi t'ü' 'we' incl. (N *mi 'I' + N *t'ü' 'thou') is found in M, Tg, Gil, Sm and probably in Y: A: M *bida (~ *bide?) 'we' incl. > MM bida, WrM {MED} bide(n) ~ bida, Ord b_idā, Dg {Pp.} báda id.; in most modern lges the opposition excl. ↔ incl. has been lost, so that the extant forms mean 'we' without this opposition: HIM Бид, {Pp.} bid:ə, bʲaddə, Brt Бидэ, {Pp.} be'de, Kl {Rm.} bidə and {KRS, Rm.} Бидн bidn (< gen. *bida-nu), Mnr {Pp.} buda; gen.: *bida-nu > MM bidanu, WrM bidan, Dg bádanī 'our' incl., HIM {Pp.} bidnī ~ biddānī 'our' ¶ The final *-a is on the analogy of M *ba 'we' excl. (< N *mi ʔa) ¶ M *-d- for the expected *-t- (from N) is still to be explained ¶ Pp. IM 215-17, Pp. MA 118, MED 102, KRS 97, KW 44, SM G 36-8 || Tg *m|biti (gen. *minti) 'we' incl. > Ewk mit(i), Sln mīti, Lm mut, Neg bitta ~ bit, Orc biti, Ud minti, WrMc {Z} мѳсэ 'we' (-с- may be a trace of the ancient N [regional?] var. *mi s'ü' 'we' incl. [with *s'ü' 'thou']?) ¶ *-n- in Tg *minti is from N *nu genitive, but the detailed history of the form is not yet clear ¶ Ci.

270-1, Bz. 1057 (Tg *münti 'we' incl.), STM I 539, Z 903 || **Gil:** Gil A mer ~ mir 'we' incl., Gil ES mīrn ~ mērn id. (r and R are reg. reflexes of *t and *t̥) ¶¶ Pnf. I 231-40 || **U:** pY {IN H, IN UJ} *mit 'we' > Y K/T mit, mit- (before a noun); OY xvii {Wts.} mitsjé, mitin ¶ Krn. JJ 72-80, Krn. JJ-T 440-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 144, IN H 269-70, IN 235, 310 || Sm ({Hl.} *-mat/*-met 'our' [pl. possessoris]): Ng {Ter.} rect.-gen. -m̄t̄ / accus. -n̄t̄ (pl./du. possessi nom. -n̄ü? 'nostri' / gen. -n̄u?), Ne T rect./accus. -b̄a? -w̄a? / gen. -h̄a? -n̄a? 'noster' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect./accus. -b̄a? ~ -a? / gen. -n̄a? id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect.-gen. -n̄a? 'nostri'), Slq Tz {KHG} [-m̄t̄₂] = -m̄t̄ / accus. -n̄t̄ 'our', Kms {Kü.} -w̄a? / -b̄a? 'our' (pl. possessoris), Mt {Hl.} *-ma_l? / *-mä_l?; benefactive forms of 1p of nouns: Ng -mu? (taḡa-mu? tuḡo 'the reindeer came for us', lit. 'cervus-nobis venit'; satarata-mu? koḡaḡamu? 'we obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for ourselves', lit. 'vulpem-nobis praedati sumus') ¶ Hl. DSJ ¶ This Sm morpheme belongs here if Hl.'s rec. of Sm *-t̄ is justified. Otherwise it belongs to N *mi ʔa 'we' ¶ For references see above s.v. N *mi ʔa.

1355. *mi 'what?' > HS: S *mī 'what?' > Ak mī-r̄n(u/a/i-m) id. || Gz mī 'what?' | CS *mah 'what?' > Ug mh ~ m, Hb -ḡ ma +gmc. ~ ḡ mā 'what', Pun mʔ [= mu] (< *mā) 'what' (attested as rel. prn.), [Poen.] MU, DA, IA, Plm, Nbt mh, Htr mʔ, JA ḡ mā (< *mah), Sr 𐎎 mā, Md ma, Ar mah ~ mā 'what?' ¶ CS *mah goes back to N *mi ʔa^ha 'what thing?' (= N *mi + N ʔσ *ʔa^ha 'thing(s)') | The pronouns for 'who?' go back to cds: S *miȳ ∇ 'who?' (either from N *mi yi = N *mi 'what?' + N *yi 'he', [ʔ] 'that' [anaphoric] or from N *mi ya = N *mi 'what?' + N *ya 'which' [as a rel. prn.]) > Hb ḡ mī, Ug mȳ ({Dk.}: = [mi_l:ya]?, {Siv.}: = [mīyu/a/i]), OAk mīrn, Ak mīrn-um (declined as an adj.); S *man_ln-_l 'who?' (< N *^omi mānū lit. 'what man?', F. N *mānū 'man') > Ak mānn-um), Amr {Dk.} manna, BA ḡ man, Sr 𐎎 man, Ar مَن man, Gz nom. mannū / accus. manna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} mōn, Jb E/C {Jo.} mun, Sq {Jo.} mon 'who?' (cp. It cosa 'what?' < *ke 'kosa 'what thing?'); this etymological explanation is more plausible than to suppose a semantic change 'man' → 'who?'; see also Ug rn 'what? which?' (adjectival function), rel. 'that, which' ¶ KB 522-3, 1732-4, HJ 599-600, OLS 266, 281, 310, Siv. U 42-3, Br. 372, Br. SG 50, Sd. G 48 [§ 47], Dk. AkJ 91, Dk. XAU 115, Jo. M 267 || Eg fOK m 'what?', m 'who?' ¶ EG II 4, Lpr. 70, Ed. 90 || B *maH ({Pr.} *mā) 'what?' (< N *mi ʔa^ha 'what thing?', cp. above CS *mah 'what?') > Ah {Fc.}, Ty {GhA}, Gh, Wrg {Dlh.} ma, Tz {Stm.} 'what?', Tmz {MT} ma id. (in cds like ma + prep. + mi); B ≈ *ma+tta ({MT}: lit. 'what he?'): Tz mat, Zkr matta, Kb {Hann.}, Shw {Hy.} mata, Mz {Dlh.} matta, Jrb, Snd mata 'who?', Tmz {MT}

matta 'which?', 'who?'; B {Pr.} *mī 'who?' > Ah, Ty, Gh mi 'who?' (cp. S *miy ∇ id. < N *mi ya), Tz mī t id.; Mz {Dlh.} man-t 'lequel?', man-ay-u ~ man-ay-ən 'who?', Ah manək k 'lequel est?' (cp. S *man_ln-_j 'who?' < *mi mān ∇ [lit. 'what man?'], as well as Tmz man, māni, Shw mən, Jrb, Snd man 'who?' [unless ← Ar man]) ¶ Pr. M I-III 216-21 (analysis of the interr. pronouns at the pB and Tw level), Fc. 1140-3, Dlh. M 113, Dlh. Ou 181, MT 394-5 || C: EC: Brj 'miya 'what?' (cp. S *miya 'who?' < N *mi ya or, as suggested by Ss., *maʔ + *yā 'it is'), EC {Ss.} *maʔ 'what?' > Kmb, Alb, Sd ma, Ged mā < maʔa (cp. CS *mah 'what?' < N *mi ʔa^ha 'what thing?'); EC {Ss.} *maħa 'what?' (< {Ss.} *maʔ waħa 'what thing?') > Af maħa, Sml maħā, Arr méh (/ sentence-final me), Rn {PG} máħà ~ méħè, Bn mahā, Bs me (-e < *-aħ), Hd maha, Dsn {To.} mēte 'what?'; Dsn {To.} māyya 'who?' (< *mi ʔayy-a, with N *ʔāy ∇ 'which?', 'what?', q.v. ffd.) || Dhl māka 'what?' (cd with -k ∇, cf. íko 'who?') || SC: Irq {Mous} m-, a px that turns a statement into a question asking 'what?' (lārí m-a ʔay-ān 'what are we eating today?', m-i kahí 'what does he say?', ma-t(a) kahí 'what do they say?'), Alg mi 'what?' ¶ Ss. B 146, PG 217, 222-3, Hw. A 232-3, HL 126, Mous 150-1, E SC 158, To. DL 517, To. D 40 || Ch *mi 'what?' > WCh: Hs mē id. | Dr mī, Krkr mīyá, Ngm mīyà id. | Fy {J} mī, Bks {J} ʔá-mī, Klr {J} ʔamû, ? Sha mà, má id. || CCh: Tr sb.: G'nd, Gbn, Boka mī id. | Mrg, Klb mī, Bu mī...ri id.; cd: Bu {Hf.} mən 'what?' | Gzg, Mtk {ChC}, MfG {Brr.} me, Mofu {Ro.} méy, Mf {BLB} mé, Mada/Mkt {Ro.} má, Myn {Ro.} má m, Hrz á m à, Mlk {Ro.} máy, Glv {Rp.} mɜ-r id. | Mdr me id. | BB: Gude mī id. | ? Msg má id. | McM: Lame mī id. || ECh: Mu {J} mî:, Mjl {DB} mî, Jg {J} mē 'what?' | Ll mé id. | ? McDng.: Bdy má, EDng mà, Mkl {J} mô_l 'what?' | Mgm mē ~ mē 'what?' | Ke {Eb.} ma (.....mó) 'what?' (where mó is a general marker of question, which is used in all interr. sentences), mîntí (.....mó) 'who?' ¶ ChC s.v. 'what?', ChL, J R 259, J J 115, Eb. 78, Lk. G 42, Hf. M 93, Hf. B 168, 182, RK 92, 163, Ro. 358-9 (pMM *ma), BLB 219, Brr. MG II 419, J LM 141, Fd. 108, AIJ 96, JA LM 161, Blz. EChWL no. 96 || U *mi 'what?' > F mi-kä (gen. mi-n-kä, prt. mi-tä, ill. mi-hin, iness. mi-ssä) 'what?', 'which?', Krl K mi (gen. mi-n, prt. mi-dä), Vp mi (gen. mi-ń, prt. mi-dä), Es mi-s (with additional -s, as in ke-s 'who?') (prt. mi-da), Δ mi ɖ me, Es SW meä 'what?', Lv mi-s: (prt. mi-da) (cp. ki-s: 'who?') | Lp: N {N} mī / obl. mâ- 'what?', 'which?', 'what kind?', L mi j id., S {Hs.} mi j, Kld мī, {Kert} mī (obl. mε-, e.g. gen. mεnn) 'what?' | Er мезе 'me-že, Δ meye, мейсэ mey-se 'with what?', 'in what?', мень меń 'which?', 'what kind?', Mk мезе 'mezä 'what?' | Chr: L мо мо 'what?', Uf/B мо, H ма id. | Prm: Vt ма ма 'what?', Z мый m+y, Δ мзу ɖ muy ɖ muya, Yz мΛy id. ||

ObU {ǂHl.} *mě- (a reg. reflex of FU *mi) 'what?' (or 'which?') > pOs {Ht.} *mě- > Os: V/Vy mōʒi, Ty mēʒʷa, Y mēʷa, D mēy, Nz/Kz mūy 'what?', V/Vy mēttā, Ty/Y mēttā, D/K mētā, Nz/Kz māta, O māti 'which?'; pVg {Ht.} *mā-nā 'which?' > Vg: P/NV/SV/LL mǎn, UL man, Ss mana id. | OHg, Hg mi 'what?' ¶¶ Chr мo ~ ма, Vt ма and Z m+у ѓ мзу ѓ муу are likely to go back to N cds (possibly *mi ʔaʰa 'what thing?', cp. CS *mah and B *maH 'what?') || Sm {Jn.} *mз- 'what?' > Ng {Ter.} ма, {Cs.} mâ id., En {Cs.} mîʔ (gen. miʔo) id., Kms {KD} mo, mōʔ 'weshalb?', Koyb {Sp.} мола 'what for?', Slq Tz {KKIH} m+ 'something'; also possibly Ne T {Ter.} мы, T O {Lh.} m̄ 'something to eat', Ne F {Lh.} m̄ id., 'merchandise', Ne T d. мым 'a useful thing' ¶¶ Coll. 34-5, UEW 296 (*m∇ 'what, thing'), Laan. 200-2, N 654, Hs. 127-8, SaR 188-9, Kert SJ 174, ERV 371-7, LG 181, MF 445-6, EWU 975, Ht. no. 375, ≈ Jn. 91 (+ unc. *mз- 'give, be'), KKIИ 134 || A *mʰi 'what?' > T *°min > Chv L мён тьп 'what?', d.: Chv L мице miže, Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.} минце minše ѓ минче ѓ мёнче 'how much, how many?' ({Rm.}: < *mičä), Chv L мёнле mǎnle 'what kind, which?', мёнёскер ~ мёскер 'what?, what kind of?'] Chv L ма ма 'why?', 'what for?', 'what (do you want to say)?' (in a dialog: Иван! - Ма? 'Ivan! - What?') ¶ Ash. VIII 151, 249, 334-48, Fed. I 356-7, Jeg. 133-4, ChVS 107, 115, Lvt. IM 35 ¶ Chv ма may be akin to Chr мo ~ ма, Vt ма, CS *mah and B *maH 'what?' (< N *mi ʔaʰa '↑') || pKo {S} *mi, {SDM} *mì 'what?' > MKo {SDM} mî id., in modern Korean cds: StKo muǎt, Ko dialects: PhN miǎt, Ph muǎt, Chs muǎt, Ks mûǎt, Hm mʷǎt, Chj mǎingǎ, Sl būǎt, Kw mǎ 'what?'; NKo mǎǎt 'how many?' ({Rm.}: < *mi-čä) ¶ S QK no. 99, Nam 225, MLC 663, S AJ 255 [no. 99] || ??σpJ {S} *mǎ-si ({S} "interrogative-dubitative pc.") > StJ mośi 'if' ¶ Mr. 485, Kenk. 1267 ¶¶ The pA suffix *-ça in Ko mǎǎt and Chv мице ѓ минце 'how many/much?' is identical with NaT *-ç in *ka-ç 'how many?' ¶¶ The comparison with pJ {S} *mǎ-si is questionable, but still legitimate, because the J conjunction means 'if (provided that)' (possibly from 'when') ¶¶ ≈ SDM 958 (*m∇ [an interrogative root] > Ko, J + unc.: interrogative particles M *-mu, *-mi and T *-mi), ≈ Rm. EAS I 79 [§ 43] (pA *mi 'what?'), ≈ Rm. SKE 147, ≈ S AJ 297 [no. 581] (pA *m∇ [interr. stem]), DQA no. 1379 (A *m∇ id.), Hmb. 75 || D: SD: Brgd mī 'what?', Kkd midā id. ¶ Grr. IV 334, 343 || K: [1] *may 'what?' (< *mi ʔay- < N *mi 'what?' + N *ʔäy∇ 'which?', 'what?' [q.v.]) > Mg, Lz mu-, Sv: UB/LB mäy ѓ mä, L may, Ln ma 'what?'; ? in the OG and G cd rome-l- 'which' ¶¶ K 124, K² 112 || [2] K (attested in Zan) *°min 'who?' > Mg, Lz mi / (before a vw.) min ¶ Q O47, Marr 28, ≈ K 135, ≈ FS K 124 and FS E 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 554-5, GP 211, Dn. s.v. may || IE {EI}

*mo-/*me-, {Ped., IS} *mo- '≈ what?' (< pre-IE **m_{je}/o- < N *m_i?) > NaIE: Clt: MBr *ma* 'which' (rel. prn.: *ar guchenn arc'hant m'oant denet da glask* 'la somme d'argent qu'ils étaient venus chercher', *bon tat ... ma emaouch en Én* 'pater noster qui es in coelo'), 'that' (cnjc.), (possibly also the obscure OBr *ma in tre ma* > Br *dre ma* 'par ce que'; Br Vn *tre me v i ω* 'tant qu'elle vit'), Br *ma* 'where?', *ma* 'that' (cnjc.), OIr *ma*, *má* 'if', Br *mar*, {Vn.} *ma* 'if', Crn *mar* 'if' | ? Tc: A *mänt*, B *mäkte* 'how?', A *mäksu* 'who?' || Ht *masi*- 'how many?' ({Ped.}: < gen. *mo-syo-), *mahhan* 'how?', cnjc. 'when, as', *mān* 'how?', cnjc. 'when, if, as', Lw {Mlc.} *mān* 'if, when(ever)', {Lar.} *man* 'if', ? Lc {Mlc.} *mē* 'if' (condition), {Carr.} *mei* id. ¶¶ Not here Tc A *mänt* and Tc B *mäkte* 'how?' and Tc A *mäksu* 'who?' (the element *ma-* ~ *me-* being akin to the Gk pc. *μέν* and not to an interr. stem) ¶¶ Flr. 248, 319-20, Ern. 382-3, 711, ≈ Vn. *M* 1, Hm. 537, 547, KT I 168, Wn. I 286-9, Ped. H 38, Ivn. OPA 193, Ts. E II 86-9, 116-17, 158-9, CHD L-N 100-11, 143-61, 205, Lar. 67, Mlc. CL 135, Mlc. L 43, Carr. SP 76, Ad. 186-8, 439-40, 451 (denying con-nections of the Tc words with an interr. stem), EI 457 (*me/o, interr.\rel. prn.) ◇ Hardly here (⇔ Rm. EAS I 79, DQA no. 1379 and IS) the T interr. verbal sx *-mi- (a typologically improbable semantic change 'what?' → general interr. indicator 'does [he] ...?'). The same is true of the Sml interr. indicator *ma* ◇ IS II 66-8 (*mi 'what?' in HS, K, IE, U, A and D), Schrđ. DU 107 (D, U), Gr.).I 229-31 ("interrogative M" in IE, U, A, ChK, Ai, qu. EA

1356. (Ll. ?) *ma^ʔa (y∇) 'mother' > IE: NaIE *mā-, *mā-yā 'mother' > OI Λ {MW} *mā* id. ||| Gk *μῆ* 'mother!' ([Aischylos] *μῆ γῆ* 'mother Earth'), 'nurse', Gk Hm *μῆτα* 'good mother' (form of address to old women), Gk I/A *μῆτα* 'mother, nurse' ||| MLG *mōje* 'mother's sister', OHG *holz-mōwa* ~ *holz-mūwa* 'female wood goblin, wood witch' (← *"wood mother") (*holz* 'wood'); ⇨ OHG *muoma* 'mother's sister', NHG *Muhme*, Yid *ממו* 'mume 'aunt' ||| d. NaIE *mā-'ter 'mother' > OI *mā'tar-* (nom. 'mātā), Av *mātar-*, KhS *māta-*, NPrs *مادر* *mōdār* id. ||| Arm *մայր* *mayr* (gen. *մօր* *môr* < *mawr < *mātr-os) id. ||| Gk A *μήτηρ*, Gk D *μάτηρ* id. ||| L *māter* (gen. 'mātr-is), Osc gen. *maatreis*, Um gen. *MATRER* id. ||| Clt {Matas.} *mātīr 'mother' > Gl *MATIR* {Billy} 'mother', dat. pl. *MATREBO* 'to mothers', OIr *máthir* 'mother', d: OW [γ] *modreped* 'materterae', W {YGM} *modryb* 'aunt', OBr *motrep*, MBr *mozreb* 'aunt', Br {Hm.} *moereb* 'tante', OCrn [γ] *modereb* 'aunt' ||| Lt *mótė* (gen. *moteĩs*) 'wife, mother', Ltv *māte*, Pru *mūti*, *mothe* 'mother' ||| Sl *māti (gen. *māter-e) id. > OCS **МАТН** *mati* (gen. **МАТЕРЕ** *matere*), Blg *мати*, SCr *māti* (gen. *mātere*), Slv *māti*

(gen. *mátere*), Cz *máti* (gen. *materě*), Slk *mat'* ~ *mati* (gen. *materě*), OP, P † *mac*, R *мать* (gen. 'матери), Uk 'мати (gen. 'матері) 'mother' || Gmc **mōþer* > ON *móðir*, OHG *muoter*, NHG *Mutter*, OSx *mōdar*, AS *mōdor* id., NE *mother* || pTc {Ad.} **mācer* > Tc: A *mācar*, B *mācer* id. || pAl {O} **māter* > Al *motër* 'sister' (← *'elder sister', because elder sisters assumed the role of child rearing in the household {My.} or because in the framework of certain kinship systems of ancient Albanians the word for 'mother' was extended to [elder] sisters and female cousins {Huld}) ¶ WP II 221-2, 229-30, P 694, 700-1, EI 385-6 (*'meh_hter), M K II 619-20, M E II 345-6, Horn 213, MW 771, Bai. 328, F II 154, 159, 232, WH II 49-50, Bc. G 317, 338, Me. EAC 81-2, Billy 104, Vn. M 25, Vr. 391, Ho. 224, Ho. S 53, Kb. 477, 704, OsS 415, 629, KM 497, Tr. 168, 170f., Frn. 465-6, En. 212, ESSJ XVII 237-69, SSS 324, Glh. 400-1, O 275, Matas. E 260, Hm. 576, YGM-1 334, My. 287-8, Huld 95-6, Slt. 50-1, Wn. I 283-4, Ad. 447, Ad. H 20, 44, 124, Zhr. IN 298 || HS: Eg √ *mω.t* 'mother' (= {Spg.} **maɜwet*, {Vc.} **māwi-t* [possibly active ptcp.]) > DEg *mω.t* > Cpt: Sd **MAAY** *maaw*, B **MAΥ** *maω* 'mother' ¶ Eg -t is a sx of the fem. gender ¶ EG II 54, Vc. 126, Spg. LMS 104-5, Crn. 95 || B (Ll.) **mā* (← **ma^h*?) > Gd *mā*, Ah *ma*, *matt* 'mother'; but Izd *mma* 'mother', Awj {Prd.} *mmā*, Snd *yamma*, Zww *imma* id., and similar forms (e.g. Si *ummaḷ* 'my mother'), are likely to represent pB **y∇-mmā* 'my mother' (**y∇* - 'my') with the element *-*mmā* which may go back to the N etymon in question, to N ***ʔemA** 'mother' (q.v.) or to a merger of both N words; the possessive sx may be added after the √ ¶ Fc. 1434, Lf. II no. O950, La. S 259, Prd. 168 || C: SC: Asa {Fl.} *maḷ* 'wife', *mayito* 'woman' ¶ Fl. AA 13, Blz. CWL || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} *máħáḷ*, Kry {Sk.} *máħè*, My {Sk.} *máħè*, Sir {Sk.} *mâ* 'mother' || Ngz {Sch.} *màḷ* id. || CCh: Gudu {ChL} *mɜḷ* id. || HgB/Kps {ChL} *mà* id. || ?? Tr {Nw.} *mànkì* id. || Mdr {Mch.} *mɔ* id. || Gzg {Lk.} *ma-* id. || Db {LnG} *mā-* id. || Gdr {Srp.} *mōkó* id. || Bdm {Lk.} *mā-*, Lgn {Lk.} *má-* id. || Ech: Mgm {J} *mèdé* id. ¶ The element *x∇* ~ *ħ∇* ~ *h∇* in the NrBc lges is a sx, cp. the words for 'father': Kry *báħè*, My *báħè* and probably Wrj *báħɜná* ¶ Stl. ZCh 259 [no. 159] (pNrBc **ma^ha* 'mother'), ChC s.v. 'mother', ChL, Sk. NB 32, Sch. DN s.v. *màḷ*, Nw. WLT s.v. *mànkì*, Lk. G s.v. *má-*, Lk. B s.v. *mā-*, Lk. L s.v. *má-* || D **ma_iy* > Gnd *mai* ɔ *māī* ɔ *māyi* 'woman, wife', Krx *maī* 'female child', way of addressing girls, ? Kdg *mayma* 'cross-niece, daughter-in-law' ¶¶ D no. 4791 and p. 513 [no. 53] || ? A: NaT **bEyæ* (← ***may_iæ*) 'mare' (← **'female, mother animal', cp. NHG *Mutterlamm* 'ewe lamb') (× A **bEy∇* 'an ungulate animal' < N ***bEΓ_i∇,ǰ∇** 'ungulate animal [deer and sim.]', q.v.) > OT, MQp XIV *bē*, [CC] *bey*, Chg ≥ xv *biye*, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq *biye*, VTt *biyā*, Bsh *bbyā*, Qrg

bē, StAlt b_ē, Tlt/QK {Rl.} pē, Qmn/Tb {B} pē, SY pie ɘ pi, Qb pī, Tv, Tf b_e, Xk pey ~ pī, Yk bīā 'mare' ¶ Cl. 291, ET B 133-4, B DK 241, B DChT 144, Rs. W 175, Rl. IV 1743, 1790, Ra. 73, 160, ≈ Shch. SFTJ 194 (*pā 'mare') ◇ The pN variant *ma^ra y ▽ (> Gk Hm and I/A μᾶλα, MLG mōje, D *may, Ngz {Sch.} māj and possibly T *bē ~ *bEyE) may be a form with an endearment morpheme ('Mütterchen') or a form with a possessive of 1s ('my mother').

1357. *mA^r ▽ 'ruminant (deer, antelope?)' > HS: Eg fP mɜ 'antelope' ¶ EG II 11 || D {Pf.} *mā, *mā-kk- 'e ungulate (deer, antelope?)' > Tm mā 'animal, beast' (esp. 'horse, elephant'), mā n 'deer, beast', Ml mā n, Kt ma·v, Td mo·f, Klm ma·g 'deer', Tl mā v u 'horse', Gnd ma u ɘ mā v (i), Knd mā v, Png mā η ges, Mnd mā η geh, Ku mā yu 'sambar', Kui mā ʒ u (pl. mā η ga) 'elk', Krx mā k 'antelope, red deer', Mlt mā k u 'stag' ¶¶ D no. 478O, Pf. 23 [no. 93] || A: Tg *^omeη- 'deer' > Ewk mɜ η ʒ tu (ɘ mɜ η ʒ tī ɘ mɜ ʒ tu ɘ mɜ η ʒ k ū ɘ mɜ η ti ɘ mɜ η ʒ ti) 'wild reindeer', Ewk Ald mɜ η ʒ tu, Ewk Skh mɜ η ti 'elk' ¶ Alternatively, Tg *^omeη- may have developed from Tg *meη 'grey' (of animals) (> Lm mɜ η ti, Ork mɜ η guri id.) ¶ STM I 570-1 ¶¶ If Tg *meη- belongs here, the N vw. was *ä. Did Tg *-η- go back to *ʔ-n- (N *mA^r ▽ nu with the N genetival *nu > marker of obl. cases > generalized part of the stem)?

1357a. *mu^ræ¹ 'this, that', dem. prn. > HS: S *-m, determiner (≈ df. art.) in sg. forms (as well as in *-āt- and *-ūt-pl.) of nomina > Ak -m, ending of st. r. in sg. (nom. -u-m / accus. -a-m / gen. -i-m), in m. pl. of adj. (nom. -ūt-u-m / accus.-gen. -ūt-i-m), in *-āt-pl. (f. pl. of adj., pl. of f. nouns and some m. nouns) (nom. -āt-u-m / accus.-gen. -āt-i-m), Ar -n, ending of the st. idt. in sg. (nom. -u-n / accus. -a-n / gen. -i-n) and in -āt-pl. (nom. -āt-u-n / accus.-gen. -āt-i-n) ¶ Dk. JDPa 215, AD TPSL, Sd. G 3*-5*, ≈ Br. G I 272-4 || Ch: WCh: traces of the determiner *-m in Hs m u t u m 'person' (÷ S *mut-u-m 'man') || Fy {J} mí / mú 'he' (preverbal subject prn. 3m), DfB {J} mā, Sha/Klr {J} má (genitival linker of 3m of the head noun), DfB mā, Sha mí, Klr mú (genitival linker of 3p), Sha m. mā / f. mù 'this', pl. mì 'these', m. ma-nò / f. mú-nò / pl. mì-no 'that\those' visible, m. mùnó / f. múnò / pl. mínò 'that\those' invisible || Su {J} mǎ, Ang {J} m w á 'they' (aut. prn.), Ang m w á (with ip.) / m w á (with pfc.) / m w á (with ft. and sbjn.) 'they' (subject prn.), Cp mu 'they' (aut. prn.), Cp mumú, Mnt mǎ 'they' (subject prn.), Cp {ChL} m + s u + 'this', Gmy {Kr.} m w + p 'their', m w + p a 'them' || Tng {J} mɔ, mǎ 'this', Dr {ChL} mē 'this', m e 'that', Pr {Frz.} -mù and -mò (dem. pronouns), Bl mà té 'they' (aut. and subj. prn.) || Kir {ChL} mínì 'this', mono 'that', Zal {ChL} muntu (múntú?) 'this', múntà 'that' || Buli {ChL} m + n n a 'this' || Bd {ChL} mǎ c ô 'this', mǎ c í y u 'that' || ? CCh: FIB

{Kr.} miž'i(tu) 'they', Boka {Kr.} mul-lan 'he' ¶ ChL, PorS 375-81, J R 370-1, 414, J T 121, Kr. RChP 80, 85, 93-4, Frz. P 42 || **K** *ma- 'he, she' > OG ma-id.: erg. ma-n, gen. m-i s, dat. ma-s (ma-n hrku a ma-s 'he told her'), G ma-, Mg mu 'he, himself', Lz mu-k 'he'; pK *a-ma 'this' (*hic*-deictic *a + *ma-) > G ama-/ am-, Lz (h)amu-k 'this', Mg amu- (in compound adverbs), Sv: LB {TK} ami, LSv {TK} ame 'this', Sv UP/L amən, L aman, UP/L amis 'to this', UB/L amša ~ amiš 'of this', ama w 'till here, up to now'; pK *i-ma- 'that' (distal deictic *_hi + *ma-) > OG, G -i-ma- (erg. i-ma-n, dat. i-ma-s), Lz (h)i-mu, Mg i-mu- (in cds: i-mu-dγas 'in that day', t-i-mu-seri 'in that night'), Sv i-m- in Sv {K} i-m-eg 'there' ¶¶ K 44, 101-2, 124, K² 2-3, 81, 112-13, FS K 206, FS E 226-7, Q 2, TK 40, GP US 47, GP 44-5, Dn. s.v. am, ame, ami || **U**: FU *mū 'other, that (jener)' > F, Es m u u '(an)other' | pLp *nu-mbē- 'the other (of two), other' (dis. from **mu-mbē- with the sx of cmpr. *-mbē) > Lp: N {N} nu b' b e / - b b- 'one (of two), the other, another, the second', L {LLO} nu b b ē 'the second, another, the other', T {TI} num:p(ε), Kld {TI} num:ḫ 'the second' | Chr: Н молы молъ 'other things', моло 'still, more (noch)', L моло мolo, Uf/B мolo '(an)other' | Prm: [1] *mō-d ({JLG} *mōd) '(an)other' > Vt мыд m+d, Yz 'mūd id., Z мōд mэд 'the second, (an)other'; [2] *mu-ked 'other', '(all) the other' (pl.) > Vt мукет muket 'other', Z мукōд mukэд 'another, different' || ObU {Ht.} *mī-/ *mā- > pVg *māt-/*mīt- 'another, strange (fremder)' > Vg: T māt, LK/MK/UK/ P/NV/LL/UL mōt, Ss mōt 'strange (fremder), other, the second'; T mā't, LK māt, MK/UK mēt 'a stranger'; pOs {Ht.} *makay- 'earlier' > Ty/Y māq+, D/K/Nz māχa, Kz māχ, mōχa id.; another Os stem: Os O {Páp.} mōχ- (attested: pl. mōχət) 'jene; other people', Os Kz f {Stn.} mōχəč 'much', {Páp.} mōχol 'more, other' | OHg mā 'now', Hg mā 'today'; OHg mā s '(the) other, next', Hg mā s 'other, another', OHg mā s o d 'the second, next, other', Hg mā s o d i k 'the second' ¶ Coll. 100, UEW 281-2, TI 287, MRS 329, Ep. 70, LG 175, 177, Ht. no. 376, Stn. D 902, 904, MF 424-5, EWU 917, 941-4 || **A** *mu₁E / obl. *mu₁E-n- > T *bū / obl. *mu-n- 'this' > OT bū / obl. mun- ~ bur- 'this', BdhOT bō / obl. mun- ~ mūn-, MQp XIII bu / obl. mun-, Tkm bū / obl. mun-, Tk bu / obl. bur-, Az, CrTt, Kr, Uz bu / obl. bun-, VTt by bu / obl. мон- mōn-, SbTt B pu- / obl. mun-, Qmq bu / obl. mun-, Qzq bu (x ol 'that') / obl. būn-, Qrg, ET bu(l) / obl. mun-, StAlt bu / obl. min-, Tv bo / accus. mon-u / dat. maṇā / gen. mōṇ, Xk pu / obl. min-, Yk bu / obl. man- id. ¶ Cl. 291-2, ET B 225-8 || **M** *mō|ü-n (~ mu-n?) 'this\that, the same (ceci même, cela même)' > MM [HI] {Ms.} m ŭ n 'celui-là, ceci même, cela même' (pl. m ŭ t

[mü d]), [S, PP] m u r 'he, himself, the same one' (pl. [S] m u t, [PP] m u d), WrM {MED} m ö n 'real, the very same', HlM M E H {MED} id., {BMR} 'wahr, the very same', Brt M Y H 'wahr, real, true; is', WrO {Krg.} m ö n 'is, are, is indeed, namely', Kl {KRS} M E H m ö n id., 'truly, really', MMgl [Z] m u n a 'this', m u t a 'that', Ord m ö n 'précisément, exactement, vraiment; même (the same), celui dont il vient d'être question' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111-12, MED 547, BMR II 344-5, Chr. 306, KRS 357, Chr. 306, Ms. O 469, Krg. 605, Iw. 117 ¶¶ SDM97 (pA *m ∇ 'this, that') ¶¶ Proto-Altaic *b- < *m- (reg. in monosyllabic stems without other nasal cnss); in the obl. cases *m- survived due to the presence of *-n-; in M *m- was generalized throughout the case paradigm || ? IE: NaIE: Crn s x - m a (← encl.) 'this', W y m a 'here, this', Br m a (ř) 'this' ¶ ECCE 267, YGM-1 43, Hm. 545, LP 272 (§ 367.2) ◇ IS II 70-1 (*m u, dem. prn.: K, U, A, ?HS, ?IE). In spite of the long vw. in U and A, IS preferred to reconstruct a monosyllabic etymon, because a bisyllabic form "would have contradicted the typical monosyllabic structure of the non-categorematic stems (незнаменательные основы)". But the monosyllabicity of pronouns and other non-categorematic words in the attested lges is not necessarily due to their original shape, it is often due to the universal diachronic tendency of shortening of such words (e.g. L e c c e i s t e > F r c e, L i l l ö r u m > F l e u r, S l *a z b > R я 'I, A S t ö w e a r d > N E t o w a r d [tō d], pS *š u a > B H b h ū 'he' etc.). In the light of the extant ev., IS was right in supposing that this prn. did not take part in the distance opposition *hic* ↔ *ille*, so that the *hic*-deixis of the prn. in T and the *ille*-deixis in FU must have developed within these descendant lges due to the opposition to other dem. pronouns.

1358. (₂?) *m a ɣ | g a 'good' > HS: C: LEC {Bl.} *m a ɣ - > Af {PH} m e ɣ e 'be good, be right', Sa {R} m a ɣ - 'ē 'Güte, Edelsinn; Schönheit', m a ɣ e m 'was gut\schön ist', -m a ɣ 'Gutes erweisen, edel\gut sein', Sml m a ɣ - ā n -, Dsn m é ɣ 'sweet', pOr {Bl.} *m e ɣ - > Or {Grg.} m i ɣ - a w - 'be sweet\flavoured', Or H {Ow.} m i ɣ a w - 'be sweet', Or B {Sr.} m i ā / m i ō f t a id., m i ā 'sweet, tasty', Kns/Gdl {Bl.} m e ɣ - ā w -, Bss {Bl.} m i ɣ - a w -, Turo {Bl.} m e - a y - 'taste good' ¶ Bl. 111, 136, 203-4, PH 167, R S II 254-5, Grg. 28, Ow. 264, Sr. 366, To. DL 517 || NOM: Ym {C} m a ɣ ā ~ m a ɣ ō 'buono' ¶ C III 79 || WCh: Fy {J} m ó 'Süsse', Bks {RA} m i m y a 'sweet', Kir {Sh.} m w à - 'good' || CCh: Msk {Trn.} m í y á w á 'bon, beau' || ECh: Tbn {Cpr.} m ō w á ɣ 'duceur sucrée', Skr {Lk.} m a i a 'schön, gut' ¶ J R 88, RA 10, Sh. SB 42 (no. 91), Trn. LDM 18, Cp. T 146, Lk. ZSS 35 ¶¶ Tk. III 49-50 || IE: NaIE **m ā - 'good, in due time', (?) 'great', ⇨ : [1] *°m ā - n o - 'good, early' > OL m ā n u s 'good', m ā n e, m ā n ī 'in the morning' (← *'early'), m ā n i c - ō / - ā r e 'get up early'; [2] NaIE *m ā - t ∇ - > L M ā t ū t a 'the goddess of the early morn', m ā t ū t ī n u s 'pertaining to the morning', m ā t ū r u s 'timely, ripe, mature;

grown up' || OIr *maith*, Gl {Evn.} *mati-* (in proper names), Brtt {RE} **mati-s* > OCrn *mat*, Crn *mās*, OBr, MBr *mat* 'good', Br *mat* 'good, well', *mad* 'well', MW *mad* 'happy, lucky', W *mad* 'good, seemly, lucky' || ? an unspecified lge (Gk Δ?) [Hs.] *ματίζ* (**μέγας*) 'big' ¶ FBS II 199, WP II 220-1, P 693, EI 235-6 (? **meh_h(t)-* 'good'), WH II 25-6, 53-4, F II 185, Vn. *M* 12-13, Evn. 228-32, Billy 104, RE 100, Flr. 251-2, Hm. 537, 554, YGM-1 320 || ?σ D (1) ?σ D (att. in SD) **mā* 'bravo!' (an exclamation of admiration) > Tm *mā* (an expletive), Ml, Kn *mā* 'bravo!' (interjection of wonder) (unless an interjection without etymology or a sd. from D **mā* 'great' < [?] N **mEkʷæ* [or **mEʷkæ*] 'big', q.v.) ¶ D no. 4787 ||] (2) ???σ D **mā-* 'great' > Tm, Ml *mā* id., Kn *mā* id. in: *mā-gelasa* 'great work', *mā-māyū* 'great mother', Kn Hv *mā* 'big, great', Gnd Δ *māy(i)* 'very big', *mayali* 'big' ¶¶ Highly doubtful unless there is a way of explaining the absence of the expected cns. **k* and the vw. **ā* ¶¶ D no. 4786.

1359. **mUʷæ* (probably **mUʷe*) 'cut, reap (→ 'mow') > HS: Eg G *m^ς* 'slay, kill', *m^ςm^ς* 'kill' ¶ Wls. 413, 415 || EC: Sa {R} *ma^ς* 'spalten, zerteilen, öffnen' ¶ R S II 254 || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} *má* 'cut', {Pw.} *mā* 'cut with knife', Gude {BrrJ} *ma* 'couper de l'herbe, faucher', ? Lgn {Bou.} *mīyó* 'knife' ¶ JI II 97, ChC s.v. 'cut', BrrJ VM 143, Pw. s.v. *mā*, Bou. K s.v. *mīyó*, ¶¶ Tk. III 167 || IE: NaIE **mē-* v. 'mow, cut' > Gk *ἄμαω* 'I reap corn; I cut (reeds etc.)' || OHG *māen* 'to mow, to cut', NHG *māhen*, MDt *maeyen*, Dt *maaien*, AS *māwan* 'to mow', NE *mow* 'mähen' ¶ WP II 259, P 703, F I 88, Kb. 649, OsS 584-5, KM 453-4, Ho. 216, Vr. N 419, Mn. 474, GI II 691 [**meh(i)-*], ≈ EI 258 (**h₂meh₁-* 'mow') || A **mû₁i-* 'cut, tear' > Tg **m¹u₁i-* ({SDM} **mü:-*, **müy-*) v. 'cut' > Nn Nh *mu₁i-* 'cut oneself, cut one's hand with a knife', Ul, Nn *ñui-*, Ewk, Neg, Ork *mī-*, Orc *mi-*, Ud {Shn.} *minz-*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *mindz-* 'cut', WrMc {Z} *мэѣлэ-* 'cut, cut into parts, cut off (резать, разрубить на куски, отрезать)', *мэйтэ-* 'cut, cut off' ¶ STM I 535, Krm. 260, On. 270, Z 875-7 || pKo {SDM} **míi-* 'tear a hole', 'get torn' > MKo *míi-* 'get torn', NKo *mii-* id., *mī-* id., 'tear a hole' ¶ S QK no. 1137, Yu 344, MLC 687 ¶¶ SDM 949 (pA **mūy[∇]* 'cut, tear' > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 2758 ◇ Hardly here T: OT *bī* ≈ 'knife', which goes back to N **P₁i¹ʷ[∇]* 'sharp edge, blade' (q.v.), unless borrowed from Chn *p¹i* 'split' (as supposed by Cl. 291) ◇ In IE the labial glide (< **U*) was lost after the sonant **m* (**meʔ-* < ***mueʔ-*, see AD NVIE) ◇ ≈ BmK no. 517 (**miʔ*/**meʔ-* 'to reap, to harvest': Eg, IE) ◇ On N and IE **ʷ-* see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1360. (2?) **me¹c¹A* 'forest, tree, wood (Holz)' > HS: EC: Kns {BISO} *mīssa* 'bush, bush country', ? Hr, Dbs, Gwd *mando* 'forest' (acc. to Lm. Sh 360, mt.

from *miḍ-an-) ¶ BISO 116, AMS 174, 278 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} miṭṭō 'tree, wood (albero, legno, legname)', Mch {L} mīṭṭo 'wood, tree', Anf {C} miḍḍō, miṣṣō, Shn {Lm.} mīttà, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} miṭa ~ miḍa (miṣa) 'tree, wood (legno), firewood', Wl {C} mittā, Cha {C} mitsā, Gf/Bdt {C} mitsē ~ mitsi 'tree, wood (Holz)', Zl {C, CR} miḍḍā, Malo miḍā, {Lm.} micci, Male {Si.} 'miḍi, Dwr miṭī, Gnj {Si.} 'mɿc, Krt {Si.} mɿcε, Zrgl {Si.} 'minca 'tree', Zs {Si.} mɿn'ḍa 'tree', {Lm.} minḍa 'tree, firewood', Kcm {Si., Lm.} 'micci id., Cm {CR} miḍē 'plant, tree, wood (Holz)', Dc {Lm.} miḍḍ 'tree', minḍā 'wood (Holz), firewood', Gamu {Lm.} micci 'Baum, Holz', Bsk {Bnd.} mic id., Gdc {Bnd.} miṣṣi id., Shk. {Lm.} miṭṭo id. ¶ Blz. OL no. 117 (Om. *miṭ- ~ *miḍ- 'wood'), AD SF 250, C SE III 172 and IV 475-6, C SO 33, 44, 62, Mrn. O 152, L M 43, Si. ACh 21, Si. M 11, Lm. Sh 360 || ??σ S *°ma|iṣh|ṣ- > Ak mēṣ-u 'ε a native tree and its wood' ¶ CAD X/1 33-4 ¶ The deglottalization *ḍ > Ak ṣ may be due to regr. as. (caused by *h|ṣ) ¶¶ AD SF 250 (Om, Eg; *÷ S: Hb maṭ'ṭē 'stick'), Blz. OL no. 117 || ?σ K *°miḍ|ḍa- > OG miḍa-y, G miḍa 'land, earth' (if from 'Wald') ¶ Ser. 101, Chx. 782 || U: FU {Coll.} *meććä, {UEW} *mećä 'forest' → 'remote place' > F meṭṣä 'forest, wood (Wald, Forst)', Es meṭṣ 'forest' | pLp {Lr.} *mēććē 'far away; go far way' > Lp: L {LLO} mieh'ttjēn, A mieh'ttjen, I {It.} mečč'in 'weitweg', S {Hs.} mietttjie- ~ mietts'ē- 'sich entfernen' (× mietsene 'behind, far in the northern side?') || OHg, Hg messz-e 'far off\away' (-e is a sx of lat.) ¶ Coll. 98, UEW 269-70 (semantic interpretation of the FU word as 'Rand'), Lr. no. 654, Lgc. no. 3811, Hs. 925, EWU 970.

1361. *mUḍ'∇ 'to press, to squeeze' > HS: S: [1] WS *✓mḍw|y 'squeeze out, wring out' > BHb מִצֵּד ✓mḍy G 'wring out (wet fleece)', 'slurp (from a cup)' ('ausschlürfen'), IA, JA ✓mḍy G, D 'squeeze, wring (esp. blood)', Sr ✓mṣy G 'draw\suck out (esp. blood)' (× S *✓mṣṣ 'suck'), D 'squeeze out', SmA ✓mṣy T 'be drained' (blood), 'expire', ? G 'shed (blood)', Ar ✓mṣṣ 'suck, sip in', 'lente et sugendo bibit', Tgy ✓mṣy G v. 'suck'; [2] S *°✓m w|y'ḍ' v. 'squeeze out' < BHb מִצֵּד mīḍ (< *ma'wīḍ-) 'pressing (for milk), pressing the nose for anger', MHb מִצֵּד mīḍ 'juice, sap' ¶ KB 547, 587, KBR 578, 621, Js. 825-6, Lv. III 209-10, Fr. IV 184, Hv. 723, Sl. 699, Br. 398, JPS 293, Tal 482 || Eg (+ext.) mṣd 'pressen' ¶ Tk. III 871 and 875 || EC {Ss.} *mayḍ₁- 'pressen' > Or mīḍḍā 'oppression', mīḍā 'harsh, harmful, oppressor', Bn {Hn.} mīč- 'auspressen' ({Hn.} borrowed from Or), Arb {Hw.} mīč- v. 'squeeze', Drs {Hds.} mīč- 'squeeze' ¶ Tk. III 875 || Om: Hrr {CR} māz-āyṣ- 'mungere' ¶ Tk. III 875 || WCh: Hs {Abr.} māčà 'squeeze out, press together', Gw {Mts.} máč'a, máca

'squeeze', Ang {ChL} m w e s id., Bd m à d ù w ú, Ngz m à d ú id. || ECh: Bdy {AIJ} m i d y 'essorer, presser', WDngl {Fd.} m í d y é 'presser pour faire sortir liquide (d'un filtre, d'une éponge humide), traire, Mgm {JA} m í d d y ó 'presser, essorer', Brg {J} m è ð i 'essorer' ¶ Tk. III 875-6, Abr. H 666-7, Ba. 783, ChL, Fd. 131 ¶¶ I am thankful to Tk. for drawing my attention to the Eg, C and Ch cognates || K *^omuç|ç- > G I/G muç- 'zusammenkneifen, zusammnen-pressen (Lippen)', ? G (← Zan?) muč- 'ballen (Faust)' ¶ Chx. 859 ¶ If the G verb muč- is a loan from Zan, the pGZ rec. must be *muç-, ergo N *mUç ▽ || U: FP amb *mUć ▽- v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N *mUz, ▽, ▽ 'fist; to squeeze with a fist', q.v.) > F inf. m u s e r t a a 'to crush, to smash', Krl A inf. muž u o 'to press, to crumble', Vp inf. muč o i d a 'to twist (fingers)' | ? Lp Sw {SK ← ?} moč e t e t, moč č o t v. 'break, be breaking off' | Z Δ m ə ž i r 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} m ə ž i r t- 'clench one's hand/fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 || ??σ D *muč (č)- > Tm m u c i v. 'be torn/crumpled (as a garment)', Ml m u s i y u k a v. 'frow faint, weary, be worn out', Tl m u s i n c u v. 'be spoiled' ¶¶ D no. 4903.

1362. *muč ▽ (k ▽) 'to immerse, to wash' > HS: S *^o-mūç- (*√ m w ç) ~ ? *^o√ m s H (= *^o√ m s f | h ?) v. 'wash, cleanse' > Ar √ m w ç (ip. -mūç u) id., ?? Ak A m a s ā ? u (m), Ak B m e s ū (m) id. ¶ BK II 1168, Hv. 740, Sd. 647-8, CAD X/2 30-5 || C ({AD} √ m y č) > EC: Sml {ZMO} m a y d o 'wash, bathe', Sml N {Abr.} m a y d - v. 'wash', Or {Grg.} m i č č a v. 'wash (clothes, objects)', Or B/O/W {Sr.} m ī č a id., v. 'squeeze', Kmb {L, Hd.} m e č č -, Qbn {L} m e č č i y o', Sd {Hd.} m ē č - v. 'wash', ? Ged m ī č - v. 'squeeze', ?? Or {Sr.} m i č t i r a - v. 'wring out (clothes), squeeze' (→ Brj {Hd., Ss.} m i č i r - v. 'wring out') ¶ AD SF 308, Grg. 285, Sr. 366-7, Hd. 164, 212, 255, 333, 385, Ss. B 144 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.}, Wl {C} m e č -, Kf {C} m ā č - v. 'wash', Ym {C} m e ? -, {Wdk.} m è ? u / m è ? u, m à s o / m à s o id., Bnc {Wdk.} m á s (k) - vt. and vr. id. ¶ AD SF 308, Wdk. BY 107, 131 (the verbs in Omt [= Gf?], Wl, Kf may be loans from Or) || Ch: WCh: Hs {Abr.} m ō d è 'sink in' || CCh: Msg {Lk.} m a s -, {Mch.} m a s id., {J} m u s n à v. 'wash (things)' | Ms {Caīt.} m ū s, BnnM {ChL} m b u s a, Azm {Pc.} m b ū s à v. 'wash' | ? Mrg {Hf.} n c u v. 'immerse, plant' ¶ ChC s.v. 'wash', ChL, Abr. H 677, Ba. 794, Hf. M 126, 131, Caīt. 109 s.v. m ū s 'laver', Pc. 292-3 || ?? Eg m z 'tief, tief sein', Eg Eth m z 'versunken sein' ¶ EG II 184, 4-6 ¶¶ Tk. III 807 (Hs, Eg) || IE: NaIE *m e s g - v. 'immerse', {EI} 'dip under water, dive' > OI 'm a j j a t i 'sinks' || L m e r g - v. 'dip, plunge (into liquid), immerse' | Blt iter. *m a z g - v. 'plunge in, wash' > Lt inf. m a z g ó t i, Ltv inf. m a z g ā t v. 'wash' ¶ P 745-6, EI 160, WH II 76-7, M K III 548-9, M E II 291, WH II 76-7, Frn. 421 || U *m u s k e - v. 'wash' > FP {UEW} *m u s k e > Es m ō s k e - id. | pMr {Ker.} *m ū s k a - > Er m y c b k e - m u s k e -

, Mk *мусько-* *muśka-* v. 'wash (clothes)' | pChr {Ber.} **mušk-* > Chr: L *мышк-* *mušk-*, H *мышк-* *mǔšk-* v. 'wash' | Prm {LG} **múś-*, **múśk-* > Z inf. *míśk+ní* 'to wash', inf. *míśś+ní* 'to wash (oneself)', Vt inf. *míśk+ní* 'to wash, to bathe (so.)', inf. *míśtaśk+ní* 'to wash (clothes, oneself)' (Vt í for *í due to the infl. of ś) || Hg *мос-* v. 'wash', *мос(ако)д-* v. 'wash oneself' || Sm **māśb-* v. 'wash' > Ne T inf. *маcǎ-сb* 'to wash', Ne T O {Lh.} *mās·ā-* v. 'wash', Ne F {Lh.} inv. 2s *mās?*, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. *masuabo*, Slq Tz {KKIH} *muślt+qo* v. 'wash, wash oneself', Slq Tm {KLD} *muz-*, *mus-*, Kms {KD} *bāzāíām*, *buzāío'm* id., Koyb {Sp.} *бызла* 'washes', Mt {Hl.} **masə-* 'wash' (Mt: M {Sp.} 1s *мазїямъ*, K {Pl.} *maàsisin* 'I wash') ¶¶ UEW 289, It. no. 189 (**muśke*), Coll. 35, Sm. 538 (U **mośk+*-, FU **mośki-*-, FP **mo|uśki-*-, Ugr **moskĩ-*-, Sm **māśe-* 'wash'), MF 450-1, Ker. II 91, Ber. 39, MRS 337, 343, LG 184, Jn. 89, KKIИ 133, Hl. M no. 642 || D {IS} **muč(č)-* v. 'wash' > Kui *musa* v. 'wash the head', *mīspa* v. 'bathe, wash (another person)', Krx *mūž-* v. 'wash the face of', Gnd *mičnā*, *mīh-* v. 'bathe another person'; the D cognate is valid unless this is a derivative from D **mī-* 'wash' (< N **mûhi* 'water, fluid', q.v.) ¶¶ D 4878, Pf. 41 (Krx *mūž-* < D **mī-nč-*) ◇ Cf. UEW 189 and P 745-6 (both draw attention to the U-IE parallel), IS II 71 (**muč* ᵛ v. 'wash'). U *ś for the expected *č is due to its precon. position. In IE *mesg-* the element *-g- belongs together with U *-k- in **muśke* (a final element in a N cluster of words?).

1363. ?σ₂ **m∇č∇w∇* 'ε rodent' > HS: C: pAg **ʔ3nč3w* 'mouse' > Bln {Ap.} *ʔ3nš3wa*, Xm {Ap.} *3čwa* 'mouse', Q/Km {Ap.} *3nšäwa* id., 'rat'; Ag *↳* EthS: Gz *ʔanşawā*, *ʔanşēwā*, *ʔansōwā* 'mouse, weasel', Tgy *ᶏᶑᶑᶑᶑ* *ʔanč3wa*, Tgr *ᶏᶑᶑᶑ* *ʔanşay* ~ *ᶐᶑᶑᶑ* *ʔanşay* 'mouse'; EthS *↳* Sa {Wlm.}, Af *ʔandawa* 'id. || ? EC: Or {Grg.} *hantūta*, {Brl., Th.} *antuta* 'mouse, rat', Or B/O {Sr.} *hantūta* 'rat' ¶ R WB 41, Ap. AV 3, Ap. WLQ 13, AD SF 142, 222-3, L G 32, LH 476, Brl. 24, Th. 20, Grg. 200, Sr. 323 || NrOm: pGng {Ap.} **inč-* > Kf {C} *iččō*, Mch {L} *īčče*, Anf *īnčo* 'mouse', Shn {Lm.} *īnčà* id., 'rat', Bnc {Wdk.} *úč*, She *uč*, Hrr *ērēčē*, Cha {C} *učā*, Wl {C} *ečärē*, Zs {C} *ečerē*, Dwr {Ap.} *← ?* *ečere*, *ečeria*, Bdt {C} *erečē* 'mouse' ¶ C SE IV 394, Ap. AV 3, AD SF 142, Wdk. BY 112, Lm. Sh 269-70 || ? CCh: Gzg D {Lk.} *mocod*, Gzg Mj {Lk.} *močod* 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} *máčad*, *móčod* 'ε mouse', ? Db {LnG} *mašay* 'mouse' (× N **muks'a* - **mugz'a* 'ε rodent') ¶ Lk. G 130, Brr. MG II 163, ChC s.v. 'mouse', LnG s.v. *mašay* || K: G {DCh.} *mčav-i* 'ε beaver, otter', *čav-i*, *čvav-i* 'beaver, otter', {NCh.} *mčavi*, *čavi*, *čvavi* 'otter', {GL, Chx.} *čav-i* 'otter, Fischotter' ¶ DCh. 927, 1629, NCh. 306, Chx. 2099, SSO I 534 and II 362, GL 570 ◇ The

comparison is doubtful, because common origin of words for 'mouse' and for 'beaver, otter' is questionable.

1364. *mučř ∇ 'damage, (physical) defect, illness' > HS: S *^o✓ mθř > Ar ✓ mθř (ip. -mθuř- ~ -mθař-) 'avoir une démarche disgracieuse' (se dit d'une femme qui marche comme une oie) ¶ BK II 1060 || U: FU *mučř ∇ '(physical) defect, illness' (→ 'guilt') > pChr {Ber.} *mužь 'evil spirit causing illness; illness' > Chr: L 'мужо 'mužo, H 'мыж 'mъž id. || Prm {LG} *mũž 'illness as punishment' > Z мыж m+ž 'guilt, fault (проступок), crime', Yz {Gn.} m^ž 'guilt', {Lt.} m^ž'a 'guilty', Prmk m+ž'a 'punishment, illness sent by God, illness sent by the deceased parents', Vt S m+ž 'unkept sacrifice vow; illness inflicted by deities as punishment', m+žt+n+ v. 'send illness' || pObU {Ht.} *māč ~ *mōč > pVg *māš 'illness, defect' > LK mǎš, UK mǎs, LL maš, Ss mos id. ({Mu.} 'scrofula, illness, deficiency', {BV} 'illness'); pOs *mǎč 'illness, wounds' ({Stn.} "general name for illnesses and visible wounds") > Os: V mǎč, Ty moč, Nz muš, Kz mŵš, O mos 'illness, wounds' || ? OHg mǎz 'epilepsy', Hg Δ h ag y m á z 'hitziges Fieber, wobei man immer phantasiert', 'typhus' ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 283, It. no. 225, ~ Sm. 553 (FP *mučř ∇ 'illness'), Ber. 40 [no. 202], MRS 333, 340, Ep. 73, Ü 124, Lt. 194, Lt. J 148, LG 181, Ht. no. 378, MK 315, BV 56, Stn. D 890-1 || D (att. in SD) *mučř- > Tm mučř i v. 'faint', Ml mučř i y u k a v. 'grow faint', Kn mučř u r u v. 'become torpid\stupified, lose conciousness, faint away' (× D *mučř (č) v. 'be torn\crumpled' < N *mUčř ∇ 'to press, to squeeze', q.v.) ¶ D no. 4903 ◇ IS II 72 [no. 305] (*mučř ∇, sc. *mučř|č ∇ 'порча, недостаток': U, D).

1365. *mučř ∇ 'clenched\cupped hand, fist' > HS: B *^o✓ m∇z - 'fist, cupped hand' > Kb {Dl.} tummāz̄t (pl. tummāz̄) 'fist', Sll {Ds.} amāz̄ id., tummāz̄t (pl. tummāz̄) 'cupped\clenched hand (poignée)', Izd {Mrc.} tummizt (pl. tummāz̄), Gd {Lf.} tammāz̄t (pl. tammaš, tammāz̄ēn) id., w̄māz̄ 'prendre à poignée' ¶ Dl. 529, Mrc. 196, Lf. II no. 1054 || K *^omučř- > G mučř'a 'hollow of the hand, handful', mučř-i id., 'fist', mučř- 'ballen (Faust), eine Handful von etw. nehmen, in der Hand halten' ¶ DCh. 911-12, Chx. 859 || U: FU *mučřk ∇ 'fist' > pMr {Ker.} *mušкь id. > Er мокшна mokšna, Mk мокшенда mokšanda id. (sc., acc. to Ker., the mt. occurred in the prehistory of Mr) || pChr {Ber.} *mušкьндь id. > Chr: L мушкьндо 'mušкьndo, H мышкьнды mъš'кьндь id. || Prm {LG} *mũžik id. > Vt мыжык m+ž+k id., Z LV m+ž+k n. 'blow with the fist, cuff, punch (удар кулаком, тумак)' || pOs *měčak ({Hl.} *mĩčak) 'fist' > Os: Ty/D měčak, O māšak id. ¶ UEW 704 (unc.: Os ← 3), Coll. 99, It. no. 221, Sm. 553 (FP *mučř ∇ 'fist'), Ker. II 89, Ber. 39, MRS 338, 343, LG 181, SZ 230.

1366. *mučř∇ 'end' > **HS:** S *^o✓ mθř > Ar مظعة maḍḍa-at- 'la fin, le reste du discours' ¶ BK II 1125 || B: Izn {Rn.} e-mḍa 'être passé\ terminé', Zng {Nic.} ✓ mḍ 'finir, terminer', i-maḍ 'c'est fini' ¶ Rn. 385, Nic. 206 || CCh: Mf {BLB} mēḍ 'fin, mort', MfG {Brr.} -māḍ- 'terminer, finir' ¶ BLB 222, Brr. SLVMG 139 ¶¶ Tk. III 710 ¶¶ I am thankful to Tk. for drawing my attention to the B and Ch cognates || **U:** FU *mučř∇ 'end' > pChr {Ber.} *mučř-akš (*-akš is a nominal sx?) > Chr: L мучаш mu'čaš, V mučakš, Н мычаш 'mъčaš 'end ('Ende, Spitze)'; pChr mučř- with a locative ending > Chr Н мычны 'mъč-нъ 'at the end of' || pObU *m'ō'č (/ *močř- ?) 'up to' > pVg *m'ā'č id. > Vg: T miš, LK māš, MK/UK mā's, P/NV/SV moš, LL maš, UL mos, Ss mus; pOs *močřa ({JHl.} *māčřa) id. > Os: V/Vy močřa, Ty/Y močřa, Km māš'a, O māš'a id. ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 283, Ber. 38, MRS 330, 342, Ht. no. 780 || **A** *mōčř∇ 'end, edge' > AmTg *mučřa 'end, edge' > Ul mučřa, Ork mučřa ~ mučřa, Nn Δ močřa id. ¶ STM I 561 || T *mu:ḡ-gak, *mu:ḡ-mak 'corner, angle' ({SDM} 'exterior angle') > OT [MhK] {Cl.} bučřaq 'corner', MQp XIV, Chg XV, OOsM XIV bučřaq, Tk bucak id., Az bučřag, ET büčřek, Chv L пѣчмex, Chv Δ пѣчex, Chv {Md.} pšsmex id., 'angle' ¶ ≈ Cl. 294, ET B 282-3, Naj. 217, Fed. I 425-6, Ash. X 241, 244, 257, Jeg. 158, ChVS 138 || pKo {S} *m^hčř- v. 'finish' > MKo m^hs-, m^hčř-, m^hčř'Á-, NKo mačř'i- id.; pKo {S} *m^hčř- n. 'finish, end' > MKo m^hčř'Ám ¶ S QK no. 661, Nam 198, 205-6, MLC 568 ¶¶ SDM 938 (pA *mōčř'a|u|o > Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 1372, S AJ 76, Rm. EAS I 79, ADb. SR 13 ◇ Resh. NNE no. 5 (U, A).

1367. *mōčř'čř'∇, ∇, ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off' > **HS:** Eg XIX-XX mšř 'cut off (abschneiden) [?]' (× a derivative from Eg šř 'trennen von etwas') ¶ EG II 156 || S *^o✓ mšř > Ar ✓ mšř G (ip. -mšřa- ~ -mšři-) {Fr.} 'eripuit', {BK} 'arracher\enlever violamment', {Hv.} 'steal (a th.) away', 'card (cotton)' ¶ BK II 1262, Fr. IV 182, Hv. 722 || C: EC: Sml N {Abr.} mučřh- 'strip off, undress, despoil', Sml {R} mučřaḥ- 'strip off the skin' (the devoicing *ř > ḥ id probably due to as. [pC *čř > *čřh]) || Bj {R} ✓ mšř pcv. (1s: p. 'amšřa?, pres. amāḥšī?; prtc. 'mešřa) 'tear to pieces, split, divide', {Rop.} ✓ mšř pcv. vt. 'split' ¶ Abr. S 182, R WBd 175, Rop. 219 || NrOm: Kf {C} mačřčř- 'tagliare, incidere', Gm {Hw.} múčřo 'cut' ¶ C SE IV 468, Hw. EG s.v. 'cut' || **U** *^om'ū'čřa- > Sm *mъčřā- 'cut' > Nn: T мада- v. 'cut', T O {Lh.} маḍā- 'durchschneiden', F NI {Lh.} matta'-ś id.; Slq: Tz {KKHI} māttī- v. 'chop, cut, cut into pieces', Tm {KD} mažāb- 'cut'; Kms {KD} 1s pres. bāḥāyom ~ bāḥayom ~ buḥāyom 'cut' ¶ Jn. 84, KKIH 129, KD 7 || **D** (att. in NED) *mōčř- 'cut into pieces' > Krx inf. mōčř-nā 'to cut up into convenient pieces any object too large for use, to give a cut in\through', Mlt {Drs.} inf. mōčř 'to cut (as meat)' ¶ D no. 5130, Pf. 195 [no.

194] || **A:** Tg *mōsa- v. 'grind' > Nn Bk mōso 'millstone', Nn Bk/KU {STM}, Nn Nh {On.} mōsola-, WrMc {Z} мосэла- v. 'grind (grain), mill', Nn Nh {STM} mōsolaqu, {On.} mōsolaqo, Ul mosoloqu ~ maysalaqu, WrMc {Z} мосэлаку n. 'mill' ¶ STM I 547, On. 270, Z 893-4 || ?σ Т *biç- ~ *biç- v. 'cut; cut out a garment' (× N *bič̣∇ 'cut, crumble, crush', q.v. ffd.) ◇ SC, Bj and Tg point to N *-ŝ-, while EC, Om and Sm suggest a N affricate. The exact sound corrs are still to be elucidated.

1368. *m'A'ĉ∇g∇ 'be foolish, be mad', 'be intoxicated' (→ 'be drunk') > **HS:** S *^o✓ mŝ̂ √ > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} مَضَاغَةٌ maḥūḥāy-at- 'fatuus', {BK} مَضَاغَةٌ muḥūḥāy-at- 'sot, imbecile', {Bel., Hv.} مَضَاغَةٌ maḥūḥāy-at- 'mad, insane' ('fou, insensé') ¶ Fr. IV 188, BK II 1120, Bel. 774, Hv. 724 || EC: Or {Grg.} маččā(ω)а 'be\get drunk', маččī 'drunkenness', Arr маččé id., маččω- 'get drunk', Ged {Hd.} (← Or?) маččō?- 'be drunk', Sd {Gs.} маččarara 'be mad\crazy', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} маččār- 'be crazy'; Or ⇨ (?) Kf {C} маš-, Mch {L} маša 'be drunk' ¶ ≈ AD SF 305-6, Grg. 272, Brl. 286, Hw. A 383, Gs. 217, Hd. 45 (HEC *maččarār- 'be crazy'), 254, 293, 331 and 384 || **A:** Tg *moç∇ 'awkward, stupid' > WrMc {Z} мочо 'slow-witted, dull, awkward (тупой от природы, непонятливый, неловкий)', Ul moç'o 'it is awkward\uncomfortable', Nn Nh/KU {STM} moç'o 'ungeschickt (неловкий, неумелый)', Nn Nh {On.} moç'o id., 'verständnislos, stumpfsinnig (бестолковый, тупой)', Nn Bk moco nau 'an awkward, clumsy man', Orc moçolā- 'be unable\clumsy', Ork motčouli 'awkward, uncomfortable' ¶ STM I 547, On. 270, Z 895 ¶ The vw. *o may be due to the infl. either of the second syll. (a rounded vw.?) or of the initial *m- || **D** *mac̣ - 'be intoxicated; intoxicating beverage' (× D *may- 'mix, be\make unsteady' < N *magy'E' 'to swing, to wave, to sway', q.v.) > Mlt μέσα 'an intoxicating beverage prepared of corn', Krx māyā 'malt prepared for making beer, beer in its preparatory stage, arrack made of rice', Tl maikkamu 'intoxication, inebriation', maidda 'intoxication', Tm macakku vt. 'charm, bewitch, confuse, perplex', macakkam 'dullness, swoon', macakkai 'morbid longings of a pregnant woman', mayakku v. bewilder, make one swoon', myakku n. 'mental delusion', maiyal 'infatuation of love, madness', Ml mayarṇuka 'be drowsy, be giddy' ¶¶ D no. 4706.

1369. *mAdû 'honey' > **IE:** NaIE *medh^u- 'honey' > OI madhu- 'honey, mead', Av mađu 'berry wine', Sgd accus. mđu 'wine', Oss I mɛd, D mud 'honey' ||| Gk μέθυ 'wine' ||| Clt {Matas.} 'mead, alcoholic drink' > OgIr meddogeni, OIr mid (gen. medo), MW medd, W {YGM} medd, OCrm [ʎ] medd

'sicera (strong alcoholic drink)', OBr [ʏ] medot 'ebrietas', MBr mez 'mead', Br {Hm} mez 'hydromel' || ON mjǫðr, OHG mētu & mito, NHG Met, AS medu ~ meodu 'mead', NE mead || Lt medūs, Pru meddo 'honey', Ltv medūs id., 'mead' | Sl *mědъ (gen. *medu) 'honey' > OCS МЕДЪ медъ, Blg мед, Cz, Slk med id., SCr mēd, P miód, R мёд, Uk мед id., 'mead'; the ancient root-final *u is preserved as *v in derived and compound words (as ChS МЕДВЬНЪ medvъnъ, R мед'вяный 'made of honey', Sl *medv-ědъ 'bear' ['honey-eater'] > ChSl medvědъ, R мед'ведь, Uk мед'відь, P niedźwiedź, Cz medvěd, Blg мед'вед, SCr мѣвјед, Slv médvěd 'bear') || Tc B mīt [mit] 'honey' ¶ P 707, M K II 570-2, M E II 302-3, Bai. 340, Ab. II 134-5, F II 191-2, Vr. 390, Ho. 218-19, Kb. 680, KM 476, Frn. 425, En. 209, ESSJ XVIII 62-72, StSS 324, Vs. II 588-9, Glh. 402-3, Vn. M 48, Matas. E 261-2, Hm. 567, YGM-1 327, Wn. I 298, Ad. 461, Ad. H 17, ≈σ EI 271 (**'med^hu 'mead') || D (att. in SD) *mat̥t̥o 'honey, sweetness' > Tm mat̥t̥u 'honey, toddy, sweet juice', Ml mat̥t̥u 'sweetness, honey', mat̥t̥u 'nectar', ? Tu mit̥t̥i 'sweetness' ¶ D no. 4662 || HS: ECh: Mkl {J} mād̥dē 'bee, honey' ¶ J LM 136, JI II 19, 191 || NrOm {Blz.} *mat/ṭ/Ḷ- 'bee, honey' > Shn maṭṭa 'honey', {C} mačō 'ape', Zl {C} micā, Kf {C} māṭō 'bee', Mch maṭi 'bee, wasp', Anf maṭṭo ~ maṣṣo, {Gt.} maččo, Zs, Dc maṭṭ 'bee', Gm {Hw.} mácci, Wl {C} mat̥tā, Bdt {C} micē, micī, Cha {C} mecā id. ¶ Lm. Sh 363, C SE III 172 and IV 475, Blz. OL no. 177, Hw. EG s.v. mácci, Gt. 356 ◇ Ar مَادِي māḍīy- 'miel blanc, vin' (BK II 1166) is hardly an inherited cognate (because Ar ḍ does not go back to N *d), it is more likely to go back to an Iranian source (cp. Phl maḍ 'wine') ◇ The S root *√mtk 'sweet' does not belong here (against the opinion of some scholars) and is likely to be connected with Ht mitgaimi- 'sweet, sweetened' (acc. to Ts. E II 221, originally a Lw word [← Lw *mitga(i)- 'sweeten']) ◇ AD NM no. 79, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE *mad^hu- 'honey' *← Nrcs *h_wmiṣōū 'honey'; therefore Starostin rejected the N et. in question) ◇ In the chart "Main phonetic correspondences in the Nostratic languages" in AD NM 102 and in AD NMI 21 there is a misprint: the IE reflex of N *-d- is misprinted as *d for *d^h, which caused Coleman's remark (Clm. R 117): "The derivation of PIE *medhu- 'honey' from PN *madu is incompatible with the table of reflexes".

1370. ₂ *mAdU 'lake' ([in descendant lges] → pond) > HS: B *-md(ω)- 'lake, pond' > Sll {Ds.} 'tamda (pl. timduin), BMn tamda id., Kb tamda (pl. timadω-in) 'mare, réservoir, bassin', Tmz {MT} amda ~ anda (pl. imdwan ~ indwan) 'pond (étang), lake', tamda & tanda (pl. timdwin ~ tindwin) 'small

pool, puddle' ('mare, flaque'), mdu (pf. mdi ~ mda) v. 'be filled with water' (of a basin, well, pit, ditch), 'stagnate' (of water) ¶ Ds. 165, Ds. B 190, La. S 234, Dl. 486, MT 402-3 || ??φ CCh: Pdl {ChC} mīžīma, Bu {ChL, Hf.} manda, Ngx {ChL} màndà 'lake' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'lake', Hf. B 76 || | D *maṭu ({{GS}} *-d-) 'pond, lake' > Tm maṭu 'lake, pond', Ml maṭu 'deep place, pool', Kt mar'v 'deep pool in a stream', Kn maḍu ~ maḍa 'water', Tl maḍugu 'pond, tank, lake' ¶¶ D no. 4658.

1371. *mud∇ 'end', 'to end' > HS: S *^o✓mdu > Ar مَدِيَّة mady-at-, مَدَى mada(n) 'terme, limite', مَدَا مِيدَا mīdā? - 'terme, limite extrême', ?? S *^o✓md 'end, complete' > Ug 𐤎 md D 'vernichten', Ar ✓md 'être terminé\fini' ¶ BK II 1079, BK I 53, A no. 276 || B *^o✓mdH (most probably *^o✓md?) > Ah {Fc.} əmdu (3m pf. imdā, Fcj. 14 = Pcj. 1 A 8) 'finir, achever', 'être fini, se finir', Ty 𐤎 mdu (= {JGhA} āmdu) 'être complet\entier\fini\achevé', ETwl 𐤎 ndu id., Kb ṭimmaḍ 'le fait d'être entier', Gd {Lf.} əmdu (3m pf. imda) 'achever, compléter', Izn {Rn.} əmōa 'être passé\terminé' (secondary emphatization of *d?), Sll {Ds.} S sməd / pf. isməd 'vt. 'achever', Zng {Nic.} 3m pf. i-maḍ 'was finished' ¶ Acc. to Prasse's morphological rec., verbs of this conjugation have a final lr. (here *-mduH / pf. *-mdaH); the S cognate (*^o✓mdu) suggests that the lr. was secondary, most probably *? (as in Ar mīdā?) ¶ Fc. 1154-7, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 118, Rn. 385, Lf. I 265 and II no. 0966, GhA 123, Nic. 206 || HEC: Drs {Hd.} mud- 'be finished\accomplished' ¶ Hd. 18, 64 ¶¶ Tk. III 710, ≈ Coh. 180 ¶¶ I am thankful to Tk. for drawing my attention to some roots of S, B and HEC || | A: Tg *mudan 'end' > Ewk mudan, Ewk Tkm/Hng mōdan, Neg modan, Sln mudā, Lm mūdān 𐌆 mudon 𐌆 mūdōn, Nn Nh/KU modā, Ud muda(n-), Ul mūda(n-) id. ¶ SDM I 550, Vas. 258, On, 264 ¶¶ ≈ Rm. SKE 139 (Tg, Ko mač^hi-da 'end', SDM97 rejected the Ko cognate as containing *-s- [MKo m^hs-ta]) || | D *muṭ_i- ({{GS}} *-d-) vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' > Tm muṭi (p. -v-) id., 'die', muṭi (p. -pp) vt. 'end', Ml muṭi yuka 'come to an end', muṭikka vt. 'finish, spend, destroy', Kt muṛ^o v. 'finish (work)', Kn muḍi vi. 'end, come to an end, become extinct', Tu muḍuṣu- vt. 'eat up, consume', Tl muḍu, mūḍu vi. 'end, terminate', Gnd muṛi 'end, termination', Ku {Isr.} muṭ-, {Slz.} muṭh'naḯ v. 'complete' ¶¶ D no. 4922 ◇ In Tg and D (due to the merger of N *-d- and *-t-) the reflexes of N *mud∇ merged with those of N *mūt∇ 'die' (← 'go away, be removed?') (q.v.) ◇ IS II 72-3 (*muḍu in B, D and A [Tg + Ko maṭč'i-]), ≈ IS MS 344 (*muṭu 'finish' [vi.] in A, D and HS) ◇ ≠ Gr. II 4 (*muta 'all, untenable comparison of Tg with forms of other lges, like MM mōci 'just enough').

1372. (₂?) *mæ'h'ûd∇ 'speak' (→ 'think') > HS: Eg ∇ mɔw v. 'speak', mɔw 'word, speech', mɔ.t 'spoken words, speech', DEg m t 'speak; speech', Cpt: Sd **MOYTE** mute, **B MOY†** muti v. 'call, speak' ¶ EG II 179-82, Er. 184, Vc. 124 ¶ Probably positional loss of the expected Ir. (*h?) || B {Pr.} *mūh₂ud- / pf. *mūh₂ad- 'pray' > Ah muhəd 'réciter en priant' (Fcj. 39, Pcj. XII A 1), ETwl muɔ (Pcj. XII A 4), Ty {ABs.} mud, Gh {ABs., Nh.} muhəd, Gd, Awj mūd 'prier' ¶ Fc. 1137-8, 2003 (on Fcj. 39), Pr. H no. 516, Pr. M VI-VII 242, GhA 122-3, 268, Lf. II no. O965, Prd. 172 || EC: Sml N mōd- 'think', Sml {R} mōd- 'meinen, vermuten, glauben', {ZMO} mōd- 'think, guess, suppose' ¶ Abr. S 181, R SS II 285, ZMO 293 || NOM: Zrg {Si.} moɔi, Zs {Bnd.} moɔuc- 'think' ¶ Si. ACh 21, Bnd. PO s.v. moɔuc- || Ch: WCh: Tng {Kd.} mad- v. 'read, count', {J} māde v. 'count, enumerate, read', Kwm {Leg.} mād-áy 'sagen, sprechen', P' {MSk.} mündé, Dir {Sk.} ndà (< *mɔ∇) 'say' || CCh: Mdr {Eg.} ndáhá id. | Mtk {Stl.} mɔdanà 'speak', Gude {Hsk.} mɔɔɔ iter. 'say\tell much', Gudu {ChL} máwúɔũ 'speak' | Msg G {MB} muɔ ~ mɔɔ- id., Msg P {Trn.} inf., pl. miɔi / sg. mɔɔa 'say, speak', Mlw {Trn.} miɔi (✓ m'ɔ) id. | Mrg {Hf.} ndɔ (< *mɔ∇) id., Br {Hf.} ndir 'word' || ?σ ECh: Jg {J} mād- 'ask (a question)' | ? EDng {Fd.} índé 'ask for, ask (a question)' ¶ ChC s.v. 'say', 'ask' and 'ask (a question)', ChL, Hf. M 226, Hf. B 57, 151, Trn. LM 106, Trn. MVM 306 ¶¶ OS no. 387 (*mud- 'speak' in Eg, EC, Ch, B), Tk. III 781-3 ¶¶ I am thankful to Tk. for drawing my attention to the cognates in several lges of the HS family || IE: NaIE *mēyudh-/*mayudh-/*mūd^h- 'speak', 'think' > Gk μῦθος 'speech, word; talk; tale, story, narration', μῦθέομαι 'speak; say over to oneself, con-sider' || Gt (γα)μαυδjan ('ὑπομνησκειν) 'erinnern' || Lt inf. maũsti (1s pres. maudžiũ) 'to long for', 'to miss' (× maũsti 'to ache') | Sl: Cz inf. mdlíti (po ...) 'to desire (sth.)', Sl d. *mǝslǝ f. (gen. *mǝslǝ) 'thought' (< *mūd-tli-s) > OCS **МЫСЛЬ** mǝslǝ, Blg 'мисъл, SCr mīsaō (gen. mīslǝ), Slv mīsel, OCz, Cz mysl, Slk mysel, P μυσί, R 'мысль, Uk 'мисль id. ¶ WP II 255-6. P 743, ≈ EI 158 (? *moɔd- 'desire strongly'), F II 264-5, Tr. 171-2, Fs. 192-3, 350, ≠ Frn. 420, ESSJ XXI 44-51, StSS 337, Vs. III 25, Glh. 412 ¶ The intonation in Lt maũsti (suggesting an IE short diphthong) is probably secondary (due to the merger with maũsti 'to ache' of different origin?) || ? U (possibly) *°muɔ∇- > Sm: Slq UTz {Hl.} mul+-mp+- v. 'speak' ¶ KKIИ 133 ◇ The primary meaning may have been 'speak' (whence 'think', as in Hbway'yōmer bəlib'bō 'and he said in his heart' → 'he thought') ◇ The only pN postvovalic laryngeal yielding pIE *-Ĥ- (whence *-eĤ- > NaIE *-ē-) and S zero is *h ◇ ≈ IS II 76-7

(*mUdʰ 'think' in Eg, Ch, IE, Sm + unc. S *✓ʔmd [> Ar ʔamad- 'extreme point', Aram ✓ʔmd 'form an approximate estimate, guess' etc.]).

1373. (₂?) *med_L∇_L×∇ '€ fig tree' > HS: S: Ar mudāḥ- '*Ficus religiosa*' ¶ BK II 1077, Hv. 712 || D *mēṭ_Li_L ({ʔGS} *-ḏ-?) '€ fig tree' > Kn mēḏi 'glomerous fig tree (*Ficus racemosa* Wall. = *Ficus glomerata* Roxb.), opposite-leaved fig tree (*Ficus oppositifolia*)', Tl mēḏi, Klm mēṛi 'glomerous fig tree' ¶¶ D no. 5090 || ?φ,σ A: M *modu 'tree' > MM modun id., WrM {MED} modu(n), HIM {MED, BMR} мод(он), Brt модо(н) id., 'woods, forest', Kl {KRS} модн id., 'Holz', {Rm.} modu 'Baum, Holz, Brett, Stock, Wald', Dx mutun, Ba muton 'tree', Mnr H {SM} mōd_i 'bois', Ord mud_u id., 'arbre, forêt' ¶ KW 263, MED 541, BMR II 335, Chr. 297-8, KRS 353, KW 263, Mr. 486, T DgJ 155, SM 238, Ms. O 473.

1374. ₂ *magé 'earth, land' > IE: NaIE *mag^hg^h- 'land, earth' > OIr mag 'plain, free field, field', NIr mag 'earth' || Gl n.l. Argantomagus, Clt d. *magestu > W maes 'field', Crn mēs 'open field', Br maez 'champ, campagne' || ? OI ma'hī 'earth, ground, soil, land; earth (as substance)' (× adj. ma'hī 'magna') ¶ ≠ P 709, M K II 610, M E II 337-9 (hyp.: OI ma'hī 'earth' ← ma'hī 'magna'), MW 83, Vn. M 8, Hm. 540 || U *maʔe 'earth, land' > F, Es ma'a 'land' || ? pChr {Ber.} *müy 'ground, earth' > Chr: M mū-nō ~ mū-nō ~ müy-nō 'unten, auf dem Boden, auf der Erde', mū-ʔō 'auf die Erde, auf den Boden hinunter', K mülänðə, U mʔlanðe 'earth, ground', B mʔlanðe, melanðe 'land' || Prm {LG} *mu 'earth' > Z, Vt mu 'earth, ground, land' || ObU *m∇ʔ - 'earth, land' > pVg {Hl.} *mā > Vg: T mā', LK/UL/Ss mā, MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ LL/ML mā id., 'place'; pOs {Hl.} *mēʔ > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mēʔ, Nz mīʔ, Kz mūw 'earth, ground, land' || Sm {Jn.} *mʔyā 'Erde, Gelände', {Hl.} *mʔya 'land, landscape' > Ng {Ter., Mik.} mʔū, {Cs.} mou 'earth' ('Erde, fōld'), Slq Tz {KKIH} mačī 'forest', {Pr.} mačī 'forest, tundra', Slq Nr/Yel/B/Tz {Cs.} mač, Slq Kar mač, Slq Ke matte, Slq Ch matteä 'forest', Kms {KD} mʔy·ε, {Cs.} mi ja 'mountain', Koyb {Sp.} мыя, {Pl.} mu ja, Mt {Hl.} *biyā id. (Mt: A {Msrs.}, M {Pl.} bia, M/T {Mll.} bíe, K {Mll.} búie) ¶¶ Coll. 33, UEW 263-4, Sm. 546 (FU *mīxi, FP *mēxi, Ugr *mīgi 'earth, land'), Ber. 41, LG 177, Lt. 203, Ht. 202 [no. 775], Hl. rHt 74, Hl. MTKV 57, Trs. S 272, BV 50, Jn. 85, Cs. 75, 172 (equating Slq mač 'forest' with F metsä), 192, Hl. M no. 124 (misprint: *bijā for *bijä) ◇ IS SS 334 [no. 6.25], IS MS 342 (*magʰ 'земля' > IE, U) ◇ Gr. II no. 118 (*mag 'earth') (IE, U, Ai, EA + err. Y + qu. Gil).

1375. $_2$ *magU 'bad' > HS: Eg fNK mg (= mgɜ?) 'das Böse; das Krokodil als Symbol des Bösen' ¶ Krlb 25 || C: Bj {R} -māg (1s p. a-'māg, pres. a t' m ī g) pcv. md. 'schlecht\böse werden', caus. -sō-mig 'Schlechtes zufügen' || Ag: ??φ Bln {R} m u ḏ 'l ā (= m ə x ʷ 'l ā) 'schlecht, unbrauchbar, verdorben; Vergehen, Verbrechen' || EC: Or {R} māg-, magũ- 'schlecht sein', {Brl.} m o g - a ḥ ḥ u 'avvilirsi, corrompersi, guastarsi', Hrs/Dbs/Gln/ Gwd mak- 'schlecht sein\werden', ?σ: Or O {Sr.} mōga 'idiot', Arr {Hw.} mōk 'stupid, ignorant' ¶ R WBd 163-4, R WB 268, Brl. 307, Sr. 369, Hw. A 385, AMS 174, 212, 266, Hw. CS 26 || NrOm: Ym {AYS} māngū 'bad' ¶ AYS ShY 35 || WCh: Hs mūgū 'bad, evil', Gw {Mts.} mūgu 'bad' || NrBc (← Hs?): Cg {Sk.} mūguntī, Kry {Sk.} mūgúnzəhè, Jmb {Sk.} mūgúntážú 'bad' ¶ Ba. 797, Abr. H 680, ChC s.v. 'bad', Mts. G s.v. mūgu ¶¶ OS no. 1705 (*mag- 'be bad'; forms of Bj, Or and Hs quoted earlier in IS) ¶¶ Tk. III 678 || A: M *maṣu 'bad' > MM [LV] {Pp.} maṣu i, [HI] ma- u 'bad', [S] ma- u (n) 'schlecht, übel', [IM] {Pp.} ma- ū 'stingy, damned; bad', WrM {MED} magu, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt mṣṣ mū 'bad, evil', Kl {KRS} mṣ id., {Rm.} mū 'schlecht, schlimm', Mnr H {SM} mū 'mauvais, pernicieux, vilain; mal, maleur', Dx mau 'bad, evil', Ord mū 'mauvais, méchant; malheur' ¶ Pp. IM 83, Pp. MA 441, Pp. L III 69, MED 520, BMR II 358-9, KRS 361-2, KW 269, Ms. H 74, Ms. O 472, H 107, SM 243, T 346, T DnJ 128 ◇ IS II 38 [no. 275] (*magu > HS [C, Ch], M).

1376. *mig∇ 'make a present' > HS: S (+ext.) *√ mgn 'make a present' > Ph √ mgn D 'offer', BHb √ mgn D (pf. ḏḏ mig'gen) 'give up, hand over', Ug √ mgn G 'make a present, donate', {OLS} id., 'show hospitality', Ug, Pun, Plm mgn 'gift, present', Pun mgnh 'gift, offering', JPA, SmA, MHb ḏḏ mag'gān '(undeserved) gift, present; gratis', Ar مَجَان mağğān- 'gratuitous, jolly', مَجَانًا mağğān-an 'free of charge, gratis', ??? √ mkn D, Sh {BK} 'donner a qn. le pouvoir', {Wehr} 'in die Hand geben', Ak NA/NB/Bg/Nz magannu 'gift, present', ana maganna 'gratis' (the unexpected -nn- may be due to reborrowing, possibly pre-Ak or Archaic Ak *magan- → Hur {Lar.} maganni 'gift, present' → Ak magannu); the hyp. (Sd., CAD) of an Ir origin of the word (cp. OI magham 'Gabe, Geschenk') is hardly acceptable (Laroche is right to reject it and to suggest that the word is of S origin), also because no word resembling *maghann- is known in Ir ¶ KB 517, A no. 1513, OLS 264, HJ 593-4, BK II 1066, Hv. 709, CAD X/1 31-2, Sd. 574-5, Lar. GLH 164 || Eg OK mcn {Barta} 'anweisen, geben', {Fk.} v. 'reward', Eg CT mcn.ωt {EG} 'Belohnung, Entlohnung für eine Arbeit oder Herstellung eines Objekts', {Molen} 'reward' ¶ EG II 170, Molen 189-90, Barta in LÄ IV 388-9 ¶¶ The

controversial Eg mcrn and Ar √mkn could point to a HS vl. *k, which is still to be investigated; for further discussion cf. Tk. III 761-3 || IE: NaIE (att. in Ir) *meg_lu_h- 'present, gift', *omeng_lu_h- pres. (with a nasal infix of pres.) 'make a present, grant' > OI ma'gham 'Gabe, Geschenk', Av {FK} maga- 'gift, grace'; OI 'mamhatē 'gives, grants, bestows', Av {FK} mazaraii- 'Reichtum spendend' ¶ M K II 537-8, 545-6, ≈ M E II 286, 289-90, FK 121 || U *miye- 'give' ({Jn. *mexi-}) > FU *miye- 'give, sell' > F myy-, myö-, Es mǔǔ- 'sell', Lv {Ktn.} mī- ǔ mū- id., mīmaz, Lv I {Ktn.} mīm ~ mūm 'gifts of a bride to the retinue of the bridegroom' | pLp {Lr.} *mēkz- 'sell' > Lp: Kld м̄гкэ, {TI} mī_lkē-, Nt {TI} mī_lk:ē- id. | Er, Mk мие- miye- 'sell' | Prm d. *med ({LG} *med) > Vt мед med 'wages', Z мед med id., 'reward' || ObU {Ht.} *mī-, *mīy- /*mīy- 'give' > pVg *mī-, *mīx-, *māy- id. > Vg: T mā-/māy- ǔ māw-/māy-, LK/MK/LK mi-/ mix-/māy-, P mi-/ māy-/māy-, LL mi-/māy-, UL/Ss mi-/mīx-/māy- id.; pOs {Ht.} *mē-/ *mēy- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mē-/mēy-, Nz/Kz mā-/mīy-, O mā-/miy- id. || Sm {Jn.} *mi- 'give' > Ne: T inf. (ger.) ми-ць, T O {Lh.} inf. (ger.) mí-ć, F inf. mí?š 'to give, to sell'; Ng d. 1s aor. obcj. mīji?ema, p. mīsi?ema 'give', En inf. ми-ть 'give', {Cs.} d. 1s aor. obcj. mi?ebo id.; Slq Tz {KKIH} inf. mi-qo 'to give'; Kms {KD} 1s p. mḗlēm ǔ mǎ́lēm ǔ mǐ́lēm 'geben, schenken', Koyb {Sp.} 1s pres. мелямъ 'give'; Mt {Hl.} *mi- 'geben, hingeben' ({Sp.} м̄ямъ 'I give') ¶¶ Coll. 37, UEW 275, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *mexi-, Ugr *mīgī-, Sm *mi- 'give, sell'), SK 356-7, Ktn. 226, Lr. no. 663, SaR 189, TI 250, LG 171, Ht. no. 377, Jn. 94, KKIH 130, KD 40, Hl. M no. 667 ◇ BmK 636 (IE, S, U), Sd. VN)IE, S) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 194 (*ma-n ~ *ma-k ~ *ma-r 'hand\give\measure') (U, Gil + err. IE, A, Ai, Y, Ko, J, CK).

1377. *'mü'ʔi'ga 'mist, fog, cloud' > IE: NaIE *'meig_h-/*'mig_h- id. > OI mē'gha- 'cloud, cloudy weather', 'mih- mist, fog', Av маēза- 'cloud', Phl, CINPrs {Vl., Sg.} ميف mēy, NPrs {BM} ميف mīy 'mist, fog, cloud', Oss I mīy, Oss D meyā id. || Arm մէգ mēg (gen. միգի migi) 'mist, fog, haze' (← Irn?) || ON mist-r (Gmc *mixstaz) 'cloudy weather', NNR mistr, møstr, Sw, Dt mist, AS mist (< *mixsta-) 'fog, mist', NE mist || SI *mьga > 'mist, cold fog' > R Δ мга 'hoarfrost, snowstorm, cold mist', 'fog in warm summer', SCr Δ мегá 'drizzle', Cz mha 'mist, fog', R Δ inf. мжитъ, P Δ inf. mžyc, Cz inf. mžítí 'to drizzle' || d. NaIE *'mig_h-_lǎ > Gk ὀμίχλη (ǔ Gk Α ὀμίχλη) 'mist, fog' || pAl {O} *meg_lu_lā > Al mjegull 'cloud' || BSl: Lt miglā, Ltv migla 'fog' | SI *mь'gla 'fog' > ChS, OR мьгла мьгла, R, Uk мгла, Blg мь'гла, SCr māgla, Slv mēglā, Cz mlha, Δ mhla, Slk hmla, P mgła 'mist,

fog, haze' || here?: Gmc: Dt Δ inf. *miggelen*, *miegelen*, NGr WF inf. *miggelje* v. 'drizzle' ¶ ≈ WP II 246-7, ≈ P 712, ≈ EI 110 (* h_3mejg^h- , * $h_3mighleh_\alpha-$ 'drizzle, mist'), M K II 680-1, M E II 374-5, MW 831-2, Horn 226, Vl. II 1256, Ab. II 117, Bai. 341, F II 387, O 269, Vr. 389, Vr. N 446-7, Ho. 223, Vs. II 587-8, ESSJ XXI 92-7, 182-3, Ma. CS 301, 315, Glh. 394, Slit. 186 || ? U: FU * $omuk\Delta$ > Es SVI {W} *mūgar* 'large thin clouds' (unless ← Es *mūgar* 'protuberance') ¶ W EDW 704 || HS: C: Bj {R} 'mag^wa 'cloud, rain cloud' || ??σ EC: pSam {Hn.} **múgdì* 'darkness' > Rn *múgdì*, Sml {ZMO} *mugdi* 'darkness, dark days of the month (period of the waning moon)', pBn {Hn.} **múgtè* 'darkness' (> Bn: Bi *múttə*, Sa *múgti*, J/Kj *múgtə*, K *mú?uttə* id.) ¶ R WBd 164, Hn. S 91, Hn. BD 101, ZMO 295, PG 228 || A ≈ **mU:g|k\Delta* (= **mù:g|k\Delta*?) > M: Ba {BuL} *mokə* 'cloud' ¶ S AJ 239 [no. 125] (* $omöki?$), BuL s.v. *mokə* || T **mūg* 'steam, fog, cloud' > Tkm *būγ* 'steam', Osm {Zn.} *buγ*, Tk Δ *buγ* Δ *boγ* 'cloud, steam', ET {Nj.} *buγ*, Qrg *byy bū*, Nog *byb buw* 'steam', Qzq *by buw*, Chg {Rl. ← VZ} *موغ m u γ* 'steam, perspiration (Dampf, Ausdünstung)' ¶ ET B 229-30, Rl. 1799, 1804, 2174, TkR 116, Jud. 163, Nj. 220 ¶¶ S AJ 295 [no. 532], SDM95 (A **mök'Δ* 'cloud' > Ba) and DQA no. 1341 (pA **mok'Δ* > Ba) || D **muk\Delta*- ({ θ GS} *-g-) 'cloud' > Tm, Ml *mukil*, Tu *mugalə* ~ *muga|ə*, Tl *mogulu* ~ *moyilu*, Klm *morgar*, Prj *ma|gur*, Gnd *moyol* Δ *muyol* Δ *moyyelid.*, Td *niş muxulm* 'mist on hills in morning', Kn *mugil*, Gdb *mogul* ~ *moggul* 'cloud; sky' ¶¶ D *-k- from a N cns. cluster (*-yγ-) *reg.* ¶¶ D no. 4892 \diamond The cns. *k in FU, M and D is likely to result from devoicing of *g in the cluster *-?g- from N **?i...g*. The element *-| Δ in IE **migh^h-| Δ | \bar{a}* and in D **muk\Delta*- may belong to the ancient heritage: a N compound (\rightarrow derived word?) * $omü'ri'ga$ | Δ \diamond On N and pIE '- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 \diamond Blz. L no. 63 (suggested to adduce Sam **mugdi*).

1378. $_2$ **mU'ɣ'ig\Delta* (= **mUɣig\Delta*?) 'snake' > HS: C: LEC **māg-a* > Kns {BISO} *māk-ā*, Gdl {Bl.} *māk-a* 'snake', Or {Th.} *māga*, {Brl.} *maga* 'intestinal worm(s)', {Grg.} *māgā* 'ascarid (roundworm)' ¶ BISO 104, Bl. G 77, Th. 231, Brl. 287, Grg. 270 || NrOm: She {CR} *māg* 'ε snake' ¶ CR NGS 621 || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} *māγī* 'snake, worm', {Mch.} *māgi* 'snake' || ? Msg {Mch.} *ωαλα μόγο* id. || WCh: ? Ngz {Mk} *mikda*, {Sch.} *mbíkdà* id., Gude '{ChC} *mýgíméd* 'worm' ¶ ChC s.v. 'snake' and 'worm', ChL, JS 242, Lk. L 106, Sch. DN 114 ¶¶ Blz. OL s.v. 'snake' || S * $om\gamma$ > Ar γ *mγğ* TD 'ramper, s'avancer en décrivant des courbes' (un serpent), 'serpenter, couler en serpentant' (un ruisseau) ¶ BK II 1125 || A ≈ **mUyk'Δ* 'snake' > Tg **mujki* ({SDM} **mūkū*) 'snake' > Neg L *mīxi*, Neg {PSchm.} *miyki*, Orc *mīki*, Ul *mui*, Nn Nh/Bk/KU *muyki*, WrMc {Z} *мэйжэ*,

Mc Sb meǰʒe 'snake', Ork mui ~ muʒi id., 'worm', Ud miki {Shn.} 'small snake', {Krm.} 'adder' ¶ S AJ 217 [no. 181] (pTg *mūkū), ≈ STM I 537-8, On. 271, Krm. 260, Z 875 || M *mogayǰ 'snake' > MM [MA, IM, IsV, LM] moʒay, WrM {MED} mogai (pl. mogas), HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt moɣoɣ id., Kl {KRS} moħa moʒa id., {Rm.} moʒā ~ moʒā 'Schlange', Mnr H {SM} muɣuē 'serpent', {T} muguē 'snake', MMgl {Iw.} moʒāǰ, Mgl {Rm.} maʒōǰ, Dg moɣ°ɣ, Dx mogi, Pa moguj id., Ord moɣō 'serpent' ¶ Pp. MA 238, 442, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VMI 54, MED 541, BMR II 334, Chr. 297, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 128, T BJ 142, Iw. 116, KW 263, Rm. M 33, Mr. D 183, Ms. O 466 || T *mōǰkæ > OT Kr [MhK] {Cl.} bōkā 'a big snake' ¶ Cl. 324, TL 180 || pJ {S} *múkátaǰ or *múkátia 'centipede' > MJ múkáde, J T mùkade, J K mùkáde, J Kg mukáde id. ¶ SDM 932 (pA *mǰūko 'snake' > Tg, M, T, J + unc. pKo *mæk [reconstructed from Ko Ph mæk-kuri 'ε big black snake' and NKo mæk kurəǰi, but this Ko word is obviously a cd of mæk '(black) ink' and kuri, kurəǰi 'snake', see Rm SKE I 145 and MLC 609 s.v. mek kwulengi = mæk kurəǰi]), DQA no. 1332, SDM97 (A *mūk' 'snake'), S AJ 36, 257 [no. 181], 293 [no. 437] ◇ A *-k'- < *-Hg- from N *-ǰ...g-? ◇ The long vw. in C and the S cns. *ǰ point to the presence of the N lr. *ǰ or *ʒ The glottalization of N *-g- to *-k'- (underlying Tg *muǰki) suggests that the lr. was *ǰ.

1379. ₂ *mæhgæ 'young, small' > IE: NaIE *mēgʰ-/ *mōgʰ-/ *mægʰ- 'young (person), little, small' > Clt *magus (× NaIE {Huld} *magʰus 'young man') > Clt *magus (× NaIE {Huld} *magʰus 'young man') > Gl *magu- 'young', magulus 'servant', Oglr maguno- '≈ slave, servant (?)', OIr mug (gen. moɣ-a) 'boy, servant', {IEC} 'male slave\servant', Crn maʒ 'youth, servant', MW meu-dwy cd 'God's servant, ascetic, hermit'; f.: Crn moʒes 'maidservant, girl', Br maouez 'woman' || Gmc (× NaIE {Huld} *magʰus 'young man'): Gt magus ('παῦς)-{Fs.} 'Knabe, Knecht', OSx magu 'son', ON moɣr 'son, young man', AS maʒo (pl. mæc'ʒas) 'son, man, servant'; d.: AS mæʒ 'wife, mother, maiden', NE maʒ; Gmc {Wtk.} d. *magadi- (< NaIE d. {Wtk., P} *magʰo-ti-) > Gt magap-s ('παρθένος) 'Jungfrau', OSx magath, OHG magad 'maid, girl, virgin', NHG Magd 'maid' (-d̥ → dim. Mädchen 'girl'), AS mæʒ(e)ð 'girl, maiden, wife', NE maid; dim. *magadin- > AS mæʒden 'virgin, maiden, female servant' > NE maiden || Lt māž-as 'small, few', Ltv maz-s 'small', Pru massais 'less', Lt mōžis 'smallness' || Sl *mězinь / *mězinь-ǰ 'small, young' (of a child) > OR МѢЗННЪИ мѣзинуǰ 'smallest, youngest', R Δ 'мизин 'small, little (klein)', OUK ми'зинный 'youngest (младший)', Blr Δ 'мезинный 'little finger, smallest, youngest', Slk Δ mezení pal'ec 'little

finger' (pal'ec 'finger'), OCz mězený prst 'the fourth finger (adjacent to the little finger)' (prst 'finger'), P † mieziŋy 'smallest' (of fingers); ↗ [1] Sl *mězínъкъ 'youngest son', 'little finger' > SCr mezínak, Slv mezínek 'favorite son (the youngest one)', P Δ mizynek id., 'little finger', Uk ми'зинок 'little finger', Δ мiзинок 'youngst child'; [2] Sl *mězínъсь 'youngest child, little finger' > OR МѢЗННЪЦЬ mězínъсь 'youngest son', R ми'зинец 'little finger', SCr mēzimas 'youngest son', mjēzinac, mīzinac, Slv mēzinec id., 'little finger' || ???φ Av маҗава- 'unmarried' ¶ Hardly here (⇔ Jokl and P) Al T мактh 'leveret' ({Or.}: Al T мактh, Al G mākth id. ↗ Al mang 'small [of animals], urchin' [supposedly ↗ L mancus 'maimed, infirm']); not here Av маҗава- 'unmarried' (< NaIE {Huld} *mag^hus 'young man') ¶ WP II 228 (*māḡ₁^h- 'sth. small', *mag^hu- 'boy, unmarried'); AHDI 38 (IE *mag^hu-), P 696 (IE *mag^h-os, f. *mag^h-ā), EI 656 (IE *mag^hus 'young man', *mag^hwih_h- 'young woman') (all of them do not take into account BSI); Vn. M 70-1, Billy 102, Vr. 400, Fs. 339, Ho. 210, 214, Ho. S 49, Kb. 649, OsS 582, KM 452-3, Frn. 422-3, En. 208, ESSJ XVIII 227-31, Srz. II 240, Vs. II 620, O 242-3 || HS: S: Ar mahk-at- ~ muhk-at- 'young age'; less probably ʔamḥaqu 'petit, qui n'a pas grandi' (presumably ← ʔamḥaqu 'unprosperous' from ✓ mḥq 'efface, deny blessings of God') ¶ BK II 1068-9, 1162, Hv. 710, 738 || B *mīk (< **miHk-) 'few' > Sll {Ds.} imik(k) (imikk wamān 'un peu d'eau'), Izd imik 'few' (originally 3s m. of the verb *mīk-), ? Tmz imiq 'peu, un peu, un peu de' ¶ Ds. 218, Mrc. 191, TM 415 || ? Eg XVIII mgɜ 'young warrior' ¶ EG II 164 || EC: Or muč-ā 'child' ¶ Grg. 292 || NrOm: Shn muḡa 'small' ¶ Bnd. LE 259 ◇ Ar -hk- and pre-B *-Hk- are likely to go back to *-hg- (devoicing due to as.); Shn ɣ- < **-ʔk- < *-hg-? ◇ Hardly here D *mak_{1a} 'young person, child', which is likely to be connected with N *maḲU 'baby, son' (q.v.) ◇ ≠ Bm. 443 (IE, D).

1380. *magiza 'liver' > HS: Eg fp mɣz.t 'liver' ({DW} id., {EG}: 'ein inneres Organ, neben Lunge und Milz; vermutlich die Leber') > DEg mɣs 'liver' > OCpt MAOYC maus id. ¶ DW I 357-8, EG II 44, Er. 187, Vc. 127 || NrOm {Blz.} *mɣz- 'liver' > Bnc {Wdk.} māy 'heart, liver', She {Fl.} may 'liver', Cha {Fl.} mayya, Bdt, Kcm mayye, Gdc māyye, Gnj, Zs, Zrg maye, Male māyzi, {Fl.} mayz, Bsk māyzz, {Fl.} mauz, Dk mayz 'liver' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 78, Wdk. BY 107, Fl. p.c. ¶¶ Tk. I 80 ¶¶ The origin of *ɣ for the expected guttural is not clear || U *maksā 'liver' > F maksā, Es maks id. | pLp {Lr.} mōksē > Lp: S {Hs.} müöksie, U {Schl.} müeksē, Vfs {Lgc.} müök'si id. | pMr {Ker.} *maksъ > Er makso, Mk максā maksā id. | pChr {Ber.} *moks > Chr: L/H моқш mokš,

E/U/B mokš, M moks id. | pPrm {LP} *musk- > Z, Vt мус mus id. ||| pObU {Ht.} *m̄ʃəθ > pVg *m̄ʃyət / m̄yət- id. > OVg S Vt матъ, OVg S SSs маат, OVg N SoO маитъ, OVg W Sol мѣтъ, Vg: T mayət, LK mā́t, MK/UK/SV/LL mḗt, P mat, NV mḗt ≈ moyt, UL/Ss māyət id., nom. pl.: LK/P moyt-ət, MK/UK māyətət, NV/LL maytət; pOs *muʃəʃ id. > Os: V/Vy muʃəl, Ty muʃəʃ, Y muwəʃ, D/K/Nz muχət, Kz mōχəʃ, O māχəl id. | Hg máj id. || Sm {Jn.} *m̄t̄ id. > Ne: T мыд, T Sd {Lh.} m̄δ, T O {Lh.} mūδ, F {Lh.} m̄t̄ id.; Ng {Mik.} 'mitə; En X {Cs.} muro, En B {Cs.} mudo; Slq Tz {KKIH} m̄t̄, Slq Tm {KD} m̄t̄; Kms {KD} m̄t̄, Koyb {Sp.} мѣттъ id. ¶¶ UEW 264, Coll. 33, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 538 (U, FU *m̄ks̄, FP *m̄ksa, Ugr *m̄kθa, Sm *m̄t̄ə 'liver'), MF 417-18, It. no. 27, Lr. no. 688, Schl. 98, Hs. 950, Ker. II 83, Ber. 37, MRS 328, Ep. 70, Ps. OT 72, Lt. 208, LG 179, Ht. 163 [no. 382], Jn. 93-4, Lh. 266, KKIИ 134 ||| **A:** T *bagir 'liver' > OT, Chg xvff. бағир, Tkm, Osm, Az, CrTt, Slr baʃir, OQp bāʃir, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qq, Qzq baʃir, Qrg, Tv, Tf bār, StAlt būr, ET beʃir, Xk pār, Yk biar id.; with front vowels Chv пѣвер pəver id. ¶ Does Chv пѣвер suggest a pre-harmonic OT *bagir? ¶ Cl. 317, ET B 17-20, TL 278-9, Ash. IV 17 and X 188, Fed. I 417-18, Jeg. 155, ChVS 135 ¶ The T cns. *-r and the absence of any T reflex of N *-z- (unless *-r is this reflex) are not yet explained. Eg -ʃ- and NOM *-y- from N *-gi- are still to be elucidated.

1381. *magy^rE¹ 'to swing, to wave, to sway' > HS: S *^o✓ m̄y m̄y > Ar ✓ m̄y m̄y D 'mix up', ✓ m̄y m̄y D (+ prp. fī) 'shake sth. in (water)', {BK} 'agiter qch. çà et là, p. ex. un linge dans l'eau, pour faire en aller les saletés' ¶ Hv. 727, BK II 1133 ||| **IE** *meH̄(i̯)-/*moH̄(i̯)- v. 'wave, swing' > Gk μῖμος 'imitator, mimic; actor, mime' ||| Lt m̄-ti (1s p. m̄ jaυ) 'to wave (one's hand etc.)', Ltv m̄-t 'to wave, to beckon' | Sl *majā-ti (1s pres. *m̄ ja) 'to wave, to beckon' > SCr mājati 'to beckon (with the hand, head), to move quickly to and fro', Slv mājati 'to move to and fro, to swing, to shake', OR МААТН маати 'agitare, vibrare', МАЯТН мајати id., 'to wave (hand)', Uk 'маяти vt. 'to wave', vi. 'to flutter'; Cz m̄vati 'to wave' ¶ IS III 35-44 (with further details), ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against the distinction between Sl *majati 'to wave' and *majati 'to linger' [in fact from NaIE *mā|ō(i̯)- 'be\make tired\exhausted' < N *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, be worn out']), Frn. 466-7, F II 241 (no decision about the et. of μῖμος) ||| **A** *m̄yi- v. 'shake, sway' ({IS} *m̄yi- id.) > M **m̄yi- ⇨ M *m̄yimar- v. 'walk unsteadily' > WrM maimar maimar {MED} 'unsteadily' (of gait), HIM {MED} маймар маймар id., {BMR} маймар маймар гишгэ- 'walk unsteadily (идти неуверенными, шаткими шагами)', Ord māmar māmar gēd_ yaʷu- 'marcher

très lentement', Kl {Rm.} māmr̄ 'unsteadily' (of gait); M *maimari- > WrM {MED} maimari- 'walk swayingly, reel', HIM майпра- {MED} id., {BMR} 'walk swayingly; humpeln (ковылять)', Kl {KRS} мәәпр- māmr̄- v. 'walk swayingly, reel', {Rm.} māmr̄- 'einen unsicheren Gang haben, schlecht und stolpernd gehen', Ord māmara- 's'avancer cahin-caha'; M *maimagar > WrM {MED} maimagar, HIM {MED, BMR} маймгар 'having an unsteady gait', Kl {Rm.} māmaγar adj. 'schlecht, unsicher gehend'; M *maiga > WrM {MED} maiga 'bandy-legged, crooked-legged, in-toed', HIM майга {MED} id., {BMR} 'bandy-legged, crooked-legged (кривоногий, косолапый)', Kl {KRS} мәәгг māγ̄g 'crooked' (of legs)', {Rm.} māγ̄g 'kuhbeinig'; ?ф Brt майзагар 'bent, crooked' ¶ MED 522-3, BMR II 312-13, KRS 346, KW 259, Chr. 290, Dr. TM I 563, Ms. O 457 || T: [1] *māy- {SDM} *māń-) 'bend, swing' > Tkm māyir 'cripple', adj. 'crippled', маумиқ 'curved\bent', Qzq мауис-, Qrg мауиś- vi. 'bend oneself\itself'; [2] T *mauir- vt. 'bend, sway' > Tkm мауир- vt. 'cripple, mutilate', Qzq мауир- vt. 'bend', 'загибать, сгибать', Qrg мауриу- 'get crooked\bent' ('кривиться'); [3] T *ma:γ-ba- 'walk unsteadily, have an unsteady gait' > Qrg маурау- v. 'waddle, walk slowly', маупар 'having sick legs, stumble' (of horses); [4] Qrg маутар- vt. 'bend (a point\spike)' ('загнуть') ¶ ≈ Cl. 348, 772-3, MM 233-4, Sht. 139, Jud. 511-12, Tkr 439-40 || Tg *meyi- ~ *mayi- 'sway, swing' > Ewk мэу- vi. 'swing, rock', Lm мэі- ~ мэуі- vt. 'swing', WrMc {Z} маймада- ~ маймида- vi. 'walk swayingly, ходить пошатываясь' ¶ Tg *-ē- in *mēyi- (from pA *māyi-) is due to regr. as. ¶ STM I 564, Z 863 || pKo {SDM} *mūi-/ *mūi'ú- v. 'shake, sway' > MKo mūi-/ *mūi'ú-, NKo † mwi- ¶ S QK no. 563, Nam 224, MLC 685 ¶¶ The short vw. *a in T *mauir- is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 907-8 (pA *meyu > Tg, M, Ko, T *bań- 'wave, sway; club-footed'), DQA no. 1270, Rm. SKE 144, ADb. SR 12, STM I 564 || D *omay- 'mix' > Kdg ме'к- vt. 'mix thoroughly' ||| D (att. in SD) *may- 'be bewildered\ perplexed' (× D *mac̣- 'be mad, be intoxicated' < N *m'A'ĉ̣̣̣ id., 'be foolish', q.v.) > Tm мауа v. 'mistake, misunderstand', Ml мауакку 'perplexity, doubt', Kn мауаму, мауму 'bewilderment, perplexity' ¶ D no. 4706 ◇ IS III 35-48 (*maḥy'e¹ in IE, D, A + [with a query] S roots *✓my + cns.) (with detailed information on the reflexes in individual lges within IE, A and D); the D cognate (absent in IS MsN) was proposed by the editors of IS III.

1382. *mûhi (or *mûhyi?) 'water, fluid' ([in IE and D] → 'wash') > **HS:** S: [1] with loss of *h: S *may- ~ *māy- (~ *'maᵛaγ-??) 'water' > OAk {G} nom. pl. t. маᵛᵛ, Ak OA {Sd., CAD} māᵛᵛ, Ak B/fMA mû nom. pl. t., Eb (SumSc)

{Co., Rnb.} ma-u₆ (= {Co.} [māyū], ma-ωu ({Frnz.} [māwū]), OCn (AkSc) abs. du. t. or pl. t. mēma, mumi, BHb 𐤌𐤍 'mayim pl. t. (cs. 𐤍 , mē), Ug m_y, pl. m_ym, OA cs. m_y (+ ppa. 3m mωh), IA abs. m_yn, IA, Nbt em. m_y?, JA may'y-ā, Sr 𐩣𐩢𐩨 may'y-ā, Md mi a, mai, Ar nom. sg. māʔ-u (~ māh-un) (-ʔ- < *-y- reg. , see Br. AG § 64e), Sb mω sg. (< *māʔu?) 'water', ⇨ (?) Sb/Mn pl. mωy, Gz māy, Mh {Jo.} ħe-mōh (dim. mīyāhen), Hrs {Jo.} ħə-'myōh, Jb {Jo.} C 'e-'mih, Jb E {Jo.} 'e-'mi, Jb C/E dim. 'miyōh, Bth {Jo.} muh 'water' ¶ The alternative pS reconstructions *maωy- and *ma'way- are highly qu., because the reg. reflexes of *aω or *a'wa are at variance with those attested (e.g. the reg. Gz reflex of *maωy- and *ma'way is *mōy rather than māy) ¶ G OA 166-7, Sd. G §§ 54b, 61a, CAD X/1 149-56, Co. SQF 172, Frnz. EL 145, 156, Rnb. 92, KB 546, HJ 620-1, A no. 1559, OLS 266-7, BK II 1164, 1169, Sl. 662-3, Br. 383, DM 242, 265, BGMR 88, MA 63, L G 376, Jo. M 274-5, Jo. H 92, Jo. J 176 ¶ In several lges the word was reinterpreted as du.\pl. due to its stem-final *y (resembling the sx of du.) ¶ [2] with preservation of *h: WS *✓ mhw 'be watery\clear' (of a liquid) > Ar ✓ mhw G (pf. مَهُو mahūwa) 'be watery' (of milk), (pf. مَهَب mahā) 'be white-haired' (of a beast)', مَهُو mahw- n. 'clear milk', Gz ✓ mhw G (pf. mahwa ~ mahawa, js. yamhaw) vi. 'melt, be liquefied\dissolved', ? Ug mh 'water' (a variant form) ¶ L G 334, Hv. 738-9, OLS 266-7 || Eg {EG}, DEg mω ({Vc.} < *mωy) (= {Vrg.} *maωy-), m_yω 'water' (originally pl. t.) > Cpt: Sd **MOOY** mou, B **MWOY** mōu (= {Vc.} mōw), F **MAŸ** maω id.; Eg Md mωy 'be wet' (of a wound), Eg fMd mωy.t 'moisture, wetness', possibly also Eg Md mωy, mωy.t 'urine' (which is uncertain, because the reflexes in DEg m₃ and Cpt: Sd/B **MH** mē, Cpt Sd **MI** mi 'urine' are different from those of mω 'water'); Eg Md mhw_y {EG} 'etwas Flüssiges', {Brstd.} 'milk' ¶ EG II 50-3, 114, DW I 353-68, Er. 147, 154, Vc. 107, 126, Brstd 287 || C: DhI {To., EEN} maʔa, {E} m^àʔa 'water' || SC: Irq {Wh.} m^âʔay, {E, MQK} maʔay, Grw {Wh.} m^áʔay, Brn/Alg {Wh., E} maʔay, Kz {E} maʔaya, Asa {E} maʔa, {Fl.} maya 'water'; SC ⇨ Mb {E} maʔí id. || Bj {R} mūʔ (pl. mīʔ) 'Feuchtigkeit, Nässe', {Rop.} mīʔa 'damp', {R, Rop.} mīʔ- scv. 'feucht\naß\flüssig sein', 'be\become damp' || ? Ag: Xm {R} maω - 'fließig werden' (← EthS?) ¶ R WBd 161, R Ch II 83, Rop. 213, Wh. IC 26, E SC 156, MQK 68, EEN 36, To. D 142, Fl. p.c. ¶ Sml māḥ 'water that accumulates in a well; spring' (ZMO 266) (adduced in IS II 62-3 in R's inaccurate transcription māh-i 'fresh flowing water' [R SS II 289]) hardly belongs here because of its lr. ḥ; it may be related to Ar pf. māḥa (ip. yamīḥu) 'descend into a well for drawing water' (Hv. 741) || Ch: WCh: SBC: Grn {Sh.} mā 'water' | AG: Ang {Flk.}

mωē 'sap, milky juice', yit mωe 'tears', Su {J} yit-mwān 'tears' (in both lges cd with yit, yit 'eye[s]') || CCh: BB: Gude {IL in ChC} māʔin, FIM {ChL} māʔi, FIB māʔin 'water' ¶ JI II 340-1, J S 89, ChC s.v. 'water', ChL, Flk. s.v. mωē and yit ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce the B word for 'water' (Ah amān, Kb, Shl etc. aman), but in the light of the Gnc glossas AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (where H is a sign for hiatus, acc. to the spelling norms of Sp and Fr) the stem is not *m- or *maH-, as reconstructed by Pr. (Pr. M IV 146), but *-ʔʔamaɣ- (sc. *-ʔʔamaH|w|y-) related to pS *yam- 'body of water' and Ch *_LH∇_Ly∇m- 'water' < N *yA m∇ 'body of water' (q.v. ffd.); but the HS √ *ma_Ly_Lw- may have contaminated with *yam- and is likely to account for the long vw. of the last syll. (as reflected in Pr.'s rec. **Ha-māH-an, that in the light of the Gnc data we modify to *ʔa-ʔamaɣ-an) || IE: NaIE *meuə-/ *mū- ≈ 'plunge, wash' > BSl: Sl inf. *mī-ti (1s pres. *mbjǫ ~ *mījǫ) 'to wash' > OCS inf. МЫТИ mīti (1s pres. МЫИ mījǫ), SCr inf. mīti (1s pres. mījem), Slv inf. mīti (1s pres. mījem), Cz mýti, P inf. myć, R inf. МЫТЬ (1s pres. 'мою) id., Blg 'мия v. 'plunge, wash' | Ltv Δ inf. maūt 'to plunge, to swim', Lt inf. máudyti 'to bathe', Pru aumūsnan 'Abwaschung' || Arm -մոյն -moyn 'plunged in' || Gk Cpr μυλάσασθαι vi. 'to wash oneself (one's body and one's head)' || ? MDt moy, Dt mooi, LG moi(e) 'beautiful' (← *'clean' ← *'watery, clear') ¶ ≈ WP 249-50, ≈ P 741, F II 268, Frn. 417, ESSJ XXI 76-9, StSS 338, Vs. III 26, Glh. 413, Kar. I 573-4, Vr. N 453-4, EI 108 (*m(e)uH- 'wash [in urine]') || A ≈ *mū_LE (= mū_L:_LE?) 'water' > Tg *mūe id. ({SDM} *mū) > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ork mū, Lm mō, Ul mū ~ муз, Nn Nh муз 'water', Ud mu- 'water' in ds mudз 'inundation', mudз sinз 'water rat', Jrc му ({Lg.} = [mü]) 'water', WrMc {Z} d. мукэ 'water, fluid' ¶ STM I 548, Krm. 262, On. 274, Z 898-900, Kiy. 100 [no. O51], On. 274 || JK: pJ {S} mī(-n-tú) 'water' > OJ m_Lidū, J: T mīzu, K mīzu, Kg mī, Ns mūží, Sh mīžì, Ht mīžì, Y mīng || ?? Kgr {Lee} *mie 'water' ¶ Lee GKS 37, S AJ 268 [no. 87], S QJ no. 87, Mr. 483, 724, Kenk. 1244 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 935-6 (pA *mīūrī 'water' > Tg, J mī(-n-tú) + [going back to N *moRE 'body of water'] M *mören 'river' and pKo *mír 'water'), SDM97 s.v. pA *mú:ri and S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278 (suggesting to connect the Tg and J words with M *mören 'river' and pKo *mír 'water') || D {GS} *mī- 'wash' > Td mī·y- v. 'bathe', Kn mī, mīy v. 'take a bath, bathe', Tu mī-pini id., v. 'wash oneself', Prj mī-, Gnd mīy-, mī- v. 'bathe', Kui mīva v. 'lave\bathe\anoint oneself', Ku mīali 'bathe (oneself), mī- 'bathe', ? Krx mūž- v. 'wash the face of' (Pf.:< D *mī-nč-), Mlt munž v. 'wash another's face', munžre v. 'wash one's own face' ¶¶ GS 49 [no.

121], D no. 4878, Pf. 41 ◇ IS II 62-3 (*mEwψ 'water, moisture': HS, IE, Tg), AD GD 1.

1383. *mäkê, *mäkê tE 'top, head, hill' > HS (× N *muk▽ 'top, head, hill[ock]'): CCh: McMsg: Msg {Rlf.} máge-ni 'his head', {Ov.} muk 'head', Mnj {Trn.} mok id. ¶ Trn. M s.v. mok, Rlf. and Ov (both in Lk. DQM) || C: EC *mug- 'head' (unless from N *muk▽) > Cm {Hw.} múga?-te, Brj {Ss.} múg-a 'head' ¶ Blz. CWL, ≈ Ss. B 148, Hw. CS s.v. múga?-te ¶¶ Ch and C vd. *g for the expected *k is still to be explained || U: [1] U *mäke 'hill' > F mäki (gen. mäen) 'hill, mountain', Es mägi (gen. mäe), Krl, Vp mägi id., Lv mä'g 'mountain' ||| Os: Vy müš, Ty miš^ω, Y mi^ω 'grassy hummock' ('Bülte, kleiner Rasenhügel', 'кочка'), d.: Os Sl məxastā id. ({Stn}: < *miψastā) || ? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} makka 'small woody hill', Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B makka, Nr makā 'grassy knoll (Rasenhügel)', d. Tz/Ke/Ch/NP/UO/B makkal, Nr makal 'hügelig, mit Rasenhügeln versehen' || Y: OY Ch {Mat.} maka 'stone' ||| [2] U *mäkte 'hill, grassy knoll' > F mättäs (gen. mättääen), Es mättas (gen. mättā) 'hummock, tussock' | Lp N {N} miektä 'a species of *Carex* which forms tussocks and grows on bogs' || Sm {Jn.} *mektǔ 'small hill, grassy hillock' > Ne F NI {Lh.} m̄ē·t id., Slq Tz {KKIH} mektǔ 'hummock, hill', LTz {KD} mäkte 'small hill', Slq Tm {KD} mēg_d_ə 'grassy hillock (kleiner Rasenhügel), Slq Ke mäktā 'heap, pile', Kms {KD} mektǔ 'grassy hill, hillock (Rasenhügel, Erdhügel)', ? Koyb {Sp.} бакты 'hillock', ? Mt M {Sp.} нѣхтѣ 'grassy hummock' ¶¶ UEW 266 (FU *mäke 'Hügel, Berg', U *mäkte 'Rasenhügel, Hügel'), Set. FUS 37 (equating BF with Slq mak(ka)), SK 358, ZM 342, Ktn. 238, Stn. D 903-4, Trs. S 259, KKIH 128, 130, Cs. 171-2, 261, Jn. 92, KD 88, Hl. M no. 769, IN H 278-9, IN UJ 236 ||| A: Tg *megdin 'steep riverbank' > Lm mɜɟdin, Neg mɜgdin, Orc, Ul mɜgdi(n-), Ork mɜgǰi(n), Ud {Krm.} mogǰo?, {Krm.} mogǰo', Nn Bk mɜgǰi(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} mɜgǰĩ id., Nn Nh {On.} mɜgǰĩ 'обрыв', Ewk mɜgdīn 'terrace bank', WrMc {Z} мудунь 'mountain slope with a low ridge (склон горы с низлим гребнем)' ¶ STM I 553-4, 563, Krm. 260, On. 275, Z 907 ◇ Rs. UAW 33 (U, A), IS MS 371 (*mäk^h 'hill' > Tg, BF), IS MsN s.v. *mäk^h (BF, Slq, Tg).

1384. ₂ *'mi'k'o 'carry, bring, give in exchange' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} mūqr-rf. 'carry', mūqrā 'load, burden', Q {R} mō-t, meû-t, maû-t rf. 'eine Last tragen', Xm {R} miû-t, mû-t rf. 'tragen, sich aufladen', Km {CR} mo-t rf. 'porter, lever', {Ap.} rf. mɜɟ^ω-t-, mäɟ^ω-t- 'carry' ||| EC: Rnd meñ n. 'load' ¶ R WB 267-8, R QW 96, R Ch II 390, CR LK 234, Ap. AV 16, Hn. R 218 ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} móké 'etwas Schweres hochheben', Bdy {AIJ} mōg 'aider qn à porter un

lourd fardeau' ¶ Eb. 82, AIJ 99 ¶¶ Tk. III 139 (C, ECh) || IE: NaIE **meig^w*- 'exchange' > Gk ἄμειβω v. 'change, exchange', ἀμοιβή n. 'requit, recompense' ({Ch.} 'don en retour') || L migr-ō / -āre (<† *mig^w-ros 'wechselnd') 'change' (omnia migrant 'all things change' [Lucretius]), 'remove from one place to another' ¶ WP II 245, P 712, F I 90, Ch. 73-4, WH II 86-7 ◇ On N and pIE **ʰ*- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ IE **-g^w*- suggests that the N word-medial consonant was **k*, while the glottalized ɢ in Bln {R} is still to be explained (Reinisch's phonetic mistake?).

1385. *muka (nape of the) neck, back (dorsum) > HS: S: Ar {BK} mak^w-at- 'cul, derrière' ¶ BK II 1140 || C: Bj {R} mōk (pl. makā) 'nape, throat', {Rop.} 'front side of the neck' || Ag: Bln {Lm.} mak^wa, {R} mā^wkā 'buttocks', Ag → Amh {R} mak^wa id. (?) || EC: Af {PH} makuḥ ~ mukuḥ 'spine, spinal cord', Ya {E} muk 'lower side of the body', Rn {PG} mókkòlò '(bones of) the lower spine; small of the back', Bn J/Ba {Hn.} múkkā 'buttocks' ¶ R WB 267, R WBd 167, Rop. 215, Hn. BD 97, PH 162, 171, PG 227 || Eg MK mkḥḥ 'occiput, hind part of the head' > DEg mḥḥ 'Hinterkopf, Nacken, Hals' > Cpt Sd MAKZ makḥ {Vc.} 'nape, neck', {Crn.} 'neck' ¶ EG II 159, Er. 183, Vc. 111, Crn. 80, Tk. III 669-70 || B: Siwa {Qb.} ta-migā 'nape, neck' ¶ Qb. 103 ¶¶ According to Tk., ḥ in Eg and Af represents a HS sx of body parts (Tk. AACMh) ¶¶ Tk. III 669-70 || U *muka 'back (dorsum)' > FU **o*muka 'back, hind part, back side, following (seuraaminen)' > F mukā- in fossilized case forms: mukāan 'according to', mukāa 'accordingly', mukāna 'with, together with', muassa 'with, accompanying', d.: mukainen 'agreeing with, in accordance with' || Sm {Hl.} *maka, {Jn.} *makā 'back (Rücken)' > Ne T маха, Ne T O {Lh.} maχā, Ne F {Lh.} mχā, En {Cs.} maḥa, Ng {Ter.} maku, Slq Tm {KD} mḥḥ, Slq Tz {KKIH} d. moqal id., Kms {KD} d. bēgəḥ, Koyb {Sp.} d. бягалъ, Mt {Hl.} *baga id. (Mt: K/M {Mil.} bága 'dorsum', T {Mil.} bagáda 'his back') ¶¶ Jn. 85, Jn. UK 223 (U *mukā), Sm. 538 (U, FU *mukā, FP *muka, Sm *møkā), SSA II 175-6, ≈ SK 350, KKIH 131, KD 9, Hl. M 213 [no. 90] || A *muκ^w 'neck' > pKo {S} *mòk 'neck' > MKo mòk, mòkà i, NKo mok id. ¶ S QK no. 987, Nam 214, MLC 636. HMC 199 || Tg: Ewk muka n. 'hide from reindeer's neck' ¶ STM I 551 || pJ {SDM} *múk- v. 'turn (one's head) towards, face' > OJ muk-, mukap-, MJ muk-, múkáφ- id., J T múk-, mùka-, J K múk-, múká-, J Kg múk-, muká- id., {Kenk.} v. 'face' ¶ Mr. 728, Kenk. 1284 || T *bo_lk- > OT Kr baqan 'necklace', NaT *bogmak 'necklace' > OT, Osm XIV boḡnaq 'necklace' (unless derived from T *bog- 'choke, tie around', as supposed by Cl.) ¶ OT -a- of the initial syll. in baqan may be explained by regr. as. ¶ Rs. W 58, Cl. 315-16 ¶¶ SDM

920 (pA *mǰák'ù > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1242, Rm. SKE 150, STM I 551 (Tg, Ko), Mr. KJ 233 (J, Ko) || **D** (att. in CD) {tr., †GS} *makk- 'neck' > Klm mak, Nkr makk id. ¶ D no. 4622 || **IE:** Irn: Pmr: Shgh, Wx māk, Srk mok, Ish mak 'nape of the neck, neck' ¶ Mrg. EShG 44, Blz. LNA no. 38 (supposing that the Pmr word is due to "a Dravidian-like substratal influence") ◇ The vw. *a of the initial syll. in D *makk- may be due to regr. as. ◇ The equation between D, HS, U and A was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 154 [no. 22] and Blz. L no. 6a [Eg, C, U, Ko, D + T *bogmak], ≈ Blz. LNA no. 38 [N *muk|ka ~ *mak|ku 'neck']), Blz. NDA no. 21 (D, HS, Irn, U, ?T, Ko).

1386. *muk ▽ 'top, head, hill(ock)' > **HS:** C: EC *mug- 'head' > Cm {Hw.} múgaʔ-te, Brj {Ss.} múg-a id. ¶ Blz. CWL, Hw. CS s.v. múgaʔ-te, AMS 253, ≈ Ss. B 148 || CCh: McMsg: Msg {Ov.} mok, Mnj {Trn.} mok, Msk mak 'head' ¶ Lk. DQM 102, Trn. LM 106 || **U:** pY {IN H} *omuɣ- > Y T mug-il {IN H} 'row of long hills on the eastern side of the tundra which stretches from South to North', {IN UJ} 'high ground, eastern side of a ridge of hills' ¶ IN H 278-9, IN UJ 236, Ku. 157 || **A** *muk ▽ '≈ hill, bank, land' > Tg *muku_l 'steep bank' > Lm O mu_{ku}l 'steep slope, precipice (on the seashore)', WrMc {Z} му_ку 'hillock, hill' ({Z} 'бугор, холм, сопка'); NrTg *muk- 'grassy hillock' > Ewk mūk₃ id., Lm му_ку_л id. ¶ STM I 553-4, Z 903 || M *muži 'region, area' > WrM {MED} му_жi, HIM {MED, BMR} му_ж 'region, area, province', Brt † мо_жо 'region (область)', Kl Ö {Rm.} му_жi 'Provinz, Volk', Ord mü_ži 'province' ¶ MED 554, BMR II 354, Chr. 198, KW 268, Ms. O 473 || Ko *mut 'dry land' (< A *muk ▽ - T ▽?) > MKo mut, NKo му_т mut ¶ S QK 238, 948, Nam 199, 206, 223, MLC 560, 578, 596, 685, S AJ 256 [no. 136] ¶¶ T *bo_l:_lδun 'people' (OT Kr бо_δun, OT U бо_δun, OT Qp {TL} бо_уun ~ бо_δun 'people', SbTt {Tm.} бо_уun 'servant' [TL 316]), adduced by SDM, does not belong here (T *bo_l:_lδun is derived from T *bo_l:_lδ 'clan' [Cl. 296-7]) ¶¶ SDM 947 (*múgdà 'bank, earth' > Tg, M + unc.: Ko *mat_l^h and pJ *máti 'street, quarter' [from pA *m^lAy^lt' ▽ 'land, earth, place'] and T *bo_δun), DQA no. 1358 (id.) || **D:** [1] D *muka_l- , *muka_l- 'top' > Tm му_ла_ту 'top, highest part, ridge of roof, hump of a camel', Ml му_ка_ту 'head end of a cloth', му_ка_л 'top, summit, ridge', Kt moy_l, Td му_ху_л, Kn мoгa_ду, мoгa_лу, Tu му_гил_и 'turret, top as of a temple', Tl мoгa_ду 'ridge of roof', Gnd му_ку_р 'comb of cock'; D ⇨ Sk му_ку_та-, OI BHS, Pali ма_ку_та, Prkr ма_ула 'crest, diadem' ¶¶ D no. 4888, Tu. no. 10144 | [2] D *muk- 'upper portion, up' > Td muk, Δ mok 'up, west', Kn mōku 'upper portion, top, forepart', ? Ku muhe 'above, upon, on' ¶¶ D no. 5128 ◇ Is this N etymon a var. of N *mākê 'top, head, hill' with the N vw. *u

due to the labializing infl. of N *m-? ◇ Blz. DA no. 153 [no. 5] (D, HS), Blz. NDA no. 4 (HS, D *mUk-).

1386a. *môʔʰk∇ 'tree, (piece of) wood' > HS: EC *mukk- > Or muka {Grg.} 'tree, bush, woody plant', {Th.} 'tree, wood (legno), plant', Sml {DSI, ZMO} mukay 'ε large tree that grows along a stream\river' || Bj {E [← Mz.?]} mokʷa 'curved tent pole' || SC: pRt {E} *muka 'stem, stalk' > Brn muka 'chaff', Asa mogeŋgera 'root' ¶ Grg. 293, Th. 249, ZMO 296, DSI 445, E PC no. 101 (pC *mukʷ- 'stick'), E SC 343 || Eg P mʒc.t 'ε plant, ε tree' ¶ EG II 34 || D *mokk- 'piece of wood' > Tm mokkaḯ id., 'stump', Tl mokka 'stub of wood', Gnd meka 'stump' ¶¶ D no. 5109 || A *muκ∇ > Tg *muk- (+ sxs) 'stick, club' > Neg mukocan, Sln muxšã: 'club (weapon)', Ul mukča 'stick (part of fishing device)', WrMc {Z} мукшань 'stick, cudgel, fishing stick (лесина)', Lm moqol, muqamul 'harpoon haft' ¶ STM I 553, Z 901 || T: Qrg buqa 'stick (of wood or horn) used to untie knots' ¶ Jud. 156 ◇ EC *-kk- (evidenced by Sml -k-), D *-kk- and Eg -ʒc- suggest the presence of a N Ir. (*ʔ?) within a cns. cluster (N *ʔk-?) ◇ Blz. DA no. 159 [no. 76] and Blz NDA no. 79 (in both: EC, SC, D).

1387. *moʒkE 'to press' > HS: S *√mʒk 'press, squeeze' > BHb √mʒk G (inf. -mʒok) 'press, squeeze', MHb √mʒk G, D, JA √mʒk D 'crush, dissolve by rubbing', Ar √mʒk G vt. 'rub' ¶ KB 579, BDB 590, Js. 816, Fr. IV 193, Hv. 727 || IE: NaIE *māg̃-/ *mōg̃- 'knead, smear' > MBr mezaʔf 'to knead dough (pétrir pâte)', Br mezař 'pétrir, faire du mortier', W maeddu 'to beat, to foul, to mix by pushing', OIr maistr- v. 'churn' ('baratter') || Gk μαϝ- (1s pres. μᾶσσω, aor. ps. ἐμάϝην) 'knead, press into a mould' (esp. of barley cakes which were eaten without baking) || Sl inf. *máza-ti (1s pres. *máǰ-ŋ) 'to smear' > OCS inf. МАЗАТИ mazati, SCr inf. mǎzati, Slv inf. mǎzati, Cz inf. mazati, Silk inf. mazat', P inf. mazać, R inf. 'мазати', Uk inf. 'мазати' 'to smear', Blg 'мажа' 'I smear' || (× NaIE *māg̃|g- < N *me_hkê 'to make'. q.v. ffd.) Gmc *makk- 'make' (← *knead dough to bake bread) ¶ WP II 226, P 696-7, Mn. 725 and Porzig WS 230 (all of them include here Gmc *mak- 'make', see N *me_hkê 'to make, to work'), F II 180-1, Vn. M 11-12, Flr. 256, Ern. 414, Hm. 567, YGM-1 321, Ch. 670, ESSJ XVIII 21-37, StSS 326, Vs. II 557-8, Glh. 401-2, ≈σ EI 649 (Sl, Clt, Gk < ? *māg̃- 'work with the hands, form, shape', see N *me_hkê '↑') || D {tr., †GS} *mukk- v. 'strain, make great efforts, press' (× N *munḳa|û [= *munḳa|û?] 'to make great efforts, [?] to be heavy', [?] 'torment?') > Tm mukku, Kt muk- v. 'make great efforts, strain as a woman in travail, strain to deliver a child', Ml mukkuka v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', mikuka v. 'press,

strain at stool', Td muk- v. 'grunt while defecating when constipated', Kn mukkir_i, mukkar_e v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu mukkur_u- v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl mukku- 'strain', Png mūk- v. 'lift with effort' ¶¶ D no. 4896(a) || A: T *bog- (*mōg-) v. 'strangle, choke (so.), tighten (a knot), squeeze' > OT bōχ- 'strangle, choke', MQp XIII bōχ- 'strangle', Chg XV bōχ- 'strangle, squeeze (the throat)', Osm {Rh.} bōψ- 'choke, strangle, suffocate; constrict by binding', Tk bōǵ-, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, ET, Ln bōψ-, StAlt b_ū-, Tf b_οψ-, Xk p_οψ- 'strangle, suffocate', VTt bu-, Bsh b_βw- id., 'tie up', Tv b_οψ- 'strangle, choke, tighten (a knot)', Nog buw- id., 'fasten (a loop)', Qzq buw(ι)-, Qq buw- v. 'tie, tie together, pack', Qrg b_ū- 'tie up, constrict by binding' ||| Chv L παβ- p_βv- vt. 'press, strangle, suffocate' (with irreg. -βv- due to morphological generalization [ffd. see Md. 44]) ¶ Cl. 311, Rs. W 78, Rh. 404, ET B 164-5, TvR 112, Ra. 163, Sht. 58, Jud. 163, Ash. X 99, Fed. I 393, Jeg. 146, ChVS 129, Md. 44, 174.

1387a. *me^hkê 'to make, to work' > IE: NaIE *^omāg̃|g- (× NaIE *māg̃-/*mōg̃- 'knead' [in the special meaning 'knead dough'] < N *moξkE 'to press', q.v.) > Gmc inf. *makk-ōn 'to make' > OHG inf. mahhōn 'to make, to build', NHG inf. machen, OSx inf. makōn, Dt inf. maken 'to make', AS inf. macian 'to make, to build', NE make ¶ ≈ WP II 226, ≈ P 696-7, ≈ Mn. 725 and ≈ Ho. 209 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from *māg̃|g- [their *māg̃-] 'press', see N *moξkE 'to press'), F II 180-1, Vr. N 424, Ho. S 49, Kb. 652, OsS 585, KM 451, Porzig WS 230, ≈ EI 649 (? *māg̃- 'work with the hands, form, shape'; EI includes reflexes of NaIE *māg̃-/*mōg̃- 'knead, smear' < N *moξkE ↑) ||| U *meke- v. 'make, do, work', n. 'work, thing, deed' > OHg miu 'Handlung, Arbeit, Werk', Hg m_ú (accus. m_úvet), Hg Δ m_í v 'work', Hg m_úvel- v. 'work' || Sm *mey- 'make' > Ne T inf. ми-сь, Ne T O inf. mi'-ś 'to make', Ne F {Lh.} m_íédzã, Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. mē'áma, En {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. mē b_ο 'make', Slq Tz mē- 'make, build' ¶¶ UEW 270, MF 454-5, EWU 1009, Jn. 92, KKIH 129 ||| HS: CCh: Mdr {Mirt} mag-a 'make', {ChL} m_ègùnām_ègà 'do' ¶ JI II 229, ChL, ChC s.v. 'make', Mirt s.v. mag-a || ?σ S *^o√mhk > Ar √mhk TD (pf. تَمَهَكَ tamahhaka) 'perform the work becomingly', {BK} 'faire qch. en artiste' (unless derived from √mhk G v. 'pound, bruise') ¶ Hv. 738, BK II 1162 ◇ ≈ BmK 670-1 (*mak'-/ *mæk'- 'to handle, to work with the hands': IE, U + err. HS: Hd mik_ess- 'to touch', Kmb mek_ess- v. 'snatch', Irq minqis- 'squeeze') ◇ The meaning of Gmc *makkōn 'to make' is usually explained by a semantic change 'knead, press' → 'make, build' in the history of IE (or Gmc), but the exact parallel in FU and CCh makes that

hyp. less probable (unless we presuppose a parallel semantic change in Gmc, FU and CCh). In Gmc *makkōn there is probably contamination of two N words (cf. above s.v. *moſkE 'to press').

1388. *mEkʷæ (or *mEʷkæ) 'big' > IE *meǵh_x-/*meǵoh_x-/*meǵh_ǵ- 'big' (accus. sg. m. *'meǵoh_x-m, nom.-accus. sg. ntr. *'meǵh_ǵ, gen. sg. *me'ǵh_x-os, in cds: *mǵh_ǵ-) > NaIE *meǵ- / *meǵh- 'big' (accus. sg. m. *'meǵ-ō-m > Vd accus. sg. m. mahām; nom.-accus. sg. ntr. *'meǵa > Vd 'mahī, Gk μέγα; NaIE gen. sg. *me'ǵh^h-os > Vd ma'ha-h ÷ Av G mazā [ffd. see Rsm. AT 84]). The representation in lges: Vd 'mahī ntr. 'great, big'; Iir {M} d. *mažhānt- / *mažhat- > OI nom. sg. m. ma'hān / accus. sg. ma'hānt-am / nom.-accus. ntr. ma'hat 'great, large', Av accus. m. mazānt-əm, ntr. mazaṭ id. || Gk m. μέγας, ntr. μέγα, f. μεγάλη 'big, great', sprl. μέγιστος || Arm մեծ mec 'great, large, big' || L magnus 'big' (< NaIE *meǵ-no-s), magis, [Plt.] mage 'bigger' || pAl {O} *maza > Al madh 'big, large, tall' || Clt {Matas.} *omagyo- 'great' > Mir maige 'great, large', mochtæ 'big, powerful' || Gt mikils (' μέγας, - πολύς)-{Fs.} 'groß' ({AD} 'big, much?'), ON mikill, OHG mihhil, OSx mikil 'big', AS micel, mycel 'big, much' > NE much || pTc {Ad.} *mākā > Tc: A māka, B māka 'many, much' || Ht mekk(i)- 'much, numerous' (< IE *meǵh_x-ih_x-) (nom.-accus. ntr. mekki, adverbial abl. meqqaγaz), mekki adv. 'greatly, much', ζ Lw {Lar.} maia- id. ({Lar.}: IE *-ǵ-, -ǵh-, *-ǵH- > Lw -Ø-; Mlc. CL 145 [rejecting the existence of the word]), ? HrLw {Ts.} man (< *mayan-) 'much' (not mentioned in Mer. HHG) ¶¶ WP II 252, P 708-9, EI 344 (*meǵh_ǵ-), M K II 609-10, M E II 337-9, F II 189-90, WH II 10, EM 378-9, Vn. M 58, Fs. 358-9, Vr. 386-7, Matas. E 253Kb. 684, OsS 608, Schz. 212, Ho. 221, Ho. S 52, Huld 88-9, O 240, Slt. 70-1, Ad. 446-7, Ts. E II 181-5, CHD L-N 245-9, Lar. 65, Ivn. SANA 153 (accepting Lw maia) || HS: S (mt.) *^o✓mʷk > Ar ✓mʷq 'be deep' (of a well), 'be far distant'; cp. S *^o✓mʷk 'be deep' > Hb, Gz mʷk id., as well as (??) Ak {Sd.} makāku 'ausweiten, hinbreiten' ¶ BK II 129, Hv. 727, Sd. 587 || Ch: WCh: Hs {Abr.} mákékè 'long and broad', mákáká id., 'big and broad', Jmb {Sk.} mákə 'long (a long time)' || CCh: Msg G {BM} mogo, Msg P {Trn.} mogo (f. muḡuwiḡ, pl. mogōkay ~ mogoway), Msg Ng {Ov.} mo'ḡo 'long', Msg {GKrs.} moḡwa (f. muḡu'ī, pl. mo'ḡwākai) 'long, high', {Rlf., Röd.} 'mogo 'large, big (groß)', a-na 'mogo 'it is large/big', Mlw {Trn.} múḡò (f. múḡùwí, pl. múḡòkáy) 'long, deep' ¶ JS 169, Abr. H 642, 646, Ba. 752, 757, Lk. DQM 68, ChC s.v. 'long' and 'long, a long time', ChL, Trn. MVM 286, Trn. LDM 22 || ? EC: Rn mǵ 'heaviness, strength' † (× N *mañḡga [or *maṅga?] 'strong, numerous') ¶ PG 224 || ? NrOm: Kf {C} maḡ- 'be heavy',

Mch {L} m`aggi-yé id., Shk {LmS} maggo 'heavy' ¶ C IV 470, L M 40, LmS 459 ¶¶ Tk. III 802-5 (Ch, Om, C) || A: Tg *°mēk∇ > Lm A mēkз 'big' ¶ STM I 566 || D {tr., †GS} *mik(k)- 'exceed, grow, great; increase' > Tm mīku v. 'exceed, grow; increase', mīkka 'great, much', Ml mīkuka v. 'surpass, abound', mīkka 'the greater part', Kn mīkku 'grow abundant, increase', Tu mīgguni, mīkku ni 'surpass, exceed', Tl mīkkili 'great', Knd mīs- 'increase' ¶¶ D no. 4838 ¶¶ Hardly here (for phonetic reasons) D *mā- 'great' (cf. N *mañ∇ga 'strong, numerous') || ?ϕ K: GZ *maḳe- ~ *manḳe- 'heavy' ({IS}: < **mwanḳ-) (× N *muḳa|û 'make great efforts, [?] be heavy', [?] \torment'??) > Mg moḳa- ~ monḳa-, Lz monḳa- 'heavy', G maḳe 'heavy with young' (of a female animal) (× N *maḲU [= *maḳU?] 'baby, son; [?] be pregnant', q.v.); ⇨ GZ *maḳen- 'become heavy\ pregnant' > OG, G maḳen- /maḳn- 'be conceiving', Mg, Lz monḳan- 'grow heavy' ¶ The additional *-n- in Zan may have been induced by contamination with N *mañ∇ga (or *maḳga?) '↑' (q.v.) ¶ K 125, K² 113-14, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, 304, Q 281, Schm. 122 ◇ N *ʕk - *kʕ > S *ʕḳ, K *ḳ (positional glottalization?) ◇ ≈ IS MS 331 (*magḥ 'big' > IE + K *magar 'strong', D *mā), ≠ IS SS 334 [no. 6.24] (K *magar-, D *mā).

1389. *muks'a' (< **mugz'a') - *mugz'a' 'ε rodent (mouse, mole or sim.)' > IE: NaIE *mūs 'mouse' > OI mūh (obl. mūḥ-) id., Blc mušk, MPrs, NPrs موش mūš {VI.} id., {BM} id., 'rat', Psh mažak 'mouse, maža 'rat', Oss: I mḥst, D mistä 'mouse' ||| Arm մուկ m u - k n (gen. մկան mk an) 'mouse' (on the nominal sx - k n [dim.?] see Ld. A 82-3 and Mn. 821) ||| Gk μῦς (gen. μύς) 'mouse, rat' ||| pAl {O} *mū(s) > Al: T mī, G mī 'mouse' ||| L mūs (gen. mūr- i s) id. ||| ON múss, OHG, OSx, AS mūs, NHG Maus, Dt muīs 'mouse', NE mouse ||| Sl *mǔšb f. (gen. *mǔši) id. > OCS мѣшь mǔšb f. (gen. мѣши mǔši), Blg миш f., R мышь f., Uk миш f. (~ 'миша), SCr mǔš (today m.), Slv mǔš (gen. mǔši), Cz, Slk myš, P mysz 'mouse' ||| Tc B pl. mās c ī t s i 'mice, rats' ¶ WP II 312-13, P 752-3, EI 387 (*'mūs ~ *'mus-s / gen. *mu's-os), M K II 668, M E II 369-70, Mn. 821-2, Horn 223, Vl. II 1228, BM 542, Ab. II 142-3, Bai. 337, F II 275-6, WH II 132-3, Ho. 227, Ho. S 54, Kb. 708, OsS 631-2, KM 469, Vr. 396, Vr. N 458, O 265, Huld 91-2 (Orel and Huld: the Al G nasalization is secondary), ESSJ XXI 55-72, StSS 338, Glh. 412-13, ZVSZ 258, Vs. II 27-8, Slt. 189-90, Ad. 143 ¶ The compensatory lengthening of the vw. *u is due to the loss of the velar stop in the cluster *-gʒ- ||| U: FU *°mo|aksa > Er максазей макс-зэу 'mole', максака макс-ка id., Mk максака 'макса-ка 'hamster' ¶ ≈ Coll. 97, ≈ UEW 264 (reconstructing *макса; adducing

Os мау \approx мах 'beaver' without mentioning pOs *maḥk 'beaver, mole' [which is the origin of Os V мау and Os K мах] and without taking into account the Os dialect cognates with -ḥ- and -ḥk-; cf. N *mṽḡkṽ 'beaver, mole'), ERV 358, KC 128, PI 154 || A *mUḶṽ 'mole', '(?) ∈ mouse' > Tg *muktu-_{r/n} 'mole, short-tailed mouse' > Neg muktuy 'short-tailed mouse', Ork muktuli id., 'mole', Nn KU muktur 'mole', WrMc {Z} муктунь ~ мукдунь 'tailless field mouse, mole' ¶ STM I 552, Z 901-2 ¶ Tg *-tu- seems to be a derivational sx (cf. Ewk -do in nouns for insects: lore-do 'butterfly' related to Ewk lorukī 'small butterfly [мотылёк]' [see Vas. 239, 754]) || pJ {S} *mũnkura 'mole' > MJ [RJ] ùgùrò-mòtì, ugura-, J T mògura, mùgura, J K mùgùrà, mùgùrá, J Kg mugurá ¶ S QJ no. 1459, Mr. 484, 560, Kenk. 1252 ¶¶ The absence of the reflex of the N sibilant in the pA word is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 951 (pA *mũḶk'ṽ 'mole' > Tg, J), DQA no. 1362 || ? K *°muḶ- > Sv {Ni.} muḶulid 'bat' (a cd?) ¶ Ni. s.v. 'летучая мышь' || ?? HS: CCh: Db {LnG} mašay, ? Gzg D {Lk.} mocod, Gzg Mj {Lk.} močod 'mouse', MfG {Brr.} máčad, móčod '∈ mouse' (× N *mṽḡṽwṽ '∈ rodent' [q.v.]) ¶ ChC s.v. 'mouse', Lk. G 130, LnG s.v. mašay, Brr. MG s.v. máčad and móčod ◇ If Sv muḶulid belongs here, the N rec. is *mugz'a' or *ma|oH₂ugz'a'.

1390. ₂ *mAk'z'a' 'give, reward' > HS: S *'miks- ~ *'maks- 'tribute' > Ak miksu 'tribute', BHb מֵקֶס 'mekes, Sr מַקְס mak's-ā, Md maksa id., IA, Plm mks 'tax', JA mik'sā 'toll, tax', SmA mks 'toll', Ar (← Aram) maks- 'market tax, custom duty' ¶ KB 550, Js. 783-4, Sl. 676, Tal 468, Br. 385, Sd. 165, Hv. 730, HJ 625 ¶ The Aram and Hb words may be (but not necessarily are) loans from Ak (see Zmr.² 10, Kfm. AIA 72) ¶ S *-ks- < **-kz- (as.) || U: FU (att. in FV) *maksā- 'give, pay' > F, Es maksā- v. 'pay, reward'; BF ⇨ pLp {Lr.} *māksē- v. 'pay, cost' > Lp: N {N} mak'se-/-vs-, S {Hs.} maaks'edh, L {LLO} maksē- 'pay, reward', Kld {SaR} mākkьсэ v. 'pay', mākkс 'payment' | Er, Mk максо- 'give' ¶ UEW 698, Lr. no. 644, Lgc. no. 3747, Hs. 888, SaR 180-1.

1391. *maḶU (= *maḶU?) 'baby, son', (?) 'be pregnant' > IE: NaIE *°mak^w- > Clt {Matas.} *mak^w- 'son' >: OGIr gen. maqq^wi, OIr macс, NIr mac 'son'; GI MAPO- 'son' (in proper names: MAPO-no-s etc.), Crn map / mab 'son', OBr {Flr.} mab, map 'child', MBr mab, Br {Hm.} mab 'fils, enfant, garçon', OW map, MW map 'son', W {YGM} mab 'son, boy', OCrn map, [ḡ] mab 'filius' ¶ ≈ P 696, Vn. M 1-2, Dnn. 454, Billy 103, Flr. 249, ECCE 268, SEv. 31, Matas. E 253-4, Loth 180, YGM-1 320, Mb. 537, Schm. KGP 244 || ? K: OG and G maḶ- 'make\get pregnant\conceiving', MG, G maḶe 'heavy with young'

(of animals), Mg monḡ-at-al-a 'pregnancy' (unless from K *maḡe- [or *manḡe-] 'heavy' < N *mEḡæ [or *mEḡæ] 'big') ¶ K 125, K² 113-14, FS K 207, FS K 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, Q 281 || HS: S *^o✓ mḡḡ > Ar ✓ mḡḡ G (pf. مَوِّق maqqā, ip. -muqq-) 'impregnate (a female palm tree)' ¶ BK II 1134, Hv. 728 || D *mak(k)- 'child, son' > Tm мака 'child, infant, young of animals; son\daughter', Ml макар 'son', маккаḷ 'children; the young of animals', Kt mog 'child', Td моx 'child, son\daughter', EpOKn макар 'son', Kn мага 'son, male person', Kdg макка 'children', мо·-vəḡn 'son', мо·-ва 'daughter', Tl мага, мoga 'male', Gnd maga sinḡu 'boy child' (sinḡu 'son'), Kng moga koḡo 'boy child', Mnd ḡāḡ (< *mḡāḡ) 'daughter', na-mḡāḡ 'my daughter', Krx мака (voc. used to daughters\sisters), Mlt maḡe 'boy' ¶¶ D no. 4616, Zv. 120 || ?φ A *môk'∇ 'male' > Tg *muke- ~ *muka- ({SDM} *muḡe- ~ *muḡa-) 'male person, male animal' > Neg муxḡti ḡ mukḡti 'male (dog, fox, sable)', Orc муzḡti, Ud муḡzḡti, муzḡti 'male' (of some animals), Nn Bk моxа(н-) 'male animal, male person', WrMc {Z} муxань 'male tiger, male leopard' ¶ STM I 543, 554, Krm. 262, Z 902 || pJ {S} *mùkuâ 'son-in-law, bridegroom' > OJ mùkwo', J T múko, J K mùkô, J Kg mukó id. ¶ S QJ no. 933, Mr. 487, Kenk. 1285 || M: [1] M {SDM} *^omoḡ- > Brt моxотop 'two-year-old Manchurian deer (двухлетний изюбр)' || [2] M *muḡalāy > WrM {MED} муḡalī, {Gl.} муḡulī, HIM {BMR} муxли, WrO муxала, муxalāi, муxulī, Kl {KRS} муxла 'slave, serf', {Rm.} моxlā 'Sklave' ¶ The WrM variant буḡul 'slave, serf' {acc. to Gl.} is a reborrowing of the M word from some ancient T lge, where m- > b- and the final vw. is lost (cp. Chg {Rm.} буḡun 'slave, servant') ¶ Not here (against SDM) Kl {Rm.} муxur 'penis' (< муxur 'blunt, blunted') (Rm.: "Penis, eig. abgerundet") ¶ MED 1207, BMR II 362, Chr. 301, Krg. 611, KRS 363, KW 263, 268, Gl. III 314 || T *buka 'bull' (× N *buḡa 'bovine [animal]' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ SDM 951 (pA *mūk'∇ 'male' > T *būka, M *^omoḡ-, Tg [with unjustified long *ū in T and pA]), DQA no. 1375, S AJ 293 [no. 452] ◇ Vg N {Mu.} māx, māxi, моxī, моk, моki 'Kind, Sprößling' hardly belongs here, because in Vg K this word (моkḡ) means 'Bauch, Wanst', which is likely to be the original meaning of the word ¶ MK 310 ◇ Proto-Altaic *môk'∇ 'male' is a qu. cognate both because of its labial vw. *ô and because of its meaning. It may be alternatively compared (in spite of the pA short *ô) with S *^o✓ mhk (> Ar muḡkat- ~ mahkat- 'jeunesse, jeune âge', see BK II 1162, Hv. 738), which suggests a pN *muḡḡ∇. If pA *môk'∇ does belong here, its labial vw. of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ◇ If the K ✓ belongs here, we reconstruct pN *-ḡ-,

otherwise it is *K (= *k|g) ◇ Not here (⇔ Tromb. CL) OHg magw, Hg mag 'Nachkomme, Nachkommenschaft', which goes back obviously to mag(w) 'seed, kernel' (see EWU 92O-1, MF 414) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 156 [no. 43] (incl. D, IE), Blz. NDA no. 42 (D, HS, Clt, Tg + unc. Vg), ≈ BmK no. 545 (IE, D).

1392. ₂ *moK∇ 'blunt' > A: M *moqu- 'be\become blunt' > WrM {MED} moqu- 'be blunt', HIM moxo- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become blunt', Brt moxo-, Dg mogō- id., Ord mūχu- 'devenir obtus, s'émousser', WrO {Krg.} moχo- 'get dull'; ⇨: **[1]** M *môqur, *môqurdur 'blunt' > WrM {MED} muqur ~ moqur 'blunt, hornless, tailless', HIM {MED, BMR} мухар id., Kl {Rm.} moχr̄ μχur 'stumpf. mit runden Enden', {KRS} moxp moχar 'short, blunt', Brt мухар 'less' (xyl мухар '[a person] without legs'), Ord mūχur 'obtus, émoussé', ? mūχugur id., Mnr H {SM} mo'g_ord_i- ~ mo'g_od_i- 'être\devenir mousse', mo'g_ord_ur ~ mo'g_od_ur 'mousse, émoussé, sans pointe'; **[2]** M *moqudag 'blunt' > [HI] {Ms.} moqodaq, [MA] {Pp.} موقداق moqadaq id., WrM moqudag id., 'not sharp', HIM moxдог {MED} id., {BMR} 'stumpf, stumpgwinkelig', Ord mūχud_aq 'qui n'a pas de pointe, obtus', Brt d. moxoодо- 'be too blunt'; **[3]** M *moquya- 'make blunt' > WrM {MED} moquga-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt moxoо- id.; **[4]** M *moquya 'blunt' > WrM {MED} moquqa, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt moxoо, WrO moχo id., Kl D {Rm.} mokā 'stumpf, nicht scharf, ohne Schneide', moχā ~ moχā 'stumpf' (z.B. Messer), Dg mogō; d. Dx mogutu 'blunt'; **[5]** MM [S] {H} muqu t qa- 'abschneiden' ¶ MED 544, 553-4, BMR II 342, 361-2, Chr. 301, 304, Ms. H 76, H 111, Pp. MA 238, KRS 356, KW 263-4, 268, SM 238-9, T DnJ 128-9, Krg. 602-3, Ms. O 474 || D {tr., ḡGS} *mōkk- '(be?) blunt' > Tm mokku, mokkai 'bluntness', moka t ai 'that which is blunt', Tl mokka 'blunt, pointless, not sharp' ¶¶ D no. 5106.

1393. *mūK∇ or *muKE 'a bend, corner, hump' > HS: S: Ar {Fr.} ماق māqi(n), māqu-at- 'internal angle of the eye', {Fr., BK} maʔq- id. (× ✓ mʔq 'weep'), Ar māqiʔ- ~ mūqiʔ- 'the front\back part of the eye' ¶ Fr. IV 197, 199, BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || U: FP *m^ukk∇(r∇) (= *mEkku(r∇)?) 'hump; bent' > F Δ {Lnr.} mukku 'hump', Es mūgar 'protuberance, tuber' || Chr: L мугыр муыр, Н мыгыр мьыр 'hump' || Prm {LG} *mūkir > Z мыкыр m+k+r n. 'humpiness, stoop', m+k+ra 'stooping', Vt мыкырес m+k+res id., Z Izh/Ud, Vt m+k+rt- v. 'incline, bend' ¶ LG 182, SK 355-6, ≠ UEW 705 (considering Chr мьыр and similar words to go back to onomatopoeia) || A *mUk∇ > Tg *muke- > Ewk mukē 'humpbacked, 'hump', mukē- vi. 'stoop, arch one's back', WrMc {Z} ме̄ху- 'гнутья, нагибаться, наклоняться, сгибать голову';

↳ Tg *mukçe- v. 'stoop, bend (under a load)' > Ewk мэкчэзлз- vi. 'bend under a load', мэкчэмз 'hump', Lm mōktzл- v. 'stoop', Ul моқчозу/і- ~ муқчузу- 'stoop, bend one's back', Ork моқчорон- ~ муқчурэн- id., Nn Nh mukčurэн-, mukčurэнгу- id., Nn KU mukčurэнз- vi. 'bend oneself' ¶ STM I 553, 565, On. 271, Z 880 || NaT *bok- 'bend knees, bow, cross the legs' > OI Kr боқ- id., Qzq inf. бууу, Qq буқ- 'bend down, bow', 'нагибаться, пригибаться', StAlt быгы- 'bend knees, bow'; NaT *bük- vt. 'bend (гнуть, сгибать)' (× N *bük'a' 'to bend; bent', q.v.) > OT {Cl.} бük id., Tk бük-, Tkm, Az, Ggz, Qmq, QrB, Nog. Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Uz Δ, ET Δ bük- id., Qxq, Qq bük- vi. 'bend, bend down', OT {Cl.} бük- vi. 'bend, bow', Alt Δ {Verb.} pük 'corner', StAlt бүк bük, Yk bük 'bend of a river') ¶ Cl. 324, Rs. W 91-2, ET B 248, 290-3, BT 38, MM 116, KrkR 121 ¶¶ ?? SDM 925-6 (pA *mǰók'ú' 'bow' > T + unc. the M, J and T roots going back to pA *mak'∇ vt. 'wind, twist, bend' < N *mæHaK∇ 'bend, turn'), DQA no. 1301 (id.), ≈ SDM97 (s.v. A *mäk'o 'to bow') || D {tr., †GS} *mukk- 'corner' > Ml, Tu mukku 'corner, lane', Tm mukku id., 'hook', Td muk 'edge', Kui mudgu 'corner', Krx müxā 'edge, brink, margin' ¶¶ D no. 4898.

1394. ₂ *m'a'ʔ∇, K∇ 'cry, shout' > HS: S *o✓mʔk > Ar ✓mʔq G 'sob' ¶ BK II 1053, Hv. 705 || A: T (+ sx?) *mākīr- v. 'shout, bellow' (× N *w'a'K'o 'to call'??) > OT {Cl.} бāqīr- 'shout, bellow', Osm XVIII бағир- 'shout', Tkm bāyīr-, Tk bağır-, Ggz baīr-, Az başır-, Bsh, Qrg baqīr- 'shout, bellow', CrTt başır-, StAlt b_aşır-, Qmn maşır-, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt baqър-, Uz baqır-, Kr baqīr- ɖ maqīr-, Chv L мақăр- mağ_ър- 'brüllen (реветь), laut weinen, muhen, blöcken, meckern' ¶ Cl. 318, ET B 20-2, B DK 231, Ash. VIII 173, Fed. I 340, Jeg. 128, ChVS 109, .

1395. ₂ *m∇K|a|æ ~ *m∇ʕK|a|æ 'plain, steppe, field' > HS: Eg XVIII-XXII mḳḳ '∈ arable land' ¶ EG II 159 || S *oмаʕq- > Ar маʕq- 'a tract of land without vegetation (terra omni carens planta)' (unless a sd. from маʕq- 'distance') ¶ Fr. IV 193 || IE: NaIE *māk|k̄o- or *mok|k̄o- / *mæk|k̄o- 'plain, steppe' > ON mór (< Gmc *mōxa-z) 'sandy plain, open woodland', NNr mo 'sandy land', Sw mo 'sandy heath' || OIr macḥa 'pasture land (pâture pour le bétail), fenced field (champ clos)', in nomina loci macḥa 'plain, field', NIr macḥa 'lawn; a field where cows are kept at night' ¶ WP II 226, Vr. 392, ≠ Torp N 429, Hlq. 654-5, ≈ Vn. M 3-4, Dnn. 454 ◇ If Ar маʕq- belongs here, the N etymon is *m∇ʕK|a|æ (then the absence of ʕ in Eg is to be explained), otherwise it is *m∇K|a|æ.

1396. *mæHaK∇ 'to bend, to turn' > A: [1] pA *maK∇ vt. 'wind, twist, bend' > M: [1] *makiyi- > WrM {Cev.} макіі-, HIM {BMR} мажий- vi. 'bend, curve

(гнутьяся, изгибаться, выгибаться)', Kl {KRS} мәки- mäki- id., 'be bent', Kl D {Rm.} mäki- 'verrenkt\verdreht\ungelenk sein' (Kl -ä- due to the infl. of Kl таки- täki- 'huddle oneself, скрючиваться') ¶ BMR II 328, Sev. 335, Luv. 239, KRS 346, KW 258 | [2] M *°meküyi- > WrM {MED} meküi-, HIM {MED, BMR} мәхий- ~ мөхий- vi. 'bow (кланяться)', incline, bend' ¶ MED 534, BMR II 351, 376 || NaT *bāga 'string. lace' > Tkm, ET Δ bāḡa ~ bāwa id., Alt Δ pāḡ id., Tk Δ, Az, CrT, Alt Δ, Qb baḡ, Alt Δ, SY paḡ id.; NaT *bāq- ~ *bāḡ- > Chg баḡ- ~ баq- v. 'tie', Yk bāḡ- v. 'plait', OT U bāḡ- v. 'shackle' ¶ ET B 13-17 || Tg *makti- > Neg makçinda-, Orc makčinda-, Ul maqtıla-, Nn Bk махçıra- v. 'twist a rope', Orc makči, makčixi, Ul makti(n-), Ud maktigi, Nn Bk {Sem} махçixi, Neg makçixin 'rope twister (a device)', ? WrMc {Z} мачи- 'подбирать платье, делая сборки; подбирать края вещи внутрь' ¶ STM I 523, Sem BD 172, Z 873 || J: [1] pJ *mak- v. 'wrap, wind around, tie into' > OJ mak- id., J K/Kg mák-, J T màk- {Kenk.} v. 'wind, roll, wrap' ¶ S QJ no. 675, Mr. 720, Kenk. 1175 | [2] pJ {S} *máńká- v. 'bow, bend' > OJ maga-(r-), MJ mágá-(r-), J K mágár-, mágé-, J Kg magár-, magé- {S} id., J T màgar-, màge- {Kenk.} v. 'bend, curve', J Sh {Mr.} magari-, J Ht {Mr.} mankgar- 'bend, turn' ¶ S QJ no. 927, Mr. 719, Kenk. 1166 || ? Ko *mà-i- 'bind, tie up' > MKo mà-i-, NKO mà ¶ The loss of pA *-k- is still to be explained ¶ Nam 211, MLC 598 ¶¶ SDM 897 (pA *ma₁k₁'o 'wind, twist, bend' > Tg, M *makiyi-, Ko), DQA no. 1263, SDM97 (A *mak'a > M, Tg, J) || [2] A *mi₁ak₁'u (× N *mü₁ or *mu₁ 'a bend, corner, hump', q.v.) > Tg *mi₁a^ku- 'bow, kneel' ({SDM} *miaxu-) > Neg mi₁x₁z₁t-, Ud mäula-, Ul мяхорачи-, Nn Nh {On., STM} mi₁x₁orān- v. 'bow', Neg myaxuru-, Ork mē₁choran, Nn mi₁choran-, Jrc mi₁a-ku-ru-, WrMc {Z} някура- v. 'kneel', Orc māxurana-, {PSchm.} мяхурана- vi. 'kneel, bow (sich verneigen, кланяться)' ¶ STM I 536, On. 263, Z 244 || M {SDM} *°meküyi- v. 'bow' > WrM {MED} meküi- vi. 'bow, incline, bend', HIM мәхий-, мөхий- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'bow (кланяться)' ¶ MED 534, BMR II 351, 376 ¶¶ SDM 925-6 (pA *mi₁ók₁'ú₁ v. 'bow' > Tg, M + qu. T *bok 'bend knees, bow'), DQA no. 1301, ≈ SDM97 (s.v. A *mäk'o 'to bow'), STM I 536 || D *mak₁k₁-, {GS} *mag- 'turn' > Tm maki₁ti 'be overturned', Kt mav₁ñ- vi. 'overturn', mav₁ṭ- vt. 'overturn, roll over', maki₁r- '(tree) is unrooted and falls', Kn magu₁ṭ, mogar₁ vi. 'turn round', Tu mag₁ru-, magu₁ru-, magu₁su-, mogaru- vt. 'turn round', Tl magu₁ḏu 'turn back, return', Klm magu₁ḏ- ḏ magu₁ḏ- ḏ magu₁ḏ-, Nkr magu₁ḏ 'vomit', Knd mak- 'turn over\upside down', Ku meg- 'fall down\off', (of a tree) 'fall' ¶¶ D no. 4617, GS 188 [no. 480], 31-2 [no-s 36 and 40] || HS: C: Af {PH} make scv. 'bend, distort, twist' ¶

PH 161 || ?σ Eg fXVIII mзћ v. 'tie (a band\diadem\ garland) round one's head', Eg OK/MK mзћ 'girdle', Eg fMK mзћ 'headband' ¶ EG II 189-90 ◇ Eg mзћ may be explained by mt. (then it points to a pN *mæXaK∇).

1397. ₂ *mUHAK∇ 'frog' > A *māk'É' (= *māk'É'?) 'frog' (× N *mægUR∇ 'frog, toad') ({ADb.} *bākka 'frog') > NaT *bāka 'frog' > OT бақа, MQp, XwT бақа, Chg бақа, ~ баққа, Tk баға, Az баҗа 'frog, tortoise', Tkm gur-bāga 'frog', Uz, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Qrg, Qmn бақа, QrB мақа, ET бақа ɘ пақа, StAlt б_ақа, Ln пақа, CrTt, Kr бақа ɘ баҗа, Xk паҗа, Yk баҗа, Tf б_аҗа, Tv p'аҗа, SY, Slr паҗа 'frog' ¶ The vw. ā in Tkm gur-bāga (and Xlj bāqa?) suggests pT *ā (but cp. Yk баҗа with a short a) ¶ Cl. 311-12, Rs. W 58 (pT *bāka), ET B 40-2, ET Q 160-1, TL 179-80, TkR 211, ARL 30, Shch. Zh 152-3, Ra. 72, Pek. 323-4, DT 86, SDM 920 (T *b_l_lāka with unjustified *-_l_l-) || M *mekele 'frog' (× N *mægUR∇ 'frog, toad' or 'ε reptile\amphibian') > WrO {Krg.} mekele, Kl {KRS} меклə mekla''frog', {Rm.} meklē 'Frosch'; with mt.: M *melek(eyi) 'frog, toad' > WrM {MED} melekei, HIM мэлхий {MED} id., {BMR} 'frog', WrM лаг melekei, Kl {Rm.} җаг melkē 'Schildkröte', Ord лаг melek_xi 'tortue' (M *лаг melek(eyi) lit. 'mud frog'), Brt мэлжэй 'tortoise', Dg {T} melek, {MYC} мэлзг 'frog, toad', {Lg.} мэлэг, {Mrm.} меlex, {Mr.} melexe 'frog', Ord melek_xi 'grenouille', WrO {Krg.} melekei 'frog, amphibian'; the M word was probably influenced by the paronym *menekeyi 'frog, tortoise' (> MM menekey id., [HI] наг менегей 'tortoise') ¶ M *-e- of the first syll. is likely to be due to regr. as. (infl. of *-e- of the second syll.) or to belong to the heritage of N *mægUR∇ (cf. also N *mæL∇Y|X∇ 'lizard', 'small reptile' or sim.) ¶ Krg. 597-8, MED 534, BMR II 371, Chr. 311, KRS 348-9, KW 260, T DgJ 154, Ms. H 75, T DgJ 154, Klz. D II 120, Mr. D 190, Ms. O 442, 461, Lg. VMI 53, Pp. MA 235 || ?σ NTg *mokol∇ > Ewk Brg mokoloc̄i 'bat', Lm mokoloy 'chipmunk' ¶ STM I 544 || pKo {SDM} *mək̄uri 'frog, toad' (× N *mægUR∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The pA etymon is to be reconstructed as *māk'É' only if NTg *mokol∇ belongs here ¶¶ SDM 920 (pA *mjāk'ó with unjustified *-o > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 1299 (id.), SDM97 (A *mök'ó 'frog'), Rm. SKE 144, TL 180 || **D** (att. in NED) *mūk- 'frog' > Krx mūxā, Mlt mūqe id.; ? D б→ OI mūkaka- id. (unless an independent onomato-poeia) ¶ D no. 5023, Pf. 194 [no. 185], M K II 662 ◇ The long vw. in pA and NED is due to the contraction of the N disyllabic sequence *-UH∇-.

1398. *ma'X'Kæ 'thin and long, lean' > IE *mehk̄-/ *mh̄k̄-/ *mhek̄- > NaIE *māk̄-/ *māk̄-/ *māk̄- 'thin and long, slender' > Av mas- 'long' (cmpr. masyā, sprl. masištā); masah- 'Länge, Grösse', masita 'groß, umfangreich', OPrs

maθištā- 'greater', KhS māsta- 'great', mase 'in size\greatness\amount' (accus. of reference) (÷ Av masō 'in size') || Gk μήκος, Gk D μῆκος 'length', Gk μῆσσων cmpr. 'longer, greater' (-σσ- < *-k-y-) || L maciēs 'leanness, thinness', macer 'lean', macē- 'be lean', macer 'lean, meager, thin' || ON magr, OHG magar 'meager', NHG mager, AS mæzer 'lean', NE meager || Ht mak-l-ant- 'thin', 'meager' (of animals) ¶¶ WP II 223, P 669, Bks IELG 183, Bn. CH 140, 295, Brtl. 1154-5, Bai. 325-6, 333, F II 164-5, Ch. 660-1, WH II 2, Vr. 375, Ho. 21, Kb. 650, OsS 582, KM 453, Ts. E II 98-9, CHD L-N 121-2, Kron. EHS 265, EI 357 (*meh_hk-), 574 (mh_hkrō-s 'thin, long') || HS: ? S *^o✓ mħk > Ar maħīq- 'very sharp, sharpened' (Fr.: 'extrematus et acutus') (× acp. of ✓ mħq 'efface, erase') ¶ Fr. IV 155, BK II 1069, Hv. 710 (maħīq- 'sharpened' [spearhead]) || A: M *meg 'lean' > WrM {MED ← Rm.} meg 'lean' (of domestic animals), HIM {BMR} mæg id., WrO meq teq 'thin, scrawny', Kl {Rm.} meg_ 'ganz abgefallen, mager' (vom Vieh); ⇨ : [1] M *^omegde- > Kl {Rm.} megdā- 'mager sein\werden, abmagern', {KRS} меґдә- 'be lean (быть подтянутым, быть худым)'; [2] Ord me^kxei- 'éprouver un malaise causé par la faim' ¶ M *^omegde- may have been influenced by the homonymous verb, represented by WrO meqde- v. 'suffer, hunger' ¶ MED 533, BMR II 364, Krg. 598, KW 260, Ms. O 461 ◇ If Ar maħīq- belongs here (sc. unless it is derived from ✓ mħq 'efface, erase'), the N lr. was *X, otherwise the N rec. must be *maHkæ (with an unspecified lr.). The puzzling voiced cns.*g in M *meg is likely to suggest pN *y in *ma^ykæ ◇ M *e in *meg may be due to regr. as. (M *meg < N *ma^ykæ).

1398a. (1) *mu_kl_l∇_lH∇ 'mouth' > HS: C: Ag *m_lky_l∇ 'mouth, lip' > Xm {R} 'mīk-ā, Dmb {R} məkīyā, Q {R} makīyā, Km {CR} məkəy 'mouth, lip' ¶ R Ch II 392, R QW 98, CR LK 228 || CCh: Gdr {Srp.} moko, Mln {ChL} māgì, Msk {Trn.} mágu 'mouth' ¶ JI II 245, ChC s.v. 'mouth', Lk. ZSS 143, Trn. LDM 18 || IE: NaIE: Ir: OI muk^h- 'mouth, face' (infl. of Dravidian?), Orm, Prc muχ, Psh مڭ m3χ 'face', Oss I mūkū (usu. pl. mūkūtā), Oss D moqo ab. 'face, snout' (possibly infl. of some NrCs lges, like Gunzib moqo 'beak') ¶ M K II 648-9, Asl. 801, Mrg. 48-9, Ab. II 131 || D *mu|ok- 'face, mouth' > Tm mukam, Kn moga id., Ml mukam id., 'front', Tu moga 'the front', Tl moga 'the front part, mouth of a river', Klm, Nkr mokam, Prj, Knd mokom, Gnd mukam ɘ mukum ɘ mokom, Png mūm, Mnd mūmb, Ku mūkā 'face' ¶¶ D no. 4889 ◇ Blz. DA 153 [no. 9] (Ag, CCh, D, IE), Blz. NDA no. 9 (D, HS, IE) || (2) Another semantic var. of this N etymon (or a different etymon?): N *mu_kl_l∇_l∇ 'eat\drink

(greedily, in large mouthfuls)' > **HS**: S: Ar \checkmark mqf *G* 'avaler avec avidité (un liquide)', 'téter sa mère' (un petit), *Gt* (ifta'ala) 'boire tout le lait qui se trouvait dans le pis' ¶ BK II 1135-6 || **A** *mUḲ^rE¹- '≈ fill one's mouth with food\water' ({SDM} 'suck') > T *bök- (= *mök-) 'eat one's fill' > OT {DTS} bōk-id., 'be fed up with', {MKD} būk- 'be fed up with, be filled to nausea', Tv pōk-, SY pek- 'eat one's fill', Qrg bök-, Tf pōk- 'be sated with fat food', Qzq, Nog bök- 'eat too much', Bsh büge- 'overeate', Yk {ET} böχöχ 'satt, zufrieden' ¶ DTS 117, ET B 211, MKD 83, BR 124 || Tg *muku- 'fill one's mouth with water' > Lm muq-, Neg moxon- ~ mokun-, Ud mukun- id., Ewk muku-, WrMc {Z} μυκυ- 'hold water\liquid in one's mouth', Ewk muku- 'swallow', Sln moxo- 'swallow water' ¶ STM I 552, Z 900 || pKo {S} *mæk- 'eat' > MKo mək- 'eat', NKo mək- 'eat, drink' ¶ QK no. 19, Nam 211, MLC 609 || pJ {S} *mākà-nàp- 'feed, provide meals' > MJ makanaφ- {S} id., J K mákáná-, J Kg mākàná-, J T makaná- {S, SDM} id., {Kenk.} 'supply, provide' ¶ S QJ no. 1233, Mr. 719, Kenk. 1171-2 || ???σ M: Dg {T} mekē-, {Pp.} mekē- 'suck' (unless derived from Dg {Pp., Mr.} meke 'woman's breasts') ¶ T DgJ 154, Mr. D 190, Klz. D II 120 ¶¶ SDM 950 (pA *m^rù¹k^é 'suck' > Tg, T, Ko, J, Dg mekē- + unc.. M *meke- 'move jaws'), DQA 1384 (id.). S AJ 295, ADb. SR 14, Lee CSMK 115, Rm. PKE 109 || **D** *mukk- 'eat in large mouthfuls' > Tm mukkū 'eat in large mouthfuls', Kn mukkū 'put food into the mouth with the hollowed hand and gobble', Tu mukkū - v. 'gobble, swallow, devour', Kui muka 'cast food into the mouth with the hand'; D *mukk∇_l- 'mouthful' > Kn mukkū_l(e) 'mouthful of water for rinsing the mouth', Tu mukkūli ~ mukkū_li 'mouthful of liquid', Kui mukal 'mouthful' ¶¶ D no. 4897 || ? E: ma-ak-, ma-kū 'verzehren', ma-qa 'Verzehrtes' ¶¶ HK 848-50, 875, 861-3 ◇ The semantic prehistory of the latter N source may be: 'mouth' → 'mouthful' → 'eat\drink in large mouthfuls'.

1399. ₂ *muḲč_l∇^r∇ 'arrive', (?) 'walk' > **HS**: S * \checkmark mθy ~ * \checkmark mθ? ~ ? * \checkmark mθh 'arrive', ? 'go' > Ug \checkmark mθy *G* 'arrive, come to', BA \checkmark mṭy (pf.: 3m אֲבָהּ ~ הֲבָהּ mə'tā, 3f תִּבָּהּ mə'tāṭ; ip. אֲבָהּ¹ yī-m'tē) 'reach, come, arrive', IA mṭ^r (sc. * \checkmark mṭy|w) (2m pf. mṭt), JA \checkmark mṭy *G* (pf. 'בָּהּ mə'tē, אֲבָהּ ~ הֲבָהּ mə'tā), SmA \checkmark mṭy *G* 'arrive, reach', Sr \checkmark mṭy *G* (pf. ١.ب.ه.م mə'tā, acp. m. ١.ب.ه.م mā'tē, acp. f. ١.ب.ه.م mā'tyā) 'come, arrive, reach', Md \checkmark mṭy *G* (pf.: 3m mṭa, 3f mṭiat) 'arrive, reach', Sb {BGMR} \checkmark mṭ^r *G* 'go, proceed, march', Mn \checkmark mṭ^r 'se trouver dans un endroit', \checkmark mṭ^r *Sh* (pf. ٣.م.ه.م) 'arrive', Qt {Rk.} \checkmark mṭ^r *G* (b-mṭ^r) 'enter, go through', Gz \checkmark mṣ^r *G* 'come, happen to', ? Ar [Qam.] \checkmark mōh *G* (pf. مَظَا maḡaha) {Fr.} 'abiit (per terram)',

{BK} 's'en aller et s'enfoncer dans l'intérieur des terres' ¶ A no. 1627, OLS 265-6, KB 1735, BDB 1100, HJ 616-17, Js. 767, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381-2, JPS 266, Tal 462-3, DM 264, BGMR 89-90, MA 64, Rk. 140-1, L G 369-70, Fr. IV 191, BK II 1125 || U *mukč̣a- v. 'walk, cross (a river, a place)', (?) 'come, arrive' > pLp {Lr.} *moksē- (~ *mokcē?) > Lp: L mok'se- / moʋse- 'come, arrive, take one's course', I mo'hceʔ-, Kld {TI} moʋse- 'cross rapids (rowing), T {Gn.} mok:se- 'cross a water' ('über ein Wasser fahren') || Sm: Ne T мада- 'cross (a place, watercourse), go through', Ne T O {Lh.} madā- 'cross (a watercourse)', Kms {Cs.} mākteŕ- íam 'schreiten' ¶¶ Coll. 35, UEW 284-5 (*mukč̣a- 'über das Wasser fahren'), Lr. no. 674, Ter. 214, Cs. 192 ◇ There is no direct ev. distinguishig between N *Ḳ and *k, but in a cns. cluster before the glottalized N *č̣ the glottalized cns. *Ḳ is more probable than *k ◇ The rec. of N *h is valid only if the Ar root √ mḥ preserved the ancient N lr., which was lost in Ug, in Aram and in the SS lges, but replaced in SS by a hiatus-filling *ʔ ◇ IS MsN (S, U).

1399a. ₂ *m'a'Ḳ ∇ R ∇ 'big, long' > IE: Gk μακρός 'long, large' ¶ F II 164-5, Ch. 660-1, LS 1075 || HS: B *mṽr > Izd √ mṽr 'être grand, grandir' (2s inv. imqqor), amoqran m. sg. 'grand', Gh əmṽar 'be big', məqqar 'big', Gd {CM} meqqur 'be big', {Lf.} əmqwar (pf. məqqwar) 'être grand\vieux\notable', Ah √ mṽr (imṽar) 'be big', Kb √ mṽr (imṽur) 'be big, grow', Zng {TC} pf. yemṽur (aor. yumṽur) 'grandir' ¶ Mrc. 130, Fc. 1235-8, Dl. 508-9, Ds. B 156, CM 124, Lf. I 288 and II no. 1019, DCTC 296 || Eg OK ĩmṽχ 'Würde, Würdigkeit, Ehrung' ¶ EG II 81 ◇ Doubtful. Valid unless Gk μακρός is a derivative that goes back to NaIE *māk̄- / *mak̄- 'thin, slender' (see N *ma'X'Ḳæ 'thin and long, lean') and unless B √ mṽr goes back to N ?? *ḲER ∇ 'grow, be(come) big'.

1400. *mAl ∇ 'another, second' or 'two' > HS: C: Bj {R} 'mallo ʔ 'malo, {Rop.} 'male 'two', {R} before m. nouns mal'lē 'two'; construct forms: {Rop.} 'malo-b 'two' m., 'malo-t 'two' f., Bj A {AD} 'malō-b m., 'malō-t f. 'two', Bj {R} 'maly-a, {Rop.} 'mali-a 'the second', Bj {R} malhō-'yān 'two of us', malhō-'yāk 'two of you', malhō-'yās 'two of them' || EC: Hdy {Hd.} mulleka 'other', ?? Af {PH} malhīn and Sa {R} malehən 'seven' (if derived from the word for 'two' in the framework of the quinary numeric system) || SC: Irq {E} male 'again' ¶ R BedS III 6-11, R WBd 168, Rop. 21-3, PH 162, R S II 266, AD SF 196, Hd. 108, E SC 343 || Om: Omt {Bnd.} mell-a 'other' ¶ Bnd. LE 254-5 (no. 62) ¶¶ Tk. III 404-5 (C, Om) || D *mal 'other, next, second' > Kn mala id., Tl malu 'next, second' ¶¶ D no. 4732 || EA ≈ *malla- 'two' > Esk: SbY malʁ(uʁ), CSbY {Rbc.} malʁ(uk), CAY, WGI malʁ(uk), Mki malləʁ(ok) || Ale

{Men.} allax , Ale Md {Golovko} alax 'two' ¶¶ Men. AJ s.v. allax 'two', Men. JNE 243, Men. JEBP 85, Men. GJAE I 282, Golovko M 123, Brgl. EA s.v. 'two', FJK s.v. 'two', Rbc. 314 .

1401. *mal∇ (or *mayl∇?) 'incline, bend' > **HS:** WS *-mīl- > Ar pf. māla / ip. ya-mīl-u 'lean, incline to', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓ myl (pf. mēl, sbjn. yīl) 'turn sidewise, incline to one side', Mh {Jo.} ✓ myl (pf. mɜyūl, sbjn. yɜmyēl) id., 'look sideways', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ myl (pf. mɜyōl) 'turn away\ aside' ¶ BK II 1174-5, Hv. 742, Jo. M 276, Jo. J 179, Jo. H 92 || **EC:** Sml {R} mēlmēl- 'das Gesicht seitwärts wenden', mēlmēl 'Abwendung des Gesichtes' ¶ R SS II 296 || **WCh:** Hs mēlú {Abr.} 'feel inclined', {Ba.} 'have a desire or inclination' ||| **ECh:** LI {WeibP} mōl 'se courber, se pencher du côté' ¶ Abr. H 653, Ba. 790, WeibP 64 ¶¶ Tk. III 24 (S, EC, Ch) ||| **A:** Tg malt- v. 'bend, fold' > Ewk maltu-, Lm maltъ- id., Sln malta-, Neg malti- v. 'fold', Ork d. māltima 'folding knife' ¶ STM I 524-5 ||| **D** (att. in SD) māl- 'bend, turn\look sideways' > Kn mālu 'bend', māla, mālu 'sloping, slanting', mālisu 'look obliquely, bend to one side', Td malf- 'look sideways' (of a buffalo), Tu mālu- v. 'lean, incline' ¶ D no. 4825 ◇ The long vw. in Tg and D may suggest the presence of an additional element, which in the light of the S ev. is likely to be identified as *y (N *mayl∇?).

1401a. *mAl∇ 'hill, mountain, sth. protruding' > **IE** *mel- > NaIE *mel- ≈ 'high bank, mountain' > pAl *mala > Al mal 'mountain' and ↷ Rm mal 'bank'; pAl d. *mal-yā > Al majē 'summit, peak' ||| Ltv mala 'bank, riverside, lakeside, beach; edge, rim', Lt † mala 'Land, Land-schaft', d. pa-mal-is 'edge', Lt jūr-mala, Ltv jūr-mala 'seaside, seashore' (Lt, Ltv jūra 'sea') || ? Sl: RChS inf. **ИЗМОЛѢТИ** iz-mol-ěti 'to protrude', Slv inf. moletī molēti 'to project, to jut out, to overhang' ||| ??σ OIr mell (< *mel-no-) 'round object (hill, ball etc.)' (semantic infl. of OIr mul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule?'); ? (× N ?? *m^ræ^rL∇ ≈ eye'): OIr, Nir mala 'eyebrow', MBr {Ern.} malvern 'eyelid' (possibly from 'protuberance') ¶ ≈ P 721-2, Bc. 219, Vn. M 14, 33, Ern. 386-7, O 243, Frn. 400-1, ≈ ESSJ IX 49, ≈ Bern. II 74 ||| **D** *mal, mal-ay 'hill, mountain' > Tm malaḡ id., Ml mala 'mountain, raised land, hill land', Kt mal a^r, Td mal 'the Nilgiri mountains', Kn male 'mountain, forest', Tu malæ 'forest, hill overgrown with forest', Tl mala 'mountain', Klm ma^rle ~ mālē 'hill', Prj malang 'forest', Gdb mare ɘ māre 'hill, hillock', Brh maš 'hill, mountain' ¶¶ D no. 4742 ||| **HS:** S: MHb מוֹלֵה mō^rlī 'Erdhöhung, Hügel', JA mōl'yā 'Erdhöhung, hüglige Stelle', Ar mīl- 'grand monticule de sable' ¶ Lv. III 49, BK II 1175 ||| B *^omūl- > Mz a-mul (pl. i-mul-ən) 'crête (supérieure, d'un

coq etc.)' ¶ Dlh. M 118 || C: Dhl mā́lōl-a 'cow's hump' ¶ EEN 37 || ECh: ? Kwn {J} mǒ́ldo 'mountain' (in some dialects mṓldo 'pierre') || WCh: Gmy mel 'rise very high' ¶ ChC s.v. 'mountain' and 'stone', Coates 2, 5, Srl. 137 || Eg NK m n. ω 'mountain range', Eg G m n. t y 'die beiden Bergzüge östlich und westlich des Niltales' ¶ Brgh. 46 (fn. 28), EG II 69 ¶¶ Tk. III 247 (adding S, Eg, Dhl and Ch) ◇ IS II 51 (N *mALΛ; IE, D).

1402. *mæL∇ (= *mæÍ∇?) 'to hide' > K: MG [VTq.], G mal- v. 'hide, hide oneself' ¶ Chx. 708-9, DCh. 662-3 || **HS:** ? EC: Sml maldah- v. 'hide, veil, conceal', ?σ Rn {PG} mǎllǎdǎ (inv. mǎllǎω) 'get\be lost', Or {Brl.} millik-, {Th.} milik- 'schivare, evitare, usar sotterfugi' ¶ ZMO 274, PG 218, Brl. 304, Th. 244-5 || S: Gz mālawā pret. 'hide', mālaw 'hidden' ¶ L G 346 || WCh: Su {J} mωǎ́l 'verheimlichen' || CCh: Ms {Caît.} mǎl 'couvrir d'un toit', Bdy {AIJ} mǎlal 'disparaître, disperser' ¶ J S 76, Caît. 105, AIJ 97 || **IE:** NaIE *mel- (= *(s)mel-?) v. 'deceive; be mistaken' (possibly × N *me₁y₁∇ 'mind; be clever' [q.v.]) > Av maírya- 'betrügerisch, tückisch, schurkisch' || ? OIr mellaid 'il flatte, il séduit, il trompe' (unless ← mell 'pleasant' [acc. to Vn.]) || Lt mēlas, Lt Z mālas 'lie, falsehood', Ltv mēli n. 'lie', Lt melúoti, Ltv mēlôt 'to lie' || Sl inf. *m+liti 'to involve in error, to mislead' > P, HLs inf. mylic, Cz inf. mýliti, R Δ inf. 'мылितъ, LLs inf. mylic id., P mylic sie, Cz mýliti se, Uk inf. милитися 'to err, to be mistaken' ({Frn.:} the irreg. *t is probably due to the infl. of the synonymous verb *x+ib- [> Cz chybíti 'to err', P chybíac 'to miss, to fail']?) || Arm մեղ մեղ 'sin, fault' || ?? Gk βλασ- (*'falsehood') in βλάσ-φημος 'speaking ill-omened words, evil-speaking', 'slandorous' (of words), βλασφημέω 'speak ill, slander' (φη- 'speak'), ? μέλεος 'idle, use-less; unhappy, miserable' || ? Tc A smale 'a lie', smālok 'liar' ¶ ≈ WP II 291. ≈ P 719-20, Brtl. 1151-2, F I 241-2 (no et. of the Gk words), Vn. M 31-2, Frn. 430, Ma. CS 314, ESSJ XXI 39-40, Vs. III 23, Sl. 181-2, Wn. I 431, ≈σ EI 155 (*mel- 'fail', *melos 'bad', *meles- 'fault, mistake') || **A:** Tg *mel- vi. 'hide' > WrMc {Z} мэлэ- {STM} vi. 'hide, steal away', {Z} 'прятаться в траве, уходить ползком, притуливаться', Ewk PT мэлтлз- vi. 'hide, shrink into one's shell' ('прятаться, съёжиться, уйти в себя') ¶ STM I 567, Z 881 ◇ If the Tc words smale and smālok belong here, they suggest an IE root with *(s)m- and therefore a palatal element within the N word (hence N *mæÍ∇) ◇ It is tempting to adduce the FP word, represented by Z мылѝс m+lzs 'a piece of bark used to cover the load of a boat (to protect it from the rain)' and by Chr melǎž ѝ малъž 'lid of a beehive (in a hollow of a tree-trunk)' (LG 182, ≈ UEW 289-80). If this FP word belongs here, the original meaning of the N etymon must be 'cover' (whence 'to hide').

1403. ?? *m^ræ^l∇ '≈ eye' > HS: S: Ar ✓?m^l TD 'regarder avec attention' ¶ BK I 56 || Eg fKD m^r.t 'eye(s) (of a god)', m³³ 'sehen' ¶ EG II 7-10 and 107, Hlk Mr 76-7 || C: Ag: Q {R} mäl- 'spähen, beobachten, herumschauen' || HEC: Sd {Gs.} malammala v. 'examine', Hdy {Hd.} mal- v. 'examine, investigate', Ged {Hd.} mall- id. ¶ R QW 98, Gs. 221, Hd. 52, 59 || NrOm: Kf {C} moll-et- 'osservare' ¶ C IV 471 ¶¶ Tk. III 33 || IE: NaIE *^om∇^l- > Clt: OIr mala (gen. malach) 'eyebrow', NIr mala id., π mala-πορς 'eye', MBr {Ern.} malvenn 'eyelid' ¶ Vn. M 14, 33, Dnn. 461, Ern. 386-7 || ?? A: WrM {MED} hon. melmei 'eye(s)', HIM {BMR} hon. мэлмий 'eyes' (unless from M *melmey- 'glänzen' > WrM {MED} melmei- 'shine, be bright, reflect light', Brt мэлмы- 'блестеть' (о водной глади), Kl {KRS} мелмэ- 'glänzen', Ord melmī- 'reluire, briller au soleil') ¶ MED 535, BMR II 370, Chr. 311, KRS 349, Ms. O 462 ◇ Qu. because of the honorific (hence original metaphoric?) character of the WrM and Eg words.

1404. *mo^l∇ (or *mo^lh∇??) 'to pound, to gnaw\smash into pieces' > IE *mel-, *melh_x- v. 'grind, pound' > Ht malla/i-, malliya/i- v. mill, grind' || NaIE: Arm մալեմ malem 'I bruise, I mash, I crush, I break into pieces' || Gk μύλη 'mill' || pAl {O} *melwa > Al miell 'flour' || L mol-ō, -ēre v. 'grind' (↔ Al bluānj id.) || Clt {Matas.} *malō- ~ *melō- 'grind' > OIr meilid, -meil 'grind', W {YGM} malu v. 'grind, mince, smash', OBr {Y} maletic p. prtc. 'contritum', MBr malaff 'grind', Br {Hm.} malarñ 'moudre', Crn mala 'grind' || Gt malan (· ἄλῆθειν) 'mahlen', OHG malan 'to grind, to rub', NHG mahlen, ON mala 'to grind'; Gmc *mulwjan > ON mylja 'to grind, to crush', OHG mullen 'to oppress, to break into small pieces, grind, destroy' || Lt máliti 'to grind' || Sl inf. *mél-ti id. > OCS inf. мѣти mlěti id. (1s pres. meljǫ), Blg 'меля' 'grind', SCr Cr inf. mljèti (1s pres. mèljem), SCr Sr inf. млѣти (1s pres. мѣльѣм), Slv inf. mléti, Cz inf. mléti ~ mlíti, P inf. mlec (1s pres. mieleǫ), OR inf. МОЛОТИ, R inf. мо'лотъ (1s pres. ме'лю) 'to grind' || pTc {Ad.} *me^lw- > Tc: A malyw-, B mely- {Wn.} 'presser fortement, broyer, écraser', {Ad.} 'crush, squeeze', {JGH} 'press' || ? OI m^rōⁿāti 'crushes, grinds' (× IE *mer- 'crush' < N *mur∇ 'to break, to crush, to cut') ¶¶ P 716-17, EI 247 (*melh₂-), F II 268-70, WH II 104-6, M K II 673, M E II 319-20, Ch. 721, Vr. 377, 397, Schz. 206, 216, Kb. 654, 699-700, OsS 586, 625, KM 454, Vn. M 32, Hamp AIEW 147, O 30, 265-6, ESSJ XVIII 89-91, StSS 331, Vs. II 597, Glh. 417, Wn. I 278-9, Ad. 470, Ad. H 73, JGH 203, Sl. 99-1, Matas. E 255, YGM-1 322, Hm. 543, CHD L-N 125-6, Ts. E II 102-3, Ivn. OPA 108-9 || HS: CS *✓m^l 'crush,

squeeze (e.g., for husking the grain)' > MHb, JA, Md ✓ mll v. 'crush, squeeze, rub ears for husking the grain', BHb מַלְיָא מַלְיָא mālī'ā, JA מַלְיָא מַלְיָא mālī'ā 'Reibähren (noch milchige Ähren, deren Körner man ausreibt)', MHb {Js.} מַלְיָא מַלְיָא mālī'ā 'ripe ear of corn', Ar ✓ mll D 'presser, activer', Gz {L} ✓ mll G 'plane (a board), smooth with a plane' ¶ KB 558, KBR 598, Js. 790-2, BK II 1141 ¶¶ Tk. III 361 (Gz) || U *moll|∇- v. 'crumble, break into pieces', n. 'crumble' > pLp *omōl|∇ > Lp N {N} moallo 'crumb, little, bit, piece, morsel', moallâni- ~ moallâni- vi. 'crumble away' || Sm {Jn.} *m̄b|∇- v. 'break' > Ne T Ym inf. ма́ля-сь, Ne T BZ inf. ма́лье-сь 'to break, to smash', Ne T O {Lh.} ма́·ā v. 'break, smash', Slq Tz {KKIH} mala- v. 'gnaw (грызть)', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. malāab id., Kms {KD} boł·dālá m ~ buł·dālá m vt. 'break', Koyb {Sp.} блаламъ 'I gnaw', Mt {Hl.} *balə- v. 'gnaw, bite' (Mt M {Sp.} бальямъ 'I gnaw', баліямъ 'I bite') ⇨ Mt {Hl.} *bilabtə- v. '(?) break' (Mt M {Sp.} пиляптымъ 'I break') ¶¶ Coll. 35, UEW 278, Jn. 86, KKIИ 128, Hl. M no-s 97 and 125 || A *moll|æ 'bite, gnaw' > M *mölǰi- (< **möl-di-) 'gnaw, eat the bones clean' > MMgl mölǰi- 'gnaw', WrM {MED} mölǰi-, HIM {MED, BMR} мөлжи-, Brt мүлжэ-, Kl {KRS} мөлж- 'gnaw, eat the bones clean', {Rm.} mölǰi- 'nagen, den Knochen ganz abnagen, das Fleisch wegschaben', Ord mölǰi- 'ronger (os); enlever avec les dents et manger le chair qui adhère à un os' ¶ MED 546, BMR II 343, Chr. 305, KRS 357, KW 265, Iw. 116, Ms. O 468 || Tg *omul- > WrMc {Hr} му́ля-, {Z} му́ля- v. 'swallow' ¶ Z 908, Hr 677 || pKo {S} *m̄ir- v. 'bite' > MKo m̄ir-, NKo mul- ¶ S QK no. 7, Nam 229, MLC 677 || ?σ pJ {S} *m̄úsír- v. 'pluck out, pick out' > MJ m̄úsír- {S} id., J T m̄úsíru, J K m̄úsír-, J Kg muśír- v. 'pluck, pull, tear (wrench) off' ¶ S QJ no. 844, Mr. 720, Kenk. 1293 ¶¶ The semantically doubtful J cognate does not provide decisive ev. of pA *-í-, therefore the pA rec. must be *moll|æ ¶¶ SDM 943 (pA *móíe 'bite, gnaw' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1343, S AJ 295, Rm. SKE 154, Oz. NM 296-7 ◇ In the light of the S cognates the lr. in IE *melh̄- is likely to be a root extension rather than an ancient part of the root. An alt. solution (N *moīh̄∇ > CS *✓ mll [with loss of N *h̄]) is less likely, albeit not ruled out ◇ IS II 69-70 (*mōL∇ 'раздроблять'), AD NM no. 63, S CNM 7 (suggesting the Mc, Ko and J cognates; ÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 18 (the segmentation of M *mölǰi- as *möl- + *-ǰi- is considered a "teleological reconstruction", F..AD NMI-1 § 7.7), Glh. 417 ◇ J *-s- (in its semantically doubtful cognate) suggests pA and N *í, which is at variance with the U evidence. Hence our N rec. is with *ī (= *ī|) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 186 (*meli 'grind') (IE, U, EA + unc. Ko, CK + qu. A {Gr.} *mōli 'cut', J).

1405. *m^{ra}Hl̥ (or *m^{ra}y̥l̥) 'little, young' > IE: NaIE *mōlo- ~ ?? *smelo- 'small, little' > Sl *mǎľ adj. (dadj. *malъjъ) 'small, little' > OCS, OR МАЛЪ malъ, Blg d. малък, SCr ма̀о (f. ма̀ла), Slv dadj. māli, Cz, Slk dadj. malý, P dadj. ма́у, R dadj. 'малый, pradj. мал (f. ма'ла) 'small, little' | ?? Lt smũlkuš, smulkuš 'small, fine, thin', Ltv smaľk-s 'fine, thin' || ?? Gmc *smal- 'small, narrow' > Gt smals* 'klein, gering' (attested: sprl. smalista [- éλάχιστος]), OSx smal 'small, little' ('klein, gering'), OHG smal 'small, narrow', NGH schmal 'narrow', AS smæl id., 'slender, small', NE small ¶ ≈ WP II 296, ≈ P 724 (without distinguishing it from *mēlo- 'sheep and goats', cp. N *mU̥w̥l̥y̥ '∈ animals, meat'), ESSJ XVII 167-83, StSS 321-2, Bern. II 13-14, Vs. II 564, Vr. 519, Ho. 301, Ho. GEW 93, Ho. S 68, Fs. 439, Kb. 916, Sw. 156, Kar. II 238-9, Frn. 849-50, ≈ EI 23 (*meh̥l- 'small animal') || HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} mīluw-ā 'kleines Kind', {Ap.} māłwa 'small' (of age), Xm T {CR} malwā, malo 'ragazzo piccolo, giovane' || SC: ? Brn {E} mela 'house of unmarried young men', ? SC → Mb {E} milo 'child', míli 'heifer' ¶ R Ch II 393, Ap. Kh II 504, CR Kh 222, E SC 17 || U: FU *mōl̥ (< *mḁ̄l̥?) *'child' or 'little' > ObU: Vg K mōli 'boy, dear boy'; pOs *mō̥l̥ ({Hl.} *mũ̥l̥) 'little' (in cds): Os: Ty mō̥l̥, K/Kr -mḁ̄la, Nz -mō̥la, Kz mō̥li, e.g. Os: Ko/K ewə-mḁ̄la 'little girl', pāχ-malə 'little boy', K moχ-mālit 'children', Nz ay peŋ-mō̥la, Kz peŋ-mō̥li 'kleiner, eben ein wenig aus dem Zahnfleisch hervorgekommener Zahn' ¶ Ht. no. 777, Stn. D 927 || A: T *bāla (*mḁ̄la) (= *mḁ̄la?) > NaT *bāla 'young bird, nestling; young of an animal' > XwT XIV, Chg XV bala 'young of an animal', Tk bala, Tk Δ, Tkm, Uz Δ, ET Δ bāla, CrTt bala id., 'child', Az, Qmq, VTt bala, Uz бoлa бoлa, Slr b_ala id., 'nestling, young bird', QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg, ET bala 'child, baby' ¶ Cl. 332, Rs. W 59, ET B 47-9, TL 306-7, TkR 69 ◇ The FU vw. *ō may go back to an earlier *ā (because any pre-U *ā yields U *ō) ◇ If the Gmc and Blt roots (and hence IE *smel-) belong here, it points to a palatal element in the N etymon, which cannot be *í (on the FU and T ev.), hence the N rec. *m^{ra}y̥l̥. If so, the long *ō in IE does not go back to a vw. + lr., but represents the apophonic L-grade (Dehnstufe), while N *y (in *-y̥l̥-) is lost in IE due to its prenasal position. If IE *smel- does not belong here, the N rec. is *m^{ra}Hl̥ (corroborated by the long vowels in NaIE *mōlo- and T *bāla).

1406. *mUhl̥ (~ *mULh̥) 'slow, quiet' > HS: WS *√mhl 'be slow\quiet' > Ar √mhl {BK} id., {Hv.} 'act at leisure, without haste', MHb √mhl 'langsam fließen', Mh √mhl Sh (pf. amōh̥l̥), Jb √mhl Sh (pf. õh̥l̥) vt. 'ease, lighten', Mh Gt (pf. m̥th̥ūl̥) 'become easier\lighter', Sq {L} 'muhēle 'delay', {Jo.}

'mehɜl 'delay, respite' ¶ BK II 1162-3, Lv. III 37, Hv. 738, Jo. M 262, Jo. J 169, L LS 239 || IE: NaIE *mel- 'linger, delay, be slow', (?) 'be about to do' > Clt {Matas.} *mallo- 'slow, lazy' > OIr mall {SDM} 'slow, lazy', [ʏ] mall 'tardus', {Vn.} mall 'lent, mou, flétri', ?σ MW mall 'dull, evil, sick' || Gk μέλλω 'be destined\likely to; be about to; delay, put off' || L [Fest.] prō-mell-ō / -ēre 'litem promovere, adjorn a (legal) action', [Pl.] re-mellīgō 'delay (Verzögerung)' ¶ WP II 292, P 720, F II 202-3, WH II 370, 427-8, Vn. M 15, Matas. E 254-5 || A: Tg: Ewk mulu- 'be silent' ¶ STM I 555 ◇ NaIE *mel- (without traces of the expected lr.) may go back to *mULh∇ (mt. from *mUHL∇) with subsequent loss of *ə in the prevocalic position.

1406a. *meH'a'ī∇ 'a person (of ego's generation?) from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > HS: C: Bj {R} me'pāli ~ 'm'pāli, {Rop.} m'pāli 'brother\sister-in-law' ¶ R WBd 162, Rop. 216 || ECh: Kwn M {J} mōlō ~ mōló, ? Kbl {Cp.} magɜlɜ́, Ll {Grgs} malgyī 'female relative-in-law', Mkl {J} mâlsá, Tmk {Cp.} mɜ́lá 'sister-in-law'; Kwn M {J} kū-mālé ~ kɜ́-māli:, Kbl {Cp.} ka-mɜlɜ́, Ll {Grgs} kū-māli 'male relative-in-law', Mkl {J} mēlé 'brother-in-law' ¶ ChC s.v. 'relative-in-law (male)' and 'relative-in-law (female)', J LM 211, Cp. 105 || D (att. in NED) ≈ *mel|k- > Krx melk^hō 'husband's brother's wife; concubine', Mlt melqō, melqor '(one of) two or more contemporary wives' ¶ D no. 5081, Pf. 195 [no. 190] || A: T: [1] NaT *bö:;læ 'one of cousins (children of two sisters)' > Qzq, Qq, Tv NE böle, Qrg bölö ~ bülö, Xk, Shor pöle id., Nog böle, Uz бұла бwла, Δ bölä, Tk Δ bola ɛ bulla ɛ bülem ɛ bele, Qmn bölö 'cousins', StAlt {BT} b_ölö 'children of sisters; cousin', ??φ,σ Yk {Pek.} aymax-bilä 'relatives, neighbors'; T → M: WrM {MED} bülü ~ böle 'cousins (children of two sisters)', HIM бγл {MED} id., {BMR} 'cousin from mother's side, mother's sister's son\daughter, sisterÆs children', Brt бγлэ 'cousin from mother's side' || [2] T: Tk Δ {THADS} bal 'girl; brother'; → T *bāl-t'ír 'wife's younger sister' > OT baldiz, Qzq, Qq, Qrg baldiz, Bsh baldið id., Tkm bāldið 'husband's sister', Tk baldiz 'wife's\husband's sister', Az, CrTt, Kr Cr baldiz, Uz baldiz, Chv puld_ьr 'wife's sister' ¶ ET B 53-4, 217-18, TL 293-4, BT 34, Pek. 463. MED 127, 147, BMR I 302, Chr. 122, Cl. 334, THADS II 495, Jud. 104 ◇ The rounded vw. *ö in T *bö:;læ may be explained by the assimilating infl. of *b. T *-ā- in *bāl-t'ír is probably from N *-eHa- ◇ The equation between D, Bj and Ch was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 157 [no. 48]; see also Blz. NDA no. 46 [D, HS]).

1407. *'miħLi and ***'miLħi** 'be weak' > HS: CS *✓ mħl > Sr ✓ mħl G 'weaken', Ar ✓ mħl G 'be barren' (land, year) ¶ Br. 381, BK II 1069-70, Hv.

710 || IE: NaIE **mlēj-* / **mlī-* / ? **-mle_iu-* '≈ weak' > W *blin* (< **mlī-no-*) 'tired', OBr *blin* {Flr.} 'mou, incertain, négligent', MBr {Ern.}, Br {Hm.} *blin* 'faible, débile' || Ltv Δ {ME} *blīnis* 'a tired person who cannot move' || Sl **mlit-* 'weak, flabby' > McdS *млитаѡ* 'flabby, languid, apathetic', SCr *mlitav*, *mlit*, *mlitak* 'feeble, slack, lax', *mlitati* 'to be lazy' || Gk ἄμβλύς 'blunt, dulled, with edge\point taken off' and possibly ἄμαλός 'soft, weak' (× N **mel^h₁√* 'soft' [q.v.]) || Ht *malisku-* ~ *milisku-* 'weak; light, unimportant (?)' ¶¶ ≈ P 716-19, Flr. 86, Ern. 71, Hm. 87, YGM-1 47, ME I 316, ESSJ XIX 68, F I 85, 89-90, CAD L-N 130, Ts. E II 106-7 || A: M: WrM {MED} *milmerē-* 'grow weak\feeble' ¶ MED 539 ◇ The N etymon in question may be identical with **mel^h₁√* 'soft' (which in that case must be reformulated as N **mel^h_i*, with M **i* [in WrM *milmerē-*] due to the assimilative infl. of the final **-i*).

1408. **mU₁w₁√* '∈ animals, meat' > HS: Eg fMK *mnmn.t* 'herd, cattle' ¶ Fk. 109 || C **māl-* 'livestock, meat' > HEC {Hd.} **māla* 'meat' > Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd *māla*, Hd *māra* id. || Rn {PG} *māl* 'female camel on loan', Sml N {Abr.} *māl* 'livestock', Sml {ZMO} *māl* 'goods, wealth' (× ← Ar *māl-* 'flocks, wealth') ¶ Hd. 98, 210, 257, 292, 331, 383, Ss. B 137, C SE II 213, Abr. S 172, ZMO 264, PG 214-15, Hv. 740 || NrOm: Bdt {C} *mālē* ~ *māli* 'cow' (← or → HEC?) ¶ C SO 62 || S **-m√* (**-mūl-*?) ⇄ **ma^lwal-* 'having flocks' > Ar *māl-* 'rich\wealthy (person)', ✓ *mwal G* (pf. *māla*, ip. *-mūl-*) 'be rich in flocks', *māl-* 'flocks; wealth, personal property' (originally a n. coll., derived by means of the *-ā-* infix) ¶ BK II 1168, Hv. 740 || ECh: Mkl {Lk.} *māl* 'herd', WDng {DjM} *mālá* 'troupeau, les bêtes, les animaux' ¶ Lk. M 220, DjM 193 || IE: NaIE **mēlo-* 'sheep and goats, young\small animal' > Gk Ep/D/A μῆλα pl. 'small cattle' → sg. μῆλον 'sheep, goat' || Clt {Matas.} **mīlo-* 'animal' > OIr *míl* 'animal, small animal', {Matas.} *mil* 'animal', NIr *míol* 'louse', MW *mil-eit*, {Matas.} *mil*, W {YGM}, OCrn, MBr, OBr, Br {Hm.} *mil*, Crn *myl*, {Matas.} *mil* 'animal' || Gmc: OFrk [LxS] *māla* 'cow', Dt *maal*, Dt G *maole* 'young cow' || Arm *մալ* *mal* 'wether, mutton' (× ← *malem* v. 'castrate, geld' ← 'bruise, break') || Ht {Ivn.} *miluli-* 'meat' ({Ts.} *miluli-* ~ *maluli-* 'Körperteil, Weichteile') ¶¶ But not here (⇔ P 724) Uk *малъ* 'sheep and goats, young sheep' (coll.) and R Δ *малич* '∈ a Crimean sheep', which are loans from a Turkic lge, most probably from CrTt *mal* 'livestock' (← Ar *māl-* 'flocks') (*see* Rl. IV 2035-6) ¶¶ ≈ WP II 296, ≈ P 724 (**mēlo-* 'kleineres Tier'; + err. Sl and Gmc words for 'small, little' and L *mālus* 'bad'), F II 226-7, Vn. M 51, Flr. 256-7, RE 79, Matas. E 271-2, YGM-1 332, Hm. 570, Vr. N 419,

Bern. II 13-14, ≠ ESSJ XVII 156, 176 (Uk малъ, R Δ малич ← SI *malъ 'small'), EI 23 (IE *meh₁- 'small animal'), Ts. W 53 || | A *mul₁∇ 'ε deer' > T *bu₁lan 'elk' > OT булан ((Cl.) булан) 'ε large wild animal which is hunted' ((Cl.): obviously 'elk'), MQp xv булан 'wild ass, onager', Qzq бұлан, VTt, Bsh болан b^olan, Xk pulan, Qb {Cl.} bulan 'elk', Tv b₁ulan, Qrg f bulan 'elk, deer', Uz *hist.* булан 'wild horse', No, Qrg bulan 'ε gazelle' ||| Chv L п^oлан р^oлан, Chv H р^oлан 'elk, deer' ¶ Cl. 343, ET B 260, TL 154, Rs. W 88, BT 35, Rl. IV 1374, Shch. Zh 141, Dr. TM II no. 810, Ash. X 105, Fed. I 395, Jeg. 146, ChVS 129, Jud. 157, NogR 90 || NrTg *mul- (dim. *mul-kan) 'deer, elk' > Ewk mulkan 'castrated reindeer (of 1.5 to 2 years)', mul-kaçān 'male reindeer, elk, Manchurian deer (of 2 to 3 years)', Lm mu₁lan 'domesticated\wild reindeer (of 1 year)', mu₁laçan 'wild reindeer, elk' (of 2 to 3 years)', Neg molkān 'wild reindeer' (of 1 to 2 years)', Ewk mul-ta 'herd of wild reindeer, a wild reindeer', Ewk PT melele, Ewk Nr mēlan 'young elk', 'ε small reindeer' ¶ STM I 534, 555 ¶¶ SDM 951-2 (pA *mula 'ε deer' > T, Tg + unc. M *maral 'a kind of deer' [< N *mAR'y¹∇ 'horned mammal', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 1363, TL 154, ADb. SR 8 || | ?σ U: pY {IN} *mol- > Y K mol-il 'body, trunk of body' (nominal sx -il), ?σ Y T {IN H} molil 'groin' || FU *mâ||yâ 'breast; breast (meat)' (semantic infl. of the paronymous U √ *mälye 'breast' < N *'mälyghê 'breast, udder' [q.v.]) > Vt мз¹а, мз¹ 'breast, breast (meat) of an animal (ox etc.)', Vt S мз¹а, K му¹а 'Bauchteil unter den Rippen' ||| OHg XII-XIII malos, maly 'breast', Hg Δ mál ɔ́ máj ɔ́ mály 'Bauchfell eines Pelztiers' ¶¶ UEW 289-90, MF 418-19, EWU 928, IN H 272, IN UJ 246, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [no. 75] (Y ← U) ¶¶ The supposed semantic prehistory of the word: 'meat' → 'trunk of a body' → 'breast (meat)' → 'breast' ◇ The factor of lengthening in B has been interpreted as a N *w (rather than a lr.) on the ev. of S (absence of a lr. and presence of *ū/w). The palatalized ¹ in Vt and OHg points to the presence of a palatalizing element, but T *-l- rules out a pN *¹, so that a N *-l̄∇y- remains the best solution (supported by the B ev.): in T the former intervoc. *-y- was lost, while in U the cluster *-l̄||y yields Vt ¹ and Hg -ly-.

1409. (₂?) *me₁y₁l̄∇ 'mind; be clever' > HS: EC *mal- > LEC {Bl.} *mal- > Sml {ZMO} male n. 'thought', malē- 'think', Sml N má¹-e 'a thought, guess', mal-ay-caus. v. 'think (about sth.)', Rn {PG} má¹ 'thought, idea', mal-d-a v. md. 'think, plan', Bs {HL} ma₁l̄||- 'reflect, think about', Or {Grg.} mal- vt. 'plan, design', Or WI mal- {Bl.} 'come up with a plan', {Brl.} 'pensare, escogitare, ordire, macchinare', Kns {Bl.} mal- 'apply a tactic', Gdl mal- 'prepare a plan of action'

|| HEC: Sd {HL} mal- 'give advice, ponder, consider' ¶ Bl. 163, Brl. 291-2, Grg. 275, ZMO 274, Abr. S 172, PG 217-18, HL 127 || EthS *✓myl (← C?) > Tgr ᄁᄂ mela 'trick, wile, artfulness', Tgy ᄁᄂ 'mela 'prudence, habilité' ([?] → Bln {R} mil- 'zum Besten halten, in schalkhafter Weise hintergehen, betrügen; gering-schätzig behandeln'), Amh mēla 'prediction, opinion, occasion' (× EthS ✓, represented in Gz ᄁᄂᄃ malaya v. 'separate, divide, distinguish'); Amh ? → Or {Th.} mala 'avviso, parere, opinione, idea'; Har {L} mēla 'ways and means', Grg Ez/Gt/Mh/SI/So mēla, Grg Ch mēlla, mela, Grg Wl mēlē, Grg Ed malē, Grg En mala 'chance, guess, ways and means' ¶ LH 138, CS 123, R WB 269, Th. 233, L CAD 15, L G 346, L EDG III 401 || | ?σ IE: NaIE *mel- 'deceive' ¶ WP II 291, P 720 (× N *mæL ∇ 'to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) || | U: FU *°mēl|]e > FP *mēle 'mind, sense' > F mieli, Es mēel id. | pLp {Lr.} *mēlз 'mind, sense' > Lp: S {Hs.} miēle, Vfs {Lgc.} m+ē.ṽ 'wish, will, sense', N {N} miellâ / -l- 'disposition, temper; desire, wish; opinion', (pl.) 'sense', L {LLO} miella 'mind, temper; understanding; opinion', Kld мѣлл mīll 'mind' | Mk мяль mā́l 'wish, opinion', Er мель mḗl id., 'thought' | Prm *múl > Vt мыл m+́l 'wish'; Prm cd *múl-kúd > Z мывкыд m+́vk+d, Yz m^l'k^t 'mind', Vt m+́lk+d 'temper, desire' (*kúd 'mind, conscience'); Prm (d.?) mōlp- v. 'think' > Z Δ мзvpa v- ɖ mзlpal- ɖ mзpō- id., Vt malp- (inf. малпан) id. ¶ The Prm vw. *ú (unlike *ō) is irreg. and still unexplained ¶ UEW 701-2, Sm. 553 (*mēeli 'mind'), LG 175, 180, Lt. J 148, It. no. 356, Lr. no. 665, Lgc. no. 3875, Lgc. SL 85, Hs. 920-1, SaR 189-90, ERV 374, PI 170-1 ◇ The long vw. *ē in FU (and the EthS root *✓myl?) may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting the presence of a N *y (hence the etymon is *me_ly, I ∇).

1410. *māl? ∇ 'full, much' > HS: S *✓ml? G 'be full' > BHb, Ug, Mh, Hrs, Sq ✓ml? G id., Jb E/C ✓ml? G (pf. 'miṣi) id., Ar ✓ml? G (pf. maliṣa) id., ✓ml? G (pf. maluṣa) 'be rich\wealthy', ✓ml? G (pf. malaṣa), BA ✓ml? G 'fill', JEA ✓mly G 'be full\complete; fill', Md, Gz ✓ml? G 'be full, fill', Ak √ ✓ml? G (inf. malû) 'be full'; → S *✓ml? D 'fill' > Ug, OA, IA, BHb, JA, Sr, Ar, Ak ✓ml? D id.; → S *ma'liṣ- 'full' > BHb מלא mālē, Ug mlṣu, JA [Trg.] מלא mālē, JEA מלא ~ מלא mālē, Sr مملأ mālē id., Ar pf. (< pred. adj.) maliṣa 'was full', Sb mlṣ n. 'total sum (of money)', Ar NY T malān 'much', Ak √ malû 'full, complete'; Qt d. mlṣt 'period, duration' ¶ KB 552-4, 1735, A no. 568, OLS 273, Lv. II 118-20, Lv. T III 39, Sl. 678-9, Br. 388-9, HJ 627-8, DM 272, BK II 1141-2, Hv. 731, Bns. NJ I 171, BGMR 85, MA 60, Rk. 96, L G 342, Jo. M 265-6, Jo. J 171, Jo. H 88, CAD X/1 173-89 || B: Ty māllu 'être (rempli) entièrement', ETwl\Ty mālumaḥ 'être complètement rempli' ¶ PGGD 537, 540

|| SC: Irq *mīlālā* 'fill to the brim' ¶ MQK 73 || NrOm: Wl *mūliya* '(?) totality, wholeness' ¶ LmS 461 || WCh: ? Hs *mālālā* {Abr.} 'abundantly', {Ba.} 'in abundance' {of fluids} (unless akin to *mālālā* v. 'flow'; but the connection with *mālālā* may be secondary) || CCh: Mada *māla-kiya* 'full moon' (*kiya* 'moon') ¶ Abr. H 650, Ba. 762, Ro. 293 (no. 476) ¶¶ Tk. III 413 (adding B, Ch, C and Om) || IE **mel-*, {Blz.} **melHx-* 'much, very, (?) strong' > NaIE **mel-* 'much, very' > Gk *μάλα* 'very, exceedingly', cmpr. A *μᾶλλον*, I *μάλιον* 'more', sprl. *μάλιστα* 'most of all' || L cmpr. (m./f.) *melior* / (ntr.) *melius* 'better', *mult-us* / -*a* / -*um*, pl. *mult-i* / -*ae* / -*a* 'much, many' (< {Mul.} **m*_o'*to-*), Osc *MOLTO* nom. sg. f. 'multa', *MOLTAS* gen. sg. f. 'multae', *MOLTAM* accus. sg. f. 'multam', Um *MOTAR* gen. sg. f. 'multae', *muta* nom.-accus. sg. 'much' || Ltv Δ {ME} *milns* 'very much' || ?? Ht {CHD} *mālant-* 'powerful (?)', vigorous (?)', *mal* n. (a quality desirable for men in combat, such as boldness, ferocity, skill) ¶¶ WP II 292, P 720, ≈σ EI 235 (**mel-* 'good'), F II 165, Bc. G 320, 338, WH II 63-4, 124-5, Mul. 274, ME II 627, Ts. E II 100, CHD L-N 124-8, Frd. HW 133 (Ht *mal* 'viel' [??], 'Fülle' [??]) || A: [1] pA **mE1∇* 'full', **mE1∇-* v. 'fill' > M **mel₁∇₁* 'full', **mel-* 'be\become full' > WrO {Krg.} *mel* 'complete, whole', Kl {KRS} *мел* 'completely, quite', {Rm.} *mel* 'gerade, ganz' (unless from **men-l* < *men* 'gerade', as suggested by Rm.), Ord *mēlū* ~ *mēlē* 'beaucoup, très, en grand nombre, en grande quantité'; M **melme₁ci-* > WrM {MED} *melmei-* 'become very\completely full', HIM {MED, BMR} *мэлмий-* id., Kl {Rm.} *melmē-* 'voll\überevoll sein' (Gefässen), Brt *мэлмэлз-* 'be overfilled', WrO {Krg.} *meleme₁ze-* 'be full\overflowing', ?σ,φ Ord *melmere-* 'déborder'; Ord *mēlč'irme* 'rempli jusqu'au bord'; M **melte₁ci-* 'be full to overflowing' > WrM {MED} *meltei-* id., HIM *мэлтий-* {MED, BMR} id., Brt {MED} *melti-* id. (not mentioned in Chr.), Kl {KRS} *мелтә-* *meltä-* id. ¶ MED 534-5, BMR II 370-1, Chr. 311, Krg. 597, KRS 349, KW 260, Ms. O 462 || pJ **mér-* 'fill, heap up' > OJ *m₁w₁or-*, MJ *mór-* id., J T *mòr-*, K/Kg *mór-* id. ¶ S QJ no. 1152, Mr. 277, Kenk. 1266-7 || Tg: Nn Bk *malda-* v. 'fill' ¶ Nn a of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶ STM I 524 || T **m_ol* 'abundant, full' > Tkm Δ, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, ET {Rl.} *m_ol*, Tk *bol*, Tkm, Az Ggz, CrTt, Qmq *bol*, Uz *m_ol*, VTt, Bsh *mul* id. ¶ The pT rounded vw. **o* may be due to the infl. of the labial cns. **m-* ¶ ET B 184-5, Rl. IV 1669, 2125, Bu. II 287-8 || ?σ pKo **mír-* > MKo *mír-mír* 'tide' (*mír* is 'water'), NKo *milmul* 'tide' ¶ Nam 234, MLC 697 ¶¶ SDM 927 (pA **m₁ólo* 'full' > M, T, J, Ko + unc. Tg **mila-* 'wide open, broad') || [2] d.?: A **mElt'∇* > M **melte₁ci-* > WrM {MED} *meltei-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *мэлтий-*, Kl {KRS} *мелтә-* 'be full to overflowing', Ord

męłč 'irme 'rempli jusqu'au bord' ¶ MED 535, BMR II 371, KRS 349, Ms. O 462 || Tg {SDM} *milte- > Lm милтърэ 'full, whole', Ork miltэ-miltэ 'full' ('полно') (← M?) ¶ STM I 536-7 || pJ *mìt- 'full', *miti- 'be full' > OJ mīt- 'full', J: T mićí-, K/Kg mićì-, Ns mič-, Ht nč- 'be full of' ¶ S AJ 111, 268 [no. 94], S QJ no. 9, Mr. 725, Kenk. 1219 ¶¶ SDM 917 (pA *milt'e|i 'full, fill' > M *melteyi-, Tg, J), DQA no. 1294 (id.), S AJ 111, 278 [no. 88] (A *milt'∇ 'full, to fill'), SDM97 (A*mil(t)e 'full, fill'), KW 260 || | D (att. in SD only?) *mal- v. 'abound, become full' > Tm malar- id., mali- 'abound, be full/plentiful', Ml malika 'v. 'abound, overflow', Kn malya, Tu malla 'great, big', ? Tl malayu 'spread' ¶¶ D no. 4729 ◇ The vw. *i in Tg *milte- still defies explanation ◇ (⇔ IS): Ar √ mlḥ 'be good' hardly belongs together with IE *mel- 'much, abundant', it is most probably a sd. from √ mlḥ 'be salty' (from pS *'milḥ- 'salt') (Hv. 732), cp. Ar malīḥ- 'salted, good'. Neither does Eg mrx 'convenient' belong here ◇ ≈ IS II 41 [no. 273] (*mal∇ 'big' > IE, D + unc. HS: Ar √ mlḥ, Eg mrx); ≈ IS MS 331 (*mal∇ 'big' > IE, D + unc. HS *'√ mlḥ¹ 'good'), ≠ OS no. 1816 (Ar √ mlḥ, Eg mrx) ◇ ≈ Blz. EIAL 17 [no. 64] (IE *melHχ- + S *'√ mlḥ 'good. p;asant. beautiful' [instead of S S *'√ ml? 'be full' and its B and Ch cognates, which are semantically nearer to the IE root]) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 262 (*mel 'many, much') (IE, A, Gil + qu. J + unc. Ko, CK, EA).

1411. *mæL∇y|χ∇ 'lizard, small reptile' or sim. > HS: EC *mul∇s- > Af {Clz.} mṯl'ṣũitā 'worm', {R} mṯl'lũṣit 'ē lizard', Sh {Vrgr.} mulṣu ~ muluṣ id., Sml {ZMO} mṯlaṣ 'ē small lizard', Sml N {Abr.} mṯlaṣ 'ē lizard', {Lm.} mṯlaṣ, Sml My {Lm.} mṯlaṣ?, Sml Db {Lm.} mṯluṣ?, Sml T {Lm.} mṯlṣ? 'lizard', Rn {PG} mulúḥ 'small grey lizard', possibly also Sml malow, Sml N málow 'ē lizard' ¶ Clz. 127, R A II 89, ZMO 275, 296, Abr. S 172, 182, Lm. SD 270, PG 228, Vrgr. 137 || WCh: Hs. {Ba.} mṯwà 'a short thick snake', Bks {J} mulúsūs 'lizard' ||| CCh: ? Nz {Srp.} mālaw, Holma {Srp.} malwé 'chameleon' ¶ ChC s.v. 'lizard', J R 144, Ba. 800, Srp. WHM 135 || ??? B: Kb a-mulab, BMn/BSlh {Ds.} mṯlāb 'green lizard' (× ← Ar Mgr [cp. Mz cd bu-lab 'ē green lizard', Mtm cd bṯ-lāb 'green lizard' with bu-, bṯ- from Ar ṯabṯ 'father of' → 'having the quality of']) ¶ Dl. 496, Ds. B 198, Dlh. M 102, Bs. NLB V 174 || ?? Eg G kṣ-mrḥ (a cp. used to denote a tortoise) ¶ EG V 96, Saun. 1-2 ¶¶ OS no. 1792 (HS *muluṣ- > EC, WCh), Tk. III 308 (Eg, EC and CCh) || | K: GZ (mt.?) *mχul- 'lizard' > OG, G mχuliv-, Mg χvi(l)ar-, χolar-, χvelar-, Lz mtχola(r)-, χolura-id. ||| G mχluχ-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N *mAlAnk∇ 'eel', 'worm, [?] snake') ¶ K 144, K² 134, FS K 232, FS E 255,

DCh. 912, 939, Chx. 861 || IE: NaIE *mol- / (?) *mel- 'small reptile' or sim. > Arm մողէզ mołêz 'lizard' || Gmc: OSx, MLG mol, OHG mol, molm, molt, MHG molle 'salamander', NGr d. Molch id. || (× N *mAlAηk∇ 'eel', 'worm, [?] snake'): ??σ OI malūka-h 'worm' ¶ Kb. 695-6, KM 485, ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malūka-h) ◇ The equation between K, HS, Arm and Gmc was suggested by Blz. (Blz. KM 137, no. 19); ≠ Blz. DA 158, no. 66 (unc. adduction of D *mal_lahk_j- 'eel', see N *mAlAηk∇ 'eel'), ≠ Blz. NDA no. 68 (HS + unc. adduction of HS [C, Ch] *m∇l∇ 'fish' and D *mal_lahk_j- 'eel').

1412. *mel^h₁∇ 'soft' > IE *mel^h_χ¹- (or *mel^h_χ¹-) > NaIE *_l₁melə- 'soft' > OI mlā-ya-ti v. (3s) withers, fades', Vd pp. mlā-'ta- 'made soft by tanning', Av mrāta- 'tanned' || Gk ἀμαλός 'soft, weak' (× N *miħLi - *miLħi 'be weak' [q.v.]), μαλακός 'soft' || Arm մեղմ mełm 'soft, mild, gentle' || Gmc: OHG inf. mol(a)wēn 'to dwindle, to decay, to pine away; tabere', MDt malsch ~ mals 'reckless, soft' (< IE {EI} *melh₁-k- 'weak, foolish'), MHG molwic 'weich, staubartig', NHG mollig 'soft', molsch ~ mulsch 'too mellow, overripe' (of fruit) || ?σ OIr mlén ~ blén 'groin' (≡σ: NHG Weichen) || ?φ L molli-s 'soft' || ?Ht ml̄luli ~ maluli ~ melu_lli_j- 'soft tissue' (?), 'skin' (?), 'flesh'(?), {Gtz.} 'Weichteile' ¶¶ P 716-19, EI 532 (IE *melh₁- 'soft'), M K II 698, M E II 388-9, WH II 103-4, F I 85 and II 165, Vn. M 56-7, Kb. 695, OsS 619, KM 480, CHD L-N 130 and 253-4, Ts. E II 210-11, Gtz. T 77 || D *mel(l)- 'soft, tender' > Tm, Kn mel id., Tm mella, mel_lla 'softly, slowly, gently', Ml mel 'slender, tender', Kt melg- vi. 'soften', Td meşx- 'become soaked and softened', Kdg melle 'lightly, slowly', Tu mella 'slow, soft, gentle', Tl mella, melamella 'slowly, gently', Gdb mellaga, Knd meleka 'slowly', Kui m^hērna 'soft, quiet, gentle' ¶¶ D no. 5078 || A: M *milčayī- > WrM {MED} milcaī-, HIM {MED} мялцай- 'become soft/wet' (unless from M *milčayī- 'become flat' [> WrM {MED} milcaī- 'become flat/flat-faced', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'become flat [сплющиться, расплющиться от жира]), M *i is due to the infl. of N *miħLi - *miLħi 'be weak'(?), ?σ M *melmeyī- > Kl {KRS} мелmä- melmä- 'be quiet' (of a person), {Rm.} melmē- 'offen/offenherzig sein' (unless from M *melmeyī-, Kl {Rm.} melmē- 'voll\ubervoll sein') ¶ MED 539, BMR II 370, 377, KRS 349, KW 260, Kow. 2025, Gl. III 308 ◇ If the Ht words belong here, they suggest an IE weak lr. (*h_χ) and a N *h₁. If we adduce some other roots for 'weak' (S *√mħl, NaIE *mlē_l-/*mlī- and Ht maliskū- 'weak'), we may reformulate the N rec. as *mêlħi 'soft, weak' (see N *miħLi - *miLħi 'be weak').

1413. $_2$ *m'a'Ld∇ 'young, soft\tender' > IE: NaIE *mald^h- id. > Pru |mal dai nom. pl. 'young men, adolescents', maldian accus. sg. 'foal', maldūnin accus. sg. 'youth' ('Jugend'), maldenikis 'child' || SI *mōldъ m. (*moldà f., *moldъjъ dadj.) 'young' > OCS МЛАДЪ mladъ id., 'fresh', Blg млад, SCr, Slv mlād, Cz dadj. mladý, P dadj. młody 'young', R dadj. молоко id. / pradj. 'молод 'is young' ||| Clt: W blydd 'tender, juicy, soft' ||| Gk μάλθων (gen. μάλθωνος) 'weakling' (of a person), μαλθακός 'soft', μαλθάσσω v. 'soften, soothe' (× μαλακός 'soft', μαλάσσω v 'make soft' < N *mel'η, ∇ 'soft'), but not here Gk Ημ βλαδύς {P} 'schlaff' (the meaning is uncertain) ¶ ≈ WP II 284-90, ≈ P 716-19, ≈ EI 532 (IE *m]du-s with unj. rec. of *d on the ev. of Gk βλαδύς), F II 167, En. 207, ≈ ESSJ XIX 174-9, StSS 329 (OCS МЛАДЪ 'только что появившийся, нежный; младенческий, детский'), ≈ Glh. 415-16 (all of them do not distinguish IE *mald^h- from similar stems [*melə-, *meld- etc.] for 'soft', 'weak', 'crush' etc. that go back to different N words) ||| HS: S *^o√mld > Ar mald- 'tender, delicate' (youth), 'soft' (bough), √mld G (ip. -mlad-) 'be tender', {Fr.} maladān- 'iuventus, adolescentia' ¶ Fr. IV 205, Hv. 732-3.

1414. *'mä]∇ghê 'breast, udder' > HS: S *^o√mlg > Ar مَلَج √mlǵ (~ √mlq) v. G 'suck (one's mother)' (of a child), PBHb, JA √mlg 'melken', Amh √mlg (pf. melleǵe) 'suck', 'suckle' (baby) ¶ BK II 1143, 1150, Hv. 731, Lv. III 123 || ? Eg √mriǵ 'female breast, breast', Eg RT/G mriǵ 'udder' > Cpt B MNOT əmnot, MNOT† əmnoti 'breast'; but Vc. p.c. and Tk. EAAT suggested alternative etymologies: Vc. interpreted Eg mriǵ as *m-yr̥k (cp. S *^o√yr̥k 'suck'), Tk. connected it with C *nuǵ 'suck' ¶ EG II 92-3, Fk. 110, Vc. 117, Crn. 86, Crum 176 || EC: Af {PH} muluke, mulke 'be satisfied with milk', ?φ Sml, Rn mā]- v. 'milk', Cm mēlo 'fresh' (milk) ¶ Abr. S 172, DSI 396, ZMO 264, PG 215, PH 171, Savà 254 ¶¶ Cal. 64, ≠ Tk. EAAT 232, Tk. III 402-3 ||| IE: NaIE *'melǵ- v. 'milk' > Gk ἀμέλγω 'I milk' ||| pAl {O} *melga > Al mjel (aor. mola) v. 'milk' ||| L mulge-ō / mulgēre v. 'milk' ||| Clt *^omlig-o- v. 'milk' > OIr mligid, -mlig v. 'milk', pfc. do-om-malg; ⇨ Clt *mlixtō- n. 'milk' > OIr mlicht id., MW blieth 'full of milk, milch'; Clt *^omelgos n. 'milk' > OIr [ǵ] mēlg id. ||| OHG inf. mēlcan, mēlchan, NHG, Dt, NLG inf. melken, AS inf. meolcan 'to milk'; Gmc {Zlz.} *meluk- ~ *melik- n. 'milk' > Gt mīluk, ON mjǫlk, OHG miluh ~ milih, NHG Milch, Dt melk, OSx mīluk, AS mioluc ~ meolc, AS A milc id., NE milk; ⇨ ON inf. molka 'to milk'; Gmc ⇨ SI *melko > OCS МЛѢКО mlěko, Blg 'мляко, SCr млéко ѓ mljéko, Slv mléko, Cz mlēko, mlíko, P mleko, OR МОЛОКО moloko, R, Uk молоко 'milk' ||| Lt 1s pres. mēlžu / inf. mīlžti v. 'milk' || SI inf.

*melzti / 1s pres. *melzq v. 'milk' > RChS inf. **МЛѢЩИ** mlěšťti / 1s pres. **МЪЛЗѢ** mьlzq, Blg Δ pres. мъл'зя, SCr inf. mŭstti / 1s pres. mŭzēm, Slv inf. mlésti / 1s pres. mólzem id., Slk inf. mlzť 'to suck' || pTc {Ad.} *mälk- v. 'milk' > Tc A māklune n. act. 'milking'; pTc *melk-ā > Tc: A malke, B malk-wer n. 'milk' ¶ P 722-3, ≈ EI 381 (IE *h₁melǵ- v. 'milk'), O 270, Huld 94-5, Frn. 434-5, F I 91, Vn. M 57, Fs. 360-1, Vr. 389, 392, Vr. N 436, Ho. 219, 223, Ho. S 52, Kb. 673, 686, OsS 601, 610, KM 473, 478, Zlz. M II no. 30.31, WH II 121, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 84-8 (trying to deny the Gmc origin of Sl *melko), 95-6, StSS 330-1, Glh. 416, 429, Matas. E 263, 274, Wn. I 284, Ad. 442 ¶¶ IE *ǵ for the expected *ǵ^h is puzzling; on the prosthetic vw. in Gk and on IE and N *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 || U *mälye 'breast' > FU *mälye id. > F mälyi, Es mäly 'breast of a bird/fowl' || pLp {Lr.} *mēlkэ 'breast of an animal' > Lp: L {LLO} miel'ka 'breastbone, breast of reindeer', N {N} miel'gâ 'breast\chest of an animal' || Er meíktí 'lungs', Mk mäþkä 'breast' || Chr: H/Uf/B mel id., L mel 'Brustöffnung des Hemdes' || Vt mэl 'breast' || ObU {JH1.} *mēyäl 'breast' > pVg {Ht.} *māyäl > Vg: T mäwł, LK möył, MK māył, LL maýł, NV/SV/UL/Ss māył; pOs {Ht.} *mōyäl id. > Os: V/Vy möyäl, Ty māy^ωәф, Y māwәф, D/K meyәt, Nz mewәt, Kz mewәф, O mewәł || Hg mell 'chest, breast, bosom' || pY {IN H} *mel- > Y K {IN H} melut 'breast' (*-t is a nominal sx), {Iox.} mełu, mełut id., OY K {Bil.} mélyd, {Lind.} mélyt, OY Ch {Mat.} малыть, OY O {Mat.} мелурь id. ¶¶ UEW 267, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *mäłki, Ugr *mäłkĩ 'breast'), Ht. no. 383, IN H 263, IN UJ 234, 310, IN RJ 9, Ang. 152-3, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [no. 75] (Y ← U) || D (att. in SD) {GS} *mō|ul-aj 'female breast' > Tm mɯlaj 'woman's breast, teat', Ml mɯla, Td miɯ id., 'udder', Kt mel, Kdg mōle 'breast', Kn mōle 'female breast', Tu miræ 'breast, nipple, teat of animal' ¶ D no. 4985, GS 79 [no. 252] ¶ The unexpected vw. *o may be due to contamination with D *mōl- 'waist' (D no. 4986, GS 74 [no. 241]) ◇ IS II 57-8 (*mäłgi 'breast, udder' > HS, IE, U) ◇ If Sm.'s phonological hyp. and his rec. of FU *mäłki are accepted, it may point to a N *'mäłkê, whence regularly IE *melǵ- and FU *mäłki. The preservation of the cns. *l in D suggests the presence of a a vw. after *l. The zero reflex of the N velar cns. in D suggests a pN rec. with a velar *g (sc. something like N *'mäł∇gê). The discrepancy between the U and IE evidence (both suggesting N *k) and the evidence of HS and K (suggesting N *g) may be resolved by reconstructing pN *'mäł∇ghê with loss of *h in HS and K and devoicing (due to the vl. *h) of the N velar in U and IE (N *gh > *k > U *k and IE *ǵ-) ◇ On N and pIE '- see

Introduction, § 2.2.6 $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II no. 281 (*melk 'nurse' v., 'breast') (IE, U, Y, EA + err. A, Ko, J, CK).

1415. ${}_2$ *mUL ∇ kâ (= *muL ∇ kâ?) \approx think, deliberate, come to a decision' > HS: S \checkmark mlk G > Ak fOAK \checkmark mlk (inf. malāku) 'give advice; ponder, deliberate, come to a decision', IA \checkmark mlk G, DA \checkmark mlk T, Plm \checkmark mlk Sh 'promise', JA {Dlm.}, ChrPA \checkmark mlk G 'decide', JEA \checkmark mlk T, JPA Bz \checkmark mlk G 'consult', T (אֵיתְמַלְכִין) \checkmark mlk ω n) 'reconsider', Sr \checkmark mlk G 'persuade, promise'; → S \checkmark mlk G v. 'rule, hold power, possess' > Ug, BHb, M'b, Ph, Amr, Yd, OA, IA, JA, JPA Bz, Md, Tgr \checkmark mlk G 'reign', Ar \checkmark mlk G 'possess, become the owner of', Sb \checkmark mlk G 'become king; own, possess', Gz \checkmark mlk G 'own, possess, rule', Mh \checkmark mlk G (pf. mālūk, subj. yamēk) 'possess, keep for oneself', Jb C \checkmark mlk G 'own', Ak RS \checkmark mlk G (← a WS lge?) 'rule, hold power'; ⇔ S *malik- 'ruler, chieftain' (→ 'king') > BHb מַלְאֲכָה 'malēk, SmHb 'mālak (pl. mālak-ām), BA מַלְאֲכָה 'malēk, em. מַלְאֲכָה mal'k-ā, Ed, Ph, Pun, Yd, OA, IA mlk, Ug mlk, (AkSc) {Hnr.} malku, JA [Trg.] מַלְאֲכָה 'malēk, JA [Trg.], JEA em. מַלְאֲכָה mal'k-ā, Sr מַלְאֲכָה mal'k-ā, Md malka, Ar مَلِكٌ malik-, Qt mlk, Sb, Mn mlk (pl. \checkmark mlk) 'king', Gz d. אֱלֹהִים \checkmark amlāk 'Lord, God' (← pl.), Ak fOAK malku 'king, (foreign) ruler', Eb ma-li-gú-um or (cs.) malik = malik-(um) 'king' ¶ CAD X/1 154-8, 166-9, Dlm. 226, KB 558-61, 1736-7, HJ 633-44, G A 25, Hff. 230-1, OLS 275-6, Hnr. 147, T II 41, Schl. 112, A no. 1577, Sl. 680-1, Sl. P 310, Br. 391-2, DM 243, BK II 1150-2, Hv. 734, AD PSH 93, 101, 107, 114, BGMR 85-6, MA 60-1, LH 109, Jo. M 266, Jo. J 171, Krb. EG 3, Frnz. EL 145, 155 || Eg fOK m \checkmark c (< \checkmark mlk) 'erdenken, ersinnen', 'den Namen verkünden' ¶ EG II 34 || Om: Kf {Cecchi} mulēkkō 'intenzione' ¶ R K 317 ¶¶ Tk. III 117-18 || **A:** NrTg *mulgâ 'thought, quickwittedness, wisdom' > Ewk PT mulgīt/ç- 'use cunning, be cunning' ('хитрить'), Lm mūlgъn 'thought, quick wits', Lm A mūlgъn 'wise', mūlgъ- v. 'invent' ¶ STM I 554-5.

1416. ?σ (${}_2$?) *m ∇ L ξ â \approx to erase, to undo, not to do' > HS: WS \checkmark mlk > Ar \checkmark mlq vi. G (ip. -mluq-) 'erase', {BK} 'effacer', N (pf. \checkmark inmalāqa) 'escape from', Tgy \checkmark mlk ω G (pf. mēlēx ω) 'get loose, get disintegrated' ¶ BK II 1150, Hv. 734, \approx L G 345 || **IE:** NaIE * \circ m \checkmark kl ω - > Sl inf. *mьlčǎ-ti 'to keep silence' > OCS inf. МЛЪЧАТИ mlčati, SCr inf. múčati, Slv inf. mólčati, Cz inf. mlčeti, Slk inf. mlčat', P inf. milczeć, HLs inf. mjelčec, LLs inf. mēlcaś, R inf. мол'чатъ, Uk inf. мов'чати id., Blg мъл'ча 'keep silence'; Sl inf. *mьlk-nq-ti 'to get silent' > ChS inf. МЛЪКНѢТИ mlčknqti, SCr inf. múknuti, Cz inf. mlknouti, Slk inf. mlčknut', P inf. milknać, HLs inf.

mjelknuc id., Blg † {Gerov} млъкнѣ, Blg 'мълкна 'get silent'; cds: RChS inf. **ѠМЪЛКНѠТН** u-molknuti, R inf. ц'молкнѣтъ, Slv inf. **z a - mólkniti** id. | ?σ Lt mūlkis 'fool' ¶ Vs. II 643, 648, ESSJ XXI 99-108, StSS 330, Glh. 427, Frn. 471 || ? **A**: M *mōltūre- (if from **mōlk-tū-re-?) vt. 'undo, detach, loosen', vi. 'loosen, detach' > WrO mōltōr- 'undo, unsnap, detach', WrM {MED} mōltūre- vi. 'loosen, detach, be dislocated; escape', HIM мөлтрѣ- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'loosen, detach, соскакнвать, ускользвать', Mnr H {SM} mut'iriē- 'se détacher, sortir de sa place', Ord mōlt'ōrō- id.; M *mōltū > WrM {MED} mōltū, mōltūs 'slightly, somewhat, superficially', HIM мөлт {MED} id., {BMR} 'вслользь'; in a set phrase: Brt халта мүлтэ 'slightly, superficially' ('чуть-чуть, поверхностно, бегло'), Ord *g*_alt'ū malt'ū 'à moitié, incomplètement' ¶ MED 546, BMR II 344, Chr. 539, Krg. 606, Ms. O 290, 468, SM 252-3.

1416a. *mAlAηk ▽ 'eel', 'worm, (?) snake' > **D** *mal_laηk_j- 'eel' > T m malaηku 'eel', Tl maluga 'e eel', malaηj(i) 'an eel-like fish', ?φ: Kui mrāu (pl. mrāηga), Ku mñiya, Krx miñž 'eel' ¶¶ D no. 4737 || **A**: pJ {S} *mūnánkí 'eel' (× N ? *m▽ñi 'e fish', q.v.) > MJ mūnágíj, JT ùnagi, JK ùnàgí, J Kg unagí 'eel' ¶ S QJ no. 340, Mr. 562, Kenk. 2099 || **IE**: ?φ OI malūka-h_j 'e worm' (× N *mæL ▽ ψ|χ ▽ 'lizard, small reptile' or sim.) ¶ ≈ P 717, M K 600 (no et. of malūka-h_j) || **HS** (mt.): B: Skn i-məkləm 'worm' ¶ Sarn. s.v. i-məkləm 'verme' || ?? Eg G mκr.t 'e a holy snake' (× N *mægUR ▽ 'frog, toad' or 'e reptile/amphibian', q.v.?) ¶ EG II 159 || Ch: WCh: Grn móláη 'eel, catfish, mudfish', Gln málà 'eel' ||| CCh: Mofu málaláy 'catfish' ¶ Tk. III 397, Hrn. GE 24, Al. G s.v. málà , Ro. 222 [no. 118] || **K**: ?φ G muxlux-i {Chz.} 'caterpillar (Raupe)', {DCh.} 'worm that eats leaves' (× N *mæL ▽ ψ|χ ▽ '↑') ¶ Chx. 861, DCh. 912 ◇ ≠ Blz. DA 158 [no. 66] (suggesting to equate the D word with the reflexes of N *mæL ▽ ψ|χ ▽ '↑') ◇ The eel is likely to have existed in Southwest Asia (the proto-Nostratic habitat), to judge from the presence of words for 'eel' in JEA {Sl.} אָבֿלֿבֿ צְאַבֿ'חֿ-a, {Lv.} אָבֿלֿבֿ צְאַבֿ'חֿ צְאַבֿ'חֿ'a (or צְאַבֿ'חֿā?), MHb חֿבֿלֿבֿ צְאַבֿ'חֿ and Ar ṣilbāḥ-, ḡirīy-'eel', see Ln. 401, BK I 272, Sl. 964 and Lv. IV 190 ◇ B *k points to N *k, while the cns. k in OI malūka-h_j (apparently suggesting N *k_j) cannot be taken into account, because the OI word is of dubious origin.

1416b. *m▽í▽ 'e small predator' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: Bg {Csp.} muli, Tala {ChL} māmálè, Zul {Grgs} mamal, Buli {ChL} mùmàlè, Sha/DfB/Bks {J} mùrûm, Sir {Sk.} mḡbálibí, ??μ Tng {ChL} àmíltòmi 'hyena' ||| ECh: Skr {Nc.} melā 'cat' ¶ ChC s.v. 'hyena', ChL, Csp. 55, J R 145, 219, 287, Lk. ZSS 36 || **K**: GZ *mel- (< K

*me₁l- 'fox' > OG mel-, G mel-i, mela-i (↳ Mg mela-, Lz mel- id.), eMg *mal- ↳ Sv: UB/L māl, LB ma₁w, Ln maul 'fox' ¶¶ K 125-6, K² 119, DCh. 699, TK 559 || A *ma₁lū '(= *ma₁ü?) 'wild cat' > M: WrM ma₁lur {MED} 'striped wild cat, *Felis sylvestris*', HIM малар {MED} id., {BMR} 'wild cat'; ↳ ET molun 'wild cat'; d.: M *°malu-qayi > WrM {Nov.} ma₁uqai 'wild cat' ¶ The back vw. *a of the initial syll. may be due to vw. harmony ¶ MED 525, BMR II 315, Kow. 1995, Gl. III 290, Nov. IE 122, Nj. 712, Rs. W 326 || T *mü₁l- > OT Kr m₁l-š {Cl.} 'wild cat', SY miš š miš, T ↳ KI {KRS} мис, {Rm.} mīs, KI Ö {Rm..} mīš 'cat'; ↳ (with regr. as. *-ü...i- > *-i...i-) NaT *müšik (> *mišik ~ *pīšik) '(wild?) cat' (with a dim.[?] sx *-ik) > MOsm, Chg pišik, Uz mušuq, ET möšük, Tk Δ pišik š pišik š pušuk š mišik, Xlj pušuq, Az, Tkm pišik, Δ mišik, Slr mišix š müšük š mešux, Qmq mišik, VTt Δ mžžьq, Bsh bššäy, Nog, Qzq mišiq, Qq pišiq, Qrg mišiq, SY mišik š mišiq, Chl miziq š mižiq 'cat' ¶ The phonetic variations in the NaT word may be due to the child lge and to foreign influences (cf. Sgd mωš kyščč 'wild cat') ¶ The rather late date of the spread of domesticated cats in Asia suggests that the NaT word originally denoted wild cats ¶ ET L-S 191, Rs. W 332, Cl. 774 (supposing that OT müš is a loan from an unidentified lge), KRS 353, KW 263 || Tg: WrMc {Z} малaxи 'wild cat', {Ha.} malaxi 'gefleckte gelbliche Wildkatze' ¶ Z 871 Ha. 636, STM I 523 || ??σ J *músásà(m)pì 'flying squirrel' > OJ musasabyi, MJ músásàbì, J T mùsasabi ~ musásabi, J K mùsásàbì, J Kg musasábi ¶ Mr. 489, Kenk. 1291 ¶¶ T *-ü- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 900 (A *má₁le 'wild cat' > T [reconstructed as *bi₁l(ik)], Tg, M, J), DQA no. 1243 || IE: NaIE {EI} *meli- > L mēlēs ~ mēlis 'marten, badger' || Sl *melьсь > Kshb {Lrn.} mэлс 'badger' ¶ Blz. IZT 15-17, EI 45 (Sl. *melici-), ≈ WH I 474, EM 394 (no et. of mēlēs), Lrn. P I 501, Ma. C I 225 ◇ The short *e in the Sl root suggests that IE *e was short (the L long ē representing the L-grade of apophony?), hence there was no lr. in the N word ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 136-7 [no. 17].

1417. *mÁ₁Ho (+ ...) 'head, (?) skull' > HS: B *√ ml₁y₁y₁ > Ah taməlyiq (pl. timəlyay₁) 'part of the skull over the forehead', Kb a-məlyiq 'sommet de la tête, os de la crâne' ¶ Fc. 1204, Dl. 500 || IE: NaIE *m₁lōdh₁-/*moladh₁- 'head, top' > OI mūr'dhā (/ mūr'dhan-) 'head', Av ka-mərəḃa- 'head of a supernatural being (daēva-)' (lit. '[sth.] like head ...') || Gk μέλαθρον 'ceiling of a room, beam that bears the ceiling', {P} 'Stubendecke, Dach', {LS} 'roof tree, ridge pole, beam; roof; house', ? βλωθρός 'tall' || OFrs melde-ke 'head' (with dim. sx -ke), AS molda 'top of the head', NE mould † id. || OIr m₁ul {Vn.} 'masse ronde, boule, tête', m₁ul-lach 'top of the head', Br {Vn.}

melle 'sinciput', mellenn an penn 'top of the head', MBr {Ern.} melle-gouzhouc 'cervix', mell-gouzhouk, Br {Hm.} mell-ar-c'hil 'nuque', mellenn(-gein) 'vertèbre' || Tc A malto 'at first' ({Wn.} 'en premier lieu, d'abord') ¶ WP II 295, P 725, M K II 666, M E II 368, F I 246 and II 198 (no et. for μέλαθρον), Ch. 182, 680, Ho. 225, Vn. M 74, Ern. 402, Hm. 558, Wn. I 278 || A *maí∇ 'head' and (derived?) *maíǰa- id. > T {Md., DQA} *baíç 'head' > NaT *baš > OT baš, Tkm, Az, ET, Ln, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Qrg baš, Tk baş, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Yk bas, Alt, Slr b_aš, Uz бош bōš, Tv báš, Tf b_áš id. || Chv L пуч púś, Chv Δ ποç poś 'head' ¶ Cl. 375-6, ET B 85-8, Ra. 159, Md. 30, 173, TL 194 ({ADb.} *bałç 'head'), Ash. X 15-19, Fed. I 452-3, Jeg. 168, ChVS 148 || M: [1] M *mala-gayī (derived with the M sx *-gayī/*-qayī) > WrM {MED} malagai, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt малгай 'hat, cap, headgear', Ord malaq_a 'chapeau, casquette; tête de clou', WrO {Krg.} malaχai ~ malaχa ~ malaχai, MMgl {Iw.} malγay 'cap, hat', Mgl malγey ~ malγáy id., Mnr H {SM} marg_a 'chapeau, bonnet, casquette', with mt.: MM [IM] {Pp.} مَرْغَالَة margala, [S] {H} maqalayu 'headgear', WrO {Krg.} maχalai ~ maχalā 'hat, cap', Dg {Pp.} mağāl, Kl {KRS} махла id., Kl D/Ö {Rm.} маχlā 'Mütze'] [2] M *malǰan 'broad forehead; bald spot (on the forehead of an animal)' (semantic infl. of the rhyming stem *qalǰan 'bald-headed, blaze on the forehead' < N *Ḳaíçû 'bare, naked' [q.v.]) > WrM {MED} малзан 'broad forehead; bald spot (on the forehead of a horse)', HIM малзан {MED} id., {BMR} 'Glatze (лысина, плешь)', 'bald-headed', Brt малаан 'bald-headed; having a bald spot on the forehead' (animal), Kl {Rm.} malǰn, malǰn 'kahlköpfig, glatzköpfig', Ord χalǰ_ā malǰ_an 'having a bald spot on the forehead' (of a horse\camel\ox\goat), Dg malǰin 'bald' ¶ MED 524-5, BMR II 315, Chr. 291, KRS 344, KW 254-5, T DgJ 153, Pp. GMPJ 101-2, 109-10 (on the sx -ǰai / -qai), Pp. MA 441, H 106, Iw. 115, Krg. 589, 591, SM 233, Ms. O 327, 451 || pKo {S} *mərí 'head' > MKo mərí, NKo məri, Ko Δ: PhN məri, Sl mərí, Chs móri, Ks məri, Hm m_ri id. ¶ S AJ 253 [no. 40], S QK no. 40, Nam 210, MLC 608 || ?σ Tg *meli- 'sinciput, nape of the neck, spine' (with *-e- caused by regr. as. **-a...i- > *-e...i-) > Lm məlimki 'jugular vertebra', Ork məlimu id., "orifice of the skull" (= 'foramen magnum?'), 'nape of the neck', Ul muǰǰz 'sinciput', Nn Nh/KU mulgiktz, Nn Bk mzygiktz, Orc muggikta 'skeleton of a fish' ¶ STM I 549-50, 567, On. 271 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 910-11 (pA *mḗǰu|a 'head' > Tg, Ko, T *maíja, M *malǰa), DQA no. 1274 (id.), S AJ 31-2, 282 [no. 174], SDM97 s.v. *meía (T, M *malǰa-, Ko, Tg; A *e is reconstructed on the ev. of Tg), Rm. EAS I 109, Rm. SKE 146, Md. OJ 90, TL 194, Dr. TM II 253 ("unklar").

1418. *manû 'man, male' > HS: B: Zng {MH → Nic.} mīn (pl. mān), man 'person', {Bs.} mīn 'homme', man 'gens', ? B *-mān 'soul, oneself' (× N *me_unû 'oneself, one's own', 'body' [q.v.]) ¶ Nic. 205, Bs. MS I 245, Msq. Z 515 || Eg fOK m_nw 'Min (ithyphallisch, seine Hand umfaßt den Phallus)' ¶ EG II 72 || EC *m∇n- 'man, male' > HEC {Hd.} *mana 'man, person' > Sd, Hd man-č̣o, Kmb man-č̣u, Ged manẓ̌o id., pl. *manna 'men, people' (> Sd, Hd, Kmb, Tmbr manna id., Brj {Ss.} 'mēna 'people', {Hd.} mēna 'people, man, person'); Sml {DSI} mūn '(adult) male monkey, (young) male ass', Sml Hw {C} m_un 'male (animal)' ¶ Hd. 96, 212, 254, 293, 384, Ss. B 143, ≠ 133, ≠ Ss. PEC 24 (unc.: *man- < EC *nam-), DSI 453, ZMO 300, C SE III 80 || NrOm {Blz.} *man- 'male; people' > Wl {C} mīnō 'warrior', Ym {C} mōnō 'people (gente)'; not here Kf {C} manō 'brother' and Ym {Lm.} manó 'male twin' (probably loans from Nilotic, cp. Masongo {C} maṛa 'brother') ¶ Blz. OL 85, C SE III 80 and IV 472, C SO 33, Lm. Y 365 || Ch: WCh: Sbc: Zul mónì 'man', Plc mónì, Grn {Sh.} mándàn, Gj mmānì, Tale māṅzè, Dw mánì (pl. min) id. | Krkr {Lk.} mún 'people, persons', Pr {Frz.} mánnà 'spouse' | Ngz {Sch.} mànàmín (term for Hausas, Kanuris, Fulanis used in order to conceal their commonly known names when speaking to other Ngizim) (cp. MHb ḡō'p̄īm 'gentiles', Modern Hb ḡō'p̄īm and Yid ḡoyim 'non-Jews' ← 'peoples') || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} mēni 'person', {Mch.} méni 'man' | BB: FIM {ChL} mundu, FIB {ChL} mündín, Gudu mándù, Nz {ChC} munde 'person' | Ms: ZmD {ChC ← Srp.} mānyí, cã-mānyí 'person', {ChL} sou-manji 'man' ({KNC} sú 'un homme') ¶ JI II 266-7, ChC s.v. 'man (human)' and 'man' ('vir'), ChL, KNC 23, Frz. P 41, Sch. DN 110, ≈ Stl. ZCh 232-3 [no. 801] ¶¶ IS II no. 292, Tk. III 278, OS no. 1722, Blz. BKTA 105 ||] ? sd. HS *man- 'who?' (< **mī man- 'what [for a] person?', cp. It cosa 'what?' < che cosa 'which thing?') > S *man_n- 'who?' > OAk man, Ak √ mann(u/a/i-m) 'who?', Sb m_n rel. prn. 'who, whosoever', Qt m_n 'he who, whoever', Mn {MA} m_n rel. prn. 'qui, quiconque', Gz mann-ū (accus. mann-a), Tgy mən ~ mən, Tgr mən, Amh man 'who?', CS *man_n∇ > DA, Yd, OA, IA, Plm, Nbt m_n, BA, JA, Sr, Ar man, Md man 'who?', pCn *man > Amr {G} manna 'who?', ? Ug m_n 'which?', 'that, which, who' rel. ¶ ≈ Lip. 328-9, CAD X/1 213-18, G A 24, G OA 177-8, L G 348, HJ 648-9, KB 1738, OLS 281-2, Lv. T III 45, Sl. 636, DM 246, BK II 1154, Br. AG 32, BGMR 86, MA 61, Rk. 97 || Acc. to Ai. MCB 50, there is a B prn. (reconstructible as *m∇n 'who?' and opposed to *matta etc. 'what?') > Mz man, manaj_n, Shw mən, Jrb, Snd man 'who?', although there are alternative possibilities of analysis of these pronouns. For the time being, the question of B interr. pronouns remains open || IE: NaIE *ma|onu 'man, person' > OI 'manu-, 'manuṣ- 'person, man', Av,

MPrs *Manuš* 'Manush, ancestor of mankind' || Gmc **manwaz* 'man' > Old Gmc [Tacitus] *Mannus* p.n. ('ancestor of the Germans'), Gt *mannā* (ἄνθρωπος, ἄνθρωπος) (gen. *mans*, dat. *mann*) 'Mann, Mensch', ON *maðr* ~ *mannr*, OHG *man*, NHG *Mann* 'man', OSx, AS *mann* 'man', NE *man*; d.: Gt *mann-isk-s* (ἄνθρωπινος) adj. 'menschlich', ON *mennskr*, AS *mēnnisc*, OSx *mēnnisk*, OHG *mennisc* adj. 'human, of a person', OSx *mēnnisko*, OHG *mennisco* 'man, person', NHG *Mensch* 'person' || SI **mōžь* (< d.) 'man' > OCS *мѡжь* *mōžь* 'man (vir, person), husband', OR *мѡжь* *mōžь*, Blg *мѡж*, Slv *mōž*, OCz, Cz, Slk *mōž*, P *mōž* 'man, husband', SCr *mōž*, R *муж* 'husband', † 'man (vir)' ¶ WP II 266, P 700, M K II 575-6, M E II 309-10, Fs. 344-5, Gux. GJ 91, Vr. 374-5, 384, Ho. 215, 219, Ho. S 50-1, Kb. 656, 675, OsS 587, 590, KM 459-60, 471, ESSJ XX 158-61, StSS 342-3, Glh. 429-30, Vs. II 670-1, EI 367 (IE **manu-* 'Man, ancestor of mankind') || U: FU (att. in Ugr) **mańće* 'man, person' > pObU {Ht.} **māńć* ~ **māńć* 'a person (man?) of ego's tribe \ of ego's exogamous moiety' > pVg **māńśī* 'a Vogul' > Vg: T *māńśī*, LK/MK *māńś*, P/LL *māńś*, UL/Ss *māńśi* id.; pOs {Ht.} **mańć* (name of one of the Ostyaks' phratrias) > Os: V *mańć*, I *mońć*, Kz *mōś*, O *maś* || OHg, Hg *magyar* 'Hungarian'; the variant *Megyer* (in n.l.: *Békásmegyer*, *Pusztamegyer*, *Megyercs*, *Megyered*) goes back to the name of an old Hungarian tribe known in Byzantine sources as *Μεγέρη* ¶ The variant with a palatal vw. (pVg **māńśī*, Hg *Megyer*) is due to vowel harmony ¶ Coll. and UEW unconvincingly suppose an Ir origin of the word (cf. Av *Manuš*) ¶ Hardly here (≠φ) F *mies* and Es *mees* 'man (vir)', that can be traced to N ≈ **meXAz* ∇ 'man (vir), male' (q.v.) (⇔ Tv. → Coll., SK, IS a. o.) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 866-7, MF 415-17, Ht. no. 398, SK 345 || D: [1] D **man* 'man (vir), warrior, chief (of a family\clan\tribe)' > Tm *man* 'king, kshatriya, warrior, chief, husband', *manan* 'king, lord, chief, husband', MI *mannan* 'king', Kn *manneya* 'chieftain, commander', TI *manniya* 'lord, suzerain, chief, chieftain' ¶¶ D no. 4774 || [2] D **mant_i* 'persons, people' > Kn *mandi*, *mande*, Tu *mandi*, *mandæ* id., TI *madi* 'crowd, collection of persons', Klm *mandi* 'men' ~ *mandi* 'man', Png *mananakar* 'people belonging to the same side or party', ? Krx *mēt* ~ *mēt* 'adult man, husband', ? Tm *māntar* 'persons, male persons' ¶¶ D no. 4700 (b), ≈ D no. 4791 || [3] D **mańć* ∇ > Prj *mańǰa* ≈ *mańńa* 'man', Gnd *manǰa* 'man, person' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 4791 ◇ In FU **manće*, D **mańć* ∇, Gedeo *manǰo* (and OI **manuš* -?) one may see reflexes of an ancient compound (≈ N **omanû c|ca*) possibly with an adjective-forming (or individualizing) pc. **ca* ~ **c'a* (a marker of relative

constructions), *see* above Gt *mann-isk-s* and NHG *Mensch* ◇ IS II 58-9 (**mān* 'man, male') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 294 (**mōn* 'person') (IE, U + unc. J, Ai).

1419. *mAn̄∇ 'herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)' > **HS**: Eg fMK *mnmn.t* 'herd, domesticated animals (Herdenvieh) and birds', {Fk.} 'cattle' ¶ EG II 81, Fk. 109 || EC: Sh I *móynoy* 'bull' ¶ PW SSI 385 || NrOm: Omt {Bnd.} *mēn(t)* 'buffalo', Kf {C} *mīmō*, Mch {L} *mi·mí* 'cow', {Lm.} *mīn-žō* 'cow, bovine cattle (Rindvieh)', Shn {Lm.} *mīn-zà* id., Anf {MYTY} *min-žo* 'cow', {C} *min-cō* 'bovine cattle', Kf {C} *minžō* id. (in *minž-ífō* 'cow dung'), Wl {LmS} *mīza* 'livestock, cattle', Bsk {C} *mīza* 'bull', Gm {Hw.} *mīzi*, Zl/Dwr {LmS} *mīza*, Gf {LmS} *mīzza*, Dc {LmS} *mīzzi* 'cow' ¶ Lm. Sh 355, LmS 477-8, C SE IV 471-3, L M 41, MYTY 118, Hw. EG s.v. 'cow', Bnd. PO 151 ¶¶ Tk. III 294 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) **mān̄∇* 'herd, gregarious animal(s)' > Os Nz *mañəŋ* 'herd (of reindeer, horses, bovines)' | OHg XIV, Hg *mén* 'stallion', OHg *ménes* 'horse', Hg *ménes* 'stud, stud farm', Δ *mines* id., 'horse' ¶ UEW 869, Stn. D 937, MF 433, EWU 959-60 || **A**: Tg **man_L-_J* 'flock of birds' > Ewk, Neg *man*, Orc *mañi*, Ud *mani*, Ul *mandu*, Ork *mandi*, Nn Nh {On.} *māndo*, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} *mando* ~ *mandu* id., Ewk Skh *man* 'crowd' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259, On. 258 || **D** **manta_{LJ}* ({*ǰGS*} *-nd-) 'flock, herd' > Tm *mantai*, Tl *manda*, Prj, Gnd, Ku *manda* id., Kn *mandi*, *mande* 'flock of sheep/goats, herd of cattle/buffaloes', Knd *manda* 'herd' ¶¶ D no. 4700 (a) ◇ Hardly here Km {CR} *miyən* 'young cow' (CR LK 235); obviously not here Eg *mnr̄.t* 'Milchkuh' (mis-translated in OS no. 1773 as 'cow'), which is derived from *mnr̄* v. 'milk'.

1420. *mAn̄∇ 'hut, dwelling' (sd. of N **māñā* 'remain, stay'??) > **HS**: C: EC {Ss.} **min-/*man-* 'house' > pSam {Hn.} **min* > Sml N † *min* 'bridal house', Sml S {Ss.} *min* 'room', pl. *minan* 'house', Sml C {ZMO} *min* 'house, hut, room', Sml J {Hn.} *miŋ* 'house', Rn {PG} *mín*, pBn {Hn.} **míŋ* (> Bn: Bi/Kj/K *míŋ*, J *múŋ*) id.; Bs, Elm *min*, Arr {Hw.} *mín*, pOr {Hn.} **mana* ~ **mina_L*, Or {Grg.} *mana* 'house', Or B {Sr.} *mana*, Or B/O {Sr.} *mina* id., 'hut', Or Wt {Hn.} *mina_L*, Kns, Gdl *mana*, Gwd, Gln, Dbs, Grs *mano* 'house', HEC {Hd.} **mine* > Sd, Ged, Hd, Kmb *mine*, Alb *mino*, Brj *mina* id. ¶ Ss. B 145 suggested that **man-* goes back to the pl. form with an infix *-a- (cf. Or AM {Hw.} *mina* 'house' ↔ *man* 'houses') || Dhl {To.} *mini* 'house' || ?? SC: Kz {E} *munzalimo* 'young man's house' || Ag {Ap.} **ŋɜn-* 'house' > Xm, Km *ŋɜn*, Aw *ŋɜn*, Bln (dis.) *lɜŋ* id. ¶ Ss. PEC 24, Ss. B 145, ZMO 291, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 113, Hn. W 60, 68, PG 225, Grg. 276, Sr. 364, 368, HL 128, Hw. A 385, Hd. 81, 212, 255, 294, 386, AMS 247, To. D 143, E PC no. 436, E K 4, Ap. AV 16 || WCh: BT: Tng {J} *mána* 'house,

home', Dr {J} máná, Pr {Frz.} mánà, Kwm {Leg.} máná, Kpt {Leg.} mán 'hut, house' ¶ JI II 202, J T 119, ChC s.v. 'house' and 'place', Frz. P 42, Leg. KK 21-8, Leg. KYB 172 || ??σ Eg P ym n 'create; bilden, schaffen' (if ← *'build a house') ¶ EG I 83 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 99 [no. 29.5], Tk. I 395 (C, Ch ÷ Eg ym n), OS no. 1723 || D *man- 'house' > Tm manai 'house, dwelling', Ml mana, Kdg mane 'house', Kt man devr 'household god', mantanm 'affairs of household', Td man 'family, household', Kn mane 'habitation, abode, house', Tu manæ 'house, home', Knd ponðen mane 'cowshed' ¶¶ D no. 4776 || E: NEI me-nu-me 'roof' ¶¶ HK 915 || A: [1] pA *°ma₁n∇ > T *°ma₁n 'fence, enclosure' > StAlt {BT} man 'fence', QK/Tb {Rl., B} man id. ('Zaum'), QK/Tb/Sg {Rl.} mana- v. 'fence in' ¶ BT 108, Rl. IV 2015-16, B DChT 136, B DLT 177, Rs. W 325 || [2] pA *m^a₁n∇ 'dwelling place, village' > M *mayi-qan 'tent' (unless borrowed from Chn, as supposed as a possibility in KW) > WrM {MED} mayiqan, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt майхан, WrO {Krg.} maiхан, Kl {KRS} мәәхн māхен 'tent', Kl Ö/D {Rm.} māхан 'Reisezelt, Zelt', Dg {T, Mr.} maykan 'tent', Ord māхун 'tente de voyage (en toile)'; M ⇨ WrMc {Z} майкань 'tent' ¶ MED 523, BMR II 314, T VM 166, T DgJ 153, Chr. 290, Krg. 592, KRS 346, KW 259, Ms. O 457, Z 862 || pKo (< d.) *m^a₁n∇ 'village, vicinity' > MKo *m^a₁n / *m^a₁n-, NKo ma₁n ¶ S QK no. 383, Nam 196, MLC 564 || ??φ pJ (< d.) *múra 'village' > OJ mura, MJ múrà, J T murá, J K múrà, J Kg múra ¶ S QJ no. 394, Mr. 488, Kenk. 1289 ¶¶ Ko *-ń- and M *-y- in *mayi-qan go back to *-ń- < *-ny- (*-n- + sx *-y∇) ¶¶ Acc. to SDM, the Ko and J stems are derived with a *-r|1-sx ¶¶ SDM 913 (pA *meń^o 'dwelling place, village' > M, Ko, J + err. Tg *mēne- 'settle down; settled down' [going back to N *māna 'remain, stay']; the rec. of pA *-e- is based on err. adduction of Tg *mēne-), DQA no. 1279 || ?φ K: MG [VTq] and {SSO}, G {DCh.} мена 'dwelling, abode (жилище)' (unless a loan from an Iranian lge) ¶ DCh. 702, SSO I 463 || ? IE: Psh {Mrg.} mēna 'house', Ygn {ALP} mayn, meyn, men 'village', KhS mūrā 'abode' ¶ Mrg. 44, ALP 285, Bai. 335 ◇ Blz. E no. 48 (IE, HS).

1421. *māna 'remain, stay' > HS: Eg ∇ m n 'remain; be firm\established\enduring; reside', DEg m n 'bleiben', Cpt Sd/B МОУН муn 'stay, remain' ¶ EG II 60-2, Fk. 106, Er. 159, Vc. 114 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} mun 'sit down, reside, live; remain', Sha/Klr {J} mun n. 'place' (× N *mAn∇ 'hut, dwelling'), ? Bks té-mun 'sit down' (té 'an einem Platz sitzen, leben') || CCh: Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} m i n e 'sich befinden' || (× N *mAn∇ 'hut, dwelling') Ech: Smr mánà, Nd D mān n. 'place' ¶ J R 146, 219, 287, 354, Lk. DQM 67, ChC s.v. 'sit (down)' and 'place' || (?) EC: Cm manó 'spot, place' ¶ Sava 266 ¶¶ Coh.

83, ≠ Cal. 63 (Eg, S *✓ ?mn 'be faithful\true') || IE: NaIE *men- (pres. *mimne/o-) 'remain, stay' > Vd man- 'wait, stay, hesitate', {EI} 'delay, stand still', Av man- 'bleiben, warten', OPrs amānaya 'er erwartete', MPrs māndan, NPrs ماندن māndān 'to remain', KhS mānātä 'he stays', mānda- 'remained' || Arm մնամ mnam 'I remain, I wait' || Gk μένω 'stand fast (in battle); stay at home, stay where one is, lodge', μύμνω 'stay, stand fast (in battle); tarry; remain' || L maneō / manēre 'remain, stay' || Clt {Matas.} *an-man-∇- 'patience, forbearance' > OIr ainmne, MW anmynedd, W amynedd id. ({F}: all < *an-menjā?) || ? pTc *mäsk- > Tc A, B mäsk- (< *mṅske/o-) 'be, become' ¶ WP II 267, P 729, EI 482, M K II 573, M E II 306-7, Horn 215-16, Bai. 327, F II 208-9, WH II 26, Sl. 262, Vn. A 37, Ad. 458-9, Matas. E 38 || D *man- ({GS} *man-) 'remain, be permanent, stand fast' > Tm manru 'be permanent, endure, remain long, stay', Ml manrukā 'stand fast, persevere', Tl manu 'live, exist', manru v. 'last, be durable', Nkr, Png, Mnd, Ku man- 'be', Prj men-, Gdb man- 'be, stay', Knd man- id., 'dwell', Gnd man-, Kui manba 'remain, abide, be', Krx man- 'become, come off, be', Mlt mene 'be, become, grow, be produced', Brh manning 'become, be' ¶¶ D no. 4778, Pf. 108 [no. 814], GS 34-5 [no. 54] || A *mæna- (≈ *mä:na-?) (= *mæna-?) 'remain in the same place, feststehend sein' ({IS} 'оставатся на месте, прочно стоять') > Tg *mēn- 'remain, lead a settled life' (↔ 'nomadize') > Ewk mēnē- 'lead a settled life', 'remain in the same place for a long time' (of a nomad camp), mēnē adj. 'settled' (↔ 'nomadic'), Lm mənəwɔk id., mənə 'a settled Lamut', Ork mənəž'i- 'remain', Neg mənəjə- id., caus. mənəw- vt. 'leave, abandon', Ud {∂Shn., Krm} mənəjə- 'remain at home, remain working in the settlement' (↔ 'go hunting to the forest'), 'домовничать' ¶ The unexpected long vw. in Tg needs explanation (Tg secondary length of prosodic origin?) ¶ STM I 569, Shn. 50, Krm. 264 || M *mana- 'keep vigil' > MM [HI] mana- 'veiller', WrM mana- {MED} 'keep vigil, hold night watch', HIM mana- {MED} id., {BMR} 'bewachen (стеречь, караулить), поддерживать огонь', Brt mana- id., 'graze herds in the night', WrO mana- v. 'guard, watch', Dg mana- v. 'guard, keep watch over (стеречь, охранять, караулить)', Kl {KRS} man- id., {Rm.} mana- 'Nachtwache halten', Ord mana- 'veiller, garder, se tenir en observation' ¶ M *-a- of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. (M *-a-... -a- < pA *-ä-... -a-) ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 525, BMR II 318-19, Chr. 292, KW 256, KRS 342, Krg. 586, T DgJ 153, Ms. O 452 ¶¶ The pA vw. *-ä- of the initial syll. is suggested by M *-a- ¶¶ ≠ SDM 913 (pA *meñ'o' 'dwelling place, village' > Tg *mēne- + [not going back to N *mäna 'remain,

stay'] Ko *m^hán^hrh 'village, vicinity' [in fact from *mAn^h∇ 'hut, dwelling'], pM *mayi-qan 'tent' and pJ *múra 'village') ◇ ≈ IS II 51-2 (*mAn^h > HS [Eg, Om, Ch], IE, D, ? Tg, ? G mena 'dwelling' (see N *mAn^h∇ '↑'); + err. S *✓?mn 'be faithful\true').

1422. *menê 'walk, go' > IE: NaIE *men- 'go, walk' > Clt {Matas.} *monī- 'go' > OIr {Vn.} men- 'go', {Matas.} muinithir 'go around', MW mynet ~ myned ~ mynd vb. n. 'going', W {YGM} myned, Crn mones, OBr (in a cd) -minet, MBr monet, Br {Hm.} monet ~ mont 'go', Crn mones id., Gl moni inv. 'go!' or 'come!'; Clt: Br {Hm.} tre-men 'passer', W tre-myn(u) v. 'walk, wander', Crn tre-mene v. 'pass' || ? L minō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)', ItL [LxS] minō, -āre v. 'lead' (> Fr mener, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead', Rm mīna 'drive [cattle]') (× NaIE *meĵ- 'go, pass' < N *m∇y∇ 'come' or 'go, pass', whence L -i-) ¶ Vn. M 35-6, Flr. 257, Matas. E 276, YGM-1 340, Hm. 578, 807, WP II 263; ≈ ML no. 5585 and Kö. no. 6185 (Romance lges < L mināre 'drive cattle'), ≈ P 726 || **HS**: Eg MK vi. mnmn 'sich bewegen', vt. mnmn '(etw.) fortbewegen' ¶ J EG II 80-1 || pCh ({JS} *✓mn 'come'): WCh: pAG *mwān 'go, walk' > Gmy mwān, Kfr {Hf.} mwān id., {Nt.} mwán 'go', Mpn {Frz.} mùan 'walk', Ang {Hf.} mwe^hn 'go, walk', {Brq.} mwe^hn, Su {J, Hf.} mwān v. 'travel' || SBc: Zar {IL} mAn, Zar K/L {Sh.}, Sy Zk/B/Z {Sh.} man, Sy {Csp.} mán 'come' || CCh: Bu {BED} mwari, Cb {Hf.} mwár 'go', Bcm {Carnochan} munó 'go away' ¶ BED 146, Hf. C 136, Carnochan BCh 463, JI II 82, JS 74, ChC s.v. 'come' and 'walk', Hf. AG no. 54, J S I 76, Nt. 28, Frz. DM 38, Sh. SB 34, Csp. 45 ¶¶ Tk. III 292-3 || **U** *mene- 'go' > F mene-, Es mine- 'go' || pLp {Lr.} *mэнэ- 'go' > Lp: S {Hs.} m'innedh, Vfs {Lgc.} mán^ht 'go, walk', L {LLO} mannat, N {N} mán^hâ- / -n- 'go, journey', Kld мэннэ, {TI} inf. mán^hā- / mán^ha- 'go' || pChr {Ber.} *miyə- 'go, come' > Chr L мием / inf. мяш mi'y-aš 'come, arrive', Chr H inf. {MRS} миаш, {Ep.} миäш 'miäš, {Rm.} miäš id., Chr {Ü} miyem 'I go (ich gehe, fahre)', Chr E {Ps.} miyem 'I go, I visit, I come' || Prm {LG} *mĒn- (Lt. 220-3: Prm *Ē < *ü?) > Vt m+n- (Lt. 222: unstressed + < *u), Z, Yz mun- 'go', Z Ud munэ 'goes' (Lt. G: Z Ud -э suggests FU * - e) || ObU {Ht.} *mīn- 'go' > pVg *mīn- > Vg: T mīn', LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss min- id.; pOs {Ht.} *měn-, {JHl.} *mīn- > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K mėn-, Nz/Kz mǎn-, O mǎn- id. || Hg mėn- (3s pres. mēgy) 'go (gehen, fahren), pass' || Sm {Jn.} *mīn- 'go' > Ne: T мин-зь, T O {Lh.} mīn-ć, F {Sm.} mīn-š 'to go'; Ng {Ter.} мынсы, {Cs.} 1s aor. 'mendem 'go' || Kms {KD} mągęm 'I go'] ⇨ (?) Sm {Hl.} *ment∇- 'go past\by' > Ne T inf. мене-ць 'to pass' (of a misfortune, danger), 'to dwell for a long time (in one

place)', Slq Tz {KKIH} d. mēnti- 'go past\by, overwalk', Mt {Hl.} *mində- 'pass, elapse' (Mt T {Mll.} óp'ha míndunga 'annus' (← 'one year has passed', with óp 'one', ha 'year') || pY {IN H} *menmz- > Y K {IN H} menmzndī- v. 'jump', v. menmzgz- 'jump, stamp', menmzgzdey- v. 'frighten away', OY {Bil.} moēnmoēnga v. 'jump'; Y K {Iox.} monđi v. 'jump' ¶ For the meaning 'jump' cp. below WrMc {Z} мунгирэ- vi. 'gambol' (suggesting a semantic change 'go, run' → 'jump') ¶¶ Coll. 34, UEW 272, Db. OS xxxii (*mene-), Sz. 31, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *meni-, Uhr *minĩ-, Sm *min-), SK 34O, Lr. no. 636, Lgc. no. 3692, Lgc. SL no. 1188, Hs. 93O-1, LLO 493-4, SaR 2O1-3, TI 246, MRS 323, 325, Ep. 7O, Ü 119, Rm. BT 78, Ps. OT 71, LG 178, Lt. KG 56, Ht. no. 392, MF 428-9, EWU 954, Jn. 92, 94-5, KD 4O, Hl. M 3O6 [no. 677], 425, IN H 266, IN UJ 234 (pY *men-), ≈ Rd. UJ 4O [no. 33] (Y ← U) || ¶ A *mæŋa- 'run, trot' > NaT *mæŋ n. 'running, trot' > OT mæŋ 'a step', OT Kr, MT mæŋ-, Tk Δ man-, ET, Nog, SY, Qrg, ST, Tv, Tf mæŋ-, Yk mæŋiy- v. 'trot, ride', Nog, Qzq, Qrg, SY, Shor, StAlt mæŋ n. 'trot', Alt {BT, Rl.}, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} mæŋ- v. 'run, trot', Tv mæŋ n. 'run (бер), speed' ¶ Rs. W 326, Cl. 766-7, Rl. IV 2O06, BT 1O8, TvR 288 || Tg *meŋ- 'hurry', 'run' (of cattle) > Lm mæn- vi. 'hurry'; caus.: Lm mænu-, Ewk mæniw- ɖ mæŋiw- vt. 'hurry\hasten (so.)'; Tg *munŋ- (or *mulŋ-) > Lm munŋan-, Lm Al mulŋɛn- 'run around', 'run away from its owner' (of a dog), Lm O munŋɛnɛsɛn 'run away to look for a game', WrMc {Z} мунрэ- ~ мунгирэ- vi. 'gambol, резвиться' (of cattle) ¶ The vw. *u in Tg *munŋ- needs explanation (regr. as., caused by some sx?) ¶ STM I 556-7, 569, Z 898 ¶¶ NaT *-a- of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. (pA *-æ...a- > pre-T **-a...a- > NaT *-a-) ¶¶ SDM 914 (A *mēŋa v. run, trot' > T, Tg + unc. M *meŋde 'be\become excited\ worried' [interpreted as 'hurry, scurry']), DQA no. 1281 ¶¶ A *-ŋ- may go back to *n-K- (*-K- belonging to a sx) ◇ AD GD 1, IS II 61 (*mene 'ступать' > IE, U) ◇ The vw. *a in Tk *mæŋ still requires explanation ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 41O (*men 'walk') (IE, U, Y, A, CK, EA).

1423. ₂ *meñ∇ 'tear, tear into pieces, divide' > U: FU (in Ugr only) *°meñ∇- 'tear, tear into pieces' > ObU *mēñ- ({Ht.} *mēñ-) v. 'tear' > pVg *mäñ- > Vg: ML mānit-, UL maniyt- id., T mānəm, Ss manəm- id., T/MK mānəmt-, LK mānəmt- id.; pOs {Ht.} *meñ-, {Hl.} *mäñ- > Os: D mēnema-, K mānimə-, Nz/O menəm-, Kz meñəm- 'abreißen', D mēñč-, K māñč-, Nz māñšə-, Kz māñšĩ-, O {Hl.} māñsi- 'zerreißen' | Hg Δ ki-mēnyũl- 'verrenkt werden, sich verrenken', ki-mēnyít- 'verenken, ausrenken' ¶ UEW 87O, Ht. no. 391, Hl. rHt 71, 75 || HS: S *manay-, *manat- 'share' (× S *✓mny 'count') > BHb הַנְּחָמָה mā'nā, Ug mnt, IA/Plm mnh 'share, part, portion', JEA em. מַנְחָמָה mā'nā't-ā

(cs. מַנְיָ *mənāṯ*) 'share', Ar مَنَى *mana-n* 'fate' (→ 'death'), du. *manawāni* ~ *manayāni* 'two pounds (unit of weight)', Ak fOAK *manû* ~ *manaḥu* 'mina (unit of weight)', Ar √ *mnw* TL (pf. تَمَانَى *tamānā*) 'se partager qch. en séparant avec les doigts', Ak √ *mnw*|*y* G (inf. *manû*), D 'assign', BHb √ *mny*|*w* D (pf. מִנְיָ *min'nā*) 'assign (a share), zuteilen', Mn {MA} √ *mnw* 'attribuer', ? Sb *mrn* 'bénifice' ¶ KB 567, A no. 1600, OLS 264, HJ 657, Lv. T III 49, Js. 802-3, Sl. 688-9, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 735, CAD X/1 219-27, MA 62 || Eg CT *mrn* '(?) be separated\beindividualized' ¶ Mks II no. 1603 || EC: Brj *mōnḥ*-vi. 'break' ¶ Ss. B 147 || NrOm: Wl *men-t-*, Dwr *men-t-* ~ *men-c-* vt. 'break, smash' ¶ LmS 462 || ECh: Srw *mónyâ*- 'briser, écraser' ¶ JI SGM 2, 5 ¶¶ Tk. III 234-5 ◇ The comparison is valid unless the S words are derived from S *√ *mny* v. 'test, count' (< N **mōñ* ∇ 'think, learn, know' [q.v.]).

1424. (₂?) **mEN* ∇ (= **mEñ* ∇?) 'from' > HS: S **min* (or **minu*?) 'from, out of' > BHb, BA, JA *min* ~ *mi*+gmc., Ph *mrn* ~ *brn*, OA, IA *mrn*, IA (AkSc) *mi-in*, Sr مَئِن *mēn*, Md *mrn*, *min-*, Ar *min*, Sb *mrn*, Tgr *mən*, ? Gz *amanna* ({Rgr.}: < rdp. **minmin*), *am*, Mh {Jo.}, Jb E/C {Jo.}, Sq {Jo.} *mən*, Hrs {Jo.} *mən*, m, Eb {Krc.} *min₁u₁*, {Lmt} *minu* id. ¶ Br. G II 494, 497-8 [§ 252], Br. 393, KB 565-7, 1738, Js. 796, Sl. 683-5, BK II 1154-5, BGMR 86, LH 126, L G 22, 25, Rgr. B 22, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Krc. 72-8, Lmt 69-70 || Eg fP *m* 'aus etw. heraus, von einem Ort an', ?? Eg fP *m* 'in' ¶ EG II 1 || K *-*man*, ending of the ergative case > OG -*man*, G -*m*, -*ma*, Sv -*m* id. ¶¶ K S 49-67 || ?σ IE: NaIE *-*mis*/*°-*me₁s₁* instr. pl. > Lt -*mis*, Sl *-*mi* (> OCS -*MH*-*mi* etc.) (< NaIE *°-*me₁s₁*); NaIE *-*mis* × dat. pl. *-*mos* > Gmc dat./abl./instr. pl. *-*miz* > OWGmc {Kluge} -*m(i)s* (in nomina propria: *Vatvis* 'Vatviabus', *Afli₁m₁s* 'Afliabus', *Sait₁hamim(i)s* 'Saithamiabus'), Gt, AS -*m*, ON -*mr* ¶ Brg. KVG 396-8, Bks 117-18, 173, Me. OSJ 316, Kluge U 197, En. APG 159, Prok. SG 257 ¶ The final *-s in *-*mis* may go back (through the infl. of other cases of pl.) to IE *(e)s of pl. (see N **ʔ¹∇ś* ∇ 'they') ◇ The loss of N *-*N-* in IE may be accounted for either by the reg. change N **ñ* > IE **i* (if the N etymon is **mEñ* ∇) or by reduction in a grammaticalized (hence unaccented) word → morpheme ◇ Gr. I 139-44 ("locative M" in IE, Y, Tg, Gil, CK + err. U **ma₁e* 'earth' and qu.: the Vg *sx* -*ma* for place of action, that probably belongs to the U derivational suffix *-*ma*/*-*mä* of deverbal nouns [see N **mA*, marker of nominalized syntactic constructions, nominalizer] and is cognate to the **m-sx* of the same meaning in IE and other lges).

1425. $\text{₂}^*m\bar{e}\bar{n}\nabla$ 'tell a lie, deceive' > **HS:** WS $^*m\bar{i}n-$ 'tell a lie, deceive' > Ar \checkmark *myn* (pf. *māna*, ip. $-m\bar{i}nu$) 'tell a lie', *mayn-* n. 'a lie', Gz *mīn* 'cunning, fraud, trickery, ruse', \checkmark *myn TD* (pf. *tamayyana*) 'deceive' ¶ BK II 1175, L G 376 || **IE:** NaIE $^*men-$ 'tell a lie, lure' > L *mendāx* / gen. *mendāc-is* 'lying, mendacious' | Sl inf. $^*man\bar{i}-ti \sim as. ^*mam\bar{i}-ti$ 'to deceive, to lure, to entice' > ChS inf. **MANHTH** *maniti* 'decipere' ~ **MAHTH** *mamiti* 'to lure, to deceive', SCr inf. *māmiti*, Δ *māniti* 'to lure, to entice', Slv inf. *māmiti*, Δ *māniti* id., 'to tempt', HLs *manis* 'to deceive', P Δ inf. *manic* 'to delude, to beguile', P inf. *mamic* id., 'to dazzle', Cz inf. *māmiti*, Slk inf. *māmit* 'to deceive, to entice', Blg 'мамя 'I beckon'] *AdS* of Pru *mēntimai* 'we lie (lügen)' and L *mentior* / *mentīri* 'tell a lie' (both from IE $^*ment-$ < N $^*me\bar{n}'\bar{t}'\bar{ä}$ or $^*me\eta'\bar{t}'\bar{ä}$ 'miss one's aim', q.v.) ¶ WH II 68-9, Vs. II 569, ESSJ XVII 197-9, Chrn. I 508, Mikl. E 182, Glh. 397-8, \approx Frn. 454-5, En. 210.

1426. $^*mo\bar{n}\nabla$ 'many, much' > **HS:** C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} *ménč* 'many, much', Knf {TBZAC} *menči* 'many' ¶ Hz. NSA 139, TBZAC s.v. *menči* || ECh: Mgm {JA} *mānī*, Bdy {AIJ} *mān(i)* 'beaucoup' ¶ AIJ 97, JA LM 105, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'many', ChC s.v. 'many' || **U:** FU $^*mon|ne$ 'much, many' > F *moni* (gen. *monen*) 'many a, numerous', pl. *monet* 'many', Es *mōni* 'some, a few' | Lp: N {N} pl. *moanâk* 'more than a couple, a good many', L {LLO} *mānah* 'some, a couple', Klt *mūānas* 'some' | Prm *mún 'quantity' > Z, Vt *мында m+n-da* 'about (approximately)', in cds: Z *кымын k+-m+n* 'how many?', *сымын s+-m+n* 'so many', *комын ko-m+n* 'thirty', *нелямын* 'fourty', *ветымын* 'fifty', *квайтымын* 'sixty', Vt *куамын kua-m+n* 'thirty', Prmk *mun-da* 'how many?' || ObU: Vg (in cds): $-mān \text{ } \text{ } -man/-pān$, e. g. LK/P *nālmān*, Ss *nālimān* 'fourty', K/P *ātṛān*, N *atṛān* 'fifty' etc. | ? Hg $-van/-ven$ in compound numerals: *negyven* 'fourty', *ötven* 'fifty', *hatvan* 'sixty' etc. ¶ Coll. 133, UEW 279-80, It. no. 103, TI 262, LG 182-3, Kn. VW 147 || **A** $^*mô\text{̣}_{:}na$ or $^*ma\text{̣}_{:}na$ 'many, big, large' > **T** $^*mo\text{̣}_{:}n\nabla$ (or $^*mu\text{̣}_{:}n\nabla$) > Chv L *мән мьн, мәнә мьнә*, Chv Δ {Md.} *mḡnḡ* 'big, great' (\times N $^*ma\bar{n}\nabla ga$ [or $^*ma\eta ga$?] 'strong, numerous'); Ch *ән* and Chv Δ *ḡ* before nasal cnss may go back to pT *o , as well as to pT *u (cf. Md. 40) ¶ Ash. VIII 305-13, Fed. I 349, Fed. M 74, Jeg. 130, ChVS 112-13 || **M** $^*mandu-$ vi. 'grow, increase', 'become higher, rise' (\leftarrow $^*m\bar{g}row$?) > WrM *mandu-* {MED} 'rise, become higher', HIM *манда-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich erweitern, sich ausdehnen', vi 'revive', 'rise' (the sun), Brt *манда-* 'rise', 'rise, aufgehen' (of celestial bodies). 'sich erheben (возвышаться)', Kl {KRS} *манда-* *manda-* 'rise, aufgehen' (sun, moon, stars), Kl \ddot{O} {Rm.} *mandā-* 'aufstehen, sich erheben' (die Sonne), Ord *mandu-* 'se lever'

(soleil), 's'élever' (flamme), 'naître'; ⇨ : (1) M *mandugur > WrM {MED} mandugur 'big, stout', HIM мандгар {MED} id., {BMR} 'big, large, stout', Brt мандагар 'large, big'; (2) M *mandula- > WrM mandula- {MED} vi. 'rise, revive, be reborn', HIM мандла- {MED} id., {BMR} 'rise' (heavenly body), vi. 'возрождаться', Kl {KRS} мандл- mandəl- 'rise, aufgehen' (sun, moon, stars), {Rm.} mandl- 'aufstehen, sich erheben' (die Sonne); (3) M *manduγul- > WrM {MED} mandugul-, HIM {MED, BMR} мандуул- 'raise, lift up', Ord mandūl- ~ manduγūl- 'faire monter\ prospérer' ¶ MED 526, BMR II 320, Chr. 292, KRS 341, KW 355, Ms. H 74, Ms. O 452-3 || pKo {S} *mān_h- 'many, much' > MKo mān-h^h-, NKo {MLC} mānh-(ta) 'be many\much', manh-i 'many, much', mān-, Ko {Rm.} manhi id., man-t^ha 'be many' ¶ Rm. PKE 106, MLC 578, S QK no. 52, Nam 199 || pJ {S} *manai- 'many' > OJ mane- ¶ S QJ no. 47 ¶¶ The vw. *a of the initial syll., in M (as well as in Ko and J?) may be due to regr. as. (infl. of pA *a of the second syll.) and/or by the infl. of N *mañ∇ga ¶¶ SDM 901 (pA *mana 'many, big' > M *mandu- ~ *mantu- 'big, large' [for *mandu- 'grow'], J, Ko, T [reconstructed as *bāni ~ *boni-] + qu. Tg *mani 'crowd, flock, herd'), DQA no. 1249, Rm. SKE 106 (Ko, Ch), Oz. NM 27-8 (J, M) || ?φ D *menēt- 'much, full' > Tm merēd^u 'abundance, plenty, much', Gnd mēnd^u 'full' ¶¶ D no. 5060 ¶ The D vw. *e is puzzling ◇ ≠ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (U ÷ IE *meng^h- / *m_onog^h- 'numerous'), ≈ IS II 41-2 (*mānga > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N *mañ∇ga), DQA no. 1249 (A, D, U + unc. IE).

1427. *moñ∇ 'think, learn (erfahren), know' > HS: S *✓mny ~ *✓mnw vi. 'test, reckon, count' > Ar ✓mny ~ ✓mnw G (pf. مَنَا ~ مَنَى manā, ip. yamnū ~ yamnī) vt. 'test (so. by sth.), determine (upon sth.)', Ak ✓mnw|y (inf. manū) 'consider (sth., so. as belonging to a certain class), count', Sr ✓mnw G (ip. 3m مَنَى nεm'nē) 'reckon (be of the opinion), count', BHb, BA ✓mny G (BHb pf. مَنَى mā'nā, ip. مَنَى yī-m'nē, BA pf. مَنَى mə'nā, JA [Trg.] مَنَى mə'nē ~ مَنَى mə'nā), Md mn[?] vi. 'count', Qt {Rk.} m^tn-n 3p 'agree, consent'; Ug mn^t {A} 'Aufzählung', {OLS} 'repartición, recuento, lista'; Ak fOB mīn-u 'number, amount'; IA, ChrPA mnyⁿ, JA [Trg.] مَنَى min'yān, JEA {Sl.} مَنَى minyā'nā, Sr مَنَى menyā'n-ā, Md miniana, MHb مَنَى min'yān 'number' ¶ BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, KB 567, 1739, A no. 1600, OLS 284, Lv. T III 47-8, Js. 801, Sl. 687, DM 268, 274, Nld. MG 176, 179, Dlm. 240, Br. 394, JPS 281, CAD X/1 221-7 and X/2 96-7, Rk. 142 || B *om∇n- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} te-men-t (ann. t̄-men, pl. ti-men-en) 'esprit, intelligence', Gh i-mun 'connu' ¶

GhA 129, Nh. 144 || EC: Sml *mān*, Sml N *mān* (pl. *mānán*) 'mind, intelligence', Or *mānā* 'reason, meaning' ¶ Abr. S 172-3, ZMO 265, Sr. 36 || Ch: WCh: pAG **man* 'know' > Ang {Brq.} *mān*, Gmy {Hf.} *man*, Kfr {Nt.} *mān* id., Su {J} *man* id., 'recognize (so.)', Mpn {Frz.} *mān* 'know, be able to' | BT: Krkr {Lk., J} *ment-*, Bl {Lk.} *mon-* 'know' | SBc: Buli {Sh.} *man*, {ChL} *mən+*, Zem {Sh.} *-mani*, ? Bot {Sh.} *minšī* id. || ?? CCh: Lame {Sa.} *mán* 'observer, analyser (pour le devin)'; ???σ: Lame {Sa.} *mún* 'hear, understand', ZmD {KNC} *mún* 'hear, understand, listen' || ECh: Ke *míní* 'bekanntgeben, sagen', WDgl {DjM} *mínè*, EDgl {DjM} *mìnè* 'faire savoir, informer' ¶ JI II 216, ChC s.v. 'know', ChL, Hf. AG no. 41, J S I 73, Nt. 26, Sh. SB 36, Sa. L II 317, KNC 17, Eb. 81, DjM 206. ≈ Stl. ZCh 153 [no. 84] (combining WCh * \checkmark mn and * \checkmark bn and reconstructing pWCh **m-ban-*; this view was rejected later by Stl. in OS) ¶¶ OS no. 1721 (**man-* 'know, test': S, Ch, Sml), Tk. III 280 || IE: NaIE **men-* 'think', {EI} id., 'consider' > OI 'manyatē, manu'tē, Av *ma'nyete* 'thinks', OPrs *maniyaīy* 'ich erwäge', MPrs *mēnītan* 'think' || Gk *μνήμη* 'remembrance, memory', *μμνήσκω* 'remind, put in one's mind', Gk *μνήμα*, Gk D *μνᾶμα* 'memorial, remembrance' || Arm **իմանամ** *i-manam* 'I understand, I know, I conceive' (< **m_onā-mi*) || L *meminī* 'I remember, I recollect' || Clt {Matas.} **man-yo-* 'think, remember' > OIr *muinithir*, *-muinethar* 'think', *menme* 'spirit, mind', *do-moiniur* 'I believe, I think (I am of the opinion)', *cuman*, *cumne*, MW *covein* 'memory', W *co-f* (**kom-men*) id., *myrnu* 'to will, to wish'; ↯ Clt {Matas.} **menman-* 'thought, mind' > OIr *menme* id., MBr 'opinion, judgement', Br {Hm.} 'avis', MW 'nature, disposition' || Gt inf. *munan* (· *δοκεῖν*)-(1s p. *munā*) 'meinen, glauben', *munan* (· *μέλλειν*)-(3s p. *munāida*) 'gedenken, wollen', ON inf. *muna* 'to remember', OSx inf. *munan* 'to think', AS inf. *munan* (pres. *man*, p. *mundē*) 'to be mindful of; to think, to esteem', *ze-mun* 'remembering'; Gt *munas* (· *νόηνα*) 'Gedanke', (· *πρόθεσις*) 'Ratschluß', (· *πρόνοια*) 'Absicht', ON *munr* 'mind', AS *myne* 'memory'; Gmc d. **majn-j-an* > MDt inf. *mēnen*, Dt inf. *menen* 'to mean, to think', OSx inf. *mēnian*, OHG inf. *meinen* 'to think, to have an opinion, to mean', MHG, NHG inf. *meinen*, AS inf. *mænan* 'to have an opinion, to have in mind', NE *mean* || Lt inf. *miñti* (1s pres. *menū*) 'to recall, to remember', *manýti* 'to think', *mēnas* 'memory' (→ 'art'), Ltv inf. *minēt* 'to guess, to mention' | Sl inf. **mbněti* ~ **mbniti* (1s pres. **mbńq*, 3s pres. *mbni-ťb*) 'to think (esteem)' > OCS, OR inf. **МЪНѢТИ** *mbněti* / **МЪННѢ** *mbnjq*, SCr inf. *mniti*, Slv inf. *mněti* ~ *mniti*, Cz † inf. *mněti* id., R inf. **МНИТЬ** 'to imagine', Blg **мля, мня** 'I think (esteem)'; Sl inf. **po-mbněti* 'to

remember' > OCS inf. **ПОМЪНѢТИ** *romъněti* {StSS} id., 'to recall (вспоминать)', R inf. 'помнить', P inf. *romniēs*, Slv inf. *rómniti* 'to remember', Blg 'помня 'I remember' ||| Тс: A *mnu* ≈ spirit, appreciation, desire', B *maíu* 'desire' (× IE **men-* < N ***МАУН** 'desire' [q.v.]) ||| NaIE d. **men-os* / **men-es-* > OI *manas-* 'mind, intellect, understanding, thought', Av *manaḥ-* 'mind' ||| Gk *μένος* (gen. *μένεος*) 'spirit (Geist); intent, purpose' ⇨ *δυσ-μενής* 'hostile' ||| ? pre-L **menes-wā* > OL *Menerua*, L *Minerva* (name of the goddess of handicraft) ||| NaIE d. **mḡ-ti-s* (~ **men-ti-s*) 'mind, thought' > OI *ma'tiḥ* 'thought', Av *-ma'ti-* id. (in *anu-ma'ti-* 'in Gedanken Wiederholen') ||| L *mēns* (gen. *mēnt-is*) 'mind' ||| d.: Clt **°m^wntyob-* n. 'thought, mention' > OIr *toimtiū* id. ||| d.: Gt *gamunds* (· *μνημοσύνη, ἄωάμνησις, μνεία*) 'Andenken, Gedächtnis', OHG *gimunt* 'memory', AS *zemynt* 'intention' ||| Lt *mintis* 'thought' | Sl d. **рǎмєть* 'memory' > OCS **ПАМЯТЬ** *ramєть*, R 'память', P *ramiєć*, Cz *raměť*, Slk *ramät'*, Blg 'памет' id., SCr *рǎmět*, Slv *рǎmet* 'intellect, sense, mind' ||| NaIE cd **mens-d^hē-* / **mḡs-d^hē-* 'learn, become wise' (lit. 'put the mind') > Av/OPrs {M} *mazdā-*, Av *mązdra-* 'wise', Av *maz-dā-* ~ *mąz-dā-* 'notice, bear in mind' | OI *mē'dhā* 'wisdom' ||| Gk *μανθάνω* (aor. *έμαθον*) 'learn (esp. by study)' ||| Sl **mǫdrъ* (jъ) 'wise' > OCS **МЪДРЪ** *mǫdrъ* 'φρόνιμος, σοφός' ({StSS} 'мудрый [wise]'), OR **МЪДРЪ** *mudrъ*, R pradj *мудр*, dadj *мудрый*, Blg *мъдър*, SCr *múdar*, dadj. *múdrī*, Slv *moder módar*, P *mądry*, Cz *moudrý*, Slk *múdry* 'wise' || AnIE: ? Ht {Po.} *meni/a* 'viso', ? Lw {Po.} *mana-* 'see', Lm {EI} *mimma-* (< **mimne/o-*) v. 'regard, favor' ¶¶ ≈ WP II 270-1, ≈ P 730 (**mend^h-* < **men-d^hē-* 'seinen Sinn worauf richten, lebhaft sein', **m(ō)nd^h-rō* 'munter'), EI 575, M K II 583-4, 685-6, M E II 296-7, 305-9, 378-9, Brtl. 1160-1, 1181, F II 170-1, 208, 238-41, WH II 65-70, Vn. *M* 35, 37-8, Po. LmanE 125-8. YGM-1 95, 340, Fs. 194, 366-8, Bv 459, Vr. 395-6, Ho. 211, 227-8, Ho. S 51, 54, Kb. 361, 669, OsS 258, 599-600, KM 472, Tr. 181, Frn. 455-6, ESSJ XX 126-34 and XXI 112-15, StSS 339, 342, 441, 477, Vs. II 633, 670 and III 195, Glh. 417-18, 427-8, 466, Matas. E 256, 265-6, Hm. 560, Ad. 437 ||| U **mon|ḡ-* > FU (att. in FV) **monḡ-* > pLp **mōnз-* 'suppose, guess' > Lp: L {LLO} *mānna-* id., S {LÖ} *muone-* 'nominare', {Hs.} *muonedidh* v. 'guess', {Fri.} *moanna-* 'guess (conjecture, divinare)' | pMr {Ker.} **mūnē-* (sc. **mūh̄z-?*) > Er *муня-* *muña-*, Mk {Ker. ← ?} *muña-* (Mk {UEW} **maña-*) 'conjure, bewitch' ¶ UEW 290-1, Coll. 33, Sz. 33, Lr. no. 690. Lgc. no. 4013d, Fri. 436, Hs. 950, Ker. II 91 ||| ?σ **Α** **manḡ* 'learn, try' (× N ***МАУН** 'desire', q.v.) > Tg **man'd¹ū-* 'try, strive (стараться)' > Ewk *mannūw-* ~ *mandūw-*, Lm

manru- 𐌺 mandu-, Ork mandu- id. ¶ STM I 528 || pJ *mána(m)p- 'learn' > OJ manab-, MJ mánáb-, J T mánabu, J K mánábú, J Kg manáb- ¶ S QJ no. 935, Mr. 720, Kenk. 1178 ¶¶ SDM 901 (pA *mána|o 'learn, try' > Tg, J), DQA no. 1250, S AJ 26, 276, Mr. KJ 249, Oz. NM 27-8 ◇ IS II 42-3 (*maru 'think' > HS, IE, U, ? D) → ≈ BmK no. 519 (*man-/*mən- 'divide, apportion': IE *man-/*mon-/*mŋ- 'reckon, consider, think', U *mana- or *mona- 'consider', S *man-/*mən- [sc. ✓ mny|w] 'divide, count, reckon']) ◇ Gr. II no. 127 (*men 'think\say') (IE, U, A, J + err. Y, CK) (< N *moñ ▽ × N *mañ₁ ▽ y₁ ▽ 'speak, call').

1428. *muñ ▽ (t|d ▽) 'egg' (→ 'testicle') > U *muña 'egg, testicle' > F, Es muña 'egg' | pLp {Lr.} *monē > Lp: S {Hs.} mǔnnie, L {LLO} mǎnnē, N {N} mǎnne, Kld {SaR} маһһѣ mǎññ(ə) 'egg' | Er/Mk mona 'testicle' | Chr: H мыһы mǎnə, L/Uf muno 'egg', B muno id., 'testicle' || ObU {Ht.} mōñ 'testicle' > pVg {Ht.} *mǎñ id. > Vg: T/LL man, LK/MK mǎñ, P/UL mon, Ss mūñi id.; pOs {Ht.} *moñ 'penis' > Os: V/Vy moñ, Ty/Y mōñ, D/K/Nz mun, Kz mōñ, O mon id. | Hg Δ mony 'egg, testicle' || Sm {Jn.} *mǎñā, {Hl.} *mǎna 'egg' > Ng {Mik.} mǎnu, En {Cs.} mona, Kms {KD} munːaj ~ munːuj, Koyb {Sp.} муһы 'egg', Slq Tz {KKIH} man†, Slq Tm {KD} manː, Slq B {Cs.} māne, Slq Y (Cs.) man 'penis' ¶¶ Coll. 36, UEW 285-6, Db. OS xxx, It. no. 191, Sm. 538 (U, FU *munā, FP *muña, Ugr *mǔña, Sm *mǎñā), Lr. no. 677, Lgc. no. 3690, Hs. 949, SaR 182, MRS 334, 341, Ü 125, Ht. no. 394, MF 449-50, Jn. 86, KKIH 129, KD 41, Hl. M no. 639 || HS: CCh: ı Msg {Rlf.} m u η 'testicles' (unless it is Rohlf's faulty transcription of a word identical with Msg G {Trn.} mōhom 'testicles' [= Msg {Röd.} mōhom, {Mch.} mōhom]; but Rohlf's record may represent a dialect different from Msg G recorded by Trn. and probably by Röder and Mouchet); on the other hand, Msg G mōhom may belong here as well ¶ Lk. DQM 99, ChC s.v. 'testicles', Trn. LM 107 || EC: ? Or {Grg.} mundō 'penis' (× N *mAñ|ñ ▽ y ▽ or *mAñ ▽ '∈ genitalia') ¶ Grg. 295 || D (att. in SD) *m^ru¹ñ¹- ~ *m^ru¹ṭṭ- 'egg' > Tm munṭaj ~ muṭṭaj, Ml muṭṭa, moṭṭa, Kt moṭ, Td muṭy, Kn/Tu moṭṭe 'egg', Kdg muṭṭe id., 'testis' ¶ D no. 4939, GS 83 [no. 258] (err. *moṭ-aj), 195-7 (on the reflexes of pD *-ñṭ-) ¶ The D cognate is valid only if the variant *moñṭ- is original; in this case *-ṭ- is likely to go back to a sx equatable with Sl *-d- in *mōdě 'testicles' || IE: NaIE *omond₁h₁- > Sl *mōd-o 'testicle' (du. *mōd-ě) > ChS мѡдо mōdo, Blg мѡдо (new spelling мѡдо), SCr múdo, Slv módo, OCz múd, Cz moud, Hls/LLs mud, OP mađo, međo, P † mađo, OR мѡдо mudo (du. мѡдѣ mudě), R Δ мудо (pl. [sc. du./pl.] муде), Uk 'мудо id. ¶ ESSJ XX 123-5, Glh. 428 || A: Tg: Lm A maṇa 'testicle',

? (mt.) Ewk Y nāma id. ¶ STM I 530, 581 ◇ The vw. a of the first syll. in Lm and Ewk is aberrant and has to be explained ◇ Glh. 428 (IE, U, D) ◇ Gr. II no. 127 (*mun 'egg') (IE, U, CK, EA + unc. A, Ko, Ai).

1429. *mûn̄ ▽ 'defect, damage, physical defect' > IE *mend- '≈ defect' > L menda, mendum 'fault, bodily defect' || OI min'dā id. ({M}: < *man'dā due to contamination with nin'dā 'Schmähung'), Kshm m̄j̄ondu 'leprous, leprosy' || ? OIr mernnar 'stain, defect' ('macula', {Vn.} 'tache, faute'), W manrn 'stain on the skin' || AnIE: Lc mēte- 'damage, harm' ¶¶ WP II 270, P 729-30, EI 155 (*mend-o-, -eh_h- '≈ [bodily] defect'), M K II 637, M E II 356, Tu. no. 10122, WH II 69, Vn. M 39 || | HS: WCh: Hs {Abr.} mūnì 'ugliness; vice, evil', mūnānā 'make ugly, spoil', {Ba.} 'render ugly, spoil', {Abr.} mūnānā 'be(come) ugly\ unpleasant\ spoiled' | Su {J} m̄w̄èn 'stupidity' (× N *meñ't'ä' or *meñ't'ä' 'miss one's aim' [q.v.]?) ¶ Ba. 800-1, Abr. H 683-4, J S 207 || | A: [1] pA *mūnæ or *mūnæ (= *mū:næ or *mūnæ?) 'defect, lack' > T: [1] NaT *mūn > OT mūn, {Cl.} bū:n 'defect', Tkm мұһн 'shyness', Qzq м̄ӣн 'shortage, deficiency, defect, roughness', Qq, Nog мӣн min, Qrg mūn ~ mūn 'defect, deficiency', VTt min 'defect, sin', Qmq min-siz 'flawless', [2] NaT *mūn 'be defective/insufficient' > OT Kr mun- 'be defective', Alt Δ miη-da- 'become insufficient', Yk mi:n- 'be insufficient', ? VTt moη 'нужда' ¶ The length of the pT vw. (*ū, *ū) still needs explanation (contamination with the pA reflex of N *manṣa 'to cease, to delay' [q.v.]?) ¶ ET L-S 83-6, 88-9, Cl. 347, Rs. W 347, Sht. 145, Jud. 543-4, TatR 377 || M *mun|ηda- 'lack, be\become insufficient, come to an end' > WrM munṣa- {MED} 'become insufficient; come to an end', HIM munda- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be\become insufficient', WrO munda- 'exhaust oneself, finish off', Kl {Rm.} munda- 'fehlen, mangeln, zu Ende sein' ¶ MED 551, BMR II 357, Krg. 610, KW 268 || pJ {S} *māntù- 'poor' (× N ?σ *manṣa 'to cease', 'to delay' [trans.], 'to finish') > OJ maḍu-si-, MJ māḍù-si, J T/Kg maḍuśí-, J K m̄zúśì- 'poor' ¶ S QJ no. 1334, Mr. 834, Kenk. 1196] ?? pJ {S} *múná-si- 'empty, useless' (× N ?σ *manṣa '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 952 (pA *mūne 'defect, lack' > T *būn [= *mūn], M, J), DQA no. 1365 || [2] pA *mun ▽ 'stupid, mad' ({SDM} *mūnu 'wrong, mad, uneasy') (× the A reflex of N *meñ't'ä' or *meñ't'ä' 'miss one's aim'?) > T *mun- 'be mentally deranged\disturbed' > OT mun- [mun-] id., 'be senile\feeble-minded, lose control of oneself', MQp būn- 'be senile', Tk Δ bonul- 'be feeble-minded', Yk mun- 'lose one's way, roam'; ⇨ T *mun-duṛ > OT {Cl.} mundaḥ 'senile, feeble-minded', [QB] mundaḥ 'ignorant, stupid man', [MhK] {Dnk.} būndaḥ

'simpleton', MQp XIV [CC] *m̄unduz* 'simple-minded' ¶ Cl. 348, 767-8, Pek. 1620, MKD 119, Rs. W 344 || M **m̄un₁u₁-* > WrM {Kow.} *mono-* (sc. *m̄unu-*) 'become weak-minded\senile', {MED} *m̄unu-* 'become weak-minded\feeble-minded', HIM {MED} *мунa-* id., {BMR} 'выживать из ума', 'grow decrepid (from old age)', Kl {KRS} *мун-* *m̄un-* 'become senile', {Rm.} *m̄una-* 'alt\abgelebt\hinfällig sein\ werden', 'dumm\blödsinnig sein', Ord *m̄unu-* 'devenir stupide'; WrM {Ms. ← ?} *̣ m̄un₁u₁q* 'stupid', Kl {Rm.} *m̄unaq* 'altersschwach (körperlich und geistig)', Ord *m̄unuq* 'stupide, qui a l'intelligence obtuse'; M **m̄un₁qag* 'stupid' > MM [HI] {Ms.} *m̄u₁qag*, [S] {H} *m̄unḥah* [*m̄unḥaḥ*] id., [IM] {Pp.} *منفق* *m̄unḥaq* 'ignorant', WrM *m̄u₁qag* {MED} 'stupid, ignorant, foolish; stupidity, ignorance', HIM *мунхаг* {MED, BMR} id., Ord. *m̄u₁ḥaq* 'stupide; stupidité', WrO *m̄u₁ḥaq* ~ *m̄u₁ḥuq* 'stupidity, 'ignorance', *m̄u₁ḥaq* 'ignorance', Brt *мунхаг* 'ignorant, stupid', Kl {KRS} *мунхг* *m̄u₁ḥg* id., Kl Ö {Rm.} *m̄u₁ḥaq* 'dumm, blödsinnig', WrO *m̄u₁ḥar* - 'get disturbed', WrM *m̄u₁qara* - {MED} 'be(come) stupid\ignorant, 'become dull' (of the mind), HIM *мунхра-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'err (sich irren, заблуждаться), gefoppt werden (быть одураченным)', Ord *m̄u₁ḥara-* 'devenir stupide, avoir l'esprit engourdi'; Kl {Rm.} *m̄u₁ḥū* 'dumm, unvernünftig' ¶ H 112, Pp. MA 442, Kow. 2028-9, MED 551-2, BMR II 356-7, Krg. 610-11, Chr. 302, KRS 362, KW 268-9, Ms. H 76, Ms. O 475-6 || Tg: Ewk *monnon* 'stupid', Ul *mon₁*, Nn Nh/KU {STM} *mon₁ã* 'uncomfortable (unbequem, неудобный, неловкий)', Nn Nh {On.} *moñã*: id. ¶ STM I 544-5, On. 268 || MKo {Lee} *m̄ənt^həḥ* 'i 'stupid' ¶ Lee CSMK 114 ¶¶ The M (and T?) forms may have been influenced by MChn {S} *m̄ūḥ* 'dark, stupid, ignorant' ¶¶ SDM 953 (pA **m̄únu* 'wrong, mad, uneasy' > Tg, M, T, Ko + unc. pJ **m̄úntú-ká-* 'difficult' [probably from N **m̄'o¹n̄t* 'to be slow, to last', q.v.]), DQA no. 1366, KW 268, Pp. VG 35, Lee CSMK 114 ◇ IS III 55-6 (N **m̄unE* 'drawback, defect, deformity').

1430. **m̄u|oñ* 'mountain, hill' > IE: NaIE **mon-*, (+ext.) **m̄ōnt-* / **m̄n̄t-*, {EI} **men-* 'mountain' > Av *matī* (< **m̄n̄tī-*), {Brtl.} *matay* 'foothills', {Brtl.} 'promuntorium, Vorsprung des Gebirges' || L *m̄ōns* (gen. *m̄ōntis*) 'mountain' || Clt **moniyo-* 'mountain' > Brtt {RE} **moniyos* id. > W *m̄ynydd*, OCr *menit*, Cm *meneth*, OBr *monid*, MBr *mened*, *menez* 'mountain', Br *menez* 'montagne, mont' ¶ WP II 263, P 726, EI 270, Dv. no. 802, Mn. 781-2, RE 113, Flr. 259, GI 666, Brtl. 1112-13, WH II 108-9, Matas. E 277, Hm. 559 || HS: Eg G *m̄n.ty* du. 'the two mountain ridges on both sides of the Nile valley', ? *m̄n.t* 'sky' (← 'height, high place') ¶ EG II 69, Fk. 108 || A

*mônV > Tg: WrMc {Z} мунгань 'hill, burial mound' ¶ Z 898, STM I 557 || ?
 M: Ord мuna 'montagne d'Urat', WrM {Kow.} мондага 'high ground,
 steppe, ?? {MED} mündürge 'embankment, bank', {Koz.} ĭ мондуг
 'mountains, peaks', Brt мундарга 'woodless rocky summit (голец)' ¶ Kow.
 2028, MED 551, 554, Gl. III 310, Chr. 302, KW 268, Ms. O 475 ◇ WP and P
 suggest (at the pIE level) that the √ in question is identical with IE *men-
 'protrude' (sc. N *m^ræ¹₁?E₁n̄∇ 'front' [q.v.]) ◇ ≈ BmK no. 533: N *mun-/
 *mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first' etc. > IE, Eg, D (adducing words with very
 loose and qu. semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin', as well as ghost words
 like *Eg mn, mny 'mountain, stone hill' [Bm.'s interpretation of Eg MK {Fk.}
 mn 'kind of stone', {EG} 'Art kostbarer Stein'?]).

1431. ? *m∇ni 'ε fish' > IE: NaIE *m_oni- 'ε fish' ({EI} *mḡH- ≈
 minnow, small fish') > Gk μάυνη '*Maena vulgaris*, a small sprat-like fish, which
 was salted' (↳ L maena id.) ↳ μάυνης (dim. of μάυνη) ||| Sl *mьнь 'burbot,
Lota lota' > SCr Δ mānj, OCz, Cz meř, Slk mieř, P Δ mieří, OR МЕНЬ
 мень, R, Uk, Blr мень id. || ?? Blt d.: Lt mėnkė 'cod' (unless a fem. form of
 the adj. mėnkas 'poor, small'), Ltv meņsa, meņse 'cod' ||| ? Gmc d.: OHG
 {Ho., KM, Vr.} muniwa, munuwa, MHG {KM} münwe, NHG Mürne, Dt
 meun, AS myne 'minnow', NE minnow ¶ WP II 367-8, P 731, EI 205, F II
 160, WH II 8, Ho. 228, Vr. N 441, Kb. 701, KM 494, ESSJ XXI 117-19, ≠ Frn.
 438, Kar. I 581-2 ||| HS: B *m∇n > ETwl e-mḡn (pl. i-mḡn-an), Ah e-man (pl. i-
 man-ān) 'fish', Shl Sm {Ds.} a-mun 'ε gros poisson comestible' ¶ PGG 218, Fc.
 1207, Ds. 225 ||| D *mīn_o 'fish' > Tm mīn, Ml, Kn mīn, Kt, Td, Gdb, Gnd,
 Knd mīn, Kdg mi'nī, Tu mīnъ, Tl mīnu, Prj mīni, Png, Mnd min, Kui, Ku, Mlt
 mīnu 'fish'; D ↳ OI mīna- id. ¶¶ D no. 4885, Zv. 50, 175, Tu. no.
 10140a ||| ? U: FU *mān∇ (Coll.) *mān∇ > Lp Klt {TI}: Lp Pa māńńi', Lp Snk
 māńe'k '*Coregonus lavaretus* (big whitefish, сиг, Felchen)', Lp Klt {Coll.}
 moanjī '*Coregonus*' ¶ Coll. 99 mentioned Mr, Chr and Hg nouns for '*Lota
 lota*': Er men'uk, Chr H men '*Lota lota*', Hg mėny-hal, mėny-hal id. and
 '*Namacheilus barbatulus*' (hal 'fish'), but they are probably loans from Sl (Er
 men'uk ↳ R Δ ментюк [Dal II 318] etc., Chr H мен ↳ R мень, Hg mėny-,
 mėny- ↳ the Sl source of Slk mieř and Cz meř) ¶ Coll. 99, Ü 131, MRS
 321, TI 238, EWU 963 ||| A {SDM} *māńuk'∇ (< ≈ **mān-yuk'-) (= *māńuk'∇?)
 'ε fish' > T *māń'ak- > Yk maγagas ~ maḡaγas 'whitefish (сиг, *Coregonus*),
 щокур (*Salmo lavaretus* Berg)' ¶ Pek. 1507 || M {SDM97} *munig '*Alburnus*
 (bleak, ablet, уклейка)' > WrM {SDM} муниг, HIM {BMR} муниг, Kl {KRS}
 мунньг mūńag id., {Rm.} mūńig '*Weißfisch (Alburnus)*' ¶ M *u is due to refr.

as. ¶ SDM 903, BMR II 357, Luv. 269, Cev. 350, KRS 363, KW 269 || Tg [1] {SDM97} NrTg *mā́nma 'trout' > Ewk ма́йма, Lm manma ~ manma, Neg manma id., Tg б→ Yk ма́йба 'є salmon'; [2] Tg *mā́n'gu 'ленок' (є 'trout') > Ewk mā́ygu, Ud мзүзу; [3] Nn Bk {STM} мєпзксз 'є fish', [4] WrMc {Z} монгошунь {STM} 'Karausche', {Z} 'a fish esembling Karausche'; [5] WrMc {Z} мункү 'frozen снятки (є fish)' ¶ STM I 521-2, 545. 548, Z 123, 892, 898 || pKo {S} *mèiyùkí 'trout' > MKo {S} mèiyùkí id., NKo {S} megí id., {MLC} megí 'catfish, wels, horned pout' ¶ S QK no. 291, Nam 213, MLC 616 || pJ {S} *mùná(n)kí 'eel' (× N *mæL ∇ y | x ∇ 'lizard', 'small reptile' or sim., q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 903 (pA *mańu(k'∇) 'a kind of fush' > Tg *mańgu, *mańma, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1254, S CNM 8 ◊ IE *-n- rules out N *-ń-, hence A *-ń- is likely to go back to *n-y- (with *-y- of the sx ≈ *-yuk'-) ◊ D *ŋ is the only nasal cns. that can occur in the Auslaut, therefore it does not help us to identify the N nasal phoneme ◊ Doubtful, because no consistent correspondence between vowels is observed, and the abundance of names of different kinds of fish leaves much room for chance similarities ◊ AD NM 62-3 [no. 75] (IE-D-U), Blz DA 158 [no. 67] (adding B to the D-IE-U equation), Blz NDA no. 69 (D, B, IE, FU + unc. S: Ak (u)mūnu 'Larve, Raupe' and Sr ʔāmunā 'є lizard'), S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST *maꞤꞤn 'eel, shark', Yn *boŋ 'herring').

1431a. ₂ *m∇n̄∇ 'small, little' > IE: NaIE *men- 'small, little' > Arm manr (gen. manu) 'klein, dünn, fein' || Gk [Hs.] μάυυ. (· μικρόν) 'small', Gk A μανός 'dünn, locker' || Clt {P}: menb 'klein'; Clt {Matas.} *menwō- 'small, minute' > Mlr menb id., MW v. 'weaken, decrease, diminish'; Clt {Matas.} *menno- 'young of n animal, kid' > Mlr menr id., MW myn 'young goat, kid', MBr menr 'young goat', OCrn [y] min 'hedus' || L minor, minus 'smaller, less', Osc menvum 'diminish' ¶ P 728-9, Matas. E 766-7 || HS: S *√mnn 'be incomplete' > Gz √mnn G 'be insignificant/incomplete/deficient', Ar mamnūn- 'reduit' ¶ L G 351, BK II 1156.

1432. *m'æ'ʔE'n̄∇ 'front' > IE *men- '≈ front' > Ht meni-, mena- 'face, cheek', cd mēnahhanda ~ menahhanda adv., prep. 'before, against, in front' (< N *°m'æ'ʔE,n̄∇ qañt̄∇ 'face to face, vis à vis' [see N *qañt̄∇ 'forehead, front']); Ht meni- 'cheek' may have been influenced by *ment- 'chin' < N *mAñt̄∇ 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' (q.v.) || NaIE *men- v. 'protrude, project', 'mouth' > L ē-mineō / -ēre vi. 'project, stand out', prō-mineō / -ēre id., 'jut out' || ON mænna 'to stand out, to project (emporrigen)', ON mænir, NNr møna, BNr møne 'ridge of a roof' || Av {Brtl.} fra-man- 'Vorsprung gewinnen' || Clt: OIr méin 'opening of the mouth, open mouth', Crn myn 'mouth', Br min 'museau, mufle' ¶¶ CHD L-N 274-90, Ts. E II 194-8,

WP II 263, Vn. *M* 36, P 726, WH II 108-9, Brtl. 1125, Vr. 400, Ar. 557, ≈ Po. LmanE ∇ (Ht *meni*/a- ÷ Lw *mana* 'see') || **D** **muŋ-* 'front' > Tm *muŋ* 'in front, previous', *muŋaḷ* 'front, face', Ml *mun*, *munnam* 'priority in space and time; first, former; before', Kt *mun-* 'front, fore', Td *mud-k* 'in front' (-k, sx of dat.), *muda'l* 'first', Kn *mun* 'that which is in front \ before', Kdg *mińńa* 'in front', Tu *mundan̄a* 'priority, first', Tl *mun̄i* 'first, former, front', Klm *mut*, Nkr *mund* 'before', Nk *muṛ*, Knd *muŋgal*, *mundala* 'in front (of)', Prj *mundi* id., *muna vanda* 'forefinger', Gdb *mundēl* 'the front', Gnd *munne* 'before, in front', Ku *muu* 'point (of needle etc.)', Krx *mundd^h*, *mund* 'first, ahead of, before', Mlt *mundi* 'formerly' ¶¶ D no. 5020(a), Zv. 51 || **HS**: EC: Rn {PG} *mīn* 'forehead', Kns {BISO} *mīn-tá* 'forehead, face', Gwd {AMS} *mīn-té*, Hr/Dbs {AMS} *mīn-čé* id., 'front', Cm {Hbl.} *mīn-te*, Alb, Kmb *mīne* 'face', ? Ya *maŋa* 'eyebrow', ? Af {R} *mirin* id. ¶ PG 223, Lm. SKE 533, BISO s.v. *mīn-tá*, AMS 175, 244, 271, 278, PH 169, R A II 882 (s.p. 90) || WCh: Btr {RA} *mān* 'forehead' ¶ RA 15 || CCh: Db H {Srp.} *maneno* 'forehead' ¶¶ Blz. DA no. 7, Tk. III 350 || **A** **mäyEn∇* 'temple (Schläfe), forehead' > M **maŋlayi* 'forehead' > MM [LM, IsV, HI, S] *maŋlay*, [MA] *maŋqlay*, [IM] *manlay* 'forehead', WrM {MED} *maŋlai* id., 'front', HIM *манлай* {MED} id., {BMR} 'forehead', adj, 'first', Brt *маалай* 'forhead', Dg {Pp., T, Mr.} *maŋgil*, Dx {T} *manley* 'forehead', WrO {Krg.} *maŋlai* ~ *maŋnai* id., 'top', Kl {KRS} *maŋna* *maŋna* 'forehead', {Rm.} *maŋnā* 'Stirn, Vorderkopf', Kl Ö {Rm.} *maŋnā* id., Mnr H {SM} *māŋlī* 'front (forehead), sommet', {T} *manlī* 'forehead', Shrn {SM} *menlei*, ShY {SM} *mangley* id., Ord *maŋnā* 'front' ¶ Pp. MA 233, 441, Pp. L III 70, Lg. VM I 53, H 107, MED 527, BMR II 321, Chr. 289. T 344, T DgJ 153, T DnJ 128, Mr. D 183, Krg. 588, KRS 342, KW 257, SM 232, Ms. H 74, Ms. O 454 || T **meyiŋi* 'brain' (× N **beŋ,ɣi* ≈ head') > OT *meyi*, *meŋi*, MT *miyi*, *meyn*, Tk *beyin*, Az *beyin*, Tkm *meyni*, *beyni*, Xlj *mein*, Uz *miya*, ET *miŋä*, Kr *miyi*, VTt *mi*, Bsh *meye*, Qmq *miyi*, QrB *miye*, Nog, Qzq *miy*, Qq *miy*, Qrg, Alt, Tv *mē*, Tfl *mä:*, Xks *mi*, Yk *meyi* 'brain', Chv L *миме*, Chv Δ *мимё* ≍ *мине* ≍ *ниме* ≍ *вине* 'brain, marrow, neuraxis', Dlg *meŋi* 'head' ¶ The vw. *-e- in T **meyiŋi* may have been influenced by the heritage of N **beŋ,ɣi* ¶ Cl. 348-9, Rs. W 70, ET B 106-7, TL 195-6, Ash. V 235 and VIII 242-3, Fed. I 358-9, Jeg. 134, ChVS 116 || J Y *mimbùrù* 'head'; but pJ {S} **mimì* 'ear' (> OJ *m̄im̄i*, MJ *mimì*, JT *mimí*) cannot be reliably adduced here (the meaning is too distant) ¶¶ The vw. *-a- of the initial syll. in M **maŋlayi* is due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 895 (pA **màynì* 'temple, forehead, ear' > M, T + unc. pJ **mimì* 'ear'; the alleged pA meaning 'ear' is based on the unc. adduction of pJ **mimì* 'ear')

◇ The cns. *y in pT *mey̯i and in pA *mäy̯n̄ is still to be explained (mt. from *mä̯n-y̯n̄ with the sx *-y̯n̄?) ◇ WP and P suggested (at the pIE level) that *men- 'protrude' is the √ of the stems *m̥n̥-ti, *moniyo- 'mountain(s)' (sc. N *mu|oñ̄ 'mountain, hill'). If they are right, both N etyma are identical. In that case the semantic development may have been: 'hill' → 'hillock' → 'protrude as a hillock' → 'front'. The vw. *u in D may be due to the labializing infl. of *m- ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 153 [no. 7] (D, C, Ch, IE), ≈ BmK no. 533: *mun-/*mon- 'protrude, stand out'; 'be first' etc. (IE, D, + err. Eg m̥n̥ 'mountain, stone hill' [in fact, from N *mu|oñ̄ '↑']; BmK adduced words with highly qu. semantic ties, such as L mentum 'chin'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 7 (D, IE, HS [adducing words with highly qu. semantic ties]).

1433. *mAy̯n̄ 'desire' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} *°meḷ̥n̥-/*°moḷ̥n̥- > Clt {Matas.} *mēno- n. 'wish' > OIr m̄í̯an̄ 'desire, object of desire', MW m̄w̄y̯n̄ 'enjoinmet, delight', W ar-o-fun̄ 'avoir l'intention, se proposer', go-funed 'to desire', damuno (< *do-am-mun-) v. 'wish', {YGM} m̄w̄y̯n̄ 'gain, wealth', Mr {Hm.} menn̄ 'vkonté, vouloir' ||| NaIE *men- (loss of the glide *ḷ̥ preceding a sonant) 'wish eagerly' (× *men- < N *moñ̄ 'think, learn [erfahren], know' [q.v.]) > OI ma'nā 'devotion, zeal', manah̥ / manas- ntr. 'will' ||| Gk μέμωνα (pf. with pres. sense) 'is very eager; is minded, purposes, intends', μέμολυή 'eager desire', μέμολυάω v. 'desire eagerly', ? μνάομαι 'be mindful of; woo for one's bride, court; sue for, solicit (a favor, office etc.)' ||| AS myrne n. 'desire, love', OFrs minne, OSx minnea, OHG minna, NHG Minne n. 'love', MHG, NHG † π meinen 'to love', ? ON munr 'pleasure, joy' ||| Tc A mnu ≈ esprit, appréciation, désir', B mar̄u 'désir' (see N *moñ̄ '↑') ||| ?? OIr menme n. 'wish' (unless ← 'mind, thought' < N *moñ̄ '↑') ¶ WP II 264-6, P 726-8, M K II 583-4, F II 206-8, 238-41, 247, Ho. 228, Kb. 687, KM 472, 480, Vn. M 37-8, 47, Matas 266, YGM-1 338, Hm.560, Wn. I 301, ≈ EI 410 (Clt *meḷ̥no- < IE *meḷ̥no-/*moḷ̥no- 'opinion'), ≈ EI 575 (words for 'desire' ← *men- 'think, consider') ||| HS: S *√mny 'wish, desire' (× N *moñ̄ '↑?') > Ak menû inf. 'to love, to be(come) fond (of so.)', Ar √mny G 'let flow sperm (as in copulation)', √mny G ps. (pf. مُنِي muniya) 'be favored in', TD (pf. تَمَنَّى tamannā) 'desire, wish', Gz √mny TD (pf. tamannaya) 'wish, desire, be eager for', manuy 'who wishes ardently; wished for, desired', Mh pf. 'matni, Hrs pf. ʌmtōni, Jb E/C pf. 'mutni (Jb C sbjn. y3m'tin), Sq {Jo.} pf. 'mɔtɛnɛ? (sbjn. l-im'tɛnɛ?) v. 'wish' ¶ L G 352-3, CAD X/2 19, Sd. 645, BK II 1158-9, Hv. 737, Jo. M 268, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, MiK I no. 2.41 ||| CCh: Ms {Caīt.} m̄in 'wish, desire, love', {ChC} 'want', Azm {Pc.} minda v. 'will, desire, like' ¶ Caīt. 104, Pc.

296, ChC s.v. 'want' || **D** *maṅ- 'petition, request' > Tm maṅu 'petition, request, prayer', Kn manave, manuve 'petition, request, solicitation', Tl manavi 'humble\ respectful representation, request, prayer' ¶¶ D no. 4775 || **A** *man∇ 'learn, try' (× N *moñ∇ 'think, learn [erfahren], know?') > Tg *man'd'ū- 'try, strive (стараться)' > Ewk mannūw- ∂ mandūw-, Lm manru- ∂ mandu-, Ork manduy- id. ¶ STM I 528 || pJ *máná(m)p- 'learn' > OJ manab-, MJ mánáb-, J T mánabu, J K mánábú, J Kg manáb- ¶ S QJ no. 935, Mr. 720, Kenk. 1178 ¶¶ SDM 901 (pA *mana|o v. 'learn, try' > Tg, J), DQA no. 1250 ◇ Compare also N *mAñd∇ 'wish, desire, excitement' ◇ BmK no. 541 (IE, S + qu. D *mañ- 'be united\mingled' → 'marry').

1434. *me,y,nû 'oneself, one's own', 'body' (→ 'alone, one'): **[1] N** *me,y,nû > IE *monwō- / (?) *menu- 'alone' > NaIE *°monwō- > pGk *μόνος > Gk A μόνος, Gk I μοῦνος 'alone, solitary' || ζ Ht mīru {Frd., Ot., Neum., Ts.} 'alone' ¶¶ F II 253-4, Frd. HW 143, Ot. T 48, Ts. E II 212-13, CHD L-N 290-1 (rejecting the meaning 'alone' for Ht mīru without proposing anything instead) || **HS:** Ch *m∇n 'one' > WCh: Tal {IL} mēnē, {Sh.} ménē, Grm {Gw.} mon id. || ECh: Kwn {Mch., J} mín, mín, mǎn, Ke {Eb.} mǎnà, Smr {J} mǎn, Nd D {J} mán, Tmk {Cp.} mǎn id. ¶ JI II 262-3, ChC s.v. 'one', Eb. 81, Cp. 83 || Eg fP mri 'a such and such' ({Vc.} 'un tel') (× N *mañû 'man, male') > Cpt B -**MAN** -man in παφμαν παρ^hman, παθμαν πατ^hman etc. 'a certain person\thing' ¶ EG II 64-5, Vc. 114 || C: DhI {To.} móni 'self' || EC: Sd mann- imma 'body' ¶ Hd. 384, To. D 142 || ? B *-mān 'soul, person' (× N *mañû '↑') > Ah imān pl. 'souls, persons', imān īn 'myself', Kb imān, Nf imān +ppa. '-self' (myself, himself etc.), Gd {Lf.} imān (reinterpreted as grammatical pl.) 'person', '-self' ¶ Fc. 1138, Dl. 503, Lf. II no. 1007, Beg. 300 ¶ The B form is conceived as pl. because the final -n is reinterpreted as a sx of pl. But if this final -n is a genuine ending of pl., B *-mān does not belong here || S: (1) ? S *-ma (emphatic enclitic pc.) (× N *mu'æ' 'this, that', dem. prn.?) > Ak {Sd.} -ma 'and then', 'only', Ug -m∇ (emphatic pc.), Amr {G} -ma, -mi, Sb -m, -mω, -mυ (enclitic pc. ({Bst.}: "which is facultatively added to the end of a word, without perceptibly modifying the sense of the word or the sentence"), Gz -mma 'precisely, quite' (emphasizes the word to which it is attached) ¶ OLS 251-2, G A 24, Sd. G § 123, Di. 142, L G 323, Bst. 47-8] (2) ? S *°mīn- 'kind' > BHb mīn* n. 'kind (of)' (att. with ppa: מִינֵי מִי'ן-וֹ 'his kind', מִינֵי מִי'ן אֵה 'her kind'), MHb מִי'ן מִי'ן 'kind (of)', Ug {Drv.} mri 'kind', {OLS} 'especie (animal)' ¶ KB 547, DrvG 161, OLS 282 || **A** *mæñ'o' (= *mæñ'o'?) 'self, body' > Tg *mēn 'oneself, one's own' > Ewk mǎn 'one's own', mǎn 3k3wn 'oneself', Sln mǎ: id.,

Lm $m\bar{e}n$ 'one's own', Neg $m\bar{e}n$ id., $m\bar{e}n$ + ppa. 'oneself (sich, себя)', Orc $m\bar{e}m$ id., $m\bar{e}n$ 'one's own, to oneself', Ud $m\bar{e}n\bar{i}n\bar{i}$, Ork $m\bar{e}n\bar{e}$ 'one's own', Ud, Nn Nh/Bk/KU $m\bar{e}n\bar{e}$, Ul $m\bar{e}n(\bar{e})$ id., 'oneself (selbst, сам)', WrMc {Z} $m\bar{e}n\bar{i}$ $m\bar{e}n\bar{i}$ 'anyone, each, by oneself (всякий, каждый из двух, сам по себе)' ¶ STM I 568, On. 278, Z 877 || M * $m\bar{o}n$ 'the very same, real, true' (× * $m\bar{o}|\bar{u}n$ 'this, that', dem. prn. < N * $m\bar{u}r\bar{a}e$ 'this, that', dem. prn.?, q.v.) > MM [HI] {Ms.} $m\bar{u}n$ 'celui-là, ceci même, cela même' (pl. $m\bar{u}t$), [S, PP] $m\bar{u}n$ 'he, himself, the same one' (pl. [S] $m\bar{u}t$, [PP] $m\bar{u}d$), WrM {MED} $m\bar{o}n$ 'real, the very same', HIM $m\bar{e}n$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'yes, wahr (да, правильно, действительно), the very same', Brt $m\bar{u}n$ 'wahr (истинный), echt', KI {KRS} $m\bar{e}n$ 'yes, really', Ord $m\bar{o}n$ 'précisément, exactement, vraiment', même' (marking the identity); 'celui dont il vient d'être question' ¶ Ms. H 76, H 111-12, MED 547, BMR II 344-5, Chr. 306, KRS 357, Ms. O 469, Krg. 605 || pKo * $m\bar{o}m$ 'body' > MKo $m\bar{o}m$, NKo $m\bar{o}m$ ¶ S QK no. 137, Nam 218, MLC 645 || ?σpJ {S} * $m\bar{e}n\bar{e}$ 'thing, method, being' > OJ $m\bar{u}w\bar{u}no$, MJ $m\bar{o}n\bar{o}$ {S} id., J T/Kg $m\bar{o}n\bar{o}$, J K $m\bar{o}n\bar{o}$ 'thing' ¶ S QJ no. 1102, Mr. 485, Kenk. 1260 ¶¶ SDM 911-12 (pA * $m\bar{e}n\bar{o}$ 'self, body' > Tg, M, Ko, J + err. T * $bu(n)$ 'this' [belonging to N * $m\bar{u}r\bar{a}e$ 'this, that', q.v.]), DQA no. 1293 || D * $m\bar{e}n\bar{i}$ ~ * $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}$ 'body' > Tm $m\bar{e}n\bar{i}$, Ml $m\bar{e}n\bar{i}$ 'body, shape, beauty', Tl $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}$, Klm $m\bar{e}n$, Nkr, Nk, Prj $m\bar{e}n$, Gdb $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}$ \bar{u} $m\bar{e}n$, Gnd $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}r$, Krx $m\bar{e}d$ ~ $m\bar{e}d$, Mlt $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}$ 'body', Knd $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}l$ 'human body' ¶¶ D no. 5099 ◇ The long vw. in Tg, D and B may be due to the loss of a cns. The HS data and the lack of lengthening of the vw. in IE rule out the presence of a lr. (* $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}$); Ht $m\bar{i}n\bar{u}$ suggests that the cns. was * y) ||| [2] This N word may underly reflexive-passive formatives in the IE, HS and Tg verb: IE: NaIE {Brg.} *- $m\bar{e}n\bar{o}$ -/*- $m\bar{n}\bar{o}$ -, sx of medial-passive participles > OI $b\bar{o}d\bar{h}a$ - $m\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ - \bar{h} 'wachsam', Gk $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{o}$ - $\mu\epsilon\nu\theta$ - ς 'aware' (participia praesentis mediopassivi from OI $budh$ - / $bodh$ - 'be awake, perceive'; Gk $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\theta$ - 'learn'); L $f\bar{e}$ - $m\bar{i}n\bar{a}$ 'woman' (← *'sucked one'), $al\bar{u}$ - $m\bar{n}$ - $u\bar{s}$ 'nursling, foster child' (← *'fed one'), as well as 2p passivi - $m\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ (a finite verb form ← participle); Sl *- $m\bar{b}$ m., *- $m\bar{a}$ f., *- $m\bar{o}$ ntr (OCS $\mathbf{B\bar{E}Z\bar{O}M\bar{B}}$ $\mathbf{v\bar{e}z\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{b}$, prtc. praesentis passivi 'transported'), Lt $ne\check{s}a$ - $m\bar{a}$ - s 'carried' ||| possibly AnIE: Lw kes - $a\bar{m}\bar{a}$ - 'combed', HrLw $as\bar{i}m\bar{a}$ - 'loved' ¶¶ Brg. KVG 316, M K II 449, Szem. IEL 320-1 || HS: C * m -, prefix of the passive-reflexive (and collaborative) form (stirps) of verbs: Sa - $um\bar{u}\bar{f}ug$ - 'be buried' ← $-u\bar{f}ug$ - 'bury', - $im\bar{f}ite\check{h}$ - 'be untied' ← $-if\bar{t}\bar{e}\check{h}$ - 'untie', - $omm\bar{o}k\bar{o}m$ - 'take part in a race' ← $-uk\bar{u}m$ - 'win'; in Bj it means 'do together with so., help doing sth.' (← reflexive): - $m\bar{o}l\bar{a}w$ - 'burn sth. together (with so.)' ↔ - liw - vt. 'burn', - $md\bar{a}b\bar{a}l$ - 'gather together (with so.)' ↔

-dbil- 'gather'; in Af this formative is a sx: fiyyīme 'be swept' ← fiye 'sweep', kamadime 'be tied tightly' ← kamade 'tie tightly' ¶ AD KJ 94-5, PH 247 || B *m-, px of the reciprocal-reflexive-passive stirps: Rif m-zarṇ 'ils se sont vus' ← -zar- 'see', Tw {Pr.} mḅnkḅḍ 'être coupé' ← ankḅḍ 'couper', mḅkš 'be eaten' ← ḅkš 'eat', makḅr 'be stolen' ← akḅr 'steal'; with the meaning of reciprocity: mḅḡḅn 'faire halte' ('kneel together with the camels') ← aḡan 'kneel' (of camels) ¶ Cadi 48-50, Pr. M VI-VII 61-2 || A: NTg *m- > Ewk Δ -m-, verbal sx of the passive voice: Ewk çukça-m- 'be broken' ← çukça- 'break', Ewk PT yaḡḡu-m- 'be broken' ← yaḡḡu- 'break', Lm -m-, sx of the passive voice ¶ Vas. 769 || Gr. I 237 mentioned M sx of reflexivity -βεν, that I have not been able to find in the available literature ◇ Cf. Gr. I 237 ("reflexive M" in Tg, in the M reflexive sx *-βεν and in the EA refl. possessoris -mi/-mi-k).

1435. *m'ä'nḷḷ,ḷ (= *m'ä'nḷḷ,ḷ'o?) 'rumple, bend' (trans.) > IE: NaIE *men- 'squeeze, press, trample' ([in Clt] → 'trampled ground' → 'road') > Clt {Matas.} *°menā n. 'flour' > OIr men id.; Clt: OIr mathru v. 'trample', W {Vn.} mantalon, Gl *mantalo- 'road' (in n.l. Petro-mantalon ['four roads'] and Mantalo-magus ['road field']), MBr, Br mantra- 'accabler, navrer', ḷ Br {Mn. ← ?} mantra 'way, road' || Ltv inf. mīt (1s pres. min-ḷ) v. 'to tread, to tan', Lt inf. mīn-ti (1s pres. min-ḷ) 'to tread, to trample down', 'to brake (flax, hemp)', Pru mḡniḷ ('Gerber') 'tanner, leather dresser' || Sl inf. *me-ti / 1s pres. *mḅn-ḷ vt. 'rumple, crumple' > ChS inf. МАТН meḷti (1s pres. МБНḷ mḅnḷ), Slv inf. méti (1s pres. mán-em), OCz inf. mieti (1s pres. mnḷ), Slk inf. mät' (1s pres. mnem), P inf. miḷć (1s pres. mnḷ), R inf. мять (1s pres. мнḷ), Uk inf. 'мяти (1s pres. мнḷ) id. || OI carma-mnaḷ 'tanner' (carma 'leather') || Gk ματέω* 'tread' ({Ch.} 'fouler'): Gk Ae [Sph.] μάτεσαι pres. prtc. pl. f. 'those who tread', Gk [Hs.] ματεῖ ('πατεῖ) 'treads' ¶ WP II 263, P 726, Mn. 756 (adducing Ht minḷ-, mienḷ- {CHD} 'make mild\pleasant; heal', interpreted by him as meaning 'soften', but Ts. E II 214 believed that this is a factitive d. of miḷ- 'mild, weich'), Ch. 672, Vn. M 35-6, Billy 103, Frn. 454-5, En. 211, Ern. 392, Hm. 546, Vs. II 634, ESSJ XVIII 18-19, F II 184-5, Matas. E 267; ≠ M K I 379 and M E I 537-8 (rejecting the connection of OI carmamnaḷ with this root), CHD L-N 291 || HS: B *√mndḷ > Sll √mndḷ M (mmunḷḷ, pf. immunnḷḷ) 'be rumped', Tmz {MT} √mndḷ (inv. munnḷḷ) 'être tordu\enroulé\entortillé' ¶ Ds. 125-6, MT 423 || ?σ S *°√mn? > Ar √mn? 'macérer la peau avant de la tanner', manīḷ-at- 'peau qui reçoit la première préparation; la macération' ¶ The meaning 'soak hide' is likely to go back to

'soften the hide by pressing' (cp. below Tg) ¶ BK II 1156 ¶¶ B * \checkmark mnd \checkmark (< * \checkmark mn \checkmark) may go back to * \checkmark mn \checkmark - + sx *-t- || U: FU *m \checkmark ā \checkmark n \checkmark - 'bend' or 'be bent' > Er me \checkmark e, Mk ma \checkmark e- vi. 'be bent' || pOs *mā \checkmark ay- v. 'bend' > Os: V/Vy mā \checkmark i, Ty frq., Kz, Sn mā \checkmark i-, D mā \checkmark ay-, Kr mā \checkmark ay- ~ menay-, K menay-, Nz maniy-, O mā \checkmark i- 'be bent' ('sich biegen, sich [ver]beugen'), pOs *mi \checkmark > Os: V/Vy/Ty mi \checkmark 'Krümmung, Knick (an einem Baum)', Kz me \checkmark a 'Krümmung, Biegung' | ? Hg Δ me \checkmark n, me \checkmark ny 'Brunnenschwengel' || Sm {Jn.} *mun \checkmark ~ *m \checkmark n \checkmark - 'bend' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. objc. mu \checkmark i 'pe \checkmark a, p. mu \checkmark i ju \checkmark a \checkmark , En {Cs.} 1s aor. objc. 'mu \checkmark u \checkmark abo & mu \checkmark abo 'bend sledge runners', Slq {KKIH} m \checkmark nnī \checkmark - 'be bent' ('согнуть \checkmark ся'), Kms {KD} m \checkmark n \checkmark am vi. 'bend', d. m \checkmark n \checkmark í \checkmark o \checkmark m vt. 'bend', Koyb {Sp.} му \checkmark нублямъ vt. 'I bend' ¶¶ Stn. D 932-3, PD 126, ≈ Ht. 101 (Os *mā \checkmark ay 'be bent' < *mi \checkmark 'Krümmung' + *-ay-), ≈ UEW 275-6 (*mi \checkmark with *i based on the Os E forms like Os V mi \checkmark 'Krümmung', which to my mind is the secondary [high-vowel] grade of the East Ostyak apophony, see Ht. 73-103), Jn. 95-6, KKI \checkmark 134 || A *m \checkmark nh \checkmark - 'knead, press, stroke', 'mallet' > Tg {SDM} *mon \checkmark i- {AD} 'rumple, knead, soften (hide) by pressing' > Ewk moni- v. 'mash (berries)', m \checkmark nh \checkmark - & mon \checkmark - & mon \checkmark - vt. 'soften hide or sinews by pressing (preparing leather and threads)', Lm mon \checkmark -, Orc mon \checkmark (n)iči-, Ul mon \checkmark žiči- ~ mon \checkmark žuču- ~ m \checkmark žiči- 'soften hide by pressing (to dress leather)', Nn Nh/KU mon \checkmark iči- id., Neg mon \checkmark i- ~ mon \checkmark i- 'soften hide by pressing, rumple', Lm mon \checkmark i- & m \checkmark n \checkmark i- 'soften (hide) by pressing, rub, knead (dough), trample' ¶ STM I 545, On. 567 || pJ {S} *m \checkmark m- - mu \checkmark m- 'knead, rumple' > OJ m \checkmark om-, MJ mó \checkmark m- {S} id., J T m \checkmark m-, J K/Kg mó \checkmark m- {Kenk.} crumple (up), rumple, wrinkle, rub' ¶ S QJ no. 576, Mr. 726, Kenk. 1258-9 || ??σ Ko {SDM} *m \checkmark nh \checkmark - v. 'stroke, rub' > MKo m \checkmark nh \checkmark -, NKo man \checkmark í- id. ¶ Nam 199, MLC 576, Rm. SKE 144 || M *muna 'wooden club, mallet ('mallet for beating skin in leather dressing, for pounding etc.')] > WrM {MED} му \checkmark на, HIM {MED, BMR} му \checkmark на id., Kl {KRS} му \checkmark на id., Kl Ö {Rm.} му \checkmark у 'Keule, Streitkeule', M ⇨ Tv mon 'mallet used to beat skin in order to soften it (to dress leather)', Tf mon 'mallet, stick used to knock down cedar cones'; M *m \checkmark nh \checkmark > WrM {MED} монца 'wooden club, mallet, wedge', HIM {BMR} му \checkmark нц 'mallet (Holzhammer, колотушка), wedge, pestle', Brt му \checkmark нца 'mallet, pestle', Kl Ö {Rm.} munc \checkmark 'kleinere Keule' ¶ MED 542, 551, BMR II 356-7, Chr. 302, KRS 362, KW 268-9, TL 383, Ra. 207, TvR 298, Ra. 207 ¶¶ The M and T words belong here if their primary meaning is 'a mallet for beating skin (in leather dressing), for pounding etc.' ¶¶ SDM 943-4 (pA *m \checkmark nh \checkmark v. 'knead, press, stroke' > M *mun- 'mallet', Tf and Tv nouns [considered cognates rather than loanwords], Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1346, TL 383 (T, M, Tg), Rm. SKE 144, TL

383, Lee CSNK 114 ◇ The rounded vw. in A and *-u- in Sm *mun▽ may be due to the labializing infl. of a pN rounded vw. of the second syll.. This vw. may have been *-o (the only N rounded vw. lost in IE without traces). Another possible source of labializing infl. is *m- ◇ The OI, Ar and Tg ev. suggests that this N word was used, i.a., to denote the first phase in preparing leather (softening by pressing) ◇ If Ar ✓ mnʔ belongs here, the N rec. is *m^rä^rñʔ▽, otherwise it is *m^rä^rñ▽. Tg *-nñ- may represent pN *-ñʔ- ◇ IS MS 350 s.v. 'мять' *mä^rñ^r (IE, U).

1436. ?σ *man₁a 'to cease', 'to delay' (tr.), 'to finish' > HS: WS *✓ mnʔ 'withhold, refuse' (partial merger with N *mæN₁▽ 'hold, carry', q.v.) > BHb, Yd, IA ✓ mnʔ G 'hold back, withhold, refuse', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ mnʔ G 'withhold, refuse, refrain', JEA {Sl.} ✓ mnʔ G 'deprive, prevent, refrain', Md ✓ mnʔ G 'keep away, withhold, refuse', Ar ✓ mnʔ G 'hinder (so.) from, deny (sth.) to', Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} ✓ mnʔ G 'prevent, ward off', Tgr ✓ mnʔ D 'withhold, refuse' ¶ KB 570, HJ 61, Js. 802, Sl. 687-8, DM 274, BK II 1157, Hv. 736, LH 129, BGMR 86, MA 61-2, Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172 || WCh: AS {Tk.} *man > Ang man v. 'stop (raining)', Gmy man v. 'stop' ¶ ALC 36, Srl. 135 ¶¶ Tk. III 272-3 || A *man▽ 'come to an end, be insufficient' > Tg *mana- 'spend all, come to an end' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/KU {STM} mana- 'spend all, wear out', Nn Nh {On.} id, 'alles aufessen', Ewk mana n. 'end', Sln mana- 'come to an end', WrMc {Z} мана- 'be worn out, come to an end', Jrc manala 'destroy' ¶ STM I 526-7, On. 256, Z 863-4, Kiy. 144 [no. 839] || J: [1] pJ {S} *māntù- 'poor' (× N *mûñ▽ 'defect, damage, physical defect', q.v. ffd.) | [2] ? pJ {S} *múná-si- 'empty, useless' (possibly also a merger with N *mûñ▽) > OJ múná-si-, J T múnási-, J K múnási-, J Kg munaśí- 'empty, vain' ¶ S QJ no. 923, Mr. 835, Kenk. 1288 ¶¶ SDM 902 (pA *mān^ru¹ 'useless, insufficient' > Tg, T, J *múná-si- + err. T *būn- [sc. *mūñ] 'defect', belonging to N *mûñ▽ 'defect, damage, physical defect'), DQA no. 1267 || D *māñ|ñ- > Tm māñtu 'be ruined, perish, die, be extinct', Kn māñtu 'stop, cease; stop, ward off', Tl māñu 'cease, stop' ¶¶ D no. 4811 ◇ IS II 41 (*mana 'прекращать, задерживать').

1437. (₂?) *mæN₁▽ (= *mæN₁ʔ▽?) 'hold, carry' > HS: WS *✓ mnʔ id. > Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓ mnʔ G (pf. 'mīnaʔ) 'hold, take hold of', Mh {Jo.} ✓ mnʔ G (pf. mūna, sbjn. yʒmnē) 'catch, get, take', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ mnʔ G (pf. mōna, sbjn. yʒmnē) 'take, catch, hold', Sr ✓ mnʔ G 'bring, lead, arrive' ¶ Jo. M 267, Jo. H 89, Jo. J 172, Br. 395, JPS 282 || Eg XIX mñ.† 'Besitzung' ¶ EG II 79 || Ch: WCh: pAG *man- 'take' > Gmy/Ang {Hf.} man, Kfr {Nt.} máñ 'take, grasp', Su {J} māñ 'auf-

\über-nehmen, in Besitz nehmen', {J in ChC} mǎŋ 'take', Mpn {Frz.} mǎŋ 'pick up, carry' ||| ECh: Toram mǐn- 'possessor, owner' ¶ AIJ T 15, Hf. AG no. 42, Nt. 26, J S I 73-4, Frz. DM 35-6, ChC s.v. 'take' ¶¶ OS no. 1725 (HS *manǎŋ- 'hold, take': SES, WCh), Tk. III 273-4 ||| A: NrTg *men- or *meŋ- > Ewk NB mǎnkǎ- (sc. mǎŋkǎ-?) 'bring', Sln mǎnǎu- 'carry, carry\drag over' ¶ STM I 569 ||| ?? IE: NaIE: it is tempting to adduce L mǐnō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)' (> Rm mǐna id.) and ItL (= proto-Romance) [LxS] mǐnō, -āre v. 'lead' (> Fr mēner, Prv, Ctl menar, It menare 'to lead'); the L word has no satisfactory IE etymology, but a connection with NaIE *men- 'go' (represented in Clt) and N *menê 'walk, go' (q.v. ffd) is quite possible ¶ ≈ WH II 90, ≈ EM 403-4, ML no. 5585 ◇ The cns. *-ŋ- in AG *maŋ- suggests that the N Ir. was *ǎ (N *mǎNǎ) rather than *ǎ.

1438. *maŋyǎ 'paw, foot\leg (of an animal?)' > HS: Eg fP {EG} mǎ.ǎ 'Schenkel' (mostly du.), Eg MK mǎ.ǎ {Fk.} 'thigh of man' (usually du.), Eg Md {DW} mǎ.ǎ 'Oberschenkel' (< *'leg?'), {EG} mǎy du. 'die beiden Oberschenkel' ¶ EG II 68, 76, DW I 370-1, Fk. 107 || SC: Asa {E} mǎŋok 'arm' ¶ E SC 160, Blz. CWL s.v. 'hand' ||| IE: NaIE *manǎy- (or *mǎnǎy-) 'hand' > L manǎ-s (gen. mǎnǎ-s) 'hand', Osc accus. sg. MANI-M, Um abl. sg. MANI, mǎni, loc. sg. MANUVE id. ||| W mǎn 'hand' (Ped.: < du. *menǎ) ||| ON, AS mǎnd, OHG mǎnt 'hand' || ??σ Ht mǎniyyahh- 'hand over' ¶¶ WH I 34-59, 338, Mul. 256 (supposing that L -ǎ- is secondary), Bc. G 125 (abl. sg.: Um -i, Osc -īd), 132 (Osc -l- for *-ǎ- on the analogy of abl.*mǎn-īd), 319 and 338, Ped. VG I 384, Vr. 395, Ho. 227, Kb. 702, WW 205, ≈ WP II 272, Dv. no. 270, Mn. 732, CHD L-N 163-7, ≈ EI 254-5 (*'mehǎ / *mǎn-ǎ 'hand') ||| A *maǎǎ'ǎ (= *mǎǎ'ǎ?) > Tg *mǎǎa or *mǎna 'paw, leg of an animal' > Ewk mǎǎa ǎ mǎna id., Neg mǎǎa 'bear's foreleg', Lm mǎǎa ǎ mǎna id., 'flipper (of seals, walruses etc.)', Orc mǎǎaka, Ul mǎǎ ~ mǎǎa, Nn Nh {On.} mǎǎ, {STM} mǎǎ ~ mǎǎya 'bear's paw', Ud mǎna 'paw of waterfowl'; some Tg lge (or lges) ǎ Ne T mǎǎa 'bear's foreleg, front flipper of seals and walruses', Ne T O {Lh.} mǎǎǎ 'paw, foot (of wolves, bears etc.)', Ne T Δ {Lh.} mǎǎǎ 'flipper' ¶ STM I 526, Krm. 259, On. 254, Ter. 226, Lh. 253 || NaT **mǎǎǎ'ǎ 'foot' > ds: Xk maymaǎ, Sg/Qb {Rl.} maymaq 'footwear', Tkm maytiq 'lame', ET {Nj.} maytuq 'bow-legged', maymaq 'in-toed, bow-legged', taš maymaq 'walking with toes outward', ič maymaq 'walking with toes inward and heels outward', ET Tr {Rl.} maymaq 'mit auseinandergespreizten Beinen', Qzq {Rl.} maymaq 'beim Gehen auf die Sohlen tretend', ??σ Tkm Δ {Tekin} mǎǎya 'palm of hand' ¶ The rec. of pT *-ǎ (rather than *-y) is suggested by the preservation of *m- as m-

(conditioned by the presence of a nasal cns. in the stem) ¶ The long vw. in Tkm Δ {Tekin} māya suggests a pT long vw.; but the short vw. a in Tkm maytiq points to a pT short vw. ¶ Tkr 440, Rl. IV 1991, Nj. 699–700, Rs. W 323 ¶¶ SDM 902 (pA *mā́na 'paw, hand' > Tg, T), DQA no. 1252 (pA *mā́na 'paw, thigh') || D *mañ_li_l- '*forefoot' or '*hand' (in a compositum with *kaṭṭ_l∇ 'knot, bundle' [D no. 1147], ≡σ: NHG Hand-gelenk 'wrist'): D *mañ_li_l-kaṭṭ_l∇ 'wrist, ankle' (with *kaṭṭ_l∇ 'tie, band' [D no. 1147]?) > Tamil maṇikkatṭu, Malayalam maṇikkaṇṭam, maṇikkeṭṭu, Kn maṇikaṭṭu, Telugu maṇikaṭṭu, maṇikaṭṭu 'wrist', Tu maṇigaṇṭu 'ankle', Klm menekṭi, Gdb maṇḍa, Gnd maṭṭa, Krx mulguṭā 'wrist', Tl maṇḍa 'ankle, back of the hand'; D → (1) Mrt maṇgaṭ 'wrist, ankle', (2) OI maṇi-bandhaḥ, Pali maṇibandha- 'wrist' (bandhaḥ 'Band, Fesel' is an OI translation of D *kaṭṭ_l∇), (3) OI (late) maṇī, ^ maṇi- 'wrist' ¶¶ D no. 4673, M K II 555–6 ◇ IE *-n- rules out N *-ń-. Therefore pA *-ń- must go back to the N cluster *-ñy-. D *-ñ- suggests a N cns. *-ñ-. The original meaning is not likely to have been 'hand', but rather 'animal's foot\leg' (whence 'hand' in one dialectal area of IE [Itc, Clt, Gmc] and possibly in D). An alternative interpretation (pN 'hand') would have involved a semantically implausible change 'hand' → 'thigh'. The anatomy of animals was sometimes more important for ancient hunters than that of humans ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 194 (*ma-n ~ *ma-k ~ *ma-r 'hand, give, measure') (IE, A + qu. Ai + err.: U and Gil [both from N *mig_l∇ 'make a present'], Y, Ko, J, Gil, CK).

1439. *mañ_l∇y_l∇ 'speak, call' > IE: NaIE *mon- 'warn, admonish; remind' (× IE *men- 'mind' < N *moñ_l∇ 'think, learn, know' [q.v.]) > L moneō / monē-re 'admonish, warn, remind' ||| Gmc: OHG manôn 'to admonish, to remind, to call', NHG mahnen 'to remind', AS manian id., 'to claim, to advise' ¶ ≈ WP II 265, ≈ WH II 107, KM 454, WW 190, Sw. 11, ≠ EI 575 (L moneo < *men- 'think, consider') || U *man|ñ_l∇- 'say, call' > F manaa- v. 'summon (to appear), conjure, exorcize, swear', Es mana- 'evoke, call up; exorcize, conjure, curse' || Chr L/H mana- mana-, Uf/B mana- 'say' ||| Hg mond- v. 'say, name', Hg Δ mond- 'speak' || Sm *mān- 'say' > Ne: T маңыз, cngt. маһ" manʔ, T O {Lh.} māńć, F {Lh.} māńś id., Ng {Ter.} -мунса in кун-мунса 'what to say', En мадь ма́з (cngt. маһ" manʔ) 'say' || Slq Tz {KKIH} mompa pc. 'they say, man sagt' || Kms {KD} 1s pres. maíem, maíem 'I say' ¶ The variant stem *mā- (in Kms) may be due to the loss of the precons. *n || pY {IN H} *mon- 'say' > Y K {IN, Iox.}, T {IN} mon- id. ¶¶ ≈ UEW 290–1 (the authors do not distinguish this √ from FU *mon|ñ_l∇ [see N moñ_l∇ '↑'] and therefore fail to reconstruct the U vw. of the initial syll.), Coll. 33, SK 332–3, Sz. 33, MF 448–9,

Jn. 88, KKIH 130, IN H 274, IN UJ 235-6, Ang. 164-5, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [no. 34] (Y ← U) || **D** (att. in SD) *mañ_i v. 'talk, speak' > Irl mañi id., Kt mayñ v. 'talk, scold, abuse', Tu mañipuni, mañipuni 'speak, utter' ¶ **D** no. 4671 || ? **HS**: Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} mánté 'call, require' ('rufen, verlangen') ||| CCh: Gdr {Mch.} mna, Msg P {Mch.} mna 'talk' ¶ Eb. 79, Mch. VCSP s.v. Gidar mna and Musgum-Pus mna, ChC s.v. 'talk' and 'call' || **A**: T (< cd?) *mañra- 'shout' > OT {Cl.} mañrā- id., MQp XIV [CC] mañra- v. 'bleat', Chg XV mañrā- v. 'low, bleat' (of a cow, sheep etc.), Osm XIV bañla- 'shout, call to prayer', Uz маъра- māra- v. 'bleat, low', Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog mañira-, Qrg, StAlt māra-, Xk mara- 'bleat', Yk mañira- v. 'low' ¶ The meaning 'low, bleat' is due to the infl. of the paronymous pT verb *mōñiræ- {Rs. *mōñrā-} 'moo' (> Qzq мөңире-, Nog müñirä-, Qrg möñürö-, Xk mūrī-, StAlt mörö-, Yk möñürä- v. 'moo') ¶ Cl. 770, Rs. W 327, UzR 256, Jud. 507, KrkR 446, BT 107, Pek. 1526, MM 249, NogR 229, Jud. 535, RXS 384, RAIS 308 ◊ Gr. II no. 127 (*men 'think\say') (IE, U, Y, CK + err. A, J) (cp. N *moñ ▽ 'think, learn, know').

1440. ₂ *mAñ|ñ ▽ y ▽ or *mAñ ▽ '∈ genitalia; copulate' > **HS**: EC: Bs {Hw.} man-to 'penis', man-tīti 'vagina', Ged {Hd.} mī?no 'penis', Or {Grg.} mundō id. (× HS ≈ *muNd- 'testicles' [> Msg m u ŋ id.] < N *muñ ▽ (t|d ▽) 'egg'), Brj 'munnn-a 'vagina', ? Or {Grg.} munñē 'anus'; ¶ Ss. B 149, Grg. 295 || Ch: ECh: LI mān- 'faire l'amour, cuer, foquer' ¶ Simons 29 [no. 501] || S *°✓ mny (*°minay-?) > Ar منى minā ~ منى minā(n) 'sperme; liqueur de la femelle qui se mêle au sperme', māñy- id., Sqr 'mēni 'sperme, sécrétion vaginale', pGrg *°✓ mny 'have sexual intercourse' ¶ BK II 1159, SSL GLS 89, L EDG III 414 || **D** (att. in SD) {tr., †GS} *māñi 'penis' > Tm, Ml, Ka māñi id. ¶ **D** no. 4805 ◊ S *°minay- (?), B *°✓ mny and the long vw. in **D** suggest N *mAñ|ñ ▽ y ▽ ◊ Blz. DA 155 [no. 33] (D, EC), Blz. NDA no. 32 (D, EC).

1441. *miñ_iyä (or *miñä) 'woman', 'female relative', 'young female person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (→ 'young female relative-in-law') > **HS**: C: EC *m¹e¹nt- 'woman' (< **m¹e¹n- + *-t- [sx of fem.], [partially] × *man- 'man, person') > Dsn {To.} min-ni (< *min-t-i) 'woman', Brj {Ss.} man'd-ē, {Hw.} man'd-ay (pl. man'd-annā) 'virgin, young unmarried girl, young woman', HEC {Hd.} *mento 'woman' > Hd mento id., ment-iččo ~ {Hd. 294} ě (misprint?) mēnt-ič(č) 'female', Kmb ment-ičču(-ta) (pl. mēnto) 'woman', Sd pl. mēnto 'women', Alb {L} menčú-ta, Qbn {L} mančú-ta 'woman' ¶ Ss. B 140, Hd. 170, 254, 294, 385, L M 39, To. DL 518 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} māñ 'woman', She {CR ← Mnt.} mainn, Shn {Abb.} māñ id. ¶ Wdk. BY 107, CR NGS 621 || Ch: WCh: BT: Bl {IL} mōndu, {Mk} mundu, Krkr {Lk.}

mèndò, {IL} mēndau, Ngm {ChL} mǎndù, {Mk} mēndu ~ mandu 'woman', Gera {Sch.} mùndù, Grm {Sch.} mǎnà, Bele/Krf {Sch.} mòndò, Glm {Sch.} mǎndì (pl. mǎnnà) id., 'wife'; ı Ngm {IS ← ?} mīno 'one of the wives (in polygamy)', ma no woman!' (addressing one's wife or female relative) ||| CCh: Gude {Hsk.} mǐnз (pl. makinз) 'woman, wife', {Mk, IL} mǐn, {Srp.} mǐrǎ 'woman' | Msg P {Trn.} mǎniy, Msg Ng {GKrs.} mǎrǐ 'woman', Mlw {Trn.} múnǐ id., 'wife' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC s.v. 'woman', ChL, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 118, 137, 157, Mk II 283, 286, Lk. DQM 69, Trn. LM 105, Trn. MVM 200, Hsk. 243 ¶¶ Gr. LA 64 || **U** *mǐN_ıi_ıyǎ 'daughter-in-law, young woman' > FU: F mǐniǎ, Es mǐniǎ 'daughter-in-law' | pLp {Lr.} *mǎńē 'daughter-in-law' > Lp: S {Hs.} mǎrnrjǎa, Vfs {Lgc.} mǎńǎ 'younger brother's or son's wife', Kld mǎhnh mǎńń 'son's wife', N {N} mǎrnrje / -nrj- 'daughter-in-law, wife of one's sibling's son', L {LLO} mǎrnrjē 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, nephew's wife' | Prm *mǔń ((JLG) *mǔń) 'daughter-in-law' > Z mǔnh mǔń, Z US mǔń, Yz 'muń id., Vt ичимень ícǐ-meń 'younger brother's wife' (lit. *'little daughter-in-law') ||| ObU {Ht.} *mēń 'daughter-in-law' > pVg *mǎń id. > Vg: T mǐń, LK mǎń / +ppa. 1s mǎńǎm, MK mǎń / +ppa. 1s mǎńǎm, UK/P/NV/SV/LL mǎń, UL/Ss mǎń id.; pOs {Ht.} *meń, {JHl.} *mǎń > Os: V/Vy/D/K/Nz/Kz/O meń, Ty/Y mǎń id. | OHg mény 'daughter-in-law, bride, young woman', Hg mény 'daughter-in-law' || Sm {Hl.} *meńǎ, {Jn.} *meń|yǎ 'daughter-in-law' > Ne T meя, Ne T O {Lh.} mēy_ıe id., Ne F L mǐje_ıdǎǎ; Ng {Cs.} meǎi, meǎe id.; En {Cs.} mē id., 'son's wife'; Kms (d.?) {Cs.} mēji 'Schwiegertochter', Koyb {Sp.?) meimǎ id.; Mt {Hl.} *mǎńǎ, *mǎyǎ 'daughter-in-law' (Mt M {Sp.} mǎemǎ 'my daughter-in-law') ¶¶ Coll. 35, Db. OS xxxi, UEW 276 (*mǐńǎ), Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *mǐrǎ, Ugr *mǐrǎ, Sm *meńǎ), Lr. no. 637, Lgc. no. 3695, Lgc. SL no. 1225, Hs. 906-7, SaR 182, It. no. 373, LG 174, Ht. no. 396, MF 436-7, EWU 962-3, Jn. 92, Cs. 279, Hl. M no. 650 (misprint: *mǎńǎ, mǎjǎ with ǎ for ǎ), Hl. rHt 68-9 || **A**: pKo {S} *mǐǎńǐrǐ > OKo {ǂLee} *mǐǎńǐri, MKo {S} mǐǎńǐrǐ ~ mǐǎńǐri, NKo myenuli mǐǎńǐri ({Rm.} mǐǎńǐri ~ mǐǎńǐri), Ko Ks S {Mazur} mǐnuri 'daughter-in-law' ¶ S QK no. 894, Nam 213, MLC 619, Rm. SKE 147, Mazur KD 212 ¶ Not here Tg *bene_ır_ı 'wife's younger brother\sister' ({IS}: < **mene), which goes back to N *wǎń_ı 'relative of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' [q.v.] ¶¶ IS II 68-9 (err.: Tg *bene 'wife's younger brother\sister' < **mene) || **D** *mǐńǐ- ({ǂGS} *-ńǐ-) 'woman of nubile age, lusty female' > Kn mǐńǐi id., Kdg muńǐǐ id., muńǐǐgarati 'mistress', Tu mǐńǐi 'incontinent woman', Tl mǐńǐata 'unchaste woman, adulteress', Brh {Bray} mǐńǐ 'female dog'; derived words of

this √ denote libertine men as well: Kn *miṛḍa* 'man who does not restrain the animal passion, libertine', Kt *miṛḍḥ, muṛḍḥ*, Tl *miṛḥḥ* 'paramour'; D → OI 'mēnā 'concubine' ¶¶ D no. 4858, Bray II 206, ≈ M K II 686, ≈ M E II 379
 ◇ The dental (rather than postalveolar) *n in ancient D (as suggested by the OI Dravidism 'mēnā), the forms of BF (F *miniä*), of Ko and of some HS lges (Msg P *məniy*, Bnc *māyn*) point to the presence of a *y (pN **miñi, yä*) rather than of *-ñ- (N **miñä*); the cns. -ñ- in most FU lges goes back to contraction of the cluster *-Ny- ◇ The cns. *d (> Ch *d, D *ṭ) in some Ch and D lges may represent a sx or the second component of a cd ◇ IS II 68-9 (**mirä*: HS, U, D, Ko + err. Tg *bene '[male\female] relative-in-law' [see above].

1442. **m'o'WEñy* ∇ 'entrails, belly' > HS **m∇n-*, **m∇n-Ṭ∇r'*-, (??) **m∇n-Ṭ∇H|q, ∇r'*- > Eg fMK *mnr* 'ε Eingeweide des Menschen und der Säugetiere' ¶ EG II 77 || C {AD} **m∇n-* 'entrails, intestines' > Bj 'mana {Rop.} 'viscera, bowels, intestines', {R} 'Darm, Gedärme, Eingeweide', Bj A {AD} 'mana 'guts' || EC: pSam {Hn.} *mindiqar* 'intestines' > Sml Δ {Hn.} *mindiqir* id., Sml C {ZMO} *mindiqir* 'viscera, part of the intestine', Sml N {Abr.} *mindiqir* 'the large intestine', Rn {PG} *mindāxār* 'intestine', Bn {Hn.} *miní'ír* id., *mine?er* 'part of intestines', Bs {Hw.} *men?ēr*, {HL} *min?ēr* 'intestines'; Arr {Hw.} *merde* id. || DhI {EEN} *máni* 'large intestine' ¶ EEN 37, AD SF 182, To. D 142, R WBd 170, Rop. 217, ZMO 291, Abr. S 180, PG 225, Hn. PS 69, HL 128, Hw. B II 125, Hw. A 384 || CCh: ?? FIB *manžev+n* 'entrails' || ECh: Bdy *mōno* 'pancreas' ¶ CCh s.v. 'intestines', AIJ 100 ¶¶ Tk. III 352 (Eg, EC) || U **mUñ∇* 'belly' > Sm **m'u'ń∇* > Ne Т *мынь* 'fish belly (брюшная часть рыбы)', 'smoked belly of sturgeon (тёшка)', {Klp.} *мун* 'Bauch', Т О {Lh.} *муń* 'Fischmagen', *muńć* 'stomach', {Klp.} *мун* 'Bauch', En B {Cs.} 'munedi, En X {Cs.} 'munori 'Magen', En T {Klp., Pl.} *munuri*, En M {Klp.} *münäde*, {Pl.} *munjade* 'belly', En {B} *muńobo*, En X {Cs.} *muńabo* 'Fischmagen', Ng {Cs.} *mina*, *minaiku* 'Fischmagen', *minadâ* 'Magen', {Klp.} *mino'wa* 'Bauch' || pY {IN H} **mon-* ({IN YJ} 'belly') > Y T {IN UJ} *monil* 'belly', {IN H} *monil* or *monií* 'stomach' (*-il is a nominal sx), {Ku.} *mońił* 'belly', {Krn.} *mońił* 'belly; stomach (Magen)', {Iox.} *monił* 'Magen', Y K {Iox.} *moniol* 'content of reindeer stomach (undigested lichens)', Y K {IN H} *monid-abut* 'bird stomach' and Y T {IN H} *monid-abur* 'stomach' (in both lit. 'stomach container'), Y T {IN H} *mońińe* 'pregnant', OY Ch {Mat.} *маняло* 'belly' ¶¶ Coll. JU 83, Ter. 266, KP 130, Klp. SA vii, SWV 36, Cs. 75, IN H 274, IN UJ 236, 311, Ku. 150, Krn. JJ 275, Ang. 165 || A **mō|ò:b∇n'a*' 'ε intestine', (?) 'entrails' > NaT **mōbæn* 'ε intestine' > Tkm *böwen*, Qq *büyen* 'large intestine', Qrg, Alt, Tv *mōn*, Bsh *bübän*

'duodenum', Xk pōn 'coecum' ¶ Cl. 328, ET B 205, DTS 132 ¶ DQA no. 1349 (NaT *mōgæn [< **mōben]) > Tkm, Qq, Tv, Bsh, Xk + unc. OT [MhK] būkän 'ε part of the entrails, coecum' and XwT XIV būken 'entrails') || NrTg *mōmaña (as. from **mōbaña) 'ε intestine' > Ewk mōmaña 'large intestine, stomach (Magen)', Lm mōmīna 'sausages (reindeer's intestines filled with suet)', NrTg → Yk momunay 'suet on guts' ¶ The unexpected long vw. of the first syll. in Tg is still to be explained ¶ STM I 544, Pek. 1587 || ???φ Ko mānhwa 'spleen and pancreas' ¶ Ko a of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶ MLC 578 ¶¶ DQA no. 1349 (pA *mōb|p|in∇ 'large intestine' > T, Tg) ◇ U and Tg point to N *-ń-, which is ruled out by T *mōben, suggesting N *-ņy- (N *m'o'wEņy∇ with *-ņy- > *-ń- in U and with loss of the cns. *y in T). An alternative solution of the problem: in U and Tg there is infl. of the reflexes of N ≈ *mE?awUń|ñ∇ 'breast, heart' ◇ IN 236 (Y, Ko), Blz. SNE I no. 16 (C, U, Ko) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 37 (*man 'belly').

1443. (₂?) *mAnđ∇ 'wish, desire, excitement' > IE: NaIE *mendh- 'be excited, wish' > OHG mēndī 'joy, pleasure', inf. mēndēn 'to rejoice', mēndōn 'to be glad', ON inf. munda 'to aim (with a weapon)', Gt mundrei (τ σκοπός) 'Ziel' || Clt (× N *mAyn∇ 'desire, ask'): W μυρνη 'to want, to wish', Crn mennaf 'I want' ¶ Hardly here Gk μανθύω (aor. έμαθον) 'learn' and Sl *mōdrъ 'wise' (see N *moñ∇ 'think, learn, know'), as well as NaIE *men- 'wish eagerly' (see N *mAyn∇ 'desire, ask') ¶ WP II 270-1, P 750, F II 170-1, Fs. 367-8, Kb. 674, ≠ EI 348 (Gmc and Clt < *men(s)-d^h(e)h₁- 'learn' ← place in the mind) || D *mānđ- {ǵGS} *mañđ- v. 'like, wish' > Gnd mānđ- v. 'like', Kui mānđa 'intend, aim at, desire, wish', Ku mānđinaǰ v. 'profess', mānđinaǰ v. 'agree, sanction, wish', māñđ- 'marry', ? Krx māñđ- v. 'select' ¶¶ D no. 4807 || ? K: Sv: UB {TK} mand, L {Dn.} manda n. 'wish, will (желание, воля)', Sv {Ni.} mand 'love' (unless = px ma- + nd- 'wish', see N *ñid∇ '≈ eye, to look'), ?? G mdoma n. wish' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'любить', Dn. s.v. manda, DCh. 977-8.

1444. *mANi'g'∇ 'monkey' > HS: ECh: Mu {J} móngò 'small black monkey' ¶ J Mu s.v. móngò, ChC s.v. 'monkey' || Some lge (most probably, a lge of HS origin in Africa) → Sp, Port mona, -o, Olt, It monna 'monkey', Fr mone 'female monkey', NE monkey, as well as MLG Moneke [name of an ape in the epic *Reynard the Fox*] and Middle Flemish monnekīn [nickname for a monkey] ¶ Alternative hypotheses of the origin of NE monkey and of the Romance word for 'monkey' (from Prs [sc. CINPrs maymūn, NPrs māymūn] 'monkey' [as believed by Meyer-Lübke] or from It madonna [Pian. 872-3] are

unconvincing ¶ ML no. 5242, OED 1460 || **A**: Tg *^omońo > WrMc {Hr} mońo 'kurzschwänziger Affe', {Z} mońio 'ε yellowish monkey with a short tail' ('обезьяна, желтоватая с коротким хвостом') (but on p. 511 of his dictionary Zaxarov refers to mońio as 'common monkey' ['обыкновенная обезьяна']), Mc Sb {Y} /moni/ [mɔń] 'monkey', {Mrm.} mońu, Mc N {Rdn.} meńu mɔńu 'monkey'; Mc ⇨ Sln mońō, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn Nh/KU {STM} mońo, Nn Nh {On.} mońō 'monkey'; there is also a variant STg word *bońo 'monkey' > WrMc {Hr} bońo 'monkey', {Z} bońio 'big monkey', Jrc do bi bońo 'monkey' ¶ STM I 94, 545, Krm. 260, On. 268, Z 510-1, 890, Hr 111, 665, Y no. 2212, Klz. MS 226, Rdn. 7, Kiy. 105 || **D** (att. in SD) *maŋk- {ǵGS} *maŋg- 'monkey' > Ml moŋŋa, Kn maŋga, Krg maŋgi 'monkey', Tu maŋge id., 'ape' ¶ D no. 4666 ◇ Tg *^o goes back probably to *a, that was labialized due to the ass. infl. of *m- ◇ Tg *^omońo suggests N ***mANi'g'** ▽ (*-ń- from ***Ni'g'** -) ◇ AD NM no. 6, ≠ S CNM 12, ≠ Vv. AEN 7 (rejecting the Tg cognate because of the irreg. Mc -ń-, which, however, may be explained by assuming pN ***mANi'g'** ▽).

1445. *mañ ▽ ga (or *maŋga?) 'strong, numerous' > **HS**: C: EC *^omang- > Af {PH} mango 'be many\much', Sa {Bnd.} mango 'many', {R} mañ'gō ~ mañ'gō 'Fülle, Menge', -mañg- pcv. (p. 'ε-mengε) 'be full, numerous', ???σ,φ Rn {PG} mĩg 'strength, heaviness'; ?? EC {Ss.} *mig-/ *mug- 'full(ness)' > Sa mige 'fullness', Sml {R} mug 'Fülle, Vollheit', {ZMO, DSI} mug 'capacity, volume, amount a vessel can contain', Bs {HL} mig- 'be full', {Ss.} mig-i 'full', Or {Ss.} moga 'fullness', {Ss.}, Or B {Sr.} miž-ū, Or M {LLC} mižū 'full'; ? EC {Ss.} *-mg- pcv. 'fill'; (× N ***mEkɿæ** - ***mEɿkæ** 'big' [q.v.]?) > Sa {Ss.} -meg- 'fill', Or Wt {Hn.} imēk-, Kns immak- 'fill'.; the loss of the stem-medial *-n- may be due to morphological levelling in the system of EC verbs; Ya {Hn.} -mok (pl. -'mōže?) 'many' may belong either to EC *mang- or to EC {Ss.} *mig-/ *mug- ¶ PH 163, R S II 258-60 and 288, Ss. PEC 25, Sr. 333, 367, LLC 82, DSI 444, ZMO 295, PG 224, HL 127, Hn. W 59, Hn. Y II 129 || NrOm: Shn {Lm.} mangá, Anf {MYTY} mango, Kf {C} maggo, Mch {L} maggo 'heavy', Kf magg-, Mch {L} mǎggi- 'be heavy'; Hrr {Abb.} mōńo 'forte', Gf {Mrn.} miñ- 'be strong\firm (essere forte)', mińo 'forte', Malo {CR} miñō 'forte' ¶ Mrn. O 152, CR H 654, CR LRS s.v., Lm. Sh 349-50, MYTY 118, C SE IV 470, L M 40, ≈ AD SF 256-7 || ? **K**: Mg mangar-i 'firm, strong', mt. marg- v. 'strengthen', OG, G magar-i 'strong, firm', magr- 'be strong, firm, steady' ¶ DCh. 358, Abul. 211-12, Chx. 701-4, Q 275-6 || **IE**: NaIE *mengʰ-/ *m_onegʰ-/ *m_onogʰ- 'numerous' > Clt {Matas.} *menekki- 'frequent, abundant' > OIr meinicc adj. 'abundant, frequent', MW,

W {YGM} *manuŋch* 'frequent', Crn *menough* 'frequent; often' || Gmc: Gt *manag-s* (· πολύς)(pl. · ὄσοι) 'mancher, viel', ON *mangr*, Sw *månge*, Dn *mangen*, OSx *manag*, OHG *manag*, *manīg* 'numerous', AS *maniz* id., pl. *manize*, *maniza* 'many', NHG pl. *manche* 'several', NE *many*; Gmc **managīn* 'multitude, great number' > Gt *manag-ei* (· ὄχλος, πλῆθος, λαός) 'Menge, Volk', OSx *menigi* 'Menge, Schar', OHG *managī(n)*, *menigī* 'multitude, crowd', NHG *Menge* 'great number', AS *menio*, ON *mengi* id., 'crowd' || Sl **тъногъ*(jъ) 'numerous' > OCS **МЪНОГЪ(Н)** *тъногъ(i)*, SCr, Slv *mnȏg*, Cz, Slk *mnohý*, R 'многий id.; Sl adv. **тъногo* 'much, many' > OCS **МЪНОГО** *тъногo*, Blg, R 'многo ¶ ≈ P 739, EI 3 (**menegh*- 'abundant'), Vn. *M* 37, Fs. 343-4, Vr. 378, 384, Ho. 214, Ho. S 50-1, Kb. 656-7, KM 458, 471, StSS 335-6, Vs. II 633-4, Glh. 418, Matas. E 265, YGM-1 430 || ¶ **A** **manġa* 'big, strong' > Tg {SDM} **manġa* 'strong, firm, hard; very' > Orc *manġa* 'strong', Ud {Krm.} *manġa* ~ *maġa* 'strong, firm; strongly, very much', Ul *manġa* 'difficult', Nn Nh/Bk/KU *manġa* id., 'strong, firm', Ork *manġa* 'strong, firm', 'hard', Ewk *maġa* 'hard, firm', Lm *maġ* id., 'difficult', Sln *mandē*, *mandī* 'difficult' (adv.), 'very', *mandīj* 'very', WrMc {Z} **манга** 'hard (жесткий, твердый, черствый)', **мангэ** id., 'dry', Mc Sb {Y} *maġa*, {Mrm.} *maġa* 'difficult, hard to', Jrc {Kiy.} *manġa* 'difficult' ¶ STM I 529-30, Krm. 259, On. 256-7, Z 865-6, 878, Y no-s 1845 and 2516, Kiy. 136 [no. 702], Klz. MS 221 || pJ {S} **manki*- 'big' > J Sh *máǵí*-, J Y *máí*- ¶ S QJ no. 151 || ? T: (× N ***moñ** ▽ 'many, much') Chv L **манън**, **манă** *тънъ*, Chv Δ {Md.} **манъ** 'big, great' (× N ***moñ** ▽ 'many, much') ¶ Ash. VIII 305-13, Fed. I 349, Fed. M 74, Jeg. 130, ChVS 112-13 ¶¶ SDM 903 (pA **manġa*|o 'big, strong' > Tg, J), DQA no. 1256 (id.). S AJ 113, 280 || ¶ **Gil**: Gil: A {ST} *manġ-j* '(be) strong, firm, difficult', ES {Krn.} *manġ-d* '(be) strong, vigorous' (← Tg?) ¶¶ ST 175, Krn. N 677 ◇ Coll. IUS 13 and Coll. HUV (IE, U), IS II 41-2 (**manġa* > HS, IE, K, A) → Glh. 418; in all these sources there is no distinction between this etymon and N ***moñ** ▽ 'many, much' ◇ Gr. II no. 260 (**manka* 'many') (IE, A, Ai, Gil, EA + qu. Ko + err. U).

1446. (₂?) **miñt'û* 'jump, (?) run away' > **A**: NTg **mundu*- 'jump' (as. from ***mindu*-?) > Ewk *mundu*- 'jump'; d. NTg **mundu-kān* 'hare' > Ewk *munnukān* & *mundukān*, Lm *munruqan* & *munduqan* & *munnuqan*, Neg *monoxān* & *monokān* 'hare' ¶ STM I 556 || **D** **miñt*-/**miṭṭ*-, {θGS} **miñt*- 'jump' > Kn *mīñtū* v. 'jump, bounce', *mudī* v. 'leap, bounce, hop', Tl *mīdīyū* v. 'jump, leap forward, flash/fly off (as a chip)', *miṭṭū* v. 'jump, leap', Klm *miṭ*- v. 'leap', Nkr *miṭṭ*- v. 'jump', Gnd *mirr*- & *mir*- 'run, flee' ¶¶ D no. 4850 (a) || ??σ **HS**:

S (mt.) * \sqrt{mtn} > Ar \sqrt{mtn} *G* 's'en aller, s'éloigner pour un voyage' ¶ BK II 1058.

1447. * $m^{\circ}o^{\circ}n\bar{t}\nabla$ or * $m\nabla t\bar{n}\nabla$ 'to be slow, to last' > IE: NaIE **me|ondo-* 'slow' > OI *manda-h* {MW} 'slow, tardy, moving slowly, idle, lazy', OI \wedge *mandara-* 'slow, tardy' ||| Sl * $\circ m\bar{q}d-$ > ChS [Zogr.] **МѢДЪНЪ** *m\bar{q}d\bar{n}* 'slow', inf. **МѢДНТН** *m\bar{q}d\bar{n}t\bar{n}* 'to delay, to linger, to tarry' (\times Sl * $\circ mud-$ > OCS **МОУДЪНЪ** *mud\bar{n}* 'slow', inf. **МОУДНТН** *mud\bar{n}t\bar{n}* 'to be slow'; the OI cognate suggests that the spelling of **МѢДЪНЪ** and **МѢДНТН** is ancient, although these forms were contaminated with **МОУДЪНЪ** and **МОУДНТН**) ¶ WP II 305-6 (Ary, Sl), ESSJ XX 167-70, StSS 341-2, MW 787-8; M K II 581 and M E II 312 (no IE etymology for OI *manda-*) ||| HS: CS * \sqrt{mtn} 'stay, be immobile, slow' > MHb \sqrt{mtn} *G* 'be slow\long; wait', *Sh* (pf. **יְתַנְּנֵה** *h\bar{i}m't\bar{i}n*) v. 'last, wait', Sr **מַטְטִי** *mat\bar{t}\bar{i}'n-\bar{a}* 'slow, sluggish, dull, inert', Ar \sqrt{mtn} *G* (pf. *matuna*) 'être ferme\solide\ robuste et résister aux fatigues', (pf. *matana*) 's'arrêter dans un lieu' ¶ Js. 863, Br. 410, JPS 319, BK II 1058-9 ||| D * $m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}-/*m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{t}-$ ({ θ GS} * $m\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{t}-?$) 'dull' (of a person) > Tm *m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}u*, *m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}a\bar{i}* 'stupidity, dullness of intellect', *m\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{t}a\bar{i}yan* 'dullard, idiot', Ml *m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}u* 'obstinacy', Kt *med* 'dullness of senses', *med\bar{n}* 'dull man', Kn *m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}a* 'stupidity', Tu *m\bar{o}\bar{d}e* 'ignorant man, silly fellow', Tl *m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}u* 'rough, rude, dull, stupid', Brh *m\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{t}* 'foolish' ¶¶ D no. 5135 ||| ?σ A: pJ {S} **múntú-ká-* 'difficult' > MJ *mútuká-si*, J T *mùzukaśi-* ~ *muzukaśí-*, J K *múzúkáśì-*, J Kg *muzukaśí-* id. ¶ S QJ no. 942, Mr. 835, Kenk. 1296.

1448. * $mAn\bar{t}\nabla$ 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE **mento-* 'chin' > L *mentum* id. ||| Clt {Matas.} **manto-* 'gums, jaw' > OIr {P} *mant* {Vn.} 'gum, jaw', {P} 'the place of a tooth that has fallen out; gum', MW {Matas.} *mant* 'mandible, gums', W {Vn.} *mant* 'jawbone, mouth', {YGM} 'mouth, lip' ({Vn.}: \leftarrow OIr) ||| Gt *munp-s*, ON *muđr*, *munnr*, OHG *mund*, NHG *Mund*, AS *mūđ* 'mouth', NE *mouth* ¶ Hardly here the \sqrt of L *mand-ō / -ěre* 'chew, bite' and Gk *μασάομαι* 'chew' (P's unjustified rec. **menth-* v. 'chew', 'mouth', based on the err. comparison of these words with OI *math-* 'entreißen, rauben' [that P translated as 'fressen']) ¶¶ Connection with Ht *mēni-* {CHD} 'face, cheek' (not 'chin' [proposed by EI]) is not plausible enough ¶¶ ≈ P 726, ≠ 732 (Gmc **munθ-* 'mouth' < ***menth-*), ≈ EI 107 (? **men-* 'chin') and 453, WH II 72-3, Fs. 368, Matas. E 256, YGM-1 326Vr. 396, Ho. 227-8, Kb. 700, KM 493, Vn. M 17, CHD L-N 289-90 ||| U: Sm {Hl.} **mun\bar{t}\bar{c}oyk\bar{t}\bar{c}\nabla n*, {Jn.} **mun\bar{t}\bar{c}\bar{y}k\bar{t}\bar{c}\nabla n* or **-n\bar{c}* 'beard' (cd or d.) > Ne: T *муноць*, Ne T O {Lh.} *mu'n\bar{o}\bar{c}*, Ne F Ny *munnūs:əŋ*, Yr {Pl.} *мундуть*, En {Cs.} *muddu\bar{t}e?*, Ng {Mik.} *mündüśa*, {Cs.} *munduiśaŋ*, Kms {KD} *mu?z_en*, {Cs.} *müi?zen* 'beard', Mt {Hl.} **munduč\bar{n}*

id. (Mt: M {Mll.} *mundutschen*, {Sp.} *мундучень*, Mt K {Mll.} *mundutsjin*, {Pl.} *múndutin* id., Mt T {Mll.} *mundutschēnda* 'his beard') ¶ Jn. 96, Hl. M 311 [no. 703] || **D** (att. in SD) **mañt̥*-(a) 'skull, cranium' ({GS} **mand̥*- 'cup, vessel') > Tm *mañt̥a* 'skull, cranium', 'head', Ml *mañt̥a* 'skull', Tu *mañd̥æ* 'skull, head, large earthen vessel', Kt *mañd̥*, Td *mađ*, Kdg *mañde*, Krg *mañda* & *mañde* 'head', Kn *mañde* id., *mañdage* 'big jar'; D ⇨ OI \wedge *mañd̥a*- 'head' ¶ D no. 4682, ≈ GS 28 [no. 18] || ? **HS**: EC: Bs *munže* {Hw.} 'mouth', {HL} 'lip, mouth' (unless akin to Sa/Af {R} *min'gāgā* 'jaw, cheek') ¶ HL 128, Hw. B II 127, R S II 269 ◇ The apparently irreg. D **t̥* (for the expected **t* < N **t̥*) still needs investigating (a special development within a cns. cluster?). The rounded vw. of the first syll. in Sm (Sm **u* most probably from U **o*) may be explained by the assimilative infl. of **m*-.

1449. **meñt̥'ä* (or **ment̥'ä*) 'miss one's aim' ([in descendant lges] → 'be mistaken'), 'forget' > **IE**: NaIE **oment*- '(in) vain', 'fault' > Gk *μάτην* 'in vain, fruitlessly', *μάτη* 'fault' ||| (× N **mEñ∇* 'tell a lie, deceive') NaIE **ment*- v. 'lie (lügen)': L *mentior* / *mentīri* 'tell a lie', *mentītus* 'false' ||| Pru *mēntimai* 'wir lügen', *epmēntimai* 'wir belügen' ¶ IS II 52, ≠ WH II 68-9, F II 185, Frn. 455, En. 210 || **U** **mentä*- > FU {UEW} **mentä*- v. 'miss one's mark, be mistaken' > pLp {Lr.} **mentē*- id. > Lp: N {N} *mæd'det* v. 'miss (not hit), mistake (one's way)', S {Hs.} *mieddedh* 'fehlen, irren, sündigen', L {LLO} *mieddē*- ~ *mäddē*- 'fehlen, Fehler machen, fehlgreifen, sich irren', Kld {TI} *méānda* 'weg, fort' (← *'vorbei') ||| Os V/Vy *mintəxtə*- v. 'miss one's aim (in shooting)'; ??σ Vg: ML {Mu.} *mänt* ~ *mäntä* ~ *mänti*, K {Mu.} *mänt* ~ *mēnt*, P {Kn.} *māntl* 'längs, entlang', Vg {IS without specifying the dialect and source} *ām mäntsəm* 'um mich Vorübergehen' ('прохождение мимо меня') || pY (IN H) **omuβz*- or **omuntz*- ({IN UJ} **mönte*-) > Y K {IN H} *mudey-vi*. 'vorübergehen', *mudedey*- vt. 'leave behind, pass by' ({IN UJ} 'проходить, миновать') ¶¶ Coll. 97-8, UEW 272, Lr. no. 657, Lgc. no. 3812, Hs. 917, TI 244, Trs. S 256, MK 298, WVD VII 197, IN H 278, IN UJ 235, Ang. 167, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [no. 76] (Y ⇨ U) || **HS**: Ch **✓mnt* ({Nw.} **✓mn*) 'forget' > WCh {Stl.} **mant*- v. 'forget' > Hs {Abr.} *mānčē* 'forget', pr. *māntā* 'forgot', {Ba.} *mānčē* / *māntā*, Gw {Mts.} *mōč'i* 'forget' | Gmy *men*, Mnt *mun*, Su {J} *mander* id. | Bl *mont*-, Krkr *mantau*, Bele *mòntú*, Krf *mùnd*-, Gera *mònnè*-, Grm *mūn*-, Ngm {ChL} *mòntét*, Glm {Sch} *nùnd*- id. | My {Sk.} *man*- id. ||| CCh: Tr {Nw.} *mónà*, Pdl {ChL} *m^ωònèha* id. | Bcm {Nw.} *myentz* id. ¶ Abr. H 653 and 655, Ba. 767-9, Stl. ZCh 233 [no. 802], Nw. 26 [no. 53], ChC s.v. 'forget', ChL || **A** **mān∇* > T **ōmān*- > Chv L *ман*- 'vergessen', {Ash. Fed') id., 'sich abgewöhnen' | NaT lges (⇨ M?):

Tkm mōn 'доверчивый, бесхитростный', mōn adam 'простак', Osm. XVIII {Cl.} bür 'senile, a dotard', Osm {Redh.} böḡ (or büḡ?) 'stupid, idiotic, unintelligent', {Cl.} bön 'simpleton', Tk bōn 'imbecile, silly, naive', ?? OT {SDM, Battal} mūr- 'go mad' (Battal [IM] 'delirmek', cf. Rs. W 347)¶ Ash. VIII 190, Fed. I 342, Jeg. 128, ChVS 110, Rs. W 347, Redh. 405, Akd. 488, Tkr 457, Cl. 347-8 || M *mene- > WrM menere- {MED} 'become stupid\dull, faint', HIM мэнэрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'lose sensitivity', Brt мэнэр- 'grow dull\stupid, lose sensitivity', Kl {Rm.} menr- 'gefühllos\bewußtlos werden', {KRS} менр- 'lose sensitivity', 'неметь'; M *mene^ḡ ~ *mene^ḡ > WrM {MED} менер ~ менег 'stupid, imbecil; stupidity; paralysis', HIM {MED} мэнэн, мэнэг id., {BMR} мэнэг 'Paralyse; Schwachsinn; Kraftlosigkeit (немошь), Schwächung (расслабление)', Kl {Rm.} menæg_ 'dumm, schwach-sinnig', Ord menen, menek (in menen t'anān 'stupid', t'enek menek 'stupid'); M *menḡe > WrM {MED} менḡe- 'be\become excited\worried\ embarrassed; become stupid', HIM мэндэ-, мэгдэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'lose one's head, become embarrassed, become worried; hurry'. Brt мэгдэ- 'get excited\embarrassed, lose one's head', Ord menḡe- ~ meg_d_e- 'avoir des soupçons', d. caus. menḡē- 'faire perdre contenance', Kl {Rm.} менḡа- 'aufgeregt sein (über etw.)'; ⇨ M *menḡekür(-) > Kl {KRS} † менḡкүр менḡäkür 'sorrow, distress', Ord menḡür- ~ meg_d_ür- 'se troubler par hâte, peur, gêne etc., perdre contenance, perdre son calme' ¶ MED 536, BMR II 364, 372-3, Chr. 309, 332, KW 261, KRS 350, Ms. O 462 ¶¶ The absence of the expected *t in M *mene- (and hence in pA *mān∇-) and the pA cns. *d (for the expected *t from N *-t-) in M *menḡe- and *menḡekür- are still to be explained ¶¶ Starostin suggested that WrM менер ~ менег (and related words in other M lges) may have been influenced by MChn {S} mūḡ tūḡ 'stupid' ¶¶ ≈ SDM 922-3 (pA *miāni 'be confused, hesitate' > M *men- 'become dull\numb\stupid' + qu.: T *bōn 'stupid, foolish, go mad', Tg *mian- 'be confused, wonder [тревожиться, растеряться, удивляться]', pKc *miñi- 'be afraid\scared') ◇ IS MS 357 s.v. 'промахнуться' (*mentā > IE, U), IS III 52 [no. 357] (*mentā 'промахнуться-ся, пройти мимо, быть тщетным\напрасным\безрассудным\ложным\лживым' > IE, U, Ch, M *menḡe, *men-; *÷ A *mun∇ 'be mistaken\mad' [actually belonging to N *mūn∇ 'defect, damage', q.v.]) ◇ IE *t points to the N cns. *t. The cns. *d in M *menḡe- may belong to an anciet sx (cp. M *mene-) ◇ The vw. *ā in T *mān- may be due to regr. as. (N *meñ|ḡ^tā > **māntā > T *mān-).

1450. *moyAn|ḡ∇ 'neck, nape of the neck' > HS: ECh: Kbl {Cr.} muḡḡo 'nape' ¶ Cr. KL s.v. Kabalai muḡḡo || IE: NaIE *mon- 'nape of the neck, neck' > OI

man'yā 'nape of the neck', Av manaoθrī- 'neck, nape', pa'ri-mānya- 'Nackenschutz'; d.: OI mā'ṇīḥ 'necklace, pearl, jewel', Irn *manya-ka- 'necklace' (↳ Arm 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 manēak id., 'collar', Gk μανιάκης 'necklace, torque [torque of gold, worn by Persians and Gauls]', JA [Trg.], JEA 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 mānī'k-ā 'necklace') ||| Clt {Matas.} moni- 'neck' > OIr {Vn.} muin 'neck, upper part of the back', muinéil 'neck', muin-torc 'chain for the neck', MIr {Matas.} 'the upper part of the back below the neck', Brtt {RE} *mon- 'neck' > OW [γ] mīnci 'necklace, collar', MW mwn, W {YGM} mwnwgl, OBr mun 'neck' ||| L monīle 'necklace, collar' ||| Gk D μάννος ~ μόννος 'necklace' ||| d.: Gmc *manja- > ON men, OHG menni, AS mēne 'necklace'; Gmc *manō 'mane' > OHG mana 'mane, neck', ON mōn, Sw man, NHG Mähne, MLG mane, OFrs mona, mana, AS manu 'mane', NE mane ||| d.: Sl *monisto 'necklace' > OCS, OR МОНИСТО monisto, Blg {Gerov} ма'нисто, McdS, R, Uk мо'нисто id. ¶ WP II 305, P 747-8, EI 391 (*monis ~ *moneh_h- 'neck'), M E II 556-7, 584-5, Dlmr. 230, Js. 801, Sl. 687, Vn. M 72, Matas. E 276, YGM-1 337, RE 114, Loth 190, WH II 108, F I 171, ≈ Ch. 664-5 (μάννος ~ μόννος ← [bf.] μανιάκης), Vr. 384, 401, Kb. 656, 675, KM 454, Ho. 215, 219, ESSJ XIX 209-11, StSS 332, Vs. II 650 ||| **А** *moyno (or *moyno) 'neck' > Tg *moṇa(n) ({SDM} *moń-gan) 'neck' > Ewk, Neg moṇon, Nn Nh/KU moṇḡō, Orc moṇo(n-), Ork, Ul moṇḡo(n-) id., WrMc {Z} монгонь 'throat (горло, гортань), front part of the neck' ¶ STM I 546, On. 267, Z 891-2 ||| Т *moynin ({SDM, TL} *bōyn) 'neck' > OT boyn ~ boyn id., MU, MQp XIII, XwT XIV, OOSm ≥XIV boyn, Chg xv boyn ~ boyn, MQp [CC] boyn or boyn, Tk boyn, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, ET boyn, Uz бўйин bōyin, VTt муен муьн, Bsh муьн, Alt, Xk moyn, Qrg, Ln, Tv moyn id., Tf mōēn id. (+ppa: moyn-i 'his neck'), Yk mooy mōy 'neck' (+ppa: moyn-um ('my neck'), {Md.} mōy / moń- 'neck' ||| Chv: L/MK май мъу, Chv H {Mr} мъу, Chv Δ мый ~ муй 'neck' (< *moyn < as. *moyn₁n) 'neck'] (< d.?) Т *moynak > OT boynaq 'narrow pass', Qrg moynoq 'camel's neck; mountain pass', Qzq moynaq 'skin of camel's neck', Qq moynaq 'sand hill in a desert' ¶ Cl. 386, Rs. W 80, ET B 180-2, TL 233-4, Ra. 207, Pek. 1580-1, Ash. VIII 234, 256, 286-9 and 293, Fed. I 346, Jeg. 129, ChVS 111, Md. 46, 174 (pT *bōy¹u¹ń), Jud. 529-3, MM 242, KrkR 462 ||| ?σ M (< d.?) *mundaça 'withers, place between the shoulder blades (of animals)' > WrM mundaça {Gl.} id., {Kow.} 'withers of a horse\mule', {MED} 'withers of a horse', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt мундаа id., Kl Ö {Rm.} mundā 'Widerrist\Rist (der Pferde)', Ord munda 'garrot (de cheval)' ¶ MED 551, BMR II 356, Kow. 2028, Gl. III 310, Chr. 302, KW 269, Ms. O 475

|| Ko: [1] pKo {S} *mòk 'neck, throat' > MKo, NKo mòk id. (÷ T *moy-nak); [2] MKo, NKo miḡk 'nack, throat'; [3] MKo {SDM97} mḡḡ-ḡḡ 'yoke, harness' (σ=: pT *moyuntirik 'yoke', see ET B 182) ¶ S QK no. 58, Nam 213, MLC 619 ¶¶ SDM 939 (*mḡḡḡ 'neck' > Tg, M, T, MKo and NKo miḡk + unc. J [J Ht nùbùsín, J Yn nùbí 'neck']), DQA no. 1336 (id.), SDM97 (*mḡḡḡ), Rm. EAS I 98, Pp. VG 34, 67 (pA > T, Tg), S AJ 53, 280, ADb. SR 5, TL 234 ¶¶ The rec. of pA *-ń- in pA *mó:ḡḡ, suggested in the final version of SDM, is not acceptable (pT *-n- cannot go back to pA *-ń-) || D (att. in McTm) *manḡḡ- > Tm manḡḡai 'throat, neck', Ml manna, menna 'neck' ¶ D no. 4779 ◇ D *a may go back to N *A with loss of the word-medial *-oy- ◇ The rec. of pA *-ń- in *mó:ḡḡ, suggested in the final version of SDM, is hardly acceptable (pT *-n- cannot go back to pA *-ń-). My rec. of N *-n|ḡ- in *moyAn|ḡ is also supported by D *-ḡḡ- in *manḡḡ- (D *-ḡḡ- may go back to N *-ḡ- and *-n-, but not to N *-ń-).

1451. ≈ *mEʔawUń|ḡ 'breast, heart' (→ 'middle') > HS: SC: Irq {Wh.} mûna (pl. mûnε), {MQK} mûná, {Mgh.} mûna, Brn {Wh.} mûna 'heart', {E} munaʔi 'chest', Grw/Alg {Fl.} mona, Kz {Fl., E} munako, Asa {E} munok 'heart'; SC ⇨ Mb mûna id. || Ag: Bln {R} mǎngũ (mang^w) n. 'middle' ⇨ Tgy ḡḡḡ 'mango 'middle, centre' ¶ E SC 159, Mgh. 115, MQK 75, R WB 271, Blz. EDB 21, AD SF 182, CS 161, Fl. p.c. || S: Ar maʔan-at- (pl. muʔun-) 'part of the belly surrounding the navel; fat covering the inner surface of the peritoneum' (← *'middle?') (× N *m'o'wEñyḡ 'entrails, belly?') ¶ BK II 1054, Hv. 706 (Ar maʔan-at- 'navel and its surrounding parts'), ≠ MiK I no. 1.183 (Ar maʔan-at- ⇨ S *mḡ(ʔ)n(-at)- 'tendon, sinew, muscle') || CCh: Hg {Mohrl.} mḡí 'heart', Tr {Nw.} méḡḡà 'chest' ¶ Mohrl. HPh 99, Nw. WLT 38 [no. 67] ¶¶ Tk. III 260 ¶¶ But Eg mḡḡ 'breast' hardly belongs here, it is more likely to go back to N *'mä|ḡghê 'breast, udder' (q.v. ffd.) or be connected it with C *nug 'suck' (as suggested by Tk. [see s.v. *'mä|ḡghê]) || A *mi,aban|ń 'heart, breast' > Tg *mi,aban|ń 'heart', ? 'breast' ({SDM} *miḡam id.) > Sln {Iv.} má'wan ~ mewan 'breast', ?ḡ Sln {STM} mēḡḡ ~ mīḡḡ 'heart', Ewk, Neg mēwan, Lm māwun, Orc māwa(n-) ~ miawa(n-), Ud māwa(n-), Ul, Ork mēwa(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} miawã, Nn Nh {On.} miawã, Nh Δ miaw, 'heart', ?? WrMc {Z} нямань 'heart' (this Mc word belongs here unless it is akin to MKo niḡm-tḡḡ {SDM94} 'heart' [acc. to Lee] and possibly to FU *ḡḡime- 'suck the breast' [Coll. 15-16, MF 153, It. no. 368]) ¶ STM I 533-4, On. 261, Z 245-6, Iv. M s.v. Sln má'wan ~ mewan || pKo {S} *mḡḡḡ 'heart' > MKo mḡḡḡ, NKo maim ¶ S QK no. 42, Nam 196, MLC 564 || pJ {S} *múnà-i 'breast' > OJ mune, MJ múnè, J T muné, J K múnè, J Kg múne ¶ S QJ no. 202, Mr. 484, Kenk.

1288-9 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 928 (pA *mǰóńù 'heart, breast' > Tg, J, Ko; unjustified rec. of the Tg root as *mǰañam), DQA no, 1315 (id.), Rm. SKE 136, Rm. EAS I 79S, S AJ 48, 290, Whtm. 202, 237 || D (att. in SD) *mUńńi, ({ǰGS} *-ńć-?) > Tm mǰńńi, mǰńńi 'breasts', Tu mǰńńa, mǰńńæ 'breast' (as called by children) ¶ D no. 5111.

1452. *muyni, *muyni ʒarǰ'u' ≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew' > HS: EC murǰ- (~ *mǰrg-) 'gristle, tendon, sinew' (× N *m'u'Rǰ∇ 'root, root crops, edible roots', → 'sinew') > Or {Brl.} mǰrga 'tendon', {Th.} mǰrg-aya id., 'nerve', Or B {Sr.} mǰrgā 'tendons, muscles', Kns murǰ-a 'tip of the nose', Gdl {Bl.} mǰrg-a 'bone of the nose, kneecap, soft part of ensete', Sml murǰ-, Sml N múruq- 'muscle', Arr {Hw.} mǰrgí 'tendon, sinew', Brj mǰrganka 'mičča 'ankle', Rn {PG} mǰrgògò 'string', Ya {Hn.} mǰrg-i? (pl. mǰrg-ei) 'sinew of neck' ¶ Bl. 198, Ss. PEC 54 (EC *murǰ- 'gristle'), Ss. B 148, Abr. S 185, ZMO 298, Th. 248, Brl. 309, Sr. 369, PG 227, Hw. A 385, Hn. Y II 133 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zar {Sh.} K/GL mǰri, Zar L {Sh.} ńerì, Sy {Csp.} ńéri, Grn {Hrn.} myáw, {Jgr} mǰàw, {Gw.} miǰaw 'horn' || ?φ NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} múwí id. || ?φ Ngz {Sch.} mãkím 'horn blown in hunting to call other hunters; trumpeting with horn' || ?φ CCh: Msg P {Trn.} miyok, Msg {MB} ámiyók, Mlw {Trn.} àmǰk, Msk {Trn.} miyòt 'horn' || Ms {Caít.} miyok (df. miyók-ńá), {J} myóggá, {Mch.} mǰok, ZmD {KNC} miék, ZmB {Sa.} mǰé, {J} mǰ 'horn' ¶ JI II 192-3, MB SMSM 59, ChC s.v. 'horn', ChL, Sh. SB 25, Sch. DN 109, Csp. 54, Hrn. G no. 141, Jgr 185, KNC 17, Caít. 115, Trn. LDM 20, Trn. LM 106 || U: FU *ńǰrke, {Db.} *ńǰrke 'gristle' (× N *ńaXǰi, RU (kǰǰ) 'cartilage [→ 'cartilage of the vertebra'], q.v. ffd.) || A *muynE 'cartilage, muscle, horn' > T *mǰynur 'horn' > NaT *mǰynuz (> *mǰñüz) > OT {Cl.} mǰñüz ǰ mǰyüz ǰ bǰyüz, MQp/MOg XIII buynuz, Chg XV bǰñüz, Tk buynuz, Ggz, CrTt buynuz, Tkm buynuδ, Az buynuz, Uz mugiz ~ muguz, Kr, ET mǰñüz, ET Δ muńuz, Slr {Kk.}, SY mǰnus, Ln mǰgüs ~ mǰyüs, VTt мөгөз мǰǰыз, Δ мǰǰыз, Bsh мөгөз мǰǰыз, Qzq мүйіз, Nog, Qq, Qrg mǰyüz, Tb mǰnüs ~ mǰs, Alt, Xk mǰs, Tv miyis, Tf mǰs, Yk mǰos ǰ moyǰos ({Md.} moyǰos) 'horn' || Chv L майрака mǰyrag_a, Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.} мыйрака ~ мырака ~ мыряка, Chv V {Md.} miǰaga ~ mǰǰaga, Chv MK {Md.} miǰaga 'horn' ¶ The Chv word and the NaT variant *mǰynuz with back vowels suggest the rec.*mǰynur (with the front-voweled NaT variant *mǰñüz due to the infl. of y) ¶ Cl. 352, Rs. W 347, ET B 243-5, TL 148 (NaT *buynuz), Ash. VIII 235 and 292-3, Fed. I 347, Jeg. 130, ChVS 112, S AJ 179 [no. 42], Ra. 207, Md. 46, 174 (pT *bǰńǰor), Pek. 1584 || M *mǰǰgere-sün 'cartilage' > WrM {MED} mögeresün, HIM {MED} мөгөөрс(өн), {BMR} мөгөөрс, Brt

{Chr.} мэнгээрхэ(н), Δ {SM} möñöröhön, WrO mōrsün, Kl {KRS}} мөөрсн mōrsən 'cartilage', {Rm.} mōrsñ 'Knorpel', Mnr H {SM} muñg_{ir}з_з, Dx {SM} muñörsön, Ord mōrösü 'cartilage' ¶ MED 545, BMR II 342, Chr. 312, Krg. 608, KRS 358, KW 268, Ms. O 471, SM 248 ¶¶ Pp. VG 73, S AJ 282 [no. 177] || Tg: Ewk muñi 'sinew at the end of a muscle; muscle' ¶ STM I 557 || ?σ pKo *mìj'ìm 'gums' > MKo nì-s-mìj'ìm ~ nì-s-mìj'òm ~ ni-s-mi'im ~ ni-s-mij'òm 'gums' (ni- means 'tooth'),?? NKo it-mom ¶ Acc. to SDM, the NKo word is a result of reinterpreting the cd as 'tooth's flesh' ¶ S QK no. 316, Nam 127 ¶¶ SDM 948-9 (pA *muyñi 'horn, cartilage' (+ unc. 'tendon') > M, T, Ko + unc. Tg *muñi 'tendon'), DQA no. 1359 (id.), S AJ 282, TL 148, Rm. EAS I 120, Rs. W 347, Pp. VG 73, KW 268, STM I 557, Dr. TM I 557 || **Gil:** Gil A {murgi} murk'i 'horn' ¶¶ ST 107 ◇ The presence of a word-medial velar element (surviving in M *-g- ~ -ñg-, T *-ñ- and Ewk -ñ-) rules out an intervoc. *-ń- (sc. *muñorK∇) and points to a combination of a palatal phoneme and a nasal (N *-yñ-) that later (in U) contracted into *ń. The second component *ǰarK'u' of the N cd *muyñi ǰarK'u' means 'sinew' (q.v. s.v. *ǰarK'u')

1453. UA₂ *m∇ñK∇ or *m∇N∇ 'beaver, mole' (a substratum word?) > U: pOs *mañk 'beaver, mole' > Os: V/Vy/Vrt мау, Ty маъу (+ppa. 1s мууам), Y маъу 'beaver', K мах, Nz мэñх, Sh муñх-, O маñх, {Ahl.} мөñк 'mole', Kz м̄ñх, Sn мэх 'rat, mole' ¶ For *-ñк > V/Vy/Ty/Y -у/ -ы, K -х/ -х cp. Ht.'s reconstructions: pOs *мэñк 'Aextrücken' (> Os: V/Vy мэу, Ty мөу^ω, K мөх), pObU *ć∇:ñк 'Eiskruste' (> Os: V/Vy íоу, Ty ía'у^ω 'thin ice'), pObU *čüñк 'fog' (> Os: V/Vy čüш, Ty č'и^ω), pObU {Ht.} *θōñкә| (sc. *θōñкә|) (> Os: V |оуә|, Vy уоуә| 'Rübe, Zwiebel'), pOs *čэñк- 'ausschlagen' (> Os: V/Vy čоу-, čоу-, Ty/Y čоq-) etc., see Ht. no-s 80, 107-8, 149 and 401 ¶ Stn. D 897, ≠ UEW 264 (equating Os мау ≙ мах 'beaver' with Mr макса- 'mole' and reconstructing FU *макса without taking into account the Os Δ forms with -ñх) || **A** ≈ *m'í'ñd- ~ *mUn_d- > M: **[1]** ? M (< d.?) *miñž'in 'beaver' > WrM {MED} miñžin, HIM {MED, BMR} минж(ин) miñž(in), Kl {KRS} миңж miñžә id., Brt f мэнжэн жалюун 'water mole, *Desmana*' (жалюун 'otter') || **[2]** M *°möndele 'young of a tarbagan (*Marmota sibirica*)' > WrM möndele ({MED} möndü|) 'young marmot (tarbagan)', HIM мөндөл {MED} id., {BMR} 'young of a tarbagan' ⇨ Tv möndele 'young of a marmot' ¶ MED 539, 547, BMR II 333, 346, KRS 352, Chr. 312, TvR 301, Shch. Zh 148 || pJ *m'ím∇ > MJ mómi, J T {Kenk.} momongā 'flying squirrel' ¶ Mr. 484, Kenk. 1258 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 927-8 (pA *mióñde 'hare' J, M *möndele + [not going back to N *m∇ñK∇ 'beaver, mole']: Tg *mundu-kān 'hare' and T *bAñi- 'hare, marmot') ¶¶ If the

pN etymon is ***m**∇**η****K**∇, in pA the N cns. ***K** leaves no traces probably before the consonant(s). of the suffixe(s).

1454. ***m**uη**κ**a|**û** (= ***m**uη**κ**a|**û**?) 'make great efforts; (?) be heavy', (?) 'torment' > **IE**: NaIE (att. in Sl) ***o**m_on_κ_l^ω_l - > Sl ***m**ó**č**ka 'torment, hard work' > OCS **мѣка** m_čka 'torment', Cz, Slk **мука**, R, Uk 'мука, Slv **múka** ~ **móka** id., SCr **му̀ка**, P **męka** id., 'work', R Ps/Sml/Tmb 'мука 'hard work', Blg 'мѣка 'torment', 'property' (← *'result of hard work'); Sl **↳** Rm **му̀нцã** and Hg **му̀нка** 'work' ¶ ESSJ XX 136-8, StSS 343, Vs. III 7, EWU 1004, ≠ P 731 || **HS**: NOm: Shn {Lm.} **maη**^g-a 'schwer, gewichtig' ¶ Lm. Shn 111, Tk. III 803 || **D** {tr., †GS} ***m**u**κ**κ- 'strain, make great efforts' (× N ***m**o**ξ****κ****E** 'to press') > Tm **му̀κκ**, Kt **му̀κ**- v. 'make a strenuous effort, strain as a woman in travail, strain to deliver a child', Ml **му̀κκ**κ**а** v. 'strain, grunt, make an effort as in travail or when easing nature', m**ik**κ**а** v. 'press, strain at stool', Td **му̀κ**- v. 'grunt while defecating when constipated', Kn **му̀κκ**i**ri**, **му̀κκ**a**re** v. 'strain, make violent efforts in pain', Tu **му̀κκ**u**ru**- v. 'snort, grunt, growl', Tl **му̀κκ**κ- 'strain', Png **mū**κ- v. 'lift with effort' ¶¶ D no. 4896(a) ¶¶ The absence of the expected **n**-consonant in the **D** root may be due to the heritage of N ***m**o**ξ****κ****E** || **A** ? ****m**uη**κ**∇ > ppT ? ****m**uη**κ** > [1] T ***m**uη > OT {Cl.} **bu**η **ḍ** **mu**η 'grief, sorrow', MQp XIV **mu**η ~ **bu**n, Osm **bu**η 'pain, distress', Tk **bu**n 'crisis, difficult situation', Ggz **bu**n- 'be tired (of travelling), be discontented', Qzq **м**ҫ**ң**, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg, Uz *bk.*, ET {Nj.} **mu**η 'melancholy, sadness, sorrow', ET {Rs.} **mu**η 'Mühe, Leiden, Sorge, Kummer, Trauer', Yk **mu**η 'torment, suffering' ('му́ка, мучение, страдание'), d. **mu**η-**nā**- v. 'torment' (↳ Ork **mu**η**na**- vt. 'torment', Ewk **mu**η-, **mu**η**an**-, Neg **mo**η**nan**- vt. 'torment, beat'), ? Xk d. **mō**н**ъ**i**c** **mō**η**ts** 'sorrow(ful), sad(ness)', **mō**н**ек** **mō**н**ек** 'sad, sorrowful'; [2] ? T ***m**u**ι**_ι**κ** > Qrg **бу̀κ** **бу̀қ** 'melancholy, depression' ('тоска, угнетенное состояние'), Alt/Shor {Rl.} **mu**q**an**- 'sich abquälen, abmühen, sorgen', Xk {BIG} **му̀хан**- **му̀хан**- 'suffer (e.g. from an illness)' ('мучиться, страдать'), Osm {Rl.} **موقاييمق** **mu**q**ay**-**maq** inf. 'to suffer, to toil, to fatigue oneself'; here the initial **m**- suggests the (former?) presence of a medial ***n** (***m**u**n**κ?) unless these words are loans from an unknown source ¶ Cl. 347, Rs. W 344-5, Sht. 146, GRM 97, Nj. 719, BIG 110-11, Jud. 156, 538, Rl. IV 2171-2, Pek. 1625-9, STM I 557 || ? M: MM [S] {H} **mu**η 'Schwierigkeit, Not' (**mu**η **tani**-**qu** 'Not erfahren, in Schwierigkeit sein'), WrM {MED} **mu**η**da**-, HIM {MED, BMR} **му̀нда**- 'be in trouble or in difficult circumstances' (unless ← WrM **mu**η**da**-, HIM **му̀нда**- 'become insufficient, come to an end') ¶ MED 551, BMR II 357, H 112 ¶ The monosyllability of MM **mu**η suggests a possible loan from T ¶¶ Pp.

VG 71 (T, M + err. Ewk $\mu\eta\eta a\eta a$ - 'suffer' [in fact, a loan from Yk]), Nm. UT 79 || ? ϕ K: GZ (or Zan?) * $\text{man}\kappa\epsilon$ - ~ * $\text{ma}\kappa\epsilon$ - 'heavy' (\times N * $\text{mE}\kappa\text{f}\text{a}\epsilon$ or * $\text{mE}\text{f}\kappa\text{a}\epsilon$ 'big') > Mg $\text{mo}\kappa a$ - ~ $\text{mon}\kappa a$ -, Lz $\text{mon}\kappa a$ - 'heavy', G $\text{ma}\kappa\epsilon$ 'heavy with young' (of a female animal) (\times N * $\text{ma}\kappa\text{U}$ [= * $\text{ma}\kappa\text{U}$?] 'baby, son; [?] be pregnant', q.v.); \rightarrow GZ * $\text{ma}\kappa\epsilon n$ - 'become heavy\pregnant' > OG, G $\text{ma}\kappa\epsilon n$ - / $\text{ma}\kappa n$ - 'be conceiving', Mg, Lz $\text{mon}\kappa a n$ - 'grow heavy' ¶ The additional *-n- in Zan may have been induced by contamination with N * $\text{ma}\bar{n}\nabla g a$ (or * $\text{ma}\eta g a$?) 'strong, numerous' (q.v.) ¶ K 125, K² 113-14, FS K 207, FS E 228, DCh. 662, Chik. 242, 304, Q 281, Schm. 122 ¶ {IS}: K * $\text{man}\kappa$ - < * $\text{mwan}\kappa$ - ◇ For the semantic connection between 'work' and 'torment' cp. L *trepalium* 'instrument of torture' \rightarrow VL {ML} inf. **tripaliāre* 'to torture' > Fr *travailler*, Prv *trebalhar*, Sp *trabajar*, Prt *trabalhar* 'to work' (ML no. 8911) and, on the other hand, Fr *travail* 'labour of childbirth' (\rightarrow NE *labour*) ← Fr *travail* 'work' ◇ {IS}: the cognates without a medial nasal (in K, D, T) may be accounted for by dis. ◇ IS MS 369 (* $\text{mu}(\text{n})\kappa\text{a}$ 'τρῦν': IE, T, D, ?K), IS II 73-4 (K, D, T).

1455. * $\text{mi}\kappa\text{U}\text{?}\nabla$, 'to push, to fell' > HS: CS * \checkmark $\text{m}\chi|\text{h}?$ 'push, strike' > BHb \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}y|\text{w}$ ~ \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}?$ (pf. $\text{h}\eta\eta\eta$ $\text{m}\bar{a}'\text{h}\bar{a}$, ip. 3pm $\text{h}\eta\eta\eta$ 'yi-mh^a?-ū) 'push, strike, clap (hands)', OA, IA $\text{h}\eta\eta$ \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}?$ (\checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}|\text{w}|\text{y}$) 'beat', JA 'hηη \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}y$ ~ $\text{h}\eta\eta$ \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}|\text{w}$ G 'smite, wound', JEA {Sl.} 'hηη \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}y$ 'strike, hit', Sr $\text{h}\eta\eta$ \checkmark $\text{m}\text{h}|\text{w}|\text{y}$ G 'strike, smite, beat' ¶ KB 537, HJ 610-11, Js. 756, 760, Sl. 655-6, Br. 380-1, JPS 263 || Eg G $\text{m}\chi\text{z}$ {Vc.} v. 'pierce a prey or parts of its body' (of a spear) > (\times Eg $\text{m}\chi\text{y}$ 'fight') DEg $\text{m}\chi\text{y}$ ~ $\text{m}\chi\text{x}$ v. 'strike, fight' > Cpt: Sd $\text{mi}\chi\text{e}$ $\text{mi}\check{s}\text{e}$, B $\text{mi}\chi\text{i}$ $\text{mi}\check{s}\text{i}$ id. ¶ EG II 131, 176, Er. 176, Crn. 96, Ws. 108, Vc. 128 || B: Wrgl {Dlh.} $\text{m}\alpha\text{q}\text{q}-\alpha\text{t}$ 'frapper, donner un coup sur la bouche pour faire taire' ¶ Dlh. Ou 194 || SC: Irq {MQK} $\text{m}\bar{u}\text{x}$ - v. 'fight, beat, spank', {Wd.} mux - 'fight', Asa {E} v. 'beat' ¶ Mgw. 115, MQK 75, Wd. 42 [no. 403], E SC 159 || Om: Gamu, Dache $\text{mek}\kappa$ - 'break' || Ch: Hs $\text{m}\bar{u}\kappa\grave{a}$ ~ $\text{m}\bar{u}\kappa\check{a}$ 'hit', Bgm {Csp.} mak 'hit, kill', Kwn {Lk.} $\text{m}\alpha\text{g}-\text{t}\acute{u}\text{m}$ 'schlagen', Mgm {JA} $\text{m}\acute{u}\kappa\kappa\grave{\iota}\text{y}\grave{o}$ 'battre' ¶ Abr. H 682, Csp. 54. Lk. ZSS 97, JA LM 108, LmS 449 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 99-100 [no. 29.7], Tk. III 506-8 || K * $\text{m}\kappa\omega$ - 'overturn, overthrow' > OG $\text{m}\kappa\text{u}$ - (aor. $\text{da}-\text{a}-\text{m}\kappa\text{u}-\text{a}$, pres. $\text{da}-\text{m}\kappa\text{u}-\text{eb}-\text{a}$), G $\text{m}\chi$ - / $\text{m}\chi\text{v}$ - id., Mg χu - / χv - id., 'lay, lay face down', Lz χu - 'throw, splash out', Sv $\text{n}\kappa\omega$ - v. 'overturn; fall' (msd. $\text{li}-\text{n}\kappa\omega-\text{e}$; 3s pres. {TK}: UB/L $\chi-\bar{a}\text{n}\kappa\omega\text{em}$, LB $\chi-\text{a}\text{n}\kappa\omega\text{e}$, Ln $\chi-\bar{a}\text{n}\kappa\omega\text{e}$ vt. 'overturns [$\text{a}\bar{\text{z}}\text{a}\text{r}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}$, $\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}\text{h}$]) ¶¶ K² 134-5, FS K 233, FS E 256-7, Chx. 885-6, ≈ K 149 (* $\text{n}\kappa\omega$ -), Q 396, TK 136 || ? σ IE * $\text{meu}\text{h}\chi$ - ~ * $\text{mj}\text{eu}\text{h}\chi$ - > NaIE * $\text{meu}(\text{a})$ -, * $\text{mj}\text{eu}\text{a}$ - / * $\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{u}$ - 'push, push away' > OI $\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{a}\text{t}\text{i}$ 'moves, pushes', Av ava -

mīva- 'remove', Oss I mi, Oss D miwä 'deed, work, affair' ({Bn.} < *mīva-) || Gk D ἀμεύομαι 'surpass, outstrip; pass over' ({P} ← *vi. 'push ahead'), Gk ἀμύνω 'keep off, ward off' ({F, P} ← *vi. 'push off') || L moveō / -ēre / pfc. mōvi / pp. mōtus 'move, set in motion, stir', Um COMOHOTA (abl. sg.) 'commota<, oblata<' || Lt inf. māuti (1s pres. mauti) {PiesS} 'to put/get on, to don; to rush, to dash', Δ inf. movéti, mūvéti 'to wear (clothes)', Ltv Δ {ME} inf. maūt (1s pres. mauju, maunu) 'an-auf-ziehen, zäumen' || MLG mouwe 'muff', NHG Hemds-maunen 'shirt sleeve' || pTc *miw- > Tc: A mew-, B miw- vi. 'shake, quake' || ???σ,φ Ht mau- / mauss- / mu- v. act. and mp. 'fall' ¶¶ WP II 252-3, P 743, EI 388 (*meu(H)- 'move'), M K II 645, Ab. II 112-13, Bn. ÉLO 89, F I 92, 97, WH II 116, Bc. G 331, Frn. 421, ME II 570, Ad. 463, ≈ Ts. E II 166-8, CHD L-N 211-13 ◇ The absence of lr. in the Ht verb (if it belongs here) is to be explained ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1456. (₂?) *maqa (or *maqa?) 'humid, wet' > HS: B *√ wmy (> *mm∇y) > Izd mməy (pf. imməy) vt. 'wet (mouiller)', Tmz mməy 'se mouiller, être mouillé/trempé', Gd e-mməy 'plonger', ETwl, Ty ə-mməy 'être trempé/imprégné' ¶ Mrc. 171, MT 407, Lf. II 214 [no. 1017], PGG 212, PGGD 528 || S *√ mkk > BHb √ mkk N 'zerfließen', 'eitern' (von Wunden), 'sich auflösen', JA ?itmakmek 'melt away', Ar √ mqq TD 'boire petit à petit, buvotter du vin', Gz √ mkk vi. 'melt, dissolve' ¶ GB 457, Js. 832, BK II 1134, L G 355 | ? S (+ext.) *°√ mkl > Ar √ mql, -mqul- 'plunge (sth.) into water', maql- 'urinatio, descensus in aquam; quidam lactandi modus' ¶ Fr. IV 198, Hv. 729 || Eg mqq 'moist, damp, muddy soil (of the river bank)' ¶ Cmn. LEM 76, 135 || Ch: WCh: Bl {Lk.} mokut- 'naß machen', Ngm mòktù 'be wet'; ECh: Mw {J} mògó-η 'einweichen' ¶ Lk. PVB II 137, Al. N s.v. mòktù, J Mw. 38 ¶¶ Tk. III 651 || | ?σ K: G -mqaq- 'faulig/moderig werden', mqaqe 'stagnierend, faul(ig), moderig' ¶ Chx. 865-6 || | IE: NaIE ≈ *mak-/*māk- 'wet', 'moisten' > pAl {O} *makā > Al makē 'film that forms on a liquid; scum/skin (on milk etc.)' || | ? Arm ւօր mōr 'mud, mire, slime' (< *maḷ;ḷk-ri-) || | Lt makonē 'Pfütze', makénti, maknóti 'durch Kot waten' || Sl *mōkrъ(-jъ) 'wet' > OCS мокръ мокръ, Blg 'мокър', SCr mòkar, Slv móker, Cz, Slk mokrý, P mokry, R 'мокрый id.; Sl inf. *moč'í-ti vt. 'to wet, to moisten' > OCS, OR inf. МОУНТИ, SCr inf. mòčiti, Slv inf. móčiti, Cz inf. močiti, P inf. moczyc id.; Sl inf. *mokno-ti vi. 'to get wet' > SCr † inf. moknuti, Slv inf. mókniti, Cz inf. moknouti, P inf. moknać, R inf. 'мокнуть id., L-gr.: Sl inf. *makati (1s pres. *makayo) vt. 'to dip' > ChS, OR inf. МАКАТИ makati, SCr inf. makati,

Cz inf. *mákaṭi*, R inf. *ма'кaть* id., Blg *макам* 'eat by dipping sth. in a liquid' ¶ P 698, Frn. 339-40, ESSJ XVIII 138-9 and XIX 81-2, 129-30, 144-7, StSS 331, 333, Glh. 419-20, O 242 ◇ If G -*mqaq-* belongs here, the N source is **maqa*, otherwise it is less specific (**maKa*).

1457. (₂?) **mæ qUR* ▽ 'frog, toad' (or 'ε reptile\amphibian') > K: OG *m qvar-i* 'toad' [Ex. 8.3], G *m qvari* {GL} id., {Chx.} 'spade-footed toad (*Pelobatidæ*, Krötenfrosch)' ¶ DCh. 916, GL 374, Chx. 866 || **A** **mæk' ▽ r₁(-)* > pKo {S} {SDM} **məkùr₁* 'frog, toad' (× N **mUHAK* ▽ 'frog') > MKo {S} *məkùr₁* 'frog, toad', Ko {Rm.} *məgiri* 'frog' ¶ SDM 920, Nam 209, S QK no. 179, Rm. SKE 144 || M **mekele* 'frog' (× N **mUHAK* ▽, q.v.) (*-l- is probably due to the influence of M **melekeyi* 'frog' < N **mæL ▽ y|χ* ▽ 'lizard', 'small reptile' or sim.) > WrO {Krg.} *mekele*, Kl {KRS} *meklə meklä* 'frog', {Rm.} *meklē* 'Frosch'; mt.: M **melek(eyi)* 'frog, toad' > WrM {MED} *melekei* id., HIM *məlxij* {MED} id., {BMR} 'frog', WrM *lag melekei*, Kl {Rm.} *yaq melkē* 'Schildkröte', Ord *lag melek xī* 'tortue' (M **lag melek(eyi)* lit. 'mud frog'), Brt *məlxəj* 'tortoise', Dg {T} *melek*, {MYC} *məzəg* 'frog, toad', {Lg.} *məlēg*, {Mrm.} *melex*, {Mr.} *melexe* 'frog', WrO {Krg.} *melekei* 'frog, amphibian', Ord *melek xī* 'grenouille' ¶ Krg. 597-8, MED 534, BMR II 371, Chr. 311, KRS 348-9, KW 260, T DgJ 154, Ms. H 75, T DgJ 154, Klz. D II 120, Mr. D 190, Ms. O 442, 461, Lg. VMI 53, Pp. MA 235 ¶ The M word was probably influenced by the paronym **menekeyi* 'frog, tortoise' (> MM *menekeyi* id., [HI] *nag menekeyi* 'tortoise') ¶ M *-e- of the first syll. is likely to be due to regr. as. (infl. of *-e- of the second syll.) or belong to the heritage of N **mæ qUR* ▽ (cf. N **mæL ▽ y|χ* ▽ 'lizard', 'small reptile' or sim.) || *Add. source* of T **bāka* (**māka*) ({Md.} **b₁āka*) 'frog' (< N **mUHAK* ▽ 'frog', q.v. ffd.) ¶ SDM 920 (pA *m₁āk' o* 'frog' > M, Ko, T + unc. Tg **mōko* (l ▽) 'bat, chipmunk'), DQA no. 1299 (id.), ≈ SDM97 (pA **mōk' o* 'frog' > Ko, M), ≈ Rm. SKE 144 (Ko, M) || **HS:** CCh **m ▽ k ▽ r ▽* > pMfM {Tk.} **mak^wal* ~ **maklaw* 'lizard, chameleon' > Mafa {BLB} *mokwal* 'ε petit lézard', Mkt {Ro.} *mākùlólò* 'chameleon', Mofu *màklà-zàráw* 'lizard', MfG *makwál* 'ε petit lézard', Lgn {Lk.} *mágaran* 'Eidechse' ¶ Brr. MG 173, BLB 224, Ro. 222 [no. 120], 285 [no. 433b], Lk. L 106 || ?σ Eg XVIII *mχβ.ω* 'ein Tier, dessen Haut zu einem ledernen Armring verarbeitet wird' ¶ EG II 131. ¶ Tk. III 504-5.

1458. **mAr^rú* 'trace, path; to follow' > **A** **m^rú^ri* (= **mör^ri*?) 'road, track; follow' > M **mör* 'trace, trail, way, path' > MM {Lew., H} *mör*, WrM {MED} *mör*, HIM {MED, BMR} *məp*, Brt *myp* 'path, trail', Kl {KRS} *məp mör* 'trail, path', {Rm.} *mör* 'Spur, Weg', Ord *mör* 'trace, vestige, chemin', Mnr H {SM} *mör*

(the length is secondary) 'chemin, route', Mgl {Rm.} mōr, {Wr.} mor, Ba mor 'way, path'; M *mörde- v. 'trail, trace, follow' > WrM {MED} mörde- id., HIM мөрдө- {MED} id., {BMR} 'follow in the tracks', Brt мүрдэ- id., Kl {KRS} мөрд- id., {Rm.} mördə- 'in den Spuren gehen\folgen, aufspüren', Ord mörd_ö- 'faire des recherches pour retrouver, examiner' ¶ SM 240, T 345-6, T BJ 143, MED 548, BMR II 347-9, Chr. 307-8, KRS 358-9, KW 206, Rm. M 34, Wr. 173, Pp. MA 239, H 110, Ms. H 76, Ms. O 469-70, S AJ 237 [no. 73] || pKo *mōr- v. 'pursue, follow, chase' ({SDM} 'pursue, drive') > MKo mōr-, NKo mol- 'pursue, follow, chase' ¶ S AJ [no. 126], S QK no. 126, Yu 325, MLC 641, HMC 307 || pJ *mítí 'road' > OJ mīiti, MJ mítí, J: T mići, K mící, Kg míyi (= mí]), Ns mičí, Sh míçì, Ht miçì, Y àmítí id. ¶ S AJ [no. 61], Mr. 481, Kenk. 1218 || T: Xlj b̄r- 'go' | T *bar- v. 'walk, go, go away' ({Md.} *bār- ~ *b̄r) (× N *barq∇ [~ *barX∇] 'go, go away, step', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 930 (pA mīóri 'road, track', v. 'follow' > M *mör, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1319, SDM97 s.v. *mōri, S AJ 89, 277 [no. 59] (A*mīōr∇) || D (att. in McTm) *maꞥuk• 'street' > Tm maꞥuku 'street, narrow street, lane', Ml maꞥuku 'street' ¶ D no. 4770 || HS: Eg fMK mrr.t 'street', Eg G mrr.t 'way' ¶ EG II 108, 110, Fk. 112 || S *√mrr v. 'go away, pass' (× N *mur∇ 'go away, perish, die', q.v. ffd.) || B: ZAS *√mrr: ʈa-mʈir-ʈ 'sentier' ¶ Loub. 566 || C: Or mar- {Hw.} 'go', Sml {R} mar- 'vorübergehen, vorbeigehen, passieren, durchwandern, gehen', marin 'Pfad, schmaler Weg'; HEC *mar- {Hd.} 'go', {Mrn.} 'andare, camminare' > Brj, Ged, Hd, Kmb, Sd mar- 'go' ¶ Ss. B 140-1, R SS II 297, 302, Hd. 71, Mrn. ApD 237, Mrn. S 229 || WCh: Buli {Gw. → JI} marrí 'go' || CCh: Pdl {Mk.} mirvi 'road', Mf {BLB} māráy 'en chemin, en course de route', Ms {Caît.} mār 'venir auprès' || Ech: Ke {Eb.} kə-məmár 'Ziehpfad, Spur von Rindern', Jg {J} morφ ~ morb 'way, path', EDngl {DjM} mòrē ¶ JJ s.v. morφ ~ morb, ChC s.v. 'path' and 'road', Eb. 68, JI II 162, BLB 231, Caît. 110, DjM 209 ¶¶ Tk. III 425-6 ◊ M *-ö- < *-ä|a- (labializing as., caused by *m- and/or possibly by *-û) ◊ Cf. AD AltAD no. 17.

1459. ₂ *maR∇ 'sand, dust, earth' > HS: SWS: Gz marēt 'earth, dust of the ground, dirt', √mrt G 'become soiled\rusty', Sb {Bll.} mrt 'clay, clayey soil', Qtb {Rk.} mrt 'limestone, gypsum' ¶ L G 361, Bll. 285, Rk. 99 ¶ Eg XVIII mrv 'Wüste' ¶ EG II 109 ¶ S: Ar marwarāt- 'desert' ¶ BK II 1097 ¶¶ Tk. III 421-2 || A *mar∇ 'sand, barren soil' > M *maraya > WrM {Rm. ← ?} maraга, HIM {BMR} maraa 'Salzerde (солончак)', Kl Ö {Rm.} marā 'Sodaerde, Salzsteppe', Brt Δ maraa(н) 'солонцы (salty ground\land)' ¶ BMR II 323, Chr. 293, KW 257 || ? Tg: Ewk mar 'wood of shortish birch trees (поросль низкорослой

березы), Ewk Ald/Urm mar 'peat bog' ⇨ Yk mā̄r 'swamp overgrown with moss, swampy tundra' ¶ STM I 531 || ?φ pJ {S} *mana-n-kuā 'sand' ({S} ass. nasalization from **mara-n-) > OJ managwo 'sand' ¶ Mr. 472, S QJ no. 134 || pKo *mòr'ái 'sand' > MKo mòr'ái, Ko: SI/Ph/PhN/Kw morä, Chs morá, Ks môre, Hm mo_rá, Chj mollä id. ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 70], S QK no. 629, Nam 218, MLC 629, Rm. SKE 151 || AdS of T *bō̄r 'ε (barren) soil\ground' (× N *bohr▽ 'loose earth, dust', q.v. ffd. × N *bAr▽ 'earth, land; dust'; cf. also N *bô̄ri'γ'U 'loose earth, dust') ¶¶ SDM 904-5 (pA *mā̄ro > Tg, M, J, Ko + unc. T *bor 'chalk, earth, clay' [= *bor 'dust, sand, clay, chalk', 'ε (barren) soil\ground' < N *bohr▽ 'loose earth, dust', q.v.) (here it is an AdS], DQA no. 1268; ≈ S AJ 288 [no. 291] (pA *mō|ō̄rV) and ≈ Rm. SKE 151 (in both: pA > Ko, T *bō̄r 'chalk').

1460. *mer▽ 'to flash, to sparkle, to shine' > HS: B *✓mry > Sll a-marruy (pl. i-marruy-ən) 'spark', a-murçri v. 'sparkle (briller)', ? Izn {Rn.} tamiiri 'moonshine', Ah e-mmar 'chaleur rayonnée (du soleil, du feu etc.)' ¶ Ds. 46, 118, Rn. 386 || Eg XVIII m̄.ωt 'die Strahlen der Sonne, ihr Glanz' ¶ EG II 28 ¶¶ Tk. III 66, 68 || IE: NaIE *mer- v. 'sparkle, glitter, flash', {EI} 'shine, shimmer' > OI 'marīci-h̄ 'particle of light, shining mote\speck in the air, ray of light' || Gk μαρμαῖρω, μαρμαρῖζω v. 'flash, sparkle, gleam' || L merus 'pure, unmixed' (← *'clear') || AS (ā-)merian 'to purify (esp. melted metals), to test' || ? Sl *marь (× *marь '≈ mirage, dream') > R Sib map 'blaze of the sun (солнечный жар, солнечный зной)', ds: Blg мара'ня 'very hot weather', Δ marina 'heat', R 'маревое 'mirage in hazy and very hot weather; haze' ¶ WP II 273-4, P 733, EI 514, M K II 589, WH II 78, Ho. 220, ESSJ XVII 215-18, SRNG XIII 367 || ?φ A: Tg: Ul mūrzn- v. 'glitter' ¶ STM I 560 ¶ The unexpected rounded vw. ū requires explanation (ass. infl. of m-?) || D {tr., GS} *merç- 'shine, glitter' > Kn mīrçugv v. 'glitter, flash, sparkle, shine', mīrçv 'shining, sparkling', merçv v. 'shine, gleam, glitter', Tu merçpi-, merçy-, merçv- v. 'shine', Tl merçacu v. 'glitter', Prj marp-, Klm merp- v. 'lighten', {SR} mirḡūd 'spark', Nkr merp- v. 'flash, lighten', Gdb merç(i)er- 'glitter', mers 'lightning' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 5074 (tying in D *mer- > Tm merukv 'smoothness' etc.), GS 153 [no. 388].

1461. *moRE (= *moRi?) 'body of water' > HS: Eg fP mr 'canal, artificial lake' ¶ EG II 97, Fk. 111 || S: Sb mr 'ε part of irrigation system' (perhaps 'channel?') ¶ Bll. 282-3 || EC:: Cm {Savà} mīre 'pond', ??σ Or Br mērī 'watering trough' ¶ Sr. GBO 208, Savà 262 || SOm: Ari {Bn.} miri 'river, stream', Dime {Si.} mīre 'river' ¶ Bnd. OL 350 [no. 74] || CCh: FIMb mirá

'river', Msk {Trn.} mîrà 'marigot, oxbow lake' ¶ IS II no. 294, Trn. LDM 24 ¶¶ Tk. III 371 || IE: NaIE *mor-, *mori / *m_ori 'sea, lake' > L mare 'sea' (gen. maris, abl. marī) (< NaIE *m_ori-, generalization of the originally unstressed stem variant, as in gen. sg. *m_or'j_u-es; the pure root stem is found in OL gen. pl. mar-um, F_{EM} 689) || Clt *mori- 'sea' > OIr muir (gen. mora), Brtt {RE} *mori > MBr, Br {Hm.} mor, OW, MW mor, W {YGM} mōr, MCrm mor, Crn mór id., OCrn [ʏ] mor 'mare' || Gmc: Gt marei (· θαλασσα) 'Meer', OHG {Kb.} meri, {OsS} marei, NHG Meer 'sea', ON mar-r (gen. mar-ar), AS mere 'sea, lake'; the L-gr. *mōr- means 'lake, swamp': OSx mōr 'swamp', OHG muor 'lake, swamp', NHG Moor 'bog, fen, swamp' || Pru mary 'the Curonian Lagoon (Kurisches Haff)', Lt pl. mārės (gen. mārios) id., 'sea', Ltv mare (gen. mar, a) 'the Curonian Lagoon' (and 'lake' in names of lakes, e.g. Ltv {En.} Tuosmare); Blt b> F, Es meri 'sea' || Sl *moře 'sea' > OCS морѣ morje, Blg мор'е, SCr mòre, Slv morjê, Cz moře, Slk more, P morze, R, Uk 'море id. || Oss mal 'deep standing water; deep place in a lake\river', {OsR} 'омут, лужа' || Ht marmar(r)a- {Ot. → EI} 'swamp, marsh' (if Otten's interpretation is right) ¶¶ P 316, EI 503-4 (*'mori 'sea'), WH II 38-9, Vn. M 73, RE 126, Fs. 346, Vr. 379-80, Kb. 676, OsS 591-2, 628, Schz. 216, Frn. 409-10, En. 208, Kar. I 557, SSA II 160, SK 341, ESSJ XIX 227-32, StSS 332, Glh. 422-3, Matas. E 277-8, YGM-1 3355, Hm. 578, Ab. II 68-9, CHD L-N 192 (Ht marmar(r)a- 'ε terrain') || K *mōrE 'body of water, water' > M *mōren 'large river, lake, sea' > MM [MA] {Pp.} gen. mōrenū 'of the sea, of a large river', [IsV] {Lg.} mōren 'large river (fleuve), stream of water', [HI] {Ms.} mūr in 'river (fleuve, rivière)', WrM {MED} mōren 'large river or lake', HIM мѡрѣн {MED} id., {BMR} large river', Kl {KRS} мѡрѣн mōrān 'river (falling into a sea)', {Rm.} mōrŋ 'breiter Fluß', Mnr H {SM} murōn 'fleuve, riviere', Mnr M {Pot.} murun 'the Huanghe', Dg mūr(ū) 'river', Ord mōrōn 'rivière, fleuve' ¶ MED 548, BMR II 350, Pp. MA 240, KRS 360, KW 267, Ms. H 76, Ms. O 471, Lg. VMI 55, SM 250, T 347, T DgJ 155 || pKo {S} *mír 'water' > MKo mír, NKo mul ¶ S QJ no. 97, Nam 229, MLC 675 ¶ S QJ no. 87, Mr. 483, Kenk. 1244, Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (pJ *mi- < *mi_lrE_l) ¶¶ S AJ 28-9, 69, 86, 278; SDM97 (s.v. *mú:ri), Rm. EAS I 79, 147, KW 267, Pp. VG 35, Lee CSMK 115; Mr. KJ 246, Mng. KA 277-8; SDM 935-6 (pA *mijūri 'water' > M, Ko + unc.: Tg *mū 'water' and pJ {S} *mí(-n-tú) 'water' [both from N *mūhi 'water']), DQA no. 1335 (id.), Vv. AEN-d 2-3 (id. + T *-mur in *jaγmur 'rain' and pJ *mi- < *mi_lrE_l) 'water', S AJ 28-9, 278 (pA *mūri > M, Ko, T *-mur in *jaγmur 'rain' + unc. J and Tg), Rm. EAS

I 79, KW 267, Pp. VG 25, Mng. KA 277-8 ◇ IS II 60-1 [no. 294] (**märä* 'moisture, moist'; IS did not distinguish between this etymon and N **mAr√* 'rain, cloud' [q.v.]) → S CNM 3 ◇ The presence of the specific meaning 'body of water (sea, lake, river, pool)' in Eg, IE, K and M suggests that this is not an independent parallel semantic change, but is the ancient meaning of the √, therefore it must be distinguished from N **mAr√* '↑'. Connecting words for 'sea' and 'cloud, rain' is hardly justifiable ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 415 (**mor* 'water') (IE, A, Ko, J + unc. CK).

1462. **mur√* ≈ 'twist, roll, go round, tie' > **HS**: C: LEC {Bl., HL} **mar-* {HL} 'be round\wrapped, turn\twirl' > Or {Grg.} *mara* vt. 'wrap', Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} *mara* 'go round, turn, spin a tread, wrap', Or Wl {Bl.} *mar-ata* 'cloth wound around head and waist', Gdl {Bl.} *mar-* 'coil, roll up', Kns {Bl.} *mar-* 'roll up, meander', Sml {ZMO} *ku mar-* 'tie sth. up with sth. else', *mar(-ta)* 'woman's belt', {Bl.} *mar-m-ad-* (caus. + ben.) 'put on clothes', Rn *mar-* {PG} v. 'go round, circle, revolve', {HL} 'be round', Bs {HL} *mara-mut-* vi. 'turn', Arr {Hw.} *mar-* 'be wrapped, be wound round, Af {PH} *maro, marmāru* 'circle', *marrōwe-* v. 'encircle', *mārrōw* 'encirclement', *marmarite-* 'go round' ¶ Bl. 156, PG 219, HL 129, Grg. 278, Sr. 364, ZMO 277-8, Hw. A 383, PH 164, ≈ Ss. B 140-1 || Om: SOm: Ari {HL} *mār-* v. 'twirl' || NrOm: Ym *mar-* {HL} v. 'gird', {Lm.} 'einen Verband anlegen' (← Or?) ¶ HL 129, Lm. Y 366 || CS **-mūr-* > Ar ✓ *mwr G* (ip. *-mūr-*) vi. 'move to and fro', 'move within a wounded person' (of a sword), 'be in commotion' (sea), BHb inf. *N* *המור* *him'mōr* 'schwanken', *N* pf. (paus.) *נָמַר* *nā''mār* vi. 'he altered', *Sh* pf. *הִמְיַר* *hē'mīr* vt. 'he exchanged, be altered', JEA ✓ *mwr Sh* (pf. *הִמְיַר* *hē'mīr*) vt. 'exchange' ¶ KB 531, Js. 748, Hv. 739, BK II 1166-7 || Eg fMd, DEg *mr* v. 'tie', Cpt **ΜΟΥΡ** *mur*, **ΜΕΡ-** *mer-*, **ΜΟΡ** *mor-* id. ¶ EG II 105, Er. 106, Vc. 119 || WCh: Pr *méřú-rò*, Su {ChL} *muřer*, Ang {ChL} *myer*, Gmy {ChL} *mìyòr* 'twist' | Possibly Ch *✓ *mrđ* ~ *✓ *mrkđ* 'twist' > Hs *mùrdà*, Gw {Mts.} *míríńa*, Klr {ChL} *móřújì*, Krkr {ChL} *mùrdú*, Ngm *màrdít*, Bl {Lk.} *markud-*, My a *murđusų*, Jmb {Sk.} *márgžđ-*, Dir (← Hs?) *márdà*, Za {Sh.} (← Hs?) *mùrdí*, Bd *măřđâtu* id. ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'twist', Abr. H 685, Ba. 802, Sk. NB s.v. Jmb *márgžđ-*, Lk. TS s.v. Bl *markud-*, Mts. G s.v. *míríńa* || **K**: G *mor-* {DCh.} 'round off (округлять)', {Chx.} 'zu Rundholz machen' ¶ DCh. 831, Chx. 809 || **IE**: NaIE **mer-*, (+ext.) **meragh-* ~ **mergh-* 'tie together, twist': [1] NaIE **mer-* > Gk *μηρύσμαι* (Gk D *μαρ-*) 'zusammen- auf-wickeln, winden' ({LS} 'draw up, furl [sails]; wind up [the strands of a torsion engine]; weave the woof into the warp'), *μέρμις* (gen. *μέρμιτος*) 'cord, string, rope' || MDt inf. *marren*. MLG inf. *mōren* 'to tie', ON *merđr*, OSw *mierder*, *miärdhe*, Sw *mjärd*, Δ *mjärdē* 'fish basket (Fischreuse)' || [2] NaIE **meragh-* ~

*merg^h- > Gk βρόχος (< *μρόχος) 'noose, slipknot', μόροττον 'basket made of bark' ||| Ltv mārga 'Geländer, Bäume zum Anbinden der Pferde', ? Lt mārška ({P} < *merag^h-ska) 'Stück Leinwand, Bettlaken, Betttuch, kleines Fischernetz' || SI *merža > OCS мрѣжа mrěža 'net, snare', Blg 'мрежа 'net', OR мережа mereža, R Δ ме'рѣжа ѣ ме'режа, Uk ме'режа 'fishing net', R dim. ме'рѣжка 'drawnwork', SCr mrež'a 'net; trap, snare', Slv mrež'a 'net', Cz mř í ž e, Slk mrež'a 'grating, lattice', OP mrzež'a 'ε (hunting\fishing) net' ||| OIr brága 'prisoner, hostage' ¶ P 733, EI 64 (*mer-'braid, bind'), F I 272, II 211, 231, Frn. 412, ESSJ XVIII 102-3, StSS 334, Glh. 425-6, Vr. 384, ≈ Vn. B 76 (OIr brága 'prisoner' ← brága 'throat, neck') ||| А *mur∇ 'round; turn, return' > M *mura > MM [MA] мура 'bent', ? Kl {Rm.} mur 'uneben'; M *muruḡi- ({SDM} 'away, curve [krumm]') > MM [IM] муруḡ- 'be bent\crooked', WrM {MED} муруḡi-, HIM {MED, BMR} муруḡ- v. 'bend, be crooked, turn, meander', Ord муруḡi- 'être courbe\tortu', Mnr H {SM} murī- 'être incliné d'un côté, être sinueux\tortu'; M *muruḡi > MM [MA] murū, [IM] مورو muruḡ, 'bent', WrM муруḡi {MED} 'awry, slanting, bending', HIM муруḡ {MED} id., {BMR} 'krumm, gebogen, im Zickzack (зигзагообразный), sinuous (извилистый), направленный в сторону', Ord муруḡi 'tortu, de traverts, contourné, qui perche d'un côté, oblique'; M *murigu > WrM {MED} муриḡу(у) 'crooked, twised'; contrarry, astray', HIM {BMR} муриḡ 'krumm, schräg (косой)', Brt һарюу мурюу 'вкривь и вкось', Mnr H {SM} murī 'incliné d'un côté, sinueux, tortu', Kl T {Rm.} murū 'schief, sich schlingernd, biegend' ({Rm.} < *muruḡi or d. *murigu) ¶ Pp. MA 241, 442, MED 552, Chr. 679, Ms. O 476, KW 269, SM 249-50 || Tg *mur- 'walk round, turn aside; return' > Ewk muru- 'walk round, turn aside', Lm мэрәк- v. 'return', Ul муру adv. 'in the shape of a circle\sphere (кругло, шарообразно)'; Tg d. *murḡuḡkī, *murg- 'round' > Ewk muruku, murukē 'circle', WrMc {Z} мургънь adj. 'round (круглый)', мурки- v. 'make round (округлять, закруглять)'; other derivatives: Ewk мурзлī 'around', Lm мэрзлī 'circle', Ork "moroliqtu 'round; circle', morolimz adj. 'round' ¶ STM I 559, Z 903, 914 || T *bür- (= *mür-) ~ *bur- (= *mur-) v. 'twist, wind around' (× N *bUr∇ 'turn round, rotate', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The variants with -u- ~ -ü- are due to contamination with different N words, e.g. *büryi 'to cover' (q.v.) and *bôř'a' 'to pierce, to bore' (q.v. ffd.) || Ko: [1] (acc. to SDM) pKo {S} *muri 'halo, ring (around the sun or moon)' > NKo muri ¶ S QK no. 842, MLC 658] [2] ?φ pKo {S} *mìrì- v. 'return' > MKo mîrî-, NKo muri- id. ¶ S QK no. 129,

Nam 226, MLC 657 || pJ {S, SDM} *márǎ 'round (rund)' > OJ maro, MJ máró, J: T màrui, K márui, Kg mári, Ns màrù-, Sh màrú, Ht múrù-, Y màrú-nká id. ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 98], S QJ no. 98, Mr. 834, Kenk. 1184 ¶¶ SDM 955-6 (pA *múrǎ 'round; turn, return' > Tg, M *murui [i.e. *muruyi], T *bur(a)- 'twist, wind round', Ko *muri 'halo, ring around the sun\moon'), DQA no. 1369 (id.), SDM97 (A *mure [or *mu'ere] 'round; turn, return'), S AJ 93, 278 [no. 91] (pA *mūrǎ 'round; turn [поворачиваться]' > M, Tg, J, Ko *mìrì-), Pp. VG 36 || D (d.?) *muṛukk- v. 'twist, twirl' > Tm muṛukku v. 'twist (as a rope), twirl, spin (as a potter his wheel)', muṛuku v. 'wriggle, twist', Ml muṛukku n. act. 'twining, twisting, writhing', Kn muṛuku 'twist (the face) out of its natural shape, distort (it), give a different shape (to it)', Tl muṛakaṭamu 'turning', Klm murgadilen v. 'twist (a limb)', Krx murkaṭā- v. 'sprain' ¶¶ D no. 5012 ||] ?φ D *muri- 'bend, curve' > Tm muri v. 'bend', muri-muri v. 'curve, bend', Kn muri v. 'bend, be bent, grow crooked', Tu muri n. 'curve, circle', Tl murincu vt. 'turn', Prj murg- 'be bent', Gdb murg- 'bend (while peeping); bend down', Gnd muṛitana 'be dislocated'; D → Prkr muria- 'twisted', OMrt murad- v. 'turn, twist' ¶¶ The variant *muri- (if it belongs here) must go back to an extended stem, because D *-r- goes back to N *r-clusters rather than to a N intervoc. *-r- ¶¶ D no. 4977 || ?? U: FU *m^or- > Er мурда- murda- 'turn aside, return from (свернуть, возвратиться)', {Ps.} 'um-\ zurück-kehren', Mk мрда- mṛda- vi. 'return' || OHg XVI marjul- 'become sprained\ dislocated (verrenkt werden)', XIX ki-maritt 'sprain, dislocate (verrenken)' ¶ ERV 394, PI 169, Ps. M 97, MTE II 846, EWU 938, IS II 74 ◇ It is not clear whether FU *m^or- with its aberrant vw. *^o (for the expected *u) belongs here ◇ IS II 74-5 (*muri 'скручивать' > HS, IE, U, A, D, K).

1463. *murǎ 'break, crush, cut' > HS: EC *mur- 'cut' > Dsn múr-, Or B, Kns, Msl, Sd, Kmb mur- id., Hd mur- 'cut, reap', Brj mur- 'cut, castrate', Gdl mur- 'cut person's genitalia to take trophy', Elm, Arr d. mur-i 'short', Arr muras- 'shorten' ¶ Bl. 294, Ss. PEC 23, Hd. 214, 294, 334, 387, 418, Grg. 295, To. DL 519, Hw. A 386 || ?? NrOm: Kf {C} mureččō 'eunuch' ¶ C SE IV 273 || K: G mor- v. 'trim (fallen trees)', Sv UB {IS ← ?} mur-in- v. 'break' (-in- is a caus. sx) ¶ IS II 74, Chx. 809 || IE *mer- v. 'crush, crumb' > L mortārium 'mortar' (← *mṛ-¹tos 'rubbed away, pulverized') || ? Gk παραύνω 'quench (fire)', ps. ft. παρανθήσομαι 'die away, go slowly out' || ON inf. merja (p. marǎa) 'schlagen, zerstoßen' ({EI} 'prick, sting'), OSw morp 'bröckelige Masse, Abfall', Ic mor 'dust', ζ OHG {Vr.} inf. meren 'zerschlagen' (not mentioned

in Kb. and OsS) ||| Sl *mьrvа 'crumb(s), small bit(s)' > Blg 'мрѣва 'piece of meat', Δ 'мрѣва ѝ 'мърѣва id., 'fine dust', McdS мрѣва 'crumb, small piece of meat', SCr mř`ѣва 'crumb', Slv mř`ѣва 'crumb, small bit', OCz m r ѣ в а 'fragment', Cz m r ѣ в а 'small pieces, litter', Slk m r ѣ в а 'hash, litter', P m i e r z ѣ в а 'short straw, straw litter', OR мѣрѣва m e r ѣ в а 'small waste of flax\cereals', 'refuge in wax', R Δ 'мѣрѣва 'small waste of flax' ||| OI m r ѣ 'ṛāti ~ m r ѣ 'ṛāti 'crushes, grinds' (× IE *mel- 'grind' < N *moīṽ 'to pound') || Ht {Ts.} m a r r i ѣ в а - 'zerstückeln, zerkleinern' (not mentioned in CHD) ¶¶ P 735-7, EI 142, WH II 112; F II 174 and Ch. 666 (in both no clear et. of μαράνω), Vr. 385, ESSJ XXI 151-4, Glh. 427, M K 672-3, M E II 319-20, Ts. W 51 ||| A: T *m̄or- > VTt мур- mur- 'become rotten (as wood)' ('трыхляветь'), {RI.} 'mürbe werden, verrotten', ? ET {RI.} پور pur 'verdorben, verfault'; (+ sx *-t) T *m̄ort 'fragile, brittle' > Tkm port, Uz мўрт murt id., Bsh murt, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq, Qrg mort 'fragile, frail, brittle', StXk, Sg/Qb {RI.} port, VTt murt id., VTt {RI.} murt, SbTt Tb {RI.} mort 'mürbe, morsch', -& : StAlt bortiq, QK {B} portiq 'fragile', Chv L муртак, Chv Δ.мортак ~ муртăк ~ мортăк 'spröde, brüchig; schlaff' ¶ TatR 379, Jeg. 135, TkR 532, Jud. 532, BT 33, B DLT 189, BIG 158, RI. IV 1271, 1365, 2125, 2190, 2194, Cl. xliii (on the sx *-t), ASh. VIII 274-5, 320, Fed. I 363, Jeg. 135. ChVS 118 ||| ?σ Tg: Ewk PT murdunэ- v. 'debark (a tree)' ¶ STM I 558 ||| D: [1] D *mur- 'break' > Tm муr̄i (p. -ѣ-) vi. 'break, give way as a branch', муr̄i (p. -pp-) vt. 'break (as a stick), cut', Ml муr̄i 'fragment, piece of cloth', муr̄ikka vt. 'break, cut', Kn муr̄i vt. 'break (off\down), crush, sever by fracture', Tl муr̄i ѣу 'be broken\severed', n. 'piece, crumb' ¶¶ D no. 5008 ||| [2] D *mur- 'break' (× N *muhRṽ 'part, piece' [q.v.]) > Tm муr̄i (p. -ѣ-) vi. 'break off, snap off, perish', муr̄i (p. -pp-) vt. 'break off, snap off', Ml mūr̄uka vt. 'cut, cut up (a hog etc.), reap', Kt мур̄у vi., vt. 'break' (of stick-like things), Td mūr̄у vi. 'break in two (a stick)', vt. 'break', Kdg мур̄i 'make a cut', Tu муr̄i 'an incision, notch', mūr̄uni vt. 'mince, cut up', Tl муr̄i ѣу v. 'break', Klm murk- 'split (wood), break', Nkr vi. 'break', Png mur- 'cut (horizontally)', Kui mroku inba 'snap off, be broken off', Krx mur̄uk- v. 'abscind, amputate, cut in twain', mur̄r- 'get broken', Mlt mur̄ke 'cut in bits, cut across' ¶¶ D *-r- belongs to the heriatage of N *muhRṽ ¶¶ D no. 4975 ||| U *mura- v. 'crumble away, crumble to pieces', *mura 'small bit, crumb' (× N *muhRṽ 'part, piece') > F muren(e) 'crumb, particle, bit, fragment', муr̄у 'crumb', муr̄еа 'crisp', муr̄акка 'crispness', муr̄таа 'break, crack, crush', Es муr̄е (gen. муr̄еда) 'crumbly, friable' ||| Lp: N {N} moarrâ- /-r- 'break into pieces (ice

or frozen surface of snow)', $m\ddot{o}rre$ / -r- 'crumb, small bit (e.g. bread)', L {LLO} $m\ddot{u}or'hka-$ 'become brittle\friable' (of wood etc.) || ObU {Ht.} * $m\ddot{u}r-$ vi. 'break, be broken' > pVg * $m\ddot{u}r-$ > Vg: LK/MK $mor-$, UK/Ss $mur-$ id., d.: LK/MK $morl-$, UK/Ss $murl-$ vt. 'break partly, murtaa'; pOs {Ht.} * $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{a}y-$ ~ * $mar\ddot{a}y-$ > 'break into pieces (zerbrechen)' > Os: V/Vy $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{t}-$, Ty $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{t}-$, Y $mori-$, D/K $mor\ddot{a}y-$, Kz $m\ddot{w}r\ddot{i}-$, O $mari-$ id., Ty $m\ddot{o}rt-$ ~ inv. $m\ddot{i}rta$ id., Os ds: V/Vy $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}l-$ id., Ty $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{a}q\ddot{i}nt-$ id. | Hg $mar-$ v. 'bite, corrode, mill' || Sm {Jn.} * $m\ddot{b}r\ddot{l}\ddot{b}_j-$ vt. 'break' > Ne: T d. $m\ddot{a}p\ddot{d}a-$, T O {Lh.} $m\ddot{a}r\ddot{\delta}\ddot{a}$ id., F {Lh.} vt. $mart\ddot{a}-$ 'stark schlagen', d. Ne: T $m\ddot{a}p\ddot{k}a\ddot{d}\ddot{a}-$, T O $m\ddot{a}r\ddot{k}\ddot{\ddot{a}}\ddot{\delta}\ddot{a}$ vi. 'plötzlich durchbrechen', F $mar\ddot{o}k\ddot{a}tt\ddot{f}\ddot{e}$ vi. 'zerbrach plötzlich'; Ng {Cs.} 1s obj. $mar\ddot{u}'\ddot{p}ama$, p. $mar\ddot{a}j\ddot{u}ama$ 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen'; En X {Cs.} $mo\ddot{h}e'\ddot{i}bo'$, En B {Cs.} $more'\ddot{e}bo$ 1s obj. 'break'; Slq MTz {KD} $mur\ddot{a}lta-$ v. 'crumble', Slq Tm {KD} $mor\ddot{a}nnab$, Slq Ch {KD} $m\ddot{o}rna\ddot{u}$ 1s aor. id.; Kms {KD} $b\ddot{b}r\ddot{u}'\ddot{y}j\ddot{a}b\ddot{a}'am$ 1s pres. 'I break, I break into pieces' ¶¶ Coll. 36, UEW 288, SK 352-3, Ht. no. 406, Jn. 87-8, Cs. 74, 306 ¶¶ The variability of the vw. (Lp N \ddot{o} < * u , but $\ddot{o}a$ < * \ddot{o}_l) may be somehow connected with the merger of two N words within this U √ ◇ The vw. * \ddot{o} (for the expected * u) in T * $m\ddot{u}r-$ is still to be explained ◇ IS II 75-6 (* $m\ddot{u}r\ddot{\Delta}$ 'break, crush' > HS, IE, K, U, D, A; IS tied in some reflexes of N * $m\ddot{u}hR\ddot{\Delta}$ '↑' and N * $m\ddot{\Delta}R\ddot{\Delta}_l\ddot{\Delta}_l\ddot{\Delta}$ 'to crumb, to crush' [q.v.]), UEW 288 (U, IE).

1464. * $m\ddot{u}r\ddot{\Delta}$ 'go away, perish, die' > HS: S * $\check{m}rr G$ 'go away, pass' (× N * $mAr'\ddot{u}'$ 'trace, path; to follow?') > Ug $\check{m}rr G$ 'go away', {OLS} 'partir, marchar', Ar $\check{m}rr v. G$ (pf. $m\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}$) {Fr.} 'transivit, präterit; abiit', {Hv.} 'elapse' (of time), 'pass', Jb C $\check{m}rr v. G$ (pf. $m\ddot{i}rr$, sbjn. 'yummur), Jb E $\check{m}rr v. G$ (pf. $m\ddot{i}r$), Mh $\check{m}rr v. G$ (pf. $m\ddot{a}r$) v. 'pass', Hrs $\check{m}rr$ (pf. $m\ddot{a}r$) 'continue, go', Ak $\check{m}rr v.$ 'go away' ¶ A no. 1658, OLS 292, Fr. IV 163-4, Hv. 713, BK II 1082-3, Jo. M 268, Jo. J 173, Jo. H 89, Sd. 609 || C: EC * $mar-$ 'pass, go' > Sml $mar-$ 'pass (through\ by\along)', Rn $mar-$ 'move across (to one side of the house)' (of a woman after childbirth); Af {PH} $mare$ scv. 'continue, live'; HEC {Hd.} * $mar-$ 'go' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.}, Sd {Gs., Hd.} $mar-$ 'go' ¶ ZMO 277, Abr. S 174-5, PG 219, PH 164, Hd. 71, 211, 254, 293, 332, 385, ~ Ss. B 140-1 (err.: * $mar-$ 'go' < 'go round' [cp. N * $m\ddot{u}r\ddot{\Delta}$ ≈ twist, roll, turn round]) || IE * $mer-/m\ddot{r}_o-$ 'die' > OI $mri'yat\ddot{e}$ 'dies' (aor. $a-m\ddot{r}_o-ta$, pf. $ma'm\ddot{a}ra$), OI BdhSk $marati$, Av $miriyeite$ (= $m\ddot{a}r\ddot{y}e\ddot{i}te$) id., OPrs $a-mariyat\ddot{a}$ 'he died' || Arm $\ddot{m}e\ddot{r}\ddot{a}n\ddot{i}m$ 'I die' || L 1s pres. $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{i}or$ / inf. $m\ddot{o}r\ddot{i}$ 'die' || Lt inf. $m\ddot{i}r\ddot{t}i$ (1s pres. $m\ddot{i}r\ddot{s}tu$), Ltv inf. $m\ddot{i}r\ddot{t}$ (1s pres. $m\ddot{i}r\ddot{s}tu$) 'to die', Lt d. $m\ddot{e}ris$, $m\ddot{i}re$ 'death', $m\ddot{i}r\ddot{e}$ 'dead' | Sl inf.

*mer-ti (1s pres. *мър-ѡ) 'to die' > OCS inf. **МРѢТИ** mrěti (1s pres. **МЪРЪ** мърѡ), SCr inf. мрѣти & mrijéti (1s pres. mrēm), Slv inf. mrěti (1s pres. mrēm), Cz inf. mříti, Slk inf. mriet', P inf. mrzeć, OR inf. **МЕРЕТН** mereti id., R inf. ме'реть 'to die' (of many people) (3p pres. мрут), with pxs: inf. умереть, помереть 'to die', Uk inf. 'мерти (1s pres. мру) 'to die', Blg мрѡ > мра 'I die'] ⇨ NaIE caus. *mor-ej- 'cause to die' > OI 3s pres. mā'raya-ti 'causes to die' ||| Sl inf. *mor'iti id. > SCr inf. mōriti, Slv inf. moríti, Cz inf. mořiti, Slk inf. morit', P inf. morzyc', R inf. морить, Uk inf. морити, OCS cd inf. **ОУМОРНТИ** u-moriti 'cause to die' ||| Lt inf. marinti vt. 'to starve (verhungern lassen), exterminate; attend a dying person'] NaIE d. (pp.) *mr̥o-'to-'dead' > OI mr̥o'ta-, Av mərəta, OPrs marta- id. ||| Lt mirtōji diena 'day of death'] NaIE *mr̥t-u-o (< *mr̥o-to × *mr̥o-u-o) 'dead' > L mortuus id. ||| Sl *mьrtvь(jь) 'dead' > OCS **МРЬТВЪ** mьrtvь, Blg мьртв, SCr m̥tav, Slv m̥tev, Cz mrtvŭ, Slk m̥rtvŭ, P martwŭ, R 'мёртвый', Uk 'мертвий' id.] NaIE *mr̥o-to- ~ *mor-to- 'dead', 'mortal' → 'human being' (× N *marip̥ 'young man'?) > Gk βροτός 'mortal man' (← *'mortal'), 'dead', [Hs.] μορτός (or μόρτος) ἄνθρωπος, θνητός 'man; liable to death' (⇨ : [Hs.] ἔμορτεν aor. 'died'), OI 'martaḥ 'man, mortal', Av marəta id., Sgd mrt mrt 'jedermann', NPrs مرد mard 'man', Arm մարդ mard 'person'] NaIE *no-mr̥o-to- 'immortal' > OI a'mr̥o'ta-, Av aməša-, Gk ἄμβροτος] d. NaIE *mr̥o-'to-m 'death' > OI mr̥o'ta- id., ON morð, OHG mord, NHG Mord 'murder', AS morð id., 'death'] d. NaIE *mr̥o'ti-'death' > Vd mr̥o'tyu-ḥ, OI mr̥o'ti-ḥ, Av mərəti- id. ||| L mors (gen. mortis) id. ||| Lt mirtis id. ||| Sl (cd) *sь-mьrtь id. > OCS **СЪМРЬТЬ** sьmьrtь, Blg смьрт, SCr, Slv sm̥rt, Cz smrt, Slk smrt', P śmierć, R, Uk смерть id.] d. NaIE *o'mr̥o-'u-o- 'dead' > Clt {Matas.} *marwo- 'dead' > OIr marb, NIr marbh 'dead', Cmn marow, MBr maru, marf, Br {Hm.} marv, MW marw, W {YGM} marw 'dead'; Clt {Matas.} *merwi- 'lifeless' > OIr mirb id., MW merw 'lifeless, limp'] d. NaIE *'mor-o-s 'death' > OI māra- ~ mara- id. ||| Gk μόρος id., 'corpse' ||| Lt m̃aras 'plague, pestilence' ||| Sl *morь id. > OCS **МОРЪ** morь, R мор, Uk мiр 'wholesale death', P mór 'plague, pestilence', SCr mōr, Slv mōr 'pestilence, death', Blg мор 'pestilence, wholesale death from infectious disease', Cz mor 'plague, catastrophic epidemic disease', Slk † 'deadly epidemic disease' || Ht {CHD} merr-, mirr-, mar- 'disappear, go away, vanish, be\get lost, cease to exist', {Ts.} id., 'die off' ¶¶ WP II 276, P 735, EI 150 (*mer- 'die', *mr̥o'to-s 'dead, mortal', *'morto-s

'person, mortal', *m_o'ti-s 'death', *m_o'to-m id., *'moro-s id.), M K II 594, 674-5, 696-7, M E II 318-19, 327-8, 371-2, MW 811, 827, F I 270-1, II 257, LS 331, 1147, Ch.197-8, 713, WH II 112-13, Kb. 696, KM 487-8, Ho. 226, Vn. M 19, RE 88, Hm. 552, Frn. 409, 457-9, ESSJ XVIII 101-2, XIX 250-1 and XXI 140-51, StSS 333, 658, 736, Glh. 423, 426-7, 567, Vs. II 602, 606, 651, 655 and III 685-6, Slr. 180, Matas. E 259, 268, YGM-1 325, Hm. 552, CHD L-N 293-5, Ts. E II 199-201 || **U**: FU (att. in Os only) *^omur[∇]- > pOs *^omur[∇] > Os K {PD} mūr- 'be starving, starve almost to death' ¶ PD no. 1303, Stn. D 953 || **D** (att. in SD) *mur[∇]- > Tm mur[∇]i 'perish, cease to exist', Kn mur[∇]i 'destroy, put an end to, do away' (unless ← D *mur[∇]- v. 'break') ¶ ≈ D no. 5008 ◇ In IE the glide *u̯ (< N *u) was lost due to phonetic laws: *m_{u̯}- > *m- and *-u̯ > zero before a sonant (ffd. AD NVIE and AD NGIE) ◇ The semantic difference between this N word and N *mæR_h[∇] 'be wounded\ill' and the phonetic difference (between their vowels) prevent us from identifying them as the same etymon, as long as we cannot explain Os *u as cognate with M and Sm *e ◇ ≈ IS II 59-60 (*m[∇]ä[∇]r[∇] 'be ill, die'; without distinguishing between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N *mæR_h[∇] '↑' [q.v.] and N *m[∇]ä[∇]R_∇[∇] 'be ill\wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK no. 525 (*mir-/ *mer- 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain' etc.: unc. equation of IE *mer-/ *mor-/ *m_o'- 'die' with S *mar-at[∇] [sc. *[∇]mr[∇]ŝ[∇]] 'be[come] sick, fall ill', Eg mr 'be ill'. *die' [a ghost meaning] and D *mer[∇]- 'oppress, pierce').

1465. *m[∇]R[∇]û 'ant' > IE: NaIE *morwi- 'ant' > Av {Brtl.} maurvay- (/maori-), Sgd [∇]m[∇]wrč, NPrs مور mūr id. ||| Clt {Matas.} *morwi- 'ant' > OIr {Vn.}, Mlr {Matas.} moirb, MW myr, pl.: MW myrion, W {YGM} pl. morgrug 'ants', snglt. morgrugyn 'ant', MBr snglt. meryennenn, Crn mwrrian 'ant' ||| Sl *morvъ 'ant' > Blg Δ мрaф, McdS Δ мрaв, SCr, Slv mrāv, R Δ 'мурaв 'ant', Blr 'мураў 'anthill'; d. Sl *morvъjъ 'ant' > OCS мрaвнн mравi i, Blg мрaвей, R мура'вей, R Δ мора'вей id. ||| mt. NaIE *^omouro- / *^omeuro- > Gmc: ON maurr, Dn myre, Sw myra, Dt mīer 'ant', ME mīre id., NE mire id. (in pis-mire) (← ON?), Gt Cr miera ||| NaIE *morm- ({P}: tabuistic transformation) > Gk μύρμος, μύρμηξ 'ant' ||| ? L formīca id. ({WH}: dis. from *morm-?) ||| Arm մրջիւն m[∇]ž i ω n ~ մրջիւն m[∇]ž i m n 'ant' ¶ WP II 306-7, P 749, EI 24, Brtl. 1152, Horn 222-3, Vn. M 60, Vr. 380, Vr. N 442, Fs. 357, ESSJ XIX 241-50, Glh. 425, Blz. NSS 361-2, F II 272-3, Matas. E 27, YGM-1 336, YGM-2 15, WH I 531-2, Bdr. 489 || **K** *^om[∇]rš- > Sv: UB {GP} məršq, UB/LB/Ln məšq 'ant' (× N *m[∇]š[∇] 'insect, fly, ant', q.v.) ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni. s.v. 'муравей' || **HS**: Ch: WCh: P' {MSk.}

mamári 'black ant' || CCh: MfG {Brr.} mámbərzáy 'ant' ¶ Brr. MG II 177, MSk. s.v. mamári 'schwarze Ameise', ChC s.v. 'ant'.

1466. *m∇R∇ '(hollow) hand; to grasp' > IE: NaIE *mar- 'hand', *mar-n- v. 'grasp' > Gk μάρη 'hand' || pAl {O} d. *mar-na- > Al mar r (aor. mor a) 'take, grasp' || Vd mr̥'ṇāti, mr̥'ṇati 'robs, seizes' ¶ ≈ P 740 (IE *mā-r / gen. *mā-'n-es, mṇ'tos 'hand'), F II 175, Ch. 667, O 246, Huld 89-90, Dmr. 257-8; ≈ M K I 673 and ≈ M E II 320 (* ÷ Gk μάρνασθαι 'to fight'); ≈ EI 254-5 (*₁meh_ṛ / *mh_ṛ'n-os 'hand', see N *maṇy'ū' 'paw, foot\leg of animals') || HS: S *^o✓ m w r (*-mūr-) *'acquire' (< **'grasp by hand') > Sr ✓ m w r (ip. -mūr) G 'buy (corn)', Aram → Ak NB mā r u 'to buy' ¶ Br. 377, CAD X/1 317, JPS 259, HJ 605 || C: Bj {R} ✓ m r y (~ ✓ m r w?) G pcv. (imv. mer i ~ mer u, 1s: p. 'amr i ~ 'amr u, pres. aman'r ī; prtc. 'mer y a, 'mēr a) 'take', {Rop.} mir i, mer i pcv. 'find, get' ¶ R WBd 171-2, Rop. 218 || ??? Eg G mṣw.ty (?) 'arms' ('Arme') (-ty is a sx of f. du.) ¶ EG II 28 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *m∇r∇ 'hollow hand' > OHg XIII mar ok 'hollow hand, handful', Hg mar ok, Δ marék ∂ morok ∂ marák '(hollow of the) hand', Hg mar kol- v. 'grasp, grip, clutch, seize' || pOs *murās > Os: K {Ps.} murās 'distance between the lower edge of the palm of hand to the tip of the thumb (as a unit of length)', D murās 'vershok (a Russian unit of length)', Ty/Y f {Trs.} murās 'distance between stretched fingers, четверть (a unit of length)' ¶ UEW 872, EWU 940, PD no. 1296, Stn. D 964-5, Trs. S 270 || E: ma(r)-r i 'grasp, hold, catch' ¶¶ HK 881, 884-8 ◇ ADb. MRS 22 (IE, U + err. D).

1466a. *m₁∇?ü₁R∇ '(or *marü?) 'go' > HS *m^ra^r - > S: Ar ✓ m r r G 'passer, s'en aller' ¶ BK II 1082-3 || S: B: Ah əmmər 'passer par' ¶ Fc. 1218-24 || C: HEC *mar- > Sd, Kmb, Hd mar- {CR} 'andare' ¶ O HSN 123 || Ch: Buli {Gow.} marri 'go' Gow. s.v. 'go', Br marri ¶ JI II 162, O HSN 123, Gow. s.v. 'go' || A: T *bar- 'go' > OT {Cl.} bār- 'go', Kr, Qzq, ET, Nog, Qrq, Krg, Bsh bār- 'go', Alt, Tv bār 'go', Tkm, VTt, Qmq bār-, Uz bār- 'go, walk' ¶ Cl. 354, ET B 645 (pT *bār- 'go, walk' [qith unj. long vw.], S AJ 194 [206] || M *mör 'way, path' > MM mör, WrM {MED} mör, HIM mēp {MED} id., {BMR} 'way, trace', Brt myp id., Kl {KRS} mēp id., {Rm.} mör 'Weg, Spur', Ord mör 'chemin; trace, vertige' ¶ MED 548, BMR II 347-8, Chr. 307-8, KRS 358-9, KW 266, Ms. O 469-70, S AJ 237 [no. 73] || pKo {S} *mör- 'verfolgen, treiben (преследовать, гнать)' > MKo mör, Ko Ph mōl-da id. ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 126] || ?φ pJ {S} *míti 'road' > OJ miti, B MJ míti, J: T mīči, K mîci, Kg mīt, Ns miči, Sh mīči, Ht mīči, Yn àmítí ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 61], Kenk. 1218 ¶¶ The unexpected pJ *i of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 930 (pA *mīóri 'road, track' > M,

T, Ko, J), S AJ 277 [no. 59] (pA *miōr∇ 'road, track' > T, M, Ko)◇ O HSN 123 (N *m¹a¹r 'go').

1467. *muhR∇ 'part, piece' > **HS**: WS *¹muh_L∇_Jr- 'dowry, marriage portion; property' > Ar mahr- 'dowry, nuptial gift', ✓ mhr G (pf. mahura, ip. -mhur-) 'assign a dowry to a woman', BHb מוהר 'mohar 'dowry, bride price', Ug {OLS} m h r 'dowry' ('dote, precio\compensación por la esposa', {Grd.} 'marriage price'), IA מוהר m h r ? 'dowry', JA [Trg.] {Js.} מוהר muh'rā 'bride price; the wife's settlement, widowhood', JEA {Sl.} מוהר muh'rā 'an endowment pledge collectable upon the dissolution of the marriage', Sr ماهر māhrā 'marriage portion, gift from the bridegroom to the bride; marriage dowry', Sb m h r t 'wealth, possessions', ✓ m h r Sh (pf. h m h r) (?) 'levy payment, imposer un paiement', Mn {MA} ✓ m h r 'fixer le dot', Qt {Rk.} m h r t 'possessions' ¶ Fr. IV 216, BK II 116O-1, Hv. 737, KB 525, HJ 6O1-2, Grd. UT no. 1441, ≈ A no. 1531, OLS 267-8, Br. 376, Br. G I 194 [§ 74b], Js. 739, Sl. 646, JPS 256, Ln. 274O, MA 6O, Rk. 94 || B **-muHr- > *-mūr- 'part, portion' > Kb, Izd a-mur (pl. i-mur-ən) id., Tmz a-mur (pl. i-mur-η) id., 'share' ¶ Dl. 513, MT 427-8, Mrc. 186 ¶ The long vw. (reflected in the B lges as u) suggests the presence of a N lr. || **D** *mur- 'piece' (× N *mur∇ 'to break, to crush, to cut' [q.v.]) > Tm m u r i 'piece, bit broken off', Kt m u r y 'small piece', Tu m u r k u 'fragment, piece, bit', Tl m u r i , m u r i y a 'a bit, piece', ? Nkr m u r n d e 'a quarter (of bread)', ? Ku m u k a 'small piece'; Tm m u r i (p. -v-) vi. 'break off, snap off, perish', m u r i (p. -pp-) vt. 'break off, snap off', Ml m ū r u k a vt. 'cut, cut up (a hog etc.), reap', Kt m u r y vi., vt. 'break' (of stick-like things), Td m ū r y vi. 'break in two' (a stick), vt. 'break', Kdg m u r i 'make a cut', Tu m u r i 'an incision, notch', m ū r u n i vt. 'mince, cut up', Tl m u r i y u v. 'break', Klm m u r k - 'split (wood), break', Nkr vi. 'break', Png m u r - 'cut (horizontally)', Kui m r o k u i n b a 'snap off, be broken off', Krx m u r u k - v. 'abscind, amputate, cut in twain', m u r c r - 'get broken', Mlt m u r k e 'cut in bits, cut across' ¶¶ D no. 4975 ¶¶ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N cns. clusters with *-r- and *-r'- (in this case the cluster is *-hR-) || **U** *mura 'small bit, crumb' (× N *mur∇ '↑' [q.v.]).

1468. *mari?∇ 'young man, young male' > **HS**: S *ma(:)ri?- 'man, male person' (→ 'husband, lord', 'boy') > OA, IA, Nbt, Plm מר? 'lord'; the var. *māri?- (> *māriy- with a *-y-, appearing in hiatus after the loss of -?-) > BAR מר? mā'rē 'lord', +ppa. מר? mā'r-ī 'my lord', Sr ماهر mā'r-ā ~ ماهر mā'r'y-ā (with the former marker of definiteness -ā, which lost its meaning), Hmr {Rb., Slw.} mā'rīy- 'lord'; the variant *¹mari?- (whence, due to the law of

posttonic syncope, *^lmarʔ-) > Ar ^oمَرءٌ marʔ-(un) 'man, husband', Ak: OAK marʔ-um ~ merʔ-um, Ak OA merʔ-u(m) ~ marʔ-u(m), Ak OB mā-r-u(m) 'son, boy', OAK marʔ-at-um 'girl' (d. with the marker of fem. -at-); a denom. verb: Ar ✓mrʔ G (pf. maruʔa) 'be manly', 'être tout à fait homme, avoir des qualités viriles', 'être humain' ¶ JH 166-7, HJ 682-9, Sd. 615-16, CAD X/1 308-16, Hv. 714, KB 596, Br. 401, BK II 1085, Rb. AWA 28, Slw. 197-8 || ? Eg fOK mr.t 'Hörige, Untertanen' ('so.'s men'), Eg MK/XVIII m r 'Angehörige jemandes, seine Anhänger, seine Parteigänger' ¶ EG II 98, 106 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *mar^ri 'slave' (< *'so.'s man) > NrBc: Mbr mar, Sir mar-c3ki, Jmb maržū 'slave' || Ron {J}: DfB mōʔ, Klr mahór (-h- is secondary?), Sha moħ (-ħ regularly from *-r) 'slave', ? DfB máʔa 'male', mâʔ 'boy' ||| CCh: ? BB: Nz mùrɛ́, Bt {Mch.} murɛ 'man, male animal', FIM murɛ, FIB mùrɛ́n, Bcm {Sk.} mùrɛ́, Mln múrò, Gudu {IL, JI} mɪɹ, {ChL} m3ʔ 'man (vir)' ¶ JI II 231, Stl. ZCh 233 [no. 805], J R 218-19, 287, 353, ChC s.v. 'man (male person)' and 'slave', ChL, Sk. NB 40 ||| IE: NaIE *meryo-, *mer- 'young man' (→ 'husband') ([? derived stems in lges] → 'woman, girl) > OI 'marya-h, Av mairya- 'young man', OI marya'kaḥ 'Männchen, Jüngchen', MPrs mērag 'young man, husband', Bct μαρηγo 'servant' ||| Gk μερῦκλον ntr. 'lad, stripling', μεῦραξ 'young girl, lass', (later) 'boy, lad' ||| L marītus 'married man, husband', lit. 'one possessed by a wife' (< *mr̥-ī 'wife', «мужняя») ||| Clt {Matas.} *merkā 'maiden' > MW merch 'girl, daughter, maiden', W {YGM} merch 'girl, daughter', MBr 'maiden', Br {Hm.} merc'h 'girl, woman', pl.: W {YGM} merched 'girls, daughters', Crn myrhes, Br {Hm.} merc'ed 'girls, women'; OBr, OCrn moroin (< *morignā) 'virgo = girl', Crn moren, W {YGM} morwyn 'maiden, girl, virgin' ||| ? Gt Cr marzus 'wedding' (< *marθ-hūs ≈ marriage house?) ||| Lt martī, Pru mārti-n (accus. sg.), mārtan 'bride'; ?? +ext.: Lt mergā 'peasant girl', dim. mergēlė, mergaitė 'girl', Ltv mērga 'girl', Pru mergo, merga 'virgin' ¶ WP II 281, P 738-9, EI 656 (*^lmerjo-s 'young man', *merih_ḡ- 'young woman'), Mn. 760, IS II 39, M K II 596-7, M E II 329, F II 195-6, WH II 40-1, YGM-1 331, Fs. 348, Flr. 260, ECCE 105, LP § 271, Frn. 412, 439-40, En. 208, Matas. E 267, YGM-1 331, 336, Hm. 561 ||| D *mar̥i-, {GS} *maḍ-i 'son, child, young of animals' > Kn mar_i 'young of an animal, child', Tm mar_i 'young of ungulate (sheep, horse, deer etc.)', 'female ruminant; deer', Ml mar_i 'offspring, young of animals, young deer', Kt mayr, Td mar_y, Tu mari 'a young animal', Tl maraka 'kid', Gnd mar_i ɖ mari ɖ mar_i/mar_ɖ mar_i 'son', Knd marin 'son', mē-mari 'husband, man', Png mazi 'son', Kui mr̥ienžū ɖ mrienžī, Ku miṛesi ɖ

mrīesi 'son', Brh mār 'son, boy, lad' ¶¶ D no. 4764, GS 157 [no. 392] || ? K: pSv amb *māra-i 'person, man' (*-i nom.) > Sv L/UB māre, Sv LB māre id., unless a loan from the Nakh lges (Chechen mār, Batsbi mar 'husband') ¶ GM S 166, Dn. s.v. māre, GP 212, IS II 40 || A: Tg: Nn Δ marin- v. 'marry a man' (STM I 539) ¶ Cf. also the Tg stem *mīrɜ-n- v. 'marry' (of a woman) > Ewk mirɜn-, Lm m^herɜn-, Ork mīrɜn-, Ul mirɜn- v. 'marry a man' (F..Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). If it belongs here, its *i may be accounted for by regr. as. caused by the N vw. *i of the second syllable. IS reconstructed the N etymon as *maɣr∇, which is based on an untenable rec. of the Tg √ with *aɣ. Closer examination proves that there is not enough ev. to reconstruct here a cns. *ɣ. The only apparent ev. is the diphthongoid ^he in Lm in the verb m^herɜn- v. 'marry' (of a woman) and in the related Lm nouns m^herɜn 'marriage (of a woman)' and m^herɜnnɜ 'bride' (STM I 538-9, LW 690-1). But acc. to the sound laws established in Tg historical phonology (Ci. and Mng. TS), the Lm diphthongoid ^he goes back not to the pTg diphthong *j̥a (which, acc. to IS, goes back to N *aɣ), but to the pTg vw. *ī, hence the Tg verb in question must be reconstructed not as *mj̥ar∇-, but as *mīrɜ-n- 'marry' (of a woman) (whence the above-mentioned reflexes in Ork, Ul, Ewk and Lm) (F..Ci. 109, Mng. TS 34). As to the Tg diphthong *j̥a, it regularly yields quite a different vw. in Lm, namely ^uæ (sc. æ with palatalization of the preceding cns.) (Mng. TS 34). The length of the Tg vw. *-ī- still needs explanation (*mīrɜ-n- < **mir-y|Hɜ-n-?) ¶¶ ≠ SDM 923 (pA *mj̥àr|rà 'male, mature': unc. comparison of the Tg √ with pJ *màrà 'penis' [Mr. 472]) ≠ DQA no. 1305 (id.) ◇ IS II 39-40 [no. 277] (N *majra 'young male') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 63 (*mer 'child') (IE, U, Ai).

1468a. *maRi?∇ (= *ma'ri?∇?) 'animal fat' > HS: S *√mr? v. 'fatten' > Ug √mr? G vi. id., Ak √mr? (inf. marā?u, marû) id., BHb d. מֵרֵי mā'rī 'fatling' (← pp. 'fattened one'), Ar √mr? G {Hv.} 'be wholesome' (of food), {BK} 'profiter à qn, tourner à la santé de qn' (les aliments sains) ¶ A no. 163, OLS 288, KB 600, CAD X/1 306-8, 316-17, Sd. 617, Hv. 714, BK II 1085 || EC: Or {Grg.} mōra 'fat, cattle fat', Kn {BISO} mōr-a 'abdominal or kidney fat', Brj {Ss.} mōr-i 'id. ({Ss.} ←b Amh), Alb mōr-a 'ē fat', Gdl {Bl.} mōr 'stomach fat', Sml mōr, Sml N mōr 'sealing wax', Rn mōr 'fat around the intestines and stomach', C →b Amh ¶¶ mōra 'animal fat, subcutaneous fat covering the ventral region' ¶ Grg. 291, PG 237, L CAD 19, Ss. EDB 147, ZMO 94, Abr. S 181, BISO 118, Bl. G 83 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Srp.} mār'é n. 'fat', {MCh.} mārē id., 'oil', Bcm {Mk.} mare n. 'fat, oil', {Sk.} mār'é 'oil', Gude {Hsk.} mārá, {IL} māra, Gudu {IL, ChL} mar, Nz {Mk, ChL} mare, FIM {ChL} mīru, FIB {ChL} mār'ín 'oil',

Suk {IL} mír, Tr {Nw.} mar 'oil' || WCh {Stl.} *mawr∇ ~ *miwra 'fat', {AD} 'oil' > pAG {Hf.} *mω^ʿz^ʿr 'oil' > Su {J} mω^ʿr, Ywm {IL} mωer, Ang {Brq.} mω^ʿr, {Hf.} mωir, Gmy {Hf.} mωor, Kfr {Nt.} mω^ʿr, Cp {ChL} mōr id. | Klr {J} mār, DfB/Bks {J} bār id. | Krkr {J} marù, {ChL} mārù, Gera {Sch.} mori, Grm {Sch.} mōri, Ngm {CgL} mōr, Krf {Sch.} mùrú, Bl {Sch.} mōr id. | Kir {Sh.} mār, Tala {Sh.} mīr, Zul {Sh.} miri, Buli {IL} mír, Zem D {Sh.} mjer, Zar {Sh.} mīr id. | Ngz {Sch.} mārak (pl. mārarin) id.; ? Su {J} mōmūr n. 'fat' (doubtful, cp. Ywm {Sh.} mār id.) ¶ JI II 132-3 and 260-1, ChC s.v. 'fat' and 'oil', ChL, Hsk. 233, Stl. ZCh 233 [no. 803], Hf. AG no. 53, J S I 76, Nt. 28, J R 140, 212, 353, Sch. DN 105 || A: M *mariya- > MM [S] mariya(n) 'flesh (of a person), body', WrM {MED} mariya, miriya 'body, flesh; corpulence, pudginess', HIM maria {MED} id., {BMR} 'stoutness (полнота)', Brt марья(н) 'corpulence, stoutness, fatness', Mgr {T} mara 'beleibt' ('полный, дородный'), {SM} mara 'chair, corpulence' (-> maradu 'gras [surtout des animaux]'); -> WrM {MED} mariyazi- 'become fat\pudgy\stout', HIM mariaжи- {MED} id., {BMR} 'grow stout', 'get well, recover' (a child), Brt марьяжа- beleibt werden (становиться дородным\полным), Mnr H {T} maraža- 'become fat\pudgy\stout', {SM} maraž_ia- 's'engraisser, prendre de l'embonpoint' ¶ H 108, MED 529, BMR II 324, Chr. 294, SM 233, T 344 || E (× N *'merúq∇ 'to smear'): MEI mi-ir-ri-h 'ich salbte (?)', mi-ir-ri-in-ri 'ein Salbender' (?) ¶ HK 923 || possibly also IE: NaIE *smeru- n. 'fat, ointment' (× N *Sämír?∇ 'fat' ['Fett']) [q.v. ffd.] and possibly N *'merúq∇ 'to smear' [q.v. ffd.] ◇ Blz. E no. 104 (E, HS); ≈ IS II 61-2 (? *mer'∇ 'fat, to smear' > HS [including an unc. comparison with some S roots], ? M; IS did not distinguish this N etymon from N *'merúq∇) ◇ Not here D *mu(:)r- > Tm muraricu 'be full\abundant', mūrī 'strength, greatness', Tu mūrъ 'fat, stout, corpulent', Tl mūrū 'increase, be full' (D no. 4970). This D √ (or at least Tu mūrъ) may be connected with N *mur?∇gE 'animal fat, brain' (q.v.) ◇ NaIE *s- may be either original (sc. pointing to a N *-r- in N *'marí?∇) or due to the contamination with N *Sämír?∇ and N *'merúq∇ ↑'.

1469. *muRΓa 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)' > K: MG, G mpera 'song, singing (Singen, Gesang); play', G mper- {Chx.} 'sing', si-mper-a 'song' ¶ DCh. 914-15, Chx. 863-4 || U: FU *mura- 'shout, sing' > Er moro, Mk mor 'song', Er/Mk mora- v. 'sing, play music' | pChr *murъ ({Ber.} murā) > Chr: L мураш mu'r-aš, H мыраш 'mър-aš 'to sing', B/Uf mure- 'sing', L муро 'mur-o, H мыры 'mъръ, B muro 'song', Uf muro 'Gesang' || Os: Vy mora- v. 'shout (at

the arrival of rowers to the village, bringing an official)', V *morəʷ-* 'make big noise' (of people) (× N **m¹u¹ř¹∇* 'make loud noise' [q.v.]) ¶ Coll. 99, UEW 287-8, It. no. 272, Ber. 39, MRS 334-5, 342, Ep. 73, Ü 129, Stn. D 956-7, Trs. S 262 || **A**: AmTg **mura-* v. 'shout' > Ork *mura-*, Ul, Ork *mura-*, Nn Nh/Bk/KU *mora-* id. (× Tg **mo|ura-* v. 'low, roar, bellow' [of animals] < N **m¹u¹ř¹∇* '†(?)') ¶ STM I 546-7, On. 268 || **D** **mur-* > Tm *mural* v. 'emit sounds, cry, sing', Kdg *morad-* v. 'weep', *more* 'lamentation', Tu *moræ* v. 'cry', *murija* n. 'cry, weeping', Klm *moray-* v. 'produce musical sound' (bell etc.), *morp-* v. 'play (flute)', 'ring' (bell), Mlt *mure* v. 'speak, say yes or no', possibly also Tl *morayu*, Nkr *moray-* v. 'sound', Ml *muraluka*, *muruluka*, Kn *moral* v. 'hum, grunt, growl' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-r- or *-R- ¶¶ D no. 4973 || ?σ HS: S **✓mrʷ* > Ar *✓mrʷ* *Sh* (pf. *ʔamraʷa*) v. 'chat', {BK} 'bavarder, babiller' (× ← Ar *ʔamraʷa* v. 'slaver') ¶ BK II 1094, Hv. 716 ◇ D *-r- may go back to N cns. clusters with both *-r- and *-ř-, therefore D *-r- does not help us to identify the N vibrant cns. ◇ IS MS 345 s.v. 'кричать' **mur* (U, D) ◇ The Ar verb and the short vw. u in U and Tg suggest pN **muRΓa*, while the Georgian cognate (with -*ʷer-*) may be explained by metathesis of the pharyngeal cns. (frequent in K).

1470. **mæR₁h₁∇* (= **‘mæř₁h₁∇*?) 'be wounded, be ill' > HS: Eg fMd *m r* {EG, DW} 'be ill, ache; illness', {Fk.} 'sick, ill, diseased; painful', Eg fP *m r . t* {EG} 'krankhaftes, Krankheit; Böses, Schlimmes' ¶ EG II 96, DW I 376-82, Fk. 110 || S **✓mrh* > Ar *مره* *marih-un* 'ill, sick', *marihu-l-fuʔādi* 'affected with heart disease', *✓mrh G* (pf. *mariha*, ip. -*mrah-*) 'be weakened' (of an eye) ¶ Fr. IV 173, Hv. 717 || NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} *mērō* 'illness', {Lm.} *merō* id., 'pain' ¶ Wdk. BY 131, Lm. Y 366 || **U** **me¹r¹∇* > Sm {Jn.} **мерьуь* 'wound' > Ne: T *мерё*, T O {Lh.} *mēřw*, FNI *mīřřw* 'wound, sore'; Ng {Cs.} '*mearun*, *mearu* id., {Mik.} '*meru* 'pimple (pattanás)'; Kms {KD} *mēřw* 'wound', *mēraíam* vt. 'I wound' ¶ Jn. 93, Ter. 249 || **A** **mER-* v. 'hurt, damage, wound' > M: MM [S] *mer* 'wound', WrM {BMR} *mer*, HIM {BMR} *мэр* and Kl {Rm.} *mer* (indeclinable word denoting dull pain: HIM {BMR} *мэр гэж өвдөх* 'feeling of dull pain within one's body [chest, stomach etc.], 'мэр-мэр гиһэд өвдх' 'to ache slightly' (of dull ache), Kl {Rm.} *mer-mer* *gežžēn* 'es nagt sich irgendwo im Magen oder in der Brust, man fühlt ein inneres Leiden', WrM (< d.) {MED} *mer merki-* 'feel a slight pain at the pit of the stomach or in the chest' ¶ H 109, MED 537, BMR II 373, Luv. 253, Chr. 707, KRS 351, KW 261 || Tg: Ewk *murdul-* v. 'slaughter (a reindeer)' ¶ STM I 558 || ?σ,φ pJ {SDM} **miar-* > **mair-* v. decrease, diminish, drain away' > MJ *mer-* id., J T *meri* {Kenk.} n.

'loss, waste, leakage' ¶ S QJ no. 1200, Mr. 475, 723, Kenk. 1212 ¶¶ Ewk -u- of the initial syll. in *murdu-* is likely to be due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 929 (pA **m̥jore-* v. 'hurt, damage, wound' > M, Tg, J + unc. T **bert* [{SDM} 'break, damage, wound'] that actually means 'contorsion' and 'throw'), DQA no. 1317 || ?? IE: ḷ NaIE *(s)*mer-* (+ ext.) 'pain, sickness' > L *morbū*s (< **mor-b^ho-s*) 'disease, sickness' ||| Gmc **smert-* 'pain' > OHG *smērzo* ~ *smērza*, NHG *Schmerz*, MLG, MDt *smērte*, *smarte*, NE *smart* 'pain' ¶ ≈ WH II 110-11, Kb. 917, OsS 833, ≈ KM 663-4 ◇ At the present state of research we cannot yet establish any genetic relationship between this N word and N **mur*▽ 'go away, perish, die' ◇ If NaIE *(s)*mer-* belongs here, the N rec. must be **mǽr_h▽*, otherwise we remain with an unspecified **R* (N **mæR_h▽*) ◇ ≈ IS II 59-60 (**m^ʰä^ʰr* ḷ 'be ill, die'; no distinction between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N **mur*▽ '↑' [q.v.] and N **m^ʰä^ʰR_h▽_h▽* 'be ill, be wounded' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK no. 525 (**mir-*/*mer-* 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain' etc.: unc. comparison of Eg *mr* 'be ill' with IE and D [*see* above s.v. N **mur*▽]).

1471. **mäRiq*▽ 'spot, stain, (?) dirt' > HS: S **o^ʷmrχ* > Ar *ʔamraχu* 'bigarré, tacheté de taches rouges et blanches' ¶ BK II 1088 || IE: NaIE **mer_hu_h-* / **mor_hu_h-* 'dirty, dark' > Gk *μоруχ-* * v. 'soil, defile' (attested: prtc. pf. *μεμоруχμένος* 'soiled, blackened'), {P} *μόρυχος* · *σκοτεινός* 'dark', *μоруχώτερον* adv. cmpr. 'more obscurely' ||| Lt *morai* pl. 'mould' || Sl **marati* 'to soil, to stain' > HLs inf. *marác*, *mórac*, P Δ inf. *marác*, OR inf. *МАРАТИ* *marati*, R inf. *ма'рать* id. ||| Arm *մրայլ* *mṙayl* 'mist, darkness, obscurity' ¶ WP II 279-80, P 734, Ch. 713, F II 257, Frn. 464, ESSJ XVII 207-9 ||| A **mæru* 'spot (Fleck, пятно)' > Tg **mer-* '(be) motley\spotted' > Ewk *mzrīmz*, *mzrīlz*, *mzrīktz* 'spotted, striped, skewbald, motley', *mzrīkz-* 'make (sth.) motley', Lm Ol *mārgi-* 'be motley', Lm O *mergi-* vt. 'ornament', ? WrMc {Z} *mэрсэнь* 'веснушки на лице, пятнышки, пестринки, крапины на перьях', *mэрсэнгэ* 'имеющий веснушки, пятнышки' ¶ STM I 571-2, Z 884 || M **meriyeu* > WrM {Pp.} *meriyeu* 'bunt, scheckig; Schecke', HIM {BMR} *мирээн* ~ *мяраан* 'motley (bunt), many-colored', Brt *марьян сохор* 'bunt'; M **eriyeu* *meriyeu* > HIM {BMR, Luv.} *эрээн мяраан* 'motley, Brt *эрээ марьян* 'motley (весь в пестринах)', Ord *erēē merēn öngöt^ʰ* 'multicolore, bigarré' ¶ Pp. VG 35, BMR II 333, 377 and IV 438, Luv. 681, Chr. 294, 771, Md. O 244 || T **bǽræ-* v. 'ornament, adorn' > OT *be|äzä-*, Tk *beze-*, Tkm *беде-*, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qq *beze-*, Az *bäzä-*, Uz *beza-* ~ *beža-*, VTt *bizä-*, Bsh *biḍä-* id. ¶ Cl. 390, 392, Pp. VG 35 (on the NaT d. **be|äzän-*), ET

B 105-6 || pJ {S} *múra 'spot(ted)' > MJ [RJ] mura {S} id., J T mùra, J K múrá, J Kg múra {Kenk.} 'unevenness; spottedness' ¶ S QJ no. 1083, Mr. 488, Kenk. 1289 ¶¶ SDM 915 (pA *mer|́ru 'spot' > Tg, J, M with doubts about the adduction of T *bére- [i.e.*bǽræ-] v. 'ornament'), DQA no. 1286 (id.), S AJ 74, Pp. VG 35 (T, M, Tg) || D *mar̥- 'dirty spot, stain' > Tm mar̥u 'stain, blot, spot (esp. on the moon), stigma', Ml mar̥u 'spot, freckle', Tl mar̥aka 'stain, blot, spot', Gnd marrō 𐌆 marror 'black mole' ¶¶ D no. 4767 ◇ T *-́- < **-ry- < N *-Riq-. If the T cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be *mäR▽q▽ ◇ IS II 52 (*mAr̥ 'spot, dirty': IE, D) → BmK no. 539 (IE, D).

1472. *m¹a¹r^wê 'ē tree' > HS: CS *o¹mar_L▽_Jw- 'ē tree' > Ar marw- {BK} 'Macrua (ē tree)', {Fr.} [Kam.] 'ē tree' ('nomen arborum'); S 𐌀→ Eg fOK m r w, Eg fXVIII m r y 'ē red wood of a coniferous tree from Syria' ¶ BK II 1097, Fr. IV 175, EG II 108-9 || Eg OK/NE m r . t '≈ desk', Eg NE m r . y 'ē a useful kind of wood (Holz)' ¶ EG II 108 || EC: pKns *múr-a 'forest' > Kns, Gato múra, Gdl múr id. ¶ Bl. 255 || WCh: DfB {J} mḗr 'tree' ¶ J R 218 || U: FU *m¹o¹re 'ē tree' > pLp {Lr.} *mōr3 'tree, wood (Holz)' > Lp: L {LLO} muorra, Kld m̄pp mūr id., S muore id., 'board', N {N} muorrâ / -r- 'tree, wood, stake, pole' || OHg mórágy, ı morágy 'ē wood (Wald) \ forest' (preserved in OHg XIII and modern Hg toponymy) || pOs *mōr▽ 'bush, shrub, thicket' > Os: V mōr+ 'Busch', D mōráy id., 'Strauch', Ty mōr+ id., 'Dickicht, junger Nedelwald', Nz mōra 'Haufen, Menge (Bäume u.a.)' ¶ The Lp vw. may go back to *o or *a, the Hg vw. may be from *o, while Os *ō are likely to point to *u (< *o due to the infl. of some labial phonemes of the word) ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 281, ≈ 291-2, Lr. no. 92, Lgc. no. 4020, LLO 536-7, Hs. 951, SaR 198, MF 450 || A *m▽r▽ 'forest' > pKo {S} *mòró 'forest, mountain' > MKo mòró id., as well as, acc. to SDM (which is doubtful) pKo {SDM} *móih_J 'mountain' > MKo mói (móih-), NKo m^wé, mé ¶ S QK no. 55, Nam 215, 219, MLC 616, 651 || pJ {S} *márí 'forest' > OJ m_Lw_Jori, MJ mórí, J T mòri, J K mórí, J Kg móri id. ¶ S QJ no. 213, Mr. 485, Kenk. 1266 ¶¶ SDM 956 (pA *múro 'tree, forest' > Ko, J + unc. Tg *mō 'tree' and M *modu 'tree'), DQA no. 1377 (id.), Pp. VG 35, S AJ 33-4, 69, 292, Rm. EAS I 79, KW 263, Mr. KJ 237, Dr. MT 24 || D *mar-, {GS} maran- 'tree, wood' > Tm, Ml maram id., 'timber', Kt marm, Td me·n̄, Kn, Tu mara, Kdg mara, Tl m(r)ānu, m(r)āku, Klm ma·k, Nkr mak, Prj meri, Gdb mar 𐌆 marin 𐌆 māren, Gnd mara 𐌆 maṛa 𐌆 maṛā 𐌆 māra, Knd maran, Png, Mnd mar, Kui mrahn̄u 𐌆 mrānu, Ku mārn̄u 𐌆 marn̄u 𐌆 mara, Krx mann, Mlt manu 'tree' ¶¶ D no. 4711, GS 224 [no. 549] || ?? IE: Ht mar mar r(a)- {CHD} 'ē terrain', {Frd.} 'Dickicht' (acceptable if Frd.'s interpretation is true; but Ot.

and EI interpret it as 'swamp, marsh', cf. IE *mor- < N *moRE 'body of water', q.v.) ¶ Frd. HW 137, Frd. HW EH III 24, Ts. E II 140-1, CHD L-N 192 ◇ IS II 45 (*mar Δ 'tree' > U, D, ? S) ◇ D *-r- points to a N cns. cluster (*-r ω -); U *o (tentatively reconstructed in the UEW) (for the expected *a) points to the presence of a N labializing factor (* ω ?); D *a may go back either to N *a or to *ā, but the back vw. in the FU cognate suggests that N *a is more plausible. The N cns. * ω survives in S ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 207 (*mor 'hill') (U, A, J + unc. Ai, Gil, CK).

1473. *mar Δ y Δ 'berries (mulberries, blackberries etc.)' > IE: NaIE *mor- 'mulberry, blackberry' > Arm մոր mor 'blackberry, mulberry' ||| Gk μόρον 'black mulberry' ||| L mōrum id., mōrus 'mulberry tree' (ō proves that it is not a loan from Gk) ||| OIr mer (pl. mera) 'mulberry' ({Vn.}: ← Brtt?), W merwydd 'mulberry trees', sgl. merwydden (cd with gwydd 'tree?') || ? Ht muri-, muri(ya)n- 'cluster of grapes or other fruit' ¶¶ ≠ P 749, EI 388 (*'morom 'blackberry'), F II 256, Bois. 645, EM 738, WH II 114, Vn. M 40, YGM-1 331, CHD L-N 333 ||| **HS:** ζ Eg {Budge} mr 'mulberry tree (*Morus*)' (F...Schäfer BAA IV 1149) ¶ Budge I 314; the word is not confirmed by EG, Mks and other reliable sources (available to me) and is therefore qu.; Tk AAN 2 identifies the word with Eg mr ω 'Lebanese cedar (Hng 348) (= Eg fOK {EG} mr ω ~ mry 'coniferous tree?') ||| **K** (+ext.) *marçq ω - 'strawberry' > eNG {SSO} մարչյզ marçq ω -i, eNG, G մարչյզո marçqv-i, Sv UB/Ln bäsqi, Sv UB/LB bäsq id. ¶¶ K 127, K² 115, FS K 209, FS E 230, SSO I 444, Chx. 675, TK 147, GP 91 ¶¶ This is a cd of N *mar Δ y Δ a and N ? *ć Δ m Δ U 'coniferous fruit, berry' (a N etymon represented by K {FS} *cimq ω - 'strawberry or bilberry' > G cmqva, Mg cam Δ wa, cim Δ wa 'strawberry', Sv UB {TK} cīnqa, UB {GP}, LB/L {TK} cingā, Ln {TK} cinaqa 'bilberry', F...K 224 [*cingwa], FS K 400, FS E 450 [*cimq ω -], TK 838, GP 277) ||| **U:** FU *marya 'berries' > F marja, Es mari id. | pLp {Lr.} *mōryē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} muörjīe, L/N {LLO, N} muor'je, Kld {TI} mūry id. | Er/Mk ma' 'berries' (in cds) | Chr: H mör 'berry', B mör, Uf mörö 'garden strawberries' ||| ObU *m Δ :r- > pVg *mārī > ML {Mu.} moārī, N {Mu.} mārī 'Stengel der Beere', N mori η /p pil 'büschelige Beere'; pOs *murap 'bunch of berries' > Os: VK murwa, Ty/Y/O murap, K/Kr mūrāp, Nz/Kz mūrāp id. ¶ Coll. 97, UEW 264-5, It. no. 28, Ht. no. 407, Trs. S 270, Lr. no. 693, Lgc. no. 4018, Hs. 952-3 ||| **A** *mær Δ 'berry' > T *bü:;rü-lgen 'coniferous berry' (analyzed by IS as *büri- + sx-lig- + ancient plural parker - Δ n) > Qmq bürülgen 'blackberries', VTt qara bōrlbgän id., q̄z̄yl bōrlbgän 'bramble', Chv пёрлѣхен p̄rl̄b̄ Δ en id.; (acc. to IS II 44-5) T

*bū₁rü-lgen ⇨ WrM būrūlgene, HIM бүрэлгэнэ 'Viburnum, калина' (IS II 44-5, BMR I 306) ¶ IS l.c. adduced here Az Qb müri 'strawberry', but it was rejected by Starostin (S CNM 4) as a loan from Lezgian and by Pp. (Pp. rISOS-II 223), who believed that it "is certainly not Altaic" ¶ TatR 93, KumRS 89; Jeg. 157, Dm. NRTAJ 175, 186, Rs. W 93, IS II 44-5 || Tg *m¹E¹r∇η∇ > Ewk moroηo 'cloudberries' (⇨ Ne T мәраңгă id.), Nn Nh {On.} mīrēηkulz 'mountain-ash tree (*Sorbus*)' ¶ STM I 547, On. 263, Ter. 235 || pKo {S} *mər'úi 'grapes', {Vv.} 'wild grapes' > MKo mər'úi, NKo məru, Ko SW {Mazur} morä 'grapes', ? Ko Chl {Vv.} melgωu, Ko Chj {Choy} melguu 'є wild grapes' ¶ S QK no. 246, Nam 212, MLC 608, Vv. AEN 10-11 || ?φ M: WrM {Cev.} maril 'є red round fruit of a plant', HIM марил {Cev.} id., {BMR} марил жимс 'pomegranate (*Punica*)' ¶ M *-a- is likely to suggest pA *mæra (M *-a- < pA *-æ- [regr. as. from *-æ..a]), but such pA rec. is too doubtful, because the M word is uncertain as a cognate ¶ Cev. 333, BMR II 324 ¶¶ SDM 915 (pA *méra 'є berry' > Tg, T, Ko, M), DQA no. 1285 (id.), ADb. {p.c., 2002: drew my attention to the Nn cognate), IS II 44, ADb. SR 11 ◇ AD GD no. 2 (IE, U, K), IS II 43-5 [no. 282] (*marja 'berry' > IE, K, U, A), Bm. NM no. 432 (IE, Eg, U), Pp. rISOS-II 223 (rejecting the adduction of WrM būrūlgene and HIM būrəlgəne 'Viburnum, калина', proposed by IS), AD NM no. 59, Vv. AEN 10-11 ◇ The rec. of N *-r∇y- rather than *-ry- is based on FU data: N *-ry- would have yielded *-r̄- > FU *-r- rather than *-ry- ◇ If T *bū₁rü-lgen belongs here and its vowels can be explained (regr. as.), the N etymon is *mar∇y∇.

1473a. *mAR¹y¹∇ 'horned mammal' > HS: Eg MK mr 'Kampfstier' ¶ EG II 106 || S *^o✓mry > Ar مار māri-n 'jeune veau tout blanc', māriy-at- 'jeune veau femelle au pelage blanc', مارية māriy-at- 'antilope blanche', {Hv.} ماري māriy- 'white smooth-haired calf' ¶ Qu. because of the semantic component 'white' (infl. of Ar miryat- 'lait qui sort du pis de la chamele'??) ¶ BK II 1097-8, Hv. 718 || EC: Sa {R} 'mārū 'sheep, ram (Schaf, Schafbock, Widder)', mārū 'ewe', Af {PH} maruw ~ maruy 'ram', {R} marū 'Schafbock' ¶ R S II 271, R A II 883 (s.p. 91), PH 164 || NrOm {Blz.} *mar₁r₁- 'buck, ram' > Wl {LmS} mara 'lamb, kid', Omt {Mrn.} mārā 'giovane d'animale', Bdt {C} marrē 'pecora', Gm {Hw.} mārā 'calf', Shn {LmS} merēra 'sheep' ¶ Blz. OL no. 154, LmS 465, Hw. EG s.v. mārā, Mrn. O 151 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Zul {ChC} mārī, Plc {ChL} mār, Buli {ChL} mar, {Grgs} maro, Tala {Csp.} mār 'goat', ?σ Sy māriyā 'harness antelope' || CCh: Mtk {ChL} mari 'bull', ? FIB {ChL} múrgùzén id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'goat', ChL, Csp. 19, 40 || D *mar- 'є deer' > Tm marai 'sambar, Indian

elk; aurochs, wild cow', Kn mare '€ deer', Gnd maramā m 'sambar'; OI \rightarrow OI marūka- '€ deer' ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to a N cns. cluster ¶¶ D no. 4724 || A: M *maral 'female deer', 'red deer (*Cervus elaphus sibiricus*)' > MM [S] {H} maral 'female deer', WrM {MED} maral, Brt марал 'red deer (*Cervus elaphus sibiricus*)', HIM марал {MED} id., {BMR} 'female Manchurian deer (самка изюбра)', Kl {KRS} марл 'марал', {Rm.} marl 'Hirschkuh'; M \rightarrow Tk maral, Tkm maral 'fallow deer', Az maral id., 'deer', Qrg, ET maral 'female deer', Qzq maral, R марал 'red deer (*Cervus elaphus sibiricus*)' ¶ H 108, MED 529, BMR II 323, KW 257, KRS 343, Chr. 293, Rs. W 327, ET L-S 42-3, SSRLJ VI 620 ◇ N *-R₁y₁- is very tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D (D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster with *-ry- or *-řy-), of Eg (the absence of lr. in Eg mr rules out N *-rH- or *-Hr-), of S * $\sqrt{\text{mry}}$ and Af maruy (suggesting the presence of N *y) ◇ Blz. DA 157 [no. 53] (HS, D), Blz. NDA no. 52 (D, HS + Sum amar 'calf').

1474. *m ∇ R₁ ∇ ₁č ∇ or *m ∇ R₁ ∇ ₁š ∇ to crumb, to crush' > HS: S: [1] * $\sqrt{\text{mr}\theta}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{mr}\theta}$ v. D 'crumb with fingers' or [2] ? * $\sqrt{\text{mr}\hat{s}}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$ G 'scratch and tear with fingernails' ({BK} 'gratter et déchirer avec les ongles'), {Hv.} 'scratch (the face)' ¶ Fr. IV 166, 169, BK II 1091, 1986, Hv. 714, 716 || IE: NaIE *mers- 'crush, grind' > OI maṣam̄ kār-, maṣma'ṣākar- 'grind to powder' || OHG morsārī 'mortar' (reshaped under the infl. of L mortārium id.), MHG inf. zermürsen 'to crush, to squash (zerdrücken, zerquetschen)', MDt inf. zermorschen, NGr Sw inf. morsen, mürsen 'to bruise, to crush, to pound (in a mortar)', MHG, NLG mursch, murs, NHG morsch 'decaying, frail', Dt inf. (ver)morzelen 'to smash to pieces, to crush' ¶ P 737, M K II 604, ≈ M E II 335, Kb. 697, OsS 621, KM 488-9 || U: ? FU: Hg morsza 'crumb, breadcrumb(s); morsel, bit', morszol- v. 'crumble' ¶ MF 421-2 ◇ If the legitimate Ar cognate is $\sqrt{\text{mr}\theta}$, the N sibilant is *-č-, which rules out the Hg cognate. If, however, Ar $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$ and Hg morsza belong here, the N sibilant is *š, but in this case the semantic connection is less plausible.

1475. (2?) *m¹ā¹R₁ ∇ ₁č ∇ 'be ill, be wounded' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{mr}\hat{s}}$ 'be(come) sick, fall ill' > Ug $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$ G 'be sick', mrš n. 'illness', Amr {G} $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$, OA mrk (= mrχ), IA mr^ᶜ 'illness', JA $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$ G (pf. ܡܪܫܢܐ mār^ᶜ) {HJ} 'be ill', {Js.} 'fall sick, be(come) weak', ܡܪܫܢܐ mār^ᶜ adj. 'sick, suffering', JEA {Sl.} ܡܪܫܢܐ mar^ᶜā (cs. ܡܪܫܢܐ mār^ᶜ) 'illness', Sr $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$ G (pf. ܡܪܫܢܐ mār^ᶜ, ip. ܡܪܫܢܐ mār^ᶜ), SmA $\sqrt{\text{mr}\check{s}}$ G 'fall ill, become sick', BHb prtc. N ܡܪܫܢܐ nim^ᶜrāç {BDB} 'sore, grievous' (← 'made sick'), {KB} 'schlimm, schmerzhaft', Ar مرض

✓ $mr\hat{\sigma}$ G 'be diseased\ill', Sb ✓ $mr\hat{\xi}$ 'suffer from disease', Mh {Jo.} ✓ $mr\hat{\sigma}$ (= {Jo.} ✓ $mr\hat{z}$) (pf. $m\bar{e}r\hat{\sigma}$, sbjn. $y\hat{\sigma}mr\bar{o}\hat{\sigma}$) 'be ill', Jb E/C ✓ $mr\hat{\sigma}$ (pf. 'mir $\hat{\sigma}$ ', sbjn. $y\hat{\sigma}m'r\hat{\sigma}$ = {Jo.} pf. $m\acute{i}r\hat{z}$, sbjn. $y\hat{\sigma}mr\acute{z}$) id., Hrs {Jo.} ✓ $mr\hat{\sigma}$ (pf. {JJo.} $m\bar{e}r\hat{e}z$) 'be unwell, be ill', Sq {L} ✓ $mr\hat{\sigma}$ *Sh* (pf. $h\bar{e}mr\bar{o}\hat{\sigma}$) 'guérir', Ak ✓ $mr\hat{\xi}$ G 'fall ill, have a disease' ¶ A no. 1683, OLS 292-3, HJ 694-5, G A 25, Js. 845, Sl. 710, Br. 405, JPS 302-3, Tal 486-7, KB 604, BDB 599, Fr. IV 169, BK II 1019, Hv. 716, BGMR 87, Jo. M 271, Jo. J 174, Jo. H 9, L LS 271, CAD X/1 269-76, Sd. 609, MiK I no. 2.42 || U: FU: Chr: L *merće-*, H *merce-*, inf. L *мерчаш mer'č-aš*, H inf. *мерцаш 'merc-aš* 'be\grow ailing\sickly', {MRS} '(за)хиреть, (за)чахнуть', {Ep.} *мэрцык 'mercak* 'chronic disease; disabled person, invalid', {Ü} 'sickly (боллезненный)', Chr E {Ps.} *merće-* 'kränklich\gebrechlich sein' ¶ MRS 322, Ep. 70, Ü 131, Ps. OT 71 || ?σ IE: NaIE: Lt inf. *merdéti* 'to agonize' (if Lt *d* may be a reflex of * $\hat{\sigma}$ after a sonorant) ¶ ≈ Frn. 457 ◇ Chr *e* suggests FU * \hat{a} and hence N * \hat{a} ◇ ≈ IS 59-60 (* $m\acute{a}r\hat{\sigma}$ 'be ill, die'; he did not distinguish between the reflexes of the N etymon in question, N **mur*∇ 'go away, perish, die' [q.v.] and N **mæR_h*∇ 'be wounded, be ill' [q.v.]), ≠ BmK no. 525 (**mir-*/*mer-* 'to stab, to pierce, to cause pain' etc.: unc. comparison of S *✓ $mr\hat{\sigma}$ with Eg *mr* 'illness', IE **mer-* 'die' and D [*see* above N **mur*∇]).

1475a. $m\acute{u}R\hat{\sigma}g\hat{\sigma}$ 'ε (male?) horned animal' > HS **mu|irg-* > EC **mirg-* > Or *mirg-ō* 'half-grown male calf' (↳ Hd *mirg-ō*? id., Brj *mirg-ō* 'ox'), Gdl *mirk-ot* 'young bull trained for farming', Gln *mirk-iyā* 'gazelle' ¶ Ss. B 145 || CCh: Gdr {Mch.} *mūr_gō* 'he-goat' ||| WCh: ? Buli {Gw.} *marō* 'goat' (unless Buli *-r-* is from **-d-* or **-d̥-*, as suggested by closely related lges, cp. Jm {Gw.} *mādo* and Zar {Sh.} *māḍ* 'goat') ¶ JI II 166 and 169, Mch. VCSP s.v. Gdr *mūr_gō* 'mouton', ChV, ChC s.v. 'goat' and 'he-goat' ||| D **mūr-* 'bovine' > Tm *mūr_i* 'buffalo; ox, bullock', Ml *mūr_i* 'bullock, ox', Kn *mur_i* 'bull, ox', Gnd *mura* ~ *mute* ~ *mūrā* ~ *mūrā* 'cow' ¶¶ D no. 5041 ◇ D **mūr-* (with a zero for N **-g-*) suggests pN * $m\acute{u}R\hat{\sigma}g\hat{\sigma}$ with an intervocalic **g*. Later the vw. of the second syll. was lost (* $m\acute{u}R\hat{\sigma}g\hat{\sigma}$ > * $m\acute{u}R\hat{\sigma}g\hat{\sigma}$), and **-Rg-* yielded D **-r-*.

1476. **muR?∇gE* (probably = **muR?∇gæ*) 'animal fat, brain', (?) 'marrow' > IE: NaIE **mreḡ^h-*/*mṛḡ^h-* 'brain; skull' > Gk βρεχμός, βρέχμα, βρέγμα (gen. βρέγματος) ntr. 'front part of the head' ||| MLG *bregen* ~ *bragen*, OFrs *brein*, AS *bræzen* ~ *brezen* 'brain', NE *brain* ||| Av {Ch. ← Bnv.} *mərəzav-*, *mərəzu-* 'vertebra of the neck and nape', Awr *mōł*, Krd *mōl(1)*, Luri *mul* 'nuque', Psh {Mrg.} *warmēž* (with the px **fra-*), {Asl.} *or¹mež* 'neck' (semantic prehistory: *'brain' → *'skull' → *'nape of the neck') ¶ ≈ WP II 314,

≈ P 750, ≈ EI 79-80 (*^lmreg^hmen- ~ *mreg^h(m)n-o- 'brain' with unj. *g^h), Brtl. 1173-4, F I 266-7, Ch. 195, Ho. 32, Bn. AM 80, Brtl. 1174, Mrg. 89, Asl. 87 ||
HS: S *muḵṽr- 'marrow, brain' > JA {Trg.} מוֹקֶר־ moḵ'r-ā id., JEA {Sl.} מוֹקֶר־ muḵ'r ā 'cranium, brain', Sr مَوَكْرَ muḵ'r-ā 'yolk of the egg', Md muḵr ā 'marrow, sperm, brain, gelatinous matter, living substance, plasma', Ak {Sd.} muḵāru(m) 'eine weiche Masse (?)' ({CAD} "meaning uncertain") ¶ Lv. III 56, Lv. T III 18, Sl. 649, Br. 400, PS 2047, JPS 259, DM 262, Sd. 674, CAD X/2 212 ||
A: Tg *burgu (< **burge?) 'fat' > Ewk burgu 'subcutaneous fat', Ewk, Sln burgu adj. 'fat', Lm bərgə ɘ börgö ɘ burgə, Lm A burgə, Neg boygo ~ bəyge, Orc boggo, Ud bogo, Ul božo(n-) ~ bužo(n-), Ork bod(d)o(n-), Nn Nh buygu id. ¶ STM I 112, Krm. 213, On. 81 ¶ The denasalization *m- > Tg *b- has not yet been explained ||
D: [1] *°mūr|r- > Tu mūr ɤ 'fat (fett), stout, corpulent' || [2] ?φ *mū|- (~ *mūr-?), {GS} *mū|- 'brain, marrow' > Tm mū|ai, Ml mū|a id., Kt mi·|, Tl mū|aga, Klm mull, Prj nulli, nūlgum, Gnd muṛe, muṛgonži, Knd muṛva, muṛi, Krx murmā 'marrow', Kui nīli id., kāḍa-mūla, mūla, Tu mū|e 'brain', Brh milī 'marrow, brain, kernel of nut' ¶¶ D no-s 4970 and 5051, Pf. 40 [no. 233], GS 52 [no. 130] ¶ The origin of D *-|- (< *-R?-??) is not yet clear ◇ The glottalization *-g- > *-ḵ- in S and the D cns. *-r- (regularly from a N *R-cluster) suggest the presence of a N glottalizing cns. (sc. *?). Cf. N *maRi?ṽ (or *'ma'í?ṽ) 'animal fat'.

1476a. (₂?) *mäR_lk_lṽ 'think, believe, be clever' > **HS** **✓ mrk > Eg fOK mɜc 'erdenken, ersinnen', Eg MK mɜc 'preisen' ¶ EG II 35 (mɜc 'erdenken': "eigentlich mɜwɜ zu lesen") ||
U: ?φ FU (in Ugr only) *märṽ- 'believe, trust' > Vg {MK}: Vg T/P/K mār-, LL mār-, ML mār-, mar- 'glauben, vertrauen' || Hg mer- 'dare, adventure' ¶ UEW 869, Gomb. ES 74 ||
A *mærgæ- > Tg *merge- ~ *°merke- 'think' > Ewk mərgə-, Lm mərgə-, Neg məyge- 'think', Ork mərgə 'conscious (сознательный), clever', WrMc {Hr} mərki- 'sich besinnen auf, sich bewußt sein', {Z} мэрки- 'das Vergessenes sich ins Gedächtnis rufen', 'recall old information', 'erdenken' ¶ The WrMc vl. k (suggesting pTg *°mærkæ-) is still to be accounted for ¶ STM I 571, Hr 653. Z 883 ||
M *merge- > WrM {Pp.} merge 'Treffsicherheit', -d→ : [1] M *mergen 'wise, sagacious' > MM (hPSc) {Pp.} mergen id., WrM {MED} mergen 'a good marksman; wisdom; wise, learned, sage; apt'. HIM мэргэн {MED} id., {BMR} 'a good marksman; wise', Brt мэргэ(н) 'guter Schütze; меткий, искусный, ловкий', Kl {KRS} мергн мерган 'меткий лучник, меткий стрелок, sniper', {Rm.} mergṅ 'Künstler, geschickt, der sein Handwerk verstehte; Jäger', Mnr H {SM} mīergän 'habile, adroit, sage, intelligent', {T} mergen 'wise, good

marksman', Dx {T} mergen id., Ord mergen 'prudent, sage, avisé, sensé, malin, rusé'; [2] M *mergezi- > WrM {MED} mergezi- 'become learned\wise', HIM {MED} мэрагжи- id., {BMR} мэргэжи- 'приобрести профессию\опыт', Brt мэргэжэ- 'приобретать навык, получать квалификацию', Kl {KRS} мергж- 'become wise, Meister in seinem Fach werden, квалифицироваться'; M *°mergesi- > WrM {MED} mergesi- 'become qualified', HIM мэрагши- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'become wise', Ord mergeši- 'devenir habile\avisé\malin\ rusé'; Kl {Rm.} mergäč; 'Jäger' ¶ MED 537, BMR II 373-4, Pp. PP 127, Chr. 312, KRS 350-1, KW 261-2, SM 236, T 345, T DnJ 129, Ms. O 463 ¶¶ Pp. VG 35, 88, 125 ◇ The loss of N *k in Ugr (or pFU, pU?) still defies explanation.

1477. *maRʔoʔkE 'side (of body), side, edge' > IE: NaIE *morǵ-/ *mroǵ-/ *mrǵ- 'edge, border' > Av mārəza 'border country' ('Mark, Grenzgebiet'), NPrs مَارَز mārız 'border\boundary of a country; region, country' ||| L margō / margin- 'border, edge' ||| Clt {Matas.} *mroǵi- 'territory, region' > OIr mruig, MIr bruig id., Crn, MW bro id., W {YGM} bro 'region, country, vale, lowland', OBr bro 'pays, région', MBr bro 'territory, region', Br {Hm.} bro 'pays', Gl (in *Scholia ad Juvenalem*) BROGA 'country' ||| Gt marka (ϝρλον) 'Mark, Grenze', OSx marka 'border, frontier', OHG marca & marchā 'border', NHG Mark, OFrs merke 'boundary, frontier, border country', ON mark 'forest, wood' (forests served as frontiers between political entities), Sw mark 'district', AS mearc 'mark (district); end, limit of given space, boundary', NE mark (← 'boundary, landmark) (< *morǵā) ¶ WP II 283-4, P 738 (*mereǵ-), EI (*morǵ- 'border'), Brtl. 1153, Horn 218, Vl. II 1160, Sg. 1214, WH II 39-40, Vn. M 67-8, Billy 35, Flr. 90, Fs. 347, Vr. 401, Sw. 114, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, Kb. 662, OsS 593, KM 462, YGM-1 56, Hm. 113 ||| **HS:** Ch: ECh: Kwn mórǵó 'bank of a river' ||| WCh: Sir {Sk.} márən 'side of body' ¶ ChC s.v. 'side of body' and 'bank of a river', Sk. NB s.v. Sir márən ||| S *°mrk (← **mrk?) > Ar mrq G (ip. -mruq-) 'miss the goal' (of an arrow), 'stray from the orthodox religion', Gt (pf. ʔimtarāqa) 'go out quickly from' ¶ BK II 1094-5, Hv. 717 ||| **D** *maruḡk- 'side, side of the body' > Tm maruḡku id., 'limit', Ml maruḡḡu, Kt magl, Kn maggal, maggil, maggul, Png marḡgar 'side', Td magil 'slope of hill', ? ma·r 'side', Tu margilь 'side, flank', Tl makka 'side of the part of the body just above the hip', ?σ Prj makka 'buttock', Gnd marḡg 'side', maruḡ 'ribs of mat', maḡgi 'rib bone' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-Rʔ- ¶¶ D no. 4717 ||| **U** *mar∇ - *mʔr∇ 'side, side of the body' (loss of *-∇k- due to back formation?) > Hg Δ mart 'bank,

shore; edge\side of a ditch; hillside' || ?ϕ Sm *m̄ra 'edge, bank', {Jn.} *m̄rā 'edge' > En: X {KD} mōra, {Cs.} 'mořa, B {Cs.} 'mora 'bank, beach, shore'; Ne: T mapa, T O {Lh.} mar'a 'low sand beach, sand'; Ng {Hl.} maru 'bank, shore', {Mik.} 'maru 'part'; Kms {KD} mārā 'edge, end' ¶¶ Coll. 34, Coll. CG 124, ≈ UEW 280-1 (unconvincingly rejecting the Hg cognate and reconstructing the U word as *mōrt∇), 288 (unc. comparison of Hg mar̄t with mar- 'bite' < U *mura- 'Stück'), Jn. 88, Hl. US 121, KP 125 ¶¶ Ugr *-t- is likely to go back to a sx ◇ In U the N final syll. *-kE was lost due to some restructuring of the root in the prehistory of U (reinterpretation of *-kE as a sx?). Ugr *-t- is likely to go back to a sx. Sammallahti's historical phonology of Uralic (Sm. 484-5, 500, 513-15) suggests a pU vw. *t̄ in a closed syllable (sth. like pU *m̄Hr∇ or *m̄rH∇), the latter alternative being compatible with pre-U *m̄R̄∇ (sc. N *m̄R̄∇kE with loss of *-kE) ◇ The N labialized vw. of the second syll. is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of D ans S; it was probably *o rather than *u, because N *u would have yielded a glide in IE. This *o may have had labializing effect on the U (> Sm) vw. of the first syll. The N lr. *ʔ is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of S (glottalization of N *k), D (D *-r- goes back to a N cns. clusters rather than to an intervoc. *-R-) and IE (any other N lr. would have yielded NaIE *ə in the intercons. position).

1478. *m̄u¹Rk̄∇ 'root, root crops, edible roots', (→ ?) 'sinew' > K *°mur̄k̄- > G mur̄k̄-i 'stump of cabbage' ¶ Chx. 855, DCh. 907 || IE: NaIE *m̄r̄k̄- (~ *b̄r̄k̄-) 'edible roots, (in descendant languages [→ ?] 'carrot') > AS more, moru 'edible root, parsnip, Mohrrübe, Möhre', OHG moraha, NHG Mohrrübe, Möhre 'carrot' || SI *m̄rk̄t̄ / *m̄rk̄b̄v- 'carrot' > SCr m̄rk̄va, Slv m̄rk̄ev, m̄rk̄va, OCz mr̄kev, Cz mr̄k̄va, OR морковь morkov̄, морква morkva, R мор'ковь id. || ? Blt {IS} *bur̄k̄ū > Lt bur̄k̄ū nas 'carrot', Ltv bur̄k̄āns id., 'Aetusa cynapium' || Gk [Hs.] βράκανα ('τὰ ἄγρια λάχανα) 'wild herbs' ¶ P 750, EI 620, Sw. 120, Ho. 226, Kb. 696, OsS 620, KM 484-5, IS MT 16-20, Vs. II 564-5, ESSJ XX 247-9, Glh. 426, F I 263, Ch. 192, ≈ Kar. I 155 (Ltv bur̄k̄āns < Frs E bura, bure 'a conical root' + dim. sx -ken- < *-kan) || HS: EC *mur̄k̄- (~ *m̄org-) 'tendon, sinew, gristle' (× N *muγ̄ηi'H'oʀk̄∇ '≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew', q.v. ffd.) || D *mur̄∇ηk̄- > Tm mur̄uηkaḷ 'Moringa pterygosperma, Indian horseradish tree', Kn nugga, nuggi, Tu nurige, nurge, Tl munaga, Prj muṅga, muṅga, Gnd Δ mulgē, mungē id., Knd muṅna maram, muṅa mara id. (mara, maram is 'tree'), Ml mur̄iηηa 'Indian horseradish' ({D no. 4982} 'Hyperanthera moringa'), Krx muṅgā 'ε a shrub, the fruits and leaves of which are eaten as curry'; D ↷

OI *murangi-*, *murungi-* '*Moringa pterygosperma*' ¶¶ D no. 4982, Tu. no. 10209 ◇ The same N word is used both for root and for sinew, which is explained by their common technical functioning as ropes ◇ D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster with *r (here most probably *-r̥k-) ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 62, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs and ST).

1479. (2?) *m̥ṽR̥ṽṽṽṽK̥a 'moist, liquid; to moisten' > IE: NaIE *merk- (or {P} *merk- ~ *merak-) v. 'soak; become wet', *mr̥ku- ({P} *mraku-) 'swamp' > OIr *mraich* ~ *braich*, W, Crn *brag* 'malt' (sc. 'soaked corn'), Gl BRACUS 'marais' ↪ VL Gl {ML} *braku-s / -m 'morass' (> It *braco*, *brago*, Fr *brai*, Prv, Ctl *brac* id.), W *brag*-wellt 'ε swamp grass', Gl ↪ L *mercasius* 'swamp' (> OFr *marchais*), ?? Gl [Hs.] ἐμβρεκτόν (a word of uncertain meaning, interpreted by WH as 'Brühe zum Eintunken') ↪ L *imbractum* ~ *embractum* 'ε sauce'; NaIE *mrakno- > OIr (Mlr) *brén* (< older *mrēn) 'fetid, rotten', W *braen* 'decayed, rotten', MBr *breyn* 'rotten' || MHG inf. *mër(e)n*, MDt inf. *meren* 'to dip bread in wine\water' || Lt inf. *meĩkti* (1s pres. *mẽrkũ*) 'to soak (flax)', inf. *miĩkti* (1s pres. *mĩrkstũ*) 'to soak, to be steeped in water', Ltv inf. *mẽrkt*, *mẽrcẽt* 'to soak, to steep', *mẽrka* 'moisture', *mẽrce* 'sauce' | SI *mork- / *mьrk- '(be) moist, soaked' in derivatives: [1] Sl inf. *mьrk-nq-ti, *mьrka-ti > Cz inf. *za-mrknouti* 'to soak and to be spoiled' (of wood), Uk Δ *мерчит* 'it drizzles', Uk P inf. *мир'чати* 'to drizzle', R Ks *marakun* 'light rain', Blg Δ *мръцкам* v. 'dip (sth. small) in water\liquid'; [2] Sl *morčь, *merčь > R Δ *морочь* 'light rain', *меречь* 'ε swampy ground', *мереча* 'swamp'; [3] Sl *morki, *morka > Uk Δ *морок'ва* 'quagmire, swamp', Blg Δ *мра'ка* 'wet lowland' ¶ ≈ P 739-40, Vn. B 84-5 and M 66-7, Billy 33, 71, Ern. 80, YGM-1 52, WH I 681, EM 310, ML no-s 1258a and 5515a, OsS 603, Lx. 138, Frn. 440-1, ESSJ XIX 218, 231, 234 and XXI 135, Ma. CS 310, Ma. C 380 || HS: WS *ma'raq- 'broth' (* ← 'liquid?') > Bhb *k 𐤀𐤓𐤐 mā'raq*, *q 𐤀𐤓𐤐 *mā'rāq*, Gz *maraq*, Tgy *mərəx* 'broth', Ar *مراقة maraq-* id., 'gravy', Tgr *mərəq* 'gravy soup' ¶ KB 603, Fr. IV 171, Hv. 717, L G 359, L ESAC 32, LH 114 ¶ The vocalic pattern of this stem (*Ca'CaC-) is typical of adjectives, hence the original meaning is probably 'liquid' || B *^o√mr̥y > Tmz *i-mary*-an pl. 'bouillon pour arroser le couscous' (the cns. y suggests that it is hardly a loan from Ar *maraq-*) ¶ MT 431 || A: ? T *bürkü- v. 'spurt, gush' (× N *buṽu (K̥U) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If in the NaIE √ there was *ə (which is doubtful), the N rec. must be *m̥ü'r'h'ṽK̥a (because *h is the only lr. that is liable to disappear in S, but yields *ə in NaIE).

But, in my opinion, it is preferable to reconstruct both the pIE root and the pN etymon without *lr*.

1480. **mAr̥* ∇ 'rain' (← or → 'to drop?'), 'cloud' > **HS**: S: BHb {GB, KB} מַרְ mar 'drop' (?) (h. l. in Is. 40.15) ¶ GB 457, KB 595, ≈ KBR 629-30 (מַרְ 'myrrhe') || ECh: Smr {J} מַרְ:רִי 'rain' ¶ ChC s.v. 'rain' ¶¶ OS no. 1733 (HS **mar-* 'drop, rain') || **D** (att. in SD) **mar̥-ay-* 'rain' > Tm *mar̥aj̥* 'rain, cloud, water', Ml *mar̥a* 'rain', Kt *may*, Td *maw*, Kn *mar̥e*, Kdg *maḷe*, Tu *maḷe* 'rain' ¶ D no. 4753 || **K**: Sv: UB/L {TK, GP, Dn.} *mēre*, LB/Ln {TK} *mere*, Ln {TK} *meri* 'cloud' ¶ TK 570, GP 217, Dn. s.v. *mēre*, Ni. s.v. 'облако' (*māre*), ≈ IS II 60 (Sv L *mare*, UB *māre* < **mar-ej̥* or **mar-aj̥* 'cloud') || **Add. source** of pKo {S} **mír* 'water' (< N **moRE* 'body of water'. q.v.) > MKo *mír*, Ko: Sl/Ph *mul*, Ks *mûl*, Hm *mu_l* id. *mír* S AJ 255 [no. 97], S QK no. 97, Nam 229, MLC 575 ◇ IS II 60-1 (the dict. did not distinguish between this etymon and N **moRE* 'body of water' [q.v.] and reconstructed **mār̥ä* 'moisture, moist') → S CNM 3. It is too shaky to adduce forms with an additional cns. (⇔ IS II), such as CS **✓mr̥θ* (Ug *mr̥θ* 'grape juice', Ar *✓mr̥θ* 'soften') and Ltv {ME} *mē̃rka* 'Feuchtigkeit'.

1481. ₂ **mAr̥* ∇ 'pluck out hair\feathers ' > **HS**: (+ext.?) S **✓mr̥t̥* id. > BHb *✓mr̥t̥ G* 'pluck out hair, make smooth', JA, Sr *✓mr̥t̥ G* 'pull out\off (feather, hair)', Ar *✓mr̥t̥ G* (pf. مَرَطَ *marat̥a*) 'pluck out hair', (pf. مَرِطَ *marit̥a*) 'have little hair', Ak *✓mr̥t̥* 'abschaben' ¶ KB 600, Br. 404, Sl. 706, BK II 1092, Hv. 716, Sd. 610 || **D** **mar̥-* 'shave' > Tm *mar̥i* 'shave (esp. the head)', Knd *mañ-v*. 'shave' ¶¶ D no. 4748 ◇ Qu.

1482. ₂ **meř* ∇ 'hoe' > **HS**: S **marr-* 'hoe, spade' > Ak fOB *mar̥ru* 'spade, shovel', JEA {Sl.} מַרְ'ר-ā 'spade', {Js.} hoe, rake', Sr مَر'ر-ā ~ مَر'ر-ā 'mattock, hoe, mallet', Ar *marr-* {Hv.} 'iron shovel, spade', {BK} 'pelle en fer'; S ⇨ L *mar̥ra* 'a hoe for rooting up weeds' ¶ CAD X/1 287-90 (Ak ⇨ Sum), Sl. 703, Js. 834, BK II 1083, Hv. 713, Br. 400, JPS 247, WH II 43 || Eg *mr̥ hier.* {Gard.} *'hoe', {EG} *'holzerne Hacke' ¶ EG II 98, Gard. 516 || ECh: Smr {J} מַרְ'ר' 'hoe' || WCh: Bl *mar*, Ngm *mira v.* 'hoe'; ??σ: Ngm *marra*, Glm {Sch.} *mārā* 'farm' || ??σ Ang {Flk.} *mār v.* 'farm', n. 'farm', ??σ pAG {Hf.} **mar* 'farm' > {Hf.}: Gmy *mār*, Kfr *mar*, Su, Ang *mār* id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 233 [no. 804], Hf. AG 18, Flk. s.v. *mār*, Sch. BT 86 ¶¶ OS no. 1738 (S, E, ECh + err. * Hd *morāra* 'hook of the plough' err. for *mofāra* 'type of plough', see Hd. 213), no-s 1735 and 1739 || **D** **mēr̥-* 'plough' > Tm *mēr̥i* 'plough', Ml *mēr̥i*, Kn *mēr̥ti*, *mēr̥ni* 'plough tail', Kt *mē'y* 'handle of plough', Knd *mēr̥i* id., 'plough tail', Tl *mēđi* ~ *mē:đi* 'hind part or handle of a plough', Ku {Fzg.}

mēri 'plough handle' 𐎠 {Isr.} *mēri* id., 'plough' ¶¶ D no. 5097 || Cp. Sumerian *mār* 'hoe' ◇ Blz. DA 163 [no. 108], Blz. NDA no. 117 (D, HS, Sum) ◇ Doubtful, because borrowing (S, Eg, Ch, D from Sum?) cannot be ruled out.

1483. **m'u'ri* ∇ 'make loud noise' > D (att. in SD) **muṛ-* > Tm *muṛaṇku* v. 'roar, thunder, make loud noise', Ml *muṛaṇṇuka* v. 'roar, reverberate', Kt *moṛv* 'a child's continuous crying', Kn *moṛagu* v. 'sound' (certain musical instruments), 'roar, thunder' ¶ D no. 4989 || U: FU: Os Ty/Y *m+r-* v. 'low' (of cows), as well as (× N **muṛRa* 'emit vocal sounds [shout, sing]') Os V *moṛaṣ-* 'make big noise' (of people) ¶ Stn. D 953, 956-7 || A: Tg **mo|ura-* v. 'low, roar, bellow' (of animals) (× N **muṛRa*) > Ewk Np *moṛo-*, Ewk Np/Nr *mṛṛṣ-* v. 'roar, bellow' (of beasts), Ewk Y/Np/Ucr *mṛṛṣw-* v. 'low' (of cows), Ork *mura-* v. 'roar, bellow', WrMc {Z} *мүрә-* id., v. 'low' ¶ STM I 546-7, Z 912.

1484. **mûq_lE,ri* 'shoulder' > K **mqar-* id. > OG *mqar-*, G *mχar-* id., Mg *χuṣ-*, Lz (m) *χuṣ-*, *ρχuṣ-* id., Sv UB {GP, TK}, Ln {TK} *meqār*, LB {TK} *meqra*, L {TK} *meqer*, {Dn.} *meqar* {Dn., K, FS} 'part of the arm between shoulder and elbow' ({TK} 'arm'); ? eNG [SSO] *mqare*, G *mχare* 'side, side of the body, edge' ¶¶ K 144, K² 134, Chik. 57-8, FS K 232-3, FS E 256, Q 409-10, SSO I 552, DCh. 935, NCh. 308, TK 569, GP 220, Dn. s.v. *meqar* || U **°m∇rk∇* > Sm {Hl.} **m̄rkī|b* 'shoulder' > Ne: T *мăрць*, T O {Lr.} *marć*, F NI *marǎś* id.; En {Ter.} *modi*; Ng {Ter., Mik.} *mars+*; Mt {Hl.} **marg∇* id. (Mt: M {Sp.} *маргомь* 'my shoulder', K {Pl.} *márahada* 'his shoulder') ¶ Hl. M 300 [no. 640], ≈ Jn. 88 (Sm **m̄rkä*) ¶ U *-rk- < N *-qr-? ¶ Or pU *-k- goes back to a sx? || A **mUyRæ* 'shoulder' > M **mörü(n)* 'shoulder' > MM [MA] *mör i*, [HI] *mür ũ* id., [S] *mur u* id., 'shoulder blade', WrM {MED} *mör ũ(n)*, HIM {MED, BMR} *mөр(өн)*, Brt *мүрә*, *мүр*, WrO *mör i*, Dg {Pp.} *mür ũ*, {T} *mur(u)*, {Mr.} *mure*, ShY *murз ~ мэрз* 'shoulder', Kl {Rm.} *mörŋ* 'Achsel, Schultergegend', Ord *mörö* 'épaule' ¶ Ms. H 77, Ms. O 471, H 112, Pp. MA 240, MED 549, BMR II 348, Chr. 308-9, Krg. 608, KW 267, T DgJ 155, MYC 491 || Tg **myure* ({ADb.} **müyre*, {SDM} **mūre*) 'shoulder' > Ork *myurз*, Orc *miyз*, Ewk *mīrз*, Lm *mīr* 'shoulder, shoulder bone', Sln *mīri*, *mīrз*, Neg *mīyз*, Ul *nyurз*, {PSchm.} *мүирә*, Nn {STM} Nh/Bk/KU *mзурз*, Nn Nh {On.} *mзурз ~ nyurз* 'shoulder', WrMc {Z} *мэйрэнь* 'shoulder, forearm', Ud {STM} *müö*, {Krm.} *mō ~ müö* 'neck' ¶ STM I 538, Krm. 262, On. 276, 385, Z 876 || pKo {SDM} **mái-* 'carry on the shoulder' > MKo *mái-*, NKo *mé-* ¶ Nam 212, MLC 616, S QK no. 600, Rm. SKE 145 || ?σ pJ **mət-* 'carry, hold' (← 'carry on the shoulder?') > OJ *mot-*,

MJ mòt- {S} 'carry, hold', J T mó't-, J K/Kg mòt- {Kenk.} id., 'have, take' ¶ S QJ no. 1204, Mr. 728, Kenk. 1273-4 ¶¶ SDM 931 (pA *mǐũȳre) 'shoulder' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1331, SDM97 (pA *mūre 'shoulder'), Pp. VG 35, 142, S AJ 291 (pA *mūre), ADb. MSR 11 (pA *mōj̄re id.), Rm. SKE 145, STM I 538, ADb. SR 308, Kol. ChA 91-2, Dr. TM I 538 || D *muṛi 'elbow, shoulder, joint' > Tm mūr̄i 'joint as of the body', mōr̄i 'joint as of wrist, knee, ankle etc.', Tm, Ml mūr̄am 'cubit', Ml mūr̄i 'knuckle, joint', Tu mōra, mura, Tl mūr̄a, Prj mūr̄a 'cubit', Kn mōra id., 'joint', mury 'upper part of the arm, shoulder, shoulder blade', Klm mu'ra, Gnd mōri 'elbow', Knd miṛva 'knee', Kui miru, mriu, meḍu 'knee joint', mireka 'a cubit's length', ?? Kt moḷm, Kdg moḷa; -d̄ D *muṛi-mp̄o 'shoulder' > Tm moympu, Ml mūr̄ippu, Krb mirpu, Knd mipi, Mnd mūr̄pa id., Kui mōpo 'upper arm', Kn mury(i)vu, muḍupu id., shoulder, shoulder blade', Kt mur, Tu muḍu 'shoulder joint', Tl mūr̄pu 'upper part of the back, shoulder', Ku mōpa 'outer edge of the shoulder' ¶¶ To judge from the derivative *muṛi-mp̄o, the original meaning of D *muṛi was 'shoulder' ¶¶ D no-s 4990 and 5122, ≈ Pf. 41-2 [no. 241] ◇ ADb. MSR 11 (U, A, D).

1485. *'meṛûq̄ ▽ 'to smear' > HS: WS *✓mr̄χ v. 'smear' > BHb ✓mr̄h G 'smear, anoint, rub', JPA {Lv.} ✓mr̄h D '(ein Gewand) reiben, glätten', JEA {Sl.} ✓mr̄h G 'plaster, level a pile' (← Hb?), Ar ✓mr̄χ (pf. مَرَّحَ maraḫa, ip. -mraḫ-) 'anoint (the body)', Jb C ✓mr̄χ (pf. 'mir̄3χ) 'throw sth. sticky on sth., smear (paint etc. on sth.) with one's hands' ¶ KB 599, BDB 598, Lv. III 248, Sl. 705-6, Hv. 715, Jo. J 174 ¶¶ But not here Eg mr̄h and mr̄h.t 'Salböl' (← wr̄h 'salben', see EG II 110-11) || IE: NaIE *smeru- 'ointment' (× N *Säm̄ir̄ ▽ 'fat [Fett]' × N *'maṛi ▽ 'animal fat' [see *maRi ▽]) > Gk (σ)μυρ̄ύω v. 'rub with ointment\ unguent, anoint', ? σμύρις 'emery powder (used by lapidaries for rubbing and polishing)', as well as probably μύρον 'unguent, perfume, sweet oil' (× Gk μύρρα 'myrrh' ← S *murr- id. [> OCn, Ak murr̄u, BHb ṝm̄or, Ug mr̄, JA ṝṝṝ mūr̄ā id. etc.) || ON inf. smyr̄ia, smyr̄va 'bestreichen, salben', Sw inf. smör̄ja, Dn inf. smøre, NNr inf. smyr̄ja id., OHG inf. smir̄wen 'to smear, to anoint', NHG inf. schmieren 'to smear, to grease', AS inf. smier̄wan 'to anoint', NE smear ¶ WP II 690-1, P 970-1, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1028-9, Vr. 521, Sw. 15, Ho. 302, Kb. 918, OsS 834, KM 663-5, ≈ EI 194 (*'smeru- 'oil, grease'), Js. 748, Sl. 649 || D {tr., GS} *meṛ- 'smear' > Tm meṝulu, Kt mek- v. 'cleanse floor with cowdung solution; smear as the body with paste; varnish', Ml meṝu, meṝuku 'wax', meṝukuka v. 'anoint', Irl mekk̄u, Td moṣk 'wax', Kt mek 'bee wax', Td möṣk-

Klm mē'g- v. 'smear with dung of buffaloes as a ritual purification', Kdg mukk-, Tl m(r)ē'gū, mrē'vū v. 'smear', Nkr mē'g^h- 'apply', Knd mi'riś- v. 'rub and clean utensils with ashes', Kui mrānda v. 'plaster, smear', Ku mrispi kīnāi 'polish', Brh miring v. 'plaster'; it is not clear if one may adduce Prj mer-, Gdb mar- and Gnd marehtana ~ marahtana v. 'rub' (in these lges -r- goes back to D *-r- and *-r̥-, but not to *-r̄-) ¶¶ D no-s 5082 and 4709, GS 65-6 [no. 203] || E (× N *maRi? ▽ 'animal fat'): MEI mi-ir-ri-h 'ich salbte (?)', mi-ir-ri-in-ri 'ein Salbender' (?) ¶¶ HK 923 ◇ On the word-initial laryngoid *'- as a possible source of the NaIE *s- *mobile* before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Blz. E no. 104 (E, HS); IS II 61-2 (? *mer' ḥ 'fat; to smear' > HS [including an unc. comparison with some S roots], D, ? M) → ≈ BmK no. 536 (IE, HS + qu. D *mar- 'rub').

1486. *'mä' ▽ ▽ 'contents of animals' stomach\intestines' > HS: C: EC: Arr mērdé 'intestines' ¶ Hw. A 384 || ? S *'m̄' m̄r > Ar maṣṣīr- {BK} 'intestins où s'élabore le chyle', {Hv.} 'intestin, gut', ? {BK} maṣṣr- 'reste de lait dans les pis d'une femelle' ¶ BK II 1116, Hv. 723 || IE: NaIE *smerd- 'excrement', v. 'stink' > L merda 'excrement' || Lt inf. smirdēti 'to stink', Ltv {ME} inf. smir̄dēt vi. 'to stink, to smell', Lt smārdas 'stench, smell', Ltv smārdas n. 'smell', Pru smorde 'Faulbaum' (called so because of the smell of its wood) || Sl inf. *smǫrděti (1s pres. *smǫrdjō) 'to stink' > OCS inf. смръдѣти smr̄děti, SCr inf. smǫrdjeti, Slv inf. smrděti, Cz inf. smrděti, Slk inf. smrdet', P inf. śmierdzieć, R inf. смердеть, Uk inf. смердіти 'to stink', Blg смърдя v. 'stink'; Sl *smōrdь 'bad smell' > OCS смрадъ smradъ (↳ R смрад), Blg смрад, df. смрадът, SCr, Slv smrad, Cz, Slk smrad, P smród, R Δ смород, Uk сморід id. || Gk [Hs.] σμόρδωνες pl. ({P} 'Stänker'; acc. to Hs., this is an abusive nickname of the μούροι [members of the council?]) (if ← 'stinkers') ({Ch.}: "an obscure erotic term") ¶ WP II 691, P 970, WH II 74-5, Frn. 840, 847-8, En. 251, Vs. III 685, 691-3, StSS 617, Glh. 566-7, F II 75, Ch. 1028 || U: FP *mä'r ▽ | ▽ - 'cud', v. 'ruminate' > F Δ märhe, märehe, märe 'Wiederkäuen, Kauen bis zum Wiederkäuen', Es {W} mäletse- ~ mälitse- 'chew the cud' || Lp T {TI} mīrede- id., ? Lp N smīrizi-, ? Lp L smieriti-, smietitji- & smieritsi- id. ¶ ≈ UEW 700-1 (FP *mä'r ▽ -, no rec. of the sibilant), It. no. 256, SK 359-60, W EDW 585, TI 559 ¶ Thr initial s- in Lp N and Lp L is puzzling. The quality of the sibilant is not clear: Es and Prm suggest *-ś-, while F Δ and Lp point to *-š- ◇ IE *s- *mobile* points to the presence of a palatal element in the N word, therefore its

rec. is with **r* ◊ On the word-initial laryngoid **ʕ*- as a possible source of the NaIE **s*- *mobile* before root-initial sonorants *see* Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1487. **muś* ▽ 'to cover, to conceal, to clothe' > **K** **mōs*- v. 'cover, get dressed, put on' > **OG** *mōs*- v. 'get dressed, put on' (Mt.11.8, Lc. 16.9), v. 'conceal' (Jud. 8.5), **G** *mōs*- 'bekleiden, bedecken', *š*e-*mōs* 'be dressed', **Sv** {**FS**} *li-mśw-i* *msd.* 'to conceal, to cover (oneself with), to get dressed' ¶¶ **K**² 124, **FS** **K** 221, **FS** **E** 244, **Chx.** 811-12 || **HS:** **Eg** **N/G** *mśy* ({**EG**} *mśj*) 'ē garment' (↳ **BHb** 'mεšī 'fine cloth for garments'), **Eg** **XVIII** *mśś* {**EG**} 'Panzerhemd', {**Fk.**} 'tunic', **Eg** **N** *mśś.t* 'ē garment (shirt or sim.)', ? **Eg** **G** *mśd* ({**EG**} *mśd*) 'bekleiden' ¶ **EG** **I** 143, 149, 152, **Fk.** 118, **KBR** 645 || **IE:** NaIE **mus*-/**mou̯s*- v. 'steal, conceal' > **Vd** *muś* 'ṇati ' (he) steals, robs', *muś* a'yati 'robs, takes away', **OI** *mōśati* 'steals', **KhS** *múśśa* (< **muśya*-) 'robbers', **Wx** *müś*-, *mōšt* v. 'conceal' || **Gmc:** **OFrn** [**LxS**] *chrēo-mōs-ido* 'grave robbery' ¶ Not necessarily here **Tc** **A**, **B** *mus*- 'lift, move aside' (that may be akin to **IE** **meu*- 'fortschieben', **Av** *aṽa-mīva*- 'put aside, remove') ¶ **EI** 543 (**mus*- 'steal'), **M** **K** **II** 658-9, **M** **E** **II** 383-4, **Bai.** 338-9, **Gnt.** **AM** 193, ≠ **P** 743 (**meu*-s- < **meu*- 'fortschieben'), **Ad.** 463, 466 || **D** **mućć*-/ **muć*- v. 'cover' > **Tm** *muccu*, **Kt** *muć*-, **Td** *müć*-, **Nkr** *mus*- id., **Tu** *muccuri* v. 'shut, close, cover', **Kn** *muccu* id., v. 'conceal', **TI** *mūyu* id., **Kdg** *mućć*- v. 'close', *mućći* 'lid, cover', **Klm** *muns*-, **Nk** *muć*-, **Kui** *musa* v. 'close, cover', **Prj** *muu*- v. 'cover oneself', **Gdb** *muu*- v. 'cover oneself with wrapper', **Gnd** *muććānā* v. 'cover; wrap sth. round one's body', *muć*- v. 'cover', **Knd** *mus*- id., v. 'close with lid, bury', **Mnd** *muć*-, **Ku** *muh*-, *mūssali* v. 'bury', **Krx** *mućć*- v. 'close door/lid, shut', **Mlt** *muće*- v. 'close, shut up', **Brh** *muśt* 'shut, closed' ¶¶ **D** no. 4915, **Pf.** 35 [no. 176] (**muć*-/**muu*-); **Km.** 468-9 [no. 1016] (**muu*-) and **GS** 52-3 [no. 132] (**muu*-, **muu*-c-) ¶¶ **D** *-ć- may yield **Prj** and **Gdb** -y-, therefore the **pD** rec. (with **pD** *-y-) proposed by **Km.** and **GS** is not acceptable, and their scepticism about the origin of the **D** word is baseless.

1488. **mûś* ▽ (= **mûs* ▽?) 'insect, fly, ant' > **IE:** NaIE **mus*-/**mou̯s*- n. 'fly' > **Gk** *μῦα* (< **mus*-iā) 'fly' || **L** *musca* 'fly' || **Gmc:** **Gtl** *mausa* (< **mūsa*), **Dt** **Fl** *meuzie* (< **musī*) id. || **Lt** *musė*, *musis*, **Ltv** *mūsa*, *muša*, **Pru** *muso* 'fly' | **Sl** **mu*'*xa* id. > **OCS** **MOYXA** *муха*, **Blg** *my'xa* ~ 'муха, **McdS** *myba*, **SCr** *mùha*, **Δ** *mùha*, **Slv** *múha*, **Cz** *moucha*, **Slk**, **P** *mucha*, **R**, **Uk** 'муха' id., **ds:** **OCS** **МЪШНЦА** *мъщ-іс-а* 'gnat', **R** 'мошка' 'small insect', *мош'ка* 'mosquitoes, gnats' || ? **Arm** *մոկն* *մոկն* (gen. *մոկնյ* *մոկոյ*) 'flesh worm; gnat, midge, mosquito' ({**Mn.**}: *մոկն* < **accus.** of **mus*-iā) ¶ ≈ **P** 752, **F** **II** 265-6, **EM** 424, **WH** **II** 133, **Frn.** 474, **En.** 212, **ESSJ** **XX** 170-2, **StSS** 334, 337,

Glh. 428, Mn. AIE 61, 158, ≈ EI 207-8 (mus- ~ *muH- 'fly, gnat, midge') || **A**: pJ {S} *músí 'worm, insect' > OJ musí, MJ músí {S} id., J: T mùsí, K mûsí, Kg múší, Ns mùší, Sh múšì, Ht mùsì, Y mùčí id. ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 106], S QJ no. 106, Mr. 489, Kenk. 1282 ¶¶ SDM97 (pA *mus∇) || **D**: [1] *muč- ({{θGS} *mus-?) 'ε ant' > Ku muh'iri id., Kui mucí trāku id., mužorì 𐎠 muraṛi 'large red ant', Tm mucir̥u ~ muḡir̥u 'red ant', Ml mīru id.; [2] (att. in SD) *mučañt- ({{θGS} *-ž-?) 'ε small bee' > Tu mujaṛṛṭæ, mujjiṛṭi, mojaṛṭi id., Kn mujaṛṭi 'ε honey' ¶¶ D no-s 4906 and 4908 || ?ϕ **K** *m∇š- (or *m∇rš-?) > Sv: UB/LB/Ln məšq, UB {GP} məršq 'ant'; the origin of UB -r- may be connected with the infl. of N *m∇Rû 'ant' (q.v.) ¶ TK 594, GP 223, Ni. s.v. 'муравей' || **HS**: Eg L mstt 'ε scorpion' ¶ EG II 152 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} míséñin 'ant' || ?? WCh: Cp {ChL} nsì, Ang ~šì n. 'fly' ¶ J Mu s.v. míséñin, ChL, ChC s.v. 'fly' (n.) ◇ Sv š goes back to K *š < N *s. Eg š < N *s, *ś or *š reg. If the Sv word belongs here, the N sibilant was *s ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 163 (*mus 'fly' n.) (IE, J, Ai + unc. U).

1489. *maḡis∇ '≈ rub, polish' > **HS**: S *o✓ mḡš|s > Ar ✓ mḡs 'rub (leather etc.) strongly'; the Ar variant root ✓ mḡš 'rub slightly' (registered in the Qāmūs, but absent in the classical lge) may be due to borrowing from a related lge or dialect that preserved pS *š as š ¶ Fr. IV 192, BK II 1127, Hv. 727 || **U**: FU (att. in FV) *mays∇-, *mays∇ '(be) polished' (→ 'beautiful') > Lp N {Fri.} muoissā- 'speciem pulchram habere' (de re obsoleta polita) † Er мазы mazi ~ maze, Mk мази maži ~ мазы mazi 'beautiful' ¶ UEW 697, Fri. 447, ERV 357-8, PI 154 || **D** *māč- / *mač- v. 'rub, polish, sharpen' > Kn mase 'rub, grind, whet, sharpen', Tm māḡ v. 'grind and sharpen', Tu masiḡuni, maseḡuni, maśeḡuni 'whet, sharpen', Krg maža 𐎠 maže, Klm, Nkr, Nk may- 'sharpen', Prj, Gnd mayp- id., Prj maykip- 'rub', Gnd mesītānā v. 'polish', masītānā 'sharpen a razor\knife', mesi- 'whet' ¶¶ D no. 4628.

1489a. ₂ *mA_LH∇_JS∇ 'snake' > **HS**: EC: Sml mas, Sml N {Abr.} mās 'snake', Or {Th.} maska 'horned boa snake' || ??ϕ HEC {Hd.} *hamasa 'snake' > Brj {Ss.} hamási ~ {Hd.} homasi, Hd {Hd.} hamašša (< *hamas-čā), Sd hamaššo id., Kmb hamāsu 'roundworm' ({{OS}: HEC *hamasa < *maHas- [mt.]; it may also go back to a cd) ¶ ZMO 282, Abr. S 176, Th. 239, Hd. 137-8, Ss. B 90-1, Ss. WOKS 127 (EC *_Lh∇_Jmaš-) || Ch: WCh: Hs mēśà, Gw {Mts.} méšē, Tng {J} mīzò 'python' || ?? ECh: Bdy māzila 'serpent rouge' ¶ Abr. H 673, Ba. 790, Mts. G 81, J T 120, Sk. HCD 200, AIJ 96 ¶¶ Budge I 323 quoted Eg Gr m s ({{Budge} m e s) 'serpent', but EG's interpretation of this hieroglyphic orthographeme is only "von der Brut des Apophis" (EG II 140) ¶¶ OS no. 1757

(HS *meḥas- > EC, Hs + unc. σ Eg m z ḥ 'crocodile') || D *māč- 'python' > Tm mācuḥam, Prj māyonḍ bam id., Gnd māsuḥ ḍ māsoḥ id. ḍ māsuḥ 'rock python' ¶¶ D no. 4793 ◇ Cf. Sum muš 'snake' ¶ Mi. ASh s.v. Sum muš ◇ Blz. DA 158 [no. 63] (EC, ECh, D), Blz. NDA no. 63 (D, HS + Sum).

1490. (₂?) *mṽś|ś|Cka'X'ṽ 'marrow, brain' > IE: NaIE *mosg-o/en- ~ *mosgʰo- id. > OI maj'jā /maj'jan-, KhS mājsā 'marrow', Av mazga- id., 'brain', MPrs mazg, NPrs مفر māḥz id. || ON mergr, NNr merg, Sw mǣrg, Dn marv, OSx, OHG marg, NHG Mark, AS mearz 'marrow', NE marrow || SI *mōzǵь (gen. *mozǵu) id., 'brain' > OCS МОЗГЪ mozǵь 'brain', OR МОЗГЪ mozǵь, Blg 'мозък, SCr mōzak (gen. mōzga), Cz mozek (gen. mozku), Δ mozg, Slk mozog, P mózǵ (gen. mozǵu), R мозг (gen. 'мозга), Uk 'мозок, 'мізок 'brain, marrow', Slv mōzǵ (gen. mōzga) 'marrow'; BSI d. **mozǵēno- adj. 'of marrow' > SI *moždžanь > OCS adj. МОЖДААНЪ moždānь (· μεμυελωμένος, medulla impletus) 'filled with marrow' ({StSS} 'МОЗГОВОЙ' [adj. of 'marrow']) | Pru musgero 'marrow' || Tc A māśśunt 'marrow' ¶ WP II 309 (*mozgʰ-), P 750, EI 370 (*mosgʰo-s), M K II 549-50, M E II 291-2, Horn 221, Vl. II 1198-9, Sg. 1280, Bai. 332, Vr. 385, Kb. 663, OsS 592, KM 462, Ho. 217, Ho. S 50, En. 212, Vs. II 638, Glh. 424-5, ESSJ XX 94-7, 104-5, StSS 331, ≈ Wn. I 293 ¶ IE *ǵʰ (for *ǵ) in the var. *mosgʰo- may be due to the N Ir. || HS: EC: pSam *mi|zkaḥ ({Hn.} *misqaḥ) 'brain' > Sml C {ZMO, DSI} maskaḥ, Sml {R} mas'kaḥ, Sml N {Abr.} máskáχ, Sml {Hn.} masqaḥ (is q a mistake?), Sml J {Lm.} massihz, pBn {Hn.} *máskáh > Bn: Bi maska(h), Sa/Ba mǣskáh, J mskáh, K makáh id. ¶ Abr. S 176, ZMO 283, DSI 425, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 96 || SOm {Blz.} *makč- 'brain' > Ari {Bnd.} makca id. ¶ Bnd. AL 146 || ?σ Ch: Hs máskǵí {Abr.} 'greasiness' ¶ Abr. H 664, Ba. 779 || ???σ D: Knd musku 'topmost part, upper side (of sth.) ¶ ≈ D no. 5128 ◇ If Heine is right in recording q in Sml and in reconstructing pSam *misqaḥ, the ancient cns. must have been *K̄. If this is so, we have to suppose that in pre-IE the cns. *K̄ was de-emphasized (= deglottalized?) due to as. to *X (*K̄X > *k > IE *g) ◇ Blz. DA no. 5 (D, C, Knd), Blz. NDA no 5 (D, C, O, IE). Cp. pLzg {StN} *masǵ̄l̄ωṽ 'brain, marrow' (NS NCED s.v. *masǵ̄l̄ωṽ).

1491. *meʔiśṽ 'hide (Fell)', (→) 'clothes' > HS: S *maʔiś|ś|θ- 'hide, leather' > Gz māʔs maʔs, Tgy maʔsi, Tgr mēʔas, Amh mas 'hide, leather' || ?? Ak maʔiś- 'ε a breed of sheep' | +ext.: S *°✓mśr > Ar mašr-at- 'vêtement, habits', ✓mšr D v. 'clothe so.' ¶ CAD X/1 116, L G 324, BK II 1109-10, Hv. 721 ¶ The Gz spelling with s rather than the expected ś may be due to the infl. of the new EthS lges (mother tongues of the scribes) that lost the distinction

between Old EthS *s and *š ¶ The alt. spelling $m\bar{a}^{\varsigma} s$ of the Gz word may be a mistake of Amhara scribes caused by the loss of OEth *ʔ or *ʃ in Amh which is suggested by the presence of ʔ in Tgr and Tgy that preserved the ancient Irs ¶¶ But Bj {R} $m\bar{e}sik$ 'hide of an animal' and Eg fXVIII $m\bar{s}k$ 'skin of an animal, leather' (EG II 149, Fk. 118) are likely to belong to a different HS etymon, which explains Eg s rather than \check{s} (the reg. reflex of N and HS *š); Sa {R} $-m^{\varsigma}es-/-m^{\varsigma}is-$ (pf. $'\bar{\alpha}-m^{\varsigma}es\bar{\alpha}$, inv. $e m^{\varsigma}is$) v. 'tan hide' and Ar $\check{m}is \sim \check{m}i\check{s}$ v. 'rub' are likely to belong to a different etymon, too (F...R S II 257, BK II 1127) || IE: NaIE * $m\bar{o}aj\bar{s}o-s$ 'hide (Fell), fleece' (× * $m\bar{o}aj\bar{s}o-s$ 'sheep' < N * $m\bar{i}\check{z}\check{i}\nabla$ 'sheep, goat' [q.v.]) > Vd $m\bar{e}'\check{s}a-$, $m\bar{e}'\check{s}\bar{i}-$ 'fleece, fell' (× $m\bar{e}'\check{s}a-$ 'ram', $m\bar{e}'\check{s}\bar{i}-$ 'sheep' < N * $m\bar{i}\check{z}\check{i}\nabla$) ||| BSl: Lt $m\bar{a}i\check{s}as$ '(large) sack', $m\bar{a}i\check{s}\acute{e}$ 'bag knitted of cords, large sack for hay', Ltv $m\bar{a}i\check{s}s$ 'bag, sack', Pru $m\bar{o}as\check{i}s$ 'smith's bellows' | Sl * $m\bar{e}\check{x}\check{b}$ (gen. * $m\bar{e}\check{x}a$) 'fur; animal's skin used as bag; bellows' > OCS $m\bar{e}\check{x}\check{b}$ $m\bar{e}\check{x}\check{b}$ (ἄσκόρ, uter) 'fur, wineskin' ({Mikl.} 'pellis'), Blg $m\bar{y}x$ 'animal's skin used as a bag; bellows', SCr $m\bar{e}\check{x}$ \check{d} $m\bar{i}\check{j}\acute{e}h$, SCr Δ $m\bar{i}\check{j}e\check{x}$, SCr W $m\bar{i}h$, Slv $m\bar{e}h$ 'sack, wineskin, bellows', Cz $m\bar{e}\check{c}h$ 'leather bag', Slk $m\bar{e}\check{c}h$ 'bag, sack', pl. $m\bar{e}\check{c}h\check{y}$ 'bellows', P $m\bar{i}\check{e}\check{c}h$ 'bag, smith's bellows', OR $m\bar{e}\check{x}\check{b}$ $m\bar{e}\check{x}\check{b}$ 'whole hide of an animal, tanned hide with fur, fur; belows; skin', R $m\bar{e}\check{x}$ 'fur', pl. $m\bar{e}'x\check{i}$ 'smith's bellows', Uk $m\bar{i}\check{x}$ 'bag, wineskin, smith's bellows' ||| ON $m\bar{e}i\check{s}s$ 'basket', OHG $m\bar{e}i\check{s}a$ {Kb.} 'Gefäß, Tragkorb', {OsS} 'Gestell zum Tragen auf dem Rücken', MLG $m\bar{e}se$ 'Tonne' ¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (* $m\bar{o}aj\bar{s}o-s$ 'ram, sheep; fleece, skin'), M K II 689, ≈ M E II 380 (Vd $m\bar{e}'\check{s}\bar{i}$ 'sheep's fleece' ← $m\bar{e}'\check{s}\bar{i}$ 'sheep'), Tr. 165, Frn. 397, En. 212, ESSJ XVIII 156-9, 220-1, Chrn. I 528, Glh. 408, Vr. 382, Kb. 671, OsS 600 ||| U: FU * $m\bar{e}\hat{s}\nabla$ 'clothes', * $m\bar{e}\hat{s}\nabla-$ 'to wear clothes' > Lp: N {Fri.} $m\bar{a}ccu$ 'pallium', T {TI} $m\bar{a}ca^{\check{y}}g$, Kld {TI} $m\bar{a}ce\check{x}$ 'ein hemdförmiges, äußeres Sommerkleid aus grobem Wollentuch oder Leder' ||| pVg * $m\bar{a}\check{s}-$ > Vg: T $m\bar{a}\check{s}-$, LK/P $m\bar{a}\check{s}-$ 'kleiden', Ss $m\bar{a}s-$ 'anziehen, ankleiden' | Hg $m\bar{e}ztelen$, $m\bar{e}zitelēn$, Δ $m\bar{e}stelen$ 'naked, bare' (lit. 'clotheless') ¶ UEW 869-70 (rejecting the relationship between Lp and Ugr for alleged semantic reasons: "stößt auf semantische Schwierigkeiten", which is not convincing), MF 444-5.

1492. * $m\bar{a}t\nabla$ 'feel, realize' > IE: NaIE * $m\bar{e}d-$ 'think' (× NaIE * $m\bar{e}d-$ v. 'measure' < N * $m\bar{A}t\nabla d\nabla$ - * $m\bar{A}d\nabla t\nabla$ 'to stretch', [in descendant Iges → 'to measure'], q.v. ffd.) > Clt: OIr $m\bar{i}d-$ 'juger, adjuger, estimer', Brtt * $m\bar{e}dami$ 'say' (← *'think') > W $m\bar{e}ddaf$ 'I say', C $m\bar{e}th$, MBr $m\bar{e}mez$ 'say', Br $m\bar{e}me / m\bar{e}mez-$ 'inquit', MW $m\bar{e}\check{d}ylyeist$ 'you thought', W $m\bar{e}ddul-$ 'think' ||| Gk $\mu\bar{e}\delta o\mu\alpha\iota$ 'be mindful of, provide for' (hardly connected with $\mu\bar{e}\delta\omega\nu$ 'lord, ruler')

¶ WP II 259-60, P 705-6, Vn. *M* 48-9, RE 138 || **HS**: C: EC * \checkmark m^rt¹ > Sml mōd- 'think, guess, suppose' ¶ Abr. S 181, ZMO 293-4 || **U**: pY {IN H} *meδ- > Y K {IN H} mödī- ~ medī-, Y T {IN H} möri- 'hear, listen, understand', v. mörey- 'touch, smell', Y K {IN H} mödū-, Y T {IN H} möru- 'heard', Y K {IN H} mödinu- v. 'smell', Y {Ku.} metu- 'let know, inform' ¶ IN H 261, IN UJ 309-10, Ku. 163 || **A** *mæd|tæ- 'feel, know' > M *mede- 'know' > MM [LV, MA, IM] mede-, [IsV] mede- 'know', WrM {MED} mede- 'know, understand, perceive, find out', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'know, erfahren, find out; verwalten', Brt мэдэ- id., Ord med_e- 'savoir, comprendre', Mnr H {SM} mud_īē- 'savoir, connaître', {T} mude- 'know', Mnr M {T}, Ba {T} mede-, Dx {T} mež_īē- 'know' ¶ Pp. L III 70, Pp. MA 234, 441, Lg. VMI 53, MED 531, BMR II 387-8, Chr. 310-11, SM 244, T 346, T DnJ 129, T BJ 143, Ms. O 458 || Tg *mede- 'feel, recognize' > Ewk, Neg мэдэ-, Lm мэд- 'feel, guess', Sln мэдэ- 'learn (erfahren, узнать)', Orc мэдэ- 'feel', Ud мэдэ-, Ork мэддэ- ~ мэдэ- 'feel, notice', Nn Nh {On.} мэдэ- 'прочувствовать \ испытать на себе наказание', Orc мэдэ, Ud, Nn Nh/Bk/KU мэдэ, WrMc {Z} мэдэгэ 'весть, известие, сведение', Jrc medige 'tidings' ¶ STM I 563-4, Krm. 264, On. 275, Z 880, Kiy. 124 [no. 483] || pKo {S} *mīt- 'believe' (× N *mū₁H₁t₁∇ 'believe, 'establish with evidence', q.v.) > MKo mīt-, NKo mit- id. ¶ Rm. SKE 149, S AJ 257 [no. 184], S QK no. 184, Nam 234, MLC 695 ¶¶ SDM 937-8 (pA *m^rū¹ti 'know, believe' > M, Ko + unc. Tg *mute- 'can, be able' and T *büt- 'believe' [both from N *mū₁H₁t₁∇ 'believe, 'establish with evidence']), DQA no. 1383 (id.), S AJ 15, 294 [no. 498] (pA *m^rū¹t∇ 'know, believe'), SDM97 s.v. *m^rū¹tu 'know, believe', Rm. SKE 149 ¶¶ The pA hypothetic *-ū¹-, tentatively reconstructed by SDM on the basis of Tg *mute- and T *büt- 'believe' (that do not belong here) is unacceptable ◇ IS II 62 (*met A 'ощущать, сознавать' > IE, A [M, Tg]) ◇ Gr. II no. 387 (*met 'think') (IE, Y, A, Ko, Ch + unc. Gil, EA).

1493. (₂?) *mūt∇ 'die', (←?) [?] 'go away, be removed' > **HS** *mūt- 'die' > S * \checkmark mw^rt *G* (prm. *-mūt-) 'die' > Ak, Ug, Ar, Gz -mūt- (Ak 3m p. imūt, Ar 3m ip. yamūt, Gz 3m js. yamūt etc.), BHb, Aram -mūt- (BHb 3m ip. yā¹mūt) id., Pun, Amn, OA, IA, JA, Sr, Sb, Mn \checkmark mw^rt id., Mh, Hrs \checkmark mw^rt id. (pf. mōt, sbjn. Mh yzmīt, Hrs yz¹met); S *¹mawt- 'death' > Ak mūt¹u(m), BHb מוֹת¹ māwēt (originally a pausal form), cs. מוֹת¹ mōt, BA, JA מוֹת¹ mōt, אֲמוֹת¹ mō¹tā, Sr مَوْت¹ maw¹t-ā, Md muta, Ar مَوْت¹ mawt-, DA, Sb, Mn mw^rt, Gz mōt, Mh mawt, Hrs he-mōt, Jb E/C 'mit id., Sq {Jo.} mayt 'mortal illness' ¶ KB 532-4, A no. 1703, OLS 303-4, HJ O5-7, 707, Js. 751-2, Sl. 650-1, Br. 378, DM 263, Nld. MG 337, BGMR 89, BK II 1165-6, MA 64, L G 375-6, Jo. M 275, Jo. H 93,

Jo. J 176, CAD X/1 421, Sd. 634, MiK I no. 2.43 || Eg √ m t, m ω t v. 'die' > Cpt Sd/B/A/F **MOY** m u 'die', qual.: Cpt Sd **MOOYT** m o u t, Cpt B **MWOYT** m o ū t, Cpt A/F **MAYT** m a ω t 'be dead'; Eg √ m t, m ω t 'death' > DEg m ω t, Cpt **MOY** m u 'death' ¶ EG II 165-7, Er. 157, Vc. 107 || B *√_LW_J m t 'die (mourir)' > Ah {Fc.} əmmət v. inv. (3m pf. yəmmut), Tw {Pr.} ǎmmǎt inv. (3m pf. yǎmmut) 'die', Ty/ETwl {GhA} ɛm̄m̄t (3m pf. im̄m̄ut), Gd {Lf.} əmmət (3m pf. yεmmūt), Awj {Prd.} mmut (3m pf. im'mut), Gh əmmət (3m pf. immut), Izd {Mrc.} mmət (3m pf. immut), Nf əmmət (3m pf. immət), Sll ǎmmət (3m pf. immūt), Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} əmmət (3m pf. immut), Kb {Dl.} əmmət (3m pf. yəmmut), Nf {Beg.} 'əmmət (3m pf. yəmmət) 'die', Si {La.} immūt 'is dead', Zng {TC} aor. int. yitmetteh 'die', n. act. iməttənt, ?φ yem̄m̄ih 'il est mort' ¶ Fc. 1131-3, 2026, GhA 134, Lf. I 270 and II no. O959, Rn. 389, Dl. 524-5, Pr. M VI-VII 197-8, Beg. 288, Prd. 169, ABs. LBV § 167, TC Z 308 || EC: Rn {PG} ip. -amūt(-) (3s yàmūt) / p. -umu y and -umāt- (3s yùmù y, 1p nùmù y, 3p yùmàtēn) 'die', Gdl {Bl.} mūt- v. 'become very weak and close to death'; Sml mōtan 'dead' ¶ Hn. R 214, Hn. S 35, 52, PG 64, 284, Bl. G 85, ZMO 294, AD SF 246-7 || Ch: WCh: Hs mútù 'die' | Su {J} mūt, Tal {IL} mú:t, Ywm {IL} mωt^h id. | Fy/DfB/Bks/Klr {J} mot id. | Tng {J} mude, Krkr {J} mēt, Grm {Sch.} mó tú-kò, Krf {Sch.} múk-kò (vb. n. mùtó), Glm {Sch.} máz-ǎlá, Gera {Sch.} múdù-mí, Glm {Sch.} mút-álà, Bl {Lk.} mot- id. | Dir {IL} mó tú, {Sk.} matu id. | Ngz {Sch.} mētú, Bd {IL} mútù id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} mɛđi id. (vb. n. mɛtá) | Mrg {IL} m̄t^hòy id. | HgNk/FlK {ChL} mte id. | Nz {ChL} mute id. | Lmn {Lk.} mt- id. | Mdr {Mirt} mc-a, Glv {Rp.} mc-, Gdf {IL} mç(ɜ)gana, Dgh {Frk} m̄čà, {IL} mcáyà id. | Mtk {Sb.} mɛca, Myn {Ro.} mt-, Mkt {Ro.} mɛc, MfG {Brr.} -mɛč-, mé-mɛčey, {Ro.} mɛčé, Mf {BLB} mɛca, Gzg D {Lk.} moc, {Ro.} múč, Mada {BrrB} á-mat, Mada/MLk {Ro.} mát id. | Db {LnG} m̄č, Kola {Sb.} múty id. | Bdm {Cfr} màtɛ, Lgn {Lk.} mti id. | Msg {Trn.} m' r' id. | Ms {J} mítná, ZmB {J} mát id. || ECh: Skr {Sx.} m̄té id. | EDng {Fd.} màtè, Mgm {J} m̄tó id. | Jg {J} māt, Brg {J} màtí, Mu {Lk} māt, {J} inf. màdé id. ¶ JI II 102-3, ChC s.v. 'die', ChL, Abr. H 689-90, Ba. 807, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 118, 137, 142, Sch. DN 106, BLB 235, Brr. MG II 163, 175, BrrB 194, Ro. 237 (pMM *mac) ¶ OS no. 1751 (*mawut-), Tk. I 227 || D *°mut- 'die' (× D *mut_Li_J-vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' < N *mud∇ 'finish', to end' [q.v.]) > Tm muti (p. -v-) v. 'die' ¶ D no. 4922 || ?σ IE: Ht mutai - v. 'remove (evils)', ?? mudan(ɛ) 'garbage, scraps' (← 'sth. removed?') ¶ CHD L-N 335-7, Ts. E II 235-6 ◇ Because of phonetic circumstances (coincidence of N *-t- with the reflex of either *-d- or *-t̄- in the cognate lges) the N word in question was doomed to contaminate with paronymous words, such as N *mud∇ 'finish', 'to

end' (q.v.) in many descendant lges. Ht *m u t a i* - v. 'remove' belongs here if the meaning 'die' (attested in HS and D) developed from an earlier (pN) meaning 'go away, be removed'.

1494. *m'äy't∇?∇ 'earth, land, place, place of residence' > HS: S **°mā*t- > Ak ∇ *mā*t u 'country, land' (↔ 'sea'), 'flat country' ¶ CAD X/1 414-28 || ?? B (+ ext.) **°*✓ *mḍr* > Kb *ṭa-mḍiṛ-ṭ* ~ *ṭa-mḍaṛ-ṭ* (pl. *ṭi-mḍiṛ-in*) 'parcelle de terre', Tmz *tamḍirt* (pl. *timḍirin*) 'parcelle de terrain délimitée par des sillons qu'on doit labourer en une journée'; B → Ar Mgr {Mrç.} *mṭira* id. ¶ Dl. 488, MT 406, Mrç. 488 || IE: NaIE {P} **mei*t^(h)- 'live (wohnen), remain; 'stay, residence; place of residence' > Av *maē*t- (pres. *mi*ṣ *na*-) 'remain', *maē*ṣ *anəm* 'place of residence of humans and gods, dwelling, house', Phl *mē*han 'home', NPrs *ميهن* *mīhān* 'one's native soil, home; wife and children'; KhS cd *par-mihā*- 'village' || Ltv inf. *mi*s-t (1s pres. *mí*t-*u*) 'to live (wohnen), to reside, to stay, to abide', *mitinā*t 'to give lodging and board', Lt inf. *mí*stⁱ (1s pres. *min*t^u) 'to feed (on), to nourish oneself, to live (on), to live, to exist', Pru *mai*tā vt. 'feeds'; the meaning 'nourish oneself, earn one's livelihood' is secondary (← 'live', as in NE *live on*); in the Blt lges there is contamination with NaIE ≈ **mei*t- 'fat' (> OIr *mé*th [gen. *mé*ith] adj. 'fat', Ic *mei*ḟ 'das Fetteste vom Speck des Walfisches?') || Sl **mě*sto 'place' > OCS, OR *мѣ*сто *mě*sto, Blg 'място, R 'место 'place', McdS *м*есто, SCr *м*есто *ḍ* *mì*sto *ḍ* *mjě*sto, Slv *mě*sto, Cz *mě*sto 'place, town', Slk *mi*esto 'place, settlement, town', P *mi*asto, Uk 'місто 'city, town, place' ¶ Sl *-st- < IE *-t-t- ¶ WP II 242, P 715, Brtl. 1105-7, Horn 227, Vl. II 1260, Sg. 1365, Bai. 219, BM 549, Tr. 185, Frn. 459-60, En. 207, Vs. II 608, StSS 340, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 203-6, ≈ Glh. 415 || U **mätt*∇ 'house, hut' > FP: Chr: H {Rm.} † *mät*, U *m*ът 'house, family' || Prm **mat*-in, **mat*-e 'near' > Vt, Z *м*атын *mat*in locative adv. 'near', Z *м*атö *mat*з directive adv. 'near', Vt *м*атэ *mate* 'approximately' || Sm {Jn.} **mät* 'tent, home' > Ne T *мя*" *má*? / *мя*д- *mád*- id., Ne F L {Lh.} *má*āt id., En {Ter.} *mε*? / *mε*δ-, Ng {Mik.} *ма*? (gen. *ма*δə) id., Slq Tz {KKIH} *mō*t, Slq Tm {KD} *mā*d id., Kms {KD} *mā*? (gen. *mā*dən), {Cs.} *ма*ʔ id., Koyb {Sp.} *м*атъ id., Mt {HL} **māt* ~ **ма*?n 'house, tent, home' (Mt T/M/K {MIL.} *м*ат 'house, tent', {Sp.} *мен*ъ id., M {Pl.} *мя*ть 'house') ¶¶ UEW 269, LG 170, Rm. BT 84, Jn. 90-1, Hl. M 304 || A **m'ay't'∇* 'land, earth, place' > Ko: [1] pKo {S} **mat*_L^h 'place, enclosure, yard' > MKo *mät*, *mät*^h, NKo † *mat* (*м*ат, *м*ат^h) id., *м*атарη *ma*daη 'place, enclosure, yard'] [2] (here?) pKo **mut* 'dry land' (× A {DQA} **mú*gdà 'bank, earth') > MKo *mut*, NKo *m u t*^h *mut* 'dry land' ¶ Ko **u* belongs to the heritage of pA {SDM} **mú*gdà 'bank, earth') ¶ S QK 238,

948, Nam 199, 206, 223, MLC 560, 578, 596, 685, S AJ 256 [no. 136] || J: [1] pJ *máti 'street, quarter' > OJ mati, MJ máti id., J T maćí, J K máci, J Kg máci {Kenk.} 'town, city; street' ¶ Mr. 473, Kenk. 1161 | [2] pJ {S} *mita|u 'earth' > J (Ryuku isolate): J Ns mìčá, J Sh ñčá, J Ht ñtá, J Y ñtà id. ¶ Mr. 481, S AJ 259 [no. 22], 270 [no. 122], S QJ no. 122 ¶¶ SDM 930-1 (pA *m̥iōt'ì|ù 'land' > J *mita|u, Ko *mut), DQA no. 1357 (id.), SDM 947 (pA *m̥úgdà 'bank, earth' [from N *muk∇ 'top, head, hill, hillock'], but mentioning roots that belong here: Tg, M, Ko *mat_Lh_J, J *máti), DQA no. 1358 (id.), S AJ 170, 256, 279 [no. 114] (pA *m∇t'∇ 'земля, место' > pKo *matan 'двор, место', pJ *mita 'земля') || D *mat̥i, {ʔGS} *maḏi 'field' > Kn maḏi 'the bed of a garden, division of a field', Tl maḏi 'field, garden bed', Knd maḏi 'paddy field' ¶¶ D no. 4655 ¶¶ D *-t̥- is likely to go back to N *-t-, suggesting pN *m'äy't∇?∇ (with N *-t∇?- > pre-D *-t- > D *-t̥-) ◇ B *-ḏ-, IE *-t-, U *-tt- and A *-t'- go back to post-N **-t̥- < **-t?- < N *-t∇?-.

1495. *mat̥∇ ~ *ma'ʔ't∇ 'approach' ([in descendant lges] → 'meet', 'enter') > HS: CS *✓m̥t̥ʔ > IA ✓m̥t̥ʔ G 'arrive at, reach' (ʔ is a real Ir. rather than a mater lectionis, as confirmed by forms such as 3p pf. m̥t̥ʔ [*m̥ə't̥aʔū]), Plm ✓m̥t̥ʔ G 'come', Ar ✓m̥t̥ʔ G (pf. مَطَأَ maṭaʔa) 'inivit (feminam)'; the ✓ was transformed in *✓m̥t̥w|y in BA (3m pf. مَطَأَ ~ مَطَأَ m̥ə't̥ā, 3f pf. مَطَأَتْ m̥ə't̥ā-t̥) and in later Aram: JA [Trg.] ✓m̥t̥w|y G (مَطَأَ m̥ə't̥ā), JEA {Sl.} ✓m̥t̥y G, Sr ✓m̥t̥w|y G (3m pf. مَطَأَ m̥ə't̥ā) 'come, arrive at, reach'; in Aram the verb contaminated with ✓m̥t̥ʔ ~ ✓m̥t̥w|y (< S *✓m̥θʔ 'find'), but the meaning 'arrive, come' is still present ({KB} 'kommen über' and 'eintreten, da sein' in BA [Daniel], in JA and Sr) ¶ HJ 616-17, KB 1735, Lv. T II 26-7, Sl. 658-60, Br. 381, JPS 260, BGMR 88, Fr. IV 189, BK II 1121 || EC *✓mt̥, *-mt̥ī, *-(i)mit- 'come' > Af {PH} pcv. 1s pf. emēte 'come', Sa {Wlm.} pf. -emēte / ip. -amate id.; pSam {Hn.} *i-mit 'arrive' > Rn {PG} ip. -amīt(-) (3m yāmīt, 3p yāmītīn) / pf. -imiy and -imāt- (3m yīmīy, 1p nīmīy, 3p yīmātēn), Sml C pcv. p. -imid- (3m yimid(ey)) / pres. -imād- (3m yimāda) 'come', pBn {Hn.} pf. *-imid- / ip. *-imād- 'come' (> Bn: K -imid-/-imād- ~ -ibid-/-ibād-, Bi/J -īd- / -iyād-); Bs {HL} ēmet- 'come, arrive', Dsn {To.} -i(:)mī/-i(:)meḏ- 'come'; HEC: Brj {Ss.} int-ay 'come' (< p. *imt-), Alb {HL ← ?}, Kmb {Hd.} amēt- id. || Ag {Ap.} *ʔnt-/*-∇nt- 'come' > Bln ʔnt-, Km ʔnt-, -t-, Aw -nt; ⇨ Ag *ʔnt-āt- id. > Bln *ʔnt-er-, Xm (ʔ)t̥r- id. ¶ Ss. B 105, Ss. OKSV, Hd. 307, Hn. S 65, Hn. BD 99, PH 96, PG 42-4, Vg. rSimO 165-7, HL 69, AD IPCV, AD SF 246, To. DL 201, Ap. AV 5 || IE: NaIE *mād-/*m̥ad- (or *m̥ōd-/*m̥ad-) 'approach, meet' > Arm ւ ա տ չ ի ւ մ a t č h i m vi. 'I gain access, I approach, I draw near' (aor.

մատեայ mateay), մատուցանեմ matuc^hanem vt. 'I draw, I bring near' || ON mótt, MHG muoz, AS mōt n. 'meeting, assembly', NE moot; Gt inf. ga-mōtjan (ἀναντησαυ) 'begegnen', ON inf. mœta, Dn inf. mōde, Nr inf. mōta, Sw inf. mōta, OSx inf. mōtīan, AS inf. mētan 'to meet', NE meet ¶ WP II 304, P 746, Fs. 193-4, Vr. 393-4, Ho. 225-6, Ho. S 53, Skeat 370 || U (att. in Prm only) *^omat^o∇ > FU: pPrm *matin, *mate 'near' > Z, Vt matin adv. 'near', Z matz 'near' (adv. of direction), Z LL matzd- vi. 'approach', Vt mate 'approximately' ¶ LG 170 || ?σ A *mat^o∇ > NrTg *mata 'newly arrived person' > Ewk, Lm mata id., 'guest; foreigner' ¶ STM I 533, Vas. 29 || Ko {Rm.} mat 'mate, friend', manna-da 'meet' ¶¶ Rm. SKE 142 ◇ S *^om^ot^o? ~ *^om^ot^ow^oy and U *mat^o∇ suggest a N rec. *mat^o?∇ (later *t^o? > *t^o? > S *t^o? and U *tt), while the long vw. in IE *mā|ōd- points to a N rec. *maHt^o∇ (= *ma^o?^ot^o∇?).

1496. *mat^o∇^o?^o∇ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE *mad- 'wet, moist, liquor', v. 'drip' > Gk μαδάω 'be moist\sodden' (of a disease in fig trees), 'fall of' (of hair), {P} '(ich) zerfließe, löse mich auf, verliere die Haare', μαδαρός 'wet; bald' || L madeo / madēre 'be wet\moist' ¶ Not here OI 'mada-, 'madya-, Av maδa-, maⁱδya- 'exhilarating\intoxicating drink' (←d mad- 'exhilarate, intoxicate') ¶ WP II 231-2, P 694-5, ≈ EI 638-9 (*m(e)h_od- 'become wet\moist\fat'), M K II 568, M E II 299-300, F II 157-8, WH II 6-8 || HS: Eg NE mt^oy.t 'flood' ¶ EG II 169 || C: SC: Brn madi^oη 'rainy season' || HEC: Qbn, Kmb {Hd.} muṭa 'wet', Kmb {Hd.} muṭ- 'be wet', maṭō 'rainy season' ¶ E SC 153, Hd. 332, 334 || Ch *m^o∇d- 'dew' (× N *m^oū^ot^o∇ 'drop', q.v. ffd.) || A: T *ma^o;^ot 'thick liquid' > OT bat 'thick juice of pressed dates', Qrg {Jud.} bat 'glue, paste, starch'; ?σ: *ma^o;^ot-ak > Tk bat^oak 'swamp, march', Ggz, Kr bataq id., 'трясина', Az батаг 'топь, топкая грязь, трясина'; Qmq batmaq id., 'липкая грязь', Chv L путлăх, Chv Δ-путхax 'swamp, топкое место', Chv L пут- 'взянуть' (secondary connection with пут- 'ertrinken, versenken') ¶ Cl. 296, Jud. 116, ET B 80, Äz. 52, Ash. X 40-2, Fed. I 454-5, Jeg. 169, ChVS 150 || N cd (→ d.)₂ *mat^o∇^o?^o∇ R^o∇ 'rain' or 'rainy season' > HS: S *ma^ot^oar- 'rain' > BHb מֵטָר mā^ot^oār, Ug mṭr, IA mṭr(?), Htr mṭr?, JA [Trg.] מֵטָר ~ מֵטָרִי mi^ot^or-ā, Sr مَطَرٌ me^ot^or-ā, Md mi^ot^ora id., Ar مَطَرٌ ma^ot^oar- 'shower, heavy rain', Ak LB mi^ot^oru 'small canal, ditch', Ak fOB d. mi^ot^oirtu 'e canal, ditch'; 'e field\orchard'; WS *^om^ot^or v. 'rain' > Amr, Ug ^om^ot^or G, Ar ^om^ot^or G, BHb ^om^ot^or N id.; WS ⇨ Ak RS mi^ot^oar 'field irrigated by rain' ¶ KB 544, A no. 1555, OLS 308, HJ 619, Js. 769, DM 265-6, BK II 1122, Hv. 725, Sd. 663, G A 26, CAD X/2 144-7 || Eg fAm mṭr 'flood, water' (Eg G 'inundation water') ¶ EG II 174 || K: GZ *za-mtar- 'winter' > OG, G

zamtar-i, Mg zotonǰ-i id.; *za-mtar- is a cd with the component *za- (originally 'year') used in names of seasons (cp. G za-pχul-i 'summer'); the pK stem *-mt_lar_j- may be discerned in Sv UB/Ln li-ntw and Sv L lu-nt 'winter' ¶¶ K 86-7, K² 56, Q 228, FS K 128, 217, FS E 138, 239, TK 443, GP 162 ◇ The N lr. was lost in IE, Eg and K, but preserved (as glottalization or its traces) in S, EC and Ch (*tʔ > *t̥ > S *t̥, HEC *t̥, Ch *d̥) ◇ ≈ BmK no. 537 (IE, HS [S, HEC, NrBc, but not Eg]; the Eg cognate is not mentioned deliberately, because it is at variance with Bm.'s preconceived theory about IE *d [his *t̥] < N *t̥) ◇ The semantic change 'rain' → Eg 'flood' is easily explained by the special geographical conditions of Egypt (absence of rains, importance of the Nile flood), while the change 'rain(y season)' → K 'winter' provides ev. for the climate of the Nostratic original habitat (Southwestern Asia with the rainy season in November-February, see AD NM).

1497. *mUt∇∇? (or *mUt̥∇?) 'man, person' (→ [in M and T] ?σ → 'people, tribe') > HS: S *mut- 'person, man' > Oak m u t u m, Ak ∇ m u t u (m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb m u - t u m = mutum, Ug m t 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} m u t u m 'man', BHb pl. ׀׀׀׀ m a 't-ī m, pl. cs. ׀׀׀׀ m a , t ē 'men, people (homines)', Gz m a t 'husband' ¶ CAD X/2 313-16, Sd. 690-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-18, A no. 1705, Grd. UT no. 1369, OLS 305, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs m u t u m [mùtûŋ] (pl. mútānē) 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. ŋtāni 'men, persons' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdù, WMr̄g {ChL} mdà 'person', Br m̄dà id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} m̄dí 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdì, Nz {ChC} m̄dē 'man (person)' || ECh: Skr {Lk.} máti, {Sx.} máti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} mètà 'person', mítìkò 'man (vir)', Bdy m̄dò, Mgm {J} m̄dì, Brg {J} m̄dìwó, Jg {J} m̄tó id. ¶ JI II 231, Abr. H 690, Ba. 807, ChC s.v. 'man (homo)' and 'man (vir)', ChL || Eg G m t 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N *moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis?') Eg fP m t w . t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9 and V 144 (s.v. t̄zj) || ?φ B {Pr.} *m̄did-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh {Nh.}, Tmz {MT}, Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middan, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} midden ~ miđđer, Ty/ETwlm medd̄n, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midan 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} maddan, Kb maddan, Sll {Ds.} 'maddan, Tz {Stm.} maddan ~ müddan ~ middan, Gd {Lf.} meddēn, Awj {Prd.} middeṇ 'les gens' ¶ Prasse (Pr. M IV 414) reconstructed here a form *m̄did-an; an alt. rec. may be *m̄id-wan ~ *med-wän (with a typical pl. sx *wan and with the reg. change *-d w - > -dd- ¶ The voiced cns. *-d- (for the expected *-t-) still requires explanation ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 123, Dl. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 404, La. S 244, Rn. 307, Stm. 208, Ds. 141, Ds. B 150, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128, Lf. II no. O971, Prd. 166 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1806 (S, Ch) (unc. connection with HS {OS} *mawut- 'die') || D *mut 'old' (← 'aged

man') > Tm *m u t u* 'old, ancient', Ml *m u t u* 'old, prior', Kt *mud*, *mudk* 'old age', Td *muθ*, *muθy* 'old', *mu't π* 'old age', Kn *m u t t u*, *mudi* id., Kdg *mudi* 'old', Tu *m u d u*, *m u d u* 'old, aged, ancient', Tl *m u d u* 'old age, old', (< d.?) *m u t t a*, *m u t t u* 'old person', ds: Tm *m u t i y a*(*υ a*)*η*, Ml *m u t u k k a n*, Kt *mudkn*, Kn *m u d a k a*, *m u d u k u*, Kdg *m u d i k ə*, Tu *m u d u k e*, Prj, Gdb *m u t t a k*, Gnd *muytor* \approx *muytonq* 'old man', Nkr *mudgan* 'husband', Brh *mutkun* 'old, old thing' ¶¶ D no. 4954 || A: NaT **bo_l:_jδ* 'self' (× N **bod∇* 'body, belly') > StAlt {BT} *boy* (+ ppas) '-self', Qzl {Jk.} *pōs*, Tf {Ra.} *bot'*, Tv *b_ot* 'self' (+ ppas: *bodum* 'myself', *bodun* 'yourself' sg. etc.); NaT *?σ *bo_l:_jδ* 'clan' (against Cl. and in accordance with DTS, hardly identical with **boδ* 'stature, the size of a man, body') > OT *boδ* 'clan, people', MOg *bo_l:_jy* 'clan, tribe; the people', OOsM XIV *boy* 'clan'; \rightarrow NaT **bo_l:_jδun* 'people, populace' > OT *boδun* 'tribal community, people' ({Cl.}: ← 'clans'), SbTt *boyun* 'servant' (but Qzq **bodan* 'subject [Untertan], prisoner, slave' cannot belong here [\Leftrightarrow K. Musajev in TL 316]) ¶ Cl. 296-7, 306, DTS 107-11, ET B 176-9, TL 316, Rl. IV 1282-3, Ra. 164, BT 32, MKD 75, Rs. W 77, Dr. TM II no. 812, S AJ 196 [no. 247], Jeg. 170-1, Fed. I 416 || M *?σ *muž_i* (< ***mudi*) 'people (Volk), province, region' > Kl Ö {Rm.} *muž_i* 'Volk; Volksart, Provinz', WrM *m u ž i* {MED} province, region, area', HIM *myx* {MED, BMR} id., Brt *moxo* 'a party in a conflict', † 'region', WrO {Krg.} *m u ž i* 'province, district', Ord *muž_i* 'province', Dg {T, Mr.} *mož_i* 'province, region' ¶ MED 554, BMR II 354, Chr. 298, KW 268, Ms. O 473, Krg. 612, T DgJ 155 ¶ Parallels of the semantic change 'person' → 'people': [1] Nlr *daoine* 'people, public' ← *daoine* 'homines', pl. of *duine* 'man, person', [2] Lt P {Krsch.} *žmonės* 'Volk, Nation' ← *žmonės* 'homines', pl. of *žmogus* 'man, person' (Bc. 1314) ◇ The M root (if it belongs here) points to a N **t* rather than **t̥*, suggesting that D **mut* goes back to N **mUt∇?∇* (with **-t∇?-* > **-t̥-* in the prehistory of D). But if the M root is not a legitimate cognate, the N etymon may be **mUt̥∇* (with deglottalization **-t̥-* > **-t-* in HS) (see entry 1503a s.v. **mUt̥∇* 'man, person, a young') ◇ NaT **-δ-* belongs to the heritage of N **bod∇*.

1498. **meʔat∇ħa* 'head, top, summit' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} **math-* 'head' > pSam {Hn.} **mataħ* > Sml *madaħ*, Sml N *mádaħ*, Sml J *mádiʔ*, Rn {Hn.} *ma'taħ*, {PG} *mátàħ* (cs. *mátàkkí*), pBn {Hn.} **mádàh* > Bn {Hn.}: Bi *máda(h)*, J/K/Kj *máda*; Bs {HL} *mete*, Or *mátaʔ*, {Grg.} *matā*, Kns {Bl.} *matta*, {Lm.} *mattá*, Msl {Lm.} *matta*, Di/Mos {Lm.} *maššá*, Gato {Fl.} *mätta*, Gdl {Bl.} *mašš(a)*, Dsn *mé* (pl. *met-u*), Bs {Lm.} *mete*, Elm *méteʔ*, Arr {Hw.} *mettéh*, Ya {Ss.} *míteh* id. ||| Bj {R} *mat* 'crown of the head' ||| ?φ Ag: Bln {R} *mād-*, *mad-* 'auf den Kopf

schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen' (× N *m u ʒ, ∇, ʏ ∇ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze/hit with a fist, to punch on the head') ¶ AD SF 182, Abr. S 169, ZMO 269, Bl. 157, 185, 250, 317, Ss. PEC 5, 8, 10, 36-7, 57, 63, HL 131, Grg. 282, Hn. S 69, Hn. BD 111, PG 221, Lm. SKE 532, Hw. A 384, R WB 263, Blz. EDB 21-2, To. DL 517, Fl. p.c. || Om: SOm: Dime mεt, {Fl.} mət, Ari U mātá, Ari {Bnd.} matá, Ari G {Bnd.} m^ta, Hm mät-, Hm K mεt, Banna {Blz. ← ?} māte 'head' || NrOm: Dzd {Blz.}: Na {Fl.} mot id., Shk {Fl.} mōto, mūtu 'head, brain' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 60, Blz. EDB 21-2, Bnd. AL 152, Fl. OWL s.v. 'head' || CCh: Pdk {Blz. ← Mch.} mudara, Msg P {Trn.} mɔdiy (cs. midi-), Msg Ng {Lk. ← GKrs.} máda, maidí, mídi, Msg {Mch.} mada 'head', Mlw {Trn.} māt id. (with poss. prns: mīdà á 'my head', mīdī nī 'his head', mūdù kù 'thy [m.] head' etc.), ? Mbara {TrnSL} mbòt 'head' ¶ Lk. DQM 65, Trn. LM 105-6, Trn. MVM 186-7, TrnSL M 299 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP no. 60 and Blz. EDB 21-2 (C, Om, Ch + err. Ak m u t t u [Holma NK 35: *'front, forehead', but in fact 'front side']) || K: OG mta-y, G mta 'mountain' ¶ Ser. 92, DCh. 719-20, Chx. 765 || A *mæ,at' ∇ 'skin of the head, face' > Tg *mī,ata 'hide from the animal's head; skin of the head' > Neg, Ork mēta, Ul mēta ~ mīata id., Lm māt ɘ mēt ɘ mīat, Orc mīata-ksa, Ul mēta-ksa, Nn Nh mīata 'hide from the animal's head', Ewk mēta id., 'scalp', Sln mēta 'face' ¶ STM I 535, On. 262 || T *bæt' 'face' > OT [TT] bεt, Tk bεt, Az bāt, Tkm Δ, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, ET bāt, Δ bet, StAlt b_εt, Chv pit 'face', Chg, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, Uz bet, VTt, Bsh bit, SbTt pit 'face, cheek', Tv b_εti 'this side', Tf b_ét 'front side', Yk bättäχ 'here, on this side' ¶ DTS 10, ET B 121-2, TrR 111, Ra. 162, ≈ TL 207 (*bāt 'face'; the rec. of *ä is unc. because of VTt and Bsh i) || ? M *metü 'similar(ly), as' (← *'face of?') > MM [S] {H} metü 'such as, as', [HI] {Ms.}, [PP] {Pp.} metü, WrM {MED} metü, HIM {MED, BMR} mεt, Brt mεtə 'similarly, as', Kl {KRS} mεt id., {Rm} metə, metü 'ähnlich, wie', MMgl [Iw.] metü, Dg {Mr.} mε'tu 'similar(ly), as', Ord möt'ü 'comme', Mnr H {SM} mad_u 'comme', {T} madu 'as (comme), similarly', Dx {T} mutu id. ¶ H 109, Ms. H 75, Ms. O 472, Pp. KP 153, MED 538, BMR II 375, Chr. 313, KRS 351, KW 262, Mr. D 172, Iw. 115, SM 229, T 343, T DnJ 129 ¶¶ SDM 924 (pA *mīat'i 'head skin, face' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1307, Rm. EAS I 79, KW 262, TL 207-8 || D: [1] *mēṭ- 'raised place' > Ml mēṭa id., 'tower, upper storey', Tm mēṭaṭ 'platform, raised floor, terraced house', Png mēṭ 'storied house', Tl mēṭa id., 'upper chamber', Gnd mēṭā 'large house', Knd mēṭa in mēṭa mide 'terraced building' (see below in [3]), Ku mēṭa 'upstair building'; D → OI ^ mēṭa-, Prkr mēṭaya 'whitewashed storied house' || [2] *māṭ- 'upper storey, terrace' > Tm māṭi 'terrace', Tm, Ml māṭam, Tl māṭugu

'house with an upper storey', Kn $m\bar{a}d\bar{a}$, $m\bar{a}t\bar{a}$, $m\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ 'upstair house', Kdg, Klm $ma'd\bar{i}$, Gnd $m\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ 'upper storey', Tu $m\bar{a}d\bar{b}$ 'roof', Nkr $m\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ 'large house', Nk $m\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ 'raised platform'; D \rightarrow OI \wedge $m\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ 'palace' || [3] * $me|itt-$ 'top, upper part of the house' > Td $midy$ 'upper storey', Tm $mettai$ id., 'storied house', Ml $metta$ 'terrace', Kt med 'upstairs room', Kn $metti$ 'the upstairs', Tu $mettigæ$ 'pavement \ boards of the floor of an upper storey', Tl $mididiya$, $midde$ 'flat roof, terrace', Knd $mide$ in $m\bar{e}ra$ $mide$ 'terraced building'; here D *- $tt-$ may go back to Early D *- $t-$ + a cns. of a sx ¶¶ D no-s 4796 and 5069 ◇ A *- t' - (the usual reflex of N *- $t-$ -) may go back to the cluster *- $t\bar{h}$ - (< N *- $t\bar{v}h-$ with elision of the vw.); D *- $t-$ is from N *- $t-$ (here probably from *- $t\bar{v}h-$ without vowel elision), D *- $tt-$ (in * $me|itt-$) goes back to a cns. cluster (probably with a D sx) ◇ The N vw. after * t is reconstructed on the indirect ev. of D *- $t-$ (a regular reflex of the N intervocalic * t).

1499. * $mAt\bar{v}d\bar{v}$ or * $mAd\bar{v}t\bar{v}$ 'to stretch' ([in descendant lges] \rightarrow 'to measure') > HS: S \checkmark mdd 'stretch, measure (the length)' > Ak \checkmark $m\bar{d}\bar{d}$ v. G (inf. $ma\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{u}$, 3m pret. $i - m\bar{d}\bar{u}\bar{d}$) 'measure (using a measure of capacity\length), pay, measure the length', BHb \checkmark mdd (pf. $\bar{m}\bar{a}'\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{d}$, ip. $-m\bar{o}\bar{d}$) v. G 'measure (length\surface)', Pun $m\bar{d}\bar{d}$ acp. 'measurer', Ar \checkmark mdd v. G 'spread (a carpet), stretch (one's arm), strain (a rope), lengthen by stretching', madda $\bar{u}mra$ ($ful\bar{a}nin$) 'lengthen (so.'s) life' (of God), Gz \checkmark mdd v. G (pf. $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{a}$ $madada$) 'spread, level', Tgr \checkmark mdd G (pf. $\bar{m}\bar{e}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{e}$) 'stretch, spread', Mh \checkmark mdd (pf. $m\bar{e}\bar{d}$, sbjn. $y\bar{u}\bar{m}\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{d}$) 'stretch out, stretch (one's limbs)', Hrs \checkmark mdd (pf. $m\bar{a}\bar{d}$), Jb C \checkmark mdd (pf. $m\bar{i}\bar{d}\bar{d}$, sbjn. $y\bar{u}m\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{d} \sim y\bar{u}\bar{d}$), Jb E \checkmark mdd (pf. $m\bar{i}\bar{d}$) id.; d. CS * $madd-$ n. 'stretching', (\rightarrow *'measure of cloth' \rightarrow) 'garment' > Ar $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{d}$ madd- n. 'tout l'espace que la vue embrasse, aussi loin que l'on peut voir', 'lengthening of the vowels u and i', BHb $m\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{d}^*$ / $m\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{d}-^*$ 'garment' (attested: sg. +ppa. $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{d}-\bar{o}$ 'his garment', pl. +ppa. $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{w}$ 'his garments'), Ug $m\bar{d}$ {A} '€ garment', {OLS} 'capa, cubierta', JEA $\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{d}-\bar{a}$ {Sl.} 'garment', {Js.} 'priest's cloak'; WS * $mu|idd-$ > Ar $\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{d}\bar{d}$ '€ measure (of various standards)', Tgr $\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{d}\bar{d}$ '€ measure of corn'; WS * $midd-at-$ > Ar $\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{d}\bar{d}-at-$ 'length, space of time', BHb $m\bar{i}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{a}$ 'measurement (of length)' ('Meßstrecke'), Sb $m\bar{d}\bar{t}$ 'period', Tgr $\bar{m}\bar{u}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ 'space of time, period', Jb C $m\bar{e}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ 'period' ¶ CAD X/1 5-9, KB 518-20, HJ 595, A no. 1516, OLS 259-60, Js. 731, Sl. 642, BK II 1075-7, Hv. 711-12, L G 329, BGMR 83, LH 141-13, Jo. M 260-1, Jo. H 87, Jo. J 168 || IE: NaIE * $med-$ v. 'measure' ({EI} id., 'weigh') (\times NaIE * $med-$ 'think' < N * $m\bar{a}t\bar{v}$ 'feel, realize'

[q.v.] > OI \wedge 'masti-h₁ (< *med-ti-s?) n. 'measuring, weighing' ||| Arm **միտ** m i t (gen. **մտի** m t i) 'mind, intellect, sense' ||| Gk μέδωμαι 'be mindful of, provide for' (hardly connected with μέδων 'lord, ruler') ||| L m o d u s 'a measure, standard of measurement', m o d o adv. 'by measure, according to a limit', m e d i t - o r / - ā r i 'think over, consider', m o d i u s 'a Roman corn measure (16 sextarii, rather less than 2 gallons)', Um m e r ṣ s, M E R S 'ius' (< *med-os), m e r s u s 'ex moribus', Osc m e d - d í s s 'magistrate' (< *medo-dīk-s), gen. m e d í k e í s ||| OIr m i d i u r (p. r o - m í d a r) 'cogito, judico', a i r m e d 'measure', m e s s 'judicium', m e d 'balance', W m e d d w l 'animus, mēns, cogitatio'; on Brtt *medami 'think, say' (see N *mæ t ∇ '↑') ||| Gt inf. m i t a n (· μ ε τ ρ ε ῖ ν) 'messen', OHG inf. m ē (z) z a n, NHG inf. m e s s e n, A inf. m e t a n 'to measure', ON inf. m e t a id., 'to evaluate, to count', m e t 'measurement, weight', OSx m e t, OHG m ē z, NHG M a ß, AS m e t 'measure', AS m i t t a 'a corn measure' (÷ L m o d i u s) ¶ WP II 259-60, P 705-6, ≈ EI 374 (including reflexes of IE *med- 'think'), M K II 607, ≈ F II 191, WH II 55-6, 99-100, Bc. G 319, 338, Vn. M 27, 42-3, 48-9, Fs. 363-4, Vr. 25-6, Ho. 220, 224, Ho. S 52, Kb. 682, OsS 606, KM 465, 475-6 ||| D (tr., ḡGS) *m a t ṭ o, *m a t ṭ - (a m) 'measure' > Tm m a t ṭ u 'measure, quantity, standard', m a t ṭ a m 'measure, evenness, flatness', Ml m a t ṭ u 'measure, limit', m a t ṭ a m 'a measure of length', Kt m a t m (obl. m a t ṭ -) 'level place, all', Kn m a t ṭ u, m a t ṭ a, m a t a 'measure, extent, height', Tu m a t ṭ u 'measure, extent, limit', m a t ṭ a 'carpenter's\bricklayer's square, level, measure', Tl m a t ṭ u limit, bound, measure', m a t ṭ a m u 'level, a levelling instrument' ¶¶ D no. 4660 ||| ? A: M: [1] M *badara- (× N *b A d ∇ 'many, multitude' and possibly N *p a t ṭ ∇ 'to be open, to open') > WrM {MED} b a d a r a - vi. 'spread, expand', 'develop'; 'blow\open' (of flowers), HIM б а д р а - {MED} id., {BMR} vi. spread, expand; develop; prosper', Brt б а д а р - 'spread, expand; prosper', Kl {KRS} б а д а р - 'open' (of flowers), 'prosper', {Rm.} b a d ṛ - 'sich ausbreiten', Ord b _ a d _ a r a - 'se repandre au loin, se propager, flamber'; WrM {MED} б а д а ṛ , HIM {MED, BMR} б а д а ṛ n., adj. 'swelling, swollen', Kl {Rm.} b a d ṛ 'breit, weit'] [2] M *badayira- (× N *b A d ∇ 'many, multitude') > WrM {MED} б а д а ṛ i r a -, HIM {MED, BMR} б а д а ṛ a -, Brt б а д а ṛ - 'become swollen\inflamed', Ord b _ a d _ ā r a - 'être un peu enflé'; WrM {MED} б а д а ṛ , HIM {MED, BMR} б а д а ṛ n., adj. 'swelling, swollen', Ord b _ a d _ ā r 'légère enflure' ¶ M *b- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *b A d ∇ 'many, multitude' ¶ MED 65-6, BMR I 212-13, Cher. 76, KRS 76, KW 27, Ms. O 42.

1500. $_2$ *matR∇ or *maRt∇ 'midday' ([in ObU] → 'south') > HS: Eg MKL mtr.t ({Vc.} = *mitra-t) 'midday' > DEg mtr id. > Cpt: Sd MEEPE meere, B MEPi meri id. ¶ EG II 174, Er. 192, Vc. 119 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *°mart∇ > ObU {Ht.} *mārt∇(y) 'country where migratory birds spend their winter' > pVg *mārtī id. > Vg (partially in cds with m̄ ̄ mā 'land', sām 'region', lōnk 'way' and woy 'beast'): MK mōrt, LL mort, UL mōrti, Ss mōrti 'country where migratory birds spend their winter', d. P mortam id. || pOs *martī (in similar cds): Ty/Y mārtī, D mōrtā, K mārta, Nz/Kz mōrtā, O marti id. ¶ Ht. no. 412, KrT 543-4, ≈ UEW 280-1.

1501. *mAṭ∇ '≈ increase, make long\broad' > HS: S *°✓ mṭṭ > Ar ✓ mṭṭ G (pf. maṭṭa) 'tendre et allonger une chose en la tirant avec force; allonger (les joues, les sourcils)' ¶ BK II 1121 || K {Fn.} *°maṭ- > G maṭ-ul- / maṭ- (ft. i-maṭ-eba, inf. maṭul-oba) vi. 'increase, become larger' ¶ Chx. 727-8 || D *mat-, {ḡGS} *mad- > Tm matippu 'growing fat' (of a person), 'growing leafy' (of a plant), matukay 'strength', Tl madincu 'become fat' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 4687 (+ err. D *mat-, {GS} *mady- 'be furious\excited', cp. GS 148-9 [no. 508]) ◇ Fn. KD no. 25 (K, D).

1502. *moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals' > HS: Eg mṭ (reading of the character representing male genitalia), DEg mṭ 'phallus', as well as possibly (× N *mUt∇?∇ 'man, person') Eg fP mṭw.t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9, Er. 184 || EC: HEC: Sd {Hd}, Hd {L} muta 'penis', Hd/Kmb {Hd.} mut- v. 'sprout', Hd {Hd.} muta 'awl for basketwork' || LEC: Or {Grg.} muṭ- v. 'sprout, blade' (of crop) ¶ L rCoh. 315, Hd. 141, 387, Grg. 295 || NrOm: Zl/Dc {Lm.} mute 'penis' ¶ Lm. CO s.v. mute 'penis' ¶¶ Tk. I 227 || K: eNG {SSO} muṭ-el-i 'membrum muliebre' (× N *mûṣṣṭ∇ 'woman, female', sc. an adj. 'that of a woman, muliebre'?) ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [no. 191] || A: [1] A *mot'E (or *met'E?) 'pudenda' (× N *mûṣṣṭ∇ 'woman, female' [q.v. ffd.]) > Tg {SDM} *motoka > Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'vulva', Mc S motəqun 'genitalia of a nubil girl', motərə 'child's vulva' ¶ STM I 547, Y s.v. motəqun and motərə || T *°böṣṣṭæ (× N *buṣṣṭ∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' × N *mûṣṣṭ∇ 'woman, female') > VTt {SDM} böṣṣṭæ 'vulva' ¶ SDM 916 (pT *°böṣṣṭe) || pJ {S. SDM} *mitua > OJ myitwo 'pudenda' ¶ S QJ no. 482 || ?σ [2] A *m'ö't'E '≈ bird's crop' > T *böṣṣṭæ ({Rs. W}: borrowed from M betege 'Vögelkropf') > OT Kr bütege, Nog bötege 'bird's crop, Qzq bötäkä 'kidneys of animals', Tkm peteke, OT Kr bütege, Nog bötege 'bird's crop, Bsh bütägä, VTt bütäkä 'masticatory stomach', Yk böṣṣṭö 'bird's crop; calves of the legs', Chv Δ.пyтeкe pud_eg_e 'crop', 'kidneys of

animals'; a NaT lge \rightarrow M *betegen 'crop of birds' > WrM {MEED} betege(n), HIM {MED, BMR} бэтэг, Kl {KRS} бетк id., {Rm.} betəgə ~ betkə 'Vogelkropf', Mnr H {SM} p'od_og_0 'crop of birds' ¶ Rs. W 84, Ash. X 44, Fed. I 424, Jeg. 153, Cl. 304, JkR 79, MED 100-1, BMR I 316, KRS 96, KW 43, SM 303 || ??φ pKo *màrtəkán '≈ bird's navel; craw (crop) of a bird or insect' > MKo m̀artəkán, NKo məl̄təguni id. ¶ Nam 212, MLC 613 ¶¶ Ko *r in *m̀artəkán is still to be explained (infl. of some other root or mt. from **m̄tr-?) ¶¶ SDM 916 (pA *m̀t'(-rk̄) 'pudenda; bird's crop or navel' > Tg, J, Ko, T [VTt b̄təg 'vulva' and T *b̄təkæ 'bird's crop']), DQA no. 1289 || D *mot(t)-, {ǵGS} ≈ *modd- '≈ trunk, straw' > Tm m̄tāl 'stump, lowest part of stem', Td m̄θ 'straw', Kn moddu 'log of wood', Tu maɗaɗ 'log, trunk', m̄del 'stubble, stump of a tree', Klm modal 'tree trunk', modda 'log', Nkr modhal, Prj model, Gnd modol, modal, Knd modol 'tree trunk', Nk maddum 'stem of tree' ¶¶ D no. 4951 ◇ Tg, T and D suggest a rounded vw. of the first syll.; the vw. *i in the initial syll. in pJ may be due to regr. as. (infl. of the vw. *i of the second syll.) ||| Possibly here: HS: EC: Af maɗaɗ 'uterus, womb', ? Af/Sa {R} maɗ- (= maɗ-?) 'beschlafen, coire' ¶ R A II 882 (s.p. 90) || B: Ah te-mit 'uterus, womb' ¶ Fc. 1164 || E: AchEl ma-at 'trächtig' ¶ HK 855 ◇ Blz. E no. 5.

1503. ₂ *m̄t̄E 'whole, complete' > A *m̄j̄t̄'E¹- v. 'complete, gather together' > T *b̄t- (= *m̄t̄-) 'be complete\all' > OT b̄t- 'be complete', Xw T XIV b̄t- 'be completed\achieved', Qrg, ET b̄t-, Tk bit-, Ggz, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Uz bit-, Qq pit-, Qzq bit-, VTt бет- b̄t-, Bsh бөт- b̄t-, Yk but-, Chv L п̄т- p̄t/d- id., Chv H p̄t/d- vi. 'enden, zu Ende gehen', StAlt b̄t-, Tf b̄t̄', Xk p̄t- 'be completed\achieved', Tv b̄t- 'come true, be realized, occur', d.: Qmn {B} b̄d-ir- vt. 'complete, finish'; \rightarrow T *m̄t̄ūn (> *b̄t̄ūn) 'complete, entire' > OT, MQp XIII-XIV, Osm XIV b̄t̄ūn id., Tkm b̄t̄ūn, Δ m̄t̄ūn, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qrg b̄t̄ūn, Qq p̄t̄ūn, Qzq б̄т̄ūн, ET, Ln p̄t̄ūn, VTt, Bsh бөтөн b̄t̄ūн, Xk p̄d̄ūn, Alt, Tv b̄d̄ūn, Tf b̄t̄'ūn, Chv L п̄т̄ём p̄d̄ьm, Chv Δ п̄т̄ён p̄d̄ьн, Chv H {Md.} p̄d̄'ьm id.; T \rightarrow M: [1] d.: MM [S] {H} b̄t̄e_e- 'erledigen', [MA] {Pp.} b̄t̄ē- ~ b̄t̄ū- , [IM] {Pp.} b̄t̄ē- v. 'achieve, complete', \rightarrow : WrM {MED} b̄t̄ū- 'be\become formed\fulfilled\executed', HIM б̄т̄э- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'in Erfüllung gehen, gelingen (сбываться, удаваться), Brt б̄т̄э- id., Kl {KRS} б̄т- b̄t- 'be\become formed\ fulfilled\executed', {Rm.} b̄t- 'geschehen, sich vollziehen, ausgeführt werden', Ord b̄t'ū- 'se produire, se faire, s'achever, réussir', Dg b̄te- 'be fulfilled\realized', [2] d.: MM [MA] b̄t̄ūn, WrM {MED}

bütün, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt БҮТЭН 'whole, complete, entire', Kl {KRS} БҮТН bütən id., {Rm.} бүтн 'vollständig, vollzählig, ohne Ausnahme, ganz, unversehrt', Ord бүт'үн 'entier, complet' ¶ Cl. 298-9, 302-4, ET B 152-4, 302-4, Ra. 167, TvR 125, Ash. X 244-50, 252-3, Fed. I 426-7, Jeg. 158, ChVS 138, Md. 64, 175, Pp. MA 128-9, 434, H 24, MED 152-3, BMR I 309, Chr. 126, KRS 131, KW 69-70, Ms. O 107-8, SM 30, T DgJ 128 || M *mōč̣i- > WrM {MED} mōc̣ileldū 'be barely sufficient, have just enough', Ord mōč̣'ōlgō 'situation critique\dangereuse, où il'y va de la vie' (p.ex. maladie grave, accouchement)', HIM {BMR} мөчис 'ärmlich (скудный), мелкий, short, weak', {BMR, Luv.} мөчүү 'в обрез, еле-еле', Kl {Rm.} mōč̣i 'kaum, mit knapper Not', mōč̣ə- 'kaum hinreichen, knapp sein' ¶ MED 545, BMR II 353, KW 267, Luv. 247, Ms. O 472 || Tg *mute- 'be able' > Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Mc Sb, Nn Nh/Bk mutэ-, Nn KU мэтэ- id., WrMc {Z} мутэ- id., 'may' ¶ STM I 561, Krm. 263, On. 273, Z 905 || pKo {S} *mōt- 'all, whole' > MKo mōt'á, Ko: Sl modú, Ph/PhN/Kw modu, Ks/Chs módu, Hm mo_du_, Chj mōdɔ id. ¶ S AJ 245 [no. 1], 251 [no. 1], S QK no. 1, Nam 214, 217, MLC 641 || pJ {S} *muta > OJ muta 'together with' ¶ S QJ no. 1 ¶¶ SDM 957-8 (pA *mūt'ì v. 'complete, gather together' > Tg *mute- 'fulfil, overpower', M, T *büt- v. 'end, accomplish; be ended' etc., J, Ko), DQA no. 1371, Cl. 298-9, Rs. W 93, Rm. EAS I 58, S AJ 27, 70, 86, 274, ET B 152-4, 302-4, Dr. TM I 267 || D *mōtt-, {GS} mōt- 'all, total' > Tm mōttam, Ml mōttam 'whole, total', Kn mōttə 'heap, multitude', Tl mōttamu 'sum, total, whole' ¶¶ D no. 5119, GS 82 [no. 256] ◇ N *ô > T ü due to the front vw. of the next syll. An alt. rec. of a N *mūṭ▽ is ruled out by the D cognate with *o.

1503a. *mUṭ̣▽ 'man, person, a young' (an alternative to *mUṭ▽?▽ 'man, person', q.v.) > HS: S *mut- 'person, man' > Oak m u t u m, Ak √ m u t u (m) 'husband, man, warrior', Eb m u - t u m = mutum, Ug m t 'husband, man; hero', Amr {Hff.} m u t u m 'man', BHb pl. מ'ת' mə't-īm, pl. cs. 'ת' mə,tē 'men, people (homines)', Gz mət 'husband' ¶ CAD X/2 313-16, Sd. 690-1, Krb. PE 97, KB 617-18, A no. 1705, Grd. UT no. 1369, OLS 305, Hff. 234-5, L G 371 || Ch: Hs m u t u m [mùtûŋ] (pl. mútâně) 'man, person', Gw {Mts.} pl. ḡtāni 'men, persons' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} mdù, WMrg {ChL} mdà 'person'. Br ḡdà id., 'man (vir)', HgNk/HgF {ChL} ḡdí 'person', FIJ {ChC} mdì, Nz {ChC} m+dε || ECh: Skr {Lk.} máti, {Sx.} máti 'man (vir)', EDng {Fd.} mètà 'person', mítikò 'man (vir)', Bdy mīdò, Mgm {J} mīḡì, Brg {J} mīdìwó, Jg {J} mītó id. ¶ JI II 231, Abr. H 690, Ba. 807, ChC s.v. 'man (homo) and 'man (vir), ChL || Eg G m t 'man', adj. 'male', ??σ (× N *moṭ̣E 'sprout, stem, penis'?) Eg fP m t ω . t 'sperm, son' ¶ EG II 168-9 and V 144 (s.v. ṭɜj) || ?φ B {Pr.} *mīdid-an 'homines' > Ah {Fc.}, Gh

{Nh.}, Tmz (MT), Izn, Rf A {Rn.}, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} middan, BSn/Izn/Mtm {Ds.} midden ~ midđen, Ty/ETwlm meddɛn, Rf Wr/T/B {Rn.} midan 'homines', SrSn {Rn.}, Izd {Mrc.} maddan, Kb maddan, Sll {Ds.} 'maddan, Tz {Stm.} maddan ~ müddan ~ middan, Gd {Lf.} maddēn, Awj {Prd.} midde n 'les gens' ¶ Pr. M IV 414 reconstructed here a form *mīdid-an; an alt. rec. may be *mīd-wan ~ *med-wän (with a typical pl. sx *-wan and with the reg. change *-dɥ- > -dd-). The voiced cns. *-d- (for the expected *-t-) still requires explanation ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 123, Dl. 487, Pr. M IV 242, 414, MT 404, La. S 244, Rn. 307, Stm. 208, Ds. 141, Ds. B 150, Dlh. M 115, Dlh. Ou 184, Mrc. 128, Lf. II no. 0971, Prd. 166 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1806 (S, Ch) (unc. connection with HS {OS} *mawut- 'die') || D *mut 'old' (< 'aged man') > Tm mutu 'old, ancient', Ml mutu 'old, prior', Kt mud, mudk 'old age', Td muθ, muθy 'old', mu't π 'old age', Kn muttu, mudī id., Kdg mudī 'old', Tu mudu, mudu 'old, aged, ancient', Tl mudu 'old age, old', (< d.?) mutta, muttu 'old person', ds: Tm mutiya(va)n, Ml mutukkan, Kt mudkn, Kn mudaka, muduku, Kdg mudikə, Tu muduke, Prj, Gdb muttak, Gnd muytor ɘ muytonɔ 'old man', Nkr mudgan 'husband', Brh mutkun 'old, old thing' ¶¶ D no. 4954 || A: T *mou:tʰU' = *bo:;tʰU' 'camel colt, (?) boy' > OT botu:; 'camel colt', MQp, Chg bota, Tk pota, Δ potuk ~ putuk, Qq, Qzq, Nog, Kr, ET bota, Qrg boto, Qrg S bodo, VTt, Bsh buta id., Uz bwta id., 'child', ET {Zn.} bota 'boy', Chg {Bu.} buta 'son'; T d. *bo:;tʰU'k 'camel colt' > OT {DTS} botuq, Tk Δ botuk, bodak; T ɔ → WrM {MED} botuɣu(n), HIM {MED, BMR} ботго, Brt ботого(н) 'camel colt', Kl {KRS} ботхн 'one-year-old camel colt', {Rm.} botɔɣan ~ botχan 'Kamelkalb im ersten Jahre' ¶ Cl. 299, ET B 198-200, DTS 115, TL 448, Bu. I 272, Shch. Zh 106, MED 123, BMR I 268, Chr. 107, KRS 112.

1504. ₂ *mûṭṭ (or *mûKṭṭ?) 'drop', 'tear(s)' > HS: B *mṭṭṭ- 'tear(s)' > Ah {Fc.} amiṭ (pl. iməṭṭawən), BSn/Sll {Ds.}, Gd {Lf.} aməṭṭa (pl. məṭṭawən), Gh {Nh.}, SrSn {Rn.} aməṭṭaw, Izn/Rf {Rn.} aməṭṭa, Kb {Dl.}, Tmz {MT} iməṭṭi, Izd aməṭṭi, Si {La.} pl. iməṭṭawən, Nf {Beg.} məṭṭīn (pl. iməṭṭīwan ~ iməṭṭāwan), Zng {Nic.} əṇḍawən, {Bs.} əṇḍawən 'tears' ¶ Fc. 1163, Dl. 527, MT 445, Rn. 385, Ds. 167, Ds. B 193, La. S 252, Beg. 239, Lf. II no. 1049, Nic. 208, Bs. MS I 134 || Ch *mṭṭ- 'dew' (× N *matṭ'ṭ'ṭ 'moisture' [q.v.]) > WCh: NrBc: Wrj {Sk.} mād-áṭ, Kry {Sk.} mādžè, My {Sk.} á mādí, P' {MSk.} mādá, Dir {Sk.} mādá, Sir {Sk.} mūdé, Jmb {Sk.} à mādá 'dew' | Ngz {Sch.} mādǎwà, Bd {ChL} maḍāwân 'dew' || CCh: Ms {Caīt.} mād i í [= mādī?] (df. mādī-ná), {ChC} maḍaṭta, ZmB {ChC} miḍa, ZmD {KNC} mbžèḍà, Lame {Sa.} mbžḍá, Azm {Pc.} mbaḍīḍa id. ¶ Sk. NB 18, Sch. DN 108, ChC s.v. 'dew', ChL, Sa. L II 311, Caīt. 113, KNC 17, Pc. 286 || D *mutt- (< *mukt-?) 'drop', 'tear' (n.), 'pearl' > Tm muttu 'pearl, tear',

Ml *muttu* 'pearl kernel', Td *mut*, Kn *muttu*, Kdg *mutti*, Tl *muttiyamu*, *muttemu* 'pearl', Tu *muttu* id., 'a drop', Kt *mut* 'woman's earring'; D → OI *muktā* 'pearl' ¶¶ D no. 4959.

1505. $_2$ **m*∇'ṭ'∇ 'to pull, to pull out (a plant etc.), to uproot, to reap' > HS: S * \checkmark *m*ṭw > Ar \checkmark *m*ṭw (pf. *مَطَّ* *maṭṭā*, ip. -*m*ṭu \checkmark -) 'pull (a rope)' → 'urge a horse\ass' (of a rider) → 'hasten, hurry the walk' ¶ BK II 1124, Hv. 725 || EC: ? ϕ Sd *mid-* {Mrn., Hd.} 'reap', {Ss.} 'mow, cut', Ged *mid-* v. 'uproot, weed', Brj *mid-* {Hd.} v. 'pull, uproot', {Ss.} 'uproot, dislocate', 'extract' (of a tooth), Kmb *mid-* 'reap, uproot, drag'; Gdl {Ss.} *mit-* v. 'snap a string, yank a leaf off a tree' ¶ Hd. 212, 255, 333, 386, Ss. B 144 || IE: NaIE **met-* v. 'reap, harvest' > L *met-ō* / -*ēre* / *messum* 'reap, mow, harvest; pluck off (abpflücken)' ||| Clt {Matas.} **met-o-* v. 'reap, cut' > MW *medi* id., W *medi* v. 'reap, harvest', *medelwr* 'reaper', MBr {Matas.} *midiff* 'reap, cut', OCrn [ʏ] *midil* 'messor', Crn {Matas.} *midzhi* 'reap, cut', OIr [ʏ] *meithleorai* ('messores'), *methel*, OIr *meithel* 'a party of reapers', OW *medel* id. ¶ ≈ WP II 259, ≈ P 703, ≈ EI 258 (**h*₂*met-* 'mow'), ≈ WH I 82-3, Vn. *M* 45, Matas. E 269-70, SB 206.

1506. **m*'a?i'ṭ'∇ (or **m*'o?i'ṭ'∇?) 'worm, larva, (?) small insect' > HS: C: EC {AD} **miṭ-* > Sml {R} *miṭ* 'Würmchen in Wasserpfüthen', Sml N {Abr.} *mīḍḥārēdād*, Sml C {DSI, ZMO} *miraharēdād* 'mosquito larvae (in water)', Or {Th.} *miṭi* 'ant', {Brl.} *miṭi*, {Grg.} *miṭī* 'tiny black ant', ? {Th., Brl.} *minni* 'tenia, verme solitario', Arr *mīnne* 'tapeworm' (← Or?) ¶ AD SF 250, R SS II 287, Abr. S 179, ZMO 292, DSI 438, Th. 245-6, Brl. 305-6, Grg. 289, Hw. A 385 || Ch: CCh: Db {LnG} *māḍāḍ* 'worm' ||| ECh: Kwn {ChC} *mīččā*, Mgm {JA} *mèčémèčé* 'termite' ¶ ChC s.v. 'worm' and 'termite', JA LM 106 || K **maṭ-ṭ-* 'worm' (× **ma-ṭ-* 'worm' ← **ṭ-* 'gnaw') > OG, G *maṭl-i*, Mg, Lz *munṭur-* 'worm', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln *məṭ* 'worm (in fruit)' ({IS}: < **muṭ* < **maṭw*) ¶¶ GM 82, K 129, ≈ K 117 (**ma-ṭ-* ← **ṭ-*), Schm. 123, TK 595, GP 223 || IE: NaIE **mat-* (or **mot-*) 'worm, larva' > Gmc **maθa-n* 'worm, larva' > Gt *μαρα* (· σκώληξ) 'Wurm', OSx *matho*, OHG *mado* 'worm, maggot', NHG *Made* 'maggot, mite, worm', AS *maða* 'worm, maggot', NE *moth*; dim. ON *maðkr* 'maggot'; ? (from a d.) MHG *matte*, *motte*, NHG *Motte* 'moth'; Gmc → F *mato* 'worm, maggot', Es *madu* 'snake' ||| SI **motiľ* (~ **motuľ*) 'e larva, e insect' > Cz *motýl* '*Lepidoptera*', Slk *motýl* 'e a motley-winged insect', P *motýl* 'butterfly', R *мо'тыль* 'mosquito grub', dim. *моты'лёк* 'small butterfly', Uk *мо'тиль* id., Slv *motúlj* 'butterfly' ||| OI *matkuṇaḥ*

'bug', ?? Av мабахә- 'grasshopper' ||| ?φ Arm մարիլ mat^hil 'small louse' (unless from OZan, cp. pK *maṭ-]- 'worm') ¶ EI 650 (*mat- '≈ worm, maggot, insect'), M K II 564-5 (no et. for matkuṛaḥ), Vr. 374, Fs. 349, Kb. 649, OsS 581, KM 452, 489-90, Ho. 216, ESSJ XX 82-6, SK 337, ≠ P 700 ||| A: T *mīyt (*biyt) ~ *mit (*bit) 'louse, vermin' > OT, MQp, MU, Chg bit 'louse', MQp XIII bit 'bug', OOsM {Zn., Bu.} بیت ~ بيت bit 'worm, vermin', Tk bit, Az, Tkm, Uz, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Qrg bit, Nog biyt, VTt, Bsh бет быт, StAlt biyt, Xk pūt, Yk bit, Tv bīt, Tf bīt', SY pišt, Slr bišt 'louse', Chv L пыйтă piyd_a, Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.) пытъă id., Ggz bit 'bug' ¶ SY and Slr š < *y (unvoiced before voiceless cns.) ¶ The back vw. i in Tv, Tf, Yk and Chv may be due to the infl. of a final back vw. (vw. harmony) or to dis. in front of y) ¶ Cl. 296, ET B 151-2, TL 182, Bu. I 241, TvR 131, Ra. 73, Ash. IX 177, Fed. I 463, 197, Jeg. 173, ChVS 192, Md. 75, 174 ◇ The C and T vowel i (~ i) and *a in IE and K cannot go back to the same N source, hence a sequence like *-aHi- (or *-oHi-?) can be a solution. The absence of vw. lengthening in IE suggests that the hypothetical N word-internal lr. was *ʔ (the only lr. that does not cause lengthening of the preceding NaIE vowels) ◇ IS II 77 s.v. *māṭā (K, IE, C).

1507. *mīṭaṭ ▽ 'to bend' > HS: WS *-mīṭ- ~ *-mūṭ- '≈ shake, waver, turn away' > Ar ✓ mūṭ (pf. māṭa, ip. -mīṭ-) 'turn away, retire from, deviate', BHb ✓ mωṭ (pf. māṭ, ip. -mūṭ) 'totter, shake', MHb ✓ mω|yṭ Sh (pf. ٤١٧٧ hē'mīṭ) 'bend, shake', JA [Trg.] ✓ mωṭ G 'inline, waver, decline; give way, bend', {Lv.} 'wanken, zum fallen neigen', Sr ✓ mωṭ G 'totter, lean over, stagger', Gz ✓ mūṭ G (js. -mīṭ) vt., vi. 'turn, turn aside' ¶ KB 526, L G 377, BK II 1173, Hv. 742, BDB 536 [no. 4131], Js. 740, Lv. TM II 14, Br. 376, JPS 207 ||| A *mat'a vt. 'bend' > M *mata- > WrM {MED} mata- vt., HIM mata- {MED, BMR} id., Brt mata- id., Kl {Rm.} maṭa- 'biegen, bogenformig machen', ⇨ : [1] WrM {MED} matai-, HIM {MED, BMR} матий- vi. 'bend, curve', Kl {KRS} мати- matī- id., {Rm.} maṭi-, maṭā- 'sich biegen, sich schief drehen', Kl Ö {Rm.} maṭā-, maṭā- id., Ord maṭ'ā- 'etre contourné\courbé', [2] WrM {MED} matailga- vt. 'bend, bow, curve', HIM матийлга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'bogenförmig biegen (сгибать дугой), frümmen (выгибать), biegen (изгибать)', Kl {KRS} матилh- 'biegen (гнуть, сгибать, изгибать)., Dg maṭien 'bent, curved' ¶ MED 530, BMR II 326-7, Chr. 294, KRS 344, KW 258, T DgJ 154, Ms. O 456 ||| Tg *mata- vt. 'bend' > Ewk mata-, WrMc {Z} mata- id.; STg *mita- > WrMc mita- мита- vi. {Z} 'turn\bend back, turn over back; give back', {Z, Hr} 'unbend, zurückschnellen' (of a bow after removing the bowstring), Jrc {Kiy.}

m i t a - vi. 'retreat' (unless the basic meaning of the STg word is 'backward' rather than 'bend') ¶ STM I 533, 539, Z 870. 887, Hr 659, Kiy. 120 [no. 414] || ?σ,φ T *bū_ιtūr- v. 'wind, twist' > Chv L пѣтѣр- рѣд_ιр, Chv Δ {Md.} рѣд_ιр- 'wind, twist, spin (threads)' (крутить, сучить)', {ChVS} id., 'скручивать, вить, завивать', ?σ VTt бѣтер- бѣтер- 'turn, twist, roll up' ¶ Ash. X 253, Fed. I 427-8, Jeg. 158, ChVS 138, TatR 94, ≈ SDM97 || pJ {S} *māt_ιr- vi. 'bend, deviate' > OJ mōtor- vi. 'bend', J T/Kg mōtór-, J K mótór- 'deviate\depart from, run contrary to' ¶ S QJ no. 929, Mr. 727, Kenk. 1273 ¶¶ T *-ü- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 923 (pA *m_ιat'è vt. 'bend' > M, J, Tg), DQA no. 1306 || **Gil:** Gil A {mod-} (pres./p. mōt' -ç) 'lie with one's head on the cushion' ¶¶ ST 193 || **D:** [1] D *maṭank- vi. / *maṭakk-, {ḡGS} *maḍaṅk- vt. 'bend, fold' > Tm maṭaṅka 'become bent as the arm or leg, be closed\folded as a knife or table', Ml maṭaṅka 'be bent\folded', Kt maṅk, Kdg maḍak- vt. 'fold', Td moṛy- vi., vt. 'fold neatly', moṛx- vi. 'bend', Kn maḍate 'folding, a fold', Tu maḍatæ 'a fold, crease', maḍi 'fold, a quantity added', Tl maḍāka 'fold, plait', maḍāga 'bend, fold, be bent\folded', Prj maḍkip- 'fold, roll up', Gnd maṛp- v. 'fold' ||] [2] (att. in SD) *māṭ- ({ḡGS} *-ḍ-) > Tm māṭaḍ 'being bent downwards as horns of cattle', Ml māṭa 'cow with horns bent downwards', Kt maṭ et 'bullocks with horns curving back', Tu mōḍæ 'ox\buffalo with curved horns' ¶¶ D no-s 4645 and 4799, Sbr. DVM 64 ¶¶ The cns. *-ṭ- for the expected *-t- has not yet found explanation (D *-ṭ- < post-N *-t- < N *-ṭ- + *H of a sx?).

1508. *mû_ιt 'woman, female' > **HS:** B *m_ιt_ιuH_ι- 'woman' > Ah {Fc.} tāmaṭ, {GhA} taməṭṭ, Gh {Nh.} taməṭ 'woman, wife', Ty tamṭəṭ, Gd {Lf.} tamət - taməṭ 'woman', Kb {Dl.}, Izn {Ds.} ṭa-mṭṭūṭ (pl. ṭimṭṭāṭ), Rf {Rn.} ṭa-məṭṭut ḍ ta-məṭṭut, BSn {Ds.} ṭa-mṭṭūṭ, Tmz {MT} taməṭṭutṭ 'woman, wife', Mz {Dlh.}, Izd {Mrc.} taməṭṭut (Mz pl. timəṭṭat), Nf {La.} taməṭṭut, {Beg.} tmāṭṭūṭ, Skn {Sarn.} taməṭṭuṭ 'woman', Wrg {Dlh.} taməṭṭut id., 'female', Zng {Bs.} تمتى t e m t i 'femelle', {MH → Nic.} t ə m t i (pl. t ũ m t a ʔ n) 'woman, female (animal)' || Gnc CHAMATO 'woman, wife' ¶ Fc. 1124, GhA 134, Lf. II no. O953, Dl. 527, Rn. 385, Ds. B 129-30, MT 445, Dlh. M 125, Dlh. Ou 201, La. S 236, Beg. 230, Bs. MS I 116, Nic. 208, Wlf. 406 || S ? *°✓ mṣṭ > Ar maṣṭāṭ- (pl. muṣṭ-) 'genitalia of a woman' (if the interpretation as a f. from ʔamṣaṭ- 'shaved, without hair' is folk-etymological) ¶ BK II 1128 || NrOm: Anf {Fl.} ma'ço, {Lm.} maco, Shn {Fl.} ma'çu 'woman', {Lm.} mācà 'wife', Gm {Hw.} máčča, Kcm {CR} māṭo 'woman', possibly Kf {C} maččē, Wl {C} maččē, Zl/Gf/Bdt {C} maččo, Gm {Hw.} maččo 'woman', Anf {Lm.} maččo 'wife' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v.

'woman', ≈ Lm. Sh 36O, Hw. EG s.v. 'woman' || Ch: ECh: Skr {Sx.} mēḍē 'woman' || WCh {Stl.} *mata 'woman, wife' > Hs mǎčē (pl. mǎtǎ), Gw {Mts.} mǎčē (pl. mata) | Su, Tal {ChC}, Cp {ChL} mǎt, Ang {ChL} mat, Gmy {ChL} mǎt, Grk {ChC} mǎt 'woman' || CCh: Nz {Sk.} madešǐ, BtD {Srp.} moičé, Bcm {Sk.} mǎt, Gudu {IL} madl(:)cl id., Gude {Hsk.} mǎḍánǎ 'bride' ¶ JI II 346-7, ChC s.v. 'woman', ChL, Stl. ZCh 232 [no. 796], Hsk. 234 || K: eNG {SSO} muṭ-el-i 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N *moṭE 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals') ¶ SSO I 529, Fn. SK 98 [no. 191] || A *moṭ'æk'∇ 'membrum muliebre' (unless from N *moṭE '↑' × N *bu_uw_ut_u∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') > Tg {SDM} *motoka > Ewk {Cs.} motoko 'vulva', Mc S motəqun 'genitalia of a nubil girl', motərə 'child's vulva' ¶ STM I 547, Y s.v. motəqun and motərə (unless from N *moṭE '↑') || T *°bö_utækæ > VTt {SDM} bōtbg 'vulva' (× N *moṭE × NaT *bōtækæ 'vulva, bird's crop' < N *bu_uw_ut_u∇) || D (att. in SD) *mūt-/ *muṭ- ({ǧGS} *-d-) 'female' > Tm mūt u 'ewe', muṭ u ku 'female elk', muṭ u val 'bitch', Kdg mu·ḍi 'girl' ¶ D no. 5036 ¶ D *-ṭ- is a reg. reflex of N *-t- and *-d- (rather than *-ṭ-); the de-emphatization is probably due to the adjacent lr. (suggested by El and Ar) || E: MEI mu-h-ti-ir-ri 'his wife', AchE mu-ti 'woman, wife; female', mu-tur 'woman, wife' ¶¶ HK 948, 961-2 ◇ The above-mentioned words denoting mebrum muliebre in K and in the A lges may go back to adjectives that mean 'that of a woman' ◇ The N lr. was a weak one (most probably *ǧ rather than *ǧ, to judge from the absence of *ǧ in K). Both Ar maṭṭāṭ- 'female genitals' and K muṭ-el-i id. go back to adjectives (lit. 'weiblich'), because both the Ar pattern 1a23āṭ- and the G sx -el- are usual derivational devices that form adjectives ◇ It is tempting to adduce NaIE *māter 'mother', but the quality of the vw. *ā suggests lack of labiality (even if *ā goes back to *e|aH); therefore NaIE *māter hardly belongs here (*mā- is likely to belong to the N Ll. ? *ma^r'a 'mother', q.v.); cp. Ari/Hm ma 'woman, female' (Bnd. AL 162), Skr {Lk.} mā id. (Lk. ZSS 35) ◇ Blz. KM 116-17 [no. 12] (K, HS, E, D) and 130 [addition to no. 12] (Blz. added the Tg cognate), Blz. E no. 25 (E, HS), McA 105 (E, D).

1509. ₂ *mū_uH_ut_u∇ 'believe, 'establish with evldence' > D *mūt- 'establish with evidence, confront with proof' > Tm mūtari, mūtali id., Kn mūdalisu v. 'confront and upbraid, taunt', Tl mūdala 'proof' ¶¶ D no. 5040 || A *mūt'æ- > T *būt- 'believe' > OT Kr, MT būt- id., ET Δ, Shor pūt- id., StAlt būt- id., 'vertrauen' ¶ Rs. W 93, Cl. 298-9. BT 37 || pKo {S} *mīt- 'believe' (× N *mæt∇ 'feel, realize', q.v. ffd.) > MKo mīt-, NKo mit- id. ¶ Rm.

SKE 149, S AJ 257 [no. 184], S QK no. 184, Nam 234, MLC 695 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 937-8 (pA 'know, believe' > T, Ko + unc. M *mede- 'know' (from pA *mæd|tæ- 'feel, know' < N *mæt∇ 'feel, realize') and Tg *mūte- 'be able' (from pA *mü|öt'ᵉ- v. 'complete' < N *môṭE 'whole, complete'), S AJ 294 [no. 498] (pA *m'ü't∇ 'know, believe'. .

1510. *mejt∇ 'throw' > IE: NaIE *(s)mejt-/met- 'throw, cast' > Av maēθ- (*(s)meit(h)-) 'send' ({Brtl.} 'mittere'), hamista- 'nieder-geworfen, unterdrückt' (P: < *ham-, *h₁mista-) ||| L mitt-o, -ēre 'send, let go', [Fest.] Γ co-smitt-ēre 'committere' (s in cosmittēre still needs explanation) ||| BSl *met- 'throw' > Blt: Lt inf. mēsti (1s pres. metū), Ltv inf. mest (3s pres. met) 'to throw, to cast', Lt mētis, Pru metis n. 'throw (Wurf)', Ltv meṭs 'sketch, project, design', Pru pomesṭs 'unterworfen', pometteṭingī 'Untertan' ||| Sl *met- (1s pres. *met-o, inf. mesti) 'throw' (to distinguish from the homonymous verb *met- 'sweep!') > Slv inf. mésti (1s pres. métem), Cz † inf. mésti (1s pres. metu), P inf. mieść, Slvzn inf. míesc 'to throw', OR inf. МЕСТИ ЖРЕБИИ mesti žrebiī 'to cast a lot'; d. Sl *meta- v. 'cast, fling, throw' > OCS inf. МЕТАТИ metati (1s pres. МЕЩА meštq and МЕТА metq), Slv inf. métati (1s pres. méčem), Uk inf. ме'тати 'to cast, to fling, to throw', Cz inf. metati, Slk inf. metat', P inf. miotac' 'to throw', R inf. ме'тать (pres. ме'чу) 'to cast, to fling', SCr inf. mètati (1s pres. mēćēm) 'to put, to throw'; Sl inf. *met-nq-ti mom. 'to cast, to fling, to throw' > ChS inf. МЕТНѦТИ metnqti, Cz inf. metnouti, P inf. miotnac', R inf. мет'нуть id., SCr inf. mètnuti 'to put' ||| OFrs inf. smīta 'to throw', MLG, MDt inf. smītan, Dt inf. smijten 'to throw, to fling', NNr inf. smīta, Dn inf. smide 'to fling'; sd. 'to smite': MHG inf. smīzen, NHG inf. schmeißen, NE smite ¶ WP II 687-8, P 968, EI 582 (? *smejt- 'throw'), Brtl. 1105-6, 1778, Bai. 219, WH II 97-9, PF 67, Mul. 432, EM 407-8, Frn. 442-3, Kar. I 586, En. 210, 231, ≈ ESSJ XVIII 105-15, 120-1 (all of them do not recognize the connection between *(s)mejt- and BSl *met-), StSS 325, Hlq. 1003, Lx. 200, KM 603, Ho. 302, Vr. N 658-9 ¶¶ The variant stem *met- goes back to pre-IE *mjet- (AD NGIE 17-19), so that the relation of *(s)mejt- to *met- is that of Bn.'s "state I" to "state II" of IE roots (Schwebeablaut). This legitimate alternation removes the argument against the connection between the verb in BSl and that in L and Av ||| **HS:** B (+ ext.) *✓mḡr ~ *✓mṭr (< *✓mṭr) 'throw' > Izn {Ds.} amḡar (hab. mḡṭar), {Rn.} amḡar ḡ anḡar, Mtm/BSlh {Ds.} amṭar, Ntf {La.} anṭar 'throw', Kb {Dl.} anṭar 'jeter à terre', Gd {Lf.} enḡar 'abattre, faire tomber' ¶ Lf. II no. 1100, Dl. 583-

4, La. S 249, Ds. B 184 || **A:** AmTg *met- (~ *mut-?) v. 'throw, fling' > Ork mətɜ- v. 'fling a stone', mətɜl(l)ɜ- 'throw', mətɜtɕi-, mətɜtɕi- 'throw, throw away', Ul mutuka 'a sling (for casting stones)', ? Orc mučkɜdɜ- ~ mɜčkɜdɜ- 'throw\bandy (objects from one person to another)' (of several people) ¶ STM I 544 ¶ The vw. u of the first syll. in Ul and Orc may be due to the ass. infl. of m- || **D** *met- 'throw, cast (into an enclosed space)' > Gdb medd-, Mnd met-vt. 'plant', Png met- 'cast (as a fishing net), put in (e.g. rice into a pot)', Kui mespa- 'cast, put into', Ku met- 'throw, put inside' ¶¶ D no. 5067 ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE *s-*mobile* (here in *(s)mejt-) is connected with palatal elements in the N word (here *y). On the word-initial laryngoid *'- as the source of the NaIE *s-*mobile* before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1511. *moy∇ 'give, give back, restore' > IE: NaIE *mej- 'exchange' > OI Ep ni-'mayatē 'exchanges', Vd mi'nāti id. ||| Ltv mī-t (1s pres. mīju) 'to (ex)change' ||| Possibly (but not necessarily) d. *moj-no- n. 'exchange' > Lt maĩnas, Ltc mains id., Sl *měna n. 'exchange' > OCS, OR МѢНА měna, R мена, Blg {Ger.} мѣна > мена, SCr мѣна њ mijéna, Slv meńa, Cz měba, Slk mena, P mi ana id. ¶ Not here Gk ἀμείβω v. 'change, exchange' (see N *'mi'k'o 'carry, bring, give in exchange') ¶ WP II 240-1, P 710, M K II 635-6, ≈ M E II 314-15 (adducing Gk ἀμείβω and reconstructing IE *h₂mej-), Frn. 395-7, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XVIII 171-4, StSS 340, Glh. 408-9, F I 90 ||| This N word may underlie the pre-IE postposition *m∇ 'to' (dative), preserved [1] in the NaIE ending of dative pl. *-mus (reconstructed so by Beekes after Kortlandt) > Gmc *-mus (> Gt brōþru-m 'to brothers', gibō-m 'to gifts, talents'), BSl *-mus (> Lt dukterí-mɜ 'to daughters', OCS materē-mъ 'to mothers', Lt rasóms, OCS rosamъ 'aux roses'), as well as in pronominal endings: Lt tíems, OCS těmъ, Gt þaim 'to those', Lt jums, OCS vamъ 'vobis' dat., [2] in the NaIE ending of dative du. *-me|oH (?) > Lt vilka-m, OCS vľko-ma 'to two wolves'; the elements *-s in *-mus and *-H in *-me|oH (?) are markers of numbers (*-s of pl., *-H of du.) ¶ Bks ONI 143-6, Bks 173-91, 204-8, Krtl. SA 50, Brg. KVG 386-99, 404-6 || **D** *moy- 'present(s), gift' > Tm moy 'presents', Kn muɟ(i) 'requit', Tu muɟi 'gift at a wedding', Knd moy 'contribution' ¶¶ D no. 5121 || **HS:** WCh: Hs máy dà 'give back, put back, restore' (dà 'with'), Cg {Sk.} mǎ- 'sell', Sy {Csp.} moi 'carry' ||| CCh: ?σ Hrz {Mch.} mia 'apporter' ¶ Abr. H 638-9, Ba. 748, ChC s.v. 'to sell', Csp. 44, Mch. VCSP 174 || ?σ NrOm: Kf {C} miɟ-, Mch {L} miɟa- 'carry on the back', Kf miɟō, Mch miɟō 'load' ¶ C SE IV 476, L M 43 || ?σ Eg G mɟ

'apporter' ¶ Mks II no. 1654 || B: Tmz a-mawa 'mobilier (ensemble de meubles), fait de transporter' ¶ MT 445 ¶¶ Tk. III 139 (Ch, NrOm, Eg, B).

1512. ₂ *mu|oy∇ 'touch, feel (by sense of touch)' > HS: S *^o✓myw|y > Jb C ✓myw|y (pf. 'mi, subj. 'ymε, ip. 'i'mi) 'touch' ¶ Jo. J 177 || U: FU *mu|oya- 'touch, feel' > Vp муча- 'touch, feel by touch, taste', Krl A {Gn.} муча- v. 'taste', F d. муіста- 'remember, call to one's mind, think of', Es d. мѡіста- 'understand, conceive, realize, see', Lv d. мѡістѣ ({Jkt.} мѡістѣ) 'verstehen, merken' | Er inf. муче-мс муче-мс, Mk inf. му-мс му-мс 'to find' | Chr: L, U муа-, H моа- v. 'find' | ? Prm *мѡд > Z мойд moyd, Prmk мо́д '(fairy) tale', Vt N ма́д ма́д 'song', Vt S ма́д 'proverb' || ? Os: V мууwət+, D moyəptə, Nz мѡуəртə 'riddle' | ? OHg d. муt- 'show, indicate', муtət- 'indicate, let see, show', Hg d. муtət-, Δ му́tət- vt. show' ¶ Coll. 99-100, It. no. 190, UEW 284, ZM 335, Kt. 232, ERV 393, PI 169, MRS 326, 332-3, LG 173, MF 453-4, EWU 1007 ◇ Qu., because it is isolated in HS.

1513. ₂ *m∇y∇ 'come' or 'go, pass' > HS: Eg ∇ му 'come!' inv. ¶ EG II 35 || Ch: WCh: Dr {Nw.} máj, Pr {Frz.} mé- vi. 'return', Bl {OS ← ?} mā, Grn {Jgr} ma id., ? Dir {Sk.} mbu-, ? Zr {IL} m^n, ? Zr K {Sh.} man 'come' || CCh: Mrg {ChL} мэу, Wmd {ChL} mâу 'go' | Gzg {Lk.} ме 'dorthin zurück-kehren' | Ms {ChL} маj, {Mch.} ма, {{J} máná 'come', ZmD {KNC} mbù 'come', Azm {Pc.} mbeya inv. 'come!', msd. mbàdà 'to come' ¶ JI II 82-3 and 162, Nw. KL 129, Frz. P 41, ChL, ChC s.v. 'come' and 'go', Lk. G 128, Caït. 118, KNC 18, Pc. 285, 288, Jgr s.v. ma 'go' || ?? EC *am∇ 'come!' inv. (unless from *a-m∇t ← *-m∇t 'come') > Af am 'come!' 2s inv., Brj 'āmu id. (2p 'āme), Sd 'amu id. (2p 'āmmе), Ged 'amo (2p 'āmmе), Alb 'ami (2p 'āmmеhe), Kmb ami (2p amme) id., Sa {R} -маω- 'kommen, anlangen' (2s inv. a'mō, 2p a'māω-ā) ¶ R S II 277, PH 96, Ss. B 21, Hd. 43 ¶¶ OS no. 1752 (Ch, EC + Eg rny 'go'; OS mentioned Arr maye 'come', not confirmed by Hw. A and other available sources; pHS *may 'come, go') || IE: NaIE *mej- 'go, pass' ({EI} *mejH-) > L meā- (1s pres. meō, inf. meāre) id., 'wander' || Sl inf. *mьja-ti 'to go\pass by' > OCz inf. míjěti, Cz inf. míjeti, P inf. mijać id., Slk Δ míjam sa 1s 'I go\pass by'; ⇨ Sl inf. *mī-nŏ-ti (1s pres. *mīnŏ) 'to go\pass by, to elapse' > OCS inf. МННѢТН mīnŏti 'transire, praeterire', SCr inf. mīnuti, Slv inf. minítiti 'to go\pass by, to finish', OCz inf. minúti, Cz inf. minouti, P inf. mináč, R inf. 'минуть, миновать' 'to pass by, to elapse', Slk inf. minut' id.; P inf. mijać 'to pass by'; ⇨ (with the sx *-mo) Sl *mimo adv./prep. 'past, by (vorbei, praeter)' > OCS МНМО mīmo, Blg †, R мимо, SCr mīmo, Slv mīmo ~ mímo, Cz mimo ~ mímo, P mimo id. || AdS of L minō, -āre

vt. 'drive (cattle)' (< N ***mené** 'walk, go', q.v. ffd.), which explains L -i- ¶ P 710, EI 228 (***meiH-** / pres. ***mineh_ṛ-** ~ **meiHeh_ṛ-** 'go'), WH II 73, EM 398-9, Bern. II 59, ESSJ XIX 31, 50-3, StSS 327-8, Vs. II 622, 624, Glh. 41.

1514. *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out' > **HS: S:** [1] *^o✓ **mħħ** > Ar ✓ **mħħ** *G* 'be worn out' (of garment); ?ϕ [2] WS *✓ **mħy|w** 'wipe out\off, efface, (?) destroy' > BHb **ħħħ** ✓ **mħw|y** *G* 'wipe out', JA ✓ **mħw|y** *G* {Js.} dissolve, mash', Ph ✓ **mħy|w** 'efface', Ar ✓ **mħw** (pf. **مَحَا** *māḥā*) 'erase; be effaced', {Fr.} 'delevit, obliteravit', Ug ✓ **mħy|w** {OLS} *G* vt. 'clean, efface (limpiar, borrar)', ?σ Gz ✓ **mħw** *G* 'uproot, pluck out'; but hardly here Ak {Sd.} **māʔū** 'wegstoßen (?)' (Ak -a- rules out S *ħ) ¶ Fr. IV 142, 156, BK II 1066, 1071, Ln. 3018, Hv. 709-10, KB 537-8, HJ 612-13, Js. 759-60, Lv. T II 24-5, Sd. 637, OLS 268, ≈ A no. 154, L G 337 || **IE** ***meH_ṛ-** > NaIE ***mā|ō** (*ṛ*)- 'be tired\exhausted, tire out' > Gmc: Gt **aƒ-mauiþs*** (attested nom. pl. **aƒ-mauidai**) (· **ἐκλυόμενος**) {Fs.} 'ermüdet' (pp. of inf. ***aƒ-mōjan** 'to tire out'), OHG inf. **muo-en** vt. 'to labour, to urge, to tire out' ('anstrengen, bedrängen, abmühen'), NHG inf. **sich mühen** 'to take pains\trouble (about sth.)', d.: ON **móðr**, Dn, NNr **moð**, OSx **mōthi**, MDt **moede**, **muede**, OHG **muodi**, NHG **müde** 'tired, exhausted', AS {BosT} **mēðe** 'weary' ||| Sl inf. ***maja-ti** 'to tire out, to make suffer, to detain' > R Δ inf. **маять** 'to tire out, to torment', R inf. **маяться** 'sich quälen, sich abplagen, sich abrackern', Blg **мая** v. 'detain, linger' ¶ Fs. 9, Kb. 703, OsS 627, Schz. 216, KM 491, Vr. 391, BosT ASD 682, ≈ ESSJ XVII 132-4 (against distinction between the above Sl verb and Sl ***majati** 'to wave, to swing') ||| **Ā** ***ma_ṛ:y^a** - v. 'miss, fail', 'bad luck', {IS} ***may∇** - 'weaken, disappear, vanish' > T ***m_ṛ:y** - 'weaken, disappear' ({SDM} ***bA_ṛi** - 'fade away, disappear, weaken') (× T ***bayi** - v. 'set' [of heavenly bodies] < N ***wayH∇** 'to descend; below?') > Qzq **may** - 'be exhausted\weak', Qrg {ET} **mayi** - v. 'be exhausted', 'lower' (water level), Osm {Rl.} inf. **بايمق** *bayi-maq*, Kr/Qzq {Rl.} **bayi** - 'elapse, pass away (vergehen)', VTt {Rl.} **bayъ** - id., OT **mayiš** - (coop. of ***may**-) ≈ collapse', **mayil** - (ps. of ***may**-) 'be overripe, go bad' (of fruit), Tk **bayil** - vi. 'faint, swoon (away)', Kr {Rl.} **mayiš** - 'collapse', Chg **mayruq** 'weak, meager', Shor/Sg/ Qc/Qb {Rl.} **mayiq** 'matt, müde, mager', Sg/Qrg {Rl.} **mayiq** - 'ermüden, ermatten', StXk {BIG} **mayix** - 'get tired, exhausted, lose force', **mayil** - 'get tired', Qc/Sg/Qb/Qz {Rl.} **mayil** - id., 'schwach\mager werden', Sg {Rl.} **mayan** 'welk, unbeholfen, langsam', Xk **mayin** 'weak, languid', Qzq **maymaq** 'clumsy', **maymanda** - v. 'hobble, toddle, stumble along', ?σ Tkm **māyip** adj. 'crippled, maimed', n. 'Invalide', ??σ Tkm **maymiq** adj. 'crooked' (**maymiq ayač** 'crooked tree'); a T lge (Xk?) → Mt {Hl.} ***mayə** -

'get tired' (Mt M {Sp.} маямъ 'got tired') (unless an inherited Sm word) ¶ Cl. 772-3, ET M 16-18, Rl. IV 1468-9, 1986, 2011, 2014-15, ET L-S 14-15, BIG 101, Sht. 139, MM 233, Rkh. 338, Hl. M no. 634 || Tg *ma₁:₁ya- 'disappear' > Ork maya- 'fail to be caught, disappear' (of game\animals in hunting), Ewk, Neg maya-, Lm may-, Nn Nh {STM} ma₁ā- id., 'be unsuccessful', Nn Nh {On.} ma₁ā- 'come to an end (кончиться, израсходоваться)', Orc maymak₁ 'there us not, is absent', WrMc {Z} мая- 'disappear', 'be past' (of danger) ¶ STM I 521, On. 258, Z 863 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 894-5 (pa *maya v. 'miss, fail', 'bad luck' > Tg *maya- 'fail, be unsuccessful', T *ba₁i- 'fade away, disappear, weaken', M *mayu 'bad'), DQA no. 1237, ADb. SR 13 || D *māy₁∇- 'disappear, vanish' > Tm māy id., 'hide, be annihilated, die', Ml māyuka 'grow dim, vanish', Kt mayum, Kdg mayuⁿ, Tu māya 'disappearance', Kt ma₁ny₁- 'disappear' (of menstruation in menopause), 'keep secret', Td mo₁z- 'hide (information, secret)', Kn māy- 'be hidden, disappear, pass away', Tu māyuni 'be extinguished, evaporate', Tl māy₁ 'be destroyed, perish', Prj māy-, Gdb māy₁η(ǵ)- 'get lost, disappear', Gnd māy- 'be lost', Knd māya 'vanishing, disappearing suddenly' ¶¶ D no. 4814 || ? U ≈ *may₁∇- 'suffer' > FU: Er mayse-may-śe- 'suffer, languish, lose time (мучиться, маяться, проводить время даром)' (hab. of *may-) | Z may-+š in ds: mayšt- mayšt- vt. 'grieve, cause distress', mayšas- mayšas- 'worry' || Sm {Hl. Jn.} *māyā- (= {Hl.} *maya-) -> *māyāta- 'make suffer, grieve, cause trouble, kill' > Ne: T mayaba-, T O {Lh.} māyēbā 'he killed', StNe T mayd₁ry₁ 'having been tortured, having suffered' (from so. strong\mighty); Sm *māyānt- > Ne T mayndo- vi. 'suffer, be in distress', En maedo- 'suffer (мучиться)'; Sm *māyā₁kk- > En maeku- 'make suffer', Sm *māyā-η > Ne T may / mayn-, En maē 'trouble, suffering', Ne F {Lh.} māyā₁ komm₁ 'he suffered' (lit. 'found suffering'), En mayan-, mayam- 'be tormented, suffer from an accident'; *÷ Mt {Hl.} *mayā- 'get tired' (a loan from T, see above) ¶¶ LG 169, ERV 358, PI 154, TmK 407-8, SZ 215-16, Ter. 245-7, Lh. 250, SamEMGU, Hl. M 299 [no. 634] ◇ IS III 48-52 (with further details about the reflexes in the IE and A lges) (*ma₁ny₁: IE, U, A, D; the etl. comparison and the reconstructions have been proposed by the editors of IS III).

1515. ≈ *meXAz₁∇ 'man (vir), male' > HS: S *^o✓ mħz|δ 'young man' > Gz **𐎎𐎠𐎢𐎡** maħazā 'young man, adolescent, lover', Tgy **𐎎𐎠𐎢𐎡** meħaza 'one of the same age', Har mħz₁z m₁lā₁k 'best man in a wedding' ¶ L G 338, CS 121 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *miž₁i 'man (vir), husband' > Hs m₁ž₁i (pl. mázā) 'husband', pl. mázā 'men (virii)', Gw {Mts.} m₁ž₁i (pl. mažā) 'male' | Su {J} m₁š, Gmy {ChL} m₁s, Cp

{ChL} *mis*, Tal {ChC} (in cds) *mìs* 'man (vir)' | BT: Krkr {Lk.} *mèzì*, Ngm {ChL} *mìzì* 'man (vir)', Bele *mìhì* (pl. *mùhà*), Glm *mì mùšì* (pl. *mèššà*), Gera {Sch.} *mìzì* (pl. *màzìni*), Krf {Sch.} *mìžžì*, Grm {Sch.} *mìžžì* id., 'husband', {Gw.} *mižžì* 'man (vir)' | Ngz {Sch.} *mìsìk* (pl. *mìsàsàskín*) 'husband' || CCh: ? Lgn {Bou.} *màsè* 'husband' ¶ JI II 200-1 and 230, Stl. ZCh 232 [no. 799], ChC s.v. 'man (vir)' and 'husband', ChL, Abr. H 673, Ba. 791, Sch. BTL 30, 57, 86, 148, Sch. DN 106 || IE ≈ **meHs* / **mHs-* > NaIE **mās* / **mās-* > L *mās* (gen. *mār-is*) adj./n. 'male' ¶ WH II 46-7, EM 388 || U: FU (att. in BF) **mēs|śe* 'man (vir)' > F *mies* / gen. *miehen*, Es *mees* / gen. *mehē*, Krl *mīēš* / *mīēhe-*, Lv *mīez* id. ¶ UEW 866-7, ≈ Coll. 99, ≈ SK 345, Kt. 223 || D **māc̣* > Klm *mās* 'man, husband', Nk *mās* 'man', Knd *māsi* 'husband' ¶¶ D no. 4791 ◇ IE **s* is likely to result from devoicing of the original voiced sibilant under the ass. infl. of N **χ|h*.

1516. **moχaž'E* 'ε berry, fruit' > K: GZ **mχal-* 'vegetables' > OG *mχal-i*, G *mχal-i* ~ *pχal-i* 'greens', Mg *χul-i* {FS K²} 'ε a kind of vegetables' ('ertgvari mxali'), {Q} 'greens, swede', {FS E} 'Futerrübe' ¶ K 143, Q 407, FS E 254-, FS K² 346 || U **mo|ež∇* > FU {∂Sm.} **mežì*, {UEW} **mož∇* 'ε berry of some bush' > Chr H *муды муѡь*, Chr L/Uf *моѡо моѡо* 'bilberries' | Prm {LG} **moíi* ({Lt.} **moíi*) 'berry, stone of a fruit' > Vt *мульы* 'stone of a fruit', Vt Sr *muí+*, Vt Kz *moíz* 'berry, nut', Z *ńur-moí* 'cranberries' (*ńur* 'swamp'), *moí* 'button, stone of a fruit', Yz *tʌr-*'*muíi* 'cranberries' || pOs **wīr-máí* 'red currant' (**wīr* 'blood') > Os: Ty *wirmə́*, D *wěrmət*, Kz *wūrmə́* id. | Hg *mëggγ* 'morello cherry (*Prunus cerasus*)' || pY {IN H} **malčz-* or **malγz-* > Y K *malđz-* 'cloudberries' ({IN UJ -žə [i.e. *-čz] is a nominal sx) ¶¶ If we reconstruct FU **mež∇*, it involves labialization of the vw. in Chr (due to **m-*), while FU **mož∇* presupposes ass. palatalization in Ugr (due to the following palatal **ž*) ¶¶ UEW 279, Coll. 98, Sm. 545 (FU, FP **međi*, Ugr **miđĩ*), Ep. 72, MRS 327, 333, Ü 120, LG 173-4, Lt. 53-4, Ht. no. 706, IN H 256, IN UJ 233, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [no. 77] (Y ← U) || A **moγE1∇* > Tg **moí'i'-kte* (~ **mile-kte?*) 'rowan berry' > Ewk Z *molikta*, Neg *miktan*, UI/Ork *milzktz*, Ork *miktz* ~ *mittz* id. ¶ STM I 536 ¶ The unexpected vw. -i- of the initial syll. in Neg, UI and Ork may be explained by regr. as. || M **moγil* 'bird cherry' ({SDM}: regularly from **moíil-*) > WrM {MED} *moil*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *мойл* 'bird cherry', Kl Ö {Rm.} *mōl* 'Faulbeerbaum, Faulbeeren' ¶ MED 542, BMR II 336, Chr. 298, KW 267 || T **bælæí-* 'rowan' > Tkm *meleš*, Bsh, VTt *млеш* (↔ Chv L *пилеш*), QK *pele*, Alt, Tlt, Ln *pälä* ¶ Rs. W 338, TatR 371, BRS 385, Rl. V 2159, Ash. IX 209-11, Fed. I 431-2, Jeg. 160, ChVS 139. RAIS 672, B DLT 187 ¶¶ The vw. *-i- in Tg

*molⁱ-kte and in M *moyil may be due to the infl. of pA *-y- ¶¶ SDM 909 (pA *mēlu 'ε berry' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1277 (id.), S CNM 11 (suggested to adduce T), ADb. SR 11 || IE *meχl- > NaIE *māl- 'apple' > L mālum id. (↳ Al mollē id.), mālus 'apple tree' || Gk μῆλον, Gk D/Ae μᾶλον 'apple' || Ht mahla {CHD} 'branch of a grapevine', {Ts.} 'Rebe' ¶¶ WP II 296, EI 25-6 (*meh₂lom 'apple'), WH II 18-19, EM 381 (L ↳ Gk), Ch. 694, F II 226 (all of them suppose that the word *māl- is a loan from an unknown source), Mn. 730, O 272, CHD L-N 112-13, Ts. W 49.

1517. *miž₁w₁∇ (k∇) 'mix, stir' > HS: [1] S *^o-mīš- > Ar ip. -mīšū (pf. مَاشُ māšā) 'mix (sth. with sth.)' ¶ BK II 1173, Hv. 742 || B *√msy ({θPr.} *msuy) > Ah əmsi / pf. imsāi 'mix (fresh milk with sour milk)' (Fcj. 32, Pcj. I A 1), Ty əmsəy 'mix (mélanger)' ¶ Fc. 1249, 2002 (on conj. 32), Pr. M VI-VII 86, GhA 133 || [2] CS (or WS?) *√mšg ~ *√mzg ~ *√msk 'mix' > Ar مَشَج √mšg (pf. مَشَجُ mašāg, ip. -mšūg) 'mix, confuse', مَزَج √mzg (pf. مَزَجُ mazağ, ip. -mzuğ) 'mingle (a liquid) with', IA √mzg G 'mix', MHb, JA [Trg.] √mzg G 'mix' (esp. 'mix wine with water\spices, temper'), JEA √mzg G 'mix, dilute', MHb √mzg 'pour (liquid)', Sr √mzg G (pf. مَزَجُ mazağ, ip. -mzuğ) 'mix (esp. wine with water), mingle, blend, temper', Md √mzg G 'mix, combine', BHb مَزَجُ 'mεzεg 'mixed wine, spiced wine', MHb مَزَجُ 'mεzεg 'mixture', JA [Trg.] مَزَجُ miz'g-ā 'mixture, mixed wine\drink', Sr مَزَجُ maza'g-ā 'a mixture, a drink, wine and water', Md mzağa 'mixing, mixture', Ug msk v. 'mix', BHb √msk G 'mix, produce by mixing', مَسَكُ 'mεsεk 'mixture, admixture of spices', MHb √msk v. 'temper, mix wine; cast metal'; ? Tgy {CS} √msg^ω G (pf. 'mεsεg^ω ε) 'oindre de beurre frais la tête; enduire sa tête\chevelure d'une couche grasse' ('anoint' ← 'pour liquid' ← 'mix'); S ↳ Cpt: Sd MΟΥΧΒ muzb, B MΟΥΧΤ muzt, P MΟΥΧΘ muzχ₃ vt., vi. 'mix' ¶ S *šg < *žg < as. *žk; S *zg ~ *sk < *zg ~ *ck < as. *zk < *žk; the delabialization *ž > *z may be due to positional factors or to the infl. of a different √ ¶ A no. 1611, OLS 295, BK II 1098-9, 1109, Hv. 718, 721, HJ 608, KB 535, 572, BDB 587, Js. 752-3, 807, Lv. T II 19, Sl. 651-2, JPS 261, DM 263, Frnk. 172 (Ar ↳ Aram), CS 139-40, Vc. 133 (suggesting to compare the Coptic word with DEg mzg 'ε vessel [cratère?]), Er. 195 || B *^o√msk 'mix' > Gd εmsak id. ¶ Lf. II no. 1037 || IE: NaIE *misg̃- / *mejsg̃- 'mix' (> as. *misk̃- / *mejsk̃-) ~ mt. *mejg̃s- ~ *mejg̃- (zero < *Z?) > OI mik̃s- 'mix': 3s pres. mēk'sayati 'stirs up, mixes, mingles', mis'raḥ 'mixed, mingled, blended', mis'rayati 'mixes, mingles, blends, combines', Av minas'ti 'mixes', myāsaitē 'they mix' (vi.),

MPrs hamistak 'mixed' || Gk μελγνυμι ~ μίγνυμι 'I mix' (aor. ps. ἐμίγην), μίσγω (< *μίγ-σκω) 'I mix' || L misce-ō / miscē-re / miscui / mixtum v. 'mix' || Clt {Matas.} *mesko- v. 'mix' > OIr mescaid v. 'mix', W {YGM} mysgu 'undo, unravel', Crn mysky, MBr mesca, meski v. 'mix', Br {Hm.} meskař 'mélanger, mêler'; ⇨ Clt {Matas.} *misko- 'mixed, confused' > OIr mesc 'confused, drunk', MW mysgi 'trouble, confusion, mysgu v. 'destroy, unravel, undu', MBr e mesk 'among, Br {Hm.} mesk 'mixture, mélange'; Matas. suggestd that the Clt verb *mesko- was deived from the adj. *misko-, which is not convincing || WGmc inf. *miskan (← L??) > OHG inf. misken, MLG, NHG inf. mischen, AS inf. miscian 'to mix', NE mix || Lt inf. miěš-ti 'to dilute', mišras 'mixed', mišrainė 'salad', inf. maišyti (1s pres. maišau) 'to stir, to agitate' (→ 'to hinder'), Ltv inf. māsīt 'to mix, to stir', mīstrs 'mixture; mixed corn; barley and oats mixed', Pru mausoan ('gemengt') 'mixed' | Sl inf. *měš-iti (1s pres. *měš-ŏ) 'to mix, to stir' > OCS inf. мѣснѣ mesi (1s pres. мѣшѣ měšŏ), SCr inf. мѣсити (1s pres. мѣсѣм) & mijésiti (1s pres. mijēsīm), Slv inf. mēsiti, OCz inf. miesiti, Cz inf. mísiti, Slk inf. miesit', P inf. miesić (pres. miesze), R inf. мешить (pres. † мешу), Uk inf. місити id., Blg 'меша' 'mix, stir'; d. Sl inf. *měšāti 'to mix, to stir' > ChS inf. мѣшатѣ měšati, SCr inf. мешати & mijěšati, Slv inf. mēšati, Slk inf. miešat', P inf. mieszać, R inf. мешать id.; the latter Sl verb means also 'to hinder' (← 'to mix'?) ¶ WP II 244-5, P 714, ≈ EI 394 (*meik̄-, *meik̄-skē/o-), M K II 632-3, M E II 373-4, Brtl. 1190, F II 192-3, WH II 95-6, Vn. M 42, Ern. 409, Ho. 223, Kb. 689, OsS 612-13, KM 480-1, Frn. 431-2, Tr. 175, En. 207, ESSJ XVIII 199-201, 210-17, StSS 340, Vs. II 606-7, 615, Glh. 409, Matas. E 273, Hm. 564, YGM-1 341 || ¶ А *mÉlb|p^{ra}- 'stir up, помешивать' > NaT *b_l:_ĺ- ~ *b_l:_ĺ- 'stir up (milk, butter)' > Qrg biš-, Bsh bьš-, Qzq piš-, Alt, Tv b_liš- 'stir', SbTt пеш- рьš- 'churn' ¶ ET B 309-10, Tm. 173 || Tg *melbi- v. 'row' > Ul, Nn Nh/KU mэлbi-, WrMc {Z} мэлби- id.; ⇨ Tg *melbi-ken 'short oar (for noiseless rowing during the hunt)' > Ewk mэлbikэ, Neg mэлbixэ, Orc mэлbbuku, Ul mэлbikэ(n-), Nn Nh/KU {STM} melbi_lzkǎ ~ melbi_lǎ, Nn Nh {On.} melbi_lǎ, WrMc {Z} мэлби_lк_у id.; Tg *melbu_l id. > Ud {STM, Krm.} мэг(b)u, {Shn.} мэ(л)bu, Orc мэлbbu, Ork мэлbi; Ul мэлbu(n-) id. ¶ STM I 566, Krm. 263-4, On. 276, Z 882 || ?φ pJ {S} *mànsì-(p∇-) v. 'mix' > OJ мазіра-, маза-, MJ màzìφα-, маза-, JT мазіé-, мазé-, JK mázìé-, màzè-, J Kg мазіé-, màzè- id. ¶ S QJ no. 940, Mr. 722, Kenk. 1195-6 ¶¶ J *-a- may be due to regr. as. (suggesting pA stem-final *-a-) ¶¶ SDM 910 (pA *mÉlba- 'stir up' > Tg, J), DQA

no. 1275 || ? ϕ D *mičuk-, {GS} *mis- 'stir, move from position' > Kn mi s u k u 'move, stir, quiver', Td mi s x- vi. 'move slightly upward from position, budge', Kt mičk- 'yield to importunity' (for the semantic change cp. Lt and Sl), Tu mi s k u- 'move, venture; interfere with, meddle', Tl mi s i k u v. 'move' ¶¶ D *-č- is likely to go back to a post-N devoiced cns. (positional devoicing: post-N *č from N *ž). May it result from distant as. -ž...k- > -š...k- [> D *-č...k-]? ¶¶ D no. 4839, Km. 461, GS 42 [no. 82] ◇ IE *s is probably a reg. reflex of N *ž before a cns. An alt. rec.: N *mič ∇ (k ∇); it does not explain the voiced *z in S * \checkmark m z g and the IE variant stem *me \checkmark g- ◇ D *-u- and A *-b- suggest the presence of N *w.

1518. _2 *miž \checkmark ∇ (or *miž \checkmark ∇) 'sheep, goat' > HS: S * ° m ∇ s ∇ z- > Ar ma s z- ~ ma s a z- 'bucks and goats', mā s i z- {BK} 'sheep or goat' ¶ BK II 1127, Hv. 726 || B: SrSn {Rn.} i-m z i 'kid (chevreau)' (× * \checkmark m z y > SrSn ma z z e y 'jeune, petit') ¶ Rn. 386 || IE: NaIE * ° m ° a \checkmark s ° -s 'sheep' (× * ° m ° a \checkmark s ° -s 'hide, fleece' < N *me ° i s ∇ 'hide [Fell]', [→] 'clothes', q.v.) > OI mē ° s a- \checkmark 'ram', Av ma ē š a- m., ma ē š ī- f. 'sheep', ClNPrs میش mēš, NPrs میش mīš 'sheep, ram'; Ary ° b ° FU (att. in FP) *meš ∇ 'sheep, ram' > Chr L/U me \checkmark mež, Chr H miž 'wool of sheep and goats', Z mež 'ram', {W} 'sheep' (the Chr word is not an inherited cognate, because in an inherited word we have to expect the vw. b < pFU *e; in Z mež the cns. ž may be explained only if the word is a loan) || ? σ Ht ma i s t a- '≈ bale of wool' ¶ The N lr. was lost in IE in the prevoc. position ¶¶ WP II 303, P 747, ≈ EI 511 (* ° m ° i \checkmark s ° -s 'ram, sheep'; no distinction from * ° m ° i \checkmark s ° -s 'fleece, hide' < N *me ° i s ∇ 'hide'), M K II 689, M E II 380, Horn 226, Vl. II 1255, Sg. 1362, Tr. 165, UEW 703, LG 171, MRS 320, 323, Ep. 70 ◇ NaIE * ° m ° a \checkmark s ° -s suggests that in pN the vw. *i was immediately followed by a sibilant (*-i s- rather than *-i h s-), which means that the S root * \checkmark m s z underwent mt. of consonants. Alternatively, we can reconstruct a N etymon *miž \checkmark ∇ and suppose mt. in the prehistory of IE.

1519. *muž \checkmark ∇ y ∇ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, to punch on the head' > K: [1] GZ *mž i y- 'fist' > OG mž i y- 'fist' (an old loan from Zan?), eNG [SSO] mž i y- 'fist', Mg ž i x-, Lz mž i x-, nž i x- 'fist, handful' || [2] (with desaffrication *ž > *ž) K *mž y w- 'press, squeeze, crumble' > Sv {FS} -mž y- (msd. li-mž y-une) id., G R -mž y v l- {K} 'break': {Chx.} inf. da-mž y v l-eba vt. 'zerreißen' ¶¶ K 142, K² 122, 130, Chik. 62, Fn. KW-3 27, FS K 217, FS E 238 || HS: S * \checkmark m z s > Ak OA/MA/LB inf. ma z ū 'squeeze, produce a liquid', 'auspressen', Ak \wedge mē z ū 'beer brewer', Ar \checkmark m z s G {Hv.} v. 'pick (cotton) with the fingers', {BK} 'éplucher et séparer avec les doigts le coton etc.' ¶ The

apparently irreg. *a* in Ak *māzû* (for the expected *e*) may be accounted for by the Assyrian dialectal preservation of *a* even near pS **ṣ* ¶ CAD X/1 439-40 and X/2 46, BK II 1099, Bel. 767, Hv. 718 || C **māz-* > ?*σ* EC: Or {Grg.} *madā* (ω) *a* v. 'wound', *madā* n. 'wound', {Brl.} *māda* 'ferita, piaga, ulcera', *mād-aωu* '(im)piagarsi, ferirsi', Arr {Hw.} *madá* n. 'wound', *madēss-* v. 'wound'; HEC {Hd.} **māz-*, {L} **māz-* v. 'wound' > Brj {Ss., Hd.}, Hd {Hd.} *mād-*, Kmb *māz-* id.; HEC {Hd.} **māza*, {L} *māza* n. 'wound, sore' > Kmb {Hd.} *māza-t*, Brj {Ss.} *mā'dā* id., Hd {Hd.} *māda*, {Ss.} *mādaʔa*, Sd *māda* 'wound' || Ag: Bln {R} *mād-/mād-* 'auf den Kopf schlagen, den Kopf blutig schlagen (jemandem)' (× N **meʔatVha* 'head, top, summit') ¶ R WB 263, Grg. 223, Hw. A 383, Gs. 278, L Z 121, Hd. 170, 417 || IE: NaIE **mus-ti-* 'fist, clenched hand' > OI *muš'ti-h* id., Av *muš'ti-* (*masah-*) 'Faust(größe)', NPrs *مُشْت* *mošt* 'fist, handful' || Tc B *masce* (< **mus'tēj-s*) 'fist' ¶ EI 255, M K II 658, M E II 363, Horn 220, Vl. II 1181, Ad. 443 ¶ The absence of any traces of the expected **a* may be accounted for by NaIE derivation: the stem was derived from **mus-* that had no traces of *lr.* because of its the stem-final (prevoc.) position || U: FP **mUćV-* v. 'squeeze; fist' (× N **mUćV* 'to press, to squeeze', q.v.) > Krl KA {SK} *muž'ū* v. 'press, crumple', Krl Ld *muč'urdada* 'to compress' ('pusertaa kokoon'), F *mušertaa* 'to crush, to smash', Vp *mučoida* 'to twist (fingers)' | ? Lp Sw {SK ← ?} *močetet*, *moččot* v. 'break, be breaking off' | Z Δ *mž+r* 'clenched fingers, fist', {W} *mž+r-t-* 'clench one's hand/fist' ¶ LG 176, SK 353 || D: [1] **mutt-*, {GS} **mutt-* v. 'blow with knuckles of the fist or with the fist' (→ v. 'hammer', n. 'hammer') > Kn *mut-* v. 'rap the head (of another person) with the knuckles of the fist', Tl *mottu* 'give a blow/stroke with the knuckles', Ml *muttu* 'knocking', *mutti* 'hammer', Tm *mittikai* 'jeweler's small hammer', Kt *mutti* 'small hammer', Prj *mutka* 'blow with fist', *mutt-* v. 'hammer', Png, Mnd, Ku *mutla* 'hammer', Krx *mutgaʔā-* 'deal a heavy blow with the fist', *mutkaʔā-* 'hit/hammer at with the fist', *mutgā* ~ *mutkā* 'clenched hand or fist, hammering with the fist'; [2] D (att. in SD) **mutt-* v. 'press' > Ml *muttikka* id.; the meanings 'dash against, butt' (as in Tm *muttu*, Ml *muttuka* id., Kdg *mutt-* v. 'bump against') may be due either to semantic broadening or to contamination with a different pD √ ¶¶ D no. 4932, GS 51 [no. 126] ◇ ADb. MSR 22 [no. 27] (K, IE, D + err. FU **muč'kV* 'fist' that in fact belongs to N **muč'V* 'clenched/cupped hand', q.v.).

1520. **meʔažV* 'sun, light; to shine' > K **mž-e* 'sun' (*-*e* is a *sx* as in *(*ša-*)*dV-e* 'day') > OG, G *mze*, Mg *bža*, Sv UB/LB/Ln *miž*, Sv L *məž* 'sun', Lz *mžora*

~ mžura (with a sx) id., Lz bžáčχa, Mg žěšχa 'Sunday' (< *bžā-š dya 'Sun's day') ¶¶ K 133-4, K² 121, Schm. 124, FS 216-17, TK 571, Dn. s.v. məž, GP 220 || HS: ? Ch: CCh: HgG mǎšé, HgNk, Kps mǎšké, HgF mamǎški, FIG {ChL} mǎkšǐ 'morning', Suk {Mk} mašin id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'morning', ChL || S: the second element of S *'šamaš- 'sun' < N *°žom∇ meʔaž∇ ('≈ hot\burning sun\fire') (with N *žom∇ 'be hot', 'sun', [?] 'flame', q.v. ffd.) || B *-missi- 'fire' > Ah te-mse, pl. ti-məs, ETwl te-mse, pl. šī-məss, Ty te-mse, pl. ti-məssa, Gh čī-msi, Kb tī-məss, Si tā-msi, Skn, Snd, Mz ti-msi, Izn, Rif, SrSn θī-məssi 'fire' ¶ Fc. 1247, Dl. 520, GhA 132, Nh. 160, La. S 237, Rn. 85, Dlh. M 123 || U: FU (att. in Prm) *°mʔe'ž∇- (or *°mʔe'í∇-) > Prm *mʔo'í- ({LG} *mʔo'í-) v. 'shine, beam' > Vt maíd+n+ v. 'be dazzled (by light)', maíd+mon 'dazzling', Z moí+d 'glossy, smooth', Z Ud us+s moíz '(he/she) beams with joy' ¶ LG 174 || A *mE,a|-'bright', v. 'shine' > M **mel- 'bright, polished, shiny' ⇨ : [1] M *mel∇yí- > Brt мэлии- 'be glossy, shine', ? HIM {BMR} мэлий- 'быть гладким\ровным'; [2] M *melmeу- > WrM {MED} melmei- 'shine, be bright', HIM мэлмий- {MED} id., Brt мэлмы- 'shine' (of glassy water surface), Kl {KRS} мелмә- melmä- id., Ord melmī- 'reuire, briller au soleil', Kl {KRS} bk. мелмә melmä 'lustre, glitter (блеск)', Brt мэлмэн 'shining (reflecting light)'; [3] M *melmeger > WrM {MED} melmeger 'bright-eyed; the shimmer of a brimming body of water', HIM {MED} мэлмгэр id., Ord melmeger 'brillant, qui a les yeux brillants', Brt мэлмэн 'shining (reflecting light)' ¶ MED 534-5, BMR II 370, Luv. 252, Chr. 311, KRS 349, Ms. O 461-2 || Tg *mi,a||r- v. 'glitter' (of eyes), *mi,a||r'í 'glittering, bright' > Nn Nh {STM} mīari 'glittering, bright', {On.} 'яркий, ослепительный' (light, Licht), Orc mia-n-, Ud mili- v. 'blind (eyes)' ('слепить глаза'), Ewk Np {Vas.} millūn- 'aufblitzen' (of eyes) ('поблескивать') ¶ STM I 534-5, Vas. 252, On. 262 || pKo {S} *mʔrk- 'clear, transparent' > MKo mʔrk-, NKo malk- [mak-] id. ¶ S QK no. 69, Nam 203, MLC 587 ¶¶ SDM 921 (pA *mīali(-k'a) 'bright; shine' > M, Tg, Ko + err. T *bʔlk- 'shine, glitter' [from N *baī,i,'k'a 'to shine']), DQA no. 1303 (id.), ≠ Rm. SKE 139 (Ko, T) || D: [1] D *mel(k)- v. 'lighten', v. 'flash' (of light) > Prj melk- v. 'lighten', Δ malk- v 'flash' (light), Gdb mel- v. 'flash' (lightning), Png malkā- v. 'lighten' ¶¶ D *l (not a regular D representative of N *-ž-) may be due to its precon. position: D *-lk- < *-žk- (desaffrication of *ž before a cons.) ¶¶ D no. 5079 || [2] D *māṭṭ- v. 'kindle (as fire), burn' > Tm māṭṭu id., Kt maṭṭ- v. 'make (fire) burn', Td moṭ- v. 'put fuel on fire', Tl māṭṭu, māṭṭu v. 'be burnt', Gnd māṣ- v. 'kindle fire' ¶¶ D no. 4801 || ??? IE: NaIE *molk- 'fire, firewood' (< **mo|l- 'fire?') >

OIr *molc* {WP, Vn.} 'fire' || Lt *málka* 'log, fuel', pl. *málkos* 'firewood', Ltv *maīka* 'firewood' ¶ WP II 308, Mn. 792, ≈ Frn. 401-2, ME II 558, Vn. *M* 62.

1521. **mayž* ∇ 'tasty beverage, sap of trees' ([in descendant lges] → 'honey', 'milk') > K **omž* ∇ > Lz *mž̌a* 'milk, buttermilk' ¶ Marr 168-9 || **HS:** EC: Sd *mal(?)*- 'sweet', Arr {Hw} *múl* 'liquid part of raw honey'] EC (+ext.) **málàb* 'honey' > Af {PH} *malab*, Sa {R} *malāb* id. | pSam {Hn.} **málàb* > Sml {DSI} *malab*, Rn {PG} *málàb*, Bn 'málub id. | Bs {HL} *malab(a)* 'honey' | HEC **malabo* > Hd *marabo*, Sd *malawo*, Ged *malebo*, Alb {HL}, Kmb *malabu* id. ¶ C SE II 214, PH 162, Mrn. S 228, Hn. S 68, DSI 410, Oo. 68, PG 218, Hd. 81, 417, HL 127, Hw. A 386 || **IE** **mel-i-(t)* / **mel-n-* 'honey' > Arm *մեղր* *mełr* (gen. *մեղրու* *mełu*) id. || Gk *μέλι* (gen. *μέλιτος*) id. || pAl {O} **melita* > Al *mjalte* id. || L *mel*, gen. *mell-is* (< **mel-n-*) id. || Clt {Matas.} **meli* 'honey' > OIr *míl* (gen. *melo ~ mela*), OW, MW *mel*, W {YGM} *mêl*, OCrn [ȝ] *mel*, Crn *mel* id., OBr [ȝ] *mel* 'nectare', MBr, Br {Hm.} *mel* 'honey' || Gt *miliþ* (·*μέλι*·[?]) 'Honig (?)', AS *milsćian* 'to sweeten with honey', *miliśc* 'sweet' || Ht *milit-* 'honey' ¶¶ P 723-4, EI 271 (**melit* / **mli't-os*), Bn. IEIS 31, F II 200-1, WH II 61-3, Vn. *M* 50-1, YGM-1 329, Fs. 359-60, Ho. 222, Sl. 182-6, O 268, Matas. E 263, YGM-1 329, Hm. 556, CHD L-N 250-2, Ts. E II 207-10 || **U:** FP **mayž* ∇ 'sap of trees', 'milk' > F *maïto* 'milk', F Δ *maïto* 'birch sap', Es Δ *maït* 'cream (Sahne)' | Vt Δ *máí* 'tree honey, tree sap' ¶ UEW 697 || **A:** T **bal* (**mal*) 'honey' > OT *bal* ({Cl.} *bāl*), Tk *bal*, Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg *bal*, Uz *bal*, Slr *pal*, Chv *pil* id. ¶ ET B 47, Cl. 330 ¶¶ SDM 897-8 (pA **male* 'honey, vegetable oil' > T + unc. Tg **mala* 'sesame oil, plant oil' and M **milayā-* v. 'anoint, smear with oil'), DQA no. 1248 (id.) ◇ IS II 38-9 [no. 276] (**majλa* 'honey, sweet sap of trees' > C, IE, U, T), AD NM no. 21, Vv. AEN 12 (doubts about the T cognate; T <b IE?) ◇ Gr. II no. 213 (**mal* 'honey') (IE, U, CK).

1522. * $\bar{n}^{\bar{a}}$, prn. of collectivity and plurality > **U**: FP * $n^{\bar{a}}$ 'these, they', plurality prn., correlating with the sg. pronouns of the * t -series and with the prn. * $\acute{c}e$ 'that' > F $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ pl. 'these' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'this', $n\bar{u}o$ pl. 'those' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{u}o$ 'that', ne pl. 'those' \leftrightarrow se 'that', Es $nemad \sim nad$ 'they' \leftrightarrow $tema \sim ta$ 'he\she\it', $need$ 'these' \leftrightarrow see 'this', $nood$ 'those' \leftrightarrow too 'that', Vo $n\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'they' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ 'he\she' || pMr {Ker.} * $n\bar{a}$ > Er $\acute{n}e, \acute{n}e\acute{t}, \acute{n}e\acute{t}\acute{n}e$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $\acute{t}e$ 'this', $nonat$ 'those' \leftrightarrow $tona$ 'that', Mk $\acute{n}\bar{a}, \acute{n}\bar{a}t$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $\acute{t}\bar{a}$ 'this', $nona(t)$ 'those' \leftrightarrow $tona$ 'that' || Chr L $n\bar{u}no$ $nuno$, Chr H $\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{b}\bar{i}$ $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'they' \leftrightarrow Chr L $t\bar{u}do$ $tu\delta o$, Chr H $t\bar{b}\bar{i}d\bar{b}\bar{i}$ $t\bar{a}\delta a$ 'he\she\it'; Chr L $n\bar{i}n\bar{e}$ $n\bar{i}n\bar{e}$, Chr NW {IT} $n\bar{e}n\bar{a}$ 'these' \leftrightarrow Chr L $t\bar{i}d\bar{e}$ $t\bar{i}d\bar{e}$, Chr NW $t\bar{e}\delta a$ 'this'; Chr K {Wc.} $n\bar{i}n\bar{a}$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{i}\delta a$ 'this', $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'those, they' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{a}\delta a$ 'that, he', Chr U {Wc.} $n\bar{i}n\bar{a}$ 'these' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{i}\delta a$ 'this', $n\bar{u}n\bar{b}$ 'those, they' \leftrightarrow $t\bar{u}\delta b$ 'that, he' || Prm: Z $n\bar{a}y\bar{z}$ (/ $n\bar{a}$ - in the obl. cases) 'they, those' \leftrightarrow $s\bar{i}y\bar{z}$ (/ obl. $s\bar{i}$ -) 'he\she\it, that', Prmk $n\bar{i}y\bar{a}$ (/ obl. $n\bar{i}$ -) \leftrightarrow $s\bar{i}y\bar{a}$ (/ obl. $s\bar{i}$ -) 'he\she\it, that' ¶ UEW 300-1 (* $n\bar{a}$ [\sim * $n\bar{e}$ \sim ?* $n\bar{i}$] 'dieser', ? 'der, jener'), 306 (* $n\bar{o}$ 'jener') (without recognizing that the * $n\bar{\nabla}$ -pronouns have plurality meaning even at the pFP level), SMJM 135-6, Ker. II 93, Lt. KZJ 290, Lt. KPJ 307-8, LG 185, 193, Wc. TT no-s 645, 652, 1190 and 1222, Ps. OT 78-9, 149, 151 ¶ In most cases the vw. of the * n -pronouns coincides exactly with that of the corresponding sg. pronouns, hence it is system-induced rather than original. The only exception is Z $n\bar{a}$ -, $n\bar{a}y\bar{z}$ 'they, those' < pPrm * $n\bar{a}$ - (Lt. 169), which suggests that the pFP prn. was * $n\bar{a}$ (Prm * a < FP * \bar{a} *reg.*) || **HS**: Eg $n\bar{z}$ 'this, the' abstr. (Eg M pl.) \leftrightarrow $p\bar{z}$ 'this, the' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{z}$ f., Eg $n\bar{\omega}$ abstr. 'this' (Eg M pl.) \leftrightarrow $p\bar{\omega}$ 'this' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{\omega}$ f., Eg $n\bar{n}$ abstr. 'this (near me)' (\rightarrow pl.) \leftrightarrow $p\bar{n}$ 'this (near me)' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{n}$ f., Eg $n\bar{f}$ abstr. 'that' (Eg M pl.) \leftrightarrow $p\bar{f}$ 'that' m. \leftrightarrow $t\bar{f}$ f.; in Eg O (*see* Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251) $n\bar{\omega}$, $n\bar{f}$ etc. were abstract pronouns: $n\bar{\omega}$ 'Dieses, Dieses da', $n\bar{f}$ 'Jenes' ({Lpr.} 'this, these things') probably going back to collective pronouns, but later they acquitted the function of pl. forms of pronouns (*see* Gard. 85); the original connection of the Eg O n -pronouns with plural is evidenced by their syntactical agreement with pl. of prtcs. and relative forms; in Eg M they function as pl. only ¶ Ed. 83-9, EG 216, 251, Lpr. 68-71 || **IE**: [1] IE "primary" verbal ending of 3p *-(e)nti (\leftrightarrow *-ti 3s) (e.g. * b^hero -nti 'they carry' > OI $b^haranti$, Gk $\phi\acute{\epsilon}ρουσι$, L $ferunt$, Gt $baírand$ id., OCS $берѣтъ$ $ber\acute{o}t\bar{b}$ 'they take', cp. the AnIE ending of 3p: Ht -nz\bar{i}, Lw,

Pal -n̄t̄i); [2] the pIE "secondary" ending of 3p *-(e)nt̄ (↔ *-(e)t̄ 3s) (as in the NaIE form *(e-)b^heront 'they carried' > OI 'abharan, Gk ἔφερον id., cp. OCS БѢЗѢ ѵезѡ 'they transported'); AnIE: Lw, Pal -n̄t̄a, Lc nasalized vw. + -te) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 592-6 (incl. a synoptic table), Bks 232-49, Rsk. 80-1 ¶¶ The word-final elements *-ti and *-t in the IE personal endings of 3p are induced by the analogy with the endings of 3s *-ti and *-t | | K (× N *nE, dem. dual prn., 'they [two]'): [1] GZ *-en, sx of 3p > OG -en (čam-en da swam-en 'edunt bibuntque'), Mg -an (koχen-an do koγurč̣ul-an 'they sit and sing') | | [2] OG -(e)n, sx of the plural of objects: v-i-χil-en 'I saw them' (↔ v-i-χil-e 'I saw him'), gω-i-χil-n-a 'he saw us' ('us' originally incl.), m-i-χil-n-a 'he saw us' ('us' originally excl.), g-i-χil-n-a 'he saw you (pl.)' ¶ K 79, FS K 114-15, FS E 123, Dt. 44-6, 61-5, Shan. G 75, Fn. GAS 81 | | | Nominal endings of pl. in some branches of N: K: GZ *-n-, marker of pl. in the casus rectus (subject of vi. and object of vt.) > OG -n- (κac-n-i 'men') | | Mg Sn -en-, sx of pl. in the ergative and dative: erg. gur-en-k, dat. gur-en-s (Mg gur-i is 'heart, chest') ¶ K S 10-11, Marr GDGJ 34, Q O25, O30-O33 | | HS: S *-ān- > Ar -ān-, sx of collectivity (fursān- 'riders' ↔ fāris- 'a rider'), Gz -ān (pl. of masc. nouns and adj.: κasīs-ān 'priests'), Ak nom. -ān-ū (later -ān-ū) / accus.-gen. -ān-i, sx of "individualizing plural", denoting a number of individually recognizable objects (Ak OB il-ān-ū 'personal gods [each with its own name]') (↔ il-ū 'gods in general, Pantheon'); but Aram pl. f. ending -ān hardly belongs here, it is rather an innovation (rare on OA, but typical in later Aram) based on the analogy of pl. m. -īn (< obl. pl. *-ī- + df. art. *-ma, like BHb -īm); S *-na, marker of the rel. mood in 2pm and 3pm of verbs > CS ending of ip. indc. (in 2pm and 3pm) > Ar -na (ta-ktub-ū-na 'you [2pm] write \ will write', ya-ktub-ū-na 'they [m.] write \ will write'), BHb -n (optional ending added to the ip. form of 2pm and 3pm of verbs) ¶ MSUS 91-2, ≈ Lip. 239-40, Gtz. AMP 121-30, Sd. G 77, Cer. ArJ 214, Zewi ∇ | | LbB: B pl. ending {Pr.} *-an, *-īn > Ah {Pr.} -ān ~ {Fc.} -īn (= {GhA} -en), in most other B lges -ən, -in (Shw irgaz-ən 'homines' [↔ sg. argaz], Sll tiləγm-in 'she-camels' [↔ sg. talγam-t], BMn ifri-wən 'wings' [↔ sg. afri], Kb isəlm-an 'fishes' [↔ sg. asəlm], Si itar-ən 'legs' [↔ sg. tar], Gd durar-ən 'mountains' [↔ sg. adurar], Zng {TC} tanqud-ən 'points' [↔ sg. tanqud]) | | ? Guanche {Mi.} -en,

ending of plural and collectivity: Gnc GC ta-har-en-em-en
'dry figs', ta-hau-n-en-en 'ripe figs', Gnc T i-rich-en 'wheat,
corn' (÷ B *irđ-∇n), Gnc GC ta-moc-en 'barley' ||| ONum -n (= *-
∇n), pl. ending (nbb-n 'workers' in one of the Dhugga inscriptions)
¶ Pr. M IV-V 50-2, 55-61, TC Z 312, AiM 175, 209-10, Fv. LJ 420 ||
the C nominal marker of pl. *-∇n- > Ag *-An > Bln -an, Q/Km {R, CR}
-æn, Xm -ān; *-t-An > Xm {R} -tan, Xm {R} -tān, Km {CR}, Q {R}
-tæn ||| EC *-an(∇) pl. > Sml -an, -ān, Rn {PG} -né (àbtíñè 'maternal
uncles'), Bn -ní, O -an, -ān, Gdl -ana, Arr -n, Dsn -anu, Dbs/Gln/Gwd
-āne, Gwd/Cm -īne, Ya -an, -en, -n∇, Brj -ana, -āni, Sd -ane, -anna, Kmb
-annu ||| ? Dhl -ni pl. ¶ Zab. MNPC 73-5, 82-3, 92-3, 111-12, 128,
138-41, 169, 179-80, 191-4, 211, 238-40, 255-9, 295-6, PG 60,
Hw. A 170-1, To. DL 91 || Ch {PorS} *-∇n, pl. sx of nouns > WCh: Hs
-una, -anni, -ina, -oni || BT: Dr {Nw.} -ìn, -àn, -en, -yen (and enlarged
[due to metanalysis?] -iyán / -uyán, -ñžén / -ñžín, -ngin), Gera {Sch.}
-nà, -nì, -nè || Bd -ɜn, Ngz {Sch.} -ín (with rdp. of the stem: wákàk-ín
'trees' ↔ s. wákà) || Fy {J} -an ||| CCh: Lgn {Lk.} -en ||| ECh: Jg {J}, Tmk
{Cp.} -nán ¶ PorS 335, Sch. BTL 94-5, Sch. DN xviii, Nw. KL 82-4, Lk. L
18-19, Cp. 28 | HS: marker of pl. in pers. pronouns: Ch pl. sx *-n in
pers. pronouns: [1] {Kr.} Ch *mu-n ({Blz.} *muni) 'we, us, our' incl. >
{Kr.} CCh *mun id. > BM: Mrg nà-mɜr 'we' incl., mɜr 'our' incl., Cb
muri 'we, us' incl., -mùrì 'our' incl. (-r, -r- < *n), Wmd na-mùn 'we'
incl., -mùn 'our' incl., Klb -mun 'our' incl., mun 'us' incl.; FJ mà mun
'we' incl., FIM -mù 'our' incl. || BB: G'nd gùmùn 'we' incl., -mun / -mɜn
'our' incl. || McMdr: Mdr mìyà 'our' incl., Dgh mùre 'us' incl., (here?)
mundà 'we' excl. ||| {Kr.} WCh *mun 'we, us, our' (without distinction
between incl. and excl.) > Hs mú / (completive past) mun 'we' || Dr
mini 'we', mìnì 'us', Tng (ha)mìnì 'we', Ngm mwùnì 'we' || SBc: Zul
min 'we' || AG: Gmy {Kr.} ÷-mìn 'we', mìn 'our', Ang {Kr.} muni 'we',
mun 'us', Su {J, Kr.} mun 'we, us'; [2] Ch *ku-n 'ye', 2p prn. > Hs kú,
Ngz kun, Tr kun, Mgm {JA} kûŋ, Mkl {J} kùnè etc.; [3] WCh *su-n 'they'
> Hs sú, Dw suŋ ¶ Kr. RChP 74-94, AD EPCChL, J S 75, Brq. PS, Abr. H
542, 679, 684, 822, Ba. 625-6, 796, 962-3 || ?? EC: Dsn mũni 'we'
incl. ¶ To. DL 211-12 ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 2-4 (Ch-Dsn parallel: Ch *muni
'we' incl., Dsn mũni id.) ||| HS *-n∇, marker of pl. (~ f. pl.) in
pers. pronouns: [1] S *ʔantin-na 'ye' f. pl. > Ak attina, BHb 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏
ʔat'tennā ~ 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏 ʔat'ten, Sr ʔat'ten (spelled 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏) ʔan'tên with a

mater lectionis ʏ, sc. [spelling] ʔantɛʏn), Ar ʔantunna, Gz ʔantən ¶ Dk. JDPa 222, 286, 395, Br. G I 301-2, Br. AG 27, Sd. G 41, KB 99, 1670, BH IV 42, HJ 86, A no. 464, OLS 59 || C: EC {Ss.} *ati-n (~ *iti-n?) 'ye' pl. > Sa átín, Rn atín, Sml idín-ku, Dsn {To.} ʔitíni, Gdl inna-t id., as well as the var. ≈ *isi-n 'ye' pl. > Af ísin, Or isani ~ isini, Kns íšina ¶ Bl. 131, Ss. PEC 11, PG 70, To. DL 483 || [2] S *ṣ̌in-na 'they' f. pl. > Ak ṣ̌ina, Ug hinna, BHb hen, BA ʔin'nan, JEA ʔin'nan, Sr ʔin'nūn, Sr ʔin'nūn (spelled hən'nɛʏn), Ar hunna ¶ Dk. JDPa 222, 286, 395, Br. G I 301-2, Br. AG 27 || A *-(∇)n, sx of pl. > M *-n, sx of pl. > MM -n ([S] noqan 'dogs' [↔ noqay 'dog'], [PP] {Pp.} élc'í-n 'messengers', yabuqu-n 'those going' [↔ sg. yabuquy]), PCIWrM -n (with nomina actoris ending in -ɠci and nomina actoris futuri in -ɠun [pl. ɠu-n]), in WrM -n, pl. of a few nouns: gergen 'wives' (↔ sg. gergei), with professional names (ǔyledbürici-n 'workers'), WrM -ta-n (from nouns with the sx -tai: mori-ta-n 'equestrians'), HIM -n with names of professions: xəðəlməpɠi-n 'workers'), Ord ɠaxa-n 'hogs' ¶ Pp. IM 175-7 || T *-an/*-en > OT [MhK] rare pl. morpheme: är-än 'men', oɟl-an 'sons' (probably with the meaning of collective plurality), preserved in ethnonyms: suvarin, quman ¶ SIGTJM 15-16, Prc. TschPS § 35, Nm. QQ 100, Kon. PSM 146, Rs. MTS 54, Br. OTG 150, Gbn ATG §§ 56 and 171 || Tg *-(a)na / *-(e)ne, coll./pl. of kinship terms and other animate nouns: Nn Nh am-ānā 'father and persons connected with him' Ul am-ana 'fathers', Nn Nh agānā 'elder brothers', barianā 'comrades', andāna 'friends'; Tg *°-nān/*-nēn, dual-plural (× N *nE, dem. dual prn.) > Ewk Z/Ucr/Skh -nān / -nēn / -nön, sx of du.\pl.: aku-nān 'brothers, two brothers', girki-nēn 'friends, two friends', Ewk Skh goxinān 'twins' (goxi 'pair') ¶ Ci. 254-5, Ci. MChT ∇, Vas. 778, On. 42, 62, 345, ≠ CiL MA 225-31 (unc.: the Tg sx < Tg. {CiL} *nay, sc. Tg *ńiarj~*ńarj 'man', see N *'ñ∇ya'∇ 'man') || Ko: MKo -naj, NKo {MLC} -nēy [-ne] {MLC} 'the group, all of', {Mazur} sx of the "representative pl." of animate nouns ¶ Rm. SKE I 224, MLC 337, Mazur KJ3 376 ¶¶ ≈ Rm. VAJ §§ 25-6, Pp. PSA 74, Mng. TLP 111 || ? U: a pl. sx *-n|ñ∇ can be seen in the pl. forms with ppas.: Vg K küäl-ān-em 'my houses' (↔ küäl-em 'my house'), Vg Ss xāp-an-u∇ 'our boats' (↔ xāp-u∇ 'our boat'), Er čora-n-t 'thy sons' (↔ čora-t 'thy son'); Serebrennikov tried to explain in a similar way the Z forms with

ppas.; Sinor supposed a similar situation in Ancient BF || Sm: Slq Nr {Cs.} *loga-ni-l* 'thy foxes' ↔ sg. *loga-l* 'thy fox', *loga-ni-t* 'his foxes' ↔ *loga-t* 'his fox' etc.; pSm {Hl.} *-нъ- (sx of pl. possessi + 1s possessoris) in *-у-нъ 'mei, meae, mea' (with the marker of pl. *-у-): Mt {Hl.} *ауа-нЕ 'my children' (Mt M {Sp.} *анине*) ↔ *ауам 'my child' (Mt M {Sp.} *анимъ*), Ng {Hl.} *ńüä-ńä* 'my children' ↔ *ńüä-mä* 'my child' ¶¶ Sin. UAP 206-7, Srb. IMPJ 106, Hl. M 145, Cs. GSS 304-25 ◇ IS's hyp. about *-NA as a sx (rather than a separate word) does not bear scrutiny, it is refuted by the position of FP *n- and Eg n- as the **first** (word-initial) elements of dem. pronouns, which proves the original mobility of N *ñ^rä¹ and hence its original status as a word. IS supposed that *-NA marked pl. of animate nouns only; this hyp., although not immediately convincing, deserves investigation. The hyp. of the opposition of *-NA to {IS} *-t∇ (pl. of inanimate nouns) is based on unproved (and probably erroneous) interpretation of {IS} *-t∇ as connected with inanimateness (see N *t∇ [postnominal marker of plurality]) ◇ ≈ IS II 94-6 [no. 333] (*-NA, pl. suffix of animate nouns), Sin. UAP (U, A), Heg. MÜ 79-81 (U, HS, K, A + very qu. parallels in IE nouns).

1523. *nĒ, dem. prn. of duality, 'they (two)' > HS: S *-ni, marker of df. (status determinatus) in dual (nom. *-ā-ni, accus.-gen. *-ay-ni) > Ar nom. -āni, gen.-accus. -ayni (ending of du. abs.), Ak nom. -ān, gen.-accus. -īn and Ak OA gen.-accus. -ēn (du. abs.), Aram -ēn in *trēn* 'two' ¶ Sd. G 76, 81, Dk. JDPa 217, Br. AG 84, GB 931 || ? B: Tz {Stm.} *mārāw-i-n* 'twenty' (cp. *mārāw* 'ten') ¶ Stm. 101, AiM 214 || K (× N *ñ^rä¹, prn. of collectivity and plurality, q.v.): [1] GZ *-en, sx of 3p > OG -en (*čam-en da swam-en* 'edunt bibuntque'), Mg -an (*koχen-an do koγurčul-an* 'they sit and sing') || [2] OG -(e)n, sx of the plural of objects: *v-i-χil-en* 'I saw them' (↔ *v-i-χil-e* 'I saw him'), *g-w-i-χil-n-a* 'he saw us' ('us' originally incl.), *m-i-χil-n-a* 'he saw us' ('us' originally excl.), *g-i-χil-n-a* 'he saw you (pl.)' ¶ K 79, FS K 114-15, FS E 123, Dt. 44-6, 61-5, Shan. G 75, Fn. GAS 81 || U *-n|ñ, marker of du. (mainly in pers. pronouns → du. of ppa., dualis subjecti of verbs) > Lp P {Coll.} *bódiimen* 'we two came', *bódalimen* 'we two would come', *bódiiden* 'you two came', *bódaliden* 'you two would come' || ObU *-īn, marker of du. in pers. pronouns > [1] pVg {Stn.} *-īn id.: *mīn 'we' du. (> Vg: Ss {Rmb.} *mēn*, Ss/UL {Stn.} ← Kn.) *mēn*,

ML/LL {MK} mīn, K {MK} mīn, T {MK} mēŋ id.), pVg *nīn 'you' du. (> Vg: Ss/LL {Rmb.} nēn, ML/LL {Vrt. ← Mu.} nin, K/P {Vrt. ← Mu.} nēn, T {Vrt. ← Mu.} nēŋ), pVg *tīn 'they' du. (> Vg: Ss (Rmb., Ht.) tēn, {Ht.}: LK tin, MK/UK/NV/LL ten, P tin ~ ten, SV/UL tēn); [2] pOs *-in, marker of du. in pers. pronouns: pOs *min 'we' du. (> Os {Stn.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O min, Nz/Sh men, Kz/Sn mīn), pOs *nin 'you' du. (> Os {Stn.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O nin, Nz/Sh nen, Kz/Sn nīn); Os {Ht.} *ϕin 'they' du. (> Os {Ht.}: V/O lin, Vy yin, Ty ϕin, D tin, Nz ten, Kz ϕīn) || Sm *-'n', marker of dual: [1] dual in pronouns > Ne T -ṛ du. in mani-ṛ 'we' (du.), p+dari-ṛ 'you' (du.), p+di-ṛ 'they' (du.), En 1d 'modiniṛ, 2d ūdiṛ, 3d budiṛ (↔ 1p 'modinaṛ, 2p ūdaṛ, 3p buduṛ), [2] dualis possessoris of nouns and dualis subiecti in verbs: Ne T -mī-ṛ 'our (du.), we (du.)', -rī-ṛ 'vester (du.), you (du.)', -dī-ṛ 'their (du.), they' (du.), En -ṛ (dualis possessoris, dualis subiecti) (1 du. -yṛ ~ -bīṛ, 2d -rīṛ, 3d -ḍiṛ), [3] possibly in (compound?) markers of dual in nouns: pSm {Hl.} *-kǎń > Ne T -haṛ / -g(a)ṛ / -k(a)ṛ, En -h+ṛ / -g+ṛ / -k+ṛ ¶¶ Coll. CG 301-2, Ter. EJ 442-51, Ter. NJ 380-8, Ter. SJ 324, Ter. V 369-70, Rmb. 99, Stn. WV 220-1, Stn. D 884, 1004, MK 305, 337, 642, Vrt. tables I and II, Ht. no-s 142, 393 and 430, Hl. M 134 || A: Tg *°-nān / *-nēn, dual-plural (× N *ñ'ā' '↑') > Ewk Z/Ucr/Skh -nān / -nēn / -nön, sx of du.\pl.: aku-nān 'brothers, two brothers', girki-nēn 'friends, two friends', Ewk Skh goxinān 'twins' (goxi 'pair') ¶ Vas. 778, Sun. S 33.

1524. *ñi 'not' > HS: Eg n 'not', Cpt ñ an 'not' ¶ EG II 195, Vc. 135 || K *nu, *numa 'do not!' (prohibitive) > OG/G nu, Mg nu, numu, nɜmɜ id., Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln nɔ id., UB {GP} nom id., UB/L {TK} nōm ~ nūm, LB {TK} nem 'do not' (prohib.), UP num(a) (negation with inv. and sbjn.) ¶¶ K 148-9, K DE 173, K² 144, FS K 243, FS E 267, Top. SJ 90, TK 635, GP 237 || IE *neǵ, *ne 'not', *n̥- 'un-, -less': [1] NaIE *¹neǵ (a negative pc. [not a clitic]) > Av naē- 'not, no-' (in cds with enclitic particles and pronouns: naē-čis 'none, keiner', naē-kay 'nobody, nothing', naē-ča 'and not' etc.) || OL nei, L nī 'not, that not, unless', Osc nei 'not' || Clt {Matas.} *ne *ni *nī 'not' (negation) > OIr ní, ní, OW ní, MW ny, nyt, W {YGM} ni, nid, OBr ne, Br {Hm.} ne, Crn ny, CltI ne- 'not' || Gt nei (·ούχι) 'nicht', ON, OHG {Vr.} nī 'no' ('nein') (= OHG {Kl.} ni 'nein?') || Lt niẽ-kas 'nobody, nei ... nei 'neither ... nor', Ltv Δ {ME} nei ... nei id., nei

'auch nicht, nicht einmal' || Sl *nī 'not' > OCS **НН** nī 'not' (stressed: **ННН** nī 'or not'), 'and not', OCS **НН** ... **НН** nī ... nī 'neither ... nor', Blg, R **ни** ... **ни**, SCr, Slv, Slk nī ... nī id.] **[2]** NaIE sentence negation *ne (→ word negation in some lges) > OI 'na 'not', Av, OPrs na- id. || Gk νε- 'un-, -less', ν- id. + adjectives with initial vowels (contraction of -ε + the initial vw. of the adj.): νήκουστος 'not hearing, deaf' (← νε- + ἄκου- 'hear'), νώνυμος ~ νώνυμνος 'nameless' (← νε- + ὄνυμ- 'name'), νηλής ~ νηλεές ~ νηλεής 'pitiless, ruthless' (← νε- + ἔλεος 'pity'), νήκεστος (< νε- + ἀκεστός 'curable') 'incurable' || L ne- in cds: ne-sciō 'I do not know', neuter 'neither (none of two)' (< ne-uter 'not any of two') etc.; L ne-que, Osc ne-p, nei-p 'and not', Um neip 'non', neip ... nep 'neither ... nor' || Clt: CltI ne-, Gl ne, OIr ní, Brtt {RE} *nī > OW nī, MW, Crn ny, W nī, OBr nī, ne, MBr, Br ne 'not' || Gt nī (·ού, μή, οὐχί) 'nicht', OHG, OSx nī, ne, AS ne 'not' || Pru nī, Lt ne 'not' || Sl *ne 'not' > OCS **Нѐ** ne, SCr ně, Blg, R **не**, Slv, Cz, Slk ne, P nīe 'not'; Sl *ně (< *ne je) > OCS **Нѣ** ně '(there) is not'] **[3]** NaIE *n̥- 'un-, -less' (privative and negative prefix) > OI, Av, OPrs a- (before cnss) / an- (before vowels) id. || Gk ἄ- (before cnss) / ἄν- (before vowels) id. || OL en-, L in-, Osc AN-, Um A- / AN- id. || OIr in- (before mediae) / é- (before tenues) / an- (before vowels), W, Crn, Br an- id. || Gt, OHG, OSx, AS un-, NHG, NE un-, ON ó-, ú-, NNr, Dn u-, Sw o- id. || Tc: A a(n)-, B e(n)- 'un-' || Ht {Ts.} cd natta 'not', nawī 'not yet' ¶¶ P 756-8, Bks 222, EI 395 (*ne 'not'), M K II 120, Brtl. 1030-5, F I 1 and II 314-15, Ch. 1-2, 336, 750-1, WH I 686-7 and II 150-1, 166, Bc. G 320, 339, Pln. I 319-20, 369-70, 563-4, II 469-70, 676, 726, Billy 112, LP § 8, RE 116, Fs. 373-5, 516, Vr. 415, Ho. 376, Kb. 724, OsS 647-8, 1001, KM 803, Frn. 488-9, 491, Matas. 286, YGM-1 344, Hm. 593, ME II 715, Glh. 435-6, Vs. III 52, 71-2, ESSJ XXIV 91-3 and ≈ XXV 96-7 (err.: Lt nei and Sl *nī < *ne + *i 'and'), StSS 358, 378-9, Frn. 48-9, En. 214, Ad. 83, Ts. W 56, CHD L-N 400-19, 421-24 || **U** *ñi 'not' > FU *ñi, *ñim 'not' > Hg nē, nēm 'not' || pOs *ñem ~ *ñöm ({{/Hl.}} *ñām- ~ *ñǫm-) > Os: Nz ñem χ̣yāt, Kz nem χ̣yāt 'nobody' (χ̣yāt, χ̣yāt means 'anybody'), Nz ñemϕ̣t:·з, Kz nemgōϕtī 'nowhere' (χ̣t:·ā, χ̣ōϕta 'wohin'), Nz ñem̄t:·з, K neməϕt 'nothing'; Vg: N nēm-xātpā 'nobody, nēm-mat xātpā 'nothing' (xātpā 'somebody, anybody', mat 'some-\ any-thing'), Ss nēm̄at 'keinerlei' || ? Prm: Vt G

no-kin-no 'nobody', no-m+r-no 'nothing', Vt G no-kĩtĩšš 'nowhere' (kin 'who', mar 'what', kĩtĩšš 'woher'), ?? Z P ní-nэм 'nothing' (nэм 'a bit, чутъ') (unless ní- is a loan from R НИ) || Sm negative and prohibitive verb: En níe-, Ng níi- 'do(es) not, did not' (proh. and neg.), Ne níi-pres.\p. 'do(es) not', 'did not', ní0- proh. 'do not' ¶¶ Coll. 38, MF 464, ≈ UEW 301 (unc.: the neg. stem may go back to U *nā ~ *ne ~ [?] *ni 'this'), LG 196-7, Ter. NJ 389, Ter. EJ 452, Ter. NgJz 431-2 || | A: pJ {S}: [1] *nā- 'lacking, non existent' > OJ na, J: Kg na-ká, Ns né-, Sh né-{S} id., J T náǰ, Kt nàǰ {Kenk.} 'there is no ...'; [2] *-(a)n- 'not' (verbal negation) (× N *ʔäyñâ 'nothing, there is no ...', q.v.) > OJ -(a)n-, J: T -na-, Ns/Sh -n, Ht -nē 'not' ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 56], S QJ no. 56, Mr. 835, Kenk. 1308 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 300-1 (reconstructing pJ *nā-, but unconvincingly deriving it from A *āni 'not', negative verb), ≈ DQA no. 74 (id.) ◇ AD GD no. 3 (Eg, IE, U, A), Gr. I 212-13 ("negative N" in IE, U, A, EA, Ai) ◇ K *nu and *numa are likely to go back to ancient word compound(s) with the initial component *ni.

1525. *nu (or *nū?), postp. and preverb 'from', postp. 'of' > U *-n|ñ, genitive case ending > F -n, Vp -n / -ñ, pLp *-n > Lp S -n, Chr L -n, -ɔn, Chr H -n, -ɔn, -əñ, Er/Mk -ñ (F kala-n, Lp S guole-n, Chr L kol-ɔn 'of [the] fish', Er kudo-ñ 'of [the] house'), Ne T, En -ñ, Slq Tz, Kms -n, Mt M -n, Y T/K {Krn.} -n (distinguished by IN from the indf. gen. -n/-d < *-nsä); the unabridged U allomorph *-nu survives in pronouns: F mi-nu-n 'my', si-nu-n 'thy' (-nu- is a presuffix in all oblique cases), Es mi-nu 'my', si-nu 'thy' ¶¶ Coll. CG 282-4, Hl. SelJ 364-6, Hl. MTKJ 377, Krn. JJ 36, IN 191 || | A *-n∇ (arker of the genitive case) > M *-nu, marker of the genitive case > WrM (reflecting OM norms) -nu (modunu 'of the\a tree'), MM -ni; pM {Pp.} *mi-nü 'my' (> WrM minu), *ci-nü 'thy' (> WrM cinu), *ma-nu 'our' (> WrM manu), *ta-nu 'votre' (> WrM tanu), *i-nü 'his\her' (> WrM inu) ¶ Pp. IM 185-94, 219-22 || Tg {Bz.} *-ñī, marker of the genitive case (< *-n + adjectival *-ki, related to WrM -ki in ende-ki 'being here, belonging to this place' [from ende 'here']) > Nn Nh, Ul -ñgi, Orc, Ud, Ewk -ñi, Sln -ñī, Neg -ni ~ -ñi, WrMc {Z} -и/-ни ¶ Bz. 78-9, On. 549 || T *-ñ (presumably from *-n + an adjectival sx, as in Tg), gen. ending > OT {Gbn} -ñ ɖ -n, after cnss -iñ/-iñ ~ -añ/-añ ɖ -∇n, in later Og lges -n/-in/-in/-ün/-un, in most other lges -niñ/-

niŋ/-nüŋ/-nuŋ (with a denasalized allomorphs in some lges: -d∇n or -t∇n) ¶ Gbn ATG 87, Sev. KP 47-8 || Ko: Ramstedt. mentioned traces of the ancient gen. ending -n in the form hΛj̄n (acc. to Rm., gen. of hΛj̄ 'day') ¶ Rm. VAJ 35 || J: postposition of genitive: pJ { }S} *nɜ > OJ nɜ > JT n0; in J the ancient N marker of genitive still remains an analytical postposition ¶ Syr. AJL 84-6 ||] The ablative meaning 'from' survives in T *-t'an/*-t'än 'from, out of' (< N *d₁oy₁a 'place, inside' + N *nu) as compared with the T locative ending *-t̄a/*-t̄ä 'in'; this *-t'an/ *-t'än is represented in all T lges: OT (after l, n, r) -tan/-tä n, (after other cnss and vowels) -dan/-dän with a dialectal var. -tin/-tin/-din/-din; the var. -dan/-dän/-tan/-tä n survives in most later NaT lges, in Yk it is -tan/-tä n/-ton/-tön (due to palatal and labial harmony of vowels), in Xk and Shor it is -daŋ/-taŋ/-deŋ/-teŋ/-doŋ/-toŋ/-naŋ/-neŋ; in Chv the same ending has the form -paŋ/-peŋ/-taŋ/-teŋ. The variant with closed vowels (-din/-din/-tin/-tin/-duŋ/-düŋ) survived in ET and Chg ¶ Gab. ATG 88-9, Sev. KP 55-7, Kon. GJTRP 158-9, Andr. ChJ-66 48, Karpov XJ 432, BabD ShJ 470-1 ¶¶ Rm. VAJ 33-5 ||] IE: *-n 'from' within *^o-d^he-n 'from' survives in Gk πό-θεν 'whence?', οὐρανόθεν 'from heaven' (compare with the loc. *-d^he in OI i'ha, Pali i dha 'here', OI 'ku-ha, OCS к ъ д е к ъ -д е 'where?', OR с ъ д е с ъ -д е 'here', Gk ὑνερθε 'beneath') ¶ Brg. KVG 454-5 ||] IE *-n-, the marker of oblique cases (presuffix, a morpheme preceding the case endings) in heteroclitic nouns, e.g. IE {Bks} *¹wed-ŋ-s 'of water' (↔ *¹wod-or 'water') > Ht wētenas, Gt watins, Gk ὕδατος gen. (↔ IE *¹wod-or nom. 'water') > Ht 'wātar, Gt watō, OHG waz̄z̄ar, Gk ὕδωρ) ¶¶ Bks 188, 220, Gux. GJ 85, Fs. 553-4 ||] NaIE adv. and prep. *nō 'from, away' > Blt prep. (with gen.) (> Lt nuō 'from, off, out of', Ltv no [nūo] id.) and preverb 'hinaus-' (> Lt nuo-, Ltv no-) ||] Msp {Mlw.} no 'from' ¶ The long vw. *ō suggests that NaIE *nō goes back to a compound with a N deictic *h∇ (most probably *^onu h^re¹ 'this [one] from'), but this is not necessarily the case with Msp no, that may also represent N *nu 'from' without additions ¶ Frn. 511, Kar. I 629-30, Mlw. M 206 ||] D *-∇ŋ-, a presuffix of oblique cases ("inflectional increment") > OTm, Tm, Ml, Kn -iŋ- (e.g. OTm {Shanm.} kanaŋ-iŋ-āl 'by the dream', náŋŋ-iŋ-oṭu 'with time', Kn gen. guruŋ-iŋ-a, instr.-abl. guruŋ-iŋ-iŋda from guru 'guru'), Td -ŋ- (instr. †r-ŋ-a| from nom. †r

'buffalo'), Kdg -n- (accus. baṭṭe-n-a, instr.-abl. baṭṭe-n-inṣi from baṭṭe 'road'), Tu -n-, Tl -ṇi-/-ṇa- (pustakā-ṇi-ki 'to the book'), Klm, Nkr, Gdb, Png -n-, Prj -n-, -in-, Gnd -n-, -ṇ-, -iṇ-, Kui -ni-, -n-, Ku -n-, -na- (presuffixes of oblique cases), Brh -n-, -an- in the forms of gen. ¶¶ An. SG 184, 189-91, Shanm. IID, Shanm. DN 196-249, Zv. CDM 18-19 || HS: N *nu with the ablative meaning survives in B *n, an ablative (en)clitic 'from' (after a verb or a chain of other clitics); in Tmz, Sll, Tz, Dmn, ASgr, Kb and many other B lges the ablative n 'from' is opposed to the directional d 'towards' (< N *d_oy_a 'place', q.v.): Kb awi-n 'carry away' ↔ awi-d 'bring', Tz idda-n 'go away' ↔ idda-d 'come', Ntf akšam n v. 'come out' ↔ akšam d 'come in', Ah äns-īn 'lie down there' ↔ äns-ād 'lie down here' ¶ AiM 226-7, Ai. MCB 117-18, 208 [table 26], Pr. M I-III 208ff. || Om: *-n∇, genitive ending: NrOm: Ym {Lm.} -ni (asú-ni 'eines Mannes'), {C} -n, -ni; Om *-n(∇) as a generalized marker of oblique cases > NrOm *-n(∇), marker of accusative (Ym nā-ni 'a child' accus., Mj {All.} wéte-n 'vaccam', kankas-n 'dogs' accus., Kf {C} yāṣō-n 'pontem', Shn {Rtl.} bī-n 'him' accus., tān 'me' accus.); in Ym {Lm.} -ni- is the initial element of some markers of oblique cases: dative-benefactive -ni-k (asú-ni-k 'to\for a man'), directive -ni-ki (asú-ni-ki 'zu einem Mann') (just as in the IE heteroclitic nouns); a similar origin may be supposed for Kf «caso modale» -ne and for the marker of the instr. case in Kf {C} (-nā) and in Shn {Lm.} (-n3) ||| SOm: dative-benefactive (Ari kī-n 'for him', ī-n 'mihi', Dm is-in 'for me', Hm {Ldl} šonya-na 'to the guests', ḷṣṭn-n^ 'for sorghum': ḷṣṭn-n^ wō muda yεʔε 'Let us go on an exchange trip for sorghum!') ¶ Hw. CO 22-31, Lm. Y 65, 73, Lm. Sh 65, 86, Rtl. ShM 193-7, Zab. CO 621, C SE III 50-1 and IV 299-301, Ldl H 410-12, Fl. D 518 || EC: Sd {C} -ni, Ged -n-ka (m. possessi) / -n-ta (f. possessi), Dsn -n (marker of genitive in two nouns; not mentioned in To. DL) ¶ Zab. CO 621, Mrn. S 86, Ss. D 206 | Much more questionable is the origin of the prepositional *nota genitivi* *n∇, found in LbB, Eg and Ch, but the transformation of the N **post**position *nu 'of' into a **pre**position is only one of the alt. explanations, less plausible than the hyp. drawing back the *nota genitivi* to N *η'U' 'thing' (q.v. ffd.) || K: the element *-n in K *°-gan > OG, G -gan 'from, out of' (used as a postpositional ending) (< a cd, possibly N *gay∇ nu 'from the side' or N *gānh∇ nu 'from the side' [with N *gay∇ 'side' or N *gānh∇ 'side of sth.', q.v.]) ◇ In pN the marker of

genitive ***nu** could be followed by other postpositions (former nouns) or by nouns serving as postpositions. Such N constructions (noun + ***nu** + case postpositions) underly the IE forms for oblique cases of the heteroclitic nouns, the corresponding D forms with the presuffix ***- ∇ n-**, as well as some forms in the Om lges. These constructions are explained as former (pN) genitive phrases (noun + ***nu** + another noun) $\diamond \approx$ IS I 10 and II 78-81 (N ***-n** of oblique cases in IE, K, HS, U, A, D), Gr. I 130-7 ("genitive N" in A, J, U [incl. Y], IE, Gil, CK, Ai) \diamond IS treated this morpheme as a suffix, although its mobility (its functions as a postnominal case marker as well as an analytical particle [in B and Blt]) and its analytical status (in B, in the Blt prep. and in J) suggest that it was originally a word rather than a *sx*.

1526. * $\bar{n}\nabla$ 'we' excl. > K: Sv *n-*, *n θ -* 'us' excl. (object px of verbs), Sv UB *näy*, L *na \bar{y}* , LB/Ln *nä* 'we' excl., Sv UB *ni-šgwe-y*, Sv LB *ni-šgwe* ~ *ni-šge* 'our' excl.; the element *-šgwe* goes back to K ***č \bar{w} e-** (a component of possessive pronouns) < N ***č \bar{r} ü \bar{r}** 'that of ..., that which' {q.v. ffd., see also N ***w ∇ y ∇** 'we' and N ***g \bar{r} U \bar{r}** 'we' incl.) ¶¶ Top. SJ 83-4, Tt. 18-19, 22, TK 626, GP 229, 237, Dn. s.v. *na \bar{y}* , Dt. 34 | | IE ***ne-/*n \bar{o}** 'we' (stem of oblique cases), e.g. [1] accus. IE ***n \bar{o} -s** ~ *** η \bar{o} -s** > Ht *anzas*, *nas*, OI *nas*, Av *nā*, L *nōs* (accus. → nom.), Gt *uns* (< *** η \bar{o} s**), OCS **НѦ** *nĭ* (and **НАСѦ** *nasĭ* < IE *** η \bar{o} s-om**, originally gen. with the gen. pl. ending ***-om**), Clt (stem of obl. cases → nom.): OIr *s \bar{n} í* (< NaIE ***s-nēs**), *ní*, Brtt {RE} ***nī(s)** > OW, MWE, W, OBr, Br *ní*, Crn *nū* 'we'; IE *** η \bar{o} s-me-** > Gk Ae *ἄμμες*, Gk A *ἡμεῖς*, OI *as'mān* 'we' nom.; Lw {Mlc.} *ānza* 'we, us' (dat., accus. and possibly other cases), [2] other oblique cases: Ht dat. *anzas*, *nas*, L dat.-abl. *nō-bis*, Gt dat. *uns(is)*, OCS dat. **НАМѦ** *namĭ*, [3] poss. prn. 'our' > HrLw *azis* (< *** η \bar{o} s-**), L *noster*, OCS **НАШѦ** *našĭ*, Gt *unsar*, IE *** η \bar{o} s-mos** 'our' > Gk Ae *ἄμμος*, OI *as'māka-*, Av *ahmāka-*, [4] accus. du.: OI *na \bar{u}* , OCS **НАНА** 'us two', as well as Gk A *νῶ* id. (Cowgill: < *** $\nu\omega F \acute{\epsilon}$**) and OI *ā \bar{v} ām* accus. 'us two' (Gk *** $\nu\omega F \acute{\epsilon}$** and OI *ā \bar{v} ām* are from IE {Cowg.} *** η $\bar{h}^1w\bar{e}$** < N *** $\bar{n}\nabla$** 'we' excl. + the N dual pc. *** $\bar{o}^r h^1 U$** [see N *** $\bar{h}^1 \bar{a}$** ~ *** $\bar{o}^r h^1 U$**]); Cowgill postulated here a morpheme ***- $\bar{w}e$** (probably from N *** $\bar{o}^r h^1 U$**) ¶¶ Bks 208-11, Brg. KVG 410-13, BD II/2 412 (*: OI *ā-* in *ā \bar{v} ām* is an IE px *** \bar{e} -**), Cowg. EG 169-70 and fn. 57, EI 454 (*** $\bar{n}o h_1$** 'we two, us two', *** η $\bar{h}_1^1 w\bar{e}$** 'us two'), M K I 67, M E I 176, Fs. 523, LP §§ 337-57, Vn. S 150-1, Thr. § 403, RE 144, Mlc. CL 20, StSS 164, 337, 358, 823 | | HS: [1] HS *** $\bar{n}\nabla$ -**, px of 1p in verbal

conjugation: S {Hz.} *ni- (with verbs *G*, active voice) > Ak ri-, BHb ni-/nā-, Ug n∇-, BA, JA ni-/nə-, Sr nε-/nə-, Ar nā-, Gz nə- etc. (according to Hz., in the WS lges the original vw. *i in *ni- [with *G*, active voice] was partially replaced by the reflexes of *a due to levelling within the conjugation paradigm, while in the ps. voice and in the derived conjugations the vw. *i was replaced by other vowels [Ar u etc.] due to morphological processes) ¶ Dk. JDPa 221, 291, 402, GarbD 114, 117, Mosc. LLS 137-8, 140, KSh 163-4 || B *n∇- > Ah, Kb, Shl, Si n(∇)-, 1p px of verbs || C *n∇- (1p in verbs of prefix conj.) > Bj ni-'liw 'we burned', ni-d'bil 'we collected', EC: Af n-udūreh 'we returned', n-a-dūreh 'we return', Sa {Wlm.} n-anu 'we are', Bn á-n-ùhùḡè 'we ate', Sml N n-iḏi 'we said', Rn n-imiy 'we come', n-ahe ~ n-ehe 'we are', as well as the Cushitic 1p presuffix *n-, sc. personal px of the former aux. verbs in periphrastic constructions underlying the suffix conjugation in EC, Bj and Ag (e.g. Aw {Hz.} des-n-áḡá 'we study', Km {Ap.} was-n-ek^w 'we hear', Af miḡi-n-oh 'we are good' ↔ miḡi-t-oh 'thou art good', Bs day-n-e 'we descended', Rn karsanne < *kars-ad-n-e 'we cook') ||| [2] HS *n∇, short prn. (mainly sx or clitic) of 1p: S postnominal *-n∇ (= *-nu ~ *ni?) 'our' > Ak OB -ri, BHb -nū, Ar -nā; S postverbal *-n∇ 'us' (direct object): Aram, Ar, Gz -nā, BHb -nū, Mh -n; S *-n∇, marker of 1p subiecti in predicative nomina (> W S perfect) > Aram, Ar, Gz -nā, BHb -nū, Mh -ʒn 1p pf., Ak -āri, Ak A -āri 1p subiecti in predicative nomina ¶ Dk. JDPa 221-3, 226-7, 291 || C: EC: Sa {Wlm.}, Af {PH} ni 'our' (prenominal prn.) | EC: Sa {Wlm.} ni, Af {PH} ne / nē 'us' (preverbal prn.), Dsn {To., Ss.} ní- 'we, us' excl., Bn J/K nū- 'us' (preverb), Bj {RHd.} -n 'our', Ya {Hn.} -ní 'our', -ini 'us', n-...-∇n 'we' (combination of a px and a sx in verbal conjugation) ¶ AD SF 174 || Eg -n 'we, our' (postverbal and postnominal sx), n 'we' (dependent prn.), OEg nḡ 'we' du. (with the marker of dual -ḡ) ¶ EG II 194-5, 200 ||| [3] HS prn.: [a] *ʔaniḡEn-n^ru^r 'we' excl. (aut. prn.) (*ʔan- [focalizing topic pc. → marker of autonomous pers. pronouns < N *ʔoḡ∇ 'self, the same'] + *-(i)ḡen- [< N *XAn₁∇₁∇ 'together'] + HS *n^ru^r [< N *ḡ∇ 'we' excl.]) (surviving in S, B and C), [b] the var. HS *ʔan∇-n^ru^r (*ʔan- + *n^ru^r) (preserved in Eg and possibly in C); these HS compound pronouns gave rise to: S *ʔaniḡnu|a 'we' (aut. prn.) > BHb ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ^anaḡnū, Ph ḡḡḡḡḡ, BA ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡ^anaḡnā, IA ḡḡḡḡḡ(h), Plm ḡḡḡḡḡ, JA ḡḡḡḡḡ(ḡ)

(^ʔa)'naħnā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍 ^ʔa'naħnā ~ 𐤎𐤍 ^ʔa'nan, Sr 𐤍𐤏𐤍 ħə'nan ~ (archaic 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍) {Nld.} ^ʔa'naħnan, Ar 𐤎𐤏𐤍 naħnu, Gz naħna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nəħā, Jb E 'nħa, Jb C 'nħan ~ 'nħa, Sq {Jo.} ħan ~ 'ħanhən, Ak (a)nīnu || C: Bj {RHd.} hi'nin, {Rop.} he'nneren 'we, us', {R} ha'nan, han'in, he'nin 'we', {R} he'nē-b 'us', {RHd.} -hōn, {Rop.} -hon 'us', {R} han'nē 𐤎 he'nē 'our' || Ag: Q {R}, Km {CR} anən, Km {Ap., Ss.} an-diw 𐤎 an-niw 𐤎 {Ss.} anən-diw (-diw is a marker of pl., cp. 𐤏𐤎𐤏𐤍 'you' pl., 𐤎𐤏𐤍 'they'), Bln {Hz.} yǝ́n, Xm {Ap.} ýn 'we' (obl. ýna ~ ýnə-, poss. ýna- 'our'); Km {Ap.} anə 'our' || EC: Sa/Af {Wlm., PH} nanu 'we' (aut. prn.), Dsn {To.} níni 'we' excl., Arr {Hw.} ʔonó 'we', -na (bound subject prn.), Rn náħ 'we' excl., innó 'we' incl., Sml N {Abr.} anná-k-u ~ anná-g-u 'we' excl. (\leftrightarrow inná-k-u ~ inná-g-u 'we' incl.) (-k- ~ -g- is a marker of m., -u is a nom. ending), anná-k-a ~ anná-g-a 'us' excl. (-a is an accus. ending), Bn K anə, J un(ə) 'we' (focus-marked K anó, J un-é), Bs {Hw.} no 'we, us' (dat. ben. nōn), Kns {BISO} íno 'we, us', Gdl {Bl.} ínno 'we' (ínno- obl.), Or B nū, nu(h), {Sr.} nū (nom. nuya, nuwinī), Or O nū (nom. nūti, nutini), Or Wt nū (nom. nuti, nutī), Or Wl nuy (obl. nu-), Or H nu 'we', 'us', Hr/Dbs {AMS} íno, Gln/Gwd {AMS}, Cm {Hbl.} íne 'we', Hr/Dbs/Gln {AMS}, Cm {Hbl.} -inna- ~ -ino-, Gln {AMS} -ine- 'us' (second px of verbs), Brj {Hd.} nānu, Ged {Hd.} noʔo, Kmb {Hd.} naʔōti, Brj nin-si, Hd/Kmb {Hd.} ne(:)-s 'us' (whence Hd nēse 'we'), Sd {Hd.} ninke 'we, us' (from gen. with the marker of masc. possessi *-ke, cp. Brj nin-ka m. 'of us, noster' \leftrightarrow nin-ta f. 'of us, nostra'), Ya 'níniʔ 'we' || DhI náni 'we' ¶ Rn náħ and Bj hinin certainly reflect HS *ʔaniħEn-n^u, while some of the forms without clear traces of a lr. may reflect *ʔan∇-n^u || Eg N írn 'we' (= {Satz.} *yanan, {Vc.} *yanā-na) 'we' > DEg írn > Cpt: Sd/B 𐤎𐤏𐤍 , A/F 𐤎𐤏𐤍 || [4] HS *ʔaniħEn-n^u-k∇ (and *n∇-k∇?) 'we' du. > Ch: Ron {J}: Klr yiǵì:n, Fyer kon 'we' du., Sha gǝ́n id., proclitics: Klr ǵí, Bks kú id. || ECh: Mgm -(y)eŋ 'us' du., -t-èŋ 'our' du. (-t- is a marker of possessive forms) || B *hanā-y 'us, to us' > Tw {Pr.} ānəy 𐤎 hānəy id.; postnominal sx *-naəy 'our' > Tw -nəy, Kb, Shl -nəy, Si, Wrg -nnəy etc.; postverbal sx *-∇əy 𐤎 *-(∇)n∇əy 'us' > Ah -nəy, Kb, Shl, Wrg -aəy, Si -anaəy, Zng {MH \rightarrow Nic.} -nəg^h ¶¶ This compound prn. is likely to go back to HS *ʔaniħEn-n^u (and *n∇ 'we?') + reflex of N *yEgi or *y^ugi 'both, two' (q.v.) ¶¶ AD SF 174

and Tk. I 125-6 (in both: C, Om, S, Eg, Ch), Blz. PPCh2 40-53; on S: KB 69, 1669, Sl. 144-5, PS 250, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Hz. VP 35-40, Lip. 360-1, 370-1, 378-83, Sd. G 41-6, 5*, 8*-9*; on Eg: EG I 97, II 194-5 and 200, Satz. EPP 53-4, Ed. 70-9, Er. 35, Vc. 13, Lpr. 64-7; on B: AiM 216-17, 221-2, Pr. M I-III 164, 167, 170-3 and VI-VII 11, 16, Stm. 52; on C: R BedS §§ 157-65, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-12, 119-22, PH 234-8, 259-83, Hz. VS 12-1, Hz. AL 49-50, PG 40, HL 132, Grg. 178, Sr. 119-20, Ow. 98, BISO 46, Bl. G 42, PG 40-52, Hw. A 215, 220-1, Hw. B I 553-66 and II 110, Ss. D 207, Hn. S 30, AMS 97-8, 280, Hd. 256-9, Hn. Y II 39, 42-50, E SC 386, Eld. SC 289, To. D 37, EEN 40, To. DL 211-14 ||| [1,2,3] NrOm: prn. of 1p (hard to make etl. identification with the above points [1], [2] or [3]): Kf {C} nō, n u 'we, us, our', Shn {Lm., Rtl.} nō / nò 'we', nò 'our', Anf {MYTY} nuš i 'we', nuna 'our', Cha {C} nu, nōka, Bsk/ZI/Gf {C} n u, Wl, Dc n u- 'we', Bdt {Hw.} nu 'we' (clitic with verbs), nu-mba 'we' (abs.), 'us', nū 'us', nu-ni nom. 'we', Gm {Hp.} nuni nom., nuna accus., {Hp., Hw.} nū (gen. and the short form), Zs {Hw.} nī 'we' excl. (and nu(y) 'we' incl.?), Gnj {Si.} nūna, Kcm {Si.} nuna, Krt {Si.} nunt, Zrg {Si.} 'nuna, Male {Si.} 'nūni 'we', Bnc {Wdk.} nù, nùnà 'we' excl. (abs., subject), {Brz.} nū 'we' excl. abs., nùn 'we' excl. (subject) (and {Wdk.} nìn, {Brz.} nìn 'we' incl., ní {Wdk.} 'our, us' incl.?), Ym {Wdk.} ìnnò ɛ ìnnò 'we', HzMa {SiW} nungà 'we' excl. | Dzd: Mj {All.} inu 'we', in 'us', ín- 'our', Sk {AY} náta 'we', ṅ- 'our' (px of nouns), 'we' (px of verbs), Na {AY} nákis 'we', nákná 'us' (-nā is a marker of accus.), náknṅ 'our', ín- 'our' (prenominal) ¶ C SE III, IV 53-9, 477, Mrn. O 33, Lm. Sh 365, Rtl. ShM 196, Hp. 371, Hw. EG s.v. 'we', Hw. CO, Hw. NKL 229, Hw. NZL 266-9, MYTY 105, Wdk. BY 108, 126, 182, Brz. PhGG 11-14, All. D 383, AY ShM 3, 7-8, AY NG 6-7, Si. ACh 22, Si. M 11, SiW ABK 17 || Ch: prn. of 1p excl. (hard to identify with the points [1], [2] or [3] because of phonetic reduction and the complicated morphological and phonological history): [a] absolute (aut.) prn.: CCh: Higi {Kr.}: HgNk ye, HgF ʋʒ-ḡyo, HgG ṅìyè, HgK ʋʒ-ṅʔye, HgB ʋyè, FIK ʋǐy, FIG ʋùyì, FIJ ʔìyin, FIM yid(ù), FIB yidì | BB {Kr.}: Gude (?) in, Gudu in, Bcm, Mln yì | BM {Kr.}: Wmd na-ʔyà, Mrg, Klb nà-ʔyà, Hld na-yàṅ, WMgr yʒʔà, Cb (i)yàr, Bu yeru (BM *-r- < Ch *-n-) | Tr sb. {Kr.}: G'nd ṅgàʔan, Boka ka-nʒṅ, Hw kàn | Lmn {Wl.} nàyìṅ (abs. prn.), -yìṅ 'we' excl. (postverbal subject sx) ||| ?φ WCh {Kr.}: Bd a-žà, Ngz žà 'we' excl. ||| ECh.: Bdy {AIJ} -nín / -nìṅ (suffixed subject marker of 1p excl.), Mgm {JA} nî:, nî:-tà (abs.), ní / nī (subject prn., clitic), EDng {Fd.} nì, {Ebob.} nín(ín) we' excl.

(abs.), {Ebob.} ní 'we' excl. (subject), ?φ Mkl {J} kà yè (abs.), ?â y- / ?á y- (subject pref.) 'we' excl. ||| [b] possessive 'our' excl.: CCh: BB {Kr.}: Bcm -aynò, Gude -giyin/-gèn, Mln -guyò || Higi sb. {Kr.}: HgNk -yè, HgF -nigyo, HgG -niyè, HgB -ngyè, FIK -nyí, FIG yèyi, FIJ -ngí, FIM -kud(ù) || BM {Kr.}: Hld, Klb -?ya, Wmd -?yà, WMgr -?à, Cb -yàr, Bu -yeru, Ngx -yerù || Tr sb.: {Kr.} G'nd -ya?an/-?ɔn, Gbn yɔ?ɔn, Hw -nɔn, Boka nàni || Msg G/P {MB} -yi, Mlw {Trn.} -yí, Mbara {TrnSL} -í || Lmn {Wl.} -yih || ?φ WCh: Bd -žà, Ngz (-ā)-žà || ECh: Mkl {J} -yèy- (m. possessi), -d-èy- (f. possessi; -d- is a marker of f.), Mgm {JA} (-t)-ínì ||| [c] 'us' excl.: CCh: BB {Kr.} Bcm nɛ-yò, Gude -g-lyɛn/-k-ɛn(a), Gudu bi-in (nɛ-, g-, k-, bi- are markers of the object case) || Higi sb. {Kr.}: HgNk yɛ, HgF nìgyò, HgG lèyè, HgK ?yɛ(-ndɛ), FIK yíy, FIG nlyi, FIJ nyà-yí, FIM gè-ɗa (nyà-, gè- are markers of the object case) || Tr sb. {Kr.}: G'nd -ga?an-čì (-čì is a marker of accus.), Hw -kɔn, Boka -?ani || Msg G {MB} -i, Msg P -yi, Mbara {TrnSL} -í || Lmn {Wl.} -ni(y)- || ?φ WCh: Ngz/Bd {Kr.} žà || ECh: Mkl {J} -àyn(ì)-, Bdy {AIJ} -nìh, ?inìh, Mgm {JA} -ni ¶ Blz. PPCh2 40-53, Kr. RChP, AD EPCChL, MB SMSM 106, TrnSL 166, Trn. MVM 183, Wl. L 85, J R, JA LM 32-42, AIJ 35-9, Fd. 217, Ebob. MVOĐ 30-4 ¶¶ HS *?aniħE n-n' u' 'we' (aut. prn.) is likely to go back to a cd *?an- (focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns) + *(i)ħenɜ- 'together' or *(i)ħ∇n- 'other' + *n' u' 'we, our'. The element *(i)ħenɜ- 'together' (if it appears here) is cognate with Eg fP ħnɜ 'together' (EG III 110-11, Fk. 172) and goes back to N *XAn̄∇,ɜ∇ 'together' (q.v.). In this case *-(i)ħE nɜ∇-n∇ originally means 'we together'. An alternative conjecture is to suppose here the presence of the element *(i)ħ∇n- 'other' < N *Hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other' (q.v.). In the latter case the original meaning of the pronouns is 'nous autres' (like Sp nos otros and Ctl nosaltres 'we' < L accus. pl. nos alteros 'us others') || Gil: Gil A nɔh, Gil ES ni h 'we' excl. ¶¶ Pnf. I 231, ST 219 || ? D *nām / (obl cases) *nam- 'we' incl. > OTm nām, Tm, Ml nām, OKn nām ~ nāv u, obl. nam-, Tu namo, Krx, Mlt nām 'we' incl, Brh nan 'we' (without distinction between incl. and excl.) ¶¶ Zv. CDM 37-8, 47, An. SG 251-5 || ?σ A {S} *na T' > M *na-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s: (1): MM nama (prn. of 1s in oblique cases), WrM {MED} accus. nama y i, dat.-loc. nama d u, HIM {BMR} accus. nama y g 'me', Brt, Kl {KRS} nam (prn. of 1s, used with postpositions), namd 'me' (dat.) (2):

dat.-loc. M *nadur ~ *nadadur > WrM {MED} nadadur, HhM {MED, BMR} надад, MM nadur, nada, nadu; in other oblique cases the stem is WrM nadad-, HhM над-, Ord nad_- ¶ MED 556, 562, BMR II 384, 391, Chr. 320, KRS 367, S AJ 253 [no. 44], S QK no. 44, Ms. O 479 || Ko {S} *nà 'T' > MKo nà, Ko Ph/Chs na, Ko Kw/Chj nã ¶ S AJ 253 [no. 44], Nam 85 ¶¶ Pp. IM 210-1, S AJ 296 [no. 559], S QK no. 44 ◇ The original meaning of 1p excl. survives in K, C (Dsn, Rn, Sml), Ch and Om (e.g. Zs), but in D we find the meaning of 1p incl. ◇ Both the D and the A pronouns may be alternatively explained as a shortened form of D *manāmu (> Tl manāmu 'we' incl.) and A *māna- 'we' incl. < N *mi ʔa 'we' (q.v.) + N *nu genitive. D *-āmu / *am- may be explained by analogy with D *tām (obl. *tam-) 'they' and *yām 'we' excl. A *-a in **māna- is probably a marker of case. If this is true, D *nam 'we' incl. and A *na 'T' do not belong here ◇ IS I 7 (D, IE, K, HS), ≈ Gr. I 70 (he hesinantly connected IE and Gil markers of 1p\d), MR ISNT 64-7.

1526a. *n̄∇, a marker (pronoun) that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles ([in descendant lges] → derived passive verbs) > **IE**: NaIE *-no-, sx of passive participles and deverbal adjectives: NaIE {Brg.} *p̄l̄-'no- ~ *plē-no- 'filled, full' > [1] NaIE *p̄l̄-'no- > OI pūr'ṇa-ḥ, Ir lán, Gt fulls, Lt píl nas, OCS ПЛЪНЪ plъnъ ~ ПЛЪНЪ plъnъ 'full', [2] NaIE *plē-no- > L plēnus, OI prāṇa-ḥ id. ||] Productive suffixes of descendant languages: OI present prtc. bhind-ā'na-ḥ and pf. prtc. bibhid-ā'na-ḥ < bhid- 'bind', Gmc *-ono-/-eno-: Gt waúrþ-an-s, OHG gi-wortan, ON orðenn 'geworden', Gt bit-an-s 'gebissen', as well as OCS НЕСЕНЪ nes-en-ъ 'carried, getragen', ЗАБЪВЕНЪ za-bъv-en-ъ 'forgotten' ¶ P 116-17, 127, Brg. KVG 316-17, Fs. 87 (s.v. Gt beitt-an), 172, 546-7 (s.v. Gt waírþ-an), StSS 224, 451-2, Gux. GJ 141 (on the pf. prtc. of strong verbs, incl. beitan 'to bite', whence bitans 'gebissen') || **HS**: S px of passive-reflexive derived participles and verbs: [1] *na-, px of passive-reflexive participles and (in the WS lges) of the new perfect (< verbal adjectives) of the passive-reflexive N-pattern (Hb niph'al, Ar 'infa'ala, 7th form): BHb נִשְׁבָּר ni-š'bar 'broken', נִשְׁבָּר niš'bar pf. 'was broken', Ak naprusu (verbal adj.) 'divided'; [2] *-n- (following the personal px) in the finite verb (Ak præt., WS new imperfective): Hb נִשְׁבָּר יִיְיִשְׁשָׁבֵר (-šš- < *-nš-) 'is broken \ will be broken' (new imperfective), נִשְׁבָּר יִיְיִשְׁשָׁבֵר '(and) was broken', Ar ya-n-

qaṭīlu 'is\will be killed', Ak i p p a r i s (-pp- < *-np-) 'was divided'. In Ar the pf. form was restructured on analogy of the ipf., hence -n- in the pf.: ṭin-kasara 'was broken into pieces', ṭinhazama 'was beaten' ¶ Br. G I 536-7, Br. AG 38-9, Fs. 172, 546, Sd. G § 90 (117-18), Dk. JDPA 293-4 || | K {K} *na-, px of past passive participle: OG na-ban-i 'washed, gewaschen', na-guem-i 'beaten', na-ḳuet-i 'abgeschnitten', na-šob-i 'born', Sv na-ḳwem 'getragen' (of garments), na-sduḡ 'geflochten' ¶¶ K 145, Shan. G 157, Dt. 227-8 || | A *-n∇- > Tg: Ewk {Vas.} -na/-n3/ -no, result of an action: dukū-na-w 'written by me' (lit. 'my written') ← dukū- 'write' ¶ Vas. 706 || T {Cl.} sx of deverbal nouns *-(∇)n, e.g. OT [MhK] {Cl.} tevrēn 'threads which are twisted to make waistbands' ← tevir- v. 'twist' ¶ Cl. xlv, 443 || ??σ M: WrM {Pp.} -n, sx "denoting a quality caused by an action" (as formulated by Pp.): WrM {BMR} siṅgen 'thin (in density or consistency)', 'sparse' (vegetables, hair), 'weak' (of liquids), HIM шингэн {MED} id., {BMR} adj. 'liquid', 'wässerig (водянистый)', 'sparse' (of vegetables), Brt шэнгэн id., Kl {Rm.} šingḡ 'dünnflüssig' ← WrM {MED} siṅge-, HIM {MED, BMR} шингэ- 'be dissolved', Kl {Rm.} šingə- 'schmelzen', 'verdaut werden' (Speisen), (→ šingəd- 'zu dünn \ flüssig sein'), Mnr H {SM} šingē- 'se digérer, s'imbiber dans' ¶ Pp. GPMJ 101, MED 711-12, BMR IV 357, Chr. 746, KW 359, SM 377.

1527. *nāṣE 'go' (→ 'go to do sth.') > HS: Eg ∇ nṣṣ v. {EG} 'go\move\sail (somewhere)', {Fk.} 'travel' ¶ EG II 206, Fk. 126 || S: [1] the verb *-nūṣ- vi. 'move, shake, dangle' > BHb ✓ nṣṣ G (ip. 𐤎𐤍𐤍, ṣā-'nūṣ) 'shake' (intr.), 'dangle', MHb, JA {Trg.} ✓ nṣṣ G 'move' (intr.), ? Ar ✓ nṣṣ G (ip. -nūṣ-) 'expand the wings for darting on one's prey' (of a falcon), TD (pf. tanaṣṣaṣ) 'walk ahead', as well as possibly CS *-nūṣ- > Ug {A} nṣ 'verlangen' (absent in OLS!) and Ar ✓ nṣṣ (ip. -nūṣ-) 'demander, solliciter', nūṣ- 'thirst' | [2] S *✓ nṣṣṣ > Gz naṣa imv. (f. nṣ-ī, m. pl. nṣ-ū) 'come!', (with loss of *ṣ): BHb 𐤎𐤍 nā (particle of request or encouragement) '≈ please', Ug n, Amr na, Sr 𐤎 (≈ 𐤎) nē id., Ar ✓ nṣṣ 'se proposer une ch., avoir l'intension de ...' ¶ L G 382, JB ES 18, KB 620, Grd. UT no. 1586, A no. 1804, Hff. 236, Lv. T II 98, Br. 410, BK II 1368-9, 1373, Hv. 808, 810 || ? One of the possible sources of the -n-infix of the present tense in Bj ¶ ≈ AD NEPGF 237-40 || | K *n- v. 'want, desire, wish' > G, Lz n- id., Sv US/L/Ln n- id. (χ-0-n-i 'er will, er ist dafür') ¶¶

K 145, K² 135-6, FS K 234, FS E 257-8, Dn. s.v. r-^5 || IE: [1] ?? NaIE *nā- 'help, be useful' (× N *'ñ ▽ qa 'assist [help, protect]' [q.v. ffd.]) || [2] One of the possible sources of the *n-infix in the IE verbal imperfective\present forms ¶ Brg. KVG²² 509-15 || A: Tg *-nā- / *-nē- (verbal suffix) 'go to (do sth.)' > Ewk duku-nā- 'go to write' (from duku- 'write'), Ud кэртэ-нэ-мі 'ich gehe um mich zu legen (я иду лечь)' (from кэртэ-мі 'ich liege'), wakčā-na-mi 'I go to hunt', WrMc {Hrl.} тасі-не- 'go to learn' (тасі-, {Z} тачи- 'learn') ¶ Vas. 777, Shn. 77, 141, Hrl. 251, Z 712 || As indicated above, this N word may be one of the possible sources of the verbal imperfective\present forms in IE (*-n-present) and Bj (*-n-present). Another source may be represented by the HS imperfectivizing construction *ʔan + verbal stem ¶¶ ≈ AD NEPGF 237-40.

1528. ₂ *ñax_l ▽ b ▽ (or *ñ|ηaζb ▽, *ηax_l ▽ b ▽?) 'hungry and thirsty', 'not to drink' (→ 'to be sober') > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} na^ςab- 'be hungry\sober', 'nā^ςeb n. 'hunger, sobriety' ¶ R WB 279-80 || Eg MKL/NK nħb.t n. 'wish, desire' ¶ EG II 294 || IE: NaIE *nāb^h- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' (× NaIE *nāg^{ωh}- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' < N *ñahgo - *ñag ▽ ʔo 'hungry, thirsty?') > Gk νήφω, Gk D νάφω 'drink no wine, be sober' || Arm նօթի ոժտի (< *nawt^hi) 'fasting, hungry, famished, starved' ({F}: ← eArm *nawt^h < *nāb^h-t-) ¶ F II 318-19 (*nāb^h-), Sl. 355-6, as well as ≠ WP II 317 and P 754 (both reconstructed IE *nāg^{ωh}- without explaining the Arm cns. ω), ≠ EI 175 (νήφω < *n'ēg^{ωh}-e/o- 'not drink') ◇ The Eg evidence suggests a voiceless lr. (*X > Eg ħ), while the voiced lr. ς in Bln is probably due to as. (*ħb > *ςb).

1529. *'ñ ▽ X' ū' b ▽ 'thin, meagre' ([in descendant lges] → 'weak') > HS: WS *✓ nħp ~ *°✓ nXb 'be thin\meagre' > [1] WS *✓ nħp > Ar ✓ nħf G (pf. naħifa / ip. -nħafu ~ pf. naħufa / ip. -nħufu) 'be naturally lank, be meagre', naħīf- 'mince et maigre naturellement', Mh/Jb ✓ nħf: Mh nə'ħayf, Jb E/C 'nħif 'lean, thin'; [2] S *°✓ nXb > Sr ✓ nħb G 'grow lean, waste' (pf. ^من ^سنə'ħεb), ^من ^سنəħ'bā 'lean, meagre' ¶ BK II 1216, Hv. 755, Jo. M 291, Jo. J 186, Br. 422, JPS 336 ¶ as. *✓ nħb < *nħp || C: Bj {R, Rop.} pcv. ✓ nħω {Rop.} 'become weak\thin', {R} 'schmächtig\ mager\ schwach sein' ({R} p. 'anħaw / pres. anan'hīω) ¶ R WBd 182-3, Rop. 223 || Ch: CCh {Stl.} *nuf- 'soft' >

Wmd {ChL} ǹ̀ǹf́ú 'softness' || Mf {BLB} néf-néffeʔe ~ náf-náffaʔa 'fin, moulu finement' (pour une farine), 'léger\fin' (pour un tissu); Ch b→ Ar Ng nafnaf 'soggy, moist, soft'; CCh *nuf partially contaminated with CCh *luf- soft' < (?) N ***Lab**∇ 'be soft', q.v. ffd.), whence Msm {Vnb.} louloufouʔ 'softness' and Mf {BLB} léf-léffeʔe ~ ·áf-láffaʔa 'fins' (pour les cheveux) ¶ Stl. IF 131, ChL III 217, BLB 211, 251 || **IE**: NaIE *(s)nēb^h-ri- / *(s)nōb^h-ri- 'narrow, thin' > Arm **սուրբ** նւքԷ 'subtile, fine, slender, thin, slim; narrow' || Dn snevēr 'eng, knapp', NNr Δ snøver, snøv id., ON snœfr 'flink, rasch', snæfr 'rasch' ¶ WP II 698, P 973-4, Vr. 527-8, Sl. 440 ¶¶ IE *s-*mobile* points to the presence of a palatal element in the pre-IE dialect of N: *(s)nēb^h- < **h̄nēj̄b∇ < post-N *'n̄∇Xiba (< N *'n̄∇X'ú'ba || **A**: T *jubka 'thin' (of flat objects) > OT {MKD} juwqa 'thin', {Cl.} juvqā ~ juvgā ≈ slender, insubstantial, thin', MQp XIII {Cl.} juṛkā, XIV [CC] joqa, Chg XV juṛḡa 'thin, slender', OOsM XIV juḡa 'thin', Osm {Rh.} بوفقة yufqa 'thin' (of flat objects), 'poor', Tk yufka id., 'fine, weak', Tkm jūqa ~ juqwa, Az juḡa, Nog, VTt juqa, Bsh йока j̄bqa, SY juqa, Kr G juwḡa, Uz jupqa, ET jupqa ʘ župqa ʘ juqa, Qmq juqqa, Qzq, Qq žūqa, Qrg župqa ʘ žuqa, StAlt žuqa, Xk, Tv čuḡa, Tf čuḡa 'thin', MChv {Md.} *śúḡa > Chv L/MK Ծյւքe śüḡe id. ¶ Cl. 874, MKD 235, ET J 241-2, Rh. 2216, AzRL II 585, Ra. 198, Rs. W 209, Md. 62, 134, 162 (T *žuyka ~ *žubka), Ash. XII 311, Fed. II 151-2, Jeg. 224, ChVS 193, ≠ SDM 1553-4 (unc.: T < pA *ž̄j̄be 'weak, bad', see N *ž̄o'ʔ'aw∇ or *ž̄a'ʔ'ow∇ *'≈ of poor quality; weak, bad'), ≠ DQA no. 2630 (id.) ¶¶ Comparison with M *nimgen 'thin' (of flat objects) and Tg *nem(i) 'thin' is hardly acceptable (⇔ SDM97). M *nimgen and Tg *nem(i) may be cognate to T *jinç- 'be narrow\thin' (Cl. 945-6) || **D** *navur- 'tender, thin' > Kn navuru, navaru, naviru \that is tender, soft, fine, thib (as grass, hair, cloth)', Tl 'navuru, nauru 'soft, delicate' ¶ D no. 3618 ◇ IE *s-*mobile* before an initial sibilant may be interpreted as a palatalized variant of pIE *'- (see Introduction, §§ 2.2.5-6) ◇ The vw. *u in D *navur-, T *jubka (and in CCh {St.} *nuf-?) and a N palatal vw., suggested by IE, are likely to point to the N vw. *ü in the second syll.

1529a. ?₂ ***neč**∇ 'plait, tie together' > **HS**: S +ext. *√nsk ~ *√nsg
 (< N * n _ e c ' ∇
 × N *śäk_l∇,ʔU 'plait, tie, bind, wicker' [q.v.] > BHb √nsk (pp. f. G

נְסוּכָה nəsū'kā) v. 'entwine, plait, weave', IA ✓ nsk 'plait, weave', JA נִסְכָּא nis'k-ā {Sl.} 'thread of a woof', {Lv.} 'Gewebe', Ar نَسَجٌ ✓ nsǧ v. 'weave (cloth), plait', {BK} 'tisser (une étoffe), tresser' ¶ KB 664, KBR 703, Js. 917, Lv. III 408, Sl. 752, Fr. IV 272, Hv. 765, BK II 1247 || B (+ext.) *°✓ nsl > Si s̄ans̄al v. 'plait (leaves) in order to weave baskets' ¶ La. S 305 || C: Ag: Aw {Hz., Plm.} ǎncéw- (1s ǎncép-) v. 'tie, bind', Bln {R} i nš̄aw- v. 'tie, tie together', Q {R} e nš̄ēw-, Dmb {R} e nš̄iēw-, e nš̄ew-, Km {CR} a nš̄əw-, Xm {R} e z̄u w- v. 'tie' ¶ Hz. VS 105, Plm. VA 293, R WB 41, R Ch II 343 (s.p. 29), R QW 29, CR LK 168, AD SF 299 || D {Pf.} *neč'-/*ney-, {Km.} *neč'-/*eč'- > *ne(:)y-, [†GS] *ńe's'- v. 'weave, plait' (× N *rec' ▽ qa 'to tie, to plait', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Qu., but indispensable to explain the S cns. *s (reg. from N *č').

1530. ???₂ *N'a'č' ▽ 'falcon' > HS: CS *'na|içaç- > BHb נְעַץ neç, (BbV) נְעַץ neç, SmHb nāš 'falcon', JA (BbV) [TrgO] נְעַץ נְעַץ nāç'çā id., JA [TrgJ] br nççç? ~ br nyççç? (*[niçə'çā]) id. (lit. 'son of a falcon'), JA [Trg.] {Lv.} נְעַץ נְעַץ nā'çā or נְעַץ נְעַץ nē'çā 'Habicht' or 'Sperber', JEA {Sl.} נְעַץ nçç? (unk. voc.) 'falcon', Sr نَسَّ نَسَّ nəs's̄ā {Br.} 'hawk (*Accipiter*)', SmA nç, nçç, nççh 'ε bird', Ug nç {Grd.} 'falcon', {OAS} 'ε 'bird (of prey?)' (possibly 'hawk, falcon'), ?σ Ar نَصَّةٌ naçç-āt- 'female sparrow'; OHb fem. *neç'çā (> *niç'çā) 'female falcon' (Job 39.13) was transcribed in LXX as νεσσα and translated by Aquila as ἰέραξ ('hawk, falcon') and by Hieronymus (Vulgata) as *accipiter* ('hawk, kite'), while the Tiberian Masoretes read (and vocalized) the word as נְעַץ nō'çā, interpreting it as a wrong spelling for נְעַץ נְעַץ nōçā'tah 'its (= stork's) feather' (נְעַץ נְעַץ in their "Masora parva" comment) within the context הַאֲסִידָה וְנְעַץ which they understood as 'stork and its feather', while acc. to Aquila and the Vulgata it meant 'stork and (female) falcon'. This Masoretic misinterpretation is responsible for the strange vocalization (with unexpected ō and lack of gemination of ç). KB 676 preserved the traditional Masoretic vocalization as נְעַץ nō'çā, but accepted (after G. Hölscher) the semantic interpretation of נְעַץ nççh as 'female falcon'. The LXX translators were probably not sure about this difficult place and preferred to transcribe it (instead of translating) as ασυδα καὶ νεσσα. The vw. of the first syll. of the word is not clear: both its Tiberian and Babylonian vocalization of BHb point to pS *i (*'niçaç-), while SmHb and Ar suggest pS *a (*'naçaç-) ¶ KB 674, 676, KBR 714-15, Hölscher H 99,

Yv. II 779, Grd. UT no. 1682, OAS 333, Lv. T II 123, 126, Spr. BA I 181 (Lev. 11.16), 316 (Deut. 14.15), Sl. 771, Br. 442, Tal 545, BK II 1267, Hv. 772 || amb **A** ? *nāč̣in ~ *lāč̣in 'falcon' (unless ← 'Latin or European falcon' ← a European word for 'Latin') > ? M *nač̣in ~ *lač̣in 'falcon' > MM [HI] lač̣in 'falcon', WrM {MED} naci(n) 'falcon', HIM {BMR} нач id., {BMR} начин 'falcon, gyrfalcon', Brt нашан 'falcon, Arctic falcon', Δ 'goshawk', Kl {KRS} начн нац̣ан 'falcon', {Rm.} nač̣ŋ 'Falke' ¶ Ms. H 73, MED 556, KRS 370, KW 272, Chr. 325 || ? NaT *lāč̣in 'falcon' (← ?) > OT, Chg, XwT, MU, MQP lač̣in 'falcon', Qzq laṣ̌in, Sg/Shor {Rl.} lač̣in, Xk ɪlač̣in, Az, Qmq, Tv, Shor lač̣in, Tkm lāč̣in, VTt laṣ̌ʻn, Bsh lač̣ʻn ~ ɫlasʻn, Nog, Qzq, Qq laṣ̌in ~ ɪlaṣ̌in, StAlt lač̣in, ET lač̣in id., Osm {Rh.} lač̣in 'female peregrine falcon', Tk lač̣in (i because of a folk-etl. connection with European lges) ¶ The irreg. initial *l- (for the expected *j-) may be explained either by borrowing (from which source?) or by internal phonological processes (not identified so far). The unexpected preservation of the final *-in (which is not typical in T) suggests a borrowing either from some unknown lge of the Altaic family or from a non-Altaic lge ¶ Cl. 763, Rs. W 313, TL 170, 651, Rh. 1617 || ?? Ko {Rm.} nač̣ən 'a special kind of hunting falcon' ¶ Rm. SKE I 135 ¶¶ KW 272, Rm. SKE I 135 ◇ This word in M, T and Ko may be a loan from the European word for 'Latin' ('falcon' ← "Latin falcon") or represent merger of the A word with the loanword. In the former case the N etymology is to be rejected.

1531. *nAd '(the whole) clan' > HS: S *^ondw|y > Ar ndw G 'convoquer à une réunion', {Hv.} 'assist at a meeting', {BK} ?andiyat-(pl.) 'réunion, assemblée' ¶ BK II 1229-30, Hv. 760 || **K**: GZ *nad- 'collective assistance in agriculture' > OG, G nad-, Mg nod-, Lz node(r)-id. ¶ K 145, K² 136 || **D** *nāṭ-, {GS} *nāḍ- 'village' > Tm nāṭu 'country, district', Kn nāṭu 'cultivated land; the country' (↔ 'city'), Ml nāṭu id., 'kingdom, district', Kt naṭ 'country, settled area', Td noṭ 'sacred place', Tu nāḍu, nāḍɔ 'district, village', Tl nāḍu 'a country', Gnd nār ≈ nār̄, Knd nār̄u, Png nāz / nās (obl. nāṭ-), Mnd nāy (obl. nāṭ-, Kui nāṭ̄u, Ku naiyū ≈ nāyu 'village'; D ⇨ Mrt nāṭ 'place' ¶¶ D no. 3638, GS 161 [no. 395].

1532. (₂?) *nid (or *Nid) '≈ eye; to look' ([in descendant lges] → 'to look for, to seek') > **A**: M *nidün 'eye' > MM [LM, MA, IM, IsV, HI, S] nidün, WrM {MED} nidü(n), HIM {MED} нүд, {BMR}

нүд(эн), Brt нюдэ(н), Kl {KRS} нүдн, {Rm.} nüdŋ, MMgl {Iw.} nīdūn, Mgl {Rm.} nūdūn, Dg {T} nidū, Dx {T} nudun, Ba {T} nedon, Mnr H/M {T} nudu, Mnr H {SM} nud_u id., Ord {Ms.} nūd_ū 'œil', {SM} nud_ū 'œil, vue'; M *nidüle- v. 'look, notice' > WrM nīdüle- {MED} v. look, eye', HIM нүдлэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'give a glance, notice', Dg {T} nidlē- 'look, examine', Kl {KRS} нүдл- v. 'notice', {Rm.} nüd] - 'mit den Augen sehen', Brt нюдэл- v. 'recover one's sight, get the habit (of visiting, going somewhere)' ¶ Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 249-51, 442, Lg. VMI 57, H 116, Ms. H 78, Ms. O 503, MED 578, BMR II 491-3, Chr. 342-3, KRS 388-9, KW 282, Rm. M 35, SM 287-9, Iw. 120, T 353, T DgJ 157-8, T DnJ 131, T BJ 144 || D: SD *niṭṭ-, nēṭ- > Kn niṭṭisū- v. 'look at', as well as (× N *TewdA 'look for, find') Tm nēṭu 'seek, look out for', Ml nēṭuka 'obtain, get', Kdg nṅḍ- v. 'earn' ¶ D no. 3766 || ?σ K *nd- v. 'wish' > OG nd-, G nd- 'wish' (OG, G msd. nd-oma, 3s pres. u-nda), Sv χwī-ndwn-e 1s 'I wish'; × K *n- 'wish' (OG, G, Lz, Sv n-) ¶¶ The adduction of K is legitimate unless *nd- is derived from *n- ¶¶ Abul. 326, Fn. KD no. 5 (*nd-), K 145 (*n-), FS E 257-8 (*n-) ◇ ≠ Fn. KD no. 5 (equating the D √ [inaccurately reconstructed as *nāṭ-/nēṭ-] with K *naṭ-/neṭ- [without specifying its reflexes; Fn. obviously meant G naṭvr-/naṭr- 'wünschen, ersehnen, begehren', Chx. 927-8]).

1533. *nīṭU,da (or *ṅīṭU,da) 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *nedh- v. 'tie' > OI *nadh-, pp. nad'dha- (< *nadh-ta-) 'tied', 'nahyatī 'binds' || L nōdus 'a knot' ({KM, Vr.}: < *noz-do- < *nodh-do-; WH rejected this hyp.) || Clt *nad- > OIr naidm 'fait d'attacher \ de lier, contrat'; Clt {Matas.} *nad-sko- 'bind' (< NaIE *nōd-sk̑-) > OIr nascaid, -naisc v. 'tie, attach', MBr nasca- 'bind', Br {Hm.} naskarñ 'attacher (un animal); lier, entraver' || ON inf. nista 'to attach' (with the sx *-st-), OHG nestilo, nestila 'lace, band', ?φ AS nostle 'fillet, band' ¶ WH II 172-3, EM 772-3, M K II 147-8, M E II 31-2, Vn. N 1-4, Matas. E 282-3, Hm. 593, Vr. 408, 410, Kb. 723, OsS 647, Ho. 238, ≈ P 758-9, ≈ WP II 825, ≠ EI 336 (L nōdus < IE *ned- 'knot' with unj. *d) || U: FU (or FP?) *níṭa|ä- (or níṭa|ä-) 'bind together' > F nito- v. 'stitch, sew, bind', Es nīdū- 'connect, bind together' | pLp {Lr.} *níṭē- vt. 'fasten, join\stitch together' > Lp: L {LLO} njatēt id., N {N} njâdē- /-dē- 'tack\lash on\together, join together by tacking\sawing (skin traps etc.), fasten (scythe) on the handle', Kld nādte- 'binden (mit

einer Wurzelfaser), nähen' || Mk **не́дя-не́да-** vi. string (as beads)', Er **не́дя-не́да-** id., 'hang on\up, haft', {Ps. [but not mentioned in ERV]} **не́та-, не́та-** 'anfügen, aufreihen, umbinden, mit Stricken befestigen' || Paasonen (Ps. FI 23) adduced Hg **nyaláb** 'bundle', but MF 476 and UEW 713 rejected it and (rather unconvincingly) connected **nyaláb** with Hg **nyolc** 'eight' ¶ The hyp. of the Iir origin of the FU √ is hardly acceptable because it fails to account for the vw. *i in FU ¶ ≈ UEW 713 (FU ← pre-Iir *n_od- or *ned^h-), Set. FUD 382, SK 386, Lr. no. 751, Lgc. no. 4300, TI 292, ERV 408, Ker. II 95, PI 178, Ps. FI 23 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: Zar {ChL} **nəttu**, Zar K {Sh.} **nud** v. 'tie' || CCh: Mdr {Mg.} **ηwoða / ηuða**, {Mch.} **ηud**, {ChL} **ηudanajuda**, Glv {RpB} **ngud-**, Gv {ChL} **ngùdaenufà**, Dgh {Frk} **ngwàda** id. ¶ RPb s.v. **ngud-**, Frk s.v. **ngwàda**, ChC s.v. 'to tie', ChL || Eg fMd **nwd.t** 'baby's napkin' ¶ EG II 225, DW 451-2 ◇ Ps. FI 23 (FU ← Ary), IS II 88 (*r¹iða) (IE, FU) ◇ The Ch and Eg data suggest the presence of N *w or *U ◇ The initial η- in CCh suggests a rec. of N ***ηi_l?U_lda** ◇ The glottalized *d̥ in Ch may point to a N lr., most probably *ʔ (sc. N ***ñ|ηi_l?U_lda**). In IE the N lr. *ʔ is regularly lost without traces (such as vowel lengthening) ◇ The pN rec. ***ñi_l?U_lda** is justified if the FU palatal *ń- goes back to N ***ñ-** with ass. palatalization (caused by *i). The alt. pN rec. ***ńi_l?U_lda** presupposes pre-IE depalatalization *ń- > *n- (neutralization of the palatality feature before the palatal vw. *i?).

1534. ₂ ***ñagVʔo** (or ***ñagVʔo**) 'hungry, thirsty' > **HS:** Eg fMK **nɜɜ** v. 'parch with thirst', n. 'thirst' ¶ EG II 377, Fk. 144 || S (+ext.) *^o√ngr > Ar √ngǝr 'être pris d'un violent accès de soif', **naǝar-** 'accès de soif violent' ¶ BK II 1202-3 ¶¶ Tk. I 56 || **IE:** NaIE ***nāg^{wh}**- 'sober; hungry and thirsty' (× IE ***nāb^h**- 'sober, hungry and thirsty' < N ***ñax_l∇_lb∇** 'hungry and thirsty', q.v.) > Gk νήφω, Gk D νάφω 'drink no wine, be sober' || OHG **nuohturn ~ nuohtarn** 'sober, with an empty stomach', NHG **nüchtern**, MDt **nuchterne**, Dt **nuchter** id. ¶ WP II 317, P 754, Kb. 738, OsS 661, KM 515-16 (qu.: OHG **nuohturn** ← L **nocturnus** 'de nuit, nightly'), F II 318-19 (rejecting the Gmc cognate and reconstructing IE ***nāb^h**-), Vr. N 47, ≠ EI 175 (νήφω < ***n'ēg^{wh}-e/o-** 'not drink') ◇ The Eg cognate is valid unless its primary meaning is 'ersticken' (cp. EG: **nɜɜ** 'ersticken, verdursten; Dursten, Durst') ◇ In the absence of Tg cognate

(distinguishing between N * \bar{n} - and * η -) the rec. of N * η - is also possible.

1535. * $nig_1E_1X\ddot{a}$ 'to butt, to push, to pierce' > HS: CS * $\checkmark ng\check{h}$, * $ngah(-)$ v. 'butt' > JA [Trg.] $\checkmark ng\check{h} G$ (pf. $n\check{a}'g\check{a}\check{h}$) id., JEA $\checkmark ng\check{h} G$ 'gore', BHb $\checkmark ng\check{h}$ (ip. $-g\check{g}a\check{h}$) 'gore' (of oxen), ? Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} $\checkmark ng\check{h}$ *Sh ?anğāha* {Fr.} 'superavit et vicit', {Hv.} 'overcome' ¶ KB 630, KBR 667, Fr. IV 241, Hv. 750, Js. 873, Sl. 729 || IE: NaIE {IS} * $neig^h-$ v. 'pierce' > OIr $nes(s)$ 'coup, blessure' (< * $ni\bar{g}^h-s$) (× N * $\eta UK\check{\nabla}$ 'to strike, to peck, to hit'??) ||| Sl * $n\bar{b}z-/niz-$ 'penetrate, pierce', inf. * $n\bar{b}z-ti$ 'to penetrate, to pierce' > OR inf. $\checkmark NHZTH$ $nizti$ (1s pres. $\checkmark NZ\check{Z}$ $n\bar{b}z\check{u}$) 'to penetrate, to pierce', OCS inf. $\checkmark B\check{N}NHCTH$ $v\check{b}-nisti$ (1s pres. $\checkmark B\check{N}N\check{Z}\check{X}$ $v\check{b}-n\bar{b}z\check{q}$) 'to stick\thrust into'; caus. inf. * $noziti$ > R Δ inf. $\checkmark HAZIT\check{b}$ $HAZIT\check{b}$ 'to be a draught, to penetrate' (of wind), RChS inf. $\checkmark B\check{N}NOZHITH$ $v\check{b}-noziti$, R inf. $\checkmark B\check{O}H'ZIT\check{b}$ 'to stick\thrust into'; Sl * $noz-$ (acc. to IS, an apophonic * o -grade based on the analogy of other verbal roots, like * $b\check{v}rati$ / * $bor\check{b}$): R $\checkmark za-$ 'ноза 'a splinter in one's hand, foot etc.'). Uk $\checkmark za'$ 'ніз (gen. $\checkmark za'$ 'нозц) 'a stick put through the ox yoke'; Sl * $noz\check{b}$ (< pre-Sl * $noz-j\check{o}-s$) 'knife' > OCS, OR $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{b}$, Blg $\checkmark no\check{z}$, SCr $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{a}$ (gen. $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{a}$), Slv $\checkmark no\check{z}$ (gen. $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{a}$), R $\checkmark no\check{z}$ (gen. $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{a}$), Uk $\checkmark ni\check{z}$, P $\checkmark no\check{z}$ (gen. $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{a}$), Cz $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{a}$ id. ¶ P 760 (* $neig^h-$), ≈ Vn. N 11 (Ir $nes(s)$ < IE * $nek-$), Vs. I 348-9, II 78 and III 80, Glh. 443, SJSS VI 307, ESSJ XXVI 19, 68-9, StSS 146, 383, ≈ EI 537 (OCS $\checkmark no\check{z}\check{b}$ and Mlr $nes(s)$ < IE ? * h_1neig^h-es 'spear' < IE * h_1neig^h- 'stab') ¶ The N lr. is likely to have coalesced with * ig^h without leaving traces (N * $-g_1\check{\nabla}_1X-$ > * $-gH-$ > IE * $-g^h-$) ||| U: FU * $nikk\ddot{a}$ - vt. 'stick (in), pierce' > pLp {Lr.} * $n\check{z}kk\check{e}t(t)\check{e}$ vt. 'stick (in), push' > Lp: S {Hs.} $\checkmark n\check{a}kkiedidh$ 'schieben, einherschieben, stoßen', N {N} $\checkmark n\check{a}kketi-$ v. 'stick, put', Kld {TI} $\checkmark n\check{a}k:\check{X}e-$ 'hinein-stecken\ -schieben' ||| ObU {JHl.} * $n\check{e}k-$ > pVg * $n\check{a}k-$ > Vg MK $\checkmark n\check{a}k-$ in $\checkmark a\check{l}-n\check{a}ki-$ 'fortschieben', $\checkmark n\check{a}kn\check{a}k-$ 'aufrütteln, erwecken'; pOs $\checkmark n\check{e}k-$ 'stoßen' > Os: Ty/Y $\checkmark n\check{e}k-$, Kz $\checkmark n\check{a}k\check{i}$ - '(leicht) stoßen (z. B. beim Aufwecken)', Os ds: Kz $\checkmark n\check{a}k\check{a}m\check{a}$ - 'anstoßen', Ty $\checkmark n\check{e}k\check{a}m\check{t}\check{a}$ -, VK $\checkmark n\check{e}k\check{a}m\check{t}$ - '(an)stoßen' ¶ Coll. 101, Coll. CG 79, UEW 304-5, Lr. no. 701, Lgc. no. 4058, Hs. 967, TI 272, ≈ Ht. no. 424 (pObU * $n\check{a}k-/n\check{e}k-$; + unc. Vg T $\checkmark n\check{a}k-$ 'treten'), WVD VII 210, MK 350 (Vg $\checkmark n\check{a}k-$ & $\checkmark n\check{a}k-$ 'treten') ◇ IS II 96-7 [no. 334] (* $NEg\check{a}$ 'вонзатъ': HS, IE). IS adduced S * $\checkmark ngp$, * $\checkmark ng\check{s}$ and B * $\checkmark ngs$, which is less convincing

because of the unexplained third cns. I prefer to equate S \checkmark ngš and B \checkmark ngs with IE $\text{*neik}[\bar{g}]_h\text{s-}$ (> OI 'nikṣati 'pierces' etc.) and to reconstruct N $\text{*nigES}\nabla$ 'butt, pierce' as a separate N etymon. The pN rec. $\text{*nig}_l\text{E}_j\text{Xä}$ enables us to equate S and IE with FU $\text{*nikk}\ddot{a}$ v. 'stick, pierce' (where the long cns. *kk- is likely to go back to $\text{*g}\chi\text{-}$ [or $\text{*g}\hbar\text{-}$?]). The connection between N $\text{*nigES}\nabla$ and N $\text{*nig}_l\text{E}_j\text{Xä}$ (if any) may belong to the realm of pre-N (or N?) derivation.

1536. $\text{*nigES}\nabla$ (= $\text{*nigE}\acute{s}\nabla$?) 'butt, pierce' > HS: S $\text{*}\checkmark$ ngš > JA [Trg.] \checkmark ngš G (3m ip. 𐤃𐤍𐤍) $\text{p}i\text{n}'g\text{o}\check{s}$) v. 'attack, gore'; ?? S $\text{*}\checkmark$ nkš (as. $\text{*k}\check{s}\text{-}$ < $\text{*g}\check{s}\text{-}$) > SmA \checkmark nkš G 'gore', Ar \checkmark nks (ip. -nkus-) {BK} 'renverser', {Hv.} 'reverse, invert, throw upside down' ¶ KB 633, Lv. II 92, Js. 876, Tal 528, BK II 1341, Hv. 798 || B $\text{*}\checkmark$ ngs > Ah $\text{a}\eta\acute{g}\text{a}\text{s}$, Sll $\text{a}\eta\text{g}\text{a}\text{s}$ v. 'butt so.', Kb \checkmark ngs: $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{j}\text{j}\text{a}\text{s}$ 'bousculer' ¶ Fc. 1339, Dl. 556 || IE: NaIE $\text{*}\text{o}neik[\bar{g}]_h\text{s-}$ v. 'pierce' > OI 'nikṣati id., Av $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ē}\text{z}\text{a}$ 'point (of a needle)', CINPrs {Sg., Vl.} نيزه $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{z}\text{a}$, NPrs {BM} نيزه $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\text{z}\text{e}$ 'short spear, demilance, javelin, dart, pike', {Vl.} 'lancea, hasta' ¶ M K II 158-9, M E II 41, Vl. II 1386-7, Sg. 1442, BM 576 || D $\text{*n}\acute{\text{i}}\text{k-}$ ({\text{g}}GS) *g- > Tm $\text{n}\acute{\text{i}}\text{c}\text{u}\text{n}\acute{\text{i}}$ v. 'go through, pierce', Tl $\text{i}\acute{\text{g}}\text{u}$ 'enter, penetrate', ? Klm $\text{i}\acute{\text{k}}\text{e}\eta$ 'pierce, thrust in (a knife)' ¶¶ ≠ D no. 3686 || ? U: FU: Vg MK {Kn.} $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\text{a}\text{s-}$ 'stossen, rasseln (?)' (unless derived from Vg MK $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k-}$ [in $\text{a}\text{l-n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\text{i-}$ 'push']) ¶ WVD VII 210 ◇ If Vg MK $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}\text{a}\text{s-}$ belongs here, N *S may be identified as $\text{*}\acute{s}$ ◇ The D root lost its sibilant (probably *igES- > $\text{*}\text{-igS-}$ > $\text{*}\text{-ikS-}$ > D $\text{*}\text{-i:k-}$) ◇ In the absence of Tg cognate (distinguishing between N $\text{*}\bar{n}\text{-}$ and $\text{*}\eta\text{-}$) the rec. of N $\text{*}\eta\text{-}$ is also possible ◇ IS II 96-7 [no. 334] ($\text{*NEg}\Delta\text{'}\text{BONZAT}\text{'}$: HS, IE).

1537. $\text{*}\bar{n}\acute{u}\text{H}_1\text{'}\acute{\text{a}}\text{'}$ or $\text{*}\bar{n}\acute{u}\text{w}'\acute{\text{a}}\text{'}$ 'now' > IE $\text{*nuh}\chi$ 'now' > Ht {Ts., CHD} $\text{n}\acute{u}$ 'now, and, but', {CHD} $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{w}\text{a-}$ 'still, yet' || NaIE $\text{*n}\acute{u}$ 'now' > OI 'nū, 'nū, Av $\text{n}\acute{u}$ 'now' || Gk νu encl. 'now' (as well as $\nu\acute{\text{u}}\nu$, $\nu\nu\nu$ 'now' < *nu-m ?) || L $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{m}$ 'nun noch, nun jetzt' → 'whether' (interr. pc.), $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{d}\text{i}\text{u}\text{s}$ (< *nu- + $\text{*dyeu}\text{s}$ 'day'): $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{d}\text{i}\text{u}\text{s}\text{ t}\text{e}\text{r}\text{t}\text{i}\text{u}\text{s}$ 'the day before yesterday' (lit.: 'it is now the third day'), $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{d}\text{i}\text{u}\text{s}\text{ q}\text{u}\text{a}\text{r}\text{t}\text{u}\text{s}$ 'it is now the fourth day' etc. || Clt {Matas.} *nu 'now' > OIr $\text{n}\acute{u}$, MW, W {YGM} $\text{n}\acute{u}$, Gl $\text{n}\acute{u}$ 'now' || Gt $\text{n}\acute{u}$ (' $\nu\acute{\text{u}}\nu$) 'jetzt', ON $\text{n}\acute{u}$, OSx $\text{n}\acute{u}$, OHG, AS $\text{n}\acute{u}$ ~ $\text{n}\acute{u}$, NGr $\Delta\text{n}\acute{u}$, NHG $\text{n}\acute{u}\text{n}$ 'now', NE $\text{n}\acute{u}\omega$ || Lt $\text{n}\acute{u}$ 'now, today', Ltv $\text{n}\acute{u}$ ~ $\text{n}\acute{u}$ 'now', Pru - $\text{n}\acute{u}$ in $\text{t}\text{e}\text{i-n}\acute{u}$ 'now' || Sl $\text{*n}\acute{b}$ 'but' > OCS $\text{N}\acute{b}\text{n}\acute{b}$, Blg $\text{H}\acute{b}$, HO , R HO , SCr $\Delta\text{n}\text{O}$, Slv nO id. || pTc {Ad.} $\text{*n}\acute{u}$ > Tc: A $\text{n}\acute{u}$ {Wn.} 'now' → 'just, but', B {Ad.} nO 'however, but' ¶¶ Ts. E

II 339-43, CHD L-N 460-70, P 770, EI 397 (*nu), M K II 175, M E II 52-3, WH II 184-6, F II 325, Fs. 380, Vr. 412, Ho. 239, Ho. S 56, Kb. 737, OsS 660, KM 516, Frn. 509-10, En. 264, Vs. III 77, ESISJ-SGZ II 508-10, ESSJ XXVI 50-1, StSS 384-5, Wn. I 320, Ad. 347 (Tc B r o 'however, but'), Ad. H 19, 26, 34 (Tc r u ђ r o 'now, therefore') ||
А: Tg *nē 'immediately (sofort, тотчас)', ? 'now' > Ul nз, Ork ni ~ nē 'immediately (тотчас)', Nn Nh/KU nē {STM} id., {On.} id., 'auf jeden Fall, unbedingt (непрерменно, обязательно), Ud nз id., "auf jeden Fall (непрерменно)', WrMc {Z} нэ 'now' ¶ STM I 614, Krm. 266, On. 297, Z 214-15 || **U:** FU (att. in FP only) *n|ñü: 'now' (partially × FU *n|ñük ▽ < N *ñük ▽ - *ñuk E 'now') > F r y t, F Δ r y, r y y 'now, at the present time', Es r ů ů d, Δ r ů ů 'now', Lv ni id. || Er ñey, Mk ñi id. || Prm *ñi ~ *ni 'already' > Vt ni, ini, Z Ud ñi ~ ni id. ¶ SK 406-7, ≈ UEW 707, LG 192 || **N *ñüñ₁'æ'** nu (N *ñüñ₁'æ' + N genitive pc. *nu) '(of) the present time' > IE *nuh_x-n ▽ > NaIE {P} *nū-no- 'jetzig' > OI nū'nam 'now', MPrs nūn, NPrs كُنُونْ ák-nūn, كُونْ ko-nūn id. || BSl: [1] Lt {Herm.} nūn ~ nun 'now', [2] a fossilized case form of the adj.: Lt nūnaĩ 'today, now' | Sl *n+ñě 'at the present time' > OCS, OR **НЪНѢ** nñě, R 'ныне, Blg ныне, OP, OCz nynie, C, Slk nyní, P ninie, var. *nñě > OR **НЪНѢ** nñě, R Δ none id. || ? L nunc 'now' (< *nun-ke or *num-ke) ¶ P 770, M K II 176-7, Vl. I 117 and II 902, WH II 187-8, Frn. 509-10, Herm. LS 365, Vs. III 77, 82, 91, ESISJ-SGZ II 510-12, ESSJ XXVI 57-63, StSS 385, Mastas. 294-5, YGM-1 346 || **HS:** C: Ag *n ▽ n 'now' > Bln/Q {R}, Km {CR} nān, Xm {R} næn 'now (jetzt)' ¶ R WB 284, R Ch II 399 (s.p. 85), R QW 105-6, CR LK 237 || **U:** Z ñin, Z Δ nin 'already' ¶ LG 192 ¶ The delabialization of *ü in Z (or already in pFU?) needs investigating ◊ IS II 97 reconstructed here *N ů q Δ 'now' (> IE, U). The N cns. *-q- was proposed by IS on the alleged ev. of U *Nük ▽ 'now' > F r y k y - adj. 'present' (of time), supposing that U *-k- is a reg. reflex of N *-q-, which is at variance with the numerous cases where N *-q- yields U zero (e.g., N *p o q ▽ 'to cover' > U *p o y ▽ 'be wrapped', N *t a q o 'z' i 'to plait, to wattle' > U *t o s ▽ 'basket, vessel', N *ŝ ä l _ ▽ q U 'to cleave, to cut asunder' > U *ŝ ä l ü - 'cut', N *s o n ' ▽ q ' ü ' 'sinew, tendon; root' > U *s ō n e 'vein, sinew' a. o.) as against two cases of U *k < N *q in U cns. clusters (N *p o ž ▽ q ▽ 'thigh, haunch' > U *p o č ka 'Schenkel' [see N *p o q E ž ▽ ~ *p o ž ▽ q ▽] and N *m ū q _ E _ r i 'shoulder' > U *m ▽ r k ▽

id.). N ***-q-** is ruled out by the Ht cognates *nu* and *nuwa*, because the reg. Ht reflex of N ***-q-** is *-h-*. F *nyky-* may be equated with Ht *nukku* 'now' and Ag **n∇kk-* 'today' and hence go back to N ***ñük∇** ~ ***ñukE** (q.v.). On the possible connection (or identity) of the N etymon in question with N ***ñæw_{ly}∇** 'new' *see* s.v. N ***ñæw_{ly}∇** \diamond ≈ Gr. II no. 280 (**nu* 'now') (IE, Ai, Gil + qu. EA + err. U + err. A, J, which belong to N ***ñæw_{ly}∇**).

1538. ***ñAk∇** 'woman' > IE ***neK-** > Ht *nega-* ~ *neka-* 'sister' ¶ Ts. W 56, Neum. H ∇ || **HS:** EC ***nā¹k¹** - > Sml *nāg* 'woman, wife', ? DI: Gwd {Bl.} *nahāyue*, Gwd/Grs {AMS} *naḥaye*, Hr/Dbs {AMS} *naḥte* (pl. *naḥadḍe*) 'wife' ¶ The DI words belong here either if {AMS} *ḥ* (for the expected *h*) is due to inaccurate recording or if *ḥ* of the DI lges may go back to EC ***-k-** under still unknown conditions ¶ ZMO 301, Bl. 306, AMS 238 || **D** ***nāk-** 'female' > Tm *nāku* 'female calf\fish\snail, heifer; femininity', Ml *ā-nāku* 'heifer', Kt *na·g*, Td *no·x* 'female buffalo between two and three years old', Tu *nāku* 'female calf', Tl *ela-nāga* 'damsel' (*ela* < D ***i_la** 'young'), Prj *nēva* 'female pig' ¶¶ D no. 3634 \diamond ≈ Blz. DA 157 [no. 49] (equating D with EC and IE + err. Tg ***nekūn** 'younger relative' [*see* N ***ñeK_U** 'relative[s] of a younger generation']), Blz. NDA no. 48 (D, EC + err. Tg ***nekūn** 'younger relative') \diamond Kas. AN 165-6 (agreeing with the etymological comparison of mine, but unconvincingly reconstructing a N voiced cns. ***-g-** and IE ***-g^h-**).

1539. ***ñEko** 'to open (öffnen)' (?), to bare, to uncover' > IE: NaIE ***nog^w-** (\rightarrow ***nog^wod_lo-**, ***nog^w-no-**) 'naked' > ON inf. *nøkkva* 'to denude, to bare' | NaIE ***nōg^w-os-** > BSl: Lt *núogas*, Ltv *Δ nōgs* [*nūōgs*] 'naked' | Sl ***nāgъ** / ***nagъ-jъ** id. > ChS **НАГЪ** *nagъ*, SCr, Slv *nâg*, Cz, Slk *nahý*, P *nagi*, R *на'гой* (pradj. *наг*), Uk *нагий* id. | \rightarrow NaIE ***nog^w-od^(h)o-** > L *nūdus* 'naked' ||| Gt *naqap-s* (*·γυμνός*) 'nackt', ORu {Krs.} *nAkĭa*, ON *nøkkuiðr* (< Gmc ***nakwifaz**), OHG *na(c)kot*, NHG *nackt*, MDt *naect*, *nake(n)t*, Dt *naakt*, AS *nacod* 'naked', NE *naked* | d. NaIE ***^onog^w-to-** 'naked' > Clt {Matas.} ***noxtō-** 'naked' > OIr *nocht*, W {YGM} *noeth*, Cmn *noeth* ~ *nouth*, *nôz*, OBr *noit*, MBr *noaz*, Br {Hm.} *noazh* id. | d. NaIE ***nog^w-no-** 'naked' > OI *nag'na-*, Av *maχna-* id. ||| Gk mt. *γυμνός* id., 'unclothed', [Hs.] *λυμνός* (*·γυμνός*) id., Gk Cp [Hs.] d. *ἀπολύγματος* (*·ἀπογύμνωσις*) n. 'stripping bare' ||| O N

nakinn, NNr, Sw naken, Dn nøgen, OFrs naken, Dt nakend 'naked' || Ht nekumant- (nikumant-) 'naked' (of humans, gods), 'uncovered' (of horses) ¶¶ WP II 339-40, P 769-70, EI 45-6 (*ne/og^hno-s 'bare, naked'), Vs. III 36-7, Fs. 370, Vr. 404, 414, Vr. N 461, Krs. R no. 54, Mkj. DR 135, Kb. 714, OsS 638, KM 501, Ho. 229, Frn. 511-12, Glh. 432, ESSJ XXII 70-3, Matas. E 294, YGM-1 34, Hm. 600, WH II 185, Vn. N 19, Ern. 446, M K II 126-7, M E II 5-6, F I 332-3, Ch. 241-2, Ts. E II 307-9, CHD L-N 433-4 || **HS**: S *^o√nkʔ ~ *^o√nkʔ G 'uncover' > Ar [Qam.] √nkʔ G {Hv.} 'take off the scab of (a wound)', {BK} 'enlever la croûte de la plaie avant qu'elle soit guérie' (with the accus. denoting the wound); Ar √nkʔ (pf. نَكَى nakā, ip. -nkiy-) {Fr.} 'escharam detraxis (ulceri)', {BK} 'ôter la croûte qui recouvre la plaie' ¶ Fr. IV 330, 336, BK II 1336, 1345, BKIG IV 617, Hv. 796 || C: Ag *ʔʕnk- vt. 'öffnen, auflösen' > Bln {R} enk-, ink-, Q {R} enš-, Xm {R} ek-, iek- id., Km {CR} (caus.) enč-iz- 'ouvrir' ¶ R WB 37, R QW 28-9, R Ch II 335-6 (s.p. 21-2), CR LK 169 || **A** *nEk|gE- > M *neʕe- vt. 'open' > MM [S] {H} neke- [nege-], WrM {MED} nege-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt нээ- nē-, Kl {KRS} hee- nē-, {Rm.} nē-, Ord, Ba {T} nē-, Dx {T} nie-, Mnr H {T} nē- id., {SM} nīē- 'ouvrir, déboucher' ¶ H 114, MED 568, BMR II 448, KRS 374, KW 275-6, Chr. 341, Ms. O 487, SM 272, T 349, T DJ 130, T BJ 144 || T g ≈ *ni:;g^ri¹- vt. 'open' > Ud X {STM} ŋīgi-, Nn h/KU níxʕli-, Orc, Ul, Ork ní-, Ewk, Neg nī-, WrMc {Z} нэ́йя- vt. 'open' ¶ STM I 588, On. 292-3, Z 216.

1540. *nuk^r∇ (= *nuk^ru¹?) (or *nuk_L∇^r∇??) 'darkness, night' > **HS**: S *-nīk- 'sleep with (a woman), copulate' (← *'spend the night with') (× N *^rń¹ūK^rú¹ 'lie down, sink, bow [down]') > Ak prm. -nīk [inf. niāku(m) > nâku] {Sd.} 'copulate', {CAD} 'have illicit sexual intercourse', Ar √nyk G (ip. -nīk-) 'copulate with' (Fr.: 'futuit, inivit mulierem'), Jb C/E {Jo.} √nyk G (pf. nēk, 3m sbjn. yink), Hrs {Jo.} √nyk G (pf. nʕyōk, 3m sbjn. yʕnek) 'sleep with (a woman)', Mh {Jo.} √nyk G (pf. nʕyūk, sbjn. yʕnyēk ~ yʕnīk) id., 'copulate with' ¶ Rms. 265, CAD XI/1 197-8, Sd. 784, BK II 1376, Fr. IV 358, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100, Jo. M 309, MiK I no. 2.53 || **IE**: Ht {CHD, Ts.} nekū- 'es wird Abend', 'become evening', {Ts.} nekū- 'evening', nekūt 'evening, night', {CHD} nekuz(a) 'evening, nightfall; dawn, twilight', {CHD, Ts.} nana(n)kuss- 'be(come) dark\obscure\ gloomy' || NaIE *nok_Lω_Lt- / *nuk_Lω_Lt- 'night' > OI nom. nak, accus. 'nakt-am, Wx

naʏd id., Av d. upa-naxtar 'an die Nacht angrenzend' || Gk nom. νύξ (gen. νυκτ-ός) 'night' || L nom. nox (gen. noct-is, gen. pl. noct-ium) id. || Clt {Matas.} *noxt∇ 'night' > OIr in-nocht, MBr he-noez, Br {Hm.} he-nozh, Cm ha-neth, OW he-noid, MW and W {YGM} he-noeth 'tonight' (lit. 'this night'), MW peu-noeth 'every night', W {TGM} beunoeth 'nightly'; Gl tri-noxtion 'three nights'; Brtt {RE} *noxts, {P} *noKt-stu- 'night' > OW, MW, W, OCrn, OBr, MBr nos, Br noz, Cm nōs id. || Gt nom. naht-s, ON nátt, nótt, NNr natt, nott, Dn nat, Sw natt, OFrs, Dt nacht, OSx, OHG naht, NHG Nacht, AS niht ~ neaht 'night', NE night || pAl {O} *nakti- > Al naté id. || Lt nakt-ís (gen. pl. naktũ), Ltv nakts, Pru accus. nakti-n 'night' | Sl *nǫkǫb id. > OCS нощь ношть, Blg нощт, McdS нокъ ноѣ, SCr нѡѣ, Slv нѡѣ, Cz, Slk, P noc, R ночь, Uk ніч id. || Tc A nokte 'at night', noktīm 'last night', B nekciye 'last night, at night'] ? NaIE *oneuk- > Lt niũksóti 'to appear\be gloomy, to be murky', ? ni aukũs 'cloudy, dark, dim' || NaIE *onugh|ǵ^h- or *onukh|k̄^h- 'night' > Gk [Hs.] νύχᾱ ('νύκτωρ) 'by night', Gk νύχλος 'nightly'; the quality of the cons. χ (< *g^h|ǵ^h or *k|k̄H?) is still puzzling ¶¶ Ts. E II 273-4, 301-9, CHD L-N 394-5, 432-7, WP II 337-8, P 762-3, EI 394 (*nek^wt- ~ *nok^wt-), M K II 121-2, M E II 2-3, F II 327-8, WH II 181-3, LP § 52, Thr. § 221, RE 115, Flr. 271, Ern. 558, Fs. 368-9, Vr. 405, Vr. N 462, Ho. 236, Ho. S 54, Kb. 713, OsS 636, KM 500, O 282-3, Frn. 481-2, 499, 505, En. 213, ESSJ XXV 175-7, StSS 384, Glh. 439-40, Vs. III 86-7, Matas. E 294, YGM-1 45, 284, Hm. 376, Ped. TIE 222, Wn. I 319-20, Ad. 342, JGH 50, 103 ¶¶ The unusual apophony *o/*u in NaIE is explained by AD's hypothetic prehistory of the IE vowels (*noKt-/ *nuKt- < *nyoKt-/ *nuKt- < *nyoKt- / *nuKt- < N *n̄uk∇ 't̄ä' [a phrase with N *t̄ä, dem. prn. of inanimate objects, like '**das** Dunkle, **the** dark?'], see AD NGIE 17-19); Ht nekũ goes back to *nyoKũ < N *n̄uk'u' or *n̄uk∇ + sx *-u || U: FU (att. in FL) *n|ñukk∇- 'sleep' > F nukku- v. sleep, be asleep', Vo nukku id., Krl A nukkuō ~ ñukkuō, Krl Ld ñukkuda, Vp {ZM} nukta 𐌺 nukkuada 'be drowsy', Es {SK} nukku- id., 'be slumbering, sleep' | pLp {Lr.} *nok3- 'be drowsy\sleepy, fall asleep' > Lp: S {Hs.} n̄akkediðh 'be sleepy\drowsy\asleep', L {LLO} n̄akk̄t 'fall asleep', N {N} nqk'k̄at / -kk- id., 'go to bed', Kld {SaR} nohke- 'be drowsy' ¶ The vw. *u for the expected *ü may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of the back vw. of the next syll.) ¶ SK 397-9, ZM 367, Lr. no. 734, Lgc. no.

4204, Hs. 966, LLO 654, N III 119, SaR 215, ≈ Blz. SNE I no. 18 (err. rec. FU *ńuk̄- + err. Hg *nyugod-* 'tranquil' [belonging together with *nyugsz-* 'lie, take a rest, repose'], which in fact goes back to FU *ńuŋ ▽ 'ruhen', see UEW 328) || A: Tg: Lm *ńɜʝɜɜńɜɜ-* 'dark, black' ¶ STM I 650 ¶¶ Yk *nuktä-* 'be drowsy' and *nukariy-* v. 'fall asleep' (Pek. 1759-60) are likely to be loans from some Uralic (or unknown Altaic?) source; they cannot be inherited T words, because in that case the original initial *N- would have yielded Yk s- || CK: ChK {Md.} *naki 'night' > Kor *naki-*, *nakinak*, Aly *naki-*, Chk *nki-*, *nəʝirit* id. || Im W *nkənk* id. ¶¶ Md. ECK 98, Zh. RKS 275, Moll II 85-6, KEMGU NS, Moll IR s.v. *нкәнк* ◇ The gemination of *k in U and the cns. -χ- in Gk suggest the presence of a N lr. that is likely to be a "light" one: *h or *ʔ, because *ʔ leaves no traces (*ə) in the intercons. position in NaIE, and *h may have influenced the quality of the velar cns. (*Kh > NaIE *k^h > Gk χ) and because *ʔ and *h are the only lr. consonants that can disappear in S (and Eg) ◇ IE *n- rules out pN *ń- (apparently suggested by Lm *ń-*) ◇ ≈ Blz. SNE I no. 18 (IE, U, Yk ← U), Glh. 439-40 (IE, U, CK, EA: Esk *unuk* 'evening', *unuak* 'night') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 278 (IE, U, CK + qu. EA + unc. J).

1541. *ńük ▽ or *ńukE 'now' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} *ni'kī* 'today, then, now', Dmb {R} *nekī*, Q {R} *neɥ* 'today' ¶ R WB 283, R QW 106 || ?? S: Gz *ʔənkə* 'now then, yet' (unless ← *ʔən-kə* 'so, then!, therefore' ← *ʔən* [÷ Ar *ʔinna* 'certainly, indeed', {Br.} 'siehe, wahrlich', Hb *ḥn* 'voici' < N *hEń ▽ 'iste'] + -ka) ¶ L G 29-30 || IE: Ht *nukkū* 'jetzt, sofort' ¶ Ts. E II 345, ≈ CHD L-N 471 (*nukkū* = *nū* conj. + -(k)kū) || U: FU *n|ńük ▽ 'now, already' (× FU *n|ńü; < N *ńūh, 'æ' 'now') > F *nyky-* 'present' (in cds: *nyky-aika* 'the present time', *nyky-polvi* 'the present generation', *nyky-kansa* 'the people of today'), *nykyään* 'at present, now', Es *nūū*, Δ *nūū* 'now', Vp *nügüd* 'now' | Er *неѣ* *ńeɥ* 'now, at the present time', Mk *ни* *ńi* 'already' | Prm {Lt, LG} *ńi ~ *ni 'already' > Vt *ни* *ńi*, Z *нин* *ńin*, Z Ud *ńi* ~ *ni* id. ¶ UEW 707, ERV 409, PI 180, LG 192.

1541a. *ńik ▽ ʔu) 'small, little' > K: GZ *nek_lu_l- 'little finger' > OG, G *nek-i* id., G X *niķora titi* id. (*titi* 'finger'), M *naķu-* 'little finger' ¶ K² 141, Abul. 327 || HS: [1] (+ext.) HS *√nķs 'little, small' > W S *√nķç 'be small\ insufficient' > Md √nķɜ 'decrease', Ar √nqɜ G vi. 'decrease', ĩ Sb {Bil.} √nķɜ *Sh* (h-nķɜ) vt. 'diminish' (but BGMR interpret the word as 'cede, concede'), Sb {BGMR} d. *mķɜ-m*

'loss, damage', ??σ Tgr ✓nκ̄ṣ G 'become weak, deteriorate', Jb C ✓nκ̄ṣ G (pf. nκ̄ṣ) 'become short \ of small amount', 'do sth. petty and undignified', Sq {Jo.} ✓nκ̄ṣ G (pf. ¹nκ̄ṣ) 'grow less', Jb C {Jo.} nκ̄ṣ 'insufficient' (of milk, water), Mh ✓nκ̄ṣ G (pf. nκ̄ṣ) 'be of small amount, be incomplete, be disgraced, do sth. mean' ¶ BK II 1326, Hv. 793, Bll. 400, BGMR 98, Jo. J 191, Jo. M 298, L G 400, LH 329 ¶ WS *✓nκ̄ṣ for the expected *✓nκ̄ṣ by as. of glottalization || Eg fP nκ̄ṣ 'klein, gering' (× N *ηŪC̄∇ 'small, few'??) ¶ EG II 384-5 || C: Bj {R} ✓nks (p. an'kās) 'be(come) small\short', ne'kās 'small, short', {Rop.} nakas ~ nakaš 'short, small in stature' ||| EC: Sa {R} ✓nqs (p. 'unqusa) 'weniger\geringer sein' ¶ R WBd 183-4, R Sa II 291, Rop. 224 ||| [2] ??? Bj {R} nākũ 'zart, schwach, dünn', {Rop.} n'akw 'soft, fine', a-n'akw 'be soft\fine' ¶ R WBd 183, Rop. 224 ||| A: M *nigun 'boy' > MM no'un, nu'u(n), [HI] {Ms.} ni'u(n) 'boy', WrM {MED} nigun ~ nugun, HIM {BMR, Luv.} нуган, {MED} нугун 'boy, son', Brt †, bk. нуган id., Dg {T} nōn, {Mr.} non 'child, boy' ¶ Ms. H 81, MED 580, 595, Lew. II 29, BMR II 423, Luv. 276, Chr. 333, T DgJ 158, Mr. D 200 ◇ M *-g- rules out a rec. of N *nik̄u. The most acceptable rec. of the N etymon is *nik̄∇?u with *-k̄∇?-> *-k̄- in the prehistory of K and HS.

1542. *n̄ak̄'E' 'fell, skin' > IE: NaIE *nak̄|k̄- id. > Gk νάκος (gen. νάκειος) 'fleece', νάκη 'wooly\hairy skin', [Hs.] νακύριον (dim. of νάκος) (' δέρμα) 'skin, hide' ||| AS næsc {Ho.} 'deerskin', {Sw.} 'skin' (< *nak-s-ko-) ||| Pru nognan 'leather' ¶ WP II 316, P 754, F II 287, Ch. 733, Ho. 230, En. 216, Sw. 122, EI 269 (? *₁nak(es) ≈ pelt, hide) ||| HS: Eg fMK nkn {EG} 'mit Fell bespannter Schild', {BnH} 'Fell (beim Schild)' ¶ EG II 346, BnH s.v. nkn || +ext.: S *✓nκ̄p > BHb ✓nκ̄p D (pf. ካታጎጎ nik̄'k̄ep 'schinden\ zerfetzen (Haut)' (Job 10.28), Gz ✓nκ̄f G (pf. nak̄afa, sbjn. yānκ̄af) v. 'peel, debark', Tgr ✓nκ̄f G (pf. nκ̄f) 'detach \ strip off (the leaves)', Tgy ✓nκ̄f G (pf. nκ̄f) v. 'debark', Sq {L} ✓nκ̄f G (pf. neqof) 'scrape', Jb C {Jo.} ✓nκ̄f (pf. nκ̄f, sbjn. ¹yunκ̄af) 'pick off', 'fall off' (scab), e¹nuκ̄af 'uncover, pick the scab off' ¶ KB 681, ≈ BDB 668 [no. 5362], L G 399, LH 329, Jo. J 190 ||| A *nak̄'E 'ε hide, skin of nimals' > M *nekeyi 'sheepskin (\goatskin?) with its wool' > MM [S] {H} nekei 'sheepskin', [HI] {Ms.} nekei 'fourrure', [IM] ነቅ {Pp.} nekei 'fur coat', [MA] nekei dēl 'fur coat made of sheepskin', nekein ebesun 'grass used for

tanning sheepskin', WrM {MED} некєі, HIM {MED, BMR} нэжий 'sheepskin with its wool (овчина)', Ord нек̅х̅ī 'peau de mouton préparé servant de fourrure', WrO некєі̅ 'sheepskin', Kl {KRS} некә некә 'untanned sheepskin (with its wool)', Kl Ö {Rm.} нек̅ē 'bereitetes Schaffell', Brt нэжэЙ 'made of fur', нэжы id., 'long-haired' (of sheep), нэжы дэгэл 'fur coat, sheepskin coat', Mnr H {SM} ник̅ī id., 'goatskin; fur (fourrure)', {T} ник̅ī (d̅j̅el), Mnr M {T} некєі̅ 'fur coat' ¶ H 114, Ms. H 78, Ms. O 489, Pp. MA 248, 442, MED 572, BMR II 446, KRS 374, KW 274, Chr. 341, Krg. 214, SM 276 || Tg *nakita 'bear's hide' > Ewk nakita, Neg нахата, Ud нҕата, Ork natta id., Lm наq̅t̅ id., 'bear', Ewk Skh/Tt/Urm/ Chmk nakita 'bear'; the cognate is valid unless the primary meaning was 'bear' ¶ STM I 579 ¶¶ SDM 961-2 (pA *nak'ī|o "a k. of skin", sc. 'ε hide' > Tg, M), DQA no. 1393 (id.).

1543. *ñæ̅k̅æ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war, kill' > IE: NaIE *nek̅- 'kill; corpse' (× N *ñ̅U̅k̅∇ 'to strike, to peck, to hit', q.v.) > OI 'naś̅yati 'is lost, disappears, perishes', Av naś̅yeiti 'verschwindet', naś̅ista 'verderblichst', naś̅- 'calamity', naś̅u- 'corpse' ||| Gk νέκυς, νεκρός 'corpse', {P} [Hs.] νέκες ('νεκρούς) 'corpses' ||| L nex, necis 'death, murder', necā- v. 'kill' ||| pTc {Ad.} *nāk- > Tc A, B nāk- vt. 'destroy', vi. 'perish' ||| NaIE *ṅk̅- (× N *qEñ̅|ṅk̅∇ 'to strangle, to kill', q.v. [?]) > Clt {Matas.} *anku 'death' (< *ṅk̅(u)-) > OIr éc id., Br ankou, Crn ancow, MW angheu, W angau, Crn ancow id. (< *ṅk̅(t)u-); Ir écht {P} 'Totschlag, {EI} 'killing' ({EI} < *ṅk̅-ti-) ||| Gmc *anhtō ({EI} < IE *onk̅teh̅-) > OHG āhta 'hostile persecution', AS ōht id., 'oppression', NHG Achht 'outlawry, ostracism' ¶ WP I 60, P 762, Dv. no. 469, EI 150 (*nek̅- 'death', *¹nek̅-u-s id., 'dead'), M K II 146-7, M E II 28-9, F II 299-300, WH II 153-5, LP § 8, OsS 7, KM 6, Kb. 11, EWA I 118-20, Schz. 83, Ho. 241, Wn. I 313, Ad. 335. Matas. E 37-8 ||| HS: B *√n̅y̅H v. 'kill' (× N *ñ̅U̅k̅∇ 'to strike, to peck, to hit') > Ah, Gh ə̅ṅ̅y̅ (3m pf. i̅ṅ̅y̅a), ETwl/Ty ɔ̅ṅ̅y̅u (3m pf. ETwl i̅ṅ̅y̅a, Ty y̅aṅ̅y̅a), Kb n̅ə̅y̅ (pf. y̅aṅ̅y̅a), Izd n̅ə̅y̅ (pf. i̅ṅ̅y̅a), Mz, Wrg n̅ə̅y̅ (pf. y̅aṅ̅y̅u), Nf/Si {La.} ə̅ṅ̅y̅, Gd εnn (pf. y̅εnn̅ω) 'kill' ¶ Fc. 1401-2, GhA 143, 246-7 (on cj. 1 A 7), Dl. 267, Dlh. M 138, Dlh. Ou 222, Lf. II no. 1072, Mrc. 256 || ?? WS (+ext.) *√n̅k̅m 'take vengeance' > Hb. √n̅k̅m G id., Ar √n̅qm G id., Syr naḳamaṭā 'ultio', Gz ḳ̅īm 'revenge, rancor' ¶ GB 520, L G 456, BK II

1334, Br. 446 || **A** *næk'æ- > M *neke- > MM [S] neke- 'verfolgen, hetzen, überfallen', [HI] neke- 'fondre à l'improviste sur', Brt нэxэ-, WrM {MED} neke- 'pursue in order to seize, seek, require', HIM нэxэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'pursue, seek, require', Kl {KRS} нек- 'pursue', {Rm.} nekə- 'fordern, nachjagen, eintreiben, einholen', Ord ne^kx e- 'exiger la remise de qch., réclamer' ¶ MED 572, BMR II 447, KRS 374, KW 274, Chr. 341, Ms. O 489 || Tg: Ewk PT нэxэ- v. 'fight, wage war' ¶ STM I 618 ◇ IS MS 357 (*n^räq'ʌ 'pursue [the enemy], M, Tg, S, B, IE *Hnek̄- + err. IE *Henk̄- [actually belonging to N *qEñ|ŋK̄∇ '↑']).

1544. *næk'û 'carry, bring' > IE: NaIE *nek̄-/*n̄k̄-/*enk̄- 'carry' > Gk aor I ἤνευκα and aor. II ἤνευκον 'carried', inv. ἔνευκε 'carry!', ps. aor. ἦ-νέχ-θην 'was carried' || BSl: Lt inf. neš-ti (1s pres. neš-ū), Ltv inf. nes-t 'to carry, to bring' | Sl inf. *nes-tì (1s pres. *nes-ò) 'to carry, to bear' > OCS, OR inf. **нестн** nesti (1s pres. nesq), SCr inf. nèsti, Slv inf. nésti, Cz inf. nésti, Slk inf. niest', R, Uk inf. не'сти id., Blg не'са 'I carry'; Sl iter.-dur. inf. *nosí-tì (1s pres. *noš-q) > OCS inf. **ночтн** nositi (1s pres. nošq), SCr inf. nòsiti, Slv inf. nósiti, Cz inf. nositi, Slk inf. nosit', P inf. nosić, R inf. но'сить 'to carry', Blg 'нося 'I carry' || pTc *enk- > Tc: A ents-, B enk- 'take, grip, seize' || ? Ht ninink- {CHD} 'mobilize \ set (people) in motion; move, remove, transfer (sth., so.); set in motion', {Ts.} 'in Bewegung setzen, antreiben; bewegen' ¶¶ F I 512-13, Ch. 346, Frn. 497-8, Vs. III 67, 85, ESSJ XXV 19-23, StSS 375, 383-4, Glh. 441, ≈ P 316-18, Ad. 77-8, Ts. E II 328-32, CHD L-N 438-41, ≠ EI 35 (BSl, Gk, Tc < *h₁enek̄- 'attain') || **HS**: C *√nq̄ > Ag *n∇q̄- {Ap.} 'give here' > Bln {R} nāx̄- 'give', Xm {R} nāq̄- 'geben, darreichen', Aw {CR} nāx̄- 'give (here)'; +ext. *n∇q̄-s- 'bring' > Bln {R} nāq̄-s-, Xm {R} nā-s- id. || SC: Irq {Mgw.} nuq̄ús- 'pick up' || ?σ EC: Or B {Sr.} naq̄- 'put on\into, pour into', Or {Grg., Brl.} naq̄- id., 'add to', Arr {Hw.} naq̄-aq̄- vi. 'return' ¶ R WB 284, R Ch II 85, Ap. AV 16, Mgw. 116, E PC no. 457, E SC 185 (adducing Dhl {E} niq̄q̄ið- 'raise the eyebrows' = {To.} niq̄id- 'wink at(to)', To. D 144, Brl. 318, Grg. 299, Sr. 373 ¶¶ Ar √nql G 'convey, transmit, transfer' (Hv. 795) is qu. as a cognate (because of the unexplained ext. *l and a plausible interpretation of *n- as a historical px) || **A** *næk'û- > Tg *neku- 'carry, lead' (× N *T̄i?∇kU 'let, let go', 'move' [trans.]??) > Nn KU

nuku- d noku- 'carry, lead', Ud {STM} $\text{n}\text{z}\text{xu}$ - id., 'bring', ? Lm $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'a present (подарок, гостинец)', {CiR} $\text{n}\text{z}\text{k}\text{z}\text{r}$ 'a present, sweets; reserve\stock (запас)' ¶ STM I 619, CiR 152 || Т *jük 'a load' > О Т jük id., Tk $\text{ц}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}$, Tkm, Qmq, Nog, ET, SY, Ln jük, VTt, Bsh $\text{j}\bar{\text{b}}\text{k}$, QrB $\text{ž}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}$, StAlt $\text{ž}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}$, Xk $\text{č}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}$, Tv $\text{č}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}$, Tf $\text{č}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}'$, Chv: L $\text{ç}\bar{\text{a}}\text{k}$ $\text{ś}\bar{\text{b}}\text{k}$, H $\text{ś}\bar{\text{b}}\text{k}$ id. ¶ ≈ Cl. 911-12 (unt.: Т *jük \leftarrow pre-Т **jü- 'carry'; this conjecture is based on comparison of *jük with Т *jüδ- 'carry' [in fact from N * $\text{žed}_\text{h}_\text{ü|u}$ 'pull, drag, draw']), ET J 262-3, Ra. 199, Md. 69, 163, Serg. 120 ◇ The phoneme *u/ω in the expected pIE * $\text{ne}\bar{\text{k}}\text{u}/\omega$ - is likely to have been lost on a word-internal morphemic boundary.

1545. *næK̄∇ 'to plait, to tie' > **U**: FU * $\text{n}\bar{\text{ä}}|\text{e}\text{k}\bar{\text{∇}}$ - (att. in Ugr) 'tie, plait' > Ugr {UEW} * $\text{n}\bar{\text{ä}}|\text{e}\text{k}\bar{\text{∇}}$ > Os Kr {KrT} $\text{ne}\omega\text{əy}$ - 'die Zettelfäden des Gewebes «flechten»'; pVg * $\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{y}}$ - 'tie' > Vg: LK/Ss $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{y}}$ -, P $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\omega$ - 'binden' | OHg $\text{x}\text{ny}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}$ '(?) hedge (Zaun, Hecke)' (\leftarrow *'wattle fence'), XIII $\text{ny}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}$ 'hedge (Hag); enclosed place in a wood (e.g. 'kitchen garden)', Hg Δ $\text{ny}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}$ 'wattle fence' ¶ UEW 874, Stn. D 1026, KrT 564, EWU 1038 || **A**: M * neke - v. 'knit, weave' (× N * $\text{r}\bar{\text{æ}}_\text{L}\omega_\text{K}\bar{\text{æ}}$ 'sinew', 'to tie?') > MM [MA, IM, S] neke - 'weave', WrM {MED} neke -, HIM {MED, BMR} $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{x}\bar{\text{e}}$ -, Brt $\text{n}\bar{\text{e}}\text{x}\bar{\text{e}}$ - 'knit, weave', Ord $\text{ne}^{\text{k}}\text{x}\bar{\text{e}}$ - v. 'tisser, tresser', Mnr H {SM} $\text{nik}'\text{i}$ - 'tisser', {T} neki -, Dg {Mrm.} neku - 'weave', Kl {Rm.} $\text{nek}\bar{\text{a}}$ - 'weben', {KRS} эд нек - 'weave' (эд means 'cloth'), некач 'weaver', неклһн n. act. 'weaving'; M \rightarrow Ewk Brg/Np $\text{n}\text{z}\text{k}\text{z}$ - v. 'knit (stockings)' ¶ H 114, Pp. MA 248, 442, MED 572, BMR II 447, Chr. 341, KRS 374, KW 274, Ms. O 489, SM 276, T 350, Klz. D II 124, STM I 618 || **HS**: Eg {Mks} nc 'ficeler', Eg fOK ncc v. 'fetter, be fettered', {Mks} 'ficeler, entraver', Eg fP ncc n. 'fetter', Eg ME {Fk.} $\text{nc}\text{c}\omega$ 'bonds', Eg G {EG} ncc 'das Seil an der Harpune' ¶ Mks I no-s 2257 and 2274, EG II 367, Fk. 143 || ? Ch: WCh: Zr {ChL} $\eta\text{g}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}$, Zr K {Sh.} $\eta\text{g}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$ v. 'plait', ? Kir {Csp., ChL, ChC} ηane , Kir Mn {Csp.} $\eta\bar{\text{a}}\text{n}$ v. 'tie' ||| CCh.: Msg {ChC \leftarrow Mch.} $\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}$ v. 'tie', {GKrs.} nigi - 'binden' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to tie' and 'to plait', ChL, Csp. 69, Lk. DQM 71, Sh. BZ s.v. Zr $\eta\text{g}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}$.

1546. *ñeK̄U 'relative(s) of a younger generation' > **HS**: S (+exts): [1] WS * $\text{na}|\text{i}\text{k}_\text{L}\bar{\text{∇}}_\text{L}\text{d}$ - 'progeny' > BHb נְכַנְּךְ $\text{ne}\text{k}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$ 'progeny, posterity', (+ppa. 1s) נְכַנְּךְ $\text{ne}\text{k}'\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'my posterity', MHb נְכַנְּךְ $\text{ne}\text{k}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$ 'offspring, grandson', Gz nagad 'tribe, clan, kin, progeny', Tgr, Amh $\text{ne}\text{g}\bar{\text{e}}\text{d}$ 'race, tribe'; [2] S * $\text{na}\text{g}_\text{L}\bar{\text{∇}}_\text{L}$ - > Ar نجل $\text{na}\check{\text{g}}\text{L}$ - 'genus, stirps, propago', 'natus,

filius', {Hv.} 'offspring, child' (merger with Ar نجل ✓ nǧl v. G 'beget' [unless the verb ✓ nǧl is derived from naǧl-]) ¶ KB 658, BDB 645 [no. 5220], Js. 910, L G 391, Fr. IV 246, Hv. 752-3 || A *næk'u(n) 'younger relative' (× N *nīk∇?u 'small, little'?) > T *jæǧæŋ > OT {Cl.} jē|ä|ǧeŋ 'son of a younger sister or daughter', Tk цеген, Tkm еген 'son of a sister or of another female relative', SY jexen, ET Δ {Mal.} jägin, Uz жиян žiyan, Δ žičän, StAlt žēn, Tb {Rl.} hān, Xk čēn, Tf čēn 'nephew', Tv чээн čēn 'nephew, niece', Nog jiyen, Qq žičen, Qrg žēn 'nephew, grandson (daughter's son)', Bsh ейән jbyän 'grandson', Yk sīän 'daughter's\sister's child\grandchild', siyan 'cousin, second cousin' ¶ T *-g- (for the expected *-k-) is still puzzling ¶ Cl. 912-13, ET J 166-7, TL 293, Tkr 301, Rl. III 317, 631, 1960, Ra. 73, TvR 561, Pek. 2189-90 || Tg *nekun 'younger relative' > Ewk нэку 'grandchild', as well as a word used when addressing younger relatives, Sln нэхũ, Orc, Nn Nh {On.} нэку 'younger sibling, child', Nn KU нэку 'younger sibling', Ul нэку, Ork nuk(k)u id. (address word), Lm nō 'younger sibling', 'younger cousin from mother's side' (used with ppas.), Neg нэхун ~ нэку 'younger sibling\cousin, nephew, niece', Jrc {Kiy.} niyoħun 'younger sister, ?σ WrMc {Z} нэку 'female friend (of a woman)'; ?? Ewk níkī 'a relative', ??φ Lm nōčz 'younger sister's child; a child of father's\mother's younger sister', Lm O nōčz 'member of ego's clan' ¶ STM 617-18, 637, 644, On. 298, Kiy. 113 [no. 291], Z 219 || M: [1] M {Pp.} *nekün '(male\female) slave' > MM [S] nekür 'servants, slaves' ({H} 'Hausleute, Dienstboten, Sklaven'), [L] بولكون {Pp.} nikün bōl 'female slave'; M б→ WrMc {Z} нэку female slave, maidservant' | [2] ?? M *nekeleyi 'bastard', 'illegitimate' (of a child) > WrM {MED} nekelei id., Mnr H {SM} nik'ilī id., HIM нэхлий {MED} id., {BMR} нэхлий хүүхэд id., 'child of an unknown father', 'child born after its father's death' (хүүхэд means 'child'), Kl {KRS} неклә neklä 'adoptive child', {Rm.} nekälē 'unechtes Kind', Mnr H {SM} nik'ilī 'enfant bâtard'; M б→ Qrg T nikeley 'bastard', 'illegitimate' (of a child), (?) Qzq {Rl.} nekäsi 'illegitimate child' | [3] ?σ M *nökör 'friend' > MM nokor, WrM {MED} nökur, HIM {MED, BMR} нөхөр, Brt нүхэр id., 'husband', Kl {KRS} нөкр nökar id., {Rm.} nökr 'Kamerad', 'Gemahl, Gemahlin' (used by spouses calling each other), Dg nugur, Ba nuker, ShY nökör,

Mgr $\text{nok}\bar{\text{u}}\text{or}$ 'friend', Ord $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}^{\text{k}}\text{x}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{r}$ 'ami, époux, épouse' ¶ Pp. VG 38, Pp. L III 72, H 114, MED 572, 593, BMR II 421, 446, Chr. 335, KRS 383, SM 276, KRS 374, KW 274, Ms. O 498, SM 276, 283, Jud. 556, Rl. III 671, Z 219 ¶¶ Hardly here pA {SDM} $\text{*}\acute{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{i}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{g}\grave{\text{e}}$ 'son-in-law, nephew' (SDM 1014-15, DQA no. 1484) ¶¶ SDM 968 (pA $\text{*}\text{nek}'\nabla$ 'friend, relative' > M $\text{*}\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{r}$, Tg), DQA no. 2380 (pA $\text{*}\text{nek}'\text{o}$ 'friend, relative'), Pp. VG 38 (M, Tg), \approx SDM97 s.v. $\text{*}\acute{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{i}}|\ddot{\text{a}}\text{k}'\text{e}$ 'nephew' (T, M $\text{*}\text{nekeleyi}$, Tg: the adduced Tg lge evidence is Ewk $\acute{\text{n}}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{k}\ddot{\text{i}}$ 'relative' rather than pTg $\text{*}\text{nekun}$)

|| IE: NaIE $\text{*}\text{nep}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t-}$ 'grandson, nephew' (if from $\text{**}\text{nekp}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t-}$, a cd with the second element $\text{*}\text{p}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t-}$ induced by other words referring to the clan membership, such as $\text{*}\text{dems-p}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t-}$ 'head of the clan') > OI $\text{*}\text{nap}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{t}$ 'offspring, son, grandson', Av $\text{nap}\ddot{\text{a}}$ nom. / $\text{nap}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{t-}$ obl., OPrs $\text{nap}\ddot{\text{a}}$ nom. / $\text{nap}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{t-}$ obl. 'grandson, descendant', NPrs $\text{ن}\ddot{\text{o}}|\ddot{\text{a}}\text{d}\ddot{\text{e}}$ $\text{n}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{v}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{d}\ddot{\text{e}}$ 'grandson' || Gk Hm $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\text{ποδ}\epsilon\varsigma$ pl. 'children (descendants) (?)' || L $\text{nep}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{s}$ (gen. $\text{nep}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t-}\text{is}$) 'grandson, nephew' (\rightarrow Al nip id., OFr neveu 'grandson, nephew' \rightarrow NE nephew) || OIt nepuotis {Frn.} 'grandson, nephew' || Gmc {Vr.} $\text{*}\text{nef}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{d} \sim \text{*}\text{nef}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{d}$ > ON nefi 'nephew, relative', OSx nevo 'nephew', AS nefa 'sister's son, grandson, stepson', OHG $\text{ne}\ddot{\text{v}}\text{o}$, $\text{n}\ddot{\text{e}}\text{fo}$ 'grandson, kinsman, maternal\paternal cousin', NHG Neffe 'nephew' || Clt {Matas.} $\text{*}\text{nef}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{t-}$ 'nephew, sister's son' > OIr niotta , OIr $\text{nia} \sim \text{niae}$ 'sister's son, grandson', MW $\text{ney} \sim \text{nei}$, W {YGM} nai , MBr ny , Crn noi 'nephew' || d.: Sl $\text{*}\text{nestera}$ (< $\text{*}\text{nept-ter-}\ddot{\text{a}}$) 'niece' > RChS, OR нестера nestera , SCr $\text{n}\grave{\text{e}}\text{stera}$, OP $\text{nie}\acute{\text{s}}\text{ciora}$ id. || \rightarrow NaIE $\text{*}\text{nept-}\text{yo-}$ > Av $\text{nap}\text{t}\text{ya}$ 'offspring' || Gk $\acute{\text{a}}\nu\epsilon\psi\lambda\acute{\text{o}}\varsigma$ 'first cousin, cousin' (< $\text{*}\text{sm}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{-nept}\text{yo-}$) || Sl $\text{*}\text{net}\ddot{\text{y}}\text{j}\ddot{\text{b}}$ ({ESSJ} $\text{*}\text{nept}\ddot{\text{y}}\text{j}\ddot{\text{b}}$) 'nephew' > ChS, OR нети $\text{netiji} \sim \text{нети}$ neti 'nephew', Cz Δ net' , OP $\text{nie}\acute{\text{c}}$, Uk нети , SCr † gen. netja id., d.: SCr $\text{n}\acute{\text{e}}\acute{\text{c}}\text{ak}$, Slv $\text{ne}\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{k}$ id. || \rightarrow NaIE $\text{*}\text{nept-}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{-}$ 'granddaughter, niece' > Av $\text{nap}\text{t}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{-}$ 'granddaughter', OI $\text{nap}\text{t}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{-}\text{h}$ id., 'daughter' || L neptis 'grand-daughter, niece' || OIt $\text{nept}\acute{\text{e}}$ id. || Clt $\text{*}\text{neft}\ddot{\text{i}}\text{-}$ {Matas.} 'niece, sister's daughter' > OIr [Y] necht 'neptis', MW, W {YGM} nith 'niece', OBr [Y] nith 'nepta', MBr nyz 'niece', OCrn [Y] noit 'neptis', Crn nyth 'niece', Br {Hm.} niz 'neveu' \rightarrow nizez 'nièce' || Gmc {Vr.} $\text{*}\text{nefti}$ > ON nipt 'female close relative, niece', OHG nift id., 'stepdaughter' (\rightarrow niftila 'niece' > MHG niftel id.), MDt, MLG nichte , NHG (\leftarrow NLG) Nichte 'niece' ¶ WP II 331-2, P 764, Dlmr. 40, EI 239 and 392

(*¹nepōt-s / gen. *¹nepot-os 'grandson', [?] 'sister's son'), 394 (*¹neptih_g- 'granddaughter, [?] 'niece'), M K II 132-3, M E II 11-12, Horn 234, Vl. II 136O, Sg. 1429, F I 106 and II 307-8, WH II 161-2, O 300, Vn. N 15, Ern. 445-6, YGM-1 342, 345, Vr. 406, 410, Kb. 718, OsS 643, 650, KM 506, 510, Ho. 233, Ho. S 55, Zhr. IN 355, Frn. 494, Glh. 436, ESSJ XXIV 224 and XXV 18-19, Mikl. E 214, Srz. II 433, Vs. III 67-8, Matas. E 286-57, YGM-1 342, 345, Hm. 599.

1547. *¹nūq̄v 'strike, peck, hit' > **HS:** WS *¹√nky (prm. *-nkiy-) 'hurt, hit' > OA √nky G (inf. nkḥ) 'beat, hit', Sr √nkω|y v. G (pf. **נָכַח** nā'kā) 'harm, hurt, injure', EpHb √nky Sh (3p pf. ḥkω) 'beat, hit', BHb √nky|ω Sh (pf. **הִכָּה** hik'kā) 'strike, smite', **נָכַח** nā'kē adj. sg. cs., **נְכִימ** nē'kīm adj. pl. 'smitten, stricken', d. **מַכָּה** mak'kā (< *ma-n'k-at-) n. 'blow, wound, slaughter', Ar √nky G (pf. **נָכַח** nakā, ip. -nkiy-) 'wound, hurt' ({Fr.} 'afficit noxâ, nece, vel vulneribus'), Gz √nky (pf. nakaya, 3m js. yə-nkī) 'injure, hurt, damage, harm', Qt {Rk.} nk y v. 'injure, diminish', Sb d. nk y, nk y t 'mischief (malveillance, tort)', Jb C {Jo.} √nk y|ω (pf. en'ke) 'hurt, hit on a sore spot', Sq d. {Ls} 'mōnke? 'coup (de couteau)' ¶ HJ 730, BDB 645-6 [no. 5221-3, 4347], Br. 428, JPS 339, Fr. IV 336, Hv. 799, L G 397-8, L LS 267, Rk. 105, BGMR 96, Jo. J 189 ¶ ?? S *¹[nk̄- +exts: [1] CS *¹√nkd 'stechen' > MHb √nkd G 'sting, puncture', Ar √nqd G 'peck (a grain)' (bird), 'crack (a nut)', [2] S *¹√nk̄r v. 'peck, prick' > BHb √nk̄r G 'dig out, peck out', √nk̄r D 'gouge out (the eyes), pierce', Ar √nqr G 'strike', Gz √nk̄ωr v. 'peck, prick, pierce', Ak √nk̄r v. 'hew out', (× N *¹nūq̄v → *¹nūq̄e 'hole') Ar √nqr G 'hollow out (a stone)', [3] ? WS *¹√nk̄z 'puncture' (× N *¹nūq̄v → *¹nūq̄e '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 679-82, KBR 722-3, Hv. 791, BK II 1321-2, L EDG 399-401 || B *¹√nyH v. 'kill' (× N *¹næq̄æ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war') > Ah, Gh əŋy (3m pf. iŋya), ETwl/Ty ɛnyu (3m pf. ETwl iŋya, Ty yənyu), Kb nəy (pf. yənyu), Izd nəy (pf. iŋya), Mz, Wrg nəy (pf. yənyu), Nf/Si {La.} əny, Gd ɛnn (pf. yɛnnω) 'kill' ¶ Fc. 1401-2, GhA 143, 246-7 (on cj. 1 A 7), Dl. 267, Dlh. M 138, Dlh. Ou 222, Lf. II no. 1072, Mrc. 256 || **IE:** [1] NaIE *¹neuk-/ *¹nuk- 'hit, push' > Gk νύσσω, Gk A νύττω 'touch with a sharp point, prick, stab, pierce' (< *¹nuky-) || Lt inf. niùkinti 'to push, to urge on', niùkas, niùkasas n. 'punch, cuff' || Sl *¹nuk- (× ←d interj. *nu) > ChS inf. **НОУКАТН** nukati 'hortari', R inf. **ПО-НУКАТЬ** (× ←d instigating interj. НУ),

Uk inf. 'нукати, 'нюкати 'to drive on, to urge on', Cz inf. *nuknouti* 'to impel', P inf. *nukać* 'to drive on, to impel, to set to work', SCr inf. *nũkati* 'to persuade, to talk into (doing sth.)' ||| Gmc **nukk-* > MLG {Paul, KM} inf. *nucken* 'drohend den Kopf bewegen', {KM} inf. *nuck(e)*, NHG {KM} *Nücke*, pl. *Nücken* 'versteckte Bosheit, unfreundliche Laune', Mdt *nucke* 'cunning, guile', ?σ Dt *nuk* 'whim, caprice' ||| [2] NaIE **nek-* {Dv.} 'harm; kill', {P} 'kill', **nek̄u-s* 'dead person, corpse' (× N **ñæKæ* '↑', q.v. ffd.) > OIr *nes(s)* 'coup, blessure', ?σ Brtt: W {Vn.} *nych* 'peine, chagrin', Br *nes'h* 'peine, angoisse', MBr *nechif* 's'affliger' ||| for other cognates within IE see N **ñæKæ* ¶ F II 329, ≈ Frn. 505 (Lt *niuk-* as *on.*), KM 516, Paul 439, Vr. N 477, ≈ IS III 64, ESSJ XXVI 43-4 (Sl **nukati* ←-interj. **nu*), Vs. III 326, Vn. N 11 ||| U: FU **nokke-* v. 'peck', **nokk̄* 'beak' > F *nokkia-* v. 'peck', *nokka* 'beak' || Lp Kld {TI} *nũg̃ak̄-ã-* v. 'peck' (acc. to SK, a loan from F, but acc. to Db, a genetic cognate of F) ||| ObU **nūk-* v. 'peck' > pVg **n̄k̄* > Vg: LK *nāk̄*-, MK/ML *nēk̄*-, P *nēk̄*-, Ss *nāx̄* id.; pOs **n̄k̄* > Os: V *n̄g̃-*, *n̄uqa-*, Vy *n̄g̃-*, Ty *n̄oq-*, Y *noq-*, D/K/O *noχ-*, Nz *nuχ-*, Kz *n̄w̄χ-* id. ¶ Db. OS xxvii [no. 102], Ht. no. 425, Trs. S 288, SK 390-1, TI 288 ||| D **nokk-* v. 'indent, scratch' > Ml *okkuka* v. 'indent', Tu *okku* v. 'scratch, make furrows', Tl *nokku* v. 'pinch, indent' ¶¶ D no. 3780 ◇ FU **nokke*, D **nokk-* and NaIE **nek-* can be explained by postulating pN **o* (**n̄ok̄e*), but NaIE **neuk-*/ *nuk-* points to a N **u* or **ü* (**n̄ûKa*). The problem still needs investigating.

1548. ₂ **n̄ük̄* or **n̄uK̄E* 'hole' > A: M **nüken* 'hole, grave' (× ppM **lūken* < N **ṽowK̄* 'hole, opening') > MM [MA] *nüken* 'pit', [IM] *nüken* 'grave', [L] {Pp.} *nüket* pl. 'holes', [IsV] *nüken* 'hole', WrM {MED} *nüke(n)*, HIM {MED, BMR} *nyx(эH)*, Brt *nyxэ(H)* 'hole, pit, chink, crevice, opening, orifice', Kl {KRS} *nykh* 'hole, opening, pit, burrow', {Rm.} *nük̄* 'Loch, Öffnung, Mündung', Ord *nük̄xe* ~ *nük̄x̄ü* 'trou, enfouissement, terrier, fosse', Mnr H {T} *noke* 'pit, hole', {SM} *nok'ū* 'trou, ouverture, enfouissement, puits', Dg {Pp.} *nũg̃*, *nük'ě*, {Mrm} *nug̃u*, *nug̃*, *nuh* 'Öffnung, Loch', Dx {T} *nukun* 'pit, hole, opening'; d. M **nüke-le-* 'make\drill a hole, pierce' > MM [S] {H} *nukele-* 'ein Loch bohren', WrM {MED} *nükele-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *nyxle-*, Brt *nyxel-* 'make holes, drill a hole, pierce, perforate', Kl {KRS} *nykl-* 'male holes', {Rm.} *nük̄*- 'drchbohreb, ein Loch

machen', Mnr H {SM} nok'ū^olo-'trouer, percer', Ord nū^kxēle- ~ nū^kxūle- 'trouer'; d. M *^onūket- v. 'pierce' > MM [LM, IM] nūket- id. ¶ Pp. MA 262, 443, Pp. L III 72, H 120, Lg. VMI 59, Pp. MDG 89, MED 597, Chr. 335, BMR II 436-7, KRS 389, KW 282, Ms. O 503, SM 282-3, T 352, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 131, Klz. D I 125 || HS: WS *✓nķķ 'cleft, crevice' > BHb נִקְיָן *nā'ķīķ* (att.: pl. cs. נִקְיָן nāķī,ķē) 'cleft', Pun nķ 'cave, rock cleft (?)', Gz nāķāķ 'cleft, crevice'; +exts: [1] WS *✓nķᶜ > MHb נִקְיָן 'nεķaᶜ 'cleft, cavity, ravine', Sr نِقْدٌ nεķ'ᶜ-ā 'cave, hole', Gz ✓nķᶜ G 'be split\cleft', (?σ) Ar ✓nqᶜ G 'déchirer (par exemple, sa chemise)', {Fr.} 'diffidit, laceravit (sinum indusii)'; [2] (× N *^onūķᶜ 'to strike, to peck, to hit') S *✓nķᶜ 'dig, hew out, make a hole' > BHb ✓nķᶜ v. G 'gouge, pick out (e.g. the eyes)', D 'gouge, bore out', MHb {Js.}, JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓nķᶜ v. G 'dig, chisel', JEA {Sl.} ✓nķᶜ G 'pick out, hew, pluck out', Sr ✓nķᶜ G {JPS} 'hew out, hollow out', Md ✓nķᶜ 'dig', Ar ✓nqr G 'hollow out (a stone), engrave (stone\wood)', 'pierce the egg for letting out the chicken' (of a hen), Gz ✓nķ^ωᶜ (pf. nāķ^ωara, js. yā-nķ^ωar) 'prick, pierce, make a hole', Mh {Jo.} ✓nķᶜ (pf. nε'ķawr) 'dig with an entrenching tool\adze', Jb C {Jo.} ✓nķᶜ (pf. nķᶜr) 'dig with a small tool or the fingers', Ak fOB ✓nķᶜ G (p. iķķur) 'hew out, carve' (and 'tear down, demolish?'); [3] CS *✓nķd 'stechen, picken, hacken' (× N *^onūķᶜ '↑') > BHb d. נִקְדָּן nā'ķod / -דָּן nāķudd- (pl. nāķud'd-īm, nāķud'd-ōt) adj. 'speckled', תִּקְדֹת nāķud'dōt n. pl. '(glass-\silver) beads', MHb הִקְדָּן nāķud'dā 'point, dot, drop', Sr نِقْطَةٌ nuqᶜ-at-, Md nuqᶜa 'point, dot' (as. *-ķd- > *-ķᶜ- in Ar -qᶜ- and Md -ķᶜ-), Ar ✓nqd 'crack (a nut) with the fingers'; [4] WS *✓nķz (× N *^onūķᶜ '↑') > MHb ✓nķz G v. 'puncture', Sh (pf. תִּקְיָן hiķ'ķīz) 'let blood, be bled', JPA {Js.} ✓nķz Sh (pf. תִּקְיָן Paķ'ķez) id., Sr ✓nķz G v. 'point, add vowel points', نِقْطَةٌ nuqᶜ-z-ā n. 'point', nuqzānayā adj. pl. 'with vowel points', Ar {BK} nuqz- 'well', Sb ✓nķz 'excavate\dig (as a grave)', Qt nķz n. 'well', Gz ✓nķz G 'be worm-eaten'; [5] S *✓nķb 'pierce' > BHb ✓nķb G 'bore, pierce', Md ✓nķb id., 'make a hole', JEA ✓nķb G 'pierce, perforate', Ar ✓nqb G v. 'pierce (a wall), bore', Sb {BGMR} ✓nķb 'cut\excavate (a channel)', 'creuser (un canal)', Qt {Rk.} ✓nķb 'bore a hole, pierce', Mh {Jo.} ✓nķb (pf. nīķzb) 'be cracked', Jb E/C {Jo.} ✓nķb (pf. 'niķzb) 'crack, break', Ak fOB ✓nķb

G (p. i k̄ k̄ u b) 'deflower, rape'; hence d. (ps.) adj. f. with the meaning 'female' (← 'perforata'): BHb הַבָּרָה nək̄ē'ḇā, Md nuḳ(u)ḇta, Sr נְבִיבָה nək̄bə'tā 'female'; d. *'naḳ̄ḷḅ- 'hole' > Md niḳ̄ba 'hole, stone bored with a hole', BHb בְּנֵיבָה 'nək̄εḇ 'tunnel, mine', MHb בְּנֵיבָה 'nək̄εḇ 'hole, perforation, incision', JA אֲבָבָה niḳ̄'b-ā id., JEA {Sl.} אֲבָבָה niḳ̄'b-ā 'perforation, body orifice', Sr נְבִיבָה nək̄'b-ā 'hole, opening, hollow, burrow, tunnel', Ar نَقَبْ naqb- 'hole in a wall, breach; tunnel; ulcer', Sb رِقَبْ riq̄b 'channel, passage', Qtr رِقَبْ riq̄b 'channel' ¶ KB 678-82, HJ 756, Js. 931-5, Sl. 753, 772, 776, L G 399-401, Br. 444-6, JPS 350-2, DM 294, 299, 396, Fr. IV 318-26, BK II 1318-24, 1329, Hv. 790-4, BGMR 97-8, Rk. 111, Jo. M 296-7, Jo. J 187, 190, CAD XI/1 328-9 || ?? B (with an ext.) *√nyr > Kb √nyr G (imv. ənyər) 'perforer, trouer' (unless borrowed from Ar √nqr), Wrg √nyr 'raciner, s'enfoncer, se perdre dans le sol', ? Ah d. ənnəyər 'serrure en bois' ¶ Dl. 570-1, Dlh. Ou 223, Fc 1409.

1549. *näk̄ḷḅhê 'see, perceive' > HS: S *°√nqh > Ar √nqh G (pf. naqaha, ip. -naqh-) 'catch the meaning of', {Fr.} 'intellexit (sermonem)', imv. ?anqih lī samaḥka 'listen to me!', 'lend me thy ear!', naqih- 'intelligens, percipiens sensum verborum', √nqh Sh (pf. ?anqaha) 'make so. understand (a speech)' ¶ Fr. IV 329, Hv. 796 || Ch {JS} *√ng 'see' > WCh: Hs nígā 'perceive' | (× N ≈ *'ń'Exa 'see') Su {J} nā, Ywm {IL} ná?, Kfr/Gmy nā 'see' | Mbr {Sk} naḅ-, Wrj {Sk.} náhā, Kry nahə id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ny- id. | Glv {Rp.} naḅ-, Dgh {Frk} nyínè / nyā id. | Lgn {Lk.} nḡ^ωa, {Bou.} ?əngə id. ¶ JI II 284-5, ≈ JI I 144-5 (Ch *√ngn 'see'), JS 219, Ba. 519, ChC s. v. 'see', ChL || U: FU *näke- 'see' > F näke- 'see, notice', Es näge- 'see' | pLp {Lr.} *nēkə n. 'dream', *nēkə- v. 'dream' > Lp: S {Hs.} niēgedidh v. 'dream', L {LLO} niekati- id., niehkō n. 'dream', N {N} niekko / -g- id., niegâdit v. 'dream', T {Gn.} níkka- id. | pMr {Ker.} *ńäŷe- > *ńäye- > Er һее- һеуе-, Δ níi-, Mk һяе- һäyə- 'see, catch sight of' | Vt B {Wc.} na,al- v. 'look at, regard' || ObU {Ht.} *nī-, *nīḅ- > pVg d. *nīŷ-l- 'be seen\visible' > Vg: T ńäw-l-, LK/MK/ML niŷ-l-, P/LL nīl-, UL/Ss nēŷ-l- id.; pOs {Ht.} *nü-, nüḅ- id. > Os: Ty ni-, niŷ^ω-, Y nü-, D/K niw-, Kz nī-, O ni- id. | Hg néz- (with a sx -z-) 'look, see' ¶ Coll. 101, UEW 302, Db. OS xxxiii, It. no. 257, Sm. 546 (FU, FP *näki-, Ugr *näki-), SK 410, Lr. no. 731, Lgc. no. 4190, N III 32-3, Ker. II 93, ERV

408, PI 184, Ht. no. 418, Trs. S 294, MF 470 || **A**: pKo {S} *n₂ǵkí- ~ *n₂ǵkí- 'consider, regard' > MKo n₂ǵkí, n₂ǵki-, NKo yǵgi- ¶ S QK no. 774, Nam 103, 106, MLC 316, Rm. SKE I 163 || **D** *nek- ({ǵGS} *-g-) > Tm n i k a r v. 'shine, be visible', Kn n e g a r. 'become manifest\notorious\well-known, cause oneself to appear', Tl n e g a d u 'be published, be well-known' ¶¶ D no. 3659, Zv. 66-7 O (on D e and *i in SD and TI) || AdS of K *^onaχ- 'see' (< N ≈ *^rǵ Eχ a 'see', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The de-emphatization of the original *K₂ in the prehistory of U and D is due to as. (*-K₂h-> U, D *-k-). It is worth paying attention to S *[√]nkr (> Ar n a k r-, n u k r- 'acuteness of mind', BHb [√]nkr Sh [pf. הִכִּיר h i k 'kīr, ip. יָכִיר y a k 'kīr] 'recognize, erkennen', JA, ChPA [√]nkr Sh [JA pf. אָכַר ʔ a k 'k a r] id.), though it cannot be ruled out that the [√] goes back to *[√]n-k₂r with the ancient prefix *n₂- ◇ The D vw. *e for the expected *a (< N *ä) still requires explanation ◇ Gr. II no. 328 (U, Ko + qu. J).

1550. ₂ *n₂oh₂ǵ 'to walk\lead; way' > **HS**: WS *[√]nhl (D ?) 'lead (esp. to a watering place); lead (a herd), guide' > BHb [√]nhl D 'lead to a watering place; lead\bring to a station\goal', נַהֲלָה n a h ^a 'l a l 'pasture' (or 'watering place'), MHb [√]nhl D 'lead', Ar m a n h a l- 'watering place', {BK} 'aiguade, endroit dans le désert offrant quelque verdure et de l'eau', {Dz.} m a n h a l- a t- 'station, stage of the road', Ar n ā h i l- a t 'going to the water' (of men\beasts), Sb m n h l 'watering place, well' ¶ KB 638, BDB 624-4, Js. 881, BK II 1358, Hv. 804, BGMR 94 || **A** ≈ *N₂ǵ₂ǵ₂ǵ (= *n₂ǵ₂ǵ₂ǵ?) > T *j₂ǵ 'way, road' > OT {Cl.} j₂ǵ, {TL} j₂ǵ, MQp, MU, XwT, Chg, OOSm j₂ǵ 'road, way', Tk ǵ₂ǵ, Tkm, XT {DH} j₂ǵ, Xlj {DT} j u ^o, Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET, Slr, Ln j₂ǵ, Uz j₂ǵ, VTt, Bsh ǵ₂ǵ, QrB, Qrg ǵ₂ǵ, Qzq, Qq ǵ₂ǵ, StAlt ǵ₂ǵ, Xk ǵ₂ǵ, Tv ǵ₂ǵ, Tf ǵ₂ǵ, Qz₂ h₂ǵ, Yk sū₂ǵ, Chv L ǵ₂ǵ, Chv Δ ǵ₂ǵ id.; T ǵ₂ǵ → AncM *z₂ǵ > WrM ǵ₂ǵ, HIM ǵ₂ǵ 'good luck, fortune', Kl Ö {Rm.} † z₂ǵ 'Glück; glückliche Reise, Erfolg' ¶ Cl. 917, Rs. W 205-6, Ra. 102, ET J 217-19, TL 531, DT 229, Ash. XII 214-16, Fed. II 131, Jeg. 216-17, ChVS 188, KW 475, MED 1969, BMR II 222 || Tg *n u l g i₂- 'nomadize' > Ewk, Neg n u l g ī-, Sln n ū l g ī-, Lm n ū l g a-, Orc n u g g u w u-, Ul n ū l ǵ u / i-, Ork n u l d i- ~ n u l j i- id., Ewk, Neg n u l g ī-, Lm n ū l g a-, Ork n u l d i ~ n u l j i n. 'nomadizing, distance of one day's migration', Orc n u g g i, Ul n ū l ǵ i 'family' ¶ STM I 609-10 ¶ The Tg stem belongs here unless it is borrowed from M (WrM n e g ū l g e- 'move, cause to nomadize', see

MED 569), If it does belong here and Tg *-g- goes back to an extension or sx, the N word must be reconstructed as ***ñohī**∇ (because N ***ñ-** will be ruled out) ◇ Qu. because of the semantic distance, but preferable to alternative comparisons (e.g. T ***jōl** ÷ Ar -zūl- 'pass away, retire from [a place]' [that does not explain the T long vw.]).

1551. *ñô∇m 'pleasant, gentle, fine' > **HS**: S (or CS) ***✓n**fm > BHb ✓nfm (3m ip. paus. yí-nfām) 'be pleasant\\lovely\\charming', Amr {G} ✓nfm 'be pleasant', Ar ✓nfm 'be green and tender; lead an easy life; rejoice'; BHb **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣** nā'fīm 'pleasant', Ph, Pun nfm 'agreeable, good, favorable', Ug nfm {A} 'lieblich, gut', {OLS} 'apuesto; agradable; benéfico; bueno', Amr {G} nafim-um, nifm-um 'pleasant', ? Eb nā-īm (in pr. names), Cn ⇨ Eg [EgSSc] nā-⁵-mu, nā-⁵-a-ma4 (= {Hoch} ***na**f_imu) 'dear, pleasant'; Ph, Pun nfm n. 'good, fortune', Ug nfm 'gracia, donaire; delicia', Amr {G} nafm-um, nufm-um 'pleasure' ¶ KB 666, HJ 738-9, A no. 1806, OLS 314-15, G A 26-7, BK II 1298, Hv. 783, Krb. PE 98, Hoch no. 244 || **U**: FP ***num**∇ (~ ***ñum**∇?) 'soft, tender' > Chr Н НЫМЫЖ 'нѣмъжъ' 'tender' | Prm ***nūmi**í ~ ***ñūmi**í > Z UVc **ñ**+mles 'soft, free of lime' (of water), Vt num+les ~ **ñum**+les 'soft' (of water), 'not tightly twisted' (of yarn) ¶ Prm ***ñum**+l may have a palatal ***ñ-** due to the infl. of FU ***ñäm**∇ 'soft' (see N id. ***ñä**∇m 'soft') ¶ MRS 364, LG 199 || **A** ***nôm**'a' 'soft, mild' > M ***nomu**-qan 'peaceful, meek, gentle' > MM [MA] **nomuqan** ~ **nomuḡan** {Pp.} 'смирный' (translating Chg **jabas**' 'tame, docile' or 'kindly, peaceable'), [HI] **nomuqan** 'doux', WrM **nomuqan** {Kow.} 'doux, tranquille, apprivoisé', {MED} 'peaceful, meek, gentle', HIM {BMR, MED} **номхон** ~ {BMR} **номгон** id., Brt **номгон** ~ **номхон** 'смирный, тихий, кроткий', WrO {Krg.} **номоḡan** 'quiet, peaceful', **номоḡon** 'bland, placid, calm, peaceful', Kl {Rm.} **номхан** ~ **номуан** 'friedlich, zahm', {KRS} **номһн** **номуън** 'quiet, tame (смирный, спокойный, тихий)', Dg {T} **номхон** id., {Pp.} **номхăḡ**, {Mrm.} **номокон**, {Mr.} **номехон** 'gentle, mild', Ord **номоḡon** 'doux de caractère, doux et docile' ¶ Pp. MA 259, Ms. H 79, Ms. O 496, MED 574, 591, BMR II 412-13, Chr. 330, KRS 381, KW 279, 375, Krg. 223, Klz. D II 125, Mr. D 200, T DgJ 158, Chr. 330 || T ***jI**um∇'ḡa- ({ḡMd.} ***jIm**∇'ḡa-) ⇨ NaT ***jI**um∇'ḡa-k ({Md.} ***jIm**∇'ḡa-k) 'soft' (× N id. ***ñä**∇m 'soft', q.v.) > OT {Cl.} **jImšaq** ~ **jumšaq**, Xk **nimzaḡ**,

MQp XIII, Chg XV jumšaq, Tkm, ET, Ln jumšaq, Ggz jimišak, Osm {Rl.} jum(u)šaq, Tk ğumşak, Az jumšaq, Uz jumšaq, SY jumsaq, CrTt jimšaq, Qmq jimišaq, VTt, Bsh j'omšaq, Qzq, Qq žūmsaq, StAlt žimžaq, Sg čimžaq, Qb/Qc {Rl.} jimjaq, Tv čimčaq id. || Chv џемџе śemž_e id. | ? Chv L џăмăл 'light (in weight), easy' ¶ MKD 233, Cl. 938-9, ET J 252-3, DTS 279-80, Ra. 200, Rs. W 201, Rl. III 500-1, 580-6, GAJ 181, Bu. II 384, Ra. 200, BIG 120, RXS 385, 801, Ash. XIII 26, Md. 83, 161, Ash. XIII 26-8, Fed. II 94-5, 100-1, Jeg. 207, ChVS 180 ¶ T *I often goes back to N *u, this delabialization needs investigating || Tg: Lm Ol íuməñ- 'quiet' (of water surface) (ń- due to the infl. of Tg *ńem∇- 'soft' < N id. *ńăřm∇ 'ń') ¶ STM I 646, 652-3 || ?σ,φ pJ {S} *namià 'slippery, smooth' (× N id. *ńăřm∇?) > OJ nam_l_e, MJ nàmè, J T nameraka 'smooth', J T naméraka, J K námérákà, J Kg nameraká {Kenk.} 'slippery, glassy' ¶ S QJ no. 457, Mr. 492, Kenk. 1321 ¶¶ SDM 992-3 (pA *nĵùmà 'warm; soft, mild' > T *J|um-ĺçak 'soft, mild', M *nomu- ~ *neme- ~ *nima- 'gentle, meek, quiet, mild', J, Tg *ńume- ~ *ńama- ~ *ńem- 'warm, soft, quiet, weak, losse' [the meaning 'warm' in Tg, does not belong here]), DQA no. 1487.

1552. *ńim?∇ 'name' > IE *no(:)m-n(-) / *ńom-n(-) 'name' > OI 'nāma, Av nāma, OPrs nāman- id. || Gk: A ὄνομα (gen. ὀνόματος), D ὄνομα id., in proper names D Ἐνυμα- || pAl {O} *e|inmen > Al T emēr, Al G emēn, {LP} ê mēn 'name' || Arm անուն anuñ id. (Me.: < *anuwn < *onomno-), gen. անուան anuan || L nōmen, Um NOME, numem id. || Clt {Matas.} *anman 'name' > Ir ainm n- (gen. anme, pl. anman), Brtt {RE} *anman > OW anu (pl. enuein), MW enu, enw, W enw (pl. enwau), Crm hanow (pl. hanwyn), MBr hanu, hanff, Br anv 'name'; W e- on the analogy of the pl. forms || Gt namō (accus. pl. namna) (ὄνομα) 'Name', ON nafn, NNr, Sw namn, Dn navn, OSx, OHG namo, NHG Name, AS nama 'name', NE name || Pru emnes (ce. for emens?), emmens, accus. emnen 'name' || Sl *jǫmę (gen. *jǫmene) id. > OCS ИМА іме (gen. ИМЕНЕ імене), Blg име, SCr ìme (gen. ìmena), Slv imē, R имя (gen. имени), Uk им'я, P imię, Cz jméno, Slk meno id. || Tc A rñom, B rñem (pl. rñemna) 'name' || Ht lāman id. (dis. from *nāman?) ¶¶ WP I 132, P 321, Mn. 851, ≈ EI 390 (*h₁nomŋ̥ - *h₁enh₃mŋ̥ - *h₁neh₃mŋ̥ 'name'), M K II 153, M E II 35-7, F II 396-7, Ch. 803-4, WH II 173-4, Bc. G 339, LP §§ 8.2, 75.4, Vn. A 36-7, RE 113, Hm. 38,

Ant. SA 126-7, IS II 82-3, Fs. 369-70, Vr. 403, Kb. 715, OsS 639, Ho. 231, Ho. S 54, KM 502, O 87, Huld 61-2, LamP 148, Ivn. PiILX, Me. EAC 48, 142-3, 150, Matas. E 38, Me. AAE 55, Slt. 23-4, Grgv. BEO 128 (believing that Arm anun is a Phr loanword from DM, because a- is a reg. reflex of IE $*\text{a-}$ in DM, but not in Arm), Fs. 369-70, Ho. 231, Vr. 403, En. 165, Tp. P E-H 28-30, Stang VG 225, ESSJ VIII 227-8, StSS 260-1, Glh. 276-7, Vs. II 129-30, Vn. A 36-7, Wn. I 327-8, Ad. 270-1, Ad. H 28, 117, CHD L-N 31-6, Ts. E II 27-9 ¶ The initial vw. in Arm, Al, OIr and Pru (and possibly in Gk?) is based on $*\text{h}_2\text{men}$ or $*\text{onmen}$ (with an initial non-phonemic vocoid). On the possible prosodic origin of Gk h- (and on IE and N '-) see Introduction, § 2.2.6. The initial long vw. in L, Iir and Ht is a grade of apophony or is due to the influence of $*\text{ghno-}$ v. 'know' (in L). The existence of an initial lr. is ruled out by the ev. of OI [RV] cds 'sa-nāman , sap'ta-nāman , 'ahi-nāman etc. without lengthening of the final vw. of the first element (F. Cowg. EG 152). I agree with Cowgill and Bammesberger, who reconstructed the IE stem as $*\text{nomn}_o$ / gen. $*\text{h}_2\text{men-s}$ and did not see any reason to suppose the existence of a lr. in either the initial or the medial position ¶¶ On the discussion see Wy. GPV 60 and Wnt. TE 202-3 (both hypothesize $*\text{ghnomn}_o = *E\text{nomn}$), Cowg. EG 156, CHD L-N 31-6, Bam. SLT 140-1, Szem. S 238-49, Ei. UWHM 162 (fn. 77) ($*\text{ghnoa}_3\text{mōn}$), Schn. ANS 263 ($*\text{ghnéa}_3\text{m}_o$), Ts. E II 27-9, Jas. NS 376 ($*\text{ghna}_3\text{mēn}$) and Bks IELG 47, 229-31 ($*\text{ona}_3\text{-mēn} / *en\text{a}_3\text{-men-m}_o / *n\text{ona}_3\text{-mn-ós}$) || HS: SOm: Ari {Bnd.} nām- , nāmi 'name', {Fl.} nam id., Gll {Fl.} lāmi 'name' (in Gll dis. from $*\text{nāmi}$, as in Ht), Hm {Ldl} nam- ~ nab- 'name', Dm {Fl.} nāb- , {Bnd.} nāp- 'name' ¶ Bnd. AL 155, Bnd. LE 263-4, Bnd. MO 168, Ldl H s.v. nam- ~ nab- , Fl. SO s.v. Dm nāb- || S $*\checkmark\text{nb?}$ v. 'name, give a name' > Ak $\checkmark\text{nb?}$ (inf. nabū) v. 'name, give a name, appoint', BHb nā'ḥī (spelled $\text{א'בִּי הַנְּבִיָּא}$) 'prophet' (originally ps. prtc. 'named one, appointed one') (→ BA, JA $\text{א'בִּי הַנְּבִיָּא}$ nabiy'y-ā , Sr נְבִיָּא nabiy'y-ā , Ar nabīy- 'prophet' → Gz nabiyy id.), Ar $\checkmark\text{nb?}$ G, D 'announce' (semantic infl. of nabīy-?), Jb $\checkmark\text{nb}y \sim \checkmark\text{nb?}$ v. 'name', Sq {Jo.} 'znbʔ ($\checkmark\text{nb?}$) v. 'name'; in S we must assume that $*\text{n...m}$ was dissimilated to $*\text{n...b}$ ¶ CAD XI/1 32-9, Sd. 697, 699, KB 622-5, KBR 661-2, Br. 411, Nld. NB 34, BK II 1179, 1191, Fischer 131, Jo. J 179, L LS 255, L G 385 || U $*\text{nime}$ 'name' > F, Es rimī 'name' | pLp {Lr.} $*\text{nəm}$ > Lp: N {N} nāmmā 'name, reputation', S {Hs.} n'īmme , L {LLO} namma , Kld nəm id. | pMr

{Ker.} *līmā > Er лем íem, Δ íām, Mк лем íem 'name' | Chr H lām, Chr U/B lūm id. | Vt/Z híim 'name' || pObU *nēm id. > pOs {Ht.} *nem (= {Hl.} *nām) id. > Os: V/Vy/D/Nz/Kz nem, Ty/Y nām; pVg *nām∇ id. > OVg S Kg на(м)ми, OVg S Vt намъ, OVh S Tr намя, OVg N Ber нема, Vg: T/LK nām, MK/UK/NV/SV nām, LL nām, UL/Ss nam id. | Hg нéв 'name' || Sm *nim~*nūm {Jn., Hl.} 'name' > Ne T híim?, húm?, Ne F, Ng híim, En híi?, hú?, Slq Tz {KKIH} nīm, Slq Ke nim, Kms nim, nam, Mt {Hl.} *Nim ~ *nūm 'name' (Mt M {Sp.} нуммеде 'his name') || pY *ni'm' ({IN H} *nú, {IN UJ} *niw) 'name' > OY XVII {Wts.} nim, OY K {Merk} niiv, {Bil.} newe, OY Ch {Mat.} ныва; Y K {Krn.} híu, {Jc} niu, {IN} hú 'name' ¶¶ Coll. 39, UEW 305, Sm. 538 (U, FU, FP *nimi, Ugr *nīmī, Sm *nim), Lr. no. 702, Lgc. no. 4066, Hs. 980-1, Ker. II 77, Ht. no. 428, Jn. 102, KKIИ 136, Hl. M no. 756 (misprint: *nūm for *nūm), IN H 312, IN UJ 240, 318, Krn. JJ 236, Ang. 182, ≈ Rd. UJ 40 [no. 35] (Y ← U) || **A** *nim∇ **'name' (→ [in descendant lges] 'tale' and 'sign') > Tg *nim-ηan, {Brk.} *hím-ηa- 'fairy tale' > Ewk nimηā-qān, Lm híim-qan, Nn Nh nηmā, Orc híima, Ud {STM} híimʔaηku, Ork nηma ~ híimga 'fairy tale', Ul híimma(n-) 'fairy tale; beginning of an ecstatic incantation (камлание)' ¶ STM I 594, On. 281, S AP II 224-5, Brk. LDK 66-7 || ?φ pKo *ni'jaki 'tale, story' > MKo *ni'jaki, NKo ijagi ¶ S QK no. 916, Nam 123, MLC 1333 || ? M: [1] *nim in MM [MA] nim niken 'each other' (niken is 'one') ¶ Pp. MA 253-6 [2] WrM {MED} nim 'mark, sign'; but the variant *im id. (> WrM {MED} im 'mark, sign, token, earmrk [as of cattle/sheep]', Kl {KRS} им 'sign [a cut in cattle's ear]', {Rm.} im 'der Schnitt in den Ohren der Rinder und Schafe, das Kennzeichen', Ord em ~ im 'marque consistant en une échancrure ou une coupure faite à l'oreille des bestiaux pour que le propriétaire puisse reconnaître ceux qui lui appartiennent') is akin to MM híim, T *im 'mark, sign' and to Ewk him id. (cf. Pp. VG 12, 117 and STM II 324) ¶ MED 409, 584, KW 208, KRS 269. Ms. O 237, ET Gl 632-3, STM I 504 ¶¶ S AJ 24 and SDM 888-9 equated Tg *nim-ηan and the J words with T *jom 'omen, legend, tale, magic device'. Earlier (S AJ 24) Starostin interpreted the sound corr. of T *o~*u and Tg *i (~*i) as a reflex of the pA diphthong *iu; later (SDM95) Starostin, ADb. and Md. reinterpreted it as a reflex of A *ā before *o of the second syll. In SDM 888-9 they preferred to reconstruct pA *íjōmo(ηa) 'name; spell, divination',

which is groundless and untenable (*í- is not based on any data); they adduced T *jom, M *dom (actually borrowed from Early T) and pJ {S} *nəm- (> OJ nom- v. 'pray'), but all of them belong elsewhere: T and M to N *Tum▽ 'magic, spell' (q.v.), J to *ńangü 'tongue' ¶¶ S AJ 69, 276 [no. 48] (pA *niuma 'name, spell [Zauberspruch]), ≈ SDM95 (A *nǎmo 'name; spell, divination'), err. SDM 888-9 and DQA no. 1213 (both: pA *íjǎmo(ηa) > Tg, Ko + err. J *náNj 'name', M *dom and T *jom) ◇ Cf. AD LRC (IE, U, J), IS II 82-3 (*nimí 'name' > IE, U, S with an inaccurate semantic interpretation of the S √; the SOm and Altaic cognates were not adduced [in 1960's the SOm cognates were not yet recorded]) ◇ In IE and HS the reflex of N *i was not preserved due to apohony (e.g. N *i > pre-IE *j̥ō or *ōj̥ > IE *ō) (see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Gr. II no. 273 (*nim ~ *nom 'name') (IE, U, Y, J, CK).

1552a. *ńiṛańǎč|č▽ 'grass' > U *ńáč▽ 'ε grass' > FP: L {LLO} njoh̥tsō 'blättrige Pflanze, die in Mooren ... wächst und nach der der Rentier gelüstig ist', Lp: N {Fri.} njuo̥cco-rasse, -rase 'horsetail (plant)' ('equisetum, kjæringrok, kjæringsnelde') | Prm *ńáča > Z Ud нятша ńáča 'ε soft low grass in damp meadows', Z LV ńáča 'мокрица (*Stellaria media*, winterweed)', Yz ńáča id., 'звездчатка (*Stellaria*, chickweed)' || Sm *ńáč'ǎ|ǎ^{o1} 'grass' > Ne T тяда, Ne T O {Lh.} ńáǎǎ, Ne F {Lh.} ńǎttǎǎ 'cup moss, Rentierflechte (ягель, *Cladonia rangiferina*)', Ng {Mik.} ńotǎ 'moss', En X {Cs.} 'nara, En B {Cs.} 'nada id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ńūt+ 'grass, hay', Slq Tm {KD} ńūǎ, Kms {KD} noʔ, {Cs.} no'd, no'n 'grass', Koyb {Sp.} нотъ 'grass', но 'hay', Mt M {Pl.} нотнь id. (mentioned by Jn., but absent in Hl. M) ¶¶ UEW 311, Fri. 496, LG 202, Jn. 105, KKIИ 142, Cs. 185 || A: Tg *ni,ajaka ~ *ni,anç▽ka 'grass' > Nn KU nǎǎǎǎ, Nn Nh, Ul ńǎǎǎǎ 'grass, weeds', WrMc {Z} нянчиха 'grass, greens' ¶ STM I 627, On. 303, Z 343 || D *ńǎǎǎ- 'poison' (← *'poisonous grass', like NE grass for 'marihuana') > Tm, Ml nǎǎǎ, Td noǎ, Kn nǎǎǎ, Tl nǎǎǎǎ, nǎǎǎǎ, Prj neńǎ 'poison', ? Krx mǎńǎ 'vegetal poison used for intoxicating and catching fish', ? Mlt manǎraha 'benumbed'; D ⇨ Mundari manǎom 'prepared poison; to poison' ¶¶ D no. 3580, Pf. 114 || ?σ K *onač- > G nač-i, G Gr nača 'green shell of a hazel nut' ¶ Chx. 942, DCh. 974 ◇ Nn KU nǎa- rules out a rec. of Tg *ńa- and N *ńa- ¶ STM I 627, On. 303, X 343.

1553. *n̄n̄Nĉn̄n̄ 'high, big, strong' > **HS:** ≈ **n̄n̄^rŋ^rŝn̄n̄ - > Eg N n̄n̄^rŝ ≈ 'be strong' ¶ EG III 209 ¶ It is likely that Eg ŋ may go back to *ŋ || S *√n̄ŝn̄ v. 'be high, lift up' (→ v. 'carry') > Ar √n̄ŝn̄ v. 'grow up', 'become older' (of a child), 'be high in the sky' (of clouds), Sb n̄ŝn̄ v. 'arise, take action; build up, raise', OCn n̄ašš a / y i n̄ašš i, BHb אַשׁוּן √n̄ŝn̄ 'carry, lift, lift up', Ug √n̄ŝn̄ G 'lift up, put on', Ph, Pun, M'b, OA n̄ŝn̄ √n̄ŝn̄, IA n̄ŝn̄ (= √n̄ŝn̄) v. 'lift up, carry', BA אַשׁוּן √n̄ŝn̄, JA [Trg.] אַשׁוּן ~ אֲשׁוּן √n̄ŝn̄ | w G 'hoch halten', SmA {Tal} √n̄ŝn̄ G 'take, carry', Sb √n̄ŝn̄ 'arise, take action', Mn {MA} √n̄ŝn̄ 'entreprendre; édifier', Gz √n̄ŝn̄ v. 'lift', Ak n̄ašš ū v. 'lift, carry', Eb √n̄ŝn̄ ≈ id. ¶ KB 683-4, 1749, KBR 724-7, HJ 760-4, A no. 1859, Grd. UT no. 1709, DrvG 153, OLS 334-5, Lv. III 402-3, Lv. T II 114-15, Tal 533, BK II 1255-6, Hv. 768, HJ 760-3, L G 404, Sd. 762, BGMR 98-9 || C: Bj {R} √n̄ŝn̄ (1s: p. a-n̄ŝn̄, pres. a-t̄n̄ašš i) pcv. md. 'get up, rise' ('sich erheben, empor-auf-steigen') ¶ R WBd 185 ¶¶ In addition, there is a WCh word deserving attention: WCh {Stl.} *nan 'big' > AG: Su {J} nan, Ang {Flk.} n̄an 'big, large', Mpn {Frz.} n̄an v. 'grow big', n̄an̄an 'large' | SBC: Sy {Sh.} n̄n̄, n̄n̄ 'big' | ?σ? Ron: Fy {J} n̄an 'brother' ¶ Stl. ZCh 235 [no. 821], J S 76, Flk. s.v. n̄en, Frz. DM 41, ChC s.v. 'big' || **U** *n̄n̄âñćn̄ 'big, strong, hard' > Hg n̄aḡy 'big' || {UEW}: ?σ Z US/LL/LV/MS, Yz n̄až 'stingy' (← *'hard'), Z LV/Sk n̄ač 'completely' || pY *ñanč'z' > Y K {IN H} ñančz ~ ñenčz 'big, great', {Ioz.} ñančé 'big' (ñančé 'połuteużel keżuż 'Ein großer Greis ist gekommen'), Y K {IN H} ñančōntzgz 'sth. big', Y T {IN H} ñanduodé 'excess, surplus', ñanduoyneŋ 'more, better', ñañitey- v. 'increase' ¶¶ UEW 310, MF 461, Lt. J 150, SZ 103 s.v. дзик, 340 s.v. скуп, Ang. 172, IN H s.v. pY *ñan-, IN UY 238 (pY *ñanč'z) || **A:** M: WrM {MED} n̄aicigar 'coarse, thick' ¶ MED 1207 || ?φ T *jü;çæ > MQp [BMTQ, L, AH] jüče 'high', Tk yūce, Kr {Rl.} jüžä {Rs.} 'hoch, erhaben', ? Az užā 'high' ¶ Rs. W 212, Zaj. VAKBM I 27, TAG 109, Rl. III 614-15, ET J 263, TrR 935, ARL 303.

1554. *ñiŋ^ru^r 'hair (of animals)' ([in U] → v. 'deprive of hair, pluck out hair\feathers') > **U** *ñiŋa- 'deprive of hair; lose hair' > F n̄i v o - 'deprive of hair, dehair a skin; shed hair', Krl n̄i v o 'Stelle, wo die Haare abgenutzt sind' | pLp *n̄z v ē - 'shed\lose hair, deprive of hair' > Lp: S {Hs.} n̄jy v v'edh '(sich) haaren, die Haare verlieren', L {LLO} n̄a v v ē t '(ein Fell) enthaaren, pälen (man reißt zuerst die Haare aus, dann schabt man die Haut mit dem Messer)', N {N} n̄â v v e - / - v -

'pluck off the hair of a skin', T {TI} naṽṽede 'dehair a skin' | Er невелеле – неведе – 'grow bare (облезть), lose hair\feathers', Mk {Ahl.} neṽila- 'sich abnutzen' || ObU: Vg {Kn.}: P nāṣt-, Ss noṣt- 'das Leder\Fell schaben'; Os: Kz ṅṅw-, O naṅw- v. 'free of hair, dehair (a reindeer hide)' || Sm: [1] Ne F P {Lh.} ṅeṅwā- 'be worn out (as the hair of fur boots)'; [2] Sm {Jn.} *nṅk̄- ~ *nṅk̄- 'pluck out (rupfen)' > Ne: T ниңгә – сь 'to pluck (a bird), to pluck out (feathers, hair, grass)', T O {Lh.} nṅk̄- 'pluck (a hen), pluck out (grass)', F Ks {Lh.} ṅṅk̄-ś 'to pluck (a hen), to pluck out (grass)'; Slq Tz {KKIH} ṅṅq̄+ṽ- 'pluck out (feathers, grass)'; ? Kms nṅgə- 'reißen, scharren', Koyb {Sp.} 1s pres. ныңгылямь 'деру'; Mt {Hl.} *Nṅgə- 'pluck out (rupfen)' (Mt M {Sp.} ниңгяямь 'щиплю') ¶ UEW 306 (*niṅwā- or *niṅa-), Coll. 39, Coll. CG 73, 127, 166, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU *niṅwā-, FP *niṅvā-, Ugr *nṅgā- 'enthaaren [Haut]'), Lr. no. 706, Lgc. no. 4087, Hs. 1012, LLO II 585-6, TI 1205, ERV 406, Jn. 101-2, Ter. 314, Lh. 288, KKIH 141, Ptp. 38, 99, Hl. M no. 761 || ¶ *nōṅṽ 'wool, down' > T *juṅ 'wool' > OT, MQR XIII juṅ, Tk Δ, ET, Slr juṅ, Az Δ, Kr T/G, SY, Ln jun, Uz žun, Tkm jüṅ, SY juṅ ~ jüṅ ~ jüṣ, Tk цүн, Ggz jün ~ ün, Qrj, Qmq, Nog jün, Qzq žün, Tv čuṅ, Xk nuṅ, Tb {Rl.} ṅuṅ, Yk suṅ, Chv L ҫәм сьм, Chv Δ-ҫән ~ ҫәм, Chv H {Md.} сьм 'wool', {Fed., ChVS} 'hair (of human body)', Qrg žün, Qq žün, VTt йон jṽn, SbTt, Bsh jṽn 'wool, hair (of human body)', StAlt žuṅ 'feather', Yk suṅ 'wool\feathers that were shed from animals' ¶ Acc. to Cl. 941 and TL 146, the variant with ü is due to the infl. of T *jüṅ 'feathers' ¶ Cl. 941, Rs. W 211, ET J 267, TL 148, TatR 190, Md. 58, 163 (T *žum ~ *žuṅ), BT 58 || M: [1] *noṅur-sun 'wool, down, hair' > WrM {MED} noṅusun 'wool, down', HIM ноос(он) {MED} id., {BMR} 'wool, hair', Br нооһо(н) 'wool', 'down (of birds)', Ord nōs 'laine', WrO nōsun, nosun, nōs 'wool', Kl {KRS} ноосн, {Rm.} nōsṅ 'Wolle, Hauthaar', Dx {T} noṅosun, Shrn {Pot.} ноṅусун, Ba {T} noṅsuṅ 'wool'; M *noṅulurṽn, > WrM {MED} noṅulur, HIM {MED} ноолуур, {BMR} ноолуур(ан) 'soft wool, down', Br Δ ноолуур 'down', Kl Ö {Rm.} nōlṛ 'weiche, dünnes Haar; Flaum; Daune', Kl D {Rm} nōlūr 'Flaum, Hauthaar, Daune', Ord nōlūr 'duvet laineux (des chèvres)'; ? M *noṅur-sun > WrM {MED} noṅur-sun 'down, fluffy feathers' (× M *noṅura- 'become tattered \ thread-bare \ worn out \ frayed?'), HIM {MED} ноорс(он) 'down, fluffy feathers', {BMR}

ноорс 'down of birds, wool'; [2] ?? M ? **o*nuŋga-sun 'wool' > MM [S] {H} nuŋgasu (spelled нунгасу) 'wool (of sheep)' ¶ The M cognates with *-*ʷ*- are valid if A *-*ŋ*- yields M *-*ʷ*- (as suggested by S and ADb.); the qu. M rec. **o*nuŋga-sun may be explained by dis. **n*...*ʷ*- > **n*...*ŋ*- ¶ Clauson (Cl. TMS 234, Cl. 941) unconvincingly claimed that MM nuŋgasu is a loan from T (being an ardent anti-Altaist, Clauson tried to ascribe most common elements of T and M to borrowing) ¶ H 120, MED 588-9, BMR II 414-15, Chr. 331, Ms. O 496-7, Krg. 222, KRS 381-2, KW 279-80, Chr. 330-1, 431, Ash XIII 20-1, 32, 65, Fed. II 93-4, Jeg. 206-7, ChVS 180., T DnJ 130, T BJ 144, Pot. 422 || Tg: WrMc {Z} нунгары 'down, soft wool', {Hr} нунгары 'Flaum', {Z} нуннэры 'down, fluffy thin hair', {Hr} нуннери funiyehе 'Flaumhaar', Mc Sb нуған 'downy hair, floccus; down, pile, eiderdown' ¶ Z 239-40, Hr 723-4, Y no-s 144 and 2283 || pJ {S} *núnuá > OJ nun_u, OJ (Eastern d.) nin_u, MJ núno 'fabric, cloth', J T nuno, J K nuno, J Kg núno {S} id., {Kenk.} 'cloth' ¶ S AJ 271 [no. 177], S QJ no. 177, Mr. 502, Kenk. 1397 ¶¶ SDM 998 (pA **n*ũŋu 'wool, down' > T, Tg, J, M [unc. pM rec. **n*owur-]), DQA no. 1514, Pp. VG 73, 123, S AJ 285 [no. 235], KW 279, STM I 611 || D (att. in SD) **n*iñ- 'string, tying, bondage' > Tm niŋa v. 'tie up, fasten, braid', niŋavai 'tying, bondage, that which is plaited', Td niñ 'twisted string', Kn Hl nene, Kn G {KushG} nEŋE, Tu niŋæ, neŋæ, ninæ 'a wick' ¶ D no. 3668 ◇ D *-ñ- (a less typical reflex of N *-*ŋ*- than *-*ŋ*-) needs explanation ◇ The pA labial vw. of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. (N **n*iŋu > ≈ ***n*uŋu > A **n*ôŋ^U ◇ Cf. also Jb C 'no_ʷ 'long fine hairs' (more plausibly from N **n*äwga 'hair, down' [q.v.]).

1555. **n*ap ∇ 'move to and fro, sway' > HS: WS *-*n*ūp- > BHb ✓ *n*ωp *Sh* (pf. הַיְנִיחַ hē¹nīp) 'move to and fro, brandish' ('hin und her bewegen, schwingen'), MHb ✓ *n*ωp *G* 'move in the air, soar', JA [Trg.] ✓ *n*ωp v. *Sh* (pf. הַיְנִיחַ pā¹nēp) 'erheben, schwingen', JEA {Js.} ✓ *n*ωp vi. *G* {Js.} 'wave', {Sl.} 'sway to and fro', vt. *Sh* {Sl.} 'wave (an offering)', Sr ✓ *n*ωp *G* (pf. nāp, ip. nə-nūp) 'bend, waver to and fro', *Sh* 'lift up, beckon', MHb הַיְנִיחַ nā¹pā, JEA {Sl.} אֲיַיֵּץ nap¹u-ā n. 'sieve', Sq {L} ✓ *n*ωf *G* (pf. nef) 'make a sign (with the hand?)', Mh {Jo.} ✓ *n*ωf *Sh* (pf. hənωūf) v. 'beckon so.'; with rdp.: MHb הַיְנִיחַ ni¹p¹ne¹ v. 'swing, fan' ¶ KB 644, HJ 741, 744-9, Lv. T II 98, Js. 888-9, 922-3, Sl. 738, JPS 333, L LS 262, Jo. M 306 || D **n*āv- v. 'winnow'

> Tm $n\bar{a}v\bar{u}$ v. 'winnow and clear grain from stones', Ml $n\bar{a}v\bar{u}ka$ 'cleanses rice from stones', Krx $n\bar{a}b-$ v. 'thresh rice, winnow' ¶¶ D no. 3769, Pf. 99 [no. 727] || A: M * $nabta-$ > WrM {MED} $nabtalza-$ v. 'wobble, sway\move from side to side (as a dog)' HIM $навталза-$ {MED} id., {BMR} $навтас навтас хий-$ 'sich bewegen' (of a shortish person) (infl. of HIM $навтар$ 'shortish'), Ord $nab_t\bar{a}-$ 'pendre et flotter au gré du vent', Brt $набтагана-$ v. 'flutter' (about sth. hanging down) (infl. of M * $nabta\bar{u}i-$ > WrM $nabtai-$, HIM $навтай-$ 'hang, hang down') ¶ MED 555, BMR II 382, Ms. O 479, Chr. 316.

1556. * nop^E 'breathe, blow' > HS: Eg N rfy v. 'breathe out, exhale (ausatmen, hauchen)', Eg fNK rf 'breath (Hauch des Mundes, Atem)', Cpt: Sd $nife$, B $nifi$ 'to breathe', n. 'wind' ¶ EG II 251, Vc. 149-50 || S (+exts, originally from cds?): [1] S * $\checkmark n\check{p}\check{s}$ 'breathe' (< N * nop^E 'breathe' + N *id.* * $P_u\check{s}\nabla$ 'to blow' [q.v.]) > BHb $\checkmark n\check{p}\check{s}$ N 'draw breath, breathe freely, recover', Sr $\checkmark n\check{p}\check{s}$ G 'breathe, be alive, have life', Gz $\checkmark n\check{f}s$ G 'blow' (wind, spirit), Sq $\checkmark n\check{f}\check{s}$ G 'respirer, vivre, se ranimer', Mh pf. $n\check{z}f\check{h}$ 'recover from a faint', Ak $\checkmark n\check{p}\check{s}$ G 'breathe freely, relax', Ar $\checkmark n\check{f}s$ TD 'breathe, respire'; \leftrightarrow S * $napa\check{s}$ - n. 'breath, soul' > BHb $\text{𐎎𐎗𐎗} n\epsilon p\epsilon\check{s}$ 'breath, breathing, throat; soul, person, self', EpHb $n\check{p}\check{s}$ 'life, soul, person', Ug $n\check{p}\check{s}$ 'throat, gullet; soul', Ph, Pun, OA $n\check{p}\check{s}$ 'person', Yd $n\check{p}\check{s}$ id., 'soul', JA [Trg.] $\text{𐎎𐎗𐎗} n\check{a}'p\check{a}\check{s}$ / $\text{𐎎𐎗𐎗} n\check{a}p'\check{s}\bar{a}$ 'soul, person, will', JEA {Sl.} $n\check{a}p\check{s}\bar{a}$ 'soul, body, self', Sr $\text{𐎎𐎗𐎗} n\check{a}p'\check{s}-\bar{a}$ (cs. $\text{𐎎𐎗𐎗} n\check{a}'p\epsilon\check{s}$) 'breath of life, soul', SmA $n\check{p}\check{s}$ 'soul', Ar $\text{نفس} n\check{a}f\check{s}$ - 'soul, person, -self', $\text{نفس} n\check{a}f\check{s}$ - 'breathing', Mn $n\check{f}\check{s}$ id., Sb, Qt $n\check{f}\check{s}$ id., 'life', Gz $n\check{a}f\check{s}$ 'soul, person, breath', Sq {L} ' $n\check{o}f\check{o}\check{s}$ '-selves' (rf. prn., in pl.), Ak LB $n\check{a}p\check{s}u$ 'life, breath', OAk $n\check{a}p\check{a}\check{s}tu$, Ak $\forall n\check{a}p\check{i}\check{s}tu$ 'breath; life, vigour, good health; person', ? SES (if * \check{s} > * h > zero): Mh $n\check{o}f$ / df. $\check{h}z-n\check{o}f$ 'self', $\check{h}zn\check{o}f-i$ 'myself', $\check{h}zn\check{a}f-k$ 'yourself', $\check{h}zn\check{a}f\check{h}z\check{m}$ 'themselves', Hrs {Jo.} $\check{h}z-n\check{o}f-$ '-self' ($n\check{o}fi$ 'myself', $n\check{o}f\check{z}h$ 'himself'), pl. $\check{h}z-n\check{y}z\check{h}\check{o}f-$ '-selves', Jb C {Jo.} ' nuf / df. 'e-' nuf 'self', 'ha-' nuf 'to oneself', Sq {Jo.} $n\check{o}f-$, $n\check{h}\check{o}f-$ 'self'; [2] S * $\checkmark n\check{p}\check{\chi}$ 'breathe, blow, inflate' (< N * nop^E + N ? ϕ on. * $P_u|\check{u}q\nabla,\nabla$ 'to let out air\gas' [q.v.]) > Ar, Mh, Jb E/C $\checkmark n\check{f}\check{\chi}$ G 'blow, inflate', Hrs $\checkmark n\check{f}\check{\chi}$ G 'blow', Gz $\checkmark n\check{f}\check{\chi}$ G 'blow, breathe on', Ak $\checkmark n\check{p}\check{\chi}$ G 'blow upon; blow (sth.), hiss', a m b

BHb/Aram/Sr \checkmark npḥ v. G 'blow' (× CS * \checkmark npḥ), ⇨ WS *man'paχ- 'bellows' > Ug mḫ, du. mḫm, BHb 𐤎𐤏𐤍 map'pāḥ, Gz manfāχ id.; [3] CS * \checkmark npḥ v. 'blow' (< N *nop'E' + N on. *puḥ∇ 'to blow [blasen]' [q.v.]) > Ar \checkmark nfḥ G 'blow' (of wind), Gz \checkmark nfḥ G 'blow', (× S * \checkmark npḫ) amb BHb/JA/Sr \checkmark npḥ v. G 'blow' and SmA \checkmark npḥ G 'become swollen', Sh vt. 'blow (breathe of life), inflate'; [4] WS * \checkmark npḥ > Ar \checkmark nfḥ G 'puff\blow upon', Qt {Rk. D} \checkmark nfḥ 'spit out; proclaim', {Rk.} 'appoint' ← 'spit, blow on sth.'; [5] Ar \checkmark nfḡ G 'blow strongly' (wind) ¶ HJ 744-9, KB 669-74, BDB 655-6, 659-61, A no-s 1815 and 1826, OLS 285, 327-8, Lv. T II 122-3, Js. 922, 926-7, Sl. 770, Br. 435, 441, JPS 346-7, BK II 1304-6, 1309-11, Tal 536-7, 541, Hv. 785-7, BGMR 93, MA 66, Rk. 157-8, Rk. IQ 110-11, L G 388-9, L LS 271, Jo. M 283-6, Jo. H 94, Jo. J 181-3, CAD XI 263-70, 288-91, 296-304, ≈ MiK I no. 1.200 (*napa/iš- 'throat'), no-s 2.45-6 (* \checkmark npḫ, * \checkmark npš) || C: LEC {Bl.} *nef- ≈ breath, soul' > Sml náf 'soul, self', Sml N {Abr.} nēf 'breath', Arr {Hw.} nafá 'body', Or {Th.} nāfa, Or B/O {Sr.} naf-a, Or Wt {Hn.} nafa_ id.; ≈ *nef|bs- 'breath, soul' (unless ← Ar): Or B {Bl.} 'nabse? 'soul', Rn {PG} nēbsí 'a breath', Rn nēbs-ad-, Sml nēfso v. 'breathe' ¶ Bl. 166, Bl. G 86, Sr. 372, Hn. W 57, Th. 253, PG 233, ZMO 307, Abr. S 188, Hw. A 387, AD SF 177 || U: FU (+ext.) *n'o'pt∇ > ObU {Ht.} *nopat 'lifetime' > pVg *nāt id. > Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL nat, LK/MK nāt, UL/Ss not id.; pOs {Ht.} *nopat, {θHl.} *nāpat (< *nōpat) > Os: V/Vy nowat, Ty/Y nōpat, D/K/Nz nupat, O nopat id. ¶ Ht. no. 435 || A (?) ≈ *N'U' b∇- > M *nōxele- 'come in gusts' > WrM {MED} nōgele-, HIM {MED, BMR} nēelē- id., nēelēg 'a gust of wind', WrM nōgelekū salkin id. ¶ MED 592, BMR II 420 || ?σ T: OT Kr juvuḡ ~ javuḡ 'boulders which a torrent carries down', 'bouldres displace and falling to the bot tom of the valley' ¶ Cl. 873 || ?σ pJ *nāw_u_í 'earthquake' > OJ naw i, MJ nāw í ¶ ≈ SDM 982 (pA *n_jā|ōbo 'storm, natural disaster' M + [not belonging to N *nop'E'] Tg *n'ō'be'-kte 'storm cloud, heavy rain'), ≈ DQA no. 2735 (pA *n_ja|ōbo id.).

1557. *nōp_∇_h'i' 'fog, cloud' > HS: Eg G nf_ 'fog' (?) or 'darkness', Cpt Sd/Bnif 'fog' ¶ EG II 251, Vc. 149-50 || EC: Dsn {Fl.} nēḡo 'cloud' ¶ Fl. p.c., Blz. DL s.v. 'cloud' || IE **nebh- ⇨ [1] IE *nebhos / *nebh'es- ntr. 'cloud, fog, sky' > OI 'nabhaḡ / obl. 'nabhas- 'vapor, cloud, mist; sky', Av nabah- pl. 'air space, sky' || Gk νέφος n. (gen. νέφεος) 'cloud' || Clt {AD} *nefos- ~ {Matas.} *nemos- 'heaven, sky' > OIr nem (s-stem) 'sky', OW nem, MW nef

id., W {YGM} nef 'heaven', OBr nem, MBr neff 'heaven, sky', Br {Hm.} neřiv 'ciel', OCrn [ŷ] nef 'celum', MCrn nef 'heaven, sky' || SI *nebo / obl. *nebes- / pl. *nebes-a 'sky' > OCS **НЕБО** nebo / obl. **НЕБЕС-** nebes- / pl. **НЕБЕСА** nebesa 'sky' (↳ R 'небо id.), Blg не'бе / pl. небе'са, SCr ne`bo / pl. neb`esa, Slv nebō / pl. nébesa, Cz nebo / pl. nebesa, Slk nebo / pl. nebesá, P niebo / pl. niebiosa, Uk 'небо 'sky', R 'небо 'palate (roof of the mouth)' || Lt debesìs, Ltv debesìs 'cloud', debess 'sky' (Blt *d- due to the contamination with a different word, possibly the Blt cognate of Gk δνόφος 'darkness, dusk, gloom') || Ht nepis-, nepisa- 'sky' || [2] NaIE *neb^h-elā 'cloud, fog' > Gk νεφέλη 'cloud' || L nebula 'vapor, fog, mist' || OIr néil 'cloud'; W niul, nífwl, Crn niul id. (↳ L nebula?) || Gmc *neþla-, *niþula- 'fog, mist' > OSx neval, OFrs nevil id., OHG nebul 'fog, darkness', NHG Nebel 'fog, mist', AS nifol 'dark', ON nifl- id. (in cds: niflvegr 'dunkle Straße', niflhel 'underworld'), njól 'fog, night', AS nofol 'dark' ¶¶ P 315-16, EI 110 (*neb^hes- ~ *neb^h-el- 'mist, cloud, sky'), Bc. 52-3, 1484, M K II 134, M E II 13, F II 309-10, WH II 151-2, Vn. N 8, Matas. E 288-9, YGM-1 342, Hm. 594, LP § 97, Schz. 220, Kb. 718, OsS 642, KM 505, Ho. 236, Ho. S 55, Vr. 409-10, Vs. II 53, ESSJ XXIV 100-4, StSS 359, Glh. 436, Frn. 85, Ts. E II 310-15, CHD L-N 448-53 || ¶ **A** *nūpE- v. 'smoke, smell' > Tg *nūp- ~ AmTg *ni₁up- v. 'smoke (a hide)', 'be smoked' (hide) > Ewk nuw-, Lm nūb/p- 'be smoked (elaborated by smoke)' (of hide), Ewk nuwçē 'smoked hide, ровдуга (leather made of reindeer hide)', Neg nūp- vi. 'smoke' (of a lamp), Lm nūbgit- vt. 'smoke (a hide to dress leather)', Neg nūpkit- id., v. 'smoke (fish, meat)', Orc húčī id., Ud {ðSTM} húpçu- vi. 'emit smoke', vt. 'smoke (sth.)', níupti- 'be smoked', Ork nūputči- ~ húpučci- 'be smoked' (of hide), 'be covered with soot', Nn húp- vi. 'become coered with soot (закоптиться, покрыться копотью\сажей)' ¶ AmTg *i₁u- is still to be explained (*i₁up from *-ūp- due to as. infl. of -i?) ¶ STM I 607-8, On. 303 || ? pKo {S} *n^hī n. 'smoke' > MKo *n^hī, NKo nā id. ¶ S QK no. 80, Rm. SKE I 158, Nam 102, MLC 315 || pJ *nīpēp- v. 'smell (of sth.)' > OJ nīrop-, MJ nīφòφ-, JT nīó-, JK nīó-, J Kg nīò- id. ¶ S QJ no. 234, Mr. 736, Kenk. 1372 || T *jīpar 'smell, fragrance' (→ 'musk') > OT {Cl.} jīpār 'scent' (in QB), 'perfumes, musk', XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jīpar 'musk', Tk Δ jīpar, Qq žūpar, Qrg žīpar

'scent, pleasant odor', Yk *sibar* ~ *simar* 'odor, stench', Bsh йофар *jǔfar*, SY *šuvār* 'musk' ¶ Cl. 878-9, KW 469, ET J 284 ¶¶ SDM suggested to adduce pM **neṽü-*, sc. **neṽüre-sün* (< ***neṽüre-sün?*) 'charcoal' [> MM *ne'uresun*, *nürson*, WrM {MED} *negüresü(n)*, HIM {MED} *нүүрс*, {BMR} *нүүрс(эн)*, Brt *нүүрһэ(н)*, Kl {KRS} *нүүрсн* id., {Rm.} *nürsṅ* 'schwarze Kohle', Ord *nūresü*, *nūres*, Dg *neurese* 'charcoal'] (Lew. II 22, MED 569, BMR II 436, Chr. 334, KRS 290, KW 283, T DgJ 22, Ms. O 504), but it is too doubtful both because of its meaning and because the unexplainable *vw.* **e* of the first syll.; Poppe (Pp. VG 38) suggested that the M word is akin to WrMc *nemū* 'ore' and *nemuri* 'coal mine' ¶¶ A *-*jū-* in **njūpē-* may go back to mt. in the N word (A *-*jū-* from N *-*ô...i*) ¶¶ SDM 974-5 (pA **nibi|e* v. 'smole, smell' > J, Ko, Tg **nibu(p)-* v. 'smoke' + unc. M **neṽü-* v. 'curl' [of smoke]), Rm. EAS I 77, Rm. SKE I 158 (Tg, Ko), S AJ 297 ◇ Dsn -*b-* and NaIE *-*b^h-* point to N *-*p_lṽ_lh-* (probably *-*p_lṽ_lh-*) with loss of the *lr.* in Eg and IE (the loss of IE laryngeals in the prevocalic position is reg.). The loss of the N *lr.* in Eg suggests that it was **h* ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 67 (**nep* 'cloud') (IE, CK, EA).

1557a. ₂ **NṽpṽRṽ* 'bank, shore, edge' > HS: Eg fMK {EG} *npr* 'edge; bank, shore', {Fk.} *npr.t* 'brim (of well)' ¶ EG II 249, Fk. 130 || K: (< + a *sx?*) G *napir-* 'bank, shore; edge' ('Ufer, Küste, Gestade; Rand'), {DCh} id., 'border (of a country)' (unless d. from K **p_lir-* 'lip, edge' with the *px* of pp. **na-* [K 145], although the semantic interpretation of *napir-* as a ps. participle is hard to understand) ¶ Chx. 92, DCh. 958.

1558. ₂ **nūqṽ* 'to bend, to swing, to sink' > HS: S *-*nūχ-* 'lie down, sink; rest, repose' (→ 'have rest') > OCn [EA] *nūχ-* 'be at rest' (of so. who is in safe condition), BHb ✓ *nūh G* (*nūnāh* / *nūṽ_l yā* -'nū_ah) 'settle, rest, repose; have rest, wait', Ph *Sh* 3m pf. *ṽnūχ* 'erect (an altar)', Ug {A, OLS} ✓ *nūχ* 'rest, have a rest', *nūχt* {A} 'Ruhesitz', {OLS} 'diván', Amr {G} ✓ *nūχ* v. 'rest', *nūχum* 'rest', IA d. *nūh n.* 'rest, tranquility; resting place', EpJA ✓ *nūh* 'be at rest', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ *nūh G* 'rest, lie', JEA {Sl.} ✓ *nūh G* 'rest, be calm', Sr ✓ *nūh G* (pf. *nāh*, ip. -*nūh*) 'rest, be at rest, stay quiet', Ar *G* ✓ *nūχ* (*nāχa* / -*nūχ*) 'kneel' (of a camel), *Sh* ✓ *nūχ* 'make (a camel) to kneel', Mh {Jo.} ✓ *nūχ Sh* (pf. *həwneχ*) 'give so. a rest from

working', ṣ̌zwnēχ v. (pf.) 'rest', Hrs {Jo.} 'ṣ̌zwnzχ / yəṣ̌ōnəχ, Jb E {Jo.} 'ṣ̌inzχ id., Gz ✓nωχ (pf. nōχα, js. yə-nūχ) 'repose, linger', Ak ∇ ✓nωχ (inf. nāχu ~ nuāχu, p. inūχ) 'be slow\still; relent, be appeased; rest, repose' ¶ HJ 721-2, 729-30, KB 642-3, 1745, A no. 1772, Grd. UT no. 1625, OLS 323, Hff. 237, G A 27-8, Js. 885-6, Dlm. 265, Sl. 735-6, Br. 419, JPS 331, BK II 1363-4, Ln. 2864, L G 409, Jo. M 307, Jo. H 99, CAD XI/1 143-50, Sd. 716-17 || Eg XX nχnχ 'knock down (the attacking enemy)' (of a lion), 'throw back (an enemy) with its horns' (of a bull), Eg G nχχ 'repulse (an attacking enemy)' ¶ EG 312, 314 ¶ Semantics: ← vt. 'sink, fell, knock down' || C: Bj {R} nu?-scv. 'senken, sinken lassen, niederlassen' || ??φ Ag: Bln {R} na^ς y- 'auf dem Rücken liegend emporschauen', na^ς-s- vi. caus. 'auf den Rücken legen' ¶ R WbD 178, R WB 279 || Ch *n∇χ- 'rest (se reposer), wait' ({Stl.} *n∇χ- 'wait') > WCh: Dr {J} n0χ- 'rest (se reposer)' || CCh: {ChL} HgB nàϑùđó, Kpf nùϑùté 'wait' ¶ Stl. IF 124, 211, ChL, ChC s.v. 'rest (se reposer)' and 'wait' ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1837 (HS *na_h- 'bend' [intr.]: S, Bln), ≠ no. 1907 (HS *n∇ω∇q- 'rest' v.: S ÷ AG *nuk-, see N *'n' üK'ü' 'lie down, sink, bow [down]') || IE *neuh_χ- > NaIE *neua- vi.\vt. 'bow, nod' > L nū-_tu_s 'gravitation, downward movement', nu-ō / -ēre (pf. nuī, pp. nū-_tum) v. 'nod', nū-men 'a nodding with the head, nod' || Gk νεύω (aor. νεῦσα) 'nod, beckon (as a sign); nod\bow in token of assent' (< NaIE *ne_u-s-?) || Lt {Frn.} inf. niāũstī (1s pres. niāu_siū) 'neigen, beugen' ¶ The absence of the lr. (or its traces) in the stem *ne_u-s- is accounted for by IE morphological laws (NS PK 301) ¶ The editors of IS III (← P 767) adduced OI 'navatē 'moves', which, acc. to M E II 23, does not exist; in any case, the Ir words for 'move' (adduced by P and the editors of IS III) are not semantically close enough to justify the comparison ¶ P 767, EI 394 (*ne_u- 'nod'), WH II 189-90, F II 309, Frn. 500 ◇ Ffd. see IS III 61-6 (*Nuc'ú' in HS, K, IE + unc. A + err. [?] NED *onūk- 'bow, droop'). IE *n- provides ev. for a N *ñ- (*n|ñ-) and rules out N *ń-.

1559. ₂ *'ñ∇qa 'assist (help, protect)' > HS: Eg fMK nχ v. 'protect (so.), help' ¶ EG II 304 || IE: NaIE *'nā- 'help, be useful' > Gk όνύ-νη-μυ (ft. όνήσω) 'profit, benefit, help', όνησις (gen. όνήσεως), Gk D όνύσις 'use, profit, advantage', Gk Mc ονο 'profit' ¶ Hardly here OI nā'tham 'help', nā'th- 'Zuflucht suchen' (which is better explained as going back to NaIE *netH- 'help, grace, favor' < N *ñat_H∇ 'to seek, to seek help; to help' [q.v.]) ¶ WP II 315, P 754, M K II 151-2 (no

definite et. of 'nā-tħa), M E II 33; F II 395-6 and Ch. 803 (both find no convincing IE et. of ὀνύνημι) ◇ On PIE and N *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1559a. *niq'u' 'grind, crush, rub, rub down/off, rub to powder' > HS: Eg fOK nɜ ({Vc.} *√nɜɟ) 'ver-\zer-reiben, mahlen' > DEg nɪt id. > Cpt: Sd/B NOYT nuɪt / Sd NAT- nat-, B NOT- not v. 'grind'; Cpt F stt. NAT nat 'is\are ground' < Eg {Vc.} stt. *naɜɟew 'broyer, moudre'; ⇨ Eg fMK nɜ, nɜɟ.ω ({Vc.} *naɟaω) 'farine' > DEg nɪt > Cpt: Sd NOEIT noeit, B NWIT nōit, F NAIT nait id. ¶ EG II 369-70, Fk. 143, Er. 131, Vc. 141, 145 || Ch {JS, JI} *n∇k- 'grind' > WCh {Stl.} *nik- 'grind' > Hs níkà id. | Fy {J} nik, Bks {J} nuk id. | Bg {Sh.} nok, Zar K {Sh.} nɪk id. ¶ JS 125, JI I 82 and II 170-1, ChC s.v. 'grind', Stl. ZCh 235 [no. 818], Abr. H 704, Ba. 819 || ?? B (+ext.) *√nɟd 'écraser, broyer, réduire en poudre' > Tmz {MT}, Kb {DI.} √nɟd G (imv. Tmz anɟad, Kb anɟad) id., Mz {DIh.} √nɟd G 'broyer, piler', Izn {Ds.} √nɟd G 'écraser', BSn {Ds.} √nɟd G (imv. anɟad) 'broyer' ¶ MT 479-80, DI. 368, DIh. M 138, Ds. B 52, 108 ¶¶ OS no. 1871 (HS *nik- in Eg and WCh) ¶¶ Tk. I 320 || K: OG naq- v. 'pound' (DCh.: 'толочь'), G naq- '(zer-)stampfen, (zer-)stoßen, kleinstoßen, klopfen (z. B. Steine)' ¶ Chx. 933, DCh. 967 ¶ The vw. a is probably due to apophony || A *Nik'U- or **Nik'∇- 'grind, gnaw' > NaT *jik- 'demolish, destroy' > OT jiq- id., MQp XIII jiq- 'demolish', XwT XIV, Chg XV jiq- 'destroy', Tk ɟik-, Ggz jik-, Tkm, Qmq jiq-, Az jix- 'destroy, demolish', Xlj juq-, VTt Δ {ðRI.} žɟq- 'destroy' ¶ This pT root must be distinguished from T *jik- 'throw down' (in some lges contamination of both roots) ¶ Cl. 897, Rs. W 200, ET J 273-4, RI. IV 116, Bu. II 358, GRM 221, TkR 376, ARL 161, KumRS 158, DT 230 || M *niqu- 'rub, crumble' > OM *niqu- (⇨ Ewk niku- v. 'grind'), WrM {MED} niqu- ~ nuqu- v. 'rub, massage; mash, press, knead; crumble', HIM нуха- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'zerreiben (растереть)', Brt нуха- нуха- 'knead, mash, rub, mix by rubbing', Ord нуху- 'pétrir, malaxer, masser', Kl {KRS} нух- 'knead, rub, mix by rubbing', Kl {Rm.} нуху- 'kneten, zerreiben, zermalmen', Mnr H {T} нугу- 'knead' ('месить, замесить'), {SM} нугу- 'pétrir, broyer qch. entre les mains', MMgl [Z] {Iw.} нуqu- v. 'pound' ¶ MED 586, 597, BMR II 430, KRS 388, Ms. O 500, SM 288, T 353, Iw. 120, Chr. 346 || Tg *ní'ki- ≈ gnaw, pound' > Ewk níɜki- 'gnaw, crack (by teeth)', Sln

нухуңки n. 'pestle', WrMc {Z} d. нioх̄у-, нioх̄улэ- v. 'pound (in a mortar)', никча- 'destroy, demolish' ¶ STM I 591, 637, Z 224, 231 || pKo {S} *nìkì- 'knead, mix' > MKo nìkì-, NKo igi- ¶ S QK no. 777, Nam 119, MLC 1319 ¶¶ SDM 977 (pA nìk'ú 'grind, crunch; knead' > T, M, Tg, Ko + J *nènkè-р- → *nùnkù-р- [see below]), DQA no. 1451 (id.), Pp. VG 39 || | A reduplicated variant: HS: WCh: Sha {J} nûŋ, Klr níŋ 'grind' ¶ ChC s.v. 'grind' || A: pJ {S} *nènkè-р- → *nùnkù-р- 'rub, wipe (off)' > OJ ногор-, MJ nògòφ-, J T nugú-, J K núgú-, J Kg nùgù- id. ¶ S QJ no. 682, Mr. 738, Kenk. 1394-5, SDM 977 ◇ The B cognate is qu., because it is not attested in its pure form (without extensions)

1560. *nār'û' 'thin, narrow' > IE: NaIE: Gmc *narwa 'narrow' > OSx naru adj. 'eng, kummervoll', nar(а)ωо adv. 'eng', AS nearu|о (gen. nearwes) 'narrow, confined', NE narrow; d.: MHG nārlich 'gering, wenig, notdürftig' ¶ Ho. S 54, Ho. 232-3, Sw. 123, Lx. 149 || A *nar- 'thin, narrow' > M *narīn 'thin, narrow, fine (not coarse)' > M M narīn [L, MA, IM] {Pp.} 'thin', [IsV] {Lg.} 'mince', [S] {H} 'fein, genau', WrM {MED} narīn, HIM {MED, BMR} нарийн 'fine (not coarse); narrow, tight; thin', Mnr H {T} narīn id., {SM} 'fin, étroit, svelte, menu; aigu, perçant'; Brt нарин 'thin, narrow', Kl {KRS} нәрн nārən id., {Rm.} nārŋ 'fein, schmal', Ord narīn 'fin, effilé, étroit', MMgl nārīn, Mgl {Rm.} nōrīn 'thin, fine', Dg {T} narīn 'thin, narrow, flexible', {Pp.} narīn 'thin', Ba {T} naron, Dx {T} narun id.; M *narida- > WrM {MED} narid(а)- 'become thin\slender\ narrow\tight', HIM нарийда- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be too thin\narrow', Kl {KRS} нәрд- nārd- 'become thin', Brt нарида- 'become thin\narrow', Ord narīd_a- 'être trop fin'; Mnr H {SM} narind_i- 'être\devenir fin\ étroit\menu' ¶ Pp. L III 71, Pp. MA 246, 442, H 114, Lg. VMI 56, MED 565-6, BMR II 397-8, KRS 372, SM 258, Iw. 118, T 348, T BJ 144, T DnJ 130, T DgJ 156, Chr. 322-3, Ms. O 484 || STg ({SDM} *nar- 'thin'): WrMc {Z} нархуңь 'thin', Jrc {Kiy.} narhун 'slender' ¶ But WrMc {Z} нёрэ {{SDM} here) 'thin, weak' (adduced by SDM) belongs to N *nāRn₂é 'unripe, tender, weak', rather than here ¶ STM I 585-6, 654-5, Z 212-13, 249, Kiy. 134 [no. 672] || T *jar- > Qrg žarō 'wiry, lean, поджарый' (of a horse) (unless from T *jara- 'be fit', whence 'be well trained' [of a horse]); T *jargak 'lean', 'dressed hide without hair' (if ← 'thin hide\skin') > Qrg žarҧaqtay 'lean', Qmq Δ jarҧaқ 'lean, skinny', Uz Δ žarҧaқ 'dressed hide of a lean

goat\sheep', Tkm, Nog, Bsh jarʏaq, Qzq, Qq žarʏaq 'dressed hide without hair', Qrg žarʏaq id., 'membrane (перепонка)', ET ja(r)ʏaq 'dressed hide without hair', 'parchment', Alt {Rl.} jarʏaq (žarʏaq) 'shabby hide', Chv šurʏax 'membrane, threadbare\shabby coat' ¶ T *jargak belongs here if its primary meaning is 'lean, thin' rather than 'hide' ¶ ET J 141-3, TL 384 (NaT *jarɪʏ 'hand-made leather'), Nj. 772, Jud. 236, MaM 162 || pJ *nàràs- 'make even\flat' > OJ naras-, MJ nàràs-, J T narás-, J K, J Kg nàràs- ¶ Mr. 732 || ??φ pKo *yárp- 'thin' > MKo yárp-, NKo yálp- ~ yálp- ¶ S QK no. 110, Nam 376, MLC 1182 ¶¶ SDM 972 (pA *nèra 'thin, flat' > M, Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 1437 (id.) ¶¶ The rec. of pA *e of the first syll.(in SDM and DQA) is not justified (in T *jar-, M, Tg and J the vw. of the first syll. is *a) || K: MG [VTq.] narnar-i 'tender', G narnar-i 'zart, fein, sanft' (× N *ńäR₂ê - *ńä₂Rê 'unripe, tender, weak') ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 ◇ DbADb DIS3 2-4 (N *neHr∇ 'thin, narrow' [based on the assumption that *-a- goes back to N *-eH-, but the absence of length in the descendant lges [incl. pT] contradicts their assumption)

1561. *n_oʔr∇ (= *ńoʔr∇?) 'moist, mud', (?) 'to gush' > HS: EC: Dsn n_uru 'wet', (??) Arr {Hw.} n_or 'mud' (× N *ńaRU 'swamp?') || SC: Irq {MQK} nāʔ- 'be wet', nāʔari 'wet land along river bank', Alg {EC} naʔ- 'get wet' ¶ Hw. A 389, To. DL 523, E SC 352, MQK 76, Blz. DL s.v. 'wet', Blz. CP s.v. 'wet' || S *oʔnr > Ar ʔnr G 'gush forth', naʔār- 'wound gushing with blood, vein spurting with blood' ¶ Hv. 781, BK II 1293 || A *n_oʔr∇ 'become wet, soak' > M *nor- vi. 'soak, become wet' > MM [IM] {Pp.} nor-, WrM {MED} nor- 'become wet\soaked\damp\moist', HIM {BMR} норо- 'become wet (мокнуть)', Kl {KRS} нор- id., {Rm.} 'naß werden', Brt норо-, Mnr H {SM} nōri-, {T} nori-, Dx {T} noro- 'get wet', Ord nor- 'se mouiller', M d. (caus.) *n_oʔr_ga- > WrM {MED} nor_ga-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt норго- vt. 'wet, moisten, soak', Ord nor_go- 'mouiller, humecter', Kl {KRS} норh- norʏb- 'намочить, замочить, промачивать', {Rm.} norʏā- ~ norʏa- 'naß machen, nassen', Mnr H {SM} nōr_ga- 'mouiller, tremper, humecter' ¶ IS II 89 reconstructed M *ō on the ev. of Mnr ō, but the regularity of the Mnr reflex of the pM vowel length is not yet evident ¶ Pp. MA 443, MED 591, BMR II 415, Chr. 331, KRS 382, KW 279, Chr. 331, SM 284, T 352, T DnJ 131, Ms. O 497 || pJ {S} *núrá- 'get wet' > OJ nura-, MJ núra-, J T nùre-, J K nùré, J Kg nuré- 'get wet',

StJ *nurasu* v. 'wet, moisten' ¶ S QJ no. 491, Mr. 738, Kenk. 1397-8 ¶¶ SDM 994 (pA **njúre* 'become wet, soak' > M, J + unc. T **jür* 'swim, float', which is actually from N **žúr'ú'* 'to stream', q.v., and Tg **ń'úr-* 'swim' [of animals], 'shallow place', which is actually WrMc {Z} *нѣрѣ*) 'weak, feeble', Mc Sb *nīrə* id. < N **ńāRH₂ê* 'unripe, tender, weak' and Lm *nirgi* 'shallow place'), DQA no. 1490 ¶ A *-*jū-* is reconstructed in SDM on the alleged evidence of T *-*ü-* in **jür-* || D (att. in SD) **no|ur'a'mb* > Tm *nurambu* 'mud, mire', Tu *nurumbu* 'alluvium' ¶ In pSD before a derivational *sx* **a* the contrast **o* ↔ **u* was neutralized (Zv. 65-6) ¶ D no. 3707 || ? U: FU: Vt *ńur* 'dampness' (on other possible connections of Vt *ńur* see N **ńāRU* 'swamp') ¶ ≈ LG 201 ◇ If Vt *ńur* belongs here, the N rec. is **ńo'ǵ'r* ◇ D *-*r-* goes back to a N cns. cluster (*-*'ǵ'r-*) ◇ ≈ IS II 89-90 (**ńiohr* 'humid', v. 'flow'; in IS II the M verb **nōr(u)-* 'soak, moisten' is equated with S ✓ *nhr* 'river, stream', U **ńor* / **ńōr* 'moist, swamp, flow' and ? D **ńīr* 'moisture, water' [see N **ńihr'a'* 'to stream; a stream, liquid']).

1562. **ṇaher* (or **ṇaher*) 'day, sun, daylight' > HS: WS **nahār-* ~ *nāhar-* 'day' (× N **ṇeh'U'R'i'* 'light, fire?') > Sr ; *ṇā'har* cs. 'morning', Ar *nahār-* 'day, daytime', Mh, Hrs *nəhōr* 'day', *nəhōrən* '(at) midday', Sq {Jo.} 'ənhor 'days', Jb C 'nhε're? 'at midday' ¶ Br. 417, Fr. IV 343, BK II 1354-5, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Jo. J 186 || A **ṇar* 'sun, day' > M **naran* 'sun' > MM {MA, IM, IsV, PP}, MMgl *naran*, WrM {MED} *nara(n)*, HIM {MED, BMR} *нар(ан)*, Brt *нара(н)*, Kl {KRS} *нарн*, {Rm.} *narṇ*, Ord, Mnr H *nara*, Mgl, Dx, Ba *naran*, Dg. *nar* 'sun' ¶ Pp. MA 245, 442, Pp. KP 154, Lg. VMI 56, MED 565, BMR II 396, Chr. 322, KRS 368-9, KW 272, SM 357-8, Iw. 118, T 348, T DnJ 130, T DgJ 185, T BJ 144, Ms. O 483 || T **jarin* 'early in the morning' > OT *jarin* 'early in the morning; tomorrow', Tk *ṇarin*, Kr Cr, SY *jarin*, Yk *sarsin* 'tomorrow', Ggz *jārin* 'morning, tomorrow', Qzq Δ, Qq *žarin* 'next year', Chv Iran 'tomorrow' ¶ Rs. W 190, Cl. 970, DTS 241, ET J 147-9, Jeg. 343, Fed. II 473 || pKo {S} *nár* 'sun, day, weather' > MKo *nár*, NKo *nal* ¶ S QK no. 186, Nam 95, MLC 302 ¶¶ Tg **ṇēr(i)-* 'light (Licht)', adduced by SDM, belongs to N **ṇeh'U'R'i'* 'light (lux), fire' (q.v. ffd.), rather than here || ??φ pJ **àrí-* > OJ *ari-ake*, MJ *àri-ake*, JT *àriake*, JK *áriáké*, J Kg *ariaké* 'dawn' ¶ Mr. 384, Kenk. 43 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1028-9 (pA **ṇèrá* 'day, sun, light' [without distinguishing

between the descendants of N **ṇaher*∇ and **ṇeh^hU^hR^hi^h* and with rec. of **ṇ-* and **-ē-*, belonging to the heritage of **ṇeh^hU^hR^hi^h*), DQA no. 1439 (id.), SDM97 (A **nar*∇ (~ **neru*) 'day, sun' > T, M, Ko), S AJ 295 || D **nēr-* 'sun, day, time' > Ml *nēr am* 'sun, day, time', Tm *nēr am* 'time, season, opportunity', Kdg *ne·ra* 'sun, time', Brh *dē* 'sun, sunshine, day, time'; the pD meaning 'daylight, morning' may be discerned in Kdg *ne·rate* and Tu *nēr d̄æ* 'early in the morning' ¶¶ D no. 3774, ≈ GS 178 [no. 451a] (D **nē-* 'time, sun') ¶¶ D **-ē-* < N **-ahe-* ¶¶ D **-r-* < **-hr-* < N **-her-* ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'день' **nah^hr*∆ (> A, S), ≈ IS II 85-6 [no. 320] (pN **r̄ara* 'fire; to flame'; Illich-Svitych (IS MS and IS II) did not distinguish between the reflexes of N **ṇ|ṇaher*∇ and those of N **ṇeh^hU^hR^hi^h* 'light, fire'.

1563. **nēq*∇r∇ 'forehead, front of the head', 'nose' > HS: B ✓ **nyr* ~ **✓yrn* ~ **✓rny* 'forehead' > Izn {Rn.} *ṭa-nyēr-ṭ* (pl. *ṭaniriwin*), {La.} *ṭi-n̄ier-ṭ*, Kb Ir {Pic.} *anyir*, Rf A {Rn.} mt. *aynār*, Gd *inar*, Sw {La.} *i-nīr* (pl. *inīrān*), Tmz {MT} *-i-nir*, Zw {La.} *anir*, Izd *ayirni* (pl. *iyrnān*) ~ *ajrri* (pl. *iṭrra*), Nf *arnay*, Mz *arnay* (pl. *irnayān*) id. ¶ La. S 242, Mrc. 123, Rn. 391, Dlh. M 174, La. MChB 112 [fn. 2], Pic. 432, MT 495 || S **✓nχr*: S **naχ(r)īr-* 'nose, nostrils' > BHb *נְחִירִים* **nəḥī'rayim** pl. (< du.) 'nostrils' (att.: +ppa. *נְחִירֵי נְחִירֵי* *nəḥī'rāw* 'its nostrils'), MHb *נְחִיר* *nəḥī'r* 'nostril', MdHb *nəḥī'rayim* 'nostrils', JPA, JEA {Sl.} *נְחִירֵי* *nəḥī'r-ā* 'nostril', Sr *نَحِير* *nəḥī'r-ē* (pl.) 'nose, nostrils', Ak *naχīr-* 'nostril'; SES **naχrīr-* 'nose' > Sq {L} *naḥrīr*, {Jo., SSL} *'naḥ'rir*, Mh {Jo.} *nəχrīr*, Hrs *naχ'rer*, Jb C {Jo.} *naχ'rer*, Jb E {Jo.} *nəχ'rer* id.; S **^onuχar-* > Ar *nuχar-at-* ~ *nuχr-at-* 'snout, forepart of the nose', *nuχr-at-* 'nose', *nuχar-* (pl.) 'nostrils'; ds: Ar *manχar-* 'nostril, nose', *manχūr-* 'nostrils', but these nouns or some of them may have also derived from **✓nχr* 'snore, snort' (*on.?*) or **✓nχr* 'pierce' (**naχīr-* as pp. 'pierced') (cp. Ar *✓nχr* [pf. *naχira*] 'être usé et troué', *nəḥīr-* adj. 'percé et offrant un passage au vent') ¶ KB 648, 651-2, Lv. III 371-2, ESh MH II 842, Sl. 741, Br. 424, JPS 335, BK II 1220, Hv. 757, L LS 265, SSL LSNP 1468, Jo. M 308, Jo. H 99, Jo. J 199, Sd. 714, MiK I no. 1.198 || C: Ag **ṇaḥ-*, {E} **ṇar-* 'head' > Aw {Hz.} *ṇāri*, Kfl {TBZAC} *ṇk^hur i*, Dmt {CR, R} *ṇarī* id. || LEC {E} **ṇār-* 'forehead' > Arr {Hw.} *ṇār* id., Or {Grg.} *ṇāra* 'eyebrow' ¶ E PC no. 466, Hw. A 388, Grg. 301, Brl. 321, Hz. NSA, TBZAC s.v. *ṇk^hur i*, Grg. s.v. *ṇāra* || U: FU **ṇ|ṇēre* 'nose, beak, foremost' > pLp {Lr.} **nēre* 'cheek' >

Lp: L {LLO} *nierra*, Kld *nīrr* id., N {N} *nierrâ* id., 'side of face' | Er *ńeř*, Mk *ńár* 'beak, snout, mouth (of animals)' | Chr L/E/H *ner* 'nose; hill between depressions' | Prm {LG} *nūr* > Z, Vt *ныр* *n+r* 'nose, beak, snout, muzzle' || ObU **°ń|nīr* > pOs **°ńīr* > Os V/Vy *ńir* 'cap/promontory in a river (мыс; Kap, Landzunge, Vorsprung des Steilufers zwischen zwei Bächen)' (like in R *нос* 'nose' → 'cap') || Sm {Jn.} **ńerъ* 'point, extremity (Spitze, Ende)', 'in front (of)' (adv., prep.) > Ne: T *нēрня*, T O {Lh.} *ńje·rń·e* 'in front', T *нēр"* 'earlier', *не'ры* adj. 'front, preceding, former', T O {Lh.} *ńērʔa* adj. 'front', F NI {Lh.} *ńje·r* 'vorher'; Ng {Hl.} *ńerā* 'place in front (of sth.)', {Mik.} *ńerā* loc. 'in front'; Slq (cd?): Tz {KKIH} *ńennā* 'forward, in front', Tm {KD} *ńenne* 'forward'; Kms {KD} *ńēr* 'Gipfel, Spitze', {Cs.} *ńer* 'Spitze', *njerimnā* 'forward, front (впередъ, передній)', Koyb {Sp.} +ppa. *нерде* 'its end'; Mt {Hl.} **irzn* 'earlier, long ago' (Mt M {Sp.} *герень, ирень*), Mt **irnE-* 'in front' (Mt {Mll.}: M *irnénde*, K *írning*, T *órning* 'antrorsum', {Pl.} *ír njadu* 'in front' [-nde, -ing, -nde are case endings]) || pY {IN H} **ńāč'ē* > Y K {IN H} *ńāčz* 'face', Y T *ńāče* id., OY K {Bil.} *neatsħa*, OY Ch {Mat.} *няча* 'face'; ↗ Y K {IN H} *ńāč'in*, Y T {IN H} *ńātin*, *ńāč'ín* 'against, opposie', Y K {IN H} *ńāčzš-* vt. 'return', *ńāčaday-* vi. 'return' ¶¶ Coll. 39, UEW 303-4 (**nere* [**nēre*]), Db. OS xix, ≈ Lr. no. 732, Lgc. no. 4192, SaR 213, LG 197, Lt. 195, It. no. 361, Trs. S 310, Stn. D 1070, Jn. 110, Ter. 302-4, KKIH 140, Cs. 185, Hl. US 125, Hl. M no-s 80, 353, 355 and 359, IN H 283-4, IN UJ 238, 312 || D ≈ **nerzi* ({GS} **neti*-i) 'forehead, head' > Tm *nerzi* 'forehead, front', Ml *nerzi*, Kt *neč*, Td *nity*, Kdg, Klm, Nkr *netti* 'forehead', Kn *netti* id., 'head', Gnd *nēč*, Knd *neti*, Mlt *nitlu* 'crown of the head', Tu *netti* id., 'forehead', Tl *netti* 'head', Gdb *nedide* 'scalp' ¶¶ D *-*zi*- < **-**zi*- (from *-*zi*- + a sx?) ¶¶ DED no. 3118, D no. 3759, GS 59 [no. 166] ◇ Ag **ŋ-* suggests the presence of a lr. or uvular cns. (**nH-* or **nq-* > **ŋ-*), which accounts for the length of the FU **ē* ◇ The meaning 'nose' is attested in two branches of N (HS and U) and hence belongs to pN ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. **neqr* *h* 'перед (головы)', IS II 82 (**ne'rH*¹ *i* 'front part of the head, forehead'.

1564. **ńiXR∇* 'hollow (in the ground, in a tree), hole, pit' > IE: NaIE **nə|o|ar-* / **nēr-* 'hole, hollow in the ground' > BSl: Lt *nāras* 'cave, hole', Frn.} 'Höhle, Bau (wildlebender Tiere)' | Sl **nora*

'(animal's) hole' > OR **ноpa** *no pa*, R, Uk **но'pa**, Cz *no pa*, P *no ra*, *nur a* id. ||| Gk [Hs.] *νηρίδας* accus. pl. (τὰς κοίλας πέτρας) 'hollow rocks' ||| ? OI 'nāra'ka- ~ *naraka-h* 'hell, underworld', Pali *naraka* 'Abgrund, Spalte' ¶¶ WP II 334, P 766, Frn. 495, ESSJ XXV 184-5, Vs. III 82-3, Chrn. II 577, F II 315-16, M K II 138, M E II 37 ||| **HS**: S *^o✓ *nhr* > Jb C {Jo.} 'naḥar (pl. 'nḥehr) 'hole in a tree trunk in which animals may nest', naḥ'run 'having a big hole' ¶ Jo. J 186-7 ||| **A**: Tg: Ewk *niru* ~ *nirū* 'small hollow\pit' ({Vas.} 'ямка, впадинка') ¶ Vas. 296, STM I 600.

1565. ₂ ***ñûr̥** ∇ 'to penetrate' > IE: NaIE (in BSI) *^oner- 'penetrate, plunge, dive' > Lt *nér̥ti* (1s pres. *neriù*) 'to dive, to plunge' ⇨ *nāras* 'diver, *Gavia*', Ltv *nirt* 'to dive', *nirēt*, *nirdāt* 'to plunge' | SI **ner-* / *nor-* / (R-gr.) **нър-* ~ **нър-* 'dive, plunge' → L-gr. (iter. stem) **nir-* ~ **nir-* id. > Cz inf. *nořiti*, Slk inf. *norit'* 'to dip', SCr Δ {Chrn. ← ?} inf. *nōriti* 'id. (?)', ChS cd inf. **вѣнрѣти** *vъ-nrĕti* (1s pres. **вѣнрѣ** *vъ-nъrĕ*) 'παρεισδύεσθαι, to penetrate', inf. **изнѣрѣтъ** *iz-nъrĕtъ* 'emerges (from)', Slv inf. *pondrĕti* (1s pres. *pondrĕm*) vt. 'to dip'; ⇨ SI iter.-dur. inf. **nir̥ati* ~ **nir̥ati* ~ **nir̥ati* > RChS inf. **нирjати** *nirjati*, R inf. **ны'рjать**, Uk inf. **ни'рjати** 'to dive', Blg Δ 'ноpвам' 'I dive', 'ноpна n.' 'dive', SCr inf. *pōnirati* 'to lose oneself into subterranean passages of the chalk formation' ¶ WP II 334, P 766, Tr. 197, Frn. 495, BER IV 653, 685, ESSJ XXV 188-9 and XXVI 65, Vs. III 91-2, Chrn. II 581-2, Drd. 525 ||| **D** ***nuṛ̥** ∇ 'creep in, penetrate; insert' > Tm *nuṛ̥ai* 'creep through a narrow passage, penetrate', *nuṛ̥untu* 'insert, stick in', *nuṛ̥ai* 'narrow way, opening, cave', Ml *nuṛ̥ayuka* 'creep in, squeeze through', Kn *noṛ̥e* 'creep in', Tu *nūru-* id., *nuru mpæ* 'hole', Knd *ṛug* 'enter, steal in, get into, enter through a passage', Png, Kw *ṛug-* vi. 'hide', Kui *ṛupka-* (< **ṛuk-p-*) / *ṛukt-* 'thrust in between, insert', Krx *nuṛ̥-*, Mlt *nuḍe-* 'hide, conceal' ¶¶ D no. 3714

◇ In the absence of Tg cognate (distinguishing between N ***ñ-** and ***ñ-**) the rec. of N ***ñ-** is also possible ◇ IS MD 357 (**nur̥*: IE, D).

◇ Db, ADb *DIS3* 4-7 (N ***nuHr̥** ∇ 'проникать, втискиваться, нырjать' [the rec. of a lr. is not supportet by the Gk and D *dara*, while **+* in SI **nir-* is a L-grade of **ь* [from IE **u* without length]).

1566. ***ñ̥** ∇ **yaṛ̥** ∇ 'man (vir), male animal' > A ***hár̥E** 'man, young man' > Tg ***hár̥i** 'man, young man' > Nn Nh {On.} *naṽ* 'person', Nn KU

nírā 'male animal', nírā bзyз 'male person', Ork narl, Orc ná~ní 'man (person, male person)', Ud {STM, Krm} nī, Ud A {Shn.} hē '¡hombre!' (address word for a person), Ul ní 'person', Ewk A nōrī, Ewk V/Np hērawī, Ewk PT/I nirawī ~ hīrawī '(young) man, husband', Neg hēyawī, Lm hārl, Sln nirō 'male person', Jrc {Kiy.} niyarma 'person' (in phrases: hadi niyarma 'nobleman', hehē niyarma 'woman', цаśi niyarma 'carpenter', andahai niyarma 'guest' etc.), WrMc {Z} нялма 'person', Mc Sb {Mrm.} hālma ~ nalma ~ hālm ~ nalm 'person, man, somebody' ¶ STM I 598-9', Krm. 266, On. 280, Kiy. 112-16 [no-s 273, 281, 299, 330-3, 336-7 and 339], Z 244-5, Klz. MS 231, S AJ 213 [no. 92], SDM 1013 (Tg *h(i)ari) || pKo {S} *nár-ná 'brave' > MKo nár-ná, NKo nallä- id.; ?? MKo {Nam} nā > NKo nā 'man, person' ¶ SDM95, S QK no. 615, Nam 96, 102-3, MLC 303, Rm. SKE I 158 ¶ The enigmatic loss of *-r (F-IS II 93) suggests a change of the word-final *-j̄r into -j̄ || T: [1] T *j̄ä:;r|rm∇k > Chv Δ çармăк śarmъk, Chv L çамрăк śamrъk 'young, young man', Blgh б→ : OHg ḡyer mek 'young man, child' (> Hg ḡyer mek 'child'), VTt/Bsh Ермăк jermăk p.n., Oyr B {Vld.} žermegej̄ 'young person, child' ¶ Rs. W 198, Ash. XII 36-7, 66, Fed. II 83-4, Jeg. 202, ChVS 177, Md. 36, EWU 495-6, Rm. SKE I 28 | [2] T *j̄ærnæ '(elder) brother-in-law' > NaT *j̄æznæ > OT {Cl.} j̄äznä|e 'the husband of one's elder sister or of one's father's younger sister', MQp XIII {Cl.} jeznā 'son-in-law, bridegroom', XIV [CC] jezne ~ jizne 'brother-in-law', Chg ≥xv j̄äznä 'sister's\ daughter's husband', Tkm Δ jezne, Az jeznä, VTt жизни žizni, Kr G ježne, Kr T ježna, Bsh ežnə jьdnä, Nog, SY jezde, Uz žeznă ~ žezdä, Qzq, Qq žezde, Qrg žezde, StAlt žeste, Tv česte, Xk čiste 'husband of an elder sister or of an aunt' ¶ Cl. 988, ET J 169-70, TL 298, Pokr. TR 64-5; TatR 761 ¶¶ SDM 1013-14 (pA *h̄j̄ari 'man, young man' > Ko, T *jeerne, Tg *h̄(i)aria + unc. M {SDM} *žermegey 'young man' and J *m̄i(n)t̄u- [> OJ myidu-, myitu-myitu-, J T mizumizuśi-, J K mizúumuzúśi-, J Kg mizumizuśi- 'young, healthy and fresh-looking', cf. Mr. 483, Kenk. 1246]), DQA no. 1471, S AJ 291 [no. 394] (pA *h̄j̄ari, represented in Tg only), ≈ SDM97 (incl. Tg, Ko) ¶¶ M {SDM} *žermegey 'young man' is an erroneous interpretation of M *žermeger 'thin, narrow', → 'handsome' (> HIM {BMR} жирвэгэр 'thin, narrow, handsome', Brt жэрбэгэр 'ровный, стройный, статный', Kl {KRS} жирвһр 'narrow, thin'; this M adj. is derived from M *žermegE- 'be narrow\fine', → 'be handsome' > HIM

жирвий- id., Brt жэрбы- 'быть стройным и ровным', cf. Chr. 238, BMR II 178, KRS 229) || IE **ner-* ({Blz.} **H_xner-*) 'man, male animal' > Vd '*nā* (< **nār*) (accus. *nar am*, nom. pl. '*nar aḥ*) 'man, person', Av *nā* / *nar-* id., μ: OI '*nar aḥ* 'man, husband, hero', Av *narō* 'man'; Blc *nar*, Phl *nar* 'male', NPrs نر *nār* 'husband, male', Oss *nāl* 'male animal, man (vir)' (< Irn d. **nar-ya-*) ||| Arm ալր ալր, gen. առն առն 'man, husband' (< **nr-*?) ||| pAl {O} **nera* > Al *nje'ri* 'man, human being', Al SG/D/ P/Be/Ç *né'ri*, A '*ner* id. ||| Phr αναρ 'man' ||| Gk ανήρ, gen. ανδρός 'man (male person)' (probably merger of the expected nominative **νηρ* with the stem variant of the oblique cases: gen. **αρ-ός* < **nr-ός*) ||| L [Υ] *neriōsus* 'fortis, resistens', Osc *niir* 'vir, princeps, procer (title of rank)', gen. pl. *NERUM* 'virorum' ||| Clt: [1] Clt {Matas.} **nero-* 'hero', **nāro-* adj. 'noble, great-hearted' > MIr {Matas.} *nár* 'noble, magnanimous, modest', MW *ner* {Mats.} 'chief, hero', {Flr. ← ?} 'lord', W {YGM} *nêr* 'lord'; [2] ?? OIr *ner* 'wild boar' || ??? Lw *annarummi* and Ht *innarauwant-* 'strong' ¶¶ P 765, EI 366 (**h_hner* / gen. **h_hnr-os* 'man, person'), Mn. 837-8, IS II 92-3, M K II 138, 148-9, Bai. 174, Ab. II 165-7, F I 107-8, WH II 164-5, Bc. G 320, Vn. N 10, YGM-1 343, Matas. E 284, 289, Flr. 266, O 304, Huld 100-1 (IE **A₁ner-* > pAl **neri*), Slt. 121, Pv. I-II 366-73, Lar. 27 ||| HS: C: Ag: Aw *η3rži* 'male person' ||| EC: Arr *hérđé* 'young man' and/or EC {Bl.} **nirig-* 'camel foal' > Dsn *ńir-iń* 'newborn donkey\ camel', Sml *nirig*, Sml N *nírig*, Rn *ńíraχ* 'male camel foal' ¶ E PC no. 470 (pC **nerž* 'man, young man'), Bl. 260, ZMO 308, Abr. S 188-9, Hw. A 389, PG 237, To. DL 522, Hz. NSA s.v. *η3rži* || ??? Eg *nr* 'people (homines)' (mentioned in IS II 93) is qu.; according to EG II 279, *nr.t* is a "spielende Schreibung für *r m t* 'Menschen'" ||| K **nar-* > G *nar-i* 'male camel' ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 ◇ AD LRC no. 19 (IE, Tg); IS MS 349 (**najr n* 'male person') and IS II 92-3 (**NajR n* 'male person, male') (in both: IE, A [Tg, Ko], HS [Eg, C]) ◇ IE **n-* rules out pN **ń-*, hence the Tg palatal cns. (or cluster) **ń-* must be explained by postulating a word-internal **y* in pN. It may be also responsible for Arr **ń-* and pAg **η∇-* (< ***n∇?∇-* < N **n∇y∇-*) ◇ Blz. ISLA 31 [no. 31] (IE **H_xner-* 'man, person' + unc. S **naɣar-* [i.e. **naɣ_l∇₁r-*] 'boy, young man' [going back to N **ńaɣrE* '≈ young, newborn']) ◇ On N and pIE **ń-* - see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1567. *n̄us ∇ 'to breathe' > **HS: S** (+exts): [1] **CS** *√nšm 'breathe' > Sr, Md √nšm v. *G* id., BHb √nšm v. *G* 'pant, puff', {GB} 'heftig atmen', MHb, JA √nšm v. *G* 'breathe', JA {Lv., Js.} √nšm v. *T* (pf. ʔiṭnəš'am) 'take breath, rest', Sr √nšm v. *G* 'breathe', Ar √nsm v. *G* (ip. -nsim-) 'blow gently' (breeze), 'diffuse itself' (aroma); ⇨ **CS** *našā'm-at- > BHb אָנָחַנְּ nāšā'mā 'movement of the air; breath, breath of life; living being', MHb nāšā'mā 'soul', BA אָנָחַנְּ nīšmā'tāk 'thy breath of life', JA [Trg.] אָנָחַנְּ nīš'mā, אָנָחַנְּ nīšmā'tā, Sr اَنْسَمَ nāš'am'tā 'breath, spirit, soul', Md nīšimta 'soul', Ar nasamat- 'breath of life, soul; asthma'; words of the root √nsm in Mh, Hrs and Jb (Mh nṣēm 'breath, soul' etc.) are loans from Ar [2] **S** *√nšp 'blow, winnow' > Ak √nšp v. *G* 'blow away, winnow', BHb √nšp *G* 'blow, blow upon', JEA {Sl.} √nšp *G* 'blow', JPA Bz {Sl.} √nšp *G* 'blow, breathe', Ar √nsf *G* 'winnow', 'scatter (dust)' (of wind) ¶ KB 730, 1749, Js. 941, Lv. T II 131-2, Sl. 779, Sl. P 361, Br. 451, DM 300, 307, BK II 1250-3, Hv. 766-7, CAD XI/2 56, Sd. 758, MiK I no-s 2.50-1 || **EC** *n∇ss- 'breath' (× **EC** *neb|fs- id. < **N** *nop'E' 'breathe, blow'?) > Arr {Hw.} nassé 'breath', Kns nessa 'soul, breath', Gdl nass 'voice, character', pSam {Hn.} *nas v. 'rest' > Sml, Rn nas- id. ¶ Hn. S 69, ZMO 305, Abr. S 187, PG 231, Hw. A 387 || **IE: NaIE** *neus- v. 'smell sth.' (× **N** *nīšū 'smell, breathe heavily' with mt.) > **Sl** *núxa- ({**ESSJ** *nú|qxa-) vt. 'smell (sth.)' > **R** inf. 'нюхать, Uk inf. 'нюхати, **P** inf. niuchac 'to smell (sth.)', **SCr** inf. njüšiti, njüškati, **Cz** Δ inf. njuchati id., **Cz** inf. če-nichati vt. 'to smell' (of an animal), **Blg** 'нюшкам 'I smell sth.' || **Gmc: AS** inf. néosian, niusan 'to find out, to visit', **OSx** inf. niusion, niuson, **OHG** inf. niusen 'to try, to endeavour', **NHG** inf. nüşchen 'mit der Schnauze wühlen', **ON** inf. nýsa 'untersuchen, spähen', inf. njósna 'spähen', **Gt** inf. bi-niuhsjan (κατασκοπήσα) 'auskundschaften', niuhseins (ἐπισκοπή) 'Heimsuchung' ¶ Vs. III 93, **ESSJ** XXV 156-9, P 768-9, Ho. 234, 237, Ho. S 56, Kb. 730, OsS 654, Vr. 410, 413, Fs. 93-4, 377 || **U: FV** *nuska- 'sniff, breathe heavily' > **F** nuuskaa- v. 'snuff', nuuski- v. snuff, smell, scent', **Es** nuuska- 'blow one's nose', nuuski- 'sniff, snuffle' | **ErMr** носка- noska- v. 'pant, breathe heavily and noisily through the nose' ¶ The long vw. ū in **F** and **Es** ({**UEW**} "sekundäre

Dehnung") still needs explanation ¶ UEW 711, SK 405-6, SSA II 244-5.

1568. ***ñûs_{ly}∇** 'woman' (a general term), 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > **HS: S** *niš- 'woman' (used in pl. and with pl. endings only) > Ar nis-ūna 'women', nisāʔ- id. (and through metanalysis: ✓ nsω, whence nisω-at-un ~ nusω-at-un 'women'), Sr **𐎎𐎗𐎚** nē'š_{ly}-ē, SmA nšyrn 'women', BHB **𐤍𐤓𐤕** nā'š-īm id. (*ā < an apophonic *a-plural correlating with *niš-, cp. *ban- 'sons' [a plural stem correlating with *bin- 'son']), Ak niš-ū 'people' (-ū is a marker of pl.; semantic contamination with *ʔinaš- 'person' - *ʔunāš- 'people') ¶ KBR 93, 729, Br. 45O, Tal 55O-1, BK II 1254 || CCh: McMdr: Dgh {Frk} níšè, Gv {ChL} núsà, Gdf {IL} núsà, Glv {ChL} núsà, Ngs {IS} nāsè 'woman', Tr {Nw.} nušu id. ¶ JI II 346-7, ChL, ChC s.v. 'woman' || **K: GZ** *nusa 'son's wife' > Lz nusa, Mg nosa 𐌆 nisa id., OG nusa-dia 'uncle's wife' ¶ DCh. 988, Q 289, ≠ AD IEH 21, K KON ¶ The word may be either a loan from IE or an ancient K inherited lexeme. In the latter case GZ *nusa must go back to pre-K **nuš∇ < **nušya < **nusya < N ***ñûs_{ly}∇** || **IE: NaIE** *snuso-s 'son's wife', {EI} id., 'brother's wife' > OHG snur, NHG † Schnur, Yid **שְׁנוּר** šnur 𐌆 šnr, AS snoru, ON snor ~ snør 'son's wife', Gt Cr *schnos (a conjecture for schuos) 'sponsa, fiancée' || Gk νυόγ 'son's wife, bride' || Arm **սուհար** nu (gen. **սուհարու**) 'daughter-in-law, sister-in-law, brother's wife' || L nurus, -ūs 'son's wife, grandson's wife, young married woman' (μ < *nurus, -ī on the analogy of socrus, -ūs 'mother-in-law') | → μ NaIE *snus-ā > OI snu'sā 'son's wife', Sgd šwnšh 'daughter-in-law', d.: CINPrs **سونهار** sunhār, NPrs sonhār, Psh nžōr 'daughter-in-law' || SI *snъ'xa (*snъ'xq) 'son's wife' > SrChS, OR **снѣха** snъxa, Blg снѣ'ха, Slv snáha, snéha, R cho'xa id., P d. sneszka id., SCr snàha 'son's\brother's wife' ¶ Acc. to IS's hyp., the IE initial *s reflects a palatal element (*y) within the original root.. Another explanation is phrasal metanalysis: in phrases *...-(0)s nus0-s '(so.'s) son's wife' (where *-(0)s is the genitive ending of the preceding noun) *-s was reinterpreted as belonging to the following noun *...-(0)s nus0-s > *...-(0)s snuso-s ¶ In OI and SI the word got a standard feminine ending *-ā ¶ WP II 697, P 978, EI 148 (*snu's0-s), M K III 535, M E II 771, Sg. 704, Mrg. 57, F II 328, WH II 190, Fs. 414, Kb. 923, OsS 841,

Ho. 305, Vr. 528, Vs. III 700, Glh. 568, O 302-3 (Al nuse 'bride, young daughter-in-law' ← L *nūptia, a local variant of nūpta 'married woman, bride'), Sl. 194-5 || U: AdS of FU *nīs▽ 'woman, wife' (< N *nīz'ɹ'U 'female' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ The vw. *ī and the cns. *-s- in FU do not correspond to *u in K and IE, therefore the etl. connection of FU *nīs▽ with N *nīz'ɹ'U 'female' is preferable ◇ On the N word-initial laryngoid *ʰ- as the source of the NaIE *s- *mobile* before root-initial sonorants see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 98, ≠ S CNM 12 (unc.: IE *snusi- ← NrCs *nūsa; ÷÷ NrCs *nū|ōsa 'daughter-in-law', ST *nō̃ 'female relative').

1569. *nīśu 'smell (odorare), breathe heavily' > HS: S *°√ nśw > Ar √ nśw v. 'smell (sth.)', naśwat- 'odor', nuśū?- 'good smell' ¶ Fr. IV 278, 284, BK II 1255, 1266-7, Hv. 772 || ?? B *°√ nzw v. 'sneeze' > Nfs, Si ənzū (pf. inzū) id., Sll, Nfs, Si tinzi 'a sneeze' ¶ Beg. s.v.ənzū and tinzi, Ds. 118, La. S 172 and 434 || IE: NaIE *°neus- v. 'smell (sth.)' (with mt.) (× N *nūs▽ 'to breathe') > Sl *núxa- (ESSJ *nú|qxa-) vt. 'smell (sth.)' > R 'нюха-ть, Uk 'нюхати, P niuchac 'to smell (sth.)', SCr njùšiti, njùškati, Cz Δ njuchati id., Cz čenichati vt. 'to smell' (of an animal), Blg 'нюшкам, 'нюшна 'I smell sth.' ¶ Vs. III 93, ESSJ XXV 156-9, P 768-9 || U: FU (in FV) *n|nīś|štä- (more plausible than *n|nistä-) v. 'pant, puff, snuff (a burning object), blow one's nose' > F niistä- v. 'snuff (a candle), blow one's nose', Es niista- v. 'snuff (a candle etc.)' | Chr: L inf. нүшталаш, U/B nüštala-, H inf. ньшталаш v. 'blow one's nose' ¶ UEW 708, SK 378 ¶ Rédei (UEW) reconstructed *s (*nistä-) on the ev. of the alleged Lp cognate: Lp N {N} niisteti- v. '(happen unintentionally, because one is not careful enough' →) 'let go, let slip out of one's hands, let fall', Lp T nište'e- 'wegschnappen'. But the adduction of the Lp word is to be rejected for semantic reasons (even Rd. is close to recognizing it: "Die Zugehörigkeit des lapp. Wortes is aus semantischen Gründen sehr unsicher"), hence there is no reason to reconstruct *s. More than that: *š- in the Eastern dialects of Chr (U, B) usually (but not always) goes back to FU *ś or *š rather than to *s || A: M *nisun 'Naselschleim (morve)' (× N *Lizû 'saliva, mucus', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ D *nēc- ~ *nēńc- (or *nēk- ~ *nēńk-) v. 'breathe, breathe heavily' > Tu nēsa 'asthma', Prj nēń(ǰ)-, Gdb, Png, Mnd, Ku nēnǰ-, Gnd nēǰ-, Kui nēnǰa v. 'breathe', Knd nēnz- v. 'sigh, respire

when exhausted or tired', ? NED: Krx $n\bar{a}x-na$, Mlt $n\bar{e}gye$ v. 'breathe' ¶¶ D no. 3765. The velar reflexes x in Krx and g in Mlt are likely to point to a D * k ◇ The D vw. * \bar{e} requires explanation.

1570. * $n\bar{a}t\bar{o}$ 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) > HS: S: [1] CS * $\checkmark n\bar{t}w$ 'bend, incline' > BHb $\checkmark n\bar{t}y|w$ G (pf. $n\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$, ip. $n\bar{a}'y i-t\bar{t}\bar{e}$) id., EpHb $\checkmark n\bar{t}y$ vt. *Sh* (pf. $h\bar{t}h$) 'incline', JPA $\checkmark n\bar{t}y \sim \checkmark n\bar{t}w$ G (pf. $'\bar{b}\bar{b}$ $n\bar{a}'t\bar{e} \sim \bar{X}\bar{b}\bar{b} n\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$) 'incline, hang over', JEA $\checkmark n\bar{t}y$ 'incline', ? σ Ar $\checkmark n\bar{t}w$ G 'weave (a fabric)'; [2] μ S * $^\circ-n\bar{u}t-$ > Ar $\checkmark n\bar{w}t$ G (pf. $n\bar{a}t\bar{a}$, ip. $-n\bar{u}t-$) vt. 'hang, suspend' ¶ KB 654-5, HJ 728, Lv. III 377-8, Js. 890, Sl. 744, Hv. 779, 808, BK II 1287, 1367-8 || B * $n\bar{\nabla}_L H_d$ 'pli', * $\checkmark w n d$ 'plier, turner' > Sll {Ds.} $i-n\bar{i}d-i$ (pl. $i-n\bar{a}d-\bar{a}n$) n. 'pli', v. caus. $s n u d u$ ({Ds.} $s n \bar{u} d \bar{u}$) 'plier', Wrg {Dlh.} $\bar{a} n n \bar{a} d$ 'turner, entourer', Kb {Dl.} $\bar{a} n n \bar{a} d$ '(s')enrouler; tourner, tourner autour', Ah $\bar{a} n n \bar{a} d$ (pf. {Fc.} $i n n \bar{a} d$) vt. 'tourner, changer de direction', Twl/Ty {GhA} $\bar{a} n n \bar{a} d$ (pf. $i n n \bar{a} d$) 'enrouler, envelopper, tourner (dans une autre direction)' ¶ Ds. 222, Dl. 546, Dlh. Ou 212, Fc. 1298, GhA 140, 346 (on the conj. 1 A.2), \approx Pr. no. 531 || IE: NaIE * $^\circ n e t-$ 'lie down, rest' > Gmc (\times NaIE * $n e t H-$ 'help, favor' < N * $n\bar{a}t\bar{H}_1 \bar{\nabla}$ 'to seek, to seek help; to help'): ON $n\bar{a}'\bar{d}a$ 'Ruhe', pl. $n\bar{a}'\bar{d}ar$ 'Ruhe, Ruhe des Schlafens' (*ganga til n\bar{a}'\bar{d}ar* 'sich zur Ruhe legen'), OHG {OsS} $g\bar{i}n\bar{a}d\bar{a} \sim g\bar{a}n\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ 'Niederlassen in der Absicht zu ruhen; Ruhe', MHG $g\bar{e}n\bar{a}d\bar{e}$ 'Ruhe', (\times NaIE * $n e t H-$ 'help, grace, favor' < N * $n\bar{a}t\bar{H}_1 \bar{\nabla}$ '↑'): NHG $Gn\bar{a}d\bar{e}$, Dt $g\bar{e}n\bar{a}d\bar{e}$ 'favor, grace, clemency, mercy', OSx {Ho.} ($g\bar{i}-$) $n\bar{a}t\bar{h}\bar{a}$ 'Gnade', $g\bar{i}-n\bar{a}t\bar{h}\bar{e}r\bar{i}$ 'Erbarmer' (\bar{e} = Umlaut of a) ¶ \approx WP II 327 (without distinguishing between this IE \checkmark and the above-mentioned NaIE * $n e t H-$ 'help, favor'), Vr. 403, Vr. N 195, OsS 259, Lx. 61, KM 263, Ho. S 54 || A * $N\bar{a}t\bar{\nabla}-$ > NaT * $j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$ 'lie down' (\times N * $\bar{z}'A'\bar{r}'\bar{\nabla}$ 'to lie [liegen]') > OT $j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$ 'lie down', 'lie down to sleep', 'settle down' (of nomads), MQp XIII $j\bar{a}t\bar{-} \sim j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Chg XV $j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$ 'sleep', XwT XIII $j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$ 'lie (down)', Tk $ц\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Tkm $я\bar{t}\bar{-}$, Ggz, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET, SY, Slr, Ln $j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Xlj $j\bar{a}t\bar{-} \sim j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Qq $\check{z}\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Qrg $\check{z}\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, StAlt $\check{z}\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Xk $\check{c}\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Tv $\check{c}\bar{i}t\bar{-}$, Tf $\check{c}\bar{i}t\bar{-}$, Yk $s\bar{i}t\bar{-}$ 'lie', Tkm, Az, Kr $j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Uz $\bar{e}t\bar{-} j\bar{a}t\bar{-}$, Qzq $\check{z}\bar{a}t\bar{-}$ 'lie, (go to) sleep' ¶ Cl. 884, Rs. W 192, ET J 156-8, Tkr 821-2, Ra. 200, DT 221, Md. 105, 160 || M * $^\circ n a t u y i-$ > WrM {MED} $n\bar{a}t\bar{u}i-$ 'bend down, hang, hang over', HIM $н\bar{a}t\bar{a}й-$ {MED} id., {Kow.} 'pendre, être suspendu', {BMR} 'bend down', ? ϕ Brt $н\bar{e}t\bar{y}-$ 'stoop (сутулиться)' ¶ MED 567, BMR II 400, Kow. 613, Chr. 341 ◇ The N

word-final labialized vw. cannot be *u or *ū (because it does not yield *u/*w in IE), hence the tentatively reconstructed labialized vw. is *o.

1571. *n̄an₂t̄'o' 'woman (of ego's generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lges] → 'sister-in-law') > HS: B *n̄∇Hd̄- > Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} t̄anuṭt̄ (pl. t̄inuḍin), Kb {Dl.} t̄a-nuḡ (pl. t̄i-nuḡ-in) 'husband's brother's wife' ¶ Dl. 546, Rn. 392 || C: EC: Or {Grg.} naḍḍēn (pl. naḍḍō) 'woman, lady', Or B {Sr.} naḍḍēni 'woman (married)', naḍḍittī 'woman' || DhI naṭa 'woman' ¶ Grg. 298, Sr. 372, Th. 252-3, To. D 144, Blz. CL 181 || ??φ NOm: Mch {L} nūtā 'one of two wives of the same husband in relation to the other one' ¶ L M 44 || U *n̄|n̄ato 'sister of husband\wife' > F n̄ato 'spouse's (husband's \ wife's) sister; brother's wife', Es n̄adu ~ n̄ado 'husband's sister' || Lp: Rr {Lgc.} n̄o:ṭ̄z 'younger sister of one's wife', Vfs {Lgc.} n̄oṭ̄z 'elder brother's wife' || Chr: H {Ep.} нуды нубъ 'spouse's sister', L нудо 'нудо, Uf/B нудо 'spouse's younger sister' || Sm {Jn.} *n̄at̄|č̄b̄ 'sibling-in-law' > Ne: T n̄ado, T O {Lh.} n̄āḍū 'spouse's younger brother', F L {Lh.} n̄āttu id., 'spouse's elder brother's son', T {Ter.} не n̄ado, F n̄ēn n̄āttū 'spouse's younger sister' (не n̄e 'woman'); Kms {KD} n̄ado', {Cs.} n̄ado, n̄adu 'spouse's brother' ¶¶ Coll. 38, It. no. 30, UEW 299-300, Sm. 539 (U, FU *n̄atiw, FP *n̄atiw, Sm *n̄ate 'in-law'), Lgc. no. 4238, Lgc. SL no. 1366, MRS 361, Ep. 77, Ü 135, Ps. OT 78, Rm. BT 88, Jn. 98, KD 42 || D *n̄āt-/ *n̄ātt-/ *n̄ānt- 'husband's sister, brother's wife' > Kn n̄ādani, n̄ādini, n̄āduni, Ml n̄āttūn id., Tm n̄ātti, n̄āttūn, n̄āttanār 'husband's sister', Kt n̄a·tu·py 'a woman's sister-in-law \ female cross-cousin', Knd n̄ānra, Mnd n̄ānza 'wife's younger sister', Ku {Isr.} n̄ānzo id., {Fzg.} n̄anjo 'sister-in-law', Kui n̄ānza 'younger sister-in-law', Krx n̄āsgo 'elder brother's wife'; D → OI nanāndr̄-, nandīni-, nandā- 'husband's sister' ¶¶ D no. 3644, Pf. 74 [no. 455] (D *n̄āt-/ -tt-, *n̄āt̄-/ -tt̄- / -nt̄-, *n̄āt̄-∇k-), Tu. no. 6946 || K: Sv: {Ni.} n̄ati 'свойственникъ (relative-in-law?)', UB n̄ati, LB/Ln n̄ati, L n̄ati 'kinsman' (unless somehow connected with Sv G natesavi id.) ¶ TK 632, GP 226, Ni. s.v. 'свойственникъ', Dn. s.v. n̄ati || ? A: [1] Tg: Ewk PT/Skh/Ucr n̄āti 'female relative', 'daughter, sister', Ewk V n̄āt̄z 'sibling, one's child' ¶ Here the palatality of the Ewk cns. n̄- cannot be of pN origin, because pN *n̄- is

ruled out by the U initial *n|ñ- ¶ STM I 627 ¶ [2] ??? Tg: WrMc {Z} нэчэ 'wife's elder brother's wife' (the vowels are influenced by WrMc {Z} нэ Ъ 'wife's younger brother's wife', see N *n a y E 'woman') ¶ Z 216, 220 ◇ B and D provide ev. for a N emphatic *t̥. The U and K cognates have *-t- (with post-N deglottalization caused by the lr. in N *-H₂t̥-?) ◇ In Sm and K the word broadened its meaning: 'female relative-in-law' → 'relative(\sibling)-in-law (irrespective to his\her sex)', as well as in ds of Sv: → 'kinsman' ◇ IS II 81-2 (*nat̥'o¹ in U, D), ≈ Blz. KM 17-18 [no. 20] (adding Ewk n̄āti and Mc nūtä).

1572. *nāṭH₁∇ 'to seek, to seek help; to help' > K {Fn.} *°nat̥- 'wish' > OG nat̥r- 'beat-um\am dicere, benedicere' (Lc. 1.48, ψ 71.17, ψ 143.15) ({Ser., DCh.} 'ублажати'), G {DCh.} nat̥ra n. 'wish', {Chx.} nat̥vr-/nat̥r-/ nat̥rul- v. 'wish, long for, desire' ¶ Chx. 927-8, DCh. 963, Ser. 124, Fn. KD no. 5 || IE *net̥Hx- 'help, grace, favor' (× NaIE *°net- 'lie down, rest' < N *nāṭ'o¹ 'to bend, to bow, to incline' [intr.]) > OI nā'tham n. 'help, refuge', nā'th- v. 'seek help, Zuflucht suchen' || Gt inf. nīpan (· συλλαμβάνειν) 'unterstützen', [L-gr.] ON nād̥ 'grace, favorable attitude, compassion', Sw nād̥ 'grace', OHG gināda 'mercy, grace, reconciliation', NHG Gnade, OSx (ge)nātha 'favor, favorable attitude, grace', Ht nūt- '≈ Glück, Wohlbefinden, Ansehen' or sim., nūt- ~ nū- 'ε desirable condition', 'contentment (?)' ¶¶ Mn. 839, ≈ WP II 327 (without distinguishing between this IE √ and IE *net- 'lie down, rest'), M K II 152, M E II 33-4, Fs. 376, Vr. 403, Ho. S 54, Ts. E II 352-4, CHD L-N 476 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *°nātt∇- > ObU {Ht.} *nāt- v. 'help' > pVg *nāt- id. > Vg: T nāt-, LK/MK/UK/UL nōt-, P/NV/SV/LL nōt-/ nōt-, Ss nōt-; pOs {Ht.} *nāt- id. > Os: D/K nōt-, Nz/Kz nōt-, O nāt- ¶ Ht. no. 477 || D *nāṭ- ({ḡGS} *nāṭ-) 'seek' (× N *r'o¹dE 'seek, wish' × N *TewdA 'look for, find') > Tm nāṭu v. 'seek, inquire after', Ml nāṭuka 'follow with the eyes, covet, seek', Tu nāṭu- 'search, seek' ¶¶ D no. 3637 ◇ ObU (or pFU, pU) *ñ- may result from palatalization *n|ñ- > *ñ- caused by unknown factors. In D *nāṭ- the cns. *-ṭ- (the reg. reflex of N *-t-) for the expected *-t- (< N *-t̥-) may be due to the de-emphatizing infl. of the N lr. *H₁ or to coalescence with N *r'o¹dE. A less plausible alternative: N *nāṭH₁∇

with IE *n- due to contamination with N *n̄at̄'o' 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) ◇ Fn. KD no. 5: K, D *n̄at̄- / n̄ēṭ- 'see, look').

1573. ₂ *n̄a'h'w'E' 'vessel' > HS: S *^o√n̄w̄y > Gz n̄aw̄āy 'vessel, utensil' ¶ L G 410 || IE: NaIE *n̄āy- 'vessel (made of a trunk), boat' ([in descendant lges] → 'ship') > Clt {Matas.} *n̄āw̄ā {AD} 'vessel, boat' ({Matas.} 'boat') > OIr n̄áú 'ship', MW noe {Vn.} 'large vase, une auge', {Matas.} 'large vase, bowl', W {YGM} noe 'kneading trough, dish', MBr neau ~ neṽ 'vase', Br {Hm.} neṽ 'auge' || Gmc: Nr nu 'a trough hollowed out from a tree trunk', ON π n̄ó-r 'ship', AS d. n̄ōwend 'shipman', OHG nuosc 'slot, tub, canal', {Kb.} 'Röhre, Rinne', {OsS} 'gutter (Rinne), gutter-shaped trough for cattle', MHG nuosch id., 'tube', NGr B {Grimm} n̄uesch, n̄uescht, nousch 'Rinne, Gerinne, Kanal, Trog', OFrs n̄ōst 'trough', MLG n̄ōste 'cattle trough, water trough' || OI n̄āu-h̄ 'boat', OPrs d. n̄āviyā 'fleet', OPrs n̄āvāžā-, Av n̄avāza- 'shipman', Phl n̄āv, CINPrs {Sg.} نāv n̄āv 'trough; drainpipe, boat, small ship', NPrs {BM} نāv n̄āv 'channel; ship', KhS n̄o 'boat', ChrSgd n̄w, BdhSgd n̄ʔw h̄ 'boat', Oss I n̄aw, Oss D n̄awä 'ship' || Arm նաւ n̄aw 'ship, vessel, boat' || Gk Hm νηϋς (gen. νηός < *n̄āwós), Gk A ναϋς (gen. νεώς) 'ship' || L n̄āvīs id. ¶ WP II 315, P 755-6, EI 74 (*'neh̄_h-s / gen. *nh̄_h'w-os 'boat'), Ch. 737, M K II 181, M E II 59, Bai. 192, Ab. II 162, Sg. 1382, BM 557, F II 292-3, WH II 148-9, Vn. N 5, YGM-1 345, Hm. 597, Vr. 411, Ho. 238, Kb. 738, OsS 661, Grimm VII 1008, Lx. 154 ◇ The Clt and Gmc data prove that the primary meaning of the IE word was 'wooden vessel, trough', whence later 'boat' and 'ship'. Therefore the tempting comparison of IE *n̄āy-s 'ship' with Eg n̄^ṣ, n̄^ṣy 'come, go, arrive, journey, travel, sail' (where the meaning 'sail' is by no means the primary one) [BmK no. 569] is untenable: serious etymology cannot be based on comparison between secondary derived meanings. Hence this comparison cannot serve as an argument for V. Ivanov's daring hyp. of paleolithic navigation (Ivn. LDDM 236). On the Eg verb see N *n̄aṣE 'go' ◇ N *h̄ is the only lr. that may be lost in S and causes lengthening of vowels in NaIE ◇ In the absence of Tg cognate (distinguishing between N *n̄- and *ṇ-) the rec. of N *ṇ- is also possible.

1574. *n̄æw̄y,ṽ 'new' > IE *newo- / *nowo- 'new' > OI 'nava-, new, fresh, young', Av nava-, CINPrs نو n̄aw, NPrs نو n̄ow, Oss n̄āwäg 'new' || Gk νέo-ς 'new, young', Gk Mc ne-wō id. || L novu-s 'new' ||

Clt *nowyo- 'new' > OIr núae, MW, W {YGM} newydd 'new', OBr [Υ] en neuidterio 'mensis nouorum', Br {Hm.} nevez, Cm newyth 'new', Cl Nouio-dunum (a toponym) || Olt *nava-s (in n.l. Navikai), Pru nau^s 'new' (influenced by jauns 'young'), dadj. neuwenen | Sl *nòvъ(-jъ) 'new' > OCS **новъ** novъ, Blg нов, SCr, Slv nòv, Cz, Slk nový, P nowy, R 'нов-ый' (pradj. 'нов), Uk 'новий' id. || pTc {Ad.} *háwe > Tc: A níu, B níuwe id. || Arm d. **նոր** nor 'new, fresh' || Ht newa-, Lw {Melch.} nāwa/i- 'new' || NaIE *newyo-/*nowyo- 'new' > OI 'navya- id. || Gk I νεῦος 'new' || Clt: Gl nevio-, novio- in n.l. Neviodunum, Noviodunum (lit. 'new town'), OIr nuae, nóe 'new', Brtt [RE] *nowiyos id. > O W nouid, MW, W newydd, Cm nweth, newyth, nowyth id., OBr [Υ] nouuid, neuid- id. (in the d. neuidter 'nouveau'), MBr, Br nevez 'new' || Gmc *niujaz > Gt niujis (· καυός) 'neu, jung', ON nýr, Dn, Sw, NNr ny, OSx, OHG niuwi, NHG neu, AS nīewe, nīwe 'new', NE new || Lt naujas id. ¶¶ WP II 324, P 769, EI 393 (*¹newo-s), M K II 144-5, M E II 25, Horn 234, Ab. II 175, F II 306-7, WH II 181, Vn. N 23-4, Matas. 293, YGN-1 344, Hm. 597, RE 115, Flr. 266, Fs. 377-8, Vr. 413, Ho. 236, Ho. S 56, Schz. 224, Kb. 730, OsS 655, KM 509, Frn. 487-8, En. 213-14, ESSJ XXV 225-39 and XXVI 7-14, StSS 383, Glh. 441-2, Slit. 229-30, Me. EAC 50, 91 (on Arm nor), Wn. I 328, Ad. 269, Ad. H 34, Frd. HW 150, Ts. E II 320-3, CHD L-N 455-8, Mlc. CL 157 || ¶ **A** *nEbi 'new, young' > Tg: (1) Tg *nebi 'new, fresh; younger relative' > Lm neyi 'new, fresh', nō: 'younger brother\sister', WrMc {Z} нэѣ 'wife's younger brother's wife', Ul neu, Ork new, neu 'younger brother\sister', Nn Nh {On.} neil 'younger brothers\sisters' ¶ STM I 616, 618, On. 297, Z 216 || (2) ?? Tg *ni₁ab- ({S} *ni₁ab) 'young, new' > Ul náwžā(n-), Nn Nh {STM, On.} naonžōã, Nn KU naožōã 'young', Ud I/Sm {Krm.} ná?ula, Ud K {Krm.} náola 'boy\girl (adolescent)', Ork naožōqqa(n-) 'boy'; Lm nēyi 'new, fresh' ¶ STM I 616, 636, Krm. 269, On. 283, S AJ 221 [no. 223] || pJ {S} *nípí 'new' > OJ nipyi, MJ nípí, J T nìi-, J K níí-, J Kg ní-ke, J Ht nē- id. ¶ S AJ 270 [no. 130], S QJ no. 130, Mr. 497 || ??σ,φ T: OT Kr juvχā 'bastard, adopted son' ¶ Cl. 874, Rs. W 874 || pKo {S} *nə́- 'younger relative' (in cds) > MKo nə-s-harmi 'wife of grandfather's younger brother', NKo nə́- 'younger brother (in cds) ¶ S QK no. 772, Nam 105, MLC 336 ¶¶ SDM 964 (pA *nébì 'new' > M *niψu-n 'child, boy', Tg, T,

J, Ko), DQA no. 1418 (id.), S AJ 110, 279 [no. 121], Rm. SKE I 172 ||
HS: B *✓ yny (prm. {Pr.} *-ynāy) 'be new' > Tw imv. inaḷ (3m pf. {Pr.} ḷä-inaḷ) 'be new\recent', Ty imv. iynaḷ (3m pf. yḷ-ynaḷ) 'be new' ¶
 Fc. 701-2, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 157, GhA 206 ¶ It is tempting to equate
 it with IE *yow-en- 'young', but it is untenable because IE *-en- is a sx
 || NrOm (unless akin to C *✓ ngʷ 'suck' [acc. to LmS 481-2]): Gm
 {Hw.} naʔá 'child, boy', Wl {Lm.} naʔa 'boy, son', Malo/Zl/Gf/Bsk {Lm.}
 naʔa 'boy, child', Dwr {Lm.} nā, naho id., 'son', Kcm naʔa, Zl {C} nāyē,
 Gmr {Bnd.} náʔ 'boy', Bnc {Wdk.} náʔ 'child', Ym {Bnd.} naʔo, {C} naʔō
 'boy', {Wdk.} nā-nī 'our child', {Lm.} nā 'boy, son', Shn {Lm.} naʔa, Bdt
 {Lm.} nāʔa, nāye 'boy, son', Mch {Lm.} 'naʔo 'child, boy', Kf {C} naō
 'slave, servant' (← 'boy'), Cha {Lm.} nā 'child', Anf {MYTY} naʔo 'baby'
 ¶ Bnd. PO 156, Wdk. BY 108, 132, Lm. Y 369-70, ≈ LmS 481-2, L M
 43, Hw. EG s.v. 'boy' and 'child', C SE IV 477, MYTY 118 ◇ An ancient
 connection between N *ñūn₁'æ¹ - *ñūw'æ¹ 'now' (q.v.) and N
 *ñæw₁y,∇ 'new' (the latter supposedly derived from or even
 identical with the former) is hardly plausible because of the different
 vowels of these N words (reconstructed on the U and A ev.) ◇ ≈ Gr.
 II no. 280 (*nu 'now') (IE, A, J words for 'new' + err.: no distinction
 from words for 'now'; see N *ñūn₁'æ¹ - *ñūw'æ¹).

1575. *nayE (probably *nayı) 'woman' > IE: NaIE *-nī, derivational marker of the female sex (deriving words for women from the corresponding words for men): *pot-nī 'domina' (← *pot-'dominus, owner') > OI 'patnī, Av paθnī- id., Gk πότινα 'mistress, queen' (transformed into a standard -ā-stem of feminine nouns), Olt -patni (in cds: viešpatni 'Frau' ← *'hostess, hospes [f.]), as well as Olt viešni 'female guest' (← viešis 'guest'), OCS, ChS -ѡНН -ѡnjі: БОГѡНН bogѡnjі 'goddess' (← БОГЪ bogъ 'god'), ГОСПОДѡНН gospodѡnjі 'δέσποινα, domina', ChS {Mikl.} ДРОУГѡНН drugѡnjі 'amica' ¶ BD II/1 215, 283, Frn. 551, 1245, Vnd.¹ I 424, Mikl. L 177, StSS 98, 175 || **U:** FU {UEW} *naye 'woman, wife', *naye- v. 'marry' > F d. nainen (gen. naisen), Es naine (gen. naise) 'woman, wife', F nai- v. 'marry' ||| ObU {Ht.} *nāy > pVg *nāy > OVg S SSs naije, Vg: T nāyī, LK/MK nōy, P/NV/SV nay, UL/Ss nāy 'gentlewoman'; pOs *nāy > Os: Sh nay 'wife\daughter of a hero\prince', VK nāy 'wife of an official', V nāy, Ty/D/K nāy 'queen (in playing cards)' || ? Hg nō 'woman, wife', neje 'his wife' || Sm

{Jn.} *ne 'woman' > Ne {Ter.} не, Ne T O {Lh.} н̄ē, Ne F н̄е, Ng {Mk} н̄, {Cs.} nê, En {Ter.} ne, {Cs.} nê id., Slq Ch/UO neä 'Frau', ni e 'Tochter', Kms {KD} nē ~ nē 'woman, wife', Koyb {Sp.} нэ 'woman' ('баба, женщина'), Mt {Hl.} *nā 'woman' (Mt A {Msr., Strl.} n a h 'ein Weib', Mt K {Mll.} ne 'wife', Mt M {Mll.} ne 'woman') ¶¶ UEW 297-8, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *nāxi, Ugr *nägī, Sm *ne 'woman'), Ht. no. 420, Jn. 100, Cs. 139, KD 44, Hl. M no. 727 || HS: WCh: Sy {Csp.} н̄, Zul {ChC} ná 'daughter' ¶ Csp. 46, ChC s.v. 'daughter' || ???σ possibly Eg G nū 'ein Klageweib' ¶ EG II 201.

1575a. ₂ *nīʔay∇ 'rot; pus' > IE: Ht yaya- {Kas.} v. 'expectorate (phlegm)' ¶ Kas. AN 157 || A *ni₁ayⁱ- > Tg *ni₁a₁- v. 'rot' > Ewk Brg/VI/Y/Np/O/Sm/Skh/Urm ná-, Lm nāw-, Neg, Orc, Ud, Ork nā-., Ulc nā- ~ nē-, Nn Nh nā- ~ nīā-, WrMc {Z} ня- v. 'rot'; ↗ Tg *ni₁āksa 'pus' > Nh nāksa ɖ nīāksa, Ewk, Orc, Ud naksā, Lm Ol/A/B/O/P/Sk/T nās, Neg naksā ɖ náχsa, Ul nā:qsa ɖ nēqsa ɖ ní:qsa 'pus' ¶ STM I 628-9, Z 246 || M *ni-sun 'nasal mucus' > WrM {MED} nisun, HIM {MED} нус, {BMR} нус(ан), Brt нюна(н), Kl {KES} нусн id., {Rm.} nisnō 'Rotz, Schleim', Ord nūsū 'mucus nasal, morve' ¶ MED 386, BMR II 246, Chr. 346, KRD 386-7, KW 281, Ms. O 502 ¶¶ SDM 983 (pA *nīāyī 'pus, snot' Tg *nā- v. 'rot', n. 'pus', M *niy- 'snot', v. 'blow nose') ◇ Kas AN 157-8 (pN etymon with the initial cns. *nī- > Ht, Tg, M 'snot' [without rec.] + unc. pM *niy- 'blow nose' [err. rec. instead of *nigi-, cp. WrM nigi- 'blow the nose' [MED 582] and D *ney- 'oil, ghee')..

1576. (₂?) *nīz^rU 'female' > K *než|z w- > G nezv-i 'female animal (esp. pig, goat, sheep)', (↗) Mg nezv-i 'female' in nezvi yeži 'sow' ¶ Chx. 951, Q 288, 350 || U: FP *nīs∇ 'woman, female' (× N *nīŭs₁y₁∇ 'woman') > pLp {Lr.} *nisōn 'woman' > Lp: U {Schl.} nisuna, L {LLO} nisōn, N {N} niso (gen. nisson), Klt neezan, Kld nīzan id., S {Hs.} n'ūjsen- in cds: n'ūjsen'äjjaa 'woman, wife', n'ūjsenes-tjuppe 'woman's hat', n'ūjsenes-vuoddeh 'woman's bootlaces' | Er nīz-ańa 'wife's mother' (nīz- 'wife' + ańa 'mother'), {Ps.} nīzaka 'female animal' ¶ It. VFUMr 264 (*nīs∇), UEW 708 (*nīs∇), Lr. no. 729, Lgc. no. 4180, Hs. 1018-19, Stn. FUV 61 || ?σ HS: S: Ar nazīf-at- 'woman married out of her tribe' (unless derived from ✓ nzi 'ôter, enlever'), ?? nuzzaŕ- (pl.) 'female animals (sheep etc.) agitated by sexual desire', possibly × ✓ nzi 's'ébranler et

se mettre en mouvement (surtout avec une agitation qui témoigne d'un désir)' ¶ BK II 1235-7, Hv. 762 ◇ The lr. in the N etymon explains the length of the U vw. One may consider adducing WrMc {Z} нэ ѣ 'wife's younger brother's wife', but it is more plausibly connected with N *naye 'woman' (q.v. ffd.).

1577. ₂ *ńabʔʔ ▽ 'warm, heat' > HS: Eg fP nby, fBD nby.t 'flame, live coals', fP nby vi. 'burn' ¶ EG II 244 || C: Bj {R, Rop.} ✓ nbʔ pcv. ({R} 1s p. 'ambaʔ, 1s pres. anam'biʔ, prtc. 'nebʔa) 'be\become hot', {R} 'be hot' (sun), 'nebʔa 'heat, heat of the sun', {Rop.} nabʔa 'hot' || ? +ext.: Ag: Q {R} embelaw-, Km {CR} embelaw- 'be hot' (← EthS?) ¶ Rop. 221, R WBd 179-80, R QW 24, CR LK 164 || S *✓nblʔʔ 'flame' (× N *bEÍ ▽ 'boil, cook') > Ug nblʔʔ, Gz nabal, Ak nablū 'flame' ¶ A no. 1739 (Ug nblʔʔ t), OLS 316, L G 383, Frnz. LS7 626, CAD XI/1 25-7 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. I 90 (HS *✓nbl > Eg nbj, S, Ag *✓nbl, as well as *✓bl in C, B and Ch, actually N *bEÍ ▽ '↑' and N *biīU 'to be warm, to burn; warm') || A *ńaba > NaT *jaba > OT {Cl.} javva 'warm' ([MhK] javva jēr 'warm place', javva 'warm'), Yk sabān ~ samān 'heat', 'warm summer', 'warm' (of summer) ¶ Cl. 872, MKD 219, Pek. 2006, 2061 || Tg *ńama 'warm' > Ewk, Orc, Ul, Nn ńama, Lm ńam, Neg ńam, ńamagdu, Ud {Krm.} ńamahi, Ork namā 'warm, warmth', Sln namagdi 'warmth' ¶ STM I 630-1, Krm. 269 ¶¶ ADb KL (A *ńapa 'warm'), STM I 631 (Tg, T); ≠ SDM97 (*ńamo 'warm, soft, mild') (the Tg root *ńama 'warm' is equated with M *nomu 'soft' and with J and T reflexes of N *ńǎm ▽) ◇ Tg *-m- in *ńama is probably due to as. (N *ń...b- > Tg *ń...-m-) rather than to the infl. of the semantically remote N *ńǎm ▽ 'soft'.

1578. ? (₂?) *ńačχ ▽ 'wet, moist' > HS: S *°✓nθh > Sb ✓nθh v. 'provide irrigation (?)' ¶ BGMR 102 || U: FU *ńačk ▽ 'wet, moist' > F nahkea 'damp' (but not nahkea 'leathery' ← nahka 'leather') || pLp {Lr.} ńōckz 'wet, raw' > Lp: N njuoskâs, njuoskâ- 'get wet', S njuotskes, L njuoskas, Kld {Gn.} ńūckas 'wet, raw' || Er načko, Mk načka 'wet, moist' || Chr: L ночко 'nočko, Uf nočko, H načko id. || Os: Kz ńāšax, O ńāsaχ 'raw' ¶ Coll. 102, UEW 311, Lr. no. 787, Lgc. no. 4471, MRS 358 || possibly also ?σ IE *yes- v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (× N *ńoĉ. ▽ q ▽ 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle', q.v. ffd.) ◇ A phonetic var. of N *ńoĉ. ▽ q ▽ '↑'? ◇

On N *-č̣χ- > FU *-č̣k- see Introduction, § 2.2.11 ◇ Qu., because the HS root is represented by uncertain data of one lge only.

1579. **ńoĉ̣.∇₁q∇₁* 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle' > HS: WS **√nĉ̣.χ* v. 'sprinkle' > Ar *√nĉ̣.χ* 'aquā conspersit', {Hv.} vi. 'wet, sprinkle'; naĉ̣.χ-at- {BK} 'une ondée', {Hv.} 'a shower'; Sb nĉ̣.χ v. 'defile, sprinkle with impurity' ¶ Fr. IV 291-2, BK II 1278-80, Hv. 777, BGMR 92 || U: FU **ńo|aĉ̣.∇* 'moist' > pPrm **ńuĉ̣* id. > Z *ńuĉ̣* 'moist', 'viscid' (of clay), 'flexible', Yz *ńuĉ̣* 'moist' ¶ LG 200 || ?σ IE **yes-* v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (← *v. 'become moist?') (× N ? **ńač̣.χ∇* 'wet, moist'??) > OI *yas-* (3s pres. *yas-yati*) v. 'boil, become hot, foam', Av *yah-*, KhS *jiṣ-* v. 'boil' || Gk ζέω 'boil, seethe' (of water) || OHG {OsS} *iësan* 'to boil, to foam' ('effervescere'), {Kb.} *jesan* ~ *gesan* 'gären, to ferment', AS *zist* 'foam, yeast', NE *yeast* || W *ias* n. act. {LP} 'boiling, intense heat\cold', {YGM} 'thrill, shiver', ? OIr *es(s)* 'cataract' (← *'foam') || ?? Ht *is(sa)na-*, *essana-* 'dough' ¶¶ WP I 208, P 506, Mn. 444, EI 77 (**yes-* 'boil'), M K III 13, M E II 406-7, Bai. 111, F I 612, OsS 464, Kb. 330, LP § 20, YGM-1 295, Wn. I 595, Pv. I-II 381-5 || D **noṭ-* 'wash' (× N **r∇ĉ̣.∇₁χ∇* or **r∇χ₁∇₁ĉ̣.∇* 'to wash', q.v.) > Tm *nuṭakku* 'wash, wipe off moisture, dissolve', Tu *neḍi*, *niḍiyuni*, *niḍipini*, Bel *noḍi*, Prj *noḍ-*, Gdb *nor-* 'wash', Gnd *nor-*, *norr-*, Knd *noṛ-*, Png *noz-*, *nuz-*, Kui *nobga* (< **nog-b-*), Ku *nor-*, Mlt *noṛe* id. ¶¶ D no. 3783 ◇ If the Ht word belongs here (which is not certain), S *-χ- must be an extension, because it cannot reflect N *-q- for lack of the expected correspondence in Ht. But if the Ht word (or IE **yes-*) is not a legitimate cognate, *-q- (> S *-χ-) belongs to the N etymon.

1580. ₂ **ńuġ∇* ≈ 'ε deer, antelope' > HS: Eg OK/MK *ṛwṣw* 'addax antelope (*Addax nasomaculatus*)' ¶ EG II 226 || ? CCh: Mdr {ChL} *náġì-gúrè* 'antelope' (a cd, cf. Dgh ṣádá-gírè id.) ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'antelope' || U: FU (att. in ObU) **ńuṣ|w∇* > ObU **ńōṣ|w* 'elk' > pVg **ńōṣ* 'Elch' > Vg: T *ńō* ({Ht.} misprint *nō*), MK *ńow* id.; pOs **ńōṣ* 'elk' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Sl *ńōṣ*, Y *ńōw*, K/Kr {Stn.} *ńōχ* id. ¶ Ht. no. 442, Hl. rHt. 73-4 (on the reflexes of FU *-ṣ- and *-w- in ObU), Stn. D 1029, Trs. S 317.

1581. (₂?) **ńahæg^rü¹* (or **ńah₁∇₁ġE?* 'drive, chase' > HS: WS **√nhg* (prm. *-nhag-) 'drive (game), follow (tracks)' > BHb *√nhg G* (ip. -nhag) vt. 'drive (an animal), drive away, drive on; lead, lead out', JEA {Sl.} *√nhg G* vi. 'follow a practice\custom, lead', Ar *√nhğ G* (pf.

nahaǵa, ip. ya-nhaǵ-u) 'follow (the tracks of)' ⇨ نَهْج nahǵ- '(plain) road' ⇨ ✓nhǵ G 'trace a road', Gz ✓nhg G (pf. nahaga) 'lead to pasture', *Sh* (pf. ʔanhaga) 'push forward (herd), drive (herd)' ¶ KB 637-8, Js. 880-1, Lv. III 347-8, Sl. 731-2, BK II 1352-3, Hv. 802, L G 393 || IE: NaIE *yāǵh- 'chase, hunt' > Gmc: OFrs inf. jagia, OHG inf. jagōn 'to hunt, to pursue; jagen, treiben, verfolgen', NHG, Dt inf. jagen 'to chase, to drive, to hunt'; ⇨ OHG jagid (> MHG jaget > NHG Jagd) n. 'chase, hunt, pursuit', MDt, Dt jacht id. → Dt jacht 'yacht' (← 'hunting ship, Jachtschiff') || ?? Vd yah'va {MW} 'restless, swift, active' (but {Bt.} 'der jüngste, neueste', {Cpl.} 'der jüngste, ewig jung\munter'), {MW, Bt.} yah'vat(-ī) 'ever-flowing' (of a river)', {MW} pra-yaksati '(?) is quick, speeds on', {Bt.} 'vorwärts eilen, streben; (einer Sache) nachtreiben, erstreben, erreichen', {Cpl.} 'vordringen, eilen, streben'; the OI words are valid cognates if their interpretation by MW (and WP, P, partially Bt. and Cpl.) is right ¶ WP I 195-6, P 502, Kb. 519, OsS 461, KM 329, Vr. N 284, MW 838, 849, Bt. V 114, 134, Cpl. 343, 349; M K III 1-2, 13-14 and M E II 391, 407 (Mayrhofer interpreted Vd yah'va as 'young, vigorous', yah'vat-ī as '(?) youngest' and 'pra-yaksati as 'displays', rejecting the connection of the OI words with Gmc) || A: M *neǵū- 'drive the herd to other pasture grounds, trek, nomadize, move from place to place, migrate' (× N *ǵānE 'go [away]') > MM [HI] {Ms.} ne,ǵ- 'transhumer', [LM] {Pp} ne,ǵ- 'reisen', [MA] {Pp.} nǵyē- (Pp: read ne'ǵ-), nǵ- 'nomadize away', [IM] nǵ- 'wegfahren', [S] {H} neʔu- ne,ǵ- 'sich auf den Treck begeben, trecken', d. neʔuri ne,ǵri 'Treck, (Karren-)Zug, Karawane', WrM {MED} negǵ-, HIM {MED, BMR} HYY- v. 'nomadize, move from place to place; trek, migrate', Brt HYY- v. 'nomadize', Kl {KRS} HYY- nǵ- v. 'nomadize, übersiedeln', {Rm.} nǵ- 'ziehen, (Nomadenzug) den Platz wechseln', Ord nǵ- 'déménager', ? WrO {Krg.} nē- 'move, go past', Dg {T} neu- 'nomadize, migrate' ¶ Ms. H 78, Ms. O 503, Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 262, 443, H 116, MED 569, BMR II 436, Chr. 335, KRS 390, KW 282, T DgJ 157, Krg. 212 ◇ The phoneme *u/ǵ in the expected pIE *yāǵhu/ǵ- is likely to have been lost in a word-internal morphemic boundary.

1582. *ǵogū'ǵǵ' ▽ 'tear out\asunder, pinch, flay' > HS *✓ngl > S *°✓ngl > Ar ✓nǵl G (pf. نَجَلْ naǵala, ip. -nǵulu) 'rip up, skin (a beast) from the hocks, till (the ground); ✓nǵl G (pf. نَجَلْ naǵala, ip. -nǵilu) 'erase (a writing)', 'strike off pebbles' (camel), 'pierce (with a

spear)' ¶ Fr. IV 246, BK II 1207, Hv. 752-3 || Ch: MfG -'ngзl- 'cueillir, arracher', Mf {BLB} ḡg^ωalala 'fête de récolte' ¶ Brr. MG II 211, BLB 262 || ? Eg G rгз 'die Glieder zerfleischen, den Augapfel ausreißen', Eg P rгз 'kill, slaughter' ¶ EG II 348 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 1896 (¿ Ar ✓ rгl 'mow, reap' ÷ Mf rгзl- 'cut') || ¶ A: M *no^rу^lula- > WrM {MED} rогuла- vt. tear to pieces, tatter', HIM нoоло- {MED} id., {BMR} 'pull (at/about), pluck' ('тормошить, трепать, теребить'), KI {KRS} нoол- id., {Rm.} nōl- 'sich über etw. ider jem-n stürzen, überfallen', Brt нoоло- 'pull (at/apart)' ('теребить, раздергивать'), Ord nōlo- 'traiter avec dureté; se jeter contre qn, les prendre les mains' ¶ MED 588, BMR II 414, Chr. 330, KRS 381, KW 279, M s. O 496 || ¶ D *nu^ll- v. 'pinch, pluck, nip' > Tm rн^ll^u id., Ml rн^ll^uka v. 'pinch, pluck', rн^ll^a 'a pinch, bit', Kt nu^ly-, Kn Δ rн^ll^u v. 'pinch', Tl rн^lu^mu id., rн^l(u)cu v. 'pinch, nip off, squeeze' ¶¶ D no. 3717 || ¶ U: pY {IN H} *hēlpз- vt. 'shave, skin' ({IN UJ} *hēl- 'flay') > Y K hēlbзt- {IN H} vt. shave, skin', {IN UJ} 'flay', Y K {IN H} hēlbзdey- vt. shave, skin', Y K {Jlox.} rēlb^u- 'cut hair', Y K {IN H} hēlbo- 'shaven' || FU *hük^lle- and (mt.) *hū^llke- v. '≈ skin, flay; lose hair' > pOs *hē^lу^lam-, {ǝH1.} *hē^lу^lam- > Os {Ps.}: Y hē^lу^lam-, K hē^lу^lam- v. 'moult, lose/shed hair' || F rн^llke- v. 'skin, flay, strip the skin off', Es rñlge-, rñlgi- v. 'skin, flay' || pLp {Lr.} *hē^lзlkз 'get the hair separated from the hide' > Lp: S {Hs.} njälgedh 'die Haare durch Auswassern der Felle lösen\abtrennen', N {N} njâl'gâ / -lg- 'get the hair\feathers torn or scraped off in a certain place' || Er нельге- hēlge-, Mk нельго- hēlga- 'take away, take by force (entreißen, wegnehmen)' ¶¶ UEW 319, ≈ 329, SK 407, Lr. no. 755, Lgc. no. 4310, PI 179, Ker. II 93-4, PD no. 1461, IN H s.v. *hēlpз-, IN UY 238-9 ◇ D *-u- and FU *-ü- go back to N *-ogü- ◇ The N lateral cns. is likely to have been *l̥, which is responsible for D *l̥; FU *l̥ is puzzling (may it possibly go back to *l̥ or *l̥ in cns. clusters?) ◇ The meaning '(to) skin, flay' is preserved in Ar and in U.

1583. ?σ,φ *hägōR∇ (or *hägōR∇) 'groin, small abdominal organs (kidneys, pancreas and sim.)' > IE: NaIE *neg^ωh^lro-s 'kidney(s)' > Gk νεφροί (pl.) 'kidneys' || Ite {Mul.} *neχ^ωro- 'kidney' > L Δ [Fest.] nefrendēs 'kidneys' or 'testicles', L Prn [Fest.] nefrōnēs, L Ln [Fest.] nebrundinēs id. || Gmc {Vr.} *neur(i)an > ON nýra, OSw niūre, ME, MLG nēre 'kidney', OHG nioro id., 'loin', NHG Niere

'kidney' ¶ P 319, Dv. no. 263, EI 329 (*_(h₁)neg^{ωh}ro-s), F II 310, WH II 156, Mul. 285-6, Vr. 413, Kb. 728, OsS 651, KM 511 || ?φ U: FU *^há^hrm̄ ~ *^há^hrmä- (UEW) *^harma-) 'groin' (× N *^h∇... + *^hʔ^haR_{h₂}∇m̄ [*_{h₂} = N *^hh?] 'upper part of a limb' [q.v.] > FP *^hārmä ~ *^hārmä > F näärvä 'Leiste, Weiche', Δ näärän (gen. näärämen) 'Leiste des Pferdes', ?σ Es nääre (gen. nääreme) 'Halsdrüse' | Lp T {Gn.} r̄ā^hrme 'Schambug, Schamleiste' ||| pObU {Ht.} *^hṛrm̄ > pOs *^harām 'Leistengegend, Ende des Oberschenkels' > Os Nz ṛarām, Os O ṛarem id.; pVg *^hṛrām 'Schulter, Hüfte' > OVg N SoO нѣрмъ, Vg N {Mu.} r̄ārēm ≈ [ṛārēm] id. ¶ FU *^hā^h may go back to **ā < *-āgo- ¶¶ Coll. 101, UEW 312, Sm. 546 (FU *^hṛr̄m̄, FP *^hṛērma, Ugr *^hṛr̄ma 'groin, hip'), TI 571, Ht. no. 475 ||| A ≈ *^hæ^hUR- > NrTg ≈ *^herun 'gland' > Ewk ṛzrin, Ewk Ald ṛirun, Lm ṛiruṅ, Lm B ṛzruṅ id. ¶ STM I 654 || M *^hnoyir (or *^hno^hir?) 'fat adhering to the intestines, pancreas' > WrM {MED} noir id., HIM нойр {MED} id., {Gl.} 'long piece of fat adhered to guts of a pig'; HIM {Luv., BMR}, Brt {Chr.} нойр 'pancreas', Kl {Rm.} nōr 'Darmfett', {KRS} нѣр nōr 'pancreas' ¶ MED 589, Luv. 270, BMR II 410, Chr. 329, KW 280, Gl. II 44, KRS 384 ¶ M *-o^hi- is probably from *-o^ho- < (by as.) *-ä^ho- ◇ The discrepancy between IE *^hn- (regularly from N *^hn- or *^hṅ-) and *^hṅ- in FU and Tg may result either from pre-IE depalatalization *^hṅ- > *^hn- (caused by unknown factors) or from secondary palatalization *^hṅ- > *^hṅ- in U and Tg (or pA) (caused probably by some lexical interaction, e.g. the infl. of N *^h∇... ʔ^haR_{h₂}∇m̄) ◇ Ernits KSTM and Ernits PSTM (Lp, TM).

1584. *^huk∇ 'shake, swing, tremble' > HS: WS *^hnkknk > Gz ^hnkknk v. 'shake, agitate', Ar ^hnkknk (pf. nakka) v. 'urge (a debtor)', {BK} 'insister, presser, importuner', ^hnkknk v. 'importuner son débiteur', ? Sq {L} negneg v. 'shake' ¶ L G 396-7, BK II 1336, 1345, Hv. 796 || Eg N (XX) nωc v. '≈ tremble' ¶ EG II 225 || ?? C: Ag *^hng^ωd v. 'tremble' > Bln {R} nãgũãd- 'zittern, beben (die Erde)' (× Ag *^hng^ωd 'thunder' < C {AD} *^hnk^ωd id.) ¶ R WB 281-2, AD SF 176, 240, L G 182 ||| U: FU *^hu^hk^h∇- v. 'tremble' > pObU *^hũ^h∇-/^hũ^h∇- > pVg *^hũ^hω-/ *^hũ^hω- > v. 'tremble (beben)' > Vg: T ṅow- id., T ṅowẽt-, MK ṅowt-, P ṅowæt-, Ss ṅowit- ~ ṅuwit- 'schaukeln', LK ṅowält- ~ ṅuwält-, MK ṅuwält- id.; pOs *^hno^hya- (Hl.} *^hñ^hya-) > Os: V/Vy/Ty ṅo^hya-, Y ṅowa-, Kz ṅoxa- vi. 'move', V/Vy ṅo^hyal-, Ty ṅo^hya^h-, Y ṅo^hwa^h-, D/K ṅo^hχatta-

Nz $\acute{n}\ddot{o}\chi at-$, Kz $\acute{n}\ddot{o}\chi a\phi-$, O $\acute{n}\ddot{o}\chi \acute{a}l-$ 'schaukeln' ¶ Ht. no. 443 || **D** (att. in NED) * $nuk_{\downarrow}k_{\downarrow}$ - v. 'shake' > Krx $nuk-n\bar{a}$ v. 'shake, cause to oscillate', Mlt $nuke$ v. 'shake' ¶ D no. 3696, Pf. 192 [no. 147] ◇ IS II 91 (* $\acute{r}\acute{i}\ddot{u}k\grave{\alpha}$ 'трясти, терebить' > U, D).

1585. * $\acute{n}\acute{o}k_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}\chi_{\downarrow}$ 'be in front, take the lead, precede, be first' > **HS:** S * $^{\circ}nuk_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}h-$ > BHb $\eta\eta\eta_{\downarrow}no\kappa a\eta$ n. cs. 'in front of, facing' ¶ Hb η is regularly from * \acute{h} or * χ , but *- $k_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}\chi-$ is ruled out by one of the S incompatibility laws ¶ GB 505, KB 660 || (+ext.) B * $\sqrt{}nk\grave{d}$ > Ah $\acute{a}nk\acute{a}d$ 'aller en avant' ¶ Fc. 1368 || **A:** Tg * $\acute{n}\bar{o}g-$ (~ * $\acute{n}\bar{o}k-$?) 'taking the lead, precede, be first' > Sln $\acute{n}\bar{o}g\bar{o}$ 'first, former', Lm $\acute{n}\bar{o}\psi$ adj. 'front, first', Ewk $\acute{n}\bar{o}\psi\bar{i}$ \acute{z} $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\bar{u}$ id., $\acute{n}\bar{o}-$ v. 'precede', Neg $\acute{n}\bar{o}\psi\bar{u}$ ~ $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\bar{u}$ 'first, taking the lead, front', 'in front', Orc $\acute{n}\bar{o}ki$ adj. 'front, initial', Ud H/A $\acute{n}\acute{a}\mu\chi\epsilon$ ~ $\acute{n}\acute{o}\mu\chi\epsilon$, Ud Sm $\acute{n}\bar{o}\chi\theta$ 'first, front', Ork $\acute{n}\bar{o}\omega\upsilon$ 'first, going in front of others' (a reindeer in a team) ¶ STM I 641-2 || **Gil:** Gil: A $nu\chi i-$, ES {Krn.} $nu\chi ind$ adj. 'front', A $nu\chi i$ adv. 'in front' ¶¶ ST 213, Krn. N 479 || **D:** GnD * $n\bar{o}k-$ 'go ahead of others, precede' > Png $n\bar{o}k-$ 'go first, precede', Kui $n\bar{o}ka$ 'precede, go ahead of', $n\bar{o}ki$ 'ahead, in front of', Ku $n\bar{o}k-$ 'precede'; ? Kn $n\bar{o}!$ 'precede, take the head' ¶¶ D no. 3799 ◇ The Tungusian vowel length is compensatory (N *- $ok_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}\chi-$ > Tg $\bar{o}k-$).

1586. * $\acute{n}\acute{a}\zeta\theta$ 'laugh, be amused' > **U:** FU \approx * $\acute{n}\acute{a}k\nabla-$ (or * $n\acute{a}k\nabla-$?) 'laugh' > F $na\upsilon raa$, Δ $n\acute{a}kr\acute{a}a$ id., Ing $nagr\bar{a}$, Krl K $n\acute{a}kroa$, Krl Ld $nagrada$, Lv $na'gr\acute{a}$ id. || pOs * $\acute{n}\acute{a}\psi-$ 'laugh' > Os: Ag/Ty $\acute{n}\acute{a}\psi-$, Nz/Kz/O $\acute{n}\acute{a}\chi-$ id., Ag/Ty/Y $\acute{n}\acute{a}\psi$, Nz/Kz/O $\acute{n}\acute{a}\chi$ 'laughter, a joke' || ? OHg $\geq xvi$ $newet-$, Hg $newet-$ 'laugh' (influenced by [albeit hardly cognate with] OHg $\geq xv$ $mewet-$ id. < Ugr * $m\acute{E}k|\psi\nabla-$ 'laugh' [> Vg: T $m\acute{a}v\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{t}-$, LK/P $m\acute{a}\psi\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{t}-$, Ss $mowint-$ id.]) ¶ SK 369, SSA II 209-10, Stn. D 1028, Trs. S 300-1, \approx UEW 872, \approx EWU 1024 || **D** * $n\acute{a}k(k)-$ v. 'laugh, smile' > Tm $n\acute{a}ku$ id., $n\acute{a}kkal$ 'laughing, mockery', Ml $n\acute{a}kekka$ v. 'laugh', Kn $nagu$, $nage$, Tl $nagu$ v. 'laugh, smile', Prj $na\upsilon-$, Gdb $nag-$ \acute{z} $nagg-$ 'laugh' ¶¶ D no. 356, Zv. 119, 129 || **IE:** NaIE * $\acute{y}ek^{\omega}-$ /* $\acute{y}ok^{\omega}-$ 'laugh, play, be amused' > L $ioc\upsilon s$ (gen. $ioc\bar{i}$) 'a joke, jest' || Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\psi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ 'plaything, amusement' || Lt $ju\tilde{o}kas$ 'laughter, joking', Ltv $j\tilde{o}ks$ 'jest, joke, fun' (unless borrowed from L $ioc\upsilon s$, as supposed by WH, WP and P; but, acc. to Būga, this is an inherited L-grade of the IE stem), \dashv Lt inf. $ju\acute{k}d\acute{y}ti$, $juokinti$, Δ inf. $ju\grave{u}kinti$ 'to make laugh' ¶ Better (for semantic reasons) than the

alt. hyp. (of WP): *L i o c u s* < NaIE **yek-* 'speak' (< OHG *jēhan* 'say, speak, MW *iēith*, Br *iez* 'language' etc.) ¶ ≈ P 503, WH I 716-17 (both: *L i o c u s* < IE **yek-* 'speak'), Frn. 197, Bg. SBE no. 88 (= Bg. RR I 446), Bg. PDK 432 ◇ Os *ń-* and IE **y-* point to the N cns. **ń-*, D **n-* may go back either to **n|ń-* or to **ń-*, while Hg is likely to suggest a N **n|ń-* (depalatalization due to a still unknown cause?) ◇ Schrd. DU 95 [no. 45] (D, U), ≈ Blz. L no. 97 (U, D).

1587. **ń'a'k'o* 'soft parts of an animal's body (liver, marrow, suet)' > HS: S **o*√*nky/w* > Ar *niqy-* 'marrow', *naqw-* 'bone of the arm, bone full of marrow', √*nqw/y* v. 'extract marrow from a bone' ¶ Fr. IV 329-30, BK II 1335, Hv. 796 || IE: NaIE **yek^w-r̥(t-)* / gen. **yek^w-*'n-es 'liver' > OI *yakr̥t* (/ gen. *yak'naḥ*), Av *yākarə*, NPrs جگر *žegär*, Oss *igär*, Ydg *yēṽan* id. || Gk ἥπαρ (gen. ἥπατος) 'liver' || L *iecur* (gen. *iecoris* ~ *iecinor-is*) id. || Clt {Matas.} **ik^wori-* 'roe, spawn' > Mir *iuchair* id. || Blt **yeknā* id. > Olt *jāknos*, Lt (j)ēknos, Ltv pl. *aknas* (-> bf. sg. *akna*), Δ *jeknos* pl. id., Pru {En., Tp.} *iagno* id. (emendation of the ms. *ce. Lagno*) || ??σ S1 **jbkno* ~ **jbkra* 'hard roe': [1] **jbkno* > LLs *jikno* id.; [2] **jbkra* id. > ChS, OR *HKPA* *ikpa*, Blg *'икpa*, SCr *ikpa*, Slv *ikpa*, Cz *jikry* pl., *jikpa*, Slk, P *ikpa*, R и'кpa, Uk и'кpa id. ¶ P 504, EI 356 [**yek^wr̥(t)*], M K III 1, M E II 391, Brtl. 1282, Horn 95, Vl. I 521, Ab. I 541-2, Bai. 108, F I 639, WH I 673, Frn.192-3, En. 183, Tp. P I-K 11-14, ESSJ VIII 216-20, Glh. 275, Matas. E 171-2 || U: FU **o*ńok|ʃ|w∇(-*z*∇) > ObU {Ht.} **ńōṽaž* 'meat' > pVg **ńǎʒá-* > Vg: T *ńǎwí*, LK *ńowí*, *ńuwí*, MK/P/NV/LL/UL *ńowí*, SV *ńawí*, Ss *ńōwí* id.; pOs **ńoṽ+* ({Hl.} **ńǎṽ+*) id. > Os: V/Vy *ńoṽ+*, Ty *ńǎṽ^w+*, Y *ńǎw+*, D/K *ńōχə*, Kz *ńōχǐ*, O *ńōχə* ¶ Ht. no. 445 || A: NaT **o*jakr̥i 'suet, fat (of an animal)' > OT *jaqr̥i* ({Cl.} *yaqr̥ī*) 'fat, suet' (semantic infl. of T **jāṽ* 'fat') ¶ Cl. 905, DTS 238, ≠ Rs. W 177 (*jaqr̥i* within the entry of *jāṽ* 'fat'), ≈ ET J 59 (*jaqr̥i* <- *jāṽ* 'fat?'), AD NM 26 (pA **ń'a'k'u* > T **yakr̥i*), ≈ Vv. AEN 18 (misunderstanding of my inconsistent notation: the entry quoted in NM was written long ago, when I used a different system of phonetic symbols for T; in fact T **yakr̥i* = **jakr̥i*; Vv. points to a morphological problem: the element *-r̥i is not a living sx in OT, but it may go back, just as extensions in IE, S etc., to earlier structures, including derivation or N composition of word groups, cf. IE **yek^w-r̥-*

'liver' with *-r̥- cognate of T *-rI [FAD NMI § 5]) ◇ FU *o (for the expected *a) may be due to the assimilative influence of N *-o.

1588. *ńôĶ∇ or *ńаГôĶ∇ 'є canine' > U *ńuk∇ '≈ fox' > Sm {Jn.} *nokã 'fox' > Ne: T нохо, T O {Lh.} нохо· 'polar fox', T accus. pl. носи 'polar foxes' (> *nokã-у), FL {Lh.} ноχã̃ъ id.; Kms {Pl.} нагабай 'lynx', Koyb {Pl.} наgameida, {Sp.} нагамайна id. (майна 'bear') || FU (× N *ńuĶ∇ 'є small fur-bearing animal'): F nokko 'sable', ? FU {UEW} *ńuk∇-ś∇ or *ńukśe 'sable, marten' (← *'fox?') > F nois in the n.l. Noisniemi = R Соболино (← соболь 'sable'), Es nugis 'pine marten (*Martes martes*, Baumarder) || Z Lu {UEW}, Yz níiz, Vt {W} níž ~ naž 'sable' || Hg nyusz t 'marten' || ObU *ńõkæs 'sable' > pVg *ńokæs > Vg: T ńoks, LK/MK/LL ńoxs, UK/P/NV ńoxʷs, SV ńaxʷs, ML/UL/Ss ńoxæs id.; pOs *ńõçæs > V/Vy/Ty ńõçæs, Y ńõwæs, D/Nz/Kz ńõçæs id. || Hg nyusz t 'marten' ¶¶ Coll. 102-3, UEW 326-7, LG 190, Lt. 180, Ht. no. 449, MF 491-2, Jn. 84 || A *ńok'∇ (and *oĥok'∇?) 'dog, wolf' > M *noqayıı 'dog' > MM [L, MA] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} noqaiı, {IM} {Pp.} noçaiı, MMgl {Iw.} noqaiı, WrM {MED} noqai, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt нохой, Ord ноχ̄̄, Kl ноха, {Rm.} ноχ̄̄, ноχ̄̄, Mgl {Rm.} noqeiı, Dg {Pp.} ного, Dx {T} nogi, Ba {T} nogui, Mnr H {T} noçue, {SM} noçue id.; the root may have merged with the descendant of N *Tuk'æ' 'canine' (→ 'lynx') (q.v.) ¶ Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 259, 442, Pp. MDG 186, Lg. VMI 58, Iw. 119, MED 592, BMR II 416-17, Chr. 331-2, KRS 382, Ms. O 495, KW 278, Rm. M 34, SM 282, T 352, T DnJ 130, T BJ 144 || Tg *ńoke (~ *oĥoke?) ({SDM} *ńõke, {DQA} *oĥoke) 'wolf' > WrMc {Z} ńioxэ [ńoııxε], Mc Sb {Y} yuxэ, yuxu 'wolf', Lm ńõkэ ɖ ńõka ɖ ńoka ~ ńuzkэ ɖ ńɛzkэ 'male canine (dog, wolf, fox, polar fox)', Orc ńõksyö 'wolf' ¶ STM I 665, Z 223, Y no. 2203 ¶ The front vw. in Lm and Orc may be due to as. (infl. of the next syll.) || ?ф T *äkär 'hunting dog' (× N *ʔ'a'kê 'to chase' and/or N *yoĶE or *ʔoĶE 'seize, catch?') > Qmq эгер, Qmn/Qzk/Shor ägär {Rs.} 'hunting dog', Bsh игәр 'mongrel of a dog and a wolf', VTt игәр id., 'hunting dog', Chv L акар йытти 'hunting dog' (йытă ~ йыт means dog); Blgh б→ Hg agär 'hunting dog' ¶ Rs. W 38, TatR 160, BRS 197, KumRS 372, Ash. I 87-8, Fed. I 32, Jeg. 23, ChVS 10, Gomb. BTL 35-6, 144, MTE I 101 ¶¶ SDM 1030 (pA *ńjãk'u 'dog, wolf' > Tg, M, T + unc. pKo *nəkorı 'badger' [from N *ńuĶ∇ 'є small fur-bearing animal']), DQA

no. 1540 (id.), SDM97 (A *ńōk'ō 'dog, wolf'), ≈ Lee CSMR 115 (Mc, Ko) || D *nakk∇ 'fox, jackal' (× N *īuk'æ' '∈ canine' [→ 'lynx']??) > Kn nakke, Tl nakka 'jackal', Klm nakka 'fox', Gnd nakka, Ku nakka ~ naka 'jackal', Knd naka id., 'fox' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 3606 || ? HS: WCh: SBc: Bg {J} ḥāḥ, Kir {Sh.} ḥāḥ, {ChL} ḥāḥ 'dog' ¶ JI II 106, ChC s.v. 'dog', ChL ¶¶ Cf. S: Ar naqāḥ- 'hyena' [BK II 1320] ◇ D *-a-, the initial ḥ- in Lm and Orc and the final ḥ in Bg and Kir suggest something like N *ńаГōК∇ (*ńḡ- or *ńḡ- > Lm, Orc ḥ; *-ГК- > Bg, Kir -ḥ). Otherwise, the D vw. *a may be due to the infl. of D *narī 'jackal, fox' (> Tm narī etc., see D no. 3606).

1589. ?σ *ńуК∇ (compound with additional N words) '∈ small fur-bearing animal' > U *ńuk∇-śe (or *ńukśe) 'marten, sable' (× N *ńōК∇ or *ńаГōК∇ '∈ canine') > FU {UEW} *ńuk∇śe or *ńukśe 'marten, sable' > F nois 'sable' in the n.l. Noisniemi (= R Соболіно ← R соболь 'sable'), Δ {Kll.} nokko 'sable', Es nugis (gen. nugise) pine marten, *Martes martes* | Prm *ńíz 'sable' > Z Lu {UEW} níž, Yz níž, Vt нйзъ níž id., Yz ва-ńíz 'otter' (lit. 'water sable') || Hg нууszт 'marten' | ObU {Ht.} *ńōkəs 'sable' > pVg *ńōkəs > Vg: T ḥoks, LK/MK/LL ḥoks, UK/P/NV ḥoxʷs, SV ḥaxʷs, ML/UL/Ss ḥōxəs id.; pOs *ńoḡas ({Hl.} *ńāḡas) > V/Vy/Ty ḥōḡas, Y ḥōʷas, D/Nz?Kz/O ḥōxəs id. || pY {IN H} *noqsə 'sable' > Y K {IN} noqšə, {Iox.} ноxша, ноxшо, Y T {Iox.} ноxцо, OY {Bil.} noḡtsha id. ¶¶ Coll. 102-3, UEW 326-7, SK 389, LG 190, Lt. 180, Ht. no. 449, MF 491-2, IN H 310, IN UJ 237, Ang. 184, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [no. 40] (Y ← U) || A: pKo {S} *nəkorī 'badger' > MKo nəkorī, NKo {MLC} nəgurī ¶ S QK no. 773, Nam 103, MLC 329 || HS: S *°✓nқθ > Ar naqāḥ- 'hyena' ¶ BK II 1320 ◇ This etymon may be genetically identical with (or derived from) N *ńōК∇ '∈ canine'.

1590. *ń'üК'ü' 'lie down, sink, bow (down)' > U *ńü|ik'u' - vi. 'bow, bend down' (× N *ńа'?'igu 'to bow, to bend [down], to hang [by sth.], to hang down'?) > FU: pLp *ńзк∇- 'bend down' > Lp: N njâkkâ- / -g- 'bend down, stoop down' (of person), 'sink, settle, get crooked' (of a house), L {LLO} njakēti- vi. 'bend, bow, writhe' (of a tree, person), Kld {SaR} нигклез v. 'bow, bend down'; pLp {Lr.} *ńзкē 'crooked, bent' > Lp: N njâkke, K {Gn.} níhk || Sm {Hl. → IS III} *ńiku ~ *n+ku, {Jn.} *n+кь ~ *níкь- 'bend \ bow (the head), nod' > Ne T {Ter.} d. нихи-ра-сь ~ нихи-рë-сь 'to turn back one's head (быть с

откинутой головой)', Ne F {Lh.} níhūw- 𐎠 níhu? 𐎠 níhiw-, Ne F P {Lh.} níχ+β-(ś) v. 'bow, bow low (before so.)', En {OSIPL} n+χu-ś 'to pray', Ng {Cs.} rígu+tm v. 'beten, den Kopf biegen', Slq Tz {KKIH} n+kalt+mp+ v. 'nod' || pY {IN H} *niϕ- > Y K nigibuϕ- vi. 'bend, stoop' ¶¶ Coll. CG 402, UEW 317-18, Lr. no. 752, Lgc. no. 4380, Hs. 1000, N III 46, Gn. 1091, TI 301, Ps. B (s.p.) 284-5, Jn. 101, Ter. 316, Lh. 323, KKIH 138, SaR 211, IN H 299, IN UJ 236-7 || **A:** T *jūkūn- v. 'bow, kneel' > OT jū kū n- 'bow, do obeisance to; worship', XwT XIV jū kū n- v. 'bow, worship', MQp XIV jū kū n- 'serve kneeling', MQp XIV [CC] jū gū n-, OOsM XIV-XVI jū kū n- 'kneel', ET jūkūn- v. 'bow, kneel', Qq žügǐn-, Qrg žügün- v. 'bow', Qzq жүгiн- žügǐn- 'sit cross-legged; worship, admire', Qmq jügün-, VTt Δ žbgbn-, Bsh jbgbn-, Uz jukun-, Yk sügün-, sügüy- 'kneel', (× Chv çăk- 'fall'): Chv L çăkăh- śbgbn-, Chv H {Md.} śbgbn- 'bow, curtsey' ¶ Cl. 913, ET J 264-5, Sht. 107, Jud. 972, Pek. 2379-81, Ash. XIII 8, Fed. II 901, Jeg. 205, ChVS 180, Rl. III 504, IS III 64-6 || **D** (att. in NED) *nūk- 'bow, droop' (× N *ń'ow|Ha'K̄i 'to bend, to be crooked') > Krx nūx-, nūkh- 'bow (the head), keep down (the eyes); silence, defeat, put down', Mlt nūge v. 'droop, walk\behave without energy' ¶ The length of *u results from D morphophonemic alternation (probably "the rule of Krishnamurti", Zv. 184) and/or from coalescence with N *ń'ow|Ha'K̄i ¶ D no. 3723, Pf. 193 [no. 149] || **HS:** WCh: Hs nōk̄è 'draw back (as a tortoise drawing its head into its shell), retire, withdraw' || AG: Mpn {Frz.} nók v. 'stop (doing sth.)', Su {J} nōk 'stehenbleiben, bleiben, aufhören' (but Su nōk 'ausruhen' is likely to be akin to Mpn nōk 'breathe') ¶ J S 77, Frz. DM 44-5, Ba. 822, Abr. H 706 || ?σ S *-nīk-, *✓nyk G 'sleep with (a woman), copulate' (× N *nūk∇ [or *nūk,∇,∇??] 'darkness, night', q.v. ffd.) > Ak prm. -nīk (inf. nīāk(u(m)) > nāk(u)) {Sd.} 'copulate', {CAD} 'have illicit sexual intercourse', Ar ✓nyk G (ip. -nīk-) 'copulate with' (Fr.: 'futuit, inivit mulierem'), Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nēk, 3m sbjn. yink), Hrs {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nzyōk, 3m sbjn. yz'nek) 'sleep with (a woman)', Mh {Jo.} ✓nyk G (pf. nzyūk, sbjn. yznyēk ~ yznīk) id., 'copulate with' ¶ Rms. 265, CAD XI/1 197-8, Sd. 784, BK II 1376, Fr. IV 358, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100, Jo. M 309, MiK I no. 2.53 ◇ ≠ IS III 61-6 (T and D + unc. HS, K and IE reflexes of N *nūq∇ 'to bend, to swing, to sink' [q.v. ffd.]; the reconstructed N etymon is *Nūq'ū) ◇ In descendant lges (e. g., T) contamination with the reflexes of N *nūq∇ '↑'?

1591. * $\acute{n}^{\text{r}}\text{o}\omega|\text{Ha}^{\text{r}}\text{K}\acute{i}$ (= * $\acute{n}^{\text{r}}\text{oqaK}\acute{i}$?) 'to bend, to be crooked' > **U:** FP * $\acute{n}^{\text{r}}\text{okke}$ 'crooked, bent' > Mk нокла 'нокла 'slope, declivity (as of a road\way)', {LG} нокзл, нокзла , {Jh.} нокол, нокола 'sloping, inclined' | Prm: Z нюкыль $\acute{n}uk\acute{r}\acute{i}$ n. 'bend, curve (сгиб, изгиб, выгиб, загиб)', Z V $\acute{n}uk\acute{r}\acute{i}$, Z Ud $\acute{n}uki\acute{i}$ 'Biegung, Krümmung, Haken; krumm, gebogen', Z Ud $\acute{n}uk\acute{r}-\acute{n}uk\acute{r}zn$ 'writhen, huddled up (from pain)' ¶ UEW 714, PI 181, LG 200 || **A:** M * $\text{nak}\acute{i}-\text{ci}$ - > WrM {MED} наки- vi. 'bend; cave in, be shaky', HlM нахий- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'bend, bend down, cave in, hang down (свисать)', Brt нахи- vi. 'be bent, . sich niederbeugen, sich biegen (быть согнутым прогибаюсь сгибаться)', Kl {KRS} наки- vi. 'bend, bow, incline forward', {Rm.} $\text{нак}\acute{i}$ - 'sich ein wenig seitwärts biegen'; 'schaukeln, schwanken' (z.B. Gras), ? ϕ Ord нагу- 'se plier'; M * $\text{nak}\acute{i}-\text{gar}$ > WrM {MED} накигар adj. 'bent, bending, flexible', HlM нахигар {MED} id., {BMR} 'bent, седловидный', Brt нахигар id., Kl {Rm.} $\text{наки}\acute{y}\acute{a}\acute{r}$ 'ein wenig schief gebogen' ¶ MED 561, BMR II 400-1, Chr. 324, KRS 366, KW 270, Ms. O 480 || **D** (att. in NED) * $\text{n}\acute{u}k\text{K}\text{K}$ - v. 'bow' (\times N * $\text{r}\acute{n}\acute{u}K\acute{r}\acute{u}$ 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) || ? ϕ **HS:** S * $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ > Ar $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ G 'agiter dans tous les sens le seau descendu dans le puits, pour l'emplir de l'eau' ¶ *- $\text{h}(\nabla)\text{g}$ - < **-* $\text{h}(\nabla)\text{K}$ - (dis.)? ¶ BK II 1220 ◇ The hypothetic N sequence * $\text{-o}\omega|\text{Ha}$ - can explain the apparent discrepancy between the FP ev. of a N vw. * -o - and the M ev. of * -a -. If the S cognate is rejected, we remain with a less specific N etymon * $\acute{n}^{\text{r}}\text{o}|\text{aK}\acute{i}$. If the Ar cognate is accepted, the N etymon is * $\acute{n}^{\text{r}}\text{oqaK}\acute{i}$.

1592. $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ * $\acute{n}\acute{u}K\text{r}\nabla$ 'tear, tear out' > **HS:** Eg BD $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ 'tear out (the heart)' ¶ EG II 343 || WS * $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ 'tear' (\rightarrow 'split') > Ar $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ v. G 'tear (one's own garment), slaughter (a camel for guests), kill', Gz $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ v. G 'be split, have cracks, become torn'; \rightarrow WS * $\text{naK}\text{a}\text{r}$ - 'a crack, split' (\times N * $\text{n}\acute{u}K\nabla$ \rightarrow * $\text{n}\acute{u}K\text{E}$ 'hole') > Gz naKr n. 'split, crack', Sr $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ - \bar{a} 'cave, hole', MHb $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ 'r\acute{h}\text{g} 'cleft, cavity, ravine' ¶ L G 399, \approx KB 681, Js. 934, BK II 1329, Hv. 794 || **U:** FU * $\acute{n}\acute{u}K\nabla$ - v. 'tear, jerk' > F $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ -, Vp $\text{n}\acute{u}K\bar{a}$ - id. || pObU: pVg * $\acute{n}\acute{u}\text{r}\acute{w}$ - 'pluck (rupfen, zupfen)', {BV} v. 'nibble (grass)' > Vg: T $\acute{n}\acute{u}\text{w}$ -, LK $\acute{n}\bar{a}\text{w}$ -, P $\acute{n}\bar{a}\text{w}$ -, Ss, MK {BV} $\acute{n}\bar{a}\text{w}$ - v. 'pluck, nibble' | Hg Δ $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ - $\text{r}\acute{h}\text{g}$ - 'shred (flax), pluck (raufen), wear out (a garment)' || Sm {Jn.} * nek - \sim * nk - 'pull out' > Ne T нэхэ - id., Ne F {Lh.} нзх - id., En X {Cs.} 1s aor. obj.

ne'hibo 'take', Ng {Mik.} nák- 'take, seize'; Slq Tz {KKIH} näkä- 'pull (тянуть, дергать)'; Koyb {Sp.} небля 'натягиваю (I stretch)' ¶¶ UEW 318, Coll. 103, Sz. 152, SK 406, Kn. VW 201, Stn. WV 25, BV 68, Jn. 100, KKIИ 136, Hl. M no. 338 ◇ FU *-k- for the expected *-kk- may be explained by as. deglottalization *K̥- > *k̥- in the prehistory of U. An alt. (less plausible) explanation is N *ńük̥ with pre-HS glottalization *-k̥- > HS *-k̥- due to the infl. of the lr. cns.

1593. *id.* *ńäl̥ (or *ńäl̥?) 'tongue' > U: FU *ńälmä *id.* > pLp {Lr.} *ńälmē 'mouth' > Lp: S {Hs.} njaalmie, L {LLO} njal'mē, N {N} njal'me /-lm-, Kld ńäl'm *id.* | Chr: P {Gn.} ńəlmə, H {Ep.} Ы́лмѣ ѡлмѣ, L Ы́лме ѡлме, Uf/B ѡлме 'tongue, language' ||| ObU {Ht.} *ńīlm̥ 'tongue' > pVg *ńīlm̥ *id.* > OVg S ChusO nelma, OVg S Kg nelma, OVg S SSs neelme, OVg S Tr нильма, OVg E TM, OVg N SoG njelm, Vg: T/P nílam, LK/MK/UK ńiləm, NV/SV/LL ńílləm, UL/Ss ńēləm *id.*; pOs {ṢHl.} *ńāləm, {Ht.} *ńäləm *id.* > Os: V/Vy ńäləm, Ty/Y ńâčəm, D/K ńâtəm, Nz ńatəm, Kz ńačəm, O ńäləm *id.* | Hg nyel̥ *id.*, 'language' ¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxx, UEW 313-14, It. no. 287, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU, Ugr *ńielmä, FP *ńälmä 'mouth'), Lr. no. 763, Lgc. no. 4352, ≈ Ber. no. 24 (pChr *yilmə, but *y- is at variance with the ev. of Chr P ńəlmə), MRS 161-2, 166, Ep. 34, Ht. no. 463, MF 480-1 ||| **D** *nāl̥-(k̥) 'tongue' > Kt na'lg, Kn nālage, nālige, Tu nalay̥i, nalāy̥i, Tm, Ml nākk̥u, Tl nālika, nāluka, nālka, Klm na'lka, Nkr nālka, Knd nālika *id.* ¶¶ D no. 3633, Zv. 128, 131 ||| **HS:** WCh: Grn {Hrn., Sh.} ńálà 'tongue', as well as possibly Wnd {Sh.} ɲgèš̥, {IL} ɲgɛš̥, Dw {ChC} ɲguš̥ and Kir {Sh.} nyat̥l (= ńaš̥?) *id.* (unless going back to *ɲ̥-1̥s < *1̥s 'tongue', cp. Bg {J} ɲɛlɛs 'tongue') ¶ JI II 328, ChC s.v. 'tongue', Hrn. EG s.v. 'tongue' ||| ? **IE:** *id.* Ht lala- 'tongue', Lw {Lar.} lali- 'tongue (?)', {Mlc.} lāla/i- 'tongue, gossip'; but Ht lala- 'harmful speech, slander', lala- v. of speech, HrLw lali- 'word, speech' and Ld {Gsm.} laλē- '(aus)sprechen' do not necessarily belong here, but may be independent onomatopoeic stems ¶ l- for the expected *y- is due to the ideophonic factor ¶ Ts. E II 20-1, CHD L-N 21-6, Mer. HHG 78, Lar. 62, Mlc. CL 122.

1594. (₂?) *ńo̥lê (or *ńḁlê) 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'bow' → 'arrow'), 'to tie together', [in HS] → 'to put on footwear' > **HS:** S: [1] *ńḁl̥- 'sinew', → 'tie' (noun) > Ar ɲḁl- 'nerf, boyau, morceau de cuir avec lequel on entoure l'arc au haut de la

cambrure ou sur les côtés; chaussure, soulier, sabot', BHb נַבְנַל 'naṣal 'a sandal', Ug {A} n̄l 'sandal' (but OLS 313-14 and Mrgl. BM 18f. interpret Ug n̄l otherwise), Sr 𐤎𐤁𐤏𐤀𐤀 'naṣal-ā 'horseshoe', Md nala 'shoes, sandals', Mh {Jo.} n̄l, Jb E n̄l 'sandals', Sq {Jo.} 'naṣal, {L} n̄l 'chaussure'; [2] *√n̄l v. G 'tie' > BHb √n̄l v. 'secure (a door by straps), fasten sandals on one's foot', Ug n̄l 'binden, schließen', JA [Trg.] √n̄l v. 'tie a shoe', Md √n̄l v. 'shoe a horse, bind up, tie', Ar √n̄l v. 'give sandals to so.; wear boots; shoe (a horse, a camel)', Gz d. n̄l 'widow whom the late husband's brother marries by levirate' (lit. 'a tied one [f.]') ¶ BK II 1296, Hv. 782, KB 666, KBR 705, A no. 1805, Br. 435, Lv. T II 118, DM 283, L G 382, L LS 629 || U *ńōle 'arrow' (< **'bow' < **'bowstring' < **'sinew') > F nuoli 'arrow', Es nool 'arrow, bow' | pLp {Lr.} *ńōl 'arrow' > Lp: S {Hs.} njuole, L {LLO} njuolla, N {N} njuollâ, Kld n̄l id. | Er/Mk нал nal id. | Chr L нөлө nölö 'arrowhead made of bone' | Prm *ńōl / *ńōly- 'arrow' > Z n̄v / n̄vy-, Yz 'ńūl, Vt n̄l, Vt B n̄l, Vt SW n̄l id. || pObU *ńōl 'arrow' > pVg *ńōl 'arrow' > OVg S ChusO níôla, OVg S VT нела, OVg S SSs njela, OVg E TM njel, OVg N SoG njäl, OVg N SoO нялъ, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/ LL/ML n̄l, LK/UL/Ss n̄l, MK/UK n̄l id.; pOs *ńal > Os: V/Vy/O n̄l, Ty/Y n̄l, D/K n̄l, Kz n̄l id. | Hg nyíl (accus. nyilat) id. || Sm *ńōl ({{Jn.} *ńōl-) 'arrow' > Ne T -ни ({{Lh.} -'i) in туни tūn̄i 'gun' (lit. 'fire arrow'), Ne F {Lh.} -ńī in η + n' · ī 'Stellbogen' (η + n' - 'bow'), En {Mik.} -ńiy in tūńiy 'gun', Slq Ch {KD} -ńī in q'ēs'āńī 'arrow for shooting at birds', Kms {Cs.} neā, njä 'arrow', {KD} 'ńā 'bullet', Koyb {Sp.} не 'arrow; копейцо у стрелы; bullet', Mt {Hl.} *ney or *neý 'arrow' (Mt: K {Mil.} néi, M {Mil.} n̄i id.) ¶¶ UEW 317, Sm. 539 (U *ńōl, FU *ńōl, FP *ńōl, Ugr *ńōl, Sm *ńōl), Lr. no. 789, Lgc. no. 4462, Hs. 1009, LG 197, Ht. no. 459, Jn. 108-9, Hl. M no-s 729 and 746 || Another line of semantic changement: FU *ńōl (or *ńal) (attested in Ugric) v. 'tie together' > Hg nyaláb 'Bündel, Bund' | pOs *ńula 'together' > Os: V/Vy n̄ula, Ty n̄ula, D n̄uta, Nz n̄utâ, Kz n̄ulâ id. ¶ MF 476, 488 || A *ńul > ?φ Tg *ńul:ge (unless it is *yul:ge) > Ewk Tmt n̄ulga ~ julga ~ yulga, Ewk Z/Tng/Urm/Ucr yūlg̃ 'arrow, iron arrowhead' ¶ STM I 350. || T *jilt'ír 'root' > OT jiltiz, Osm {Rl.} يلديز jildiz, Kr jildiz, Chg {Rl.}, Uz ildiz, ET iltiz ⚡ žildiz, Δ jildiz, StAlt žiltis, SY žiltis ~ jiltis,

Shor čiltis, SY jiltis ~ jiltis, Kü {Rl.} jildis, Tf sildis, Yk silis id. ¶ Cl. 922, Rs. W 200, ET Gl 350, TL 109, DTS 267, KRPS 264, Rl. I 1495 and III 488, 521, Ra. 230 ¶ An alternative (and less plausible) source of the T word is N *Xil₁ṽ (see N *XEṽRṽ ffd.).

1595. (₂?) *ńüṽ₁ or *ńüṽ₁ 'pluck, tear out (hair, branches), pinch' > HS: S *^o✓ nɛl > Ar manɣal- 'arraché de son tronc avec enlèvement de sa base' (rameau, branche) ¶ BK II 1296 || A *ńū₁E- (= *ńū₁E-?) > T: [1] NaT *jū₁l(i)- > OT jūli- 'shave', MQp XIII [LM] {Hou.} jū:l₁:-, XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jūlū-, OOSm jūlū- ~ jūli-, Tk ɥūlū-, Qmq юлю- jülü-, Tv чүлү- čülü- 'shave'] [2] T *jul- ~ *jol- 'tear out, pick out, pluck' > OT {Cl.} jul- 'pull out, pluck out', Az jol-, ET jul- ~ žul-, Qrq жүл- žul- 'tear out, pull out', Tk ɥol-, Ggz, Tkm jol-, Uz юл- id., 'pluck', Qzq жұл- 'tear (рвать)', Kr jul- v. 'save', julu- id., 'tear out', 'shave' (semantic infl. of NaT *jū₁l(i)- 'shave'), VTt йол-, Bsh йоло- 'save', Tf ćul- 'rupfen, ausrupfen, ausreißen (шипать, вышипать, вырвать)', Tv чул- 'tear, tear out', 'pluck (flowers)', Xk 'auszupfen (Gras, Blumen), raufen', 'pflücken (Blumen)', StAlt дьул- jul- 'ausreißen, ausrupfen (Haar, Gras)', Shor ćul-, Yk sul- 'bark a tree', Chv L ɕǎl- śǎl-, Chv Δ {Md.} śǎl- 'дёргать, теребить, шипать (перья), полоть'] [3] (< d.?) NaT *ju₁lk- > MT {Rs.} julk-, Kr julkā- 'tear out (hair)' {Rs.} julk- 'ausreißen, pflücken', VTt йолк-, Bsh йолко-, Nog юлк-, Qzq жұлқ- 'pull out, pluck out', Qrq жүлқы- 'дёрнуть, рвануть', Qmq julq- 'rupfen, ausrupfen, ausreißen' ¶ Rs. W 210, 213, Cl. 918-9, KumRS 382-3, TvR 551, Akd. 735, TrR 931, GRM 219, ARL 158, Äz. 196, TkR 315, UzR 565-6, BN 79, Naj. 485, 794, KRPS 256-7, TatR 1878, NogR 448, MM 187, KrkR 260-1, Jud. 268, Ra. 198, TvR 546, 551, RXS 152, 751, BT 58, Pek. 2330, Ash. XIII 16, Fed. II 92, Jeg. 206, ChVS 180 || M: [1] M *²ulmu- 'pluck (a bird)', vi. 'shed skin\hair\feathers' > WrM {MED} зулма- id., HIM зулма- {MED} id., {BMR} 'shed hair' (of wool), 'shed skin' (of snakes), Brt зулма- id., 'scale off' (of skin)] [2] M *²ulga- > WrM {MED} зулга-, HIM {MED, BMR} зулгаа- 'pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck, weed', Brt зулгаа- 'теребить, выдёргивать, выщипывать (шерсть)' 'ausreißen, ausraufen', Kl {Rm.} žulǵa- 'aus-reißen (die Haare, Wolle, Federn u. ä.)', Ord žulǵa- 'arracher (qch. qui croît)', ShY žulgu- 'pick, pluck' ¶ MED 1078-9, BMR II 236-7, Chr. 261-2, KW 115. Ms. O 218 ¶ M *²ulmu- and *²ulga- suggest that M *²- regularly represents pA

*ń- (cp. M *³ôl̥∇ʷa 'brain' from pA *ńülun̥i < N *ńuṭun̥K₁∇ 'marrow, brain' and M *³il̥gü- v. 'wipe, polish, rub\brush against' from pA *ńiṭl̥â 'scrape, rub, polish' < N *ńiqUí∇ 'scrape, rub') || Tg *ńūli- v. 'scrape (hide)' > Ewk, Lm ńūl- 'scrape (the inner side of hide)', Neg ńul- vi. 'soften (the hide by scraping it)', Ork ńulu- 'scrape off hair from the hide' ¶ STM I 645 || ? pKo {S} *₁n̥₁ir- 'clear out, rinse' > MKo ir-, NKo {MLC} il-, Δ nil- ¶ S QK no. 1453, Nam 405, MLC 1351 ¶¶ Hardly here T *jal̥aŋ 'naked' (> OT jal̥aŋ, jal̥iŋ) that is equated in SDM97 with M *³ul̥(m)- 'exuviate, fade', Tg *ńiṭl̥- id. and pJ *n̥j̥âr v. 'tan' (> J n̥er̥u 'knead [flour], gloss\soften [silk]); in fact T *jal̥aŋ (and Tg *ńiṭl̥-?) may be equated with N *ńag̥l̥∇ 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled' (q.v.) ¶¶ SDM 1019 (pA *ńõ|ũlo 'pluck, pick out [срывать, выдергивать]' > M, T *j̥o- [i.e. *j̥ul̥- ~ *j̥o-] + unc. Tg *ń¹l̥- 'exuviate, fade', 'naked' and pJ *m̥âr- v. 'pluck, tear off'), DQA no. 1507 (pA *ńõ|ũlo), Rm. SKE I 172, ADb. SR 10, TL 149 || ?σ U *ń¹i|ũ¹l̥∇- ≈ get loose' (bark, skin), 'peel off, debark' > FU: F {SK} inf. niloa, nilota 'to get loose' (bark, skin) | pLp {Lr.} *ńɜɜ v. 'debark a tree' > Lp: S {Hs.} njalledh 'separate, loosen', L {LLO} njalla- '(leicht) losgehen, sich (leicht) lockern', 'lösen (Rinde in der Saftzeit)', N {N} njâllâ- 'flake off, get loose and peel off' (skin, part of body), 'peel' | Prm (?) *ńul̥- > Z P ńild+n̥+, Z Ud ńivd+n̥+ inf. 'to skin (an animal)', Z LV ńivm+n̥+ inf. 'to be debarked', Vt Sr ń+l̥al-, Vt Kz ńɜl̥al- v. 'debark a tree', Vt НЫЫЛД- ń+l̥d- v. 'scrape off, debark, skin', Vt Kz ńɜl̥ 'bark of a tree' || pOs {ǵHt.} *ńǎl̥-, {ǵHL.} *ńǎl̥- > Os {Stn.}: VK ńǎl̥-, Vrt ńǎǵ-, Nz ńõłt-, Kz ńõǵ- 'lose Birkenrinde'; pOs {ǵHt.} *ńǎl̥-, {ǵHL.} *ńǎl̥- v. 'debark' > Os V/Vy ńǎl̥- id., Os d. (ps.) verbs: Os Lk ńǎθam-, Os Nz ńõtam-, Os Kz ńõǵam- vi. 'peel off (birch bark)'; Vg: T ńal̥-, LK/Ss ńiíl̥-, P ńiíl̥, niíl̥- 'schälen, ausnehmen (Fische)', N ńolip- 'sich abtrennen' (z. B. Baumrinde) || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} ńaíe- 'lose\shed hair' (of reindeer, dog, fur) ¶¶ ≈ UEW 29, SK 380-1, Lr. no. 754, Lgc. no. 4314, Stn. D 1041-2, LG 191, U3S 309, KKIH 139 || D *nułl̥- v. 'pinch, pluck' (× N *ńog̥ü¹l̥¹∇?) 'tear out\asunder, pinch', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If U *ń¹i|ũ¹l̥∇- belongs here, the N lateral cns. is *-l̥- (while D *-l̥l̥- is inherited from N *ńog̥ü¹l̥∇), otherwise it is either *-l̥- or *-l̥l̥- ◇ IS II 91-2 (*ńiũl̥ > D, A + U *ńül̥ke [see N *ńog̥ü¹l̥¹∇ '↑']).

1596a. *ńagļ∇ 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled' > **HS**: S *^o√ n ʏ l > Ar √ n ʏ l G (pf. na ʏ ila, ip. -n ʏ a l u) 'be spoiled in tanning' (hide), 'be ulcered' (wound) ¶ Fr. IV 308, Hv. 784-5 || **U**: FU *ń a l ∇ - 'get spoiled' (skin) > Prm {LG} *ń o ġ l - > Z HĚЛЪЗЪЫ- ħ o ġ z + -, Z HS ħ o ġ z + - vi. 'become flushed because of sweat\damp' (of skin, particularly of a baby), 'spoil (пpетъъ) because of sweat\dampness' (skin), 'rub off' (skin) || ObU {ʃHt.} *ń ā l -, {ʃHl.} *ń ǰ l - > Vg K {Szil.} ħ ā l t t - 'become leprous', Vg {Coll. ← ?} ħ u l t 'leprosy, scab, tetter'; pOs *ń ā l ə - ({ʃHl.} *ń ǰ l ə -) > Os: V ħ ā l ə - 'come out, fall out' (hair), ħ ā l ə ʏ - vi. 'scale, peel off', Os O ħ ā l ə m 'sich lösen' (Schleimhaut im Mund), 'ausgehen' (Haare), Os Kz ħ ō l m ə ʔ - 'fall ill with scrofulosis', Os Ty ħ a ʔ ə m t ə -, Os Nz ħ ō l ə m t -, Os Kz ħ o l ə m t - 'fall out' (hair from a poorly dried hide), 'have a disease in which the skin (esp. that of the head, behind the ears and on the temples) scales off, bleeds and festers'; Coll. 41 (← ?) quoted Os Sr ħ a θ ə m - and Os S ħ o t ə m - id., which (if not mistakenly recorded) points to a pOs (and hence pFU and pN) *-l- rather than -l̥-, evidenced by more reliable data of Stn. D ¶ Coll. 41, LG 189, Stn. D 1051-2 || **D** *n a l - > Tu n a l a g u - 'fade, wither, be reduced by sickness', Tm n a l i v. 'waste, pine away, suffer, fail', n a l a ŋ k u 'grow faint, wilt, lose stiffness', Kn n a l a g u, n a l u g u 'become rumpled\ ruffled (as cloth)', n a l a ʏ ʏ, n a l u ʏ ʏ 'weakness', Tl n a l ā g u, n a l u g u, n a l i ʏ u 'be crumpled\ rumpled', {Km.} 'fade, wither' ¶¶ D no. 3611 ◇ There is conflicting ev. about the quality of the N lateral cns.: D points to a N plain *-l-, while Stn.'s Os data provide ev. of a N postalveolar *-l̥-. It may be explained by contamination of two N roots in D (e.g. N *ń a g l ∇ 'fade, be worn' and the hypothetical N *N a P_ 'l' ∇ [> Knd n a l p - 'crush, squeeze', Jb √ n f l v. 'break off a chip oa a splinter of stone, cut a sliver [of wood]') with D *-l- belonging to the heritage if N *N a P_ 'l' ∇.

1597. *ń o g 'ā' l_ ʏ ∇ 'slime, moisture, fluid; raw' > **HS**: SES *^o√ n ʏ l > Mh n ʒ ʏ ʒ l i t (pl. n ʒ ʏ ā l), Hrs ʒ n ʏ ā l, Jb C n a ʏ l t, Jb E ʒ n ' ʏ l ʒ t 'sweat' ¶ Jo. M 288, Jo. H 93 || ? ECh: Smr {J} n ū l, Nd D {J} n ū l ^ 'weep' (if ← *'shed tears' ← a word for 'tears') ¶ ChC s.v. 'weep', J KKS, J LS s.v. n ū l || **IE** *y e Ĥ l o - / *y Ĥ l o - > NaIE *y ē l o - / *y a l o - 'unripe, raw' > Ltv j ē l s 'raw; undercooked', 'sore' (of body parts), j ē l s a v i e t a 'sore\raw place' || ?σ Sl *j ā l o v ь 'unfruitful' (soil), 'barren' (× *ā l o v ь id.) > ChS Ĥ A Л O B ь j a l o v ь 'sterilis', OR Ĥ A Л O B ь j a l o v ь, R

'яловый, Uk 'яловий, Blg 'ялов, 'яльв, SCr jàlov, Slv jálov, Cz, Slk jalový, P jałowcy 'unfruitful' || ??σ Clt: W {P} ial 'clearing, glade' (← *'waste plot'), Gl ialo- *'clairière' in n.l., e.g. Nanto-ialo- 'valley glade' > Fr Nanteuil ¶ P 504-5, Kar. I 355, Vs. IV 554-5; Glh. 286-7 and ESSJ I 66-70 (Sl *ǎlovъjъ); Mikl. E 99 (*jal-), Mikl. L 4, Billy 88, Dtn 262 || U: FU *ńa_l:j∇ 'moisture, slime, fluid' > Er XVIII {Dms.}, Er Δ nola 'sap' | Chr: L §ноло nolo 'moisture, moist, sap', nолъk 'season of sap flowing (when the bark is separated from the tree)', H {It.} nalъ, Uf/B nолъ 'sap' ('juice?') | Lp I njale 'sap, birch sap' || Os: V náłt, D náta 'rust', K náta 'slime', Kz náłt 'rust, slime' ¶ UEW 318-19, Ps. B (s.p.) 92, ERV 415 || A *ńa_l:j∇ 'raw, fresh' > pT *ja_l:j | > NaT *ja_l:jš 'fresh, moist' > OT jaš id. (jaš tanani 'fresh sesame seed', jaš ot 'fresh forage', jaš sūṛṇlāri 'moist bones'), jaš 'green vegetables', XwT XIV jaš 'young, fresh, MQp XIII jāš 'green', Osm {Rh.} جاش jaš 'wet; moisture', StAlt žaš 'fresh, green', Bsh jāš 'fresh', Ggz jaš, Qzl {Jk.} šas 'fresh, moist', Xk čas 'fresh, young', Tk цаş, Az jaš 'moist', CrTt, ET jaš, Uz juš. VTt jāš, Nog jas, Qzq, Qq žas, Qrg žaš, Tv čaš 'young', Kr T/G jaš id., 'moist, juicy' ¶ Cl. 975-6, Rs. W 192, ET J 161-4, Rh. 2186, BR 243, BT 50, BIG 312, Rs. W 192, ET J 161-4 || Tg *ńal- (~ *ńāl-??) 'moist, raw' > Ewk ńalikin 'moist' (wood), 'not dry' (undressed hides, raw leather), Neg ńalixɫn 'raw, not cooked\baked sufficiently' (food, bread), 'unripe', Nn Nh {On.} ńālō:, {STM} ńālũ ~ ńjalũ ~ ńjalũ 'fresh, raw, uncooked' (meat, fish), 'moist' (wood), Ud {Krm.} ńaligi, {STM} ńāligi, Ul ńālɫ(n-) ~ ńēɫɫ(n-) 'moist, raw' (meat, fish, wood), Lm ńālɫqça, ńālɫq id., 'undressed' (hide), Ork ńālɫ ~ nālɫ ~ ńālɫw id., 'uncooked' (food), 'unripe' (fruit, vegetables) ¶ The Ewk cognate points to a short Tg *a, while the long vw. *ā in some AmTg lges still needs explanation (*ńa- > *ńja- > *ńā-?) ¶ STM I 630, Krm. 268, On.303 || pKo {S} *n^r 'sth. raw, moist' > MKo n^r, NKo nal ¶ S QK no. 140, Nam 96, MLC 302 ¶¶ SDM 985-6 (pA *ńǎǎí 'raw, fresh' > Tg, T, Ko + unc. M *nilaɥu- [quoted with the meaning 'raw', but really meaning 'having bad\unpleasant taste']), S AJ 76, 256 [no. 140], 280-1 [no. 145] || D (att. in SD) *ńōla 'saliva, sticky liquid' > Tm rōla 'saliva', nōla 'slaver; glutinous fluid in fish\fruit\snails', Kn lōla, lōli, lōlu, lōle 'saliva, slaver, tenacious mucus, phlegm', nōli 'sticky (juice)', Tu nōne 'saliva, spittle', rōli 'anything sticky, gummy, viscous;

saliva'; D \rightarrow OI $l\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ - 'saliva, spittle, slobber' ¶ D no. 2937, Tu. no. 11027 ¶ The cns. l - in words for 'saliva' may be due to the ideophonic factor [Ll.] ◇ IE $*\hat{h}$ points to a following front vw., while T (and pA?) $*\bar{a}$ may go back to $*-oHa-$ < N $*-og\bar{a}-$ ($*a$ due to vw. harmony) rather than to $*-oHe-$; hence the tentative rec. of pN $*\bar{a}$ in the N etymon $*\acute{n}og\bar{a}'l_{\text{y}}\nabla$). T $*-l'$ and D $*-l-$ point to a N palatalized $*l'$, while U $*-l-$ may go back only to the plain N $*l$; the contradiction may be removed by postulating a N cluster $*-ly-$ (> $**-\acute{l}-$ > T $*-l'$ - and D $*-l-$ -) and by supposing that in the prehistory of the U root the N cns. $*y$ was lost ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 s.v. $*\acute{r}o_{\text{H}}l_{\text{H}}l_{\text{H}}\text{ } \text{слизь}$ ' (IE, A, D + unc. U $*\acute{n}olke$ 'slime, saliva, mucus' and ? U $*\acute{n}ole-$ 'lick').

1598. $*\acute{n}ihla$ 'moist, slimy' > HS: S $*\check{v}nhl$ 'give water, make wet, give to drink' > Ak LtB $\check{v}n^{\text{p}}l$ (inf. $na^{\text{p}}\bar{a}lu$) v. 'water, make wet', BHb d. $\text{נַחְלָה} \text{nah}^{\text{a}}l\bar{o}'l\text{-}\bar{i}m$ pl. 'watering places', Ar $\check{v}nhl$ G (pf. $nahila$, ip. $-nhalu$) 'drink a first draught; quench (thirst)', {BK} 'goûter un peu d'un breuvage; étancher la soif, avoir bu à sa soif' ¶ CAD XI/1 6, Sd. 6 9 4 , K B 638, BK II 1358, Hv. 804 || Ch: CCh: Ms {OS < ?} ηul 'moisten', {ChC} $\eta ulumo$ 'moist' (OS: Ms η < $*n?$), Azm {Pc.} $\eta\bar{u}l\bar{o}\bar{b}\bar{a}$ 'damp' ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} $\acute{n}\hat{a}l\bar{o}$ 'couler' (la pluie à travers le toit), $\text{S}mr$ {OS < ?} $\eta w\bar{e}l\bar{e}$ 'rain' ¶ JA LM 112, ChC s.v. 'moist', Pc. 322 ¶¶ OS no. 400 ||| U: FU $*\acute{n}ila$ 'slime, mucus' > F $nila$ 'bast, bass', 'slime, mucus', $Koi\check{v}un$ $nila$ 'birch-tree sap', $nilja$ 'slime, mucus', Krl $\acute{n}ila$ 'sap', ? Es $nilane$ (gen. $nilatse$) in $nilane\ lats$ 'helpless baby' (if < 'snivelling child') | amb Lp: L {LLO} $njall\bar{e}$ 'etwas Glattes oder Schlüpfriges; der Baumsaft, wenn er sich zwischen Stamm und Rinde gesammelt hat, so daß es «rinnt»', Nt {TI} $\acute{n}\hat{a}l'a$ / $-l-$ 'slippy\smooth place' | ?φ Er {Rv.} $nola\check{z}a$ 'smooth' (soil, ice etc.) ||| ObU $*\acute{n}\bar{i}'l$ / $*\acute{n}\bar{i}'l$ > Vg N {Mu.} $\acute{r}\check{a}'l$ 'slime of a tree', Os O $\acute{n}el$ 'sap wood (Splint), sap (of willow, birch tree)' || Sm: Ne T {Cs.} $n\check{y}'l\check{u}$ 'juice', $ho-n\check{y}'l\check{u}$ 'sap of a tree' ($\check{y} = [t]?$), Ne F L {Lh.} $\acute{n}\bar{i}'l:\bar{i}$ id.; ?φ Ne T O $\acute{n}al\bar{u}$ 'soft and moist white layer under the bark of a tree' ¶¶ IS II and the editors of IS II adduced FU words for 'slime, moisture, sap' with back vowels in the first syll. (Er {Dms.}, Er $\Delta nola$, Chr $nolo$ $\text{н}al\bar{b}$ etc.), explaining their back vowels by the infl. of the stem-final $*-a$ (while Rd. in UEW explained it by onomatopoeia), but external comparative ev. suggests the presence of a different N etymon, reconstructible as $*\acute{n}og\bar{a}'l_{\text{y}}\nabla$ 'slime, moisture, fluid; raw' (q.v.); contamination with

the latter may account for θ in Er *nolaža* ¶¶ Coll. 102, UEW 318-19, 329, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU **ńilǎ*, FP **ńila*, Uhr **ńila* 'sap wood'), SK 380-1, TI 294, LG 198-200, Ht. no-s 789-90, Cs. 18, 27, Lh. 295 ||
A: M **nil-* > [1] M **nilbu-* ~ **nilmu* > MM [IM] *nilbu* 'a spit', Dg {Mr.} *nioleme* ~ *niolome* 'spit, spittle, saliva', M **nilbu-sun* ~ **nilmu-sun* 'saliva, spittle, mucus, tears' > MM [HI] *nilbusun* 'saliva, tears', [S] {H} *nilbusu(n)* 'tears', [LM] *نَبْسُون* *nalbusun* (fallacious vocalization for *نَبْسُون* *nilbusun*?), [MA] *nalbusun* 'spittle', WrM {Kow.} *nilbusu(n)* 'larme; salive, bave', {MED} *nilbusun*, *nilmusun* id., 'mucus', HIM {MED} *нүлмас* id., {Luv., BMR} *нүлимс(ан)*, Brt *нүлимса(н)* id., Kl {KRS} *нүльмсн* 'tears, Spucke', Kl D {Rm.} *nułmuṣṅ* 'Träne', Brt *нѐлбоѐон*, Ord *нүлмуṣу* 'tears', MMgl [Z] *nilbusut* pl. 'tears', Mgl {Rm.} *nilbusun*, Mnr H {T} *nilbuse*, Mnr Nr {SM} *nump'uz_з*, Ba *nemson* 'tears', Dg {Mr.} *niolēmose*, {Pp.} *ńombosu*, {T} *ńombos* ~ *ńomos* id.; M **nilbu-* ~ **nilmu-* v. 'spit' > MM [LM, MA] *-نيلبو-* *nilbu-*, [S] *nilbu-*, WrM {MED} *nilbu-* ~ *nilmu-*, HIM {MED} *нүлма-*, {Luv., BMR} *нүлима-*, Dg *нүлму-*, Mnr H {SM} *nump'u-* id.] [2] ?σ M **nil-* 'sticky substance' > MM [MA] {Pp.} *ńila-* v. 'plaster (walls with alabaster)', *ńilaqu* 'plasterer's trowel', Kl {Rm.} *ńilǎ-* (< ***ńila-yi-*) 'klebrig\schleimig\wässerig sein'; M **nilc-* > WrM {Kow.} *ńilcuim* 'glutineux, visqueux (comme les phlegmes, la colle, la bile etc.)', 'клейкій, клеєватий, липкій, слизистый', {MED} *ńilcuim-a* 'sticky, adhesive', HIM {MED, BMR} *нялцайм* id., WrM {MED} *ńilcai-*, *ńilcui-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *нялцай-* 'become sticky\clammy', {Luv.} *нялцай-* 'be sticky\slimy'; ¶ Pp. L III 72-4, Pp. MA 253, 442, Ms. H 79, H 117, Rm. M 34, Kow. 663, MED 583, Gl. II 38, Luv. 276, 269, BMR II 424-5, 450, Chr. 333, KRS 385-6, KW 276, Iw. 119, Ms. O 501, SM 289-90, T 351, T BJ 144, T DgJ 158, Mr. D 199-200, Klz. D II 125 || Tg: Ewk *nilli* 𐤍 ńili 𐤍 *nildi* 'slime (on fish)' ¶ STM I 593 ◇ IS II 88-9 (**ńiln* > U, A), Rs. UAW 49-50 (U, A).

1599. **ńeq,a,l* 𐤍 'bed of a torrent, valley' > HS: S **naḫal-* 'wadi, gorge, ravine' > Ak *naḫallu*, *naḫlu* id., BHb 𐤍𐤒𐤍 'naḫal 'torrent, torrent valley, dry bed of a torrent', Ug *nḫl* {A} 'torrent, wadi', {OLS} 'torrent', [AkSc] {Hnr.} *naḫal,l,u* 'wadi, ravine (?)', JA [Trg.] 𐤍𐤒𐤍 *nəḫal* / 𐤍𐤒𐤍 *naḫ^al-ā* id., 'valley', JEA {Sl.} 𐤍𐤒𐤍 *naḫ^alā* 'wadi,

stream', Sr $\text{𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌵} \text{ naħ'1-ā}$ (cs., abs. $\text{𐌺𐌰𐌶𐌵} \text{ nə'ħɛ1}$) id., {Br.} 'rivus, vallis'; Cn \rightarrow Eg [EgSSc] {Hlk} na-χa-l 'stream, brook' ¶ KB 648-9, BDB 636, A no. 1773, OLS 323, Hnr. 152, Js. 894, Sl. 741, Br. 423, CAD IX/1 124-5, Hlk no. 143, SivCR 82 || **D** * $\acute{n}\bar{e}l-$ or * $\acute{n}\bar{ā}l-$ ({GS} * $\acute{n}\bar{e}l-$) 'field, flat land' > Gnd $\text{nēli} \text{ } \text{ } \text{nēl} \text{ } \text{lēli}$ 'field', ne·l 'ground, earth, flat land', Tm, Ml rālam , Tl nēla 'earth, land', Klm e·l , Nkr el 'earth', Knd nēle id., 'ground', Png nēla 'ground', Png, Mnd nēl 'hill field', Kui nela 'plot of high ground for cultivation', Ku {Fzg.} $\text{nē}^{\text{p}}\text{la}$ 'field (under cultivation)', {Isr.} $\text{ne}^{\text{p}}\text{la}$ 'dry field', Krx nāl 'fields, terraced fields'; D \rightarrow OI nāla- 'field under cultivation' ¶¶ D no. 2913, GS 143 [no. 364] || **K**: G (\leftarrow Zan?) n0l-i 'fruchtbare Anschwemmungsland an einem Fluß; mit jungem Gras bewachsenes Wiesenland' ¶ Chx. 964 ¶ The vw. 0 (\leftarrow K * a) suggests the Zan origin of the word, but the loss of the expected χ (\leftarrow K * q \leftarrow N * -q-) is puzzling.

1600. *Regional* $\text{}^2$ * $\acute{n}\bar{ä}ly\text{ } \nabla$ 'four' > **U**: FU * $\acute{n}\bar{e}lyä$ id. > F neljä , Es neli (gen. nelja) id. | pLp {Lr.} * $\acute{n}\bar{e}lyē$ (or * $\acute{n}\bar{ē}lyē$?) > Lp: S {Hs.} nieljije , U {Schl.} nēljja , L {LLO} nieljje , {UEW} nielija , N {N} njælljē , I {It.} nelji , Klt {Lr.} nellj , Kld ńīēll id. | Er ńīē , Mk ńīē id. | Chr L нѣл ѣл , H нѣл ѣл id. | Prm {LG} * $\acute{n}\bar{ö}l$ ({LG} * $\acute{n}\bar{ö}l$) id. > Z $\text{нѣль } \acute{n}\bar{ö}l$, Z US $\acute{n}\bar{ö}l$, Yz $\acute{n}\bar{u}l$, Vt $\text{нѣль } \acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, Vt Shm/Kz/B $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, Vt: Sr $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, Y $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, Kz $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$ id. || ObU {Ht.} * $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l\text{ } \nabla$ id. > pVg * $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l\text{ } \nabla$ / * $\acute{n}\bar{ä}l(\text{ } \nabla)$:- * $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l\text{ } \nabla$ > Vg: T $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, LK/MK/ UK $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, P $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$, NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$ 'four'; * $\acute{n}\bar{ä}l(\text{ } \nabla)$ - within the word(s) for 'forty': Vg: T $\acute{n}\bar{e}law$, LK/MK/UK/NV/SV/LL $\acute{n}\bar{ä}lman$, P $\acute{n}\bar{ä}lman$, UL/Ss naliman 'forty'; pOs * $\acute{n}\bar{e}lä$ ({Hl.} * $\acute{n}\bar{ü}lä$) 'four' > Os: V/Vy $\acute{n}\bar{e}la$, Ty/Y $\acute{n}\bar{e}la$, D/K $\acute{n}\bar{e}ta$, Nz $\acute{n}\bar{e}ta$, Kz $\acute{n}\bar{e}la$, O $\acute{n}\bar{ü}l$ id. | Hg négy 'four' ¶ Coll. 102, It. no. 322, UEW 315-16, Db. OS xxxi, Sm. 546 (FU, FP * $\acute{n}\bar{e}ljä$, Ugr * $\acute{n}\bar{ü}ljī$), Ker. II 96, Ht. no. 460, Lr. no. 720, Lgc. no. 4372, Hs. 978, Schl. 99-100, Ep. 78 || **D** * $\acute{n}\bar{ā}l-$ 'four' > Tm/Ml/Kn nāl , nālu , Kdg na·l , Tu nāl , Tl nālugu , nāluvu , Gnd nālugu , Kui nālgī , nāl 'four', Klm na·liŋ 'four things', na·l udul 'four days', Nkr nāliŋ 'four things', Nk nāli , Knd nālgī 'four' (non-masc.), Prj nel 'four', nālu(k) 'four things', Gdb nalug $\text{ } \text{nālig}$ 'four' (neut.), Krx nāx 'four things', naib 'four' (of animals and things) ¶¶ D no. 3655, Zv. 133 ◇ The FU vw. * e for the expected * ä may be due to the palatalizing infl. of * \acute{n} - and * -ly- ◇ Blz. DN 71.

1601. * $\acute{n}u\tau\eta\iota K\downarrow$ (= * $\acute{n}u\lambda\eta\iota K\downarrow$?) 'marrow, brain' > HS: S: Gz nālā, Tgr, Tgy, Amh nala 'brain, skull' ¶ L G 398 || ? Ch: WCh: Krkr ndulaka, Ngm ndàlakù 'brain' | Wrj {Sk.} ndžlīnā, Kry ndžlāy, My ndžlī, Sir {Sk.} ndžlīm id. | Zar žongâ id. | Ngz {Sch.} žánák (pl. žánánin), Bd àžàžn id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'brain', ChL, Sch. DN s.v. žánák || **A** * $\acute{n}u\lambda\eta\iota$ ({ADb.} * $\acute{n}u\lambda\eta\iota$) > T: [1] NaT *julun ~ *jülün (< pre-T **jülun?) 'spinal marrow' > OT julun {MKD, Cl} 'spinal cord', {DTS} 'spinal marrow', ET Δ {Jarr., Mng., Rl.} julun, Uz Δ jülün & jülün, Nog julun, Qzq жҮЛҮН žülün, Qq žülün, Qrg žülün, StAlt žülün, Tf {Cs.} čilerη, Yk sülün 'spinal marrow', Tv čün id., 'nerve', Bsh Δ jḅlḅn id., jḅlḅn 'spinal cord', Shor {Rl.} čilη '(spinal\bone) marrow', Xk člηη, QK {B} jülün 'marrow' | [2] NaT *jülik or *jilik 'marrow of bones' > OT, MU, MQp [incl. CC], OXwT jilik, Chg (j)ilik, Tk ilik, Uz Δ jülik & jülük & jilik, Tkm jülük ~ jilik, VTt žilьk ~ jььk, Az, Kr, Uz ilik, QrB žilik, StAlt žilik ~ juluq, Tv čilig, Yk siläk ~ säli ~ silī id., Qmq jilik, Qrg žilik 'hollow bone', ET jilik ~ žilik 'marrow, hollow bone', Nog jilik, Qq žilik 'shinbone' ¶ Though MhK translated the word as 'بخاع' buḫāḳ (= 'spinal cord'), the ev. of many other T lges suggests that the original meaning was 'spinal marrow' ¶ Cl. 927-8, 930, MKD 233, ET J 265-6, TL 263-4, ADb. SR 314, DTS 278, Rs. W 245, Jr. 160, Mng. G 739, Rl. III 556, 2086 and IV 170, Jud. 274 || Tg * $\acute{n}u\eta\iota$ (< ** $\acute{n}u\lambda\eta\iota$) > Ewk PT $\acute{n}u\eta\iota$, Ewk Tk nuḫī 'marrow' ¶ STM I 646 || ? M * $\acute{z}\acute{o}\acute{l}\downarrow\gamma a$ ({ADb.} * $\acute{z}\acute{i}\acute{l}\acute{u}\gamma a$) 'brain, 'baby's fontanel in the skull' > MM [IM] žolā id., HIM {BMR} зулай, Brt жолоо 'baby's fontanel in the skull (родничок, темечко)', Kl {Rm.} zulā 'Fontanelle', {KRS} зула 'fontanel, sinciput' ¶ M * \acute{z} - goes back to pA * \acute{n} - (cp. M * $\acute{z}ulmu$ - and * $\acute{z}ulga$ - from pA * $\acute{n}ulE$ - < N * $\acute{n}\acute{u}\acute{z}\downarrow$ or * $\acute{n}\acute{u}\acute{z}\downarrow$ 'pluck, tear out' and M * $\acute{z}ilg\acute{u}$ - v. 'wipe, polish, rub\brush against' from pA * $\acute{n}i\omega\acute{l}\acute{a}$ 'scrape, rub, polish' < N * $\acute{n}iqU\downarrow$ 'scrape, rub') ¶ Pp. MA 439, Luv. 204, BMR II 235, Chr. 232, KRS 255, KW 479, ADb. SR 314 ¶¶ ADb. SR-D 448 [no. 35], 453,] ADb. SR 47, 314 || **D** * $n\acute{u}L\downarrow g\downarrow$ ~ * $m\acute{u}\downarrow g\downarrow$ 'marrow, brain' > Prj nulli, nūlgum, nūlguṭ, Kt miḷ, Tl mūlaga, Klm mull, Gnd muṛe & muṛgonži, Knd muṛva, Krx murmā 'marrow', Tm mūlaj, Ml mūla id., 'brain', Brh milī id., 'kernel of nut', Tu mūle, Mnd mūr'a 'brain', Kui mula id., ? nīli 'bone marrow' ¶¶ D no. 5051 ¶¶ D * m - (side by side with the expected * n -) may result from the infl. of D * $m\acute{u}\downarrow$ 'bone' (D no. 5050) ◇ The

vowels of NaT *julun ~ *jülün may go back either to the vowel sequence *-u...ü- (or to *-ü...u-?) ◇ If D *mūl̥g̥ belongs here, the N rec. is with *-l̥-, otherwise it has an unspecified N *-l̥- ◇ ADb. SR 314 (A, D).

1602. *ń∇í|l̥∇ (or *ŋ∇í|l̥∇) 'ε insect' > A: AmTg *ńe|ile- 'nit, small louse' > Ulńil̥3-kt̥3 'nit', Ork n̥3li̥ʒ̥3, Udń̥3ž̥ig̥3 'small louse', NnNh {On.}ńil̥3k̥3 id., NnNh/KU {STM}ńil̥3k̥3 id., 'nit' ¶ STM I 616, Krm. 271, On. 290 || D *nu|l̥- 'stinging insect' > Tm nu|l̥al, no|l̥al 'gnat, eye-fly, mosquito', Kn no|a, no|a∇u 'a fly', Krg nur̥ŋgi, Prj nuʀńi ɘ uʀńi, Gnd DM nul̥ē, Gnd HMS nūle 'mosquito', Gnd B {ChenT} null̥ē 'a flea (esp. one which damages kodon and kutki flowers)', Gnd MB {CenT} nulle 'gnat, Klm nulle 'a fly' ¶¶ D no. 3715 || HS: B: Ah a-nalluǵ 'ant', ETwl a-nallug 'small ant' ¶ Fc. 1387, GhA 147 ◇ .The rec. wiith *ŋ- is suggested by the cd *ŋ∇í∇ 'h'∇mP'i' 'gnat, mosquito' (see s.v. ffd.)

1603. ₂ *ńiqUí∇ 'scrape, (?) scrape off, rub' > HS: S *°✓nχl > Ar niχlīy- 'morceaux de chair qui sont restés sur la peau d'un animal écorché et qu'on enlève en préparant le cuir', ? ✓nχl G 'trier/séparer les parties viles et enlever les meilleures' ¶ BK II 1223 || A *ńiŵíâ 'scrape, rub, polish' > T: *jI̥:ǰ- 'rub' (× N *žil̥ʒ∇ 'to shove, 'to knead\ stir'??) > NaT *jI̥:ǰš̥-, *jI̥:ǰš̥I- v. 'rub': *jI̥š̥- > SbTt {Tm.} jI̥š̥- v. 'wipe, smear, rub, plane (wood)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Rl.} jI̥š̥- 'glatt machen, polieren, hobeln', StAlt дьыш- ž̥I̥š̥- v. 'rub, rub on', Xk č̥is-, Qb {Rl.} j̥is- id., v. 'rub up (sth. with)' (натереть), Qrg жышы- ž̥I̥š̥I- id., 'rub off', QrB, Qmq i̥š̥I-, Qzq, Qq i̥s-, StAlt ž̥I̥š̥-, QK {Rl.} j̥i̥š̥- 'rub up (sth. with)' (натереть); NaT *jI̥:ǰš̥I- > Qrg ž̥I̥š̥I-, QbB i̥š̥I-, Qmq i̥š̥I- id. ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl 667-8, BT 62, Rl. III 496, 498, Tm. 92, BIG 327, Jud. 285 || M *ž̥il̥g̥ü- v. 'wipe, polish, dust; rub\brush against' > WrM ž̥ülg̥ü- ~ ž̥il̥g̥ü- {MED} v. 'wipe, polish, dust; rub\brush against', HIM {MED} зүлгэ-, Brt Δзүлгэ- id., HIM {BMR} зүлгэ- v. 'wipe, polieren, schleifen, clean with emery paper', Kl {KRS} зүлг- vt. 'rub, clean', {Rm.} ž̥ülg- 'schaben, abreiben, kratzen', Ord ž̥ülg̥ü- 'frotter, racler' ¶ M *ž̥- goes back to pA *ń- || Tg *ńiul̥a- 'rub, polish, smear, dye' > WrMc {Z} нила- ~ нилэ- 'rub, polish', Negńiyli- ~ń̥li- 'smear, rub', Ulńili- v. 'smear, dye', NnNhńiul̥3- ~ńul̥3- v. 'dye', Orkńilit̥či- ~ńilit̥či-, UdX {STM} y̥3ul̥3- v. 'dye' ¶ Z 232, ≈ STM I 638, On. 292, 302, Z 232 ||

pKo *ni:r- 'clear out, rinse' > MKo i:r-, NKo i:l-, NKo N nil- ¶ Nam 405, MLC 1351 ¶¶ SDM 1009 (pA *ñilu|o- 'polish, scrape' > Tg *nili- 'scrape off, polish', M, T, Ko), Rm. SKE 69, ADb. SR 15.

1604. *ńam'o' 'squeeze, grasp' > IE: NaIE *yem-/*ym̥- 'hold, hold fast, grasp' > OI yam- (3s aor. 'yamati, 'yamāt, 3s pres. 'yacchati [< IE *ym̥-skē-], pp. ya'ta- [< IE *ym̥-to-]) 'hold, lead, control', Av yam- (ayama'te 'mag sich zuziehen'), Av, OPrs yasa- (Av yasōiś 'du sollst zulassen', OPrs āyasatā 'nahm an sich'), Av, OPrs pp. yata- || pTc *yām- > Tc A yom-, B yām- 'achieve, obtain; reach' || ??? Gk ἡμερος, Gk D ἄμερος 'tame' (of animals) (← *'held') || Sl 1s pres. *jьm-ŕ / inf. *je-ti 'take' (× N *?em∇ 'seize, hold', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 505, EI 270-1 (*yem-), Mn. I 443, M K III 2-3, M E II 399-400, F I 235-6, Wn. I 27, 503-4, Ad. 497-8, Ad. H 22, JGH 61-2, 303, IS I 133, ESSJ VI 71 || **U** {IS} **ńamo- > *ńoma- ~ *ńam∇- 'squeeze, hold fast' > Lp L {LLO} njāmmō- 'umschlingen, umfassen, mit den Händen um etw. greifen' | Chr {Szil.} numorgem 'ich werde zusammengepreßt', {Ü} numurgem 'сжимаюсь' ('I am pressed together' or 'I am squeezed'), {LG ← Trc.} numergem 'I squeeze (сжимаю)' | Prm: Z inf. нямравны ńamrav-nī, mom. inf. нямыртны ńamīrt-nī 'to squeeze', Prmk inf. ńamlav-nī 'to knead (dough, clay)' || OHg XIV njom- 'pressen, (zusammen)drücken', Hg njom- v. 'press' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} ńamā- 'grasp (fassen, ergreifen, packen)', En {Cs.} noʔa- v. 'catch' || pY {IN H, IN UJ} *°ńōm- {IN UJ} 'squeeze, press' > Y K {IN H} numušey- vt. 'press', numžžš-'squeeze' ¶¶ Coll. 40, 103, UEW 322 (U *ńoma- 'fangen, ergreifen' > Lp, Sm), 330 (FU *ńā m∇ 'zusammendrücken' > Chr, Prm, Hg) and ≠ 876 (Hg njom- < Ugr *ńo|∇ 'drücken'), Sm. 546 (FU *ńomā-, FP *ńoma-, Ugr *ńāma- 'seize, grasp'), Ü 135, LG 202, TmK 479-80, EWU 1045, ≈ MF 488-9, Lh. 296, Cs. 86, IN H 307, IN UJ 240 || **D** *ńam- 'squeeze, press' (× N *'íam, X, ∇ 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead'?) > Ml ńamunṭuka 'squeeze, knead', Tm ńemir / -pp- / -tt- 'press with the hands', ńemir / -v- / -nt- 'be crushed\compressed', ńemi vi. 'break, give way as under a weight' (← *'be crushed'), ńemīṭu vt. 'crush, press out with the hands', Kdg ńavṇḍ- ({IS} < *ńamṇḍ-) 'squeeze', Tu nauṇṭu 'squeezing, pinching', nauṇṭuni 'to pinch', Ku nabgali ({IS} < *ńamuk-) 'press down' ¶¶ D no. 2926, Km. 187 ◊ IS II 85 (*ńamḥ; IE, U, D), IE MS 339

(**ńom* 'to hold': IE, U, D + unc. ?A [M **nomu-qan* 'peaceful, calm', T **jum-* 'press']).

1605. id. **ńäm* 'soft' > HS: S **ńm* 'be soft\smooth' > Mh {Jo.} *ńəʔaym*, *ńəʔaymət* 'soft, smooth', Jb E 'ńim, Jb C *ńəʔim* id., Hrs *ńəʔam* id., *ńəʔam* v. 'soften', Ar *ńm* (pf. *naʔuma*, ip. *-ńamu*) 'be soft\mellow', {BK} *ńəm-* 'doux, souple', 'moelleux' (vêtement etc.), 'doux au toucher', 'tendre' ¶ Jo. M 278, Jo. H 93, BK II 1298, Hv. 783 || ?? Eg *ńm* 'süß, angenehm' ¶ EG II 378 ¶¶ In several cases the S and C cns. **ń* is likely to correspond to Eg *z* (cf. Tk. II 517): Eg *sm* 'hear' (< **smz*) - S **ńm* id., Eg *ńm* 'sweet, pleasant' - S **ńm* 'be pleasant'.

A tentative solution may be found if we suppose here a HS (or Northern HS) cns. **ń* that unknown conditions goes back to N **ń* (e.g. **ńim* 'hear', **ńəm* 'pleasant, gentle, fine') || U {UEW} **ńäm* ~ **ńâm*, {Sm.} **ńämkk* 'soft' > Lp S {LÖ} *ńemok* id. || ObU {Ht.} **ńämək* id. > pVg **ńämək*, **ńäməkam* > Vg: N {Mu.} *ńämək*, LK {Kn.} *ńäməkam*, MK {Kn.} *ńäməkam* id.; pOs **ńämək* > Os: V/Vy *ńämək*, Ty/Y/D/K *ńämək*, O *ńämək* id. || Sm {Jn.} **ńäm-* (or **ńm-*?) 'soft' > Ng {Cs.} d. *ńaman*, *ńamagâ* id., Slq Tz {KKIH} *ńam+k*, Kms {Cs.} d. *ńömür*, {KD} *ńëmür* id.; acc. to UEW 330, the Sm vw. is irreg. and is a reflex of a back vw.; the irregularity of the Sm vw. (if any) may be explained by the ideophonic factor or by the infl. of **ń-* ¶¶ Coll. 38 (**ńem*), UEW 314 (**ńäm*) and 330 (**ńâm*) on the ev. of the questionably adduced Ne T O *ńūηκ* 'hurtig, flink, geschickt' and En B *ńuggo* 'soft'), LG 201, Ht. no. 464, Jn. 106, KKI 139, Cs. 185 || A **ńem* > T [1] NaT **ńim* 'quiet' (× N **ńm* 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet', q.v.) > QK {RL} *ńim*, {B} *ńim* 'quiet', {RL} *ńimča-* v. 'be silent', Qmn {B} *ńim* 'quietly, without stirring', Tb {B} *ńim* 'quietly', StAlt {RAS} *ńim* 'motionless' (adv.), 'quietly', Tv *чымааргай* *ńimārɣay* adj. 'quiet, shy', *чымаарар-* *ńimārar-* v. 'become quiet\shy' ¶ Rs. W 201, Rl. III 2102-3, B DLT 224, 227, B DK 271, B DChT 166, RAltS 756, TvR 557; [2] T **ńim|u|u-ńim* v. 'be\become soft' (× N **ńəm* 'pleasant, gentle, fine', q.v.) > NaT **ńim|u|u|ńim* 'become\be soft' > OT, XwT XIV, Chg XV *ńimša-* 'be soft\quiet', Qmq, Ggz *ńimiša-*, Tk *ńimša-*, Osm {RL} *ńim(u)ša-*, Tkm, Uz, ET *ńimša-*, Qq *ńimša-*, Qrj Cr *ńimša-*, Nog *ńimša-*, VTt *ńimša-*, Qzq *ńimša-*, Qrg *ńimša-*, Qb/Qc {RL} *ńimja-*, Alt {Bu.} *ńimža-*, Xk *ńimza-*, Tv *ńimča-*, Tf *ńimža-*, Yk *ńimnā-*

'be\become soft', Stlt {B}, Tlt {Rl.} žimža- vt. 'soften' ||| Chv L *çeměç-šembś/ž-* 'become soft'] (T **jI|umI|u-Íça-* ⇨) T **jIMI-Íçak* (< **ńIMIÍçaq*) ({Md.} **žim∇Íčak*, {SDM97} **jIm-Íčak*) 'soft' > OT {Cl.} *jimšaq* ~ *jumšaq*, Xk *nimzaχ*, MQp XIII, Chg XV, Tkm, ET, Ln *jumšaq*, Ggz *jIMIšak*, Osm {Rl.} *jum(u)šaq*, Tk *çumšak*, Az *jumšaq*, Uz *jumšaq*, SY *jumsaq*, CrTt *jimšaq*, Qmq *jIMIšaq*, VTt, Bsh *jǫmšaq*, Qzq, Qq *žǫmsaq*, StAlt *žimža*, Sg *čimžaq*, Qb/Qc {Rl.} *jImjaq*, Tv *čimčaq* id. ||| Chv L *çemçe šemž_e*, Chv *Δ.çamça* id.]? Chv L *çămăł* 'light (in weight), easy' ¶ MKD 233, Cl. 938-9, ET J 252-3, DTS 279-80, Ra. 200, Rs. W 201, Rl. III 500-1, 580-6, GAJ 181, Bu. II 384, Ra. 200, BIG 120, RXS 385, 801, Md. 83, 161, Ash. XII 37, 80-3, XIII 26, Fed. II 94-5, 100-1, Jeg. 207, 209, ChVS 180, 182 || M **nemeuñ* > WrM *nemeğũn* {MED} 'soft, gentle; pliable', HIM *нэмүүн* '{MED} id., {BMR} 'soft, pliable', Kl {Rm.} *nemũn* 'weich, biegsam' ¶ MED 574, BMR II 442, KW 275-7 || Tg **ńem∇-* > Ewk *ńэм-мэ* 'soft, tender (to the touch)', Nn *Δ* {STM} *нэмэри*, Nn KU *ńэмурэ* adv. 'softly', WrMc {Z} *нэмэри* 'soft, нежный' ¶ STM I 652-3, Z 220 || ??σ,φ pJ (S) **nāmjà* > OJ *nam_ǰ_e*, MJ *nàmè*, J T *naméraka*, J K *námérakà*, J Kg *nameraká* 'smooth', {Kenk.} 'slippery, glassy' (× N **ńôçm∇* 'pleasant, gentle, fine', q.v.) ¶¶ Rs. W 201 (T **ʝ¹Im* ÷ WrM *nomuğan*, sc. *nomuqan* 'peaceful, meek, gentle, calm', see MED 591), SDM97 (A **ńamo*) ◇ The T vw. **I* in **ʝ¹Im* and T **I|u* in **jI|umI|u-Íça-* need explaining (assimilating infl. of the adjacent consonants?) ◇ IS II 86-7 (id. **ńäm∧* > U, A).

1606. ₂ **ńuŋ∇* 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep' > HS: S **-nũm-*, **√nwm* 'slumber, sleep' > BHb, JEA *√nwm*, ip. *-nũm-* 'slumber, be drowsy', Sr *√nwm*, ip. *-nũm-* 'slumber, sleep heavily', Ar *√nwm*, ip. *-nũm-* 'sleep', 'abate' (wind, sea), Gz *√nwm*, prm. *-nũm-* 'sleep, take a rest', Ak OB {Sd.} *√nwm* (inf. *nâmu*) 'slumber', Ug d. *nħmmt* 'sopor, desvanecimiento' ¶ KB 643, Lv. III 359, Br. 420, Sl. 737, Js. 887, JPS 332, Ln. 3040, Hv. 809, OLS 321, L G 409-10, Sd. 729 ||| U **ńu:ǰ∇* 'take the rest, repose, sleep' > FU **ńu:ǰ∇* 'take the rest, repose' (UEW: 'ruhen, rasten') > Er, Mk *нүва- nuva-* 'slumber, doze' ({PI} '(по)дремать'), Er *нүвсе- nuvsé-* vi. 'doze', {Rv.} 'dösen, vor sich hin träumen', *нүва- nuva-* 'doze' (in ds: *нүвазя* 'sleepy, sleepyhead, drowsyhead', *нүвазеве- inch.* 'doze' etc.) ||| ObU: pVg **ńũnt-* 'take a rest' (× pVg **ńũn-* 'stretch' > Vg {BV}: Ss *нүнс-*, МК

níunɪ- 'stretch oneself', Ss нюннысл-аңкве, МК níunsi- ~ níusi-
 'draw out, вытянуть') > Vg: LL níont-, N níunt- vi. 'rest', T il-níont-
 'sich ausruhen' (bzw. 'ausstrecken'), {МК}: N/ML níunti, LL níonti,
 T níontant- ~ níontant- '(take a) rest' (= 'ruhen', [Hg] 'pihen-');
 Os N {PápB} níoxol-, níoxol- vi. 'sleep, rest' | OHg XIV nyug- vi. 'rest,
 lie, sleep', OHg XV nyug- 'Ruhe halten, ruhig verbleiben', Hg
 nyug(o)sz- (/nyugod- /nyugv-) 'lie (liegen), take a rest,
 repose', OHg ≥XIII nyugol(o)m, Hg nyugalom 'rest, stillness,
 quiet(ness), peace', nyugta 'peace' || pY {IN H} *nínuŋn- > OY NW
 {Lndn.} níngnee 'I am asleep', Y T {IN H} nuŋniń- v. 'dream' ¶¶ UEW
 328, PI 182-3, ERV 420, MF 489-90, EWU 1047-8, МК 374, IN H 315,
 IN UJ 240, 314.

1607. *ní'æ'ŋH∇ '≈ woman' (and 'woman from the opposite
 exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes?') > U *níŋä
 'woman, wife, female animal' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *niŋēlɜs > Lp: S
 minníeles, L niŋŋēlis, Kld ниңңлэсс 'female animal', N
 njiŋŋalâs ~ njiŋŋēlâs id., 'a female' | Er ни ní 'woman, wife' | Z
 Vm níin 'female' (níin ćeri 'female of salmon [сёмга]) || ObU {Ht.}
 *nī > pVg *nī > Vg: T nī, LK/MK/UK/P/ NV/LL/UL/Ss nē 'wife, woman,
 female animal'; pOs *ni > Os: V/Vy ni, Ty/Y/Nz/Kz ne, D/K neŋ, O niŋ
 id. | Hg нѳ 'woman, wife', neje 'his wife' (× N *nayE 'woman?') ||
 Sm {Jn.} *ne 'woman' (× N *nayE '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Coll. 41, UEW 305,
 Lr. no. 727, Lgc. no. 4388, SaR 213 || | A ≈ *ni'æ'ŋH∇ 'female relative
 (sister or brother's wife)' (partially Ll.) > NaT *jæŋæ 'wife of one's
 elder brother or of one's father's younger brother' > OT {Cl.} jǎŋǎ,
 {DTS} jeŋgǎ id., Chg XV jeŋgǎ 'woman who adorns the bride and
 presents her to the bridegroom', ET jǎŋgǎ, Uz jeŋgǎ, Qzq, Qq žeŋgǎ
 'elder brother's wife', Tkm jeŋŋe, Slr {Tn.} jeŋgo ~
 jeŋgu ~ jeŋgo ~ jeŋqu, Nog, SY jeŋge, VTt жингә žingǎ, Ln jeŋŋǎ,
 StAlt žeŋe, Xk niŋe, Tv čeŋge id., 'wife of an elder relative', Yk saŋas
 'wife of an elder relative', Az jeŋkǎ yeŋǎ 'bridesmaid (woman
 accompanying a bride to her bridegroom's house)', Tk yeŋge id.,
 'brother's\uncle's wife' ¶ Cl. 950, ET J 189-90, TL 313, Rs. W 197-8,
 TatR 769, MM 175, ARL 121. Pokr. TR 65 || Tg: Ewk нзŋńз
 'sweetheart' (n- for the expected ní- [from N *ní-] may be due to
 dissimilation); but hardly here (adduced in SDM) Ewk nono
 'grandmother' and Ewk {Rm.} níńз-ge ~ нзнз-gǎ 'aunt', {STM} níńз-

k̄ē 'grandmother', actually ← Ewk {Rm.} ḥz̄hē ~ n̄z̄ne 'mother', {STM} ḥz̄n̄z̄ 'grandmother, mother' [obviously Lallwörter] ¶ STM I 605, 622 ¶¶ Hardly here (≠φ) M *nagač̄u 'maternal uncle; relatives on mother's side' (MED 556) and pKo {S} *nū̄-Īj̄ '(boy's) sister' (> MKo nū̄-Īj̄, NKo nūj̄, see S QK no. 345, Nam 115, MLC 358) ¶¶ SDM 970-1 (pA *nē̄ḡu 'female relative [sister or brother's wife]' T, Tg + unc. the above-mentioned M and Ko words), DQA no. 1434 (id.), ≈ SDM97 s.v. *neḡu 'brother's wife', Rm. EAS I 76, ≠ Dr. TM IV 207 ("kaum annehmbar... Lallwort") || IE: NaIE *yena-ter / *yona-tr- 'wife of husband's brother' > OI yātā / yātar-, CINPrs یاری yārī, Psh yōr (pl. yūñē) id. || Gk ἐνάτηρ {EI} id. (pl. Gk A ἐνάτερες 'wives of brothers, wives of husbands' brothers') || Phr accus. λαντερα id. (?) || L i a n i t r i c e s 'wives of brothers' || Arm ներք (etymologically correct ներք) / gen. նիրի նիրի 'wife of husband's brother or another wife of the same husband' || Lt jentė (gen. jenters) 'husband's brother's wife', Ltv ietere, Cur jentere id. | Sl *jětr+ / gen. *jětrъve 'wife of husband's brother' (*-+ / ъve due to the infl. of *svekri+ / ъve 'husband's mother') > ChS ятры jetry, Blg етрява ѓ ятрява, SCr jětrva, Slv jětrva, OCz jatrev, P† jaṭrew, R†, Δ ятров, Blr d. ятроўка, Uk d. ятрівка id. ¶ P 505-6, ≈ EI 522 (*h₁yenh₁-ter-), Szem. KT 26, M K III 15-16, M E II 410, Mrg. 100, Sg. 1525, F I 464, Ch. 323, WH I 668, Frn. 193, ESSJ VIII 188-90, Glh. 300, Sl. 193-4 ¶¶ NaIE *yena-ter is derived from pre-IE **yena- (< N *ń'e'ḡH∇) with the sx *-ter of kinship names ◇ The A and IE cognates suggest a pN vw. *æ, while the vw. U *i may be due to the assimilating influence of the N initial palatal *ń- ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (A, U, IE + err. D van- 'elder brother's wife', see N *wāñ∇ - *X∇, wāñ∇ 'relative [of a younger\the same generation] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes').

1608. *ńoḡ'ü'da 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue', 'move quickly' > HS: CS *-nūd- > BHb ✓ nwd G (ip. -nūd, pf. nād) 'sway (schwanken)', 'be\become homeless', Sh 'shake', MHb ✓ nwd G 'move, be unsteady', JEA ✓ nwd G id., 'shake', Md ✓ nwd G 'shake, quake, tremble', Sr ✓ nwd G id., 'sway to and fro (as a reed\branch), stagger', Ar ✓ nwd G (ip. -nūd-) 'move one's head; nod the head from sleepiness', TD (pf. tanawwada) 'swing' (bough); (?) μ: WS *✓ndd ~ *✓ndnd > BHb ✓ ndd G 'wander about; flee, take to flight', Ug rñd G

'go, wander, be in a hurry', {Lip.} 'go to and fro', MHb/JA {Js.} ✓ n d d G 'move, shake, chase', Ar ✓ n d d G 'run away' (camel), Tgr ✓ n d n d 'shake' ¶ KB 635, 640, Lv. III 353, Js. 877-8, 883-4, Sl. 734-5, A no. 1755, Grd. UT no. 1615, OLS 318, Br. 419, JPS 330, DM 293, Fr. IV 257, 350, BK II 1223-4, 1364, Hv. 758, 806, L ESAC 33 || Eg fM d n w d vi. 'move; step back, retreat', '≈ stagger (wanken)' ¶ EG II 225 || B: Tmz {MT} nyuddu ~ n w u d d u 'marcher, se promener', Iz {Loub.} n i u d d u 'se promener', n. act. t a n i u d d u t ¶ MT 544, Loub. 577 || Ch: WCh: Krkr {Lk.} nd-, Krf {Sch.} n d o ʔ o, Ngm {ChL} n d o ŋ, Bl {Lk.} d i 'go' | W r j {Sk.} ḥ d á k- id. | W n d {IL} *ḥ z í 'go' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} n ž ā, n ž a u 'go' ¶ JI II 162-3, ChC s.v. 'go', ChL ¶¶ SYv. ES IV 72 (S, Eg), OS no. 1826 (S, Eg, B, WCh, CCh) || IE: NaIE *y e u d h - / *y o u d h - / *y u d h - 'stir, move' ({P} 'in heftiger Bewegung sein') > OI 'y u d h y a t i 'moves, fluctuates' (as water)' (≠ 'y u d h y a t i 'fights'), u d - y u d h - 'boil up' (as water), Av {Brtl.} y a o z - 'in unruhige Bewegung geraten', OPrs {Brtl.} y a o d - id., {Hinz} y a u d - a t i m ap. accus. f. sg. 'in hellem Aufruhr', Blc {Brtl.} ž u z a y vi., vt. 'move' || Lt inf. j u d é t i 'to move, to stir, to budge', Ltv {Fr.} inf. j ū d ū t 'zanken machen, verhetzen', inf. j ū d ū t 'langsam treiben, unruhig machen' | S inf. *j u d i - t i '≈ to instigate, to beckon' (← 'to cause to move') > P Δ inf. j u d z i ć, Uk inf. 'ю д и т и 'to instigate, to incite, to seduce', Blg 'ю д я v. 'beckon, seduce' || L j u b e o 'order' (← 'cause to move') || ? Tc A y u t k - 'be anxious' ¶ Hardly here (≠ σ) OI y u d h y a t ē, Av y ū i d y e i t i 'fights' and related words (⇔ WP, P, EI and IS) || Possibly also (with pre-IE depalatalization *ń - > *n - ?) Ht {Ts.} n u n t a r - 'Eile, Hast', {CHD} n u n t a r a s adv. 'promptly, without delay, soon', n u n t a r a s gen. 'of haste, of swiftness', n u n t a r i y a -, n u (t) t a r (r) i y a - adj. 'swift', n u n t a r r i y a -, n u n t a r r i y e - v. 'hasten, be quick', n u (n) t a r n u - v. 'hurry, hasten' ¶¶ WP I 203, P 511-12, Mn. 446, 453-4, MW 854, Brtl. 1231-2, Hinz 152, ≈ M K III 20, WH I 724-5, Frn. 195-6, ESSJ VIII 191-2, ≈ σ EI 201 (*y u d h - 'moved, stirred up, fight'), CHD L-N 472-4, Ts. E II 347-50 || U *ń o ŋ | w d a - 'follow (the tracks of)' > F n o u t a - / n o u d a - id., 'fetch, overtake', Krl A n o u t o - ~ n o u d o - 'follow (e.g. the tracks of)', Es n ō u d a - strive for, aspire to, be intent (on), require', n ō u e / n ō u d e 'require-ment' || ObU {Ht., }Hl.} *ń ū w a l - v. 'pursue, hunt' (more likely than *ń ū y a l -) > pVg *ń i w a l - / *ń ā w l - 'pursue' > Vg: T ń a w l -, LK ń ā w l - / ń ā w l -, MK ń o w l -, UK/P/NV/SV/ML ń i w l -, UL/Ss

ḥāw- id.; pOs *ḥōṣal- > Os: V ḥūṣal-, Vy ḥōṣal-, ḥūṣal-, Ty ḥōṣaḥ-,
 ḥūṣaḥ-, Y ḥōwəḥ-, UD/K ḥōḥat-, O ḥōḥal-, Nz ḥūḥat-, Kz ḥōḥaḥ- id.,
 'chase, hunt' || Sm: [1] Sm {Jn.} *ḥōr∇- 'pursue' > Ne T нѣраку-ць,
 Ne T O {Lh.} ḥōrok·ūč 'to pursue, to overtake', Slq Tz {Prk.} ḥōr+-
 'treiben, verfolgen'; [2] {Hl.} *ḥōta-, {Jn.} *ḥōtā- 'pursue' > Ne T O
 {Lh.} ḥōḥā id., Ne T нѣда-сь, Ne F {Lh.} ḥōttāč 'to pursue', Slq Tz
 {KKIH} ḥōt+- 'pursue, overtake', Mt {Hl.} *ḥōdā-, *ḥōdā- 'pursue,
 chase' (Mt M {Sp.} мнѣжанода гайтыгымъ 'I pursue a beast'
 [мнѣжа 'beast'], нодаштам 'I chase') ¶¶ But Sm {Jn.} *ḥō- 'pursue'
 and pY {IN} *ḥāw- 'watch, follow\pursue (an animal)' belong rather to
 N *ḥōṣw∇ 'to hunt, to pursue' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Coll. 41, Coll. CG 408
 (*ḥōḥa- = *ḥōḥa-), UEW 323-4 (*ḥōḥa- or *ḥōwḥa-), ≠ Sm.
 539 (U *ḥōxḥ-, FU, FP *ḥōxḥ- and Ugr *ḥōgī-, Sm *ḥō- 'pursue'
 without distinction between the reflexes of N *ḥōḥ'ū'da and those of
 N *ḥōṣw∇), SK 385, Ht. no. 446 (*ḥōṣal-), Hl. rHt. 73-4 (on pObU
 *w and *ṣ), ≈ Jn. 111, Hl. M no. 766, Prk. SG 119, ≠ IN 236 and IN
 UASJu 84 (the above U √ ÷ pY *ḥāw- 'следить, преследовать'), ≠
 Rd. UJ 40 [no. 37] (Y *ḥāw- ← U *ḥōḥwḥa-) || ? A: [1] Tg: Lm ḥēdi
 'track' ¶ STM I 667 || ??φ OT {Cl.} jīrd- 'search (sth.), seek (sth.)' ¶
 Cl. 946 || [2] ??σ,φ pA *ḥōḥ∇ 'curse, swear' > Tg *ḥōḥī- v. 'curse,
 invoke harm to' > Lm ḥōḥī-, Ork niḥiḥi- id., Ewk niḥī- ~ ḥōḥī- v.
 'curse, swear', 'omen harm', Sln n. '(religious) curse' ¶ STM I 598 ||
 pJ {S} *ḥōḥīr- 'curse, swear' > OJ nōnōsīr- id., J: T/Kg nonośīr-, K
 nōnōsīr- {S} id., {Kenk.} 'abuse, speak ill of, call (a person) names' ¶ S
 QJ no. 950, Mr. 737, Kenk. 1386 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 987-8 (pA *ḥōḥī v.
 'curse, swear' > T. J + unj. M *niḥ|gūl 'sin, evil' and T *Jḥ|l 'mistake,
 fault'), ≈ DQA no. 1469 || D (att. in SD) *ḥōḥt- vt. 'stir, obtain (sth.
 out of sth.), dig out' > Tm ḥōḥtū 'stir, dig out, grub up, root out,
 pick off as the scab of an ulcer, pick out as wax from the ear, pilfer,
 pluck as an ear of grain', Ml ḥōḥtuka 'stir, dig, tease', Tu ḥōḥav-,
 ḥōḥaḥr- v. 'rake up, stir' ¶ Semantics: 'stir' ← *'make move' ¶ D
 no. 3795 ◇ The cns. *ḥ was lost (partially due to dis.) in NaIE and HS
 ◇ The front vw. in Tg and T suggests the presence of a front vw. in
 pN (therefore the pN rec. with *-ū- is preferable to that with *-u- ◇
 The original meaning (connected with hunting) still survives in U and
 Tg, but is lost in HS, IE, D and T (due to the loss of the hunters' way
 of life?) ◇ IS II 90-91 s.v. *ḥōwḥa (all cognates, except Ht and A).

1609. id. *ńanǵü 'tongue' > IE: NaIE *yŋǵhū- ~ *dŋǵhū-/*dŋǵhwā ~ *oṭŋǵhwā ~ *lŋǵhū- id. > Arm լեզու lezu id. (× IE *leǵh- v. 'lick?') || OL *dingua*, L *lingua*, Osc {Vtr.} FANCVA, FANGVAM 'tongue' || Clt {Matas.} *tangwāt-, {RE} *tangwāto- > OIr *tengae*, OW {Matas.}, MW {Vn.} *tauawt*, {RE} *tafawt*, W *tafod*, OCm *tauot*, Cm *tavas*, MBr *teaut* ~ *teut*, Br *teod* 'tongue' || Gt *tuggō* (· ὕλῳσσα) 'Zunge', ON, NNr, Sw, OSx *tunga*, Dn *tunge*, OHG *zunga*, NHG *Zunge*, AS *tunze* 'tongue', NE *tongue* || BSl *(y)inžū- (< IE *yŋǵhū-) > Pru *insuwis* [inzuvīs], Lt *liežūvis* 'tongue' (× *liēžti* 'to lick') | Sl *jězǐkъ 'tongue' > OCS ѡзѣкъ *jězǐkъ* 'tongue, language, populus', Blg *език*, Δ *jazik*, McdS *јазик*, P *jězyk*, R *язык*, Cz *jazyk*, SCr *jézik*, Slv *jézik*, Lls *jězyk* 'tongue, language', Uk *язик*, Blr *язык*, Slk *jazyk*, Hls *jazyk* 'tongue', Plb *jōzěk* 'ox tongue'; in pSl the initial *eǵ is regularly preceded by prosthetic *j- || pTc {Ad.} *kāntwo (mt. < *dŋǵhū-) > Tc A *kāntu*, Tc B *kantwo* 'tongue' || ? Ir: OI *jih'vā*, Av *hizū-*, *hizvā* id. ({P} < as. *ǵiǵhū-, and Irn *sizvā- < *zizvā- is due to dis. of sonorants), OPrs *hizan-*, Phl *uzvān*, Oss: I *зvzag*, D *ävzag* 'tongue' ¶ WP I 1792, P 223, GI 814, EI 594 (*dŋǵhuh_h-), MK I 436-7, ME I 591-3, Bai. 290, Ab. IV 279-80, WH I 806-7, EM 360, Mul. 147, Vn. T 50-1, Matas. E 368, YGM-1 403, Hm. 783, RE 140, Fs. 482, Vr. 600, OsS 1301-2, Schz. 337, KM 892, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1266, Frn. 369-70, En. 184, Tp. P I-K 55-9, Fs. 482, Bern. I 270, ESSJ VI 74-5, StSS 807, ≈ Glh. 300-1, Slr. 159-61, Wn. I 204, Ad. 139, Ad. H 118 ¶ The variants *dŋǵhū-, *oṭŋǵhū- and *lŋǵhū- are accounted for by ancient dis. (prior to the denasalization *ń > *y, sc. *ń_l∇_lŋǵhū- > *dŋǵhū- ~ *oṭŋǵhū- ~ *lŋǵhū-); in the case of *lŋǵhū- the ideophonic factor and the infl. of NaIE *leǵh- 'lick' and esp. of its nasalized present stem *linǵh- have played a role (*see* N *L iǵ_lǵ_læ 'to lick, to sip, to suck'; an additional source is probably N *L AŋK_l∇ 'tongue' [q.v.]). The voiceless *t- in Clt and F- in Osc {Vtr.} are still puzzling || K *nena- 'tongue, word' > OG *ena-* 'tongue', G *ena-* id., 'language', Mg *nina-*, Lz *nena-* id., 'word', Sv UB/KB/L/Ln *nin* (/ pl. UB/KB/Ln *nən-ār*, L *nən-ar*) 'tongue, language' ¶¶ K 147, K² 141, Q 289, TK 635, GP 237; FS K 239 and FS E 264 (*nen-) ¶ The palatal vw. *e may be due to the infl. of the former palatal *ń- || U *ńanǵcé(m∇) 'tongue' (→ 'hard palate', 'gills') > pLp {Lr.} *ńōkćzm 'tongue' > Lp: S {Hs.}

njuoktjeme, L {LLO} njuoutjav, N {N} njuovčâ / -k'čâm-, Kld {SaR} nūχχčemí, K {Gn.} nūχ:čem id. | ?σ Chr: L/Uf/B nošmo 'hard palate', H нашмы našmъ 'gills' | ?σ Prm *ńo|okćim (= {LG} *ńo|okćim) 'gills' > Z нёкчим ŋokćim id. || ?σ ObU *ńṫṫṫkćam∇ ({Ht.} *ńṫṫṫkćam∇) 'gills' > pVg *ńṫṫkć∇m id. > Vg: UK ŋzχśam, P ŋaxśam, NV/LL ŋāχśam, UL/Ss ŋāχśam id.; pOs *ńaηkćam id. > Os: D ŋaηχśam, K ŋaχśam, Nz/Kz ŋoχśam id. || Sm: Ne: Т НИНЗИ' níńzíĩ, Т О {Lh.} níńcí?, F NI {Lh.} níńsíki, F {Ppv.} 'ńinśíku 'palate'; Kms {KD} nēńi?, nēni, {Cs.} nēni, Koyb {Sp.} няни id. ¶ The primary meaning of the U √ must be 'tongue' (⇔ UEW), whence (by metonymy) 'hard palate'; the meaning 'gills' appears in pFU due to fishing as an important economic occupation of the pFU community ¶¶ Coll. 40 (*ńaηkće 'tongue'), ≈ UEW 311-12 (*ńaηkće [?] 'hard palate', [?] 'gills'), Lr. no. 788, Lgc. no. 4458, N II 104, SaR 222, MRS 351, 359, Ep. 75, Ü 133-4, LG 189, Ht. no. 444, Ter. 313, Lh. 235, Ppv. 67, KD 44, Ptp. 44, Cs. 184 || D *nāηku ~ *nākkku 'tongue' (× N *L A η K ∇ 'tongue', q.v.) > Tm, Ml nākkku, Gdb nāηgu id.; AdS of D *nā|k∇ 'tongue' (see Nid. *ńä|∇ 'tongue') ¶¶ D no. 3633, Zv. 128, 131 || ?σ A: pA *°N∇η∇ > pJ *náṫṫ 'name' > OJ nà, J T nà(mae), J K nâ, J Kg ná, namáe, J Ht nàη 'name' ¶ S AJ 69, 266 [no. 50], S QJ no. 50 ("all modern dialects point unanimously to nán"), Mr. 490, Kenk. 1319 ◇ The U cognate goes back to a cd (or a d.word?). If the A word belongs here, the prehistory of the Tg vw. of the first syll. needs investigation (as. infl. of *ń-?) ◇ IS MS 373 (*ńaηṫṫṫ ṫ 'tongue' > IE, U, K).

1610. *ńæṫs'í 'dirt, dirty liquid' > HS: S *°√ nḡš|s v. 'be dirty' > Ar نجس naḡs- {BK} 'sale, malpropre; impur, immonde', {Hv} 'impure, unclean', √ nḡš G v. 'be unclean\impure\filthy' ¶ BK II 1204, Hv. 752 || IE: NaIE *ṅsi- 'dirty-colored; dirt (?), mud' > OI 'asi-taḥ 'black' || Gk ῥσλες (gen. ῥσλεος) f. 'mud, slime' ¶ P 771, M K I 64, F I 162 || U: FP *ńĒs∇ 'dirt, (dirty?) liquid' > Z Vm/I/Ud ŋasti 'dirt' | F [Agr.] nes i 'liquid, juice', F neste id., Krl A ŋezevã, ŋezevü 'moist', ŋestüö v. 'become wet', Es nestütada, nestütada v. 'moisten' ¶ BF *e points to a FP *e, while Prm *a suggests a FP *ä ¶ LG 202, SK 374 || A *ńaη∇ 'dirt', (?) v. 'smear, stain' > Tg *ńaη's'a 'dirt' > Ewk ŋaηña 'dirt, dirty', Lm ŋaηsъ, Orc ŋaηsa, yaηsa ~ ŋaηsa, Ork naηlsa ~ naηsa, Nn {STM} nīaηsa ɖ ŋaηsa ɖ yaηsa id., Nn Nh {On.} ŋaηsa ~ ŋlaηsa 'гной (Eiter)' ¶ STM I 633-4, On. 289, 303 || pJ {S} *mámíra- 'be smeared (быть вымазанным)' (< pre-J **ηaη∇ [as. from pA *ńaη∇])

> MJ *mámíra- id., J T/Kg mamiRé-, J K má míre- {Kenk.} 'be smeared (covered, stained) with, be daubed' ¶ Mr. 720, Kenk. 1177 ¶¶ SDM 1006 (pA *ńáŋa 'dirt', v. 'smear' > Tg, J), DQA no. 1405 ◇ The loss of the expected *-ŋ- in FU (FP) still requires explanation. The S cns. *g (for the expected *n) in *^o✓ngš|s < N *ńæŋs'í' may be due to some kind of dissimilation. The same is true of the loss of *ŋ in FP *ńĒs∇.

1611. ₂ *ń'í'pa'pa 'face', (?) 'nose' ([in A] → 'front') > HS: EC: Sa {Bl. ← ?} nef, {R} nɛf, nif, Af {PH} néf / nĕf- 'face' ¶ ≠ Bl. 166, R S II 286, PH 174 || S *^onīp- > Ar AT/Mrc {Bss., DMA} nif 'nose' ↷ Kb nnif 'nez, amour-propre' ¶ DMA I 102, Dl. 548 || A *ńi₁ap|b∇ 'front, in front, front side' > Tg *ńāb- '≈ front, forward' > Ewk PT ńāwdɜ 'in front', 'forward', Orc ńaukā ~ ńaukā id., 'at first', Ork ńawra- ~ ńaorra- 'go forward, go in front (of others)' ¶ But Tg *ńōg- 'be in front, be first' (adduced by SDM as belonging here) is more likely to go back to N *ńok₁∇₁X∇ 'be in front, precede, be first' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM I 627 and DQA no. 1483 (Tg *ńōb- ~ *ńāb-) || ppM *niβur > M *niγur 'face, cheek' > MM [S, MA] ni₁ur 'face', [IM] ni₁ūr, [IsV] niγur, [L] nawur, WrM {MED} niγur, HIM {MED. BMR} нγγp, Brt нγγp nūr id., Kl {KRS} нγp id., {Rm.} nūr 'Antlitz, Gesicht', Dx {T} niu, Ba {T} nūr 'face', Mgl nūr id., 'cheek', Mnr H {SM} niūr 'visage, figure, face', Ord nūr 'visage, face' ¶ H 117, Pp. L III 72, Pp. MA 262, 442, Lg. VMI 57, MED 580, BMR II 434-5, Chr. 345, KRS 389, KW 2Ms83, Ms. O 504, SM 280, T 351, T BJ 144, T DnJ 130, Rm. M 35, KW 283 || pKo {SDM} *nyəp 'side (Seite)' > MKo nyəp, NKo yəp(h) ¶ Nam 109, MLC 1189 || pJ {S} *màpiâ 'front, before' > OJ mapye, MJ {S} màfé, J K màê, Kg maé {S} id., J T máe {Kenk.} 'the front' ¶ J *m- is a reg, reflex of pA *ń- (cf. Adb Pń √) ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 65], S QJ no. 65, Mr. 469, Kenk. 1164-5 ¶¶ SDM 1015-16 (pA *ńjōpo > Tg, Ko, J + unc. M *žöb 'straight, right'), DQA no. 1483, SDM97 (A *ńāba 'front, in front'), S AJ 297 [no. 585] (pA *ńāba).

1612. ńāp∇r∇ 'tender, beautiful', 'thin (not dense)', 'sparce' (of hair, wool) > HS: Eg √ nfr 'good, be good, (be) beautiful' ({Vc.} acp. *nāfir), Cpt: Sdnufe, B nufi 'good, beautiful' ¶ EG II 253-6, Vc. 150 || D *navuru 'fine, tender' (× N *'ñ∇X'ú|b∇ 'thin, meagre'??) â> Kn navuru, navaru, naviru 'that is tender\soft\fine', Tl navuru, nauru 'soft, delicate' ¶¶ D *-r- for the expected *-r̥- suggests that in pre-D the root was followed by a sx-

cns. ¶¶ D no. 3618 || mt. **U** {Coll.} *ńärpä 'thin (not dense), sparse' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *ńärpē id. > Lp: S aadj. njäärbes, U njärbee, N d. njar'bâd, L njar'pē id., Kld нәәррп 'thin' (of liquids), 'sparse' (hair, wool) || Sm: Ne F N {Lh.} ńje·rβā̄ 'lichtmaschig' (Netz) ¶¶ Coll. 40, SSA II 254, Lr. no. 767, Lgc. no. 4367, SaR 209-10, TI 294-5, Lh. 315.

1613. ₂ *ńoqa 'lowland, depression' > **K** (GZ?) *noqa- > G noqa- 'bog, marsh, swamp', ? G G/I noqo 'langsam fließendes, sumpfiges Wasser'; Tümpel'; {acc. to K and K²} Mg noya-, noyo- 'branch of a river, plain', {K} 'low place, riverbed', Lz noya 'lowland, bank' (Klimov believed that the change *-q- > Zan -y- is reg. [see *d(1)aqw- 'elbow' > Lz xe-duy- id.], but FS refer this Zan word to the K √ *noy- 'lowland, swamp') ¶ K 148, ≈ K² 144 (*noya-), Chx. 965, FS K 242 || **U**: FU *ńokka 'ravine, depression' > Prm {LG} *ńuk id. > Z MSs ńuk, Z ńukəs 'depression\ravine with a river', Vt ńuk 'ravine (овраг, лог)' ¶ LG 200, Lt. 208.

1614. *ńaRU 'swamp' > **U** *ńor'o¹ 'swamp' > ? F noro 'swampy valley' | pPrm {Lt.} *ńür 'swamp' > Z ńur, ńurv+v, Vt SW ńür, Vt ńur id. (Prm *ü for the expected *u due to the palatalizing infl. of *ń-?); but Vt ńur 'dampness' may go back to N *ńo'ɟ' r∇ 'moist, mud; (?) to gush' (q.v.) as well || ObU {Ht.} *ńürm∇ > pVg *ńürm∇ 'meadow' > Vg ML ńuram id.; pOs *ńoram 'swamp' > Os: V/Vy ńoram, Ty/Y ńoram, D/K/Nz ńuram, Kz ńŵram id.; UEW suggests a different Vg cognate: pVg {UEW} *ń+r > Vg: T/P ńēr, LK/Ss ńār 'swamp' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} ńar+ 'tundra', UTz {KKIH} ńar+ 'swamp', Ke {Cs.} njār 'tundra', Tm {KD} ńār 'swamp, Moorwald' || pY *ńor∇ 'swamp, pool' ({IN UJ} *ńorə 'swamp, puddle') > Y: T {IN H} ńorií 'swamp. pool', K {IN} ńoroí {IN H} 'pool, moss', {IN UJ} 'puddle', {Iox.} rorox-ca(ge) 'swamp', ? rorod-ōzi 'puddle (Wasserpfüte)' (ōzi 'water'), Y K {IN H} ńorilčā 'country with many swamps', ńorin-ruske, ńoron-ruske 'lake with a whirlpool in a plain; whirlpool' (lit. 'pool bowl') ¶¶ UEW 324-5 (U *ńor∇), SK 393, ≈ LG 201 (Prm *ńĒr), Lt. 221 (Prm *ńür), Ht. no. 476, KKIH 129, Ang. 184, IN H 311, IN UJ 239, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [no. 38] (Y ← U) || **A** **ńār∇ > Tg *ńāru 'swamp' > Ewk ńārut ɘ narut ɘ ńāru 'small swamped lake, swamp, swampy glade in a forest', Lm Al ńaruqāy ɘ ńaruqāw 'swamp, puddles', Nn Nh {On.} ńarõ, Nn {STM} njarõ ɘ njarũ ɘ ńarõ ɘ ńarũ, Ud ńau 'swamp, swamp in taiga (марь)', WrMc }Z}

няри 'marsh, quag' ¶ STM I 636, On. 305, Z 247, Krm. 269 ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 169] ¶ The Tg long vw. *ā suggests pA -*ā̄-, which dies mot point to a pN long vw. (cf. Introduction, § 2.4) || HS: S (+ext.): Ak OB, LB nārīt- 'morass, marshland' ¶ CAD XI/1 353 || EC: Arr {Hw.} ḥōr 'mud' (× N *ḥō'ṣ'ṛ∇ 'moist?') ¶ Hw. A 389 ◇ U *-o- is due to as. (infl. of the final rounded vw.)? ◇ Gr. II no. 376 (*nur 'swamp') (U, Y + err. A, J, Gil).

1615. *ńiR∇ 'rub, scratch, scratch\draw\make a sign' > U *ńiR∇- 'scratch, scrape' > Prm *ńiR- 'rub' > Z нирт- ńirt- 'rub, scratch', Δ ńirav- ∂ ńiral- v. 'rub, massage', Vt {U3S} ниръя- ńiryā- 'anoint', нирт- ńirt- 'rub sore, wipe off' || ?σ OHg xv, Hg nyír- v. 'clip, trim, cut, shear' || Sm: Ne F {Lh.} ńira- 'gnaw; plane with a scraper' ¶¶ UEW 320-1, LG 192, U3S 301, EWU 1042-3, Lh. 324 || A *n|ńiR∇ > Tg *ń|niru- 'draw (a picture, lines)' > Sln niru'ṣan 'a drawing', Neg niyuyit, niyu-, Orc ńiru- ~ ńuru- v. 'draw, write', Ul ńuru- ~ ńuri-, Ork nu'í- ~ ńiru- ~ ńuru-, Nn Nh ńiru- v. 'write', WrMc {Z} нирц- 'zeichnen, draw lines, писать красками' ¶ STM I 600, On. 291, Z 237, Hr 709-10 || T *j'í'R- ~ *ja'í- ({Md.} *ja'í-) 'draw a sign' (× N *ya'í∇ 'to draw\scratch a sign', q.v. ffd.); the variant *j'í'R- is represented by Blgh *žir > Chv L ɸыр sír 'draw a sign, write, проводить борозду' (Ash. XII 111-12, Fed. II 154-5, Jeg. 225, ChVS 193, Md. 104) and by the WrM loanword žiru- 'draw (as a line in picture)' (MED 1060). The cns. *-í- in T *ja'í- belongs to the heritage of N *ya'í∇ || ??σ pKo *ńirk- > MKo ńirk-, NKo ilk- v. 'read, recite, chant', Ko Ph ik- 'read' ¶ S QK no. 724, Nam 125, MLC 1361 ¶¶ SDM 1013 (pA **ńjǎ're 'draw' > Tg, Ko + unc. T *ja'í- [*a from N *ya'í∇] and M *žiru- 'scratch, draw, write' [actually a loan from T]; pA *ńjǎ- is erroneously reconstructed on the basis of T and M), SDM97 (A *ńäre 'draw' > T *ja'í ~ *j'í, Tg *ńiru- 'draw' and MKo ńirk- to read'), ≈ DQA no. 1470 (T, Tg and Ko < A *ńjǎ're - *-í-? 'draw [zeichnen]') || HS: S *°nīr- > Ar نير nīr- 'marque de fabrique à l'étoffe', ✓ nyr (ip. -nīr-) 'marquer une étoffe de la marque nīr-' ¶ BK II 1375-6, Fr. IV 357-8.

1616. ₂ *ńuR∇ 'become very hot, shine' > HS: S *nūr- 'light, fire' (× N *ḡeh'U'R'í' 'light, fire') > Ak fOAK nūr u id., Eb nu-r u₁₂- u m (= nūrūm) {Krb.} 'Licht', IA F nωr, JA [Trg.], JEA הַנִּיר nūr-ā, Sr 𐤍𐤒 nūr-ā, Md nura 'fire', d.: BHb 𐤍𐤒 nēr 'small clay lamp filled with

oil' (< adj. *na¹wir- 'shining'), Ug {DLS DLU} nr 'brillo, resplendor; lámpara'. [AkSc] {Hnr.} nē|īru 'lamp (?)', {OLS} 'brillo, resplendor' → 'lámpara', BHb מִנְרָתָא mənō'rā 'lampstand', Ar nūr- 'light, luminous body', ✓nwr (ip. ya-nūr-u, pf. nāra) 'shine, glow', nār- 'fire', Mh nawr 'light, glamour', Gz nār, nūr 'light, fire' ({L}: ← Ar), ✓nwr D {L} 'be lit/lighted, illuminate'; a secondary variant: WS *nīr-, *✓nyr > BHb מִנְרָתָא nīr 'light, lamp', Ar niyār- (pl. of nār-) 'lights', Jb e¹nyer v. 'glow' (of light) ¶ GB 489, 494, KBR 600. 697, 723, A no. 1850, DLS DLU 331, DLS KTU I 284, Hnr. 152, OLS 331, Lv. III 363, Lv. T II 99, Sl. 738-9, Br. 421-2, DM 294, Nld. MG 118, Fr. IV 350-1, BK II 1364-5, Hv. 806-7, Jo. M 307, Jo. J 198, L G 401, 410, CAD XI/2 347-51, Frnz. LS3 144 || **A** *nūr∇ (= *nūr∇?) 'heat' > NrTg *nūre- 'incandence' (of metal) > Ewk nūr∇ vi. 'incandence, become hot', Neg nuy∇- id., Lm nōrḡi- ∇ nōrgi- ∇ nōrgā- ∇ nūrḡi- vt. 'incandence, nō:enib- vi. 'incandence' ¶ STM I 649 || Ko: [1] Ko {Rm.} nur- vi. 'burn (as cloth before a fire)', {MLC} nulli-ta 'scorches, burns, sings'] [2] ?σ pKo {S} *nūrī- 'have a burnt smell' > MKo nūrī- id., NKo nuri-, nori- 'be rank/foul-smelling' ¶ Rm. SKE I 173, S QK 911, Yu 162, MLC 364-5, 342, 357, S QK no. 911 || M *nurma 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire' (× N *ḡeh¹U¹R¹i¹ 'light [lux], fire', q.v. ffd.) || pJ {S} *nìrà(n)k- > MJ nìràg- 'temper (metal) by putting heated metal into water' ¶ S QJ no. 967, Mr. 736 ¶¶ SDM 990 (A *nìōri 'to heat [нагревать, накаливать] > M, Tg, J), DQA no. 1448 (id.), Rm. EAS I 77 ◇ IS MS 337 s.v. 'гореть' *nūr ∇ ◇ Qu., because S *nūr- may alternatively go back to N *ḡeh¹U¹R¹i¹. But if S *nūr- does belong here, there is no N postvocalic cns., and therefore the pA long vw. *ū is to be reconstructed as *ū̄.

1617. *náʔRä (or *náʔRA?) 'pungent, strong' (of sensations, feelings etc.), 'strong' > HS: S *°✓nʔr > Ar ✓nʔr v. 'être excité au point de se jeter sur quelqu'un' ¶ Fr. IV 226, BK II 1176 || **U**: FP *nārā 'heartburn' and sim. > F nārā 'angina, ardor stomachi, nārāstys 'heartburn, acid dyspepsia' || Z nāra in set phrases: Z Lu/Skt nāra viy∇, Z UV nāra viye '(it makes) heartburn, sinking sensation in the pit of the stomach (сосёт под ложечкой)' (viy∇, viye 'kills, strikes') ¶ UEW 713, LG 190, SK 415 || **A**: Tg *°nāḡr- > Orc narakta 'very' ¶ STM I 635 || **IE**: NaIE *yōr- (an apophonic grade of *yēr-?) 'strong, violent' > Gk ζωρός 'pure, sheer' (of wine without water) || Sl

*jarъ(jь) > OCS **ѡрѣ** jarъ {StSS} (· αῦστερός) 'cruel, severe (жестокий, суровый)', ChS {ESSJ} **ѡрѣ** jarъ 'amarus', {Mikl.} 'austerus', SCr **jār** 'hot, cruel', **jār** 'anger, fury; passion', Slv **jār** 'ardent, furious', Cz **jarý** 'fresh, ardent', Slk **jarý** 'full of strength, fresh', HLs **jěry** 'pungent', P **jaru** 'pure, bright, vigorous' (ωοδα **jara** 'pure water', światłość **jara** 'a pure unadulterated light', dzień **jaru** 'bright day', stary ale **jaru** 'old but vigorous' [of an old man]), OR, RChS **ѡрѣ** jarъ 'anger', R 'ярый' 'ardent, violent'; Sl *jarъкъ(jь) 'bright' (esp. of colors, light) (× N *ǰ'a'hr▽ [↔ *ǰ'a'hr▽ ↔ *z|ǰ'a'hr▽] 'shine, be bright', q.v.) > Blg 'ярък', SCr **jārak**, R 'яркий' 'bright' (esp. of colors, light), Slv **járak** id., 'shining', OR, RChS **ѡрѣкъи** jarъkǰi 'severe, furious; bright' (but Cz **jarý** 'young' is connected with N *'náǰrē ≈ young', q.v.) || ? CINPrs **يار** yārā, NPrs yārā {Sg.} 'boldness, courage; strength, force', {Vl.} 'robur, potestas, audacia' ¶ Mn. 452, Vl. II 1501, Sg. 1525, F I 618, ESSJ VIII 176-80, StSS 797, Bern. I 447-8, Glh. 288, Vs. IV 562-3 ◇ It is tempting to adduce T *jaru- 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT jaru- id. (Cl. 956-7), but for semantic reasons it is more plausibly connected with N *ǰ'a'hr▽ (↔ *ǰ'a'hr▽ ↔ *z|ǰ'a'hr▽) 'shine, be bright' (q.v.). In any case, a coalescence of both etymons in T *jaru- remains a possibility ◇ If the N etymon is *náǰrǎ, U *náǰrǎ is explained as going back to **náǰrǎ (regr. as.).

1618. *ńE'Γ'Ar▽ 'sprout' > U {UEW} *ńEr▽ ~ *ńâr▽ ~ *ńârke, {IS DU} *ńār▽, {Db.} *ńōr▽ 'rod, young sprout' > Chr {Szil.} **nörxa** 'sprout' ('Sproß, Sprößling'), **nörxö** 'twig' ('Zweig'), Chr L {Üp} **nörpö** 'young sprout', {MRS} 'young' (of a sprout), Chr H {Rm.} **nörxa** 'young tree', {Ep.} **nöra**, **nörxa** 'flexible sprout, young sprout' | Prm *ńōr ({{LG} ńōr) 'rod, twig (лоза, ветка, прутик)' > Z **ньөр** ńzr / ńzry- id., Yz ńūr 'rod (прут)', Vt **ньөр** ńzr 'twig, branch, birch rod (ветка, розга)' || ObU {Ht.} *ńǰr 'Rute' > pOs *ńēr(i) ({{Hl.} *ńǰr(i)) > Os: V ńērām id., D ńērām id., 'Zweig, dünne Weide', Ty ńēr 'auf einem abgebrannten Platz aufgewachsener Hain', Kz ńār 'Laubholzhaib', Laubholzdickicht', ńārām, Y ńēr 'gerissener Baum'; pVg *ńǰr 'Rute' > Vg: T ńār, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/ LL/ML/Ss ńir id. | Hg **nyír** 'birch tree', Δ **nyír** 'young sprout (junger Schößling)', meg-nyír-ez- v. 'mit Ruten schlagen' || Sm {Jn.} *ńzr- 'willow' > Ne T **неpo**, Ne T O {Lh.} ńērū, Ne F {Lh.} ńērū id.; Sm {Jn.} *ńerkǎ (~ *ńǰrkǎ), {Hl.} *ńzrka

~ *ń∇rka id. > Ng {Adl.} nerki, En {Cs.} nigga, {Mik.} niġa', Ne T нерка, Ne T O {Lh.} ńērka·ă id., Slq Tz {KKIH} ńarq̄i, Kms {Cs.} narga, {KD} nǎrga ≙ нърџа id., Mt {Hl.} *ń|nerg∇ id. (Mt T/K {Mll.} néрге, M {Muel.} nérgö 'salix', K {Pl.} nergà 'тал', M {Sp.} нарга 'ивняк, тальник') ¶¶ Coll. 43, UEW 331, ≈ Sm. 546 (FU, FP rieri, Ugr rírĩ 'twig'), IS DU, Db. OS XXII, XXIV, Ü 134, MRS 360, Ep. 77, Ht. no. 470, Hl. rHt 75, KrT 629, PD no. 1466-7, Jn. 108, KKIИ 139, Hl. M no. 748 | | D *ńā̄r- 'sprout', {GS} *ńē̄d- v. 'appear, sprout, shoot forth' > Ml rñā̄r- 'young plant fit for transplanting', Tm nā̄r- v. 'sprout, shoot forth', rñā̄r- v. 'appear, arise', Kt na·t, Knd nā̄ru 'seedlings for transplantation', Knd nē̄r- v. 'rise from the seed' (a plant), Kn Gl nā̄tu v. 'sprout', Kdg nθ·r- 'become tall, straighten oneself so as to become tall' (of a plant), 'rise up and come to view', Tu nē̄ji 'nursling, young plant of rice', Tl nā̄r- 'young sprouts or plants which are to be transplanted', Gnd nēr 'rice seedlings', Png nēz-, Mnd nēy-, Ku ney- v. 'sprout', Kui nē̄z̄a- id., 'germinate and shoot up' ¶¶ D no. 2919, GS 142 [no. 363] | | K *°noϑr- (× *'ńaϑrE ≈ young, newborn') > G Gr {IS ← ?} noϑr- 'young grass' ¶ IS MS 349 ◊ IS II 83-5 (in the dict. the D √ is included into the etymon *ńaϑr- 'young, newborn'), IS MS 349 (D *ńā̄r- and G noϑr- < N *ńaϑr-). In the light of my recent phonological research (suggesting that D *-r- goes back to N *-r- and is not akin to T *-r-') D *ńā̄r- 'sprout' is to be kept apart from T *ńā̄r 'springtime'. In U *ńorke 'sprout' *-ke is a suffix. G Gr noϑr- is absent in the standard dictionary of Georgian dialects (Ghl.) and therefore remains qu. Hence *Γ in the N rec. is within uncertainty brackets ' '. If GS's rec. of a pD *e is right, the N etymon must have been *ńeΓ∇r∇. D *-r- (the reg. reflex of the intervocalic *-r-) points to a vw. before N *r.

1619. *ńihR¹a¹ 'to stream; a stream, liquid' > HS: S *na¹har- 'stream, river' > BHb 𐌆𐌆𐌆 nā¹hār id., Ug nhr {OLS} id., {A} id., 'flood', OA nhr 'river, watercourse', JA [Trg.] 𐌆𐌆𐌆 nah¹r-ā 'stream', JEA {Sl.} 𐌆𐌆𐌆 nah¹r-ā 'river, canal', Sr nah¹r-ā, Ar nahr- ~ nahar- 'river', Sb 𐌆𐌆𐌆 pl. 'irrigation channels', Ak nār- 'river, canal; vein'; WS *√ nhr v. 'stream' > BHb √ nhr G id., Ar √ nhr G 'flow abundantly' (blood, river), Gz √ nhr G 'flow, go down' ¶ KB 639, GB 489, A no. 1762, OLS 321-2, HJ 720, Lv. T II 95, Js. 882-3, Sl. 734, Br. 417, BK II 1354, Hv. 803, BGMR 94, CAD XI/1 368-76, L G 394 | |

U **ńi*¹*ra* 'stream, liquid' > FU (att. in BF) **Nira* 'brook' > F *nira* 'small brook with a rapid current, brook in a forest', Es *nira* 'brook' || Sm {Jn.} **ńe*|*ʒr* 'liquor' > Ne T *нeр* " 'egg white', Ne T O {Lh.} *ńerʔa* 'sap of a tree', Slq Ke {KD} *ńʒr* 'liquid produced during copulation (vätska, som alstras vid samlag)' ¶¶ SK 384, Jn. 109-10 || **D** **nīr*, {GS} **ńīr*- 'water, liquid' > Ml *nīr* 'water, juice, moisture', Tm *nīr* id., 'sea, liquor', Kt, Td *nīr*, Kn *nīr*, *nīr* u, Kdg *nīr*i, Klm *i*¹*r*, Nk, Nkr *īr* 'water', Knd *nīr* masu 'mist, dew', Kui *nīru* 'juice, sap', Brh *dīr* id., 'water, food water' ¶¶ D no. 369O, GS 144 [no. 368] || **?** **φ** **A**: it is worth paying attention to Ko: OKo Sl {Lee} **narih*, MKo *nā*_ḡ / *nā*_ḡh-, NKo *nā* 'river' ¶ The unexpected vw. **a* (> MKo *a*) requires explanation; an alt. hypothetic origin of the Ko word is N **ḷaK*¹*u*¹ 'body of water (lake, river)', q.v.) ¶ Lee GKS 80, S QK no. 229 (pKo **nā*_ḡh-). Nam 101, MLC 315 ◇ D *-*r* goes back to a N cns. cluster (*-**hR**-) ◇ IS MS 369 (**ńi*(**h**)*r*ʋ 'to stream, to flow': ?U, D, S).

1620. (₂?) **ń*¹*e*_ḡ*H*_ḡ*r*∇ 'plain (Ebene), ground' > **HS**: B **nēr* > Ah tenere, Gh *č*iniri 'plain, desert', ETwl, Ty tenere (pl. *tiṅariwen*) 'plaine désertique' ¶ Fc. 139, Nh.150, 190, GhA 149 || **A** **ńEr*∇ 'earth, land' > T **jer* 'earth, land' > OT *jer* 'ground, earth, land, soil', Tk *yer*, Az, Tkm, Uz, SY, Nog, CrTt *jer*, Ggz *je*¹*r*, ET *jä*(*r*), VTt *ž*¹*br*, Bsh *ep* *ɥ**br*, Qzq, Qq *žer*, Xk *чир* *čir*, Xlj *jer* ~ *je*¹*r*, Tv *čer*, Tf *ć*¹*er*, Yk *sir*, Chv L *ç*¹*ěp* *śar* 'earth, land', Kr *jer*, StAlt *žer* id., 'country' ¶ Cl. 954 (T **jēr* with unc. long vw.), ET J 191-2, TL 87, Rs. W 198, S AJ 177 [no. 23], BIG 317, Sht. 67, Ra. 195, DT 222-3, Ash. XIII 84-9, Fed. II 110, Jeg. 211, ChVS 184 || NrTg *ńerke* > Lm *ń*_ḡ*r**k*_ḡ 'place under the hearth or close to it; hearth', Ewk NB *ń*_ḡ*r**k*_ḡ 'trampled earth (near the tent)' ¶ STM I 355 || pKo {S} **nàrá*(**h**) 'country' > MKo *nàrá*h, NKo *nara* ¶ The vowels still defy explanation ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 169], S QK no. 169, Nam 87, MLC 287 ¶¶ SDM 1008 (pA **ńěra* 'earth, floor' > T, M, Tu), DQA no. 1441 (id.), ≈ S AJ 290 [no. 359] (A **nār*_ḡ*i*_ḡ 'earth, land': Ko, Tg **nā* 'earth, land, dry land'), STM I 355 || **?** **φ** **U**: Chr: L *нур* *nur*, H *ныр* *нър* 'field' (unless from U **ńor*¹*o*¹ 'swamp' < N **ńaRU* id.) ¶ Ü 135-6, Rm. BT 88.

1621. **ńaX*_ḡ*i*_ḡ*RU* (*k|gê*) ≈ 'cartilage' ([in descendant lges] → 'cartilage of the vertebrae', 'backbone') > **HS**: S (WS?) **naḥ*_ḡ∇_ḡ*r*- > Ar *naḥ**r*- 'clavicule et la partie du corps entre le bas du cou et le sternum', ? Tgr *nēḥar* 'breast', ? Jb C {Jo.} *naḥar* 'windpipe and lungs',

Sq {L} 'naħar 'avoir mal à la gorge' ¶ BK II 1213, LH 324, Jo. J 187, L LS 264, MiK I no. 1.196 || U: FU *ńōrke, {Db.} *ńorke 'gristle' (× N *muyñi 'H' o' r' k' ∇ [or *muyñi ʒa' r' k' u' ?] 'gristle, horn') > pLp {Lr.} *ńōrkēs > Lp: N {N} njuorges / -r'ga 'gristle' (also of separate rings of the windpipe), L {LLO} njuorakis ~ njuor'kēs 'cartilage in the nose, nose meat of fishes', K {Gn.} ŋoargas 'cartilage' | Chr L нōргō nōrʒō, Uf/B nōrʒō, H {Ep.} нōргѣ nōrʒə 'cartilage' || ObU {Ht.} *ńīrk∇ id. > pVg {Ht.} *ńīrəʒ id. > Vg: T ńērke ʒ ńērəw, MK ńēri, P ńēriʒ, Ss ńāriʒ; pOs {Ht.} *ńarak > Os: Vy ńaraq, Ty/Y ńāraq, D/K ńora, Nz ńora, O ńar id. | ? OHg XVI nyr̄r, Hg Δ nyr̄r (+ppa. 3s nyr̄r ja) 'flesh ("frog") in the horse hoof' ('Strahl am Pferdehuf') (semantic infl. of nyr̄l id. ← nyr̄l 'arrow', which is a loan translation from German or Sl) || Sm {Jn.} *ńžr 'gristle' > Ne: T нер", T O {Lh.} ńērʒə id., F NI cd puuyēñ-ńīje'rrf 'gristle of the nose', d. ńōęʒ:ʒku 'gristle'; Ng {Ter.} нир id.; En {Ter.} ны" nīʒ / ныр- nīr- id.; Slq {KD}: LTz ńžr, Ch ńžr id. ¶¶ Db. reconstructed the pFU (and pU) vowels as *o...e on the basis of his theory (Db OS xxvi-xxxiv) of two correspondent sets for pU *o: [1] in *-e-stems (those with a final *-e) *o > F o, Lp N u o, Mr o, Chr ü, ö, Prm *u, Vg ʒ (~ a), Os a, o (preceding ʒ?), Hg í, [2] in *-a-stems FU *o > F o, Lp L o a, Mr u, Prm {JLt.} *u, *q̄, Vg ū / ā (/ ũ), Os a (/ ô / u / ā), Hg a (/ á). UEW reconstructs here U *ńžrk∇ = {JUEW} *ńęrkʒ} or *ńōrke ¶¶ Coll. 43, Db. OS xxvi, UEW 317, It. no. 62, Sm. 546 (FU *ńīrkī, FP *ńērkv-, Ugr *ńīrkī 'cartilage'), Lr. no. 794, Lgc. no. 4467, N II 99, LLO 628, ≈ Ber. 43, MRS 360, Ep. 77, Ü 134, LG 187, Ht. no. 317, MF 485, EWU 1043, Jn. 108, Ter. 305, Ter. SILSJ 287, Lh. 314, KP 144 || A *ńīRu(k∇) > Tg *n|ńiri(-kta) 'vertebrae, spine' > Ewk niri ~ ńiri, Sln nērdʒ, Orc, Ud {STM} ńīkta id., Ud {Krm.} id., Lm ńīrɪ id., 'back (dos)', Neg nīkta, nɪvkta, Ul ńēraqta ~ ńērɫaqta ~ ńīrɪqta, Ork ńīrɪkta, Nn Nh {On.}, Nn KU ńīrɪqta 'spine' ¶ STM I 639-40, Krm. 266, On. 291 || M *niruʒun 'back (dos), spine' > MM [S] {H} nīru,un ~ nīri,un id., [IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} nīrʒun, [L, MA] {Pp.} nīrūn 'back (dos)', [HJ] {Ms.} nīrisun (err. spelling of nīriʒun?) 'spine', WrM {MED} nīruɔu(n), HIM {MED, BMR} нурру(н), Brt нурга(н) 'back, spine, backbone', WrO {Krg.} nīrūñn 'spine', Kl {KRS} нурһн nurʒñn id., 'back', {Rm.} nurʒan 'Rücken', Ord nūrū 'dos, vertèbre', Dx {T} nurun 'back (dos)', Dg {T}

nirō id., 'spine', Mnr H {T} nuru 'back (dos)', {SM} nuru 'dos, partie supérieure, arête', nuru yäsɜ 'épine dorsale' (yäsɜ 'bone') ¶ H 117, Pp. MA 257, 442, Pp. L III 72, Lg. VMI 57, Ms. H 79, Ms. O 502, MED 585, BMR II 427, Krg. 221, KRS 386, KW 282, Chr. 343-4, SM 291, T 353, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 131 || ??σ NaT *°J|l;:r > OT jir-ɣaru, OT U ir, jir 'left, North' ¶ SDM 997: "The comparison is possible if we suppose a usual development 'North' < 'back'" ¶¶ SDM 979 (pA *nīra 'spine' > Tg, M, T + unc. pJ *nà(n)tùki 'brain, marrow'), DQA no. 1457 (id.), ADb. SR-D 306 (A *niruɣ- 'back, backbone'), Pp. VG 39, 116 (M, Tg, T) || D {Pf.} *nar- 'sinew, tendon, nerve' > T m narampu, Ml narampu, Kn nara, naravu id., Kt narb 'muscle, sinew', Td narb 'muscle, vein', Tl naramu 'vein, nerve, tendon', Tu nara id., narambu 'sinew, nerve', Klm, Knd naram, Prj nerub, Gdb narub, Gnd naral 'vein', Kui drambu 'tendon, sinew', Kw nromi 'nerve', Mlt nāru 'the veins', ?? Krx narī 'pulse' (unless ← InA: cp. OI nādī 'pipe, tube, pulse', Npl, Ass nāri 'pulse', Hnd nārī, nārī 'vein, pulse') ¶¶ MI *ń- may suggest a pD *ń- (< N *ń-), but the existence of this D phoneme in the initial position is by no means evident ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to *R-clusters (in this case to *-XR-; if pN had *-XVR-, the vw. was syncopated in pre-D) ¶¶ D no. 2903, Pf. 174 [no. 8] (Krx narī ← InA).

1622. *ńäR₂ê (or *ńä₂Rê?) 'unripe, tender, weak' > HS: NrOm: Kf {C} nirō 'soft, tender', Mch {L} nīra(yé) 'be soft\loose\flexible' ¶ C SE IV 150, L M 44 || K: MG [VTq.] narnar-i 'tender', G narnar-i 'zart, fein, sanft' (× N *ńar'û' 'thin, narrow?') ¶ DCh. 959, Chx. 923 || U: FU *ńäre 'raw, unripe' > F Δ, Krl Ld, Vo, Es Δ näre 'young fir tree' ¶ pPrm *ner (= {LG} ner) > Z ner 'weak, unripe, not grown up (невозмужалый)', Vt nored 'unripe, young' || ObU {Ht.} nār 'raw' > pVg *ńār > Vg: T nār, LK/MK/UK/ NV nār, P/SV/LL/ML nār, UL/Ss nār 'raw'; pOs *ńārəɣ > Os: V/Vy nārəɣ, Ty/Y nārəɣ, D/K nārə, Nz nārə, Kz nār, O nār id. ¶ SK 414, LG 199, Ht. no. 469 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} нѣрə 'weak, feeble, thin, not solid', {Hr} ríere 'ungefüttert, dünn' (Kleider), Mc Sb nīrə 'weak, weakly, feeble', ?φ Ewk nūr_kūn 'lean, thin' ¶ Z 249, Hr 718, Y no. 2502, STM I 649 || D *nar- 'be deficient in growth' > Tm narur_ku id., 'grow lean as a child', narur_kal 'stunted growth', Kn narat_u 'become deficient or stunted in growth', Tu narad_u 'stunted(ness)', Krx narma'ā- 'soften

down, reduce in point of stoutness' ¶¶ D no. 3608 ◇ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *R-clusters, therefore we may suppose the presence of a N lr. (preferably after *R, otherwise we would have to expect lengthening of the preceding vw.); the absence of lrs. in the K word suggests that the N lr. was *H₂ (= *ʔ|h|h|ʃ) (unlike the "strong" lrs. *X and *Y that survive in K).

1623. (₂?) *ń'a'Rq̄a|æ (= *ń'a'Rq̄a|æ?) 'ē deer' > IE: NaIE *york|k̄-'roe deer' (× N *X̄iRḡ∇₁ʔ∇₁ '[horned?] artiodactyl', q.v.) > Gk ζόρξ (gen. ζορκός), ζορκάς (gen. ζορκάδος) {EI} 'roe deer, gazelle', {LS} 'an animal of the deer kind'; Frisk and Pokorny explain the variant δορκάς {LS} 'an animal of the deer kind' by folk-etl. connection with δέρκομαι 'see' ||| Clt: W {YGM} iwrch, iyrchyn 'roebuck', iyrches 'roe', OCrn yorch · "caprea", Crn yorgh 'roebuck', Br yourc'h 'roe deer'; {F}: Gk [Opp.] ζορκος, [Hs.] ζορκες, ζυρκες 'ζορκάς' may be loans from Galatian (a Clt lge in Asia Minor) ¶ WP I 209, P 513, EI 155 (IE *'york-s 'roe deer [*Capreolus*']), LP § 3.2, YGM-1 298, ECCE 310, Hm. 837, LS 445, F I 410, Ch. 293-4 ||| A *ńark|gu- (× pA *ńāŗ∇ 'young' < N *'ńaŗE '≈ young, newborn') > Tg *ńargu- (~ *ńarku-?) 'young elk' > WrMc {Z} нярхуча id., Ewk Tmt ńargū, Ewk M/Urm ńarguḡān 'two-year-old male elk', Lm ńarḡān, Neg ńatḡān, Orc naguḡa, naguḡka 'first-year young elk' ¶ STM I 635, Z 247 ||| T *'ja₁:rgun > OT {Cl.} jarḡūn 'ē wild quadruped' ¶ Cl. 963 ||| M *'zorgul > WrM zorgul {MED} 'one-year-old deer', HIM зоргол {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'young elk (лосенок)', Brt зоргол 'one-year-old Manchurian deer' ¶ MED 1071, BMR II 224, Chr. 256 ¶¶ SDM 1006-7 (pA *ńargu 'young male deer/elk'), DQA no. 1409 (id.) ||| possibly also ?? HS: B *'nHr 'mohor antelope' (= {Pr.} ✓ nH₃r, where *H₃ is a "strong" lr.) (< **n∇qr- < **n∇rq- resulting from de-emphatization of *ń'a'Rq̄a|æ?) > *nīr- > Ah {Fc.} e-nir 'mohor antelope' (pl i-nīr-ən), Tns {ABs.} tinhir-t, Twl/Ty {GhA} enir (pl. inirən), Twl {ABs.} inir, tinirt, anər, Ty {ABs.} enir (pl. inirən), anir 'antilope dama (mohor antelope)' ¶ Fc. 1399, Pr. H no. 559, GhA 254 ◇ T *g, Tg *g and M *g (for the expected T *k, Tg *k ad M *q) still need explanation.

1624. *'ńaŗE '≈ young, newborn' ([in descendant lges] → 'spring-time') > HS: S: Cn *'naŗ₁∇₁r- 'young person (boy, a youth)' > BHb 'naŗar id., Ph n^ŗr 'servant', Ug n^ŗr 'boy; servant'; Cn (pl.) ⇨ EgSSc {Hlk} na-^ŗa-rú-na 'warriors, soldiers' ¶ KB 668, A no. 1808, OLS 315, HJ 739-40, Hlk no. 136 ||| IE *'yeHr- > NaIE *'yē̄r- / *'yōr-

/ *₁ǰar- 'young', 'springtime' ([in descendant lges] → 'year') > Sl *jaro ~ *jara ~ *jarъ 'springtime' > RChS, OR **ЯРА** jara, R Δ яра, SCr jār, Cz, Slk Δ, LLs, OP jaro, P jar, Uk Δ яр id.; d. *jarъ f. > Slk jar f., Uk ярь f., P jarz id., OR **ЯРЬ** jary, R Δ, Uk ярь, Slv jār f., Cz jař 'spring crop', SCr jar 'spring barley'; Cz jarý 'young'; d. Sl *jarьka 'young animal' > Blg 'ярка, Slv jārka 'young hen', SCr jārka 'a hen that laid for the first time', Slk jarка, Uk 'ярка 'year-old sheep', OR **ЯРЬКА** jaryka, R, Blr 'ярка 'young sheep' || W iâr, Br ɥar 'hen' (< *ɥar-ā) (< 'young hen', ≡σ: above Blg) || OI *yār- 'year' in parɥā'rīnī '(a cow) that calves for the first time in a year', Av ɥār- 'year', OPrs dūš(i)-ɥāra- 'unfortunate year (Miß-Jahr)' || Gk ὥρᾱ 'season, year, time of day, hour' (→ L hōra 'hour'), ὥρος 'year' || L hōrnus adj. 'of this year, this year's' (< *hō ɥōr- 'in this year') || Gmc {Vr.} *jēra- 'year' > Gt jer (·-έτος, ἐναυτός) 'Jahr', ON ár, Sw, Dn, NNr år, OSx jār ~ gēr, OHG jār, NHG Jahr, AS ȝear (ȝ- = [ɥ-]) 'year', NE ɥear || Lw {Mlc.} āra/i- 'time' ¶¶ P 296-7, ≈ EI 654 (*₁(h₁)yēro/eh₁- 'year, new season'), M K II 227-8, M E II 98-9, F II 1150-1, WH I 658-9, LP § 119, YGM-1 295, Hm. 835, Ho. S 4, 25, Ho. 141, Vr. 12, Fs. 301, Kb. 520, OsS 4622-3, KM 330, ESSJ VIII 175-81, Glh. 288-9, Vs. IV 559, Ad. 271, Mlc. CL 24, Mlc. LL 41 (fn. 28) || **U**: FU *ńōre 'young, newborn; springtime' > F nuori / nuore-, Es noor 'young' (→ Lp N nuorâ- id. [↔ SK 401]) || pLp {Lr.} *ńōrɜ 'weak, tender' > Lp: U {Schl.} njuaras, Ml {Schl.} núāras 'thin', L {LLO} njuoras 'tender, soft, not yet hard' (of plants, children), 'fresh' (of vegetables), N {N} njorâs 'soft, not yet woody' (of plants), 'weak in the body, not able to stand' (of babies), Pa {TI} núōrēs 'weak', 'tender' (of babies, reindeer calves); → Lp: U {Schl.} njuarahka 'zart', njuarahkadtja 'Kind im zarten Alter', L {LLO} njuorak 'tender, little' (of babies), N {N} njorâk 'young reindeer calf', njuorâk- (in cds) 'newborn, suckling, baby' || Chr {Ber.} *nōra > L {Ü} nōrō 'flexible and weak', E {Ber.} nōrō 'flexible and young' (of a sprout, a tree); *nōrga (× N *ńĒ'Γ' Ar ∇ 'sprout', q.v.) > L 'nōrgō 'nōrǰō 'young sprout; young', H nōrgōi 'nōra 'flexible and young' (of a sprout, a tree); *nōrga (× N *ńĒ'Γ' Ar ∇ 'sprout', q.v.) > L 'nōrgō 'nōrǰō 'young sprout; young', H nōrgōi 'nōra 'flexible and young' || ? Sm: Mt {Hl.} *ńarha, *narha 'new' (Mt K {Pls.} njáarha, Mt M {Sp.} нара); possibly also (↔ Jn. and Hl.) Mt *nara 'springtime' (Mt K {Pls.} nára id., {Mll.} nâramua 'it is springtime') ¶¶ ≈ SK 401, Lr. no. 793, Lgc. no. 4469, Schl. 101, LLO 628, N II 98, TI 309, Ü 134, Ep. 77, MRS 360, ≈ Ber. 43, ≈ Hl. M

314-15 [no-s 722 and 724], unc. Jn. 98 || **A** **ńā́r̄*∇ (= **ńā́r̄*∇?) 'young; springtime, summer' > ppT **ńā́r̄* > NaT **jāz* 'summer, springtime' > OT *jāz* 'summer', MU *jāz* id., 'springtime', MQp [CC] *jāz*, Tkm *jāδ*, Az, VTt *jāz*, Bsh *jāδ*, Qrg *žāz*, StAlt *žās*, Xk *časχi*, Tv *čas*, Tf *čas*, Yk *sās* 'springtime', Tk *уāz*, Ggz, Kr, Nog *jāz*, Qzq, Qq *žāz*, Blq *zāz*, Uz *jāz* 'summer' || Chv L *çур*, Chv Δ *çор* 'springtime', Blgh **ńār* → Hg *нүār* 'summer' ¶ Cl. 982, ET J 71-2, TL 73-4, Ra. 134, Ash. XII 254-7, Fed. II 138-9, Jeg. 219, ChVS 190, EWU 1037 || M **nirayī* 'newborn; new, fresh' > WrM *nirai* {MED} id., HIM *нярай* {SDM} id., {BMR} 'newborn; new, fresh (edible)', Brt *нарай* id., Kl {Rm.} *nirā* ~ *nirā* 'jung, zart, frisch'; ?φ: Mnr H {SM} *nargē* 'jeune, en bas-âge, tendre', {T} *nargē* 'young' (of trees), Ord *nilχā nirā* 'enfant dans les anges' (*nilχā* means 'jeune'); M → Yk *niräy* ~ *ńiräy* ~ *ńiray* 'newborn, baby' → Ewk *niray* ~ *ńiray* id. ¶ MED 585, BME II 451, KW 277, STM I 639, SM 258, Ms. O 793-4, T 348 ¶ M **ni-* < pA **ńā-* or **nīā-* is a reg. phonetic change || Tg **ńargu-* 'young, new' > WrMc {Z} *нярахунь* ~ *нярхунь* 'new/fresh' (of grass, vegetation), 'young', 'greens', Nn Nh {On.} *ńargi* 'молодой тальник', Nn {STM} *ńargi* ~ *nłargi*, Orc *ńargi* 'young willow'; (× pA **ńark|gu-* < N **ń'a* R \dot{C} a|æ '€ deer') Tg **ńar-* 'young of an elk' > WrMc {Z} *нярхуча* 'young of an elk', Lm *ńarçän*, Neg *ńatçan*, Orc *naguça* 'young elk (of the first year of life)' ¶ STM I 635, 639, Z 247 || pKo {S} **nīàrí-m* 'summer' > MKo *nīàrí-m*, NKo *īarim* id. ¶ S QK no. 190, Nam 107, MLC 1163 || pJ {S} **nátù* 'summer' > OJ, MJ *natu*, JT *nacú*, JK *nácù*, J Kg *nácu* ¶ S QJ no. 241, Mr. 494, Kenk. 1341 ¶¶ SDM 988-9 (pA **nīā́r̄*'à' 'young; springtime, summer' > T, M, Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1476, S AJ 74 (**ńā́r̄*∇ 'young'), SDM95 s.v. **ńā́r̄*∇, SDM97 s.v. **ńā́r̄*'a', KW 277, Rm. EAS I 111, Vld. 145-6, Pp. VG 38, 81, TL 73-4, Mr. KJ 243 || \dot{z} K amb **noϑr-* (× N **ńE*'r'Ar∇ 'sprout', q.v.) > G Gr {IS ← ?} *noϑr-* 'young grass' ◇ IS II 83-5 (**rí*α^ϵrα 'young, newborn') and IS MS 349 (**rí*ο¹ϑrα 'young') adduced D **ńā́r̄*- 'young plant, sprout', which is preferably connected with a different N etymon (see N **ńE*'r'Ar∇ '↑') ◇ S **-r̄-* < N **r̄* or **ϑ*. Lw *āra/i-* 'time' suggests a weak lr. (**r̄*), while G *noϑr-* (if real) points to a N **ϑ* ◇ K **o* needs explaining ◇ On N and pIE **ʰ-* - see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ Blz. ISLA 31 [no. 31] (S + unc. IE **Hχner-* 'man, person') ◇ Gr. II no. 362 (**nyar* 'springtime') (IE, U, A, Ko + qu. Gil + err. J + unc. Ai, CK).

1625. *ńitûr∇'g'∇ 'fist, knuckles of fingers; to strike with the fist\knuckles, hold in the hand' > **U:** FU (att. in BF) *Nürkk∇ 'fist, knuckles of fingers' > F nyrkki 'fist', Δ {Lnr.} nyrkkä, Vp {ZM} ńürk 'fist', Krl nürkki, Es K nürk· 'knuckles of fingers' ¶ SK 408, Lnr. s.v. F nyrkkä, ZM 370 || **A?** *ńitûr_uka or *ńitûr_uga (or *ńutûrk∇?) id. > ppT *ńutûruk ~ *ńitûruk > NaT *juťûruk 'fist' > OT {MKD} juδruq, {Cl.} juδruq ≍ jidruq, {DTS} jidruq ≍ juδruq, MQp [CC] juruq, Tkm Δ judruq, Kr juduruk ~ juduruχ, Qzq, Qq žüdiriq, Nog юдырык judiriq, VTt йодрык jǫdrǫq, Bsh jǫdrǫq, Qrg žuduruq, StAtl {B} дьудрук (new spelling јудрук) žudruq, Qmn {B} judruq, QK {B, Rl.}, Brb/Tlt {Rl.} judruq, Tv čuduruq, Tf ńudruq, SY uzruq, Yk suturuk 'fist', as well as Qmn {B} ńunduruq ~ ńunturuq and Xk nuzuruχ id. (< *ńuń'd'uruq < *ńutûruk [possibly × T *jumruk 'fist', lit. 'clenched' ← *jumur-, caus. of *jum- v. 'shut, clench']) ¶ TL 253 and ADb. SR 182, 317 (both: T *jīδruk), Cl. 892, MKD 232 (OT judruq), DTS 265, 277, ET J 248-9, Rl. III 565, BT 57, Kkr 259-60, BR 222, B DK 213, 235, Ra. 210 || **M** *nidurga_u 'fist' > MM [HI] {Ms.} nudurga, [MA] {Pp.} nudurqa ~ nudurça [nudurga], WrM {MED} nidurga, HIM {BMR} нударга(н), {MED} нудрага, Brt нударган, Mnr H {SM} nudurg_a, {T} nudurga id., Kl {Rm.} nudr̥γa 'geballte Faust', Ord nud_urg_a 'poing'; d.?: Kl {KRS} нудрма 'fist', {Rm.} nudr̥ma 'Faust' ¶ Ms. H 80, Ms. O 499, Pp. MA 261, MED 578, BMR II 424, KRS 385, KW 280, Chr. 342, SM 288, T 353 || **Tg** *ńurga 'fist' > Ewk ńurka, Sln nor'ga ≍ nuru'ga, Neg nelga ~ nouga, Ork nugga, {PSchm.} nurka, Ul ńugža, ńugžaku, WrMc {Z} нучжаны id. ¶ Ul -gž- and Mc -чж- as reflexes of pTg *-rg- still need explanation ¶ STM I 590, Z 241 || ?σ pJ {S} nínkír- 'hold in the hand' > OJ nigjir, MJ nígír- id., J K nígír-, J Kg nìgìr- {S} id., J T nìgìr- {S} id., {Kenk.} 'grasp. grip, seize, take hold of' ¶ S QJ no. 948, Mr. 735, Kenk. 1362 ¶¶ SDM 991-2 (pA *nǰúdurgi > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1463, SDM97 (A *nidurgi 'fist' + 'hand'), KW 280 (T, M), ADb. SR 317 (T, M, Tg), Rm. EAS I 77, Pp. VG 39, ADb. SR 317. Vld. 187, 369, TL 253 || **K:** MG, G r̥t̥q- 'beat, hit' ¶ DCh. 1042 || ?? **HS:** S *✓trk ~ *✓t̥rk ~ (Ak) *✓trk > JEA ✓t̥rk G 'strike (with the knuckles of fingers)' ([BT] trk lyh bʔs̥k̥w̥t̥lʔ {Lv.} 'er schlug ihn mit dem Fingerglied'), Ph trk G 'strike', Ar ✓t̥rq G 'knock (at the door), beat, play with the fingers upon (a musical instrument)', Ak fOAK ✓trk G (inf. tar̥āku) 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ HJ 1233-4, Lv.

II 198, BK II 75-6, Hv. 431, Sd. 1324-5 ¶ The initial *n- was lost probably due to its reinterpretation as a derivational px of the N-pattern; *t̥ (alongside the expected *t) is due to regressive as.: (N *t...q >) *t...k̥ > *t̥...k̥; Ak -k- and pA *-k- are due to progressive as. (*t...k̥ > t...k) ◇ If G r̥t̥q belongs here, we reconstruct a N cns. *q̥, otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *K̥ (N *ńitûr̥K̥) ◇ ADb. SR 317 (A, U).

1626. *ńeṭ̥ ▽ 'stalk, stem, trunk' > A: Tg *ńeti 'log, beam' > Ewk ńet̥iŋ 'cross beam on the ground in the middle of a chum (Tungusian yurt [domed tent])', 'seating place (made of rods) close to the walls of a chum', Ud Sm {Krm.} ńesiḡi 'the lower part of the wall of a chum', Ud X/Sm {Krm.} ńesiḡi 'a log close to the inner wall of a hut that serves for keeping bedclothes, a log for keeping dishes' ¶ STM I 655, Krm. 271 || D (att. in McTm) *ńeṭ̥ṭ̥° 'stalk' > Tm r̥eṭ̥ṭ̥u 'stalk, peduncle', Ml r̥eṭ̥ṭ̥i, r̥eṭ̥ṭ̥i 'footstalk of a leaf or fruit' ¶ D no. 2925 ¶ D *t̥ for the expected *t (due to a sx: *ńeṭ̥ṭ̥- < *ńeṭ̥-t̥?) || HS: S: Ar ناطة n̥aṭ̥ā-t- (pl. ʔanṭaʔ-) {Hv.} 'stalk of unripe dates', {BK} 'pétiole d'une datte non mûre' ¶ BK II 1287, Hv. 780.

1627. ₂ *ńoṡw ▽ (or *ńoṡw ▽?) 'to hunt, to pursue' > HS: Eg fOK r̥w 'hunter' ¶ EG II 218 || ? S *o̅ṡ n̥ṡ|ṡw ~ *o̅ṡ n̥wṡ > Gz ṡ n̥wṡ G (js. -n̥ṡaṡ) 'hunt, lay snares', Tgr pf. G n̥eṡa 'hunt', Ar ṡ n̥wṡ G (ip. -n̥ūṡ-u) 'expand the wings for darting on its prey' (of birds of prey) ¶ L G 382, BK II 1368, Hv. 808 || U *ńow̅e > Sm {Jn.} *ńo- 'pursue' > Ne T d. нѣта-сь 'to pursue (гна́ться за кем/чем)', Slq: Tz {KKIH}, Tm {KD} ńō- 'pursue, chase' || ?σ pY {IN H} *noṡ- ({IN UJ} *n̥ṡw- 'watch, pursue') > Y K {IN UJ} nob-dī- 'watch (следить), pursue (преследовать)', Y T {IN UJ} naw-rī- id., {Ku.} nawrī- 'watch, observe', {IN H} nawrī- 'be on guard, watch over', Y K {IN H} nouđī- ({AD} i.e. nowđī-) ~ nouđī- ~ nouđī- id. (-đī ̣ -rī is a sx of vt.) ¶¶ This U (Sm, pY) ṡ does not belong (⇔ Rd., IN UJ) to U *ńoŋ|w̅ḡa- (that goes back to N *ńoŋ'ü'da 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue') ¶¶ Sm. LM no. 115, Sm. 539 (U *ńoṡḡ-, FU, FP *ńuṡi-, Ugr *ńuḡĩ-, Sm *ńo- 'pursue' without distinction between the reflexes of N *ńoṡw ▽ and those of N *ńoŋ'ü'da), Jn. 111, Ter. 308, KKIИ 141, ≠ UEW 323-4 (Sm *ńo- < U *ńow̅ḡa- 'follow, pursue'), IN H 305, ≈ IN UJ 236 (pY *n̥ṡw- < U *ńow̅ḡa-), Ku. 164, ≠ Rd. UJ 40 [no. 37] (Y *n̥ṡw- ← U *ńoŋ|w̅ḡa-) ◇ The S lr. is most likely to go back to N

*ɤ (rather than *ʏ), because the loss of the "light" N lr. in the prehistory of Eg is more plausible (though still enigmatic) than that of the "heavy" cns. *ʏ.

1628. *ńǎwga 'hair, down' > HS: S {Jo.} *^o✓n w ʏ > Jb C {Jo.} 'no ʏ 'long fine hairs (not only of camels)' ¶ Jo. J 198 || U {IS} *ńǎwa 'hair, down' > F naava, Krl n̄āva, Krl Ld n̄ūāv 'beard moss, *Usnea*' (← 'fine hair, down'); the ancient meaning is preserved in Lp {SK} (← eF): Lp L nāvvā- 'down, fine hair', Lp Ar navvā 'hair on a human body' || Lp: N {N} njavve / -v- ({IS} < *ńǎwǎ-) 'long hair \ beard under the throat of a male reindeer \ he-goat', L {LLO} njavve 'long hair under the throat of a reindeer' || Sm {Hl.} *ńa- (< *ńǎwa with the reg. loss of *-w-) > d.: Ne Т нянз nanz, Ng nansa, En X nođo n. 'down', Ne Т нянґ nāng 'a fine hair of nap (ворсинка), nap (начёс)', Slq Tz nalg+ n. 'down' ¶¶ SK 364, LLO 986, N II 65, Ter. 352-3, ККИН 139 || D (att. in SD) *navir 'man's hair' > Tm navir id., navitam 'man's tuft of hair, (crown of) head', Kn navir(u) 'hair' ¶ D no. 3615 || A: ? T (< a cd?): OT {Cl.} jowlač 'fine goat's hair', {MKD} jowlič (= jowlič) 'goat's down' ¶ Cl. 876, MKD 231 ¶ OT 0 for the expected ā is due to the infl. of the adjacent w (?) ◇ Schr. UDM 756 (U, D), IS II 87 (*ńǎwH¹a 'hair': U and D).

1629. ≈ *ń¹Eχa 'to see', ? 'eye' > A *ń¹i₁a₁ 'eye' > Tg *ńi₁ā-sa, *ńi₁ā-sal 'eye(s)' > Nn KU/Nh nasal, Nn KU ṭsal, Orc isa, Ud {Shn.} yeHæ, Ud X/A/B/Sm {Krm.} yāh ~ yeḥā, Ud I {Krm.} yāh, Ud K {Krm.} yahā, Ul isa, Ork īsa, īsal(a), Ewk ēsa ɖ iēha, Sln īsal ɖ 'eša ɖ 'yesa, Lm aēsɔl ɖ yāsal, Neg ēsa, WrMc {Z} яса, Mc Sb yasa, Jrc {Kiy.} yash i, {Md.} njac̣i id. ¶ STM I 291-2, Krm. 242, On. 284, Z 183, Kiy. 124 [no. 496], S AJ [no. 38], DQA no. 1473 || pJ cd *nà-mì(n)tá 'tears' (← A *ń¹i₁a₁ 'eye' + *mo₁rE or *mō₁rE 'water' [cf. N *moRE 'body of water']) > OJ nami-ta ~ namida, MJ [RJ] nàmídá ~ nàmítá ¶ S AJ 88 ¶¶ SDM 981-2 (pA *ńi₁ā 'eye' > Tg, J + unc. Ko *nún 'eye' (more likely to go back to N *LŭK₁a₁H∇ 'see, know'. q.v. ffd.) + err.: M *nidü 'eye', T *ja₁í 'tears [Träne]' [< N *ǰaíX∇ or *ǰaíH∇ 'dripping fluid', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 1473, Cl. 972, 975-6, Rs. W 192, S AJ 195 [no. 230], ≈ S AJ 30-1, 275 [#21] (A *ńi₁ā 'eye', *ńi₁á(í)-müri 'tears'), Jeg. 120-1, Fed. II 13, Rh. 2186, BR 243, BT 50, BIG 312, SDM97 (A n̄ā: 'eye'), Cl. 972, 975-6, Rs. W 192, S AJ 195 [#230], Jeg. 120-1, Fed. II 13, Rh. 2186, BR 243, BT 50, BIG 312 || K *onaχ-

> OG {Abul.} naχ- 'see', G naχ-/ naχu|-/naχv- 'see (so.), look at, visit', {Chx.} id., 'find' ¶ Abul. 325 and SSO I 586 (OG and eNG naχ-, providing ev. for -χ- rather than -q-), DCh. 974-5, Chx. 945-6 | | HS *√nħy v. 'see' > S *°√nħy > Ar نحى√nħy (ip. -nħiy- ~ -nħay-) v. 'direct one's looks towards' (with semantic infl. of the paronymous verb نحو√nħw v. 'direct oneself towards' < N *η'í'ħw∇ 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards') ¶ BK II 1218, Fr. IV 257-8, Hv. 756 | | B *°√nyH₁ (× N *ϣôyUn∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) > Ah āni (habit. hānne₁), Iz anni v. 'see' ¶ Fc. 1357 | | Ch: WCh {Stl.} *nah- v. 'see' (× N *nāK₁∇₁hê 'see, perceive?') > Su {J} nā, Tal {Sh.} nā, Ywm {Sh.} na?, Kfr/Gmy {Hf.} nā 'see' | | Wrj {IL} nāhā, Kry {Sk.} nāhā, Mbr/My {Sk} naγ- id. | | Cp nā, Su nā id. | | Krkr {Lk.} n-, Krf {Sch.} nēwó, Gera nî, Grm nē id. | | CCh: Glv {RpM} naγ-, Dgh nγ-ínè, nγa, Mdr {Mirt} n(ah)a- 'see' | | McTr: Pdl na, Gbn ni, Hw nādʒn id. | | HgB nuyò id. | | Bcm ná, Bt {Mch.} nan 'see' ¶ JI II 284-5, ChC s.v. 'see', ChL, J S 76, Hf. AG, Stl. ZCh 235 [no. 820] | | ??φ Eg XVIII nω v. 'see, look' ¶ The loss of HS *χ is puzzling ¶ EG II 218, Fk. 127 ¶¶ Tk. I 126 ◇ O SHN 124-5 (N *ríʔʔ / *řiʔʔ 'eye, see' [for {AD} N *ń'Eχa] > Ch, Tg, Ko + err.: M *nidun [actually from N *nida 'eye; to look'], T *jāí 'tear', etc.) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 3.

1630. *ń'E'yU' (η∇) (= *ń'äyU' (η∇)?) 'larvae, worms, nit(s)' > U *ńiωηe 'maggot(s), worm(s)' > FU *ńiωηe id. > Lp: N {N} njiω'dnjâ / -ωnj- 'nits', njiωnjâ / njiω'dnjâg- 'ε a small white/greyish insect found e.g. in books; ε an insect which comes on thick sour milk', L {LLO} njim'nja 'young louse' | | ObU {Ht.} *ńīηk ~ *ńūηk 'maggot' > pVg {Ht.} ńīηk^ω- id. > OVg S Vt нюхъ, OVg N BerK ныхкъ, Vg: LK ńix, ńex^ω, MK/NV ńix, UL/Ss ńiηk^ω; pOs *ńiηk id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O niηk, D/K ńiηk, Nz nīηk, Kz ñiηk id. (Os Kz ñ- still defies explanation) | | Hg nγű (accus. nγűv-εt) 'maggot', Δ 'worm, louse' | | Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} ńēń+ 'earthworm', Tm {KD} ńēń 'worm', Nrm {Cs.} ńeυ, MO/Ch {Cs.} ńei, UO {Cs.} ńäi, NP {Cs.} ńejυ, Ke {Cs.} ńeijυ, B {Cs.} ńeńe, Kar {Cs.} ńiń 'angleworm'; Kms {KD} neimă, neime id. ¶¶ Coll. 93, UEW 320, Ht. no. 467, MF 493, KKIH 140, Cs. 141, 197, KD 44 | | A *ńæy∇ 'louse' > Tg *ńey- and (?) *ńeyl∇- > Ewk ńzykz ɖ nzykz ɖ ńzykz ɖ ńzykz 'small louse', ? AmTg: Ul ńilz-ktz 'nit', Ork nɜli-hɜ, Nn ńilz-kɜ, Ud ńɜʒihɜ 'small louse' ¶ STM I 616 | | pKo {S} *ńí 'louse' > MKo ńí, Ko: Ph i, Sl/Chl/Hm/Chj/Kw ī, Ks î: ¶ S QK no. 50, Nam 119, MLC 1316 ¶¶ Ramstedt (Rm. SKE I

165) suggested to reconstruct pM {Rm.} ****ni-sün** 'louse' on the ev. of its presumable d. ***niseł-** (actually ***nisał-**) 'kill lice, crush with the thumb' (> WrM **nisał-**, HIM **ńasł-** [i.e. **нясла-**], Kl **нисл-** **nisł-**), but Rm.'s hyp. is untenable, because in fact M ***nisał-**, ***bogesün nisač̣i-** 'kill lice with fingernails/fingers' is a sd. from ***nisał-** 'hit/snap with the fingers', ***nisač̣i-** 'press/squeeze with fingernails or between fingers' (see MED 586, Gl. II 33, BMR II 452, KRS 379, KW 277); SDM tried to adduce M ***nisa-** 'crumble (e.g. lice), crush with the fingernails', which is unacceptable for the same reason. The remaining Tg and Ko evidence does not justify an unequivocal rec. of pA ***n-** (as in SDM 966) ¶¶ SDM 966 (pA ***neyi** 'louse, nit' > Tg, Ko + unc. M ***nisa-** 'crumble [e.g. lice], crush with the fingernails'), DQA no. 1422 (id.), S AJ 253 [no. 50] || ?ϕ **D *ńāηk...** - 'worm' > Ml **ńāηηūl, ńāηηūl̄, naηηūl** 'earthworm', Tm **nāηkuṛu, nāηküṛ** id., **nākku-ppūci** id., 'round-worm, tapeworm', Kn Hl **nən̄zuli**, Kn B **nakk+l̄-huḷa**, Gnd MB **nārṽān̄z̄** 'earthworm' ¶¶ D no. 2906 || **HS:** WCh: Tng {J} **ηaηa** (df. **ηaηi**), Krkr {ChL} **ńzω-ńzω** 'mosquito' ¶ J T 126, ChL, ChC s.v. 'mosquito' ◇ If **D *ńāηk...** belongs here (which is not certain), the N rec. is likely to be ***ń'äyU'** (**η∇**).

1631. ***ń'ažir∇** 'sun', '≈ sunshine, heat (hot weather)' > A ***na:ž̄∇** 'summer', [?] 'daytime' > M ***nažir∇** 'summer' > WrM {SDM from BMR} **nažir**, HIM {BMR} **нажир**, Brt **нажар**, Dg {T, MYC} **nažir**, {Mr.} **nažire**, {Mrm.} **nažir ~ nađir** id. ¶ SDM 963, BMR II 384, Chr. 317, T Dg 156, MYC 463, Mr. D 194, Klz. D I 122 || ? pKo {S} ***náč̣** 'day, daytime' > MKo **náč̣**, NKo **nac nat** id. ¶ Nam 101, MLC 312 ¶¶ SDM 963-4 (pA ***nāž̄∇** 'summer, midday' > M, Ko + unc. T ***jāy** 'summer' [from N ***žah₂y∇** 'summer', q.v. s.v. ***žayh₂∇** ⇔ ***žah₂y∇** (⇔ Blz. LNA), S QK no. 992, Rm. SKE I 162, Rm. EAS I 75 || **D** (att. in SD) ***ńāč̣iṛ-** {GS} ***ńēsiṛ-** 'sun' > Tm **ńāyirṛu ~ nāyirṛu**, Ml **ńāyirṛu ~ ńāyārṛu**, Td **nō'ṛ**, Kn **nēsarṛ(u)**, Tl **nesъръ** 'sun' ¶¶ D no. 2910, GS 221 [no. 540] ◇ N ***ń-** is evidenced by D ***ń-**, while A ***n-** is still to be explained ◇ This N compison was suggested in Blz. LNA no. 40 (M, Ko, D * ÷ T).

1632. ***ńež'i'** 'finger, toe; ? knuckle of a finger' > **HS:** B ✓ **nsy** 'toe, foot of ungulate animals' > Ah **ti-nse** (pl. **tinsawīn**) id., Gh **činč̣i** id. (pl. **činč̣awin**), Wrg {Dlh.} **ti-nsi** (pl. **ti-nsa**) 'pied et bas de la patte d'un quadrupède (la chèvre, la brebis, l'âne, le chameau etc.)', Mz {Dlh.} **ti-nsi** (pl. **ti-nsa**) 'pied d'animal (surtout ovin)', Kb **ṭi-nsa** pl.

'sabots de bovidés', Shl {La.} tinsit (pl. tinsa) 'pied de toute bête de somme' ¶ Fc. 1415, Nh. 184, Dlh. Ou 225, Dlh. M 140, Dl. 576, La. MChB 120 (fn.3) || A *ń'æ'lŋu 'finger's breadth, knuckle of a finger' > T **_læ-lig (> *illig ~ *ællig) (ADb.) > OT elig 'finger's breadth', Chg (RL.) äli(k) 'finger's breadth as unit of length', ET Δ {Jr.} ilig id., 'finger', ET H {ML.} elek 'finger's breadth', ET ikki elik 'breadth of 2 fingers' (ikki is 'two'), QrB, Nog. Qq, Qrg eli, Qzq eļi, VTt illb, Brb {RI.} iliy, Bsh ilb, StAlt {BT} elü, Alt\Tlt {RI.} ölü, ET X {ML.} elek, Qb/Sg {RI.} eliṣ, Tv iliṣ, Yk ilī 'finger's breadth as unit of length', StAlt ölü 'vershok (Russian measure of length, ≈ 2 inches)', Uz tört elli 'breadth of 4 fingers' ¶ Rl. I 814, 816, 819, 1248-9 and 1489, Cl. 140-1, ET Gl 263-4, TL 259, Ml. X 90, ADb. SR 178, BT 119, 191 || Tg {ADb.} (att. in AmTg) *ńiŋu (< **ńilŋu?) > Orc ńiŋi 'finger (as measure of length)', Ud X niŋi, Ud Sm ńini 'finger knuckle's breadth (measure of length)' ¶ STM I 639, Krm. 267 ¶¶ ADb. MSR 13 [no. 61] (pA *ńilŋu), ADb. SR 47 (A eļlgi) || D *neṭi or *noṭi 'crack\snap of the thumb and middle finger; cracking of the finger joints' > Tm, Ml noṭi 'crack\snap of the thumb and the middle finger', Tm noṭi- v. 'snap with the thumb and the middle finger', Ml rínoṭi 'snap of fingers', Tl neṭika 'a knuckle cracking or snapping of the knuckles' ¶¶ D no. 2936 ◇ Tg *i is still to be explained (assimilating infl. of the ancient vw. *i of the next syll. or of the palatal cns. *ń-?) ◇ ADb. MSRm 22 [no. 31] (N *ríeλu > A, D).

1633. *ŋ'U' [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from *ya ŋ'U' or *ʔäy∇ ŋ'U' 'which thing?') > HS: C: Ag: Xm {R} ŋā 'property, thing' || Bj {R}, Bj B {Alm.} na 'thing', Bj {R} nā 'which?' ¶ R Ch II 86, R WBd 177, Alm. BS III 49 || ? EthS: Gz na wāy 'vessel, ustensil, property' (← *'thing'), Tgr ɣə nay 'belonging to', 'of' (nota genitivi), Tgy ɣə nay 'of' (nota genitivi) ¶ L G 410, LH 337 || ? Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} ne 'who, which, whom' (rel. prn.) | Tmbs {Sh.} nəŋ 'what?', núŋ 'who?' | SBC: Wnd nínìn, Zar ŋnè 'what?', Wnd núnò, Zar ŋnò 'who?' || CCh: Db {LnG} nàyi 'who?' ¶ Flk. s.v. ne, ChL, ChC s.v. 'who?', LnG s.v. nàyi ||] *ŋ'U' may be one of the possible sources of the LbB, Eg and Ch prepositional nota genitivi: LbB *n∇ > ONum nota genitivi n ¶ Rö. JN || B *n_l∇_l (nota genitivi) > Tz n 'of' (afus n tmɣart 'the hand of a woman'), Zgg, ASgr, Izn, Wrg, Ah, Gd, Nf, Si, Zng n, Shw ən 'of' ¶ AiM 181, 230, Ai. MCB 170-6

|| Eg n, nɥ (f. n.t) 'of' (nota genitivi), Cpt \bar{N} -ən-, px of gen. ¶ EG II 196-7 || Ch {Gr.}: Msg na, Lgn n, Mrg r (< *n) 'of' (nota genitivi) ¶¶ Gr. LA 47 ¶¶ This source of the LbB, Eg and Ch nota genitivi is more plausible than N *nu 'of' (q.v.), as suggested by its position: A + nota genitivi + B 'A of B' (while N *nu is postnominal: *B nu A 'A of B')

|| K *^on∇ > Lz na, na-mu (pl. na-ni) 'what' (relative), Mg ni 'that, which' (relative), Mg namu 'which, what' relative (Marr: na + marker of the 3 pers. mu) ¶ Marr 32, 172, Q O47, 289 || A *^hu₁æ 'what?', 'who?' > NaT *næ 'what?' (probably from ppT *∇næ) > OT ne|ä, MQp, Chg, OOsM ne, XwT ne, Tkm nã, Tk ne, Az nã, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, StAlt ne, VTt, Bsh ni id.; a NaT cd *næ-me > OT nãmä 'something, anything', Chg {Cl.} nemä 'thing', MQp {Cl.} neme 'thing, anything', in later lges 'what?': Tkm nãme, Qzq nemene, Bsh nãmä, Uz nima, ET nimä, Xk nime 'what?'; another cd is found in Xk, Shor nō 'what?' ¶ Cl. 774-5 (OT nã 'what?'), 777-8 (OT nãmä 'something, anything'), S AJ 18, 55, 81, 104 and 278 (with literature), TkR 477-8, Rs. W 352, Isx. M 235-6 ¶ The presense of the nasal sonorant in the initial position in T *næ and *næme contradicts the reg. phonetic laws. One of possible explanations is to suppose that in ppT *næ and *næme the word still preserved an initial vw. *æ (ppT **∇næ) ¶ The length of the vw. in pT *næ and *næme is still to be explained (suggesting a N or post-N compound *^rä¹y∇ ^hU¹ ä with a still unknown pc. *ä). The quality of the vw. *æ in the T words may be connected with this pc. *ä || Tg {SDM97} *^hu 'who?' > Ewk ^hi (the higher synharmonic series), Sln nī-xɜ, Lm ^hi ɜ ^hi, Orc ^hi, Ud {Krm.} nī, {STM} nī ɜ ^hi, Ul ^hui ~ ^huy ~ uy, Nn Nh/Bk ui ~ uy, Nn KU ^hi, WrMc {Z} ɜɜ, Mc Sb {Y} ɜɜ id. ¶ STM I 660-1, Krm. 266, On. 425-6, Z 1112, Y no. 2895 || pKo {S, SDM} *nú- 'who?' > MKo nú-, Ko: Ph/PhN/Chj nu-gu, Chs/Ks/SI nugú, Hm nù₁g₁wá ¶ S AJ 255 [no. 101], S QK no. 101, Nam 114, MLC 356 || pJ {S} *n^h 'what?' > OJ nani, MJ nání, J T nání, J K nani, J Kg náí, J Rk ds: Ns nú, Sh/Ht/Y nú id. ¶ S AJ 104, 268 [no. 88], S QJ no. 88, Mr. 493, Kenk. 1325-6 ¶¶ SDM 1034 (pA *^hi^h∇¹ 'what?', 'who?' > T, Tg, Ko, J + err. M *yaɥun 'what?' and *yaɥuma id.), DQA no. 1552 (id.), S AJ 55, 278 [no. 84] (pA *nia-(w₁u) 'what?, who?'), SDM97 (A *^hi^h 'what?, who?') ¶¶ SDM, DQA and S AJ adduced M *yaɥun 'what?' and *yaɥuma id. without justification (if they had been right, it would have been the only case of M *y- < A

*ŋ-); on M *yaʷun see s.v. N *ya 'which?' || ? U: Y K/T {IN UJ} neme 'what?' (Y T {Krn.} nem-ŋ, neme-len), Y I {IN H} namol, Y K {IN H} nonŋōn 'what for?', 'why?' ¶ IN UJ 271, Krn. JJ 87-9, IN H 309 || ?σ D: Krx nē 'who?', Mlt {SKD} nēre- 'who?' m., nēri-, nē- 'who?' non-m. (nē-k obl. for both m. and non-m.), Brh dēr, dē 'who?' (sg. and pl.) (if Emeneau is right in postulating that Brh d- is from *n-, which he attributes to the "NDr." proto-lge) ¶¶ D no. 5151, Hahn KG 29-30, SKD 44-5, ≠ Pf. 49 ("Original PNDR *ē was enlarged by *n-), Em. BDCG 14-15 ("We must assume that ... this whole NDr. group has n- [of whatever origin] as its one secondary peculiarity"), 65 ◇ IS MsN s.v. *nā interrogative (T, K, D, C, Ang), ≈ Gr. I 232-4 ("interrogative N" in T, Y, J, Ai, EA + unc. Ko + err. Ugr).

1634. (₂?) *ŋib∇ or *ŋæyb∇ 'to bend down, to sink' > IE: NaIE *kneǵb- '≈ bend down, decline' > Gmc *xniþ-/*xnip- > ON inf. hnípa 'to hang one's head, to be despondent, to be sullen\gloomy', AS inf. hnípian vi. 'to droop, to bend down', MHG inf. nīpfen 'einnicken' || Lt inf. knībtī (1s pres. knumbū) 'to fall, to descend, to lose elasticity, to decline' ¶ P 608, Vr. 243, Ho. 166, Sw. 91, Lx. 151, Ju. III 183, ≠ Frn. 277-8, ≈ IS III 57 || HS: S *°-ʷīb- > Ar ✓ ʷyb (3m ip. ʷā-ʷīb-, pf. ʷāba) 'set, disappear' (of the sun), 'be absent, be hidden from' ¶ BK II 520-1, Hv. 540 ¶ It belongs here if the meaning 'set' is primary || ?σ A: Tg *ŋeb- 'carry away' (× N ? *ŋ'í'ħw∇ 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The IE cns. *-b- may be accounted for by the IE incompatibility law that rules out vl. cns. and vd. aspirate in the same root ◇ The pN rec. *ŋib∇ does not account for the Tg root *ŋeb-. Therefore, if Tg *ŋeb- is a legitimate cognate, we should prefer the N rec. *ŋæyb∇.

1635. ?? ≈ *°ŋUc|ç∇ (= *°ŋUc|ç∇, *°ŋUc∇?) (or ≈ *°ŋiʷUC∇?) 'late, evening, night; (?) delay' > HS ≈ *°ŋ'u'c- > S *°✓ ʷs|š: (G prm. *°-ʷuss- → *°-ʷušš-) > Ar ✓ ʷss G (ip. -ʷuss-u) v. 'patrol \ go to the rounds by night', 'come late' (of news), ʷass- 'patrol, night watch', S *°✓ ʷs|š (G prm. *°-ʷus|š-) > Ar ✓ ʷws (ip. ʷā-ʷūs-u) 'prowl about by night' (of man, wolf) ¶ BK II 248-9, 407, Hv. 471, 509 || Ch: Ngz ġèstú 'be late' ¶ Sch. DN 126 || IE: NaIE *°ŋ'wes- 'sunset' > OSx west 'in the west', AS west id. ('westlich'), NE west; ON vestr 'west, to the west', OSx, OHG westar 'westward'; OHG westan, NHG Westen 'west'; ON vestan, OSx westan(a), AS westan(e) 'from the west', OHG westana id., {Kb.} 'westward';

OHG *westar*, AS *westerra* 'western', NE *western* (unless ÷ OI *a'vas* 'down' [direction] ← NaIE **a_u-* 'down') ||| NaIE **'wesperos* 'evening' > Gk *ἑσπερος* 'of/at evening (abendlich)', 'western' ||| L *vesper* (gen. *vesperis*) id. ||| NaIE **wesk^wero-* 'evening' > Clt {Matas.} **wesk^wero-* 'evening' > OIr *fescor*, ME *ucher* id' ||| Arm *gišer* 'night' | (with loss of **s*, which is still to be explained) **wek_l^wero-s* 'evening' > BSl: Lt *vākara*s 'evening', Ltv *vakars* 'evening', *vakar* 'yesterday' | Sl: OCS, OR *вечеръ* *večerъ*, Blg, R *вечер*, Ukr *вечір*, P *wieczór*, Cz, Slk *večer*, SCr *veče* (gen. *večera*) 'evening'; OCS, OR *въчера* *vbčera*, Blg *в'чера*, R *вчера*, Ukr *учо'ра*, SCr *jùčêra* ~ *jùčêr*, Cz *včera*, Pol *wczora* ~ *wczoraj* 'yesterday' ||| It is possible (but not certain) that this etymon took part in the creation of IE **wes-* 'dwell, pass the night, stay' (together with N **γ'ü'š^v* 'live') (P 1170-1) > OI *'vasati* 'stays, spends the night', OIr *fó(a)id* 'spends the night' ¶ P 73, 1170-4, Fr. 1186-7, Vs. I 309, Vr. 658, Ho. S 87, Ho. 391-2, Kb. 1185, OsS 1132, Schz. 321, WH II 770-1, F I 575, Vs. I 366, Matas, E 416, EI 184 (**'wespero-s* ~ **'wekero-s* 'evening') ||| A **η'ο'ç^v* 'late' > pJ {S} **nətì* 'after, afterwards' (× A **|neč'è* 'late' < N **Lič^v* 'pass, go away') > OJ *noti*, MJ *nòtì* id., J T *nočí* ~ *nòci*, J K *nóčí*, J Kg *nočí* {S} id., StJ {Kenk.} *nočí* 'next time; the future', *noćini* 'afterwards' ¶ S QJ no. 288, Mr. 501, Kenk. 1379 || NaT **o_l:çIç* 'youngest, latest, smallest' (× N **ηUç^v* 'small, few', q.v. ffd. × pA **φoç^v*) > Qb {RI.} *očuy*, Sg {RI.} *očI*, Shor {RI.} *oča*, QK {RI.} *oži* 'youngest, smallest, latest', Xk {BIG} *очы* *očI* 'youngest' (child in the family), Tb {B} *očI* 'the youngest' (girl) ¶ Rs. W 356, RI. I 1133-7, B DLT 179, 182, B DChT 141, BIG 133, BT 118, BIG 133 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. pA **ηoč'e* 'late, evening', Mr. KJ 234 ||| ? K **°v^vnž* > Mg *onž-* 'fall' (of night), 'вечереть', *onžua* ~ *onžwa* ~ *onižua* 'evening' ¶ Chik. 303, Q 293-4 ||| ? D **načč-* > Tm *нащу* 'delay, procrastination', Tl *нащу* 'delay, slowness' ¶¶ The unexpected D vw. *-a- requires explanation ¶¶ D no. 578 ||| ??φ,σ U: FP {UEW, Sm.} **ńoča* 'slow, sluggish (träge)' > pLp **ńōcē* id. > Lp: L *njāhtsē* 'langsam, träge (beim Gehen)', N *njoasse* 'slow, dilatory', Nt *ńūğšš* 'langsam (beim Arbeiten)' | Prm {LG} **ńōž-* > Vt *нежьа-* *ńožya-* v. 'stretch out (words)', Z Vm/I *ńžž*, StZ *ньōжйō* *ńžžyž* 'slowly, quietly' ¶ UEW 713, Sm. 553, Lr. no. 777, Lgc. no. 4420, LG 198 ¶ If the FP word belongs here, it is qu. for several

reasons: (1) U *-č- is not the reg. cognate of S *-s|š- and K *ž, (2) the palatality of FP *ń- is not expected, unless the N rec. is ≈ ***‘ηiʔUC∇** ◇ Cf. ADb. NNN 35 (N ***η₂Oč∇** 'late, slowly' > A, D, U ***ńoča** + err. IE ***nās-** 'live, dwell') ◇ If K ***°∇nž** belongs here, it may go back to pre-K ***ηž** < N ***‘ηUc∇** (the voicedness of K ***ž** is still to be explained) ◇ The whole etymology is tentative, because both IE ***‘wes-** (in Gmc) and the T word have alt. explanations. T **oči ~ očuy** is found only in the T lges neighboring the Mongolian language area and may be a loan from M (*F₁WrM* **ōcūken**, HIM **өчүүхэн** 'little, small' [MED 629]). If the K (Mg) word belongs here, the N rec. must be ***‘ηUc|ç∇** ◇ On N and pIE ***‘-** see Introduction, § 2.2.6. This etymology suggests that N ***‘ηU-** may yield IE ***‘we-**.

1636. ₂ ***ηUC∇** 'small, few' > HS: Eg fP **nɜs** 'klein, gering', fOK **nɜs** 'der Kleine' (× HS ***√nks** 'little, small' < N ***ηik∇ʔu** 'small, little') ¶ EG II 384-5 || ?**φS** ***°√wy|ʔɜ** > Ak fOB/OA **-wīɜ-** (inf. **wi'āɜu**) 'wenig, (zu) gering sein\werden' ¶ Sd. 1496, DRS 482-3 || **A** ≈ ***ηù:çī** 'thin, small' (× N ***XüwīñC∇** 'thin, narrow') > Tg (att. in AmTg) ***ηūçī-** 'small' ({SDM} ***ηüşī-** or ***ηuyšī-**) > Orc **ηīčī**, Ud X/Sm {Krm.} **ηícaʔ**, Ud B/I {Krm.} **ícaʔ**, Ud A {Shn.} **ičʔa**, **ńičʔa**, ? UI **nučī ~ nūčī**, ? Ork **nūčī** 'small' ¶ STM I 589-90, Krm. 272 || M ***üčü-** ⇨ [1] Kl {Rm.} ***üčū** 'klein, wenig'; [2] M d. ***üčü-ken ~ öčü-ken** 'small, little' > MM [HI] **ücūg|ken** 'small, little' ('petit'), [IM] **üčūgen ~ üčūken**, [S] {H} **ucugen ~ ucugan**, [MA] **öčūken** id., [MA] **öčōn** 'peu', WrO **ücūken, üciūken, ücōūken, ücūūken** 'small, little', **ücūgūken** 'trifle', WrM {MED} **ücūken ~ öcūken, öcūgūken**, HIM {MED, BMR} **өчүүхэн**, Brt **үсөө(н)** 'few', Kl {KRS} **үчүкн** 'small, little; few', {Rm.} **üčūkŋ** 'wenige, nicht zahlreiche; klein', MMgl **üčikā** 'light (levis)', Dg {Pp.} **üčēk**, {T} **üčēk**, {Mrm.} **učeke** 'peu', {Pp.} **üčīkēn, üčīxen**, {T} **üčēken** 'small, little', Ord **öč'ōn** 'peu nombreux'; [3] ***öčū-dE-** > HIM {BMR} **өчүүдэ-** 'zu klein\gering sich erweisen (оказываться слишком маленьким\незначительным)', Ord **öč'ōd_ö-** 'être en nombre trop petit', d: WrM **ōcūdke-** 'belittle, underestimate'; [4] ***öčū-tE-** > HIM **өчүүтэ-** 'klein\gering werden (становиться маленьким\незначительным)', Kl {KRS} **үчүт-üčüt-** id., {Rm.} **üčüda-** 'klein sein'; [5] ***üčū-rE-** > Brt **үсөөр-** 'sich vermindern', Ord **öč'ōr_ö-** 'devenir moins nombreux, devenir rares' ¶ Pp. MA 273, 449, H 157, MED 629, 995, BMR III 49, Chr. 515, KRS 558, KW 460, Iw. 142, T DgJ 171, Krg. 195, Ms. H 107, Ms. O 543 ||

NaT **oç- ->: (1) *oçIğ 'smallest, youngest, latest' (× N ?? ≈ *'ηUč|č' ▽ 'late') > Qb {RI.} očuy, Sg {RI.} oči, Shor {RI.} oča, QK {RI.} oži 'youngest, smallest, latest', Xk {BIG} oчы oči 'smallest, youngest' (child in the family), Tb {B} oči 'the youngest' (girl), ?σ StAlt {BT} oćo ćećen 'fourth finger'; (2) T *'o'çur > NaT *uçuz > OT {Gbn} ućuz 'wertlos, elend, leicht', Tk ucuз, Az užuz, Tkm užiз, Qmq, QrB ućuz 'cheap'; (3) Yk {JkR} ūōhun-, {Pek.} ūōsun- v. 'diminish, reduce', {JkR} n. act. ūōstū 'diminishing, reduction' ¶ Rs. W 356, RI. I 1133-7, ET GI 567-8, DTS 604, B DLT 179, 182, B DChT 141, BIG 133, BT 118, BIG 133, JkR 440, Pek. 3051 || pJ *úsú- 'thin' > OJ usu-, MJ úsú-, J: T úsu-, K úsu-, Kg úši-, Ns úsú- {S} id., StJ {Kenk.} usui 'thin' ¶ S QJ no. 104, Mr. 843, Kenk. 2111 || pKo {S} *nàč- 'low, inferior' > MKo nàs-kàp-, nàč-, NKo nac- nat- id. ¶ S QK no. 616, Nam 100-1, MLC 312 ¶¶ SDM 1035 (pA *ηóyčy 'thin, small' > M *öčü- 'small, little', T *ōčy-, Tg, J. Ko), DQA no. 1544, ≈ SDM97 (A *níηč'í and *ηūč'e), S AJ 18, 43, 292, ≈ S VL 228, ADb. NNN 34. Rm. EAS I 148, Rm. SKE I 162-3.

1637. *ηa'ɣ'igu 'to bow, to bend (down), to hang (by sth.), to hang down' > A *ηayigu, ({{IS} *ηaygu-) 'bow, hang down' > Tg *ηaygu- ({{ADb. in IS III 56-61} *ηayyu- = {{ADb.} *ηajɣy) v. 'descend, decline' > Ewk ηēw- v. 'lie down lower on the slope, lie down closer to the hearth/fire', d. ηeyūr- vt. 'move/put (sth.) closer to the fire/chimney', WrMc {Z} ваци-, Mc Sb waš'i- vi. 'descend, go/get down', 'set' (of the sun), 'alight'; possibly also d. Tg *ηaygū n. 'slope', adj. 'being in a lower place' > Ewk ηēyū ɖ ηēwū 'lower, being on the riverbank \ on the edge', Sln ηēx, Orc ηāa '(river)bank', Lm ηāy ~ ηēy ~ ηāy ɖ ηay adj. 'being on the bank/coast/edge', ηēwu ɖ ηēwu 'lowest', Ork ηowwē, ηot 'coastal, coast', UI wayi 'lower part of the village', 'riverside part of the village', Nn Nh wayi, Nn Bk wai 'riverside', Nn Nh {On.} wai-la 'on the riverbank', wai-si 'to the riverside' ¶ STM I 659-60, On. 89, Z 1107 || M *nayigu- > WrM naiɣy- {MED} 'bow down, stoop; 'hang down' (as branches, leaves)', НИМ найга- {MED} id., {BMR} найга- 'свисать на сторону, склоняться набок', Ord nāɣy- 'se balancer' (plantes sous l'action du vent); ?σ M *nayigu- 'reel, walk unsteadily' > WrM {MED} naiɣy- 'walk unsteadily', НИМ найга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'шататься колбаться из стороны в сторону', Ord nāɣy- 'chanceler' (une personne ivre); M → WrMc {Z} найхy- 'hang (over), hang down,

bend down' ¶ MED 558, Cev. 362, Luv. 258, BMR II 385, Chr. 318, Ms. O 485, Z 207 ¶¶ IS III 58-9 adduced T *jayka- 'shake', which is highly qu. for phonetic (*-k-) reasons ¶ M *nayigu- 'flutter in the wind; quiver; shake, sway' (> WrM naiḡu- id.) is likely to be related to T *jayka-, its connection with N *ḡa'ʔ'igu 'to bow, to bend' is qu. ¶¶ ≈ ADb. NNN 38 (A *nayga 'качаться') || HS: S *°ʔa'wig- 'crooked, bent' > Ar عَوَجَ ʔaʔiḡa G pf. 'was\became crooked, bent, distorted', d. (?) *°ʔʔwḡ > Ar ʔʔwḡ vt. G (pf. عَاجَ ʔāḡa) 'turn aside (a beast, with the rein)' ¶ Fr. III 239, Hv. 507 || K: Sv {Ni.} -nḡw-/-neḡw-, Sv L {Dn.} -nḡw-/-niḡw v. 'bend, bow', Sv UB {GP} -neḡw-/-nḡw-/-niḡw-: msd. li-neḡw 'to bend', li-nḡw-e (pfc. ʔḡ-niḡw-a) vt. 'to bend' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'ГНУТЬ', Dn s.v. niḡw, GP 162, 249 ¶ Sv -ḡ- < *ʔḡ- || IE: NaIE *kneigʷh- 'bend, bow' (× N *ḡuḡigU 'bend, incline, bow' [q.v. ffd.]) || U *niḡu'- vi. 'bow, incline, bend' (× N ? *ʔniḡu' 'lie down, sink, bow [down]', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 350 (*ḡiḡa 'наклоняться' = 'bend down' > IE, U), IS III 56-61 (*ḡajḡa 'bend down, bend, hang down' > IE, U, A with further details), ADb. NNN 38 (A, U, IE) ◇ Sv -ḡ- and U *-k- suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably *ʔ) that caused glottalization in Sv and devoicing in U; in IE the N stem-internal *ʔ (not preceding a cns.) is lost without traces.

1637a. *ḡi'hw∇ 'to lead, to direct (/ 'direct oneself) towards' (→ 'carry [somewhere]') > A: Tg *ḡeb- 'carry away' (× N *ḡib∇ 'to bend down, to sink' [q.v.]) > Ewk ḡɜw- 'carry away', Ud {Krm.} ḡɜugi- 'bring\carry back, carry away' ¶ STM I 667, Krm. 268 || HS: S *°ʔnhw 'lead, guide' > BHb ʔnhw G (pf. ḡḡḡnā'hā, inv. ḡḡḡnā'hē) 'lead, guide', Ar ʔnhw G (pf. نَحَا na'hā, ip. -nhu- ~ -nha-) 'direct oneself towards', nahw- n. 'side, tract' ¶ KB 647, GB 497, BDB 634-5 [no. 5148], Fr IV 252-3, Hv. 756, Sg. AED 1107 || IE *neihx- '≈ lead, direct towards' (× N *ḡaḡih∇ 'take so. with oneself, lead') > NaIE *°nej- > OI 'nayati '(he) leads', pp. nī'ta- 'led (ductus)', Av naye'ti 'brings, leads', OPrs a-naya 'he led\brought', Phl nī'tan 'führen, treiben' || Ht {CHD} nai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch' (and also vi., vt. 'turn?'), {Ts.} 'lenken, leiten, richten, schicken, wenden', (× N *ḡāñE 'go [away]') nanna- vi. 'treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren', vt. 'treiben, fahren' ¶¶ WP I 321, P 760, EI 346, Dv. no. 452, M K II 137, M E II 17-19, Ts. E II 253-7, 271-3, CHD L-N 347-50, 357-8, Sturt. CG 215, 247 (believing that nanna- is a rdp. of nai- 'lead') ||

φ **U**: FU: pPrm {LG} *nu- 'carry, lead' > Z ну- nu- 'lead', Vt ну- nu- (inf. нуыны) 'carry, lead, lead away' ¶ LG 196, ≈ It. no. 105, ≠ UEW 710; both It. and UEW adduced (hesitantly) F нouta- 'follow the traces' and reconstructed FU *o; for F нouta- see N *h₁on₂ūda 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue' ◇ Blz. EIAL 17 [no. 65] (IE + S).

1638. *h₁ika (more probable than *h₂ika) 'cervical vertebrae, neck, nape of the neck' > **U** *h₁ika 'vertebra, joint [of a body], neck, nape of the neck' > FU *h₁ika > F *nikama* 'vertebra, node of a stalk' || Hg нуак 'neck' | Vg: T *näk*, LK/MK *näx* (pl. *nākt*), UK/NV *наx*, P *näk* (pl. *nākt*), UL/Ss *nak* 'node of a stalk, joint'; Os Kz *h₁āk* id. || Sm: Slq: Tz {Hl.} *nuk+* 'collarbone', Nr {Cs.} *нуg*, Kt *нуkка* 'occiput'; hardly here Ne *h₁ixirǎ-* 'den Kopf nach hinten biegen, быть запрокинутой головой' (adduced by IS), which rather belongs to Sm {Jn.} *h₁ikā-* ~ *h₁ikā-* 'den Kopf biegen' ¶¶ MF 374, MTE II 1031, IS II 92, Ht. 202 [no. 781] (adducing Os V/Vy/Ty *nǔy*, Kz *nǔw* 'bough', but not Os Kz *h₁āk*), Jn. 101 || **A** *h₁ika ({IS} *h₁ika) 'neck, vertebrae' > M *h₁igur-sun 'spinal cord' > WrM {MED} *h₁igursu(n)* ~ *h₁igursu(n)* id., 'spinal marrow', HIM {MED} *h₁ugarc* id., {BMR, Luv.} *h₁ugas(ан)* 'spinal marrow', Kl {KRS} *h₁h₁rcn h₁h₁rsъn* id., {Rm.} *h₁h₁urs₁h₁* 'Rückenmark, Knorpel zwischen den Rückenknochen', Ord *h₁g₁u₁su* 'moelle épinaire'; ? MM [HI] *h₁ir₁usu₁n* or *h₁ir₁is₁u₁n* 'spinal cord' (acc. to Ms., a slip of the pen for *h₁h₁ursun, but Lewicki may be right in considering it a misspelling for *h₁ir₁u₁su₁n* 'back, spine') ¶ MED 580, BMR II 423, Luc. 276, KRS 385, KW 281, Ms. H 79, Lew. II 64, Ms. O 500 || Tg *h₁ik-, *h₁ik₁in₁ma 'neck' > Ewk Brg *h₁ikin* 'neck, vertebrae of the neck', Ewk *h₁ikinma* ~ *h₁ikinma* ɖ *h₁ikim₁na* ~ *h₁ikim₁na* ~ *h₁ikim₁na* ɖ *h₁ikim₁na* id., Ewk Chmk *h₁ikin* 'throat', Sln *h₁ixama* ~ *h₁ixima* 'neck', Lm *h₁iq₁ъn* ɖ *h₁ik₁ъn* ɖ *h₁ikan* 'back of the neck, vertebrae of the neck', Neg *h₁ixma* ɖ *h₁ikim₁na* ɖ *h₁ik₁ma* 'neck, vertebrae of the neck', Ul *h₁iq₁(n-)* id., 'back (dorsum)', Ork *h₁iq₁(n-)* 'neck part of a fish head', *h₁iq₁im₁na* 'neck of a reindeer', WrMc {Hr} *h₁ik₁e* 'der den Sattel tragende Teil des Rückens bei Pferd, Maultier und Esel; Sattelage', {Z} *h₁ik₁e* 'place of the saddle on horse's back (at the end of the mane and of the front shoulder blades)', 'nape' ¶ STM I 591, Z 231, Hr 698 || ? T *h₁aka 'collar' > OT *h₁aca*, Tk *h₁aka*, Az *h₁axa*, Tkm, VTt *h₁aca*, Qzq, Qq *h₁axa*, Nog *h₁axa*, Qrg *h₁axa*, StAlt *h₁axa*, Uz *h₁aca*, Yk *h₁axa*, Chv L *h₁axa* *h₁u₁a*, Chv *h₁axa* 'collar (Kragen, ворот, воротник)',

'шейная повязка' ¶ The T word is homonymous with *Jaka 'edge, border', but it is not clear if the words are etymologically identical ('collar' → 'edge' or 'edge' → 'collar?'); if the original meaning is 'edge, border', the T √ does not belong here. If it does, T *a of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. (pA *i...a > T *a... a) ¶ ET J 82-4, Ash. XII 288-9, Fed. II 146-7, Jeg. 222, ChVS 192Cl. 898 ¶¶ SDM 983-4 (pA *nĭãke 'neck, vertebra' > Tg *nikimna, M, T), DQA no. 1464 (id.), SDM97 (A *näk'ε 'neck, vertebra'), S AJ 293, ≈ Rs. W 180, ≈ Dr. TM IV 104 || IE: NaIE *knok(k)o- / *knek(k)o- 'nape of the neck, hill' (× N *gυη'K'E - *güη'K'∇ 'nape [→ 'neck'], rear part of the head', q.v.) > ON hnakki, hnakkr 'nape', OHG {Kb.} nac 'summit, crown, neck', {OsS} hnach & hnacch 'nape, occiput', MHG {KM} nac(ke), NHG Nacken, MLG necke, MHG ge-nic, ge-nicke, NHG Genick 'nape of the neck', AS hnecca 'nape, back of the head, neck', NE neck || Clt: OIr cnoc 'protubérance, colline, mont', NIr cnoc, W cnwch 'protubérance', cnwch y gwegil 'la bosse de la nuque', OBr cnoch 'tumulus (hill)', MBr knech, Br krec'h, krec'h 'hill' || Tc A krñuk 'neck, nape' ¶ Vr. 242, Ho. 166, OsS 408, Kb. 714, Lx. 61, KM 248, 500-1, Vn. C 132 (IE *knokko-), Wn. I 225, ≠ P 558-9 (*kneu-g-, -k-) || ? HS: S *'ṣun_lu_ḳ- ~ *'ṣin_lu_ḳ- 'neck' (× N *'ṣom_l∇_lKĕ '[ε part of the] neck', q.v. ffd.) ◇ N *η- yields IE *kn- and U *ñ- (or zero in some positions), while T *j- and Tg *ń- are positional reflexes of A *η- before *i; IE *n- (rather than *kn-) in *nehs- 'nose' (< N *ηE_l?a_lqaśa id.) and NaIE *nāu- 'dead body' (< N *ηaṣw'ī 'dead, dead person') may be due to the presence of a N lr.; n- in Ht nanna- vi. 'treiben, ziehen, marschieren, fahren' (< N *ηāñE 'go [away]') may be due to as. ◇ AD NM no. 108, Vv. AEN 7, ADb. NNN 38 (A, U, IE).

1639. *η'iwō'∇ 'extend, stretch, become long' > HS: S *°-ṣūl- > Ar √ ṣwl (pf. ṣāla, ip. -ṣūl-) 'deviate from the right course', ṣāla fī ... (ip. yaṣūlu fī ...) 'extend the bounds in ...', {BK} √ ṣwl G 'dépasse/excéder le chiffre \ la mesure' ¶ BK II 411, Hv. 510 || A *ηō|ū'∇ 'long; extend, to extend' > M: WrM {Cev.} nolig, HIM {BMR} нолиг 'long\boring' (of a conversation), Brt (d.?) нулмигар 'длинный; долговязый' ¶ BMR II 411, Luv. 270, Cev. 380, Chr. 333 ¶ The lack of final vowel in WrM nolig is still to be explained || Tg {S} *ηōl'ī- 'be long' ⇨ *ηol∇mi 'long' > WrMc {Z} голминь, Mc Sb

gollin 'long, extended', Ul walmi ~ wolmi ~ nolmi, Orc noń(i)mi, Ud {Krm.} wanimi, {STM} wanimi & wańimi, Ork, Nn Nh {On.} nońimmi ~ ońimmi, Ewk nońim, Sln ninomi, {Iv.} гонѡм, Lm nońm, Neg nońom id.; d. *no:~lmi-la 'length' > Ul nolmila, Orc nońila, Ud wanila, Nn Nh {On.} nonilān ~ onilān id. ¶ STM I 664-5, Krm. 218, On. 285, 312, Z 343 || NaT *ula- 'extend, prolong; attach, join (ends)' > OT, MT ula- 'attach, join (ends)', Tk ula- 'join, attach, add', ET uli-, Qrg ula- 'join, attach' ('соединять концами, надставляют'), Tkm, Alt, Tv ula- 'attach, join (соединять. сцеплять)', Uz ula- vt. 'attach, join (соединять, сцеплять)', Xk, Shor ula- 'extend' ¶ Cl. 126-7, ET Gl 587-8 || pKo {S} *nár- 'be extended, extend' > MKo nárí-, NKo nil- ¶ S QK no. 123, Nam 92, MLC 372 || pJ {S} *nàn-kà 'long' > OJ naga-. MJ nàgà-, J T nàgá-i, J K nàga-i, J Kg náge, J Ns nàgà-, J Sh nàgá-, J Ht nà-, J Y nã- ¶ S QJ no. 44, Kenk. 1301-2 ¶¶ SDM 1035-6 (pA *nõl̃ > Tg *nōlig, T, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1546, S AJ 109, 276, S VL 227-8 || ? U: (× N *wA|a or *wu|o|a [?] 'big, large') FU *wu|∇ 'big, much, many' (*-| - may belong to the heritage of *wA|a or *wu|o|a) > Lp: L āllō id., N {N} q|l|o ~ q|llo ~ q|lo 'much, many' || Os: Pt {Stn.} u|, O {Stn.} wu|, Pt {Stn.} u| 'крупный, groß', {KrT} wь| 'big, older' | amb Hg nyú|(-ik) 'stretch, extend, expand', unless it is related to nyú|jt- id., which goes back to FU *nâ|y∇ 'stretch, extend' || Sm: Ne: T nyuli- 'quite, very', T O {Lh.} nu|i? id. ¶ Coll. 103 (tentatively equating Hg nyú| - with Vt nuyal- 'stretch, extend'), UEW 309 (explaining the Hg and Vt forms as derived from the reflexes of FU {Rd.} *n|nâ|y∇ 'stretch, extend' [> Vt M nuyal- id., Z noykal- 'such erweitern, sich ausdehnen']) ¶¶ Coll. 44, UEW 543-4 (reconstructing U *u|∇, without taking into account Os), Stn. D 1586, KrT I 222, Ter. 403, Lh. 43 || D *nī| - 'be long; extend' > Tm nī| 'be long', nī| 'length', Ml nī|a, nī|ē, nī|avē 'far', nī|am 'length', nī|uka 'extend oneself, become long', Kt ni·r̄-, ni·n̄- 'become longer by expansion' (iron), ni·t̄- 'lengthen (iron)', Td ni·| - 'be stretched out straight' (rope), 'stretch oneself over\into', Kt, Td ni·t̄- 'stretch out' (limb), Kn nī| 'grow long\high, extend, extend oneself', Kdg ni·|a 'length', Tu nē|ya 'great, large', nī|t̄u- 'stretch out\forth', Tl nī|lugu 'stretch, stretch one's limbs', Knd nilba 'straight, erect', Kui nī|ba 'be standing' (corn), Ku niluwu 'long (in measuring)' ¶¶ D no. 3692 ◇ ADb. NNN 35 (A [*nõla], U, D), DQA no. 1546 (A, D).

1640. * $\eta\nabla\acute{\imath}\nabla$ 'h' ∇ mP'i' 'gnat, mosquito' (\approx N * $\eta\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ '€ insect' [cf. s.v. * $\acute{\eta}\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ or * $\eta\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ '€ insect'] + N *'h' ∇ mP'i' 'venomous vermin'?) > **A** * η alma 'a stinging insect' > Tg * η alma- 'gnat' > Ork η alma-qta ~ nalma-qta ~ nalpa-qta ~ namma-qta, Ud η ama-kta, Orc gama-kta, UI galma-qta ~ garma-qta, Nn Bk galma-qta ~ garma- χ ta ~ garma-qta, Nn Nh/KU garma-qta, Ewk, Neg η anma-kta, Sln nama-kta ~ namma-kta ~ namma-tta, WrMc {Z} галмань, Mc Sb (galamən) [ga \ddot{a} mən] id. ¶ STM I 657, Krm. 271, On. 99, Z 308, Y no. 2259 || pJ * \grave{a} mû 'gadfly' > OJ amu, MJ [RJ] àbú, J T ábu, J K àbú, J Kg abú {S} id., {Kenk.} 'horsefly, gadfly' ¶ S QJ no. 1512, Mr. 376, Kenk. 2 ¶¶ SDM 1024-5 (pA * η alma 'a biting insect' > Tg, J), DQA no. 1525, S AJ 81 || **D:** [1] (\times N * $\acute{\eta}\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ or * $\eta\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ '€ insect' q.v.) (att. in McTm) D *nu \grave{a} mp- 'mosquito, gnat' > Tm nu \grave{a} mpu 'gnat, eye-fly, mosquito', MI nu \grave{a} mpu 'gnat, eye-fly' ¶ D no. 3715 || ?? [2] D *umm ∇ - '€ stinging insect' > Kn ummu \grave{a} i '€ insect', Tu umil \circ ~ umb \grave{a} i 'mosquito, gnat', Nkr ummel 'mosquito' ¶¶ D no. 638 || **HS:** [1] (mt.) S *'namal- 'ant', coll. *namā- 'ants' > Ar naml- ~ numl- 'ant(s)', snglt. naml-at-, BHb הַנְּמָלִים nəmā'-l-ā 'ant', MHb pl. הַנְּמָלִים nəmā'-l-ī m 'ants', Sr نَمْلُ النَمْلِ nəmā'-l-ā 'ant nest', Mh {Jo.} nōmīl (pl. nōmōl), Hrs {Jo.} lōmēl (pl. lōmōl), Sq {Jo.} 'nəmhεl, Ak namālu, namlu, lamattu (< *la'manatum < *na'malatum) 'ant' ¶ BK II 1349, KB 662, KBR 701, Br. 431, Sd. 533, 725, Jo. M 299] [2] S * \circ nimm- > Ar nimm-at- 'ant, louse' ¶ Fr IV 337, BK II 1346 ¶ The change *n...lm- > *n...mm- and the mt. * \checkmark nlm > * \checkmark nm \grave{a} are due to the S incompatibility law that rules out a sequence of two dental sonorants in the same \checkmark || Ch: ? WCh: Su {J} η gum, Ang η gum 'insect' || ECh: Jg {J} lólmó 'ant' ¶ J J 114, J S s.v. η gum, Stl. ZCh 218 [no. 680] || **U:** FU *íâm ∇ (pre-U **n|n ∇ íâm ∇ ?) and * \circ n|n \circ ume 'small fly or mosquito': [1] FU *íâm ∇ (= íum ∇ ?) > pChr {Ber.} *lum- > Chr: H l \grave{u} me, Y lūmey, M lumiy, B lume 'a very small fly' || pVg *í'u'məy/*í'ū'məy 'gnat' > Vg {Kn.}: LK íoməy, MK *íōməy, P íoməy ~ íaməy, Ss íūmūy ~ íōmuy id.; [2] Prm *nomi 'mosquito' > StZ nom / nomy- 'mosquito', Z USs nom 'gnat' ('Мoшкá'), Yz num 'mosquito', Vt n+m+ 'gnat', Vt C n+m+ 'mosquito' ¶ UEW 262, 710-11, Ber. 34, LG 193, Lt. 56 ◇ Ffd. see N * $\acute{\eta}\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ or * $\eta\nabla\acute{\imath}|\nabla$ '€ insect' and N *'h' ∇ mP'i' 'venomous vermin'.

1641. *'η'amT ∇ 'give' > **HS:** S * \checkmark ntn ~ * \circ \checkmark ndn ~ (?) * \circ \checkmark ndy v. 'give' > BHb \checkmark ntn (pf. nā'tan, ip. -tten), Amn, Ed, Yd, OA, IA, BA, JEA,

Nbt, Plm, JA, Md ✓ ntn G, Ug {OLS, A}, Ph, Pun ✓ ytn G, OCn Sn t n, Ar NY S (← SS?) ✓ ndy (pf. ?anda, ip. yandi) 'give', JA [Trg.] ✓ ntn G 'give, present (schenken)' 𐎠 ✓ ddy (pf. ?addi ip. yiddi) 'give', Jb ndoh 'give it here!', Ak ✓ ndn (inf. nādānu) 'give' ¶ The variant ytn in Ph and Ug goes back to metanalysis of the Cn ip. *-ttin- < *-ntin- ¶ KB 692-4, 1750, KBR 733-5, HJ 478-9, 766-70, Alb. PSI 44, A no. 1255, Grd. UT no-s 1169 and 1716, OLS 543-4, Lv. T II 133, Sl. 780-1, DM 307, Jo. J 180, Bns. NJ I 191, Sd. 701 || U: FU *amta- v. 'give' > F anta- v. 'give, give as present', Es anda- v. 'give', pLp {Lr.} *vōmtē > Lp: N {N} vuoω'de-/ -ωd-, L {LLO} vuoob'tē- ~ vyogtē- v. 'sell', I {It.} vyebdid, Pa {TI} uū'd_e-, Nt {TI} uū't_ē- v. 'give' | pMr *andā- > Er андо- ando-, Mk андо- andā- v. 'nourish, feed' | pPrm *ud- v. 'feed, give to drink' > Z, Prmk ud- id., Vt udī- v. 'give to drink' ||| Hg ad- v. 'give, give as present' ¶ UEW 8, Coll. 72, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (FU *īmtā- 'give, sell' > FP *ēmta-, Ugr *īmta-), LG 295-6, SK 20, Lr. no. 1440, Lgc. no. 8716, TI 704, Ker. II 34-5 || ? A: pJ {S} *átápá- v. 'give' > OJ atapa-, MJ átáφá-, J T àtae-, J K átáé-, J Kg ataé id.; ⇨ MJ átáφji, StJ atai 'price' ¶ S AJ 112, 269 [no. 117], S QJ no. 117, Mr. 387, 678, Kenk. 54 ¶¶ S AJ 279 [no. 109], SDM97 (A *amta 'give' [a rec. based on the external comparison with U]) || D *amm- v. 'sell' > Tm ammu v. 'sell, vend', Gnd amanā, mamanā, omm- v. 'sell' ¶¶ D no. 186 ◇ The tentative rec. of N *ŋ- is based on indirect ev.: *ŋ- is the only N phoneme responsible for the correlation S *n- ÷ U and D *∅-.

1642. *ŋāñE 'go (away)' > HS: Eg P/CT nny v. 'go, go away' ¶ EG II 276 || amb IE (× N *ŋ'í'hw∇ 'to lead?'): Ht nanna-, nanniya- vi. 'drive, ride in an animal-drawn vehicle', vt. 'drive (animals, persons, evils)' ¶ CHD L-N 391-3, Ts. E II 271-3, Sturt. CG 215, 247 (Sturtevant believed that nanna- is a rdp. of nai- 'lead') || A *ŋá:ni 'go, go down\away' > Tg *ŋene- 'go, walk' > Ewk ŋznū- 'go (gehen, fahren), walk', Ewk ŋznē-, Neg, Ud ŋznz-, Ork ŋz(n)nz- vi. 'move (somewhere), go', Sln nznz- 'set off, leave (отправиться)', Lm ŋzn- 𐎠 ŋön- 𐎠 ŋən- vi. 'move, go away', Ork ŋzn- 'go away', Ul ŋznz-, Nn Nh/KU znz- vi. 'move, go, go away', WrMc {Z} Γεηε- 'go, set off' ¶ STM I 669-71, Krm. 273. On. 532-3, Z 314 || T *ān- 'go down, descend' (× N 'χ'āñ∇ or *'χ'āη∇ 'bow, bend down, descend') > O T ēn- 'slope downwards', Tk in-, Tk d. en- 'descend', Az, KrTt, Qzq, Qq, Nog, StAlt en-, Tkm īn- 'go down, descend', Chv L ан- 'descend' ¶ Cl.

43, ET Gl 353-4, Ash. I 210-13, Fed. I 43, Jeg. 26, ChVS 13 || pKo {S, SDM} *nàń(´) 'go, move forward' > MKo nàń-, nàń´-, nās-/nań-, NKo nas- [nat-], nā-ka- ¶ S QK no. 174, Nam 88, 99, 101, MLC 292, 311 || pJ {S, SDM} *ín- 'go, go away' > OJ ín-, MJ ín- id. ¶ S QJ no. 214, Mr. 697 || ? M *neʁü- ({SDM}: < **ηηü- < **ηenü-) 'drive the herd to other pasture grounds, trek, nomadize, move from place to place, migrate' (× N *ńahæg'ü' 'drive, chase', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1027 (pA *ηéni 'go [down, away]), DQA no. 1533, S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292, ADb. SR 113 ◇ The unexpected length of the vw. *ä in pA *ηá:ni is still to be explained..

1643. *ηán_h∇ 'take so. with oneself, lead' > HS: S *°✓ ɤny|w > Ar عان ʿāni-n 'captive' ¶ BK II 390-1, Hv. 505 || IE *ne_hχ- > NaIE *ne_i(ə)-/ *nī- v. 'lead', Ht {CHD} nai-/ne- vt. 'send, dispatch' (× N *η'í'h w ∇ 'to lead, to direct [oneself] towards', q.v. ffd.) || A *ηāní- (= *ηāní-?) 'take so. with oneself', 'friendship, accord' > AmTg *ηāni- 'fetch, go to take so.\sth.' > Nn Nh ηāni-, Ul ηanžü-/ ηanžī- 'go to fetch sth.' ¶ AmTg *-ni- for the expected *-ńi is puzzling (neutralization of the opposition *ń ↔ *n before *i?) ¶ STM I 657, On 284 || M *nayı- 'friendship, accord' > MM nayıra-qui 'justice, right (Recht), debt', WrM nai {MED} 'friendship', HIM най {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'friendliness', Kl {Rm.} nā: 'Freundlichkeit; Freund', Ord nā: 'marque d'amitié'; M *nayı_r∇ > WrM nair {MED} 'accord, harmony, concord, friendliness', HIM найр {MED} id., {BMR} 'любезность, вежливость', Ord nār 'bonne entente, bonnes relations entre les personnes', Dg nára- v. 'love, be attached' ¶ MED 558-9, BMR II 385, 387, T DgJ 156. KW 273-4, Ms. O 485-6 || ?σ pKo {S} *niń- 'combine, continue' > MKo niń-, NKo it- [is-] ¶ S QK no. 998, Nam 127, MLC 1369 || ?φ pJ *ìmuà 'beloved woman, friend (a woman)' > OJ imwο, MJ ìmò id., J T imōtó, J K imótó, J Kg imótó 'younger sister', J T imose 'husband and wife' ¶ Mr. 423, Krnk. 614 ¶¶ SDM 1026 (pA *ηāní 'take so. with oneself' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1529 ◇ IE *-hχ- points to a N lr., most probably *h (the only one that can fall in S and yield *hχ in IE), unless the IE lr. belongs to the heritage of N *η'í'h w ∇ ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (N *η₂ A rí √ 'take so.\sth. with oneself' > IE, A {DQA} *ηāni + err. D nań- 'approach, join').

1644. *η_l∇ w_l ań ∇ 'sky, cloud' > HS: CS *ɤanān- ~ *°ɤanan- ~ *°ɤa'w_lann- 'clouds' > BHb 𐌆𐌆𐌆 ɤā'nān 'clouds, cloud mass (Gewölk)',

BA 𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤆^a nān, Sr 𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤆^a nā'n-ā 'cloud', Ar {BK} 𐤆ānn-at-, {Hv.} 𐤆ānn-
 'cloud' (< *^o𐤆a^r𐤍^w ann-), 𐤆anān- 'rain cloud' ¶ KB 811-12, Br. 533, JPS
 420, BK II 377, Hv. 502 || **A** *𐤆ānā 'sky, clear sky' > Tg *𐤆ānā 'sky' >
 Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ud 𐤆ānā, Lm 𐤆ānā 𐤍^h nān, Ork nānā 'sky', ?? WrMc {Z}
 𐤆ānā {STM} *'sky, clear sky' (conjecture of STM from WrMc {Z})
 𐤆ānā oho, 𐤆ānā tučikə 'проглянуло из-за облаков
 солнце' ¶ STM I 634, Krm. 269, Z 243 ¶ The enigmatic Tg *𐤆- may be
 explained by ass. (pA *𐤆...𐤆- > Tg *𐤆...𐤆-?) || Т *a^r𐤆- > [1] Т *aya^r (<
 *a^r𐤆) 'cloudless sky' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} ayāz|s 'cloudless, bright',
 MQp xv ayaz 'clear weather', XIV [CC] ayaz|s, Chg xv ayaz 'a clear
 cloudless night', Qmq, ET ayaz, Tv ayas, Bsh ayab, Chv L цяр, Chv Δ
 ояр 'clear weather', Tkm ayab, Tk ayaz, Az, VTt, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg
 ayaz 'frost'; [2] Bsh Δ ayat- 'become clear' (weather), [3] SbTt ayъq
 'clear' (of weather); ? [4] NaT *a₁:y|nīq- 'become clear' (of sky,
 weather)', 'recover (from illness), get sober' > Qzq, Qq, Qrg ayiq- id.
 (× Т *a₁:δI- represented by OT aδIψ sober) ¶ Rs. W 11, Cl. 46, 276,
 ET Gl 102-3, TL 13, Rl. I 218, Ash. III 173-4, Fed. II 298, Jeg. 280,
 ChVS 236 || ?? pJ {S} *ámâi 'sky, rain' > OJ ame, MJ àmè {S} id., J K
 àmê, J Kg amé, J Ns àmí, J Sh ámí, J Ht àmí, J Y àmì {S} id., J T áme
 {Kenk.} 'rain' ¶ S QJ no. 59, Mr. 381, Kenk. 28 ¶¶ SDM 1025 and
 DQA no. 1526 (pA *𐤆ānā 'clear sky'), ADb. SR 11 || **D** *vānā 'sky,
 cloud, rain' > Tm vān, vān am, Gnd KM {BB} vāna id., Ml
 vān(am), Kt va·nm, Td po·n ~ fo·n, Kn bān(a), bāna, Tu bāna,
 bāna, Krg bāna 'sky', Tl vāna, Klm va·na, Nk vāna, Prg vān-i, Gdb
 vāyin 'rain' ¶¶ D no. 5381 ¶¶ D *vānā suggests the loss of the N
 initial *𐤆V- ¶¶ Cp. D *vīn 'sky' < *wEyn|nV ~ *wEñ|nyV 'daylight'
 (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N *𐤆₁a^r𐤆 'sky' > A, D).

1645. *𐤆eh^UR^ri 'light (lux), fire' > HS: CS *√nhr 'light', v. 'shine'
 (× N *𐤆|nāherV 'day, sun, daylight' and N *𐤆uRV 'become very hot,
 shine'?) > BHb √nhr v. 'shine, be radiant', 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 nāhārā 'light' ('Licht,
 heller Schein'), BA 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 nāhō'rā, JA 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 nā'hōr, em. nāhō'rā, Sr
 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 nuh'r-ā (cs. 𐤆𐤆𐤆𐤆 nāhor), Md nhura 'light', Sr, Md √nhr
 v. 'give light, shine', Ww 𐤆nhr v. Sh 'illuminate', Plm nhyr
 'illustrious' ¶ HJ 720-1, Js. 881, JPS 329, KB 639-40, 1744, KBR 676-
 7, BDB 626, Br. 417-18, DM 291, Nld. MG 118 || **A** ≈ *𐤆æ₁RV > Tg
 *𐤆ēri 'light (lux)' > Ewk 𐤆ēri, Lm 𐤆ri ~ 𐤆rin n. 'light', adj. 'light
 (hell)', Sln nṣri 'daybreak (aurora)', Nn Nh 𐤆run- v. 'be dawning' ¶

STM I 671-2, On. 287 || M (d.?) *nurma 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire' (× N *ńuR∇ '↑') > WrM nurma {MED} 'hot cinders, embers; bonfire, campfire', HIM нурам, нурма {MED} id., {BMR} 'hot cinders, embers', Brt нурма id., Kl {KRS} † нурм nuram id., WrO nurma 'cinders, ashes' ¶ MED 59, BMR II 426, Krg. 229, KRS 386, Chr. 333 ¶¶ Pp. IAL 25, S AJ 18; SDM 1028-9 and DQA no. 1439 (in both: pA *ηèrá 'day, sun, light' > Tg + unc. T, M and Ko roots that belong to N *η|ηaher∇ '↑', q.v. ffd. + ??φ J *àrí- 'dawn') || D: [1] D *ne'yu'r- > Krx niyūr 'embers, live coals, brand', Mlt nare 'flame' || MI ríeri 'heat, burning, pungency', Tm neruppu, MI ríerippu ~ nerippu 'fire', Kt, Td nep 'live coal' || TI nippu 'fire', Nkr nírkíp- v. 'kindle', Gdb nírik- ~ níruk- v. 'light a lamp', Gnd nírwānā vt. 'burn', Kui drē 'ignition, a flare' ¶¶ D no. 811 || ? [2] D *er₁i₁- 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Tm eri 'fire', eri- vi. 'burn', MI eri 'heat, burning, pungency', Kt erv- vi. 'shine brightly' (of anything except sun), Td er- 'be very bright', Kdg eri- 'have burning\astrigent sensation' (of mouth), Tu eri 'the glare\heat of fire', eri₁yu- 'glare, be hot', TI eri₁yu v. 'burn, grieve', Klm, Nkr, Nk erk- v. 'light (fire)', Prj eríp- 'burn the mouth', Gnd ers- 2 ars- v. 'taste pungent', Knd, Ku er-, Kui ērpa v. 'kindle, light' ¶¶ D no-s 811 and 2929 ◇ D *-r- (in both *ne'yu'r- and *er₁i₁-) goes back to *-HR- from N *-h'U'R- ◇ N *η- yields S *n- (rather than *s or *ʷ) in the presence of a laryngeal in the same root (see Introduction, § 2.1) ◇ ≈ IS II 85-6 [no. 320] (*ríara 'fire; to flame'; IS did not distinguish between the reflexes of N *ηeh'U'R'i' and those of N *η|ηaher∇ 'day, sun' [q.v.]).

1646. *ηE₁?a₁qaśa 'nose' > HS: the S root *√nχś ('nose?') is attested in a derived noun meaning 'bone of the nose': Mh n3χśīś, Jb E n3χśeś, Jb C naχśeś, Hrs n^χśīś id. ¶ Jo. M 308-9, Jo. J 199, Jo. H 100 || IE *neHs- (> NaIE *nās-), in oblique cases *nHχ0s- 'nose' > OI 'nāsā f. 'nose' (Vd [RV] gen. du. na's-oh, [AthV] instr. sg. na's-ā), OPrs accus. nāham, Av nā̄ha ~ (?) nāh-, BdhSgd nns 'nose' || L nāris 'nostril' (pl. nārēs 'nostrils, nose'); OL nasum, L nasus ({WH}: < expressive geniation *nass0-) 'nose' || Gmc: ON nos, Nr nos, Dn næse, Sw nāsa 'nose', Sw nos 'muzzle, nose', OHG nasa, NHG Nase, OFrs, MDt nose, Dt neus, AS nosu 'nose', NE nose || Lt nosis 'nose', Ltv nāss 'nostril', Pru nozy ({En.}: = *[nōsi]) 'nose' || Sl *nōsъ id. > ChS носъ nosъ, Blg, R нос,

Uk нѣс, SCr, Slv nōs, Cz, Slk, P nos id. ¶ The structure of the word and its paradigm were reconstructed by Lub. on the basis of archaic forms: nom. *neHs- > Ltv nās̃s, Vd du. 'nās̃ā, accus. *neHs-ṃ > Ltv nās̃si, OPrs nāham, L nārem, obl. *nHos- > ChS, OR **НОСЪ**, Vd gen. du. na'soh̃ ¶ WH II 143, 145-6, Lub. AP*a 60, P 755, ≈ EI 395 (*¹Hnas-s ~ *¹Hnās / *¹Hna's-os), Mn. 827, M K II 146, 157, M E II 30-1, Gersh. MS 39, 139, Bai. 210, WH I 143-4, Kb. 716, OsS 640, KM 503-4, Ho. 238, Vr. N 469, Vr. 415, Hlq. 707, 717-18, Frn. 509, En. 217, ESSJ XXV 212-16, Glh. 440-1 || **A** *ṇi₁aks|č̣a 'nose' > Tg *ṇi₁aks¹a¹, *ṇi₁aksi-n ({SDM} *ṇiaks¹a¹, *ṇiaksi-n) 'nose' > Nn Δ ṇoqso 'nose', Orc ṇiqso, Ud {Krm.} ṇuhö ~ ṇōh, Ork naqsa, Ul ṇaksa ~ waqsa id., Lm A ṇēs ~ ṇēs 'nose, beak', Neg ṇasin '(bear's) nose' ¶ STM I 587, 636, Krm. 273, S AJ 218 [no. 173]; on the reflexes of Tg *i₁a ({Ci.} *j₁a) and *ks see Ci. 106-8, 194-7, 229 || pKo *n²č̣h 'face' > MKo n²č̣h ~ n²s, NKo nac^h [nat] id. ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 182], S QK no. 182, Nam 100-1, MLC 313 || M *nakč̣ar- ⇨ *nakč̣ar-qa¹y¹ > WrM {Rm.} naqca¹qai {SDM} 'orifice of the nose', HIM {BMR} нагчирхай 'orifices of posterior (internal) nostrils (хоаны, задние носовые отверстия)', Brt нагсагар 'having a flat bridge of the nose', KI {KRS} накцрха 'Nasenzwurzel (переносца)', {Rm.} nakc¹χā ~ nakc¹χā 'Nasenzrücken' (F Cev. 362, Luv. 258, BMR II 384, Chr. 317, KRS 367, KW 270, S AJ 244 [no. 240]), the cns. *č̣ in M is likely to go back to a sx and not to belong to the pA stem (unless we accept SDM's hyp. of a pA *č̣ > M *č̣ and Tg *s) ¶¶ SDM 1030 (pA *ṇjakč̣ ∇ 'nose, some part of nose' Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 1538 (id.), SDM97 (A *ṇäkč̣a), S AJ 18, 293 [no. 454] ◇ Altaic *-ks- (or *-kč̣-) < **-qS- < N *-qaṣ̌- (a reg. sound change in a cns. cluster?). The affricate instead of a non-affricate sibilant in M and Ko may be a secondary development in a cns. cluster (cp. Yid menč̣ 'person' from menṣ̌) or go back to a sx ◇ Here N *ṇ- yields IE *n- rather than *kn-, which may be due to the presence of a lr. The ā-colored IE lr.*H points to a N vw. *a after *q. ADb. reconstructed the N etymon as *na¹y¹ṇk¹ ∇ 'nasopharynx' ◇ Cf. AD PNPh, AD AltAD no. 8 ◇ Blz. IELA 19 [no. 77] (S, IE *₁H₁neHs- / ? *₁H₁ne₁H]s- [with unj. initial lr.]).

1647. (2?) *ṇ¹i¹Ha¹t¹a¹ 'ε sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' > **A**: ppA ≈ **ṇ|ni₁at¹a > [1] A *ṇ|ni₁:₁t¹a 'ε knife', 'cut' > NaT *ji₁:₁tig 'sharp' > OT jitung, jit(t)i, Kü/Qb/Qc {Rl.} jidig, Xk č̣itung, Tv č̣idig id. ¶ Cl. 889, Rl. III 526-7 || M *nitul- v. 'cut' > MM [S] {H}

nitul- 'cut' ('ab-\durch-schneiden'), WrM {MED} nitula- 'kill/slaughter (cattle)', HIM {MED} нятла- id., {BMR} нятла- ~ нядла- id., Ord nūt'ul- 'kill' ¶ H 117, MED 586, BMR II 449, 452, Ms. O 503 ¶¶ SDM 980-1 (pA *nīt'ā > T, M + J *nátá and Ko *nát [going back to pA *ŋ|nat'∇ '↓'), DQA no. 1461, SDM97 (A *net'a > T, M, Ko, J), Rm. SKE I 162 (Ko, J) || [2] pA *ŋ|nat'∇ 'cutting instrument, knife' > NaT *°ja;:t 'big knife; weapon' > Osm {Rh.} يات yat 'arms, weapons; armour', Tk ұат 'armour', as well as possibly d.: Tk ұатаған, Az yataγan 'ε long knife' ¶ Rs. W 192, Rh. 2179, AzRL I 516, Rl. III 190, 199 || pKo {S} *nát > MKo nát 'sickle', NKo nas nat id., 'scythe' ¶ S QK no. 409, Rm. SKE I 162, Nam 94, MLC 311 || pJ {S} *nátá > JT nàta ~ natá, JK nátá, JKg nátà 'hatchet' ¶ Mr. 494, Kenk. 1340 ¶¶ SDM 980-1 (pA *nīt'ā > Ko, J + unc. NaT *jiti 'sharp' and M *nitula- 'slaughter' [going back to pA *ŋ|ni;:t'a '↑']), S QJ no. 416, Rm. SKE I 162 || IE *kneH̄d- > NaIE *knēd- / *kenəd- 'bite, cut with a sharp instrument' > Gk κνώδων (gen. κνώδοντος) 'sword' (originally an acp. *'biting'), pl. κνώδοντες 'two projecting teeth on the blade of a hunting spear' || Lt inf. kãstī (1s pres. kãrdū) 'to bite' (< *konəd-), Ltv inf. kōst (1s pres. kōžū, kōdū) id., 'to be sharp, to cut', Lt kãñdis n. 'bite, sting' ¶ ≈ P 560, ≈ F I 887-8, ≈ Ch. 349-50, Frn. 227 ¶ The apophonic grade *kenəd- (< *kenH̄d-) is a secondary formation based on *kneH̄d- (most probably from earlier *kn̄jeH̄d- [see AD NVIE] < N *ŋ'i'Hat'a') || HS: ? Ch ≈ *ʔaḏ∇ 'bite; eat (hard food)' (in some lges contamination with the reflex of N *ʔitê 'eat' [q.v.]) > WCh: AG: Su {J}, Gmy at, Tal {IL} àt, Ang {ChL} ʔàt, Cp {ChL} ʔət 'bite' || BT: Grm {Sch.} àḏ-álà 'bite', Dr {J} aḏ-, Krf {Sch.} àḏḏá-wò, Pr {Frz.} áḏḏò 'eat (hard food)', ? Krkr {Lk.} haḏ- id. || CCh: BB: BtG {Mch} aḏo, Bcm {Sk.} áḏò-, Gudu {ChL} ó:dù, {IL} odici, ? Nz {Mch.} id- 'bite' || ECh: Brgt {J} ʔàḏḏí 'eat (hard food)', Mkl {J} ʔâḏì má / ʔâḏí id., ʔáʔìdá, Mb {Lk.} áḏ 'bite' ¶ JI II 24-5 and 118-19, ChC s.v. 'bite' and 'eat (hard food)', ChL, J LM 55-6, Frz. P 18 ◇ The cognates in the A lges and in Ch suggest a mt. N *-Hat- > *-t;∇;h-, whence pA *-t'- and Ch *-ḏ-.

1648. ? *ŋitû 'worm(s), maggot(s), nit' > HS: WCh: AG: Gmy {ChL} ñit, Cp {ChL} n̄iyet, Su {ChL} yet 'worm' ¶ ChC s.v. 'worm', ChL I 29, 41, 53 || S *°∇t̄t̄- > Ar SL ʔat̄t̄- 'moth, tick, mite' ¶ Hv. 451 || A: M *ötün 'worms, maggots' (unless with *φ-) > WrM {MED} ötü(r), HIM

{MED} $\Theta\tau$, {BMR} $\Theta\tau(\Theta\text{H})$ id., Kl {KRS} $\Theta\tau\text{H}$ $\dot{\Theta}\tau\text{H}$ 'worm(s)', {Rm.} $\dot{\Theta}\tau\eta$ 'Würmer (in Fleisch, in einer Wunde)', Brt $\Upsilon\tau\text{Э}(\text{H})$ 'worm(s)', Ord $\ddot{u}\tau'\ddot{u}$ 'larve d'insecte qui se développe dans une blessure, dans la viande gâtée, asticot'; M * $\ddot{u}\tau\ddot{u}$ - v. 'develop maggots' > WrM {MED} $\ddot{u}\tau\ddot{u}$ -, HIM {MED, BMR} $\Theta\tau\Theta$ - id., Brt $\Upsilon\tau\text{Э}$ - id., 'begin to breed' (of maggots\worms), Kl {KRS} $\Theta\tau$ - $\dot{\Theta}\tau$ - id., {KW} * $\ddot{u}\tau\ddot{o}$ - 'Würme haben', Ord $\ddot{u}\tau'\ddot{u}$ - 'être rempli de vers' ¶ The absence or presence of pM * φ - cannot be checked on the extant data. M * \ddot{o} - < * i - (ass. infl. of *- \cup) ¶ MED 646, BMR III 47-8, Chr. 516, KRS 427, KW 302, Ms. O 765 || IE: NaIE * $knid$ - ~ * $\hat{k}nid$ - 'nit, louse' (\times N * $\text{K}'\text{E}'\hat{n}it\text{V}$ 'louse, nit', q.v.) > Arm $\omega\hat{u}h\acute{o}$ $\text{an}ic$ 'nit' ($c < *d-s$) || pAl {O} * $canid\bar{a}$ > Al: G $t\hat{h}(\ddot{e})'n\bar{t}$, T $t\hat{h}(\ddot{e})'r\bar{t}$ 'louse' || Gk $\kappa\acute{o}\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, mostly pl. $\kappa\acute{o}\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ 'eggs of lice, fleas and bugs; nits' (θ on the analogy of $\kappa\acute{o}\nu\iota\varsigma$ 'dust'?) || W pl. $nedd$, Crn $n\bar{e}th$ coll. (snglt. $nedhen$), Br nez 'nits' || AS $hnit\text{u}$, NE nit , OHG $ni\zeta$, MHG $ni\zeta$, $ni\zeta\zeta\epsilon$, NHG $ni\beta$, $ni\text{sse}$ 'nit' ||] In Gmc and BSl there is a NaIE variant * $g^hni(:)d$ - 'nit' (* g^h - due to the infl. of * g^hen - 'scratch'?) > ON, Nr $\Delta gnit$, OSw $gnether$, Sw $gnet$, Dn $gnid$ 'nit' || Ltv $gn\bar{i}da$ 'nit', ? Lt $gl\bar{i}nda$ id. (dis.: < $\approx *gn\bar{i}n\bar{i}da$ and/or \times L $lens$ / $lendis$?) || Sl * $gnida$ id. > Blg, R, Uk $\Gamma\text{HИДА}$, SCr $gnj\bar{i}da$, Slv $gn\bar{i}da$, Cz, Slk $hnida$, P $gnida$ ¶ P 608, FI 912-13, Hm. 598, YGM-1 342, ECCE 774, Hamp AIEW 146, O 476, Ho. 16, Kb. 732, OsS 410, Lx. 152, Vr. 179-80, Sl. 121-2, Frn. 157-8, Kar. I 304, ESSJ VI 173-4, EI 357 (* $\hat{k}(\theta)nid$ - 'nit') ¶ The variant * $g^hni(:)d$ - may be due to euphemistic, tabuistic or other "expressive" modifications ◇ Highly qu., because IE * $knid$ - ~ * $\hat{k}nid$ - has a good alt. et. (N * $\text{K}'\text{E}'\hat{n}it\text{V}$) and with the extant data the absence of pM * φ - cannot be proved.

1649. * $\eta\alpha\zeta\omega'i$ 'dead, dead person' > HS: S * $\circ\check{\nu}n\epsilon\gamma|\omega$ > Ar $\check{\nu}n\epsilon\gamma$ (pf. نعى $na\epsilon\bar{a}$, ip. $-n\epsilon\gamma\bar{i}\gamma$ -) v. 'announce the death of so.' (the direct object being the dead person) ¶ BK II 1300, Hv. 784 || IE: NaIE * $n\bar{a}\gamma$ - 'dead body; death' > ON $n\bar{a}-r$ 'corpse', Gt $na\text{u}-s$ (gen. $na\omega is$) ($\nu\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$) 'Toter', AS $n\bar{e}(\theta)$ id., 'corpse', $n\bar{e}obedd$ 'deathbed' || Sl * $navb$, * $navbje$ > ChS, OR HABE $navb$, SCr nav , R ΔHABE 'dead person', OCz nav (gen. $navi$) 'grave; next world', d. inf. $unaviti$ 'to kill', Slv $n\bar{a}v$ 'soul of a dead person', Slv $n\bar{a}vje$, Blg ΔHABE 'souls of unbaptized children', Blg HABE 'evil spirits' || Ltv $n\bar{a}ve$ 'death', Pru $nowis$ ('Leib') 'body' (\leftarrow *'corpse'); ? Lt $n\bar{o}ve$ 'death, pangs of death', inf. $n\bar{o}v\gamma\bar{t}i$ 'to destroy, to torture to death'

(× *nōvē* 'Bedrückung', *nōvuti* 'bedrücken') ¶ P 756, EI 150 (**neh_βwi-s* 'corpse'), Fs. 372, Vr. 405, Ho. 232, Frn. 509, En. 217 (Pru *nōwis* 'trunk of the body'), Vs. III 35, ESSJ XXIV 49–52 || **A** **ηæb^{ri}* 'dead person' > Tg **ηēbi-* 'dead person' > Ewk *ηēwi* id., 'spirit of a dead ancestor', Lm *η3bi* 'invisible person', Ul *ń3wu-* ~ *ń3u-* v. 'bury', *ń3uwⁱ* 'burial' ¶ STM I 658 || pJ {S} **mž* or **myà* (or **mž*, on the ev. of modern J ds) > OJ *m₁u₁ò* {S} 'funeral, mourning', J T *mò*, J K/Kg *mó* {Kenk.} 'mourning' ¶ S QJ no. 1071, Mr. 484, Kenk. 1247 || ??σ T **jæbæg* 'cemetery, grave', 'soul of the deceased' > Xk *ibereg* 'ghost', ??σ *nebeg* 'cemetery, grave', Tv *čevēg* id., Yk *sibien* 'ghost', OChv **śuva* (→ R Δ C Ю Β Α 'Chuvash cemetery' [Dal IV 382]), ?? Chv L *çǎβα ś^βva* id. (unless akin to OT *jōv* 'funeral feast' < pT **jōg* < ppT ≈ **δōg*, as attested by the Gk gloss *δόγλα* (MenP, 3rd c.) ¶ Rs. W 197, 200, Ash. XII 312–15, Fed. II 89, Jeg. 204, ChVS 179, Mrv. II 112 ¶¶ Ewk apparently suggests a long *vw.* in the initial syll., while Yk *sibien* (an uncertain cognate) suggests a short *vw.* The long *vw.* in Ewk may be an Ewk innovation (as in many other cases), therefore the problem is not yet solved ¶¶ SDM 1029 (pA **ηjābi* 'deceased, funeral' > Tg, T, J), ADb. SR 15 ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 35 (A, IE + unc. SD **nav-a₁* 'be troubled, perish' and an unc. OHg-F parallel: OHg *nyuvad-* vi. 'ersticken, ertrinken' and F *nutta* 'be tired', see EWH 1049, SK 406).

1650. **ηūwäy* ▽ 'long hair' > HS: CCh: Mrg *η^wi*, Dgh {Frk} *g^wyé*, {ChC} *g^wiye*, Nkc {ChC} *g^wiya* 'beard' ¶ JI II 13, ChL, ChC s.v. 'beard', Frk. s.v. *g^wyé* || **A** **ηūyæ* (= **ηūyæ*?) ≈ long hair (of animals)' > Tg **ηūye-lse*, **ηūye-n* 'long hair under the neck' > Ork *ηīw3lt3* ~ *nīw3lt3* 'long hair under reindeer's neck', Lm Sk *ηóy3ldò*, Lm M *ηóy3ldə*, Lm O *ηóy3ll3* ~ *nóy3llə*, Lm Ol *móy3lrə* ~ *ηóy3lrə*, Ewk *muyāll3* & *mūy3ll3* & *muyāl^{r3}* id., *muyan* & *mūy3n* id. ¶ STM I 551 ¶¶ SDM 1037 (pA **ηūye* > Tg + unc. T **öyek* 'part of the animal's skin under the neck or between the legs', M **öyekey* 'lower part of animal's belly' and pJ **bž* 'tail'), DQA no. 1545 || **U** **wäyä* 'long hair (of animals)' > Chr H *wäyä* {Szil.} 'die längeren Haare an Fellen', {Rm.} 'Verbrämung aus Lammfell' || Sm: StNe T *ейте-*, Ne T BZ {Lh.} *yéjⁱt^{tē}-*, Ne F *β^jeyy3-* v. 'adorn with long white hairs of a reindeer', '(mit Renntierbart) Muster sticken', Ne T O {Lh.} *yéjⁱt^{tē}-* '(mit Garn) Muster sticken' ¶¶ Here N **ηūw-* > ***uw-* > U **w-* ¶¶

UEW 562, Ter. 91-2, Lh. 107 ◇ ADb. NNN 34 (N * η_1 A Υ U 'long hair of an animal' > A * $\eta\bar{o}$ ye, U).

1651. ($_2$?) * $\eta u h y^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ 'to rest, to lie, to repose' (\rightarrow 'to sleep') > HS: S (att. in EthS) * $\circ\check{v} n h y$ 'repose, be quiet', (?) 'lie down to sleep' > Gz $\check{v} n h y$ v. G (pf. $n \check{a} h y a$, js. $- n h a y$) 'repose, feel relieved, be quiet; recover', Tgy $\check{v} n h y \sim n h \omega$ G (pf. $n \check{e} h a y \check{e} \sim n \check{e} h a \omega \check{e}$) 'feel relieved\relaxed', Har $\acute{n} \bar{e} \check{?} a$ 'sleep', Amh $a \acute{n} \acute{n} \check{e}$ v. *Sh* 'put to sleep', Grg {L} (v. G 3a pf.): Ch $n \check{z} y a$, Ez $n \check{z} y y \check{e}$, Ed $\acute{n} \check{e} \check{?} \check{e}$, Gt $\acute{n} \acute{i} \check{?} \check{e}$, En $n \check{e} \check{?} \check{e}$ 'sleep, lie down to sleep' ¶ L G 394, L EDG III 466 || ??? ϕ AdS of Eg fMK $\check{v} \check{v} \omega$ v. 'sleep', Eg {Mks} $\check{v} \check{v} \omega$ n. 'sleep, drowsiness' (< N * $\xi a \omega^{\prime} o y^{\prime} \nabla$ 'spend the night, sleep' [q.v.]) ¶ EG I 169, Mks I no. O587 and II no. O647 || C: Bj {R} $n \check{a} y$ - scv. 'spend the night, sleep, rest' ¶ R WBd 187 || Ch: WCh: Klr {J} $\acute{n} \check{a}$ vi. 'lie, sleep', Sha {J} $\acute{n} \check{a}$ (pf. $\acute{n} \check{a} h - \acute{i}$) vi. 'sleep', {IL} $\acute{n} \check{a}$ vi. 'lie (liegen)', ? Dr $n \hat{o} n$ 'sleep' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} $\acute{n} u n \epsilon$ 'lie (liegen)' || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} $\acute{n} \check{e} \eta$ 'se coucher' ¶ JI II 198-9, J R 267, 354, ChC s.v. 'lie (down)' and 'sleep', ChL || A * $\eta \hat{o} y \nabla$ v. 'sleep' > Tg * $\eta u_{\check{v}} y_{\check{v}} a$ - or * $\eta u_{\check{v}} a$ -. 'sleep' > Ork $\eta u a$ -, Ud {Shn.} $\eta u^H a$ -, {Krm.} $\eta u a$ - id., ? Ewk $n i n \bar{a}$ - \check{z} $\acute{n} i n \bar{a}$ - id. ¶ STM I 597, 666, Krm. 272, S AJ 221 [no. 227] || M * $n o y i r$ n. 'sleep; drowsiness' > MM [S] {H} $n o y i r$ n. 'sleep', [MA] {Pp.} $n o y u r$ 'sleepy', WrM {MED} $n o i r$, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt $n o \check{y} p$ n. 'sleep; drowsiness', Klm {KRS} $n \check{e} p$ $n \check{o} r$ n. 'sleep', {Rm.} $n \check{o} r$ 'Schlaf', Mnr H {T, SM} $n \check{o} r$, MMgl [Z] {Iw.} $n o \check{?} i r$, Ba {T} $n o r$, Dx {T} $n o$ n. 'sleep', Mgl {Rm.} $n o i r \sim n \check{e} i r$ id., 'drowsiness' ¶ Pp. MA 26O, H 12O, MED 589, BMR II 41O, Chr. 329, KRS 384, KW 28O, Ms. H 8O, Ms. O 41O, SM 284, T 352, T DgJ 158, T DnJ 13O, T BJ 144, Rm. M 34 || NaT * \bar{u} n. 'sleep' > OT $u_{\check{v}} \check{v}$, Xlj \bar{u} , Yk \bar{u} id. ¶ Cl. 2, 42-3, Pek. 3O64-5, DT 2O9 ¶ T * \bar{u} may be (but not necessarily is) somehow connected with T * $u \delta i$ - v. 'sleep' (* $\bar{u} \leftrightarrow *u \delta i$ or bf.: * $u \delta i \leftrightarrow * \bar{u} \check{?}$); cp. N * $h u | o d_{\check{v}} \nabla \check{?} \nabla$ 'be motionless, sleep' || pJ {S} * $\acute{u} i$ n. 'sleep', * $\acute{u} i$ - v. 'sleep' > OJ i n. 'sleep, dream', ωi - $n a$ - v. 'sleep', MJ [RJ] i - $n a$ - v. 'sleep', $\omega \acute{i}$ - $n \acute{e} b \acute{u} r \acute{i}$ v. 'sleep', J T $i n e b \acute{u} r i \sim i n e b u r \acute{i}$, J K $\acute{i} n \acute{e} b \acute{u} r \acute{i}$, J Kg $i n e b u r \acute{i}$ 'drowsiness', StJ {Kenk.} $i n e m u r i$ n. 'doze, nap' ¶ S QJ no. 15O, Mr. 697, Kenk. 616 ¶¶ SDM 1O38 (pA * $\eta \acute{u} y u$ v. 'sleep' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1551, S AJ 18, 5O, 1O1, 28O, Md. OJ 1O2 || U * $\acute{n} u_{\check{v}} \check{v} \eta \nabla$ - 'take the rest, repose, sleep' (\times N * $\acute{n} u \eta \nabla$ 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ U * \acute{n} - belongs to the heritage of N * $\acute{n} u \eta \nabla$ ◇ M * \bar{o} (for the expected * u) still requires explanation.

1652. *p̄^ʹä^ʹ 'ille, another (animate)' > HS: Eg fOK p-, marker of m. sg. of the dem. pronouns p n, p ω ~ p y, p f and p ʒ; Eg OK p ω, unchangeable copula in a nominal sentence ¶ Ed. 83-8, EG I 505, Hng 275, Tk. II 375-6, 433 || ? C: Bj {R} bē- (pl. balī-) 'jener' (sg.: nom. m. bē-n, accus. m. bē-b, nom./acc. f. bē-t; pl.: nom. m. balī-n, accus. m. balī-b, nom./acc. f. balī-t; Bj -b, marker of masc. (abs.) in accus., -b-, marker of masc. in the pred. case ¶ AD KJ 27, 31-2, 109-110, 116, R WBd 49, R BedS § 182 || WS *pā (or *pa ω) ~ *b∇ 'here' > Hb הַבּ pō 'here', OCn [EA] pū * [pō] id., Pun [Plt.] PHO, Ug p 'here', Mh bō, Jb C בּוֹה, Sq boh 'here'; probably also WS *pa 'and, and then' > Ug p [p ∇], Ar fa-, Plm, Nbt p-, Sb, Qt f- id. ¶ KB 866, KBR 916, HJ 898-9, 902, A no. 2178, OLS 340, Jo. M 58, BGMR 42, Rk.127-8 || SOm: Dime -b, sx of the m. gender in adjectives ¶ Fl. OO 312 ¶¶ Tk. II 376 unconvincingly rejected the comparison of Eg p with WS *p ∇ because "Eg *p- in p ʒ, p ω, p f, p n was a marker of masc. gender, while the deictic function was carried out by the attached second element (-ʒ, -ω, -f, -n, resp.)". Tk.'s argument is unc. because the change of a dem. prn. into a marker of gender is a common phenomenon in lges (e.g. in the history of the Sl marker of masc. in adjectives, that of df. articles in NHG, Fr, Sp. etc., that of HS *y- [3 m. marker in verbs] etc.; practically all markers of the masc. gender in lges go back to demonstrative elements); this is further confirmed by the unchangeable Eg copula p ω (not connected with gender) || U: FU *pā 'ille, other', whence a modal or\and focalizing pc. > pOs *pā 'another', 'and', focalizing pc. > Os: Vy pā ... pā, Ty pā ko ... pā ko, Sh/Kz pa ... pa 'der eine ... der andere', Ty/Y pā-ko, Kz pa-χo 'ein anderer Mann', Sn pa 'and', Sh/Sn/Kz pa (a focalizing [thematizing] pc.) 'as for ...' (R '-то') || F -pa/ -pā, focalizing pc., translatable by R -то, а вот, -ка, же or by German doch, eben (F mutta hänpā ei tiennytkään 'а он-то и не знал', F minäpā tiedän 'а вот я знаю', F katsokaapa 'посмотрите-ка', F koirapa sieltä tulee 'da kommt doch ein Hund her'), Krl -bua(h) (hematizing pc.: tuíimbuah mie íeíä 'ich kam doch zu euch'), Vp -p (kutap void 'wie geht es dir denn?'), Es -p (seep see on 'das ist es ja eben') || Prm {LG} *pe, pc. of quotation > Z p ʒ, Vt pe id. ('мол, говорит, дескать') || Sm: Slq Tz {Hl.} pa in na pa 'voici, вот что, вот оно как' (na is 'this') ¶¶ LG 227, Laan. 293-4, Stn. D 1085-7, KKIИ 135 || A: OJ pa > J -wa, focalizing pc. of the topic ¶ Syr. DJ 108 ◇ I am grateful to

E. Helimski and S. Starostin for suggesting the F and Slq cognates (Hl. p.c.) and the J cognate (S p.c.).

1653. ${}_2 *p'i'ʔ\triangledown$ 'sharp edge, blade' > HS: S $*pi'ʔ-at-$ 'sharp edge, blade' (\rightarrow 'corner' \rightarrow 'side') > Ug $p'it \sim p'at$ (pl. $p'at$) {OLS} 'temple (Schläfe); limit, border', {A} 'Saum, Grenze, Gefilde', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} $piʔtu$ 'corner (?)', Hb $הַאֲזָרָה$ $pē'ʔā$ 'corner, side', MHb $הַאֲזָרָה$ $pē'ʔā$ 'corner', JA [Trg.] $אַתְּרָא$ $pā'tā$ 'äußerste Ende, Ecke', Sr $اَلْجَانِبِ$ $pa'ʔtā \sim$ $اَلْجَانِبِ$ $pa'tā$ 'side, blade (of a sword)', Ar $فَيْءٌ$ $fiʔat-$ {Ln.} 'portion\division\ party of men, company of soldiers', {Fr.} [Qam.] 'agmen', {Fr.} 'agmen a tergo exercitus collocatum', {BK} 'troupe d'hommes', {Hv.} 'detachment, party of soldiers' (\leftarrow \approx 'side, corner?'), Ak OA/NB $pātū$ 'Rand', Ak M $piātum$, Eb {Frnz.} $bí-a-tum$ (= $piʔatum$) 'temple (Schläfe)' ¶ GB 631, BDB 802 [no. 6285], A no. 2181, OLS 341-2, Hnr. 164, Lv. T II 251-2, Js. 1130-2, Ln. 2326, 2468, Fr. III 384, BK II 651-2, Hv. 581, Br. 554, Sd. 849, 861, Frnz. EL 138 || C: SC: Alg/Brn {Wh.} $fayū$ (pl. $fayē$) 'arrow' ¶ Wh. IC 22, \approx AD SF 42-3 || ? WCh: Bks $ṽyà$, DfB $ṽyàh$ 'arrow' ¶ J R 147, 222 ¶¶ OS #788 (HS $*feʔ-$ 'arrow': C, Ch, S) || **A** $*P_i'y'\triangledown$ > pJ {S} $*pja$ > OJ {S} pje 'edge, shore', {ðMr.} $φje$ 'shore, boundary, side', J {S} -e - ending of the directive case ¶ S p.c. [\approx 1974], Mr. 403 || NaT $*bī$ 'blade' > OT $bī$: 'knife, blade', Yk $bī$ 'blade'; \rightarrow NaT $*bi:,-lā-$ vt. 'sharpen (a knife, etc.)' > OT $bilā-$, XwT, MQp [incl. CC], OOsM, Chg {PC} $bile-$, Tk $bile-$, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr, QrB, Qmq, Nog $bile-$, Az $bülö-$, Kr $bile-$ ḏ $bilä-$ ḏ $biá-$, ET $bilä-$, StAlt $bilü-$, Xk $pulö-$, Sg $pule-$, Dlg $bī-lā-$ id.; \rightarrow : Tkm $bilew$, CrTt $bilev$ 'whetstone' ¶ Cl. 291 (unc.: OT $bī$ \leftarrow Chn $p'i$ 'split'), 332-3, DTS 97, 99, ET B 142-3, TL 398, PC 189 ¶ The short -i- in Tkm $bilew$ (pointing to a short in NaT $*-i-$) s still to be explained \diamond Cf. N $*p_i\chi|y\triangledown$ 'sharp bone, sharp tool' and IS MS 352 s.v. $острие$ $*p_i'h'$.

1654. $*puʔi$ (\sim $*buʔi$?) 'tree, bush' > HS: ? S: Ak {Sd.} $pāʔu \sim$ $pū(m)$ 'chaff, Spreu' (\leftarrow $*stalks$ of plants') ¶ Sd. 874 || AdS of B $*fay$ 'forest' (\leftarrow N $*p_o\zeta|g\triangledown$ 'wooded bank [of a waterway]', q.v. ffd.) || Ch \approx $*puʔi'$ 'tree' > WCh: Pr {ChL} $fuuʔ$ id. (but {Frz.} $púrò$ id.) || Krkr {J, ChL} $bá$ 'tree' ($b < *pʔ$) || CCh: McMrg: Cb fwa , Mrg {ChL} wu , {IL in ChC} $wʔ$, MrgM {Mk} fwe , Klb {Mk.} uwa , $wuwa$, {ChC} wa , Bu {Mk.} fwa 'tree', Hld {ChL} $wú$, Wmd {ChC} wu id. || McHigi: HgNk {ChL} fwe , HgF {ChL} fu , FIK {ChL} $fʔʔ$, FIJ $fʔw$, FIM fu 'tree' || Gude: Nz {ChL} $f0$ id. || McMdr: Glv {ChL} $úfà$, {Rp.} $úfa$ 'tree', Dgh {Frk} $ʔufá$ 'tree, wood' || Suk

{IL in ChC} fwaḷ id. | Db pay 'arbre, bois d'arbre' ¶ ChC s.v. 'tree', ChL, Mk I 176, 210, 243, Frz. P 48, Mch. D 146 || U *puwe 'tree, wood (Holz)' > F, Es puu 'Baum, Holz' | Chr L/H/E pu 'firewood, wood (Holz)' | Prm *pu 'tree, wood (Holz)' > Z pu id., Vt pu id., 'firewood' || Vg (within compound names of trees) -pa ɖ -pā ɖ -pā 'tree': {Kn.} Vg T sʙáʃt-pā 'lime tree', Vg P wuʃ-pā '*Pinus cembra*', {Mu.} ML tɪp-pa, UL tɪppä, P tɪppë [tɪppɜ] 'Sand-weide, тальник', P khəppë, L khəppä 'aspen tree' | Hg fa 'Baum, Holz' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *pā 'wood (Holz), tree, forest' > Ne T пя, {Lh.} pá:, Ne F Ny p̄ěā 'Baum, Holz', En {KD} X fā, En K fā, pā, En B {Cs.} fe 'tree', Ng {Cs.} fā, {Ter.} xqa, Slq Tz {KKIH} pō 'tree, wood (Holz), firewood', Slq Tm pō 'tree, wood', Kms pa 'tree, forest', Koyb {Sp.} па 'tree', Mt {Hl.} *hā 'tree, wood, forest, stick' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} hä, K {Mll.} hō 'sylva', K {Pl.} chj 'tree', che 'firewood', M {Pl.} häh, гя, {Sp.} xa 'tree') ¶¶ UEW 410-11, Sm. 539 (U *pu|o|äx+i, FU, FP *puxi, Ugr *pũgĩ, Sm *pā 'tree'), LG 230, MK 400, 647, Jn. 117, KKIИ 151, Coll. 53, MF 174, Ü 165, MRS 462, Wc. SW 216, Hl. M no. 267 || A ≈ *p'üya (or ≈ *p'üy∇?) '€ tree' > ? T *o|hjI 'bush, tree' > OT I {Cl.} 'bush, shrubs' (sg. or coll.), {Ml.} 'forest, tree' ({Cl.} i: iɣač 'shrubs and trees'); acc. to S AJ, DQA and ET Gl, T d. *i-gač 'tree' ({Md.} *jä-gač ~ *igač) ({ET}: with an augm. sx *-gač) > OT iɣac, XwT iɣač ~ j iɣač, Chg j iɣač, MQp [incl. CC], Oosm aɣač, Tk aǵač, Az aɣaž, Tkm agač, VTt aɣaš, ET jaɣač, SY j iɣaš, Qzq aɣaš, Qrg žigač, Tv ĩjaš 'tree', Chv L йывăц j i v ʙ ʂ, Chv Δ йăвăц j ʙ v ʂ ɖ йўц j üs 'tree, log', Chv MK {Md.} juž_ʙ 'tree' ¶ Cl. 1, 79-80, ET Gl 71-3, YL 104, Ml. PDP 442, Ml. PMK 106, Md. 116, 165, Ash. IV 297-8, V 34, 47-8, Fed. I 179, Jeg. 83, ChVS 63, S AJ 184 [no. 85] || M *poyi 'wood, forest' > MM xoi, [Hl, S] hoi 'wood, forest', WrM {MED} oi, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ой, Dg {T} oy, Dx xoy 'woods, forest, grove', Kl {Rm.} õ 'Wald, Dickicht, Buschwerk', Mnr H {SM} fē 'forêt, arbres constituant une forêt', Mnr M {T} xoi, {Pot.} xoi 'forest', Ba xi 'mountain', Mnr H {SM} fē 'forêt, arbres constituant une forêt', Mnr M {T} xoi, {Pot.} xoi 'forest', Ba xi 'mountain' ¶ Pel. 218-19 [no. 31], H SMG I 9, H 77, S AJ 242 [no. 196], MED 603-4, BMR II 462, KW 303, Lew. 3, T 369, T DgJ 159, Mr. D 200, SM 99, Ms. H 61, Dr. TM I 541-2 || Tg *pi_a 'birch tree' > Nn Nh pi_a, Ul, Ork pē id., WrMc {Z} фя 'birch bark'; Tg (in NrTg) *pia_,-kī 'larch' > Ewk hēkī 'old thick larch', Lm hākita, Neg xēxax, xēxita 'larch' ¶ STM II 36, 319-20 (Tg *pōy-, *pōy-ki- > *pi_a-ki; the

rec. of Tg *pōy- is based on unc. adduction of Ewk hōy 'swamp, tundra' [in fact going back to NrTg *pōy 'swamp, tundra' < N *pōΓi 'cavity, valley' [= 'lowland']], On. 327, Z 1094 || pKo *pə- 'birch' > NKo pə-n-namu id. ¶ S QK no. 799, Rm. SKE 199 || pJ *pí 'Japanese cypress' > OJ p̄i, pi-nō-kī, MJ [RJ] φί, J T hìnoki, hínoki id. ¶ S AJ 271 [no. 178], S QJ no. 178, Mr. 407, Kenk. 504 ¶¶ SDM 1160 (pA *p'jū'yu '€ tree' > T, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 1875 (id.), S AJ 284, ADb. SR 11, Rm. SKE 199 (T, Tg, Ko), Ci. EApk 37-8, TL 104 ¶¶ Acc. to SDM, T *I-(η)gāç may be a cd equatable with Tg *pā_ly_k'ç'a 'wood (Holz)' [STM II 331]; the second component of the compound may be related to MKo káčí ~ káčí 'branch' and (?) M *gesí-šūn id. ¶¶ Not here (because of the vw. *o) (⇔ SDM) M *poyi 'forest' (see N *pōç|gy∇ 'wooded bank') ◇ Resh. NNE no. 6 (A, U) ◇ In the etymon in question the N initial *b- is suggested by Eg (and Krkr?) only, while A points to N *p-, and most HS branches suggest either N *p- or *p- ◇ IS I 184 [no. 19] considered the Eg, Ch and U stems to be a sd. from N *buHi ({AD} N *buHi) 'grow', which is possible, but not necessarily true.

1655. *p'ōçyû 'small', 'child', 'young (of an animal)' > HS: S *pçy > Ug pçy {Grd.} 'lad', {Seg.} 'boy', Ar façā- (< *façay-) 'das Junge eines Tieres' ¶ Grd. UM 313 (no. 1566), Seg. BG, A no. 2246 || Eg G pç pç 'gebären', Eg fOK pç.t 'men, mankind' ('die Menschen, Menschheit') (< *'children') (= {Vc.} *[pēçet], *[paçet], Eg (GkSc) ὄρπαῖς = írç pç.t 'prince'), OCpt πη pē 'hommes' ¶ EG I 503-4, Fk. 88, Vc. 158, Tk. II 421-2 || WCh: Ron: Fy {J} fyè pl. 'Kinder, die Kleinen', DfB {J} fyè pl. 'Knaben, Jungen', Bks {J} fú 'child', Klr {J} fo 'Kind', fwè 'Kind, Junge', Sha {J} foy 'Knabe, Kind' | AG {Hf.} *p wē v. 'be new' > Gmy {Hf.} pçē 'new', Kfr {Hf.} pfwō, Su {J} p wō, Ang {Brq.} p wī, {Hf.} p wī 'new' || ?? CCh: ZmB {ChC} vāy, ZmD {KNC} vāy 'child', Zm {ChL} veç 'boy', LamP {ChC, ChL} vāy 'son' ¶ JI II 74, Hf. AG 17, J R 84, 141, 218, 352, J S 80, ChC s.v. 'child' and 'new', ChL, KNC 29 ¶¶ Tk. II 426 (adding Eg pç pç and S) || IE: NaIE *pōy-/*pəy-/*pū- 'little, child, young of an animal; few' > Gmc *fawa-(z) > Gt fawai (pl.) (· ὀλίγοι) 'wenige (few)', ON fár 'wenig, wortkarg', OHG fō, fōh, {OsS} fao 'wenig, dünn gesät', AS féa (pl. féawe) 'little, few', NE few || Gk A (epigr.) παῖς (gen. παῖός) 'child' (-> Gk παῖς / gen. παιδός, Gk L/B πάις 'child' < {Ch.} *παῖ-ι-δ-) || EpL pouero, L puer (< *puwer) 'child, boy' ||| with sxs, e.g. NaIE *pu-tlo- 'child' > OI pu'tra- 'son, child' | Av puθra id., OPrs

{Hinz} pуcа 'son', Oss: I fərt, D furt 'son' ||| Osc pυklo- 'child', Pæl pυclois (dat. pl.) 'pueris' ||| cd: L pаυер 'poor' (< *pawo-par-s 'acquiring little', {WH} 'wenig erwerbend') ¶ The absence of the expected vw. lengthening in *pu-tlo- is still to be explained ¶ P 842-3, EI 200 (*paυ- 'little, few'), 533 (*put'lo-s 'son' ← *p(a)u- 'small' + dim. *-tlo-), Szem. KT no. 3.1, M K II 304-5, M E II 142-3, Hinz 123, Ab. I 500, Fs. 147, Vr. 112, Kb. 270, OsS 161, Ho. 98, WH II 267-8, 382-3, Pln. II 702, 715, 719, F II 462-3, Ch. GH I 29 ||| U: FU *poy∇, *poyka 'son, boy' > F pоika 'son, boy, young of an animal', Es pоег 'son, young of an animal'; F pоја end. 'little boy, sonny', F Δ pоја 'son, boy' || ? Er buyo, piyo 'grandchild' || ? Chr pü in cds: Chr K püerxa, B püerxb 'male person (man or boy)', YU püerxb 'boy, male person' || Prm *pi > Z pi 'son, boy', Vt pi 'boy, a youth' ||| ObU: Vg: P/TY püw, TCh päw, LK/MK/UK pöw, NV/SV/LL pū, UL/Ss piɣ 'son'; Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y pãɣ, D/K/O pãx, Nz/Kz pöx 'son' || Hg fiʻ, fi 'son, boy, child, young of an animal' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 390, It. no. 116, Db. OS xxx, Sm. 547 (FU, FP *pojī, Ugr *pojī 'boy'), LG 221, MF 206-7, Ht. no. 796 ||| A *p'ó|üy'u' 'child, young of animals' ({SDM} *p|p'óyu, {SDM95, SDM 97} *p'óy∇, {S AJ} *p'üy∇) 'child, young of animals' > Tg *puy₁-, *puy-kte 'small, child' > Ewk huyukūn 'small, younger', hutɜ 'child; son, daughter', Neg xutɜ (pl. xuyil), Ork puttɜ, Ul piktɜ, Nn Nh {On.} piktɜ id., Nn Bk φiktɜ, Nn KU φutɜ id., 'nestling, young of animals' ¶ ≈ STM II 338, 357-8, On. 328 ||| T *bōy-tak 'young ram\goat' > Tkm {AB} bōydaq 'one- \ two-year-old kid\calf', Qzq boydaq qoy 'castrated ram more than one year old' (qoy is 'sheep, ram'), {Rl.} boıdaq 'young ram', {Shch.} 'two-year-old castrated ram', ET T {Rl.} boytaq, Chg {Rl.} بویداغ boıday 'young ram' ||| Chv L пүтек pud₁ek, Chv Δ {Fed., Ash.} потяк pod₁ak ~ пүтѣ ~ пытек ~ пытяк, {Md.} pud₁b ɘ pid₁ek ɘ pod₁ak ɘ pid₁ak ({Md.} pud₁ek) 'lamb', ?? Blgh ⇨ VTt bāti 'lamb, young ram', Chr L пача, Chr H патя id.; this T word may be identical with T *bo₁:ı|y-tak/η 'unmarried man' (> Qzq {Sht.} boydaq, Brb {Rl.} poıdaq 'unmarried man', QK {B} poydoη 'bachelor, bridegroom', Shor/Sg {Rl.} postaη 'unmarried man') ¶ Rs. W 77-8, Rl. IV 1291, 1644, Ash. IX 197, X 44, 47, 54, Fed. I 455, Jeg. 169, Sht. 55, Shch. Zh 153, Md. 47, 131 ||| pJ *pítɜ 'man (person)' > OJ piito, MJ φítò, J: T hitó, K hítò, Kg híto, Sh tč'ú id.; OJ pi-i-kuo 'great-grandson; prince', pi-i-mje 'princess' ¶ S AJ 264 [no. 58], S QJ no. 58, Mr. 410, Kenk. 512-3 ||| pKo *pùt₁hè 'pupil

of the eye' (presumably from 'child') > MKo núns-pùt^hǰè 'pupil of the eye' (lit. 'eye child', the first component means 'eye'), NKo nun-puč^hə 'pupil of the eye' ¶ S QK no. 311, Nam 116, MLC 363 ¶¶ SDM 1103 (pA *p|p'óyu > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1672, S AJ 80, 107, 277 [no. 56] (pA *pü|uy▽ 'child, Mensch'), STM II 338, 357-8 || D (att. in GnD) *pUy > Mnd buy, Ku boy 'girl' ¶ D no. 4532 ◇ Rs. UAW 8, IS MS 360 s.v. 'ребенок' *pɔjɤ (U, Tg), Blz. L no. 22 (adding the D cognate) ◇ Eg p- and AG *p^ω- suggest N *p-, while pA *p'- points to a N *p-. A possible solution: pA *p'- goes back to *pH- from N *pɔɣ- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 61 (*pɔ 'child') (U, A, CK, Ai).

1656. *pAʔiç▽ 'axe, hammer' > HS: S *paʔa₁s- 'axe' > Sr {Br.} |N^ωəə pωstʔ 'ascia, securis' (unknown vocalization), Ar faʔs- 'pick-axe, hoe', {BK} 'hache', Mh fōs 'matchet, axe', Jb C/E fɔs id., Ak OB pāšɤ, pāštu ~ pāltu 'Beil, Axt' ¶ Sd. 846, Br. 585, BK II 529, Hv. 543, Jo. M 86, Jo. J 51 || U *pāyç▽ 'axe, hatchet' > Ugric: Vg T pāçt id., Vg {Reg.} pašting, pašning 'mit einem Axt\Beil versehen' | Hg fejsze, Δ fēyse, fēysi, fēsi, fēcī, fōcō 'axe, felling axe' || Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pić+ 'axe', Slq Tur {Lh.} pīčī, {UEW ← ?}: Slq Kt pitttje, Nr pedš (= {MF} pež) id. ¶¶ UEW 416, MF 190, KKIH 149 || A: T *^oba₁su > OT basu 'sledge hammer' ¶ Cl. 372 ◇ T *-s- for the expected *-ç- is still to be explained.

1656a. ?φ *P_açk|K₁▽ (= paçk|K₁▽?) 'hand' (→ 'handful') > HS: S *p[∇]š₁∇₁k- > Sr |^oəə^o pεš'k-ā, |^oəə^o pə'šɛk 'handbreath', Ak LB pušku id. (← Aram?) ¶ Br. 612, JPS 458, Sd. 883 || B {Pr.} *-fuʔs- {AD} 'hand, handful' > Kb, SrSn afus, Izn, Wrg fus id., Ah, Gh a-fus, ETwl āfus, Shl, Tmz afus 'hand, arm', Ntf afus, Mzb fus, Shw fus (pl. ifassən), Gd w̄fess (pl. fessən), Awj afus 'hand', Snd fus 'the right hand', Zng afuš 'hand' ¶ Pr. Z no. 308, Fc. 362, NZ 653-5 || ECh: Dng {Fdr.} pīsè, {Lk.} pōsindin, pōsīnkɔŋ 'hand', Mgm {J} píssí, Mu {J} fōsó, {Lk.} fósó 'arm', Mnj fɔso, Kjk {DB} fuso, Bdy pēsè, Smr bēsáy 'hand', ?? Skr {Nc.} pít- 'arm' ¶ JI II 179, ChC 'arm' and 'hand', DB s.v. Kjk fuso, Blz. EChWL no. 38 ¶¶ B, Ak -u- may be due to the ass. infl. of *p- > *f- || Add. source of A: M *pātqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N *pāt▽ (or *pāt▽?▽?) 'ground, plain; bottom', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D (att. in NED): Krx bakkā 'claws of a crab', {Hahn} 'forceps, shears', Mlt bāke 'forceps' ¶ D no. 3814, Pf. 193-4 ◇ N *-çk|K₁- > D *-kk-. Simplification

of the N affricate *C > HS *s, M (or pA) *t within the N cns. cluster *-Ck|K-?

1657. *P_uç_l∇_l∇_l∇ 'to press, to squeeze, to crush by squeezing' > K: GZ *pχuç- v. 'squeeze, crumple' > G pχuç- id., {K} 'pucker', {Chx.} 'etw. faltig\runzelig machen', pχuçwili 'folded (cloth)', Mg {FS} χuç- 'faltig machen', χuç-il-i 'faltig' ¶ Fn. KW-1 36, FS K 328, FS K² 482, FS E 368, K² 210, DCh. 1322, Chx. 1527 || HS: CS *√pçɣ v. 'injure\crush by striking or squeezing' > Ar √fçɣ v. {∂ Ln., ∂ Hv.} 'squeeze (dates, figs) out of their skin', {BK} 'presser une ch. entre ses doigts pour l'amollir ou pour faire sortir ce qui est dans l'intérieur', JA [Trg.], JEA √pçɣ v. 'split' ('spalten'); (× S *√pθɣ v. 'wound'): BHb 𐤎𐤆𐤏 √pçɣ v. {GB} 'durch einen Schlag verwunden', {KBR} 'wound, injure' (→ 𐤎𐤆𐤏 'peçaf n. 'wound'), MHb {Js.} √pçɣ v. 'split, crack or squeeze open; wound' (the root *√pθɣ is represented by Ug √pθɣ G {KB} 'die Haut zerstoßen, verwunden', {A} 'aufschlitzen' → 'zerquetschen', {OLS} pθɣ [*pāθiɣu] prtc. 'el que se lacera, lacerante') ¶ KBR 954, GB 563, OLS 360, A no. 2255, Lv. T II 282-3, Js. 1205-6, BK II 600-1, Ln. 2405 || IE: Ht pasihai- {CHD} v. 'rub, squeeze, crush', {Frd.} 'einreiben, zerreiben' (× N *P_uš_l∇ 'rub, smear', q.v. > Ht {CHD} pes(s)- 'rub, scrub [with soap etc.]', {Frd., Ts.} pes- 'einreiben [mit Waschmitteln]') ¶ The prehistory of the Ht vw. a still needs investigating ¶ Ts. W 63, 66, CHD P 205, 315, Frd. HW 108, 164 || U: FU *puć∇rt∇- v. 'press, squeeze' > F puser_a- 'press, squeeze', Es puser_a- vt. 'squeeze (out), wring (out)' || Prm *púžir- > Z пыдзырт- pžirt-, Prmk pžirt- id. ('выжать, отжать'), Z Ud pžiz- v. 'squeeze out, wring', Yz pžirt- id., Vt пызьырты- pžirt- v. 'squeeze out (juice, water)' || Os {Stn., KrT}: VK/Kr posar-, Sh pusremə- v. 'press, knead' || Hg facsar- v. 'wring' ¶ UEW 397, ≈ Sm. 547 (FU *puśā- 'squeeze' > FP *puśa-, Ugr *pűsa-), Coll. 110, LG 235, KrT 743, Stn. D 1232.

1658. *P_i'i'č∇ 'stalks of plants and their fibres used for plaiting' > U: FP *pâč∇ 'fibres of plants' (→ 'hemp') > Prm *púč- 'hemp, fibres' > Z, Vt пыш pš 'hemp, oakum' || Chr: L пачаш pa'čaš, Y {Wc.} pō'čaš 'male hemp' ('посконь') ¶ LG 238, Lt. 196, ≈ UEW 412-13, ≈ Ber. 46 ¶ The labialized vowels in pPrm and Chr Y may be due to the labializing infl. of *p- || HS: S (att. in Canaanite) *^opīθ-at- f. 'flax' > EpHb פשת pšt, BHb פשת *'pešēt* 'flax, linen' (+ppa.: 1s 'פשת' piš't-ī; pl. 'פשתים' piš't-īm), ה'פשת' piš't-ā 'flax, linen', Ph [Diosc.] ζεραφολιστ (*zr^o pšt) 'seed

of flax', Pun pš t, Ug pθ t 'flax' ¶ KB 923-4, A no. 2296, OLS 359, JH 238, HJ 947 || WCh: DfB {J} pìs 'Totentuch' ¶ J R 219 || D *pīč-/pīč- ({{θGS} *p-) 'fibre' > Tm pīcīr id., Tl pīcū 'fibrous parts of plants', Gdb (← TI?) pīsu 'fibrous matter of fruits' ¶¶ D no. 4133.

1659. *pōč∇ 'to plait' (→ 'sth. plaited, cloth') > HS *p∇C- 'Matte' ({{Tk.} "a West-African Wanderwort") > Ch: WCh {Stl.} *pūčī 'sth. plaited' > Ngz {Sch.} būčî 'mat plaited from strips of palm fronds', DfB {J} pìs 'shroud', Bole būšī, Krkr búčī, Ngm bùšī 'Matte' || CCh: Glv {RpB} buča 'mat, m-buča 'cloth', Bu búčī 'mat of fine palm fronds', BtG {Srp.} keži boběžě 'Matte', Mdr {Srp.} bŭčě, {Lk.} būčé 'Matte', Pdk {Mch.} mbŭčēⁿ 'mat', Mada {Mch.} buče, Hrз {Mch.} būče., Gsg {Mch.} būčě mat'. Daba {Srp.} bŭšě || ECh: Ke {Eb.} pesi 'Gürtel, der den Lendenschurz der Frauen hält', Tmk {Cp.} búžì 'natte en rônier' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [no. 34], Sch. DN 27, J R 219, Eb. 87, Cp. 50, RpB s.v. m-buča || ??σ,φ Eg MK/NK pš t 'carpet, matting of reeds' (adduced by Stl. on the assumption that Eg š is a spelling representation of č [which is at variance with the reg. history of N *č, that usually yields Eg š]; š is probably an ext.) ¶ EG I 555, Fk. 95, Tk. II 513-15 || B: NrB: Tmz {Taifi} ta-bezza-ti 'tresse, toupet, touffe de cheveux sur le front', Mz {Dlh.} buzu 'petite tresse' ¶ NZ I 148, Tk. II 513-15, Dlh. M a.v. buzu ¶¶ OS no.1975 (*pīč- 'cloth'), Tk. II 514-15 || U *pō|ačk∇- v. 'plait', ??*opač∇ 'plaited cloth' > Chr: L inf. почкынчаш роцкън'ч-аš 'to spin\twist (threads)' ('[с]сучить, [с]крутить'), 'роцкън'чъмо 'spinned, twisted' (of threads), YU роцкънсе-, U šürtъm pücкъńce- v. 'plait yarn' (šürtö 'yarn'), B роцкъńце- 'zwirnen (die Schnur)'; H пачрач 'a piece of linen cloth, piece of cloth' | Prm *pučk- 'spin (сучить) threads' > Z, Prmk пүтшкы- pučkī- id., {U} 'flechten, zwirnen (Garn)', Yz {Lt.} inf. pučkī- 'n∧ 'to spin (threads)' || ? Sm: Slq Kar {Cs.} pačkalnam 'flechten, zwirnen', ?? patkalnam 'umwickeln' ¶¶ UEW 346, MRS 412, 449, U 304, LG 234, Lt. J 171, Cs. 164 || D *pōč- ({{θGS} *p-) v. 'plait, twist' (partially × N ≈ *bUQčE 'to tie', 'tie' [→ 'rope'], q.v.) > Kn pose 'twist, plait, make ropes', Kn Hv hose v. 'twine', Tu pouipini 'to twist (as rope)', Kui pōža v. 'pack, make a bundle', Ku pōči- wrap', Ku P pōža- 'tie up in a cloth', Krx pōžž- 'wrap (cloth, paper) round so.\sth., Mlt pōže 'wrap, twist, entwine' ¶¶ D no. 4479.

1660. ?φ *puč,∇,ń∇ 'worm, snake' > HS: S *paθan- ~ *baθan- '(ε) snake' > Ug bθn 'snake', JA [Trg.] ׀תּ׀ ׀תּ׀ 'pεtεn / em. ׀תּ׀ ׀תּ׀

pit'n-ā {Js.} 'asp, adder', {Lv.} 'viper, adder', SmA p'tn 'ε snake', Sr {Br.} **𐤀𐤍𐤏** pat'n-ā 'vipera, aspis', {PS, JPS} **𐤀𐤍𐤏** pattā'n-ā 'asp, deaf adder', NNEA {Mcl.} pat'n-ā 'asp, adder', Aram **𐤀𐤍𐤏** BHb **𐤀𐤍𐤏** 'pētēn (pl. **𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍** pētā'nīm) 'horned viper', SmHb pl. fā'tānām id.; Ar {Fr., BK} **𐤁𐤃𐤍** bθn 'coluber' (unknown vocalization) | ES *baθm- > Ak bašmu 'ε a mythical poisonous snake', Eb {Frnz.} baθmum (ba-ša-mu-um) 'snake' (ES *m for *n is puzzling) ¶ A no. 611, Grd. UT no. 546, OLS 123, KB 93O, Js. 1255, Lv. T II 3O9, Tal 718, Br. 618, PS 3345, JPS 471, Mcl. 261, Fr. I 84, BK I 85, Sd. 112, Frnz. EL 154 || Eg MK b'tn 'ε snake' (with the graphic determinative of snakes) ¶ EG I 484 || U *°puńe (or *°puu|ńe) > Sm *pułyńb 'ε worm' (× N *pUyAm∇ 'snake') > Ne: T {Ter} пцй 'ε beetle's larva', T O {Lh.} pu'y 'ε a black worm with many legs', F {Lh.} pu'y· 'ε small black worm'; Slq MTz {KD} pūńa 'ε small white vermin, worm, ant' ¶ Jn. 131 || D (att. in SD) *pūćći 'worm, insect' (× N on. *bûź∇ 'ε insect'?) > Tm pūccī 'insect, beetle, worm', Ml pūccī '(any) insect', Kn pūcī ~ būcī 'worm, insect' ¶ D no. 4357
 ◇ Simplification of a cns. cluster *-čń- > U *-ń-?

1661. *puč∇ 'to fall' > HS: S *°-pūθ- > Ar ✓ fωδ v. G (pf. **فَأَظ** fāḏa, ip. -fūḏu) 'die', faωδ- 'death' ¶ BK II 646 || ?φ WCh: NrBc: Wrj/Kry {Sk.} pзç- v. 'descend, unload' (and/or akin to Ar ✓ fзy TD 'sich befreien, sich losmachen', cf. Wehr 64O) ¶ Sk. NB 18 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 17 (NrBc ÷ Sb fзy 'enterrer' [BGMR 47]) || U *puč∇- 'fall (down/in)', {UEW} 'pour (out)' ('[aus]schütten, [aus]-gießen') > Prm: pZ {LG} *buž- 'collapse, fall in' > Z бцжды- bužd+ 'fall in, crumble away (обвалиться, осыпаться)', n. act. bužzd, Z UV bužed ('обвал, осыпь') | Er роčodo- ms, Mk 'роčədə- 'scatter on (посыпать, осыпать) | ?F рцта- (inf. рцта) 'fall (down), come down, drop', Es ридене-, рцду- 'crumble, fall off, spill' ¶ UEW rejected the BF cognate because of its supposed identity with Lp N бқđо ~ бқđō 'separated from its natural connection, deviating from the rule', but even if the BF-Lp connection is right, it does not rule out coalescence with FU *puč∇ as the other source of the BF word || Sm: Ne: T пыдара- 'spill out (высыпаться), fall off (опадать)', T O {Lh.} pudarā-, pidarā-, F Ny {Lh.} putarā- '(her)abfallen'; En {Ter., Mik., Cs.} бата- vt. 'pour out'; Ng {Cs.} ба?бта?а id., 'ausschütten' ¶¶ Coll. 53, Coll. CG 4O8, UEW 399-4O O (U *puč∇- '[aus]schütten, [aus]gießen'), ERV 5O7, PI 217, LG 41-2, KP 31 || A: NaT *uç- 'fall' (× T *uç- 'fly' [ET Gl 612-13]) > OT [MhK] uc-, Tk

уџ-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr уџ-, Xk Δ us-, Tv уџ- id. ¶ ET Gl 612-13, Cl. 19, DTS 603-4 ◇ Rs. UAW 45 (U, A) (+ unc. Tg *pυџ- 'jump' and T *уџ- 'fly'), IS MS 353 s.v. 'падать' *pυџ' Δ (U, A).

1662. *p₁e|y₁ič'û (or *p₁iʔeč'û) '∈ coniferous tree' > K: G pič'vi 'pine' ¶ Chx. 1482, DCh. 1310 || IE: NaIE *pit₁u₁- '∈ coniferous tree' > OI 'pīt₁u-dār₁u₁h₁ 'Pinus deodora', pInA (Tu.) *pīt₁sa- 'pine', ? Drd: Shm {Tu. ← ?} -wič in ɬyē-wič 'pine' || Gk πίτυς (gen. πίτυος) 'pine', esp. 'Corsican pine (*Pinus Laricio*)' || pAl {O} *pīsa ({Jokl} < *pīt-s-ya) > Al pišhē 'pine' || L pīnus, -ūs 'fir, pine, stone pine' (< *pit-s-nu-s) || OCrm iteu 'log for burning', Crm etew id., 'firebrand' ¶ P 794, Mn. 942, Frdr. PIT 34, Frdr. PITA 31-8, EI 428 (IE *pit(u)- '∈ conifer' [≈ pine]), DImr. 172, M K II 293, M E II 137, Tu. no. 8236, LS 1409, F II 546, WH II 308, Jokl LKU 32, O 328, ECCE 241 || U: FP *pečä (~ *penčä) 'pine' > F petäjä id., Es pedajas 'Scotch pine (*Pinus silvestris*); sehr harzige, harte, nicht hochgewachsene Kiefer' || pLp {Lr.} *pēcē 'pine' > Lp: N {N} bæcce, L {LLO} piehtsē 'Scotch pine, *Pinus silvestris*', S {Hs.} biedsie, Kld {SaR} pēdzь pīēčč 'pine, Kiefer' || pMr {Ker.} *pīčā > Er пиче piče, Mk пиче pičā '*Pinus silvestris*' || pChr {Ber.} *pūnčā 'Kiefer' > Chr: L 'пүнчо, U pūńčö, KB pānčā 'pine' || Prm *pōžem (= {LG} *pōžem) id. > Z пожом роžэм, USs роžэм id., Vt пужым puž+m {U3S} id., Vt Δ {UEW, W} puž+m ɖ pužim ɖ pužьm id., 'fir (*Picea, Abies*)' ¶ UEW 727, Sm. 553 (FP *pečä 'pine'), Lr. no. 901, Lgc. no. 4825, Hs. 309, Ker. II 115, MRS 478, Ber. 56, LG 223, TmK 546, U3S 361 ¶ The cns. *n in Chr and pPrm may be due to the infl. of a different root (found in pChr as *pīn 'zum Pflanzen gelassene Fichte; Kiefer', F Ber. 49; contamination of both roots is found in Chr Н пынэжы рәнеžā 'pine forest', F Ep. 101) || A: NaT *pōčš ~ *pæčš 'cedar tree, pine' > Tv пөш p'öš, Tf p'öš', StAlt möš 'cedar tree', Yk bäs 'pine tree' ¶ Ra. 165, TL 726, Pek. 444 ◇ T *ö < N *e (labializing infl. of *p-?) ◇ IS MsN (K, U, T) → Trnt. NE 160-2 (K, U and T; err.: K → IE).

1663. *p₁ač' ▽ 'to open' ([in descendant lges] → 'hole, slit'), 'to be widened, to spread' > K *p₁eč'- > Mg pač'- vt. 'open' ¶ Q 365 || HS: WS *√pšw (~ *√pšš?) 'spread, be open' > BHb √pšw|y G (pf. הַשָּׁרַף pā'sā, ip. הַשָּׁרַף yī-p'sē) 'spread' (of the symptoms or the development of a disease), MHb הַשָּׁרַף √psw|y v. 'spread, be extended', JA √psy (pf. אֲשַׁרַף pā'sā, inv. אֲשַׁרַף pā'sē) 'spread, be extended, split, break', Ar √fšw (pf. فَشَا fašā) 'scatter (cattle) in a pasturage', 'spread' (news),

{Ln.} 'pasture at large' (cattle), ? Ar ✓ fšš 'open a door (without key)',
 {Ln.} 'open the mouth of a skin, so that the wind comes forth from it',
 {BK} 'faire sortir l'air d'une outre; ouvrir une serrure sans se servir de
 clef'; Sq {L} fišî 'être en abondance, écarter, éteindre', Jb C {Jo.}
 f3š'šet 'squirting everywhere' ¶ KB 92O, KBR 979, Js. 1194, Ln. 2399,
 24O2, BK II 595, 598, Hv. 563-4, Jo. J 64 || Eg fOK pšš {EG}
 'ausspreizen' (e.g. 'eine Laube ausspreizen'); sich schützend über jem.
 breiten, über jem. ausgebreitet sein', {Fk.} 'straddle, spread oneself,
 spread out' ¶ EG I 56O-1, Fk. 95, Tk. II 522-4 || C: DhI {EEN, To.} piš-
 'lay open' || SC: ?φ,σ Kz {E} pil-it- 'take from concealment' || Or
 B/Or {Sr., BrI.} faččā 'be scattered', Or {Grg.} fačča- id., 'be sown' ¶ *-č-
 under the ass. glottalizing infl. of *p- ¶ E SC 145, EEN 7, To. D 145, Grg.
 13, Sr. 3O2, BrI. 139 || CCh: BM: Bu {Hf.} pašā 'pull aside the outer
 covering in order to inspect the contents', ??φ pBM *✓ pcy v. 'release' >
 Bu {Hf.} psi, Mrg {Hf.} psia id. | Mada {BrrB} ápaš 'décortiquer, écorcer,
 ouvrir (une gousse, les yeux)' ¶ Hf. LBM 47O, BrrB 227 ¶¶ Cal. 63 (S,
 Eg), SSAAJ I no. 15 (S, Eg, Ang, Or), AD SCLC 2O4 (C, S), BrrB 227, Tk.
 SCC 74-5 [no. 2.1], ≈ Tk. PAA 1 (Dh, Ch, S *✓ pšš ~ ✓ pšw 'spread' <
 pHS *p-š 'to spread') || U *paš|ś∇- v. 'open, widen' > Z Vm/I/LV/Ud
 paš- adj. 'open' Vt paš id., 'hole, orifice', paš kar+n+ v. 'open', ds: Z
 inf. paška∇-n+, Z US/LL/P/MS inf. paškal-n+, Prmk paš'ka∇- vi. 'widen'
 ({UEW} 'sich erweitern, sich ausbreiten'), Vt pašk+tt+ vt. 'widen' || Sm
 {Hl.} *pšs+ 'slit, cunnus', {Jn.} *pšs+ 'Riβ' > Ne T O {Lh.} paš+ 'vulva',
 Ne F L p+s+ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} paš+ 'crack (трещина)', Slq Tm {KD}
 pāz+ 'Riβ, Sprung, Borst', Slq MKe paš+ 'Loch, Öffnung', Kms {KD}
 buz_oj, {Cs.} puzoi 'Spalt', Mt {Hl.} *bisigā ~ *biskā 'cunnus' (K {Mll.}
 bischi'gā, {Pal.} pi'siga, M {Mll.} bischi'gā, {Sp.} бишке id., T
 {Mll.} bi'schigedā 'her cunnus') ¶¶ U *-š|ś- for the expected *-č- (< N
 *-č-) is still to be explained ¶¶ UEW 357-8, LG 217, SZ 276, Jn. 114,
 KKIH 147, Hl. M no. 129 || A *pač- > T *ač- (= *hač-?) vt. 'open' > OT
 ač- id., Tk ač- vt. 'open', Tk Δ hačik adj. 'open', Tkm, Az, CrTt, Kr Cr,
 QrB, Qrg, ET, SY, Ln ač-, StAlt ač-, VTt ač-, Uz ač-, Qzq, Nog, Qq ač-, Xk,
 Yk as-, Tv áš-, Tf áš'-, Az Δ {Cf.} hač- vt. 'open', Xlj hač- 'öffnen,
 ausbreiten', Chv: L yč- uš/ž-, Chv Δ oč- oš/ž- v. 'open' ¶ Cl. 18-19,
 DTS 3-4, ET Gl 2O9-21O, Rs. W 3, Ra. 156, DT 123, Ash. III 3O6-12, Fed.
 II 292-3, Jeg. 277, ChVS 234, Caf. AL 33 || Tg *opač- > Lm hač- vt. 'open
 (the wall of a tent), make a hole (in the wall of a tent)', hačiq 'slit, gap,
 window' ¶ STM II 319 || ?σ M *_lφ₁ačan 'bifurcation' > WrM аса(н)

{MED} 'bifurcated branch of a tree; pitchfork; fork; bifurcation', HIM ац(ан) {MED, BMR} id., Brt аса 'Gabelung (развиллина), pitchfork', Kl {KRS} ац ась 'Ästchen, Zweig', {Rm.} аса 'Ast, Gabelung; Heugabel, Zweig', Ord аџ'а 'fourche de bois, branche fourchue, bifurcation'; d.: MM [MA] аџ'а 'Gabelung (развиллина)' ¶ MED 7, BMR I 180-1, Chr. 62, KW 18, KRS 58, Ms. O 34-5 ¶¶ SDM 1116 (pA *p'ac'∇- v. 'open, split up' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1696 (id.), KW 18, Pp. VG 63, Ci. EApk 36-7, Dr, TM II 14 ("semantisch unwahrscheinlich") ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 286 (*pa(n)te 'open') (pA + err. IE, U, J).

1664. *P_uĉ'o¹ 'hair' > K: GZ *p|beçw-, {FS} *peçw- 'a hair' > OG beçv-i 'a hair', G beçv-i 'a hair, fibre; fur', beçv-a 'a hair, a fur hair, Mg {Q} piçv-i 'eyelash', {FS} paçv-i ~ piçu 'fur, hair', fibre', do-paçv-a 'to blink eyelids' ¶ Fähnrich and Sarjveladze explain G b- (for p-) by dis. ¶ FS K 318-19, FS E 357, DCh. 105, Chx. 81, Q 337 || HS: S *^o✓pšš > Ar {BK} fašūš- {BK} 'cloth of thick wool', {Ln.} fašš-, fašūš- 'a garment of wool that is thick in texture and fine in the yarn' ¶ Ln. 2400, BK II 595-6 || Ch: WCh {ḡStl.} *m-P∇'ĉ¹ - 'hair' > SBc: Sy {Csp.} bīšzḡ, Zar K {Sh. in JI} bēžīn, Zar {IL in JI} mbīšzḡ, {ChL} mbúšùḡ, Gj {Sh. in JI} màžan, {IL} mžžzḡ, {Luc.} mžžèḡ, Gj Mg {Sh.} mžšàḡ, Gj G {Sh.} màžàḡ, Gj B {Sh.} mèšàḡ, Zem Z {Sh.} myežìḡ, Zem Ch {Sh.} mèšḡ, Tule {Sh.} mèžìnè id. ¶ JI II 176, ChC s.v. 'hair', ChL II 183, 208, Csp. 53, Sh. SB 47 || IE: NaIE *pous-/pus- 'body hair, down' (× N *P_unĉē 'body hair, down', [?] feathers' [q.v.]) > Lt Δ paustis 'animal hair' | Sl *pūxъ (< *pous-o) 'down, fluff, fine hair' > Blg пух, Slv pūh, Cz, P руч, R 'пух (gen. 'пуха, loc. в пуху)', Uk 'пух (gen. 'пуху) id. ||| pAl {O} *puša > Al pusch 'fluff, down' || ??σ OI 'pucchaḡ, 'puccham' 'tail, hinder part' ¶ ≈ WP II 82, ≈ P 849 (*peuk-), M K II 298-9, M E II 140, Frn. 554, ≈ Vs. III 414, ≈ EI 251 (*pou-m-s '[human] body hair'), ≈ O 351 (IE *poukso-) || A: M *pūsün 'hair' (× pA *P_unĉæ 'hair, feather' < N *P_un₁E₁ya 'hair?') > MM [HI, IsV, IM] hūsūr 'hair', [S] {H} hūsū(n) [hūsūn] 'hair (of the body, of the head)' (but MM [MA] already ūsūr) 'hair', WrM {MED} ūsūr(n) 'hair, fur', HIM γс(эн) {MED, BMR} id., Kl {KRS} γсн 'hair, fur', {Rm.} ūsḡ 'Haar, Kopfhaar', MMgl {Iw.} ūsū 'hair of the head', Mgl {Rm.} ūsūn, Mnr H {SM} fužz 'cheveu', {T} sze ~ φυζε 'hair', Dx usun, Ba sun, Dg {Pp.} ūsū, {Mr.} huse, {T} χusu, ShY hzsun 'hair', Ord ūsū 'cheveu, poil, laine' ¶ Pel. 234-5 [no. 62], H 80, MED 1013, BMR III 425-6, Chr. 519, KRS 555, KW 460, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 764, Pp. MA 382,

438, Pp. L III 76, Lg. VMI 35, Iw. 145, SM 102, T 359, T DnJ 138, T BJ 147, T DgJ 180, S AJ 235 [no. 39] ¶ M * $\varphi\ddot{u}s\ddot{u}n$ is likely to go back to earlier ** $\varphi\ddot{u}\check{c}$ - $s\ddot{u}n$ (with a M nominal sx [Dr.'s "Singularsuffix"] *-sun/*- $s\ddot{u}n$, / Dr. SB 62).

1665. * $p_a^r g^r d$ 'leg' (or 'e part of a leg'), 'foot' > **HS**: ? Eg fXVIII $p\ d$ 'knee' (and Eg fO $p\ \check{c}d$ id.?), DEg $p\ t$ 'knee, foot', Cpt Sd $\Pi\ \Delta\ \Gamma$ $p\ a\ t$, B $\Phi\ \Delta\ \Gamma$ $p^h\ a\ t$ 'knee, foot, leg, thigh' (< * $p\ i\ t$, acc. to Till) ¶ EG I 500, Fk. 96, Er. 142, Vc. 165, Till KDG 9, Tk. II 407-10 ¶ Egyptian $p\ \check{c}d$ belongs here if N *- $g^r d$ - may have yielded Eg - $\check{c}d$ - || B *- $f\ u\ H\ d$ - (pl. - $f\ a\ H\ d\ d$ -) 'knee, leg' > Kb $a\ f\ u\ d$ (pl. $i\ f\ a\ d\ d\ \grave{a}n$) 'jambe, membre inférieure', BSn $f\ \ddot{u}d$, SrSn $a\ f\ u\ d$, pl. $i\ f\ \ddot{a}d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Shnw $f\ u\ d$, pl. $i\ f\ a\ d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Izn, Rf $f\ u\ d$, pl. $i\ f\ \ddot{a}d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, BMn $f\ \ddot{u}d$, Sll ' $a\ f\ \ddot{u}d$ ', pl. $i\ f\ \ddot{a}d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Zn $a\ f\ u\ d$, pl. $i\ f\ a\ d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Si $f\ \ddot{u}d$, pl. $i\ f\ \ddot{a}d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Skn {Sarn.} $f\ \ddot{u}d$, pl. $i\ f\ \ddot{a}d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Mz $f\ u\ d$, pl. $i\ f\ a\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Wrg $f\ u\ d$, Ah, Gh, Ttq, Izd $a\ f\ u\ d$, pl. $i\ f\ a\ d\ d\ \grave{a}n$, Nf {Beg.} $\alpha\ f\ \acute{e}d$, pl. $i\ f\ \acute{e}d\ d\ \grave{e}n$, Awj $a\ f\ u\ d$, Gd $\omega\ f\ \acute{a}d$ (pl. $f\ \acute{e}d\ d\ \acute{e}n$), Zng {TC} $o\ \check{r}\ f\ u\ \delta$ 'knee' ¶ Fc. 301, Dl. 191, Lf. II no. 0374, La. S 243-4, La. Ch 140, Dlh. M 48, Dlh. Ou 72, Bs. MS I 226, Loub. 534, Rn. 297, Sarn. 19, Msq. 138, Beg. 235, Ds. B 141, Bi. Ou 54, Mrc. 128, TC D 5, NZ 523-4 || C: Bj {R ← Mnz.} $f\ \acute{e}d\ i\ g$ 'sole of a shoe' ¶ R WBd 76 || NrOm: Hrr {Abb.} $p\ \acute{a}d\ \acute{a}l\ l\ \acute{a}$ 'inside of the thigh' ¶ CR H 656 || ? Ch (× N * $p\ o\ q\ E\ \check{z}$ or * $p\ o\ \check{z}\ \nabla\ q\ \nabla$ 'thigh, haunch' × N * $P\ o\ \eta\ 'd'$ ≈ leg, foot'): ECh: Brg {J} $f\ \acute{a}d\grave{i}$, Jg {J} $p\ \acute{a}d\ o$, Mu {Lk.} $f\ \ddot{u}d\acute{i}$, pl. $f\ \ddot{u}d\grave{a}t$, {J} $f\ \ddot{u}d\acute{i}$, pl. $f\ \ddot{u}d\grave{a}t$ 'thigh' || CCh {OS} * $f\ \nabla\ H\ u\ d$ - 'thigh' > McTr {ChL}: Hw $f\ \ddot{u}d\grave{a}r\ a$, G'nd $f\ \ddot{u}d\grave{a}t\grave{a}$, Gbn $f\ \ddot{u}d\grave{z}\grave{t}\grave{e}$, Bk $f\ \ddot{u}d\grave{z}\grave{t}\grave{e}$ id. ¶ JI II 324-5, Lk. ZSS 189, ChL, ChC s.v. 'thigh' ¶¶ Hardly connected with Hb $p\ a\ h^a\ 'd\ a\ y\ i\ m$ 'testicles' ([Vulg.] 'testiculi', {GB, KB, KBR} * 'thigh, haunch', / GB 639, KBR 923) ¶ Cf. OS no. 1931 (HS * $p\ a\ h\ u\ d$ - 'leg, thigh', but there is no unambiguous ev. of * p - rather than * f -); the dictionary of OS erroneously adduced the Syr and Mhr reflexes of WS * $p\ \nabla\ \chi\ i\ \delta$ - 'thigh' (misinterpreting them as going back to S * $p\ a\ \chi\ u\ d$ - 'thigh'), as well as Hb $p\ a\ h^a\ 'd\ a\ y\ i\ m$ * 'thighs' (in fact, $p\ a\ h^a\ 'd\ -\ \acute{a}\ \omega$ 'his testicles', cf. here s.v. * $P\ u\ q\ \nabla\ d\ \nabla$ 'leather bag, scrotum'); Tk. II 408 convincingly rejected this Eg-S comparison || **IE** * $p\ e\ (:)d$ -/* $p\ o\ (:)d$ - 'foot' > OI $p\ a\ d$ - (' $p\ \acute{a}t$, accus. ' $p\ \acute{a}d\ a\ m$, gen. $p\ a\ 'd\ a\ h$) 'foot', Av $p\ a\ d$ - id. || Arm **n\ u\ n\ p** $o\ t\ -k^h$ 'feet', **n\ u\ n\ \acute{u}** $o\ t\ -n$ 'foot' (gen. **n\ u\ n\ h\ \acute{u}** $o\ t\ i\ n$) || Gk A $\pi\ o\ \acute{u}\ \zeta$ (gen. $\pi\ o\ \delta\ -\acute{o}\ \zeta$), Gk D $\pi\acute{o}\ \zeta$ 'foot' || L $p\ \acute{e}\ s$ 'foot', gen. $p\ \acute{e}\ d\ -i\ s$, Um accus. $p\ e\ \check{r}\ u$, abl. $p\ e\ \check{r}\ i$ PERSI 'foot' || Clt {Matas.} * $f\ o\ d$ - 'foot' > G1 [Hs.] $o\ d\ e\ s$ 'feet'; d. Clt {Matas.} * $f\ e\ s\ k\ \acute{u}t\ \acute{a}$ '(lather) boot, shoe' > MW $e\ s\ g\ i\ d$, Crn $e\ s\ k\ i\ t$, $e\ s\ k\ y\ s$ id. || Gt $f\ \acute{o}\ t\ u\ s$, ON $f\acute{o}\ t\ r$, Nr, Sw $g\ o\ t$, Dn

fod, OHG fuoꝛ, NHG Fuß, OSx, AS fōt 'foot', NE foot ||| BSl: Lt pėdà, Δ pédas 'foot, sole of foot, footmark', Ltv pḗds 'Fußstapfe, Spur', Lt pãdas 'sole of foot\shoe', Ltv pḗda 'foot' | SI *pěxъ (< NaIE *pēd-su loc. pl. 'in feet', sc. 'by foot', or d. from *pēd-) > Cz pěchou, pěchem adv. 'by foot', R пехота, Р piechota, Cz pěchota 'infantry'; SI *pěšb(jb) 'walking by foot, pedestrian' (< SI *pěxъ or < NaIE {Vs.} *pēd-syos < *pēd-) > OCS пѣшь pěšь, Blg пеш, пеши, Slv pēšji, Cz, Slk pěší, Р pieszy, R пеший adj. 'walking by foot, pedestrian', SCr pješē 'by foot', d. пѣшāk ѣ pješāk 'pedestrian, walker, foot soldier' ||| pTc {Ad.} *peḷ-ne du. 'two feet' (< IE du. *'pode id.) > Tc A peñ nom./accus. du., Tc B paḷne id.; Tc A pe accus. sg. 'foot', peyu nom./accus. pl., pes accus. pl. 'feet', Tc B paḷyue nom. sg. 'foot' || Ht pata-, Lw {Mlc.} pāta-, HrLw {Mer.} pati-, Lc {Mlc.} pede- 'foot' ||| NaIE *ped-om 'footprint' (× N *pat∇ (or *pat∇?∇?) 'ground, plain; bottom'): Lt pėdà, OI pa'dam, Av paδam 'track', ancient Arm d. **h t u n** het (gen. **h t u n j** hetouy) 'trace, track, footmark', L pēda 'sole of foot, footprint', ON fet (< Gmc *fatja-) 'step' ¶¶ P 790-1, EI 208-9 (*'pōd-s / accus. *'pod-mḡ / gen. *pe'd-os 'foot'), ≈σ EI 595 (*pedom 'footprint, track'), M K II 249, M E II 77-8, F II 857-8, WH II 293-5, Pln. II 749, Bc. G 341, Fs. 159-60, Vr. 139, Ho. 113, Ho. S 22, Kb. 302, OsS 233, KM 226, Slr. 53-4, Frn. 561-3, Vs. III 254, 257, Ma. CS 364, StSS 561, Glh. 482, Ad. 401-2, Frd. HW 165, Ts. W 62, CHD P 231-5, Mer. HHG 96, Mlc. CL 173-4, Mlc. L 52, Matas. 128-9, 136 ¶¶ On pClT {Matas.} *f- instead of the more correct notation of the pClT cns. as *h- cf. Introd. 2.2.14 ||| A *p'agd∇ 'foot, sole of foot' > Tg *pagdi(-kī), *pagdi 'sole of foot' > Ewk Sm hagdi, Ewk hagdi-kī 'foot, sole of foot', Ewk Y/Np hagdi-kī 'bear's foot\leg', Neg xagdi-kī ѣ xakkī ѣ xaki 'sole of foot (of animals and human beings); animal's foot, paw', Orc xagdi, xagdiqi '(sole of) foot, paw', Ork pagže, Ud {Krm.} xagdigi, Nn KU xagdikī 'sole of foot', Ul pagžila- 'flee, begin to run', Nn Nh {On.} pagžiala-, Nn KU pagdala- 'begin to run' ¶ STM II 308, Krm. 303, On. 319, S AJ 221 [no. 241] || T *h,aδ-ak 'foot' > OT aδaq, MU, MQp, XwT aδaq ~ ayaq, Chg, OOsM ayaq, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, StAlt, ET ayaq, SY, Shor azaq, Xlj hada'q 'foot', Tk ayak, Az, Tkm ayag, VTt, Bsh, Kr, Nog, Qzq, Qq ayaq, Uz ayqq, Xk Qc azaχ, Yk ataχ, Chv L ypa ura, Chv Δ opa ora 'foot, leg', Tv adaq 'bottom'; cf. also T *aδī 'palm of hand' > Tv, Tf adiš, Yk itis id. ¶ Cl. 45, Rs. W 5, ET Gl 103-4, TL 288,

DT 123-4, S AJ 178 [no. 32], Ash. III 259-66, Fed. II 283, Jeg. 275, ChVS 232, TvR 30, Ra. 151 || M *_lφ_ladaḡ 'end, estuary, lower part of a river' > WrM aḋaḡ {MED} 'end, finish; estuary, lower part or mouth of a river', HIM {MED, BMR} id., Brt адар 'end, finish; estuary', Kl {KRS} адг 'end, finish; estuary, lower part or mouth of a river', {Rm.} aḋaḡ 'Ende, Mündung des Flusses', 'der oder das letzte', Ord ad_aḡ 'fin, extrémité, dernier'; ?? AdS of M *φατqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (< N ?φ *P_aCk|K̄∇ 'hand' [→ 'handful']) ¶ S AJ 241 [no. 179], MED 9, BMR I 49, Chr. 30, KRS 27, KW 1, Ms. O 3 || ?φ pJ *pí_ln_ltúmai ~ *pí_ln_ltúmia 'hoof' > MJ [RJ] φítúme, J T hízume ~ hízume, J K hízumé, J Kg hízumé id. ¶ S QJ no. 980, Mr. 413, Kenk. 523 ¶¶ Not here Ko patak in pal-(p)patak 'sole of tfoot' (pal is 'foot') (Rm. SKE 180-1, MLC 703) (obviously pal-(p)patak means literally 'bottom of the foot', where patak 'bottom' is from pA *p'at'∇ 'bottom, lower side' > pKo {S} *pàtók 'bottom (дно), lower part' [S AJ 282, SDM 1128-9, DQA no. 1719, S QK no. 317, Nam 237, MLC 703, Xld. KRS 240] < N *p.at∇ (or *p.at∇?∇?) 'ground; bottom', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1118-19 (pA *p'ágdi 'foot, sole of foot' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1700, S AJ 282 [no. 169] (these three sources reject the comparison with Ko patak), TL 288, Pp. VG 52, Rs. W 5 (T, M, Ko), Rm. SKE 180-1 (Ko equated with Nn pata 'runner of a sledge', WrMc {Z} фатань 'bottom' etc., see N *p.at∇ '↑'), KW 1, Z 1030, ≈ Str. LPA 22, ≈ Mill. OJL 137-8, 201-2 || D [1] *paṭa ({ʒGS} *p-) 'sole of foot' (→ 'palm of hand') > Tm paṭam 'instep', Ml paṭam 'flat part of the hand or foot', Png paṭa key 'palm of hand', Mnd paṭa kiy id., paṭa kāl 'sole of foot', Ku paṭa naki 'palm of hand'] [2] d. (?) *paṭ_li_l ({ʒGS} *p-) 'step' > Tm, Ml paṭi 'step, stair', Kt paṭikaṭ 'steps leading up to veranda, steps of ladder', Kn paṭi 'stirrup', Tl paṭi-kaṭṭu 'a stair or step' ¶¶ D no-s 3843 and 3850 ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. 'ступня' *p.at_l, IS SS no-s 2.23 and 10.10, AD SShS 305-6 (*paQd∇ 'стопа' or 'нога'), Sin. OuAIE 228 ◇ Eg p and A *p'- point to a N *p- || E: MEI, NEI ba-at ({Blz.} pat) 'foot' ¶ HK 111 ◇ Blz. E no. 6 (E, HS) ◇ B *H provides ev. of a N lr. or uvular cns., Eg ʒd and the IE lack of precons. lr. suggest a N uvular stop (*-gd- > Eg ʒd, IE *-d-, see AD SShS 305-6), while Tg *-gd- (usually a reflex of N *-gd-) may go back to N *-g|yd- (cf. § 2.2.13 in the Introduction) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 166 (*pad ~ *pat 'foot') (IE, U, A, J + unc. Ko, CK).

1665a. *P_U'h'₁∇₁d∇ (R∇) 'long, spacious, (?) far' > HS: EC: Sa {R} ✓ f_{dn} p_{cv}. (3m pf. 'ifdīnæ, sbjn. af'dānō) 'ausgedehnt\weit\breit\ferne sein', prt. fi'dīn 'weit, breit, ferne', Af {PH} fidsināne 'spaciousness, wideness', fiddinōwe-, Af S {PH} ✓ f_{dm} p_{cv}. (pf. ifdime) 'be spread out', Sml fidsō- 'expand, enlarge', ? fad 'large cloud, large piece (of...)' ¶ R S II 129, PH 102, 133, ZMO 131, 139 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} pād 'long, tall', pād 'long, very tall', She {Bnd.} pād 'long' ¶ Wdk. BY 109, Bnd. PO || ? S: Ar fawhad-at- 'jeune fille grandie et grasse', (??) fudur- 'jeune homme gros et qui est prêt d'atteindre la maturité' ¶ BK II 555, 641 || CCh: BM {ChL}: Mrg, Cb p_ud₁m, Ngx p_ud₁m, Wmd p_ud₁m 'far' || WCh: NgzB (< BM?): Ngz p₃d₃m 'distant, far', Bd {ChL} p_ār_ām 'far' ¶ Sch. DN 130, ChL, ChC s.v. 'far' || A: M *φ_udu₁r₁- 'long' > Mnr H {T} φ_udur, {MYC} s_udur, Mnr Nr fud_ur, Dx {T, MYC} fudu, Ba {T} fdu, {MYC} ft₃ 'long' ¶ SM 101, T 370, T DJ 138, T BJ 149, MYC 681 || D *po₁t₁- (= *po₁d₁-?) 'high, long' > Kn po₁d₁e 'extension, length, height', Tl po₁d₁u₁g_u ~ po₁d₁u₁v_u ~ po₁d₁a₁v_u 'height, tallness, length; high, tall, long', Klm po₁d₁am 'long' (of a jump), Nkr p^(h)o₁d₁am 'length, height' ¶¶ D no. 4484 || AdS of U *p₁i₁δe(-k_ā) 'high, long' (< N *b₁ē₁ž₁U (L₁q∇₁) - *b₁ē₁ž₁L₁∇₁q∇ 'big, high') ◇ Bnc and She p₁- (< *p₁|p₁ + ?) and Ch *-d₁- (< lr. + *d) suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably *?) ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 104d and ≈ Blz. LNA no. 46 (both: D, NrOm and U).

1666. *P_Uq₁∇d∇ 'leather bag, scrotum' > HS: CS *pa₁χ₁d- (or *pa₁h₁d-) 'testicle' > BHb יִתְּחַבּ pa₁h^a'd₁-āw 'his testicles' (Hi. 40.17) (this interpretation is based on the Vulgata translation testiculī: Hb g₁ī₁d₁ē pa₁h^a'd₁-āw yāšō''rāgū is translated as nervi testiculorum eius perplexi sunt, while the Septuaginta did not translate the word at all: τὰ δὲ νεῦρα αὐτοῦ συμπλέκτα. [sc. 'nervi eius perplexi sunt']), JA [Trg.] p₁h₁d₁yn ~ p₁h₁t₁yn, {Lv.} יִתְּחַבּ pa₁h^a'd₁īn ~ יִתְּחַבּ pa₁h^a'd₁īn ~ יִתְּחַבּ pa₁h^a't₁īn 'testicles'; CS *a for the expected *u (> Hb ו) is probably due to the infl. of S *pa₁χ₁i₁δ- 'thigh' (< N *p₁o₁q₁E₁ž₁∇ or *p₁o₁ž₁∇q₁∇ 'thigh, haunch') ¶ GB 639, ≠ KB 872 and KBR 932 (all of them translate the Hb word as 'Schenkel, Keule; thigh, haunch' on the basis of direct etl. comparison with Ar fa₁χ₁δ- ~ fa₁χ₁i₁δ- 'thigh', which is untenable because Hb d is not cognate with Ar δ), Lv. II 258, ≠ MiK I no. 1.211 (without distinguishing between S *pa₁χ₁d- [or *pa₁h₁d-] 'testicle' and S *p₁∇χ₁i₁δ- 'thigh'; the S rec. proposed by MiK is *pa₁χ₁(i₁)δ- 'hip, thigh') || U *pu₁δ₁a 'leather bag, scrotum' > Lp N {Fri.} bu₁dd₁a 'sacculus ex pelle

factus', {N} бѹдѣа 'testicle', (pl.) 'scrotum', Lp L {LLO} роttаh 'scrotum of a reindeer' || Sm: Ne T пaд 'sack', Ne T O {Lh.} pāδæ 'Beutel, Sack, Hodensack', En {Cs.} foadaí 'Sack', {Mik.} hōδay | Kms {KD} бѹра, бѹра, бѹра, bōrd 'Sack' ¶¶ UEW 400, Lh. 348, KD 9, Ter. 428 || **A** ≈*P_{uk}|g∇t'a (pA *-t'- from *-ʔd- < N *-ʔ∇d-?) > Tg *puta 'sack' > Ewk huta-kān 'small bag', huta-l- v. 'open (a bag, package)', Sln ʉtḡā 'a skin (for liquid)', {Iv.} ʉtagán 'suitcase', Neg xota-kān 'small bag of fish skin', Ul pota-čān id., puṭa(n-) 'bag (мешок), paper bag', Orc xuta, xutaka, Ud X/Sm {Krm.} xutaʔa, Ud B {Krm.} puṭaʔa 'bag (сумка, мешочек) made of hide', Ork puṭā id., 'bag (мешок, сумка)', Nn Nh {On.} pōta-čā 'small bag, кулек из рыбьей кожи' ¶ STM II 356, Krm. 307, On. 338 || M *φυṽuta 'sack' > MM [HI] hуquta (= huṽuta), [ZhY] φυda, [MA] اوتة ūta, [IM] hūta, WrM {MED} uḡuta 'bag, sack', HIM ʉʉt {MED, BMR} id., Brt ʉʉta 'sleeping bag, small bag', Dx, Ba φuda 'sack', Mnr H {SM} fūd_a 'sac', Ord ūt'a 'sac oblong' ¶ Pel. 226 [no. 54], MED 865, BMR III 371, Chr. 481, SM 101, T 370, Ms. O 744, Pp. MA 372, 438 ¶¶ SDM 1175-6 (pA *p'ubá-kta [with unjustified *-b-] > T, M + unc. pJ *pampuki > OJ pabuk_{ly}i 'bellows'), Pp. VG 12, Ci. EApk 52 || **D** *puṭṭ-, {GS} *buḍḍ- {AD} 'testicle' > Tm puṭṭā, puṭṭai 'swelled testicle, elephantoid scrotum', Kn бѹḍḍe 'rising or swelling, swollen testicle', Tl бѹḍḍa ;rupture, testicle, bubble', Prj buḍḍa 'genitalia', Klm buḍḍe id., 'testicles', Ku {Fzg.} бѹḍḍa 'animal's testicle', {Isr.} buḍa 'testicle, penis' ¶¶ D no. 4266, GS 106 [no. 276], 110 [no. 287] ◇ IS MS 349 s.v. 'МОШОНКА (scrotum)' (U, D).

1667. *P_{ed}∇,g∇ 'to break, to tear, to wound' > HS: CS *✓pdṽ v. '≈ break (esp. a body part), injure' > JA [Trg.], JEA ✓pdṽ (pf. pə'ḍaṽ) v. 'wound', JA [Trg.] 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫 piḍ'ā n. 'wound', JEA {Sl.} piḍ'ə'tā 'open wound', Sr ✓pdṽ v. 'break (e.g. the head), smash', Ar ✓fdṽ (pf. fadaṽa) vt. 'break, crush', {BK} 'casser, briser, écraser (un corps creux en dedans, comme le crâne ou un pot)' ¶ Lv. IV 9-10, Lv. T II 255, Sl. 888, Br. 558, JPS 435, BK II 556, Ln. 2352, Hv. 551 || NrOm: Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} peḍ- v. 'tear' ¶ Mrn. O s.v. peḍ- || Ch: (1) Hs {Abr.} fídīyē 'castrated (billy goat)' or (2) Hs hūdà 𐎧 fūda v. 'pierce', Mrg {Hf.} bdà v. 'sting' (bee), 'kick' (donkey), MfG {Brr.} -pátk^ω- 'percer (un bouton pour faire sortir le pus, un citron pour extraire le jus)', -pádk^ω- 'percer (un abcès)' || ECh: Bdy pódḍpḍ 'broyer, froisser' ¶ Abr. H 265 and 389, Ba. 319, ≈ Sk. HCD 112, Hf. M 28, 118, Brr. MG II 216, 222, AIJ 108, Tk

II 536 ¶ MfG -p- (for the expected -f-) still requires explanation || ?φ K: G pχoʈ- 'sich die Wangen (vor Kummer) zerfleischen' ¶ Chx. 1522 ¶ G -ʈ- is still to be explained || U: FU *peδe- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *bedʳêʳ 'to pierce, to prick' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: Tg ?φ *piʳdʳŋa (> *pinŋa) 'a wound, scar (from a wound)' > Ewk Skh hinŋa, Lm hiŋŋɔn, Neg xqŋŋan 'scar', Ewk I hiŋa 'wounded', Ork piŋa 'wound (in a fish)'; Tg (??) *opʳeʳd- > Ul {PSchm.} pö dō u 'strike, slaughter, kill' ¶ STM II 325, PSchm. O 275 || D: [1] D *peʈ- (={GS} *p-) v. 'break, burst' > Ml piʈaruka v. 'burst', Otl {Km.} peʈ(u)lu, pedulu v. 'break, crack, burst' || [2] SD *peʈ- v. 'prick, insert' (× N *bedʳêʳ '↑', q.v.) > Kn peʈʈu v. 'push penis into vagina', Krg heʈʈu v. 'prick' ¶ D no. 439O, Km. 435 [no. 845]; on stem-final gemination in SD see Km. 137, 173 ◇ Tg *i requires explanation ◇ IS MS 357, IS SS no-s 3.12 and 11.1 (in both papers *p̄e d̄a 'протыкать'), AD GD 15 ◇ IE *bʰedʰ- 'stechen, graben' (adduced in IS MS, IS SS and AD GD) hardly belongs here (≠φ: *bʰ- and no lr.), but goes back to N *bedʳêʳ '↑'. FU and D < N *P̄ed̄, ḡ × N *bedʳêʳ (q.v.), due to the loss of glottalic opposition in the U and D initial stops. Tg *i in *piʳdʳŋa (for the expected *e) is puzzling ◇ Qu. because of the ambiguity of the FU reflex and of the D reflex *peʈ- v. 'prick, insert'.

1668. (₂?) *P̄iʳḡ 'to pour; rain' > HS: S *°-pūg- (or *°-pīg-) > Ar ✓ f w ğ (ip. -fūğ-, pf. fāğa) {BK} 'répandre son parfum' (se dit des arômes), {Hv.} 'spread the perfume' (musk) ¶ BK II 643, Hv. 578 || Ch {JS} *✓ p̄g v. 'pour' > CCh: McTr: Hw fèxùrà 'rainy season', G'nd fèkta, Gbn fèkté, Bk fèktá id. || Lmn {Lk.} pɜv- v. 'pour away' || Mdr {ChC} pɜw-a id., Dgh {Frk} pɜà id., pɜ-dúwè v. 'pour out', Gzg Mj {Lk.} pi '(hin)eingießen' || Bcm {Sk. in ChC} púkù v. 'pour' || Ms {ChL} fɔkamo id. ¶ JS 206, ChL, ChC s.v. 'to pour' and 'rainy season', Lk. G 133 || A *pʳiga (or *pʳi, aḡ) 'rain' > Tg *pigi-n 'storm, rain with storm' > Ewk hiɜin 'whirlwind, storm, rain with storm', Neg xiɜin ~ xiɜin, Ud sī 'whirlwind, storm', Ork siɜ 'storm', Ul piw-su(n-) 'gust of hurricane' ¶ STM II 322, Krm. 383 || pT *jag- v. 'rain' > OT, MT jaɣ-, Az, Tkm, ET, SY jaɜ-, Tk ɟağ- jā-, Ggz jā-, Uz jɔɜ-, VTt, Bsh jaɰ-, Qzq, Qq žaɰ-, Xk, Tv čaɜ-, Shor čaɜ-, čā-, StAlt ža- v. 'rain'; Chv L ɟɟ- sú-; Chv Δ ɟăv- śb̄v- v. 'rain, snow, hageln'; ⇨ : [1] T *jag-mur n. 'rain' > OT, jaɣmur, Az, Slr jaɟmur, MT jaɣmur ~ jamɣur, VTt jaŋgir, Bsh, Nog, SY jamɜir, Qrg žamɜir, Xk naŋmir, Shor naɜbir, namir, StAlt žaŋmir, Chv L ɟɟmăp, Chv Δ ɟomăp ɟ ɟămăp n. 'rain'; [2] NaT *jag-

In n. 'rain' > MT *jaɣin*, Az, Tkm *jaɣin*, Uz *jaɣin*, Bsh, *jaɣun*, Qzq *ǰawin* id. ¶ TL 25, Rs. W 177, Cl. 896, 9034, 908, ET J 57, Ash. XII 199–200, 235–8, 313, Fed. II 127–8, 135–6, Jeg. 216, 218, ChVS 188–9 || M (d.?) **ᵛᵛagadar* 'heavy rain' > WrM *agadar* {MED} 'shower, a rain of short duration', HIM *адар* {MED} id., {BMR} 'shower (Regenguß), thunderstorm', Brt *адар* 'shower (Regenguß), a rain of short duration' ¶ MED 12, BMR I 5, Chr. 16§ || pKo **pí* 'rain' > MKo **pí*, Ko: Ph/Chs/Kw *pi*, Ks *pî*, Hm *pi*, Sl *pī* id. ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 65], S QK no. 65, Nam 275, MLC 848 ¶¶ If the pA word was **p'iga*, the T and M vw. *-a- of the initial syll. is explained by regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 1146–7 (pA **p'igə* > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 1770, S AJ 13, 34–5, 283 [no. 196], Rm. SKE 200 || ? D **peu-* / **rou-* v. 'rain, pour' (× N **b'e'ɣhɣ* 'to pour', q.v. ffd.).

1669. ?φ **pUḡi,ŋ* (or **pUḡi,ŋ*?) 'faeces, filth' > K: OG *puna* (nom. *puna-y*), *pune* 'faeces, dung', G *pune* {DCh.} id., {Chx.} '(cow) dung' ¶ Abul. 448, Chx. 1506, DCh. 1318 ¶ Not here G XIX {DCh.} *pinti* 'dung, faeces', which is better interpreted as a sd. of G *pinti* {Chx.} 'mies, miserabel, lausig, schlecht', {DCh.} 'дрянь, гадость; гадкий, мерзкий', which is a loan from Arm *փնրի* *p^hn^thⁱ* [*p^hənt^hi*] 'dirty, filthy' (F DCh. 1306, Chx. 1475, GTG 364, Bdr. 728) || HS: Eg Md *fgr* ~ Eg BD *fgr* v. 'defecate and urinate' (of human beings) ¶ EG I 580, Fk. 99, Tk. II 589–90 || EthS: Gz *fəʔəg* 'dung' ¶ L EDG III 229 || Ch: WCh: Sha {J} *pyaŋ* 'Exkremente', Tng *puḡut* 'uncleanness', *puḡo* 'urine' || ? Ngm {ChL} *mbwɔ̀nà* 'faeces' || Mnh. SH 236 mentioned Hs *findi* 'faeces', but I cannot detect this word in Ba., Abr. H and Sk. HCD || CCh: Bdm {Nc.} *pīn* 'dirt' ¶ J R 288, J T 134, ChL, ChC s.v. 'dirt' || ? C **fɳnɳt-* 'dirt, filth' > Bj {R} *findo* ~ *fiŋɔ* 'Mist, Kot, Dreck' || Ag: Xm {R} *fəndi'yā* (pl. *fəndī*, -t) 'Mist, Kot; Ag (?) ⇨ Amh *fandiya* 'excrement (of horses\donkeys)' || EC: Sml *fānto* {DSI} 'cow dung', {ZMO} 'dung', Sml N {Abr.} *fānto* 'orbicular dung (of cows, horses)', Or {Th.} *fando*, {Brl.} *fandò* '(horse) dung', Hd {PB} *fīnda* 'dung of horses'; Or ⇨ Ged {L} *fāndo*, Qbn {L} *fanduta* 'dung', Mch {L} *ḡāndo* 'dung of horses\donkeys' ¶ AD SF 41, AD GDS 59, R WBd 8), R Ch. II 43, R SS II 151, DSI 210, Abr. S 76, Th. 128, BrL. 143, L M 45, PB s.v. *fīnda* ¶¶ Tk. II 590 || A **P_ôŋgU* 'stench, bad smell' (× N **P_ü|uñyE* 'smell' ['odor']) > M **puŋgu-* (~ **puŋga-*?) v. 'fart' > MM [LM, IsV, MA] *huŋgu-* id., WrM {MED} *uŋga-*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *уŋга-* v. 'break wind', Kl {Rm.} *uŋga-* 'furzen',

Ord $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ - 'lâcher un vent, vesser, MMgl [Z] $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ -, Mgl $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ - 'break wind'; M * $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ -sun (~ * $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ gasun?) 'wind in the bowels' > MM [LM] $\underline{h}\underline{u}\underline{n}\underline{q}\underline{u}\underline{s}\underline{u}\underline{n}$, [IM] $\underline{h}\underline{u}\underline{n}\underline{g}\underline{a}\underline{s}\underline{u}\underline{n}$ (spelled with a mistake as $\underline{h}\underline{u}\underline{n}\underline{r}\underline{a}'\underline{s}'\underline{u}\underline{n}$) id., [S] {H} pl. $\underline{h}\underline{u}\eta\underline{s}'\underline{i}'\underline{u}\underline{t}$ 'Gestank', WrM $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{a}\underline{s}\underline{u}\underline{n}$ {MED} 'gas generated in the stomach or bowels, flatus', HIM $\underline{y}\underline{n}\underline{r}\underline{a}\underline{s}$ {MED} id., {BMR} $\underline{y}\underline{n}\underline{r}\underline{a}\underline{s}(\underline{a}\underline{n})$ 'gas generated in the stomach or bowels', n. act. 'farting', Brt $\underline{y}\underline{n}\underline{r}\underline{a}\underline{h}\underline{a}(\underline{h})$ id., Kl {Rm.} $\underline{o}\eta\eta\underline{a}\underline{s}\eta$ 'Furz, Wind im Bauche', Ord $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}\underline{s}\underline{u}$ 'pet, vesse', Mnr H {SM} $\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}\underline{s}\underline{z}$ 'vesse' ¶ H 79, Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 187, 438, Lg. VMI 34, MED 876, BMR III 333, Chr. 470, KW 287, 450, Ms. O 736-7, SM 472, Iw. 140 || Tg * $\underline{p}\underline{o}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ 'musk (of musk deer)' > Ewk $\underline{h}\underline{o}\eta\eta\underline{o}$, Ul $\underline{p}\underline{o}\eta\eta\underline{o}\underline{l}$ id.; Orc $\underline{p}\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{u}$, Ud $\underline{p}\underline{u}\eta\underline{u}$ id., Nn Nh $\underline{p}\underline{o}\eta\eta\underline{o}\underline{l}$ id., 'кабарговая струя', musk (of musk deer); Ewk $\underline{h}\underline{u}\eta\underline{u}\underline{l}\underline{u}$, Orc $\underline{x}\eta\eta\underline{o}\underline{l}\underline{o}$, Lm $\underline{h}\eta\eta\underline{g}\underline{a}\underline{c}\underline{a}\underline{n}$ 'male musk deer', WrMc {Z} $\underline{\phi}\underline{o}\underline{n}\underline{i}\underline{o}$ 'female musk deer, female saiga', ? {Hr} $\underline{\omega}\underline{o}\underline{r}\underline{i}\underline{o}$ 'doe (female roe deer)' ¶ STM II 333, Krm. 279, On. 335, Z 1060, Hr 303 || pKo {S} * $\underline{p}\underline{a}\eta\eta\underline{u}\underline{i}$ 'wind in the bowels' > MKo $\underline{p}\underline{a}\eta\eta\underline{u}\underline{i}$, NKo $\underline{p}\underline{a}\eta\eta\underline{u}\underline{i}$ id. ¶ S QK no. 339, Nam 250, MLC 736 ¶¶ SDM 1111 (A * $\underline{p}\underline{l}\underline{u}\eta\eta\underline{a}$ - $\underline{i}\underline{u}$ - 'musk smell, bad smell' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 1682 (id.), Pp. VG 72 (M, Ko) || D (att. in GnD) * $\underline{p}\underline{i}\underline{u}\eta$ - ({ θ GS} * \underline{p} -) 'excrement' > Gnd $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta$ $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta\eta$ $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta\eta\underline{u}$ $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta$ 'human ordure, excrement', Knd (pl.) $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta\eta\underline{u}$, Png, Mnd $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta$, Kui $\underline{p}\underline{i}\underline{u}$ (pl. $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta\eta\underline{a}$), Ku $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta$ $\underline{p}\underline{i}\eta\eta\underline{a}$ 'excrement' ¶ ≠ D no. 4210 (without distinguishing * $\underline{p}\underline{i}\underline{u}\eta$ - from the D $\sqrt{*}\underline{p}\underline{i}$ 'faeces').

1670. * $\underline{p}\underline{o}\underline{r}\underline{i}$ 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out' > K: G Z {FS} * $\underline{p}\underline{u}\underline{y}$ - 'cavity' > G $\underline{p}\underline{u}\underline{y}$ - 'hollow of tree trunk', ? Mg $\underline{p}\underline{u}\underline{y}$ -u 'mole' (← * $\underline{p}\underline{u}\underline{y}$ - 'mole's burrow') ¶ FS K 325 || A * $\underline{p}\underline{o}\underline{y}\underline{v}$ > NaT * $\underline{h}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'pit, low place, depression' (× N * $\underline{q}\underline{o}\underline{w}'\underline{i}$ 'orifice, hole; make a hole' × N * $\underline{p}\underline{o}\underline{s}\underline{g}\underline{y}\underline{v}$ 'wooded bank [of a waterway]'??) > OT {Cl.} $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'hole, cavity, valley', {DTS} $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'pit, depression (яма, углубление)', MQp XIII {Cl.} $\underline{o}\underline{y}$, Ln $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'valley', Tkm $\underline{o}\underline{y}$, QrB, Tv $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'low place, lowland', Qzq, StAlt $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'low place, depression', Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ id., 'Talkessel', Xk $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ id., 'valley', ET $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'depression (valley or sim.), low-lying lands', SY $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'valley, settlement (населенное место)', VTt $\underline{\Delta}\underline{u}\underline{y}$ 'rut (рытвина)', Bsh $\underline{u}\underline{y}$ 'broad and deep valley between mountains'; NaT * $\underline{h}\underline{u}\underline{o}\underline{y}$ - v. 'hollow out' > OT $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ -, Chg XV $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ -, Tk $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ -, Az, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ -, VTt, Bsh, Ln $\underline{u}\underline{y}$ - id., Tkm $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ -, Uz $\underline{y}\underline{y}$ - $\underline{\omega}\underline{y}$ - 'id., 'dig out', Nog, Qq $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ - 'hollow out, hew\cut through', Kr, Tv $\underline{o}\underline{y}$ - 'hollow out, make a hole' ¶ ET Gl 425-8, TL 98, DTS 365, BR 570, Cl. 265-6 || NrTg * $\underline{p}\underline{o}\underline{y}$ 'swamp,

tundra' (< **'lowland') > Ewk hōy 'swamp, tundra', Sln oи 'swamp, bog' ¶ STM II 330 ¶¶ ≠ STM l.c. (÷ M *φoyi 'forest') || HS: C: Dhl fuʃʃ-ēδ- 'bore hole\burrow', Kz f0ʔ-at- v. 'bury' ¶ EEN 23, E SC 152 || DEg fʃʔ 'Kanal' ¶ Er 144 ¶¶ Tk. II 565-6 ◇ T *_lh_l- (> *∅-) in *_lh_lōy suggests N *p̄- (*p̄oΓ i) unless T *_lh_lōy 'pit, low place, depression' goes back to N *p̄oʃ|gy▽ 'wooded bank' (which is not likely) ◇ M *φoyi 'forest' does not belong here (⇔ ADb. KL 2 [A *p'oy 'forest [in river valleys)]), but is akin to B *fay 'forest, wood; bank' and goes back to N *p̄oʃ|gy▽ 'wooded bank' (q.v. ffd.). ADb.'s et. requires unnecessarily complicated semantic changes.

1671. *p̄ä'ʏ'üwA 'fire' (→ 'heat', 'daylight, day') > HS: Eg BD/L pʃw 'Feuer, Glut', {Fk.} 'flames (?)' ¶ EG I 503, Fk. 88, Tk. II 424-6 || ?φ S *^o✓ pħħ > Ar fuħħ-at- 'pungency of pepper' ¶ -ħ- < S *-ʃ- (devoicing due to unknown factors) < N *-ʏ- ¶ Fr. III 319, Hv. 548 || B ≈ *-faHw- 'fire, light' > BSn t-faw-t̄, Izn t̄-faw-t̄, Sll a-faw, Gd ωfa 'lumière', Ah āfa 'lumière, clarté', BMn t̄a-fa-t̄ 'sunlight', Izd a-fa, Awj a-fiw 'feu', d.: Ah ufu, Izd -ffu(w) 'se lever' (le jour), Sll i-fiw/i-ffaw 'être lumineux' ¶ Fc. 298, Lf. II no. O768, Beg. 258, Mrc. 148, NZ 675-7 || Ch: [1] d. (with the HS sx *-t-): Ch {Nw.} *fati 'sun, day', {Stl.} *fati/a, *faʔat- ~ *fawat- 'sun' > WCh: Bl {Mk.} fɔti, Dr {J} pójí, Ngm {ChL} fótî, Pr {ChL} fóriy, Krf {Gw.} fiti, {Sch.} fiččí, Glm {Sch.} pizí, Gera {Sch.} piší, Grm {Sch.} fiččé 'sun', Tng puda id., Tng B {J} púdà 'day', Krkr {J} fatí 'sun, day' | Wrj {Sk.} fáí 'sun', P' {MSk.} fei 'sun', Diri {Sk.} fātā 'sun, day' | Tal {Sh.} pidi, {ChL} pùtè, Plc {ChL} pìdì, Grn {Sh.} fùdì, Buli {Sh.} pit, Sy {ChL} fʷut, Zar K {Sh.} fītì 'sun' | Klr {J} fat 'sun, day', Fy {J} vi-vát 'sun' || CCh: Tr {Nw.} fɔdà 'sun, day', Pdl {ChL} f+d̄a 'sun' | ? Klb {Mk.} pɔči, {ChL} p̄čí 'sun' | Nz {ChL} f̄tè, FIM {ChL} f̄itu, FIJ {ChL} fitî, Mln {ChL} fótó 'sun' | Glv {Rp.} fáčiy, {ChL} fàčya, Gv {ChL} fɔčiyà, Dgh {Frk} fíčè 'sun' | Suk {IL} p̄h̄s 'sun' | Mtk {ChC} p̄âc, {Sb} páčây 'sun' | Db K {Sb.} pút 'sun, day' | MSg P {Mch.} fúti 'sun' | Ms 'j' fáttà, fátnà, ZmB {J} fótó 'sun' || ECh: EDng {Fd.} pàtò, Mgm {J} pátó id. | Mkl {J} pèdó id. | Jg {J} φòt, Brg {J} fòtó 'sun', Mu {Lk.} fāt 'fun, day', Mjl {DB} fāt, Kjk {DB} fātì 'sun' | [2] ??? CCh: Lgn {Lk.} fū ~ ffù 'fire' (Lk. L 91); this word is a highly qu. as a cognate, because within the CCh context this word is more likely to belong to CCh *ʔ▽f▽ 'fire' (> Msg {Trn.} àfú, Gdr {Mch.} affa, ofq id.) ¶ JI II 312-13 and 139, Stl. IF 47, Nw. no. 126, ChC s.v. 'sun', 'day' and 'fire', ChL, Sch. BTL 155, J R 90, 352, DB s.v. Kjk fātì,

Blz. EChWL no. 81 ¶¶ Tk. II 424-5 || K *-pχ_Lw_L- 'warm, clear' (of weather), att. in derived words only: [1] in words for 'springtime' and 'summer' > G za-pχ-ul-i, Mg zapχul-i (←b G?) 'summer', Sv L {Dn.} lupχw 'springtime and summer', Sv UB {GP, TK} lupχw 'springtime', [2] in K *mē-pχ-e 'clear (sky, weather)' > Lz ma-pχ-a 'fine weather, clear sky', Sv mē-pχ-e 𐌆 māpχe 'clear sky', Sv L {TK, Dn.} mēpχe 'clear sky', Sv LB/Ln {TK} mepχe id., Sv UB mēpχe {TK} id., {GP} id., 'clear space' ¶¶ K 194, ≈ K² 209 (*pχ- 'be clear' [of weather]), K² 120, FS K 327, FS E 366-7, Chik. 188, TK 498, 570, GP 198, 218, Dn. s.v. lupχv and mēpχe ¶¶ In the light of external comparison, the meaning 'clear' is secondary (⇒ K²) || IE *peχ̂w-r / *peχ̂w-n- 'fire' > AnIE *paxur / *paxwen- 'fire' > Ht pahhur, gen. pahhwen-as, Lw pāhūr 'fire' || NaIE *pewōr ~ *pu(:)r ~ *peu-n- 'fire' > Gk πῦρ (gen. πῦρός) id. || Um PIR pir 'fire', accus. PUROM-E 'into fire', Osc aasaí purasiaí 'in araignaria' || Pru panno ({En.} < *panu) 'fire' || Sl *pǫr- 'glowing embers' (< *pūrya-) > Cz † pýř id., P perz, R пырей 'a hollow for embers in front of the stove', P perzyna 'embers, ashes'; HLs inf. pyríc, LLs inf. pyrís 'to stoke (a stove)', SCr pírjān 'stew', Cz inf. pyřit se 'to blush' || Gmc *feur-az ~ *fun- 'fire' > Gt fōn (gen. funins, dat. funin) (· πῦρ) 'Feuer', ON fyrr, fúrr, funi, Ic funi, OSx, OHG fiur, NHG Feuer, Dt vuur, OFrs fiūr, fiōr, AS fȳr 'fire', NE fire || Arm hnp hux 'fire', hñng hn-oc^h 'stove, furnace' || pTc {Ad.} *puwār > Tc: A por, B {Ad., JGH} pūwar 'fire' ¶¶ P 828, EI 202 (*¹peh₂ur), Mlc. CL 163, ABIv. I 27-31, CHD P 12-16, F II 627-9, Pln. II 702, 749, Vr. 147, 149, Vr. N 80-8, Fs. 158-9, Ho. 120, Ho. S 202, Kb. 258, OsS 201, KM 195, En. 219, Ma. CS 410, Vs. III 419, Slt. 175-6, Ad. 392-3, Ad. H 34, Wn. I 382-3, JGH 130-1, 207-12 || U *päywä 'warmth, fire, sun' (→ 'day') > FU *päywä ~ *päyä 'fire, sun': [1] FL *päywä > F päivä, Es päev 'day, sun', pLp {Lr.} *pējvē id. > Lp: N {N} bæi've / -iv- id., L {LLO} pei've ~ päi've, Kld {SaR} пēйв [pīey:v], {TI} pīej:v^e id., S {Hs.} biejjie 'sun, daylight, day'] [2] FU *päyä > ? Lp: N {N} bājan, L {LLO} pajān 'thunder' || Prm *bi_L- 'fire' > OPrm bi, Z bi id., biw-/biy-: biwa kərt 'steel for striking fire' ('fire iron'), biya iz 'flint' ('fire stone'), Z V bia, biya 'feurig', Yz bi'a 'mit Feuer versehen, feurig' || ? Os: V päy, D/O pāy 'Donner, Gewitter', Y/K pāy 'thunder, lightning' || Sm {Jn.} *peywä 'warmth, warm' > Ng {Ter.} loc. sg. (тəнə) хейбытəны 'in (summer) heat', {Cs.} d. 1s aor.

feabemeʔam 'sich erwärmen', Slq Tm {KD} pō̄ 'warmth' ¶¶ UEW 359-360, Sm. 540 (U *pājwä 'sun, warmth' > FU *pājwä, FP *pājvā, Sm *pejwä), LG 39-40, Lr. no. 905, Lgc. no. 4834, Hs. 312-14, SaR 252, TI 350, Jn. 120 || A *p'æ'g'ü' 'hot, warm', *p'æ'g'ü'- v. 'be warm in the sun', ? 'day' (× N *pākō 'to heat [on fire]', 'to be hot') > M *peʃü- vi. 'warm in the sun', 'be hot' (of the sun) (палить) > MM [S] heʔü- [he,ü-] (heʔü-śiye- 'suffer from the heat', {Pel.} 'ne pas supporter le climat'), WrM {MED} vi. and vt. ege-, HIM {MED, BMR} vi. and vt. ээ- v. 'warm, dry in the sun or by fire', Kl {KRS} ээ- ē- id., {Rm.} ē- brennen, sengen, wärmen', 'sich wärmen (am Feuer oder in der Sonne)', Mnr H {T} χē- 'sich wärmen in der Sonne', {SM} χē- 'se chauffer \ sécher au feu ou au soleil', Ord ē- 'chauffer ou sécher au feu ou au soleil', Dx šie- 'get warm, expose sth. to be warmed', Ba hē- vi. 'warm in the sun', ShY hii- id. ¶ Pp. IM 97, MED 296, BMR IV 445, KW 130, KRS 706, S AJ 240 [no. 154], SM 166, T 375, T BJ 150, T DnJ 14, H 76, Ms. O 227, ≠ Pel. 216 [no. 23] || Tg *pigi- (regr. as. [pA *-æ'g'ü'-] **-ægi- > *-igi-) v. 'be warmed, bask' > Ewk hiʃit-/hiʃiç-, Lm hiʃat-/hiʃaç- v. 'bask in the sun, bask near the fire', Ewk hiʃz- 'approach (sth.) to the fire (in order to warm it), hang (sth.) over the fire', ? WrMc {Z} φο- 'be sun-tanned' ¶ Z 1064, STM II 322 (without distinguishing this √ from Tg *pik'i' - 'bake, roast, warm' < N *pākō '↑') ¶ This Tg √ is to be distinguished from Tg *peku 'hot' (> Ewk hɜku ɜ hɜkū 'hot', etc., see pA {DQA} *p'ek'u 'hot, warm' < N *pākō 'to heat [on fire]', 'to be hot') (⇔ Bz. 27-9) || pJ {S} *pí 'sun, day' > OJ pǐí, J T hì, J K òhísan, J Kg oxisǎ id. ¶ S QJ no. 73, Mr. 404, Kenk. 482 || pKo {S} *pàǐ in MKo sàǐ-pàǐ 'dawn' (with sǎǐ v. 'dawn'); cp. NKo sǎ-bǐək 'dawn' with a secondary suffixation ¶ S J 267 [no. 75], Nam 295, MLC 922 ¶¶ SDM 1147-8 (pA *p'ǐag∇ 'hot; sun, day' > Tg, M *hege-, J, Ko), DQA no. 1774, SDM97 (A *p'ige 'hot; sun, day'), S AJ 113, 277 [no. 69] (pA *p'eʷi 'heat [жара], sun, day'), Mr. 404 ¶¶ The apparent deglottalization of N *-k- in the prehistory of M (N *-k- > post-A **-k- > M *-ʃ-) needs investigation. This M *-ʃ- and Tg *-g- (sc. pA *-g-) in this pA root may belong to the heritage of *pākō 'to heat [on fire]', 'to be hot') || D *pūʷ' - 'spark of fire, burning coal' > Tm pū 'spark of fire', Kui pūvala id., puā 'embers', Ku pūya id., puǐya ɜ puva 'spark', puḡā 'burning coal' ¶¶ D no. 4347 ◇ Blz. IELA 11 [no. 33] (S, IE) ◇ IS MS 352 s.v. 'ОГОНЬ' *p'ǐʷ, IS SS no. 10.6, AD GD 13, Blz. DA 162

[no. 102] (suggesting to add D), Blz. NDA no. 106 (D, S, K, IE, A) ◇ Ch *f- (if reconstructed correctly) for the expected *p- may be explained by the infl. of the Ir. (*p...¹ʰ > *f-) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 153 (*par 'fire') (IE *peXw-r ÷ [err.] A, Y, Ai, Gil, Ko, *see* N *p¹oR¹ʰú 'to heat with fire, to burn').

1672. *p¹a¹H_L∇₁¹?¹ü¹ 'strike, split, chop' > HS: C: Dhl pañ- {E} v. 'hit, strike', {EEN} 'hit, shoot', {To.} 'beat'; hardly here Dhl puh- v. {EEN} 'pierce', {To.} 'sting' (interpreted by E as 'strike [with a sharp instrument]') || SC {E} *puh- v. 'strike (with tool)' > Brn puh- v. 'pound (grain)', Alg puhum- id., Kz puxumis- v. 'hit', Mb -pú v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ E SC 144, 146, EEN 7, To. D 145, AD SF 44 || WCh.: Tng pεyυ v. 'kick, shoot, sting' || CCh: Bu pwa 'strike (in shooting)' ¶ J T 131, BED 177 ¶¶ Tk. II 488 || K {K} *pu- {K²} 'chop, hack, cut into pieces' > G *p- (inf. p-oba) id., 'split' || Sv {K, K² ← ?} nā-pu & nā-pu 'piece, lump' (literally 'chopped'), Sv UB {GP} nāpu 'mouthful' ¶¶ K 154, K² 152, FS K 249, FS E 274-5, Chx. 993, GP 229 || IE *peñw-/*pñu- > NaIE *pēw-/*pau-/*pū- v. 'beat, strike, cut' > L pāv i-ō v. 'beat, ram', dē-puv- v. 'beat down' || Gk παύω v. 'strike, smite' || Lt inf. p¹jáuti (1s pres. p¹jajú) (< *pēyū) 'to cut, to carve, to slice, to slaughter', Pru piucian 'sickle' || NLG {WP ← Fick} fūen 'mit dem Fuebusch schlagen (Fastnachtsgebrauch)' ¶ WP II 12, P 827, Mn. 933-4 (rejecting the comparison with Lt p¹jajú), Frn. 584, En. 227, WH II 267; Hofm. 249, F II 464, Ch. 650 (these three authors accepted the above-mentioned et. of Gk παύω with reservations and doubts) ¶ If the Lt and Pru cognates are rejected, the *e-grade *pēw- loses ev. || U *pa¹y¹e- > Sm {Jn.} *p¹by-, {Hl.} ? *p¹by- v. 'chop, split' > Ne T πῆ-υβ 'to chop, to split', Ne T O {Lh.} p¹āē-čē 'Brennholz spalten', Ne F NI {Lh.} payyeś, {Sm.} pađaś 'to split', Ng (aor. 1s objv.) fajśu?ama 'zuhauen' | Slq Tz {KKIH} pačal- 'fell (trees), chop (up)', pač+t- 'chop (wood)' | Mt {Hl.} *hāyāl- v. '(?) chop' (Mt K {Pl.} chejalze (inf. or p. + 3s obj) 'рублю, секу') || pY *pay- > Y K {IN H} pay-, Y T {IN H} pāy- 'strike, hit', K/T {IN H} paydu- 'beat' ¶¶ Jn. 112, KKIH 145-6, Hl. M no. 277, IN H 3401, IN UJ 240-1 ¶ The Sm √ belongs here if the U rec. is *paye rather than *pale or *paže (which are equally possible) || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} φε- v. 'mow (grass)' ¶ STM II 304, Z 1047 || pKo {S} *p¹hí 'cut, reap, sever' (unless from pA ≈ *P¹ô_L:₁g∇- v. 'chop, cut, tear off' < N *p¹a¹k_L∇₁?∇ 'to split', q.v. ffd.) > MKo {Yu, Vv.} p¹hi-, Ko {Vv.} [p¹y-] 'cut as with a sharp-edged

instrument' (att. in Ko Ks/Chl {Choy} pī- 𐌺 pi-), NKo {S} pē 'cut, reap, sever' ¶ S QK no. 494, Nam 255, Vv. AEN 6, Yu 377, Choy 1371, MLC 773 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1178 (pA *p'ūgē 'tear off, sever' > pKo + [going back to N *p'a'k₁∇₁∇, q.v.] Tg *pōg-, *pegde- 'cut\tear off', M *₁h₁ug- ~ *₁h₁üg- 'tear out' and pJ *pānk- 'cut, reap, sever'), Rm. SKE 200-1 ◇ IE *-h₁w- suggests that the N word-final vw. was *ū ◇ IS MS 362 (s.v. 'рубить' 2), IS SS 10.27, AD GD 13 ¶ IS adduced Tg *pū- v. 'saw', which is untenable both for semantic reasons and because in the light of extant data (STM II 336) the Tg rec. of that word is to be *pup- ◇ T *₁h₁ōy- v. 'gouge, hollow out' and Tg *puyē 'wound' should be kept apart, because T *₁h₁ōy- is semantically nearer to N *pōΓi 'cavity, valley; to hollow out' (× N *qow'i' 'orifice, hole; to make a hole'), while Tg *puyē is nearer to N *P₁ūXy∇ 'to be sick; wound' (q.v.).

1673. on. *puh∇ 'blow (blasen)' > HS: WS *-pūh-, *✓pwh v. 'blow', vi. 'smell' > Ar ✓fwh, -fūh- {Hv.} 'diffuse its perfume' (flower), {BK} 'répandre son parfum' (un arôme), 'sentir (bon ou mauvais)', {Hv.} 'diffuse its perfume' (flower), Tgr f3hōt n. 'smell, stench'; (× S *°-pūχ-, *✓pwh < N ?φ on. *P₁u|üq∇₁∇₁ 'to let out air\gas', [?] 'to emit smell'): BHb ✓pwh, ip. 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌺 (yā-) | pū^ah 'blow' (of a wind), 'appear' (of a morning breeze) (hay'yōm yā'pū^ah lit. 'the day will blow', sc. 'the morning breeze will blow'), MHb ✓pwh G 'aufblasen', {Js.} 'blow, blow up', JA [Trg.] ✓pwh 'ausgehaucht werden', {Js.} 'evaporate', 𐌸𐌺𐌹𐌸 pū^ah-ā 'wind, breath (Hauch)', JEA {Sl.} 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌺 ✓pwh G 'breathe, blow up', Sr ✓pwh (pf. Sr W pāh) 'flavit, spiravit, respiravit, olfecit' ¶ KB 866, KBR 916-17, Js. 1140 and 1152, Lv. IV 12, Lv. T II 256, Sl. 888, BK II 644, Hv. 578, Br. 559, LH 654, MiK I no. 2.54 || ?φ C: Bj {R} fū^a ? 'Geruch', fi^a?- scv. 'smell, emit smell' (riechen, Geruch verbreiten) || SC: Kz fi^a?- v. 'sniff' ¶ R WBd 95, E PC no. 185 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Gr.} fi v. 'blow (blasen)', Su {J} fi^a 'blasen (Instrument, Feuer)', Gmy {Hf. in ChC} fi^a, Cp {ChL} fi v. 'blow' || Ngz {Sch.} fi'yú v. 'blow (a horn)', ? fōwâ 'stench, terrible odor' || Bks {J} fu? 'blasen', DfB {J} fū^a? v. 'blow' || NrBc: Wrj {JI after SIL} f'wáyò, Kry {Sk.} fáy-, My {Sk.} fay- v. 'blow' || CCh: Bdm {Cfr in ChC} fá, Lgn {Lk.} fa id. || Ms {J} fōnâ, Bnn {J} fó?, {Sa.} fó?ó, MfG {Brr.} -f- id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} pò id. ¶ JI II 32-3, Gr. LC 300, J S 65, 206, J R 141, IS ChL 21, Sch. DN 58, ChC s.v. 'blow, ChL || K *pu- 'inflate, rise (as dough)' > G pu(v)- 'rise' (of dough)', Mg, Lz pu- 'boil (sieden)', Sv pu-/pw- id. (msd. UB li-pw-e, LB/LSv lipue v. 'boil'), UB/L

li-pū-l-i, LB/Ln lipuli v. 'blow at so.\sth.' ¶¶ K 192, K² 206, FS K 322-3, FS E 361-2, Q 338-9, Chx. 1505, TK 452, GP 171-2 || IE: NaIE *pu(:)-/peu-/pou-/p^hu- 'breathe, blow' > OI p^hū^t-ka'rōti 'puffs, blows, shrieks', OI Λ-pupphula- 'Blähung' ('blowing up') || Arm հոգի ~ ոգի (h)ogī (< *pouyo-) 'breath, soul, spirit', հեւամ հեւամ (< *pewā-) 'I pant, I puff' (aor. հեւացի հեւաց^hi) || OIr úan, Nir uan, W ewyn, MBr, Br eon 'foam' (< *pow-ino-), OBr [ʏ] eonoc d. 'foamy' (÷ Br eonek) ¶ WP II 11-12, P 847, M K II 398 (denying any genetic connections of the OI word), Slt. 341, Bdr. 404, 412, 557, Vn. U 7, Flr. 169, Dnn. 771 || U *puw[∇]- (or *pu[∇]-) v. 'blow' > Er puva- 'blasen, an-\weg-blasen' | Chr U/B pue- 'blasen, wehen' || ObU *pūw|ʏ- ({Ht.} *pūʏ-) v. 'blow (blasen)' > pVg *pūw- id. > Vg: T row-, NV, Ss puw-, LL pu-/ pūw- id.; pOs *pōʏ- ({Hl.} *pūʏ-) id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty pōʏ-, Y/K pōw-, D pēw- id. | Hg fúj-/fú- v. 'blow (blasen, [an]wehen), blow\play (trumpet etc.)' || Sm {Jn.} *pu- or *pu^hy- 'blow' > Ne T пy-ць 'to blow, blasen', pū- 'blasen' (ein Mensch), 'wehen' (ein Wind), En {Cs.} X fuaeta-, B fuaasa- 'blasen', Ng {Cs.} (1s aor. obj.) fua-rúma 'I blew', Slq Tz {KKIH} pū-(qo) v. 'blow', Kms {KD} p'ūʔ-, {Cs.} p^hūʔ-, Koyb {Sp.} пy-бля, пю~~ж~~-бля id., Mt {Hl.} d. *hal- v. 'blasen' (M {Sp.} халнамъ 'дую' ['I blow'], халзы 'надуваю' ['I inflate'], халгамъ 'пущаю дым' ['I discharge smoke']), Mt K {Pl.} chásymaiha 'пержу' ('I fart') || pY {IN H, IN UJ} *puy- > Y K {IN H, IN UJ} пy- 'blow (blasen)', OY {RSt.} пyк id. ¶¶ UEW 411, Coll. 12, Sm. 547 (FU *puwi-, FP *puvi-, Ugr *pūgī- 'blow'), Ht. 174 [no. 495], MF 219, Jn. 128-9, Cs. 73, 95, KP no. 1162, KKH 154, Hl. M no-s 255 and 264, IN H 367, IN UJ 244 || A *pub- > T: OT {Cl.} bū 'steam' (× T *būg 'steam', see ET B 229-30) ¶ Cl. 292, DTS 119 || Tg *pub- > Ewk huw-, Lm hū- v. 'blow (blasen), fan (fire), blow out (fire)', Ewk Np huwar 'draught (wind)', Ul, Nn Nh pū-, Sln ūgū- 'blow', Neg xūw-~ pūw-, Orc hū-~ pū- 'blow out (fire)' ¶ STM II 336, On. 339 ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'дуть' *pu^hʏ ◇ The A data (pA *p- lenis > T *b-, Tg *p-) suggest a N non-emphatic *p-. In BHb, Aram, Bj, Ch, IE, U and pA (lges that merge N *q and *h) the reflexes of this N word are undistinguishable from those of N ?φ on. *P_u|ūq[∇], ?[∇], 'to let out air\gas', (?) 'to emit smell' (q.v.) (cf. the meaning in Mt).

1674. *pik^{rū} 'to press' (→ 'to crush') > HS: ?σ Eg XVIII f k 'bedrückt sein (o. ä.) durch übermässige Abgaben' (unless ← f k 'wüst sein, brach

liegen') ¶ EG I 580 || K *pek^w-/*pk^w- v. 'grind' > OG, G pkv- id., Mg k(u)- id. (inf. ku-ala, 1s p. do-p-kī), Lz mk(v)- id., Sv UB/LB/L/Ln pek 'flour', UB {GP} pek 'meal (flour)', d. (prtc.) K *pk^w-il- 'flour' (lit. 'ground [molita, moulu]') > OG, G pk^w-il-i, Mg k(w)ir-, Lz pkwer- ~ mkwe(r)- 'flour' ¶¶ K 193 (*pk^w-), K² 201, 208 (*pek^w-/*pk^w-); FS K 317-18, FS K² 465 and FS E 355-6 (*pek-/pk-); Ser. 165, Chik. 305, TK 75, GP 263 || IE: NaIE {P} *pu^rk̄¹- 'zusammendrängen, eng umschließen' > Gk πυκᾶζω 'cover thickly\closely', πυκνός 'close, compact; narrow, constricted', ἄμ-πυξ (gen. ἄμπυκος) 'woman's diadem, frontlet; horse's headband', adv. πύκα 'thickly, solidly' || ?σ YAv puśā- {Brtl.} 'diadem', {Bai.} 'headdress', {P} 'headband', MPrt T pωsg ≈ crown'; Irn ⇨ Arm պսակ psak 'garland, crown' || ? pAl {O} *puca > Al T pu^th {AlbED} 'kiss', {Kf., Ç} pu^th 'I kiss, I embrace', {Ç} pu^thit, pu^th^ttoj 'joindre, emboîter, serrer', Al G {LP} pu^th 'I kiss', D {Cim.} puθ-i 'j'embrasse' ¶ P 849, Brtl. 911-12, Bai. 280, F I 96 and II 622-3, Ç II 55, 441, Kf. 287, LamP 159, Cim. 115, 160, O 352 (Al pu^th is *on*.) ¶ The rec. of *k̄ is justified only if the Irn cognate is valid, otherwise we remain with NaIE *puk|k̄- || D *pīk- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'press, crush' > Prj pīk- v. 'crush', ? Krx pīx-nā v. 'press out (oil), squeeze', ? Mlt pīqe v. 'wring or squeeze out, milk' ¶¶ DED no. 3458, ≠ D no. 4135, Bur. PDr 67, Pf. 33 [no. 164] (Krx pīx-, Mlt pīqe < D *pi^r-∇-k-) ◇ The IE cognate is qu. for phonetic reasons: *-k̄- (for the expected *-ĝw-) defies explanation so far ◇ IE *pu^rk̄¹- from N *pik^rü¹ can be explained by mt. of vowels.

1675. (2?) *Poka 'side of a body, side' > IE: NaIE {P} *pog-/*pōg-, *po(:)k-s- 'Achsel, Hüfte, Lende, Seite': [1] *pōg- 'side of a body', (?) 'arm' > OI {MW} pājas¹yam 'the region of the belly (of an animal); the flanks, side' || NaIE *pōg-yo- > Sl *paža > Cz paže, Cz M¹paža 'arm', Cz podpaží 'armpit' (← 'under the arm'), Hls paža 'armpit, upper arm', Lls paža 'armpit', (in set phrases) 'arm' (na pažoma 'auf den Armen', pod pažu wześ 'unter den Arm nehmen') || [2] NaIE *po(:)k-s- 'side, flank' > OI pak¹ṣah¹ 'wing; flank, side', 'pakṣah¹ ('pakṣas) 'wing, side, side of a carriage', Oss I/D faχs 'side of body, side, slope of a mountain' || Ltv paksis 'corner of the house', (? Blt ⇨) R Ng/Ar pak¹ša 'left hand' || Sl *paхъ > R пах 'groin', R Δ, Uk па'ха, P pachа 'armpit, armhole', OCz páčhy 'pendants of sleeves (přívěsky vedle rukávů)' ¶ P 792, EI 517-18 (*pok¹so-s 'side, flank' < *pog¹so-s; *pōgyo-), M K II 184,

244, M E II 62, ≈ M E II 116, MW 614, Ab. I 426, Kar. II 11-12, ≈ Mikl. E 224, ≈ Vs. III 189, 220, Ma. CS 348, 358, HIK 268, Jak. 223, Šw. 225 ||
HS: CS *pakk- 'cheek, side' (→ 'jaw') > Sr **𐌱𐌰𐌿** pak'kā {Br.} 'mala, bucca; maxilla; latus (altaris)', {JPS} 'tusk; jaw, cheek; side (of an altar)', JA [Trg.] **𐌱𐌰𐌿** pak'k-ā 'Seite, Pfoste (einer Tür)', Ar fakk- {BK} 'partie de la bouche qui comprend la mâchoire supérieure et l'inférieure', pl. 𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌰𐌿𐌰- 'jointure de deux mâchoires', {Hv.} fakk- 'jaw; bit of a horse' ¶ Br. 567, Lv. II 264, JPS 445, Fr. III 366, BK II 624, Hv. 572 || CCh: BM: Bu pukúm, Ngx p^uz^hz^m 'cheek' † McHigi: HgF puki, HgNk p+kí, HgB p+ku, HgG puğ+y, FIK p+kumv? id. ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'cheek' ¶¶ The HS √ was possibly influenced by HS *buk₂ √ 'cheek' (> EC *buk₂ - 'cheek', B *-b₂qqā > Mz abəqqa 'cheek' etc.) < N *buk₂ √ 'cheek' || **A:** ?σ Tg *^opo^g √ > Ewk PT/Ald/Ucr hogo 'hip' (× Tg *oga id.) ¶ STM II 5, Vas. 483 ◇ The comparison is qu. If this N word (or variant of a word?) did exist, its reflexes were influenced by the paronymous words that go back to N ? *b₂qâ 'side of body, side' (q.v.) and N *buk₂ √ 'cheek' (q.v.).

1676. *P₂a^hk₂ √ 'spring of water; to spout' > **HS:** S *^o√ pky, *^o√ pkk 'drip' > BHb **𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌰𐌿** mapak'k-īm D prtc. m. pl. {KB} 'dripping', {GB} 'quellend, rieselnd', MHb √ p k p k 'ooze, drip' ({Lv.} 'tröpfeln, tropfenweise auslaufen', {KB} 'hervorsprudeln') ¶ KB 875, GB 641, Js. 1174, Lv. IV 44, PS 3128 || ECh: Kera {Eb.} púkí 'vergießen, verser', Mu {Lk.} 𐌱𐌰𐌿 v. 'rain, pour', Jg {J} bóη páká 'it is raining' (with Jg {J} bóη 'sky') (lit. 'the sky is falling') ¶ Lk. ZSS 187, 189, ChC s.v. 'pour', Eb. 89, J J s.v. bóη || **IE:** NaIE *^opāg|g̃- > Gk πηγῆ, Gk D πῦρ 'running water' ¶ WP II 4, F II 525, Ch. 894 || ? **A:** Tg *^opaK- > Lm ha^uɥ^ɪɪ^ɪ 'intermittent rain' ¶ STM II 308 || **D** *pukk- ({^oGS} *bugg-) > Tm pukkai 'natural spring or pond', Kn bugge 'spring of water, source of a river', Tl buggea 'spring of water, fountain' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 4533 ◇ The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of NaIE *ā (NaIE *ā < IE *a|eH) and D *-gg- (from a cluster with a lr.). N *h is preferred to all other lrs because it is often lost in S and is more likely than N *ʔ to cause lengthening of preceding vowels in NaIE. The vw. *u in D is puzzling. Is it due to the infl. of N *p|p- or to a labialized vw. in the N word (then reconstructible as *P₂a^hUk₂ √) (with *U lost in the prehistory of IE?) ◇ This supposed N etymon is isolated in HS, IE and A, which diminishes the reliability of the comparison.

1677. *P₂'ä'Hak∇ (= *P₂'ä'qak∇?) 'hut, village' > **IE:** NaIE *^opāg|gō- > L pāgus 'community of peasants, village, country district' ¶ WH II 236, ≈ EM 475, EI 133 || **A:** AmTg *peglu₁la 'a building on posts (for storing food), a stand for hanging dried fish', Orc pɜulɜ 'unroofed store hut, a building on posts for storing food', Ul pɜulɜ(n-), Ork pɜulɜ, Nn Nh {On.} pɜulɜ̃:, Nn Bk ɸɜulɜ ~ ɸulɜ 'a stand for hanging dried fish', Ork pɜwulɜn- 'lay sth. (belongings, food) in a "labaz" (a building on posts)' ¶ STM II 360, On. 348 || **D** *pākk- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'hut, village' > Tm pākkam 'seaside village, town, village', Tl pāka 'hut, hovel', -pāka (sx of village names), Knd pāka 'hut'; D ⇨ OI pakkaṇa- 'hut of a village inhabited by barbarians' ¶¶ D *-kk- < *-Hk- < N *-Hak-? ¶¶ D no. 4047, Tu. no. 8313 || **HS:** B *-buHk- > Ah {Fc.} ā-buk 'petite tente, abri misérable', ETwl {Nic.} ə-buk (pl. i-bɛkk-ɛn 'gîte de lièvre, case misérable' ¶ Fc. 48, Nic. VE 62, PGG 7 || ?? S: Ak papāχ- 'Cella; Kultraum; Heiligtum' (if Ak -χ- < S *-χ- < *-χk- < N *-q∇k-) ¶ Sd. 823 || C: Bj {Rop.} bak^w 'place of shelter, repose' ¶ Rop. 161 || WCh: Ngz {Sch.} bākâ ~ bāgâ 'shelter made of vertical poles with cornstalks or mats' ¶ Sch. BTL 19 ¶¶ Tk. LAA-I 114 [no. 77] ◇ B *-b- (for the expected *-f-) requires explanation. It may go back to a derived word or a cd with a vd. cns. in the px (or the first part of the cd) ◇ D *ā < reg. N *-äHa-. NaIE *ā < IE *eh|x < N *-äHa-. Tg *-g- is a reg. reflex of N *-k-. If Ak papāχ- belongs here (which is not certain), the pN etymon must be *P₂'äqak∇.

1678. *p^r'a¹k₁∇₁?∇ (= *pakU?∇?) (partially *id.*) 'to split' > **HS:** S: [1] WS *✓pkk v. 'break, cleave' > Sr ✓pkk (ip. 𐤑𐤍𐤏𐤍 nε-'puk, pf. 𐤑𐤍 pāk) v. 'break, bruise (the head)', Ar ✓fkk (pf. fakka) {Hv.} vt. 'loose, disjoin, separate; break (a seal)', {BK} 'dégager, défaire, briser, séparer', 'fregit, dissolvit', Tgr ✓fkk (pf. fɛkka) v. 'split, break', Tgy ✓fkk (pret. 𐤎𐤏𐤍 fɛkɛkɛ) 'öffnen'; EthS ⇨ Bln {R} fakak- 'öffnen; einen Spalt/Riß in etw. machen', Sa/Af {R} fak- 'öffnen'; [2] WS *✓pḳ? ~ *✓pḳʿ v. 'slit, cleave' > Ar ✓fq? G {BK} 'fendre, rompre et séparer deux parties l'une de l'autre', {Hv.} 'split (a pimple), burst (a pomegranade) open, hull (a nut)', Gz ✓fḳ? ~ ✓fḳʿ v. 'cleave, split asunder', Tgr ✓fḳ? ~ ✓fḳʿ v. 'split, hit on the head', MHb ✓pḳʿ G (pf. 𐤎𐤏𐤍 pā'kə) 'sich spalten, auseinandergehen', {Js.} 'split, burst', JEA ✓pḳʿ G (pf. 𐤎𐤏𐤍 pə'kə) {Lv.} 'hervorbrechen, abspringen', {Sl.} 'split, rupture, burst', Sr ✓pḳʿ (pf. Sr W 𐤎𐤏𐤍 pə'kə) vi. 'burst open, break asunder; be wide open

(as the legs)' ¶ Br. 567, 590, JPS 445, 456, BK II 617, 623-4, Hv. 570-1, Lv. IV 91-2, Sl. 925-6, Js. 1210, L G 163, LH 663, 670, R S II 130, R WB 119-20 ¶ The cns. *ʕ of the variant root *ʕp̄k̄ʕ may have been induced by the synonymous S roots *ʕb̄k̄ʕ and *ʕp̄çʕ || Eg N f̄k̄ʕʕ 'ausreißen, ausrotten', ?? Eg XX f̄k̄, f̄k̄ʕ id. ({EG}: 'vom Löwen, dessen Krallen und Zähne das Wild zerreißen') ¶ Secondary glottalization k > k̄ due to as. caused by ʕ? ¶ EG I 578-9, Tk. II 585-6 (Eg ÷ Sb f̄k̄l 'reap crops') || C: (1) *ʕp̄kk > Bj {R} ʕfkk (p. 'afkik, pres. afan'kīk) v. 'öffnen die infibulierte Jungfrau, entjungfern' | (2) C *ʕp̄k̄ ({E} *fāk̄-/fīk̄-) v. 'cut apart, break open' > Ag: Bln {R} f̄ak̄- 'durchbrechen, aufreißen, ein Loch stoßen', ?? Aw {CR} p̄aʕ-ʕ- 'tear to pieces, split' || EC: Rn {PG} fuχχ-, Ya {E} -p̄āq- vt. 'break' || SC: Irq {E} fiqit- v. 'slice yams' ¶ AD SF 46, E PC no. 178, PG 116, R WBd 78. R WB 120 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *b̄ak- v. 'cut into pieces, split' > AG: Su {J} b̄āk 'teilen, (sich) loslosen, trennen', ? Ang {Flk.} b̄ǎk v. 'make a slit, cut with a knife' | Ron {J}: Fy b̄āk 'spalten, hacken (Holz etc.)', Sha b̄āk 'zerbrechen (Töpfe etc.)', Bks b̄āk 'brechen, schneiden' || CCh: Dgh {Frk} b̄ákà v. 'cut, chop' | ? MfG {Brr.} -b̄əgʷ- 'partager, diviser, couper en deux' ¶ JI II 99, Stl. ZCh [no. 115], J S 59, J R 84, 140, 283, Flk. s.v. b̄ǎk, Brr. MG II 81, ChC s.v. 'cut' ¶ The glottalized WCh *b̄- goes back to *p̄ + *ʕ? ¶ OS no. 772 (*f̄ak̄- 'pierce, tear') || A ≈ *P̄ô̄:;k̄'∇- v. 'chop, cut, tear off' > Tg: (1) Tg *p̄ōk|g- v. 'chop, cut off' > Ewk hōʕ-, Ewk V ok-, Ewk Brg hok- 'chop\cut off', Neg xon̄i- 'chop off; fell (trees)', Orc xoi- Nn KU xoi-, Ud xuan- 'cut off'; (2) ?? Tg *pok- 'pound, crush, break' > Ork pōp̄u- 'pound, crush', Nn Nh {On.} pōp̄ri- 'разделатъ (рыбу) для вяления', Ewk hoko-, Lm hokak- 'break'; (3) ?? Tg *ōpak- > Ewk hakū- 'smash, crush (e.g. nuts), break into pieces'; (4) ? Tg *p̄egde- 'be torn' > Orc, Nn Bk xəgdə- id., ds: Ewk həgdəli-, Lm hədək-, hədəl-, Neg xəgdəli- ~ xəldəli- vt. 'tear' ¶ STM II 40, 311, 329-31, 360, On. 334 || *Add. source* of T *b̄ü:;k̄t̄æ > OT {Cl.} b̄ügdä: 'dagger' (< N *P̄ot̄K̄∇ 'to split, to cut', q.v. ffd.) || p̄ko {S} *p̄əh̄i- 'cut, reap, sever' > MKo {Yu, Vv.} p̄əhi-, Ko {Vv.} (p̄əy-) 'cut as with a sharp-edged instrument' (att. in Ko Ks/Chl {Choy} p̄i- ʕ pi-), Nko {S} p̄e 'cut, reap, sever' ¶ S QK no. 494, Nam 255, Vv. AEN 6, Yu 377, Choy 1371, MLC 773 || J: **[1]** p̄J *p̄änk- 'tear off' > OJ pag-, MJ p̄äg-, J T/K hág-, J Kg hág- id. ¶ Mr. 683, Kenk. 415 || **[2]** p̄J {S} *p̄ək̄ə- 'pole axe, battle axe, halberd' > OJ p̄l̄w̄ok̄o, MJ p̄òkò, J T/Kg hóko, J K hókò {S} id., {Kenk.} 'halberd' ¶ S QJ no. 771, Mr. 413, Kenk. 535 || M: **[1]** M

*₁φ₁ug₃ara- 'tear, tear out' > WrM uɣzara- {MED} v. 'pull, jerk', HIM yɣzra- {MED} id., {BMR} 'дёргать, тянуть рывками', Brt yɣzar- id., Kl {KRS} yɣzr- uɣzər- 'tear, tear out (драть, выдирать)'; **[2]** M *φügteve- > WrM ügtege- {MED} 'pull out, tear out', HIM ygtəz- {MED} id., {BMR} 'tear out (вырывать, выдёргивать)', Ord ügt'ē- 'arracher un objet qui a été implanté dans un autre, déraciner', Mnr H {SM} sd₁ē- 'arracher, déraciner'; **[3]** M *φoqtal- ({Pp.} *pōktal-) 'cut' (× N *P_{ot}κ_ν '↑' [mt.], q.v. ffd.) > MM {Pp., Pel.} hoqtal- 'abschneiden, abhacken', WrM {MED} oqtul- v. 'cut, cut off, cut across, chop off; fell (wood)', HIM {MED, BMR} ogtlo- id., Brt otol- 'chop across, cut in two, cut off', Ord ogt'ol- 'couper, trancher', Mnr H {SM} sd₀li- 'couper, trancher, blesser en coupant'; **[4]** M *φoqt∇č_i- > MM {Pel.} hoqtoc_i- 'abschneiden', WrM {MED} oqtuci- v. 'cut into small pieces, mince, chop up, hash', HIM ogtci- {MED} id., {BMR} 'cut into small pieces, cut off, chop up, shred', Ord ogt'oc_i- 'couper' (action répétée); **[5]** M *φoqt∇ri- > MM {Pel.} hoqtori- 'abschneiden, abhacken', M *φoqt∇r₁∇₁ > WrM {MED} oq(υ)tur, HIM {MED} oxtop, {BMR, Luv.} oxop, Kl {KRS} ohtp oytər 'short', 'gestutzt, shortened' (a tail), {Rm.} o_ϕatr_o, o_χtr_o 'kurzschwanzig, schwanzlos', d.: Ord ogt'orχ_ō 'coupé, coupé à moitié' ¶ Pel. 221 [no. 40], MED 602-3, 865, 998, Luv. 311, 447, 474, BMR II 458-9, 505 and III 303, 388, Chr. 365, 462, KRS 392, 527, KW 284, H 76, Ms. O 508, 751, SM 334, 338, Pp. L III 74, SM 334, 338, T 359 ¶¶ SDM 1178 (pA *p'ūgé > pKo *pəhí-, Tg *°pōg-, M *(h)ug-/*(h)üg- [sc. *φug-/*φüg-], pJ *pànk-, Ko), DQA no. 1869 (id.); SDM 1104 (pA *pòk'|kè v. 'dig, cut off', 'cutting instrument' > Tg *pok-, M *hoqtal- [for *φoqtal-], T bü|ögde-, pJ *pèkè-), DQA no. 1668 (pA *p'òk'è- id.), Rm. EAS I 55, Mr. KJ 229 ¶¶ Highly qu. Probably influenced by and partially coalesced with different N words | | D {Pf.} *pak- ({θGS} *pag-) > Tm paku (pakuv-, pakk-) v. 'be split', paku (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'distribute, divide, cut to pieces', Ml pakuka v. 'be separate', pakukka v. 'divide', Td pax- (paxθ) v. 'be divided', pax- (paxt-) v. 'distribute, divide', paxy 'division', Tu pagiyuni vi. 'split', Tl pagulu v. 'break, crack, go to pieces', Nk pay- v. 'break', Knd pag- (-it-) vi. 'split', pag- (-t-) vt. 'split', Png pag- (pakt-) vi. 'split', pag- (-t-) vt. 'split', Mnd pak- v. 'split (firewood)', Ku pak- v. 'cut open', Krx pāx- v. 'expand by main strength, force open' ¶¶ D no. 3808, Pf. 25 [no. 115], Zv. 119-120, ≠ Km. 422-3 (+ Kui pa₁-, Prj payp- v. 'divide' etc.; pD **pay-) | |

U: FU *pakka- vi. 'burst' > F pakku- 'burst, crack, burst asunder, become loose', Es pakata- vi. 'burst' ||| Os: Ty pãÿ- 'crack, burst', O paχ- 'Risse bekommen (?)', V paÿən-, paqən-, D/O paχən- 'aufplatzen, aufgehen' (Geschwür), O paχən- 'plötzlich aufgehen und fließen' (Fluß, Bach) ||| Hg fakad- vi. 'spring, have its source' ¶ UEW 349-350 ◇ N *p- is reconstructed on the ev. of Eg f- ◇ D and U suggest a pN *a, while the labialized vw. in A may be due to the assimilative infl. of the initial *p_L'_J- and/or of the ancient labialized vw. of the next syll. (preserved as w in MfG 'bèg_w- 'partager, diviser') ◇ FU *-kk- may go back to *-ḳ- < *-kʔ- < N *-k_L∇_Jʔ- ◇ N *-ʔ- is preserved in S *✓p̣ʔ and Eg f̣ḳẓ. The root *✓p̣ḳʔ in EthS, Hb and Sr is probably a WS innovation.

1679. *p̣äq̣ô 'to heat (on fire)', 'to be hot' (→ 'to cook, to bake', 'to dry') > **HS:** ?φ Eg NK p̣ẓ '(den Weihrauch) räuchern', Eg G p̣ẓ 'jemanden beräuchern', Eg G p̣ẓ 'Weihrauch' (unless akin to Ar -fūğ̣- 'exale an odor', Gz ✓f̣g̣g̣ 'have a bad odor') ¶ EG I 568, Tk. II 545-6 || Possibly (but not necessarily) here: B *-fūk(k)- 'sun' (if ← *'heat, hot weather') > Ah ta-fuk (pl. ti-fukk-īn), Gh tafuk, Izd tafuyt ~ tafušt, Izn ṭfūkṭ, ETwl, Ty tafuq (pl. tafuqən) 'sun', Zng {MH → Nic.} taũfukt, tũfukt 'sun', ĩéffék 'il fait jour', Kb ṭafukṭ 'lumière du jour, lumière diffuse du soleil' ¶ Fc. 299, Dl. 201-2, NZ 547-8, Nic. 197 ||| **K** *°p̣∇ḳw- vt. 'dry' > Sv L {Dn.} -pụḳw- / p̣ḳw- id., Sv UB lip̣ḳwe vt. 'to dry', UB/L/Ln pụḳw-i, LB pịḳw-i adj. 'dry' ¶ TK 768, Dn. s.v. pụḳvi, GP 171, 264 ||| **IE:** NaIE *pek^w- v. 'cook, bake, prepare food on fire' > OI 'pacati, Av pačaⁱti 'cooks, bakes, roasts', NPrs پَزِد p̣äz-äd vt. 'boils, cooks', inf. پَخْتَن p̣ox̣tän 'to boil, to cook' ||| Gk πέσσω, Gk A πέττω (ft. πέψω, aor. ἔπεψα) 'soften, ripen (by means of heat\warmth); cook, bake' ||| L coquo / inf. coquere v. 'cook' (c- by as.) ||| Clt {Matas.} *k^wok^w-o- 'cook, bake' > W pobī 'bake, roast', Cmn pobas, MBr pibī, poba 'cook, bake', Br pobañ, pibīñ 'cuire {bake}' ||| Gmc: AS ā-fižen 'roasted' ||| pAl {O} *peka > Al pjek- (aor. ποqa) v. {AlbED} 'bake, roast, broil' ||| Sl inf. *pek-'ti / pres. *pèk-ŕ 'bake' > OCS inf. пещи peštī / pres. пекъ pekŕ, Blg pres. пе'ка, SCr inf. pèći / pres. pèćēm, Slv inf. péčī / pres. péčem, Cz inf. péci / pres. peku, P inf. piēs / pres. piekē, R inf. печь / prrs. пе'кy, Uk inf. пе'чи 'bake'; d.: OCS пещь pešt' 'stove' (· κάμινος; σπήλαιον), Blg пещ, SCr Sr pēñ, Slv pēč, Ch, Slk pec, P piēs, HLs pјec, LLs pјac, R печь,

Uk πιϷ 'stove' || pTc *päk- > Tc: A, B päk- vt. 'make ready for eating: cook, boil, ripen', vi. md. 'become ready for eating', sc. 'be cooked, boil, ripen' ¶ In L and Clt there is as. (IE *p...k^w- > L c...qu-, Clt *k^w...k^w-) ¶ P 798, EI 125, M K II 185-6, M E II 64, Horn 64, Sg. 237, BM 89, F II 519-20, WH I 270-1, LP § 56, YGM-1 365, Hm. 640, 651, Ho. 104, O 329, En. 225, Vs. III 256-7, StSS 445, Mikl. L 562-3 (OCS пещь n. [· σπήλαιον, κλίβανος]'fornax'), Glh. 474, Hm. 64), 654, Wn. I 355, Ad. 368 || U *pääkk'e¹ 'hot' > pLp *pääkkε 'hot, heat' > Lp: L {LLO} pahkka id., S {Hs.} baakke, N {N} bak'kâ 'heat', bakkâs, attr. bak'ka 'hot', Kld {TI} pā₁kas, attr. pa₂k'a₂ id. || ? Sm: Ng {Cs.} fekagâ, feku tea 'hot' (of a day, a stone, water), fekú tem 'be hot' ¶¶ Lr. no. 882, Lgc. no. 4746, N I 114, Hs. 263, TI 332, ≠ SK 468, Cs. 71, 233 || A *Pækk'∇ 'hot, warm' > Tg *peku 'hot' > Ewk hzku 𐌺 hzkū, Sln d. zū-gdi, Lm hōk, Neg xzku ~ xzku, Ud B {Krm.} xzkuhi, Ud Sm {Krm.} xzkuhi ~ xuku, Ul d. pukzuli, Ork d. xzkusi, xzkuli 'hot', Orc xzku and d. xzkusi 'it is hot/warm (il fait chaud)', Nn Nh pzk, Nn Bk φuku ~ φzk, Nn KU φzk 'hot weather; 'hot', WrMc {Z} d. фрякянь n. 'warmth (of the sun), heat'; Tg *peku- 'be hot' > Ewk hzkū-, Lm hōk- id., WrMc {Z} фрякя- 'be hot' (of the sun), 'be dried/sun-dried' ¶ STM II 362, Krm. 397, On. 346, Z 1096-7 || M: [1] ?? M *φ₁ok'ī¹n- 'spark' > Mgl {SDM} ukin, Ba {SDM} oken id. ¶ SDM 1067 (connecting these words with pA *ōt'ita 'fire', see N *qo₁ha₁tâ 'burn') || [2] M *φεϷü- v. 'be warmed in the sun', 'be hot' (of the sun) ('палить') (× N *pää'γ'üwA 'fire', q.v.) > MM [S] he²ü- [he₁ü-] (he²ü-śiye- 'suffer from the heat', {Pel.} 'ne pas supporter le climat'), WrM ege- {MED} v. 'warm, dry in the sun or by fire', HIM ээ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'греться', Kl {KRS} ээ- ē- vt. 'warm (греть, нагревать)', {Rm.} ē- 'brennen, sengen, wärmen', 'sich wärmen (am Feuer oder in der Sonne)', Mnr H {SM} χē- 'se chauffer \ sécher au feu ou au soleil', {T} χē- 'se chauffer, sécher au soleil', Ord ē- 'chauffer ou sécher au feu ou au soleil', Dx šie- 'get warm, expose sth. to be warmed', Ba hē- vi. 'warm in the sun', ShY hii- id. ¶ Pp. IM 97, MED 296, BMR IV 445, KRS 706, KW 130, S AJ 240 [no. 154], SM 166, T 375, T BJ 150, T DnJ 14, H 76, Ms. O 227, ≠ Pel. 216 [no. 23] ¶. The deglottalization of N *-k₁- in the prehistory of M *φεϷü- (N *-k₁- > pre-M **-k- > M *-Ϸ-) needs investigation || pKo {S} *p|ukh adj. 'warm' (of weather) > NKo p^huk-ha- 'be warm' (weather) ¶ S QK no. 814, MLC 1762 ¶¶ SDM 1084 (pA *p₁'ek'∇ > Tg, Ko), DQA no. 1737 (pA *p₁'ek'u), ≈ Rm. SKE 116, 215 (Ko, Tg + unc. M), Rm. EAS I 53 (Tg,

Ko) ◇ AD GD no. 88, IS SS 341 no. 10.11, IS MS 337 s.v. 'горячий'
 *p̥ä'k̥' (IE, U, Tg) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 76 (*peku 'cook') (IE, Y, Tg, Ko, CK, ES
 + qu. J).

1680. (2?) *P₂'o'K̥∇ 'to scratch, to comb' > IE: NaIE *peḱ|k-, *peḱ|k-t-
 v. 'comb', peḱ|kten- n. 'comb' > Gk πέκω v. 'comb (wool), card', κτεύς
 (gen. κτεν-ός) n. 'comb (in the loom)' (< *πκτεν-) || L pecten
 'comb', pectō / pectēre vt. 'comb, card (wool)', Um petenata
 accus. f. 'pectinatum, comb-shaped' ¶ ≈ WP II 16-17, ≈ P 717, EI 570
 (*peḱ- 'pull out [e.g. wool], comb out [e.g. wool]), Dv. no. 721, ≈ F II
 33-4, 492-3, WH II 269-70, Bc. G 341 ¶ WP, P, WH, F and EI do not
 distinguish this √ from IE *peḱ- 'cut/pluck out hair, shear' and *peḱu-
 'cattle' (< N *p₂oK̥ü '[herds of] ruminant animals, wild cattle', q.v.) || D
 *pok(k)- ({GS} *b-) v. 'scratch' > Nk bokr̥ip- id., Gnd A/B bokkānā v.
 'itch', Gnd Mn bokkānā id., 'scratch' ¶¶ D 4464 || HS: ? EC: Or {Brl.}
 faḱ-u 'conciare pelli, grattare, raschiare', {Grg.} fāḱē 'comb', fāḱis- vt.
 'comb', {Th.} fāḱi 'conciapelli' (unless Or ← EthS ✓ fḱḱ 'scrape' < N
 *p₂Eḱ∇ 'rub, scrape') ¶ Brl. 143, Grg. 137-8, Th. 127, L G 157.

1681. 2 *p₂oK̥ü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' > IE: NaIE
 *peḱu / *peḱwe- 'cattle' > OI pa'su-ḥ (gen. pa'svaḥ) ~ 'pa'su 'cattle,
 animal', Av pasu- 'livestock; sheep and goats' || L pecū (gen. pecūs),
 pecus (gen. pecoris) 'cattle, livestock', Um PEQUO 'pecuum' (gen.
 pl.?) || Gmc: Gt faíhu (κτήματα, χρήματα, ἀργύριον) {P} 'Besitz,
 Vermögen', {Fs.} 'Geld', OSx fehu, NHG Vieh 'cattle', OHG fi hu
 'livestock, property, money', AS feoh, ON fé id., 'money', NE fee || Lt
 pēkus, Pru accus. pecku ~ peckan 'cattle' ¶ P 797, EI 23 (*'peḱu
 'livestock'), M K II 239-40, M E II 108-10, WH II 270-1, Bc. G 340, Fs.
 135-6, Vr. 142, Kb. 240, OsS 193-4, KM 820-1, Ho. 101, Ho. S 19, Frn.
 564-5, En. 221 || A *φū|ök'Ér > T *h₂ökúř ~ *h₂okuř ({Md.} *ök'ür)
 'bull, ox' > OT öküř 'ox', MQp öküř, Qrg ögüz 'ox, bullock', SY kus ~
 qus, ET öküř, Δ höküř, Uz h₂okiz 'ox', Tk öküř, Tkm öküř, Az, Ggz öküř,
 Kr Cr ögüz, Kr T ögüz 'bull, ox', Qmq, QrB ögüz 'ox', CrTt ogüz, Ln ögüs
 'bull', Qzq, Nog, Qq ögiz 'ox', VTt ügbz, Bsh ügbδ 'bull, ox', Yk oγus 'ox,
 male domestic animal'; T → Ewk h₂ök₃s 'raw hide of a cow', Yk → Ewk
 oγus, Δ oγus, Δ zγus, Neg oγus 'bull' || Blgh > Chv L väkäř vbg₂ř
 'bull, ox'; Blgh → Hg ökör 'ox, bullock, steer' ¶ The back vowels in Yk
 oγus are still to be explained ¶ Cl. 120 (qu.: T ← Tc A okso), ET Gl
 521-3, TL 439-40, IS III 126-7, Sht. 291, Md. 52, 172, Ash. V 295-6,

Fed. I 105-6, Jeg. 48, ChVS 30, EWU 1080 || M * φ üker 'bovine animal (bull, ox, cow)' > MM [HI, IsV etc.] h \ddot{u} k \acute{e} r, [MA] \ddot{u} k \acute{e} r 'large cattle', WrM {MED} \ddot{u} k \acute{e} r 'bovine animal, ox, cow', HIM $\gamma \times \varepsilon \rho$ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'bull', Brt $\gamma \times \varepsilon \rho$ id., Mgl $\acute{u}k\grave{a}r$, Dg B $\chi\acute{u}k\acute{u}r$, Dx fug \grave{u} e(r) 'bull, ox', Mnr H {SM} fug \acute{u} ör "bœuf", Kl {Rm.} $\ddot{u}kr\grave{o}$ 'Rindvieh, Kuh', Ord $\ddot{u}^k\grave{x}er$ 'bœuf' ¶ Pel. 240 [no. 77], MED 1003, BMR III 434-5, Chr. 518, KW 456, SM 104, T DgJ 179, T DnJ 138, T 370, Ms. O 754 || NrTg *pukur ~ *pukun > Ewk hukur, Δ ukur, Δ ukun, Δ ε kun, Sln uxur, Lm O h $\acute{o}k\acute{\varepsilon}n$, Lm Sk h $\acute{o}k\acute{o}n$ 'cow, (bovine) cattle' ¶ STM II 341, Iv. 143 ¶ NaTg *pukun is likely to go back to the pA genitive form ** $\varphi\ddot{u}|ök^{\acute{e}}r-n\check{\nabla}$ ¶¶ SDM 1168-9 (A * $\rho^{\acute{o}}k^{\acute{i}}|e(-r^{\acute{\nabla}})$ 'ox, cow' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1822 (id.), Vld. 322, Pp. VG 12, 56, Ci. EApk 46, Sin. ANB 315-18, Shch. RTM 131, Dr. TM I 539 || AdS of HS: Ch: ECh: Nd D {J} p $\grave{a}g\grave{\varepsilon}r$ 'antelope' < ECh * $b\check{\nabla}g\check{\nabla}r$ id. < N ***bu \acute{K} a** 'bovine (animal)'; the infl. of N * **ρ o \acute{K} ü** may account for Nd D ρ - instead of the expected b - (cp. the ECh word for 'blood': Brg {J} b $\grave{a}r\grave{a}$, Jg {J} b $\acute{a}r$, Mgm {J} b $\acute{a}r\acute{a}$, EDng b $\grave{a}r$, Nd D b $\acute{a}r$) ¶ J KKS, ChC s.v. 'antelope' ◇ Yk $\sigma\psi\upsilon\varsigma$ and Chv $\mathbf{B}\check{\mathbf{a}}\check{\mathbf{k}}\check{\mathbf{a}}\check{\mathbf{p}}$ $\mathbf{V}\check{\mathbf{b}}\check{\mathbf{g}}\check{\mathbf{b}}\check{\mathbf{r}}$ point to a back vw. in one of the variants of the pA word ($\check{\nabla}$), suggesting a back vw. in the N initial syll. (* σ rather than * \ddot{u} [ruled out by the IE cognate]) ◇ IS III 126-8 (* $\rho^{\acute{o}}k\omega e$ 'c $\kappa\omicron\tau$ '). In the original ms. text IS equated IE with A only. According an unconvincing hyp. of the editors of IS III this N etymon was represented in HS by the root * $\check{\nabla}b\check{\kappa}r$ (> S * $ba^{\acute{K}}ar$ - 'large cattle', * $bu\check{\kappa}\bar{a}r$ - 'a bovine animal', B * $\check{\nabla}b\check{\psi}r$ v. 'be rich'), which would have been phonetically deviant: S, B * b - for the expected S * ρ - and B * f -. It is preferable to equate HS * $\check{\nabla}b\check{\kappa}r$ with pA * $buk^{\acute{a}}$ 'bull' (> T * $buka$, M * $buqa$) and IE $\approx bu(:)k-/bo\omega k$ - 'bull' and to draw it back to N ***bu \acute{K} a** 'bovine (animal)' ◇ AD NM no. 48, S CNM 10 ($\div\div$ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 3.

1682. *id.?* * **$\rho o^{\acute{K}}\check{\nabla}$** 'bladder, blister' > K {Fn.} * $\circ\rho ak\check{l}$ - > OG $\rho ak\check{l}-i$ ' $\varphi\lambda\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ' ('blister') [Ex. 9.9], G \dagger {DCh.} $\rho ak\check{l}-i$ 'abscess, matter in a sore/abscess' ({NCh.} 'c $\tau\rho\upsilon\pi$ ') ¶ NCh. 393, DCh. 1297, SSO II 186, Fn. KD no. 19 || A ** $\rho^{\acute{o}}k^{\acute{a}}$ 'craw, bird's crop' ({ADb.} * $\rho oku-$) > NaT * $bokak$ (< {ADb.} * $bokagu$, {DQA} * $bokak$) > OT {Cl.} $b o q u q$ 'swelling (esp. in the throat), goitre, bird's crop', Tki {Rl.} $\rho o q a q$ 'goitre', Tkm $bu\psi o q$ id., 'throat', Tk $b o \check{g} a k$ 'tonsillitis, quinsy', Qmq $bu\psi a q$, ET $\rho o q a q \sim \rho o \chi \acute{a} k$, Ln $\rho o q o q$, StAlt $b o \psi o q$, Uz $buq a q$ 'goitre', Qzq, Qq $b\check{u}\psi a q$, Qrg $b o \psi o q \sim b o q o q$, Yk $m o \psi o \chi$ id., 'double chin', Blq $b o \psi a q$ 'Adam's apple', Xk $\rho o \psi o$, Bsh $b\check{b}\psi a q$ 'bird's crop', Tb {Rl.} $\rho \bar{o} q$, Shor {Rl.}

puṣaq id., StAlt/Tel {RI.} poyōq id., 'Adam's apple' ¶ Cl. 313-14, ET B 202-3, TL 150, Rs W 79, RI. IV 1264-5, 1362, BT 32, Jud. 137, 140, MM 116, KrkR 119, Dr. TM II 349 || M (← T?) *baqaṣu 'goitre' > WrM baqagu ~ baquu {MED} id., HIM бахуу {MED} id., {BMR} 'goitre (disease)', Ord {Ms.} baḫū 'goitre', Kl {KRS} баху баḫū id., 'exophthalmic goitre' ¶ MED 93, BMR I 238, Ms. O 45, KRS 86 || Tg *pukēn 'craw, bird's crop' > Ewk hukēn, Neg xuxēn, Ud {Krm.} xuguñä, Ul poko id., WrMc {Z} фукa 'navel of animals, musk bag' ¶ STM II 342, Krm. 306, Z 1073 ¶¶ Semantic infl. of pA *bôku ({SDM} *bòku) 'throat, Adam's apple' (SDM 371-2) ¶¶ SDM 1108 (pA *pú'k'a 'craw, crop' > Tg, T, M), DQA no. 1676, ADb. KL 9, ADb. SR 10, TL 150 || D id. *pokk- ({ǾGS} *pokk- ~ [?] *bUgg-) > Tm pokuṭṭu n. 'bubble', pokku 'be blistered', pokkuḷam n. 'boil, bubble, blister', pokkuḷi v. 'rise in blisters', Ml pokkuḷa, pokkiḷa 'blister, vesicle, bubble', Kt pogl, Kn pugul, ? bokke, Kdg pokkaḷa, Tl pokku, Klm pokk, Png poka 'blister', Tu pokkæ id., 'pustule', Mnd puka 'boil', Mlt poka 'blister, blain', Krx pokk^h- / puk^h- 'get blistered, swell', Td pig, Tl buggā, Klm bugga, Ku bugga ≈ būga 'bubble'; D ⇨ Npl p^hoko 'blister, boil' ¶¶ Some of these forms (esp. those meaning 'bubble') are ideophonic ¶¶ D no. 4455, Tu. no. 8391 ◇ ≈ Fn. KD #19 (equating K with D *paku 'Krätze, Räude', which probably belongs to N *r¹aḡE? or *r¹aḡ_L?E 'skin, film, bark' or results from a merger of N *r¹aḡE? - *r¹aḡ_L?E with N *po'k¹) ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. 'пузырь' *p^o'k¹ (Tg, D).

1683. (on.?) *p¹Eḫk_L ▽ 'rub, scrape' > K: GZ *p¹ḫek_L-/*p¹ḫik_L- 'scrape (schaben)' > OG, G p¹ḫek_L-/*p¹ḫik_L- id., G a-p¹ḫek_L- 'scratch off (ab-\wegkratzen)', p¹ḫak_Lun-i, p¹ḫak_Lur- 'scrape, scratch (scharren, kratzen), make a scraping\scratching noise', Mg, Lz +ext. ḫak_Lar-ua 'to scrape off (hair from hide)', ??σ Sv {FS} p¹ḫak_L-/p¹ḫik_L- 'strike, scrape (klöpfen, scharren)', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} p¹ḫik_L n. act. 'scratching' ¶ K² 210, FS E 367, Fn. KW-3 no. 46, Chx. 1517, 1519-20, Chik. 419, TK 772 || HS: S *^o✓ p¹ḫk_L > Gz ✓ f¹ḫk_L (js. ṽaf¹ḫak_L) v. G 'scrape, erase, scratch, polish, wipe off\away, rub off' ¶ L G 157 || EC: Sml N {Abr.} fīq- v. 'sweep; sharpen', Sml {ZMO} fīq- id., 'peel' ¶ Abr. S 80, ZMO 139 || A *p¹É:K_Læ v. 'file, polish, rub' ({S} *p¹æ'k_L ▽ id.) > T *E:k_Lgæ- ({SDM} *ēke-) 'rub, file' > OT {Cl.} ägä:- v. 'file (a metal object)', {DTS} ege- ~ i ge- id., MQp xv {Cl.} ägä- v. 'file', Tv eṣe- 'rub', Qrg ege-, VTt, Bsh igä- id., Nog ege- id., 'sharpen (a saw)', Qq ege- 'saw with a file', Xk i ge- v. 'saw, file', Sg/Qc/Qb {RI.}

egä-, StAlt/Tlt {Rl.} äʷä- 'feilen', ET T {Rl.} äkä- id., 'glatt feilen'; ⇨ NaT *ēk|gek n. 'file' > MT екäk, Chg {Brv.} egäk, Tkm īʷe, Tk eġe eje, Az äjä, Ggz ija, ET ekäk ɖ igäk, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq egäw, Uz egɔw, VTt, Bsh igäw, Qrg egō ɖ ögō, StAlt egü, Tv eʷē, Yk igī, Chv йёкев цьг_ев 'file (Feile, напильник, подпилоч)' ¶ Cl. 101, DTS 165, 20, TL 399 (pT *ēgē-), Rs. W 38, ET Gl 326-8, Rl. I 676, 695, Dr. TM II 93, Fed. I 190, Jeg. 77 || NrTg *pi|iki- 'rub, rub off' > Ewk hiki- id., v. 'rub with\on (натирать), iron', Lm hik- 'rub', Neg ʷixi- 'rub (with\on) (натирать, растирать)' ¶ STM II 323 || pJ {S} *pík- {AD} 'rub, file' ({SDM} v. 'file, saw') > OJ piik- (in d.: piiki, piiki-ri 'rubbing wood for producing fire'), MJ pík- {SDM} v. 'file, saw' J: T hik-, K/Kg hík- {SDM} id., {Kenk.} v. 'saw, grind' ¶ S QJ no. 254, Mr. 689, Kenk. 499 ¶¶ SDM 1142 (pA *p'ík|kè v. 'file, polish, rub' > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 1810, ADb. SR 15, Md. OJ 198, TL 399.

1684. (₂?) *p'É'K̄y∇ (or *p.∇K̄y∇) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaIE *(s)pek̄- ~ *(s)peġ-: [1] *(s)pek̄- 'look, observe' > OI 'spasati, 'pasuyati 'sees', spaṭ 'observer', Vd spaś- (pfc. paspa'sē, aor. 'aspaṭa), KhS spāsś- 'look', Av spasye'ti 'erblickt, erspäht', OI spaṭ, Av spas- 'observer' ||| L specio, -ēre 'look at, behold, see', spectā- 'look at carefully, watch' ||| OHG spēhōn 'to spy' (⇨ MFr espier 'to spy' ⇨ ME spie > NE spy), NHG spāhen, MDt spien 'to scout, to watch', ON spá 'to prophesy', OSx spāh(i), OHG spāhi 'clever, wise' ||| pTc *pāk- > Tc A, B pāk- 'intend'; pTc *pākω- > Tc: A puk-, B pākω- 'expect' ||| AdS of Gk σκέπτομαι 'look about carefully, spy; view' (< NaIE *°sk|k̄ep- < N *ć'°P_∇ 'watch, look out, spy', q.v.) | [2] *(s)peġ- ≈ look, look after' > ON spakr 'clever, experienced', spekt 'wisdom', speki id., 'Verstand' ||| Sl inf. *páziti (se) 'to see to, to look' > ChS inf. пазити paziti (pres. пажѣ pažō) {Mikl.} 'achtgeben', SCr inf. pāziti 'to be attentive, to pay attention to' (Glh.: ← *'to look'), Slv inf. pazíti 'to be attentive, to pay attention to, to take care of, to see to, to look after' ¶ WP II 659, P 981, 984, EI 505 (*(s)pek̄-), Mn. 1253, M K II 240-1 and III 536, M E II 107-8, Bai. 436-7, F II 725-6, WH II 570-1, Vr. 531, 533, Kb. 928, 931, OsS 846, 849, Ho. S 69, HDEL 1251, Mikl. E 234, Glh. 471-2, Kmc 713, O 425-6 (rejecting the adduction of Al pashē 'I saw'), Ad. 368-9 ¶ The voiced cns. *-ġ- in *(s)peġ- (for the expected *-k̄-) remains unexplained || HS: S *✓pky|w 'follow the

tracks\footsteps of', 'pay attention to' > Ar $\sqrt{f}q\omega$ *G* (pf. *faqā*) 'follow the tracks\footsteps of', Ak $\rho\alpha\kappa\kappa\alpha$ inf. *D* 'pay attention to' ¶ Fr. III 365, Ln. 243O, BK II 623, Hv. 571, Sd. 879-80 || ?σ **A** * $\rho^{\prime}Ek^{\prime}i$ (or * $\rho^{\prime}Ek^{\prime}y\alpha$) 'following, next; (?) 'pair, couple' > pKo {S} * $\rho\grave{e}k\acute{i}$ 'next, following' > MKo * $\rho\grave{e}k\acute{i}$ id., NKo $\rho\grave{e}gim$ 'the second in order, next' ¶ S QK no. 151, Nam 254, MLC 758 || pJ {S} * $\rho\grave{e}k\acute{a}$ 'other' > OJ $\rho\iota\upsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha$, MJ $\varphi\grave{o}k\acute{a}$, JT $h\grave{o}k\alpha$, JK $h\grave{o}k\acute{a}$, JKg $hok\acute{a}$ ¶ S QJ no. 168, Mr. 413, Kenk. 532-3 || T * $_{\text{L}}h_{\text{J}}\alpha\kappa\kappa i$ ~ * $_{\text{L}}h_{\text{J}}ikk^{\prime}i$ 'two' (× N * $yEg\acute{i}$ or * $y^{\prime}u^{\prime}g\acute{i}$ 'both, two [persons]', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ M * $e|ikire$ 'twins' (> WrM *ikerere*, HIM *ихэp*, Brt *эхир* id., Kl {Rm.} *ikr* 'Zwilling, Zwillinge') is a loan from pT * $_{\text{L}}h_{\text{J}}ikk\acute{i}r$ 'twins' (see N * $yEg\acute{i}$ or * $y^{\prime}u^{\prime}g\acute{i}$ 'both, two') rather than its inherited cognate ¶¶ SDM 1153 (pA * $\rho^{\prime}j\grave{o}k^{\prime}e$ 'pair, couple' T, J, Ko + err. M * $e|ikire$), DQA no. 1785 (pA * $\rho^{\prime}j\grave{o}k^{\prime}e$ 'next, following'), S AJ 284 [no. 213] (pA * $\rho^{\prime}ek^{\prime}\nabla$ 'next, other'), SDM97 (A * $\rho^{\prime}\alpha\kappa^{\prime}e$ 'next, following'), Rm. SKE 195, Rm. EAS I 92-3, Vld. 321, ≈ Dr. MT (Ewk ← M) ◇ ≈ Glh. 471-2 (IE * $spe\bar{k}-$ ~ * $spe\bar{g}-$ < N * $\rho^{\prime}v\upsilon g\upsilon$ ~ * $bay\kappa\upsilon$) ◇ If the pA $\sqrt{}$ belongs here, the N etymon has a front vw. (***E**). Otherwise the rec. must be less specific: N * $\rho\nabla\kappa\upsilon\nabla$. ◇ Not here D * $\rho akal-$ (→ * $b-$) 'visible' (see N * $ba\kappa\nabla$ 'to look').

1685. * $\rho^{\prime}\hat{\rho}^{\prime}\kappa^{\prime}\nabla^{\prime}d\nabla$ (or * $\rho^{\prime}\hat{\rho}^{\prime}\kappa^{\prime}\nabla^{\prime}d\nabla$?) 'to run' > HS: WCh: Wrj {Sk. in ChC} $f\acute{z}k\grave{e}t-$, {IL in ChL} $f\acute{o}k\acute{i}t\acute{i}$ v. 'run' ¶ ChC s.v. 'run', ChL || CS * $\sqrt{pd}(d)$ > Ar * $\sqrt{f}dd$ (pf. *fadda*) v. 'run', Sr $\sqrt{p}dd$ *G* (pf. *pad*) {Br.} 'evanuit, discessit, defecit', {JPS} 'stray; miss' ¶ Ln. 235O, BK II 554, Br. 557, JPS 434 || Eg fXVIII ? ρd 'run' > DEg ρt v. 'run, flee' > Cpt Sd $\rho\bar{o}t$, B $\rho^h\bar{o}t$ 'courir, s'en aller, fuir'; the association (if any) with Eg fXVIII ρd 'knee' and DEg ρt 'knee, foot' is secondary (folk-etymological) (cf. N * $\rho a^{\prime}g^{\prime}d\nabla$ 'leg' [or '€ part of a leg'], 'foot') ¶ EG I 500-1, 566, Er. 141, Vc. 165, Tk. II 537-9 ¶¶ In the prehistory of S and Eg one may suppose assimilation ** $\text{-}\kappa d\text{-}$ > * $\text{-}gd\text{-}$ (> S * $\text{-}dd\text{-}$, Eg d) and (?) > * $\text{-}kt\text{-}$ > * $\text{-}t\text{-}$ || **U** {UEW} * $\rho ukta-$, {Coll.} * $\rho okta-$ v. 'hop, run' ('hüpfen, laufen') (× N * $buk^{\prime}o^{\prime}$ 'run, run away?') > Chr L $\rho\alpha\kappa^{\prime}t-\alpha\omega$ 'drive, turn out, pursue' (ГНАТЬ, -ся), Chr H, Chr {Ü} $\rho\alpha\kappa^{\prime}t\alpha-$, Chr Uf/B $\rho\alpha\kappa te-$ 'treiben, verjagen, verfolgen' || Os V/Vy $\rho\alpha t\text{-}ta$ {Trs.} 'run, run away, flee' | Hg $f\alpha t$ id. || Sm: Slq Tz inf. {KKIH} $\rho\alpha kt\acute{i}\text{-}q\alpha$ 'to run', $\acute{i}nn\grave{a}$ $\rho\alpha kt\acute{i}\text{-}q\alpha$ 'to jump up', Slq Tz/Kt {KD} $\rho\alpha kt\alpha-$ 'jump', Slq Tm $\rho\alpha kt\alpha-$ 'jump, hop, run', Slq Tur $\rho\alpha kt\acute{i}rt\acute{i}\text{-}$ 'jump over', ? Kms $\rho\alpha kt\alpha-$ v. 'come' ¶¶ UEW 402, Coll. 12, Coll. CG 406, Trs. S 371, KKIH 146, MF 223, IS I 181 (* $\rho\alpha\kappa\text{-}t\nabla$), SK 470

|| **A:** Tg *pukti- ({{Bz.} *pökti-) v. 'run' > Ewk hukti- v. 'run, flee' (an animal), Sln uktɜl̄i ~ utl̄i- 'run' (a horse), uktilɜnɜ 'a fugitive', Neg xukti- v. 'gallop', Orc xukti- 'run' (an animal), Ud xukti- 'run, gallop' (an animal), {Krm.} v. 'run jumping', Ul pukti-, Ork pukçi- ~ Δ φukçi- ~ Δ φukti- vi. 'gallop', Nn Nh pukč̄i-, Nn KU φukti-, Nn Bk φukč̄i- id., WrMc {Z} фэ̄к̄си- ~ фэ̄к̄чэ- v. 'gallop, run at full speed' (a horse), Mc Sb фзк̄š̄i-, фзк̄š̄e- 'run, gallop' (a horse) ¶ STM II 340-1, Vas. 491, Ci. 158, 329, Krm. 306, On. 341, Z 1043 ◇ The Eg cognate is phonetically dubious (loss of N *K̄), and WCh suggests N *p̄-, hence the rec. of N *p̄¹- (based on Eg pɔ) is not certain ◇ N *K̄ is suggested by Tg *k ◇ IS I 181 (*bok̄'а¹ 'run away'), AD SShS 395-6 (*puQt̄∇).

1686. *P̄iK̄∇ž̄∇ 'sticky liquid, pitch' > IE: NaIE *pik- (< ppIE *pik̄∇H∇) 'tree pitch' > pGk *pik̄jā id. > Gk πίσσα (↳ G pis-i id.), Gk Α πύττα id. || L p̄ix / gen. p̄icis 'pitch, tar' (↳ MLG p̄ick, p̄ek, OHG p̄eh 'pitch' > NHG p̄ech id.) || Sl *p̄ькьль 'tree pitch' > OCS п̄ьц̄ьль p̄ьсьль, RChS п̄ьк̄ль p̄ьк̄ль ~ п̄ек̄ль p̄ек̄ль ~ п̄ек̄ол̄ p̄ек̄ол̄ 'pitch', SCr d. inf. op̄ak̄liti 'to smear with pitch, to resin', p̄ak̄lina, {Glh.} p̄ak̄lin 'pitch, tar' || Lt p̄ikis 'tree pitch' (↳ NLG pik id.?) ¶ ≈ P 794, EI 500, Frdr. PITA 31-8, F II 544, WH II 312, EM 511, KM 536, StSS 559, Srz. II 893, Glh. 463-4, ≈ Mikl. E 270, Frn. 589 || **U:** FU *piš̄ka (mt.) ~ ? *pikš̄a 'sticky liquid, pitch' > F p̄ihka 'pitch, resin, gum', Es p̄ihk 'sticky liquid, pitch' || pOs *piʒ̄aɸ > Os: Ty piʒ̄aɸ 'Flicker an einem Boot (gewöhnlich einem Einbaum)', piʒ̄a-i, V/Vy piʒ̄l-i- d. 'mit Harz verstopfen (Spalten in einem Boot), mit erhitztem Harz dichten' ¶ UEW 384-5, Coll. 107, Stn. D 1122, Trs. S 359 || **D** *pič̄- 'sticky\viscous liquid' (× homonymous roots or N words for 'be moist\greasy') > Tm p̄ic̄in̄ 'gum, stickiness, viscousness', p̄ic̄up̄ic̄u 'be viscous\adhesive', p̄ic̄uk̄ku 'sticky substance', Tu biji biji 'gummy, sticky', Tl p̄isun̄u 'gum, resin'; D ↳ OI pic̄hā- 'gum' ¶¶ D no. 4134, Tu. no-s 8154 and 8156.

1687. (₂?) *P̄aI∇ '(ε?) tooth' > **A** *P̄ala 'tooth' > AmTg *paI∇ 'molar' > Nn Nh {Pt., On.} paIoa, Nn Bk {Sem} paIo, Ul paIi, {PSchm.} paIi, paIu id. ¶ STM II 313, Pt. 100, On. 323, Sem BD 195 || pKo *par in MKo ni-s-par 'teeth' (compound with ni 'tooth') > NKo vlg. ip̄al 'tooth' ¶ Rm. SKE 185, S AJ 256 [no. 127], S QK no. 127, Nam 127, MLC 1369 || ?φ pJ *pa 'tooth' > OJ pa, MJ φα, J T/Kg há, J K hâ, J Ht p̄á ¶ S AJ 268 no. 81, S QJ no. 8, Mr. 394, Kenk. 409-10 ¶¶ SDM 1075 (pA

*p|p'ala 'tooth' > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1615, Rm. EAS I 55-6, Rm. AKE 14, S AJ 109, 278 [no. 77] (pA *p|p'ala) || **D** {Pf., GS} *pal 'tooth' > Tm, Kn pal, Ml pal, pallu, Kt, Nk, Nkr, Gnd, Knd, Mnd pal, Td paϕ, Kdg palli, Tl pal(l)u, Prj pel, Gdb pal, pallū, Kui paḍu, pallu, Ku pallū, pal(l)u, Krx pall, Mlt palu 'tooth', Tu par u 'animal's tooth', Klm pal 'tooth' (esp. 'front tooth') ¶¶ **D** no. 3986(a), Pf. 131 [no. 1118], GS 29 [no. 21], 33 [no. 46] || ??? **HS**: Eg (a hieroglyphic sign depicting a tusk of an animal) by? ¶ Gard.¹ 454 ◇ IS III 95-6 [no. 370]: D, A (Tg, Ko) + tentative adduction of HS: EC: Sml N {Abr.} fōl 'incisor tooth', but this word (Sml {DSI} fōl 'each of the two central superior incisor teeth') is most probably a sd. of Sml fōl 'front, face' < EC *fōl- 'front, face' (F DSI 234, Abr. S 81, Ss. B 175).

1688. *P-äT'A' 'time (mal, fois), once, one' > **HS**: C: Ag: Aw Dng {Hz} ɜmpɜl 'one' ¶ Hz. NSA s.v. 'one' || CCh: Mdr {Eg. in JI II} pállé, {ChL} pɛle, Mdr Mr {CIm.} pálle, Glv {Rp., ChC} pállà, Nkc {ChL} pala 'one' | McMtk: MfG {Brr.} pál 'one', Gzg {Lk.} pal 'eins' | BM: Mrg, Wmd paŝu, Cb {Hf. in ChC} páŝú, {ChL} pátù 'one' | McHigi: HgNk {ChL} paŝε, HgB {ChL} paŝɜw, HgG {ChL} pažε 'one' | McKtk {Lbf.}: Ktk Af/Mkr, Ktk Glf pal 'one' ¶ JI II 262-3, ChC s.v. 'one', ChL, Brr. MG II 217, RpB 75, Lk. G 133 || **K** (in Zan only) *ope|u, > Mg {Q} palo, {FS} palo, paluo 'simple, single, only, sole, one', Lz palu 'one, simple' ¶ Fn. SK 93 [no. 52], Q 334 || **U**: FU *pāl|ä > FP *pälä 'time, once' > pLp {Lr.} *pālē > Lp: N {Fri.} bale 'tempus, aetas', {N} *balle / -āl- '(definite) time, duration' (used in obl. cases: accus. b-āle ~ b-ā'le etc.), L {Wk.} pallē 'Mal', S {Hs.} baalie '(bestimmte) Zeit, Mal', T {TI} pá:l'ε 'Zeit', Kld {SaR} пāлль 'time, deadline, high time', {TI} pā'λλ'ě 'time' || Prm *pól 'a time (mal, paɜ)' > Z pɜv, Yz púl id., Vt pol in ogpol 'once' (og is 'one'), kok pol 'twice' ¶ UEW 726, Lr. no. 885, Lgc. no. 4758, N I 125, Hs. 267, TI 335, SaR 247, LG 227, Wk. LLW 87 ◇ Blz. KM no. 13 (K, HS: C, Ch).

1689. *pal'o' 'open ground, plain' > **HS**: S *o✓p|w' > Ar فلاة falā-t- (pl. فلال falā-n and فلولات falawāt-) {BK} 'désert sans eau', {Hv.} 'desert, waterless plain' ¶ BK II 635, Hv. 575 || CCh: Gzg {Lk.} pala 'Ebene im Busch ohne Bäume', MfG {Brr.} pāláh, papaláh 'plaine, endroit plat', Ms {Caït.} fúl 'plaine' ¶ Lk. G 133, Brr. MG II 217, Caït. 58, Tk. II 33 || ?ϕ EC {Ss.} *bal- 'field, plain' > Gdl {Bl.} pa'l-a 'a field (for playing in)', Kmb {Hd.} bali, bali-ta 'valley' (and ??σ Kmb bali, bali-ta 'cliff, precipice') ¶ Ss. B 32, Bl. G 93, Hd. 309 || ?ϕ Eg MK bɜ.t 'Steppe' ¶ Kpln. 25 ||

IE: NaIE *p_{ol}- 'field, plain' > Sl *p_òl'e > OCS полѣ polje 'field, plain', R 'поле 'field, steppe', P, Cz, Slk pole, HLs polo, LLs pólo, Slv p_òljē and poljē, SCr p_òljē (п_òље), Blg по'ле 'field' ||| Arm {Bdr.} հող hot 'soil, earth, land' ||| OSw, Sw π fala 'plain', {P} 'Feld, Heide', NHG -fal- in n.l. Westfalen, Ostfalen | Derived stem *p_el_a-t- (× ← *p_el_a-/plā- 'broad') > Gmc *felθ > OSw d. ur-fjælder 'plot (of land), OSx feld, OHG fēld, MHG v_elt, gen. v_eldes, NHG Feld 'field', AS feld 'field, plain', NE field ||| OIr {P} láthar 'place, site, spot' (< *plā-) > Nir láthair 'open place, site, spot' ¶ Jah. OSK 8 [no. 1.211], 94, Shvl. 208 (on *l in Sl *p_òl'e), SJSS XXVII 148, StSS 474, Glh. 495; ≠ Vs. III 307-8 and P 805-7 (both did not distinguish between the √ in question and IE *p_el_a- 'broad and flat'); Mn. 918, Dnn. 420, Kb. 232, OsS 176, Lx. 266, KM 191, Ho. 100, Ho. S 19, ≠ EI 133 ||| A *p_'ala 'field, level ground' > T (att. in NaT) *h₁ala-ŋ 'flat open ground' > OT alan, Tk alan id., Tkm alan 'small height, mountains', VTt {Bu.} alan 'clearing in woods, meadow', Nog alan 'open (ground)', alan er 'glade, lawn', Qzq, Qq alan 'a clearing in woods (поляна)', Tv alāq id., alandī 'thawed patch (проталина)', Yk alā-s 'round field, clearing in woods', StAlt yalan 'plain (Ebene)' ¶ ET Gl 134-5, Cl. 147, Bu. I 79, Pek. 67, NogR 36, TvR 51, Sht. 20, KrkR 36, RKazS 570 ||| Tg *^opa_l:_la-n 'level ground; ground, floor' ({SDM} 'meadow, open ground, floor') > Lm Ol/P hālīnrъ, Lm O halīnra 'a clearing in woods, woodless level ground', Neg palan 'floor', Ork pālla(n-), Nn Nh palā, Nn Bk pala(n-), Nn KU palā 'floor', Ul pala(n-) 'floor, board', WrMc {Z} фалань 'floor, courtyard within the house, Ud pala(n-); in addition, the infl. of Chn fa-lan 'fence' (as supposed by Z) cannot be ruled out ¶ STM II 32, 313, Krm. 276, On. 322, Z 1032 ||| pKo {S} *p_'arh- 'field, meadows' > MKo p_'arí, Ko Ph p_'al ~ p^hal, NKo {MLC} p_'al, {Rm.} p_'al (= p_'al) 'plain, open field, prairie, even ground', NKo {MLC} p^hal 'a wide expanse of land, vast plain, prairie' ¶ Rm. SKE 196, MLC 764, 1744, BKR I 545, S QK no. 202 ||| pJ {S} *p_'arà 'level ground, plain (Ebene, Flachland)' > OJ para {S} id., MJ p_'arà id., J: T/K hára, J Kg h_'ará {Kenk.} 'plain, field' ¶ S QJ no. 269. Mr. 399, Kenk. 450 ¶¶ SDM 1120-1 (*p_'ā_là 'field, level ground' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1723 (id.), S AJ 67 (pA *p_'ā_l∇ 'поле, равнина'), S LV no. 93, Mr. KJ 238, Mr. KJ 238, ≠ Rm. SKE 196 (equating Ko p_'al with Ewk hīlз-кзп 'open field', ? WrMc {Z} филa 'a plate', Ul, Nn {PSchm.} pila, pili id., J hira and Ai hira 'a plain') ||| D *p_{ol}- ({^oGS} *p-) 'arable field' > Tm

pulam 'arable land, rice field; place, region', pulan, pulavu 'arable land', MI pulam 'cornfield; place', Kn pola 'plough field; place', Tu pula 'pasturage', TI polamu 'field, place of cultivated land', Klm polam 'field', Prj polub, Gdb polub, pollūb 'village' ¶¶ D no. 4303 ◇ D *-o- is probably due to the assimilative infl. of *p- and/or of an ancient *-'o'. EC *b- still requires explanation.

1690. *P₂āT̄V (= *P₂āT̄U??) 'inside, entrails, liver' > **HS:** Ch: Gmy {ChL} fǎ̀lè, {Sh. in ChC} fǎ̀lep^h, Tal {ChL} fǎ̀lèk, Cp {ChL} fǎ̀lèk, Tmbs {Sh.} fǎ̀wà̀lè || ? CCh: BM {ChL}: Mrg mb+ɫ, Klb m̄̀b̄̀l̄̀l̄̀à, Hld mb̄̀ú̀l̄̀u (pl. mb̄̀ò̀l̄̀à), Wmd mb+ɫa id. | Mofu {Ro.} m̄̀v̄̀é̄l, MfG {Bn} m̄̀v̄̀è̄l, Gzg {Lk.} meveɫ id. || Skr {Sx.} p̄̀è̄l̄̀sà 'liver' ¶ ChC s.v. 'liver', ChL, ≈ Ro. 284 (unc.: pMM *ma-givir), Lk. G s.v. meveɫ, Sx. s.v. p̄̀è̄l̄̀sà || ? HEC *afale 'liver' > Sd {Ss.} affale, {Hd., Gs.} afale, Brj {Ss.} af'fala, {Hd.} af(f)ala, Kmb {Ss.} afelita, {Hd.} afalita, Hd {Hd., Ss.} afare id. ¶ Ss. B 24, Ss. PEC, Hd. 93, Bnd. LE 258-9 || NrOm (<b- HEC?): Ma S {Ss.} a'fāro, Shn {Lm.} afarà, Mch {L} aƆa'ro, Anf {MYTY} aparo, {Fl.} afa'ro 'liver' ¶ L M 17, Lm. Sh 261, MYTY 120, Fl. OWL ¶¶ Cf. OS no. 775 (*fal-/ful- 'liver, lungs', adducing WCh *ful- 'lungs' and CCh *fa-ful- 'lungs') || **U:** FU *pā̀l̄̀V 'internal; entrails' ({UEW} 'das Innere') > Prm: Vt pol-, p̄̀l̄̀-: Vt Sl pol+ɫn 'in, im Inneren, zwischen', Vt Sr p̄̀l̄̀t, Vt Kz pole 'in, zwischen' (direction), Z p̄̀l̄̀s- ~ p̄̀v̄̀s-: Z Lu miyan p̄̀l̄̀s+ɫn 'among us' || OHg bé̄l 'das Innere', Hg bé̄l (accus. belet) 'gut, kernel (of a nut), wick', -be/-ba 'into', -ben/-ban 'in', -bō̄l/-bō̄l 'out of' ¶ UEW 364, MF 105, LG 227 || **A** *P₂ā̀V (= *P₂ā̀V?) or *P₂ā̀wV (= *P₂ā̀lqV?) 'belly, liver' > M *φeligen 'liver' > MM [L] هلكان helegen, [S] helige(n), [IM] helige, [MA] eligen 'liver', WrM elige {MED} id., π 'breast, belly', HIM элэг {MED} id., {BMR} элэг, элгэн 'liver', π 'breast', Brt эльгэ(н) 'liver', Kl {Rm.} el̄k̄n 'Leber; Magen, Bauch', Ba helgə ({T} хэлгэ), Dg {Mr.} helehe, {T} χ̄l̄z̄g, ShY heleɣe 'liver', Mnr H {T} χ̄elige id., {SM} χ̄al̄j̄eg_e 'foie', Ord elege 'foie, poitrine, ventre' ¶ Pel. 211-12 [no. 14], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 152, 438, H 75, MED 309, BMR IV 407, Chr. 764, KRS 697, KW 119, SM 152, T 375, T DgJ 17, Mr. D 159, Ms. O 236 || Tg: Ewk h̄̀l̄̀bu- 'be pregnant' ¶ STM II 363 || pKo *p̄̀l̄̀ 'belly' (× N *P₂EyRV 'belly, stomach, contents of the intestines') > MKo p̄̀l̄̀, NKo p̄̀ā ¶ S AJ 25 [no. 4], S QK no. 4, Nam 21, MLC 742 || pJ {S} *p̄̀arà 'belly' (× N *P₂EyRV) > OJ para, MJ Ɔarà {S} 'belly', J T/Kg hará, J K hárà {S} id., {Kenk.} 'abdomen, belly' ¶ S AJ 90, 264 [no. 4], S QJ no. 4, Mr. 399,

Kenk. 451 ¶¶ SDM 1131 (pA *p'ēylo 'belly, liver' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1632, SDM94 (A *p_L'ēlo), S AJ 68, 90, 274, Mr. KJ 243 ¶¶ The pA cns. *y is reconstructed by SDM in *p'ēylo 'to account for the loss of *l in Korean' ¶¶ T: ǀǀ Chv {Rm. ← ?} ał 'Niere' (not confirmed by Ash. and any other available sources) (a ghost word?) ¶ KW 119 ◇ Ewk hǀǀbu- suggests *-w- in pA *p_L'æ:ǀw∇ and N *-U in *P_ǀǀU (tentatively supported by w in Tmbs f_wǀǀ).

1691. *P_ǀǀ∇ 'a hair, tuft of hair, feather' > IE: NaIE *pilo- 'hair' (with as.: *pulo- id.) (-d→ *pil-t- 'felt') > L pilus 'a hair' || Mir ul (< *pulu) 'beard', Brtt (× N *P_ǀǀ∇ 'eye?'): OW {Flr.} ail, W ael 'eyebrow', OBr GUORAIL 'supercilium' (Flr.: cd with GUOR- 'upper') || Gk πύλις 'hair about the posteriors; curls' || OI pulakāh pl. 'bristling hairs of the body' || Irn: Krd pūr 'headhair' || ? Gmc (× Gmc *folti- 'gestampftes'): OHG filz, MHG vilz, NHG Filz, OSx filt, AS felt 'felt', NE felt || NaIE *piles-/pils- 'felt' > L pilleus (< *pils-eyo-) 'felt cap' || Gk πῆλος 'wool\hair wrought into felt; anything made of felt' || Sl *pъlstъ 'felt' > OR пльсть pльсть 'felt, felt carpet', Blg пльст, SCr MN пѷст, Slv pōlst (gen. polstī), Cz plst (gen. plsti), Slk plst', P pilść, Uk повсть (gen. повсти) 'felt', R полсть (gen. полсти) 'felt cloth, cloth', d. пол'стина 'felt' ¶ EI 251 || NaIE *opleu-k-, *pleu-s- 'feather, hair, wool' (× NaIE *pleus- 'pluck out', *pleuk- 'flock') > [1] *opleu-k- > Lt pláukas 'a hair', plaukaĩ pl. 'hair', plūksna, Δ plūnksna 'feather'; [2] *pleus- > L plūma ({Thr.}: < *plusma) 'downy part of a feather; small, soft feather', pl. plūmae 'down' || Gmc {Vr.} *fleusaz > MLG vlūs, vlūsch, MHG {KM, Vr.} vlius, NHG Vlies, MDt vlies, vluus, Dt vlies 'fleece', AS flīes, flēos id., 'wool, hide', NE fleece, as well as NLG vlūs(e), vlūsch, NHG Flaus, Flausch 'tuft of wool\ hair, fleecy woollen material', ??σ Nr Δ {Ar.} fluret 'dishevelled\ bristling' (of hair), {Ho.} flūra 'zottiges Haar' || Lt plūskos pl. 'tufts of hair, hair', Lt † pláuz(d)inis ~ plá(u)zenis '(Deck)bett', Pru plauxdine 'eiderdown' ¶ P 830, ≈ 837-8, EI 569, EM 516, ≈ F II 536, WH II 303-5, 324-5, Vr. N 7920, Kb. 243, ≈ KM 197-8, KM 203, 822, Ho. 100, 108, Ar. 274, ≈ Frn. 607-9, 634, En. 227, Vs. III 318, Ma. CS 378, Flr. 198, SB 3 ({SB} pClT *aili), Bc. 220, EI 251 (*pilo-s, *pulo-s '[a single] hair [of the human body]') and 569 (*pil-so- ~ *pil-to- 'felt') || HS: ? B *bil_Lh_L-, *bilh|φ-itt- 'eyelashes, (→) eyelid' > BSn abal, Izn ābāl 'eyelid', BMn abal 'eyelash', Mtm abliwān 'eyebrow',

Ah abīlāt 'eyelid'; acc. to NZ, in most B lges and dls it means 'eyelash' ¶
 Fc. 69, Pr. H no. 25, NZ 55 || C: EC: Arr {Hw.} fīl 'tail' || Ag: Xm Wg {Fl}
 fɛlfɛla 'feather' ¶ Hw. A 358, Blz. CWL, Fl. p.c. || D: [1] D *pīl-
 ({ǾGS} *p-) 'peacocks's tail, peacocks's feather' > Kn pīli id., Kdg pi·li
 'peacock's tail feather', Tu pīli id., bīla 'tail', Tm, Ml pīli
 'peacock's feather', Tl pīli 'rudder, peacock's feather' ¶¶ D no. 4226
 || [2] D *pil∇ka ({ǾGS} *p-) 'a tuft\knot of hair' > Tl pilaka id., Knd
 pilka, pilika 'pigtail, dangling ends of hair', Ku pilka 'lovelock (worn
 curled under the ear by males)' ¶¶ D no. 4179 || K: Sv {Ni.} pīl 'tail'
 (not confirmed by other available sources) ¶ Ni. s.v. 'хвостъ'.

1691a. *pūIE 'be much\big, increase' > HS: ? S *°√pwl > Ar √fwl
 TD (pf. tafayyala) 'grow up' (plant, youth) ¶ BK II 655, Hv. 582 || C: Af
 fūl-a 'excellence, superiority', fule v. 'surpass' ¶ PH 105 || Ch: Hs
 húlúú 'abundantly; ECh: Tmk pāl 'dépasser' ¶ Abr. H 391, Cp. 89 || ? Eg
 OK fɜw {EG} 'Macht, Ansehen', {Fk.} 'magnificence, splendour' ¶ EG I
 575, Fk. 98 || A *p'ûlæ 'be too much\big, be superfluous' > M *φūle-
 id., *φūle-ǝü 'superfluous, left over' > MM [L] hūlūwūlebe
 'vermehrte sich', [S] hūlegu 'übrig sein', Mnr H {SM} fuliū 'superflu,
 en surplus, plus de, de trop', fuliē- 'rester, être de reste, être
 superflu', WrM ūle- {MED} 'be left over, be superfluous', HIM γλε-
 {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'excel (превосходить)', Brt γλε- 'be left over',
 Kl {KRS} γλε-ūl- 'be superfluous, excel', {Rm.} ūl- 'übrig\überschüssig
 sein, zu viel sein, übrigbleiben', Ord ūli- 'rester, être de reste, laisser de
 reste', ilū, ilgū, ūlgū 'superflu, plus de, davantage', Mnr H {SM} fuliū
 'superflu, en surplus, plus de, de trop'; ⇨ M *φūlemzi 'more, much,
 many' > WrM {MED} ūlemzi, HIM {MED, BMR} γλεμζ 'more, much,
 many; great, huge', Brt γλεμζε 'more, superfluous' ¶ Pel. 236-7 [no.
 64], MED 1004-5, BMR III 409-10, Chr. 502-3, KRS 550, KW 457, SM
 106, H 78, Iw. 144, Ms. O 384, 756, SM 107 || Tg *pule- ({Bz.} pölä-)
 v. 'be superfluous' > Ewk hulɜ- ~ hɜɜ- 'happen to be superfluous
 (остаться в излишке)', Lm hul- id., 'be(come) superfluous', Sln ulɜ-
 id., ulɜx 'the remainder, surplus', 'magnificent', Ul pulɜ, Ork pulɜ ~
 pulɜ ~ pulɜxɜ 'sth. superfluous, surplus', Neg xulɜxɜ id., 'extra, more,
 better', Orc xulɜ 'superfluous, surplus', xulɜ aya 'the best', Ud {STM}
 xulpa 'superfluous', Nn Nh {On.} pulē, Nn KU pulɜ, pulɜkɜ, Nn Bk
 pulɜxɜ 'superfluous, surplus, redundancy', WrMc {Z} φυλυ
 'superfluous, surplus; too much' ¶ STM II 364-5, On. 142, Z 1083-5 ||

NaT *_lh_lulug 'great, big' (× N ***wôla** 'big, large, multitude', *see* ffd. N ***wA**la [and ***wô**la] id.) > OT, OOSm XIV uluḡ, XwT XIII ulu(ḡ), MQp XIII ulū, XIV [CC] ulu, Chg XV ulu, ET uluḡ ~ uluq, SY, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uluḡ, Tkm, Slr uli 'large, big, great', Tk ulu, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr ulu, Yk ulū id., VTt олы ъль, Bsh оло ъль 'large, big; old, grown up' (of a person), Az ulu 'big, great, ancient', Uz uluḡ, Qzq җлы uli, Qq ulli, StAlt ulu, Uz uluḡ 'great', Qrg ulū 'great, elder', † uluq 'chief, ruler', Yk ulū 'large, great' ¶ Cl. 136, ET Gl 593-5, Rs. W 513, Sht. 289, Jud. 803-4, MM 488, KrkR 67, Nj. 134, BT 167, Ra. 237 ¶¶ SDM 1181-2 (pA *p'ũle|i 'be left; surplus' > M, Tg + unc. T *üle- 'divide, distribue, endow') || D *pol_li 'increase, abound' > Tm poli 'flourish, prosper, abound, increase', Ml poli n. 'increase', Kn hulisu v. 'increase in bulk, thrive, grow rich', Kdg poli- v. 'increase', Tu poli n. 'interest in kind, increase, abundance', Tl poli n. 'gain' ¶¶ D no. 4550 ◇ Is there etymological connection with N ***pa**ʔvlyu 'much, superfluous'?

1692. ***pu**lu (or ***pu**lü?) 'to spring forth, hervorquellen' (→ 'to flow'), 'to plunge in water' > HS: WS * $\sqrt{p}lp$ l ~ * $\sqrt{p}ll$ ~ *-pūl- > Gz $\sqrt{fl}fl$ (pf. falfala) v. 'gush out, spring forth', falfal 'fountain', Sr $\sqrt{p}ll$ (pf. $\sqrt{p}al$) 'sprinkle', $\sqrt{p}w$ l (pf. $\sqrt{p}āl$, ip. -pūl) id.; EthS → Bln {R} fælfæl- 'gush out', Qbn {L} fælfællō', falfalla id.]Not here (⇔ Blz.) S *'palag- 'canal, small stream' (← S * $\sqrt{p}lg$ 'split asunder', *see* ffd. N ***P**äl ∇ k ∇ 'to split lengthwise, to divide') ¶ L G 158-9, Br. 560, 569, JPS 437, 445-6, ≈ Blz. L no. 60 || NrOm: Hrr pā:l-uc v. 'pour' ¶ Si. ACh. 18 || WCh: WDng pāl \grave{a} 'asperger' ¶ Fd. 58 || IE: [1] NaIE *pol-/*p_l- v. 'pour/stream' > Lt inf. pīl \acute{t} i (pres. pīl \acute{u}) 'to pour', Ltv {ME} inf. pīl \acute{t} (pres. pīl $\acute{s}tu$, pīl \acute{u}) vi. 'tröpfeln', Ltv inf. pīl $\acute{e}t$ 'to drop, to drip, to trickle, to dribble', pali (Δ palas) 'flood, inundation', pile 'a drop', Lt am \acute{p} alās (< *a $\acute{n}t$ -palas) 'water frozen on the ice' | Sl * \circ pol- v., * \circ pol \acute{b} n. > ChS {Mikl.} полъ 'ἐπαρυστήρ, Schöpfgefäß', Slv {Mikl.} inf. plati, pres. poljem 'haurire'; the connection with R 'полая вода, поло'водье 'Hochwasser' is highly qu., the R stem is more likely to derive from пол- 'full' < N ***P**ol \acute{x} æ 'to fill' (or reflects a merger of both N words) ||| Arm հեղում 'I pour, I pour out, I empty' (< *pel-nu-mi), զեղում ze \acute{h} um (< *z-he \acute{h} um) vt. 'I shed, I pour out (ich lasse strömen)' ||| W llan ω n. 'flow of tide', OBr lanu, MBr lano, lanv, lanu 'flux', Crn {ECCE} lanwes 'flow, raising tide' ¶ ≈ P 798-

801 (without distinguishing between this $\sqrt{\text{}}$ and IE $*\text{pelh}_1-$ / $*\text{pleh}_1-$ 'fill'), LP § 19, YGM-1 302, Flr. 236-7, ECCE 264, Frn. 592, Kar. II 13-14, 48, ME III 59, 214-16, Mikl. L 616, F II 547-8, Slr. 384-5, \neq EI 201 (Arm $\text{he}\check{\text{t}}\text{um}$ < $*\text{pelh}_1-$ 'fill') ||| **[2]** NaIE $*\text{pleu}_2-$ 'flow; swim' > OI 3s 'plavatē' 'floats, swims', 3s caus. $\text{plā}'\text{vayati}$ 'causes to swim, bathes, sub-merges', $\text{plu}'\text{ta-}$ 'floated, bathed' (\div Gk πλυτός 'washed'), pluti- 'overflowing, flood' (\div Gk πλύσις n. act. 'washing') | Irn {RastE} $*\text{fraw-}/*\text{fru-}$ 'swim' > Av fraw- id., Shfn $\text{fraw-}/\text{firud-}$ id. ||| Gk $\text{πλέ}(F)\omega$ 'sail, go by sea', πλύνω 'I wash' ||| Arm **լուսնամ** luanam 'I wash' (aor. **լուսցի** luac^hi) ||| L pluit 'it rains', pluvius , pluor 'rain', $\text{re-plu-}\bar{o}$ 'ich durchnässe' ||| ? Clt: OIr {SB} ló-chasair 'rain' (\times N ***L∇qU** 'be moist/liquid, flow', q.v.); ??? Brtt: MCrn glaw , Crn gwlaw > glaw 'rain', MBr glauaff 'to rain' ||| ON inf. flóa , AS inf. flōwan 'to overflow', OHG inf. flewen (\leftarrow caus.) 'to wash', ON fley 'ferry, ship', OSx flōd 'flood, river', AS flōd 'flowing, stream; tide; river, sea; flood', Gt flōdus (\leftarrow ποταμός [?]) 'Flut, Strom', ON flæð , flæðr , flóð , OHG fluot , NHG Flut 'flood', NE flood ||| Lt inf. pláuti (p. plóviau , pres. pláuju) (\leftarrow caus.) 'to wash, to rinse' | Sl inf. $*\text{plu-}'\text{ti}$ (pres. $*\text{plō}^{\text{v}}\text{q}$) 'to swim, to float' > OCS inf. **пловѣти** pluti (pres. **пловѣ** plovq), OR inf. pluti (pres. plovu), SCr Cr inf. $\text{plū}^{\text{t}}\text{ti}$ (pres. plovēm), Slv inf. plúti (pres. plóvem), OCz inf. plúti (pres. plovu), Cz inf. plouti (pres. pluju), Slk inf. plut' id.; SI inf. $*\text{plǎ}^{\text{t}}\text{-ti}$ ($*\text{plǎ}^{\text{t}}\text{-}$ < $*\text{plū-}$) (pres. $*\text{plǎ}^{\text{t}}\text{jq}$) 'to swim, to float' > R inf. **плыть** (pres. **плыву**) id., SCr Sr inf. **плити** (pres. **плитјем**) id., P inf. **pluwac** 'to swim, to float', Blg **пливам** 'I swim' ||| pTc {Ad.} $*\text{plu-}$ > Tc: A plu- , {Wn.} plau- , B {Wn.} plu- , plyew- 'planer, floter', B {Ad.} plu- , plyew- 'soar, fly up', plewe {Wn.} 'raft, boat', {Ad.} 'raft' ¶ P 835-7, M K II 383-6, M E II 194-6, F II 559-60, WH II 326-7, Fs. 156-7, Bc. 68 (no et. of the Brtt words for 'rain'), Ern. 258, \neq SB 249-50 (pClt $*\text{levo}^{\text{t}}$ 'ich spüle'), Vr. 131-2, 135, Kb. 262, 268, OsS 203-4, 206-7, KM 210-11, Sw. 60, Ho. 109-10, Ho. S 21, Slr. 94, Frn. 609-10, Vs. III 288-9, StSS 450, Glh. 488, Wn. I 377, 379, Ad. 428, Ad. H 17, 99, RastE ESI III 63-6 ¶¶ N ***u** is not reflected in the IE root, because in the prehistory of IE the glide $*\text{u}$ after $*\text{p}$ was lost ($**\text{pu-}$ > $*\text{p-}$) ||| **u**: FU (att. in Ugr) $*\text{pâ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ (= $*\text{pu}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$?) 'spring forth, flow' > ObU $*\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ > pOs $*\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ ~ $*\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ ($\{Hl.\}$ $*\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ ~ $*\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$) > Os: Nz $\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ -, Kz $\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ -, O $\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ li- 'spring forth (hervorquellen)', Kz $\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ śī-, $\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ śemə-, D $\text{pǎ}\check{\text{t}}\check{\text{v}}$ emə-

'plätschern'; pVg *pɔl- > Vg: T/LK/UK poísit-, P/NV poíst-, LL paíst-, UL poísət- v. 'splash, ripple', Ss polɣ- 'plätschern' (ἄρῆοι πολυανῆτ suyti 'das Plätschern der Bootspitze ist zu hören'), polɣalt- 'plätschern' (matar polɣaltawe 'etwas plätschert') || OHg, Hg folu- v. 'flow, stream' ¶ UEW 881, Ht. no. 511, MF 212-13, EWU 406-7 || **A** *bul- ~ *puL- 'make (liquid) flow', *bulak∇ source, spring' > T *°bula- > Qzq {RI.} bula- 'fließen, hervorströmen', 'entspringen' (Fluß), {Sht.} бѣла- bula- 'weep, shed tears; foam a horse by fast riding'; NaT *bulak 'spring (of water)' > OT, XwT XIV, MQp [CC] булаq, Tk булак, CrTt, Qmq, Qq, ET, SY, Ln булаq, Az булаг булаг, Uz булаq id., Tkm булаq 'irrigation ditch', VTt болак б'лаq 'brook', Tv булак р'улаq 'spring of water; brook (in a steppe); source (of a river)', Tf р'улаq 'ice crust (наледь) near a spring'; T б→ M: MM [IsV, HI] булаq, [S] булаг, WrM {MED} булаг, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt булаг 'spring, source (Quelle)', Kl {KRS} булг булг id., {Rm.} булуq 'Quelle', Mnr H {SM} булаг 'source, fontaine', Mnr H/M {T} булаг 'spring, source', Ord булаг 'source d'eau' > Ms. H 43, H 21, MED 133, BMR I 283, Chr. 110, KRS 117, KW 59, SM 32, Rs. W 87, Dr. TM II no-s 770 and 809, RI. IV 1836, Sht. 64, MM 113, ET B 257-8, Cl. 336, TvR 121, Ra. 72, 165, Lg. VMI 22, T 320 || Tg: [1] Tg *bulku- > WrMc {Hr.} булка- 'von unten nach oben hervorkommen' (Wasser), 'heraussprudeln, hervorquellen', {Z} булху- 'well out, splash' ({Z} 'бьет вверх вода фонтаном, плещет вода'), ? Ewk Ald/Z bulku- 'wash oneself', ? Nn Nh {STM} болго- ~ булхо- v. 'rinse (one's mouth)' || [2] WrMc {Z} булха- 'suppurate, discharge pus', 'burst' (an abscess), 'bleed' (a wound), {Hr} булка- 'eitem' ({Am.} 'lorsque le pus sort d'un plaie') || [3] Tg *bilku- vt. 'moisten, wet', vi. 'splash' ({SDM} *b^ülkü- vt. 'soak, wet; splash, swash') > Ewk bilki-, bilkiptan- 'moisten (a hide to dress leather)', Ud beäku-, Nn Nh bilxo- 'moisten (runners of a sledge to improve sliding)'; Ewk bulkiw- vi. 'splash' (children, birds) ¶ STM I 82, 108, On. 66, Hr 124, 315, Am. I 214, Z 536, 1088, DQA no. 146 (Tg *b^ülkü-) || M: [1] M *bulqa- vt. 'dip in water' > WrM {MED} булка-, HIM булха- {MED, BMR} vt. 'dip in water, rinse', Brt булха- vt. 'rinse the mouth', Kl {KRS} булх- булхъ- vi. 'dip in water', {Rm.} булха- vi. 'tauchen; untertauchen (im Wasser)', ?σ Ord булга- 'mettre (un objet) dans un endroit plus bas que celui où il se trouvait'; [2] ?σ,φ M *bilqa- v. 'overflow; be too full' (semantic infl. of N *pUIE 'be much/big, increase?') > WrM билqa- {MED} 'overflow, pour over the edge or brim', HIM {MED, BMR}

бялжа- id., Brt билжа- id., 'выступать из берегов, разливаться' (a river); ↗ M *bilqayī- > WrM {MED} bilqai- 'be overfilled', HIM бялжай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'starkbeleibt/fettleibig werden (становиться тучным\полным)', Kl {Rm.} bilχā- 'über den Rand überschwabben; dick und voll werden' ¶ M *bulqa- 'dip in water' is justified in the framework of N (see IE *pleu- 'swim') ¶ MED 105, 136, BMR I 287, 318, Chr. 95, 112, KW 45, 60, KRS 119, Ms. O 94 || pKo {S} *purī- (or *pīrī-) 'soak, make wet' > Nko purī- ¶ S QK no. 883, Rm. SKE 211, MLC 836 || pJ {S} *pūrè or *pūruà 'bath' > MJ φùrò, J T φúro ~ φuró, J K φùró, J Kg φuró ¶ S QJ no. 1658, Mr. 418, Kenk. 319 ¶¶ SDM 362 (pA *bǐǔ̀lò v. 'soak, gush forth' > T *bulak-, M *bul(qa)-, *bilqa-, Tg *b'ü'lkü-, pKo *purī-, pJ *pūrè or *pūruà, without taking into account Tg *°pul̥k̥- [q.v. above]), DQA no. 146 (id.), STM I 108 (Tg, M) || D (att. in SD) *puł- v. float' > Tu pułāvuni, Krg boła id. ¶ D no. 4321 ◇ The Tg delabialization (N *u > *i) in *bilku- is still to be explained (on delabialization see Introduction, § 2.4).

1692a. ₂ *P̥ŪL̥ ▽ 'to blow (blasen)' > HS: WCh: DfB fòl 'Pfeife', Jmb {Sk.} fál v. 'blow', Kir {ChL} f^ωale id. || CCh: Zime {Muk.} fòl v. 'blow' || ECh: Ke {Eb. in ChC} fǎ́lé id., {Eb.} fǔ́lí 'blasen, wehen' ¶ Eb. 46, ChL, ChC s.v. 'to blow', J R 214, Muk. MChC 103 || HEC {Hd.} *fōl- 'breathe' > Sd fōl-, fōʔl- id.; HEC *fōle 'breath' > Sd {Gs.} fōle id., 'odor, smell', Brj {Hd.} fōle 'odor, smell', Kmb fōli, Hd. fōre 'life, soul'; LEC: Af ful̥to n. act. 'blowing, puffing', Or fōl-ī 'odor'; SC: Qwz pela-yiko n. 'wind' ¶ Hd. 31, 190, 278, 316, Gs. s.v. fōl, PH 105, Grg. 148, E SC 144 || NrOm: Bnc pel v. 'blow (e.g. on fire)' ¶ Wdk. BY 109 ¶¶ Tk. II 554 || A *P̥ŭli(gi)- v. 'blow (blasen)' > M *φŭliye- id. > MM [MA] hulē- id., WrM {MED} ŭliye-, HIM {MED, BMR} үлээ- v. 'blow, inflate', Brt үлээ- 'blow (дуть), 'продувать', Kl {KRS} үлэ- id., 'выдувать', {Rm.} ŭlē- 'blasen, anblasen', Dx fulie- v. 'blow', Ba file- v. 'blow' (of wind), Ord ŭlē- 'souffler, tirer des sons d'un instrument de musique à vent' ¶ MED 1006, BMR III 410, Chr. 500, KRS 549, KW 457, Pp. MA 190, T DnJ 138, T BJ 148, Ms. O 755 || Tg *pul(i)gi- v. 'blow (blasen)' > Nn Bk/KU pulgi- id., Nn Bk pulgič'i- v. 'inflate', WrMc {Z} фулгѣ-, Mc Sb pulgi- v. 'blow, fan (fire)' ¶ STM II 336, Z 1088 || pKo *pūr- v. 'blow (blasen)' > MKo pūr-, Nko pūl- ¶ Rm. SKE 209, S QK no. 554, Nam 267, MLC 835 || pJ {S} *pūk- v. 'blow' > OJ puk-, MJ φùk-, J T/K φúk-, J Kg φùk- id. ¶ Mr. 694, Kenk. 298 ¶¶ SDM 1182 (pA *p'ǔ̀lǔ̀lgi v. 'blow' >

Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA 1852 (id.), S QJ no. 515, Pp. VG 12, 112, Rm. EAS I 55, Rm. SKE 209, KW 457, Lee CSMK 110, Mr. KJ 226, Ci. EApk 57.

1693. *p∇Lû 'lungs, pluck' > HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J} f̂ɔ̀lòk, Ang {Flk.} f̂wɔlɔk, Gmy {ChC} f+l+l, Mpn {Frz.} flòk, fùlfúk 'lung(s)' | Ron: Bks {J} fòlòk id. ¶ J S 65, J R 141, Flk. s.v. f̂wɔlɔk, Frz. DM 18, ChC s.v. 'lung(s)' || Eg BD w̄fɛ 'Lunge' ¶ EG I 306 ¶¶ Infl. of N *pAÍ∇gæ ~ *pAÍ∇gæ 'spleen' is possible ¶¶ Tk. p.c. ¶¶ Cf. OS no. 775 (*fal-/ful- 'liver, lungs', adducing HEC *afal- 'liver' and Om *afār- 'liver') || K: GZ *pe|ilt̥w- / *p̥lt̥w- 'lungs' > G pil̥t̥v-i id., {DCh.} id., 'pluck', Mg pirt̥v- (ir < *l̥), Zan ⇨ OG pirt̥w-, G pirt̥v- 'lungs' and [??] Sv UB/LB/L {TK, GP} p̄eršwda, Sv Ln {TK} p̄erešt̥wa id.; the stem-final -t̥w- & -dw- may be ancient (cp. IE *plew-ty- in BSI) ¶¶ ≈ K 189 (*pir(̥)̥t̥w-) and K² 201-2 (*pirt̥w- 'lungs' with a "secondary substitution" l for *r in G), ≈ FS K 319-20 and ≈ FS E 358 (*pirt̥w-), DCh. 1306, SSO II 193 (pirt̥w-), ≈ Gel. 108 (substitution l for r), TK 681, GP 253 ¶¶ Zan *r < K *l is a regular phonetic change, cf. K *gul- 'heart, breast' > OG, G gul-i id., Mg, Lz gur-i 'heart', GZ *mgel- 'wolf' > OG, G mgel- id., Mg ger-, Lz mge(r)- id. || IE: NaIE *pleu̯-mon-/*plu-m(o)n- 'lung', *°pleu̯-tyā- ~ *°plou̯tyā- 'lung(s)': [1] NaIE *pleu̯-mon-/*plu-m(o)n- > OI klō'man- 'the right lung', pl. 'lungs' (acc. to P and F, dis. *p...m > *k...m), Pali kilōmaka 'the pleura', Kls krōma 'lung' (< var. InA *krōman-) || Gk πλεύμων 'the lungs' || L pulmō, mostly pl. pulmōnes 'lungs' |[2] NaIE (in BSI) *°pleu̯tyā- ~ *°plou̯tyā- 'lungs' > Lt plaũčiai, Ltv plāušas (m. pl.), Pru plauti 'lungs' | Sl {Glh.} *p̥lūt̥je / pl. *p̥lūt̥jǎ 'lung(s)' > OCS п̣люш̣а pljušṭa, [Supr.] п̣лоуш̣а plušṭa {StSS} 'lungs, entrails', OR п̣люш̣а pljušṭa, SCr pljūća, Slv plúč̣a, OCz plíúčě, Cz plíce, Slk pl'úca 'lungs' ¶ P 837-8, ≈ EI 359 (*pleumōn / *plum'n-os; BSI < *plou̯-ty-e/oḥ-; unc.: < *pleu̯- 'float'), ME I 419, F II 558-9, WH II 386-7, Frn. 607, En. 227, StSS 452, SJSS XXV 6, Glh. 489, StSS 452 || ?ϕ D *por̥∇l- ({ϑGS} *p-) 'lungs' > Irl por̥o̥li 'lungs', AIK por̥o̥ndi id., ? Gnd posa id., Knd p̄oR̄o (= [po̥o̥]?) 'lung(s)', Png poč̣la, Mnd b̄ūlan̄ id., Ku bo'la id. ¶¶ D no. 4569 ¶¶ D *por̥∇l- is likely to result from dis.: *por̥∇l- < **p̄∇l̄∇l- ◊ N *p- is reconstructed on the ev. of AG *f-.

1694. *p'í'í'í'L∇ (= *p'í'í'í'l∇?) 'strong' > HS *✓'p̄'í (or *✓phl) > S: Ak B/NA baṗālu(m) 'abnormal groß sein; lichtstark sein', 'be abnormally large, become bright, shine brightly', Ak YB baṗlu

'abnormal groß' ¶ Sd. 93-4, 100, CAD II 1 || ? Eg fOK fɜw {EG} 'Macht', {Fk.} 'magnificence, splendour' (*f∇?w∇ < *f∇?_∇_|w∇??) ¶ EG I 575, Fk. 98, ⇔ Tk. II 558-9 (Eg ÷ Hb ✓ p?r D 'zieren, verherrlichen' and related S and Ch words for 'adorn, praise') || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *bala 'strong, big' > pAG {Hf.} *ba v. 'be strong\hard' > Su {J} bál 'fest, gewaltig, mächtig; Stärke, Gewalt', Ang {Hf.} ba v. 'get better after illness', Gmy {Hf.}, Mnt {Hf.} ba, Kfr {Nt.} bál 'hard, strong', Cp {ChL} ba 'strong', ba ba 'hard' || BT: Tng B {ChL} bél 'many', Tng {J} be 'full' || NrBc: P' {MSk.} bɜl- 'big' (m. bɜlan, non-m. bɜléí), Dir {Sk. in ChC} nɜ búla 'big', {Stl. ← ?} була 'size, height (величина, высота)' || SBc: Krf {Sch.} búllí 'many' || CCh: BM: Mrg {Hf.} ba ba 'hard', {ChL}: Klb bábalú, W m d b a b a l z w , Hld ba ba, Bu bu ba, Cb ba ba, WMrg bú ba, bu ba, Ngx ba ba 'hard' || HgNk {ChL} b+l+b+l+ 'hard' || Ech: Ke {Eb.} bɜbló m. 'groß' || Nd D {J} bɜl 'big', Smr {J} bɜlle 'big' ¶ The cns. b is likely to result from glottalization (reflecting N *?) of the initial labial cns. ¶ J S 59, Stl. ZCh 158 [no. 25], Hf. AG 17 [no. 18], Hf. M 23, Nt. 2, MSk. 168, Sch. BTL 148, ChL, ChC s.v. 'big' and 'strong', Eb. 33 || IE: NaIE *bel- 'strong' > OI 'bala-m 'power, strength, might', 'balīyān 'stronger', 'balisṭha-s 'strongest' || Gk βελτίων, βέλτερο-ς 'better', βέλτιστο-ς, βέλτατο-ς 'best' || L dē-bilis 'powerless, feeble, weak' || SI *boľьь, f. *boľьšī, ntr. *boľe(je), adv. *boľe 'greater, bigger' > OCS БОЛЪНИ боľii (boľьь) 'größer', f. БОЛЪШН боľšī, adv. БОЛЪЕБОľе 'magis, plus', R 'большой 'bigger' (-> больш'шой 'big'), Uk більший 'bigger', SCr бѡljī better' ¶ P 96, Dv. no. 456, EI 550 (*'belo-s 'strong'), M K II 416-18, M E II 215, F I 232, WH I 326-7, Bern. I 72, ESSJ II 193-4, Vs. I 191, StSS 98-9, Glh. 140-1 || А *P_lL^a^1 - > Tg *p_l- 'firm, hard' > Ork p_lj_i 'hardy, healthy' (a person), 'firm, hard' (wood), WrMc {Z} фили 'firm, dense, hard' ¶ STM II 38, Z 1057 || M *_φ_ila- > WrM ila- {MED} v. 'conquer, win a victory, overcome', HIM яла- {MED} id., {BMR} 'win a victory, overcome', Brt ила- id. ¶ MED 401-2, BMR IV 460, Chr. 277, H 81 || К *o_p_l- > G p_l-: p_l-oba (pres. v-p_l-ob) 'besitzen, beherrschen', v-i-p_l-ob (aor. 1s da-v-i-p_lе, 3s da-i-p_lо) 'sich (einer Sache) bemächtigen, (von etw.) Besitz ergreifen' ¶ Chx. 1384 || ?σ D (att. in KK) *p∇li- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'be big\high' > Ku plī- v. 'be big', plīnaу v. 'grow', Kui p̄ihpa v. 'be tall\high', p̄īpa- v. 'be tall', p̄īsa 'tall, high' ¶ D no. 4192 ◊ NaIE *bel- < **b_l_e_l- < N *p'í'?'L∇.

On the loss of postconsonantal glides in the prehistory of IE cf. AD NVIE. If D *p̥li- belongs here (which is uncertain), the N etymon is *p̥i'ɾ'li.

1695. *paʔɥiú 'much, superfluous' > HS: Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} p̥il 'very', Tmbs {Sh.} b̥él, Krf {Sch.} b̥úllí 'many' ||| ECh: Smr {J} b̥èlli, Nd D {J} b̥èl 'big' ¶ Flk. s.v. p̥il, ChC s.v. 'big', Sch. BT, Sh. T s.v. b̥él, || IE: NaIE *p̥elū- 'great, many' / *p̥o'lu- 'much' > OI pu'ru-, Av pouru-, OPrs {Hiz} paruw 'much' ||| Gk πολύς (f. πολλή, ntr. πολύ) id., Gk A πολλύ, πολύ id., Gk (pl.) m. πολλού, f. πολλαύ, ntr. πολλά 'many' ||| Clt {Matas.} *°fīlu- 'many' > OIr {P} (h)il 'much, many'; ? Clt {Matas.} *°folno- 'great, vast' > OIr oll id. ||| Gmc {Vr.} *felu > Gt filu (- πολύς, λίαν) 'viel, sehr', OSx, OHG filu, filo, NHG viel 'much, many', AS fela (/felu-), feala, feola id., 'very', ON fiql- 'much', 'Menge' (in compd. nouns) ||| a d.: NaIE {P} *plē-yōs 'more' > OL plous, L plus 'more' ||| OIr lía id. ('plus, plures') ||| ON fleiri 'more' ||| Av frāyah- 'more', OI prā'ya- 'mostly, commonly' ||| a d. word: NaIE {P} *plē-yōs-tos 'most' > Gk πλεῖστος 'most, greatest, largest' ||| Brtt {RE} *liāstos 'many' > OW, MW liaus, W lliaws, Cn l̥jes, OBr lios, Br lies id. ||| ON fleistr 'most' ¶ P 800, ≈ EI 3 (*p̥elh̥u-s / gen. *p̥l̥h̥ou̯s 'much', *pleh̥yos 'more'), M K II 311, M E II 148-9, Hinz 118, WH II 327-8, LP §§ 29, 164, RE 111, Kb. 242, KM 821, Matas. E 130, 136-7, Sw. 55, Ho. 100, F II 577-8, Fs. 152-4, Vr. 125, 130, Ho. 100, Ho. S 20 ¶ On pClt {Matas.} *f- instead of the more correct notation of the pClt cns. as *h- cf. (here and further) Introd. 2.2.14 ||| U *pal|lyU ({UEW} *palɥ) 'much; thick (dense)' > F paljo, paljon 'much, a lot', Es palju 'much, plenty (of), a lot' | Chr: KB p̥l̥ä 'rather much\many', H {Ep.} π̥l̥ä, {MRS} π̥l̥a 'rather much, rather great' ||| pVg *p̥ā́ > Vg: LK p̥ā́, Yk {Vxr.} p̥ā́, P/Ss p̥ā́ 'thick' (of forests, grass), 'dicht, dicht belaubt' (UEW: pVg *ā̄ < *a due to the infl. of *-ly-) || Sm {Hl.} *p̥ā́l̥ > Ne T палъ" / палъд- paíʔ / paíd- 'thick' (of a forest, liquid), 'fine-tooth' (of a comb), Ne T O {Lh.} paíʔ 'thick' (of a wood, hair, porridge), En {Cs.} fođe-me ~ fođe-ma 'dick werden', Mt {Hl.} *hāldi 'dicht' (Mt M {Sp.} жалды 'густой') || pY {IN H, IN UJ} *poy- 'much, many' > Y T {IN H} poy- 'numerous', {IN UJ} 'much, many', {Krn.} poyūō- 'be many\much': poyūōn 'many' (keden poyūōn 'homines multi sunt', lit. 'homo multus est'), poyūōde-gzdek yabel 'many people died'), poyūōler 'many (people)', Y T poyumu vi. {Ku.} 'become more numerous', {IN H}

'increase in number, multiply' ¶¶ Coll. 46, UEW 350-1, Ep. 97, MRS 478, BV 76, Ter. 440, Lh. 337, Cs. 95, Hl. M 243, , IN U 353, Krn. JJ 193, Ku. 224, ≈ Rd. UJ 41 [no. 42] (Y ← U) || D *pa^la^l, *pa^la^v∇ ({ǰGS} *p-) 'many, several, diverse' > Tm, Ml pa^la id., Td pe^s id., 'a large number, many', Kn pa^la, pa^la^vu 'many, several, various', Tl pa^lu id., Mlt pa^lware v. 'be multiplied, be bred' ¶¶ D no. 3987 || A *^opa^lā^l∇ > T *^hā^l- v. 'enlarge, increase' > OT aš- v. 'enlarge, increase (sth.)', Uz aš- vi. 'increase', ET, StAlt aš- id., Tkm āšā 'too (trop, чересчур, слишком)' ¶ Cl. 255, ET Gl 212-14, UzR 312, Nj. 38, BT 23, TkR 59 ¶ ET Gl did not distinguish it from NaT *āš- v. 'cross (a mountain)' (< A *ā^la id. < N *^hā^li^l∇E 'on the other side' [q.v.]) ◇ T (and pA?) *-ā^l- < N *-ly- ◇ The cns. ḫ- in Chadic lges suggests a N rec. *pa^l∇lyū (*^l is the only N lr. that disappeared without traces in IE). The long vw. *-ā^l- in pA *^opa^lā^l∇ may be explained if this pA word goes back to N *pa^l∇lyū ◇ IS MS 348 (*pa^l∇ 'much, many' > IE, A, U, D, Ch, unc. K *pr-), IS SS no. 10.3, AD GD 11, Coll. 145-6 (U, A), UEW 350-1 (U, A, IE).

1696. ₂ *P^li^l∇ (or *P^li^l∇?) 'to fly, to soar' > HS: NrOm *p∇l- > Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} pa^l- v. 'fly', Wl {C} fa^l-, {LmS} fā^ll-, Dwr {Lm.} fa^l-, Ym {Lm.} fu^l- id., {Wdk.} fū^lū ~ fū^lū v. 'run off' ¶ Mrn. O 155, LmS 353-4, Lm. Y 341, Wdk. BY 123, Fl. OWL || C: Af fa^l-o 'jumping up and down on the spot' ¶ PH 100 ¶¶ Tk. II 383 || A *P^li^l∇ 'fly, soar' > M *pe^le- v. 'soar in the air, or fly up' > WrM {Cev.} e^le-, HIM {BMR, Luv.} элэ- 'soar in the air', Brt эли- 'soar in the air' (birds), Dx h^lz^lz- id., 'take wing, rise' ¶ Cev. 875, BMR IV 408, Luv. 670, Chr. 762, T DnJ 140 || Tg {SDM} *pī^lu- v. 'fly', 'soar in the air' (birds) > WrMc {Z} ф^lлэ- [p^le^l-] id.; (× N *p^li^l∇ [or *p^li^l∇?] 'to fall'): Nn Nh {On.} pī^luzn 'soar in the air (парить)', {STM} pī^luzn ~ pī^luzn 'fly, soar in the air' ¶ STM II 38, On. 328, Z 1100 || pJ {SDM} *pī^l(n)kap- > O J pyirugapyer-, MJ pī^luga^ler- v. 'flap, flatter', J T hiruga^ler-, J K hī^luga^ler-, J Kg hiruga^ler- {Kenk} id., 'float' ¶ Mr. 690, Kenk. 509 ¶¶ SDM 1142 (pA *p^li^l∇ v. 'fly, soar; flap' > M, J, Tg *pī^lu- v. 'fly' + err. Tg *pī^lu- 'drop' [from N *p^li^l∇ v. 'fall']) ◇ ≈ IS III 97-106 (N *p^l∇ 'to fall') (A *p^li^l∇ v. 'fly' + IE *(s)p^hō^l- [sc. *(s)p^hō^l-] 'fall' [in fact from N *p^li^l∇ id.] + unc. D *vē^l- 'fly, descend'.

1697. *P^li^l∇ 'stinging insect' > HS: Ch: WCh: Df/Btr {Sh.} ḫwà^lè 'louse', Bks {RLC} ḫwe^le 'lice' || CCh: Glf {Lk.} fe^le^l, Mbara {TrnSL} fū^là^l ~ fū^lá^l, Lgn {Bou} fī^làs^l 'mosquito', ? Mlw {Trn.} à^ll^l, ? Msg

{Mch.} avuli, {Rif.} áfili id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'louse' and 'mosquito', JI II 243, TrnSL 261, 294, Trn. MVM s.v. àvli̇, Lk. ZSS 150, Tk. II 411-12 || WS *✓ply > Ar ✓fly G v. 'louse (the head), hunt for fleas', fāliy-at-'blackbeetle spotted with white and black', Hrs ✓fly|w G (pf. fɜlō), Jb C ✓fly|w G (pf. 'fe'le) v. 'delouse', Mhr ✓fly|w G (pf. fɜlō) id., 'look for and remove bugs on an animal' ¶ BK II 635, Hv. 575-6, Jo. H 33, Jo. M 95, Jo. J 58 || C: Ag {Ap.} *filut- / *fālät- / {AD} *fɜllɣt- (= {Ap.} *fālät-) n. 'flea' > Bln {Ag.} f+lút-a, Q {R} peley-ā etc. 'flea' (ffd. see Ap. VSA 18 and R Q 46) || EC: Sd {Hd.} pillo 'flea', Gdl fillét 'fleas' (coll.), Dl: Hr filláyue, Gln filáyue 'flea' (× N *paLuC∇ 'stinging insect') ¶ AMS 157, 199 || NrOm: pGng *pillo 'flea, bedbug' > Kf {C} pilló, {R} pillo ~ pillo id., Gjb {Fl.} billo 'flea' ¶ Cf. ffd. Tk. II 411-12 ¶ C SE IV 481, Fl. PG 158, R K 325, R K (book) 77 || Eg Md pɣ, Cpt: Sd пнi pēi, B фнi p^hēi 'flea' ¶ EG I 502, Crn. 124, Vc. 158 ¶¶ Tk. II 411-12 || U: [1] *pE1∇ > ObU *pēlam 'horsefly (Bremse)' > pVg *pǎlm∇ > OVg W P пелыма, OVg N BerG pǎllem, OVg Ber пѣлма, Vg T, Vg MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML pǎlēm, LK pǎlēm, UL/Ss palēm id.; pOs *pelēm > Os: VK, D pelēm, Y pǎčəm id. || Sm: Ne T piíu, Ne F L {Lh.} pirínū, Ng filíi id. || [2] FU: Chr H пыйылмы p^hy^hym^h 'bumblebee (*Bombus*, шмель)', Chr {Szil.} pəyalmə 'wasp' ¶¶ ≈ UEW 416, Ht. no. 515, MRS 484, Ep. 97 || A ≈ *P_iL^hu^h- or ≈ *P_uLi- > M *φil^hu^hɣa n. 'fly, gnat, gadfly' > MM [S] {H} d. hilu'atu- 'von Fliegen gestochen werden', WrM ilaga(n) {MED} n. 'fly, gnat, gadfly', HIM ялаа(н) {MED} id., {BRM} 'fly, midges (мошка)', WrM {Kow.} ilaga 'œstre, sorte de taon, mouche', Brt илааһан 'midges (мошка, мошкара)', Brt W ilāhan n. 'flies', Kl {KRS} d. илэсн 'midge', {Rm.} ilēsŋ 'Motte, kleine Fliegen\Mücken', Dg {T} χilā 'fly', {Mrm} χила 'Bremse, Pferdebremse', Ord ilō 'taon' ¶ Pel. 217 (MM hiluqat- 'être excité par des mouches'), H 76, MED 402, BMR IV 459, Kow. 294-5, Chr. 277, KRS 267, KW 206, Ms. O 384, T DgJ 176, Klz. D I 139 || Tg *pulumī-(kte) 'midges (мошки)' > Ewk hunmī-ktɜ, Lm humtəçɜn, Neg xunmuɣɜktɜ, Orc, Ul, Ork pumiktɜ, Ud xumuktɜ id., Nn Nh purmiktɜ, Nn Bk xumiktɜ, Nn KU xurməktɜ 'midge, midges' ¶ STM II 348, On. 344 || pKo {S} *phár, *phári, {SDM} *párh 'fly (Fliege)', MKo phár, phári, NKo p^hári n. 'fly' ¶ S QK no. 1183, SDM 1155, Nam 463, MLC 1730 ¶¶ SDM 1155 (A *p^hil^híi 'fly, midge' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 636 (id.) ◇ Eg pɣ (if it belongs here) point to a N initial *p-. But CCh cognates suggest that the N cns. was *p-. The

glottalized cns. b_2 - in the WCh lges and Chr $-\text{b}_2\text{y}_2\text{b}_2$ - point to a N intervocalic laryngeal (probably $*-\text{ʔ}-$). The sequence $*\text{P}_2\text{E}\text{ʔ}\text{U}-$ (or $*\text{P}_2\text{U}\text{ʔ}\text{E}-$?) in this N word is suggested by Df/Btr $\text{b}_2\text{w}\text{à}\text{l}\text{è}$ and Bks $\text{b}_2\text{w}\text{e}\text{l}\text{e}$, as well by the discrepancy between the front vw. of the U and M first syll. and the vw. $*\text{u}$ in Tg $\text{◇} \approx \text{Blz}$. LNA no. 48 (HS, U, A, Ag).

1698. $*\text{p}_2\text{i}_2\text{y}_2\text{l}\hat{\text{a}}$ (or $*\text{p}_2\text{i}_2\text{l}_2\text{y}_2\hat{\text{a}}?$) 'to fall' > HS: S: [1] S $*\checkmark\text{np}l$, $*\text{-npul-}$ v. 'fall' > BHb $\checkmark\text{np}l$ (ip. $\text{y}\text{i}-\text{p}'\text{p}\text{o}l$) 'fall (accidentally)', Ug $\checkmark\text{np}l$, BA, Sr $\checkmark\text{np}l$ (pf. $\text{n}\text{ə}'\text{p}\text{a}l$) v. 'fall', OAk p. $-\text{ppul}$ '(Steine) brechen (im Gebirge)', {G} $\text{n}\text{ap}\bar{\text{a}}l\text{um}$ 'tear out, mine', Ak $\text{n}\text{ap}\bar{\text{a}}l\text{u}$ (p. $-\text{ppul}$) 'zu Fall bringen, (Gebäude) abbrechen, zerstören'; [2] S $*\text{°}\checkmark\text{r}'\text{s}_2\text{p}l$ v. 'set' (of celestial bodies) > Ar ʔafala (ip. $-\text{ʔfil-u} \sim *-\text{ʔful-u}$) {Fr.} 'occidit' (sol), 'abiiit' (lac lactentis), {Hv.} 'set' (star), 'have no more milk' (woman) ¶ Fr. I 44, Hv. 10, KB 670-1, KBR 709-11, GB 535, 926, A no. 1820, OLS 326, Br. 436-7, Sd. 733-4, G OA 203 || NrOm $*\text{°p}\nabla l$ - > Kf {C} $\text{h}\text{o}l(1)$ - v. 'fall' ¶ C SE IV 455 || Ch: WCh $*\text{pa}l$ - v. 'fall' > Ang $\text{pa}(\text{:})l$ 'stumble, fall', Su {J} $\text{pa}l$, Cp {ChC, ChL} $\text{pa}l$, Mpn {Frz.} $\text{p}\acute{\text{a}}l$ v. 'fall' ||| CCh: McTr: Hw {ChL} $\text{f}\acute{\text{a}}l$ id. ¶ JI II 130, J S 78 and 208, Stl. ZCh 147 [no. 26], ChL I 43 and II 18, ChC s.v. 'fall', Flk. s.v. $\text{p}\acute{\text{a}}l$, Frz. DM 48 ¶¶ S $*\text{n-}$ and $*\checkmark\text{-}$ (> Ar $*\text{ʔ-}$) in S $*\checkmark\text{np}l$ and $*\checkmark\text{r}'\text{s}_2\text{p}l$ go back to stirpes-forming (породообразующие, verbal derivational) prefixes || IE: NaIE $*(\text{s})\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{o}l$ - v. 'fall' > Gk $\sigma\text{p}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ v. 'make\cause to fall, overthrow', aor. ps. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\text{p}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\nu$ 'I was made to fall, I fell' (possibly, the basic form from which other forms of the verb developed) ||| Arm փլանիմ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}l\text{a}n\text{i}m$ 'I fall, I fall in, I crumble' (aor. փլայ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}l\text{a}y$), փուլ $\text{p}^{\text{h}}u\text{l}$ n. 'falling, fall; crumbling' ||| Gmc $*\text{falla/e-}$ v. 'fall' (< $*\text{falna/e-}$) > ON inf. falla 'to fall\fell', OSx, OHG inf. fallan , NHG inf. fallen , AS inf. feallan 'to fall, to perish, to die', NE fall v. ||| Lt inf. $\text{p}\acute{\text{u}}l\text{t}i$ (pres. $\text{p}\acute{\text{u}}l\text{u}$) 'to fall', Ltv inf. $\text{p}\text{u}l\text{t}$ (pres. $\text{p}\text{o}l\text{u}$) id. ¶ WP II 103, P 851, EI 191 ($*\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{o}l$ - or $*\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{H}\text{o}l$ -), Frn. 666, Me. EAC 35, Slr. 391-2, Vr. 110, Kb. 218-19, OsS 159, KM 182, Ho. 99, Ho. S 18, ≠ F II 827-8, Ch. 1074-5 ¶ Ffd. see IS III 98-105 ||| A $*\text{p}'\text{i}l\hat{\text{a}}$ - (= $*\text{p}'\text{i}:\text{l}\hat{\text{a}}?$) > NaT $*\text{h}_2\text{l}_2\text{:}l(\text{u})$ - > OT $\text{i}l$ - (aor. $\text{i}l\text{-r}$) v. 'descend (from sth.)' (er $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{y}\delta\text{an}$ $\text{k}\text{o}\delta\text{i}$ $\text{i}l\text{d}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'the man descended [نزل $\text{n}\text{a}z\text{a}l\text{a}$] from the mountains'), Qrg $\text{i}l\text{d}\text{i}y$ adv. 'down', ?: Qzq $\text{i}l\text{d}\text{i}y$ 'depression' and Qq $\text{i}l\text{d}\text{i}y$ 'low ground, dell' ¶ Cl. 125, Sht. 24, Jud. 929, KrkR 756 || Tg (× N $*\text{P}_2\text{'i}\text{ʔ}\text{æ}'\text{L}\nabla$ [or $*\text{P}_2\text{'i}y\text{æ}'\text{L}\nabla?$] 'to fly, to soar', q.v.): Nn Nh {STM} $\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}l\text{u}\text{z}\text{n-}$ ~ $\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}r\text{u}\text{z}\text{n-}$ 'fall from a tree' (leaves), {On.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}l\text{u}\text{z}\text{n-}$ 'sour in the air' ¶ STM II 38, On. 328 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1142 (pA

*p'î:le|i v. 'fly, soar; flap' > Tg *pīlu- 'drop' + err.: M *hele- 'soar', Tg *pīlu- id. and J *pírú(n(kap- 'flap, flatter' [both from N *P'íʔ|yæ¹L∇ 'to fly, to soar']) ◇ The IE *s- *mobile* suggests the presence of a palatal element (*y?) within the N etymon. The origin of the aspiration in NaIE *(s)pʰol- still needs investigating. Tg *p- may be a legitimate heir of the N glottalized cns. *p̥ ◇ ≈ IS III 97-106 (*p'ä¹j|ʌ 'to fall') (IE + A *p'ä¹Eyle- v. 'fly' [in fact from N *p'ī,ŷ,ĭâ or *p'īĭ,ŷ,â] + unc. D *vēl- v. 'fly, descend').

1699. *P_eʔĭê or *P_eʔĭê 'side of body, side' > K: Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} p̥il 'edge, (river)bank; lip' (× N *p̥er∇ 'lip, edge') ¶ TK 681-2, Ni. s.v. 'край' and 'берегъ', GP 213, ≈ K² 150-1 (Sv p̥il < K *p̥ir 'edge') ¶ Sv p̥il < *pʔ∇ | | IE: NaIE *p̥ol- 'side of body, side, half' (× N *P_äʔqA 'side, half, part', q.v. ffd.) > pAl {O} *palā > Al palē 'fold, set, couple' ||| Sl *p̥olъ 'side' > OCS полъ polъ 'side, bank of a river' (ω ΔΡΥΓΙΗ ΠΟΛЪ СТОΪЩА о drugii polъ stojašta 'alterā stantes ripā' [Legend of St. Venceslaus Nicolensis 23.37]), онъ полъ онъ polъ 'trans, alterum latus, altera ripa', оба полы оба polî 'ex utraque parte' (SJSS XXVII 144), Slv p̥ol 'side'; Sl *p̥olъ 'half' (× N *P_äʔqA '↑') ¶ Mn. 974, Vs. III 306, Ma. CS 406-7, O 309, Kf. 250-1, ≠ P 986 (without distinguishing between this IE √ and *(s)p(h)el- 'salten'), StSS 473 | | U *p̥ēʔe 'side' > F -pieli (gen. -pielen) in cds: s u u pieli 'Mundwinkel' (s u u- is 'mouth'), p o s k i pieli 'Kinnbacken' (p o s k i 'Backe, Wange'), cf. ds: pielos, pielus 'Rand', inf. pieltää 'sich seitwärts neigen' | pLp {Lr.} *p̥ēlē > Lp: N {N} bælle / -æ̃l- ~ bællē / -æ̃l-, L {LLO} piellē ~ pällē 'side', S {Hs.} bieliē 'half, side', T/Kld {TI} p̥īēll'e 'half, side' | pMr {Ker.} *p̥ä́ 'side' > Er postp. пеле pele 'on the side of (в\на стороне)', Mk postp. пяле p̥ä́ə 'near, y' (the vw. influenced by pMr *p̥ä́ə 'halb, Hälfte' < U *p̥äʔ|lä 'half') | Chr U p̥el 'side' (e due to the infl. of pChr *p̥elə 'half' < U *p̥äʔ|lä 'half') ||| ObU *°p̥ēʔ 'side' > Vg *p̥ä́ id. > Vg: T p̥ä́, LK/MK/UK p̥ä́, P/SV/LL p̥ä́, NV/UL/Ss p̥ä́ 'side'; Vg T p̥ä́lt 'bei'; Os *p̥elək ({{Hl.} *p̥ä́lək) 'side, half' (> Os: V/Vy p̥elək, Ty/Pim p̥ä́lək 'side, half', D/K/Nz/O p̥elək, Kz p̥elək 'half, direction'); Os *p̥elək (*p̥ä́lək) may either contain a sx *-∇k- or (less probably) belong together with K *p̥elik- 'vierteilen' and S *√p̥lg v. 'split' (presumably from N *P_Eʔ∇'gʔ¹∇, cf. below s.v. *P_äʔ∇k∇ ~ *P_Eʔ∇'gʔ¹∇) (or result from coalescence of both N words) | OHg, Hg fé̃l 'half, side' || ? Sm: Kms {KD} p̥'īl, p̥'jēl 'side' ¶¶

UEW 362-3, Sm. 539 (U *pexli 'edge, side' > FU, FP *peeli, Ugr *pälř, Sm *piθj), Lr. no. 907, Lgc. no. 4842, Hs. 316-17, Ker. II 108, Ht. 716 [no. 508], Hl. rHt 71, Stn. D 1159-1161, MK 404-6, U3S 329, LG 227, TI 366, FF 757-7, MF 194-6, KD 53 ¶ UEW 362-3 describes both this √ and *pālā 'half' together as one etymon, but recognizes the possibility of distinguishing between them: "Möglicher-weise haben diese Wörter eine ursprüngliche Doppelform bewahrt (*pālā 'halb, Hälfte' - *pēle 'Seite')". In several lges and branches within FU (Lp, ObU, Hg) both U roots have coalesced || ?σ,φ A *bēlkægæ 'waist, slope' (× N *beLk∇g∇ 'belly, waist', q.v. ffd. × ? N [?] *weH|yL∇ (or *weLH∇?) ≈ hip, waist) > M *belkeʁe-sün 'waist', pT {TL} *bēlk 'waist' and Tg *belge 'lap' || D *pē|∇ ({ʁGS} *b-) 'half' > Td pa·ḏ 'each seed section of a jackfruit', Kn bē|e 'half of a seed of the guñja (*Abrus precatorius*)', Kdg be·|e 'each of the halves of a seed that can be divided', Tu bē|æ 'split pulse', bō|æ 'seed of a jackfruit', ?φ TI bēḏalɯ (pl.) 'split pulse' ¶¶ D no. 4444 || HS: ? EC: Sml bāl {DSI} 'lato, estremità', {ZMO} 'side, edge', Sml N {Abr.} bāl 'side'; the word cannot be identical with bāl 'wing, feather' (different tones) ¶ DSI 33, ZMO 23, Abr. S 25 ¶ The irreg. b- for the expected f- still needs investigation ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 190 (*pal 'half') (IE, U, A, Ko, qu. Ai; no distinction from N *PālqA 'side, half, part').

1699a. *Pul|íL∇, 'r'∇ 'e tree (poplar or sim.)' > HS: S *°bul_aʔ|h- (~ *°pul_aʔ|h-?) > Ak MA bu_aʔu ~ bu_lû ~ pu_lû 'firewood, dry wood and reed' ¶ CAD II 312-13 || SC ({E} *paʔal- 'wood'): Irq paʔal-mo 'board, slat, lath', Kz paʔaluko 'stool' ¶ ≈ E SC 143 (adducing DhI pólāʔi 'medicine in the form of an amulet', which strains the credulity) || IE: NaIE *pel- 'poplar' > Oss D fārwa, Oss I fār∇ 'alder tree' || L pōpulus 'poplar' || Gk Δ [Hs.] ἄπελλον (ἄψευρος) 'black poplar' ¶ WH II 340, Ab. I 455-6, Bois. 920, LS 185, ≠ WP II 55 || A *P_uL∇ 'poplar, aspen' > Tg *pula id. > WrMc {Z} фулжа моо 'aspen, poplar', Ork pulu, Nn Nh polo, Nn KU xolo, Nn Bk φolo, Sln ulu, Lm hul id., Ewk hula id., huli id., {Cs.} 'ash tree', Ud xulu, UI pulu ~ pulu 'aspen' ¶ STM II 342-3, Krm. 306, On. 334, Z 1088 || M *φuliyā-sun 'poplar, aspen' > Dx {T} χulasun 'aspen', WrM uliyā-sun {MED} 'poplar, aspen' (and {Rm. EAS ← ?} ἰ ulagasun), HIM улиас(ан) {MED, BMR} 'poplar, aspen', Brt уляаһа(н) 'aspen', d. уляангир 'poplar', Kl {KRS} уласн 'poplar', {Rm.} ulāsṅ 'Pappel, Espe', Ord ulāsṅ 'poplar', WrO {Krg.} ulasan 'aspen, poplar', WrO ulāsun 'aspen', ulasun

'quaking poplar, aspen' ¶ MED 873, BMR III 324, Chr. 468, KRS 531, KW 448, Krg. 171, Ms. O 829, T DnJ 139 || ?φ pJ *pari 'black alder' > OJ pari id., J T han-no-ki id. (*Alnus japonica*) ¶ Mr. 399, Kenk. 447 ¶¶ If pJ *pari belongs here (which is not certain), the pA rec. is *P_ul_∇ ¶¶ ADb. KL (*p'uli 'aspen, poplar' > Tg, M), SDM 1161 (pA *p'jula 'ash tree' > Tf, M, J), DQA no. 1801 (id.), Rm. EAS I 55 (Tg, M), KW 448, Ci. EApk 54 || D *pu_l- ({{φGS} *p-) 'small stick\twig, piece of (dry) wood' (× N *b'ū' | | ∇ 'a shoot', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The loss of the N lr. in IE and the S lr. *ʔ|h- point to the N lr. *ʔ (the only one that does not yield NaIE *ə in the interconsonantal position, as can be seen in Oss fārwa and in Gk ἄπελλόν).

1699b. *po_li_sE (or *po_li_yE?) 'to split' > HS: S *^o√p_ls > Ar √f_ls G 'split, cut' ('fendre, couper') ¶ BK II 631, Hv. 574 || B *^o√f_lH > Ah əfləh 'fendre', Kb əflu (pf. yəfla) 'trouer, perforer' (× B *^o√f_ly 'split' < N *pe_Li_yA 'to split, to separate') ¶ Pr. H no. 58, Fc. 324, Dl. 204, NZ 567 || ? C *^o√f_l? v. 'bore hole, pierce' > Bj {Rop.} fil[?](a) pcv. 'bore, pierce; deflower' || EC: Or {Grg.} fulla?- vi. 'break through, pierce through' || SC: Irq ful- v. 'bore hole' ¶ Rop. 180, E PC no. 512, Grg. 149, Brl. 153 || IE: NaIE *(s)p^hel- ≈ split' (? × N *pe_Li_yA '↑' [q.v.]) > OI 'phalati 'bursts, splits' (-> OI phalaka-m 'board, lath' × <- D *pa_L∇k- v. 'cut lengthwise', see N *P_ä∇k_∇ 'to split lengthwise') || Gk [Hs.] σφαλάσσειν ('τέμνειν, κεντεῖν) 'to cut, to prick', ? Gk σπαλός, Gk A (mt.) ψαλός (gen. ψαλίδος) 'pair of scissors' || NaIE *p_L^hel-, *p_L^hol- 'board (Brett), log of wood' (× N *P_ul_∇'ʔ'∇ 'ε tree') > Gmc *felō > ON fjǫl 'Diele, Brett', Ic, Sw fjǫl, Dn fjæ_l, Nr fjel, Δ fjø_l 'board (Brett)' || Sl *polěno 'billet (split piece of wood)' > ChS, OR полѣно polěno, R, Blg по'лено, Uk по'ліно, Slv poléno, Cz, Slk poleno, P polano id.; (× N *P_ul_∇'ʔ'∇) amb Sl dim. *políca 'shelf, board' > ChS/OR полница políca, R Δ по'лица, Uk по'лиця, Slv políca, Cz police, Slk, P políca 'shelf', Blg по'лица 'shelf, cornice', SCr pòlica 'lath in a wall'; Sl amb (× N *P_ul_∇'ʔ'∇) d. *polьka > R 'полка, P róžka 'shelf'; (× N *P_ul_∇'ʔ'∇) amb ; Sl (in ESl only) *^opolь 'board' (unless from Sl *pod-ль) > OR полъ polь 'basis, bottom, floor', R пол (gen. 'пола) 'floor', Uk піл (gen. 'пілу), Blr {Prb.} поў 'plank bed' || OI phalaka- 'board, lath' (see above) ¶¶ WP II 677, P 985, M K II 393-5, M E II 201-2, F II 1128 (on ψαλός without et.), Ch. 1285, Vr. 125, Hlq. 217, Bv 172, Vs. III 306-10,

Glh. 493, Prb. II 101, Chrн. II 50-3, Kmc 730, ≈σ EI 512-13 (IE *spelo- ~ *spelh_h- 'shield')[^] || U *po^z∇- 'split, divide' (× N *b'u'ĉ^z∇ '≈ to tear to pieces'?) > FU *po^z∇- > Lp: N {N} b^ođ'đ'ĥ- 'tear to pieces; separate from; cut loose\away', b^ođ^o 'separated from its natural connection', L {LLO} p^ãđđi- 'ein geschlachtetes Stück Vieh zerlegen, zerstückten; in mehrere Teile teilen', Kld {TI} po^oδa 'los, getrennt', (pl.) 'zerstücktes Fleisch' || pObU *p^ođ' - > pVg *p^ođ' - 'Span' > Vg: T/P {Mu.} po^ođ', K {Mu.} pa^ođ', NV {Kn.} p^ođ', LK {Kn.} pa^ođ', SV/LL {Kn.} po^ođ' (pl. p^o:đ't) 'Span', Ss {ChCh.} polⁱš- 'into small pieces' ('намелко, на кусочки, раз-') || Sm {Jn.} *p^oby- 'chop, split' > Ne: F {Lh.} inf. pa^oo-és & pa^o-aś, T inf. п^o-цъ 'to chop firewood', T O {Lh.} p^oāē- 'chop firewood'; Ng {Cs.} d. 1s obj. faⁱś u^oama 'zuhauen'; Slq Tz {KKIH} pa^oca^o- 'chop', pa^oĉ+t- 'chop, split', Mt {Hl.} *h^oāyā^o- 'hauen' (Mt K {Pls.} c^heja^oze 'рублю, секу') ¶¶ ≈ UEW 389-90 (+ unc. Prm *pe^oĭ- 'split off'), MF 176, Lr. no. 942, Lgc. no. 5202, N I 215-16, Kn. VW 178, TI 389, Stn. WV 131, 239, ChCh. 91, Jn. 112, KKIИ 145-6, Hl. M 242 [no. 277] || A: T *_hü^olæ- 'divide' > NaT *ü^olæ- > OT {Cl.} ü^olā:- 'divide into shares and distribute', Tkm ü^ole- id., StAlt, Xk, Tv, ET {Rl.} ü^ole-, Tb {B}, Brb {Rl.} ü^olō- 'divide' ¶ Cl. 127, Rs. W 520, ET Gl 627-9, Rl. I 1845, 1849 || D (att. in SD) *po^ol- ({{GS} *p-) v. 'split' > Tm po^olⁱ v. 'chisel, split (as a stone), dig', Ml po^olⁱ v. 'split, chip', Kdg po^olⁱ- vi. 'break' (of a stick-like thing, tree), Tu polⁱyuni 'be broken', polⁱpu^oni vt. 'break' ¶ D no. 4560 ◇ N *po^olⁱisE (rather than *po^olⁱisE) is suggested by T *-l- in *_hü^olæ-.

1700. *P_ulⁱ|Xu (= *^rp^olⁱ|Xu?) or *P_ulⁱ|Xa (= *^rp^olⁱ|Xa?) 'red, yellowish, pale' > HS: ? S *^o✓p^olⁱis > Ak pel-ū(m) 'to be red', pelū 'red' ¶ Sd. 853-4 || Ch: CCh: Msg N {Röd. in Lk. DQM} fē^ol 'red', Msg {Mch.} fē^ol 'blood', Msg P {Trn.} fē^ol, Nkc {ChL} v^oā^olewa 'red'; WCh: Fy {J} b̃^oa-bw^oē^ol, Grn {Sh.} mbal 'red' ¶ ChC s.v. 'red' and 'blood', Lk. DQM, Trn. LM 87, J CR 9, Sh. SB 44, ChL s.v. 'red' ¶¶ Tk. II 483 || IE *p^olⁱH_xw-, *p^olⁱH_xw- > NaIE *p^olⁱw-/*p^ol(ə)w- 'light yellow, blond, pale, dun' > Gk πολύος 'grey' || SI *p^olⁱv^o(j^o) 'light yellow, blond' > OCS плавъ plavъ {StSS} 'light, of golden color (žlutavý, plavý)' (fields of ripe corn), Blg Δ плав 'light blue, light' (color), 'fair-haired', SCr plā^ov 'blue, blond, fair-haired', Slv plā^ov 'blue', Cz plavý 'blond, fair-haired', OR половы polovы, R по'ловый 'light yellow' (of animals), P p^olⁱowы 'light yellow, light grey' || Lt pa^olvas 'light yellow' || Gmc *falwa- > OHG falō 'fallow, yellow', NHG fahl 'pale, fawn-colored, dun', AS

fealu~fealo / pl. fealwe 'dull-colored, yellow, bay' (> NE fallow), ON fqlr (accus. sg. falvan) 'bleich, fahl', {EI} 'fallow, dun' || L pallē- 'grow pale', pallidus 'pale' || Clt {Matas.} 'grey' > OIr {Matas.}, MIr {EI} líath, MW, W llwyd, OBr loit, MBr loet, Br loued, Crn loys 'grey' || Arm ալիք alik^h 'grey beard, grey hair' ¶ P 804-5, Mn. 967, 975, EI 641-2 (*p_lh₃- 'dull white, pale'), ZVSZ 329, Glh. 485, Vs. III 313, StSS 448, Frn. 534, F II 575-6, WH II 239-40, Vr. 150, Ho. 99, Sw. 55, Kb. 219, KM 180, Ma. CS 372. Slit. 19-20, Matas. E 133-4, Hm. 529 || **A** *P_uL_∇ 'red' > M *φυλα-ϕαν 'red' > MM [L, MA, IM], MMgl hulān, WrM ulagan, Dg χulān, Dx xulan, HM, Brt цлаан, Kl {KRS} цлан, {Rm.} ulān 'red', Mnr H {SM} fulān 'rouge, nu', Mnr M {T} hulān, Dx hulaṅ, Ba felan, fulan 'red', Ord ulān 'rouge' ¶ Pel. 223-4 [no. 47], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 187, 438, MED 869, BMR III 315-19, Chr. 466-7, KW 448, KRS 530-1, Iw. 140, T 370, T DnJ 139, T BJ 149, SM 106, Ms. O 729 || Tg *pula- 'red' > Ewk hulama, Sln ularin, Neg xolayin, Lm holaña, Ud {Krm.} xulala, Nn Bk φολγα̃, WrMc {Z} φυλγανη 'red', Mc Sb {θY} /φ3λ3gian/ [φ3λ3giän] ~ /φυλ3gian/ [φυλ3giän] 'red', Jrc φυλαγιγαν 'red, vermilion', WrMc {Z} φυλαχυνη 'reddish, pink', Ud {Krm.} xulala 'brown (бурый), rust-colored', {STM} xulaligi 'red' ¶ STM II 343-5, Y no. 2419, Kiy. 131-2 [no-s 617 and 624], Krm. 306, Z 1081, 1086 || pKo {S} *p_lrk- 'red' > MKo p_lrk-, NKo pulk- puk- 'red' ¶ S QK no. 66, Nam 274, MLC 844 ¶¶ SDM 1109 (*p_lpul_liē - *p_lpol_liē 'red' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 1678 (*p_lpul_li - *p_lpol_li 'red'), S AJ 40, 213, 236, 257, 291, Pp. VG 12, 74, Mng. KA 287, KW 448, Rm. EAS I 53, 143, Rm. AKE 14, Lee CSMK 110, Ci. EApk 54 || **D** *pulla- ({θGS} *b-) 'yellowish, brown' > Tm pul 'tawny color', pullai 'dull\yellowish color', Ml pulla 'a yellowish color of cattle', Kt bul 'liver-colored', Tl pula 'yellowish' ¶¶ D no. 4310 ◇ IE *p_lHw-/*pol_lH_lw- suggests a pN final *u, while M, Tg and D point to a N final *a. The discrepancy can be explained if IE *-w- goes back to a sx The N lr. is suggested by the NaIE length of the syllabic sonant *] and by the vw. e in Ak (in Ak the S vw. *a changes into e in the presence of the lost pS epiglottal cnss *ɸ [< N *ɸ and *ϕ] and *ħ [< N *ħ and *χ]). To judge from the semantic usage of the reflexes of this N word in descendant lges, it denoted "warm" colors, sc. colors of the shorter waves of the spectrum, as well as light colors. In pre-IE *pu- > *p- (see above the entry 1693 s.v. *p_∇L_u 'lungs, pluck' and AD NVIE § 6). N *p- (rather than *p̣-) is suggested by Msg.

1701. *pa1∇'g'∇ 'settlement, home, wall' > **HS:** EC: [1] *°ba1- > Kns {BISO} palēta 'village, town', palēse 'this village'] [2] ?φ LEC *bu1;1- > Sml bū1 {DSI} 'capanna malfatta o rovinata', {ZMO} 'hut, nest', {R} bū1 'hut, house', {DSI, ZMO} bū1o 'village', {R} bū1a1, bū1o 'village, hut', ? Or bul- {Grg.} 'stay the night, pass time, live, stay', {Th.} 'passare la notte, abitare, dimorare', {Brl.} 'dormire, pernottare, albergare' ¶ BISO 136, DSI 70, ZMO 48, Grg. 65, Th. 50-1, Brl. 66-7, R SS II 82 || **IE** *po1Hx-/*p]Hx- 'fortified settlement' > OI 'pūr / (before vw.) pur- f. (nom. pūr̥, accus. 'puram, gen. pu'raḥ, loc. pu'ri, instr. pl. pūr- 'bhiḥ) 'wall, rampart', 'puram 'wall, fortified settlement, city', Λ puriḥ 'city, town' | Gk πόλις (gen. πόλεος and πόλιος) 'city' | Lt pilis, Δ pilis 'castle', Ltv pils 'castle, palace', in place-names -pils '-burg', cd pilsēta 'city' (pils + sēta 'fense') ¶ Hofm. 279, M K II 327, M E II 145 (IE *p]h1-), EI 210 (*pe1H- 'fort, fortified place'), F II 577, Frn. 590-1, ≠ P 799 and ≠ WP II 51 (the √ *÷ *pe1H- v. 'fill'; Frisk [F II 577] was quite right in his evaluation of such attempts: "Die wiederholten Vorschläge, dieses uralte Wort für 'Burg' mit Verben für 'füllen' [πύμπλημι; seit Pott] oder für 'schütten' [lit. pīlti ...] zu verbinden, haben als unbeweisbare Hypothesen kein größeres Interesse") || **U:** FU *pa1ʁ∇ 'village' > Krl pa1vi 'Wohnstätte', F pa1va- (in toponymy: Pa1vala, a village in Finland and Pa1vajärvi [lit.: 'village lake'], a name of two lakes in Finland) || pObU *pūʁal (or pūwəl) 'village' > pVg *p̄wəl-/*p̄y1- > OVG: N SoG, E TM pa1, S Chus beō1, S Vt neolъ, S SSs peō1, W Sol πόилъ; Vg: T pa1, LK/UL/Ss p̄awəl, MK/UK p̄əwəl, P p̄əwəl ~ p̄ə1, SV/LL p̄ə1 'village', +ppas: LK/MK p̄əy1-əw, P p̄oy1-əw, SV/LL pa1y1-əw 'our village'; pOs *puʁal 'village' > Os V/Vy puʁal, Ty puʁəʃ, Y puwəʃ, D/K puχət, O poχəl id. | Hg falu (pl. faluk ~ falvak) 'village' ¶ Coll. 77, UEW 351, Sm. 548 (FU *p̄alw̄ā 'village; idol' > FP *pa1va, Ugr *polgĩ), Ht. 175 [no. 502] || **A** *p̄a1∇g∇ 'wall (of a settlement), fenced settlement' > NaT *ba1;1|k|g or *p̄a1;1|g|k 'wall, town' > OT, MT ba1iq, Chg xv ba1ix 'town, province', MU ba1iq ~ {Rl.} pa1iq, [OQ] ba1uq 'town, fenced settlement, fortress', SY {Ml.} pa1uq ~ pa1iq 'adobe wall/fence' ¶ Cl. 335-6, DTS 80-1, ET B 59, TL 485, Rl. IV 1166, 1498, Ml. ZhU 86-7 ¶ SDM reconstructed pT *b]a1ik on the unreliable ev. of Chv pūler (name of the town of Билярск ← Chv пүл- pül- v. 'fence' < T *böl-, see Ash. X 77-9, Fed. I 459, Jeg. 171) || M (← eT?) *balaga-sun (pl. *balagad)

'town, wall of a fortified settlement' > MM [S, HI, IsV] *balagasun* (pl. *balaga-t ~ -d*), [IM] *balḡasun* 'city, town', [L] *بلقاسون* *balqasun* id., 'village', [MA] *balḡasun* 'wall; city, town', WrM {MED} *balgasu(n)*, HIM *балгас* {MED} id., {BMR} 'town, град, городище', Kl {KRS} *балһсн* *balḡs̄sn* 'city, town', {Rm.} *balḡas̄n* 'Dorf, Stadt', Mnr H {SM} *bargās̄s* 'mur, rempart d'une fortification', {T} *balḡāse*, Mnr M {T} *bargāse* 'wall, fence', Ord *balḡasu* 'ville, muraille de ville, ruines de ville murée'; WrM *balḡad*, HIM *балгад* 'city, town; government department', Kl Ö {Rm.} *balḡad* 'Dorf, Stadt', 'Haus, Steinhaus, Stadtgebäude', Brt. d. *балгаан* 'Hütte (жалаш), Schaubude' ¶ H 12, Ms. H 38, Lg. VMI 18, Pp. MA 110-11, 443, Pp. L II 1265-6, MED 80, BMR I 222, Chr. 83, Kow. 1077, KRS 79, KW 31, SM 21, T 316, Ms. O 48 || Tg {ADb.} **palga* > WrMc {Z} *фалга* 'group of houses, village' ¶ STM II 298, Z 1034 ¶¶ SDM 1092 (A **palǎlag* 'fortress, group of houses' > Tg, M, T + unc. pJ **pái* 'hearth, household'), DQA no. 1645 (id.), ADb. KL 14, Rm. EAS I 56, KW 31, Vld. 147-8, Sin. B 157-72 (quoting related words in Altaic lges, but supposing that T *baliq* is a loan from Ugric) || D **pal̄l̄-* ({ǂGS} **p-*) 'hut, settlement, village' > Tm *pal̄li* 'hamlet, herdsman's village, temple, palace', Ml *pal̄li* 'hut, small settlement of jungle tribes, public building', Td *poly* 'sacred dairy, matrilineal sib, Badaga house', Kn Bd house', Kn *pal̄li*, *bal̄li* 'settlement, hamlet, village', Kdg *pal̄li* 'hut of low castes', Tu *hal̄li* 'hamlet, small village', *pal̄li* 'mosque', OTI (inscr.) *pal̄li*, TI *palli* 'village, hut', Png *palli* 'village' (in toponymy), Krx *eṛpā-pallī* 'household' (*eṛpa* 'house'); D ⇨ OI Sk *pallī-*, *palli-*, *pallikā-* 'small village (esp. a settlement of wild tribes), hut, house' ¶¶ D no. 4018, Tu. no. 7972 ¶¶ D **-l̄l̄-* < **-lg-?* ◇ N **p-* (rather than **p̄-*) is tentatively suggested by EC **b-* ◇ ≈ IS MS 356, ≈ IS SS 340 [no. 10.5] (**p̄al̄ḡ* with a different interpretation of A) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 409 (**palg* 'village') (IE, U, A, Ea + qu. Gil).

1702. **pal̄y* (or **pal̄g*?) 'mud, swamp, lake' > HS: Ch: WCh **pal̄* ({Stl.} **pali*) 'lake, marsh' > Hs *fálámí* 'a pond, the water of which does not dry up' || BT: Dr {Nw.} *pólí* 'marshy ground', Bl {ChL} *pálí*, Ngm {ChL} *fàlì*, Pr {Frz.} *pali*, Glm *pal* 'lake', Tng {J} *pāl̄* 'large body of water, lake' || Klr {J} *p̄ap̄il̄l̄n̄* 'großer Teich' || NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} *fálá* 'lake' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *bèli* (pl. *bálàl̄* 'Teich, See', Mgm *bâlè* (pl. *bállál̄l̄l̄*) 'pool' ('mare'), Bdy {AlJ} *bállè ~ bàlè* 'mare, marigot', EDng {Fd.} *bùlà*

'large flaque d'eau près d'une rivière qui a débordé', ??σ: Bdy bōlá (pl. bōlòl) 'vallée' et Mkl {J} pōllè 'fossé, vallée' ¶ Stl. ZCh 147 [no. 25], Ba. 294, ChC s.v. 'lake', J T 128, J LM 162, JA LM 68, AIJ 56, 59, Nw. KL 131, ChL, Frz. P 44, Sch. BTL 87, Lk. ZSS 180, Fd. 104 || K *°bʷal- > G bʷal- 'beschmutzen, besudeln' ¶ Chx. 126, DCh. 126 ¶ In K the lrs tend to move to a position after the next (mainly initial) stop or affricate, with subsequent as. of the glottalic feature (voiced ↔ vl. ↔ glottalized) and appearance of a "harmonic complex". In this case it is N *p-...ʷ|g > *pʷ- > K *bʷ- || IE *bolHx- ~ *pelHx-: [1] IE *bolH- ≈ 'swamp, pool' > Gmc *pōla- > OHG pfuol, MHG phuol, NHG Pfuhl, Dt poel, AS pōl 'pool', NE pool; *polja > Nr pøla pōla, Sw pöl, Dn pøl pō'l 'puddle'; other grades of apophony: Dt peel 'morass', AS pʷll, NE Δ pill 'creek, backwater' || Lt balà 'marsh, bog, slough; morass', Ltv Δ bala 'swampy valley', Pru *bal- (in proper names) | Sl *bǫlto 'swamp' > OCS БЛАТО blato 'swamp, quagmire', Blg 'блато, SCr blàto, Slv bláto, Cz bláto, Slk blato, P błoto, R, Uk бо'лото 'swamp' || pAl {O} *baltā > Al baltē 'muddy place, mud; ground' | Thr and/or Ilr ↷ DImr. balta 'swampy lake', Rm 'baltā 'swamp', Blg Δ балта, NGk βάλτος id.; Blg or Rm ↷ Ggz balta id. || Cf. ?? OI jam-bālah 'mud, clay, marsh' (Uhl. AI s.v. jambāla-: "OI jambālah is from jam- 'earth' + *bāla-s 'Pfuhl'", but M K II 427: "bālah 'Pfuhl(?)' ist aus jambālah gewiß nicht zu gewinnen") ¶ ≠ P 118-20, Ho. 248, 251, Vr. N 511-12, 534, Lx. 1600, Kb. 763, KM 547, Ç I 511-12 and II 349, O 15-16, Frn. 30-1, Tp. P A-D 184, ESSJ II 179-82, BER I 54, Glh. 134 || [2] IE *pelH- 'swamp' > OI palva'la-m 'pool, pond, small tank' || L palūd- (palus, palūdis) 'swamp' || Lt pālios f. pl. 'vast swamp, bog', Ltv palas, paļi m. pl. 'marshy riverside'; ds: Pru pelkʷ 'marshy ground', Lt pélké 'swamp', Ltv peļce 'puddle' ¶ Frn. 532-3, 567, En. 222, IS II 97 (reconstructing IE *H on the basis of the intonation of Sl *bǫlto and Blt *pélkē), ≠ P 799; ≠ M K II 237 and M E II 105 (in both dictionaries Mayrhofer suggested that OI palva'lam goes back to IE *pel- [name of a color], cp. Lt paĩvas 'blaßgelb') || A *p'al₁∇₁- > T **pal- ~ **bal- in ds: [1] NaT *bal-īk 'mud' > OT [MhK] balīq, OT Ar {Cl.} bālīq, Yk bīlīk 'mud (in the roads)'; [2] T *pal-çik ({Md.} *be-l-çik∇ = {Md.'s notation} *bǫl-ćik-∇) 'mud' > OT Kr {Cl.}, MU, MOg balčīq 'mud', OT Og XI balčīq 'liquid mud', Chg xv palčīq, {PC} balčīq 'mud', ET balčūq, ET S palčīq, Tkm палчык 'clay, mud', Uz balčik, Cmn

balčuk, MQp Mm, OOSm balčiq, Qmq balčiq 'liquid mud', Qmq {Rs.} palčiq, Az палчыг palčig, Tk balçik, Tk Qrpp palčix 'mud', Nog balšiq, VTt балчык balš'ьq, Bsh балсык bals'ьq 'clay, earth (as stuff)', Qzq balšiq 'clay, dirt', Chv L пылчăк pīl-ž'ьk, Chv Δ пулчăк, Chv H {Md.} пул-ž'ik 'mud; swamp, marsh'; T б → M: WrM {MED} balciq 'swamp, march; mud, clay', HIM {MED} балчиг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Sumpfland, Schlamm, Morast', K1 {KRS} бальчг baíč'ag 'mud', R Балчуг (a street in the historical center of Moscow); [3] NaT *ba_lkaš 'liquid mud' > Tf p'alhaš, StAlt b_lalqaš, Qb palgas, VTt balqaš id., Tv b_lalçaš ~ malçaš id., 'swamp', Qzq balqaš 'swampy land' ¶ Rs. W 60, Cl. 333, 336, ET L-S 102-5, TL 374-5, PC 154, TkR 512, TatR 56, BR 74, Md. 98, 173, Ra.158, Ash. IX 181 and 284, Fed. I 464-5, Jeg. 173, ChVS 152, MED 80, BMR I 224, KW 60, KRS 80 || Tg *bule 'swamp' (× N *buL ▽ 'to stir up [liquid]; turbid') > Ewk, Lm bulз 'swamp, mud, dirt', Orc bulз 'swamp, quagmire' ¶ STM I 109 ¶¶ SDM 344-5 (A *biǎlu 'dirt, mud' > T, Tg + unc.: M *bul- 'dreggy, muddy, turbid' [actually from *buL ▽ 'stir up; turbid'], pJ *pu 'dandruff' and pKo *piro 'dandruff, mange'), DQA no. 134 (id.), KW 30 || D *pal|'a' ({ǝGS} *p-) 'low ground, pond, body of water' > Tm pal|am 'lowness, low land, valley, ditch', Ml pal|a 'cavity, pit, hole', pal|am 'pit, low ground, low shore', Irl pal|a 'river', Td pal 'valley', Kn pal|a 'depth, pit, low ground, stream', Tu pal|a, palla, pallā 'shallow stream, pond, low spot', pal|ikæ 'valley, pond', Tl pallamu 'pit, low ground, wet land', Gnd palla 'plain, meadow'; not here (⇔ IS) Brh pāl v. 'get wet' and pālun 'moist' (see N *pUṬH ▽ 'be liquid, be wet') ¶¶ D no. 4016 ◇ The IE and T cognates suggest a N cns. *p-, while the Ch ev. of the quality of the initial labial cns. is controversial ◇ T *l and D *l point to N *l. ◇ IS II 97-8 [no. 336] (*p'alṷ in IE, A, ?D: Brh pāl v. 'get wet' and pālun 'moist'); OS RPV I 68 added WCh (Hs and BT) to the N comparison.

1703. *pUṬH ▽ 'be liquid, be wet' > A *p'ōlE 'wet, damp' > NaT *hōl 'damp, moist' > Tk Δ hōl, Chg هول hwl, Tkm Δ hōl ۛ hōl, Uz hwl, ET, Qq hōl, XT {DH} hēl id.; in other Tk lges the word lost the pT *h- (OT {Cl.} ǝ:l 'damp, moist', MQp/OOSm XIV ǝl 'moist', XwT XIV ǝl 'moisture', Tkm ǝl, Tk ǝl, Qrg, Xk, Tv ǝl, ET yōl, StAlt ūl, Yk ūōl 'damp, moist' etc.) and coalesced with the reflexes of T *ōl 'moist, damp' (< A *ōl ▽ < N *w'i'l_li_lq ▽ 'liquid; moist, damp', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 124 ("a recently acquired prosthetic h-"), ET Gl 524-5 (recognizing the

possibility thar h- is ancient), Rs. W 371, Nj. 764, BS 318, Jr. 122, Shaw 188, Rl. II 1798, Jeg. 54 ¶ Tkm and Yk suggest a long *ō || pKo {S} *p̄irh- 'green' > OKo {Mill.} p̄ä(1)l̄ək- 'green', MKo p̄h̄irí-, NKo p̄h̄uri- 'green', but pKo *p̄irh 'grass, herbs' goes back to another pA root (cf. below s.v. N *P̄û1∇, Hû, 'grass') > MKo p̄h̄ír, NKo pulh 'grass, herbs' ¶ Mill. OKA 9, S AJ 253 [no. 37], S QK no. 37, Nam 464-5, MLC 1761-3, Rm. SKE 215 || Tg *°pul- > Ewk hulū- v. 'melt' (ice on a river\lake) ¶ STM II 346 ¶¶ SDM 1169 (pA *p̄'ō̄le 'wet, succulent; grass, plant' > T, Ko + err. Tg *pul-, going back to N *P̄û1∇, Hû, 'grass' [> WrMc {Z} φυλχυ- 'grow, blossom', φυλχυνη 'shoot, offspring', Orc χολομου-κτα 'wild grape']), DQA no. 1836 (id.), Rm. SKE 215 (Ko, T + M *ō̄leη 'grass' [wth no traces of A *p̄'- in the M word]) || D: Brh p̄āl- v. 'get wet', p̄ālun 'wet, damp, moist' ¶ The quality of the vw. ā requires explanation ¶ Bray II 227-8 || IE: NaIE *°pl̄a|ad- > Gk πλάδος 'abundance of fluids', πλαδαρός 'moist, damp' ¶ F II 547-8, Ch. 909, ≈ P 800.

1703a. *P̄û1∇, Hû, 'grass' > IE ≈ *pelohx-/*pelehx-, *pel, Hx, ou- 'straw, chaff' > NaIE {WH} *pelō(w)-, *p̄ole'w'- > L palea 'chaff' || Lt p̄ēlū-s, Ltv p̄elūs ~ p̄el(a)vas, Pru p̄elwo id. || SI *pelva > OCS пѣвъ plěv̄i pl., Blg плява 'straw', SCr pljě'va, Slv plé'va, Cz plé'va & ple'va, P ple'wa, R Δ ποлова & пелёва, Uk полова 'chaff'] → μ (loss of the *w-element) Lt pelaĩ pl., Ltv peli 'chaff', OR instr. pl. пѣлѣми p̄el̄-mi id. || OI pa'lā'vās 'chaff, husk', 'palālam 'stalk, straw' ¶ P 802, EI 104, M K II 233-4, WH II 238-9, Frn. 568-9, Tr. 213, Vs. III 312, StSS 452, Glh. 489-90 || HS: Ch: WCh: Bks {J} fá'lá(h) 'Unkraut, Gras' || CCh: ? Dgh {Frk.} b̄lé, {ChL} b̄úlé 'grass' ¶ ChC s.v. 'grass', J R 141, ChL III 104, Fr s.v. b̄lé || A: Tg *pul- > Lm Sk hul 'horsetail (*Equisetum*)', WrMc {Z} φυλχυ-, φυλχυрэ- 'пускаты ростки', 'grow' (plants), , φυлхуνη 'shoot, offspring', Nn Nh {STM, On.} pol̄aηqa 'panicle of cane\reed', ?σ Orc χολομουκτα 'wild grape' ¶ STM II 302, 342-3, On. 334, Z 1088 || pKo {S} *p̄irh- 'grass' > MKo p̄ír, NKo p̄h̄ul id. ¶ QK no. 37, Nam 464-5, MLC 1761-3 || ?? M *̄φ̄ō̄leη (unless from N *̄h̄₂'elū 'sprout, twig', which does not explain the round vw. *ō) > Kl {Rm.} ȫl̄η'saftiges Gras, Wiese', WrM {MED} ȫl̄ūη, HIM {MED} өлөн(г), {BMR} өлөн 'sedge, *Carex*', Brt үлэн үбһэн 'sedge' (үбһэн means 'grass'), Ord ȫl̄öη 'herbes épaisses constituées par les feuilles de *Lasingrostis splendens*' ¶ KW 295, MED 634, BMR III 17, Chr. 502, Rm. SKE 215, Ms. O 534 ¶¶ SDM 1169 (pA *p̄'ō̄le 'grass,

plant' [+ unc. 'wet, succulent'] > Tg, Ko + unc. Т *ōl 'moist, wet; marsh'; SDM did not distinguish between words belonging to the root in question and those belonging to N *p.UTHV 'be liquid, be wet'), DQA no. 1836 (id.), Rm. EAS I 56, Rm. SKE 215, S AJ 296 || D *pul 'grass' > Tm pul 'grass; grass family (e.g. bamboo)', ?φ pillu 'grass', MI pul 'grass, hay, straw', Td pul 'thatching grass', Kt pul id., 'grass', Kn pul 'grass, straw', Kdg pilli, Tl pul(l)u ~ pillu 'grass', Tu pullu 'a rush, ∈ grass', Ku pilka 'grass, bunch of grass' ¶¶ D no. 4300 ◇ The adduction of Т *ül (sc. *ōl) 'wet' (DQA for pA, Blz. for N) is untenable: it may belong to the above pA root only if the original meaning of the latter was 'wet', but in this case A cannot be related to D *pul 'grass' and go back to a N word meaning 'grass'. The Lm word may belong here only if in some Lm (or pTg) cultural context *Equisetum* was/is the grass *par excellence* ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA 18 (no. 49) (D, Tg, Ko + err. T).

1704. *PäļqA 'side, half, part' > IE: NaIE *pōl₁ə₁- 'side of body, side, half' (× N *Pēļʔê or *Pēʔļê 'side of body, side' [q.v.]) > Sl *pōlъ / gen. *pōlu 'half, side' > Slv pól id., OCS полъ роlъ, Blg, R пол, SCr pól, Cz pól, P rół 'half', ⇔ OR ПОЛОВИНА, R, Uk половина 'half' (on Sl *pōlъ 'side' see s.v. N *Pēļʔê – *Pēʔļê) ¶ Vs. III 306, Ma. CS 406–7, StSS 473, Glh. 493, ≠ EI 83 (unc.: Sl *pōlъ is related to IE *p₁l̥₂h₂u- 'broad, wide' and *'pleth₂es 'breadth') || U *pälä 'half' > pMr *pälä > Er пеле pele, пель peł, Mk пяле pälä | pChr *pelə 'half, one of a pair' > Chr: L пеле 'pele, Uf 'pele, B pele, H пелыт pelə id. | Prm *pól 'half, one of a pair' > Vt пал pal id., Z пөв рэv 'half, part' || Ugr (× *pēļe 'side' < N *Pēļʔê – *Pēʔļê '↑' [q.v. ffd.] × N *Päļq̄k̄ 'to split lengthwise, to divide' [q.v.]): pOs *peļək (([Hl.] *pälək) 'side, half' > Os: V/Vy peļək, Ty päļək id., Y pälək, D pelək 'half', Nz/O pelək, Kz peļək 'half, direction' (⇔ Slq Tz {KKIH} peļäk id.) | OHg, Hg fél 'half, side' || Sm {Jn.} *pelä, {Hl.} *pele 'half' > Ne: T пеля, T O {Lh.} pēl'e 'half, part'; En: X {Cs.} fele, B {Cs.} ferie 'half'; Ng {Cs.} fealéa, {Ter.} желыз id.; Slq: Vy {KD} pe'le 'half'; Kms {Cs.} p̄hiel id., {KD} p'īl, p'jēl id., 'side' (× U *pēļe 'side' < N *Pēļʔê – *Pēʔļê?), Koyb {Sp.} d. пелдой 'a half'; Mt {Hl.} *hälä 'a half, half-' (Mt M {Sp.} холя 'a half', {Muel.} hällà-chaià 'meridies' [chaià 'day']) ¶¶ UEW 362–3, Ber. 48, MRS 416, Ep. 89, LG 237, Lt. 138, Jn. 120 (Sm *pelä 'Hälfte, Stück'), Ter. 457, KD 53, Cs. 71, 94, 190, KKIИ 148, Hl. M 242–3 [no. 278], Hl. PH no-s 19E and 21C, Stn. D 1159–61, Stn. OV 69, 100 || D

{tr.} *pāl, {GS} *pāl- 'part' > MI pāl id., Tm, Kn pāl, Tu pālъ 'part, portion, share', Tl pāl u id., 'lot, fraction', Kt pa·lm, Prj pēla 'portion', Td po·lm 'share', Kdg pa·li ma·d- 'divide, distribute' ¶¶ D no. 4097, GS 179 [no. 454] || HS: CS *√ plχ 'split in two parts' (> Ar √ flχ {BK} 'pourfendre, couper en deux', {Hv.} vt. 'split'), CS *'p'a'l_∇_χ- > MHb {Js.} חֲבֵלָה 'pelaḥ 'slice, segment', JPA {Js.} חֲבֵלָה pil'hā 'slice, portion', ?σ BHb חֲבֵלָה 'pelaḥ, JA [Trg.] pil'hā 'millstone', cp. Ar faylaχ- 'meule d'un moulin à eau', 'stone of a water mill' ¶ KB 878, Js. 1178, BK II 629, Hv. 574 ◇ IS MS 356 (*pāḥa 'half': IE, U, D + unc. the U reflex of N *P_eḷe - *P_eḷe 'side') ◇ D *-l suggests that N *l may yield D *-l (under not yet defined conditions, possibly in some N cns. clusters (such as *-lq-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 190 (*pal 'half') (IE, U, A, Ko, qu. Ai), no distinction from N *P_eḷe - *P_eḷe 'side of body'.

1705. *pelqê 'to tremble, to fear' > HS: S *√ plχ 'fear' (→ 'worship?') > OAk, Ak √ plχ (p. -plaχ) v. 'fear', Ak FOB puluχ-t-u(m) n. 'fear, fearfulness', Ak MB pulχu (used most in pl.) 'fearfulness', Ak LB 'fear', possibly also (× S *√ plχ 'work, serve [a person]'): Ak √ plχ (p. -plaχ) v. 'worship, serve', IA √ plḥ, JEA G √ plḥ id., BA חֲבֵלָה pāl'hān, JA [Trg.], JPA, Sr, MHb (← Aram) pul'hān 'worship, religious service, ritual' ¶ × S *√ plḥ 'till (earth)' ¶ Sd. 812-13, 878-9, G OA 214, HJ 914, Js. 1141, 1178, Sl. 912, KB 1765, Br. 572 || IE *p'a'l_χ- ({IS} *pelH- / *pleH-) '(make) tremble, fear' > Gk πάλλω (aor. ἔπηλα) v. 'poise, sway (a missile before it is thrown); sway, brandish', παλτός 'brandished, hurled', πελεμύζω 'shake, cause to quiver/tremble' || Gmc: ON inf. fæla 'to scare away, to chase off', Ic, NNr inf. fæla 'to fear', Nr Δ, Odn inf. fæle 'to frighten', AS eal-fēlo æl-fæle 'dire' (of poison), ON fāla 'female troll, witch', MHG vālant 'devil'; +ext. *-m-: Gt us-filma adj. {Fs.} 'erschrocken, entsetzt'), us-filmei (· ἔκστασις) 'Entsetzen', ON felms-fullr 'scared', inf. felmta 'to be scared', NNr inf. felm 'to scare' || +ext. *-s-: Sl *polъ ({IS}: < IE *polHs-o-) n. 'fear', *polъ(jъ) 'fearful; frightening' > RChS плахъ plaxъ n. 'fear' ({IS}: pla- < *polH-), Blg плах n. 'fear', adj. 'fearful, shy, timid', Cz, Slv plachý 'fearful, shy, timid', SCr plāh 'quick, harsh', Slv plāh (f. plāha), P płochy 'wild, wanton', R Δ {Dal} по'лох 'alarm', Uk по'лох 'fear'; Sl d. inf. *polš'iti 'to scare, to frighten' > RChS inf. плашнть плаш'ить, OR inf. полошнть pološ'ить, R Δ inf. поло'шить, SCr inf. plāš'iti, Slv inf.

plášiti, Cz inf. plašiti, P inf. płoszyć id., Blg 'плаша 'I frighten'; R пере-по'лож 'alarm, commotion, flurry', вс-поло'шить 'to startle, to agitate'; but hardly here R пло'хой 'bad' (see Vs. III 286-7) ¶ P 801, F II 469, 497-8, Vr. 110, 117, 149, Sw. 4, Ho. 95, Fs. 530, Lx. 263, Vs. III 317-18, Glh. 482-3 ¶ The pIE *H, proposed here by IS, is qu. (in view of Gk παλτός and other forms without expected traces of a lr., which however may be accounted for by contamination with IE *pel-'swing' > Gk παλμός 'quivering motion, Schwingung' etc., see P 801) | | U *pele- v. 'fear' > F pelkää- / pelä-, Es pelga- v. 'fear', F pelko n. 'fear' | pLp {Lr.} *pələ- v. 'fear' > Lp: S {Hs.} b'illedh, L {LLO} pallat, N {N} bállât, Kld pələδ id. | Er пеле- pele-, Mk пеле- pele- id. | Prm *pöl- ({{LG}} *pöll-) id. > Z pov-, Z US pol-, Yz 'pul-, Vt Ks {W} pul+-, Vt MU {Wc.} puw+- id. || ObU {Ht.} *pīl- id. > pVg *pīl- > Vg: T/LL pīl-, LK/MK/UK/NV/SV/ UL/Ss pil-, P pil- ~ pīl- id.; pOs *pěl- ({{Hl.}} *pīl-) id. > Os: V/Vy pěl-, Ty/Y pěl-, D/K pět-, Nz pät-, Kz pěl-, O päl- id. | OHg, Hg fél- v. 'fear' | Sm {Jn.} *piy- id. > Ne T {Ter., Lh.} pīna- pīna- id., pīl- pīl- 'be frightened', Ne F {Lh.} pīnna- v. 'fear', En {Pu.} pī-, {Cs.} fī-, Ng {Cs.} filiti- id. ('fürchten'); ⇔ Sm {Jn., Hl.} *piy-m- (or {Jn.} *piy-ym-) 'be frightened' > En {Cs.} fim- ≍ fīm-, Ng {Cs.} fēm-, {Ter.} жым-, {Mik.} hīm-, Kms {KD} p'im-, Koyp {Sp.} пым- id., Mt {Hl.} *hi:imər- id. (Mt M {Sp.} имер-) ¶¶ UEW 370, Coll. 47, Db. OS xxxiii, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP *peli-, Ugr *pilī-, Sm *pij- 'fear'), SK 516-17, Lr. no. 855, Lgc. no. 4650, Hs. 332, Ker. II 109, LG 223, Ht. no. 509, MF 198, EWU 372, Jn. 124-5, Ter. 465, Cs. 72, 224-5, KP 169, KD 53, Hl. M no. 300 | | A **p|bæli∇ > NaT d. *bæli-η n., d. *bæliη-lä- v. > OT bēliη ~ bāliη n. 'panic, terror', bā|eliηlä-, (BrSc) pāliηlä- 'be panic-stricken\terrified', MT bēliη-le- 'be terrified', Tkm bēliη al- 'fear, be scared' (lit. 'take fright'), Osm {Rh.} bēliη 'bewilderment of terror', Tk Δ bēlin 'Erstaunen, Verwunderung', {TrR} 'изумление', Tk Δ {SDM} pēliη 'frightened', Bsh билендә- vi. 'erschrecken (пугаться, испугаться)', Qzq белең 'пугливость', Qrg белимчи 'hysterical woman', Nog белень 'scary (пугливый)', Tv белиң-чи id., белиң-не- 'подскакивать, вздрагивать (от неожиданности)', Tf bēliη-š-i- 'scary', bēliη-me- 'be startled' ¶ Cl. 343-4, DTS 94, TrR 86, Rh. 383, BR 100, TrR 107, NogR 77, MM 88, Jud. 127, TvR 99 | | ?σ M *belbesü(-re)- v. 'mourn, observe mourning' > MM [MA] belbūsüre, ū:l 'express condolences', belbūsüre-, WrM belbesüre- {MED}

observe mourning', HIM бэлэвсрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'become widow\ widower', Brt бэлбэһэр- 'become widow\widower', Kl {KRS} белвср- id., {Rm.} belw_osr_o- 'Witwe\Witwer werden', WrO belbesere- ~ belbesüre- 'be a widow', Ord b_elbesere- 'devenir veuve\veuf'; M *belbe-sün 'widow, widower' > MM [MA], WrO belbisün and belbesün, WrM {MED} belbesün, HIM {MED, BMR} бэлэвсэн id., Brt бэлбэһэ(н) 'widow', Dg {T} belbisen, ShY {Ktw. ← Mnrh.} p_elv_isin 'widow, widower', Kl {KRS} белвсн id., {Rm.} belw_osn_o, belw_isn_o 'Witwe, Witwer', Ord b_elbesen 'veuve', MM [IM] belbesün 'unmarried woman' ¶ Pp. MA 116, 433, H 14, MYC 48, Ms. H 40, MED 96, BMR I 314, Krg. 34, Chr. 131, KRS 94, KW 42, T DgJ 126, Ktw. OuJ 456, Ms. O 63 || NrTg *belin(-) > Ewk бэлі́н- 'be scared\startled', бэлін 'hysterics', Neg бэлін 'nervous disease' ¶ STM I 124 ¶¶ SDM 338-9 (A *bel_∇ 'hysterics, panic, mourning' > Tg, M *belbe- 'mourning, widow', T), DQA no. 119 (id.), STM I 124 (Tg, T) ¶¶ IS II 99 reconstructed pA and pT long *ē, which is unc.: Tkm belin points to a short *æ, while the transcriptions of OT (USc, MnSc, BrSc, ArSc) provide no ev. (⇔ IS). IS reconstructed pT *p- (*pēlin-) and pA *p- (*pēli-) on the only ev. of OT (BrSc), as well as on misinterpreted Tlt pāliṅdā-, that does not belong here because it does not mean 'be timid' (as in IS), but 'an der Nachähmungssucht leiden' (Rl. IV 1244-5, the same meaning in StAlt {BT} belinde-) ◇ IS II 98-9 (*pelhi: IE, U, A, S + unc. D), AD GD 11 (IE, U, A), Coll. 146 (U, A) ◇ N *q is reconstructed on the ev. of S *χ (> Ak χ). T *b- suggests N *p- ◇ Gr. II no. 144 (*pel 'fear') (IE, U, A, J).

1706. *P_il̥|ÍEqi (or *P_iLEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare' > IE: NaIE *plēj̥-/ *pləj̥-/ *plī- 'bare, naked' > Gmc: Nr Δ flein 'bare, naked', 'kahler Fleck', fleina 'to be uncovered, to become bald', Sw flen 'bloß, nackt, kahl' || Lt plýnas 'even, smooth, bare (kahl)', plýné 'open field (without trees), uncultivated plain', Lt plikas 'bald, bare, naked', Ltv pliks 'naked, nude, bare' || Sl *plěšь 'bald patch\spot' > OR ПЛѢШЬ plěšь, R плешь, Uk пліш, Slv plēš, Cz pleš, P plesz id., *plěš-ivъ adj. 'bald (kahlköpfig)' > OR ПЛѢШНВЪ plěšivъ, R плешивый, Uk плішивий, Blg плешив, C, Slk plešivý id.; Sl *pľx-, *plěxь > P plech 'bald spot', d. Cz plechatý, Slk plechavý 'bald' ¶ P 834, Frn. 611-12, Vs. III 281-2, Ma. CS 378 || A: Tg *pile- 'naked, uncovered' > Ewk Brg hilзкэ́н 'open (land) among mountains',

WrMc {Z} филитахунь, филтахунь, филфинь 'open, without vegetation' (of land), 'naked', филфинь бэѣ 'naked body'; ? Tg *pile(-) 'thawed patch of land' > Ewk hīlз, Lm hīlзηз, Neg хīлзхз id., Ud sīlзηзgisi- 'thaw up to form a thawed patch' ¶ STM II 324, Z 1057 || HS: S *^o✓płχ > Ar ✓flχ G 'faire voir, mettre au jour' ¶ BK II 629 || D *pīl- 'be\burst open' (× D *pīl- 'burst, crack, split' of different origin) > Tm pīl- 'burst open', pīl'al 'pudendum muliebre', Ml pīl'ukkuка v. 'open (the lips)', Kui pīra (p. pīt-) 'cause to open, hatch, create', ?? Png pīt- 'be split open', 'hatch' (egg) ¶¶ D no. 4194 ◇ If D *-l- is due to the infl. of D *pīl- 'burst, crack', it does not determine the identity of the N lateral, and the N etymon must be reconstructed as *P_iLEqi. .

1707. *p'a'lX∇ 'spade; to dig; pit (sth. dug)' > IE: NaIE *bel_lə₁- ~ *^obəl- v. 'dig, hollow' (× IE *bel- 'hollow out, dig' < N *poí∇ 'hollow, empty') > Arm պ ե ղ ե մ բ ք ե մ 'I hollow, I excavate; I dig' ||| V d 'bilam 'cave, hole, pit', 'hollow' (of a dish), OI ∧ billa- 'pit, hole, reservoir' ||| ?σ OIr belach {P} 'Kluft, Paß, Weg', {Vn.} 'passage, défilé, route' ||| ? L pāla 'spade' (< IE *^opaHl- mt. < N *p'a'lX∇?); L ↷ Crn pāl 'shovel', B: Sll {Ds.} a-fāla (pl. i-fāla-tən) id., 'pelle à fourrer' ¶ P 96; M K II 431-2 and M E II 225 (no et. of bilam); MW 732, Tu. no. 9245, WH II 236 (no et. of L pāla), ≠ EM 723, ECCE 277, Ds. 216, Vn. B 29 ||| U: FU *p'a'l∇ 'spatula, spoon, small hammer for shamanistic rituals' > Os: V/Vy pałán'íp, Ty/Y pāłán'tap 'Rührlöffel, Teiglöffel, Spatel, Schlegel zum Zaubertrommel' ||| Lp {Fri.} ballem, Lp L † bālle m 'a small hammer of reindeer horn with which the shaman drum was beaten' ¶ Coll. 74, Stn. D 1159-61, Stn. OV 69, 100 ¶ The phonetic irregularity (the vw. in Lp does not correspond to that of Os) may be explained if we suppose borrowing in Lp ¶ The authors of UEW (p.c. to Stn.) reject the comparison between the Os word and Lp K balle(d)em 'take part or assist at the shamanistic performance' ||| HS: CS *✓płh 'dig, till' > MHb ✓płh G id., JA [Trg.] ✓płh G, Ar ✓flh 'till the ground' ¶ Lv. T II 267, Js. 1178, BK II 628-9, Hv. 574.

1708. *paT'iX'ä' '€ fish' > U: FU: Krl Ld pāll (gen. pāllä) ~ päll (gen. pällä) '€ salmon', Vp pāll 'Salvelinus Lepechini, lake char (trout)', BF ↷ R 'палия id., R 'пелядь 'Coregonus peled (a salmonide freshwater fish in Northern Russia and Northern Siberia)' ¶ Hardly here Vg T {Mu.} paıl, paцil 'crucian carp' (UEW: < U *pay∇ '€ fish') ¶ UEW 348-9, Iw. 397, ≈ Coll. 47 ||| A *pāll∇ '€ fish' > T: [1] *bālik 'fish' > OT

balıq, MQP XIII balıq, Tkm bāliq, Δ pāliq, Tk balık, Qzl {Jk.} pāliχ, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Ln, Tb, Yk balıq, VTt, Bsh balъq, Az balıq, StAlt, Tf b_alıq, ET belıq, Slr balıχ, Ln balıq ~ baluq ~ walıq, Xk palıχ, Chv L пулă pulъ, Chv Δ_ролъ id.; T ↗ Kl {Rm.} balυα zaυasη '€ fish' and Brt {Rs.} balū zagahun id. | [2] ? NaT *bæł 'Salmo taimen' > Tv b_eł, Tf b'_eł, Xk pil, Yk bil, VTt {Rs. ← ?} bəł id., StAlt b_eł 'salmon', Δ 'Salmo taimen' ¶ Cl. 335, ET B 59-60, TL 177, Rs. W 61, 68, Ra. 159, 161, Ash. IX 278, Fed. I 443, Jeg. 164, ChVS 144-5, BT 29, KW 31 || Tg *palu '€ fish' > WrMc {Hr} palu 'Schwarzbrasse', {Z} falу 'a flat and broad bream-like fish', ? Ewk palwāne ≍ pulwāne 'orfe (*Leuciscus idus*, язь)' (borrowed from a *p-preserving lge) ¶ Hr 207, Z 1033, STM II 43, 298 || pKo {S} *par- 'carp' > MKo parkan'i, NKo palganı id. ¶ S QK no. 793, Yu 368, ≈ MLC 724 (the Ko word ← 'the red one', which is err., because its MKo vowel is a, not ʌ as in the word for 'red') || ?σ,φ M *bu|ilaу (doubtful) > WrM {SDM} bilagu, bulagu, buluu 'carp', HIM {BMR} булуу цагаан '*Cyprinus carpio* (сазан, Flußgründling)', Brt булуусхай 'ide (язь, *Lauciscus idus* or *Idus idus*), сорога (€ small fish of the *Cyprinidae* family)', Kl {Rm.} balυα zaυasη '€ fish' ¶ Luv. 186, BMR I 286, Chr. 112, KW 31 || ??φ pJ {S} pírámái ~ *pírámíá 'fluke, plaice' > OJ p_ı_ı_ıram_ı_ı_e {S} id., J T hîrame, J K hîramé, J Kg hiráme {Kenk.} 'turbot, flatfish, halibut, flounder, *Paralichthys olivaceus*' ¶ S QJ no. 335, Kenk. 507 ¶¶ The supposed M and J cognates are doubtful because of their vowels in the first syll. ¶¶ SDM 1076 (A *pāli '€ fish' > T *bālik, M, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 1624 (id.), S AJ 282, ADb. SR 8, TL 177, ≈ KW 31 and ≈ Rs. W 61 (in both: T, Mc + Kl balυα zaυasη '€ fish' and Brt balū zagahun id. [considered cognates]), Rm. SKE 185-6 || HS: EC: Sml fōlhun (df. fōlhunta) coll. '€ fish' ¶ ZMO 143 ◇ Krl, Vp -íí(∇) < *-ly∇ < N *-LiX∇. In A *ā there is compensatory lengthening due to the loss of the l. The vowels *e in T *beł and *ä in Krl Ld pāíí ~ päll are due to the infl. of the next syllable(s) ◇ Coll. 146 (U, T *beł).

1709. *P_ôTıχ|q|Γa (= *pôTıχ|q|Γa?) broad and flat' > HS: B *✓flH(y) > Izd fliy (pf. -flay-), CM {NZ} -fliy- 'être large', CM ufliy 'broad', Zn ŭi-fju-t (pl. ŭi-fə]w-in) 'planche, porte' ¶ Mrc. 153, Loub. 540, NZ 575 || IE *plex-/ *pelx- 'broad' > Ht palhi 'wide, broad' || NaIE *plā-/ *pelə- 'broad and flat', +ext. *-no-: *plā-no-/ *pelə-no- 'flat' > L plānus 'even, level, flat' || Clt: Gl Medio-lānum ({P} lit. 'mitten in der Ebene?')

'Milan' ||| Ltv plāns 'flat, even, thin', Lt plónas 'thin' || SI (× S1 *polnina 'mountain region' × ? {Ma.} *polnъ 'empty, unfruitful'): HLs płoní 'plain', Cz pláň 'plain, prairie', planý 'unfruitful, Feld-, Wald-', Slv plān, f. plāna 'frei vom Bauwuchs' ||| ζ Gk πέλαγος or πελαγός (if Solmsen's and P's interpretation as 'flache Opferkuchen, flache Münze' is right) |||| +ext. *-k-: NaIE *plā-k-/*plə-k- > Gk πλάξ (gen. πλακ-ός) 'anything flat and broad, flat land' || AS flōh 'flagstone', OHG fluoh 'rock, cliff', {OsS, KM} 'wall of rock', NHG Flu h 'mass of rock; layer', ON flaga 'thin layer of earth', Ic flaga 'plate, flat piece of stone', Sw flaga 'abgespaltene Scheibe', ON flá / pl. flæ r 'Felsabsatz; Tal im Hochgebirge mit schwacher Neigung' (< Gmc *flax-iz ÷ Gk πλάκ-εξ [pl. of πλάξ]), fló 'layer' ||| L plācā - v. 'soothe, calm, quiet' ||| Lt plākanas, Ltv plakans 'flat', Ltv plācenis 'flat cake', plūoku / plakt v. 'become flat' || ? S1 *ploskъ (jъ) 'flat' (< *plak-sko-?) > OCS плоскъ ploskъ, Blg плосък, Slv plōsk, R, Uk 'плоский', Cz, Slk ploský, P płaski id., d. SCr plōsan id. (< *plosk-nъ) ||| Tc: A, B plāk- 'be in agreement' (← *'be even') ¶¶ EI 205-6 (*peh_hk- 'spread out flat', *pleh_hnos), Frd. HW 156, Ts. W 58, CHD P 65-6, P 805-7, 831, WH II 318, F II 493-4, 550-1, Ho. 109, Vr. 127-8, Kb. 268, OsS 208, KM 210, ≈ Frn. 602-3, Kar. II 57-8, StSS 450, Vs. III 284-5, Glh. 484, 488-9, Brü. 422, Ma. CS 370-1, Ad. 423 ||| ¶ T: OT bu laq 'broad-backed' (of a horse) (cp. above NaIE *plā-k- / *plə-k-) ¶ Cl. 336 ◇ OT bu laq suggests N *p-. If OT bu laq (isolated within Altaic) is not taken in consideration, N *p- cannot be distinguished from *p̄-.

1710. *P_oTXæ 'to fill' > HS: SES (or WS) *✓plh Sh v. 'have eaten just enough' (→ 'satisfy oneself, succeed') > Mh ✓flh Sh (pf. flēh, ip. yz fōl z h, sbjn. yz h a f l z h) v. 'have eaten just enough', Jb E ✓flh (pf. fla h) id., Jb C ✓flh Sh (pf. e'fla h, ip. 'y f o l a h, sbjn. 'y e f l a h) v. 'eat just enough', v. 'satisfy oneself, be happy' || ?σ Ar ✓flh Sh {BK} 'réussir; avoir du bonheur \ du succès', {Hv.} 'be successful\lucky' ¶ Jo. M xxxvii, 93, Jo. J 57, BK II 628, Hv. 574 ||| IE *pelh̄-/*pleh̄- v. 'fill' > NaIE *pelə-/*plē- > OI 3s pres. 'pīpartī, 1p pres. pīpr̄'ma h, 3s pres. pr̄'ṇāti ~ pr̄'ṇati v. 'fill, nourish, sate', inv. pūr'dhi, aor. 'aprāt (< *-plē-, see Gk 3s aor. πλήτο ↓); Av par- 'fill' ||| Gk πίμπλη-μι 'I fill' (< *πί-πλη-μι, with -μ- on the analogy of πίμπρημι 'I burn. I burn up'), ft. πλή-σ-ω, 3s aor. πλήτο 'füllte sich' ||| L plē- v. 'fill', (in cds: complē-, implē- v. 'fill', replē- 'fill up\again') ||| Lt inf. pīlti (pres.

pilū) 'to fill', ζ Ltv {ME} inf. pilt (unknown accentuation) 'to become full (?)' ||| NaIE pp. *plē-to- 'filled, full' > OI prā'ta- [prtc.] ||| L -plētus (in cds such as re-plētus 'filled, full', com-plētus 'complete') ||| pAl {O} *plāta > Al T plotē 'full' ||| NaIE *plē-no- ~ *p̄no- (< IE *pleh̄-no- ~ *p̄h̄-no-) 'full' > OI prāṇa-, Av frāna- 'Füllung', OI pūr'ṇa- 'full', Av pərəna- 'filled' ||| L plēnus 'full' ||| Gt fulls (πλήρης) 'voll', ON fullr, OHG fol / foll-, NHG voll, OSx, AS full 'full', NE full ||| Clt {Matas.} *flāno- 'full' > OIr lán, MW, W llawn id., OBr dacr-lan 'full of tears', MBr, Br leun, Crn lün ~ len ~ luen ~ leun 'full', Gl {Evn.} *lano- (in n. pr.), {Matas.} n. pr. Uisulanus; ⇨ : OIr lín-aim 'I fill', lín(t) pp. 'filled', Crn {LP, ECCE} lanwes 'abundance', {ECCE} lenwel 'to fill, to replenish' ||| Lt p̄lnas, Ltv piĩns 'full', Pru pilnan 'whole (ganz)' | Sl *p̄lnъ > OCS ПЛЪНЪ p̄lnъ (~ ПЛЪНЪ p̄lnъ) 'full', R 'полон 'is full', R полный, Blg пълн, SCr p̄n, Slv p̄ln, Cz, Slk plný, P pełny 'full' ||| Tc B p̄llew 'full moon' ||| NaIE *plē-yo- > Arm լի li 'full' ||| Gk Hm πλεῖος, Gk A πλέως 'full' ||| NaIE *plē-mḡ n. act. 'filling' > Gk [Hs.] πλήμα · πλήσμα 'ce qui remplit' ||| L [ϣ] d. plēminā-bantur 'replebantur' ¶ WP II 55, P 798-800, IS IA 74 (on *p̄no-s), EI 201 (*peh̄- 'fill') and 214 (*p̄h̄no-s 'full'), M K II 282-4, 324, M E II 89-90, F II 537-8, WH II 322-3, LP §§ 12, 32, ≈ § 19, Thr. §§ 43, 58, 215, 267, RE 98, Evn. 215, Billy 92, Flr. 246, ≈ 237 (on Crn lanwes), Matas. E 132, Hm. 513, ECCE 264, 266, Fs. 172, Vr. 146, Ho. 118, Ho. S 230, Kb. 270, OsS 231, KM 223, 824-5, O 335, Slr. 93-4, Frn. 591-2, En. 226, VW AI 117, 119, StSS 451-2, Glh. 512, Ad. 379 ||| D (att. in CD) *p̄l̄- ({{GS} *p̄-) > Prj p̄l- v. 'finish, complete', Gdb p̄l- v. 'finish, be finished' ¶ D no. 4598 ◊ ≈ Gr. II no. 172 (*pal 'full') (IE, U, Ko + unc. Y, J, Gil, CK; Gr. did not distinguish between *P_oīXæ 'to fill' and N *pa?∇lyu 'much, superfluous').

1711. *peL̄i,y∇ 'to split, to separate' > HS: WS *✓ply > Gz, Tgy ✓fly, Tgr ✓fly (pf. fəla) G 'divide, separate' (⇨ Sa {R} falay- 'scheiden, sondern, trennen'), BHb ✓ply|w N: ... וְנִפְּלִינֵנוּ וְנִפְּלִינֵנוּ wə-ni-p̄'lī-nū min ... 'and we shall be distinct from ...', ✓ply|w Sh 'make separate, set apart', MHb ✓ply|w G (pf. הִפְּלֵא p̄'lā) 'search; search one's garment for vermin', JA ✓ply (pf. פָּלַע p̄'lē ~ פָּלַע p̄'lā) 'split, open up', Ar ✓fly vt. G 'louse (the head); scrutinize (an affair); study the meaning (of a poem)' ¶ L G 161, KB 878, BDB 811, Js. 1181, Sl.

912, BK II 635, Hv. 575, Ln. 2445, R S II 133 || B * $\sqrt{f}ly$ (\times * $\sqrt{f}lH$ < N * $\rho o\lambda i\varsigma E$ [or * $\rho o\lambda i\psi E$?] 'to split') > Ah {Fc.} æfli (pf. iflæy) 'fendre', Ttq {Msq.} fallaî 'fendre (du bois)', Tnsl iflǎ 'déchirer brusquement', CM {NZ} fley / fli id., 'déchirer, lacérer', Si fli 'fendre' ¶ Fc. 324-5, Msq. 124, NZ 574-5 || C: LEC * fil- {Ss.} 'separate' > Or {Grg.} fil- 'comb', Or Wl {Brl.} fil- v. 'choose, separate, discern; comb' ({Ss.}: not akin to Brj sil-? v. 'comb'), Kns {BISO} fil- , Rn {PG} fila v. 'comb', Arr {Hw.} fil- v. 'comb, separate out', fil-ad- v. 'comb one's hair', filá n. 'comb', Af {PH} $\text{fīl-0} \sim \text{fil-0}$ 'act of combing'; ?? Sml fullā\varsigma vi. 'detach, be separated, come off' ¶ Ss. B 166, Bl. 166, PH 102-3, Grg. 144, Brl. 147, PG 115, Hw. A 358, BISO 32, ZMO 144 ¶¶ \neq OS no. 845 (S \div B * $\text{f}\nabla\text{l}\nabla\omega-$ 'pierce') || IE: NaIE *(s) plei_n- , * $\text{splei}_n\text{-d-}$ 'split, split off' (? \times N * $\rho o\lambda i\varsigma E$ [or * $\rho o\lambda i\psi E$?] 'to split' [q.v.]) > Ltv Δ {ME} plītes 'small crumbs (kleine Brosamen)', {ME} plivir̃a 'abgelöste flatternde Baumrinde; Schelfe' || OIr {Vn.} sliss 'copeau, éclat de bois', d. slissiu 'copeau, éclat; planchette' || MHG inf. splīzen , OFrs inf. splīta , MDt inf. splīten , Dt inf. splijten vi., vt. 'to split, to be split', MDt, Dt inf. splitten vi. 'to split' (\rightarrow NE split [{OED}: originally a nautical term]); d. Gmc * splita- > MHG splitter 'splinter', d. v. MLG inf. splitteren , Sw inf. splitttra 'to split, to splinter' ¶ WP II 684, P 1000, Vn. S 136, Vr. N 681, OsS 853-4, OED X 645, ME III 347, 349 || U: FU (att. in Prm) * $\text{peí}\nabla-$ 'divide, split, crush' > Prm * peí- ({JLG} * peí- 'slit' > Z пелъ-peí- vt. 'split, slit off lengthwise', Yz peí-d- 'scale off', Vt inf. пильыны pií-+n+ vt. 'split' (hardly from FU * $\text{po}\hat{z}\nabla$] 'Span, spalten, splintern' because of its vw. [\Leftrightarrow UEW]) || ? Sm: Ng {Cs.} filmia , filmia 'little bit, fragment' ¶¶ Coll. 49, LG 219, \neq UEW 389-90 \diamond FU * -í- < N * -Ly- \diamond The IE and other cognates suggest that Prm * í goes back to * -liy- \diamond IE *(s) p- points to a N * p- (see Introduction, § 2.2.5). On the origin of IE * sp- see s.v. N * $\text{p}^1\text{ú}1\text{ú}y\text{,}\nabla$ 'to wash' and Introduction, § 2.2.5.

1712. (*id.*?) * $\text{puLy}\nabla$ 'bubble, blister, round swelling' > HS: WCh: Tng {J} pōl 'tuber' ¶ J T 133 || IE: NaIE *id.* * $\text{bul-/*bou}\text{-}$ 'round swelling' > L bulla id., 'water bubble' || Gmc: OHG {OsS} paula 'pustule, blister', but words with b- (AS būle , būl 'boil, carbuncle', OHG būlla 'pustule, blister', MLG būle , NNr bulle , Sw bula 'bump, lump, Beule', NHG Beule 'bump') may be of L origin (or influenced by L) || Slv búla 'tumor, bump, a boil, carbuncle' (unless \leftarrow L) || OIr bolcha accus. pl.

(< NaIE dim. *bulakā) 'pimples, pustules' ¶ × IE *b^he_ul- 'swell' (in lges without the opposition *b- ↔ *b^h-) ¶ WH I 122, Frn. 63, M K I 439-40, Bern. I 100, Vr. 340, Kb. 130, OsS 90, 683, KM 71-2, ≈ Ho. 39, Vn. B 66, Vs. I 239 || U: FU *pu Ly∇ 'bubble' > F Δ *id.* pu llo 'bubble, soap bubble', Es {W} pu ll pu íí 'blister, vesicle' ('Blase, Wasserblase'), Vo pullu ~ pu ííu 'bubble', Lv búí ({Kt.}: < *puli) 'vesicle' (in F and possibly in other BF lges there is infl. of Sw bu la?) | Lp {Fri.} bu lja ras, bu ljok as 'bubble', Lp N {N} bu l' l-jâr âs n. 'bubble' | Prm *póí ({JLG} *póí) 'bubble, round swelling' > Vt пу ль бы пу íí 'bubble, blister', Yz po í 'bubble', Prmk va-po í 'water bubble' (va 'water'), Z по ль ö po íз 'a young (bulb of) onion', d. по ль к po íк 'bubble' || OHg xviii, Hg † bu ggy 'Luftblase' ¶ Prm *-í < FU *- Ly- ¶ SK 636, W EDW 890, Kt. 31, Fri. 97, N I 249, LG 224, EWU 144, Sándor Sf. VII 173 || A: Tg *pu l∇ n 'boil, abscess, furuncle' > Lm hu lān *id.*, Orc pō loŋko 'ulcer, unhealing wound', ??φ WrMc {Z} φур дань 'wound, ulcer' ¶ STM II 344, Z 1093-4 ◇ Hl. (p.c., 1976): IE, U.

1713. *p¹ü l₁ü y₁∇ 'to wash' > HS: WCh: Tng {J} pa l v. 'wash (body)', ? Gj pò wò lè 'wash (things)' || ECh *-p¹i¹l- v. 'wash' > Kwn {J in JI} pè lé v. 'wash (body)' | Kbl {Cp. in JI} pǎ l, Ll {Grgs} pǎ l v. 'wash' | Tmk {Cp.} pǎ l *id.*, Nd {J} pǎ l¹ v. 'wash (things)' | Mgm {JA} (inf.) pà pì lè *id.* (passé absolu pà pì lé, progr. pà pà llá) | Mkl pfv. pù pì lè v. 'wash' (subj. (t)ò pì lè) ¶ JI II 339, ChC s.v. 'wash (body)' and 'wash (things)', AIJ 53, JA LM 54, 66, J LM 241, Cp. 90, Nw. no. 140 || IE: NaIE (att. in WGmc) *°spe l- v. 'rinse, (?) wash' > OHG inf. i r - s p u o l e n 'to rinse', MHG inf. s p ü e l e n, NHG inf. s p ü l e n, MLG inf. s p ö l e n, Dt inf. s p o e l e n, AS inf. ā s p y l i a n 'to rinse, to wash'; MLG ⇨ Sw inf. s p o l a, Dn inf. s p u l a, NNr inf. s p y l e *id.* ¶ OsS 860, Lx. 2070, Kb. 945, KM 733-4, Ho. 314, Vr. N 681-2, Hlq. 1048 || U: FU *p i | ü l¹ w¹ ∇ - (or *p i w l ∇ - ?) v. 'bathe' > Prm *pó l- v. 'bathe' > Vt пы л а сь к -, Vt Ks pu l a s k - v. 'wash oneself, bathe in a river', Z пы в сь ы - p i v s i -, Z Ss p i l s i -, Yz 'pú l s i - 'take a steam bath (in a sauna)', Z пы в с я н 'sauna' || ObU *pē y a l - 'sich baden' > pVg *pǎ y l - *id.* > Vg: T p ä w l -, LK/MK/UK/P/ NV/SV/LL p ä y l, UL/Ss pu w l - *id.*; pOs *pö y a l - ({Hl.} *pǎ y a l -) *id.* > Os: V/Vy pö y a l -, Ty p ä y w a f -, Y p ä w a f -, D/K p e y a t -, Nz p e w a t -, Kz p e w a f -, O p e w a l - *id.*; ObU *-y a l - may go back to FU *-l|ö k -, -l|ö y - -l|ö w - | ? Hg f ü r ö d -, f ü r d - 'baden, sich baden', f ü r ö s z t - vt. 'baden' ¶ UEW 380-1 (*p i l k ∇ [*p ü l k ∇]), LG 234-5, Lt. J 172, Ht. 175 [no. 502] || D *p u l - ∇ m - ({GS})

*p-) v. 'wash\clean' > Tu *polampuni* v. 'clean, wash, rinse', Tl *pulumu* v. 'rub and wash with the two hands, scour' ¶¶ D no. 4549, Km. 433 [no. 836] ◇ Acc. to IS's hyp., IE *sp- < N *p̥-...-y- or *p̥- + palatal sonorant (see Introduction, § 2.2.5). Since the N lateral is not *-í- (to judge from the U and D ev.), the only solution is to suppose an additional word-medial N *y.

1714. *paLuC∇ (or *paLüC∇?) 'stinging insect (flea, mosquito, tick)' > HS: C ≈ *f∇ll∇t- 'flea' > EC: Gdl *fillét* id. (coll.); ?? Hr {AMS} *filláyye*, Gwd {AMS} *filláye* 'flea' (× N *P̥'íʷu¹L∇ 'stinging insect') || Ag *f̥ʷl̥t- (= *f̥ʷll̥t-), {Ap.} *f̥ʷl̥t- > Bln {R} *filūtā*, Xm {R} *fəltā*, Q {R} *peleyə*, {Flad} *pelea*, Km {Ap.} *fäläy* 'flea' ¶ Ap. AV 9 (Ag *f̥ʷl̥t-), Ap. WLQ 8, AD SF 45 (Ag *f̥∇ll̥t- or *f̥∇rr̥t-), R WB 122, R Ch II 356 (s.p. 42), R DQW 654 (s.p. 18), Bl. G 20, AMS 157, 242 || Ch (× N *p̥ürgU (č∇) ~ *p̥ürč∇g∇ 'flea, gnat, mosquito'?) > CCh: Gudu {ChL} *vřfnzù*, Msy {Mch.} *v̥rc*, Db {ChL} *v̥rrut*, {Lnh.} *v̥rlč*, Kola {Sb.} *vřt*, Bdm {Cfr} *bàlàšì*, {Nw.} *pélačé*, {Lk.} *hólačì*, Lgn {Bou.} *f̥lās̥*, {Lk.} *vélásên*, Ms/BnM {ChL} *furutna*, Ms {J} *húruttá*, Zm {ChL} *vursu*, Msg {Trn.} *àvli*: 'mosquito' || WCh: Dir {Sk.} *avúltú* id. ¶ JI II 243. ChC s.v. 'mosquito', ChL, Lk. B 104, IS II 99 (Ch. *b̥l̥l̥č), Sb. K s.v. *vřt*, Cfr Y s.v. *bàlàšì*, Bou. K s.v. *f̥lās̥*, J KKS || IE: NaIE *b̥l̥l̥us- ~ *plus- 'flea': [1] *b̥l̥l̥us- > Lt *blusa*, Ltv *blusa* id. || Sl *bl̥'xa id. > OR *БЛЪХА* *bl̥'xa*, R, Uk *бло'ха*, Blr *блы'ха*, Blg *бъл'ха*, SCr *bùha*, Slv *bólha*, Cz *blecha*, Slvj *bl̥cha*, P mt. *pch̥a* id. || Arm *լու* (gen. *լունյ* *luoy*) id. || Gk mt. *ψύλλα* id. (or to [2]) || [2] *plus- / *pleus- 'flea' > OI *plus̥i-h̥* id. || Irn: Prc *ruč*, Psh *'wr̥ž̥a* (< *frušā), Ydg *frīyo* (< *fruš̥i-kā) id. || pAl {O} *pleusta > Al T *plesh̥t* id. || ? L mt. *p̥lēx* (< *pus̥l-ek-s) / gen. *p̥lic-is* id. ¶ ≠ P 102, EI 206 (*plus- ~ *b̥l̥useh̥- 'flea'), M K II 386-7, M E II 197-8, Mrg. 91, Sl̥. 41-2, Frn. 51-2, Bern. I 62-3, Vs. I 177, ESSJ II 129-30, Glh. 155-6, F II 1140, WH II 385, O 333 ¶ The variations *b̥l̥l̥us- ~ *plus- are due to ideophonic, euphemistic and/or other factors (F II 1141 on IE: "die vielen Varianten beruhen auf euphemistischer, spielerischer und volksetymologischer Verdrehung") || A: Tg: Neg *bal̥çuxa* ≈ *bal̥çuka*, Ul *bal̥çusa* ~ *bel̥çusa*, Nn Nh *palt̥oxa* 'tick (insect)' ¶ STM I 71, On. 323 ◇ IS II 99-100 (? *p̥ur̥č̥(ǵ̥) / p̥ül̥č̥(ǵ̥) 'flea').

1715. ₂ *P̥'û'í'č'∇ (or *P̥'û'í'č'∇?) 'grey, grey-haired' > IE: NaIE *pelit- 'grey' > Gk *πελιδνός*, Gk A *πελιτνός* 'livid' || OI *pali'ta-h̥* 'grey,

hoary, aged', pali'tam 'grey hair' ¶ F II 498, LS 1357, M K II 234-5, M E II 103-4 (IE *pelh₂it- without explicit justification of *h₂), ≠ EI 641-2 (the above words * < *p_lh₃- 'dull white, pale', see N *P_ul₁ϣ|X_u or *P_ul₁ϣ|X_a 'red, yellowish, pale') || D *pu_l∇č'- '(become) grey' > Nkr pu_ls-, Klm pul_s- (p. pulust-), Prj pulč'-, Gnd pi_rs- ≍ pi_qčānā ≍ pi_rčānā ≍ pi_rč'-, Gdb K pi_nsk- 'become grey' (of hair), Krx pu_ndnā 'become hoary, become grey in hair', Mlt pon_qe id. ¶¶ D no. 4325, ≈ Pf. 170 ◇ N *-l- is more plausible than *-l̄-, because the latter is likely to cause an IE initial *s mobile.

1715a. UA₂ *pA₁ŷ₁ak|g∇ 'foot' (and 'sole of foot?') > U: FU *pā₁k∇ 'foot' > pMr {Ker.} *pī₁gā > Er пильге pi₁ge, Mk пильге pi₁gā 'foot' || Vg: LK pö₁kant, MK pö₁kant 'side hoof, false hoof (of a reindeer), kleine Klaue (bei der Kuh, dem Elentier, dem Rentier)' || ?? Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} päl₁ 'thigh' ¶¶ UEW 364, IS III 67, Ker. II 113, KKIH 148 || A *palak|ga 'foot' > NaT *balak 'trouser leg, sole of foot' > Osm {RI.} balaq 'trouser leg', Tk balak 'trousers', Tkm Δ, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh balaq, Az balaq 'trouser leg, ankle', QrB balaq 'sole of foot, trouser leg', Qzq balaq 'trouser leg, leg of an animal (esp. bird)' ¶ Rs. W 59, ET B 51-2, RI. IV 1492, Dr. TM no. 762, ≈ TL 478 || Tg *palga-n 'sole of foot' > Nn Nh palgã 'sole of foot, sole of shoe', Ul palžā(n-), Orc xagga(n-) id., Nn Bk palga 'sole of a bear's foot', Neg xalgan, Sln alga(n), Ork palžā(n-) 'sole of foot', Ewk halgan 'foot, hoof, sole of foot' ¶ STM II 312, On. 322, IS III 67-8 || pKo {S} *pār 'foot' > MKo pār, NKo pal {SDM} 'foot', {S} 'leg (lower than the ankle)', pal-gup 'hoof' (kup 'hoof'), Ko Ph/SI pal, Ko Ks pāl, Ko Hm pa₁ 'нога' ¶ S QK no. 33, S AJ 252 [no. 33], Nam 245, MLC 722 || ?p pJ {S} *pānk₁ 'foot, shin' > OJ pag₁i, MJ pāg₁ {Mr.} 'shank (lower leg)', J T/Kg hāg₁, J K hāg₁ {S} 'shin', {Kenk.} 'leg, calf (of a leg)', J {S}: J Ns hāg₁, J Ht pā₁, J Y hā₁ 'foot' ¶ S QJ no. 131, Mr. 395, Kenk. 414 ¶¶ SDM 1075-6 (*pā₁lgā 'foot' > T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1616 (id.), S AJ 13, 43, 68, 96, 279, Rm. EAS I 52, Mng. KA 284, RCi. EApk 29-30 ¶¶ The discrepancy between the ev. of U (suggesting N *l̄) and that of T (pointing to N *l̄) may be avoided by suggesting a N cluster *l̄y (with loss of *y in pA) ◇ Cf. IS III 66-70 (*pāl₁q₁ 'sole of foot': U, A + *÷ K *perq- ~ *berq- 'foot, step'); in IS III there is err. adduction of M *₁φ₁alku- 'step', which is in fact *alqu- < N *haL∇K₁'u₁ 'to step, to walk' (q.v.). The rec. of N *q (in *pāl₁q₁) is unt. because N *q usually does not yield U *k and M *k. The whole comparison is highly qu., because

the U and Tg stems may well belong to N ***P₂äíχ|ϑ** 'thumb, big toe, (?) finger'. T ***paímak** 'shoe' (> OT bašmaq, Tk bašmak etc.) and Ko parmak 'footgear worn by small gentry' apparently suggest an A word ***paímak** '(ε) shoe', which is unlikely to be derived from A ***palak|ga** (because of the cns. *í in ***paímak**). In this case the infl. of N ***P₂äíχ|ϑ** may be a solution.

1716. *paīUK₂ü 'axe, hammer' > IE: NaIE ***peleku-** 'axe' > OI para'suh 'axe', pIr ***parasu-** > OPrs {Bai., Ab.} ***paraθu-** → KhS paḍa 'axe' and Oss färät 'axe, hatchet' || Gk Mc pe-re-ke-ωe, Gk πέλεκυς 'axe' ¶ EI 37, Mn. 915, Dv. no. 462, M K II 213-14, M E II 87, Ab. I 451, F II 497 || **HS:** S ***√p₁k** 'axe' > OAk {G} d. naplak₂tum 'battle axe'; Sr **𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡** pēl'k₂ā 'axe' (unless ← Gk) ¶ G OA 215, Br. 569-71, 574, Sd. 813, 863 || **A** ***p'aluk'ϑ** 'hammer' > NaT ***ba₂l₂u₂ka** id. > Ln baloqa, balqa, Brb {Rl.} pa₂ḡa, Qq, Qzq balḡa, SbTt {Tm.} pa₂ḡa 𐎧 pa₂kā, {Gig.} balḡa, Qrg, ET {Rl.} **𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡** balqa, ET {KtnM} balaqa, ET Δ {Jr.} bolqa, Uz болґа balḡa id., Bsh balḡa 'sledge hammer', QrB balqa id., hammer axe', Chg {Rl.} **𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡** balḡa 'eine Keule mit einem langen Stiel'; T → M: Kl {KRS} балh bal₂ḡ 'large flat knife, table knife', {Rm.} balag, balḡa 'breites, beilformiges Messer; Küchenmesser' ¶ ET B 57-8, Rs. W 61, Rl. IV 1169, 1498, 1500, UzR 80, Jud. 105, Tm. 167, KRS 79, KW 31 || M ***pa₂luqa(n)** > MM [IM] {Pel., Pp.} haluḡa (misspelt **𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡**), WrM aluqa(n) {MED} 'hammer, mallet', HIM алx(ан) {MED} id., {BMR} 'hammer' (→ Sln alḡa), Brt алxa '(small) hammer', Kl {KRS} алx алḡ 'hammer', {Rm.} алḡα 'Hammer', Ord aluḡu ~ aluḡa 'petit marteau', Dg ḡaldugu 'hammer' (× reflex of N ***paī₂ϑ₂t₂ϑ** 'to split', 'axe'??) ¶ Mel. 153, Pel. H no. 90, Pp. MA 434, MED 34, BMR I 80, Chr. 45, KRS 37, KW 7, T DgJ 173, Ms. O 18 || Tg ***paluka** 'hammer' > Ul pala(ω)u(n-) ~ paloa(n-), Nn Nh paloa, Nn Bk pa₂lo(n-), Orc ḡalu(ω)a, Ud ḡaluga, Ewk halka 𐎧 aluka, Lm halḡ, Neg ḡalka, WrMc {Z} фолxо id. ¶ STM II 313, Krm. 306, On. 323. Z 1064 ¶¶ SDM 1077 (A ***p₂luk'ϑ** 'hammer' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 1617 (id.), Pp. VG 11, KW 7, Ci. EApk 30-2, ≈ Dr. MT 22, ≠ Rm. SKE 185 ◇ If the pN word was trisyllabic (***paīUK₂ü**), the loss of ***-K₂ü** in pU (or pFU) may be accounted for by the adaptation of the word to the reg. U √ pattern (if the U √ is inherited or borrowed). But if A ***p|baltu** 'axe' belongs here (rather than to N ***paī₂ϑ₂t₂ϑ** 'to split; axe' [q.v.]), the pN etymon in question is to be reconstructed as ***paīU** (K₂ü). Several scholars have treated this lexeme

as a Wanderwort and have tried to explain its occurrence in many lges by borrowing (Krtm. E 105f., Dr. TM II no. 710, KW 31, Rm. SKE 185, Pp. AKAS, Mng. ZAL 300ff. etc.). Their hyp. is only partially correct. The long-hold hyp. about the Mesopotamian (Ak and Sum) origin of IE *peleku- 'axe' had to be rejected when it was found that Ak pilakku meant 'spindle' rather than 'hammer' and that Sum balag meant 'ein paukenartiges Musikinstrument' (see Wüst IAB). In fact, the spread of the word throughout vast regions of Eurasia is due to both inheritance and borrowing.

1717. *P₂ǎlǎkǎ (or *P₂Eǎlǎ'gǎ'ǎ) 'to split lengthwise, to divide' > HS: S: [1] CS *√plk v. 'split' > Ar √flq v. G 'split, cleave, divide lengthwise, cut in two halves' (→ Mz fallag 'chop\split [wood etc.]), JEA √plk G {Sl.} 'split, smash', {Js.} 'split, create a gaping wound', JA [Mdr.] פּלַקָּא pal'kā {Js.} 'fissure, wound', {Lv.} 'Riss, Spalt', Jb {Jo.} √flk (3s subj. 'yǎ-flǎk) 'split, crack (like a skull)', intens.-conat. e'folk 'split into pieces'; [2] S *√plk > Ak {Sd.} √plk G '(ein Gebiet) abteilen', pilku 'Abgrenzung, Gebiet' → MHb פּלַךְ 'pələk, JA [Trg.] {Js.} פּלַךְ pə'lak ~ פּלַךְ 'pələk / em. פּלַךְא pil'kā 'district'; [3] S *√plg v. 'split, share' > Ar فَلَاح √flǧ G 'split asunder, share, allot sth. amongst', BHb √plg: N pf. נִפְלַגְתָּ niplag 'was divided', D (pf. פּלַגְתָּ pilleg, imv. גַּלְגַּל palleg) vt. 'split, furrow', גַּלְגַּל 'pələg 'division' [Gn. 10.25, I Chr. 1.19], EpHb/IA {HJ} √plg 'half', MHb גַּלְגַּל 'pələg 'part, share', Ug √plg G or N vi. 'be divided, disintegrate', IA, Plm √plg G or D, JA √plg vt. G, D 'divide, share', JA [Trg.] גַּלְגַּל pə'lag / em. פּלַגְתָּא pal'gā, Sr פְּלַגְתָּא pəl'gā 'part, half', Sr √plg vt. G 'divide, separate', Gz √flg (js. -flag) G 'divide, split', Cn → Eg (EgSSc) palag-ga v. 'divide, share'; → S *'palag- 'ditch, canal, small stream' > Ak fOB {Sd.} palgu 'ditch, channel', BHb גַּלְגַּל 'pələg, Ug plg 'canal, small stream', IA {HJ} plg? s.e. 'canal', Ar فَلَاحْ falagħ- ~ فَلَاحْ falǧħ- 'streamlet, brook', Gz falag 'river, brook, valley' (→ Gz √flg G 'flow'), Mh {Jo.} falēg 'watercourse', Jb E {Jo.} 'fe'leg 'stream', Jb C {Jo.} 'fe'leg 'oasis' ¶ The causes of voicing *k > *g are not yet clear ¶ OLS 349, Fr. III 70, GB 641-2, BK II 627-8, 631-3, Ln. 2436-8 and 2441-3, Hv. 573-5, Sd. 813, 815-16 and 863, KB 877-8, HJ 911-13, Js. 1175-6, 1182 and 1185, Lv. IV 57, Lv. T II 266, 270, Sl. 914, Br. 569-71, Jo. M 93, Jo. J 57, L G 159, Hlk no. 73, SivCR 79, ≈ Blz. L no. 60 (equating S *'palag- 'canal, stream' with the reflexes of N *pul'u 'to spring forth, hervorquellen' [→ 'to flow', q.v.) || K: G pelik-i 'Stück der Fleischseite

des Schlachtviehs; Viertel eines geschlachteten Tiers', G R pelik-i 'Hälfte eines der Länge lang halbierten Schweins' ¶ Chx. 146O || U: FU *^opä|∇k∇ > pOs *pe|∇k- ({{Hl.}} *pǎ|∇k-) 'half, side' (× U *pǎ|ä 'half' < N *P_älqA 'side, half, part' [q.v. ffd.] × U *pē|e 'side' < N *P_elʔé - *P_eʔlê 'side') || D *paL∇k- ({{GS}} *p-?) v. 'split, cut lengthwise' > Krx palk- id., 'crack (the earth, a wall)', Mlt palke v. 'cut up (as fruit\vegetable)', ? Prj palva 'split piece of wood'; D → OI phalaka-m 'board, lath'? (unless ← OI 'phala- 'burst') ¶¶ D no. 3991, M K II 392-3 ◇ S *✓p|g v. 'split, share' suggests that the original N etymon was *P_El|∇'gʔ'∇ with subsequent contaction *-gʔ- > *-k- ~ *-k- > S *k and *k (n S *✓p|k and *✓p|k), K *k, U and D *-k- ◇ An etl. connection with N *paTUKü 'axe, hammer' is possible, but not certain.

1718. *paLHaŋa 'palm of hand' > IE *p_lHx̄m- > NaIE *p_lmā 'palm of hand, hand' > Gk παλάμη, Gk D παλάμᾱ id. || L palmā 'palm of hand' || Clt {Matas.} *flāmā 'palm, hand' > OIr {Thr.} lám 'hand, arm', Nir lámh, Brtt {RE} *lāmā 'hand' > OW lau, MW llau, llaw, W llaw, OCrn lof, lau, MCrn lef, læf, OBr lom-, lou- 'hand', OCrn [ʏ] lof 'manus', Crn lūf 'hand, arm' || OHG folma, AS folm(e) 'palm of hand', OSx folm 'hand' ¶ WP II 62, Mn. 965, EI 255 (*'p_lh_{am} / *p_lh_m'm-os 'palm of hand'), WH II 240-1, F II 466, Ho. 112, Ho. S 210, Kb. 274, OsS 212, LP §§ 12.2, Thr. § 215, RE 102, Flr. 237, Bc. 238-9 || A *p'āl̄aŋa 'palm of hand' (with length of the 1st type [yielding a T long vw. and a Tg short one]) ({{IS}} *p'āl̄i_lŋa, {S, SDM95} *p'āl̄ŋa, {SDM97} *p'āl̄ŋo, {ADb.} *p'alīŋa) > M *φαλαγα(ν) 'palm of hand' > MM {Pel.} halaqan, [L] halaga, [MA] alaqan, WrM {MED} alaga(n) id., HIM алга {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'sole of foot', Brt альга(н) 'palm of hand', Mnr H {T} χαλγα id., {SM} χαργα 'paume de la main', Mnr M χαῖγα, Dx hanga, Ba χαλγε, Dag alaga, ShY halaḡan 'palm of hand', Kl {KRS} альхн а́χън id., {Rm.} а́χан 'innere Seite der Hand; die flache Hand; Handvoll', Ord alag_a 'paume' ¶ Pel. 209 [no. 11], MED 26, BMR I 72, Chr. 46, KRS 39, KW 7, T 372, T DnJ 139, T BJ 149, Iw. 147, SM 161, Pp. MA 97, Pp. L III 76, Pp. MDG 5, Ms. O 11 || ?σ pKo {S} *pār 'armful' > MKo pār, NKo pāl ¶ S QK no. 990, Nam 245, MLC 723 || NaT *hā'ŋ'a (or *hāya?) 'palm of hand' (× N *P_∇l̄iŋ'U' 'palm of hand, [sole of] foot' [q.v.]) > OT aya id., MU, XwT, MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, OOSm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV aya, SY चाया, चायान, Tkm, Uz Δ, Uz XrOg āya, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Xk aya, Tk Δ aye 'palm of hand', Qzq aya 'middle of the palm of hand', Bsh aya

'comb (for carding goat down)' ¶ Cl. 267, ET Gl 100-1, TL 252, THADS I 413, Rs. W 10 || Tg *palana > (1) STg *opalana > WrMc {Z} фалангу 'palm of hand', Mc Sb palɜnɜ id.; (2) NrTg, AmTg *pauna (~ *pańna?) 'palm of hand' (× N *P_∇ɜiŋ'U' '↑') > Nn Nh pauna, Nn Bk paɪŋga, Nn KU pańŋã, Orc xana ~ xanna, Ud {Krm.} xańa?, Ork pana ~ pańa, Ul pańa 'palm of hand', Ewk hanŋa ~ hańŋa, Lm hanŋɔ id., 'hand' ¶ STM II 312, 314, Krm. 304, On. 320, Z 1032-3 || pKo *pār 'armful' > MKo pār, NKO pāl id. ¶ Nam 245, NLC 723 ¶¶ The cns. ŋ in several NTg lges goes back to n after y, therefore it does not prove the existence of a palatal cns. in pA (as reconstructed in SDM) and in pN (as supposed by myself earlier) ¶¶ SDM 1121-2 (A *p'ā́ɪŋa|e 'palm of hand' > Tg *palna 'palm of hand', M *haliga(n) id., T *āya [< *āńa] id. and pKo *pār 'armful' [without distinguishing between the pA root in question and *p'āń∇ 'palm of hand' < N *P_∇ɜiŋ'U' 'palm of hand', q.v.]), DQA no. 1725 (id.), Rm. EAS 107, Rm. SKE 213, KW t, Pp. VG 95, Ci. EApk 27-8, ADb. SR-D 259, ADb. SR 317, TL 253, Dr. MT 22 || HS: Ch: WCh: Su {ChL} pā́l, Mpn {Frz.} bâl 'arm' ||| CCh: FIK {Mk} pɪlla, {ChL} p̄la, HgB/HgG {ChL} p̄lâ, HgNk p̄lla {Kr. in JI}, Msg P {Mch.} mp̄l̄a 'arm' ¶ JI II 178-9, ChL, Frz. DM 5, Mk I 306, ChC s.v. 'hand' and 'arm' ◇ T *hā'ŋ'ya suggests N *p- ◇ IS III 93-5 (*p'alihma 'palm of hand' > IE, A + unc. U *p'eɣ'ŋ∇ 'handful, palm of hand' [in fact from N *P_∇ɜiŋ'U' 'palm of hand', q.v.]) ◇ Gr. II no. 291 (*palan 'palm') (IE, U, A, Ko).

1719. *paṽ_∇_ɜ_ɜ_∇ 'to split', 'axe' > HS: SS *√pl̥t̥ 'split' > Gz √fl̥t̥ G 'separate, divide, split', Sb √fl̥t̥ 'assign (land)' ¶ L G 161, BGMR 44 || EC: Sa {R} √fl̥d̥ (p. 'ə-fl̥e|ə, sbjn. ə-'fl̥a|ə, prtc. f̥a|l̥ē|) v. 'split (spalten, entfalten)' (influenced by or borrowed from EthS?), Sml {ZMO} fall̥d̥, Sml N f̥all̥i:d̥ 'splinter, chip of wood' ¶ R S II 132, ZMO 133, Abr. S 76 || K *plet-/plit-/p̄lt- 'tear to pieces' > G plet-/plit- id., 'wear out', (Chx.) 'zerreißen, zerfetzen, zerfleischen', G da-plet-il- 'worn out', G X da-pit-a aor. 'he wore\tore out', Mg {K²} pat- 'wear out (?)', Lz plat- 'get worn out, tear to pieces', Sv pet-/pt- v. 'scutch wool' (UB/L li-pt-i, Ln li-pet-i, L ft. 1s oχ-pot-ne ~ oχ-pet-ne) ¶¶ GM S 200, FS E 358, ≈ K² 202 (*plet-/plit-/p̄lt- 'wear out'), Chx. 1485, TK 451-2, Dn. s.v pt- ¶¶ The de-glottalization N *ɬ > K *t is still to be explained || A *p'alt'â 'axe' > T *paltu ~ *palta 'axe' > OT baltu ({Cl.} baltū), MQp, XwT balta 'axe, battle axe', OT Og baldu 'axe', Chg ≥xv baltu, Tk balta, Tkm, Qmn, SbTt palta, Tb {B}, Brb {Dm.} palta ~ balta, Slr palto

'axe', CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qrg balta, StAlt {BT}, Shor malta, QK {B} malta ~ palta, Uz balta, ET palta ~ paldä, Δ {Jr.} paltu ~ paldu, ET X {Ml.} palta ~ paltı, Ln paltı ~ palto, Xk paltı, Tv baldı, Chv L пуртă purtă, Chv Δ: портă, пурт, порт 'axe', Qzq, Qq balta 'axe, battle axe', Yk balta 'forge hammer, molar' ¶ TL 397, Cl. 333, MKD 64, Jr. 223, Nj. 245, TkR 512, Tm. 167, Jud. 106, 605, B DK 240, B DChT 106, 143, B DLT 185, BIG 142, Dm. JBT 133, 173, Ln. 249, Ash. IX 310-12, Fed. I 447-8, Jeg. 166, ChVS 146 || M *balta (<b- T?) > WrM balta {MED} 'big hammer, sledge hammer, axe', HIM балт {MED} id., {BMR}} 'балта, секира, топор', Brt балта 'hammer, sledge hammer', Kl {KRS} балт balť 'battle axe'; {Rm.} balta 'Axt, Sreitaxt, Hellebarde', M (or Yk) б→ Ewk balta 'hammer' ¶ MED 81, BMR I 223, Chr. 84, KRS 80, KW 31-2, STM I 71 ¶¶ KW 31-2 (T, M).

1720. *P_aL_t∇q∇ 'broad and flat' > HS: EC *balđ-/ *ballāđ- 'wide, broad' > Rn {PG} ballāđđì, {Hn.} bal'láđ-i 'width', {PG} ballāđđān, Sml ballāđ-an ~ balāđ-an, Bn bađār-, Or {Grg.} bal?-ā ~ ball-ā, Or H {Ow.} bállā (f. bállō) 'wide', Or B/O {Sr.}, Or M {LLC} ballā, Or Wt {Hn.} balla? 'broad, wide', Or B {Bl.} balđ-, ? Or Gj {LLC} badda 'wide', Or Wl {Brl.} balda 'spiazzo, largura', Kns, Gdl palđ- 'broad', Bs {HL} balđ-, Brj bal?-v. 'be broad', {Hd.} 'be wide', bal?-an-ē {Ss.} 'broad', {Hd.} 'wide', Ged {Hd.} bađđa (< *balđa) 'wide', bađđ-at- 'be wide' ¶ Bl. 196, Ss. PEC 7, 22, Ss. B 33, Grg. 33, Sr. 270, LLC 26, 231, Brl. 41, Vnt. 17, Hn. W 58, 64, Hn. S 53, PG 74-5, HL 83-4, Hd. 167-8, 179, 232 || B (mte.?) *√fltγ > Ah {Fc.} fəltəγ v. 'be broad and flat', ETwl, Ty fьltьγ (pf. fəltəγ) v. 'be flat', fьltьs id. ¶ Fc. 330, GhA 39, NZ 572 || IE *pletH_xu-/ *p_ltH_xu- > NaIE *plet^(h)u-/ *p_lt^(h)u- 'broad and flat' and IE *pletH_x-/ *p_ltH_x- > NaIE *plet^(h)-/ *p_lt^(h)- v. 'extend, spread' > Gk πλατύς 'wide, broad, flat, level' ||| Arm [ւյն] layn 'broad' (< NaIE *pl^otə-no-) ||| Clt {Matas.} *flitano- (< NaIE *p_lt^o-no-), *flitawī- 'broad' > OIr lethan, MW, W llydan, OBr letan ~ litan id., MBr 'wide, broad', Br {Hm.} ledan 'broad', Cmn ledan 'broad'; W lled, Cmn les, Br led 'breadh, width', Br ledañ; OIr leth- 'extend, spread, widen'; MW {SEv.} llet, W lled (< NaIE *plet-is), OIr lethā 'broader, wider', d. lethet 'breadth, size'; *p_lt^o-no- > OIr lethan 'broad', Brtt {RE} *litanos 'wide' > MW, W llydan, Gl n.l. Litana silva (lit. 'Wide forest') and n.l. Litanobriga ||| Lt platūs, Ltv plats 'broad', Lt plōtis 'width' ||| Iir *plet^hu/ *p_lt^hu- > OI pr^o'thu-, Av adj. pərəθav- 'broad, wide' (adv.

parəθu), OI 'prāthati 'spreads, extends', 'prathas-, Av fraθah- 'width' ¶ P 833-4, EI 83 (*p_l'th₂u- 'broad, wide'), M K I 333-4, 362-4, M E II 161-2, Brtl. 892-3, 983, Bai. 302, F II 553-4, LP §§ 7.1, Thr. §§ 215, 226, 259, RE 146, SEv. 41, Slt. 224-5, Flr. 241, 244, Matas. 135, Hm. 509, Frn. 606-7 || K: GZ *pr̥t̥q-eł- 'flat' > G br̥t̥qel-i, G Δ pr̥t̥q-eł-i 'flat, even', Mg bir̥t̥qa- 'flat (and round)' ¶ as. *t̥q > *t̥q ¶ K² 19, 151, Chx. 107, DCh. 119 || A: M *balt- > WrM baltai- {MED} 'be\become flat; be stubby and thickset', HIM балтай- {MED} id., {BMR} 'быть коренастым\плотным' (of a person), Kl {Rm.} baltā- '(unten) ausgebogen \ bauchig sein', Ord b_ald_ā- 'avoir une forme sphérique, avoir une forme d'ine boule, être trapu'; ⇨ M *baltagar > WrM baltagar {MED} adj. 'flattened, thickset, squat, stocky', HIM балтгар {MED} id., {BMR} adj. 'stocky (приземистый, коренастый), not tall', Brt балтагар 'stout and clumsy', Kl {Rm.} baltayur 'unten breit, bauchig, plump', Ord b_ald_agar 'qui a une forme ronde\sphérique; trapu' ¶ MED 81, BMR I 223, Chr. 84, KW 32, Ms. O 48 ◇ The N stem may be akin to N *P_ōt̥χ|q|Γ a 'broad and flat'. If IS is right in assuming that G r may go back to N *í, the N unspecified *L is to be understood as *í.

1721. ₂ *P_∇LhE'ǰ'∇ or\and *P_∇L,h,Eç|č.∇ 'split up, separate' > HS: S: [1] CS *✓płhd v. 'separate' > Sr ✓płhd (pf. ,^اف^د pal'hεd) 'dispersit, separavit', Ar ✓flδ G (pf. فَلَذْ falaḏa) 'cut a slice of', D (pf. فَلَذْ fallaḏa) 'cut into pieces, couper en morceaux', فلذ filḏ- 'morceau', {Hv.} فلذة filḏ-at- 'piece (of meat, metal)' | [2] WS *✓plç > MHb {Js.} ✓plç N 'be split\cracked', ?σ Ar ✓flš D 'deliver, save', Gz ✓flš G 'divide in two, split, separate', fəłš 'broken piece'; EthS ✓flš ⇨ A w {Hz.} felec- v. 'separate' ¶ Js. 1185, Br. 571, BK II 629-30, Hv. 574, L G 161, ≠ AD SF 42 (pC *✓plč v. 'separate, divide'; C ⇨ Gz ✓flš) || IE: NaIE *plēs-/ *plās- 'splinter off, tear off' > ON flasa 'dünne Scheibe, Splitter', NNr flasa 'to splinter off, to split off', Ic flaska 'to be split' || Lt plāskanos pl. 'dandruff' ¶ P 834, Vr. 129, Frn. 604.

1722. ₂ *P_eí|l∇ (= *peí|l∇?) 'pigeon' > IE *p^re¹l- (~ *be¹l-?) 'pigeon' > Gk πέλευα 'dove\pigeon', esp. 'wild rock pigeon, *Columba livia*' || L palumbēs 'wood pigeon, ringdove' (infl. of L columba 'dove\pigeon') || Pru poalis 'pigeon' || ? OI bālāgra 'dovecot' ¶ ≠ P 805, ≠ F II 496, ≠ WH II 242 (all of them unc.: 'dove' ← *'grey'), Dv. no. 860,

EI 169 ¶ The root may have been influenced by *pe|l- 'grey', but it is hardly its main source (*see* the D cognate) || D *pe|l- ({{GS} *b-) 'pigeon' (× N *b∇L∇ 'dove') > Kn be|ava, be|uva 'wild pigeon', Tl be|a-guvva, be|ava 'ringdove' ¶¶ D no. 442O ◇ If OI bālāgra belongs here, it suggests an IE *b- < N *p- ◇ ≈ Blz. 160 (he equated D with HS *b∇l∇ [*see* N *b∇L∇ 'dove'] and did not take account of the IE cognate).

1723. *po|∇ 'hollow, empty' > HS: ECh: Smr {J} pól, Nd D {J} pólâ, Kwn {J} pĕ, Kbl {Cp.} pāl v. 'hollow out' (= 'creuser, évider') ¶ JS 14O, ChC s.v. 'hollow out', Cp. KL s.v. Kbl pāl || IE: NaIE *be|l- ~ *po|al-: [1] *be|l- v. 'hollow out, dig' (× IE NaIE *be|l_a- ~ *bəl- v. 'dig, hollow' < N *p'a|lX∇ 'spade; to dig; pit [sth. dug]') > Arm պեղեմ peṭe-m 'I dig' || OIr belach 'passage, defile, route', NIr bealach 'road, way, path, mountain pass', Clt {P} *bolko-/-ā- > W bwlch 'gap, notch', Br boulc'h 'entamure, entaille, brèche', OIr bolg 'fente, crevasse, brèche' || [2] *po|al- 'hollow, bare' > OR полъ ро|ъ, R полый 'hollow', OCz polo 'empty place' | Blt: as far as I know, the Blt word ≈ *palja-s (nom. sg. m.) has not been found so far in the attested Blt lges and dialects, but is preserved as a loan in BF: F, Es paljas 'bare, uncovered, naked', Vp pa|áz id., Lv pō|áz (pl. pa|·ьd) 'kahl, nackt' || ?? L palam 'openly, publicly' (← *'un-covered') ¶ Vn. B 29, 67, YGM-1 62, Hm. 97, Dnn. 59-6O, Chn. II 54, ≠ Vs. III 32O, SK 473, Kt. 3O7, ZM 397-8, Ach. HGB 919-2O, ≠ WH II 237, unc.: EI 255 (L palam < *'polh_{am} 'palm of hand') ¶ I am grateful to Hl. for drawing my attention to the F loanword || A: T *bo| > NaT *boš 'hollow, empty, free' > OT [MhK] boš 'free, loose, empty', Tkm, CrTt boš 'empty, hollow', Tk boš, Az, Qmq, ET, Slr boš, Kr boš ь bos, Bsh buš, StAlt b_oš, Nog, Qzq bos, Xk pos, Xlj boš 'empty', Uz bωš 'empty, without a load, vacant, unoccupied, free', QrB boš, SY, Alt Δ {Vrb.} pos, Tf b_oš 'empty, loose', VTt, Bsh buš id., 'without a load, non busy, free' (↔ Chv L пуш пуš, Chv Δ poš, Chv L пушă пуž_ь, Chv Δ pož_ь 'empty'), Tv b_oš 'loose, shaky', Qq bos, Qrg boš 'empty, weak' ¶ ET B 2O3-5, Cl. 376, Ra. 164, Rs. W 82, DHST 19O, DT 94, Ash. X 59, 62-3, Fed. I 457-8, Jeg. 17O, ChVS 15O-1 ¶¶ Not here Tg *pile- 'naked, uncovered' (going back rather to N *P_il|íEqi (or *P_iLEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare', q.v. ffd.).

1724. *pe|ʔ,íû (ńE) 'dust, ashes' > HS: Eg P f3.t 'dust' (?) (unless akin to Mkl {J} pūrē 'dust') ¶ EG I 575, Tk. II 553 || WCh: NrBc {Stl.}

*puli 'ashes' > Wrj {Sk.} p̄áľí-ná, {IL in ChC} p^ωžèñá, Kry {Sk.} p̄lí, My {Sk.} p̄lí, {ChL} p̄lí, Jmb {Sk.} b̄lí id. | SBc: Plc B {Sh.} b̄lí id., as well as possibly Zar GL {Sh.} b̄šâr, Zar {IL in ChC} b̄šâr, Sy B b̄šêr̄ 'ashes' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} p̄ré 'poussière' ¶ JI II 4, Sk. NB 13, Stl. ZCh 248 [no. 10], ChC s.v. 'ashes', ChL, Sh. SB 20 ¶¶ Tk. II 553 (Eg, Mkl) ||| **K**: G perpl-i 'ashes' (dis. *l...l > r...l?), perpli xorblisa 'husk of wheat' ¶ DCh 1302 ||| **IE**: NaIE *pel(ω)-, *pe'lōy-s / *pel'w-os 'dust' > L pulvis (gen. pulvis) 'dust', VL pulver 'ashes' ||| Gk πάλη 'the finest meal; fine dust', παλύνω v. 'strew, sprinkle; bestrew, besprinkle' ||| Clt: OIr lúaithe 'ashes', Brtt {RE} *louwtwos id. > W lludw, Crn lūsow, Br ludu id. | *pel-en- (from N *pe₁ǵ, íû **IE** with depalatalization N *-ń- > IE -n- [still to elucidate] or from N *pe₁ǵ, íû + genitive *nu) > L pollen, -in-is 'very fine meal (Staubmehl)' (< nom. *polen, gen. *poln-es with subsequent as. *polnes > *polles and generalization of the stem variant *poll-) ||| ? Blt (× IE *pelH-/*pleH vi. 'burn, be warm' < N *P₂aí|ǵH'ä' 'burn' [intr.]): Pru pelanne, Lt pelenaĩ (pl.), Ltv p̄lni 'ashes'; but hardly here Sl *p̄ľb and *p̄ľb 'dust' (> R пыль, Cz pyl id. etc.), which is derived from *p^hū- 'blow, blasen' (so Vs. III 418, HIK 307 ⇔ Ma. CS 409) ||| I am not sure that IE *polt- 'soup\porridge of meal' (> Gk πόλιτος 'porridge', L puls / gen. pulvis 'porridge of flour', Clt {Matas.} 'pap, porridge' > Mlr littiū {Matas.} id., {P} 'soup of meal, pulmentum', W llith {P} 'pap, mash', {Matas.} 'food, nourishment, bait') belongs here ||| ?σ (here?) *p^he'lw- 'chaff, husk' > L palea 'chaff' ('Spreu, Stroh, Getreidehülse') ||| OI m. pl. palāva-aḥ 'chaff, husk', ?? palā'li-, palala 'stalk, straw', Λ palah 'straw' (unless loans from a pre-IE source) ||| BSl *pelū-, *pēlwā- 'chaff' > Lt pl. p̄lūs, (pl.) pelaĩ (sg. p̄las), Ltv pl. p̄lus, p̄lavas, p̄levas, Pru pelwo, Ltv pelvas (pl.) id. | Sl *pelva 'chaff' > OCS плѣвы plěvǫ (pl.), R, Uk по'лова, R Δ пелева, SCr плѣва ≅ pljèva, Slv pléva, Cz pléva, pleva, Slk pleva, P plewa id. ¶ P 802, EI 104 (*pe₁lo/h_h- ~ *pe₁loy- 'chaff'), 441 (*polt- 'pap, porridge'), M K II 233, M E II 103, F II 467, 470, WH II 238, 331-2, 388, LP § 162, RE 79, ECCE 266, Frn. 566-9, En. 226, SJSS XXV 58, Vs. III 312, StSS 452, Glh. 489-90, Matas. 135 ||| **U**: FP *peíme 'dust, ashes, dirt' > F pelme (gen. pelmeen) 'dirt', pulma- 'aufwirbeln, qualmen, aufstauben' ||| Prm {LG} *peym, *peyn- 'ashes' > Z пöим рзim, Z LLe рзin, Vt пень реń id. ||| ??σ,μ F röly, Krl, Vp rölü 'dust' ¶ UEW 728, U 341, SK 696, SSA II 467 ||| **A** *p^hóíñæ

'ashes', (→) 'grey' > M *φūne-sūn 'ashes' > MM [MA, IsV] hūnesūn, [S] hūnesū, WrM {MED} ūnesūn 'ash, ashes', HIM ḡnc(ēn) ~ ḡnēs(ēn) {MED} id., {BMR} id. ('зола, пепел, прах'), Kl {KRS} ḡmsh ūmsān 'ash, ashes', {Rm.} ūmsā 'Asche', Mnr H {T} funise id., {SM} funjēz₃ 'cendre', {Pot.} фунисы, Mnr M {Pot.} хунисы, Dx funjesun, Mgl {Iw.} ūnesūn, Dg χuns, ShY henesān 'ashes', Ord ūnisū 'cendre' ¶ Pel. 238-9 [no. 70], MED 1009, BMR III 414, 419, KRS 551, KW 458, Iw. 144, H 79, Pp. MA 191, Lg. VMI 35, T 71, T DnJ 138, SM 107, Pot. 414, S AJ 233 [no. 2], Ms. O 759 || Tg {S, DQA} *puńe 'ashes' > Ewk hulz-ptēn, Neg xulēptēn, Sln uluktē, Lm hultēn, Nn Nh puńzktē, Nn KU puńzkt, Orc xulzptz, Ud {Krm.} xulzptz(n) ~ xunzptz, Ul punzktz(n-) ~ puńzktz, Ork punzktz(n-), WrMc {Z} фулэнги, Jrc фuлері id. ¶ STM II 347, Krm. 307, On. 343, Ms. O 759, Z 1082, S AJ 207 [no. 3] || NaT *o:;ń|y 'dun' ({Cl.} 'color of horse's coat), 'dust- or ash-colored' > OT o:;y ({Cl.} o:y) 'dun', MQp XIII o:y 'dust- or ash-colored' (a horse), Xk {BIG} o:y 'dun, light bay (буланый, соловый)', Shor {Rl.} aʷ-o:y 'light bay', Tv o:y 'dun' ¶ Cl. 266, Rl. I 969, BIG 124, TvR 315 || pKo {S} *puńə- 'grey, ash-colored' > Ko Ph puŋə-tʰa id. ¶ Rm. SKE 204, S AJ 37, 257 [no. 167], 289 ¶¶ SDM 1170 (A *p'óńe 'ashes, grey' > T, M, Tg; pKo *puńə- [adduced in earlier versions of SDM] is not mentioned), DQA no. 1824 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *pυlńE (> T, M, Tg, Ko), S AJ 37, 289, Pp. VG 12, Ci. EApk 60 || **Gil:** Gil A płzŋg 'ashes, soot' ¶¶ ST 263 ◇ The glottalized consonants in the WCh lges (p̥-, b̥-) suggest the presence of a glottal stop *ʔ. If NaT *o:;ń|y belongs here (which is doubtful), its initial zero cns. may go back to *p̥- < *pʷʔ- ◇ The A labialized vw. may be due to the infl. of **p' and of the labial vw. of the second syll., while U *-e- cannot be explained away, therefore I prefer to reconstruct the N etymon with the vw. *e (*pe:;ń|ú (ńE)) ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 4b (IE, U, A, Ch), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 45 (N *pe|ŋ 'ashes' > IE, U), ≈ Blz. DNA no. 50 (N *pū|ŋ 'ashes, dust'; *÷ D: Tm pūŋi 'ashes, sacred dust' [transcribed as pū|i], Tu puŋye sand').

1725. *p'íʔú'íŋ 'slit' > **HS:** C: Sa {R} bōl 'Kluft, Erdsplatt, précipice' ¶ R S II 79-80 || **IE:** NaIE *buli; - 'vulva', *'anus' (→ 'buttocks') > BdhSk bu'li-h, OI ^ bu'ri-h 'buttocks, vulva' || Lt {Frn.} bulis, bulé, bulé 'Hinterer, Gesäß', {EI} 'rump' ¶ P 99, M K II 439-40, Frn. 63-4, EI 88 (*bulis ≈ rump) || **U:** FU *piíŋ 'slit, cunnus' > F pillu 'cunnus', Vp piłu, Es pilu 'slit' || Vg N {Mu.} pií 'Bunze' ('cunt'), pileyaxti v.

'copulate with' ¶ Coll. 108, SK 564, ZM 418, МК 440 || А *p'ī, ∇ 1 ∇ 'way, path; patch, precipice' > pKo {S} *p̥iəɾ- 'precipice, road above precipice' > MKo p̥iəɾo, p̥iəɾ, NKo p̥iəɾaŋ, p̥iəɾe, p̥iəɾu ¶ MLC 775, Nam 258, MLC 775 || Tg *pile 'thawed patch (проталина)' > Ewk hīlз, hīlзкз, Lm hīlзŋз, Neg хīлзхз id., Ud silзŋзgisi- v. 'thaw out' (a patch of ground amidst a frozen snow-covered country), WrMc {Z} фил-та-хунь 'open (ground) ¶ STM II 324, Z 1057 || Т *jōl 'way, road' (× N *noh1∇ 'to walk\lead; way', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1155 (pA *p'jōlo 'way, path; patch, precipice' > Tg, Т, Ко, with *-jō- based on adduction of Т *jōl [*-ō- going back to N *noh1∇]), DQA no. 1793 (id.), ≈ S AJ 283 (A *p'jū1∇ 'дорога, тропа; проталина, ущелье' with adduction of Т *jōl) ◇ The pKo diphthong *jə and the conflicting ev. of the IE and C back labialized vw. and the vw. *i in FU and Tu point to a pN bisyllabic sequence *-iHû-. The lack of vw. lengthening in IE suggests that the tentatively reconstructed N Ir. was *ʔ.

1726. *P_aí|ǵH'ä' (= *paí|ǵH'ä'?) 'to burn' (intr.), 'to be heated on fire' > HS: B *✓f1Hw ~ *✓f1Hly v. 'shine, sparkle' > Ah fəluwət 'scintiller', Izd s-flili 'briller', Kb flali 'briller' (the meaning 'surgir' of the same Kb verb is likely to go back to a different HS root or a different N word) ¶ Fc. 326, Mrc. 39, Dl. 208, NZ 574 || WCh *✓fy1 ~ *✓fw1 v. 'boil' ({Stl.} *faw|y1- vt. 'cook, boil') > AG: Su fīl, Ang {ChC} fūl, Kfr {Nt.} fya1, Cp {ChL} fīyε1, ? Gmy {ChL} fulc v. 'boil' | BT: Gera pili-, Bl {Lk.} ?i-fulo, ? Krkr {ChL} fùltз id. | SBc {ChL}: Kir fule, Gj hùlùwì, Buli fulu, Plc ðr fúlú id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 160-1 [no. 143], ChC s.v. 'boil', ChL, Nt. 14 || IE: [1] *pelH̥-/ *pleH̥- > NaIE *pelə- / *plē(w)- / *plō(w)- vi. 'burn, be warm' > ON flóɾ 'warm, lukewarm', Nr flø 'lukewarm' || Clt {Matas.} *°flenstu- 'light (Licht)' > Mlr léс 'light, daylight' || Sl inf. *polěti > OCS inf. полѣти polěti vi. (λεγεσθα) 'to blaze', Slv inf. poléti id., SCr Ch inf. spoliti 'to kindle, to light', caus.: Sl inf. *paliti (1s pres. *pāljq) > OCS inf. палити paliti vt., vi. 'to burn', R inf. палить, Uk inf. палити, P inf. palić, SCr, Slv inf. páliti vt. 'to burn', Blg паля vt. 'burn'; Sl *polmī / G *polmene 'flame' > OCS пламы plamī / пламене plamene (↳ R 'пламя / пламени), OR полма polome, R f, Δ полымя, Δ поломя, Uk полум'я, Blg плам, SCr plām, plāmēn, Slv plāmen, Cz plamen, Slk plameň, P płomień id. | [2] If the N word-internal lateral was *-l-, then the expected IE form with initial *(s)- has

coalesced with some other sources (N words?) in NaIE *(s)p(h)el- v. 'shine' > OI $\sigma\phi\upsilon\lambda\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha$ 'spark' (M K III 545 without definite et.), Arm $\psi\omega\gamma\lambda$ p^hayl (gen. $\psi\omega\gamma\lambda\eta\gamma$ p^haylic^h) n. 'shine, brilliancy, glitter', $\psi\omega\gamma\lambda\epsilon\mu$ p^haylem v. 1s pres. 'shine, glitter, gleam' ¶ WP II 59-60, 679-80, P 805, 987 (the Arm forms misquoted with p- for p^h-), Vr. 133, Hü. 500, Me. EAC 35, Slr. 210-11, Glh. 465, Vs. III 192-3, 273, StSS 441, 443, 448, 474, Chrn. I 617-18 and II 38, Matas. E 133 || U: FU (att. in FV) *paLa- vi. 'burn' > F, Es pala- id. | pLp {Lr.} *pōlē > Lp: N {N} buolle / -l- vi. 'burn, be on fire, burn down, up', S {Hs.} buöl'edh, L {LLO} puollē vi. 'burn', Kld {SaR} пӯлле, {TI} pū'll'e- id. | pMr {Ker.} *palb- vi. 'burn' > Er пало- palo-, Mk пало- palə- id. and possibly the (derived?) verb Er пулта- pulta-, Mk плхта- pəhta- vt. 'burn', which most probably belongs together with F polttaa id. ¶ In FU there is also a √ *paía- v. 'freeze' (a homonym of different origin or a semantic development of the √ in question) > F palele- 'Kälte empfinden, frieren', Lp N {N} buolâš / -ll- 'frost', Mk пало- palə- 'erfrieren, frieren', Hg fagγ 'Frost, frieren', Vg: T pāí-, LK, P pōí-, Ss pōí- 'erfrieren'; for semantics cf. R от мороза горит лицо (lit. 'the face burns from the frost'), the metaphor being based on similarity of physiological reactions to intense heat and frost ¶ Coll. 106, UEW 352 (FU *paía 'Eiskruste, Frost, frieren, gefrieren'; the authors of UEW considered the meaning 'burn' to be secondary), Lr. no. 994, Lgc. no. 5310, Hs. 382-3, TI 407, SaR 270-1, Ker. II 104-5 || D *pa|∇ ({ǰGS} *p-) v. 'glitter, shine' > Tm palapaḷa id., Ml palapaḷa 'gleaming', paluηηuka v. 'glitter', Kn palakane, palac(c)ane, palance 'with a glitter, with pure brightness', Tu palḷena v. 'light, shine', TI palapaḷa 'glitteringly' ¶¶ D no. 4012 ◇ IE *h̥ and U *-a point to a pN *ä (with synharmonic levelling *a...ä > U *a...a) ◇ AD GD 11 (IE, U), IS MS 337 (*pāíλ 'гореть'), IS SS no. 10.15 (in both latter sources IE, U, D) ◇ WCh (AG) data suggest a N initial *p-.

1727. *P_äíχ|γ∇ 'thumb, big toe; (?) finger' > HS: Ch: CCh: MrgP, Mrg L {Mk} pil, Klb {Mk} pilu 'fingernail' | HgMd {Mk} billi, HgMk {Mk} billə, HgSn bille id., HgWl {Mk} pulla 'finger' | Suk {Mk} pilak 'fingernail' || ECh: Jg {J} φίλλό id. ¶ JI II 246-7, Mk I, ChC 'finger' and 'fingernail', ChL || K: Sv: UB/LB/L/Ln pχule, U pχole 'finger' ¶ TK 773-4, GP 265, Dn. s.v. pχule ¶ In K the lr. was attracted to the initial stop, bringing about a "harmonic cluster" *pχ- < *p|p...χ|γ || IE: NaIE

*pōl- 'thumb, big toe' > L pollex, -icis id. (with -oll- < -ōl-, acc. to WH II 333) || Sl d. *pal-ьк-ъ > *pal-ьс-ь 'thumb' > ChS {Mikl.} ПАЛЬЦЬ ральсь 'pollex', Blg 'палец, Cz, Slk, Slv palec, SCr pàlac 'thumb', P palec, OR palсб ральсь, R 'палец, Uk 'палець 'finger, toe'; underived Sl *palь is found in R бес- 'палый 'fingerless', шести- 'палый 'having six fingers' ¶ WH II 332-3, EI 255 (*'poliko-s 'finger, thumb', *'poliHo-s 'pertaining to a finger'), ZVSZ 300, Ma. CS 350, Vs. III 191-2, Glh. 464-5, Mikl. L 553 || U *pā́l̥ 'thumb' > FU d. *pā́l-kä id. > pLp {Lr.} *pēlkē 'thumb, big toe' (suggesting FU *-e-) > Lp: N {N} bælgē / -lg-, L {LLO} piel'kē, Kld {TI} pīēl'g id., S {Hs.} bielgie 'thumb' | pMr *pā́kə 'thumb, big toe' > Er пелька réika, Mk пялькя pā́kə id. (pointing to FU *-ä-) | Prm *pEl(k) > Z pev / pev̥y- 'thumb', Δ 'big toe', Z UV/US/LL/P/MS pel, StVt pəl̥t, Vt Sl {R} pǎ́t, Kz {R} pǎ́t 'thumb' || Sm *p̥t̥y-, {Hl.} *p̥iy- 'thumb' (< U *pÉl̥y̥l̥e) > Ne T O p̥k̥ce, En X fī́tu, B fī́du, Ng feʔaɥa, Kms pidi, Mt {Hl.} ≈ *hegābtī id. (Mt K {Pl.} егебти) ¶¶ UEW 363, Lr. no. 909, Lgc. no. 4840, Hs. 316, LG 217, Lt. 226, SZ 278, Ker. II 109 (postulating pre-Mr *pēl̥ə-kä > pMr *pā́l̥ə-kə > *pā́kə), Jn. 123, Hl. M no. 275.

1728. *pÁl̥gæ ~ *pÁl̥gæ 'spleen' > IE *b_{l̥}h_₂g^hen- ~ *(s)p_{l̥}g^hen- > NaIE *b_{l̥}h_₂g^hen- ~ *(s)pel̥g^h(-en, -ā) ~ *(s)pleng^h- ~ *(s)ple(:)g^h- 'spleen' > ? Blt: Lt blužn̥is, blužn̥é, Pru blusne 'spleen' | Sl *selzena, {Vln.} *s̥lezena id. > SrChS СЛѢЗЕНА slězena, Blg 'слезен, d. 'слезенка, 'слезка, SCr slezina, Slv slezēn, slezēna, Cz, Slk slezina, Cz Δ slezena, OP śleziona, P śledziona (secondary ź), R d. селе'зёнка, Uk d. селе'зінка id. || OI plī'hā / plihan-, Av sp̥arəzan-, KhS spuljei, MPrs spurz, NPrs سپرن soporz ~ اسپرن osporz 'spleen' || Gk σπλήν (gen. σπληνός) 'spleen' (< *σπληγχ, cp. σπλάγχνα nom. pl. 'entrails') || Arm փայծաղն p^haycałn 'spleen' (→ G paçal-i, Lz pañçala id.) || L liēn (gen. liēnis) 'spleen' || Clt {Matas.} *sfelgā 'spleen' > OIr {Vn.} Ml̥r {Matas.} selg, OBr, MBr felch id., Br felc'h 'rate' ¶ The deviations from the expected reflexes in several lges are due to simplification of a complicated proto-form (and possibly to tabuistic replacements of sounds) ¶ WP II 680, P 987, ≈ EI 538 (*spełg^h-), M K II 385-6, M E II 196-7, Bai. 415, Vl. I 89 and II 204, Horn 155, F II 769-70, Ch. 1039-40, WH I 799, EM 357-8, Vn. S 81, Matas. E 332, Hm. 277, Flr. 170, Frn. 52, En. 153, Tp. P A-D 236-8, Vs. III 594-5, Vln. SS

66-7 (IE *sp_lHġ^hen- with simplifications in branches of NaIE), Brü. 530-1 || D *pa_l- (or *pa_{ll}-) ({ǵGS} *b-?) 'spleen' > Tu pa_{ll}æ, Prj bella, Ku balla & bella & bela 'spleen', Tl balla 'enlargement of the spleen' ¶¶ D no. 3995 || HS: WCh: AG: Tal {IL} fòlòk, Cp {ChL} fílók, Tmbs {Sh.} fɔ̀lòk, Gmy {ChL} fólè 'liver' ¶ ChC s.v. 'liver', ChL, Sh. T s.v. fɔ̀lòk || ?σ,φ U *opaL_l∇ɣ_l∇ > Ne: T πᾶλᾶ 'gut', T O {Lh.} pᾶl·ᾶ 'großer beutelartiger Darm, wohl Dickdarm' ¶ Ter. 437, Lh. 335, UEW 364 ◇ IE *(s)- suggests the presence of a palatal cns., sc. N *í, so that we expect *-l̥- in pD, but the extant ev. of the D lges does not distinguish between D *-l̥- and *-ll-. The zero reflex of N *g in Sm suggests a vw. begore *g (because the N intervoc. *-g- yields U *-y- > Sm *∅). The AG word (if it belongs here, in spite of the semantic distance) and the Baltic cognate point to the initial N cs. *p-, while IE *(s)p_lHġ^hen- points to a N initial *p̥-. This discrepancy still requires explanation ◇ The IE, D and Ch data allow a reconstruction of either N *-í- or *-ġ-, but Sm *-l- rules out N *-ġ- (which regularly yields Sm *-y-, see N *sü_l|gġ∇ 'finger(s), hollow hand' > U *suġ^{ra} 'finger' > Sm {Jn.} *ot̥yā, {Hl.} *ot̥ya id., N *bUyġ∇ 'ε fur-bearing animal' > U *poyġ∇ 'ermine' > Ne T πια and N *šüġ^{ra} 'heart' > U *šüġä(με) id. > Sm {Jn.} *sey̆ or {AD} *šey̆ id.).

1729. *pUyAm∇ ('b'∇) (sc. with the component *bA of animal names) 'snake' > A *p'ôyam∇ 'snake' > Tg *p'u'yumur ({SDM} *püymur) 'dragon, monster' > Ork pómōi 'a mythical monster resembling a boa', Nn Nh puymur, Nn Bk himur ~ simuru 'dragon, a crocodile-like monster', Orc himu ~ sġmu 'ε monster', Neg xim̥u & ximu 'ε mythical monster resembling a sheatfish' ¶ STM I 466, On. 340 || T *o_lh_lu_l:_lman > Chv L ᾶман ъман {Ash.} 'earthworm', {ChVS} 'worm, earthworm', Chv Δ {SDM} ᾶman 'worm' ¶ Ash. IV 39, ChVS 22, SDM 1165 || pKo *p'áyàm 'snake' > MKo p'áyàm, NKo [pā:m] (spelled pa_ym) ¶ S AJ 255 [no. 109], S QK no. 109, Nam 242, MLC 756 || pJ {SDM} *pàim(p)∇ 'snake' > OJ pemyi, MJ pèmi, J T hébi, J K hèbí, J Kg hé], J Ns hàbú, J Sh hábù, ? J Ht pà_kù id. ¶ S AJ 91, 269 [no. 103], S QJ no. 103, Mr. 404, Mr. KJ 251, Kenk. 460 || M *yamū > WrM {Rm.←?} yamū, Kl {Rm.} yama 'Wurm (der z. B. Zahnweh verursacht); Krankheit', {KRS} ям 'disease of the teeth' (= or × M *yama > WrM yama {MED} 'strangles, glanders', HIM ям {MED} id., {Luv., BMR} 'glanders?'), Ord yamū ~ yama 'chancre, cancer' ¶ Valid only if the meaning 'worm' is primary ¶ MED 426, BMR

IV 462, Luv. 693, KW 214, KRS 709, Ms. O 394-5 ¶¶ SDM 1165 (pA *p'ò¹yam∇ 'snake' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1876 (id.), S AJ 91, 278 [no. 96], Mr. KJ 251 || **D** *pāmpo ({{ʒGS} *p-) 'snake' > Tm, Ml pāmpu, Kt pa'b, Td po'b, Kn pāvu, Kdg pa'mb†, Tl pāmυ, Klm pa'm, Nk pām, Prj bām, Gdb bām 𐌆 bāmb id., Tu pāmbolu 'ε flat, long fish' ¶¶ D no. 4085 || **HS**: Eg Md pnd 'ε intestine worm' ¶ EG I 511, Tk. II 455-6 || Ch: pAG {Hf.} *paη 'ε snake' > Gmy/Mnt {Hf.}, Su {J} paη, Ang {Hf.} p̃aη id., Ang {Flk.} paη 'ε poisonous large snake', Mpn {Frz.} pāη 'Gabon viper' ¶ Hf. AG 17 [no. 1], J S 78, Flk. s.v. paη, Frz. DM 48 ¶¶ Tk. II 455-6 (Ef, Ch) || ? **U**: Sm: Slq Tz {KKIH} pünä 'ε mythical monster' ¶ KKIΗ 154 ¶¶ (U *puńe or *puy|ńe): Sm *pu₁y₁ńb 'ε worm' (× N ?φ *puč₁∇₁ń∇ 'worm, snake' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ Sm *ń belongs to the heritage of N *puč₁∇₁ń∇ ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA rno. 47 (unc. equation of D and A with Su/Fy rúp₁wá₁p 'fish') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 352 (*pam 'snake') (A, Ko, J + unc. Ai)

1730. *peñ∇ (or *peñ₁y|n₂∇) 'small dog, whelp' > K: G pinia 'small dog', Mg pinia, pinie, pina 'small dog, poodle' ¶ Q 336, Chx. 1475 || **U**: FU (att. in FP only?) *pen|ñe (or pen|ñi) 'dog' > F peni (gen. peni-r) 'whelp', penikka 'puppy', Es peni 'dog', pLp {Lr.} *pēnzk 'dog' > Lp: N {N} bæñâ, L {LLO} pãna, S {Hs.} biēnje, Kld {TI} p̃ennāš id. | pMr {Ker.} *peñə > Er пине piñe, Mk пине piñə id. | Chr L пий piij, E {Ps.} piij, H пи pi, KB punī, K рънь 'dog' | Prm {LG} *pöni > Z pon, pon₁-, Z US pwn, Yz pun, Vt pun† id. || ??? Hg fene 'wild, graulich, scheußlich' ¶¶ UEW 371, Sm. 553 (FP *penä 'dog'), SK 517-18, Lr. no. 911, Lgc. no. 4853, Hs. 318-19, Ker. II 113, Ps. OT 93, Wc. TT 83, LG 224-5, TI 369 || **A** *p'æñük'∇ (= *p'æñük'∇?) 'whelp, dog' > NaT *₁h₁æ₁nük 'whelp, puppy' > OT {Cl.} äñük, {DTS} enük 'the young of a carnivorous animal; cub, puppy', MQp enük, OOsmeñük ~ enik, Tk enik, inik 'young animal (dog, bear etc.)', Chg ≥xv ايتوك enük 'young of a carnivorous animal', Az Δ äñíx, Ggz jenik, Tv, Tf enik, Shor {Rl.} ünäg-äš id., Tb {B} önögöš 'young dog', QK {T} önöžek, Yk ünügäs 'puppy' ¶ ET Gl 281-3, TL 190-1, Rs. W 44, Cl. 183, B T 142, B DChT 183, Bu. I 214, Rl. I 182O, Shch. Zh 129 || Tg: Ewk Urm hēnnukā 'dog (returned from the hunt)' ¶ STM II 321 || AdS of M *ϕünegēn 'fox' (< N *P₁uñ'ä¹ or *P₁üñā 'red color, [?] fox', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ Yk ünügäs points to a short vw. in the pA initial syll., suggesting that the long vw. (-ē-) in Ewk hēnnukā is a Tg innovation ¶¶ Pp. VG 70, Rs. UAW 24 || ?σ

D *peñ- 'female animal, a female (woman, girl)' > Tm peṇ id., M peṇ 'a female (woman, girl)', Kt peñ, Klm peñṭī 'female', Td peñ 'woman', Kn peṇ 'female, woman', Kdg poññ† 'wife, female', Tu poṇṇu 'girl, female', Tl peṇṭi 'female animal\plant', Gdb peñṭi 'female sheep', Nkr penli, Gnd penḍul 'marriage', Prj pindrul, Kui pondri rindri 'married couple' ||| ⇨ (?φ) D *peṭṭ- 'female animal, female young animal' > Tm peṭṭai 'female animal, woman', Ml peṭṭa 'female of birds\asses\camels', Krb poṭṭi 'hen', Tl peṭṭa, Klm peṭṭa 'female of birds', Nkr peṭṭu 'female animal\bird', Png peṭi 'female kid', Ku peṭi mila 'female young (of sheep, pig)', Mlt baṭgo 'female of birds', baṭg 'virginal' ¶¶ D *peñ- (suggesting N *-ñ-) belongs here only if the primary meaning was 'female animal' (← *'small animal') ¶¶ D no. 4395
 ◇ IS MS 366 s.v. 'собака' *penʋ (U, D, K), Rs. UAW 24 (U, A).

1731. *P̄ri'ñ∇ (= *p̄ri'ñ∇?) 'piece of wood, trunk' ([in descendant lges] → 'log, board, pole') > **HS:** B *^o✓fnʏt > Ah a-faṇʏatut (pl. ifaṇʏatut) 'grosse pièce du bois mort', Tdq afānʏātōt 'grosse pièce de bois' ¶ Fc. 332, NZ 583 || ? DEg p̄n.t 'threshold' (p̄n.t n pr 'Schwelle des Hauses'), Cpt Sd **п̄н̄н̄** p̄nē, **п̄н̄** p̄nē, Cpt B **в̄ен̄н̄** bennē 'montant de la porte, seuil, marche', ?? Eg N b̄nn 'Balken', Eg L b̄nn.t 'threshold (of a door)' ¶ Er. 131, EG I 460, Vc. 160, Tk. I 44 (Eg b̄nn, b̄nb̄n < HS *b̄∇l) and II 231-2 || **K:** G {Chx.} p̄in-i 'dicke Stange, Barre', 'Balken' ¶ Chx. 1475 || **IE:** NaIE *p̄in- 'piece of wood, trunk' > OI 'p̄ināka-m 'staff', later 'bow, club' ||| Gk πύναξ (gen. πύνακος) 'wooden board, plank; drawing\writing tablet; board for painting on it, picture' ||| OHG w̄itu-fīna 'pyre, pile of wood', MLG v̄îne 'pile of wood' ||| Sl *p̄b̄ńb̄ > ChS {Mikl.} **п̄ьн̄ь** p̄b̄ńb̄ 'truncus', OR **п̄ьн̄ь** p̄b̄ńb̄, R **п̄ень** (gen. п̄ня) 'tree stump', P p̄ieñ 'trunk\stock of a tree', SCr p̄ānj (gen. p̄ánja) id., 'tree stump', Slv p̄ānj (gen. p̄ānja) 'tree stump, stock', Blg **п̄ьн̄** 'tree stump, block of wood, log', Cz p̄eř 'trunk of a tree' ¶ P 830, EI 44 (*p̄in- '≈ shaped wood'), M K II 281-2, M E II 132, F II 539, Kb. 1217, Mikl. L 758, Vs. III 233, Ma. CS 361, Glh. 467 ¶ L p̄īnus 'fir, pine, stone pine' is kept apart because of the long vw. ī which suggests a following cluster of cnss (in *p̄īt(s)nos, *pit(s)nos or *p̄iksnos) (÷ Gk πύτυς 'pine' < N *p̄eʔy,ičû 'ε coniferous tree' [q.v.], see WH II 308) || **U:** FU *p̄En|ñ∇ 'ε coniferous tree' > Chr H {Ü} п̄ьн̄ p̄an 'pine tree', {Ep.} п̄ьн̄-ж̄ь п̄anž̄a 'pine forest' | Prm *p̄oñeí 'young coniferous tree' > Vt p̄umeí 'sprout; young tree, young growth

(поросль)', Z pоnз́ 'young coniferous trees (хвойная поросль), young fir tree, young spruce' || Hg fену́ 'pine, spruce, fir tree' ¶ UEW 416-17, Coll. 78, LG 225, TmK 551, Ep. 101 || A: Tg *p̄ina 'wooden yoke behind the shoulders which is used for carrying load' > Ewk hina, Neg xina, Ud sina, Ul, Nn Nh p̄ina, Ork p̄inā id., Orc xina ~ sina 'knapsack', WrMc {Hr.} фицана 'zwei durch Stricke verbundene Bretter, die zum Tragen von Lasten auf dem Rücken dienen', {Z} фяна 'станок из двух палок с перекладинами, в которых носят тяжести на спине' ¶ STM II 325, Krm. 285, On. 328, Hr 297, Z 1094-5 || D *p̄un̄n- ({{GS}} *p-) 'mastwood, trees *Calophyllum* and *Rottlera tinctoria*' > Tm p̄un̄naī ~ p̄in̄naī 'mastwood, *Calophyllum inophyllum*', Tl ponna id., Ml punna id., '*Rottlera tinctoria*', Kn punnike, ponne, honne '*Terminalia tomentosa*', Tu ponnæ '*Rottlera tinctoria*'; D ⇨ Sk p̄um̄nāga id., '*Calophyllum inophyllum*' ¶¶ D no. 4343', Tu. no. 8244 ◇ D *U (rather than the expected front vw.) may be due to as. (infl. of the labial cns.) ◇ The N initial cns. is *p̄- (rather than *p-) if Eg p̄n.t belongs here; N *i > D *U (ass. infl. of *p-?).

1732. *P̄'o'ñ∇ 'path, ford' > IE (+ ext.) *'ponto₁Hx₁-s, gen. *p̄o'tHx-os 'way, path, ford' > OI panthaḥ, -ā (instr. sg. pathā) 'path', Av pantā, panta 'path, space', OPrs accus. sg. paθim 'path', KhS pande 'way, path, road', NPrs پند pānd 'road', Oss I/D (← dim.) fāndag 'road'; Ir ⇨ ? FU {UEW} *pānt∇ 'way, path' > Z pad- in pad-vež 'crossroads' (vež 'cross, across'), ? Os: D pēnt 'Weg (der Menschen\Tiere)', Kz pānt 'way, path, tracks (of an animal)' || Arm հնւն հւռ (gen. հնի հրի) {Bdr.} 'ford, shallow passage, way' || Gk πόντος 'sea' (esp. 'open sea') ({{EI}: ← 'path through the sea'), πάτος 'trodden\beaten way, path' || amb Al NG péndē 'weir, dam' (unless a loan from L) || L pōns (gen. sg. pōntis, gen. pl. pōnti-um) 'bridge, gangway, deck of a ship, Steg, Prügelweg durch Sümpfe' || OSx fāthi, fōthi (io-stem) 'going, step', OHG fendo 'pedestrian, infantryman' | Gmc *paθa- 'path, way' (← another IE descendant lge?) > OHG pfad ~ phad, MHG phat (gen. phades), NHG Pfad, MDt pat (pad), Dt pad, AS pæð id., NE path || pBSl {Rsm.} accus. sg. *'pant-in, gen. sg. *pan't-es > Sl *p̄ot̄ь (gen. *p̄ot̄i) > OCS п̄ть р̄ть (gen. п̄ти р̄ти) 'road; way', R путь (gen. пути), Uk путь, Blg път, SCr p̄t, Slv p̄t, Cz pout, Sk p̄t', P pać 'way' | Ltv pañts 'line of verse', {ME}

'row, line, rank of soldiers', Pru *pintis* 'way' ¶¶ Acc. to Rsm. AT 82, IE nom. sg. **'ponto*h-s > Av *pantā*, IE gen. sg. **pn̥*'th-os > Av *paθō*, OI *pa'thaḥ*; in OI nom. '*panthaḥ* the cns. *th* is due to generalization ¶¶ P 808-9, ≈ EI 202, 487 (**'ponto*h₂-s / **pn̥*'th₂-os 'untraced path'; unc.: ← **pent-* 'find one's way' > Gmc: Gt *finpan* [*·* *Ϝ* *λ* *ν* *ω* *σ* *κ* *ε* *λ* *ν*] 'erkennen, erfahren', ON *finna*, AS *findan* 'find', NE *find* etc.), Mn. 975, Mn. AHG 40, M K II 210-11, M E II 81-3, Fs. 155, Bai. 211, Ab. I 445-6, UEW 364-5, Coll. 135, WH II 336-7, F II 578-9, Ho. S 18, Ho. 244, Kb. 234, 757, OsS 177, 671, Lx. 158, KM 540, Vr. N 500, Me. EAC 36, 181, Slt. 175, Rsm. AT 82, Vs. III 413, StSS 562, Glh. 513, Kar. II 16-18, En. 226, ME III 78 || HS: S: Gz *fənnā* 'way, path', *fənōt* 'way, path, road, journey' ¶ L G 163 || K **p*'*o*'*n*- '≈ ford' > MG, G *pon-i* {Chx.} 'ford', † 'reiβender Bach', {DCh.} 'ford, pond', eNG {SSO} *pon-i* 'mdinaris gasavali' ('passage through a stream?'), Sv {Ni.} *la-pān* 'ford' ¶¶ Chx. 1488, DCh. 1312, Ni. s.v. 'бродъ' ◇ The origin of IE **tH* is not clear (the second component of a N cd?). If FU **pānt*∇ is not a loan from the Ir word, but its inherited cognate, the N rec. must be **P*_·*ān*∇_·*H*_·∇. If so, the loss of N **t* in S and K is puzzling.

1733. **P*_·*u**n̥*'*ā*' or **P*_·*ū**nā* 'red color, (?) fox' > U: FU (att. in BF) **pun*|*nā* 'red color, fox' > Es *punane* 'red animal, fox', 'red', 'blood', F *puna* 'red color, blood', Lv *pu*'*n*:*i* 'red' ¶ SK 640-1, SSA 426-7 || ? A **°p*_·'*ū**n**E* > M **φ**ū**ne*gen 'fox' (× N **pe**n̥*∇ 'small dog, whelp') > MM [MA, IM, S, HI] *hū**ne*gen, [L] *هَنْكَانْ* *hū**ne*gen, WrM {MED} *ū**ne*ge(n), HIM {MED} *Ү**н**э**г*, {BMR} *Ү**н**э**г*(*э**н*), Brt *Ү**н**э**г**э*(*н*), Mnr H {SM} *funig*_e ~ *χunig*_e, {T} *funig*_e, Dx {T} *funi**ē*ge 'fox', Kl {KRS} *Ү**н**г**н* id., 'female (wild animal)' (e.g. *Ү**н**г**н* *ч**о**н* 'she-wolf'), {Rm.} *ün**ϕ**η* 'Füllen (im ersten Sommer)', Ord *ū**ne*ge 'renard' ¶ Pel. 235-6 [no. 63], Pp. L III 76, Pp. MA 191, 438, H 79, Ms. H 62, MED 1008, BMR III 415, KRS 551, Chr. 508, SM 108, 183, T 371, T DnJ 149, Ms. O 757 || ? T: Yk *ün**g**ä*s 'puppy' ('Junges eines Hundes'), Shor {Rl.} *ün**ä*g-*ä*š, Tb *ön**ö*g*ö*š 'puppy' ¶ Pp. VG 70, Rl. I 1820, B DChT 183 ¶¶ Pp. VG 70 || HS: WCh: AG **b*|*b*∇*η* 'red' > Gmy {ChL} *b**э**η*, {IL in ChC} *bā**η*, Tal {IL in ChC} *bā**η* | NrBc {Stl.} **m*-*bin*∇ 'red' > Wrj {Sk.} *m**ḃ**ī**n**á*, Kry {Sk.} *m**ḃ**ī**n**á*, My {Sk.} *b**î*:*n**í*, P' {MSk.} *bih**ân*, Cg {Sk.} *bunan* id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 249 [no. 18], Sk. NB 25, ChC s.v. 'red', ChL ◇ If the WCh √ belongs here, the primary meaning of the etymon is 'red' ◇ We cannot rule out the possibility that this N word is connected with N **P*_·*un*_·*E*_·*ya* 'hair' (as suggested at the pA level by Pp.

and at the FU level by Rédei, by IS III and in SSA 426-7. Neither can we rule out the possibility that the A $\sqrt{\text{eni|ü}}-(\text{k}\nabla)$ 'whelp, dog' and thus belongs to N $\text{*p}\text{e}\text{n}\nabla$ '†' (q.v.).

1734. $\text{*P}_a\text{r}\nabla\text{,n}\hat{\text{e}}$ (= $\text{*P}_a\text{r}\text{i}\text{n}\hat{\text{e}}?$) 'put, lay' > HS: CCh: Msg P {Trn.} $\text{f}'\text{n}'$, {Mch.} $\text{f}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\acute{\text{a}}\ \text{m}\acute{\text{a}}\text{y}$, Msg Ng {GKrs.} $\text{f}\acute{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{a}$ v. 'lie (liegen)' || ? WCh ({Stl.} $\text{*p}\nabla\text{n-}$ v. 'give'): AG: Ang {J} pzn v. 'give', {Flk.} $\text{p}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{n}$, pan , Tal {IL in ChC} pen , {Sh.} pen , Mnt {J} $\text{p}\bar{\text{e}}$, Gmy {Luc.} $\text{p}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}\grave{\text{i}}$, Kfr {Nt.} $\text{p}\acute{\text{z}}\text{n}$ v. 'give' | NrBc {Stl.} $\text{*p}^{\text{r}}\text{un-}$ v. 'pay\ransom' > My $\text{p}\text{u}\text{n-}$, Sir $\text{p}\text{u}\text{nu}$, Jmb $\text{b}\text{z}\text{n-}$ id. ¶ JI II 158, Stl. ZCh 148 [no. 36], ChC s.v. 'give' and 'lie (liegen)', ChL, Nt. 33, Sk. NB 34, IS ChL 22 [no. 2.13], Trn. LM s.v. $\text{f}'\text{n}'$, Lk. DQM, J AV s.v. pzn , Flk. s.v. $\text{p}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{n}$ and pan || ?σ S $\text{*}\sqrt{\text{p}}\text{r}\text{n}$ > Ar $\text{r}\text{i}\text{f}\text{y}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{n}\text{n}\text{a}$ ({BK}: for $\text{r}\text{i}\text{f}\text{t}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}\text{n}\text{n}\text{a}$) pf. 'stand up' ('se dresser, se mettre debout') ¶ BK II 530 || K $\text{*}\text{p}\text{a}\text{n-}$ > Mg $\text{p}\text{on-}$ vt. 'put\lean (against)' ¶ Q 299 || U {UEW} $\text{*p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{-}$ v. 'put, lay' ('legen, stellen') > F, Es $\text{p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{-}$ 'setzen, legen, stellen' | Prm $\text{*p}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n-}$ ({It.} $\text{*p}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n-}$, {Lt.} $\text{*p}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n-}$) v. 'lay' > Vt $\text{p}\text{on}\acute{\text{i}}\text{-n}\acute{\text{i}}$ v. 'to lay, to put, to put on', Z Le/I $\text{p}\text{z}\text{n-}$ v. 'copulate with' || ObU $\text{*p}\check{\text{v}}\text{n-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'put, lay' > (1) pVg $\text{*p}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{n-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'stellen, legen' > Vg: T $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\text{-}$, $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\text{-}\bar{\text{a}}$, LK/MK $\text{p}\text{o}\text{n-}$, UK/P/NV/SV/LL/ML $\text{p}\text{u}\text{n-}$, UL/Ss $\text{p}\text{i}\text{n-}$ id.; pOs $\text{*p}\check{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{-}$ ({Hl.} $\text{*p}\check{\text{t}}\text{n}\text{-}$) 'lay' > Os: V/Vy/Y/D/K/O $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{n-}$, Ty $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{n-}$, $\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{n}\text{-}$, Kz $\text{p}\check{\text{o}}\text{n-}$ id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} $\text{*p}\text{z}\text{n-}$ 'legen' > StNe T $\text{п}\check{\text{э}}\text{н-з}\check{\text{ь}}$, T O {Lh.} $\text{p}\check{\text{e}}\text{n-}\acute{\text{c}}$ id., Ne F L {Lh.} inv. $\text{p}\check{\text{z}}\text{nt}$ 'put (it)', Ng {Cs.} $\text{f}\text{a}\text{n}\check{\text{u}}\text{a}\text{m}\text{a}$ (1s aor. obj.) 'I put (it)', En {Cs.} $\text{f}\text{u}\eta\text{a}\text{b}\text{o}$ id., Slq Tm {KD} $\text{p}\acute{\text{z}}\text{n}\text{n}\text{a}\text{b}$ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} $\text{p}\text{i}\text{n-}$ v. 'put, lay', Mt {Hl.} $\text{*h}\text{z}\text{n-}$ 'legen' (Mt M {Sp.} $\text{x}\text{e}\text{n}\text{n}\text{a}\text{m}\check{\text{ь}}$ 'кладу', $\text{a}\text{n}\text{n}\text{a}\text{m}$ 'закладываю') || pY {IN H} $\text{*p}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n-}$ or $\text{*p}\text{e}\text{n-}$ ({IN UJ} $\text{*p}\acute{\text{o}}\text{n-}$ 'put, lay') > Y K {IN H} $\text{p}\text{e}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-}$, Y T {IN H} $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\text{i-}$ 'put, leave, abandon' (sx $\text{-}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-}\check{\text{z}}$ -i- of vt.), Y T {Krn.} $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\text{i}(1)$ 'leave (оставить)', Y K {Krn.} $\text{p}\text{o}\text{n}\text{i-}$ id., Y K {IN H} $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{-}$, {Krn.} $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\text{o-}$, Y T {IN H} $\text{p}\text{o}\acute{\text{n}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{-}$ 'remain', OY {Wts.} $\text{p}\text{o}\text{n}\text{k}\text{a}\text{t}\text{s}\text{j}$ inv. 'leave (verlasse)', $\text{p}\text{o}\text{n}\text{i}\text{a}\text{t}\text{s}\text{j}\text{o}\text{k}$ 'we leave' ¶¶ UEW 353-4, Sm. 539 (U, FU $\text{*p}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i-}$, FP $\text{*p}\check{\text{e}}\text{n}\text{i-}$, ? Ugr $\text{*p}\check{\text{i}}\text{n}\text{i-}$, Sm $\text{*p}\check{\text{e}}\text{n-}$ 'put, lay'), LG 228, Ht. 177 [no. 521], Jn. 118, KKIИ 149-50, Ptp. 75, Hl. M no. 288, IN H 359, IN UJ 24, 318, Krn. JJ 276, 283, ≈ Rd. UJ 41-2 [no. 43] (Y ← U) || D $\text{*p}\text{a}\text{n-}$ v. 'lie, lie down' > [1] (att. in SD) $\text{*p}\text{a}\text{n-}\text{i-}$ ({GS} *p-) v. 'be low in height, bow' > Tm $\text{p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}$ (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) id., v. 'be lowered, make obeisance', $\text{p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}$ (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'lower, lead down', Ml $\text{p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}\text{y}\text{u}\text{k}\text{a}$ v. 'worship, salute, acknowledge superiority', Kn Δ $\text{h}\text{a}\text{n}\text{u}\text{k}\text{u}$ v. 'bend, bow' ¶ D no. 3888 | derived stems: [2] (att. in SD) $\text{*p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i}\text{a}\text{i}$ ({GS} *p-) 'lair of an animal' > Tm $\text{p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}\text{i}$ 'lair', $\text{p}\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}\text{i}$ 'lair, sleeping

place of a beast', Kn $\rho a\eta e$ 'haunt or lair of wild beast' ¶ D no. 3893 | [3] * $\rho a\eta\acute{t}$ - ({{ θ GS}} * ρ -) v. 'lie down' > OTI $\rho a\eta\acute{d}u$ v. id., 'sleep', Tu $\rho \bar{a}\eta\acute{t}\alpha$, $\rho \bar{a}\eta\acute{t}u$ 'fatigue', Prj $\rho a\eta\acute{d}$ - v. 'be(come) tired', Gdb $\rho a\eta\acute{d}$ - v. 'be(come) tired' ¶¶ D no. 3900, Km. 425 [no. 788] ¶¶ D *- η - < **-* \acute{n} - < **-* $\dot{i}\eta$ - < N *- $\rho i\eta$ -? ◇ K, NrBc * ρ - < N * $\rho|\rho\dots\dot{\rho}$, ◇ The D cognate suggests *- $\rho i\eta$ - in the N etymon (* $\rho a\rho i\eta\acute{e}$) ◇ IS MS 344 * $\rho a\eta\acute{\alpha}$ 'класть', IS SS no. 10.17 (Ch, K, U).

1735. * $\rho u\eta E, ya$ 'hair' > HS: S * $\rho u\eta \sim * \rho u\eta$ > Ar $\rho a\eta\acute{a}$ 'afnā (✓fnu) 'très abondant' (la chevelure, les cheveux), $\rho a\eta\acute{a}?$ - f. 'qui a une chevelure abondante' (femme), $\rho a\eta\acute{a}\eta$ - 'qui a une chevelure abondante' ¶ BK II 636, 640 || U: FU * ρuna 'hair, wool, feathers' > pMr {Ker.} * $\rho \eta na$ > Er $\rho o\eta a$ $\rho o\eta a$ 'wool', Mk $\rho o\eta a$ $\rho o\eta a$ 'wool, body hair' || Chr L ρun 'wool, feathers, body hair' ||| ObU * $\rho \bar{u}\eta$ 'hair' > pVg * $\rho \bar{u}\eta$ id. > OVg: N SoG, E TM ρun , W P/Sl, S Vt $\rho u\eta\eta$, S SSs ρun ; Vg: T/LK/MK ρon , UK/P/NV/SV/LL/UL/Ss ρun 'hair'; pOs * ρun > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O ρun , D $\rho \acute{u}\eta$, Nz/Kz $\rho \bar{u}\eta$ id. || Hg $\rho a\eta$, Δfon 'pubic hair', $\Delta fan\acute{o}\check{s}$ 'hairy' ¶ UEW 402, Coll. 78, Sm. 547 (FU * $\rho u/\acute{a}\eta\acute{a}$ 'hair' > FP * ρuna , Ugr * $\rho \acute{a}na$), Ker. II 117, ERV 498, PI 215, MF 181, Ht. no. 520, KrT 706-7, PD no. 1958, Trs. S 383 || A * $\rho u\eta\acute{e}$ 'hair, feather' > Tg * $\rho u\eta\acute{e}$ - > WrMc {Z} $\rho u\eta\acute{e}\eta$ 'hair, wool, fur, down', Mc Sb {Y} $\rho u\eta\acute{e}\eta$ { $\rho e\eta\acute{e}\eta$ }, {Mrm.} $\rho u\eta\acute{e}\eta$ 'hair', Jrc {Kiy.} $\rho u\eta\acute{e}\eta$, {Md.} $\rho u\eta\acute{e}\eta$ 'hair, fur', Ewk $\rho u\eta\acute{e}\eta$ 'fur of a young deer (пыжик [мех молодого олененка])' ¶ STM II 303, 367, Klz. MS 171, Z 1069, Hr 320-1, Y no-s 2 and 2282, Kiy. 124, 126 [no-s 493, 515], Md. ChF 135 || M * $\rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$ 'hair' (× N * $\rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$ 'hair' [q.v. ffd.]) || pJ {S} * $\rho \acute{a}\eta\acute{a}$ 'feather' > OJ $\rho a\eta\acute{e}$, MJ $\rho \acute{a}\eta\acute{e}$, J T $\eta a\eta\acute{e}$, J K $\eta a\eta\acute{e}$, J Kg $\eta a\eta\acute{e}$, J Ns $\eta a\eta\acute{e}$, J Ht $\rho \acute{a}\eta\acute{e}$ ¶ S QJ no. 24, Mr. 398, Kenk. 443 ¶¶ SDM 1186 (pA * $\rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$ > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 1858, S AJ 29-30, 112, 275 [no. 22] (pA * $\rho \bar{u}\eta\acute{e}$ 'hair, feather'), Ci. EApk 61-2, KW 460 (M, Tg) ¶¶ The unambiguous rec. of pA * $\rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$ - (as in SDM) is not justified, because M * ρ -, Tg * ρ - and pJ * ρ - may go back both to * $\rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$ - and to * ρ - ◇ Cf. IS III 81-4 [no. 366] (* $\rho/\eta/\acute{a}/\eta/\acute{a} = * \rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$). IS adduced D * $\rho \bar{u}\eta\acute{e}$ 'hair, wool, down, small feathers', which is unacceptable; the D stem can be better traced to N * $\rho \acute{u}\eta\acute{e}$ 'feather, hair' (q.v. ffd.). The adduction of D is based on IS's hyp. about N *- η - (IS's * η) > D *- η -. But in this N word there is no *- η - (as unequivocally proved by U and namely Os) and the very hyp. about N *- η - > D *- η - is hardly provable ◇ Cf also our entry * $\rho \bar{u}\eta\acute{e}$ or

P_unā** 'red color, (?) fox', suggesting a possible connection between ***P_unā** (or ***P_unā**) and N ***P_un_uE_uya** 'hair' ◇ Gr. II no. 146 (puna** 'feather') (U, A, Ko, J).

1736. ***P_un_uE_uya** (sc. ***p_un_uE_uya ~ *p_un_uE_uya?**) 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (→ 'to plait') > HS ***√ p_u|pny** v. 'turn, twist, spin' > S ***√ pny** v. 'turn' > BHb **√ pny** (pf. **𐎧𐎢𐎥 pā'nā**) 'turn to the side, turn round, turn to (sth.)', Ug {A} **√ pny** (pf. **pri**) 'sich wenden, auf etw. merken' (not mentioned in OLS), JA [Trg.] **√ pny** (pf. **𐎧𐎢𐎥 pā'nā ~ 𐎧𐎢𐎥 pā'nē**), Sr **√ pny|w** (pf. **𐎧𐎢𐎥 pā'nā**) vi. 'turn to\from', 'sich wenden', Ar **√ fny** (**فنى**) v. 'pass away, disappear', Gz **√ fnw D** (pf. **fanna wa**) v. 'send', Ak OA **pāriū** 'sich wenden an', Ak B **pāriū** 'vorangehen' ¶ KB 885, KBR 937-8, GB 645-6, A no. 2230, Js. 1187-8, Hv. 577, BK II 639-40, Ln. 2451, Lv. T II 272-3, L G 163 || Eg P/G **ifri** ≈ 'umwenden, (das Gesicht) zuwenden, sich umwenden' [EG I 70] (× N ***p_uān** 'forehead, front' [q.v.]); possibly Eg OK **pri** ≈ 'spindle' (Name eines spindelartigen Gerätes) (EG I 508, Tk. II 436-7) || Ch ***√ p|fn** > Hs **fūnī** ~ {Ba.} **hūnī** 'covering mouth and nose with the long part of a turban' || ECh: Mu {J} **ʔāwān**, ? Brg {J} **ʔūnāyī** v. 'tie' (< ***ʔn**, where ***ʔn** is a px) || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} **b_un** v. 'tie' (< ***ʔn**), Bdm {Cfr} **fānā** id. ¶ Abr. H 273, Ba. 468, Lk. ZSS 29, 40, 170, ChC s.v. 'tie', J Mu s.v. **ʔāwān**, J KKS, Cfr Y s.v. **fānā** ¶¶ Cal. 62 (S, Eg), Vc. HÄ 43 (Eg, Ch) || IE: NaIE ***(s)pen-** v. 'plait, spin, tie' > Arm **h_un_u h_um** (aor. **hanay**), **h_un_u h_um** (aor. **heni**), **h_un_u h_um** 'I weave\warp\plait' || Ltv inf. **pīt** (1s pres. **pinu**) 'to plait, to braid', Lt inf. **pinti** (1s pres. **pinu**) id., 'to weave, to twine', Lt **pāntis**, Ltv **pineklis**, **pineklis** 'hobble, horse lock', Pru **panto** 'Fessel' || SI ***poto** > OCS **пѣта** **pota** pl. (· **πέδα**) 'fettens' ({StSS} 'окковы, узы, путы'), R pl. **путы**, Uk **путь**, SCr **pūto**, Slv **póto** (pl. **póta**), Cz **pouto**, Slk **púto**, P **pęto** 'fettens' || Gmc (< ***spenwō**): Gt inf. **spinnan** (· **νήθειν**) 'spinnen', ON inf. **spinna**, OHG, AS inf. **spinnan**, NHG, Dt inf. **spinnen** 'to spin', NE v. **spin** ¶ P 986 and Vr. 535 (both did not distinguish this **√** from the homonymous **√*(s)pen-** v. 'stretch, strain'), ≈ EI 571-2 (***(s)pin-** 'draw, spin'), Slt. 258-9, Frn. 59, En. 219, Vs. III 412-13, Fs. 445-6, Vr. 535, Ho. 310-11, Kb. 936, OsS 852, KM 727 || U: pre-U ***p_un_uE_uya-** > U ***puna-** ~ ***puña-**: [1] U ***puna-** v. 'spin, plait' > F **purno-** 'drehen, zwirnen' || pLp {Lr.} ***ponē** > Lp N {N} **bādne** ~ **bōdne** / -n-, Lp L {LLO} **pātne** 'Sehnenfaden spinnen, die Sehnenfasern zu einem einzigen Faden zusammendrehen, Garn

spinnen', Lp S {Hs.} бѹдн'едн 'spinnen, zwirnen (Sehnenfaden); spleißen' | pMr {Ker.} *ръна- > Er пона- рона- v. 'twist (a rope), plait', Mk пона- рона- v. 'twist (a rope), braid' | pChr {Ber.} рунъ- ({JBer.} *рунâ- 'zwirnen, flechten' > Chr L rune (inf. пунѧ-ш 'runa-š'), Chr KB {Ber.} ръне- (inf. пына-ш рь'на-š'), Chr U/B rune- 'twist (ropes), 'braid (one's hair)' | Prm *rûn- 'twist, plait' > Vt pun+- id. ('winden, flechten'), Z Le р+n- 'twist (ropes)' ||| ObU *pōn- > pVg *pōn- > Vg T/Ss рон- 'drehen, winden, bauen'; pOs *pon- ({JHl.} *pān-) 'zwirnen' > Os: V/Vy ронал-, Ty рōнѧѧ-, Y рōнтѧѧ-, D/K punttѧ-, Nz puntѧl-, Kz pōntѧѧ- id. | Hg fon- v. 'spin, plait' || Sm {Jn.} *рън- v. 'plait' > Ne T (augm.) inf. панор-ць, {Lh.} inf. пан·ōr-ć 'to plait', {Lh.} раан·ṛr' 'Gezwirntes', Ne F L {Lh.} inf. панmṛt·ā'ś 'straff zwirnen', Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. fonu'ama, {KD} fonu'a- id., Slq {KD} LTz/MTm par-, MKe панра- v. 'plait', Slq Tz {KKIH} paṅ+š 'braid, braided hair', Slq Tm {KD} пан·ъš id., Kms rûn- 'zwirnen', Koyb {Sp.} пандлямъ 'верчу' ('I twist, ich drehe') ||| [2] FU {UEW} *puńa ? 'Windung', ? 'gedreht; *puńa-wickeln, winden' > F puńa 'Windung, gedreht' | pLp {Lr.} *pońz > Lp: N {N} bōdnjâ- / -nj- v. 'twist, turn, screw; turn, change direction', L {LLO} pãtńã- 'drehen (Faser, Rute), zusammen-drehen, sich drehen\wenden', S {Hs.} бѹдн'едн id., 'winden (z. B. eine Weidenrute), zwirnen', Pa {TI} pōńńã- 'drehen, winden (z. B. eine Rute)', Kld {TI} pońńã- 'drehen, winden', {SaR} пōнне- 'twist, twist together' | ? Chr үп-пу'нем 'plaited hair, braid', {Szil.} үр-ръ'нем 'Haarflechte' (үп үр 'hair') | Prm *piń- (< *pün-) vt. 'curve, twist, wrap' > Vt inf. biń-+n+ 'twist together, wrap, wind together\around', Z pińov '(wood) with slanting layers, knotty', Z Ud/Le pińovt- 'bend', Prmk pińlal- vt. 'bend, rumple' ||| Os: V рōń-, D pāń- 'wickeln, umwickeln' | Hg bonɥolód-, Δ banɥalĩt- 'become complicated, get entangled\involved in' ¶¶ UEW 402-3, Sm. 539 (U *puna+/+-, FU *puna-, FP *пуна, Ugr *pűna-, Sm *pěn- 'plait'), Lr. no-s 949 and 952, Lgc. no-s 4663 and 5073, Hs. 376-7, LG 221-2, 236, TI 394, SaR 261, It. no. 196, SK 643, Ker. II 118, MRS 468, 486, ERV 498, PI 215, Ht. no. 519, MF 213, Jn. 113, KKIИ 146, Ang. 219, IN RJS s.v. 'рассказатъ', ≈ Rd. UJ 43 [no. 49] (Y ← U) || A *p'E'ŋ'E- v. 'twist, twirl' > T *h₁æŋir- v. 'surround, twirl, spin' > OT {Cl., Gbn} æŋir- v. 'spin', Chg eŋir- 'surround' ¶ Cl. 113, Gbn ATG 298, ET GI 227-31, Rs. W 37, DTS 175 || pJ {S} *piniâr- 'twist, twirl' (× N *piń|ñ|∇, ѧ 'to turn, to plait', q.v.) > MJ fińer-, JT hinér-, JK híner-,

J Kg hìnèr- ¶ S QJ no. 1345, Mr. 689, Kenk. 503 || ?σ Tg (att. in NrTg) *puŋ- > Lm hunri- 'anrühren, schütteln (задевать, трогать, трясти)', Ewk hunna- 'задеть, зацеплять за что-либо рогами' ¶ STM II 349 ¶¶ The pA vw. *-E- of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. (N *-u...E- > pA *-E...E-. For pT of the initial syll. there is an additional (or alternative) explanation: partial merger with NaT *egir (> OT {Cl., DTS} egir- 'surround, encircle [sth.], twist, spin') (ffd. see ET Gl 227-31, DTS 166 and Cl.113) ¶¶ SDM 1162 (pA *p'jùŋi v. 'twist, twirl' > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 1805 (id.) || D (in SD) *opuŋa- ({ʒGS} *p-?) v. 'tie, unite' > Tm puŋai v. 'unite, tie', puŋai v. 'bind', puŋai ~ puŋai 'fetters', ?? Kn por̄ar 'be joined/united' ¶¶ D no. 4160 (b) ◇ D *-ŋ- and FU *-ń- may go back to ** -ny- (from N *-n₁∇₁y-) ◇ NaT *-ŋ- may go back to a cns. cluster (*n + an initial vl. or uvular cns. of a sx) ◇ On the possible etl. connection between this N word and N *p₁ín|n₁∇₁ya '↑' see (q.v. s.v.); F IS SS no. 10.8 (HS, IE, U, D), IS MS 354 ('плести' *p₁u'ny' > HS, IE, U, D). IS did not distinguish between the two N words (Illich-Svitych [IS SS no. 10.8] adduced Eg p₁n without explaining the Ir. ε) ◇ IE *(s)p- and Eg OK p₁n (if it belongs here) suggest a N *p₁- (see Introduction, § 2.2.5), while Eg ífn points to a N *p₁-. This discrepancy still needs investigating ◇ Gr. II no. 298 (← IS) (*p₁in 'plait') (IE, U, A, J).

1737. *P₁uñ|nyû (= *puñ|nyû?) to breathe; wind, smoke' (× N *P₁ü|uñyE 'smell' [q.v.]) > HS: C: Ag: Q {R} fingiyā ([EthSc] ᠮᠢᠨᠢᠶᠠᠨᠢᠶᠠᠨ fəngiyā) 'Wind, Sturm' (acc. to Reinisch, a derived relative noun analyzable as fingi-yā and related to Xm fig yā 'blasen') || Dhl {EEN} funt- 'breathe' ¶ R QW 57, EEN 23 || WCh: Kfr {Nt.} fʒfoŋ 'south wind', Gmy {ChC} fañút 'storm'; ? AG *f^ωan 'storm, rain' (*← 'storm') > Gmy {Hf.} fḡān 'rain', Su {J} fwan 'rain', Ang {Brq.} fwan, {Hf., Flk.} fwan id., {ChC} k^ωif^ωan 'storm', Mnt {Hf.} fan 'rain' ¶ Nt. 12, Hf. AG 18 [no. 34], J S 66, ChC s.v. 'rain' and 'storm', ChL, Hf. AG, Flk. s.v. fwan, Brq. AP, Pod. AWL || IE: NaIE *pne₁- 'breathe, blow' > Gk πνέω (ft. πνεύσομαι) v. 'blow' (of wind and air), 'breathe', πνεῦμα (gen. πνεύματος) 'blast, wind; breathed air, breath; spirit of man' || Gmc: (1) *fne(:)h- 'breathe, pant' > OHG inf. frēhan 'to breathe, to snort', MHG inf. phnēhen 'to breathe, to pant, to gasp', (2) *fnēs-/*fnōs-/*fnas-: AS frǣst 'breath, breathing, panting', OHG frāstōn 'gasp, snort; anhelare', as well as partially onomatopoeic words: ON frýsa, fnasa, fnæsa 'to pant, to

puff', MHG *phnūsen* id., 'to sneeze' (p h- [= pf?] for *f- due to onomatopoeic infl.), AS *fnéosan, fnesan* 'to pant, to sneeze' ¶ P 838-9, F II 566-7, Kb. 269, OsS 209, Lx. 160, Ho. 110, Vr. 136, ≈σ EI 82 (*pneu- '≈ snort, sneeze') || А *P_uñ∇ 'smoke, snowstorm' > M *φunin 'smoke' > MM [HI] *huni n*, [S] *hūni* id., [IsV] *huni*, Dg *χόνι*, Dx *φunīē*, Mnr H {T} *funi* 'smoke', {SM} *funi* 'fumée, fumée du foyer familial', Ba {SM} *φune*, {T} *φзнз* 'smoke'; ↗ : WrM *униуар* {MED} 'mist, haze, vapor', {SM} 'vapeurs qui s'élèvent du sol échauffé par le soleil', HlM *униар* {MED} 'mist, haze, vapor', {BMR} 'haze, mist', Brt *уняр* id., 'Rauch vom Waldbrand', Kl {KRS} *уняр* 'Rauch vom Waldbrand; Höhenrauch (мгла, дымка), марево', {Rm.} *uñār* 'Sonnenrauch, Nebel', Ord *uñārī* 'vapeurs qui sous l'action du soleil montent du sol' ¶ MED 877, BMR III 335, Chr. 471, KRS 536, KW 449, Ms. H 60, SM 107, T 371, S AJ 237 [no. 85], Ms. O 734, ≈ Pel. 238 [no. 69] || Tg: (1) Tg *puñ- v. 'smoke, emit smoke' > Ork *puñ*- id., Orc *puña* 'smoky', Ud *puñkisi*- vt. 'smoke out' (a loan from a p-preserving lge), Ul *puña-puña* adv. 'emitting smoke, raising dust, *puñžiči* v. 'smoke (дымить)', *puñgučū*- vt. 'smoke (food)', Nn Nh {On.} *poñki*- 'пускать дым в нору (чтобы выкурить оттуда соболя\колотбка)', Nn Bk/KU *poñki*- v. 'smoke, smoke out', (2) Tg *puñge 'snowstorm' > Ewk *hunḡz* ~ *hunz* id. ('вьюга, метель'), *hunz*- ~ *hunz*- 'begin\be a snowstorm, block the road with snow', Lm *hūnḡz* ~ *hūnḡz*- 'storm, snowstorm', Neg *хуñḡz*, Orc *хūḡz* 'snowstorm' ('вьюга'), Ud *хунḡz*- 'be a snowstorm', 'skim over the ground, мести' (snow), Ul *puñalilī* 'whirlwind (carrying sand\snow\ leaves)', Ork *pūndz* 'snow-storm, blizzard, blizzard with ground wind', Nn Nh *pūngiktū*- 'covered with snow\sand brought by the wind' ¶ STM II 43-4, 348-9, Krm. 307, On. 335-6, 342, S AJ 225 [no. 297] || ?σ pKo *píñək > MKo *píñək*, *píñər*, NKo *puək* 'kitchen' ({SDM} ← 'smoking place') ¶ Nam 271, MLC 817 ¶¶ Tg *-ñ- goes back to N *-ñ|ny- in *P_uñ|nyû ¶¶ SDM 1105 (pA *p_l'_lóñe 'smoke' > M, Ko, Tg *puñ-), DQA no. 1680 (id.), S AJ 295 [no. 517] (pA *p|p'úñ∇), STM II 43-4, Ci. EApk 84-5 ◇ This N word may be connected (or identical) with N *P_ü|uñyE 'smell' (q.v.). N *p- is suggested by the WCh data.

1738. (₂?) *P_ü|uñyE 'smell (odor); to smell (sth.)' > HS: C: Bj {R} *fīrn* 'Geruch', *fīrn*- 'schnüffeln, nach Geruch in der Luft fangen' (das Wildtier), 'riechen, schnuppern' || Ag: Bln {R} *fūr n y*- 'smell sth.' ('schnüffeln, nach Geruch in der Luft fangen, schnuppern'); Ag ↗ Tgr {LH} *ᄃᄃ nᄃ fin bēle* v. 'sniff\scent', {R} *ᄃᄃ nᄃ fun bēle* id., ? (× EC

*sun- < N *sûŋ▽ 'to smell [smh.]') Or {Grg.} fūnf-adḡa v. 'smell sth.' ¶ R WBd 79, R WB 122, LH 666, Grg. 133 || AdS of B *f▽nfān 'museau, nez (d'animal)' (< N *p▽ñč▽ 'nose' [q.v. ffd.]); the absence of reflexes of the N affricate may be accounted for by the infl. of N *P̄ü|uñyE ¶¶ The apparent traces of this etymon in Ch are too questionable: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} (3s p.) fáuñú, sbjn. fàwán (Sch. DN 57) v. 'smell at, sniff at' is probably to be analyzed as fáu-n-ú (cp. Ngz fōwâ 'stench, terrible odor') || A *P̄ûñ▽ 'odor', *P̄ûñ▽- v. 'smell' > M *φünir 'odor' > MM [IM, MA] hũnir 'odor', WrM {MED} ünrür 'odor, smell, fragrance, aroma', HIM үнэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'odor', Brt үнэр id., Kl {KRS} үнр ünər id., {Rm.} ünḡ 'Geruch', Mnr H {T} funir 'odor, aroma', {SM} funir 'odeur', Mnr M {Pot.} хунир 'odor', Ord üñir 'odeur', ShY honər ~ honor 'odor'; M *φünis- v. 'smell sth., smell at' > MM [MA] hũnis- id., WrM ünrüs-, HIM үнсэ- v. 'kiss, smell', Mnr H funis- {T} v. 'smell sth.', {SM} 'percevoir par l'odorat, sentir, flairer', Ord üñis- 'flairer'; M *φün▽- > Dg {T} χūnu-, Ba hun-de- 'riechen', Dx funi 'smell' ¶ Pel. 237-8 [no. 68], S AJ 240 [no. 152], Pp. MA 192, MED 1010, BMR III 414, 417-18, Chr. 509, KRS 552, KW 458, MYC 695, T 37, T DgJ 179, SM 108, Pot. 414, Ms. O 758 || Tg *pūñ- v. 'smell' > Ewk Brg huñḡuktə- v. 'smell sth.', Sln ũ: 'odor', Lm hīnəmsi 'bad odor (of mouldy meat)', Neg xun 'odor', Orc xū(n-) ~ xūñ, Ud xu(n-), Ul and Ork pū(n-), Nn KU φũ, Nn Bk φu(n-) id., Nh pũ: 'odor, aroma' ¶ Acc. to SDM, the length of the Tg vw. is compensatory ¶ STM II 349, Krm. 305, On. 342, S AJ 220 [no. 207] ¶¶ SDM 1185-6 ([A *p'uhē v. 'smell', n. 'smell; nose' > Tg, M + unc. pJ *páná 'nose' [going back probably to N *p▽ñč▽ 'nose']], DQA no. 1679 (id.), S AJ 78, 277 [no. 53], Rm. EAS I 55, Ci. EApk 61 ||] A (d.?) *P̄ôḡḡU 'stench, bad smell' (× N ?φ *pU,ḡi,ḡ▽ [or *pU,ḡi,ḡ▽?] 'faeces, filth', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D *puḡḡ- ({{θGS} *p-) v. 'know' > Klm, Prj, Gdb, Png, Ku pun- id., Gnd pund- 𐌆 pun-, Kui punba id. ¶¶ D no. 4344 (a) ◇ Tg *-ñ- suggests N *-ñy- in *P̄ü|uñyE ◇ Connection (or even identity?) with N *P̄uñ|ḡyû 'to breathe; wind, smoke' (q.v.) cannot be ruled out.

1739. (₂?) *p▽ñč▽ 'nose' > HS: Eg fOK frɪʒ 'nose' ¶ EG I 577-8, Fk. 98, Tk. II 575-8 || C: unknown C source 𐌆→ Amh ንፍንጫ ḡafəñčə 'nose', as well as possibly Gz fəʒəʔm 'front, forehead' and Grg: Ms/Go/So fəñčə, Ch/Ed/M finčə, En/Gt fīñčə 'forehead' ¶ L G 169, L EDG III 729 || ? B: (1) *f▽nz▽r 'nose', v. *√fnzr '≈ have the nose injured' > Fgg funzər 'nose', Kb ffunzər, SrSn, Rf funzar, Shw funzər, Gd fənzər 'saigner du

nez', Ah fuńhər 'avoir la narine coupée', ETwl, Ty fənžər 'avoir le nez déchiré', Ty efinžər 'coupure de narines', Gd fənzər, Awj fənžər 'saigner du nez' ¶ Fc. 1355, GhA 39, Dl. 211, Pr. H no. 60, Lf. II no. 0399, NZ 587]?? (2) Kb afənniš (pl. ifənnišən) 'homme au nez trop court \ aplati \ camard', ffunnəš 'avoir le nez camard\écrasé', CM {NZ} fənnəš 'avoir le nez épaté', Shw afənniš 'camard; camus' ¶ Dl. 209, NZ 578 || K: OG p̄inčī, G † p̄inčvi, p̄inčī 'nostrils'; K (and/or another lge of the Caucaso-Mesopotamian region?) → Arm պիւնչ p̄inčʰ 'nostrils', Oss I fənɜ, Oss D finɜ(ä) 'nose, tip', Abkh a-pənɟa 'nose' and even Blc pʰonɜ 'nose' (an argument for the ancient migration of the Baluchis from a more western area) ¶ Abul. 339, Chx. 1006, DCh. 1001, Ab. I 497, Bai. 236, Ach. IV 83 ¶ The glottalization in p̄- may result from metathesis of glottalization: N *p̄n̄č̄ > *p̄n̄č̄ (cp. Abkh a-pənɟa). Alternatively, the K word my be a loan from Arm p̄inčʰ || IE: ?σ NaIE {P} *bend- / *b̄nd-no- 'vorspringende Spitze' > Clt {Matas.} *bando- 'peak, top' > Crn {Matas.} ban id., OIr bern 'mountain peak, horn, point, tip (of a lance)' (< *b̄nd-no- or *bend-no-?), bernach 'pointed, horned', Ir beann, MW bann 'mountain peak, horn, point' (< *b̄nd-no-), OBr bann 'horn', MBr ban 'éminence, saillie, hauteur', Br bann 'ray (rayon)' || Dt Fl W pint 'Spitze', MHG {WP} pinz 'subula', MLG, MNG {Lx.} pint, NNr {P} pintol, ODn, AS pintel 'penis', NE pintle ¶ The IE √ belongs here if *-nd- may be an IE reflex of N *-nč̄- ¶ WP II 109-10, P 96-7, Vn. B 35-6, Flr. 78, Matas. E 54, Hm. 65, Dnn. 61, Lx. 160, Ho. 246, Vr. N 522-3 || ??φ A: pJ *páná 'nose' > OJ pana, MJ páná, J T hana, J K háná, J Kg hána, J Ht pá_nà_ id. ¶ S QJ no. 55, Mr. 397, Kenk. 437-8; S AJ 78, SDM 1085-6 and DQA no. 1679 (preferring to derive the J word from A {SDM} *p'úne 'nose, smell' [< N *P_ü|uñyE 'smell [odor]', 'smell sth.']) ◇ Eg frɜ and NaIE *bend-/ *b̄nd-no- point to pN *p- ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 109.

1740. 2 *P_on'd' > leg, foot' > HS: WCh: BT *pund > Bl {Bnt.} pundo, Krf {Sch.} fòndo, Glm {Sch.} pèndá, Gera {Sch.} fìndí, Dr {J} púđó, Krkr {ChL} fúntəw 'thigh', {J} fùndò 'leg', {Al.} pəntó, Pr {Frz.} púndé, Krf {J} fəntáw 'leg', {JI ← Sch.} fòndó 'thigh' || Ech (× N *pa'g'd' 'leg' [or 'é part of a leg'], 'foot'): Jg {J} pādo, Brg {J} fādí 'thigh', Mu {J} fūdí (pl. fōdàt) 'thigh', {Lk.} fūdí (pl. fōdàt) 'Schenkel' || ?? CCh (× N *pa'g'd' '↑'): McTr {ChL}: Hw fùdàrà, G'nd fudàtā, Gbn fìdžtš, Bk fùdžtš 'thigh' ¶ JI II 324-5, ChL, ChC s.v. 'thigh', Bnt. 19, Frz. P 47, J DK s.v. púđó, J WDK s.v. fùndò || U: FP *pont > Prm

*pod 'foot, leg, basis' > Vt pīd 'foot, paw, hoof', Vt Shm puden, Vt B po'do'n ({{LG}} pədθn) 'by foot', Z pod 'leg' (in: pod vužzrsz oz ažžī 'has very weak eyesight', lit.: 'does not see the shade of his own legs'), 'stem (of a mushroom)', podz'n 'by foot', Z US p w d 'basis', Yz 'puda 'pedestrian', 'pudz'n 'by foot' | Er/Mk poŋks ({{U}}: < *pondâks) 'trouser leg', pl. poŋkst 'trousers' ¶ LG 223, U3S 369-70, UR 256, Wc. WC 93-4, U SC, U 117, Wc. SW 210, Ps. M 112.

1741. *P₁∇n₁∇₁5∇ ~ *P₁∇n₁∇₁3∇ 'ε insect' > HS: CCh {ChL}: BM: Br, WMrg p₁nž₁u, Cb p₁nz₁ù, Ngx p₁nž₁ù 'mosquito' | McHigi {ChL}: HgG f₁yèn₁z₁, HgNk, Kps {ChL} v₁nz₁é, HgF v₁nz₁ó, HgB v₁g₁nz₁z₁w, FIK v₁nz₁úm, FIG v₁nz₁ú id. || WCh: Cg {Sk.} (mt.) v₁ěs₁ž₁n id. ¶ JI II 242, ChL, ChC s.v. 'mosquito' || CS *pa|išp'a'š- (~ *opašš-) 'ε bug' > MHb {Dlm., Lv., Js.} 𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱 piš'pāš, {Esh.} 𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱 piš'pēš, NHb 𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱 piš'peš 'bedbug', Sr {JPS} 𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱 pašpā'šā 'small reddish bug', {Br.} 𐌱𐌰𐌿𐌱 pešpā'šā 'bug', Ar fašfas- ~ {Hv.} fass- 'bug' ¶ Dlm. 339, Lv. IV 150, Js. 1248, ESh. MH 1110, Br. 613, JPS 458, Nld. BSS 122 (unc.: Ar ← JA), BK II 594, Hv. 561 || U ≈ *pañC∇ > FU: Mk панжам 'panžam 'ant' || Sm: Ne T BZ {Ter.} пāнзе"э panžēʔa, Ne {Cs.} panzi e, panže, panđe, panđiʔe 'louse' ¶¶ PI 199, Ter. 441, Cs. 34 || A: Tg *punžim- > Nn Nh {On} poŋžim₁, {STM} poŋžim₁ ~ pznžimz 'small winged blood-sucking insects (мошка́, мелкая мошкара, гнус)', WrMc {Z} фуньчжима ~ фунима 'white insects on dung (навозная белая мошка)', {Hr.} фунзіма 'ε Kriebelmücke, *Simulium*', фуніма id., 'giftige Sand-fliege' ¶ The absence of з in фуніма (фунима) is still to be explained ¶ STM II 41, On. 335, Z 1069, 1071, Hr 320-1 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1184-5 (pA *p'ũnte 'a kind of insect > Tg + unc.: M *hōtün 'worm, larva', pJ *pžataru or *puàtaru 'firefly' and pKo *pántó id.), ≈ DQA no. 1860 (id.) || D *pē₁∇₁ 'louse' > Tm pē₁, Ml, Kn pē₁, Kt, Klm pe·n, Td pō·n, Kdg pe·n₁, Tu pē₁n₁, Nkr, Nk, Gdb pē₁n, Prj, Knd pē₁n₁, Png, Mnd pen, Ku pē₁n, Krx pē₁:n, Mlt {Drs.} pé₁n₁ 'louse', Kui pē₁nu, Ku pē₁nū 'flea' ¶¶ D 4449 ◇ D *-₁∇₁- (regularly from intervocalic *-n-) suggests a vw. after N *n (with loss of the N final syll. *5∇ or *ž∇ in D) ◇ There may have been a change N *-n5- (= *-nš-?) > nž (in some Ch, U and Tg lges) due to post-nasal affricatization of sibilants (a typical phenomenon in lges, cp. Yid menč < *menš 'person', unž < *unz 'us'), the voicing *nš > nž, nZ may be due to as. ◇ It is tempting to adduce Fr punaise, Occ {Alib.} punaisa & penaisa (Alib. 568), Gsc püžnaze

and Frl pudjese 'bedbug', but ML no. 6879 derived this word from VL *pūtīnāsīus 'stenching' ◇ Schrd. DU 93 [no. 30] (D, U), Blz. L no. 105b and Blz. LNA no. 44 (in both: BM, D, U).

1742. (₂?) *P_an̄t̄∇h∇ 'belly' > IE *pant(∇)χ- > NaIE *pant- ~ *p∇nd- 'belly' > Ltv Δ {ME} penderis & penders 'stomach (Magen)' ||| L pantex 'belly, paunch', pl. pantic-ēs 'bowels' || Ht panduha- {Ts.} 'stomach (?)', {CHD} 'bladder (?)' ¶¶ The NaIE variation *t ~ *d may be due to the Ir. (surviving in Ht) ¶¶ ≈ EI 2 (*pant- 'stomach, paunch'), ≠ WH II 248, EM 479-80, ME III 199-200, Frd. HW EH II 19, Ts. W 59, CHD P 95 || D *pañt̄∇ > Tm pañt̄i, pañt̄am 'belly, paunch, body', Ml pañt̄i 'stomach', Ku bañd̄i 'belly' & bañd̄i 'stomach'; D ⇨ Sk phāñd̄a- 'belly' ¶¶ D 3898 || ?σ HS: ζ B *✓'φ' d̄n ({Pr.} *✓H|z d̄n) 'middle' > Ah a·haḡun 'the 15th night of a lunar month' (× N *bu₁w₁t̄∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') ¶ Fc. 518, Pr. H no. 296 ◇ D *-t̄- (that regularly goes back to N and pre-D *t) is due to the de-emphatizing infl. of the Ir. *h (N *-t̄₁∇₁h- > *-t- > D *-t̄-).

1743. *P_uñz̄∇ '∈ part of the leg of animals' ('knee', 'foot?') > HS: B *✓fnz 'foot (of ungulate animals)' > Sll {Ds.} a-fanzu (pl. i-fanz-a) 'pied de veau', ta-fanzu-t (pl. ti-fanz-a) {Ds.} 'pied de mouton', {La.} 'sabot des chèvres et des moutons', BSns θi-fanzi-θ (pl. θi-fanz-a), Ntf i-fanzi (pl. i-fanz-a), Mz tifanzət id., CM {NZ} ifanzi 'pointe de pied (les orteils)' ¶ Ds. 219, La. S 291, NZ 586 || U *puńća ≈ kneecap' > Lp N {N} bužes- ~ bužos-: bužes-dak'te ~ bužos-dak'te 'the small bone in the pit of the femur in the hind leg of a reindeer, the patella (kneecap)' (dak'te is the Lp for 'bone'), Lp L {LLO} put̄t̄jēs 'the Kniescheibe (patella) des Renntiers' || Sm: Ne T O puncū 'weiche grubenförmige Stelle unterhalb der Kniescheibe des Renntiers' ¶¶ UEW 403-4 || A (¿**°p₁'₁inS|Ca [{SDM95} *°pins∇]): pJ *pínsá 'knee', > OJ p̄i₁za, MJ φízá 'knee', J T h̄i₁za, J K hízá, J Kg híza 'knee', J Sh φísà 'foot' ¶ S QJ no. 96, Kenk. 522 ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. ? *píns∇ 'knee'.

1744. *p_añ∇ (= *p_añâ?) 'hollowed-out vessel' > U: FU *peñ∇ 'spoon' > Er/Mk пенч реñč, Er Δ {Ps.} p̄änč id. || Prm {Lt.} *p_añ- > Vt пуньы руñ+, Z pañ id., Z Vm/I/LV/Ud pañ 'spade, small spade (лопата, лопаточка)' ||| ObU *°peñ∇ (or *°p̄iñ∇) > pOs *peñ ({JHl.} *p̄iñ) 'spoon, scoop' > Os: V/Vy/Lk/MY/Ty/Y pañ id., Lk/MY yätte-pañ 'flache Schöpfkelle, mit der Fische aus dem Kessel geschöpft werden', Vy

kŭyām-pāń 'Trommel-schlägel' ¶ UEW 372, Coll. 106, LG 216, Ps. M 108, ERV 470, PI 204, SZ 274, Stn. D 1183 || **A** *p'āń∇ 'vessel, boat' ({S, SDM97 *p'āń∇) > NaT *_hāńak 'vessel' > OT ауақ 'vessel' (particularly 'a drinking vessel: cup, goblet, bowl'), Yk аўаχ 'big goblet for drinking fermented mare's smilk', Tf аўақ 'big cup, bowl', Tv аяк ауақ 'cup, drinking bowl (чашка, пиала)', Qrg, Qzq, ET, SY, Ln ауақ 'cup, bowl (чашка, чаша)', Uz ауақ, Xk ауаχ id., QrB ауақ 'bowl, wooden bowl', Bsh ауақ 'big bowl' ¶ Cl. 643, Rs. W 265, S AJ 193 [no. 186], ET Gl 105, Pek. 55-6, JkR 33-4, Ra. 152 ¶ Tf and Yk -ǔ- provides ev. for a nasal *-ń-; OT, Tv and Xk medial -y- proves that the internal cns. is not pT *-δ- || pKo {S} *p'áí 'boat' > MKo p'áí, NKo pā id. ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 164], S QK no. 164, Nam 251, MLC 743 || pJ *pùná-i 'boat, vessel' > OJ pune, MJ pùné, J T púne, J K pùné, J Kg funé id. ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 193], S QJ no. 193, Mr. 418, Kenk. 311 || M *^opayi-ǰagan > M M [IM] **هيجفا** hayiǰaǰa 'ship' ¶ Pp. MA 437 ¶¶ The pJ vw. *u may be due to the labializing as. infl. of pJ *p and does not prove the labiality of the pA vw., suggested by SDM ¶¶ SDM 1103 (pA *p|p'òyń∇ 'vessel, boat' > M, J, Ko, but not T)), DQA no. 1775, S AJ 67, 288 [no. 296], SDM97 s.v. pA *p'āń∇ id. (> T, Ko, J), Mng. KA 284, Mr. KJ 226 || **D** *pāń∇ ~ *pāñ 'pot' > Tm pāñi 'large earthen pot', pāñā 'large rounded pot', Ml pāna, pāni 'water pot', Kt pa·ñy and Kdg pa·ni (measures of capacity), Kn pāne, hāne 'pot (of metal\earth)', Tu pāñi, pāñæ 'a large pot', Tl bāna 'a large earthen pot, boiler, kettle' ¶¶ D no. 4124 || **HS**: Eg fOK pñk {EG} 'schöpfen', {Fk.} 'bail (out of a boat)' > DEg pñq, pñk 'schöpfen, ausschöpfen', Cpt Sd **πωνΓ** pōng ~ **πωνΚ** pōnk ~ **πων6** pōnc, B **φωνΚ** p^hōnk 'puiser', Cpt ponkf ≈ 'bottle' (with the sx -f) ¶ EG I 510-11, Fk. 89, Er. 132, Vc. 160 ◇ The D permutation *-ñ- / *-ñ may be explained as follows: in the word-final position all nasal cns yielded D *-ñ (the only nasal possible in this position); in the intervoc. position D *-ñ- is the reg. reflex of N *-ń- ◇ The narrowing *-ā- > FU *e may be due to the infl. of the adjacent palatal cns *ń. The pA vw. *-a- may be explained by regr.as. (N *p'āńā > pA *p'āń∇).

1745. *pEX|Qńa 'keep, protect' > **HS**: WCh {Stl.} *pan- v. 'keep' ('хранить') > Ang {Flk.} pan v. 'keep' | Ron: DfB {J} fen 'Kornspeicher' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [no. 18], Flk. s.v. pan, J R 214 || **IE** *peχy- v. 'protect,

keep, take care of' > NaIE *pā(y)-/*pō(y)-/*pī- v. 'protect, graze (cattle)' > OI pā(y)- v. 'protect, preserve, keep', 3s pres. pā-ti 'protects, preserves, keeps', Av pā'ti 'protects', OPrs pādiy 'beschütze!', pātuv 'er soll beschützen', KhS pā- v. 'protect', Sgd pʷy- id.; Irm d. *pāy-us > OI pāyuh 'protector', Av pāyuš id.; Irm *pāθra- > Av pāpra-(vant-) 'Schutz (gewährend)', NPrs پاره پاره pāhre (coll. پاره پاره pāhr) 'guard, watch of the night; protection', {Vl.} 'custodia, vigilia' || Gmc *fōðra- 'sheath, covering, cover' (< NaIE *pōtrom, see OI pātram 'holder' × Na IE *pō- v. 'cover' < N *pōqV 'to cover, to close', q.v. ffd.) || L pā-sco (pfc. pā-vi, sup. pāstum) v. 'graze (cattle)', pāstor 'herdsman' || Gk πῶν (gen. πώεος) 'flock (of sheep/goats)', ποιμήν (gen. ποιμένος) 'herdsman' || W pawr 'meadow' || Lt piemuõ 'herdsboy, herdsman' || Sl inf. *pāsti (1s pres. *pās-q) 'to graze (cattle)' > OCS inf. пастн pasti (pres. пастъ pas-q), SCr inf. pāsti († pāsti) (pres. pāsē), Sln inf. pāsti (1s pres. pāsem), R inf. пастти (1s pres. пасты) id. || Arm հաւրաւ հաւրան 'herd' || pTc {Ad.} *pāsk- > Tc A pās-, B pās-k- v. 'guard, protect' || Ht pahs- / pahhas- 'protect, keep, guard' ¶ P 839, EI 198 (*peh₂- 'guard, protect, cause to graze') and 268, Mn. 897, 905-7, 971-2, M K II 250-3, M E II 112-13, Bai. 228, F II 573, WH II 260, Frn. 585, StSS 443, Glh. 469-70, Slt. 173-4, Wn. I 353, Ad. 367, Ad. H 20, Ts. W 58, CHD P 2-10 ¶ The editors of IS III (IS III106-8) reconstructed the IE root as *pō-/ *pī- without the apophony degree *pā(y)- (considered by them as a different root), but it may be suggested that NaIE *pā(y)- is an e-grade of the same root, NaIE *ā going back to pIE *ex (the non-palatalized lr. *x is explained by its original precons. position); this attempt to distinguish between *pō(y)- v. 'graze, protect' and *pā(y)- v. 'graze, feed' is at variance with the observed distribution of these two meanings: NaIE *poy-wā 'means 'fodder, grass' (> Gk πῶα, Gk I πῶη, Gk D πῶα 'grass', Lt pīeva 'meadow of mowing grass', F Mn. 972), while Ht pahs- / pahhas-, which acc. to IS III 108 belongs to *pā(y)-, means v. 'protect, keep' || U *pīná- ~ *puná- ({UEW} *pâñâ-, {IS} *pīná- [= *p+ná-] < **pēná-) v. 'observe, protect' > Lp: T {TI} p+ná- 'bewahren, verwahren, schützen, beobachten', Kld {SaR} пынне 'keep, take care of (беречь, хранить)', {TI} pηññã- 'bewahren, hüten, pflegen' || Sm {Hl.} *pʷn̥á-r- v. 'graze, guard, keep' (*-r- is a sx of multiple action) > En {Cs.} X foñeło (1s pres. fóneneo), B foñiro

(1s pres. *fó rí i η é d o*) 'hüten, weiden', X *fonedde*, B *forí idde* 'herdsman', En T {OSIPL} *poner-* (1s pres.) *poneηedo'* 'be busy with, maintain, hold', Ne {Cs.} 3s pres. *pæer-ηa* 'hold, use, protect', Ne T O {Lh.} *päe'·r-ć* 'tun, sich beschäftigen' ¶¶ UEW 413-14, Cs. 95, IS III 108-10, TI 356, SaR 277 ¶ The variant **puńa-* (> Sm **pńa-*) is probably due to labializing infl. of the initial **p-* | | D **pēñ-* ({ǵGS} **p-*) v. 'protect, take care of' > Tm *pēñ* 'protection', *pēñu* v. 'treat tenderly, protect, care of', Ml *pēñuka* v. 'foster, take care of', Tl *pen(u)cu* v. 'nourish, foster, support' ¶¶ D no. 4436, Km. 436 [no. 848] | | A: T **ḥja'ń'a-* (> **aya-*) v.. 'preserve (sth.), look after sth. carefully' > OT {Cl.} *ayā-* id., v. 'treat (so.) with respect' (OT QU XI ol *tonin ayādī* 'he looked after his clothing [etc.] carefully'), Tkm, Uz, Qmq, QrB, Kr, VTt *aya-* 'keep, spare', Qzq, Nog, Qq, Bsh, Xk *aya-* 'spare, take care of', Ln *aya-* id., 'preserve, guard', Chv: L *уя-уя-*, H *оя-оя-* vt. 'keep (customs), preserve, respect' ¶ Cl. 267-8, Rs. W 11, ET Gl 101-2, TkR 62, UzR 47, Ash. III 171, Fed. II 298, Jeg. 280 ¶ The vw. **a* of the initial syll. is probably due to vowel harmony: **ḥja'ń'a* < ***pEńa* ◇ Ffd. see IS III 106-111 [no. 373] (**p'eHń'a* 'пасти [graze], защищать, заботиться' > IE, U, D). Cf also IS MS 354 (**pṛiḥjńa* 'пасти' > IE, U) and IS SS no. 10.26 (IE, U). The meaning 'graze' (of cattle), although present in two subbranches (NaIE and Sm), should not be ascribed to the pN level, but rather considered a parallel development in IE (or even NaIE) and in Sm (or U?).

1746. **pṛiń|ñ|ṇ|ṣa* 'to turn, to plait' ([in descendant languages] → 'to spin, to weave') > HS: Eg fP *pṛṣ* v. 'turn upside down, turn the eyes' ({EG} 'umwenden, sich umwenden') ¶ EG I 508-9, Fk. 88f., Tk. II 437-9 | | K: GZ **pχin-* v. 'spin, weave' > G X *pχin-* 'weaving instrument', Lz *pχen-* ~ *mχen-* 'spindle' ¶ Fn. KW-2 44 [no. 34] | | A: pJ {S} **pṛiniār-* v. 'twist, twirl' (× N **PunEya* 'to turn, to twist, to tie?') > MJ *φṛinēr-*, J T *hinér-*, J K *hínér-*, J Kg *hìnèr-* ¶ S QJ no. 1345, Mr. 689, Kenk. 503 | | D **pṛiñ-* ({ǵGS} **p-*) v. 'plait, weave' > Tm *pṛiñu* v. 'plait, braid, lace, knit, weave, entwine, bind', Ml *pṛiñuka* v. 'plait, twist, wreath', Td *pṛin-* 'be matted' (hair), 'weave (basket), plait (hair)', Brh *pṛinṅ* v. 'be twisted'; D {Km.} **pṛiñ-* ({ǵGS} **p-*) v. 'entwine, tie together, link', **pṛiñ-ank-* v. 'be twisted' > Kn *peñe* v. 'unite\tie different things together, interwine, twist, plait, braid', *pṛiñil* 'braid of hair', Tm *pṛiñai* (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) vi. 'entwine', v. 'unite; tie, fasten', *pṛiñai* (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'link, unite, tie'; Ml *pṛiñā* 'tying, yoke', Kt *pṛiñ-*

'become entangled' (of ropes, wrestlers' legs), Tl *pena* 'a twist of ropes, tie, bond', OTl {Km.} *penãcu* v. 'twist', Tl {Km.} *pēnu* vt., vi. 'twist, entwine', 'twist two or three single threads into a thick thread' ¶¶ D no-s 4207 and 4160 (a), Km. 435-6 [no-s 846-7] ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 117 [no. 15] (adducing the K √ to the Nostratic comparison). Some kind of etl. connection between this N word and N **PunEya* 'to turn, to twist, to tie' is possible. It may be explained either by supposing that one of these two N etymons goes back to a compound or by pre-Nostratic derivation ◇ The K harmonic cluster **pχ-* goes back to N **p-* (> K **p-*) + **y*.

1747. **Pauñ∇_Lq∇_J* 'to press, to squeeze, to close' > U **pauñ∇-* vt. 'press' > F *paína-* v. 'press, weigh down; stamp', Es *paína-* v. 'press' → 'obsess, haunt', 'мучить, угнетать, удручать' || Prm {Lt.} **poñ-* > Z *poñta∇/l-* ∂ *poñtal-* 'pressen, weigh down', Vt SW *puñña-~pūñña-* v. 'lock', Vt Kz *pañbrt-* 'drücken, zerdrücken' ||| Vg: T *poñəwt-*, LK *pañəyt-*, P *poñət-*, Ss *poñišt-* 'drängen, drücken', LK *pañs-*, P/Ss *poñs-* v. 'press \ weigh down' || ? Sm: Kms *paṇḍa-*, *paṅgorə-* id., v. 'press' ¶¶ Coll. 105, UEW 348, LG 225 || A: M **pañi-* 'close' (an opening), 'close one's eyes', **pañisqa* 'eyelid' > MM [MA] *niḍūni hañisba* 'closed his eyes', WrM *añi-* {MED} 'close one's eyes', vi. 'close' (of a wound, crack, fissure), HIM {MED} *ани-* {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'close one's eyes, screw up one's eyes', Brt *ани-* id., Kl {KRS} *añ-* id., {Rm} *añi-* ~ *añ-* 'mit den Augen blinzeln, das Auge zuschließen', Ord *añī-* 'fermer les yeux, mourir', WrO {Krg.} *añi-* v. 'close one's eyes, squint'; M **pañiska* > MM [HI, MA] *hañisqa*, [L] *hañiśqa*, [IsV] *hañasqa* 'eyebrow', Mnr H {SM} *ħanasqa* 'sourcils', {T} *ħanesqa* 'eyebrow', Mnr H/M {Pot.} *ħaniska* id., WrM {MED} *añisqa*, HIM {MED} *анисга*, {BMR} *аньсага*, WrO {Krg.} *añisħa* 'eyelid', d: Kl {Rm.} *añcħā-* ~ *añcyā-* 'blinzeln, blinkern (mit den Augen)'; the etl. connection between **pañi-* 'close one's eyes' and the noun **pañisqa* suggests that the latter originally meant 'eyelid' (as in WrM, HIM and WrO) rather than 'eyebrow' (as in the MM texts and in Mnr) ¶ Pp. L III 31, Pp. MA 181, Ms. H 60, Lg. VMI 31, Pel. 206-7 [no. 9], MED 46, BMR I 114, 116, Chr. 53, Krg. 2, KRS 45, KW 11, Ms. O 23-4, SM 155, ≈ T 373, Pot. 411 || HS: S **^o√pnχ* > Ar *√fnχ* v. *G* 'bruise (a bone within the body), contusionner l'os dans le corps', 'soumettre, abaisser et humilier' ¶ BK II 637, Hv. 573 || ? WCh: Gmy {ChL} *fum* 'close'; ?? WCh {Stl.} **f_Lw_Jn* vt. 'close' > Krkr *fəna*, Klr *fwan* (unless d. from WCh **f^ru^r-* [Krkr {Lk.} *f-*, Klr *fu* v. 'close' etc. < Ch **^r√pH*

< N *p_oq_∇ 'to cover, to close', q.v.]?) ¶ Stl. ZCh 160 [no. 137], ChL, ChC s.v. 'to close' ◇ Cf. IS MS 364 s.v. 'сжимать' *p_aj^rn¹∧ (U, A), Rs. UAW 45.

1748. *P_un¹|n¹čê 'body hair, down, (?) feathers' > K: GZ *pač_w- 'hair', esp. 'hair on the body' > G {DCh.} pač_vi 'hair on human body', OG {Abul., DCh.} pačunieri 'hairy', MG, G pačvnieri 'hairy, shaggy', Zan **poč_kw- 'hair' influenced the vw. of G Gr poč_vi 'hair', G Gr/I {Chx.} poč_vi, G {DCh., NCh., Chx.} poči 'fringe hair/fibres (бахрома), tassel', {DCh.} 'leaved branch' ¶ DCh. 1299, 1313, NCh. 396, Chx. 1456 ¶ To be distinguished from GZ *peč_w- 'a hair' (< N *P_uč^ro¹ 'hair', q.v.) || IE: NaIE *pou_s-/*pus- 'body hair, down', fell' (× N *P_uč^ro¹ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || U: FU (att. in FV) *punče 'down, feathers' > Es S puts (gen. pudzu) 'down' | pLp {Lr.} *poncз 'feather' > Lp: S {Hs.} bad_dse, K {Gn.} pon:з, Kld {SaR} пōннц pōн:c id., N {N} бoз'зâ 'lower (thick) end of a feather; large wing feather, flight feather' | Chr: L пыстыл pьs-тъl, E, U pьš-təl 'feather' (pChr *š for the expected *č because of the precon. position?) (тъl, təl < U *tulka 'feather') ¶ Tv. IA 207, Lr. no. 947, Lgc. no. 4610, Hs. 276, N I 210, SaR 265 ◇ Ffd. cf. IS III 80-1 [no. 365] (*^rp¹unčE 'body hair' > IE, K, U + D *poč_čo 'hair, down, wool', see N *boз_∇ 'hair, feather'). The variant rec. with N *n̄ can explain the loss of the nasal cns. in IE.

1749. *p_äη_∇ 'forehead, front' ([in descendant lges] → 'face', 'head') > HS: S *pan- > BHb pl. פָּנֵי pā¹nīm 'front (of the head), front, surface, face', M'b l-pny 'in front of', Ph l-pnm 'earlier', Ph cs. pn 'face', Pun cs. fffpn, FANE, FENH 'face', Ug pl. pnm 'face', l-pn 'in front of', IA pnh 'in front' (lit. 'his front'), Sr d. pānī¹tā 'Seite, Gegend', {Br.} 'latus, regio', Ar فناء finā¹?- 'cour devant une maison', Sb frw 'space outside, immediate surroundings, front (of building)', Mh f3n3- (in cds): f3nf3nw- 'in front of, before', fōn3h 'earlier, before', Hrs fēn 'before, in front of; earlier', Jb E ¹fεnε 'face, front part', f3¹n-ε-, f3¹n-γ-, Jb C ¹fεnε ε 'in front of, before' (ε is 'of'), Sq {Jo.} ¹fan3, ¹f3nh3n 'face, front part', Ak pānu 'front side', pl. 'face'; the vi. *√ pny 'turn' (in Hb and several other S lges) is likely to belong to N *P_un₁E₁ya 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (q.v.) ¶ KB 886-890, KBR 938-44, Br. 578, GB 646-7, JH 229, HJ 918-20 (err. rec.: pS *√ pnh), A no. 2230, OLS 351-2, BK II 640, BGMR 45, Sd. 818, Jo. M 96, Jo. H 33, Jo. J 59, SSL LSNP 1455-6, MiK I no. 1.215 || ?σ Eg P/G ifn ≈ umwenden, (das Gesicht)

zuwenden, sich umwenden' (× N *P_{un}E_{ya} '↑' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG I 70 || B
 *f_∇nfān 'museau, nez (d'animal)' (× N *p_∇nč_∇ 'nose') > Ah äfunfan,
 ETwl afānfan, Ty (pl. t.) ifānfanъn 'museau, nez (d'animal)', *id.* Wrg
 ffānfān 'nasiller, parler du nez, avoir le nez bouché' ¶ Fc. 331, GhA 39,
 Dlh. Ou 78, NZ 578 || C ({AD SF} *p_∇n- 'forehead') > Ag: Aw {CR} fēri,
 fēn 'forehead, face' || SC: Alg {Wh.}, Brn {Wh.} pān-ča 'forehead' ¶ AD
 SF 45, Wh. IC s.v. 'forehead', CR A s.v. fēri, fēn || ECh: Ke pánáy
 'temple (Schläfe)' ¶ Eb. 88 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 417, ≈ MiK I no. 215 || U
 *pāŋe 'head' (× N *beŋ_lχ_i '≈ head' [q.v.]) > F pāä, Es pēa, Δ pā *id.* |
 ? Lp N {N} baŋŋe / -āŋ- 'the thickest part of the reindeer antler (by
 the head)' | pMr *peʒə > Er pe ré, Δ pā, Mk pe pe 'end, edge' ('конец,
 грань') | Prm {Lt.} *pəŋ 'end' > StVt pum, Vt Uf/MU/Y/M puŋ 'end
 (bout, fin), limit', Z pom 'end, tip' (Ende, Spitze), Z LL/Sk/MS/US, pon
 'end (bout, fin)', Prmk pom 'end', Yz pon *id.* || pObU *pēŋ_lk_i > pVg *pāŋk
 ({Stn.} *pēŋk) 'head' > Vg: N {MK} puŋk ~ poŋk, ULz {Kn.} puŋk, Ss
 {Kn.} puŋk, {Stn.} poŋk, ML/LL {MK} pəŋk ~ pāŋk, P {MK, Stn.} pəŋk,
 LK/MK/UK {MK, Stn.} pāŋk, T {MK, Stn.} pəŋ *id.* | Hg fej, fǒ (accus.
 fejet) 'head' || Sm: Ng feai, feae 'Ende, Gipfel, Äußerstes', Sm {Jn.}
 *pā v. 'begin (?)', {Hl.} *pā- 'tun, vorhaben' > StNe T пѧ-сь, Ne T O
 {Lh.} pā:-ś, Ne F Ny {Lh.} pēä:-ś 'to do, vorhaben', Ng {Cs.} -fa- ~ -fea-
 sx of inchoative (e.g. ~ amafantuma 'ich gehe essen', ~ atadafeatem
 'ich gehe zaubern'), En {Mik.} 3s aor. obj. pēza 'he began it', Slq Tm
 (1s aor.) {KD} pūab_l 'tehdä' (v. 'do'), Kms (1s pres.) {Cs.} pħáim,
 {KD} hālam (Jn.: ← Mt M) 'machen', Koyb {Sp.} палемъ 'I do', Mt
 {Hl.} *hā- 'do, make, be able' (Mt M {Sp.} аямъ 'дѣлаю', 'могу') || pY
 ?φ *puŋkə 'hill' (unless related to FU 'lump, bump' [cf. UEW 404] or
 borrowed from Vg N puŋk 'head') > Y K {IN H} puŋkə 'hill', Y T {IN H}
 puŋke 'hummock', {IN RJ} pūŋke, {Iox.} puŋke 'hill', {Ku.} punke
 'hillock, hummock' ¶¶ UEW 365-6, Coll. 47, It. no. 263, Sm. 548 (FU, FP
 *pāŋi, Ugr *pāŋkĩ 'head'), Ker. II 106, LG 224, Wc. SW 211-12, TmK
 549-50, KPR 355, Lt. J 166, SZ 291-2, U3S 64, Stn. WV 268, Kn. VW 33,
 MK 479-80, MF 188, Jn. 117-18, Hl. M no. 268, IN 276 (Y ÷ Vg), IN RJ
 s.v. 'холм', Ang. 219, Ku. 237, Rd. UJ 42 [no. 44] (Y ← U) || A: T
 *_lh_lōŋ 'face, front' > OT {Cl.} ōŋ 'the front (of anything)', Qrg, Qq, ET
 ōŋ 'face', Qzq ōŋ 'face, right side (of cloth)', StAlt, Yk ōŋ 'right side (of
 cloth)', Tk ōn 'front, space in front of sth.', Az, Tkm ōn 'front', Chv цм
 um ђ ом ом 'front', Chv цм um 'breast, грудь рубахи'; ?σ NaT

*_lh₁æ₁ŋ > OT äŋ 'cheek', Osm {Rl.} äŋ 'complexion' ¶ Cl. 166, ET Gl 534-5, Rs. W 372, Rl. I 710, TrR 702, Fed. II 280, Ash. III 232-6, Jeg. 274, ChVS 230 ¶ The labialized vw. *ö in T *_lh₁öŋ is probably due to the infl. of A *p' - || ? pJ {S} (?) *opin- > J Kg bintá 'head' ¶ S QJ no. 152 ¶¶ M *emüne 'front, south' does not belong here (because of the cns. *-m-), it is most likely to go back to N *Hom₁∇₁g'ü¹ 'breast' (q.v. ffd.) || | D: ??amb Tm pamparam 'top', Ml pamparam 'top for play' (unless ←b OI Sk bhramaraka 'humming top') ¶ D no-s 410(a), 494, 557(a) and 3930 ◇ T *_lh₁öŋ and Ke pánáy suggest a pN *p-, while Eg ífn (that can point to a N *p-) is not a decisive proof, because its origin is ambiguous.

1749a. ?? ₂ *P₁ŋE 'bosom, breast' > IE: Ht {Kas.} (?) 'udder, teat', (?) 'milk' {Kas. AN 167} || | U: FU *pone, *ponrse 'bosom, breast' > F povi (gen. poven) 'Busen, Brust', Es pōu (gen. pōue), Es Δ₁pō 'Busen, Schoß', Lp N buognā ~ vuognā 'breast of a bird', Lp Kld puññ 'Busen, Blase', Er pongo, Mk pov, pova 'Busen', Chr понгыш (Chr K pongzš) 'bosom', Vt пи 'bosom', Z {FF} pi ~ piy id., Os V puçəl 'Inneres', Vg UK pūt 'Busen (im Kleide)' ¶ UEW 395, MRS 442, FF 777 ¶¶ Kas. AN 167.

1750. (₂?) *P₁iŋû (or *P₁üŋE) 'ε a game bird of medium size (grouse or sim.)' > U *püŋe ≈ grouse' > F puyy {Coll.} 'hazel grouse, wood grouse' ({UEW} 'Haselhuhn, Rothuhn'), peltopyy 'partridge', Es püü, Es S püvi 'Feldhuhn, Rebhuhn', Lv {Kt.} pi'k'i, Lv W † {Kt.} pü'k'i, Lv E pi'uk'i 'Feld-, Reb-, Haselhuhn', pLp {Lr.} *pžŋkŋy 'hazel grouse' > Lp: N {Fri.} baggoi (= bâggo), L {LLO} pakkōi, K {Gn.} peŋgav, Klt {TI} peğ:a id. | pMr {Ker.} *puçə > *puvə > Er пово povо, Δ pov 'Tetrao bonasia (hazel hen)', Mk (dim.) повня {Ps.} pov-ñä 'partridge' || | Os V/Vy pëŋk 'hazel grouse' | Hg fogoly, fogumadár 'partridge' (madár means 'bird') || ?φ Sm: Slq {KD}: LTz pēke, MKt pāke, Tm pēkā 'hazel grouse' | Kms {KD} p'úžε id. || pY *pončuwz or *pončumpz ({IN UJ} *pon-) > Y K {IN H} ponžubz, {Krn.} ponžu-bə 'capercaillie (Tetrao urogallus)' (-bə is a sx of animal names, see N *bA, pc. of names of quality bearers and animal names) ¶¶ Coll. 53, UEW 383, Sm. 547-8 (FU, FP *püŋi, Ugr *püŋkĩ 'grouse'), Kt. 296, Lr. no. 860, Lgc. no. 4620, TI 326-7, Ker. II 121, Stn. D 1188, KD 55, IN H 359, IN UJ 243 || | A: Tg *pi'ŋ¹u 'hazel grouse' > Ewk hinu-kī, Ewk Δ inz-mī, Lm hini-ki id., Orc xi(m)mui, Ul pinu ~ piñu ~ pimū, Ork pinu ~ piñu, Nn Nh pimū, Nn

Bk φ imi, Nn KU χ iη-ki id., Neg χ iηkī ~ χ iη-kī id., 'female wood grouse, female black grouse' ¶ STM II 325, On. 328 || ?σ HS: Eg br hier. *'ε bird (wagtail [Bachstelze]?) (pictorial representation for br), br 'ε a holy bird in Heliopolis' ¶ EG I 457, Hng 252, Tk. II 195-6 || ? B: Shl {Stm.} walbēnna, talbbēnna 'wagtail' (← cd?) ¶ Stm. 229, 240 ¶¶ Wlf. EAW 144, Tk. II 195-6 ◇ The HS word for 'wagtail' is a qu. cognate (the semantic distance and the unexpected *b-).

1751. *P_Uʔ_U∇_Uη∇ (or *P_Uʔ_U∇_UN∇?) 'meat' ([in Tg] → 'blood [as food])' > HS: SC: Irq {Mgw.} fūʔnī, pl. fūʔnāy, {Wh.} fuʔûni ~ fuʔûnai 'meat', {MQK} fuʔ(u)nāy id., fuʔ(u)ni 'piece of meat', Grw {Dmw.} fuʔunāi, Alg {E} fuʔumi, Brn {E} fuʔumai id. ¶ Mgw. 100, Wh. SI s.v., MQK 36, Dmw. 310, E SC 386, Blz. CP s.v. 'meat', AD GDS 61 [no. 2.22] || U: FU (att. in FP) *pân|hē or *pân|hēye 'meat' (?) > ? Chr H paγ 'meat' | Prm *pun > Prmk pun 'sinew' ¶ LG 232 || A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *puη∇ | Ewk huηɜl 'dried blood as food', Lm huηɜl 'blood' ¶ STM II 350-1 ◇ Qu.

1752. *P_U∇_Uη^U (= *P_aη_Uη^U?) 'palm of hand, (sole of) foot' > HS: S *'pa_U∇_Um- (~ *'pa_U∇_Un-) 'foot, step' > Ph p^εm 'foot', p^εm p^εm 'step by step', Pun p^εm 'foot; time (Mal)', BHb 𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎢 'pa_εam 'foot, step, time (Mal)', Ug p^εn 'foot', ? p_εm t (pl.) 'times (Male)', Mh {Jo.} fē_m, Hrs {Jo.} fām, Jb C {Jo.} fa_εm 'foot, leg', Ak FOB {Sd.} pēmu ~ pēnu 'thigh (Oberschenkel) (of humans and animals)' ¶ KB 807, HJ 928-9, A no-s 2185 and 2243, Grd. UT no. 2076, OLS 342, Jo. M 87, Jo. H 31, Jo. J 51, Sd. 854, MiK I no. 1.207 || SC: Kz paʔamuko 'foot' ¶ E SC 147 || ?σ WCh: Grn {ChC} fwa_ηe, {Hrn.} fû_η v. 'walk' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to walk', Hrn. G no. 250 || U *p^ri_η∇ ({θAD} *p^ri_ηU??) 'handful, palm of hand' > F p_ivo 'handful', Δ p_ijo, p_io 'handful, middle (дно) of the hollow of the hand, palm of hand', Krl Tv p_ivo, Krl L p_ivo ~ p_io ~ p_iyo, Vp N/S p_iyo, Vp C p_io, Vo p_ivo 'handful, p_iho 'hollow of the hand, handful', Es p_ihu, Δ p_eo, p_ego, p_ego 'palm of hand, handful', Lv p_iʔuv, p_iʔu, p_zu 'handful' || Sm {Jn.} *pe_η 'flat hand (flache Hand)' > Ne T пe[?] p_eĩ, Ne F {Lh.} p_ie_η, {Ppv.} p_eη, Ng {Cs.} fea_η, {Mik.} h_aη, En {Cs.} X feo, B fe ~ pe, Slq MKe {KD} p_ηga, Kms {KD} p^ʔη^ʔ 'palm of hand', {Cs.} p_he_η id., Koyb {Sp.} пямъ 'моя ладонь' ('palm of my hand'), памъ 'горсть' ('hollow hand'), Mt {Hl.} *h_öη 'flat hand, hollow hand' (Mt M {Mll.} h_üngde 'his hand', [Sp.] цгмы 'my hollow hand', оүме 'my palm hand') ¶¶ Coll. 49-50, Coll. CG 143, Sm. 539 (U *p_i|ä_ηi 'hollow hand'

> FU, FP *p̥iŋi, Sm *p̥eŋ), Jn. 121, Ter. 46O, KD 52, Ppv. 99, Hl. M no. 309, UEW 384 (*p̥iŋ∇) || A *p̥'ǎŋ∇ (or *p̥'ayŋ∇) 'palm of hand' (× N *p̥.aLHaŋa id. [q.v. ffd.]) > NaT *hā'ŋ'a (or *hāya?) 'palm of hand' > OT aya id., MU, MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, OOsM ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV aya, XwT aya, SY χaya, χayan, Tkm, Uz Δ, Uz XrOg āya, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Xk aya, Tk Δ aye 'palm of hand', Qzq aya 'middle of the palm of hand', Bsh aya 'comb (for carding goat down)' ¶ Cl. 267, ET Gl 100-1, TL 252, THADS I 413, Rs. W 10 || Tg *payŋa (~ *paŋŋa?) 'palm of hand' > Nn Nh payŋa, Nn Bk φαῖŋga, Nn KU φαῖŋã, Orc xaŋa ~ xaŋŋa, Ud {Krm.} xaŋa?, Ork pana ~ paŋa, Ul paŋa 'palm of hand', Ewk hanna ≍ haŋŋa, Lm hanŋb id., 'hand' ¶ STM II 314, Krm. 304 ¶¶ The cns. ŋ in several NTg lges goes back to n after y, therefore it does not prove the existence of a palatal cns. in pA (as reconstructed in SDM) and in pN (as supposed by myself earlier). If the long vw. *ā in NaT*hā'ŋ'a is due to compensatory lengthening (pA *yŋ- > NaT *-ŋ'-), the pA vw. *a is not long (the pA rec. is *p̥'ayŋ∇) ¶¶ SDM 1121-2 (pA *p̥'ǎŋa|e 'palm of hand' *p̥'ālaŋa 'palm of hand' < N *p̥.aLHaŋa id., q.v.), On. 320 || ?σ D **p̥oŋk- > NED *boŋg- > Krx boŋg-nā 'run, run away', Mlt boŋge 'run, flow' ¶ Pf. 194 [no. 180], D no. 4473 ◇ The SC and T cognates point to a pN *p̥-, but the T ev. is not decisive (because the T word is of ambiguous origin). S *-m- ~ *-n- and the labial elements in C, Ch and probably in U suggest that the final vw. of the N etymon was labialized. If NED *boŋg- belongs here, its vw. may be due to ass. infl. of *b- and/or of the pN vw. *-U.

1753. *p̥.Aŋk∇ (or *p̥.Ah̄iŋk∇??) 'joint (Gelenk), shoulder joint' > HS: S *°✓pnk > Ar fanīk-, ṛifnīk- 'junction of the two jaws; root of a bird's tail' ¶ BK II 639, Hv. 577 || U: FU *paŋka 'shoulder (Achsel), shoulder bone, wing' > F pankka (gen. panka-n) 'arm, shoulder (Achsel), wing' || ? Z bugun '(playing) knuckle bone' || ObU *pāŋkəl > pVg *pāŋkəl 'shoulder bone' > Vg: T paŋkəl, LK poŋxəl, MK/UK/NV/LL poŋkəl, P poŋʷkəl id.; pOs *paŋkəl 'shoulder blade' > Os: V/Vy paŋqəl, Ty/Y pāŋqəʃ, D paŋχət, Nz pōŋχət, Kz pōŋqəʃ id. ¶ UEW 355, SK 482, LG 41, Ht. no. 528 || A *p̥'Ensa or *p̥'æ,insA (< **p̥'Enk-sA or **p̥'æ,ink-sA) 'shoulder blades' or 'part of the back' > T *h,æŋsæ > NaT *æŋsæ 'shoulder (?); back side of the neck\head' > MT ǎ|e n s ä (ενσè, ʒñuʒ) 'back of the head, nape of the neck', Chg ʔɛnksə | e n s ä withers (of a horse); nape of the neck (Nacken)', MQp {Houts.} ä n s ä 'back of the head', [CC] eŋsə id., 'nape', OOsM eŋsə, Osm eŋsə 'upper part of the

back; behind, after', Az äŋsä 'occiput, withers of a horse', Ggz ensä id., 'neck', Tkm jεŋθε 'occiput, withers, back (dorsum)', CrTt {Rl.} äŋsä 'nape', Slr εŋσε(η) 'occiput', Kr äŋsə ~ εŋsa ~ ense id., 'back of the neck', VTt иŋсе иŋсь 'shoulder', Δ 'occiput' (↳ Chv L ёŋсе, Chv Δ εŋсе ≍ иŋсе 'occiput'), Nog εŋσε 'part of the back between the shoulder blades', Qzq εŋσε 'body, Rumpf', {Rl.} 'Nacken', StAlt εŋze, Qmn {B} äŋze 'hunch', QK {B} εŋze 'shoulder' ¶ ADb. SR 126-8, 186-91 (T *äŋŋse), TL 236-8 (T *äŋŋsä|e), Rl. I 718-19, 748-9, TkR 307, Jud. 956, Ash. IV 123-4, Fed. I 154, Jeg. 65, ChVS 48, B DLT 230 || Tg *pisa {ADb.} 'shoulder blade as part of the back' > Ewk I hišaki 'shouler blade', Ewk Np/Nr/Chmk isakī id., Ewk B/Tk/ Tmt/Tng išakī 'wing', Ewk Ald/Z/Urm/Ucr ihakī 'shoulder blade, bird's humerus', Sln isaxi, Neg (PSchm.) хεсаки, Orc xisai, Ud {STM} sʔäi, {Krm.} sāʔi (~ sāʔi), Ul, Ork, Nn Nh pisa, Nn Bk φisa(ŋ-) 'shoulder blade', Lm φisa, Mc Sb φisa, Jrc {Kiy., Md.} φisa (φēi-sāh) 'back (dos)' ¶ STM II 329, Krm. 282, On. 329, Kiy. 125 [no. 503], Md. ChF 135 ¶¶ ADb. MSR 9 [no. 9] (*p'εŋŋsa), ADb. SR 47, 306 [no. 9], ADb. SR-D 455 (pA *p'äŋŋsa) || D *pāŋk- ({{θGS} *p-) 'side' > Tm pāŋku, pāŋkar, Ml pāŋku, paāŋŋu 'side', Kn pāŋgu 'manner, form', Knd pāŋi in: gitoŋi pāŋi 'temple of head' ¶¶ D no. 4053 ◇ The A stem belongs here if *-s- goes back to a sx (*p'εŋs'a' < *p'εŋk-s'a'). The vowel narrowing (N *A [evidenced by U and D] > T *e and Tg *i) is still to be accounted for. It is likely to be due to the impact of a N internal front vw. (presumably *i in N *pAhiŋk∇??), possibly through the stage *pāŋŋ... (cf. A. Dybo's rec. of an A word *p'äŋŋsa and a pT **äŋŋse).

1754. *Ponś∇ 'dust' > HS: WCh ({{Stl.} *puci 'ashes'): NrBc: Cg {Sk.} púsəŋ, Sir {Sk.} vəcəkəi, {IL in ChC} vəcíkí 'ashes' | SBc {Sh.}: Grn bűši, Mbaru bűší, Zem mbòcəkə id. || CCh: BM {IL in ChC}: Bu pənzɔ, Mrg pyînzɔw id. | (?) McHigi {ChL}: HNk pcuri, HgF ps+d̪i, Kps psud̪i, FIG psuɽ, HgG wsuri id. | (?) McMdr: Glv {Rp.} ăfcà, Gv {IL} fc_Lh_à, {ChL} f+cà, Dgh {Frk} fcùd̪é, {ChL} f(+)cud̪è, Nkc {IL} fcú, {ChL} f+ca id. | McMtk: pMM {Ro.} *vitay > Mada {Ro.} ɛftá, {BrrB} áftà, ɛftà, Myn {Ro.} vəté, Mkt {Ro.} fckál, Mlk {Ro.} vîté, Zlg {Ro.} bîték^wé, Gzg {Lk.} ʔafco, {Ro.} fúčù, Gzg Mj {Lk.} fuču 'ashes' ¶ JI II 4-5, ChC s.v. 'ashes', ChL, Stl. ZCh 147 [no. 31], Sk. NB 11, Sh. SB 20, RpB 4, Lk. G 117, 122, Ro. 203, BrrB s.v. áftà and ɛftà || IE: NaIE *pēs-, *pēns- 'dust, sand' > OI pām'su-h̪ 'dust, sand, crumbled soil', Av pəsnu-š 'dust, rubbish',

KhS *phāna* 'dust, mud', Oss I *fānək*, Oss D *funuk* 'ashes' ||| SI **рѣс-ѣкъ* 'sand' > OC, OR *пѣсъкъ* *рѣсъкъ*, Blg 'пясъкъ', SCr *пѣсак* *ꝛ* *ri jésak*, Slv *pēsak*, Cz *řísek*, Slk *piesok*, P *riasek*, R *пе'сок*, Uk *пі'сок* id. ¶ P 824, M K II 243, M E II 114–15, Bai. 261, Ab. I 449, Vs. II 249–50, Glh. 478 || U: FU **puś|ć ∇-n ∇* or **puśn ∇* 'flour', v. 'strew' ('schütten') (× N ? **bUś|ć ∇* 'to rub, to grind' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: Tg **poŋsa-(n-)* 'dust' > Nn Bk *poŋsanj* 'dust', Nn Nh *poŋsoŋqo/ṽ*, Nn KU *poŋśaqtṽ* 'turbid, sooty (закопченный)', *poŋsaŋgij* 'get dusty', WrMc {Z} *фонсонь*, *фонсонги* 'dust, soot', *фонсо-* 'be covered with soot' (Zakharov supposed that WrMc *фонсонь* and *фонсонги* are loans from Chinese) ¶ STM II 41, Z 1061.

1755. **poq ∇* 'to cover, to close' > HS: S (1) **°√ pχy|w* > OAk *paχā'um*, Ak *peχû* ~ *paχû* 'verschließen'; (2) CS **paχχ-* 'trap' > BHb *ṽ paḥ* 'trapping net', JA [Trg.] {Js.} *pā'hā* id., 'snare', Sr *ṽ paḥ'h-ā* 'laqueus, snare', Ar *faχχ-* 'snare for birds' ('filet pour prendre les oiseaux'), {Hv.} 'trap, snare, net' ¶ Sd. 853, KB 871, KBR 921, Js. 1150, Lv. T II 258, Br. 562, Fr. III 321, BK II 551, Hv. 549 || Eg N *paχṽ* 'Vogelfalle aus Holz' (× Eg fOK *paχṽ* 'Platte') ({EG}: *ṽ* Hb and Aram, {Vc.}: *ṽ* S) > DEg *paχ* > Cpt Sd *пaщ paš*, B *фaщ p^haš* 'lacet, trappe, piège' ¶ EG I 543, Vc. 166, Tk. II 498–9 || Ch **°√ pḥ* > WCh ({Stl.} **paḥ*): AG: Ang {ChL} *pē*, Su {J} *pā* v. 'cover' | BT: Gera {Nw.} *fē*, {ChC} *fe-*, Grm {Lk.} *f-*, {ChC} *fa-*, Bl {ChC} *pā*, Krkr {ChL} *f-* v. 'close' | Ron {J}: Klr *fu*, Fy *pā* v. 'close', Bks *vṽ* v. 'close, cover', DfB *voh*, Klr *fu*, Sha *vṽ* v. 'close' | NrBc {Sk. NB and Sk. in ChC}: Cg, P', Jmb, Mbr *pu(w)-*, My *púwá* vt., vi. 'hide', Kry *págwú* vi. 'hide' ||| CCh: Lmn {Nw.} *fṽ*, {ChC} *f-* v. 'close', ? Lgn {Bou.} *fāgá* v. 'cover' ¶ Nw. 24 [no. 25], Stl. ZCh 147 [no. 27], ChL, ChC s.v. 'cover' and 'close', J S 78, J R 88, 147, 289, 352, J WDK, Sk. NB, Bou. K s.v. *fāgá* ¶¶ SSAAJ I no. 23 (S, Ch, Eg) || ?σ K: G P *p-ev-/pi-* 'sich eine Wunde mit etw. ausstopfen (zur Blutstillung)' ¶ Chx. 1458 ¶ The absence of the expected G *-χ-* (< N **-q-*) defies explanation, therefore it is doubtful that the K *√* belongs here || IE: NaIE **pō-* v. 'cover' > Gk *πῶμα* (< **pō-mṽ*) 'lid, cover' ||| Gmc **fōðra-* 'sheath, covering, cover' (× NaIE **pō(j̥)-/i* **pəj̥-/pī-* 'hüten, schützen, 'Vieh weiden' < PIE **peχy-* v. 'protect, keep, take care of' < N **ṽEX|Qíā* 'keep, protect') > Gt *fōðr* (· *θήκη*) 'Scheide', ON *fóðr* 'case (Futteral), sheath', AS *fōðor* id., 'container (Behälter)', MLG *vōðer* 'Futter (des Kleides)', OHG *fuotar* 'Futteral, case', *fedar-fuotar* 'tube of a plume (canna)', NHG

Futter 'lining, coating; sheath' ¶ P 839, M K II 252-3, M E II 119, Vl. I 385, Sg. 261, Horn 76, F II 634-5, Fs. 157-8, Vr. 136, Ho. 110, Kb. 229, 302, OsS 232, KM 227 || U *^opoγ∇- (or *^opoí∇-?) > Sm {Jn.} *pāy- 'be wrapped' > StNe T d. inf. πᾶβτα-σβ 'to be wrapped, to get tangled', Ne T O {Lh.} pᾶptā- 'wickeln, verwickeln', Ng {Cs.} (1s aor. obj.) fuikáli'pema v. 'wrap', En {Cs.} X 'foho'rabo, En B 'foho'rabo id., Slq Ch {Cs.} pūuang, Slq NP {Cs.} pūugaη 'sich verwickeln', Slq Tm {KD} aor. 1s pūdag_ 'svepa in sig' ('wrap oneself') ¶ Jn. 115, Ter. 500, Cs. 168, 170 ¶¶ Here only if the U etymon is *^opoγ∇ ◊ U *^opoγ∇ points to N **^opoqγ∇, which is ruled out by NaIE *pō-. U *^opoγ∇ may go back to N *^opoq∇ + a sx (*-γ∇?) ◊ AG *p- and Eg p- (unless the Eg word is a loan) suggest a N *p-.

1756. ?φ on. 2 *^oP_u|üq∇_?∇_ 'to let out air\gas', ? 'to emit smell' > HS: S *^o-pūχ-, *^o✓pωχ > Ar ✓fωχ, -fūχ- 'se répandre partout' (se dit d'une odeur), 'lâcher des vents'; (× WS *-pūh-, *^o✓pωh v. 'blow', vi. 'smell' < N on. *puh∇ 'blow [blasen]') Sr ✓pωh (pf. pāh) v. 'exhale, give out odor' ¶ BK II 644, Br. 559, JPS 436, MiK I no. 2.54 || S *^o✓npχ 'breathe, blow' (originally a cd N *nop'E' 'breathe, blow' + *^oP_u|üq∇_?∇_ 'let out air', see ffd. s.v. N *nop'E') || K *^opuq- > G da-puq- 'aus etwas (Aufgeblasenem) entweicht die Luft' ¶ K *^o-q- is likely to go back to *-q?- from N *-q∇?- ¶ Chx. 1510 || Cf. also N *puh∇ '↑', especially for Bj, Ch, IE, U and A cognates (where one cannot distinguish between N *puh∇ and N *^oP_u|üq∇_?∇_, because in these lges the reflexes of N *h and *q have merged).

1757. *^op'agE?∇ or *^op'ag_∇_?E 'skin, film, bark' > HS: S *^o'paq_∇_?∇- > Ar faq?- 'membrane envelopping the head of the foetus', faq?-at- 'membrane envelopping the head and the nose of the foetus' ¶ BK II 618, Hv. 570 || C: SC: Kz {E} pa?uko 'bark' ({Tk.}: -?- < *-k-?) || DhI {EEN} pák_0 'tree bark' || ? EC: Kmb {Hd.} buku(ta) '(piece of) bark' || Ag: Aw pāq 'bark' ¶ E SC 143, E K 2, Hd. 312, Hz. NSA, Blz. CWL, Blz. CL 176, EEN 7 || NrOm {Bnd.} ≈ *pok_- 'bark' > Omt {Bnd.} foq_0, Ym {Bnd.} fōč'a id., Gnj/Kcm {Si.} po'ko id., Wl {AIA} pok_-uwa, {LmS} fokuwa, Gf {AIA} foq_0, Gm {Hw.} pok_ó ~ peké, {AIA} p_okeδ, Drz/Cnc {AIA} pok_0, Dwr {AIA} p_ok_-uwa, {LmS} fokoa 'bark'; NrOm *pok_- v. 'peel' > Gm {Hw.} p_óq_0, Wl {LmS} fōk_0-, Dc {LmS} fok_0- id., ?? Ym {LmS} fōč'- 'rub, peel, whittle' (unless = Ym {Wdk.} f_óč'á v. 'wipe, massage'); SSAAJ I no. 18 mentioned Omt foq (= foq_0?) v. 'tan leather' (without indicating the dialect and the

source) ¶ Bnd. PO 149, Blz. OL no. 149, Si. ACh 3, AIA ODS 5, Hw. EG s.v. 'bark' and 'peel', LmS 351-3, Wdk. BY 122 || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} fákût, Klr {J} fakut, {IL in ChC} fák^hwìt^h 'skin' | Ang {Flk.} pòk v. 'peel, skin' | Ngz {Sch.} pà-pkú 'scrape (bark)' | NBc: ? Sir {IL} bákàlà 'skin' | SBc: ? Tule {Sh.} bagara 'skin' || CCh: Dgh {Frk} vòṣà, vòṣè, {ChL} vùṣè id., ? Mofu -pòk^w- v. 'peel', to-pòk^w 'husk', Bnn {ChL} pók tónù 'skin (of body)', Zm {KNC} bók 'peau que les vieux attachent comme cache-sexe', Ms {Cait.} bàk (df. bàk-ṅà) 'skin', Azm {Pc.} bākà 'animal skin', Mtk búk^wáy 'skin (of man)', ? Msy búgula, ? Db bókùlà id. || Ech: Tmk {Cp.} pèg hum 'skin (häuten)' (hum 'skin'), ?? bógōñ 'bark' | ? Ke {Eb.} póké 'auszupfen, Baumwolle ernten' | EDgl {Fd.} pòkkìyè 'décapsuler' | ? Mkl {J} pàkírté 'écorce' ¶ JI II 296-7, Stl. IF 31-2, Cp. 51, Eb. 88, ChC s.v. 'skin', ChL, KNC 2, Cait. 48, Pc. 81 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 75 [no. 2.5]; OS no. 1935 (Ar, CCh, Dh), ≠ SSAAJ I no. 18 || K *^op^rq¹a > G pχa 'Nagelhäutchen' ¶ Chx. 1517, DCh. 1321 ¶ *^rq¹ for the expected *q¹ is due to as.: **p^rq¹ > *pq || IE: NaIE *pókō-/*pekō-, *pekū- 'fleece' (→ 'wool, hair') > Gk πόκος 'wool in its raw state, fleece', πέκος id., Gk Mc ποκα 'sheep's wool' (× <δ πέκω v. 'comb [wool, hair], card') || AS fieht ~ feht 'fleece', Dt vacht 'wool, hide', OSw fæht (< *fahti-) 'wool, fleece', Gmc *faksa- > OSx fahs, AS feax '(head)hair', OHG fahs id., 'curl (Locke)', ON fax 'mane' || Arm ւարասք (gen. ւունլասւ) 'sheep's wool, fleece' || NPrs پشم pāšm 'wool, pubic hair', OI pakṣman- ntr. 'eyelashes', Av pašnam 'eyelid' ¶ P 797, M K II 184, M E II 62-3, F II 492-3, Ch. 872, Vl. I 366, Me. EAC 82, 142, 152, Sl. 125-6, Ho. 100, 103, Ho. S 17, Vr. 114, Vr. N 762, Kb. 216, OsS 158, ≈ M K II 184 (IE *pek- 'Wolle zupfen'), ≈ EI 570 (the above words < *pek- 'pull\comb out [wool]'), Grgv. BEO 128 (Georgiev supposed that Arm ասք is derived from IE *poku- 'Vieh' + *-r- and believed that Arm ասք goes back to a Phr loanword from Daco-Moesian, because -a- is a reg. reflex of IE *-o- in DM, but not in Arm) ¶ In some IE lges there is a merger: N *^rp¹aqE?∇ or *^rp¹aq₁∇,?E × IE *pek- v. 'comb, pull out (hair, wool)' (< N *^pEχk₁∇ 'rub, scrape' [q.v.]) × IE *pekū / *pekwe- 'cattle' (< N *^poKü '(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' [q.v.]) || D *pakkō ({θGS} *p-) 'scab, crust (dried portion of a bodily secretion)' > Tm pakkū 'scab of a sore, dried mucus of the nose', Kn hakku 'crusted or dry mucus of rheum, scab', hakka|e 'an incrustation', Tl pakkū 'scab', Gdb pakkū 'dried portion of any bodily secretion, scab' ¶¶ D no. 3811 ◇

Ang pok v. 'peel\skin' provides ev. for a N $*p-$, but this is not enough because the Ang word is isolated within WCh and because its meaning (alternatively derivable from different N words, e.g. $*pEXK\triangledown$ '↑') makes the connection questionable \diamond Tg $*püg-$ v. 'flay' (> Nn Nh, Ork puyi-, Ul puyu-, Orc, Ud $sī-$, Ewk, Lm $hi\text{̆}$ -, Neg. $xi\text{̆}$ -, \mathcal{F} STM II 323, Krm. 283, On. 340) hardly belongs here because both its vw. and its voiced medial cns. are not expected in reflexes of N $*p^1aqE\triangledown$ or $*p^1aq\triangledown\text{̆}E$. On the Altaic connection of this Tg root *see* DQA no. 1799 (A $*p^1jüg\triangledown$ 'flay, cut').

1758. $*P^1A^1RE$ 'finger' and $*P^1ARE$ $\eta ak\triangledown$ 'finger, thumb' > HS: C {AD} $*p\triangledown r-$ > LEC $*fer-$ 'finger' > Af {PH} $fēra$, Sa {R} $ferā$ id.; pSam $*farr-$ ({Hn.} $*far-$) 'finger' > Sml {DSI} far (pl. $farrō$), Sml J far (pl. $far-ńa$), Bn far (pl. $far\text{̆}$) 'finger', Rn $fár$ (pl. {PG} $fàrró$, {Hn.} $far'ró$, {Oo.} $fa'ro$), Bs {HL} fer 'finger, toe', {Fl.} $pēr$ 'finger', Elm $fárrit$, $fârr$, Arr $farrit$ (pl. $farró$) id. ¶ AD SF 41-2, Bl. 117, PH 101, DSI 217, Hn. NBLK 205, Hn. S 59, Oo. 67, PG 113, Hw. A 357, \approx HL 93 (Bs fer < C $*(z)eber$ 'finger'), Fl. p.c. || Ch: WCh: AG: Kfr {Nt.} $furap-sár$ 'fingers' ($sár$ means 'hand') ||| Ech: EDng {Fd.} $pěrné$ 'finger' ($pěrmé$ in JI II 137 is a misprint), Mgm {JA} $pùrrùn$ (pl. $pòrònná \sim pòrìnná$) 'ongle, griffe', Mu {J} $fěří$ 'finger' ||| CCh: HgWl {Mk.} $píri$ 'fingernail' (to be separated from the reflexes of N $*P^1á\chi|\psi\triangledown$ 'thumb, big toe, [?] finger' in the Higi gr. [HgWl {Mk.} $p\text{̆}lla$ 'finger', HgMd {Mk.} $b\text{̆}lli$, HgMk {Mk.} $b\text{̆}ll\text{̆}$, HgSn $b\text{̆}ll\text{̆}$ id.] and in other CCh lges [*see* s.v. N $*P^1á\chi|\psi\triangledown$]) ¶ JI II 136-7, ChC, ChL, Fd. 59, Nt. 13, JA LM 117, Mk. I ¶¶ Not here (\Leftrightarrow Blz. OLBP 13 [no. 36]) NrOm $*par\text{̆}t-/*par\text{̆}ç-/*birad\text{̆}$ 'finger' (< N $*P^1\triangledown R\triangledown\acute{c}\chi\triangledown$ 'fingernail, claw' [q.v.]) || IE [1]: Tc A $prār$, B $prār$ i 'finger' ¶ Wn. I 390, Ad. 414-15, Ad. H 120 ||] ? [2]: (with mt.) NaIE $*openkro-$ ({WP, Bc.} $*penk^{\omega}ro-$) (< N $*P^1ARE$ $\eta ak\triangledown$ 'finger, thumb') > Gmc $*fingra-$ 'finger' (\times NaIE $*penk^{\omega}ros$ 'a group of five' [$>$ OI $cóicēr$ id.] \leftarrow $*penk^{\omega}e$ 'five') > Gt $figgrs$, AS $fingēr$, ON $fingr$, OSx, OHG $fingar$, NHG $Finger$, OFrs, Sw, Dn, Nrw $finger$ 'finger', NE $finger$ ¶ WP II 26, P 808, FT 218, F 150, Bc. 240, Fs. 150, Vr. 120, Kb. 245, Ho. 105 ||| A: [1] pA $*p^1æRæ\eta æ$ 'thumb' > T: NaT $*\text{̆}h\text{̆}æ\eta æk$ 'finger' or 'thumb' ({Cl.} $*är\eta äk$, {Adb. SR} $*är\eta äk$, {Adb. NPAJ} $*är\eta ek$) > OT $er\eta ek$, MT $ernek$, Chg $\geq xv$ $ernek$, Chg $er\eta ek \sim ärmak$ 'finger', MU $er\eta äk$ [Rbg.] 'finger', [IM] 'thumb', StAlt $ergek \sim erkek$, Tb/QK {B}, Shor $ergek$, Xk $irgek$, Tf $er\acute{g}ek$, Yk $ärbä\chi$ 'thumb', Tv $er\acute{e}ek$ 'thumb, small finger' ¶ Adb. NPAJ 1-7, Adb. SR 318, Cl. 234, ET Gl 299-300, TL

253-4, BT 193 || M **φerekeyi* 'thumb' > MM [S] *heregay*, WrM {MED} *erekei*, HIM {MED, BMR} *эрхий*, Brt *эрхы* 'thumb, big toe', Kl {KRS} *эркә erkä id.*, {Rm.} *erkē* 'Daumen', Dg B *χergi*, Dg Hl *ergi* 'thumb', Ord *erekxī* 'pouce' ¶ But Mnr H *χuri* and Ba *χur* 'finger' belong to M **quruγ∇n* 'finger' rather than here ¶ Pel. 29-10 [no. 13], MED 322, BMR IV 433, Chr. 773, KRS 703, KW 125, ADb. NPAJ 38-9, ADb. SR 321, H 75, Ms. O 243, T 378, T DgJ 175, MYC 271 || Tg **peregen* ~ **puregen* 'thumb' > Ewk *huruγun*, Sln *zrgũ* ~ *zrgĩ*, {Iv.} *or'gun* ~ *ur'gun* ~ *ur'u'gun*, Lm *hōrγxъn*, Neg *xóyзηзn*, Orc *xōηo(n-)*, Ud *хуз*, Ul *poro / poron-*, *puru / purun-*, Nn Nh {STM} *рэрхэ id.*, {On.} *рэрхэ* 'silver ring on the thumb', WrMc {Z} *фэрхэ* 'thumb, big toe' ¶ STM II 354, Krm. 307, On. 348, Z 1051, ADb. NPAJ 40 ¶¶ SDM 1138 (pA **p'er∇* 'thumb' > T, M, Tg), DQA no. 1750 (id.), ADb. SR 318-21, Pp. VG 11, 79, Rm. EAS I 54, KW 125, Vld. 285, Md. OJ 194, Ci. EApk 71, ET Gl 279, TL 253-5, ≠ Shch. RTM 116 (M ← T) ||| [2] A **paR₁ηak₁* 'finger' > T **parηak* ({Md.} **p'ja-rηak*) > NaT **parmaq* ~ **parnaq* 'finger' > MU *barmaq*, Chg, XwT *barmaq*, OOsM *barmaq* ~ *parmaq*, Tk *parmak*, Δ *barmaq*, ET *barmaq* ≍ *ramaq*, ET H *parmaq*, Ggz *parmak*, Az *barmaq*, Tkm, Bsh, Qmq *barmaq*, Slr *parmaχ*, VTt *barmaq*, Δ *barnaq* 'finger', Qzq, Qrg, ET *barmaq* 'thumb' ||| Chv L *пурне*, Chv Δ *порна* ≍ *пурне* ≍ *порне* ≍ *порня* 'finger' ¶ ET B 66-7, TL 254-5, ADb. NPAJ 1-7, ADb. SR 319-21, Md. 113, 174, Rs. W 63, Ash. IX 307-8 and X 85., Fed. I 461-2, Jeg. 172, ChVS 151, Dr. G 449 || Tg **pargan* > Nn Nh {On.} *paγgã*, Ud *хага* 'Einlegesohle im Ski für den Fuß (берестяная подстилка на лыже для ступни, берестяная стелька на лыже)', Ewk *hargan id.*, 'unity of length (≈ 1 cm)' ¶ STM II 317, Korm. 303, On. 320 ¶¶ SDM 1093-4 (pA **pjãri* 'finger, finger width [a measure]' > T, Tg + unc.: pJ **pia* 'layer' and pKo **p'ár* id., 'set'), DQA no. 1648 (id.), ADb. SR 318-21 (T, M, Tg), Whm. 153-4, 210 (Ko, J) || E: NEI *pu-ur* 'finger' or 'thumb' ({Blz.} *pur*) ¶¶ HK 241-2 ◇ The difference between A **a* and *ä* in **paR₁ηak₁* vs. **p'äränä* may be accounted for by vowel harmony (different results of regr. as. from the pN source, if it was ***P_aRE ηak∇**) ◇ N ***P_aRE ηak∇** 'finger' survives in A **paR₁ηak₁*, **p'äränä* and probably (with mt.) in Gmc **fingra-*, N ***P_{'A}'RE** 'finger' is represented in C, Ch and Tocharian ◇ N ***P_aRE ηak∇** is probably a cd with N ***P_{'A}'RE** as its first component, which is the only reason of our tentative rec. of N ***A** in ***P_{'A}'RE** ◇ In T and in Ch there is variation between the regular reflexes of N ***p-** and of N ***p₂-**. It needs

investigating ◇ Cf. IS III 70-7 (*p^ha^hr^hä^h 'fingernail', not distinguishing between the etymon in question and N *P₂VRVĆ₁X₁V 'fingernail, claw') → Glh. 5071; Blz. BP no. 7 (E, HS).

1759. *P₂Arû 'stone, rock' > IE *perw-/*peru- 'rock, mountain' (× N *p₂or^hä^hϑ^h 'summit, top', q.v.) > Ht peru-, peruna- 'rock, cliff, boulder', ? p^hirwa- {Frd.} 'rock', {Ts.} 'eine bestimmte Felsgottheit' || OI 'parvata- 'rocky' (< *^hperw^hto-), 'parvatah₂ 'mountain, rock', Av pa^hrvatā- 'Gebirge']+ext. *-k-: Gmc: Gt faírguni ('όρος) 'Berg, Gebirge', AS firzīn- ~ fyrzīn- 'mountain-' (in cds with -strēam etc.) ||| Clt *r₂kunios in n.l. for mountainous regions: Ἀρκύνια ὄρη, Orcynia etc. ¶ Frd. HW 68, Ts. W 63-4, CHD P 314-15, M K II 228, M E II 99, EI 547 (*^hperu 'rock'), Fs. 137-9, Fs. E 102-3, GI II 614, ≈ EI 407 (unc.: connection of *perk- with *^hperk^hu-s 'oak') || K: G prialo 'steep rock; steep', {DCh.} 'крытой утесъ, ярь', {Chx.} 'jäh, abschüssig, steil', 'steile Felswand' ¶ Chx. 1502, DCh. 1315 || HS: Ch: CCh: Hw {ChL} fera, fèrè, Jr {ChL} vere 'stone' | HgNk {ChC} p^hirre, {ChL} p^hiré, Kps {Mch.} pere, {ChL} p^hiré id. | Gude {Mch.} far^hl^h, {ChL} f^hará, FIM {ChC, ChL} fara, BtG {Mch.} f^hor^he, BtZ {Mch.} f^hirra, BtM {ChL} f^húrá 'stone', Bcm {Sk.} f^hará 'stone, rock' | Gv {ChL} f^huràdà, Glv {ChL} f^hur^hexa 'stone', Glv {RpB} f^hur^haxa 'rock' ||| Ech: Ke {Eb.} p^hárkí 'stone, rock, mountain', {Eb. in ChC} p^hárgí 'rock' ¶ ChC s.v. 'stone', ChL, Eb. 88, Sk. BW s.v. f^hará, RpB s.v. f^hur^haxa ||| D *p^hā^hr- 'rock, large stone' > Tm p^hā^hra^h 'rock, crag, hillock', ? (< d.?) p^hā^hr 'rock', Ml p^hā^hra 'rock, large stone', Kdg p^hā^hre 'flat stone, stone slab', Tu p^hā^hdæ, Krg hā^hde 'rock', Prj p^hā^hra 'slab of stone', Gnd p^hā^hrum 'rock, boulder' ¶¶ D no. 4121 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 160 [no. 86] (D, CCh + unc. NrOm *p^hal- 'stone'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 90 (D, Ch + unc. Ar fihr- 'stone of the size of a hand' and NrOm *p^hal- 'stone') ¶¶ Ar fihr- cannot belong here, because it implies a N lr. before *r, which is ruled out by the IE cognate.

1760. *p^harV 'to fly, to jump' > HS: WS *✓pr^hr v. 'fly' (× N *p₂ARyV 'run, flee', q.v.) > Jb ✓f^hrr (Jb E pf. 'fer, Jb C pf. fer(r), sbjn. 'y^hff^hɜr) v. 'fly, jump up quickly', Mh ✓f^hrr (pf. f^hɜr, sbjn. y^hfrē^hr) v. 'fly, jump up', Hrs ✓f^hrr (pf. f^hɜr, sbjn. y^hfrē^hr) v. 'fly, jump, spring', Sq {L} f^her 'voler, planer'; rdp.: Ar O {L} ip. yfarfur 'vultiger' ¶ Jo. J 59, Jo. M 96-8, Jo. H 33, L LS 341-2 || Eg fOK p^hɜ v. 'fly' ¶ EG I 494, Fk. 87 || B *✓fr^hH ~ *✓f^hrr ~ *✓ʔfr v. 'fly, fly away' > Nf {Beg.} fā^hr (pf. ifā^hr) v. 'fly', Sll {Ds.} firri (pf. ifarra), Izd {Mrc.} afru (pf. yaf^hru), ZAS {Loub.} af^hu (pf.

yiflru ~ yuflru) v. 'fly', Wrg afær inv. (pf. yufær) v. 'fly, fly away', Ah
 færaræt 's'envoler'; B *✓frfr 'voler, s'envoler, voleter' > SrSn færfær
 'voler, s'envoler', Shl Sm færfær (pf. iffair) 'voleter', *id.* Kb ffærffær
 's'envoler, voler' (infl. of the onomatopoeic verb ffærffær 'battre les
 ailes'), Mz ffærfær 'voler, s'envoler', Wrg ffærfær 'voler de ci et de là,
 voleter'; ? Kb ✓frws (inv. friwæs, pf. yafrawæs) 'sursauter' ¶ Dl. 216,
 229, Ds. 297, Fc. 355, Rn. 299, Loub. 535, Dlh. Ou 79, Dlh. M 50, La. S
 313, Beg. 265, NZ 597-8 || C {AD} ✓pr(r) v. 'fly, jump', {E} *par-/*pir-
 / *pur- *id.* > Bj {R} fir, fīr (~ bīr, bir) 'Flug', Bj {Rop.} fār- scv.
 'hop, spring, jump', {AD} far-, {R} fār- v. 'jump' ('springen, hüpfen'),
 fār (pl. fār) 'Sprung, saltus' || Ag: Bln {R} fir ɥ- v. 'fly', Aw {Hz.} pær
 v. 'jump' || EC: Ya {Ehret ← ?} peri v. 'fly', Sml {ZMO} fatanfardē
 'jump, gambol about', Sml N {Abr.} faranfardáynayya pres. 'gambol
 about' || SC: ↳ Mb {E} pūru v. 'fly', -pūrupūru v. 'hop' ¶ AD SF 45-6, E
 PC no. 65, E SC 321, R WB 125, R WBd 50, 81, Rop. 180-1, ZMO 134,
 Abr. S 77 || Om: SOm: Dm {Fl.} far(um) v. 'fly' || NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} fær,
 Gemu {Fl.} fir, Gm {Hw.} piráðo v. 'fly' ¶ Fl. OAF 89, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG
 s.v. 'fly' || Ch *✓pr v. 'jump, (?) fly' (≈ {Nw.} *pærə v. 'fly, jump') >
 WCh: AG: Gmy {Hf.} pār v. 'jump', Kfr {Nt.} pār *id.* || Hs fìrá v. 'soar into
 the air' (a bird) || CCh: Bdm {Bou.} fár *id.*, Msg P {Trn.} p'á, fMSg G
 {MB} pær- v. 'jump', ?*id.* Gude {Hsk.} pær ~ fær 'flying away' (a bird
 (verbal *id.*)) || Smr {J} pâr v. 'jump', Kwn {Lens.} pèrè v. 'jump' (pl.) ¶ JI
 II 210-11, ChC s.v. 'jump', Nw. 26 [no. 51], Abr. H 268, Ba. 323, Hsk.
 184, 255, Trn. LM, Lens. 111 ¶¶ Tk. I 55, Tk. SCC 75 [no. 2.3], Tk. PAA 1
 || K: [1] K {K} *pær- v. 'fly' > Sv li-pær v. 'fly' (UB {GP} 'start to fly'),
 pær-n-i '(he) flies', Sv UB nã-pær 'bird', Sv LB nãpær '(small) bird'; [2] GZ
 {K} *pren-/*prin- v. 'fly' > OG, G pr-in-/pr-en-, Mg purin-, Lz purtin- *id.*;
 Fähnrich and Sarjveladze reconstruct K *par- (tacitly considering *prin-
 to be a d.) on the alleged ev. of OG prte 'wing' (which hardly belongs to
 the same √, cf. N *'p' uRy∇ 'wing, feather(s)'); [3] ?φ GZ {FS}
 *parpaṭ- > G parpaṭ- 'langsam die Flügel schwingen', Mg porpoṭ-
 'langsam die Flügel schwingen, endlos laufen' ¶¶ K 152-3, 190, K² 149,
 203, FS K 247-8, 312, FS E 273, 348-50, Chx. 1450-1, TK 444, 626, GP
 164, 229 || IE: NaIE *pær- v. 'fly', ? 'jump', {Bn.} 'flotter en air, se
 déplacer dans l'espace' > Sl *pær-/ *pъra- v. 'fly' > ChS 1s pres. п е р æ
 pær-q (inf. п(ъ)р а т и п(ъ)р а -ti) v. 'fly', Sl iter. *pař-/ *pari- > ChS,
 OR inf. п а р и т и par i ti 'to fly' ({Srz.}: RChS п т и ц а п а р а щ а т а н а

ЗЕМЛH 'πετελνᾶ πετόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς', Gen. 1.20), R па'рю, inf. па'рить v. 'float in the air' (birds) || Irn {Bn.} *per- > NPrs پريدن pārīdān 'to fly', ? OI vi pravante 'they jump separately' ¶ Not here Ht partawar 'wing' (⇔ Trb. in Vs. III 207), see N *p̄uRy∇ '↑' ¶ Bn. HR 36-41, Vs. III 207, Mikl. L 565-6, 659, Mikl. E 240-1, Srz. II 881, Chr. II 6, VI. I 354, Bai. 231, ≠ P 817, RastE ESI III 66 || U *p̄âr∇- 'jump' > Sm: Ne T {Ter.} п̄рт̄м- 'jump quickly to one's feet', {Lh.} partam- 'plötzlich aufspringen', ? {Ter.} п̄ромба 'in a hurry, hurriedly', Δ п̄ромб̄ă- v. 'hurry', ? {Lh.} paro-, porombā- 'be in a hurry', porolā- 'beschleunigen, zu Eile antreiben' ¶¶ Not here pObU *p̄r̄ay- v. 'jump, fly', which belongs to N *p̄Uṝûḡā 'to jump' (q.v.) ¶ ≈ UEW 414, Ter. 449-450, Lh. 339, 358, Hl. rHt 74-5 (on distinction between the ObU reflexes of U *w and *k [{AD}: and *ʒ-] that suggests that ObU *p̄r̄ay- does not belong here), Ht. no. 538 || A *p̄aR- > Tg (att. in NrTg) *par- v. 'float in the air' (birds) > Ewk hārī- v. 'float in the air, fly together' (birds), Ewk Tng (h)arikta- 'fly high up' ('залететь высоко'), Lm harwançala- id., 'fly down (circling in the air)' ('спускаться кружась') (of a bird) ¶ STM II 317 || D *p̄āṛ-/ *p̄āṛ- ({ʒGS} *p-) v. 'fly, run' > Tm p̄āṛa v. 'fly, flutter', p̄āṛu v. 'run, flee', Ml p̄āṛuka v. 'fly', p̄āṛakka v. 'fly, flee', Kt p̄arn- v. 'fly, run without stopping', Td p̄oṛ- v. 'fly', Kn p̄āṛi, p̄āṛu 'flying, running swiftly', p̄āṛ, p̄āṛu v. 'leap up, run, jump, fly', Kdg p̄ār v. 'fly, leap', Tu p̄āruni v. 'run, fly, escape', OTl {Km.} p̄āṛu v. 'run, flee', Tl p̄āṛu v. 'run, flow, fly', Gnd p̄ārī- 𐌆 p̄orī- 𐌆 p̄ārī- 𐌆 p̄ārī- v. 'fly', Kui p̄āsk- id. ¶¶ D no. 4020, Km. 429 [no. 815] ¶ The meaning 'flee, run' may be due to the infl. of the D √ *par∇ 'run, flee' (D no. 3963) < N *p̄ARy∇ 'run, flee' ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 164 (*par 'fly' v.) (U + IE, Y, A, J, Gil words for 'feather', without distinguishing this N word from N *p̄uRy∇ 'wing, feather[s]').

1761. *P̄eR∇ 'ground, earth' > HS: CCh: G'nd {ChL} fírta, Bk fúrta 'ground', ? Gdr {Mch.} búrduku 'earth (soil)' ¶ JI II 117, ChL, ChC s.v. 'ground' and 'earth (soil)' || S: Ak parattu 'Festland' ¶ Sd. 832 || U: FU *per^a ~ *pora: [1] FU *per∇ 'mud, swampy place' (× N *beR∇ 'mud, swamp', q.v. ffd.); [2] FU (att. in FV) *pora > F porikko 'aufgeschwollene Erde' || Mk 'pora 'grove' ¶ UEW 374-5, MF 106, PI 215, LG 220 || A *P̄eR∇ (× N *P̄er∇ [or *P̄iHEr∇?] 'bottom, buttocks') > M *p̄iru-ṣal (~ *-ṣar) 'ground, soil, bottom' > MM [S, HI] hiruar

'Boden, Grund', {Lew.} $\chi i r u' a r$, {BIM} $h i r u' a r$, $h i r u r$ 'ground, floor', WrM $i r u g a r \sim i r u g a l$ {MED} 'bottom, ground, foundation, base; root', HIM $\epsilon p o o l$ {MED} id., {BMR} "bottom (of a vessel, river, sea), base', Brt $\sigma \epsilon \sigma p$ 'bottom (of a vessel, river, sea), base, floor', Ord $i r \bar{o} l$ 'fond, partie inférieure, le bas d'un objet, base, racine', Kl {KRS} $\dot{H} o p a l$ 'bottom of a vessel\sea, bottom of a well (Brunnen), ground', {Rm.} $y o r \bar{a} l$ 'Boden', Dg $\chi i g \bar{o} r$, Dx $\check{s} i r o$, Ba $h o l \bar{a} r$, ShY $h o r \bar{u} l$ 'ground, floor', Dg $\check{s} o w \bar{o} r e \sim \check{s} i g \bar{o} r e$ 'bottom' ¶ H 76, Ms. H 60, Pel. 217 [no. 26], Lew. 51, MED 415, Gl. I 196, Luv. 174, BMR II 141, KRS 280, KW 219, Chr. 350, Ms. O 387-8, S AJ 241 [no. 178] || Tg $* p e r e$ 'bottom (of a vessel, river), floor' ($\times N * P e r \nabla$ 'bottom, buttocks', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ \approx SDM 1136-7 (pA $* p' \epsilon r \grave{i}$ 'edge' > Tg, M + unc. T $* E r n e g$ [i.e. $* \ae r n \ae g$] 'brim, edge' [going back to pA $* p' \bar{E} r i$ 'lip, brim, edge' from N $* p e r \nabla$ 'lip, edge', q.v. ffd.]), S AJ 12, 282 [no. 160] (pA $* p' \grave{i} e r \nabla$), SDM97 (A $* p' \grave{i} e r \nabla$), \approx SDM97 (A $* p' e r i$ 'floor, ground, earth', incl. M, Tg) ◇ FU $* - o -$ in $* p o r a$ and M $* - i -$ in $* \varphi i r u -$ are still to be explained ◇ Connected (or originally identical) with $* P e R \nabla$ 'bottom, buttocks'?

1762. $* p e r \nabla$ (= $* p e r' o'$?) 'lip, edge' ([in descendant lges] \rightarrow 'front, vordere, before') > HS: C $* p \nabla r -$ 'lip' (\rightarrow 'face') > Bj {R} $f i r$ 'face (Gesicht, Antlitz)', {Rop.} $f \bar{i} r$ 'face, surface' || EC: Sml $f a r \bar{u} r$ {ZMO} 'lip', {DSI} 'lip; harelip', Sml N {Abr.} $f \acute{a} r \acute{u} r$ 'harelip, (camel's) split lip', Rn {PG} $f \grave{u} r \acute{u} r$ 'lip, edge' ¶ R WbD 81, Rop. 180, Abr. S 77, ZMO 136, DSI 222, PG 117, E PC no. 181 (pC $* f a r - / * f i r -$ 'lower face' > Bj, Sml; $* \div$ Aw $p \bar{z} n$ 'face' [*F AD SF* 45]) || K $* p i r -$ 'lip, edge' > OG, G $p i r - i$ 'mouth, edge, lip', Mg $p \grave{i} \check{z} - i$ 'mouth; face; edge; bank, shore', Lz $p \grave{i} \check{z} - i$ 'mouth; face; bank, shore'; ($\times N * P e \grave{I} \hat{e} - * P e \grave{I} \hat{e}$ 'side of body, side') Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} $p \grave{i} l$ 'lip; edge, (river)bank' ¶¶ K 153, Chik. 50-1, Q 299, Marr 179, TK 681-2, GP 253, Dn. s.v. $p \grave{i} l -$, Wrd. 613, 1010-11 || IE: [1] Ht $p u r i$ 'lip; rim, edge, border' || NaIE: Clt {Matas.} $* f o r o -$ > Mlr $o r$ 'edge, limit' || [2] IE $* p e r -$ (with a hardly identifiable meaning; {P}: 'das Hinausführen über'), a noun used (in its different case forms) as adv., pv. and prep., which goes back to a merger of several N words, including N $* p e r \nabla$ 'lip, edge'; a contribution of this N word is the meaning 'in front, forward, before': [2a] IE $* p r o$, $* p r \bar{o}$ 'in front of, forward, before, forth' > OI $p x ' p r a -$ id., Av $f r \bar{a}$, $f r a -$, OPrs, MPrs $p x f r a -$ 'vorwärts, voran' || Gk $\pi \rho \acute{o}$ prep. in front of, before', $\pi \rho o -$ pv. 'before, forwards; forth', $\pi \rho o - \pi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \upsilon \sigma \iota$ 'two years ago' || L $p r \bar{o}$ prep.,

prǫ-, prō- (in cds) 'before, in front of; for', prōnus 'inclined forward' || Clt {Matas.} *fare 'in front of' > OIr air, ar, MW ar, er, MBr er, ar 'in front of', Gl (ethnonym) Are-morici, Clt n.l. Are-korata || Sl *pra- 'Ur-', e.g. OCS **пРАДѢДЪ** praděď 'great-grandfather, forefather', R, Blg 'прадед, SCr пра̀-дед & prà-djed 'great-grandfather' (lit. 'for-grandfather'), Cz prales, P pralas, Uk пралис 'primeval forest, Urwald', Blg прамайка 'mother of mankind' || Ht {Frd., Ts., CHD} перан ~ {Ts.} piran (adv., prec., postp.) 'before, in front of; previously' || [2b] NaIE *prō 'early, in the morning' > OI prā-'tar (prā'taḥ) id., Gk πρωί, Gk A πρωί 'early in the day, at morn', OHG fruō 'early, early in the morning, soon', fruoi, MHG vrūeje adj. 'early' || [2c] NaIE *prai, *p.rai, *prei-, *p.ri (dat. of direction from *per-) ≈ forward, in front of, before' > Gk Hm παραί, Gk παρά (with dat.) 'by the side of', (with gen.) 'from the side of, from', Gk πρίν, Gk Hm πρίν, πρίν 'before, until' || pAl {O} *para > Al para ~ parē 'foreward', prep. 'in front of, before', 'parē adj. 'first', adv. 'earlier', Al G {LamP} para 'vor' || L prae (adv.) 'before, in front', (prep.) 'before', prae- 'voran, voraus, überaus', Osc prai, Um pre PRE 'prae' || Gl are- 'before, by, east', W er-, OIr air- 'before, for', OIr anair 'from the east' ('east' as the front side of anyone who orients himself towards the rising sun) || Gt faír- 'ver-, ent-, er-', AS fyr-, OHG furī- 'before', OSx, OHG furī 'before, for, because of, in advance' (> NHG für), ON fyr 'vor, für', AS for id., NE for; cmpr.: OHG furiro {OsS} 'der frühere, vordere', {Kb.} 'greater, more', sprl.: OHG furist {Kb.} 'first'. (adv.) 'mostly', MHG vürst 'the first, most eminent', AS fyr(e)st 'first, vorderste' (> NE first) || Lt priẽ, Lt Zh prỹ 'at, by, near, in the presence of', Ltv priè(k)ša 'das Vordere' (< *preutyā), pìere 'forehead, front side', Pru prei 'to' || Sl *pri 'near, in the presence of' > OCS **пРН** pri 'in the presence of', R, Uk при 'beside, near, in the presence of', P przy, Cz při, SCr, Slk, Slv pri, Blg при 'beside, by, near'; Sl *pri- preverb (approching, adding) > OCS **пРН-** pri- id. etc.; possibly Sl *prě- 'Ur-' > OCS **пРѢОТЬЦЪ** prě-otъcъ 'forefather', **пРѢДѢДЪ** prěďěď (∴ πρόπαππος, proavus) {Mikl.} 'great-grandfather' || ? OI pa'rē thereupon' || [3] IE *pr̥- (nom. or loc. without sx?) 'hervor', *pera(:) (instr.) 'in front' > L por-tend-v. 'predict, presage, indicate' || Gt faúr (∴ παρά) 'vor, längs ... hin', (∴ πρό) adv/prp. 'vor', (∴ ὑπέρ) 'für', OSx for, fur 'vor, für', AS for, ON

for- 'before', Gt faúra (· πρότερον) adv. 'vor', (· ἔμπροσθεν) 'vor', px (· προ-) 'vor-', OHG, OSx forā 'in front of, before', NHG vor 'before, in front of', OSx forā and AS fore (prep.) 'before', NE before || Irn: OI pu'rā 'formerly, before', Av parā ~ para 'before' || Ht {CHD} parā pv. 'out (to), forth, towards, further', postp. 'out of, from' ¶¶ P 810-14, EI 60-1 (*pr_o^heh₁ and *pr_o^hei₁ 'in front of' and 'before' [of time], *pro 'forward, ahead, away'), Frd. HW 158, 170, 173, Ts. W 59, 64-5, CHD P 109-30, 291-311, 384-6, Mer. SGA 374, M K II 310, 350-3, 376-7, M E II 173-4, 188, F II 472-3, 595-7, WH II 351-7, 364-5, Bc. G 323, 343, Kb. 295, 304-6, 825, OsS 213, 229-30, 234-5, 274, KM 225, Ho. 112, 120, Ho. S 21, 24, Fs. 137, 145, Vr. 137, 148, Frn. 652-3, Vs. III 351, 362-3, 370, StSS 497-9, 548, Mikl. L 723, 740, Glh. 502, ESISJ-SGZ I 205-8, 210-20, Vnd.² II 313, Vn. R 35-6, Matas. E 122-3, 137, Dtn 213, Billy 87, AlbED 623, O 311, BFU 373, 386-7, Ç II 5, 430, Kf. 252-3, LamP 157, RastE ESI III 53-7 || **U** *pe|är∇ 'side', d. *pe|ärt∇ 'edge, side' > pY {IN} *pere 'side' > Y T pere-n 'at the side' (-n is an adverbial ending) || FU *pe|ärt∇ 'edge, side' > Prm *berd- 'sth. near sth., wall' > Z, Yz berd-, Vt bord- 'near' in postpositions (Z berd-з, Yz 'berd-Λ, Vt bord-+ 'towards', Z berd-+ś 'from', Yz 'berd-+n 'bei', Vt bord-oź 'up to'), Z {W} berd, Vt bord 'wall' || ??σ ObU: Vg: TY pārt, Ss pārt 'board' (< *'wall?') ¶¶ IN 242, UEW 374, LG 39, Lt. J 88, UR 50 || **A** *p'Éri 'lip, brim, edge' > T: [1] NaT *ærin 'lip; brim' (< ppT **hærin?) > OT, MU, MQp [incl. CC] erin, Chg ≥XV erin, erin, Tkm, Qmq, QBl, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, XwT, Qzq erin, Uz irin, VTt, Bsh irьn, Xk irьn 'lip', Kr, Tv erin id., 'brim (of a vessel)' ¶ Cl. 232-3, ET Gl 292-3, TL 226-7, Rl. I 766-7, Bu. I 791, KRPS 665 | [2] NaT *°ærnæ- > Bsh irnä- vt. 'edge\fringe with, frame (окаймлять, обрамлять)'; NaT *ærnæg 'brim, edge' > MT ernek, Tkm ernek, Qmq, Qzq ernew, Qq, Tk Δ ernek, Chg إيرناك {Bu.} ernäk 'edge', {Rl.} ärnäk 'Rand, Kante', Qrg erdō (< *ernew < *ærnæg) 'brim of a cup', VTt irnäw 'thick brim of a vessel', {Rl.} 'brim of a pot\cup\barrel' ¶ ET Gl 301, Rl. I 787, 1468-9, Bu. I 191, BR 213, KumRS 377 || M *φi:;rE > WrM {MED} ir, HIM {MED, BMR} ир, Brt эри 'blade, edge of a knife', Kl {Rm.} ir 'Schneide, Schärfe (des Messers u. a.), {KRS} ир 'blade, sharp edge (острый край)', Dg {T} χir, SrY hir 'blade, edge of a knife', Ord Īr 'côté qui coupe d'un instrument tranchant' ¶ MED 412, BMR II 278, Chr. 771, KRS 272, KW 209, MYC 411-12, 740, T DgJ 146, Ms. O 386 || pJ {SDM} *piàrì 'edge, brink' > MJ φèrì id., {Mr.} φeri 'rim, brink', J T/Kg herí, J K hérì {Krnk.}

'edge, verge, brink' ¶ S QJ no. 1560, Mr. 404, Kenk. 481 ¶¶ SDM 1136-7 (pA *p'èrì 'edge' > T *Erneg [i.e. *ærnæg], M *hir- [i.e. *φir-] 'blade, edge of a knife', pJ + unc. Tg *pere 'bottom, flour' and M *hir-id. [which go back to N *P_{er}∇ 'ground, earth' and N *P_{er}∇ 'bottom, buttocks', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 1747, ET Gl 301, Ci. EApk 69-70 ◇ The tentatively suggested N *-'o' can be responsible for the labialized vw. in Ht puri ◇ Gr. II no. 123 (*pere 'edge') (IE, U, A, J), ≈ Gr. II no. 155 (*pir 'first') (IE, Ko, Gil + err. T, M, J).

1763. *P_{er}∇ (or *P_iH_{Er}∇?) 'bottom, buttocks' > A *P_{ERÉ} (× N *P_{eR}∇ 'ground, earth') > Tg *pere 'bottom' > Lm h₃r, Sln z₃ri, Neg x₃yz, Ork p₃r₃z, p₃r₃l, Nn Nh p₃r₃g, p₃r₃l {On.} 'bottom of a vessel\river', {STM} id., 'bottom', Ewk h₃r₃ id., 'floor', WrMc {Z} φ₃p₃ id., 'bottom of a boat', Nn KU x₃r₃, Nn Bk φ₃r₃ 'bottom of a vessel\pit\river', Ul p₃r₃(g) id., Ud x₃ id., 'foot of a hill\mountain' ¶ STM II 370-1, Vas. 511, Pt. 109, Krm. 308, On. 348, Z 1049, S AJ 221 [no. 236] || M *φiru-φal (~ *-φar) 'ground, soil, bottom' ((× N *P_{eR}∇ 'ground, earth') > MM [S, HI] hir_u'ar 'Boden, Grund', {Lew.} xiru'ar, {BIM} hir_u'ar, hir_{ur} 'ground, floor', WrM iru_gar ~ iru_gal {MED} 'bottom, ground, foundation, base; root', HIM ёроол {MED} id., {BMR} 'bottom (of a vessel, river, sea), base', Brt оёор 'bottom (of a vessel, river, sea), base, floor', Ord írōl 'fond, partie inférieure, le bas d'un objet, base, racine', Kl {KRS} йорал 'bottom of a vessel\sea, bottom of a well (Brunnen), ground', {Rm.} yorāl 'Boden', Dg χigōr, Dx širo, Ba holər, ShY horūl 'ground, floor', Dg šowōre ~ šigōre 'bottom' ¶ H 76, Ms. H 60, Pel. 217 [no. 26], Lew. 51, MED 415, Gl. I 196, Luv. 174, BMR II 141, KRS 280, KW 219, Chr. 350, Ms. O 387-8, S AJ 241 [no. 178] ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1136-7 (pA *p'èrì 'edge' > Tg, M + unc. T *Erneg [i.e. *ærnæg] 'edge' [going back to pA *p'Èri from N *p_{er}∇ 'lip, edge', q.v. ffd.]), S AJ 12, 282 [no. 160] (A *p'j_{er}∇), SDM97 (A *p'j_{er}∇), ≈ SDM97 (pA *p'eri 'floor, ground, earth', incl. M, Tg) || U: FU *perä 'rear part; bottom' > F perä 'rear end, back end, hinder part, end', Es p_är_ä 'rear; butt (end), rump; bottom (of a vessel)' || ?? pMr {Ker.} *pīr_ä > Er пря p_ä, f p_ä, Mk пря p_ä 'head, summit, ear (Ähre)' || Prm {Lt.} *ber- 'hind part' > Vt ber, Z b₃r 'hind, hind part', Z b₃r, Yz bōr id. || ObU {JHl.} *p_{ēr}-∇x ~ *p_{ēr}-t∇x 'back (zurück)' > pVg *p_{är}əx > Vg: T p_{är}əw ~ p_{ür}əw, LK p_{är}ī, MK/UK p_äri, P p_{är}, p_{är}əx, NV/LL p_{är} 'zurück'; pOs *p_{ärt}äψ ({JHl.})

*pīrtäϣ) > Os: V/Vy pērtäϣ, Ty pērϣi, Kz pārta, O pārtā id. (ObU *-t∇ϣ, -∇ϣ [sxs of the lative case]) ¶ UEW 373, Sm. 553 (FP *perä 'back'), LG 41, Ht. 179 [no. 541] ¶ This FU √ is likely to have been semantically influenced by FU *pur∇ < N *'b'uX∇r∇ 'back, rear' || D *°pīr̄- 'anus' > Tm pīr̄u id. (variant of D *pūr̄- id. < N *'b'uX∇r∇ '↑'?) ¶ D no. 4379 ◇ Connected (or originally identical) with N *P_eR∇ 'ground, earth'? ◇ If the D cognate is acceptable, the N rec. is *P_iHEr∇.

1764. *piro (ǰæ) 'ask' > IE: NaIE *prek̄-/*pr̄k̄- v. 'ask (a question); ask for sth.' > OI ✓ pras̄ -: 3s pres. pr̄c'chati (aor. 3s 'a-praṭ) 'asks, seeks', Av pres. act. 3s pərəsāiti, pres. md. 3s pərəsaite 'asks, questions' ||| Arm հարցախնդ հաճ'անեմ 'I ask', aor. 3s եհարցեհաճ', inv. հարցեհաճ' ||| L posco (< *pr̄k̄-sk̄-) 'I ask earnestly, I reflex', precor 'I beg, I entreat, I request, I pray, I invoke', precēs pl. 'requests, entreaties', procus 'wooer' ||| Clt {Matas.} *far-skō- 'ask, plead' > OIr arcaid, -arc 'beg, ask', OW erchim id., MW erchi id., 1s. pres. archaf, W 1s. pres. archaf, Crn arghaf 'I ask, I beg', MBr archaff 'I ask, I beg', archas '(il) commanda', Br {Hm.} arc'hiñ 'demander, commander' ||| Gmc *frexna- v. 'ask (fragen)', p. 3s *frax > Gt inf. fraíhnan (p. 3s frah) (· ἐρωτᾶν, πυνθᾶνεσθα) 'fragen', ON inf. fregna (p. 3s frá), OSx inf. fregnan, AS inf. freḡnan ~ friḡnan, NE Δ frain 'to ask (fragen)', OSx inf. gi-fregnan 'to learn', OHG inf. gi-fregnan 'to inquire'; Gmc *frēϣō, *frēϣōn 'question' > Dt vraag, AS freḡn, OHG frāga, NHG Frage id.; ↯ OHG inf. frāgēn, frāgōn, NHG inf. fragen, OSx inf. frāgon, Dt inf. vragen 'to ask (a question)' ||| Lt inf. piršti (1s pres. peršù) 'to woo, to ask in marriage', inf. prašýti 'to ask (for sth.)' (< iter.), Ltv inf. prasīt id., 'to ask (fragen)' | Sl inf. *prosíti (< BSl iter.) > OCS inf. просити prositi, R inf. просить, Uk inf. просити, SCr inf. pròsiti, Slv inf. prósiti, Cz inf. prositi, Slk inf. prosit', P inf. prosic̄ 'to ask (beg)', Blg pres. прося 'ask' ||| pTc {Ad.} *pärk- > Tc A pärk-/prak-, B pärk-/prek- v. 'beg, pray, ask (a question)' ¶ P 821-2, EI 33 (*perk̄- 'ask, ask for [in marriage]'), M K II 329, M E II 183-4, WH II 346-7, Vn. A 86, Me. EAC 106-7, 114, 119, 179, IS III 112-119 (a detailed history of the stem and its derivatives in Armenian), Fs. 161-2, Vr. 140-1, Vr. N 803, Ho. 115-16, Ho. S 22, Kb. 282, 286, OsS 218, Schz. 139-40, KM 214, Frn. 598-9, Vs.

III 377-8, StSS 526, Glh. 505-6, Matas. 125, Hm. 43, Wn. I 386, Ad. 371-2, Ad. H 79, 82-3 || П *p'irU(kæ)- v. 'ask (beg), try to receive, pray' > Tg *pirugē- v. 'pray to spirits\god for happiness', (?) 'pronounce incantations' > Neg хīѣѣ- 'pray for happiness\success', Ewk Brg hiruxē-, Ewk UL/NB irзwѣ- v. 'pray, bless', Ewk PT hirU- vt. 'scold', Sln irugѣ- 'pronounce a blessing of good wish for so.' ('произносить благопожелание'), Lm hirgз- 'pray to spirits\god for happiness\success', WrMc {Z} фиру- 'curse, be malevolent' ¶ STM II 327-8, Z 1058 || М *φirüѣ- v. 'pray, wish well, bless' > MM [S] hirU^{er} [hirü_{er}] 'Gebet um langes Leben', [MA] hirebē hanisqaqsan '(he) expressed a good wish to a sneezer' ('произнес благое пожелание чихнувшему'), WrM irüge- {MED} 'wish well, bless, pray, felicitate', HlM ерөө- {MED} id., {BMR}. 'wish well (желать блага\счастья\удачи\успехов)', 'jem-m Glückwünsch abstaten (произносить благопожелание)', Brt юрөө- v. 'jem-m Glückwünsch abstaten, bless', Kl {KRS} йерә- v. 'greet, congratulate, beglück-wünschen', {Rm.} үөрө- 'beglückwünschen, segnen, weihen', Ord örō- 'prononcer des formules de bénédictions, formuler des bons souhaits', Mnr H {SM} súrō- 'formuler des souhaits de bonheur' ¶ Pel. 216-17 [no. 25], H 76, MED 415, BMR II 128, Chr. 782, KRS 281, KW 220, Ms. O 538, SM 402 || pKo *p'ir- v. 'beg, pray' > MKo p'ir-, NKo p'il- ¶ S QK no. 592, Nam 279, MLC 862 || ? pJ *pзr- > OJ por- wish, hope' ¶ S QJ no. 546, Mr. 693 || ppT *_lh_ll_lr_l∇_lk- > T *_ll_lr_l∇_lk 'omen, fortune, divination' > OT irq 'omen, taking omens, divination', OT U VIII irq 'dice' or 'divination rods', Osm {Bu.} اِرْقْ irq ({Zn.} اِرْقْ) 'luck, fortune', Tk Δ irǧ, irk, irik, irǧin id., Qzq iriq 'lot, fate, (good\bad) fortune', Qrg irq 'wellbeing, peaceful life', Nog irq 'desire', SY irq ~ ěriq ~ ěrq ~ erq 'omen, predicion, future; NaT *irIS > Xk {RXS} irIS 'happiness', Shr, StAlt irIS 'happiness, success'; ???: Yk ira ~ irā 'presentiment, fortune' and Tkm ырым '(предзнаменование (Vorzeichen, Omen))' (unless ← M: WrM irua 'foreboding, bad omen, premonition', cp. WrM irula v. 'presage, portend, curse' [F Vld. ZDST 294-5]). The T √ belongs here if its meaning has developed from *'bless' (acc. to SDM97), but Cl. derived it from 'dice, sticks etc. used for casting lots, divination etc.' ¶ ET Gl 665-7, Cl. 213, Rs. W 166-7, Rl. I 1370, SDD 772-4, TrR 772, Bu. I 29, BT 188, RXS 840, Pek. 3808-9, MED 415 ¶¶ SDM 1144-5 (pA *p'irU v. 'prey, bless' > M, Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 1767, ADb SR 14, Rm. EAS 53, 150, Vld. 181-2, Pp. VG 12, 60,

Ci. EApk 39 ¶¶ The Tg verb may be a loan from M ¶¶ If the T √ does not belong here, we lose the ability to distinguish between A *p- and *p'- || K: Sv L -p̄īr- 'intend to', χωα-p̄īre 'I intend to', Sv {Ni.} χωα-p̄iri 'I want', ?σ Sv UB li-p̄īre 'to decide', MG ≥XII, G p̄rian- 'belieben, wünschen, захотеть, пожелать', Mg {Q} p̄ian- 'like, wish (захотеть, изволить, соиз-волить)' (← G?) ¶¶ Dn. s.v. p̄īr-, Ni. s.v. 'хотѣть', GP 164, DCh. 1025, Chx. 1024, Q 298 || HS: S (mt.) *√p̄k̄r (~*√b̄k̄r?) v. 'require, want' (→ 'curse', 'love') > Ak √p̄k̄r ~ √b̄k̄r (inf. p̄/b̄ak̄āru) 'Anspruch geltend machen, vindicate', p̄ak̄āru 'vindication', Gz √f̄k̄r in the words p̄af̄k̄ara v. 'love, long for, cherish', f̄ak̄r 'love, affection', f̄ak̄ūr 'loved, beloved', Hrs √f̄k̄r in əftak̄ōr v. 'curse, miscall' ¶ Sd. 104, 826, Jo. H 32, L G 164 ¶¶ Not here (↔ IS) S *√brk v. 'bless' (> BHb, Ph, IA √brk D, Ar √brk L, D id.), which is derived from S *b̄irak 'knee' (*√brk D originally means 'make kneel down', whence 'bless' [Ar barraka 'make kneel down', see Fr. I 112]), which can be understood within the appropriate cultural context: the ritual of blessing involves knealing of the blessed person (e.g., son)' (F Genesis, chapter 27). An argument for the denom. origin of the stem for 'bless' is the very fact that it is used almost exclusively as a D-stem (as well as a L-stem, which is its variant) and is almost never used as G (basic stem) except for the pp. *b̄arīk- ~ *b̄arūk- 'blessed one' (> BHb b̄ārūk, Aram b̄arīk etc.), which was actually a derived adj. ◇ Tg and M suggest that the vw. after *r of the N word was labialized. IE *prek̄-/ *pr̄k̄- (without reflexes of N *u|ü) suggests that the labialized vw. was not *u or *ü, hence it was *o ◇ IS III 111-25, ≈ Blz. KM 238 [no. 22] (added G and Mg, but did not distinguish the reflexes of this N word from those of N *n̄äp̄r̄ 'tender, beautiful', N *paR̄a, Xi ≈ happy, dear' and N *b̄Ar̄'h̄ 'be hungry, want' [→ 'love']) ◇ Gr. II no. 94 (*per(k) 'desire') (IE, A, ?CK).

1765. *p̄ôr'i' (or *p̄ôpar'i'?) 'child, offspring' > IE: NaIE *pari-k-ā 'concubine' or 'whore' (← 'girl') > Clt *oferikā > Mir airech 'concubine' (gen. airige, dat. airig) || p̄Irn *parīkā > Av pairikā 'demonic courtesan', ZPhl parīk > NPrs پاری p̄ārī 'a good genius, a Peri', MPrs Trf pr̄yḡ, pr̄yḡʔn 'witch', BdhSgd pr̄ʔyḡk 'demon' (bf. of a masc. noun from p̄Irn fem.) || Arm հարձ harč 'concubine' (< *p̄argyā with puzzling voicing *k > *ḡ) ¶ Dmz. SEA 68, ≈ P 789, EI 123 (? *parikeh_ḡ- 'concubine; wanton woman'), Vn. A 43, Horn 69, Matas. E 127-8, ≠ Bai. 234 (equating the Irn words with Gk παλλακίς, παλλακί)

'concubine'), Xud. II 40 ¶ *-k- is a dim. sx, *-ā is a marker of feminine; the form may be compared with Tg *pūr^ri^rk- 'boy, a youth' (*F* below) || A *p'ur^ri^ri^r 'child, offspring(s)' > T *^oh₁u₁;₁r₁ 'male child, son' (× A *ûr∇ 'male; young male' < N *H|wur∇ 'male person\animal') > OT Y/U/QU ur₁ 'male child, son' (hardly from pT *₁h₁urug 'seed' [< N *p.ûHr∇ 'fruit', q.v.] because of the lack of -g in the most archaic OT texts) ¶ Cl. 197, TL 315 || Tg: [1] Tg *pur- ({{Bz.} pör-) 'woman with her children, family, female with its youngs' (× N *p.ûHr∇ 'fruit') > Ewk hurū 'family, mother of many children', Lm hurkə 'female animal with its offsprings', hurkəç 'having a family, having many children', Neg xuykət 'she-bear\she-odder with young', Orc xūnə (< *hurunə) 'female animal with its young offsprings', [2] pTg *pur^ri^rk- 'boy, a youth' > Sln ukkəx̄x̄ ~ urkəx̄x̄, Lm hurkən id., 'son', Ewk hurkəx̄kən 'a youth, boy', Ul purē ~ purix̄ ~ puriz̄ ~ purə ~ purəx̄ 'a young', Nn Bk puri(n-) nai 'young man' ¶ STM II 353-4 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1187 (A *p'ûri 'seed' > Tg *pur- 'young [boy, child], children' + [belonging to N *p.ûHr∇ 'fruit' rather than here] M *hüre 'seed, child, descendant', T *u|orug 'seed, child, girl' + unc.: pJ *pú- 'growth', pKo *pòrì- 'barley'), ≈ DQA no. 1829 (id.), ≈ S AJ 47-8, ≈ KW 459, Ci EATR 52-9 || D *pōr- ({{ǵGS} *p-) 'child' > Kn pōra 'child, little boy, girl', pōri 'little girl', Tu pōrā, pōre 'lad', pōri 'lass', Tl pōrãđu 'boy, child, young man', pōri 'girl', Gnd pōri 'young of pigs', pōri 'young of chicken', ??σ Ml pōrā 'silly, a glutton' ¶¶ D no. 4603 || HS: the reflex of this N word coalesced with those of N *P₁AR₁∇ 'bring forth, give birth; young of animals' (q.v. ffd.); the meaning 'child' is present in Ch (P' {MSk.} vùrā 'girl, daughter') and C (Bj {R} fe'rāy / pl. fe'rāy 'child, offspring') ¶¶ MSk. 210, R WBd. 81 ◇ The long vw. in D and the discrepancy between the IE vw. (suggesting N *a) and the labialized vw. in D and A point to a N etymon *p.ô?ar^ri^r (N *? is the only lr. that does not cause lengthening of vowels in IE).

1766. *por∇ 'leaf' > HS: B *f∇r₁r₁- 'leaf' > SrSn {Rn.} afar, Izd {Mrc.} ifar (pl. ifrawan), Grr {Bs.} afar (pl. ifriwān), Kb {Dl.} ifarr (pl. ifarrawān), ZAS {Loub.} affəḥ (pl. affḥi wān) id., Sll {Ds.} ifar 'leaves' coll.] B *f∇rī- 'leaf' > Nf {La.} tafrit (pl. tafra), Rf U/B/A {Rn.} θifriθ (pl. θifray), Rf T θifrišt (pl. θifräy), Izn {Rn.} θifri^xθ (pl. θifräy), Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} tifrit (pl. tifray), Snd {La.} tefret, Shnw {La.} tifrit; B *f∇rāw- 'leaf' > Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} afraw (pl. ifrawān), Gd

təfra (pl. təfrawēn), Sll {Ds.} afraw (pl. ifrawn), Ntf afraw id. ¶ Fc. 336, Lf. II no. O4O8, Nh. 16O, Mrc. 117, Rn. 299, Dl. 218, Msq. 125, Dlh. Ou 79, Dlh. M 53, Loub. 535, Ds. B 127, La. S 237, La. MChB 471, ≈ NZ 598-9, 645 || IE: NaIE *per-, *per-n- 'leaf, fern' > OI par'ṇam, Pali paṇṇa- 'leaf' | KhS pārra-, BdhSgd prnʔk 'leaf, petal', MPrt png 'foliage', Blc pan, Prc pōn, Psh pāṇa, Shgn pūn 'leaf' || Gmc: OSx, OHG farn, NHG Farn, MDt, Dt varen, AS fearn 'fern', NE fern || OIr raith 'fern' || Lt papartīs, Δ papaĩtis, Ltv paparde, papards id. | Sl *paportь id. > OR, R Δ, Uk 'папороть', R 'папоротник', Blg 'папрат', SCr pàprat, Slv páprat, Slk papradie, P, HLs paproc, LLs papros 'fern' || Ht parsdu {Frd.} 'Knospe, Trieb', {Ts.} 'Trieb', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage' (× N *bārǰâ 'bud, leaf' [q.v.]) ¶¶ The causes of the semantic change 'leaf' → 'fern' in Europe (Clt, Gmc, BSl) are still to be elucidated ¶¶ M K II 223-4, M E II 97 (no et. of OI par'ṇam 'leaf'), Bai. 231, Ho. 99, Ho. S 18, Kb. 225, Vr. N 764, KM 184-5, Vn. R 5, Frn. 538, Vs. III 2O2, Frd. HW 164, Ts. W 61, CHD P 19O-1, ≈σ EI 646 (OI and Gmc < *por'no-m 'wing, feather') || A *pUr▽ (= *pôRE?) 'leaf, bud' (× N *bārǰâ '↑'): NaT *p|bür ~ *pürü '(small) leaf, bud, needle(s) of a conifer' > OT būr 'bud', Tkm pür 'needle(s) of a conifer; foliage (or crown) of a tree', Qzq бүр 'needle(s) of a conifer', {Tn. in TL} 'bud', CrTt, Qmq бүр 'bud', StAlt бүр 'bud, leaf', Tf b_ür 'leaves, needle(s) of a conifer, bud (бутон)', VTt бөре бөрб, Bsh бөрб 'bud', Qrg бүр 'small young leaves', Xk, Shor pür, Tv {TvR} b_ürü, {Ra.} b_ür 'leaf'; ↗ NaT *b|pür-çük 'bud' > Qzq бүрşik, StAlt бүрçük, Xk pürçük 'bud', Qq бүрşik 'bud, bit', VTt бөрşьк 'spot (of spotted fabric)', Bsh бёрсёк id., 'very small drop', Tk Δ бүрçük 'bit, small grain' ¶ Cl. 354, TL 114-15, Ra. 167, Tkr 538, BR 113, Rs. W 92, TatR 93, Rl. IV 1394 || M *borguǰ▽- {{SDM} *borgu-): WrM боргуцуг, боргуцу {MED} 'evergreen tree cone', HIM боргоцог, боргоцой {MED} id., {BMR} 'tree cone, Kolben (початок)', Brt борбоосгой 'tree cone', WrM нарасуни боргуцуг 'pine cone' ¶ MED 121, BMR I 265, Chr. 1O5. SDM 1111-12 || Tg *op▽r...- > Ewk hзrkзнз 'leaf of tobacco' ¶ Ewk з of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 37O || pKo *pürò 'lettuce' > MKo puro, pürù, NKo puru ¶ S QK no. 11O9, MLC 813 || ?φ pJ {S} *pá 'leaf' > OJ pá, J: T hà, K há, Kg/Ns há, Sh φá, Ht pà, Y há ¶ S AJ 266, S QJ no. 41, Mr. 394, Kenk. 41O ¶¶ SDM 1111-12 (pA *púre 'leaf, bud' > M *bor-'cone', T, J) ¶¶ Acc. to SDM, "J *pá presupposes a pA suffixed form

*púre-g∇ (> M *bor-gu)" || D (att. in CD) *por|r- ({ǵGS} *p-) 'leaf' > Prj porra 'bush, shrub', Gdb pore 'leaf' ¶ D no. 4546 ◇ In B and Iir the √ in question coalesced with the reflexes of N *'p' uRy∇ 'wing, feather(s)' bringing forth a pseudo-metaphor: 'leaves' as a μφ of 'feather'. Altaic *p- (> NaT and Tg *p-, M b-) suggests N *p- ◇ M and D point to a pN vw. *o, while T *ü in *pür(ü) may be due to regr. as. (suggesting N *porE).

1767. (2?) *P_∇r∇ 'to cross, to pass through' (= N *pær∇, if Az bārā belongs here) > HS: S *°√ pry > Ar √ fry (pf. فرى farā, ip. -friy-) {BK} 'traverser, parcourir (un pays)', {Hv.} 'go over the country' ¶ BK II 588-9, Hv. 560 || IE: NaIE *per- v. 'cross, go through\over' (→ 'bring over, lead') > OI par- v. 'bring over, save, surpass' (pres. 'pīpartī, Vd aor. par-ṣī), Av par-: ni-pāraye'ntī 'sie führen hernieder', {EI} 'convey across' || Arm հորդ hord 'trodden, frequented', հորդեմ hordem 'I pave, I trace (a road, path)', հորդան տամ hordan tam 'cause to advance, lead on' || Gk περάω 'pass right across\through; drive right through', πείρω 'pierce, run through' || L portā- 'carry, bring, lead', Um PORTATU 'portato' || Gmc *far- > Gt faran 'wandern, ziehen', farjan (· ἐλεύειν) 'fahren, ON fara, AS, OSx, OHG faran 'to drive (fahren)' > NHG fahren; Gmc caus. *fōrjan 'to lead' > ON fōra, Dn føre, Sw föra, AS fōran, OHG fuoren, NHG führen id.] d.: NaIE *poro-s 'Durchgang, Zugang' > Gk πόρος 'means of passing a river, ford, ferry', Av pāra- 'Ufer, Grenze'] d.: NaIE *pr̥tus, *pertus 'Durchgang' > Av parətu-š (< *pr̥'tus), pəšuš (< *pr̥tus) 'Durchgang, Zugang, Brücke' || OL portus, portūs 'Haustüre', L portus 'haven', angiportus 'enge Passage, Nebengäßchen'; *-ā-stem: L porta 'gate, door', Um 'p'úr tam 'portam' || Clt {Matas' *fritu- n. 'ford' > OW, Cm rit, W rhyd 'ford', Gl *ritu- 'ford' in nomina loci.: Ritomagus, Augustoritum || Gmc: OHG furt 'ford, passage', NHG Furt, AS ford 'ford', NE ford || IE *per-, *peri 'across, beyond' > NaIE *per-, *peri id. (× IE *peri 'around' < N *p'i'h|X|Q'RE 'around', q.v. × IE *per- < N *per∇ 'lip, edge', q.v.) > OI 'pari 'beyond, away from', Av pa'rī 'über - hin', {EI} 'towards, around', OPrs pariū 'über' || Gk περί, Gk Hm περί ~ πέρι {P} 'in Übermaß, über ... hinaus', {LS} 'before\about others, exceedingly' || L per prep. 'through' → 'along, over; because of', L per- pv. 'through' || Clt: Gl [GIE] hrō 'nimium' (read by Vn. as rō), MW ry, Br

re 'too (zu)', Crn re- (in rewan 'too weak'), W rhy 'too, very', OIr ro-, W r(h)u-, OBr ro-, ru-, MBr, Br ra-, pv. and px of intensity (OIr ro-már 'too big', W rhy-fawr 'very big'), ? OIr {P} ĩre 'weiter, länger' ||| Gmc: OHG fir- (pv. of several meanings: 'across, vorbei [МИМО]', perfective, erroneous action [inf. fir-faran 'vorbeifahren, vergehn', inf. fir-denken 'mit den Gedanken abirren, verdenken, verachten' etc.]), NHG ver- and OSx far- ~ for- (px of several meanings: perfective, erroneous action etc.) ||| Ltv per 'over (über ... hin)', Lt peĩ id., 'through, across', Pru per, par 'für, durch', Lt per-pv. 'again, anew, through', Pru par- ~ per-pv. (perbanda 'versucht', perbilliton 'versagen') | Sl *per- pv. 'across, over, through; anew' > OCS прѣ- prě-, Blg пре-, SCr, Slv, Slk pre-, R, Uk пере-, P prze-, Cz, HLs pře-, LLs pše- id.; Sl *perzъ (prep.) > ChS прѣзъ prězъ 'over, through' ('ὑπέρ, παρά'), SCr Δ, Slv prez, Cz přes, přeze, HLus přež, LLus pšez, P przez, Blg през, R Δ, Uk, Blr переэ 'across, over, through' || Ht pariyan 'across, over, beyond; over to, across to' ¶¶ P 810-17, EI 228-9 (*per- 'pass through'), 581 (*per 'over, through, about'), M K II 216-17, 284, M E II 89-92, F II 491-2, 512-13, WH I 283-6, 343-5, Bc. G 342, Fs. 142-3, Vr. 112, 150, Kb. 149, 219, 222, 300, 307, OsS 161-70, 232, Schz. 129, 142, KM 180, 223, 225-6, 811, Ho. 98, 111-12, Ho. S 18, Vs. III 236-8, Brü. 441-2, 444, Frn. 572, En. 222-3, En. APG 147-50, KM 180, 219, 2223, 225-6, ESISJ-SGZ I 162-9, 175-8, Jak. 26, 94, Matas. E 147, CHD P 151-3 || ? E pir-: AchEl pi-ir-ik-ra 'ein Durchreisender', pi-ri-ip, pi-r-i-ba 'Marschieren-de, Reisende' (pl.) ¶¶ HK 196, 209, 217 || A *pV: RE 'wade, cross a river' > T: Az {Äz., ARL} bärä 'ford', 'ferry', {Ax.} pärä 'ford', bärä 'ferry' ¶ Äz. 62, ARL 47, Ax. 31, 826 ¶ The Az word is isolated within T. Is it a loanword? || ?σ Tg *purE- v. 'dive, swim under water' > Neg xuyi-, xuygan-, Ul purin-, Nn Nh purin-, Nn KU xurunz-, fʷzrunz-, Nn Bk φurin-, φzin-, Ork purru- 'dive', puroči- iter. 'dive', Ud xuin-z- v. 'dive', Ewk hur- 'dive, swim', WrMc {Hr} φura-, {Hr} Z} φuri-, {Z} φури- 'untertauchen, unter Wasser schwimmen' ¶ STM II 352, Krm. 306, On. 344, Z 1092, Hr 323 ¶ The adduction of the Tg cognate is valid if it is assumed that the meaning 'dive, swim under water' goes back to the meaning 'cross a river by swimming under water', cp. the meaning WrMc {Z} φuri- 'durchwaten' reported by H. C. von der Gabelentz (WalG s.v. 'durchwaten' ← Gab. MDW).

1768. ***ṛ**¹ä²∇**R**∇ (= ***ṛ**¹ä^h∇**R**∇?) 'to look' ([in IE] → 'to be visible') > **HS:** S *^o✓ p¹|hr > Ak {Sd.} pā^r-um v. 'look for' ¶ Sd. 836-7 || ??*id.* C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} parr- v. 'be open' (eye), {Plm., Hz.} parc- v. 'open (eyes)' ¶ Hz. VS s.v. parr- and parc-, Plm. VA s.v. parc- || ?NrOm: Kf {C} herabō ~ herawō, Mch {L} pā^rawī 'looking glass' ¶ C SE IV 456-7, L M 45 || Ch: WCh: Bks {J} fār(-) 'suchen, jagen', BT *par- 'look for' > Tng par¹ id., Bl {Bnt.} paruo v. 'find' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} pèr(̀)ñè 'examiner, regarder de près' ¶ CCh s.v. 'look for' and 'look', J T 129, J R 141, Bnt. 23, Fd. 59 ¶¶ AD SF 44 ||| **IE** *pehr-/*ph₂r- > NaIE *pār-/*par- ({P} *pā¹r-) v. 'be visible' > Gk πεπαρεῖν aor. inf. 'to display, to manifest' ||| L pā^rē- 'appear, become evident', appā^rē- 'become visible, appear', compā^rē- 'appear, be visible' || Ht parai- v. 'appear, emerge (?)' ¶¶ P 789, F II 508, WH II 252-3, Ts. W 60, CHD P 134 ||| **A** *^oPæR∇ > Tg *P¹eri- v. 'watch', (*'look for' >) 'try to' > Ewk hзrīwçз- 'watch (beobachten, verfolgen)', ?σ WrMc {Hr} φerī-, {Z} φερι- 'endeavour, strive, make every effort' ¶ STM II 369, Z 1049-50, Hr 288 ||| Ko: Rm. SKE 198 equated the Tg √ with Ko pī¹ari-da ('commonly pronounced perida') v. 'purpose, intend to do' ||| **D** *pār- v. 'look at, behold' > Tm pā^r- ({ṽGS} *p-) v. 'see, look at', Ml pā^rkkā v. 'regard, behold', Kn pā^r v. 'look for, wait for', Tu pā^ra 'guard, custody; keeping', Tl pā^ru¹a 'sight, glance' ¶¶ D no. 4091 (a) ◇ The N cns. ***ṛ**- is reconstructed on the ev. of Ch. Not here Eg √ p¹ry (a verb that means, among other things, 'appear, be seen') that is obviously a semantic derivative from Eg p¹ry 'go out' ('hervorgehen, herausgehen') (F EG I 518-525, Fk. 90-1). Neither belongs here the Eg L verb p¹r 'see', which is a late form going back to Eg fP p¹tr v. 'see, behold' (F Fk. 96, Vc. 163 s.v. pOOre 'rêver, voir en songe' and EG I 564). The IE lr. (> the NaIE lengthening of the vw.) suggests a N lr. before ***R**. The N lr. must have been ***ʔ** or ***h**, because ***ʔ** and ***h** are the only laryngeals that can account for the Ak reflex (ā from S *a¹|h, but not from *a¹|h̄). NaIE *ph₂r- suggests that the N lr. was ***h** rather than ***ʔ** (because IE *h₂ may go back to ***h** and not to ***ʔ**), but the loss of the IE lr. (***h**?) in Ht is still to be explained ◇ D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster (*-**ʔ**R-?).

1769. ***P**_ogUr∇ 'hollow', 'to gape', 'to be open' (of a hollow) > **K** *^opu¹w¹r- > G pu¹(v)r- 'aushöhlen, ausbohren', pu¹uro- n. 'hollow in a tree', adj. 'hollow, empty' ¶ Chx. 1510, DCh. 1320 ||| **HS:** WS *^o✓ p¹yr v. '(be) open' (of a mouth, of sth. hollow), 'be hollow, gape' > BHb

✓ p̄r̄r vi. G 'be open wide' (a mouth), MHb ✓ p̄r̄r vi. G 'open wide' (of a mouth or another hollow object), vt. 'uncover', JA [Mdr.] ✓ p̄r̄r G 'open wide, uncover oneself', Sr ✓ p̄r̄r v. G 'open wide, gape (as the mouth, the earth, sores)', 𐤓𐤁𐤏 p̄r̄r-ā {JPS} 'a cleft, chasm, gap', {Br.} 'fovea, caverna', Ar ✓ f̄r̄r G 'open the mouth', 'be half-opened' (as mouth, flower), 'yawn', fār̄r- 'opening of a half-open mouth', Jb C {Jo.} ✓ f̄r̄r v. G (pf. fā'ar, sbjn. ȳʕf'ar) 'open (the mouth), make an opening (in flesh, wood etc.)', Mh f̄r̄r̄wōt (pl. f̄r̄r̄w, f̄r̄r̄rew), Hrs f̄r̄r̄wōt, Jb E f̄r̄r̄wōt 'hollow below the Adam's apple' ¶ KB 898, BDB 822, Js. 1203, Br. 586, JPS 453, BK II 616, Hv. 569, Jo. J 53, Jo. M 89 and Jo. H 31 || B *-friH- 'cave, hole' > Sll, CM, Shw ifri id., Izd {Mrc.} ifri id., Izn/Rf/SrSn ifri 'caverne, terrier, trou', Wrg, Ntf ifri 'cave, grotto', BSn īfri id, 'burrow of a rabbit', Sll ti-frī-t 'burrow (of a rabbit, hedgehog etc.), hole', Kb ifri 'grotte, abri sous une roche', Tmz {MT} id., 'caverne, gîte, terrier' ¶ Rn. 298, Ds. 147, 277, 285, Ds. B 58, 160, 342, Dl. 218, MT 120, Dlh. Ou 79, Mrc. 348, NZ 601 || C: EC: ?σ Ya p̄r̄r̄wōn (pl. p̄r̄r̄w) 'honeycomb' (E: "it is composed of ... holes"; alternatively "? hollow [of trees]", as in Td) || SC: Brn faraxō 'gap left by an extracted tooth' ¶ E PC no. 292 ¶¶ mt. N *g...r > B and C *r...H || D *p̄r̄r̄- ({GS} *b-?) 'a hollow, cavity, hole' (× N *bŪr̄r̄ 'to dig; a pit, well'?) > Tm p̄r̄r̄aī 'hole, hollow in tree', p̄r̄r̄ 'hollow of a tree' (D *r̄r̄ > Tm word-final r, F An. GTJ 29), Td p̄r̄r̄ 'hollow of a tree (where bees nest)', Kn p̄r̄r̄ 'hole', Tl bor̄riya, bor̄re 'hole, burrow, hollow, pit', bor̄ra 'hole, hollow, cavity in a tree', Gdb, Ku borra 'hole in a tree', Knd bor̄r̄ 'hole of a crab etc.' ¶¶ D no. 4604 (a).◇ The presence of a N vw. (*-U-) between *-g- and *-r- is suggested by the D cognate (D *-r̄r̄- going back to a N intervoc. *-r- rather than to a cns. cluster) and by the G postcons. -v-/-u-.

1770. ≈ *p̄r̄r̄ 'fruit' > HS: S: [1] WS *piriy- 'fruit' > BHb (paus.) 𐤓𐤁𐤏 p̄r̄r̄, (ctx.) 𐤓𐤁𐤏 p̄r̄r̄ 'fruit, offspring', SmHb f̄r̄r̄ id., Ph pr 'fruits', Ug pr ({Hnr.} = *pirū < *piryu), Sr 𐤓𐤁𐤏 p̄r̄r̄-ā, Md pira, Gz f̄r̄r̄ 'fruit'; [2] WS *✓pr̄y (*-pray) v. 'bear fruit, be fruitful/fertile' (× N *P̄AR̄r̄r̄ 'bring forth, give birth', q.v.) > BHb 𐤓𐤁𐤏 ✓pr̄y (pf. 𐤓𐤁𐤏 p̄r̄r̄, ip. 𐤓𐤁𐤏 yī-ḫr̄) 'be fruitful', JEA ✓pr̄y 'grow, bear fruit', Sr ✓pr̄y 'be fruitful', Gz ✓f̄r̄y (js. -fray) v. 'bear fruit, be fruitful', Tgr ✓f̄r̄y (pf. f̄r̄a) 'Frucht tragen' ¶ KB 907 and 910-11, KBR 963-8, Br. 555, HJ 936-7, A no. 2261, Hnr. 288 (fn. 93), OAS 353, JH 234, Js.

1225, Sl. 932-3, LH 659 || Eg fOK pr.t 'fruit', DEg pr 'Korn, Getreide' (× Eg fMK pr.t 'Same, Nachkommenschaft' < N *P₂AR₁?₁∇ '↑') ¶ EG I 530-1, Fk. 91, Er. 135, Vc. 39 || C: Bj ✓ fr̄y pcv. ({R} p. 'a-fr̄i, pres. a-f̄anr̄ī) 'Knospen\Blüten treiben', f̄ār (pl. f̄ar) 'Blüte, Blume, Knospe' || Ag: Bln {R} fr̄ī-/fr̄i_y- v. 'bear fruit', fr̄i_y-a_uχ 'fruchbringend, fruchtbar', Xm {R} fir- 'bear fruit' (a tree); pAg *f̄ɜr- ({Ap.} *f̄ar-) 'fruit' > {Ap.} Bln/Xm f̄ara, Q f̄ari id. || EC: Sa {R} -f̄aray 'blossom, bear fruit', fi'rē 'Blüte, Frucht', ??φ Sml {ZMO} birre 'spear of grain (with husk), grass flower' (unless ÷ Rn bír 'tip, peak of sth.') ¶ R WBd 81, R WB 125, R Ch. II 43, R S II 137, ZMO 41, PG 78-9, Ap. AV 10 || B: Gnc AFARO = {Wlf.} a-f̄arō 'Korn', ? Ty uf̄ar, ETwl uff̄ar 'pain en farine de jujubes', ?? Rf af̄arfur 'couscous de sorgho; soupe de maïs' ¶ Wlf. 502, NZ 606. 609 ¶¶ Cf. SSAAJ I no. 31 ¶ In S, Bj and Ag the verb *✓pr̄y (> *✓fr̄y) v. 'bring fruit' coalesced with *✓pr̄y v. 'have offspring, bring forth, beget' (see ffd. N *P₂AR₁?₁∇ 'bring forth, give birth') || ?σ,φ U: FU *p̄är∇ 'bud' (× N *b̄ärçâ 'bud, leaf', q.v.) > Chr par'ð̄a 'bud', Chr H {Rm.} p̄ärtñä 'catkin (on birch trees)', {Ep.} p̄ärtñä 'bud', {Rm.} p̄ärcä 'catkin (on birch trees\willows), bud', {Ep.} p̄ärcä 'the part of tree branches that carries buds' || pVg *p̄ēr- or *p̄är- > Vg T {Kn.} p̄er 'cone (of a birch tree, of an aspen)', {MK} p̄ér 'bud' | Hg b̄érke 'bud, catkin on trees' ¶ MF 106-7, Coll. CG 123-4, Rm. BT 99, Ep. 89, Ü 153, MK 431 (hyp.: Vg <b- Tatar, cp. VTt б̄е̄ре б̄ьр̄ь and Tlt p̄ür 'bud' [Rl. IV 1397]) ¶ The meaning 'bud' may have been caused by contamination with N *b̄ärçâ 'bud, leaf'. The FU vw. *ä belongs to the heritage of *b̄ärçâ || A *p'ûr∇ 'seed, fruit (p̄ód, плод [but not фрукт]) > M *φ̄üre 'fruit (p̄ód), grain' (× M *φ̄üre 'child, posterity' [whence WrM {MED} üre, HIM {MED, BMR} γ̄p 'posterity' and Kl {KRS} γ̄p̄h ürn̄ 'child, baby', / N *p̄ôr'í 'child, offspring']) > MM [HI] h̄üre 'seed' ('semences'), [PP] h̄üre 'fruit (p̄ód)', WrM {MED}} üre seed, grain, fruit (p̄ód)', HIM γ̄p {MED} id., {BMR, Gl.} 'fruit (p̄ód), grain, seed', Brt γ̄p̄ə id., Kl {KRS} γ̄p̄h 'child, kleines Kind', {Rm.} ürn̄ 'Same, Frucht; Leinesfrucht, Kind', Mnr H {SM} furj̄ē 'semence, graine, fruit', Dx fure 'seed, grains', Ba φ̄ure 'seed', Ord üre 'descendant, progéniture' ¶ Pel. 237 [no. 65], MED 1011, BMR III 419-20, Gl. I 331, KRS 554, KW 459, Chr. 514, RPS 461, SM 110-11, Pp. PP 124, T DnJ 138, T BJ 149, T 371, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 760 || T *_hurug 'seed' ({Md.} *u-rug 'seed') > OT {Cl.} uruχ 'seed, pip, kernel', Chg ≥xv uruq qayax̄ 'relatives, clan',

MQp $\text{ur}\text{u}\text{q}$ 'clan', [CC] 'clan, progeny', OOSm $\text{ur}\text{u}\text{z}$, $\text{ur}\text{u}\text{q}$ 'seed, progeny', Qzq uriq , {Rl., Bud.} $\text{ur}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'seed', Qrg $\text{ur}\bar{\text{u}}$, Ln $\text{uyuy} \sim \text{oyoo}$ 'seed, clan', Uz uruy , Qq $\text{ur}\text{iq} \sim \text{uruw}$ id., 'tribe', ET uruy 'seed, grain', Tkm {TkR} uruy , Az Δuruy , Nog $\text{iru}\omega$, VTt iru , Bsh $\text{iri}\omega$, SY oruy 'clan', Tk uruk 'tribe', Kr uruw 'clan, tribe', Yk $\text{ur}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'relatives, kinsmen, litter of animals', Tv uruy 'child', Chv: L $\text{v}\bar{\text{a}}\text{p}\bar{\text{a}} \text{v}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}$, Chv H $\text{v}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}$ 'seed'; T \rightarrow M: WrM $\text{ur}\text{u}\text{q}$ 'wife's relatives; relatives', HIM, Br ypar 'relatives'. Kl {KRS} $\text{yp}\bar{\text{r}}$ id., 'foetus, fruit (płod)', {Rm.} $\text{ur}\text{u}\text{y} \sim \text{ur}\text{a}\text{y}$ 'die Verwandten mütterliherseits' ¶ Cl. 214-15, \approx ET Gl 604-6 (err. Tkm $\text{ur}\bar{\text{u}}\text{y}$, pT * $\text{ur}\bar{\text{u}}\text{y}$), TL 115-16, 307-8, 323-4, Jud. 807, Ash. V 313, Fed. I 109, Jeg. 49, ChVS 31, Md. 59, 182, ET Gl 604-6, Ra. 237, MED 885, BMR III 338-9, KRS 535, W 451 || pKo {S} * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$ 'barley' > MKo $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$, NKo pori ¶ S QK no. 935, Nam 260, MLC 790 || J: [1] ?? J {S} * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}$ 'growth, поросль' > OJ pu , J T $\text{p}\bar{\text{ù}}$, J K $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}$, J Kg $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}$ ¶ S QJ no. 1147, Mr. 416 | [2] ? pJ {S} * $\text{p}\bar{\text{è}}$ or * $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{à}}$ 'ear of grain' > OJ $\text{p}\bar{\text{L}}\omega\text{J}\sigma$, MJ $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}$, J T/Kg $\text{h}\bar{\text{ó}}$, J K $\text{h}\bar{\text{ó}}$ ¶ S QJ no. 378, Mr. 413, Kenk. 523 || ? AdS of Tg * pur- ({Bz.} $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}$) 'woman with her children, family, female with its youngs' < N * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$ 'child, offspring', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ The meanings 'child' (in Tv) and 'posterity, progeny' (in many lges) of this $\sqrt{\text{}}$ may be (but not necessarily is) due to coalescence with the heritage of N * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$ '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ SDM 1187 (pA * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$ 'seed, fruit' > J * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}$, M, Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 1829 (A * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$ 'seed'), S AJ 47-8 and KW 459 (in all of them there is no distinction between reflexes of N * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ú}}\text{Hr}\nabla$ 'fruit' and those of N * $\text{p}\bar{\text{ò}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ì}}$ 'child, offspring'), Ci. EApk 62-3, TL 116 || IE: NaIE * $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ro-}$ 'corn, grain' > Gk $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ó}}\bar{\text{g}}$ 'wheat', Gk D $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{v}}$ 'stone of fruit' || Lt $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{as}}$ 'grain of winter wheat', pl. $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{i}}$ 'winter wheat', Ltv $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}$ id., Pru $\text{p}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'Trespe, brome (*Bromus secalinus*)' || Sl * $\text{p}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{b}}$ 'ε cereal' > RChS $\text{п}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{p}}\bar{\text{o}}$ $\text{p}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'όλυσρα (ε cereal), millet', Cz, Slk $\text{p}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{r}}$, P perz , HLs $\text{p}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{r}}$ '*Triticum repens*', d.: R пырей , Uk $\text{пирій} \sim \text{перій}$, Blg пирей , Cz $\text{p}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{ř}}$, LLs $\text{p}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{r}}$ id., SCr $\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{r}}$, Slv $\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{r}}$ 'spelt' || AS fyr(e)s 'furze', NE furze ¶ WP II 83, \approx EI 639 (* $\text{puH}^1\text{ro-s}$ 'wheat'), F II 631, Tr. 232, Frn. 671, Vs. III 419, Brü. 402, Trof. 240, Ma. CS 409, Ho. 120 || E: {HK} MEI ba-rì-e 'sein Same' (interpreted by Blz. as par 'seed, offspring') ¶¶ HK 148, Blz. E no. 63 ◇ DQA no. 1829 (A, IE), Blz. E no. 63 (E, HS).

1771. * $\text{p}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{h}}|\text{X}|\text{Q}^1\text{RE}$ 'around' > HS: Eg fMK $\text{p}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{r}}$ 'turn, turn about, revolve, surround, enclose', m $\text{p}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{r}}$ 'im Umkreisen von' (may be

adduced unless $p\acute{x}r$ goes back to Eg OK $p\check{s}r$ 'turn') (\times an additional source: N $*P_{\hat{o}}Rw\triangledown$ [= $*p_{\hat{o}}r'w\triangledown$?] 'turn, revolve' [q.v.], which cannot be the main source [for phonetic reasons], but may have influenced the meaning); acc. to Vc., this is the source of DEg $p\acute{x}r$ 'ensorceler' > Copt L $po2re$ $po2hr\epsilon$, O $po2rI$ $po2k^hri$, O peer $peer$ 'ensorceler' ¶ EG I 544-7, Fk. 93-4, Er. 319, Vc. 167 || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} $f\grave{i}rki$ 'renverser, retourner' ¶ Trn. MVM 293 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. I 173 (Eg, Mlw + unc. Anf $k\grave{i}r\ p$ 'turn sth. over to its mouth') || IE $*peri$ > NaIE $*peri$ (instr.?) 'around' > OI $'pari$ 'round, about', Av $pa'r\ddot{i}$ 'um - herum', MPrs $par-$, KhS $pari-$, $para-$ 'around, beyond' || Gk $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$, Gk Hm $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ ~ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$ 'ringsum, um', {LS} 'round about, around' || ?σ pAl {O} $*peri$ > Al $p\grave{e}r$ 'for, about' ¶¶ P 810, ≈ EI 581 ($*per$ 'over, through, about'), M K II 216-17, M E II 91-2, Bai. 214, F II 512-13, O 319 ¶ IE $*peri$ 'around' coalesced with the homonymous form $*peri$ 'beyond, across, away from' of different origin (< N $*P_{\nabla}R\triangledown$ 'to cross, to pass through', q.v.) ¶ The absence of traces of the N lr. in NaIE may be accounted for by mt.: N $*p_i'h|X|Q'RE$ > $*p_iRH\triangledown$ > IE $*perH-i$ > NaIE $*peri$ || U: $*p\bar{i}rE$ ({UEW} $*pire|ä$) 'circle, ring; to surround' > F $piiri$ 'Kreis, Zirkel, Ring; Gebiet', Es $piir$ 'Umkreis, Grenze, Umriß', $piira-$ 'umgrenzen, umgeben, Kreise beschreiben' || pLp {Lr.} $*pir\exists$ > Lp: N {N} $birr\hat{a}$ (adv., postp., prep.) 'round, all round', L {LLO} $pirra$, Klt/T/Kld $p\ddot{i}rr$ 'herum, um' || Er $pi\acute{r}e$, Mk $pe\acute{r}a$ 'eingezaunter Platz (Dreschtenne, Gemüsegarten, usw.)', 'vegetable garden; farmstead', Er $pi\acute{r}a-$, $pe\acute{r}a-$, $pi\acute{r}i-$ 'zäunen, einzäunen, umringen', Er $pe\acute{r}\acute{t}$, Mk $pe\acute{r}f$ 'um, herum' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} $p\ddot{u}r+$ 'ring, circle', LTz {KD} $p\bar{u}re$ 'ring', Ke {KD} $p\ddot{u}r$ 'circle; round', Tm {KD} $p\bar{u}r\ddot{o}k$ id. || Kms {KD} $p^{\acute{h}}eri$ 'ringsum, um' ¶¶ Coll. 49, UEW 384 (the \check{u} is unconvincingly considered onomatopoeic), SK 551, KKIH 155, Ker. II 113-14, KD 52, Lr. no. 927, N I 180-1, Lgc. no. 4949 ◇ Cf. UEW 384 (U, IE, M $ergi-$ v. 'turn, move round', Ewk $h\check{z}rk\check{z}-$ v. 'tie'). It is tempting to suppose that MEI $p\acute{u}-ur$ 'Kreis, Rundhof (??)' (HK 241) belongs here ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 15 ($*pir$ 'around').

1772. ($_2$?) $*P_{E}yR\triangledown$ 'belly, stomach, contents of the intestines' > HS: WS $*'par_{\nabla}\theta-$ 'contents of the guts\stomach' > Ak $par\check{s}-u$, BHb 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤃 'perεš id., 'dung', Sr 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤃 $per't-\bar{a}$ 'undigested food in the stomach; dung', JA [Trg.], JPA, JEA 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤃 $par't-\bar{a}$, SmA prt , Md $parta$ 'excrements', Ar $far\theta-$ {θ Ln.} 'what is extracted from the the stomach of a ruminant', {Hv} 'contents of the stomach of ruminants',

Tgy fərsi id., Amh fərs 'contents of the stomach', Mh {Jo.} farθ, Hrs {Jo.} fōrɜθ, Jb J {Jo.} 'fɔrθ, Sq {L} 'sɔrt 'undigested food in the stomach\entrails of a slaughtered animal' ¶ KB 918, KBR 977, GB 663, Tal 712, Ln. 2358-9, Hv. 552, BK II 561, Js. 1244, Sl. 941, Br. 609, DM 365, JPS 446, Bsn. 989, Jo. M 101, Jo. H 35, Jo. J 62, L LS 343, Sd. 836, MiK I no. 1.221 || ?σ IE: ȷ Ht parataru 'lying prone' ¶ Ts. W 60 (absent in CHD) || U *piyra 'stomach of an animal, crop of a bird' > F piira 'der zweite Magen der Vögel, Kropf', pLp {Lr.} *pirē(m) > Lp: N {N} birram ~ birran ~ birrem, birraš / -aš- 'crop of a bird, craw', L {LLO} pirēv ~ pirēm 'der Magen des Eichhörnchen; Kaumagen, Muskelmagen der Vögel', pirāv ~ pirām 'Kaumagen (bei Vögeln)', T {TI} parram 'crop of a bird' | Er puyarma, {Reg.} purmo, Mk pārma 'stomach of birds' || Sm {Jn.} d. *perkä (~ *pirkä?) 'belly' > Ne T пирци, T O {Lh.} pirćī 'crop of birds', Ne F {Lh.} pīč'óćí 'Blättermagen', En d. {Cs.} 'fedíko 'Fischmagen', Slq Tz {KKIH} pērqi 'belly' ¶¶ UEW 378-9, Lr. no. 928, Lgc. no. 4955, Jn. 122, KKIH 148-9 || amb A (× N *P_äT∇ 'inside, entrails, liver'): pJ *pàrà 'belly' > OJ para, MJ pàrà {S} id., J: T/Kg hará, K hárà {S} id., {Kenk.} 'abdomen, belly' ¶ S AJ 90, 264 [no. 4], S QJ no. 4, Mr. 399, Kenk. 451 || ?φ pKo *p'áĵ 'belly' > MKo p'áĵ id., NKo pā 'stomach, abdomen, belly' ¶ S AJ 90, 251 [no. 4], S QK no. 4, Nam 251, MLC 743 ¶¶ ¶ ≈ SDM 1131 (pA *p'ēylo 'belly, liver' > J, Ko + [going back to N *P_äT∇] Tg: Ewk hēlbu- 'be pregnant' 'be pregnant' and M *helige [i.e. *φeligen] 'liver'); on the connection of the Ko and J words to the above-mentioned pA root for 'belly, liver' cf. SDM 1131, DQA no. 1632, S AJ 90, Rm. SKE 182, Mr. KJ 243, Mill. JAL 153 ◇ WS *'par_L∇₁θ- goes back to N (or post-N) *PEyR∇ č∇.

1773. *P_AR'ʔ'∇ 'to bring forth, to give birth' (of animals), 'young of animals' ([in descendant lges] → v. 'breed') > HS: S: [1] WS *√pry v. 'bring forth posterity' > BHb הַרְרָה √pry 'bring forth posterity' (הַרְרָה הַרְרָה pà'rū wu-r'ḅū 'bring forth posterity and multiply!' [2p inv.]), Tgr √fry (pf. fəra) 'sich vermehren, hervorbringen'; [2] S *parr- 'young ungulate, bull' (× N *p'ó'R_Lw₁∇ '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine]), q.v. ffd.) ¶ KB 904-5, KBR 963-4, 967-8, Ln. 2356, Sd. 834, LH 659 || B *√fr'ʔ' > Kb nnufru 'accoucher, enfanter', Izn tinəfra, BSn tanəfra, CA timənnəfra 'placenta, délivre' ¶ DI. 551, ≈ NZ 602-3 || C: Bj √fry ({R} p. 'a-fri, pres. a-fan'rī) pcv. 'give birth, beget', {R} -t-ferāy v. ps. 'be born', fe'rāy (pl. fe'rāy) 'child, offspring' || Ag: Bln

{R} frī-/friϣ- v. 'multiply, have an offspring, beget' (lu'wī 'frīti 'die Kuh hat viele Kälber gebracht', ϣ-ϣkūr frīnīϣ 'meine Söhne haben Kinder erzeugt'), Xm {R} fir- 'sich vermehren' (die Herde) ¶ R WBd 81, R WB 125, R Ch II 43 || Ch (× N *pōr'i' [or *pōʔar'i' ?] 'child, offspring'): WCh: NrBc: Wrij {Sk.} vurđ- v. 'bear, give birth', Cg {Sk.}, Kry {Sk.} v̇zrḋż, My {Sk.} vurk-, {ChL} á v̇ṙk̇í, P' {MSk.} v̇zrḋā, Sir {Sk.} v̇ḋ-, Mbr {Sk.} v̇zrk-, Jmb {Sk.} v̇urḋ-, Dir {Sk.} v̇z'rá id., P' {MSk.} v̇zrḋā v. 'give birth, beget', v̇urá 'girl, daughter' ||| CCh: Zm {J} fràʔà, {Sa.} v̇zràʔà v. 'give birth, beget' ¶ JI II 161, ChC s.v. 'bear' and 'beget', ChL, Sk. NB 23, MSk. 210 ¶¶ In S, Bj and Ag the verb *√pry (> *√fry) 'have offspring, bring forth, beget' coalesced with *√pry v. 'bear fruit' (< N *ṗûHṙ 'fruit') || IE: NaIE *per- v. 'give birth' > L par̄iō, inf. parēre (pfc. p̄p̄ri, sup. partum) v. 'bring forth, bear' ||| W erthyl, {YGM} erthyl(iad) 'abortion' ||| Lt peréti (1s pres. periū), Ltv perēt 'to hatch, to brood', Lt p̄ras 'larva, hatch egg', Žuv̄ p̄ras 'fish spawn', p̄raĩ 'Brut', Ltv p̄ri 'larvae of bees, grubs' | Sl *(v̇+-, j̇z-)p̄r(-t)- 'give birth (prematurely)' > ChS нсп̄р̄тък̄ is̄p̄р̄тък̄ 'a child cut out of the womb of its mother', Uk ви-порт-ок, R Δ выпороток 'premature birth', Cz s-pratek, †zpratek, Cz L v̇y-par-ek 'prematurely born calf', P {Chd.} w̄p̄orek 'cesarean section', w̄p̄orka 'a child taken from the womb by the cesarian section', w̄p̄rótek 'a child\animal cut out of the womb of its mother' ||| AdS : contamination with N *ṗ'o'Ṙẇ ' (female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' (q.v. ffd.) > Gk πόρις (gen. πόριος) 'calf'; OHG far, farro, NHG Farre, AS fearr, ON farri '(young) bull' ||| ⇨ NaIE *p̄o-t̄ 'young animal' > OI p̄othuka-h̄ 'young of an animal, boy' ||| Arm n̄p̄ oxt̄, gen. n̄p̄n̄ oxt̄u 'calf, young deer', NArm Δ hort̄ d̄ f̄z̄t̄ d̄ fuer̄t̄ ~ huēt̄ id. ||| Gk πόρις, πόρις 'calf' ¶ -t- in *p̄o-t̄- and Sl *(v̇+-p̄r-t-, j̇z-p̄r-t- may be a sx of pp. (*p̄o-t̄- 'born') ¶ P 818, EI 24 (*per- 'offspring of an animal' ← 'what is brought forth'), WH II 255-6, M K II 332-3, F II 580, YGM-1 218, Vr. 113, Kb. 221, 225, OsS 161, KM 185, Ho. 99, Frn. 573, Hü. 483, Sl. 200-1, ≈ Ma. CS 467 ||| D: [1] (att. in SD) *p̄ar-, *p̄ar̄pp-/*p̄ar̄v̄- ({ǂGS} *p̄-) 'child, young of an animal' > Kn p̄ara 'boy', Tm p̄arppu 'fledgling, young of birds, young of tortoise \ frog \ toad \ lizard etc., young of quadrupeds', p̄arval 'fledgling, young of deer and other animals', Ml p̄arppu 'shoal of young fish, small fry' ¶ D no.

4095 𐎠𐎢𐎡 [2] D *pār∇𐎠 ({{᠑GS}} *p-) 'a young (female?) buffalo' (× N *p̄'o'R_Lw_J∇ '[female, young?] ungulate [esp. bovine)], q.v. ffd.) 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Not here D *p̄er_L- v. 'beget, bear (a young)' (D no. 4422), which goes back rather to N *berE?a 'give birth to; child' (q.v.) ◇ D *-r- suggests a pN cns. cluster with *R; in the light of the HS data it may have been *-R?- ◇ Cf. IS SS no. 10.7 and IS MS 361 ('рождать' *p̄er∇: IE *per- v. 'give birth', pA *pör∇ 'offsprings', U *per∇ 'family, relatives', HS *pr- 'offsprings, child, fruit'; IS did not distinguish the reflexes of N *P_LAR'?'∇ from those of N *p̄ûHr∇ 'fruit' and N *p̄ôr'i' 'child').

1774. 𐎠 *p̄Ari_L?∇, 'take out, pull out\off' > HS *√pry~*√pr? (< **p∇ri?∇?) v. 'take out, go out' > (× N *p̄ARy∇ 'run, flee', q.v.) Eg ∇ pry v. 'go out' ('herausgehen, hervorgehen'), DEg p r y 'herausgehen', Copt Sd **ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ** p̄eire, B **ⲫⲓⲣⲓ** p^hi r i 'sortir' ¶ EG I 518-525, Fk. 90-1, Er. 134, Vc. 162-3 || C: Bj {R} √fr? (1s: p. 'a-fra?', pres. afa'n'r ī?) '(her)ausziehen', (1s: p. a-'frā?', pres. atfa'r ī?) '(her)ausgehen', 'aufgehen' (Sonne, Mond, Sterne), {Rop.} fir?(a) v. 'get \ lift \ pick \ fetch out\up' (ba'rū ašš'i'ge'ti ū'hanžar 'farr?i 'he is quick to get out his dagger', ba'rū kwire-fār'p̄ībi 'he is a tooth drawer'), fir?a (2m p. tifir?a) vi. 'get out\up', 'rise' (sun) || EC: Sa {R} far- 'ausgehen' ('išš'i 'dibōl 'fartæ 'sie ging in die Steppe'), 'weggehen, abweichen von der Volkssitte'; but not here Hd fir- v. 'go out' (⇔ SSAAJ I no. 32), which goes back to HEC *ful-, Hd -r- being a reg. reflex of EC and HEC *-l- (Hd. 71) || Dhl {EEN} fir- 'take out' ¶ R WBd 81-2, R S II 17, Rop. 180-1, EEN 23 ¶¶ Cf. SSAAJ I no. 32 ¶¶ The separate existence of the HS roots *√p|fr v. 'flee' (F N *p̄ARy∇ 'run, flee') and *√pry~√pr? v. 'go out, take out' is suggested by the distinction within Bj, where each of these roots is represented by a different verb || D *par_Li- ({{᠑GS}} *p-) v. 'tear off, pluck' (× N *p̄āRi'?'E [or *p̄āRyE?] 'tear, split' × N *P_L∇R't'∇ 'jerk, pull [out], tear off') > Tm par_Li (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'pluck, 'crop, 'weed', par_Li (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) 'be cut off, be torn apart', Ml par_Li 'pulling, tearing off', Kt payr- vt., vi. 'break by pulling both ends (as rope, flower stem)', payr 'rag', Td par_Ly- v. 'pluck forcibly', par_Ly 'rag', Kn par_Li- 'break off, tear asunder, tear', Kdg pari- v. 'pluck', par(a)ḡkuni, parkuni 'to pluck out', parpuni 'to pluck, to pull out', Tl par_Liya 'piece, fragment, slice', Kui paž'a 'hew, cut down', Krx paṛāx- 'separate or force asunder the two parts of some object previously split' ¶¶ D no-s 3962 and 4027 ◇ Dhl

*f- (for the expected p- < N *p-) is puzzling (infl. of some paronymous word?).

1775. *p̥äRi'ʔ'E (or *p̥äRyE?) 'to tear, to split' > HS: S (or CS) *✓pry ~ *✓pr̥r 'split, break' > Ar ✓fr̥y v. 'cut, split', {Hv.} 'slit, cut out, rip off (skin)', Ar *Sh* ✓fr̥r 'fendre, couper en deux', Ar ✓fr̥fr (pf. farfara) v. 'couper, briser, déchirer', {Hv.} 'cut, break', BHb פֶרֶר ✓pr̥r *Sh* (pf. הִפִּירָה hē'p̥īr) v. 'break, destroy', MHb ✓pr̥r *D* (pf. פִּרְרָה pē'r̥er), ✓pr̥pr̥ (pf. פִּרְרָה פִּרְרָה p̥ir'p̥er) 'zerbröckeln', JA [Trg.] *TD* (pf. פִּתְּפָרְתָּ p̥it̥p̥ar'p̥er) 'zerbröckelt werden', {Js.} 'crush, crumble', Ug {Grd., DrvG} ✓pr̥r *G* v. 'break' (Grd. UT no. 2121, DrvG 156, OLS 355), Ak {Sd.} ✓pr̥r *D* 'zerstreuen' (× ✓pr̥r 'auflösen', which is hardly of the same origin and is akin to Rn fura 'untie, undo, open sth. fastened, release'); S *°✓wpr̥ > Ar ✓wfr̥ *D* {Hv.} 'cut out a large piece of cloth' ¶ KB 916-17, KBR 974-5, BDB no. 6565, Js. 1236, ≈ Lv. T II 298, BK II 559, 582, 1574, Hv. 552, 560, 883, OLS 355, Sd. 830, PG 116 || ?σ EC: Sml farūr {DSI} 'aprire un passaggio per far defluire qc., fare un canale per deviare qc. (fiume, liquido, ecc.)', {ZMO} 'cut a channel' ¶ DSI 222, ZMO 136 || B *✓fr̥H (most probably ✓fr̥?) v. 'tear' > Kb fr̥i 'déchirer', Gd əfru (3m pf. ifra) 'être cassé/déchiré, se casser/déchirer; fendre (une bête égorgée)'; ??σ B *-f̥∇r̥ū- ~ *-f̥∇r̥ī- 'sword' > Grr/Fgg {Bs.} تفروت ta-fru-t 'épée', Izd {Mrc.}, Fgg ta-fru-t id., Zng {Bs.} تفریت te-feri-t, {MH → Nic.} tēf̥ari 'poignard', CM tafrut, tafra 'e knife, sword' ¶ Dl. 229-230, Lf. I 265 and II no. O412, Bs. NLB IV 342, Bs. MS I 160, Mrc. 109, Nic. 193, NZ 605-7 || ? Ch: WCh: Hs ḫāṣā v. 'split' (yā ḫāṣā ḡōrò 'he split a kola nut into segments') (× Hs ḫāṣā v. 'shell, peel, strip off [bark]', which is probably of different origin) || Dr {J} ḫer- v. 'tear', ? Krf {Sch.} ḫārālú v. 'break (e.g., a stick)' || Ngz ḫ̄ṣú 'separate a unitary thing into parts' || CCh: Db {Lnh.} p̥ūr, {ChL} pur v. 'tear' || ? ECh: Skr {Sx.} p̥ūrs̥é v. 'split' ¶¶ Unlike SSAAJ (I no. 28), I prefer to keep apart words of AG for vt. 'break', such as Gmy {SSAAJ} piar-am v. 'break' (which probably belongs together with Gmy píȳèn, Cp piȳɜn, Ang p̥̄in, Su p̄iȳin vt. 'break', Fy p̄yan id. [ChC, ChL]) and Ang {Flk.} p̄arp v. 'smash with noise' (which is *on.*) ¶ ChC s.v. 'split', 'break' and 'tear', Abr. H 77, Ba. 81, ChL, Sch. DN 28 ¶¶ SSAAJ I no. 28, Sk. HCD 29 || IE: NaIE *(s)per- v. 'tear, be torn, break' > Arm փերթ p̄h̄er̄t̄h̄ {Bdr.} 'piece, bit' ({P} 'abgerissenes Stück') || Gk σπαρ-άσσω, Gk A σπαρ-άττω v. 'tear, rend' (esp. of carnivorous animals), σπάραγμα ntr.

'piece torn off, shred, fragment' || ? Irn: KhS *pir-* 'be disordered' || ON *spjǫrr* 'shred of cloth, rag' (< **sperrō*) || Lt inf. *spūr-ti* (1s pres. *spūr-ū*), inf. *spurý-ti* vi. 'to fray', Ltv Δ {ME} inf. *spurt* 'ausfasern', Ltv inf. *spurōtiēs* 'to become frayed\ragged' || Sl inf. **por-ti* (1s pres. **porjǫ*) > ChS inf. *пратн прати* (pres. *порѣ прорјѣ*) 'scindere', R inf. *по'ротъ* (pres. *по'рю*), Uk inf. *пороти* 'to unpick, to rip (clothes)', Blg 'поря' 'cut into parts', SCr 1s pres. *pōrīm* (→ inf. *pōriti*), Slv inf. *práti* (pres. *pórjem*) 'to rip up', Cz inf. *páratí*, P inf. *próc* (pres. *porze*) 'to unsew, to unseam, to rip up' ¶ WP II 668, P 990 (the Arm word misquoted with *p-* for *p^{h-}*), IS II 101, F II 757, Vr. 536, Frn. 886, Kar. II 280-1, ME III 1033, Vs. III 332, Mikl. L 659, Glh. 496, RastE ESI III 48 || U: FU **päre-* v. 'break, split' (> Chr: H *perā-*, L *perъ-* v. 'strike') → **päre-k*, **päre* 'kleines Stück; Span' > F *päre* (gen. *päreen*) 'Span, Kienspan', ? Es *peerǵ* (gen. *peeru*), *pirǵ* (gen. *piru*) 'Kienspan' || ? Prm {Lt.} **pūr* 'crumb' > Z *pīrig* id., Vt *pīri* id., *ńáń pīri* 'crumbs of bread' (the change of the vw. is puzzling) || ObU **pēr-* > pVg **pār* 'crum, piece' (preserved in cds) > Vg: P *tōr-pār* 'rag' (lit. 'piece of cloth', *tōr* is 'Tuch'), NV *torpār*, SV *torpār*, LL *torpār* 'rag', P *ńiń-pār* 'crumb of bread' (*ńiń* is 'bread'), SV *ńáń-pār* 'crumb of bread'; pOs **pēr* ({HL.} **pīr*) > Os V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K *pēr* 'crumb' ¶ UEW 366, Lt. 196, LG 236, Ht. 178 (no. 530), Kn. VW 166 || A: [1] pA ≈ **ṛ'ṛi-* or ≈ **ṛ'iṛ-* v. 'split, crack' > Tg **pīri-* id. > Ewk *hiri-ktz* 'crack, трещина', Δ *hirkz-*, *sirikz-* vi. 'crack (of wood\ice)', Lm *hir* 'crack, fissure, crevice', Ork *pīri-ktz* 'crack, chink (in ice)', WrMc {Z} *фѣрэ-*, *фѣрэне-* vi. 'crack (образоваться трещине, трескаться)', *фѣрен* 'crack, fissure; ravine (ущелье)' ¶ STM II 327 (pTg > Ewk, Lm, Ork, WrMc + unc. Nn *pīari-* 'wood for making shooting bows'), Z 1100-1 ¶ The unacceptable rec of Tg {SDM} **p^ṛia^ṛi-* is based on adduction of Nn *pīari-* ¶¶ SDM 1152 (pA **p^ṛia^ṛi-* 'split, crack' > Tg **p^ṛia^ṛi-* + err. T **jār-* v. 'split, cleave [with a sharp instrument]' and M **ṽara-* 'split open, open wide' [both from pA ≈ **zār* < N **zārüX* ~ **zā^ṽür* 'to cut, to wound', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 1783 (id.), SDM97 s.v. **p^ṛäre* (Tg + unc. T and M **ṽergi* 'steep bank', see N **P_ṽāR_ṽga* 'to strike, to split') ¶¶ The rec of pA {SDM} **p^ṛia^ṛi-* is unacceptable, because it is based on T **-ā-* in **jār-* (heritage of N **zārüX*) and on err. adduction of Nn *pīari-* || [2] pA **p^ṽur^ṽi-* 'crush' (with a labial vw. of the initial syll. due to ass. infl. of **p-* and/or of the

stem-final *-ü-?) > M *φürü- 'rub' > MM {H} χυρυ, WrM {MED} üru- v. 'rub; grate, file', HIM γρᾶ- {MED} id., {BMR}. 'reiben, zerreiben, hobeln', Brt γρᾶ- 'reiben, zerreiben', Kl {KRS} γρ- vt. 'card (wool), scutch' ('чесать, трепать'), {Rm.} ür- 'zer-\ab-reiben, feilen, raspeln', Ord ūrū- 'frotter, aiguiser, limer, émietter' ¶ SDM 1189, MED 1013, BMR III 425, Chr. 514, Ms. O 763, KRS 555, KW 459 || T *ür- 'break, tear, demolish' > OT, MT ūz- {Cl.} vt. 'tear, pull apart or to pieces' Az, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg üz-, Tkm üδ-, Uz uz-, Kr uź, iz-, VgT Өз-, Bsh Өз-, SY yüz-, yuz-, StAlt, Xk, Tv üs- 'break, tear, demolish', Tk d. üz- id., Tk ūz- 'abtragen, wear to rags (clothes)' ('износить, истрепать') ¶ ET Gl 621-2, Cl. 279-80, Rs. W 524, Tkr 891, TtR 737, BshR 423 || Tg *puru- v. 'crush' > Ewk huru-, hurgu-, horo-, Lm huru-, horçā-, UI pori- id., Nn Nh purtu {STM} 'crumbs', {On.} id., 'мусор, сор', WrMc {Z} φυρυ- v. 'резать мелко, крошить' ¶ STM II 333, 352, 354, On. 344, Z 1092 || pKo *pīr- > MKo pīrə, NKo purə 'in pieces, in crumbs' ¶ Yu 404, MLC 812, Rm. SKE 210 ¶¶ A *-r- goes back to N *-Ry- or *-Ri'ʔ'- ¶¶ SDM 1189-90 (pA *p'ūrīe 'crush' > Tg *puru-, *purgu-, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 1864, Pp. VG 12, 111, 132, Rm. EAS I 54, 56, 149, 216, Rm. SKE 210, Posch AAL 283-4, IS II 101 || D *paꞤi- ({ʔGS} *p-) 'tear off, pluck' (× N *pAri'ʔ', 'take out, pull out\off', q.v. ffd., as well as N *PVR't' 'jerk, pull [out], tear off?') ◇ Cf. IS II 100-1 (*p'är' 'tear, break, split'; IS adduced A *p'örü~*p'ürü [> T *h,ü' 'tear, pull apart or to pieces', M *φürü- 'rub, grate, file' and Tg *puru- 'crush, chop up, crumble'], which is to be rejected because the pA vw. does not correspond to those of U and D and because pA *r cannot be akin to D *-r-~ -Ꞥ- ◇ The IE *s-*mobile* points to a palatal element in the N word or its later development (N *pär̥yE or *pär̥i'ʔ'E > *pär̥yE) and to the initial *p- (rather than *p-) ◇ The glottalized cns. in Ch and the long vw. in T point to a N lr., while lack of its traces in S and IE suggests that it was *ʔ. Acc. to Pr.' theory (Pr. M VI-VII), the stem final vowel apophony i/a and u/a points to a pB stem-final lr. (symbolized as *H), which may reflect the same N lr. (but not necessarily so, because the root-final *ʔ may well be of positional origin, as in the case of B *✓md'ʔ' < N *mud' 'to finish', q.v.). D *paꞤi- points to N *pär̥i'ʔ'E, but because of the ambiguous origin of D *paꞤi- it cannot prove that the vibrant was *r ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 385 (*peri v. 'tear') (IE, U + err. A, Ko, Ai).

1776. **par₁∇₁ʕi¹* 'e stinging insect(s)' > **HS:** S **paraʕ-* > Ar *faraʕ-* 'lice' coll. ¶ Fr. III 338, BK II 579 || Ch: WCh: SBc: Buli {ChC} *fáʕèn*, {ChL} *fùren* n. 'fly', Zar K {Sh.} *vurɛn*, Zar {ChL} *vùrùŋ*, Dw {ChL} *vuren* 'mosquito' || ? CCh: Mdr {Mch.} *vərrə* (?) 'fly', Dgh *vràvrá*, Msy {Mch.} *vəre*, Db {ChL} *vèrrút*, {Lnh.} *v+r+č*, Db K {Sb.} *vrót* 'mosquito' ¶ JI II 148-9, JS 111, ChC s.v. 'fly' (n.) and 'msquito', ChL || **U:** FU (att. in Lp) **po₁r∇* > pLp {Lr.} **pōrō-* '*Tabanus, Oestrus*' > Lp: N {N} *boaro* 'horsefly, gadfly', Kld {TI} *pu'arā* 'gadfly', {SaR} *πυαρ* 'botfly', S {Hs.} *boār'ūve*, *boār'ūje* 'Renttierbremse, *Oedemagena tarandi*' ¶ Lr. no. 976, Lgc. no. 5150, TI 385, Hs. 354, N I 204, SaR 268, ≠ UEW 724 || **A** **p'ār'i|i¹* (= **p'ā'r'i|i¹*?) 'bee, wasp' > T (att. in NaT) **hārī* (or **hārīg*?) 'bee, wasp' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} *arī:*, MU XIII *arī* 'bee, wasp, hornet', MQp *arū*, XwT, Chg *arī*, ET {LCq} *hārī* 'bee, wasp', ET *härä*, Qq *härre*, Tkm, Qrg *ārī*, Xlj {Tn. in TL ← ?} *hōrī* 'bee, wasp', Ggz *ārī* 'wild bee', Tk *arī*, Az, Tv *arī*, Tv NE *χarī*, Xk *ār*, QK {B} *arī* ~ *arīʕ* 'bee', Ln *arī* 'big black fly (bee?)', Qzq *ara*, Uz *arī* 'wasp', StAlt *arū* 'bee' ¶ Rs. W 25-6, ET Gl 186-7, TL 186, Cl. 196-7, DTS 51, Rl. I 248, 272, BIG 11 ¶ The cause of preserving **h-* in ET, Tv NE and Qq is unknown. The NaT rec. is most likely without **-g*, unless *-ʕ* in QK is inherited; it may have been induced by analogy with some **-īg-/*-ig-* words || ? Tg **p∇r∇* > Ewk *hərēptin* 'bumblebee' (unless *h-* is from pTg **s-*) ¶ Vs. 512 || Ko {SDM} **pār* 'bee' > MKo *pār*, *pāri*, NKO *pəl* id. ¶ Yu 375, 379, HMC 50, Nam 254, MLC 7 64 || pJ {S} **pátí* > OJ *pati*, MJ *patí* 'bee', J T *háćí*, J K *háćí*, J Kg *háćì* {Kenk.} 'bee, wasp, hornet' ¶ S QJ 238, Mr. 401, Kenk. 411 ¶¶ SDM 1135-6 (pA **p'éra* 'bee' [with unc. **-ē-*] > Tg, T, J, Ko + unc. M **ʕerbekey* 'butterfly'), DQA no. 1755 (id.), S VL no. 32, S AJ 67, Mr. KJ 226, TL 186 || **D:** Kui *parrì* 'hornet', Ku *Δprārì* 'wasp', *Δparrì* 'wild bee' ¶ D no. 3985 ◇ FU **ō* goes back to eU **ā* < N **a* with compensatory lengthening ◇ Cf. Rs. UW 28 (U, A), IS MS 358 ('bee': U, A).

1777. (₂?) **pari¹∇* or **par₁∇* 'strew, spread, extend' > **IE:** NaIE *(s)p(h)er-, **sprej-*, **spreu-* 'strew, scatter, sow' > Arm *փարատ* *p^har at* 'detached, disunited, dispersed' (< **p^h.r-*), *փարատեմ* *p^har at em* 'I dissipate, I disperse, I scatter', ? *սփռեմ* *sph^her em* 'I spread, I disseminate, I disperse, I scatter', *սփռեմ* *sph^her em* adj. 'spread, dispersed, diffused, extended' (< **sp^hērō-*), *սփռեմ* *sph^her em* 'dispersion' || Gk *σπεύρω* v. 'scatter like seed, sow, strew', *σπέρυμα*

'semen, seed, germ', σπορά 'sowing of seed' || Gmc inf. *sprēwen > NNr inf. sprā 'spröde\brüchig werden', Gmc inf. *sprēujan > MDt inf. spraeien 'to fly about (like dust)', ζ OHG {OsS} inf. spræjen, spræwen 'spritzen, stieben', Gmc inf. *sprōujan > OHG inf. sprouwen 'sprühen, to sprinkle', NHG inf. sprühen 'to spray, to sprinkle', OHG F {ML} inf. sprowan 'sprühen, zerstieben' → OFr {ML} esproher 'besprenge' || pAl {O} *sparā > Al farē 'seed, semen' || Ht ispar(r)-, isparriya- 'spread, strew, scatter' ¶¶ P 993-4, EI 500 (*sper- 'strew, sow'), F II 762-3, KM 733, Kb. 945, OsS 855, ML no. 8188, Me. EAC 35, Slr. 387-9, O 93, Pv. I-II 441-7 || ?σ HS: S *^opr̥ (× N *P_or̥ 'hair', q.v.) > Ar far̥- {Hv.} 'woman's hair', {BK} id., 'chevelure' (esp. 'chevelure très abondante'), Ar ^ofr̥ (pf. far̥iṣa) {Hv.} 'have abundant hair', {BK} 'avoir une chevelure très abondante, telle qu'elle couvre toute la tête' ¶ BK II 578-9, Hv. 557 || K: +ext.: MG, G prkv-ev- 'pour, strew, scatter' ('schütten, vergießen, streuen') ¶ DCh. 1316, Chx. 1503 || D *par- ({^oGS} *p-) v. 'spread' > Tm para v. 'spread, be diffused, be flattened (as by hammering)', Ml parakka v. 'spread, be diffused, be extended', Kt pard- v. 'spread over large space' (of small objects), part- v. 'spread (grain, chillies) in sun to dry', Td par- v. 'open wide (an entrance)', Kn paraḍu vt., vi. 'spread, extend, be diffused', Kdg para- v. 'crawl', parat- v. 'spread (grain)', Tu parapuni v. 'creep, crawl, spread (as a creeper)', paraḍuni vt., vi. 'spread', Tl parapu, parapu 'broad, extended, expanded', paravu vi. 'spread', Δ parãgu, parãgu, paragu id., Klm pāraken v. 'crawl' (of babies), Prj parp- (p. part-), Gnd parhānā v. 'spread', Knd paṛ- v. 'spread (as a mat)', Kui prahpa (p. praht-) vt. 'spread out, scatter', Ku pressali v. 'spread out paddy to dry' ¶¶ D no. 3949, Km. 426 ◇ IS MS (*p̥a'r̥j̥a v. 'spread': IE, D) ◇ If S *^opr̥ does not belong here, the N rec. may be *p̥ARy̯. The N initial *p̥- is suggested by IE *(s)p-. IE *s-mobile points to a palatal element in the prehistory of the word (N *p̥ARi'r̥j̥ > *p̥a|ärya or N *p̥ARy̯). The post-N form *p̥a|ärya or N *p̥ARy̯ are also responsible for D *-r- (regularly from cns. clusters with *R). N *r̥ > S *r̥ and zero in K and Ht.

1778. *p̥oR'r̥û 'to heat with fire, to burn' > HS: C: DhI puruṣ- vi. {E} 'be burnt up', {EEN} 'burn, cook', {To.} 'burn' ¶ E PC no. 389 (DhI < S C {E} *pur̥- v. 'be burnt'; + err. Ag {E} *b̥ar-/*b̥al- v. 'burn'), EEN 7, To. D 145 || K {Fn.} *^opur- v. 'heat, heat with fire' > Mg pur- id.,

'incandence' ¶ Q 339, Fn. KD no. 109 || IE: NaIE (with an ext.) *preu̯s-vi. 'burn' > OI 'plō̯sati 'burns, scorges, sings', plu̯s̯t̯a- 'burned, scorged, singed' || pAl {O} *pru̯šā > Al T/G prush 'bed of hot coals or of live charcoal, live ember', Al {My.} prūš 'brennende Kohlen, Glut' || L prūna 'live coal' (< *prusnā), prūri-o / -īre 'itch' || ?σ Clt {Matas.} *freswō- 'strong cold' > OIr reód ~ réud 'hoarfrost', MW reω 'frost, ice', OCrn [ʁ] reu 'gelum', Crn reau 'ice', MBr re(a)u id., Br reu {Hm.} 'gel, gelée' ¶ WP II 88, EI 88, M K II 387, P 846, My. 355, O 348, AlbED 697, Kf. 283, BFU 450, LamP 158, Matas. E 140, Hm. 689 || U: (ppU **poru-? >) U *por̯- (in FP) ~ *pur̯- (in Sm) vi. 'burn' > FP *por̯ > Es Δ {UEW} p̯arend_ 'Brand auf der Schwende, Schwende, Brandacker' ('sōōrutuli, sōōrd'), p̯arend_e 'mit großen Flammen brennen, p̯areñt· (gen. p̯arent·i) 'große Flamme', Lv p̯erandъks 'Scheiterhaufen' | Prm *pur- v. 'burn' > Vt purom- 'grow hot' (live coal), purom̯t- 'kindle (firewood)', Z LL purd- 'burn (earthenware, bricks)', Prmk Zz purd̯t- 'pour boiling water on' ('обваривать') || pre-Sm *pura- > Sm {Jn.} *p̯r̯ā- vi. 'burn' > Ne Т п̯ра- 'be burnt down\round, burn oneself' ('сгореть, обгореть, обжечься'), п̯рада- vt. 'burn down\round, scorch' ('сжечь, обжечь, опалить'), Ne F {Lh.} paratāmm̯ 'gebraten', En {Ter.} порай 'burnt down', En X (Cs.) fo̯ra'ra̯bo 'braten' (1s aor. obj.), B (Cs.) fo̯rad̯abo id., Slq UKe {KD} p̯'rr̯u·ʁan (1s aor.), p̯'rumba (3s) 'is bitter' ¶¶ UEW 737, LG 233, Jn. 114 || A *p̯'orE 'fire', *p̯'orE- v. 'burn' > T (< d.?) *h̯jört 'flame, fire, conflagration, forest fire, steppe fire' > OT {Cl.} ört 'flame, conflagration', Tkm NC, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, StAlt, Xk ört, Tv {Bich.} ört 'fire (Brand, пожар)', Tf j'rt' 'forest fire', Chg [Ab.] أورت ört 'flame that is spread in a field by wind', Tkm ört al- 'get burnt' (of food) ('подгорать'), 'be burnt down', Bsh ört, Yk ört/örd- 'burning out the remainder of last year's grass', 'steppe fire (пал)', VTt ʁrt ört 'burning of last year's grass, fire (Brand), live coal', Chv вирт 'site of fire in forest or steppe (пал)'; T *h̯jört'æ- > NaT *ört'æ- vt. 'burn' > OT örtä- vt. 'light, burn', Xk örte- 'burn down', Qq örte- id., v. 'set fire to, kindle', Qzq örte- v. 'set fire to, make a fire' ¶ Cl. 201, 208, ET Gl 550-1, Rs. W 375, TatR 752, Md. 50, KrkR 513, Jud. 599, Ash. V 245, Fed. I 125, Jeg. 55, ChVS 27, Sht. 294, Ra. 214, S AJ 191 [no. 158], JkR 289, Bich. 52 || M *°h̯jört̯ > Kl {KRS} ep ör 'kindling, firing up (póзжиг)' (арһснд ep өгх 'to kindle dry dung [used as fuel]' [=

'разжечь кизяк'); M *₁φ₁örd^e - > HIM {BMR} өрдө- 'fire up (großes Feuer anzünden), 'усиленно подбрасывать топливо в топку\печку), 'палить', WrO ördö- v. 'fire up, stoke up', Kl {KRS} өрд- 'ein Großfeuer anzünden', {Rm.} ördä- 'feuern', {KRS} һал өрд- gal örd- 'kindle fire', {Rm.} gal ördēd 'ein Großfeuer anzündend' (gal means 'fire'), Ord örd_ö- 'activer (feu)'; ⇨ : WrM {Kow., Gl.} örd|t_üs- (or ürd|t_üs-?) 'blaze up, take fire' ('prendre feu, s'enflammer'); other ds: WrM {MED} örbis-, örbid- vi. 'burst into flames, blaze', HIM өрвөсө- {MED} id., {BMR} id., vt. 'fire up', өрвөтө- {BMR} vi. 'burst into flames, blaze' ¶ MED 640, BMR III 37, 40, Kow. 587, Gl. I 337, KW 298, KRS 424, Krg. 151, Ms. O 537, S AJ 289 [no. 134] || Ko {S} *pír n. 'fire' > MKo pír, NKo (= Ko Sl/Ph) puł, Ko dialects: PhN/Chj/Kw puł, Ks púł, Hm puł ¶ S QK no. 30, Nam 273, MLC 832, S AJ 252 [30] || pJ *p₃-i 'fire' > OJ pi, MJ φì, J: T hí, K hìi, Sh φí ¶ Q SJ no. 25, Mr. 405, Kenk. 482-3 || ?σ Tg *puri- ~ *piri- v. 'dry (over fire)' > Ewk huri- ɘ huriɣī- ɘ hiriw- id., Neg xīwun ({STM} < *hiriwun) 'wicker device for drying fish\meat over fire', Orc xi 'shelf for drying fish over fire', WrMc {Z} фярингя- vt. 'dry in the sun' ¶ STM II 327, Z 1098 ¶¶ SDM 1172 (pA *p^òre 'fire; burn' > M *₁φ₁örde-, Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1828, S AJ 275 [no. 23] (pA *p^{ör}∇ 'fire', v. 'burn'), Rm. EAS I 54, 147, KW 300, Mr. KJ 232, Mng. KA 286-7 || D: [1] *pori ({^θGS} *p-) 'spark, fire, fireplace' > Ml, Tu por i 'spark', Klm, Nkr poru 'hearth', fireplace' || [2] *por- ({^θGS} *p-) v. 'parch, roast, fry; be parched\fried' > Tm por i (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be parched, be blackened by fire', por i (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'fry, parch', 'burn (as the sun)', Kt poru- v. 'parch (grain)', Kn puri id., v. 'dry by exposure to the heat of fire', Kdg por i-, Tl porāṭu, Gnd por's- ɘ borsānā v. 'fry',? Krx porčō, poroč 'half cooked, not sufficiently boiled' (of grain) ¶¶ D no. 4537 ◇ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (*-R^rṣ¹-) ◇ Cf. Fn. KD no. 109 (K, D) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 153 (*par 'fire') (A, Y, Ai, Gil, Ko are erroneously equated with IE *peXw-r 'fire', see N *p₂ä^rṣ¹üwA 'fire').

1779. *p₂or^rä^r∇ 'summit, top' > HS: WS *¹par₁∇₁ṣ¹- 'summit, upper part' > Ar farṣ- 'summit, upper part', Sq {L} ferṣ- 'bord', Sb frṣ 'upper part, summit (of the building)', ? BHb 𐎧𐎡𐎢𐎣 p¹eraṣ 'leader, prince', Ug prṣt 'high (alta, excelsa)' adj. f., prṣ 'first'; WS *¹prṣ v. 'ascend (a mountain)' > Ar G¹frṣ {Hv.} id., {BK} 'monter sur une hauteur, gravir une montagne', Mh {Jo.} ¹frṣ v. 'up, ascend' ¶ KBR 971, KB 913

(BHb 'περασι *÷ S *parsi- 'hair of the head'), Seg. BG 198, A no. 2276, OLS 354, BK II 578-9, Hv. 557, BGMR 46, Jo. M 97 || B *✓fr̥y 'aiguille rocheuse, escarpement' > Ah efarī 'aiguille rocheuse', Kb ifri 'escarpement, rocher escarpé' ¶ Fc. 339, Dl. 218, NZ 608 || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} fārā 'rock, stone', FIM {ChL, ChC} fara 'stone' || Bcm {Sk. in ChC} fārā 'rock, stone', Glv {RpB} fərđaxa (pl.) 'rock(s)', fərđyéxa (pl.) 'rock(s), rocky ground' || McMtk: Mofu {Ro.} práy 'rock' (as well as possibly MfG {Brr.} (´)p̄rāđ 'rocher plat' and Mf {BLB} p̄ráđ id. [but these two words may be alternatively connected with MfG {Brr.} p̄rđàđá, p̄rđèđé 'flat']) || ?σ ECh (+ext.): Ke {Eb.} p̄rki 'mountain, rock, stone' (see Gmc ↓) ¶ ChC s.v. 'stone' and 'rock', RpB 39, Hsk. 184, Ro. 316, Brr. MG II 219, BLB 309, Eb. 88 || IE *perHx-/*pr̥Hx'os 'before' > OI pu'rās, Gk páros id.; IE *preHxi 'at the front' (< loc.) > Osc prai, L prae, Gl prae, OIr air, OCS прѣдъ prě-dъ 'in front of'; IE *pr̥Hx-e? > OI pu'rā 'formerly', Gt faura 'in front (of)' ¶ Bks 221, Rsm. SM 272 || U *°p̄u'r̥ > Sm *p̄r̥ 'top, summit' > Slq Tz {KKIH} p̄r̥+ id., Slq {Cs.}: Nr par, Ke p̄ar, NP p̄ari, Y/B/Kar p̄are 'Gipfel, Höhe, das Obere' || Kms {Cs.} phâr u 'Gipfel, Höhe' ¶ KKI 153, Cs. 163, 228, 236 || A *p̄'ōr̥æ 'top' > M *p̄oraγi 'top, summit, crown of the head' > MM {Pp., S} horai 'forehead (?)', WrM {Pp.} orai, {MED} orui 'summit, peak, crown of the head', HIM орой {MED, BMR} id., Brt орой 'top, summit, crown of the head; head, sinciput; roof', Kl {KRS} opa 'top (of a tree), head, sinciput', {Rm.} orā ~ orā 'Gipfel, höchster Punkt', Ord orō 'somet, faîte, sommet de la tête; petite hauteur ou colline; tête; toit' ¶ Pp. VG 11, MED 621, BMR II 490-1, Chr. 361, KRS 400, KW 287, Ms. O 522, H 77 || Tg *pora|on 'crown of the head, top' > Ewk horon, Neg xoyo ~ xoyon 'crown of the head\mountain', Orc xō(n-), Nn Nh porō, Nn KU xorō, Nn Bk porō, Ul, Ork poro(n-) 'sinciput, crown of mountain, top', Ud xō(n-) 'space above (sth.)' ¶ STM II 334 (pTg *poran), On. 336 || pJ {SDM} *p̄r̥z, {S} *p̄r̥z 'top (of a carriage)' > MJ {S} poro id., J T hōro, J K/Kg hōrò 'a (folding) top (hood), a calash top, a hood, a bonnet' ¶ S VL no. 35, S QJ no. 252, Kenk. 549 || NaT *ōr̥ 'top, high, height', v. 'rise' (× N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise') > OT ö:r 'height, high, high ground', Chg ≥xv ö r, ö r k 'high ground, upwards', Tkm ōr 'steep ascent', Tkm NC ōr 'upwards', Tk ö r 'high ground, hill', Qmq ö r id., 'top, ascent', QrB, Qrg ö r, SY ür ~ jür 'top', Nog, ET ör, Uz ωr, Bsh ür 'ascent', VTt ür id., 'high ground', Qq ör

'upper waters'; Tkm $\bar{o}r$ - 'rise', Tk $\Delta \bar{o}r$ - 'get up', VTt, Bsh $\bar{u}r$ - v. 'sprout' ¶ Cl. 193, ET Gl 542-3 ¶¶ SDM 1173 (pA *p'ōre 'top' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1837 | | D: [1] D {tr.} *porǰǰ-, {GS} pōǰ- 'mountain, top' (× N *paR∇t∇ 'rock, hill', q.v. ffd.) | | [2] (att. in SD) *pōr- ({GS} *b-) '(top of a) hill' > Kn bōre 'hill, hillock', Tu bōræ 'top of a hill' ¶¶ D no-s 4567 and 4595, GS 151 [no. 381], 71 [no. 232] ◇ T *_h- (> NaT *∅-) and CCh (McMtk *p-) suggest N *p-. D *porǰǰ- reflects the N etymon *p_or'ä'∇ without elision of the internal vw., while *-r- in D *pōr- may be accounted for by a syncope (*p_or'ä'∇ > **p_or∇) in the N word ◇ I am grateful to Hl. for drawing my attention to the Slq cognate ◇ The T front vw. *ō is due to vw. harmony (infl. of the N word-medial vowel *'ä'?) ◇ Blz. IELA 11 [no. 33] (S, IE).

1780. *pür∇gU (č∇) ~ *pürč∇g∇ 'flea, gnat, mosquito' > HS: S *p∇rϑuθ- ~ *°b'u'rϑūθ- 'flea' > BHb 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢 par'isoš 'flea', ? Ug p r ḡ t (p.n.), Sr mt. 𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣; 𐩣𐩠 purta' n-ā, Ar 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤔 burϑūθ-, Ak OB mt. peršaʔum ~ persaʔum 'flea'; cp. also Ar 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤔 barϑaš- {Hv.} 'gnat', {BK} 'moucheron' (S *°✓brϑš) ¶ The Ar word barϑaš- has an unexpected final sibilant š that may point to an ancient cd with a different second component or to borrowing from another S lge ¶ KB 914, Hv. 29, 39, A no. 2278, Grd. UT no. 2114, BK I 113, Hv. 29, OLS 355, Sd. 855-6 | | A *p'ür'æ' (~ *bür'æ'?) 'flea' > T: [1] NaT *büræ ~ *püræ 'flea' > MOg, OOsM būre, Osm {Bu., Zen.} پوره ~ {Bu.} پیره pürä, Tkm būre, Tk pīre, Ggz, Kr Cr pīre, Az pira id. | [2] NaT *bürgæ 'flea' > OT būrgæ ({Cl.} būrgä:), MU, Chg XVIII [San.] būrge, Tk Δ būrge, ET bürgä, Δ būrge, Uz burgä, Qzq, Qq būrge, Qrg bürgö id.; T → M lges: MM [HI, IsV] būrge 'flea', HIM БҮҮРҒЭНЭ {OMT} id., {BMR} БҮҮРҒЭН 'louse, lice, flea (of foxes)', БҮҮРЭГ id., Mnr H {SM} būrge 'puce', Kl {KRS} БҮҮРҒ bürge 'flea', {Rm.} bürge, bürjg 'Floh' ¶ The long ū in the M lges proves that this M word cannot be a genetic cognate of T and suggests borrowing | [3] T *bürçä ~ *pürçä 'flea' > MQp {Hts.} būrčä, Tkm Δ pürče, VTt БОРЧА bōrčā, Bsh БӨРЦА bōrsā, CrTt {RI.} birčä, Kr T birčā, Cry Cr birče, Kr G birce, QrB, Qmq bürče, Brb {RI.} pürçä, Nog БҮҮРШЕ bürše, Chv L пәрҗа рәрҗа, Chv H {Md.} pöržā id.; T → MM [L] būrče id. ¶ Cl. 362, ET B 298-9, TL 182-3, Rs. W 92, Bu. I 325, Zn. I 234, Md. 57, 175 (*būr-će ~ *-ū-), Ash. X 39, Fed. I 402, Jeg. 149, ChVS 131, BMR I 311, Luv. 98, KRS 132,

KW 71, Ms. H 45, SM 35, Lg. VMI 22-3 (suggests that the M words are borrowed from T), OMT I 49, SM 35 || pKo {S} *p̥j̥ərók 'flea' > MKo p̥j̥ərók, NKo p̥j̥ərūk ¶ S QK no. 470, Nam 258, MLC 775 ¶¶ SDM 363-4 (pA *bj̥ure 'flea' > T, M [considered to be a cognate of T], pKo), DQA no. 170 (id.), Rm. SKE 198, KW 71, TL 182-3, ≠ Dr. TM II 384 (rejecting the T-M comparison) || D {tr.} *p̥ʰuʰr̥ukk- ({{GS}} p̥iḍuk-) 'gnat, mosquito' > MI p̥iḍukku id., Kdg pur̥ik̥i 'mosquito', Gnd pork̥ ɘ porki ɘ poʀki ɘ paʀk̥ī 'louse' ¶¶ D no. 4203, GS 43 [no. 93] ◇ T *p̥ürçä is likely to go back to a N metathetic variant ≈ *p̥ürč̥∇g∇. This mt. and variations within the √ (√ ~ √ in Ar, reflexes of N *K̥ ~ *k̥ instead of N *g̥ in A and D) may be connected with ideophonic (even onomatopoeic [in the case of 'gnat, mosquito']) associations. Alternatively, the N element *-č̥∇ (> S *-θ-, T *-çä) may go back to an ancient particle (with diminutive meaning, as in T; cp. TL 182-3: "the form with -č̥- is probably a diminutive") ◇ IS II 99-100 (? *p̥ur̥č̥∇(g̥∇) / p̥ül̥č̥∇(g̥∇) 'flea').

1781. *paraʰi|ü (or *paraʰi|ü) 'weak' > HS: S *°√ p̥r̥r > Ak √ p̥r̥r G v. 'be weak' ¶ Sd. 829-830 || IE: NaIE *pr̥āyu- 'lacking in energy' > OI 'a-pr̥āyu- 'careful, assiduous' (← *'not lacking of energy') || Gk πρᾶος ~ πρᾶύς, Gk I πρηύς 'mild, soft, gentle, meek' ¶ WP II 86-7, M K I 40, F II 588, Ch. 933-4 (no et. of the Gk word) || A *p̥'ār̥i 'be tired' > T *h̥j̥ār- ({{Md.}} *-ē-, {{JMd.}} *-ā-) > OT {Cl.} ār- v. 'be tired\exhausted\weak', Tkm ār- v. 'get tired\weak', Tkm Δ har- id., ET Trn hār- id., hār̥dur 'müde machen', Qq har̥i-, Uz har̥i- v. 'get tired, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Bsh, Qrg ar̥i- v. 'get tired', VTt ar-(u) 'get tired\exhausted', ar̥-t-(u) 'vt. 'tire (утомлять)', Yk īr- ~ Ir- v. 'get tired', Chv ыр- id. ¶ Yk and Chv I- can be explained by regr. as. (infl. of the pT vw. *I of the second syll.) ¶ Pp. VG 96, ET Gl 160-2, Cl. 193, Rs. W 22, Rl. II 1748-9, TatR 40-41, Fed. II 472, Ash. III 54-5, 69, Jeg. 343, ChVS 286-7, Md. 98, IOI || M *ʰar̥i- > MM {Pp.} har̥i- v. 'get exhausted' ('erschöpft sein'), WrM {Pp.} ar̥i- id. (the word does not appear in Kow., MED and Gl.), {Gl.} ar̥i-su- 'come to an end, stop, disappear' (unless it is a sd. from ar̥i-su- 'be cleaned' ['очиститься, быть очищенным']) ¶ Pp. VG 96, Gl. I 186-7, Krg. 51 || Tg *par̥∇- (= *par̥u-?) 'be dizzy, faint' > Ewk har̥ū-, har̥ūl-, har̥ūñi- v. 'be dizzy', Lm hār̥u-, Ud хаунз- id., Nn Bk ʰar̥inda- v. 'faint', WrMc {Z} ʰara-ka-bi (p.) 'fainted (потерял сознание, упал без чувств)', {Hr} ʰara-

'ohnmächtig werden, bewußtlos werden', ? Mc Sb {Mrm.} φ ara η na- 'bestürzt sein, erstarren' ¶ Acc. to Pp. VG 96 (an unconvincing hyp.) Ewk haru $\bar{1}$ - 'krank werden' is a loan from MM ¶ STM II 317-18, Krm. 305, Klz. MS 165, Z 1036, Hr 276 || ?? σ pKo {S} *parh- > NKo p \bar{h} ari-ha- 'be lean\emaciated' ¶ S QK no. 925, MLC 1730 || ?? σ pJ *pátá-ra-k- v. 'work' > MJ φ atarak-, J T hâtáarak-, J K hâtárák-, J Kg hatarák- id. ¶ Mr. 685, Kenk. 461-2 ¶¶ SDM 1124 (pA *p'á \bar{r} a 'be tired' > Tg, M, T, pJ, pKo), DQA no. 1727 (id.), S AJ 73, S VL no. 31, Rm. AKE 15, Rm. EAS I 139, Pp. VG 96, Md. AJ 182, Ci. EApk 34 || | D (att. in SD) *pa \bar{r} - ({ θ GS} *p-) 'weak, worn out' > Tm pa \bar{r} a \bar{i} v. 'be wasted, be worn out, be impaired', Kn pa \bar{r} e, pa \bar{r} akalu 'leanness, thinness, weakness' ¶ D no. 4033 || | ? ϕ U: Ugr (UEW) *pâ \bar{r} ∇- or *pâr \bar{k} ∇- 'get tired' > Vg Ss {Kn.} po \bar{w} ra-mat- 'ermüden, müde werden' (-mat- mom.) || Hg fárad 'get tired' ¶ UEW 880-1, EWU 357 ◇ The long * \bar{a} in IE and the type of length in A (S's 1st type > T long vw., Tg short vw. and J high tone) suggest a lr. within the N word. The only N lrs compatible with Ak data are *h and * \bar{r} . Acc. to my hyp., D * \bar{r} goes back to N * \bar{r} in the intervoc. position (suggesting a vw. after N *-r-). On the evidence of IE *-y- and A *-i (> M *-i) we may tentatively reconstruct a word-final N *-í. If this is true, the IE *-u- goes back to an affix. Alternatively, it may point to a N word-final *-ü (cp. the root-final *-u- in several Tg lges) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 396 (*par 'tired') (U, A, Ko, Gil + unc. Ch, EA + err. J).

1782. *P \bar{e} R \bar{w} ∇ 'skin, hide, bark' > HS: S * \bar{p} ar \bar{u} ∇- 'leather, hide' > Ar far \bar{w} - 'pelisse, vêtement doublé de fourrure', far \bar{w} -at- 'peau de la tête; une pelisse, une robe fourrée; vêtement fait de poil de chameau; voile de femme', ✓ fr \bar{w} D (pf. farrā) (denom. verb) 'fourrer, doubler de fourrure'; in MHb (Mishnah) the noun $\text{הַבֵּית־הַפַּרְוֵא}$ par \bar{w} ā is found within bêt \bar{t} -happar \bar{w} ā, which is the proper name of a hall in the Temple; one of the traditional interpretations of $\text{הַבֵּית־הַפַּרְוֵא}$ par \bar{w} ā is 'hide' or 'fur' (bêt \bar{t} -happar \bar{w} ā 'the house of the hide\fur'), which underlies NHb $\text{הַבֵּית־הַפַּרְוֵא}$ par \bar{v} a 'fur'; ? Ak. pāru 'skin' (Sd. considered it to be a loan from Sum) ¶ Fr. III 344, BK II 588, BY 5143 (fn. 1), Sd. 836 || Ch: ECh: EDng {Fd.} pārdé 'bark (of a tree)', Mgm {JA} pūrdè (pl. pōrdá), Skr {Sx.} pōr \bar{z} ánágá, ? {Lk.} furkia id. ||| WCh: ? Dir {Sk.} fufûr id. ¶ JI II 8-9, ChC s.v. 'bark', JA LM 117, Sx. s.v. pōr \bar{z} ánágá, Lk. ZSS, Sk. NB || ? ϕ C: EC: Dsn {To.} bōrti 'bark, husk' ||| Q F {Flad} ber 'bark' ¶ To. DL 487, Blz. DL s.v. 'bark', Flad s.v. ber 'bark' || | U *per∇ 'skin, bark' > FU: Os Vy pēr 'rötliche Haut auf der Innenseite der Birkenrinde' || Hg bōr 'skin, hide,

leather' || Sm: Ne Т пир" 'cambium of a birch tree; hard excrescence; hard crust (as of bread)', Ne Т О {Lh.} pīr? 'rote innere Rinde der Birke, Schleimhaut des Pansens, Rinde des Brotes', Koyb {Klp.} pēre 'bark' ¶¶ UEW 374, Coll. CG, Sm. 539 (U, FU *pēri, Ugr *pīrī, Sm *pīr 'back, cover'), MF 110-11, Ter. 470 || ?σ ρ: Tg: WrMc {Hr} φeri 'enthaarte Pferde-, Maultier- oder Eselhaut', {Z} φэри 'abrasion, rubbed (sore) skin of a draught horse' ('ссадина, стертая кожа у рабочей лошади') ¶ Hr 288, Z 1049 ¶ In IS III 78-9 the adduction of this Mc word was rejected because its original meaning seemed to have been 'abrasion; to rub sore', so that the word may have been derived from Tg *perk- 'produce a corn, eine Schwiele machen (намозолить)' (STM II 305) || D {Pf.} *per∇ ({ϑGS} *p-) 'skin (of a snake), bark' > Kn pēre 'skin or slough of a serpent', Tu pēre∇uni v. 'be peeled/scraped', pīresuni v. 'peel, scrape, pare off', Tl beradū 'bark, rind, shell', baradū 'bark of a tree', Krx čayā-perē, čayā-perperē 'snake's old skin' ¶¶ D 4417, Pf. 135 [no. 1166] ◇ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (N *-Rw-?) ◇ Cf. IS MS 344 (*p^rer ∆ 'skin' > U, D), IS III 78-9, Sauv. UAW 12-13 (U, A), UEW 374 (U, A).

1783. *p^ro¹R_Lw_L∇ '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' > HS: S *parr- 'bull, young ruminant' (× N *P_LAR_L?_L∇ 'bring forth, give birth' [of animals], 'young of animals', q.v.) > BHb 𐤑𐤓 par 'bull, steer', MHb 𐤑𐤓 par 'zwei- bis fünfjähriger junger Stier', Ug pr 'Stier, junges Rind', {OLS} 'novillo (young bull)', ?_alp pr 'calf' (?_alp is 'bull'), Sr |; |[∇] pa<?>r-ā ([par'r-ā]?), Md para 'lamb', Ar [Zhr.] farr- 'calf', Ak parru 'lamb'; S *parr-at- 'female young ruminant' > BHb 𐤒𐤑𐤓 pā'rā, Ug prt 'cow', Sr |; |[∇] par'tā, Md parta, Ak parratu 'ewe lamb'; other ds: Ar d. furār- 'young of sheep \ goats \ wild cows', farīr- 'a young of wild animals (gazelle etc.)' ¶ GB 656, KB 904-5, KBR 959-60, 963-4, OLS 353, Br. 591, DM 362, Ln. 2356, Fr. III 326, BK II 559, Hv. 552, Sd. 834 || Eg MKL pry 'Kampfstier (?)' ({EG} pry als Bezeichnung des Kampfstiers), {Fk.} 'ferocious bull' ¶ EG I 526, Fk. 91 || B *^o✓φrw ({Pr.} *^o✓h₂rw) 'goats and sheep' > Ah {Fc.} e-here (pl. i-harawan) 'goats and sheep', ETwl/Ty e-ħ̄bre (pl. iħ̄arwan) 'bétail', ETwl {Nic.} e-hare (pl. iħ̄arwan) id., Sll hruiy 'moutons', tahruiy (pl. tihray) 'a sheep', *^o✓φry 'calf' > ETwl/Ty {GhA} e-heri (pl. i-haran) 'jeune bœuf de 2 à 3 ans'; Pr. adduced also *^o✓^rφrw 'wealth (bien matériel)' > Ah ehere (pl. iħ̄arwān), Gh ih^rā^ri (pl. ih^rā^rrawān) id., which is not convincing ¶ Pr. H 68 [no. 397], Fc. 639-40, GhA 79-80, Nh. 134 || EC: Sml {ZMO, DSI}

farow, Sml N {Abr.} fáraw 'zebra' ¶ ZMO 135, DSI 222, Abr. S 76 || Ch: CCh: Mrg {Hf.} fúr 'buffalo', MrgL, MrgM {Mk}, BuP {Mk}, Klb {Mk} fur, MrgP {Mk} fir id., Mbara {TrnSL} fàrày 'wealth, cattle', Msg P {Trn.} fuss 'troupeau, bétail' || ? WCh: Ang {Flk.} fīr 'roan antelope' ¶ JI II 50, ChC s.v. 'buffalo', Hf. M 20, 23, RK 112, Mk I 176, 210, 236, 243, 251, Flk. s.v. fīr, TrnSL 260, Trn. LM 87 ¶¶ SAAJ I no. 141, Tk. LAA-I 124 [no. 145] (HS *br 'wealth, cattle') || K *pur- 'female bovine' > G puri 'female bovine (buffalo, deer, cow etc.)', Mg puž-i 'female domestic bovine (cow etc.)', Lz puž-i 'cow', Sv: UB pūr, UB/Ln pīr, LB/Ln pīr, L pur 'cow' ¶¶ K 192, K² 206, FS K 324, Chik. 78, Chx. 1507, Q 340, Marr 195, TK 771, GP 264 || IE: NaIE *per- 'calf, young bull' (× N *P_{AR}₁,₂,₃ ∇ '↑') > Gk πόρις (gen. πόριος) 'calf' || OHG far (gen. farres), farro 'bullock, bull', NHG Farre 'bullock, young bull', AS fearr, ON farri (< *farh-) 'bull' ¶ F II 580, Vr. 113, Ho. 99, Kb. 221, 225, OsS 161, KM 185, ≈ EI 24 (*per- 'offspring of an animal') || D: [1] (in SD) *po(:)ri '(young) bull, buffalo' > Tm porī 'calf of buffalo', Kt porū 'young bullock', Kn hōri 'bull calf, bullock', Kdg porī 'male buffalo', Tu bōri 'bull, ox' ¶ D no. 4593 || [2] D *pār∇ ({{GS} *p-) 'a young female buffalo' (× N *P_{AR}₁,₂,₃ ∇ '↑') > Tu pārōlū 'a young she-buffalo', Td pōḏ 'female buffalo calf between 1 and 2 years old', Knd paḏ 'buffalo calf between one and two years old' ¶¶ D no. 4118 ¶¶ D *-l is a sx denoting females (Tm maḥal 'daughter', Png toḥndal 'sister', F An. SG 171) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 51 (D, HS, K, IE) ◇ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (N *-Rw-?). Eg p- suggests a N *p-. The cns. f- (usually from N *p-) in Ang fīr 'roan antelope' is puzzling (if the Ang word belongs here). The original rounded vw. has been preserved in K *pur-, in pMrg (CCh) *fur- and in D *po(:)ri, while the vw. *a in S *parr- 'bovine, young ungulate' and in D *pār∇ 'young (female) buffalo' is due to contamination with N *P_{AR}₁,₂,₃ ∇ '↑' (q.v.). A N cns. (*w, preserved in B and C?) is responsible for the D reflex *-r- (regularly from a N cluster *R + cns.).

1784. (₂?) *P_{ôR}w∇ (= *p_{ôR}w∇?) 'to turn, to revolve' > A *P_{ôR}ba- ~ *P_{ôR}a- > M *φurbā- v. 'turn around' ({{Pp.} *purbā-) > MM [HI] hurbā- 'tourner, retourner', WrM {MED} urbā- v. 'turn around or aside, turn back, break away from, turn against, desert', HIM црва- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich umdrehen, sich umwenden' ('поворачиваться, переворачиваться'), Brt црба- 'sich umdrehen,

sich umwenden' ('поворачиваться, оборачиваться'), Mnr H {T} furā- 'turn around \ upside-down \ inside out', {SM} furā- 'se tourner, se retourner', Ord urwa- 'se retourner, être infidèle à la parole donnée' ¶ Pel. 224 [no. 49], MED 880, BMR III 342, Chr. 473, SM 109, Ms. H 6, Ms. O 743, Rinch. 459, T 371, Pp. LVCM 18, Str. AOJ 240 || Tg *pora-vi. 'turn, revolve' > Ewk horol- id., 'turn over', Neg xoyil ~ xoyol 'whirlpool', xoyil- ~ xoyol- vi. 'turn round', vt. 'surround', Ud {STM} xōli-, {Krm.} xoli- vi. 'fly round, кружиться' (a bird), 'turn round', Ul poyo(n-), Ork poyal, Nn Nh poyō 'whirlpool', WrMc {Hr} форо-, {Z} форо- vt. 'turn, повертывать', vi. 'turn back' ¶ STM II 334, Krm. 305, On. 332, Z 1065, Hr 305 || U *pârω|ʁ∇- v. 'turn, revolve' (× N *bUr∇ 'turn round, rotate') > Mr (pMr {Ker.} *puʁʁə-): Er пувор- puvor-, Δ puvʁa-, Mk пуворя- puvəʁa-, Δ puvʁa- 'drehen, winden' || ? Vt Sr poryal- 'sich drehen, kreiseln', 'кружиться' || ObU *pěʁar (× N *pēʁk∇,ʁa, [or P_eRk∇,ʁ∇,?] 'turn round, twist'??) > pVg *pāʁar 'round' > Vg T pāwər, LK/MK pāwər, UK pāwər, P pāwr, UL powr, Ss puwr 'rund', d.: Vg T pūwärt-, LK/MK/UK pāʁrt-, P/NV/SV/LL pārt-, UL/Ss powart- 'wälzen', MK {Kn.} powrit- 'sich herumwälzen'; ? pOs *pěnarʁa- ({{Hl.} *pīnarʁa-) > Os Ty/Y pēnarʁa- 'sich umdrehen' || Hg forog- vi. 'turn, revolve' || Sm: Slq NP pīrrūōldša-, Slq Ch puōlda- 'umwenden, sich umwenden', Slq Tz {KKIH} purīít, LTz {KD} pūroiltā 'whirlpool (Wirbel im Wasser, водоворот)' ¶¶ UEW 414 (*pâr|ʁ∇), MF 214-15, Coll. 78, Ker. II 126, LG 38-9, 41, Ht. 175 [no. 504], Hl. rHt 73-4 (on conditions of the coalescence of FU *-w- and *-ʁ- in pObU), KKIH 153 || ? IE: NaIE *sper- v. 'turn, twist' ('drehen, winden'), {EI} 'wrap around' (× N *ĉ∇P_R∇ 'to twist, to plait' [q.v.]) > Gk σπεῖρα f. 'anything twisted \ wound', pl. σπεῖραι 'coils \ spires of a serpent', συ-σπειράομαι 'be coiled up', 'be formed in close order', Gk Hl σπειράομαι 'be coiled, be folded round'; Gk σπεῖρα ⇨ L s pīra 'anything coiled \ wreathed \ twisted', 'a coil of a snake' || Olt s partas 'Band' ¶ P 991-2, EI 644, F II 761, Frn. 861 ¶ The absence of *-w- suggests that the main source of the √ is N *ĉ∇P_R∇ || HS: ECh: Ke {Eb.} pérté 'drehen' ¶ Eb. 87 || ??? AdS of Eg fMK pʁr 'turn, turn about, revolve, surround, enclose' (< N *pīʰ|X|QʰRE 'around', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Coll. 148 (U, A) ◇ If IE *sper- belongs here, the N vibrant is *í, and the N labial cns. is *p-, otherwise we reconstruct N *P_ôRw∇ without distinction between *r and *í and between *p- and *p-.

1785. *paR₁a₁Xi (= *pa¹r₁a₁Xi?) ≈ happy, dear' > HS: WS *✓pr^h v. 'be happy' > Ar ✓fr^h (pf. farīḥa, ip. -fraḥ-) {BK} 'être gai\content\joyeux', {Hv.} 'be glad\cheeful\pleased', faraḥ- 'joy, cheerfulness', 'joie, alegresse', Mh ✓fr^h (pf. fīr^hz^h, subj. y^hz-frē^h) v. 'be happy', Jb C/E ✓fr^h (pf. 'fer^hz^h) id. ¶ BK II 563, Jo. M 99 || C: ? DhI fūr 'be satiated' (but fūrā 'joy' ← Swahili) ¶ EEN s.v. fūr || B *✓frHr > Ah ifrar 'être bon pour la marche' (terrain, chemin), 'être bon, avoir de la valeur; être de\en bon qualité', Twl/Ty ifrar 'être bon \ de valeur \ de bonne qualité', Tdq ifrar 'être bon' ¶ NZ 601-2, Fc. 354-5, PGG 67 || IE *prejH-/ *preHj- > NaIE *prāj₁-/pra₁j₁-/prī- 'wish so. well, favor so.' > OI pri¹yah₁ 'own, dear, beloved', prī¹ṛāti 'pleases', pp. prī¹taḥ₁ 'pleased, delighted', Av frya- 'lieb, wert, eigen', frīnā¹ti 'wünscht', Oss I lzmän, Oss D limän (< *frīya-mana-) 'friend' || AdS of Gk πρᾶος ~ πρᾶύς 'mild, soft, gentle' (< NaIE *prāyu- 'lacking in energy' < N *para¹h¹i|ü or *para¹i|ü 'weak') || Gmc inf. *frijōn 'to love' > Gt inf. frijōn (· ἄγαπᾶν, φιλεῖν) 'lieben', ON inf. frjá, Nnr, Sw inf. fria, Dn inf. fri, AS inf. frēo(za)n 'to love'; Gt frijōnd-s (· φίλος) 'Freund', OSx friund, OHG friunt, NHG Freund, AS frēond & frīend 'friend', NE friend || Sl inf. *prijǎ-ti 'to be friendly\favorable' > OCS inf. приѣти 'prijati (· φροντίζειν) 'take thought for, care, be favorable to', {StSS} 'проявлять участие, благоприятствовать', .†ScR inf. pri¹jati, Slv inf. pri¹jati 'to please, to suit, to be agreeable', P inf. s-przyjać, Cz inf. přáti 'to wish so. well, to favor so.', Slk inf. priat¹ 'to favor so.'; Sl d. *prijǎ-tel¹ 'friend' > OCS, OR приѣтель prijatelj, R при¹ятель, Blg при¹ятел, ScR pri¹jatelj, Slv prijatelj, Cz přítel (pl. přátelé), Slk priatelj, P przyjacieł id. ¶ P 844, M K II 378-80, M E II 181-2, 189-90, F II 588, Fs. 168, StSS 516, Vr. 143, Kb. 291, OsS 227, KM 218, Ho. 117, Ab. II 54-5, Ma. CS 490-1, 494, Vs. III 369-70, Glh. 502-3, KM 218, EI 358 (*priH-eh₁- 'love'), 642 (*pri¹H-eh₁- 'wife'), ≠ EI 214 (*pri¹Ho-s 'of one's own' → 'deer') || U: FP *para 'good' > F (ds) parempi 'better', paras (gen. parhaan), parahin ~ parhain 'the best', paranta- 'gesund machen; (ver)-bessern', parantu- 'besser werden, genesen', Es parem 'better', parim 'the best' | pLp {Lr.} *pōrē 'good' > Lp N {N} buorre ~ buorrē / -r- 'good, kind, pleasant', L {LLO} puorrē, S {Hs.} buōrie, Nt {TI} pu¹z¹:e, T {TI} p¹ř(:)e, Pa {TI} pωzrr¹ 'good', Kld {TI} pu¹ram₁p 'better' | Er παρο paro,

Mk пара para 'good' | Chr L 'poro 'good, good-hearted', H пурь purь id., {Ep.} id., 'healthy', {Ü} 'good', B poro id., Uf puro, poro 'good, healthy' | pPrm *bur 'good' > OPrm бур, Z bur id., Vt bur 'right (dexter)', 'good, well' ¶ UEW 724, It. no. 34, Sm. 553 (FP *pēra 'good'), SK 490-1, Lr. no. 1001, Lgc. no. 5323, It. LC 85, Hs. 386-7, TI 409, Ker. II 106, Ü 160, 169, MRS 443, 472, Ep. 95, LG 42, 205, U3S 57 || А *b|p'āRa|o (= *b|p'ā'r'ā|o?) 'rejoice, be proud' > AmTg *bāra-çi-'rejoice' > Orc bāraċi-, Ul bāraċi-, Nn Nh bārāċi- id. ¶ STM I 73, On. 61 || М *barda- 'be proud, boast' > WrM barda- {MED} vi. 'boast, brag; be proud\vainglorious, be sure\overconfident about one's success', HIM барда- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich brüsten, зазнаваться; brag, boast', WrO {Krg.} barda- 'be proud', Kl {Rm.} barda- 'sicher sein (in seinen Absichten, über den Erfolg)', Ord barda- v. 'se donner de grands aires'; М *bardam > WrM bardam {MED} 'pride, boast-fulness, arrogance; braggart, boastful; proud, boasting, bragging'; 'pride, boastfulness, arrogance', HIM бардам {MED} id., {BMR} adj. 'чванливый, кичливый, vainglorious, boastful'; н. 'чванство, кичливость, vainglory, boasting', Brt бардам н. 'swagger, pride', Kl {KRS} бардам 'vainglory, boasting, Prahlerei, бахвальство', {Rm.} bardm н. 'Prahlerei; prahlerisch, stolz, selbstvergnügt; geprahlte Rede', Dg {T} bardan н. 'boasting, vainglory', Mnr H {SM} bardon 'fanfaron, présomptueux', Mnr Nr {Ms.} p'ardān 'vanité, ostentation, arrogance', Ord bardam 'fanfaron, vantard, hâbleur' ¶ MED 85, BMR I 230, Krg. 337, KRS 8, KW 34, Chr. 87, T DgJ 124, SM 21, 302, Ms. O 51-2, Ms. KO s.v. p'ardān || ?σ Т *ba:ǰ- v. 'dare\venture to' > Bsh baδ- id., VTt baz- id., 'make up one's mind to', QrB {Rs.} baz-, Uz Δ {Rl.} -باز baz- (or buz-?) 'wagen, sich entschließen' ¶ Rs. W 66, TatR 52, BR 70, Rl. 1542 || ??σ pJ {S} *báráp- 'laugh' > OJ wáráp-, J T wàra-, J K wárá-, J Kg wará- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1428, Mr. 783, Kenk. 2130 ¶¶ SDM 329-30 (pA *bāra|o 'rejoice, be proud' > Tg, M, T *bAǰ- v. 'hazard, make a decision', pJ), DQA no. 109 ◇ If Т *ba:ǰ- belongs here, the N reconstruction is with *-ǰ-, otherwise we remain with an unspecified *-R- ◇ Blz. IELA 17 [no. 67] (S, IE) ◇ An alt. et. of U: FP *para 'good' < N *bár?▽ 'big, much, thick', see IS I 175 (? *bara 'big, good') ◇ Blz. SNE II (Ar, IE; *÷ T), ≈ Blz. KM 238 [no. 22] (Blz. added Berber, but did not distinguish the reflexes of this N word from those of N *náp▽r▽ 'tender, beautiful', *bAR'h'▽ 'be hungry, want' [→ 'love'] and *piro 'ask'), Bru. 187 [no. 997] (Ar, IE), Čop IU IV 133-4 (IE, U).

1786. *pARy∇ 'run, flee' > **HS:** WS *√pr̥ ~ *°√prw|y v. 'flee, run' > Ar √frr *G* v. 'flee, escape' ({BK} 's'enfuir, se sauver, s'échapper; courir'), Sq {L} fer v. 'run, be in a hurry', Jb √frr (Jb E pf. 'fer, Jb C pf. fer(r), sbjn. 'yɔffɜr), Mh √frr (pf. fɜr, sbjn. yɜfrēr) v. 'flee', JPA {Lv.} √prw|y (pf. אָרַץ pā'rā ~ 'רַץ pā'rī) v. 'run', Sr √pr̥ (pf. ;[√]par, ip. ;[√]par nε-'p̥ur) 'fugere, avolare' (WS *√pr̥ v. 'flee' has a secondary connection with WS *√pr̥ 'fly' < N *par∇ 'to fly, to jump', q.v.); WS d. √: *√npr > Sr √npr (pf. nə'par) 'consternatus fugit' (equus), ʔap'par (*Sh* of √npr) v. 'put to flight', Ar √nfr (pf. nafara, ip. ya-nfur-u ~ ya-nfir-u) 'fugax, pavidus fuit' (de jumento), 'fugit et dispersit se' (gens), {Hv.} 'be scared away' (beast), 'disperse away' (people); reduplicated WS stem *√pr̥pr̥ > Ar √fr̥fr̥ 'marcher d'un pas serré, se dépêcher, aller vite', Jb C fer'fɜr, fer'fer (pl. fɜr'fɜr, fɜr'fɜrtɜ), Jb E fɜr'fer 'hasty', Mh fɜrfīr 'hasty person' ¶ Br. 441, PS 3225, JPS 346, Lv. IV 96, Fr. III 325-6 and IV 311, BK II 558-9, 582 and 1307, Hv. 552 and 786, Jo. J 59-60, Jo. M 96-8, Jo. H 33, L LS 342 || C: Bj {R} -fōr (1s: p. a-'fōr, pres. 'a-fori ~ 'a-feri ~ 'a-fri), {Rop.} -for v. 'flee', {R} 'fira, {Rop.} fira 'flight' ¶ R WBd 81-2, Rop. 180-1 ||] On semantic grounds I prefer to keep apart the HS verb *√pr̥y ~ *pr̥ʔ v. 'go out, take out' (F N *pAriʔ∇, 'take out, pull out(off)') ¶¶ Cf. SSAAJ I no. 32 || K *°par- v. 'escape (??)' > G par- (i-version) v. 'escape' (e.g. ga-v-i-par-vi 'I escape'), (→ ?) (trans. form) v. 'steal'; the K √ belongs here only if the meaning 'escape' is primary and the meaning of the transitive form ('steal') is secondary (cp. Fr voler 'to fly' → 'to steal') ¶ NCh. RKL I 46, Chx. 996-7, 1030 || D: [1] *par- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'run' (× N *barq∇ [~ *barX∇] 'to go, to go away, to step') > Tm pari v. 'run, go out, escape', Td par̥y- 'gallop' (a horse), v. 'ride at a gallop', Kn pari, har̥i, Tu pari yuni, har̥i yuni v. 'run, flow', Tl pāru v. 'run, run away', par̥u gu, par̥(u)vu 'running, a run', Mlt par̥e, par̥tre v. 'run away' ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (*-Ry-) ¶¶ D no. 3963, Km. 427 [no. 801] (without distinguishing this √ from SD *par-uv-/-av- v. 'spread'), 429 [no-s 813 and 815] ||] [2] *pār̥-/ *par̥- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'fly, run swiftly' (× N *par∇ 'to fly, to jump' [q.v. ffd.]), the meaning 'run' is represented in OTI {Km.}, Tm pāru v. 'run, flee', Kn pāru, hār̥u v. 'run' ¶ The main source of D *pār̥-/ *par̥- is N *par∇ || E: AchEl pa-ráš, pa-ri-iš 3s 'ging, zog, reiste', pa-ráš 3p 'gingen, zogen, reisten', pa-ri-iš 3p

'gingen, reisten' ¶¶ HK 146, 149 ◇ Blz. E no. 107 (E, D, err. HS *✓ spr) ◇ K *p̥- provides evidence for N *p̥- ◇ D *-r- in *par- goes back to the N cns. cluster *-Ry-.

1787. *r̥uRy▽ (or *r̥üRy▽?) 'wing, feather(s)' > HS: S *°✓ prpr > Hrs f̥ər'fayr (pl. f̥ər'fōr) 'feather' ¶ Jo. H 33 || B *f̥r- wing' > Rf {Rn.}, SrSn {Rn.} afar, Izn {Bs.} affar, BSn, Grr {Bs.}, Mz {Dlh.} afar, Wrg {Dlh.} afar (pl. afriwān), Hrw {Bs.} afar (pl. ifriwin), Izd {Mrc.} ifar (pl. ifriwn), Kb {DL.} ifarr (pl. ifarrawān, afriwān), ZAS {Loub.} affak (pl. affhiwān), Gd {Lf.} ifar (pl. afrawn) id., Sll tifart (pl. tifrawin) id., ifar 'large wing'; B *f̥r̥i- ~ *f̥r̥ā- 'wing' > Zng {Bs.} أفريوى afriwi (pl. يفريوان ifriwan), Wrs {Bs.} afriwi (pl. ifriwin), BMn {Bs.} afri ~ afriw (pl. afriwn, ifriwān), Grr {Bs.}, Mz {Dlh.}, Fgg {NZ} afriw, Tmm {Bs.} afri (pl. ifriwn), Nf {Beg.} afriw (pl. ifriwān) 'wing', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.} afraw (pl. ifrawān) 'wing, feather', Ty afraw (pl. ifrawān), Gd {Lf.} afraw (pl. afrāwān), ETwl afrut (pl. ifrutān) 'wing' ¶ Fc. 336, Lf. II no. O436, Dl. 218, Bs. MS I 226, Bs. ZOu 141, Beg. 215, GhA 42, Mrc. 16, Dlh. M 50, Dlh. Ou 79, Loub. 535, Msq. 18, 252, Rn. 298, NZ 598-9 and 645 || K: OG prte, G prta 'feather' ¶ Ser. 164, Chx. 1497 || IE: NaIE *(s)per- 'feather, wing' > Vd par'ṇam, Av par'ṇam, KhS pārra- 'feather, wing', NPrs پَر parr id. || Sl *pe'ro 'feather' > OCS {Mikl.} pero pero (·περόϕλον, penna), OR pero pero 'feather', R, Uk, Blg pe'po, SCr pèro, Slv perō (gen. perēsa), Δ πέρο, P pióro, Cz, Slk pero 'feather'; Sl *perije 'feathers' > R 'перья id., Cz peří 'feather' || Blt: Lt spaĩnas, Ltv spārnas 'wing' || Ht partawar 'wing', (?) 'feather' (-t- due to the infl. of Ht pattar/n-'wing' < N *P̥ut▽ 'feather, hair'??) ¶¶ Fraenkel (Frn. 861) believed that Baltic *s- is secondary and tried to explain it by the infl. of IE *sp(ʰ)er- 'zucken', but in the light of the data in the N lges Frn.'s hypothesis is unnecessary ¶¶ EI 646 (*por'no-m 'wing, feather'), M K II 223-4, M E II 97, Horn 65-6, Bai. 231, SJSS XXV 26-7, Vs. III 243, Mikl. L 560, 241, Mikl. E 241, Glh. 275, Frn. 861, CHD P 198-9, ≈ Bn. HR 36-41 ('feather, wing' in Sl and Iir ← IE *per- 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace') (see N *par▽ 'to fly, to jump') || A *P̥ôRE 'feather, wing' > Tg *p̥urakī 'wing, bone of a wing (humerus of birds)' > Ewk hurakī 'wing; humerus (of birds); quill (Federkiel)', Lm huriq̄i 'forelimb (предплечье) of a wing', Neg xoyaxi 'humerus in a bird's wing',

'humerus (of humans)', Ork $\chi\upsilon\text{raqi}$ 'bone of a wing' ¶ STM II 352 || M * $\text{ḷ}\varphi\text{ḷ}örbelge$ 'e feather(s)' > WrM örbelge {MED} 'feather on the head (of a bird), tuft, crest; small feathers', HIM {MED} $\text{өрвөлөг} \sim \text{өрөвлөг}$ id., {BMR} өрвөлгө(н) 'short feathers (on the body of a bird), down; tuft', Brt үрбэлгэ 'down (of birds), feathers of the tail', Kl {Rm.} $\text{örwölgə} \sim \text{örwöləg}$ 'Feder, Federbedeckung der Vögel', {KRS} өрвлг 'down (of birds)', Ord örwölgö 'petite plume d'oiseau' ¶ MED 640, BMR III 36-7, Chr. 509, Ms. O 540, KW 301, KRS 423, Ms. O 540 || pJ {S} * $\text{p}3\text{r}3$ > MJ φoro , $\varphi\text{oro-}\varphi\text{a}$ 'falcon's wings, underwing feathers' ¶ S QJ no. 1589, Mr. 415 ¶¶ SDM 1173 (pA * $\text{p}'\text{or}|\acute{r}e$ or * $\text{p}'\text{jor}|\acute{r}e$ 'feather, wing' > Tg, M, pJ), DQA no. 1830 || D * pur- ({ḡGS} * p-) 'feather of a peacock's tail' > Tl puri 'peacock's tail', Klm pūrage id., Prj pūril (pl.) 'peacock's tail feathers', Gnd pūri 'peacock's tail', Knd puri 'feather of a peacock' ¶¶ D no. 3581 ◇ Blt * s- provides evidence for an IE * s- mobile , which suggests a palatal element in the N word. D * -r- goes back to a cns. cluster. Therefore my tentative solution is to suppose a N cluster * -Ry- ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 164 (* par 'fly' v.) (IE, U, Y, A, J, Gil, without distinguishing this N word from N * $\text{p}ar\text{ṽ}$ 'to fly, to jump').

1788. * $\text{P}_\text{ṽ}R\text{C}\text{ṽ}$ 'flee, run (from, after smb.)' (or N * $\text{p}Ar'yU'$ $\text{C}\text{ṽ}...$, a cd with N * $\text{p}ARy\text{ṽ}$ 'run, flee', q.v. ffd.) > HS: S * $\text{°}\check{\text{r}}\text{prš}|\hat{\text{s}}|\theta\text{d}$ > Ak $\check{\text{r}}\text{pršd}$ v. N (inf. naparšud) '(ent)fliehen' ¶ Sd. 735 || IE: Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape' ¶ Frd. HW 163, Ts. W 61, CHD P 179-80 || A: Tg * $\text{°p}^{\text{r}}\text{r}\check{\text{c}}\text{a-}$ > Ewk Skh/Urm $\text{hōr}\check{\text{c}}\text{a-}$ v. 'overtake' ('догнать, нагнать') ¶ Vas. 488, STM II 334.

1789. (₂?) * $\text{P}_\text{ṽ}R\text{C}\text{ṽ} \text{ñ}\text{ṽ}$ (or * $\text{P}_\text{ṽ}R\text{C}\text{ṽ} \text{ñ}\text{ṽ}$) 'heel' or '(sole of) foot' > HS: WS * $\check{\text{r}}\text{prš}|\check{\text{s}}\text{n}$ (× N * $\text{P}_\text{ṽ}R\text{ṽ} \acute{\text{c}}\text{ḷ}\chi\text{ḷ}\text{ṽ}$ 'fingernail, claw', q.v. ffd.) > Ar {BK} firsin- (pl. furāsīn-) 'pied, patte (cette partie du pied chez le chameau et l'éléphant que l'animal pose sur le sol); pied de brebis', {Fr.} firsin- 'ungula cameli\elephanti', {Hv.} 'camel's\man's foot', ? Tgr firsəm 'ankle (of men), heel tendon' ¶ BK II 569-70, Fr. III 332, Ln. 2369, Hv. 555, LH 656, ≈ MiK I no. 1.220 || IE * $\text{pers}_\text{ḷ}\text{ṽ}nā$, * $\text{pers}_\text{ḷ}\text{ṽ}ni$ 'heel' > OI $\text{pār}\check{\text{s}}\text{ni-}$, Av $\text{pā}\check{\text{s}}\text{na-}$ 'heel', KhS pārra- , Sgd $\text{pšn}^?$, NPrs {Vl., BM} پا شنه $\text{pā}\check{\text{s}}\text{ne}$, {Sg.} پا شنه $\text{pā}\check{\text{s}}\text{ene}$ 'heel' ||| Gt faírzna ('πέρνα) 'Ferse', AS fiersn , OHG fersna , NHG Ferse 'heel' ||| Gk πέρνη id. ||| L perna 'leg; ham' (← 'heel', as evidenced by the d. perniō, -ōnis 'Frostbeule an den Fersen') || ?? Ht {Frd.} parsina-

'Oberschenkel, Lende', {CHD} *parse|ina-*, *parsna-* 'buttock, loins, male genitalia' ¶¶ P 823, EI 265 (*¹*persn-eh_ρ-*), M K II 261, M E II 123-4, Horn 62, Vl. I 320, Sg. 231, BM 87, Bai. 231, F II 611-12, WH II 289-90, EM 499, Fs. 141, Kb. 237, OsS 186, KM 193-4, Ho. 104, CHD P 187-8, Ts. W 62 || ?φ K: OG *brč̣al-i* [OT, NT] 'heel' (Gen. 3.15, Joh. 13.18), MG [VTq.] {DCh.} 'длань, лапа', G {Chx.} *brč̣al-i* 'fingernail, claw' ¶ DCh. 121, Ser. 17, Chx. 114 ¶ Several phonemes of the word are irreg. (b- for the expected *p̣-* or *p-*, a glottalized affricate with unexpected glottalization, as well as probably -l- for -n-), which suggests that the word may be a loan from some unknown source. An alternative conjecture is as follows: **p̣̄∇rc̣_l∇n_l-* > K **p̣̄∇rc̣_l∇n_l* > **b∇rc̣_l∇n_l* (mte.) > Zan **brč̣_l-al-* (*-al- is a sx) ⇨ OG *brč̣_lali* 'heel'. This conjecture presupposes a N rec. **P̄∇R̄C̄∇ñ∇* 'heel' ◇ IS MS 342 equated the above-mentioned IE and K roots with FU **pers|sé-* 'hind part' and reconstructed a N etymon with the meaning 'задний (hind part)'.

1790. **P̄∇R̄C̄_l∇* 'fingernail, claw' > HS: CS (or WS) *¹*paras-* 'hoof, cloven hoof' (× N **P̄∇R̄C̄∇ñ∇* or **P̄∇R̄C̄∇ñ∇* 'heel') > BHb *ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ* *par'sā* 'cloven hoof, hoof', JA [Trg.] *paṛsə'ṭā* id., Sr *ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ*; *ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ* *paṛsə'ṭ-ā* 'hoof', SmA ✓ *prs Sh* 'have hoofs', JPA Bz *ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ* *prsth*, em. *ᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇᵇ* *prsth* 'hoof, cloven hoof', ? Tgr *f̣rṣm* 'ankle (of men), heel tendon'; cp also Ar *firsin-* 'hoof of a camel' (< N **P̄∇R̄C̄∇ñ∇* or **P̄∇R̄C̄∇ñ∇* 'heel') ¶ KB 912, KBR 969-70, Tal 705-6, Lv. T II 294, Br. 600, Fr. III 332, Ln. 2369, Hv. 555, Sl. P 449, LH 656, MiK I no. 1.220 || NrOm: Cha {C} *haṛā* (h < *f is irreg.), Bdt {C} *partā*, Kcm {CR} *beraḏē*, Gm {Hw.} *biráḏde*, Wl {C} *beraḏde*, *beraḏyā*, {LmS, HL} *biradḏiya*, Omt (= Gf?) {Mrn.} *bi'raḏde*, Dwr {Brill.} *biraddé*, {LmS} *birrade*, Dc {HL} *biradḏde* 'finger' ¶ Blz. OLBP 13 [no. 36], AD SF 41-2, Mrn. O 139, HL 93, LmS 322-3, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Hs *fárč̣ē* (pl. *fáràwtā*) 'fingernail', Gw {Mts. G} *á-píràč̣í* 'finger', Gw Kr *fíràč̣í*, Gw Nm *píṛṣí* id. || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} *ṕ̣ṛṣ́ṣ̌́* 'hoof of animal', ? Suk {Mk} *viṛšin ri* 'finger' (*ri* is 'hand'), ? Gdr {Mch.} *puṛžumay* 'fingernail' (ž = *ḏ* or *ž* [?]) [Mouchet did not explain the sign ž, but referred to the transcription of the Institut d'ethnologie, which is not yet available to me] ¶ JI II 137 and 246-7, Mts. G 20, Mts. GD 33, ChC 'fingernail' and 'finger', Mch. VCQP 36, Hsk. 256 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 65 || K **p̣̄rc̣_χa-* 'finger-nail, claw' > OG *pṛc̣χil-* 'claw', G *pṛč̣χil-* 'fingernail, claw', G G *pṛc̣χil-*, G X/T *piṛč̣χil-* id., Mg *biṛc̣χa-* id., Lz *bu(r)c̣χa-* 'fingernail, claw', *c̣χeni-buc̣χa* 'hoof of a horse' (lit. 'horse claw'),

Sv UB/LB/L/Ln cχa 'fingernail, claw, talon' ¶¶ K 191, K² 204-5, Chik. 61-2, Marr 132-3, TK 841, GP 277 || IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *^opr_ost- 'finger, [?] toe' > Sl *p_or_ostъ (gen. *p_or_osta) id. > OCS pr_ostъ pr_ostъ 'finger', OR p_orstъ p_orstъ, R †, Uk † перст, P {Brü.} parst, HLs porst, Blg 'прѣст(ѣт)' 'finger', SCr p_orst, Slv p_orst, Cz, Slk prst 'finger, toe' | Lt p_orstas (1st accentual paradigm), Ltv p_orstas, p_orstas, Pru p_orsten 'finger' ¶ Vs. III 244, ZVSZ 354-5, StSS 533, Glh. 507, Brü. 397, Frn. 598, En. 227 ◇ AD GD 12, IS MS 351, IS III 70-7 (*p_ora_ora_o 'fingernail', not distinguishing between the etymon in question and N *P_oA_oRE 'finger'). The N etymons *P_oVR_oč_oχ_o and *P_oA_oRE '†' are likely to be etymologically connected. It is tempting to suppose that N *P_oVR_oč_oχ_o goes back to a N cd *P_oA_oRE č_ouy_oä 'finger thorn' (F N *č_ouy_oä 'thorn').

1791. *P_oVR_oič_o 'break through, tear' > HS: S *^opr_oč > BHb ^opr_oč (pf. פ_oר_oץ p_orač, ip. -p_oroč) 'make a split, make breach (in the city wall), break through', Ug p_or_oč {KB} ? 'Riß, Spalt', {OLS} 'breach', JA [Trg.] ^opr_oč v. 'break through', Md ^opr_oč G v. 'breach, break through', Ar ^ofr_oč G v. 'cut, slit, pierce', {BK} 'couper, fendre en deux', Ak ^opr_oč G 'durch-brechen' ¶ KB 914-15, KBR 971-2, OLS 357, Lv. T II 298, Js. 1237, DM 80, Ln. 2372, BK II 572, Hv. 556 || K: GZ *preč-/p_orič- vt. 'tear, rend' > G p(χ)rič-/p(χ)reč- id., 'zerreißen, zerfetzen; (die Augen) aufreißen', Mg burič- ~ birič-, Lz brič- ~ bruč- ~ brič- v. 'tear' ¶ K 190, K² 204, ≈ FS K 60 and FS E 62 (*breč-/*brič-), Chx. 1523 || IE *pers- ~ *prīs- v. 'break into pieces' > Gk πρ_oτ_o v. 'saw', πρ_oτ_o τ_oυ ρ_oδ_oν_oτα_o 'grind\gnash the teeth', πρ_oτ_oμα (gen. πρ_oτ_oματο_o) 'anything sawn' → [Euc.] 'prism' || pAl {O} *prīša > Al prīsh 'destroy, spoil, waste', Al G {Lamp} prīsh 'spoil' || Ht {CHD} parsai- v. 'break up into small pieces, crumble', {Ts.} parsiya- md. 'zerbrechen, zerteilen, zerstückeln' ¶ P 846, F II 596, O 346, Ç II 49-50, 440, Kf. 282, Lamp 158, Frd. HW 163, CHD P 183-4, Ts. W 61 ◇ The length of the vw. in IE *prīs- and the optional lr. in G challenge explanation. Do they suggest the presence of a lr. in the N etymon (≈ *P_oVR_oiH_oč_o)?

1792. *P_oäR_oga 'to strike, to split' > HS: S *^oprg (or CS *^oprg) > Ar فرج ^ofrġ G {BK} 'fendre, pourfendre', {Ln} 'make an opening (or intervening space) between two things', ?σ JA [Trg.] ^oprg D 'exchange' (if ← 'auseinander halten', as supposed by Lv.) ¶ BK II 561, Ln. 2359, Js. 1213, Lv. IV 97 || IE: NaIE *perg- '≈ beat, strike, wound' > Arm

h̄w̄p̄l̄w̄n̄t̄d̄ h̄ark̄an-em 'I beat\strike\wound' (but aor. **h̄w̄p̄h̄** h̄ark̄i without -k-) ||| Clt (× *x̄erg₁h̄₁- < N *h̄ir̄∇ḡ∇ 'kill' or 'die'): OIr **org-** 'smite, slay', OBr **treorgam** 'perforō' ¶ P 819, ≈ Slt. 257-8, Vn. O 30-1, Billy 116, cp. EI 158 (*h₂erk- 'rend, destroy') ||| ??σ **A: M** *φerḡi 'steep bank, precipice' > WrM {MED} **erḡi** 'steep bank; steep precipice\slope', HIM **эp̄эг** {MED} id., {BMR} 'bank; 'steep bank, precipice (обрыв, яр)', Kl {KRS} **эp̄г** **er̄əg** 'bank; precipice (обрыв, яр)', {Rm.} **erḡə** 'steiles Ufer, Felsenufer', Mnr H {SM} **x̄arḡ_i** 'bord escarpé d'une rivière, large escarpée, flanc escarpé', Ord **erge** 'bord élevé et abrupte d'une rivière, falaise, escarpement' ¶ Pp. IM 153, MED 323, BMR IV 435-6, KRS 701, KW 124, T 374, SM 162, Ms. O 244 ||| **D** *pari- ({{θGS}} *p-) v. 'break off, tear, cut asunder' > Tm **pari** (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut asunder', **pari-** (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be sundered, break off, be cut asunder', Ml **pariηuka** v. 'pluck grass', Tu **paripuni** v. 'tear, rend', **pariyuni** v. 'rend', Otl **pariyu** v. 'wear away', 'fall away in shreds' (of plastering), Klm **part-** 'cut up', Prj **parηg-** 'be split', paarkip- v. 'split', Gdb **pariηp-** v. 'split (firewood with axe)', Knd **para** 'crumb, fragment', Ku **par-** 'dig a ditch', Krx **parx-**, Mlt **parge** v. 'split, cleave, rend' ¶¶ D *-r- goes back to a cns. cluster (*-rg- from N *-R₁∇₁g-) ¶¶ D no-s 3962 and 4027, Km. 426 [no. 799] (without distinguishing between D *pari- and D *par̄i- [{{θGS}} *p-] 'tear off, pluck', which is likely to go back to N *p̄äRi¹E 'to tear, to split', q.v.)
 ◇ IE *g (rather than *g^h) is due to the in-compatibility law ruling out media aspirata and vl. stops in the same root.

1793. *p̄ür̄∇k̄∇ 'be scared, (?) be startled, fear' > **HS: WS** *✓prk̄ 'fear' > Ar ✓frq (pf. fariqa) {Hv.} 'fear, be frightened', {BK} 'avoir peur; être peureux, timide', fariq-un 'qui a peur (effrayé par une chose qui survient inopinément)', Hrs **f̄3r̄ōk̄** v. 'fear, be afraid', Mh **f̄r̄ōk̄** (sbjn. **γ̄3fr̄ōk̄**), Jb E **furk̄**, Jb C **e¹frek̄** v. 'frighten', Jb C {Jo JL} **¹fer̄3k̄** (sbjn. **γ̄3¹frōk̄**) v. 'be afraid\frightened', Mh **f̄īr̄3k̄** (sbjn., pres. **γ̄3fr̄ōk̄**), Hrs **¹fayr̄3k̄** (sbjn., pres. **γ̄3fr̄ōk̄**) v. 'be afraid\timorous' ¶ BK II 583-4, Hv. 558, Jo. M 100, Jo. H 34, Jo. J 61 ||| ?φ EC: pKns *fūr- 'fear' > Gdl **hūr-**, Kns **fūr-** ¶ Bl. 67 ||| ?φ CCh: Db {LnG} **p̄ir̄ít** 'fear' ¶ LnG s.v. **p̄ir̄ít**, ChC s.v. 'fear' ||| **IE: NaIE** *perk- n., v. 'fear' > Gt **faūrhteī** (· δειλία, ἔκστασις) 'Furcht', OHG, OSx **forhta**, NHG **Furcht**, AS **fyrhtu** ~ **fryhtu** n. 'fear', NE **fright**; Gt inf. **faurhtjan** (sik) (· φοβεῖσθαι) 'sich fürchten'; OHG **for(a)hten**, OSx inf. **forhtian**, **forhton**, AS

inf. forhtian 'to fear'; Gt faúrhts (· δειλός) 'furchtsam', AS, OSx forht, OHG for(a)ht 'fearing, timid' || pTc {Ad.} *pärsk- (< *perk-sk-) > Tc A, B pärsk- 'be afraid'; d.: Tc A praski-, Tc B proskiye ~ prosko n. 'fear, danger' ¶ P 820, EI 198, Fs. 146-7, Kb. 279, OsS 213-14, Ho. 112, 120, Ho. S 22, Wn. I 388, JGH 29, 123, 193, 326, Ad. 375-6, 422 || A *p'ürkE- v. 'be startled\scared, fear' > T (att. in NaT) *_lh_lürk_li_l- ~ *_lh_lürk_lü_l- id. > OT ürk(ü)- id., Chg ≥xv ürk- ~ hürk- id., Tk ürk- 'be startled\scared\ frightened', Tkm, Qq ürk-, Tkm NC hürk-, Uz hurk-, SY örk- id., Az, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Nog ürk-, Qzq ürki-, VTt, Bsh ĩrk-, Xk ürük-, ET, StAlt ürkü- id. ¶ Cl. 221, Rs. W 522, ET Gl 635-7 || M *φürgü- v. 'be\become frightened' > MM [MA] hürgü- id., WrM ürgü- ~ ürgē- {MED} 'be\become alarmed or frightened', HIM γργε- {MED} id., {BMR}. 'be\become frightened, flee (frightened)', Brt γργε- id., Kl {KRS} γργ- ürgē- 'be frightened', {Rm.} ürgü- 'erschrecken, zusammenfahren, scheu werden', Ord ürgü- 'prendre peur, s'effrayer, s'enfuir de peur', Mnr H {SM} furgud_i- 's'effrayer, être timide' ¶ Pp. MA 192, MED 1012, Chr. 511, KRS 554, KW 459, Ms. O 761, SM 110 || ?σ Tg *purke- v. 'be depressed, feel miserable' > Ewk hurkē-, hurkzyī- 'be bored\sad' ('скучать, токовать'), Lm hōrkzn-, hōrkzt-/ç- id., Orc xokko(y)ā, xokko(i)si 'boring (скучно)', xokkosi- 'be bored', Ud {STM} xoko^{Hō} 'it is very unpleasant\disgusting (because of noise, disorder)' ¶ STM II 353 || pJ {S} *pìrù-m- 'retreat frightened, run away' > OJ p_li_lirùm-, J T hirúm-, J K hírúm-, J Kg hìrùm- ¶ S QJ no. 783, Mr. 690, BJRS II 477 ¶¶ The pA de-emphatization of the velar cns. (N *-k̄- > pA *-k-) and the loss of pA *-k- in J are still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 1162 (pA *p'ürri 'be afraid\angry' > Tg *purkē- 'be bored\angry', J, M *hurin [i.e. *φurin]), DQA no. 1806 (id.), SDM94 (pA *p'ürkE), SDM97 (A *p'ürkE 'be afraid\angry' > T, M, Tg *purkē- 'be bored'), Rm. SKE 209, Pp. VG 83, 111 and Rs. W 522 (these sources equated T *_lh_lürk- and M *φürgü- with Tg *purkE- v. 'jump' [STM II 353] and Ko {Rm.} pul̄in hΛda 'spring up, arise', which is unc.; this Tg and Ko root is better to be referred to N *pU_lŭ_lgä ~ *pU_lŭ_lkä 'to jump', q.v. ffd., though the merger of both N words at the A level is not improbable) || D *pìr_lkk- ({ǂGS} *p-) 'fear' > Tm pìr_lakkam 'awe, fear', ? pìr_lappu 'fear, alarm', Kn pìr_liki 'coward', Tl pìr_liki 'coward; timid, cowardly'; connected with Tm pìr_lar_l v. 'tremble' (?) ¶¶ D no. 4200 (a) ◇ D *i and A *ü may be explained either by

labialization of the vw. in A (ass. infl. of *p-?) or by delabialization *ü > *i in D (still to be investigated).

1794. *P₁VR₁i₁K₁æ (= *P₁i₁r₁∇₁K₁æ?) 'tear out\asunder\off, detach, dig (a furrow)' > **HS:** WS ✓prk₁ 'tear out\away\off' > BHb ✓prk₁ G v. 'tear away\off, rescue', OA ✓prk₁ v. 'destroy', JA [Trg.] ✓prk₁ G 'einlösen, erlösen', {Js.} 'untie, redeem', JEA {Sl.} ✓prk₁ G 'redeem, separate, divide, solve', Sr, Nbt ✓prk₁ 'auflösen, befreien', Md ✓prk₁ v. 'severe, detach, free, deliver, save', Ar ✓frq G (pf. faraqa ip. -fruq-) {BK} 'distinguer, mettre de la différence entre deux\plusieurs choses; se partager en deux\plusieurs, se fourcher (la route)', {Hv.} 'separate, set apart; part (the hair)', Sb ✓frk₁ v. 'deliver, save', Gz ✓frk₁ v. 'save, redeem', Tgy *✓frk₁ 'befreien', Ak ✓prk₁ G 'abtrennen', 'separate' ¶ KB 915-17, KBR 973-4, Sd. 829, BGMR 46, L G 166, LH 657, Lv. IV 136, Js. 1239, Sl. 937-8, BK II 582-3, Hv. 558 || C: Bj ✓frk pcv. ({R} 1s: 'a-fririk, pres. afaⁿrīk) 'dig' ¶ R WBd 83 || **IE:** NaIE **perk̂- '≈ dig a ditch\chasm', {P} 'aufreißen, aufwühlen' ⇨ NaIE *pr̥k̂ā 'furrow', {?} 'chasm' > OI 'parśāna-h̄ 'precipice, chasm' || L porca n. 'furrow' || Clt {Matas.} *frikā 'furrow' > Mīr etarche ~ etrige ~ eitre, MW {P} rhûch, {Matas.} rûch 'furrow', W rrych id., 'groove', OBr [Ÿ] rec 'sulco', ro-risce₁ŋ₁ti 'sulcavissent', MBr reguenn snglt. 'furrow', Br {Matas.} re 'furrows', {P} d. regañ 'labourer légèrement', Glrica 'furrow' (⇨ Fraie 'line, stroke') || OHG fur(u)h, NHG Furche, Sw fâra, Δ för, Dn fure, AS furh 'furrow', NE furrow; ON for 'furrow, ditch' (< *pr̥k̂-), NNr fere 'ridge between two furrows' || Lt prã-peršis, pra-paršà, pra-peršà 'unfrozen patch of water in ice-covered surface', praparšas 'ditch, Graben' ¶ P 821, M K II 228-9, M E II 100, WH II 340-1, Flr. 294, Hm. 683, Vr. 113, Kb. 303, OsS 234, KM 225, Ho. 119, Frn. 578, EI 215 (*pr̥k̂eh_h- 'furrow'), Matas. 140-1 || **D** (att. in McTm) *pīr̥- > Tm pīr̥- v. 'uproot', Ml pīr̥uka 'root up, pluck out' ¶ D *-r̥- may go back either to N *-r̥- (in *P₁i₁r̥₁∇₁K₁æ) or to N *-r- palatalized by the adjacent *i (in *P₁∇RiK₁æ) ¶ D no. 4212 ◇ The N *i and *r̥ may be tentatively reconstructed on the basis of D *°pīr̥-, which however is uncertain (no D reflex of N *-K₁∇), so that the rec. of N *P₁i₁r̥₁∇₁K₁æ remains problematic ◇ Cf. IS II 100-1 (*p'ä^r'ä¹ 'tear, break, split'). It is tempting to see the same N etymon in D *pīk- (> Ka pīku v. 'pull out, pluck up, tear', Tl pī:k_u v. 'pull out, root up, pluck out', Klm pīkeŋ v.

'uproot', Nkr pīk- v. 'pull out', Gdb pīhk- v. 'pluck', *F* D no. 4212), but acc. to Km.'s analysis (Km. 431 [no. 827]), the forms with *-k-, *-kk- go back to D *piy- rather than to *pīrk-.

1795. *id.* *p̄äRp̄∇1∇ (~ *p̄äRp̄∇R∇ ~ *p̄äRp̄∇ŝ|ž|ĉ∇?) 'butterfly' > K *perpel- *id.* > G pepela- *id.*, Mg parpal(ia)- ~ papralia, Lz parpal-, Sv L/Ln {T} perpel, UB {GP} parpānd, {K ← ?} pārpānd, pāpold *id.* ¶¶ K 153, K² 14, TK 681, GP 252 || **HS:** S: [1] S *°✓prŝ > Ar farāš- coll. 'butterflies', snglt. farāš-at- 'butterfly'; [2] *id.*: NNEA {Kal.} pīrpīra 'butterfly'; ? NHb פַּרְפֻּרָא par'par *id.* (unless an independent *id.*-formation, possibly encouraged by Fr papillon, It farfalla and/or Ar farāš-at- *id.*) ¶ BK II 571, Kal. s.v. бабочка, ESh. 1103 || Ch *id.* ~ *p∇lp∇l- 'butterfly' > WCh: Su {J} m̄p̄ulp̄ul, Kfr {Nt.} p̄alp̄al *id.* | ? NBc: My {Sk.} àŝípepír, Kry {Sk.} ŝìfírfirá *id.* || CCh: Glv {RpB} àpalapala, Mofu {Brr.} màplàplà *id.* ¶ ChC s.v. 'butterfly', J S s.v. m̄p̄ulp̄ul, Nt. s.v. p̄alp̄al, RpB s.v. àpalapala, Sk. NB, Brr. MG s.v. màplàplà || ?? *id.* **IE:** NaIE {EI} *peipei- 'butterfly' > L pāpiliō *id.* || AS fīfealde, OSx fīfoldara, MLG viveltere, OHG fifaltra ~ pifoltra, NHG Feifalter, ON fífrialdi *id.* || ?? Ltv Δ {ME} p̄ledins *id.* (infl. of p̄ledināt 'to move wings' ÷ NHG flattern) ¶ WP II 52, EI 88, WH II 249-50, Vr. 119, Ho. 104, Ho. S 19, Kb. 240, OsS 193, ME III 333 || **D:** [1] *pāpp(al)- ({θGS} *p-) 'butterfly' > Tm, Ml pāppātti, Gnd pāpe & pāpē & p̄hāpe *id.*, Kdg pa'pili *id.*, 'moth', Krx paplā 'butterfly' || [2] *pip̄lp̄∇li ({θGS} *p-) *id.* > Nk pipuli, Prj pilpili, Gnd piprī & pīpī *id.*, as well as Ku pubuli & pūbūli *id.* ¶¶ D no. 4083, Pf. 84 || **A:** M (< d.) {Pp.} *φerbevekey 'butterfly' > MM [H] {Ms.} herbegei, MA {Pp.} herbēkei *id.*, WrM erbegekey ~ erbekey {MED} *id.*, 'moth', HIM эрвээхий {MED} *id.*, {BMR} 'butterfly', Brt эрбээжэй *id.*, Kl {KRS} эрвэжэ *id.*, {KW} erwēkē 'Schmetterling', Ord erwēk̄xī 'papillon' ¶ Pp. IM 46, Pp. MA 184, Ms. H 60, Ms. O 248, MED 319, BMR IV 421, Chr. 770, KW 127, Ms. O 248 ◇ IE *peipei- is a doubtful cognate, because it may be an independently created ideophon ◇ S *°✓prŝ suggests N *ž, *ŝ or *ĉ, IE and D *l may go back both to *ž and to *l, while K *l points to N *l.

1796. ₂ *P_UR_∇_t∇ '≈ moisture, water' > **HS:** S *purāt- 'sweet water' (→ 'the Euphrates') > Ar furāt- 'sweet water; the Euphrates', mīyāh-un furāt-un 'eaux douces', Ak purattu, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} p̄arāt 'the Euphrates', Aram ⇨ Hb p̄arāt *id.*; S ⇨ OPrs ufrātu *id.* ⇨ Gk

Εὐφράτης; Ar ✓ frt (pf. faruta) 'dulcis admodum fuit' (aqua) ¶ KB 920, KBR 978-9, Fr. III 326-7, BK II 560, Hv. 552, Lv. T II 304 || IE: NaIE *p_ord- '≈ wet, moist, slimy' > Gk παρδακός, Gk I πορδακός 'wet, damp' || Ltv purduļi 'mucus' ¶ WP II 50, F II 473 (no et. of the Gk word).

1797. *P_URt_UX_U (= *p_URt_UX_U?) 'to spit, to vomit (?), to fart' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *pard- v. 'spit, (?) suck' > Ang {Flk.} par v. 'spit', Ngz {Sch.} pādū v. 'suck' ¶ Stl. ZCh 146 [no. 22], JI II 311, Sch. DN 131, Flk. s.v. par || K: G purtχ- v. 'spit' ¶ DCh. 1318 || IE: NaIE *perd- v. 'fart with noise', *p_ordi-s n. 'fart' > OI Sk 'pardatē' '(he) farts', Av p_ərəθaiti id. || Gk πέρδομαι v. 'fart' (1s pres.), aor. (in compounds) ἔπαρδον, pfc. πέπορδα; πορδή n. 'crepidus ventris' || pAl {O} *perda > Al pjerdh- (aor. pordha) v. 'fart' || Lt inf. p_ėrsti (1s pres. p_ėrd_zu), Ltv inf. p_ir_ˆst (1s pres. p_ir_ˆdu) 'to fart', Lt p_ir_ˆdis 'Furz' || Sl inf. *p_ərd_ěti 'to fart' > SCr inf. p_rdjeti, Slv inf. p_rd_ěti, Cz inf. p_rd_ěti, R inf. пер'деть 'to fart', Blg п_ьр_дя v. 'fart' || Clt {Matas.} *^ofrikká n. 'fart' > W r_hech n. 'fart' ({P}: < *rikkā < *p_ord-kā), inf. r_hechain 'to fart', Br rec'hiñ id. || ON inf. freta, OHG inf. f_ėrzan, NHG inf. farzen, AS inf. feortan 'to fart', feorting n. 'fart', NE fart; ON fret_r, OHG furz ~ firz, NHG Furz n. 'fart' ¶ P 819, EI 194 (*perde/o-), M K II 225, M E II 98, F II 511-12, BFU 429, My. 342, O 330, Huld 154, Cim. 16, Frn. 577, Tr. 219-20, Vs. III 235-6, Glh. 501, YGM-1 377, Hm. 681, Vr. 142, Kb. 237, KM 185, Sw. 57, Ho. 102, Matas. 140 || D (att. in NED) (mt.) *put_Ur_U- v. 'vomit' > Krx put_Ur-nā (p. puttras), Mlt putre id. ¶ D no. 4276 ◇ N *p_U- (rather than *p-) is tentatively reconstructed on the ev. of the WCh cognates ◇ Connected with N *P_UR_Ut_U '≈ moisture, water'?

1798. ??₂ *P_UR_U'_U 'jerk, pull (out), tear off' > HS: S ✓ pr_U 'tear off, pick (a fruit from a tree), separate' > Ak ✓ pr_U (inf. parā_U) 'abreißen, abräumen', MHb ✓ pr_U G (pf. پ_را_را_ت), JA {Lv.} G (pf. پ_را_را_ت) 'absondern, trennen', JEA {Sl.} ✓ pr_U G 'split, breach; specify', ? Ar SL ✓ fr_U G 'shake off (nuts) from a tree' ¶ Sd. 832, GB 659, KB 910, Lv. IV 110, Sl. 931-2, Bel. 582, Hv. 556 || NrOm: Mch {L} p_ərič'a(yé) v. 'be uprooted, fall with the root' (a tree) ¶ L M 45 || IE: Ht partai- {CHD} v. 'disentangle (?), unravel (?)', {Ts.} 'auszupfen, entwirren' ¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 197-8.

1799. *paR_Ut_U 'rock, hill' > HS: B: Ah e-fartas 'rocaille' ¶ Fc. 359, NZ 644 || ? S *^opr_U > Ar furd-āt- pl. 'collines que l'on aperçoit çà et là'

(× Ar ✓ frd 'be alone, be simple\uncompound', 's'isoler, se séparer') ¶ BK II 565 || IE: Gk (mt.) πέτρῶ 'rock' ¶ F II 522, Ch. 892-3 (in both no et.) || A: M *bartayan > WrM бартага(н) {MED} 'uneven terrain, broken country; hillock', HIM бартаа {MED} id., {BMR} 'пересеченность (местности), преграда'; 'large stones, rocky place, hummocks', Brt бартаа adj. 'impassable' (taiga), 'дремучий, dicht' (Wald), Ord b_art'ā 'endroit couvert de broussailles et d'arbrisseaux et où on ne peut avancer qu'avec difficulté' ¶ MED 89, BMR I 234, Chr. 90, Ms. O 55, Krg. 337 || ?φ D {tr.} *por̥- ({{GS} pod-) 'mountain, top' (× N *bor̥ 'mountain, hill', q.v. × N *por'ā' 'summit, tip', q.v.) > Tm por̥ai̯, por̥ri 'mountain, hill', Ml por̥ra 'an elevation in rice grounds', Klm p̥ode 'high, up, the top; on', Nkr p̥ode 'top; on', Nk por 'hill, the top', Prj p̥odi 'top, above', Gdb p̥oɣta 'top of sth.; on, upon', Gnd p̥arr̥ō 'on top', p̥arr̥o 'on, above, top', Krx partā 'mountain, hill' ¶¶ D no. 4567, GS 151 [no. 381], 71 [no. 232] ◇ M *bartayan suggests a pN vw. *a, while the D vw. *o in *por̥- belongs to the heritage of N *por'ā' ◇ D *por̥- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *bor̥ and/or N *por'ā'.

1800. (₂?) *p'ʰA'R̥t̥'ḥ'ḥ' or *p'ʰA't̥R̥'ḥ'ḥ' ≈ rod, young twig, shoot' > IE: NaIE *perth- 'pole, rod, shoot' > Arm npp օրտհ (o-stem) 'vine' || Gk πτόρθος 'young branch, shoot, sucker, sapling' || ? L pertica 'long pole\rod', Osc perek'ais' dat. pl. 'perticis', Um PERCAM accus. 'virgam', perkaf accus. pl. 'virgas' || ? (acc. to Vn.) Clt: Werhyll 'ship mast' || ? Sl *pro̥t̥ 'rod' (with an unexplained nasalized vw.) > OCS d. прѣтнѣ pro̥tije coll. 'virgae, rods, розги', OR прѣтъ prut̥, R, Uk прут 'rod', Blg прѣт, SCr prūt, Slv pr̥t̥, Cz prut, Slk prút, P pręt id. ¶ WP II 49, P 823; F II 615 and Ch. 950 (both: no et. of Gk πτόρθος), WH II 292-3, EM 500, Bc. G 341, Pln. I 216, 253 and II 38, Vs. III 390, SJSS 506, StSS 555, Mikl. L 754, Chrn. II 77 || HS: EthS *bat̥r- ~ ? *o'bar̥t- 'stick, shoot, rod' > Gz batr id., 'branch', Tgr bətr, Tgy bətri, Amh bəttər, Har bərti, Gft bərtə, Grg So/WI/Z bərt 'stick' ¶ L G 112, L EDG III 156 || ? D *pḁt̥- ({{GS} *p-) 'beam, timber, wood (Holz)' (← *'trunk of a tree'), 'bough' > Tm pḁt̥ai̯ 'palmyra timber, rafter', Kn pḁt̥e id., 'areca bough', Ml pḁt̥a 'areca bough', Tu pḁti 'rafter', Tl pḁt̥e 'bar\spar of wood, piece of timber of doorframe', Klm pḁt̥e, Nkr pḁti 'plank', Prj pe̥t̥i 'beam, post', Gdb pḁtiya, Kui pḁti 'beam', Krx pḁt̥ā 'beam in oil

mill' ¶¶ D no. 3875, Pf. no. 532 ¶¶ D *-t̥- suggests a special treatment of N *t̥ in the original cns. clusters ◊ *h is the only N cns. that is preserved in NaIE aspirated cnss and may be lost in S.

1801. *P_or̥∇∇ 'hair' > HS: S *^lpar_l∇_l∇- 'hair of the head' > BHb 𐤀𐤒𐤅𐤍 'p̄era∇ 'loosely hanging and unplaited hair on the head', Ak p̄er(ē)t u 'hair of the head', Ar far∇- id. (esp. 'woman's hair'), 'branch, bough, sprout', ✓ fr∇ (pf. far̄i∇a) 'avoir une chevelure très abondante, telle qu'elle couvre toute la tête', {Hv.} 'have abundant hair' (for Ar possibly: × N *p_oARi^{r̄}∇ 'strew, spread, extend') ¶ KB 913, KBR 970, BK II 578-9, Hv. 557, Sd. 856, BDB 828, MiK I no. 1.218 || K *papar- 'mane' > G papar-, Mg popor-, Sv L papar, UB/L/Ln papal id. ¶¶ K 187, K² 198, Chik. 102, Chx. 454, TK 752 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} φορονη 'curls', {Hr} φορον 'Haarwirbel' (× WrMc {Z} φορονη φορον 'a turn, Kraüselung' < N *P_o∇Rw∇ 'to turn, to revolve'[q.v.] and Tg *pora-n 'crown of the head, top' < pA *p̄ōræ 'top' < N *p_or̄ā^{r̄}∇ 'summit, top' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ Z 1065, Hr 305, STM II 334 || D *pu_l:_l∇- ({∅GS} *b-) 'down, hair on the body' (× N *bū|ur̄_l∇ 'lock of hair, down') > Klm bur 'fur', Nkr būr 'down, fine feather', Gnd būrā 𐌆 bura 'down' 𐌆 burā 'feather', Knd bu_lus 𐌆 bulus 'pubic hair, feathers, hair on legs and chest', Png būra 'small feathers, down, wool, pubic hair', Mnd būriŋ 'pubic hair', Kui būri, būru 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Ku būrka (pl.) 'down', Mlt purgu 'hair on the body' ¶¶ Png and Mnd point to D *-r- (with the regular reflex of N cns. clusters, here presumably *-r̄-), while Knd -r̄- suggests pD -r̄- (hence N *P_or̄∇∇) ¶¶ D no. 4358, GS 159, 173-6, 181-3 (on D *-r̄- and *-r-) ¶¶ Ffd. see N *bū|ur̄_l∇ '↑' ¶¶ The D vw. *ū belongs to the heritage of N *bū|ur̄_l∇.

1802. *p_o∇r̄d∇_lχ|q∇_l (or *p_oEr∇ (∇id∇_lχ|q∇_l)?) quiver, tremble, start (from fear, with suddenness) > HS: SES or WS *✓prd > Jb ✓frd G v. 'stampede, panic', Sq ✓frd G 'run away, flee', ? Ar (mt.) ✓fdr G 'être affaibli et énérvé' (un mâle qui a été épuisé par un coït trop fréquent) ¶ Jo. J 59, BK II 555 || K: [1] pK *p_or̄tχ- v. 'tremble, quiver, be shy (animals), rouse oneself' > OG prtχ- 'rouse oneself', G prtχ- 'scheuen' (vom Pferd), 'scheu sein' (von Tieren), 'sich ängstigen', Lz patχ- id., Mg (p)ntχ-, tχ- 'be frightened', Sv {K} pə(r)tχ-ən- ~ bərtχ-ən- 'tremble' (трепетать), {FS} χw-i-pərtχ-ən-i 'ich scheue\erschrecke', ot-pərtχ-ən-ān 'ich scheute' || [2] pK *pərtχ- vt. 'shake' > G pərtχ-, Lz patχ- 'shake, knock out' (трясти,

выколачивать'), Mg partχ- vt. 'shake; clean' ('выколачивать, трусить, чистить'), Sv pətχ-, ptχ- 'shake', Sv LB/Ln {TK} li-pətχ-ənə 'to shake, to knock out' ¶¶ K 188, 190, K² 200, 204, FS K 317, FS E 359, Chx. 1498-9, Q 245, 33, BU 379, TK 452 || IE: NaIE *sperdh-'move convulsively (zucken), jump up (aufspringen)' > Av spradka 'zappeln', BdhSgd ʔsprətt vi. 'trembles, shakes' || Gk σπυρῦζω {F, P} 'aufspringen, zappeln' (of donkeys) || ON inf. spradka, NNr Δ, Sw Δ inf. sprala, MDt inf. spartelen, NGr Wph inf. spraddeln 'zappeln' || Sl inf. *prędati, mom. inf. *pręnqti (< *pręd-nq-) > ChS inf. **пpадати** prędati 'to jump, (?) to tremble', OCS d. inf. **въспранѣти** vьs-pręnqti (· διανίστασθαι, ἀνανήφειν) {StSS} 'to stand up, to wake up', SC inf. prēnuti se 'to rouse up, to wake up' (intr.), R Δ inf. прядать, 'прыгнуть' 'to jump up, aufspringen'; Sl *prqd- > R Δ прудкий 'quick' ¶ P 995-6, M K III 537, ≈ F II 772-3, Vr. 537, Mikl. E 26, Vs. I 357 and III 394, StSS 154 || ?? D *opiq- > Tm pirar v. 'tremble' ¶ D no. 4200 (a) ¶ If the D cognate is valid, it suggests pN *pErV (ʔidV,χ|qV), with D *opiq- going back to the initial component *pErV.

1803. *pUřlŭgV ~ *pUřlŭkV 'to jump' > IE: NaIE [1] *sperĝh-/ *spreĝh- v. 'jump, move energetically' > OI spr_o 'hayati 'is eager, desires eagerly', Av ā-sparəzatā 'war bestrebt' || Gk σπέρομαι {LS} 'haste, be in haste', 'rage (of the sea), {F} 'einherstürmen, sich drängen, leidenschaftlich bewegt sein', σπέρω vt. 'set in rapid motion', σπερχνός 'hasty, hurried' || ON inf. springa 'springen, rennen, bersten', OSx inf. springan 'to jump, to leap', OHG inf. springan id., 'to gush', NHG inf. springen 'to jump', AS inf. springan 'to leap, to spring back (through elasticity)', NE spring v. || [2] *(s)preug-/ *(s)proug-/ *(s)prug- v. ≈ 'jump' > Sl *pręg-/ *prig- v. 'jump' > R inf. прыгать 'to jump', SrChS inf. **испрѣгнѣти** is-pręg-nq-ti 'hervortreten, hervorspringen' || Lt inf. sprūg-ti (modern spelling sprūkti) 'to make off, to run away', Ltv inf. spruk-t (1s pres. sprūk-u) 'to escape, to run away' || ON frauki, AS frozza 'frog', NE frog ¶ WP II 675, P 998, EI 284-5 (*sperĝh- 'move energetically'), M K III 539-40, M E II 775, F II 764, Vr. 140, 538, Kb. 943, OsS 857-8, KM 732, Ho. 117, 313, Ho. S 70, Frn. 883, Vs. III 390-1, Mikl. E 241, 265 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *porɣa- v. 'jump' > ObU *pōrəɣ- > pVg *pǝrɣ- > Vg: T pork-, UK/MK/LK pårɣ-, P porr, NV porr- ~ parr-, SV/LL/ML parr-, UL/Ss porɣ-

'hüpfen'; pOs *porəʎlə- ({{Hl.}} *pǎrəʎlə-) > Os: Vy porəʎəl-, Ty/Y pǒrəʎəʎə-, Kz pŭrəʎə-, O porlə- v. 'fly' ¶ Ht. 179 [no. 538], Hl. rHt 74-5 (on distinction between the ObU reflexes of U *w and *k [{{AD}}: and *-ʃ-] that suggests that ObU *pǒrəʎə- belongs here rather than to N *p̄ar∇ 'to fly, to jump') || A *P̄ûRkE- v. 'leap, jump' > Tg *purkE- v. 'jump' > Ewk hurkuʒhin- id., 'fly up', Orc xokko- 'jump, jump on (sth.)', Ul puçu- ~ puçi- 'jump', Ork putta- 'jump (once)', Nn Nh puʒku 'jump, jump up\over' ¶ STM II 353, On. 34O || Ko {Rm.} pul̄k̄in h^da 'spring up, arise' ¶ Rm. SKE 209 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 209., Pp. VG 83, 111, Rs. W 522 (these sources adduced T *h̄jürk- 'erschrecken' and M *ʋürgü- id., which is qu.; the T and M √ is better to be referred to N *p̄ür∇K̄∇ 'be scared, (?) be startled, fear', q.v.) ◇ The rec. of the N final vw. is problematic: NaIE *sperġh-/ *spreġh- and Tg *purkE- point to a front vw., while NaIE *(s)preuġg-/ *(s)prouġg-/ *(s)pruġg- and FU *ʋorʒa- suggest a N *-a. The pN variation *-ġ- ~ *-k- is also to be explained. It may be supposed that some derivational morphemes (in the prehistory of descendant languages) are involved here.

1804. *P̄er̄∇J̄K̄ü '(ε) bone', 'rib' > HS: WS *'pik̄la,r- (mt.) 'vertebra of the neck; neck' ~ (att. in Aram and Sr) *ʋ'p̄iraq̄- 'neck' > Ar fiqr-at- (pl. fiqarāt-) 'vertebra dorsi', faqār- id., JA [Trg.] p̄ir'k̄-ā, p̄ir'k̄ə't̄-ā ~ pur'k̄ə't̄-ā 'joint', JPA Bz הַקֶּרֶךְ p̄wr'k̄h 'neck', Sr |N̄;S̄ p̄āraq̄-'t̄-ā 'back of the neck, vertebra of the neck', NNEA JIA b̄k̄arta ~ p̄k̄arta 'neck, nape', Sq {L} fik̄e'r̄ir̄oħ 'cou, nuque' ¶ Fr. III 363, BK II 619, Js. 1172, 1240, Sl. P 427, Br. 606, JPS 465, Gr̄l 300, 324, L LS 340, SSL LSNP 1455, SSL CLS 94, MiK I no. 219 || C: ?ϕ SC {E} *f̄āra- 'bone' > Irq {MQK} fara, Irq {E}, Grw f̄āra (pl. f̄ādu) id., Brn, Alg fara (pl. faradu), Kz falaʔato, Asa farit, SC ↷ Mb ifw̄āra id. ¶ E SC 150 [no. 10], Wh. IC 22, MQK 34 ¶¶ ≠ Tk. SCC 76 [no. 3.1] (unc. equation of SC *f̄āra- with EC *laf-, Som *lafi 'bone' and Eg ʏf.t 'bone marrow') || IE: NaIE *per̄k̄u- 'rib, chest' > OI 'par's̄u-h̄ 'rib', p̄ār's̄va- 'the region of the ribs, side, flank' || Av parəsu- 'rib', p̄ərəsu- 'rib, side', Oss I/D fars 'side, side of a body' || Lt Δ p̄ir's̄ys (pl. p̄ir's̄iai) 'forepart of horse's chest' || OCS, OR прьси pr̄s̄i 'breasts' (f. pl. ← 'chest, Rippengend'), R π, Uk перси, SCr † pr̄'s̄i, SCr pr̄'s̄a, Slv pr̄s̄i, OCz pr̄s̄i, Slk pr̄sia 'breasts', Cz pr̄s, P pierś 'breast' || Al parzēm 'breast' ¶ P 820, EI 81 (*'per̄k̄u-s / gen. *pr̄'k̄eʏ-s ≈ breast, rib'), M K II 229, M E II 100-1, Ab. I 423, Frn. 598, StSS 533, Vs. III 245,

Glh. 506, O 311-12 || **D** (att. in GnD) *peṛṅk-, ?? *peṛ- ({{GS}} *p-) 'rib, side' > Gnd peṛeka, peṛka, peṛeŋka 'bone', peṛekā 'backbone, rib', Knd peṛen (pl. peṛek), Png pṛēn (pl. pṛēku), Mnd pṛēn (pl. pṛēke), Kui, Ku pṛēnu (pl. pṛēka) 'bone' ¶ D no. 4418 ¶ The sg. forms without *-ṅk- in Knd, Png, Mnd, Kui and Ku are likely to result from back formation.

1805. *peṛkṛṅsa, (or **P_eRKṛṅsa**?) 'turn, turn round, twist' > **HS:** S *^o✓prkṛ > Ar ✓frqṛ *D* 'tordre le cou à qn' ¶ BK II 586 || B *✓frṽ 'être tordu\courbé; tourner' > Wrg əfrəṽ 'tourner, bifurquer; être tordu', Izd frəṽ 'être tordu', s-frəṽ 'rendre tordu', ZAS fləṽ 'être tordu\courbé', Izn, SrSn, Rf U əfrəṽ 'être courbe\tordu\sinueux', Sll frəṽ 'être tortueux', Shl {NZ} ✓frṽ 'tordre', CM {NZ} ✓frṽ 'être tordu', Ty, ETwl əfrəṽ id., 'dévier de la ligne droite', sə-frəṽ 'rendre tordu, tordre', Ah əfrəṽ 'n'être pas droit' ¶ Dlh. Ou 52, Mrc. 251, Loub. 536, Rn. 299, Fc. 355-7, Ds. 280, GhA 41, NZ 635-7 || | ?σ **IE:** NaIE {P} *sperg-, (with a nasal infix) *spreng- 'wrap up, constrict' > Gk σπάργω* (att: 3p aor. σπάργαυ) 'swathe infants, wrap in band for swathing infants', σπάργαυον 'band for swathing infants', pl. σπάργαυα 'swaddling clothes' || | Lt inf. spreñgti '(gewaltsam, mit Anstrengung) in einen engen Zwischen-raum pressen', Ltv Δ {ME} inf. sprāñgāt '(ein)schnüren', {EI} 'to cord, to constrict' || | MHG inf. phrenge n 'pressen, drängen, bedrücken' || | Tc A, B prāk- 'restrain oneself, hold back' ¶ P 992, EI 644 (*(s)pre(n)g- 'wrap up, constrict'), Frn. 879-80, F II 757-8, ME III 1010, Lx. 160, Ad. 415-16 ¶ In the prehistory of IE the N cns. *K was de-emphatized due to an adjacent lr. (*kṛ > *k > IE *g) || | **U:** FU (or FP) *perṛ|kṛ- v. 'turn sth. round' > Chr L inf. pör'ḍ-aš, H pörte (inf. 'pört-aš) vi. 'turn round (вертеться, вращаться)', vt. 'turn on a lathe', Uf pörte- 'drehen, dreheln', B pörta- 'rotieren, umlaufen' || | Prm {LG} *berg- v. 'rotate' > Vt berga- ~ bergal- vi. 'turn\go round, revolve', Z bergal- ~ bergaw-(n+) id., Yz bergal- id., Z bergəd- vt. 'turn, turn round\over', ? bert- (-t- is a sx of transitivity) vt. 'turn out', 'root out', 'put out' (of a joint), Vt {Wc.} bert̃- 'zurückkehren' || | ?? ObU *pěṽar > pVg *pǎṽar 'round' and pOs *pēṽarṽa- ({{HL}} *pīṽarṽa-) 'sich umdrehen' (the origin of *-ṽ- is unknown) (× FU *pârṽ|ṽ v. 'turn, revolve' < N *P_oŔwṽ 'to turn, to revolve' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ UEW 729 (without ObU), MRS 451-2, LG 38-9, Ht. no. 504 || | **A** *P_eærkE 'turn around, surround, revolve' > M *pērgi- v. 'turn, move round, revolve' > MM [S] hergi- 'umwenden', WrM ergi- {MED} v. 'turn,

move round, revolve'; 'circumambulate' (act of devotion or worship), HIM эргэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich drehen, sich umdrehen, sich umwenden', Brt эрье- 'turn, move round, revolve, go round', Kl {KRS} эрг- ергэ- 'sich drehen (кружиться, вращаться, крутиться)', {Rm.} ергі- 'sich drehen, wenden', Mgl {Wr.} ірга- v. 'spin a spindle', Ord ерге- 'se retourner, tourner, faire le tour de, retourner, revenir sur ses pas', Mnr H {SM} хэргі- 'tourner, tourbillonner, se mouvoir autour', ShY heregdі- 'go round' ¶ Pel. 262 [no. 15], H 75, MED 323-4, BMR IV 424, Ms. O 244, SM 167-8, KRS 702, KW 124, MYC 267 || Tg *^гerke- (~ *^оerki-?) v. 'turn round, revolve; tie round, bind' > WrMc {Z} хэрги- 'fly round (делать круги летая)', 'wind threads on smth. (наматывать клубок нитками)', Ul хэркэ- 'wrap\wind (sth.) round', Ewk һэркэ- v. 'tie', Lm һэркэ- v. 'tie, tie around' ¶ STM II 369-370, Z 415 ¶¶ SDM 1137 (pA *^рerk∇ 'tie round, surround' > Tg, M), Pp. VG 103, Ci. EApk 70 ◇ We can reconstruct N *^р, *^р and *^{-а} (all on the ev. of IE) only if IE *^{сп}erg- belongs here. Otherwise the N rec. will be *^рerK∇₁∇₁.

1806. (2?) *^рāśu 'root, stem of a plant' > K: GZ *^рesw- 'root' > OG ^рesw-, G ^рesv-i id. | Mg Snk ^рosve-, Mg SmZ ^рosvi, ^рosi, Lz ^рoso- 'root' ¶ Q 338, K 187, K² 200 ¶ Mach. XS 265 and IS III 77 reconstruted here the vw. *^а (K *^рasw-) because of Mg and Lz o (which is probably due to ass. infl. of p-) || A *^рæsi and *^рāsu 'stalk, handle, haft' > M *^φesi(n) > MM [IM] {Pp.} һesi 'handle, haft (черенок), handle (рукоятка)' (Pp. reads һesi in spite of IM's [mis]spelling: ^{هستی} h^гe¹sti and ^{هيسنى} he|isni), WrM isi ~ esi {MED} 'trunk (of a tree), stem of a plant, stalk; grip, handle', HIM иш {MED} id., {BMR} 'Griff (рукоятка, ручка, черенок), Schaft (древко), Angelrute; Stengel der Pflanzen', Brt эшэ 'Griff (рукоятка, ручка), Stengel der Pflanzen', Kl {KRS} иш ішэ 'черенок; trunk of a plant; grip, handle', {Rm.} іш 'Stiel, Griff; Stengel der Pflanzen, Stamm', Ord іші 'tronc d'un arbre, manche d'un instrument' ¶ MED 334, BMR II 290, Chr. 780, KRS 275, KW 210, Pp. VG 11, 63, 136, Pp. MA 438, Ms. O 389 || Tg *^рesin > Ewk һэсин 'handle, axe handle, haft, shaft', Ud {Krm} хэһи, WrMc {Z} фэсинь ~ фэшэнь 'handle, haft', Ewk һэсин, Neg хэсин, Lm һэсән, Nn Nh ^рэсі, Nn KU хэсі, Orc хэси / хэсин-, Ul, Ork ^рэси / ^рэсин- id., 'axe handle' ¶ STM II 371, Krm. 308, On. 348, Z 1044-5 || NaT *^{ба}ᵛsu, *^{ба}ᵛska 'sledge hammer, mallet' > OT басw {SDM} id., {DTS} 'пест', Xk пасха 'hammer', Uz basqa {Rs.}

'Schmiedehammer', StAlt masqa 'hammer', {Rs.} 'ein grosser Hammer' ¶ Ra. W 64, BT 109 || pJ *pàsú-i > OJ pasi, MJ pàsí, J T hàsí, J K hàsí, J K haší 'chopsticks' ¶ Mr. 400, Kenk. 457-8 ¶¶ The vowel *a of pA *p'asu may be explained by vowel harmony (regr. as.) ¶¶ SDM 1086-7 (pA *pěsálo 'handle' > Tg, M, T, pJ), S AJ 79, Rm. EAS I 54, 102, Pp. VG 11, 65, Ci. EApk 71-2 || ?φ D *vača ~ *pača ({IS} < *p₁ača) '(ε) edible root' > Tm vacam, vacamru, pačamru 'sweet flag, *Acorus calamus*', Ml vačamru, Kn bajī, baje, vace, vaje, Tu bajæ, Tl vaca, vasa id.; D ⇨ OI vacā- 'ε aromatic root (*Acorus calamus* ?)' ¶¶ D no. 5213, Tu. no. 11201 || HS: C: ?φ Bj {R} būs 'Rohr, Halm, Schilf' ¶ R WBd. 52 ◇ IS III 77-8 [no. 303] (N *p'äs∧ 'root' > K, A, D) ◇ D *v- requires explanation (back formation from the second component of a compound word with D *-v- < N *p?) ◇ IS III 778 (N *p'äs∇ 'root' > K, D, A),

1807. ₂ *P₁is∇ 'to remain, to stick' > HS: S *°-pūīš- > JA [Trg.], JEA ✓ p w | y š (pf. p ā š) v. 'remain', Sr ✓ p w š (pf. p ā š, ip. n ə - p ū š) v. 'remain, stay behind' ({PS} 'cessare, manere, quiescere, morari'), Md ✓ p w š 'remain' ¶ Lv. IV 18, Js. 1149, Sl. 893-4, Br. 561, PS 3075-7, DM 569 || U: FU (att. in FV) *pise- v. 'remain, stick' ('bleiben, verbleiben, steckenbleiben') > F p y s y -, Δ p i s ū - 'remain, hold on (somewhere)', Es p ū s i - 'stay, endure, last' | Er p e z n a -, M k p e z o - p e z ə - 'be thrust, stick in smth. ('воткнуться, увязнуть, завязнуть') | Chr L p i ž a - š id., 'catch on sth., be glued to smth.' ('[за]цепляться, [за]вязнуть, приклеиваться'), Chr KB p i ž ä -, U/M p i ž a - 'sich anschließen, klebenbleiben, anstecken' | ⇨ FV *p i s e₁-tā- v. 'put, set, stick in, thrust in' ('stellen, setzen, legen, hineinstecken') > F p i s t ā - vt. 'prick, thrust', Es p i s t a - id., 'stab', pLp {Lr.} *p z s t ē 'stecken' > Lp: N {N} b ā s t e t, L {LLO} p a s t ē t id. | Chr B p ь š t e - vt. 'put, set, lay, place', U p ь š t e - id., 'thrust in', Chr L p ь š ' t a - š, Chr H p i š t e -, 'p i š t a - š vt. 'put/place (somewhere)' ¶ UEW 732-3, Ker. II 110, MRS 431, 491, Lr. no. 870.

1808. *p o s i 'be hot/warm' > HS: Eg fOK p s y v. 'cook (sth.), bake, boil, Fäden kochen' > Cpt: Sd n i c e p i s e, B φ i c i p h i s i 'faire cuire (aliments, briques)'; Eg MKL p s . t 'das Kochen' ¶ EG I 551-3, Fk. 94, Vc. 164 || B *✓ f s y v. 'melt' (× N *p'äy's'i' 'crush, break into pieces?') > Shl {Stm., Ds.} (ə) f s i (hab. f s ä j, Ah, BSn, SrSn, Kb ə f s i, Izn ə f s i y, Izd f s i vi. 'melt', Mz, Wrg ə f s i, ETwl ə f s ə y 'se fondre, se liquéfier' ¶ Stm. 178, Fc. 362, Dl. 234-5, Dlh. M 55, Dlh. Ou 86, NZ 665-6 || Ch: CCh:

Mdr {ChC} pṣ̌a vt. 'burn, verbrennen' ||| WCh: Hs tà-fásà 'be boiling' (of water etc.); WCh *✓fs 'cook, roast' (× N *piṣ̌a 'to get\make ready [cooked, ripe]', q.v.) > Ron: DfB {J} fâṣ̌ v. 'roast', Bks/Sha {J} f o s 'kochen' ||| CCh (× N *piṣ̌a q.v.): McHigi {ChL}: HgB p̣c̣éyò, Kps p̣sa-(p̣sákè), FIG psati, HgF psáṣ̌ò, FIK wč̣a 'roast', Mdr {ChC} pṣ̌apṣ̌a id. | pBM *pca > Bu {Hf.} p̣ca id., Mrg {Hf.} p̣cà id., Ngx c̣з, Klb, Hld ca 'roast (rösten, braten)' | Mdr {ChL} pṣ̌a | BB {ChL}: FIJ f̣c̣з̣ṿз̣, FIM f̣ùc̣í, FIB f̣+̣c̣i 'roast' ¶ JI II 55 and 274-5, Abr. H 836, Ba. 972, ChC s.v. 'burn' tr. and 'roast', ChL, J R 85, 141, 214, 284, Hf. LBM 470 [no. 5], Hf. B 28, Hf. M 123, 133-5, Pan. NM 59 || ? (+ext.?) CS *✓pṣ̌r v. 'melt, be slightly warm' > JA [Trg.] פִּיִּשְׁרֵי־אֵר־אֶרְבָּא {Lv.} 'sth. luke-warm, luke-warmed' (e.g. of water), ✓pṣ̌r G vi. 'melt, be dissolved', vt. 'auflösen durch Zermalmen\Kauen', JEA ✓pṣ̌r G 'melt', Sr ✓pṣ̌r (pf. p̣ə'ṣ̌ar) v. 'dissolve, melt, liquefy, fuse (as metals)', MHb הִפְשִׁיר הִפְשִׁיר 'lau machen', MdHb, NHb פִּיִּשְׁרֵי־אֵר־אֶרְבָּא p̣o'ṣer 'slightly warm' ¶ 'ASh VI 46O, Lv. IV 151-2, Lv. T II 3O6, Js. 1249, Sl. 945, JPS 469 ¶ JA and MHb ✓pṣ̌r is from ✓pṣ̌r v. 'melt, be warm' × ✓pṣ̌r v. 'resolve, dissolve, disentangle'; the adduction of the S √ is tenable unless *✓pṣ̌r v. 'melt, be warm' is a sd. of *✓pṣ̌r v. 'resolve, dissolve, be disentangled' ||| U: FP *p̣oṣ́∇ 'hot, heat; sweat' > Er, Mk p̣sí 'hot', {W} p̣íṣ́i, p̣sí 'heiß, hitzig, Hitze' | Chr: L p̣üẓ̌-'wüð, H 'p̣üẓ̌-'ẉḅð 'sweat' (L ẉüð, H ẉəð 'water'), L p̣üẓ̌alt- v. 'sweat' | Z, Vt p̣ẓṣ́ 'hot, sweaty' ¶ UEW 738, LG 23O, Ker. II 122 (pMr *p̣íṣ́ə-), MRS 477, Lt. 224, LG 23O ||| A: T *ḥiS-si-~ *ḥiS-si- (or *ḥiS-su-~ *ḥiS-sü-) v. 'heat' > OT {Cl.} ịsi:- v. 'be hot', Qrg, Qzq, Qq ịsi-, StAlt ịz_i-, Xk ʌzʌ- 'get warm', Qmq ịsi- vt. 'warm', Uz ịsi-, Tv izi- 'get warm (разогреться)', ET Δ ịssi- v. 'be warm'; ↳ T *ḥiS-si-ȳ-~ *ḥiS-si-ȳ- (or *ḥiS-su-ȳ-~ *ḥiS-sü-ȳ-) 'hot' ({Md.} *+ss+g ~ *i:ssig) 'warm' (× N *?isü or *?üs∇ 'fire?') > Xlj hissī, OT ịsig 'hot, heat', MU ịsiȳ, MQp ịssiȳ ~ ịssi ~ ịs(̣)ṣi, MOg, XwT ịssi, Chg ịssi ~ ịsti ~ ịsiȳ, Uz Δ, ET Δ ịssiȳ, Uz, ET ịssiȳ, Ln ịssiȳ, SY ịssiȳ, OOsm ịssi, Tk ịssi, ịsi, Tkm, Qzq, Qq ịssi, Tk Δ, Kr, QrB, Qmq, Nog ịssi, VTt эцце бссб, Bsh бѣб, Qrg ịsi ~ ịsiȳ, StAlt ịz_ü, Xk ʌzʌg, Shor iziȳ, Tv iziȳ, Tf ịs'itȳ, Yk itī 'hot', Chv L ăwă ьž_ь, Chv Δ {Md.} ьž_ь 'warmth, heat; warm' ¶ Cl. 241, 246, Rs. W 173-4, ET Gl 668-71, TL 19-21, DT 133, BT 63, BIG 66, Ra. 75, Md. 73, 165, Ash. IV 89-94, Fed. I 95, Jeg. 45, ChVS 25-6 ◇ T *i/i requires explanation (regr. as. [*i...i ~ *i...i from **o...i ~ i] and/or heritage of N *?isü or *?üs∇ 'fire?').

1809. *pos∇ 'to fart (without noise)' > HS: S *√pšw > Ak pašû, Ar √fsw (pf. fasā, ip. -fsū) v. 'fart (without noise)', Gz, Tgy √fsw v. G, Tgr G pf. fəšā 'break wind' ¶ Sd. 846, L G 168, BK II 595, LH 662, Bsn. 994, MiK I no. 2.57 || IE: NaIE *ped- v. 'fart (without noise)' > Gk βδέω v. 'fart' (< *βδέω) || L pēd-ō, -ēre v. 'fart' || Sl {Sls.} *pezd- ~ *pъzd- > Blg пѣз'дя v. 'fart without noise', SCr inf. бѣздети ≈ bazdjeti, Uk inf. пѣз'дити, бѣз'дити (*pъzd-), R inf. бѣдеть 'to fart without noise', Slv inf. pezdéti, P inf. bździeć, Cz inf. bzdíti id. || Lt inf. bezdėti (1s pres. bezdũ) id., Ltv inf. bezdēt 'to fart' || MHG vīst ~ vīst, NHG Fīst, Dt veest, AS fīsting n. act. 'farting without noise', NE adj. † fīsting 'breaking wind' (e.g. fīsting dog, fīsting hound), † fīst ~ feīst v. 'break wind' ¶ WP II 11, P 829, EI 194, F I 230, ≈ KM 200, Ho. 106, Vr. N 768, Frn. 42, Sls. I 54, Vs. I 163, Tls. 24 || ?φ K: Mg buz-in- v. 'fart' (× on. K *bzu- v. 'buzz' [> Lz buz-al-]) ¶ K 51, K² 15 || U: FV *poske- v. 'fart' > pLp {Lr.} *pōckэ n. 'fart' > Lp: N {N} buos'kâ, L {LLO} puoskas, Kld {TI} pūčk n. 'fart', S {Hs.} d. buotskethidh v. 'fart' || Mk puska- v. 'fart' ¶ UEW 737-8, Lr. no. 987, Lgc. no. 5326, Hs. 388 ¶ Rédei explains pLp *c for the expected *s by onomatopoeic associations || A: T (in NaT) *_lh₁osur- ~ T *^ob₁usar- v. 'fart': (1) *_lh₁osur- > OT, MT, Chg osur-, Tk osur-, ET Tr {Rl.} osar-, VTt {ðRl.} usъr-, Qzq {Rl.} osur- id., Yk {Pek.} utur-uk n. 'fart' ⇨ uturukt- v. 'fart'; (2) T *^ob₁usar- > Chv L пѣсар- pъz_{ar}- v. 'fart'; OChv ⇨ Chr pušara 'вонючка' ¶ T *b- in *^ob₁usar- for the expected *h- from N *p₁-) is still to be explained ¶ Cl. 251, Rs. W 366, Rl. I 1139-41, 1746, Pek. 3099-100, Ash. X 149, Fed. I 404-5 ◇ Mg b- in buz-in-, apparently suggesting N *b-, is more likely to be explained by onomatopoeia.

1810. (2?) id. *pus|š'E' or *pūs|š'E' 'to sprinkle, to spit' > U *pus|š∇ v. 'sprinkle, spit' > ObU *pūθ- v. 'sprinkle' > pVg *pūt- > Vg: LK/MK pot-, NV/SV/LL put- 'bespritzen', LK potas-, P putās-, LL putās- id.; pOs *pōḑa- ({JHl.} *pūḑa-) id. > Os: V pō]-, Vy pō]a-, Ty/Y/Kz pōḑ-, D/K pāt-, Nz pōt-, O *pāl- id. || Sm: Slq NP puttu 'saliva', Slq {KD} UKt purōn- v. 'spit' ('spucken, speien'), Slq Tm putōn- vt. 'sprinkle water, pour, pour out' ¶¶ Ht. 173 [no. 486], KD ALS 169-70, as well as UEW 409-410 (not distinguishing between FP *puš∇- v. 'blow' and U *pus|š∇ v. 'spit, sprinkle') || A *p'ūs'i' v. 'sprinkle' > Tg *pus- ~ *pis- ({Jbz.} *pōs-) v. 'sprinkle, irrigate' > Ewk husu- 'sprinkle, pour water on', Lm hus-, Neg

xusi-, 'Ork pisitči- 'sprinkle', Ul pisuri-, Nn Nh {STM} pisi-, Nn KU pisi- 'bespritzen, begießen', Nn Nh {On.} pisi- 'sprinkle from one's mouth, WrMc {Z} фусу-, Mc Sb fusэ- id., 'pour water from a watering pot' ¶ STM II 355, On. 330, Z 1077 || M *fusür- ({SDM} *hödür-) v. 'spout, squirt out' (× N id. *p' i ʔ ∇ s' ∇ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip') > WrM {MED} üsür- v. 'spout, squirt out', HIM үүсрэ- {MED} id., {Pp.} 'besprengen, streuen', {BMR} 'splash, sprinkle (брызгать, кропить)', Brt үһээр- 'anhaltend regnen', Kl {KRS} өср- ösr- 'splash, sprinkle (брызгать, спрыскивать), {Rm.} ösr- 'spritzen (Wasser)', 'Funken sprühen' (Feuer), Mnr H {SM} fuз_uru- 'verser, couler (des métaux)'; -> : WrM {Rm.} üsürge- ~ üsügle- v. 'water plants', HIM {BMR} үсэргэ- v. 'spritzen, bespritzen (брызгать, забрызгивать)' ¶ SDM 1163 (M *hödür- 'sprinkle'), MED 1014, BMR III 427-8, Chr. KRS 427, KW 301, SM 103, Rm. SKE 212, T DgJ 176 || T: Sg, Qb üskür- 'aus dem Munde spritzen' (× N id. *p' i ʔ ∇ s' ∇ '↑?'), but probably not (against SDM) T *üskür- v. 'cough' ¶ Rl. I 1880, ET Gl 637-8 || pKo {S} *pòsòj- ~ *pusij- 'wash, sprinkle' > MKo pòsòj- ~ pusoj-, NKo pusi- ¶ S QK no. 136, Nam 261, 265, MLC 816 ¶¶ SDM 1163-4 (pA *p' i ʔ si 'sprinkle' > T, M, Ko, T *üskür- v. 'cough, sprinkle'), DQA no. 1808 (id.), Rm. EAS I 54, 149, KW 301, Pp. VG 11, 55, Ci. EApk 50 || ? on. D (in SD) *puč∇kk- ({ʔGS} *p-) > Kn пуцаккане 'suddenly and with a small noise, as when spittle is ejected with force', Tu пуцакку 'the force, as of spitting' ¶ D no. 4245 ◊ IS II 102.

1811. id. *p' i ʔ ∇ s' ∇ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip' > HS: pCh *piʔ∇si|u ({Nw} *pəsə, sc. *pi|usi|u) v. 'spit, 'spurt water from one's mouth' > WCh: Kry {Sk.} pəʔicə v. 'spit', Hs {Sk.} fěsà ~ fīda ~ fīça v. 'spurt water from one's mouth', P' {MSk.} pf. p' s' ū (p. p' s' í, ip. p' s' ò), {J} p' s' ū v. 'spit', Jmb {Sk.} fəš- v. 'spit', Gln {Sch.} p' s- à lá, Gera {Sch.} f' s' í-mi, Wrj {{J} p' s' il v. 'spit', My {Sk.} bəʔicə-, Grn {Jgr} fəsi, Wnd {ChL} p' ās, {IL} p' ēs, Zar {IL} píyàc'ó, Zar K {Sh.} pyàc, Cg {Sk.} p' č- id. (the affricate cnss c and č in Zar and Cg are to be explained) ||| CCh: MfG {Brr.} -p' s- 'cracher dans une calebesse pour la bénir', Mf {BLB} piš- 'cracher de l'eau pour la bénir ou pour vaporiser; pleuvoir à petites gouttes, bruiner' ||| ECh: Mgm {JA} pis-/pes- v. 'spit' ¶ JI II 301-2, Nw. no. 120, MSk. 200, Sk. NB 41, Sk. HCD 68, Sch. BTL 115, 174, ChC, JA LM 117, Brr. MG II 220, Jgr s.v. fəsi, BLB 309 || B: ETwl ɸʃsu 'vomir', Ty ɸʃsu id., Shl {NZ} ssufs ~ ʒʒufs, CM, Shw, Wrg ssufəs, Ntf sufs, Izn

siuffes, BSn sufəs, Gh sufəs (pf. yəssufəs) v. 'spit' ¶ GhA 43, NZ 120 and 659 || ? S (+ext.): Sr \int ; \int paš'r-ā 'urine' ¶ JPS 469 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 1970 (*pehas- 'wet, sprinkle' > Hs fēsa + S *√ pħs **'wet, moisten' > Ar √ fħs [in fact 'lick up \ lap water from the hand'] and Skr peso 'wet'), ≈ Sk. HCD 68 || K id..*ps- v. 'urinate' > G, Lz ps-, Mg (p)s-, Sv s-ēn- (UB msd. li-s-ēn-e) id.; ds: (1) GZ *ps-am-/*ps-m- v. 'urinate' > G psam-/psm-, Mg psəm-, Lz psim- id.; (2) GZ (or G) *pse-l- 'urine' > G psel-, (↔ ?) Mg psela-, Lz psel-~ msel- id. ¶¶ K 191-2, K² 205-6, FS K 322, FS E 360-1, GP 167 || U: FU (att. in FV) *piś|sa- v. 'drip, drizzle' ('tropfen, tröpfeln') > F piśaa- 'heraussickern, tropfen', F piśara, Es piśar 'drop' | Er piže-, Mk pižə- v. 'rain', Er pižeme, Mk pižəm 'rain' ¶ Ker. II 114, Rv. DVaM 108, UEW 732 || D: [1] *pič∇- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'drizzle, sprinkle' > Tm picir, picupicu id., picir 'rain drop, spray', Td pisk 'urine', Tl piśaru 'a bit, small quantity' || [2] ? (att. in SD) *pīčč- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'squirt' > Tm pīccu v. 'squirt, milk (as a cow)', Ml pīccuka v. 'squirt, syringe', Kn pīcu id., 'squirting' ¶¶ D no-s 4132 and 4215 ◇ IS MS 332 ◇ N *p- (rather than *p-) is suggested by Ch *p- (> Mf and MfG p-) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 301 (*pes 'pour') (FU, A + unc. σ Ht pessiya-, Yk pešei 'throw' + err. Ko).

1812. *P_Eš∇ 'grain, (?) nut' > HS: B *√ (y)fs 'grain, seed' > Ah {Fc.} tēfast (pl. tēfsīn) 'seed' ('semence de végétal'), Gh {Nh., La.} čifast (pl. čifsīn), Tmz {MT} ifs (pl. ifsan) 'grain, seed', Izd {Mrc.}, CM {NZ} ifs 'a seed' (pl. ifsan), Nfs {La.} ayfs 'seed', Zmr/Iz {La.} pl. ifsan id. (coll.), Tmz AN {La.} ifsi 'grain', Mz {Dlh.} ayəfs ~ ayfəs, Wrg {Dlh.} ayfəs 'semence, grain de semence', Nf ayfs 'graine, semence'; ?? *√ fsH > Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} əfsa, Ah əfsi 'répandre, verser'; ?? Izn {Rn.} tafsaūt 'sorgho, millet', Rf tafsawt 'millet', Shl {NZ} tafsut 'ε wild millet', Ntf tafsut 'white sorgho' ¶ Fc. 362, La. MChB 272 (n. 1), La. S 294, Mrc. 233, Dlh. M 54, 242, Dlh. Ou 84, 380, Rn. 298, MT 132, NZ 656-7 || A *P_is∇ 'seed, grain' > Tg *pise-ke > WrMc {Z} физикэ ~ физихэ 'ε millet (мелкое красноватое и клейкое просо)' (Ancient Mc ↔ Ork, Ul piksэ, Nn: Nh piksэ, Nn KU фисхэ 'millet'); ?σ Tg *pise- ({SDM} 'seed, offspring') > WrMc {Z} физэнь 'the young (of animals), offsprings, Nachkommenschaft' ('плод животных, приплод, потомство, род'), Lm hзсэп 'tribe, clan; kinsman' ¶ STM II 38, 300, 371, Z 1055 || pKo {S} *psí 'seed' > MKo psí, NKo sī id. ¶ S QK no. 75, Nam 326, MLC 1032 ¶¶ SDM 1091 (pA *p|p'is∇ or *p|p'ias∇ 'seed,

grain' > Tg, pKo), DQA no. 1769, S AJ 296, Rm. EAS I 54, 82, Rm. SKE 231, Ci. YApk 60, Lee CSMK 110 || **U**: FP *pāškv 'nut' > F pāhkinä, Es pāhkel, Δ pāhke, pāhen, pāhknä id. | Er пеште pešte, Δ pešče, Mk пяште pāštā 'hazelnut' | Chr L/H пѣкш pükš 'nut' | Prm *pašk- ({LG} *pačk-) > Vt пашпу paš-pu 'hazel' (pu 'tree'), Z UV paškan ~ pačkan 'hips (fruit of dog rose)' ¶ UEW 726-7, Ker. II 111, MRS 478, Ep. 96, LG 217, SZ 195 || **K**: G pačka 'ε millet', {DCh.} 'черное, птичье или боровое просо' (unless a loan from an unknown source) ¶ Chx. 1456, DCh 1299 ◇ Tg *-ke (in *pise-ke), G -ka and FP *-kv are likely to go back to a word that functioned as the second element of a word group (later becoming a sx) ◇ If G pačka belongs here (and is not a loanword), its cns. č still requires explanation ◇ Resh. NNE no. 7 (U, A).

1813. (₂?) *piša 'to get/make ready (cooked, ripe)' > **HS**: Eg OK/MK {EG} fɛ(ɥ) v. 'cook' ¶ EG 551-2, 578, Fk. 98, ≈ Vc. 164-5 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} fwaš 'burn' (tr.) || Mdr {Mirt} pš-a 'burn' (tr.) | Ch (× N *poši 'be hot/warm'): WCh: Ron: DfB {J} fâš v. 'roast', Bks/Sha {J} foš 'kochen' || CCh: McHigi {ChL}: HgB pšéyò, Kps psa- (psákè), FIG psati, HgF psášò, FIK wča 'roast', Mdr {ChL} pša, {ChC} pšapša id. | pBM *pca > Bu {Hf.} pca, Mrg {Hf.} pçà id., Ngx cɜ, Klb, Hld ca 'roast (rösten, braten)' ¶ JI II 54-5 and 274-5, ChC s.v. 'burn' (tr.) and 'roast;', ChL, J R 85, 141, 214, 284, Hf. LBM 470 [no. 5], Hf. B 28, Hf. M 123, 133-5, Pan. NC 59 ¶¶ Tk. I 114-15 || **U**: FU *piša- v. 'roast, cook' > pLp {Lr.} *pɜsē v. 'roast' > Lp: N {N} bâsset, L {LLO} passē id., S {Hs.} biss'edh 'roast, bake' || ObU *pīθ- v. 'cook' > pVg *pīt- > Vg: T pīt-, LK/MK/UK/ NV/LL/UL/Ss pēt- id.; pOs *pāɕ- > Os: Vy pāl-, Ty pāɕ-, D/K pāt-, Nz pat-, Kz paɕ-, O pāl- id. ¶ UEW 385, Sm. 547 (FU *pi/ešä-, FP *pišä-, Ugr *pešä- 'cook'), Lr. no. 867, Lgc. no. 4695, Hs. 334, Ht. 173 [no. 485] || **A**: ?σ M *ᵘᵠᵢs- vi. 'ferment, turn sour' > WrM iɛ- {MED} id., 'rise' (of dough), HIM эсэ- ~ исэ- {MED, BMR} id., Brt эһэ- id., Kl {KRS} ис- 'turn sour', {Rm.} is- 'sauer werden, verfaulen' (von Speisen), 'gären', 'gerinnen', Ord es- 'fermenter, devenir aigre' ¶ MED 416, BMR II 283 and IV 440, Chr. 780, KRS 274, KW 210, Ms. O 248-9 ◇ The unexpected CCh *p (rather than *f) may be probably due to its position within a cns. cluster ◇ In some lges there is partial contamination with N *bažê 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook' (q.v.).

1814. *piš̥ ∇ 'gall' > IE: NaIE *bis-(t)l ∇ id. > L bīlis (< *bislis) id. || Clt {Matas.} *bisli- 'gall' > OW bisl, MW bystyl, W bustl 'gall', Δ bystl, OCrn bistel, MCrm bystel, OBr [ʏ] bistlou id. ('humores nigri'), MBr, Br bestl 'bile' ¶ P 102, WH I 105-6, LP § 26.5, YGM-1 61, Flr. 84, Matas. E 66 || U *piša 'gall' (→ 'green, yellow') > Er piže 'green, copper', Mk пиже pižə 'green' || Sm {Jn.} *p̥tā 'gall' > Ne Т п̥д̥я, Ne Т О {Lh.} p̥de', Ne F {Lh.} pačã, Ng {Cs.} fate, {Mik.} hot̥, En {Ter.} p̥de, En X {Cs.} 'fore?', En B {Cs.} fode? id. | Slq Tz {KKIH} pat 'bile', patí 'yellow, green, blue', Slq Tm {KD} pa'd, Slq Ch {Cs.} pače, Slq O {Cs.} pač 'bile' | Kms {KD} p'ãda, Koyb {Sp.} пода 'bile', Mt {Hl.} *hãdã (Mt: M {Sp} хад̥де, K {Pl.} ch̥d̥ide 'his\its bile') ¶¶ Coll. 50, UEW 84-5, PI 207, Jn. 115, KKIИ 147-8, Cs. 164, 226, Hl. M 273 || D *pič̥- ({{GS}} *p-) 'bile' > Tm pič̥u 'bile, madness', Ml pič̥u, Kt puč̥, Kn peč̥u, pač̥u, puč̥u, Tl pič̥i, pič̥a 'madness', Td puč̥ 'anger', Nk pič̥ak 'mad'; D ⇨ OI pitta- 'bile' ¶¶ D no. 4142, M E II 131 (OI pitta without et.) || ??σ HS: EC {Ss.} *pis- 'color, flower' > Af bisu, Or bifa, Brj bíš-a 'color', Sd biša 'red', Hd {C} bišo 'brown', Kns pisa, Gwd piso, Hrs, Gln pis-ko 'flower' ¶ This EC root may belong here if there was a semantic change 'green' (or 'yellow') → 'color', which is imaginable only if green (or yellow) was a color *par excellence* in some Cushitic cultural context ¶ Ss. B 37, Ss. PEC 14, 32, Bl. 171 ◇ AD GD 13, IS MS 340 s.v. 'желчь' *biš̥ ʌ, ≈ Blz. LNA no. 41 (suggesting to equate IE and U with EC *bis- 'color, flower' and unconvincingly with D *pač̥- 'green' [D no. 3821]) ◇ Gr. II no. 173 (*pis 'gall') (IE, U + qu. Ko, J, Ai, A).

1815. id.? *P_uš̥ ∇ 'to blow' > HS: S *√ pš̥|θ ω, *-pūš̥|θ- 'breathe' > Ak paš̥ ũ (inf.) 'hauchen', MHb √ p ω š̥ G 'breathe, take a rest', ?φ Tgr √ f š̥ f š̥ D 'bluster, steam' ('brausen, dampfen'), faš̥ faš̥ o 'vapor bath' ¶ Sd. 846, Js. 1149, LH 663, MiK I no. 2.56 || IE: [1] NaIE *peus- v. 'blow, blow up, inflate' ('aufblasen') > Gk φῦσα f. 'breath, wind, blast, wind in the body (flatus); (pair of) bellows', φυσάω v. 'blow' (of the wind), 'blow, puff' (of bellows) || L pustula, pussula 'blister, pimple' || NNr inf. f̥yusa (< *faussian) 'aufschwellen, aufgären' || Lt pūslē 'blister, vesicle', Ltv pūslis 'bladder', Lt † {Ruh., Frn.} pūš̥é 'Blatter', Lt puš̥kas 'pustule, pimple, blister' | Sl inf. *puxati \ pres. *puš̥- v. 'blow' (⇨ inf. *opuxn̥ti 'to swell') > RChS пыш̥ p̥š̥o 'I pant', Blg 'пыхам id., R inf. пыхать (1s pres. пышет) 'to blaze', Slv inf.

p^íhati (1s pres. p^íšem) 'to blow, to fan (fire)', LLs inf. puchas 'to pant', puchas, HLs inf. puchać 'to blow', SCr inf. p^úhati (1s pres. p^úšēm) 'to blow, to puff, to pant', Cz puch 'stench' ¶ WP II 81, P 848, F II 1055-7, WH II 392, ≈ Frn. 677-9, Vs. III 421, Glh. 511, Ma. CS 405, ≈ EI 72 ¶¶ [2] NaIE *pēs- v. 'blow' (of wind, of a person) > ON fōnn (< *faznō) 'snowdrift (Schneewehe, fester Schneehaufe)', Nr fonn, Nr †, Sw Δ fann 'snowdrift, Schneehaufen' ¶¶ ChS {Mikl.} ПѢХЫРЬ pěxirь 'πομφόλυξ, bubble, bulla, Blase', Cz puchýř '(water) blister' (x ← inf. puchnuti 'to swell' and possibly inf. puchřeti 'to rot'), ? P † pęchurz, pacherzyna, P pęcherz 'bladder', LLs puchorina 'bulla, blister', puchoř id., 'bladder', HLs {Jak.} pucher 'bubble, blister' (x ← LLs inf. puchas 'stark blasen, pusten', HLs inf. puchać 'paffen, pusten') ¶ Vr. 151, Mikl. L 762, HIK 305, Brü. 403, Šw. 323, Jak. 290, Trof. 238, ≈ P 796 ¶ K: OG pšw-, G pšv- v. 'exhale fragrance', OG pšwa, G pšva 'fragrance', G pšven-/pšvin- 'leise atmen, duften' ¶ Chx. 1514, DCh. 1321 ¶ U: FP *puš∇- v. 'blow (blasen)' > F Δ puħu- v. 'blow', F puħalta- 'blasen, pusten, hauchen, wehen', Es puħu- 'blow (blasen, wehen), breathe' ¶ pLp {Lr.} *posō- v. 'blow' > Lp: N {N} bqssot, L {LLO} pāssot, S {Hs.} bāssudh v. 'blow' (also of the wind), 'blow up, inflate', K {Gn.} pāsseš 'aufschwellen' ¶ ? Chr pošaš inf. 'to blow (the fire)' ¶ Prm: Z pušk+- vt. 'blow' (of wind), 'blow with bellows', 'fan fire' ¶ in Sm there is a √ with U *-ś-: Ne pos 'a whiff (дуновение)', ?? Slq Tz {KKIH} pusqa 'snowstorm' ('пурга') ¶¶ UEW 409-410 (without distinguishing between FP *puš∇- v. 'blow' and U *pus|š∇- v. 'spit, sprinkle'), Sm. 547 (FU *pušā-, FP *puša-, Ugr *pūθa- 'blow'), Lr. no. 962, LG 234, TmK 583, Hs. 294-5, KKIH 153 ¶¶ The Sm cognate was indicated in 1976 by Hl. (p.c.) ¶ A *P_us∇ > Tg *pus- > Ewk hus- 'blow out (fire)', Lm hūsъn- id., 'blow (blasen)', WrMc {Z} фусхэ- v. 'fan (with a fan)', фусхэ-кү 'a fan', Jrc {Kiy.} fusχegυ id. (unless in Ewk and Lm the verb is derived from Ewk huw-, Lm hū- v. 'blow') ¶ Z 1078, STM II 336, Kiy. 109 [no. 221] (s.v. हुव- I 'blow') ¶ ? pJ *pūsù-₁pur- v. 'smoke' > OJ pusubur-, MJ [RJ] pūsùbór- id., J T fusubur- v. 'smoke' ¶ S QJ no. 1417, Kenk. 330 qnd 1122, BJRS I 525 and II 400 ¶ ? Ko {Rm.} putč^hi-čā v. 'fan, blow (a fire)' ({acc. to Rm.} < *pus-t^hi-) ¶ Rm. SKE 211-12 ¶¶ Rm. l.c. ◇ NaIE *pēs- may go back to **pues- < N

***P_uš_∇** ◇ IS MS 339 s.v. 'дуть' *p_uš_∇ (IE, A, U) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 46 (*pus 'blow'). 330 qnd 1122

1816. *P_uš_∇ 'rub, smear' ([in descendant lges] → 'rub away [zerreiben]') > **HS:** S *^o✓pšš (- *^opθθ - *^o✓pšš) > Ak ✓pšš v. 'smear' ¶ Sd. II 843-4, G OA 219 || **K** (mt. of *w) *pšw-en-/*pšw_o-n- v. 'crumble, make friable' > OG d. na-pšuen- pp. 'crumb', G (da)pšvn-/pšven- {Chx.} 'zerreiben, zer-bröckeln, zerkrümmeln', (da)pšvneṭ-/pšvniṭ- 'zerreiben, zermalmen', (ča)pšvneṭ- 'zerreiben und in etwas streuen', Sv {K} puršgwīn- 'crumble, make friable', Sv {TK}: UB pursgwīn(a), LB pursgwin, purs(w)in, pərsin, LB/L puršgwin, Ln purškwin n. act. 'crumbling' ¶¶ K² 209, Chx 1514-15, TK 768 || **IE:** Ht {CHD} pes(s)- 'rub, scrub (with soap etc.)', {Frd., Ts.} pes- 'einreiben (mit Wasch-mitteln)', (× N *P_uš_∇ 'press, squeeze, crush by squeezing'): Ht pasihai- {CHD} v. 'rub, squeeze, crush', {Frd.} 'einreiben, zerreiben' (??) ¶ Ts. W 63, 66, CHD P 205, 315, Frd. HW 108, 164 || **D** *pūč- ({θGS} *p-) v. 'smear' > Tm pūcu v. 'besmear, anoint, rub', Ml pūcuka, pūśuka v. 'smear, daub, rub', pūcal, pūccu 'smearing, daub', Kn pūsu v. 'smear, daub, anoint', Tu pūjuni, Tl pūyu v. 'smear, rub, daub'; D ⇨ OI pusta- 'working clay, modelling' ¶¶ D no. 4352, Km. 434 [no. 841].

1817. ₂*P_∇šq_∇ or ***P_eqšê** 'spear' ([in descendant lges] → 'arrow') > **HS:** S *^op_∇šχ- (or *^op_∇θ[š]χ-) > Ak NA pašχu ~ pu-aš-χu (acc. to Sd., possibly a spelling for *pošχu) 'ε hunting spear (?)' ('ein Jagdspieß') ¶ Sd. 844 || WCh {Stl.} *pasa 'arrow' > Su {J} pas id || BT: Krkr {Mk} pasku, Pr {Frz.} púžùk, Dera {J} pēk, ? Ngm {ChL} poʔošo, Krf {Sch.} fùšì, Bl {Mk} fɔsɔ 'arrow' || SBc: Zul {ChL} pùsè, Jm {Gw.} puskko, Plc {ChL} pyes, Grm {Jgr} pššì, Gj {ChL} pšsì, Buli {ChL} pšs, Dw {ChL} pšs, Zr {ChL} pšs id. ¶ JI II 2, ChC s.v. 'arrow', ChL, Frz. P 47, Stl. ZCh 144 [no. 7], IS Ch 26, Jgr 183 ¶¶ OS no. 1902 || **U:** FU *pekše 'arrow' > Chr: L пикш pikš 'arrow, bow', H пикш pikš, B pikš, M pikš 'arrow' || Prm: StVt пукыч pukič 'bow; рыба-стрела (arrow fish?)', Vt: Sr pukič ~ pukič, Kz pukāš 'arrow', G pukič 'bow' || ObU: Os V pōš 'arrow with a dull wooden arrowhead, arrow for hunting squirrels without spoiling their skin' || Vg LK lišan-pāxtəp-piwət 'arrow with a dull arrowhead for hunting squirrels' (lišən 'squirrel', pāxt- v. 'shoot') ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 369, MRS 429, U3S 363 ◇ If the N word was

*P₂ǃqǃ, in FU *pekšē we must suppose mt., while N *P₂eqšê suggests mt. in S *^opǃǃχ-.

1818. *P₂a₂y₂šê 'penis' > IE: NaIE *pes- id. > OI 'pasa-h id. || Gk πέος ntr. (gen. πέος) id. || L pēnis id. (< *pes-ni-s) || Ht pisnatar/-n- 'männliches Genitale', {CHD} 'male parts (penis, scrotum etc.)', ? pisnatar/-n- 'manhood', pesna-, pisenā-, *pis(e)ni- 'man, male person' ¶¶ P 824, EI 507 (*¹peses), M K II 241, M E II 111, Dv. no. 260, F II 507, WH II 281, Ts. W 63, CHD P 324-9, DImr. 107 || **HS:** S *^opayš- > Ar fayš-, fayš-at- 'gland de la verge', ?φ Ak {CAD} bāštu 'penis' (unless Soden's translation of Ak bāštu as 'Scham, Lebenskraft' [→ 'Scham von Mann und Frau'] is right). If Ak bāštu belongs here, we still have to explain Ak -ā- corresponding to Ar -ay- ¶ BK II 653, CAD II s.v. bāštu, Sd. 112 || ??φ B *¹bšš 'penis' (× *¹bšš 'urinate') > CM abəššiš 'pénis, verge', Fgg abšiš, Kb abbuš 'penis', CA (BMn), Nf abəššāš 'verge' ¶ NZ 8-9 || **U:** FU *pašē (or *paš|ćē) 'penis' > pLp {Lr.} *pōččâ / -č- 'penis of man or horse', S {Hs.} buodje, L {LLO} puohtja, Kld {TI} pūč: (ā) 'penis' || Hg fasz id. ¶ UEW 345 (reconstructing *paćǃ, though pLp *-ć- and Hg -sz may go back also [and more regularly] to FU *-š|ś-), Sm. 548 (FU *pā|o|ośi, FP *pa|o|ośi, Ugr *po|āsī 'penis'), Lr. no. 988, Lgc. no. 5289, Hs. 380, TI 410-11 ◇ The absence of the reflexes of *y in the NaIE word may be explained by the IE (NaIE?) simplification of ascending diphthongs: N *P₂ayšê > pre-IE *p₂ies- > NaIE *pes- ◇ Ffd. see IS III 96-7 (mentioning OT [MhK] äs 'männliche Schamteile' [MKA I 181.16], but OT äs with this meaning is not registered by either Cl. or MKD); IS III did not take into account Ar fayš- and reconstructed N */p₂/a/se (sc. *^rp^ra^ršē).

1819. *p^räy^rš^ri^r 'crush, break into pieces' > **HS:** Eg fP pšn vt., vi. 'split (spalten, sich spalten)' ¶ EG I 560, Fk. 95 || ?σ B *¹fsy '(se) délier, (se) défaire' > Ah əfsi 'désagréger, être désagrégé', Kb əfsi '(se) délier, (se) défaire', Gd fəsyiy 'être clairsémé' (grain, arbres), Tmz fsu '(se) défaire, étirer (la laine), (se) démêler', Shl {NZ} fsu 'carder', CM fsu 'défaire, étirer, nettoyer (la laine)', Rf fsu, Fgg fsa 'préparer la laine pour le tissage', Mz fsu, Wrg əfsu 'démêler, défaire' ¶ Fc. 362, Dl. 234-5, Lf. II no. 0445, MT 131, NZ 656 || Ch ≈ *p|fǃ^rs^r1 ({{Nw.} *fašə) v. 'break' > WCh {Stl.} *pas- 'break into pieces (разбивать)' > Hs fāsà ({{JI} fāsà) v. {Ba.} 'break irregularly', {Sk.} 'break into pieces', Hs fāsú

v. {Abr.} 'burst' | Ngz p̄psú v. 'render into small pieces or powder' | ?
 NrBc: P' {MSk.} piša, Sir {Sk.} p̄šú, Dir {Sk.} f̄šú v. 'break' || CCh: G'nd
 {Nw.} f̄š 'break' | Mrg {Hf.} p̄š̀ vt., vi. 'break (pot, calabash, glass)',
 Hld p̄š́nà, Wmd p̄š̀w 'break' | McHigi {ChL}: HgNk p̄š̄, HgB puš̄°,
 Kps puš̄ε, HgF p̄šo, FIG p̄šamti, FIJ f+š̄(i), FIM f̄š̄, FIB f+š̄t id. || ECh: Ke
 {Nw.} pese 'hatch', {Eb.} p̄sé 'éclore, schlüpfen aus dem Ei', as well as ??
 Tmk {Cp.} p̄ž 'casser, rompre' (unless from HS *√pcc, cp. S *√pss
 'destroy, break') ¶ JI II 42-3, ShL, ChC s.v. 'break' tr., Stl. ZCh 144 [no.
 6], Abr. H 256-7, 259, Ba. 308-9, 311, Sch. DN 130, Nw. 23 [no. 16],
 Hf. M 123, 127 etc., Eb. 87, Cp. 89 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 66, cp. OS no. 1916
 (*pac- 'destroy, break'; S, Tmk) || IE: NaIE *peis- (?) / *pis- v. 'crush,
 pound' > OI piṣ- (3s pres. pi'naṣṭi, 3p pres. pī'ṣanti, pfc.
 pi'peṣa, pi'piṣe, pp. piṣ'taḥ) 'crush, pound', piṣ'tam 'flour', Av
 piṣant- 'threshing, zerstampfend', piṣtra 'flour', NPrs {Horn} پشٓت
 pešt, Wx pōst id. || Gk (1s pres.) πύσσω (aor. ἔπυσσα), Gk A (1s pres.)
 πύττω v. 'bray in a mortar; winnow (grain)' || L pins-ēre (sup. pis-
 tum) v. 'stamp, pound, crush, remove hulls from grain', pistor
 'grinder, miller', Um pistu 'pistum' || MLG vīsel 'mortar' || Lt (iter.)
 inf. paisúti 'to thresh off the awns, to awn', Ltv inf. p̄aisīt 'to
 swingle (flax)' | SrChS, OR inf. ПЪХАТН p̄xati 'to push, to shove', R
 inf. пихать, Δ пхать, Uk inf. пхати, пихати id., Slv inf. pehāti
 [pahāti] 'to push, to thrust', OCz, Cz Δ inf. pchāti, Cz inf. pichati,
 Slk inf. pichat' 'to prick'; Cz inf. p̄chovati 'to beat/stamp down',
 Sl *p̄šeno 'crushed corn' (→ 'husked millet') > OCS {Mikl.}
 ПЪШЕНО p̄šeno 'farina', OR {Srz.} ПЪШЕНО p̄šeno 'millet (corn)
 (+Srz.) 'зерно проса', Slv p̄šeno 'husked corn, husked millet', R
 пше'но, Uk пшо'но, Cz Δ p̄šeno 'husked millet', Slk p̄šeno id.,
 'millet', P p̄szono 'grain of millet'; ↪ Sl *p̄šenića 'wheat' > OCS
 ПЪШЕНИЦА p̄šenića, Blg, R пшеница, Uk пшениця, SCr
 p̄šenića, Slv p̄šenića, Cz p̄šenice, Slk p̄šenica, P pszenica id.
 ¶ P 796, EI 581 (*peis- / pres. *pi'nes-ti 'remove the hulls from grain,
 grind, thresh'), M K II 281, M E II 169, Horn 71, WH II 307-8, Bc. G 342,
 F II 614-15, Tr. 220-1, Frn. 526, HIK 272, 303, Vs. III 269-70, 417,
 Chr. II 56-7, Ma. CS 403-4, Mikl. L 760, StSS 559, Glh. 508-9, Srz. II
 1780 || U: *pa^ʁš̄∇- > FU (att. in Prm) *opa^ʁš̄∇- > Z {TmK} paz-zd-
 'break into pieces', Prmk paz-dī- v. 'break, crush' ('ломать,
 мельчить'); Z paz-zd- 'scatter', Vt paža- 'scatter, disperse' may be a sd.

of the same $\sqrt{||}$ Sm: Helimski (p.c.) suggested to adduce Slq Tz {KKIH} $\text{pas}i\check{s}\text{-qo}$, $\text{pass}\bar{e}\text{-qo}$ 'to explode, to burst, to crack' ¶¶ LG 214, TmK 515, KKH 147 || **А** * $\text{P}_E\text{sE}(K\nabla)$ v. 'break, cut, cleave, peck [долбить]' > M * peske- v. 'cut' > WrM eske- {MED} v. 'cut, cut out (as material), cut off', HИM эсгэ- {MED} id. ('кроить, выкраивать; обрезать'), 'einen Schnitt machen' (делать порез), Brt эсжэ- v. 'cut, cut out (as cloth), cut off' ('кроить, выкраивать; обрезать'), 'einen Anschnitt machen (делать надрез)', Dg $\text{herk}\bar{i}\text{-}$ 'zuschneiden (кроить)', Kl {KRS} ишк- 'кроить', {Rm.} $i\check{s}k\text{-}$ 'zerschneiden, scheren, (Fleisch und anderes) in dünne Scheiben schneiden', Ord $\text{es}^k\text{x}\bar{e}\text{-}$ 'tailler' ¶ M *-e- of the initial syll. may be explained by regr. as. (pA ** $\text{p}_L\text{'ise}K\nabla$ > M * peske-) ¶ MED 334-5, BMR IV 439, Luv. 681, Chr. 776, KRS 276, KW 211, Ms. O 249, T DgJ 35 (on M *s > Dg r), 175 || Tg * $\text{pEsi}^k\text{'}$ - 'cut (рубить), crack; split, prick' > Ewk $\text{p}\check{s}i\check{g}\text{-}$ 'cut into pieces (разрубать), fell (a tree)', Lm $\text{h}\bar{i}\text{sqa}\bar{n}\text{-}$ vi. 'crack, burst, split', Neg $\text{x}\bar{i}\text{skan}$ 'a fissure' ('щель'), $\text{x}\bar{i}\text{sm}\bar{i}k\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'prick (a fish) with a fish fork', Ewk $\text{hismat-/-}\check{c}\text{-}$ id., v. 'prick, pierce', ??σ Ork $\text{p}\check{s}it\check{c}\bar{i}\text{-}$ v. 'tear' ¶ STM II 48, 328 || pKo * $\text{psk}\bar{i}\text{r}$ 'chisel' > MKo $\text{psk}\bar{i}\text{r}$, NKo $\bar{k}\bar{i}\text{l}$ ¶ S QK no. 411, Nam 74, MLC 247 || pJ * $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}$ 'fish fork' > MJ $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}$, J T $\text{h}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}$ id.; pJ * $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}(n)k\text{-}$ v. 'break up' > MJ $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}\check{g}\text{-}$ id., J T $\text{h}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}\check{g}$, J K $\text{h}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}\check{g}\text{-}$, J Kg $\text{h}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}\check{g}\text{-}$ {Kenk.} 'crush, squash, smash' ¶ S QJ no. 417, Mr. 690, Kenk. 510, BJRS II 477 (J $\text{h}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}$ 'двузубые вилы') ¶¶ SDM 1145-6 (pA * $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}(K\nabla)$ 'break, celave, peck' > Tg * $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}(k)\text{-}$ 'crack, prick with a fish fork, splot, prick, incise, tear', M heske , pJ, pKo), DQA no. 1768 || ??φ K * $\text{pe}\check{s}\text{-}$ vi. 'open', (partially *on.*) 'burst (with a cracking sound)' > Mg $\text{pa}\check{s}k\text{-}$ ~ $\text{pe}\check{s}k\text{-}$ 'burst (with a cracking sound), Sv {K} $\text{p}\bar{i}\check{s}\check{g}\text{-/p}\check{s}\check{g}\text{-}$ id., Sv UB {GP} $\text{msd. li-p}\check{s}\check{g}\text{-e}$, pres. $\text{p}\bar{i}\check{s}\check{g}\text{e}$ '(to) open (a vessel)', Sv {TK}: UB/L $\text{li-p}\check{s}\check{g}\text{-e}$, Ln $\text{li-p}\check{s}\check{k}\text{-e}$ 'to untie, to open' ¶¶ K 188-9, GP 172, 264, TK 452 ¶ A qu. cognate because of the unexpected cns. *-š- (insted of *-š̌-) ◇ Eg -š- and Vt -ž- suggest a N lateral *-š̌-, while the Z reflex -z- is still hard to explain. FU *a (< *ä due to the vw. harmony?) and M *e point to a N *ä, while the IE diphthong *eḷ may go back either to N *i or to *∇y, so that a possible N source is likely to be *äy. Traces of the original final *i can be discerned in A, B and possibly Ch. One of two alt. reconstructions is N * $\text{p}\bar{i}\text{s}\bar{i}^i$, that accounts for the vw. (~ diphthong) in IE and A, but not in U. The discrepancies in vowels may be due to some onomatopoeic factor.

1820. *p_hat_h (or *p_hat_h?_h?) 'ground, plain; bottom' > HS ? * \sqrt{pt} ' > Ch: WCh *p_ht- > Ngz pátátá 'plain, field' | Hs fètáj ~ fètál ~ fètétè adv. emphasizing 'clear expanse': fili fetal 'a large expanse of open country', sarari fetalid., fètétè 'shallowness' (× N *p_hat_hX_h 'to be open, to open') ¶ Ba. 317, Abr. H 263, Stl. ZCh 144 [no. 2] || ? S * \sqrt{pt} > Ar \sqrt{ft} 'jeter qn par terre' ¶ S * \sqrt{pt} from ** \sqrt{pt} (as.) ¶ BK II 609 || IE: NaIE *ped-, *ped-om 'ground' (× *pedom 'footprint' ← *ped- 'foot' < N *p_ha'g'd_h 'leg, foot') > Gk πέδον 'ground, earth', πεδίον 'a plain (Ebene)' || Um pεřum, PERSO 'πέδον, solum', L oppidum 'town', ? oppidō 'quite, very much, exceedingly' (< *ob + *pedom {Krtm.} 'bei der Grundfläche', {P} 'on the spot') || Mir {EI} ined, {DIL} inad 'position, place, trace' (< *eni-pedo-) || Sl *podъ 'ground, bottom' > OR ποδъ podъ 'ground', Cz pŭda id., 'soil', R под, Uk під 'hearthstone', Blg под, Slv pòd 'floor', SCr pōd 'floor, planking', Slk pòda 'bottom'; → Sl *podъ 'under' > OCS, OR ποδъ podъ, Blg, R под, P, Slk, SCr, Slv pod 'under', Cz pod(e) 'below, beneath' || Ht peda-n 'place' ¶¶ On NaIE *pedom 'footprint, track' see N *p_ha'g'd_h ¶¶ WP II 24, ≈σ EI 595 (*pedom 'footprint, track'), F II 485-6, ≈ WH II 214-15 (rejecting the connection between oppidum and πέδον) and 293, Bc. G 341, Pln. 749, Vs. III 295-6, StSS 464, Glh. 491, Sl. 53-4, Vr. 118, CHD P 330-45 || A: [1] A *p'at'∇ 'uncultivated land, field' > T *_hatír > OT atiz 'a strip of land between two dykes', Chg atiz, Qzq {Rl.}, ET atiz 'field', ET Tar {Rl.} ätiz 'Acker, Ackerland', Tkm atid 'strip of land, garden bed (гряда, грядка), plot of land', Shor {Rl.} atis 'ein Feldmaß, 1/18 desyatina' (desyatina is a Russian square measure), Qzq {Sht.} atiz 'garden bed', {Rl.} atiz, atanaq 'mit kleinen Hügelchen bedecktes Feld' ¶ Cl. 73, Rl. I 454, 460, 493, 843, Tkr 87, TDS 58 || M *_hatar > WrM {MED} atar 'virgin land, unploughed or fallen field', HIM атар {MED} id., {BTR} 'virgin land, unploughed field, Neuland, Ödland', Brt атар id., Mnr {MYC} atar 'virgin land, unploughed or fallow field' (acc. to Cl. 73, T ⇨ M) ¶ MED 58, BMR I 170, Chr. 64, MYC 124 || pKo {Rm.} *pat_h, {S} *pàt_h > MKo pat ~ pat_h, NKo {MLC} pat_h, Ko N {Rm.} pat_hi, Ko S {Rm.} pat_hi, padi 'field, plot of ground' ¶ S QK no. 665, Rm. SKE 192-3, MLC 741 || pJ {S} *pátá ~ *pàtá > OJ pata, MJ pátá, J T hatá ~ háta, J K/Kg hátà 'field, farm' ¶ S QJ no. 599, Mr. 401, Kenk. 460, BJRS II 450-1 ¶¶ SDM 1127 (pA *p'át'à > M, T, pJ, pKo), DQA no. 1718, S AJ 16, 67, Rm. EAS I 53, Rm. SKE 192-3, Pp. VG

51, 82, Mng. KA 284, Mr. KJ 231 ¶¶ SDM 1127 (pA *p'át'à 'uncultivated land, field' > M, T, J, Ko), S AJ 16, 87, Rm. EAS I 53, Rm. SKE 192-3, Pp. VG 51, 82, Mng. KA 284, Mr. KJ 231 ¶¶ [2] pA *p'at'∇(-k₁'∇) 'bottom, lower side' (→ 'leg, dole of foot') > Tg: [a] Tg *pata, *patan ≈ 'bottom' > Ewk hat 'basis, root; foot of a mountain', Ud xɜdi, Orc pata 'runner of a sledge (полоз нарты)' (→ Neg pata id.), 'end', Nn KU φatā 'runner of a sledge', Nn Nh pata {On.} 'tree that is sunk into water', {STM} id., 'runner of a sledge', {On.} patā 'runner of a sledge', Ul pata id., 'footboard of a sledge', 'tree that is sunk into water', WrMc {Z} φатань 'foot of a mountain, bottom, bottom of vessel\barrel'] [b] Tg *pata, *pataka 'paw, hoof, sole of foot' > Lm hatīqa 'fetlock under reindeer's hoof (грубый волос под копытом оленя)', Ewk hata, Neg хата 'fetlock under reindeer's and elk's hoof', 'pad (подушечка) of the sole of dogs', Orc хартамуки 'bird's foot', WrMc {Z} φатха 'foot (of birds and mammals), hoof' ¶ STM II 318, On. 325, Z 1030-1 || M *φatqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N *p.atX∇ 'to be open, to open') > WrM адqu {MED} 'hollow of the hand, handful, that which is hold in the hand', HIM атга {MED, BMR} id., Brt адха 'handful', Kl {KRS} атх атхь id., {Rm.} атха 'Handvoll, so viel wie man mit einer Hand greifen kann', Dg {T} хатку, {MYC} хатаку, {Mrm.} хатку ~ хаток 'handful', Ord ад_ху 'le creux de la main (celle-ci étant fermée), poignée'; → M *φatqu- 'hold in one's hand, take by one's hand \ by a cupped hand' > MM [S] {H, Pp.} һадqu-, WrM адqu- {MED} 'hold in one' hand', HIM атга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'брать горстью, grip by one's hand', Brt адха- 'захватывать\сжимать в горсть, squeeze by one's hand', Kl {KRS} атх- атхь- 'squeeze by one's hand, take a handful of smth., крепко держать в руках', {Rm.} атха- 'greifen, festnehmen (mit der Hand oder mit den Fingerspitzen), in der Hand klaben', Ord ад_ху- 'tenir dans le creux de la main (celle-ci étant fermée), saisir et tenir au moyen de la main' ¶ Pp. VG 11, 50, H 75, MED 12, BMR I 170-2, Chr. 32-3, KRS 56, KW 17-18, Chr. 32-3, Klz. D I 138, T DgJ 175, MYC 124, Ms. O 3 || pKo {S} *pátók 'bottom (дно), lower part' > MKo pátók, pátán id., NKo padak {Xld.} 'bottom (дно), sole of foot' ¶ S QK no. 317, Nam 237, MLC 703, Xld. KRS 240 || pJ {S} *pátá 'fish fin' (← *≈ leg'?) > OJ pátá ¶ S QJ no. 903, Mr. 401 || T: [a] T {SDM} *atim 'handful, pinch(ful)' > Tkm атым 'handful', Tv {SDM} адим id., Az {SDM}, Qrg atim, Uz отим atim 'pinch(ful), Qq атым 'doze' (бир атым насыбай 'one pinch of snuff'), Qzq атым

'portion of powder for one shot', Chv idam 'armful' ¶ TkR 57, Jeg. 344, Md. OJ 85, UzR 309, KrkR 61, Jud. 81, UzR 309, MM 48 [b] ? T *a_l:_lt_l' (< *_lh_la_l:_lt_l'?) 'trace' [{DQA} *ā t(-kI)] (× T *ā t 'step' < N *qAd_l∇_l?∇ 'to step, to walk' [q.v. ffd.] × N *?at_l?_l∇ 'come') > VTt Δ {DS} at 'trace' (atI da juq 'no trace [remains]'), some T lge (Osm, Chg?) {Zn.} at 'trace (of a foot)' ¶ ET Gl 88-9, Zn. I s.v. اءءء, DS III 24 || pJ: [a] pJ *pátá 'side (Seite, сторона)' (< 'Rand') > OJ pata, MJ φátá, J T hàta, J K hátá, J Kg hatá id. ¶ Mr. 401, BJR II 450 || [b] ?σ pJ {S} *pátá 'fish fin' (< *≈ leg'?) > OJ pátá ¶ S QJ no. 903, Mr. 401 ¶¶ Highly qu. as a cognate because it may be explained as going back to N *q^rA^rd_l∇_l?^ro^r ¶¶ SDM 1128-9 (pA *p^rá^tá(-k∇) 'bottom, lower side' > Tg *pata 'bottom', 'paw, hoof', M, T *ā t(ki) 'handful', pKo, pJ *pátá 'side', Tg *pata and *pataka 'feed pads, fetlock'), DQA no. 1719 (id.), S AJ 70 (Tg, Ko, J), 282, ≈ Rm. EAS I 5 (Tg, Ko), Pp. VG 11 and 50 (M, Tg, STM II 318 (Tg, M, T) ¶¶ Not here T *hāδ-ak 'foot' (⇔ Str. LPA 22, Mill. OJL 137-8, 201-2 and other scholars, see N *p_la^rg^rd∇ 'leg, foot') || D (att. in GnD) *paṭa 'field' > Gnd paṭe 'small field for cultivation', Png baṭa 'a field on the hills', Ku baṭa 'pasture' ¶ D no. 3874 || D *pātti ({θGS} *p-) 'small field' > Tm pātti 'small field', Ml pātti, Kn pāti 'garden bed', Tu pāti 'nursery for plants', Tl pād_lu, pādi 'garden bed or plot' ¶¶ D *patti is likely to go back to a d. form (< *paṭa + a *-t∇-sx) ¶¶ D no. 4078 ◇ This N etymon may be etymologically vonnected with N *paṭ_l∇ 'to be open, be open' (if the apparent phonetic difference between them is explained away). Cf. IS MS 372 s.v. 'широкий' *pāṭ_l, IS SS no. 1.32, AD GD 10 ◇ Ar ✓ fṭ? (-ṭ∇?- from -t∇?- by as.) and pA *-t^r- suggest pN *pāt∇?∇ (pN *-t∇?- > **-t?- > pA *-t^r-).

1821. *pat∇ or *pa?it∇ 'basket, box' > HS: S *^o✓ptn (? *pa'tan-) > Ak pītr_lu 'box' ¶ Sd. 869-70 || IE: NaIE *pod- 'box, vessel, pot' > ? OI palla 'large granary, barn', pallī 'e measure of grain' (if -ll- < *-dl-) || OHG faṣ 'vessel, jug, dish', NHG Faß 'cask, barrel, vessel', OSx, ON fat 'vessel', AS fæ_t 'vessel, casket, cup, pot' || Lt púodas, Ltv pōds 'pot' || ? L pot(t)us 'drinking cup' (× L n. pōtus 'drink'?) > Fr, Prov. pot etc. 'drinking cup' ⇨ AS pot > NE pot ¶ WH II 351, HDEL 1025, P 790, M K II 236 (no et. of the OI words), WH II 351, ML no. 6705, Vr. 113, Sw. 54, Ho. 97, Ho. S 18, Kb. 228, OsS 172, KM 185, Frn. 668, Frd. HW EH I 15-16 || IE *pot_lh_lṣ_lṛ / *p_o.t_lh_lṣ_ln-os 'basket' → 'dish' > Ht {CHD} pattar 'basket' (/ dat.-loc. paddan-i), Lc πατάρα 'Korb, Kasten', Gk

πατάνη 'ε flat dish', L *patera* 'low bowl, saucer', Clt {Matas.} **fatnā* 'drinking vessel' > Mir *án* id. ¶¶ F II 480, Ts. W 62-3, CHD P 241-2, EI 443 (IE **pot₁H₁r₆* / **p_ot₁H₁n-os* 'shallow dish'), Matas. E 126, ≠ WH II 264 (unc.: L *patera* [{AD} <d- L *pateo* 'be open']) || U: FU **pata* 'cauldron, pot' > F *pata* (gen. *padan*) 'Kessel, Kochtopf', Es *pada* (gen. *paja*) id. | Lp N {N} *batte* / -d-, L {LLO} *pāhtē* 'pot, cauldron' | Chr H *pat*, U *pot* id., B *pat*, *pot* 'pot' || ObU **pūt* 'cauldron' > pVg **pūt* 'Kessel, Grapen' > Vg: T *pōt*, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss *pūt*, P/NV/SV/LL *put*; pOs **put* 'cauldron' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/O *put*, D *püt*, Nz/Kz *pūt* | Hg *fazék* 'cooking pot' ¶ UEW 358, LLO 705, MF 185-6, Ht. 180 [no. 550] || A **p^oatⁱ* ~ **pⁱt* (< ***p^ait*?) 'ε vessel' > T **itií* 'cup, vessel' ({SDM} **ēdií* with err. **ē-*) > OT {Cl.} *idiš* & OT U *ediš*, XwT XIV *iδiš*, Chg ≥XV *idiš* id., Tkm Δ, Uz, Qrg *idiš*, Qzq, Qq *idis*, Xk *ids*, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} *edis*, Qb {Cs.} *ides* 'vessel', Yk *isit* 'cup' ¶ Cl. 72, ET Gl 328-9, SDM 1117 (T **ēdií*) || Tg **padu* 'pouch' > WrMc {Z} *padu* id., Ud *padu* 'pouch (for tinder and flint)', Ork *padu* 'tobacco pouch', Nn Nh {On.} *pado* id. ('кисет'), {STM} *pado* ~ *padoã*, Nn Bk/KU *padu* ~ *padu*, Orc *padu*, Ul *padu*(n-) id., 'pouch' ¶ STM II 31, On. 320, Z 1032 || pJ {S} **pítú* 'box' > OJ *pítu*, MJ *φítú* id., J T *hìcu*, J K *hícú*, J Kg *hícú* {Kenk.} 'chest, coffer'; pJ **pítú-ki* 'coffin' > OJ *p₁ituk₁i*, MJ *φítúki* id., J T *hìcugi*, J K *hícúgí*, J Kg *hícúgi* id. ¶ S QJ no. 979, Mr. 411, Kenk. 519 ¶¶ SDM 1117-8 (pA **p^ádì* 'a k. of vessel' > Tg, T **ēdií*, pJ), DQA no. 1697 (id.) ¶¶ In SDM 1117-8 the rec. of pA **-d-* (instead of **-t-* > T **-t-* = {SDM} T **-d-*) is err. ¶¶ Tg and pJ are tentatively supposed by SDM to go back to **padi-b* ({SDM}: "otherwise [the] final **u* is hard to explain" ¶¶ T and pJ **-i-* of the initial syll. may be explained either by regr. as. or by suggesting N **p^ait* || D **patal* ({GS} **p-*) 'pot' > Tm *patalai* 'large-mouthed pot', Td *paθu* 'large, broad-mouthed clay pot', Gnd, Mlt *patli* 'cooking pot' ¶¶ D **-t-* for the expected **-t-* may go back to a cns. cluster (**-?t-* from N **-?it-* in **p^ait*?) ¶¶ D no. 3909 ◇ As mentioned above, T, J and D are likely to suggest N **p^ait* ◇ The rec. of N **p-* is valid only if T **itií* is a legitimate cognate. Otherwise we remain with an unspecified N **P-* ◇ IS MS 366 s.v. 'κορυά' **p₂at₂*, IS SS no. 2.18 (in both sources: IE, U, D), UEW 358 (U, IE). IS (MS 366) supposed that the ancient meaning is 'clay vessel', but the Semitic (Ak) and AnIE data suggest that the original meaning was 'basket, box', with further development into

'vessel'. Borrowing from one lge to another is not ruled out (Jk. 301 and SSA II 322: FU ← IE; → LCm. NLP 16-17).

1822. *pEt∇ 'to pass, to go out' > HS: S *^o-pūt- > Ar ✓ fwt (ip. -fūt-u, pf. fāta) {Ln.} 'pass', 'pass away, elapse' (time, opportunity), {BK} 'passer à côté de qn', {Hv.} 'elapse' (time), 'die' ¶ Ln. 2454, BK II 642-3, Hv. 578 || B ✓ fth > Tmz {MT} ftu (pf. ifta) 'passer, s'en aller', Shl {La.} ftu 'aller', {NZ} id., 'partir, s'en aller'; but the verb fat / fut (Wrg fat 'passer' [le temps], Kb fat [pf. ifut] 'passer, dépasser', Shl {La.} fut v. 'lose', 'elapse, be over' [of beauty, time], ZAS {Loub.} fat/fut 'passer, s'écouler') may be a loan from Ar ¶ MT 137, Dlh. Ou 87, Dl. 236, La. CBM 290-1, Loub. 540, NZ 667 || C: Ag {Ap.} *fāt- v. 'go' > Xm fir-/fit- v. 'go (away)', Aw {Ap.} fey-/fet-, Bln {R} fæ r- id., Km {Ap.} fäy-/fät- id. || ? SC: Irq {Wh.} purūç- v. {Wh.} 'go afar/off', {MQK} 'go far' ¶ Ap. AV 9, Ap. VSA 19, AD GDS 67, R WB 116, 124, Wh. VR 82, MQK 83 || Ch *p∇t∇ > WCh *p∇t∇ v. 'go out' (→ 'come') (≈ {Stl.} *pūt- v. 'go out' and *f∇t- v. 'go out, come') > Hs fītá v. 'go out', Gw {Nw. ← ?} pēt ('pēt) id. (= Gw [all dialects] {Mts.} bütu 'go out?') || AG {Hf.} *pæt > Su put, Ang {ChL} püt, Gmy {Hf.} pēt, Kf {Nt.} fút, {Hf.} pēt ~ pfut, Cp {ChL} pút v. 'go out' || BT *fat- v. 'go out' > Bl {Lk.} fat-, {Bnt.} pā't-awo, Krkr {Lk.} fat-, Dr {Nw.} pori, {ChL} pod-, Tng {J} pódu, Ngm hatu, Bele fétí, Glm páz, Gera fîd-, Pr pétó v. 'go out' || SBc {Sh.}: Zem D fut, Ds D, Ds Bn füt, Ds Bd, Wnd fut v. 'come' || CCh: Gudu {IL} pīt v. 'go' || G'nd {Nw.} pɔda 'go out' ¶ JI II 182, 62 and 164, ChC s.v. 'go out', 'go' and 'come', ChL, Stl. ZCh 147 [no. 29] and 159 [no. 127], Stl. VZCh no. 191, Mts. G 28, Mch. D 147, Sh. SB 34, Hf. AG 17, Nt. 13, J S 79, J T 132, Lk. PVB II 135, Lk. TS, Sch. BTL, Frz. P 45, Nw. no. 60 (pCh *pætā), IS ChL 25 || ?σ Eg fOK ptp't 'tread (roads), trample (enemies)' > Cpt Sd ποτπετ ποτπετ, Β φοτφετ p^hotp^het 'fouler, faire tomber, tomber' (× N *pat∇ 'beat, strike', q.v. ffd.) ¶ EG I 563, Vc. 165 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 783 (Ch *fat-/fit- 'move'), ≈ Sk. HCD 70, SSAAJ I no. 137, AD GDS 67 [no. 3.21] || IE: NaIE *ped- ~ *pēd- v. 'go, walk' > OI 'padyatē 'goes' (≠ M K II 206-7 [← padyatē 'falls']) || Gk πηδύω v. 'leap, spring; stamp with the feet' || Lt 1s pres. pēdinu / inf. pēdinti v. 'pace, walk (slowly)' ¶ × IE *ped- v. 'fall' (see s.v. N *pāt∇?∇ 'to fall') × (?) IE *pe(:)d-/ pod- 'foot' (< N *pa'g'd∇ 'leg' [or 'ε part of a leg'], 'foot') ¶ P 791, M E II 76-7, ≈ F II 526-7, Frn. 561 (Lt pēdin- ⇨ pēdà 'foot') || U: FU (att. in Prm) *^opEt∇- > pPrm *pēt- v. 'go out' > OPrm pēt-, Z pēt- v. 'go out', 'rise' (sun, heavenly body), Vt potinī id. ¶ LG

220 || **A** *p'æ̃ta- v. 'step, walk' > Tg *pete- 'run quickly; jump (away, off)' > Lm hətəkən- 'run quickly, hurry; jump (away, off)', Ewk hətəkən-, Ork potčo-, Ul pətən-, Nn Nh pətən- 'jump (away, off)', Neg хэтəkэн-, Ork potčo-, Ud хэтigэнз- v. 'jump', WrMc {Z} финтэ- 'jump aside, run away (отскакивать, убежать въ сторону)' ¶ STM II 372, On. 348, Z 1053 || **M** *_lφ_ladaga- v. 'hurry' (× N *qad∇ 'to hurry, to run', q.v. ffd.) > WrM adaga- {MED} vi. 'hurry, speed, arrive', HIM адга- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'hurry', Kl {KRS} адh- adya- 'hurry', {Rm.} adya- 'eilen' ¶ MED 9, BMR I 52, KW 1 || **T** *āt_l- v. 'step', T d. *āt_l-im n. 'step' (both: × pA *^oā_l- v. 'step' < N *[?]at_l∇ 'come', ? 'walk', q.v.); T б→ M *adam 'pace, step' > WrM adam, HIM адм 'pace, step', Kl {Rm.} adm 'grosser, schneller Schritt; schnell und hurtig gehend' ¶ MED 10, KW 1 ¶¶ T *ā- from pA *-æ̃- (infl. of the pA vw. *-a- of the seconf syll.) ¶¶ SDM 1139 (pA *p'ē̃ta- 'step, walk' > Tg, T, M *_lh_lada- 'hurr; hurried walking'), S AJ 15, 71, 280, KRS 28, KW 1 ◇ Not here Tg *pete- 'jump' (< N *^pE_t∇ 'to fly') (unconvincingly equated in SDM 1139 [pA *p'ē̃ta- v. 'step, walk'] with T *āt- v. 'step' (q.v. above) and M *_lh_lada- (sc. *adam 'pace, step' ← T *āt- v. 'step') ◇ Ang, Su p- and Eg p- (?) suggest HS *p- and N *^p-.

1823. *P_litA 'hold, grasp, seize' > **HS**: S *^o-pīd- v. 'catch' > Ak ✓ pyd (p. -pīd, inf. pādū) 'einschließen, gefangen setzen' ¶ Sd. 808 || **IE**: NaIE *ped- ~ *pēd- 'grasp, joint\fit together' > OHG {Kb.} inf. faẏẏōn 'to load, to pack', MHG inf. vaẏẏen 'fassen, erfassen, zusammenfassen', NHG inf. fassen 'to grasp', ? ON inf. fata 'lose zusammenfügen' ||| Ltv Δ {ME} pēda 'handful, armful', linu pēda 'ein Bund Flachs, eine Handvoll Flachs', Lt pédas 'sheaf'] the NaIE nouns *pod- ~ *pōd-, *pēdo- 'vessel, box, pot' (> OHG faẏ 'vessel, casket', OSx, ON fat 'vessel', AS fæt 'vessel, casket, cup, pot', Lt púodas, Ltv pōds 'pot') go back to N *^pat∇ (or *^pa[?]it∇) 'basket, box' (q.v. ffd.), but there may be contamination of N ***P_litA** and ***p_lat∇** in forms like OHG inf. faẏẏōn, MHG inf. vaẏẏen 'in ein Gefäß tun', NHG inf. fassen 'to barrel (beer), to hive (bees)' ¶ Fs. 148-9, Kb. 228, OsS 172, Lx. 264, 287, Ho. 97, 102, Vr. 114, 118-19, 149, ME III 206, Frn. 563, cp. otherwise P 790 || **U**: FU: FV *pitä- v. 'hold' (× N *^bit_l∇_l'[?]∇ 'to hold') > F pitä- v. 'hold', Es pida (pres. pean) id. | Er pēda 'sich anschließen, ankleben, sich anheften' ¶ Hardly here (for lack of reliable semantic connection) (⇔ Sm. 547) FU {UEW} *pitä- v. 'tie, tie up, bind'

('schnüren, binden') > Chr: L *πιδάσσι* *πίδ-αῖ* 'to tie, to bind', KB *πίδᾶ-*, U/B *πίδα-* 'binden, schnüren, stricken' and Hg *fűz-* v. 'stitch, attach, bind' ¶ Coll. 108, UEW 386-7, Sm. 547 (FU, FP **pītä-*, Ugr **pītä-* 'keep, hold'), MRS 426-7 || D {tr.} **pīt-*, {GS} **pīd-* v. 'grasp, hold' (× N **bit_L∇, 'r'∇ '↑')* > Tm *pītī* v. 'catch, grasp, carry, keep back', *pītī* n. 'hold, clutch, seizure by hand', Ml *pītī* 'grasp, hold, closed hand', Kt *πῖρῶ-* v. 'clench (hand)', *πῖρῦ* 'handful', Kn *πιδί* v. 'seize, hold', Kdg *puḍi-* v. 'catch, hold', Tu *hiḍi* n. 'hold, grasp', Tl *pidi* 'handle, hilt, handful', Prj *pidk-* v. 'embrace', Gnd *pīḍanā* v. 'snatch, catch' ¶¶ D no. 414, GS 43 [no. 91] || ?φ K: Sv {Ni.} *-pdāl* 'touch, take', Sv UB {GP} *lipdāl* 'to touch with a hand' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'τρογᾶτῶν' and 'βρατῶν', GP 171 ◇ U suggests a N **-t-*, while IE **-d-* and D **-t-* may go back to both N **-t-* and **-d-*. Therefore the pN cns. is most likely to be **-t-*. Sv *-d-* is still to be explained ◇ NaIE **pet_L∇* is likely to go back to eIE **pied* < N **PitA* (cf. AD NGIE, AD NVIE).

1824. *P_{ut}∇ 'feather, hair' > D: [1] **pūtā* ({GS} **b-*) 'down of birds, feather, hair' > Ml *pūtā* 'down of birds, wool, fine hair', Klm *bu'r* (pl. *bu'dl*) 'eyelash, eyebrow', Nkr *būr* (pl. *būd*) 'down, fine feather', Prj *būdulid.*, Gnd *būrā* & *bura* & *puḷa* 'feather', Png *būra* 'small feathers, down', Mnd *būriṅ* 'pubic hair', Kui *būri*, *būru* 'hair, fur, feather, wool', Brh *puṭ* 'hair' ¶¶ D no. 4358 || [2] (in Gnd) **putt-* ({GS} **p-?*) (× N **p_Et_∇* 'to fly; bird') > Gnd *putga* 'feather' & *putgā* id., 'wing', Png *putehiṅ*, *puteliṅ*, *butuhiṅ* 'eyebrows' ¶ D **-tt-* for the expected **-t(t)-* is to be explained; it may have been caused by the addition of a *sx* ¶ D no. 4278 || K: Sv UB/LB/Ln *pätw*, Sv L *patw* 'hair' ¶ TK 753, GP 263, Dn. s.v. *ἄπτερον* || IE: NaIE **pet-∇r/n-* / **pter-* 'feather, wing' (× IE **pet-* v. 'fly' < N **p_Et_∇* 'to fly') > OI *patram* 'wing, feather' || Gk *πτερόν* 'feather, wing' || L *penna* (< **petnā*) 'feather' || Clt **fatan* (gen. **fatanos* ~ **fetnos*) 'wing, bird' > OW *atar*, MW *adar* 'birds', OBr [Y] *attanos* 'aligeris' || Arm ? *թերթ* *t^heṛt^h* 'leaf' (if from **pter-* 'wing') and {Slit., Juh.} *թեր* *t^heṛ* 'leaf'; Arm *թրանիմ* *t^hṛanim* 1s pres. 'fly' || Clt: OIr *ette*, W *adain* 'wing' || OHG *fēdara*, NHG *Feder*, OSx *fethera*, Dt *ve(d)er*, AS *feðer*, NE *feather*, ON *fjǫðr* 'feather' || Ht *pattar/n-* ~ *pittar* 'wing'; some AnIE lge *↳* Arm *փետուր* *p^hetux* 'feather' (acc. to Ach.) ¶¶ P 825-6, EI 646 (**pet(e)r-* (**pet(e)r-*/**pet(e)n-*), M K II 203-4, M E II 75-6, F II 612-13, WH II 282-3, Thr. § 78, ≈ RE 82, YGM-1 3, Vr. 124-5, Vr. N 766, Kb.

229, OsS 173, KM 188, Ho. 103, Ho. S 19, Slit. 38, Jah. OSK 22, 95 (on Arm **բեր** t^heʀ 'leaf'), Frd. HW 166, Ts. W 62, CHD P 240, Matas. E 126 || ? HS: CCh: Bdm {ChC} fèpédò, {Nc.} fefēto 'wing', Db {LnG} pètè-pètè id., ? Gudu {ChL} bib^uéd, Nz {ChL} bèdèki id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'wing', ChL, LnG s.v. pètè-pètè. Nc. s.v. fefēto || ?φ A *budu and (?) *^obutu 'down (Daune), feather, curly' > T *bīδīk (*mīδīk) ~ *^obitīk 'moustache' (× N *bEb∇t∇ 'lip[s], mouth'? × N *bur_ud∇^g∇ 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down') > OT bīδīq, MQp XIII bīyīq ~ mīyīq, Chg ≥xv bīy ~ mīy, XwT, OOsm ≥xv bīyīq, Tk bīyīk, Δ buyīq ≈ mīyq, Ggz bīyīk, Az bīy, Δ buy, CrTt bīyīq ~ mīyīq, Kr Cr mīyūq, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ Qrg, StAlt mīyīq, VTt, Bsh m^uy^uq, Chv L м^uй^uх m^uy^uх 'moustache', Yk bitīq id., 'beard' ¶ The pA cns. *-d- (> pT *-δ-) is not a reg. reflex of N *-t- and requires explanation (cf. N *bEb∇t∇ with the discussion of the same problem). The delabialization *u > T *i is a rather frequent phenomenon, but its rules and conditions have not yet been investigated ¶ Cl. 301, ET B 304, TL 223-4, Rs. W 73, Ash. VIII 291, Fed. I 346-7, Jeg. 130, ChVS 111 || M: [1] M *^obo_z'u'g'u' 'down (of birds)' > WrM {MED} бозугу, HIM бозго {MED} id.; {BMR} 'small feathers' ¶ MED 143, BMR I 281 || [2] M *bo|u_zigir 'curly' > WrM {MED} buzigir 'curly, frizzly' (hair), 'fleecy, woolly, hairy, shaggy', HIM {MED, BMR} бужгир id., Kl {KRS} бужгир бу_zγар 'curly and short', {Rm.} бу_zigir 'kurzhaarig', 'kurz und locker' (vom Haar und Wulle), Ord b_uz_igir 'crépu, frisé'; M || [3] M *bo|u_ziγi- > WrM {MED} buzii-vi. 'curl' (of hair), HIM бужий- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'gekräuselt werden, sich lochen' (Haar)', Kl {Rm.} бу_zi- 'kurz und knotterig sein' (Haar, Wolle), 'sich kräuseln', Ord b_uz_i- 'être crépu' ¶ MED 123, BMR I 254, 281, KRS 116, KW 57-8, Ms. O 90-1 || Tg: Ewk boduruqa 'curly, fleecy'; NrTg *buji 'feather' (× N *P_un|n^čê 'body hair, down, [?] feathers') > Lm buji 'feather', Ewk buji 'new feather after moult' ¶ STM I 102-3 || ?φ pJ *pí-n-ka_i 'beard' (cd with *ka_i 'hair') > OJ p_iige, MJ φígé, J T h_ige, J K h_igé, J Kg h_ige 'beard' ¶ S QJ no. 691, Mr. 406 ¶¶ SDM 356-7 (pA *bi_udu [with unjustified *-i_u-] 'down, feather; curly' > Tg *^obo_zi- [> Ewk boduruqa], M *bu_zi- ~ *bo_zi-, T, pJ), DQA no. 155 (id.), Pp. VG 21, 53, KW 58, Vld. 174, TL 224 ◇ D {GS} *b- suggests a N *p- (rather than *p̄-). D *pū_t∇, A, Ch and K point to a N non-emph. *-t-. The apparent reflexes of the emph. *-t̄- in IE *pet-∇r/n- / *pter- and D *putt∇ are secondary, they are induced by the

infl. of *pet- v. 'fly' in IE and by a sx in D (*putt∇ < **puṭ-t∇) ◇ IE *-t- in *pet-∇r/n- / *pter- 'feather, wing' may be due to as. (*pt- for **pd-) or\and to the infl. of IE *pet- v. 'fly' < N *pEṭ∇ 'to fly; bird' ◇ Blz. L (D, IE), ≈σ Blz. LNA no. 43 (N *p|put∇ 'bird / feather' > D, BSl (in fact BSl *put- is more likely to go back to N *pEṭ∇ (q.v.).

1825. *paʔi't∇ (or *paʔet∇?) 'ε skin, bark' > HS: EC: Hr/Dbs 'fēṭ- 'bark' ¶ AMS 264 || Om {Blz.} *paṭi't- 'skin' > SOm: Ari G {Blz. ← Fl.} fōti 'snake skin' || NrOm: Na fatu 'skin', Cha {Fl.} fāta 'skin' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 90, Bnd. PO 149, Fl. p.c. || Ch *pata 'skin' > WCh: Hs {Abr.} fātā, {Ba.} fātā id., Gw pāta id., 'leather, hide, fur' | Wrj pataṭ 'skin' || CCh: HgB, HgF pta, Kps, HgG pta ≈ ω(p)ta id. | ⇨ : Mofu pāpət- 'éplucher', Mafa pit- v. 'debark' | Msy {Mch.} pəḍ- v. 'skin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} pété 'schälen (ein Baum), entfedern' ¶ JI II 296, Stl. IF 32-3, ChL, ChC s.v. 'skin', Abr. H 259, Ba. 312, Mts. G 94-5, Sk. HCD 66 ¶¶ OS no. 1964 (HS *pat- 'skin') || ?σ,φ S: Ar fūṭ-at- {Ln.} 'cloths used as waist wrappers', {BK} 'serviette, essuie-main', {Hv.} 'waist wrapper'; Ar SL {Hv.} fūṭ-at- 'napkin, towel' (unless akin to pC {Mrn.} *fūtt- 'cotton' [see Mrn. ApD 235] or is borrowed from OI paṭa 'woven cloth, blanket, garment, veil' [see MW 579, Vlr. LA 616, L LS 334 and L EDH 65]) ¶ Ln. 2450, BK II 646, Hv. 579 || **D** {tr.} *paṭṭ-, {GS} *opaṭ- 'bark of a tree' > Tm paṭṭai, Ml paṭṭa, Kn paṭṭe, Tl paṭṭa, paṭṭamu id.; ?? D (att. in SD) {tr.} *paṭṭo (={GS} *p-) 'crust of a wound' > Kt paṭ 'scar', Kn paṭṭu 'a callous spot' ¶¶ D no-s 3873 and 3876, GS 98 [*269] || **IE** *baiṭā 'garment made of skins', {P} 'Ziegenfell, daraus gefertigter Rock' > Gk βαῦτη 'shepherd's or peasant's coat of skins; tent of skins' || Gmc (← Gk?): Gt paida (χλιτών) 'Leibrock', inf. gāpaidōn 'bekleiden', OSx pēda {Ho.} 'garment, cloth', AS pād 'coat', {Ho.} 'Rock, Mantel', OHG pfeit 'garment, jacket', MHG pfeit ~ pheit {Lx.} 'shirt; ε a shirt-like garment'; Gmc ⇨ F paita 'shirt' (unless an inherited cognate) || pAl {O} *patika > Al petk 'clothes, garment' (← some other lge with *p- < IE *b-?) ¶ P 92-3, EI 109-10 (*baiṭeh- 'cloak'), F I 210, Fs. 381-2, Ho. 244, Ho. S 5, Kb. 758, OsS 67, Lx. 159, O 317 || **A** *p'æṭ'a 'meat, skin' > M *ṽṽadasqa ≈ raw hide' > WrM {MED} adasqa, HIM {BMR} адасга, {MED} адсага 'raw hide used as a mat\rug', Kl {KRS} адсн адсѣѣ 'raw hide of a horse', {Rm.} адсχα 'altes Fell; trockener, eingeschrumpfter Balg' ¶ MED 11, BMR I 51, KRS 28. KW 2 || NaT *æṭ' 'meat, flesh' (≅σ Hb bā'sār 'meat, flesh' < S

*ba^hšar- 'skin') (× N *ʔitê 'eat', ≡σ: Ar laħm- 'meat' < S *laħim- 'food') > OT {DTS} e t, {Cl., Dnk.} ä t, MU, XwT, MQp (incl. CC), Chg e t 'meat, flesh', Tk e t, Ggz ŷet, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Uz, SY, Ln, StAlt e t, Az, ET, Xlj, Yk ä t, VTt, Bsh, Xk i t, Tv эѳт é t, Tf é t' id. || Chv L ŷт ü t 'flesh, meat, body' ({TL}: Chv ü due to as. in Chv ŷт пŷ 'body' < T *æ t boy id.) ¶ Cl. 33, MKD 28, DTS 186, ET Gl 311-12, TL 455, DT 111, TvR 121, Ash. IV 26-8, Fed. II 302-3, Jeg. 282, ChVS 238, Ra. 183, AD EHL √ || pJ {SDM} pàntá 'skin, flesh' > OJ pada id., J T háda, J K hàdá, J Kg hadá 'skin, body' ¶ S AJ 283, S QJ no. 161, Mr. 395, Kenk. 412 || Tg *pēte₁:, 'skin/fat of seals, seal' > Ork pəttə ~ pətə ~ pētə 'Bailal seal (непна, *Phoca sibirica*)', pə(:)təskə 'skin of Baikal seals', Ud xətə 'seal, Baikal seal', WrMc {Z} фетхи 'seal', Orc hētə 'Bailal seal', hētəksə 'skin of Baikal seals', Neg xētə, Ewk hētə ɘ ətə 'Baikal seal, fat of Baikal seals', Lm hētə 'fat; fat of sea mammals' ¶ STM II 372, Krm. 308, Z 452, 1046 ¶¶ T *∅- < ppT *h- < A *p'- < N *p∇?- ¶¶ SDM 1139-40 (pA *p'ē tá 'meat, skin' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1757 (id.), S AJ 283, DADb. SR 14, TL 455 ◇ IE *b- points to pN *p-. Ch *p- is likely to go back to **p- < N *p∇?-. D *-t- points to N *t|d; IE *-t-, Tg *-t- and Ar -t- (all usually from *-t-) may go back to *-t- < N *-?∇t-. Tg *-ē- and T *æ- suggest pN *paʔet∇ (> **peta), unless N *-aʔi- can yield Tg *ē and T *æ.

1826. *p. ä t∇?∇ 'to fall' (~ ? *p∇t∇?∇ XE 'fall, cast [to the ground]') > HS: WS *°-pūt- (~ *°-pūd-?) > Mh √ f w t (pf. fō t), Hrs √ f w t (pf. fē t, sbjn. -fə t) v. 'die unslaughtered' (of an animal) (cp. R п а д е ж с к о т а 'loss of cattle, cattle plague', lit. 'falling of cattle'), ? Ar √ f w d (pf. fā da, ip. -fūd-u) v. 'die, disappear' ¶ Jo. M 109-110, Jo. H 67, Fr. III 380, BK II 644, Hv. 578 || EC: Sd fottoğa 'fall down' ¶ Gs. 103 || SOM: Dime fot- 'fall' ¶ Bnd. AL 149 || Ch: ECh: Mu {J} fádé / fát v. 'fall' || CCh: Mdr {Mirt} bəda id., MfG -pətk- 'laisser tomberdes déchets', Hrz fat-day 'descend', Mlk fátáy id. || WCh {Stl.} *pađ-~*piđ- v. 'fall' > Hs fādī id.] ECh: Mkl {IL} p^hidà 'lie (down)' || WCh: AG: Ywm {ChL} yà pītèr (gwe) v. 'lie down' {ChL} Mrg pida, Hld pìdà, Wmd pí dà v. 'lie down' ¶ On the origin of the preglottalized đ in several Ch lges cf. below (at the end of the entry) ¶ JI II 130-1, Stl. ZCh 144 [no. 4], IS III 84-5, ChC s.v. 'fall' and 'lie (down)', ChL, Brr. MG 222, Ro. 236 ¶ Ngz mp+du and My pìyètə- v. 'put' (mentioned in IS III 84 ← Stl. ZChSS1) cannot belong here, because Ngz mp+du is a form of the verb mpáɥ v. 'put' (Sch. DN

116) and My $\rho\acute{\iota}\upsilon\grave{\epsilon}\tau\grave{\alpha}$ - is a form of My $\rho\acute{\iota}\upsilon\theta\acute{o}$ v. 'put' (ChC) || B: ETwl, Tayir $f\grave{a}t\grave{a}q\grave{q}-\grave{a}t$ 'tomber par terre' (fruits en abondance) ¶ PGG 71 || Eg $f\grave{P}$ $\rho\tau\chi$ vt. 'cast (to the ground), put down (so. carried)', vi. 'sich niederwerfen, sich zu Boden werfen', {Fk.} 'be stretched out (in obeisance)' ¶ EG I 565-6, Fk. 96 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 62 || IE: [1] NaIE *ped- 'fall' > OI ✓ $\rho\acute{\alpha}d-$: Vd ' $\rho\acute{\alpha}d\upsilon\acute{\alpha}t\bar{e}$ 'falls, descends'; Av $\rho\acute{\alpha}i\check{\delta}\upsilon\bar{a}i\tau\bar{e}$ 'moves down, lies down' || Gmc inf. *fetan 'to fall' > AS (3p p.) $\mathfrak{z}efetun$ 'ceciderunt', OHG inf. $f\grave{e}\check{z}\check{z}an$ 'wanken, fallen', inf. $g\grave{i}-f\grave{e}\check{z}\check{z}an$ 'to fall' || Sl inf. * $\rho\acute{\alpha}sti$ (1s pres. * $\rho\acute{\alpha}d\grave{o}$, ip. inf. * $\rho\acute{\alpha}dati$) 'to fall' > OCS inf. $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\eta$ $\rho\acute{\alpha}sti$ (1s pres. $\rho\acute{\alpha}\Delta\grave{\alpha}$ $\rho\acute{\alpha}d\grave{o}$), R inf. $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\bar{y}$ (1s pres. $\rho\acute{\alpha}'d\upsilon$), ip. inf. ' $\rho\acute{\alpha}dat\bar{y}$ (1s pres. ' $\rho\acute{\alpha}d\acute{\alpha}y$), SCr inf. $\rho\acute{\alpha}sti$ (1s pres. $\rho\acute{\alpha}dn\bar{e}m$), OCz inf. $\rho\acute{\alpha}sti$ (1s pres. $\rho\acute{\alpha}d\upsilon$), Cz ip. inf. $\rho\acute{\alpha}dati$, P inf. $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\acute{c}$ (1s pres. $\rho\acute{\alpha}d\acute{\alpha}$) 'to fall', Blg ' $\rho\acute{\alpha}dna$, ip. ' $\rho\acute{\alpha}dam$ v. 'fall'; in Cz and Slk there is a derived inf.: Cz $\rho\acute{\alpha}dnouti$, Slk $\rho\acute{\alpha}dn\acute{u}t'$ 'to fall' || [2] NaIE *pet(ə)-/*ptē-/*ptō- 'fall' (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly') > OI ' $\rho\acute{\alpha}tati$ 'falls', (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly') 'flies, soars, rushes', aor. $\rho\acute{\alpha}p\acute{\alpha}tat$, Av $t\bar{a}ta$ (< * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\bar{a}'t\bar{a}$) 'falling (of rain)' || Gk $\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$ v. 'fall down' (reduplicating pres.), Gk D/Ae aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ¶ IS III 85-88 (with further details and references), ≈ P 791 (erroneously identifying the IE root in question with * $\rho\acute{\epsilon}d-$ / * $\rho\acute{o}d-$ 'foot'), ≈ EI 192, M K II 199, 206-7, M E II 71-2, 76-7, Brtl. 841-2, F II 242-3, Ho. 102, Kb. 239, ≈ OsS 191-2, Vs. III 18, StSS 442-3, Glh. 469 ¶ On the origin of NaIE *-t- in *pet(ə)-/*ptē-/*ptō- see below (at the end of the entry) || U: FU (att. in ObU) * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\grave{t}_t\grave{t}_t$ - > ObU * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ /* $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ v. 'fall' > pVg * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ v. 'fall', 'come to be, (wohin) geraten, $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\bar{y}$ ' > Vg: T $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$, LK/MK/UK $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$, P/NV/ SV/LL $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ /* $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$, UL/Ss $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ id., {BV}: Vg Ss $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$, Vg Yk $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ 'fall, (wohin) geraten', Vg Ss $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\tau\acute{\alpha}l-$, Vg Yk $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\tau\acute{\alpha}l-$ 'let fall'; pOs * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ v. 'fall; 'come to be, geraten, $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\bar{y}$ ' > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/O $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$, Nz/Kz $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ id.; ObU * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t$ belongs to the alternating pair * $\acute{\alpha}$ /* $\acute{\alpha}$ going back to FU * $\acute{\alpha}$ ¶ Ht. no. 551, BV 79, Trs. S 362-3, Coll. 108, UEW 386, Sm. 547 (FU, FP * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ -, Ugr * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ - 'leap, hold') || A * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ v. 'drop, fall' > Tg * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t-$ v. 'fall' > Lm $h\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}/\acute{\alpha}$ - (ip.?) 'fall, tumble' (' $\rho\acute{\alpha}dat\bar{y}$, $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\bar{y}$ '), Lm OI/AI/M/T $h\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ -, Lm A $h\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ - (pfv. or mom.?) 'fall, tumble' (' $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\bar{y}$, $\rho\acute{\alpha}c\tau\bar{y}$ '), Lm $h\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ - v. 'drop' ¶ STM II 371, Sun. G 122-3 (on sxs of aspects: Lm $-\acute{\alpha}$ is considered ip.) || pKo {S} * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ - v. 'drop, fall; finish' > MKo $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}-t\acute{\alpha}$ -, NKo $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}-\acute{\alpha}$ - ¶ S QK no. 862, Nam 151, MLC 449 || ?σ pJ {S} * $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ - v. 'finish, anchor' > OJ $\rho\acute{\alpha}t\acute{\alpha}$ - {S}

id., MJ φ ata- id., J: T haté-, K/Kg hâtè- v. 'end, be finished' ¶ S QJ no. 737, Mr. 686, Kenk. 462 ¶¶ SDM 1087 (pA *p|p'èt|t'á 'drop, fall' > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1753 || D *paṭ- ({ṭGS} *paḍ-) 'fall, fall in, set (as a heavenly body)' > Tm paṭu 'perish, die', 'set' (of a heavenly body)', paṭi 'settle (as dust, sediment), sink in water', paṭu (-pp-, -tt-) v. 'lay horizontally', v. 'lie down to sleep', Ml paṭuka v. 'fall, sink', paṭiyuka v. 'settle, sink', Kt paṛ- (paṭ-) v. 'lie down, sleep', Td poṛ- 'lie down', Kn paḍu id., 'set (as the sun), die', Kdg paḍ- 'lie fallow', Tu paḍa 'placing, laying', paḍipuni 'plunge', Tl paḍu v. 'fall, lie, recline, sleep', Klm bollā paḍ- v. 'lie on one's back', Nkr paṭ-, Nk paḍ-/paṛ-, Gdb par- 'fall', Prj paḍ- 'fall, sink down', 'set' (of the sun), Gnd paṭṭ- 'lie down', Png paz- 'be caught (in snare)' ||| Another D etymon (a d. from the first one?): D *paṭ-i- v. 'settle (as dust or sediment), sink' > Tm paṭi- id., Ml paṭiyuka id., Tu paḍipuni v. 'plunge', Prj pārvā baḍi, Ku pārvā paḍi 'dovecote' ¶¶ D no-s 3848 and 3852, Km. 424 [no. 784] ◇ IS III 84-9 [no. 367] (*p'adḥ; comparison between all pertinent cognates, except ECh, U and S). N *p- is reconstructed on the evidence of Eg p 'cast (to the ground), put down (so. carried)' and NaIE *ptē-/ptō- v. 'fall' suggest a N cd etymon *p.∇t∇XE 'fall, cast (to the ground)' ◇ The pA cns. *-t'-, the NaIE cns. *-t- in *pet(ə)-/*ptē-/ *ptō- and the preglottalized ḍ in several Ch lges go back to post-N *-ṭ- < N *-t...?-.

1827. $\text{₂}^*P_{ot}K_{\nabla}$ (= *potK ∇ ?) 'to split, to cut' > HS *√ptk ~ *√ptk ~ *√ptk > S * $\text{°}\sqrt{ptk}$ v. 'split, break' > Ar √ftq (ip. -ftuq-) {BK} 'fendre, rompre', {Hv.} 'break, slit, disjoin' ¶ BK II 535-6, Hv. 545 || B *√ftk > Ah, Ttq əftək 'fendre', Gh əftək 'être déchiré', Kb əftək, CM {NZ} √ftk 'percer, ouvrir', Tmz ftək id., 'pratiquer une ouverture', Zng {TC} ɟftəg 'défaire, découdre'; Ah tǎ-fūdək 'morceau' ¶ Fc. 305, 369, Dl. 237-8, MT 138, Msq. 124, DCTC 287, NZ 669, || C: Bj {R} √fdg (1s: p. 'afḍig, pres. afan'ḍīg) v. 'split, separate', 'fiḍga 'Spaltung, Spalt' ||| EC: Sa fatək 'zerteilen, zerhacken', Or fottoḳa v. 'chip' ¶ R WBd 76-7, R SII 17 || Ch: WCh: Hs fátáttàkǎ v. 'lacerate, subdivide country' ||| CCh: Gude pǎḍək 'cutting a little', MfG -pǎḍk- 'fendre, tatouer, ouvrir une plaie', Gzg {Lk.} puḍik 'spalten' ||| ECh: WDng pètəkè 'arracher (un bouchon de terre) ¶ Hsk. 255, Brt II 216, Brr. SLVMG 140, Lk. G 134, Abr. H 260, Fd. 60, Grg. 422 ||| A ≈ *p'UtK ∇ ~ mt. *p'UKt ∇ > * $\text{°}\varphi$ otqal-

v. 'cut' > MM [L] hoqtal- 'schneiden' | M *φoqtal- 'cut' ({Pp.} *pōktal-) > MM {Pp., Pel.} hoqtal- 'abschneiden, abhacken', WrM oqtul- {MED} 'cut, cut off, cut across, chop off; fell', HIM oγτλο- {MED} id., {BMR} 'cut, cut off, cut across, chop off', Ord oqt'ol- 'couper, trancher', Mnr H {SM} sd_oli- 'couper, trancher, blesser en coupant', ? Brt otol- 'chop across, cut in two, cut off'; M *φoqt∇č'i- > MM {Pel.} hoqtoc'i- 'abschneiden', WrM oqtuci- {MED} v. 'cut into small pieces, mince, chop up, hash', HIM oγτчи- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'cut into pieces, chop up, mince, zerschneiden', Ord oqt'oc'i- 'couper (action répétée)'; M *°φoqt∇ri- > MM {Pel.} hoqtor i- 'abschneiden, abhacken'; M *φoqt'a'r > WrM {MED} oq(u)tur 'short', HIM {MED} oxop id., ?φ {BMR} oxop, ?φ Brt oxop, Kl {KRS} ohtp oytg 'short', {Rm.} oγotg ~ oxtg 'kurzschwänzig' ¶ Pel. 221 [no. 40], MED 602-3, BMR II 505, Chr. 365-6, KRS 392, KW 284, H 76, Ms. O 508, SM 334, 338, Pp. L III 74, T 359 || T *bü:;ktæ > OT {Cl.} bügdä: 'dagger' (× N *p'a'k_∇,?∇ [partially id.] 'to split', q.v. ffd.?) ¶ Cl. 325, Dr. TM II 746.

1828. *on.* *paṭ∇ 'beat, strike' > HS: WS *✓ptt v. 'crumble, break into small pieces' > BHb ✓ptt v. 'break up, crumble (bread)', Sr, Md ✓ptt v. 'crumble', Ar ✓ftt {BK} 'écraser, broyer qch. entre ses doigts; casser, broyer en petits morceaux; fendre (les pierres etc.)', {Hv.} 'bruisse, crush, crumple sth. with the fingers', Gz ✓ftt v. 'break off a piece, fracture, crush' ¶ Br. 615, BK II 531, Hv. 543, KB 931, KBR 991, L G 171 || Eg: Eg N ptt {DLE} 'broken up', {Hng} 'aufgebrochen sein' (Acker), ??σ Eg fOK ptp 'tread (roads), trample (enemies)' > Cpt Sd потпет ротрет, В фотфет р^hотр^hет 'fouler, faire tomber, tomber' ¶ EG I 563, Fk. 96, Vc. 165, DLE I 186, Hng. 299 ¶ Eg t (rather than d < *ṭ) may be due to as. || K *petk- vi. 'break, blow up' > G petk- id. ('биться, взрываться'): petk-va ~ petk-a 'schlagen', 'klopfen' (Herz), petk-eba vt. 'to explode', Mg partk-al- 'palpitate, tremble', Lz pa(r)tkal- id., 'break', Sv {K} pitkw-/ptk- 'break off, erupt' ({Fn.} li-ptkw-e 'schlagen, spalten', m-i-pitkw-e 'ich schlage\ spalte') ¶¶ K 188, K² 199, FS K 315-16, FS E 353, Chik. 328, Fn. KW-2 44 || A *p'āt'∇- (= *p'āt'∇-?) 'strike, hit' > Tg **pāt(i)- -d→ (1) Tg *pāti > Nn Nh {On.} pāčĭ, {STM} pačĭ, Ul pāti 'beetle (Holzhammer) for hammering stakes (колотушка для вбивания кольев)', Ork pač:u- 'woodchopper', Orc pati 'beating (побои)'; (2) Tg *pātĭl- ~ *pātul- v. 'beat' > Nn Nh {On.} pāčĭla-, {SYM} pačĭla-, Nn Bk pačĭla-, Ork pač:illa- id., with p- for the expected h- and

x-: Lm patu_l-, Orc patila- 'eat' ¶ STM II 35, On. 326 || M *_lφ_latalga- 'ε axe, gouge' > WrM {Kow.} аталга 'тесла́, плотничный инструмент', 'sorte de hache, doloire', HIM {BMR} атлага 'тесло, poker', Brt W аталга 'chisel, gouge (долото)', Kl {KRS} атльг id., 'semicircular axe, кривой топор, тесак)', {Rm.} ат_lуа 'Queraxt, Hacke' ¶ Kow. 61, BMR I 174, KRS 55, KW 18, Chr. 64 || ? T *_lh_la_l:_lt- (× T *at- v. 'throw, shoot arrows' < N *_lat_l▽ 'throw, cast', q.v. ffd.) > Tk at- v. 'beat' ¶ Cl. 36, TrR 76 || pKo *pat- v. 'strike against, push, gore with the horns' > NKo pat/d- id. ¶ S QK no. 19, MLC 721 || pJ {S} *pàt_à-k- v. 'flap, clap, slap' > MJ φatak- {S} id., J T haták-, J K há_ták-, J Kg h_àtàk- {Kenk.} v. 'dust; beat, stike, slap, spank' ¶ S QJ no. 263, Mr. 685, Kenk. 461, BJRS II 451 ¶¶ SDM 1127-8 (pA *p'ā_t'ā 'strike, hit' > Tg *pā_t(i)-, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1729 (id.), Rm. SKE 194, 237, Rm. PKE 147, Ci. EApk 36.

1829. on. *p'ā_t'ā▽ 'pinch, pluck' > HS: Ch: WCh *fa_t- v. 'pull out, tear out' > Bl f_od_l- v. 'pull out', Gera fâ_d- 'take\pull\tear out' | pNrBc {Sk.} *p_l▽t- > Dir f₃ta, P' p_lta 'pluck, pick, pluck out, extract' | Ngz {Sch.} f_ltú ~ p_ltú v. 'extract, pull one thing away from another' ¶ Stl. ZCh 160 [no. 135], ChL, Sk. NB 34, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN 57 ¶ Cf. ffd. Tk II 611-12 || Eg: Eg OK f_ldy 'ausreißen' ¶ EG I 582 || K: GZ *p_lu_t-w_lḡ- v. 'pluck (poultry)' > G p_lu_t(n)-, Mg p_lu_ton- id., Lz p_lun_lol- v. 'pluck, tousle' ¶ K 154, K² 152, Q 299 || A *P_læt'▽ v. 'pinch, pluck' > Tg φo *pat- ~ *pet- vt. 'pinch, nip off, pluck by pinching' > Ewk PT h₃tuk₃t-/ç-, Ewk Y hatukalā-, Ewk D h₃tuk₃l₃- vt. 'hook (зацепить)', Ewk Y h₃tuk₃l₃hin- 'take a pinch of smth. (захватить щепотку)', Lm h₃t₃kl₃- vt. 'pinch, nip off (отщипнуть, ущипнуть)', h₃t₃kt₃-/ç- 'pinch so., nip, feel by touching', Ul patarač'i- v. 'grasp', WrMc {Z} фата- v. 'nip, pluck' ('щипать, сощипывать, срезать [колосья], срывать [цветы], обрывать [плоды]', фэтэ- 'dig, pick' ¶ STM II 371-2, Z 1031, 1045 || M *_lφ_lete- v. 'pick, pluck out' > WrM ete- {MED} v. 'pick, pluck out', HIM этэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'herausstochern, выгребать; stochern, graben', Brt этэ- wegschaufeln, wegfege (отгребать, отметить)', Kl {Rm.} et- 'kratzen oder in der Erde graben (nicht tief), schaufeln, pflügen', {KRS} эт- 'rake out (выгребать)', Mnr H {SM} sd_lē- 'arracher, déraciner', {T} sdē- 'dig (a pit)' ¶ Mnr s- goes back to *h- (usually from pM *φ-), but acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law, South Mongolian *φ- may be secondary (due to the infl. of a stem-medial vl. cns.) ¶ MED

335, BMR IV 441, KW 128, KRS 705, T 358, SM 334 || pKo *on.* {S} *ptí-t-, *ptʰ- v. 'pinch, pick, pluck' > MKo ptí-t-, ptʰ-, NKo tīt-, tā- ¶ S QK no. 525, Nam 137, 174, MLC 380, 532 ¶¶ SDM 1140-1 (A *p'pet't v. 'pinch' > Tg, Ko, without M), DQA no. 1752, KW 128 (M, Tg, T *it-'schieben, stoßen'); Rm. ASL 4, SM 334 || | D: Tl paṭakāru, paṭukāru 'pair of tongs, large pincers', Kn paṭakāru 'tongs, pincers' (← Tl?) ¶¶ D *-ṭ- for the expected *-t- may be due a a sx or the second element of a cd (the reflex of N *-ṭ- + cns. > D *-ṭ-) ¶¶ D no. 3864 ◇ WCh points to N *p-, while *p- in GZ *puṭ-wṇ- may be explained by as. *puṭ- > *puṭ-. GZ *u may be due to the assimilative infl. of the labial cns.

1830. *pEṭ v. 'to fly; bird' > K *°pEṭ- > OG pEṭi {Abul.} 'kalakp'et'i' (= 'urban bird?'), G pEṭi 'bird' ¶ DCh. 1011, Abul. 339 || | HS: Eg Md fttft 'springen, hüpfen' ¶ EG I 581 || EC: Af fitītik- 'run fast', Or futtaṭa 'spring back, fly off (under pressure, explosively)' ¶ Tk. II 594, PH s.v. Af fitītik-, Grg. 151 || Om: NrOm: Hrr pet-āys- 'volare'; SOM: Ari fēt- v. 'fly' ¶ CR H 657, Bnd. AL 150 || WCh: Bg {Sz.} pit v. 'jump' ¶ JI II 210 ¶¶ Tk. II 594 || | IE: NaIE *pet- v. 'fly' > OI 'patati, patayati, Av pataiti 'flies' ||| Gk Hm πέτομαι v. 'fly' (aor. ἐπτόμεν) ||| Clt {Matas.} *°fet-o- v. 'fly' > MW ehedek id. (3s pres. ehēt), W hedant 'volant', W eh-edeg 'das Fliegen'; Clt {Matas.} *fet-no- 'bird' > OIr én, MW edn (pl. ednod), MBr ezn, Br evn, Crn hethen ~ ethen id., Gl [γ] {Flr.} etnosō- 'bird' ({Matas} a teonym); Brtt {RE} *et-n/r- id. (× ← IE *pet-ṽr/n- 'feather, wing', see N *P_ut v. 'feather, hair?') > OW atar, W adar ||| BSl *put- (× IE *pu(:)-, *put- 'a little one' [> OI putrah 'son']) > Sl *ръта 'bird' > OCS {Mikl.}, OR {Srz.} пъта рѣта id.; → (originally dim.) *рътѣса 'bird' > OCS пътѣца рѣтѣса, SCr ртѣса, Slv ртѣса, Blg, R птица, Uk птиця 'bird' ||| Ltv putns 'bird' and Lt putūtis dim. 'hen, small bird'; BSl *u is due to the above merger ¶ P 825-6, 843, EI 208 (*peth_h- 'fly'), M K II 199, M E II 71-2, F II 521-2, LP §§ 29, 62, 134, Dtn 257, Flr. 168, Billy 73, Thr. § 44, Frn. 554, StSS 558, Glh. 509, Vs. III 398, Mikl. L 756-7, Srz. 1755, Chrn. II 79-80, Matas. E 129, Hm. 268 || | A *°P_æt v. 'jump' (← 'fly') > Tg *pet- v. 'jump' > Ewk hztzkzn- v. 'jump', hztzkū-vi. 'jump aside', 'break off' (pieces of sth.), 'jump over (отскакивать, отлетать [кусками], перепрыгивать)', Lm hztzkzn- v. 'start running', Neg хztzkzn-, Ud хztigzn-з- v. 'jump', Orc хztz- 'jump aside,

recoil (отскочить, отпрянуть)', UI рэтэн- 'jump aside, break off', Nn Nh рэтēn- {STM.} id., {On.} 'отлететь, отскочить' ¶ STM II 372, Krm. 308, On. 148 ¶¶ It is tempting to adduce pKo {S} *pītūrī 'dove' (> MKo pītūrī, pitarki, pitori, pituroki, NKo pidolgi) and pJ {S} *pātuâ 'dove' (> OJ patuo, J: T háto, K hâtô, Kg ható) (see S QK no. 262, Nam 276, MLC 851, Kenk. 463), but these words are valid cognates only if for the speakers of the underlying pA dialect the dove was a bird *par excellence*; an alternative etymology for them is proposed in DQA no. 1646 (pA *pīǎltor∇ 'ε small bird') || D (in GnD) *putt- ({ǂGS} *p-?) (× N *P_ut∇ 'feather, hair') > Gnd putga 'feather' ∂ putgā id., 'wing', Png putehiŋ, puteliŋ, butuhiŋ 'eyebrows' ¶ The unexpected D vw. *u may be due to the infl. of the labial cns *p- and/or to contamination with N *P_ut∇ 'feather, hair' ¶ D no. 4278 || ??φ D *piṭṭa ({ǂGS} *piṭṭ-) 'bird' > Tm piṭṭa, Klm, Nkr piṭṭa id., Klm piṭṭe 'young bird, chick', Gnd piṭṭe, piṭe, pitte 'bird' ¶¶ D *-ṭ- for the expected *-t- may be due a a sx or the second element of a cd (the reflex of N *-ṭ- + cns. > D *-ṭ-) ¶¶ D no. 4154 ◇ K *p- does not provide decisive ev. for a pN *p-, because it may be due to as. (N *p...ṭ > *p...t) ◇ D *i and *ṭ (for the expected *e and *t) still need explaining.

1831. *P_uṭṭ∇ 'fright, confusion of mind' > HS: S *^o✓ pṭw > Ar ✓ fṭw (pf. faṭā فطأ, ip. -fṭuω-) 'donner une chasse vigoureuse à un animal au point de le faire courir' ¶ BK II 613 || K *^opet- > G pet- 'frighten; be frightened/timid' ¶ Chx. 1526 || A: Tg *^opat- v. 'be afraid' > Ewk hatin- 'be frightened' ¶ STM II 319 || D (att. in SD) *pēt- ({ǂGS} *p-) 'confusion of mind, fear' > Tm pētū 'bewilderment, folly', Tu pētū, pētū 'fear', Kn pētū 'confusion or distraction of mind' ¶ D no. 4437 ◇ G -t- (for the expected -ṭ-) may be due to as. (*p-ṭ > p-t).

1832. ₂ *P_uAHṭ∇ 'old man, ancestor' > IE *p_h₂xt-ter(-) > NaIE nom. *pā'tēr, voc. *pāter, gen. *pā'tr-os 'father, head of a clan' > OI pi'tar- (nom. pi'tā), Av pitar- ~ patar-, OPrs pitar-, NPrs پدر pedār 'father' || Arm հայր hayr id. || Gk πατήρ (gen. πατέρος, voc. πάτερ), Gk A gen. πατρός 'father' || L pater (gen. patr-is) 'father, head of a clan', patrēs 'ancestors', Osc nom. (?) patír ~ patir 'father', dat. paterei 'patri' || Clt {Matas.} *fatīr 'father' (< NaIE *pātēr) > OIr athir ~ athair 'father', gen. athar (< NaIE *pātros), W -atr 'father', Gl [ʏ] dat. pl. atrebo 'patribus'; ⇨ Clt {Matas.} *^ofatriyo- 'paternal' > Mir aithre 'paternal family' || Gt fadar, ON faðir, OHG

fater, NHG Vater, AS fæder id., NE father || pTc {Ad.} *pāčēr- > Tc: A pācar, B pācer 'father' || -> NaIE *pətruuγo-s 'father's brother' > OI 'pitruγya-, Av tūrγya- id. || L patruus id. || OHG fetiro, fatureo, NHG Vetter, AS fædera id. ¶ Vey 65-7 and other scholars adduced Sl *strǫjь 'father's brother' (> SrChS, OR СТРЪИ strǫi, R Δ строй, Blr стрый, Uk стрий, P struj, d. [originally *end.*]) and Sl *strǫjьkъ ~ *strǫjьcь id. (> Blg Δ стрико, SCr strīko, strīc, Slv strīc, Slk strýc, strýk id., Cz strýc 'uncle'), but the supposed change *pt- > Sl *st- (and hence this et. of Sl *strǫjь) has been convincingly rejected by Kortlandt (Krtl. IptS 25-7) ¶ WP II 4, P 629, ≈ EI 194-5 (*pḥ_ṛtēr / *pḥ_ṛtr-os 'father'), M K II 277-8, M E II 128-9, Horn 64-5, WH II 262-4, Bc. G 321, Pln. II 698, Vn. A 100-1, F II 481-2, Fs. 133, KM 81O, 82O, Ho. 95, Kb. 227, 239, Schz. 130, 133, OsS 156,171, Slr. 45-6, Vs. III 78O, Ma. CS 478, Glh. 588, Matas. E 126, ≈ Brü. 521-2, Wn. I 351, Ad. 365, Ad. H 18, Pohl 62-3 || D (in McTm) *pātt̥- 'grandparent' > Tm pātt̥ān 'grandfather, ancestor', pātt̥i 'grand-mother, aged woman', Ml pātt̥an 'grandfather' ¶ D no. 4066 ◇ NaIE *ə and D *ā point to a N lr., which also accounts for the cerebral D *-tt̥- (< post-N *-tt̥- < N -Htt̥- [post-N deglottalization due to ass. infl. of *H]).

1833. *pṽ'h't̥i?ṽ 'liquid secretions, sweat' > HS: Eg fOK f d. t 'sweat', Eg Md f d v. 'sweat' > Cpt Sd **ϣωτε** fōte, Cpt B **ϣωτι** fōti n. 'sweat' ¶ EG I 582, Fk. 99, Vc. 281 || CCh: McHigi: FIK {ChL} pētúkú 'sweat', ??φ FIJ {ChL} f^ωìcχa id. ¶ ChL II 181 and III 6 || S *^o✓p̥t̥? > Ar ✓f̥t̥? v. 'defecate, fart' ¶ BK II 602 || IE: NaIE *(s)pōt- / *(s)pət- 'dirty moisture, sweat' ({WP} 'fettig feuchtes, Schweiß') > Sl *potь 'sweat' n. > OCS potь potь, SCr, Slv pōt, Blg, R ποτ, Uk πιτ, P, Slk, Cz pot id. || ? Gk ού'-σπώτη {F} 'the dirt that collects about the hinder parts of sheep\goats', {F} 'the fat dirt on the unwashed sheep wool' ({F} < *^oφλ-σπώτη with *^oφλ-ς 'sheep'), σπατῦλη 'thin excrement (as in diarrhoea)' ({WP} < *σπατο-τῦλη with -τῦλη ← τῦλάω 'have a thin stool') ¶ WP II 683, Chrn. II 61, ≈ F II 368-9, 759, ≠ P 798 (Sl *pot- < *pek-to), StSS 490, ≈ Vs. III 342-3 (Sl < *poktos) || K: G Rch p̥aṽi- / p̥aṽi- 'düngen, bemisten', p̥iṽl-i 'im Wasser aufgelöster Kuhmist, den man auf den Tennenboden gießt' ¶ Chx. 1001, 1018 ◇ The IE *s-mobile and the stem-final -i in Cpt and G suggest a final palatalizing *i-element in the N word (*-t̥i?-> *-t̥y-). IE *ō/ə points to a N word-

medial *lr.* (most probably **h*, which is often lost in HS and always lost in K). IE *(s)ṛ- < *ṛ- (for the expected *ṛ-) and G ṛ- (likewise for the expected ṛ-) are due to as. (*ṛ...ṭ > ṛ...ṭ).

1834. **pu_lw_lṭE* (~ **ṛ_lpu_lw_lṭE*?) 'hole' ([in descendant Iges] → 'vulva, anus') > HS: CS *put- / **pa_wt-*: (A) *put- 'vulva', 'fissure' > BHb *pōṭ** with two meanings: [1] 'vulva, pudenda muliebria' (traditional interpretation) (h.l. attested with a ppa. of 3pf: *וְהִתְחַבְּרוּ בָּהֶן* *paṭṭ*- 'hen 'their [f.] vulva(s)': *וַאֲשִׁיפְּאֵהָן* *ʔādō'nāy* *קָדֹדִקֹד* *bə'nōṭ* *ṣiy''yōn* *וַאֲ-יְהוָה* *paṭṭ*- 'hen *yaṣā''rē* 'decalvabit Dominus verticem filiarum Sion, et YHWH pudenda earum nudabit', Is. 3.17) (other [untenable] scholarly interpretations are based on the euphemistic translation of the LXX: τὸ σχιμήμα ἀντὶ τῶν), [2] 'the sockets above and below, in which the door pivots turned' (*הַפְּתִיחוֹת* *happō'tōṭ*, I Kings 7.50); MHb *הַפְּתִיחוֹת* *pō'tā* 'slit, hole' (*happō'tā* *שֶׁטְתַּחַת* *haṣ'cīr* 'das Loch unter der Türangel'), NHb *פֹּת* *poṭ* 'vulva', JA [Trg.] cs. *פְּתִיחוֹת* *p[?]ty* 'pudenda muliebria' (Targum of Hiob 3.9); (B) S **pa_wt-* > Ar *fa_wt-* 'space between two fingers', {BK} 'interstice\distance entre deux doigts' ¶ KBR 983, GB 665-6, ESh. MH II 1111, BDB no. 5696, Lv. T II 252, Lv. IV 18, Hv. 578, BK II 643, ≠ KB 924 (err. interpretation of Hb *pōṭ** as 'forehead' based implicitly on a misinterpretation of the LXX translation and explicitly on a phonetically untenable comparison with Ak *pūtu* 'Stirn, Stirnseite') || EC: Sml N {Abr.} *fúto* 'anus', Sml {ZMO} *futo* 'anus, buttocks', Or {Grg.} *futē* 'anus', Or Wl {LLC, Brl.} *fuč'i* 'vagina', {Ft, Tut.} *fuč'i* 'vulva' || DhI {E} *fāṭ*- v. 'dig a hole' ¶ AD SF 247, AD GDS no. 2.16, Abr. S 83, DSI 238, LLC 221, Brl. 151, Ft 20, Grg. 427 || NrOm: Gnj {Blz. [← Fl.??]} *pote* 'vagina' ¶ Blz. OLBP 30 [no. 105] || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} *fut* 'a deep hole' || ECh: Mu {J} *fūdī* (pl. *fōdāt*) 'cuisse', ? Jg {J} *pāte* 'vulva', *pāto* 'penis' ¶ Flk. s.v. *fut*, J LMF s.v. *fūdī*, J J 116 || ?φ Eg Md *wft* 'pierce (durchbohren)' ({Tk.}: < **✓fwt*) ¶ DW I 84, EG I 306, Tk. I 398 ¶¶ Coh. no. 381, AD SF 247, SSAAJ I no. 136, Blz. OLBP no. 105, OS no. 836, Tk. I 114 || K **puṭ-* > Sv: UB {GP} *puṭu* 'hole', UB/U {TK} *puṭu*, LB *pəṭ* 'small hole' ¶ GP 264, TK 770 || IE: Ht *padā* v. 'dig', *pattessar* 'excavation, hole, pit' ¶ Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7, Frd. HW 166 || U: FU **put*∇ 'large intestine, rectum' ('Dickdarm, Mastdarm') (× N **bu_lw_lṭ*∇ 'the hinder part of a quadru-ped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom') > Lp Tn {Lgc.} *púh'té₃* 'Mastdarm' || Vg N {Mu.} *puti* 'Dickdarm'; Os: Nz *pūta*, Kz *pūtī* 'Dickdarm, Mastdarm', 'great gut (colon), rectum' ¶ UEW 410, Coll. 74, MK 487, Stn. D 1242

|| **A** *p'ú:t'∇ 'hole' > T (att. in NaT) *_lh₁ū t 'hole, aperture' > OT ū:t id., Qrg, Xk ū t, StAlt üy t 'narrow aperture', Qb ū t 'aperture', Tv ū t 'hole, aperture', Tf ū t 'narrow aperture, small hole', Yk ū t 'artificial (drilled) hole, round chink' ¶ Cl. 36, ET Gl 639-40, Ra. 239, Pek. 3191-2 || M *φütü-gün (Pp.: < *pütükün) 'vulva' > MM [MA] هوتوكون hütügün, [L] hütügün, WrM {MED} ütügün, HIM {MED, BMR} үтэг, Kl {Rm.} ütügü, Mnr H {SM} sd_og_u, MMgl ū d k ū n id., Ord ū t'ū y ū 'parties génitales de la femme, vulva' ¶ Pp. MA 192, Pp. VG 112, MED 1014, BMR III 428. KW 460, SM 337, Ms. O 765, Iw. 142 || Tg {DQA} *putē 'hole' > Ork putē id., putz-, Nn Nh {On.} putz- 'pierce', ?σ WrMc {Z} φэтэри 'nostrils' ¶ STM II 43, 305, On. 344, Z 1046 || pKo {S} *pōt- 'vulva' > NKo poci [pōʒi], Δ podāŋi id. ¶ S QK no. 876, MLC 794, BKR I 562 || pJ {S} *pətə > OJ p_lw₁oto 'vulva' ¶ S QJ no. 746, Mr. 415 ¶¶ SDM 1174-5 (pA *p'ōt'è 'hole' > M *hütü- 'vulva', Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1877, Pp. VG 112 (T, M), KW 460 (T, M), Ci. EApk 66, Lee CSMK 109, Oz. NM 140-1 || **D** *pōtt-/ *pōt- 'hole' > Tm pōttu 'hole, rat hole, hollow in a tree', Ml pōttu 'hole in the ground', Kn hōdaru id., 'hollow of a tree', Tl bōtta, Prj bōtta 'hole', Ku pōt- v. 'make a hole (in wood etc.)' ¶¶ ≠ D no. 4452 (without distinguishing this √ from *pō- v. 'perforate') ◇ D *-o-/-ō- is to be explained ◇ Hardly here Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit' (Ts. W 62, CHD P 235-7), which is more likely to belong to IE *b^hed^h- 'dig, burrow' (EI 159) < N *bed^hē¹ 'to pierce, to prick' ◇ IS MS 340 ('дыра' *p_lu¹t¹∆: A [M, T], U, K, HS). Ang f- and Eg -f- suggest pN *p-, while T *_lh₁- points to an ancient *p_l- (as. N *p...t¹ > pre-T *p...t¹?) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 212 (*puto 'hole') (IE, U, A, J, EA + err. Y).

1835. *p_la t_l∇ 'to be open, to open' > **IE:** IE (attested in NaIE) *peth_h- id., 'expand, be spread' > Av paθana- 'breit, weit', Phl pahan, Psh pla, Oss I/D fātān id., NPrs پهن pāhn 'broad, spread' || Gk πετύνημι ~ πύνημι vt. 'spread out' || L patē- (pateo, inf. patēre) 'be\stand\lie open', 'sich erstrecken, offen stehen' || ON faðmr, AS fæðm 'outstretched or embracing arms, fathom', OSx fathmos pl. 'hands and arms', MDt vadem, OHG fadam, NHG Faden 'fathom', NE fathom; ON feðma 'to embrace' || Clt ({EI}: < *peth_himeh_h-) {Matas.} *fatamā 'palm of the hand, talon' > ScGl aitheamh, OW etem 'fathom', MW adaf 'hand, talon' ¶ P 824-5, EI 539 (*peth_h- 'spread out'), Brtl. 843, Bai. 259, Mrg. 56, BM 98, Ab. I 464-5, F II 520-1, WH II

244â, 262, EM 727, Vr. 109, 114, Ho. 97, Ho. S 18, Kb. 214, OsS 156, KM 179-80, Matas. E 125-6 || **HS:** S *✓ pth vt. 'open' > Hb, Ph, Ug, DA, OA, IA, JA [Trg.], JEA ✓ pth, Ar, Sb, Gz ✓ fth, Ak inf. petû id., Eb ✓ pth (in proper names) ¶ KB 926-8, HJ 948-9, OLS 358, Lv. T II 307-8, Sl. 946-7, Ln. 2327-8, Bll. 412-13, L G 170, Sd. 858-61, Krb. PE 36 || Eg N/G pth vt. 'open' ¶ EG I 565 || C: Bj {R} ✓ fth (1s: p. 'a-ftah, pres. afan'tīh) pcv. 'open' || Ya paʔtay v. 'open' ¶ R WBd 84, Hn. Y II 130 || Ch: CCh: MfG {Brr.} -páth- 'open wide (one's eyes), open (the anus)', FIK pàčì v. 'open' || ECh: Bdy {AlJ} pit v. 'open', Skr {Nc.} 'fiti'fiti 'öffnen, lösen' ¶ Stl. ZCh 144 [no. 2] (without distinguishing *✓ pt v. 'open' from *✓ pt 'plain, field'), J T 129, ChC s.v. 'to open', ChL, Brr. MG II 222, AlJ 108, Lk. ZSS 33 ¶ On data of other Ch lges cf. Tk II 532-3 ¶ OS no. 1989 (*pitaḥ- 'open'), ≈ Sk. HCD 25 || **A:** [1] ?σ M *φατqu 'hollow of the hand, handful' (× N *pat▽ or *pat▽▽ 'ground, plain; bottom', q.v.) > WrM adqu {MED} 'hollow of the hand, handful', HIM атга {MED, BMR} id., hollow of the hand, handful', Brt аджа, Kl {KRS} атх atχъ 'handful', {Rm.} atχα 'Handvoll, so viel wie mit einer Hand greifen kann', Dg {T} χatku, {MYC} χataku, {Mrm.} χатку ~ χаток 'handful', Ord ad_χu 'le creux de la main (celle-ci étant fermée), poignée'; ⇨ M *φατqu- 'hold in one's hand, take by one's hand \ cupped hand' > MM [S] {H, Pp.} hadqu-, WrM adqu- {MED} 'hold in one's hand', HIM атга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'братъ горстью, grip by one's hand', Brt аджа- 'захватывать\сжимать в горсть, squeeze by one's hand', Kl {KRS} атх- atχъ- 'squeeze by one's hand, take a handful of smth., крепко держать в руках', {Rm.} atχα- 'greifen, festnehmen (mit der Hand oder mit den Fingerspitzen), in der Hand klaben', Ord ad_χu- 'tenir dans le creux de la main (celle-ci étant fermée), saisir et tenir au moyen de la main' ¶ pM *-q- is likely to go back to a sx ¶ Pp. VG 11, 50, H 75, MED 12, BMR I 170-2, Ms. O 3, KRS 56, KW 17-18, Chr. 32-3, Klz. D I 138, T DgJ 175, MYC 124 || [2] pA *p'at|dar- 'spread, stretch' (× N *bad_▽_X▽ 'be open', q.v. ffd.) > M *badara- > WrM badara- {MED} 'spread, expand', 'open' [of flowers]), HIM бадра- {MED} id., {BMR} 'spread, expand', Brt бадар- id., 'blossom out, bloom' (of flowers), Kl {Rm.} badr- 'sich ausbreiten', 'sich öffnen' (Blume), {KRS} бадр- vi. 'blossom out, open' (flowers), Ord b_ad_ara- 'se répandre au loin, se propager, prospérer', 'flamber' (feu) ¶ MED 66, BMR I 213, Chr. 76. KW 27, KRS 76, Ms. O 42 || Tg *padar- 'stretch' > Ork pādda- 'stretch on a frame (a hide)', Ewk hadarga

'stretching a rope between fingers' (a game) ¶ STM II 308 ¶¶ S D M 1071-2 (pA *pǎdà 'to spread' > M, Tg + unc. T *badrak ~ *badruk 'banner, flag' and pJ *pátà 'flag, banner'), DQA no. 1611 ◇ pA *-t|d- < **-t- < N *-t̥X- (de-emphatization caused by the adjacent lr.) ◇ Eg t < N *t̥ (deglottalization [due to as. -t̥h- < *-t̥_l∇_lh-?]) ◇ N *p.at∇ 'ground, plain; bottom' (q.v. ffd.) may be a semantic variant of the N word in question (if the apparent phonetic difference between them is explained away). Cf. IS MS 372 (*p̄at̄n 'широкий'), IS SS no. 1.32, AD GD 10 ◇ Blz. IELA 17 [no. 68] (S, IE) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 148 (*pat 'field') (IE, A, Ko, J), ≠ Gr. II no. 286 (*pa(n)te 'open') (IE + err. U, A [actually from N *paĉ∇ 'to open'], J).

1836. *p.iχ|yγ∇ 'sharp bone, sharp tool, (?) flintstone' > K *pχa- 'fishbone, cartilage, awn of cereals' > G pχa id., Mg χa 'cartilage of snakes, scales of fish', Lz mχa- 'fishbone, Sv L {Dn.} pχa id., Sv {K} pχa id., 'small snake', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln pχa {TK} 'snake', Sv UB {GP} pχa 'awn' ¶¶ K 94, K DE 358, K² 209-10 (pK 'frame, small bone'), FS K 327, FS E 367, TK 771, GP 264, Dn. s.v. pχa || IE: NaIE *(s)p(h)e(:)i̯-/ *(s)p(h)i(:)- 'pointed (spitz), a pointed piece of wood' (× N *šabEh'i' [or *šapEh'i'??] 'log, piece of wood', q.v. ffd.) > OI sphya 'Holzspan', Gk σφήν 'Keil', OHG, MHG spān 'Holzspan', NHG Span 'chip, shaving, splinter', ON spānn, spōnn 'Span, Holzscheibe' ||| NaIE *(s)p(h)a-dh- > Gk σπύθη 'breites flaches Holz der Weber' || OSx spado, AS spado 'Spaten', NHG Spaten 'spade', NE spade ||| Clt {Matas.} *sfondo- 'stick, staff' > OW finn, MW fionn id., Mīr sond 'stake, beam, palisade' ¶¶ ≈ P 980-2, ≈ M K III 547, M E II 779, MW 1271, Vl. II 698. Bai. 264, F II 830-1, KCh. 759, Matas. E 334 ||| U *piye 'flintstone, stone' > F pi i 'flintstone', F, Es piikiivi id. (kiivi 'stone') || Sm {Jn.} *p̄|āy 'stone, flintstone' > Ne T пэ, T O {Lh.} p̄āē 'stone, glass', F {Lh.} p̄āēy id., T O tūm-pe, F tup-pī 'flintstone, Feuerstein' (tū 'fire'), En {Cs} X fû, B fu ~ pɯ 'stone' | Slq: Tz {KKIH} p̄ü, Kt/Tm {KD}, Tur {Lh.} p̄ū 'stone' | Koyb {Pl., Sp.} pi | Mt {Hl.} *hilä (?) 'stone, rock' (Mt: M {Pl.} hilä, гчля 'stone', A {Msrs.} 'a rock') || pY *pē (IN UJ) *pзy 'stone' > Y K {IN H} pē 'big stone, mountain, rock', {Iox.} pie 'mountain, stone, rock', OY K {Bil.} pеа 'mountain', OY O {Mat.} пеа id., 'stone' ¶¶ UEW 378, SSA II 352, Jn. 112, KKIИ 154, Hl. M no. 298, Ang. 208, Iox. JR s.v. pie, IN H 344-5, IN UJ 241, 316, 333, ≈ Rd. UJ 42 [no. 45] (Y ← U) || HS: ?φ,σ C: EC: Ya {Hn.} paχa, Arr {Hw.} bah (pl. bahó), Rn {PG} bihín 'bow

(weapon)' (← *'arrow?') ¶ Hn. Y II 121, Hw. A 345, PG 77 || WCh: NB: My {Sk.} б́иу-, Wrj {Sk.} б́иу- v. 'stab, pierce', Kry {Sk} б́иу́а, Sir {Sk.} б́иу̀у v. 'pierce' || CCh: Lgn {Lk.} р́иу́а v. 'cut' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to stab' and 'to pierce', Sk. NB, Sk. WNB, Lk. L 115 ◇ WCh *б́- is likely to go back to N *р́▽у-, while K *р́χ- may go back both to *р́▽χ- and to *р́▽у- ◇ IS MS 352-3 s.v. 'острие' *р́и'Н'А, IS SS no. 10.6, AD NM no. 101, Vv. AEN 6.

1837. *P_{ay}▽ '(ε) fish' > IE: NaIE *peisk(0)-/*pisk- 'fish' > L piscis id. || Gt fiskś, ORu fiskR, ON fiskr, Nr, Sw, Dn, OSx fisk, OHG fisc, NHG Fisch, Dt visch, AS fīsc id., NE fish || Clt {Matas.} *fēsko- 'fish' > OIr íasc (< *peuskos), gen. éisc 'fish' || Sl *pisk-ańb~*pisk-ońb > R пи'скарь (modern spelling: пескарь) 'gudgeon', SCr р̀iskor 'moray (*Muraena helena*)', Slv piščur '*Lampetra* (lampern, минога)', Cz pískoř, P piskorz, HLs piskor 'mud loach, вьюн (*Misgurnus*)' ¶ P 796, ≈σ,φ EI 604 (*pīkskō-s 'trout' [AD: why *k̄sk̄- and why 'trout?']), Dv. no. 864, WH II 310, Fs. 155, Mkj. DR 123, Vr. 121, Ho. 105, Ho. S 20, Kb. 257, Matas. E 128, OsS 201, KM 199, LP § 28, Thr. § 279, Chrn. II 25-6, Vs. III 267, Jak. 225, Trof. 169 ¶ *-sk- is likely to be the adjectival sx *-sk- || U *pau▽ 'ε fish' > Vt paуа 'bream, лещ, *Abramis*' || ? Vg T {Mu.} paıl ~ paуil 'crucian carp' || ? Sm: Ne {Cs.} paја, paїha 'пеледка, *Salmo peljet*', StNe T пайжа 'сырок, пелядь (ε a fish)', Ne T O {Lh.} pāyxā 'ε Lachsfisch', En B {Cs.} faeha '*Salmo peljet*', Ng {Cs.} faʔuka 'Muksun' ({Cs.} ʔ ≈ [ú], F Cs. GSS 7) ¶¶ UEW 348-9, Ter. 435, Cs. 34, 70, 93 and 258 || D (att. in SD) *pauу- ({θGS} *p-) '(ε) fish' > Ml paууatti 'a fish', Tu paıууæ '(ε) fish' ¶ D no. 3946 ◇ AD NM no. 48, ≠ S CNM 11 (preferring to consider IE *peisk(0)-/*pisk- to be a loan from NrCs {S} *bʋsqʷA 'fish').

1838. *p_üH|Qy▽ (= *p_ügy▽?) 'to boil, to get ready' (food), 'to ripen' > U *p^rü'ye- v. 'be cooked, boil' > pMr {Ker.} *piya- > Er piye- 'be boiled, be baked enough' (food), Mk pi- id., 'burn\scald oneself', {Ahl.} piya-vi. 'gar kochen' || Z pu- v. 'cook', vi. 'boil' || ObU: Vg: LK p̄y-, P p̄y- vi. 'kochen, sieden' || Hg f'ó- (/f'óv-) 'boil, cook, be cooked' || Sm {Jn.} *pi- '(durch Kochen) reifen' > Ne T inf. пи-сь, T O {Lh.} inf. p̄ís, F NI inf. piś 'to be cooked well, durch Kochen reifen', Ng (aor. 1s) {Cs} fîʔem, En {Cs.}: (aor. 1s) X fieroʔ, B fiedoʔ '(durch Kochen) reifen' || Kms (1s pres.) {KD} p'ü- 'reifen, zur Reife gelangen, gar sein\werden' ¶¶

UEW 368, Ker. II 112, ERV 477, PI 208, Sm. 539 (U, FU, FP **pexi-*, Ugr **piǵĩ-*, Sm **pi-* 'cook'), LG 232, Jn. 122-3 || **A** **P̄ü|uyi-* 'cook', vi. 'be cooked, boil' > Tg **puyi-* vi. 'boil' > Ewk *ḥuyu-* v. 'boil, be cooked', Neg *xyu-* id., Lm *huu-* vi. 'boil', Orc *xyuu-*, Ud *xui-* vt. 'boil', Ul *puuu-* vt. 'boil, cook', Ork *puu-* vi. 'boil, be cooked', *puuu-* vt. 'boil, cook', Nn KU *puuu-* id., Nn Nh *puuu-* {STM} id., {On.} v. 'cook', WrMc {Z} *фүѣ-* vi. 'boil' ¶ STM II 337-8, Krm. 306, On. 345. Z 1068 || **M** **ḥüüyi|ü-* 'put food into a copper with boiling water' > WrM *üi-* ~ *üyü-* {MED} v. 'put meat, vegetables or other ingredients into boiling water or soup', HIM *үй-* {MED} id., {BMR}. v. 'put tea or other food into a copper/teapot with boiling water', Brt *үй-* id., Mnr H {SM} *ωī-* 'verser la nourriture dans la marmite afin de la cuire où de la préparer', Ord *ū-* 'verser la nourriture (qu'on veut préparer) dans une marmite où il y a de l'eau; laisser tomber à l'eau' ¶ In H **fω-* > *ω-* ¶ MED 999, 1002, BMR III 405, Chr. 499, SM 484, Ms. O 765 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 54, ≈ Rm. SKE 207 (trying to adduce Ko *puǵil* 'boiling, bubbling'), ≈ SDM 1179 (pA **p'uye-* v. 'whirl, boil' > Tg **puuu-* 'boil' + unc. pM **puyil* 'whirlpool' and pT **üyük* 'quicksand', v. 'sink') || **IE** **speH̄y-* > NaIE **sp(ḥ)ēj̄-* / **spī-* and **spḥē-* / **spḥə-* v. 'ripen, become thick' > OI *'sphā-yatē* 'grows fat, increases' || Lt inf. *spéti* (1s pres. *spéju*) 'to be in time, to have time', Ltv inf. *spēti* (1s pres. *spējū*) 'to be able' || Sl **spě-* 'ripen, succeed in time' > OCS inf. *спѣти спѣ-ти* (1s pres. *спѣнъ спѣјѡ*) 'to succeed', R 'спелый' 'ripe', inf. *по'спеть* 'to be ready' (food), SCr inf. *дòспети* & *дòспјети* (1s pres. *дòспѣм* & *дòспјѣм*) 'to be just in time, to arrive at the right (last) moment; to arrive at; to ripen; to mature', R inf. *успеть*, P inf. *успієс* '(to succeed) to be in time for, to come just in time', Blg *успея* 'be\come just in time; be able, succeed', Slv inf. *успѣти* 'to succeed, to be successful', R, Blg *успех*, Cz *успѣх* 'success' || AS inf. *spōwan* 'to thrive', OHG inf. *spuon* 'to succeed', AS *spēd* 'prosperity, success, dispatch, speed', NE *speed* || **??σ** L *spē-s* 'hope' ¶ P 983, EI 3, 458, 500 (**speh₁(i)-* 'flourish, prosper, be sated\satisfied'), M K III 541-2, M E II 776-7, Frn. 866, Vs. III 73, StSS 620, Drd. 91, Ts. W 30, Pv. I-II 429-31, Pv. EA 91-2, WP II 680, Bai. 437, Ho. 312, Kb. 945-6, Vs. III 734, StSS 620 ¶ In IE there is coalescence of several roots (one of them with the meaning 'succeed, gedeihen') || **HS**: **σ** S **°√pυω* > Ar *√fυω* (ip. *-fυū*, pf. *فأفا* *faḥā*) 'fade' (a plant), 'sécher' (se dit des céréales qui sèchent sur pied) ¶ BK II 617, Hv. 569 ◇ If Ar *√fυω* belongs here, the N rec. must be

***p̣ügy** ▽. Otherwise the N etymon remains with an unspecified *-H|Q-
 ◇ IS MS 343-4 (***p̣u^hj^h** 'кипеть'), IS SS no. 10.2.

1839. *P̣ûXy ▽ 'to be sick; wound' > **HS**: S *°-pūh- > Ar ✓ fwh G (ip. -fūh-, pf. fāha) 'bleed' (of a wound) ¶ Hv. 578, BK II 644 || SC: Alg pih-v. 'suffer' ¶ E SC 144 || **IE** *peH̄y- (> NaIE *pē(i)-/*pī-) v. 'hurt, harm' (→ v. 'blame, abuse') > OI 'pīyatī 'reviles, blames, abuses' || ??φ Gk πηρός, Gk D p̄arós 'disabled in a limb, maimed' || L paenitet 'es reut, es tut leid', 'it makes (me) sorry', pēnuria n. 'lack, want, penury', patior 'I tolerate, suffer' (< pp. *pə-'to-s) || Gt inf. faian (· μέμψεσθα) 'tadeln', fijan (· μισεῖν) 'hassen', AS inf. fēon, fēozan, ON inf. fjá 'to hate', OHG inf. fī(j)en id., 'to detest' || **IE** d. *peH̄-mn̥ (> NaIE *pēm̥) n. 'disease, illness' > OI pā'man- (nom. pā'mā) 'ε skin disease, cutaneous eruption, scab', Av pāman- 'ε skin disease', Psh pam 'Krätze, Grind' || Gk πῆμα {P} 'Verderben, Leid', {Ch.} 'souffrance, malheur', {LS} 'misery, calamity' || ? L paeminosus, pēminosus 'brüchig, rissig' ¶ P 792-3, EI 258 (*peh₁(i)- 'harm') and 313 (*piH(i)- 'revile'), M K II 255-6, 294-5, M E II 85, 121, WH II 255-6, 264, 283, Ch. 897, F II 529, 531, Vr. 122, Fs. 135, 150-1, Kb. 241, Ho. 101 || **A** ≈*P̣ü'y'E > Tg *puye ({Bz. *pöyä) 'wound' > Ewk huuz, Lm puu 'wound, sore (болячка)', Neg хууз, Orc хууз ~ сиуз, Ud {STM} siз, {Krm.} sē, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh puuz, Nn KU пууз, Nn Bk пуи 'wound', WrMc {Z} фэѣ 'a wound, sore' ¶ Ci. 158, Bz. 971, Vas. 490, STM II 338, Krm. 282, On. 340, Z 1040 || M *φögē₁-sün 'pus, abscess' > MM {H} hesün or hoesun, {Mel.} husan, hūsen id., WrM {MED} ögesün 'pus', {BMR} ögersün, HIM {BMR} eepc 'pus, matter, suppuration, abscess'; M *φögē- v. 'rot' > MM {H} hu'ugai 'es möge stinken, verdor ben sein', Dg χū-, Dx φu-, Ba hu-, ShY hū- v. 'rot'. Mnr {SM} fū- 'pourrir, se gâter, se corrompre'; M *φögē-ri 'pus, absces' > WrM {MED} ögeri 'pus, matter, suppuration', HIM eep {MED} id., Kl {KRS} eep ōrā 'pus, matter, abscess', {Rm.} ōri 'Eiter', öw' 'Eiterung, Fäule' ¶ MED 632, BMR III 34, KW 303-4, KRS 421, SM 101, Pel. 243, Ms. O 538, MYC 408 ¶¶ SDM 1165 (*p'oye|u|o or *p'oyi 'pain, sore' > Tg, M), DQA no. 1815 (id.), Ci. EApk 46 ◇ IS MS 331 s.v. 'болеть' ***p̣e^hj^h**, AD GD 11.

1840. *p̣äz ▽ 'to strain\screen (durchsieben), to percolate' > **HS**: S *°✓ pšš v. '≈ strain' > Ar ✓ fšš (pf. faššā, ip. -faššū) 'traire (une chamelle) avec précipitation', 'faire sortir l'air d'une outre en la comprimant', faššūš- 'femme qui trait une chamelle' ¶ BK II 595-6 ||

U: FU *pāz̄∇- v. 'strain' > Er педя- рѣа-, Mk педя-, {Ps.} рѣа- v. 'strain, filter (milk etc.)' || Hg fej- v. 'milk' ¶ The primary meaning is obviously 'to strain (durchsieben)', rather than 'to milk' (⇔ UEW), because a semantic change from 'to milk' to 'to strain' is hardly imaginable and is not observed in lges as far as I have been able to check. Hence the Irn origin of the FU √ (cf. Av pāiīō- 'milk') is ruled out (⇔ UEW with a query) ¶ UEW 359, KC 162, Ker. II 112, PI 203 || **A:** T *hālgä- v. 'strain' > OT {Gbn, Rs.} älgä-, {Cl.} elgä-, {Br. for MhK} älkä- 'durchsehen', 'strain, filter', Qrg elge- ~ ele-, StAlt elge-, Tlt, Kü {Rl.} älṣä-, Xk ilge-, Tv eṣle-, ET ägli-, Tk ele-, Tkm, Qzq, Nog, Qq ele- vt. 'screen (durchsieben)', Xlj hājlä- vt. 'screen (durchsieben, durch-sehen)', Chv L ала n. 'sieve', Chv L ала-, Chv L {ChVS}, Chv Δ {Jeg.} алла- vt. 'sow (from a sieve)' ¶ Rs. W 40, Cl. 143, ET Gl 261-3, DHST 292, DT 130, Jud. 946-7, ASh. I 105, 157-8, Fed. I 33, Jeg. 24, ChVS 11, BIG 57 ¶ The quality of thevw. *-ä- is evidenced by Chv a- ◇ In all probability, T *-gä goes back to a sx (a root ext.).

1841. *P₂'EH|y'až∇ 'ε wild galliform bird' > **U:** FU *pažt∇ id. > Z baydɜg, ZN bayd+k, Prmk bađɜg, Yz bađug 'partridge' || Vg: T pa'itā, LK pō'it, UL pō'ita '*Tetrao tetrix*' || OHg faid, faith 'heath hen, hazel grouse', Hg fajd 'grouse, capercalzie' ¶ UEW 347, LG 35-6, EWH 350 || **A:** Tg *pi₂ala 'partridge' > Ewk hēlakī id., 'белая тетерка (female grey partridge, *Perdix perdix*)', Lm hālīkī, Neg xēlaṣī, Ul pēla, {PSchm.} pjalā 'partridge', WrMc {Z} фѣленк̄у ~ фѣленг̄у 'mountain forest hazel grouse similar to a female grey partridge', {Hr} φiyeleηgu 'Haselhuhn (*Tetrastes bonasia*)'; Neg xēlaṣlī 'wild goose' ¶ STM II 320, Z 1100, Hr 299 || **HS:** WCh: pNrBc *puz∇ ({Stl.} *pa|uɜ∇) 'stone partridge (*Ptilopachus petrosus*)' > Cg {Sk.} puzε, Mbr {Sk.} pɜzɜ, Jmb {Sk.} buzawa id. ¶ Sk. NB 34, Stl. ZCh 248 [no. 7] || ?φ S *°✓bšf: Ar بشفة bšfεt (unknown vocalization) 'pelican' (σ≡: Neg xēlaṣlī 'goose') ¶ Fr. I 125, BK I 130 ◇ FU *-t∇ is likely to be an ancient sx.

1842. *P₂ož₁∇₁∇₁ 'to become hard on the surface\top', 'hard surface (crust, bark, skin)' > **HS:** S *°✓pšf > Ar ✓fšf 'be dried up at the top' (maize) ¶ BK II 596, Hv. 563 || **U:** FU *°pož∇- v. 'freeze', n. 'frozen hard outer layer of snow' > ObU *pōž- > pOs *poy ({Hl.} *pǎy) > Os: V/Vy poy, Ty/Y/K pōy, D pǎy 'frozen hard outer layer of snow'; pVg *pā' id., *pā'ī- v. 'freeze' ('erfrieren') > Vg: T pā'ī- / pa'ī-, LK/MK/UK/UL pō'ī-, P/NV/SV/LL pō'ī- / po'ī-, Ss pō'ī- id., Ss {Kn.} pō'ī, {BV} поль, Yk

{Vxr.} ροί 'frozen hard outer layer of snow' ¶ Ht. no. 489, Hl. rHt 71, Stn. WV 103, 131, 170, 312, Kn. VW 70, WVD VII 243, BV 83, ChCh. 91
 || IE: NaIE *pel_{(l)ə}- 'film, skin' > Gmc: OFrs *filmene*, AS *filmen* 'film, foreskin', NE *film* || Clt {Matas.} 'hide, leather' > Mlr *lethar*, MW *lledr*, MBr *lezzr* id., Br {Hm.} *ler* 'cuir' || Ltv *plēve* 'film, skin on milk, thin transparent fabric', Lt *plėvė* 'thin soft skin, membrane, film, skin on milk' | SI *plěva 'thin skin, membrane' > R *плева*, Uk *плива* id., 'hymen', Slv *plěva* 'eyelid' || Gk πέλας {P} 'Haut' ||] with a sx *-n-: Gk {P} πέλλας accus. pl. 'Häute', [ϣ] πελλο-ράφος {Ch.} 'artisan qui coud ensemble des peaux', {LS} 'sewing skins together', Gk ἔρυσσι-πέλας (gen. ἔρυσσιπέλατος) 'erysipelas (an acute disease that is associated with intense local inflammation of the skin)' || L *pellis* (< *pelni-) 'hide, skin' || OHG *fel* / *fell-es* 'skin, fur', NHG *Fell*, AS *fell*, ON *fjall* 'skin, hide' || BSl: Lt *plėnė* 'membrane, film (on milk)', Ltv *plēne* 'thin layer', Pru *pleynis* 'meninx (Hirnfell)' | SI *pelna, *pelena (< *pelanā?) > OCS **пелена** *pelena* (· σπάργανον) {StSS} 'пелена, пелёнка', OR {Srz.} **пелена** *pelena* 'roof (крышка; кровля, крыша)', R *пелена* '(light) cover, membrane', 'плёнка' 'film', *пелёнка* 'swaddle', Uk *пелена* 'cover', Blg *пелена* 'light cover, swaddle', SCr *pělena*, Cz *pléna*, *plena* 'swaddle, thin skin, membrane' ¶ P 803, Dv. no. 627, WH II 275-6, Bois. 68, 763, Matas. 134, Hm. 511, ≈ Ch. 876-7 (Gk πέλλα 'seau à lait; 'coupe', Gk πελλο- in πελλο-ράφος 'artisan qui coud ensemble des peaux' [Ch supposed that here πελλο- is a loan from L *pellis*]), Kb. 232s, OsS 176, KM 192, Vr. 123, Ho. 100, 105, Frn. 615, 620, En. 228, Bg. AS 18, Vs. III 277-9, BER V 137-8, Glh. 474-5, Srz. 1115-6, 1118, Chrn. II 17, SJSS XXV 25, ≈ EI 268-9 (*¹peln- 'animal skin, hide') || D *po|- ({{ϑGS}} *p-) 'bark, skin, crust', v. 'peel, remove the skin' > Tu *po|i'rikæ*, *po|ikæ* 'bark, skin, peel, crust', *puleyi* 'a skin', Kn *ho|acua* v. 'pare off', Kui *plōva* (p. *plōt*) v. 'shed\cast a skin', *polpa* (p. *pol't*) v. 'peel', Ku *porhali* v. 'peel' ¶¶ D no. 4561.

1843. ***poqEǰ** or ***poǰq** 'thigh, haunch' > HS: WS *p_∇χιδ- (~ *¹piχ_∇ιδ-?) 'thigh' > Ar *faχιδ-*, *faχδ-*, *fiχδ-* {BK} 'cuisse', {Hv.} 'thigh', Sr *puħ'd-ā* 'femur, clunis', Sb *fχδ* 'thigh', Jb E *fχεδ-*, Jb C *faχδ-* 'flesh and bone of upper leg from knee to hip', Mh *εfχāδ* id.; the usually supposed connection with BHb *יָרֵךְ* *paħ^adāw* (h.l., Hi. 40.17) is implausible (≠φ: Hb *d* is not from S **δ*) and semantically qu.: according to Jerome's translation in the Vulgata (4th c. AD) *paħ^adāw*

means 'testiculi sui', and its new interpretation as '(seine) Schenkel' is based on alleged connection with Ar $f\alpha\chi i\delta$ - and Sr $p\alpha\eta'd\bar{a}$ (a vicious circle!), see the discussion above s.v. N $*P_{uq}\nabla d\nabla$ 'leather bag, scrotum' ¶ BK II 552, Hv. 550, BGMR 43, Hv. 550, Jo. J 67, Jo. M 110, Br. 562, KB 872, ≠ MiK I no. 1.211 (whithout distinguishing WS $*p\nabla\chi i\delta$ - 'thigh' from CS $*pa\chi d$ - [or $*pa\eta d$ -] 'testicle') || Eg $fP\chi p d(\omega)$ 'buttocks' 'tail, hinder part' ¶ EG III 270-1, Fk. 190 ¶ An unusual kind of mt.? For Eg $d < N *z$ cp. Eg $i\bar{d}r\eta$ 'ear' related to S $*'u\delta_l\nabla_n$ - id. < N $*'u\hat{z}\nabla$ 'hear; ear' (q.v.) || ? Ch (\times N $*p_a'g'd\nabla$ 'leg' [or 'e part of a leg'], 'foot'): CCh: McTr {ChL}: Hw $f\grave{u}d\grave{a}r\grave{a}$, {Mk} $f\grave{a}d\grave{a}r\grave{a}$, G'nd $f\grave{u}d\acute{a}t\grave{a}$, Gbn $f\grave{i}d\acute{z}t\grave{e}$, Boka $f\grave{u}d\acute{z}t\acute{z}$ 'thigh' ||| ECh: Mu {Lk.} $f\acute{u}d\acute{i}$, pl. $f\acute{o}d\grave{a}t$, {J} $f\acute{u}d\acute{i}$, pl. $f\grave{o}d\grave{a}t$, Jg {J} $p\grave{a}d\acute{o}$, Brg {J} $f\acute{a}d\acute{i}$ id. ¶ JI II 325, Lk. ZSS 182, ChC s.v. 'thigh', ChL ¶¶ Not here (\Leftrightarrow IS II 102-3) Sml $b\acute{o}w\acute{d}\acute{o}$ 'thigh', {R} $b\acute{a}'u\acute{d}\acute{o}$ f. 'H\ufte, Oberschenkel', (C \rightarrow) Amh {R} $\eta\eta$ $bat \sim \eta\eta$ $ba\eta t$ id., Kf {C} $b\bar{a}t\bar{o}$ 'leg, hind leg' and Hrr $p\bar{a}d\bar{a}ll\bar{a}$ 'inside of thigh' (on their origin see N $*bu_l\omega_t\nabla$ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom', as well as N $*p_a'g'd\nabla$ '↑') || K $*\acute{o}p\acute{o}q$ - 'thigh' > Sv UB/LB/Ln {TK} $p\acute{o}q$ 'thigh, side of body, crupper of a horse' (\times N ? $*b\nabla g\hat{a}$ 'side of body, side', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Hardly here ($\neq\phi$) (\Leftrightarrow IS II 103 [with a query and with $*\bar{a}$]) K $*pa\acute{s}t$ - (> Sv {Ni.} $p\acute{a}\acute{s}d\omega$ - thigh [пѣжка], calf of the leg', Sv UB {GP} $p\acute{a}\acute{s}d\omega$ - 'thigh muscle', Sv {Wrd.} $pa\acute{s}h\acute{v}d$, $pa\acute{s}h\acute{t}$ 'calf of the leg') || ? ϕ IE: NaIE {Bern.} $*b^h\acute{e}d$ - 'thigh' (\times N $*bu_l\omega_t\nabla$ '↑?') > Sl $*bedro$ 'thigh' > SrChS $bedro$, R, Uk, Blg $bed'po$, Slv $b\acute{e}dro$, Slk $bedro$, P $bi\acute{o}dro$ id., Cz $bedra$ ntr. pl. 'waist' ||| ? L $femur$ (gen. $feminis$) 'thigh' (if from IE $*b^h\acute{e}d-mor$ -) ¶ Bern. I 47-8, Sl. I 33-4, ≠ ESSJ I 179-80 (rejecting the connection of Sl with L, but proposing a less plausible connection of Sl $*bedro$ with IE $*bed$ - v. 'beat, split'), EM 224, WH I 477 (rejecting the connection between the words of Sl and L and proposing to derive the Sl word from $*bed$ - v. 'swell'), SPS I 199-200 (the Sl-L connection is considered not convincing, but no other et. of the Sl word is proposed) ¶¶ The phonetic irregularity (IE $*b^h$ -) still defies explanation (infl. of $*bu_l\omega_t\nabla$?) || U $*po\check{c}ka$ 'e fleshy part of leg' (\approx 'thigh' or 'calf of leg') > F $po\check{h}kea$, $po\check{h}je$ 'calf of leg' (< $*po\check{c}ke\delta a$, $*po\check{c}kes$); ? F $po\check{t}ka$ 'Schenkel, Hinterfu\uf', ? Es $p\check{o}\check{t}k$ 'Schinken, Lende' || pLp {Lr.} $*p\check{o}ck\bar{e}$ > Lp: S {Hs.} $bo\check{a}tskie$ 'Ferse (eines Menschen), Kniekehle (eines Tieres)', N {N} $boas'ke / -sk$ - 'the small of the leg', L {LLO} $p\check{a}sk\bar{e}$ 'Fu\ufsohle (des Mittelfu\ufes)', Snk {TI} $p\check{o}\check{a}\check{s}'\check{k}\check{e}$ 'Arm-

muskel', Kld {Lgc.} пуз'с'к- 'Schenkel, Wade', {TI} пуз'к'-в'уз'н:|д'э_ 'Schenkel', Nd {TI} п'о'а'с'·к'-в'у'а_д'э_ 'Wade (beim Menschen)' | ? Er
 пукшо pukšo {ERV} 'buttocks, croup', {KC} 'ляжка', Mk пукша, {Ker.} пукша 'meat (without bones)' (Er/Mk {Ps.} 'das dicke Fleisch, Schenkel'),
 Mk пукшет pukšat 'muscle' || ? Sm: Slq Ch paqtur, p'at'ur, UO paqtur 'calf (Wade)' || pY {IN H} °pekč- > Y T {IN} pökčid-uo 'leg muscles' ¶¶
 UEW 389, ≈ Sm. 539 (U *пуцк† 'tube' > FU *пуцки, FP *пуцки, Sm *пуцθ), SK 588-9, Lr. no. 966, Lgc. no. 5114, Hs. 356, TI 286, Coll. 50, Ker. II 123, ERV 525, KC 179, PI 225, Tv. IA 128, IS II 102-3, IN H 346, IN UJ 242 || | A: Tg (in NrTg) *pogž'∇ 'lower part of the back, tail' > Ewk "П" {STM} (misprint for "ПТ" = Ewk PT?) hogjō 'the lower part of the back', Ewk D hogjō 'tail', Lm hoγjī ~ hoωjī 'tail' ¶ STM II 329 || T *h₁ūça 'loins, haunches, rump' (× N *h₁U₁W₁ĉ'∇ or *h₁U₁W₁ĉ'∇ 'loins, lap' [q.v.] × N *γōč'∇ 'bone', [?] 'backbone') > OT uč'a {Cl.} '≈ loins, haunches, rump', MQp XIV ūž'a, [CC] uč'a 'back', OOSm XV už'a 'buttocks', Chg لچو | ~ هچو | uč'a 'back (dos)', Tkm ūž'a 'rump; dock, part of animals' body adjacent to the base of the tail; sacrum', Osm {Rh.} už'a 'a stump, the bottom part of a thing', Tk uca [už'a] 'coccyx', VTt oca b'š'a, Bsh oca b'sa 'pelvis, buttocks', StAlt yca uca 'back (dos), haunch, loins, rump, hind part of an animal', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} uč'a uca, Shor/Sg {Rl.} uča 'Hinterteil, Kreuz, Rücken (bei Tieren und Menschen)', Qrg, QK {Rl.} uča, už'a 'rump', QK {Rl.} +ž'a, Tb uč'a, Qmn {Rl.} +ž'a 'back (dos)', ET, Ln uča 'rump, back (dos)', Sg uča 'rump, back, hind part of an animal', SY už'a ~ uč'a, Nog uš'a, VTt b'š'a, Bsh Δ b'sa 'loins', Tv už'a 'fatty tail (of a sheep), rump', Yk uha 'hind part of an animal', Chv {ChVS} yca š'mmi +z_a š'mmi 'sacrum, rump', {Ash.} 'thighbone', {ET} yca +z_a 'rump' ¶ Cl. 20, ET Gl 566-7, Rh. 239, Bu. I 116, Tkr 656, Rl. I 1384, 1721-3, 1734, BT 169, B DChT 162, Ash. V 337, ChVS 288, TvR 435, Rs. W 509, Pek. 3075, ChVS 288 ¶ Tkm ū provides ev. for a long pT *ū, while Yk u is likely to point to a pT short vw. (unless this is a shortening in uncertain conditions [before an open second syll.?] mentioned by Poppe [F Pp. J 55]) ¶ T *-ū- and *-ç- belong to the heritage of N *h₁U₁W₁ĉ'∇ or *h₁U₁W₁ĉ'∇ ¶¶ T *būt 'thigh, leg' (adduced as *pūt in IS II 102-3) does not belong here, but rather to N *bu₁W₁t'∇ '†' (q.v.) || | D [1] D {tr.} *poč'∇ 'genitalia, anus', {GS} *poc- 'vulva' > Tm poccu 'woman's pubic hair, vulva, anus', Ml pocca, pocci 'membrum muliebre', Kt pož', Kn pucce, pucci, Brh pōs

'vulva'; D \rightarrow Prkr *posa-* 'anus, vulva', *posaṇa* 'anus', *phosa* id., Mrt *puccī* 'vulva' ¶¶ D no. 4476, Tu. no. 6248, GS 116 [no. 306], 74 [no. 243] ¶¶ ? [2] D **počč-* ~ **poč_L∇_Lk-* ~ **pokk-* (< ***počk-*) 'belly' > Tm *poccaḷ* 'paunch, potbelly', Kn *bojju* 'potbelly', *bojje* 'belly, paunch', Tl *bojja* id., Prj *bokka* 'large intestine, large stomach of ruminants', Gnd *počča* 'large intestine, stomach', Gnd Mu/K *poḥk* 'intestines', Gnd K *pōhku* 'guts', *pokku*, *pocca* 'intestines' ¶¶ D no. 4478, BB CVG no. 2377 ◇ K **poq-* is explained by mt. from N **poq-*. This K root and EG -p- in $\chi p d(. \omega)$ point to a pN initial cns. **p-* ◇ IS II 102-3 [no. 341] (*bedpo* **požq_L/***podq_L*: HS [S, Eg, Ch + * \div C, Om], IE, U, ?A, ? K **pāšt-*).

1844. *qabʔ∇ 'to scoop (schöpfen), to draw water' > HS: S *^o✓χbʔ|h or *^o✓χbʷ > Ak OB/NB/A χabû v. 'draw (water)' ('[Wasser] schöpfen') ¶ Sd. 306 || K: G χap- v. 'scoop out liquid' (Flüssigkeit herausschöpfen), χap-i 'gourd, a gourd scoop for scooping wine' ¶ Chx. 2299, DCh. 34 (s.v. amoxapva), 1722 (s.v. χapī) || U: FU *^oapp∇- (att. in FL only) > F inf. appaa, Krl appa- v. 'lade, scoop; eat voraciously' | pLp *vōpp̄- > Lp N {N} vuooprot / -pp- v. 'gobble up, eat greedily', Lp Sw vuoopret, vuooprot v. 'fill up the mouth with berries', Lp L vūāpātē v. 'poke (food) into one's mouth' ¶ SK 21, N III 816 || ? A: ppM **aβ¹u- > pM *aʷu- 'scoop out' > WrM {MED} aɣu- id., 'drain', {Kow.} 'épuiser, vider en puisant', Brt ɥɥ- 'herausnehmen (доставать, вынимать)', Mnr H {SM} ū- 'puiser, retirer d'un puits, déterrer' ¶ MED 15, Chr. 481, Kow. 31, SM 462 || Gil: Gil A [gob] = ʷov- / qov- / gov- v. 'scoop, lade' ¶¶ ST 73 ◇ S *b goes back to N *b, M and Gil point to a N *b or *p. K *-p- is a reg. reflex of N *-Pʔ-, in this case of *-bʔ-. U *-pp- < *-p- < *-bʔ-.

1845. ?σ₂ *qEc∇ 'wear out, be weakened' > HS: S *^o-χīs|š- > Ar ✓χys G (pf. χāsa / ip. -χīs-) 'be spoiled' (food), 'stink' ('exhaler une odeur fétide'), {Hv.} 'be altered' (meat, walnut); S *^o✓χsʔ (or *^o✓χšʔ) > Ar ✓χsʔ G (pf. χasaʔa / ip. -χsaʔu) 'be weakened' (sight) ¶ BK I 571, 654, Hv. 167, 191 || ?φ Eg fMK xz(ɥ) ({EG} hɛj) 'be weak feeble', Eg fLMK xzɥ 'weakness'; z for the expected ɛ is still unexplained ¶ EG III 398-9, Fk. 204 || K *qec̄-/ *qç̄- v. 'wear out' > Mg χič̄-ua 'wear out', Sv {TK} -qč̄-/qič̄-, {Top., TK} msd. li-qč̄-e id., Sv UB {GP} -qč̄- v. 'wear (sth.) away, digest (sth.)' ¶¶ FS K 498, K² 336 (referring the above words to *qec̄-/ *qç̄- 'tear to pieces, torture' > OG mqec-, G mχec- 'wild animal'), TK 487, Top. Sh III 266, GP 190.

1846. ₂ *qic̄∇ 'shadow, shade' > HS: EC: Sml hōs (pl. hōsas) 'shade, shadow', Sml N {Abr.} hōs 'shade', Rn õsí'm 'shadow, shade' ¶ Abr. S 110, ZMO 193, AD SF 90, PG 242 || S *^o✓χsʷ|h > Ak StB χasû v. 'darken', χasû 'dark, cloudy' ¶ CAD VI 143, 145 || U: FU {UEW} *íce ~ *íse 'shadow, shadow soul' > ObU {Ht.} *īs 'Schattengestalt' > pVg *īs id. > (within cds) Vg MK/P/Ss is; pOs *is 'Schattenseele' > Os: K/O is, Nz/Kz is id. | ?σ Hg Δ ísz ɖ isz ɖ iz 'Brand (Krankheit); cancer' || ?? FP *íce 'oneself' > F itse, Es ise 'oneself', Vp ičhine 'epilepsy' | pLp {Lr.} *yēčz 'oneself' ('himself' etc.) > Lp: N ieš ~ jieš, L ietj, U jiihtja, Kld īčč id. | Er эсь eś, Δ {Ps.} äś, Mk эсь eś id. | Chr: H {Ep.} ышкэ əške, L шке ške,

Uf (ə)ške, M iške, B ške id. | Prm {LG} ać-/*aś- id. > Z, Vt ać-: Z ачим аć-
 ĩm, Vt ачим аćim 'myself, Z ачид аć-+d, Vt ачид аćid 'yourself', Z
 асьным аśnĭ, Vt асьмеос аśмеос 'ourselves' etc., Z асьтö аśтз 'you
 yourself (du \ dich selbst)' || Y: K {Iox.} eizĭi ({Rd.} eĭzi) 'shaman's spirit,
 Teufel', {Krn.} eđul 'life, alive', T {Iox.} izĭie ({Rd.} izĭie) 'self', {Iox.} e·zĭ
 ('ezĭ) 'animated, living', {Krn.} eđil 'life; live' ¶¶ FU *-ś- in *iśe still needs
 explaining ¶¶ Ht. 66, UEW 79, Lr no. 264, Lgc. no. 1601, Ker. II 38-9, MRS
 710, Ep. 169, Ang. 53-4, 64, 81, Krn. JJ 280, 284, unc. Rd. UJ 45 [no. 60]
 (Y ←b U).

1847. *q'ǝ'ć∇₁∇₂ 'remove' > HS: S *^o✓χs|š? > Ar ✓χs? (pf. χasaʔa, ip.
 -χsaʔ-) 'drive away (a dog)', χāsĭʔ- 'chassé, éloigné avec mépris' (p. ex.
 chiens, cochons), 'éloigné, écarté et inhabité' (pays, endroit) ¶ BK I 571,
 Hv. 167 || K: GZ *qoc- v. 'remove, clear from, destroy, exterminate', {K²}
 'sweep, wipe' > OG qoc-: mo-qoc-a (3s aor.) {DCh.} 'exterminate, wipe off',
 çar-qoc-a {Ser.} v. 'wipe (one's feet)' (Luc. 7.38, Joh. 11.2), OG
 a(ψ)-qoc-a v. 'exterminate, destroy' (Luc. 9.54, Joh. 11.48), v. 'remove'
 (Luc. 1.25), qoc- 'wipe', G aψ-χoc-a (3s aor.) 'mit Stumpf und Stiel
 ausrotten', a moχoca 'umbringen, töten, vernichten', g a mo-χoc- '(jemandem
 etwas) ausputzen\saubermachen', {K} χoc- 'wipe up, rub; sweep', Lz χos-:
 o-χos-u v. 'peel fruit', b-χos-um 'I peel fruit' ¶ FS K 499, K² 340, Chx. 2382-
 3, Ser. 13, 209 || A *^uǝ'ć¹∇ 'become free, retreat, disappear' > Tg *ōs- vi.
 'retreat, move aside (from), vacate (a place)' > Ewk, Lm ōs- id., Neg ōs- vi.
 'move aside from; clear (a road)', Ul, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} osĭ- 'remove, clear
 (a place in the woods)', Nn Nh {On.} ōsĭ- id., 'убирать, прибирать', Ork
 ōssĭ- 'retreat, vacate (a place)', Orc osu- 'have the ice broken up' (of a
 river) ¶ STM II 25-6, On. 316 || NaT *iç-, *iç-gIn- 'get lost, disappear' (× N
 *q'ǝ'ć₁∇₂ 'sink'?) > OT ič-, ičgIn-, MT ičqIn-, VTt, Qrg, StAlt ičqIn-,
 Bsh isqIn-, QrB ičχIn-, Qmq išψIn-, Nog, SY, Tv išqIn-, Xk isχIn-, Yk ihψIn-
 id. ¶ ET Gl 672-3, DTS 216, Rs. W 164 || pJ {S} *us- 'lose, get lost,
 disappear' > OJ usa-, usinap-, MJ úsá-, úsí-náψ- (S) id.; J T usé-, J K ùsè-, J
 Kg usé- id.; J T ùsína-, J K úsíná-, J Kg úsíná- {Kenk.} 'lose, miss, part with' ¶
 S QJ no. 978, Mr. 780, Kenk. 2109 ¶¶ Tg *-s- for the expected *-ç- is still
 to be explained ¶¶ SDM 610 (pA *^uǝ'ć²'u 'become free, retire, disappear' >
 Tg, T, J), DQA no. 676 (id.).

1848. ₂ *qí'ć¹E 'see, notice' > HS: S *-χī'θ¹- > Ak ∧ inf. χīāšu 'see,
 find'; BHb -ħūš- 'aufmerken' [ψ 141.1] (× Hb -ħūš- 'feel pain' < S *ħūš-
 'feel') ¶ CAD VI 14, KB 266 || A: Tg *içe- 'see, notice' > Ewk içz-, Lm it/ç-

id., Ul, Nn Nh/KU {STM} ičз-, Nn Bk icз-, Orc ičз-, Ud isз- 'see, erblicken (увидеть)', Sln is(s)з- 'look (посмотреть), try' ¶ STM I 334-5, On 2O1 ¶¶ ≠ DQA no. 588 (A *iĉ̣∇ 'hope', [ʔ] 'see' > Tg + unc. M *iĉ̣a- 'hope' [{AD} from N ≈ *ʔy'ay'e'ĉ̣∇ 'seek, look for']).

1849. *q'ê'ĉ̣̣∇,ʔ∇ 'sink' > HS: S *°✓χŝʔ > Ar ✓χšʔ 'baisser, abaisser' ¶ BK I 576 || U *eĉ̣ĉ̣∇- v. 'sink, fall' (× N *h₂eĉ̣'U' 'to sink, to dip' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: ?? AdS of IE *ʔē̄s- v. 'be seated' (< N *ʔis∇ [or *ʔiʔs∇?] 'to sit', 'seat' [q.v.]) > NaIE *ē̄s- (md.) 'be seated' > OI 'ā̄s-tē̄, Av ā̄stē, Gk A ἦσταυ 'is seated' ¶¶ But N *q'ê'ĉ̣̣∇,ʔ∇ is not connected with Ht ēs-, ās- v. 'sit, remain (seated), reside' (see N *ʔis∇ '↑') ¶¶ P 342-3, M K I 84, Ch. 411-12, F I 633-4, Pv. I-II 291-300, Ts. E I 110-11, Oett. IGS 112 || ?σ K *°q|χwec̣|ĉ̣- > G χveç̣- 'herunterrutschen' (z. B. Socke) ¶ Chx. 2353 ¶ K *w points to a N rounded vw. of the first syll.; the emphatization of the affricate is probably due to *ʔ (something like *-ĉ̣ʔ- > *-ĉ̣ʔ- > *-ĉ̣- > K *-ĉ̣- > G-ç̣-) || A *iĉ̣- > M *iĉ̣e- v. 'sich für den Winter zurückziehen' (× N *h₂eĉ̣'U' 'sink, dip' [q.v.]) > WrM ic̄e- {MED} v. 'retire into hibernation', HIM ичи- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'залегать в нору', Kl {KRS} ич- ič̣- 'retire into hibernation', {Rm.} ič̣i- 'sich für den Winter zurückziehen, sich für Winterschlaf niederlegen' (Bär, Murmel-tiere, Schlangen u. a.), d.: Ord eĉ̣'ē̄le- ~ eĉ̣'igle- 'hiberner' ¶ MED 397, BMR II 290, KRS 275, KW 212, H 80, Ms. H 62, Ms. O 250 || NaT *Iç̣-ʔ|q̄In- v. 'let fall', 'let slip, allow to disappear' > OT ič̣̣̣In- id., 'let (sth.) slip' (uzun-tonluç köznüşin kolke ič̣̣̣Inmiš 'a woman let her mirror fall in a lake'), XwT XIV ič̣̣̣In- 'release, let go, lose', MQp XIV [CC] XIV ič̣̣̣In-, MQp XV ič̣̣̣In- 'escape', Chg XV ič̣̣̣In- 'let (sth.) slip (from one's hand)', VTt ычкын ъĉ̣̣̣ьн-, Bsh ъsç̣̣̣ьн- 'fall (from one's hands)', StAlt iĉ̣̣̣In- 'drop (sth. from one's hands), let slip', Xk ысхын- isç̣̣̣In- v. 'fall, fall out; drop, let fall', Yk ысыгын- isiḡIn- v. 'let fall\slip, Tv ышкын- iṣ̣̣̌In- v. 'let fall, drop' ¶ NaT *Iç̣-ʔ|q̄In- v. 'let slip, allow to disappear' is probably a sd. (broadening of meaning) from v. 'let fall'. But if 'allow to disappear' is the original meaning, the word is not valid as a cognate. The derivational prehistory of the stem is obscure (according to Cl., "a reflexive form [-n], but with no known basic form"); the underived hapax legomenon ič̣- (the Namangan codex of Qutadgu Bilig, p. 120, l. 10), interpreted in DTS as 'скрываться, исчезать', is not confirmed by Cl. ¶ Cl. 23, DTS 216-17, ET Gl 672-3, BT 188, BIG 332, TvR 601, Pek. III 3835-6.

1850. *q'∇ĉ̣'ʔ'∇- (= *q'∇ĉ̣'ʔ' i?) ≈ 'conceive, give birth' > HS: ?σ SC: Irq {E} χaĉ̣i, {MQK} χāĉ̣i(?) 'afterbirth of animals', ?φ Asa {E} har- 'give

birth' ¶ MQK 118, E SC 370 (adducing Asa har- and reconstructing SC *χaĉ- or *χanš- > pRt *χaĉ- v. 'give birth' [of animals]) || IE *°χχe|os- > Ht has(ɛ)-/hans- 'beget, procreate, give birth', HrLw has(a)- 'beget', has-mi- 'progeny, issue', Lc esedenneve < Lw *hassatanna- 'progeny' (unless from *hams- 'procreate', reconstructed in Pv. III 217-18 on the basis of comparison with Ht hammasa- 'grandchild'; if we reject the adduction of hammasa-, -n- in hansa- may represent a reg. IE *-n-infix, as in the NaIE present tense) ¶ Pv. III 212-18, Frd. HW 61, Ts. E I 191-2 || A: Tg *aji- 'conceive, give birth; child' > WrMc {Z} ачжи 'first-born', Lm ājīn 'first-born'; WrMc {Z} ачжигань 'child, boy', ачжигала- v. 'conceive (зарождают, зачинать)', ачжигэ, Mc Sb аǰige 'small' ¶ STM I 16-17, Z 51-2 ¶¶ SDM95 (s.v. ? *āǰi ? v. 'conceive, give birth') reconstructed a long vw. *ā both in the pTg and the pA words, which is unj. because the length of the vw. in Lm may be (as it often is) secondary. The Tg voiced cns. *-j- (for the expected *-ç-) is likely to go back to N *-ĉ'ǰ'- (voicing due to assimilation),.

1851. ₂ *qad∇ 'to hurry, to run' > HS: S *°√χd w|y > Ar √χdy G (pf. خَدَى χadā, ip. -χdī) v. 'go at a quick pace' (of a horse) ({Fr.} 'celeriter incessit') ¶ Fr. I 468, BK I 548, Hv. 159 || Eg fP χdy 'travel downstream' ¶ EG III 354-5, Fk. 199 || C: Ag: Bln {R} haded- v. 'run', 'hurry', 'gallop' (of a horse) ¶ R WB 187 ¶¶ ≈ Coh. no. 144 (S, Eg + unc. Shl addu go') || A: M *adaga- (unless it is *φadaga-) 'hurry' (← *'run, walk quickly') (× N *pEt∇ 'to pass, to go out', q.v. ffd.) > WrM adaga- {MED} v. 'hurry, speed, strive', HIM адга- {MED} id.,. 'hurry, speed, strive', WrO адага- 'be in a hurry, hasten', Kl {Rm.} adṽa- 'eilen' ¶ MED 9, BMR I 52, KW 1, Krg. 20 ◇ ≈ IS MS 338 s.v. 'двигать(ся)' *q[ɔ]dɔ, IS SS no-s 3.11 and 8.3 (both: M, D, K, HS).

1852. (₂?) *q'A'd∇ 'belly' > K: Sv {Ni., GP} qād 'belly' ¶ GP 311, Ni. s.v. 'животъ' || HS: SC: Irq {E} χiri 'waist', {MQK} χiri(:)η^w 'lower back' (according to Ehret, Irq -r- < SC *-t^y- → *-t^z-) ¶ E SC 258, MQK 118 || Eg fP x.t ({EG} h.t) 'belly, body' > Cpt: Sd ǰh hē, A ǰeh χ₂ei 'belly, stomach', ǰht- hēt-, B ǰht- χēt- id. ¶ EG III 356-8, Fk. 200, Vc. 285 ¶¶ The Irq and Eg words belong here only if their *-t- goes back to *-d-t (with the formative *-t of fem. gender) || ?σ D *at- 'flesh' (← *'body' ← *'belly?') > Kn adagu, adabala 'flesh, meat', Mlt arage 'curry made of meat, fish or vegetable' ¶¶ D no. 60.

1853. ${}_2$ *qe|id∇ (or *ge|id∇?) 'speak' > HS: S *°-χīd- > Ak Λ χādu 𐤀 χīādu 'speak, make an utterance', χittu 'utterance' ¶ CAD VI 28, 208 || **D** *e|it̄-, {ǾGS} *e|id- 'speak, tell, let know' > Klm id̄d- 'tell, show', Nkr id̄d- 'say', id̄ip- 'show', Nk id̄uk- id., Krx eṛ- (p. ed̄as) 'call, summon, invite\command to come\assemble, rouse from sleep', Mlt eṛye 'speak with fluence' ¶¶ D no. 786, ≠ Pf. 80 [no. 507].

1854. *qAd_L∇,?∇ 'to step, to walk' > HS: S *°✓χt̄w > Ar ✓χt̄w G (ip. *-χt̄ū) v. 'step, make steps', χut̄w-at- (pl. ^{حُطَى} χut̄ā), χat̄w-at- 'a step' ¶ BK I 597, Hv. 176 || Eg NE χt̄yω (a verb of going), ?σ Eg fP χt̄y.ω 'Terrasse mit Treppe' ¶ EG III 348, Tk. I 86, 232 ¶¶ Tk. l.c. (Eg, S) || C: EC (× N *ʕ'o'dU 'go'): EC: Sa {Wlm.} -ad/-ed- 'go', Sml N {Abr.} ád- 'go to', ?φ Sd {Mrn.} haḏ- 'andare', {Hd.} haʔr-, {Gs.} hax̄a 'go'; ? Arr {Hw.} pcv. -iʔit- pf. /-eʔet- ip. / ʔit̄ inv. m. 'go' ¶ AD SF 242, Abr. S 4, Mrn. S 220, Hd. 369, Gs. 147, Hw. A 451-9 || SOM: Ari {Fl.} ada 'go', Male {Fl.} ad- 'come?') (× N *ʕ'o'dU 'go') ¶ Fl. SO, Fl. OWL || AdS of B *✓wdH 'go' and SC (Asa adi 'go') (< N *ʕ'o'dU [q.v. ffd.]) ¶¶ Contamination with N *ʔat_Lʔ,∇ 'come' in C and SOM? || IE: NaIE *°a|e|ot- 'go, walk' (× N *ʔat_Lʔ,∇ '↑' [q.v.]) > OI 'atati 'goes, walks' ¶ ≈ P 69, M K I 26, M E I 56, EI 228 || **K** *qed-/*qid-/*qd- 'go, come', ? 'move, bring' > Lz χt- ~ χt̄- 'come, appear', Mg rt- 'go', Sv qad- (qed-, qid-) / qd- (inf. li-qed) 'come'; possibly also with caus. meaning: OG qad/qd-, G χad-/χd- 'take, take out', Sv qad- (qed-, qid-) / qd- (inf. li-qde) 'bring, take\draw out' ¶¶ K 263, K² 335, FS K 491, FS E 557-8, Chx. 2311-14, Chik. 426, Marr 234, Top. SE 75, GP 190 || **A**: M *o_L:;d- 'go, depart, set out for' (× N *ʕ'o'dU 'go', q.v. ffd. × *w∇d_L∇,ʕ∇ or *w∇ʕd∇ 'walk, go, set out for?') > MM [HI] {Ms.} oḏ- 'go, depart', [IsV] {Lg.} oḏ- 'go', [S] inf. o t̄χ u (= oḏ-χ u) 'to go, to go away', WrM oḏ- {MED} go to, proceed to', HIM oḏo- {MED} id., {BMR} 'hingehen, weggehen, depart (уходить\уезжать [в направлении от говорящего])', WrO {Krg.} oḏ-id., 'depart', oḏ- 'go', Brt W oḏo-, Kl {KRS} oḏ- oḏ- 'go, depart', {Rm.} oḏ- 'sich begeben, sich auf den Weg machen' ¶ Ms. H 83, Lg. VMI 59, H 129, MED 600, BMR I 461, Krg. 112, KRS 393, KW 283, Chr. 350, S AJ 270 [no. 153] || AdS of T *āṭ- v. 'step' (< N *ʔat_Lʔ,∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) → M *adam 'pace, step' ¶¶ S AJ 280 [no. 142] (pA *āṭ∇); SDM97 (pA *ā|ē t̄∇), ≠ SDM 1139 (A *p'ē ta- v. 'step, walk': equating T *āṭ- and M *_Lh_Lada- 'hurry' with Tg *pete- 'run quickly, hurry') || ? **D** *āṭ- vi. 'move' (× N *ʔat_Lʔ,∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The discrepancy between the apparent reflexes of N *-t̄- (IE *-t-, S *-t̄-), those of N *-t- (Eg -t-, Mg -t-) and those of N *-d- (in K) are due to

the N Ir. *ʔ (*-dʔ- > *-t̥- and probably *-t-). The Ir. may be also responsible for the long vw. in T (< pA?) and D ◇ The vw. *o- in M *o_{l̥}d- belongs to the heritage of N *ʔ^odU ◇ IS MS 343 s.v. 'идти' *q^oʔ^oʔ (IE, S, Eg) and IS SS 1.38 ('go') (both: IE, S, Eg); ≈ IS MS 338 s.v. 'двигать(ся)' *q^oʔ^odʔ, IS SS no-s 3.11 and 8.3 ('move') (both: A, D, K, HS, incl. err. S *✓χdʔ 'go to a quick pace', cp. N *qadʔ 'to hurry, to run') ◇ Blz. IELA 18 [no. 74] (IE, HS).

1855. (2?) *qagʔa 'to fear' > HS: CS *✓χgʔ v. 'fear, be confused' > BHb 𐰇𐰪𐰽𐰾𐰿 {GB} 'fear' (h.l. Is. 19.17, LXX: φόβητρον 'terror'), Ar ✓χǵʔ G (pf. χaǵiʔa) 'be ashamed' ¶ GB 213; ≠ KB 278 (interpreting the word 𐰇𐰪𐰽𐰾𐰿 as 'Beschämung' on the basis of comparison with Ar), ≠ KBR 290 (𐰇𐰪𐰽𐰾𐰿 'shame, confusion'), Fr. I 463, BK I 542, Hv. 157 || IE: NaIE *ag^h- v. 'fear', 'sorrow', *āg^h- 'dread, horror' > AS ēǵe n. 'fear', ON agi 'fear, horror', Gt agi s (· φόβος) 'Furcht, Schrecken', og p./pres. (inf. ogan ['φοβεῖσθαι] 'sich fürchten') || Clt {Matas.} *āg-ʔ- v. 'fear' > OIr -ágadar, ní-ágadar v. 'fear' || ?σ OI a'gha-h̄, Av aǵō 'bad', aǵa- 'evil', OI a'gha-m n. 'evil' (infl. of N *ʔākka 'be evil?') || ?σ Gk ἄχος (gen. ἄχεος) ntr. 'Schmerz, Leid, Trauer' ({LS} 'pain, distress'), ἄχομαι 'sich betrüben', ἄχυσμαι 'traurig sein' || OIr ad-ágor 'I fear' ¶ P 7-8, Mn. 2-3, Vn. A 23, Vr. 3, Ho. 89, Fs. 14, 380-1, MK I 1, F I 202-3, EI 198 and 247 (*h_{ae}g^h- 'be afraid/downcast', 'be afflicted; grieve'), Matas. E 26 || D *ak- v. 'fear, tremble' (× N ?σ *ʔayka ≈ move [quickly], jump', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ A possible prehistory of D *-k-: N *-gʔ- > *-gʔ- > *k̥ > D *-k-.

1856. *q^aʔi 'extend one's hand, seize, take, hold' > A *ali|i- 'take, receive' > Tg *ali- v. 'take, receive, extend one's hand' > Ewk PT al- id., Ewk Y ali- id., v. 'hold one's hand for sth.' ('подставить руку'), Sln ali- v. 'accept (принимать)', Neg al- 'extend/hold one's hand for sth.', Lm ali- id., 'hold one's vessel for sth.', 'shield oneself with the hand/shield', Orc ali- v. 'shield/cover oneself with the hand', Ud ali- id., 'extend the hand to receive sth.', Ul al̄- v. 'extend the hand, defend oneself', Nn Nh/Bk ali- v. 'hold one's hand/stick in order to defend oneself', Ork d. allu- 'pass (sth. to so.), give (подавать, вручать)', WrMc {Z} али-, Mc Sb ali- v. 'receive, take' ¶ STM I 26-7, On. 34, Z 34-6 || T *al_ll-, ({Md.} *al-) 'take' > OT {Cl.} al- 'take, seize, receive', MQp [CC] al- 'take, receive', Tk al-, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Tv, Tf, Xk al-, Yk il-, Uz al- 'take', Chv ил- id., 'buy' ¶ Cl. 124-5, DTS 32, Rs. W 14-15, ET Gl 127-9, TL 335-7, 699-700, Ra. 152, Md. 100, 159, Ash. III 98-102, Fed. I 163-4, Jeg. 68, ChVS

52 ¶ According to Md. 98, pT {Md.} *a (> NaT *a, Chv и) goes back to A *a influenced by the vw. *I (sc. originally *i) of the second syll. || M: [1] Dg ali- v. 'take, receive' (unless borrowed from Tg); [2] ?σ M *ali (unless it is *φali?) 'give me!', (?) 'take for me!' inv. > WrM {MED} ali, HIM {MED, BMR}, Kl {KRS} аль ali id., {Rm.} а́, ал 'gib her!', 'nimm!', Brt алээ alē 'give me!', Ord ali 'donne-moi, passe-moi' ¶ T DgJ 120, MED 31, BMR I 82, KRS 38, KW 6, Chr. 42-3, Ms. O 16 || ??φ pJ {S} *á- 'get, receive' > OJ u- (stem a-), MJ ú- (stem a-) id., J T/K/Kg é- {Kenk.} 'acquire, obtain' ¶ S QJ no. 754, Mr, 681, Kenk. 274 ¶¶ SDM 283 (pA *ǎla 'take, receive' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 20, KW 6, SDM97 s.v. *ala, Rm. EAS I 140, Pp. VG 75, ≠ Dr. MT 239 || HS: S *°√χll > OAk, Ak OB p. -χlul, inf. χalālul v. 'hold'; ??? S *°√χlf > Ar √χlf G {Ln., Hv.} 'pull off, take off (garment, shoes)', {BK} 'retirer/ôter une chose de dessus une autre' ¶ CAD VI 34, Ln. 780-1, BK I 616, Hv. 181 || C: EC: Sam {Hn.} *hel- 'get, obtain' > Sml hel-, Rn hel- ~ el-, Bn hel- id. || DhI hēl- {EEN} 'seize, catch hold of' ¶ E SC 307, EEN 15, Hn. S 63, Ss. PEC 40, PG 145 || Ch: CCh: Gzg {Lk.} hal- 'nehmen (Hirse, Erdnüsse)' || WCh: Ang {Flk.} ēl ~ el 'seize, catch', {J} ?el 'ergreifen, schnappen', Tng {ChC} yil- 'take' ¶ Lk. G 123, ChC s.v. 'take', Flk. s.v. ēl ~ el ¶¶ According to AD WIL, EC *h- corresponds to S *χ-, sc. it goes back to N *q- ¶¶ Hardly here Eg MK hɜɟ {EG} 'angreifen, (den Gegner) annehmen', {Fk.} 'charge down upon (enemy)', because Eg h is not cognate with S *χ and the semantic connection is not reliable (⇔ Tk SCC 98 [no. 28.3], Tk I 146) || D: [1] (att. in McTm) *aļ- v. 'take up in the hollow of the hand' > Tm aļ!u, Ml aļ!uka id., Tm aļ 'handful, anything contained in the hollow of the hand' || [2] *ā- v. 'get, own' (→ v. 'rule') > Kn ā- v. 'get, possess, rule', Tu āuri v. 'govern, reign', Td ō- v. 'own (buffalos), rule', Tm ā- v. 'rule, reign', Ml āuka v. 'possess' (a comparison proposed in Km. 313 [no. 191]) ¶¶ D no-s 290 and 5157, GS 257-8 [no. 392a], Km. 313 [no. 191] (tying in Tl ēlu v. 'rule, govern' within the first D √ [Ka ā- etc.] and reconstructing pSD *yā-, but in my opinion, Tl ēlu v. 'rule, govern' may well be a sd. of Tl ēlu v. 'take' < D *ē- v. 'receive, take' < N *qæT∇ 'hand').

1857. *qal∇ 'bottom, down' > IE: Ht halluwa- 'deep': hallūwas witas kat'tan¹ 'in deep water' (unless from halluwa- {Pv.} 'hollow, pit'), but haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect' is more likely to belong to IE *Xol- 'elbow, knee' < N *ΓUL∇ 'knee, elbow' ¶ Pv. III 28-9 (s.v. haliya-) and 47-9 (s.v. halluwa- 'hollow, deep'), EI 96 (Ht < IE *h₂elwo-s ~ *h₂eulōs

'elongated cavity, hollow') || **HS:** S *^o✓χly > Sq {L} ✓ħly v. 'throw down, sit under sth.', di-'ħale 'under', 'ħele 'deep', Mh {Jo.} зпχāli 'under, underneath', ? Jb C a'ḡahl 'down, downwards' ¶ L LS 175, Jo. M 308, Jo. J 2 || EC: Brj hal- 'fall (down)', 'set' (the sun), Sd halalla 'lowland', halliyá 'deep', ?σ: Sml hal 'place, location', Sml N {Abr.} hál 'place' ¶ Ss. B 90, ZMO 178, Abr. S 103-4 || ?σ B: Mz al 'place', Zng {Msq.} al id., 'country' ¶ Msq. Z s.v. zénaga al, Dh. M s.v. al, Bs. MS I 238 || **U** *ala 'bottom, place under sth.' > F, Es ala- (first part of cds) 'under, lower', F al-la, Es all 'under', F, Es ala 'territory' | pLp {Lr.} *vōlē n. 'down, lower part' > Lp: S {Hs.} vuōlie, L {LLO} vuollē, N {N} vuolle id., 'the space\part under sh.', vuol'dě ~ vuold ~ vuol postp. 'under', Kld vḡllēñ vūll-eñ 'below, under' | Er/Mk ал al 'lower (das untere, unter befindliche)', Er alo, Mk ala 'below, under' | Chr L ḡлан ü'l-an, ḡлнō 'ül-nō, Uf/B ü-l-nō, H ü-l-nā 'below', L ülä 'bottom, lower', B/H ü-l-, Uf ülö-, ü-l- 'lower' | Prm {LG} *ul 'bottom, place under sth.' > Z цв, Z Δ, Vt ul id. || ObU: pOs *+l 'lower, down' > Os: V +l, D it, O il id., pOs *+l-an loc. 'below' > Os: V +l-an id., D it-an id., 'on the ground floor', O il-an 'on the floor'; pVg *yāl-an loc. 'below' > Vg: T ya'l-an, LK yāl-n, P ya-l-an, Ss yol-an id., pVg *yāl-∇k 'the lower' > Vg: T ya'lāk, LK ya-l-x, P ya-l-k, Ss yolik; according to UEW, Vg *y- is prosthetic; the corr. Os *+ ÷ Vg *yā may be due to the presence of *y- | OHg al 'lower, underneath, lower part', Hg al- (in cds) 'lower', alá, ala tt 'below, underneath, under' || pSm {Jn.} *+lъ 'ground, bottom (Boden, das Untere)', *+lъ-η 'down, under' > Ne: T dat. њыл' η+lĩ, T O {Lh.} η+lĩ, F {Lh.} η+r id., T њылăд 'bottom (дно, низ)'; Ng {Mik.} ηil'ya 'down, under'; En {Ter.} irĩ 'under' (direction), iron 'under' (place); Slq Tz +l 'under'; Kms {KD} ḡil' 'lower part', ḡil'g-an 'below', ḡil'dă 'untenhin' || pY {IN H} *āl ({IN UJ} *al 'bottom') > Y K {IN H} āl ~ ān ~ ā- 'below, under', Y T {IN H} al-, {Iox.} āl, al- id., T al postp. 'under', Y K {IN H, Iox.} albз 'foot of a hill\mountain' (-bз is a sx of nomina loci) ¶¶ Coll. 2, UEW 6, Sm. 536 (U, FU *+lă, FP *ēla, Ugr *+lă 'under'), Lr. no. 1432, N III 802-13, Hs. 1457, SaR 56, MRS 642, LG 295, EWU 19-20, Jn. 24, Ter. 408-9, Ter. EJ 454, KKIИ 195, KD 183, IN H 99-100, IN UJ 214-15, ≈ Rd. UJ 34 [no. 1] (Y ← U) || **A** *al∇ 'below, lower part\side' > T: [1] NaT *al 'below, lower part' > Alt/Tlt/QK/Shor {RI.} alIn 'Unterteil, Stelle unter einem Gegen-stande', Yk alIn 'bottom, lower part'; the ✓ *al 'below' coexists with the quasi-homonymous ✓ {ET} *āl 'front'; the meaning of al in OT is qu.: Gbn, DTS and Rs. find here two meanings: 'front' and 'below', while Cl. recognized the meaning 'front, in

front' only] [2] NaT *alt (more probable than *ālt) 'base, bottom' > OT {Cl.} alt (i) 'bottom, lower surface of sth.', Tk alt 'base, bottom', Az, Ggz, CrTt alt, Tk Δ āłt id., Qrg, StAlt, Tv ald(ı), SY, Xk alti, Tlt, Brb alt 'under' ¶ Rl. I 373-6, 400-2, DTS 32. Gbn ATG 293, Rs. W 14, Cl. 121, 130, ET Gl 124-5, 140-1, JkR 39 || pKo {S} *àrái > MKo àrái, NKo arä 'below, lower side' ¶ S QK no. 652, Nam 336, MLC 1069 || pJ {S} *žrž- > OJ oru, MJ òru {S} v. 'lower, go down', J T orí-, J K/Kg òrì- {Kenk.} 'come\go\step down' ¶ S QJ no. 590, Mr. 742, Kenk. 1453 || Tg: WrMc {Hr} aligan 'Untersatz, Untergestell, Postament, Sockel', {Z} алигань 'пьедестал, подставка, поддонник' ¶ Z 34, Hr 36 ¶¶ SDM 285-6 (pA *ale 'below, lower' > T, J, Ko), Rm. EAS I 106, Rm. SKE 6, Mr. KJ 230, ≈ Pp. VG 75 || | ?σ E: MEI, NEI hal, OEI, MEI al 'Land' ¶¶ HK 374, 594 ◇ IS MS 351 s.v. 'нижний' qalā (with further literature) and IS SS 336 [no. 8.1.] (in both: HS, U, A, IE + *÷ Ht haliya-) ◇ Gr. II no. 406 (*ala 'under') (IE, U, Y, A, Ko, J, SES + unc. Ai), Blz. E no.33 (E, HS [C, B]) ◇ Blz. IELA 18 [no. 72] (HS, IE).

1858. *qæī∇ 'hand' > K *qel- 'hand' (with a short *e) > OG qel-, G χel- 'hand', Mg, Lz χe id., Mg χu 'handful', Sv UB {GP} qäl 'arm', Sv {FS} qäl (pl. qalār) 'length of two outstretched arms' ¶¶ FS K 495-6, FS E 562-3, ≈ K 264 and K² 334-5 (GZ *qe-), Chik. 58, GP 311; on Mg/Lz χe < *qel- with the loss of K *l and Umlaut see GM S 93 and 160; on the correspondence of G el with Mg/Lz u see Schm. 25-6 || | A *äl(Eg) (× pA [?] *ñāī∇ 'hand' < N *gōñ'H'äī∇ 'forearm', see below) > T *äl ~ *älig ({ADb.} *älg) 'hand' > OT, MU älig, MU [KB], Chg el ~ elik 'hand', MQp XIII elig 'hand', XIV [CC] el, Osm XIV äI 'hand', Tk el, Ggz jēI, Az, Uz XwOg äI, Tkm, Slr el, CrTt eI, Xlj ä·I 'hand', Yk äIī → ilī 'hand, arm' ||| Chv L алă ~ ал {Ash.. Md.} 'hand', {Fed., ChVS} 'hand, arm' ¶ Cl. 140-1, DTS 169-70, Rs. W 39, ET Gl 140-1, TL 251, ADb. SR 199-215, Md. 34, 164 (*ä·I(ig)), DT 109, Ash. I 112-15, Fed. I 33-4, Jeg. 24, ChVS 11 || Tg *elge- v. 'lead by the hand' (in some descendant lges: → 'lead [an animal] by holding the rein') > Orc 3gğ3-, Ork 3Íd3- 'lead by the hand', Nn Nh/KU {STM}, Ewk, Neg 3lg3-, Lm 3lgə- id., 'lead by holding the rein', Ul 3lǰ3- 'lead by the hand (an old\sick\blind person)', Sln 3lg3- v. 'lead', WrMc {Z} элгэ- 'lead by holding the rein' ¶ STM II 446, Vas. 553, On. 526, Z 77, Bz. 969, ADb. SR-D 449 ¶¶ Proto-Alaic *äl(Eg) contaminated with N *gōñ'H'äī∇ 'forearm' > Tg *ñāIa 'hand' (> Ewk ñāI3, Lm ñāI, Neg, Ul, Ork Orc ñāIa, Nn Nh ñāIa, Nn Bk/KU nāIa, Ud ñāIa, Sln nāIa, nāIi, WrMc {Z} гала, Mc S galə, Jrc ña-la 'hand', cf. STM I 656-7, On 284 and Z 306-7) ¶¶ Rm. SKE 57, ADb. SR 316, ADb. SR-D 455-

6, S AJ 17, 47, 282, SDM 1024 (A **ḡāli* 'hand' > T **äl*(ig), Tg **ḡāla* 'hand'), TL 251-2 || **HS**: CCh: MfM {Brr.} *χάλáy* ({Brr.} *χάλáy*) 'arm', pMM {Ro.} **ahal* > Mada {BrrB} *a-hál* 'hand, arm', Mkt {Ro.} *áhàl*, Gzg {ChC} *ahal*, Myn/Zlg {Ro.} *àhár*. MfG {BrrB} *hár* 'hand', ?? Ngs {IL} *χάρà* id. ¶ JI II 179, Brr. CM 42, BrrB 125, Ro. 266 [no. 343], ChC s.v. 'hand' || ?σ **D** **ēl*- v. 'receive, take' > Tm *ēl* id., Ml *ēlkkə* v. 'receive, take in charge, admit', Kt *e·l*- v. 'catch in sth. held up', Tl *ēlu* v. 'accept, admit, take' ¶¶ The connection is valid only if the D √ in question is different from **ēl*- v. 'happen; suit' ([GS] **ēl*-) or if the latter is a sd. of **ēl*- 'receive, take'; the vw. **ē* suggests that this D root belongs here rather than to N **q'a'li* 'to extend one's hand, seize, take, hold' (q.v.), which is the source of D **a'll*- 'take up in the hollow of the hand' and D **āl*- v. 'get, own' (q.v.); for phonetic reasons I prefer this etymology in spite of better semantic connection of D **ēl*- with N **q'a'li* ¶¶ D no. 905, Km. 313 [no. 191] (tying in Tl *ēlu* v. 'rule, govern' within the first D √ [Kn *āl*- etc.] and reconstructing pSD **yāl*-, but in my opinion Tl *ēlu* v. 'rule, govern' may well be a sd. of Tl *ēlu* v. 'take') ◇ IS SS no. 8.7, IS MS 362 (**qel*).

1859. **qôl*∇ (= **qu*∇?) ≈ 'lizard, snake' > K: GZ *(m-)χ|qu| 'lizard' > OG mχuliw-, Mg χolar-, χvilar-, χvelar-, Lz mtχolar-, χolura- id.; G χvliķ- id. (× GZ **ϕwleķ*-/**ϕwliķ*- 'be crooked\curved') ¶ *m- is probably a px ¶ K 144, K² 134, 228, FS K 232, FS E 255-6 ¶ OG χ may go back both to K *χ and to *q (because in one of the dialects of OG the pK cns. *q is represented by χ) || **HS**: S **χul_lmaṭ*- ≈ 'lizard, snake' > Sr *ḥulmāṭā* 'big lizard', Hb *ḥoməṭ* 'reptile', Ak *χulmittu* ~ *χulmitṭu* 'snake or lizard', ? Ar *ḥimṭāṭ*- {Fr.} 'animalculum in0 herbis vivens', *ḥamaṭīṭ*- {Fr.} 'serpens; vermis, qui in oleribus tempore veris est', {BK} 'serpent; espèce d'insectes qui naît dans les légumes' (loans from a lge having ḥ from S *χ) ¶ Br. 235, KB 314, Sd. 354, CAD VI 230, Fr. I 427, BK I 493 || Eg RT/G *χrr.t* 'snake in the underworld; reptiles, vermin (Gewürm)' ¶ EG III 150 || ? EC (mt.): pSam **mulaṣ*- 'lizard' (cp. OG mχuliw- id.) > Sml {ZMO} *mulaṣ* 'small lizard' Sml N {Abr.} *múlaṣ* 'lizard', Rn {PG} *múlúḥ* 'small grey lizard' ¶ Hn. S 69, Abr. S 182, ZMO 296, DSI 445, PG 228 || **A** **o|ulug*- 'snake' > Tg **olga*(-ma) 'snake' > Neg *olgon*, *olgoma* id., Orc *ugguma* id., 'grass snake', Ud *ugumə* 'a red poisonous snake', Nn KU *olgoma* *žabdā*, Nn Bk *olgoma* *žabda*(n-) 'big snake, boa, python', Nn Nh {On.} *olgomi* 'boa' ¶ STM II 13, On. 309 || T: Qq, Kr Cr *uluw*, Qzq *ϕπϕ uluw*, StAlt, Tv *ulu*, SY *ulu* ~ *olu* 'dragon' (unless a loan from Chn *lu* id.) ¶ ET GI 591, MM 488 || **D**

(att. in SD) *u|° 'woodworm' or sim. > Tm, Ml u|u id., Kn G u|ηgu 'a nit' ¶ D no. 700 ◇ ≠ Fn. KD no. 106 (K + *÷ D *ka(∇)u|_- 'lizard'). If the T cognate is valid, the lateral in pN rec. is *-|-, otherwise it is either *-|́- or *-|̄-.

1860. *qoyiLϑ∇ (or *qoí|l̄ϑ∇?) 'fur, mane' ([in HS] → 'wool') > HS: S: Ar χu|ϑ-at- {BK} 'vêtement', χilϑ-at- {Ln} 'any garment which one pulls\takes off from himself; garment which is bestowed upon a man (robe of honour)', {BK, Hv.} 'robe of honour' ¶ Ln. 791, BK I 617, Hv. 181 || Eg: [1] Eg MK χξω.τ {EG} 'hide of wolf', {Fk.} 'hide of animal', Eg OK {EG} χξω 'Haut und sonstiger Abfall von Kleinvieh']?? [2] DEg χίτϑ 'a garment' > Cpt: Sd ροειτε hoeite, A ραειτε χ₂αειτε, P ροιτε χ₃οιτε id.; ?? Eg fP {EG} ἥξτϑ 'Hülle, Kleid' ¶ EG III 35, 225, Fk. 184, Vc. 293, 315, Vc. VLE I 30-1 (on the phonological value of Cpt P ρ), Crn. 299 || | ϕ K: G χvirtli 'Winterhaar, Winterpelz (der Tiere)' ¶ Chx. 2355 || | A: Tg: Ewk Bnt olmin 'mane' ¶ STM II 15 || M ≈ *oy'í|l̄∇ (unless with *φ-) > WrM oil {MED} 'tuft of hair', HIM oйл {MED} id., {BMR} 'tuft of hair on the sinciput', Ord uy| 'rebroussement de cheveux\poils' ¶ MED 604, BMR II 463, Ms. O 727 || | D (att. in McTm) *o|u|_- 'mane, hair of head' > Tm u|aḡ id., Ml u|a 'mane (of horse\lion), man's hair' ¶ In Tm and Ml before the vw. *a of a derivative the opposition *o ↔ *u is neutralized (Zv. 65-7) ¶ D no. 701 ◇ The pN rec. *qoyiLϑ∇ is valid unless the M word is with *φ- (and then does not belong here, and the N et. is *qoí|l̄ϑ∇). If the pN eymon is *qoyiLϑ∇, the pD cns. *-|_- goes back to post-N *-|́- < N *-yil-.

1861. ₂ *q∇L̄∇,?∇ 'knee; to kneel' > HS: S *°✓χl? > Ar ✓χl? G {BK} 's'agenouiller et ne vouloir pas bouger ni se relever (par obstinance)' (les chameaux), {Hv.} 'kneel without moving' (camel) ¶ BK I 609, Hv. 179 || | K: GZ (d.?) *muq|_- 'knee' (→ 'corner?') > OG muq|-, K m u χ l- 'knee', Mg muχur- 'corner, edge' ¶ K 138, K² 127, FS K 224, FS E 246.

1862. *qæ'liy'∇ (= *qä'liy'∇?) 'melt, dissolve, be wet\moist' > HS: S *-χū|_- ~ *✓χll > Ak ✓χωl (inf. χālu, p. -χūl-) 'become liquid, dissolve; exude (a liquid)', Mh {Jo.} ✓χll (pf. χlūl) 'be penetrated by rain, let in rain' (of a roof), 'penetrate, come through' (of rain, water)', Jb C {Jo.} χell- id., χal'lun 'wet', ✓χll Sh (pf. aχ'lel) 'let in rain' (of a roof), Jb E {Jo.} ✓χll G (pf. 'χlel, sbjn. 'yεχχz) id. ¶ CAD VI 54-5, Jo. J 299, Jo. M 439 || ?? B: Ah əlyəm vi. 'dissolve' ¶ Fc. 1020 || | U: FU *e'∇ 'moist, wet' > Chr: B ile ~ i'le, M/P i'le, Chr L илe id. | Prm {LG} *E' > Z цль u' id., Vt ыль +í 'raw (not baked enough), wet' || | Vg: N {Troc.} i' 'wet', {MK}: P i', N i l

'juice' || Sm *элб 'melting\soft snow' ({Jn.} 'melting snow') > Ne: Т Ң э л " η э л ? 'weich, locker' (of snow)', Т О {Lh.} η э ł ł ĩ c i ' r э б 'soft melting snow', F {Lh.} η э ł ł a t χ + r r э 'rather thin soft snow'; Kms {KD} ε · л ε г ě н 'damp soft snow in springtime' || pY {IN H} *ał- v. 'thaw' > Y K/T {IN H} ałā- v. 'thaw', Y K {IN H} ałō 'melted', Y T {Krn.} ałū id., ałā- v. 'melt' (of snow, ice), 'be warmed', 'dissolve' ¶¶ UEW 73-4, Jn. 21, Ter. 42O, KD 19, Ku. 24-5, IN H 100, IN UJ 219-20 || D: D (att. in SD) *ał_i_i- v. 'melt, dissolve' > Ml aliγuka vi. 'dissolve (as salt)', alikka, aliγikka vi. 'melt', aliccā, aliγu 'melting, compassion', Kdg ali- vi., vt. 'dissolve', Tu aliγuni vi. 'to dissolve, to decay' ¶ D no. 250 ||] ? D *ałak- '≈ liquid, fluid' > Tm ałakam 'water', Kn ałaka, ałłaka 'neither thick nor thin' (as applied to liquids), ? Tl anuku 'semiliquid, semifluid' ¶¶ D no. 298 ◇ The N vw. of the initial syll. is controversial: S points to a N rounded vw. (but in the framework of the S morphology this *u/*ū may be secondary), D suggests N *a or *ä, while FU points to N *e. There is also conflicting ev. about the N lateral cns.: FU *eł and D *ałak- suggest *-ł-, while SD *ał_i_i- points to a N plain *-l-. A possible solution is N *qāliγ; the group *-liγ- contracted to *-ly- > FU *-ł- and D *-l- (in *ałak-); FU *e for N *ä may be due to the palatalizing influence of N *-i-).

1863. ?φ₂ *q∇LC∇ 'to tear, to be torn' > K: GZ *qleč-/*qlič-/*qlč- 'tear off, be torn off\apart' > G χleč-/χlič- 'tear off, be torn off (zerreißen, zerfetzen)', G M {Kavt.} na-qleč- 'scrape, fragment', ?φ G X {Ghl.} na-qeč 'fragment of tree', Mg χarck-/χorck-/χirck- 'tear off, burst', Lz χreck-/χ(r)ock-, χroçķ-, χrosķ- 'burst', 'die' (of animals) ¶ K 266 (*qleč-), K² 339, FS E 487-8 and FS E 553 (*χleč-/χlič-), Kavt. M 294, Ghl. 419 || HS: CS (or pS) *✓χlç- 'be broken, tear out' > Ar **خلص** ✓χlç (pf. χaliṣa / ip. -χlaṣ-) 'be broken in the flesh' (a bone), BHb ✓ħlç **يُحْن** G 'withdraw, pull off', JA [Trg.] {Js.} ✓ħlç G 'take off, undress; withdraw', JEA ✓ħlç G 'bare the shoulder (as a sign of mourning)', SmA ✓ħlç v. 'extract', **הנצח** ħlç h n. act. 'plundering', OYmn {Slw.} ✓χlç G, Ar Y ✓χlç G 'draw out (ausziehen)', ? Ak ✓χlç (inf. χalāç u) 'clean by combing'; but hardly here Ak ✓χlç (inf. χalāç u) 'press, squeeze out' and Ug ✓χlç 'squeeze out' ¶ KB 308-9, GB 233, Js. 472-3, Lv. T I 262-3, Sl. 466, Tal 275, CAD VI 40, Sd. 311, BK I 613-14, Ln. 785-6, Slw. 77, OLS 192-3 ◇ The discrepancy between the K ev. for N *č and the S ev. for N *ç or *ć still needs investigating.

1864. (₂?) *q∇L₁∇₁Kæ 'blister, pimple' > IE: NaIE *e^hl̥k̥os- 'sore, ulcer' > OI arśah₁ / arśas- ntr. 'hemorrhoids', Sgd ᵑrśχ, ᵑrśᵑnχ id., KhS āsī, āsī 'itch' ||| Gk ἔλκος (gen. ἔλκεος) ntr. 'wound, sore, ulcer' ({F}: h- due to the infl. of ἔλκω 'draw, drag') ||| L ulcus / gen. ulceris 'sore, ulcer' ¶ WP I 160, P 310, M K I 53, M E I 122-3, Bai. 28, F I 496-7, WH II 811, EI 523 (*^hh₁el̥kes ≈ ulcer) ||| HS: S *^oχ∇l̥k̥- > Mh χᵑw̥k̥āt- (pl. χᵑlēk̥), Hrs χᵑl̥k̥āt, Jb E 'χᵑw̥k̥ēt 'mole, pimple' ¶ Jo. M 441, Jo. H 140 || C: pAg {AD} *lak-an / pl. *lakk-an 'wound' > Bln {R} la'ḡān (pl. la'kān), Xm {R} le'ḡan, Aw {R} laḡan, Q {R} naḡen id. ¶ AD SF 261, R WB 251, R QW 105, R Ch II 386 (s.p. 72) ||| ? A: ? M *o|uliqay 'blister' (unless it is *^oφo|uliqay?) > WrM {MED} oliqay 'blisters on animals', {Gl.} uliqay 'water blisters on skin (an illness of animals)', {Kow.} oliqay id. (among the Buryats) (the word has not been found in modern dictionaries of Brt]), Kl {Rm.} ulχā 'Blase, Beule (im Fleisch oder Gehirn)' ¶ Since the word has not been detected in MM and in the ḥ/φ-preserving lges, one cannot know if there was an initial *^oφ- in the word. It belongs here if there was no pM *^oφ- ¶ MED 609, Gl. I 244, Kow. 402, KW 448 ◇ If .M *o|uliqay goes back to the N word in question, the latter is reconstructed as *qôL∇Kæ (= *qôLiKæ?). Otherwise it is *q∇L₁∇₁Kæ.

1865. *qäí∇ (or *qäᵑ₁i₁í∇??) 'strike, pierce' > K *qal-/q̥l- {K²} 'drive in, push' > OG qal-/q̥l- 'drive in, aufschlagen', G χal-/χ̥l- 'beat, push', Sv qal-/q̥l- 'drive in, fill with' (at-qal-e 'du hast hineingebohrt', čwat-qal-e 'er bohrte, stieß hinein', χe-q̥l-i 'es wird ihm hineingebohrt') ¶¶ K² 333, FS K 491-2, FS E 558 ||| HS: CS *^oχll 'pierce' > Ar ^oχll (pf. خَلَّ χalla) {BK} 'percer, forer, trouer', {Hv.} 'pierce; pin the skirts', BHb ^oχll (pf. كَلَّ ḥā'la) 'be pierced', prtc. pl. مَكَلَّ مَكَلَّ māḥal^alīm 'pierced through', MHb كَلَّ ḥā'lā 'hollow, cavity', Sr ḥālī'ī-ā ~ ḥālē'ī-ā 'cave', ^oχll (pf. كَلَّ ḥal'ḥel) 'pierce' ¶ BK I 606, Hv. 178, GB 234, Klein 219, Br. 232 ||| A: T *ä₁í- v. 'dig, penetrate (the soil)', 'row' (← 'dig water') > Osm XVII äš- 'dig', Tk eš- 'dig', {Rh.} 'dig up slightly, scratch the soil', Ggz yeš- 'dig with a foot', Az eš- 'dig', Tv eš- (ftp. эжер еж-er) v. 'shovel up (as snow); row', Tf éš'- 'shovel (разгробать), row', Xk ис- is- 'draw (water), row', Uz, ET, Qrg, StAlt eš-, VTt, Bsh íš-, Qzq, Qq, Nog es- v. 'row', Tkm Δ {Arz.} ийшгек ийш- 'row with an oar' ||| Chv L ал- {Fed.} v. 'plough', {Ash.} v. 'plough virgin soil with a wooden plough', Chv L {Fed.} alt- 'dig, долбитъ' ¶ Cl. 255-6, ET Gl 315-16, Rh. 124, TvR 607, Ra. 183, BIG 64, Arz. 197, Ash. I 104, Fed. I 32-3, 37, ≈ Md. 34, 164 ¶ Hardly here T *üí- pierce' (Cl.

256-7, Rs. W 523) because of the unexpected labialized vw. *ü ◇ Tkm Δ ийш- suggests a long vw. in pT and a N rec. *qäʔ,i,í∇.

1866. *qAm∇ 'cry, make noise' > K: GZ *qama/*qma 'voice', *qam-/ *qm- v. 'call' > OG qma, Mg χuma 𐌆 χzma 𐌆 χoma 'voice', Mg χumini 'noise', OG qma-w qaw 'I cried', mo-qm-ob-a 'herbeirufen', Mg χum-ap-a 'call, call up' ('rufen, locken') ¶ FS K 492 and FS E 559 (*qam-/ *qm-); K 266 and K² 339 (*qma-); Q 405 || HS: S *°✓ χmm (× N *qum∇ 'pray, ask') > Ar ✓ χmm v. G 'wail, weep violently', χamma θiyābi 'praised (so.)'; χamm- n. 'pleurs violents\amers' ¶ Ln. 806-7, BK I 628-9, Hv. 184 || D (att. in SD) *ama(-) - 'tumult, uproar' > Tm amaḷi id., amalaḷi 'noise, din', Ml amaḷi 'tumult, affray, cry, wail', Kn amakkala 'tumult' ¶ D no-s 166 and 1055.

1867. *qAm∇ 'grasp, seize' > IE: NaIE *em-/ *om- 'take, acquire, have' (× N *ʔem∇ 'seize, hold' [q.v. ffd.] × N *HEñom∇ 'take hold of' [q.v.]) ¶ WP I 207, P 310-11, WH I 400-2, Frn. 184-5, En. 184 || HS ✓ *χm 'grasp' > Eg fP (+ext.) χm^s 'seize, grasp' ¶ EG III 231, 281-2, Fk. 191 || S *°✓ χmm > Ak ✓ χmm G (inf. χamāmu) 'pluck and gather (barley) (a primitive technique of harvesting without the use of a sickle)', 'gather to oneself', D (inf. χummu) 'collect, pick up'; but Gz ✓ χmy v. 'chain, tie, bind, shackle' (adduced in IS III) hardly belongs here (≠σ) ¶ CAD VI 58-9, Sd. 315, L G 262-3 || SOm: Hm {Bnd.} hΛm- 'hold, keep' ¶ Bnd. PO ¶¶ Cal. 76, Ember ESS 36, ≈ Tk. I 123-4 || D (att. in SD) *am-(ar-) 'seize firmly' > Kn amar id., 'embrace', Tu amaruni 'seize, hold', amāruni 'embrace, hold'; in contamination with D *am(-uḷk)-/*am(-ukk)- 'press down': Kn amuku, amiku 'press\hold firmly', amucu id., 'embrace', Tu amepuni 'press, hold in the arms'; but D *am(-uḷk)-/*am(-ukk)- ({{GS}} *am-) 'press down' (D no. 169, GS 108 [no. 282]) hardly belongs here, it may rather be equated with S: Hrs ✓ ḥmz 'press (smb.'s hand)' (Jo. H 60) ¶ D no. 169, Km. 282 || E: AchEl hu-ma 'Entnahme', MEI, NEI hu-ma-áš 'er nahm an sich, raubte' ¶¶ HK 691-4 ◇ Blz. E no. 93 (E, HS); ≈ IS III 128-30 (*qamΛ 'grasp' > HS *χm-, D *am- 'press, squeeze' + *÷ IE *am- in names of vessels and handles [unc. semantic rec. as 'grasp'] and *÷ IE *mē- 'grasp').

1868. *qum∇ 'pray, ask' (← *'exercise magic in order to fulfill one's wish?') > HS: S *°✓ χmm (× N *qAm∇ 'cry, make noise') > Ar ✓ χmm G (pf. χamma) {Ln.} 'eulogize, speak well of', {BK} 'louer, combler d'éloges', {Hv.} 'praise so.', χamm- {BK} 'éloges excessifs' ¶ Ln. 807, BK I 828-9, Hv. 184 || Eg fP χm 'heilige Stätte, Kultstätte eines Gottes' > Eg fXVIII χm 'shrine,

temple' ¶ EG III 280, Fk. 191 || K *qwam- v. 'pray, thank' > Lz xom-: o-xom-a|a 'religious feast, angel's day; prayerhouse', Sv qwam-: la-qwam 'prayerhouse', ma-qwam v. 'thank' ¶¶ FS K 496 || A: NaT *u₁m- v. 'ask for, covet' (× N *Xum∇ 'to wish, to covet', q.v.) > OT {Cl.} um- id., MQP, OOSm XIV um- v. 'hope', Tk um-, Az, CrTt, Qmq um- id., Ggz, Kr Cr um- v. 'covet, hope', Uz Δ um- v. 'wish' ¶ Acc. to Cl., the meaning 'hope' developed due to the infl. of NPrs مريد omīd n. 'hope', whence Tk um- v. 'hope, believe', Az, Ggz, CrTt, Qmn v. 'hope' ¶ Cl. 155-6, ET Gl 595-6, Vl. I 122 || ?σ D (att. in McTm) *o|ūmal 'rumor' > Tm, Ml ōmal id. ¶ D no. 1055.

1869. ₂ *q∇m∇ 'dry; to dry' > K: GZ *qem-/qm- vi. 'dry, wither' > OG qem-/qm-, G x m- id., OG ganm-qm-ar-i adj. 'dry', Mg xom- ~ xum- (inf. xom-ap-a ~ xum-ap-a), Lz xom- id.; ⇨ GZ *qm-el- adj. 'dry, dry land' > OG qmel- id., G x mel-, Mg xumla-, xomyla, xomila, Lz xom(b)ula- 'dry' ¶ K 263, 266, K² 335-6, 339, FS K 492-3, FS E 559-60 || HS: Eg Md x m 'become too dry' (of liniment) ¶ EG III 277 || S (+ext.) *o✓xmr > Ak fOB ✓xmr (inf. xamāru) vi. 'dry up' ¶ Sd. 315.

1870. *qum?∇ 'to drink; beverage' > HS: S *xim?-at- ≈ 'coagulated milk, butter' > Ug x m[?]t 'butter, curd', Hb הַחֶמֶץ הַבָּרֵךְ ḥem[?]ā 'thick curdled milk, sour cream', {GB} id., 'butter' (translated in LXX as βούτυρον 'butter'), MHb הַחֶמֶץ הַבָּרֵךְ ḥem[?]ā 'butter', JA [Trg.] חֶמֶץ בָּרֵךְ ḥem[?]ā 'cream, butter', Sb x m[?]t 'coagulated milk, butter, ghee', Sq {L} 'ḥami 'butter', Ak ximēt u, Ak A ximā t u 'ghee' ¶ KB 312, BDB no. 2529, GB 238, OLS 193, Js. 475, A no. 1040, BGMR 61, L LS 179, Sd. 346, CAD VI 189-90 || K *oq|x m- > G x me v- / x mi- v. 'kosten, trinken, zu sich nehmen' ¶ Chx. 2375 || A *um∇- 'drink' > Tg *um(i)- v. 'drink' > Ewk um-, Sln, Orc imi-, Neg om-, Ud umi-, Ork umi- / umu-, Ul ūmi- / ūmu-, Nn Nh/Bk omi-, WrMc {Z} oми-, Mc Sb omi- id., Jrc {Md.} umi-r|a, {Kiy.} omi-ra 'drink' ¶ STM II 266, Kiy. 126 [no. 534], On. 310, Z 130, Md. ChF 134 || M **umda- ⇨ : [1] M *umdan 'beverage, drink' > MM [S] undan id., WrM {MED} umda, HIM {BMR, MED} унда, Brt унда(н), Mgl {Rm.} undo id., Kl D {Rm.} undu 'Durst; Getränk', Kl {Rm.} undu, unda id., {KRS} ундн undьн 'beverage, thirst', Ord und_a 'soif; boisson; endroit où boivent les bestiaux'; [2] M *umdala- > MM [S] {H} undala- 'den Durst löschen', WrM {MED} umdala-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ундла- v. 'drink, quench one's thirst', Kl {KRS} ундл- id., Ord und_ala- 'boire; abreuver', [3] M *umda-γan 'a drink' > WrM {MED} umdagān, HIM {BMR, MED} умдаа(н) 'beverage, drink', Kl {Rm.} undān

'Getränk, Trunk', MM [MA] unda²ān [unda₁ān] id., MMgl undān 'ayran (sour buttermilk)', Mgl {Lg.} undān 'babeurre, petit lait', [4] M *umdayas- 'be thirsty' > MM [MA] unda²ās-, [S] umda₁as- ~ unda₁as-, [IM] undus-, WrM {MED} umdagas-, HIM {MED} умдааса-, {BMR, MED} ундааса-, Kl {Rm.} undās-, {KRS} ундас-, Dx undasu- 'be thirsty', Mnr H {SM} nd₁asε- 'avoir soif', Ord und₁ās- id. ¶ MED 874, BMR III 330, 333-4, Chr. 470, KRS 533, KW 449, Pp. MA 364, 449, Iw. 140, H 164, SM 262, Ms. O 734 || pKo {S} *mā- v. 'drink' > MKo mā-sí-, NKo masi- ¶ S QK no. 20, Nam 193, MLC 563 ¶¶ SDM 1499-500 (pA *u|om∇- 'drink' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 642, SDM97 (A *öme), Pp. VG 69, 101, S AJ 45, 285, 290, T DnJ 137, Rs. UAW 41, KW 457, IS I 248 ◇ Cf. AD LRC (Eg, U, T) and IS I 248 (*H¹E¹mi 'suck' > U, A [T, M]).

1871. ₂ *q∇m₁∇₁L∇ (= *qAm₁∇₁L∇?) 'fur, fell' > HS: S *^o✓χml > Ar χaml- 'tapis à haute laine; plumage de l'autruche; cils', χaml-at- 'tapis à haute laine; garni d'un effilé \ de franges' ¶ BK I 634 || B: Ah elām 'skin; hair of animal', Sll īlēm, BSn, Ntf ilām, Izn aylām 𐎠 ilām, Rf ilām, Zng {TC} iyām 'peau', pl. ellammūn; ?ϕ (B *g < N *q??): Ah aǵlim (pl. iǵlimān) 'peau ouverte, tannée', Kb aǵ^wlim (pl. iǵ^walman), Wrg aglim, CM {NZ} ag^wlim 𐎠 aglim 𐎠 a^wlim, Nf uglim, Awj glim 'skin' ¶ Fc. 1075-6, Dl. 257, Ds. 215, Dh. Ou 96, TC D 5, TC Z 317, NZ 780-1 || K *qaml- 'skin (of legs) of sheep\goats' > OG qaml- 'footgear', G χaml- 'e soft shoes', Sv qamr-, qemār- 'skin (of legs) of sheep\goat\calf' ¶¶ K 263, K² 333, FS K 493.

1872. (₂?) *qañ∇b∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)' (a possible variant rec. of the N word *H|qamb∇ [q.v. ffd.]) > IE: NaIE *amb^hō (u) du. 'both' > Gk ἄμφω id. || L ambō m., ntr., ambae f. id.] NaIE loc. *amb^hi / *m^hb^hi 'from both sides, around' > Gk ἄμφύ - 'around', ἄμφύ-ς 'on both sides' || L amb-, am-, an- pv. 'around' (amb-īō 'go around'), Osc am- 'amb-' (amfret 'they go around'), ampt 'around', Um AM-, AMBR- pv. 'around', amprehto 'ambito'] NaIE *m^hb^hi 'from both sides, around' > OI a¹b^hi-tah₁ 'on both sides', Av aiwito 'ringsher', OI ab^hi- 'around' || Clt {Matas.} *ambi- 'around' > Gl ambi- (Ἀμβύ-δραυοί 'those living on both sides of the river Dravos'), W am(-), Cmn, OBr, Br am-, em-, OIr imb-, imm- 'around' || ON umb, OHG, OSx umbi, NHG um, AS ymb, ymbe 'around'] with absence or loss of *m: ?? OI ubhāu, Av uwa- 'both' || ? BSl: Lt abū, Ltv abi, Pru abbai id. | Sl *oba id. (m., ntr.), *obě (f.) > OCS ОБА oba / f. ОБѢ obě, R, Blg 'оба / f. обе, SCr òba / f. òbje, Slv obā / f. obē, Cz oba / f. obě, Slk oba / f. obe, P oba / f. obie ¶ The loss of

the labial cns. in Iir and BSl is not yet explained ¶ P 34-5, Bk. G 312, 327-8, F I 100, WH I 37-8, Bc. G 327, Flr. 60, YGM-1 12-14, M K 41-2, 107, Frn. 1, Glh. 446, Vr. 633, Ho. 412, Ho. S 80, Kb. 1064, Schz. 294, KM 802, ≠ EI 400 (*b^hōy 'both'), Matas. E 32 || ?σ HS: S *✓χnb > Ar χanāb-, χinnāb- {BK} 'long, grand, haut', {Hv.} 'tall, long', Ak ✓χnb (inf. χanābu, p. i-χnub) 'grow abundantly' ¶ BK I 636, Hv. 186, CAD VI 75-6 || U: [1] FV *ompa 'other, other (further) side' > Er ombο ombο, Mk ombα 'omba, {Ker.} ombα, {Ps.} ombā 'other, that of the opposite side', Δ {Jh.} omā id. || Chr: B umpal 'the other side', Chr {Szil.} umpake 'hinüber', L ym'бале, ymbα'лан 'far away' ('палан 'far away') || [2] U *-mp∇ 'more', sx of cmpr. > F -mpi / -mpα- (uydempī / uydempa- 'newer'), Es -m / gen. -ma (nooree-m 'younger') || Lp N -b / -b'bo (odđâsâb / odđâsâb'bo- 'newer'), Lp S {Hs.} -be (nuore-be 'younger') || Hg -bb (újabbb 'newer') || Sm: Ne -mбой 'rather' (Hарка-мбой 'rather big' < Hарка 'big') ¶¶ UEW 332, Coll. CG 260-1, Hs. 109-10, Ker. 100, Jh. 107, Ter. 385-6 ¶¶ The vw. *o- (for *a-) in *omp∇ may be due to the labializing infl. of *m ◇ The meanings 'big', 'grow abundantly' in S may possibly go back to N 'more'. If nevertheless S *✓χnb does not belong here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as *H|qamb∇.

1873. ₂ *qEñ|ηK∇ 'strangle, kill' > IE *χenk|k̄- '≈ wage war, kill' > Ht henkan-, hinkan- 'death, deadly disease' || ? NaIE *enk|k- 'pursue the enemy; death' (× **ηk̄- < N *ñæKæ 'pursue [the enemy], wage war, kill', q.v.) > Gmc *anhtō ({EI} < *onk̄teh_π-) > OHG āhta 'hostile persecution', AS ðht id., 'oppression', NHG Acht 'outlawry, ostracism' || OIr éc, NIr eag, MW angheu, W angau, Cm ancow, Br ankou 'death' (< NaIE *ηk̄(t)u-), OIr écht 'Totschlag' ({P} < *e|anktu- → *ηktu-) ¶ Pv. III 296-301, P 45, EI 150, OsS 7, KM 6, Kb. 11, EWA I 118-20, Schz. 83, Ho. 241, LP § 8.1, Thr. § 31, YGM-1 9 || HS: S *✓χnk v. 'strangle' > Hb ḥnk, Sr ✓ḥnk, Mh, Hrs, Jb. E/C ✓χnk, Sq {L} ✓ḥnk, Gz ✓χnk, Ak χanāku id., Ar ✓χnq G id., 'throttle' ¶ KB 322, Br. 244, Ln. 818, Hv. 187, BK I 642, Sd. 320, CAD VI 77, L G 263, Jo. M 44, Jo. H 141 ◇ Cf. IS MS 357 s.v. *n'äḳ' 'pursue (the enemy)' (equating IE *Henk̄- with M, Tg neke-, S *✓nk̄m and B *✓nyH, see N *ñæKæ '↑').

1874. *qañt∇ 'forehead, front' > HS: S *°✓χnt 'front' > Jb C χan'ti 'front, front part of anything', Mh χzn'tay 'front udder of a camel', Hrs χzn'tī 'one of the four fore teats of the camel' ¶ Jo. J 303, Jo. M 445, Jo. H 141 || Eg fP χnt 'face, the front part of the head' (t < *-t-t, where *-t is a HS sx of singularity) ⇨ Eg fP χntω, χnty 'in front, in front of' ¶ EG III

302-3, Fk. 194 ¶¶ ≠ Cal. 184-5, Coh. 107 and Pilshch. HChS 124 (all of them connect Eg $\chi r\acute{t}$ with Hs $han\check{c}i$ 'nose', which is untenable in the light of Chadic etl. studies [Stl. ZCh 185, no. 364, OS no. 441]); Ember PAOE § 6.2 and OS no. 1340 (Eg $\chi r\acute{t}$ *÷ Hb $^1h\acute{o}\acute{t}\acute{\epsilon}m$ and Ar $\chi a\acute{t}m$ - 'nose, beak' [a comparison rejected in Cal. 184-5]) || IE * $\chi ant-$ ({Pv.} * A_1ent-) 'forehead, front' > Ht $han\acute{t}$ - 'forehead, front(age)', (originally nom.-accus. sg. ntr.) $hanza$ 'in front') || NaIE * $ant-$ > Gk $\acute{\alpha}ντ\acute{\iota}$ prep. (fossilized loc.) 'opposite, against', $\acute{\alpha}ντ\acute{\alpha}$ (fossilized accus.) 'face to face, over against', $\acute{\alpha}ντ\acute{\alpha}\omega$ v. 'come opposite to, meet face to face, meet with' || OI $anti$ 'before, near', $anta-$ 'end, limit' || L $ante$ 'in front of', $ant\acute{e}s$ 'front rows', $antiae$ 'forelock' || Clt {Matas.} * $antono-$ 'forehead' > OIr $\acute{e}tan$ id. || Gt and ($\acute{\iota}\acute{\epsilon}π\acute{\iota}, κατ\acute{\alpha}, δ\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}$) 'entlang, über ... hin', $and\acute{a}$ - (usually with a noun) 'entgegen, gegenüber, von ... weg', OHG $endi$, ON $enni$ 'forehead' || Lt $ant\acute{e}$ 'bosom, breast', $ant\acute{e}$ on, upon; towards' || pTc * $\acute{a}nte$ > Tc: A $\acute{a}nt$, B $\acute{a}nte$ 'surface, forehead' ¶ Pv. III 89-96, Ts. E I 149-53, P 48-50, EI 209 (* h_2ent- 'forehead') and 60 (* h_2enti 'in front'), WH I 53-4, M K I 36, F I 113-14, Fs. 46, Vr. 103, Kb. 199, EWA II 1068-9, Frn. 11-12, Wn. I 163, Ad. 43, Matas. E 39 || A * ant^{∇} 'the foreside, sunny side' > Tg * ant^{∇} > WrMc {Z} $ant\acute{y}$ 'the foreside, the sunny\southern side of a mountain', Ud $anta$, Ewk $anta\acute{y}a$, Neg $anta\acute{y}a\acute{i}d\acute{a}$, $antay\acute{i}$ 'the southern slope of a mountain', Nn Nh $anta\acute{z}ia$ {STM} 'the sunny side of a mountain', {On.} "the unsunned side of a mountain' ¶ Z 15, STM I 44, On 43 || pJ {S} $antuma$ 'east' > OJ $aduma$ id. ¶ S QJ no. 105, Mr. 389 || ?? Ko: [1] according to Rm., Ko $ant^h\acute{a}$, $ant^h\acute{e}$ 'for, fore, before, in the presence of' (locative) ¶ Rm. SKE 11, Rm. KG 150] [2] ? σ, ϕ pKo {S} * $\acute{a}nt\acute{e}k^h$ 'hill' > MKo $\acute{a}nt^h\acute{e}k$, NKo $\acute{a}nd\acute{e}k$ ¶ pKo * \acute{a} usually does not go back to pA * \acute{a} (unless the following cons. is labial), therefore it may be supposed that here pKo * \acute{a} - in Anlaut is due to ass. infl. of the vw. * \acute{a} of the next syll. ¶ S QK no. 220, Nam 366 ¶¶ SDM 302 (pA * ant^{∇} 'hill, slope' > pKo * $\acute{a}nt\acute{e}k^h$ 'hill', Tg, J), DQA no. 38 (id.), SDM97 (pA * $anta^{\nabla}$ 'a hill, slope'), Rm. SKE 11, Rm. KG 150 ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. 'περ\acute{e}δ' $\acute{q}ar\acute{t}^h$ and IS SS 336 [no. 8.4]; in both sources IE is compared with A (Tg and Ko) and with HS (Eg and Hs $han\check{c}i$). The S facts (Jb etc.) were unknown to IS, because in 1960's most SES lges were not yet described. The discovery of the word χan^{∇} 'front, front part' in Jb was a brilliant confirmation of IS's hypothesis in S historical phonology and of his rec. of the etymon * $\acute{q}ar\acute{t}^h$, comparable with the discovery of lrs in Ht (confirming Saussure's hyp. of "sonantal coefficients"). Both are linguistic paramounts of Leverrier's prediction of the existence of Neptune long before it was actually

discovered ◇ Blz. IELA 18 [no. 73] (HS, IE) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 35 (*hant 'before').

1875. (₂?) *qap▽ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' > HS: Eg MK {Fk.} χfχf v. 'flood', Eg G χfχf v. 'pour, let stream (a stream)' (of gods), Eg fP χfχf.t 'streaming out' n. act. (metaphorically of fire) | An alt. cognate: Eg fP ḥ^ςpy 'stream (the Nile), flood' ¶ EG III 42-3, 273, Fk. 164, 190 || IE *χap- (M) *h₂ep-) ~ *χab- (Pv.) *A₁eb-) 'river, (stream of) water' > Ht hapā-, Pal hāpnas, Lw hāpa/ī- 'river', hapā/i- v. 'irrigate, water' || NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river' (× N *ʔ^abH▽ 'water, watercourse' [q.v.]): *ab- > OIr ab (gen. abae) ~ aub ~ ob 'river', Brtt {RE} *abonā id. > W afon, OCrn auon, Crn avon, MBr aupn, auen, Br aven 'river'; OBrtt Abona (name of a river), Ὑβος 'the Humber (river)' (in Ptolemy's *Geography*) || L amnis '(_< *abnis) 'stream of water, river' || NaIE *a(:)p- > OI ap-/āp-, Av ap- (nom. sg. af-š), OPrs ap- 'water' || Pru ape 'creek, small river'; ??σ Lt úpé, Ltv upe 'river, stream' (u- is irreg., see Tp. P A-D 97-8) || Tc A/B āp- 'water, river, stream' ¶ Pv. III 114-15, Frd. HW EH II 11, Ts. E I 159-60, Mlc. CL 54, P 1, 51-2, EI 486 (*h₂eb^(h)- 'river') and 636 (*h₂ēp- ~ *h₂ep- 'living water, river'), WH I 40, M K I 74-5, M E I 81-2, Vn. A 4-5, RE 122, Hm. 55, Frn. 1169, En. 142-3, Tp. P A-D 97-8, Wn. I 166 || ζ a: T *^oa₁b- (× N *χaw▽ 'to rain, to spurt', q.v. ffd.) > OT U ζ h.l. ab- v. 'spurt out' (Cl. considered it to be a misreading of aq- in the Uyguric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1 ◇ T *^oa₁b- does not necessarily belong here, because it is explainable as going back to N *χaw▽ 'to rain, to spurt' ◇ ≈ Blz. IELA 14 [no. 49] (IE, Eg ḥ^ςpy [err. for Eg ḥ^ςpy] 'the Nile, Überschwemmung').

1876. *quP▽ (or *qūP▽?) 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover' > K *^oq|χup- 'a lid, a cover' > G χup- 'lid (of a vessel)'; χup- 'provide (sth.) with a lid\cover, to cover' ¶ Chx. 2411, DCh. 1760 || HS: WS *✓χp w|y v. 'cover' > BHb ✓ḥp w|y (pf. ḫḫḫ ḥā'pā) v. G 'cover, veil', JEA ✓ḥp w (pf. ḫḫḫ ḥā'pā) 'cover, provide with a roof', Sr |اا ✓ḥp w v. G 'cover', Ar ✓χfy (pf. χafiya, ip. -χfay-) vt. G 'conceal', Amh 3ffiya 'lid (of a box), cover (of a pan)' ¶ KB 325, Br. 249, Lv. II 93, BK I 604-5, Hv. 178, L CAD 155 || EC: Or {Th., Brl.} uffacč u 'cover oneself, wear clothes', {Grg.} uffisa vi. 'clothe', ufaḏḏa- 'be dressed, wear', {Grg., Brl.} uffata 'clothes' (but Or uwwisa ~ uyyisa vi. 'clothe', Or Wt {Sr.} ūwisa vt. 'cover' belong to N *^rq¹Uy▽ (→ *^rq¹æw▽?) 'to wrap, to cover', q.v.) | HEC {Hd.} *if- 'be covered' (× N *yabE ~ *yapE 'to cover, to fence, to protect', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Th. 305, Brl. 407, Grg. 392, Sr. 399 || D (att. in SD) *uppa > Kn ubbarā

'wooden beam for locking a door; a club', Kdg ubba 'poles in slots forming a gate' ¶ DED no. 544, ≈ D no. 683 (* ÷ the √ of Tm ṽ ṽ ṽ ṽ ṽ 'horizontal bar')
 || ṽ ≈ *ü|ipE or ≈ *ü|ibE v. 'cover, wear' > pJ {S} *ṽp- 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' > OJ op-, op₁ṽ₁op-, MJ ṽṽṽṽṽ, J T ṽ, J K/Kg ṽ- {Kenk.} v. 'cover, veil, overspread; hide, conceal' ¶ S QJ no. 1047, Mr. 742-3, Kenk. 1473 || M *ibeṽe- v. 'protect' > MM ibe₁e, WrM {MED} ibege- id., 'help', HIM ивээ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'beschützen (покрывительствовать)', Kl {KRS} ивэ- id., {Rm.} iṽē- 'beschützen, hüten, unterstützen', Ord iṽegē- 'traiter avec bonté' (prince, ses sujets), Brt d. эбигээл 'protection' ¶ MED 396, BMR II 380, Chr. 753, KRS 262, KW 212, Ms. O 390 | pA d. *ûp-si > Tg *upsi 'clothes' > Neg upsi 'clothes, skirt (of shamans)', Ul upsi 'shaman's clothes', Nn Bk uṽsi 'belt (made of badger's skin)' ¶ STM II 281 || pKo {S} *psí- 'put on (a hat)' > MKo psí-, sí-, NKo ṽI- ¶ S QK no. 900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1024 ¶¶ SDM 607 (pA *iṽpe v. 'cover, wear' > Tg *upsi, M *ibeṽe-, pJ *ṽp-, pKo *psí-), DQA no. 644.

1877. (2?) *q'a'p'p'ṽ 'bank, shore' > HS: Eg WP/L/G ṽfṽṽ.t 'bank(s) of a waterway' ¶ EG III 271, Fk. 190 || CS *ṽāp- (~ *ṽayp-?) 'bank, shore' > BHb ṽṽṽ 'ṽṽṽ (pl. MHb ṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽ ṽṽṽṽ), Ug ṽp 'shore\bank', Aram *ṽāp- (↳ MHb {Js.} ṽṽ ṽāp 'border, shore' [to rely on Js.'s vocalization] and Ar ṽāf-at-, Ar SL ṽāffat- 'margin, border, side'), Ar خيف ṽayf- {BK} 'pente rapide d'une montagne; plage, étendue de pays', {Hv.} 'declivity of a mountain, side' ↳ ✓ ṽyf (pf. ṽayafa) v. 'come down and settle in a plain'; S ↳ Eg (EgSSc) {Alb., Hlk, SivCR} ṽa-pu 'shore'; Ug (AkSc) pl. ṽuppātu (pl. of Ug ṽupp(at)u?) does not necessarily mean 'shore' and belong here, it may be a pl. of Ak ṽuppu 'depression, hole'. Alternatively, the S word may be reconstructed as *'ṽawipu, which will account both for Hb ṽṽṽ- and for Ar ṽayf-, as well as for Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} ṽuppātu if it is read as ṽṽpātu ¶ KB 286, A no. 1064, OLS 195, Fr. I 399-400, 444, Hv. 131, 150, 192, Ln. 672, 832-3, BK I 655-6, Hnr. 139, Alb. ARI 220, SivCR 10, 84, Hlk no. 518, Js. 490 || K: G I ṽabo 'bank of a river\stream' (↳ Zan?), Mg ṽabo 'ravine' ¶ Chx. 2289, Ghl. 735, K² 335 || ??ṽ IE: Arm ṽṽṽ ṽpṽn 'bank, shore' of uncertain etymological history (unless it can be traced to IE *āper-o- 'shore, mainland' < N *ṽṽṽṽṽṽ '(river)bank', q.v.) ¶ Ach. I 365, EI 515 ◇ Ach. l.c. (connection between Arm ṽpṽn 'shore' and the S √) ◇ K *-b- (for the expected *-p-) still requires explanation.

1878. *id.*? (2?) *q'æ'pṽṽ (more plausible than *q'æ'pṽṽ) 'seize, hold' > HS: Eg fP ṽfṽ 'grasp, make captures in war', ṽfṽ 'fist' ¶ EG III 272-3, Fk.

190 || C: SC: ??φ *id.* DhI {EEN} ḥap 'snatch quickly' (unless akin to Eg MK ḥpṭ 'etwas fassen, in den Arm nehmen' [EG III 72]. which is more likely) ¶ Wh. SI s.v. -húw-, EEN 26, AD SF 228 || B: ETwI\Ty a-kyaf 'entraver' ¶ GhA 105 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ OS) Ak χapûm 'verpacken' (Sd. 322), which goes back to S *✓χpy 'cover' || Ch: Hs káf 'the security of hold' ¶ StI. SWCh 115 ¶¶ Cal. 76 (Eg χfϵ *÷ Ar ✓χfϵ 'être saisi de vertige ... et tomber par terre; porter a qn un coup de sabre'), ≠ OS no. 2032 (Eg, *÷ Ak χapû, *÷ WCh: Bd gaf, Ngz gafaυ 'seize' etc.), ≈ Tk. I 118 || IE: NaIE *ap-/*ēp- '≈ touch, grasp' (× N *ʔ¹a¹P∇ 'take, seize') > OI ✓āp-: āp'nōti 'reaches, overtakes', Av apaye¹ti 'reaches (erreicht)' || OL ap-ō, apiō 'I attack', L apīscor 'I grasp, I reach', cō-ēp-ī (later cōepī) 'I began' || Gk Hm ἄψάω ~ ἄψάω {P} 'ich berühre\betaste', ?σ Gk A ἄπτω 'I fasten, I bind to' (ft. ἄψω, aor. ἦψα), ἄψη n. 'touch; grip (in wrestling)' ('Berühren, Griff'); P (← Krtm.) unconvincingly explains Gk h- by the infl. of the verb ἔπ- 'be about, be busy with' || ?? AS æfna, éfnan 'to hold, to sustain, to endure' (unless from éfnan 'ausführen, vollbringen') ¶ P 50-1, EI 563, Mn. 29-30, 246, Dv. no. 333, M K I 76, M E I 167, WH I 57-8, F I 126, Ho. 8 || A *aP∇- v. 'take' (× N *ʔ¹a¹P∇ '↑', q.v.) > M *ab- 'take' > MM [LM, MA, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} ab- 'take', [S] {H} ab- 'für sich nehmen', [IM] {Mel.} app-, [HI] {Ms., Lew.} ab-, WrM {MED} ab- 'take, grasp, get hold of', HIM ава- {MED} *id.*, {BMR} 'take, verschaffen, добывать', MMgl ab- 'take, receive', Brt аб а- 'take', KI {KRS} ав- *id.*, {Rm.} aw- 'nehmen; kaufen; empfangen, bekommen', Dg {Pp.} aw-, Ba {Y} ab-, Mgl {Rm.} af- 'take', {Lg.} ab- 2 af- 'enlever, obtenir', Mnr M abū- {T} 'take', Mnr H {SM} awu- ~ ab_u- 'prendre, ôter acheter, prendre pour femme', {T} awu- 'take', Ord ab_- 'prendre, enlever, ôter, prendre pour femme' ¶ Pp. MA 94, 432, Pp. L II 1254, H 1, Ms. H 33, Lew. II 7, Lg. VMI 14, MED 1, BMR I 18-22, Chr. 21-3, KRS 23, KW 19, Iw. 8, SM 1, 16, T 313, T BJ 132, Ms. O 1 || Tg: **[1]** Tg *°ap∇- v. 'hold, possess' > Ork apuçj_- v. 'hold, have the power (держать, иметь власть)' ¶ STM I 47 | **[2]** Tg *abgu- > Neg abgu-, Orc ābu- take off (a cauldron) from above the fire', Ud agbu- *id.*, 'take out (from a river)', Ul agbumbu-, Nn Nh {On.} agbj_-mbo-, Nn Nh/KU {STM} agbj_-mbogo- 'take out (достать, вынуть)', Lm abgjn-, Ul, Ork agbun-, Nn Nh agbj_ačj_- 'appear' ¶ STM I 3-4, On. 25 || T *abuç 'handful' > OT XI [QB], XwT XIV, OOsM ≥xiv avuč, MQP XIV awuč, Tk avuč, Ggz avuč, Az, Tkm owuč, CrTt awuč, ET awuš, Qzq, Qq, Nog uwis, VTt uç uš, Bsh us, Qrg ūč, StAlt ūš, Xk ōs *id.*, Chv L {Jeg., ChVS} ывăç Iwъś *id.*, {Fed., Ash.} *id.*, 'hand', Chv Δ ывçă ~ uç ~ uçă *id.*

¶ ≈ Cl. 44, ET Gl 409-10, ADb. SR 179-81, Ash. III 49-50 and 312-13, Fed. II 469, Jeg. 342, ChVS 286 ¶¶ SDM 309-10 (pA *ap∇ 'take' > T, M, Tg *abgu-), DQA no. 47 (pA *ap'∇- v. 'take, hold'), KW 19, Pp. VG 44 ◇ IS SS 345 [no. 10.10] (Eg, Ar ✓ χfr, IE, A *ap'∇-) ◇ Qu., because both supposed cognates of HS (NaIE *ap-/*ēp- and A *ap'-) have alt. etymologies.

1879. *qapUR∇ or *qapU (R∇) 'to protect, to help' > HS: S *°✓ χpr, prm. *-χpur- > Ar ✓ χfr (ip. -χfur-) 'protect, guard from injury' ¶ Ln. 772, BK I 600-1, Hv. 176-7 || A: M *abura- v. 'protect, save, rescue, help' > MM абурa- [S] id., [HI] 'rescue, save', WrM абурa- {MED} id., 'help', HIM авра- {MED} id., {BMT} 'rescue, save; protect', Brt абар- 'save, rescue, 'избавлять', WrO абурa- 'save, rescue, deliver', Kl {KRS} авр- 'rescue, save, protect', {Rm.} awr̥- 'retten, beschützen', Dg {T} awra- id., 'protect', Ord awr̥ra- v. 'sauver' ¶ H 2, Ms. H 33, MED 6, BMR I 29, Chr. 21, KRS 22, KW 20, Krg. 13, T DgJ 118, Ms. O 38 || U: FU (att. in BF) *°ap∇- 'help' > F арu n. 'help, aid', Krl A/Ld, Vp abu, Es abi, Lv a'b_ id. ¶ SK 22, SSA I 80 ◇ The element *R∇ may be either an integral part of the N word (lost in FU) or an optional component (second element of a cd).

1880. (₂?) *qUṗ,∇,ž∇ 'food made of ground cereals', 'flour' ([in descendant lges] → 'bread') > K: GZ *qweza- 'loaf' > OG queza-y 'loaf of bread' (a word used to translate Gk ἄρτος 'loaf of wheat bread' in I Sam. 25.18, Matt. 14.17 and Mark 6.38), G {KEGL} χvez-a 'round loaf of bread', {K} 'flat cake, lozenge' (according to Srj., Umlaut e < *a), Mg χozo 'oblong small cooked bread', χozo-ķvari 'ceremonial cone-formed bread baked at the first Monday of the Lent (with a wooden stick in it)' (Mg ķvari is 'small loaf of bread, flat bread') ¶ K² 336, FS K 496-7 (*qwez-), FS E 564-5 (*qwaz-), Ser. 224-5, KEGL VIII 1439, DCh. 1743, Q 254-5, Srj. FLK 84, Srj. UK'K 197-9 (Umlaut K *a > G e) ¶ GZ *-z- < **-bz- < (as. from **-ṗz-) N *-ṗ,∇,ž- || HS: WS *χubz- 'bread' > Ar χubz- 'bread', χubzat- 'un pain cuit dans les cendres', ✓ χbz G (pf. χabaza, ip. -χbizu) v. 'bake bread', Jb E χ̄z v. 'bake' (*-b- > ∅ reg.), Mh ✓ χbz (pf. χzbūz, sbjn. yzχbēz), Hrs ✓ χbz (pf. χzbōz) id., Gz ✓ χbz (js. yaχbəz) v. 'bake', χabz 'bread', χabast (pl. χabāwəz) 'bread' (but Mh, Hrs χabz, Jb E/C χzbz- 'bread', singulative Jb E/C χab'zət, Hrs χzb'zət 'a bread' may be loans from Arabic, as suggested by their phonetic shape) ¶ WS *-bz- < (as.) N *-ṗ,∇,ž- ¶ L G 257, Ln. 697, BK I 533, Hv. 155, Jo. M 437, Jo. J 297, Jo. H 139, ≠ Nld. NB 56-7 (unc. hyp. of Ethiopian origin of Ar χubz- under the false assumption that "das Brot ist für die Bewohner Arabiens ein seltner Luxus, für die Abessinier die

Hauptnahrung"; Noeldeke's hyp. was refuted by Landberg [Lb. 553-5]) ||
 ?φ D *opp∇t∇ '≈ preparing food from cereals' > Tm oppaṭi 'harvest', Tl
 obbiḍi 'threshing of corn' ¶¶ D no. 982 ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 65 (adducing A
 *o|up_l'a 'flour', which is more likely to belong to N *?oP_a '≈ powder') ◇ D
 *-t- is not a regular reflex of N *ž, but it may be tentatively explained as
 going back to a cns. cluster. D *-pp- goes back to N *-p-.

1881. *qer∇ '(wild) ox' > K: GZ *qar- 'bull, ox' > OG qar-, G χar-, Mg, Lz
 χož- ¶ FS K 294, FS E 561, K² 334 || D: [1] (att. in SD) *ēṛ 'bull' (× N
 *hæ_l'y_r'E¹ 'male', q.v.) > Tm ē_ru 'bull, male of certain animals (pig,
 deer, buffalo, tiger, lion)', Ml ē_ru 'bullock', ē_ran 'bull', Kt e·r 'male
 buffalo', Td e·ṛ id., 'bull' ¶¶ D no. 917, GS 209 [no-s 529-30] || HS: EC: Rn
 {PG} hêr 'ox', Brj {Hw.} harṭay 'plough ox, bull' ¶ PG 139, Ss. B 92 || ? Eg fOK
 χrṽ.t 'Schlachtvieh' (× χrṽ.t 'butchery') ¶ EG III 322-3, Fk. 196.

1882. *qUR¹E¹ or ***qÜR∇** bend, incline' > K: MG, G χr- vi. 'bend' ¶ Chx.
 2385-6, DCh. 1754, K 261-2 || HS: Eg G χṣ 'bow (one's back) in respect' ¶
 EG III 223, ≠ Tk. SCC 93 [23.4] || A: Tg *ur- vt. 'bend' > Lm A/O uru-, Ork
 urru-, uru-, Nn Nh urili-, urizwzn-, Nn KU urzri- vt. 'bend', Ewk urikṣn-,
 Neg uyixzn-, Ul urīn-, Nn Nh uriz-, Nn KU ur̄z- vi. 'bend, bend down', WrMc
 {Z} ур̄ху 'crooked', ур̄ху- vi. 'бросаться\кидаться в сторону' ¶ STM
 II 285, On. 432, Z 173.

1883. *qur∇ 'to strike, to chop' > HS: S *✓χrr, *°-χurr- > Ar ✓χrr G
 (ip. -χurru) 'fendre, couper', Sh (pf. ṭaχarra) 'cut down', Ak ∧ χarār u 'to
 grind', Ak NB χarru adj. (describing flour ground in some special way) ¶
 BK I 551, Hv. 160, CAD VI 91-2, 114 || ? Ch ({JS} *✓wr): WCh: Dr {Nw.}
 wārè v. 'beat (so.)', {J} wār- v. 'drum', Fyer {J} wurî 'schlagen' ||| ECh: Jg {J}
 ?or 'beat (so.)' ¶ JI II 16-17, Nw. KL 134, J R 90, J J 116 ||| A: NaT *ur- >
 OT {DTS} ur, {Cl.} or v. 'strike (so. or sth.)', MT, XwT, Chg, MQp [CC], Osm
 ur, MQp {TAG} wur ~ ūr-, Tk v_{ur}-, Az, CrTt v_{ur}-, Tkm, Ggz, Kr, Qmq,
 QBlq, Qq, Nog, Uz, ET, Ln, Tv ur-, Qzq ur-, VTt, Bsh ṽr-, Chv L вṽр- v_{ṽr}-
 {Ash., Fed., ChVS} v. 'strike' (contamination with вṽр- v. 'throw'), {Ash.,
 ChVS} вṽрṽн- 'удариться, папасть (куда), поразить' ¶ DTS 614, Cl.
 194-5, ET Gl 599-601, Fed. I 107-8, Ash V 309-10, 317-18, Jeg. 48-9
 (Chv Δ вṽр- v. 'strike'), ChVS 31 ||| D *ur_l- v. 'strike against, butt, gore' >
 Kui ubga- (< *ug-ba-) id., Ku ur- v. 'butt, gore', Prj ud- v. 'crush (nits, lice)',
 Knd ur_l-, Png uz-, Mnd uy- v. id., 'butt, gore (with horns)' ¶¶ D no. 706.

1884. *qe_l'r∇ or ***qer_l'r∇** 'brook, stream' > HS: EC *har- 'pond, brook'
 > Sa ar-a 'river, brook', {R} arā 'Fluß, Bach', Sml har-o 'lake, pond', Rn {PG}

ḥár 'hollow where water collects in the rainy season; (dry) pond', Arr {Ss.} har-u 'river' (not mentioned in Hw. A), Or har-ō 'swamp, artificial pond', {Th.} hārō 'swamp', {Brl.} har-ó (nom. haron) 'palude, stagno, lago', Or E {Hw.} har-ō (nom. har-i) 'lake', Gdl har-tot 'reservoir', Kns hār-ta id., 'artificial pond', ?? Brj har- v. 'flow' ¶ Ss. B 91, ZMO 183, PG 136, Th. 191, Brl. 203, PH s.v. ara, R S II 42 || S *χarr- > Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ CAD VI 114 || D (att. in SD) *ēri 'lake, reservoir for irrigation' > Tm ēri id., 'large tank', Ml ēri 'stakes to support banking work, bank', Kn ēri 'tank, bank of a tank, raised bank', Kdg e·ri 'parapet of well, bund of tank (in paddy fields)', Tu ēri 'a bed for planting vegetables' ¶ D no. 901 || K *°q|χ∇r|lč- > Mg χrč-i 'brook, stream' ¶ Q 410 ◇ D *-r- is a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters rather than of an intervocalic *-r-, which suggests that N *r was either preceded or followed by another cons., most probably by *ʔ or *h (the only vowels that are lost in Ak without influencing the quality of the adjacent vw.) ◇ Blz. LNA no. 21 (adding Ak and D to this N comparison and unconvincingly adding the FU and IE reflexes of N *gar'i' 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave', q.v.).

1885. *q^ru^rrh|ʔ∇ 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit' > HS: S *χurr- 'hole, aperture; pit' > Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 ḥurā 'hole, aperture', Ug χr 'cave, pit, grave' (OLS: 'caverna, fosa, tumba'), χrt 'cave, grave' ('caverna, sepultura'), Ar χurr- 'mouth of a mill, the place of a mill into which the wheat is thrown', {BK} 'trou de la meule dans lequel on jette le grain pour être moulu', Hb 𐤇𐤍 ~ 𐤇𐤍 ḥōr, Ak √ χurru, Eb χur- 'hole'; Gz ✓ χrw v. 'pierce, perforate, make a hole'; Ak fOB χarārū 'to dig, to groove', χarru adj. 'dug up' ¶ Br. 253, JPS 134, OLS 196, 199-200, Ln. 715, BK I 551, Sd. 359, CAD VI 91-2, 114, 252-3, L G 265 || K: {K} *qwer-/*qwr-, {FS} *qur- 'make holes, pierce' > Mg rχu-, rxv-, χur-, χvir- (msd. rxuāla) 'make a hole, pierce', Lz χv-, χ- (msd. 0-χ-u) id., Sv qwīr-/qwr- id., la-qwr-a 'window'; ⇨ K {K} *qwrel- 'slit, hole' > OG qurēl- 'animal's hole', G χvrel- id., 'cave, hole', eMg *quru > Mg χuru (in the place name tuntiš χuru 'Bärenhöhle, Bärenschlucht'), Sv quru (← eMg) 'hole, hollow in a tree, cave' ¶¶ K 265-6, K² 337-8, FS K 500-1, FS E 569, DCh. 1746, Chx. 2356, Dn s.v.qwīr-, GP 312 || A *ôr^rE¹- v. 'dig' > T *or- id. > Xk or- id., Chv Δ {Serg., ET} βαρ- var- id., Chv L {Ash., Fed., Jeg., ChVS, ET} βαρ- 'bury (sth. in the ground)' ('зарывать'), {ET} 'bury sth. [in the mud\ground] by trampling it down' ('втаптывать'); T *or 'ditch' > Tk or, Tkm, Qmq, Qzq or 'ditch, trench', Nog or id., 'storage pit that is dug in the ground', CrTt, Qrg, Qq or, Bsh ur

'ditch', Chv L ν ar 'narrow gully (ложбина), лощина, trockene Schlucht (сухой овраг)' \rightarrow NaT *oru ~ *ora 'pit' > OT {Cl.}, Qp XIV {Cl.} orū 'a storage pit dug in the ground', Sg {Rl.} orī, Chg ora, ET, Xk, Shor ora 'grain pit'; T \rightarrow Klm {Rm.} ur ~ ūr 'pit, depression' ¶ Cl. 197, ET Gl 466-8, Serg. 14, Ash. V 167-8, Fed. I 101, Jeg. 47, ChVS 28, KW 450 || M *örüm 'borer', {SDM} 'drill, gimlet' > WrM örüm {Kow.} 'perçoir, alésoir, vrille, tarière, foret', {MED} 'borer, auger, gimlet', HIM {MED, BMR} ерѣм, Brt үрѣм id., Kl {KRS} ерм 'Bohrer (бур)', {Rm.} örṃ 'Bohrer (kleiner als burṣū)', Mnr E/H {MYC} urām 'borer, drill, auger', Ord ūrüm ~ örüm 'tarière, vrille, vilebrequin, foret' ¶ Kow. 584, MED 644, BMR III 41, Chr. 514, KW 300, MYC 549, Ms. O 764 || Tg *urī- v. 'scoop, dig out' > Ewk urī-, Neg oyī- 'draw out, dig out', Ork urī- 'take out, draw out meat from a cauldron', urikku 'hook for drawing out meat from a cauldron', Ewk urīwun id., 'stick for digging edible tubers', Lm urī- 'draw out meat/fish from a cauldron', Sln orū- 'pull out', Ud ui-, (?) WrMc {Z} вара- 'v. 'scoop out, ladle, take out food (meat) from a cauldron and put it into a dish', Nn Nh/Bk orī 'a scoop', Nn Nh {On.} orī- 'разливать еду поровну в несколько посудин', Nn Bk orī- 'pour in', Nn Nh orīčī- v. 'scoop, dig out' ¶ STM II 23, 284, On. 3313, Z 1111 ¶¶ SDM 1061 (pA *ōri|e v. 'dig' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 2532 (pA *ōri|e 'to dig': T, M, Tg) || D *ur∇- 'pierce' > Tm uru∇u 'pierce through, penetrate (as an arrow, needle)', Ml uru∇uka id., Kn urcu, uc cu 'enter into and go out on the other side, penetrate', Tu urumbuni v. 'bore', Krx hur-, huṛ- 'strike at and penetrate, goad, thrust' ¶¶ D no. 663 ¶¶ D *-r- suggests N *q^ru^rrh|ʔ∇ ◇ IS MS 357 (*qur∇), IS SS no. 8.2.

1886. *qaRP∇ 'pluck and gather' ([in descendant languages] \rightarrow v. 'harvest', [in A] \rightarrow 'e cereal') > HS: S *^o✓χrp (or WS *✓χrp) v.. 'pluck, harvest' > Ar خرف ✓χrf G (χarafa / χrufu) v. 'pluck and gather (fruit)' ({Fr.} 'decerpit collegitque de arbore [fructus], collegit fructus humi jacentes'), OYmn ✓χrp TD {Slw.} 'Traubenlese halten'; S *¹χurup-, *χarp- 'autumn and winter' (\leftarrow *'harvest time') > Ak χarpū 'early autumn' (\times χарпу 'early'), BHb ḥṛḥ 'ḥorep 'winter', Ug {OLS} χrpnt 'autumn', Ar خرف χuruf- 'tempus quo ad autumnum exeunt', 'saison voisine de l'automne', χarīf- 'autumn', OSA χrf 'autumn, autumn crops' ¶ KBR 356, Fr. I 478, BK I 562, Hv. 163-4, Slw. 76, OLS 198, Sd. 326 || IE *^oχα|orP- > Ht harpas, harpiyas {Ts.} 'feast of harvest' ('Ernte-feste') (unless it means {Pv.} 'feast of winter and summer') ¶ Ts. E I 181, Pv. III 183-4 || A

*aRPa 'barley, (?) 'ε cereal' > T *arpa 'barley' > OT arpa ({Cl.} arpā), MQp, MOg, XwT, Chg arpa, Tk arpa, Tkm, Az, Ggz, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, VTt, Bsh, Uz, Xlj, Qrg arpa, ET a(r)pa, StAlt, Xk arba, Ln aypa, Slr arfa ~ arpa, Chv L урпа, Chv Δ {Ash., Fed.} орпа id. ¶ Cl. 198, ET Gl 176-7, TL 460-1, Ash. III 286, Fed. II 286-7, Jeg. 276, ChS 233 || M *arbay (←b-T?) 'barley' > MM [MA] arbay, WrM {MED} arbay, HIM {MED, BMR} арвай, Brt арбай id., WrO arbai id., arba id., 'oats', Mnr H {SM} šb_ē 'épeautre', {T} spē 'spelt', Kl D {KRS} арва 'oats', {Rm.} arwā 'Hafer', Kl Ö/T {Rm.} arwā 'Gerste', Ord arwā 'orge'; MMgl arpa 'barley' is certainly a loan from T; M → Tv arbay id. ¶ Pp. MA 104, MED 49, BMR I 126, Chr. 55, KRS 47, KW 15, Krg. 53, SM 370, Iw. 87, T 358, Ms. O 31 || Tg: WrMc }Z} арфа 'oats, barley' ¶ STM I 52, Z 56 ¶ Starostin (S CNM) believed that Mc арфа is a loan from M, but the cns. φ suggests that it is not || pJ {Vv., S} *àpá 'millet' > OJ apa, MJ àpá, J T áwa, J K àwá, J Kg a wá ¶ S QJ no. 76, Mr. 388, Kenk. 66 ¶¶ SDM 312-13 (pA*àrp'á 'barley, millet' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 51, S AJ 67, Pp. VG 87, Rm. EAS I 90, KW 15 ◇ AD NM no. 15, Vv. AEN 3, ≈ S CNM 12.

1887. (₂?) *qoR₁∇₁t₁∇ 'cut into, incise, make a hole' > K: GZ {K²} *qwret₁-/*qwrit₁- 'make holes, pierce' > OG qurit₁- [qwrit₁-], G χvret₁-/χvrit₁-, Mg χvirat₁-/χvirit₁- id., χvirat₁e 'hole' ¶ K 265-6, ≈ K² 338 (*qwret₁- is *qwer- +ext.), FS K 500-1, FS E 569 || HS: CS *✓χhr₁t₁ 'cut into, incise' > MHb ✓hr₁t₁ v. 'chisel, engrave', Sr ✓hr₁t₁ [Psh.] 'cut into' ('incidit' [Lv. 21.5, Dt. 14.12]), {JPS} 'scrape, scratch', BHb 𐤁𐤒𐤍 'ħerεt₁ 'graving tool', Pun ħr₁t₁y₁t {Ldz.} 'sculpture, engraving, engraved object' (?), {HJ} n. of unknown meaning, derived from ✓hr₁t₁ 'engrave' ¶ GB 259, KB 338-9, Js. 501, Br. 256, JPS 157, HJ 404, Ldz. E I 21 || ?σ,φ A: NaT *o₁:r₁t₁u 'animal's hole' > OT {Cl.} ordū 'hole of a rodent'; (× T *orta 'middle'): Qzq/Brb {Rl.} orda, Tlt {Rl.} ordo 'hole of an animal', Qq orda id., 'lair', žilanniη ordasi 'snake's hole' ¶ Cl. 203, Rl. I 1072, KrkR 498, ET Gl 474-6 (T *orta 'middle') ¶ The NaT lax *t₁ (for the expected tense *t₁'), if correct, has not yet been explained (positional change in a cluster?).

1888. *qA₁r₁i₁∇ (or *qA₁∇₁r₁i₁∇?) 'filth, dirt, faeces' > HS: WS *✓χr₁? 'defecate' > Hb 𐤁𐤒𐤍 ħ^arā₁?-īm pl. 'dung', Ug ✓χr₁? v. 'defecate', χr₁ṣu 'faeces, excrement', Sr ✓ħry v. G 'mute (as birds)', 𐤁𐤒𐤍 ħer'y-ā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤁𐤒𐤍 ħry-? (unk. voc.) 'excrement', Ar ✓χr₁? G (pf. χarīʔa, ip. -χraʔ-) 'relieve one's bowels', χur₁?- 'excrement', Ar SL χarāʔ- id., Tgy ✓ħr₁? G (pf. 𐤁𐤒𐤍 ħarʔe), Tgr ✓ħr₁? (pf. 𐤁𐤒𐤍 ħarʔa) (with a secondary ʔ for ?)

'defecate', Tgr **חַרְצִי** *ḥarṣi*, Sq {L} *ḥar'yomoh* 'excrement' ¶ KB 335, OLS 197, Ln. 715, BK I 552, Hv. 160, Dlm. 151 (JEA **חַרְצִי** *ḥar'y-ā*), Sl. 482, Br. 253, JPS 155-7, LH 70, L LS 191, MiK I no. 1.136 || Eg {Crn.} *ḥry.t*, *ḥry(.t)* 'faeces, dung', DEg *ḥr.t*, *ḥʿyr.t* 'filth, faeces' > Cpt: Sd **زَوَيْرَة** *hoire*, B **زَوَيْرَة** *hoiri* 'faeces, dung' ¶ Vc. 292, Er. 325, Crn. 291 || EC: Af {PH} *ḥāra*, Sa {R} *ḥarā* 'faeces', Sml {ZMO, DSI} *ḥār*, Sml N {Abr.} *ḥār* 'faeces, excrement', Sml *ḥār-* v. 'defecate', Bn *ḥār* 'diarrhoea', Rn {PG} *ḥār* id., 'faeces, dung', ? Or M {AD} *hōrī* 'tartar (on teeth)', ? HEC: Hd *hara-*, Kmb *haro-* 'mud' || SC: Irq {Wh.} *hūrōnda* 'sediment (of wine)', {MQK} *horondá* 'solid left-overs of beer after straining' ¶ AD SF 158-9, PH 123, ≈ Hn. S 62 (pSam **hār* 'diarrhoea'), PG 133, MQK 52, Abr. S 117, ZMO 418 ¶¶ AD SF 158-9, OS no. 1334, ≈ no. 1336 || K **q|χr-* > G *χr-il-i* 'dirt on a grinding stone' ¶ DCh. 1755 || D (att. in SD) **aʿukk-* 'dirt, filth' > T m *aʿukku* id., 'excrement, stain', Ml *aʿukku* 'dirt, filth', Td *ōšk* 'dirty', Tu *aḏ(a)ka* 'an unclean place' ¶ D no. 283 || ? IE: Ht *harrā-* 'verunreinigen, beflecken' (Frd. HW EH 4) or 'verunreinigen' (Ts. W 16, Ts. E I 169-70) ¶ Valid unless this verb (or this semantic variant of the verb) is interpreted as 'spoil' and identified with *har(r)a-* 'crush, pound, ruin, destroy' (Pv. III 135-7) ◇ DEg *ḥʿyr.t* and Cpt **زَوَيْرَة** & **زَوَيْرَة** suggest the presence of a N word-medial **-ʿ∇-*, which can also explain the unexpected consonant *ḥ-* (for or besides the reg. *h-* < HS **χ-* < N **q-*) in Sml and Af (HS **χʿ* > [as.] **ḥʿ* > **ḥ*). The absence of **ʿ* in K suggests that the word-medial N lr. cannot be N **ʿ*, but only **ʿ*. If the N etymon is **qAʿ∇ʿiʿ∇*, the absence of **ʿ* in Eg *ḥry.t*, *ḥry(.t)* and in WS **✓χrʿ* can be explained by syntagmatic merger **ḥʿ* > *ḥ* and **χʿ* > **χ*.

1889. **qʿāʿs∇* 'remember, have in mind' > HS: S **✓χʿššʿ* > Ak *χasāsū* 'remember, recall'; but hardly here Gz *✓χšš* v. 'seek, look for' (which would have pointed to a pS **✓χšš*) ¶ Sd. 329-30, L G 266 || EC: Sa {R} *hensū* 'thought, remembrance', *hensū-s-* vt. 'remind' ¶ R S II 190, 410, 418 || K: GZ {K} **qš-0(w)-* v. 'remember' > OG *ga-qsoS* 'you do not remember' (Mt. 16.9), msd. *qsoWna*, G *χsoV-* v. 'remember', Mg *š3-* ~ *šū-*, Lz *šū-* id.; ⇨ GZ **qš-en-* v. 'remind' > OG *moiqsena* '(he) remembered', G *χsen-* v. 'remind, recollect; inform', Mg, Lz *šin-* v. 'remind so., remember' ¶ K 267, K² 341-2, FS K 500 (**qš-*) || A **āsʿi-* 'remember', "≈ take care of' > T **ās* 'memory' > CrTt, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Uz, Ln *es*, ET, Uz *Δās*, VTt *bs*, Bsh *βθ* 'memory, mind', Chv L *ac as* 'memory', Tkm *Δäθ-t-* v. 'remember'; to be distinguished from T **us* > OT *us* 'intelligence, the

power of dis-crimination' ¶ Chv a- points to a pT ä- ¶ ET Gl 306, Rs. W 49, NogR 439-40, KrkR 199, BN 50, Cl. 240, Ash. II 77, Fed. I 60-1, Jeg. 33, Md. 35, 164 (pT *e-s- v. 'remember'), SDM 521-2 (T *es 'memory') || M *asara- 'take care of (so.), have concern' > MM asara- [S] {H}, [MA] {Pr.} 'take care of' ('besorgen, in Obhut nehmen'), [IM] 'keep, guard (хранить)', [HI] {Lew.} 'protéger, aider', {Ms.} 'élever', WrM {MED}, HIM {MED, BMR} асра-, WrO asara- 'take care of, be compassionate', Kl {KRS} аср- id., {Rm.} аср- 'beschützen, erziehen, gnädig\mitleidig sein', Ord asra- 'protéger, soigner, traiter avec sollicitude, sauver'; d.: M *asaral 'care, protection; concern' > WrO asaral id., WrM {MED} asaral 'compassion, charity, care, attention', HIM асрал {MED} id., {BMR} 'Barmherzigkeit, compassion, charity, care', Ord, MMgl {Iw.} asaral 'protection, soins dévoués' ¶ H 9, P MA 107, 433, MED 56, BMR I 168, KRS 5, KW 16, Ms. H 37, Lew. II 11, Iw. 87, Krg. 15-16, Ma. O 32 ¶ M *a- < *ä- is due to vw. harmony || NrTg *e:skē- 'praise (хвалить), одобрять' > Lm эскэ- id., Ewk эскэ- 'glorify'; (mt.) Tg *ēks- 'wait, beware' > Ewk ēksit-, Neg eksit-, Ul eksen- id., Nn Nh eksen- 'истомиться в ожидании' ¶ STM II 443, 468, On. 525 || pKo {S} *às-kàb- 'be regrettable\pitiful; be precious\valuable' > MKo às-kàp/w-, NKo aḱap/w- id.; pKo *às-kí- v. 'spare, grudge; value, esteem' > MKo às-kí-, NKo aḱi- id. ¶ S QK no. 629, Nam 349, MLC 1067 || pJ *ìsàma- 'admonish' > OJ isama-, MJ ìsàma- id., J T/Kg isamé-, J K ísámé- {Kenk.} 'admonish, exhort' ¶ S QJ no. 1076, Mr. 699, Kenk. 637 ¶¶ The Tkm short vw. *ä points to a pA short *ä, while the length of Ewk and Lm ē- is a Tg innovation ¶¶ SDM 521-2 (pA *ēs^ri 'take care of' > Tg *ēske-, M, T, J, pKo *às-kàb-), DQA no. 468 (A *ēs^ri 'take care of'), ADb. SR 14 ¶¶ Chv and M point to pA *ä-, while VTt and Bsh b- (apparently suggesting NaT *e- < A *e-) is still to be explained || E: NEI hi-šá 'Lob, Rühmen' (?) and ??σ NEI hi-iš 'Name' ¶¶ HK 662 and 669 ◊ Blz. E no. 18 (E, HS).

1890. ₂ *qat∇ 'ε corn' > HS: Eg G χτυω 'corn, cereals (?)' ¶ EG III 349 || IE: NaIE *ades- / *ados- 'ε corn' > L ador (gen. ador is) 'ε grain, spelt' || Gt atisk '(?) Saat', OHG ezziisk, MHG ezziisch 'seed', NGr Δ Esch, NGr Sw Δ Aesch 'Feldflur eines Dorfes' || Tc A {JGH} āti 'grass' || Ht hat(t)ar ε 'cereal' ('eine Getreideart') (× IE *Het(e)n- < N *Xān∇t∇ 'grain, kernel', q.v.) ¶¶ WP I 45, P 3, Fs. 61, Schz. 127, Kb. 214, EWA II 1191-4, OsS 33, Lx. 52, WH I 14, JGH 221, Ts. E I 220, ≠ Pv. III 247 (Ht hat(t)ar εd hat- 'dry up').

1891. (₂?) *q^ri^t∇ 'appear, become visible' > K: Sv {Ni.} -qed-/-qwd- v. 'appear' (× Sv qad-/qd- 'come' < N *qAd₁∇₁?∇ 'to step, to walk?') ¶ Ni. s.v.

'появиться' || U: FU *itä- v. 'appear, become visible' > F itä- v. 'germinate, sprout, shoot', itū n. 'shoot, sprout', itä 'east, morning' (← *'sunrise'), Es ida, ide (gen. ideme), idu, ite (gen. itte, itme) 'sprout, shoot', ida 'east' || pOs *et- (Hl.) *ät-) > Os: V et- 'become visible' (of the moon), D et- 'sich erheben, hervorkommen, herauspringen, wachsen', O et- v. 'stand up, appear (from behind sth.)', 'rise' (of the sun) || Sm {Hl.} *bt∇- 'be seen\visible (sichtbar sein)' > Ng 1s aor. (obj. conj.) ηadīpema id., Ne T ηадя- ηadā- v. 'be seen', Mt {Hl.} *adā-, *adām- 'be seen, sichtbar sein' (Mt K {Pl.} emgūàdise 'брежу' [lit.: 'a dream was seen'; emgū- is 'a dream'], Mt M {Sp.} 3s адымга 'it seems') || ??φ pY {IN H} *yent- > Y K {IN H} yed-/yen-, Y T {IN H} yedey- 'appear, show up, emerge; be seen, be visible', Y K {IN H} yedē n. 'mark (on the snow, on the bend of a river), sign' ¶¶ UEW 85-6 (FU only), Jn. 16 (Sm *btb- v. 'see'), Hl. M no-s 7-8, IN H 188-9, IN UJ 252, ≠ Rd. UJ 45 [no. 61] (Y ← U) || ?σ HS: Eg BD/G χtγ 'sehen, erblicken' ¶ EG III 348 || S *-χit- 'watch (schauen)' > Ug χt id., Ak {Sd.} inf. χiāṭū 'überwachen' ¶ A no. 1018, Sd. 343 || WCh: Ang kēt 'look after (fire)' ¶ Flk. s.v. kēt ¶¶ Tk. I 232.

1892. (2?) *q∇t∇ (or *q∇p₁∇₁t∇) 'tail, back part' (possibly 'ε tail of some animal') > IE: NaIE o|ād(e)g₁ω₁o- 'tail' (or 'stalk') > Lt uodēgā 'tail', Ltv odegā 'tail, mane' || ? OI adga [AthV] {MW} 'a cane, stalk (?)' ¶ WP I 175, P 773, Frn. 164-5, MW 19, M K I 29 ¶ A valid cognate unless its primary meaning is 'stalk'; in the latter case it belongs to N ≈ *HU₁P₁t∇k∇ (~ *HU₁P₁t∇g∇) 'stalk', [?] 'stem' (F₁N ≈ *HU₁p∇ (t∇k|g∇)) || HS: (× N *qæṭ'i¹ 'to turn back', 'to return' [intr.]) Eg RT/XIX χtω 'those behind so.', Eg fP m χt 'behind' (unless ← χt 'through') ¶ EG III 344-7, Fk. 198 | An alt. cognate is Eg fP χpḏ 'back part of a body, tail (of a fish)', Eg MK χpḏ.ω 'buttocks' (unless with mt. from N *p₁oqEž∇ or *p₁ož∇q∇ 'thigh, haunch' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 470, Fk. 190 || ??σ K: G χeṭar-i 'Holzgriff, Stiel' (-ṭ- < *-p₁ṭ- < *-p₁t-??) ¶ Chx. 2343 ◇ Highly doubtful.

1893. ?₂ *q'a¹t∇ 'ε tree, stick' > HS: S *χatṭ- 'stem, stick' > Ug χt 'staff, scepter, stem', Ak χatṭ- id., 'branch, twig', Ar χatṭ- 'line, streak, stripe', {BK} 'ligne, raie, strie' ¶ CAD VI 153, Sd. 337, A no. 1016, OLS 202-3, Ln. 759-60, BK I 590 || Eg fP χt 'tree, stick, wood (Holz), forest', {Vc.} *χit > DEg χt 'wood (Holz)' > Cpt: Sd/B ѱε ṣε, A ṣε χ₂ε id., 'tree' ¶ EG III 339-41, Er. 370, Vc. 254 || C: EC: Af {PH} ḥadā 'tree', ḥadā 'stick' and Sa {Wlm.} ḥadā, {R} ḥā'!ā 'tree, wood (Holz), stick' (with an unexpected ḥ) || ??

SC: Irq {E} χuray 'palm tree' (E: < pSC *χit⁹-); SC ⇨ Mb {Mnh.} m-χatō ~ m-χatu ~ m-χātū 'tree' ¶ PH 124, R S II 185, E SC 26O, Mnh. Mbg 313, 315 || ? Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} χòḍḍḡà 'tree, wood (Holz)', Gmrg {Gr. ← ?} xatta 'tree' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} áḍúwó, {J} àḍúwó, Mjl {DB} ṛáḍéò 'tree', as well as possibly Ll {Grgs} hìdà, EDng {Fd.} ètò, Mgm {J} ṛéttú, Jg {J} ṛétó, Bdy ṛíto 'tree' ¶ ChC s.v. 'tree', Blz. EChWL no. 9O, Lk. L 1O3, Gr. LA 63 ¶¶ Tk. I 231-2, 3O8, Gr. LA 63 || ¶ A: Tg *açia-kta (*çì < *ti?) 'ε tree' > Ewk açakta 'maple, rowan tree', Neg açakta 'maple', Nn KU ačaqta 'filbert nuts', Nn Nh/Bk {STM} ačīaqta id., {On.} ačīaqta 'hazel nut, лесной орех', Nn Nh {On.} ačīanqora 'nut tree, hazel tree' ¶ STM I 59, On. 51 ¶ Tg *çì < *ti || ??φ T *ot 'grass, vegetation' (× N *Γ äč'U' '[ε] grass?', q.v.) > OT, Chg ≥XV ot id., Tk ot, Tv ót, Uz ωt, Xlj ūōt, Az, Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, StAlt, Xk, Yk ot, VTt † ut id., Chv L цтă, Chv Δ вцтă ђ вьтă ђ äвтă ђ ävăt 'hay, grass', QrB ot 'poison', Tf ót' 'unmown grass (used as fodder for cattle)'; KW 291 mentioned Kl otō 'Pflanze, Kraut; Kräuter (als Heilmittel verwendet)', probably a loan from T ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 366, ET Gl 481-3, TL 119-2O, Ra. 213, Ash./ III 328-3O, Fed. II 294-5, Jeg. 279, ChVS 234 ◇ Qu., because the meaning 'ε tree' is too broad, and here the probability of chance resemblance between S *χat̥-, Tg *açia- and NaT *ot is too high.

1894. (₂?) *qæṭ'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' (intr.) ([in IE] → 'again?') > HS: B *✓HḡH vi. 'return' > Sll {Ds.} aḡu (pf. yuḡa), Tz {Stm.} äḡu id. ¶ Ds. 249, Stm. 158, La. S 289 ¶ The traces of the root-final lr. *H suggest possible contamination with the reflex of N *ṛḡ|ḡḡḡ 'back (dorsum)' (q.v.) || (× N *qḡtḡ [or *qḡḡḡ, tḡ] 'tail, back part') Eg fMK χtḡ 'retire, retreat' ('zurückweichen'), Eg fP χtχt vi. 'turn back', Eg L/G χtḡ, Eg G χtχt vt. 'zurücktreiben', Eg RT/G χtω, χtḡω 'those behind so.', Eg fP m χt prep. 'behind', Eg fXXII r χt 'be behind so. ¶ EG III 342-7, 353-4, Fk. 198-9, Crn. 256 ¶ Eg t (rather than d, the usual reflex of HS *ṭ < N *ṭ) suggests a phonetic rule: N *q...ṭ > Eg χt (cp. Eg fP χt 'tree, stick' < N ? *q'a'ṭḡ 'ε tree, stick' [q.v.]); Eg t may be also explained as inherited from N *qḡtḡ || ¶ A: Tg *e't'e- 'look back, glance back, turn back to look' > Ewk 3t3n-, Ewk Brg 3s3n-, Ewk Nr/Ucr 3ç3n-, Lm 3s3n-, Ewk PT 3t3sin- id., Ewk PT/Ald/YTk/Ucr 3t3t- id. (iter.), Ewk Tk 3t3lu- id., Lm 3s3lu- id., Ud 3t3ḡi- 'look back' ¶ STM II 47O-1 || ?σ IE: NaIE *eti / *oti 'again' (× N *qæṭU 'to cross', 'over\through' [direction], q.v. ffd.) > L et 'and', Pæl, Um ET id. || Gl ETI {Billy} 'et', {P} 'also, further', Clt {Vn.} *ati|e- pv. 'again, re-' >

OIr aith-, W ate-, ati-, OBr {Flr.} at-, Br ad- 're-' (OIr aith-gén, W adwaen 'I recognize', OIr aithirriuch, Br adarre 'again'), OIr a(i)th- 'very' (ath-chian 'very far') ||| Gt iþ ('δέ, καί') {Fs.} 'aber, wenn', AS, OSx ed- 're-, again' (AS ed-nī wian 'to renew', inf. ed-byrdan 'to regenerate'), ON ið- 're-, again', 'more than' (ið-gnógr 'über-genug', ið-jagrænn 'erneut grün') ||| Pru et- 're-, again' (et-kūmps 'again', et-skīsnan 'resurrection'), 'de-' (etwēre 'to open') ||| Phr ετλ- 'again'] Perhaps an *AdS* of Gk ἔτλ 'yet, still' and OI 'ati 'beyond, over' (< NaIE *eti 'over' < N *qæʦU '↑', q.v.) ¶ ≈ WP I 43, ≈ P 344, Mn. 254, M K I 27, M E I 57, F I 582, WH I 421-2, Bc. G 334, Billy 73, Vn. A 53, Flr. 76, F I 582, Ch. 382, Fs. 297, Sw. 49, Vr. 283, En. 173, Tp. P E-H 100-20, EI 215 (*h₁eti 'and, in addition').

1895. *qæʦU (= *qæʦü?) 'to cross', 'over\through' (direction) > HS: Eg fOK χt 'through' ('durch [ein Land] hin' etc.), 'throughout' ¶ EG III 343, Fk. 198 ||| IE: NaIE *eti 'over' (direction) ('darüber hinaus') (× N *qæʦ'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' [intr.] [q.v. ffd.]) > OI 'ati 'beyond, very', Av aiti- (YAv aiti-bar- v. 'carry over'), OPrs atiṽ- ('atiṽ-āið- 'er zog, begab sich'), KhS ata, atā 'excessively' ||| Phr ετλ- in ετλ-τετλκμενος 'cursed' ||| Gk ἔτλ 'yet, still (noch, noch jetzt)' ({P} 'überdies, ferner, noch') ¶ The final *-i in NaIE *eti 'over' is accounted for by the infl. of N *qæʦ'i' ¶ P 344, M K I 27, F I 582, ≈ EI 215 (*h₁eti 'and, in addition')] On NaIE *eti 'again' see N *qæʦ'i' ||| A: T *öt'- 'pass through\over\by' > OT öt- 'pass through\over', Tkm, Az öt-, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq öt-, VTt, Bsh, Ln üt-, ET, Ln, Slr, Qrg, StAlt, Tv, Yk öt-, Uz ωt-, SY yüt- 'pass by\through\over', Chv в и т - {Jeg.} 'pass through (проходить [насквозь]), penetrate, durchsickern' {Ash.} 'penetrate, врезываться', {ChVS} 'penetrate, durcjgehen, durchsickern'; Tk Δ et-en 'past, passed away' ¶ Cl. 39, Rs. W 376, ET Gl 554-5, Ash. V 252-3, Jeg. 55, ChVS 38 ◇ T *ö- (explained by the ass. infl. of the rounded vw. in the second syll.) points to a N final *-U.

1896. *qo₁ha₁ʦâ 'to burn' (trans., intr.), 'to kindle', 'fire, glowing coals' > HS: WS *✓χtω, prm. *-χtuω- 'be kindled, kindle, burn' > Gz ✓χtω G (pf. χatawa, js. yā-χtū) 'be kindled, burn, be alight, shine', BHb ✓ħtω|y G {JB} vt. 'kindle' (kī ḡeḥā'līm ʔat'tā ḥō'tē ʕal-rō'sō 'so you will kindle coals on his head' [Prov. 25.22]), MHb {Js.} ✓ħtω|y G 'take out coals with a pan', D 'stir embers', JA {Lv., Js.} ħty|w G (pf. 'תן ח^aתⁱ ~ חתן ח^aתⁱ) 'take out coals from the hearth', JEA {Sl.} ✓ħty D 'stir\rake coals' ¶ KB 349, L G

268, JB W 24, Lv. T I 289, Js. 512, Sl. 489 || Eg CT hω t 'fire, embers', Eg MK hω t 'be burnt', Eg L hω t vt. 'burn (verbrennen)' ¶ EG II 485, Fk. 158 ¶ The irregular Eg reflex h- of N *q- may be connected with the N word-medial *-h- (N *q...h > Eg h?) || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} aṭ- 'set on fire, kindle (accendere)', {Bnd.} ṭàtt-, Mch {L} ṭàṭṭa(yé) 'burn, be set on fire', Mao {Bnd.} (= Anf?) ac, Wl {C} eṭt- (not registered in LmS), Chara {C} ec-, Bdt {C} ēc-, Drz {Fl.} eç-, Male {Fl.} eṭ- 'burn', Gdc {Fl.} ɜç- 'kindle' || Dzd: Mj at-/ac- 'burn' || SOM: Ari {Bnd.} (?) áç-, Dm {Fl.} aç-, Hm B {Fl.} aç-, Hm {Fl.} at- id. ¶ Bnd. PO 145 (NrOm *at- 'burn'), Bnd. AL no. 12, Fl. OO 317, Fl. OWL, C SE IV 407, L M 20 || WCh: Hs wútǎ 'fire' || SBc: Kir/Buli {Sh.} wut, Tala {Sh.} wudi, Gj {Sh.} wutu, {IL} wútú, Tule {Sh.} wuti, Zar {Sh.} wlt, Dr {J} wátì, {ChL} wátì 'fire' ¶ JI II 138, ChC s.v. 'fire', ChL, Abr. H 936, Ba. 1095, Stl. ZCh 238 [no. 846] ¶¶ OS no. 1187, Tk. I 147 || IE: NaIE *āt-, *(w)āt-r- 'hearth' > Av ātarš (āθrō), Phl āđur, ātur, NPrs ūzār (spelled اذر āđar), Oss art 'fire' || Clt {Vn.} *āti- > OIr áith 'oven, kiln, stove', W ođyn 'kiln' || L ātrium 'a hall or entrance room in a Roman house' (← *'a room with a hearth', cp. [Serv.] 'ibi et culina erat, unde atrium dictum est') || Arm այրեմ այրեմ vt. 'I burn' || Al: T vater, G vōter 'hearth, fireplace' || Sl *vǎtra '(bon)fire' > SCr vǎtra, Uk 'ватра 'bonfire, hearth', P watra 'fire', watzysko 'fireplace, hearth', Slk vatra 'bonfire', R d. ватрушка 'curd tart, cheese cake'; Sl d. *vatralb 'poker' > P watal, Slk vatal', Blg ватрап id. ¶ P 69, Ab. I 69-70, Vl. I 22, Horn 4, Sl. 365-6, Vn. A 54, YGM-1 347, EM 54 (L ātrium: 'ce serait un souvenir de l'ancienne maison où la fumée du foyer s'échappait par une ouverture ménagée dans le toit'), WH I 76-7 (no et. for ātrium), ≈ O 495-6 (suggesting that the Al word is a loan from Irn, which fails to explain Al v-), Vs. I 279, ≈ Glh. 663-4 (Sl *ǎtra without explaining *v-), Ma. CS 557, Brū. 604, ≈ EI 202 (*HeHtrǵ 'fire') || A *óť'a 'fire; hot, warm' > T *ōť' 'fire' > OT ot, Tkm, SY ōt, Tk ot, Az od, ET, CrTt, Kr, QrB, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Qb, LN, Tv ot, Tf ot' Uz ўт wt, VTt, Bsh, SY ut, Yk ūt, Chv L БУТ vut, Chv Δ БОТ id. ¶ Cl. 34, Rs. W 34, ET Gl 483-4, S AJ 187 [no. 117], Ra. 213, Md. 40, 132, 172, Ash. V 278-82, Fed. I 133-4, Jeg. 57, ChVS 41 || Tg: Ewk otū 'hearth, bonfire' | NrTg *utinǵe 'forest fire, subsoil fire' > Ewk utinǵə id., utinǵə- vi. 'burn, smoulder (in forests, under the soil)', Lm utóǵǵó 'smell of a subsoil forest fire' ¶ Vas. 329, STM II 294 || pJ {S} *àtù- 'hot' > OJ, MJ atu- {S} id., J T/Kg acú- (J T acu-i), J K ácù- 'hot, warm'; pJ {S} *àtà- > d.: OJ atatake-, MJ [RJ] àtàtáka, J

T/Kg atataká- (J T atataka-i), J K átátáka- 'warm' ¶ S AJ 268 [no. 85], S QJ no. 85, Mr. 387, 826, Kenk. 58, 63 || ? pKo {S} *tʰ- > d.: MKo tʰ-sʰ-, NKo tāīit-ha- (spelled tāīis-) 'warm, hot' ¶ S QK no. 96, Nam 136, MLC 381 || ? M *oč̣in (unless it is *φoč̣in) 'spark' > WrM {MED}, HIM {MED} oч, {BMR} oч(иH), Brt oшo(и), WrO oci n, Mgl oč̣ka id., Kl {KRS} oчH id., {Rm.} oč̣ŋ 'Funke', Ord oč̣' i 'étincelle' ¶ MED 599, Chr. 366, Krg. 116, KRS 407, KW 291, Ms. O 523 ¶ Not here is pM *ʰφokʰi n- 'spark' (Mgl ukin and Ba oken 'spark, which may go back to N *pākō 'to heat (on fire)' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1067 (pA *ōtʰ|ta > T, Tg, J, Ko, M) and DQA no. 1609 (in both: unconvincing M *ʰhoḳkin [sc. *φoč̣kin]), based on unconvincing interpretation of OMgl {Iw.} očḳä, which [is likely to go back to a derived word] and the above-mentioned Mgl ukin and Ba oken 'spark), S AJ 102, 268 [no. 85] (T, M, Tg, J, Ko), Pp. VG I 49 ◇ The length of the vw. in NaIE and A and its quality (*ā) in NaIE may be accounted for by the presence of a N word-medial lr. followed by *a. The N lr. was most probably *-h-, which is easily lost in S and is responsible for the initial h- (rather than χ-) in Eg (as.). The labial sonant *w- in the NaIE variant stem *wāt-r- may go back to the N initial *qo- ◇ IS MS 352 s.v. 'οΓΟΗΒ' *Hʰoʰtʰ, IS SS no. 1.34 and AD GD 8 (all of them: IE, A) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 154 (*tʰa 'fire') (IE, A, J + err. Ko, Gil).

1897. *qûhE,tʰ ▽ 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie' > HS: WS *χūʰ- 'sinew, thin flexible bough, thread', **'χawitʰ- (> *χ∇wʰ- ~ *χ∇yʰ-) 'thread' > BHb ʰiʰn hūʰ 'thread, cord', IA h̄wʰ 'string', JA [Trg.], JEA ʰiʰn h̄ūʰ-t̄-ā 'thread', Sr h̄ūʰ-t̄-ā 'thread, string', Md h̄awʰa 'thread, sewing', Ar χūʰ- 'green bough, young flexible twig', χayʰ- 'thread, string', Mh {Jo.} 'χiʰt̄ayʰ (pl. ʰχʰyēʰ) 'thread', Jb E {Jo.} 'χeʰt̄ʰt̄, Jb C {Jo.} 'χiʰt̄et (pl. 'χeʰt̄) 'thin thread made of fibre'; WS *-χīʰ- v. 'sew, sew together' > IA ✓ h̄w|yʰ G, BA ✓ h̄yʰ G or Sh (3pm ip. ʰiʰn' yāʰhīʰū) 'repair' or 'join together'(?), JPA {Dlm., Lv.} ✓ h̄wʰ G 'sew', D {Dlm.} 'sew together, plait', {Lv.} 'sew, plait', JEA {Sl.} ✓ h̄wʰ ~ ✓ h̄t̄y G 'sew', Md -h̄it̄- G 'sew, stitch up' (ni h̄it̄ia ltagia 'he shall sew up to the crown', F DM 135), Sr ✓ h̄wʰ (ip. -h̄ūʰ-) G id., 'patch, mend', Ar ✓ χyʰ (ip. -χīʰ-) 'sew up (a garment)', Mh ✓ χt̄w G (pf. χʰt̄, 3m sbjn. yʰχt̄ā), Hrs {Jo.} ✓ χyʰ (pf. χʰyōʰt̄, 3m sbjn. yʰχāʰt̄), Sq {Jo.} 'h̄ʰyāʰ 'sew', Jb E {Jo.} pf. 'χaʰt̄e, Jb C {Jo.} ✓ χyʰ Sh (pf. aχʰyēʰ) 'sew, stitch' ¶ KB 282-4, 1705-6, KBR 296-7, BDB 296, 1092, HJ 353, Dlm. 131, Lv. II 21, Sl. 436, JPS 130-1, DM 117, 135, Ln. 831-2, BK I 647, 655, Hv. 189, 192, Jo. M 454, 458, Jo. H 145, Jo. J 312 || Eg ∇ m×tʰw

'entrails, guts' > DEg mX t w 'entrails' > Cpt: Sd MAQT mah t, B MAHT maX t, L MEQT E meh te 'entrails, umbilical cord' ¶ EG II 135, Er. 177, Vc. 132 || EC *hiq- v. 'tie' > Af hiq- 'attach camels in Indian file', -idhiq- v. 'sew', Or {Bl., Grg.}, Kns, Gdl, Arr {Hw.} hiq-, Dsn {To.} h'it, Bs {HL} hi?- v. 'tie', pSam {Hn.} *hiq- 'close, shut, tie' > Sml (incl. Sml N) hiq- 'tie together, fasten, shut, close', Rn hiq-, pBn *hir- > Bn Bi/J/Ba/K hir- 'tie, shut, close'; Ya hed- 'tie'; Brj hiq- id.; d.: *hiq-tū > Brj hittō 'belt made of cotton', Bs d. hītu 'girdle (worn by women)' ¶ Bl. 195, 201, 260, 304, Ss. PEC 36, 59, Ss. B 95-6, Hn. S 64, PG 140, Sim 11-12, Hn. BD 127, ZMO 428, Abr. S 120, Grg. 206-7, Hw. A 367, Hd. 198-9, HL 102-3, To. DL 507 ¶¶ The corr. EC *h- ÷ S *χ- is still to be investigated (see Tk. I 300-1, AD WIL no. 43) || D (att. in McTm) *ōt(-) 'ε thread' > Tm ū t u, ū t a i 'woof, thread woven across the warp', Ml ū t a 'woof, cross thread' ¶ D no. 738 || A ≈ *üt'∇ > J: OJ ito ({Mr.} = itw0) 'thread, string' > J: T ítò, Ak ítô, K/Kg ító, Ty/Sz ítò, Ns ítò, Sh ítú, Is ítù, Ht ítù id., 'yarn' ¶ Mr. 426, TS 32, 63, Kenk. 654 || ?σ Tg *ute-'ε woman's robe' > Ewk ut3m3 'woman's long tunic of reindeer hides', Ul ut3su, Ork ut3uri, Nn Nh utesū 'woman's robe (χαλατ) of fish skin or cloth' ¶ STM II 295, On. 434 || ?φ IE: NaIE *ēt(e)r-/*ōt(e)r-'entrails', (?) 'ε thread' (× N *XEt∇R∇ or *XiLt∇r'∇ 'blood vessel [vein, artery], sinew, root') > Gk Hm ἤτορ 'heart', Gk ἤτρον 'abdomen', esp. 'the lower part of the abdomen' ({P} 'Bauch, Unterleib'), as well as (?) Gk ἤτρον, Gk D ἄτρον 'warp in a web of cloth' and Gk ἤτρια βύβλων 'leaves made of strips of papyrus' || ON æðr 'blood vessel, vein', NNr áder, Sw áder, Dn áre id., AS ædre, æder, OFrs e₁dre, OSx -āthiri, OHG ādra, NHG Ader id., MLG, MDt ader 'entrails' || OIr {P} inathar id. (< *en-ōtro-) ¶ P 344, F I 645, ≈ Vr. 680 (ON æðr < pScn *āðī + unc.: Ic æð, NNr æ d 'small creek', interpreted by Vr. as 'Wasserader'), Ho. 9, Ho. S 4, Kb. 5, EWA I 54-7, OsS 3, ≈ KM 7, ≈ EI 359 (*h₁eh₁tr- '≈ lung, internal organ') ◇ The long vw. in NaIE and D point to a N lr. (most probably *h in view of its loss in HS and its deglottalizing effect in pre-D, whence D *-t- [< ppD *-t- < *-h₁- < N *-hEt-] rather than D *-t- [regularly from N *t]). The absence of the glide *u in IE *ēt(e)r-/*ōt(e)r- suggests that the IE cognate lost the initial syllable of the N word.

1898. *qow^ri¹ (or possibly either *qo[?]aw^ri¹ or *qa[?]ow^ri¹) 'orifice, hole; to make a hole' > K: GZ *qew- 'ravine, deep riverbed between mountains' > OG qev-i 'deep riverbed between mountains' (the word used to translate χεῖμα ῥρους 'torrents' [III Kings 17.7 of the Septuaginta]), qevnebi 'ravine (φάραγξ)' (Luc. 3.5), G qev-i {KEGL} 'deep riverbed, small

river between mountains', {Chx.} 'Schlucht, Bergbach', {DCh.} 'балка, оврагъ', Mg χαβο 'ravine' ¶ K² 335, Fn. KW-1 38 [no. 97], FS K 495, Chx. 2322, DCh. 1730, KEGL VIII 1367 || **HS:** SS *χ∇ω- (~ *χ∇ωh-?) 'door, gate, orifice' > OSA {CR} χω 'ianua, porta, foramen in pariete', Qtb {Rk.} χω 'door, gate', Mh {Jo.} χā, (contextual form?) χah (pl. χōtɜn) 'mouth, entrance, opening', {Jahn} χó id., Hrs {Jo.} χah (pl. 'χɜwɜh) id., Jb C/E χɔh (pl. 'χéɜ) 'mouth', Jb C χē 'interstice, space, hole' (× Jb ✓ χωυ 'be empty?'), Sq {Jo.} ክεከ (pl. ክɜhɜtɜn), {L} ክε (dim. ክህክህ) 'interstice, hole'; WS *'χawaχ(-at)- 'orifice' > Hb ׀׀׀׀ ክ^aωā'ክ-īm ~ ׀׀׀׀ ክō'ክ-īm 'holes, crevices', Ar χawaχ-at- {BK} 'lucarne dans un mur; petite fenêtre \ ouverture pratiquée dans la porte; ouverture, communication sans porte entre deux maisons; anus', {Ln.} 'an aperture in a wall, admitting the light to a house; anus', Sb {BGMR} χχ 'passageway, corridor', Gz χōχāt (pl. χōχāt) 'door, doorway, goat' ¶ KB 284, KBR 296, BK I 644, Ln. 820, BGMR 64, CR CAME 154, Rk. 71, L LS 158, L G 260, Jo. H 144, Jo. M 454, 456, Jo. J 310-11 || Eg fP χχ 'throat, neck' > DEg x'x' 'neck' (+ppas) > Cpt: B ኃላኃ χαχ, Sd ኃላኃ ክህክ 'neck, nape' ¶ EG III 331, Fk. 197, Vc. 283, 320, Crn. 268, Er. 396 || NrOm: Zrg {Bnd.} ክā?e 'mouth' ¶ Bnd. PO || WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} ክ^ωā (pl. ክ^ωā), Sir {Sk.} ክ^ωūlí 'door(way)' ¶ MSk. 182, Sk. NB 18, ChC s.v. 'door(way)' || **U** *owē 'door' > F ovī, Krl ovī 'door' | Chr: YO/U/B op'sa, M oφ'sa id., as well as possibly ? StChr L omca om'sa, StChr H amaca amasa, Chr Y a'masa 'door'; -sa ~ -śa is probably a sx; the origin of -m- is not clear (either contamination with another word or borrowing from another lge?) || ObU {Hl.} *f̄w∇ 'door' ({Ht.} *ūʒɜ = *ūʒ∇) > pVg {Ht.} *f̄w∇ > OVg: S ChusO âúve, S SSs auwe, E TM äau, N Sog áui, N Chd ави 'door'; Vg: T äyīw ð ayəw, LK āw, UK/P/SV/LL f̄w, Ss āwī id.; pOs {Ht.} *ɔʋ 'door' > Os (partially within cds): V/Vy ɔʋ, Ty oʋ^ω ~ oʋ, Y oʋ, D/K aʋ, Nz/Kz ɔʋ, O uʋ ~ õʋ ~ äʋ id. || Sm {Jn.} *ö (= *ö_h?) 'door' > Ne T нë 'door, entrance of the tent', Ne O {Lh.} нō', Ne F {Lh.} нō ~ нo^ω, Ng {Cs.} ~ ôa, {Ter.} ηua, En X {Cs.} ~ ia, En B {Cs.} no, nu 'door', Slq Tz {KKIH} -a in mōta 'door of a tent' (mōt means 'tent'), Kms {KD} d. āj̄e ~ āj̄a, Koyb {Sp.} d. аи, Mt {Hl.} *h̄|o 'door' (Mt: K {Mil.} njɔ, M {Mil.} no, {Sp.} ho id., T {Mil.} njóɔa 'his door') ¶¶ UEW 344, Coll. 45, SK 446, Ht. 124 [no. 10], Hl. rHt 73, Hl. M no. 765, Stn. WV 188, Stn. OV 123, Jn. 29, KKIH 132, KD 4, Ter. SILSJ 288, Ter. 307, KP 145 || **A:** NaT *ōy- v. 'hollow out' and *ōy 'pit, low place, depression' (× N *p̄oɣi 'cavity, valley; to hollow out', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *āv-, *āv-∇-l/l- v. 'gape, yawn' > Tm āvī v. 'gape, yawn, open the mouth so as to express loudly', Ml āvī iɰ-, Td o'pūly-, Kdg a'va|iɰ-, Tu

āv·iđ-, Krg āva|su, Prj āv-, Krx aula'āna, Mlt āwole v. 'yawn', Gnd āvi, Kt a·važ, Tu āvalь, Tl āvulin̄ta 'a yawn', Tl āvalincu, āvulin̄cu v. 'yawn, gape' ¶¶ D no. 392, Pf. 86 ◇ The discrepancy between the U and T rounded vw. and D *ā (for the expected *ō or *o) still needs investigating. Three solutions can be envisaged: (1) the pN vw. was *a, the U vw. *o is due to the assimilative infl. of *w, while the main source of NaT *ōy is N *p̄oΓi; (2) the N vw. was *o, while D *ā is due to an unknown phonetic law (something like *ow- > D *āv-), and (3) the N etymon was *qoʔaw'i' or *qaʔow'i' with loss of the lr. in S. This third solution has an advantage: it explains the long vw. in T ◇ IS III 130-1 [no. 377] (*qowē 'orifice' > HS [S, Pa'a], U, D), Blz. KM 118 [no. 16] (adding K, Eg and Om to the N et. of IS).

1899. *qæw'h' ▽ 'lack, be empty\incomplete' > HS: WS *✓χwυ|w, prm. *-χwiy- 'become empty\devoid' > Ar ✓χwυ G (pf. خوی χawā, 3m ip. ya-χwī) id., Sb ✓χwυ v. 'make void', Mh {Jo.} ✓χw∅ (pf. χzwū) 'have a space left uncovered' (of a door etc.), 'have one's limbs uncovered', Jb C ✓χwυ (pf. χē) 'be empty' ¶ Ln. 827-8, BK I 644, 651, Jo. M 454, 456, Jo. J 310-11, BGMR 64 || EC: Or huyyēsa 'poor', Gdl huyy-akko / -ayt id., Brj hiyy-ayši / hiyy-ayttē id.; SC: Asa -haʔrta 'cheap, easy' ¶ Ss. B 98 || K: GZ *qw- 'remove, throw away, deprive of' > OG qw- 'remove, deprive of', Lz χv- / χ- 'throw away' ¶ FS K 496, FS E 563-4 || IE {Blz.} *HxueH- > NaIE *uā- ~ *euā- 'be empty, be wanting' ⇨ *euā-n- 'empty, wanting' > OI ū'nā-h, Av ū'nō- 'defective, wanting', NPrs وَنْگ vāng 'empty, poor' ||| Arm nūwju unayn 'empty' ||| Gk εῦνυς (gen. εῦνυδος) 'reft of, bereaved of' ||| L vānus, ? vācuus 'empty, void', ? vāc-ō / -āre 'be empty\void' (ā < *ə), ? Um antervakaze, ANDERVACOSE 'intervacatiō \ intermissiō sit' ||| Clt {Matas.} OIr úam 'cave, den, boar's lair' ||| Gt wans (ntr. wanata ([·tā·λεῖποντα]) {Fs.} 'mangelhaft, fehlend', ON vanr, OHG, OSx, AS wan adj. 'lacking, missing'; ON ntr. van-t n. 'absence, want', inf. vanta 'to be lacking' ⇨ ME want- 'be deficient', wante 'deficient' > NE want v., n. ||| Ltv vāncars, Δvañs-kars {ME} 'barren egg', {Turk.} 'addle egg', Lt vañs-kariai 'unhatched eggs' ¶ WP I 108, P 345, EI 179 (*h₁eu(h₁)- 'empty, wanting'), M K I 115, Vl. II 1433, Hü. 484, F I 589, WH II 723, 731-2, Bc. G 328, Fs. 550, Vr. 644, Kb. 1140, Matas. E 302, Bj. 225, Ho. 382, HDEL 1443, Slt. 233-4, ME IV 462, Frn. 1196 ¶ The absence of traces of *ə in Gk is puzzling ||| ? Gil: Gil A q'au- 'be absent, not to be' ¶¶ ST 148 ◇ NaIE

*ə points to a N Ir., which was most probably *h (the only one easily lost in S, but yielding *ə in NaIE) ◇ Blz. IELA 1819 [no. 75] (HS, IE).

1900. *qaw₁∇₁y∇ or *qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' > HS: Eg fP χωϥ vt. 'protect (schützen, behüten)', Eg fXVIII χω, Eg fOK χω. t 'protection' (× N *r¹Uy∇ [- *r¹æw∇?] 'to wrap, to cover') ¶ EG III 244-5, Fk. 196 || C: Bj {R} ✓ ρωϥ (1s: p. a-ρaway, pres. a-t-ρawī), {Rop.} 1s p. 'ρawi, 2m p. 'tρawaiyα, 1s pres. atρawi 'help, assist', caus. {R} -s-ρaw (p. a-s-'ρaw) 'zu Hilfe senden' ¶ R WBd 36-7, Rop. 157 || IE: NaIE *aw- 'help, take care' (× NaIE *aw-, *awēj- 'gern haben' < N *haw∇ 'to desire, to love' [q.v.]) > Av avaiti 'takes care, helps', avah- n. 'help', aoman- adj. 'helping, assisting', OI ō-'mā / ō-man- 'help, protection', 'ō-man- 'helper, protector' || OIr con-óí '(il) protège, (il) défend' ¶ P 77-8, M K I 57, 133, Vn. C 197 || A: Tg *ay- v. 'help', *ay n. 'help, cure, repair' > Ewk ay id., ay- 'help, save (retten), cure', Lm ay- ~ ayi- id., Orc aiçi- v. 'repair, cure, help', Ud {STM} aisigi- 𐎠 āsigi- v. 'repair, cure', {Krm.} ayasifi ~ āsigi- vi. 'recover', Ork ayu- 'help so. out of trouble', ayuḡutčī- 'repair' ¶ STM I 17-18, Vas. 20, Krm. 205 || ? M *abura- v. 'protect, save, rescue, help' (× N *qapUR∇ 'to protect, to help', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. 'защитять' *qaw₁ (IE, U, HS).

1901. *r¹Uy∇ (or *r¹æw∇?) 'to wrap, to cover' ([in descendant lges] → 'to drape', 'to clothe'), 'to tie\bind to' > HS: EC *h₀uw- v. 'drape (so., oneself) in a garment' > Sml {ZMO, DSI} huwi- 'cover with a cloth, drape', {ZMO} huwo/huwad- 'wrap (a cloth) round oneself, cover oneself with cloth\blanket', Sml N {Abr.} huwwi- vt. 'dress in a cloth', huwwan- 'drape oneself in a garment', Or {Grg.} uwwisa- vi. 'clothe', Or S {Sr.} ūwisa- ~ ūyisa- vt. 'cover', uyifaḡḡa v. 'dress oneself' (cp. Or uffisa- 'clothe' etc. < N *quP₁∇ [or *qüP₁∇?] 'to cover', q.v.) ¶ ZMO 197, DSI 320, Abr. S 113, Grg. 392, Sr. 399 || AdS of Eg fP χωϥ vt. 'protect' (< N *qaw₁∇₁y∇ → *qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' [q.v. ffd.]) || K *oq|χw- > Mg χv- 'wrap', Lz χw- v. 'bury, cover with sth.' ¶ Chik. 423 || IE: NaIE *eu-/*ou- vt. 'dress, put on (clothes)' (← 'tie [around], wrap') > Arm ազանիմ aganim 'I clothe, I dress myself, I put on' (1s aor. ազայ) || Lind-u-ō / -ēre 'get dressed in, put on (a garment)', ex-u-ō / -ēre 'divest oneself (of)', induviae 'clothes', Um ANOVIHIMU 3s inv. {Pln.} 'induiminō' (< *an-ouyō) || Lt inf. aũ-ti (1s pres. aunù), Ltv inf. àu-t 'to put on (footwear)', Lt inf. avéti (1s pres. aviù) 'to wear (footwear)' || Sl

inf. *-úti (1s pres. *-ujǫ) with pxs: [1] Sl inf. *ob-ú-ti 'to put on (footwear)' > OCS, OR inf. **ОБОУТИ** obu¹ti, R inf. о'буть, Uk inf. о'буть, SCr inf. òbuti, Slv inf. obúti, Cz inf. obouti, Slk inf. obut', P inf. obuć id., Blg о'бүя 'put on (footwear)'; ↳ RChS, OR **ОБОУВЬ** obu¹vь, R 'обувь, Cz, Slk obu¹v, P obu¹w, obu¹wie 'footwear'; [2] Sl inf. *jъz-ú-ti 'to take off (footwear)' > OR inf. **ИЗОУТИ** izu¹ti, SCr inf. ìzu¹ti, Slv inf. izúti, Cz inf. zou¹ti se, Slk inf. zut', P inf. zzuć id.; [3] Sl inf. *roz-ú-ti id. > OR inf. **РОЗОУТИ** rozu¹ti, R inf. ра'зуть, P inf. rozzuć id.] ⇨ NaIE *o_u-tlā- 'bandage, sth. tied around, wrapping' > Av аоθρα- 'footwear' || L sub-ūcula 'a man's\woman's underwear, shirt' || Lt aũklė 'bast shoe string\lace, footcloth', Ltv àukla 'string, cord', Pru auclō ('Halfter') 'halter'] NaIE d. *o_u-to-s ≈ wrapped around, clothed' > Lt aũtas 'footcloth', Ltv {ME} àuts 'Tuch, Binde' || Sl *ob-utъ (pp. of *ob-ú-ti) 'wearing footwear' > R о'бутый id. etc. || Lex-ūtus (pp. of exuo [see above]) ¶ WP I 109-10, P 346, EI 109 (*h₁eu- 'put on clothes'), WH I 434-6, 695-6 and II 620, Bc. G 328, Pln. II 251, 310, 726, Hü. 411, Sl. 237-8, 442-3, Tr. 21-2, Frn. 27-8, En. 147, Tr. P A-D 156, Vs. II 124, III 109, 435, StSS 399, Glh. 447-8, Brtl. 42 || ¶ А ?σ *Uyi- 'attach, wrap' > Tg *uyi- v. 'attach, wrap' > Sln uyi- 'attach, wrap', Ewk uy- ɹ uyi-, Lm, Neg, Ork uy-, Orc uyi-, uyū-, Sln uyi-, Ul ui- v. 'attach', Nn Nh ui- v. 'attach, tie' ¶ STM II 250-1, On 425 || ??? Т *o_u;¹y¹a > Tk оуа 'lace embroidery', Osm {RI.} оуа 'Fransen, Stickerei' (unless from **o_u and derived from оу- 'carve, cut out') ¶ TkR 695, RI. I 1033 ¶¶ SDM 1044-5 (pA *ōy∇ 'sew, pierce' > Tg, Т *ōy- [{AD} *o_u;¹y¹a] 'embroidery' + unc. Т *ōy- 'pick, peck' and M *o_ua- v. 'sew, stitch'), DQA no. 2542 (id.), SDM97 (pA *uy∇ 'bind, sew'), Rm. EAS I 143, KW 447 ◇ EC *h- goes back to HS *χ- < N *q-. If the A √ belongs here, the N rec. is *¹q¹Uy∇, otherwise it may also be *¹q¹æw∇.

1902. *q∇, pc. of collectivity ([in descendant lges] → a marker of plurality) > K *°-qe, marker of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and the 3rd person > MG, G F/X/P/Lch/LI -qe, G In -q id. (MG ge-u-bn-ebi-qe 'I tell you [pl.]' ↔ ge-u-bn-ebi 'I tell thee') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Dt. ASK II 40-1, Chik. Q 32-62 || ? IE: NaIE *°-ko > Gmc *-χα ~ *-ka, sx of collectivity > Gt brōþra-ha-ns (ἄδελφοί) coll. 'Gebrüder', OSw (RunSc) faþr-ka-r, ON feðgar 'father and son', OSw (RunSc) muþr-ku, ON mœðgur 'mother and daughter, ?? Yid קָאָ - aχ pl. of 1-diminutives (קָאָלעך 'meyd-el-aχ 'girls' ↔ sg. 'meydele) || ??φ Arm pl. ending -p -k^h ¶ The unexpected *-k- in some Gmc languages may go back to

a geminated cns. (as suggested by V. Dybo [p. c.] and/or to a cns. in postconsonantal position ¶ Fs. 107, ≈ Vr. 114 and 400 (believing that the Gmc *sx* is originally adjectival), AD (personal knowledge of Yiddish); Kron. VLFH 126 and IS OS II 105 (both adduced Arm -k^h) || U: [1] FU *-kk∇, *sx* of collectivity > F -kkō / -kkö id. (koi v i k k o 'birch forest', m ä n n i k k ö 'pine forest') || Hg -k, pl. suffix of nouns ¶ Coll. CG 258, 297, Majt. VJ I 105-7, IS II 105-6 | [2] FU *-k as a marker of pl. in pers. endings of 1p and 2p (× N *kU, particle of plurality [used mainly with pronouns], q.v. ffd.) || D *-k(k)∇, pl. suffix of nouns > Kdg -ga / -ya (< *-ka) (āη-ga 'men', aǰǰi-ya 'grandmothers'), Knd -ku, -gu, -k (gālu-k 'daughters' ↔ sg. gālu, ilku 'houses', mēmar-gu 'husbands'), Gnd -k, -∇k (pāl-k 'teeth', d u v v a l -ī k 'tigers'), Gnd K -k, -ku (mar-k 'sons', manasūr-ku 'men'), Nk -k|gu, -g, -k (pāl-gu ~ pāl-ku 'teeth', pām-ku 'snakes', elli-g 'rats', ūtu-k 'ropes'), Ku -ka (himborka 'clothes' ↔ sg. himbori), Kui -ka / -ga (kor-ka 'buffaloes', kaη-ga 'eyes'), Brh -k, -āk (xal-k 'stones' ↔ sg. xal, lōtāk 'sacks' ↔ sg. lōt) ¶ An. SG 177-8, D no. 3986, Shanm. DN 52-103 || ? HS: C: Ag {Hz.} *-k∇, plural suffix of nouns > Aw -ka (gsén-ka 'dogs'), Km -ák, -kák, Kw -ki (yir-ki 'men'), -k {Zab.} (gílu-k 'men', gír-ku 'hens'), -ke (gír-ke 'days' ↔ sg. griy-à); according to Ap., the Km pl. marker -ák, -kák is related to the Km suffix -ak, -ki 'all' (added to pronouns and numerals: nay-ak 'all of them', ni-ki 'all of it', andíw-ak 'all of us', liηay-ak 'both') || Dhl {Zab.} -uka, -uke, -eka, -eki, pl. suffixes of nouns (fēn-uka 'tongues' ↔ sg. fēna; k w á n a ʔ -ù k à 'scorpions' ↔ sg. k w á n a ʔ a; w á r à w -ú k e 'hyenas' ↔ sg. w á r a w a [{To.} w ár ā b a]; munteka 'fields' ↔ sg. múnta; ǰ ó ǰ 0 ʔ -é k i 'jackals' ↔ sg. ǰ ó ǰ 0 ʔ 0) ¶ Hz. AL 16, Zab. MNPC 209, 259-61, 298, Ap. K 322, To. D 162 ◇ IS II 105-6 [no. 345] (N ? *g∇).

1903. *gAb∇ 'jaw, cheek' > K {K} *gba-, {FS} *gab- 'jaw' > OG, G gba- 'jaw', Mg f v i b a - 'man with a stupid face', Sv (h) a g b a -, g a b (w) - 'cheek' ¶¶ K 209, K DE 358, K² 238, FS K 360 and FS E 404 (adducing Sv gab 'beard' < K *gab-) || HS: S *oqapqap- > Ar qafqaf- 'camel's cheek' ¶ Fr. III 481, BK II 791 || Ch (× N *ke p₁ H₂ ∇ 'jaw, chin'): [1] WCh: DfB {J} kápâk (pl. kapák), Su kupak 'cheek' | [2] ??φ Ch {Stl.} *gobi ({AD} *gobi ~ *gob̥i?) 'chin, cheek' > WCh: Hs hábà 'chin' | P' {MSk.} gábà-čangá 'chin, lower jaw' | GJ {ChL} gús-gúbà 'chin' || CCh {Stl.} *ηyobi > Cb {ChL} ηgubæ 'cheek' | HgF {ChL} yub̥i 'chin' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} gáb̥i 'cheek' ¶ JI II 68-9 and 76, J R 216, ChL, ChC s.v. 'cheek', Stl. IF 113, MSk. s.v. gábà-čangá, Abr. H 357, Ba. 431 || D *ka v u í - 'cheek, jaw' (× N *gab∇ (|í∇) 'head' [> 'top', 'skull'] ?) > Tm k a v u |

'cheek, temple or jaw of elephant', MI kavil, Tu kau|u, ? Kui külu 'cheek', Prj gavlā, galva 'jaw'; D ⇨ OI kapō'la-h 'cheek' ¶¶ D no. 1337, Tu. no. 4324, M K I 158 (kapōlah "vermutlich austroasiatisch"), M E I 303 (mentioning the D and Austroasiatic parallels with scepticism).

1904. *^rq'æb∇ 'belly, stomach' > HS: WS (or S) *k'ib-at- id. > BHb קבה qē'bā 'belly; fourth stomach of ruminants', JA [Trg.] אבתא קבה qəbə't-ā {Lv.} 'der rauhe Magen der Widerkäufer', {Js.} 'maw', JPA Bz קבה qəbəh 'stomach', JEA {Sl.} אבתא קבה qəbət-ā 'stomach of a ruminant', Ar قبة qibb-at- {BK} 'ventricle', Tgr פנת קעבט 'midst; lower part', קעבבט 'a stuffed goat's stomach', ?σ,φ Tgy қобо 'hernia', ?? Ak kukkubāt u, kukkubār u, қуққубāt u, қуққубār u 'ε part of the animal stomach' ¶ KB 992, BDB 866-7, Dlm. 360, Lv. T II 339, Js. 1307, 1313, Sl. 982, Sl. P 489, BK II 657, Ln. 2478, LH 249-50, Bsn. 262, L ESAC 46, CAD VIII 499 || К *°yip- > G yipi 'paunch' ¶ Mte.: y...p < N *q...b? ¶ Chx. 1623, DCh. 1362 || А *KæP∇- (= *KæP∇-?) and *KæP∇l- (= *KæP∇l-?) (= ?) 'belly' > M *kebeli > WrM kebeli {MED} 'belly, stomach; paunch; womb', HIM хэвлий {MED} id., {BMR} 'belly', WrO kebeli 'belly, stomach; womb', Kl {KRS} кевлэ 'belly, womb', {Rm.} kewl 'Bauch', Ord k'eweli 'matrice, sein'; M *ke'ʕ'eli (< **keβeli?) 'womb, belly' > MM [HI] ke,eli 'ventre', [L] keyli 'belly', MM [IM] كهله kehli, [IsV, MA] kehli, WrM kegelī {MED} 'womb, belly', HIM хээл {MED} id., {BMR} 'womb', Brt хээли 'belly', Mnr H {SM} k'ēliē 'ventre', {T} kelīē 'belly, paunch', Ord k'ēl 'foetus (chez les animaux)' ¶ MED 438, 442, BMR IV 201, 230, Krg. 715, KRS 287, KW 229, Vhr. 655, Ms. O 410, 419, Ms. H 70, Pp. L III 69, Pp. MA 439, SM 198, T 338, Lg. VMI 48 || Tg *ke:;peli 'belly' > Lm kēbəl 'stomach (Magen) of a squirrel\calf with its contents', WrMc {Z} хэфэли 'belly, entrails', Jrc {Kiy.} heφuli 'abdomen' ¶ STM I 387-8, Z 416, Kiy. 125 [no. 508] || NaT *k_æb|p- 'be swollen' (of a belly), 'be pregnant' > Tkm gābe 'swollen' (qarni gābe 'with a swollen belly'), MQp XIV [AH], Chg {PC} گبه gebe, Tk gebe, Ggz, CrTt gebe 'pregnant'; NaT *Kæ:;p|ber- 'be swollen' (of a belly) > Tv xewer- 'swell, swollen' (of a belly), Tki {Zn.}, MQp XIV [AH] inf. كبرمك keber-mek, Chg {PC} inf. گبرمك geber-mek 'to swell, to be swollen' (of a belly) ¶ ET VGD 36, PC 455, Zn. II 735 ¶¶ SDM 668-9 (pA *kēp'∇ 'belly' > Tg, M, T), Vld. 205 ¶¶ The vl. cns. *-p- in Tg needs explanation ◇ The unexpected length of the vw. in pA is still to be investigated and explained.

1905. *qUbf'E' 'basket' ([in descendant lges] → 'vessel') > **K**: G {Chx.} qvibaro 'ε basket for millet', G qvibari, G Im qvibiri 'ε small vessel for wine (dug into earth)', G LIm qvibira 'ε small wine jug', G {DCh.} qvibari 'pot used for storing cheese' ¶ Chx. 1686, DCh. 1378 || **HS**: S *kubbaʿ-, (?) *kubʿ- 'basket, vessel' > Ug kbʿt '(ε) drinking vessel', {OLS} 'caliz', BHb cs. תבבא קub,baʿat 'cup', Ph kbʿ 'cup, goblet', IA kbʿʔ 'small jar', Ak {CAD} kuppuru 'ε wicker basket or wooden chest; cage; box for silver and precious objects' (× N *KuP∇ 'box, basket'), as well as Sr W {Br., PS} كؤ كؤ küh-ā (or kubbāʿ-ā?) 'calix (of a flower)', 'Blumenkelch' and Ar qubʿat- {Fr.} 'calix, folliculus florum', {BK} 'calice ou enveloppe de la fleur'. The Sr and Ar cognates are qu.: Br. and KB connect the Sr word with Hb תבבא קub,baʿat 'cup' (KB: 'Becher, Pokal') and interpret it as a μφ from 'cup' (as in L calix and in NHG Blumenkelch), while JPS interprets this Sr word as 'covering\sheath of a flower\fruit' and connects it with the homographic كؤ كؤ kühbāʿā 'hood' (÷ JA [Trg.] küh-ā 'turban', Hb קוֹבֵּט קühbēt 'helmet'); if JPS is right, the same interpretation must be preferred for Ar qubʿat- as well ¶ KBR 1062, 1081, BDB 867 [no. 6907] and 875 [no. 6959], OLS 361, Br. 644, PS 3480, JPS 492, Fr. III 392, BK II 664, Sd. 890, ≠ KB 994 (the word of the S lges * ← Eg: unc. for lack of arguments for the loan hyp., while there are arguments against it: if it had been a loan, we would not have expected a uniform rendering of Eg ḥ as ʿ in all WS lges and would have expected ḫ (= ḥ) in Ak [which is the usual Ak rendering of foreign ḥ]) || Eg XVIII kbḥw 'libation vase', ?φ fMK kbḥ 'Krug' ¶ EG V 27, 117, Fk. 278 || C: [1] EC: Af {PH} kafaf 'large palm-leaf basket' || Ag: Xm {R} qefā 'cylindrical box, beehive'; C (Ag?) → Amh kəfo 'wicker basket used as a beehive' → Sa/Af {R} kafaf 'beehive'; [2] EC: Sa {R} qāʿaʿbō ~ qāʿeʿbō (pl. 'qāʿeʿbōb) 'ein großer irdener Krug' ¶ PH 142, R S II 230 || ?? Ch: WCh {Stl.} *kab∇ 'basket' (× N *Kab'Eʾ∇ 'wickerwork, bag' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ OS 307 [no. 1407] (HS *kab- 'gourd, calabash vessel' > Eg kb 'vessel for wine and other liquids', Dhl, Hs) and 332 [no. 1526] (> *kab- > Ak, Ron, Eg kbḥ) || ?φ IE: NaIE *kap- 'vessel, box' (× N *Kab'Eʾ∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) || ?σ U: FU *°koppʿaʿ 'vessel' > F koppa 'Korb, Schale', Es kopp (gen. kopā) 'Schale, kleines Gefäß' × ← Sw kopp 'cup') ¶ Coll. 93, ≈ UEW 181-2 ¶ F koppa 'front part of the skull, forehead, box, vessel' goes back to two N words (this one and N *kʿaʿwlo,ḡE - *kʿaʿwlo,ḡ∇y∇ 'skull, occiput') || A Kü|öP∇ > NaT **kʿü:ḡp or *k_ü:ḡp (× N *KuP∇ 'box, basket', q.v.) > OT kʿü:ḡp 'large earthenware jar\jug', Az, Gg, Kr, Qzq Δ küp id., Tk

күр (+ppa.: күр-ү) 'large earthenware narrow-necked jar' | NaT *Kü:;p'ä
 'earthenware jug' > Tk Δ күре, Az ğüpä, Uz kuwa | NaT *Ko:;bur ~ *Ka:;bur
 (× N *KuP∇ 'box, basket') > Chg {Rs.} қобур 'Gefäß, Etui', Kü {Rl.} қоғур
 'coffin'; OT [MhK] {Rs.} қабурċақ, {Cl.} қабırċāқ 'box, coffin', OQp
 XIV қабурċақ 'box, casket', Chg {Rs.} қабурċақ 'kleine Büchse' ¶ Cl.
 586-7, 687, DTS 328, TkR 581, ARL 176, GRM 30, ET KQ 143-4, Rs. W 235,
 274, Rl. II 517 || M: [1] M *qobdu ~ *°qobtu 'case, long and narrow box;
 quiver' (× N *KuP∇ '↑', q.v.) > MM [MA] қобду 'quiver', WrO {Krg.}
 ҳобдо 'quiver, case', WrM {MED} қобду 'case, long and narrow box;
 quiver', HIM ховд {MED} id., {BMR} 'case (футляр), long and narrow box',
 Kl {KRS} ховд id., {Rm.} ҳобдъ 'Köcher, Pfeilbehälter', Ord ҳоб_д_о
 'cercueil', Brt хобто 'box, Koffer (сундук)' ¶ MED 949-50, BMR IV 89,
 Chr. 575, KRS 592, KW 191 | [2] M *köbke > WrM köbke {MED} 'box, chest;
 basket', HIM хөвх {MED} id., {BMR} 'basket (for clothes)', WrO köbkeq
 'cage, basket' ¶ Pp. MA 299, MED 476, 949-50, 949, BMR IV 89, 126, Chr.
 575, Krg. 271, 736, KRS 590, KW 181, Ms. O 347 || Tg *xobu- ~ *xebu-
 'coffin' > Ul xзуli, Nn Nh xzur, Ud xau, WrMc {Z} хобо id. ¶ STM 464, 467,
 On. 495, Z 426 || pKo *kob∇r > MKo kōr 'coffin, box' ¶ Nam 51 || pJ *k^ru¹i
 'coffin' > OJ k^ry¹i, MJ ki id. ¶¶ SDM 812-13 (pA *k^rjubu 'box, coffin' > M
 *qobdu ~ *qobtu, Tg, J, Ko), Lee CSMK112 (Tg, Ko) ◇ N *-bɣ- > *-p- > IE *-
 p-, FU *-pp-, NaT *-p ◇ In some cases the resemblance between words of
 different lges is due to borrowing. Coalescence with N *KuP∇ '↑' may be
 supposed for many descendant lges.

1906. *qac∇ 'grey' (esp. of hair), 'white' > K: GZ *mqç-(e) 'grey hair' >
 OG mqce, G (m)χce 'grey hair', Mg (r)č̄-: č̄e- 'white', tuta-rč̄ela 'white
 moon', gaarč̄ielu vt. 'whitened', Lz χč̄e-~(k)č̄e- 'grey-haired'; ⇨ GZ *mqç-
 oan- 'hoary with age' > OG mqcovani, G mχcovani id., Mg rč̄inu 'old man,
 old woman', Lz χč̄in- ~ kč̄in- 'old woman' ¶ *m- is likely to go back to a px;
 as. **qç > *qç ¶ K 267, K² 135, Chik. 40, 343, Abul. 316 || **HS:** ? CS
 *✓kšš v. 'be old' (of a person), *k̄ašš- 'old man' (× N *KUSE 'grown-up
 man, old (person)', q.v. ffd.) || C: DhI {To.} kīzō 'village elder' (pl.
 'kīzōma), {EEN} kīzō (pl. 'kīzōma) 'elder, old man', {E} kīzō 'old man' || ??
 SC: Asa {E} kižumo, pl. kižumaku 'male impala' ¶ E SC 244 (adducing the DhI
 word and Mb mzíme 'old man' and reconstructing SC *kīz- 'old man'), EEN
 11, To. D 140 || **IE:** NaIE *kas-, *kas-no- (or *k̄as-, *k̄as-no-) 'grey, white' >
 L cānus (< *kas-no-s) 'white-haired, grey-haired, hoary', Osc, Pael CASNAR
 'old man' || OHG hasan {Kb.} 'grey, polished, smooth', {P} 'grau glänzend',

ON *hōss* 'grey' (< *kas-wō-), AS *hasu* 'dark, grey, ash-colored', MHG *heswe* 'blass, matt' ¶ P 533, Mn. 602, WH I 156, Pln. II 688, 717, Vr. 282, Ho. 149, Kb. 439, OsS 375, Lx. 88, EI 240 (*k̄as- 'grey') ¶ The stem is usually reconstructed as *k̄as-, which is based on a highly qu. adduction of the stem *k̄o|as- 'hare' (> OI *śaśa-*, Pru *sasins*, OHG *haso*, AS *hara* 'hare'). But there is no proof that the two stems are etymologically identical, so that the hyp. of an initial *k̄- remains unfounded || A: NaT *Ka_u:_uš- 'grey (hair), white' > Tv *k'ažarar-* v. 'grow grey' (hair), 'be seen as white', Tf *qāñ^y-ar-* id., Xk *χαζ-αρ-* *χaz-ar-* id., Tlt {RI.} *καζαι* 'weiß\grau werden' (von Haaren), 'in der Ferne weiß erscheinen', Brb {RI.} *qašqa_i-* 'grow grey' (of hair) ¶ RI. II 395-9, Ra. 217.

1907. *qûd^ri¹ 'hut' ([in descendant lges] → 'house') > K: GZ *qud-e 'house' > Mg *ɸud-e* 'house', G *cd kva-qud-e* 'stone house', d. *sa-qud-e* 'cloister, refuge', ?? OG *sa-qud-ar-ni* pl. '{?} Wohnsitze' ¶ K² 245-6; ≈ FS K 367-8 and FS E 412 (*qwed- + unc.: Sv *qwedī* 'ruhig, gemütlich' and the OG/G words with the √ qud- 'be quiet') || ? HS: Ch: Ngz {Sch.} *kúdîmdîm* 'square room\house with a flat roof' ¶ Sch. DN 97 || IE: NaIE **k̄ud^hyā* ({KM} **kud^hyā*) > Gmc **xuðjōn-* 'hut' > OHG *hutta*, MHG *hütte*, NHG *Hütte* id.; MHG *hütte* → OFr *hutte* (> Fr *hutte* 'hut') → NE *hut* ¶ Hardly here NaIE **ket-/kot-* 'room in a house' ← 'Wohngrube' (P 586-7) both because of its original meaning and because IE *k- points to the following N *a rather than to the expected *o|u ¶ The sequebce if a vl. vns. and an aspirated vd. one (against the laws of pIE phonetics) needs explanation (sth. like pre-IE ***k̄k̄uʔd^hyā* from N *qûʔd^ri¹??) ¶ Schz. 172, Kb. 494, OsS 435, Lx. 97, KM 323, HDEL 644 || D **kuṭi* ({ḡGS} **kuḍi* ~ **guḍi*) 'house, hut' > Tm *kuṭi* 'house, home, family, town', Ml *kuṭi* 'house, hut, family, tribe', Kt *kuṛṣl* 'shed, bathroom', Td *kuṣ* 'room (in dairy or house)', *kuḍṣ* 'outer room of dairy', Kn *gud_i* 'house, temple', Kdg *kuḍi* 'family of servants living in one hut', Tu *gud_i* 'small pagoda\shrine', Tl *gud_i* 'temple', *koṭika* 'hamlet', Gnd *kuṛma* 'hut, outhouse', *gud_i* *ḍ* *guṛi* 'temple', Klm *gudī*, Gdb *gud_i* id., Prj *gud_i* id., 'village resthouse', Kui *gud_i* 'central room in house, living room'; D → OI *kuṭa-*, *kūta-*, *kuṭi-* 'hut' ¶¶ D no. 1655, Tu. no-s 3232-3 and 3493 || ??σ A: M **quṭi-* (< ***quṭi?*) vt. 'cover, cover up, wrap' (← 'provide shelter?') > MM *quṭi-* [MA] {Pp.} 'wrap (with a coat, a turban, leather)', [S] {H} 'einpacken, herumhüllen', WrM *quci-* {MED} vt. 'cover, cover up; cover oneself with a blanket', HIM *хучи-* {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'cover, cover up', Brt *хуша-* id.,

WrO $\chi\mu\sigma\iota$ - vt. 'cover, dress, wrap up', Kl {KRS} $\times\psi\chi$ - id., {Rm.} $\chi\upsilon\check{\sigma}\iota$ - 'überdecken, die Decke um sich ziehen', Dg {T} $\chi\sigma\sigma\iota$ - ~ $\kappa\sigma\check{\sigma}\iota$ - vt. 'cover', Ord $g_u\check{\sigma}'\iota$ - 'couvrir (d'une couverture, de terre, etc.)', Mnr H {SM} $\chi\sigma\check{\sigma}\iota$ - 'empaqueter, emballer, envelopper' ¶ The vl. cns. $*-\check{\sigma}-$ < $*-t-$ (for the expected voiced one) still should be explained ¶ SDM 627 (err.: M from pA $*k'á\check{\sigma}'u$ 'covering, skin' [< N $*k'ä'ç'u$ 'skin']), Pp. MA 307, H 70, MED 979, BMR IV 180, Chr. 609, SM 169, Ms. O 318, Krg. 29, KRS 617, KW 200, T DgJ 150, 178, MYC 395, SM 169.

1908. *qUyigŋU (or ***qigŋU**) 'cold' > K $*qigŋ-$ 'freeze, feel cold' > OG, G $qin-$ id., Mg $\varsigma in-$, Lz $qin-$ ~ $in-$, Sv $qgəŋ-/qəgŋ-$ id. ¶¶ K 212, K² 243, Chik. 190, FS K 371, FS E 416-17 || **U** $*k'∇'ŋ'∇-$ ≈ be cold, freeze' > Sm {Jn.} $*k'əŋ(t∇)-$ 'kalt werden', Ne T $\times\grave{a}\grave{n}\acute{y}\acute{y}$ $h\grave{a}\acute{n}\acute{y}\acute{y}$ adj. 'gefroren', Slq Tz {HL} $q\bar{u}\acute{n}\acute{t}$ 'frost', Kms $k'ān-$ 'frieren' ¶ $*-ŋ-$ < $*-yŋ-$ || pY {IN H} $*qanč-$ > Y T {IN H} $qadū-$ 'cold', $qandē$ 'winter', $qanqa-$ 'grow cold', Y K {IN H} $qadilbō-$ 'tempered', Y T {IN H} $qadilwū-$ 'cooled', $qadilwe-$ 'get cold', $qadumu-$ 'grow cold', $qanderi-$ 'catch cold', Y: T {Krn.} $qandēŋ$ 'cold, winter' ¶¶ UEW 176-7, KKIИ 164, Cs. 224, KD 26, Krn. JJ 273, ≠ Jn. 53 ($*k'əntā|ä-$ 'frieren, erfrieren'), IN 245, ≠ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 23] (Y ← U; unc. adduction of F $kontta$ 'Starrheit, Starre') || **A** $*k'üy_∇_ŋ_∇$ (~ $*k'iy_∇_ŋ_∇?$) 'cold' > Tg $*xigū-$ 'cold' > Ewk, Neg $iŋin$ 'cold, frost', Nn KU $iŋni$ n. 'cold', WrMc {Z} $сингя$ 'severe cold, hard frost', Ewk $iŋī$ 'hoarfrost', $iŋin-$, Lm $iŋi-$, Neg $ini-$ ~ $iŋi-$ be cold', Ork $siŋgū-$ v. 'freeze', Nn Nh {On.} $siŋgu-$ 'become numb with cold (коченеть)' (a dead body), {STM} $siŋgū-$ vi. 'abkühlen', Orc $iŋzni$, Ud $iŋinzhi$, Ul $siŋgu(n-)$ adj. 'cold', Nn Nh $siŋmū:$ {STM} 'cool', {On.} 'shade, a cool place' ¶ In the words with s- there may have been coalescence with N ***šūñigo** 'snow' ¶ STM I 321, On. 363, Z 594-5 || M $*küyi-ten$ (or $*köyi-ten??$) 'cold' > MM [MA, LM] $küyten$, [HI] {Ms.} $köyiten$, [S] {H} $koyiten$ id., WrM $küiten$ {MED} n., adj. 'cold', n. 'frost', HIM $\times\grave{y}\acute{t}\acute{e}\acute{n}$ {MED, BMR} id., Brt $\times\grave{y}\acute{t}\acute{e}(n)$ id., Kl {KRS} $киитн$ id., {Rm.} $kītŋ$ 'kalt, Kälte', Dx $kuičjēn$, Dg {Mr.} $kūyten$ 'cold', Mnr H {SM} $k'ūīd_jän$ 'froid, le froid', {T} $kuīten$ adj. 'cold', 'холодно', Ba $kitaŋ$ id., Ord $k'ūt'ön$ ~ $k'ūyt'en$ n. 'froid' ¶ Ms. H 73, Pp. MA 226, Pp. L II 69, H 105, MED 498, BMR IV 183, Chr. 615-16, KW 234, SM 210, T 341, T BJ 141, T DnJ 124, Mr. D 31, Ms. O 441 || T $*Kuyaŋ$ 'rheumatism' > Tkm $qoyaŋ$, ET Δ, Tv $quyaŋ$ id., Qzq {Rl.} $quyaŋ$, Qq, Qrg {Jud.} $quyaŋ$ {Jud.} 'ischias', Tf $huyaŋ$ 'rheumatism of the back' ¶ ET Q 30-1, Rl. II 902-3, 52, Jud. 457 || pKo {S} $*k_jə́nír$ 'winter' > MKo $k_jə́nír$ ~ $k_jə́nár$ ~ $k_jə́ar$, NKo $k_jəul$ ¶ S QK no. 210,

Nam 42, MLC 112 || pJ {S} *kəyu- > OJ k_uo_yu- vi. freeze' ¶ S QJ no. 1194, Mr. 711 ¶¶ The adduction of M is questionable phonetically (absence of traces of pA *ŋ) ¶¶ SDM 803 (pA *k'j_oyŋo > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1054, S AJ 53-4, 290, Oz. NM 82-4 || D *kin|ŋ|ŋ- ({ǵGS} *k-) 'cold' > Klm kinani, kinām 'cold', Gnd kinan id. ¶¶ D no. 1601 || Gil: Gil A kəŋ- v. 'freeze' ¶¶ ST 126 ◇ IS MS 371 (*q̄i' r' ŋ 'cold'), IS SS no. 7.5, Blz. L no. 26a, Gr. II no. 354 (*kōŋ 'snow') (Sm, M, Tg, J kōgōr-, Ai, Gil, CK, EA) ◇ If the pA rec. of DQA and the M, T, Ko and J cognates are valid, the N rec. is *q̄yigŋU. Otherwise it is *q̄igŋU.

1909. *q̄ûƷka|æ (or *q̄ûkƷa|æ) 'to squat' > K *quq- id. > G K/Ms quq- id. ('sich kauern, sich [auf dem Boden] hocken'), Sv q̄q̄w- 'squat' ¶¶ K² 247, Chx. 1742-3, GhI. 618 || HS: S *^o✓k̄ŷy v. 'squat' > Ar ✓q̄ŷy *Sh* (pf. ʔaqqā) 'être assis le derrière sur le sol' (of dogs and other carnivorous animals), 'être assis\accroupi de manière à avoir le fondement sur le sol, le dos appuyé contre qch. et les jambes dressées', 's'asseoir de manière que le fondement porte sur les talons ou sur le sol' ¶ BK II 785 ¶¶ A possible phonetic prehistory of S: N *q̄ûƷka|æ > (ass. uvularization of *k) *q̄uƷqa > (as.) *q̄uƷa > S *^o✓k̄ŷy || IE: NaIE *^ok|k̄eug|ḡ- v. 'squat' > ON húka 'to squat (kauern)', MHG hūchen id., NHG hocken 'to crouch, to squat' ¶ P 589, Vr. 265-6, Lx. 94 || D *kukk- ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'sit, squat' > Tm kũkkũ id., Kt kuki·r- 'sit down', Kn kũkkar isũ v. 'squat', Tl kũkũŋdũ v. 'sit', Kui kopka (< *kok-p̄) / p. kōkt- v. 'sit, sit down', Ku kug- v. 'sit' ¶¶ D *-kk- < N *-Ʒk- ¶¶ D no. 1628.

1910. *qaL∇ 'neck' > HS: C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} q̄lma (pl. q̄lím), Xm T {CR} q̄l̄mā 'neck'; hardly here Ag {AD} *^o✓k̄r̄m throat, nape' (> Bln {R} kirmā 'Hals und Nacken', see N *kôrih|χû 'throat, neck') || EC: Kns {BISO} xolm-ā, Msl {Bl.} xolma 'neck' (x- < EC *k- with a puzzling deglottalization *k̄- > *k-), Sa, Af kalma, Ya kilimi? 'uvula' || SC: Kz kolima 'nape' ¶ BISO 215, E K 13, Blz. CWL no. 58, Blz. CL 179, CR Kh s.v. q̄l̄mā, R WB 227, PH 143 || K *q̄el- 'neck' > OG q̄el-i id., G q̄el-i 'throat, neck of a vessel', Mg Ʒal- 'neck, neck of a vessel' (→ o-Ʒal-eš- 'collar'), Lz (q̄)al- Ʒ Ʒal- 'neck', Sv d. m̄-q̄l-a 'neck, throat' ¶¶ K 209, K² 238, FS K 365-6, FS E 410 || IE: NaIE *kol-sō- 'neck' > OL collus, L collum id. || Gt hals (· τράχυλος) 'Hals', ON, NNr, Sw, OFrs, OSx, OHG hals, NHG Hals, AS heals 'neck' | Lt kãklas 'neck', Ltv kakls id., 'throat' ({Ndr.}: < NaIE *k^ωol-tlo-) ¶ EI 392 (*^lkolsō-s), Vr. 206, Fs. 241-2, Ho. 151, Kb. 427, Schz. 158, KM 285, WH I 245, Frn. 205; ≈ WP I 514-15 and P 639 (unc. *k^ωol-sō- ←d *k^ωel- 'drehen').

1911. (2?) *gola 'to kill' > K *^oq^w∇l- v. 'kill' > Mg ɣvil- ɖ ɣviy-, Lz qvil- ~ ɣvil- ~ ɣil- ~ yil- ~ -il- v. 'kill' ¶ Chik. 353, Schm. 119, Q 418 || HS: C *k^ʷ∇l- > EC *k^ʷal- v. 'slaughter' (× N *k^ʷaLɣa 'cut, hew, chop, stab', q.v. ffd.; lack of the expected labialization [*k^ʷ-] is due to this contamination) || D *kol(ɫ)- ({ʃGS} *k-) v. 'kill' > Tm kol, Ml kolluka, Kn kol, kolu, kollu v. 'kill\murder', Kt kol 'act of killing', Td kwaly 'murder', Kdg koll-, Krg koru, Tl kolli v. 'kill'; the heritage of this N word may have also influenced D *kol-, {ʃGS} *g^ol- v. 'strike, hit', whence Tm kōl 'killing, murder' (see N *K^ol|Ía 'beat, strike') ¶¶ D no. 2132 ◇ IS MS 370 (*q^o(H)lɫ 'kill' > K, D + *÷ IE *g^ʷe_LH₁l- v. 'torture, die' [see N *kolpa 'to die; end'] and U *kōla- v. 'die'), ≠ Cald. 593 (D ÷ R κοπω 'I stab' and NE kill, quell [see N *kolpa), 618 (D, U: F kuole etc.) ◇ SI *kól-ti 'to slaughter' hardly belongs here because its acute intonation indicates an IE √ with a lr. It is probably a sd. from SI *kól-ti 'to stab\prick' (< IE *kelə- < N *k^ʷaLɣa '↑', q.v.).

1912. *g'U'l'U' 'boy, child' > K: Sv L qlaw- 'child, boy' (× N *r'ogU1∇ [or *H₂o qU1∇] 'offspring, child'?) ¶ Dn. s.v. qlaw-, ≠ K² 243-4 (unc.: Sv *q^l- < K *q^{le}- 'penis') || HS: Ch {Stl.} *χolu 'young man, slave' > WCh: P' h^walin-čiki, 'slave', ? Lgn yule-mazé 'slave', yuke-g^wašî 'girl', ? Glv {Rp.} yúla 'bride', Klr {J} hál 'child'] ??φ Ch *g'aw'1∇ > WCh: Diri galu, Cg gālun, Wrj galū-zəz-na, Kry, My galu-zəhəz 'slave' || CCh: FIJ mu-gula 'slave', Lgn {Lk.} ḡoli ', Ydn {Cfr} wòlè 'child', Mf {BLB} g^wala, Mada {BrrB} gawla ~ guwla 'young man', MfG gúwla id. (with connotation of sexual power) ¶ Stl. IF 107, 289, JI II 74-5, BLB 158, BrrB 118, Brr. MG II 121, Cfr Y s.v. wòlè, ChC s.v. 'slave' || ? S: Ar χall-at- 'one-year-old young of a camel' ¶ BK I 608 ¶¶ HS de-glottalization: N *q- > **q- > Ch *χ- || A *k'u1E 'servant, slave' (× N *ku1∇ 'to work') > NaT *Kul 'slave, servant' > OT, MQp qul '(male) slave', Tk kul, Tkm, Az gul, Qzq қул qul, Qmq, QrB, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET, Shor, Tv, Qzg qul, VTt, Bsh q^ol 'slave', Xk xul, Yk kuluṭ 'slave, servant', Tf hul 'hired farm labourer'; T ⇨ NPrs {Dr.} قول yūl 'slave', G quli 'slave, hired servant' (× G quli 'coolie' ⇨ R 'кули id. ⇨ NE coolie ⇨ Tl kūlī 'hired labourer, coolie') ¶ Cl. 615, ET Q 120, TL 318, Ra. 191, TvR 263, Rl. II 966, Dr. TM III no-s 1519 and 1572 || Tg *kelūme, *ke_L:₁le 'servant, working person' > Ewk kəlməz id., Lm Ol/Al kəlməz 'servant, slave', Lm A kəlməz, Ork kəlməz 'industrious, hard-working, assiduous' ¶ STM I 447 || ?φ M: Kl {Rm.} kelṅ 'Slave, Gefangener' ¶ KW 224 ¶¶ The vw. in Tg *kelūme, *ke_L:₁le and in Kl kelṅ may be explained by regr. as. in pA *ku1E ¶¶

Th pA cns. *k- (for the expected *k'-) may be explained by the infl. of N *ku1∇ ¶¶ The vw. e of the initial syll. in Tg *kelūme, *keḷḷe and in Kl kelḷ is probably due to regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 735-6 (pA *kū1∇ 'servant, slave' [with unj. long vw.] > Tg, T, M) || D *kūli ({ʕGS} *k-) 'working for wages' (× N *ku1∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Doubtful, because the supposed Sv, A and D cognates have alt. etymologies, while the Ch rec. is rather shaky. N *1 and *U (of the first syll.) are valid reconstructions unless the labialized vw. and *1 in NaT *k'ul and D *kūli belong to the heritage of *ku1∇ 'to work'.

1913. *qUḷḷḷḷ∇ 'speak, call' > HS: WS *-ḷḷ- v. 'speak' > Amr {G} ✓ ḷḷ v. 'speak', Ar ✓ qḷḷ G (ip. ya-qūl-u) v. 'say', qaḷḷ- 'saying' (n.act.), 'word', Mh ḷḷ 'speech, ḷḷḷḷ 'improviser of poetry, singer'; ?? S *ḷḷ- 'voice' > Ph, OA ḷḷ, BA, Gz ḷḷ, Sr ḷḷ-ā, Md ḷḷḷḷ id., Ug ḷḷ 'voice, cry, thunder', Hb ḷḷḷḷ 'voice, noise, noise made by animals', Ar qḷḷ- n. act. 'saying', 'speech', Gz ḷḷ 'voice, speech, word', Tgr, Tgy ḷḷ 'word' ¶ Br. 651, G A 29, Fr. III 516, BK II 836-7, Hv. 634, Jo. M 246, KB 1013-15, KBR 1084-5, 1774, OLS 365-6, L G 426 || ??ḷ Eg ḷḷḷ 'crier', Eg fO ḷḷ 'says he, says N', Eg NK ḷḷḷḷ 'utterance (of a god, of a king), oracle' (ḷ < HS *q, deglottalized *ḷ) (× N *gor∇ 'cry, speak') ¶ AnC-1 10 || C: EC: Sa {R} -ḷḷ- ~ -kaḷ- v. 'say, think (sagen, meinen)' (p. 'aḷḷḷ ~ 'aḷḷḷ, pres. 'aḷḷḷ ~ 'aḷḷḷ ~ 'aḷḷḷ); HEC *kuḷ- v. 'tell' (de-glottalization *ḷ- > *k- due to contamination with N *k'a'ḷḷ'E' 'call [appeler], shout?') > Sd, Kmb, Ged kuḷ-, Hd kur- 'tell' || SC: Kz ḷḷḷḷ 'voice' ¶ R S II 232, Hd. 150, C SE II 209 (Sd kuḷ-, Hd kur- 'dire, raccontare'), E SC 268 || Ch.: ? ECh: Kbl {Cp.} kuḷḷḷ, Li {Grgs} kóḷḷ, Smr {J} ḷḷḷ 'word', Ke {Eb.} kḷ 'Worte', whence Kbl ḷḷḷ kuḷḷḷ, Li ḷḷḷ kóḷḷ, Ke ḷḷḷ kḷ 'talk' ('say words') ¶ ChC s.v. 'word' and 'talk', Eb. 64, Cp. KL, J KKS, J LS, Grgs L s.v. kóḷḷ, Lk. ZSS 147-9 || K: [1] Sv UB ḷḷ li-ḷḷ 'to say sth.', pres. ḷḷḷ, ipf. ḷḷḷ, narrative pres. ḷḷ-m-ḷḷḷḷḷ (GP mentioned the ip. ft. form iḷḷḷḷḷḷ, but it fails to indicate whether it belongs together with the masdar li-ḷḷ 'to crow' [of cocks] or with li-ḷḷ 'to say sth.'), Sv LB (verbal noun of result) naḷḷ 'called' ¶ GP 120, 177, 204, 231, 271 || [2] K *ḷḷ- v. 'cry, shout' > Sv {Ni.} ḷḷ- id., Sv UB {GP} ḷḷ- v. 'moo', G G {Ghl.} rdp. ḷḷḷḷ-i 'howling of wolves\dogs' (× K *ḷḷ- howl' < N *ḷḷḷḷ∇ 'to bark, to howl; to cry\shout'); but G ḷḷḷ- 'cry' is likely to belong to N *ḷḷḷḷ∇ only ¶¶ ≈ K 211 (adducing G ḷḷḷ- v. 'cry' and reconstructing K *ḷḷḷḷ-), ≈ K² 246 (*ḷḷḷ-), Ghl. 617, Chx. 599, IS MS 345 (K *ḷḷḷḷ- / ḷḷḷḷ(i)r-) || D (att. in SD) *k'uḷḷḷḷ- ({ʕGS} *k-) v. 'cry out' > Tm kuḷḷḷḷ v. 'howl, yell', Kn kiḷḷḷḷ,

kiḷir v. 'sound, neigh', *keḷar* v. 'cry out, roar'; * ÷ Tm *kuḷar* u, Ml *kuḷaruka* v. 'stammer' ¶ D no. 1831 || E {HK} *ku-la* 'das Rufen, Bittflehen', *ku-la-a* 'das Anrufen, Bittflehen', *gú-lu* 'bittflehend' ¶¶ HK 509-11, 560-2 || A: NaT **koḷi-* v. 'ask for' (× N **goṽ* 'look for, wish', [?] 'look') > OT, MQp, Chg ≥xv *qol-*, Kr *qol-*, SY *qol-* ~ *q'ol-* 'ask for', ds: Qrg *qoluqtu*, ET *qulašliq* 'bride' (← *'asked in marriage'); it is not clear if NaT **koḷi-* 'ask' (> Kr *qoltqa* ~ *qoltxa* 'a request', Tv *koldan-* v. 'ask') belongs here ¶ Cl. 616-17, ET Q 36-7, Rs. W 277, KRPS 369, TvR 246 || ?? pKo {S} **kàró-* 'say' (× N **ḲAyila* 'shout, call' and N **ḲEHî* 'tongue', q.v. ffd.) || U: pY {IN H} **qol-* (× N **Ḳehu'h'lüHê* 'hear') > Y K {IN} *qol-il* 'sound (sonus)', {Krn.} *χολιλ* 'sound of a knock (CTYK)', {Iox. → Ang.} *χολιλ* 'Geräusch, Laut, Klopfen, Läuten' (-l is a nominal sx), OT {Suv.} -*qoluyqe* 'sound', Y K {IN H} *qolinî-* 'make noise', ? {Iox.} *xolnir-aríne-* 'speak' ¶ IN H 384, IN UJ 246 (IN supposed that Y *qol-il* is related to FU **kūle* 'hear; ear'), Krn. JJ 284, Ang. 256, ≠ Rd. UJ 38 [no. 24] (Y ← U **kūle*) ◇ IS SS no. 7.8 and IS MS 345 (**qul* in HS and K), Blz. L no. 100c (suggesting to add Glf). A N Ir. *? can explain -?- in Kz and the vowel length in K **qūl-*.

1914. **qawol* ▽ 'leg, bone of a limb' > HS: NrOm: Anf {Gt.} *kelli* 'bone' ¶ Gt. 354 || Ch: CCh: ? Glf {Röd.} *kel* 'foot', {AF} *kalé* 'feet', ?? Afd {Sö.} *kullám* 'Hüfte' || ? ECh: Tmk {Cp.} *dégál* 'foot, leg', Nd D {J} *dágál* 'leg', Smr {J} *dégálán* 'foot, leg', {Nc.} *dígél-an* 'my leg', {AF} *degel-ám* 'thy leg' ¶ Blz. DA no. 39 analyzed the ECh forms as having a px **d* ▽ - ¶ JI II 221, ChC s.v. 'foot' and 'leg', Lk. ZSS 77, 147-8, Sö. 261, Cp. 117, J KKS, J LS s.v. *dégálán* || ?σ B **ḡil-* / **ḡall-* 'arm' (if **ḡ* < HS **ḡ+χ*) (× N ?φ ≈ **goḡ'H'äl* ▽ [~ mt.: N **gol'H'ñ* ▽] 'forearm', q.v. ffd.) > Ah, BSn *aḡil* (pl. *iḡallən*), BMn *ḡil*, Izn *aḡil*, Gd *āḡil* (pl. *ḡallən*) 'arm', Zng {TC} *iḡy* 'avant-bras' ¶ Fc. 1719, Lf. II no. 1219, TC D 4, TC Z 310 || ? C: ? EC: Dsn *gíl* 'hand' ¶ To. DL 500 || K: GZ {K} **qwliw-*, {FS} **qwil-* 'ε bone' (× N **ḡ'ul'ḡyU* 'hollow] stalk, reed, hollow [tubular] bone') > G {DCh., Chik.} *ḡvliw-* 'shoulder bone (humerus)', G I/R *ḡvliw-* 'large bone, shin', Mg *ḡvil-*, *ḡvil-e* 'bone, arm', Lz *ḡvil-i* ḡ *ḡil-i* ḡ *il-i* 'bone' ¶ K 211-12, K² 242, FS K 370, FS E 415, Ghl. 609, Chik. 71, DCh. 1379 || IE: [11] NaIE **kaul-* / **kul-* 'hollow bone', (?) 'leg' (× N **ḡ'ul'ḡyU* '↑'), → μφ 'stalk' > Lt *káulas*, Ltv *kaũls*, Pru *caulan* 'bone' || Gk *καυλός* 'stem (of a plant); spear shaft; tubular structures in animals (e.g., quill part of a feather); hilt (of a sword)' || L *caulis*, *caulus* 'stalk of a plant (esp. that of cabbage plant), quill of a feather' || OIr *cúaille* 'poteau' (< d. **kaulīnyo-*) | NaIE zero grade: OI Λ

kulyam 'bone' (M K has doubts about the real existence of this word), OI [MBh] kulyam 'a receptacle for bones left from a burnt corpse' (if = *kul'ya- 'place for bones' < *'kulya- 'bone'), Vd mahā-kulā- 'eine große Höhlung habend (?) || Gmc *xol- > ? ON holr, OHG, AS hol, NHG hohl 'hollow', NE hollow; Gt inf. us-hulōn (·λατομεῖν) 'aushöhlen', ON inf. hola, AS inf. (ā)-holian, OHG inf. holōn 'to hollow out' (unless it belongs to IE *k[̄]ew- 'hollow') || [2] NaIE *k_lω_lel- 'limb' > Sl *čelnъ 'limb, joint of a limb' > ChS ΥΛΑΝЪ članъ 'limb' ('articulus') & ΥΛΕΝЪ člěnъ id., 'part of body', OR čelonъ, McdS член, Cz člen id., P czołn id., 'part', Slv člěn 'joint, limb'; in ChS and in the modern Sl lges there is a secondary meaning 'member' || Gk κῶλον 'limb', 'bodily member' (esp. 'leg') ¶ M E I 377, ME II 175-6, M K I 242-3, WH I 188-9, F I 802-3 and II 60-1, Vr. 248, Ho. 168, Kb. 475-6, Schz. 168, KM 314, Fs. 533, P 537, ≠ 639-40, ≈ Vn. C 260-1 (OIr cúaille < cúal 'fagot' ÷ Gk καυλός 'stem of a plant', L caulis 'stalk of a plant'), Frn. 230, En. 191, Tr. P I-K 273-8, Bern. I 139-40, Mikl. L 1119, SPS II 125-6, ESSJ IV 44-5, Me. SC § 81, Srz. III 1536, Vs. IV 369-70, ≠ EI 542 (Blt < *kau_llo-s 'stalk') ¶ The meaning 'joint of a limb' in Sl may go back to an ancient association with Sl *kolěno 'knee' (akin to Lt kelū̃s, Ltv celiš 'knee') || A *k'olē 'limb (leg, arm)' > T *Kōl 'arm' > OT qōl ({Cl.} qōl), Chg, MQp, OOsM qōl, Tk kol, Az, Tkm, Slr qōl 'arm', Qzq, ET qōl, Yk xōl 'hand, arm, foreleg', Ggz kul, ET, Qq, Qmq, QrB, Qrg, StAlt, Shor qōl, Bsh quḷ, Tf qōl 'hand, arm', VTt quḷ 'arm, foreleg', Xk xōl id., 'arm', Nog, Blq qōl 'arm, hand', Uz qōl, Xlj {DT} qōl, Chv L {Fed.} xul, Chv Δ {Fed.} xol xōl 'shoulder, arm', Chv {Ash.} xul 'arm', Chv Δ {Ash.} xulǎ 'shoulder' ¶ IS AG 340 (on pT fortis *k'- presumably evidenced by Tv x- and the variation q- ~ g- in Og), Cl. 614-15, ET Q 37-43, ADb. SR 146-53, 199-215, Ra. 220, Sht. 265, Ash. XVI 145, 149, Jeg. 303, Fed. I 353, Jeg. 303, ChVS 253 || M *kōl 'leg, foot' > MM [MA, IsV] kōl, MMgl, WrM {MED} kōl, HIM {MED, BMR} xol, Brt xul id., Kl {KRS} kōl 'нога', {Rm.} kōl 'Fuß', Mgl {Rm.} kōl id., Mnr H {T} kol 'нога', {SM} k'ūor 'pied, patte, jambe de derrière de certains animaux', Mnr M {T} kōf, Dg {T} kuli 'нога', Ba kul id., Ord k'ōl 'pied, jambe' ¶ Pp. MA 221, Lg. VMI 51, Iw. 113, Rm. M 30, MED 483-4, BMR IV 131-2, Chr. 616-17, KRS 313-14, KW 237, SM 214, T 340, T BJ 141, T DgJ 31, Ms. O 426 || Tg *xoldan 'thigh, side (of body)' > Ewk Y oldōn 'thigh', Ewk oldōn, Sln oldō, Lm oldān, Neg oldon, Orc ogdo(n), Ul, Ork, Nn Bk xoldo(n), Nn Nh xoldō 'side of body, side']? Tg **xul∇- (attested in derivatives: (1) Tg *xul∇-kse 'sleeve' > Nn

Nh {STM, On.} $\chi\upsilon\kappa\varsigma\epsilon$, Orc $u\kappa\varsigma\epsilon$, Ud {Krm.} $uki\eta\epsilon$, Ul $\omega\varsigma\kappa\epsilon \sim \widehat{u}\zeta\kappa\epsilon$, Ork $\omega\varsigma\kappa\epsilon$, Ewk, Neg $\bar{u}\kappa\varsigma\epsilon$, Lm $\acute{o}s$ id.; (2) ? Tg d. $\approx *_{\chi}\chi_{\downarrow}ul\downarrow\text{-}ki_{\downarrow}l_{\downarrow}$ 'sleeve' > Sln $ut\check{c}il \sim u\check{c}il$, WrMc {Z} $\uparrow\lambda\chi\iota$, Mc Sb {Y} $\vepsilon\iota\lambda\iota\chi\iota$ id. ¶ STM II 13, 254, On. 466, 484, Ci. EApk 96-7, Z 161, Y no. 228, Krm. 300, Bz. 977 (* $\chi\bar{o}$ - $\kappa\varsigma\acute{\alpha}$ 'sleeve') || pKo {S} * $k\acute{u}i\text{-}m\grave{e}r\acute{i}$ 'ankle' (lit. 'leg head') > MKo $k\acute{u}i\text{-}m\grave{e}r\acute{i}$ ¶ Nam 65 || pJ {S} * $kuru\text{-}n\text{-}pusi$ 'ankle' > JT $kur\acute{u}bu\acute{s}i$, JK $k\acute{u}r\acute{u}b\acute{u}s\acute{i}$, J Kg $kurubu\acute{s}\acute{i}$ id. ¶ S QJ no. 798, Mr. 465, Kenk. 1116 ¶¶ SDM 831-2 (pA * $k^{\circ}\check{o}y\lambda i$ 'limb, extremity' [with unjustified * y] > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1112 (id.), SDM97 (s.v. * $k^{\circ}oli$), S AJ 286, S QJ no. 798, Ci. EApk 96-7, ADb. SR 316, TL 243, 245 || D {tr., GS} * $k\bar{a}l\text{-}$ '≈ leg, foot' > Tm, Ml $k\bar{a}l$, Kt $ka^{\cdot}l$, Td $ko^{\cdot}l$, Kdg $ka^{\cdot}l\iota$, Tu $k\bar{a}r\ \epsilon$, Tl $k\bar{a}l\ \upsilon$, Klm $k\bar{a}l$, Kui $k\bar{a}d\upsilon$ 'leg, foot', Kn $k\bar{a}l$ 'foot, leg down to the knee', Prj $k\bar{e}l$, Gnd, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku $k\bar{a}l$ 'leg' ¶¶ D no. 1479, GS 31 [no. 32] ◇ The meaning 'arm' (attested in B and T) is secondary: 'limb, leg (of an animal)' → 'arm' ◇ An alt. N rec. with an internal *E (N * $qawE\downarrow$) is suggested by K * $q\omega\iota l\text{-}$ and B * $y\bar{i}l\text{-}$ ◇ The rec. of N *- $aw\text{-}$ is based on NaIE * $ka\upsilon l\text{-}$ and D * $k\bar{a}l\text{-}$, but the prehistory of pA *- $o\text{-}$ (here supposedly from *- $aw\text{-}$) is still to be investigated ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 40] and Blz. NDA no. 39 (in both: D, HS [without B], IE, K, M, Tg).

1915. * $qA\downarrow | \acute{i}Ab|p\downarrow$ (? *'to cover' →) 'to hide, to conceal' ([in descendant lges] → 'to steal', 'to lie, to deceive') > K: G $qalb\text{-}$ v. 'cheat, deceive, lie', $qalb\text{-}i$ 'false, fake' ¶ Chx. 1663-4, DCh. 1372 || HS: S * $\check{o}\chi lb$ > Ar $\check{\chi} lb$ G (pf. $\chi alaba$, ip. $-\chi lub\text{-}$) {BK} 'tromper par des paroles caressantes', {Ln.} 'endeavour to deceive\beguile with blandishing speech', D (pf. $\chi allaba$) 'deceive', L (pf. $\chi \bar{a}laba$) id.; Ar CA $\chi elb\bar{a}ti$ 'liar' ⇨ EDng {Fd.} $k\bar{a}lb\bar{a}t\acute{i}n\grave{a}\omega$ 'a lie' and $k\bar{a}lb\bar{a}t\acute{i}n\grave{e}$ 'liar'; S * $\check{o}\chi < *q$ (de-emphatization of N * q) ¶ BK I 609, Ln. 782, Hv. 179, Fd. 276 || ?? Eg fXIX $k\check{z}p$ v. 'hide oneself' (× N * $\check{K}ER\downarrow p\downarrow$ 'to cover' [→ 'roof']) > DEg $k\check{z}p$ 'verbergen, sich verstecken' > Cpt Sd $k\omega n$ $k\bar{o}p$, Cpt B $\chi\omega n$ $k^h\bar{o}p$ vi. 'hide, be hidden', vt. 'hide'. The initial k may be explained by dis. * $\check{K}\downarrow\text{-}$ > $k\check{z}$ (or to HS de-emphatization?) ¶ EG V 103-4, Fk. 28, Er. 53, Crum 113-14, Vc. 84 || IE: NaIE * $klep\text{-}$ v. 'hide, conceal' → 'steal' > Gk $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ v. 'steal', pfc. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$; $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ {By} 'vol (theft), larcin' || L $clep\text{-}\bar{o}$, $-\check{e}re$ / $clepsi$ / $cleptum$ v. 'conceal oneself, steal' || Gt inf. $hlifan$ (· $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'stehlen' || OIr $cl\acute{u}ain$ (< * $klopni\text{-}$) 'ruse, tromperie, flatterie' || Pru $auklipts$ (< * $kl\omicron pt\acute{o}s$) 'concealed' || Tc B $k\check{a}lyp\text{-}$ v. 'steal', $k\check{le}pe$ '≈ theft' ¶ WP I 497, P 604 (unjustified rec. of * $\check{k}\text{-}$), ≈ σ EI 595 (* $klep\text{-}$ '≈ lay hand to'), By 1099, Dv. no. 547, WH I 232-3, F I 870-1, Vn. C 126, Fs. 263, En. 147, Tp. P A-

D 149-50, Wn. I 203, Ad. 175-6, Ad. H 16, 34-6, 42 || D *ka_lav-, *ka_l-
 ({ǵGS} *k-) v. 'steal, deceive' > Tm ka_l- v. 'rob, steal, deceive', Ml ka_lavv
 'theft, lie, cheat', ka_lku_kka v. 'steal', Kt ka_lv-, Td ko_l-, Kn ka_l-, Kdg ka_l-,
 Mnd ka_r- 'steal', Tu ka_lv 'false, untrue; fraud, cheating, lie', ka_lavv
 'theft, robbery', Tl kalla 'falsehood, lie, deceit', Krx xa_r-nā v. 'steal', xalb
 'theft', Krx xalbas 'theft', xalbas 'thief', Mlt qale v. 'steal', qalwī 'theft',
 qalwe 'thief' ¶¶ D no. 1372 ¶¶ The variant *ka_lav- is likely to be primary.

1916. *on.?* *q^oLûp^ʔü 'to gulp, to swallow' > K *q_lap- / *q_lp- v.
 'swallow' > G q_lap-, Mg řulip-, Sv q_lp- v. id. ¶¶ K² 243 || HS: S *^o✓k_lp_lʔ, ~
 *^o✓k_lp_h id. > Ar ✓qlf_h v. 'avaler tout', Gz ✓k_lp G 'devour, swallow, catch
 with the mouth sth. that has been thrown'; EthS b→ Sa {R} qulūb pp.
 'verschlungen, verschluckt mit Hast' ¶ BK II 805, L G 429, R S II 232-3 || ??
 Eg RT χ₃f ≈ essen von etw.', Eg fP χ₃ff '≈ ∈ food', Eg P/BD/G χ₃t
 'mealtime, meal', {Fk.} 'food' ¶ These words may belong here if χ- goes
 back to *q- resulting from pHS deglottalization of *q- ¶ EG III 230-1, 271,
 Fk. 190 || IE: NaIE *^ogh_hleub- > Gmc *gleup- > Dn inf. gylpe, gulpe, Frs
 E, MDt inf. gulpen 'to swallow eagerly' (> Dt gulpen) b→ ME inf.
 gulpen > NE v. gulp; Sw glupande, Dn glubende 'voracious' ¶ Hlq. I
 288, Vr. N 226 || A: M *^oqölbü- > WrM kölbü- {MED} 'swallow without
 chewing, gulp', HIM xəlbə- {MED, BMR} id., ?φ Brt xγлд (ideophone for
 gulping) ¶ MED 484, BMR IV 132, Chr. 617 ◇ IE *b, M *b and Eg f point to a
 N *p. G and Gz p are likely to go back to the N cluster *pʔ, but ħ in Ar
 ✓qlf_h remains puzzling (an ext.?). IE *^ogh_h- still remains unexplained. K *-
 a- may be interpreted as suggesting a pN *q^oL^ap^ʔü with an IE
 metathesis explaining its root-internal *-e_u- < N *û.

1917. *qULp▽ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot
 stones' > K *qwelp- 'hot ashes' > OG řuelp-, G řvelp-, Mg řvalp- id., Sv
 qwelp 'ashes' ¶¶ GZ *ř- (for the expected *q-) is puzzling; K² 240 suggests
 a possible ppK *q- (presumably yielding GZ *ř- and Sv q-), but it is at
 variance with the external comparative ev. ¶¶ K KE 21, K² 240, FS K 368, FS
 E 413, Abul. 464 || A: T *k'ül (or **k_ul) 'ashes, cinders' (× N *k▽ʔû_l▽
 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook', q.v. ffd.) > OT kü_l 'ashes, cinders',
 MQp XIII, [CC] XIV, XwT XIV, Chg XV kü_l, Tkm kü_l, Tk kü_l, Az κγ_l kü_l, Ggz,
 ET, Ln, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, ET, Qmn, Tb, Ln, Xk, Yk kü_l, Uz
 кγ_l kul^ʔ, SY kul^ʔ, Xlj kü_l ~ kul, Slr kul, VTt, Bsh κə_l k_l^o, Tv xül, Tf hül,
 Chv L κě_l k_l, Chv H k_l^o 'ashes' ¶ Cl. 715, DTS 325, Rs. W 307, ET KQ 137-
 8, Md. 43, 171, Ash. VII 234-6, Fed. I 269-70, Jeg. 104, ChVS 83 || HS: Eg

(× HS √c̣rp [> S *√c̣rp 'burn'] and N *qoRb∇ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' [q.v.]): Eg Md ʒʒf v. 'heat\boil swine blood', {DW} ʒʒf 'burnt (or overroasted) meat', ? Eg fN ʒʒf vt. 'burn' (e.g. 'burn meat\myrrh as sacrifice; burn houses, ships, enemies'), ? DEg ʒf, Cpt Sd/Bʒuf, ʒof vt. 'burn' ¶ EG V 522, DW 995, Er. 677, Vc. 333, Tk. I 60 || S *°√ḳlb > Ar √qlb *Sh* (pf. ʔaqlaba) 'be baked from one side' (of bread), ? √qlb *G* 'become red' (of ripening dates) (if ← *'get singed by the sun'), ?? قَلْبَةٌ *qulb-at-* 'couleur rouge intense' ¶ BK II 796-7, Hv. 622-3 ◇ The loss of the pN final *-p∇ in pT is still to be explained.

1918. *qU'í|E 'penis' > K {K, K²} *qle-, {FS} *qal- 'penis' > G qle-, Mg ʔole-, Lz qole ʔ ole- ʔ qole 'penis', ?? (× N *'r'ogU1∇ → *h₂o qU1∇ 'offspring, child') Sv qlaw- 'male baby' ¶¶ K 212, K² 243-4, FS K 362 || HS: NrOm: Anf {Gt.} qalla'čo 'corona con phallus (portata dal re)'; Bdt {C} qolobō 'membro virile', {Hw.} qo'loppo 'testicles' (× N *ḲEHUy1'ü' or *ḲEHUy1'ü' 'testicles', q.v.) ¶ C SO 63, Hw. NKL 215, Gt. 358 || CCh: BM {ChL}: Bu k^wâ1, Cb k^walæ, WMrg k^wá1, k^wʒ1, Klb k^wǎ1, Hld k^wà1u, Mrg, Wmd k^wá1, Ngx k^wʒ1 'penis' | Higi {ChL}: HgNk, Kps, HgG, FIG k^wala, HgB k^wá(1)à, HgF, FIK k^wʒ1a id. | BB: Mln {ChL} k^wá1ò, Nz k^wʒrʒ id. | Lgn M {Bou., ChC} kòlí id. ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'penis' || U *kULE 'penis' > F kulli, Vo kulli, kuííi id. | Vt {SK} kú1í (≈ ku1í+) id. || Sm: Ne Kn {Bd.} hīle (≈ h+le), Kms {KD} k'í 'penis' ¶¶ SK 234, KD 30, Cs. 182; ≠ Set. FUS 55 and UEW 175 (both equate this Sm √ with FU *kóíe 'testicle(s)' [*F* s.v. N *ḲEHUy1'ü' or *ḲEHUy1'ü' id.]) || ?σ D (att. in SD) ({θGS} *k-) *kólle 'anus' > Kn gólle 'anus of males', Kdg gólle 'anus' ¶ D no. 2159 ◇ Connected with N *qaí,∇,ϑ∇ 'urinate'?

1919. *qAí|lϑ∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck' > HS: WS *√ḳlϑ 'pluck, pull out, root out, tear' > Ar √qlϑ v. *G* 'pluck, snatch off; root out (a tree), extract (stones)', Gz √ḳlϑ *G* vi. 'be torn, tear', Jb C {Jo.} ʒkʒ'tɔlaϑ 'pull up by the roots', ʒkʒ'laϑ 'be able to be pulled out' ¶ BK II 802-4, Hv. 624, L G 426, Jo. J 144 || K: Sv {Ni.} (χwa-) qlawi 'I break' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'ломать' || IE: NaIE *ḳḷḷə- 'break, cut' > Gk κλάω (ft. κλάσσω, aor. ἔκλασσα) v. 'break, break off' || (× N *kaLϑa 'cut, hew, chop, stab', q.v. ffd.) > Lt kál-ti 'to forge, to mint, to coin', Sl inf. *kó1-ti (1s pres. *kó1-0) 'to prick\stab, to slaughter' > OCS inf. κΛΑΤΗ {ESSJ} (pungere) 'stechen', {StSS} (· σφάττειν) 'закалывать, убивать', Blg 'коля v. 'prick\stab, slaughter', SCr inf. kláti / 1s pres. kòljē m, Slv inf. kláti / 1s pres.

κόλῃem id., Uk inf. ко'лоти / 1s pres. 'колю v. 'prick\stab, chop', R inf. ко'лотъ / 1s pres. ко'лю id., за-ко'лотъ 'to slaughter', Cz inf. kláti 'to prick\stab, to kill', Cz Δ inf. kláti 'to split', P inf. kłóć / 1s pres. kolę v. 'chop\split' ¶ F I 866-7, ≈ P 545, Frn. 211-2, ESSJ X 154-6, Bern. I 551-2, StSS 284, Glh. 320 || D {tr., GS} *ka]- v. 'pluck, uproot' (× N *ka]||∇ 'to debark [a tree], to remove vegetation') > Tm ka] v. 'weed, pluck', ka]a] v. 'weed, pluck out', Ml ka]a n. 'weed, tares', ka]ayuka 'get rid of, abolish', Kt ka]v- 'take\scoop out', Kn ka]e v. 'pull off', n. 'weed', Tu kalepi-, kaleru- 'strip off, remove', Kdg ka]e, Tl kalupu 'weeds', Tl kalvařam 'act of weeding', Krg ka]e ~ kale 'remove', Brh xalliṅ v. 'uproot' ¶¶ D no. 1373, GS 167 [no. 420] ◇ Because of the coalescence of N *q and *k in most descendant lges (outside K) a homonymic merger with N *ka]a '↑' (q.v.) is possible.

1920. ₂ *qa]∇,]∇ 'urinate' > HS: Eg Md χε ({EG} ηε) v. 'urinate' (unless it is a sd. of Eg fP χε v. 'throw') ¶ EG III 229 || A: T *Ka:]a- 'urinate' > OT {Cl.} qašā-n- rf. v. 'urinate' (esp. of horses), Chg, XwT, MQP qašan-, Az qašan- v. 'urinate', Tk kašan-, Nog qasan- id. (of animals); MU qašan '(?) urine', Tk kašan n. act. 'urinating' ¶ Cl. 673-4, ET KQ 348, ARL 77, DTS 431 ◇ N *q > (HS deglottalization) *q > Eg χ? ◇ Connected with N *qU'í]E 'penis'?

1921. *q'u]∇,]U '(hollow) stalk, reed, hollow (tubular) bone' > K: GZ {K} *qwliw-, {FS} *qwil- 'ε bone' (× N *qawol∇ 'leg, bone of a limb', q.v.) > G {DCh., Chik.} qvliV- 'shoulder bone (humerus)', G I/R qvliV- 'large bone, shin', Mg řvil-, řvil-e 'bone, arm', Lz qvil-i ǂ řil-i ǂ il-i 'bone' ¶ K 211-12, K² 242, FS K 370, FS E 415, Gh. 609, Chik. 71, DCh. 1379 || HS: B *✓y]l (*yala[-?]) > Ah e-yələl (pl. i-yələl-ən) 'tige (de mil, de maïs)', Gd yala[- id. ¶ Fc. 1729, Lf. II no. 1222 || IE: NaIE *ka]l-/*ku]l- 'hollow stalk, tubular bone' (× N *qawol∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || A *k'u]ô ~ *k'u]gô 'reed, rush' > Tg *χ]gu, *χ]gu-hta 'reed' > Ewk ulgukta, Neg uygokto, Orc ugukta, Ul χolgaqta,, Nn Nh/Bk χolgoqta, Nn KU olgoqta, Ork x]lduqta, WrMc {Z} y]x] id. ¶ STM II 258-9, On. 466, Z 161 || M *qulu-sun 'reed, rush' > MM [MA, IM, IsV] qulusun id., WrM qulusun {MED} id., 'bamboo', HIM {MED} x]лс, {BMR} x]лс(ан), Brt x]лһа(н) id., Kl {KRS} x]лсн x]лсън 'rush, reed', {Rm.} x]л]с] ~ x]л]с] 'Schilfrohr', Mnr H {SM} x]л]з]з 'bamboo, roseau, jonc', Ord x]л]с] 'roseau, bambou' ¶ MED 985, BMR IV 164, Chr. 600, KRS 608, KW 196, SM 182, Ms. O 368, Pp. MA 309, 445, Lg.

VMI 46 || T *^oKâ:ǰǰg_u:ǰn (most probably *^oKuǰg_u:ǰn) > OT [MhK] قشغون
 qašgūn 'tender cane used as fodder' (err. a for u?), {DK} qušgūn id.,
 {DTS} qušgūn id., {Cl.} qīšgūn 'fresh reeds which are eaten by cattle'
 ||| a further possible cognate (more qu. for semantic reasons): T *Ku:ǰga
 'sprout, rod' > Xk χυλφα 'sprouts', VTt колга қблфа 'pole (шест,
 жердь)', Chv L хулă хулъ {Ash.} 'Gerte (прут)', {ChVS} id., 'junger
 Sprößling', Chv Δ. {Ash.} холă 'Gerte' ¶ MKD 149, DTS 471, Cl. 672 (OT
 qīšgūn without justification for the rec. of i in an unvocalized text), Rs. W
 298, BIG 292, TatR 270, Ash. XVI 149, ChVS 253 || pKo {S} *kōr 'reed, rush'
 > MKo kōr, Nko {SDM} kol-p^hul ¶ S QK no. 680, Rm. SKE 121, Nam 51, MLC
 160 || ??φ pJ {S} *kɜrɜ > OJ korō 'ε reed' ¶ S QJ no. 1050 ¶ The pJ cns. *-
 r- for the expeted *-s- (from pA *-ǰ-) is still to be explained (a positional
 reflex in the precons. position?) .¶¶ SDM 848 (A *k'ulo or *k'ulgo > T
 *k'ulga, M, Tg, Ko), DQA no. 1138, STM II 259 (Tg, M, OT qušgūn), ADb.
 SR-D 10, ADb. SR 4 (M, Tg), Rm. SKE 121 (Ko, Tg, M), KW 196, Ci. EApk
 114-15 || | D *kuǰǰ- ({{ǰGS} *k-) 'stalk of leaf, stem, shaft' > Prj kulūn 'stalk
 of leaf, handle of spoon', Kui klūǰu 'handle, haft, stem, shaft' ¶¶ D no. 1807
 ◇ If the K root belongs here (in spite of its ambiguity), the N initial
 consonant is *ǰ-, otherwise it may be either *ǰ- or *k-.

1922. *ǰaǰ'ū'P ▽ 'to debark (a tree), to skin, to cut off; bark, peel' >
 HS: S: [1] S *ǰǰp (*-ǰǰp- ~ *-ǰǰp-) v. 'debark (a tree)' > MHb {Js., Lv.}
 ǰǰp G (pf. ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ, ip. -ǰǰǰ) 'peel, pare, scrape off, debark', JA
 [Trg.] {Js.}, JPA {Js.} ǰǰp G (pf. ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ) id., JEA {Sl.} ǰǰp G 'peel,
 scrape off', Sr ǰǰp G (pf. ǰǰǰ, 3m ip. ǰǰǰ) id., Ar ǰǰf G
 (pf. qalafa, ip. -ǰǰf-) 'debark (a tree)', Mh ǰǰf G (pf. ǰǰǰ), Jb C ǰǰf G
 (pf. 'ǰǰǰ) 'peel (dry sardines), debark (a tree)', Gz ǰǰf G (pf.
 ǰǰǰ, js. -ǰǰǰ) 'peel, decorticate', Ak ǰǰp G (p. -ǰǰp) vt. 'peel, peel
 off, skin'; S *ǰǰp- n. 'bark' > MHb {Js., Dlm.} ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ (←
 Aram) or {Js.} ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ 'ε parchment', JA {Trg.} ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ ~ ǰǰǰ
 ǰǰǰ id., pl. 'scales', JEA {Sl.} ǰǰǰ (unk. voc.) 'scale', ǰǰǰ
 ǰǰǰ 'parchment', Sr ǰǰǰ-ǰǰ 'sheet of parchment, leaf', ǰǰǰ-ǰǰ,
 ǰǰǰ-ǰǰ 'bark, rind; husk, peel; scale', Ar ǰǰf- n. 'bark', Ak ǰǰp
 'skin\peel (of a fruit), peeled off skin'; S *ǰǰp-at- > Ak ǰǰp
 'scale, scaly skin (of a snake\fish); husk, rind, bark, peel', MHb {Lv., Js.,
 Dlm.} ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ or {ESh} ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ 'skin\peel (of a fruit,
 plant)', JEA ǰǰǰ ǰǰǰ 'peel, shell', Ar ǰǰf-at-, Gz ǰǰǰ

'foreskin', Grg Z $\kappa\alpha\lambda\phi\iota$ 'bark of a tree', Mh $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{\epsilon}f\bar{u}t$, Jb E Jo.) $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{\iota}f\bar{o}t$ 'bark of a tree', Jb C {Jo.} $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{\iota}f\bar{o}t$ (pl. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{\iota}f\bar{o}f$) 'fried bark', Sq {Jo.} $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{i}f\bar{o}h$ 'bark of a tree, skin', Hrs $\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{f}\bar{e}t$ 'ε bark of certain trees'; [2] ?? CS $*\sqrt{g}lb-$ ~ $*\sqrt{g}lp$ (or loans from some lge\d. with $g-$ < $*\kappa-$?) > Ar جلب $\check{g}ulb-$ 'dépouille, peau ôtée', جلبَة $\check{g}ulb-at-$ 'skin formed on a healing wound', 'peau mince qui couvre la plaie en voie de guérison', Ar $\sqrt{g}lf$ جلف (ip. - $\check{g}lif-$) vt. 'debark', $\check{g}ul\bar{u}f-$ 'waterskin', ?? JA גַּלְבָּיִם $gal'b-\bar{i}n$ pl. {Js.} 'scales' (unless one accepts Lv.'s interpretation of the word as 'Kerben, notches' [in fact probably borrowed from Gk $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\phi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ 'notched end of an arrow'??]) ¶ Lv. IV 318-19, Lv. T I 139 and II 366, Js. 243, 1381, Dlm. 363, Sl. 1013, 1019, 1021, ESh. MH III 1197-8, Br. 670, 679-80, JPS 507, Fr. I 291, 296 and III 490-1, BK I 310, 317 and II 805, Hv. 94, 96, 625, Sd. 893-4, CAD XIII 58-9, 251, 296-7, Jo. M 230, Jo. H 75, Jo. J 145, L G 427, L EDG III 476, MiK I no. 1.77 (S $*gu/alb-$ '[piece of] skin') and I no. 1.162 ($*\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{\iota}f\bar{o}p(-at)-$ 'scale, shell, [hard] skin', foreskin [?], bark) || EC {Ss.} $*\kappa\alpha\lambda\bar{o}f-$ n. 'bark' > Sml {ZMO} '(snake's) skin, husk, shell', Sml N $q\acute{o}l\acute{o}f$, Kns $q\acute{o}lf-\bar{a}$, Gwd $q\acute{o}f\acute{o}l\acute{o}$ 'skin', Or $q\alpha\lambda\phi\alpha$ 'foreskin' | ?φ EC $*galb-$ > Af {PH} $galbo$ 'hide, skin (of cattle)', Bs {HL} $galba$ 'leather', Sml {ZMO} $gibil$ m. 'skin, complexion', $gibil$ f. 'mat covering a loaded camel's back', Sml N $g\acute{i}b\acute{i}l$ 'cow-skin cover for loads on a camel' || Bj {Rop.} $gale$ 'skin' ¶ Rop. 185 | pBn {Hn.} $*k\acute{u}b\grave{u}l$ 'skin' > Bn: Ba $k\acute{u}b\grave{u}l$, Bi $k\hat{u}l$, J/Kj $k\hat{u}l$, Sa $k\grave{u}l$ ¶ Rop. 185, Abr. S 92 and 204, ZMO 161 and 331, Ss. PEC 48, ≠ 22, Bl. 144, 293, R A II 850, HL s.v. $galba$, PH 109, Hn. BD 128, Blz. CL 180 || ?φ NrOm (← EC words going back to pEC $*galb-$): Cha {C} $galb\bar{a}$ 'skin (pelle)', Wlt/Dwr/Gm $galba$ 'skin', Dc $galba$ 'human skin' ¶ C SE III 168, LmS 368 ¶¶ OS no. 1585, MiK I no. 1.77 || K $*q\omega lep-$ / $*q\omega lip-$ / $*q\omega lp-$ 'strip\scratch off, fade' > G $q\upsilon lep-$ / $q\upsilon lip-$ v. 'debark, skin, strip off, pluck', Sv $q\omega ep-$ / $q\omega p-$ 'fade' ¶¶ GM S 201 (on the loss of $*l$ in Sv), ≈ K² 242 ($*q\omega(l)ep-$ with a "parasitic" l in G), ≈ Fn. KW-4 42, ≈ FS E 413 ($*q\omega el-p-$ / $*q\omega l-ep-$ 'abnehmen, abziehen, entfernen'), Chx. 1689-90, DCh. 1379 ¶¶ K $*q\omega lep-$ / $*q\omega lip-$ < ppK $*ql\omega ep-$ / $*ql\omega ip-$ (a morphophonemic rule: in a labialized cns. clusters the labialization is ascribed to the obstruent rather than to the sonorant cns.) || IE: NaIE $*gleub^h-$ / $*glub^h-$ 'peel, take off the bark, strip, cut off' > L $gl\bar{u}b-\bar{o}$ / $-\bar{e}r\bar{e}$ 'peel, take off the bark' || Pru $gleuptene$ 'Streichbrett am Pfluge, das die aufgerissene Erde umwendet' || Gk $\gamma\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\phi\omega$ 'carve, cut out with a knife' || ??σ Gmc ('split' ← $*split$ off, cut out?): ON inf. $klj\acute{u}fa$, NNr inf. $kluva$, $kluva$, Sw inf. $kluva$, OHG inf. $klioban$ & $chlioban$, NHG inf.

klieben, OSx inf. klio ν an, MDt inf. clueven, Dt inf. klui ν en, AS inf. cleōfan 'to split, to cleave', NE cleave; NNr Δ inf. klu ν a, OHG inf. klūbōn, NHG inf. klauben 'to split'; d.: ON klauf 'cleft of foot', Sw klö ν 'cloven foot', OHG, Dt klufft, NHG Klufft 'cleft, fissure', NE cleftt ¶ WP I 661, P 401-2, Mn. 276, 282, WH 610-11, F I 315, Vr. 315, 317, Ho. 51, Ho. S 42, Kb. 548, OsS 498, KM 374, 377, En. 179, Tr. APS 34, Tr. P E-H 263, EI 143 (*gleub^h- 'cut off\out') ¶ *g- for the expected *k- is due to the IE incompatibility of vl. and asp. vd. cnss within the same √ || U: FU *kaíep ∇ '≈ film' > Prm: Z κολιπ κολίρ, Z Ud κολίβ 'thin ice' (sc. "ice bark of a river\lake") | BF (× N *Kaí'ü|u' 'skin, film, bark') > F kal ν o 'film, membrane', Es Δ kale, kalu, Lv kaí \underline{g} 'cataract (of eye)' ||| ObU {Ht.} *kǎ́lǎp > pVg *kǎ́lǎp > Vg: Ss {Kn.} kaí ρ ., {BV, Mu.} kaír, Yk {BV} kaír 'the outer white film of birch bark'; pOs {Ht.} *kǎ́lǎp-, {ǾHl.} *kǎ́lǎp id., 'dandruff' > Os: Vy kǎ́lwa, Ty/Y kǎ́ $\acute{\rho}$, O χǎ́lǎp- id. | Hg hályog, Δ hajag, hal ν ag, hálog 'cataract (of an eye)' ¶ LG 130, Ht. no. 265, KrT 382, Hl. rHt 71-2, BV 133, Tv. FUI 66, MF 256-7, Coll. 85, Coll. CG 405, UEW 121, Db. OS xxxi ◇ Hardly here Tg *χalu- v. 'debark' and *χalu(-kta) 'film, pellicle' (see N *Kaí'ü|u' '↑'). N *Kaí'ü|u' and N *gaí'ü'P ∇ may be etymologically connected.

1923. *gom'i' (or *gi?om'i'?) 'be hungry\thirsty' ([in descendant lges] → 'wish') > K (pK or GZ) *gem-/ *gm- 'be thirsty' or 'be hungry' > OG si-gm-il-, da-gm-oba- n. 'hunger', da-gm-eda- v. 'fast', Mg sum-en-, Lz o-(g)om-in-u 'be thirsty', ?σ Sv gm- (msd. li-gnm-e) v. 'choke' ¶¶ K 212 (*gm-'be hungry'), FS K 362-3 and FS E 406-7 (*gam-/gm- id.), K² 238-9 (*gem-/ *gm- 'be thirsty'), Abul. 129, Chik. 355 || HS: WS *✓χwm (prm.*-χūm-) > Hrs ✓χwm (3m sbjn. υζχōm) v. 'want', Hbt ✓χwm id., Mh ✓ħwm (3m sbjn. υζħōm) v. 'want, like, wish'; ?φ Ar ✓ϕym (ip. -ϕīm-) 'be affected with a burning thirst', {BK} 'avoir soif, éprouver un feu dans les entrailles', {BK, Hv.} ϕaym- 'thirst' ¶ Mh ħ- (for χ-) suggests that Mh ✓ħwm is a loan from a related lge with *χ > ħ (like Sq) ¶ S *χ- < *q- < *ǵ- (HS deglottalization) ¶ Jo. H 145, Jo. M 194-5, BK II 526, Hv. 542 || A *k'omi- > NaT *Ko_;mi- 'long for (sth.)' > OT qomi- id., XwT qoman- (rf.?) id.; ?μ: NaT *Ku_;ms ∇ z 'greedy' > VTt komсыз 'greedy', Bsh qomhoδ id. ¶ Cl. 626, ET Q 147-8, TtR 172, 276, BshR 337-8 || Tg *χomi- 'be hungry' > Ewk omīt-/ç-, Lm om̄t-/ç-, Ud omisi-, Ul χomč̄i-/u-, Nn Nh {On.} χom̄č̄i-, Nn KU om̄č̄i-, WrMc {Z} om̄xolo-, Mc Sb om̄ixulu- v. 'hunger'; Ewk om̄īkin, Neg om̄i xīn, Nn KU omk̄ī, Nn Nh {On.} χom̄īō, WrMc {Z} om̄ixoh̄n, Mc Sb om̄ixun 'hungry';

Nn Bk $\chi o m i$, WrMc {Z} $o m i n \bar{y}$ n. 'hunger' ¶ STM II 17, On. 468, Z 130 || M * $q o m u - q a y$ 'gluttonous, greedy, hungry' > WrM {MED} $q o m u q a i$ 'greedy, covetous, stingy, gluttonous', HlM $\chi o m x o i$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'gierig, gefräßig (жадный, алчный)', Brt $\chi o m x o i$ 'gefräßig (прожорливый)'; \rightarrow VTt $k o m a g a i$ 'greedy', Bsh $q o m a \check{y} a y$ id., 'voracious' ¶ MED 961, BMR IV 103, Chr. 582-3, TtR 276, BshR 337 ¶¶ SDM 838 (pA * $k' o m u | o | a$ 'drought, hunger' > Tg, M, T * $K o m i \acute{I}$ - 'become greedy' + unc. T * $K o m i \acute{I}$ - 'become drowsy\dry', Kl {Rm.} $\chi o m \check{x} \bar{a} \sim \chi u m \check{x} \bar{a}$ 'eklig, vermordert, verfault' and pKo * $k' \acute{a} m' \acute{r}$ 'dry'), Ci. EApk 97, ET Q 147-8 ◇ The variant pN rec. * $g i ? o m' i$ accounts for Ar - $\check{y} \bar{i} m$ - (as going back to * $g \bar{i} m$ - < * $g i ? o m$ -), while * q - (and its reflexes in K and A) may go back to a cluster * $g ?$ -.

1924. * $q a' h' \bar{n} \nabla$ 'to dig' > IE * $k \bar{H} e n_{L} H_{\bar{X}}$ - > NaIE * $k' h e n \bar{a} - / * k' h \bar{n} \bar{o} - \sim * k e n_{L} a_{J} - \approx$ dig' > OI 'khanati 'digs' (inf. 'khanitum, pp. khā'ta-), kha'na-, kha'ni- 'digging, rooting up (wühlend)', OPrs kan-, Sgd qn- 'dig', MPrs inf. kandan, NPrs inf. $k \bar{a} n \bar{d} \bar{a} n$ 'to dig', YAv $u s - k \bar{a} n - t i$ 'digs out', ni-kaiṇ-ti 'digs in', KhS $k \bar{a} r \bar{i} \bar{a} r e$ 'they dig out' || Lt kinis 'lair of swines and other animals' (WP: 'eingewühltes Schweinelager'), k̄inis id., ?σ Ltv $c i n i s$ 'mound, hillock' ¶ WP I 399, M K I 301, M E I 445-6, MW 336, Bai. 51, ≠ P 634 (rejecting the hyp. of * $k' h$ - and suggesting that the OI stem belongs to * $k e n \bar{a} -$ 'scrape'), Frn. 254-5 (preferring to connect Lt kinis with L caenum 'dirt, mud') || K * $q a n - / * q n -$ v. 'plough' > OG qn-, G $\chi u n - / \chi a n -$, Mg, Lz $\chi o n -$, Sv $q a n - / q n -$ ¶¶ K 262, FS K 593-4, FS E 560-1 ¶¶ N * q - was deglottalized in K by the adjacent **h (** $q h -$ > K * $q -$) || HS: ?σ S * $o \check{r} k \bar{n} y$ > Ar $\check{r} q n y$ L (pf. $q \bar{a} n \bar{a}$) 'mix' ¶ BK II 827, Hv. 631 || U * $k a \bar{n} \nabla -$ v. 'dig, shovel, (?) sling' > Prm: OPrm kund- 'bury (a corpse)', Z kundī- 'bury (a thing, a corpse)', Δ v. 'earth up (potato plants)', Yz kun'di- v. 'strew' || ObU * $k \bar{u} \bar{n} - \sim * k \bar{r} \bar{n} -$ 'dig, take\ladle out of the kettle' > Vg * $k \bar{u} \bar{n} -$ 'spoon out' (Stn.: 'mit dem Löffel schöpfen') > T $k \bar{u} \bar{n} -$, LK/Ss $x \bar{u} \bar{n} -$, UK/P/NV/SV/LL $k \bar{u} \bar{n} -$ id.; pOs * $k \bar{i} \bar{n} - \sim * k a \bar{n} -$ 'dig, dig out, shovel (snow)' > V/Vy/Ty $q \bar{i} \bar{n} -$, Y $q \bar{i} \bar{n} -$, D/K $\chi e n -$ id., Kz $\chi \bar{o} \bar{n} -$, O $\chi a n -$ id., 'ladle\take out of the kettle to a bowl (soup, meat, fish)', Ty $q \bar{a} \bar{n} \bar{l} \bar{a} -$ v. 'dig' (mom.: 'κοπνυτῆ') || ?σ OHg $h \acute{a} n y -$ 'throw one after the other' ('werfen, schleudern', 'dobál, hajigál'), 'throw out', ?σ Hg $h \acute{a} n y -$ 'throw, cast, fling, vomit, puke' ¶ UEW 125 (suggesting that the FU word is a loan from Iir), LG 146, Ht. no. 280, Stn. WV 208, Stn. D 508, KrT 315, 318, EWU 525, MTE II 49 ◇ The N lr. *h is conjectured on the ev. of IE, S and K: *h is the only N lr. that is easily lost in S and regularly

in K, but is able to produce a voiceless aspirate in IE and to affect an adjacent stop in K (causing its deglottalization).

1925. *q'o'nt ▽ 'fall, descend, plunge' > **HS:** NrOm *k'u'nd- 'fall, descend' > Gf {Mrn.}, Zs {C}, Zl {L, Lm.}, Hrr {CR}, Gamu/Gf/Kcm {Lm.} kund-, Wl/Dc {Lm.} kūnd-, Wl {C} kund-, Dwr {L, Lm.} kunda-, Ym {C} gāndó ~ gāndó v. 'fall', Kf {C, Lm.}, Mch {Lm.} kind- v. 'descend', 'hinuntersteigen, untergehen', {L} ki'ndi- 'go down', Shn {Lm.} kínd- v. 'enter, go in' ('eintreten, hineingehen') ¶ C SE III 75 and IV 462, L M 37, Lm. Sh 327 || **K** {K} *q̣wint-, {FS} *q̣went-/ *q̣wint- v. 'sink\plunge (into water)' > MG, G qunt- v. 'dive, plunge into water', G q̣vint- id., v. 'plunge into drowsiness (погружаться в дремоту)', Mg {vint- v. 'plunge into water; doze', Sv q̣wēnt-/qunt- v. 'plunge' ¶¶ Chx. 1687, 1737, K 211, FS K 368-9, FS E 413-14 || **U** *ku|on|nt ▽- > pSm {Jn.} *kontā-, {Hl.} *konta- v. 'drop off to sleep (einschlafen)', {Jn.} *kontъ-, {Hl.} *kontō- v. 'sleep' > Ne: F {Lh.} inf. kōn'ā-ś, T inf. хона-съ 'to drop off to sleep', T {Lh.} xōn'a- v. 'drop off to sleep', F {Lh.} inf. kōn'ō-ś, T inf. хонĕ-съ 'to sleep', {Lh.} xōn'ō v. 'sleep'; Ng {Cs.} kun'da'am (1s aor.) 'go to sleep', kunduatam (1s aor.) v. 'sleep', {Mik.} kuntuda 'fall asleep (elaludni)'; En X kodduaro' {Cs.} and En B {Cs.} kodduado (both 1s aor.) v. 'sleep', En {Ter.} inf. кода-съ 'to sleep', kodida (prtc.) 'sleeping'; Slq Tz {KKIH} qont+- v. 'sleep', Slq Tm {KD} (1s aor.) q'onda-g id.; Kms {KD} kunōlam 'I am asleep', Koyb {Sp.} конолдамъ 'I am dozing (дремлю)', конолламъ 'I am asleep', Mt {Hl.} *kondə- 'sleep' (Mt M/K/T {Mll.} chónda, T {Adl.} chonda v. 'sleep', M {Sp.} хондаштамъ, {Mll.} chondäschtam 'I am asleep') || pY {IN H} *köntz- 'lie (liegen)' > Y K {IN H} kodō-, Y T {Krn.} kudūō- ~ qudūō- 'liegen', OY {Suv.} kodol, kodóy id., OY {Lndn. quoting Mll.} kondāk, {Merk} kontok id.; Y K {IN H} kudē-, Y T {IN H} kudīē- v. 'put down' ¶¶ Jn. 73, Cs. 50, KKIH 162, Hl. MTKV 24, Hl. M no. 543, IN H 220-1, IN UJ 229, 320 || **A:** NaT *Kon- 'settle' (of a bird), 'stop for the night on a journey' > OT qon-, {Cl.} qōn- id. (length supposed by Cl. only on the ev. of the Arabic *plene* spelling), Tk kon-, Tkm gon-, Ggz kon-, Qmq, Qrg, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Ln, StAlt qon-, Uz qwn-, VTt, Bsh qun-, Xk, Tv xon-, Tf qɔn- 'alight, settle' (of birds, insects), OOSm XIV qon- 'stop for the night on a journey', Tf qɔn- 'stay for the night in taiga', Tk kon-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg qon-, VTt, Bsh qun- 'pass the night', MQP XIII, Chg XV qon-, Qmq, Qrg, Qq, StAlt qon-, Tkm gon-, Uz qwn-, Xk, Yk xon- 'settle down, take up residence in a house' ¶ Cl. 632, ET Q 55-6, Ra. 220 || **D** (att. in SD) *kant- (†GS) *k-) v. 'sink' > Kn kantu

v. 'set' (of the sun), Tu *kantū* v. 'sink', 'set' (of the sun), Krg *kontappa* 'prostrate' ¶ D no. 1211 ◇ D *a (for the expected labialized vw.) and the loss of N *t in T need explaining ◇ IN 229 (U, A).

1926. ₂ **quńć* ▽ 'crawl', 'climb' > K: GZ **qu(n)ć-*, {FS} **quć-* v. 'squat, sit on the hind legs' > G {Chx.} *quńć-i* 'hockende\kauernde Stellung (des Tieres)', *quńć-deba* '(ein Tier) setzt sich auf die Hinterbeine, kauert sich nieder', {SSO, DCh.} *quńć-* v. 'squat' (said of dogs), {Chx} *quńćul-* 'mit kleinen Schritten gehen, trippeln', 'hopsen' (von Vögeln), G Lc *quńć-* v. 'fidget (sitting)', Mg *řuc-* v. 'squat' ¶ K² 246, Q 422, FS K 375 (postulating the change **quć-* > G *quńć-* without explaining it), DCh. 1387, Chx. 1737-8 || U: FU {Coll.} **kućć* ▽-, {Ber.} **kuć* ▽- v. 'climb (klettern)', ? 'crawl' > pMr {Ker.} **kūžə-/kūćə-* > Er *күзə-* *күćə-*, Mk *күцə-* *күćə-* 'klettern' | pChr {Ber.} **kućь-* > Chr: L {MRS} inf. *кү'з-аш* 'climb (klettern)', {Ü} *күзə-* id., E {Ps.}, U/M *kūžə-*, H {Ep., Rm.} *kuza-* v. 'climb (a tree etc.)', {Ü} *күзə-* v. 'climb (ascend)' || Hg *күсз-ик* v. 'climb, crawl' ¶ Coll. 97, Ker. II 73, Ber. 28, KC 114, PI 137, MRS 257, Ep. 48, Ü 83, 89, Ps. OT 57, Bá. 181, EWU 854 || Hardly here FP {UEW} **kočə-* 'langsam gehen, kriechen' (> Lp L {LLO} *kuohtsa-* v. 'run [on four feet], crawl', Vt *g+ž* [an interjection of slow walking and training on the earth], possibly Chr L {Ü} *күчə-* v. 'climb, climb in [влезать]' and Chr B {Ps.} *kučə-* 'steigen, klettern' [F UEW 667]). ¶ The front-vowel variant *kūžə-* in Chr and the irreg. k- in Hg *күсз-* (reg. in a front-vowel word, but not expected before a back vw., F Lakó PFUH 49) find no satisfactory explanation so far. They are likely to suggest the presence of a front-vowel variant of the FU √.

1927. **qoŋa* (P ▽) (or **qoʔaŋa* (P ▽)?) 'nose' > A **k'oŋa* and ***ok'ro'ŋab* ▽ 'nose' > Tg **χoŋo-* ({SDM} **χoŋa-*) 'nose, prow' > Neg *oŋo-kto* 'nose', Ewk, Neg *oŋo*, Nn Nh/Bk/KU *χoŋo*, Ul *xoŋo* 'prow (of a boat)', Nn Nh {On.} *χoŋžaxa*, {STM} *χondaχa* 'nose bridge' ¶ A variant with initial *k-: Neg *koŋ-towk̄i:*, *koŋ topk̄i:* 'nose (of a deer, elk, bear)', Nn Bk *qoŋtoro* 'prow (of a boat)'. This initial *k- is puzzling (contamination with some other root?) ¶ STM I 413, 470 and II 22, On. 468-70, SDM95 s.v. **k'uŋa* || M: [1] M **qam|bar* 'nose' (< pA **ok'ro'ŋab* ▽) > MM, MMgl {Iw.} *qabar*, WrM {MED} *qamar* ~ *qabar*, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt *хамар*, Kl {KRS} *хамр*, {Rm.} *хамрo*, Dx *qava*, Ba *χor*, ShY, Mnr {SM} *χawar*, Dg {T}, Ord {Ms.} *χamar*, Mr.} *hamare*, *hamere* 'nose'; ↗ Tlt *qamar* 'Nasenscheide' | The pM √ ***qan-* ~ ***qon-* is also represented in compound (or derived??) stems: [2] M **qan-siyar* 'bridge of the nose (Nasenzwurzel)' > WrM {MED} *qan̄siyar*,

HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ханшаар id., Ord хамар ханšār 'nez'; б→ StAlt қоғžōr 'Nasenwurzel', Yk ханsār 'nose, nasal septum'; [3] M *қоғ-siyar > WrM қоғsiyar {MED} 'muzzle, beak, snout, nose', HIM хоншоор {MED} id., {BMR} 'muzzle, snout (морда, рыло)', Brt хоншоор id., Kl {Rm.} хонšār 'Schnabel, lange Nase', Ord хонšōr 'museau, bec, groin' ¶ MED 895, 923, 929, 963, BMR IV 33, 43, 107, Chr. 542, 547, 585, KW 164, 186, KRS 573, H 54, Ms. H 85, Ms. O 330, 336, 355, Pp. MA 284, Rm. M 31, T DnJ 124, Mr. D 156, SM 165, Klz. MJ 33, Klz. D I 137, Pek. 3313-14, RAIS 474, S AJ 236 [no. 66], Rs. W 232, MYC 322, T DgJ 173 || NaT *Kaṇay > Tf ḥāy, Tv хāy 'nose, beak, muzzle', Yk ханinay 'snuffle'; derived words (NaT *Kaṇír/r- ~ *Koṇír/r- ~ *Käñír/r- etc.): Tlt қоғir, қағiriq, Yk хоғurū, ханirī, kähārī 'Nasenwurzel', SY гағiriq 'nose', Bsh Δ қағыръръq 'hard palate', Qrg қағiriq 'parched nose' (қағiriyi tütöp ketti 'his nose is parched, у него в носу пересохло'), Tkm гоғурθa 'reek, have a bad smell when burning', Tk geriz 'nose cavity', Az ğäniz, ğänzik 'back part of the palate, nasopharynx', Tkm d. genḏ-ew- 'speak through one's nose', StAlt қоғқоқ 'hook-nosed' ¶ TL 215-16, Ra. 187, Rl. II 82, 521, Jud. 342, Pek. 3317, TvR 458, S AJ 189 [no. 135], BT 87 ¶ In some Turkic lges there is a merger with Mongolisms (ffd. see TL 216, fn.1) || pKo *kóh 'nose' > MKo kó / kóh-, NKo kʰo ¶ S QK no. 61, Nam 45, MLC 1673 ¶ S AJ 253 [no. 61] || pJ *kan-k- v. 'smell (sth.)' > OJ kağ-, MJ kág-, J T/K kàğ-, J Kg kág- ¶ S AJ 271 [no. 181], S QJ no. 181. Mr. 701, Kenk. 458 ¶¶ The vw. -a- in the initial syll. of T, M and J may be explained by regr. as. (e.g. *Kaṇay < pA *k'ōṇa) ¶¶ SDM 806-7 (pA *k'jōṇa 'nose' [with unj. *-j-] > Tg хoṇa-, M *qa'm'ar, J, Ko, T *K_Li_Laṇ(Ir)-), DQA no. 1057 (id.), S AJ 43-4, 80, 266, 286 [no. 246], StrM AOJ 36-8, SDM95 s.v. *k'uaṇa, SDM97 s.v. *k'öṇa, KW 186, 190, Vld. 251, Mr. KJ 242, ADb. SR 4, TK 216, Pp. VG 132, Oz. NM 191, Ci. EApk 84 ||

HS: S *°χ^ru^lnn- 'nose' > Ar χunn-, χunn-at- 'nasal voice, voix nasillarde', ma-χann-at- 'nose, tip of the nose' ¶ BK I 635-6, Hv. 186 || C *ḳ^wṇ^lṇ^lp- 'nose' > pAg *ḳ^wṇ^lṇ^lp- 'nose' ({Ap.} *q^wamb-/*qamb- 'nose, mouth') > Bln {R} qǔnbá ~ qǔmbá [ḳ^wanbā ~ ḳ^wambā], pl. qǔnfef [ḳ^wanfef], Q {Ap.} χumba ~ χ^wzmba, {Beke} kumbā, {R} humbā, kombā, Km {Ap.} χ^wzmbā, {CR} χumbā 'nose', ?? Aw {Ap.} ṽzm^lbi 'mouth' || ? Bj {R} genūf 'Nase. Schnabel' ¶ Ap. AV 17, Ap. WLQ 14, E PC no. 379, R WBd 98, R WB 240, R QW 76, 84, Beke LDA ¶ Ehret's assumption that Bj genūf goes back to C *ganf-/ ginf- 'face' (> Bln ganbār 'forehead' and pRt *ganf- 'chin') is hardly tenable for semantic reasons || B *ṽnb 'face', *ṽnbū_L 'beak' (× N

***K̥om̥ ▽ bA** '≈ forehead, front part', cf. s.v. ***K̥om̥ ▽ (bA)**) > Tmz Iz aḡənbu ~ aḡənbub, Izd pl. iḡənbā ~ iḡunbā, Wrg, Mz aḡəmbu (pl. iḡəmbā), Mz aḡənbu (pl. iḡənbā) 'beak', Izn a-ḡənbub 'visage', Rf Tz a-ḡənbu 'visage, figure' ¶ Rn. 364, 383, MT 194-5, Dlh. Ou 24O, Dlh. M 152, Mrc. 33 ¶¶ **K**: OG, G ḡnos- v. 'smell (sth.)' ¶ DCh. 1381, Chx. 1699-700 ¶ OG, G -os- is likely to go back to a sx ¶¶ ?σ **IE**: NaIE *^ok^we^hḡ-, {Ped.} *^ok^weḡḡno- 'head' (< *'animal's head' < *'muzzle, snout') > Clt {Vn.} *k^wenno- > OIr cenn 'head', Brtt {RE} *pennon id. > MW, OBr penn, pen, W, OCrn, Crn pen, Br pen id. ¶ Ped. VG I 457, Vn. C 65-6, RE 103 ¶¶ ??σ **D** *kum- 'knob, hump' > Tm kumir̥ 'knob (as of a wooden sandal), stud, pommel, hump of an ox', Ml kumir̥ 'knob, pommel', Png ḡomōḡ 'hump of ox' ¶¶ D no. 1743 ¶ If D *kum- goes back to N (which is doubtful), D *-m- may go back to *-mb- from N *-ḡ...P- or to N *-ḡ- (cf. Introduction, § 2.1, remark 16) ◇ The initial N cns. is *ḡ- provided that the K cognate is valid. Otherwise the N rec. will be *K̥oḡa or *K̥oḡaḡa (where *K̥ = *ḡ|ḡ). Cf. AD NM 54. The pN element *P ▽ (preserved in B, C and M) may be identical with N *bA (pc. for names of quality bearers) (q.v. ffd.) or go back to the second component *P ▽ R ▽ of a N cd (as suggested by M *qambar 'nose' and possibly Bln ḡanbār 'forehead') (= N *per ▽ [= *per^o']?) 'lip, edge' [q.v.] in the sense of 'edge'?) ◇ The rec. *ḡoḡa (P ▽) is acceptable if *a of the initial syll. in NaT *k^ha^hḡa^hḡ, in M *qah- and *qam|bar is explained by regr. as. (*-o...a- > *-a...a-). Otherwise we have to suggest a pN etymon *ḡoḡaḡa (P ▽) with *-ḡa- lost in all descendant lges except in variant stems in T (*koḡír/r-) and M (*qoḡ-siyar).

1928. (₂?) *ḡup ▽ 'to divide; a part' > **K**: G ḡop- v. divide' ¶ DCh. 1384 ¶¶ **A**: M *qubi n. 'part, share' > MM [S, MA, IM] qubi id., WrM {MED} qubi id., 'portion', HIM хувь {MED} id., {BMR} 'share (доля, пай), part', Brt хуби 'part; share (доля)', WrO хуби, хубиі, Dg хобі 'part, portion, lot', Ord хуwi 'portion, pare'; M *qubiya- vt. 'divide, share' > WrM {MED} qubiya-, HIM {MED, BMR} хуваа- id., Brt хубаа- 'teilen, verteilen', WrO хубā- 'divide up', Kl {KRS} хува- vt. divide, share', Kl D {Rm.} ховā-, Kl Ö ховā- 'teilen, verteilen', Dg хобō-, Ba хua- 'divide', Ord хуwā- 'partager', derivatives: MM [HI] qubiyagda- 'être partagé', MMgl {Iw.} qubā 'portion' ¶ H 69, Pp. MA 306, 445, MED 976-7, BMR IV 154, 156, Iw. 128, Chr. 595-6, KRS 605, KW 191, Ms. H 91, Ms. O 374-5, Krg. 289, T DgJ 176, T BJ 150 ¶¶ ? **U** *kupsa- 'deprive so. of his share' or 'be deprived of one's share' (< d.?) > Lp N {N} ḡḡk'se- / -ḡs- 'do so. an injustice by taking

the lion's share' || Sm: Ne T {Lh.} χαόο-, Ne F {Lh.} καίο- 'ohne etw. bleiben, ohne Anteil bleiben' ¶¶ Coll. 13, UEW 214.

1929. *gār∇ 'smell' > HS: C: Ag {AD} *q̄ar-/*q̄ir- ({Ap.} *qar-/*qir-) vi. 'smell' > Bln {R} q̄īrā n. 'smell (Geruch)', eḫār- vi. 'smell', Xm {R} qar- vi. 'smell', Xm T {CR} qar- id., Q {Ap.} qera, Km {Ap.} qera ~ qera, {R} qārā n. 'smell', Aw {Hz.} qar- v. 'smell' || SC: Irq {Wh.} q̄arān^ω, {MQK} qarān^ω (pl. qarēri) n. 'smell' ¶ Ap. AV 16, Ap. WLQ 17, AD SF 89, 2O2 (C *q̄ir), R WB 242, R Ch II 371 (s.p. 57), MQK 117 || K: GZ *qar-/*qr- v. 'stink' > OG, G qar-/qr- v. 'stink, reek', Mg d. qor-ad-/qor-id-/qor-d- vi., vt. 'rot', vi. 'stink' ¶ K 2O9, K² 237, Vogt SVG 75, FS K 364, FS E 4O9 || ?σ IE: NaIE *krem-us- / *kerm-us- '(plant) having strong smell' > Gk κρόμμυον, Gk Hm κρόμμυον, [Hs.] κρέμμυον 'onion' || OIr crem ~ crim 'wild garlic', NIr creamh, MBr cram, MW, W † craf 'garlic' || AS hramsa (pl. hramsan) '*Allium ursinum*', {Ho.} hramesa, hramse id., 'onion', NNr, Sw, Dn rams, MDt ramese 'ε leek', OHG ramusia 'Bärenlauch', NGr B rams 'broad-leaved garlic, *Allium ursinum*', NE ramsons || Lt kermušė, Ltv sērμukslis 'wild garlic' || SI: [1] (NaIE *kerm-us- >) SI *čermъxa > OR yepemъxa čepemъxa 'bird cherry (tree), *Prunus padus*', R Δ че'рѣма, bf. че'рѣма, Blr ча'ромха, R Δ, Uk че'рѣма, SCr црѣма (× SI *čermъša), Slv črēmha, OCz třēmcha, Cz střēmcha, P trzemcha id., Slk čremcha '*Padus racemosa*'; [2] (NaIE *kerm-ous- >) R че'рѣмуха 'bird cherry, bird cherry tree', Cz čermucha id., P trzemucha id., *Allium ursinum*', SCr Δ crìjemušā '*Allium ursinum*'; [3] *čermъša, *čermъšb > Slv čēmž ~ srēmša 'bird cherry', čémaž & črēmož, R черем'ша '*Allium ursinum*' ¶ WP I 426-7, P 580-1, F II 23-4, EI 620 (*'kremHu-s / gen. *krm̄'Hoу-s '[wild] garlic'), Sw. 93, Ho. 172, Kb. 770, LP § 50, Vn. C 229, YGM-1 1O1, Flr. 121, Frn. 243, ESSJ IV 66-8, Vs. IV 339, Tls. 658 ¶ In the IE precons. position N *q|k + front vw. yields IE *k- reg. (IE *krem-), whence by analogy *kerm- || U: FP *kār∇ '(unappropriate) smell, taste' > F kārū, kārty, Es Δ kārde-hais '(smoky)burnt smell', Vp kard & kardēh id., 'smell of sth. burning' || Prm *kōr 'smack, unappropriate smell' > Z köp k3r id., Yz kōra 'tasty', Vt корел 'tasty, saltish' ¶ FP *ä (for *a) may be due to vw. harmony ¶ LP 141, ≈ SK 262 (supposing that the FP word is id.), ZM 164, 180 || D (att. in SD) *ka:ı̄r- ({θ GS} *k-) 'be rancid\stale' > Tm kārū v. 'taste bitter\musty\rancid' (of stale food), Ml kārūka 'grow stale\rancid', Kn karal

'saltishness, brackishness' ¶ D no. 1504 ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. 'пахнутъ' *ǫar ʌ and IS SS no. 3.6 (IE, C, K).

1930. *ǫoRû (or *ǫuR∇?) 'to copulate' > K: Sv ǫur-/ǫwir- (msd. li-l-ǫwir) 'copulate' ¶ ≈ K² 239-40 || HS: B: Ah aǫar 'copulate' (of a man) (× aǫar 'ride') ¶ Fc. 1760 || IE: NaIE *kou̯r₁u₁- '≈ fornicate' > Sl *kurĭ (gen. *kurъv-e) 'meretrix, whore' > ChS **кoуpъвa** куръва ~ **кoуpъвa** куръва 'meretrix', OR **кoуpвa** курва, Blg, R 'кyрвa, SCr kûrva, Slv kûrba, kûrva, Cz, Slk kurva, P kurwa 'whore, libertine woman' || ?φ Gmc *xōr-az m. 'adulterer', *xōr-ō 'whore' (× IE *kār- 'beloved', cp. L cār-us / -a 'dear, high-priced'; the merger accounts for the long vw. and for the loss of both medial *u and stem-final *-u) > Gt hōr-s (· πόρνος, μοιχός) 'Hurer, Ehebrecher', ON hór-r 'fornicator, lover, adulterer', ON hóra, OHG huora, NHG Hure, MLG, AS hōre 'whore', NE whore ¶ ESSJ XIII 132-3, Glh. 362, Ho. 170, Vr. 249 and Fs. E 199 (all of them deny any connection between Gmc and Sl words), Fs. 267-8, Schz. 172, Kb. 490, KM 322, Mikl. E 149, Bern. I 651, cp. EI 214 (Gmc < IE *keh₂ro-s ~ *kh₂ro_s 'friendly') || A: Tg: Ork χοrĭ- 'copulate' (of deer) ¶ STM I 471 ◇ IE *kou̯r- may go back either to N *ǫuR∇ (which is at variance with the Tg ev.) or to N *ǫoRû (*-u|ü supported by the Sl reflex). The influence of *-u on the N vw. *o in IE (N *o1u > pre-IE *u1u) is discussed in AD NGIE 17 (rule 4) and 28. Is there connection with N *ǫuy∇r∇ 'to love, to covet'??

1931. *ǫoR∇ (or *ǫôR∇?) 'frog, toad' ([in descendant lges] → 'tortoise') > K: OG, eNG mǫuar-i 'βύτραχος, frog', G mǫvari 'toad' ¶ Abul. 537, SSO I 537, DCh. 916 || HS: Eg N/L ǫrr 'frog' (> (AkSc) p.n. Paǫruru), DEg ǫrr, Cpt: Sd **кpоуp** krur, B **хpоуp** k^hru^r id. ¶ EG V 61, Er. 544, Vc. 86 || S *ǫ^ru^r- > Ar qurr-, qurr-at- ~ qirr-at- 'frog' ¶ BK II 700 || B: on. Izn {Rn.} qarqriw, Rf A {Rn.} aqarqur, Mtm {Ds.} umg^warg^war 'toad', SrSn {Rn.} aqarqur, BMnc {Ds.} amqarqūr 'frog' ¶ Rn. 371, Ds. B 83, 158 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *kur∇ 'tortoise', {AD} 'tortoise, frog' > pAG {Hf.} *ǫur 'tortoise' > Gmy ǫur, Kfr {Hf.} (da)kur, Su {J} (dā)kúr, Ang (ka)kur id., Mpn {Frz.} dàkúr 'turtle' | Zar L/Plc/Buli/Wnd {ChL} kúrbì, Zar {ChL} kúr^vì id., Zar K {Sh.} kù-kurbi 'tortoise', ? Wrij {ChL} kúrsì 'frog' | Bd {Mch.} karenakau 'frog' || CCh: Bem {Sk.} k̄póròwé 'tortoise' | Klb {ChL} k^wà-kúrùm, Hld {ChL} k^wà-kúrùmú, FK {ChL} k^wè-kúrùm, Bu {ChL} k^wù-kürmú 'turtle' | ? Gv {ChL} kírè, Dgh {Frk} krĭdá 'frog' | Db {LnG} kùrĭn, {ChL} kèrrĭn id. || ECh: Skr {Nc.} kóriṅgē, Mu {J} kírēnì (pl. kèrèn) 'frog' ¶ Stl. ZCh 210 [no. 602], Hf. AG no. 206, J S 62, 71, J KKS, Sh. Z s.v. kù-kurbi, Sk. BW s.v. k̄póròwé, Nt. 6,

Frz. DM 11, Frk s.v. kr̥ndá, Nc. s.v. Skr kórin̥gē, LnG s.v. k̥r̥n̥, ChC s.v. 'tortoise' and 'turtle', ChL, Lk. ZSS 35 ¶¶ OS no. 1547 (HS *k̥ir- 'frog') ||
IE: NaIE {WP} *gʷredʰ- 'frog, toad' > MLG krēde, krode, OHG krēta, chreta, c(h)rota, MHG krēte, krote 'toad, frog', NHG Kröte 'toad', NHG Schildkröte 'tortoise, turtle' || Gk βάρταχος, Gk I βρόταχος, βάρτακος 'frog' || ? VL {ML} *brūscus 'toad' ({Ert}: ← OscU < *gʷrot-skos) > MdL [ʏ] bruscus 'ε frog (ranae genus)', Rm broascā 'toad', McdRm broascā, OIt Ml broscā 'tortoise', ↗ Al breshkë 'small turtle' (VL/MdL bruscus is not [↔ WH] borrowed from Frosch) ¶ ML no. 1329, Ert ED 128, WP I 698-9, Kb. 562, OsS 516, Lx. 117, KM 408, ≠ WH I 117, F I 226-7, Ch. 169-70, O 36, Ç II 314-15 ¶ *gʷredʰ- for **kʷredʰ- is due to the incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ || **A** *kʰærʰoʰ 'frog, toad' ({SDM} "an expressive root with not quite regular correspondences") ~ *kʰurʰ > Tg *χere 'frog' > Nn Nh/Bk, Ork x̥r̥z̥, Ul x̥r̥z̥ id.; d. *χere-kī > Orc x̥r̥z̥kī (← Nn?), Ud ̥x̥ī, Orc ̥kī, Neg ̥y̥z̥x̥ī, Lm ̥rikī, Ewk ̥r̥z̥kī id. ¶ STM II 466-7, On. 492-3 || ?μ NaT *Kur-bāKa 'ε frog/toad' (*Kur- '?' + *bāka 'frog') > OT qurbaqa, MQp qurbaqa id., Tk kurbağā 'frog, toad', Tkm qurbāya, Az gurbaya, Qzq, Qq, Uz qurbaqa 'frog', Qmq, Nog qir-baqa, Qrg qurbaqa 'toad', VTt (folk-etl.) q̥r̥ baqas̥ 'grass frog', Chg (Rl.) qurbaya 'tortoise' ¶ Cl. 646-7, ET Q 160-1, Rl. II 918 || ?σ,μ pKo {S, SDM} *k̥r̥'oàṅ'í 'snail' > MKo k̥r̥'oàṅ'í ¶ S QK no. 1136, Nam 51 ¶¶ Tg *e of the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. (-*U...e > *-e...e-) ¶¶ SDM 781 (pA *kʰerʰoʰ 'frog, toad' > Tg *χerekī, T, Ko), DQA no. 1136 ◊ If NaT *k̥ur-baKa belongs here and *k̥ur- means 'frog, toad', the N etymon may be tentatively reconstructed as *q̥ôr̥.

1932. *q̥ihur̥ - *q̥uhir̥ 'reach, enter', (→) 'happen' > **HS:** CS *✓k̥ry|w 'happen; meet, encounter' (× N *k̥aRʰiwuʰ 'come in contact [meet, come across, touch]', q.v. ffd.) || **K:** Sv L {Dn.} ma-ḡer, me-ḡar 'it happen to me', li-ḡre 'to happen', li-ḡer 'to take place' ¶ Dn. s.v. ma-ḡer, me-ḡar- || **D** (att. in NED) *°kor̥r- 'enter, go in' > Krx k̥ōr-, Mlt kore id. ¶ D no. 2236 || **A** *kʰi,ür̥ 'reach, enter' > M *k̥ür̥ü- 'reach, touch' > MM [MA, IM] k̥ür̥-, [ISV] k̥ür̥i- 'reach (дойти, достичь)', WrM k̥ür̥- {MED} 'reach, arrive at; touch', HIM x̥yr̥z̥- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'reach, erreichen (доходить, доезжать, добираться), reach (достигать)', Brt x̥yr̥z̥- id., Dx kuru-, Ba kur- id., Kl {KRS} k̥yr̥- id., {Rm.} k̥ür̥-'erlangen, erreichen', Ord kʰür̥- 'toucher à, atteindre, arriver', Mnr H {SM} kʰuru- 'arriver, parvenir, atteindre, toucher', {T} k̥ür̥i- 'reach; suffice' ¶ Pp. MA 229, 441,

Lg. VMI 52, MED 503-4, BMR IV 192-3, Chr. 629-30, KRS 328, KW 247, Ms. O 538, SM 216, T 341, T DnJ 124, T BJ 141 ¶ An alt. M cognate is *^oqargu- 'meet with' (WrM qarǵu-, HIM xapra- [MED 936, NMR IV 53]); if it is justified, M *qargu goes back to N ***qihUr** ▽ - ***qUhir** ▽ × N ***kaR'iwu'** '↑' (q.v.) || T *k'i:r- or *k_i:r- 'enter' > OT kir-, Tk gir-, Tkm gi:r-, Az, Ggz, Qmq gir-, CrTt, Kr, Qrg, Nog, Qq, Uz, ET, Tv. Tf kir-, Qz kīr-, VTt, Bsh kbr-, Chv kər- id. ¶ Cl. 735-6, ET VGD 47-9 || Tg *χūr- 'ripen' > Ewk, Lm ir-, Neg iy-, Ul, Nn Nh χuru-, Ork χuri-, WrMc {Z} ypə-, Mc Sb {STM} urə- ~ uru- id. ¶ STM I 323, Z 170 || pJ {SDM} *kúrá- > MJ kúrá-, J T {S} kùre-, J K {S} kúré, J Kt {S} kuré- 'give (to the 1st person)', StJ {Kenk.} kure- 'give, let (a prson) have, present (a person) with (sth.)' ¶ Mr. 716, Kenk. 1113 ¶¶ SDM 825 (pA *k'jūre- > v. 'reach' (+ unc. 'treat') > Tg, M *kūr-, T + unc. pKo *kūr- 'treat, concern' ◇ The D and M qu. cognates suggest a N rounded vw. in the first syll. (***qUhir** ▽), which seems to be at variance with the Sv data (q- is not followed by w) ◇ The T cognate (with a lax initial cns. and a long vw. *ī) suggest a N etymon with an internal *h (N ***qihUr** ▽ - ***qUhir** ▽) that can de-emphasize the initial cns. and produce vw. length.

1933. ***qôw₁ ▽₁ R ▽** 'blind, one-eyed' > K *^oqwa^r'r- 'blind' > Mg ɣvere id. ¶ Q 418 || HS: S *^oka^wir- 'one-eyed' > Ar qawira 'was one-eyed' ({Fr.} 'uno oculo privatus fuit') (pf. 3m of the verb √qwr G 'be one-eyed') ¶ Fr. III 513, BK II 833 || ECh: Mgm {JA} kōr'iwò inf. '(s')aveugler' (pf. kōr'iwé, ip. kōr'òwwá), kōr 'blind man', kōr'á 'blind woman' ¶ JA LM 100 || D *kuruṭ- 'blind(ness)' > Tm, Ml kuruṭu, Kt kurḍ ~ ku'ṛ, Kn kuruḍu, kuraḍu, Tl gruḍḍu 'blindness', Kdg kurid, Tu kur(u)ḍu, Nkr, Gnd guḍḍi 'blind', Tl g(r)uḍḍi 'blind(ness), Klm guḍḍi 'blindness'; Tm, Ml kuruṭan, Kt kurḍh, Kn kuruḍa, kuraḍa, Kdg kuridə, Tu kuruḍe 'blind man', Mlt qoṭri 'blind person'; Tm, Ml kuruṭi, Kt kurḍy ~ ku'ṛy, Kn kuruḍi, kuraḍi, Kdg kuridḍi 'blind woman'; Mlt qoṭre v. 'become blind' ¶¶ D *-r- < *-wR- ¶¶ D no. 1787 || ?σ A: M *qoruṣun > WrM {Kow., Gl., MED} qoruṣ ~ {MED} qorǵu 'cataract\spot in the eye', HIM {MED, BMR} xypuy id., Brt xoprho 'wall-eye', WrO xoruṣ 'cataract in the eye', Kl {KRS} xophh xorybn 'cataract in the eye, wall-eye', {Rm.} xorya 'Star, weißer Flecken am Auge' ¶ MED 965, 970, BMR IV 172, Gl. II 187, Kow. 962, Krg. 284, KRS 598, KW 187, CI 45 ◇ Tk kōr 'blind' and kōr 'blind' in Az, Tkm and Qrg do not belong here, because these words have been borrowed from Persian.

1934. ***quy ▽ r ▽** 'to love, to covet' (→ 'to prefer') > K *qwar- 'love' > OG qwar-, G qvar-, Mg ɣor-, Lz (q)or- id., Sv qur-/qwir- (msd. li-l-qwir)

'copulate' (*'love [a woman]' → 'copulate') ¶¶ K 210, K² 239-40, FS K 366-7, FS E 411-12 || HS: ?φ WS *'χayar 'goodness' > Ar χayr- id. (gen. χayr-i following a noun means 'good'), 'good, better, the best' (e.g. χayru-n-nāsi 'the best of man', 'the best man') (↳ Sq {L} ḥayr adj. 'meilleur', adv. 'mieux', Mh/Hrs {Jo.} χayr 'good, health', Jb C {Jo.} 'χer 'best interest'), Mh χār 'better', Mh χayor, Hrs {Jo.} χayōr 'best', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'χar 'well-being, good', Sb {BGMR} χyr 'nobleman, noble' (pl. ?χyr), Qt ?χyr pl. {Rk.} 'élite', {MA} 'noblemen', Gz χēr 'good, excellent, good thing'; S *'✓χyr (*-χīr-) 'prefer, choose; be(come) good' > Ar ✓χyr G (ip. -χīr-) 'be propitious to; prefer, select', Gz ✓χyr G (pf. χayara ~ χēra), Mn {MA} ✓χyr 'choose, authorize', Ak ✓χyr G (inf. χiārum ~ χār u, 3m p. i-χīr) {Sd.} 'choose, select', {CAD} 'pick and take as mate' ¶ Ln. 828-31, BK I 653, Hv. 191, L LS 173, L G 270, Sd. 342-3, Jo. M 457, Jo. H 145, Jo. J 311, BGMR 64, MA 45, Rk. 72-3, CAD VI 119-20 ¶ S *χ- goes back to *q-, resulting from pHS deglotatization of of N *q-. Ar -ay- and Gz *-ē- reflect pS *-'aya- (AD PSH §§ 9-10) || A *k'uR- 'desire, love' > M *qurīca- 'desire, love passionately, lust after' > WrM qurīca- {MED} id., HIM {MED} хурьца- id., {BMR} id., 'Geschlechtstrieb haben; заниматься любовью', WrO χurīca- v. 'desire, lust after', Brt хуриса- v. 'desire (Begehrlichkeit haben (вожделеть), lust after', Kl {KRS} хурц- id.; ↳ M *qurīcal > WrM {MED}} qurīcal 'sensual love, lust; covetousness, greed', HIM хурьцал {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Geschlechtsverkehr', Brt хурисал 'Wollust, Lüsterheit (сладострастие, похоть)', d.: Ord χurač'īlč'i-'coīter' ¶ MED 989, BMR IV 173, Chr. 602, Kow. 956-8, Gl. II 185, Krg. 298, KRS 613, Ms. O 371 || Tg: [1] WrMc {Z} yry-, Mc Sb uru- 'feel\get hungry'; [2] ?σ Tg *χur- 'be jealous, envy' > Nn Bk χoro(n-) n. 'envy', Nn Nh/Bk, Ul χoralsi-, Ork χurali-, Neg oyali-, Lm urlī-, ? Ewk orgolī- 𐎠 orgalī- 'be jealous', Lm urlīq 'jealous', Ewk urīn 'rival (in love), second wife', Orc χorā, Nn Nh χorīā {STM} 'co-wife (in respect to another one)', {On.} 'co-wife (in respect to a younger co-wife)' ¶ STM II 285, 287, On. 471-2, Z 171 || T *Kírʿyan- 'wish, envy' > Uz, ET kizʿyan-, CrTt, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qrg qizʿyan-, StAlt qisqan- id., Chv хёрхен- v. 'pity, sympathize, compassionate (жалеть, сочувствовать, сострадать)' ¶ Rs. W 269, SDM 828, Ash. XVII 61, Fed. II 346-7, Jeg. 300, ChVS 250 ¶¶ But the T root of Qrg qozu- 'be irritated', Tkm qobʿya- 'move' etc. hardly belongs here (⇔ SDM97 s.v. pA *k'ō'á 'covet, be irritated' and IS III 131-4 [*qurE 'to love]), because OT qozī- does not mean 'have appetite' (as in IS) or 'be

hungry' (as in SDM), but 'be dry', and the primary meaning of the T root *Kōr- is 'move' (see Cl. 681, MKD 148-50 and ET Q 21-2) ¶¶ SDM 828 (pA *k'iuṛa|u- v. 'covet' > Tg, M *quriča-, T {AD} *Kīrṽan- [s.v. {SDM} *Kīr] + unc. T *Kīr 'expensive, miserly') || D *kūr- ({ṽGS} *k-) 'covet, love' > Tm kūr v. 'covet, hanker after', Ml kūr, kūr u n. 'love', kūr ukā v. 'love, mind', Kn kūr id., 'be attached to', Tl kūr(i)mī 'friendship, love, affection', kūr(u)cu 'be lovable\coveted' ¶¶ D no. 1897 ◇ IS III 131-4 (*qurE 'to love' > K, D, A + unt. T *kōr-) ◇ The D long vw. suggests that in the pN etymon there was an additional element, which in view of S *-y- is likely to have been *-y-. But D *-r- suggests a N intervocalic *-r- (rather than a cluster *-Ry- or *-yR-). The most plausible conjecture is to reconstruct N *quyṽrṽ.

1935. *qṽyo'Rṽ 'heap of stones, stone wall, walled settlement' > K *qōr- > G qore 'heap of stones (forming a boundary), rampart, stone wall', aṽ-qor-va {DCh.} 'загромождать', {FS} 'Steinmauer errichten, verschließen, versperren', OG qore '?' (contextual meanings: 'street, corner'), Mg ṽor-ua 'to erect a stone wall', ṽor-an-s '(he) builds', Sv UB qōr 'door' ¶¶ FS K 372-3, FS E 418, Chx. 1713, GP 271, Abul. 470 || HS: [1] CS *'kīyṽr- > BHb קִיר kīr 'wall (Wand, Mauer)', Ug kṛ 'wall (muro, pared)', MHb קִיר kīr {Lv.} 'Umzäunung, Mauer', Yd kṽr h (pl. kṽr t) 'town' (in the early Ph-Yd script there were no matres lectionis, hence y denotes a cns. [y], so that Yd kṽr h is not connected with WS *'kār-at- 'town, settlement'); [2] WS *'kār-(at-) 'town, settlement' > BHb קִרַת 'kēret 'city', Ug kṛ t 'city, the City (= Ugarit)', JA {Trg.}, JPA אִרְתָּא kār't-ā 'city', Jb C {Jo.} שִׁירֵת town, collection of houses', Sb kṛ 'e town (outside South Arabian culture area)'; d.: CS *kariy-at- / (in pl. forms) *kār'a'y- 'town' > Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} kārītu 'town', BHb קִרְיָא kīr'yā 'settlement, town, city', JA {Lv.} אִרְתָּא keryā't-ā, {KB} (originally pl.) אִרְיָא kiry-ā't-ā 'settlement (Ortschaft), town, village', JEA אִרְיָא kiry-ā't-ā 'town, village', Sr אִרְיָא kār'ē, s.e. אִרְיָא kārī't-ā (cs. keryāt, pl. keryān, keryā't-ā) 'town, village, district', Ar قَرْيَة qaryat- ~ قَرْيَة qiryat- (pl. قُرَى qurā) 'borough, village' ¶ KB 1027, 1065-7, 1072, KBR 1142-3, 1149, A no-s 2443 and 2462, OLS 370 and 373-4, Lv. IV 302, Lv. T II 388, Js. 1428, Sl. 1043, HJ 1009, Jo. J 150, Hnr. 175, Br. 695, JPS 517, Lv. IV 379, BK II 731, Hv. 603, BGMR 107 || U: FU (att. in Prm) *k'a'rṽ 'town, fortified place' > Prm *kār 'settlement, fortified settlement' > Z kar 'town', '(ancient) settlement' (e.g. ćud kar 'settlement of ancient Chudians'), 'nest' (kozuvkot kar 'anthill'), Vt

kar 'nest', 'ancient settlement', 'town' ¶ LG 116-17 ◇ Alternatively, one may suppose here two pN etyma, e.g. N * $\text{g}\nabla\text{yoR}\nabla$ and N \approx * $\text{K}'\text{a}'\text{R}\nabla$ ◇ \neq Fn. KD no. 72 (he equated K with D * $\text{g}\bar{\text{o}}\text{r}_2$ - 'Mauer', which is in fact * $\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}_2$ -, see D no. 2207b).

1935a. * $\text{g}'\text{ir}'\text{g}'\nabla$ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{h}_2\text{x}$ - > NaIE {P} * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2$ - ~ * $\text{k}'\text{ir}$ - 'head' > OI $\acute{\text{s}}\text{irah}_2$ ($\acute{\text{s}}\text{iras}$) / gen. $\acute{\text{s}}\text{ir}\text{s}_2'\text{n}_2\text{-ah}_2$ ntr. 'head, top' ({M}: * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{s}_2\text{-os}$ / * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{s}_2\text{-n}_2\text{-es}$), Av $\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{ra-}$, sarah- , Sgd $\text{s}\bar{\text{r}}$ - 'head', MPrs $\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$, NPrs $\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'head, top', Oss $\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'head, upper part' ||| Gk $\text{κρ}\acute{\alpha}\text{ς}$ 'head' (Gk Hm gen. $\text{κρ}\acute{\alpha}\text{τ}\acute{\omicron}\text{ς}$ < NaIE {M} * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{s}_2\text{-h}_2$ -), $\text{κ}\acute{\alpha}\text{ρ}\eta\text{να}$ ({F}: < * καρασνα) 'heads, mountain peaks', Gk $\text{κρ}\acute{\alpha}\text{ν}\acute{\iota}\text{ον}$ 'upper part of the head, skull' ({P}: < * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{s}_2\text{-n}_2$ -, {F}: < * $\text{κρ}\acute{\alpha}\text{σατος}$), Gk A $\text{κ}\acute{\alpha}\text{ρ}\acute{\alpha}$, Gk I $\text{κ}\acute{\alpha}\text{ρ}\eta$ 'head' ({F}: < analogical * $\text{κ}\acute{\alpha}\text{ρ}\alpha\sigma\alpha$) ||| L cernuus 'falling headlong', cerebrum 'brain' (< IE * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{h}_2\text{x}$ -ro-) ||| OHG hirni , hirn , NHG Hirn , ON hjarni 'brain', Dt hersen , hersen-en (pl.) 'brain' (WP: < * $\text{k}'\text{ersniom}$), ON $\text{hjars}\acute{\text{i}}$ 'crown of the head' (WP: < * $\text{k}'\text{erson}$) ||| OBr [Y] $\text{c}\bar{\text{i}}\text{r}\text{n-am}$ 'in fronte' ({Flr} \leftarrow 'pointe élevée, sommet [de la tête]'), MBr quern , quernn 'tonsure, crâne' (actually 'crown of the head'), 'sommet (d'une montagne)', qern ar penn 'crown of the head', Br kern id., W cern 'side of the head', {CSWD} 'cheek, jaw' ||| Tc B $\text{kr}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}\acute{\text{i}}$ (< * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{h}_2\text{s}_2\text{-i-}$) '(nape of the) neck' ({Ad.}: \leftarrow *'occiput') || Ht cd $\text{ki}\text{t-kar}$ 'at the head (of)' ¶¶ WP I 403-8, P 574-7, M K III 341, M E II 638-9, Horn 160-1, Brtl. 1565, 1572, Ab. III 73-6, F I 784-5 and II 6-7, LS 990, WH I 206, Vr. 231-2, Vr. N 254, Kb. 470, OsS 402, Flr. 108, Ern. 550-1, Hm. 453, YGM-1 84, CSWD 45, Ad. 214, Pv. IV 201-2, EI 260 (IE * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{reh}_2$ / * $\text{k}'\text{r}_2\text{h}_2\text{-os}$, snglt. IE * $\text{k}'\text{orh}_2\text{s}_2$, coll. IE * $\text{k}'\text{erh}_2$ or 'head') ||| U: FU: BF * $\text{k}'\text{ir}\text{ek}$ > F kiire , Es kiir 'sinciput, crown of the head', Lv kir 'occiput, crown of the head' ¶ SK 191, Tamm 180, Kt. 129 ||| A * $\text{K}'\text{ira}$ > M * kira > WrM {MED} kira 'summit\ridge of a mountain; small mountain chain; foothills', HIM $\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\text{p}$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'Gebirgskamm, mountain chain; foothills', Brt $\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\text{pa}$ 'Gebirgskamm' (homonymous with kira , $\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\text{p}$ 'slope; a strip attached to the edges of the saddle [F N * $\text{K}'\text{ir}\nabla$ 'edge, end']), Kl Ö {Rm.} $\text{k}'\text{ir}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'Bergwiesen', $\bar{\text{u}}\text{lin kir}\bar{\text{e}}\text{r}$, $\bar{\text{u}}\text{lin kir}\bar{\text{a}}\text{r}$ 'die Seiten des Bergrückens entlang', Ord $\text{kir}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'arête (de dune, de toit), ligne de fîte' ¶ MED 470, BMR IV 736, Chr. 657, KW 232, Ms. O 422 ||| NaT * $\text{K}'\text{ir}$ 'isolated mountain, crest of a mountain' (\times N * kur_2h_2 'hill, mountain' \times [in some lges] N * $\text{K}'\text{ir}\nabla$ '↑', q.v.) > OT qir 'isolated mountain or block of mountains, crest of a mountain, high ground; foothills, slope', MQp qir 'top of a mountain', Chg {Cl.} qir id., 'a height', Uz qir 'high ground, hilly steppe',

Qzq, Qrg, StAlt qIR 'mountain ridge', Tb {B} qIR 'mountain', Qmn {B} id., 'crest of a mountain', Qrg qIR 'crest of a mountain', Qq qIR 'mountain ridge, high ground', Xk χIR 'mountain, high ground, hill', Qrg, Tv qIR 'mountain ridge', Qzq qIR id., 'high ground with pastures and areas under cultivation', Qq qIR id., 'a height', Tkm qIR 'hilly stony steppe', (?) Tk kir, Ggz kir, Nog qIR 'field, steppe' ¶ Cl. 641, DTS 445, ET KQ 225-7, TL 95, TkR 233, MM 463, Jud. 493, BT 105, B DK 230, B DChT 134, BIG 300, Rl. II 732-3, TvR 278-9 ¶¶ SDM 767-8 (A *k'āre 'edge' T, M + unc. Tg *χari 'border, hem'), DQA no. 990 (id.), Rm. EAS I 144, KW 232, Pp. VG 114, TL 96, ADb. SR 12, ET KQ 225-7, Dr. TM III 568 || HS: S *°k'u'r_l∇_lϕ- > Gz k^ωarϕ 'helmet, headpiece' ¶ L G 439 || K: ?σ *°qir- > G {Chx.} qira n. 'Kopfstand', qiramala 'upside down (mit dem Kopf nach unten)', 'head foremost (kopfüber)' ¶ Chx. 1694-5, DCh. 1380 ◇ The labialized cns. in Gz (suggesting pS *u) still needs an explanation ◇ If the K root (as semantically dubious) does not belong here, the N etymon is *K_lirϕ|g∇ (q.v. ffd.)..

1936. *qoR_lϕ_l∇ 'gourd' > HS: CS *'k_{ar}_l∇_lϕ- 'gourd' > Ar qarϕ-at- (coll. qarϕ-) 'pumpkin', {BK} 'courge', Sr k_{ar}'ϕ-ā (abs. k_ə'r_a'ϕ) 'pumpkin', k_{ar}'ϕ-ā 'gourd' ¶ Nld. (p.c. to Löw): the variant k_{ar}'ϕ-ā is typical of Sr W; it is not necessarily an Arabism (⇔ JPS, Löw); the change ϕ > ? occurs in some dialects of Sr ¶ BK II 718, Hv. 600, JPS 517, 520, Löw A 351 || IE (< cds?): [1] NaIE *k^ωerk^ω- > OI kar_{ka}ṭ_ī '€ gourd' || AS hwerhwétte 'cucumber' |[2] ? NaIE *k_l^ωerb^heto- 'gourd' > OI carbhaṭah_l 'Cucumis utilissimus', cirbhaṭ_ī, cirbhaṭ_{am} '€ gourd' || L cucurbita 'gourd' (rdp. under the infl. of cucumis 'cucumber?') (unless a WW of Munda origin, as suggested by M K I 378 on the ev. of the element bhaṭā in OI) ¶ WP I 426, WH I 300, M K I 169, 378, Ho. 181 || K (< cd?) {K} *haqar-, {K²} *aqare- 'gourd' > Mg qoqore-, Lz qoqore-, oqore-, ore-, Sv (h)aqar, aqār 'gourd', ?ϕ G aqiro- 'gourd *Lagenaria vulgaris*' ¶¶ K 46, K² 5, Chik. 148, Chx. 47, DCh. 76.

1937. *qARŭh₂∇ (= *qARŭh∇?) 'to cover, to keep (sth.) out of sight, to hide' > IE *°kruH_x-/*°krouH_ox- > NaIE *°krū-/*°krowa- v. 'cover, hide' > Sl inf. *krǎ-ti 'to cover, to hide' > OCS inf. крѣтити krǐtī id., Blg 'крія vt. 'cover, conceal, hide', SCr inf. krǐtī 'to hide, to conceal, to keep', Δ inf. 'to roof', Slv inf. krítī 'to conceal, to hide, to roof', Cz inf. krytí, Slk inf. kryt', P inf. kryć 'to hide, to conceal, to cover', R inf. крыть 'to cover'; ↗ *krovъ > OCS кровъ кровъ (·στέγη, δῶμα) 'roof', (·σκηνή) {StSS} 'tent, dwelling (шатёр, жилище)', (·ταμεῖον, κρυπτή) 'secret

place, hiding-place', (· σκέπη) 'protection', OR {Srz.} **КРОВЪ** 'Dach', (· σκηνή) 'tent', R **КРОВ** 'roof over one's head, shelter', SCr **krōv**, Cz **krōv** 'roof, roof over one's head; refuge, shelter', Slk **krōv** 'roof', Slv **krōv** 'roof, lid' || Lt 1 s pres. **kráuju** / inf. **kráuti** (p. **króviau**) v. 'pile, heap up, load; build (a nest)', Ltv 1s pres. **krāũnu** (~ **krāuju**) / inf. **krāũt** id. ||| Clt (× IE ***krōpo-** 'roof' < N ***KERVpV** 'to cover' [→ 'roof'] [q.v.?): OIr **cró** 'stall, pigsty, wooden partition', MW **creu** 'stall, pigsty, enclosure', W **crāu** 'pigsty', Cmn **crōw** 'hut, pigsty', Br **krāou** 'étable' ¶ Tr. 139-40, ESSJ XIII 20-1, 71-2, StSS 294, 296, Srz. I 1326, Glh. 349, 352, Frn. 291, ≈ WP I 477, P 616-17, Vn. C 240-1, YGM-1 102, SB 96 ¶ The accentuation of the Lt verb points to an NaIE ***a** (***krōwə-**, as reconstructed in ESSJ XIII 72) || **HS**: S (att. in SES) ***✓krw|y** > Mh **kr̥rū** (1s pf. **kr̥r̥k**, ps. **kr̥ray**) v. 'hide', Jb C **✓kr̥y** (pf. **kr̥re**, sbjn. **kr̥r̥**) 'hide, be hidden' ¶ Jo. M 237, Jo. J 150 || C: EC: Sml **qari-** vt. 'hide, conceal' ||| SC: Kz {E} **kulum-** vi. 'hide' (according to E SC 34, Kz -l- is from *-r-, and the SC stem is ***kr̥r-**) (× N ***QoHri** 'to cover, to protect, to guard') ¶ DSI 491, ZMO 325, Abr. S 201, E K 14, E SC 254 [no. 42] || WCh: Hs **kr̥r̥** v. 'protect, guard; interpose (sth.) to screen from view', **kr̥r̥yà** 'protection; interposing an object to prevent (sth.) from being seen\hit; screening off a place' (× N ***QoHri** '↑') ¶ Ba. 567, 570, Abr. H 486, 489 || **K**: G **qr-** 'in die Erde vergraben (Weingefäß), pflanzen (Reben, Obstbäume)' ¶ Chx. 1721 || **D** ***kar-** ({**GS**} ***k-**) vt. 'hide' (→ 'steal') > Tm **karā** vt. 'conceal, steal', vi. 'hide, lie hidden, keep oneself out of sight', Ml **karāppu** 'covering, hiding, concealing', Kt **o'garv-** 'listen without speaking, be silent when called' (***ōk-** 'hear' [D no. 1032] + ***kar-**), Td **kar-** vt. 'steal, hide', Kn **karē** vt., vi. 'hide', ?? Tl **karāti** 'deceiver, cheat'; D ⇨ OI **kharpāra-** 'thief' ¶¶ D ***r-** < ***rH-** < N ***-RûH₂-** ¶¶ D no. 1258 ◇ The N lr. (reconstructed on the IE ev.) was most probably ***h**, because this is the lr. that tends to be lost in the intervoc. position in Semitic.

1938. ***qur'h'V** 'to bark, to howl' (of canines), 'to cry, to shout' > **K**: GZ ***qur-** 'howl' (of wolves, dogs), 'cry' > G G rdp. **qurqul-i** 'howling of wolves\dogs' (× K ***qūl-** v. 'cry' < N ***qU,?,lV** 'speak, call?'), Mg **fur-** 'howling of wolves\dogs', Lz (**q**)**ur-**, **qu(r)-** v. 'cry; be angry'; ? G **qvīr-** 'cry, be angry' ¶ K² 246, ≈ K 211 (K ***qwir-** 'shout'), FS E 420, Chik. 359 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) ***kurV-** > ObU ***kūr(ət)** v. 'bark' (of dogs) > pVg ***kūr̥t-** id. > Vg: T/NV/ML **kort-**, Ss **xort-** id., d.: P **kortant-**, NV **kortant-** id.; pOs {Ht.} ***kūr̥ayt-**, {**Hl.**} ***kūr̥ayt-** > Os: D/K/Nz/Kz/O **χōrət-** 'aufbellen', V/Vy

kōrəʏtəʏəl-, Ty kōrəʏtəʏəʔ- 'wütend anbellen' ¶ Ht. no. 329 || D *kur-
 ({ʃGS} *k-) v. 'bark' (of dogs), 'shout', 'groan' (× N *kuRħ∇ 'shout, cry') >
 Tm kurai v. 'bark, shout', kurai n. 'noise, roar, shout', Ml kura
 'disagreeable sound, barking', kurekka v. 'bark', Kt kerʋ-, Td kwarf-, Kdg
 kora- v. 'bark', Tu korapu-, korēpi-, korēpu- id., 'roar', Prj kūr- v.
 'groan', Gnd {ChenT} kuhascānā 'to bark, to growl, to groan' ¶¶ D *-r- <
 N *-Rʰ¹- ¶¶ D no. 1796 || ?σ HS: S *°✓krħ > Ar ✓qrħ (+ ʕalā) Gt (pf.
 ʔiqtarāḥa) 'ask sth. importunately from', ʔiqtarāḥ- msd. 'extemporate
 speaking', Ar SL ✓qrħ G 'incite so. to' ¶ BK II 707, Hv. 597 || IE: NaIE
 *kʷer-, *kʷr- 'cry, shout' > L quirito / -āre 'utter a cry of distress,
 shriek, scream, cry out' ||| Sl *krikъ n. 'cry, shout' > ChS крикъ krikъ
 'Schrei', SCr krīk, Cz křik, P krzyk, R крик 'Schrei'; Sl inf. *kričati
 'schreien' > OCS inf. кричати kričati 'schreien', SCr inf. kričati, Cz
 inf. křičeti, P inf. krzycieć, R inf. кричать 'to cry, to shout' ¶ ≈ WH
 II 409 (no convincing et. of quirito), ≠ ESSJ XII 149-50, 154-6
 (supposing that Sl *krik/č- is of onomatopoeic origin), StSS 294 ◇ D *-r-
 suggests the presence of a N cns. cluster (*R + l.r.).

1939. *gUR₁W₁∇ (= *gUR₁W₁∇?) 'ear' > K *gūr- 'ear, edge' > OG, G gur-
 id., Mg ʕuʒ̣-, Lz (g)uʒ̣- ʒ̣ ʕuʒ̣- ʒ̣ yuʒ̣- 'ear', ? Sv gōr- 'door, yard' (←
 'edge?'); -d> GZ *gur-u 'deaf' (lit. 'earless') > OG gru-ʏ, G gru, Mg ʕur-u
 'deaf' ¶¶ K 213-14, K² 246-7, FS K 374-5, FS E 420 ||| A *°k'ur- > Tg
 *χurum 'internal ear, earwax' > Ewk urumḡā id., Lm urumr̥, Neg oyomḡa, Ud
 uḡä, Ul, Nn Nh ɣoromsa, Nn KU oromsa, Ork ɣoropsa 'earwax' ¶ STM II
 288, On. 473 ||| U: FU *korw∇ 'ear, leaf' (× N ? *ko^rʳ¹W₁∇ 'ear
 [external ear?]' [q.v.]) > F korʋa, Es kōrʋ 'ear' || Lp N {N} bællje-
 goar've 'earhole' (bællje is 'ear') || pPrm *kʷor ({}LG *kʷor) 'leaf' > Z
 kor / kory-, Z US kōr-, Yz¹kur, Vt kwar 'leaf' ||| OHg, Hg harap 'dry leaves/
 grass' ¶ UEW 187, MF 266-7, It. no. 97, LG 133, EWU 528 ||| ? D *kuṛ- ({}GS)
 *k-) 'ear ring, ear' (× N ? *ko^rʳ¹W₁∇ '↑' and N *go^rHæ 'to track [game], to
 smell, to hear; ear') > Tm kurai, Ml kurā 'ear ring, ear', Kn B kōḡige, Tu
 koḡarḡæ, Klm kuḡka, Gnd kuṛka 'ear ring', Tu kuḡka, kuḡki 'female's
 ear ornament' ¶¶ D *-ṛ- suggests N *gUR₁W₁∇, unless this *-ṛ- belongs to
 the heritage of N *ko^rʳ¹W₁∇ ¶¶ D no. 1823 ||| HS: C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} qārīz,
 Xm {R} qa'rus ~ qe'rūs, Xm T {CR} qarəs, Xm Wg {Beke} kérez 'ear' |||
 ? EC: Or {Th.} qārru 'earhole' (unless ← qārru 'entrance, hole', cp. Or
 {Th.} qārru 'buco, vuoto dei denti [carie]' and Or {Brl.} karru 'spazio tra
 i denti incisivi; orificio delle orecchie; entrata') ¶ R Ch II 67, Blz. CWL, Th.

272, Ap. AV, Beke LDA, CR Kh s.v. qar əs, Brl. 228 || ? S *^oχurr- > Ar χurr- 'base of the ear' ¶ BK I 551, Hv. 160 ¶ *χ- < *q- from de-emphatized N *q- ◇ ≠ Blz. DA no. 13 (D *kuṛ- ÷ HS *gur(y)- 'ear; hear', see N *goŕHæ 'to track game, to smell, to hear; ear').

1940. *qoRb∇ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' > K: GZ *qwerb- (~ *qwerp- ?) 'hearth' > OG querb-, G qverb-, G P/X qwerp-, Mg qebur- ~ ſebur- 𐌺 qebur- id., Lz d. p-qrebul-e ~ o-rqebl-e 'place around the hearth' ¶ K 211 and K² 241 (*qwerb-); ≈ FS K 367 and FS E 412 (*qwebr-); Chx. 1686 || HS: Ch: WCh *qalwlr- ({Stl.} *qaru-) vt. 'fry, roast; burn' > Hs qáwřàřā 'fry without oil or grease', qáwřī 'smell of burning rags\hair\flesh\etc.' | BT: Krk {Lk.} kār- vt. 'burn', {Sk.} karu 'roast' | Cg {Sk.} qzr- id. | AG {Hf.} *quſur {AD} 'burn', 'burning coal' > Mnt kugur, Krf {Nt.} kùgur 'burning coal', Su/Ang {Hf.} kūr 'charcoal', Gmy {Ch.} qūr 'burn' (tr.) | Bks {J} ?aǵōř 'verbrannte Reste am Gefäßboden' || CCh: MfG {Sk.} kakzr- 'brûler' (tr.) ¶ JI II 54, Stl. IF 111 (WCh *qaru- > *qawar-), Stl. ZCh 222 [no. 715] (WCh *qalwlr-), Ba. 589, Hf. AG no. 209, Nt. 21, J R 129, ChL, ChC s.v. 'burn' tr., Sk. HCD 169 || Eg Md qzf vt. 'boil\heat (pig blood), burn' (× HS ✓ qzrp [> S *✓ qzrp 'burn'] and N *qULp∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 522 || IE: NaIE *^ok|karbl^h₁- (unless it is *^ok|kardl^h-) > L carbō (gen. carbōnis) 'charcoal' ¶ EM 99, ≈ WH I 165-6 || U *korpe- 'burn, be scorched, prepare (food) on fire, singe' > F korventa-, korpea- (inf. korveta) 'singe, scorch', Es kōrbe- 'burn, be burnt, singe, be singed', kōrb (gen. kōrve) 'Versengen, Anbrennen' | pLp *kōrpz- 'be burnt\scorched, be devastated by fire' > Lp: S {Hs.} guorbesje adj. 'devastated by forest fire', L {LLO} kuor1pa- 'be devastated by forest fire', 'remain with half-burnt pieces of wood' (of an extinguished fire), N {N} guor1bâ / -rb- 'be scorched' | Er кирva- kirva-, Δ {Ps.} kurva- v. 'flame, blaze', Mk крvястe- kárváśtə-, {Ps.} kár1úéśtə-, Er кирvастe- kirváśtə-, Δ {Ps.} kúrváśtə- 'set fire to, set on fire', Mk крvязe- kárvážə- 'catch fire' || ?σ OHg xv heruad- ~ hiruad- 'bleich werden, welken', Hg hérvad-, Δ hirvad- v. 'fade, wither, dry up' (× N *kor∇wa 'fade, rot, decay' [q.v.]) || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: NP kûrra-, UO kûra- 'singe (wood)' ¶¶ Coll. CG 401-2, UEW 186, Lr. no. 535 (pLp *kōrpz 'palomaa, пожora, waste land after a forest fire'), Lgc. no. 2919, Hs. 691, ERV 264, PI 132, ≈ Ker. II 62, Ps. M 87, MF 282-3, EWU 552, Cs. 125.

1941. *qæRqUm∇ 'weasel, ermine' > IE: NaIE *kormen id. > VL {ML} *karmo / obl. *karmōn- (unc.: {ML} ←b GI) > RhR Srs carmun [kar'mun]

'weasel' ({EI}: ← Venetic or Ilr) || Ltv *sermulis*, Lt *šarmuonỹs* 'ermine', Lt *šarmuõ* ~ *šermuõ* id., 'weasel' || OSx *har mo* 'ermine', OHG *har mo* id., 'weasel', MHG *har m(e)* 'ermine', AS *hear ma* 'shrew (Spitzmaus), weasel'; → (dim.): OHG *har mili* 'weasel' (→ MdL *hermelinus*, It *ermellino*, OFr (h) *ermine* [× L *mūs Armenia* 'Armenian rat'] > Fr *hermine* 'weasel' → NE *ermine*) > MHG 'hermelin' > NHG *Hermelin* 'ermine' ¶ P 573-4, EI 638 (**k̂ormon-* 'weasel, ermine [*Mustela*]', 'stoat [*Mustela erminea*]', ≈ ML no. 1700, Frn. 965, Ho. 152, Ho. S 31, Kb. 436, OsS 273, Lx. 82, 87, KM 305, Dauz. 388, HDEL 444-5 || K: MG [VTq.] *garqum-i* 'ermine' ¶ DCh. 1373, DCh. RGS 73 || A: T: Osm {Rh.} *قاقم* *qaqim*, Tk *kakim*, Az {Ax.} *qaqum*, {Dr.} *gagum* 'ermine'; cp. NPrs *قاقم* *qāqum* 'ermine (fell)'; this may be a Wanderwort, but the direction of borrowing is not clear (Dr. TM does not mention it among the Turkic loans in NPrs) ¶ Rh. 1419, Shch. Zh 142, Vl. II 707 ◇ The N word-medial cns. **q* was lost in IE within a cns. cluster (N **-RqUm-* > pre-IE **-rkm-* > IE **-rm-*) ◇ Cf. N **kuñ* (í) 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat or sim.)'.

1942. **qVRVś* (= **qVRUś*?) 'to be(come) silent\dumb' > K: GZ **qurs-* 'become dumb, be silent' > G P/X *qurs-* 'become dumb', Mg *qurs-* id., 'be silent' ¶ K² 246, FS K 375, FS E 420-1, Chx. 1741 || HS: CS **✓χrś* 'be deaf\dumb' > BHb *חַרְשׁ* *ḥē'rēś* 'deaf', *✓ḥrś* *G* (3m ip. *חַרְשׁ* *ḥε-ḥ^εraś*) 'be deaf', MHb *✓ḥrś* *D* 'deafen, make deaf', *✓ḥrś* *Sh* (pf. *חַרְשׁ* *ḥεḥ^εrīś*) id., 'be silent' (*Sh* with inchoative meaning), *חַרְשׁ* 'ḥerεś 'silence', *חַרְשׁ* *ḥē'rēś* 'deaf, dumb, deaf and dumb', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} *χa₁r₁raśu* 'deaf', DA *ḥrśn* pl. 'deaf; deaf and dumb', IA *ḥrś* 'deaf', JA [Trg.] {Js.} *חַרְשׁ* *ḥer'śīn*, em. *חַרְשׁ* *ḥarśay'pā* pl. 'deaf (persons)', JEA *חַרְשׁ* *ḥar'śā* 'deaf person', Sr *✓ḥrś* *G* (pf. *حَرَس* *ḥə'raś*) 'be dumb\silent, be deaf', SmA *חַרְשׁ* *ḥrś* 'deaf', Ar *✓χrs* *G* (pf. *χarisa*) 'be dumb' ¶ N **q* > (HS de-emphatization) **q* > S **χ* ¶ KB 343-4, HJ 409, Hnr. 130, Js. 507, Sl. 485, Tal 297, Dlm. 153, Br. 259, BK I 557, Hv. 162, MiK I no. 2.32 || IE: Ht *karus* (*siya*)- 'be\fall silent; keep quiet (about)' ¶ Pv. IV 116-17, Ts. E I 529-30, Kas. AN 161 ◇ Kas. AN 161 (agreeing with this etymological comparison of mine).

1943. **qah₂r* 'hard, firm' > HS: B **✓:γHr* 'be hard, harden' > Ah *iγar* (3m pf. *γəqqur*) id. (Fcj. 86 = Pcj. II B 4), ETwl/Ty *iγar* (3m pf. Ty *γəqqur*, ETwl *iqqur*) 'be hard (dur)', Gh adj. *iqqor*, f. *təqqorət*, Izn/Rf {Rn.} *i-qqur* 'is hard', BSn *qūr* 'be hard', Sll {Ds.} *qor* (pf. *qqu^ur*) 'be hard', Gd {CM} *iqqor*

'dur' ¶ Fc. 1751, 2007, Pr. H no. 348, Pr. M VI-VII 155, GhA 71, 251, CM 118, Ds. 100, Rn. 361 ¶ pB *:- (Pr.): = *w- goes back to a prefix of verbs of state || C: ? Bj {R} ✓ ʔkr pcv. 'be strong, be hard' (1s: p. aʔa'kir, pres. aʔan'kīr), 'ākr i 'strong (mächtig) || EC: (?) Sml qaraḥ {DSI} 'arido, sassoso' (di terreno), {ZMO} 'dryness, dry' || SC: Irq {MQK} qoroʔōt v. 'dry' ¶ R WBd 13, ZMO 325, DSI 489, MQK 87, Blz. CWL s.v. 'dry'₃ || K: GZ *mḡar- 'solid, firm, strong' > OG mḡar- 'solid, strong', G mḡar- id., 'firm', Lz pēž- id. ¶ K² 127, DCh. 916 ¶ Lz -ž- for the regular -š- < K *-r- at the end of the stem || IE: NaIE *k^har- 'hard' (× N *Ka₁H₂r[∇] 'sharp' × N *ć^oR[∇] 'tip, top, edge' [q.v.], whence the meaning 'sharp' in NaIE *k^har-) > OI k^hara- 'hard, rough, sharp', NPrs خارا ḫārā 'very hard stone, flint, rock' || ? Tc A {Wn.} tṣär 'hard' ¶ WP I 355, M K I 302, Vl. I 634-5, Sg. 487, Horn 102, Wn. LE 146, Wn. I 528 ¶ NaIE *k|k^hers- 'hard' does not belong here, but rather to N *k^hu¹R[∇]ć[∇] 'hard (q.v. ffd.), as suggested by the lack of traces of the N lr. and by the final sibilant ¶¶ NaIE *k^har- < PIE *k^har- < (mt.) N *qa_h₂r[∇] || D (in SD) *kār- ({}GS} *k-) 'hard, firm' > Tm kār 'become hard\mature, become firm\strong in mind', Kn kārime 'obstinacy, haughtiness', ? Td kqšf 'be envious' ¶ D no. 1491.

1944. on. *qu₁∇₁sê (or *qu_h₂₁a₁sê?) 'to vomit, to cough' > HS: Eg Md/G k₁ys ~ k₃s v. 'vomit' (× HS **✓k₁ls > Ar ✓qls 'vomit, spit') ¶ EG V 17, Vc. 247, Tk. I 66 (Eg, Ar), BK II 800-1 || ? Ch: Ke kisi v., n. 'cough' ¶ Eb. 72 || K *°q₁∇š- > Sv {Ni.} q₁wäš n. 'cough' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'кашель' || IE *k^wehs- > NaIE *k^wās- v. 'cough' > Vd kās- n. 'cough', OI kāsate 'coughs' || Lt kos-mi 'I cough', inf. kóseti 'to cough', kosulỹs n. 'cough', Ltv inf. kāsēt 'to cough' | pSl *kǎš(ь)ь n. 'cough' > OR кашель kašelj, R, Uk 'кашель (gen. 'кашля), SCr kǎšalj (gen. kǎšlja), Slv kášelj (gen. kašlja), Cz kašel (gen. kašle), Slk kašel', P kaszel (gen. kaszlu) 'cough' n. || OBr pas 'catarrhus', Br paz n. 'cough', pasaat 'to cough', W pās 'whooping cough', peswch 'cough', pesychaf v. 'cough', Cm pāz, OIr {LP} casachtach 'cough' || OHG huosto, huosta, AS h_wōsta, NE Δ_whoost, MDt hōste n. 'cough, coughing', OHG inf. huostōn & huastōn, NHG inf. husten 'to cough', AS inf.h_wōsan* id. (att. 3s h_wēst 'coughs, is coughing'), MDt inf. hoesten, ON inf. hōsta 'to cough' || pAl {O} *kāslā (< IE *k^wās-lā) > Al kollē 'cough' ¶ Here N *qu- yields pre-IE *k_u > IE *k^w (cf. AD NGIE § 6) ¶ Dv. no. 224, DImr. 265, P 649, EI 133 (*k^weh_{as}-), M E I 346-7, LP § 25.5, Flr. 281, YGM-1 354, Hm. 620-2, Frn. 283-4, Vr. 250, Ho. 182, Kb. 491-2, Schz. 172, OsS 433, ESSJ

IX 160-1, Vs. II 214-15, Srz. I 1201, Glh. 313, O 189, Huld 81 || **U:** FU *kuse- v. 'cough' > pLp {Lr.} *k0s3- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} gusse-, L {LLO} kãssã-, N {N} gossâ- / -s-, K {Gn.} kōsse- id. | Er, Mk κοζ κοζ n. 'cough', Er κοζο- κοζο-, Mk κοζα- v. 'cough' | Prm *kūz- > Z, Vt кыз- кыз-, Yz kʌ'zʌt- id. ||| ObU: pOs *koϕ n. 'cough' > Os: V kol, D χut-, O χol id.; d.: Os D χutes-, Os O χutatlī- v. 'cough', Os V kol+m- v. mom. 'give a cough' || Sm {Jn.} *kot n. 'cough' > Ne: T κο' χο? / χοδ- χοδ-, Ne T O {Lh.} χō?, Ne F Nl {Lh.} kōt, Ng {Cs.} ku? (gen. kuδaη), En X {Cs.} kû? (gen. kuρο?), En B {Cs.} ko? (gen. koδo) id., Slq Nr {Cs.} kot n. 'cough', Kms {Cs.} ku?d, ku?d id.; Sm {Jn.} *kot- v. 'cough' > Ne T d. χοδομβă-, Ne T O {Lh.} χōδomb_a-, Ng {Mik.} kut3δ3sa id., {Cs.} kutâdandum 'I am coughing', En X {Cs.} koruηaro?, En B {Cs.} koduηado?, Slq Ch {KD} qon'ah, Kms {KD} k'uplám id.; Sm d. {HL} *kot-or-, {Jn.} *kot-ыр- v. 'cough' > Ne T χοδορ-, Ne F {Lh.} koto_or-, En {Cs.} 1s pres. koruηaro? & fodunado, Slq Tz {KKIH} qotar-, Mt {HL} *kodor- id. (Mt M {Sp.} κοδορгомъ n. 'cough') ¶¶ UEW 223, Coll. 13, Sm. 537 (U *kosî(-), FP *kusi-, Ugr *kũθĩ), It. 217, Lr. no. 461, Lgc. no. 2577, LG 150, Lt. J 130, Ker. II 66, Jn. 74, Cs. 120, 182, 237, KKIH 163, KD 33-4, Hl. M no. 517 || **A** *k'usæ v. 'vomit' > T *Kus- v. 'vomit' (× N ? *g'u'š'∇'a ~ *g'u'š'∇'∇ 'belch, vomit?') > OT quś- 'vomit', Tk kus-, Tkm quθ-, Az gus-, Ggz kus-, Uz, ET, Kr, Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, SY quś-, Qzq quś-, VTt qḅś-, Bsh qḅθ-, Xk χus-, Chv xăc- xḅs/z_- id. ¶ Cl. 666, Rs. W 301, ET Q 174-5, Ash. XVI 365, Fed. II 334-5, Jeg. 295, ChVS 247 || Tg *χüse- v. 'feel nauseated, vomit' > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk χus3-, Orc is3- ~ isi3gi- ~ is3gi-, Lm is-, Neg is3-, Sol iś'irī- id., Nn Nh χus3, Ewk is3, Lm isḅn 'nausea, vomiting' ¶ STM I 332, On. 484 ¶¶ SDM 830 (pA *k'ũso > Tg, T), DQA no. 1095, Ci. EApk124 ◇ Tg *ü (< *u) may be due to regr. as. (caused by pA *-æ < N *-e) ◇ If Eg 3 belongs to the heritage of HS **✓k]s, we have to reconstruct a less specified N *quH₂asê (with *H₂ = *ʔ|ʕ|ħ|h, because these four laryngeals yield zero in K).

1945. *gü?it∇ 'bright; to shine' > K *°gwit- 'yellow' > G qvita 'yellow dye\paint', qvit-el-i 'yellow', MG [Vsr.], G qvitl- 'become yellow' ¶ Chx. 1686-7, DCh. 1378, ≠ K² 424 || **HS:** C: Bj {R} ket- scv. 'be bright\clean (klar\rein\hell sein)', 'kētā 'bright' ¶ R WBd 150 || Ch ≈ *kuḍ- > CCh: Mtk {Sb.} kúḍkùḍè?è 'white' | Msy {Mch.} kóḍek kóḍek id. | Gv {ChL} kʷùḍer(iya) id. | ? Lame {ChL} kâutú 'cleanness' ¶ JI II 345, ChL III 126, 200, ChC s.v. 'white', Sb. M s.v. kúḍkùḍè?è || **IE: [11]** NaIE *k̑wejd-/ *k̑wid- v.

'shine, be white' > OI 3s pres. $\acute{s}vinda\tau\bar{e}$ 'is bright\white' ||| Gk {P} Πίνδος, name of a mountain (lit. 'the white one') ||| Gmc: (NaIE $*\bar{k}wejd-$ >) Gt $hveits$, ON $hvítr$, Dn $hvid$, Sw vit , OHG (h)wiz, NHG weiß, OSx, OFrs, AS $hwīt$ 'white', NE white; (NaIE $*\bar{k}wid-no-$ >) MLG, MDt, Dt wit 'white' ||| Lt $\acute{s}viedr\bar{u}s$ 'shining, bright'; [2] NaIE $*\bar{k}wejd-t-$ > $*\bar{k}wejt-$ 'white, bright, shining' > OI $\acute{s}v\bar{e}'ta-$, Av $s\bar{p}a\bar{e}ta-$ 'white, bright', OI $\acute{s}v\bar{e}t-\gamma a-$ id. ||| BSl: Lt inf. $\acute{s}vi\bar{e}sti$ (1s pres. $\acute{s}vie\check{c}i\bar{u}$) 'to shine, to hold a light to', Pru $s\bar{w}\bar{a}igstan$ accus. 'Schein', Lt inf. $\acute{s}vi\bar{e}sti$ (1s pres. $\acute{s}vint-$) 'to dawn', $\acute{s}vitru\bar{s}$ 'bright, shining'; (with $*k-$ < NaIE $*k-$, preconsonantal depalatalization of $*\bar{k}-$) Ltv † {ME} inf. $kvit\bar{e}t$ (1s pres. $kvitu$) 'glänzen, flimmern' || Sl $*sv\bar{e}t\bar{b}$ n. 'light (lux), world' > OCS, OR $свѣтъ\sv\bar{e}t\bar{b}$, R $свeт$ id., Blg $свeт$ (df. $свeт-ът$), SCr $свѣт\svij\bar{e}t$, Slv $sv\bar{e}t$, Cz $sv\bar{e}t$, Slk $svet$, P $\acute{s}wiat$, Uk $св\bar{e}т$ 'world', ds: Blg $свeтл\bar{h}на$, SCr $свѣтло\svij\bar{e}tlo$, Cz $sv\bar{e}tlo$, Slk $svetlo$, P $\acute{s}wiat\bar{ł}o$, Uk $св\bar{e}тлo$ n. 'light'; Sl {Glh.} inf. $*sv\bar{i}tati$ 'to dawn' > OCS inf. $св\bar{h}тати\svitati$ 'to dawn', $св\bar{h}тати\св\bar{h}тати\svitati$ $с\bar{e}$ 'to shine', OR inf. $св\bar{h}тати\svitati$ 'to dawn', R inf. $свeтати$, Uk inf. $св\bar{e}тати$, SCr inf. $sv\bar{i}tati$, Slv inf. $svitati$, Cz inf. $sv\bar{i}tati$, Slk inf. $svitat'$, P inf. $\acute{s}witac'$ id.; (with preconson. depalatalization $*\bar{k}-$ > $*k-$): $*kv\bar{e}t\bar{b}$ 'flower' > OCS $цвѣтъ\cv\bar{e}t\bar{b}$ 'flower, blooming plant', OR {Srz.} $цвѣтъ\cv\bar{e}t\bar{b}$ 'flower, color', Blg $цв\bar{e}т$, SCr $цвѣт\cvij\bar{e}t$, Slv $cvet$, Cz $kv\bar{e}t$, Slk $kvet$, P $k\bar{w}iat$ 'flower', Uk $цв\bar{e}т$ 'flowers', R $цвeт$ 'color', †, Δ 'flower', R $цвeт\bar{h}ы$ pl. 'flowers' ¶ WP I 469-70, P 628-9, EI 641 ($*\bar{k}wejto-s$ ~ $*\bar{k}witro-s$ 'white'), M K III 404-6, Vr. 273-4, Vr. N 843, Fs. 284-5, Ho. 182, Kb. 1218-19, OsS 440, Schz. 387, Tr. 373f., Frn. 1043-6, En. 259, ME II 355, Vs. III 575-6 and IV 292-3, Chn. II 145-6, 362-3, StSS 595-6, 771, Srz. III 276, 1437-8, Glh. 169, 599-600 ||| D (att. in SD) $*ki\check{t}i$ ({†GS} $*k-$) 'spark' > Td $ki\check{r}y$, Kn, Tu $ki\check{c}i$, Δ $ke\check{c}i$, Kdg $k\bar{e}d\check{i}$, $\check{c}e\check{d}i$ id. ¶ D no. 1528, Sakth. 285 ◇ The cns. $*d$ in Ch $\approx *ku\check{d}-$ and the vw. $*i$ of the initial syll. in D $*ki\check{t}i$ point to N $*g\check{u}rit\bar{v}$ rather than $*g\check{u}yt\bar{v}$. NaIE $*\bar{k}wejd-/ *kwid-$ goes back to pre-IE $**k\check{u}yt\bar{v} < *g\check{u}rit\bar{v}$.

1946. $*gew\bar{v}$ 'bark, crust, shell' > HS: SC: Irq $qaway$ {E} 'strip of hide', {MQK} 'leather strip, leather whip' ||| DhI $ka\bar{w}e$ 'eggshell' ¶ E SC 252, MQK 86, EEN 19, To. D 138 ||| K: Sv $quwa$ 'bark, crust' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'коpa' and 'копка' ||| A $*k'eb\bar{v}$ 'husk, shell' > T $*k'eb\bar{a}k$ ~ $*k'ep\bar{a}k$ (or $k\bar{e}b\bar{a}k$ ~ $*k\bar{e}p\bar{a}k$) > OT {Cl.} $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}k$ 'bran, scurf, dandruff', MQP [CC] XIV $ke\bar{b}ek$ 'bran', Tk $kepek$, Az $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}k$, ET $k\bar{a}p\bar{a}k$ ~ $kepek$ 'bran, dandruff', Tkm, Ggz,

Ln керек, Uz керäk, Qz, Qq kebek, Qmq gebek, Tv хевек 'bran', Qrg kebek 'bran, husk of millet\barley', Nog kebek 'husk of millet', SY кевек, VTt kibäk 'chaff (мякина)', Bsh käbäk id., 'bran', käwäk 'dandruff', Xk kibek 'eggshell, nutshell', Chv L кипек kib_ек, Ch Δ кипик кипенкё 'Schale, Spreu (шелуха, мякина)' ¶ Cl. 688, ET KQ 47-8, Dr. TM III no. 1615, Ash. VI 225, Fed. I 296, Jeg. 113, ChVS 89 ¶ Acc. to SDM97, the variant pA *k'epек (in T) is secondary (due to as. or to the infl. of T *k'āruk 'bark, shell' < A *k'āp'a 'bark, skin', see N *Қон₂ар'У' 'bark') || M *kebeg 'husk, chaff' > WrM {MED} кебег ~ кебиг 'husk, peel, chaff, bran', HIM хэвэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'husk, chaff, bran', ShY кэвэз id., Kl {KRS} кеvг 'bran, chaff', Kl Ö/D {Rm.} kewəg_ 'Spreu, Kaff, Hülsen (des Getreides), Kleie', Kl Ö {Rm.} kewə 'Getreidehülsen, Kleie, Spreu', Ord k'ewek 'enveloppe du grain de l'épi, balle des céréales' ¶ SDM 778, MED 438, BMR IV 203, KRS 287, KW 229, SM 197, Ms. O 418 || pJ {S} *kārī 'shell, egg' (× *Қон₂ар'У' 'bark') > OJ kapīi, MJ kàφī id., J T kái, J K kái, J Kg kaí 'shell'; OJ kapīiguo, MJ kàφīgò, J Ht ké, J Ns kùgá, J Y káíñù 'egg' ¶ S QJ no. 149, Mr. 433, Kenk. 759 ¶ pJ may belong to the heritage of N *Қон₂ар'У' ¶¶ SDM 778 (pA *k'èpà 'husk, shell' > J, M *kebe, T [reconstructed as *kebü]), DQA no. 1008, SDM97 (A *k'eba ~ *-o 'husk, shell' > T, Ko + unc. J *ka(m)pí 'rice ear').

1947. on. *qûw'í'ɣ∇ 'shout, cry', 'utter sounds' (*inter alia* of an animal) > K: GZ *qiw- 'crow' (of a rooster) > OG, G qiv-, Mg ɣi-, Lz qi- ~ qi- v. 'crow' (a rooster) ||| ? K {K, K²} *qu-, {Srj.} *qu₁w₁- v. 'cry, howl' > OG/G qiv-, G P qu- / quil- / *quv₁- 'cry', 'howl' (a beast) (qu-o-da 'he cried, howled', aɣ-i-quv-i-a 'er schrie auf'), Sv qū- (li-qū-li 'schreien, heulen', qū-l-i 'er schreit', mu-qū-li 'schreiend') ¶¶ FS K 370-1 and FS E 415-16 (*qiw- 'shout, crow'), Srj. KE 25 [no. 42] (K *quw-), K 212, K² 242-3 (GZ *qiw- v. 'crow'), 245 (K *qu- 'howl'), Chx. 1735, 1737 || **HS: S** *^o✓k₁wɣ > Ar qa₁wāɣ- 'qui hurle (loup)' ¶ BK II 835 || **B** *^o✓ɣwH > ETwl/Ty {GhA} ɣɣwu (3m pf. ETwl ɣə-ɣwa, Ty i-ɣwa) v. (Pcj. I A 7) 'miauler, bêler', Ah ɣəwih-ət v. 'cry' (of a camel); Rf, SrSn AA ɣuy 'call (appeler)', Izn/Rf {Rn.} s-ɣuy 'shout', Rf s-ɣuy 'shout', 'howl' (a dog); ?? Ah səqqəy-ət v. 'call' ¶ Fc. 1710, 1745, Rn. 358-9, GhA 74, 246-7 || ? Eg fP ɣwɣ v. 'call (rufen), call upon' (× N *gäwɣ∇ [or *gäwɣ∇?] 'to call', q.v. × HS *^o✓çwɣ > S *^o✓çwɣ v. 'command') ¶ EG V 550-1, Fk. 321 || **D** *kūv- ({ɣGS} *k-) 'cry aloud, call' > Tm kūv₁ v. 'crow', 'scream' (peacock), 'cry' (cuckoo, birds), call out', kūv₁al 'crying aloud, bawling, crowing', Ml kūv₁al, kūv₁u, kūppu 'a

cry', Td kūb- 'shout, bawl out', kū- 'shout to a distance', Kn kū v i 'cry out', Kdg ku· / ku·v- v. 'crow', Tl kū y u v. 'cry out, shout', Klm ku y- 'crow' (cock), Prj kū y-, Gdb kū y-, gū y- v. 'cry, call' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 1868.

1948. *qewy∇ 'stay, lie, rest motionless' > **K** *qaw-/*qw- 'be, be in so.'s possession' > G qv-/qav- 'be', i-qo (< *i-qw-a) 'he was\became', v-i-qav 'I was', m-qav-s 'mihi est', Mg fv-/fu- / f-: f-un-s 'ei est, he has', f-un-d-u 'ei erat, he had', Lz qov-/qv-/q-/fv- (u-qo(v)-u-n 'he has', igu 'it happened, became' etc.), ? Sv qa-/qw-/q-: m-a-qa 'mihi est' (contamination with other K roots) ¶¶ K 208-9, ≈ K² 236 (*qaw-/*qw- 'lead, have'), FS K 360-2, FS E 404-6, Chik. 351-3, Q 097-0101, 420-1 || **HS:** S *√kwy ≈ remain, wait' > Sr |**ا**√kwy D (pf. k a w w ī) 'remain, wait', BHb **ה** **ק** **ו** √kwy D (pf. **ה** **ק** **ו** **י** **ו** **א**) 'wait, lie in wait', G prtc. pl. cs. **י** **ק** **ו** **ו** **ע** 'waiting for, looking forward to, hoping', Amh **ከ** **የ** **ሄ** **ሄ** **ዩ** ~ **ከ** **ዐ** **ሄ** **ዩ** 'wait, await, last, be late', Ak **ከ** **ሁ** **ገ** **ሁ** 'to wait, to trust in so.' ¶ GB 706, KB 1011-12, L CAD 79, CAD XIII 328-32 || C: Ag {Ap.} *ki- 'spend the night' > Bln/Q/Dmb {R} ki-, Q {Ap.} kaw-, Xm {R} či-, Km {CR} kē- ~ kī-, Aw {Plm.} č3- id. || Bj A {AD} pcv. -ki-/-kay-/ -kē- 'be', Bj {R} -kay 'become, be' (1s: p. a-'kāy ~ 'a-ke, pppf. 'ī-kata ~ 'ī-kte, pres. a-ka'tī ~ 'a-kati 'become, be') ({R}: refl. vb.) || EC {Ss.} *ki- 'be' > Sa, Af ki- (copula), Ya ke id., Kns, Gdl ki- 'be, exist'; Brj -ka (uninflected positive affirmative copula); LEC {Bl.} *kāy- 'put down' > Kns xāy-, Gdl hāy-, Or B kā- id. ¶ AD SF 221, Ap. AV 13, Ap. WLQ 14, R WBd 153, R WB 208, R QW 79, R Ch II 442 (s.p. 128), CR LK 210, Ss. B 120, Bl. 192 || NrOm: Mch {L} **ከ** **የ** **ሀ** **ሀ** **ሀ** 'sleep, spend the night', Kf {C} **ከ** **የ** / **ከ** **የ** **ሀ** **ሀ** **ሀ** id., 'lie down to sleep', Shn {Lm.} **ከ** **የ** **ሀ** **ሀ** **ሀ** 'lie, sleep' ¶ AD SF 221, C SE IV 481-2, L M 49, ≈ Lm. Sh 347 || ? Ch: Lgn {Lk.} -ki 'remain' in **ገ** **ከ** **የ** **ሀ** **ሀ** **ሀ** 'ich bleibe zurück' (**ገ** **ከ** **የ** **ሀ** **ሀ** **ሀ** 'nach, zurück') ¶ Lk. L 101 || **IE** *kēj- 'lie (liegen)' > OI 'śē-tē, 'śay-ē, Av saēte 'lies', OI śayatē, śayati 'lies, rests, reposes' || Gk κεῖ-ταυ 'lies' || Ht ki- 'lie; be laid\set, be in place', Pal ki-i-ta-ar 3s pres. 'goes with' (of food), Lw zi y-ar i v. 'lie' ¶¶ WP I 358-60, P 539-40, EI 352, M K III 303-4, F I 809-10, WH II 406, Pv. IV 169-73, Ivn. OPA 133 || **A** *kæb₁y∇ 'lie (liegen)' > M *kebte- 'lie down, recline' > MM [L] kebte- 'lie, sleep', [S, MA] kebte- 'lie (liegen)', WrM kebte- {MED} 'lie down, recline', HIM xэвтэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'lie down, lie (liegen)', Brt xэбтэ- id., WrO kebte- id., 'die', Kl {KRS} кевт- 'lie', {Rm.} keptə- 'liegen', Ord g_eb_t'e- 'se coucher, être couché'; M **ᔨ** Ud kэртэ- 'lie' (animal, person); ? M *°kebeli- > MM [HI] {Ms.} kebeli- 'incliner vers' ¶ H 96, Pp. L III 66, Pp. MA 212-13, MED 439, BMR IV 202-3,

Krg. 716, Chr. 638-9, KRS 288, KW 226, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 254, STM I 452, ≈ T 339 (without distinguishing between M *keβte- and *kete- 'liegen' [< N *K̑eʔa,t∇ 'to fall', q.v.]) || Tg *keb₁i₁- > Ud кэртэ- 'lie' (of humans\animals), U1 кэбілэ- 'bend down to the ground (пригнуться, припасть к земле), hide, lie down, lie prone' ¶ STM I 442, 452 || pKo *kì'w'úr- ({S} *kìb'úr-) 'bow down, be sloping, decline' > MKo kì'úr- id., NKo kiul- 'be slanted\sinking\declining' ¶ S QK no. 986, Nam 79, MLC 272 || pJ {S} *кэуэ- > OJ коу(о)- 'lie (liegen)' ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 221], S QJ no. 221, Mr. 711 ¶¶ SDM 656-7 (pA *keuβe 'lie' > Tg, M, J, Ko)', DQA no. 750, S AJ 294 [no. 499] || D *kē- ({ʔGS} *k-) 'lie (liegen)' > Tm cē 'dwell, lie, remain, sleep', Ml cē(k)kuka v. 'roost', Kn kē 'lie down, repose, copulate with', Tu keton̄u, katon̄u 'lie down', kedon̄uni id., v. 'rest', Klm ke·p 'make (child) to sleep', Krx kīd-, kīdʔa- 'allow\invite one to lay down for rest\sleep, put to bed, lay in the grave', Mlt {Drs.} kídē 'lay down' ¶¶ D no. 1990 ◇ An alt. solution is to adduce IE *k^weǵ- 'behaglich ruhen', U *kuu∇ 'lie, repose' and Ar qāh- 'commode, aisé' (see N *K̑uyh∇ 'to rest [from work etc.], to repose, to be comfortable') and to reconstruct something like N *g^wēih∇, but then one has to explain both the vw. *u in U and the lack of lr. in S *✓k̑w̑ and IE *k̑eǵ- ◇ ≈ IS I 357-8 (*K̑ouh 'покоиться [ruhen]' > HS, IE, D, ? A), IS MS 355 (*k̑'ūya 'покоиться'), AD GD no. 135.

1949. (₂?) *qou∇ 'make', (?) 'pile up, build' > K: GZ *qaw-/*q̑w- 'make' > OG qv- (msd. qopa), G qav-/q̑v-, Mg ʔv-, Lz q(v)-, ʔv-, y(v)n- id. ¶ K 209, K² 236-7, FS K 360-2, FS E 404-6 || IE: NaIE *k^woǵ-/ *k^weǵ-/ *k^wi- 'pile up, gather, build, make', {EI} k^weǵ- 'pile up, build' > OI ci'nōti, 'cauati 'gathers, piles up', ci'tā 'layer', ? Av čaueti 'chooses, selects', NPrs چیدن čīdān 'to gather, to arrange, to put in order' || Gk ποιέω 'I make, I produce, I create', 'I compose' (of poets) || Sl *čīnъ 'order' > OCS YHNЪ čīnъ (·τάξις) id. ('порядок, очередность'), R чин, Slv čīn 'rank', Blg чин id., 'class', SCr čīn 'kind, form', Cz čīn 'deed, exploit', P czyn id., 'act'; ⇨ Sl inf. *čīniti 'to arrange' > OCS inf. YHNHTH čīniti 'to arrange, formare, to compose' ({StSS} 'составлять, устраивать, сочинять'), OR {Srz.} inf. YHNHTH čīniti 'to arrange, to compose, to make', R inf. чи'нить 'to repair', SCr inf. čīniti, Slv inf. cíniti 'to make', Cz inf. čīniti, Slk inf. čīnit', P inf. czynić, Uk inf. чи'нити id., 'to act' ¶ P 637-8, EI 87, M K I 388, F II 570-2, ESSJ IV 112-15, StSS 779, Srz. III 1517-18, Vs. IV 362-3 || ? A: AdS of M *kī- 'do, act' < N *kefi

'make, do', q.v. ffd.??) ¶¶ IS I 309 adduced T *Kil- 'do' and Yk kin- 'do', which is hardly convincing || ? AdS of D {tr., GS} *key- 'do, make' (< N *kefi '↑', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The adduction of M and D is valid if M *-ī- and D *-ey- may go back to *-oy- (ass. palatalization of the vw.?), otherwise they belong to N *kefi only ◇ IS I 309 [no. 182] (*КеуѠ 'делатъ' in D and A [T, M]).

1950. *qaywE (L ▽) 'alone', 'entire' > IE: NaIE *kaḷw-(elo-) 'alone, entire, whole' > OI kēvala- {MW} 'alone, one, isolated', 'entire, whole, all' || L caelebs (gen. caelibis) 'unmarried, single' (of men) (< *kaḷwelo-lib_l'-s 'alone living') | NaIE *kaḷlo- 'entire, whole' (reduced variant of *kaḷwelo-?), d. *kaḷl-u- > Gmc: Gt hailс (· ὕγιής, ὕγιαίνων) 'gesund, heil', ON heill, OHG heil 'healthy, whole', NHG heil 'unhurt, sage and sound, whole', AS hāl & hǣl 'whole, uninjured, healthy', NE whole || Pru kailūstiskun accus. 'health', kails! – pats kails! 'Heil! – selbst Heil!' (drinking one other's health); Ltv kaīls 'naked, bare', Δ {ME} 'unarmed; childless' || Sl *cělъ(jь) 'whole, entire' > OCS ЦѢЛЪ cělъ id., 'unharmed', Blg цял, SCr cīo & cēo, cijēl, Slv cěl, Cz, Slk celý, P cały, R цел pradj. / 'целый' aadj., Uk 'цілий' 'whole, entire'; Sl *cělī (*cělъve) 'health' (< *kaḷl-u-) > OCS ЦѢЛЫ cělī (gen. ЦѢЛЫВЕ cělъve) 'Heilung (healing, cure, исцеление, излечение)' ||| NaIE *kaḷ-ko- 'one-eyed' > OI kēkara- 'squint-eyed' ||| L caecus 'blind' ||| OIr caech 'one-eyed, blind', W coeg-dfall id., OCrn [ʏ] cuic 'luscus, monophthalmus' ||| Gt haihs (· μονόφθαλμος) 'einäugig' ¶ WP I 326, 328, P 519-20, EI 12 (*kaḷwelo-s 'alone'), M K I 264, 267, MW 309-10, WH I 129-30, Vn. C 6, Fs. 232-3, Kb. 444-5, Schz. 161, Ho. 148, ME II 133, En. 187, Tr. P I-K 142-3, Kar. I 367, Glh. 163, ESSJ III 179-81, StSS 773, Vs. IV 297 ||| K *qowE1 'all, one' > OG qovel-i 'all, whole', qowl-ad 'completely, wholly', MG [VT] qovl-i 'all', G qovel-i / qovl- 'every, all', Mg, Lz ir- 'every', Sv qwil 'one (of a pair)' ¶¶ K 213 (GZ *qowel-), K² 244 (GZ *qowl-), ≈ FS K 372 and FS E 418 (GZ *qowl-) (all of them do not take account for the Sv cognate), Chx. 1700-1, Dn. s.v. qwil, GP 270 ||| HS: EC *kaw(w)- 'alone' > Bn, Sml kow, Sml N ków, Rn {PG} kōw, kō, {Hn.} kow 'one', Kns xaww-ā, Gdl haww- 'alone, separated', Or ko-ēsa (f. ko-ēti), {Th.} koesa (f. koetti) 'alone', ko-om 'lonely', caus. kof-sīs- 'make lonely', ? {Grg.} koʔ-ōma 'be overly busy\lonely' ¶ Ss. PEC 44, Abr. S 153, ZMO 241, Hn. S 66, PG 200, 202, Th. 73, Grg. 248 ¶ Not here S *kull- 'all, whole' (see N *kallw ▽ 'together, whole') ¶¶ Coh. no. 115 ||| A: M *qayī-dag 'alone, single' > WrM qaidag

{MED} id., HIM хайдаг {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'a female animal that has lost its young', WrO хайдаг 'alone, isolated, solitary', Kl {Rm.} х̄ādaḡ 'immer nur derselbe\einer, allein (ohne Kameraden)', Brt хайдаг 'milked without a calf' (a cow); Ord х̄ādūl 'bestiaux qu'on trait et dont les jeunes sont morts' ¶ MED 912, BMR IV 18, Krg. 256, Chr. 533, KW 179, Ms. O 345
 || E: AchEl kī 'ein, eins' (× N *Ḳa, substantivizing, singulative or distinctive [singling out] pronoun), kī-ik 'eins', kī-ir 'einer' (persönlich) ¶¶ HK 459, 465, 468-9 ◇ K *o (which is not the regular reflex of N *a) is due to the infl. of the adjacent *w ◇ In view of the OI and K data the apparently distant meanings 'alone' and 'entire' can hardly be etymologically separated ◇ Bm. TPN (S, IE), AD rTPN (S, IE, K, M), ≠ IS SS 349 [no. 13.12] (K ÷ HS *k(w)l 'all' [Coh. no. 115], see N *ka|w ▽ '↑'); Blz. E no. 8O (E, HS).

1951. (₂?) *ḡEžû 'to shape (an object) by chopping, beating etc.' > K *oḡez- > Lz ḡaz- (ḡ ḡaz-, ḡaz-, az-) v. 'trim, plane (wood)' ¶ Marr 2O2 || ?
 U: FU: [1] {UEW} *kesk ▽- ~ *keks ▽- v. 'whet, sharpen' > Prm *kes- > Z keslī-, Yz 'keslī- 'whet', Vt kīsk- 'sharpen on a lathe' ||| Vg: T küwt-, LK/P kiwt- 'sharpen' ||| [2] (att. in Ugr) *kEś ▽- 'whet, sharpen, polish' > Vg T {Mu.} kēsīḡ ku 'whetstone' (ku is 'stone') | Hg kōszörül- 'whet, sharpen', 'grind (schleifen)' ¶ The variation *-s- ~ *-ś- needs investigating ¶ UEW 151, 862, LG 123, Lt. J 125 || IE *keH₂-/*kH₂- > NaIE *kā-/*ka- v. 'shape an object by chopping\hammering' (× NaIE *kəw-/*kāw-/*kū- v. 'strike, hew' < N *ḡaxū ~ *ḡaxyU 'strike\push') > OHG houwan / hīo (> NHG hauen) v. 'hew, cut down', AS héawan / héow (> NE hew), ON hōggva / hīō v. 'chop' | Lt 1s pres. káuju (pret. kóviau, † kavau, inf. káuti) 'to beat, to fight, to kill', Ltv inf. kaūt 'to strike, to forge', Lt kŭjis 'smith's hammer', Pru cugis 'hammer' | pSl inf. *kova-ti / 1s pres. *kuj-ḡ v. 'forge' (ffd. see N *ḡaxū ~ *ḡaxyU) ||| pTc *ka- > Tc: A ko-, B ka- 'strike down, kill, destroy' ¶ WP I 330, P 535, EI 549 (*keh₂- 'strike, hew'), Vr. 280, Ho. 153, Kb. 483, Schz. 170, ESSJ XII 10-11 and XIII 257-8, Frn. 232, En. 198, Tp. P K-L 238-41, Vs. II 231, Ad. 208 ¶¶ The velar *k- (for the expected palatalized *k̄-) may be explained by the impact of N *ḡaxū ~ *ḡaxyU and by generalization of the pre-lr. *k- in *k₂- > ka- (because in preconsonantal position the palatalization of *k is sometimes lost) || ? HS: S *oḡkz > Ar ḡkz G 'frapper la terre avec un bâton et y laisser une trace du coup' ¶ BK II 734 ◇ K *oḡkz and FU *kEś ▽- point to a pN *-ž-, while FU *s in *kesk ▽- ~ *keks ▽- is still puzzling (a special treatment

of N ***ž** in a consonant cluster?). The velar cns. *k- and the vw. *ā in NaIE *kāu-/ *kaū- belong to the heritage of N ***kaχü** ~ ***kaχyU**.

1952. ***quz** ▽ 'entrails, pluck' > K *qwiž- > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} qwiže, Sv {K} qwiže ~ quže 'liver'; GZ d. *qwiž]- 'liver' > OG φ wižl-, G φ vižl-, G Δ φ virzl- 'liver', Mg *qvižil- ⇨ Mg i-qvižin-an-s 'has unhealthy yellow complexion', ?σ G (← Mg?) qvižil- 'black-violet' ¶¶ K 211 and K² 242 (K *qwiž]-); FS K 369-70 and FS E 415 (K *qwiž-), TK 808 || IE: NaIE *keus-/ku(:)s- ≈ entrails, abdomen' > OI kōs̄t̄ha- 'abdomen', 'kīs̄t̄hiká 'Inhalt der Gedärme' || Gk κύστις (gen. κύστεως) 'bladder' || W cωthr 'anus, rectum' (< *kudhro-) || SI *kīš-ьka 'gut' > OR кнш(ь)ка kiš(ь)ka, R киш'ка, Uk 'кишка, P kiśzka, Cz kyška 'gut'; without sx: Plb kʷojsa 'kidney' ¶ P 953, Bern. I 629, ESSJ XIII 278-9, M K I 247, 273, M E I 404-5, F II 56, YGM-1 117 || **A** *k'uz] ▽ 'ε part of the stomach, bladder (Harnblase)' > Tg * χ u]ja > NrTg *u]ja- > Lm O u]ja- v. 'disembowel (a bear)', Lm Ol u]imçin 'pluck of a bear', Lm O u]jamçin, Neg u]ddo-nin id.; Tg * χ ujik 'bladder (Harnblase)' > Ewk ujik (accus. ujik-ω3), Lm ujik \mathfrak{L} u]òkòn, Neg ujix, Ork xudu ~ xuduḡū, Ul xužu, Nn Nh/KU xužũ 'Harnblase', Sln ujixi 'anus' ¶ STM II 249-50, On. 476, ≠ Vv. AEN 11 (qualifying pTg * χ - in * χ u]ja as "spurious"; in fact it is uncertain, because the NrTg lges do not distinguish between pTg zero and * χ -, which is duely denoted by * χ]-; for such cases no presumption of zero is legitimate) || M *qužirqayi > WrM {Cev.} quzirqai, HIM {BMR, Luw.} хужирхай 'thick part of the border of a scar (from a healed wound)', Ord χ už-ir χ ā 'la partie charnue de la panse des ruminants' ¶ Cev. 725, Luw. 561, BMR IV 161, Ms. O 364 ¶¶ SDM 858 (pA *k'uz] ▽ 'part of stomach, bladder' > Tg * χ ujük, M), DQA no. 1154 || **D** *kuṭ- ({{ θ GS} *k-) 'entrails' (× N ***gudE** ▽ 'belly, middle', q.v.) > Tm kuṭar, kuṭal 'bowels, intestines, entrails', MI kuṭar, kuṭal 'bowels', Kt koṛè, Td kωiṛè 'small intestine', Gnd kuṇḍalī 'stomach of ruminants' ¶¶ D no. 1652 ◊ AD NM no. 67, S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs, Yn).

1953. (₂?) ***r** ▽ (< ***ʔ** ▽ **r** ▽?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle > **A** [1] pA *t'æ-r'a¹ id. (marked topicalizing case, sg. of *t'æ- 'der, das' [dem. prn. that is neutral in the deictic distance opposition *hic* ↔ *iste* ↔ *ille*]) (from the N dem. prn. ***tä** + ***r** ▽) > M *te-re (theme-focalizing case ↔ stem of obl. cases *te-gün) 'that' (used also as 'he'): M *tere > MM, WrM {MED} tere, HIM {MED, BMR} тэр, Brt тэрэ, Kl {Rm.} terə 'that, he', Ord t'ere 'celui-là, cela, il'; in the obl. cases and with postpositions the dem. pronoun in question was M *teḡün, i.e. a prn. without M *-re (> WrM

tegün(-), HIM/Brт түүн(-), Kl {Rm.} tün-, tün-, Ord t'ün(-)) ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, MED 795, 804, BMR III 276, 293, Chr. 448, 457, KRS 495, 525, KW 393, 418, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Ms. O 660, 686 || Tg *tere ~ *tar∇ 'that, he', distance-deictically neutral dem. prn. (< **te-r¹a¹ due to vowel harmony) > Ewk tar, tare, tari, Neg tay 'that, this, he\it', Sln taya, tari 'that', WrMc {Z} тэрэ 'that, he', Mc Sb [terə] [tɜr] 'that, he\it'; Tg pl. *^otese 'those, they' (distance-deictically neutral dem. prn.) > WrMc {Z} тэсэ, Mc Sb [tesə] [tɜs] 'they' | [2] Tg *e-r∇ 'this' > Ewk PT ɜr, ɜrē, ɜri 'this', Sln ɜr ~ ɜri 'this', Lm ɜr 'voilà, voici (BOT, BOH)', Lm A ɜr, Neg ɜy ~ ɜyɜ 'this', Ork ɜr ~ ɜri 'this, voici (BOT)', WrMc {Z} эрэ, Mc Sb [erə] [ɜr] 'this' ¶ STM II 164-7 and 460-2, Z 71 and 84-5 ¶ In Tg the pronouns *tere 'that, it' and *ere 'this' lost their former connection to the nom. case and were generalized throughout the case paradigm ¶ WrMc тэрэ cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of plural (тэсэ) with an ancient et. and without parallels in M ¶¶ SDM 1389 (pA *t'ā|è 'that', mentioning M *tere 'that'), STM II 165-7, Z 724, 729-30, Y no-s 2878-83, Hrl. 42-3, SDM 487 (pA *é 'that', mentioning Ewk ɜr, ɜri, Lm ɜr, WrMc {Z} эрэ and Mc Sb erə 'this'), SDM97 s.v. *t'ā|e 'that', S AJ 52, 289 [no. 311], Gr. I 101 ("substantivizer RE" in M, Tg, as well as {Gr.← Sns.} OJ -re in itu-re 'which?', na-re 'thou' etc.), Sns. 74-5 || IE: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns: nom.-accus. sg. *wodo(:)r 'water' (> Ht watar, Gk ύδωρ, AS wæter, OHG wazzar etc.) ↔ gen. sg. *wed-n-os ~ *ud-n-os (> Ht wetenas, Gt watins, Gk ύδατος [< ≈ *udn̥tos] etc.), nom.-accus. sg. *yek^ω-r̥ 'liver' (> L iecur, OI 'yakrḁt, Gk ἥπαρ) ↔ gen. sg. *yek^ω-n-os (> L iecinoris [< earlier *yekin̥is], OI 'yak'naḥ, Gk ἥπατος [α < *ḥ]) etc. ¶¶ Bks 187, Bks ONI 3-6, Szem. IEL 173-4, Gux. GJ 85 || ? HS: Eg ṛr 'as for' (topicalizing pc., preceding the topic word), ṛr (emphasizing pc., used esp. with optative, inv. and in questions) ¶ EG I 103, Lpr. 151, 188 ¶ Eg ṛr belongs here only if Eg r in this word goes back to HS *r rather than to *l ||| The N pc. *r∇ may be the source of the nominal *r-extensions in descendant lges, such as *-∇r- in IE *kaṷs-∇r- '(long) hair' (see N *K̥ayCä 'hair'), M *kič̥ir 'ends of a bow' (see N *K̥eç'ra¹ 'tip, end [extremity]'), WS *✓k̥s̥r 'scales' (< N *ka'ç'U 'scratch, scrape off scales'), WS *k̥∇d∇r- 'earthen pot' (< N *kad∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork; wattle' [→ 'build, make pottery']), NaIE *klā-ro- 'piece of wood, board' (< *kelə-/ *klā- v. 'hew, chop' < N *kaLfa 'cut, hew, chop', q.v.) ◇ The Eg cognate (if valid) suggests an earlier var.

*ʔ∇r∇ of the N pc. in question ◇ There is no direct proof that the internal cns. in *ʔ∇^r∇ is *r rather than *r̄, but in the pN word-initial position there is no *r̄, hence it is easier to suppose that in the Inlaut the cns. was *r.

1953a. ??? *rⁱ, a particle of plurality\collectivity, an alternative reconstruction of the grammatical marker of plurality that is otherwise (and probably better) reconstructed as N *r∇ yE (= *r∇ yⁱ?) (see s.v.).

1954. (₂?) *rûʔ∇ 'go', (?) 'run' > HS: Eg OK rωy 'go away, leave' ¶ EG II 406-7 || C: EC: Ya {To.} reʔ-, {Hn.} -reʔε 'run away' || Dhl r0ʔ- {EEN, To.} 'go', {E} 'go\pass by' || C (SC?) ⇨ Mb -r0 'leave' ¶ EEN 40, To. D 146, E SC 220, Hn. Y II 132, BlzT D 3 || WCh: AG: Mpn {Frz.} rú 'disappear suddenly', ?σ Su {J} rù 'untertauchen' ¶ Frz. DM 52, J S 81 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 101 [31.3] || K *or- > MG [VTq.] r- 'go, walk', G r- v. id., 'ride, travel' ¶ Chx. 1043, DCh. 1035 || ? IE: NaIE *rey-/erw-/ru-/r- 'move' (vi.), 'hasten' (× [?] N *ray₁i,ʔ∇ 'follow, accompany' × NaIE *or-/r̄- 'arise' < N *h₁erU 'ascend, rise') > OI r̄- 'r̄-₁-ti 'arises, moves', 'arvan- 'hurrying (eilend)', Av ar̄naoⁱti 'moves', aurva, aurbant- 'schnell, tapfer' || L ru-ō / ru-ēre / rui / rūtum 'rush, hasten' || AS earu 'bereit, flink', OSx aru 'bereit, fertig', ON orr {Bae.} 'quick (rasch, schnell [zufahrend])', Ic ör 'quick (быстрый, резвый)' ¶ WP I 141, P 331, ≈ EI 506 (*h₁er- 'set in motion'), M K I 122, WH II 453, Ho. 86, Ho. S 4, Vr. 683, 688, Bae. 811-12, Bv 922.

1955. ?σ₂ *r∇ʔi 'see' > HS: WS *✓rʔy (prm. *-rʔay) 'see' > BHb ✓rʔy (ip. הָרָאָה yī-rⁱʔē, pf. הָרָאָה rāⁱʔā) id., M'b 1s ip. ʔrʔ, DA imp. 2pm rʔω, Ar ✓rʔy (ip. رَأَى yarā, pf. رَأَى raʔā), Sb ✓rʔy, Gz ✓rʔy (js. yarʔay, pf. rəʔya) id., Mh d. {Jo.} rāy, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'riʔ 'opinion' ¶ KB 1079-80, HJ 1041-2, Br. AG § 44b, BGMR 112-13, BK I 796, L G 458-9, Jo. M 311, Jo. J 201 || ?φ C: Bj {Rop.} reh- ~ erh- 'see' || HEC: Sd laʔ- {Hd.} 'see', {Gs.} 'look at' (unless < HEC *laḳ- 'know') ¶ Rop. 228, Hd. 130. Gs. s.v. laʔ- ¶¶ OS no. 447 (S, Bj) || IE {Blz.} *reʔ- > NaIE *rē-/rə-, *rī-/rēj- 'think, reckon, count', {Mn.} 'be mindful, think' (× NaIE *ar-, are- 'arrange' > Lt 1s pres. réju [inf. réti] 'lege in Ordnung \ schichtenweise?') > L reor / ratus sum / rēri 'reckon, think, be of opinion, suppose', ra-tio 'reckoning, account, computation', rī-tu-s '(religious) custom, usage, ceremony' || Gt pp. ga-rapana 'gezählt', rapjō (·λόγος) 'Abrechnung', (·ἀριθμός) 'Zahl', OSx réthia 'account', OHG redia, reda 'speech, word, mind, opinion', NHG Rede 'speech', OSx inf. réthiōn, OHG inf. red(i)ōn

'to talk, to speak', NHG inf. *reden* 'to talk'; OHG *rīm* 'row, number, calculation', NHG *Reim* 'rhyme' (× ← OFr *rimē* 'rhyme, poetry' ← OLF **rīm* ÷ OHG *rīm*; × ← Gk *ῥυθμός* 'rhythm'), AS *rīm* 'number, counting', OSx *urn-rīm* 'Unzahl', ON *rím* 'Berechnung, Kalender' ||| OIr *rím* 'number', *do-rímu* 'I count', Brtt {RE} **rīmā* 'number' > W *rhyf*, OBr *rim* id., Crn pl. *ryvow* 'numbers', MW *riuaw*, W *rhiſo* 'to count' ¶ ≈ WP 73-5, ≈ P 59-62, Mn. 1068-9, Prs. WF 635, 741, 858, WH II 429, RE 87, Fs. 197, 394, Vr. 446, Ho. 260, Ho. S 60, 81, Kb. 775-6, 793, OsS 697, 716, KM 589, 593, GH 516, Vn. R 30-1, ≠ EI 472 (L < **reh₁*- 'put in order') ¶ This IE root suggests that in some conditions (postvoc. position at the end of a stem or before a final **i*?) N **?* yields an IE lr. that underlies a NaIE **a* and a vowel lengthening ◇ Blz. IELA 7 [no. 12] (S. IE) ◇ Qu., because the meaning of the IE root ({Mn.} 'be mindful, think') is controversial ◇ BmK no. 479 (IE, S + err. Eg *ir₁y* 'see' [in fact ← *ir* 'eye']).

1956. **ra₁v* 'remain, stay' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} *rāve* scv. 'remain over\ behind', Sa {R} *rā₁* scv. id. ('bleiben, verweilen, hinter [etw.] zurückbleiben') ||| Dhl {EEN} *raw*- 'stay' ||| SC: Asa {E} *ra₁*- 'stay, remain' ¶ PH 179, R S II 204, E SC 219, EEN 41 ||| K **r*- 'be' > OG, G *r*- 'be' (v-a-r 'I am', a-r-s 'is'), Mg *r*- 'be' (r-e 'is', r-in-a ~ r-in-i 'to be'), Lz *r*- 'be' (r-en 'is'), Sv UB/LB/Ln/L *r*- 'be' (m-i-r-i 'mihi est, I have', χ-0-r-i 'ei est, has'); K **a-r*- 'be' (< **r*- with the former version px **a*-) > OG *ar*- 'be' (ars 'is'), G *ar*-, Mg, Lz *or*- 'be' (Mg v-or-ek, Lz b-or-e 'I am', Mg or-d-as, Lz or-*t*-as 'let him be'), Sv χw-är-i, 'I am', χ-är-i 'thou art' ¶¶ K 154-5, K² 3, 153, FS K 250, FS E 275-6, Chik. 307, TK 653 ||| A: Tg **-ra* / **-re*, verbal sx of aorist ({Sun.} = pres.-ft.) > Ewk *-ra* / *-r3* / *-ro* id. (dukū-*ra*-n 'il vient d'écrire', dukū-*ja-ra*-n 'he is writing'), Neg *-ya* / *-y3* (used in analytical negative forms: conjugated negative verb *3*- + *-ya*/*-y3*-forms), Lm *-r₁* / *-r₂* / *-r* (aorist of active verbs), Nn *-ran* / *-r3n* id., WrMc {Z} *-pa* / *-p₃* / *-po*, sx of prtcs ¶ Bz. 1071-2, Mng. TTra ∇, Mng. TS 38, 80, Y TsM ∇, Sun. G 33-57, 152-7, Sun. V 62, Vas. 785, Avr. G II 102-3, 286, Ci. N 24, Nov. EJ 97.

1957. ₂ **rab₁v* 'much, big' > HS: S **'rab₁i₁y*- '≈ big, much' > Ak *rab₁u*, Eb *ra-bu* 'big', ? Ar *ribw-at*- (pl. *ribawāt*-) 'myriad, ten thousand drachmas' (→ Gz *rabbawāt* 'myriads'), JPA {Sl.} רבו *rbw* (pl. רבוון *rbw₁n*) 'myriad, ten thousand', JA [Trg.] {Js.} רבו רב₁ *rb₁u*, em. אבות רב₁ *rb₁u₁tā*, Sr E {Sl.} רב₁ *rb₁u₁tā* 'greatness', JEA {Sl.} אבות רב₁ *rb₁u₁tā* id., 'superiority, exceptional thing', WS (or CS) **rabb*- 'numerous, many, much, great' > BHb, BA, JA [Trg.] *rab₁*, *rabb*- id., JEA *rab₁* (f. *rabb₁u₁tā*) 'great, large', *rab₁bā*

'master, teacher', M'b, Amn r b-m pl. 'many', d. Ar {Ln.} rubb- 'many', Pun r b 'big', JA r a b 'big, eldest', Sr רַב ; r a b b ā 'magnus, senex', Ug r b 'big'; → S *rabb- ~ *rab- 'much\many\great, multi-' > BHb r a b, Ph., Pun, Ug, IA, Plm r b, Ak r a b ~ r a b i (cs. of r a b ū, in cds) ≈ id., CS *rabb- designing of persons of high position: BHb r a b b ē 'tō 'Palastbeamter', Ug r b k r t 'governor of a city', MHb r a b 'teacher, rabbi', Ar r a b b- 'lord (maître, seigneur); God'; CS *√ r b b v. > Hb, JA, Md √ r b b 'be(come) numerous\big', Sr √ r b b 'become big'; S *√ r b 'y|w' G 'be big\large' > Ak inf. G r a b ā ᵑ u(m), r a b ū(m) id., Ar √ r b w G 'increase (wealth); grow up', MHb {Js.} √ r b y G (pf. $\text{הַרְבֵּי} r ā 'b ā \sim \text{הַרְבֵּי} r ā 'b ē$) 'be much\many, grow' ¶ KB 1092-4, 1777, KBR 1170-3, Br. 706-7, OLS 383-4, HJ 1045-51, Sl. 1052-6, Sl. P 513, Js. 1438-41, Lv. T II 397-9, BK I 798-800, 813-14, Ln. 1002-7, 1023-4, Hv. 235, 239, Sd. 933, 936-40, L G 462 || ??φ EC {Ss.} *la|eb- 'big, many' (HEC {Hd.} *loba) (× N *L a y P ∇ 'good, beautiful', q.v.) > Brj la 'b-o, -ō 'many, much', lab a d- 'be abundant', Sd lo w o 'big, many, much', lo p p- v. 'grow', Hd lob 'big', lob-akata 'many, much', lo p p o 'majority', Ged no p p- v. 'grow (up)', as well as probably words for 'male': Ged lab ba, Elm l e p, Dsn y á b ¶ Ss. PEC 22, Ss. B 131, Hd. 27, 209, 252, 257, 291-2, 383, To. DL 532 || | א *L a P ∇ (= *L a b ∇?) 'more, better' (× N *L a y P ∇ '↑') > Tg (< d.?) *lab du 'much' > WrMc {Z} л а б д у id., Nn Nh lab do {STM} 'много\глубоко (захватить от края при шитье)', {On.} 'далеко отступая от края (при шитье)' ¶ STM I 485, On. 243, Z 845-6 || ?σ M *lab > WrM {MED} 'sure(ly), definite(ly)', WrO lab id., HIM л а в {MED} id., {BMR} 'exact(ly), sure(ly), definite(ly)', adj./adv. 'richtig', Brt л а б 'exactly, surely, definitely', Kl {KRS} л а в 'exactly, surely', 'fast' (л а в ц ъ - 'bind fast'), {Rm.} lab_ 'fest, gewiß', Ord lab_ 'indubitably, certainement', ? WrO la ~ l ā 'indeed'; ⇨ : M *lab-ta > WrM {MED}, WrO lab t a adv., HIM {MED} adv. л а в т, Kl {KRS} л а в т а 'exactly, precisely; indubitably', {Rm.} lap t ā adv. 'sicher'; M *lab-tay > WrM {MED} lab t a y adj., adv. 'sure, certain', 'truly, really, exactly', HIM {MED, BMR} л а в т а й id., Brt л а б т а й 'for sure, certain(ly)', Ord lab_t' ā 'qui existe réellement; certainement, réellement'; M *lab-qan > WrM {MED} lab q a n adj./adv. 'precise(ly), exact(ly), certain(ly), sure(ly)', HIM л а в х а н {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'probably', Kl {Rm.} la w x a n 'ganz, gewiß'; another derivative: Ord lab_d_ū n 'indubitably, vraiment; certain' ¶ MED 513-14, BMR II 296, 298, Chr. 285, KRS 333, KW 250-1, SM 442, Krg. 582, Ms. O 442 || pJ *nàp' 'better, more' > OJ n a p_ w_ o, MJ n à φ ó {S} id., J T/Kg n á o, J K n à ó {Kenk.} 'more,

further, still more' ¶ S QJ no. 677, Mr. 493, Kenk. 1331-2 || ?σ pKo *nΛboi 'again, better' > MKo nΛ'oi ¶ S QK no. 771, Nam 93 || T {SDM} *ja₁:jba > Xk jaba {SDM} 'very', Tv čar-čā 'совершенно новый, только что' (with čā 'new') ¶ TvR 502-3, 518, SDM 860 ¶¶ SDM 859-60 (pA *lābò > T *jaba 'very', M, Ko), DQA no. 1166, S AJ 68 (M, Ko, J).

1958. *'rib ▽ 'to cover' > HS: CS (+ext.) *✓rbd v. 'cover' > BHb ✓rbd {BDB} v. 'prepare a couch, make up a bed', Ug {OLS} ✓rbd G 'cover a bed with blankets', Ar ✓rbd TD 'become cloudy' (sky) ¶ KB 1097, KBR 1176, Grd. UT no. 2300, DLS KTU 92, 132, OLS 384-5, BDB no-s 7234-5, BK I 803, Hv. 236 || IE: NaIE *'reb^h- 'cover with a roof' > Gk ἐρέφω v. 'cover with a roof; cover with a crown, crown', ὀροφή 'roof of a house, ceiling of a room' || OHG hirni-rēba 'skull' (lit. 'brain cover'), {OsS} 'Hirnschale, Gehirn', ? ON ráf, ráfr 'ε roof' ({Vr.} 'Sparrendach') | Pokorny adduced also the Gmc and Sl words for 'rib' by interpreting 'rib' as 'cover of the chest cavity' ("die Rippen bedecken die Brusthöhle, wie das Dach das Haus"): OHG rippa, rippi, OSx ribbi, AS ribb, ON rif, Sl *rebro 'rib' ¶ P 85, EI 488 (*h₁reb^h-), ≈ Vr. 431, F I 556, Kb. 470, OsS 402 || U: ?σFU {LG} *riwitä 'ice crust' ({AD} and 'patch of water in an icebound river', 'land covered with water'?) > F riite 'thin ice crust', Δ {Lnr.} riive 'frozen snow crust' ('наст') | Prm *rE > Z rī 'unfrozen patch of water in the midst of an icebound river' ('попынья') || ? OHg rétt 'Sumpfland, Ried, Moor', Hg rétt 'meadow' (< *'land covered with water'?) ¶ LG 246, SK 793, EWH 1258 || A: Tg (+ext.) *lipk- v. 'stop up, shut up' > Ewk lipkī-, Lm nipkə- & lík- & lípkə- & nipkā-, Neg lipku-, Ork likpi- ~ lipki- v. 'stop up' ('заткнуть'), Orc lippi-, Ud likpi- v. 'stop up, shut, cover', Ul likpičī- v. 'shut, close', Nn Nh {On., STM} likpi- ~ {STM} lipki- v. 'bar\stop so.'s way' ¶ STM I 499, Krm. 256, On. 341 ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1959. *r ▽ 'b' ▽ (or *r ▽ bh ▽ ?) '≈ move, shake (sich bewegen, schwanken)' > HS: WS *✓rpp > BHb ✓rpp (3pm ip. paus. יָרַפּוּ יָרַפּוּ yārō'pāpū) vi. 'shake (schwanken)', MHb ✓rpp G (pf. יָרַפּוּ rā'pāp) 'be loose, vibrate, vacillate', Sr ✓rpp G (pf. رَافَ rāp) vi. 'move', JA [Trg.] ✓rpp {Lv.} G or {Js.} D 'shake', Ar ✓rff G (pf. رَافَ rāffa, ip. -riff-) 'twinkle' (an eye), Ar SL ✓rff G 'flutter' (a bird)', Mh {Jo.} ✓rfrf 'flap in the breeze (as a flag)' ¶ KB 1192-3, BDB 552, Lv. T II 434, Js. 1491, Br. 740, Hv. 260, Jo. M 316 || IE: NaIE *reb^h- vi. 'move' > NPrs inf. رَافَتَان rāftān 'to walk, to go, to depart' (pres. رَوَّ row) || Gmc *reb- > ǰ MHG inf. reben {P} vi. 'to move' (not

registered with this meaning in Lx!), {OsS} 'von eimen starken übeln Geruche ... in Bewegung sein' (unless misinterpretation of MHG *reben* 'to dream' ← Fr *rêver* id.), eNHG *sich reben* 'to move' (intr.), NGr B {OsS} *rebisch, rebig* 'beweglich, rührig, munter', Nr Δ inf. *ra va* 'hin und her taumeln' ¶ WP II 370, P 853, BM 247, Vl. II 44-5, 60, Sg. 581, ≠ Horn 137-8 (NPrs *räftän ÷ L re po* 'crawl'), OsS 704 || U: FU (att. in ObU) **r^oe¹w∇-* (× N **r∇₁h₁w∇* 'mix, (??) 'turn round') > ObU {ǾHl.} **rōw-* vt. 'shake, swing' > pVg {Ht.} **rāw-* vt. 'swing' > Vg: T *rāw-*, MK/UK *rāw-*, P/SV *rōw-*, NV **rōw-* id.; pOs {Ht.} **rōy-* > Os: K *reway-*, Nz *rewīy-* vt. 'swing', V/Vy *rōšim*, Kz *rewemā-* vt. 'shake', Y *rāwis∇-* id. ¶ Ht. no. 555 (ObU **rōy-*) and Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU **-w-* and **-y-*) ◇ The devoicing N **b* > S **p* is hard to explain, unless it is supposed that the N etymon was **r∇bh∇* with loss of prevocalic voiceless **h* in S, IE and FU.

1960. **r¹a¹hb∇* 'tremble' ([in descendant lges] → [1] 'be disquiet, fear', [2] 'rage against so.' → 'attack') > HS: S **✓rhb* 'tremble, be disquiet/furious, attack' > Ak fOB *✓r²b G* (inf. *ra²ābu*) vi. 'tremble, be angry with', BHb *✓rhb Sh* (pf. *הִרְהִיבֵי* *hir¹hīb₁*) vt. 'trouble, confuse', *G* (imv. *רַהֲבֵי* *ra¹hab₁*, 3pm ip. *יִרְהַבֵי* *yī-rh^aā₁bū*) 'assail, importune, attack', Sr *✓rhb Sh* (pf. *רָאָה*; *רָאָה* *ra¹hē₁*) vt. 'trouble, disquiet; inspire awe/terror; hasten, make hasten', *רָאָה*; *רָאָה* *ra¹hīb₁* adj. 'disquieted, agitated; hasty, hurried', predicative prtc. 'hastes', Ar *✓rhb G* (pf. *rahība*, ip. *-rhab-*) 'fear' ¶ Sd. 932, GB 747, KB 1112-13, JPS 530-1, BK I 935-6, Hv. 273 || ?? WCh: Hs *ṣāwā* n. 'being shaky, dance', *ṣawar duniya* 'earthquake', *ṣawar žīki* 'shivering from cold, trembling from fear or intense pleasure' || Ron: Bks {J} *rō* (ip. *rōwā*) 'tremble; shake; hasten', DfB {J} *ro* (ip. *ṣwāh*) 'schnell sein, sich bewegen' ¶ J R 145, 220, Ba. 847, Abr. H 728 || IE: NaIE **ra|eb^h-/r_ob^h-* 'rage' > L *rabiēs* 'rage, fury, madness', *rabiō / rabēre* 'be mad' || OI **rabhas-* ntr. 'violence, impetuosity', *rabha'sa-* 'impetuous, violent, fierce' || amb OIr *recht* 'sudden attack, rage' (unless akin to L *rapio* 'seize, snatch, tear away' < NaIE **rep-*) || Tc A *rapurnē* {Wn.} 'désir, cupidité', {JGH} 'passion' ¶ WP II 341, P 852, EI 22 (? **rab^h-* '≈ ferocity'), M K III 43, ≈ M E II 435, WH II 413, Vn. R 12, Wn. I 401, JGH 179, 181 || A: NTg **lab-* > Ewk *lawkān-* *lapkān-* vt. 'attack' (of a dog), Neg *lawtī-* 'bark and fight' (of a dog) (× Tg **lab-* 'bark' [of a dog]), Lm *nawtī-* 'cry, shout' (of a shaman) ¶ STM I 486, 576 ◇ The loss of the lr. in IE is not yet explained ◇ AD GD 4 (S, IE), IS MS 334 (**r¹∇(h)bn* 'волнение [душевное]'; S, IE).

1961. ₂ *rič' ▽ 'small pieces; to crush' > HS: S *✓rss > BHb רִסִּים rāsī's-īm pl. 'fragments', MHb רִסִּיָּר rāsīs, JA [Trg.] רִסִּיָּר rāsīs 'broken piece', MHb רִסִּיָּר rāsīs-īn 'groats of lentils', MHb ✓rss D (pf. רִסִּיָּר ris'ses), JA [Trg.] ✓rss {Lv.} G or {Js.} D 'crush, break into small pieces', Md ✓rss G 'break into pieces', Ak YB rīssu, (?) rīs u 'Zerschlagung', ? OAk rapāsu ~ rapāš u 'to smite', Ak fOB ✓r'ū's (inf. rās u ~ rēs u ~ rapāsu) 'erschlagen, zerschlagen' ¶ KB 1164-5, Js. 1484-5, Lv. T II 429, DM 436, G OA 233, Sd. 959, 989 || WCh (pWCh {Tk.} *rus- 'destroy'): Hs rūšē 'destroy, demolish, cause to collapse' | Klr {J} ruyās ti 'break into pieces' | Bl {Lk.} rūš- 'zerstören' | Ngz {Sch.} rāsú v. 'act on an object with force \ violently' (nature of the object determines the type of action) ¶ Ba. 871, Abr. H 746, J R 354, Lk. PVB II 137, Sch. DN 137) || Eg fOK ωḅsu ({Tk.} *wrsu) 'be ruined\decayed, verfallen sein' ¶ Fk. 55, EG I 260-1 ¶¶ Tk. I 396 (Eg, WCh) || A: M *niča ~ *niža > WrM {MED} nica, HIM {MED, BMR} няц́ њас 'asunder, into small pieces', Brt ниса ~ низа id.; ⇨ M *ničala- ~ *nižala- > WrM nicala- ~ nicula- {MED} v. 'break into pieces', HIM няцла- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'grind to powder', Ord nisa- 'tuer en écrasant entre les ongles (les pouces); rejeter un liquide qui adhère au doigt en pressant l'ongle de ce dernier entre la face interne du pouce et en détendant vivvement le doigt', WrM nizala- {MED} v. 'reduce to powder, pulverize, crush', HIM нязла- {MED} id., Brt низал- v. 'break into pieces, zerdrücken, zermalmen, zerstoßen', Kl {Rm.} nizal- 'zerdrücken, zerquetschen, zermalmen' ¶ The cns. *-ž- in pM *niža and *nižala- is puzzling; the infl. of N *ñež'i 'finger' is questionable (N *-ž- does not yield a M sibilant) ¶ MED 577, 587, BMR II 452, Chr. 326, 328, KW 277, Ms. O 495 ◇ Ch *-u- and Eg ω- suggest a labial element in the N word (*rič'U or *r'iw'č' ▽?); N *rūč' ▽ is ruled out by the M cognate ◇ On an alt. et. (N *rāč' ▽ and *rič'a) see s.v. N *rāč' ▽ 'break into pieces'.

1962. (₂?) *r'g'č' ▽ (= *rEgač' ▽?) '≈ to add' > HS: S *°✓r'ys|š > Ar رَغْس raḅs- n. {Ln.} 'increase, abundance' ({BK} 'accroissement; surcroît, abondance; avantage, profit'), ✓r'ys G (ip. -r'yas-) vt. 'make sth. increase and multiply; multiply to so. his property' (of God) ¶ Ln. 1113, BK I 889, Hv. 259-60 || K *racχ- v. 'count' > OG racχ- id., OG ricχw-, G ricχv- n. 'number', Mg ḳo-rocχ- v. 'count' (ḳo- [< *oḳo-] is a sx of reciprocity), Lz ḳo-(r)ocχ-, ḳo-recχ- v. 'count', ?φ Sv {K} li-cχ-e 'to count, to suppose' ¶¶ K 155, K² 154, FS K 252-3, FS E 278-9, Marr OT 2, Chik. 297 || A: ? Tg *lE, as 'much, 'very' > Nn KU ías 'very (much)', Nn Nh {STM} lias 'constantly,

incessantly', {On.} *liass* 'constantly, often', Ud {STM} *leäsi* & *läsi* 'very (much)', Ork, Ul *les* ~ *les-s* 'much', Neg *les*, *les-s* 'much, very (much)' ¶ STM I 496, On. 246 ¶ Qu. because of the sibilant *s for the expected *ç ◊ If Tg **lE₁as* belongs here, the N rec. may be specified as **rEgać∇*.

1963. **rec|ć∇ga* 'to tie, to plait' > K: G *rçq-* 'set a trap (for an animal)', ? *rçq-* vi. 'unite' ¶ Chx. 1091, DCh. 2048 || IE: NaIE **resg-* '≈ weave; rope' > OI '*rajjuh₁* f. 'rope, cord' | Ydg *r0zʏ* 'woman's cloak', Prs *رغزه* *räʏze* 'e woolen cloth', Sgd *rʏzy* 'e (woolen) cloth' ||| L *restis* 'rope, cord' (< **resg-ti-s*) ||| Lt *rẽkstis* = *rẽzgtis* 'netzartiges Heusack, Heutrage, Korb' (← *'plaited'), inf. *rẽgz-ti* (1s pres. *rezgũ*) 'to knit, to do network', *rezgamasis* 'knitting', *rezgėjas* 'knitter', Ltv inf. *režģīt* 'to tangle', *režģis* 'grating, lattice, grid' ||| Gmc: NNr *rusk*, *ryskje* 'Schmiele (*Deschampsia* Beauv.)', MLG *risch* n. 'rush (as a plant used in plaiting)', MHG *rusch(e)* ~ *rosche*, MDt *rusch*, Dt *rus*, AS *risc(e)*, *rysc(e)* 'rush', NE *rush* ¶ WP II 374, P 874, EI 571 (**resg-* '≈ plait, wattle'), M K III 35, M E II 427, Bai. 371, Sg. 580, WH II 431, Frn. 713, Sw. 142, Skeat 529, Ho. 261, Vr. N 597-8 ||| D {Pf.} **neć-* / **ney-*, {Km.} **neć-* / **eć-* > **ne(:)y-*, [ʒGS] **ne^rs¹-* v. 'weave, plait' > Tm *ney-* v. 'weave' (as clothes); v. 'string, link together', *necau* 'act of weaving', Ml *neyka-*, Kt *neć-*, Kn *ne(:)y-*, Td *nes-*, Tl *nēyū*, Gnd *nēćć-* v. 'weave', Td *nič-* v. 'darn', Kdg *ne·y-* v. 'spin (thread)', Tu *neyuni* v. 'weave (as a spider)', *neyupini*, *nēyyuni* v. 'weave, plait, braid', Knd *ney-* 'weave or thatch the roof with leaves', Kui *nehpa* (p. *neh₁-*) v. 'build a fence', Ku {Slz.} *neh'nai* v. 'interweave', Krx *ess-* v. 'weave, entwine into a fabric', Mlt *ese* v. 'plait, do mat work' ¶¶ D no. 3745, Pf. 125 [no. 1051], Km. 420-1 [no. 765], GS 59 [no. 170] ¶¶ GS 59 reconstructs here D **ney-*, probably supposing that -c- in the descendant lges belongs to a sx, but external comparison suggests that the pD √ was (in GS's notation) ≈ **nes-* ||| HS: S **✓rks* v. 'tie' (× N **riqû^rz¹∇* 'to tie' [q.v. ffd.] with mt.) ◊ In all branches other than K the N cns. **q* merged with **k*, sc. N **rec|ć∇ga* changed into **rec|ćk∇*, whence by as. **rec|ćka* yielding S (mt.) **✓rks* and IE *resg-*. This is valid as long as we accept the K cognate. Otherwise the N rec. must be **rec|ć₁∇₁ka*.

1964. ₂ **rać∇* 'dirt' > HS: CS or pS **✓rθθ* (**raθθ*-?) 'mud; dirty, shabby' > Ug *rθ* 'Schmutz, Kot', {OLS} 'mud (lodo, barro)', Ar *raθθ-* {BK} 'vieux, usé, sale', {Hv.} 'old clothes; rags', ✓*rθθ* (pf. *raθθa*) {Hv.} 'be threadbare' (garment), ?σ Ak fOB *rušš¹û* 'red' (if ← 'color of mud'); (+ext.) Ak YB

rušum|ntu, rušundu 'Schlamm') ¶ A no. 2556, OLS 395, BK I 819, Hv. 240, Sd. 996-7 || **U**: FU (att. in FL only) **račka* > *Frāhka* 'foam of sweat or of dregs; yeast', Es *rāhk* (gen. *rāha*) 'mould, (purulent) matter' | Lp N {N} *ræk'ce / rævce* 'coating of mildew (on milk etc.)' ¶ Coll. 110, Coll CG 413.

1965. ₂ **rUč̣* ∇ 'to run' > **HS**: S **-rūθ̣-* (**√rʷθ̣*) v. 'run' > BHb *רָוַח* *√rʷç* (ip. *רָוַחַי* *yā-'rūç*) id., Ug *√rʷθ̣* (js. *urθ̣*) v. 'run', TD *trθ̣θ̣* v. 'hurry', OA **√rʷθ̣* v. 'run' (1s pf. *תצַח* *rθ̣t* 'I have run'), SmA *Sh* *בַּרְחַח* *ʔryṭ* 'he made (so.) run' (Targum of Ex. 15.4), Gz *√rʷç* (js. *-rūç*, pf. *rōç*) v. 'run', Ak p. *-rūç* (inf. *rāç*) 'zur Hilfe laufen'; Cn *→* Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} *ra-ʷa-cí* 'run'. In Aram there is a (secondary?) var. of the *√* with a medial *h*: IA, Md *√rḥṭ* v. 'run, hasten oneself', JA [Trg.] *√rḥṭ G* 'run, be swift', JEA {Sl.} *√rḥṭ G* 'run, act in haste', Sr *√rḥṭ G* v. 'run' ¶ KB 1126-7, KBR 1207-8, HJ 1061-2, 1064, OLS 396, Lv. IV 430, Lv. T II 410, Js. 1454, Sl. 1060-1, DM 426, GB 752, Sd. 960, Hlk 149, SivCR 83 || **IE**: NaIE **reth-* v. 'run' > Clt {Matas.} **ret-o-* 'run' > OIr *rethid*, *-reith* id. (sbn. *reiss*), OW *retit* 'runs', W {YGM} *rhedeg* 'run', MBr *reded*, Br {Hm.} *reded* 'run'; *→* Clt {Matas.} **retu-* 'course' > OIr *riuth* ~ *rith*, MW *red*, MBr *red* id. || Lt 1s pres. *ritù* (inf. *risti*) 'rollen' (< **r̥t̥h-*) | *→* NaIE **roth-o-s* 'a running, a course', **ro'th-o-s* 'a runner', **roth-ā* 'a set of runners' > Av *raθa* 'chariot, wagon', Vd *ratha-ḥ* id., 'two-wheeled war chariot' || L *rota* 'wheel' || OIr *roth* id., W *rhod* 'course, wheel' || OSx *rath*, MDt *rat*, Dt, OHG *rad*, NHG *Rad* 'wheel' || Lt *rātas* 'wheel', pl. *rataĩ* 'wagon' ¶¶ Rsm. has shown that IE **t̥h* cannot go back to pIE **t̥H* ({AD} **t̥Hχ*) because a *lr.* would have been preserved as a *vw.* between **t* and **s* in OIr *s-* formations, which is not the case in OIr 3s sbjn. *reiss* < **reth-se-* and in similar cases ¶¶ P 866, Rsm. AT 87, ≈φ EI 491 (**reth₂-* 'run' *→* **roth₂eh_h-* ~ **roth₂o-s* 'wheel'), M K III 38-9, M E II 429-30, WH II 443-4, Vn. R 23, 45-6, Frn. 703, ≈ 730, Ho. S 59, Kb. 767, OsS 696-7, KM 577, Vr. N 557-8, Matas. E 310, YGM-1 377, Hm. 682 ◇ ≠ IS MS 330 (**r̥u'č̣'ā* 'run') and AD NGIE 27 [no. 116]; both authors equate S **√rʷθ̣* with IE **rews-* v. 'move quickly' (P 992). In the light of recent research it has become clear that N **-č̣-* regularly yields IE **-t̥h-* and never **-s-*, hence our former etl. hyp. has been rejected.

1966. **račê* 'to spread, to stretch' > **HS**: S **√r̥š̥* > Jb *√r̥š̥* (pf. *reš̥*) v. 'spread out' ¶ Jo. J 215-16 || **K** **reč-* / **rč-* v. 'spread' > OG, G *rec-* id., 'make a bed', Mg *rč-*, Lz (*r*)*č-* id., Sv *rš-* / *raš-* id. (Sv UB/L msd. *li-rš-i* 'to

spread') ¶¶ K 159, K² 157, FS K 253, FS E 279-80, GP 166, Dn. s.v. rǝ- || U: FU (att. in FV) {UEW} *raće- v. {AD} 'spread, stretch' > Lp N {N} rač'čâ- / rāčč'- v. 'stretch (a skin which has been removed whole in one piece)', Lp L {LLO} rahttja 'den Balg eines Pelztieres mit dem Balgspanner (aus)spannen' | Er {ERV} рацяня adj. 'spreading, branchy, развесистый, раскидистый' (of a tree/shrub), рацякадо- 'get many branches, разветвиться' (of a tree), {Ps.} raća-kado-, Mk {Ps.} raća-kada- 'sich verbreiten' ¶ UEW 743 (its semantic reconstruction 'ausspannen [z. B. den Balg eines Pelztieres]' is based on Lp only and does not take in consideration the meaning of the Mr cognate), LLO 838, ERV 540.

1967. *răĉ∇ 'to break into pieces; piece, part' > HS: CS *raśŕ- 'piece' > BHb פֶּרֶץ *raç* 'piece' (פֶּרֶץ 'צֶרַח raç,çē 'kɛsɛp 'pieces of silver'), Ar رَضَّ raĉĉ- 'dattes dont on a ôté les noyaux et qu'on macère dans du lait'; CS *✓rŕŕ v. 'break into pieces', ? BHb ✓rçç v. G 'mistreat, oppress', ✓rçç v. D 'smite, strike down, shatter, smash', JA [Trg.] ✓rřř G 'shatter, break', JEA {Sl.} ✓rřř Sh 'break', Sr ✓rřř G v. 'bruise, bray, crush', SmA ✓rřř T (Itpə'el) 'destroy', Ar رَضَّ ✓rĉĉ vt. 'break coarsely' ¶ KB 193-4, 1199, KBR 1285-6, BDB no-s 7518 and 7533, BK I 872, Hv. 255, Lv. IV 460-1, Lv. T II 432-3, Js. 1488, Sl. 1090-1, Br. 737, Tal 845 || B *✓rzġHġ v. 'break' ('casser, romper') > Ah ərzġ, Izn, Rf, SrSn ✓rçç id., Zng {TC} arçġi '(se) casser, (se) briser' ({TC Z}: pf. çarçġa 'il a cassé' / aor. int. çirçarçġa) ¶ Fc. 1676, Rn. 331, DCTC 294, TC Z 316-17 || U: FU {UEW} *răĉ∇ 'piece, bit' > Chr H резык 'резьк, Chr L рызык 'ръзык, Chr E {Ü} рѣзык 'part, share', рѣзэ 'share' | Prm: Z рѣч rč 'piece', Z Ud њаћ-рѣч 'piece of bread' || Vg: P/Ss -riś, N {MK} -riś ~ -rěś (= -rəś?) ~ -răś, sx of diminutives: Ss piç-riś 'Jügelchen', N {MK} â tēr-riś-ēm 'mein Fürstenheldchen' | Hg rěsz 'part, piece; share' ¶ UEW 420-1, Ü 185, LG 244, MRS 502, 501, MF 531-2 || D *naĉ-, {ŕGS} *naĉĉ- v. 'be crushed, be cut up into small bits' > Tl najju id., najju 'a bit, fragment', Tm naçi (p. -v-) v. 'be crushed', Kn najju v. 'squash, crush', Kui nasa v. 'crush' ¶¶ D no. 3574, ≠ Km. 406-7 [no. 690] (equating Tl najju with Kn naggu v. 'become bruised', Tm reri v. 'break, be crushed' etc.) ¶¶ It is highly probable that this D ✓ results from coalescence of several N words, including one (or more than one) that meant 'press, squeeze' (whence this meaning in the D root in question: Kiu nasa v. 'press', Δ naĉĉ- id., Tm naçi v. 'bruise'). This probability of coalescence is increased due to the sincretism of the initial sonorants in D: N *n-, *ñ-, *l-, *ļ- and *r-

coalesced in D *n- ◇ The position of FU *răć∇ and D *nać- is ambiguous: they may be alternatively equated with S *✓rss 'break into pieces' and allow the rec. of a N etymon *răć∇. On the other hand, S *✓rŝŝ may be equated with M *nića 'asunder, into small pieces', which will lead to a N *rića. This ambiguity is due to the instability of vowels in S verbs and to the neutralization of oppositions between several affricates in U and D. Cf. N *ric∇ 'small pieces; to crush'.

1968. (₂?) *r'e'ĉ∇ ≈ to please, to be pleased; pleasant, acceptable' > HS: WS *✓rŝy|w 'be pleased' > BHb ✓rĉy|w v. 'take pleasure in, be favorable (to so.), accept with pleasure, become friends with', JA [Trg.] ✓rfy|w G ('רנר rᶜy ~ רנר rᶜʔ) 'desire, take delight in, welcome', JEA ✓rfy G, SmA ✓rᶜy G (3s pf. רנר rᶜh) 'desire', Sr ✓rfy v. D 'please', Ar ✓rĉy (pf. راضي raḍīya, ip. -rĉay-) 'be pleased with, be consent to', Sb ✓rŝw|y v. 'please, satisfy; 'content', Mh ✓rŝy (pf. 'rayŝi, subj. yzrŝā) 'be acceptable\agreeable', Hrs arŝō v. Sh 'console, charm', Jb E 'reŝi, Jb C εr'ŝe vt. 'accept', εr'ŝi ps. v. 'be acceptable\agreeable', Sq {Jo.} 'riŝi 'find acceptable' ¶ BDB no. 7621, BGMR 115, Lv. T II 430-1, Lv. IV 459, Js. 1486, Tal 842, Sl. 1090, Br. 738, JPS 545, BK I 875-6, Hv. 256, Jo. M 336-7, Jo. J 220, Jo. H 108 || ?σ K *oreĉ|ĉ- > G reĉ- 'erwerben, verdienen' ¶ Chx. 1060, DCh. 1036 || U: FU *rećĉ∇ 'beautiful, good' > pChr {Ber.} *riž > Chr H {Ep.} рѣж рѣж 'comeliness (пригожесть)', {Wc.} рѣж, ѿрѣж 'Zierlichkeit, Schmuckheit; Netttheit, tadelloses Äußere; Zierde, Verzierung', {MRS} L рыжле 'рѣжле, Н рыжлы 'рѣжль 'beautiful, of pleasant appearance' ('красивый, благовидный, пригожий'), {Rm.} рѣжла 'schön, gut, vortrefflich' || Vt эеч зеч 'good, firm', Vt {W}: S зеч, K жеч 'gut, schön', G зеч id., 'happy, happiness' ¶ UEW 744, Ber. 57, MRS 511, Ep. 104, U3S 159-60 || ?φ A: Tg: WrMc {Z} начиха- v. 'console, exhort, persuade (утешать в горе, увещевать, уговаривать)' ¶ STM I 587, Z 212 ◇ Mc a (Tg *a) is still to be explained (vowel harmony?).

1969. *r∇ĉ∇,χ∇ (or *r∇χ∇,ĉ∇?) 'to wash' > K *reĉχ-/*rĉχ- v. 'wash' > OG rcχ- id., NG recχ- v. 'wash, launder', Lz ĉχ- 'wash', Mg rĉχ- v. 'launder', Sv ✓rĉχ- 'rinse' (msd. li-rĉχ-əne; läy-rəĉχ-n-e 'er spülte im Wasser') ¶¶ K 159, K² 158, FS K 258, FS E 285-6, Q 312, Chik. 310, 380 || HS: S *✓rĥŝ v. 'wash' > BHb ✓rĥĉ, Ug rĥᶜ, IA ✓rĥᶜ G, SmA ✓rᶜᶜ G, ✓ Ar ✓rĥĉ G, Sb ✓rĥĉ, Sq ✓rĥŝ v. 'wash', Gz ✓rĥĉ G v. 'sweat, perspire, wash, soak', Jb, Mh ✓rĥŝ v. 'bathe, wash', Ak ✓rĥĉ v. 'rinse' ¶ GB 756, KBR 1220-1, HJ 1075, Tal 845-6, OLS 389, L G 466, L LS 398, JH 278, HJ

1072, BGMR 116, Jo. M 322, Jo. J 210, Sd. 942-3 || ? ϕ B * \checkmark (y)rHd > Gd *äräd* (3m pf. *yäräd*) 'be washed', Ah {Fk.} inv. *irrad id.*, caus. *siräd* 'wash', Gh *aräd* 'be washed', *siräd* 'wash', Izd, Wrg, Mz *irid* 'be washed', Izd *ssird*, Wrg, Mz *ssiräd* 'wash', BSn *irīd* inv. 'wash, be washed' (3m pf. *i-yrīd*), Izn, Zkara *irīd* inv. 'be washed', Izn, Rif, SrS, Hlm, Assh caus. *sired* 'wash', Wrs, Nfs *sired id.* (long \bar{i} points to a lr., denoted as *H), Zng {TC} pf. *yərəḏ* / aor. *yərəḏ* '(se) laver' ¶ Fc. 1566, Lnf. II no. 1335, Ds. B 194, Rn. 290, Bs. ZOu 95, Mrc. 153, Dlh. Ou 269, Dlh. M 169, DCTC 285 || ? Eg fMK *rχt* v. 'wash (clothes)' > Cpt: Sd **ρωζε** *rōhe*, B **ρωχι** *rōχī*, A **ρωζε** *rōχ₂e* id.; the cns. *t* is preserved in Cpt Sd **ραζτ** *raht*, B **ραχτ** *raχt* 'washer (blanchisseur)' (< Eg *rχt.y* id.) ¶ EG II 448, Fk. 152, Vc. 180 ¶¶ Vc. l.c., Tk. I 309 ¶¶ The de-emphatization of the affricate * \hat{c} in Eg and B is still puzzling (as. caused by the adjacent lr.?) || A: ? M: WrM {MED} *nisqa-*, HM {MED} *нясга-* v. 'wash a corpse, gather the ashes of a cremated body' (unless the meaning of this verb is 'bury', as in BMR) ¶ MED 586, BMR IV 452 || D **noṭ-* 'wash' (× N ***ńoĉ** ∇ ₁**q** ∇ ₁ 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle', q.v.) > T m *nuṭakku* 'wash, wipe off moisture, dissolve', Tu *neḏi*, *niḏiyuni*, *niḏipini*, Bel *noḏi*, Prj *noḏ-*, Gdb *nor-* 'wash', Gnd *nor-*, *norr-*, Knd *noṛ-*, Png *noz-*, *nuz-*, Kui *nobga* (< **nog-b-*), Ku *nor-*, Mlt *nóre* id. ¶¶ D no. 3783 ¶¶ The pD vw. * θ is likely to belong to the heritage of N ***ńoĉ** ∇ ₁**q** ∇ ₁ ◇ N ***ĉ** χ - > K ***-ĉ** χ - (deglossalization of * \hat{c} is due to as.) ◇ The K and M cognates suggest a metathesis (***-ĉ**₁ ∇ ₁**χ**- > ***-χ**₁ ∇ ₁**ĉ**-) in the prehistory of HS.

1970. ***r'o'dE** 'seek, wish' > HS: S * \circ -*rūd-* > Ar \checkmark *rwd*, *-rūd-* {BK} 'chercher, demander (de la nourriture, du fourage)', {Hv.} 'ask (sth.), search for food/fodder', {BK} *L* 'vouloir, demander', {BK, Hv.} *Sh* 'vouloir' ¶ BK I 949-50, Hv. 277 || C: EC: Sa {R} \checkmark *rdy* (pf. 'i-rḏiy- θ) 'bestärken eine Meinung, beistimmen, einverstanden sein', Af {PH} *-irdiye* pcv. 'accept, be willing', Sml {ZMO} *rādi-* scv. 'search, look for, seek', Sml N {Abr.} *rādi-* 'look for sth. far and wide, track so. down'; C \rightarrow Tgr \checkmark *rdy* *G* (pf. *rēda*) v. 'agree, be willing, take pleasure, dare' ¶ R S II 298, PH 137, ZMO 391, Abr. S 207-8, LH 162 || IE: NaIE **red^h-*/**rod^h-* (or **rad^h-*?) v. 'seek, find, get; care for' > AS inf. *ređian* 'to reach, to find, to effect; to make ready', Gt inf. *ga-rēdan* (· $\pi\rho\nu\nu\omicron\epsilon\check{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$) 'Vorsorge treffen', *und-rēdan* 'besorgen, gewähren' || OI *rād^h-* 'nō-ti' 'achieves, prepares, makes ready', Av *rād-* 'zum guten Ende führen, zustande kommen', *rāda-*, *rāša-* 'Fürsorger' || ? OIr *rad-* 'fournir' (inv. *rad* 'fournis' (unless a secondary variant of OIr *rat-* 'donner, livrer') || Sl inf. **radīti* > OCS {StSS}

inf. **РАДНТИ** *raditi* 'sich sorgen (заботиться, беспокоиться)', OR {Srз.} inf. **РАДНТИ** *raditi* 'sich sorgen (заботиться)', **РОДНТИ** *roditi* id., R inf. **радеть**, Slv inf. *róđiti* 'to care for', SCr inf. *rāditi* 'to be busied with, to work (upon), to perform', OCz inf. *neroditi* (with the negative px *ne-*) 'not to seek\want', HLs inf. *rodzić*, LLs inf. *rožes* 'to wish, to strive for' | Lt inf. *ràsti* (1s pres. *randũ*, 1s p. *radaũ*) 'to find', Ltv inf. *rast* (1s pres. *ròdu*) 'to find, to discover' ¶ Mn. 1062, M K IV 54, Ho. 252, 256, Fs. 199, 519, Vn. R 3, 7, Tr. 235, Frn. 700-1, StSS 565, Srз. III 12, 133-4, Vs. III 430, Glh. 515-16, ≈ EI 472 (OI, Av, SI < **reh₁-* 'put in order') || **A**: M ≈ **nöžid* (< ≈ **nödid*) > WrM *nöžid* 'lust, sensual desire, degrading passion' ¶ MED 594 || **D** **nāṭo*, {ǰGS} **nāḍ-* v. 'wish, look for' (× N **nāṭh₁* ∇ 'seek, seek help' × N **ṭewdA* 'look for, find') > Tm *nāṭu* 'seek, inquire, desire, know, understand', Ml *nāṭuka* 'follow with the eyes', Tu *nāḍuri* 'search, seek', Gnd MB {Ph., Wil.} *nār-* 'see, look at', {Wil.} *nāḍ-* 'gaze' ¶¶ D no. 3637 ¶¶ D **ā* belongs to the heritage of N **nāṭh₁* ∇.

1971. *rayd ∇ 'to walk', 'foot, track' ([in descendant lges] → 'to journey, to ride, fahren') > **HS**: S (or CS) (mt.) **✓rdy* > Sr *✓rdy|w* (pf. *ṛ; rə'ḍā*) {Br.} 'ambulavit, cucurrit, vectus est', {JPS} v. 'journey, go forward', *rə'ḍā* *ḅəʔur'ḥā* 'he went on the road, travelled', Md *✓rdʔ* v. 'travel on, journey, move on, flow, pursue a way', Ar *مرادى* *mrʔdy* (unk. voc.) 'feet (of camels and elephants)', ?σ Ak {Sd.} *✓rdy*, inf. *redû*, Ak A inf. *radāʔu* 'begleiten, (mit sich) führen; gehen'; hardly here BHb *ḥṭṭ* *✓rdy* v. 'tread (the wine press)' and Ar *G* *✓rdy* v. 'fouler le sol de ses sabots' (a horse), which are better explained as a WS transformation of **✓rdd* v. 'trample' ¶ GB 746, KB 1110-11, KBR 1190, Br. 714, JPS 529-30, BK I 849-51, Hv. 248, Lb. 1231, Sd. 965-8, DM 425 || Eg fP *rḍ* 'foot' > DEg *rṭ* id. (> Cpt: Sd/B **РАТ** *rat*, A **РЕТ** *ret*, F **АЕТ** *let* 'foot, leg') ⇨ Eg fP *rḍ.w* 'Treppe' (← 'Tritte, Stufen') ¶ EG II 461-2, Fk. 154, Vc. 178-9 || C: EC: Sml N *rād* 'footprint', Sml {ZMO} *rād* 'footprint, trail', *rādi-* v. 'track' (the latter: × N **r'o'dE* 'to seek, to wish'), ? Arr {Hw.} *r0(:)ṭ-* 'travel on foot' || SC ⇨ Mb *irirá* 'tracks of an animal' ({E}: < **rēd-*) ¶ E SC 329, AD SF 241, Abr. S 207-8, ZMO 337, Hw. A 391 || Om **rṽd|ṭ-* > SOM: Hm B {Fl.} *roti* / *rū* / *rro*, Hm K *rro* 'foot, leg' ¶ Bnd. AL 150, Fl. p.c. ¶¶ Vc. 178 (Eg, S), OS no-s 2083-4, Tk. I 242-3, Tk. SCC 101 [no. 31.6] || **IE**: NaIE **rejd^h-* v. 'travel, move (fahren, in Bewegung sein)' > Clt {Matas.} **rēd-0-* v. 'ride' > OIr *ríadaim* v. 'ride, drive, travel', n. act. *ríad*; {Matas.} *réidid* -*réid*

v. 'ride', W ebrwydd 'quick, swift' ({P}: < NaIE *epo-rēdi-), W † cd go-rŵydd 'steed' ÷ Gl *wō-rēdos 'horse' (*wō- 'under, at' + *rēda 'Reisewagen') → L verēdus 'post-horse' → cd para-verēdus 'extra post-horse' → OHG pfarifrit 'ē horse' > NHG Pferd 'horse' || Gmc inf. *ridjan > OHG inf.rītan 'to drive, to ride', MHG inf.rīten, NHG inf. reiten, ON inf ríðja, OSx, AS inf rīðan 'to ride', NE ride || Lt inf riedėti 'to trundle, to roll', Ltv inf raidīt 'to send, to direct', {Frn.} 'eilig senden' ¶ WP I 75 and II 348, P 861, Mn. 1067, EI 485 (? *rejdʰ- 'ride'), Vn. R 26, Thr. 377, YGM-1 206, Bc. 168, Ho. 259, Ho. S 60, Kb. 758, OsS 718-19, 799, Lx. 170, KM 543, 594-5, Frn. 729, Matas. E 307 || ¶ A: NaT *jaða-v. 'walk', *jaða-k (jaða-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (× N *yād'a' or *yadä 'go' [q.v. ffd.]) || Tg: Nn KU nada- v. 'walk' ¶ STM I 576 ¶¶ ET J 69 || ¶ D {Km.} *naṭ-a-, {GS} *ńaṭ- v. 'walk' (× N *zä'kī'd∇ 'move, go?') > Tm naṭa 'walk, go, pass', MI naṭakka, Kt naṭv-, Td naṭ-, Kdg naṭa, Tu naṭapuni, Klm aḍg- (p. adakt-), Nk, Nkr aṛg-, Knd naṭi v. 'walk', Tl naṭa 'walking' (n.), naṭacu v. 'walk, pass' ¶¶ D no. 3582, Km. 407-8 [no. 696], GS 140-1 [incl. no. 355] (on the reflexes of pD *ń).

1972. *r∇g_L∇_J∇ 'to quake, to move in agitation' > HS: CS *√rgγ (~ *√rγg) > BHb √rgγ G 'stir up', {BDB} 'disturb', {GB} 'in unruhige Bewegung versetzen, aufschrecken', MHb √rgγ Sh 'move to and fro', Ar mt. √rγḡ G (pf. راجع راجعاً, ip. -راجع-) vt. 'disquiet', {BK} 'agiter, ne pas laisser tranquille' ¶ GB 745, HAOT 255, BDB 920-1 [no. 7280], KB 1108-9, BK I 880, Hv. 257 || ¶ IE *h₁ergʰ_Lh_X- (× N *z'ä'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' [q.v.]) > NaIE *ergʰ- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget' > OI r_ogħā'yati 'trembles, rages' || Gk {LS} ὀρχέομαι v. 'dance; leap, bound', ὀρχέω 'make to dance\leap' || Sl: R Δερ'га 'a fidget', R 'ёрзает 'fidgets, moves restlessly' (R з rather than the expected cns. r < IE *g is still to be explained; does it go back to *gj?) || Ht {Pv.} argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence' ¶¶ WP I 147-8, P 339, M K I 119, M E I 249, F II 433, Ch. 830, LS 1258, Vs. II 22, 24, Pv. I-II 147-8, ≠σ EI 508 (*h⁴orḡhej ~ *h⁴r_o'ḡhor 'mounts, covers') || ¶ K *req-/*rḡ- 'oscillate, shake' (× N *riqa|æ 'shake' [intr.], 'be shaky', q.v.) > OG req-/rḡ- 'shake, oscillate', G req-/rḡ- id., swing, stir, make shaky' ({Chx.} 'rütteln, schütteln, lose\wackelig machen', {DCh.} 'трясти, качать, шевелить, поколебать; колебаться'), Mg raḡ- 'shake' (of nut trees), Sv {FS} req- / rḡ- / rḡ-: li-rḡ-ani 'to shake (schütteln), to tremble', ad-rḡ-n-e 'er schüttelte, ließ schwanken' ¶¶ K² 156-7, Schm. 130, FS K 257-8, FS E 285, Chx. 1082, DCh. 1045 ¶¶ K *-ḡ- may have resulted from *-ḡḡ-

(glottalization caused by *ʕ) < *-gʕ- (uvularization of *g by as. to the pharyngeal ʕ) ◇ S *ʕ and the absence of lrs in Ht and K suggest a pN *ʕ ◇ IS MS 339 (*rʌgʌ [ʔ] 'двигаться' > IE, S).

1973. *rigʰa (or *rigʕa?) 'a scratch, line' > HS: S *^o✓rgʕ > Ar رَجَعٌ raǧǧ- 'ligne\trait (tracé par le peintre ou l'ornemaniste)' ¶ BK I 827 || IE *reǵkHx- > NaIE *reǵk(h)- 'line, row; scratch' > OI rē'khā ~ lē'khā 'a stripe, line, scratch', rī'khāti 'scratches' ||| Clt {Matas.} *^orig-0- 'stretch' > OIr {Vn.} reg- 'tendre, diriger', reraig 'direxit', {Matas.} rigid, -rig 'stretch', NIr righim 'I reach, attain', {Ped.} 'ich strecke aus' ||| Gmc: NNr reig 'row, line (in a book etc.)', OHG riga 'line', NHG Riege 'section'; Gmc {Vr.} *rīho > MHG rīhe 'line', NHG Reihe, MDt rie, Dt rij 'row'; OHG d. inf. rīhan 'auf einen Faden ziehen' ||| ? Lt inf. riēkti, Ltv inf. riēkt 'to plough up virgin soil' (× Lt riēkti, Ltv riēkt 'to slice [bread]') ¶ P 858, EI 354 (*reǵk-), ≈ M K III 58, M E II 457, Kb. 790, OsS 713-14, Lx. 168, KM 592, 599, Vr. N 575-6, Frn.729, Vn. R 13-14, Matas. E 312-13, ||| K *rig- (*^orig-?) > G v. rig- 'arrange', {Chx.} '(ordent-lich) aufstellen, ordnen', G rig-i 'row, sequence, order, Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB/A {TK} rig 'row' (← G?) (× N 'r'ī'k'ʕ'æ ≈ straight, row'?) ¶¶ Chx. 1065-6, DCh. 1037-8, TK 689 ||| A: Tg *|ńigb∇- 'a scratch' > Lm ńigbā-ku 'a scratch (on the skin)', Ud {Krm.} ńigbǝǝ-, ńigbǝli- v. 'scratch oneself, hurt one's skin, get slightly wounded', ¶ STM I 637, Krm. 271 ◇ The K ev. rules out N *χ and *ʕ. NaIE *-kʰ- suggests a N voiceless lr. *h (N *-g- is devoiced by the adjacent vl. *h), hence one must suppose assimilation N *gh > *gʕ in S.

1974. (₂?) *r∇g₄∇₁∇ (or *∇g₄∇₁∇) 'foot, paw' > HS: WS *'rig₄a₁- 'foot' > BHb B רַגְלִי 'rāgāl 'foot, leg' (+ppa: 'רַגְלִי rig'li 'my foot\leg'), BHb T רַגְלִי 'reǧel 'foot, leg' (+ppa.: 'רַגְלִי rag'li-ī 'my foot\leg', רַגְלִי-וֹ rag'li-ō 'his foot\leg'), SmHb {BH} rēgəl (pl./du. rē'gālam) 'foot, leg', Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} riglu 'foot, (?) leg', Yd mt. lgru du. cs. 'feet', IA, Plm rgl 'foot', BA (TV) du. רַגְלִי-יֵן rag'li-īn 'feet', (BbV) רַגְלִי-יֵן id., JA [Tgr.] רַגְלִי 'reǧel, em. רַגְלִי rig'li-ā, JEA רַגְלִי rig'liā 'foot, leg', Sr رِجْلٌ rēg'li-ā 'foot, hoof', Md mt. ligrā, dis. nigla 'foot, leg', Ar رِجْلٌ riǧl- {Hv.} 'foot; hind leg (of animals)', {BK} 'pied, jambe (depuis la naissance du fémur jusqu'à l'endroit où commence le pied); pied de derrière', Sb rgl 'foot', Mn rgl 'foot, leg' ¶ The WS vowel of the initial syll. is preserved in the Babylonian vocalization of BHb (WS *'rig₄a₁- in 'רַגְלִי rig'li 'my foot\leg'), but has been changed by analogy with most nomina segolata in the Tiberian vocalization of BHb ¶ KB 1105-7, 1779, Yv. I 832, HJ 1060, Hnr. 176, Lv. IV 424-5, Lv. T II 405-6,

Js. 1449, Sl. 1073-4, BK I 830, Hv. 241, DM 235, Ln. 1044-5, MA 77, MiK I no. 1.228 || C {AD} *r̥g̥d̥- (dis. < **r̥g̥d̥l̥-?) > Bj {R} ra'gad (pl. 'ragada) 'leg, foot', {Rop.} ragad ~ lagad 'foot', Bj A {AD} ra'gad 'leg' || EC: Sa {R} ri'gid 'foot', ✓ r̥gd̥ (p. -irgid-) pcv. 'stoßen mit dem Fuß auf die Erde, hüpfen, trampeln, tanzen', Af {R} -irgid- 'dance', {PH} -irgid-pcv. 'dance in line' || ??φ mt. SC: Irq {MQK} digir 'footprint, step', Brn dagara 'footprint' ¶ AD SF 170, Blz. EDB 23, R WBd 190, R S II 299-300, R A II 100, PH 137, E SC 324, MQK 30 ¶¶ Coh. EC no. 419, AD SF 170, OS no. 448 || ??φ mt. ECh: Nd dáǵǵǵ 'leg', Tmk dèǵǵǵ 'leg, foot', Smr {J} dǵǵǵáǵ 'foot' ¶ JI II 221, ChC s.v. 'leg' and 'foot', Cp. 52, Blz. EChWL no. 31 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *o̥l̥ḁ̂l̥ (or *o̥l̥ḁ̂k̥l̥, *l̥ḁ̂l̥k̥) 'foot, paw' > ObU *l̥f̥l̥ (p̥Vg *l̥f̥l̥ / *l̥ǵl̥- 'foot' > OVg SoG lagl, OVg E TM ljále, OVg S Vt/Kg лалъ, Vg: T la'yə, LK lāl (pl. lǵlæt), MK/UK lāl (pl. lǵlæt), P/LL lāl (+ppa.: laylam 'my foot'), Ss lāl 'foot'; pOs *laʷə 'paw (Pfote)' > V/Vy laʷə, Ty lǵʷə, Y lǵʷə, D laχə id. || OHg lollya 'ham', Hg Δ lolli, lolu, lolya, lolva id., 'ε Schweinebraten' || ?φ,σ pY {IN H} *laq- (× N *LaKa 'leg') > Y T/K {IN H} laqil 'tail, bottom (of the body)', {Ku.} лажил 'buttocks, hind part; tail; back side (of garments)', Y K {IN H} laqid-īčǵ 'buttocks', laq-ušī 'stern steer of a boat' ¶¶ UEW 865 (Ugr *lâlk̥ 'irgendein Glied [Fuß, Hand, Pfote, Tatze]'), Ht. no. 357, Stn. WV 196, MF 407-8, EWU 906, IN H 934-5 || ?σ IE: OIr ({LP} Mir) lurǵa 'shinbone' (× N ? *L̥r̥k̥ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' [q.v.]) ¶ WP II 443, P 691 ◇ Cf. also P's IE *r̥ksā 'fetlock, pastern (of hoofed animals)' > OI r̥k̥sā, r̥c̥charā 'the part of the animal's leg between the fetlock joint and the hoof' (MW 224-5), which P and M K equate with Lt *r̥éśa 'Kötengelenk' (P 875, M K I 118, but not M E I 248). In fact the Lt word is r̥íeśa(ς) 'wrist, tarsus, pastern joint of a horse', which cannot be drawn back to *r̥ksā. Frn. 730-1 compared it with MDt wr̥ighe, Dt wreeg 'Fußbiege', MHG rihe 'Rist des Fußes' and other related Gmc forms and derived it from IE wreik̥o-/ā- 'der sich Drehende, der Gekrümmte' ◇ The original N etymon was either *r̥g̥l̥ (whence as. bringing about FU *o̥l̥ḁ̂l̥) or N *l̥g̥l̥ (whence dis. S *l̥rig̥l̥).

1975. ?σ *rogU '≈ incline, incline\turn towards' > HS: S *o̥-rūʷ- > Ar ✓ r̥wʷ (ip. -rūʷ-) 'se pencher, se tourner vers qn ou qch.; se détourner de la droite ligne' ¶ BK I 954, Hv. 278-9 || U: FU *o̥r̥oʷ- > ObU {Ht.} *r̥ōʷ- ({Hl.} *r̥oʷ- / *r̥ōʷ-) 'approach' > pVg *r̥āw- / *r̥ōʷ- 'heranschleichen lassen' (vom Wild) > Vg: T raw-, LK/UK/NV row-, MK/UL rōw-, P rōw- / row-, LL row- / raʷ-, Ss rōw- id. (unless this Vg word belongs to FU *rak-/ *rakk-

'near', whence Vg MK *rākās-* 'zu jemandem kommen') and pOs **rǎϣ-* ({{H1.}} **rīϣ-*) v. 'approach' > Os: Km/Nz/Kz/O *rǎχ-* v. 'approach', V *rǎϣam*, Ty/Y *rǎϣam*, K/Nz/Kz *rǎχam* 'Verwandte' ¶ Ht. no. 553 || K **rϣω-* 'fall (down), collapse' > G *rϣv-* 'fall in, collapse', Sv *rϣω-/reϣω-* 'collapse, fall down', {Ni.} 'валиться', Sv UB {GP} *reϣω-* (msd. *li-reϣω*): a- + *reϣω-* 'collapse', es- + *reϣω-* 'fall down', Sv L {Dn.} *li-reϣω-* 'to fall, to descend', 1s pres. *χωa-rϣω-eni* 'I fall\descend', 3s aor. *es-raϣω* 'he fell, fell down (упал, свалился)' (× K **rϣω-* 'destroy' < N **rAwg'U'* 'to destroy, to tear') ¶¶ ≈ K 158, ≈ K² 156, FS K 257, FS E 283-4, Ni. s.v. 'валиться', GP 165-6, Dn. s.v. *reϣv-*.

1976. **rAwg'U'* 'to destroy, to tear' > HS: S **^o-rūϣ-* > Ar ✓ *rωϣ* (ip. *-rūϣ-*): *rāϣa* *ʕal ... bi...* 'rushed on (so.) with (blows)', TL *تَرَاوُغُوا* *tarāwawū* 'they struggled together' ¶ BK I 954, Hv. 278 || K **rϣω-* 'destroy' (× K **rϣω-* 'throw' and K **rϣω-* 'collapse' < N ?σ **rogU* ≈ 'incline, incline towards') > OG *rϣω-* 'destroy', Sv UB *rϣω-* 'destroy', msd. *li-rϣω-e* 'to destroy sth.' ¶¶ ≈ K 158, ≈ K² 156, FS K 257, FS E 283-4, Ni. s.v. 'валиться', GP 165-6, Dn. s.v. *reϣv-* || A **lab-* ~ **læb-* (× N **'rep∇'?'∇* 'tear off, break', q.v.) > Tg **lab-* ~ **leḷḷb-* 'tear, wear out' > Ewk *lap-* 'be torn, be worn out' (of clothes), Lm *nabdъ* 'torn' (of a hide, clothes), Neg *lap-* 'be torn to tatters'; Ewk *lɜwgi-* 'wear out (clothes)', *lɜp-* 'be worn out' (of clothes), Lm *nɜbdə-* 'tear out, jerk out, tear off', ? Nn Nh/KU *lɜbɜr* 'rags, worn out clothes' ¶ STM I 493, 518, On. 252 || M: [1] M (< d.?) **labtara-* ~ **nabtara-* > WrM {MED} *nabtara-* ~ {STM} *labtara-*, HIM *навтра-* {MED, BMR}, Brt *набтар-* vi. 'wear out, tear, become shabby\tattered', Kl {KRS} *лавтра-* *lawtra-* 'стираться, изнашиваться полностью', WrM {Kow.} *labtar sabtar* 'des morceaux déchirés, lambeaux, haillons'; M **nabtarqay-* > MM [S] *nabtarqay* 'torn\tattered clothes', WrM {MED} *nabtarqai*, HIM {MED, BMR} *навтархай* 'worn out, shabby, torn, tattered', Ord *nab_t'arχā* 'vêtements tout en lambeaux'; [2] M **nabta-*, **nabtasun* > MM [IM] *nabtasu*, *nabtasun*, WrM {MED} *nabtasu* 'rags', HIM *навтас* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Flicken' ('лохмотья, лоскуры'), Ord *nab_tt'asu* 'lambeau, loque', Brt *нанги-набта* 'в лохмотьях'; [3] WrM {MED} *lobsi* ~ *nobsi* 'rags' ¶ H 112, MED 555, BMR II 382-3, Chr. 317, 675, KRS 333, Ms. O 479, Kow. 1960 ¶¶ The vw. **-æ-* in pA **læb-* belongs to the heritage of N **'rep∇'?'∇* ¶¶ SDM 860 (pA **labṽ* ~ **lebṽ* 'rope, long hare, rags' > M **lab-* ~ **lob-* 'rags; be

ragged', Tg [+ err. Tg *lab- 'antler'] + unc.: T *job-lač 'fine goat's hair', pJ *nàp- v. 'wind a string', n. 'string, rope' and pKo *nòh 'string'), Mr. KJ 240 || IE *reu_uH_oX- > NaIE *rewə-/**rū- 'tear to pieces, tear out' (× N *row_u∇ [or *row_uH∇?] 'dig, scratch, carve', q.v.) > OI rāv- / ru- 'break\dash into pieces' (Vd prtc. ru-'ta- 'broken into pieces') (with a short -u-, which is to be explained) || Lt inf. ráuti (1s pres. ráuju) 'to tear out, to root up', Ltv Δ inf. raūt 'to jerk, to pull' || Sl inf. *rǔvǎ-ti (1s pres. *rǔvǔ) 'to tear' > SrChS inf рѣвѣти рѣвѣти (1s pres. рѣвѣ рѣвѣ), Slv inf rǔvǎti (1s pres. rǔjem), OR inf рѣвѣти рѣвѣти (1s pres. рѣвѣ рѣвѣ), R inf рвѣть (1s pres. рвѣ), Uk inf (i)'рвати (1s pres. (i)'рвѣ), Cz inf rǔvǎti (1s pres. rǔv), P inf rǔvǎc (1s pres. rǔv) 'to tear', Blg 'рѣвам 'I tear', SCr inf rǔvǎti (1s pres. rǔvēm) 'to strain oneself', rǔvǎti se 'to fight' || ON inf rǔja 'to pluck out sheep's wool' || pTc *ruwā- > Tc A ruwā-, B ru-, ruwā- 'pull out (from under the surface)' ¶ The intonation in Blt suggests the presence of a pIE lr.; the absence of the expected traces of the lr. in OI is likely to be due to contamination with N *row_u∇ '↑' (q.v.) ¶ WP II 351-2, P 868, Mn. 1095-6, 1099-100, 1104, ≈σ EI 570 (*reu_u(H)- 'pull out [from under the surface]'), M K III 63, M E II 440, MW 881, WH II 453-4, Frn. 798-9, Vs. III 452, Glh. 528-9, Vr. 455, Ad. 537.

1977. *raγ_ui,ʔ∇ 'follow, accompany' ([in descendant lges] → 'drive [a herd], graze') > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *rāγ- 'follow' > Sml N rāγ- 'accompany', Sml {ZMO} rāγ- 'follow, accompany', Sml J raʔ-/ rah- 'follow', pBn *rāʔ- id. (> Bn: Bi/Sa/J/Kj rāʔ-) 'follow, accompany', Rn rāḥ- 'go\travel in procession with, follow' ¶ Ehret adduced Bj {R} rām- 'join, follow after, accompany', which is hardly tenable for phonetic reasons ¶ ZMO 337, Abr. S 207, PG 245, Hn. S 72, Hn. BD 107, E PC no. 508, R WBd 191-2 || S *√rγy > BHb √rγy|w G 'associate with', Ak rāʔu 'Genossen werden'; S *riγ- > BHb רִיג 'rē^aγ 'fellow, companion, friend', Ug r^γ id., Amr {G} riγum id., IA r^γ {HJ} 'friend, colleague, neighbor', Ak rūʔu 'Gefährte, Freund', ? Eb {Krb} rāʔum ≈ id., ? Sb r^γγn 'guidance, assistance' | ? S *√rγy vt. 'graze' (← 'drive cattle?') > BHb רִיג √rγy|w, Ar √rγy G, Ak rēʔū id., Ph/IA/Plm {HJ} √rγy G vt. 'pasture, graze', JA [Trg.], Sr √rγw|y G (JA pf. רִיג רֹא'ē ~ אֲרִיג רֹא'ē, Sr. pf. רִיג; רֹא'ē) 'feed, graze', JEA √rγy G 'graze', Ug d. r^γγ 'herdsman' ¶ GB 767, KB 1169-70, 1174-7, BDB 945-6, Br. 737-8, HJ 1178-80, A no. 2521, OLS 382, G A 30, Js. 1486, Sl. 1090, JPS 545, BGMR 113, Sd. 954, 998, Krb. PE 104, BK I 885-7, Ln. 1109-10 || A: M *nayu

'friendship, accord' > WrM *naī* {MED} 'friendship', HIM *най* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'friendly attitude', Kl {Rm.} *nā* 'Freundlichkeit, Freund', ?φ Kl {KRS} *ни* 'friendly attitude, 'accord', Ord *nā* 'marque d'amitié'; ⇨ M **nauir* > WrM *naīr* {MED} 'accord, harmony, concord, friendliness', HIM *найр* {MED} id., {BMR} 'Liebenswürdigkeit, Höflichkeit', WrM {MED} *naīr* and HIM {MED, BMR} *найр* 'feast, banquet, festivity, celebration', Brt *найр* 'Feuerlichkeit, Friede, веселье', Ord *nār* 'bonne entente, bonnes relations entre les personnes'; ⇨ : MM [HI] {Ms.} (d.) *naīraquī* 'justice, bienséance', WrM *naīra-* {MED} 'be in hamony/agreement/order', HIM *найра-* {BMR} 'be in agreement, жить в нире', Ord *nāra-* 'être en relations amicales, être d'accord, s'accorder, négocier à l'amiable', Brt (d.) *найрамда-* 'in gutem Einvernehmen leben, sich gut vertragen', Kl {Rm.} *nār-* 'übereinstimmen, eines Sinnes sein' ¶ MED 559, BMR II 385, 387-8, Chr. 319, KRS 376, KW 273-4, Ms. H 77, Ms. O 485-6 || K **reḡ-* 'drive a herd' > G *reḡ-* id. (-ḡ- due to contamination with **reḡ-* 'knock, strike?'), Mg *raḡ-*, Sv *reḡ-* 'drive a herd' ¶¶ K 155; FS E 282 and FS K 155-6 (Fähnrich and Sarjveladze rejected the G cognate) || ?σ IE: NaIE **reḡ-*/**erw-*/**ru-*/**r-* 'move, hasten' (× N **rû?*∇ 'go, [?] run', q.v. ffd. × NaIE **or-*/*r̥-* 'arise' < N **h₁erU* 'ascend, rise') ◇ K **ḡ* < **ḡ?*.

1978. (₂?) **r∇h₂i* (= **r∇h|ḡ|ḡi?*) 'thing' > IE **reH₂y-* > NaIE **rēj₁-* (/i₁*) 'thing' > OI *rāy-* /*ra₁-* in *ra₁yih₁* (accus. sg. *ra₁yim*, instr. sg. *rā₁yā*, gen. sg. *ra₁yah₁*) 'goods, wealth, property', Av accus. sg. *raēm*, instr. sg. *rayā*, OAv gen. sg. *rāi₁iō* id. || L *rē-s* (gen. sg. *rēi*) 'thing', Um dat./abl. sg. *ri* id., RE-PER 'pro re' ¶ WP II 243, P 860, EI 637-8 (**reh₁i-s* / gen. **re₁h₁y-os* 'possessions'), Bur. SL 178, 245, Kur. EIE 35ff., M K III 45-6, M E II 438-9, WH II 430-1, Bc. G 132-3, 344 || HS: C: HEC {Hd.} **r-* 'thing' > Sd *ra* id., Sd *r-iččō*, Kmb *ir-ičču* id., 'nameless thing' (with the snglt. *sx -iččō*, *-ičču*), Hd *l-uččō* 'thing' (l < LEC **r*) || ?μ Rn *rēm* 'thing' ¶ Hd. 152, 292, 324, 389, 419, PG 246-7 || ? K **°ra-* > OG *ra-* 'what?' (nom. *ra-y*, dat. *ra-s*, *ra-sa*, adverbial case *ra-d*), *raoden* 'when?', OG, G *romel-* 'which?', rel. prn. 'which' ¶ For the semantic change 'thing' → 'what?' cp. It *cosa* ¶ Fn. GAS 71-5, Shan. G 52-4, Ser. 131 ◇ If G *ra-* belongs here, the N lr. must have been **h*, **ḡ* or **ḡ*.

1979. (₂?) **r∇kE* (or **r∇kü?*∇??) 'moist', 'contain\conduct water' > IE: NaIE **reḡ-* 'moist; pour\conduct water' > L *rigā-* v. (1s pres. *rigō*, inf. *rigāre*) 'lead\conduct water; wet, moisten, bedew', *ir-rigā-* v. 'conduct water; water, irrigate' || pAl {O} **reza* > Al *rrjedh-* / aor. *rrodha* v.

'flow, flow by; leak; pour in\out, stream' || ON *raki*, Nr Δ *rake* 'moisture, wetness', Ic *rakr* 'moist' ¶ WP II 365-6, P 857, EI 639 (**reġ-* 'moist, make wet'), WH II 435, O 387, Pis. SLS 130, Vr. 432 || HS: [1] WS \approx **rakuʔ-* or (for Ar only) S * \checkmark rk^rw|y^r > Ar {Ln.} رَكْوَةٌ *rakw-at-* 'small drinking vessel', markuww- 'a large watering trough or tank', رَكِيَّةٌ *rikayy-at-* 'a well containing water' (\times Ar \checkmark rkw 'dig'), ? Gz \checkmark rkʔ (pf. *rakʔa*) 'be satisfied (with a drink)', Amh *rəkka* 'be sated (from drinking or [a plant] from being watered), be satisfied'; [2] S * \checkmark rgy 'be moist' or 'moisten' (with an unexpected voiced *g) > Sr \checkmark rgw|y G (pf. رَغِيَ; *rə'gā*, ip. رَغِيَ; *ne-r'gē*) 'moisten', D رَغِيَ; *rag'gī* id. ¶ Ln. 1149-50, Fr. II 189, Hv. 268, L G 469, Br. 711-12, JPS 527-8 || ?σ K: G Kx *rōk-i* 'dregs, wine yeast', {Chx.} 'Bodensatz, (Wein-)Hefe' ¶ Chx. 1074 ◇ The cns. g in Sr \checkmark rgw|y is puzzling (a possible solution: the Sr verb may go back to a cd * \checkmark rk^rw|y^r + a vd. cns.).

1980. **r∇k_LUʔ_L∇* (or **r∇wk_L∇ʔ_L∇*?) 'ε horn' > HS: S **ra_L∇_Lk_L* > Ar رَوْفٌ *rawq-* 'sheep's horn' ¶ Fr. II 212, BK I 955 || IE: NaIE (att. in BSl) **rog_Lh_L*- or **rog_Lh_L*- 'horn' > Lt *rāgas*, Ltv *rags*, Pru *ragis* id. || Sl **rògъ* (gen. **rò'ga*) 'horn' > OCS *рогъ* *rogъ*, Blg, R, Blr *пор*, SCr *rōg*, Slv *rōg*, Cz, Slk *roh*, P *róg*, Uk *piг* id. ¶ Frn. 684, En. 237, Vs. III 489, StSS 583, Glh. 530 || K: GZ **rka-* 'horn' > OG, G *rka-*, Mg *ka-*, (\times **kra-* < N **ḱæR∇* 'horn' [q.v.]) Lz *kra-*, *kia-* 'horn'; d. GZ **rk-in-* v. 'butt (with horns)' > OG, G *rkin-/rken-* id., ? Mg *rč-* v. 'butt, damage'; Lz *nkin-*, *nkir-* 'butt (with horns)' ¶ K 157-8, Ser. 134 ◇ The Ar emphatic q suggests the presence of an ancient glottal stop (N **-k∇ʔ-* > **-kʔ-* > S **-ḳ-* > Ar *-q-*) ◇ IS MS 361 s.v. 'пор' **rakn* (IE, K).

1981. **r∇k∇ʔô* 'speak, shout, say' > IE: NaIE **rek_Lω_L*- / **rēk_Lω_L*- id. > Sl inf. **rek-ti* (1s pres. **rek-ŋ*) 'to say' > OCS inf. *рещи* *rešt i* (1s pres. *рекѣ* *rekq*, inv. *рьци* *rbci*) 'to say, to tell', OR inf. *речь* *reč i* (1s pres. *речю* *reku*) id., SCr inf. *reć i* (1s pres. *rečēm*), Slv inf. *reč i* (1s pres. *rečem*), Cz inf. *řici* (1s pres. *řku*), P inf. *rzeć* (1s pres. *rzekę*) id., Blg *pe'ka* 'I say'; d. Sl **rečъ* (< **rēk-i-*) 'speech, word' > OCS, OR *рѣчь* *rečъ* id., R *речь* 'speech', Uk *piч* id., 'word, thing', Cz *řeč*, Slk *reč* 'speech', Blg *peч* 'speech, word', SCr *pēч* *r iječ* 'word', Slv *rēč*, P *rzech* 'thing' || Lt inf. *rekti* (1s pres. *rekiù*) 'to cry, to shout', Ltv inf. *rekt* 'to roar, to howl' || Tc: A *rake*, B *reki* 'word, command' ¶ \approx P 863, EI 535 (**rek-* 'speak'), StSS 580-1, 587, Srz. III 118-20, 223-5, Vs. 465-6, 478, \approx Glh.

522 (deriving the Sl \sqrt from IE * $wrek-$), Tls. 518, Frn. 617-18, ME III 519, Wn. I 400, Tr. 243, Ad. 539 ¶ The labial element of the expected * $-k^w-$ was probably lost on the morpheme boundary in Tc || **HS:** Ch: WCh * $r\check{\nabla}k_l^w$ - 'ask (for)' > Hs $r\check{\sigma}k\check{a}$ 'request, ask for' || NrBc {Sk.}: Cg $r\check{\sigma}k-$, Mbr $r\check{\sigma}k_i$, Jmb $r\check{u}k_a$, (?) Wrj $r\acute{a}w-$, Kry $r\hat{\sigma}$, My $rawa-$ 'ask for' || CCh: MfG $-r\check{z}k-$ 'beg, cadge' ('mendier, quémander') || ZmB $r\acute{a}k$ 'se vanter' || ECh: Bdy {J} $l\acute{o}k-l\acute{o}k$ 'implorer', Mgm {JA} $l\acute{o}llik\grave{o}$ 'demander avec beaucoup d'insistance' ¶ Stl. IF 206, ChC s.v. 'ask (for)', Ba. 861, Abr. H 738, Brr. MG II 224, ≈ Sk. HCD 220 || **K** * $rekw-$ / * $rkw-$ 'say' > OG $rkw-$ / $rku-$, G $rkv-$ / $rk-$ 'tell, say, speak', Sv UB $r\check{e}k-$ / $r\check{a}k^w-$ 'say, speak' ($r\check{a}k^w$ 'he said', $r\check{w}\check{e}k-ar$ 'I said', $r\check{e}k-a$ 'speak!') ¶¶ K² 156, FS K 256, FS E 283, Ser. 134, Chx. 107, GP 255, TK 688, 808 ◇ K * k (rather than * k) suggests a vw. between N * k and * $?$; this vw. was probably lost (syncopated) in the prehistory of IE and WCh, producing a cluster * $k?$ > * k .

1982. * $r'i'k'f'æ$ (or * $r'i'kæ$) '≈ straight, row', (?) '≈ to arrange' > IE: NaIE * $re\check{g}-$ '≈ straight; stretch, stretch out', * $re\check{g}\bar{i}-$ 'direction, line' > Vd $r\check{a}j\bar{i}-$ {P} 'Linie, Reihe' (?), $r\check{a}'j\bar{i}-$ {P} '(?) sich aufrichtend, gerade', $r\check{o}'j\check{u}h$ 'straight, upright, right', $r\check{o}'j\check{y}at\bar{i}$ 'stretches, stretches out', $r\check{a}\check{s}t\bar{i}$ 'rules', Av $\check{a}r\check{a}z\check{u}\check{s}$ 'gerade, richtig', $r\check{a}zaye\check{i}t\bar{i}$ 'richtet', KhS $r\check{r}ays-$ v. 'direct' || Gk $\check{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\check{\gamma}\omega$ v. 'reach, stretch, stretch out' || L $reg-\bar{o}$ (inf. $reg\check{e}re$) v. 'guide, direct' || Gt inf. $uf-rakjan$ ($\check{\epsilon}k\check{t}\acute{\epsilon}\check{\nu}\alpha\lambda$) 'ausstrecken', OHG inf. $recken$ 'to stretch out', NHG inf. $recken$, ON inf. $rekja$ 'to stretch, to extend', AS inf. $re\acute{c}\acute{c}an$ id., 'to stretch out' || Lt inf. $r\acute{e}\check{z}-ti$ 'straffen, recken', rf. inf. $r\acute{e}\check{z}-ti-s$ 'to exert, to strain oneself', int. inf. $r\check{a}\check{z}\acute{y}ti-s$ 'to stretch oneself, to stretch one's limbs', Ltv inf. $ri\acute{e}zt$ 'emporstrecken', inf. $r\acute{o}z\acute{i}t$ ($\check{o} = [\check{u}\acute{o}]$) 'strecken, recken' || pTc {Ad.} * $r\check{a}k-$ > Tc: A, B $r\check{a}k-$ 'extend (over), cover' || ? NaIE * $re\check{i}\check{g}-$ > OHG, NHG inf. $reichen$ 'reach, attain', AS inf. $r\check{a}\check{e}can$ id., 'extend', NE $reach$ || Lt inf. $r\acute{e}i\check{z}ti$ 'stretch, tighten', {Frn.} 'recken, straffen' ¶ WP II 362-5, P 854-7, 862, EI 187 (* $re\check{i}\check{g}-$ 'extend, stretch out [a body part]') and 329-30 (* $h_3re\check{g}-$ 'stretch out the arm', * $h_3re\check{g}-$ [3s pres. * $h_3re\check{g}-ti$, 3p pres. * $h_3re\check{g}-\eta\check{t}i$] 'direct, guide, rule'), M K I 121 and III 35, M E II 425, Bai. 358-9, F II 412-13, WH II 426-7, Bur. SL 178, Ped. VG II 593, Dnn. 570-1, Fs. 513, Ho. 256, Kb. 785, OsS 710-11, KM 589, 592, Vr. 440, Frn. 711, 715, 726, Wn. LE 106, Wn. I 402, SSS 461, Ad. 529-30 || **HS:** S * $\check{r}kk$ > Ar {Ln.} $\check{r}kk$ G 'put one part of the thing upon another', {BK} 'jeter une chose sur une autre' ¶ Ln. 1141, BK I 913 || **K** * $rig-$ (* $\check{r}ig-$?) > G v. $rig-$ 'arrange', {Chx.} '(ordentlich) aufstellen, ordnen',

G *rig*-i 'row, sequence, order, Sv {Ni.}, Sv UB/A {TK} *rig* 'row' (← G?) (< N **rigʰa* [or **rigsa*] 'a scratch, line') ¶¶ K *-g- is likely to go back to N **kʰi-* ¶¶ Chx. 1065-6, DCh. 1037-8, TK 689 ◇ The N etymon is **rʰi'kʰæ*, unless K **rig-* goes back to N **rigʰa* or **rigsa*. Otherwise the N word is **rʰi'kæ* ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1983. **rʰa'kʰâ* 'time, term' > IE: NaIE **rok_Lʷ*- > Sl **rokъ* 'time appointed beforehand' > OCS *рокъ рокъ* id. (·ροθεσμίαι, ὄρος), SCr *rōk*, Slv *rōk* id., 'time', OR *рокъ рокъ* id., 'year; age; fate', R *рок* 'fate', Uk *рік*, Cz, Slk, P *rok* 'year' || ? Clt: OIt *ad-eorrig* 'repeats, changes' (which Matas. unconvincingly ascribes to Clt **rek-o-* 'arrange') ¶ Tr. 243, Vs. III 450-1, 496-7, StSS 585, Srz. III 163, ≈ Glh. 522, ≈ Matas. E 308 || HS: Eg *fOK r k* 'time', *m r k.f* 'at the time of (so.)' ([unless ← Eg *m r k.f* 'neben [jemandem], um [jemandem]'] (see N **ʰAKU* 'circle') ¶ EG II 457-8 || K: G *raḱi* {DCh., NCh.} 'as soon as, when', {Chx.} 'da, weil; sobald, wenn, als' ¶ Chx. 1044, DCh. 1032, NCh. 334 || A: Tg **-raki* / **-reki* 'when, as' (sx of the temporal-conditional gerund): Ewk *-rak(i)* / *-rɜk(i)* / *-rok(i)* id.: *эмэ-рэки-ω* 'as\when I came' (← *my [-ω] time [-*рэки-*] of coming [əmə-]), *dukū-rak-ωun* 'when we wrote', Lm *-rɛq* / *-rək* 'when\as': *эм-рəq-u* 'as\when I came' ¶ Vas. 786, Nov. EJ 102.

1984. **rʰo'kʰô* 'shelled animal (e.g. tortoise, crayfish)', 'shell (of an animal)' > HS: S **raḱḱ-* 'tortoise' > Ak *raḱḱu(m)* '(small) tortoise', Sr *رأق*; *raḱḱ-ā*, Md *riḱa* 'tortoise', Ar *رأق* *raqq-* {Ln.} 'tortoise, great tortoise, crocodile, ε an aquatic reptile', {BK} 'grande tortue' ¶ Br. 743, JPS 549, Sd. 958, DM 433-4, Ln. 1130, BK I 903 || IE: NaIE **orō|āk_Lʷ*- > Sl **rǎkъ* 'crayfish' > Blg, McdS, R *рак*, SCr *rǎk*, Slv *rǎk*, Cz, Slk, P *rak* id.; Sl → Sw *rǎka* 'prawn', NNr *ræke* id.; Sl **rak+* (gen. **rakъve*) 'shell (of an animal)' > R d. 'раков-ина' 'shell (of a shellfish)', Cz *rakv-ice* id., (× eSl **raka* 'coffin' [> OCS *рака* [·μνημεῖον] 'coffin with holy relic', OR {Srz.} *рака* *raka* id., 'shrine; tomb' etc.] ← Gt *arka* [·κιβωτός, ὑλοσόκομον] 'Arche, Kasten, Beutel' and L *арса* 'box') > Cz *rakev*, Slk *rakva*, Slv *rakev* *rákav* 'coffin' ¶ Brü. 453, ZVSZ 358, Vs. III 437-8, Srz. III 63-4, Ma. CS 413, Hlq. 867, ≈ Chr. II 96-7, ≈ Glh. 517, P 531 (denying connection between Sl **rakъ* and IE **erk-* [found in insect names of Blt, Arm and Al]), Fs. 57 || K **rḱu-* 'tortoise, turtle' > OG *ḱuω-* 'turtle', G *ḱu* / *ḱuv-* id., 'tortoise', G Δ *rḱu-*, Mg *ḱu* id., Sv {Ni.} *ḱu* (gen. *ḱω-iš*) 'tortoise' ¶¶ K 157 (GZ **rḱu-*), ≈ K² 103 (GZ **ḱu-*), Chx. 635, 1072, DCh. 1040, Q 262, Ni. s.v. 'черепаха' || A: Tg ?σ **olok∇* > Neg *loka* 'fetal membrane' ¶ STM I 501.

1985. *r∇k∇ 'to skip, to hop, to dance' > **HS**: S: [1] S (+ext.) *✓rḳd (ip. -rḳod) v. 'skip, hop, dance' > BHb ✓rḳd G 'jump, skip', G 'skip, dance', Ug d. m r ḳ d - m {A, Grd.} 'dancers', {OLS} 'musical instruments for dancing (castañuelas?)', JA {Trg.} ✓rḳd D, JEA ✓rḳd G, D 'dance', Md ✓rḳd G 'dance, waggle, rock to and fro, move rhythmically', Sr ✓rḳd D, G 'dance', Ar raqadān- {BK} 'bonds, sauts des agneaux et des chevreaux quand ils folâtrent', {Hv.} 'leap\bound of a lamb', Jb C {Jo.} ✓rḳd (pf. ʕrḳad, 'rḳtḳad) v. 'dance', Sq {L} 'ʔerḳid 'se précipiter', Ak OB ✓rḳd Gtn 'herumhüpfen, springen', Ak NA/YB ✓rḳd G (inf. r a ḳ ā d u) 'dance, skip'; [2] WS +ext. *✓rḳç > Ar ✓rḳç G 'sauter, sautiller; danser', Mh ✓rḳç (pf. r ʕ ḳ a w ʕ , sbjn. y ʕ r ḳ ā ʕ) 'jog up and down', Hrs ✓rḳç (pg. r ʕ ḳ ō ʕ , sbjn. y ʕ r ḳ ā ʕ) v. 'dance' (usually of camels); [3] SES *✓rḳṭ > Hrs ✓rḳṭ Gt (pf. 'ratḳeṭ) 'dance with hopping steps', Mh ✓rḳṭ (pf. arōḳṭ, sbjn. yarōḳṭ) 'do a hopping dance', Jb E ✓rḳṭ (pf. rḳṭ) id. ¶ KB 1201-2, A no. 2540, Grd. UT no. 2351, OAS 291, Lv. T II 435-6, Js. 1486, Sl. 1093, DM 437, BK I 906-7, Hv. 265, Jo. M 325-6, Sd. 957 || B (+ext.) *✓rkḏ > Ah, Gh ʕrkəḏ v. 'dance', Tmz {MT} rkəḏ 'danser (en tapant du pied)', Kb ʕrkəḏ 'piétiner, fouler', ṭiṭəʕʕiṭ (pl. ṭiṭəʕʕiṭin) 'marque de pas', Gd ʕrkəḏ 'stimuler une monture, galoper' ¶ Fc. 1626-7, MT 579-80, ≈ Dl. 721 (unc.: Kb. ← Ar), Lf. II 312-13 [no. 1359] || K: G roḳ- v. 'dance' ¶ Chx. 1073 || U: FU *r'i'kke- ({LG} *rEkEntE) 'run quickly, skip' > Prm *rEd- > Z r ʕ d t t - v. 'trot' || BF: F r i e n t ä ä , Δ r i k e n t ä ä inf. 'hurry, hasten, speed', Vp inf. řigeta v. 'hurry', řigo n. 'hurry', F Δ {UEW} řikev ä , řike ä 'in a hurry, quickly' || Os: Vy rüʕ- 'run with big strides' ('бежать, делаю широкие шаги', 'große Schritten machen'), V {Trs. VD, Stn.} rüʕ-, {Trs. S} rüʕ- v. 'skip, jump' ('springen, hüpfen') ¶ LG 243, SK 777-8, SSA III 71, ZM 470, Stn. D 1268, Trs. VD 185, Trs. S 408, UEW 423.

1986. *r∇lw,ḳæ 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'cord, rope'), 'to tie' > **HS**: Eg fP r w ʕ 'cord, bowstring', (pl.) 'sinews' (× ?? N *ṣarḳ'u' 'sinew' × ?? N *ṭ'o'ḳa 'to bend', [in descendant lges] → 'a bow') ¶ EG II 410, Fk. 148 || Ch ≈ *r∇nK ~ *l∇nK 'shooting bow' (× N *ṭ'o'ḳa '↑', q.v.) > WCh: Krkr {J} r ʕ n k á , Ngm {Mk} r i n k a , Dr {ChL} r ú ʕ à , {Mk} r u g a , Krkr {J} r ʕ n k á , Gera {ChL} r i k á , Ngm {ChC} r ù ḳ à 'bow', Tng {J} r i g a v. 'hunt with bow and arrows' || CCh: BM *laga n. 'bow' > Mrg {Hf.} lágà, Klb {Mk} laga, Wmd {ChC} l ʕ h à , Hld {ChC} làgà id. | McHigi {ChL}: Kps řlgi, FIG rrgē (< *nr∇g-), FIK iḳṽ-nu?, HgG ḳgi, HgF řigi, HgNk řìgí id. | BB: Bcm {ChL} řàg é y , Nz {ChL} ràg ʕ y , FIM {ChL} ràg ú , FIB {ChL} ràg ún , FIJ {ChL} làg ì y , Gudu ràg á id. |

BB: Gude {Mk} raga, {ChL} rāgá, FIM rāgú, FIB rāgún, Mln rāgó id., possibly also FIJ làgù id. | ? Lmn {Mk} λεεε id. | McMdr: Gv {ChL} làṣà, Dgh {Frk, IL}, Glv/Dgh {ChL} láṣà, Mdr {ChL} rúfíkà, {Mch.} àlkā, {Mk} lkà id. | McMtk: MfG {Brr.} lelén, {Ro.}: Mofu {Ro.} lálàn, Gzg {Ro.} lék, Myn {Ro.} àlká, Mkt {Ro.} álàk, Hrz {Ro.} lèkà, Vm {Ro.} lógà, Mlk {Ro.} mángè-lék, Mada {Ro.} élèkéḍ, Zlg {Ro.} lìkéḍ, Mf {BLB} leked, Mtk {Sb.} lèkêḍ 'bow' ¶ JI I 18 (Ch *✓ rǵ) and II 38-9, Ro. 215 (pMM *lɜka), Brr. MG II 157, BLB 212, ≠ Sk. HCD 185, Stl. IF 134-5 (Ch *ni-ra^g - 'shooting bow'), Nw. 23, ChC s.v. 'bow' n., ChL, Sch. BTL 17 ¶¶ Gr. LA 53, Tk. I 249-50 || A: M *neke- 'weave, knit' (× N *næK[∇] 'to plait, to tie', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *reĕ- 'rope, strap' > OI rāsana 'rope, cord, bridle, girth', NPrs راسن rāsān 'rope, string, cord, thread', Xwr ršyrn 'rope, cord (Strick, Seil)', Oss rätän 'e thick rope'; OI rāsmiḥ 'string, rope, cord, bridle'; OPrs or Med ⇨ BHb راسن rāsēn 'rein, bridle', (?) 'halter', JA [Trg.] راسن rās-n-ā 'bridle' || Gmc *ra|ekk- '≈ strap' and *rekend- 'fetter, chain' (× N *riḡū^z∇ 'to tie', q.v. ffd.) ¶ WP II 347, 362, P 863, M K III 47, Horn 132, Sg. 576, Ab. II 382-3, ≈ Bai. 214-15, KB 1165, Vr. 432, 440, Ho. 251, KB 1165, BDB 943, Js. 1484 || E: AchEl rāk-qa 'geknüpft' ¶¶ HK 1026 ◇ Eg ʒ may be explained as going back to *ç < *K (palatalization before a front vw.).

1987. *raKaX∇ (= *raKaḥü?) 'arrange, put in order' > HS: S *°✓ rĕh > Ar ✓ rĕh D 'order\arrange, put (sth.) into good\right\proper state, manage (sth.) well' ¶ Ln. 1134, Hv. 264 || CCh: Msg {Rlf.} raga ~ rga ~ rgaḥ ~ rgi 'make (pots, mats etc.), build (houses)', Msg P {Trn.} sg. r3ga, pl./inf. rigi v. 'build', (here?) v. 'tie', Gdr {Mch.} rka v. 'build' ¶ ChC s.v. 'build', Trn. LM 112, Lk. DQM 73 || IE: NaIE *rek- ~ *rēk- {P} '(an)ordnen' > OI racana - {M} 'Einrichtung, Ordnung', {MW} 'act of making\forming\arranging', racayati {M} 'produces, forms', NPrs {Sg.} راجه rāže 'row, cloth line', {VI.} 'series, ordo', {BM} راج rāž 'row, order' || Gt rahnjan (· ψηφίζειν, ἡγεῖσθαι) 'rechnen', ragin (· γνώμη) 'Rat, Beschluß'; *rēk- > Gt ga-rehsns (· προθεσμία) 'bestimmte Zeit; Bestimmung, Plan' || ?σ Clt {Matas.} *°rek-o- 'arrange' > ??σ OIr ad-eirrig 'repeats. changes' (unless to NaIE *rOk^ω - from NaIE *r^aKâ 'time, term') || ?σ Sl inf. *račiti > OCS inf. рачити račiti, SCr, Slv inf. račiti 'to wish, to want', Cz inf. račiti 'to deign', P inf. raczyć 'to deign, to condescend, to be pleased', R † inf. 'рачить 'to take care\pains, to be zealous', Blg 'рача 'I want' ¶ WP II 362, P 863, M K III 23, BM 242, Horn

136, Vl. II 23, Sg. 570, Fs. 199, 392, Tr. 243, Vs. III 450-1, StSS 380, Matas. E 308, ≈ Glh. 522 ¶¶ The IE reflex of the *lr.* was lost in the stem-final position || **U:** FU ≈ *rak_k∇- 'prepare, put, put in order' > Frakentā- 'prepare, build, erect, establish', Es rakendā- v. 'harness, put to' ||| Hg rak-, Δrok- v. 'lay, put, set, place; stack, superpose' ¶ Coll. 110, UEW 419, MF 524 || **A:** ?σ T *jæg (S) *jä_l:_lg 'better' > OT jæg, Tk yegǵ, Tkm, Az Δjex id., ?σ Chv чи 'top (верх), upper' ¶ S. Tezcan reconstructed here *jēg, Starostin (S AJ 196) and (after him) SDM (early versions) reconstructed *jä_l:_lg, but there is no ev. for the quality *ä and for the length of the vw. ¶ Cl. 909-10, Rs. W 194, DTS 252, ET J 165, Tz. UIS 107, Tkr 301, Fed. II 115-16, Fed. M 114, ChVS 185, Ash. XII 132-43, S AJ 196 [no. 234] || ?σ K: Grk_ve(v)-/r_kv_i-/r_kv- 'distinguish clearly, make clear' ¶ Chx. 1071-2 ◇ If the T and G roots belong here, T *-æ- (rather than *-a- from N *-a-) may have resulted from regr. as. (infl. of the front vw of the final syll. in the N word). The Georgian -_kv- and the T front vw. suggest a labialized front vw. in the N word (to be reconstructed as *rakah_hü) ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. 'строить' *ra_k'a (IE, U, Ch), Ps. FI 27 (IE, U).

1988. *_l'_lrôm∇ 'quiet; to rest' > HS: WS *_l✓rmm 'be silent\quiet' > Gz ✓rmm Sh (pf. paramama) 'keep silence, be tranquil\quiet, be at rest', Ar ✓rmm Sh (pf. paramma) 'be\become silent' ¶ L G 471, BK I 919-20, Ln. 1150 || **IE:** NaIE *_l'_lrem(ə)- 'rest, be calm\quiet' > OI 'ramatē 'calms, stops, rests, abides', Av rāman- 'Ruhe', rāmōiδwam 'verweilet!', rāmayeⁱti 'bringt zur Ruhe', NPrs آرام rām 'quiet; tame, domestic; obedient', آرام ārām n. 'rest, tranquility, quiet', inf. آرامیدن ārāmīdān 'to rest, to repose' ||| Gk ἡρέμα adv. 'leise, still, ruhig', {LS} 'gently, softly; slowly' ||| Clt {Matas.} *aramo- 'quiet' > MW araf {Matas.} 'quiet, leasurly, calm', W araf 'quiet, calm, gentle', ? OIr fo-rim- v. 'set, put' ||| Gt rimis (· ἡσυχία) Ruhe' ||| Lt inf. rem^{ti} (1s pres. remi^u) 'to support, to back up', ram^{us} adj. 'calm, quiet', {Nsl.} rāmas 'Ruhe', Ltv rāms 'quiet, calm', Lt inf. rⁱmti (1s pres. rⁱms^tu) 'to be quiet\calm', Ltv inf. ri^mt 'to calm down, to quiet down, to stop, to cease' ¶ P 864, ≈ Mn. 1070-1, M K III 43-4, M E II 435-6, Horn 5, 134, Sg. 32, 564, F I 642-3, Vn. R 31, Fs. 398, TF 339, Frn. 695-6, 718, Nsl. 441, ≈ EI 474 (*h₁erh₁-m- 'to rest, to support' ⇨ *h₁erh₁- 'quiet, at rest'), Matas. E 39-40 || **A** *Lolum∇ > Tg: WrMc {Hr} lum_bu 'plötzlich ruhig fließend, beruhigt', lum_bur 'floß plötzlich ruhig, war beruhigt', {Z} лумб_у 'ruhig fließendes Wasser (nach einer Stromschnelle)', лумб_у мукэ 'тихая вода\речка' ¶ STM I 510, Hr

630, Z 860 || M ***nomu-* ⇨ [1] M **nomu* > WrM *nomu* {MED} 'inert, lifeless, slow', HIM *номой* {MED} id., {BMR} 'вялый, флегматичный', 'тихий' (a child), Brt *номой* 'тихий; вялый, апатичный'; [2] M **nomu-qan* ~ **nomu-qan* > MM [MA] *nomuqan* ~ *nomuqan* 'quiet, tame (смирный)', [HI] *nomuqan* {Ms.} 'doux', {Lew.} 'vertueux, doux, avantageux', WrM *nomuqan* {MED} 'peaceful, meek, gentle, calm; modest, obedient, tame', HIM *номхон* {MED} id., {BMR} 'смирный, спокойный, тихий, кроткий', Brt *номгон* ~ *номхон* id., KI {KRS} *номһн номуьп* id., {Rm.} *номхан* ~ *номуан* 'friedlich, zahm', Ord *номохон* 'doux de caractère, doux et docile'; [3] M **nomug|qara* > WrM {MED} *nomugara-* ~ *nomu--qara-* 'be peaceful\calm; calm down', HIM {MED} *номгоро-* ~ *номхро-* id., {BMR} *номхро-* 'become peaceful\calm\ tame; calm down, утихать', Brt *номгор-* 'become quiet\tame', Ord *номог_оро-* 'devenir doux de caractère, devenir traitable, devenir doux et docile', KI {KRS} *номһар* adv. 'quietly'; [4] MM [HI] {Ms.} *nomuqat-* 'rendre doux, apprivoiser' ¶ Pp. MA 259, MED 591, BMR 412-13, Chr. 330, Lew. II 65, KRS 381, ≈ KW 279, Ms. H 79, Ms. O 496 || ? D : GnD *^r*r̄m̄b*- (< pD **∇r|ḷ∇m̄p*?) > Gnd *rom-* v. 'rest', *r̄m̄-* v. 'rest after labour', Knd *r̄mb-* v. 'rest, take rest', Png *ḹm̄-* v. 'stop, rest, cease', Kui *ḹmb(a)-* v. 'rest, cease, subside', Ku *ḹm̄-* v. 'rest', ? *r̄mb-* id. ¶ The GnD word-initial *^r*r̄*- needs explanation (N **r-* > D **∇r|ḷ-* with a prosthetic vw. [like in N **r̄ü*¹*m̄∇* 'ant(s), vermin' and in N **royam∇* '€ fish'] > GnD *^r*r̄*-?) ¶ D no. 5178.

1989. **rûm∇* (or **rûym∇* and **rû₁y₁m∇ n̄∇*) ≈ vein, muscle, strap' ([in descendant lges] → 'string, rope') > IE: [1] NaIE **reum̄n̄-*/**roum̄n̄-* > Gmc **reuman-* ≈ leather strap, thong' > OHG *riomo* 'strap', {OsS} 'Band, Gürtel, Riemen', OSx *riomo*, NHG *Riemen* 'leather strap, thong', Dt *riem* id., AS *réoma* 'skin, ligament' ({Ho.} 'Haut, Band') || Lt *raumũ* (gen. *raumens*) 'muscle'] [2] NaIE **rem̄n̄-* > Sl **rem̄* / gen. **remene* 'leather strap' > OCS *рѣмень* *ремень* (· ἰμύς) id. ({StSS} 'ремень, ремешок'), Blg 'ремен, SCr *rēmēn*, Slv *rémen*, Cz *řemen*, Slk *remeň*, Pr *zemeń*, R *ре'мень*, Uk 'ремінь 'strap' ¶ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, OsS 719, KM 509, Vr. N 574-5, Ho. S 61, Ho. 257, Sw. 140, Kb. 796, ≈ Frn. 707, Vs. III 468, StSS 580, Glh. 524 ¶ Acc. to AD NVIE, both **reum̄n̄* and **rem̄n̄* (< **ruem̄n̄*) are reg. reflexes of N **rû₁y₁m∇ n̄∇* || HS: **r̄m̄-* (**orum-*?) > S: Ar *rumm-at-* (pl. *rumam-*) 'remains of a rope after it has become ragged; piece of an old rope', {BK} *rumm-at-* ~ *rimm-at-* 'morceau de corde vieille et usée' ('pars funis vetusti ac triti') ¶ Ln. 1151,

Hv. 269, BK I 92O, Fr. II 189 || EC *r∇m∇d- 'vein, artery, root' > Af {PH} ramad ~ ramidid., Sa {Wlm.} rimid (pl. rimīda), {R} ri'mid (pl. ri'midda) 'root', bī'lī ri'midda 'vein, blood vessel' (bī'lō 'blood'), HEC {Hd.} *rumud 'root' > Sd rumuššo (< *rumud-čō) 'root', pl. rumudda, Sd Hb {C} r u m i š o id. ¶ PH 18O, R S II 3O4, Hd. 126, 39O, Gs. 28O, Wlm. S, AD SF 172 ¶ The semantic connection between 'root' and 'vein, sinew' is based on the functional similarity of roots and sinews, because both served as ropes and strings || ¶ A *Lûym'A' (= ≈ *íûym'A'?) 'bow (weapon)' (← *'bowstring' ← 'sinew') > M *lumun 'bow (weapon)' > Mnr H {SM} lumu, {T} lumu ~ numu, Mnr M {Pot.} l u m o, MM [L, MA, HI, IsV] n u m u n, [S] n u m u (n), [IM] n u m u, Dg {T} n e m, Dg HI {Pp.} n 3 m, Ord n u m u, WrM {MED} n u m u n, HIM {MED, BMR} н у м (а н) 'bow (weapon)', Brt н о м о, Kl {KRS} н у м н n u m ъ n, Kl Ö {Rm.} n u m ŋ id. ¶ MED 595, BMR II 425, Chr. 33O, KRS 386, KW 281, SM 227, T 353, T DgJ 157, Pp. L III 73, Pp. MA 261, 443, Pp. DN 87, Ms. H 8O, Ms. O 5O1, Lg. VMI 59, H 12O || ?φ Tg ≈ *l'∇y'm- ({SDM} *liam-) > NTg: Ewk nēmkī 'bow (weapon)'; -d→ NrTg *nemk∇- > Ewk nēmkī-, Neg n3mku-, Lm n3mkā-, nāmkā- 'shoot arrows'; Tg *laḷm∇- 'string of bows and similar kinds of weapon' > Lm nā'm 'string of bows, string of self-shooting hunting bows', Ewk Sm † lēman 'loop of a bowstring', Ork laḷmatçḷ 'strap for tying together parts of harpoon' ¶ STM I 496, 62O-1 ¶ The vowels of the Tg words are still to be elucidated (*-a- of the initial syll. due to regr. as.?) || T *°jü:ḷm- > Sg {RI.} čümä, Xk {BIG} čüme 'arrow (children's toy)' ¶ RI. III 22O3, BIG 325 || pJ *yùmì or {SDM} *dùmì 'bow (weapon)' > OJ yumiḷi, MJ yùmì, J T yumi, J K yúmì, J Kg yùmí id. ¶ S QJ no. 266, Mr. 579, Kenk. 2227; acc. to SDM, "initial *d- is probably due to infl. of *dā 'arrow'" ¶¶ If the pA initial cns. was *í- (> pJ *y-), its palatality may be explained by the ass. infl. of the root-internal *-y- (< N *-y-) ¶¶ SDM 875-6 (pA *lḷòmù 'bow [weapon]' > Tg *liam-, M, T, pJ *dùmì [with unc. pA *-ḷo- and Tg *-ia-], DQA no. 1214 || ¶ E: NEI {Bork} r i m u 'Riemen' ¶¶ Bork Z 18, HK 1O39 ◇ NaIE *reymḷ/*remḷ-, S *°'rumam- (as. from **ruman-), EC *r∇m∇d- (as. from **r∇m∇n-) and M *lumun may go back either to to N *rûm∇ + the N genitive pc. *nu.

1989a. ₂ *r'ü'm∇ 'ant(s), vermin' > HS: S *rimm- > Ak r i m m a t - u m 'maggot (?)', BHb רִמָּה rim'mā 'maggot', DA r m h 'vermin', Sr ṚṚṚ; r e m m a t - ā 'worm(s)' ({Br.} 'situs et vermes in rebus putridis'), Md r i m a 'worms, maggots', Ar r i m m - a t - 'winged ant' ¶ Sd. 986, HJ 1O77, KB 1157, JPS 544, Br. 732, BK I 92O, Hv. 269, DM 433 || EC: Sa {R}

'rimme 'worm, termite', Or {Grg.} rimma 'termite, ε small ant', rāmō 'worm; germ, parasite', Rn {PG} rīrīm 'termite(s), white ant(s)', Arr {Hw.} ririnḅ 'termite' ¶ R S II 305, Grg. 339, 344, PG 348, Hw. A 391 || Ch: CCh: ZmB {Sa.} rūmūs 'ant' || ? Bdy {AIJ} ṛīrī:rimo 'insect', ṛīrī:rīṅ 'petit termite qui sert le jour' ¶ ChC s.v. 'ant', AIJ 82 ¶¶ OS no. 2119 (HS *rim- 'insect') || D: SD *erump- 'ant' > Tm erumpu, erumpi, irumpi, Ml erumpu, irumpu, urumpu, Kt irb, Td irb, Kn irumpu, irumpe, Kdg urupi 'ant' ¶ D no. 864 ◇ This is one of the examples suggesting a D vowel prothesis preceding N *r- (N *r- > D *∇r-). Cp. N *r- > Tm ∇r- in N *royam∇ 'ε (big) fish' (q.v.) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [no. 71], Blz. NDA no. 73 (D, HS *r∇m- + unc. HS *l∇m- 'termine, ant, worm').

1990. *r'ü'Hm∇ (= *r'ü'gm∇?) 'dark' > HS: WCh *rim- 'dark(ness)' > pBT {Stl.} *rim∇ 'darkness' > Tng rīm, Dr rim id. | pNrBc {Stl.} *rim-in 'black' > Wrj rɜnna, Kry rīmíná, My rinni id. || ECh: Mu {J} rām v. 'darken, become black' ¶ Stl. ZCh 247 [no. 51], 260 [no. 175], ChL, ChC s.v. 'dark', J LMF s.v. rām || ? S *^o✓rʷm > Ar ✓rʷm *Sh* (pf. *ʔarʷama) 'rendre qn noir de visage' ¶ BK I 890 || K: GZ *rum- v. 'get dark' > OG d. m-rum-e 'dark', G rum- 'get/grow dark', Mg rum- id. ¶ K 157, K² 160, FS K 260-1, FS E 288, Abul. 295, Q 310 || IE: NaIE *rēmō- 'dark' > OI rā'ma- 'dark, black', rā'ma- ntr. 'darkness' || OHG rāmag 'dark, black, dirty', AS rōmiz 'dirty, sooty', MHG rām 'dusty dirt, soot' ¶ P 85, EI 160 (*rē'mo-s or *reh₁'mo-s 'dirty; dirt, soot'), M K III 54-5, M E II 449 (IE *Hrēmō-), Ho. 263, Kb. 769, OsS 699, Lx. 163 || U: FU *r'ü'm∇ 'dusk, dark' > Lp L {LLO} ram'ko 'closed' (only of eyes), Lp S {Hs.} tramke- 'shut (one's eyes), get dusk, get dark' | Chr L rūm'balge, Chr H рымалгы рь'malgь 'twilight' ('сумерки') | pPrm *rōmit n. 'twilight, dusk' > Z рөмыд rɜmɪd id. ('сумерки, сумрак'), Vt жомыт žomɪt id., 'semidarkness, darkness' ('сумерки, сумрак, полумрак, потёмки') || Os: V/Vy rimak, Ty rimki, Km rimxə, Nz/Kz riməx, O rāməx 'Dämmerung' (acc. to Steinitz: Os ? ← Z) ¶ Coll. 110, LLO 824, UEW 747 (rejecting the Lp cognate because of the cns. cluster *-mkk- and [unconvincingly] because of the semantic distance), Stn. D 1272, LG 244 || ? A: Tg: Ewk Skh lumrī 'evening', lumrī- v. 'get dark (in the evening)' ('вечереть, смеркаться, темнеть') ¶ STM I 511 ◇ The long vw. in IE suggests the presence of a N lr. (or *y). If Ar ✓rʷm belongs here, the lr. is likely to be *g (which is at var. with the K evidence) ◇ Cf. AD LRC no. 31 (IE, FU, K).

1991. *rāw̄m̄∇ 'chew' > **HS**: WCh: NrBc *rum- 'eat (hard food), chew' > Wrj/Cg/Kry/My/Diri {Sk.} rɜm-, P' {MSk.} rɜmà, Sir {Sk.} rɜmù-, Mbr {Sk.} rɜm- ~ rem- 'eat (hard food), chew' | pAG {Hf.} *rɜm > Gm {Hf.} rem, Kfr/Anf {Hf.} rɜm 'eat (powdery food)', Su {J} rùm 'eat (flour, dry food)' ¶ JI II 118, Stl. ZCh 260 [no. 176], Sk. NB 19, Hf. AG no. 115, J S 81, MSk. s.v. rɜmà, ChC s.v. 'eat (hard food)', ChL || S *°✓ rmm > Ar ✓ rmm (ip. -rimm- ~ -rumm-) 'dévorer, avaler; enlever avec le bout des lèvres des bourgeons des arbres ou des plantes', {Hv.} 'browse, graze' (cattle) ¶ BK I 919, Hv. 268 || **IE**: NaIE *reu̯men-/*rou̯men- 'rumen; ruminate' (× N *raXûm̄∇ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals') > L r ū m e n 'rumen, first compartment of the stomach of ruminant animals', r ū m i n ā - v. 'chew the cud, ruminate' ||| OI r ō m a n t h a - ħ, Wx ramöt 'rumination' ¶ ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, ≈ Mn. 1075, ≈ WH II 450, M K III 79-80, M E II 470 || **U**: FP (in Prm only) *°rām̄∇ > Prm {LG} *rômEć|ś- > Z рōмидз rɜmiz̄ 'cud', inf. rɜmiz̄t+n̄ 'to chew the cud', Vt inf. žomest+n̄ id. (× N *raXûm̄∇ '↑) ¶ LG 244 || **D** *nam^ul- 'chew' > Kn namalu 'chew, masticate, chew the cud', Tu nautuni, naumpuni 'chew', nautu 'chewing', Tl namalu 'chew, masticate', namaru 'rumination, chewing the cud', Gnd K {Sbr.} nal̄m- v. 'chew' ({D}: ← Tl), Knd namli- 'munch with noise, ruminate' ¶¶ D no. 3595.

1992. *raXûm̄∇ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals' > **HS**: S *'raħim- 'womb' > BHb 𐤓𐤇𐤍 'reħem, SmHb rēm, DA rħm, JA [Trg.] 𐤓𐤇𐤍 r a ħ ^a m - ā, Sr 𐤓𐤇𐤍; r a ħ m ā, Ar رَحِم raħim- (~ riħm-), Mh, Jb E/C raħm id., Tgr rɜħɜm 'womb, descent', Ak fOB rēm-um 'womb', Eb reħm-um, riħm-um (r í - e x - m u) 'womb (?)', Ug rħm {A} 'womb', {OLS} 'vientre; muchacha núbil, doncella' ¶ AD PSH 93, AD EHL 160, KB 1136, HJ 1070, A no. 2503, OLS 388, Lv. T II 417, Js. O56, Br. 724, Ln. 1056, Jo. M 321, Jo. J 210, LH 146, Sd. 970, Krb. EG 14, BK I 838, MiK I no. 1.231 || C {AD} *ri_lH_jm- 'uterus' > EC {Ss.} *rim- 'uterus' > Sml {Ss.} rim-ay, {ZMO} rimmay, Sml N {Abr.} rímay id., Sml {Ss.} rim-an, {ZMO} rimman, Sml N {Abr.} rimán 'pregnant' (of animals), Rn {PG} rim- 'become pregnant, conceive', Or BI {Sr.} rīm- 'be pregnant', Or {Grg.} rīm-ā 'pregnant' (of animals), Brj {Ss.} rī^lm-ā, {Hw.} ri^lm-a 'entrails', {Hw.} rimay kaf- 'become pregnant' (of cattle) ¶ AD SF 50, PG 248, Ss. B 160, ZMO 343, Abr. S 211, Grg. 343, Sr. 381 || **IE**: NaIE *reu̯men-/*rou̯men- 'rumen, belly' (× N *rāw̄m̄∇ 'chew') > Clt: W r ħ u m e n {YGM} 'belly', {P} 'belly, udder' ||| L r ū m e n 'rumen, first compartment of the stomach of ruminant animals' ⇨ r ū m i n ā - v. 'chew the cud, ruminate' ||| OI r ō m a n t h a - ħ, Wx ramöt, Blc rōmast 'rumination'

¶ EI 2 (*re|oumn- 'rumen'), ≈ Mn. 1075, ≈ WP II 360, ≈ P 873, ≈ WH II 450, M K III 79-80, M E II 470, YGM-1 382 ¶¶ NaIE *reūmen-/*roumen- is likely to go back to IE *reHumen-/*roHumen- || A: T: [1] T *jamiŕ 'groin' > OT jamiz id., Tkm jamıđ 'groin (depression between animal's haunches)', Nog jamız, SbTt Tb {Rl., Bu.} jamuz, QrB žamız, Yk simis 'groin', ? Az janbız 'кострец (leg of beef)' | [2] NaT (+ext.) *°ja:ımdu > OT {DTS} jamdu 'lower part of the belly, groin', cp. also ? OT jämdü 'pubic hair' ¶ Cl. 935, 940, DTS 143, ET J 110-11 ¶ T *-ŕ in *jamiŕ may go back to *-r + the N marker of dual *yí 'a couple'.

1993. *royam∇ 'ε (big) fish' > HS: Eg fOK r m 'fish' (= {Vc.} *rīmey, pl. *rimy-ū) > DEg r m ~ rym id. > Cpt Sd ρAME, ρAME, Cpt B ρAMI 'perche du Nil' ('*Tilapia nilotica*', called in Ar Eg {El.} بُلْطِي bulṭī) ¶ EG II 416, Er. 246, 421, Vc. 172, El. 74 ¶¶ ≠ Vc. 172 (connecting Eg r m with S verbs for 'flow, stream'), ≠ Tk. AAEF and AEF (equating Eg r m with S *✓rmm 'rot, worm'), Tk. AEF || A *loy∇mba|o 'ε big fish' > Tg *loy∇mba 'salmon' or 'fish' ({SDM} *liamba) > Ewk lēmba 'salmon', Nn Bk/KU i maχa 'fish', Nn Nh/KU nímo 'ленок (ε salmonoid [ε trout?])', Ork loima, loiyma id., Ul nímo|v id., WrMc {Z} нимаха 'fish', Jrc {Kiy.} liwaχa or limaxa, {SDM} limwaχa id. ¶ STM I 496, 501, Z 233, Kiy. 106 [no. 163], ≠ Pp. VG 61, 140 (Mc nimaxa < *žirmagaı) || pJ {S} *nàmà(n)tù 'sheatfish' > MJ nàmàdù, J T nàmazu id., J K nàmazù, J Kg namažú {Kenk.} id., 'catfish' ¶ S QJ no. 341, Mr. 492, Kenk. 1320 || ? NaT *jom|bı- > VTt {Rs.} jumba ~ žumba 'Schleie (*Tinca tinca*) or лалим (butbot)', Xk номза 'dace' (Xk н- < T *j-) ¶ Rd. W 210, SDM 874 ¶¶ SDM 874 (pA *|ıjāmba|o > Tg, J, ? T), DQA no. 1207, SDM97 s.v. *liamba || D *ıjāram- 'ε fish' > Tm irāma-murıyan 'silvery seafish, *Triacanthus strigilifer*', Tl rāmalu (pl.) 'ε fish' ¶¶ D no. 5166 ¶¶ One of the examples suggesting a D vowel prothesis preceding N *r- (N *r- > D *∇r-) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [no. 68] and Blz. NDA no. 70 (in both: Eg, D).

1994. *riñĉ∇ '(tuft of) hair' ([in descendant lges] → 'eyebrow\ eyelash', 'beard', 'stalk of grass') > HS: CS *rīš- 'eyebrow', 'tuft of hair' > MHb רִישׁ rīš, JA [Trg.] {Lv.} ریش rīšā 'eyebrow', Ar ريش rīš- 'feathers', ريشة rīš-at- 'feather' ¶ Lv. IV 447 (רִישׁ rīš 'eyebrow') and 487, Lv. T II 422, Js. 1475, BK I 961-2 || ? EC *rīz- 'beard' > Sa {R} rīd, Alb rīza 'beard', Af {PH} radid (< *radīd) ~ ridid (pl. radīd-a) 'full beard, barbe abondante', Ya {Hn.} ris-in-i (pl. rís-ín) 'hair'; EC ⇨ Amh rız. The phonetically similar EC root *✓?rz (~ *°✓hrz) 'beard, hair' (> Or arēda 𐤀 harēda 'beard, chin',

Bs *adar* 'beard', Brj *orda* 'hair', Alb, Qbn, Kmb *or-z-ata* 'hair of body') is hard to explain because of the unexpected *ʔ- ¶ Ss. WOKS 138, R S II 298, PH 180, Hn. Y II 127, L Z 120, 128, L EDG III 86, Hd. 25, 75 ¶ EC *-z- is voiced probably under the ass. infl. of *-n- (≈ *riñĉ ▽ > rins- > *rinz- > *rīz-) || IE: NaIE **rens-* (or **renk̄-*) '≈ eyelash, fringe' > Sl **re'sa* (accus. **re'sq*) 'eyelash' > ChS *раса* *re'sa*, McdS *реса*, Cz *řasa*, Slk *riasa*, P *rze'sa* 'eyelash', Blg *pe'sa*, R † *ряса* ~ *ряса* 'tasseled fringe of clothing (бахрома)', SCr *re'sa* (gen. *re'sē*) id., 'catkin (of a tree)', Slv *re'sa* 'fringe, tassel, awn, beard'; ⇨ Sl **re's-ьna*, **re's-ьn-ica* 'eyelash' > ChS *рясница* *re'snica*, OR *рјасница* *rjasnica*, R, Blg *рес'ница*, Uk *рясниця*, Cz *řasnice* id. ¶ Glh. 525, ≈ Vs. III 473-4, 538 ¶ The IE √ belongs here only if it is **rens-* rather than **renk̄-* || U: FU (att. in FP) **ri'ĉ' ▽* 'stalk of grass, (?) twig' > Prm: Z EV *riž* 'stalk of grass', ? Vt *жыжы* *ž+ž+* 'stubble' | ? Chr E *rež* 'twig with leaves' ¶ ≈ LG 241 (* ÷ *Frisu* 'lopped off branch, dead branch', which is a loan from OSw *riiss* ~ *riiss* 'twig', see SK 814).

1995. *'rep ▽ 'ʔ' ▽ 'tear off, break' > HS: S **o*√ rpp > Ar √ rff *G* (pf. *raffa*) 'break', +exts: Ar √ rft *G* 'be broken\crushed, break into pieces' (⇨ Ah {Fc.} *ruffat* 'casser menu, briser en tout petits morceaux'), √ rffš {BK} 'casser', {Hv.} v. 'pound', √ rffō *TD* {Hv.} 'be broken', *رَفَضَ* *rafō-* {Ln.} 'act of breaking (a thing)', *rufāō-* {Hv.} 'fragments' ¶ BK I 892, 893, 895, Ln. 1118, 1120, Hv. 261-2, Fc. 1584 || ? B: Kb {Dl.} *arfi* 'être écrasé' ¶ Dl. 712 || IE: NaIE *'rep- '≈ seize by plucking, tearing off etc.' > Gk *ἐρέπτω* v. 'pluck', *ἐρέπτομαι* v. 'feed on' ({F} ← *'abrufpen, an sich raffen') || pAl {O} **repa-* > Al *rjep-* ~ *rrjep-* 'remove the outer layer (peel off, skin, pluck [fowl]), gouge, gouge out' || L *rapīō* / inf. *rapēre* 'seize, snatch, tear away', *рапах* 'seizing, snatching, greedy' || Lt inf. *rép-ti* (1s pres. *répiu*) ~ inf. *rép-ti* (1s pres. *répiu*) 'to snatch much, to clasp much' ({DLKZ} 'daug griebti, daug apimti', {Frn.} '(zusammen)raffen, umfassen, umschliessen'), inf. *ap-rép-ti* 'to embrace', *replēs* 'tongs, pincers, crayfish's\crab's claws', Pru *raples* ('Zange') 'tongs, pincers' ¶ P 865, EI 564 (**h₁rep-* 'snatch, pluck'), F I 552-3, AlbED 75, O 372, WH II 417-18, DLKZ 669, Frn. 721-2, En. 238 || U: FU **repp ▽* 'tear, burst, split' (vi.?) > F *repi-* vt. 'tear, rend', *repāise-* id., 'tear out', Es *rebi-* 'tear, rend' | pLp {Lr.} **rэpэ-* vt. 'take the cover off, open' > Lp: N {N} *râppâ-* / -b- ~ -v- id., L *рапча-* vt. 'open', S {Hs.} d. *r'ippesidh*, *r'ippelgidh* vi. 'open' || Vg: MK *ript-* vi. 'be reduced\destroyed, disappear', vt. 'bruise

(zermalmen), wound', P *yal-rēpat-* 'kill' || OHg *reped-* 'burst, split, be torn', Hg *reped-* 'tear, slit', 'crack, burst, split' || pY {IN H} **olepe-* > Y T {IN} *lepegey-* vi. 'break off, chip off', *lepetterey-* 'tear off abruptly' ¶¶ UEW 427, SK 768-9, Lr. no. 1009, Lgc. no. 5491, Hs. 1075-6, LG 240, 242, MF 529, EWU 1253, IN H 240, IN UJ 247 || ¶ **læb-* ~ **lab-* (× N **rAwg'U'* 'to destroy, to tear' [q.v.]) > Tg **lēb-* ~ **lab-* 'tear, wear out' > Ewk *lɜwgi-* 'wear out (clothes)', *lɜp-* 'be worn out' (of clothes), Lm *nɜbdā-* 'tear out, jerk out, tear off', ? Nn *lɜbɜr* 'rags, worn out clothes'; Ewk *lap-* 'be torn, be worn out' (of clothes), Lm *nabdъ* 'torn' (of a hide, clothes), Neg *lap-* 'be torn to tatters' ¶ STM I 493, 518 || M **labtara-* ~ **nabtara-* > WrM {MED} *nab t a r a -* ~ {STM} *lab t a r a -* vi. 'wear out, tear, become shabby\tattered', HIM *навтра-* {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'wear out, tear, turn into rags', *лавтра-* {BMR} id., 'стереться', Brt *набтар-* 'wear out, tear, become shabby\tattered', K1 {KRS} *лавтра-* *lawtra-* 'стираться, изнашиваться полностью', WrM {Kow.} *labtar sabtar* 'des morceaux déchirés, lambeaux, haillons'; M **nabtarqayı* > MM [S] *nabtarqai* 'torn\tattered clothes', WrM {MED} *nabtarqai* 'worn out, shabby, torn, tattered', HIM *навтархай* {MED} id., {BMR} 'worn out, tattered, ветхий', Brt *набтархай* id., Ord *nab_t'arχā* 'vêtements tout en lambeaux' ¶ H 112, MED 555, BMR II 298, 382-3, Chr. 317, KRS 333, Ms. O 479, Kow. 1960 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 860 (pA **laba-* ~ **leba-* 'rope, long hair, rags' > Tg **lab-* ~ **leb-* 'rags, wear out', M **lab-* ~ **lob-* 'rags; be ragged, worn out' + [not belonging here] T **job-laç* 'fine goat's hair', pJ **nāp-* v. 'wind (a string)', n. 'string' and pKo **nòh* 'string') ¶¶ The vw.*-a- in pA **lab-* is due to regr. as. or belongs to the heritage of **rAwg'U'* ◇ Altaic and Tg *-b- rule out a N *-p- (in **rep̄∇*) and point to N **-p∇'ʔ'* in **rep̄∇'ʔ'∇* ◇ AD NGIE 24 [no. 71] (IE, FU, Tg) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

1996. **r'e'p̄∇* 'make one's way with effort, climb, crawl' > HS: WS **√rp̄∇* v. *G* 'climb; raise' > Jb E/C *√rf̄∇* (pf. *refa∇*, sbjn. *ʔɜrf̄a∇*), Mh *√rf̄∇* (pf. *rūfa*, sbjn. *ʔɜrf̄ā*), Hrs *√rf̄∇* (pf. *rōfa*) id., Ar *√rf̄∇ G* (pf. *rafa∇a*, ip. *-rfa∇-*) {Ln.} 'raise, elevate, uplift', *√rf̄∇ G* (pf. *rafu∇a*, ip. *-rfu∇-*) 'be\become high\elevated\exalted, be of high or exalted rank' ¶ Jo. M 316, Jo. J 204-5, Jo. H 102, Ln. 1121-4, BK I 897-9, Hv. 262 || ¶ IE **reĤp-* (mt. from **r∇pHχ-*?) > NaIE **rēp-* 'creep, crawl' > L *rēp-ō* / *-ēre* id. || Gmc {Hlq.} **riβō(n)* > OHG *rēba* 'creeping shoot, vine', MHG *rēbe* 'shoot of a creeper (Schlingschößling)', NHG *Rebe* 'vine tendril', MLG *ωīn-rāve*, Sw *vin-ref* id., *reva* 'sprout of plants' || Lt inf. *rēplióti*, *rēplinti* 'to

crawl, to creep', inf. $\rho\sigma\pi(\lambda)\acute{o}\tau\iota$ 'to creep, to crawl', $\Delta\rho\sigma\upsilon$ $\epsilon\iota\tau\iota$ 'kriechend gehen', $\rho\sigma\upsilon$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$ 'to be in a creeping position', Ltv inf. $r\grave{a}p\hat{a}t$ id., inf. $r\bar{a}p$ - $t\hat{i}\acute{e}$ -s id., 'to scramble; to climb, to clamber up' ¶ WP II 370, P 865-6, EI 141 (* $r\bar{e}p$ - 'crawl'), \approx Mn. 1072, WH II 430, Kb. 774, OsS 704, Lx. 164, KM 588, Hlq. 832, Frn. 720 || U: FU * $r'e'pp'e'$ - > Z US $\rho\sigma b$ - 'drag oneself (бредти) through snow\mud\ mire\water' || ?? ϕ,σ BF: F $\rho\upsilon\pi\epsilon$ - \acute{a} , $\Delta\rho\upsilon\nu\epsilon$ - $t\acute{a}$ 'to wallow (in mire, filth), to welter', eF $\rho\upsilon\pi\acute{o}\acute{a}$, Krl A $\rho\ddot{u}p\acute{i}\epsilon$, Es $\rho\ddot{u}b\epsilon l(e)\acute{d}a$ id. || ?? ϕ,σ Lp Sw {LÖ} $\rho\ddot{u}p\epsilon m$ 'place where birds bathe' ¶ LG 241, Lt. 95, SK 899, SSA II 118 ◇ The N rec. is * $r'e'p\epsilon\Delta$ rather than * $r'e'p\epsilon\Upsilon\Delta$ because N * $-p\epsilon\Upsilon$ - is likely to undergo assimilation (N * $-p\epsilon\Upsilon$ - > * $-b\epsilon\Upsilon$ - or * $-p\chi$ -).

1997. * $riqal\ae$ 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky' (= 'wackeln, wackelig sein') > HS: S * \circ - $r\bar{i}k$ - > Ar \checkmark $\rho\upsilon q$ (ip. $-r\bar{i}q$ -) {Ln.} 'be agitated, be moved to and fro', {Fr.} 'agitata fuit huc illuc in superficie (terrae aqua)' ¶ Ln. 1202-3, Fr. II 217, \approx BK I 963-4 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) * \circ $reik$ |- vi. 'shake' ('wackeln') > ON inf. $ri\grave{g}a$ vt. 'to move to and fro, to make waver (zum Wanken bringen)', NGr Sw inf. $ri\grave{g}e\lambda en$ 'schwanken', NNr inf. $ri\grave{g}g\acute{a}$ 'to shake violently (erschüttern)', inf. $ri\grave{g}(l)a$ 'schwanken', Nr, Sw Δ inf. $ri\grave{k}k\acute{a}$ 'schütteln, wackeln', Frs E inf. $ri\grave{k}k\epsilon(l)n$ vi. 'to move to and fro, to shake' ¶ \approx WP II 346-7, \approx P 962, Vr. 445 || K * req -/* $r\grave{q}$ - 'shake, oscillate' (\times N * $r\Delta g\Delta\Upsilon\Delta$ 'to quake, to move in agitation') > OG req -/ $r\grave{q}$ - 'shake, oscillate', G req -/ $r\grave{q}$ - id., swing, stir, make shaky' ({Chx.} 'rütteln, schütteln, lose\wackelig machen', {DCh.} 'трясти, качать, шевелить, поколебать; колебаться'), Mg $ra\epsilon$ - 'shake' (of nut trees), Sv {FS} req -/ $r\epsilon\grave{q}$ -/ $r\grave{q}$ -: li - $r\grave{q}$ - ϵni 'to shake (schütteln), to tremble', ad - $r\epsilon\grave{q}$ - n - ϵ 'er schüttelte, ließ schwanken' ¶¶ K² 156-7, Schm. 130, FS K 257-8, FS E 285, Chx. 1082, DCh. 1045.

1998. * $riq\hat{u}'z'\Delta$ (= * $riq\ddot{u}'z'\Delta$?) 'to tie' ([in descendant lges] \rightarrow 'to tie [an animal] with a strap', 'loop') > HS: S * \checkmark rks v. 'tie, bind' (\times N * $rec|c'\Delta ga$ 'to tie, to plait') > BHb \checkmark rks G 'tie on, bind', Ug \checkmark rks {OLS} v. 'bind, belt', {A, Grd.} 'bind', Ak \checkmark rks 'tie, bind; SmA G $\sigma\kappa\tau$ rks 'wrap, cover', Ar \checkmark rks G 'tie (a camel)', $rik\bar{a}s$ - 'rope fastening a camel's head to his feet' ¶ Fr. II 187, BK I 916, BKIG II 324, Hv. 267, KB 1154-5, KBR 1237-8, GB 760, A no. 2513, Grd. UT no. 2332, OLS 390, Tal 836, Hv. 267, Sd. 945-7 ¶ S * $-k$ - < * $-k$ - (< N * $-q$ -) (reg. HS de-emphatization and/or the infl. of * $-k-s$ - < N * $-c|c'-q$ - in N * $rec|c'\Delta ga$?) || K: G {SSO, DCh., Chx.} ma - $rqu\check{z}$ -i {DCh.} 'loop', {Chx.} 'Schlinge, Schleife, Schlaufe', {NCh.} $mar\upsilon\check{z}i$ 'loop',

{Chx.} *marquž-* ~ *marquš-* v. 'eine Schlinge um etw. liegen, einem Tier eine Schlinge um den Hals legen' ¶ Chx. 721-2, DCh. 674, NCh. 269, SSO I 443
 || IE: [1] IE **reǵǵ|g_LH_{X₁}*- > NaIE **reǵǵ|g-* 'tie, bind' > Clt: OIr *reg-*/*rig-* v. 'tie, bind' in cds: *ad-riug* 'alligo', *con-riug* 'colligo', *fo-riug* 'sisto'; OIr *cenn-rach* 'halter (Halfter), W *pen-rhe* 'headband'; (**ad-riǵ|go-* >) OIr *árach*, Br *ere* 'fetter'; (**kom-riǵ|gom* >) OIr *cuimrech* 'fait d'attacher, attache, lien', Br *keore* id., W *cyfre* 'leash'; OW *ruimmein* 'vincula', W *cyfrwy* (< **kom-reǵ-*) 'saddle', OBr *anre* 'bandage', Br *kevre* 'bond'; Brtt {RE} **reǵ-*/**rig-* v. 'tie' > W *rhwympo* (< **reǵ-g_Ls_M*-), Br *eren* (< **en-rig-*) 'to tie'; W *rhwym* (< **reǵ|g-smŋ*) 'fetter' || L *corrigia* 'shoestring, bootlace; strap, thong' (÷ OIr *cuimrech*) || MHG *ric* (gen. *rickes*) 'band, fetter, knot', *ricken* 'anbinden' || [2] IE ***oreǵ|g_LH_{X₁}*- (× N **rǵ_Lw₁ǵæ* 'sinew', [→ 'cord, rope'], 'to tie') > NaIE (att. in Gmc) **oreǵ|g-* '≈ a tie' > AS *racca* 'cord forming part of rigging of ships', Dt *rak* id., ON *rakki* id. ({Vr.} 'Stropp um die Rahe mit dem Mast zu verbinden'), OSw *raka* 'Band'; ON *rekendi ntr.*, *rekendr* f. pl. 'Kette, Fessel', AS *racente*, OHG *rahhenza* 'neckchain, fetter', ? Dt *reeks* 'row, chain' ¶ WP II 347, P 861-3, WH I 278-9, EM 258, Vr. 432, 440, Vr. N 567, Sw. 138, Ho. 251, Kb. 768, Lx. 167, LP §§ 33.5, 603, Vn. C 13-15, 272, RE 139, Ern. 68 ¶¶ IE **-ǵ|g-* rather than **-ǵ|k-* (regularly from N **-ǵ_L'z'*- > ***-ǵz-* > pre-IE ***-kH-* (whence regularly IE **-ǵ|gH-*) || A: Tg **luks-* ~ **lusk-* 'trace strap' (× N **ṽuǵuǵ'z'ǵ* 'twig, lash, whip', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The G irreg. sibilant (-ǵ- ~ -š-) suggests borrowing from Zan (N **z* > K **z̄* > Zan *ž*). The vl. **s* in S and Tg is due to the ass. infl. of **k*. IE **H* < N **z* *reg.* The N rec. **riǵü'z'ǵ* is preferable to **riǵu'z'ǵ*, because in the case of **riǵü'z'ǵ* the absence of labialized glide in IE can be better explained in the framework of regular sound changes. S **✓rks* > ***✓rkz* (as.).

1999. **räs'ǵ* 'to sprinkle'; (→ ?) 'dew, moisture' > HS: S (or WS) **✓rśś* > Sr *✓rss* *G* v. 'besprinkle', JA [Trg.] *✓rss* *G* 'besprengen, träufeln', JEA {Sl.} *✓rss* *Sh* 'sprinkle', Late BHb *✓rss* *G* 'splash' (Ez. 46.14), Ar *✓rśś* *G* {BK} 'arroser, asperger', {Hv.} 'sprinkle a fine rain' (sky), *rašš-* 'sprinkling rain, pluie légère', Hrs *rśś* (*✓rśś*) v. 'sprinkle', ?σ,φ,μ Ak *rusśû* inf. '(durch Wasser) aufweichen' ¶ GB 764, KB 1165, KBR 1249-50, Lv. T II 429, Sl. 1089, Br. 429, Fr. II 151, BK I 864, Hv. 252, Jo. H 106, Jo. M 329-30, Sd. 996 || IE: NaIE **ro(:)s-*, **ros-ā* 'moisture, dew' > OI *rasā* 'moisture', *rasas-* (nom. '*rasah*') 'sap, juice, liquid, essence' || L *rōs*,

gen. *rōr-is* 'dew, moisture' ||| Sl **rō'sa* (accus. **rō's-q*) 'dew' > OCS **роса** 'dew, rain', R, Uk, Blg **роса**, Scr **rōsa**, Slv **rósa**, Cz, Slk, P **rosa** 'dew' | Lt **rasà**, Ltv **rasa** id. ¶ Mn. 1088, ≈ P 336, EI 158-9 (**'rōs* / accus. **'ros-ṃ* 'dew, trickling liquid, moisture'), M K III 49, M E II 441-2, ≈ WH II 442-3, Vs. III 503, StSS 585, Glh. 531, Frn. 690 ||| **U:** FU **rāš*∇- v. 'sprinkle; moisture' > Prm {Lt.} **rεz-* > Z, Yz **rez-** v. '(be)sprinkle' ||| pVg **rāš-* id. > Vg: Ss **rasalt-**, Yk **ræszít-**, **ršszít-** v. 'pour water on, sprinkle', Ss **rasgalt-**, Yk **ræsyzít-** ~ **ræsgzlt-** v. 'splash', ML {MK} **raš** 'Nässe', **räx**^W-**raš** 'rain water' ¶ Lt. 137, Lt. J 173, LG 240, BV 92, MK 493 ||| **A:** ? M: WrM {MED} **nesi** 'blood from an animal on an arrow', HIM **нэш** {MED, BMR} id. ¶ MED 57, BMR II 447, Gl. II 10, Rinch. 150, Cev. 401.

2000. *r∇h∇t̥∇ 'branch, stem, rod' > HS: CS **r^hrh̥t̥*, **r^hahu^ht̥*-, **rah∇t̥*- '(?) long bough\rod', 'rafter' > BHb **rā^hhī^ht̥*** 'rafter' ({Joü.} 'solive'), {Nld.} 'Bretter' (+ppa: 1p **רַהִיִּתְ** **rahī^ht̥-ēnū**), MHb {Js.} **רַהִיִּתְ** **rā^hhī^ht̥** 'rafter' or 'floor beam', Sr **ṛā^ho^h**; **ra^hω^ht̥-ā** 'flexible thin branch, lath' (< **rahu^ht̥-*), & Sr {Br.} **ṛā^ho^h**; **rah^ht̥-ā** or **ṛā^hhī^ht̥-ā** {JPS} 'rafter', {Br.} 'tabula assis' ({Joü.} [unconvincingly]: misreading of **ṛā^ho^h**; **ra^hω^ht̥-ā** 'branches'); Aram **→** Ar Zhl {Joü.} **رَؤُوتْ** **ra^hω^ht̥** 'poplar trunks used as rafter' ¶ KB 1114, GB 747, Js. 1454, Br. 717, 719, JPS 532, 534, Joü. NLH-2 421 ||| B **-r∇t̥t̥-* > Ah **tarat̥t̥a** 'branch of a coniferous tree', Wrg **tarat̥t̥a** (pl. **tira^hḡwin** ~ **tira^ht̥t̥win**) 'stick, stem of a plant, flagstaff' ¶ Fc. 1576, Dlh. Ou 271 ||| **IE** **re^ht̥-*/**ro^ht̥-*/**r^ht̥-* > NaIE **rēt-*/**rōt-*/**rat-* '≈ rod, stem' > ON **róðā** 'rod, cross (crucifix)', Ic **róðā** 'cross (crucifix)', NNr **roda** 'pole (Stange)', OHG **ruota** 'rod, staff, stick', NHG **Rute** 'rod, twig', OSx **rōda** 'rod, pole, gallows', AS **rōd** id., 'wooden cross (for crucifixion)', NE **rood**; gem. AS **rodd** 'stick, rod' > NE **rod** ||| Sl: ChS **ратище** **ratiš^hte**, **ратовище** **rato^hviš^hte** 'shaft of a lance, spearstaff' (**→** R † **ратовище** id.), OCz, Cz † **ratiš^hte**, Slk **ratiš^hče** id., Uk 'ратище' 'spear' ||| L **rā^htis** 'raft', ?? L **rē^htae** 'trees standing on the bank \ in the bed of a river' ¶ WP II 368, P 866, EI 442 (**reh^ht̥-* 'post, pole'), ≠ Mn. 1074, WH II 420, 431, Vr. 450, Bv 553, Kb. 815, OsS 732, KM 617, Ho. 262, Ho. S 61, HDEL 1124, 1127, 1537, Vs. III 448, Mikl. E 273, Ma. CS 416, Srz. III 105-6 ||| **K:** OG **r̥to-y** (pl. **r̥toni**, **r̥toebi**), G **r̥to** 'branch, bough' ¶ Abul. 349, Ser. 134, Chx. 1075.

2001. *row∇ (or **rowH∇*?) 'dig, scratch, carve' > IE: NaIE **re^hu^hə^h-*/**ru(:)-* 'dig' (× N **rAwg^hU* 'to destroy, to tear' [q.v.]) > L 1s pres. **ru-o**, inf. **ruēre** (prtc. **rū-tus**) 'dig up, scrape', **rutellum** 'a small spade,

shovel' ||| Clt.: OIr *ruam* 'spade (pelle, bêche)', *rómair*, *ruamor* n. act. 'digging' ||| Sl inf. **rǎ-ti* (1s pres. **rǎjǫ* ~ **rǎjǫ*) 'to dig' > SrChS inf. **РЪТН** *rǎti* (1s pres. **РЪТН** *rǎjǫ*), SCr inf. *rǐti* (1s pres. *rǐjēm*), Slv inf. *rǐti* (1s pres. *rǐjēm*), OR inf. **РЪТН** *rǎti* (1s pres. **РЪЮ** *rǎjǫ*), R inf. 'РЫТЬ' (1s pres. 'РЮ'), Blr inf. 'РЫЦЬ' (1s pres. 'РЮ'), Uk inf. 'РИТИ' (1s pres. 'РИЮ'), Cz inf. *ryti* (1s pres. *ryji*), Slk inf. *ryt'* (1s pres. *ryju' ~ ryjem*), P inf. *ryć* (1s pres. *ryje*) 'to dig' ¶ On OI *ru-* / *ru-* 'break\dash into pieces', Lt inf. *rauti* 'to tear out' and Sl inf. **rǎvǎ-ti* 'to tear' see N ***rAwg'U'** ¶ The short u in OI *ru'ta-* points to the absence of lrs, while the reflex of a long **ū* in Sl **rǎ-ti* and L *ru'tus* may be due to contamination with N ***rAwg'U'** ¶ WP II 351-2, P 868, Mn. 1095-6, 1099-1100, 1104, WH II 453-4, Vn. R 48-9, Vs. III 531-2, Glh. 528-9, ≈σ EI 570 (**reu*(H)- 'pull out [from under the surface]') ||| **U**: FU **row*∇- (or **roʒ|k*∇-) 'cut, score, trim' > pChr {Ber.} **rua-* > Chr H *roe-* (inf. *roaw* 'ro-aš'), L *rue-* (inf. *ruaw* 'ru-aš'), Uf/N *rue-* id. ||| pOs **roy-* ({Hl.} **rǎy-*) > Os: V {Trs.} *royam-* 'cut out, cut through', O {KrT} *roχat-* 'ein Stückchen abschneiden' ||| OHg *rov-* 'score, incise ([ein]kerben, [ein]schneiden)', Hg *rod-* / *rov-* 'cut, score', OHg *rovat* 'Einkerbung, Aufzeichnung' ¶ Coll. 111, UEW 425, Ber. 57 [no. 300], Ep. 103, MRS 505, 508, Trs. VD 183, KrT 799, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on the Os reflexes of FU **-w-* and **-y-*), MF 553-4, EWU 1273, 1285 ||| **A**: Tg **ʾolob-* > Ewk *lōwa-* 'look (for sth.) by rummaging' ¶ STM I 500 ||| **HS**: Ch: CCh: Tr {Nw.} *ra* 'dig' || FIM {ChL} *ri*, Bcm {ChL} *rǎ*, Gude {Hsk.} *ra*, Gudu {ChL} *râ* id. || Mtk {Sb., ChL} *ra* id., Hrz {Ro.} *ra* id., 'bury' ¶ JI II 104-5, ChC s.v. 'dig', ChL, Nw. WLT 48, Hsk. 263, Ro. no-s 101 and 195, Sb. M s.v. *ra* || ? Eg Am *rwrw.ty* 'lion's cave' (if it is a cd of *rʷ* 'lion' and **rʷ* 'cave' < N ***rōw**∇ 'dig?') ¶ EG II 409 ◇ IS MS 362 (**rōw*∇ 'рыть': IE, U).

2002. ***r∇w**∇ 'water, stream of water; to drink (one's fill)' > **HS**: WS **✓rwy* (prm. **-rway-*) 'drink one's fill' > BHb *רַוַי* *✓rwy* G (3pm ip. *רַוַיְרַוַיְרַוַי* *yī-rwə'y-ūn*, 3f pf. *רַוַיְרַוַיְרַוַי* *rāwəṭā*) id., JA [Trg.] *✓rwy* G (pf. *רַוַיְרַוַי* *rə'wā ~ רַוַיְרַוַי* *rə'wī*), Md *✓rwy* G 'be filled with wine, be drunken', JEA *✓rwy* G 'become intoxicated', Sr *✓rwy* G (pf. *רַוַיְרַוַי* *rə'wā ~ רַוַיְרַוַי* *rə'wī*, ip. *רַוַיְרַוַי* *rə'wē*) 'become drunken', Ar *✓rwy* G (pf. *rawiya*, ip. *-rway-*) 'be well watered' (of cattle, land), Ar *✓rwy* G (pf. *رَوِيَ* *rawā*) 'abreuver qn, lui donner à boire', Ar *رَيّ* *rayy-* 'pays arrosé', OYmn {Slw.} d. *مروءة* *mrwḥ* ({Slw.} *marwā*) 'Bewässerungsanlage', Gz *✓rwy* G (pf. *rawaya ~ rawya*, js.

yārway), Jb C {Jo} ✓ rwy G (pf. 'rē ~ 're?) 'have had enough to drink', Sh (pf. er'be, sbjn. 'yεrbε) 'give (so.) a drink', Mh ✓ rwy (pf. 'raywi, sbjn. y3r'wē) 'have one's thirst slaked, drink to repletion', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ rwy (pf. r3wō ~ rēwi, sbjn. y^rwi) 'have had enough water', Sq pf. G {Jo.} 're, {L} r e v. 'drink'; WS ≈ *'riway- 'abundant water' > Ar روى riwā 'abundant water', BHb 'rī {NPet.} 'Wassermenge', {GB} 'Bewässerung, Wasserfülle' or {KB LVT} 'moisture' ('Naß, Feuchtigkeit') (h.l.: Job 37.11), MHb [Sir. 31.28] 'rī r?y ≈ id., Sq {Jo.} rihoh, {Nak.} 'rīho, {L} r i h o 'water'; Ar SL رى rayy- 'rain'; Ar d. ✓ rwy G (pf. روى rawā) 'carry\draw water', Sb {BGMR} ✓ rwy Sh (y h r w y) 'provide water supply', Qt {Rk.} d. m r w (-h w) '(his) irrigation system' ¶ KB 114-15, 1141, KB LVT I 888, GB 757, NPet. BJ 421, Js. 1459, Lv. IV 433, Sl. 164, JPS 532, DM 427, Hv. 279-80, BK I 957-8, Slw. 100-1, L G 478, L LS 395-6, Nak. no-s 166 and 765, Jo. J 218, Jo. M 333-4, Jo. H 106-7, BGMR 119, Rk. 153 || ? Eg fMK rwy 'water', Eg fP rwy.t 'water, flood'; hardly here Eg r3 'Rand eines Gewässers, Wasserlinie' (probably a sd. of r3 'mouth') and Eg w r r w 'pit with water, tank' (both adduced by Blz) ¶ EG I 334, II 221, 392 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ruwa₁y₁ > Hs r'ūwā 'water', Glm {Sch.} rwa 'river' ||| CCh: Kps {Srp.} r o'ā 'brook, river' ¶ JI II 340, ChC s.v. 'river' and 'water', ChL, Ba. 871-2, Abr. H 746-7, Sch. BTL 88 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ Blz KM I no. 17) Ah tārait 'the level of waterline in a vessel' (actually {Fc.} 'ligne laissé par un liquide sur le paroi intérieure d'un vase dont il a été versé' ← tārait 'escarpement rocheux formant un anneau sur tout le partour d'une montagne' [see Fc. 1619]) ¶¶ OS no. 214O (HS *rūw 'water': S, Eg, WCh), ≈ Sk. HCD 222 (WCh, S, Eg + err. comparison with some other Ch lges and different lges of Africa) ||| K: G ru 'irrigation ditch\channel, brook' ¶ Fn. KW-2 43 [no. 22], Chx. 1077 ||| E: AchEl ra-hi-um 'Trankspende' ¶¶ HK 1124 ||| ? A: Cl. 872 mentioned an OT Og [MhK] word jābā: 'moist, moisture'; the word is read in DTS as jābā and in MKD as j i b a; if it goes back to T *jibi moist', it belongs to N *Libh ▽ 'wet', rather than here ¶ Cl. 872, MKD 224, DTS 221 ◇ Blz KM 118-19 [no. 17] (K, HS [S, Ch, unc. B Ah tārait, Eg r3 'waterline' and w r r w 'pit with water, tank'])).

2003. (2?) *r ▽₁ h₁ w ▽ 'mix, (??) 'turn round' > HS: B *✓ rwy > Ah arwi (hab. raggay) 'mélanger', Kb arwi 'remuer, mêler', Tmz rway id., 'mélanger', Wrg d. arway 'brouet, farine diluée dans l'eau et bouillie' ¶ Fc. 1651, Dl. 741, MT 595, Dlh. Ou 281 || ?σ S *°✓ rħw > Ar ✓ rħw G {BK} 'tourner un moulin à bras', 'se rouler en spiral' (un serpent), {Hv.} 'turn (an

arm mill)', 'coil' (serpent), {Hv.} raḥā 'hand mill' ¶ Hv. 245, BK I 839 ¶ The S cognate is valid if the meaning 'turn' is primary || K *°rew- > MG, G rev- / re- / ri- 'mix' ¶ Chx. 1054-7, DCh. 1035 || ? U: FU (att. in ObU) *r¹e¹w∇- v. 'shake' (× N *r∇¹b¹∇ ≈ move, shake [sich bewegen, schwanken] [q.v.]) > ObU {†Hl.} *rōw- vt. 'shake, swing' > pVg {Ht.} *rāw- vt. 'swing' > Vg: T räw-, MK/UK rāw-, P/SV rōw-, NV *rōw- id.; pOs {Ht.} *rōy- > Os: K rewəy-, Nz rewīy- vt. 'swing', V/Vy rōyim, Kz rewemə- vt. 'shake', Y rāwis∇- id. ¶ Ht. no. 555 (ObU *rōy-) and Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU *-w- and *-y-).

2004. ₂ *r∇wX∇ 'broad' > HS: WS *✓rwḥ (prm. *-rwaḥ-) 'be broad' > BHb ✓rwḥ G (pf. ḥḥḥ rā'waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'become spacious\easy', JA ✓rwḥ G (pf. rə'waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'be wide, extend', Sr ✓rwḥ G (pf. rə'waḥ, ip. -rwaḥ) 'be enlarged\relieved, expand', Ar ✓rwḥ G (pf. ḥḥḥ rawiḥa, ip. -rwaḥ-) 'be large\wide', rawḥ- n. act. 'being large\wide', 'rest, joy', Gz rawīḥ ~ rawḥ 'affable, kindhearted', Sb ✓rwḥ Sh (pf. ḥrwḥ) 'increase, extend, enlarge'; CS *'rawaḥ- 'space, interstice' > BHb ḥḥḥ rəwaḥ 'space, interval', JA ḥḥḥ rə'waḥ, em. ḥḥḥḥ raw'ḥ-ā 'open space, room', Sr ḥḥḥḥ raw'ḥ-ā 'a space, interstice', rəwaḥ't-ā {Br.} 'spatium', {JPS} 'open space, spaciousness', Ar rawaḥ- 'width between the feet' ¶ KB 1115-17, GB 748, Js. 1457, Br. 719, JPS 533-4, BK I 946-8, Hv. 276, L G 477, BGMR 119 ¶¶ unc.: ÷ Eg MK wəḥ 'live long, endure, dauern' (⇔ Tk. I 396, based on the controversial Belova's law [see Blv. SKES, Blv. VAA]) || IE *reuH₂x-/*ruHx- > NaIE *reuə-/*rū- 'spacious, broad', d. *rewes- 'space; wide' > Av rawaḥ- 'open space, free space', rawas-čarāḥt- 'living in the open spaces' (of wild animals), KhS rrain 'plain' || L rūs (gen. rūri) 'countryside' (⇔ 'town') || Clt: {Matas.} *°rowesya 'field, open ground' > OIr róe, róí 'field, open land' ({Vn.} 'terrain découvert, champ'), ré 'espace (surtout de temps)', {Matas.} 'level piece of ground, battlefield' || Gmc *rū-ma- > Gt rūm-s (τ. εὐρύχωρος) 'geräumig', ON rúm, OFrs, AS rūm, MHG rūm 'roomy, spacious', ON rúm-r 'spacious', Gt rūm (?) (τ. τόπος) 'Platz', ON rúm 'room, space, place', OHG rūm 'space', NHG Raum, OSx, AS rūm 'room, space', NE room || SI *orv-ъnъ, *orv-ъnъ-jъ 'even, flat' > OCS равънъ равънъ 'even, similar; flat', ОРРОВЪНЪИ ровънѣи 'equal', РАВЪНЪ равънъ 'flat place, plain (ровное место, равнина)', Uk 'рівний', Blg 'равен, SCr rávan, Cz, Slk rovný, P równy 'even, equal; flat', R 'ровный', Slv raven rávan 'even,

flat'; Sl *orv-es- > R po'vec-nik, Cz rovesník 'person of the same age', P rowieśnię 'of the same age' || ?? Lt † {Ju.} arvas 'free', Pru arwis - "wahr, gewiss" (← *'equal' ← 'even') ||| Tc A, B ru- vt. 'open' ¶ WP II 356, P 874, EI 534 (*'reūhes- 'open space' ← *'reūH- '[be] open'), Brtl. 1512-13, Bai. 368-9, WH II 454, Fs. 401, Vn R 10, 38-9, Matas. E 315. Vr. 453, Ho. 264, Ho. S 61, Kb. 809, OsS 728, KM 587, Tr. 14, Vs. III 488-9, StSS 565, Srz. III 128, Glh. 519, En. 144, Tp. P A-D 111-12, LKZ I 323, ≠ Frn. 15-16, Ad. 536-7 ◇ AD GD no. 30, IS MS 373 (*'r ḥw ḥ ḥ 'broad': S, IE) ◇ Blz. IELA 18 [no. 69] (IE, S + unk.: [?] Eg ωεῖν 'dauern').

2005. *r ∇ y E (= *r ∇ y 'i'?), a compound prn. of plurality and collectivity > IE *-ēr/*-r̥, 3p ending of the non-active paradigm of the verb (> Ht hi-paradigm, NaIE perfect) > OI -'ur, Av -arə, Tc {KT}: 3p (past I) B -āre, A -ar, 3p (past III) A -ar, B -är, Tc B {Bks} -āre, L -ēre, -e(:)runt, Phr -aren (both latter forms from *-ēr + *-nt, generalized ending of 3p), OIr -at-ar (3p preterit), e.g. NaIE *wid-r̥ ~ *wid-ēr 'they have seen' > OI vī'dur, Av vī'dare id., L vidēre 'they saw'; Tc B kautāre 'they split' (p.), Phr dakar(en) 'they have made', OIr -gádatar 'they prayed' || Ht -ir (3p p.): er-ir 'they arrived' ¶¶ Bks 238-9, Szem. IEL 243-5, Thr. 432-3, Wtk. GIV § 21, KT 269-70 || K: Sv -ār ɖ -är ɖ -ar, -īr, -ēr, -äre, sx of nominal pl.: Sv UB qanār, f qanāre 'oxen' (↔ sg. qān 'ox'), gezlīr 'sons' (↔ sg. gezal 'son') ¶ Top. SJ 81, GP US 50-1 || ?? HS: HEC: Sd {Mrn.} -ri, -re, pl. of adjectives and pronouns: lowōri 'big' pl. (↔ sg. lowo), duč'čuri all' pl. (↔ sg. 'duč'ču 'all'), kore, korēre, 'kururi 'these' (↔ 'konne, 'kunnī 'this') ¶ Mrn. S 26, Zab. MNPC 242ff. || A *-ri, pl. sx of nouns and pronouns > Tg: WrMc {Z} -ри, pl. sx of nouns: мафа-ри 'grandfathers, ancestors' (↔ sg. мафа), мама-ри 'grandmothers, female ancestors' (↔ sg. мама) ||| Nn Nh мзрз-ri accus. pl. of the refl. pr. 'sich, себя' (↔ accus. sg. мзрі), as well as pl. in all other oblique cases: dat. pl. мзндуз-ri 'to themselves' (↔ dat. sg. мзндуй), instr. pl. мзндіз-ri (↔ instr. sg. мзндий) etc.; Ul -r(̣)/-r(i), marker of pl. possessoris in the nominal forms of reflexive possession ('one's own, свой'): pl. possessoris -ba-r(̣)/-bз-r(i)/-wa-r(̣)/wз-r(i) ↔ sg. possessoris -ḅi/-bi/-i/-i, e.g. kuč'zmbзr(i) 'knife of several people' (↔ kuč'zmbi 'one's [sg.] knife'), gīdawar(̣) 'spear of several people' (↔ gīdai 'one's [sg.] spear') | Ewk, Lm -r, pl. sx of n-nouns: Ewk, Lm oро-r 'reindeers' (↔ sg. oрон), Ewk muri-r 'horses' (↔ sg. murin), Lm hэрка-r 'knives' (↔ sg. hэркан) ¶ Ci. 254-5, Bz. 1024-6, Hrl. 33, Z 872, 874-5, Avr. G I 256-8, Sun. UJ 33-5 || T *-í,

marker of pl. in pers. pronouns: *mi-ř 'we' (OT биз, Az, Qmq, Nog, Uz, ET, Qrg biz, Tk биз, Tkm биз биδ, Qzq, Qq biz, VTt без бьз, Bsh бьδ, StAlt, Tv bis, Tf b_i'z, Xk പിട പൂട, Shor പിട, Yk bihiḡi, Chv L эпир е-b_ir [gen. пир-ён], *si-ř 'ye, vos' (OT {Cl.} si:z, Tk siz, Az, Qmq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET siz, Tkm сиз тиδ, Qzq, Qq sīz, VTt сез сьз, Bsh һьδ, Yk ehiḡi, Chv эсир е-z_ir [gen. сир-ён]); this morpheme is also present in the endings of 1p and 2p of verbs and in the possessive\predicative markers of 1p (MT [13th c.] биз ол миз 'it is we') and of 2p of nomina (ffd. *see* Sev. KS 18-21, Sev. KPr √, Dmt. KP 25-32) ¶ Cl. 388, 86O, Rs. W 77, 424, Isx. M 208-35, Ra. 163, Andr. ChJ-66 65, Ash. III 21, 33, Fed. II 479, 481, Jeg, 345-6, ChVS 290-1, 313 || pKo *-ri in {S} *ú-ri 'we' > MKo úrí, NKo uri ¶ S AJ 255 [no. 98], S QK no. 98, Nam 389, MLC 1238 || ?? J -ra, sx of pronouns and nouns (denoting human beings) with the meaning of plural and associative plural ('and those connected with ...': kimi-ra 'you and the others', korera 'those people and others') || ?? U: FU *°-r∇, sx of collectivity: Chr H/Y {Wc.} lülper 'alder grove, alder forest' (← lülpa 'alder'), Chr H pister, Chr T piš'ter 'grove\forest of lime trees' (← pista 'lime tree'), Chr H tumer 'oak forest' (← tumъ 'oak') ¶ Lh. PUAS 184, Wc. TNB 15-16 ¶ The Y form resembles very much T *mi-ř 'we' and pKo *ú-ri id. || D: [1] D *-_i∇_ir, sx of nominal pl. (mainly of animate nouns) > Tm -r, -ir, Ml, OKn, Klm, Nk, Prj, Gdb, Gnd, Knd, Png, Krx, Mlt -r, e.g. OTm makaḷ-ir 'girls, women', perñṭ-ir 'women', kēlir 'relatives', Tm arasa-r 'kings' (↔ sg. arasaṇ), Ml {An.} taččar 'carpenters' (↔ sg. taččañ), OKn kaḷḷar 'thieves' (↔ sg. kaḷḷañ), Tl alluṇḍ-ru ~ allu-ru 'sons-in-law', dēvaru 'gods', Klm kōlavār 'persons of the Kolami tribe' (↔ sg. kōlavān), māsur 'men', budiaker 'old men', Prj kummaler 'potters', toler 'brothers' (↔ sg. tolen), Nk tōler 'brothers' (↔ sg. tōlen), Gdb iler 'bridegrooms' (↔ sg. ileñḍ), Gnd A kandīr 'boys' (↔ sg. kandī), Gnd K aṇer 'sons-in-law' (↔ sg. aṇe), Knd ṭōṇḍar 'friends' (↔ sg. ṭōṇḍə), Png kaṛder 'boys' (↔ sg. kaṛde), Kui āba-ru 'fathers', āporu 'sons', Krx kukkor 'boys' (↔ sg. kukkos), ālar 'men', mukkar 'women', Mlt maqer 'sons' (↔ sg. maqeh), maler 'men', peler 'women' || [2] D *-(∇)r, pl. ending of the personal gender in dem. pronouns and nouns, e.g. *ava-r (pl. of *avaṇ 'that man') > Tm avār 'those people', Ml avār 'those persons', Kt avr, Kn avār, Tu ārə id., Klm, Nkr avr, Prj, Gdb ōr 'those men', cp. Tl vāru 'those persons', Knd vār 'those men', Kui āru id., Krx, Mlt ār 'those persons' || [3] D *-r in D {Zv.} *-N-ti-r, pers. ending of 2p non-past > OTm -tir, Kui ft. -d-eru, Krx pers. female ending -d-ay, Knd non-

past -n-ider ¶¶ An. SG 173-7, Zv. CDM I 15-16, Zv. DL 36, Bloch S 8-9 ◇ T
 *-r regularly goes back to N *r and *ry (< N *r_l∇_ly-). D *r is a reg. reflex
 of a N *r-cluster. It leads us to a *ry-cluster'. But cns. clusters are never
 found in the word-initial position, which suggests N *r∇y∇. We suppose
 that this marker of plurality goes back to a N compound: theme-focalizing
 N *r∇ (q.v.) + N plural marker ? *yE (= y^ri^r?) 'these, they' (q.v.) ◇
 Sin. UAP 116-18 (U, A), ≈ Gr. I 110-14 ("plural R(I)" in IE, CK, A, err. Gil [-r
 in mer 'we' incl., while in fact -r goes back to *-t]).

2006. *sE 'he\she' (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects)
 > **HS: S:** [1] S *šūpa 'he, that' > Hb אהו hū (spelled hū[?]), Ug hω, {Hnr.} huwa id., Ph, Pun, M'b h[?], OA אה h[?] ~ הו hω, IA הו hω (BA אה hū), Sr W [⊖] hū, SmA הו hω ~ אה hω[?], Ar هو huwa, OSA: Sb h[?] ~ hω[?] (obl. hω t) 'he', Qt šω (obl. šω t) 'this', Gz [⊖] ω a[?] tū 'he' (rebuilt on the basis of the obl. *pūp∇-t∇ < *šūpa-t∇), Mh hē, Hrs hah, Jb E/C šε(h), Sq yhe, hye, Ak šū (gen.-accus. šu(ω)āti) 'he'; [2] S prn. *šū 'him' (after a verb), 'his' (after a noun), that becomes a sx in the descendant lges, with *š > š, h, ∅ in some descendant lges > Ak -šu, BHb -ō ~ -ω ~ -hū, Ug -h, {Hnr.} -hu(:), BA -(e)h ~ -hī, Sr -h ~ -(h)ī, Ar -hu (gen. -hi), Sb -hω ~ -h, Mn -šω ~ -š, Qtb -šω(ω) ~ š, Gz -hū ~ -ō, e.g. BHb בן־בן bə'nō 'his son' (< *bi'na-hū < pS *'bin-a šū) and אב־אב pā'bī-ω 'his father' alongside with the more conservative variant אב־אב pā'bī-hū id. (both from *pa'bī šū < *pa'bi šū; [3] S *šīpa 'she, that (f.)' > BHb hī (spelled אהי hī[?]) id., Ph, M'b, OA אה h[?], Pun אה hy, [Plt.] HY, Ug hy (= *hi₁ya), IA אה hy (BA אה hī), Sr W [⊖] hī, SmA אה hy ~ אה hy[?], Ar هي hiya, OSA: Sb h[?] ~ hy[?] (obl. hy-t), Qt (obl.) šy-t, Gz [⊖] y a[?] tī (rebuilt on the basis of the obl. case form *pīp∇-t∇ < *šīpa-t∇), Mh sē, seh, Hrs sēh, Jb sεh, Sq sε (in the SES lges s- for the expected *š- or *h- for unknown reasons: any infl. of the following *ī?), Ak šī (gen., accus. šu(ω)āti) 'she'; [4] Similar representations of *š are found in the reflexes of the postnominal and postverbal prn. *šī 'her' (turned to a sx in the descendant lges; [5] OAk šu st.c. 'that of' (accus. ša, gen. ši) ¶ Vg. PP ∇, OLS 170, Hnr. 86, 120, 293, Tal 199-200, 203, MSUS 102-7, Seg. AAG 165-72, GBr. JJAP 88-90, Sd. G §§ 41-45 || Eg -f (< *sω-) 'he' (f- < *sω-, according to Dk.'s hyp.) (× N *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self', q.v.), -s 'she', aut. pronouns: sω t 'he', s t t 'she' ¶ Ed. 70-81, Tk. I 290 (wondering if the change HS *sω > Eg f was conditioned by a following *-u) || EC {Ss., AD} *pūs-ū 'he' (aut. prn.) ~ {AD} *pis-'a' id., {Ss.} *piš-ī 'she' (aut. prn.) > Sa úsūk, Af usuk, Sml isá-gu, Bs usu, Rn {PG} ùsú, Arr {Hw.} pu(s)sú / nom. pú(s)su, Or B ísa, Kns íša, Gdl iyū, Gwd úso, HEC {Hd.} *isi (> Sd/Ged/Kmb/Brj {Hd.} isi) 'he', Sa ise, Arr {Hw.} pe(s)sé / nom. pé(s)se, ? Sml iyá-du, Or B íse? / ís-ī, Or Wl íše? / íš-ī, Kns íšē-tta, íše-nna, íše-dḏa, Rn {Bl.} iš, {PG} ìcé, Bs isē, Gwd íso; Arr pes(s)é 'she', HEC {Hd.} *ise > Sd/Ged/Kmb ise, Hd isi, Brj išī 'she' ¶ Ss. PEC 34-5, Ss. B 106-7, Bl. 170, 174, 240, 247, 253, 297, PG 148, 286, Hw. A 215, Hd. 77, 132, 414 || **IE:** [1] NaIE *sō 'he, this', m. nom. (↔

*to-ī 'it' [ntr. nom.-accus.] and *to- [non-nominative cases of both masc. and neuter]) > Gt *sa* (· οὗτος, ἐκεῖνος, αὐτός) m. 'dieser' ||| OI *sa*, Av *ha* ||| ON *sá* 'he, this' (m. nom.) ||| Tc B *se* 'this' m. ||| Gk df. art. m. nom. ὁ (↔ OI *tad* 'it, this' ntr., Gt *patá* 'dies' ntr., Tc B *te* 'this' ntr., Gk df. art. ntr. nom.-accus. τὸ) ||| Clt {Matas.} *sō- 'this' > OIr -sō, Gl sō-sin ||| OL *sum* / *sam* accus. 'this one'; ↔ NaIE *sī 'she', 'this' f. > Gk ἴ: (long ἴ) ||| Gt *si*, OHG *sī*, *si* ||| Clt {Matas.} 'she' > OIr *sí*, MW *hi*, MBr *hy* ~ *hi*, Crn *hy* 'she' ||| Av accus. *hīm*, OPrs accus. *šim* 'her (eam)' ¶ WP II 509, P 978-9, Szem. IEL 202-6, Bks 202-3, M K III 410, KT 163-4, Matas. E 335, 350 || [2] IE *-s, nom. case ending of the animate gender (> NaIE nom. m., f.) > sg: NaIE *-s > OI (-s) (allophonic variants -h, -s etc.), Gk -ς, L -s, Gt -s, OScn -R₂, ON -r, Lt -s etc., e.g. NaIE *w_ok^ω-s 'wolf' nom. (> OI ['v_okas], Gk λύκος, L *lupus*, Gt *wulfs*, Lt *vilkas* id.), OScn *stainar*₂ 'stone' nom., NaIE *sūnu-s 'son' nom. (> OI *sū'nu-s*, Gt *sunus*, Lt *sūnū-s*), NaIE *neptī-s 'niece' (> OI *napītis*, L *neptis*); AnIE *-s nom. (animate gender) > Ht, Lw, HrLw, Pal -s, e.g. Ht, Pal *aruna-s* 'sea', HLw {Mer.} *washa-s* 'lord', Pal *anna-s* 'mother' ¶¶ Ffd. *see* Brg. KVG 376-7, Bks 172-92, Szem. IEL 160-92, EI 457, Fs. 402, 460-1, 576; for AnIE: Mer. SGA 275-319, Mer. HHG 151, Rsk. 54-5 ¶¶ The nom. form goes back to a nomen with a thematizing focalizer (w_ok^ω-s nom. 'wolf' ← lit. 'wolf-that = βοικ-το' = 'as for the wolf') ¶¶ IE *sō (unlike other dem. pronouns and *ō-nouns) has no nominative ending, because *sō and the nominative ending *-s are historically identical || U: FU *sē 'he, she' > F *hän* 'he, she, it' (3s prn.), Krl *hēän*, Vo *hän* ~ *hän* id. | Lp: N {N} *sōn* (obl. *sū-*) 'he, she', S {Hs.} *sādne* ~ *sadne*, Kld {SaR} *cōHH sōn*: (accus.-gen. *cōH*, dat.-dir. *cōHHē*) 'he, she, it' | Er/Mk *sōn* 'he, she, it' | Prm: Vt *sō* 'he; that', ? Z *ziyē* 'he' ||| Hg *š* 'he, she, it' | pObU *θē:-n 'they' > pVg *tān > Vg: T *tän*, LK/P/NV/SV/LL *tan*, MK *ton*, UK *tōn*, UL/Ss *tān* id. | ? pObU {HL.} *θōw|y 'he, she' > pVg *tāw* > Vg: T *tüw*, LK *tāw* (accus. *tāwə*), MK/UK/NV/ SV/LL *tāw*, P *tāw* (accus. *tāwa*), UL/Ss *taw* id.; pOs *čōy* 'he, she' > Os: V *lōš*, Vy *yōš*, Ty *češ^ω*, Y *čēw* ~ *čōw*, D/K *tēw*, Nz *tūw*, Kz *čūw*, O *luw* id.; pOs *čēy (({HL.} *čīy) 'them' > Os: V *lēš*, Vy *yěš*, Ty *čěš*, D *těš*, Nz *tīš*, B {Ahl.} *li* id. ¶ Acc. to Rédei, BF *h- is from *s- in an unstressed syll. The final cns. -n in BF, Lp and Mr may go back to a very ancient generalization of *-n∇ of the oblique cases (< N *nu, genitive pc.) ¶ UEW 453 (*sē), Coll. 80-1, Hs. 118, SaR 547, TI 514-15, Vrt. tables I, IV, Ht. no-s 114 and 125 ||| **n** *s|š∇ 'he, this, he/she' > T (after stem-final vowels) *-si/*-si

'his\her\their' > OT {Ajd., Kondr.} -sĭ/-sĭ, {Gbn} -sĭ / (?) -sĭ, MQp [CC] -sĭ/-sĭ/-sü/-su, XwT/Chg {Eckm.}, OOsM {Mans., Gz.} -sĭ/-sĭ, Tk -sĭ/-sĭ and (after stems with labialized vowels) -sü/-su, Az, Ggz, Qmq, QrB -sĭ/-sĭ/-sü/-su, Tkm -θĭ/-θĭ, CrTt, Brb {Dm.}, Nog, Qq, SY {Tn.} -sĭ/-sĭ, Qzq -cĭ/-cĭ (-sĭ/-sĭ), VTt -sb/-sb, Bsh {Dmt.} -hb/ -hb/-hb̆/-hb̆, ET, Uz -sĭ, StAlt/Qmn {B}, Xk, Shor {BabD} -zĭ/-zĭ, QK/Tb {B}, Tv -zĭ/-zĭ/-zü/-zu, Chl {Dlz.} -zĭ/-zĭ/-zü, Yk -ta/-tä id. ¶ This T sx is likely to go back to N *sE 'he\she' + T *-ĭ/-ĭ 'his\her' (< N *yĭ 'he, [?] that' [q.v.]) ¶ Xakimzjanov (Xak. 61) quotes Blgh {Xak.} -sĭ (bälkũsĭ 'his gravestone'), but Benzing (Bz. HB) did not mention this sx, and Erdal (Erd. 89-90) denies its existence in Blgh; the form bälkũsĭ is probably Qp rather than Blgh ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 94-5, S AJ 196 [no. 240], Ajd. 144-6, Kondr. 8, Gbn ATG § 191, Gbn CC 61, Eckm. ChT 122, Eckm. T 149, Mans. AO 170, Gz. 41, Kon. GTJ 74, Dmt. GBJ 56-7, Dmt. KP ∇, B DK 79, B DLT 23-4, B DChT 57-9, BabD ShJ 470-1, Dlz. ChTJ 250, Tn. SJJ 51, Xak. 62, Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Sev. KP ∇, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || pJ {S} *sǎ- 'this' (deictic √) > OJ sǎ- {S} id., J T sǎ-re, J K sǎ-ré, J Kg sǎi {Kenk.} 'that'; OJ sĭ > StJ sí (focalizing. pc. and conjunction 'and') ¶ S AJ 268 [no. 78], S QJ no. 7, Syr. DJ 155, Kenk. 1644 and 1812 ¶¶ SDM 1320-1 (pA *s|š̄ ∇ > T, J), DQA no. 2145, S AJ 277 [no. 74] (pA *s ∇) ||| The genitive case ending in IE and K may belong here as well: IE *-os/*-es (preserved best in the nominal inflection of consonantal stems) > OI -as (gen. of nouns with consonantal stems, e.g. rajñ-as 'king's'), Gk -os, L -is (< IE *-es), Olt -es (ákmen-es 'of stone', móter-es 'mother's', dukter-és 'daughter's'), Lt -s (akmeñ-s 'of stone', dukter-s 'daughter's'), pSl *-e (e.g. OCS kAMENE kamen-e 'of stone'), Gt -s (gumín-s 'person's'), Ht -as (halkiĭ-as 'of corn') (< the pN deictic *ha or *h'e' + the N pronominal *sE; the meaning of genitive is expressed here syntactically: in groups "noun No.₁ + nominal No.₂" the noun No.₁ functions as genitive, so that the N nominal phrase "No.₁ *ha|e' sE" means 'No.₁ *ha|e' 's he', sc. 'that of the No.₁'); very archaic forms are present in heteroclitic nouns: *-nos ~ *-nes in Ht pahhuenas 'of fire', witenas 'of water', Olt wánderes id., OI yaknas 'of liver' [cp. nom. yakr̥t]); the underlying N word group is No.₁ + *nu h ∇ sE (= *nu gen. + deictic *ha or *h'e' + pronominal *sE = literally "the No.₁'s he", sc. 'that of the No.₁'); the deictic pc. and the prn. function here as nominalizers of a phrase (N **'wetê nu h ∇ sE literally means 'that of the water') ¶¶ Bks 115, 173, Stang VG 221, Rsk. 54-64, Gux. GJ 85 || K *-iṣ (~ *-ṣ ~ *-aṣ), marker of

the gen. case > OG, G -is, -s, Mg -iš, -š, Lz -š, Sv -iš (~ iš), -äš (ä -aš) id.; the prehistory of this K case ending is similar to that of the IE one (except for the absence of traces of N *nu, sc. noun + N *h ∇ sE) ¶¶ K S 88-93, K 103 ◇ In HS, IE, A and ObU there may be a coalescence of the pronominal etymon in question with N *s|šE w ∇ 'oneself' (q.v.). Neither can we rule out some infl. of N *ćE 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis) (q.v.) ◇ ≈ IS I 7, ≈ Gr. I 99-101 (IE, U, A, Ai).

2007. *ś'ü' (> **śi) 'thou' (possibly a variant of *t'ü' [> *ti] 'thou?') > K: [1] K *si, *^osi-n 'thou' > Mg si, Lz si ~ sin 'thou, to thee' (c. rect., erg., dat.), Sv UB/LB/L/Ln si 'thou' (indeclinable); OG, G šen 'thou' is likely to go back to the OG/G poss. prn. šen- 'thy' ¶¶ [2] K *šwen- 'thy' (< N *ć'ü' 'that of' + N *ś'ü' 'thou' + N *nu gen.) > OG, G šen-, Mg skan- ~ s κ an-, Lz skan- ~ ckan-, Sv isgwi- ~ isgu- ~ is κ wi- 'thy'; comparison with other poss. pronouns (K *čem- 'my', *čwen- 'our') suggests that *šwen- goes back to pre-K *č-swen-, where *č- is a marker of poss. pronouns (< N *ć'ü' 'that of, that witch') ¶¶ K 162 and K² 164 (*sen- 'thou'), K 216 (*šwen- 'thy'), K² 250 (*š(w)en- 'thy'), K 218-19, Marr 29, IS I 6 (*šwe- 'thy' < *č-swe-), Shan. G 51, Top. SJ 83, TK 706, ≠ Gm. SSh 37-40 (Zan si from *šwen due to morphological analogy) ¶¶ IE: [1] IE *-si (/°-sej?) "primary" ending of 2s (pres., active voice) > OI, Av, Ht -si, L, Gt -s, Gk -σι (Gk Hm/D ἐσσι 'thou art'), -ι (< *-si, e.g. εἶ 'du gehst' < *ey-si), OCS -сн -si (ĕсн јеси 'thou art' < *°es-sej) ¶¶ [2] NaIE *-s, "secondary" ending of 2s (past tenses, active) > OI -s, Gk -ς, Gt -s ¶ [3]: Clt {Matas.} *swīs 'ye' > OIr sí, OW hui, MW chwī id., W {YGM} 'you', OBr hui, MBr huy, Crm why 'ye', Gl (?) sui, sue, suis id. ¶ Szem. EVS-80 216, Blz. IEPP 10, Bks VT 276-9, Brg. KVG 590-6, StSS 829, Matas. E 365, YGM-1 156 ¶¶ A: [1] pA *si 'thou', gen. *si-nⁱ (< pre-A **si-nū with *-ü preserved in pA {AD} 2pl. pronoun *süa / gen. *s'üa¹nu 'vos' [see s.v. N *t'ü' pa ~ *ś'ü' pa 'ye (vos)']) > Tg *si, gen. *sini > WrMc {Z} си, Ewk, Orc, Ud, Ul, Nn si, Neg sī, Sln šī, Lm hī 'thou', gen.: WrMc {Z} сини, Neg sin, Sln šinī, Lm hin, Ul, Ork sin(i) 'thy' ¶ Bz. 107-9, STM II 72-3, 115, Krm. 283, Z 591-3 ¶ ppT *si 'thou' / obl. *sän- ~ *sin- > Chv L эсě e-z_б 'thou' / obl. сан- san- (< ppT *sän-) ¶ NaT nom. *sæn ~ *sin 'thou' and obl. *sæn- ~ *sin-, prn. of 2s (for all cases except dat. *saṇa) > OT sän ä sen 'thou' (accus. seni ä sini), Tk sen, Tkm then, Az, Ggz, ET, Chl sän, Qmq, QrB, CrTt, Qq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Uz, Shor, Tv, Tf, SY sen, Qmn sen ~ sin, VTt, Brb, Xk sin, Bsh hin, Slr sen (accus. seni ~ sini), Yk än ¶

Obviously the NaT prn. *sæ̃n / *sin- results from generalization of the stem for the obl. cases, which goes back to the pA genitive *si-n̄i¹ < pre-A **si-nü (?) < N *ś'ü¹ nu (*ś'ü¹ + marker of genitive). It is not clear why in most T lges we find *æ̃ in *sæ̃n for the expected *i. The vw. *æ̃ may have been induced by the ass. infl. of the vowel of some case ending followed by generalization of the allomorph *sæ̃n- throughout the paradigm of the obl. cases (*see* Doerfer: "Alle Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Deklination der Personal-pronomina lassen sich durch Assimilation erklären" [Dr. Tbs 214]). The original vw. of *si is preserved in the OT Tonyuquq inscription (accus. s̄iri) and in the ppT prn. of 2p *si-ř (< N *ś'ü¹ + N *r∇yE, a compound prn. of plurality and collectivity, q.v. ffd.) ¶ Clauson (Cl. 860) and Tezcan (Tz. UJS 98) reconstructed OT s̄iz 'you' (pl.) with a long vw. without explicit justification of their conjecture; most probably the reason is the *plene* spelling سيز s̄yz in MhK (OT Kr), but even if this length (not confirmed by either Turkic Runic or Uyghur script of OT) did exist in the OT Kr prn., it could not go back to pT or NaT (on the ev. of the Tkm reflex [short i in Tkm θið 'you' pl.]). The vw. i in Chv e-z_īr 'ye, vos' does not necessarily provide ev. of ppT *ī, as shown by M. Räsänen (Rs. MIFTJ 61): among 17 cases of Chv-Tkm corrs of i-vowels he found only 4 cases where Chv и corresponded to Tkm ī, but 13 cases where the Tkm cognate of Chv и was a short i ¶ Lvt. IM 30-1, Cl. 831-2, 860, Rs. W 409, 424, Kon. GJTRP 164-6, Ajd. 179, 363, Ashir. OJS 95, B DK 51, Tn. SJ 127-8, Ash. III 32-3, Fed. II 481, Jeg. 346, ChVS 313 || pJ {Vv., DQA} *°si > OJ {Mill., ChmU, S} si 'thou, you' ({Mill.} si ga katarake_1ba 'because you say' [Manyoshu 904], si ga nakeba 'if you are not [there]' [Nihon Shoki, song 80]) ¶ Mur. KNND, Mil.. JAL 159-60, ChmU 269, Vv. LDROJ 105, Vv. JKAL 6, S QJ no. 1657 || Ko.: Ramstedt proposed to tie in Ko s̄iat 'thou' (used between a wife and a concubine of the same man) ({Rm.} < *si-asi?) and Ko sinim, used as a form of address among Buddhists ¶ Rm. SKE 179 ¶¶ SDM 1237-8 (pA *si 'thou' > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 1981, Rm. EAS I 68-73 (hyp. of an original *-n in M *tin, Tg *sin 'thou') || [1a] pA *°s'ü¹ a 'you' (pl.) (< N *ś'ü¹ ʔa, sc. *ś'ü¹ 'thou' + pc. of plurality *ʔa) (cf. N *t'ü¹ ʔa ~ *ś'ü¹ ʔa) > Tg *su- > Tg nom. *sue ({Bz.} *süä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *°suen-) id. > WrMc {Z} cyвэ / gen. cyвэни, Nn Nh nom. суэ / obl. sun-, Nn Bk/KU sū, Orc, Ud, Ork, Neg, Ewk, Sln nom. sū / obl. sun-, Lm hū / obl. hun-, Ud {Krm.} nom. su / obl. sun-, Ul suni ~ sunu; in many Tg lges the form *suenu ~ *suni is used with the sx ≈*-ηgü|i_.; WrMc {Z} cyвэнингэ, Ewk sunηī, Lm hunηī, Neg sunnī ~ sunηī, Orc suñingэ, Ud

suñuŋu, Ork sunuŋi, Nn Nh suzŋgi, Nn Bk/KU sunŋi, Nn Bk sunəŋgi 'yours'] In some modern Tg lges the Tg prn. *su became a postnominal ppa. of 2p: Ul, Orc -su, Nn Nh {On.} -so/ -su, Ud -hu 'vester' ¶ Bz. 107-11, STM II 72-3, 115, Krm. 87, 91, 288, On. 381, 551, Z 652]]] [2] The A prn. *°si (~ *s^riⁿü^r) in postnominal (probably enclitic) position meant 'thy'; in most modern Tg lges it has become a possessive sx of 2s: Tg *-si > Nn, Ul, Orc -si, Ud -hi, Ewk, Neg, Lm -s, Sln -š(i) 'thy' ¶ Bz. 109-11, STM II 72-3, Krm. 87]] D: Brh -s, verbal ending of 2s subiecti ¶ Bray I 118, 124-7, An. JB 71-80 ◇ The vw. *ü is preserved as labialized in Tg nom. *sue ({Bz.} *süä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *°suen-) 'vos' < N *s^rü^r ¶a ◇ Cf. IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, ≈ Palm. LMP 169-74 ◇ In my opinion, the pN etymom *s^rü^r may have resulted from assibilation *t̥- > *s^r- due to the palatalizing infl. of the vw. *ü^r (if not *i); a similar opinion was expressed by Illich-Svitych (IS I 6 and 227). This phonetic change (just as the delabialization N *t̥^rü^r > *t̥i and N *s^rü^r > *s^ri) was probably conditioned by the grammatical (pronominal) meaning of the word. This kind of changes (as., reduction, loss of marked phonemic features) is typical of grammatical\gramaticalized morphemes throughout the world (cp. -śa > -ś and -śa > -sa in R: боялся [ba¹ya¹sa] 'I was afraid', cp. боюсь [ba¹yus¹a] > боюсь [ba¹yus¹] 'I am afraid', as well as in NE: [a_ɪ hæv¹ 'dʌŋ] > [a_ɪ v¹ 'dʌŋ]; in NE the voicing *θ- (initial) > ð- ocured in the pronouns thou, that, this and in conjunctions (though), but not in nouns, adjectives and verbs, all of them preserving the original *θ: thumb, thick, think etc.). An alt. hyp. is that of Blz. IEPP (*t̥|ti and *su are originally different pronouns of the 2nd person, IE *tū resulting from the merger of both) ◇ On N *s^rü^r ¶a 'ye (vos)' (prn. of 2p) see below s.v. *t̥^rü^r ¶a ~ *s^rü^r ¶a 'ye (vos)'.

2008. *s^r∇ 'to, towards', directive\inessive postp. > HS: S: [1] S *-aš, directive case ending > Hb -ā (unstressed: הַבַּיְתָה hab¹bayt¹-ā 'home' (direction), הַיְמִינִי yā¹mīn-ā 'to the right', הַקֶּדְמִי k̄¹ed¹m-ā 'to the East', הָאָרֶץ 'parç¹-ā 'to the earth, to the land (of Israel)', Ug -h (ending of the directive case), Ak -iš id., [2] S *°-^rš^ri > Ak -š^ri, dative of pers. pronouns: yā-š^ri(m) 'to me', kā-š^ri(m) 'to thee' (m.) ¶ Dk. SXJ 55-6, Sd. G §§ 41-2 and 67, Strn. 103, A U 26]] ? B *s 'towards, by means of' > Ntf s 'avec, vers', Ah s, əs, Kb s 'pour, vers' ¶ AiM 230 (*s instr.), Fc. 1798-1802]] C: Ag: Xm {Ap.} -s, -g⁺-s ~ -č⁺-s (dative ending of pronouns: a w-s 'to whom', y⁺-g⁺s ~ y⁺-č⁺s 'to me' etc.), Aw {Hz.} -s(i), dat.-dir. of nouns,

Bln {Hz.} -s i dat.-loc. of fem. nouns, Km {Ap.} -(з)ṣ̌, -eṣ̌, dat. of nouns and pronouns (ki gʷn-eṣ̌ 'to your mother', nɜgʷus-eṣ̌ 'to/for the king', ku-ṣ̌ɜ 'to you') ¶ Hz. AL 16-17, Hz. NSA 125, Ap. K 25 || NrOm: Shn {C} -ṣ̌ (dat. and accus.: ṭa-ṣ̌ 'to me, me'), Wl {C}, Gf {Mrn.} -s (dat.) 'to, for' ¶ C SO 13, Mrn. O 30 ¶¶ Ap. ANH 8 || | K *-s, dative case ending > OG -s, -s-a, G -s, Mg -s, Mg SZ -s, (after sonorants) -c, Lz -s, Sv -s ¶¶ K S 69-78, Shan. G 36-46, Kiz. ZJ 66, Top. SJ 80 || | U *-ś ~ -ć 'to, towards' > FU: pOs *-ć, directive ending in adverbs: Os D {Stn.} ṭõχ̣ə́ṭ, Os O {Stn.} ṭõχ̣ə́ś 'thither' ('dorthin'), Os N {Sz.} n̄ṭv̄ṭ-ś 'down' (direction), n̄ōv̄o-ś 'up' (direction) || Prm *-ẓ̌ ~ *-ẓ̌ 'up to, till' > Vt -ōẓb̄ -ōẓ̌, {Jem.} Δ -ẓś or -ōś, Z -ōḍẓ -ẓẓ̌ || Chr -ṣ̌ 'into, to': kūðe-ṣ̌ 'into (the) hand', ku-ṣ̌ 'wohin', tu-ṣ̌ 'dorthin' || F -s (in adverbs: ala-s 'down' [direction], 'downwards' ←d ala 'ground', ɣl̄o-s 'up' [direction] ←d ɣli 'over', ulos 'out' [direction] ←d ulko- 'exterior', kauas ~ kauvas 'far away' [direction], cp. loc. kauka-na 'far away' [place]), Lv k̄õḡa-z̄ 'far away, kauas', ull-z̄ 'out' || Mr *-s 'to, towards' (directive): Er -s, Mk -s, -c 'into' (illative ending of nouns), Er mala-s 'near' (direction), 'up to' (cp. mala-v 'near') || Sm *-s (sx of directive) > Ne F, Ne T Kn -ś (directive → transitive, predicative, essive of nouns): Ne F ruśśi-ś kayyēā 'er ging weg zu den Russen', Ne T/W -ś infinitive; P. Hajdú found cognate infinitive forms in Ng (-sa ~ -se ~ -si) and in En (-ś(i)), which are not confirmed by the available grammatical descriptions of Ng and En ¶ Hajdú adduced the instrumental case ending -s̄ä in Slq (Slq Tz -s̄ä) and -s̄Ē in Kms, which is unconvincing, because it is hard to imagine a semantic change from the lative case to instrumental. Künap (Kü. SUKF I 147-8) presented an alt. explanation of this Slq and Kms instr. sx (as well the sxs of the modal case in NrSm: Ne -ŋāeś, En -ś) as going back to a participial form *∇śĒ 'being' ¶¶ Sz. 59, Majt. SM 264-6, Fkt. EJ-93 197, Fkt. MJ-93 183, Srb. IMPJ 60-5, Bat. KZJ 221, Kelm. UJ 247, Jem. GVJ 125, Stn. D 1394, Hj. LIKSz 119-31, Hj. LIS 269-71, KHG 75 ¶¶ The cns. *-ć (in Os, Z and Mk) < **-ś originally after a stem-final dental cnss *n, *l, *t (e.g. **-nś > *-nć [n̄ṭś̄]), a natural epenthesis of a clusive dental element between a clusive dental and a fricative, sc. a delay in losing the contact between the lamina of the tongue and the gum (like in other lges: MHG uns 'us' > Yid N unɜ, MHG menṣ̌ 'person' > Yid menč̣). Mr -s (for the expected -ṣ̌) is probably due to its final position. If the Lp directive sx -s belongs here (Lp N v̄uol̄as 'down'), its cns. s (for the expected pLp *ć > Lp N č̣ from FU *-ś) is due to coalescence with the translative case ending -s < *-ks∇ (as explained in Krh. 229-30). The Hg

lative ending *-é / -á* (adduced here by Szinnyei) goes back to FU *-y* (lative ending) rather than here. The alt. hyp. proposed by Hajdú (Hj. LIKSz 119-31, Hj. LIS 269-71) and equating Ne *-ś* and Z *-ź* with the F prolative *-tse*, *-tɕi* 'through' and with Mr *-ćók* is less plausible both semantically and phonetically: F *-tse* ~ *-tɕi* goes back to the BF prolative affix **-cek* ~ **-cen* 'through' (Laan. 175-6), so that both the phonetic form and the meaning of the F and the Mr forms do not justify their comparison with Ne *-ś* and Z *-ź* 'to' \diamond IS MsN.

2009. (₂?) **Sṽʔ₁y₁ʔ^u* 'be full' > IE: Ht {Ts.} *suw-* 'full', *suwat-* v. 'fill (füllen)', md. 'swell, become full' ¶ Frd. HW 200, Ts. W 79 || HS: S: Ak *šēʔu* ≈ 'polstern' ¶ Sd. 1222 ¶ Ak *ē* < **aʔi* (cp. *rēšu* 'head' < S **'raʔiš-u*, see AD PSH 96) || Eg fP *səy* 'satt werden\sein\machen', Eg MKL/NK *səw* 'Sättigung' > DEg *sy*, *sīy* 'satt werden' > Cpt: Sd *ceisei*, B *ciɕi* 'be sated' ¶ EG IV 14-16, Er. 406-7, Vc. 182 || ?σ A: AmTg: Orc *sia*, Ul *sē(n-)* 'meat dumplings, пельмени' (≡σ: NHb *ṽʔ₁y₁ʔ^u* *memulaʔim* 'meat dumplings' [lit. 'those filled in, gefüllte']) ¶ STM II 73 \diamond Because of Eg *s-* and *-ə-* we have to distinguish between this N etymon and N **š^uṽwṽ* 'to swell' (q.v.) (where Eg *šw₁w₁y* 'emporsteigen(d), anschwellen(d)' rules out lrs).

2010. ₂ **śⁱʔ^ubṽ* 'strap, thong' > HS: **š^ubb*, **šⁱbb-* > Ak *šibb-* 'Gürtel', Ar *sabab-* 'rope' ¶ Sd. 1226, BK I 1038, Hv. 305 || EC {AD} **š^eʔ^b* (~ **š^aʔ^b* -?), {Ss.} **šēb-* 'leather strap' > Rn {PG} *sâb* 'narrow thong, strap of leather', Or {Ss.} *sēpani* id., Arr {Hw.} *sâbít* (pl. *sâb-ó*) 'strap, thong', Hr *šēp-akkó* 'leather belt' ¶ Ss. PEC 33, PG 253, Hw. A 391, To. DL 524 ¶ The glottalization in Or *-p-* and the long *vw.* suggest the presence of a N lr. (most probably **ʔ*) || U **ś|śⁱʔ^uwâ* ({{Coll.} **śⁱ+wṽ*, {UEW} **śâwṽ*) 'strap' > OHg *zius*, *zyv* (= [siu]), Hg *szíj* (accus. *szíjat*), Δ *sziju*, *szivu* 'strap' | ObU {AD} **sēw|yē* > pOs {AD} **seṽ* 'draught strap' > Os: V *seṽ* 'draught strap of a reindeer or a horse; horse's collar, draught dog's collar attached to a draught strap', Vy *seṽä*, Ty *sāṽ*, Y *sāṽ*, Nz *sīṽ* 'draught strap of dogs', D *-sāṽ* ^ḍ *-səṽ*, Kz *sīw-* 'draught strap' || Sm: Ne: T *ca*, T O {Lh.} *sa*, F L {Lh.} *χā* 'draught strap' ('Zugriemen, پوسترومکا'); Ng {Prk.} *suaŋ* id.; En X {Prk., Ter.} *sa* id., En X {Cs.} *sâ*, En B {Cs.} *so* 'Halfter' ¶¶ Coll. 60, MF 585, Stn. D 1312, Trs. S 425, Lh. 401-2, Ter. 514, Ter. SILSJ 204, Prk. RE 212, Prk. NgJ 56, KP no. 1316, UEW 493-4 (rejecting the Os cognate because it has front vowels, while, acc. to UEW, the pU had back vowels).

2011. **śⁱʔ^ubṽ* (or **śⁱʔ^übṽ*?) 'clean' > IE {EI} **seṽp-* 'pure, what is taboo for humans' > Ht *suppi-* 'pure', *suppa-* 'flesh\viscera of sacrificed animals' || NaIE: Um *supa* {EI} 'viscera of sacrificed animals' ¶¶

Frd. HW 199, Ts. W 78, EI 493 || ? K: G *supta* 'clean' ('sauber, rein, reinlich, frisch'), unless a loan from some Iranian lge, cp. Phl *spēd* 'white' or CINPrs {Vl., Sg.} *سپید* *sapēd*, NPrs {BM} *سپید* *sāpīd* ~ *سپید* *sepīd* id. ¶ Chx. 1286, NCh. 372, DCh. 1202, SSO II 118, McK 76, Vl. II 215, Sg. 653 || HS: WS * \checkmark *çp*w|y 'be clean' > Sr \checkmark *çp*y D {Br.} vt. 'clean, filter', {PS} 'colavit, limpidus factus est', {JPS} 'filter, strain', {PS} d. *mēs̄t̄afyānā* 'purus, mundatus, limpidus', Ar \checkmark *çf*w G 'be pure, be limpid' (of water), 'be clear' (of sky), Mh \checkmark *çf*y (pf. 'šayfi) 'be clear', Mh *çōfi*, Hrs *çāfi*, Jb E/C 'šōfi 'pure, clean' ¶ Br. 635, PS 3430, JPS 482, BK I 1350, Hv. 400, Jo. M 359 || U: FU * \acute{s} |*šī*w a ~ * \acute{s} |*šī*w a 'clean (sauber), fine (hübsch)' > F *šīi*v o 'clean (sauber), decent, proper', *šī*v a 'hübsch, nett, niedlich', *šī*v a k k a 'smooth, fine, clean (sauber)' || ObU {†Hl.} * \circ sü w|y - > pOs **sü*y - > Os: V *sü*ʃ, Ty *sī*ʃ^w, Y {Stn.} *sī*w 'Schönheit', V/Vy {Stn.} *sük*η_o 'schön' (of a person), Vy *sük*η_o, Ty/Y *sik*^wη_o 'schön' (of things)' ¶ UEW 481-2, Stn. D 1310, KrT 835, Trs. VD 187 || A **s*|z^ri₁u¹b∇ (or **s*|z^ub∇?) vt. 'clean' > M **suba*|u - > WrM {MED} *suba*- ~ *subu*-, HIM {MED} *cyba*- v. 'clean' (not registered in BMR and Luv.), ?σ Brt *h*y b a - 'auseinanderwickeln (einen Rosenkranz)' and *h*y b i - 'abhaspeln (Faden)'; M **suba*₁i or **subay* > WrM {MED} *subai* 'female animal (cow, mare etc.) which has not born a foal (or calf) during a year', HIM *cybai* {MED} id., {BMR} 'gelt, ohne Junge' (Vieh), 'without children' (a person), 'without hard roe' (a fish), Brt *h*y b a i 'gelt (яловый)', Kl Ö/T {Rm.} *suwā* ~ *suwā* 'gelt, steril', 'ohne Junge' (Kuh, Stutte, Kamelkuh, Henne), Ord *suwā* 'qui n'a pas de jeune', 'qui n'a pas de jeunes enfants' (homme); ???σ MM [MA] *suba*- vt. 'plaster' (if ← vt. 'clean') ¶ MED 733, BMR III 122, Chr. 687, KW 338, Ms. O 595, Pp. MA 326 || Tg **sī*^rb¹e - > Ork *sī*w z - vt. 'clean (a pipe), pick (one's teeth)', Nn Nh *sī*z s i - ~ *sī*y z s i - vt. 'clean (a pipe), clean (between the teeth)', Neg *sī*y z l g z -, Ul *sī*z s i z - vt. 'clean' ¶ STM II 80, On. 360, 369-70 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1312 (pA **s*|z u b | p ∇ 'a 1-year-old animal' (> M + unc. Tg **sube* 'a 1-year-old deer; a roe [with thin legs]') ◇ A hypothetical N * \acute{s} i? - may be responsible for the vl. **p*- and the glottalized **ç*- in S.

2012. ?σ * \acute{s} ah^ri¹b∇ (or * \acute{s} ahüba??) 'desert; saline earth' > HS: S * \circ š|shb - > Ar *sahb*- {BK} 'vaste désert', esp. 'désert salé', {Hv.} 'wide desert' ¶ BK I 1155, Hv. 341 || ?? EC {Ss.} **zib*- 'desert' > Sa {R} *dīb*-o 'Steppe, Wüste', Af {R} *dūb*-u id., 'Wald', Sml {ZMO} *dibad*, *dibed* 'outside', Sml B {Fl.} *dīb*-id, Sml {Mrn.} *dīb*-ad 'desert', Rn {PG} *yīb* 'uninhabited land, wilderness', Sd {Mrn.} *dūbb*-o 'forest', (× LEC **dī*P - 'narrow', represented by Or {Sr.} *dīpū*

'narrowness' <† dīpō 'narrow' < N *ĉipâ 'be narrow, be compressed'): Or {Th.} dīb-u ~ dīp-u 'valle, vallata, gola', {Brl.} dīb-u 'valle, depressione, strettoia' ¶ Ss. WOKS 140, Th. 10, Brl. 110, PG 299, Fl. p.c., R A II 835 (s.p. 43), R S II 98, ZMO 91-2 ¶¶ EC voiced *z- is puzzling; therefore Takács (Tk. AANM 1) rejected the S-C comparison || D *ĉ|káva 'brackish\saline earth, fuller's earth' (× N *ĉap∇ v. 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten' × N *śab'ʔ'∇ 'clay') > Tm cavaṭu 'earth impregnated with soda, alkaline soil, sediment; fuller's earth', Tu cавuлъ, cавuлu 'brackish, saline', Tl cаuĉu 'fuller's earth' ¶¶ D no. 2386 || U *ś|šoywa 'soil, clay' > FU: Lp T {TI} ĉuṽε, Lp Kld {TI} ĉuṽya 'Ton, Lehm' | Prm {LG} *śoy 'clay' > Z cěй śoy, Z US śoy, Yz 'śuy id., Vt cюй śuj, Vt G śuy 'soil, clay' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} sō 'earth, soil; clay', {Cs.} sō 'Ton, Erde, Lehm', MO/Ke {Cs.} sūe, B/Kar sū id.; Koyb {Ps.} se 'Ton' ¶¶ UEW 483, LG 252, KKIИ 171, Cs. 161, 247 and 290 || A: T: (1) Chg саpa 'Seitenplatz außerhalb der Stadt', {Rl., Rs.} 'der äussere Teil der Stadt', Osm {Rl.} саpa, саpaуol 'Umweg', Chg {Rl., Rs.} саpaq 'Seitenweg'; T б→ WrM {MED} саb 'rontier, limit', HIM сав {MED} 'frontier, limit', {BMR} 'frontier, стык, грань, край', Kl Ö {Rm.} саwа 'Grenzland, Seitenplatz' ¶ Rs. W 402, Rl. IV 403, MED 653, BMR III 64, KRS 434, KW 315 | 2) ?φ NaT *say 'stony desert; stony ground, pebbles' > OT {Cl.} sāy 'stony desert', 'an area of level ground covered with stone', Tf say 'pebbles; a spit (Landzunge) of pebbles and small stones in a river', Xk, StAlt say 'pebbles, shallow place in a river', Tv say 'pebbles', 'shallow', Ln say 'pebbles; stony riverbed', Qrg say 'dry riverbed; wadi (dry in summer)', Chg ≥xv ĉay 'a river that flows in winter and is dry in summer', Qzq, ET say 'ravine', Tkm θay 'shallow' ¶ The long *ā (supposed by Cl. on the basis of the *plene* spelling سالى s^ʔy in MhK) is at variance with the Tkm ev. of a pT short *a and cannot be accepted ¶ Cl. 858, DTS 481, TL 93, Ra. 225, TvR 362, BT 123, Jud. 621, Rl. IV 219-20 ¶ The loss (or zero reflex) of the N *-b- is still to be explained || ? AdS of pJ {S} *śāpa 'bog, marsh' (< N *śab'ʔ'∇ 'clay', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The FU vw. *o (for the expected *a) may point to a labializing factor (*ū in N *śahūba?) or be due to the labializing infl. of FU *w. The aberrant meaning of U *ś|šoywa 'soil, clay' is due to the infl. of the U paronymous √ *śawe 'clay' [UEW 468] < N *śab'ʔ'∇ '↑' (q.v.) ◇ The NrT cns. *-p- (in Chg and Osm) is likely to go back to **-hb- (devoicing infl. of *h) from N *-h∇b- ◇ AD NM no. 11, S CNM 9 (Starostin did not accept the et. in question), Vv. AEN 12 (accepting T *say as a cognate).

2013. *śabʔʷ ▽ 'clay' > **HS**: Ch: WCh *sab- ({{OS}} *sap-) 'soil' > Hs šàbũwǎ 'unfertile land, sandy soil' ||| CCh *sab- ({{OS}} *sap-) > Bcm sobo nodwe 'clay' ¶ ChC s.v. 'clay', Abr. H 705-6, Ba. 920 || EC *subʔ- ~ sibʔ- 'mud' > Rn {PG} súb 'watery mud', Or {Grg.} sup-ē 'clay', Gln {Ss.} sip-te 'loam' ¶ Ss. PEC 53, PG 267, Oo. 70, Grg. 365 ¶¶ OS RPV I 81 [no. 101] (adducing Ar suhb- 'plain', which in fact belongs together with sahb- 'saline desert', see N ?σ *śahʔiʷ ▽ 'desert; saline earth') ||| **U**: FU *śawe 'clay' > F sav i (gen. sa ven) 'clay', Es sau (gen. saue, saua), Es Δ sav i (gen. save) id. | Er сѣвонь sóvonǎ, Mk сѣвонь sóvǎn id. | Chr L/H шун šun, B šun id. | Prm {LG} *śun 'clay, silt' > Z сюн śun 'blue clay, gley; silt', Vt {W} śuned 'silt', ? StVt сумед id. ||| ObU {Hl.} *sʔāʷǎž 'clay (Lehm)' > pVg {Hl.} *śuwaí id. > Vg: T so wí, UK/MK/LK sūí, UL/Ss sūíi id.; pOs {Hl.} *soʔi, {Hl.} sǎʔi 'clay (Ton)' > Os: V/Vy sǎʔi 'clay mud, marshy clay', Ty sǎʔi 'earth, clay', Y sǎwǎ, Kr sǎwǎ, Kz sǎwǎ 'clay' ¶ UEW 468, Coll. 112, Db. OS xi, Ker. II 147, LG 252, 274, Rd. rLG 426, Ht. no. 580, Trs. S 418, Hl. rHt 74 ||| **A**: pJ {S} *śápa 'bog, marsh' (× N ?σ *śahʔiʷ ▽ '↑' × A *śípa 'clay; to smear' < N *śíwǎ 'to smear') > OJ śápá {S} bog, marsh', J T sawá, J K sǎwǎ, J Kg sǎwǎ {Kenk.} 'swamp, marsh, morass'; pJ *sapa-s- v. 'dip, smear with lacquer' > MJ saʔa-s-, StJ sawas- {BJRS} id. ¶ ≈ S QJ no. 463, Mr. 20, 748, Kenk. 1588, BJRS II 9 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1255-6 (pA *śípa 'clay; to smear' J + unc. T siba and M *siba 'smear [with clay]' [from N *śíwǎ]), ≈ DQA no. 2011 (id.) ||| **D** *čava 'brackish\saline earth' and D *čákava- 'fuller's earth, sediment' (× N ?σ *śahʔiʷ ▽ '↑', q.v. ffd. × N *čap ▽ v. 'clay; to smear, to moisten', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Gr. II no. 272 (*siba 'mud') (U, A, J, Ai).

2014. *šib ▽ ▽ 'beast of prey' > **HS**: S *°š|sbǝ > Ar sabuǝ- ~ sabǝ- ~ sabaǝ- 'big beast of prey' ¶ Ln. 1297, BK I 1045, Hv. 307 ||| **A** *s|zib ▽ 'beast of prey, bear' > Tg *sibiʔgʷe id. > Ewk Tng siwigǝ ~ hiwigǝ 'wolf', Ewk A siwiǝz 'bear', Lm Ol hǝwǝǝ ~ hǝwǝz, Lm O hǝwǝzǝ id., Orc sīwi (name of a mythical dog) ¶ STM II 75 ||| ? M {SDM} ? *°sibor- > HIM {BMR} шовор 'panther (барс)' ¶ Luv. 655, DQA no. 2571, BMR IV 365 and 368 (suggesting that HIM шовор is genetically identical with HIM шoo бар 'panther (ягуар)' [lit. 'dwarf tiger'] [BMR IV 368]), SDM 1514 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1514 (pA *zīpe 'e predator' > Tg, M + unc.. T *jēbke 'wolverine'), ≈ DQA no. 2571 (id.) ||| **D** *čiv ▽ ηki 'leopard', 'hyena' and sim. (× N *čʔiʷ ▽ y ▽ - *čʔiʷ ▽ y ▽ 'hyena' × N *čʔiʷ ▽ m, ▽, gE 'leopard' or 'lion') > Tm civiriŋki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiriŋi 'hunting leopard', Kn

sivaṅgi 'tiger wolf, hyena', Tl ci vāṅgi, ci vvaṅgi, ci vvaṅgi, si vāṅgi, si vaṅhi, si vvaṅgi 'hyena' ¶¶ D no. 2579.

2015. *ś'o' b₁ ∇₁ t₁ ∇ (or *s ∇ b₁ ∇₁ t₁ ∇) 'stem, piece of wood' > HS: S *'šab₁a₁t₁- 'staff, stick, rod' > AncHb *'šabεt₁ (BHb (TV) שֶׁבֶט 'šebεt₁, paus. שֶׁבֶט 'šābεt₁, pl. šabā₁t₁-īm, BHb (BV) 'šaba₁t₁, BHb (GrSc) [Or.] σαβτ 'rod, staff, club, sceptre', BA šā'ba₁t₁* or šā'be₁t₁* (pl. cs. 'שֶׁבֶט šib₁tē) 'stem', SmA שֶׁבֶט 'šeb₁t₁ 'staff', Sb d. šeb₁t₁ (?) 'beating (bastonnade)', d. šeb₁t₁ n. 'stroke, blow (as punishment)', Ak šabbīt₁u 'staff, sceptre'; S → Eg N šbd 'stick for beating', (EgSSc) {Hlk} šá-b-d, šá-ba-da 'staff', {Alb.} ša-ba-t₁ > DEg šbt 'stick', Cpt B/Sd שֶׁבֶט id. ¶ BHb [Mas.] e in 'šebεt₁ is not original, it may have been influenced by the paronymous word שֶׁבֶט 'šebεt₁ 'tribe' with an original e < *i (F Hb → Ar sib₁t₁- 'Jewish tribe') ¶ KB 1291, 1787, GB 801, BDB 986-7, Yv. II 833, Brø. 145, BH IV 276, Tal 863-4, BGMR 123, Sd. 1119, EG IV 442, Alb. VESO 39, Er. 499, Crum 554, Vc. 258, Hlk no. 220, SivCR 85 || K *°s|šwe₁t₁- 'pillar' > OG s₁ue₁t₁-i 'column' (s₁ue₁t₁ita ḡrublisa₁yta 'in columna nubis', Ψ 98.7), G s₁ve₁t₁-i 'pillar, column' || ?σ,φ (if ← 'stalk'): OG {Abul.} βύζυρον s₁t₁wiri 'tube\pipe (musical instruments)', G s₁t₁viri 'reed pipe', 'pipe (musical instrument)'; Sv {TK} (← G?): UB s₁t₁wīr 'pipe (musical instrument), tube', LB s₁t₁wir 'tube', L s₁t₁wīr 'barrel (of a gun)' ¶¶ Abul. 403-4, Chx. 1218, Ni. s.v. 'стволъ', DCh. 1166, 1194, TK 710, GP 259 || IE: [1] IE *sp₁∇t- (× N *šabEh'i' [or *šapEh'i'?] 'log, piece of wood?') > Ht ispatar (oblique stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer' || NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) ≈ spit, spear, needle' > AS spit₁u 'spit' (> NE spit), OHG spi₁z id., MHG spi₁z 'spit (Bratspieß)', NHG spieß 'spear, spit', NNr spita 'Pflöck', spit 'Spitze', OHG spizzi 'spitz, pointed', spizzi 'Spitze, Bergspitze', spizzā 'Spitze, Stachel, Pfahlwerk', NHG spitz 'pointed', Spitze 'point, spike, extremity' || Lt Δ spitnà, spitulē 'buckle pin' ('Dorn an der Schnalle'), spité id., 'needle' || ? L cuspis, (gen. cuspidis) 'point (of a spear), spear; spit' (< a cd with a controversial first element, e.g. {Prs.} *kud-spīd-, *kuri-spīd- id. or sim.) ¶¶ Frn. 875, WH I 318, Prs. WF I 409, ≈ EM 161 (cuspis ← an unknown source), Vr. 532, Ho. 311, Kb. 937-8, OsS 853, KM 726, 728, Frn. 875, Pv. I-II 450-1 || [2] NaIE mt. *ste₁:₁b^(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree' (× N *č|č₁ib₁∇ 'stem of a tree, log', q.v. ffd.) || A ≈ *s'o' b₁∇ > || ? Tg *so₁:₁ba (× N *šapEh₁∇ 'log, trunk of a tree') > Neg sōwa ~ sōya 'stick used to hang a teapot over the fire', sōwalá- ~ sōyalā- 'drive\run a stick into sth.', Nn Nh sōwōč₁a {STM} 'landmark, sign',

{On.} 'веха, знак (указывающий направление движения)' ¶ STM II 103, Pt. 117, On. 370 || ? aT *sögüt 'tree' (if from **söwüt) > OT U sögüt, Chg [San., MA] sögud 'tree', OT Kr [MhK] sögüt 'willow', Tki söget, Osm {Bu.} söüd, Az söyüd 'willow, pussy willow', Tk söğüt 'willow', Tkm θōvüt 'willow' (generic name of different trees of the genus *Salix*: 'willow, brittle willow, тальник [purple willow]'), Qrg sögöt 'ε kind of a purple willow', ET sögät 'willow, *Salix alba*', Shor sōt 'willow', Xk sōt, Yk ūōt 'willow, purple willow (тальник)', CrTt sügüt 'poplar' ¶ Cl. 819, Bu. I 648, Äz. 273, TkR 587, Jud. 657, Nj. 518, TL 126 ◇ If Sv st̥wīr is an inherited cognate (rather than a loan from G), the K √ is *swet̥-, so that the N etymon must be *ś'o' b₁∇₁t̥∇. If The Sv cognate is a loan from G, we remain with an unspecified N *ś|s-. On IE *sp- < N *S∇b- see Introduction, § 2.2.10.

2016. ₂ *ś' A^ʔč'∇ 'ε stinging insect' > HS: EthS: Gz šāšūt, šāšöt, šāšēt 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr šašot 'gnat', as well as Amh č̣ẓat 'gnat' (with infl. of the EthS reflexes of N *id.* ≈ *žUñ'č'U [or *žUñč'U?] 'ant, stinging insect?') ¶ L G 564-5, L EDH 50 || ?? C: on..Bj {R} žāžo 'Mücke, Gelse, Moskito' (unless from N *id.* ≈ *žUñ'č'U [or *žUñč'U?] '↑', q.v.) ¶ R WBd 104 || U: FU (att. in FV only) *°ś|šāś|ške ~ *°ś|šāś|ške 'mosquito, gnat', > F sääski (gen. sääskēn) *id.*, F Δ sääksi *id.*, Es sääsk (gen. sääse) 'mosquito, gnat' | pLp {Lr.} *čōš'kz *id.* > Lp: N {N} čuo'i'kâ, S {Hs.} tjuojke, L {LLO} tjuoi'hka, I {It.} čūōska, Kld čūš:k *id.* | pMr {Ker.} šāškā > Er сеське šeške, Δ śiškā, Mk сяське šāškā *id.* ¶ UEW 771, Lgc. no. 750, Lr. no. 212, Hs. 1345, Ker. II 139 ◇ *on.* or *on*₂?

2017. *Sač'u' (or *ś'ä'č'u') 'scatter, spread about, pour' ([in the prehistory of descendant lges] → 'to winnow, to sift') > HS: B: Ah əssəs 'filtrer, passer au filtre (un liquide)' ¶ Fc. 1866 || WCh {Stl.} *čič'∇k v. 'filter, sprinkle' > Ngz {Sch.} čič'kú v. 'strain, filter', Bks {J} čič'ak v. 'filter (beer), sprinkle' ¶ Sch. DN 29, J R 140, Stl. ZCh 192 [no. 429] || IE: Ht sesariya v. 'filter, strain', sesaru 'sieve' (× N *Su'ri ≈ squeeze out, filter, strain) ¶ Frd. HW 191, Ts. W 75 || U: [1] ?σ FU *śäčä 'flood, high water level in lakes\rivers' > pOs *seč- ([Hl.] *săč-) > Os: Vy seč- 'rising water, flood in late summer', sečam- v. 'rise' (of level of water), 'flood', V seč-yōŋk 'ice remaining on the bank after sinking of water' (lit. 'flood ice') || pLp *čācē 'water' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaadsie, U {Schl.} tjaahtsē (Lp M {Schl.} 'tj_ācē), Kld {SaR} чāдзъ, {TI} čā_ž 'water', N {N} čacce / -āz- *id.*, 'level of water in a river\lake' ¶ UEW 469, Coll. 7, Lr. no. 115, Lgc. no. 498,

Schl. 136, Hs. 1289, Gn. 753, SaR 385-6, TI 649-50] [2] FU (in ObU only) *^očāč ▽- > ObU {Ht.} *čāč- 'pour out, sweep' > pVg *šāš- 'pour out' > Vg: T šāš-, LK/P/NV/SV/LL šōš-, UL sōs-, Ss sōs- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čāč- 'fegen' > Os: V/Vy čāč-, Ty/Y čāč- id.; pOs {Ht.} *čāčam- 'pour out' > Os: V/Vy čāčam-, D/K čočam-, Nz/Kz šwšam-, O sasam- id. ¶ Ht. no. 89 ¶ as. *^oč...č < *ś...č || ¶ *s^{ra}č_u- 'scatter, sprinkle' > NaT *saç- 'spread about, scatter, sprinkle' > OT sac- 'scatter, sprinkle', Tk sac-, Tkm θač-, Qmq, QrB čāč- 'spread about, scatter', Qq šaš- id., 'sprinkle', Uz sūč- id., vt. 'pour', Nog, Qzq šaš-, ET sač- ~ čāč-, Qrg, Qmn/QK/Tb {Rl., B} čāč-, StAlt čāč-, Sg/Qb {Rl.} sas-, Tv čaž-, ? Yk Is- v. 'sprinkle, strew, sow' ¶ Cl. 794-5, Rs. W 392, Rl. III 1905-6, IV 389-90, 395, B DK 267, B DChT 164, B DLT 221 || M *sač_u- ~ *čāč_u- > MM [MA] sac- ~ čāč- 'pour out (ausschütten), sprinkle', WrM {MED} sac- ~ sac- vt. 'sow, strew, scatter, spread, sprinkle, spray', HIM {MED} sac- id., {BMR} sac- 'bespritzen (прыскать кропить)', цаца- 'bespritzen, besprengen (брызгать опрыскивать), pour water\tea\milk as a libation', 'säen, zerstreuen, auseinanderwerfen', Brt sac- 'spritzen, verspritzen (разбрызгивать), bespritzen (кропить), zerstreuen (разбрасывать, рассыпать)', WrO sac- 'strew, scatter, sow', sac- 'strew, scatter, broadcast', Kl {KRS} цац- sac- 'strew, scatter, sprinkle', {Rm.} sac- 'besprengen, besprühen, streuen, auseinanderspritzen', Mnr H {SM} sač_i- 'semer, répandre, disperser, asperger', Dg {T} čāč_i- 'strew, scatter, sprinkle, sow', Ord ž_ač_u- 'répandre çà et là, jeter çà et là un liquide en forme de gouttes, asperger'; ⇨ M *sač_u-ra- ~ *čāč_u-ra- 'be spread\scattered' > WrM sac_u-ra- {MED} id., 'be sown', HIM sac_u-ra- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'рассыпаться, рассеиваться, spread', ?с цац_u-ra- {BMR} 'излучаться', Brt sac_u-ra- 'сыпаться, литься', Kl {Rm.} sac_u-ra- 'hinunter gestreut werden, sich zerstreuen', Mnr H {SM} sač_i-ra- 'se répandre de tous côtés, se disperser, être en pièces, être en lambeaux', Ord ž_ač_u-ra- 'se répandre çà et là' ¶ M *č- (for the expected *s-) in *čāč_u- and *čāč_u-ra- is due to regr. as. ¶ Pp. MA 129, 314, MED 156, 655, BMR III 101, IV 255, Chr. 386, Krg. 392, 618, KW 423, KRS 628, SM 317-18, T 357, T DgJ 181, Ms. O 189-90 || Tg: [1] Tg *çaç_u- > WrMc {Z} чац_u- 'sprinkle (with wine, water on flowers etc., as sign of friendship or worship)', Ewk çaç_u- 'sprinkle (with wine or liquid fat as a religious sacrifice to spirits)' ¶ STM II 386-7, Z 926] [2] ?φ Tg id. *çiče- 'sprinkle' > Ewk Brg çiče- 'sprinkle (with wine or liquid fat as a religious sacrifice)', Neg sēsēs- v. 'струиться', Nn Nh čičikē- {STM} 'spatter wine from one's fingers as a

sacrifice to spirits', {On.} 'splash (e.g. blood)' ('брызгать, брызнуть'), čičikēn 'брызги', čiči- 'pour out (from a teapot)', WrMc {Z} сиса- 'sprinkle (with wine or water), делать возлияние'; but not here WrMc {Z} сисэ- v. 'sift' and сисэкү 'sieve' (obviously loans from M, cf. pM *sigsi- > WrM šigšī- v. 'sift' and pM *sigsigür 'sieve', see MED 702-3, STM II 99) ¶ STM II 147, 386-7, On. 513, Z 601 ¶ Tg *ç- (for the expected *s-) is explained by as. (*s...ç > *ç...ç) || pJ {S, SDM} *sššš-k- ~ *suasua-k- 'pour' > OJ s₁u₁os₁u₁ok-, MJ sósók- id., J T sòsog- ~ sosóg-, J K sósóg-, J Kg sosóg- {Kenk.} 'pour into' ¶ S QJ no. 364, Mr. 756, Kenk. 1820 || pKo {S} *č^hč^hái- > MKo č^hč^há-i v. 'sneeze', NKo č^hč^hä-gi n. 'sneezing' ¶ Nam 415, MLC 1415 ¶¶ SDM 1325 (pA *šéč^o 'scatter, pour out' > Tg *š^eš^e- [for Tg {AD} *çaçu- and *çiçe-], M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2159 (id.), Pp. VG 63 (pA *сач[∇] > T, M), KW 423 ◇ If FU *šäčä is a legitimate cognate (in spite of the questionable semantic connection), the N rec. is to be *š^ač^u. Otherwise the initial sibilant remains unidentified (N *Саč^u) ◇ IS MS 368 *сач[∇] ∆ s.v. 'сыпать' (U, A).

2018. *s|šæd[∇] (or *s|šid[∇]?) 'lower part' > HS: S: Ug ṛišd, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ṛišdu 'leg'; Ak išd^u 'base, foundation' (× S *wisād- 'base' > BHb yā'sōd id., Ar wisād- 'cushion, pillow') ¶ OLS 5, Hnr. 111, CAD VII 232, Sd. 393 || CCh: BB: Gude {Mch.} sūda, Nz {Mch.} šūḍe, BtZ {Mch.} šid^o, FIB {ChC} suḍun 'leg' ¶ JI II 221, ChC s.v. 'leg' || Eg G st ~ st^y 'Osiris's leg' ¶ EG IV 325, 334 || U: FU *°s|še|äḍ|[∇] (or *°s|šiḍ|[∇]) > ObU {Ht.} *θēl, {Hl.} *θäl 'low' > pVg *tälk^ω id. > Vg: T tälk^ī ∆ tälk^ī, LK tälk^ω, tälak^ω, MK tälk^ω, UK tälk^ω, NV tälka, SV/LL tälk^ω, UL/Ss talk^ω id.; pOs *ḫel id. > Os: D/Nz tet, Kz ḫeḫ, O lel ¶ Ht. no. 135 || A: pJ {S} *sítá '(the place) below' > OJ sita, MJ sítà {S} id., J T síta, J K sítá, J Kg sítà {Kenk.} 'lower part, bottom' ¶ S AJ 272 [no. 227], S QJ no. 227, Mr. 527, Kenk. 1715.

2019. *šid[∇] (or *šüdü[∇]?) 'sprinkle, pour' > HS: CS * ✓šdy > JA [Trg.] ✓šdy|w G 'sprinkle, pour', JEA {Sl.} ✓šdy G id. (× ✓šdy|w 'throw, cast' < N *š^ayü^d 'throw'), Ar ✓sdy G (pf. sadiya, msd. sady-) 'être humide par suite d'une abondante rosée' ¶ Js. 1524, Lv. T II 456, Sl. 511, BK 1073 || Eg fOK st^y 'pour out (ausschütten)', Eg fP st^y 'pour, pour out (liquid)' ('gießen, ausgießen'), Eg NE/L st^y 'sprinkle' (× N *č^ut[∇] [or *č^ut[∇]?] 'throw, fling, pour') ¶ EG IV 328-9 ¶ The devoicing *d > t may be accounted for by the infl. of N *č^ut[∇] || A *sid^a- ~ ? *südü^a- > T: [11] NaT *siḍ- 'urinate' > OT siḍ-, [MhK] سید ~ سید siḍ- id., MQp siy-, Tkm сий- θiy- (/θī-), Uz, ET, Qmq, QrB, VTt, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Az siy-, Qzq сий-

sī-, Osm inf. **سِيمَك** si₁y₁-mek, Tk s₁y- 'urinate' (of dogs, cats)', Ggz d. sī-dik, Tv sidik 'urine', Xk s₁de-, SY siz- ~ sez- 'urinate' ¶ Cl. 799, Rs. W 421, Rh. 1103, Ml. ZhU 101-2 ¶ Clauson (Cl. 799) reconstructed a long *i probably on the apparent ev. of Tkm θī-, but the ev. does not exist, because Tkm ī is obviously equivalent to *-iy- (where *-y- < *-δ-) | [2] T *su₁δ- 'spit out' > OT s₁u|oδ- id., Xk *suz- ([acc. to Jk.] ⇨ Kms suz- id.), Chv L сур- v. 'spit, spit out' ¶ Rs. W 737, Ash. XI 191-2, Fed. II 65, Jeg. 196, ChVS 173, Jk. LSS 276-7 || ?φ M *sadara-, *sadagana- > W r M sadara-, sadagana- {MED} 'leak heavily over a wide surface', HIM {MED} садра-, садгана- id., {BMR} садгана- 'springbrunnenartig sprudeln (бить струей/фонтаном), садра- id., 'сильно течь', Ord sad₁ara- 'jaillir en plusieurs jets', 'tourbilloner' (poussière) ¶ M *sa- < *si- or *su- by regr. as. ¶ MED 655, BMR III 69, Ms. O 550 || pJ {SDM} *sit₃ or *situa > MJ *sito n. 'urine' || pKo *stōŋ 'excrements' > MKo stōŋ, NKo tōŋ id. ¶ Nam 161, MLC 485 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1313 (pA *suda 'spit out, spurt' > M + err. T *suδ- 'spit out' [going back to N *š¹ayü¹d¹ 'throw', q.v.]), DQA no. 2122 (id.) || D (in SD) *čelit₁- ({θGS} *s-) 'sprinkle' > Tu śed₁i ~ ted₁i 'sprinkling', śed₁ipini, śed₁iyuni v. 'sprinkle with fingers', Kn sid₁i v. 'be scattered' ¶ D no. 2758 ◇ T *suδ- suggests N *š¹ūd¹ ◇ M *a of the first syll. may be due to regr. as.

2020. *sa¹h¹ida 'to take aim', 'to direct (e.g. a weapon) straight to the aim', (→ ?) 'to hit (the goal)' > HS: S *^o✓šdy ~ *^o✓¹š¹dd (× S *^o✓šdy 'throw') > IA, Plm ✓šdy G 'shoot', Ar ✓sdd G (ip. -sidd-) 'hit the right point', D (pf. saddada) 'direct (sth.) aright, point (a spear) at', 'diriger, pointer en ligne droite (un lance etc., contre qn)'; Ar ✓sdd ⇨ Mh, Jb E/C ✓sdd v. 'aim (a goal)' ¶ HJ 1111, ≈ Br. 757-8, BK I 1073-4, Hv. 314 || IE: NaIE *se|o₁:₁d^h- / *si(:)d^h- / *səd^h- 'go straight to a goal\aim' > OI ✓sād^h- (pres. sād^hati) id., 'attain an object, succeed', sid^hyati 'kommt zum Ziel' (i < NaIE *ə), Av -hād- 'lenkend, leitend, zum Ziele führend' || Gk Hm τήύς 'straightly (to the goal), τήεύαυ 'straight on', Gk τήύς adj. 'straight-forward, just', adv. 'straght at' || Arm աջ 'right (dexter); right hand' || Phr σιδετο 'succeeded, achieved' || ? W hawdd 'easy, feasible' ¶ WP II 450, P 892, M K III 456, M E II 722-3, F I 716 (NaIE *sā₁d^h-/*sīd^h-), ≈ EI 228 (the above words < *seh₁(i)- 'go forward, advance') || U: FU (at. in FV) *satta- 'geraten, treffen, eintreffen' > F satta- 'schaden, beschädigen', lädieren', Vp sata-tada 'hurt by hitting, bruise (some place of one's body)'; F sattu- 'hit (the mark), happen', Es {Tamm, Slv.} sattu 'hit (the mark)',

'find oneself (somewhere)' ('geraten') | Er сато- sato-, Mk сато- sata-
 'be enough; fall to one's share', {UEW} 'zureichen, hinreichen, genügen' ¶
 UEW 753-4, Tamm 526, Slv. 326, ZM 498, ERV 570, Ker. II 132 ◇ The IE lr.
 (evidenced by NaIE *səd-) is likely to go back to N *h, because *h and *ʔ
 are the only lrs that can be lost in S and because *ʔ is usually not
 preserved in NaIE as *ə.

2021. (₂?) *Sid_lϣ_l∇r∇ (~ *Sid∇r_lϣ_l∇) 'to shovel, to sweep' > A
 *si|Idur- > NaT *si_l:_lδIr- v. 'sweep, shovel, strip'; the meaning 'sweep,
 shovel' is preserved in Ggz siϣIr- v. 'shovel', Qq siϣIr- v. 'sweep', Tkm θīr-
 v. 'wipe off (tears)', Uz sidir- v. 'sweep off' and OT cooperative siδrīš-
 v. 'help to sweep off and to shovel up (the snow)'; the meaning 'strip' is
 represented in many lges: OT siδIr- v. 'strip, peel, scrape', Osm siϣIr- ~
 sIr- v. 'tear, peel off, strip off', Tk siϣIr-, Az siϣIr- 'strip off, peel off',
 Ggz siϣIr- v. 'strip', Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt siϣIr, VTt sьdьr, Δ sьyьr-,
 Qmq sidir-, Uz sidir- vt. 'strip, debark', Qrg sidir- 'scrape off, tear off by
 handfuls', Xk sizir- 'scrape off, strip off'; Qrg, Qmq sidir-, VTt sьdьr and
 Uz sidir- (with -d- for the expected -ϣ-) may be either loans from some -d-
 languages (where T *-δ- > -d-) or result from assimilative devoicing (*-δ- >
 *-t-) ¶ Cl. 802-3, TrR 775, ARL 279, Rh. 1198, TkR 600, 608, MM 311,
 KrkR 601, UzR 365, Jud. 674-5, 678, KumRS 292, BIG 206, TTDS 379, Rs.
 W 414 || M *sidur- > WrM {Rm.} siδur- 'abhobeln', {MED} šudur- v.
 'tear off, peel off', HlM {BMR} шудра- 'abreißen, abschalen, ritzen,
 anschaben, schaben (обрывать, отрывать, облуплять, царапать,
 ослаблять, скрести)', Brt шудар- 'scrape, scrape off', Kl {KRS}
 шудр- šudər- 'scrape, scrape off', {Rm.} šudr̥- 'abhobeln, (gegen die
 Richtung der Haare) kratzen, abschaben (die Haare, die Wolle)' ¶ MED
 757, BMR IV 376, Chr. 732, KW 367, KRS 682 || Tg *sidu- 'rub off, scrape
 off (соскабливать)' > Ewk sidi-, Lm sid-, Neg sidu-, Ul sidu-, Nn Nh
 sido-, Orc sīdi- id., WrMc {Z} сиду- ~ шуду- 'снимать\счищать с
 поверхности, снимать\счищать (траву с земли, землю с бугра)'
 ¶¶ The absence of the root-final *-r∇ in Tg needs investigation ¶ STM II 79,
 On. 360, Z 606, 686 ¶¶ SDM 1241 (pA *sidu|o|a 'rub off, peel off' > Tg, M,
 T), Cl. 802, KW 367, TL 380-1, Dr. MT 50-1 || K *ōštχar / *ōštχr- v. 'dig'
 > Sv L {Dn.} štχar- / štχr- 'dig, dig up (рыть, вскопать)' (msd. lištχre,
 inv. / 2s aor aχ-štχar) (× GZ *tq|χar- / *tq|χr- < N *tAṛq∇ '≈ make an
 incision, dig', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ K² 77-8, K 176-7 (*_(s₁)tχar- / *_(s₁)tχr-), Dn.
 s.v. štχar, cp. FS K 158 and FS E 171-2 (*tχar- / *tχr-) || ?σ IE: NaIE
 *ster_lə_l- v. 'rob' (← v. *'strip, shovel?') > Gk ἄπο-στέρειω v. 'rob, despoil',

Gk στερέω* (attested in 3s impv. στερέωτω, ft. στερήσω, στερέω and aor. ἐστέρησα) v. 'deprive, bereave, rob (of anything)', Gk A/I στερέσκω id., Gk στέρομαι v. 'be without, lack, lose' (← *'be robbed') ||| OIr [Y] s e r b 'theft, plunder' (< *ster-wā) ¶ WP II 636, P 1028, EI 543 (*ster- 'steal'), F II 792-3, Vn. S 90-1 ◇ This is one of the K roots that suggest the following law: pre-K *st, *št, *št > K *št (= {K} *(s₁)t) > G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd, e.g. S *ṣašarat- > K *ašt- 'ten', S *χamišat- > K *χušt- 'five', N *ṣ̌ṭẉ 'cold weather' (> S *ṣ̌itaw- 'winter') > K *štow- v. 'snow' (→ > *štowl- 'snow'), N *ḳuṣ́ḍ 'chop, cut' > K *ḳwešt- id., N *ḍšṭ 'moon, (? →) star' > K *ḍtušte- 'moon' (cf. FU *täštä 'star; sign') etc. On IE *st- < N *Ṣd- see Introduction, § 2.2.10.

2022. *sagæ (= *sage?) 'obtain, hold' > IE: NaIE *seǵh- 'hold, seize, win (in a battle)' > OI 'sahatē 'overcomes, conquers, wins', Av haz- 'sich bemächtigen, gewinnen' ||| Gk ἔχω (aor. II ἔ-σχοϋ); (IE reduplicated form *si-sǵhē/ō- >) Gk Hm ἔσχω 'hold fast, hold; keep back, restrain', Gk impv. ἔσχε- 'hold, stay, stop!' ||| Gt sigis (accus. sihw or sihu) (· v̄kōs) 'Sieg', ON sigr, AS sigor, OHG sigu, NHG Sieg 'victory' ||| Clt.: Gl segō- (in proper names) ≈ win', {Billy ← Evn.} 'power, strength', W hy 'kühn' → 'bold, impudent', OIr seg 'force, vigueur' ¶ WP II 481-2, P 888-9, EI 123-4 (*seǵh- 'hold fast, conquer'), Mn. 1118-20, M K III 450-1, Brl. 1705, Bai. 466, F I 602-4, Fs. 419, Vr. 474, Ho. 29, Kb. 850, Schz. 251, KM 707-8, Vn. S 68, YGM-1 288-91, Billy 135 ||| U *saǵe- 'obtain, receive, reach' (→ 'arrive, come') (× N *ṣ̌aʔenḳ, *ṣ̌eʔanḳ, *ṣ̌aʔeḳ or *ṣ̌eʔaḳ 'be near, approach' [q.v.]) > F, Es saā- v. 'get, receive', F Δ saā- v. 'come, arrive' | ? Lp: Kld {TI} s̄ā,k:ā-ǵ, T {TI} s̄ā,k:e-ǵ, Kld {SaR} cоaгкэ- v. 'procure, catch' ('anschaffen, fangen'), K {Gn.} s̄ākke- id., 'give birth to' | pMr {Ker.} *s̄āǵə- v. 'obtain, take' > *saǵə- / *s̄āvə- > Er saje- (inf. cae-мc) saje-, Mk š̄āvə- (inf. cявo-мc) id.; pMr {Ker.} *s̄āǵə- v. 'come' > Er/Mk sa- (inf. ca-мc) 'to come' | pChr {Ber.} *š̄u- v. 'reach (a place), arrive' > StChr L inf. шy- 'аш, Chr P/B/M/Uf/ Y/V š̄u- id., Chr H {Ep.} inf. шo-аш 'reach (by going), catch up with' | pPrm {LG} *su- v. 'overtake (so.)' > Vt inf. cутыны 'catch up with (so.)', Z cy-su- id., 'overtake, catch (so.)', {W} 'vorfinden, überraschen, sich ereignen' || Sm {Jn.} *ṭč̣ḅ|ǵyẉḅ- (~ *ṭč̣ḅ|ǵyẉǵ-?), {Hl.} *ṭč̣aywa- v. 'reach, arrive' Ы Ne T inf. тэвǵ-сь 'to reach (a place), to catch up with', Ne O {Lh.} ṭǵeβ̄-ā-, Ne F {Lh.} inf. ṭǵeβ̄:ás 'ankommen, erreichen', En {Ter.} t̄ō-, {Cs.} taebō ~ toebō? (1s aor.) 'reach (a place)', Kms {KD} (1s pres.)

tuíâm ~ t'uíâm 'zum Ziele kommen, anlangen, ankommen', tuǰǰ' šǰbǰâm 'ich kam zum Ziele', Mt {Hl.} *taǰǰǰ- (aux. verb with resultative meaning ← 'reach') (Mt M {Sp.} xaǰǰǰa 'death' ← xa- 'die') ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 429-30, It. no. 37, SK 932-4, Gn. 930, Hs. 1289, TI 464, SaR 323, Ker. II 128-9 [no-s 339-40], Ber. 68 [no. 358], MRS 728-9, Ep. 151, LG 266, Jn. 144, Ter. 684-5, Lh. 479-80, KD 74, Hl. M no. 942 || A *sag|ka- or *šag|ka- ({ADb.} saga-) v. 'extract (sth. for oneself), milk' (← *'reach, obtain') > T *sag- id. > OT saǰ- v. 'milk (an animal)', Tk saǰǰ- v. 'milk, extract honey from a beehive', Tkm θaǰ- v. 'milk, suck out', Az, ET, Xk, SY, Tv saǰ-, Uz cǰǰ- saǰ-, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, VTt, Kr saǰ-, Bsh haǰ-, Ggz, Qrg, StAlt sǰ-, Slr A saǰ-, Yk sǰǰ-, Chv L cǰ- su-, Chv Δ cǰǰ- sǰǰ- v. 'milk' ¶ Cl. 804, Ash. XI 159, Fed. II 53-4, Jeg. 192, ChVS 171, Tn. SJJ 205, Tn. SJ 476, Tkr 555 || M *saǰa- v. 'milk' > MM [S] saǰa-, WrM {MED} saga-, HIM {MED, BMR} caa- sǰ-, Brt hǰ-, Kl, Dgr, MMgl sǰ- id., Mnr H {SM} suǰ- 'traire', Ord sǰ- id. ¶ MED 656, BMR III 63, Chr. 660, KRS 434, KW 317, SM 356, Ms. O 549, H 130, Iw. 131 || Tg: Ewk Nr ǰaǰa- vt. 'milk' ¶ STM II 375 ¶¶ Ewk ǰ- needs explanation (cp. Introduction, § 2.2.3). If Ewk Nr ǰ- goes back to Tg *ǰǰ-, the pA rec. is *šag|ka- ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1198 (pA *sǰǰǰo- v. 'filter, ooze' > M, T + unc. Tg *saǰǰǰi-ǰa 'sieve', pJ *sú 'bamboo sieve, mat' and pKo *sǰǰi- v. 'leak, ooze'), Pp. VG 29, KW 317, ADb. KL 1, Cl. 804 (suggesting with a query that the M verb is a loan from T) ◇ The final vw. in pN is probably *-e, while M and Tg *-a- of the second syll. may be accounted for by regr. as. ◇ AD GD 8 [no. 49] (IE, U), Rs. UAW (U, A), IS SS 333-4 [no. 6.19] and IS MS 356 s.v. 'получать' *sagǰ (IE, U, D).

2023. (ǰ?) *sǰǰǰ 'eat' > U *seǰe- > FU {Coll.} *seǰe-, {UEW} *seǰǰǰe- 'eat' (× N *sǰǰǰǰǰ 'to drink' [q.v.]?) > F sǰǰǰ-, Es sǰǰǰ-, sǰǰǰǰ-, Vp sǰǰ- 'eat' || pMr {Ker.} *seǰǰǰ- > Er cǰǰǰe- seǰe-, Δ śǰǰǰǰ-, Mk cǰǰǰǰ- śǰǰǰǰ-, Δ śǰǰǰǰ- ǰ seǰǰǰ- 'eat (the whole thing)' ('съесть') || Prm {LG} *śǰǰǰ- (= {LG} *śǰǰǰ-) 'eat' > Z, Prmk cǰǰǰ- śǰǰǰǰ-, Z US śǰǰǰǰ-, Yz 'śǰǰǰǰ-, Vt śǰǰǰ- (inf. cǰǰǰǰǰ) id.; the variant *śǰǰǰ- survives in Yz 'suǰǰ- 'eat' and in Z śǰǰǰǰ- v. 'feed' || ObU {Ht.} *θǰǰ- / *θǰǰǰ- 'eat' > pVg {Ht.} *tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ- id. > Vg: T tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-, LK/MK tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-, UK tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-, P/LL tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-, NV tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-, SV tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-, UL/Ss tǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ-/*tǰǰǰ- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ǰǰǰ-/*ǰǰǰ- 'eat' > Os: V li-/*liǰǰ-, Vy i-/*iǰǰǰ-, Ty ǰǰǰ-/*ǰǰǰǰǰ-, Y ǰǰǰ-/*ǰǰǰǰǰ-, D/K/Nz te-/*teǰǰǰ-, Kz ǰǰe-/*ǰǰeǰǰǰ-, O li-/*liǰǰ- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ǰǰǰǰǰ- v. 'feed' > Os: V läǰǰǰǰǰ-, Vy yǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ-, Ty/Y ǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ-, D/K tǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ-, Nz tapǰǰǰǰǰ-, Kz ǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ-, O läǰǰǰǰǰǰǰ- id. || Hg ǰǰǰ- (/ǰǰǰ-/*ǰǰǰǰǰ-) 'eat' || pY {IN H} *leǰǰ- 'eat' (IN UJ) *θeǰǰ-

) > Y K {IN H} leg-, Y T {IN H} lew-, {Krn.} lew-/leg-/log- 'eat', Y K {IN H} leŋdз-, Y T {Krn.} lewde-, Y K {IN H}, Y T {Krn.} legul 'food', Y K {IN H} legitз-, Y T {Krn.} lögite- v. 'feed', OY K {Bil., Merk} laɣul 'food', {Merk} lagk, lagitak, {Bil.} lagetak v. 'feed', OY Ch {Mat.} ландык id. ¶ UEW 440, Coll. 117, ≈ Sm. 548 (FU *sewi-, FP *sevi-, Ugr *θigĩ- 'eat'), It. no. 336, SK 1154-6, ZM 539, LG 252, Lt. 62, U 277, no-s 178 and 336, Ht. no. 115, Hl. rHt 73-4, MF 164-5, ERV 630, PI 248, Ker. II 140, IN H 237-8, IN UJ 220, Krn. JJ 274, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [no. 79] (Y ← U) || A *s|z'ig|k' ∇ 'food' > M *siϑü-sün 'food' > MM [S] śi, ũs ũn {H} 'Ration', {SM} 'provisions de bouche données par le gouvernement aux fonctionnaires', WrM sigũsũn {MED} 'food' (usually 'meat'), HIM шγγс {MED} id., {BMR} 'food', Kl Ö {Rm.} šũsũ 'Mittagessen der Fürsten', Ord šũsũ 'mouton qu'on sert aux personnes qu'on veut honorer', Mnr H {SM} sũsũn id., 'grand morceau de viande'; M → WrMc {Z} шγсγ 'meal provided at the stations to government functionaries' ¶ H 142, MED 704, BMR IV 388, KW 373, SM 366, Ms. O 638, Z 684 || pJ {S} *sisi 'meat' (× pA *šii' ∇ 'flesh\meat of a limb' < N *šii' ∇ w ∇ id. > OJ sisi, MJ sisi, JNs šiší, JSh šiší, JY čiči id. ¶ S QJ no. 128, Mr. 527 || ? HS: Eg MK skrn 'be greedy (gierig, gefrässig)' (of crocodiles and men) ¶ EG IV 318, Fk. 251 ◇ U *-ϑ- points to N *-g-, while Eg MK skrn (a semantically dubious cognate) suggests N *-k-.

2024. *Sûg ∇ 'back of the neck, back' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} (?) *sug- > Dsn {To.} sug-gu, {Ss.} sugu 'back', Or fugiso 'upside down', {Grg.} fuggisō 'position with top down and bottom up', Gdl {Ss.} sukunna 'lower part of shoulder' ¶ But hardly here Bln {R} zæg ~ zēg 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Xm {R} zīg 'shoulder, back side', Xm T {CR} sig 'back', Arr {Hw.} zéh 'nape of the neck' and Or Wl {Grg.} saggō 'back of head\neck' (from the HS √ represented by Mofu {Ross.} ма-žagʷom, pMM *✓žgm 'shoulder' and Mb ki-zóga ~ ki-zíxa ~ ki-zóka id., see Tk. PAA 5-6) ¶ Ss. WOKS 127-8, Grg. 149, 350, R WB 296, R Ch II 406 (= s.p. 92), Hw. A 401, ≈ AD SF 99, To. DL 526 || A *sûg ∇ (or *sûk ∇?) 'nape of the neck' > NaT *sü:;gsün 'nape of the neck, withers' > OT {Cl.} sũsgũn 'backside, rump, (?) spinal column', {DTS} sũskũn 'spinal column', MQp sũksũn 'shoulder, upper part of the back', OOsM sũsgũn, Tk Δ sügsün, süysün 'occiput, withers (затылок, загривок)', Az süysün 'withers (холка)', StAlt süksenek 'jugular vertebrae' ¶ Cl. 836, DTS 518, TL 234-5 || AmTg *sug-li(n) 'withers, mane' ({ADb.} süg-li 'mane') > Ul suni, Nn KU solī 'wild boar's mane', Nn Nh sogĩ {STM} id., {On.} 'длинная щетина на загривке у

кабана', Orc suli 'mane', Ork suli 'withers (of a horse\ deer\bear)' ¶ STM II 70, On. 371 ¶¶ ADb. MSR 200, TL 234 || D (att. in McTm) ≈ *č²uv- ({ǰGS} ≈ *s|c|ću¹ǰ¹-) (× N *žōg∇ 'shoulder', q.v.) > Tm c u v a l 'nape of the neck, upper part of the neck, back, mane', ? Ml c u m a l 'shoulder'; (× N *čikU 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]') D ≈ *čuk- > Kui sukoṛi ~ sukoli 'shoulder blade', Brh čuǰ 'nape of the neck' ¶¶ The cns. ≈ *k- in D ≈ *čuk- belongs to the heritage of N *čikU ¶¶ D no. 2696 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA no. 25 (D, HS, A + unacceptable comparisons with IE etc.), Blz. NDA no. 25 [part 1] (D, HS, A), ≈ Blz. L no. 6i (EC, D, A + unc. Ag) ◇ Cp. Yn *suga 'backwards'.

2025. *śūy^g∇l∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing' > HS: S *^o✓zgl (probably as. from **✓šgl) > Ar ✓zǰl G (pf. زجل zaǰila) 'sing, speak loudly', (of several persons) 'produce noise by laughing and speaking loudly' ¶ BK I 975 || IE: NaIE *sweǰg^hǰ^hl-/*swig^hǰ^hl- 'produce sound by blowing' > Gt inf. swiglōn (· αὐλεῖν) 'Flöte blasen', OHG swēgala 'flute, pipe (Schwegel, Flöte, Pfeife, Orgelpfeife), Rohr', {OsS} inf. swēglōn 'to blow a Schwegelpfeife', NHG Schwegel 'fife, flute', AS {Ho.} swezel 'music', {Fs.} swezl-horn 'trumpet horn' || ?φ L sībilā-v. 'whistle' ¶ Fs. 467, Ho. 334, Kb. 998, OsS 907, KM 691, WH II 531-2, EI 72 (*sweǰg^hl-) || U: FU *^oś∇lǰg∇- or *^oś∇gǰ∇- > pObU *sǰlǰǰ- 'hiss (zwischen)' > pVg *sǰlǰ- > Vg LK/MK sǰlǰ- id.; pOs *sǰlǰ- ~ *sǰlǰ- > Os: Y sǰlǰ-, K sǰlǰ-, Kz sǰlǰ-, Ty sǰlǰ- id., Vy sǰlǰ- {Trs.} 'hiss' (of snakes) ¶ Ht. no. 591, KrT 864, 890, Trs. S 437 ◇ The vw. (*∇) after N *g is suggested by pN phonology that rules out clusters of three consonants.

2026. ₂ *ś¹∇y¹ǰU 'surface of water' > K *zǰwā 'sea' > OG zǰua, G zǰva, Mg zǰva, Lz zǰua (← G?), zuǰa-, (m)zǰa, Sv UB/L/Ln {TK, GP, Dn.} zuǰwa, Sv LB {TK} zuǰwa ~ zuǰwa id. (with anaptyctic u, acc. to Klimov) ¶¶ K 89 and K² 62 (*zǰwa-), FS K 136, FS E 147 (*zǰw-), GP 278, Dn. s.v. zuǰva, Ni. s.v. 'mope', TK 847 || HS: S *^oš|sayǰ- > Ar sayǰ- 'eau qui se répand et coule à la surface du sol' ¶ BK I 1176, Hv. 347 ◇ K *zǰ- < **sǰ (as.) ◇ N *ś¹A¹ǰ¹iwe 'body of water', (??) 'wet\swampy ground' (q.v. ffd.) is not identical with N *ś¹∇y¹ǰU, as can be seen in the reflexes of the initial lrs and in the absence of expected traces of N *ǰ in the reflexes of N *ś¹A¹ǰ¹iwe. ā

2027. ₂ *śak∇ 'sit, dwell' > HS (ext.) *✓skn > S *✓škn v. 'seat, settle, dwell' > BHb ✓škn G 'settle; remain, stay, dwell', Ph ✓škn G 'dwell,

settle', Ug ✓ škn G {OLS} 'be situated, settle, dwell', mšknť 'place of residence', IA, BA ✓ škn G 'dwell', JEA ✓ škn G {Sl.} 'settle, sink, reside, dwell', SmA ✓ škn G 'settle down, dwell', Sr ✓ škn G 'alight, perch' (of birds), 'settle, rest upon', Ar ✓ skn G 'stop; be still; dwell\abode in', Ak ✓ škn G vt. 'place (sth. for a particular purpose), set' ¶ KB 1386-9, 1790, HJ 1134, A no. 2606, OLS 436-7, Js. 1575, Sl. 1145, Lv. IV 553, JPS 577, Tal 894-5, Ln. 1392, BK I 1115, Hv. 328, Sd. 1134-9, CAD XVII 116-57 || Ch: WCh *✓ sk(n), {Stl.} *sukn- 'sit, rest' > P' {MSk.} sikí 'sit, dwell, live', Jmb {Sk.} š̀nkž 'sit' || Bg {ChL} s+g`ne, Gj {ChL} šukì, Zul {ChL} yà šukù 'rest', Plc {ChL} š̀+ř+n+, {Sh.} š̀žk, Dw {Sh.}, Ds D/Bn, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} suk 'sit' || Fy {J} š̀ík v. 'take a rest' ('rasten, ausruhen') ||| CCh: ZmB {Sa., J} s`uk 'sit', ZmD {KNC} s`uk 'rester, s'asseoir' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [no. 295], JI II 294-5, ChC s.v. 'sit' and 'rest', ChL, J R 89, MSk. 203, Sk. NB 40, Sh. SB 37, KNC 24 || SC: Irq {E} sukunu?at- v. 'squat', {EldM} sak^wnene?-it- 'squat (on the haunches)' ||| ?σ Dhl {EEN} sukkēm- 'remain still', {To.} sūkēm- 'be still' ¶ E SC 351, EldM 61, EEN 25, To. D 147 || B *✓ skn > Ah askan 'stand on hind legs' (of quadrupeds), Ty/ETwl {GhA} ̀skan 'se tenir debout sur les pieds de derrière en appuyant ceux de devant contre l'arbre, pour brouter'; NrB: Tmz {MT} skan (pf. skan) 'habiter, loger', Izn {Ds.} əsxan (pf. isxan), BSn {Ds.} askan (pf. 'yeskan) 'habiter', Mtm {Ds.} askan id., əsxan 'demeurer', Wrg {Dlh.} askan (pf. yaskin) 'habiter, loger'; the verb ✓ skn in the NrB lges may be a loan from Ar (cf. Ar Mrc skan 'become calm and quiet; live, dwell, reside') ¶ Fc. 1814-15, GhA 171, Ds. B 161, MT 630, DMA I 136-7 ¶¶ OS no. 2240 (HS *sikun- 'dwell, sit') [S, Ch, SC]; Tk. I 236 and Tk. SCC 84 [no. 12.14] (S, C, B + unc. Eg snɔ 'Fundament, Grundriß', snɔy 'gründen') ¶¶ HS *n is an extension ||| A *s|š|zag|k∇ (or *s|š|zab∇) 'sit, seat, be seated' > M *sa^ru- 'sit. sit down' > MM [HI] {Ms.} sa_ru- s'asseoir, être assis, demeurer', [IsV] sa_ru- 'sit down', WrM {MED} sa_ru-, HIM {MED, BMR} cy_ru-, Brt h_ru_r- v. 'sit, sit down, be seated, dwell, reside', Kl {KRS} cy_ru- sū- 'sit, sit down', {Rm.} sū- 'sitzen, sich setzen; wohnhaft sein, bewohnen', Ord sū- 'être\rester assis, s'asseoir; demeurer, rester', Mnr H {SM} sū- id., 'habiter, loger; être', {T} sū-, Mnr M {T} sau- 'sit, dwell, stay', MMgl {Iw.} sau-kū, Mgl {Lg.} sōū- ~ sau-, {Rm.} sū-, Dx {T} sau-, Dg {Lg.} s'ō-, s'ūō-, Ba {T} sū- 'sit' ¶ MED 658, BMR III 137-8, Chr. 693-4, KRS 464, KW 339, S AJ 237 [no. 81], Pp. MA 328, 447, Lg. VMI 63, SM 355, T 360, T DnJ 133, T BJ 147, Ms. O 588, Iw. 131, Rm. M 39 || ?φ pJ *súwá- v. 'sit' > OJ suw-u {Mr.} 'sit', J T sùwaru 'sit, be seated', J K sùwatteru, J Kg súwa 'sit' ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 67] (pJ*súwá-), Kenk. 1854, Mr. 760 (suwaru <

*suba-ra- < *zuba-ra-) ¶¶ S AJ 277 [no. 64] (pA *sag|b|wa 'sit, seat, be seated').

2028. *s̄r̄ä'ka|æ 'strew, spread' ((in descendant lges] → 'sow') > **H S** *s∇k- 'strew, scatter, sow' > Eg fP s̄c̄y id., Cpt S s̄l̄t̄e s̄īt̄e, Cpt B s̄l̄T̄ s̄īt̄i, Cpt S and B set- s̄ēt̄-, sat- s̄āt̄- 'jeter, semer, distribuer' ¶ EG IV 346-7, Fk. 255, Vc. 198 || Ch: WCh: Hs šŭkà 'sow' || CCh: Cb {ChL} š̂žgátì 'sow' || Msg P {Trn.} sukí, sokà, Mlw súkí 'faire le trou avant de semer', Mbara {Trn.} čók 'sow' || Mtk {Sb} žzka, Mofu {Brr.} žak- 'sow' ¶ Ba. 944-5, Abr. H 815, ChC s.v. 'sow', Hf. B 135. Trn. LM 60, Brr. MG, Sb. M s.v. žzka || NrOm: Kf {C} šok-, Mch {L} šòkki- v. 'seed', Shn {Lm.} šōkà n. 'seed' ('Saat, Same') ¶ C SE IV 496, L M 50, Lm. Sh 374-5 || EC: Ged {Wdk.} sūka- v. 'insert seed', {Lm. ← Gs. G?} sōk- 'sow' (the glottalization *-k- > -ḳ- may be due to the initial lr. of the aux. verb that underlies suffix-conjugated verbal forms), ? {Hd. p.c.} sōʔo v. 'seed' ¶ Wdk. ShTD 331, Lm. Sh 374-5 ¶¶ OS no. 2303 (Eg, Hs, Om), Tk. I 236 (Eg, Ch [Hs, CCh], Om) || **IE:** NaIE *seg|ǵ- v. 'sow' > L seges (gen. segetis) 'seed (Saat)' (→ 'standing corn, crop'),? Sēia 'goddess of seed' (< *seg-ǵā) (unless < *sē- v. 'sow') || Clt {Matas.} *seg-(y)0- v. 'sow' > MW heu (*hou), W {YGM}, Crn hau v. 'sow'; Clt {Matas.} *seg-eto- n. 'seed' > OW [γ] segeticion 'prolis', MW sehe 'Same', {Matas.} se ~ he 'scattering' ¶ WP II 408, P 887, WH II 509-10, LP § 35.4, Bc. 505, Matas. E 326-8, YGM-1 281 || **A** *s|zæg'í- v. 'litter', *s|zæg∇ 'mat (Matte)' (× N *śäk_L∇,?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker') > Tg *seg|k- v. 'litter (branches of conifer on the floor), cover the floor with sth.' > Ewk s̄z̄ȳi-, Lm h̄z̄ȳ- 'litter branches of conifer on the floor of a tent as bedding', Neg s̄z̄k- 'litter branches of conifer in order to cut animal's meat or fish on them', Ork s̄z̄i- 𐌺 s̄z̄ȳi- 'litter branches of larch or spruce needles on the floor, spread sth. on the floor', Ul s̄z̄ḡi- v. 'spread bedding'; Tg *segdi (← M?) > Ul s̄z̄gd̄i-, Sln s̄z̄tt̄z- v. 'spread' ('разложить'), Ork, Ul s̄z̄gd̄i 'bedding (подстилка)', Orc s̄z̄kt̄u, s̄z̄gd̄i id., 'bed', Nn Nh/KU s̄z̄ḡž̄i {STM} id., {On.} 'bedding (used as a bed)', WrMc {Z} c̄z̄k̄ c̄ži 'bedding of a room\nest', 'bedding\litter in a stall for skinning carcasses'; Tg *sek-te- 'spread\stretch (e.g. branches as bedding)' > Ewk s̄z̄kt̄z- 'spread branches as bedding', Neg s̄z̄kt̄z 'branches of coniferous trees as bedding', s̄z̄kt̄z w- 'make the bed', Nn Nh/KU {STM} s̄z̄ḡž̄i- id., Nn Nh {On.} s̄z̄ḡž̄il- 'spread branches as bedding', Nn Nh/KU s̄z̄kt̄z̄ 'cloth (полотнище) (made of fish skin)', Ork s̄z̄kti(n-) id., Ud sok̄tu(n-) 'bedding (made of a hide, bark etc.)', Ul s̄z̄kt̄u- 'make up a

bed', WrMc {Z} сзктэ- 'spread bedding, make up a bed', 'spread (hemp in a field to dry it)', сектефурн 'bedding, rug, straw bed; cushion' ¶ STM II 136-7, On. 382-3, Z 580 || pJ {S} *sík- v. 'litter, strew' > OJ sík-, MJ sík- {S} id., J T sík-, J K/Kg sík- {BJRS} id., {Kenk.} 'spread, cover with' ¶ S QJ no. 389, Mr. 751, BJRS II 82, Kenk. 1665 || Ко {SDM} *skár- v. 'spread out (as a mat)' > МКо skár-, NКо kál- id. ¶ Nam 22, MLC 44 || М *segw- 'mat (Matte, циновка)' > ММ сегу- v. 'roll up (as a mat)', WrM {SDM} segel, seglei, {MED} segli 'mat or rug made of grass', HIM сэглий {MED} id., {BMR} 'mat (коврик) made of grass, Bastmatte, подстилка, Bettstroh (постельная солома)'; М *°sekci > WrM {Kow.} секси 'herbes qu'on étend sur le lit d'une femme qui accouche, ou qu'on met dans les matelas ou sous le tapis; herbes que les animaux\oiseaux étendent dans leurs tanières ou dans leurs nids' (→ Yk säksä ~ sāk̄sä ~ säxsä ~ söksö ~ säktä ~ sättä 'bedding of branches') ¶ MED 682, Kow. 1366, BMR III 151, Pek. 2150, STM II 137 ¶¶ SDM 1222-3 (pA *s|zégi v. 'litter', 'mat' > Tg *seg-, М *seg-l-, J, Ko), DQA no. 1952, SDM97 (A *seki) || D (att. in NED) *č'á'k- > Krx čã:x- v. 'sow, scatter seed', Mlt {Drs.} cáge 'divide, scatter, sow' ¶ D no. 2431 ◇ NED *a (if it is from D *a), Tg and M *e are likely to go back to N *ä ◇ Blz. DA 163 [no. 109] (suggesting to equate HS with D), Blz. NDA no. 118 (D and HS 'to sow' instead of 'scatter, sow'). The meaning 'scatter, strew' in the daughter lges suggests that the agricultural meaning 'sow' (in the HS lges and in IE) is a later semantic development.

2029. *sahk'a' 'search, find, know' > IE *sehǵ-/ *shǵ- > NaIE *sāǵ-/ *sǵ- 'scent out, track, search' (originally referring to hunt) > L sǵī- 'scent out' (Cicero: sentire sagire acute est) → 'perceive quickly, feel keenly', sǵax (< *sǵ-) 'scenting sth. well' → 'keen, acute', sǵus 'prophetic, soothsaying' || Clt {Matas.} *sǵ-yo- 'seek' > OIr {Vn.} saig- 'chercher à atteindre, tendre vers, rechercher', {Matas.} saigid, -saig 'seek', Crn hedhy 'try to reach\attain' ('chercher à atteindre'), W {YGM} haeddu 'deserve, merit', {EI} v. 'earn, gain', cyrhaeddu, cyrraedd 'to reach\attain' ('atteindre'), MW dyhaedd, Crn drehedhy, MBr dirhaes id. (Erd.: with pxs do- + *(p)ro-) || Gk ἡγεομαι, Gk D ἄγεομαι 'lead the way, go before', → Gk ἡγεμῶν 'one who leads, leader', ἡγεῖται 'leader, commander', κυν-ηγέτης 'hunter' (lit. 'who leads the dogs') || Gt inf. sōkjan (·-ζητεῖν) 'suchen', ON inf. sǵja, NNr inf. sǵja, Sw inf. söka, Dn inf. søge, OHG inf. suohhen (> NHG inf. suchen), OFrs inf. sēka 'to seek, to look for', AS inf. sǵcan id. (> d. NE beseech); Gt sōkn-s (·

ζήτηση) (Fs.) 'Untersuchung, Streitfrage', ON *sókn* 'Suchen, Untersuchung, Streit', AS *sócn* 'Untersuchung, Nach-frage', ⇨ NE *seek* || Ht *sak(k)*- / *sek(k)*- 'know, find out' ¶¶ WP II 449, P 876, EI 505-6 (**seh_hg*- 'perceive acutely, seek out'), Mn. 1107, Dev. no. 703, WH II 464-5, EM 589, Vn. S 9-12, Matas. E 318, YGM-1 279, Ern. 175, HDEL 1537, F I 621-2, Fs. 442, Vr. 529, 577, Ho. 306, Kb. 992, Schz. 276, KM 762, Ts. W 67 || **HS**: S (mt.) **škh* *Sh* 'find' > IA, JA [Trg.], JEA [BT], SmA, Sr *škh* *Sh* id., Ak {Sd.} *škø* *Sh* (with vowels suggesting *ø* < **h*|*ʕ*) 'procure (beschaffen)' (?) ¶ HJ 1132-3, Js. 1572, Sl. 1143-4, Tal 892, Br. 775, Sd. 1210 (s.v. *šekûm*) || EC {Ss.} **sag*-/**sog*- 'predict' > Or {Th., Brl.} *fağ*-, Or B {Vnt.} *fağ*- 'foretell, predict', Dbs {AMS} *sok*- 'predict', Brj {S} *sa'gāna* 'a particular family with power for rainmaking' ¶ Ss. B 162, Th. 126, Brl. 140-1, Vnt. 51, AMS 185 || **A**: [1] pA **sag*∇- '(be) intelligent\aware; know' > T **sa_l:_g* 'intellect, intelligence' > OT *sa_l:_g* ({Cl.} [MhK] *سالاغ* *sāḡ*) 'intellect (ʔal-ʕaqlu), intelligence, sagacity']?σ T **sak* 'alert, awake' > OT *saq* id., Tkm *θaq* 'vigilant', 'light' (sleep), Tk *sak* 'vigilant; sleeping light', Bsh *haq*, ET, VTt, Qmq *saq* 'vigilant, prudent, cautious', Qq, Qrg *saq* 'watchful, cautious', Nog, Qzq *saq* id., 'prudent' ¶ Valid only if the primary meaning is 'alert' rather than 'awake' ¶ Cl. 803, 805-6, MKD 152, Sht. 170, Tkr 55, Nj. 497 || pKo **sakí*- > MKo *sakí*-, NKo *sägi*- 'read characters, interpret', MKo *sakói*-, NKo *sagwi*- 'know each other, make acquaintance' ¶ S QK no. 81, Nam 282, MLC 868, 920 ¶¶ SDM 1226 (pA **sək'u*- 'preserve, be aware' > T **sak*, Ko + unc. J **sùk*- v. 'like', M **saki*- 'protect' [< N **šaxke* 'to cover, to hide', q.v. ffd.] and Tg **seku*- [i. e. **seku*-] [< N **šekø* 'look at, watch, see', q.v. ffd.]); the rec. of pA **sək'u*- is based on the err. adduction of Tg **seku*- and M **saki*-), DQA no. 1957 (id.), KW 318 || [2] ?φ A **sôg*∇- 'search, choose' (the labial vw. **ô* may be accounted for by the infl. of N **šuhk*∇ 'wish, covet' [q.v.]) > T **so_l:_gra*- > OT [MhK] {Cl.} *suḡr-ut*- v. 'search' (ol *anin ävin suḡruttu* 'he searched his house'), Chv L *шыра*- 'suchen (искать, разыскивать), verlangen (взыскивать)', ?φ MT *sora*- v. 'search (through), *soraḡaq* n. 'search, perquisition'; possibly: T ⇨ WrM *surga*- {MED} 'teach, instruct, train', HIM *сурга*- {BMR} 'teach, instruct', Brt *хурга*- id., Mnr {SM} *surq_uā*- 'enseigner, éduquer, dresser, habiuer à', Ord *surq_a*- 'faire apprendre, dresser, éduquer, faire sa leçon à qn et lui dire comment il doit se comporter'; HIM ⇨ Tv *сурга*- 'belehren (наставлять, поучать), einen Rat geben, instruieren' ¶ Cl. 816, Rs. W 433, TvR 392, Ash. XVII 189-91, Fed. II 466-7, Fed. M 171, ChVS 286, MED 739, BMR III 133, Chr. 691,

SM 364, Ms. O 594 || M *so^ɾʏ^ɾoŋgu- 'choose' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Lew.} so_ooŋgu-, [HI] {Ms.} soŋgu- id., [MA] {Pp.} soŋqu- 'try, test; select, elect', WrM {MED} soŋgu-, HIM {MED, BMR} соŋго-, Brt हुŋга-, Dg {T} soŋgo- 'choose, select', Kl {KRS} cyŋh- 'select, elect', {Rm.} sunga- 'auswählen, herauswählen, balottieren', Mnr H {SM} soŋgu- 'trier, choisir, élire', Ord suŋgu- 'choisir, élire' ¶ H 135, Lew. II 73, SM 354, Ms. H 95, Pp. MA 324, MED 726, BMR III 110, Chr. 688-9, KRS 462, KW 331, Ms. O 593, T DgJ 164 || Tg: [A] Tg *su^ɾg^ɾu|ele- > Nn Nh/KU sзулз-, Ul sзулз/i- ~ sзwлу- 'durchsuchen, обыскать', WrMc {Z} cyвэлэ- ~ сзолэ- id., 'look for (e.g., a hidden thing)' ¶ STM II 134, Z 575, 653, On. 387 | [B] ?φ Tg *sigi- 'peep out (подсмотреть), look out, hinausschauen (выглянуть)' > Ewk sigilū-, Sln щigī- 'peep out (подсмотреть)', Orc siçili-, Ud sīsi- 'peep in (through an orifice) (подглядывать [в отверстие])', Lm h^hē, hī-, Neg siʏin- 'hinaus-schauen', WrMc {Z} ша- 'look' ¶ The vw. *i of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 77-8, Z 664-5 || pJ *sunkur- 'choose, select' > MJ súgúr- id., J T sugúr-, J K súgúr-, J Kg sùgùr- 'select, choose the best' (attested in the derived adj. suguru {Kenk.} 'well-chosen, select, picked') ¶ S QJ no. 1292, Mr. 758, Kenk. 1831 ¶¶ S D M 1303-4 (pA *sogú- v. 'search, choose' > Tg *sugele-, M *songu- or *so^ɾʏ^ɾoŋgu-, T *sogra- and pJ *sunkur-), DQA no. 2105, Oz. NM 233-4, ≈ Pp. VG 115, 132 (M, Tg) ¶¶ Not here (≠φ) M *siqa^ɾʏ^ɾa- 'look searchingly, take aim' (< N *ŝEKo 'look at') ◇ S *h and the absence of lr. in the Ht word prove that the pN cns. was *h.

2030. *śāk_l∇_l?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker' > K *sķw- 'tie (up), bind (up)' (× N *z∇kU 'to tie', q.v.) > OG mo-sķw- 'sich verschränken', sķul-, nasķw- 'knot', sķun- v. 'decide', G sķven-/sķun- v. 'close, shut', sķul-i 'zu bindend, Bund, Knoten', Mg sķv-/sķu- ~ skv-/sku-, Lz sķv- ~ skv- v. 'tie (up)', Sv UB le-sķw-er, Sv Ln lensķwer 'rope' ¶¶ K 164, K² 160, FS K 272-3, FS E 302-3, Gm. SSh 71, Chx. 1265-6, TK 409 || HS: C: Ag *saķ-, {ʒAp.} *saʏ-/saq- v. 'sew, weave' > Bln {R} saq-, Aw {Ap.} saʏ-/saqí 'sew, weave', Km {CR} saχ- 'sew', Xm {R} saq- 'sew', Q {R} saʒ-- 'flechten. haften, nähen' || Dhl {EEN} sakaʔ- v. plait, twist', ?σ sōķ- v. 'twist (sth.)' ¶ Ap. IC 37, R WB 300, R Ch II 407 (s.p. 93), R QW 110, CR LK 241, AD SF 101, E SC 182, EEN 23-4 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *saķ- v. 'weave' > Hs sākà id., Gw {Mts.} sákā n. 'weaving', í sákā 'weave', Kfr {Nt.} sák, Ang {Flk.} sak 'weave' || CCh: Msg {Lk.} sasake v. 'weave', Afd {Stz.} szakká [sakka] 'Weberstuhl', wánszaka 'I weave' (= *[u-w|han saka] 'I make weaving') ¶ This Ch √ is to be distinguished from *✓cg v. 'plait, weave' (which may be

a loan from KnT: Teda čaga-, Knr saga- 'weave') ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [no. 298], Abr. H 766, Ba. 784, Mts. G 102, Flk. s.v. sāk, Nt. s.v. sák, ChC s.v. 'weave', Lk. M s.v. sasake, Lk. ZSS, Sö. 341 || ?σ B *✓Hsk > *✓Hsy > Ah-asəy 'joindre, unir, coudre (brocher des feuilles de manière à former un cahier)', ETwl, Ty asəy 'joindre, unir, relier' ¶ Fc. 1831-2, GhA 170 ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 226 || Eg fP sctɜ ({{EG}} s̥tɜ) v. 'spin, weave', DEg sctɜ, Cpt Sd cwt id. ¶ EG IV 355, Fk. 255, Er. 474, Vc. 198 || ?φ CS *✓skk 'weave, plait' > BHb ✓skk G 'weave, form', JPA ✓skk G 'hedge in', JA [Trg.] ✓skk D 'weave', JEA ✓skk D 'cover over'; the S cognate is acceptable if one admits secondary affricatization (the former affricate *s for the original sibilant *š) due to the infl. of CS *✓nsk (< N ? *ηec'∇ 'to plait, to tie together' [q.v. ffd.] × N *śāk_L∇_U) ¶ KB 664, 712, Js. 990, Sl. 810-11 ¶¶ Tk. I 76 || U: FU *°śāk_L- v. 'plait' (× N *ź∇_U 'to tie') > ObU *sēy- ~ *sōy- (= *sēy^ω-) v. 'plait' > pVg *sǎy- id. > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/P/SV säy-/sāy, NV säy-/sāw-, LL säy-/sā-, UL/Ss say- id.; pVg sǎy n. 'plait, tress of hair' ({{Mu.}} 'Haarflechte, Zopf') > Vg: T säw, LK/MK/UK/NV säy, SV/LL sǎ, UL/Ss say id.; pOs {Ht.} *sōy- ({{JHl.}} *sōy-) v. 'plait' > Os: V/Vy sōy-, Ty sǎy^ω-, Y sǎw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew- id.; pOs *sōy ({{JHl.}} *sōy) 'plait of hair' > Os: V/Vy sōy, Ty sǎy^ω, Y sǎw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id. | ⇨ FU *śākt∇- v. 'plait (bark shoes, a basket), mend (e.g. a net)' > pLp {Lr.} *ćēktɜ- v. 'mend (a net)' > L: S {Hs.} tjiktɛd^h, L {LLO} tjiktēt, N {N} čik'tet v. 'mend (seine, net)', Kld {SaR} чиххтэ, {TI} čjx:t'ād id. | Prm *śektal- > Z śzktav-ñ† v. 'plait (bast sandals, a basket)', Yz śōktal- v. 'add (plait in) birch bark to plaited bast sandals' ('продергивать лыковые лапти берестой'), Vt сикта- śikta- v. 'mend bast sandals', Z śzktan, Vt śiktan 'кочедык (an instrument for plaiting bast sandals)' || Os: Ty/O sāt- v. 'darn (nets), D sāt- v. 'darn (nets, stockings)' ¶ Ht. 182 [no. 571], BV 96, MK 509, Coll. 75, UEW 470, Sm. 554 (FP *śakti- 'mend'), It. no. 283, Lr. no. 150, Lgc. no. 573, N I 390, Hs. 1321, SaR 394-5, TI 665-6, LG 269-70, Lt. J 182 || A *s|zæg^ri- v. 'litter', *s|zæg∇ 'mat; (?) 'wicker basket' (× N *s^rä^rka|æ 'strew, spread', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Blz. KM 119-20 (K, HS) ◇ U *-k- proves that the pN word-medial cns. was not glottalized, hence K, Ag and Ch *k must go back to N *-k_L∇_U?- ◇ The cns. *-k- in AmTg *seku- may go back to *-k?- from N *-k_L∇_U?-.

2031. *sük∇pa 'to drink, to suck' > IE: NaIE *seug- (~ *°seuk-?) 'suck' > L sūg-ō v. 'suck' || ON inf. súga, sjúga 'to suckle'; OHG inf. sūgan 'saugen, trinken', NHG inf. saugen, ON inf. súga, OSx inf. sūgan, AS

inf. $s\bar{u}zan \sim s\bar{u}can$ 'to suck', NE $suck$ || Clt $*sowg|k-$ > OIr $s\acute{u}igid$ 'sucks'; Clt {Matas.} $*sowkn-0-$ ({AD} or $*sowgn-0-$) > MW $sugno$ v. 'suck, drink, suckle', W {YGM} $sugno$ 'suck', MBr $sunaff$ 'suck', Br $sunarñ$ {Hm.} 'sucer' || Ltv inf. $s\acute{u}kt$ (1s pres. $s\acute{u}cu$) 'to suck, to sip' || Ht $sakiuwai$ v. 'water (horses)' (the absence of the expected labial glide is puzzling) ¶¶ But NaIE $*sok^{\omega}o-s$ 'juice, sap' (> L $s\bar{u}cu$ s and Sl $*s\ddot{o}k\bar{b}$ 'juice') belongs to N $*\hat{z}U\check{K}U$ (= $*\hat{z}o\check{K}U$?) 'juice' (q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ WP II 469, P 912-13, EI 556 ($*seug-$ ~ $*seuk-$ 'suck' 'suck'), WH II 622-3, Ts. W 67, Bc. 333, Vr. 560, Ho. 329, Ho. S 72, Kb. 984, OsS 890, ME III 1132, Kar. II 321, Matas. E 351, YGM-1 397, Hm. 767 || HS: CS $\check{s}ky$ v. *Sh, D* 'give to drink' > BHb $\check{s}ky|w$ *Sh* (pf. $h\check{s}k\bar{a}$), Ug $\check{s}ky$ *Sh*, IA, SmA $\check{s}ky$ *Sh* (IA pf. $h\check{s}ky$, SmA pf. $h\check{s}kh$) id., JA $\check{s}ky$ *Sh* (pf. $\check{s}k\bar{i}$) vt., Sr $\check{s}ky|w$ *Sh* (pf. $\check{s}k\bar{i}$) v. 'water, irrigate; give to drink', Ar $\check{s}qy$ *D* 'donner à boire, faire boire souvent, arroser'; S $\check{s}ky$ *G* 'give to drink' (bf. from $\check{s}ky$ *Sh, D* and contamination with N $*\bar{s}i\check{K}\hat{a}y\check{V}$, 'to pour') > Ug $\check{s}ky$ *G* 'give to drink' ('ofrecer a beber'), Ar $\check{s}qy$ *G* (pf. $saq\bar{a}$), Sb $\check{s}ky$ vt. *G* 'irrigate (land), water (cattle)', Gz $\check{s}ky$ *G* vt. 'water, irrigate', Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. $\check{s}e'ke$ 'water (animals), irrigate', Mh $\check{h}ky$ *G* (pf. $h\check{k}\bar{u}$) 'give water to', (pf. $h\check{z}k\bar{u}$) 'give a drink, irrigate', Sb $\check{s}ky$, OAk, Ak OA inf. $\check{s}ak\bar{a}^{\omega}$, Ak OB inf. $\check{s}ak\hat{u}$ v. 'irrigate', Ak inf. $\check{s}ak\hat{u}$ 'give to drink' ¶ GB 860, KB 1512-14, JPS 592, HJ 1186, Tal 925, OLS 451, Js. 1622, BK I 1109-10, Hv. 327, BGMR 128, L G 511, Jo. M 155, Sd. 1181 || C: Ag $\check{s}k^{\omega}$ v. 'drink' > Xm {R} $s\check{u}q-(s\check{z}q^{\omega}-)$, Aw {R} $sek\check{u}$ - v. 'drink' (labialization in \check{k}^{ω} reflecting the preceding labialized vw.?) ¶ R Ch II 93-4 || Ch (× N $*\bar{s}i\check{K}\hat{a}y\check{V}$, 'to pour'): WCh: Tng {J} $sok\bar{e}$ v. 'give water to a baby' || ? Bd {ChC} $s\check{z}gin / s\check{z}yin$ v. 'drink' || CCh: Higi {ChL}: HgNk $s\check{z}k^{\omega}$, HgB $sux\acute{u}$, FIG $s\check{z}g^{\omega}$, HgK sak^{ω} / $s\check{z}k^{\omega}$, HgG $s\check{z}g^{\omega}$ v. 'drink' || ECh: Nd {J} $s\check{z}g\hat{a}$ id. ¶ JI II 111, ChC s.v. 'drink', Stl. ZCh 177 [no. 296], J T 146, J KKS, ChL I 260, II 135, 145, 155, 165 ¶¶ OS no. 2220 || A $*s|zi:g\ddot{u}$ - (= $*s|z\grave{i}:g\ddot{u}$ -) 'beverage (juice, sap etc.)' > M $*s\check{i}\check{z}\ddot{u}-s\ddot{u}n$ 'juice, sap, beverage' (× N $*\hat{z}U\check{K}U$ 'juice' [q.v.]) > WrM {MED} $s\check{i}g\check{u}s\check{u}n$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\omega\gamma\gamma\check{c}(\omega\check{H})$ 'sap, juice', Brt $\omega\gamma\gamma\check{h}\omega\check{H}$ id., Kl {KRS} $\omega\gamma\gamma\check{c}\check{H}$ $\check{s}\ddot{u}s\check{a}n$ id., {Rm.} $\check{s}\ddot{u}s\eta$ 'Saft', Kl D {Rm.} $\check{s}\ddot{u}s\eta$ 'Lauge, Suppe mit Salz', Ord $\check{s}\ddot{u}s\check{u}$ 'jus qui découle de la viande' ¶ MED 704, BMR IV 388, Chr. 740, KRS 688, KW 373, Ms. O 638 || Tg $\check{s}\ddot{u}k^1$ 'juice' (× N $*\hat{z}U\check{K}U$ 'juice' [q.v.]) > Neg d. $\check{c}u\check{y}\check{z}\check{p}\check{c}\check{z}$ 'stained with juice', Ud X $\acute{c}\ddot{u}\check{o}\eta ki$, Ud Sm {Krm.} $\acute{c}\ddot{u}\check{o}\eta ki$ 'sap of trees', ?? Ewk d. $\check{c}\ddot{u}kin$ 'undercooked' (of meat) (if from 'having juice'); Tg $\check{s}\ddot{u}kse$ 'juice,

sap' ({{SDM}} 'juice') > Ewk $\zeta\bar{u}ks\bar{z}$ 'meat juice, juice of berries, sap', Sln $s\bar{u}t\zeta\bar{z}$ 'pitch (of trees)', Lm $\zeta\bar{u}s$ 'juice (of berries, meat, fish)', Ork $s\bar{u}ks\bar{z} \sim t\bar{u}ks\bar{z}$ 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411, Krm. 311 ¶ The puzzling Ud η needs explanation ¶¶ SDM 1336 (pA * $\check{s}j\bar{u}g\bar{v}$ 'juice' > M, Tg * $\check{s}ukse$ + unc. pKo * $sk\bar{u}r$ 'honey', which belongs to N * $\check{s}\bar{v}k\bar{v}$ 'honey' or 'bee' [q.v.]), SDM97 s.v. pA * $\check{z}\bar{u}gi$ 'juice' (M, Tg + unc. pKo), S AJ 17, Vld. 199 || ? E {HK} $sik\bar{v}$ v. 'drink' ¶¶ HK 1080 ◇ The delabialization in M * i (obviously from * \bar{u}) still needs investigating.

2032. \bar{z} * $\bar{s}\bar{v}k\bar{v}R\bar{v}$ (or * $\bar{s}\bar{v}k\bar{v}R\bar{v}$) 'intoxicating drink' ([in descendant lges] → 'alcoholic drink') > HS: S * $\check{s}i'kar-$ ~ * $\check{s}akar-$ 'alcoholic drink' > BHb $\check{s}\bar{e}'k\bar{a}r$, Ak $\check{s}ik\bar{a}r\bar{u}(m)$, $\check{s}ikr\bar{u}(m)$ 'alcoholic drink, beer', Sr $\check{s}ak'r-\bar{a}$ (abs. $\check{s}a'k\bar{a}r$) 'sicera (alcoholic drink other than wine, esp. a liquor made from dates or from honey)', JA [Trg.] $\check{s}ik'r\bar{a}$ 'alcoholic drink', JEA $\check{s}ak'r\bar{a}$, $\check{s}ik'r\bar{a}$ 'alcoholic drink not made from grapes', Md $\check{s}akra$ 'alcoholic drink', SmA $\check{s}kr$ TD 'become intoxicated', $m\check{s}kh\check{s}kr$ 'intoxicant' ($m\check{s}kh$ 'beverage'), Ar $sakar-$ {Ln.} 'alcoholic drink (wine, beverage prepared from dried dates etc.)'; S (Hb, Aram?) → Gk [LXX] $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha$ 'fermented liquor, strong drink'; S * $\check{s}kr$ G 'be(come) drunken' > BHb $\check{s}ikr\bar{a}$, Ar, Gz $\check{s}kr$, Ak $\check{s}kr$ G id.; → Cn * $\check{s}i|akkar\bar{a}n-$ > BHb $\check{s}ikk\bar{a}'r\bar{a}n$, Ug $\check{s}krn$ 'drunkenness' ¶ KB 1390-1, Tal 895, PS 4160, JPS 577, Br. 777, Js. 1576, Lv. T II 680, Sl. 1145-6, Sd. 1232, Ln. 1300-1, BK I 1114, A no. 260, OLS 437, Ch. 1003 || A: pKo {S} * $s\bar{u}'ir$ 'wine, alcoholic drink' > MKo $s\bar{u}'ir \sim s\bar{u}'ur$, NKo $su|$ ¶ S AJ 256 [no. 120] (pKo * $s\bar{u}'ir$ 'wine'), S QK no. 120, BKR 749, Nam 314, MLC 1018 ◇ Ko - \emptyset - suggests pN *- \check{K} -. If the pN cns. was *- \check{K} -, S *- k - may be explained by HS deglottalization of *- \check{K} -.

2033. (\bar{z} ?) * $\bar{s}'o'k\bar{o}$ 'to follow' > IE: NaIE * sek^{ω} - 'follow' > OI 'sacatē 'accompanies, follows', Av $ha\check{c}aite$ 'accompanies' ||| Gk $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'follow, be\come after' ||| L $sequitur$ 'follows' ||| Clt {Matas.} * $sek^{\omega}-o-$ 'follow' > OIr $sechithir$ 'follows' ||| Lt inf. $sekti$ (pres. $seku$) 'to follow, to follow the trail of, to watch, to observe', Ltv {Frn.} inf. $sekt$ (1s pres. $seku \sim secu$) '(ver)folgen, spüren', 'wittern' (of dogs) ¶ P 896-7 (without distinguishing this \check{v} from IE * sek^{ω} - 'see, look' < N * $\hat{s}EK\bar{o}$ 'look at, watch; see' [q.v.]), EI 208, M K III 417, WH II 519-20, Vn. S 62, Matas. E 328, F I 544-5, Frn. 773 ||| HS: S * $o-\check{s}i\bar{u}k-$ > Ar $\check{s}wq$ (ip. - $s\bar{u}q-$) v. G 'drive (the cattle\beast), urge (the cattle) to go', {Hv.} 'drive (a beast), impel\urge so.' ¶ Ln. 1470-1, BK I 1167, Hv. 344 || Eg $s\check{c}k$ 'drive

(animals)' (with a puzzling unexpected ς , probably due to the infl. of the verb $\varsigma\kappa$ 'cause to enter' \leftarrow $\varsigma\kappa$ 'enter, go in') ¶ EG IV 55-6, Fk. 215 || ϕ, σ C: EC: pSam {Hn.} *sug- > Sml {ZMO} sug- 'wait for, expect', Sml N {Abr.} sug- 'wait', Rn {PG} sug- 'wait for, await' ¶ Hn. S 74, PG 268, Abr. S 227-8, ZMO 366 || ¶ A: Tg: WrMc {Z} шoхaдa- ~ шoхaтa- v. 'harness a tandem, harness one horse behind the other', {Hr} šohān 'tandem' ¶ Z 673, STM II 105, Hr 857.

2034. UA ₂ *s|šokk∇ 'to stick fast, to be stuck\motionless' > U: FU *°s|šokk∇- (or s|šakk∇-) > Ugr *θo|akk∇- 'stick fast, be stuck; get into' > ObU {Ht.} *θōk- > pVg {Ht.} *tākn- 'stick fast, be stuck' > Vg: T takn-, LK/UK/UL/Ss taxn-, MK tākxn- id.; pOs {Ht.} *φok- 'be stuck (hängen\sitzen bleiben)' > Os: V loq+n-, Ty φāq^ω+n-, D/K toχan-, Nz tuχan-, Kz φōχan- 'hängen bleiben', V lökän-, Vy yökän- 'sitzen bleiben' | Hg akad- 'get stuck\caught (in)', akaszt- vt. 'hang' ¶ UEW 845-6, MF 78, Ht. no. 122 || ¶ A: M *soqsuyi- 'stand up' (of hair), 'stick up\out', 'sit idle' > WrM {MED} sogsuī- id., HIM согсой- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'торчатъ, лoхмaтитъcя' (hair), WrM {Kow.} соқсоi- 'être immobile; se taire tout d'un coup, garder la silence', Ord sog_sō- 'être hérissé, être ébouriffé', sog_sō 'qui a les cheveux ébouriffés', 'échevelé' (sobriquet), Kl {Rm.} soksi- 'unbeweglich sitzen, lautlos sitzen\sein'; WrM {Rm. ← ?} соқсугар-, Kl {Rm.} soksoγar 'unbeweglich und wortlos dasitzend', Ord sog_sog_or 'ébouriffé' (dit de la chevelure); M \rightarrow WrMc {Z} соксохонь (pl. соксохори) '(sits) frowned \ gloomy \ silent \ far from others' ¶ MED 723, Kow. 1408, BMR III 105, KW 329, Z 624, Md. O 580 || T (← M?): StAlt sokso {BT} 'sth. protruding', soksoy- vi. 'be\sit straight, stretch (быть прямым, вытягиваться)', Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} соқсоi 'sich erheben, eine Erhöhung bilden, hervorstehen, торчатъ', соқсоyin otirdi 'er saß gerade\aufrecht' ¶ BT 129, Rl. IV 526.

2035. *ś∇k∇ 'honey' or 'bee' > K: GZ *sқа- 'bee' > G sқа- 'beehive', Mg (p)sқа-, ska-, Lz mсka-, мска- 'bee' ¶ K 164, Q 319, DCh. 1186 || ¶ HS: C: Ag ≈ *sa^kar- 'honey' (and/or 'bee?') > Bln {Ap.} saxara, {R} саxārā, Xm {R} sārā, Km {CR} саxəyā, Q {R} sāgiyā 'honey', Aw {Hz.} сзyарí, Knf {TBZAC} sāhar 'bee' ¶ Ap. IC 43, 50, R WB 303, R Ch II 410 (s.p. 96), R QW 111, TBZAC s.v. sāhar, CR LK 241 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *saq^ωan∇ 'honey' > pBT {Stl.} *saHani 'honey' > Bl {Mch.} сахани 'bee', {Mk.} šoni 'honey', Krf {Sch.} šáyání, ? Krk {Lk.} pišēni, Glm {Sch.} súń, Gera {Sch.} síña, Pr {Frz.} čígínì 'honey' | NrBc *suq^ωan∇ 'honey' > Wrj {Sk.} súq^ωanái, Kry {Sk.}

súk^ωán, Jmb {Sk.} súk^ωáná, Cg {Sk.} čòk^áné, Sir {Sk.} súk^ωùní, Mburke {Sk.} súk^ωáná, My {ChL} suk^ωəm id. ||| ECh: Skr {Lk.} sórie 'bee', sórien 'honey' ¶ JI II 190-1, Stl. ZCh 177 [no. 302], Sch. BTL 147, Lk. TS, Lk. ZSS 39, ChC s.v. 'honey', ChL, Sk. NB 26, Frz. P 25, Lk. ZSS 39 ||| **A**: pKo {S} *skúr 'honey' > MKo (p)skúr, NKo k̄ul id. ¶ S QK no. 421, Nam 63, MLC 217 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *žūgi 'juice' > Ko + (not belonging here) T *juk 'resin, gum', M *sigü-sü and Tg *sūkse 'juice', F N *ŽUKU 'juice') ◇ Blz. KM 119 [no. 20] (K, Ag, Ch).

2036. ?₂ ***š**∇**κ**∇ 'to carve, to chisel' > IE *sek- v. 'chop' (× N ***ša**ka 'to split, to cleave' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} éiscid 'haut ab' ||| Lt † inf. ĭ-sékti 'ein-graben, schneiden', inf. iš-sékti 'sculptere', pasékelis ~ posékelis 'smith's big hammer' | Sl inf. *sěkti (1s pres. *sě'kq) 'to chop, to cut' > OCS inf. сѣщн sěšti (1s pres. сѣкѣ sěkq), R inf. сечь (1s pres. се'кы), SCr inf. сѣћи s(i)jěći (-d) 1s pres. сѣћем s(i)jěčēm), Slv inf. sėkati (<d) 1s pres. sėkam), Cz inf. sici, sekati, Slk inf. siect', sekat', P inf. sieć (1s pres. siekq) id. ||| L d. sēcula 'sickle' ||| AS sigðe (< *sekītā) 'scythe', NE scythe | NaIE *sek-ūrā 'axe' > L secūris id. ||| Sl *sekīra id. > OCS, OR сєкѣра sekīra, SCr sjekira, Slv sekíra, R, Blg секира, Uk сокира, P siekiera, Cz sekyra, Slk seker a id. ¶ P 895-6, EI 38 (? *sekūr- 'axe' <d) *sek- 'cut'), Frn. 544, 773, Vs. III 592-3, Brü. 488, StSS 600, 680, Glh. 551, Tls. 541 ||| **HS**: Eg fXVIII s k s k {EG} 'zerhacken, zerstören', {Fk.} 'destroy' ¶ EG IV 319, Fk. 252 ||| WCh *saḳ- 'carve' > Hs sássàḳá v. 'carpenter; work with an adze', Gw {Mts.} šéšèke v. 'carve' | Ang {Flk.} sāk v. 'cut down (trees to clean a field)' | Ngz {Sch.} 3s pf. sàsk-ú (vb. n. sàskà, sbjn. sàsák) 'scrape\cut off in small pieces (skin of mango etc.)', 'carve wood in this way' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [no. 297], Abr. H 787, Ba. 911, Mts. G 108, Flk. s.v. sāk, Sch. DN 144 ||| ? EC: Or {Brl.} sōḳ- 'carve (scolpire)', {Th.} sōḳ- 'scrape (raschiare)' (× Or sōḳ- 'dig' [probably of different origin]) ¶ Brl. 380, Th. 309 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 2180 (*saḳ- 'cut' > ĭ Eg {OS ← ?} s k k 'cut', WCh *saḳ- 'cut [down]; carpenter') ||| **A**: AdS of pA *s|zak_L'∇ 'sharp instrument; to cut, split' (> Tg {DQA} *°sak-pi- v. 'axe', pKo *sàkí- 'carve, engrave' etc.) (< N ***ša**ka 'to split, to cleave', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cf. SDM 1203 (pA *s|zàk'a 'sharp instrument;', v. 'cut, split' > Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 1899 ◇ Questionable, because the IE cognate has an alt. etymology. The IE root is likely to go back to merger of two N sources ◇ ≈ Gr. II 86 (*cek ~ *sek 'cut') (IE, A, Gil, CK, EA) (not distinguished from N ***ša**ka '↑').

2037. ${}_2$ ***suh** ∇ 'wish, covet' > **HS**: **WS** * \checkmark ^rh ∇ ~ *-šū ∇ - (~ * \checkmark š ∇ ?) 'wish, desire' > **Gz** \checkmark ṣ ∇ h ∇ *G* 'desire eagerly, wish, covet' (as. s... ∇ > ṣ... ∇), \checkmark sk ∇ ω ∇ *T* (pf. t asa ∇ ω a ∇ ω a) 'covet so.'s goods', **BHb** תִּשְׁמַחֵם תִּשְׁמַחֵם תִּשְׁמַחֵם taššū ∇ 'desire', ? \checkmark š ∇ in prtc. šō ∇ ē ∇ (na ∇ šō) '(his soul) is longing' (Is. 29.8, ψ 107.9), **JPA** תִּשְׁמַחֵם תִּשְׁמַחֵם 'eager desire' ('Begierde, Gelüste, Verlangen'), **Ar** \checkmark š ∇ *G* (ip. -šū ∇ -) 'excite a desire in', 'fill with longing' (←**Aram**, whence š for the expected *s?) ¶ **Di.** 1254 and **Br. G I** 169 (both: **Gz**-**Hb**-**Ar**), **KB** 1344, 1519, 1658, **Lv. IV** 523, **Js.** 154O-1, **BK I** 1288-9, **Hv.** 382, ≈ **L G** 551 (the connection of **Gz** \checkmark ṣ ∇ h ∇ with **Hb** and **Ar** "is unlikely"), **L G** 510 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the cns. *â-) **WCh** *â ∇ (Stl.) *â ∇ 'wish, want' > **Hs** {**Ba.**} zâ ∇ n. 'being so keen to obtain smth. that one can think of nothing else', **Hs** {**Abr., Ba.**} zâ ∇ 'sweetness, pleasant favor', **Ngz** â ∇ 'desire for, desire to do' (Stl. **ZCh** 196 [no. 474], **Abr. H** 968, **Ba.** 1124-5, **Sch. DN** 47), which may be equated with **S** * \checkmark š ∇ 'love' (> **Ar** \checkmark š ∇ 'love passionately') | **A** *su ∇ - > **NaT** *su ∇ - ({**Cl.**} *sū ∇) 'greed(y), envy, envious' > **OT** {**Cl.**} sū ∇ 'greed; envy, envious, covetous', **Tki** {**Shaw**} su ∇ , **Nog** su ∇ 'greedy', **Qrg** su ∇ 'envy; greed (coveting other people's goods); envious', **Qq** su ∇ 'greed, envy; glutton', **Uz** su ∇ 'envious, greedy (as to other people's food)', **Qzq** cṣṣana ∇ su ∇ 'greedy (as to food)' ¶ **Cl.** 804, **Shaw** 125, **NogR** 312, **MM** 323, **Jud.** 662, **UzR** 390 | | **pJ** *sū ∇ - v. 'like' > **MJ** suk- id., **J T** sú ∇ -, **J K/Kg** sū ∇ - {**Kenk.**} v. 'like, love, be fond of', **J T** sū ∇ -as-, **J K** sú ∇ -ás-, **J Kg** suk-ás- vt. 'quieten, beruhigen' ¶ **Mr.** 758, **BJRS II** 157-8, **Kenk.** 1843

2038. ***saḥ** ∇ 'thick, large' > **K** * \checkmark sk- ~ * \checkmark suk- '(be) thick' > **OG** {**Abul.**} ga ∇ -suk- 'make fat/thick' (**Deut.** 32.15, **Jeremiah** 5.28), **G** (ga-) ∇ -suk-eba 'to make thick', **G** suk- ∇ 'to be(come) thick/fat', suk- ∇ adj. 'fat', **OG** {**Abul.**} skeli 'thick', **G** skeli id., 'dense' (of fog) ¶ **Abul.** 69, 407, **Chx.** 1286, **DCh.** 900, 1202-3 | | **U**: **FP** {**UEW**} *sak ∇ ~ *sakk ∇ 'thick, dense' ({**It.**} sak ∇) > **F** sakea, **Es** sage id. | | **pLp** {**Lr.**} *sō ∇ 'thick (dicht), dense' > **Lp**: **S** {**Hs.**} sooge-ke, **Vfs** {**Lgc.**} sō ∇ 's, sō ∇ :eb ∇ , **L** {**LLO**} suohkat id., **N** {**N**} suokkâ ∇ 'thick' (of liquids etc.), **Kld** su ∇ ,kâ ∇ 'thick, dense' (of a forest, hair, porridge) | | **Chr**: **L** шук ∇ , **Uf** šuk ∇ , **Uf/B** šuko, **H** шук ∇ šuk ∇ 'much' | | **Prm** {**LG**} *suk > **Z/Prmk/Yz** suk 'thick, dense' ¶ **UEW** 750, **Sm.** 553, **It.** no. 39, **Lr.** no. 1173, **Lgc.** no. 7139, **Lgc.** **SL** no. 2251, **Hs.** 1228, **MRS** 731-2, **Ü** 273, **Ep.** 156, **TI** 529, **LG** 266 | | **HS**: **CS** * \checkmark š ∇ ≈ high, large' > **Ar** \checkmark sh ∇ (pf. saḥuqa) 'be lofty' (tree), saḥū ∇ - 'high, tall' (of a palm tree, donkey etc.), saḥhā ∇ -at- 'femme grande et qui a les mamelles flasques et

pendantes', SmA šħk 'high', šħw̄k 'heavens', BHb 𐤒𐤇𐤍 'šāḥaḳ 'heaven', MHb 'šāḥaḳ (pl. šāḥā'k īm) 'clouds, heaven', name of one of the seven heavens, JA [Trg.] 𐤒𐤇𐤍 šāḥ^a'k-ā id. ¶ BK I 1061, Hv. 312, Tal 886, KB 1358, Js. 1551, Lv. IV 536, Lv. T II 470 || B *✓(w)zūk 'heavy' > Ah azūk 'heavy', Gd zāk (pf. εzūāk) 'be heavy' (emphatic *z due to the infl. of *H?) ¶ Fc. 1943, Lf. II s.v. zāk || ?σ D *čāk-, ({θGS} *s-) 'make grow, bring up' (← vt. *'dicker machen') > Kt čāk 'make grow, rear, support', Kn sāk 'bring up, foster, rear, nurse', Kdg čāk 'rear up (child, young animal)', Tu sāk 'bring up, foster, rear, nurse, bring up', Tl sāk 'rear, bring up' ¶¶ D no. 2477 ◇ K *-k- goes back to the cluster *-ħk- (ass. deglottalization of N *-k- by the adjacent N *ħ that yields K *∅). The appearance of the vw. u in K *š|suk-, Ar pf. saḥuqa, Ar saḥūq-, SmA šħw̄k and Ah azūk points to a rounded vw. (pN *saḥUk ▽).

2039. UA₂ *s|ś ▽yoqâ 'blind' > U: FU (att. in BF) *°s|ś|śo(k)k ▽ > F sokea, Krl K šokīe, Krl A so(v)eta ~ šo(v)eta, šoheta, Vp soged 'blind', Es sōge, Es E sōke, Lv so'gdz id. ¶ SK 1060-3, Don. VW 1689, ZM 516, Kt. 976 || A **s|zi₁ok'u (> *š₁ok'u-?) 'be weak-sighted, be blind' > M **soqu- > M *soqu-r 'blind' > MM [S] soqor, [L, MA, IsV, HI] soqar, [IM] soqur, WrM {MED} soqur, {Lg., SM} soqor 'blind', HIM сохор {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'weak-sighted', Brt хохоp, Ord, Ba {T} soxor, Mnr H {SM} sog₁ūr, {T} sogor 'blind', ShY {Ktw. ← Ml.} согор, Dg {T} soqor, {T DgJ} согор, сокор, Dx {T} sugo 'blind'; M *soqur > WrMc {Z} сохор 'blind' and T (in texts not prior to Mongolian conquest): MQp [CC], Chg soqur, ET soqur, StAlt {B} soqor, Alt/Tlt {RI} soqqor, Yk soχχor, Chv L суккăp sukkăr, Chv Δ соккăp sokkăr 'blind'; \rightarrow M *soqurā- 'become blind' > WrM {MED} soqura-, HIM {MED, BMR} сохро- id., Mnr H {T} sogorō- id., {SM} sog₁ūrō- 'être ou devenir aveugle', Ord soχoro- 'devenir aveugle', soχor 'aveugle'; M *soqu-i- 'be/become blind' > WrM {MED} soqui-, HIM сохой- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become weak-sighted', Brt хохой- 'здрав голову, ничего не замечать', Ord soχj- 'devenir/être aveugle'; M *soqu-la- > WrM {MED} soqula-, HIM {MED, BMR} сохло-, Dx {T} sugolu- 'make blind', Ord soχol- 'rendre aveugle', Mnr H {SM} sog₁ōli- id., 'aveugler, troubler la vue', {T} sogoli- 'put out so.'s eyes'; M *soqula- > Tlt {Rs. ← ?} ı soq-l-un 'be blind'; this T word is a loan, as suggested by its chronology and the presence of the M derivational sx -l- ¶ Pp. MA 324, 447, Pp. L III 58, H 135, MED 730, BMR III 117-18, Chr. 686, Ms. H 95, Ms. O 580-1, Lg. VMI 64, SM 352, KW 329, T 360, T DgJ 190, T

DnJ 134, T BJ 147, Ktw. OuJ 443, Rs. W 426, Rl. IV 522-3, BT 129, Ash. XI 164-5, Fed. II 55-6, Jeg. 193, ChVS 171 || Tg {SDM} *šoka- > Ewk {Cs.} sokotī, {STM} çokotī 'one-eyed, squint-eyed', Lm çokotī, Neg çoktoço, Orc čoktoko, Ul čōqto, Ork toqto id., 'blind in one eye' ¶ STM II 404 || pKo {S} *s_iòk_iś_h 'blind' > MKo s_iòk_iś_h, NKo sòg_iś_h ¶ S QK 365, Nam 312, MLC 969 ¶¶ The words of the T family that mean 'mirage' (cf. SDM's rec. *s^{ra}k_i- 'mirage') are likely to belong to pT *sak_i-, derived from pT *sak- 'vigilant' (ET L-S 1567) and do not belong here. In this T root for 'blind' the vw. is not long (acc. the Tkm cognate), so that the only reason of reconstructing pA long vw. (suggested in SDM) does not exist ¶¶ SDM 1331-2 (pA *š_iā_k'ù > Tg, M, Ko + unc.: T *sā_ki 'mirage' and pJ *s_ul- 'be transparent'; the long pA vw. *ā is based on the unc. rec. of T *sā_ki), S AJ 17, SDM97 s.v. *šō_k'u (M, Tg, Ko ÷ unc. T and pJ) ◇ Tg *š- (usually from *s_i-) and especially Ko *s_i- suggest a N rec. ≈ *s|ś_i∇yo_kâ (cp. Tg *çō_la and M *šilün < N ? *s_uwol^E' [?] [cf. N *s^{ra}'_uwol^E' 'liquid, moisture']) ◇ ≈ Rs. UAW 25, ≈ IS SS no. 13.16, ≈ IS MS 365 (Rs. and IS adduced T *sok_ir 'blind' as a genetic cognate of M *soqur).

2040. *s_ik_iř_ia (or [less probably] *s_ik_iř_ia) 'to sink' > IE: NaIE *sek- 'sink' (of water), 'flow down', 'dry up, be exhausted' (of liquid) > OI a-sak-ra- 'not ceasing to flow or drying up', rdp. a-sas^c-at 'not drying up', ? 'v_i-s_ak-tā 'a cow that have ceased to give milk' (v_i- 'apart' + sak- (unless Mayrhofer is right in connecting it to sa_ja_ti 'attaches, fixes, fastens on')) || ħ Gk Hm {WP} ἔσκετο (φωνή) (< rdp. *se-sk-) 'stockte, versiegte' (die Stimme) (twice a varia lectio in the Scholia for ἔσχετο) || Clt. {Matas.} adj. *sisk^ω- 'dry' > OIr sesc ~ srisc 'dry, barren, MW hysb ~ hysp (f. hesp) 'dry', W {YGM} hesb 'dry', MBr hesp 'dry, sterile' || Lt inf. sēkti (1s pres. with a nasal infix senkū) 'to sink, to become lower' (water), Ltv inf. sikt (1s pers. s_iek_u) 'to dry up', Lt sekl_us, Ltv se_lk_ls 'shallow' || Sl (< a form with a nasal infix) inf. *sek-nq-ti 'to run dry, to dry up' > HLs inf. sakać, saknyć id., P inf. (ω)siaknać, sieknać 'to become dry, to be quite drained', ωsiakac, ωsiekać 'to sink gradually into the ground', Blg 'секвам, 'секна 'run dry, dry up'; Sl inf. *j_bz-sek-nq-ti 'to run dry, to dry up' (*j_bz- 'out') > OCS inf. ~~HC~~AKN~~TH~~ iseknqti, P inf. zsiaknać, R inf. ис^cсякн^uть id. ¶ WP II 473, P 894-5, M K I 64, III 227, 419, Frn. 772-3, ESSJ IX 74, Vs. III 826, Matas. E 337, YGM-1 285 ¶ The prehistory of the IE √ may be reconstructed as follows: N *s_ik_iř_ia > pre-IE **s_iek- > NaIE *sek- (F AD NGIE, AD NVIE) || HS: CS *√ š_kř v. 'sink' > BHb, JA [Trg.], JPA √ š_kř G

'sink', JEA ✓ ṣ̌ḳɣ v. *D* 'lower, make sink', Ar ✓ sqɣ *G* 'be gone (somewhere)' (mā ʔadrī ʔayna saqafa 'I do not know where he is gone'), (with assimilatory emphatization *s > *š) Ar ✓ ṣ̌qɣ *G* 'stray away from the right path', 'crumble away' (of a well) ¶ GB 861, Lv. IV 604, Lv. T II 512-13, Sl. 1176, Fr. II 329, 508, Hv. 32, 401 || **A**: Tg *sika- v. 'fall from trees\bushes' (leaves, fruits, berries) > Nn Bk/KU ṣɣa- id., WrMc {Z} сик̣а- 'fall' (leaves, flowers), 'shed hair\feathers', 'be shed' (of hair) ¶ STM II 80, Z 597 || **D** (in GnD only) *°čik- , {ʔGS} *s|šik- v. 'lower the head' > Png hig- id., Kui sika v. 'bend the head down, bow\droop the head', Ku {Slz.} hiḳk- v. 'hang the head', {Fzg.} hiḳali v. 'crouch' ¶ D no. 2493.

2041. *šiḳâly∇, 'to pour' > **IE**: NaIE *seiḳḷ^ω- 'pour out, strain, leak, drip' > OI ✓ sēc-: *n-present siṛ'cati 'pours (out), sprinkles' (aor. asicat), 'sēka-ḥ 'pouring out, effusion, sprinkling', Av haēk-, hi(n)čaiti 'begießt, gießt aus' || Gk [Hs.] aor. ἵξαλ ('δληθῆσαλ) 'be strained\filtered', Gk ἰκμάς 'moisture', ἰκμάζω v. 'moisten', ἰκμάζω {By} 'rendre humide' || Gmc inf. *sīx-an ({Vr.} *sīx^ω-an) > ON inf. sía 'seihen', OHG inf. sīhan 'to strain (seihen, heraus-\durch-seihen)', NHG inf. seihen vt. 'to filter, to strain', AS inf. sīon ~ séon id., vi. 'to exude, to flow, to drip'; OHG sīha, NHG Seihe, AS siohhe 'strainer, filter', ON sía 'sieve' || Sl: SCr осека & осьека 'ebb' (< *sēkā), pre-Sl *ṣḳāti > Sl inf. *ṣc̣āti > SrChS inf. сьцати, SCr inf. sc̣āti, Slv inf. sc̣āti, Cz inf. sc̣āti, P inf. szczać, R inf. сцать, Uk inf. 'сцяти 'to urinate', Sl iter. *sikati inf. > Slv inf. síkati 'hervorspritzen', R inf. 'сикать 'to urinate' || Tc A sik- 'overflow' ¶ EI 448 (*seiḳ- 'pour out; overflow'), ≈ P 893-4 (*seiḳ^ω-), M K III 364-5, M E II 744-5, F I 717, Hofm. 123, Ho. 295, Kb. 851, OsS 762, KM 699-700, Vr. 472, Glh. 541-2 || **HS** (× N *šüḳʔa 'to drink, to suck'): S ✓ ṣ̌ḳɣ vt. *G* 'irrigate, water' > Ar ✓ sqɣ (pf. سقى saqā), Mh ✓ hḳɣ, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ṣ̌e'ḳe, Sb ✓ ṣ̌ḳɣ v. 'irrigate', OAk, Ak OA ṣ̌aḳāʔu, Ak OB ṣ̌aḳû 'to irrigate', Gz ✓ sḳɣ *G* v. 'irrigate, water' (ffd. see N *šüḳʔa) ¶ GB 860, KB 1512-14, HJ 1186, BK I 1108-10, Hv. 327, BGMR 128, L G 511, Jo. M 155, Sd. 1181 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ṣlaḳu > Hs ṣ̌ēḳà v. 'pour (into vessel), pour water (on a person)' || NrBc: Jmb/My/Dir {Sk.} ṣka v. 'pour in' || CCh: Mkt {Ro.} ṣaḳulá 'pour' ¶ Stl. ZCh 177 [no. 296], Abr. H 806-7, Ba. 935, Sk. NB 35, Ro. M s.v. ṣaḳulá, ChL, ChC s.v. 'pour' || ?? Eg fMK sc̣ɣ ({EG} śṭj) 'begatten, erzeugen' (if its basic meaning is 'Samen ergießen' [as supposed by EG]) ¶ EG IV 347-8 ¶¶

OS no. 2220 || **A:** Tg *sekE₁y∇₁- 'pour in, flow' > Nn KU sэкз- id., WrMc {Z} сэкѣ - v. 'stream, flow; strain (цедить)', сѣкѣнь 'spring (fons)' ¶ STM II 139, Z 579 ||| pA *ší:k'E (or *sí:k'E) 'urine', *ší:k'E- (or *sí:k'E-) 'urinate' > M *siye- 'urinate' > MM [S] sí₁e-, WrM {MED} si₁ge-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt шээ-, Kl {KRS} шее- šē- 'urinate', {Rm.} šē- 'pissen', Mnr H {SM} šē- 'uriner', Dg {Mrm.} šē- ~ sē- 'urinate', Ord šē- 'uriner'; ↪ M *siye-sün 'urine' > WrM {MED} si₁gesün, HIM {MED, BMR} шээс(эн), Brt шээһэ(н), Kl {KRS} шееһн šēsān id., {Rm.} šēsṅ 'Harn', Mnr H {SM} šēz₁z₁ 'urine', Ord šēsū id., Dg {Mrm.} šes ~ sēs 'urine' ¶ H 139, MED 701-2, BMR IV 389, Chr. 752, KRS 669, KW 355, SM 373, Ms. O 611-12, Klz. D II 131 || T *sīk 'urine' > Yk īk, Chv шăk id. ¶ JkR 142, Jeg. 332 || Tg *šikēn 'urine' > Ewk çikēn, Sln šičž, Lm çikan, Neg çixēn, Ul čigžn- ~ čž(n-), Ork çiz(n-), Nn Nh čičž, Nn KU čikž, WrMc {Z} сикэ id., Ewk çikēn-, Lm çikan-, Neg çixēn-, Sln {Iv.} чиг'ён-мур'ён 'urinate' ¶ STM II 392-3. Z 596 ¶¶ SDM 1327-8 (A *šīk'i-, *šīk'-di 'urine; to urinate' > T, M. Tg + unc. pJ *sit₃ or *situa 'urine' and pKo *stōṅ 'excrements'), DQA no. 2189 (id.), KW 355, Vld. 198, Pp. VG 31, 62, Md. OJ 40-1, 44 ¶¶ The pA initial cns. *š- or pTg *š- (both rather than *s-) may be explained by as. (pA *šī- < **sī- or pTg *ši- < **si-) ◇ The vw. *e in the first syll. of Tg *sekE₁y∇₁- (for the expected *i) still requires explanation.

2042. ₂ *SŪKŪR∇ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes, parent-in-law' > **IE: [1]** NaIE *'swekuro-s 'husband's father' > OI 'śvasura-ḥ, Av x^vasura-, NPRs خسر χosor, Psh sḫar 'father-in-law' ||| Gk ἑκυρός 'husband's father' ||| Al vjehērr (-rrī, pl. -ērr) m. 'father-in-law' ({O}: influenced by Al vjehērr 'mother-in-law') ||| Lsocer / gen. -ī 'father-in-law (husband's\wife's father)' ||| Clt {Matas.} *swekr∇no- 'father-in-law' > MW chwegrwn id., W {YGM} chwegrwn 'husband's father', OCrn [ʏ] hwigeren 'socer', Crn whygeran 'husband's father' ||| OHG swehur 'husband's father', NHG †, π Schwäher, AS swehor ~ swéor id., Gt μ swaíhra (· πενθερός) 'Schwiegerater' ||| Lt šēšuras (< *seš-) id. || SI *svekrъ 'husband's father' > ChS, OR свекръ svekrъ, Blg, Uk 'свекор, SCr svēkar, Slv svēker, Cz svekr, Slk sveker, P świekiec, R 'свёкор id. || **[1a]** d.: NaIE *'swekūrā 'husband's mother' > Arm ulḡunlp skesur id. (< *kwekūr-ā < *swekūrā- [as.]) ||| Gk ἑκυρά 'husband's mother' ||| pAl {O} *swexurā > Al vjehērr (-rra, pl. -rra) f. 'mother-in-law' ||| **[2]** NaIE *swe'krū-s 'husband's mother' > OI śva'srū-ḥ 'mother-

in-law', NPrs **خسر** χ osrū 'husband's father\ mother' || L s o c r u s 'mother-in-law' || Clt {Matas.} *swekrū- 'mother-in-law' > MW, W {YGM} chwegr id., Ocm [ɣ] hweger 'socrus', Crn w heger 'mother-in-law' || OHG swigar 'husband's mother' (> NHG Schwieger, Yid **שׁוויגער** 'šviger id.), AS swezer 'spouse's mother'; d. Gmc *swekr-ōn- > Gt swaíhrō (· πενθερά) 'Schwiegermutter', ON sværa 'spouse's mother' || Sl *sve'krī / gen. *svekrъve 'husband's mother' (< *swekrū- with depalatalization *k̄ > *k within a cns. cluster) > OCS, OR **свекръты** svekrī (gen. **свекръты** svekrъve), R Δ **све'кры**, R **све'кровь**, Blg **све'кърва**, SCr **svěkrva**, Slv **svēkrv**, **svēkrva**, OCz **svěkrov**, P świekra id. || [3] ? NaIE *swekū'ro- {Wrk} 'wife's brother' > OHG swāgur ~ swāger {Kb.} 'relative of a father-in-law, father-\son-\brother-in-law' || InA: Kshm hahar 'wife's brother', Sin hūrā 'spouse's brother' ¶ P 1043-4, EI 85 (? *swekū'ro-s 'wife's brother'), 195-6 (*'swekūro-s 'father-in-law, husband's father'), 386 (*swe'kruh_α-s 'mother-in-law'), StSS 593, Srz. III 269-70, Vs. III 571-2, Ch. 330, Szem. KT 17-18, Wrk 170-1, 185-6, 190-1, M K III 400-1, Vl. I 691-2, Slt. 57-8, F I 478-9, WH II 550-1, LP § 24.4, Matas. E 362, YGM-1 156, ECCE 307, Fs. 462-3, Vr. 571, Kb. 995, 998, 1003, OsS 907-8, 914, Schz. 277, KM 687-8, 693, Ho. 334-5, O 510-11, Frn. 977, Glh. 597 || HS: Ch **✓srK (mt.?) ~ **✓sK^ωr 'in-law' (× N *S'i'hūr[∇] 'person [man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v.) > WCh: Hs sùrúkí 'father-in-law, son-in-law', sùrúkã 'mother-/ daughter-in-law', sùrúkáj 'relations-in-law', Gw {Mts.} šòròk^yí 'wife's father\mother, wife's elder brother\sister, son-in-law' || AG *səʎər (Sch.) *səʎə₂r, {Hf.} *sə₂ʎə₂r '(father-\mother-)in-law' > Su {J} səgər 'father-\mother-in-law (Schwiegerleute)', Kfr {Hf.} səʎər, Ang {Hf.} sīr, Gmy {Hf.} s̄r, Mpn {Frz.} s̄r 'in-law' || BT: Bele {Sch.} hūrí 'in-law' (h- < *s-) || CCh: Mf {BLB} súk^ωár 'mother-\daughter-in-law' || BtG {Mch.} s̄r^ωa 'mother-in-law' || Glv {Rp.} šúgùla 'wife's mother, wife's brother, mother-in-law', Mdr {Mch.} šóla 'relative-in-law' || Msy {Mch.} skul 'mother-in-law' || Db {Mch.} səkul da 'my father-\mother-in-law, my son-in-law', {Lnh.} sùkúl 'relative-in-law', Kola {Sb.} sũkũl '(male) relative-in-law' || Lgn {Bou.} skũ 'mother-in-law' || Mtk {Sb.} skwâr 'relative-in-law' || MsgN {Rlf.} tsegelía '(male) relative-in-law' ¶ Abr. H 829, Ba. 963, Mts. G 109, Sk. HCD 238-9, Br. 963, Hf. AG no. 106, J S 82, Frz. DM 58, Sch. DN 145, Sch. ChV 48, Sch. BTL 17, 30, BLB 321, RpB 82, Mch. D 148, ChC s.v. 'relative-in-law' m., ChC s.v. 'relative-in-law' f., ≈ Nw. no. 74 || ? EC *s[∇]rk- (× N *S'i'hūr[∇] 'person

[man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes', q.v.) > Kns {BISO} sark-att-a 'brother-in-law of man', Gln {AMS} serko 'Schwager' ¶ BISO 173, AMS 36, 221, 267, ≈ Ss. PEC 5.

2043. ₂^* śal'a¹ 'a tie, means of tying' (→ 'rope') > **U**: FU *śala (or *śāla) 'thread' > Chr H {Ep.} šol 'вязок у саней' ('flexible rod used to tie together parts of a sledge'), Chr šol in Chr Uf kit-šol 'Armband', Chr L кидшол, Chr H/Uf kit-šol 'bracelet' (Chr кид, kit means 'hand, arm') || pOs *sāl > Os: V sālā 'Bauchgurt (des Rientiers), den Zugriemen tragender Riemen über dem Rücken des Renntiers', Km sāt 'um eine Rinderschachtel genähter Verstärkungs«gürtel» aus Birkenrinde', Kz sōϕ keϕ 'belly belt of a reindeer' (keϕ 'rope, cord') || Hg szalag 'ribbon, band' ¶ UEW 461, Ps. OT 123, Ep. 44, 152, MRS 197, SebZ 114, Ü 66, MF 566-7 || **HS**: CS (rdp.) *śal's'i'l(-at)- 'chain' > MHb שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת śal'sēlet, EpJA שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת ślšlt, JA [Trg.] שַׁלְשֵׁלֶת śalšēl't-ā, SmA šlšlh 'chain', Ar سلسل silsil- 'iron chain', سلسلة silsil-at- 'iron chain, succession', Sr د. سلسل silsil- 'iron chain', سلسلة silsil-at- 'iron chain, succession', Sr d. سلسل silsil- 'iron chain', سلسلة silsil-at- 'iron chain, succession' ¶ Js. 1590, HJ 1155, Js. 1590, Tal 905, Br. 784, Fr. II 340-1, BK I 1122, Hv. 329 || Eg sṣṣṣ {Crn.} v. 'tow (a boat)', {Mks} 'haler un navire', Cpt: Sd ساسع saase, B ساح sahs n. 'tow' ¶ Mks I no. 3366, Crn. 163, Vc. 197.

2044. *śāl'a¹ (= *śal'a¹?) willow' > **IE**: NaIE *salik̑- 'willow' > L salix id. || Clt {Matas.} *salik- 'willow' > OIr [Ϛ] sail / gen. sa(i)lech id., MW, W {YGM} helyg, Crn helyk, MBr halek, Br {Hm.} haleg coll. 'willows' (snglt. W {YGM}, Crn helyg-en, Br {Hm.} haleg-enn), OBrth salik- (in the n.l. Salico-dūnon) || ON selja (*salhyōn), Nr selije, Dn selje, silje 'sallow, *Salix caprea*', Sw sālǥ {Mlnv.} 'pussy willow', Ic selja {Bv} id., 'willow', OHG {OsS} sal(a)ha 'willow, sallow', MHG salhe, NHG Salweide, AS sealh 'sallow, *Salix caprea*', NE sallow || Oss I хæрис χārīs, Oss D хæpec χāres, хæрвес χārves 'willow' || ? Gk ἑλίκη 'crack willow, *Salix fragilis*' (× ? NaIE *welik̑- id. > Gk Β ἑλικῶν, MHG wilge, AS weliz 'willow', NE willow) ¶ WP I 300-1, 453-4, P 879, EI 643 (*sal(i)k- 'willow'), Mn. 1110, F I 494, Frdr. PITA 53-7, WH II 469, Vn. S 13, Matas. E 319-20, YGM-1 283, Hm. 368, ≈ Ab. IV 180-1, Ho. 236, 389, Lx. 321, Kb. 821, OsS 738, KM 622, Mlnv. 579, Hlq. 1145, Vr. 469 ¶ The element *-ik̑- is likely to go back to a sx || **U** *ś[śal]a > FU *ś[śal]a 'elm, willow' > F salava, Δ salaja 'brittle willow (*Salix fragilis*)' || Er селей séley, Mk сяли śāli 'elm' || Chr: L шоло 'šolo, Uf/B šolo, H šol 'elm' || Hg szil 'elm' || pY *sāl 'tree' ({IN H} *sā-, {IN UJ} *śal) > Y K {IN

H} šāl, Y T {IN H} sāl 'tree, wood, stick', OY K {Bil.} tšhall, OY NW {Lndn.} tšchal 'tree' ¶¶ UEW 458-9, Coll. 111, Sm. 549 (FU *ś+liw 'elm' > FP *śēlψ, Ugr *ś+lī), Ker. II 135, MRS 716, Ep. 152, Ü 266, IN UJ 221, 332, IN H 392, Krn. JJ 277, 284, 320, 332-3 || HS: S (+ext.) *°✓š|slp > Ar Mrc سَالِفُ sālif- 'weeping willow, hornbeam' ¶ Gass. II 651 ◇ It is not justified enough to adduce names of other trees, parts of trees or those of trees in general, such as D (in SD) *čall- ({ǧGS} *č|č-?) 'cane' (> Kn jalle 'bamboo pole, sugar cane', Kdg čalle 'sugar cane', cf. D no. 2383), HS *s∇l∇m- 'e tree' > Ar salam- '*Mimosa flava*', salām- ~ silām- 'a bitter tree', NrOm (Hrr {Abb.} solā '*Olea chrysophylla* [a tree]'), Mch {L} šolló 'e a tree'), Ch: Mgm sólmó 'e (very hard) tree', Hs Skt/Kc šállà 'the reed *gyaranya*', Hs šállà 'the flowering spikes of *gyaranya*'; Hs sàrfā 'stalk' does not belong here (it is actually from N *šéíxâ 'bough, twig, stick') (cf. Hv. 333, JA 124, OS no. 2182, Blz. OL no. 118 ['kind of tree'], CR H 660, L M 50, Ba. 907, 925) ◇ Coll. IUS 69 (FU, IE), ≠ Blz. DA 160 [no. 78] (suggesting to add D *čāl- '*Acacia*' to the IE-U comparison), Blz. NDA no. 81 (D and HS words for 'acacia', IE *salik- 'willow' + [unj.] words of HS lges for different trees and other plants + [unj.] some words of Altaic lges for 'branch' etc.) ◇ Cf. N *šA1∇ 'acacia'. Any connection between N *šA1∇ 'acacia' and N *ša1'a1 'willow' is not justified enough.

2045. *sA1'ê1 'put, throw' > HS: S *°✓š'lw|h|? ≈ 'throw' > Ak inf. šalû 'shoot (arrows), hurl (weapons), reject, throw away' ¶ CAD XVII/1 272-3 || U *sāle- or *sālke- 'sit down (seat oneself) (in/on sth.), get in/on (a boat, a sledge etc.)' > Prm *sōl- > Z I səl- 'get into (water)', Z cōB- s3v-, Z UV s3l- 'get in/on (a boat, a cart, a sledge or another vehicle), mount (a horse)' || ObU {ǧHl.} *θēl- 'sich setzen' > pVg {Ht.} *tāl- id. > Vg: T tāl-/tāl-, LK/MK/UK tōl-, P/LL tōl-/tal-, NV tōl-/tal-, SV/ML tōl-/tāl- id., UL/Ss tāl- vi. {ChCh} 'get into (a boat\sledge)', {MK} id., 'mount (a horse)' ({BV} 'сестъ', {Ht.} 'sich setzen' are misleading translations with polysemic R and NHG verbs); ⇨ Vg T tālt- vt. 'load into a boat'; pOs {Ht.} *čel- ({ǧHl.} *čāl-) vi. 'get into (a boat\sledge)' > Os: V/O lel-, Ty/Y čāč-, D/Nz/K tet- {Ht.} 'sich setzen' || Hg † ell- 'mount (a horse\donkey)' || Sm {Jn.} *t|čiy- (or *t|čiy-) 'get in/on (a boat, a sledge etc.)' > Ne T ти-, Ne T O Lh.} tī-, Ng {Prk.} tiayi, 1s aor. tī'em, Slq Tz {KIIH} tī- id., '(in den Schlitten, in das Boot, zu Pferd) sich setzen', Kms {KD} 1s pres. šī'ém ~ šā'ém id., 'ich fahre' ¶¶ UEW 434-5, LG 262, SZ 343-4, Ht. no. 138, Hl. rHt 68-71, BV 115-16, Trs. S 205, MK 622, MF 147, Jn. 163, KKIH 18, ≠

Rd. UJ 43 [no. 52] (+ unc. Y K 'elil 'burden, load, freight, weight', elite- v. 'load, pack, saddle') || **Ħ**: NaT *sal- 'put, put\throw down' > OT sal- {DTS} 'put, throw', {Cl.} 'move sth., put into motion (wave etc.)', MQP -صل sal- 'send', -صال sal- 'throw', XwT sal- 'put, put down, throw (down)', Tk sal- 'throw, cast', Tkm θal-, Qzq, Nog, Qrg sal- 'put, build', Az sal- 'put down', ET sal- 'put in', Qmq, VTt, Qq, StAlt, Xk, Tv, Tf sal-, Bsh hal-, Uz sal-, Slr saħ- 'put' ¶ DTS 482, Cl. 824, Rs. W 897, S AJ 189 [no. 140], TkR 561, Äz. 256, BN 130, MM 286, KrkR 559, BR 619-20, Jud. 624-6, Tn. SJ 471, BT 124, BIG 179, TvR 366, Ra. 225 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 277 (pA *sǰóle 'make, put' > T + unc.: pJ *sÁ- 'make' [and an auxiliary verb] and pKo *hǎ- id. [the pJ and pKo verbs may go back to some other N word, e.g. *šǰǰǰǰǰ 'make, build', q.v.]), ≈ DQA no. 1961 (id.), ≈ S AJ 286 [no. 251] (pA *sialǰ 'make, put' > T + unc. Tg *seǰǰ- 'say', pJ *sÁ- and pKo *hǎ-).

2046. *sālû (or *sĒʔalû) 'intact' (→ 'entire'), 'in good condition, healthy' > **IE**: NaIE *sōlō-, *solwō- 'entire' > OI 'sarva- 'entire, whole, intact, all, every', Av harva- id., 'sound', OPrs harva- 'whole, entire', Sak har-biśśa- 'all and every', NPrs هر hār 'every, all, all kind of, any', Oss I al(1)3, Oss D al(1)i 'all kind of' || Gk A ὅλος, Gk I/Ep οὔλος 'whole, entire, complete', Gk οὔλω 'be whole\sound' || pAl {O} *salwa > Al gjallë 'alive, living', ngjall- vt. 'bring back to life, revive' || Lsalvus 'safe, unhurt, well, sound', d. salūs / salūt-is 'health, soundness', Osc σαλας, salavus 'salvus', Um SALUOM, SALUUOM 'salvum' accus. || Arm nηϷ օղջ (< solǰo-) 'alive, living; sound, healthy; complete, entire' || Tc: A salu 'completely', B sol-me 'complete, whole' ¶ P 979-80, EI 262 (*'solwō-s 'whole'), M K III 446-7, Vl. II 1443-5, Ab. I 48, F II 381, WH II 471-3, Kf. 124, O 129-30, Bc. G 324, 345, Sl. 232, Bdr. 561, Xud. II 276, Wn. I 412, Ad. 705, Ad. H 22 || **HS**: S: [1] S *šl̥w 'be untroubled\safe, be at ease; 'stay quietly, be at rest' (× N *šil̥ 'quiet', q.v. ffd.) > BHb ַשְׁלֵוּ 'untroubled, carefree, at ease', ַשְׁלֵוּ 'untroubled state', JA {Trg.} {Lv.} ַשְׁלֵוּתָא šalāyū'tā 'Ruhe, Frieden', Ar šl̥w Sh (pf. ַسَلِيَ ʔaslā) v. 'be safe from wild beasts' | [2] +ext.: S *šlm̥ 'be completed, remain whole, be intact, sound and safe' > Ak šlm̥ G 'be completed; stay well; be in good condition, intact', BHb šlm̥ G (ip. ַשְׁלֵוּ yī-šlam, sttpf. ַשְׁלֵוּ šā'lem) 'remain whole\unscathed, be(come) completed, keep quiet', Amr šlm̥ G ≈ id., Ug šlm̥ G 'estar\ir bien, estar en paz', BA

✓šlm G 'be finished', SmA ✓šlm G 'come to an end, be completed', Ar ✓slm G 'be(come) safe' (→ 'be free from vice\defect'), Mn {MA} ✓šlm G 'être indemne', IA ✓šlm G 'be (re)paid'; ⇨ S *šalim- > BHb שָׁלֵם šālēm, JA [Trg.] שָׁלֵם šālēm, em. אֲשֵׁר אֲשֵׁר שָׁלֵם šālēm-ā 'complete, unmolested, peaceful', Ar سَلِمَ salima (pf. of the verb ✓slm) 'was safe', Ak šalmu 'whole, intact, entire, healthy, sound'; ⇨ S *šalām- 'unharmed state' > Ug šlm 'paz, salud, bienestar', BHb שָׁלוֹם šālōm 'unharmed state, well-being, peace' (→ a greeting) (and Cn ⇨ Eg [EgSSc] {Hlk} šá-la-ma 'greet, sue for peace'), Ph šlm 'peace, prosperity', Plm, SmA šlm 'peace', BA שָׁלוֹם šālām 'peace, prosperity' (as well as a greeting), IA šlm 'welfare, well-being, health', JEA שָׁלוֹם šālām, em. אֲשֵׁר אֲשֵׁר שָׁלוֹם šālām-ā 'id., 'soundness, health', Ar سَلَامٌ salām- 'safety, security' (→ 'immunity \ freedom from faults\vices' → 'obedience to God', a greeting), Sb {BGMR}, Mn {MA} šlm 'peace' (⇨ šlm G 'sue for peace'), Gz salām 'peace, safety' (and a salutation), Ak šalāmū 'health, (physical) well-being; welfare (of a country\city), safe course\completion of a journey', ⇨ *✓šlm D > Pun ✓slm D 'accomplish', BHb, Ph, Plm, Ak ✓šlm D '(re)pay, give restitution for', Ug šlm, (AkSc) šallima 'pay, deliver', Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} šá-l-má-tá 'levy, contribution', šá-l-ma-tá 'complimentary gift, provisions' ¶ KB 1394-9, 1418-25, 1790-1, GB 830, HJ 1142, A no. 2609, OLS 438-41, Hnr. 181-2, G A 32, BK I 1132, Hv. 333, Ln. 1412-16, Deg. § 62, Dlm. 424-5, Lv. IV 564, Lv. T II 488, Sl. 1150-1, Tal 901-4, Js. 1578, 1582, 1585-6, Br. 778, JPS 579, DM 441, Mcl. 442, Ln. 1412-18, Hv. 333-4, BGMR 127, MA 82, L G 499-500, CAD XVII/1 206-29, 255-60, Sd. 1211, 1237 (Ak šilū|tū ⇨ Aram), Hlk no-s 225-6, SivCR 42, 85 || ?φ ¶ M *šal 'complete; completely, quite' > WrM šal {MED} adj./adv. 'complete, utter, total', HIM шал {MED} id., {BMR} 'quite, completely' ('совсем, совершенно'), Brt шал, Kl {KRS} шал šalь, Dg {T} šal id., šal 'tout à fait' ¶ M *ša- is likely to go back to eM *sja- < pA *si-a- rom N *šEʔa- ¶ MED 748, BMR IV 332, Chr. 715, KRS 661, Chr. 715, T DgJ 182, Ms. O 603 || D *čāl- ({šGS} *s-?) 'sufficient, suitable' > Tm cāl- 'be abundant\full, be suitable\fitting', Ml cāla 'richly, fully', Kn sāl, sālū 'be sufficient\ enough, suffice', Tl cālū 'be able\ capable\enough', Klm sāl 'be able, can', Gnd Mu hālna 'completely', Knd sāl- 'be capable of, be suitable', Ku hāl- v. 'suffice, be enough to' ¶¶ D no. 2470 ◇ The D

long vw. (*ā) and M *š- (from *sĭ-?) may be very tentatively explained by reconstructing pN *šEʔa1û.

2047. ₂ *SīlV 'hole' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *sill- 'small hole' > Kns {Ss.} silla id., ??σ,φ Rn sīl 'vagina, birth canal' || SC {E} *sila 'cave' > Kz {E} silimbayo id. ¶ ≈ Ss. Gšsf 245, Ss. B 71, PG 260, E SC 326 || S: Ak fOB šīlū(m) 'Vertiefung (Eindruck auf Leber, Magen usw. in Omina; Vertiefung im Gelände)', ? Ar sālī- (pl. sull-ān-, sulālī-) 'bottom of a valley' ¶ Sd. 1237, BK I 1117, Hv. 329 || ?φ CCh: Ms {J} sūllà, Bnn {ChL} sūldà, BnnM {ChL} sula 'hole' ¶ The deviant vw. *u may be due to the contamination with the reflex of N *šūlġē' 'throat, mouth' (q.v.) ¶ ChC s.v. 'hole', ChL, J KKS || D *čill- ({GS} s-) 'small hole' > Tm illi id., 'orifice', cilli 'leak, hole, crack', MI cilli-kkuttu 'a little hole', Kn jilli 'small hole in an earthen vessel', Tl cilli 'small hole in a pot/paper' ¶¶ D no. 2575 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 161 [no. 93] (HS, D; Blz. did not distinguish between this N etymon and N *čAlVmV 'orifice, pit' or 'breach').

2048. *síīi or *síīayV 'smooth, slippery' > HS: B *√sll 'smooth, slippery' > Ah əsləl 'être très lisse et très doux en touchant', sələlət 'glisser, əsləli 'glissement', Gh əšlələm 'glisser' ¶ Fc. 1823, Nh. 165 || IE: NaIE *sleġ-m- 'slippery', 'smooth' (× N *ǵīīV 'to slip, to slide') > ON slím, NNr, Dn slim, Sw slem, MDt, Dt slijm, AS, OLG, MLG, OHG, MHG slīm, NHG Schleim 'slime', NE slime || Clt (< NaIE *slim-no-): OIr slemon ~ slemun, NIr sleamhain 'smooth, slippery', Brtt *slimnos (or *slibnos) 'smooth' > OW [ȝ] limnint 'tondent' 'sie glätten', MW llefnu, lywnu 'to harrow', W llyfn (f. llefn) 'smooth, even', Crn leven 'smooth', OBr limn 'lentum', {Flr.} 'souple, flexible', MBr -leffn (in the cd di-llefn 'hard' with a privative di-), Br levn 'poli, uni']? → NaIE *sleġm-āk- 'snail' > Gk {Hs.} λεῦμαξ (gen. λεῦμακος) 'snail' || L līmāx (gen. -cis) 'slug, snail' (← Gk?) || Sl *slimakъ 'snail' > R Δ, Uk слимак, Cz slimák, Slk slimek, P ślimak id. ¶ Not here (or not only here) the apparently extended roots *sleġġ- 'smooth, slippery' and *sleġdʰ- 'slippery', v. 'slide' that go back respectively to N *ǵīīKæ or *ǵīīKæ 'to slip, to slide' (q.v.) and N *śVLχitV ~ *śVLχidV 'to slip' (q.v.) ¶ WP II 390, P 663-4, 960-1, ≈ EI 527 (*(s)leġ- 'sticky, slimy, slippery'), Vs. III 671-2, Vn. S 130, RE 132, YGM-1 316, Hm. 514, Flr. 242-3, Ho. 299, Vr. 516, Kb. 910, Lx. 198, KM 656, F II 97, WH I 802, Tr. 269 || U *ś|cīl|V- ({Resh.} *ś|cīl-) (× N *ǵīīV '↑') > FU (att. in FL) *ś|cīl|E- '≈ (be) smooth' > F sileä 'smooth', Es sile (gen. sileda) id., F silittää, Es silitada, Lv

sila·stb 'streicheln, glätten' | Lp N {N} čâlle, Lp L {LLO} tjalīē
 'stiffness\hardness of skin\leather' (semantic change: 'smooth leather' →
 'hard leather') || Sm {Jn.} *sil- ~ *sel- v. 'whet' > Ne сил- sil- id., Slq Tm
 {KD} sāl'ab_, Slq NP {Cs.} sillam, Slq Chl {Cs.} selam '(he) whets', Slq Chl
 {Cs.} sēlal 'smooth', Kms {KD} sélǎ́em 'I whet' ¶¶ SSA III 180, SK 1024,
 Kt. 365, Coll. LWL, Ter. 559, Jn. 141 || ¶ A: T *sil:la- v. 'stroke' > OT silψ-
 (or {Cl.} sil-) v. 'rub, wipe, caress, stroke', Qrg sila- v. 'stroke, caress', Uz
 sila- v. 'smooth, stroke', ET sila- v. 'stroke', Qzq\Nog sila- v. '(be)smear,
 clay, massage', Qq sila- v. 'smear, caress (e.g. a child)', VTt sbla- v.
 'smear, rub on', SbTt Tm {Rl.} sbla- 'ein-\be-schmieren, einreiben', Bsh
 hbla- v. 'smear', Sg {Rl.} sila- v. 'smear, plaster'; the meaning v. 'rub, wipe'
 is due to the semantic infl. of the paronymous NaT root *sil- v. 'sweep,
 wipe' (> Tk sil- [converb siler], Ggz sil- v. 'wipe, clean', Az sil- v.
 'wipe, polish, clean', Chv шǎл- šbl- v. 'sweep, wipe'), which may be akin
 to M *sili- (> Kl {Rm.} šilj- 'mit den Füßen verhindern, mit dem Fusse
 auffangen [einen Ball], mit dem Fusse wegschieben\fegen' and ĵ WrM {Rm.}
 silī-, sile- [not registered in MED], F KW 357); if Cl. is right in
 reconstructing the vw. -i- in the OT verb silψ-, this vw. may be due to the
 same infl. of pT *sil- v. 'wipe' ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- may be due to the
 palatalizing infl. of *i of T *sil- v. 'wipe' ¶ Rs. W 421, Cl. 824-5, MM 311,
 NogR 320, KrkR 602, TatR 495, TrR 778, ARL 267, Tkr 600, 604, Jud.
 678, Rl. IV 652, 709, Ash. XVII 277-80, Fed. II 440-1, Jeg. 333, ChVS 278,
 Md. 71, 176 (pT *sīla v. 'rub, smear') ◇ If the vw. *a in T *sila- belongs
 to the ancient root (rather than to a sx), the N rec. has to be *sílay ▽ ◇
 Rs. UAW 47 (FU, T), IS MS s.v. 'скользкий' (*silα: IE, U, T) ◇ ≈ Gr. II
 no. 314 (*silu 'rub') (IE, U, A, Ai + qu. Ko, J, EA).

2049. *sil ▽ 'be\become liquid, melt, flow' > HS: C: HEC *šīl- vi. 'melt'
 > Kmb, Sd šīl- id., 'dissolve' ¶ Hd. 98, 337, 392 || S *°-š|sīl- v. 'flow' > Ar
 ✓ sy| (ip. -sīl-) v. 'flow' (of water) (× N *s'û'wól'E' 'liquid, moisture'
 [q.v.] and N *silψ ▽ 'stream, small body of water' [q.v.]) ¶ BK I 1177, Hv.
 347 || D *čil- ({{GS} *c|c-) v. 'flow' (× N *čīṭha (= *čīṭha?) 'be
 wet\moist; moisture' [q.v. ffd.]); but Klm silka 'river', Nkr sílka 'brook,
 river', Prj čilva 'brook, rivulet', Gnd A silka 'small river', Gnd G hilka
 'rivulet' belong rather to N *silψ ▽ '↑' (q.v.) or represent a merger of both
 N etymons ¶¶ D no. 2569 || IE: Ht {Frd.} salliya- vi. md. 'melt, dissolve
 (in water)', {Ts.} sallai- / salliya 'zergehen' (unless identical with Ht
 sallai- / salliya- vi. 'broaden') ¶ Frd. HW 179, Ts. W 68 || ¶ A *s|zil ▽

'dew', (?) hoarfrost' > Tg *sile- 'dew' > Ewk, Neg silз-ksз, Ul, Nn silзmsз, Ork śilзśkз, Sln śilikśi, Ud silihз, Orc silзηsз, WrMc {Z} силэнги, Lm Arm sīli id., Lm Ol/P hīli 'drizzling rain, hoarfrost' ¶ STM II 85-6, On. 363, Z 606 || Ko *sàrí 'hoarfrost' > MKo sàri, NKo sàri id.; ? OKg {Mill.} *salgan id. ¶ Nam 299, MLC 836, Rm. SKE 230, RKorS 257, Mill. OKA 8 ¶¶ SDM 1248-9 (pA *sila 'dew, liquid' [without distinguishing the pA root in question from pA *sil∇- 'saliva, spittle' < N *śūí∇ŕü or *śíí∇ŕi 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit'] > Tg, Ko + err. M *sil- 'slive, saliva' and T *sil- id., 'spittle' [both from pA *sil∇- 'saliva, spittle'], Rm. SKE 230.

2050. *śu|'û (or *śu|'û) 'lax, loose, slack' > HS: CS *✓šw| (i* - šwal-) > Ar ✓sw| (pf. sawila, ip. -swal-) G 'be(come) lax\flaccid\uncompact', paswal- 'lax, flaccid, uncompact', sawal- 'flabbiness of the belly\limbs', BHb שׁוּל * *šū|* (pl. cs. שׁוּלִים šū|l-ē, pl. with 3s ppa. שׁוּלֵי שׁוּלִים-āw) 'garment's train\hem' (KB: ← 'was heranhängt') ¶ GB 814, BDB 1002, Ln. 1473-4, Fr. II 1833, Hv. 345 || ? Eg MK sз *'weak' in sз-с 'the weak of arm' (× N ?σ *śuw?∇ 'weak', q.v. ffd.) ¶ EG IV 14, Fk. 209, Tk. I 65 || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc only) *°sleu- 'hanging down loosely (schlaf herabhängend), slack' > OSx slêu 'schlaff, feige', ON slær, sljár, sljótt 'blunt', OHG slēo 'dull, faded, tepid (stumpf, welk, lau)', AS slāw, slæw 'sluggish, lazy', NE slow ¶ P 962-3, AHDI 61, Vr. 518, Ho. 297-8, Ho. S 68, Kb. 909, OsS 821 || A *s|zula 'lax, loose' > M *sula 'loose, lax, free, empty' > MM [MA] sula 'free', [S] sula- v. 'lose machen, lockern (den Halskragen)', WrM sula {MED} 'loose, free, vacant, empty' HIM cyл {MED} id., {BMR} 'open, not closed, not locked, unfilled (unausgefüllt), free, empty; weak', Brt hула 'weak', 'not closed' (a door), Kl {KRS} cyл sul 'empty, free, not vacant; weak', {Rm.} sulу 'lose, locker, schlaff, frei, leer', Ord сула 'peu tendu, lâche, faible, sans force, non lié, vide, libre, qui n'est pas fermé à clef', Mnr H {SM} sulā 'non tendu, lâche, faible', {T} sula 'free'; M ⇨ Ewk Nr sula 'weak, light (léger)', WrMc {Z} cyла 'free' ¶ Pp. MA 327, H 137, MED 736, BMR III 126-7, Chr. 688, KRS 460, KW 336-7, SM 357-8, Ms. O 580-1, STM I I 124, Z 642 || Tg: [1] Tg *sula- v. 'leave (lassen, verlassen)' > Ewk sula-, Lm hуlā-, Orc sulagi-, Ul solaožų/i-, Orl sulaw-, Nn Bk solā-, solāgo-, Nn KU solao- id., Nn Nh {STM} solō-, solōgo- id., {On.} solōgo- 'leave (part of smth. unfinished\ unused)', Neg solapça-, Orc sulagi- remain (be left); [2] (+ext.) WrMc {Z} cyлфа 'freely, easily, without special effort' ¶ STM II 124, On. 373, Z 643 || pKo {Rm.} *sAr- v. 'fit loosely, be shaky' > NKo sAl-gaptа [salgapta] 'fits loosely, is

shaky' ¶ Gale KED 641, Rm. SKE 221, S QK no. 829, MLC 951 || pJ *s3ra- or *suara- v. 'deviate' > MJ sora- id., J T/Kg soré, J K sòré {Kenk.} 'turn away\aside, deviate (from)' ¶ Mr. 755, Kenk. 3813 ¶¶ SDM 1307 (A *sōlo 'be lax\loose' > M, Tg *sula-, J, Ko + unc. T *sōl 'left [link]; the err. rec. of A *ō is based on T *sōl), DQA no. 2117, KW 336-7, Rm. SKE 221 (Ko, M, Tg) || D *cūl∇ ({ǵGS} *s-) 'easy, light (non heavy)' > Tm c u l u v u, Kn s u l u v u 'ease, facility, lightness', Kt cūl∇ 'easy work, easy', Tu c u l a k a, Ku sūlkara 'light (not heavy)', Tl c u l u k a (n) 'lightly, with slight\disregard', c u l u k a n i 'light, easy', s u l u v u 'easy, easiness' ¶¶ D no. 2703 ◇ ≈ IS MS 351 (*^rs¹ul∇ 'незакрепленный' [IE, A, D]).

2051. *śū^r∇ (= *śū∇?) (or *s-?) 'heel, sole of foot, bottom', N *k^ur^r∇ śū^r∇ '∈ part of the foot' (cd with N *k^ur^rU¹ 'foot, hoof', q.v.) > HS: S *k^ursull- > BHb קרסול karsul (du. with 1s sx קרסול קרסול'lay) 'ankle' ({KB} 'Knöchel, Fußgelenk'), JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA קרסול'la, JEA קרסול'la, Sr كرسول karsul 'ankle', Ak kursinnu 'fetlock, lower leg' ¶ KB 1069, KBR 1146, Lv. T II 390, Lv. IV 38 5-6, Js. 1423, Sl. 1045, Br. 700, Sd. 511, CAD VIII 566 ¶ The variant represented by Ak kursinnu is likely to go back to the N genitive construction (→ obl. case form) *k^ur^r∇ śū^r∇ nu || B *-sīl- 'sandals, shoes', *√_lw₋sl v. 'put on footwear' > Ah esīl 'paire de chaussures', BSn tisili (pl. tisila) 'sandals', Ntf tasilt (pl. tasila) 'fer à cheval', Zng tasiž'i 'chaussure', Skn tsila (pl. tsilawin) 'sandals', Kb əssəl 'mettre des jambières \ des chaussettes', Gh əsəl 'être chaussé', ETwl, Ty əsəl 'se chausser de' ¶ Some of these words may alternatively go back to L solea 'sandal' ¶ Fc. 1821-2, GhA 172, Dl. 770, La. S 213 || K: GZ *kurs]- 'heel' > OG, G kusl-, G X kursl- 'heel', Mg kurs-i, kurc-i 'heel, kick of a heel', ? kur-i 'heel; heel of a wooden plough', Lz kus-, ? ku(r-) 'heel, heel of a shoe (καβλυκ)'. Alternatively, Mg kur-, Lz ku(r)- and Sv {K ← ?} kər 'heel' (← Mg?) may represent N *k^ur^rU¹ 'foot, hoof' (q.v.) ¶¶ K 200 (*kurs]-), K² 219-20; FS K 340 and FS E 381-2 (in both: K *kurs-), Q 347, Chik. 65 || IE: NaIE *swol-/*sul- 'sole of foot; ground' > L solum 'sole of foot; soil, ground', solea 'a leather sole strapped on the foot, sandal' || OIr sol ~ fol {Vn.} 'sol, base, plante de pied', nom. pl. solaiġ, dat. pl. soilġib 'soles of feet' || ζ Gk [Hs.] ὑλῖα {P, Vn.} 'Sohle' (a different interpretation: {LS} [Hs.] accus. pl. ὑλῖας τὸς καρπατῦνοὺς τόμους] '[cut] pieces of leather'?) ¶ WP II 552, P 1046, WH II 554, LS 1848, EM 634, Vn. S 167-8 || ?σ U: FU *°s|š^ri¹∇ 'low' (or *-e-, *-δ-) > ObU {Ht.} *θēl-, {[Hl.]} *θǎl-/ *θēl- 'low' >

pVg *tǎlk^ω∇ id. > Vg: T tǎlk^ωī ǎ tǎlkī, LK tǎlk^ωa, tǎlak^ω, MK tǎlk^ω, UK tǎlk^ωa, NV tǎlka, SV/LL tǎlk^ωa, UL/Ss talk^ωá id.; pOs {Ht.} *ǎe1 id. > D/Nz tet, Kz ǎeǎ, O le1 ¶ Ht. 136 [no. 135], Kn. VW 137, Stn. WV 2O6, Hl. rHt 73 ◇ If the FU (ObU) cognate belongs here, the initial N cns. is *s-. In this case K *-s- (for the expected *-š-) may be due to its position within a cns. cluster. Otherwise (which is likely to be more plausible) the N sibilant is *ś. FU *°s|š^ri^l∇ suggests (if it belongs here) that the N vw. of the first syll. was *ū and the N lateral cns. is *l. K *k- for the expected *k̥- and S *s for the expected *š are still to be explained.

2052. ₂ *š^rE^rǎw^rū^rL∇ 'look for, search, ask' > HS: B *√swl 'look for' > Tsh {Ds.} siggǎl (3s pf. isugg^ωǎl) 'look for', ? Ah sǎssǎgǎǎl 'chercher', as well as Mz √swl (sǎwwǎl / yǎtsewwǎl) 'ask (a question)' (← Ar √sǎl id.?) ¶ Ds. 62, Fc. 18O9-1O, Dlh. M 196 || S *√šǎl 'ask (a question), ask for' > BHb, EpHb, Pun, Yd, IA, JA [Trg.], JPA, JEA, Sr, SmA, Md √šǎl G, Ar, Gz √sǎl G, Qt √šǎl G, OAk inf. šǎ^rǎlu, Ak √šǎl (inf. šǎ^rǎlu ~ šǎlu) 'ask (a question), inquire'; d. Sb, Mn, Qt mšǎl 'oracle', EpHb, IA, JA, Sr, Md √šǎl G, Ar, Gz √sǎl G, Sb √šǎl G 'ask for, beg, plead', Sb, Mn √šǎl G 'ask, seek, require', Jb {Jo.} √šǎl (pf. šǎl, sbjn. yšǎl) 'demand payment for a dept', Sq {L} hǎ^rǎl id., 'borrow' ¶ HJ 1O95-8, KB 1276-9, A no. 2566, Js. 15O6-8, Sl. 1O98-9, Br. 748, Tal 859-6O, DM 441-2, Ln. 1282-4, BK I 1O36-7, BGMR 121, MA 8O, Rk. 156-7, L G 48O, L LS 139, Jo. J 259, Sd. 1151-2, CAD XVII 274-82 || A ≈ *s|zǎ^r∇büL^ra^r- > Tg: **[1]** Tg *sebulē- 'search, look for' > Ul sǎwlu- ~ sǎwǎl/i-, Nn Nh {On.} sǎulǎ-, Nn Nh/KU {STM} sǎulǎ- v. 'durchsuchen (обыскивать)', WrMc {Hr} seole- 'think over (nachdenken)', suwele- id., 'look for', {Z} sǎwǎle- ~ sǎolǎ- id., 'look for; think over (обдумывать)'; Tg *sebulēn n. act. 'a search, searching, looking for' > Nn Nh sǎulǎ id., WrMc {Z} sǎolǎn id., {Hr} seolen 'Bedenkung, Sorge, Erwägung' ¶ × ← Chn sǎu 'make a search, search for'? ¶ STM II 134, On. 387, Z 574-5, 653, Hr 783-4, 837 || **[2]** ? Tg *sabulǎli- 'treat (a guest with food)' > Neg sawǎli-, Orc sawǎli- ~ sauli-, Ud sauli-, Ul sawǎli/u-, Nn saolǎ- id. ¶ STM II 52, On. 354 || ?φ M *šǎla- (< ppM **si^r∇la-?) > WrM {MED} šǎla- 'persuade, urge, ask consistently', HIM шǎla- {MED} id., {BMR} 'ask consistently, insist', 'erbitten, erflehen (выпрашивать, вымаливать)', 'вымогать', Kl Ö {Rm.} šǎla- 'inständig bitten, betteln, mit Fragen und Forderungen bedrängen'; M → ? Alt/Tlt {Rm.} šǎla- 'verhören' ¶ Alt/Tlt šǎla- suggests an eM *sila- ¶ MED 749, BMR IV 333, KW 346 ¶¶

The Tg vw. *-a- of the initial syll. in *sab₁u₁li- and the Mg vw. *-a- of the initial syll. may be due to the ass. infl. of pA root-final *-a- ¶¶ M *šā- is likely to go back to eM and pA *šā- < *si₁∇- from N *š¹E¹∇- ◇ B *-w- and Tg *-b- may go back to N *-w- or to an epenthesis of a hiatus (N *æ¹u- > *-E₁u- > *-E₁w₁u-). The eM vw. *i of the initial syll. may go back to N *-ū- of the second syll.

2053. ₂ *š¹i₁∇₁L∇ 'to roast, to fry, to cook' > HS: B *^o✓s¹l¹y¹ > Kb əsli 'cuire rapidement' ¶ Dl. 776 || EC: [1] EC *š¹s¹o¹l¹- > HEC {Hd.} *sa¹l- 'cook by boiling, fry, roast' > Brj sa¹l- 'cook by boiling, bake', Kmb š¹o¹l-, Hd sar-id., 'fry, roast'; Sa {R} s¹o¹l- 'braten, rösten auf dem brennenden Feuer', s¹o¹l¹ā 'Fleisch auf heißen Steinen gebraten; Feuerbrand', Af {PH} so¹la 'campfire for roasting meat', Sml {ZO} so¹l- vt. 'grill, toast, roast'; [2] EC *š¹il- > Sml {ZMO}, Sml N {Abr.} š¹ī¹- vt. 'fry', ? Or {Brl.} s¹il-a₁w₁u 'affumigarsi, arruginirsi, ossidarsi' ¶ R S II 319, PH 193, Hd. 68, 218, 297, 338, ZMO 364, 376, Abr. S 232, Brl. 374 || S: [1] WS *✓ç¹ly (*-ç¹lay-) 'roast' (*ç¹ < HS **s...?) > BHb ✓ç¹ly (pf. הַבֵּץ çā¹lā, ip. הַבֵּץ¹ y¹i-ç¹lē) 'roast (meat)', JPA, JEA ✓ç¹l₁w₁y (pf. הַבֵּץ çā¹lā) id., SmA ✓ç¹ly G 'roast', Ar حلى ✓ç¹ly v. G (ip. -ç¹liy-) 'roast, broil, fry', Gz ✓ç¹l₁w₁ v. G 'broil, roast' (μ: *✓ç¹ly > ✓ç¹l₁w₁); hardly here Ak LB s¹elû 'burn (fumigants)', because the vw. e points to a root with III *ʕ¹ħ (S *a > Ak e in the presence of a former *ʕ¹ or *ħ); [2] +ext.: CS *✓š¹l₁k₁ > JA ✓š¹l₁k₁ G 'einkochen, sieden' (↳ MHb ✓š¹l₁k₁ G id.), Sr ✓š¹l₁k₁ G 'cook, broil, boil', Ar ✓s¹l₁q G vt. 'boil (food, plants) with fire' ¶ KB 961, Lv. IV 192, 566-7, Js. 1283, 1588, Sl. 965, Tal 732-3, Ln. 1410, 1721-2, L G 556-7, CAD XVI 124, Sd. 1090, Br. 784, JPS 582 || ¶ A: Tg *s¹ila- v. 'roast on a spit, grill' > Ewk sila-, Sln š¹ila-, Nn silo-, Neg d. silat/ç-, Orc d. siloč¹i-, Ork d. silotç¹i-, PCIWrMc [TF] silo- / siyolome, WrMc {Z} шолл- id., Lm h¹il- v. 'spit (meat, fish)', d. h¹il₁t/ç- v. 'roast on a spit', Ud {Krm.} silo 'fish roasted on a spit'; ↳ Tg *s¹ilapun 'spit for roasting' (× A *s¹ī¹ī¹ā 'sharp stick; spit' < N *š¹ē¹ī¹ā 'bough, twig, stick', q.v. ffd. × N *š¹i¹∇¹yâ 'tooth, fang', q.v.) ¶ STM II 82, Krm. 285, On. 363, Z 675, Mls 237 || ?σ M *silün 'soup, broth' (× N *s¹ū¹w¹o¹l¹E¹ 'liquid, moisture' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ WS *ç¹ (probably from **s?) in *✓ç¹ly suggests the presence of *ʔ in the N word.

2054. ₂ *S∇HaL∇ 'salt, spice' > IE *seH₁-/*sHe₁-/*sH₂- 'salt': nom. IE *seH₁-s > NaIE *sāl-s > Gk ἄλας, L sāl, Ltv sāl₁s, μ Arm աղ ał; accus. IE *sHe₁-m₂ > NaIE *sal-m₂ > Gk ἄλα, L salem, Sl (accus. > accus.-nom.) *sō¹lb (> OCS солъ solъ, Blg сол, SCr sō¹l, Slv sō¹l, Cz sů¹l, Slk sol', R соль,

Uk сіль), gen. IE *sH₂-os > NaIE *səlos > Gk ἅλς, L salis gen. 'salt' || Pru sal id. || Tc A sāle, Tc B salyige (obl. sālyi-) id. || ds: Vd salil'a- ~ sari'ra- {M} 'salty (?)', OI salil'a-m ~ sari'ra-m 'sea, sea flood', OI Λ sara- 'salty' || Um salu accus. 'salt' || Clt {Matas.} *salano- 'salt' > OIr [γ] salann 'sal'. Brtt {RE} *saleinos 'salt' > MW halwyn ~ halaen, {Matas.} halen, W {YGM} halen, OCrn [LC] haloín, Crn holan, {Matas.} haloín, MBr hōlen ~ halen, Br {Hm., RE} hōlen, {RE} c'hoalenn 'salt' || NaIE *sal-d- 'spice (malt, salt)' > Lt saldū̄s, Ltv saĩds 'sweet' | SI *sōldь- 'malt' > OR СОЛОДЪ solodь {Vs.} id. ({Srz.} 'хлебное зерно, проросшее и высушенное'), R, Uk солод, Blg слад, SCr, Slv slād, Cz, Slk slad, P słod 'malt'; -> SI *sōldь-кь 'sweet' > OCS СЛАДЪКЪ sladькъ id. (-> R 'сладок' 'is 'sweet', 'сладк-ий' 'sweet'), Blg 'сладък, SCr slàđak, Slv sladek sláđak, Cz, Slk sladký, P słodki, R Δ, Uk со'лodkaий, Blr са'лodkaі 'sweet' | -> NaIE *saldā- v. 'salt' > L sallē- v. 'salt', salsus (-> *sald-to-) 'salted' || Gmc *salta- 'to salt' > Gt inf. saltan (· ἅλιζειν) 'salzen', OHG inf. salzan, NHG inf. salzen 'to salt' | Gmc *salta- 'salty' > ON saltr, AS sealt, OFrs salt, MLG solt; -> Gmc {Wt.} *saltam 'salt' > Gt salt (· ἅλς) 'Salz', OFrs, OSx salt, MDt soūt, Dt zout, OHG salz, NHG Salz, AS sealt 'salt', NE salt ¶ P 878-9, Lub. AP*a 59-60, Krtl. LVBS § 1.6, Wy. IEa 66, F I 78-9, WH II 465-7, Bc. G 34, Slr. 22-3, Vn S 17-18, Matas. E 319, YGM-1 280, Hm. 285, RE 125, Hm. 385, Frn. 759-60, Kar. II 151, En. 241, Fs. 409, OsS 740, Ho. 285, 292, Ho. S 62, Vs. III 712-13, 715, StSS 610, 619, Srz. III 461, Glh. 557, 571, M K III 448, Vr. 461, Kb. 823, AHDI 55, Wn. I 417, JGH 194, 229, 231-6, 337, Ad. 678, ≈φ EI 498 (*seh_π-(e)l- 'salt') || HS: B *zāHl- (> *zāl-) > Ah tā-zall-it 'fine salt from Tidikelt', ? Ty, ETwl tā-zōl-t 'antimony, oxide of antimony' ¶ Fc. 1959, GhA 221 ¶ Emphatization *s > *z may be due to the lr. (evidenced by the vw. a < *aH) || Ch {ǧAD} *s₂u^H∇l 'salt' (*s₂ acc. to AD ChCS) > CCh: pMM {Ro.} *šūwāl 'salt' > Mada {Ro.} sùwál, Mkt {Ro.} šúgùl, Zlg {Ro.} šùwál id. || ECh: Skr {Lk.} súlurī, {Sx.} sùlûm 'salt', ?σ Ke {Eb.} súlá 'sea' ¶ Ro. 318 [no. 603], ChC s.v. 'salt', Lk. ZSS, Sx. s.v. sùlûm, Eb. 93, AD ChCS || ???σ S *o✓š|s|s > Ar salāf- 'ε bitter tree, ε aloe, *Sælanthus quadragonus*, *Cacalia sonchifolia* (plants)', {BK} sawlāf- 'aloe' (?imrun min sawlāfin 'more bitter than aloe') ¶ Hv. 331, BK I 1124.

2054a. *s^uwol'E' (= *sūwol'E'?) 'liquid, moisture' > IE: NaIE *sūl-, -ā 'liquid, sludge' > OI 'surā 'ε intoxicating beverage', Av hurā, MPrs

h u r 'intoxicating drink, milk wine (kumiss)', KhS h u r ā - f. 'fermented milk of mares' || Lt s u l à , Ltv s u l a 'sap', s ū l a 'pus, running sore', Pru s u l o 'curdled milk' || Gk ὕλη (with ū) 'mud, slime, sediment; matter (excreted from the human body)' || ON s o l - (in cds) 'mire, puddle', AS s o l id., OHG s o l {Kb.} 'Sumpfloch, sumpfige Stelle', MHG s o l , s u l 'saline fluid', NHG S u h l e 'bog; sump; wallow of pigs', AS s o l u (s o l w e) 'puddle', NNr s ø l e 'mud' (< *s u l w -); Scn b → F s u l a adj. 'molten, fluid'] -> Gt inf. b i -s a u l j a n (· μιλίνειν) 'beflecken', Nr inf. s ø t y l a , OHG inf. b i -s u l e n 'to soil', NHG inf. s u h l e n , s ū h l e n 'to wallow in mire', AS inf. s y l i a n 'to soil', NE s u l l y] -> NHG S u h l e n 'muddy puddle, wallow, slough', AS s y l e n 'puddle, slough, mire' ¶ WP II 453, 468, 513, P 913, Mn. 1334, M K III 487, M E II 717, Bai. 492, Fs. 94-5, F II 962-3, Vr. 529, Ho. 306, Kb. 925, 985, Frn. 9, En. 15, EI 323 (*'s u l e h a - ≈ [fermented] juice') || HS: S *°-š | s ī l - > Ar ✓ s y l G (pf. s ā l a , ip. -s ī l -) 'flow' (of water) (× N *š i l ∇ 'be[come] liquid, melt, flow' and N *s i l f ∇ 'stream, small body of water') ¶ BK I 1177 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} s ē l 'dicke Suppe' || ECh: Smr {Lk.} s á l ē 'Brühe aus getrockneter Hirse und Milch' ¶ J S 81, Lk. ZSS 81 || K: GZ *š o w e l - 'wet, soaked' (× <- K *š o w - v. 'wet, make wet' < N *s 'ü' w h â or *s E ʔ u w h ∇ 'moisture, water, rain; 'to wet, to be wet') > OG s w e l - , G s w e l - , Δ s o w e l - ∂ s o b e l - 'wet, soaked', Mg š u (e) - , š ʒ - 'wet' (of snow), Lz š u - 'wet'; K *š o w l - v. 'wet, make wet' > OG s o v l - , Mg š o l u a , Lz o -š o l - u id.; OG s w e l - i , G s w e l - i 'wet', Sv UB/LB/Ln {TK} š w e l id., 'whey' ¶¶ K 174, K² 182, FS K 286, FS E 315, Srj. KE 28, TK 824 || U *s u l a > FU *s u l a 'thawed, melted; *s u l a - v. 'thaw, melt, liquefy' > F, Es s u l a 'melted, molten, liquid, fluid, not frozen', s u l a - v. 'melt, thaw' | Er\Mk s o l a 'not frozen, thawed', 'melted' (of fat etc.), s o l a - v. 'thaw, melt' | pChr {Ber.} *s u l b - v. 'thaw, dissolve' > Chr H inf. шылаш 's y l a š , Chr L inf. шцлаш š u ' l - a š 'to thaw, to dissolve', E {Ps.} š u l e - 'schmelzen', B s u l e - id. | pPrm {LG} s ū l - 'thaw, melt, dissolve' > Z сыв- s i v - , Δ s i l - id., Vt inf. s i l m i n i 'to thaw, to dissolve, to be boiled soft (развариться)' || ObU {Ht.} *θ ā l ā - ~ *θ ō l ā - 'thaw, be liquefied' > pVg *t ā l - ā - 'thaw' > Vg: T/K/N {Mu.} t ā l - , T {Kn.} t a l - ā , Yk {Vxr.} t ā l - , LL {Kn.} t a l - , Ss {Kn., BV} t o l - 'thaw'; pOs {Ht.} *θ ō l a - 'thaw' > Os: V l ō l a - , Vy y ō l a - , Ty θ ō θ - , θ ō θ a - , Y θ ō θ - , D t ā t - , t ā t a - , K t ā t - , Nz t ō t a - , Kz θ ō θ a - , O l a l - id.; ObU d. *θ ā l - t - ~ *θ ō l - t - vt. 'melt' > pVg *t ā l - t - id. (> Vg: Yk {Vxr.} t ā l - t - , Ss {BV} t o l - t - vt. 'melt [fat, metal]'), pOs {Ht.} *θ ō l - t - ({}Hl.} *θ ū l - t -) vt. 'thaw (snow), melt (fat etc.)' (> Os {Trs.}: V l o l t ā , Vy y ō l t a , Ty/Y θ ō θ t ā t a id.) | Hg o l v a d - vi. 'melt, dissolve'

¶¶ UEW 450-1, It. no. 202, Coll. 115, SK 1099-1100, MRS 733, 752, Ü 274, Ps. OT 129, Ber. 69 [no. 365], Lt. 197, LG 267-8, Ht. no. 140, BV 121, Trs. S 215, MF 500-1, ≈ Rd. UJ 48 [no. 80] (Y ← U) || A *š̌i̇ōľ'E¹ or *š̌ōľ'E¹ 'juice, liquid' ({S} *š̌ōľ∇, {SDM97} *š̌ōľi) > T *sōl 'juice in meat, juice, soup' > MT {Rs.} sōl ({Br.} sūl) id., 'matter, pus', 'liquid', MU {Rs.} sōl, Qzq {Sht., MM} sōl 'juice in meat', {Rl.} sōl 'eine Salzbrühe aus eingesalzenem Fleische' (× ← R солъ 'salt?'), Qq, Qrg sōl, Bsh hūl 'ichor', Nog sōl id., 'juice in meat', VTt sūl 'juice (in cells and tissues of bodies), serum', Yk üōl 'wet (in a tree), raw', {Pek.} id., 'Feuchtigkeit', Chv Δ шǎл {SDM} 'soup, Brühe' ¶ Rs. W 430, Rl. IV 583, 830, Bu. I 648, Sht. 186, MM 324, KrkR 586, Pek. 3138-9, JkR 454 || Tg *çōla soup, (?) juice' > Nn Nh/KU čōlõ, Nn Bk colo id., Ud ćolo, Ul čōlo(n-) 'soup', WrMc {Z} шцла 'juice of fruits, мутная жидкость' ¶ STM II 405, 429, On. 513, Z 686 || pJ {SDM} *širú 'juice, soup, pus' > OJ siru, MJ širú, J T śirú, J K śirú, J Kg śirú ¶ S QJ no. 261, Mr. 526, Kenk. 1707 || M *silün 'soup, broth' > MM [MA] {Pp.} šilen, [IM] {Pp.} šile, [S] {H} šulen 'soup', [HI] {Ms.} šülen 'soup, broth', WrM {MED} silū(n), HIM {MED, BMR} шөл(өн), Brt шүлэн id., Ord šölö 'bouillon de viande', WrO {Krg.} šöl(ön) 'soup, chowder', Kl {KRS} шөлн šölən 'broth, soup', {Rm.} šülŋ ɘ šölŋ ɘ šilŋ 'Bouillon, Suppe', Dg {T} šil id., {Mr.} šile 'soup', Dx {T} šulîe, ShY {SDM} šzlen id., Mnr H šulō {T} šulō 'soup, clear broth', {SM} šulō 'soupe, potage, bouillon clair'; M → Tg: Ud silz 'soup, broth', Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU silz, Sln śil(з), Lm hil, WrMc {Z} силз 'Fleischbrühe, soup, broth', Nh/Bk/KU {STM} silz id., Nn Nh {On.} silz 'clear broth (without fish or meat)' ¶ Pp. MA 333, 447, H 143, MED 708, BMR IV 372, Luv. 657, Chr. 738, Krg. 456, KRS 681, KW 371, SM 385, T 386, T DnJ 143, T DgJ 183, Mr. D 216, Ms. O 630, STM II 85, On. 363, Z 606 ¶¶ M and pJ *i go back to pA *i (if the pA rec. is *š̌i̇ōľ'E¹), unless this vw. is due to the influence of N *š̌i̇ľ?L∇ 'to roast, to fry, to cook' [q.v.?] [if the pA rec. is *š̌ōľ'E¹] ¶¶ SDM 1337 (pA *š̌ōľí > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 2178, S VL no. 229 (*š̌ōľ∇ 'juice, fluid'), SDM97 (A *š̌ōľi 'juice, fluid'), Rm. EAS I 155, Mur. EA 110, Oz. NM 111, Md. OJ 41 ◇ U *s- and K *š- provide ev. for N *s-. The vw. *-ō- in the T cognate (T *sōl) can be explained by vw. harmony (if we suppose that the final vw. in the N word was *E). Proto-Altaic, M *š- and Tg *š- < **šj- (N *š'ū'woł'E¹ > **šjōl∇ > Tg *šōla and M *šilün). N *-w̌ľ∇,- is reconstructed on the ev. of K *-we- and the long vw. in A.

2055. *ś'o₁y₁i'1'U' 'entrails' > HS: S *'šiliy-at- 'placenta, afterbirth' > BHb šil'yā* id. (att. with 3f ppa.: הַשִּׁלְיָהּ šilyā'tāh 'her afterbirth'), MHb הַשִּׁלְיָהּ šil'yā, JA [Trg.], JEA הַשִּׁלְיָהּ šil'yā, em. הַשִּׁלְיָהּ šilyə't-ā {Js.} 'afterbirth, placenta', SmA הַשִּׁלְיָהּ šilyh, Sr ܫܠܝܬܐ šalī't-ā, Md šulita 'membrane enveloping the foetus', Tgr ܫܠܝܬܐ sɜlet, Tgy šɜlet id., Ar سَلِيّ salā(-n) {Ln.} 'secundine (thin skin in which is the foetus\young in the womb is enveloped)', Ak fOB silītu ~ šelītu ~ šalītu 'afterbirth'; bf. Ar سَلِيَتْ saliy-at v. (3f pf.) 'her secundine became disrupted in her womb' ¶ Frnz. LS2 262-3, KB 1411, Lv. IV 562, Js. 1582, 1584, Sl. 1149-50, Tal 900, DM 454, LH 169, Bsn. 218, Ln. 1418, BK I 133, Sd. 1043, CAD XV 264, MiK I no. 1.246 || HEC *sal- 'belly, stomach' > Brj {Ss.} salay, {Hd.} sa'le id., Sd {Gs., Hd.} sálto 'stomach', Hd {Hd.} satto id., {Ss.} ? sālasih-te 'belly'; Kmb {Hd.} salā'n- 'be pregnant', salān-čuta adj. 'pregnant' ¶ Ss. B 163, Ss. WOKS, Hd. 143-4 (HEC *salto 'stomach'), 218, 297, 336, 390, Gs. 284 || NrOm: She {CR ← Mnt.} sil, {Fl.} šul 'belly' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 15, CR NGS 623, ≈ Fl. OO 317 || Ch ≈ *sal- 'liver' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} sálá || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} sàliyâ, Ll {Grgs} silyà, Kwn sálhā, Ke {Eb.} sáldé, Smr {J} šàrá id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'liver', Eb. 90, Cp. KL s.v. sàliyâ, J KKS, J LS, Grgs L s.v. silyà, Sk. NBL || U *ś[šō]le 'intestines, bowels' > F suoli, Es sool 'intestine, bowel', F Δ suoli 'Mitte des Leibes' || pLp {Lr.} *ćólē 'bowel' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjoālie, L {LLO} tjāllē, N {N} čoalle, K {Gn.} čuθ'11 id. || Er сюло šulo, Δ šula, Mk сюла {Ahl.} šula, {Ker.} šula 'gut' || Chr: L шоло šolo, Uf šolo 'gut(s)', H {Ep., Ü} шол šol 'gut' || Prm {LG} *śul 'gut' > Z сюв šuv / šuvy-, Z UV, Vt šul id. || pOs *sol ({Hl.} *sāl < *sāl) 'gut' > Os: V/Vy sol, Ty/Y sōḥ, I/Nz sut, Kz so'ḥ, O sol id. || pY {IN H} *soliyz (?) > OY {Schf.} šole 'intestine', {RSt.} šolye 'gut' ¶¶ Coll. 116 (FU, Y), Coll. JU 86-7, Coll. HUV 159, UEW 483-4, It. no. 125 (FP *śola), Lr. no. 173, Lgc. no. 675-6, Hs. 1327, Ker. II 149, MRS 716, Ep. 152, Ü 266-7, LG 273, SZ 359, Stn. D 1329, IN H 411, IN UJ 116, 222 (pY *θolz 'gut') Ang. UJ 129, ≈ Rd. UJ 49 [no. 82] (Y ← U) || A *s'o₁i'1'∇ (or *s'o₁i'1'∇?) 'entrails' > Tg *sil'y- 'gut(s)', d. *silu-ktá id. > Ewk silukta 𐎎 hilukta 'gut(s)', silu-ma- 'cook food from bowels (из требухи)', Ewk Y/I/VI hilu-ma- 'cook guts', Sln šilykta ~ šilytta, Neg silta, silukta 'guts', Lm hīlta, Orc silukta, Ud {Krm.} sulukta ~ sulikta, Ork siluqta 'guts', Neg sila- v. 'take out the guts (in order to cook them)' ¶ STM II 85, Vas. 353, 478, Krm. 289 || T *so₁lak > OT [MhK] {DTS} solaq 'spleen', Xks palix sulazi 'soft roe', Chv L cула, Chv Δ сола

'spleen' ¶ DTS 513, Ash. XI 172, Fed. II 57, Jeg. 193, ChVS 171, ≈ Cl. 826 (סולāq 'spleen' [with unj. long a]), Rs. W 427 ¶¶ SDM 1278 (pA *sǰōlo 'some internal organ' > Tg, T + unc. M: Klm sōlzē 'testicles'), DQA no. 2050 (id.) ◇ The highly tentative rec. of N *-oyī- is an attempt to account for the long vw. *ō in U and the presence of *i in the first syll. of the Tg, S and NrOm cognates ◇ IS MS 344 (*ś ḥlḥ 'gut'), Rs. UAW 23, Coll. 148, UEW 483-4 (all authors: U, A), Blz. L no. 73c (S *šilyat-, U, Tg, C + qu.σ: S *šalīl- 'embryo' and D *čūl(-) 'pregnant') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 188 (*tul ~ sul 'guts') (U, A + qu. Ko + err. Y, Gil, CK).

2056. *silf∇ 'stream, small body of water (lake and sim.)' > HS: S *o✓š|sy| > Ar sayl- 'watercourse, torrent', saylat- 'a stream, shower', (-> ?) ✓sy| (pf. sālā, ip. yasīlu) v. 'flow' (water) ¶ BK I 1177, Hv. 347 ¶ Possible infl. of N *s'û'wōl'E' 'liquid, moisture' (q.v.) || IE: NaIE *selos- 'lake, marsh' > OI 'saras- 'lake, pond', 'Sarasvatī- (name of a stream and of a goddess), Irn *harah- 'lake' in n.l.: Av Haraxvaitī-, OPrs Harauvati- 'Arachosia (a province in the Persian empire)' (÷ OI 'Sarasvatī-) || Gk ἔλος ntr. (gen. ἑλος) 'marsh meadow, marshy ground; backwater' || ? W heledd, hēl 'meadow along the side of a river' ¶¶ P 901, EI 370 (*'seles- 'marsh'), M K III 443-4, F I 501-2 || U: FU *siž∇ 'small stream; moist, swampy land' > Prm: Z зiляziā 'a place with stagnant water (место, где стоит ржавая вода)', 'nasse, sumpfige, morastige Stelle', arśa-zīā 'anhaltender Staubregen im Herbst', Yz zīk'ya 'moist, swampy' || OHg ūgy ~ igy 'spring, brook, river' ('fons, rivulus, fluvius') ¶¶ UEW 442, LG 105, MF 959-60 || D *čil- ({}GS) *s-?) 'pond, brook, river' > Tl ciluṛu 'a pond', Klm silka 'river', Nkr śilka 'brook, river', Prj čilva 'brook, rivulet', Gnd silka 'small river' 𐎠 hilka 𐎠 ilka 'rivulet' ¶¶ D no. 2569 ◇ FU *-ž- < N *-lḡ- ◇ The loss of the expected cns. ʕ in Arabic may be due to contamination with N *s'û'wōl'E'.

2056a. ₂ *suL|g∇ 'finger(s), hollow hand' > HS: CS (mt.) *'šuf|ṽa|l- 'hollow hand' > BHb 'šofal* 'hollow hand, handful' (the attested forms: 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓-ō 'his hollow hand', pl. 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓-īm and pl. cs. 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓-ā, Md šula 'hollow hand', JA {Trg.} 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓-ā ~ 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓-ā 'hollow of the hand\sole', Sr {Br.} 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 𐤔𐤕𐤌𐤓 'handful' ({}Br.) 'pugillus, manipulus') ¶ KB 1487-8, Lv. T II 503, Js. 1610, Br. 793, DM 454 || U *suž'a' 'finger' > pObU *θūž(∇) id. > pVg *tūlā 'finger ring' > Vg: T tolā, LK/MK tolā, UK tuā, P/NV/UL/Ss tuā id.; pOs {Ht.} *ḡuy ~ *ḡuy

'finger' > Os: V loy (with 1s ppa. luγəm 'my finger'), Vy yoy, Ty/Y фoy, D/K tüy, Nz tūy, Kz фūy, O luγ id., V/O luγ 'sewing ring (Nähring), finger ring', Vy yuy, Ty/Y фuy, D tūy, Nz tūy, Kz фūy id. || Sm {Jn.} *°тѹӑ, {Hl.} *°тѹа 'finger' > Mt {Hl.} *taya id. (Mt: M/K {Mll.} taja id., M {Pl.} таѣѣда 'his finger', T {Mll.} tājām 'my finger') ¶¶ Coll. 64, Coll. CG 405 (*su|∇), UEW 449 (*suž∇), Sm. 540 (U *суωѣӑ 'finger' > FU *с/с̆уωѣа, FP *с̆уωѣа, Ugr *суѣа, Sm *təjǎ), MF 651-2, Ht. no. 116, Jn. UK 21 (U *sužā̆), Hl. MTKV 62-3, 88, Hl M no. 941 ◇ In S the N cns. *-ž- yields *-l- if the root-initial cns. is a sibilant; therefore no S *š...š̆-roots are attested.

2057. *sü|w,∇ 'thread, string' > IE: Ht суе|il- 'Faden, Band' ¶ Ts. W 77 || U: FU *°sE|le (= *°sü|le?) > Er сэль 'spun thread' (hardly ← сэль 'fathom') ¶ Er э may go back to different FU front vowels, including *ü ¶ ERV 631, ≈ UEW 444 (refers the Er word to FU *sü|ile 'Schoß, Klafter') || A *s|zü|b,∇ > M *sülbeγe > WrM sülbeγe {MED} thread, cord', HIM сүлбээ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'связи', Ord šilbi ~ šilbe 'ganse à laquelle est attaché le bouton' ¶ MED 742, BMR III 141, Ms. O 615 || pKo *sir 'thread' (× N *sär'U' 'sinew, fibre', q.v.) > MKo {S} sir, MKo xv {Vv.} s̆ir|l 'thread', NKo sil id., 'silk thread', ?σ MKo xii sil {WS} 'Watte' ¶ S QK no. 1068, MLC 807, Rm. SKE 233, Gale KED 620, Xld. KRS 359, Vv. AEN 5, WS 125 || HS: S: [1] S *°✓š|sl̆ > Ar salil-at- 'wool upon the spindle', [2] (?) +ext.: S *°✓š|slk (*°'š|silak-?) > Ar silk-at- (pl. silak-) 'spun thread' ¶ BK I 1117, 1129, Hv. 329, 333 || Ch: CCh: Mbara {TrnSL} sílé 'rope, corde', Mln {ChL} sããlú 'rope', Bcm {Sk.} sàlaké id., (?) sãlté 'thread', Mtk {Sb.} súlôm, {ChL} sulòŋ, Mf {BLB} súlóm 'arrow' ¶ JI II 3, ChC s.v. 'rope', 'thread' and 'arrow', ChL III 238, BLB 322, TrnSL 277, 286, Sk. BW s.v. sàlaké and sãlté, Sb. M s.v. súlôm || ?φ D *°ç|ela- > Tm cilai, Ml cila 'bow (weapon)' ¶ D no. 2571 ◇ If D *°ç|ela- belongs here, its deviating vw. *|e (delabialization from *ü?) requires explanation, and the N lateral cns. is *l ¶ D no. 2571 ◇ Not here (because of the initial sibilant) K: GZ *mšw̆ild- 'bow (weapon)', which is akin to GZ *mšw̆il- 'shoot (an arrow)' (see K² 129) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 164 [no. 114] (D, CCh 'arrow, bowstring' + unc. K).

2058. *śa|∇b∇ 'cut out, pull out' > HS: S *°✓š|sl̆ ~ *°✓š|lp > Ar ✓slb G 'carry off forcibly, plunder', Gz ✓slb G 'take off\away, plunder', BHb, JA ✓šlp G 'draw from a sheath, take off', JA [Trg.] ✓šlp G 'loosen, pull, draw', JEA ✓šlp G 'pull off\out, remove, draw', ChrPA ✓šlp G 'draw from a sheath', SmA ✓šlp G id., 'remove', Sr, Md ✓šlp G id., 'pull out', Ak ✓šlp 'draw from a sheath', 'tear out, pull out' ¶ BK I 1118, Hv. 329, L G

498-9, KB 1427-8, Schl. 209, Lv. IV 565-6, Js. 1587, Sl. 1152-3, Tal 904-5, DM 469, Sd. 1145, CAD XVII/1 230-1 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *^ośa|o|wa (or ^ośa|o|va) 'hollowing adze (Hohlbeil); gouge out' > ObU {^oHl.} *s^o∇w|y^oal 'hollowing adze (Hohlbeil)' > pVg {{^oHl.} *s^oāw|l̄ > Vg Ss so wli 'Hohlbeil mit einem wendbaren Stiel'; pOs *su^oy^oal > Os: V/Vy su^oy^oal, Ty su^oy^oə^o, Y su^ow^oə^o, D/K so^oχ^oət 'Hohlbeil, adze for cutting grooves' || Hg Δ s z a l u 'Deichsel (adze), Queraxt, Querbeil, Hohlbeil', Δ s z a l u l -, s z a l u l -, s z a l u a l - v. 'gouge out or clean with a crooked axe (e.g. the internal wall of a wheel)' ¶ UEW 889 (*s^oâ|k|y^o∇), MF 567-8, Ht. no. 582, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on ObU *w and *y), Trs. S 440, Stn. FUV 35 (*÷ F s a l u a t a v. 'bolt [the door], bar, close' and Lp Vfs {Lgc.} s u o | w z t v. 'bite') || **A**: M *salba- > WrM {MED} salba- {MED} 'cut grass, weed out', HIM салба- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'расстилать/разбрасывать скошенную траву', Kl Ö {Rm.} salwā- 'den Anzug zerreißen, seine Kleider schlampern lassen', Ord d. salbara- 'se fendre, se déchirer', d. salbač'i- 'se fendre, fendre en plusieurs morceaux' ¶ MED 664, BMR III 77, KW 310, Ms. O 555 ◇ FU *w- in *^ośa|o|wa is a regular reflex of N intervocalic *b, hence the N etymon is *śa|∇b∇.

2059. *śilk∇ (= *śilka?) 'let out' ([in descendant lges] → 'throw', 'fall out', 'get through [an obstacle]') > IE: NaIE *selg- 'let out, throw, pour out, free' (× N *ĉa|∇ 'to pour [out]') > OI s_{r̥}'jati {MW} 'lets go\fly, discharges, throws, casts', [RV] 'sarga 'a stream, gush, downpour', [MBh, Rm] 'sarga n. act. 'letting go, discharging, voiding (an excrement)', Av hərəzanti 'they send off', upa-ṛhar^oṣtāe 'zu übergießen', Prth hirz- 'lassen, verlassen' || OIr selg n. 'hunt' (← *'releasing the hounds'), Brtt {RE} *selg- v. 'hunt' > OW in-helcha 'venando', helgha-ti inv. 'hunt!', MW hely, W hel, hela 'to hunt', OCrn [LC] helhwur 'hunter', Crn helghya, helya 'to hunt', OBr a olguo 'indagatione' ('par des recherches\investigations\enquêtes'), MBr hemolch (for *emholch < *ambi-solg), Br hem-olc 'hiñ 'to hunt' || MHG inf. selken 'to drizzle down' (of clouds) ¶ WP II 508, P 900-1, EI 481 (all of them: *selg̃-), M K III 497-8, MW 1183-6, 1245, Vn. S 80-1, RE 105, Flr. 68-9, Hm. 374, SEv. 10, OsS 753, Lx. 191 ¶ OI 'sarga points to a IE *g rather than *g̃ (⇔ P, EI) || **HS**: CS *√šlk 'let go, send' > BHb √šlk Sh (הַשְׁלִיךְ hi'slīk) 'throw, cast off, throw away', MHb שְׁלִיכָה šəliḫā G pp. f. 'Weg-geworfene, Verworfenene', SmA √šlk G 'send', Sh 'throw', Ar سَلَكَ √slk G (ip. -sluk-) 'insert (a hand)', 'travel, go along (a road\course)'

(possibly bf. from \surd slk *Sh* [pf. ʔaslakā] 'engage so. in a road/course' ÷ Hb hi'šlīk (↑) ¶ KB 1414-16, Lv. IV 562, Tal 900-1, Fr. II 345-6, Hv. 333 || U: FU *śilke- ({It.} *śilke- = *śelke-) ≈ sink' > pLp {Lr.} *ćzlkz- 'go through (the ice)' (of a foot), 'sink into sth.' > Lp: N {N} čal'gâť id., Vfs {Lgc.} čá'ʔáko't 'fall through sth.', S {Hs.} d. tjalguđh id., 'disappear', Nd {TI} čel'gät 'durch schwaches Eis treten' || pOs *sěly- ({Hl.} *sälly-) > Os: Y sālʔam, sālʔlām, K {PD} sātʔam, sātātām 'allmählich herabfallen (осыпáться), erschüttet werden, ausfallen' ¶ It. ULW 193-4, Lr. no. 108, Lgc. no. 457, Lgc. SL no. 2843, Hs. 1301, TI 641 || A: Tg *silgī- 'get through (a narrow opening)', 'durchkriechen' > WrMc {Z} силхи- id., {Hr.} silgī- ~ silki- id., 'kriechen (лезть)', Nn Nh d. silgičī- {STM} vi. 'протискиваться, пробираться', {On.} 'пробираться сквозь толпу', Lm hīlgъ id., kriechen, durchkriechen (лезть, пролезать), Neg silgī- 'durch eine schmale Öffnung durch-kriechen', 'force one's way through' ¶ STM II 83, On. 361-2, Hr 794 ◇ IE points to a N *-a, while FU *-e and Tg *-ī may be explained by as. or go back to suffixes ◇ ≈ IS MS 350 s.v. *śel(k)ā 'незакрепленный' (IS did not distinguish this etymon from N *śuī'û' or *śuī'û' 'lax, loose, slack' [q.v.]).

2060. *śal∇m∇ 'collect on the bottom' (of liquid), 'a place (a depression) where water collects' > HS: S * \surd ś|sm| > Ar samal-at-, suml-at- {Hv.} 'black mud, remainder of water', {BK} 'petite quantité d'eau et de boue qui reste au fond d'un bassin; limon noir au fond d'un puits', samal- 'reste d'eau au fond (d'un vase, d'un puits)', sumlān- 'remainder of wine' ¶ BK I 1142, Hv. 337 || Eg G smr 'Gewässer im Gau von Diospolis parva (VII. Gau von Oberägypten)' ¶ EG IV 139 || U: FU (att. in FP) *ś|śa|l|mo (vocalism after Db.), *ś|śo|l|ma (vocalism after UEW) > FP {Db.} *śalmo, {UEW} *śolma 'valley, depression with water, well' > Prm *śo|ɔnm- (= {LG} *śo|ɔnm-) 'depression with water' > Z cěh śon 'narrow gully, depression (ложбина, лощина)', Z Ud 'valley, gorge, depression between two slopes', Z UV 'a gully in the river valley, flooded in floodtime', Vt {Mu.} śum 'small oblong lake near a river' || F salmi 'strait, narrows, sound', Es salm id., 'narrow strait between two islands' || pLp {Lr.} *ćl̄mē > Lp: S {Hs.} tjōālmie 'Sund, in dem kein Strom geht', L {LLO} tjālmē 'Sund; Rinnsal, Wasserrinne; vom Wasser in einem Deltagebiet ausgegrabener Wasserlauf', N {N} čoal'bmē / -lm- 'marked contraction of a lake, sound between two lakes or reaches of a fjord', T {TI} čua'lm 'Sund, Meerenge' ¶ UEW 775, SK 956, Lr. no. 174, Lgc. no. 677, Lgc. SL no. 2910, Hs. 1327, Db. OS x, LG

252 || D *čalṽmṽ ({{ṽGS}} *c|ć-?) (¬ *kála₁a₁(-mṽ)??) 'hole dug for water in dry bed of river' (× N *čA1ṽmṽ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach') > Tl celama 'hole dug for water in dry bed of river', Kn calame, calime, calume, cilume id., Ku salma 'well' ||| ??? Brh ka1 'place where water collects' (unless ← InA) ¶¶ D no. 2367, Em. NDVS in *FsMeen* 377-8, Em. DS 369 ◇ If Brh ka1 belongs here (but Ar and Eg do not), pD had an initial *k-, hence the N rec. will be *śalṽ (mṽ). If the Eg smr and Ar ✓ sm1 belong here and Brh ka1 does not, the N etymon must be *śalṽmṽ. In my opinion, the latter alt. is more realistic.

2061. *śṽLχitṽ ~ *śṽLχidṽ 'to slip' > HS: B *✓sllḡ > Zkr {Ds.} naš]ū]ūd, Rf BA {Rn.} aṅsɤωžžəḡ, Ttq {Msq.} pf. iselelet 'glisser' ¶ Rn. 336, Ds. B 154, Msq. 138 || K: GZ *sχlet-/ *sχlit-/ *sχlṽt- v. 'stumble, slip' > Mg cχilaṽ-/cχiliṽ-/cχirṽ-, ? Lz lṽ- id., OG sχlet-, G sχlet-/ sχlit-/sχlṽt-, 'slip, dart off' ¶ K 167, K² 171, ≈ FS E 309 (GZ *sχl-) || IE: NaIE *sleḡd^h- 'slippery', v. 'slide', *slid^h-os 'slippery, smooth' > Gk ὀλισθηῖν v. 'slip, fall upon a slippery path; slip\glide along', ὀλισθηρός 'slippery', ὀλισθος 'Glätte, Schlüpfrigkeit', {LS} 'slipperiness' ||| OIr slaet 'masse glissante, coulée, amas, tas', NIr slaod 'a smooth sweeping mass' ||| MHG inf. slīten, AS inf. slīdan 'to slide, to slip, to glide', NE slide; AS slidor 'slippery, smooth', NE slidder; NHG d. Schlitten 'sledge' ||| Lt inf. slýsti (1s pres. slýstu, 1s p. slýdau) 'to slide, to slip, to glide', Ltv inf. slīst, slīst '(aus)gleiten', inf. slīdēt 'to slide, to glide', inf. pa-slīdēt 'to slip', Lt slidus, Lt Z slydus 'slippery' ||| OI 'srēdhati 'fail, err, blunder' (P: ← *gleitet ab), sridh- 'failure, error' ¶ P 663-4, 960-1, M K III 558, ≈ M E II 786-7 (*h₁sleḡd^h-), F II 377, Vn. S 125, Dnn. 652, OsS 825, Lx. 19, Ho. 298, KM 658, Frn. 830, 833, Mn. 1209, 1213, ≠ EI 527 (*(s)leḡ- 'slicky, slimy, slippery') ◇ K 167 (K, IE). The variation between N *t (in B and K) and N *d (in IE) may be due to ideophonic connotations.

2062. *śūíṽsü (kê) or *śííṽsi (kê) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' > HS: C: Bj {Rop.} sīl 'saliva', {R} sīl 'saliva, drivel' ¶ R WBd 198, Rop. 232 || IE: [1] NaIE *sleḡ-/ *sliḡ- 'slime, saliva' > MHG slich, slîch, NHG Schlick 'slime, ooze' ||| Sl *slizь 'slime, mucus' > R слизь, Slv slîz id., Blg 'слиза 'saliva'; Sl *slъzǎ 'tear (lacrima)' > OCS, OR сльза сльза, R сле'за, Uk слі'за, сльо'за, Blg съл'за,, SCr су̀за, Slv sólza, Cz, Slk slza, P łza id. ||| [2] NaIE *sleḡ- +ext.: BSl: Ltv slīēnas 'saliva, drivel' ||| Sl *slīna 'saliva' > SrChS сЛНН сліна, Blg, Uk 'слина, Blr 'сліня, SCr

slīna, Slv slína, Cz, Slk slina, P ślina, (with a puzzling ю) R cлю'на, Blr, Blg 'cлюна 'saliva' || L salīva 'Speichel' || Clt ({Vn.}: not necessarily ← L): OIr saile, W haliw, Br salo 'saliva' ¶ In some IE lges (esp. Gmc and Sl) there is contamination with paro- and synonymous roots for 'silt', 'slippy' etc. ¶ Lx. 197, ≠ Paul 514, Kar. II 225, WH II 468, Vn. S 14, StSS 615-6, ≈ Glh. 562, 596, ≈ Vs. III 668, 671-2, ≈ Vr. 516, ≠ P 663-4, ≠ EI 527 (*slej-n- ← *(s)lej- 'slicky, slimy, slippery') || K: G sila 'hemorrhoidal slime' ¶ DCh. 1172 || U: FU *śúúke (att. in FP) ~ *śúžke (att. in ObU) > F sylki, Es sülg 'saliva', F sylke-, Es süлга-, Δ süлге- v. 'spit' | pLp {Lr.} *ćolkz- v. 'spit' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjalgedh, L {LLO} tjál'kat, N {N} čoligât, Kld čol:geð id.; pLp *ćolkz 'saliva' > Lp: N {N} čol'gâ / -lg- id., L {LLO} tjálkâ, S {Hs.} tjalgé id., 'spittle', Kld чоллк, {TI} čol:k 'saliva' | Er сельге šeíge, Mk сельге šeígə id., Er šeíge-, Mk šeígə- v. 'spit' | Chr: L шүвыл 'šüwъl, B šüwəl-wüt, H {MRS} шывульвыд, {Ep.} шывыльвыт šə'wəlwъt 'saliva' (wüt, -wъt 'water'), šəwäl- (inf. шывäl-äш), L шүвал- šüwal- v. 'spit' | Prm {LG} *śól- v. 'spit' > Z сьолав- śzlav-, Vt сяла- śala- v. 'spit', Z сьөвзвы- śzvž+-, Vt inf. сялзыны śalž+n+ v. mom. 'spit' || ObU {Ht.} *süžəy- ({Ht.} *sübəy-) v. 'spit' > pVg *süúx- > Vg: T süúk-, LK/MK/UK säúx-, P/NV/SV/LL säúú-, UL/Ss säúx- id.; pOs {Ht.} *söyəy- ({Ht.} *süyəy-) > Os: V/Vy söyəx-, Ty/Y söyəx- id. ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 479, Sm. 549 (FU *sülk/đki(-), FP *śülki, Ugr *süđkĩ 'saliva, spit'), Lr. no. 161, Lgc. no. 458, Hs. 1301, SaR 399, TI 677, Ker. 135, MRS 740, 758, Ep. 159, LG 270, Lt. 128, Ht. no. 564 || A *sil∇- 'saliva, spittle' > M *silü-sün 'saliva, spittle, slaver, slobber' > MM {H} śilüśün, WrM silüśün {MED} id., HIM {MED} шүлс id., {BMR} шүлс(эн) 'saliva', WrM {Kow.} šilüśün 'salive,umeur, phlegme', Brt шүлһэ(н) 'saliva', Kl {KRS} шүлсн šülsən 'saliva', {Rm.} šülsn 'Speichel', Dg {T} šulse ~ šille, {Pp.} silsú, {Mr.} šulese 'saliva', Ord šölösü 'salive, bave'; M *silü-кеу 'geiferig; Speichel' > WrM silükei {MED} 'slobbery, driveling, glutinous', HIM шүлхий {MED} id., {BMR} 'geiferig' (ein Kind), 'klebrig (клейкий)', Kl {KRS} шүлкә šülkä 'geiferig' ('cлюнявый'), {Rm.} šülkē 'voll Speichel; Speichel', Ord šölökxī 'baveux', ?ф Mnr H {SM} śīorgūō 'salive, bave', → T: Chg {Rl.} sülägäy, Tkm cүлекей vülekey, Uz cүлак swlak, cүлакай swlakay, Qmq silegey, VTt {Rl.} sölögäy ~ sblägäy, Bsh һеләгәй һлägäy, Nog, Qq silekey, Qzq cілекей silekey, Qrg šilekey, StAlt чилекей čilekey, Tb/Qmn {B} čilekey, Xk culegey 'saliva', ET {Nj.} šölögäy ~ šülgäy, Az selik id., 'slime' ¶ H 140, MED 708, BMR IV 384, Chr.

738, KW 370-1, KRS 686, SM 397, T DgJ 184, Mr. D 218, Ms. O 630, Rs. W 435, Rl. IV 600, 741, 831, Nj. 550, 552, UzR 393, TkR 598, RAz 379 and 381 (Az *selik* 'slime, saliva'), Äz. 260, B DChT 165, B DK 268 || T **si|e:|* 'spittle, saliva' > Tk Δ *sel*, Qzq *сілемей* id., {Rl.} *silämäy* 'von selbst fließender Speichel' (infl. of Qzq *сілекей* ↑), *silämägäy* id. (infl. of Qzq *сілекей*) ¶ Rl. IV 711 || Tg **silemse* 'saliva, dew' (× N **š₁aH₁'ü'L₁∇* 'dew', q.v. ffd.) > Ul *silzmsz* id., WrMc {Z} *силэнги* id., 'drivel' ¶ STM II 86, Z 606 ¶ The meaning 'dew' may be caused by the infl. of the Tg reflexes of N **š₁aH₁'ü'L₁∇* 'dew' ¶¶ SDM 1248-9 (pA **sila* 'dew, liquid' [without distinguishing the pA root in question from the pA representative of pN **š₁il∇* 'be[come] liquid, melt, flow', q.v. ffd.] > M, T + unc. Tg **sile* 'dew' and pKo **skúm* 'frost [Reif]'), Rs. W 435 (T, M, Tg) || D **čol*- ({*ǵGS*} **č₁ǵ-*) 'saliva' Tm *col₁u* 'dribbling at the mouth as of a child', ? *cā₁a₁* 'dribble, saliva flowing from the mouth', Kt *čol*, Klm *zoll*, Gnd A *čol* ~ *čol* 'saliva', Kn *jollu* id., 'slaver', Tu *jollæ* 'saliva, spittle', Tl *collu*, *jollu* 'slaver, saliva drivelling from the mouth' ¶¶ D no. 2862 ◇ BF, Lp, Mr and C point to N **í*, while ObU suggests FU **ž* < N **ž*. All other lges (IE, A and D) do not distinguish between N **í* and **ž*. A possible solution: N **š₁ü₁∇₁ü* (*kê*) or **š₁i₁∇₁i* (*kê*) with **ř* > **∅* in NaIE (before vowels), in FP, K and A.N **-í∇₁-* > ***-í₁-* > ObU **ž* ◇ D **o* is likely to go back to N **ü* with the synharmonic infl. of a back vw. of the next syll. of the N word ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 (N **š₁ul₁* 'слизь'), Rs. W 435 (A, U).

2063. **š₁ämi* 'fat (Fett)' > HS: S (+ ext. or an ancient sx) **š₁am₁∇₁n* n. 'fat, oil' > BHb *š₁am₁* 'š₁em₁n id., JA [Trg.] *š₁am₁* 'cream, fat (of milk)', *š₁am₁'n-ā* n. 'fat', SmA, IA, Plm *š₁m₁n* 'oil', Pun *š₁m₁n* in *z b ħ š₁m₁n* 'oil sacrifice', Ug *š₁m₁n* 'fat, oil, butter', Ar *š₁am₁n-* 'melted butter', Jb C **š₁ēn* 'fat, fatness', Ak fOAK *š₁am₁n-* 'oil, fat, cream', Eb *š₁amnum* {Krb.} 'fat', {Frnz.} 'oil'; d. CS **š₁a'min-* adj. 'fat' > BHb *š₁am₁n*, JA [Trg.] *š₁am₁n*, JEA *š₁am₁'nā* id., Ug *š₁m₁n* 'thick, stout' ('gordo, cebado'), Ar *samina* pf. G 'was\became fleshy' ¶ KB 1449-51, HJ 1163, A no. 2637, OLS 444-5, Lv. T II 493, Sl. 575-6, Tal 909, DM 443, BK I 1143, Hv. 337, Jo. J 262, CAD XVII/1 321-30, Krb. EG 34, Frnz. MLE 181, MiK I no. 1.248 || Eg Md *sm₁y* {EG} 'fat milk, cream', {Fk.} 'curds' ¶ EG IV 130, Fk. 227 || B **š₁iHm* 'fat (Fett)' (× N **š₁iχm∇* id. [q.v.]) > Ah {Fc.} *esim*, Ttq {Msq.} *i-sim* 'melted tallow', Kb *ta-(s)sam-t* 'tallow' ¶ Fc. 1835, Msq. 141, Dl. 778 || C: Bj {Rop.} *simūm* 'suet, fatty covering of kidneys' ¶ Rop. 233, Blz. EDB 24 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} *š₁am₁n* (secondary

glottalization?), {Nc.} *semen* 'be(come) fat' ||| WCh: mt. Dir {Sk.} *šinama* 'oil' ||| ECh: Mu {J} *síwín* n. 'fat', Nd D {J} *swán*, Smr {J} *swáni*, Skr {Sx.} *súnú*, Mgm {JA} *séwén*, Bdy {AIJ} *séwèŋ* 'oil', *séwénkà tàltà* 'fat' (n., lit. 'hard oil'), Kbl {Cp.} *sùwəngǎ*, Ll {WeibP} *səŋgò*, Ke {Eb.} *son*, {Eb. in ChC} *sɔn*, Kwn {Cp.} *súwáné kɛna kēsu*, EDng {Fd.} *sèwè*, Brg {Lk., J}, Mu {J} *síwín* 'oil, fat' ¶ JI II 133, Sk. NB 34, Lk. L 120, ChC s.v. 'fat' and 'oil', WeibP 81, Eb. 93, JA LM 123, AIJ 114, Blz. EChWL no. 26 ¶¶ OS no. 2247 (HS **siman* 'oil, fat') ||| **ǃ** **sæmæ* (and pre-synharmonic ppA **sæma*?) fat (Fett) > M **seme-ǰ* in > MM [MA] {Pp.} *semeǰi* 'fat of the intestines', WrM *semezi(n)* {MED} 'fat around the intestines; epiploon; fatty skin around the intestines of animals', HIM *сэмж(ин)* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'mesentery; жировой покров брюшины, нутряной жир', Brt *Һемже* id., Kl {KRS} *семжн семǰəп* 'epiploon, жировой покров брюшины, брюшной жир', {Rm.} *semǰŋ* 'Fett um den Magen und die Därme, epiploon', Ord *semeǰi* 'la pellicule graisseuse qui enveloppe les intestins, la graisse de l'épiploon'; M → WrMc {Z} *сэмэчжэнь* 'epiploon' ¶ Pp. MA 320, MED 687, BMR III 156, Chr. 705, KRS 449, KW 323, Ms. O 571, Z 587 || Tg **semesik* 'epiploon' > Ewk *сэмэsik*, Lm *ҺэмэҺьк*, Neg *сэмэsiχ*, WrMc {Z} *сэмсү* id., Nh {On.} *сэмэsu* 'fat of the entrails (нутряное сало)' ¶ STM II 142, On. 584, Z 587 || pKo **sam* 'placenta, caul' > NKo *sam* ¶ S QK no. 825, MLC 901 ¶¶ SDM 1228-9 (pA **sēme|a-* > Tg, M, Ko + unc. T **semir* [i.e. {AD} **sāmír* from N **Sāmír*? ▽ 'fat']), DQA no. 1962, Rm. EAS I 71. KW 323, Pp. VG 29, Adb. SR 14 || **D**: (1) **čamar-* ({ǰGS} **s-*) v. 'smear, oil, rub in (oil etc.)', n. 'oil, liquid fat' > Tl *самур* 'oil, any oily\unctuous substance', *самур* v. 'smear, daub, rub as with oil', EpTl *самар* 'ghee'; (2) **čavar-* v. 'smear, oil, rub in (oil etc.)' (× N **čap* ▽ 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ D no-s. 2389 and 2674b ◇ ≈ IS MS 348 (**ʿsǎm* ᵐ 'to grease' > IE, A, ?K, HS) (IS did not distinguish between reflexes of N **šāmi* 'fat' and N **č'o'mH₂E* 'to smear' [q.v.]).

2064. (₂?) **šim* ▽ (= **sīm* ▽?) 'name (as a sign of identity)', 'the same' ([in IE] → 'one') > HS: S **šim-* 'name' > BHb *šēm* (pl. *šēmōt*), Ph, Pun, Ug, OA, IA *šm*, BA +ppa. *šəm-*, SmA {BH} *šam*, ChPA *šm*, Šym, JA [Trg.] *šem* / em. *šəm-ā*, JEA *šəmā* (cs. *šem* ~ *šum*), Sr *šəm-ā*, (+ppas, e.g. *šəm-ī* 'my name'), NNEA {Mcl.} *šima*, *išma*, Ar *šim-*, Sb *šm*, Gz *səm*, Hrs {Jo.} *hem*, Mh {Jo.} *ham* (pl. Hrs/Mh *həmōtən*), Jb E/C *šum* (pl. 'šim-tɛ), Sq {Jo.} *šem*, Ak

šum-*u*, Eb {Krb} šum-um 'name' ¶ KB 1432-5, 1791-2, HJ 1155-9, A no. 2620, OLS 440-1, Lv. T II 491, Lv. IV 569-70, Sl. 1153-4, Dlm. 427, Schl. 209, Ln. 435, Br. 784-5, Mcl. 307, BGMR 126, Jo. H 52, Jo. M 158, Jo. J 262, Krb. EG 40, Krb. PE 107 || pB *ʔi-sim 'name' (acc. to Pr. M IV-V 111, the B word is not an Arabism; *ʔi- is a reg. px of masc. nouns) > Ah, Kb, Izd i-sam (pl. ismaʷan), Tmz ism (pl. ismaʷn), ETwl {GhA} esam, Gd ism, Zng {Msq.} išmi 'name'; Kb, Tmz, Izd, Gd ✓ smm v. 'name' ¶ Fc. 1837, GhA 174, Dl. 777-8, MT 641-2, Mrc. 176, Lf. II no. 1464, Msq. Z 521, Bs. ZOu 147 || Eg fMK smy ({JEG} śmy) v. 'report, make report, announce, proclaim' (← v. *'call, name'), Cpt Sd **čmme** samme, B **čemi** semi v. 'name, appeal, accuse' ¶ EG IV 127, Fk. 227, Vc. 188, Crn. 152-3 || C *šim- ~ *šum- 'name' (= {E} *si/um-) > Bj {R} sim (df. 'ū-sem, 'ū-sm) id., -sim (1s p. a'sim) v. 'name' || Ag *š3η^ω, {Ap.} *səη^ω 'name' > Bln {R} šəη^ω ~ šir, {Bnd.} səη^ω, Xm, Km š3η^ω, Aw {CR} šurⁱ id.; d. Bln {R} šir- 'nennen, benennen' || EC *s|šumm- or *s|šum- 'name' > Sd suʔma, Hd summa id.; ??σ Rn sùmát 'a brand; mark (to distinguish livestock)', sum- v. 'brand (livestock)' ¶ E PC no. 447, R WBd 201, R WB 328, Ap. IC 46-7, Gs. 295, PB 172, PG 269, Blz. CL 179 || Ch {JS} *✓ s₃m, {Nw.} *s₃i/um, {Stl.} *sumi 'name': WCh {Stl.} *suma-na id. > Hs sūnā (< *sum-nā) id. | AG: Su {J} sūm, Gmy, Cp s+m, Kfr sum, Tal sūm, Ang {Hf.} sūm, {Flk.} sm id. | BT {Stl.} *sum∇ id. > Krkr s3m, Tng sumɔ, Krf {Sch.} šímí | NrBc {Stl.} *sum∇ń id. > Dir šin, P' {MSk.} sm, Cg šimàn | SBc: Tala s3m, Buli sm, Wnd šim, Zar sūm, Kry wùsum, Jm {Csp.} sim, Grn {Jgr} sìn, Sy {Csp.} sūm, Bg {Csp.} yisim id. | Ron: Klr {J} sim, DfB {J} sūm, Fy {J} ku-sūm id. || CCh *✓ šm id. > Tr {Nw.} žim, Hw šim | Mrg {Hf.} šám, Cb š+ma, Klb {AD} šimì, {Mch.} šim, Br šima, Wmd šimɔ id. | BB: FIJ, FIM žm, Gude l̄ma id. | Mtk sb.: {Ro.}: Mkt šum, Mada šimé, Myn šimi, Hrz šimáy, Mlk, Vm šimáy, Zlg ž3m; Gzg {Lk.} šimed, {Ro.} šimíd 'name' | Db {Lnh.} žimí id. | McKtk: Lgn {Bou.} š3m, Bdm {Cfr} hāmù id. | McMsg: Mbara {Trn.} šim id. | McMs: Ms {J} sámna, sémná, Bnn šeme, ZmB {J} sám, {Sa.} sém, ZmD {KNC} šém, Azm {Pc.} siminá id. || Ech: Mu {J} sàmè, Mjl semmî, Kjk {DB} simi, Brg {J} ʔósòm, Mkl {J} sùmá, Kwn ká-s3m, sēm, Ke {Eb.} sám, Smr {J} sūmí, EDng {Fd.} sîη, Bdy {AJ} seme, Mgm pl. {J} sémè id., Mkl {J} sùmà, Nd D {J} hám, Tmk him id. ¶ × Ch *sim- 'ear' < N *s'i'm∇ 'hear' in several Ch lges (Gzg, Db, some Masa lges, Tmk, Smr), where the word means both 'name' and 'ear' ¶ JI II 248-9, Stl. IF 90, ChC s.v. 'name', ChL, Hf. AG 20, Csp. 27, 59, Jgr 186, KNC 24, Ro. 296, Pc. 351,

DB s.v. Kjk *simi*, Blz EChWL no. 58; ffd. *see* AD ChCS no. 20 ¶¶ OS no. 2304 (HS **süm*: S, Ch) and no. 2244 (**sim*- 'call, speak': S, B, Eg *÷ Ch, LEC), Vc. 188 (Eg, S) || K ? **š^um*- > Sv: UB {TK} *šwim* ~ *šüm*, Ln {TK} *šwim*, L {Dn., TK} *šum* ~ {TK} *šəm* 'kind of, dialect' (mērma-mīrma *šumi liyrāls lēwkneχ* 'they sing many kinds of songs') (unless Sv is a loan from Aram *šum* 'kind' < S **šim*- 'name?') ¶ Dn. s.v. *šum*, TK 825 || IE: NaIE **sem*- / **som*- / **sm̥*- 'the same, one' (→ 'together'): [1] NaIE **som*- / **sōm*- 'the same, alone' > OI *samā*- 'the same, equal, like', Av, OPrs *hamā*- 'like, the same' || Gk *ὁμός* 'one and the same, common' || L *sim-ul* 'at the same time', *similis* 'like, resembling' || Clt {Matas.} **somo*- 'same' > OIr *-som*, reinforcing pc. of the 3rd person m. and ntr. (*ys hé -som* 'c'est lui'); W *hwn* 'this one' (< pIE **som-d^he*); Clt {Matas.} **samalo*- prep. 'like, as' > OIr *amal*, OW *amal*, MW *val* ~ *mal* id.; Clt {Matas.} **samali*- {AD} 'similar' ({Matas.} 'similitude, description') > OIr *samail*, MW *hafal*, MBr *hanual*, *heuel* 'similar', Br {Hm.} *hañval* ~ *heñvel* 'semblable' || Gmc **samaz* 'same' > Gt *sama* (·*ὁ αὐτός*) 'derselbe', ON *samr*, OHG *der samo*, *daž sama* 'the same'; adv.: ON *sem* 'just as', Sw *som* 'as, where, when', OHG *sama* 'same as', AS *same* 'same', NE *same* || Sl **samb* 'oneself; the same' > OCS **самъ** *samb* 'self, ipse; the most', Blg *сам*, SCr, Slv *sām*, Cz, Slk, P *sam* 'self, ipse', alone', R *сам* 'self, ipse', *самый* 'the same, the most' || Arm **մի** *omn* 'some, certain, some one' || [2] NaIE **sem*- / **sm̥*- 'one' > Gk Mc *e-me*, Gk m. *εἷς* (< **sem-s*), ntr. *ἓν* (< **sem*) (gen. m.\ntr. *ἑν-ός*), f. *μία* (< **sm-iə*); px *ᾶ-* / *ᾷ-* 'one-, same-' (as in *ἄδελφός* 'brother' ← 'one from the same womb', *ἅπαξ* 'once') || Arm **մի** *mi* (< **sm-iyos*, {EC} **sm-iḥ_ḥ*) 'one' || L *sem-per* 'always' || Tc: A *sā-s*, B *sē* (**sem-s*) 'one' m., 'same', A *sām*, B *sana*, *somo* 'one' f. || OI *sā-* 'kr̥t, Av *hā-karəṭ* 'once, all at once' ¶ *AdS* of NaIE **som* / **sm̥* 'together' (→ 'with') (< N ***ǵæm_lʔ** ▽ (or ***ǵ**-?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' ¶ P 903-5, AHDI 57, EI 499 (**so^lmo-s* 'same') and 399 (**sem-s* ~ **sem* ~ **sm-iḥ_ḥ*- 'united as one, one together'), M K III 411, 436-7, Glh. 539-40, F I 1, 471-2, II 390, WH II 538-41, Vn. S 169, Matas. 320-1, 351, Hm. 369, 377, Slk. 454, Fs. 409, Vr. 461-2, 470, Kb. 823, Schz. 244, OsS 740, Ho. 269-70, Ho. S 62, Frn. 753-4, Vs. III 551-2, StSS 592, KT 158, Wn. I 415, Ad. 658-9, Ad. H 15 ◇ u for *i in some lges (Ak, Aw, WCh, Sv, T etc.) is due to the labializing infl. of *m ◇ If K **š^um*- is a legitimate cognate, the initial cns. of the N etymon is ***s-**.

2065. *sim ▽ 'be wet; moisture, liquid' > **K**: GZ *šim- 'wet; water' > G X sim-ur-i 'water', Mg šim-e 'wet, wetness' ¶ Fn. KW-2 43, FS K 284-5, FS E 317 || **HS**: EC: Or {Grg.} sama 'become mouldy\spoiled\dirty', HEC {Hd.} *šam- 'be wet, rot' > Ged {Hd.} šam- 'be wet', šamo 'wet', Sd {Gs.} šam- 'be wet\humid\damp, rot', šama 'wet, damp, moist; corrupt, putrid' ¶ Grg. 251, Brl. 366-7, Hd. 166, 259, 391, Gs. 300 || **A** *simE- v. 'percolate, soak', (?) *simE 'liquid, juice' > M *sime 'sap, juice, liquid' > WrM {MED} simе, HIM {MED, BMR} шим, Brt шэмэ 'sap', Kl {KRS} шим id., {Rm.} šima 'Saft', Ord šime 'suc, sève, jus; lait abondant (chez les animaux qu'on trait)', Mnr H {SM} šimīē 'sève, suc des plantes', Dg {Mr.} šime 'juice', {T} šim id., 'succulence'; the meaning 'soak' is represented by HIM {BMR} шимдэ-; M б→ PCIWrMc simen, WrMc {Z} симэнь 'moisture, humours of the body (from food and drink)', {Hr} śimen 'Feuchtigkeit; Säfte, Sekrete' ¶ MED 709, BMR IV 356, Chr. 745, KRS 673, Ms. O 618, SM 396, Mr. D 216, KW 357, Rm. M 38, Z 610, Mls 237 || Tg *çime- ({SDM} *šime-) > Lm çimъl- 'percolate', Ul, Nn Nh čime- id., 'get soaked', WrMc {Z} симэ- 'be absorbed' ¶ STM II 394, On. 506, Z 611 || pKo {S} *símíi- v. 'soak, permeate' > MKo símíi-, NKo simi- id. ¶ S QK no. 547, Nam 318, MLC 1025 || pJ {S} *sím- 'soak' > OJ sim-, MJ sím- {S} id., J T sími-, J K símí-, J Kg símí- {BJRS} 'ooze through', {Kenk.} 'soak into, permeate; infiltrate; penetrate' ¶ S QJ no. 512, Mr. 751, BJRS II 86, Kenk. 1672 ¶¶ But M *sime- 'swallow, suck out' and WrMc {Z} сими- 'suck, swallow' are preferably connected with N *ś|śêHm ▽ 'to swallow' (q.v. ffd.) or result from a merger of both N etyma ¶¶ SDM 1328-9 (pA *šimī v. 'suck, soak' Tg, M, J, Ko + unc. T *simü- ~ *sümü- v. 'suck, swallow' [going back to N *ś|śêHm ▽ 'to swallow']), S AJ 17, KW 358, Lee CSMK 117, Mr. KJ 242, Mr. CL 82, Wht. 127, 212, Oz. NM 223 || **D** *čimm- ({ǾGS} *s|č-?) 'moist(ure)' > Tm cemmal 'water', Tu {D} šime, {Mnr} šima 'cold, moistness', Tl cemma 'moisture', ? cammi 'dampness, moisture', Ku žimbrī pīgi 'drizzle' ¶¶ D no. 2539, Mnr 6616, 6649 || ??? SD *č'æ'ñt- > Kn Hv čeñdi 'wet', Tu cañdi 'wetness; wet, moist, humid' ¶ D no. 3045 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [no. 99] and ≈ Blz. NDA no. 104 (in both: D, K + err. the D and HS reflexes of N *SEm, ▽, t ▽ 'cold', q.v.).

2066. *ś|śêHm ▽ 'to swallow' > **U**: FU (att. in FV) *ś|śēme- 'drink, swallow, gulp' > F siemi (gen. siemen) n. 'drink, gulp, beverage', siemaise- v. 'gulp (down), swallow', Es seem (gen. seeme), sōōm (gen. sōōme) 'draught, gulp', 'Trunk, Schluck' || Er симе- śime-, Mk

симо- *śimə-* v. 'drink' ¶ UEW 773, Ker. II 142 || **A** **simE-* 'suck' > NaT
 **simü-* ~ **sümü-* v. 'swallow, suck' > MQp [CC] {Grøn.} *sim-* v. 'gulp,
 swallow' ('schlucken, verschlingen'), Osm {Rh.} *süm-* 'butt with the snout
 in sucking', Tk † *ᵛm-* 'suck (butting with the snout)' (of lambs etc.); NaT
 **simür-* > OT *simür-* v. 'swallow in a single gulp', Brb, Nog, Qq *simir-*, Qzq
simip- *simir-*, ET, Osm {Rl.} *sümür-* id., Az *sümür-* id., 'suck out', Tkm
сүмүр- *θümür-* 'eat greedily', Uz *simir-* 'suck\drink slowly' ¶ Cl. 829-30,
 Rs. W 422, Grøn. 220, Rh. 1095, TrR 797, Rl. IV 737, 853, MM 318, BT
 141, Äz. 276, TkR 599 || **M** **sime-* 'swallow, suck out' > MM [MA] {Pp.}
šime- v. 'absorb (a liquid)', WrM {MED} *simē-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *шимэ-*
 'draw a liquid into the mouth, suck', Brt *шэмэ-* 'suck out sap\juice', Kl
 {KRS} *шим-* *šim-* v. 'suck', {Rm.} *šimə-* 'saugen, aussaugen', Mnr H {SM}
šzmu- 'sucer', Mgl {Rm.} *siminā* 3s 'sucks', Ord *šime-* 'sucer' ¶ Pp. MA
 333, MED 709, WMR IV 357, Chr. 745, KRS 673, KW 358, Rm. M 38, Ms. O
 618, SM 374 || Tg **sime-* 'suck' > Sln *šimə-* 'suck', Lm *himat/ç-* 'suck (a
 bone)', (with regr. as.) *çimça-* 'suck', Orc *simiči-* 'suck, suck out', Ud
simisi- id., 'suck sth. round (обсасывать)', Ul *siminz-*, Ork, Nn Nh *simi-*
 {STM} 'suck in', {On.} 'suck (сосать)', PCIWrMc *simi-*, WrMc {Z} *сими-*
 'suck, swallow'; but not here Tg {SDM} **šime-* > Lm *çimıl-* 'percolate', Ul,
 Nn Nh *čime-* id., 'get soaked', WrMc *śime-* ({Z} *чимэ-*) 'be absorbed' (<
 N **sim∇* 'be wet; moisture, liquid') ¶ STM II 87, 394, On. 363, Z 611, Hr
 796-8, Mls 237 ¶¶ The pA vw. *-i- may be due to contamination with N
 **sim∇* 'be wet; moisture, liquid' (q.v.) ¶¶ SDM adduced Ko **simii-* v.
 'soak, permeate' and pJ **sim-* 'soak', but they belong to N **sim∇* 'be wet;
 moisture, liquid' rather than here ¶¶ SDM 1328-9 (pA **šimi-* [with err.
 *š- and unj. meaning 'suck, soak' instead of 'suck'] > T, M, Tg + unc. pJ
 **sim-* 'soak' and pKo **simii-* v. 'soak, permeate' [both from pA **simE-* v.
 'percolate, soak' < N **sim∇* 'be wet; moisture, liquid']), DQA no. 2163
 (id.), KW 358, Lee CSMK 117, S AJ 17, Mr. KJ 242. Mr. CL 82, Wht. 127,
 212 || **HS**: B *-suHm- > Ah {Fc.} *suməṃ* 'sucer avec un bruit de lèvres',
 BMn {Bs.} *smūm* 'suck, lick', Rif {Rn.} *summ*, Izd Mrc.} *ssumm* 'suck' ¶ Fc.
 1083, Rn. s.v. Rif *summ*, Mrc. s.v. *ssumm* || C: Ag {Ap.} **sɜŋ^ω*- v. 'swallow'
 > Bln {R} *ᵛŋ-* [≈ *sɜŋ^ω*-], Dmb {R} *siŋū-*, Km {CR} *šĩŋū-* [≈ *šɜŋ^ω*-], Aw
suŋ- id. ¶ Ap. AV 19, R WB 308, CR VK 249 ¶ Ag *-ŋ^ω- < HS *-m- (near a
 vw. *u) reg. || WCh: Tng {J} *sumbɛ* 'suck' † NrBc {Stl.} **sʋmɔ̄-* 'suck' > {Sk.}:
 Wrj *sánɔ̄-*, Sir *sánɔ̄ú*, Cg *zumɔ̄-*; My {Sk.} *šín-* ¶ Stl. ZCh 253 [no. 78], JI II
 310, Sk. NB 42, J T s.v. *sumbɛ*, ChC s.v. 'to suck' || ?? Eg fMd *ᵛm* 'v.

'swallow' (contamination with a derivative of sm 'swallow') ¶ EG IV 44-5, Fk. 214 ◇ ≈ IS MS 336 (* $\acute{s}em^{\text{H}}\text{H}$ 'swallow': IE, A, U), Rs. UAW 41 (U, A), O HSN (N * $\acute{s}em^{\text{H}}\text{H}$ ▽ v. 'swallow' > U, A, HS = err. IE) ◇ Semantically unc. comparison (⇔ IS MS): ÷ IE * sem^{H} - 'ladle out, pour (out)' (> Lt 1s pres. $semi\grave{u}$ / inf. $sémti$ 'draw, scoop\ladle out', Ltv 1s pres. $smel\grave{u}$ / inf. $smel\acute{t}$ 'scoop\ladle out', OIr sem - 'pour out', {Vn.} verser, puiser', ? Gk $\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta$ 'water bucket, pail', F P 901-2, Vn. S 82-3) (Vn. reconstructed IE *-H- probably on the accentual ev. of Lt $sémti$) ◇ The N Ir. is reconstructed on the ev. of the FU long vw. and the B vw. *u (regularly from *uH). The vw. u in B and in some WCh lges (Tng, Cg) may be due to the ass. infl. of *m (cp. u in the reflexes of N * $\bar{s}im$ ▽ 'name' in different Ch lges).

2067. * $s|\acute{s}i^{\text{H}}\text{Xm}$ ▽ 'be dark, darken' > HS: WS * $\check{s}hm$ 'be black\dark' > JA [Trg.] $\check{s}hm$ G {Lv.} 'bräunlich\dunkelrot sein', JA [Trg.] $\check{s}a^{\text{H}}im$ / $\check{s}i^{\text{H}}m\bar{a}$ 'dark, black', $\check{s}a^{\text{H}}im$ id., JEA $\check{s}a^{\text{H}}em$ 'dark-colored, glazed', MHb $\check{s}a^{\text{H}}im$ 'dark-red', SmA $\check{s}hm$ 'brown', Sr $\check{s}hm$ G 'be dusky\swarthy', Ar {Ln., Hv.} $\check{s}hm$ G 'be\become black', {BK} $saham$ - 'black; black color', $pasaham$ - 'black', Jb $\check{s}hmm$: $zn\check{s}ha^{\text{H}}im$ 'be\become dark (in complexion)', $\check{s}ha^{\text{H}}im$, $\check{s}ha^{\text{H}}im$ 'brown, dark (complexion)' ¶ Br. 769, Lv. IV 583, Lv. T II 468, Js. 1548-9, Sl. 1128, Tal 885-6, JPS 571, Ln. 1321, BK I 1064, Hv. 312, Jo. J 261 || **U** * $s|\acute{s}im$ ▽ > FP * sim ▽ (~ * $\check{s}im$ ▽?) 'dark, rusty; rust' > pChr {Ber.} * sim 'black' > Chr: L $šem$ $\check{s}em$, $šeme$ 'šeme 'black, dirty', Uf $\check{s}em$, $\check{s}em$, M $\acute{s}im$, $\acute{s}ime$ 'black', H $шим$ $\check{s}im$ id., $шимы$ $\check{s}im\bar{a}$ 'black, dark' || Prm sim - 'rust, rusty' > Z sim sim , Yz sim id. || ?? (with BF *h- < irreg. *š-) F $himme\bar{a}$, $\Delta himme\bar{a}$ 'dim, obscure', Es Δimi 'schwach glänzend, schimmernd' || ?ф pY {IN H} *em- ({IN UJ} * θem -) 'black, dark' > Y K $em\bar{u}$ - 'black', $em-b\bar{a}$ - 'dark', $em-il$ 'night'; OY K {Bil.} $emmel$, OY NW {Lndn.} $\acute{e}mil$, OY Ch {Mat.} $emilo$, {Boe.} $эмидынь$ id., OY K {Bil.} $aimáiv\acute{i}$, {Klc.} $аминпѣя$ 'black' ¶ pY *em- belongs here if the initial zero in Yukagir may go back to a pU vl. sibilant (as suggested in IN UJ) ¶¶ UEW 758-9, It. no. 402, Sm. 553 (FP * sim ▽ 'rust'), Ber. 52 [no. 325], MRS 699-700, 706, Ep. 150, Ps. OT 120, LG 258, SK 17, W EDW 130, IN H 157-8, IN UJ 92 (on pY * θ > modern Y zero), 220, 299, 326, 330-1 || **A**: M * $s\grave{u}me-y^{\text{H}}i^{\text{H}}$ - > WrM $s\grave{u}me-i$ - {MED} v. 'appear dimly, loom up', HIM {MED} $s\grave{u}mij$ - id., {BMR}. $s\grave{u}mij$ - ~ $s\grave{u}mij$ - 'become dim, appear dimly, мерцать', Brt $h\grave{u}mij$ - 'appear dimly, чуть вырисовываться',

'слабо мерцать', Kl Ö {Rm.} šūmē- ~ šūmī- 'aus der Ferne dunkel zu sehen sein, schattig sein, wie ein Schatte sein', ?σ Ord sem bolgo- 'rendre invisible' (the verb bolgo- means 'faire devenir', cf. Ms. O 77); -> : WrM {MED} sūmegar 'obscure, indistinct, pale', HIM {MED} сүмгэр id., {BMR} сүмгэр ~ сүүмгэр 'dim (тусклый, неясный), мерцающий' (light), Brt һүмэгэр 'мерцающий' (light) ¶ MED 744, BMT III 143, 148. Chr. 700, KW 242, Ms. O 571 ◇ The M vw. *-ü- (for the expected *i) in *sūme-y^ri¹ is probably due to the ass. infl. of the labial cns. *m.

2068. *śâym∇ (ṭ∇) '≈ hips, loins' > HS: WS (or SS) *^oš|si|umaṭ- (or *θ-?) > Gz samaṭ (~ samaṭ) 'loins, flanks, waist', Tgr sэмэṭ 'flank, side', Tgy šemṭi ~ šэмṭi ~ šэнṭi 'waist', Amh šэнṭ, Har šīnṭi 'filet', ??σ Ar simṭ- 'basque de la cuirasse qui garantit le derrière; bas d'une robe qui dépasse celle de dessus; courroie qui tient à la selle', {Hv.} sumṭ- 'woollen garment'; EthS -> Bln {R} simit ~ simiṭ 'side' ¶ L G 503, LH 347, R WB 305, BK I 1138, Hv. 336 || U: FU *śâym∇ (or *ś-') 'groin, loins' > Lp T {Gn.} š'ijmε (gen. š'ijmiz'ī) 'side' or 'groin' (F 'kuve'), {TI} 'Weiche' || Os: Nz suyam, Kz sŭyam 'groin (Leistengegend)', Sh suyam 'hip, loincloth (Hüfte, Lendengürtel)', Kr soyam 'waist', N {Páp.) sōyam 'Lenden, Kreuz' ¶ Gn. 887, TI 552, KrT 820, Stn. D 1299, ≈ UEW 45 (FU *ćâym∇ - *śâym∇ ¶ AD: FU *ć- is untenable because pOs *s- is not from *ć-) || A: WrM samī {MED} 'groin', {Kow.} 'croupière (пахви)', HIM самь {MED} 'groin' (not registered in BMR and Luv.) ¶ MED 668, Kow. 1316 || ?φ D *čonṭa 'hip, waist' ({θGS} *s-?) > Kn sonṭa, Tu sonṭa, onṭa 'waist', TI tonṭi 'loins, hip' ¶ The cerebrality of *-ṇṭ- may be due to the infl. of N *y (palatality > D cerebrality) ¶¶ D no. 2840.

2069. *ś'ī'm∇ 'to hear' > HS: S *✓šm∇ G 'hear' > BHb, Ph, Ug, Amr, OA, IA, JA, SmA, Sr, Eb ✓šm∇ G, Sb šm∇ G, Ar, Gz ✓sm∇ G 'hear', Mh/Hrs/Sq {Jo.} ✓hm∇ (Mh pf. hīma ~ hūma, Hrs pf. hōma, Sq pf. 'hyzma), Jb {Jo.} ✓šm∇ (pf. šī), Ak inf. G šemû 'hear', Mn šm∇ G 'witness' ¶ KB 1452-6, 1792-3, HJ 1164-6, A no. 2639, OLS 441, G A 32, Tal 909-11, Lv. IV 577-9, Sl. 1158-60, Br. 686-7, BGMR 127, MA 82, Ln. 1427-30, L G 501-2, Jo. M 157-8, Jo. H 51, Jo. J 262, Krb. EG 15 || B *s∇m(m) 'ear' > Gd {Lf.} ē-sam (pl. sεmmεn), Awj {Prd.} 'i-sam (pl. 'smīwān) 'ear', d. *ta-sūm(m)-∇t 'pillow' (like Fr oreiller <- oreille, R под-уш-ка 'pillow' [lit. 'under-ear-er']) > Kb {Dl.} ṭa-sum-ṭa 'oreiller, coussin', Izn {Rn.} tsumṭa (pl. ṭosamtawin), Rif {Rn.}

tsummat id., Nf {Beg.} tsum'tā, Skn {Sarn.} 'tsümti, Awj {Prd.} ta'sümt
 'pillow', ≈ *a-sāmū > Ah asāmu 'oreiller'; ⇨ Ah sūmat, Kb ssumat
 'avoir/utiliser pour oreiller' ¶ Fc. 1834, Lf. II no. 1465, Prd. 164, 170, Rn.
 s.v. Rif tsummat and Izn tsumta, Sarn. s.v. tsümti, Beg. s.v. tsum'tā,, Dl.
 781 || d.? Eg fP smt ({EG} śmt) v. 'hear', ?? Eg fP sm ({EG} śm) 'achten,
 respektieren' ¶ The loss of *ʕ needs investigating ¶ EG IV 120, 144, Fk. 229
 || Ch {Stl.} *sim- 'ear' > CCh *šim 'ear' > Tr {Nw.} žim, Hw {ChL} šima-ra,
 Gbn/G'nd {ChL} šima-ta id. | Mrg {ChL} šimí, BuP šim, Klb {AD, Mk} ximi,
 Hld/Wm {ChL} ximi, Cb {ChL} šámà id. | HgN šimε, HgK šim, HgG šimwu,
 Kps šimzy | Gude {Hsk.} lámá, {IL} limīn, Gudu {IL} šim, FIJ žimən id. |
 Lmn {Lk.} šáməŋ id. | Mdr {Eg.} šímà, Glv {Rp.} h'ímià, Gdf {IL} šimà, Dgh
 {Frk} šmé id. | Suk {IL} šámáj 'ear' (and šám-ni 'hear') | Mtk {Sb.} žimbâđ,
 pMM {Ro.} šimay > {Ro.}: Mkt šúm, Mada šimé, Myn šimí, Vm šímáy, Zlg
 žím 'ear', as well as Mofu {Brr.} šùmày, {Ro.} šímáy, Gzg D {Lk.} šimed,
 {Ro.} šimíd id. | Db {LnG} žimí, Kola {Sb.} žimí id. | Gdr {Mk} šum id. | Lgn
 {Bou.} sim id. | Msg {Mch.} xémə id. || ECh: Kwn M {J} sémđí id. | Kbl
 {Cp.} sāmí, Ll {Grgs} sùmá id. | Smr {J} súmí, Nd D {J} hām, Tmk {Cp.} him
 id. | Mu {J} súmámò, Mjl sumāmo 'ear']? Ch {Stl.} *ku-sim- 'ear' > WCh: SBc
 *kusmi (< *ku-sim-?) > Bg kumsi, Grn kʷansi, Kir/Tala/Zar kəm, Buli kumí
 id. | Hs kunnē id. | AG *kʷom > Ang kʷom, Su/Cp kom, Gmy {Fp.} kum id. |
 Bl kumó, Tng {J}, Dr, Ngm kumo, Krkr, Bele kumó id. | Wrj kumáj, Kry kúm,
 Dir, Jmb kumá, My kumáj id. | Sha kum, Fy humù, Df hʷám id. || CCh: Ms
 {J} húmná, ZmD {KCN} húm, ZmB {J} húm 'ear', Azm {Pc.} húbábá 'ear, leaf',
 húbábá 'hear' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kó-són 'ear' ¶ Stl. IF 90, JI II 114-15 and 184-
 5, J T 105, ChC s.v. 'ear' and 'hear', ChL, Abr. H 556-7, Ba. 645, KNC 10,
 Ro. 242, Pc. 217, Blz. EChWL s.v. 'ear' || **K** *sem- / *sm- 'hear, be heard' >
 OG sem- / sm-, G sm- id., Mg sim- ~ səm-, Lz sim-, Sv səm- / sm- id., Sv
 UB lisme msd. 'be heard; hear sth.'; d. *sm-en- / *sm-in- 'listen' > OG, G
 smen- / smīn-, Mg simin-, Lz simin-, sībin-, Sv smīn- (Sv UB {GP} msd.
 lismīne) id., Sv LB {TK} səmān ~ səman n. 'hearing, attention' ¶¶ K 164-5,
 K² 163-4, 167, FS K 267-8, FS E 296, Chik. 314, GP 168, TK 713 || **U**: FU
 (att. in Os) *°šim-(∇||)- '≈ be heard' > Os Kz šimás-, Os Sn šimə||ə- 'zu
 hören sein' ¶ Stn. D 1342.

2070. *šām_L∇_Lg∇ (lock of) hair, fine hair' > HS: SES *✓ šmɥ > Mh
 šōmɥ, Jb E šūɥ 'fine hair shed by camel' ¶ Jo. M 395 || Eg P/BD smə
 'behaarter Teil des Kopfes; Haare am Kopf' ¶ (?) N *g > Eg ə (is it regular?)
 ¶ EG IV 122 || C: HEC ({Hd.} *šōmba) > Brj {Ss.} 'šomi, {Hd.} šōma, šomi, Hd

š omba, Sd šōbba 'pubic hair'; Af {Hw.} sammo 'pubic region' || SC {E} *seʔem- 'hair' > Irq {MQK} seʔēmi 'a hair', seʔēη^ω 'hair, fur', Kz {E} saʔamayo 'body and limb hair', Asa {E} seʔemuk 'hair; feathers', {Fl.} sému-g 'headdress, hairdress' || ??? Bj {R} šimbehāni ~ šimbāni, {Rop.} šambə'hani 'eyebrows' (× N *č'í'm∇ 'eyelid; to blink [eyes]' [q.v.]) ¶ Ss. B 174, E SC 150, MQK 92, Hd. 75, R WBd 215 (equating Bj with Bl šebkā 'hair'), Rop. 238, Fl. p.c. || NrOm {Blz} *s∇m(m)- 'hair' > Ym {Wdk.} sómá 'hair', {Lm.} somá id. (but {C} somā 'head'), She {CR ← Mnt.} som 'hair (capelli)' ¶ Wdk. BY 133, C SE III 83, CR NGS 623, Lm. Y 373 || Ch mt. *s∇H∇m- > WCh {Stl.} *suHim- > Hs sūmā 'hair of the head' | BT: Ngm {Mk.} sôm 'hair', Tng {J} sayôm 'beard' || CCh: FIJ {ChL} s̄mč̄n, FIM {ChL} š̀mki, FIB {ChL} š̀mki 'hair', Gude {IL} š̀mkin 'hair of the head' | HgNk {Mk.} š̀inti, HgK č̀inč̀i 'hair of the head' | Suk {IL} š̀umbùt id. | Bnn š̀ímítà, BnnM š̀imit 'hair', Azm {Pc.} š̀ímítá 'feather(s)' ¶ JI II 176-7, J T 141, Ba. 958, Abr. H 826, Mk II 282, Pc. 211, ChC s.v. 'hair' and 'beard' ¶¶ Blz. OLBP no. 47, OS no. 2280, ≈ Sk. HCD 237, Tk. I 74-5, Tk. SCC 83 [no. 12.13] || U: FU {UEW} *š̀āηe 'hair', *š̀āηe- to plait hair' (→ v. 'plait') > F s̄ää 'fiber, filament; end (of thread)', (?) s̄äié id. | Prm *š̀i > Z, Vt cи š̀i 'hair' || ObU *sēϣ ~ *sōϣ {< **sēϣ^ω?} 'curl, tress of hair', {Ht.} *sēϣ- ~ *sōϣ- {< **sēϣ^ω-?} v. 'plait' > pVg: [1] *s̄äϣ 'Locke, Haarflechte, Zopf' > Vg: T s̄äw, LK/MK s̄äϣ (s̄äϣ-ān 'their curl\tress'), UK/NV s̄äϣ, SV/LL s̄ä, UL/Ss saϣ 'Locke, Haarflechte, Zopf'; [2] pVg *s̄äϣ- v. 'plait' > Vg: T s̄äw-, LK/MK/UK/SV s̄äϣ-/s̄äϣ-, NV s̄äϣ-/s̄äw-, LL s̄äϣ-/s̄ä-, UL/Ss saϣ- id.; pOs: [1] *sōϣ 'tress of hair' > V/Vy sōϣ, Ty s̄äϣ^ω, Y s̄äw, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id.; [2] pOs *sōϣ- v. 'plait' > V/Vy sōϣ-, Ty s̄äϣ^ω-, Y s̄äw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O sew id. | Hg szó-/szöϣ-, Δ sū-/sūv- v. 'weave, spin' ¶ UEW 471-2, LG 254, Ht. no. 571, MK 509-10 || A *s̄āηa|o|u 'hair lock, fringe' > M: [1] M *saηna, *saηnay ~ *saηmay > WrM {MED} saηna 'forelock of a horse', {Rm.} saηmai, HIM {BMR} саннаа 'forelock of a horse', WrO saηnā, saηnai 'tuft, forelock', Kl {KRS} саηна saηna 'forelock of a horse (челка на голове лошади)', Kl D {Rm.} saηnā ~ saηnā, Kl Ö {Rm.} saηmā ~ saηmā ~ saηma 'Haarzotte auf dem Stirn oder dem Scheitel (der Pferde\der Menschen)'; [2] HIM {SDM} 'bushy or tusled hair', {BMR} сангас 'zottig (мохнатый, лохматый)'; [3] M *sanžič' ~ *sančič' > MM {MA} sanžič 'locks, curls', WrM {MED} sanžič ~ sančič 'a tuft of hair on the temples of women', HIM санчиг {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'temple', Brt һаншаг 'hair on temples' ¶ MED 671-3, BMR III 89, 92,

100, Chr. 676, KW 313, KRS 441, Krg. 385, Pp. MA 318 || Tg *seńne(n) 'gills (branchiae), beard' > Ul s3n3 ~ s3ń3 'gill', s3n3m bi ~ s3ń3m bi 'bearded', Lm O h3n3n 'fringe of cloth (бахрома)', Lm h3n3, Ewk s3n3n, Neg s3ń3, Orc s3n3, Ud s3n3, Ork s3n3, Nn Nh s3y3n3 'gills', WrMc {Z} c3n3n3 'gills, cock's comb' ¶ STM II 143, On. 383, Z 577 || T {TL} *sa;ń-ak, *sa;ń-it 'place on the neck under the jaw; gills' > StAlt sańat ~ sańit 'place under the ear at the end of the jaw; jaw, neck', {Ra.} 'gills', VTt Δ sańaq, Bsh hańaq, Bsh Δ hańaq 'beard\barb of axe (бородка топора)', VTt sańaq, Nog sańaq, Qq sańaq 'gills', Tlt {Ra.} sāt 'jugular vein', Tv sāt 'carotid artery', Tf sāt 'cervical artery' ¶ TL 222, Ra. 226, ET L-S 195 ¶¶ SDM 1231 (pA *seńa|o|u 'fringe, hair lock' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 965, SDM97 (pA *seń(∇)m∇ 'fringe, hair lock'), TL 222 ¶¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. in M and T is probably due to vw. harmony.

2071. *s'o'm,∇,gE or *s'o'gmE 'enter, penetrate' > HS: S *o✓š|sɥm > Ar ✓sɥm G 'inivit (puellam)', ps. pf. suɥima 'ventrem plenum habuit', 'avoir le ventre plein' ¶ Fr. II 320, BK I 1095 || C: Bj {R} šum- scv. 'come home, enter; penetrate', {Rop.} šūm- 'enter, interfere' ⇨ caus. Bj {Rp.} šūm-s- vt. 'enter, put in', Bj N {R} šum-s-, Bj R {R} šum-š- 'hineinführen' ¶ Rop. 238, R WBd 215 || ? Ch: CCh: Mdr {ChL} s3msa, Gude {IL} šīn, Wnd {Eg.} sún 'come' || WCh: SBc: Kir K/L {Sh.} šin imp. 'come!' ¶ JI II 82-3, ChL, Sh. SB 34 || U *soŋe- 'enter, creep in, penetrate' > FU: Lp: OSw {LÖ} suogne 'intrare', N {Fri.} suogŋa-/suoŋa- ~ suodŋja-/suonja- vi. 'smyge, smætte ind i', {N} sudŋjâ/-ŋj- 'creep into (with difficulty) (e.g. creep into a cave)', L {LLO} suotŋja ~ suokŋa- 'durch eine Öffnung hindurchpassieren', K {Gn.} suoarñie-, Nt {TI} suŋŋa- vi. 'enter' || ? Er sova-, Δ su'va-, Mk su'va- 'enter, go in' || ObU {Ht.} *θVŋ- (~ ? *θVŋā) id. > pVg {Ht.} *tūw- > Vg: T tō- ~ tōy-, LK tūw-, UK tuw-, P/LL tū- id.; pOs *ǫāŋa-/*ǫoŋ- ({Hl.} *ǫāŋa-/*ǫāŋ-) id. > Os: V lāŋa- / loŋ-, Vy yāŋa-, Ty/Y ǫāŋ-, ǫāŋa-/ǫāŋw-, D/K tāŋ-, Nz tōŋ-, Kz ǫōŋ-, O lāŋ- id. || OHg av- 'eindringen, sich hineinnehmen, einwachsen'; ⇨ OHg avat- 'eindringen lassen; einsegnen' > Hg avat- 'initiate (so.) into' || Sm *t|cūy- 'enter, go in' > Ne T inf. тю-ць, Ne T O {Lh.} inf. t'ū-ś 'to enter, to go in', Ne F {Lh.} cū-, Ng {Mik.} tīdī, En {Ter.} 3s aor. чүа, Kms {KD} 1s pres. šúlem 'enter, go in' || pY {IN H} *söy- or *sey- 'enter' > Y K {IN H, Krn.} šog- 'enter', {Krn.} ft. šoxteye 'I shall enter', Y T {IN H} seg- ~ sew- 'enter' ¶¶ UEW 446-7, Coll. 4, Db. OS xxix, xxxii, Sm. 548 (FU *sooŋi- 'enter' > FP *sooŋi-/ *suŋa-, Ugr *θāŋī-), Fri. II 688-9, N III 586, TI 342, Ker. II

147, LG 266, Ht. no. 144, MF 101, EWU 61, Jn. 167, AD YN, Krn. JJ 284, IN H 409, IN RJ 6, Ang. 229 || **A:** M: [1] M *simgü- (× N *šingku 'sink, fall') > WrM {MED} simgü- 'creep in, sneak in', HIM {BMR} шингэ- 'soak (into) (впитываться), всасываться, вбираться; sich auflösen in einer Flüssigkeit (раствориться); verdaut werden', Brt шэнгэ- id., Ord šingē- 'entrer dans un objet à la façon d'un liquide qui s'absorbe' | [2] M *sunḡu- ~ *°sinḡu- v. 'dive' > WrM {MED} sinḡu- ~ šinḡu- 'dive, plunge, wade in water' ~ {Rm.} sunḡu-, HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'dive, plunge', Brt шунга- id., Kl Ö {Rm.} sunḡa- ~ šunḡa- 'tauchen'; M ⇨ Nog süḡü- 'dive', Qzq, Qq süḡü-, VTt Δ {Rs.} sḡḡḡ- 'dive, plunge' ¶ MED 710-11, BMR IV 357, 378. Chr. 734, 746, KW 337, 368. Ms. O 620, Rs. W 436, KrkR 596 ¶ The variant *°sinḡu- with an unexpected *i may be due to the infl. of *singē- 'be absorbed into sth.' (F N *šingku 'sink, fall') || **D** (in CD) *čōḡk- 'enter, pierce' > Klm sōḡḡ-, Nk sōḡ- 'enter', Prj čōḡḡ- 'pierce' (of a thorn), Gdb sōḡḡ- 'be pierced into', sōḡ- 'pierce, penetrate' ¶ D no. 2676(a) ◇ In some descendant lges the phonetic history is likely to have been: *-mḡ- > *-ḡḡ- > *-ḡ- or: *-ḡm- > *-ḡḡ- (as.) > *-ḡ-. The long vw. in D suggests that the nasal cns. was preceded by a lr. (N *s'o'ḡmE) ◇ In many lges there may have been (mutual?) infl. of N *s'o'mḡḡE ~ *s'o'ḡmE and N *šingku '↑' (q.v.) (e.g. M *°simgü-), so that it is hard to distinguish between their respective reflexes.

2071a. *S'o'mḡḡHḡḡḡ (= *somḡḡHḡḡḡ?) (> *S'o'ndḡḡ?) 'sand, small stone', (?) 'dirt' > IE: NaIE *sa|ondh- and *samḡḡdh- 'sand' > Gmc *sandā- > ON sandr, OHG sant, MHG, MDu sant ~ sand, NHG Sand, OSx sand, OFrs, AS sond 'sand', NE sand (and Gmc ⇨ F santá id.); there is a pGmc variant with *m: MHG sampt, NGr B/Trl samp, Yid זאמד 'sand' | Gk ἄμθος 'sandy soil', but the cns. μ in ἄμθος may be due to the infl. of ἄμμος 'sand, sandy ground' and ψάμθος 'sand of the sea shore' (Güntert on the latter: Reimwortbildung, interaction between two originally different roots); the pGmc and Gk words with *m suggest pIE *samḡḡdh- ¶ KM 623, F I 84, Gnt. R 119-20 || **A:** pJ *súná 'sand' > J: Tk sùna, K sùna, Kg súna, Ns šíná, Sh šínà, Y čínán id. ¶ S QJ s.v. *súná, SDM97 s.v. Altaic *sunḡ, Kenk. 1847 || **HS:** B: [1] *°✓smd > Ntf {Dray} asəmdəd (pl. isəmdəd) 'pierre sur laquelle on aigüise les couteaux' | [2] *°✓swn > Nfs tasawant 'pierre à fusil', Sw {La.} tasowant 'e small stone' ¶ Dray 371, La. S 277 || Ch: WCh: Buli {Sh.} šínes 'sand' || ECh: Skr {Lk.} síhé, {Sx.} síń-ḡórr, Jg {J} šéń, Brg {J} sàńó, Mu {Lk.} síńòk, {J} síńiyó, Mjl síńó, Kwn {Mch.J} ḡsšín, Smr {J} ḡàwsíńí, Nd D {J} kúsáyń, Tmk {Cp.} kəsəḡ,

EDng {Fd.} gōsīne 'sand' ¶ JI II 281, Blz EChWL no. 69, Sh. SB s.v. šīnes, ChC s.v. 'sand' || ??σ U: FP *sonta 'dirt' > F s o n t a, Es sōrnīk 'dung, manure' | Chr: H šandъ, B/Uf šondo id., 'urine' | Vt S zud 'black mud (used for dying)' ¶ UEW 764-5, Ep. 146 ◇ If the FU root is a valid cognate (in spite of the semantic distance), it suggests N *-H∇d- (> FU *-t-) and pN *s- (N *s o m_LH_J∇d∇) ◇ B *✓ s w n, the WCh root and pJ *súná are likely to have lost the N dental stop ◇ Alternatively, it may be supposed that there was lexical interaction between two different etyma: N *SŪñd∇ 'dry up' (intr.), 'wither' and *S∇m_LH_J∇d∇.

2072. *Sāmīr∇ 'fat' ('Fett') > IE: ≈ NaIE *smeru- 'fat, grease' ({P} 'Schmer, Fett') (× N *maRī∇ [= *'ma'í∇?] 'animal fat' [q.v.]) > Gmc *smerwa- > ON smiqr, smør 'butter, fat', Dn smør, Sw smör, NNr sm(j)ør 'butter', OSx smero, OHG smēro (gen. smerawes) 'fat' ('Schmer, Fett, Schmiere'), NHG Schmer 'pork fat, grease, suet', Gt smaírpr (· πλότης [?]) 'Fett', AS smeoru (gen. sme(o)r(u)wes) 'fat, grease, suet, tallow', NE smear n.; Gmc {Wht.} inf. *smerwjan 'to spread grease on', {AD} 'to anoint, to smear' (× N *'me'úq∇ 'to smear' [q.v.]) > ON inf. smyrja, smyrva 'bestreichen, salben', Sw inf. smörja, Dn inf. smøre, NNr inf. smyrja 'to smear, to anoint', OHG inf. smirwen 'salben, schmieren; to fatten', NHG inf. schmieren 'to smear', AS smierwan inf. 'to anoint', NE smear ||| Clt {Matas.} *smeru- 'marrow' > OIr {Vn.} smī(u)r (gen. smerā) id., {Matas.} [ʃ] smiur 'medulla', NIr smior, MW {Matas.} mer, W {YGM} mē'r 'marrow', MBr {Matas.} mel 'marrow' ||| Gk μύρον {P} 'wohlriechendes Salböl, Pflanzensaft', {LS} 'sweet oil, unguent, perfume', μυρίζω, σμυρίζω 'rub with ointment\ unguent, anoint', ? σμύρις 'emery powder (used by lapidaries)' (× Gk μύρρα 'myrrh' <- S [*murr- id. > OCn, Ak murru, BHb מור, Ug mr, Aram מר mūrā etc.) ||| Lt P/Z smársas 'fat' n., esp. 'fat(tallow of poor quality)' (× Lt smársas 'smell, stench') ||| Tc B smare 'oil', {EI} 'oily, greasy' ¶ WP II 690-1, P 970-1, EI 194 (*'smeru-), Vn. S 142, Matas. 347-8, YGM-1 331, Fs. 438, F II 273-4, 751, Ch. 723-4, 1028-9, Vr. 520-1, AHDI 62, Sw. 154, 156, Ho. 302, Ho. S 68, Kb. 917-18, OsS 832-4, KM 663-5, ≈ Frn. 841, Wn. I 456, Ad. 668, Ad. H 36 ¶ × N *'c'o'mH₂E 'to smear' (q.v.) ||| A: T *sāmīr 'fat (Fett)' (< **sāmīr-y∇?) > OT sāmīz, MQp semīz, MOg XIII sāmūz, Chg sāmīz, Tk semīz 'fat (fett)', Tkm семиз θеміδ 'fat', thick' (of an animal), ET, Uz, Qmq semiz, VTt симез simъz, Bsh һимез һимьδ, Xk simis, StAlt {BT} semis 'fat', Qzq семіз semiz, Yk ämis 'fat',

Alt/Tlt/Kü {Rl.} *säm is* 'fat, fattened', Nog, Qq, Qrg *sem iz* 'fat, fattened, stout', Chv L *самър samър* adj. {Ash., Fed.} 'fettbeleibt (feist, тучный)', {Jeg., ChVS} id., 'stout, fat, wohlgenährt'; NaT **säm iri-* (or **säm irü-*) 'fatten, grow fat' > OT {Cl.} *säm ri:-*, MQp *sem ir-* id., Chg *säm ir-* id., become thick\ stout', Tk *sem ir-*, Tkm *семре- semre-*, ET {BN} *semrü-*, *sem ir-*, Uz, Qmq *sem ir-*, VTt *симер- simър-*, Bsh *himър-*, Qzq *семір- semir-*, StAlt {BT} *sem ir-*, Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} *säm ir-* 'fatten, grow fat', Nog, Qq, Qrg *sem ir-*, Xk *sim ır-* 'fatten, grow stout' ¶ Cl. 830, Rs. W 409, Rl. IV 509-11, Pek. 257, Ash. XI 43-4, Fed. II 11-12, Jeg. 177, ChVS 157 ¶ The pT alternation *-r / *-r- may be accounted for by a pre-T nominal sx *-y∇ in ***säm ir-y∇* > **säm ir* || D **č am∇r-*, {ǾGS} **sam∇r-* v. 'smear' > Kn *savaru* v. 'rub in, apply to (as water\oil\ medicine\ashes)', Tl *самuru* v. 'smear' ¶¶ D no. 2389, GS 108 (on D *-m- > Kn -v-) ¶¶ D *-r- suggests a N cns. cluster (probably *-rʔ-) ◇ NaIE ≈ **smeru-* and ET *semrü-* bring to mind the idea of a N *-û (**Säm irʔû*), but the basis for such assumption is too narrow to be decisive ◇ This N etymon may go back to some cd including N **šäm i* 'fat [Fett]' (q.v.) with a second component of a N cd, from which only the syll. *-rʔ∇ has survived.

2073. **SEm₁∇, t₁∇* 'cold' > HS **✓ smt₁* > B **✓ smd₁* 'be cold' > Awj {Prd.} *✓ šm₁t₁*, Ah, ETwl, Gh, Tmz {MT}, Izd, Rif, Izn, BSn, Shl, Mz, Wrg, Ntf, Gd *✓ smd₁* 'be cold', Kb *ismid₁* 'être froid', Sll *išm₁id₁* id., ašamm₁id₁ 'le froid', Zng {TC} *šäm₁m₁u₁ḡ* 'froid' ¶ AiM 254-5 [no. 15.1.], Fc. 1835, PGG 299, Mrc. 1233, Dl. 778-9, Ds. 135, Dl. 778-9, Rn. 317-18, MT 642-3, Dray 228-9, Prd. 166, TC D 8, Nic. 373, Bs. MS I 121 || Ch **✓ smd₁* > WCh: NrBc: Cg {Sk.} *šid₁an*, P' {MSk.} *sənd₁í* 'cold', Dir {Sk.} *sùmbùd₁ù* id., Mbr *k^wi šind₁i* 'harmattan' || Sbc: Plc {Sch.} *šimtu*, Ds Bn {Sch.} *šimki*, Zar GL {Sch.} *šimda* 'cold' || CCh: Lgn {Nc.} *súmade* 'Wind, Kälte', {JI ← Lk.} *sámáḏ₁ḏ₁*, *səmáḏ₁ḏ₁* 'wind', Glf {Lbf.} *šama* 'cold' || Gzg D {Lk.} *himed₁* 'wind' || Gdr {Srp.} *semiá* id. || Ms {Mch.} *síme₁*, ZmD {Srp.} *shimbéde*, ZmB {Sa.} *símbèdè*, Azm {Pc.} *símět-ná* 'wind' ¶ JI I 37 and II 78-80, ChC s.v. 'cold' and 'wind', ChL, Stl. ZCh 178 [no. 308], Lk. L 118, Pc. 350-1 ¶¶ Gr. LA 54, AiM 254-5 [no. 15.1.] || A: M: WrM {MED} *semtere-* 'freeze out, be destroyed by frost' (unless ← WrM {Kow.} *semtere-* 'se briser, se casser' < N **ś|še₁y₁m₁∇, t₁A* 'tear, break' [q.v.]) ¶ MED 687 || ?? pJ **sàmù-* 'cold' (× N **šañ∇* 'cold', ≈ hoarfrost'?) > OJ *samu-*, MJ *sàmù-* 'cold', J T *samú-*, J K *sábù-*, J Kg *samí* id., {Kenk.} 'cold, chilly' ¶ Mr. 839, Kenk. 1567 || D: Tu {Mnr, D} *sima* 'cold, chill', {D} *simma* adj. 'cold'; (× D **č im∇* 'moist,

wet' < N ***sim**∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid') Tu {D} śime, {Mnr.} šima 'cold, moistness'; not here Tm cemmal 'water' and other reflexes of D ***čim**∇ 'moist, wet' (⇔ Blz.) ¶¶ D no. 2539, Tu. 6616, 649 ¶¶ The absence of the expected T-cns. still requires explanation (does it result from metanalysis?) ◇ ≈ Blz. DA (he equated D with HS + unc. the D and K reflexes of N ***sim**∇ '↑'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 104 (D, HS + unc. K).

2074. (₂?) ***ś|še_um_l∇, tA** 'tear, break' > U: FU ***ś|šentä**- v. 'tear, tear off, break' > Er śínđe-, Mk śínďa- vt. 'break, break off, break into pieces' || OHg, Hg szēd- vt. 'pluck, pick (lesen, pflücken)', (→) 'gather, collect' ¶ UEW 473, Ker. II 142, EWU 1402, MF 574 || A: M ***semtere**- > WrM **semtere**- {Kow.} 'se briser, se casser', ? {MED} 'lose hair\wool\feathers\skin', Kl {Rm.} **semtrō**- 'fehlerhafte Stellen oder Einkerbungen bekommen', 'hier und da nackte Stellen bekommen' (ein Fell), 'hier und da die Farbe verlieren' (etwas gemaltes), Ord **emt'er^kxī** **semt'er^kxī** sawa 'vase ébréché', **emt'eč'isē** **semt'eč'isen** ut'aga 'couteau ébréché à plusieurs endroits' ¶ MED 687, Kow. 1358, KW 324, Ms. O 239 || ?σ IE: NaIE ***snejt**- (mt. from ***sejnt**-?) 'cut, harvest' > Gt inf. **sneipān** (· θαρύειν) 'ernten', inf. **uf-sneipān** (· θύσσειν) 'schlachten', ON inf. **sníðā** 'to cut, to mow', Sw inf. **snida** 'to carve', AS inf. **snīðan** 'to cut into, to hew (stone), to cut off, to amputate, to cut (hair, corn), to cut into pieces', OHG inf. **snīdan** 'to cut, to mow', OSx inf. **snīthan**, NHG inf. **schneiden** 'to cut' || Sl ***snětb** > Uk **чнит** 'block (of wood), log', OP śniat, Cz MS/L **snět** 'trunk of a tree', Cz **snět** m. 'small tree, small block of wood' || ?σ OIr π **snéid** 'petit, bref' ¶ WP II 695-6, P 974, Vn. S 149, KM 669, Fs. 440, Vr. 524, Kb. 921, Schz. 263, OsS 838, Ho. 304, Ho. S 68, Ma. CS 461 ◇ ≈ Blz. NDA no. 104 (D, HS + unc. K ***šim**- 'wet; water' [actually from N ***sim**∇ 'be wet; moisture, liquid']).

2075. ***ś'e'ñ**∇ 'long time', 'old' > HS: S ***š'an-at**- 'year' > OAk šantu(m) ~ śantu(m), Ak šattu(m), Ph št (pl. šnt), Pun SATH, M'b št, Amn pl. šnt, BHb **šā'nā** (a bf. from pl. **šā'n-īm** for the phonetically reg. **šat), Ug šnt, (AkSc) {Hnr.} šanatu (a bf. similar to Hb šā'nā), OA cs. šnt, pl. abs. šnn, IA šnh, cs. šnt, št, BA cs. **šānāt**, pl. **šānīn**, JA [Trg.] **šā'nā**, **šāt'tā**, SmA šnh, Sr abs. **šā'nā**, em. **šā'nāt'tā**, Ar **sanat**- 'year' ¶ GB 850-1, 929, KB 1478-9, 1784, HJ 1170-5, Hnr. 182, OLS 447-8, Tal 914, Lv. T II 499, 521, Js. 1604, 1636, Br. 789, BK I 1154 || Eg fMKL snf 'last year' (with the deictic pc. -f) ¶ EG IV 162, Fk. 231 || Ch: ? CCh: Tr {Nw.} soní, Pdl

{ChL} sōna 'year' (unless loans from Ar) ¶ Nw. WLT s.v. soní, ChC s.v. 'year', ChL II 5 ¶] possibly also HS **✓ wčn (< inactivity px *w- + px *t + *šn) > S *°✓ wθn 'old' > BHb 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 yāšān 'old', Ug 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 'viejo, rancio', ✓ 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 G 'be\become old' ¶ KB 427, OLS 546 || Ch {AD} *✓ ws₁n 'year' (*s₁, acc. to AD ChCS) > WCh *✓ (w)sn > Ngm sání || NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj wásənná, Kry wásən, Sir wásənúwá, Jmb wásən, Dir ášīn id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'year', Sk. NB, Sch. BTL || IE: NaIE *sen(ō)- 'old; former' > OI 'sana- 'old, ancient', Av hanā- 'old, old person' || Arm հիւն հին (gen. հւնյ հոյ) 'old, worn, decayed' || Gk ἔνως 'belonging to the former of two periods, last year's', ἔνη καὶ νέα 'the old and new (day)', sc. 'the last day of the month (that consisted of two halves, one belonging to the old, the other to the new month)', δί-ενως 'two years old' || L senex (gen. sen-is) 'old' (of a person), cmpr. senior 'elder, old', sene-ō / inf. senēre 'be old', senescō 'grow old', senātus 'council of elders, the Senate' || Clt {Matas.} *seno- 'old' > OIr sen 'old', MW, OBr, MBr hen id., W {YGM} hen 'old, ancient', Br {Hm.} hen 'vieux, ancient, antique', Crn hēn 'old, ancient', Gl n. pr. Seno-gnatos || Gt sineigs (· πρεσβύτης, πρεσβύτερος) 'alt', sinistra (· πρεσβύτερος) 'Ältester' (< sprl.), L (← Brgn) [AmM] sinistus 'sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus', OFrk sini-skalkus 'the eldest house servant', ON sina, NNR Δ sina, Sw Δ sena 'last year's grass' || Lt sēnas 'old, worn, ancient', sēnis 'old person', seniaĩ 'long ago, a long time ago, for ages' || NaIE *seno-mātēr 'grandmother' > OIr sen-máth(a)ir, Lt sen-mótē id. ¶ P 907-8, EI 409 (*'seno-s 'old'), M K III 426, F I 522-3, WH II 313-14, Vn. S 83-4, Matas. E 330, YGM-1 283, Hm. 374, RE 117, Ern. 316-17, Hm. 374, ECCE 255, Slr. 69, Fs. 422-3, Vr. 476, Frn. 775, Kar. II 169-71 || D (in GnD) *čen|ñ- 'old' (of a person) > Gnd sēnāl 𐌺 senāl 'aged, old man, senior', Kui senda 'firstborn, eldest' ¶ D no. 2808 ◊ But U *soηk▽ 'old' (of a person) (UEW 448, Coll. 71) probably belongs to N *zoηE (or *zoñE) 'old' rather than here (because of its vw.).

2076. *sōñ'i' 'one, only; to be separated' > IE: NaIE *seni-/*sōni-, *senu-, sñ-ter- 'alone, separated' > OI sanu-tar 'away, off, aside; secretly', sanutya- '≈ fernstehend', Av hanarə 'except, without' || Gk I/Hm ἄτερ 'apart from, without; aloof' (< *sñter) || Gt sundrō (· κατὰ μόνος, κατ'ἰδίαν) 'beiseite, abgesondert', OSx sundar 'besonders', OHG suntar 'separated, far', MHG, AS sundor 'apart, separated', ON sundr 'entzwei, gesondert', NHG ds: besonders, sonderbar,

sondern || L sine 'without' || OIr sain adj. 'different, distinct, particular' (*s_oni-s), W o-han, a-han- 'from', gwa-han 'separated, different', OW han 'other' ('alium'), Crn hanyс 'heimlich' || pTc {Ad.} *s_lä_lna_l > Tc: A sne, B sna_l 'without' || Ht sani- 'one and the same', sannapi 'single (vereinzelt)', sanizzis 'excellent' ¶¶ P 907, EI 24-5 (*sen-i/u- 'apart'), M K III 427, WH II 542-3, Vn. S 14-15, F I 178, Fs. 458-9, Vr. 561, OsS 895, Schz. 275, Lx. 218, KM 715-16, Ho. 330, Ho. S 72, Wn. I 433, Ad. 712-13, Frd. HW 187, Ts. W 69-70 || | HS: S *^oš|sny > Ar {Fr., BK} sanāy-at- 'totalité, le tout', {Hv.} ?as-sanāy-at- 'the whole, the entire thing', {Ln.} (παχαδαιῦ) bi-sināyatihī '(he took it) wholly' ¶ Ln. 140, BK I 1155, Hv. 341 || Eg P snw ({EG} śnw) 'sich trennen von jemandem' ¶ EG IV 157 || ??σ SC ≈ *san- ({E} *saη-) v. {E} 'come apart, separate' > Kz sanas- v. 'split (firewood)', a SC lge ⇨ Mb -sangé v. 'leave, take leave' ¶ E SC 179 || | A *son∇ 'one, single' > Tg: WrMc {Z} соніо 'one, only, single', сонихонь ~ соніохонь 'single, unpaired' ¶ STM II 111, Z 621, S AJ 227 [no. 308] || M *^osondu- 'остаться без пары' > WrM sondu-gay {MED} 'odd' (number), HIM {MED, BMR} сондгой id., {BMR} сондой- 'остаться без пары', 'be odd' (number) ¶ MED 726, BMR III 111 || T: [1] Chv сăн 'Aussehen (вид, образ, облик)', 'face' | [2] NaT *siṅar ({SDM} < **s^r_lan-gar) 'one of a pair; one of two sides' > OT siṅar ({Cl.} siṅār) 'a side, one of two sides' (unj. length of a in Cl.'s transcription), Nog siṅar 'only one, single' (onin siṅar alması qalʿan 'he remained with only one apple', siṅar uli 'the only son'), Osm {Rl.} صينار sinar 'von einem Geschlechte abstammend', Tk Δ sinar, Kr {Rl.} siṅir, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Tlt {Rl.}, ShY siṅar, VTt сънар, Bsh һънар, ET siṅar 'one of a pair', Qmq siṅar id., 'very similar', Kr {KRPS} siṅar awuĉ 'palm of one hand' || ?σ Chv сăнар 'Aussehen (вид, образ, облик)' ¶ Cl. 840-1, ET L-S 406-8, Rs. W 417, DTS 504, NogR 321, KumRS 294, KRPS 493, Rl. IV 622, 631, Ash. XI 257-9, 261-2, Fed. II 24-5, Jeg. 181, ChVS 161-2 || pKo {S} *h^lnàh 'one' > MKo h^lnà, h^lnàh-, NKo hana ¶ S QK no. 63, S AJ 254 [no. 63], Nam 469, MLC 1780, Rm. SKE 60 || pJ {S} *sa- (px of reciprocal action) > OJ sa- id.; pJ *sanīa 'completely, definitely' > OJ sane id. ¶ S QJ no. 1635, Mr. 515 ¶¶ SDM 1280 (pA *s^lóna 'one, single' > Tg, M, NaT, J, Ko), DQA no. 2111, S AJ 296, Rm. SKE 60 (Tg, Ko) ◇ NaT *-ṅ- in *siṅar goes back to a cns. cluster (*n + a velar\uvular cns. of the second morpheme in a d. or cd word).

2077. ***śûnǣ** (or ***śûyǣ**) 'to disappear, to finish' > HS: CS ***šǎn-** > Ar **سنت** san-it- 'barren soil\year', **سنة** sanat- {Ln.} 'draught, barrenness', μ (?): **سنت** sanat- 'barren year' (-t- of **سنة** san-at- reinterpreted as belonging to the $\sqrt{\text{}}$, whence the verb $\sqrt{\text{}}\text{snt } G$ 'experience draught') (\times Ar san-at 'year' < S ***š'an-at-** id.), SmA **šny šāni** prtc. 'deteriorated', **mšny** 'destruction' ¶ Fr. II 362, 367, BK I 1148-9, 1154-5, Ln. 1440-1, 1448, Hv. 339, Tal 914 || **A** ***sönǎ-** 'be extinguished' > NaT ***sön-** 'disappear' > OT **סֹרַן-** 'die down, disappear', Tk **סֹרַן-** 'go\die out, be extinguished', Tkm {TkR, TDS} **θōn-** 'die out' (of fire), 'be extinguished', Az, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt {Verb.} **sōn-**, VTt **sün-** id. (\rightarrow Chv L **сүһ-** id., 'disappear'), Bsh **hün-** 'die out' (of fire), 'be extinguished', Ggz **sōn-** id., **sōn-** ~ **sen-** 'fade'; a connection with MQp, Osm **söyün-** 'go out, die down' (of fire) is qu. ¶ Cl. 834, Rs. W 430 (mentioning Tkm **θōn-** with a long vw., which is at variance with the data of TkR and TDS), Ash. XI 223, Fed. II 70-1, Jeg. 198, TkR 589, TDS 608 || **M** ***sönü-** 'be extinguished, go out' (fire), 'perish' > MM [MA] {Pp.} **סֹרַי-** 'be extinguished', [S] {H} **סֹרַעגא** 'auslöschen', WrM **סֹרַנֶּ** {MED} 'be extinguished, go out' (fire), 'perish, be exterminated; end, ceased to be, disappear', HIM **סֹרַנֶּ** {MED} id., {BMR} 'perish, be exterminated; cease to be, disappear', Brt **הַרְחֵס-** 'be extinguished, go out' (fire), 'be exterminated, perish', Kl {Rm.} **sōn-** 'vergehen, untergehen, zu Ende sein', 'verlöschen' (das Feuer), Mnr H {SM} **sunō-** 's'étendre, se faner', {T} **sunō-** 'perish, fade' ¶ Pp. MA 326, H 138, MED 732, BMR III 1192-20, Chr. 697, KW 333, SM 361 || pJ **sín-** 'die' > OJ **sin-**, MJ **sín-**, J: T **šìn-**, Ky/Kg **sín-**, Ns/Sh **šìn-**, Ht **šì_n-**, Y **ḥnī-** id. ¶ S QJ no. 14, Mr. 752, Kenk. 1696-7 ¶¶ SDM 1292 (pA ***siǔni** 'fade, extinguish' > T ***sōn-** [with an unj. long vw.], M, J + unc. Tg ***sī-** (\rightarrow ***sū-**) 'extinguish', going back to N ***šūhi_w_ǎ** 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish'), DQA no. 2092 (id.), S AJ \approx 72, \approx 112 and \approx 274 [no. 13] (pA ***siūnū**) and S VL 206-7 (A ***siūnǎ**) (in all these publications pA with a long vw. on the basis of erroneously recorded Tkm ***θōn-**), Rm. EAS I 71, KW 333, Pp. VG 30, 70. Oz. NM 231-2 || **IE:** NaIE (att. in Gmc) ***swēin-** 'decrease, (?) disappear' > ON inf. **svína** ~ **svina** ~ **svena**, Nr Δ inf. **svīna** ~ **svina**, OHG inf. **swīnan** 'to dwindle, to decrease', MHG inf. **swīnen** 'abnehmen, schwinden', MDt inf. **swinen** 'verschwinden, auszehren' ||] NaIE ***swendh-** 'disappear, wither' (\times N ***Sûndǎ** 'dry up' [intr.], q.v. ffd.) > OHG inf. **swintan** 'to dwindle, to vanish' ('schwinden, sich verzehren, zunichte werden'), NHG inf. **schwinden** 'to become less, to wither, to

dwindle, to fade', inf. *verschwinden* 'to disappear', OSx inf. *farswindan* id., AS inf. *swindan* 'to waste away' ¶ P 1047, 1052, Vr. 570, Ho. 338, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1005-6, KM 694, Schz. 279, OsS 917.

2078. **ś'ü|iñî* (k∇) 'dark, night' (or **ś'ü|iñî* [incl. **ś'ü|iñû*] 'dark, night; sleep, slumber?') > A **s|z∇n∇* (= **s|zöni* or **s|zoni*?) 'night' > M **söni* 'night' > MM [MA, IsV, IM, LV] {Pp., Lg.}, MMgl {Iw.} *söni*, Mgl *süni*, WrM {MED} *söni*, HIM {MED, BMR} *шөһө*, Brt *һүһи* id., Kl {KRS} *cə* id., {Rm.} *sō*, *sōn* 'Nacht', Mnr {SM, T, Pot.} *soni*, Mgl {Rm.}, Dg {T} *süni*, Dx *šjēni*, Ba *sone*, ShY *sōne* 'night', Ord *sōni* 'nuit' ¶ MED 732, BMR IV 372-3, Chr. 696-7, KW 335, KRS 457, Ms. O 586, Pp. MA 326, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 65, Rm. M 39, KW 335, T 360, T DgJ 191, Iw. 133 || Tg **siŋk∇* 'dark night, dark' > Ewk *siŋkə̄*, *siŋkə̄w* 'dark night, darkness of the night', Lm *hiŋku* 'dark night', Lm A *siŋku*, Neg *siŋkə̄ltən* 'darkness', Lm *hiŋkə̄ltən* 'northern side, shady side', Ork *sikkə̄w* 'dark night; it is dark' ¶ STM II 91 ¶¶ SDM 1280-1 (pA **s|ziŋoŋo* 'night' > Tg, M), DQA no. 2056 || **D** (in CD) {ǰKR and An.} **čintt-* 'evening, night' > Klm *čintevelā* 'evening', *sittena-ṭluṇ* 'in the evening', Nkr *śitte* 'evening', Prj *čitta* 'night' ¶ D no. 2528, An. SG 127, KR 14-69, GS 127 [no. 331] (**cint-*) || **HS**: Eg: BD/RT *snk* 'dark', MK {Fk.} *snk.t* 'darkness' ¶ EG IV 175, Fk. 234 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Cg {Sk. in ChC} *sīn*, {Sk. NB and Sk. in JI} *šīn* 'night', ? P' {Gw.} *si-i*, {MSk.} *ci* 'night' | SBc: Kir {ChL} *suŋrī*, Bg {Csp.} *zondi* 'evening' ||| ECh: ?φ Smr {J} *šāŋgā* 'night' ¶ Hardly here: BT: Grm {Sch. ← Sh.} *žinni*, Krf {Sch.} *žīnkú*, Dr {ChL} *žūŋ* 'black' | SBc: Ds B {Sh.} *zīni*, Ds D {Sh.} *žī*, Ds Bn {Sh.}, Zar L {Sh.} *žī*, Dw {Sh.} *zī*, Sy {Csp.} *žī*, {Car.} *žī*, Sy Zk {Sh.} *žžē*, Zar GL {Sh.} *žžē* 'black' ¶ ChC s.v. 'night', 'evening' and 'black', ≈ Stl. ZCh 179 [no. 313] (**si_lH_lni* 'night, be black' > NrBc + qu. BT and SBc words for 'black'), JI II 257, Sch. BTL 136, Sk. NB 17, MSk. 208, Sh. SB 42, Csp. 42, 49 ◇ Tg and D **i* may go back either to N **i* or to **ü*, while M and SBc point to a labialized vw. of the first syll., but the quality of the M labialized vw. (**ö* for the expected **ü*) remains puzzling ||| This N etymon etymon (its variant **ś'ü|iñû*) may underly some roots for 'sleep, dream' in HS, K and IE: **HS: [1]** HS **✓wsn* v. 'sleep' > CS **✓wšn* v. 'sleep', **wa^lšīn-* 'asleep' > BHb, Ug *✓yšn G* 'sleep, fall asleep', Ar *✓wsn G* v. 'être endormi d'un profond sommeil, être dans son premier somme, sommeiller', {Hv.} 'sleep deeply; slumber', BHb *يأسن* *yā^lšēn* 'asleep, sleeping', Ar *وسن* *wasīn-un* 'qui est profondément endormi, qui est dans son premier somme', BHb *يأسن* *yā^lšēn* sttpf. *G* 'asleep', Ar *وسن* *wasīna* pf. *G* 'était profondément

endormi' ¶ KB 427, OLS 542, BK II 1538-9, Hv. 870 || Ch * \sqrt{wsn} 'sleep' > CCh: Lgn {Lk.} wísàñ, MsgP {Mch.} wɛsɛɛŋ 'sleep' || WCh: Wrj {Gw.} uɔsanna 'sleep', ? P' {MSk.} (ndur) ášín 'lie down, sleep', {IL} ndɔɔ ašín, Dir {Sk.} yìsǎ, {IL} yísáh 'sleep' ¶ JI II 298-9, ChL, ChC, Lk. L 125, MSk. 165, Sk. NB 40 || **[2]** HS *sin- ~ (?) *s|un- 'sleep', (?) 'dream' > S *šín-at- n. 'sleep' > BHb הַנְּיָוֶה šē'nā, Yd š rñ id., BA šā'nā* n. 'sleep' (att. +ppa.: הַנְּיָוֶה šin't-ēh 'his sleep'), BA em. אֲנִיָּוֶה šinā't-ā, SmA šyrñh, Sr אֲנִיָּוֶה em. šerñā't-ā, Sb š rñt, Ak šittu, Eb šit-t-um (= {Frnz.} šittum), Mh/Hrs {Jo.} šñē, Jb C {Jo.} 'šonut, Jb E 'šunut (misprinted in Jo. M as ōúrūt) n. 'sleep', Ug š rñt id., 'dream', Ar سِنَاتِ sinat- {BK} 'envie de dormir, premier somme, profond sommeil', {Hv.} 'slumber; deep sleep', Sq {L} šinoh 'heure de la nuit' ¶ KB 427, 1479-80, 1794, HJ 1175, A no. 1250, OLS 448, 542, Br. 789, Tal 364, BK I 1539, Hv. 870, Jo. M 432, Jo. H 124, Jo. J 293, CAD XVII/3 405, Sd. 1292, Frnz. MLE 182, L LS 417, MiK I no. 2.82 || Ch * \sqrt{sn} , *sun- 'sleep, dream' > WCh: AG *s∇^run- 'dream' > Ang {ChL} sun, Su sùn, {J} sùn, Gmy {ChL} suwùn id. | DfB {J} sunan, Bks {J} sunat, Klr {J} n. act. 'aswàn 'dream' | BT: (a) Pr {Frz.} čón, {ChL} čán n. 'sleep'; (b) Krkr {Al.} n. sūnà, Gera {ChL} n. sunɔ, Ngm {XChL} sūnâ, Krf {ChC} n. sūnnà, Pr {Frz.} čúnà n., Bl {Lk.} ?i-súná 'dream' | NrBc 'sleep' > Wrj {Sk.} sɔn-, Kry {Sk.} sɔnásán, My {Sk.} sɔnásɔnò, Sir {IL} s^wɔnì, {Sk.} súnsuní, Mbr {Sk.} sɔn- id.; 'dream' (d.): Wrj {Sk.} mɔsɔn-, n. mūsɔnáj, Cg {Sk.} múšíní, Kry {Sk.} mɔsɔn-, n. mūsɔn, My {Sk.} ámúsùn, P' {MSk.} ndɔr māsína, Sir {Sk.} n. mūsuní, Mbr {Sk.} n. m^ušɔn, Jmb {Sk.} ámbɔsúná, Dir {Sk.} mɔšɔn id. | SBc 'dream': Bg {Sh.} pí šán, Kir {ChL} šándɔn, Tala Z {ChL} šonè, Gj {ChL} šunk+tì, Buli {ChL} šôn, Dw {ChL} šètú, Zr {ChC} šèdn, Zr K {ChL} šùdú id. | Ngz {Sch.} sùwán, Bd {ChL} súwánɔn v. 'dream' || CCh: McTr 'dream': Tr {Nw.} ci žine, Hw {ChL} s^sšnìrà, G'nd {ChL} sunɔtta, Gbn {ChL} sinàpàta, Bk {ChL} šinata id. | BB 'sleep': Bcm {Sk.} šínè, n. act. šíntè, BtG {Mch.} činō, Mln {ChL} čtntì n., Gudu {IL} conɔ id. | McMs 'sleep': Ms {Mch.} sɛŋ, {ChL} n. act. senda, Lame {ChL} n. act. šènè, syènè, LamP {IL} nde šen, Bnn {ChL} n. act. sⁱyéná, BnnM sena, Azm {Pc.} sēnà, Zm {J} sén, ZMD {KNC} šen 'sleep' ¶ JI II 108-9, 298-9, ChC s.v. 'sleep' and 'dream', ChL, AD ChSC, Sk. NB, KNC 24, Frz. P 26-7, Pc. 347 || **K**: Sv: UB īsna w, L isna w n. 'dream' (as well as LB (h)isṭam id.??) ¶ TK 338, GP 112 || **IE**: NaIE *snoud^h- / *snud^h- 'slumber' > Lt snaud- (inf. snáusti, 1s pres. snáudžiu) vi. 'drowse, doze, slumber', Ltv inf. snaũst (1s pres. snaũž u) 'slumber, sleep', Lt snaudà 'drowse, doze, somnolence', Ltv

snaũda 'Schlummer, Halbschlaf', Lt snū̀dà id., snū̀sti (p. snū̀dau) 'to begin to drowse\doze\sleep' || Gk νυστάζω v. 'be half asleep, doze' ¶ Frn. 852-4, F II 329-30 ◇ If N ***ʳʷi**̃nī̃ (k∇) 'dark, night' is etymologically connected with the above-mentioned HS, K and IE roots for 'sleep, dream, slumber', N ***î** must be specified as ***û** (*u|û), so that the N etymon of these roots for 'sleep, dream, slumber' may be reconstructed as ***ʳʷi**̃nû̃ 'sleep, slumber' (a semantic variant of ***ʳʷi**̃nī̃ 'dark, night'?) ◇ The identity of the initial sibilant in ***ʳʷi**̃nī̃ (k∇) 'dark, night' is conjectured from ***ʳʷi**̃nû̃ 'sleep, dream, slumber' ◇ Blz. KM 139-40 [no. 26] (equating HS ***ʳʷsn** with the Sv and the IE cognates).

2079. ?σ ***sʳ̥i**̃n∇ (= ***sʳ̥i**̃n∇?) 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' > K ***śwen-** 'breathe; take a rest' > OG **swen-**, G **swen-** v. 'rest', Lz **śvan-** 'breathe' || ?φ Sv **śwem-** / **śwm-** v. 'rest, take a rest\breath' (UB 1s aor. [= pfc.] ot-śwem, 1s pfc. ot-śōma, msd. Ln li-śwem, UB li-śwmīne, LB liśwmīne, L liśmine) ¶¶ Sv -m- defies explanation (assimilative labialization ***-ŋ-** > **-m-**?) ¶¶ K 174-5, ≠ FS K 282, ≠ FS E 313-14, GP 179, 244, TK 465 || **A:** Tg (< d.) ***siŋti-** 'calm, silent' > Ewk **siŋti** 'calm' (of weather), **siŋtīlī** n. 'quiet, silence (in the space)', **siŋtīlī** 'be quiet\ silent' (of a person), Nn Nh {STM} **siŋčī**̃n- 'become silent', {On.} **siŋčī**̃n- id., 'затихнуть' ¶ STM II 91-2. On. 365 || ?? T: Tlt {Rl.} **sünā** 'soul', StAlt **süne** 'human soul' (× N ***śuŋe** 'breathe', q.v. ffd.) || ? M ***süne-sün** 'spirit, soul of one's life' (× N ***śuŋe** '↑', q.v. ffd.) || **HS:** Eg **snr** 'calmer, apaiser' ¶ Mks II no. 78.3619 | possibly also **HS** ***ʳʷsn** v. 'sleep', ***sin-** ~ (?) ***s|un-** 'sleep', (?) 'dream' (× N ***ʳʷi**̃nī̃ (k∇) 'dark, night' or ***ʳʷi**̃nī̃ [incl. ***ʳʷi**̃nû̃] 'dark, night; sleep, slumber', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The meaning 'calm' (attested in both Eg and Tg) is obviously ancient, but the connection with 'breathe' is still hypothetical.

2080. ***Sʳ̥eʳ̥i**̃n∇ (= ***śʳ̥eʳ̥i**̃n∇?) 'hear, perceive' > **A** ***sʳ̥i**̃n∇- v. 'hear, observe' > M ***sonus-** 'hear, listen' > MM [IM, LV] {Pp.} **sonus-**, [HI] {Ms.}, [S] {H} **sonos-**, [MA] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} **sonas-** 'hear, listen', WrM **sonus-** {MED} 'hear, listen, obey', HIM **сонсо-** {MED} id., {BMR} 'listen', WrO {Krg.} **sonos-**, Kl {KRS} **сонс-** 'hear, listen', Kl Ö/D {Rm.} **sonos-** 'hören, lauschen, erfahren', Kl D **sonsa-** 'hören', Mnr H {T} **sunose-** 'hear, listen, obey', {SM} **sunos3-** 'entendre, écouter, suivre les avis', Ord **sonos-** 'entendre, écouter, suivre un avis', Dx {T} **sonosu-**, Dg {T} **sonso-**, {Mr.} **sonse-** 'hear, listen', Mgl {Rm.} **sonusu-** 'hear'; MMgl {Iw.} **sunasā** 'quick hearing'; M ***sonur** 'sense of hearing' > WrM **sonur** {MED} 'hearing, the

quality of hearing well', HIM сонор {MED, BMR} id., WrO {Krg.} сонор 'sense of hearing, fine hearing', Kl {KRS} сонр соньр adj. 'hearing well', Kl D {Rm.} сонр 'hörbar; mit scharfem Gehör', Brt һонор 'fine' (of hearing), 'sensible', Ord сонор 'ouïe', 'fin' (ouïe) ¶ Pp. IM 124, Pp. MA 324, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 64, MED 728, BMR III 113-14, Krg. 1408-9, Chr. 684, KRS 454-5, KW 331, H 135, Iw. 133, Ms. H 95, Ms. O 583, Rm. M 38, SM 362, T 361, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, Mr. D 211 || ???φ T {AD, SDM} *sīn ({ADb.} *siyn) 'observation, external appearance' > OT {Cl.} si:n 'external appearance, stature; human body', Tkm θīn 'observation (наблюдение, обзор)', Nog sin 'a man's figure, outward appearance', Qzq сын sin id., 'test, trial, exploration', Qmq sin 'outward appearance', Qq sin id., 'criticism', ET sin 'a man's stature\figure\ appearance', VTt сын id., 'image, picture', 'statue', Bsh һын 'Körperbau, стан, statue; feeling', Qrg sin 'test, trial', StAlt sin 'stature, trunk of the body', Tv sin 'Körperbau (телосложение), стан, stature', Xk sin 'stature; truth'; T *sīna- v. 'watch, observe, test (so.\sth.)' > OT sinā- v. 'test', XwT XIV, MQp XIV, OOSm ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV sinā-, Tkm θīna-, Tk sinā-, Az, Qmq, Qq, Xk sina-, VTt сына-, Bsh һына-, ET, Uz sina- 'test, try', Qzq sina- 'investigate, explore, try, test', Nog sina- 'watch, notice; test, try', Qrg sina-, Chv L (← VTt?) сǎна- сьна- v. 'observe, test' ¶ The rec. *siyn is suggested by ADb. in the d. word *siyn-ak- > Qzq, Qq siyaq 'appearance (of a person), exterior, outward appearance', Qrg siyaq id., 'face', n. 'similar (to)', Nog siyaq 'exterior', ET siyaq 'shape, appearance', Uz siyаq 'face, appearance', but *-yn- in this ADb.'s rec. is not justified, so that this word (T *siyak-) either does not belong here or may go back to *siñak- < **sin-yak- ¶ The meaning 'feeling' in Bsh may be ancient (albeit attested [as far as I know] in only one lge of the T family) ¶ Cl. 832, 835, DTS 503-4, Rs. W 417, TL 266-7, Pp. VG 115, Fed. II 25, Ash. XI 261, Jeg. 181-2, Tkr 604-5, Sht. 181, 183, Jud. 679-80, 683, NogR 320-1, 323, KrkR 603, 607, KumRS 293-4, TatR 495-6, BR 645, BIG 207-8, Rl. IV 628-9, BT 136, TvR 397, Nj. 540, Ash. XI 261, Fed. II 25, Jeg. 181-2, VhVS 161 || ?σ,φ pKo *sǐ^n- 'be interesting\startling' > NKo s^ng^pta (orthographic sǐ^n-) ¶ MLC 943 ¶¶ SDM 1291-2 (pA *sǐ^na 'hear, observe' > M *sonos-, T, Ko ["late attested and somewhat insecure"]), DQA no. 2075 (id.) || HS: CCh *✓ ŝn 'hear' > Lgn {Lk.} ŝná, {Bou.} ŝng̃́, ? Lmn {ChC} ŝn-, Msg {Trn.} ŝn̄ id. ¶ JI II 185, ChC s.v. 'hear' || SES *✓ ŝny 'see' (× N *ĉ'í'?'ā' n̂ā 'recognize, know [connaître]', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *sent- 'perceive, feel' (→ 'think') > L sentiō / sentīre / sensi / sensum 'feel,

perceive' (> It sentire 'to hear'), *sensus* 'feeling, meaning' || OHG *sin* (gen. *sinnes*) 'sense, mind, intention' (< **sinθna-* < **sent-no-*) > NHG *Sinn* id.; ⇨ in the Gmc lges: MHG, NHG inf. *sinnen* wv. 'to think', AS inf. *sinnan* 'sinnen, nachdenken, um (etw.,) sorgen', OHG inf. *sinnan* sv. (< Gmc **sinθjan*) 'to strive for, to endeavor, to demand' > MHG inf. *sinnen* id. || Lt † inf. *sintéti* 'to make up one's mind, to think, to think over', *sintéjimas* 'opinion' | OCS *сѣшь сеѣтъ* {Mikl.} (·σοφός, prudens), {EI, WH} 'wise' ¶ WH II 515-16, EI 418, EM 924, Ho. 295, Kb. 853, 856, OsS 765, Schz. 251-2, Lx. 195, KM 709, Frn. 786, Mikl. L 975, Mikl. E 292, ≈ P 908-9 (identifying this IE √ with IE **sent-* 'go') ◇ The pKo diphthong *-j̥ʌ- and the T long vw. *-ī- may be explained by reconstructing pN **SEʔoñ∇* ◇ If the ambiguous SES *√*śny* 'see' belongs here, the N rec. is **ś'Eʔo'ñ∇*, otherwise it is a less specified **S'Eʔo'ñ∇*.

2081. **son*'∇q' 'ü' (= **soni*'q' 'ü'?) 'sinew, tendon; root' > HS: S *°√*ś|snχ* (× N ?σ **śanKa* 'stalks, branches' [q.v.]?) > Ar *sinχ-* 'root' ¶ BK I 1150 || EC: Sml *sūn*, Sml N *sūn* {Abr.} 'belt, strap', {Gal.} 'tendon, nerve, vein', Sd {Hd.} *sun-čō* (pl. *sunna*), Tmb {L} *sun-čū* 'belt of leather' ¶ ZMO 368, DSI 564, Abr. S 228, Gal. 131, Hd. 394 || IE **sneHw-*, **senHw-o-* 'sinew' ({Mn.} **senaw-o-*) > [1] NaIE **snēw-*, *°*snēju-*, **sneu_lə_r* 'sinew, string, cord' > OI '*snāyu*, '*snāyu-h*, OI '*snāva* ntr., Av *snāvarə*, Sgd *sn[?]w* 'sinew' || Gk *νευρά* f. 'string\cord of sinew', *νεῦρον* ntr. 'sinew, tendon; bowstring' || L *nervus* 'sinew, tendon' || OHG *snuor* 'string', NHG *Schnur* 'string, cord, twine', MLG *snōr*, MDt, Dt *snoer*, Dn, Sw Δ *snor* 'cord' || BSI (× N **śāneXæ* or **sānAXæ* 'to plait, to twist, to tie')?: ? Ltv Δ *snaujis* 'noose, loop' ({ME} 'Schlinge') | Sl inf. **snova-ti* ~ **snu-ti* / 1s pres. **snuj-q* 'set warp' > RChS inf. *снoути snuti* / 1s pres. *снoвѣ snovq*, OR inf. *snovati* / 1s pres. *snuju*, Blg 1s pres. *снoвa*, SCr inf. *snòvati* / 1s pres. *snùjēm*, Slv inf. *snováti* / 1s pres. *snújem*, Cz inf. *snouti* ~ *snovati* / 1s pres. *snuji* id., Slk inf. *snovat* 'to wind, to reel' || Tc B *śñor* (pl. *śñaura*) 'sinew' || [2] NaIE {Mn.} *°*senaw-o-/-ā* 'sinew' > Gmc {KM} **senawō* ~ **seniwo-*, {P} **sinwā* 'sinew' > ON *sin*, OHG *sēnawa*, *senā* 'sinew', MHG *sēnewe* 'sinew, nerve', NHG *Sehne* 'sinew, tendon, fibre', Sw *senā* 'sinew, nerve', AS *siōnu* (gen. *siōnwe*) 'sinew', NE *sinew* || The relation of this root with IE **sneH-* / **snoH-* 'plait, twist' → v. 'spin' (< N **śāneXæ* [or **sānAXæ*] '↑') is not yet clear; in some descendant lges the verb may have coalesced with the derived reflexes of the IE root for 'sinew' or have

served as an additional source of words for 'sinew' (cf. the hyp. of EI 571: 'sinew' < IE *(s)neh₁(i)- ~ *sneh₁u- 'twist fibres together') ¶ But Av hīru 'Band, Fessel' and Ltv Δ {ME} pā-sainis 'Band, Fessel, Schnur', Ltv s̄aiṛōt̄ {ME} 'schnüren, einpacken, (in Bündel) zusammenbinden', {Turk.} 'to pack (up)', Ltv s̄ainis 'parcel, bundle, package' are better explained as derived from Av hā(ϣ)- 'binden, fesseln' and Ltv s̄iet̄ 'to bind' respectively (see N *ζ̄∇χī 'to plait, to bind') ¶ ≈ P 891, 976-7, Mn. 1127, 1232-5, AHDI 56, 62, ≈ 56, M K III 533-4, F II 311-12, Vr. 476, Ho. 295-6, Kb. 842, 923, OsS 754, 841, ME III 93, 636, 973, Vs. III 699, Mikl. E 312, Wn. I 458, EI 571 (*(s)neh₁(i)- and *sneh₁u- 'twist fibres together to form thread; occupy oneself with thread') || U *sōne 'vein, sinew' > F s̄uoni, Es s̄oon id., 'tendon' | pLp {Lr.} *sōn̄s 'sinew, vein' > Lp: S {Hs.} s̄uone, L {LLO} s̄uotna, N {N} s̄uodnâ / -n- id., Kld c̄yHH, K {Gn.} s̄ūññ id., 'sinew thread, thread' | Er/Mk san 'vein, sinew' | pChr {Ber.} *sūn 'sinew, tendon' > Chr: L шōн šōn, B {Ber.} sūn, M {Ber.} sōn, {UEW} śūn, Uf {Ps.} šūn, H шūн šūn id. | Prm *sōn ({JLG} *sōn 'sinew' > Z, Vt cōн s̄on, Vt B sen id. || ObU {Ht.} *θ̄n̄∇ > pVg *t̄n̄∇ 'vein, sinew' > OVg: N NSs táane, N SoO тањъ, N W Sol тэњъ, Vg: T tā'n, LK/Ss t̄ān, UK/P/NV/SV t̄ēn id.; pOs *čan > Os: V/O lan, Vy yan, Ty/Y čān, K ton, Nz tun, Kz čon id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *č̄zn 'sinew' (or *t̄zn, if the unexplained change *t- > č- occurred at the level of pSlq or some Slq dialects) > Ne T {Ter.} тэš' t̄z̄ (nom. pl. тэн' ten?), Ne T O {Lh.} t̄z̄̄, Ne FL {Lh.} t̄z̄̄n ({Lh.} t̄z̄̄n), Ne FP t̄z̄̄, En X {Cs.} t̄i?, En B {Cs.} ti (gen. sg. t̄ino'), Ng {Cs.} t̄âη, {Ter.} таη 'sinew' | Slq: Tz LTz {KD} t̄z̄n̄ ({JKD} t̄z̄n̄) 'sinew', Tz/B {Cs.} c̄èn id., Tz {Prk.} d. t̄n̄+ 'tendon', Kar {Cs.} ten, Tm {KD} č̄ād_ ({JKD} t̄z̄ād), MO {Cs.} c̄en, Chl {Cs.} c̄än, NP/UO {Cs.} c̄äne 'sinew' | Kms {KD} t̄'en̄ 'sinew, vein', Koyb {Sp.} тењъ 'sinew' | Mt {Hl.} *t̄zn 'sinew' (Mt K {Pl.} дуñ, дуњъ 'жила', Mt M {Sp.} тењъ id.) ¶¶ Coll. 58, Db. OS xii-xiii, xxx, UEW 441, ≈ Sm. 548 (FU *s̄+tn̄i 'vein' > FP *s̄ooni, Ugr *θ̄ør̄sin̄ĩ), MF 318-19, It. no. 163, Lr. no. 1179, Lgc. no. 7161, Hs. 1267-8, Gn. 992, SaR 331, Ber. 59, MRS 724, 746, Ü 280, Ps. OT 133, LG 203, Lt. 166, Ht. no. 143, Jn. 32-3, Cs. 134, 280, Hl. M 358 [no. 1004] || A: [11] pA *siη̄i'r̄∇ 'sinew' > NaT *siη̄ir̄ 'sinew' > OT U {Cl.} siη̄ir̄ 'muscle, sinew', MQp siη̄ir̄ 'sinew', XwT XIV siη̄ir̄ 'bowstring', Chg ≥XV siη̄ir̄ id., 'sinew', OOs̄m siη̄ir̄, Osm sin̄ir̄ 'nerve, sinew', Tk sin̄ir̄ 'nerve', Tkm θ̄iη̄ir̄, ET, Qrg siη̄ir̄, Uz siη̄ir̄, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz siη̄ir̄, VTt ceңep̄ s̄ȳn̄p̄, Bsh h̄ȳn̄p̄, Qzq ciη̄ip̄ siη̄ir̄, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} siη̄ir̄, Xk, Tv сиир̄ s̄īr̄, Tf s̄ī:r̄ 'sinew', Yk iη̄ir̄ 'thread' ¶ Cl. 841, Rs. W 423,

TL 264, Rl. IV 687, 696, Ra. 227 || M *sinda-sun > WrM *sindasun* {MED} 'nerve, tendon, sinew, vein', HIM {MED} *шандас* id., {BMR} *шандас(ан)* 'tendon', Brt *шандааһа(н)* 'tendon(s) of hind legs; muscles', Kl {KRS} *шандсн* 'Achilles tendon', Kl Ö {Rm.} *šandāsñ* 'Ende der Flechse, Sehne', Ord *šind_asu* 'nerf, tendon' ¶ MED 710, BMR IV 340, Chr. 720, Ms. O 618, KRS 664, KW 348, Ms. O 618 || pKo {S, SDM} *sì_úr 'string, sinew; bowstring' > MKo *sì_úr*, NKo *siwi* ¶ S QK no. 314, Nam 326, MLC 1040 ¶¶ SDM 1254 (pA *sīṅri 'sinew' > M, T, pKo + unc. Tg *sire- 'thread' [going back to pA *s|zERi 'sinew, thread' from N *sär'U' 'sinew, fibre' [q.v.]), DQA no. 2009, Rm. EAS I 120, Md. OJ 43, TL 264 || [2] pA *°sUn∇ > Tg *suna 'strap, belt, rein for draught dogs' > Ewk *suna* 'rein for draught dogs, strap, rope', Lm *hūṅkan* 'rein for draught dogs', Ork *suna* id., *suna-* vt. 'tie', Orc *sūna* 'shaman's long draught (hold by people during the *ūni* festivity)', Ul *suna* 'shaman's belt', Nn Nh/KU {STM} *sona*, {On.} *sōna* id., 'long strap in children's garment', WrMc {Z} *сүна* 'rein of draught dogs', *сүна* id., 'rope' ¶ STM II 97, 127, On. 375, Z 633, 653 ◇ IS MS 341 s.v. 'жила' *son/H/Λ (IE, A, U), Coll. IUS 70 (IE, U) ◇ The common designation of sinew and root is natural, because both served as ropes ◇ The rec. of N *q in this etymon is qu., because it is based on the ambiguous Ar root (as well as on the NaIE laryngeal that suggests a N uvular or lr. cns.). A vw. between N *n and the qu. N *q is suggested by U *-n- (rather than U **-ŋ- which is expected as a reflex of N *-nq- = *-ŋq-). The vw. *i of the first syll. in pA (as well as possibly in Av *hīru*) may be explained by regr. as. (N *soni'q'ü' > *sin...). If the Ar word is not taken into account, the pN rec. must be *son_l∇_lH'ü' (= *soniH'ü'?). The long vw. (*ō) in Uralic is still to be explained (may be N *son_l∇_lq- > [mt.] *soqn- > U *sōn-).

2082. ?φ₂ *śew∇ṅć∇ 'e bone' > U: FU *śew∇nćä (or *ś|ćewć|śä) '≈ heel; heel bone, hock' > pLp {Lr.} *ćēvćē > Lp: L {LLO} *tjeu'tjē* 'der Knochen zwischen dem Schienbein (tibia) und dem Metatarsus am Hinterlauf (des Renttiers, usw.); Tarsus; Fußwurzel', N {N} *čæw'žā / -wž- ~ čæw'žē / -wž-* 'hock of reindeer or other quadruped; calcaneus, the heel bone of reindeer etc.', Kld {TI} *čěeú; čěe* 'Fußgelenk, Beuge des Hinterbeines (bes. beim Renttier)' || Os {Stn.}: Ty *sāṽwāńt* 'heel', Y *kōr-sāwāńt* 'heel, back part of the foot', Nz *śuχās* 'Rückseite des Unterschenkels beim Pferd', Kz *śwχās*, O *śoχās* 'Hinterseite des Fußwurzels und des Unterschenkels (bis zur Kniekehle) ¶ Lr. no. 134, Lgc. no. 559, LLO 1150, N I 459, TI 657, Stn. D 1320-1 ¶ The authors of UEW

reject the connection between Lp and Os (*F* Stn. D 1321). If nevertheless the connection does exist, the FU word is *śew_L∇η_Jć_A (unless it is *śewć_A with a secondary *-∇η- in Os?) || **HS**: S *^o✓š|sns|š > Ar sanāsīn- pl. 'os qui aboutissent aux vertèbres' or 'extrémités des os des côtes' ¶ BK I 1151 || *AdS* of K *ž_∇ž_∇wal-, {K, K²} *ž_∇ž_∇wal- 'bone' (< N ?σ ***3AħU1∇** ≈ [calf of] leg, [?] bone of leg', q.v. fdd.) ¶ This *AdS* influenced the meaning of the K word ◇ This et. presupposes reductions in K and Lp, which weakens its plausibility.

2083. *s'ü'Nć_∇X∇ (= *s'ü'ηć_∇X∇?) 'worm, snake, lizard' > **HS**: Eg fP s_∇ž_ħ 'ε snake' ¶ EG IV 394 || B: BSn s_∇aō (pl. i_∇s_∇a_∇tt_∇an) 'vers intestinaux' ¶ Ds. B 363 || NrOm {Blz.} *š_uš- 'snake' (× N ***ś|śuś|ś∇** 'worm, snake', q.v. ffd.) || **U**: [1] FU *s|t'ü'ńć'â' 'worm' > Krl Ld č_üńž ~ č_üńž_ü 'angle worm, earth worm (Regenwurm)', Vp {ZM} č_uńž & č_uńžž & č_onž id. || pVg {θStn.} *tāńś / *tāńś 'worm' > Vg {Kn.}: T tańś & tāńś, LK/MK/UK tōńś, NV/SV/LL tōńś, P tōńś ~ tuńś 'worm' ¶ pVg *tāńś / *tāńś goes back to *s|tuńć'â' (with depalatalization *ü > *u, probably resulting from regr. as. (*ü...â > *u...â) ¶ UEW 530, ZM 65, Kn. VW 70, Stn. WV 130, 212 || [2] U *s_∇ηć_∇(-1∇) 'lizard' > FU *s'ü'ηć_∇1∇ > F sisilisko, Δ sisälisko id., Es sisalik, Δ sisulik & s_üsalik id., 'lacerta' || pLp {Lr.} *tēńć_∇z_∇ηkēs 'lizard' > Lp: S {Hs.} deädjaalummes, Ar dižžol, L {LLO} täd_tjulij, N {N} dæž_∇âlâgges, Kld {TI} č_ēń:č_ēļę:k (with ideophonic variants) id. || pChr {Ber.} *š_∇š_∇á' id. > Chr: L шыншале š_∇š_∇á'le, Uf/B š_∇š_∇á'le, M š_∇š_∇á'le, H {Ep.} шăкшăльы šăk'šă'le, {MRS} шăкшăльы šăk'šă'le id. || Prm {LG} *ć_ož_∇1 ({JLG} *č_ož_∇z) id. > Z дзодзув ž_ož_{uv} ~ чодзув č_ož_{uv}, ZLV č_ož_{uv}, ZL_t ž_ož_∇1 id., Yz 'ž_už_∇1 ~ 'ć_už_∇1 'ε small inedible fish' || ObU: pOs {θHt.} *s_o|os_∇1, {θHl.} *s_ü|ă_∇s_∇1 'lizard' > Os: V/Vy sos_∇1, Ty săsa_∇t, Y săsa_∇, D săst, săs, săst, Kz s_os_∇, O săs_∇ id.; Vg (← Os?): N {MK} sos_∇lă, sos_∇s_∇1 'a mythical animal resembling a lizard or a dragon', UL {Kn.} sos_∇lă 'ε a mythical animal' || Sm {Jn.} *t|ć_∇ăns_∇, {Hl.} *t|ć_∇ăns_∇ 'lizard' > Ne: T таңз id., T O {Λη.} tānc id., 'snake', F L {Lh.} t_ān_s 'lizard'; Ng {Cs.} tan'su (pl. tan_∇du?) 'river lamprey (Neunauge, речная минога, *Lampetra fluviatilis*)'; En {Cs.}: X 't_ādu, B tasu id.; Slq: Tz {Prk.} t_üši, Tm {KD} č_ož, Nr {Cs.} t_oš, MO {Cs.} t_os, Chl t_os_o, Ke t_üss_ü, NP t_üssu 'lizard'; Kms {KD} t_on_∇z_∇, {Cs.} thenze, Koyb {Sp.} таңза id.; Mt {Hl.} *tanž_∇ 'lizard' (Mt T {Pls.} taansche, Mt K {Pls.} tandi, Mt M {Sp.} таңже id.) ¶¶ UEW 454-5 (U *s_∇ηć_∇(-1∇) ~ *s_∇č_∇(-1∇)), SK 1043-4, Lr. no. 1244, Lgc. no. 6970, Ber.

62 [no. 322], MRS 696, 756, Ep. 148, LG 91, Stn. D 138O, KrT 879, Trs. S 434, MK 566 (Vg ← Os), Jn. 151, Cs. 61, 87. 149, 213, 256, Hl. M no. 959 || ?φ **A**: Tg *isele(n) 'lizard' > Ewk isɛlɛ̃ ɔ hisɛlɛ̃, Sln isɛl, Lm īsəl, Neg isɛlɛ̃, Orc isɛlɛ, Ul isɛlɛ̃ ~ ɛsɛlɛ̃, Ork ɛsɛlɛ, Nn Nh {On.} isɛlɛ̃:, {STM} isɛlɛ̃ ɔ isɛlin 'lizard', Ud ɥɛlɛ̃ 'ε lizard', WrMc {Z} исэлэ̄к̄уцумяха 'scorpion' (with цумяха 'worm, insect') ¶ The element *i- in the Tg word may go back to the initial component of a cd word ¶ STM I 332, On. 200, Krm. 243, Z 99 ◇ FU *s^ʰü^ʰŋć∇ suggests that the nasal cns. of the pN word was *ŋ, while the cns. *ń in FU *s|t^ʰü^ʰńć^ʰâ^ʰ is due to as. One is tempted to suppose that FU *s^ʰü^ʰŋć∇|∇ and Tg *isele(n) 'go back to a N (analytical?) diminutive *^os^ʰü^ʰNć^ʰ∇X∇ L∇, but then we face a phonetic problem: the N diminutive pc. is *l̥∇ with a postalveolar *l̥, while in the FU stem we see a N *l. Tg *-s- is a regular reflex of N *-Nć^ʰ- (cf. Introduction, § 2.1, remark 15) ◇ UEW 454 (U, Tg).

2084. ₂ *śän^ʰč^ʰ∇ 'knee, (?) articulation' > **HS**: S *^oš|ś|θi_ln_l∇^ʰ∇ - > Ak OB/YB šisītu(m) ~ tišītu ~ tisītu, Ak MA sisītu 'wrist, ankle' ('[Hand-]Fuß-]Gelenk') ¶ Sd. 125O || **U** {UEW} *śänč^ʰ∇ 'knee' > ObU *čāñč 'knee' > pVg {Ht.} *šāñš > Vg: T šāñš, LK šjñs, MK/UK sñs, P/LL šanš, NV šāñš, UL/Ss sāns id.; pOs {Ht.} *čāñč > Os: V/Vy čāñč, Ty čāñč, Y/D/K čāñč, Nz/Kz šaš, O sās id. || Sm: Koyb {KD} s^ʰl^ʰn^ʰi, s^ʰl^ʰn^ʰe, si^ʰŋi, s^ʰni 'knee', Koyb {Sp.} сыне id. ¶¶ UEW 471, Coll. 69, Ht. no. 103, KD 58 ◇ Qu. (because of the phonetic uncertainty in S).

2085. ₂ *Sûñd∇ 'dry up' (intr.), 'wither, (?) disappear' > **IE**: NaIE *swend^h- 'wither, disappear' (× N *sûñæ or *sûyñæ 'to disappear, to finish' [q.v.]) > OHG inf. swintan 'to dwindle, to vanish' ('schwinden, sich verzehren, zunichte werden'), NHG inf. schwinden 'to become less, to wither, to dwindle, to fade', inf. verschwinden 'to disappear', OSx inf. farswindan id., AS inf. swindan 'to waste away' || ?φ Sl *ved- in inf. *ved-nŋ-ti 'to wither, to fade' (> P inf. wieđnać, Cz inf. vadnouti, Slk inf. vädnuť, Hls inf. wjadnuć, Blg вяна, SCr inf. věnuti, Slv inf. véni ti, R inf. 'вянуть, Uk inf. 'вьянути id.) and in Sl inf. *u-ved^ʰ-a-ti id. > OCS inf. **УВЯДАТИ** u-ved^ʰ-a-ti (·μαράννειν), R inf. увя'даты id. ¶ The loss of *s- in Sl is puzzling (metanalysis in the verb with a preverbs?) ¶ P 1047, Ho. 338, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1006, Schz. 279, OsS 917, KM 694, Glh. 666, Vs. I 375 || **D** *cunṭ- ({{GS} *s-?) 'dry up' > Tm cunṭu id., 'be evaporated by heat', Kt cund- vi. 'boil away', Kn sunṭu 'evaporate', Tl cunṭu 'be evaporated\dried up'; D → OI s^ʰunṭh-

'become dry' ¶¶ D no. 2662, M K 353-4 ◇ IS MS 365 s.v. 'СОХНУТЬ' *^rs'undn.

2086. *S^rū¹ndū 'ε river, body of water' > IE: NaIE *sindh^hu- '(??) river' > OI *sindh^hu-h₂* 'stream, river; the Indus', Av, OPrs *Hirndu-* 'Indus-land, the Indus' || OIr *Sinainn* accus. sg., *Sinnae* dat. sg. 'the Shannon' ¶ Fick VW II 303, WP II 509, M K III 668, M E II 729-30 (not accepting the above-mentioned IE et.) || A: M: WrM *sōndū-lge* 'stream, brook', 'ruisseau', ?σ HIM {BMR} *cəndləgə* n. 'river crossing' and *cəndlə-* v. 'cross a river' ¶ The meaning of the *sx-lge* is obscure (usually *-lge* is used for deverbal nouns of result) ¶ MED 731, Kow. 1424, BMR III 119 || D: eD ***čun̄t'i*' (→ OI *cun̄t'i*, *cun̄dya-* 'well', *cun̄tikā* 'kleiner Wasserbehälter', [Hmc.] *cun̄dhi* 'small pond', Prkr *cun̄dhi* 'natural pool', Pali *soṇḍi* 'a natural tank in a rock'); D (bf.?) **čun̄*∇ 'pool, pond' > Tm *cun̄aḷ* 'mountain pool or spring tank', ? Kn *ḍoṇe*, *ḍoṇe* 'a small natural pond in a rock', ? Tl *ḍona* 'a pool in a hill' ¶¶ D no. 2716, M K I 394 || HS: Eg BD *swⁿ.w* 'Gewässer, Teich' ¶ EG IV 69 || C: DhI {EEN} *sōni* 'river' || Asa {E} *soʔon-k* 'valley', → Mb {E} *sondá* 'valley' ¶ E SC 180, 182, EEN 25 || ?? CCh: ZmB {Sa.} *zánà*, ZmD {Srp.} *zna*, {KNC} *sáná?* 'river' ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Sa. L s.v. ZmB *zánà*, Srp. WHA, KNC 23 ◇ The unexpected de-labialization *^rū¹ > *i in the prehistory of IE still needs investigating.

2087. (2?) **sūN₁∇₁R∇₁∇* (or **sūRN∇₁∇*) 'nasal mucus', ? '≈ liquid' > HS: EC **sinra^s-* ~ **sunra^s* (or **sirna^s-*/**surna^s-*) 'nasal mucus' > Sa {R} *sin^ra^s-* ~ *sun^rā^s-* (→ ḷ Tgr {R} *ḥ^rḥ^o sēnda^s* id. [not confirmed in LH]), Or {Grg.} *furrī*, Kns {Bl.} *sorn-ēta*, Hr {AMS} *surun-ho*, Brj *sur¹ra*, Sd *sandiddo* [*-nr- > -nd-] id. ¶ mt. *-nr- > Kns -rn-, Hr -r∇n- ¶ Ss. PEC 23, 32 (EC **sirn-*/**surn-*), R S II 329, Grg. 151, Hd. 102, 221, 390, AMS 186 || Eg XVIII *sn^x.t* {EG} 'nasal mucus', {Fk.} 'phlegm' ¶ EG IV 171, Fk. 233 || U: FP **sūrE(-m∇)* 'snivel, nasal catarrh' > pChr **šürem* > StChr L, Chr Y *šürem* 'nasal catarrh' || pPrm **zürim* 'snivel' > Z, Vt *z+r+m* id. ¶ UEW 761, Ber. 74, LG 108, MRS 747 || A possibility: IE: NaIE **sero-* 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood' (× N **šariX∇* 'to stream, to flow') > L *serum* id. || Gk *ὀρός* 'watery\serous part of milk, whey' ¶ The words of the same phonetic shape, but meaning 'a stream', 'a lake' and sim. (OI *sara-h₂* etc.), belong to the IE √ **serH-* v. 'stream' < N **šariX∇* 'to stream, to flow' (q.v.) ¶ P 909, WH II 443-4, F II 425 ¶ An alt. hyp.: IE **serH-* v. 'stream, flow' (< N **šariX∇*) is the source of Gk *ὀρός* and L *serum*, too ◇ In U and (?) in IE the N cluster *-NR- (= *-N₁∇₁R-?) (or *-RN-)

contracted to *-r-. If the IE word belongs here, its Ir. is lost in the prevoc. position ◇ If the N etymon is *sũN_L∇_JR∇_ϕ∇, it may go back to a N cd with the first component *sũŋ∇ v. 'smell' ([in C, Om, Ch] → 'nose') (q.v.). If this is the case, the unspecified *N is to be replaced by N *ŋ, so that the N etymon will be *sũŋ∇R∇_ϕ∇.

2088. *^rś'āñžâ_Lh∇_J (or *^rś'āñćâ_Lh∇_J) '(lock of) hair, feather' > HS: S: Ar زَيْرَاءُ zayzāʔ- ~ زَيْرَاءُ zīzāʔ- ~ زَيْرَى zayzā ~ زَيْرِيَّةٌ zāziy-at- (pl. زَيْرَى zayzāzā) 'feathers, tips of feathers' ¶ Fr. II 270, BK I 1032, Hv. 303 ¶ Ar z...z < (as.) *s...z || CCh: McHigi: FIK {ChC} člnčī, {ChL} šinčī 'hair' | Cb sšsí ~ šiší, WMgr čiči(r), Ngx šiši, Klb šišī 'hair', Mrg {ChC} šlnšē giē 'feather' | Msy {Mch.} səsōŋ tálǎ, Kola {Sb.} súśúŋ, Db {ChL} sūson 'hair' ¶ JI II 176, ChC s.v. 'hair', ChL || ? K: G I činčl- 'down feathers', G činčl- 'fibres of a root' (G činčl- belongs here if it is a loan from Zan, where pK *č yields *č; in this case the phonetic history may be as follows: either (1) N *śāñžâ- > pre-K *sEnž∇- > [assimilatory devoicing] *sEnč∇ > [as.] K *čEnč∇ > Zan *činč- → G činč-), or (2) *śāñcâ- ¶ Chx. 1936 || U: FU *^rś'æć∇ 'thin fibres of plants used to produce threads' > Hg s z ō s z 'oakum, hemp', s z ō s z k e 'flaxen-haired, blond' || Prm: Z, Prmk s z ō 'the best and purest kind of hemp/flax fibres' (infl. of Z s z ō 'pure, clear'), Z {W} s z ō ~ s o ō 'fibre, thread, oakum'; Z → VTt s ū s 'oakum, tow' → Chv s ū s id. ¶ Hg s z - points to FU *^rś-, while the depalatalizati on *ś > *s in the prehistory of Prm must be explained by positional changes (dis.?) ¶ UEW 433 (*sæć∇), LG 262-3, MF 599-600 || A *sa_Ln_Jč_i- or *sā_Ln_Jč_i- (= *sā_Ln_Jč_i-?) > M: MM [MA] سانجيق sanžiq {Pr.} 'кудри' (with ج ž for č, which has no sign in the Arabic script [other than in its Persian variety]), WrM sančig {MED} 'tuft of hair on the temples of women; side whiskers', HIM санчиг {MED} id., {BMR} 'tuft of hair on the temples of women; temple', Brt паншаг 'hair on temples', as well as Kl {Rm.} sanžīg 'kurze Haare über den Stirn', unless Ramstedt is right in deriving the Kl word from sanžī- 'hang' and interpreting it as 'etwas hängendes'. Rm.'s explanation is hard to apply to WrM and HIM because of the vl. WrM -c- and HIM -č- (unlike in WrM {MED} sanžī-, HIM {MED} санж- 'hang, hang down'), so that the WrM and HIM word may have resulted from contamination of a word for 'hair' and WrM {MED} sanžig - sanžig, HIM {MED, BMR} санжиг-санжиг 'dangling, hanging loosely with a swinging motion' ¶ MED 671, 673, BMR III 92, Chr. 676. Pp. MA 318, Kow. 1288, KW 312 || Tg: Ewk sājī 'plait (of hair), long hair' ¶ Ewk -āj-

may go back possibly to **** -anç-** with complementary lengthening of the *vw.* ***a** ¶ STM II 54 || pKo {SDM} ***s**Λć^h 'cord' > MKo sΛć^h, NKo sākī id. ¶ Nam 294, MLC 920 || T ***saç** 'the hair of the human head' > OT, MU sač, MQp sač ~ saš, Chg saž ~ sač, Tk saç, Uz soč, ET čač ~ sač, VTt чəч śäś, Bsh säs, Nog/Qzq/Qq šaš, Qrg, Qmn/Tb/QK {B}, Tlt {Rl.} čač, Brb/Kü {Rl.} cac, Tbl {Rl.} čač ~ cac, StAlt ćač, Sg/Qb {Rl.}, Xk sas, Yk as, Tf ćéś, Chv L çýç súś id., Tkm θač, Az sač, QrB čač id., 'braid', Qmq čač, Tv čăś 'braid' ¶ Cl. 794, Rs. W 390, TL 197, Rl. III 1905, IV 195, 389, 394, Ra. 196, Ash. XI 306-8, Fed. II 150-1, Jeg. 224, ChVS 193 ¶¶ pA ***-a-** of the initial syll. rather than the exoected ***-ä-**) may be due to regr. as. ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1331 (pA ***š**jačī- 'ε rope, fabric' > Ko + [not belonging here] Tg ***ç**eçe 'patch, rag', T ***saçuk** 'fringe', pJ ***s**ì(n)tú 'ε embroidered fabric'), SDM97 s.v. ***s**äč∇), S AJ 287 [no. 258] (A ***s**äč∇), ADM97 s.v. ***senč**∇ (T, Ko, qu. M sançig + unc. Tg ***ç**eçe) ◇ U ***ć** suggests a palatal affricate (probably N ***ś**), while the very uncertain prehistory of the Georgian cognate is likely to suggest N ***ś** ◇ If the N word was ***ś**āńźâh∇ or ***ś**āńćâh∇, it was later transformed into ***ś**äyćâ (loss of the marked feature of nasality in almost all branches. If the N etymon was ***ś**āńźâh∇, N ***-ź**∇h- > ***-ź**h- underwent assimilation and became ***-ć-**). M and Tg: ***ä**∶_∶...â > ***a**∶_∶...∇.

2089. *s|šäη∇ (or ***s|š**ä_∶H_∶η∇??) 'tooth' > HS ***sin-** 'tooth' > S ***š**inn- 'tooth' > OAk, Ak √ šinn-*u*(m), Eb {Krb.} šinn-, BHb ႱႱ šen (stem šinn-: šin'n-ō 'his tooth', šin'n-ayim 'teeth'), Ph, Ug, SmA šn, BA šen / šinn- 'tooth', JA {Trg.} šen / em. šin'n-ā, JEA ႱႱ šin'nā, Sr ႱႱ šen'n-ā, Ar sinn-, Gz sänn, Tgy sanni, Jb E 'šnin id., Jb C šnin id. (pl. šnun) ¶ KB 1472-4, OLS 446, Lv. IV 584, Lv. T II 498, Sl. 1136-7, Tal 915, Br. 789, BK I 1147, Jo. J 262, Jo. M 609, L G 504, CS 241, Bsn. 189, Sd. 1243, Krb. EG 6-7, MiK I no. 1.249 || B ***-s**īn- 'tooth' > Ah i-sīn-ən 'teeth', e-sīn 'incisive tooth', Gh i-sin 'tooth', pl. i-sin-ən, Gd a-sēn, pl. sēn-ən, Si a-sāin, pl. i-sīn-ən (āī < i regularly in final closed syllables, / La. S 4), Skn, Snd i-sīn (pl. i-sīn-ən) 'tooth'; the homogeneous and consistent (throughout the whole B family) phonetically reg. structure of the word, allowing the rec. of pB ***-s**īn-, rules out its explanation as a loan from Ar Mgr sänn 'tooth' ¶ Fc. 1840, Lf. II no. 1481, La. S 224, Nh. 149, Sarn. 1 || Ch ***s**₂in- (pl. ***s**₂an-) 'tooth' (***s**₂ [{}Nw.] ***ś**) is the pCh phoneme which yields WCh and ECh ***s** and CCh lateral ***ś**) > WCh: SBc {Sh.}: Zar K, Tala, Buli šín, Zar Gl/L, Sy B, Gj šîn, Grn šîη, Plc P, Wnd šên, Bg, Kir šaηal 'tooth' || CCh ***ś**in, pl. ***ś**an 'tooth' > McKtk: Lgn {Lk.} šini, pl. šan, Bdm {Lk.} hínay, Glf řir 'tooth' ||

McMrg (with *-n > -r) Mrg, Klb *šir*, Pdk *šira* id. | Tr *žin* id. | McMtk: Mtk *že'en*, pMM {Ro.} **šan* > {Ro.}: Hrz, Vm *šahan*, Mofu *šér*, Zlg *žír*, as well as Gzg {Lk.} *šəŋ*, *šin*, {Ro.} *šín* id. | McMdr (with *-n- > -r-): Mdr *šaré*, Glv *šár-da* id. | McMms: Ms *sī-ta* id. | McMmsg: Msk *s̄ȳt̄ŋ*, Mlw *š̄t̄ŋš̄t̄ŋ* id. | McMms: Azm {Pc.} *síná*, Ms {ChL} *siano*, {Mch.} *s̄iȳa*, Bnn {ChL} *sínà*, BnnM {ChL} *siino*, Lame {ChL} *š̄ip̄i* id. || ECh: Mu {Lk.} *s̄in̄àŋù*, pl. *s̄aŋì*, Jg {J} *s̄aŋò*, Brg *s̄aŋó*, Mkl {J} *s̄ēŋo* (pl. *seŋèŋ*), Bdy *s̄intá*, pl. *s̄iná*, Ke *ká-s̄əŋ*, Tmk *hin*, Kjk *sin* (pl. *sàn*), Ubi *s̄i:nà* 'tooth' ¶ JI II 330-1, J LM 175, AIJ 113, Trn. LDM 20, Ro. 349 [no. 753], ChL, Sh. SB 32, Pc. 351-2, Al. KTU 247, 304 ¶ The forms of McKtk and Mu suggest that **šin* was originally the form of sg., while **šan* was pl. (formed by means of the HS pattern of *a-plurals, *F* Gr. IP) || Eg *sn* (= *śn* in the transcription of EG) (the phonetic reading of a character resembling a fish spear, or, acc. to Gard., 'two-barbed arrowhead'), Eg *sn* {EG} 'Zweizack') ¶ EG IV 148, Gard. 514 || ? SC: Irq {MQK} *sihinō* ~ *sehnō* 'tooth', 'incisor' (pl. *sihna?* ~ *sehna?*, *sihēni*), {Wh. IP} *sihino* 'tooth', pl. *sihīni*, {Wh. SI} *sēhno* ~ *sīhno* 'tooth', Alg {Wh.} *sihino*, pl. *sihēni*, Brn {Wh.} *sihina* (pl. *sihēri*) 'tooth' ¶ MQK 93, Wh. IC 26, E SC 180 ¶ The SC word is qu. as a cognate, unless one finds an explanation for the unexpected word-medial *h* || U: FU **s|š'ä'ŋ*▽ (or *-ü-[less plausible]) 'pin, peg' > Lp N {N} *sag'ge* '(wooden) pin, peg, knitting needle', Lp K *saŋ'ge* id. || pObU **θũŋk* 'Keil' > pOs **ḫũŋk* ({HI.} **ḫũŋk*) id. > Os: V *lōŋk*, Vy *yũŋk*, Ty *šōŋk*, Nz *tũŋk*, Kz *šũŋk*, O *luŋk* id.; pVg **tũŋkál* > Vg T *tũŋkál* 'Stöpsel, Pfropfen' ¶ N III 367, Stn. WV 280, Ht. 138 [no. 147] || D: [1] D ?σ,φ **čā|ēŋ-* or **čā|ēŋ-* 'chisel, awl' > Kn *cāna* ~ *cāṇa* ~ *cēṇa* 'a small chisel', Tu *cēṇuḡ* ~ *cēṇuḡ*, Tl *sēnamu* 'awl, chisel' ¶¶ The unexpected *-ñ- in **čā|ēñ-* still needs explanation, unless -ṇ- in Kn *cāṇa* ~ *cēṇa* and in Tu *cēṇuḡ* there is a transcription mistake, while Kn *cāna* and Tu *cēṇuḡ* represent the correct transliteration ¶¶ D no. 2445 || [2] NED **čan̄k*▽r- v. 'be on edge' (of the teeth), 'have the teeth set on edge' > Krx *čan̄grnā* v. 'be on edge' (of the teeth), Mlt *čarge* v. 'have the teeth set on edge' ¶ D no. 2289, Pf. 190 || ???φ E: MEI *si-h-ha* ({Blz.} *siha₁n₁*) 'tooth, teeth' ¶¶ HK 1070-1 ◇ Blz. E no. 9 (E, HS) ◇ If the SC and Elamic words belong here, they suggest a lr. in the N etymon (**s|š'ä'Hŋ*▽).

2090. **sûŋ*▽ 'to smell (sth.)' ([in C, Om and Ch] → 'nose') > HS: Eg fP *sn* 'smell sth. (riechen)', Eg MK/G *sn̄sn* id., Eg {Mks} *sn̄sn.t* 'perfume' (× N **čũŋ*▽ 'smoke; smell' and N **šUŋE* 'breathe' [q.v.]) ¶ EG IV 172, 277, Fk. 245, Mks III no. 2634 || C: EC **sīn-* > Sa {R} *sīn-* v. 'smell (riechen),

emit smell', $\varepsilon \bar{i} r n$ n. 'smell (Geruch)', $\varepsilon \bar{i} 'r n \bar{o}$ 'pleasant odor', Hd $\check{s} i ? n$ - v. 'smell' (of meat, butter); the EC verb may be influenced by EthS (*see* Tgr {LH} $\check{z} \check{e} \check{s} e n a$ vi. 'smell of', vt. 'smell [sth.]' < N * $\check{c} i w n \nabla$ 'smell, stench'); EC {Ss.} *san-/*sin-/*son-/*sun- 'nose' > Sa, Af, Sml san, pBn {Hn.} *sán (> Bn J/Bi/Kj/L sán), Rn sám, Arr {Hw.} sōnó, Dsn {To.} sōn-o, Elm {Hn.} sōno, Or {Grg.} fuńń-ān, Or Wl {Brl.} f u r u y - a n (i), Or H {Ow.} fuńń-āńí, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} funn-āni, Kns sīna ~ sōna, Gdl sina, Gwd, Gln sinḍe, Hr, Dbs sinḍ-ičče id., HEC {Hd.} *sano 'nose' > Sd, Ged sano, Kmb sanu(-ta), Hd sanē, Brj 'suna id.; Or {Grg.} fūnf-aḍḍa v. 'smell sth.' ||| Dhl {To.} sina, {EEN} pl. sinanne 'nose' ||| Ag {Ap.} *ʔsɜn-/*ʔsɜn- 'nose' > Xm {Ap.} ʔsɜn, Xm T {CR} aɜn, Knf {TBZAC} sän, Aw {Hz.} ʔssán ¶ R S II 325-6, Ss. B 169, L G 562, LH 646-7, Grg. 133, 150, Sr. 305, Brl. 153, Ow. 261, Hw. A 432, Hn. BD 119, PG 256, Hd. 106, 297, To. D 146, EEN 24, Ap. AV 5-6, TBZAC 102, Blz. CWL, To. DL 526 || NrOm {Blz.} *sin(ḍ)- 'nose' > Mj s+nu, Shk s+nt, Na sinus id. | BMa š+nte, Sz sūn-i, HzMa šini, GaMa šindi id. | Jn {Wdk.} siyá id. | Bnc {Wdk.} siñt, She sint id. | Mch {L} šītō, Shn šinṭa, Anf šīnto, {Gt.} šinne id. | Cha {C} sinḍā, Bdt sīḍe, Wl/Zl {C} siḍē, Gm {Hw.} sīḍe, Gf siḍe, Bsk {C} sintsā (= sinḍā), Dk {C} sinḍā id. ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 85, Wdk. BY 166, Hw. EG || Ch: WCh: Hs sánsáná v. 'emit a smell', Gw {Mts.} šúšùna id. | Wrj {Sk.} səsən-, Cg {Sk.} šššən-, My {Sk.} šašin-, P' {MSK.} sasən-, Sir {Sk.} šišidiwi, Jmb {Sk.} sáhəsən (misprint for sánsán?) 'smell (riechen)' ||| pMM {Ro.} zin 'smell of' > Mada zín, Myn žu, Mkt žín, Mlk žé, Gzg zàʔán, Mofu za id. | Ch *Sin 'nose' (× N * $\check{c} \check{u} \eta \nabla$ 'smoke, smell') > WCh: Fy {J} šín 'nose' | ? Tng {J} wɪstɪn id. | Tala {Sh.} ʔsɜn, Buli {Sh.} ʔišin id. ||| CCh: Gude {IL} šiná, Bcm {Sk.} šiné id. | Suk {IL} ššin, {Mk} šin id. | ZmD {Srp.} šin id. ||| ECh: Smr šèndé, Kbl {Cp.} hǎ:ndǐ, Ll {Grgs} hìndà, Tmk {Cp.} hùn 'nose' ¶ JI II 258-9, ChC s.v. 'nose', 'to smell (smth.)' and 'to smell (to have a smell)', ChL, Abr. H 779, Br. 900-1, Ro. 329 [no. 688], Blz. EChWL no. 62 ¶¶ Gr. LA 60 ||| K * $\circ \check{s} | \text{sun-}$ > G {Chx.} sun- 'smell (smth.), an etw. riechen, beriechen', {DCh.} sun-i 'odor, stench' ¶ Chx. 1282, DCh. 1200 ||| U: FU (att. in Prm) * $\circ \text{su} | \check{u} \eta \nabla$ > Prm {LG} *zúη n. 'smell' > Vt зыи z+n, Vt Kz {UEW ← ?} zšη (zēη), Vt G {Wc.} zřm, Vt Uf {Wc.} zřη, Yz z^∧n id., Prmk зыи z+n 'stench' ¶¶ ≠ U * $\acute{s} | \check{s} a \eta k \nabla$ 'taste, smell' > Hg szag n. 'smell', Slq Tz sangá- 'smell (sth.)' (Slq {Set.} saṛam 'schmecken') ¶¶ LG 108, Lt. J 115, Wc. W 133 [no. 1272], UEW 463, ≠ Sz. MNyH 159 (÷ Hg szag), ≠ Set. FUS 60 (Vt ÷ Slq saṛam, Hg szag) ||| R: M *siṅsi- > WrM {MED} siṅsi-, HIM {MED, BMR} шинши- 'smell\sniff

all over' (of dogs), 'track down by sniffing (as dogs do)', Brt vt. шэҺшэ- 'sniff all over (обнюхивать)', WrO {Krg.} š i ŋ s i - v. 'sniff', Kl {KRS} шиҥш- š i ŋ š ə - 'smell\sniff all over', {Rm.} š i ŋ i š - 'aufspüren, wittern' (Hund), Ord š i ŋ š i - 'flairer' (animaux) ¶ MED 712, BMR IV 359, Krg. 442, Chr. 747, KRS 675, KW 359, Ms. O 621 ◇ M *i of the first syll. may be explained either by regr. as. (*u|ü...i > *i...i) or by delabialization of the N vw. (which in this case is to be reconstructed as *ū) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. 'запах' *surn(g)ʌ.

2091. *śäŋeXæ (or *sāŋAXæ) 'to plait, to twist, to tie' > IE *sneH̄-/ *snoH̄- (= *sneχ̄-/ *snoχ̄-?) > NaIE *snē-/ *snō- 'plait, twist' (→ 'spin') > Gk νέω v. 'spin', 3s pres. νῆ (< *σνήλε) 'spins' || L neō / nē-re v. 'spin' || Clt {Matas.} 'spin, weave' > OIr sníid, -sni 'spin, patch', sním n. act. 'spinning', Crn nethē, MBr neza- v. 'spin', MW nyddu, nyddaf, W {YGM} nyddu 'spin, twist', MBr nezaff 'spin', Br {Hm.} nezafñ 'filer; tordre'; OIr snáth 'thread', OBr [ʏ] notenn, MBr neut, Br neud(enn) id., ?σ OIr snáthat 'needle' || Gmc *snō- ⇨ *snō-θ- > OGtn snóþ, Sw snodd n. 'braid (cord)', AS snōd {Sw.} 'fillet', {Ho.} 'Kopfband, Kapuze', NE snood] OHG inf. nājen, nāen, NHG inf. nähēn, MDt inf. naeyen, Dt inf. naaien 'to sew'] ON inf. snúa 'to wind, (to double and) to twist (yarn), to twine (thread)' || Ltv Δ {ME} inf. snā-t (1s pres. snājū) 'to twist loosely together, to spin' || ?σ Ht senahha- {Mn.} 'snare, ambush', {Ts.} 'Hinterhalt' ¶¶ ≈ P 973, Mn. 1127, 1232-5, F II 311-12, WH II 159-60, Vn. S 148-9, 151-2, Matas. E 350, YGM-1 346, Hm. 598, LP § 24.4, Hm. 598, YGM-1 346, Ho. 305, Kb. 711, OsS 637, KM 501-2, Vr. 526, Vr. N 461, ME III 974-5, Ts. W 74, EI 571 (*(s)neh₁(i)- and *sneh₁u- 'twist fibres together to form thread; occupy oneself with thread') || HS: Eg fOK snħ 'binden, fesseln' ¶ EG IV 168-9 || S *^o✓š|snħ > Ar sanīħ- 'fil sur lequel on enfile les ornements du cou (perles, coquillages etc.)' ¶ BK I 1149 || WCh: pNrBc *šāŋh- v. 'sew' > Wrj {Sk. in ChC} šāŋh-, {Sk. NB} šāŋg-, Mbr {Sk.} šāŋh- id. ¶ JI II 233, ChC s.v. 'sew', Stl. ZCh 196 [no. 481], 255 [no. 107], Sk. NB 39 ¶¶ The lateral *š in NrBc requires explanation || U: [1] FU *śäŋe 'a hair, hair plait' > F sǎǎ 'fiber, filament, strand, cord' (× FP *sāŋä 'thread'), sǎie (gen. sǎikeen) 'fiber, filament, (head of) thread' || Prm {LG} *śi 'a hair, fiber, string' > Z, Vt cи śi 'a hair', Z Δ, Prmk śi 'thread', Z Δ vug+r śi 'fishing line' (vug+r 'fishhook'), Yz śi 'thread, fiber, a hair' || Hg szǒ- / szǒv- v. 'weave, spin' || ObU: (I) {Ht.} *sē- ~ *sō- v., {θHl.} *sǎ- ~ *sō- v. 'plait' > pVg *sǎ- id. > Vg: T säw-,

LK/MK/UK/P/SV säʁ-/ *sǎʁ-, NV säʁ-/ *sǎw-, LL säʁ-/ *sǎ-, UL/Ss saʁ- id., pOs {Ht.} *söʁ- > Os: V/Vy söʁ-, Ty sǎʁ^ω-, Y sǎw-, D/K/Nz/K/O seʁ- id. | (II) ObU {Ht.} *sēʁ ~ *sōʁ, {ʁHl.} *sǎʁ ~ *sōʁ 'hair plait' > pVg *sǎʁ 'hair plait, pigtail' > Vg: T sǎw, LK/MK/UK/NV säʁ, SV/LL sǎ, UL/Ss saʁ id., pOs *sōʁ 'hair plait (Haarflechte)' > Os: V/Vy söʁ, Ty sǎʁ^ω-, Y sǎw-, D/K/Nz/Kz/O seʁ id. ||| [2] FP {UEW} *sǎŋǎ 'thread' > F sǎǎ 'fiber, filament, strand, cord' (see above [1]) | Prm {LG} *sĒŋis 'thread' > Z сунис suńis 'thread, yarn', Vt сѣньис sińis, Vt MU/Y siŋis, Vt Kz seŋas 'thread' ¶ UEW 471 (FU *sǎŋe 'Haar, Haarflechte', *sǎŋe- 'flechten, spinnen'), 755, SSA III 244, LG 254, 266, Ht. no. 571, Stn. D 1308 | | ???φ,σ D *ĉam- 'be produced, get ready' (× N *ĉ[̇]∇m_∇'s'∇ 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together') > Tm samai 'be made\constructed\formed, get ready', Ml samayam 'getting ready for a grand occasion, equipment, dress', Kn sama 'getting ready, preparation', Tl sama-kat̥t̥u 'be\make ready, Klm savaril- 'make oneself ready' ¶¶ D no. 2342 ◇ If Ht senahha belongs here, the N rec. is with *-χ- (*śǎŋeχæ or *sǎŋAχæ), otherwise it is with an unspecified *X (= *h|χ). If the basic (underived) FU cognate is *śǎŋe, we reconstruct a pN *śǎŋeXæ, but if it is FP *sǎŋǎ, the N rec. is likely to be *sǎŋAχæ ◇ The cns. *-m- in D *ĉam- belongs to the heritage of N *ĉ[̇]∇m_∇'s'∇.

2092. *SUŋ_∇g_∇'o' 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} śiŋ- 'rufen, herbei-\an-\zu-rufen'; but Bln śiŋ- 'nennen, benennen' is likely to go back to C *šim- ~ *šum- 'name' < N *s̄im∇ 'name' (q.v.) ¶ The vw. may be due to apophony or to the infl. of śiŋ- '(be)nennen' ¶ R WB 328 || IE: [1] NaIE *seng^{ωh}- 'speak, make an incantation', 'sing' (× N on. *z̄ino 'sing, produce [musical, ritual?] sounds by voice' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| [2] NaIE *swen- v. 'sound, echo, ring' > OI swa'nah_∇ n. 'sound, roar, tone, song', swana- v. 'resound, echo', Av xwan- id., Oss Iχon3n v. 'call, invite, lead' ||| L sonus 'sound', sonā- v. 'ring, sound' ||| Clt {Matas.} *^oswan-na- v. 'sound, play (a musical instrument)' > OIr {Vn.} senn-, {Matas.} seinnid, -seinn id., Ml seinm id., seanma n. 'playing music, singing' ||| AS swinn, swin 'melody' ¶ P 1046, Mn. 1346, Matas. E 360-1, Ab. IV 214 ||| A *s^oŋ_∇ v. 'whine, weep' > Tg *soŋ^a 'cry (weep)' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Orc, Ud, Nn KU soŋo-, Nn Nh/Bk soŋgo-, Lm hoŋ-, Ul soŋgo- ~ soŋg_∇-, WrMc {Z} сонго- id. ¶ STM II 111-12, Z 624 || T *si_∇ŋilæ- v. 'whine, howl' > OT siŋile-

({Cl.} sɪŋi:le:-), OOsM ≥XV sɪŋ(ile- ~ sɪŋ(i)lde-id., MQp XIV sɪŋilde-
 v. 'howl' (of dogs), Chg {Rl.} -سنگرا sɪŋrǎ- 'weep quietly, -سنگلا sɪŋla-
 id., 'howl', Osm sɪŋle- 'whine, moan', Tk sɪnle-, Δ sɪŋeɛle- ~ sɪnile- v.
 'sob quietly, moan'; but T *sɪŋ (*on.* for humming and buzzing) hardly
 belongs here ¶ Cl. 832, 840, Rl. IV 689 || M *sɛŋgene- > WrM sɛŋgene-
 {MED} v. 'sing' (of wind), Ord sɛŋgene- v. 'wehen' (se dit à propos d'un
 petit vent doux ou à propos d'un courant d'air) ¶ MED 688, Ms. O 573 ||
 pJ {SDM} *sùná- v. 'pout, frown' > J T suné-, J K\Kg sùnè- {SDM} id., StJ
 {Kenk.} sune- 'pout' ¶ Mr. 534, Kenk. 1848 ¶¶ The front vowels *e in M
 and *i in T may be due to regr. as. (*-ô...e- > *-e...e- and *-ô...i- > *-i...i)
 or to the infl. of the reflexes of N *on.* *ʒ'ingɔ 'sing, produce sounds by
 voice' (e.g., the infl. of M *ʒ'ingine- v. 'ring, tinkle' [of bells]) ¶¶ SDM
 1295-6 (pA *sɪ̀ùŋu 'whine, weep' > Tg, J, T *sɪŋ- 'whine, moan'), DQA no.
 2668 (A *sɪ̀ùŋu 'whine, weep').

2092a. ₂ *Sɪŋg|k'a'rɳ 'ɛ (part of a) leg' > HS: WCh: Bks {J} sakúr 'leg'
 | Ngz {Sch.} zǝgǝr 'leg, foot', Bd {ChL} ǝzgǝrǝn 'leg' || ? CCh (unless from N
 *s|šǝdɳ (or *s|š'ɪdɳ?) 'lower part', q.v.): Tr {Nw.} sarà 'leg' {ChC} 'leg,
 foot', G'nd {ChL} sarǝ 'leg', Hw {ChL} sàrà, Pdl {ChL} sǝrtì, HgN {Mk} surra,
 HgF/HgG {ChL} sura, Lmn Hd {Lk.} sǝrá, Mdr {Eg.} sǝrá, {ChL} sǝrá, Gzg D
 {Lk.} sar, Glv {Rp.} šǝg, Gdf {IL} sǝgʌ, Dgh {IL} sǝgè, {Frk} sǝgè, Ngs šǝgè,
 Mtk {Sb.} sâk, Mkt {Ro.} šǝk 'leg' ¶ JI II 220-1, ChC s.v. 'leg' and 'foot', Sch.
 DN 180, ChL || ¶ *sɪŋ'a'ra > M *sɪʒira 'shin, leg (of animals)' > WrM
 {MED} sɪgira, HIM {MED, BMR} шийр id., 'hoof', Brt шийрǝ 'shin of
 animals', WrO š'iyire 'leg(s), stand(s)', Kl {KRS} шийр š'īr 'shin; leg of a
 tripod', {Rm.} š'irǝ 'Bein (von den Knien nach unten), Klauen (der
 Wiederkäuer, Schweine etc.), Füße des Dreifußes', MM [MA] شيره š'irǝ
 ({Pp.} š'irǝ) 'legs (of a tripod?)', Ord š'īra 'la partie inférieure de la jambe
 d'un animal', Mnr H {SM} š'irā 'jambe' ¶ Pp. MA 335, MED 702, BMR IV
 352, Krg. 449, KRS 671, KW 363, Chr. 726, Ms. O 621, SM 397 || NaT
 *sɪŋ'a'ra ({ADb.} *sɪŋra) (> *sɪŋar, sɪŋir) 'ankle (лодыжка), shank' > Az
 Δ sɪŋir 'part of the leg between foot and ankle (между стопой и
 щиколоткой)', Qrg sɪyra 'counter of a boot, heel', Tv sār 'part of the foot
 from the instep up to the toes', siri ({ADb.}: < *sɪŋr-i) 'hoof'; ↯
 NaT *sɪŋ'a'r-gak or {ADb.} *sɪŋir-ǝgǝk 'shank, shinbone' > ǝ Chg {Vm.}
 سيفراق sɪʒɪrǝq (read by Rs. [← Vm.?] as sɪʒrǝq) 'shinbone', Nog, Qq,
 Qmq sɪyraq, VTt сыйрак, SbTt сьураq 'shank', VTt {ǝRl.} сьуьраq ~ sǝraq

'shinbone', Qzq сыйрақ siyraq, Qrg šiyraq 'shank, shinbone', Ux Δ siyraq 'shank, ankle', Tlt {Rl.} širaq 'the leg from the hoof up to the knee', StAlt šiyraq 'pastern, knee', Tv sīrɣaq 'shank (of animals), metacarpus, metatarsus', as well as possibly (but not necessarily) NaT *siŋ^ɾa^ɾ-gak 'hoof' > Chg {PC} saŋraq, Tk Δ sirnak 'hoof (of bovines)', Tkm θiŋraq 'hoof of artiodactyls', Uz Xwr siŋiraq 'leg (of an animal)' ¶ Rs. W 415, TL 287, ADb. SR 313-14, Rl. IV 626, 681, 1052, TatR 495, Tm. 196, MM 310, NogR 319, KrkR 601, KumRS 293, Jud. 917, BT 186 || Tg *sir∇- and *sir∇m∇ ({ADb.}: < *siŋra) > Ewk sirēk, sirēkē, Neg siyimtə, Ud simikta, simukta, Sln širmū 'cubitus', Orc simiktə 'humerus', Lm sirəm^t 'fibula', Nn {STM} sirəm^t 'bone', as well as here (unless a loan from M) WrMc {Z} сира 'shinbone (of humans, mammals), bone of the upper part of the leg; thigh (of birds)' ¶ STM II 94 and 97, Z 614 ¶¶ SDM 1253-4 (pA *siŋra 'double bone [of animals]' > T *siŋir 'double shinbone', Tg, M), TL 287, KW 363, Rm. EAS I 120, ADb. SR 313-14 ◇ The loss of *ŋ in Tg is still to be explained ◇ The T cognate suggests N *S-, while Ngz is likely to point to a voiced initial cns., unless Ngz z- is accounted for by assimilation (but definite results may be obtained not before a detailed historical phonology of Chadic is elucidated) ◇ NaT *-i- in *siŋ^ɾa^ɾ and Chg saŋraq suggest the presence of *-a- in the second syll. of pA *siŋ^ɾa^ɾ and N *Si_ɿŋ_ɿg|k^ɾa^ɾ∇. The vw. -i- of the second syll. in most T lges is probably due to assimilation (NaT *-iŋ^ɾa^ɾ- > -iŋi-).

2093. *šīŋkU 'sink, fall' > **HS**: Eg P/RT sɾnk {Hng} 'set' (of the sun), 'sink into water' (of a drowned person), {EG} vom Untergehen (von der Sonne), vom Verschwinden ins Wasser (vom Ertrunkenen), sɾnk.ω fP {EG} 'Stelle, wo die Sonne untergeht' ¶ EG IV 175, Hng 723 || **IE**: NaIE *seng^ω- v. 'fall, sink' > Arm **անկանիմ** ankanim 'I fall' || Gmc inf. *sink^ωan > Gt inf. sigqan (·δύνειν, βυθίζεσθαι) 'sinken', ON inf. sǫkkva, Sw inf. sjunka, NNr inf. sǫkka, Dn inf. synke, OSx, OHG inf. sinkan, NHG inf. sinken, AS inf. sincan 'to sink', NE sink ¶ WP II 495-6, P 906, Mn. 1127, Sl. 367, Fs. 420, Vr. 576-7, Ho. 294, Ho. S 64, Kb. 855 || **A** *siŋg∇ 'sink' > M *siŋge- 'sink', 'set' (of a celestial body), 'be absorbed' (of liquid), 'be digested' (of food) > MM [MA] {Pp.} širge- id., [S, IsV] širge- 'sink', 'set' (of the sun)', [IM] {Pp.} naran siŋgeku 'west' (lit. 'setting of the sun'), WrM siŋge- {MED} 'be absorbed (into smth.), dissolve (in liquid)', 'be digested' (food), HIM шингэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'впитываться, пропитываться, всасываться; dissolve (in liquid)', 'set

(of the sun), Kl {Rm.} ṣ̌iŋgə- 'hineingehen, schmelzen, verdaut werden' (Speisen), 'untergehen' (die Sonne), '(in die Erde) eingesaut werden' (Wasser), {KRS} шиҥг- ṣ̌iŋg- 'soak, be absorbed', Brt шэҥгэ- id., 'sink\plunge into', Mnr H {SM} ṣ̌əŋgē- 's'imbiber dans, pénétrer dans', Ord ṣ̌iŋg- 'entrer dans un objet à la façon d'un liquide qui s'absorbe, s'imbiber dans, pénétrer dans, se digérer', 'se coucher' (soleil etc.); M б→ WrMc {Z} сиҥгэ- 'be absorbed' ¶ MED 710-12, BMR IV 357, Chr. 746, KW 359, KRS 675, Pp. MA 334, 446, H 141, Lg. VMI 66, Ms. O 620, SM 377, STM II 90, Z 594-5 || T: [1] NaT *siŋ- 'sink into (sth.)' > OT siŋ- id., 'be absorbed\digested', MT [Rabg.] {Rl.} siŋ- 'in die Erde einziehen' (Wasser), Osm {Rh.} siŋ- 'be absorbed; be swallowed, go down the gullet, be digested', 'slink and crouch into the smallest possible space', siŋe ger. 'sinking', Tk sin- 'penetrate' (of smell), Az d. sinir- 'be digested', Tkm θiŋ-, ET, Qmq, Nog, Qrkl, Qrg, Tv siŋ-, VTt ceŋ- sьŋ-, Bsh heŋ- hьŋ-, Uz siŋgi-, Tf sŋ- id., 'soak into the earth, be absorbed', Qzq ciŋ- id., 'penetrate; find room, go in, fit in', Yk iŋ- 'soak into the earth, be absorbed'; [2] T *siŋ- 'go in, fit into' > Chv L шăҥăҫ- 'find room, go in' ('поместиться, уместиться'), Shor/Sg/Qb {Rl.} siŋ- 'hineinpassen, hineindringen' ¶ Chv ṣ̌- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of *i ¶ Cl. 833-4, DTS 500, Rs. W 418 (pT *siŋ-), ET L-S 262-3, Rh. 1102-3, Rl. IV 622, 686, Ra. 227, Ash. XVII 309, ChVS 279, Md. OJ 43 || pJ {S} *sintúm- 'sink' > OJ sídúm-, J: T síẓum, K síẓúm-, Kg síẓùm- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1073, Mr. 754, Kenk. 1727 || Tg *suŋta- 'deep' > Ewk, Orc, Ud suŋta, Lm huŋtə, Neg soŋta, Sln sūnta id. ¶ STM II 128 ¶ J *sintúm- suggests that Tg *-u- may have resulted from regr. as. (something like *-i...u- > *-u...u- > Tg *-u- [cf. pN *ṣ̌iŋkU and the stem-final *-u in SDM's rec.), so that SDM's tentative rec. of pA *-iŋ- in *s¹iŋ¹ŋu is not necessarily justified ¶¶ SDM 1295 (pA *s¹iŋ¹ŋu 'sink' > T *siŋ-, Tg, M, J), DQA no. 2151, KW 359, Vld. 173, Pp. VG 31, 72, 116, Md. OJ 43 ◇ In many lges there may have been (mutual?) infl. of N *ṣ̌iŋkU 'sink, fall' and N *s¹o¹m₁∇, gE ~ *s¹o¹gmE 'enter, penetrate' (q.v.), so that it is hard to distinguish between their respective reflexes.

2094. *ṣ̌aʔeŋk∇ or *ṣ̌eʔaŋk∇ (~ *ṣ̌aʔek∇ or *ṣ̌eʔak∇) 'be near, approach' > HS: C: EC: Rn sókkò 'closer, nearer', HEC *ṣ̌ik- v. 'approach' > Ged, Sd {Hd.} ṣ̌ik-, Hd {PB} ṣ̌iŋaʔ- id.; HEC {Hd.} *ṣ̌iŋk- > Hd hinç-, Kmb hinç y- 'be\become close, approach' || Ag *səkk^w- '≈ be near' > Bln {R} s₁uk-r- vi. (md.) 'approach', s₁uk-s- vt. (caus.) 'make so. approach (nähern, nahe bringen)' ¶ R WB 299-300, PG 262, Hd. 21, 260, 393, AD SF

96, 272-3 (C * \checkmark 's'ʔk ω) || NrOm (\leftarrow HEC?): Omt (Gf?) {Mrn.} šiq- (= šik-) 'avvicinarsi, accalcarsi', Gm {Hw.} šīk θ vi. 'approach' ¶ Mrn. O 158, Hw. EG || SES * \circ 'šʔk > Sq {L} \checkmark šʔk 'se rapprocher' ¶ L LS 409 ¶¶ AD SF 272-3 || **D** * \checkmark enkk- ~ * \checkmark ekk- 'near, close by' > Tm \checkmark en \checkmark ga \checkmark a(n) id., \checkmark erigali 'nearness, neighborhood', Prj \checkmark ekka \checkmark 'near', Krx \checkmark a \checkmark ā 'around, near, in the vicinity of' ¶¶ D no. 2753; An. SG 137, KR 14-69 (both on D * \checkmark - \checkmark kk- > - \checkmark k- ~ -kk-) || **U** *sa \checkmark e- 'arrive, come' (× *sa \checkmark e- 'obtain, receive, reach' < N ***sagæ** [= ***sage**?] 'obtain, hold', q.v.) > FU: F Δ sa \checkmark - v. 'come, arrive' | pMr {Ker.} *sā \checkmark a- v. 'come' > Er/Mk sa- (inf. ca- \checkmark) id. | pChr {Ber.} *š \checkmark - v. 'reach (a place), arrive' > StChr L inf. ш \checkmark -аш, Chr P/B/M/Uf/Y/V š \checkmark - id., Chr H {Ep.} inf. ш θ -аш 'to reach (by going), to catch up with' | pPrm {LG} *su- v. 'overtake (so.)' > Vt inf. с \checkmark тыны 'catch up with (so.)', Z c \checkmark -su- id., 'overtake, catch (so.)', {W} 'vorfinden, überraschen, sich ereignen' || Sm {Jn.} * \checkmark ь \checkmark у \checkmark ь- (~ * \checkmark ь \checkmark у \checkmark а-?), {Hl.} * \checkmark а \checkmark а v. 'reach, arrive' **И** Ne T inf. тэв \checkmark -сь 'to reach (a place), to catch up with', Ne O {Lh.} t \checkmark eβ \checkmark - Ne F {Lh.} inf. t \checkmark eβ:as 'ankommen, erreichen', En {Ter.} t \checkmark -, {Cs.} таево ~ тоево? (1s aor.) 'reach (a place)', Kms {KD} (1s pres.) tu \checkmark ām ~ t'u \checkmark ām 'zum Ziele kommen, anlangen, ankommen', tu \checkmark ā' š θ 'b \checkmark ām 'ich kam zum Ziele', Mt {Hl.} *ta \checkmark β \checkmark - (aux. verb with resultative meaning ← 'reach') (Mt M {Sp.} жадайбага 'death' ← жа- 'die') ¶¶ Coll. 54, UEW 429-30, It. no. 37, SK 932-4, Gn. 930, Hs. 1289, TI 464, SaR 323, Ker. II 128-9 [no-s 339-40], Ber. 68 [no. 358], MRS 728-9, Ep. 151, LG 266, Jn. 144, Ter. 684-5, Lh. 479-80, KD 74, Hl. M no. 942 \diamond The phonemes *s and *e in U *sa \checkmark e- may belong to the heritage of N ***sagæ** (= ***sage**?) 'obtain, hold' and therefore are not taken into account in the rec. of the N etymon \diamond HEC and NrOm *- \checkmark - < *- \checkmark -.

2095. *s \checkmark ŋ \checkmark U 'shoulder, nape, back of the neck' > K ≈ * \circ š'ī \checkmark - > Sv UB/L/Ln šiq 'back (dorsum)' ¶ Ni. s.v. 'спина', GP 273, TK 818-19, Dn. s.v. šiq || **HS:** C {AD} *si \checkmark unk ω - 'nape, back, shoulder' > Bj {R} sí \checkmark nk ω a ~ s \checkmark nk ω a ~ s \checkmark nk ω a 'Nacken, Schulter, Rücken', {Alm.} sunka ~ sinka 'Schulter', Bj A {AD} ʔ \checkmark sink ω a 'back' || EC: Sa {Wlm.} sunku 'shoulder joint', Af {PH} sunku (pl. sunkūka) 'shoulder', Sml {R} sagan (pl. sagamma) 'Nacken, Genick', {Lrj.} sagan-madon 'nape (joint of the neck)' ¶ AD SF 91-2, PH 185, Lrj. 242, R SS II 338. R WBd 205, Alm. BS 60 || **U** *s \checkmark ŋ \checkmark ∇ ({UEW} *se \checkmark ŋ \checkmark ∇ ~ *s \checkmark ŋ \checkmark ∇) 'arm, (?) shoulder' > FU: ObU {Hl.} * θ ē \checkmark - (or * θ ī \checkmark -) > pOs * \checkmark ē \checkmark ar ({Hl.} * \checkmark ī \checkmark ar) 'upper arm, shoulder' >

Os: V lēŋkār 'upper arm', Vy yēŋkār 'Arm von der Schulter bis zum Handgelenk, das ganze Arm', D/K tēŋkār 'Achsel', Kz ǰāŋkār, O lāŋkār 'shoulder (Achsel, Schulter)' || Sm: Ne: T {Ter.} тѣн҃гад tǰngad 'biceps; naked arm', T Tz {UEW → Lh.} tǰāŋkād 'upper arm', F P {Lh.} ćeŋkāt 'forearm' ¶¶ UEW 439, Coll. 18, KrT 1068, Stn. D 782, Ter. 703, Lh. 503
 ◇ AD GD no. 48 (U, HS), IS MS 355 s.v. 'плечо'² (U, HS).

2096. *Sap ∇ 'to taste, to be tasty' > IE: NaIE *sap- ~ *sab- 'juice', v. 'taste, perceive': [1] NaIE *sap- > Av višāpa- (viš-šāpa-) 'poison-juiced' (sc. 'whose juice is poison') (viš- 'poison'); Irn → Arm 𐎱𐎠𐎺𐎠 višap 'dragon' || Arm 𐎱𐎠𐎺 ham (< *sap-mo-) 'juice, savour, taste' || L sapiō / -ēre v. 'taste; have taste; discern, be wise, think', sapor n. 'taste', Osc SIPVS 'sciens'; L sapa 'juice' || Gmc: MHG inf. be-seben 'wahrnehmen', ON sefi 'mind', OSx sevo 'Gemüt, Herz', AS sefa 'mind, heart'; ? ON safi 'sap (Saft)' || [2] NaIE *sab- > OHG saf 𐌺 saph (gen. saphes, saffes) 'juice', MHG saf (gen. saffes), saft, NHG Saft, MLG sap(p) 'juice, sap', AS sǣp id., NE sap || Ilr sabaium 'beer' ¶ WP II 450-1, P 880, ≈σ EI 566 (*sap- 'sap', ? *sap- → ? *sep- ≈ taste, come to know'), Brtl. 1173, Hü. I 247, WH II 476-7, Bc. G 324, Vr. 459, 467, Ho. 268, 288, Ho. S 64, Kb. 817, OsS 744, Lx. 17, 175, KM 619, ≈ Mn. 1107, 1112-13 || HS: C ({E} pC *šob- 'be pleasant\sweet\pleasing'): Bj {R} 'šibō 'beauty, pleasantness', {Rop.} 'šibi, 'šibi 'good', {R} šebōb (p. a-š' bōb) 'be good\beautiful', {Rop.} šibob 'be good' || ı Hd {E ← PB} šop- 'be sweet' || (here??) SC: ERT {E} *šeba 'beer' > Kz {E} sawa-ko (-ko is a sx of m.), Asa {E} šeba id. ¶ PB 174, E PC no. 249, E SC 93, E p.c. (2002), R WbD 209-10, Rop. 235 || D *čav- ({ǰGS} *s-) n. 'taste' > Tm, Tl cavī id., Kt čayv 'taste let in mouth for food just eaten', Kn savī, samvī 'that has taste', 'that is palatable\savoury\sweet\nice', Tu sabi, savī 'flavour, taste; palatable, sweet', Klm savvī, Nkr savad 'sweet' ¶¶ D no. 2396(a) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 398 (*sap 'touch\taste') (IE, Ai + err. A, J, EA).

2097. *saP₂'ü' (ś ∇) 'thorn, pointed stake' ([in descendant lges] → 'needle') > HS: CS *ša'pāy- > Sr {Br.} 𐎱𐎠𐎺 šapā'y-ā 'stimulus, σκόλοψ', {JPS} 𐎱𐎠𐎺 šapā'y-ā ~ 𐎱𐎠𐎺 šāp'y-ā 'sharpened stake, splinter, thorn', Ar سافا(n) safa(n) {Ln.} 'any kind of tree having prickles\thorns', {BK} 'arbre à épines', {Hv.} 'prickly grass', {Br.} [Naq.] 'pricks of mouse barley (spinae hordei murini)' ¶ Br. 794, JPS 590, Ln. 1378, Hv. 325, BK I 1104 || IE: Ht sapikkusta- ~ sepikkusta- 'needle' ¶ Ts. W 70 || U: FU *sapś ∇ 'pointed stake\stick' > Lp: S {LÖ} tjuopsem 'furca', N {Fri.}

ĉ u o p s e m 'bifurcum ferreum' | Chr: V šapš 'netting needle', → (μν) 'winding spool', → (μν) L ш o п ш šopš, H ш a п ш šapš 'winding spool, thread on a winding spool' || ObU {Ht.} *θōpəs > pOs *sopəs 'netting needle' (*s- for *θ- by as.) > Os: V/Vy sāwəs, Ty/Y sāpəs, D/K/Nz supəs, Kz sōpəs, O sopəs id.; pVg *tās 'small stick' > Vg: T tās, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL tōs id. ¶ UEW 432, MRS 692, 719, Ht. no. 153, ≈ Coll. 118 || A: Tg *sap- (+ sx), *saps- 'needle' > Neg sapki:, Orc saptu 'netting needle \ spit', Orc sapsaŋki 'needle for pricking birch bark', WrMc {Z} сабси- v. 'stitch (leather when making footwear), prick\singe with a needle (skin of ill persons for treating them)' ¶ STM II 64, Z 563.

2098. ₂ *šap∇ (or *šEʔap∇?) 'riverbank, river' > HS: S *šīp- (or *sīp-) > Ar sīf- 'shore of the sea or of a great river, side of a valley' (df. **السيف** ʔas-sīf- is applied to the seashore of 'Oman); Ar sīf-, Ar Δ *sīf-at- b→ Jb C pl. 'sef, sg. sift, Jb E 'seft, Mh s3ft 'seashore' ¶ Ln. 1485, BK I 1176, Hv. 347, Jo. M 355 ¶ Not here Hb הַבַּיִת šā'pā 'bank, shore' (from N *šap₁ʔ₁∇ 'lip; [→] edge, shore, riverbank', q.v.) || Eg fMKL/Md s p . t 'bank (of waterway), shore; edge (of a wound, well, vessel, horizon)' ¶ This word may have influenced the Eg word for 'lip' (s p . t with s- for the expected š-, cp. S *šā'p-at- 'lip', see N *šap₁ʔ₁∇ 'lip') ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 || B *sīf- ~ *sūf- / pl. *sāff- 'river' > Mz {Dlh.} suf (pl. isufən) 'rivière qui coule, torrent', Shw {Hy.} s u f (pl. isafən ~ isaffən), Sll {Ds.} a-sif (pl. i-sāffən), SrSn {Rn.} a-sif (pl. asaffən), Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} a-sif (pl. isaffən) 'rivière, fleuve', Kb {Dl.} asif (pl. isaffən) id., 'wadi', Nf {Beg.} usəf (pl. i'səffən) id., {La.} usəf (pl. isaffən) 'rivière', Ah † {Fc.} ă-sif 'valley' (preserved in toponymy) ¶ Rn. 313, La. S 289, Ds. 131, 250, Dlh. M 184, Dl. 759, Fc. 1806, MT 617, Msq. Z 527, Hy. 456, Mrc. 402, Beg. 317, Fc. 1806 ¶ Some infl. of N *čE₁y₁p∇ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow' cannot be ruled out || NrOm {Blz.} *šaf- > Zs {C} šafā 'river, lake', Gf {C} šāfā, Gm {Hw.} šāpa 'river' ¶ Blz. OL no. 212, C SE III 207, C SO 51, Hw. EG s.v. 'river' || Ch: WCh: Gmy {Srl.} šip 'river' ¶ Srl. s.v. šip, ChC s.v. 'river' ¶¶ OS no. 2253 (*sip- 'river, riverbed') || A *s₁E₁ap₁'₁∇ 'shore' > M *saba > WrM {MED} saba, HIM {MED, BMR} с a в, Brt h a б a, Kl {KRS} с a в 'riverbed' (unless ← WrM saba, HIM с a в, Brt h a б a 'vessel') ¶ MED 653, BMR III 63-4, Chr. 660, KRS 434 || NaT *sæ₁;₁p- > Xk sip 'small river bay', Tv, Tf sep 'river bay', Qb/Sg/Qc {Rl.} sep 'tributary of a river, Nebenfluß' ¶ Rs. W 410, BIG 187, Rl. IV 493, Ra. 226 || AmTg *saps∇ 'bank (of a body of water)' > Orc sapsa id., Ul, Nn Nh {STM} sapsi, {STM, On.} sapsi qīranī, Nn

Bk saψsi qirani 'bank (at the edge of water)' id. ¶ STM II 64, On. 355 || pJ *sìpè 'tide' > OJ sip_Lw_Jo, MJ sìφò, J: T/Kg síó, K síò ¶ S QJ no. 1166, Mr. 525, Kenk. 1699 ¶¶ SDM 1213 (pA *sàp'ì 'shore' > T [reconstructed as *sĒp], Tg, J), DQA no. 1922 ◇ The front vw. of the first syll. in NaT *sæ_L:_Jp-, in pJ and possibly in branches of HS (S, B, WCh) may go back to N *-E- in ***ĒE**ap∇.

2099. *šip∇ 'to pour, to drop, to drizzle, to filter\screen' > **HS**: Eg fXXII sfsf ({EG} śfśf) 'spenden (Wasser)' ¶ EG IV 118 || S (+ext.) *√špk v. 'pour out, spill' > BHb √špk (pf. 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 šā'pāk, ip. 𐤒𐤍𐤏𐤍 yī-š'pōk) v. 'pour, pour out', Ug √špk v. 'spill', JPA √špk G v. 'pour out, spill, shed', JEA √špk G id., 'flow', Sr √špk G 'pour from one vessel into another, empty out', Md √špk v. 'pour out, spill', Ar √sfk v. G 'pour (blood, tears)', Gz √sbk v. 'melt', Tgr təsəbbəkə 'gegossen werden (aus Metall)', Ak √špk (inf. šapāku) v. 'pour, heap\pile up'; possibly S → Eg sfc ({EG} śft) 'ε oil (used in rituals and originating from SW Asia)' ¶ KB 1504-5, OLS 449, Js. 1616-17, Sl. 1170-1, Br. 795, JPS 591, DM 472, Sd. 1168-9, BK I 1101, Hv. 324, L G 483, CAD XVII/1 412-22, EG IV 118, Fk. 225 || **IE**: NaIE *sejp-/ *sejb- v. 'pour, spill, screen': NaIE *sejb- > MLG inf. sīpen, MHG inf. sīfen, AS inf. sīpian 'to drop, to drip', NE seep, sipe; Sw Δ inf. sipa 'langsam fließen, sickern', MLG sīp 'small brook' | NaIE *sē_Lbōn 'tropfbares Fett' > Gmc *saijō 'soap, resin' > AS sāpe id. (> NE soap), OHG seifā, ON sápa 'soap'; Gmc → F saippua, Δ saippio and L sārō 'soap' (see Rufinus *Apologia Originis*: τῶ Γερμανικῶ σμήγματι καλεῖται δὲ σάπων) | NaIE *sejp- > OHG sib, NHG sieb, Dt zeef, AS sife n. 'sieve', NE sieve || Sl: SCr inf. sípiti 'to drizzle' || Tc A sip-, sep- v. 'anoint', sepal 'ointment' ¶ WP II 468, P 894, WH II 504, ≠ 478, Vr. 462-3, SSA III 143, Ho. 270, 293, 296, Kb. 836, 848, OsS 751, 758, Lx. 193, KM 699, Wn. I 427-8, ≠ Glh. 548-9 || **A** *s|ziPE(r∇) > M: [1] *sibere- > WrM {MED} sibere-, HIM {MED, BMR} шиврэ- v. 'drizzle', Brt шэбэр- id., M *siber > WrM siber 'drizzling rain, light shower', HIM {MED} шивэр ~ шивир id., {BMR} шивэр 'drizzling rain', Ord šīwer 'une fine pluie' ¶ MED 695, BMR IV 348-9, Chr. 741, 743, . Ms. O 625 | [2] ħ M **sīβ¹ü- (acc. to Rm. SKE, it may go back to pA {Rm.} **sip¹ü-) > MM [MA] šū:- v. 'filter', WrM sigū-, HIM, Brt шγγ- v. 'filter, strain; percolate', Kl {KRS} шγγ- šū- v. 'filter', {Rm.} šū- 'filtrieren', Mnr H {SM} šū- 'faire ou laisser écouler', Ord šū- 'filtrer, faire découler les parties liquides d'une substance, dégoutter' ¶ Pp. MA 337, MED 693, BMR IV 388-

9, Chr. 740, KRS 688, KW 372, SM 383, Ms O 636 || ? pKo *sp̄iri- v. 'moisten' > MKo sp̄irí- id., NKo p̄uri- v. 'sprinkle, shower, rain slightly' (× NKo p̄uri- 'scatter, sow') ¶ ≈ S QK no. 959, MLC 814 || Tg: WrMc {Z} сибкури 'drain gutters\holes in city walls, капельники, желоба\отверстия на городской стене для стока воды', {Hr} sibkuri 'Loch am Fuße der Mauerzinnen als Wasserabfluß und Schießscharte' (WrMc ı spelled with the characters of WrM ı̄) ¶ Z 600, Hr 789 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 49 (WrMc *sipku- [for WrMc {Z} сибкури?] ÷ WrM sigı̄- + *÷ Ko ĉ^hi-da v. 'sift' and [with two queries], T: QK {Rl.} čū-, Tb {Rl.} čū- 'mit einem Netze fischen') ¶¶ M siba- (> WrM {MED} siba-, HIM шавав- v. 'plaster, apply ointment', cf. MED 693 and BMR IV 328) does not belong here, but rather to A *si^hb^h∇ 'clay; to smear' ({SDM} *sipa {SDM 1255-6} < N *śiwa 'to smear' (q.v.) ◇ IS SS 345 [no. 11.11] (S, Eg sft, IE, M).

2100. *on.?* *sip∇ '(young of a) bird' > HS: Eg G sft 'є bird' ¶ EG IV 118 || B *^ow¹sāf- > ETwl/Ty {GhA} tassāf 'є blue-violet sparrow' ¶ GhA 170, PGG 290 || NrOm: Gng {Blz.} *s∇ff- 'bird' > Kf {R ← Krapf} soffěě 'bird' ¶ R K (book) 79, Blz OL s.v. 'bird' || ?? WCh: Wrj/Kry {Sk.} šiw 'cock' ¶ Sk. NB 12, Stl. ZCh no. 330 ({Stl.} *siw∇ 'bird'; mentioning Su {← ?} šī 'bird') || D (in GnD) *čīv- ~ *čīpp- 'chicken' (× N ψо *čipu (r∇) 'small bird') > Knd sīp̄ri, sīpi 'chicken', Gnd čīva ɘ čīwā(1) ɘ čīvnā ɘ ciwā, Kui sīpa, Ku hippa ɘ hipā ɘ hīpa id., 'chick' ¶ D no. 2636 || A *s|ziP∇ 'є small bird' > M *siba-γun 'bird' > MM [L] {Pp.} šibawun, [MA, IM] {Pp.}, [HI] {Ms.} šibaun, [S] {H} śibaḡun id., WrM sibagu(n) 'bird, fowl', HIM шувуц(н) {MED} 'bird, fowl', {BMR} 'bird, small bird', Brt шубуц(н) 'bird', Kl {KRS} шовун 'bird, small bird', {Rm.} šowūn 'Vogel', Mnr H {SM, T} šū, {Pot.} шиво, Mnr M {T} šibu, {Pot.} шипо, ShY {Pot.} шовун 'bird', Ord šiwū 'oiseau' ¶ MED 693, BMR IV 374-5, Chr. 731-2, KRS 378, KW 366, H 139, Pp. L III 60, Pp. MA 332, 447, SM 383, T 386, Ms. O 626, Pot. 418, Ktw. OuJ 451 || STg *sipi- 'є small bird; a swallow' > WrMc {Hr} sibirgan, {Z} сибиргань {Z, Hr.} 'motley swallow, gesprenkelte Schwalbe' (-gan induced by guldarḡan 'swallow'), Jrc {Kiy.} šibi_rhun 'swallow' ¶ Z 599, Hr 788, Kiy. 107 [no. 183], STM II 398 || pKo {S} *čjǎp̄i n. 'swallow' (× N ψо *čipu (r∇) '↑') > MKo {S} čjǎp̄i, NKo čēbi 'swallow' ¶ S QK no. 183, Rm. SKE 26, Gale KED 848, MLC 1464, Nam 425 ¶¶ SDM 1257 and DQA no. 2014 (in both: pA *s|zip|b∇ > Tg, M), Rm. SKE 26 (Ko, Tg).

2101. *S'ü'p̥ 'to sweep' > IE: NaIE *sweep-/seyp- 'sweep' > Vd (h. 1.) svap̥ū '(?) broom' ||| Gmc inf. *swōpōn > ON inf. sópa, Dn, NNr inf. sopa 'to sweep', NE sweep; AS ze-swōpe, OHG gisopfa ~ gisopha, gisopfo ~ gisopho 'garbage, discharge', NE swoop; ON sófl 'broom' ||| ?σ NaIE *sweep-/seyp- 'pour (schütten), scatter' > L [Fest.] sup-ō / inf. sup-āre 'disperse' ||| Sl inf. *su-ti / 1s pres. *syp-ō 'v. 'pour (schütten)' > OCS inf. соутн sutī (1s pres. съпъ сърѡ) {P} 'schütten, streuen', OR inf. сѸтн sutī (1s pres. съпъ сърѸ) 'schütten', SCr with pxs: sà-sūt i inf. / 1s pres. sà-spēm 'pour out', inf. nà-sūtī / 1s pres. nà-spēm 'pour in\into' etc.; Sl ip. *sǐpā-ti inf. 'schütten' > ChS inf. съпѧтн sǐpati id., OR {Srz.} inf. съпѧтн sǐpati id., 'throw', SCr inf. sǐpati, Slv inf. sípati, Cz inf. sypati, Slk inf. sypat', P inf. sypac', R inf. 'сыпать 'schütten', Blg 'сипвам 'I pour' ¶ WP II 524, P 1049, EI 582 (*sweep- 'throw, sweep [into the air]'), M K III 561 (the meaning of Vd svap̥ū- is not clear), WH I 256-7, Vr. 628, 530, Ho. 339, Kb. 376, Vs. III 812, 818, Srz. III 630, 875, Glh. 548 ||| **HS:** B (+ext.) *√sfđ > Sll {Ds.} √sfđ v. G 'sweep', Mz {Dlh.}, Mtm {Ds.} √sfđ v. G 'wipe (off\away)', Wrg {Dlh.}, Tmz {MT}, Gd {Lf.} √sfđ v. G id., 'clean by wiping', Kb {Dl.} √sfđ v. G 'wipe, rub', Ah {Fc.} √sfđ v. G 'clean (by wiping etc.), remove (dust, sand)' ¶ Ds. 31, Ds. B 121, Dlh. M 184-5, Dlh. Ou 290-1, Dl. 760, MT 618, Fc. 1806, Lf. II no. 1432 ||| Ch: WCh: Dir {Sk.} sǐfá, Sir {Sk.} cǐfu, My {Sk.} čǐfǐ 'sweep' ||| CCh: Gude {ChL} šàbag-ič, FIJ {ChL} šuvàbì, FIM {ChL} šìbi, FIB {ChL} šuva id. | Lgn {Bou.} sǐwàya id. ||| ECh: Mgm {J} sàwwò, Mkl {J} síppè id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'to sweep', ChL, Sk. NB, Sk. WNB, Bou K s.v. sǐwàya ||| **A** *süp' (or *sip'ü) 'broom', d.: *süp'vr- (or *sip'ü'r-) 'sweep', *süp'vr (or *sip'ü'r) 'broom' > T: NaT *°süp 'broom' > Chg {Rl.} sǐp id., ⇨ : T *süpür- ~ *sipür- v. 'sweep' > OT {Cl.} sipür-, [MhK] {Dnk.} sǐpür-, MQp XIII-XIV sǐpür- id., Osm {Rl.} سوپور sǐpür-, Tk sǐpür-, Chg {Rl.} süpür-, sipür-, Chg ≥XV sǐpür-, ET, Az süpür-, Tkm cypyp- θüpür-, Uz supur-, Qmq, QrB, StAlt {BT}, Qmn {B}, Tlt {Rl.} sibir-, VTt себер- сьбър-, Bsh һебер- һьбър-, Nog., Qzq, Qq, Qrg S sipir-, Qrg šipir- v. 'sweep', Tv širbīr- v. 'sweep', Chv L шǎпǎр šьб_ьр ~ шǎппǎр 'broom'; NaT *süplük > Tkm θüplük, Tk sǐplük, Kr siplik, Uz Δ sьplük 'Kehricht'; NaT *süpsæ 'broom, bosom' > Chg {Rl.} süpsä, Qzq Δ, Qq sipse, Uz Δ sьpsä, Tkm θübbe id.; NaT *°süpsük > Chg sǐpsük, {Rl.} sǐpsük 'Kehricht' ¶ ET L-S 359-65, Rl. IV 848-50, Cl. 791, Rs. LTS 171, Rs. W 437, MKD 171, Jud. 682, 921, BT 128, B DK 246, TvR 267, Pek.

2234-5, Ash. XVII 324, 328, Fed. II 447, Jeg. 334-5, ChVs 280 ¶ Chv ш- š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of *ü || M *siβūr (> *siϝūr) 'broom' > MM {MT} š i , ü : r , Kl {KRS} с а в ы р säβūr id., {Rm.} säwūr (infl. of säwūr 'Fächer?') ~ šūr 'Besen, Kehrbesen', WrM {MED} siğūr, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt ш ы ы р 'broom'; M б → Yk sippīr id.; M *siβūrde- (> *siϝūrde-) 'sweep' > WrM {MED} siğūrde-, HIM {MED, BMR} ш ы ы р д а -, Kl {KRS} с а в ы р д - säβūrdā-, Kl D {Rm.} säwūrdā- 'kehren (mit dem Besen)'; M б → Yk sippiy- 'sweep', Ewk sippiy- ~ sippir- id. ¶ Pp. MA 336, Ms. H 98, MED 703, BMR IV 387, Chr. 739-40, KRS 445, SM 383, KW 319, T 386, STM II 93 || ? Tg: Ewk çip- v. 'scrape' ¶ STM II 398 || (mt.?) pKo {S} *psír- 'sweep, wipe' > MKo psír-, NKo s:il- ¶ S QK no. 603, Nam 321, MLC 1027 ¶¶ SDM 1329-30 (pA *šip'∇ v. 'sweep' > T, M, Ko, Tg), DQA no. 2166, Rm. EAS I 150, Vld. 212, Md. OJ 43-4, Pp. VG 30, 47 || D *čEpp- (= *čipp-?) 'sweep' > Tm c ī p r ā , Kn c ī p a r i , Kdg č i ' p e , Tl c ī : p u r u , Klm, Nk sabdi, Prj čēpid, Gdb sepeṭ ɖ čēpēḍ ɖ sēpe ɖ sēpēṭ, Gnd hēpur ɖ hepur, Knd sipeṛ, Png hipos, Mnd hēpur, Kui sēperi, Ku hepori ɖ hapuri 'broom', Krg tippi, Knd sipa-, Png hīp-, Mnd, Ku hēp-, Kui sēpa- v. 'sweep', ? Tm c ī v u 'sweep clean (as floor)' ¶¶ D no. 2599 ◇ The delabialization *ü > *i (as observed in M, Tg and probably in D) is a rather frequent phenomenon (*see* Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ IS MS 348 s.v. 'мести' *r'с'уpа (IE, A, D).

2102. (₂?) *s̄û?æp∇ to sleep', '(?) to rest (sich erholen)' > IE *swep-/ *sup- v. 'sleep' > Ht суp- v. md. 'sleep' || NaIE *swep-/ *sup- v. 'sleep, dream' > OI 'svapiti, 'svapati 'sleeps', Av xʷap- 'sleep' || L d. sōpiō / inf. sōpiṛe 'put/lull to sleep' || ON inf. sofa, AS inf. swefan 'to sleep', MHG inf. ent-sweben 'to fall asleep', swēp (gen. swēbes), AS sweofot n. 'sleep' || Sl inf. *sъpǎ-ti 'to sleep' > OCS inf. с ъ п а т и sъpati, SCr inf. spǎti, Slv inf. spǎti, Cz inf. spǎti, Slk inf. spat', P inf. спад, R inf. спать, Uk inf. 'спати id., Blg спя v. 'sleep'] ⇨ NaIE *'swop-nos, *'swep-no-s, *sup-'no-s n. 'sleep, dream' > ON swefn, AS swefn id. || OI 'svapna-, Av xʷapna- n. 'sleep, dream' || Tc A s̄pām, B s̄pāne n. 'sleep' || Sl *sъnъ id., 'dream' > OCS с ъ н ъ sъnъ, Blg с ъ н , SCr sǎn, Slv sen sǎn, Cz, Slk, P sen, R, Uk сон id. | Lt s̄apnas, Ltv sapnis n. 'dream' || Gk ύπνος n. 'sleep, slumber' || Arm ք ու ն kʰun (gen. ք ու ն j kʰnoy) id. || pAl {O} *supna > Al gjumē id. || L somnus id. || pClit {Vn., Matas.} *sowno- n. 'sleep' > OIr súan, Brtt {RE} *sougnos n. 'sleep' > MW, W, Crn, OBr, MBr, Br hūn id., OCrn [ʃ] hūn 'letargia' ||] ⇨ NaIE {EI} *'swopniyo-m n. 'dream' > L somnium, Lt Δ sapnūs id., Gk

ἐν-ύπνιον 'things seen in sleep', 'dream', OI 'σνάρνιυαμ 'dreamy' ||| d.: IE *swep ∇ r-/ *sup ∇ r- > L *sopor* (gen. *sōpōris*) 'deep sleep' 'deep sleep', Gk ὕπνῳ 'Wahrtraum', Ht *suppariya-* v. md. 'dream, sleep' ¶¶ P 1048-9, EI 170, 527, Ts. W 78, F II 966, 970-1, WH II 557-8, 561, Vn. S 196-7, Matas. E 351-2, RE 130, Slr. 63-4, Vr. 528, Ho. 334-5, Lx. 41, 222, O 138, StSS 662, 664-5, Glh. 539-40, 571, Frn. 762, Kar. II 154, Wn. LE 125, Wn. I 460-1, Ad. 666, Ad. H 29, 36 || HS: SES * \checkmark š_Lʔ_Lp > Jb C {Jo.} 'šef (ip. 'yšef, sbjn. 'yšef), Jb E {Jo.} 'šef 'sleep', Sq {L} šef ~ šeʔef id. ¶ Jo. J 267, Jo. M 425-6, 593, L LS 409, 420 || Ch: CCh: Msg {Br.} *safaua* 'sleep', Msg G {Trn.} inf., pl. *sifí*, sg. *sáfá* v. 'se reposer à l'ombre' | Nz {Mch.} *zāvə* 'sleep' | Suk {IL} *səvâj* id. || ?? WCh: My/Mbr {Sk.} *saw* v. 'rest' ¶ JI I 154 (* \checkmark zb 'sleep') and II 298-9, ChC s.v. 'sleep', Lk. DQM 111, Sk. NB, Sk. WNB, Trn. LM 114 || ?σ **A** *s|zæP ∇ > Tg: WrMc {Hr} *seb(i)-* 'sich erholen', *sebki-* id., 'wieder zu Kräften kommen', {Z} *сэби-*, *сэбки-* 'take breath, rest' ¶ Hr 773, Z 581-2, STM II 134 || M *seb(ki)- > WrM {MED} *sebki-* v. 'recover from fatigue; rest, refresh oneself', HIM {Luv., BMR} *сэвхий-* v. 'rest' (but *сэвхий-* 'be cooled [e.g. by sweating]' may be of another origin), Kl {Rm.} *sewğə-* 'sich erholen, ein Bißchen ausruhen', Brt *həb gūlə-* 'let the horse take breath' ¶ MED 679, BMR III 150, Luv. 372, KW 327, Gl. II 395, Chr. 701 ¶¶ STM II 134, ≠ SDM 1221-2 (pA *sebe 'love, have fun', based on unacceptable comparison of M *sebki- with Tg *sebe 'fun', T *seb- 'love, like', pJ *sua(m)pa-p- 'recreate, have fun' and pKo *sipi- 'wish, want' ◇ The discrepancy between the IE ev. of N *u|ü and the M-Tg ev. (pointing to N *e or *ä) is solved by reconstructing N * \checkmark š_Lʔ_Lp ∇ (supported by Sq šeʔef) ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. 'спать' (IE, HS: SES, Msg).

2103. * \acute{s} EP_Lq_L ∇ 'cover, bury' > U: FU (< d.?) * \acute{s} 'i¹pt ∇ - v. 'shut, cover' > Z *šipti-*, Yz *šipti-* id.; Z \rightarrow Vg: N {MK} *sapti* ~ *säpti*, ML {MK} *šapti-* ~ *šäpti*, LL {MK} *šēpti-*, P *šäpti-*, K *šāpti-* ~ *šäpti-* 'bury, hide' ¶ LG 256-7, MK 529, ≠ Coll. 57 || HS: Eg fP *sbχ* ({EG} *śbh*) 'close arms about so., enclose, shut away' ¶ EG IV 91, Fk. 220 || IE: ?μ NaIE * \acute{s} epel- v. 'bury' > L *sepeliō* v. 'bury' (sup. *sepultum*) ¶ Dv. no. 353, WH II 517, EM 615 ¶ The origin of the morphological structure of the L word remains unknown.

2104. **säq_Li_Lyê* 'matter, pus, gall' > HS: Eg Md/N *sq* 'gall' > Cpt: Sd *ciŋe siše*, A *cižε siχ₂e* id., 'bitterness' ¶ EG III 228, Vc. 203 || SC: Irq {Mgw., MQK} *sāχi* 'bile', {E} *sāχi* 'gallbladder' ¶ E SC 179, Mgw. 100, MQK 92 || ?φ CCh: Lgn {Nc.} *tsəkī* 'gall' (c- for the expected s- is puzzling) ¶

Lk. L 123 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 2171, Tk. I 169 || **U** *sāye (Jn.) *sexji 'pus, liquid of the body, rotten liquid' > pLp {Lr.} *sēyз matter, pus' > Lp: S {Hs.} siēje, L {LLO} sjeđja, N {N} sieggjâ /-j- 'matter (in a boil, wound), Kld {Gn., SaR} sīyу 'matter in a boil' || pMr {Ker.} *siy- > Er, Mk сый siy, Er/Mk Δ si 'matter, pus' || pChr {Ber.} *sūy id. > Chr: H шү šü, L шүй šüy, Uf šü, B šüy, M súy id. || Prm {LG} *siś 'rotten stuff, rot; rotten' > Z сись siś, Δ siś ђ siś, Vt сись siś id., Yz 'siś 'rotten' || pObU {ǾHL.} *θēy- (= {Ht.} *θäy-~*θēy-) ~*θöy- 'pus, matter' > pVg {Ht.} sāy > Vg: T/UK/P säy, LK sāy, Ss say id.; pOs {Ht.} *θöy > V löy, Vy yöy, öy, Ty/Y θöy, D/K tēy, Nz tīy, Kz θīy id. || Hg Δ εϑ ђ éϑ id. || Sm {Jn.} *te ~ *ti 'pus, matter' > [1] *te > Sq Tz {KKIH} tē, Slq Tm {KD} tē' id., UO {KD} tē 'earwax', Kms {KD} ča, Koyb {Sp.} тэ 'pus, matter'; [2] *ti > Mt {HL.} ti (Mt M {Sp.} тѣ) id. || Sm *ti- ђ *te- v. 'rot' > Ne T d. inf. тим-зъ, Ne F {Lh.} inf. tíim-ć, Ng {Mik.} inf. tíim-sí 'to rot', En X {Cs.} 1s aor. tímero? 'get sour', Slq Tm {KD} tēmba, Slq Chl {Cs.} v. čiemba, Kms {KD} 1s pres. t'ep'ém 'rot' ¶¶ Coll. 11, UEW 434, Sm. 540 (U *sexji 'matter' > FU, FP *seeji, Ugr *sājī, Sm *tiθj), Lr. no. 1139, Lgc. no. 6313, Hs. 1129, Gn. 955, SaR 320, ERV 627, PI 261, Ker. II 140, Ber. 72 [no. 386], MRS 742, Ep. 157, LG 259, Lt. J 176, Ht. no. 118, MF 115-16, Jn. UK 57 (U *sexji 'faul, Fäule'), Jn. 161, Hl. M 358, KKIИ 181 || **A**: Tg *sī, *sī-lse (Bz.) *sui-lsä) 'gall' > Ewk sī, Sln šīldз, Neg siltз, Ud {Krm.} silihз, Ul siltз ~ sīltз, Ork suiltз, Nn Nh {On} siltз, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} siltз ~ siltз, WrMc {Z} силхи 'gall', Jrc {Kiy.} šilihī 'gall bladder' ¶ Bz. 994, STM II 73, Krm. 285, On. 363, Z 608, Kiy. 126 [no. 516] ◇ Hardly here the alleged IE √ {P} ђ *sej̥-/*soj̥- 'tröpfeln, rinnen, feucht', arbitrarily abstracted by WP and P from *sej̥l- (> Lt séilé 'saliva' etc.) and *sej̥m- (> OHG seim 'Honigseim', W hufen 'cream' etc.) ◇ On N *-eHi- > Tg *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS 336 s.v. 'гноѣ' *sāj̥ (Tg, U), AD GD 7.

2104a. *śaR∇ 'top, hill' > K: G ser-i 'hill'; ??φ Lz {Blz. ← ?} serṭi 'top of a hill' ¶ DCh. 1164, Blz. LNA no. 52 || **IE** *ser-/*sr- > Ht {Ts.} ser 'oben, oberhalb, darauf, darüber' || Gk Hm ῥόν 'peak' ¶¶ Ts. W 74, F II 568, EI 210 (≠σ Gk ῥόν 'promontory' < IE *wri- 'fort'), ≈ P 1151-2 || **HS**: EC: Sml sare 'upper, top, topmost; above, up, high', Sml N {Abr.} sare adv. 'on top', adj. 'high, lofty', Rn sarāt 'of the sky, (of) above, upper', sártīs 'above him\it, on top of him\it, the top of him\it', sárčé 'above, higher than' ¶ ZMO 356, Abr. S 218-19, PG 256-7 || **U** {UEW} (+ext.) *śarma 'top of the tent' > FU: Vg: UL {Kn.} su'rmās 'smoke\light hole at the top of the tent',

ML/P {Mu.} *surmə* / *surəm*, K {Mu.} *sōrəm* ({[Mu.} *sqrém*) id. || Sm: Nn: Т сарва, Т О {Lh.} *sārwa* 'top of the tent', En 'samaʔa 'smoke hole at the top of the tent', ? Kms {KD} *mā-zaro* id. (*māʔ ~ māʔ* 'tent') ¶¶ Coll. 58, Coll. CG 144, UEW 463, WVD VII 308-9, MK 579, Ter. 533, Kn. VW 404 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 139 [no. 24], Blz. L no. 111f and ≈ Blz. LNA no. 52 (all: including K, IE and EC).

2105. *śAr∇ (na) 'to sing, to utter ritual\magical incantations' > **HS:** S *-šīr- v. 'sing', *šīr- 'song' > BHb ip. -šīr-, pf. šār 'sing', šīr 'song', JPA אָרִיִּי שִׁירָא *šī'rā* id., Ug ✓ šyr 'sing' ([AkSc] 3m *yāšīr* in a n. pr.), šr ([AkSc] šīru) 'song', šr 'singer', SmA, ChrPA -šīr- 'sing', אָרִיִּי שִׁירָא 'Gesang', Ak OB šēr u id. ¶ KB 1371-4, A no. 2682, OLS 451-2, Hnr. 181, Tal 890-1, Lv. IV 549, Sd. 1219 || ECh: Kwn {J} *sīré* v. 'sing' ¶ ChC s.v. 'sing', JS 228 (Ch. *✓ sr), J KKS ¶¶ HS *-r- < *-rn- (as.?) || **U:** FU *śarna 'solemn\magic utterance' > F *saarna* 'sermon', *saarna-* v. 'preach', Krl A *sōārnū* 'folktale, legend' | Prm *śorńi ({LG} *śqrńi) > *śorńi ({LG} *śqrńi) (*o > *ɔ due to *r) > Z сёрни śorńi, Yz 'śorńi 'conversation, discourse', Z śornit-, Prmk {W} ćornit-, {RdW} śorńit- 'speak, talk' ||| Os: K *sārnā* √- 'invoke (protecting spirits etc.) by incantations' ({PD} 'hervorzaubern, durch Zaubersprüche herbeirufen'), Km *sārnā* √mān *yāstātā* 'mit Schmeichel-\Kose-worten sprechen' (*yāstātā* 'say, speak') ¶ Coll. 55, It. no. 38, UEW 463, Sm. 553 (FP *śarńa 'discussion'), LG 253-4, PD no. 2090, Stn. D 1373 ¶ F -aa- and Krl A -ōā- still need explanation || **A** *sari|I(-n) 'song, feast' > NaT *sarīn 'incantation, song', *sar_II_n- v. 'sing' > Qzq † {Rl.} *sarna-* 'sing incantations', Qzq {Sht.} *sarn-* v. 'lament, bewail, sing mournfully; moan', Qmq, StAlt {BT}, Tb/Qmn {B}, Xk {BIG} *sarīn* 'song', Tel/Shor/QK/Sg/Qb {Rl.} *sarīn* 'Gesang', qor *sarīn* 'Wettgesang, in dem die beiden Gegner sich gegenseitig tadeln\verspotten', *sarīna-* 'Lieder singen', Tb {B} *sarīna-* 'sing', StAlt {BT}, Alt {Rl.}, Qmn {B} Tel/Shor {Rl.}, Qmq *sarna-* id., Nog, Qmq *sarn-* 'sing' (of birds), Tkm сарна- θarna- 'mumble, mutter', repr. θarnaš- 'exchange angry words' ¶ Rl. IV 323, 334, Sht. 168, NogR 289, BT 126, B DChT 147, B DK 246, TkR 567, BIG 182, KumRS 279 || ?σ Tg {DQA} *sarīn 'a feast (Gastmahl)' > Nn Nh/KU *sarī*, Nn Bk *sarī*(n-) id., WrMc {Z} саринь id., 'a meal, banquet'; Tg *sarila- v. 'feast (schmausen)' > Nn Nh/Bk/KU (not registered by On.) *sarila-* id., 'celebrate a wedding', WrMc {Z} сарила- v. 'feast, offer a meal' ¶ STM II 66, On. 256, Z 570-1 ¶¶ SDM 1218 (pA *sar∇ 'song, feast' > T *sarīn, Tg *sarīn), DQA no. 1936 (id.) ◇ The absence of *n in S *-šīr- and in Tg *sarila-

suggests that N *na is an additional element of a cd ◇ Coll. 146 (U, T) → IS MS 342 (*śarnā 'заклинание' > U, T) and UEW 462-3 (FU, T).

2106. *säR'U' (= *säRo?) 'sinew, fibre' > HS: WS (or CS?) *šurr- 'navel string' > BHb šor* 'navel string, navel' (att.: 𐤍𐤍𐤍 šor-r-ēk 'thy [f.] navel string' etc.), Ug šr, JPA {Lv.} 𐤍𐤍𐤍 šō'r-ā, JEA {Sl.} 𐤍𐤍𐤍 šū'r ā, Sr 𐤍𐤍𐤍 šε_r'r-ā id., Md šura, NMd šorra 'navel', Ar surr- 'navel string'; SES (× N *ḡiRw∇ - *ḡiR'u' 'root' and N *ḡeRgû 'vein, sinew?'): Mh {Jo.} širē 'navel', Hrs {Jo.} šerā, Jb C {Jo.} 'širā, Sq {L} 'širaḥ ~ širaḥ id. ¶ KB 1522-3, OLS 453, Lv. IV 525, Br. 802, DM 456, Mc. HM 512, Ln. 1338, BK I 1075, ≈ Js. 1542 (JA 𐤍𐤍𐤍 'chain, cord'), Sl. 1124, Jo. M 395, Jo. H 124, Jo. J 267, L LS 421, 433, SSL LSNP 433, MiK I no. 1.254 || B *✓sr_rw_r > Izn/Rf {Rn.} asraw 'fil de chaîne du métier à tisser', Rf {Rn.} B/A fiřu usra 'fil horizontal (trame)', Tmz i-sirr (pl. i-sarr-ən) 'fibre de bois\viande; fil de trame, fin pour le tissage des djellabas ou des burnous' ¶ Rn. 314, MT 653 || IE: NaIE *ser- 'thread, string' (× NaIE *ser- 'fasten together in rows' < N *śeR∇ 'row' × N *ḡeRgû '↑') > OI Λ sarat {MW} 'thread', {M} 'sutra', sarit {MW} 'thread, string', {M} 'sutra', saraṇi- {MW} 'a strait or continuous line', OI mauktika-sara, muktāmaṇi-sara, maṇi-sara 'string of pearls', NPrs 𐤍𐤍𐤍 hūr 'row, string (of pearls etc.)', ??σ YAv harā-, haraiti- 'a legendary mountain ridge' (Brtl.: "nach Yt. 19,1 umlagert das Gebirg alle Länder des Westens und Ostens") || Tc A sar- 'vein' || Gk ὄρμυά 'fishing line of horsehair', ὄρμος 'cord, chain' (× IE *ser- 'fasten together in rows') || OIt sēris 'thread, cobbler's thread' || ON sǫrvi 'Halsband aus aufgereihten Perlen\Steinen' ¶ P 911, F II 421, MW 775, 821, 836, 1182, ≠ M K III 442, Mn. 1131, Brtl. 1787, Vl. II 143-9, Sg. 1485, ≈ Bai. 479-80, ≈ Vr. 577, Wn. I 414, ≠ EI 354 (OIt sēris < *ser- 'line up') || U *sär∇ > FU *sär∇ 'vein, root' > Chr: H šäp šär 'blood vessel (artery, vein), pulse', L šep šer, L vüršep vür-šer 'pulse' (← 'blood vessel'; vür means 'blood'), kidšep kid-šer 'pulse' (kid 'hand'), B/Uf vür-šer 'blood vessel' || Prm *ser in *vir-ser 'blood vessel' (*vir 'blood') > Z UV vir-sər, Vt Sr vir-ser, Vt Kz ver-ser 'blood vessel' || pObU {Ht.} *θēr 'root' > pVg {Ht.} *tār id. > Vg: T tār, LK/MK/UK/NV tār, P/SV/LL/ML tār, UL/Ss tār id.; pOs {Ht.} *φer id. > Os: V/O ler, Vy yer, Ty/Y φār, D/K/Nz ter, Kz φer id. || Hg ér (accus. erēt) 'blood vessel, vein, artery' || pY {IN H} *larq- 'root' ({IN UJ} *θar-) > Y K {IN H} larqul 'root', {Krn.} larχul id., Y T {Iox.} лархул 'tribe, clan', OY K {Bil.} larkul, {Merk} larkun 'root' ¶ The names for blood vessel \

sinew and for root were connected because both were used as threads (ropes) ¶¶ Coll. 77, UEW 437, It. no. 301, Sm. 548 (FU, FP, Ugr *särä 'fibre') and 553 (FP *serʋ 'vein'), MRS 87, 197, 697, 702, LG 264, Ht. no. 155, MF 159-60, IN H 235, IN UJ 220, 307 || ¶ *s|zERi 'sinew, thread' > Tg: [1] Tg *sire- > Ewk sirēn 'a horsehair (in crossbows, fishnets etc.)', Lm sirēn 'a hair, thread in a crossbow', Ud siž 'a hair (trigger in a crossbow)', Neg siyēn, Ul siri 'fibre, a hair in a crossbow', Orc siyž, PCMc sirēn 'thread' (> WrMc {Z} сирэнь 'thread', 'bowstring'), Nn Nh/Bk {STM} sirē 'gespannter Faden', Nn Nh {On.} sīrēn 'thread, rope'; [2] Tg *sire-kte > Ewk sirəktə 'sinew, vein, sinew fibre', Sln širiktə ~ širittə, Neg, Orc siyəktə, Ud sižktə, {Krm.} sēktə 'thread', Orc siyəktə 'thread in a snare device', Ork sirəktə 'fibre, a hair (in threads)', Ul, Nn KU sirəktə 'thread, rope', Nn Nh {On.} sirəktə 'нить ткани', WrMc {Z} сиргэ ~ сиржэ 'fibre, thread' | [3] Tg *serē- v. 'embroider' > Ewk sərē-, Lm hərē- id., WrMc {Z} сэрэмэ 'threads (of deer wool) for embroidery' ¶ STM II 97-8 (pA *siŋri) snd 146, Krm. 283, Z 589, 616-19, Mls 238 || pKo {S} *sir, {Vv.} *silá 'thread' (× N *sūṽwṽ 'thread, string') > MKo {S} sir, MKo xv {Vv.} sīr|l 'thread', Ko sil id., 'silk thread', ?σ MKo XII sil {WS} 'Watte, Flocken' ¶ S QK no. 1068, Yu 499, MLC 807 and 1055, Rm. SKE 233, Gale KED 620, Xld. KRS 359, Vv. AEN 5, WS 125 ¶¶ The Tg (and Ko?) vw. *i in Tg *sire- (and pKo *sir?) may have been caused by regr. as. (infl. of *i in pA *s|zERi) ¶¶ SDM 1234-5 (pA *s|zēr|ri 'thread, embroidery' > pKo, Tg *serē-), DQA no. 2718, MLC 1055, Yu 499 ◇ The tentatively reconstructed labialized vw. in N *sāRṽU has been preserved as w and u in Izn/Rf asraw and Rf fiřu. This vw. is most likely to have been *o (that leaves no traces in IE) ◇ In some descendant lges it may have contaminated with paronymous N words, such as N ?σ *sīRbṽ 'sinew; to sew' (q.v.) (whence *i in Tg *sire- [and Ko *sir?]).

2107. *śerṽ 'row (Reihe)' > **U** *śerṽ > **FU** *śerṽ 'row, order' > **Chr:** B sər 'Gemütsart, Character, Art und Weise, Gewohnheit', Uf šər, H sər id., 'Beschaffenheit, Bau, Konstruktion', ? L шыр šər 'norm, measure, limit' | Prm: Z MSs/UV śer 'skill, craftsmanship; custom, way of behaviour', Z {W} śer 'Gewohnheit, Sitte, Mode, Weise' | ObU {Ht.} *sīr 'manner (Art und Weise)' < pVg *sīr > Vg LK/MK/UK/P/UL/Ss sir id.; pOs *sir > Os: O śir ~ sir 'custom, manner, law', V moʋa-sur 'wie beschaffen', D -sir 'lei', Y sēr, K sir 'Art, Beschaffenheit' | Hg szēr 'implement, remedy', {UEW} 'Mittel, Gerät, Zeug', Δ szēr 'row, order' || ?σ Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} śer?

'Sache, Angelegenheit', Ne T *серев* 'according to, as', En {Cs.} *si e'*, Ng *si er* 'Sache', Ng d. {Mik.} '*šer-kaíi* 'büntelen (guiltless, innocent)' (lit. 'ohne Sache'), Kms {KD} *m̄·bi· šerε* 'was?', *что такое?* (if literally 'what is the thing?') ¶¶ According to Jn. 67-8, the Sm √ is to be reconstructed with an initial *k rather than *s- (on the ev. of Kms *šerε* Sm *k- before front vowels yields Kms *š-* ~ *ś-*) and hence does not belong here. But the Y cognate supports the traditional view (reflected in UEW 475) connecting the Sm √ with U **šer*∇ || ?σ pY {IN H} *°*sār* 'something' ({IN UJ} **θar*) > Y K {IN H} *šār* id. ¶¶ UEW 475, ≈ Ber. 58-9 [no. 306] (pChr **ćir-* with an unjustified **ć-*), MRS 756, LG 250-1, Ht. no. 602, Jn. 67-8, KD 63, IN 221-2 || IE: NaIE **ser-* v. 'fasten together in rows, string', {P} 'aneinander reihen, knüpfen' (× N **žerǵû* 'vein, sinew' × N **sāR'U'* 'sinew, fibre') > Gk *ἔρπω* (**seriō*) 'fasten together in rows, string'; (× NaIE **ser-* 'thread, string' < N **sāR'U'* '↑'): Gk *ὄρμος* 'cord, chain, necklace' || L *ser-ō / ser-ēre / serui / sertum* 'join together, put in a row, connect', *seriēs* 'row, succession', Osc (MANIM) *ASERVVM* '(manum) adserere' || OIr {Vn.} *ser n-* 'étendre, joncher, arranger', {P} *ser n(a)id* 'serit', *sreth* 'row' ¶ P 911, EI 354 (**ser-* 'line up'), WH II 522-3, Bc. G 312, Vn. S 93-5, F I 469 || HS: CS **šūr-at-*'row' > MHb *שׁוּרַת* *šūrā*, JA [Trg.] *שׁוּרַת* *šūrā*, Ar *سورة* *sūr-at-* 'row (of stones\bricks in a wall), sign\token (in a written text)', JEA *שׁוּרַת* *šūrā* 'row', ? BHb *שׁוּרַת* *šūrā* 'retaining wall (of terrasses)' (× *שׁוּר* *šūr* 'wall' < S **šūr-* id.); S *š* → G *šar-i* 'row (of fruit trees, grape vines etc.), bed for vegetables (Beet)', *šar-* v. 'plant (in rows), make beds for vegetables' ¶ KB 1348, Js. 1542, Ln. 1465, BK I 1163, Hv. 343, Sl. 1124-5, Chx. 1754-5 ¶ S *-*ū-* belongs to a derivation pattern.

2107a. ₂ **SER*∇ 'to roast' > HS: Ch ≈ **sur-* 'fry', {Sk.} 'roast, fry' > WCh: Ang {ChL} *sur*, {Flk.} *śūr* 'fry' || ? Hs *sōyà* 'roast, fry', {Sk.} 'fry (cook with oil)' || BT: Gera {ChL} *súrù-mì*, Ngm {ChL} *sur*, Krf {Sch.} *šúrú-wò*, ? Pr {Frz.} *čūrò* 'fry' || Tala {ChC} *sure* id. || CCh: Hw {ChL} *s+ràñ*, G'nd {ChL} *sùranžì*, Gbn {ChL} *sùrenčì*, Bk {ChL} *suraḍa*, Tr {Nw.} *zurra* id. || Gude {ChL} *sùrtuč*, Gudu {ChL} *sìrā* id. || ECh: Mkl {J} *sòríyè* 'griller', {ChC} 'fry' ¶ Nw. no. 55, Nw. WLT s.v. *zurra*, J LM 177, Sch. BTL, ChC s.v. 'to fry', JI II 154, ChL, Flk. s.v. *śūr*, Frz. P 27, Abr. H 821, Ba. 952, Sk. HCD 235, ≈ OS no. 479 || ??φ Eg fP *ššr* 'roast, bake' ¶ EG I 21, Fk. 6 ¶¶ Ch ≈ **sur-* compared with Eg *ššr*: Hodge EAA 647 and OS ChELR 197 || **A** **šER*∇- (= **šir*∇-?) 'bake, boil (food), cook' > M **sira-* > MM [MA, IM, LV] *šira-*, WrM *šira-* {MED} 'roast, boil, fry', HIM *шара-* {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'roast, fry, dry (by

fire)', Brt $\omega\alpha\pi\alpha-$ 'roast, fry', Mnr H {SM} $\acute{s}ir\bar{a}-$ 'cuire en four, griller, rôtir', {T} $\check{s}ir\bar{a}-$ 'toast', Dx {T} $\check{s}ira-$ id., Kl {KRS} $\omega\alpha\pi-$ v. 'roast', {Rm.} $\check{s}ar-$ 'am Spieße braten', Ord $\check{s}ara-$ 'brasiller, rôtir, exposer au feu ou au soleil', 'être brûlant', 'répendre une grande chaleur' (feu, soleil) ¶ Pp. MA 335, 447, Pp. L III 60, MED 714, BMR IV 342, Chr. 721-2, KRS 667, KW 350, SM 397, T 383, T DnJ 383, Ms. O 608 || Tg: Ewk PT $\check{c}3r3-$ 'be baked (near the fire)' ¶ STM II 422 || pKo {J} $*s\grave{\lambda}r-m-$ > MKo $s\grave{\lambda}rm-$, NKo $salm-$ [$s\bar{a}m-$] 'boil (food), cook' ¶ S QK no. 526, Nam 292, MLC 901 ¶¶ A $*\check{s}-$ is likely to go back to earlier $**s\grave{i}-$; the glide $**i$ may be a var. of $**i$ reflected in M $*i$ ¶¶ SDM 1326-7 (pA $*\check{s}er\theta$ v. 'bake, boil' > Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 2683 ◇ Eg \check{s} suggests N $*\hat{s}-$, but the unexplained initial \check{s} in Eg makes the Eg evidence not convincing enough. Belova compared the Eg word with Ar $\check{s}rr \sim \check{s}ry$ 'dry sth. in the sun' (from S $*\check{s}rr|y$), which belongs to N $*\hat{s}ar\triangledown$ 'be dry' (q.v. ffd.), but the semantic connection between N $*SER\triangledown$ 'roast' and $*\hat{s}ar\triangledown$ 'be dry' is too dubious.

2108. $*\check{s}'E'r\triangledown$ 'back (dos), nape of neck' > HS: S (WS?) $*\check{s}'ry|w$ > Ar سارآة $sar\bar{a}t-$ 'back (dos)', ? SES: Mh {Jo.} $s\bar{a}r$ 'behind; back, backwards', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ser id., 'because of', Hrs $s\bar{a}r$, ser 'behind, after', Sq {Jo.} $s\bar{e}r$, {L} $s\bar{a}r$ 'behind'; the unexpected s- suggests that the SES word is an ancient loan from Ar; otherwise the pS origin of SES s- is $*s-$ (< HS $*c-$), so that the S word does not belong here ¶ BK I 1085, Hv. 319, Jo. M 351, Jo. H 112, Jo. J 231, L LS 290-1 || C: Bj {R} 'sara 'back (Rücken)' (unless a loan from Ar) || Ag: Xm {R} $s\bar{a}ra$ 'back' || EC: Af {PH} 'sarra 'back, rear', sarra 'sheep's tail', Sa {R} $s\bar{a}'r\bar{a}$ 'Schwanz, Schweif, Wedel der Tiere', Brj {Hd.} $s\bar{a}r\theta$ 'tail of sheep' || DhI $s\bar{a}re$ {To.} 'back (dos)', {EEN} 'lower back, meat above buttock' || SC: Brn {E} $sira$ 'buttocks' ¶ Blz. EDB 25, E SC 178, EEN 24, To. D 146, Hd. 218, PH s.v. 'sarra, R WBd 203, R Ch II 410 (s.p. 96), R A II 331 || Eg P $s\bar{e}$, Cpt $\text{COI}\theta i$ 'back (dos)' ¶ EG IV 8, Vc. 185 || IE: Tc B $sark$ 'back (Rücken)', Tc A $s\bar{a}r\acute{s}i$ 'backbone' ¶ Ad. 776-7, Blz. NDA no. 23 || D $*\check{c}ar-$, {GGS} $*\acute{s}ar-$ 'neck' > Tl $ar\bar{u}$, $ar\bar{r}u$, Prj $\check{c}ar$ id.; but D $*\check{c}er-$ (> Tm $eruttu$ 'nape of neck', Ml $erattu$, Kui $s\bar{e}rki$ 'back of the neck', Ku $h\bar{e}rki$ \check{c} herki 'shoulder, neck') belongs rather to N $*\hat{c}ehR\triangledown$ 'back' (q.v.) ¶¶ D no-s 2817 and 2419 || ? U: FU $*\acute{s}|\hat{s}Er\triangledown$ > Prm $*\acute{s}'\acute{o}'r\triangledown-$ 'space behind sth.' (× N $*\hat{c}ehR\triangledown$ 'back', q.v. ffd.) > Z Ud $\acute{s}3r$ 'space behind sth.', Vt сбöп $\acute{s}3r$ 'behind, over' ¶ U3S 403, LG 270 || A: NaT $*sirt$ 'back (dorsum) of an animal' > OT Og {Cl.} $sirt$ id., Chg $sirt$ 'shoulder, shoulder blade', MQp XIV, MOg $sirt$ 'hill', Tk $sirt$, ET $sirt$, Qmq $sirt$,

VTt s̄irt, Bsh h̄irt, Tv sirt 'back of an animal; ridge of a mountain', Tkm θirt 'hind part, ridge of a mountain, hill', Nog sirt 'rear, exterior part', Uz sirt, StAlt sirt id., 'ridge of a mountain', Qrg sirt 'exterior part, highland', Qq, Xk sirt 'exterior part, back of an axe', Qzq sirt id., 'height, hills'; T → Hg szirt 'rock, cliff' ¶ Cl. 846, Rs. W 419, TL 268, DTS 505, MTE III 765 || ?σ E: NEI, AchEl šá-ra 'unter, unten, hinab' ¶¶ HK 1133 ◊ Qu. because the vowels in A, FU and D violate rules of reg. sound corr. ◊ Blz. DA 154-5 [no. 24] and Blz. L no. 6b (HS, Vt, D), Blz. E no. 11 (E, HS), Blz. NDA no. 23 (D, HS, E, IE, A).

2109. *SⁱR^v 'red, yellow' > HS: ? S *√^rš^rr^r > Ak ? √ šršr v. 'be red', šaršerru ~ šaršarru 'rote Paste, rote Farbe', BHb (← Ak?) 𐤔𐤍𐤔𐤍 𐤔𐤍𐤔𐤍 šāⁱšar paus. 'red lead (minium)' ¶ Sd. 1191, KB 1536, ≈ GB 866 (𐤔𐤍𐤔𐤍) || Ch: WCh: DfB {J} šarán 'red' || ?φ CCh: Azm {Pc.} suruna 'the red subsoil' ¶ J R 221, Pc. 361, ChC s.v. 'red' || C: Ag {Ap.} *sar-/*sär- 'red' > Bln/Q {R} ser- 'be red', Xm {R} zer- ~ cer- 'rot[schön sein]', Km {CR} sar-, Xmt {CR} sar- 'be red', {Bnd.} sārōu 'red', {Ap.} sär-, Aw {CR} sar- 'be red' ¶ Ap. AV 17, R WB 309, R QW 117, R Ch II 410 (s.p. 96), AD SF 207 || IE: NaIE *ser-/sor- (+exts *-to-, *-b^ho-, *-p-, *-k^{k̄}-) 'red, reddish': [1] Ltv sárts 'red' (of the human face), Lt sár̄tas 'light red', 'light bay' (of horses) || [2] L sorbum (<*sorb^h- or *sord^h-) 'red berry (serviceberry, rowanberry)' || R Δ сор(о)балина 'hipberry, black-berry', P sierp(ik), sierp(n)ik, Blr сярпужа '*Serratula tinctoria* (a yellow dying plant)' → ? Lt seřpēs (pl.) id. || Lt serbeñtas {PiesS} 'currant (berry)', {Frk} 'schwarze Krausbeere, Gichtbeere (*Ribes nigrum*), Johannisbeere', serbentà {Frk} 'Johannisbeere' || Sw {P} sarf 'red-eye (fish)' ¶ But not here (↔ P) R Δ со'рога 'red-eye, roach, *Rutilus* (a fish with red scales)' (← FU, cp. F sárki id.) ¶ P 910-11, WH II 562, Frn. 776-7, PiesS 644, Vs. III 721-2, SSA III 241 || A: M *sira 'yellow' (× pA *siⁱār^v 'white, light (hell, светлый)' < N ? *^rš^rEXar^v 'bright; daybreak') > MM [MA, IM, LV] šira, [S] {H} síra, WrM {MED} sira, HIM {MED, BMR} шap, Brt шapa 'yellow', Kl {Rm.} šara 'gelb', Ba, Mnr H {T} šira, {SM} šúra, Dg {Mr.} šar, Dx {T} šira, MMgl {Iw.} širā, Mgl {Rm.} šira 'yellow', Ord šara 'jaune; fauve' ¶ Pp. MA 335, 447, Pp. L III 60, H 141, MED 714, BMR IV 341-2, Chr. 720-1, KW 349, S AJ 238 [no. 107], T 383, T DnJ 143, T BJ 152, Rm. M 39, Iw. 134, SM 397-8, Ms. O 608 ◊ The et. is questionable for several reasons: (1) since the S cognate denotes a product of culture and a trade article, it may be a Wanderwort, (2) the IE √ is a dubious cognate, because it is not represented in its pure form, without extensions (Pokorny

wanted to see the pure form of the $\sqrt{\text{}}$ in the OI word ṣār -, which he translated as 'Mark eines Baumes', while M K III 461 translated it as 'firmness, strength, hardness (of wood)'; in any case, this word is semantically too remote from the meaning 'red', and M is right in rejecting P's et.), (3) the M word may go back exclusively to N ? * $\text{ṣ}^{\text{r}}\text{Ḷar}$ \uparrow $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II no. 437 (* ser 'yellow') (IE, M + err. Sm, Tg, J, CK).

2110. * sür ∇ 'rub, scrape, smear' > U: FP * sür ∇ - v. 'smear' > Chr: L шүрәш šüräš inf. 'to smear', M šüre- 'schmieren, bestreichen', B šüre- 'einschmieren', H {Ep.} inf. шырәш šaräš 'to smear, to rub' | Prm {LG} * zür- > Z inf. зырав-ны z+rav-n+ , Δ z+rāl- 'rub, smear', Vt z+ra- ([inf.] зыра-ны) id., 'paint' ¶ UEW 761, MRS 746, 760, Ep. 163, LG 108 || HS: Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J} šwār 'Brei aus einem Gefäß kratzen; reiben', Ang {Stl. \leftarrow ?} šwār- 'rub' || ECh: Smr {J} sār 'rub' ¶ J S 83, J LS, Stl. VZCh A no. 244, ChC s.v. 'rub' || A * sür ∇ -, * sürt ∇ - 'rub', (?) 'smear' > T * sür- 'rub, smear' > Osm {Rh.} sür- 'rub on\against', Tk ṣür- 'rub on, smear, anoint', Uz sur- v.: yer sur- 'plane (earth surface)', ET Δ {Jr.} sür- ḍ süy- 'rub, polish, make smooth\even', {Mal.} 'scrape (animal's hide to produce leather)', Bsh Δ hūr- , Tv sür- id., Kr {Rl.} sür- 'rub', Tkm сүр- θür- 'rub, plough', Ggz, Qmq, QrB, StAlt {BT} sür- , Uz sur- , VTt сөр- sör- , Bsh һөр- hör- v. 'plough', Qzq sür- v. 'furrow, scrape, plane', Qq, Nog sür- v. 'plane (wood), plough', Qrg sür- v. 'rub, plane (wood), Tlt {Rl.} sür- 'reiben, einreiben, hobeln', Slr {Tn.} sür- ḍ sūr- 'sweep' (\times N * $\text{S}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{r}_{\text{L}}\text{Ḷ}_{\text{b}}\text{Ḷ}$ or * $\text{S}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{b}_{\text{r}}\text{Ḷ}$ 'to swing, to sweep' [q.v.]), Yk ür- 'scrape, scrape clean (the inner side of hide)', Chv L сёр- sör- , Chv Δ {Mr.} sör- 'rub, smear'; NaT * sürt- v. 'rub' > OT, Chg XV ṣürt- , ET, Qrg, Osm {Rh.} sürt- , Tk ṣürt- , Tkm сүрт- θürt- , Uz surt- id., Qmq, QrB, StAlt {BT}, Xk sürt- , VTt сөрт- sört- , Bsh һөрт- 'rub, smear', Az sürt- id., 'pass sth. on sth. (проводить одним предметом по другому)', MQp [CC] ṣürt- 'anoint', Qzq sürt- , SY {Ml.} sürt- , {Tn.} surt^{r} ḍ suřt- 'smear, wipe', Qq, Nog sürt- 'wipe' ¶ Cl. 846, \approx 844, TL 382, Rh. 1088-9, Md. 64, 177, Ash. XI 312-13, ChVS 166, Jeg. 188, UzR 387-8, Rl. IV 810, Jr. 281, Äz. 278, Tn. SJ 490, Tn. SJJ 208, Ml. ZhU 107, GRM 443, Jud. 672-3, TkR 601, Sht. 185-6, Pek. 3165 || M: [1] Ba {T} šire- 'sweep' (unless from M * sirbe- v. 'sweep, dust' [F N * $\text{S}^{\text{r}}\text{ü}^{\text{r}}\text{r}_{\text{L}}\text{Ḷ}_{\text{b}}\text{Ḷ}$ \uparrow]) ¶ T BJ 152 | [2] M * sürči- v. 'rub (reiben, einreiben)' > MM, WrM {MED} ṣürči- v. 'anoint (a dying person)', HIM сүрчи- {MED} id., Kl Ö {Rm.} sürčj- 'bestreichen', Ord sürč'i- 'oindre (un mourant)' ¶ MED 744, Battal IM 329-30, KW 341, Ms. O 599 || pKo * sirh- 'polish, rub off' > MKo sirh- , NKo šil- id. ¶ Nam 322, MLC 1028 || pJ * súr- 'rub, whet,

polish' > OJ *sur-*, MJ *súr-* id., J I *súr-*, J K/Kg *sùr-* {Kenk.} v. 'rub, chafe' ¶ Mr. 759, Kenk. 1850 ¶¶ SDM 1341 (pA *šjūr'e' 'rub, polish' J, Ko, M *sürč'i-, T *sür(-t)- 'rub, smear' + err. Tg *šürü- 'rip, whet' [i.e. *çu_l:r'ü' - ≈ tear, whet, rip off' and *çi_l:uru-k_le(n) 'knife'], going back to N *č_iURV 'flintstone, knife', q.v. ffd.; pA *š- is based on the err. adduction of Tg *šürü-), Rs. SKE I 238 ¶¶ In SDM the rec. of pA *š- is based on err. adduction of the Tg root || D *čōr_l- ({GS} *c-?) v. 'itch, scratch' > Tm *cor_li* v. 'itch, scratch in order to allay itching', *cor_li* v. 'itch', *coran_lt*- 'scratch', Ml *cor_li* n. 'itch, scab, nettles', *cor_li_yuka* v. 'itch, scratch, rub oneself', Kt *čorng* 'an itch', Tu *coji* & *cojji*, Prj *čod-*, Gdb *soy-*, Gnd *soh-* v. 'itch', Ku *žūra kalka* 'itching of the feet' ¶¶ D no. 2865 || K *sres-/ *sr_s- 'polish, rub (in), grind' > G *sres-*/ *sris-* id., Mg *sirs-ol-* 'polish, rub (in)', ?? Sv {K} *srās-* 'cut, trim, square'; ⇨ GZ *sr_sw-il- 'pimple, abscess' (← pp. 'rubbed [place]') > OG *srswil-*, G *sirsvil-*, Mg *sursu-*, Lz *msursu-*, *msirsu-* id. ¶¶ K 165-6, K DE2 173, K² 167-8, Chx. 1273 ¶¶ K *sres-/ *sr_s- < (as.) pre-K **š_r-es-/ *š_r-s-? ◇ D *ō (for the expected *u_l:_j) is still to be explained ◇ ≈ Fn. KD no. 121 (K *srsw- 'scab' ÷ _l D *čōr_lič-/ *čūr_lič- 'Grind, Flechte').

2111. *š_ur_rē 'heavy, large' ([in K] → 'full', 'whole', 'very') > IE: NaIE *swer- 'heavy' > Gmc *swera- id. > ON *svár-r*, AS *swær(e)*, *swār*, OHG *swār(i)*, MHG *swære*, *swāre*, NHG *schwer* 'heavy', OHG *swāri* 'burden', Gt *swers* (·*ἔντιμος*) 'geachtet, geehrt, gewichtig' (← {Fs.} *'schwerwiegend') || Lt *svarūs* 'heavy, weighty', Lt *svāras*, Ltv *svars* 'weight', Lt inf. *svērti* (1s pres. *svēriū*), Ltv inf. *svērt* 'to weigh' || L *sērīus* 'serious, earnest' (← 'weighty') ¶ P 1151, WH II 521, Fs. 466, Vr. 565, Ho. 331, Kb. 996, OsS 903, Lx. 221, KM 692, Frn. 949, 951 || HS: CS *√š_r v. 'valuate' (← *'weigh') > BHb √š_r G 'reckon', MHb √š_r D 'put a valuation on, estimate', JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA √š_r D id., 'measure, calculate', BHb *שָׂרָר* 'šā_rar, JA *שָׂרָר* 'šā_rā_r-ā, SmA *š_rr* n. 'measure', Ar *sī_r-* {Ln.} 'correct price\rate at which a thing is to be sold', {Hv.} 'rate, current price', BHb *שָׂרָר* 'šā_rā_r-ī_m pl. 'measures' (Gn. 26.12) ¶ KB 1490, GB 854, Js. 1612, Tal 919, Lv. IV 590-2, Sl. 1168, Ln. 1363, Hv. 321, BK I 1091, A no. 2913 || ? Eg N *s_r₃* 'rich, big' (× Eg fMK *s_r₃* 'make bigger', a caus. from *s_r₃* 'big?') ¶ EG IV 41-2 || C: EC {Ss.} *š_{or-} 'rich' > Or {Grg.} *sōr-om-* 'become rich', *sōr-omā*, *sōr-essa* 'rich', {Th.} *sōres-a* 'ricco, opulento', *sōrōm-a* / nom. *sōrōm--ni* 'ricchezza', pBn {Hn.} *sūr- 'good' (> Bn Bi *sūr-ida*, Bn J/Kj *sūr-iya*, Bn K *sūr-úwa* id.), Hr/Dbs

{AMS} šor(o)kičo m. and šor(o)kiče f. 'rich', Gln {AMS} šorohitto, šorkitto m. / šorkitte f. id., Dbs {AMS} šorohum- 'become rich' ||| Bj {R} ✓ srr pcv. (pf. as'rār, pqp. 'esrira) 'be long', se'rār 'long', {Rop.} sarār 'long and fairly thick' ||| Ag: Bln {R} šīr- 'sich erstrecken, lang\hoch\fern sein' ¶ Ss. PEC 33, Hn. BD 110, 124, Grg. 363, Th. 309, AMS 187, 223, 267, R WB 329, R WBd 205, Rop. 234, Blz. CL 179 || Ch: WCh: Bl {IL} sirri, {Bnt.} sīri 'big' ||| ?? ECh: Smr {J} syār 'be long', Mkl {J} sòʔūrù 'long' (unless akin to Mu sàgār, Mjl -sāgār, Kjk {DB} sugor id.) ¶ ChL, Bnt. K 23, ChC s.v. 'long' and 'big', J LS, J LM s.v. sòʔūrù, Blz. EChWL no. 49 ||| K *sur- > G X sru 'very', OG, G sruli 'full, whole', Sv suru {FS} 'übermäßig, sehr, groß, ganz', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} suru 'too (trop), very', Sv UB {GP} suru 'redundant(ly)' ¶¶ Fn. KW-1 no. 48, FS K 275, FS E 305-6, TK 711, GP 259 ||| U: FU (att. in BF) *ś|sūre 'big' > F sūri 'big, high', Krl šūri & sūri id., Vp sur' & suūr 'big', Es sūr 'big, adult' ¶ Coll. and UEW equated the BF word with Krl sūrima & šūrima 'goats', Er šuro, Mk šora, {Ker.} šora 'corn, grain', Chr E šürö 'cabbage soup', Chr H šaräš and Chr Uf šūraš 'goats, porridge', but the connection is highly qu. (on semantic grounds), albeit not ruled out (≡σ: 'goats' → 'coarse' → 'big' in the prehistory of NE great, G groß, R крупный) ¶ SK 1136, ZM 527, Coll. 59, UEW 779, Ker. II 150, Bc. 879 ||| D (att. in NED) *čurčur- > Krx žuržur-nā v. 'feel heavy (as from bad digestion)', ? Mlt jūrjura 'slowly, dimly, drowsily'; D → Mrt sursurī 'dullness\drowsiness which arise from eating plentifully' ¶ D no. 2692, Pf. 191 ||| E: NEI sir 'schwer, reich', sir-ma 'gewichtig, gewaltig' ¶¶ HK 1087, 1089-90 ◇ The absence of the expected lengthening of *e in IE may be explained by metathesis: *śurê > **śurē > ppIE *swerHx- > NaIE *swer- ◇ Blz KM 120 [no. 21] (K, C, IE, [?] U + unc. WrM sür 'commanding appearance, grandeur, majesty; might' [which is certainly a loanword, as suggested by the absence of any final vw.] [F MED 744, KW 340-1]), Blz. E no. 73 (E, HS).

2112. *śEhR∇ 'late' ([in descendant lges] → 'evening, night') > HS: EC: Sa {R} sarōy 'be late (sich verspäten, zu spät \ später kommen)', Af {PH} sārā 'later time', sārāk 'afterwards' (× Af {PH} sārā 'back, rear [derrière], sarra 'tail') ¶ R S II 331, PH 189 || CS *°✓šhr 'evening' > Ar {Hv.} sahrat- 'eventide'; (× N *šehĒ 'be awake, watch [over], feel, notice', q.v.) *°✓šhr 'pass the night awake' > Ar ✓shr G (pf. sahira) 'pass the night awake', JA [Trg.], JPA, Md, Sr ✓šhr G 'be awake', JPA {Js.} ✓šhr G 'get up early' ¶ Ln. 1451-2, BK I 1165, Hv. 341, Js. 1527, DM 451, Br. 760 ||| K: GZ {FS} *ser- 'night' > OG ser- 'night' (serit vidre ciskramde 'the

night up to the dawn [aurora]), OG, G ser-i 'evening meal', Mg, Lz ser-i 'night' (← OG?), Mg o-sar-e 'shirt' (← *'nighttie, nightgown' ← 'that of the night') ¶ FS K 268, FS E 297, GM S 132, 164-5, IS I 241 || IE: NaIE {Vn.} *sēr- {Vn.} 'late' > L sērūs 'late', sērūm 'late hour, evening' || Clt {Vn., Matas.} *sīro- > OIr sír [sīr] 'late, long lasting' ({Vn.} 'long, durable'), tri bith sír 'forever', Brtt {RE} *sīros ('long in time' → 'long in space') > OW, MW {Matas.} hir, W, OBr {RE}, MBr {Matas.}, Br {Hm.}, OCrn hir, Crn hir ~ hyr 'long' ¶ The IE cognate is acceptable unless the L and Clt words are derived from IE *sē(i)- {WH} 'langsam\spät kommen, sich hinausziehen', {Vn.} 's'attarder, relentir, s'arrêter' ¶ Vn. S 115-16, Matas. E 337, YGM-1 286, Hm. 382, P 891, WH II 326-7 (all of them derive the L and Clt words from IE *sē(i)-), RE 110, ≈ EI 357 (*sēro-s or *seh₁ro-s 'long') || ? A: T: OT {Cl.} sūr-č-ük 'a story told at night' ¶ Cl. 845 || D *čir- ({GS} *ś-) 'night' > Tm, Ml iravū, irā 'night', Irl ra₁vū, ra₁podu, Kt ir₁, Td i₁, Kn irū₁, iratū, ir₁u, Kdg ir₁, Tu irk₁, Tl rēy₁ 'night', Gdb sirtal 'evening' ¶¶ D no. 2552, Zv. 145 [no. 209] ¶¶ Possible infl. of D *č₁kir- ({GS} *ś-) 'dark' < N *ših₁a₁R∇ ≈ grey, bright', [in descendant lges: → 'dark?')] is to be taken into account ¶¶ The D cognate is acceptable unless it is identical with D *č₁kir- ◇ The presence of a N lr. (*h) is suggested both by Ar sahrat- and by D *-r- (resulting from *R-clusters, while N *-r- and *-r̄- outside clusters yield D *-r̄- and *-r̄̄-). If OT sūr-č-ük belongs here, its vw. ü (for the expected i) requires explanation ◇ Qu., because the presumed Af, IE and D cognates have alt. etl. explanations ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 138-9 [no. 23] (unc. adduction of Bj and Om words for 'cloud' and of Gnc širari 'heaven').

2112a. *S^ri^hûr∇ 'person (man?) of the other exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > HS: S: Ar ših₁r- 'daughter's\sister's husband' ¶ The emphatic cns. š₁- (for the expected s-) still requires explanation (infl. of Ar ✓ š₁hr L 'copulate with a woman' or Ar š₁ih₁r- 'relationship' ← ✓ š₁hr v. 'melt?') ¶ Ln. 1737-8, BK I 1379-80, Hv. 408 || EC (?) *s∇r- 'relative' > Or {Brl., Grg.} fira (nom. fir-ri) 'relative, friend', (× N *S^uĶ₁ūR∇ 'person [man?] of the opposite exogamous moiety, parent-in-law?'): Kns {BISO} sark-att-a 'brother-in-law of man', Gln {AMS} serko 'Schwager'; but not here Sd sōr-ičča, sōr-āmo and Ged sōrēssa 'eldest brother' (derived from HEC *sōr- 'be first\preceding') ¶ Ss. PEC 5 (Sasse reconstructs pEC *sar- ~ *ser- ~ *sir- ~ *sur- 'relative', but does not specify the cognates in individual lges), Brl. 148, Grg. 145, BISO 173, AMS

267, Hd. 33, Gs. 294 || Ch $*\sqrt{s\omega r} \sim *\sqrt{sK\omega r} \sim *\sqrt{sr\omega} \sim *\sqrt{srK\omega}$ ($\{Nw.\} *s\triangleright r\triangleright$) 'in-law') ($\times N *S\hat{u}K\ddot{u}R\triangleright$) > WCh: Hs $s\grave{u}r\acute{u}k\acute{i}$ 'father-in-law, son-in-law', $s\grave{u}r\acute{u}k\acute{a}$ 'mother-in-law, daughter-in-law', Gw {Mts.} $\check{s}\grave{o}r\grave{o}k\acute{y}\acute{i}$ 'wife's father\mother, wife's elder brother\sister, son-in-law' | AG $*s\grave{e}y\grave{e}r$ ($\{Sch.\} *s\grave{e}y\grave{e}r$, {Hf.} $*s\grave{e}y\grave{e}r$) 'father-in-law, mother-in-law' (ffd. *see* N $*S\hat{u}K\ddot{u}R\triangleright$) > Su {J} $s\grave{e}g\grave{e}r$ 'father-\mother-in-law (Schwiegerleute)', Ang {Hf.} $s\bar{i}r$, Gmy {Hf.} $\check{s}\bar{e}r$, Mpn {Frz.} $s\check{s}r$ 'in-law' | Ngz {Sch.} $s\grave{a}ur\acute{a}k$ (pl. $s\grave{a}ur\grave{a}u\check{c}\acute{i}n$) 'father-in-law, mother-in-law' | BT: Bele {Sch.} $h\grave{u}r\acute{i}$ 'in-law' ($h < *s-$) || Ch: CCh: Mf {BLB} $s\acute{u}k\omega\acute{a}r$ 'mother-\daughter-in-law' | BtG {Mch.} $s\acute{e}r\omega a$ 'mother-in-law' | Glv {Rp.} $\check{s}\acute{u}g\grave{u}la$ 'wife's mother, wife's brother, mother-in-law', Mdr {Mch.} $\check{s}\acute{o}l\grave{a}$ 'relative-in-law' | Msy {Mch.} $s\grave{e}k\acute{u}l$ 'mother-in-law' | Db {Mch.} $s\grave{e}k\acute{u}l$ $\acute{c}a$ 'my father-\mother-in-law, my son-in-law', {Lnh.} $s\grave{u}k\acute{u}l$ 'relative-in-law', Kola {Sb.} $s\grave{u}k\acute{u}l$ '(male) relative-in-law' | Lgn {Bou.} $sk\grave{u}$ 'mother-in-law' | Mtk {Sb.} $sk\omega\hat{a}r$ 'relative-in-law' | MsgN {Rlf.} $t\grave{s}e\grave{g}e\grave{l}\acute{i}a$ '(male) relative-in-law', Msg {Nw.} $s\grave{u}la$ 'relative-in-law' | Tr {Nw.} $s\acute{e}r\omega\acute{z}k\acute{i}$ 'male relative-in-law' ¶ Abr. H 829, Ba. 963, Mts. G 109, Sk. HCD 238-9, Br. 963, Hf. AG no. 106, J S 82, Frz. DM 58, Sch. DN 145, Sch. ChV 48, Sch. BTL 17, 30, BLB 321, RpB 82, Mch. D 148, ChC s.v. 'relative-in-law' m., ChC s.v. 'relative-in-law' f., \approx Nw. no. 74 ¶¶ OS no. 437 (AG \div Ar) || IE: NaIE $*sy\bar{o}yros$, {Schn.} $*syeguro-$ / $*sy\bar{e}au'ro-$, {EI} $*sy\bar{o}(u)ros$ 'wife's brother' > OI $sy\bar{a}'la-h$ id. || SI $*\check{s}\acute{u}rb$ id. > ChS $\omega oyp\grave{b}$ $\check{s}urb$, McS ωypa , SCr Sr ωypa , OP $szura$, $szurza$, P $szurzy$, ds: Blg $\omega ypej$, $\omega ypek$, SCr $\check{s}\acute{u}rjak$, Slv $\check{s}urjak$, ChS $\omega oyp\eta\eta\grave{b}$ $\check{s}ur\eta\eta\grave{b}$, R, Uk $\omega yp\eta\eta$ (pl. R $\omega yp\eta\eta$) id. | Arm $h\eta\eta$ $h\eta\eta$ 'son-in-law' ¶ WP II 514, P 915, EI 84-5, M K III 551-2, M E II 782, Tr. 261, Vs. IV 488, Glh. 615 || D $*\check{c}e\grave{r}\grave{u}$ ($\{GS\} *s-$) 'relative-in-law (spouse's younger brother?)' > Tl $\bar{e}r\bar{a}lu$ 'husband's brother's wife' (- $\bar{a}lu$ denotes fem. sex?), Nk $serutra$ 'husbands younger brother's wife', Gnd $s\bar{e}r(a)n\grave{d}u$ \acute{c} $har\grave{u}du$ \acute{c} $ervon\grave{d}$ 'spouses younger brother; spouse's younger sister's husband', $s\bar{e}r\bar{i}y-a\grave{r}$ \sim $s\bar{e}r\bar{i}y-a\bar{l}$ \acute{c} $serey-a\grave{r}$ 'elder brother's wife' (- $a\grave{r}$ \sim - $a\bar{l}$ is a sf. of the female sex), Knd $s\bar{e}r\bar{o}n$ 'husband's younger brother', Mnd $h\bar{e}\check{z}un$ 'wife's younger brother', Kui $se\check{z}en\check{z}u$ 'husband's younger brother' ¶¶ D no. 2819 ◇ D $*e < N *i$ is irregular (cp. N $*\check{c}iku$ 'base of limbs [shoulder, hip]' > Tm $cekil$ 'upper part of the shoulders', Kn $tegal$ 'shoulder') ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 47] and Blz. NSA no. 46 (in both: D, EC, Ch).

2113. ($_{2}$?) $*SuH|\omega ER\triangleright$ (= $*\hat{s}u\omega ER\triangleright$?) 'sour, seasoned' > IE: NaIE $*s\bar{u}ro-$ 'sour, salty, bitter' > ON $s\acute{u}r-r$ 'sour, bitter', $s\acute{y}ra$ 'sour milk',

MLG, MHG *sūr* 'bitterness'; ON *sýra* 'sour milk', OHG *sūr* 'sour, bitter', NHG *sauer*, Nr, Dn, Sw *sur*, AS *sūr*, Dt *zuur* 'sour', NE *sour* || Lt *sūrū̄s*, Δ*sūr̄as* 'salty', Ltv *sūr̄s* 'bitter', Lt *sūr̄is* 'cheese, cottage cheese', Pru *suris*, *sur* 'cheese' | SI **s+r̄* 'sour, raw, moist' > R *сырой*, Uk *сирій* id., OCS **сѣрь** *sēr̄* (· *ṡ̄r̄ō̄g*) 'damp', 'juicy' (of fresh plants), Cz *surý* 'damp, dank', Slv d. *sír̄ō̄v* 'raw, uncooked'; SI **s̄r̄* 'cheese' > OCS **сѣрь** *sēr̄* (· *sur̄ion*) id., OR **сѣрь** *sēr̄* 'curds, cheese', R *сыр*, Uk *сир*, SCr *s̄ir*, Slv *s̄ir*, Cz *sýr*, Slk *sur*, P *ser*, Blg d. *сирене* id. ¶ WP II 513, P 1039, Vr. 562, Ho. 330, Kb. 994, OsS 898, KM 626, Frn. 944-5, En. 259, Tr. 293-4, Vs. III 819, StSS 676, Srz. III 876-7, Glh. 549, ≈ EI 69 (**sū-ros* or **suH-ros* 'sour, acid' [especially of liquids or cheese]) || A **s̄:ri-* 'sour, acid, odorous' > NaT **sirkæ* 'vinegar' > OT *сирке*, Tkm *θirke*, Qmq, Kr, Qzq, Qrg *sirke*, Tk *sirke*, Az, Ggz *sirkä*, ET *si(r)kä*, Uz *sirka*, VTt *сєркə sьrkä*, Bsh *һєркə һьrkä* id. || Chv L *шăршă*, *шăрш* 'odor, stench' ¶ Cl. 850, Rs. W 423, TrR 780, TkR 581, TatR 475, UzR 371, Jud. 648, KrkR 578, BN 137, BR 626, MM 318, KumRS 285, GRM 419, Äz. 311, KRPS 475, Ash. XVII 344-7, Fed. II 451, Jeg. 336, ChS 381 || M **sori-* v. 'taste' (← *'taste spiced food?') > WrO *sori-* 'taste, try', MM [S] *sori-* 'prüfen, versuchen', WrM *sori-* {MED} 'try out, test, examine', HIM *сори-* {MED, BMR}, Brt *һори-* id., Ord *sori-* 'faire l'essai de qch. pour en voir la qualité, éprouver'; ⇨ M **sori-sun* 'spices', esp. 'wild leek\onion' > Kl {Rm.} *sorsn̄* 'Gewürz' (?), eingekochte Lauchblüten', Mnr H {SM} *soroz̄z̄* 'oignon\ail sauvage', WrM {Kow.} *sorisun* 'grappe des raisins, poignée d'oignons', {MED} *sorisu* 'wild leek (the dried flowers of which are eaten)', HIM *сорьс* {MED} id., {BMR} 'an onion, a leek or another bulbous plant (головка лука, чеснока и других луковичных растений)', Ord *sorisu* 'espèce d'ail sauvage dont on mange les fleurs après les avoir séchées' ¶ MED 729, BMR III 115, 117, Kow. 1412, Chr. 685, KW 332, H 136, SM 355, Ms. O 584, Krg. 412, Gl. II 438 (*sorisun*, HIM *sor̄son* 'flower buds of onion\garlic') || Tg: **[1]** Tg {SDM} **sūr̄i* 'have a strong smell', **sū:̄r̄* 'odor' > Ul *sōr̄i*, *sōr̄u(w)l̄i*, Nn Nh *sōr̄i*, *sōr̄is̄i* {On.} 'es stinkt, there is bad odor', {STM} 'stinking, fetid', Ul *sōrsu-*, Nn Nh *sōr̄is̄i-* 'stink, be fetid', Nn Nh *surḡi-* {On.} 'have a good smell', {STM} 'have a strong smell', {STM} *surḡi* 'fragrant, odorous', WrMc {Z} *сурь сэмэ* 'strong\bad smell', 'душисто, благовонно' ¶ STM II 113, 129, On. 376, 380, Z 649 | **[2]** Ewk *sirahun* 'whey' ¶ STM II 94 || pKō **sār-* 'raw, unripe' > NKō *sāl-* id. ¶ MLC 950 || pJ {SDM} **suarasi* > OJ *sworas̄i* '*Lugisticum chinensis* (зоря), *Nothosmyrnum japonicum* (a kind

of sorrel)' ¶ S QJ no. 1208, Mr. 531 ¶¶ T *i of the initial syll. may have resulted from regr. as. (infl of pA *-i- of the second syll.). This T *i is short (though it goes back to a pA long vw.), which may be tentatively explained by its position before a cns. cluster ¶¶ SDM 1319-2 O (reconstructing pA *sũre 'acid, stinking' [> Tg *sūr-, NaT *sirke, M, J], which does not explain the vw. *-i- in pT *sirke and in Ewk sirahun), DQA no. 2037 (pA *sũyre) || U: FU *ć^ruy^r∇ 'sour, malodorous, bitter' (× N *ćUyr∇ 'rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' [q.v. ffd.], which is the source of FU *ć-) > Prm *ćūr- > Vt ćirs 'sour', ćirsa- v. 'turn sour, be fermented', Z чир- ćir- v. 'turn bitter\tainted, turn sour' (of kvass), 'go bad' (of meat), 'turn rancid' (of butter) | F {LG ← ?} ħ s u i r a - t a 'be spoiled\nauseating' (not found in the available dictionaries of F, incl. SK and SSA) | Lp N {N} ċiwrâ 'evil-smelling, malodorous', ċiwrīdīt 'to smell bad' || ObU {Ht.} *ćār- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > pVg *ćār- > Vg: P śar-, NV/SV/LL śar-/ śār-, UL, Ss śor- 'turn bitter' (of fish); pObU {Ht.} *ćār- > pVg {Ht.} *ćār- v. 'turn bitter' (of fish) > Vg: P śār-, NV/SV/LL śar-/śar, UL/Ss śor- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ćār-, {Hl.} *ćīr- v. 'turn tainted\bad' (of fish and meat) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/D ċār-, Nz/Kz śōr-, O śār- id. ¶ LG 307, Ht. no. 82, ≈ Coll. 117, N I 395 ¶ The FU cns. *ć- belongs to the heritage of N *ćUyr∇ || ??σ HS: S *°śaw_L∇_r- > Ar شَوْر šawr- 'honey taken from the hive', شَوْرَة šūrat- 'beehive', ✓ šwr G (ip. -šūr-) 'collect honey from the hive' ¶ BK I 1285, Hv. 381 ◇ The T vw. *-i- is likely to go back to A {DQA} *-ūy- < N *-uH|wE-. The M vw. *-o- is still to be explained ◇ The Ar cognate is qu. for semantic reasons. It may be alternatively (and tentatively) equated with FP {LG} *sâr∇ 'sweet beverage' (> Chr E šor'wa 'sweet beverage made of honey with water [медовая сыва]', Prm *sorvâ > Vt sursvu, Δ survu, Z zarava 'birch-tree sap' [LG 104, Ü 269, Ps. OT 125, MRS 720]), although FP *s- is not cognate with S *ś-. But if the Ar word belongs here, the N rec. must be *śuWER∇.

2114. ? *ś^rEXar∇ 'bright; daybreak' > HS: S *śaħar- 'daybreak, dawn' > BHb 'śaħar (trad.) 'aurora', {KB} 'aurora' or 'daybreak', M'b šħrt, Ug šħr, Ar saħar- 'daybreak', JA [Trg.], JPA šaħ^ar-ā 'dawn, daybreak', SmA šħr 'dawn', Ak šē|īrtu, šērū, Eb si-/ex(EN)-lum (= šexrum) 'morning' ¶ KB 1360-2, A no. 2592, OLS 435, Tal 886-7, Lv. IV 537-8, Js. 1551, Ln. 1317, Hv. 311, Sd. 1218-19, Krb. EG 29 || U *ś|ć^ra^r∇ 'bright (hell), white' (× N *ź^ra^r∇ [- *ź^ra^r∇ - *z|z^ra^r∇] 'to shine, to be bright; light [lux]', q.v. ffd.) || A *si_rār∇ 'white', 'light (hell, светлый)

> Tg ****si₁a₁rū-** 'light, whiteness; light in the sky (rainbow etc.)' > Ewk *sērūn* 'rainbow', Ewk NB *šērūn* id., 'lightning', Ork *sērro*, *sīro* 'rainbow', WrMc {Z}å *шари* '(is) white, clean', n. 'light, rays' ({Z}: *бело, чисто, светло; свет, сияние луча*) ¶ STM II 72, Z 666-7 || T ***si₁ār(ig)** ({Rm., SDM95} ***sār(ig)**, {Md.} ***s₁ārīϕ**) 'yellow, light (hell)' (× N ***šErEK'a'** 'red, yellow?') > NaT ***sārig** > OT *sarīϕ* 'yellow', Tkm *θārī*, Tk *sarī*, Az, Qzq, Qrlq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt *sarī*, VTt *sarъ*, Bsh *harъ*, Xk, Shor *sarīϕ*, Tv, Tf *sarīϕ*, Uz *sariq*, ET *sariq* ~ *sarīϕ* 'yellow', Yk *arayas* 'light yellow' || Blgh ***šar** (< ***s₁ar**) 'white' (in the place name ***šarkel**, attested in medieval Byzantine and Hebrew sources as Σάρκελ שַׂרְכֵיִל 'Sarkel, "white city"' [the ChS name of Sarkel **БѢЛОВѢЖА** *Bělověža* means 'white house\tower']) > Chv L *шурпа šura* ~ *шур šur*, Chv Δ *шора šorъ* 'white'; Blgh ⇨ OHg *sár* 'yellow (?), blond (?)', Hg *sár-* (in cds *sár-aranϕ* 'pure gold', *sār-gyik* 'yellow lizard'), *sárga* 'yellow' (× N ***šErEK'a'** '↑?') ¶ Cl. 848, Rs. W 403-4, TL 601-2, Gomb. BTL 200, Ash. XVII 231-41, Fed. II 462-3, Jeg. 339, ChVS 284, EWU 1305-6, Ra. 226, Md. 114 || M ***sira** 'yellow' (× N ***S'i'R∇** 'red, yellow', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} ***h₁ġ-** 'white' > MKo *h₁ġ-*, NKo *hi-* ¶ S QK no. 100, Nam 482, MLC 1898 || pJ {S} ***sīruà-** 'white' > OJ *sirwo-*, MJ *sirò-*, JT *širó-*, JK *síro-*, JKg *širo-*, JNs *širù-*, JSh *šírú-* id. ¶ S QJ 89, Mr. 840, Kenk. 1706 ¶¶ SDM 1264-5 (pA ***s₁āyri** 'white' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2036, SDM97 s.v. ***sāri** 'white; yellow', S AJ 26, 73, 86, 278, KW 349, Md. OJ 195, Vld. 146, 318, Lee CSMK 117 ¶¶ The T and pA rec. with ***-i₁ā-** is evidenced by Chv *шурпа šurъ* & *šorъ* 'white', Hg *sárga* (< Blgh) (Chv, Blgh **š-** < ***s₁-**) and by Tg ****si₁a₁rū-** ◇ Cf. Jn. 138, Db. OS I viii, SK 973-4 ◇ N ***ś-** of this etymon is not a certain rec., because U ***ś|ć'a'r∇** results from contamination of two N words.

2115. *ś|śayiw∇R∇ 'nit' > U: FU ***ś|śaywar∇** 'nit' > F *sai var*, Δ *sai vara*, Es *saere*, *saeras* id. || pLp {Lr.} ***ćivrīs** 'nit' > Lp: L {LLO} *tjiuros*, N {N} *čiwros*, Kld *čivras* id., S {Hs.} *tjuvres* id., 'a fly' || Prm {LG} ***śzr∇l** 'nit' > Z *серов* *šerov*, Δ *šerol* & *šeral*, Prm *šerzv*, Vt *серел* *šerel*, Vt Y/M/Uf *šerer* id. || Er *šarko*, Mk *šarka* id. || Chr: L *шаргенче* *šar'genče* 'nits', Uf *šarkenče*, B *šarkince*, H {Ep.} *шаргэньбі* *šargeňə* 'nit' ¶ In Mr and Chr the FU √ merged with loans from Turkic lges (F below on T ****sirka** 'nit') ¶ Coll. 149, UEW 770, SK 948-9, Lr. no. 143, Lgc. no. 596, Hs. 1353, MRS 693, Ep. 147, LG 251 || **¶** ***siR'o'** and ***siRk₁'∇** 'nit, louse', 'ε parasitic insect' > ppT ****sirka** > NaT ***sirkä** 'nit' > OT *sirkä*, MU, MQp, Chg, OOsM *sirke*, Tk *sirke*, Ggz, Az *sirkä*, Tkm

birke, Uz sirka, ET si(r)kă, Kr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt sirke, Qzq sirke, VTt серка сьркă, Bsh һерка һьркă, Xk surge, Tv sirge, Tf sîrhe id. || pBlgh *širka id. (with *šī...a < ppT *si...a due to vowel harmony) > Chv шăрка šьргă 'nit'; pBlgh *š- is likely to go back to *ś-, a phonematized palatal allophone of *s- (preceding *i) after the synharmonic generalization of the back vocalism ¶ Cl. 850, Rs. W 423, TL 182, Ash. XVII 335, Fed. II 449, Jeg. 335, ChVS 280, Md. 79, 176 || M *sirke 'ε parasitic insect' > MM [MA] sirke 'nit' (← T?), WrM sirke {MED} 'ε flea', HIM ширх {MED} id., {BMR} 'cattle red louse' (*Trichodectes bovis*, власоед), Brt шэрхэ 'cattle louse', Kl Ö {Rm.} širkə 'ε ein rotes Ungeziefer oder Insekt, das auf dem Vieh lebt, rote Läuse', Ord širkə 'puce' ¶ Pr. MA 232, MED 718, Chr. 750, KW 360, Ms. O 623 || Tg *se|ire 'eggs of insects' > WrMc {Z} сэрэ 'eggs of insects', Ewk sэрэңки & sorоңки 'an insect laying eggs in reindeer's nasal cavity', siri-ktэ 'helminth', Ul sîlma 'louse', Neg sэкки 'worm'; Tg *°s∇r∇- 'lay eggs' (insects) > Ewk sorо- 'lay eggs in reindeer's nasal cavity' (insects) ¶ STM II 113, Z 588-9 || ?φ pKo {S} *hîə 'nit' > MKo hîə id., NKo sək'hä 'nit' ({SDM}: < pKo cd *hîə-kai) ¶ S QK no. 299, MLC 939, Nam 488 || pJ {S} *sîrám(u)í 'louse' > OJ siramᵛᵛi, MJ sîrámí, JT sîrami, JK/Kg sîrámí, JNs šiyān, JSh širan id. ¶ S QJ no. 45, Mr. 525, Kenk. 1702 ¶¶ SDM 1263-4 (pA *sîḷḷuri 'nit, louse' > Tg, T, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1982, S AJ 73, 83, 87, 276, KW 360, TL 182, Wht. 168 || D *čîr-, {GS} *śîr- 'nit' > Tm, Ml, Kn îr, Kt čîr, Td tír, Kdg čîri, Tu tírь & cîrь & sîrь, Tl îru, Klm sîr, Nkr śîr, Nk pl. sîrku, Gnd sîr & hîr & hîr̄, Png, Mnd hîr, Ku hîru, Krx čîr id. ¶¶ D *-r- < **-wr- < N *-w∇R-? ¶¶ D no. 2625, GS 116 [no. 309], 44 [no. 101] || HS: WCh: SBc: Zr {IL} s̄r 'louse', Zr K {Sh.} sîr, Zr GL {Sh.} s̄r, Zr L {Sh.} s̄r, Sy {Csp.} s̄r, Sy B {Sh.} s̄rз - s̄rз (in Sh. SB the badly printed letter e or ε is hard to read), Sy Z {Sh.} s̄ru id., Jm {Csp.} s̄rúdu, Grn {Csp.} s̄rúà 'flea' ¶ ChC s.v. 'louse', Sh. SB 26, Csp. 18, 57 ◇ Rs. UAW 19 (U, A), S AJ 87, 276 [no. 43], IS MS 336 s.v. 'гнида' *^rś̄ ajr ᵛ (A, U, D + unc. [?] K *çil-) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 162 (*čuri 'fly' n.) (A, J, FU + unc. Sm, EA).

2116. *serᵛᵛX∇ 'grove, coppice; ε tree' > HS: S *°š|sarᵛᵛh- > Ar sarh- 'any thornless tree', 'ε tree of Nejd' ¶ Fr. II 306, BK I 1079, Hv. 317 || U: FU (+ext.) *sert∇ 'grove, forest' > Prm *sörd (= {JLG} *sörd) 'ε grove (forest)' > Vt SW s̄rd, Vt сурд surd 'grove', Z sord 'ε forest' or 'ε grove' (in place-names) || Hg erđó 'forest, wood' ¶ LG 261, Lt. 64, ≠ MF 161 (deriving erđó from ered- 'have its source, rise, spring') || A: M *sireŋi

> WrM {MED} *sireri* 'grove, coppice of small trees, densely growing bushes', HIM *ширэнгэ* {MED} id., {BMR} 'grove, coppice of small and low trees, coppice of bushes, jungle', Brt *шэрэнги* 'grove, coppice of small and low trees' ¶ MED 716, BMR IV 364, Chr. 750 || D **čerak-* 'firewood' > Tl *ceraku* in *vanṭa-ceraku* 'firewood for cooking' (*vanṭa* 'cooking'), Gnd Mu *herk* 'a bundle of firewood' ¶¶ D no. 2794 ◇ The vw. after **r* is suggested by D *-*ɾ-* (< N *-*r-* outside cns. clusters). The U and D cognates point to a pN **e*, while M **i* is still to be explained.

2117. **śiyarUy* ▽ 'beam', 'pole' > HS: WS **śarwUy-* (or **śarwUy-*?), ? **śāriy-* > JA [Trg.], JPA 'רַיָּ שָׁרִי שָׁרִי' *šārī'šārī'tā* 'joist, beam, post', JEA *šārī'tā* 'beam', Ar {Ln.} *sāriyat-* 'column (of stone or of baked bricks), mast' (unless a pres. prtc. of the Ar v. ✓ *srū* [in which of its meanings?]), Gz *śarwē* (with a spelling variant *sarwē*) 'beam of wood, log, trunk' ¶ L G 535, Lv. IV 611-12, Js. 1631-2, Sl. 1181, Ln. 1356 ¶ Aram and Ar point to a pS **š-*, while the traditional Gz spelling with *ś-* does not necessarily reflect the OEth phoneme and may have appeared after the merger of **s* and **ś* in living EthS lges || K: G *sar-i* 'stake, vine prop' ¶ Chx. 1160, DCh. 1110 || U: FU (att. in FP) **ś|śarya* 'lath, beam' > F *sarja* 'series, row', *lohipadon sarjat* (pl.) 'lange Holzspleiß' (*lohipato* is 'salmon weir'), Krl A *saryu*, *sardu* 'latticework, sledge laths', Krl {SK} *šarya*, *sarya* 'herd, crowd', Es *sari* (gen. *sarja*) 'series' (← F?), 'cluster (of berries)', {W} 'Traube, Eierstock' | Prm **śori* 'beam, roost for hens' > Vt *śur+* id., Z *śor* 'beam (for drying clothes) within a house', *ćipan śor* 'roost', Z US *śor* 'crossbeam, pole' ('перекладина, горизонтально подвешенный шест'), Yz *śur* 'pole' ¶ UEW 770-1, Sm. 553 (FP **śarja* 'spar'), W EDW 1111, Lt. 62, LG 253 || A **si:|i:Ur* ▽ (or **sī|i:Ur* ▽?) 'pole' ('жердь') > Tg **si,araṅ* 'pole, stake' ('жердь', 'lange, dünne Stange') > Ewk *sēraṅ*, Lm *hārṅ*, Neg *sēyaṅ*, Orc *sāṅi*, Ud *saṅi* id., ? Ul cd *sesaṅi* 'pole for a *balagan* (a store hut)', ? Ork cd *sēsīṅi* 'a pole for building a tent', Ewk *sēr-* v. 'prepare poles as the frame of a tent' ¶ STM II 72 || T: [1] NaT **sīruk* 'pole' > OT *siruq* 'a pole, tent pole', Chg *suruq* 'pole, tent pole; long piece of wood', MQp *siruq* 'pole', Osm XVIII *siriq* 'a long piece of wood', Tk *sirik*, Tkm *θīriq*, Qq, Qzq *siriq*, Bsh Δ *hiriq* 'pole' ('шест, жердь'), Ggz *sirik* id., 'stick', Sg {Rl.} *siraq*, Tlt/QK {Rl.} *siriq* 'Stange', Qzq *siriq* 'long pole in a tent that supports the roof as there is wind', Qrg *širiq* 'thin fir tree'; T → M: WrM {MED} *siruq*, HIM {MED, BMR} *шүрэг* 'pole, long mast, stake', Kl {KRS} *шүүрг* id. ('шест'), Kl

D/Ö {Rm.} šūr_ag 'Stange' ¶ ET L-S 421-2, Cl. 848, TrR 609, Jud. 922, BT 137, Rl. IV 637-41, ARL 280, KRPS 494, GRM 451-3, MED 718, BMR IV 379, KRS 686, KW 370, MM 316, KrkR 607 || M *surgayag 'pole, rod' > WrM {MED} surgagag id., HIM сургаар {MED} id., {BMR} 'pole (жердь)', Brt һургаар id., WrO šuuraq ~ šuuraq 'pole', Kl Ö {Rm.} šūr_γa₉ 'Stange' ¶ MED 739, BMR III 132, Chr. 691, KW 370, Krg. 458 || pKo {S} *h₁ǵ 'a house rafter' > MKo h₁ǵ, NKo (from a cd) səkarä, Δ h₁ǵkarä ¶ S QK no. 277, Nam 488, MLC 933 ¶¶ The pA long vw. *ī in *sīī₁Ur∇ may be explained by contraction of N *-iya- ¶¶ SDM 1276 (pA *s₁ǵ₁uru 'pole, tent made of poles' > T *sīruk ~ *sūruk, Tg, M, Ko), DQA no. 2067.

2118. ?σ₂ *šīRb∇ 'sinew; to sew' > HS: S *°š|srb > Ar ✓ srb v. 'confectionner, coudre, faire (une outre)' ¶ BK I 1076 || A: M *sirbū-sün 'sinew, tendon' > MM [IM, IsV] {Lg.} sirbüsün id., [IM] {Pp.} sirbüsü 'bowstring', [LM] {Pp.} širbüsün, [S] {H} śirbusun 'sinew', [HI] {Ms.} širbüsün 'tendon', WrM sirbüsün {MED} 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament', HIM шербѣс {MED} id., {BMR} 'sinew, tendon, nerve', Brt шырбѣхэ(н) 'sinew, tendon', Dg {Pp.} śirbēs, śirbüs, {Lg.} śirβūs, {T} širbes, širbus id., Ord šörwösü 'nerf, tendon', Kl {KRS} шырпчн šürüsən 'sinew, tendon', {Rm} šürwōsū ~ šir(w)ūsū 'Sehnen, Nerven', Mnr H {SM} šb_uz₃ 'nerf, muscle, fibre, filament, nervure' ¶ WrM sir m₁s₁n and HIM шѣрмѣс(ѣн) 'nerve, sinew, tendon' do not belong here, they go back to N *šêR₁∇₁m¹ 'sinew, root' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ Pp. MA 446, Pp. L III 60, Lg. VMI 64, H 141, Ms. H 97, Lew. II 75, MED 716, 718, BMR IV 373, Chr. 738, KRS 687, KW 371, SM 370, T DgJ 184, Cev. 856, Ms. O 630 ¶¶ SDM95 (A *sürmü 'sinew'), SDM97 (A *sürmu id.: M + unc.φ Tg *sumu 'sinew', pKo *hím id., 'strength', F₁N *šêR₁∇₁m¹).

2119. *S¹ü¹r₁∇₁b∇ or *S¹ü¹b∇r∇ 'to swing, to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swerb^h-/*surb^h- v. 'swing, sweep' > W chw₁erfu n. act. 'whirling, turning round', chw₁erfan 'whirl for a spindle', {YGM} 'pulley, wharve' || Gt inf. af-swaírban (· ἐξάλειψειν) 'wegwischen', inf. bi-swaírban (· ἐκμάσσειν) 'trocknen, abwischen', OSx inf. swervan 'to wipe off', OHG inf. swērbān 'abwischen, abtrocknen, abreiben', MHG inf. swerben 'sich wirbelnd bewegen', ON inf. sv₁erfa, AS inf. sweorfan 'to scrub, to file, to wipe' || Gk συρφετός 'anything dragged\swept together, sweepings' ({F} 'Kehricht, Unrat'), ? [Hs.] σύρφη (· φρύγανα) 'dry sticks, firewood' || BSl: Ltv svārpstis 'a borer, drill, gimlet', inf. svārpstīt 'to bore' | Sl inf. *sv₁rběti 'to itch' > SCr inf.

сврѣбѣти \approx svr̥bjetī, Slv inf. sr̥bĕti, Cz inf. svrběti, Slk inf. svrbiet', P inf. świerbieć, R inf. свер'бетъ, Uk inf. свер'бити 'to itch', Blg сьр'би 'it itches'; \rightarrow Sl *svōrbъ n. act. 'itching' > R Δ 'свороб id., ChS СВРАБЪ svrabъ, OR СВРОРЪ svorobъ, Cz, Slk svrab 'scabies', SCr, Slv svr̥āb 'itch, scabies'; OCS [Supr.] d. СВРАБЪНЪ svrabъnъ adj. (· κνησμώδης) 'qui provoque une demangeaison' ({StSS} 'вызывающий зуд, зудящий'); the semantic prehistory of the Sl √ ('itch' ← v. 'scratch' ← v. 'rub, sweep') may involve contamination with IE *swer- 'weep, rub' (F N *sūr̥ ∇ 'rub, scrape') ¶ P 1050-1, EI 607-8 (*swerb^h- 'turn, move in a twirling motion'), ≈ F II 823-4, YGM-1 156, Fs. 10-11, Vr. 568, Ho. 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1001, OsS 913, Schz. 278, Vs. III 573, 583-4, Glh. 601, SJSS XXXVI 32, StSS 595 || A: M [1] *sirbe- v. 'sweep' > WrM sirbe- {MED} id., HIM ширвэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'бросать в сторону', WrO širbe-, Kl {Rm.} širwa- 'fegen, schmitzen, klatschen (mit einer Rute)', Ord širwe- ~ šörwö- 'balayer', ? Ba {T} šire- 'sweep' (unless from N *sūr̥ ∇ 'rub, scrape' [q.v.]); [2] *sirba- > WrM {MED} sirba-, HIM {MED, BMR} шарва-, Brt шарба- 'wag the tail', WrO širbe- v. 'wave', Kl {Rm.} šarwa- 'wedeln, mit dem Schwanz schlagen', Ord širwa- 'agiter la queue, quoailer'; Kl {KRS} шарвад- šarw-ad- 'wag the tail', шарвлз- šarwъ-lz- id., {Rm.} šarwäda- 'wedeln (mit dem Schwanz); schwenken, schwingen (die Arme)', šarwǝza- 'mit dem Schwanz wedelnd dastehen' (Hunde) ¶ MED 715, BMR IV 343, 361, Chr, 722, Krg. 451, KW 351, 361, KRS 665, Ms. O 623-4, 630, Ms. O 623-4, 630, T BJ 152 || ? T: Slr {Tn.} sür- \approx sūr- 'sweep' (unless from T *sūr- 'rub, scratch' < N *sūr̥ ∇ 'rub, scrape, smear' [q.v.]) ¶ Tn. SJ 490, TL 382 || D *√cib|piz- 'fan' > Tm civiri, Kui žiperi 'a fan', Kn sīguri, sīgudī 'chowrie', Tl sīvirī 'chowrie' ¶¶ D no. 2580 ◇ One of the variants of the N word may have resulted from mt. (*S'ü' b ∇ r ∇ ← *S'ü' r ∇ b ∇ or vice versa).

2120. *ś ∇ Rixka 'cold' > HS: C: HEC *sirga 'cold' > Brj {Ss.} sirgā 'cold' (of weather), sirgā-ga 'cold' (of food), sig'gir-in. 'cold' (of weather), sirgē-d- v. 'cool, become cold', {Hd.}: Hd, Kmb sigg- id., Hd sigga(:)lla, Kmb sigga 'cold' (of food) ¶ Hd. 43, 220, 298, 338, Ss. B 166 (hyp.: HEC *sirg- < *sigr-) || K mt. *oskarx- > Sv UB/Ln {TK} skarx-al 'hail' ¶ TK 708, Ni. s.v. 'градъ', GP 259 || IE: NaIE *srēig-/ *srīg-, *srīg-os(-) 'cold, frost' (× N *ž|ž'ī' R₁H₂ ∇ → *ž|ž'ī' R₁H₂ ∇ 'be very cold??') > Gk ἄψυος 'frost, cold' || Lt Δ {Nsl.} inf. strėkti (1s pres. strėgiu) 'to freeze'

(upé apstrégé 'the river has frozen') || Sl ≈ *srežb > Slv sréž 'crusted snow, white frost', P srez, Δ srzež, Cz stříž 'first ice on water', Slk stříž ~ sriež 'ice crust, hoarfrost' ¶ F II 654-5, Brü. 534, Ma. CS 482-3, Kmc 816 || U: FU *°ś∇r∇... > Hg Δ szirony, szilony 'the surface of snow that has been frozen after melting weather', (here??) szirony, szirogy, sziroty 'breiiger Schnee, Graupelregen' ¶¶ ≈ UEW 464-5 (equating Hg szirony 'surface of snow' with Z ćarэм 'ice crust on the snow' and Sm *sira 'snow' and reconstructing pU *śar∇ 'snow, ice crust on the snow' [see N ?σ *c∇R_L∇_J∇ - *c∇YR∇ 'freeze, feel cold', N *ž|ž'i'R_LH₂J∇ - *ž|ž'i'_LH₂R∇ '↑']), MF 580 ◇ The identity of the N velar cns. (*k, *g or *k?) is not clear. It may have been *k, while HES *g and IE *g may have been due to the infl. of the adjacent N cns. *χ. The velar stop of N *ś∇Rixka was lost in the prehistory of Hg.

2121. *śURt∇ 'dirt, dirty' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'dirty, black' (× N *čûRt∇ 'soot' [q.v.]) > L d. sordē- v. 'be dirty\unwashed', sordidus 'dirty', sordēs 'dirt' || Gt swarts, ON svartr, AS sweartr, OSx swart, Dt zwart, OHG swarz, NHG schwarz, Dn sort 'black', ON sorta 'black color' || NPrs خوال χvāl [χōl] 'lampblack' ¶ WP II 535, P 1052, WH II 562-3, Fs. 464, Vr. 531, 565, Ho. 334, Ho. S 72, Kb. 996, OsS 904, KM 690, Bai. IE*s ∇, ≈ EI 147 (*swerd- < *swer- 'darken by making red or black') || HS: Eg fRNK sɜt 'dirt' (and Eg MK [Fk.] sɜt 'earth?') -d> Eg fBD sɜt 'besudeln, lästern' ¶ EG IV 27, Fk. 211, Hng 663 || K *°ś|swar-/ *°ś|swr- > MG [Vsr.] swar-, G svar-/svr- v. 'stain, make dirty' ¶ Chx. 1242, DCh. 1201 || ?σ A: Tg: AmTg *sorto|an 'yellow' > Orc sogžo, Ul sōgjo(n-), Ork sōgdo(n-) 'yellow', Nn Nh {On., STM} sōgžō id. (Nn -gJ-, Orc -gž-, Ork -gd- < pTg *-rt-, F ADb. SR-D 119); ?φ Tg. *sōr- 'become yellow' > Nn Nh sōron-, WrMc {Z} copo- id. ¶ STM II 103-4, 109, On. 371, Z 629 || ?φ D *č|kott- 'mud, mire' (× N *čot∇ 'mud', q.v. ffd.) ◇ The loss of *t in K *ś|swar-/ *ś|swr- and in Tg *sōr- may be due to metanalysis.

2122. *Sař'i' 'to drip' > IE: NaIE *sresk- v. 'drip' (*-esk- goes back to a sx) > Av srask- / srasča- v. 'drip, trickle down', Av sraska- 'tears, weeping', NPrs سرشك serešk 'a tear, a drop, droppings of the eaves', MPrs srixtr 'dropped' || Arm upulyt_L srsk-el v. 'sprinkle' ¶ WP II 602-3, 705, P 1002, Brtl. 1644-5, Sg. 675 || A: [1] pA *°sa_Li' > M *sari- v. 'drip, urinate' > WrM sari- {MED} v. 'drip, leak; urinate in an irregular manner', HIM {MED} сари- id., {Gl.} sari- 'urinate', {Luv., BMR} сари-

'urinate' (of a dog), Brt һари – 'urinate with a leg raised' (of a dog), Ord sari- 'pisser en levant la patte' (chien) ¶ MED 675, BMR III 95, Gl. III 187, Luv. 351, Chr. 677, Ms. O 563 ¶ [2] (+ext.) pA *saRk∇- > T *sark- v. 'drip, ooze' > OT Kr, MT sarq-, Tkm θar(i)q-, Uz sarq(i)-, Kr sarq- ~ sarχ-, VTt sarqi-, Bsh harqi-, Qzq sariq- ~ sarqi-, Qq, Qrg, Tv sariq-, Nod, Qmq sarq-, Xk sariχ- id., Chv L сǎрǎх- 'flow out, percolate (просачиваться)', Chv L сǎрǎх-, Chv Δ сǎрǎк- id. ¶ Cl. 847-8, ET L-S 203-5, Rs. W 404, Ash. XI 275-6, Fed. II 31, Jeg. 183, ChVS 663, Nj. 495 || M *sark- v. 'sprinkle, drip' > WrM {Rm.} sarkira- 'rieseln (журчатъ)', Kl {Rm.} ψο sarkr̥o- ~ sark]o- 'rieseln, rinnen' (vom Wasser), HIM {BMR} шархира- 'rieseln'; M: WrM {MED} ψο sorziḡina- 'make a rustling sound (as of patting rain', HIM {BMR} шоржигно- v. 'purl' (water); M: WrM {MED} ψο šorciḡina- 'make the sound of running or pouring water', HIM шорчигно- {MED} id., {BMR} 'make noise, purl' (water); Kl {Rm.} šorkr̥o- ~ šork]o- 'brausen, rauschen, strömen' (vom Regen, vom Bache) ¶ KW 313, 365, MED 730, 756, BME IV 344, 370-1 || Tg *sargi- > Ewk sargi- 'splatter, журчатъ' (brook), Nn Nh {STM} sargi- 'make noise' (rain) (not registered by On.) ¶ STM II 65 ¶¶ SDM 1214 (pA *sark- 'drip, splatter' > Tg, M, T) || D (att. in GnD) *čar̥- v. 'drip, fall (out/off)' > Gnd B saṛānā v. 'drip' (of water from wet clothes), v. 'dribble' (of saliva), Gnd Mu haṛ- 'fall in drops', Png, Mnd haṛ- 'fall off' (of leaves), Png haṛ 'fall out' (of hair) ¶ D no. 2404 ◇ Depalatalization *r̥ > T *r before a cns. (Hl.'s rule).

2123. ₂ *Suṛi ≈ 'squeeze out, filter, strain' > A *sûri- (= *suṛi-?) > T: [1] pT *süṛ- v. 'filter or strain (liquid)' > OT {Cl.} sūz- id., Chg XV sūz- 'purify, clarify', MQp [CC] sūz- 'strain, purify', Tk sūz-, Az, ET, Qzq, Qq, Nog, QrB, Qmq, Qrg sūz-, Tkm cyz- θüδ-, Uz suz-, VTt cəz- sḅz-, Bsh həz- hḅδ-, Chv cǎp- sbr- 'durchsiehen, filtrieren' ¶ Cl. 861, Rs. W 438-9, Ash. XI 311-12, Fed. II 44-5, Jeg. 188-9, ChvS 166, Md. 64 | [2] ?σ T (att. in NaT) *siṛ- vi. 'melt, ooze' > OT sīz- id., XwT XIV, MQp XIV (incl. CC) sīz- 'melt', Chg ≥XV sīz- 'drip, ooze', OT U {Tz.} sīz- 'sickern', Tk sīz- 'ooze, leak, percolate', Tkm cbyz- θiδ-, Az, Qrg sīz-, StAlt {BT} sis-, Uz sīz- 'ooze, leak', Qzq, Nog sīz- 'elude, evade, run away' ¶ Cl. 861, Tz. UIS 98, Rs. W 42, ARL 279, BT 137 || Tg: [1] Tg *siri- v. 'squeeze out (liquid), milk' > Ewk ṽsir- ḍ ṽširi-, Ud sī-, Ul, Nn siri- v. 'squeeze, squeeze out, milk', Lm hiṛ- v. 'milk', 'squeeze out (matter from a wound)', Neg siy- v. 'milk', Orc sī- v. 'milk', 'squeeze out (milk from the breast)', WrMc {Z} cipi- 'squeeze, squeeze out, milk, squeeze out matter from a

wound' ¶ STM II 93, Krm. 283, On. 367, Z 618 | [2] ?σ Tg *sora- (× N *šariX∇ 'to stream, to flow'?) > Neg соу-, Nn Nh {On.}, Nn Nh/KU {STM} soro- 'be soaked, become wet (промокнуть, намокнуть)', WrMc {Z} сура- 'промыть \ вымыть (крупы, мясо и пр.)' ¶ STM II 104, 129, On. 376, Z 648 || M: [1] M *sir- ~ *sur- > [1] WrM {MED} sirī- v. 'smelt ore, melt', HIM ширэ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'härten (Metall)', Brt 'härten (Metall), проварить (металл)', Kl {Rm.} širē- 'gießen, zusammenschweißen (Metalle)'; | [2] WrM sirbigine- {MED} 'drizzle, rustle' (rain), HIM {MED} ширвэгэнэ- id., {BMR} ширвэгнэ- 'drizzle, стучать' (rain, Regen), Ord širwegene- ~ širbegene- 'faire un petit bruit, bruire' (pluie en tombant), Brt шэрбэ- 'drizzle' (rain), Mnr surgu- 'enduire', Dg surē- 'pour (water)' | [3] M *sürċi- v. 'sprinkle' > WrM сүрси- {MED} v. 'sprinkle; strew, spread by scattering', HIM сүрчи- {MED} id., {BMR} v. besprengen, bespritzen, опрыскивать, обрызгивать, окроплять), шүрши- 'besprengen, bespritzen, опрыскивать, брызгать', сүрши- v. 'besprinkle, sprinkle (besprengen, bespritzen, опрыскивать, обрызгивать)', Kl Ö {Rm.} sürč- 'besprengen' ¶ MED 716-17, 744, BMR III 144-5, IV 361, 364, 385, Luv. 370, 662, Chr. 749, 751, KW 341, 360-1, SM 367, Mr. D 213, Ms. O 622, 624 ¶¶ Tg *siri- and T *sir- may be explained by mutual as. of the vowels of both syllables: *Suří > **suří- > pre-Tg *siri- (> Tg *siri-) and T *sir-; alternatively, Tg *i of the first syll. may belong together with other cases of Tg *i < N *u (see Introduction, § 2.4) ¶¶ SDM 1298-9 (pA *sǰǰúri 'flow, drip' > M *sür-, T *sür-, Tg *sir- v. 'strain, press out' + unc. Tg *sir n. 'spring, well'), DQA no. 2021 (id.); SDM 1342 (pA *šǰǰúru v. 'leek, ooze' > M *sir-, T *sir- + unc. Tg *ç|šurgī- v. 'flow, drip' [unc. pA *š- based on Tg *ç|š-]) || IE: Ht sesariya- 'sehen, filtrieren' (× N *Sač'u' - *s'ä'č'u' 'scatter, spread about, pour', [in the prehistory of descendant lges] → 'to winnow, to sift') ¶ Frd. HW 191, Ts. W 75 ◇ The tentative rec. of N *Suří is preferable to reconstructing N *Süri, because the latter fails to explain T *sir- and Tg *siri-.

2124. *Sûr∇ (= *SurE?) 'speak, declare' > IE *swer- 'speak (solemnly)' > L sermō (gen. sermōn-is) 'talk, conversation, discourse', adserō ~ asserō 'declare', e.g. in libertatem adserere 'to declare (a slave) free' (lit. 'declare [him] into freedom'), Osc sverrunēí dat. 'spokesman' ||| Gmc *swe²r- > Gt inf. swaran (· ὀμόσαι) 'schwören', ON inf. sverja, OHG inf. swerien, swerren, NHG inf.

schwören, OSx, AS inf. *swerian* 'to swear', NE *swear*; ON *sóri* pl., MHG *swuor*, NHG *Schwur* 'oath'; ON inf. *svara* 'to answer', *svar*, OSx ant-*swōr*, AS and-*swaru* n. 'answer', NE *answer* || ? pTc **śarp-* (= {Ad.} **śarp-*) > Tc A/B *śarp-* 'explain to, inform, teach' || Ld *śfarwa* {EI} '≈ oath', {Gsm.} 'Gelübde' ¶¶ P 1049, WH II 521-2, Bc. G 325, Vr. 565, 568, Fs. 463-4, Kb. 1001-2f, KM 695 (Gmc **swe²r-* 'swear' ← ellipsis of 'pronounce an oath', preserved in ON *sverja eiðum*), Ad. 655-6, KT 39 (on Tc *ś* = [ś]), ≈ EI 535 (**(s)wer-* 'say, speak'), Gsm. LWE I 95-6, Hirt UG I 33 (on Gmc **e²*) || ¶ A: T **sör* 'anything spoken, word' > NaT **söz* > OT *söz* id. ({Cl.} *sō:z* with unj. indication of length of the vw.), XwT XIII, MQp XIV, OOsM ≥XIV, Chg ≥XV *söz* 'word, speech', Tk *söz*, Tkm *θöð*, Az, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg *söz*, VTt *süz*, Bsh *hüð*, Uz *cүз swz*, StAlt, Xk, Tv *sös*, Yk *ös* 'word' ¶ Cl. 860, DTS 511, Rs. W 430 || ¶ HS: WCh: pBl {Stl.} **s∇r-* > Bl {Lk.} *sor-* 'speak', ? Pr {Frz.} *čěřò* id., Tng {J} *sēre* id., 'deliver a speech' || AG **s∇y∇r* {Hf.} 'swear' > Kfr {Hf.} *seger* 'swear', Gmy {Hf.} *sūr* id., {Srl.} *šūr puoe* = *šūr p^w3* id., 'take an oath', Ang {J} *sēr*, {Hf.} *sīr* 'swear', {Flk.} *sīr* 'an oath; repentance, regret', Mpn {Frz.} *sēr* v. 'confess guilt', n. 'confession' ¶ Stl. ZCh 245 [no. 28], J T 142, Hf. AG no. 91, Flk. s.v. *sīr*, Srl. s.v. *šūr puoe*, Frz. DM 54, Frz. P s.v. *čěřò* || Eg fP *sr* 'fortell; make known' ¶ EG IV 189-90, Fk. 235 ¶ I am thankful to Tk. (p.c., 2002) for drawing my attention to the Eg cognate and for providing data on Gmy {Srl.} and Ang {J} ◇ Rec. of N **SuřE* is preferable to that of **Sūr∇*, because the latter does not explain T **ö* (**Sūr∇* would have yielded T **sūr*).

2125. **śiha¹u*, ₂ **śiha²u* p∇ 'dirt, earth': I. N **śiha¹u* > HS: S **ōś|s∇h∇r-* > Ar d. *سَاهِرَة* *sāhir-at-* {BK} 'terre, surface de la terre; désert', {Hv.} 'surface of the earth; untrodden desert' ¶ BK I 1156, Ln. 1452, Hv. 341 || Eg G *sr* '≈ dirt' ¶ EG IV 191 || ¶ U: FU **ś|śar∇* 'excrements, dirt', **ś|śar∇-* v. 'defecate' > pChr {Ber.} **šur* 'excrements, dung' > Chr L/B/M/Uf *šur*, Chr H *š̄r* id. (with an irreg. vw. that defies explanation); Chr H *šara-*, Chr Uf/B *šora-*, Chr L/E *šora-* & *šara-* v. 'defecate' || pMr {Ker.} **śarə-* > **śāra-* 'defecate' > Er *šeřńe-*, Δ *śārńi-*, Mk *śārńa-*, *šeřńa-*, *śaranda-*, *śārāńđa-* id. (× FU **ćar∇* 'dung' < N **ć'ā'ř∇* 'dirt, dung, rubbish', q.v.) || Hg *szar* 'dirt, excrements', *szar-* 'defecate' || Os: Nz *śor* 'dung (of reindeers, elks)', Kz *śor* 'excrements, round pieces of dung' (× N **ć'ā'ř∇* '↑') ¶ UEW 465-6, Coll. 117, Ker. II 138, Ber. 70, Ü 268, 275, MF 568-9, LG 250, 271 || ¶ A **si₁ar₁u* 'earth, land, marsh' > T **si₁ar₁* ({Md.} **sja₁ar₁*, {IS}

*s₁ā́r' 'clay, marsh, dirt' ({ǵAD}: < **sEár) (× pA *si₁óri 'flow, be soaked' < N *šariX∇ 'to stream, to flow') > Blgh *šār (↳ OHg sár 'muddy river, swamp, mire', Hg sár 'mud, mire, dirt' [EWU 1305, Gomb. BTL 112], Chr L/H šor 'scale [in a cauldron], dirt' [MRS 719, Ep. 153]), Chv L шур šur 'swamp, marsh, quagmire', Chv Δ шор, шурă, шорă id. || NaT *saz 'clay, marsh, dirt' > ET saz, StAlt, Xk sas 'swamp, quagmire', Chg saz, Qrg, Nog, Qmn/Tb/QK {B}, VTt saz, Bsh haδ 'swamp', Qmq saz id., 'clay', QrB saz topraq 'clay, clayey soil' (topraq 'earth'), QrB d. sazliq 'clayey, argillaceous', Qq, Qzq saz 'clay (in saline soil), marshy swamp', Kr saz 'dirt, silt', Yk as 'pus, matter' ¶ Yk points to a pNaT short *a; the long vw. in Blgh (suggested by the Hg long á) goes back to pT *-i₁a-) ¶ Rs. W 406, TL 93, 376, Md. 114, 177, Ash. XVII 228-30, Fed. II 462, Jeg. 339, ChVS 284, Bii. PDG 43, Nj. 496, KumRS 274, RKB 118, Sht. 154, Pek. 164, BT 126, BN 132 || M *siru-ψay (~ *siraψu?) 'earth, soil' > MM [S] {H} síro₁ay, [HI] šira₁u, [MA] šira₁u ~ širū 'earth', [IM] širū 'sand', WrM sirugai, siruga, sirui {MED} 'earth, ground, soil', HIM {MED} шорой, шороо id., {BMR} шорой, шороо(н) id., 'dust, litter', Brт шорой 'dust, soil', ShY {S ← ?} šzrū 'earth', WrO {Krg.} široi 'earth', Kl {Rm.} šorā ~ šorā 'Erde, Boden, Sand', {KRS} шора 'dust, sand', † 'earth', Ba širo 'dust', Mnr H {SM} širū 'terre, poussière', {T} širū 'earth', Ord šorō 'terre, poussière, mineral'; M ↳ Ewk siruxī ɖ širuxī ɖ sirgī ɖ sargī 'sand, pebbles', Sln {Iv.} сергі́ 'sand' (a merger with the Tg cognate?) ¶ Pp. MA 336, 447, Ms. H 97, H 142, MED 718-19, BMR IV 371-2, Krg. 451, Chr. 730, KW 365, KRS 680, MYC 722, SM 400, T 383, T BJ 152, ≈ S AJ 234 [no. 25] || Tg *siru-n, *siru-kta 'sand' > Neg siyun, Orc siya, siru, Nn Nh siyã, Nn KU sirō ~ sirũ, Nn Bk siru(n-) 'sand', Ul siya(n-), {PSchm.} siru id., 'pebbles', Ewk PT {Cs.} šeruk id., Sln širuktā 'sand' ¶ STM II 96, On. 370 || pKo {S} *hàrk 'earth' > MKo hàrk, StKo hilk hik, Ko SI/CI/PhN/Kw χik, Ko Ph hik, Ko Chj χφik ¶ S AJ 252 [no. 24], S QK no. 24, Nam 480, MLC 1894 || pJ {AD} *situ 'place' and {SDM} 'damp place' > MJ situ 'damp place, dampness', J T {Kenk.} sícu 'room, chamber' ¶ SDM 1269, Kenk. 1720 ¶¶ The vw. *-i- in Tg, M and pJ suggests that the pA rec. *si₁áru is more plausible than *sjáru ¶¶ SDM 1269-70 (pA *sjári 'earth, sand, marsh' > M *siro-, Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2034, ≈ S AJ 291 [no. 403], Pp. VG 30, 60, 114, Rs. W (T, M, Tg), KW 365, ADb. SR 11, Rm. EAS I 155, Md. OJ 195, Rm, AKE 8, Mill. APA I 205, TL 93 || || II. N *síha₁ru p∇ (a N cd with the second element *p∇) survives in IE and D: IE: NaIE *sroup-

/*srup- {P} 'schorfiges Schmutz am Körper' > Gk ῥύπος (pl. ῥύπα) 'dirt, filth' ||| Sl *strupъ (< *sroupos) 'scab on a wound' > R, Blg cтpуп, Czstrup id., OR cтpупъstrupъ 'wound, scab on a wound', OCS cтpоупъstrupъ 'wound' (·ραῦμα, vulnus) ({StSS} 'рана, язва', 'wound, sore'), Pstrup 'scab, scurf', SCrstrūp 'tetter, mange', Slvstrūp 'poison' ¶ WP II 703, P 1004, F II 665-6, Vs. III 784-5, StSS 630, SJSS XXXVIII 185, Srz. III 560, Ma. CS 478 ||| D *čarъp- 'cowdung' > Prjcarpi ({BB}: probably = čarpi), Gdb sarpi ≙ sadpi, Gnd sarapi ≙ saṛapi ≙ saṛap ≙ haṛap, Knd, Png, Mnd, Ku ṛāpi id. ¶¶ D no. 2402 (b), BB PrL s.v. carpi ◇ The original bisyllabic Inlaut (*-iha-) is suggested by pT *si,ar' (> Chv L шур šur, where š- is from *sṷ-), as well as by Ar sāhir-at- (with vowels belonging to the derivational pattern).

2126. *sírka ~ *sír'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish' > IE: NaIE *sergh- v. 'languish, be ill' > Clt *°sergo- ({Matas.} *swergo-) 'illness' > OIr serg {Vn.} 'consumption, maladie, diminution', NIr searg f. 'decay, decline', seargaim, seirgim v. 'pine, languish' ||| Lt inf. sir̃gti / 1s pres. sergù, Ltv inf. sirgt / 1s pres. sirgstu ~ sērgu 'be ill', sērga 'illness, epidemy' ||| Tc A sark, Tc B sark {Wn.} 'illness, pain', {EI} 'illness' ||| ?? MHG sērwen, sērben 'innerlich abnehmen, entkräftet werden, dahin-welken', sērwe, sērbe f. 'Abnahme, Entkräftigung' | Gmc (× IE *swerk-, {EI} *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned about' < N *cûR'k'a 'watch, [?] watch over'): ON sorg, OHG s(ω)orga n. 'sorrow, care', OHG inf. sworgēn 'to be anxious, to care', AS sorz 'sorrow, pain' (> NE sorrow), ON inf. syrgja 'to be concerned about', AS inf. sorzian 'to grieve, to be anxious about', Gt saúrga (·μέριμνα, λύπη) 'Sorge, Kummer', inf. saúrgan (·μεριμνάω, λυπηθῆναι) 'sorgen, bekümmert sein' ¶ WP II 529, P 1091, ≈ EI 516 (*swergh- [with unj. *w] 'be ill'), EI 636 (Gmc < *swerHK- 'watch over, be concerned of'), M K II 495 (NaIE *seragh-/ *sṷaggh- if the *w-element in Gmc [OHG sworgēn] is secondary), Fs. 413, Mn. 1131, Kb. 1007, Vn. S 92, Maas. E 363, Lx. 192, Frn. 787, Wn. I 422 ||| HS: S *°√š|srk > Ar √srk (pf. sarika) v. G 'pine away', 'être affaibli, tomber dans la langueur' (~ √srq G [p. sarīqa] 's'affaiblir', 'devenir lâche et languissant' [les articulations, les nerfs]) ¶ BK I 1083-4, Hv. 318 ||| A *sirkâ ~ *sírâ (or *sirk∇ ~ *sír∇) 'pain' > T *sír 'ache, pain' > NaT *siz > OT siz-la- v. 'ache, have a sharp pain', StAlt {BT} sis 'aches in bones (ломота, боль в костях)', Tlt {Rl.} sis 'sharp pain', Tk sizı 'ache, paon', Tkm сид-сид θid-θid (ideophone

of pain) (dis. pNaT *s...z > *s...d [> Tkm θ...d]) ¶ Cl. 863, Rs. W 420, Rl. IV 660-7, BT 775, Tkr 603 || M *sirqa- v. 'injure, cause pain' (× N ***žarü**∇ ~ ***žā**'X'ür∇ 'to cut, to wound'??) > MM [S] śirχa- 'verletzen, schädigen', HIM {BMR} шарха- 'мучиться', (d.) шархаа- 'мучить'; → **[1]** WrM śirqad- {MED} 'be wounded or injured', HIM шархта- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be wounded', Brt шархата- 'be wounded'; **[2]** M *sirqan 'wound, sore' > WrM śirqa(n) {MED} 'wound, sore; injury', HIM шарх {MED} id., {BMR} 'wound, abrasion, ulcer (язва)', Brt шарха 'wound, ulcer', Kl {KRS} шарх 'wound, ulcer, болячка', {Rm.} šarχa 'Wunde', Ord šarχa 'blessure, plaie, ulcère'; **[3]** M *sirkire- (> *šarkire-?) > WrM śirkire- ~ sarkire- {MED} v. 'bite, sting' (as pain or sensation produced by eating hot pepper etc.), 'feel pain as from rheumatism', HIM шархира- {MED} id., {BMR} 'ache (ныть, болеть), Gliederschmerzen fühlen (чувствовать ломоту), feel pain in bones', Brt шархира- 'ныть, ломить', Kl {Rm.} šarkr̥o- ~ šark̥o- 'reißen (in den Gliedern), schmerzen (die Knochen), wehtun; Rheumatismus haben', {KRS} шаркл- šark̥l- 'feel pain from rheumatism, feel pain in bones\joints', Ord šark̥χira- v. 'éprouver une douleur lancinante', Mnr H {SM} sg̥irīē- 'causer une douleur lancinante; avoir un goût piquant et aigre' ¶ H 142, MED 718-19, 753, BMR IV 344, Luv. 647, Cev. 840, Chr. 723, KRS 667, KW 350, H 142, SM no. 348, Ms. O 610 || Tg *sir 'sharp pain (in one's joint)' > Ul sir ηзз- id., Nn Nh {STM} sir ззз- id., {On} sir ззззні 'словно током ударило' (on the bad feeling if one's elbow stumbles on a hard object) ¶ STM II 95, On 367 || pKo *s̥irím 'worry, trouble' > MKo s̥irím, NKon sirim id. ¶ Yu 495, MLC 1036 ¶¶ The loss of N *-k- or *-g- in T, Tg and Ko (or already in pA *s̥irâ?) needs explanation ¶¶ SDM 1260-1 (pA *s̥ir̥u|o 'pain' > Tg *sir, T *s̥ir̥, M *sir-, pKo *s̥irím), ET L-S 293-4, KW 349 ¶¶ In the precon. position the ancient cns. *r̥ loses its palatality (becoming pA *r).


2127. ₂*ś|śuś|ś∇ 'worm, snake' > HS: NrOm {Blz.} *š̥uš̥- 'snake' (× N *s̥'ü'Nç̥∇∇ 'worm, snake, lizard') > Wl {LmS} š̥ōš̥ša, Zl/Gf/Bdt {LmS} š̥ōš̥ša, Dwr {LmS} š̥ōš̥ša, Malo/Bsk {LmS} š̥ōš̥, Gm {Hw.} š̥ōš̥ši, Dc {LmS} š̥ōš̥ši, Zs {LmS} š̥ōš̥i, Cha {LmS} š̥ōš̥a ≙ š̥ōš̥a 'snake', Kcm š̥ōš̥še 'python', Gmr {Bnd.} š̥ōš̥ (?), Mj {Bnd.} š̥o(:)š̥, BMa/DMa {Bnd.} š̥ōš̥ 'snake' ¶ Blz. OL s.v. 'snake', Bnd. PO 149, LmS W 51, Hw. EG s.v. 'snake' || B: Ah a-sis 'ver de bois' ¶ Fc. 1867 || **U:** FU *ś|śuś|ś∇ 'intestinal worm' > FU: Mk {PI, Ps.} сюзял śu'žal, Er {ERV} сезял šežal, {Ps.} šežal ≙ śižal id. || Os D/Km/Kr susta id., 'tapeworm' ¶ UEW 492, Coll. 116, Ps. sL 66, Stn. D 1381.

2128. *sa'w'ûš̂∇ 'get dry, harden' > IE: NaIE *saṷs-/*sus- 'dry, arid' > OI 'śuṣṷati 'becomes dry\arid', 'śuṣṷkaḥ 'dry, arid, dried up', Av haosš- 'dry up, wither (vertrocknen, verdorren)', huška- adj. 'dry, dried up', OPrs uška- 'Festland', KhS huṣka-, CINPrs inf. خوشیدان ḫōšīdan, NPrs inf. ḫūšīdān 'to grow dry', {VI.} 'exsiccare, exsiccare', NPrs خشك ḫošk 'dry, withered', Oss D inf. исусун isusun, Oss I inf. сысын s3s3n 'to evaporate, to dry out' (< *wi-š̂uš̂-) ||| Gk Hm αῦος, Gk A αῦος 'dry' ||| pAl {O} *saṷsna (d. from IE *saṷs-) > Al thaj vt. 'make dry, dry up' ||| L sūduṣ (< *suz-do-) 'dry', 'bright, cloudless' (of weather) ||| AS séar, MLG sōr, NNR søyr 'dry' ||| Lt saũsas, Ltv sauss 'dry', Lt inf. saũsti 'to get dry', inf. saũsinti vt. 'to dry', sũskis 'Aussatz, Krätze', Ltv suškis 'scabby person, filthy creature' (← 'dry', ÷ OI 'śuṣṷkaḥ), Pru sausai 'dry' ||| Sl *sūxъ adj. (dadj. *suxъ-jb) 'dry' > OCS соухъ suxъ, Blg cyx, SCr, Slv sūh, Cz/Slk (aadj.) suchý, P (aadj.) suchy id., R pradj. cyx 'is dry', aadj. cy'xой 'dry', Uk aadj. cy'хий id.; Sl inf.*suš-i-ti vt. (caus.) 'to dry' > OCS inf. соушити sušiti, SCr inf. sūšiti, Slv inf. sušiti, Cz inf. sušiti, Slk inf. sušit', P inf. suszyc, R inf. cy'шить id., Blg 'cyша vt. 'I dry'; Sl inf. *ŝx-nq-ti 'to get dry' > OCS inf. с̂xn̂ти ŝxn̂ti, Blg 'ĉxна, SCr inf. ŝhnuti (se), Slv inf. usahniti uszhniti, Cz inf. schnouti, Slk inf. schnút', P inf. schnąć, R inf. 'сохнутъ, Uk inf. 'сохнути id. ¶ P 880-1, M K III 361-3, VI. I 696, 757, Sg. 462, 487, BM 193, 203, Ab. III 211-12, F I 188-9, WH II 624, Ho. 287, AlbED 886-8, O 471, Frn. 766, Glh. 593, StSS 634-5, 674, Vs. III 730, 813, Chn. II 22, ≈ EI 170 (*h₂sus- ~ *h₂soṷs-os 'dry') ||| HS: ? Eg fMd šw (< *✓ŝw?) 'dry, dried', DEg šw 'get dry', adj. 'dry' (Vc.: ✓š̂w) > Cpt: Sd цооуе šoue, B цwoуi šōui 'get dry'; Eg N šw.т 'dry place' ¶ EG IV 429, Fk. 263, Er. 494, Vc. 225, 274 || ? Ch (*Ŝw < **Ŝw?): CCh: Mrg {Hf.} šù v. 'dry up' (water), Ms {ChL} soya, BnnM {ChL} so?amo vt. 'dry' ||| ECh: ħ Kwn M {OS ← J?} s3we v. 'dry up' ¶ Hf. M 35, ChL ¶¶ Tk. I 102 (Eg, Ch [Mrg, Kwn M], qu. S *✓ŝw 'roast'), OS no. 2224, OS CChELR 200, J KKS ||| K: GZ *š̂uš- v. 'dry, roast' > G {DCh.} š̂uš-vt. 'dry, roast, fry', {Chx.} (mo-)š̂uš- 'ausbacken, durchbacken', 'verbrennen, versengen (z.B. Dürre das Land)', Lz {FS} š̂ušker-i 'roasted, fried' ¶ GZ *š̂- > Lz š̂-; G š̂- (for the expected s-) is due to as. (*š̂uš- > š̂uš-) ¶ ≈ K² 183 (*š̂uš- ← Ir *śus-, cf. OI śuṣ- 'dry' [sc. 'śuṣṷkaḥ 'dry']), DCh. 1530, Chx. 1855, FS K 385, FS E 433 ||| U: FU *s|š̂aš̂∇- > Ugr *θaš̂∇-

'get dry\hard' > ObU *θōš- / *θāš-ā- > pVg {Ht.} *tāš-/*tāš-ā- vt. 'dry' > Vg: T tāš-/taš-/tašā-, LK tōš, MK/UK/UL tōs-, P/NV/SV/LL/ML tōš-/toš-, Ss tōs- id.; pOs {Ht.} *sāsa-/*sōs- 'get dry' > Os: Ty sāš-, sāsa-/sōs-, Y sāš-/sōs-, D/K sōs-, O sāš- id., Os d.: V/Vy {Trs., Ht.} sōsəm, Ty/Y {Trs.} sāsəm 'hard, dried up' | Hg aɛz- 'go dry, parch, wither' || Sm (⇔ UEW): Ne cуca- 'be drained', 'run out' (of reserves) (adduced in Lh. SA 157) may well belong here (N *sa¹w¹ûš¹∇ > *su₁ŝ¹∇ > *su₁s¹∇ > Ne susa-) ¶¶ UEW 844, Ht. no. 166, Trs. S 434, MF 98 || ?σ A: Tg: WrMc {Z} cуca- 'die' (of domestic animals) ¶ Z 640 ◇ In Tg there is as. **š...š > Tg *s...s. The loss of the expected initial *ɛ in Eg may have several explanations (such as as. **sš > Eg š or reinterpretation of the initial *s∇- as a causative px, leading to a bf. šw), but such hypothesis does not explain why w follows rather than precedes š ◇ IS MS 367 s.v. 'сохнутъ' *šw¹š¹∇ (sc. *šw¹š¹∇) (IE, U, K).

2129. *sit∇ 'tooth' ([in some descendant lges] → 'sickle?') > K *ōš¹t¹- > Sv: UB/LB/L šdik, L štik 'tooth' ¶ TK 815, Ni. s.v. 'зубъ', GP 272, Dn. s.v. šdik || A *s|š₁;₁d|t¹∇ > M *sidün 'tooth' > MM [LV, IsV] s₁id₁n, [MA, IM, HI] š₁id₁n, [S] {H} ś₁id₁, WrM {MED} s₁id₁n, HIM {MED, BMR} ш₁д(э₁), Brt ш₁дэ(э₁), WrO š₁id₁n, Kl {KRS} ш₁д₁ š₁üde₁n, (Rm.) š₁üde₁, Mnr H {T} š₁di, {SM} š₁d₁i, {Pot.} ш₁ито, Mnr M {Pot.} ш₁ют₁, {Rkh.} s₁h₁u₁t₁, Dg {Mr.} sid₁, Dx {T} š₁idun, Ba {T} s₁do₁ ~ do₁, Mgl {Rm.} s₁üdü₁n, Ord š₁üdü₁ id. ¶ Pp. L III 8, 6O, Pp. MA 332, 446, Lg. VMI 63, Ms. H 97, H 139, MED 698, BMR IV 383, Chr. 737, Krg. 445, KW 37O, KRS 685, SM 371, Pot. 414, Rkh. 378, T 384, T BJ 152, T DnJ 143, Mr. D 189, Ms. O 636, Rm. M 39 || (here?) NaT *ōs₁;₁δ₁ι₁ϑ > OT [MhK] {Cl.} s₁iδ₁ι₁ϑ 'the gaps in the teeth between the gums' ¶ Cl. 799-800, MKD s.v. s₁iδ₁ι₁ϑ ¶¶ If the T word is a valid cognate, the pA √ has *-d-, otherwise it is *d|t¹- || D *č₁e₁t₁-, *č₁e₁t₁- + sxs 'sickle' > Prj č₁etal, Gdb se₁t₁, Gnd se₁te₁è & sa₁q̄ā₁è & sa₁q̄ar id. ¶¶ D no. 2756 || HS: ?σ Eg s₁t₁y 'manier la faucille' (unless identical with Eg s₁t₁y '[Hand, Arm an etw.] legen', see N *¹š¹ät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down') ¶ Mks II no. 78.3917 ◇ If the cognates meaning 'tooth' (Sv, A) and those meaning 'sickle' (D, Eg) belong together, the N etymon had *-t-, but if these are two different N words, the one meaning 'tooth' had *-t|d-. The connection between 'tooth' and 'sickle' may be based on the construction of mesolithic sickles (discovered in the Natufian culture) which had a row of microlithic stone tools (resembling teeth) as their cutting edge.

2130. *sit∇ 'to tie' ([in descendant lges] → 'to spin') > HS: S *√š₁t₁y '≈ bind threads, fix the warp' > Ak š₁at₁û inf. 'Faden knüpfen', MHb √š₁t₁y G

(pf. הַתָּוּ שָׁאֲתָא) 'fix the warp, start the loom', JA [Trg.] ✓ šty G 'weave';
 -> S *šitiy- ~ *šatay- 'warp' (× N *šüt∇ 'hair, thread [made of hair?])
 > BHb 'תָּוּ שָׁאֲתָא 'web', MHb {Lv.} 'תָּוּ שָׁאֲתָא, JA [Trg.], JEA אֲתָוּ שָׁאֲתָא-ā, SmA šty, Sr  šetū-ā, Ar سَتَى satā-(n), سَتَا satā-t-
 'warp, trame de tissu', cp. Ak šu tû 'web' ¶ Sd. 1203, 1293-4, KB 1539,
 GB 867, Br. 811, Lv. IV 617, Lv. T II 521-2, Js. 1637, Sl. 1185, Tal 936, BK I
 1051, Ln. 1306 ¶ × N *šüt∇ '↑' (q.v.) || Eg OK/Md s t y 'fasten together
 (knüpfen) (e.g., a collar, a net)' ¶ EG IV 330 ¶¶ Tk. I 228 || K {FS} *šet-
 /*šet- (K²) *(s)et- / *(s)t-) v. 'spin (with a spindle)' > OG st-, G
 rt- v. spin', Mg rt- v. spin, (?) turn', Sv -lt-/-let- v. 'spin' (msd. UB/LB/L li-
 lt-e, Ln li-let-e, 3s aor. UB anlet(e)) ¶¶ K 172 (*(s)t-), K² 177, FS K 281,
 FS E 312 (*šet-/*šet-), TK 440, GP 52, 158 || U: FP *sit∇- v. 'tie, fasten' > F
 sito-, Es sidu- 'bind, tie, fasten', F side (gen. siteen), Es side n.
 'band, tie, bond' | Er sodo-, Mk sotə- v. 'bind, tie' | Chr: L inf. шүдыш
 šüδъš, YO/V {Bk.} inf. šəδakš, Uf/M inf. šüδъš, B inf. šüδъš ~ šüδüš, H
 inf. шѣдѣш šəδəš 'to hoop of a cask' (< inf. of the v. *šüδъ- ~ *šüδə-) ¶
 UEW 762-3, Ker. II 146, MRS 742, 759, Ep. 160 || A *si:;t∇ 'string, lace
 (завязка, ремешок)' > M {SDM} *sižim 'thin string, rope' > WrM sizim
 {MED} 'cord, string; fishing line', HIM шижим {MED, BMR} id., Brt шэжэм
 id., Kl {Rm.} šičm 'dünner Strick, Schnur; Angelschnur', Ord šičim 'un
 objet servant à lier, lien'; M *side- 'sew with wide stitches' > WrM side-
 {MED} v. 'baste, stitch', HIM шидэ- {MED, BMR} id., Brt шэдэ- v.
 'наметывать, подшивать', Kl {KRS} шид- id., 'annähen', {Rm.} šidə- 'mit
 weiten Stichen heften, zufällig annähen', WrO šide- v. 'baste, tack', Ord
 šide- 'faufiler, piquer', Mnr H {SM} sdīē- 'rapiécer'; M ⇨ WrMc {Z}
 сичжинь 'rope'; -> M *sideme-sün > WrM sidemesün {MED} 'thread,
 cord, string; ribbon', HIM шидэмс {MED} id., {BMR} 'thread of hair; short
 rope (made of hair), ribbon', WrO šidemesün 'string, cord', Kl {KRS}
 шидмсн '(thin) rope', {Rm.} šidmṣn 'dünner Strick\Faden, Zwirn', Ord
 šidemes 'bout de corde\fil' ¶ MED 697, 722, BMR IV 351, Chr. 743, Krg.
 445, KRS 671, KW 355, Ms. O 613, SM 334, STM II 99, Z 613 || NaT
 *si:;δiϥ n. 'skirt, hem (Schoß, пола, подол)' (× N *šüt∇ 'hair, thread',
 q.v.) > OT {MW, DTS}, OT Kr/Xk {Cl.} sidīϥ 'one of the two skirts of a
 robe', Tkm θiy 'hem'; NaT *si:;δya- v. 'tuck on (sleeves, hems)' > OT Xk
 {Cl.} sitḡa- id., Tk siḡa-, Ggz sua- 'tuck on (hem of a shirt)'; Chv L {Jeg.}
 'sich beschuhen', {Ash., Fed.} сыр- 'put on (bast sandals)' ('обувать
 лапти'), 'ich beschuhen', {ChVS} 'sich beschuhen, обувать ребенка' ¶

Cl. 799–800, DTS 506, MQ III 298. TkR 603, TrR 769. GRM 436, Jud. 603, Ash. XI 116–17, Fed. II 76, Jeg. 200, ChVS 176 || ? Tg: Ul {PSchm.} ситахо 'clasp, buckle (застежка, пряжка)' ¶ STM II 99 || Ko: [1] pKo *stíj 'belt' (× N *šūt∇ 'thread') > MKo stíj, Nko tī 'belt' ¶ Nam 177, MLC 550; [2] Ko {Rm.} sit- (sit-ta / sit-čʰz / sit-čʰin) v. 'baste (clothes)' ¶ Rm. SKE 239, S QK no. 426 ¶¶ SDM 1240 (pA *s|šido|u or *s|šjudu 'suspend' > pKo *stíj, M *sižim and T), DQA no. 1987 (id.), ≠ Rm. SKE 239 (Ko *÷ Ewk sitimnз v. 'attach, tie together'; in fact, Ewk sitimnз is a loan from M [WrM sižimne-, HIM шижимнэ- v. 'attach, fasten' × Yk sitim 'rope, cord', see MED 722, STM II 99, Pek. 2253]) ◇ The unexpected pT cns. *-δ- (for the expected *-t'-) is to be explained (infl. of N *šUd∇ 'fasten tightly?') ◇ IS MS 364 s.v. 'связывать' *síɔɔ (U, A), IS SS no. 3.17, Rs. UAW 10 (U, A), Coll. UA 10 (U, A), Blz. KMNE 365 (HS [Eg, S], K, ? A [M, Ko]).

2130a. ₂ *Sûyt∇ 'sweat' > IE: NaIE *swējǵd- v. 'sweat' > Arm pիրտն kʰirtan id. || Alb dīrsë ð djersë id. || L sūdor, gen. sūdōris id., sūdo, sūdāre 'schwitzen' || Clt {Matas.} *swēssō- 'sweat' > MW chuis id., W {YGM} chuis 'perspiration', MBr hues, Br {Matas.} cʰuēs ~ cʰwes 'sweat, perspiration' || AS swāt, OSx swēt, OHG sweiz, NHG Sweiß id., ON sveiti id., sveiti 'schwitzen', NE sweat || Ltv pl. swiédri id. ¶ P 1043, WH II 623, Vr. 567, Matas. E 364, YGM-1 158 || **A:** pKo *stím 'sweat' > MKo stím, Nko tām id.; pKo *stí-mír 'water after washing rice' (a cd with pKo *mír 'water') > MKo stímír, Nko tīmul id. ¶ Ko *mír 'water' goes back to pA {SDM} *mǵūri {AD} 'body of water, water' from N *moRE 'body of water' (q.v.) ¶ Yu 249, MLC 408, 526, HMC 209.

2131. *sūt₁y₁∇ ~ *sū₁y₁t∇ 'to drink, to suck (milk); milk' > HS: S *✓šty (prm. *-štay) v. 'drink' > BHb ✓šty (pf. הַתָּבֵן šā'tā, ip. הַתָּבֵן -š'tē), Ug ✓šty, OA, BA, SmA, Sr ✓šty G, JA {Trg.}, JPA, JEA ✓šty G, Gz ✓sty (pf. satya, js. -stay), Ak ✓šty (inf. šatû), Eb ✓šty id., Sb mšty n. 'drink' ¶ KB 1537–8, 1796, OLS 458–9, Tal 936, Lv. IV 616–17, Sl. 1184–5, Br. 811, L G 518, BGMR 129 || Eg fP šdy v. 'suckle' (× N *čæd₁y₁∇ 'female breast' × N *šūŋz∇ 'milk; to suck, to suckle') ¶ EG IV 564–5, Fk. 273–4, Tk. I 314 (Eg šdy ÷ S *'θady- 'female breast') ¶ Eg š- < *š- of N *šūŋz∇ || **K** *°št∇m- > Sv: UB/L li-šdme, Ln li-štme msd. 'to make (so.) drink, 'to become drunk', UB {GP} ot-šdama, L {Dn.} ot-šdām 1s aor. 'I made him drink' ¶ TK 460, GP 178, 244, Dn s.v. šdām || **IE:** NaIE *swējǵd- 'milk' > Irn: Av xšvīd- (x- remains unexplained), KhS 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, NPrs شیر

šīr 'milk' || Lt sviestas, Ltv sviēsts ~ sviests 'butter' ¶ P 1043 (adducing OI kṣvidyati 'becomes wet'), M K I 295 (rejecting kṣvidyati), Bai. 415-16, Brl. 562, Frn. 953 (the Lt-Irn connection is not mentioned), ≈ EI 382 (? *(k)sweid- 'milk') || A ≈ *sūṭ (= *sú:ṭ) 'milk' > T *sūt 'milk' > OT Kr/U {Cl.} sūt, MU, MQp, MOg, XwT sūt, Chg sūd ~ sūt, OOsM sūd, Tk sūt / sūt- ~ sūd-, Tkm θūyt, Az sūd, XT {DH} sīt, Xlj sīt ({DT} sīt), VTt cəṭ sḅt, Bsh həṭ hḅt, Uz sut, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq, Nog, ET, Ln, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Shor, Tv sūt, Tf sūt, SY sūt ~ söt, Yk ūt, Chv L cəṭ sḅt, Chv Δ {Md.} sḅt id. ¶ Cl. 798, Rs. W 438, TL 448-9, Ash. XI 322-3, Fed. II 46, Jeg. 189, Md. 64, Ra. 229 || ?φ M *sūn 'milk' (acc. to Dr., bf. from *sūd [sc. *sūd from pA *sūt], reinterpreted as pl. *sū-d) (× N *šūnṣ 'ḡ' [q.v.]) > MM [L, IM, IsV] sūr, [S] šun 'milk', [MA] sūr id., sū (in sū kökekü šidūr 'milk teeth'), WrM {MED} sūr, HIM cγγ (H), Brt hγ (H), Kl {Rm.} † sūn, Dg {Pp.} sū:, Mnr H {SM} sun, MMgl, Mgl sūn 'milk' ¶ Dr. TM III 58, MED 744, BMR III 145-6, Iw. 133, Chr. 696, KW 340, T 361, SM 360, Pp. MA 328-9, 447 ¶ The long vw. in M (preservation of pA *-ū-) is puzzling and needs explanation || ??σ Tg *ositan > Nn Nh {On.} sitā 'be too few' (nursing mother's milk) ¶¶ SDM 1300 (A *siūt, 'i 'milk, a kind of liquid' > T, Ko, Nn Nh sitā + unc. M *ūsūn n. 'milk' and Tg vi. 'soak'), DQA no. 2094 (id.), TL 449.

2132. ₂ *ṣṭl v. 'to set, to put, to collocate' > HS: S *ṣṭl v. 'set, plant' > BHb ṣṭl v. G 'transplant (a plant)', MHb ṣṭl v. G 'set, plant', JA, Sr ṣṭl G 'plant', Ar E (← Aram) ṣṭl v. G 'transplant (a plant)', BHb שִׂטַל ṣṭl v. 'transplanted shoot', Pun → Gk [Diosc.] σιθιλευσαδέ (σιθιλευσαδέ τὸ μέγα) 'Usospermum picroides' (÷ Hb שִׂטַל, lē šā'dē 'transplanted shoots of the field'), JA אֲשִׂטַל 'šṭl-ā '(transplanted) shoot', Ak A/YB ṣṭl v. G ṣṭl 'plant', Ak šitlu 'sprout, shoot', Md šitla 'plant', Ar SL (← Aram) šatlat- 'nursery plant' ¶ KB 1539-40, BDB 1060, LS 1598, Wehr 414, Js. 1638-9, Sl. 1185, DM 477, Br. 812, Hv. 351, Sd. 1033, 1251, CAD XV 197 || IE: NaIE *stel- v. 'place, put, set' (stellen, setzen) > OI [Dhat.] 'sthalati 'stands' || Arm ստեղծմ տեղ-եմ 'I collocate\place\settle\establish', ստեղծանեմ տեղեան-եմ 'I create' || Gk στέλλω (*στέλ-λω) {Ch.} 'disposer, préparer', {LS} 'make ready' || OL [Fest.] stlocus > L locus 'place' || OL *stol-no-s > ON stallr n. 'Gerüst, Altar; Stall', AS steall 'act of standing, place', OHG stal 'place of residence, place, stable', MHG stal 'Stehort, Wohnort, Stall', NHG Stall 'stall, stable', NE stall; OHG inf. stellen 'to put, to set up, to

institute' ('apponere, collocare, statuere'), NHG inf. *stellen* 'to put, to place, to set' (→ *Stelle* 'place') ||| Pru inf. *stallit* 'to stand' ¶ P 1019-20, EI 472 and 506 (**stel-* 'put in place, [make] stand [up]'), M K III 525, WH II 817-18, F II 786-8, En. 254, Vr. 542, Ho. 318, Kb. 949, 960, OsS 862-3, Lx. 208, KM 736-7, 744-5 ◇ On IE **st-* < N **Sṽt-* *see* Introduction, § 2.2.10.

2133. **sṽtîmṽ* (= **sṽtîmṽ*?) 'to hear' (←|→ 'ear'), ? 'to feel' > HS: Eg fP *ṣṣm* 'hear' (Eg *ṣ* may go back to *-*ṣy-* or *-*dy-*) ¶ EG IV 384-7, ≈ Tk. I 262 (equating Eg *ṣṣm* with S **šm* 'hear' by supposing that Eg *ṣ* goes back to **ṣ*) || ? WS **ṣwt* (mte. **š...ṣ* > **ṣ...t*?) > Jb C *eṣbet* 'listen carefully', *šeṣet* 'listen carefully, keep one's ears open', Sr, JA [Trg.], JEA, Md *ṣwt G*, SmA *ṣwt Sh* 'listen'; WS **ṣawt-* 'voice' > Sr *ṣawtā*, Jb C *ṣabt* id., Ar *ṣawt-* 'voice, sound' ¶ Jo JL 243, Tal 730, BK I 1382, Hv. 409, Js. 1272, Sl. 957-8, Br. 625 ||| IE: Ht *istamaṣṣ-* 'hear', *istamana-* 'ear', ? Lw *tumant-* 'ear' ¶ Frd. HW 90, Pv. I 452, Kas. AN 157, ≈ Ivn. OPA 153 ||| K **st̥u¹m-* 'ear' > Sv: UB/LB *šdim*, L/Ln *štim* 'ear', ? GZ d. **sa-¹st̥um-al* ({K²} *(s)a-(s)tum-al-) 'pillow' (← nomen loci 'place of the ear', like R *под-уш-ка* 'pillow?') > OG *sastumal* 'pillow', G *sastumal* 'head of the bed', ?σ Mg *ortumel*, Lz *omtunal* 'bearing log of the fire' ¶¶ TK 815, Ni. s.v. 'γχο', GP 272, Dn. s.v. *štim*, K² 175 ◇ Kas. SN 157 (agreeing with my reconstructions) ◇ If the N stop was **t̥* (indirectly suggested by HS), K **t* is due to as. **st̥* > **st*.

2134. **sUṭû* 'beat, strike' > U: FU **sUttṽ-* (= **s¹ottṽ-*?) 'strike' > Prm **sôt-* ({{LG} **sōt-*) v. 'chop, strike' > Yz *sūt-* 'cut' (mom.) ('рубануть'), Z *cōt-* *sōt-* id., 'strike' ||| ? Hg *ūt-*, Δ *it-* 'strike, hit, knock' ¶ The Prm cognate points to a FU **o*. The Hg front vw. *ū-* may be due to the ass. infl. of a front vw. in the next syll. (an old *-*ü*?) ¶ Coll. 121, LG 265, Lt. 146, Lt. J 180, ≈ UEW 23 (rejecting the connection between Prm **sôt-* and Hg *ūt-* because of the discrepancy between their vowels and deriving [with a query] Hg *ūt-* from FU **aktṽ* 'beat, chop', though FU **ä-* does not regularly yield Hg *ū-* or *i-*) ||| A: Tg: Ewk *sutiga-* 'knock out (вышибить, выбить)' ¶ STM II 131 ||| D **cutt¹i* ({{GS} **s-*) 'hammer' > Tm *cutti* 'small hammer', Ml *cutti*, *cuttika*, Kn *suttige*, Tu *sutti*, *suttigæ*, Tl *sutte*, Gnd *sutte*, Kui *suthi* 'hammer'; D → Mrt *sutkī* 'an instrument of stone splitters' ¶¶ D no. 2668 ||| IE: NaIE *(s)teu-k/g- 'hit, strike' > MDt/NLG {P} inf. *stūken* 'stoßen, aufschichten', Nr Δ {WP} inf. *stauka* 'to push' ||| Sl **stukъ* n. act. 'knocking' > SrCSl/OR *стукъ*

стукъ, Р стук, R/Uk стук id.; Sl inf. *stuka-ti 'to knock' > P inf. стукас, R inf. 'стукать, Uk inf. 'стукати, Blr inf. 'стукань id.; R inf. стучать id. | Ltv inf. стукnīt 'to push forward by little strikes', Δ {ME} 'stoßen, schlagend vorwärtsstoßen' ||| љ OIr {P} стúаg 'chop with an axe' (infl. of OIr túаg 'axe' < NaIE *teuk-/*tuk- v. 'thrust, stab, prick' < N *t'ú'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push'?) (unless стúаg is a misinterpretation of OIr {Vn.} стúагаid 'il courbe') ¶ WP II 616, P 1032-4, Vn. S 193, Vs. III 787, Brü. 523, Kar. II 312, ME III 1102 ◇ The *-k/g-extensions in IE and the element -ga- in Ewk may belong together and point to a N compound etymon **sUṭú Ka ◇ IS SS no. 1.31 (U, D), IS MS 330 s.v. 'БИТЬ'¹³ (U, D).

2135. *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self' (← '[human] body' [??]) > HS *√sw 'himself' > Eg fO sw 'he; him, himself' (× N *sE 'he\she', q.v.) ¶ EG V 59 || EC {Ss.} *ʔis- 'self, oneself' (< N *h'i 'iste' [q.v.] [or N *yi 'he'] + N *s|šEw∇ 'self', possibly × N *ʔiñ∇šê 'person, man' [q.v.]) > Af is-i, Sml N, Elm is, Rn is- (+ppa.), Bn se (< *is-e), Bs is-e, Or H {Ow.} if-i, Or S {Sr.} uf-i ɖ if-i ɖ of-i, Kns is-i, Gdl iss, Brj {Ss.} issi, Ya eh '(one)self', Sml {ZMO} is 'he, him', {LSI} '(io, tu) stesso' ¶ Ss. PEC 35, 54, Ss. B 107, Bl. 171, Abr. S 135, ZMO 207, LSI 329, PG 160, Ow. 187-9, Sr. 331, 376, 396-7, Hd. 130, 201 ||| IE: NaIE *swe- ~ *se- 'himself' ('sich'), gen. {P} *sewe, dat. {P} *seb^heĵ, {Szem.} *seb^hi, enclitic gen.-dat. *s(w)0ĵ 'of\to himself' ({Szem.} dat. *s(w)0ĵ), *sw0- (pronominal adj.) 'his own' > OI 'sva-, Av hva- ~ x^wa- ~ hava-, OPrs h^uva- 'own, one's own' ||| Arm hñpñ in-k^hn (gen. hñpñawñ in-k^hean) 'he, she, him-\her-self' (p k^h < *sw-) ||| Gk reflexive prn.: Gk é, Gk P F hε accus. 'himself' (< *swe), gen. Gk Hm éo, éio, éú, éú, Gk A oú (< *swesy0), dat. Gk A oí, oí, Gk L F oĩ (< *sw0ĵ), Gk Hm éoĩ (< *sew0), possessive m. Gk A 'óc, Gk D F óc 'his own' (< *swos) ||| pAl {O} *swaj-ta > Al vete ~ vete ~ vetē '(one)self' ||| L sē 'himself', si bī, Osc sífeí, Pæl SEF^EI 'to himself' (< *seb^heĵ), OL sonos, L suus 'his\her own', Osc suveis 'of himself (sui)' (gen.), svad 'suā', Pæl SUOIS 'suis' ||| Clt {Matas.} *°swe- 'self, own' > OIr féin id. ||| Gt sik accus. (·έαυτόν, αὐτόν) 'sich', ON sik, OHG si h, NHG sich accus. 'himself, sich', Gt sis, ON sér 'to himself'; ⇨ rf. possessive Gt seins (·δ'εαυτοῦ, ἑδλος) 'sein, ihr', possessive OHG sīn, NHG sein 'his' (< *seĵ-no-s ⇨ loc. *seĵ?), Gt swēs adj. (·ἑδλος) 'eigen' (→ swēs n. [·οὐσ(α) 'Eigentum']) ||| Pru sien accus. 'himself' (or 'oneself?'), sebbēi 'to himself' (or 'to oneself?'), Lt savē accus. 'oneself', savēs 'of oneself' (gen.), dat. sáu, sáv 'to oneself', sãvas, Ltv savs 'one's own', Pru

swais id. (or 'his\her own?') | SI *sē accus. 'oneself' (> OCS **сѧ се**), *sebě 'to oneself' (> OCS **сѧ бѧ се бѧ**), *svobjb 'own's own' (OCS **свобн свобн**) || ?? Ht si- 'he', Lc *si- id. (in **се си** 'his') may be alternatively (and better) equated with NaIE *sō- 'der' (masculine gender) and U *sē 'he\she' (F N *sē id.) ¶¶ P 882, Szem. EVS-70 203, Szem. IEL 220-1, M K III 566, M E II 787-8, StSS 594-5, 825, Fs. 415, 420, 466, F I 431-2, Kb. 853, Bc. G 324, O 498, Matas. E 361-2, Frn. 767, En. APG 130-2, En. 247, Frd. HW 192, KrlSh. XLJ 20, 65 || U: FU *°s|šEw∇ > ObU *θōw 'he' > pVg *tāw id. > Vg: T tüw, LK tāw (accus. tāwə), MK/UK/NV/SV/LL tāw, P tāw (accus. tāwa), UL/Ss taw id.; pOs *čōŷ ({|Hl.} *čūŷ) id. > Os: V lōŷ, Vy ŷōŷ, Ty čěŷ, Y čěw ~ čōw, D/K tēw, Nz tūw, Kz čūw, O lūw id. ¶ Ht. no. 125, Hl. rHt 71-4, Vrt. table I || A *°sEbân 'human body, spirit\soul' > Tg *seben 'spirit, ghost' > Orc sɜwɜ(n-), Ud sɜwɜ(n-) 'helper spirit (ghost) (helping the shaman)', Ewk, Neg sɜwɜn id., 'idol representing the helper spirit', Ul sewɜ(n-) ~ sɜwɜ(n-), Ork sɜwɜ, Nn Bk sɜwɜ(n-) 'helper spirit', 'idol', Nn Nh sɜwɜ̃ {STM} id., {On.} 'изображение божества', Sln sɜwũ 'spirit', 'idol', Lm hawki ɖ sawki 'god' ¶ STM II 135, Krm. 290, On. 382 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1222 (pA *s|zeb∇(n∇) 'strange, supernatural' [unc. comparison of the Tg word with M *sebe-ɣün 'strange' and Ko sōn 'guest']) ≠ DQA no. 1950 (id.).

2136. ₂ *sī_hw∇ 'sun' > HS: Eg fMK sw 'day' (in a date) > DEg sw ~ sw id., Cpt Sd/B **сoγ- су-** id.; ? Eg fMK sw 'time' > DEg sw ~ sw 'Termin, Zeit', Cpt Sd **снγ се̄w**, Cpt B **снoγ се̄u** 'time (temps)' ¶ EG IV 57-8, Fk. 215, Er. 461, Vc. 200 || ?φ,σ S: Ar ✓ zhw (ip. -zhuw-) G 'shine' (of a lamp) (as. -sh- [-sh-] > -zh-?) ¶ BK I 1023, Hv. 300 || A: Tg *si^hūn (or *si^hūn) 'sun' > Ewk šiwun ɖ siŷūn ɖ hiwun, Sln šigũ, Neg siwun ~ siŷun ~ siyun, Orc sɜu(n-), Ud sū(n-), Ork {STM} sšū(n-) (probably from *sy_un < *siun), Ul, Nn Bk siu(n-), Nn Nh/KU siũ 'sun', PCMc [TF] si_yun 'sun', WrMc {Z} ш_цн 'sun, day'; but the spelling of PCMc does not necessarily reflect the pronunciation (si_y- or sy-), but may be a mere spelling device to render *š- ¶ STM II 78, Vas. 350, Krm. 288, Ci. 320, On. 369, Mls. 240 ¶ On the origin of Mc ш- see Introduction, § 2.2 ◊ Hardly here NaIE *sa_lwel- / *(u)wel-, *sūl- / *swen-, *sun- 'sun' (P 881-2), because it will leave the element *(e)l- without explanation. For a better et. of this IE word see N *ZaHûí∇ 'light (lux), sunshine, sun'.

2137. ?φ (₂?) *^hāw_lg_l∇ 'to want', 'to beg' ([in descendant lges] → marker of desiderative or volitive) > A *säb∇ 'love, have fun' > T *säb-

'love, like (se plaire)' > OT {Cl.} $s\ddot{a}v-$, MQp/XwT XIII $s\ddot{a}w-$, Chg XV $sew-$, Tk $sev-$, Ax $sev-$, Tkm $c\ddot{e}й-$ $\theta\ddot{o}y-$, Uz $sev-$, ET $s\ddot{o}y-$, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg $s\ddot{u}y-$, VTt $c\ddot{e}й-$ $s\ddot{b}y-$, Bsh $h\ddot{b}y-$, StAlt {BT}, Tlt {Rl.} $s\ddot{u}-$, Chv L $сав-$ $sav-$ id., ? Yk $\widehat{i\ddot{a}y}$ - 'be friendly to' ¶ Cl. 284, Rs. W 406-7, Ash. XI 7-10, Fed. II 3, Jeg. 173, ChVS 155 || Tg * $sebje_nj-$ 'have fun' > Lm $h\ddot{z}b\ddot{z}zk-$, Neg, Orc $s\ddot{z}b\ddot{z}zn-$ id.; Tg * $sebjen$ 'Freude (веселье, радость)' > Ewk, Ork $s\ddot{z}b\ddot{z}zn$, WrMc {Z} $сэбчжэнь$, Ul, Nn Nh/KU {STM} $s\ddot{z}b\ddot{z}zni$ id., Nn Nh {On.} $s\ddot{z}b\ddot{z}zni$ 'merry', Tg * $°seb-$ > Ud $s\ddot{z}bu$ 'interesting' ¶ STM II 133-4, On. 382, Z 582 || pKo {S} * $sipI-$ 'wish, want' > MKo $sipI-$, NKo sip^h- $sip-$, sip^hI- id. ¶ S QK no. 832, Nam 325, MLC 1043, 1066 || pJ {S} * $sua(m)pap-$ > OJ $swobap$ 'have a good time (se divertir), have fun' ¶ Mr. 754 || ?σ M * $seb_1\nabla_1$ n. 'rest (Erholung)' > WrM {MED} $сэбгекү-$ 'calm down', HIM {BMR} $сэв$ n. 'rest (Erholung)', Brt $h\ddot{z}b$ $гэ-$ 'abate' (hot weaher), 'abate' (high temperaure of a sick person), Kl {Rm.} $sewg\ddot{a}$ - 'sich erholen, ein Bißchen ausruhen', {KRS} ?σ $сэв$ $ги-$ 'abate' (hot weaher); WrM {MED} $сэбki-$ v. 'rest, refresh oneself', HIM {BMR} $сэвхрэ-$ ~ $сэвхийрэ-$ 'take a rest, recover from fatigue' ¶ MED 678-9, BMR III 149-50, Chr. 701, KRS 446, KW 327 ¶¶ SDM 1221-2 (pA * $sebe$ 'love, have fun' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1975, Rm. EAS I 71, ADb. SR 14, Dr. MT 240, ADb. SR 14 ||] Proto-Altaic sx with voluntative or optative meaning: pM * $-su_1$ / * $-sü_1$ (* $ora-su$ 'let me enter!', * $ög-sü$ 'let me give!') > MM $-su$ / $-sü$ ($kele-sü$ 'I shall say!'), WrM $-su-gay$ / $-sü-gey$ (sx of the optative form of verbs), Mgl $-sün$ id. (with a secondary $-n$) ¶ Pp. IM 255-6 || NaT * $-sun$ / * $-sün$, 3s optative > OT $-zun$ / $-zün$, MU $-sun$ / $-sün$, ET $-sun$, Az $-sun$ / $-sün$ / $-sin$ / $-sın$ ¶ Cl. xlvi || Tg $-su$, marker of inv. (2s, 3s) in several verbs: WrMc {Z} $би-су$, Nn $bi-su$ 'be!', WrMc {Z} $о-со$ ($осо$) 'let him\it be', 'be!', become!', $гай-су$ 'take!', Nn $га-су$ 'buy!', WrMc {Z} $бай-су$ 'ask (a question)!', Nn $di-su$ 'come!' ¶ Sun. G 336, 338 || IE: NaIE * $-s-$, * $-sy-$: [1] volitive sx * $-s-$ 'want to' > OI $-s-$ in $\acute{s}u\acute{s}r\ddot{u}-s\acute{a}t\bar{e}$ 'he wants to hear', OL $v\ddot{i}ss-\bar{o}$ > L $v\ddot{i}s-\bar{o}$ (* $we\ddot{i}d-s-\bar{o}$) 'I want to see', Gt inf. $ga-weison$ 'besuchen' (← 'sehen wollen'); [2] in several lges * $-s-$, * $-sy-$ changed into a marker of future: Gk $-\sigma-$ in $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$ 'I shall show', $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\psi\omega$ 'I shall leave', OL $\acute{d}i\chi\bar{o}$ 'I shall say', $f\acute{a}\chi\bar{o}$ 'I shall do', $с\acute{a}p\sigma\bar{o}$ 'I shall take', Osc $fust$ 'will be', Lt $\acute{d}uos$ 'will give'; the less reduced variant * $-sy-$: OI participium futuri $b\ddot{u}-sya-nt-$ 'who\which will be', OCS $бъшѡще-ѡ$ $b\ddot{i}\acute{s}\acute{e}\acute{s}t\bar{e}-j\bar{e}$ 'future' ¶ Brg. KVG 529, Fs. 210 || HS: ?σ CS * $\check{r}\check{s}w\check{r}|\check{r}$ > BHb $\check{r}\check{s}w\check{r}$ D 'cry for help', $\check{r}\check{s}w\check{r}$ 'šūaṛ, הַשָּׁוֹף $\check{s}aw'\check{r}\check{a}$ 'a cry for help', SmA $\check{r}\check{s}w\check{r}$

ʔǝ bhw 'outcry' (✓ š w ɣ) (unless related to Plm š ɣ ɣ t {HJ} 'protectrice, female helper', suggesting a CS √ *✓ š w ɣ|ɣ or *✓ š ɣ ɣ|ɣ 'help') ¶ KB 1340-1, GB 814, HJ 1129, Tal 883 || ʔφ C: Ag {Ap.} *ciw- / caw- 'beg' (× N *weç ɣ [or *wiç ɣ?]) 'to order, to require, to beg'??? > {Ap.} Bln {R}, Km {CR} š iw-, Xm č ä w-, {R} ç aw-, Q {R} š e w-, Dmb {R} š ɸ w- 'beg' ¶ Ap. AV 20, R WB 331-2, R QW 128-9, CR LK 254, ≈ AD SF 105 ◇ Ag {Ap.} *c- (= *ç-?) may go back to *S...ʔ < *S...ɿ, ◇ ≈ AD NEPGF 240-1 (without distinguishing between the reflexes of this N etymon and those of N *Suwh ɣ 'to push, to cause' [as well as some possible grammaticalized reflexes of N *š ũ w h ɣ 'loosen']), Gr. I 204-6 ("future S" in IE, A, EA).

2138. *ś iw ɣ a (~ *ś iw ga??) 'to smear' > HS: CS (?) *✓ š ɣ ɣ (? *-š u ɣ ɣ- or ? *-š u ɣ ɣ) ~ *-š ũ ɣ|ɣ- ~ ?? *°✓ š ɣ ɣ > BHb ✓ š ɣ ɣ G (2pm inv. 𐎧𐎺𐎠 š ũ 'ɿ ũ) 'be smeared, be plastered up', {BDB} 'be blinded', *Sh* 'plaster up', JA [Trg.] ✓ š ɣ ɣ G vt. 'smooth, paste (glätten, bestreichen)', JEA ✓ š ɣ ɣ T 'be smoothed down', JA [Trg.] -š ũ ɣ- G 'plaster', Sr ip. -š ũ ɣ-, pf. š ā ɣ v. G 'daub, besmear', SmA š š ɣ ɣ 'smooth', ✓ š ɣ ɣ TD 'be coated'; ?? Ar ✓ s ɣ s ɣ v. 'add fat to the food; smear the hair with fat or with oil' ¶ GB 183, BK I 1095, Tal 919, Lv. T II 503-4, Js. 1538, 1611-12, Sl. 1168, Br. 791, JPS 566, BK I 1095 || B *✓ z w ɣ v. 'smear' > Ah {Fc.} ə h w ɣ, Gh {Nh.} ə š w ɣ, Tnsl ə š w ɣ, ETwl, Ty ə z w ə ɣ id. ¶ B *z- may be due to as. *s ɣ > *z ɣ (> B *z) ¶ Fc. 625, Nh. 184, GhA 218, Pr. H 72 [no. 439] || K: GZ *s w- v. 'pass one's hand over (sth.), smear, oil (sth.)' > OG s w-, G s v-/s-, Mg, Lz s(v)- id.; ⇨ GZ *s w-am-/s w-m- id. > G s v am-/s m-, Mg, Lz s u m- id. ¶ K 163, K² 164-5, Chx. 1214-16, FS K 268, FS E 297-8 || ʔφ IE: Ht s a h - 'verunreinigen, beschmieren' ¶ Ts. W 66 || A *s ip ɣ 'clay', *s ip ɣ- v. 'smear' > NaT *s i ɿ ; ɿ b a- v. 'smear' > OT s i b a- ~ s u v a- v. 'smear with clay, plaster' (partially coalesced with s u b a- ~ s u v a- v. 'water' ⇨ OT s u v 'water'), MT XIV [IM] s i b a-, Osm s i v a- 'beschmieren, tünchen, mit Stuck bewerfen', Tk s i b a- v. 'smear', Xk c ɿ b a- s i b a- v. 'smear (the house with clay)', Sg {Rl.} s u b a-, Shor {Rs.} š ũ b a- v. 'smear/coat with clay', ET Tr {Rl.} s u b a- v. 'plaster'; Osm s i v a 'plaster, stucco', Shor s i v a 'hardened dung in bear's stomach in winter' ¶ Cl. 785, DTS 515, Rs. W 414, BIG 204, Rl. IV 672, 788, 1105 || M *s i b a- v. 'smear (with clay), coat with mud/clay, plaster' > MM [MA] š i b a- id., WrM s i b a- {MED} v. 'plaster, stucco; apply mud/ointment', HIM ш а в а- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'tünchen (обмазывать), stucco', Brt ш а б а- vt. 'putty, coat, besmear', WrO {Krg.} š a b a- v. 'daub, smear, cover with dirt', Kl {KRS} ш а в - š a w- 'замазывать, обмазывать,

шпаклевать', {Rm.} šaw- 'beschmieren (mit Lehm), tünchen', Dx {T} šuwa- v. 'smear/coat', Ord šawa- v. 'couvrir d'un enduit de boue, boucher avec de la boue; couvrir d'un enduit quelconque'; ⇨ M *sibar 'mud, clay' > MM [S] šibar, [HI, IM] šibar 'mud', [MA, IsV] šibar 'clay', WrM šibar {MED} 'mud, morass, clay, plaster, stucco', HИM шавар {MED} id., {BMR} 'mud (грязь, слякоть), топь', adj. 'wattle and daub (глинобитный)', Brт шабар 'mud (грязь, слякоть), 'clay', WrO šabar 'clay, mud', Kl {Rm.} šawr 'Ton, Lehmerde, Dreck, Schmutz', {KRS} шавр 'clay', Mnr H {SM} šawar 'boue, mortier, argile, badigeon', Mnr M {T} šawar, Dx šuwa, Ba šbar, bar 'clay', Dg šawar 'clay, mud', Ord šawar 'boue, enduit de boue' ¶ H 139, Ms. H 96, MED 693-4, Krg. 431, BMR IV 327-8, Chr. 712, KRS 659, KW 352-3, Lg. VMI 66, Pp. MA 332, 447, SM 369, T 381-2, T DgJ 182, T DnJ 142, T BJ 152, Mr. D 192, Ms. O 610-11, Pp. IM 123 || Tg *sipa- ({SDM} *siba-) > Ewk siwa- v. 'smear; stop up (a hole)', Ud siṣala-, Nn Bk siṣaktz- v. 'stop up (a hole)', Lm hiwtaṣ 'swamp, marsh, quagmire (топь, болото, трящина)' ¶ STM II 74 || pJ {S} *sāpa 'bog, marsh' (× N *śabʾi' ▽ 'clay' × N ?σ *śah'i'b ▽ 'desert; saline earth') > OJ saṣa, MJ sāṣá {S} bog, marsh', J T sawá, J K sáwà, J Kg sáwa 'swamp, marsh, morass'; pJ *sapa-s- v. 'dip, smear with lacquer' > MJ saṣa-s-, J T sawas- {BJRS} id. ¶ ≈ S QJ no. 463, Mr. 52O, 748, Kenk. 1588, BJRS II 9 ¶¶ Altaic *-p- (suggested by Tg and pJ *-p-) is likely to go back to *-bH- < N *-wɣ- ¶¶ SDM 1255-6 (pA *sīpa 'clay', *sīpa- v. smear' > T, Tg, M *siba-, J), DQA no. 2011, KW 352-3 (M, T), Rs. W 414 (T, M, Tg), Pp. VG 30, 46 ◇ IS MS 348 (*śiwa 'to smear [with clay]'; U, K, A) ◇ If the Ar cognate is valid, it suggests N *-g-, the questionable Ht cognate points to N *-g|ɣ-, which contradicts the K ev. of a "lighter" Ir. (N *ɣ).

2139. *Suwh₁ ▽ 'to push, to cause' (→ 'to ask for', → marker of causative) > IE *seu_hχ-/*suh_χ- > NaIE *sewə- '≈ set in motion' > OI ✓ sū-: su'vati 'sets in motion, vivifies, urges', pp. 'pra-sū-ta 'angetrieben, gesandt', savī-'tar 'stimulator, rouser, vivifier' (to distinguish from ✓ sū- 'grant, bestow; allow, authorize' < N *śūwh ▽ 'loosen', q.v.) || Av x^vaṇhay^o 'drängt', ma¹nyu-šūta 'vom Geist getrieben' (OI and Av ū < NaIE *ū < IE *uh_χ; OI i < NaIE *ə < IE *h_χ) || ? OIr soīd 'twists, turns' || Ht {Ts.} suwāy- 'stoßen, drängen, schieben', {EI} 'push, urge', ??? Pal sūnat 'poured out' ¶¶ Not here Gk ἐύω (*ἐύω) 'suffer, allow, permit', OHG fir-sūmen 'to neglect, to miss' and MHG sūmen 'to delay, to linger, to tarry', which belong to IE *seu_hχ-/*suh_χ 'let, neglect' < N

***šûwh∇** '↑' ¶¶ EI 507 (*seuh₃- / 3s. pres. *su'neh₃-ti), M K III 488-9, MW 698, 1190-1, 1239, Kb. 986, F I 434, Ts. W 79 || ¶: Tg *sub- '≈ push' > WrMc {Z} cyбaдa- 'push each other' ({Z} cyбaдa-мби 'тащу/толкую друг друга), Ul subaqa- 'interfere, meddle in other people's business' ¶ STM II 115, Z 638 || ¶ D: ? D *°c̣o'v'- ({θGS} *s-?) > Kn sō, sōvu, sōhu 'drive off, chase away', sōvali 'chasing away, driving off'; the connection with Tm o p p u 'drive away, cause to flee' and o c c u 'drive away, chase' is highly qu. ¶ D *o (for the expected *u) is still to be explained ¶ ≈ D no. 2878 || ¶ This N word was grammaticalized as a marker of causativity: **HS** *s∇- > S *š∇- (px of causative verbs, *Sh* -stems) > Ak š∇-, BHb, OA h∇-, Ar, Gz ʔa-, Sb h∇-, Mn, Qtb, Hdr š∇- || Eg s- (px of causative verbs) || B *s∇- id.: Shl i r d 'be clean' ⇨ s- i r d 'make clean, wash', Tmz θaməz 'take (often)' ⇨ s-θaməz 'make so. take (often)', Tw i m y a r 'être grand' ⇨ s a m y a r 'rendre grand' etc. || C prefix of causativity *-s∇- (following the personal pxs of verbs) (in verbum finitum of the prefix-conjugated verbs), sx of causativity *-s∇- (preceding the sxs of person-gender-number) (in verbum finitum of the suffix-conjugated verbs and in some nominal forms of verbs) > Bj pxs and sxs -sō/se-, -s- || Ag (sxs): Bln {Plm.} -s-, -is-, -s3-, Xm {Ap.} -s-, -+z-, -+ss-, Km {Ap.} -š-, Q {R} -š-, -z-, Aw {Hz.} -č- || EC *-š- (prefixes): Sa {Wlm.}, Af {Hw.} -ys-, -s-, (?) -y-, (sxs): Sa -is-, Sml -sī-, Or, Sd -s-, ? Rn -s- ~ -(i)č- || SC: Irq {Mous} caus. sx -s- || NrOm caus. sx: Gf {Mrn.} -s-/is-, Cha {C} -s-, -is-, -š-, Zl {C}, Ym {C} -s-, Kf {C} -č- || Ch: traces of the HS marker of causativity have been found in Hs: Hs -ár, -šě, causative sxs of the verb ¶¶ Dk. SHL 100-1, Dk. AL 104-7, Dk. JDPa 256-61, Sd. G 116-17 (§ 89 [17]), 122-3 (§ 94 [22]), Bst. ESA 19, Lip. 334, 387-392, Ed. §§ 440-5, AD KJ 93-7, AD SF 287, Pr. M VI-VII 57-9, Cadi 41-5, Hz. AL 31, Ap. REA √, Ap. Kh II 470-1, Ap. K 331, PH 246-7, PG 31-2, Mous 170-5; C SE III 34, 143-4 and IV 209-12; C SO 39, Mrn. O 58-9, AiM 223, PorS 363 || ¶ ? ¶: J (incl. Ryukyu dls) -s-causative: e.g. StJ nōkō-s(u) 'leave behind' ⇨ nōkō-r(u) 'remain' ¶ Kenk. 1382-3 ◇ AD NEPGF 240-1 (I did not distinguish between the reflexes of this N word and those of N ?φ *°s'äw₁g₁∇ 'to want' [as well as some possible grammaticalized reflexes of N *šûwh∇ 'to loosen, to release']), Gr. I 200-2 ("causative S" in IE, Y, A [Tg, J, qu. T], EA, Ai).

2140. *s'ü'whâ or *sE?uwh∇ (or *s'ü'wXâ, *sE?uwx∇) 'moisture, water, rain', 'to wet, to be wet' > **HS:** S *°√ š|shh, *°-š|suhh- > Ar sahḥ- 'rain', √ shḥ (ip. ya-suhh-u) v. 'pour forth (water), flow down'; S *°š|sayh- ~ *°š|sayf- > Ar sayh- 'flowing water', sayf- 'water running on the ground' ¶

BK I 1057, 1173-4, Hv. 310, 346-7 || NrOm: Bnc {Wdk.} s^oʔ, Gmr {Fl.} s^oʔ 'water' ¶ Wdk. BY 110, 182, Fl. OWL, Blz. OL (*^os^oʔ 'water') || C: Ag {Ap.} *s³w- ({Ap.} *s^əw-) 'rain' > Km {Ap.} s³wā, {CR} s^uwā, Xm {Ap.} s^ʃwā, Bln {Bnd.} suwā, {R} z^u'wā, Q {R} s^uwā 'rain' ||| EC: Ya s^oʔʔk 'rain' ||| SC: Alg saʔami, Brn {Wh., E} saʔama 'river', ?? Asa {E} s^oʔʔk 'valley' ¶ R WB 312, R QW 119-20, CR LK 241, Ap. AV 19, Blz. CWL, E SC 180, Wh. IC 25, ≈ AD SF 100 || ??ϕ Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} z^āw^é 'water' | Gj {Sh.} z^è, Tule/Zem/Sy/Zar {Sh.} ž^à, Zem D {Sh.}, Ds/Wnd/Dw {Sh.} š^à id. ¶ JI II 340, ChC s.v. 'water', Sh. SB 33 ||| K **š^ow- v. 'wet, make wet' -> GZ *š^owel- 'wet, soaked' and GZ *š^owl- v. 'wet, make wet' (× N *s^ʔu^ʔwol^ʔE^ʔ 'liquid, moisture' [q.v.]) > OG s^wel-, G s^vel-, Δ s^ovel- & sobel- 'wet, soaked', Mg š^u(e)-, š³- 'wet' (of snow), Lz š^u- 'wet'; K *š^owl- v. 'wet, make wet' > OG s^ovl-, Mg š^olua, Lz o-š^ol-u id.; OG s^wel-i, G s^vel-i 'wet', Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK} š^wel id., 'whey' ¶¶ K 174, K² 182, FS K 286, FS E 315, Srj. KE 28, TK 824 ||| IE *seu^h₂x-/*su^hx- > NaIE *seu(ə)-/sū- 'moisture, rain' > Gk ῥέει (with a long ū) 'it rains', ῥετός n. 'rain' ||| Gmc: OHG sou (gen. souwes & sowes) 'juice', AS séaw 'juice, moisture', ON sægr 'rain; sea' ||| Pru s^uge [s^uye] 'rain' ||| pAl {O} *sūya > Al s^hi 'rain' ||| pTc {Ad.} *su-/*swāsā- > Tc A/B s^u-/swāsā- v. 'rain' ¶ P 912-13, EI 477 (*su^h- 'rain'), Lehm. GE 213 (on the Gmc ev. of a lr. in this IE word), Krs. WT I 299, Wnt. TE 193-4 (on the Tc and Gk ev. of an IE lr.), F II 978-9, Ho. 287, Kb. 926, OsS 845, Schz. 264, Vr. 413-14, 577, Wn. I 443, Ad. 693, Ad. H 102 ¶¶ AD ChCS no-s 17 and 27 ||| A *sub|p∇ 'water' > T *sub 'water' ({Md.} *s^ub) > NaT *sub 'water' > OT [MhK] sūw ~ suw, {Cl.} sūv (sc. suw), {DTS} s^uv ~ s^uw ~ s^ub ~ s^uʒ 'water, river', [MCh.] š^uv 'water' (interpreted by Md. as š^ub), Tkm cyb θuw, Tk s^u, Uz, Qmq, Nog cyb suw, Az, ET, VTt, SY {Ml.}, Slr {Ten.} su, Qzq cy suw, Qq suw, Bsh h^ʔw, QrB, Qrg, StAlt sū, Tv, Tf, Xk, Shor suʔ, Yk ū 'water' ||| Chv MK {Md.} š^u, Chv L шыв š^{IV} (delabialization i < *u?), Chv Δ шывă & шăв & ш^u & шěв 'water, river' ¶ Md. 120-1, 177, Cl. 783-4, TL 88-9, MKD 169-70, DTS 512, 515-16, TkR 592, Ra. 229, Ash. XVII 171-87, 205-6, 267 and 366, Fed. II 465-6, Jeg. 340, ChVS 284-6, Ml. ZhU 105, Tn. SJ 487 ¶ The rec. of a long vowel (suggested by Cl. and Md.) is not justified (Tkm has a short u, the long -ū of Yk goes back to *-ub) || d.?: M *subag 'narrow long swampy depression' (← *'river?'), 'ditch, canal' > MM [HI] {Ms.} s^ubaq 'fossé, canal', WrM s^ubaq '{MED}' 'ditch, trench, canal; narrow long swampy depression', HIM cyбар {MED} id., {BMR} 'ditch, trench, dry river bed; Schlucht (овраг, балка)', Brt h^uбар 'ditch, gutter', Ord s^uwaq

'fossé, dépression de terrain étroite et longue de nature marécageuse avec beaucoup de gazon touffu' ¶ Ms. H 96, MED 733, BMR III 122, Chr. 687, Ms. O 595 ¶¶ SDM 1285-6 (pA *s_luba|u 'water' > T *s_lib id. [qu. rec. instead of *sub] + err. M *usu 'water' [actually M *φu-sun > Mnr φuзу, MM, WrM usun etc.]), DQA no. 218O (id.) || D *°c̣ū- 'wet' > Gnd sūsū (a_lānā) 'be just a little wet' (of clothes drying) ¶ ≈ DED no. 2242 (+ unc. D *c̣ōk-, {GS} *zōk- 'wash, rub' [D no. 2872, GS 119, no. 312]) ◇ The tentative N rec. *s^rū^r w^hâ explains the pT form as resulting from vowel harmony: *sü-...-â (= [s^yü...-â]) > (synharmonic assimilation with preservation of the palatality of *s^y-) *s^yu...-â (or *s_lu...â) and later pT *s^y- (or *s_l- ?) > Chv š-. The alt. rec. N *sE^ru w^h∇ is an attempt to explain the pT diphthong *-_lu- as going back to a former bisyllabic structure *-E^ru- ◇ N *-ĥ- and *s- are reconstructed on the ev. of S and K (N *-ĥ- is the only N cns. yielding S *ĥ and K zero), N *s- is suggested by K *š-, but if the K cognate is rejected (as ambiguous), we must replace N *s- and *-ĥ- by unspecified *s̄- and *-X- ◇ AD LRC 7-8, IS MS 341 (*s_lω_l 'жидкость' > IE, T, K, HS).

2141. (₂?) *s∇ w^h₂∇ 'to drink' > K *š w- v. 'drink' > OG s u imv. 'drink!', G s v-, Mg, Lz š(v)-, Sv {K} š(w)- 'drink' (la_lθ-š aor. 'he drank', m_i-š w-a pfc. [res.] 'I have drunk'); ⇔ GZ {K} *š w-am / *š w m v. 'drink' > OG s u am- / s u em- / s u m-, G s v am- / s m-, Mg, Lz š u m- id. ¶¶ K 170, 173-4, K² 179, FS K 281-2, FS E 313 || HS: B *✓ s w h (({Pr.} *✓ s w h₁) (perfective stem *-s w a h) v. 'drink' > Ah {Fc.} imv. ə s u / 3m pf. i s w a (Fcj. 24), Gh {Nh.} ə s u, Gd {Lf.} ε s w / i s w ō, Awj {Prd.} š u / y e š w ā, Sll {Ds.}, Izd {Mrc.} s u / i s w a, BSn {Ds.} s ū / i s w u, Kb {Dl.} s ə w / y ə s w a, Izn/Rf/SrSn {Rn.} s u, Tmz {MT} s ə w / s w i ~ s w a, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} s ə w / y ə s w u, Si {La.} s u / i s u a, Nf {Beg.} é s u / y e s u w ũ, Skn {Srn.} s ū / í s u ā, Zng {TC} e š b i 'boire' (pf. y i š b e) ¶ Fc. 1842, 2001, Msq. 38, Lf. I 258 and II no. 1512, Dl. 795, MT 661, Dlh. M 195, Dlh. Ou 307, Mrc. 35-6, Beg. 220, TC Z 303-4, Nic. 368, Prd. 161 || Ch {AD} *✓ s₂ w h v. 'drink' > WCh: Hs š á | Su {J} š w ā, Ang š w ē, Cp š ū, Gmy {Fp.} s u a, Tal {IL} s ū w à v. 'drink' | Fy {J} š o, DfB {J} š o h id. | Bl, Krkr {J} s-, sa-, Grm {Gw.} s h e ñ a or s h e n a, Krf {Sch.} s h ě- w ò, Ngm s ò w ò id. | Wrj {Sk.} s á, {J} s à! (imv.), Cg {Sk.} š á, Kry {Sk.} s á, My {Sk.} sa-, Sir {Sk.} s à, P' {MSk.} sa, Jmb s í, s á, Mbr {Sk.} s í / s á id. | Bg {J} š e, {Sh., IL} š a?, {Jgr} š ā, {Csp.} š ě, Kir {Sh.} se, Grn {Sh., Csp.} sa_l, Tala {Sh.} h^ya, Jm {Csp.} he, {Gw.} h i y é, Gj/Zul/Plc {Sh.} š a, Buli {Sh.} š a, Tule {Sh.} š e, Zem/Tule/Wnd/ Ds/Dw {Sh.}, Sy/Zar {Sh.} š e

|| Ngz {Sch.} sá, Bd {Sch.} sèʔ-yín, sègín id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} za, Gbn š i, Hw sa id. || Cb {IL}, WMrg {ChL} sa, Mrg {IL} sàh id. || FIJ {ChL} se, FIB/FIM {ChL} si, Gude {Hsk.} sa, Bt {Mch.} s̄a, Bcm {Sk.} sóbò, Gudu {IL} sa id. || Mdr {Eg.} šá, šúšé id. || Suk {IL} sèván id. || Mtk {Sb.} sa, pMM {Ro.} *say > Mofu {Brr.} -s-, {Ro.} séy, Gzg D {Lk.} še, {Ro.} sí, Mkt {Ro.} sá, Mada/Myn/Mlk {Ro.} še, Hrz {Ro.} šáwà v. 'drink' || Db {LnG} sà || Gdr {Mch.} s̄a id. || Lgn {Lk., Bn.} se, Bdm {Lk., Cfr} hi, Msg {Trn.} s` id. || ZmB {Sa.} sé, ? {J} čé id. || ECh: Kwn {J} sē, Ke {Eb.} sé id. || Kbl {Cp.} sùwɜ, Ll si id. || Smr {J} š̀, Tmk {Cp.} hè || Skr {Sx.} sé, {Lk.} sa id. || EDng {Fd.} sē id. || Mu {Lk.} súwà, Brg {J} sáyà, Jg {J} s- id. ¶ JI I 51 {Ch.} *√ s₂w) and II 110-11, JS 88, Nw. no. 39, Stl. IF 92 (Ch *sa|iʔ- > *swy / *syʔ / *swʔ), Stl. ZCh 180 [no. 326] (WCh *sah^w ~ *sih^w), ChC s.v. 'drink', ChL, Abr. H 793, Ba. 918, Sk. HCD 240, Ro. 239, Csp. 15, 47, Sh. SB 35, Hsk. 267 ¶¶ AD ChCS no-s 17 and 27 || ? U: FU {Coll.} *seʃe-, {UEW} *sew|ʃe- v. 'eat' (× N *sêg∇ 'eat' [q.v. ffd.]).

2142. *on.* *śʳowʲy∇ 'to sound' > IE: NaIE {P} *sweǵ-/ *swi- v. 'sound', +ext.: *sweǵsd- id. > OI k̄svēd̄ati ~ k̄svēd̄ati 'buzzes, hums, murmurs' (k- from metanalysis in some word group or due to onomatopoeia?) || OIr {Vn.} séit- 'souffler', {P} sét- 'play (a wind instrument)', ind fēt 'sibilus' ({Vn.}: f- < *sw-), NIr fead 'a whistle', W chwyrthu 'to blow' (wind), 'to play (a wind instrument)' || ? Gk σύζω v. 'hiss' || SI *on.* *svistǵ n. 'whistle' > OR СВНСТЪ svist, Cz svist, P świst, R, Uk свист id.; ⇨ SI inf. *svistati ~ *svistěti 'to whistle' > OCS, OR inf. СВНСТАТИ svistati, R inf. свистеть ~ свистать, Uk inf. свистати, Cz inf. svistěti ~ svistati, Slk inf. svistat', P inf. świstac' id. ¶ Not here Gt inf. swiglōn 'Flöte blasen', OHG inf. swēglōn 'to blow a Schwegelpfeife', AS {Ho.} swezel 'music' and L sībilā- v. 'whistle' (*see* N *śúyg∇|∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing') ¶ P 1040-1, EI 72 (*sweǵ- 'blow through a small aperture so as to hiss or buzz'), Vn. S 76-7; M K I 295-6 (because of the onomatopoeia Mayrhofer rejected all connections of the OI word), M E I 441, F II 704 (σύζω is *on.*), Vs. III 580-1, Ma. CS 389, Fs. 467 || U: FU *śoye- v. 'sing, sound', *śoye 'voice' > F soi- v. 'sound, ring', soitta- 'play (a musical instrument)', soitto 'music', Es sōitle- v. 'scold' || pLp {Lr.} *ćōyɜ v. 'sound, resound' > Lp: L {LLO} tjuodjat, N {N} čuoggjât / -j-, K {Gn.} čūyueδ id., Vfs {Hs.} tjuojedh id., tjuoje n. 'sound' || pChr {Ber.} *šoktǵ- v. 'sound (lauten, tönen)' > Chr: H inf. шакташ 'šakta-š', L inf.

шокташ šok'ta-š / šokte-, B/M/Uf šokte- v. 'play (music), be heard' || ObU {Ht.} *sŷy 'voice, sound' > pVg *sŷy > Vg: LK/MK soy, P/Ss suy 'voice'; pOs {Ht.} *sŷy ({{Hl.} *sŷy) 'sound, voice' > Os: V/Vy sŷy, Ty/Y sŷy, D/K sŷy, Nz/Kz sŷy, O siy id. || Hg zaj, †szaj 'noise, din, sound' ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 482-3, Lr. no. 188, Lgc. no. 754, Lgc. SL 2899, Ber. 64 [no. 336], MRS 689, 714, Ht. no. 565 || ¶ *so|ab'E' - v 'sound, speak' (~ *°soyE- 'speak?') > pJ {S} *sàwàk- v. 'sound, make a noise' > OJ sàwàk- {S} id., J T/Kg sawág-, J K sávág- {Kenk.} 'make a noise, clamor, howl' ¶ S QJ no. 987, Mr. 748, Kenk. 1588-9 || Tg *sapu- 'rustle, sound' > Ewk sawuda-, Ud saputa- v. 'restle, sound', saпу-saпу ḡ- id., Nn Nh (not registered by On.) saogī- 'noise in water (from much fish)' ¶ STM II 52, 65 || T *söblä- ~ *söylä- 'speak, say' (× T *söglä- 'say' < N *šokō'ġ'ê 'say') > MT sŷy'e- 'say', Uz swyla-, Δ swyla-, VTt süylä-, Δ sevlä-, Δ sövlä-, Yk sŷyle- 'say, tell, utter', Tk sŷyle-, Δ sövle-, Ggz sö:le-, Az, Qzq, Qq sŷyle-, Tkm θŷyle-, Bsh hüylä-, QrB, Xk söle-, StAlt sü:le-, Tv сегле-, Yk ülä- id. ¶ VTt süylä- → Chv L суйлан- {Fed} 'babble, говорить без толку', {ChVS} id., 'бредить', {Ash.} Chv soííä- v. 'speak', soííän- 'бредить; болтать, говорить про себя' ¶ ET L-S 318, Rs. W 429, TvR 385, TrR 789, Fed. II 54-5, Ash. XI 179, Jeg. 193, ChC 191, ≠φ SDM 1197-8 (pT *seb- 'speak, говорить') ¶¶ The Ud cognate seems to suggest pTg *-p-, which is still to be explained (infl. of some other word or of the onomatopoeic factor?) ¶¶ SDM 1197-8 (A *sàybo 'sound' > T *seb- 'speak' [for *söblä- ~ *söylä-], J, Tg), DQA no. 1938 (id.) || HS: C: DhI {EEN, To} sŷ? v. 'sing', {To.} sŷ'e 'song' || SC: Asa šišaʔa 'voice' ¶ E SC 231, EEN 24, To. D 147 || ? ECh: Smr swōy 'shout' ¶ O HSN 126 ¶¶ O l.c. (IE, U, Smr + unc. Eg swḥy 'brüllen, schreien' [EG IV 71]) ◇ IS MS 342 s.v. 'звучать' *sŷj (IE, U) ◇ Qu. (at the IE. the pA and the N levels) because of the onomatopoeic factor in the history of the words.

2142a. ₂ UA *säy'í' 'matter (Eiter), gall' > U *säye {UED} 'Eiter, Fäulnis' > FU: Lp L siedja 'Eiter (in Wunden, Geschwüren)', Lp N sieggjâ 'matter (in a boil/wound)', Lp Kld si:yy 'Eiter, Eitergeschwulst', Mrd {Ps. sL} siy, si 'Eiter', Chr шцй id., Vt Sr {Wc.} 'Fäulnis; verfault, vermorscht', Yz siš 'Fäulnis', Z siš 'verfault', Os: V löy, Vy yŷy, ŷy, Dm N tŷy 'Eiter', Vg {Kn.}: T/P säy, UK sä:y, Ss say 'Eiter', Hg Δев, év 'Eiter' || Sm {Hl.} *te or *ti 'Eiter' > Slq Tz tĕ, Nr té 'Eiter', Mt {Sp.} ди 'Eiter', ?? Ne O cí m 'faul/morsch/sauer werden' ¶¶ UEW 434, Ps. sL 14, MRS 742, Hl. M 358 [no. 1007], 420, Sp. SJM 65, Jn. 161 || ¶ A: Tg: Ewk si: 'gall' ¶ STM II 73, Bz. 994 ◇ IS MS 336, AD GD 7.

2143. *sežA 'a relative from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ('father\son-in-law', 'mother's brother' and sim.) > K {K²} *šìžē- or {K} *sižē- 'son-in-law' > G siže-, Mg si(n)žā- 𐌆 sinda id., Lz sižā- id., 'bridegroom', Sv: UB/L čīžē, LB/Ln čīžē 'son-in-law' ¶¶ K 163, K² 181, TK 831 ¶¶ The pK rec. *šìžē- is preferable. As.: N *sežA > *sežA (whence regularly K *šìžē-); dis. *š...ž > s...ž in Zan || HS: EC {Blz.} *s∇z- 'relative-in-law' > Sml sóddog 'father-in-law', sóddóh 'mother-in-law', Rn {PG} sèyyóh ~ sòyyóh, {Oo.} so'yōh 'female-in-law' (= mother-\daughter-in-law), {PG, Oo.} seyuyóh (/kk-) 'male-in-law' (father-\son-\brother-in-law), pBn *sìddáh 'mother-in-law', 'sister-in-law' > Bn B/J/Kj siddah, Bn K soddóh id., Or {Grg.} sodd-ā 'in-law, wife's sibling', Or H {Ow.} soddá, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} soddā 'in-law' (Or ⇨ Arr soddá id.), Arr sóh 'in-laws', Gln {AMS} soqo 'son-in-law' ¶ Hn. BD 118, 149, PG 259, 1O (on the morphophoneme -h / -kk-), Oo. 7O, Grg. 36O, Sr. 386, Ow. 271, Hw. A 394, AMS 222 || ? (mt.?) WCh: P' {MSk.} čósì-ti (pl. čòsǎni) 'in-law', ??φ: Wrj {Sk.} žayī-na id., čiyak^ω-aj 'female relative-in-law' ¶ MSk. 171, Sk. NB 27, Stl. ZCh 255 [102] || U *céčä 'uncle' > F setä 'father's brother', ? Es Δ sedī 'mother's brother' | pLp {Lr.} *čēcē 'father's brother' > Lp: S {Hs.} tjiedsie, L {LLO} tjiehtiē, tjāhtiē, N {N} čæcce id., Kld {TI} čie,čč 'father's younger brother' | Er čiče 'elder brother-in-law (sister's husband)', Mk шава 'ščava ~ 'ścava 'mother's mother', шятя 'ščāta 'mother's father' | pChr *čüčä ~ *čēčä > Chr L чүчү čüčü, Chr H чы чы čäčä, {Rm.} čičä, U cücö ~ tūcö 'mother's brother' | pPrm *čž 'mother's brother' > Z чож čož, Z Lt/Ud čož, Vt чүжмурт čužmurt id., чүжбубы 'mother's father' || Vg: LK {Kn.} šäš, Ss {Kn.} sasiš 'uncle', P {Kn.} šäššä-m 'my uncle' || Sm {Jn.} *čičä 'mother's younger brother' > Ne Т тидя, Т О {Lh.} t'ide, Ng {Mik.} d. t+tidā, Slq: Tz {KKIH} tītā 'mother's younger brother', Tm {KD} d. (dim.?) č'e'ž'ag_a, MKe c'ič'a id., Ch {Cs.} tečea, MO {Cs.} čeča 'mother's brother', Ke {Cs.} citca, NP čiče, Nr dim. cežega 'uncle' || pY *čāčā 'elder brother, uncle' (pY {IN H} *čā(čā)) > Y K {IN H} čāčā id., {Krn.} čača 'elder brother' ¶¶ Pre-U assimilatory affricatization of *s-: N *sežA > *céčä ¶¶ UEW 34-5, Sm. 536 (U, FU *cecä, FP *č/śečä, Ugr *čečä, Sm *cicä), Lr. no. 126, Lgc. no. 534, Hs. 1315, TI 665, PI 312-13, RMarS 167, Ep. 144, Rm. BT 158, Ber. 7, Jn. 33, KKIH 183, KHG 92, Cs. 135, 147, 258, IN H 121, IN {UJ} 21, Krn. JJ 284, ≈ Rd. UJ 35 [no. 5] (Y ⇨ U) ◇ Blz. KM 119 [no. 18] (K, EC, U) and 130 (added NB), AD NM no. 111, S CNM 12 (÷÷ proto-Lezgian).

2144. *Si¹ʒ¹ ▽ 'to skin (häuten), to scratch' > K: GZ *ʒiʒg-wŋ- v. 'pinch, nip, tweak (a large portion)' > G ʒiʒgn- id., Mg ʒgʒʒgon-, ʒgiʒgon- id. ¶ K 269, K² 281, FS E 574 (*ʒiʒg-) || HS: C: Ag *°s ▽ sk- v. 'skin (häuten)' > Bln {R} si sk- id. ¶ R WB 311 || A: Tg *sisa- v. 'scrape, scratch' > Ul sisa/i- 'scrape (скоблить, скрести)', WrMc {Z} сиша- 'dig in the earth' (of pigs), 'gnaw' (of worms) ¶ STM II 98, Z 602-3 || ? NaT *soy- v. 'skin (an animal), peel' > OT soy- v. 'skin', XwT XIV soy- v. 'strip off', MQp soy- v. 'peel', Osm XIV soy- v. 'flay', Tk soy- v. 'strip, undress, peel', Ggz, Az soy- v. 'peel, skin', Tkm сой- вoу- v. 'peel', SY soy- v. 'skin (an animal)', Qrg soy v. 'skin' → 'slaughter', Qzq soy- 'slaughter\skin (an animal)', 'undress', Tv soy- v. 'skin, take off (a saddle)', StAlt soy- id., 'slaughter', Xk soy- v. 'skin, debark', VTt suy- id., 'slaughter' ¶ Cl. 858, Rs. W 425, Tn. SJ 206, Jud. 650, Jeg. 198 ◇ K *ʒ-, Ag and Tg *-s- are due to as. between sibilants.

2145. *šubye 'spike, spear; to pierce' > HS: S: Ar ✓ sbb G 'pierce, cut; spear (in the anus)' ('percer, transpercer [surtout à l'anus], couper'), {Ln.} 'cut, wound, pierce in the sabbat-' (contamination with Ar sabbat-††'anus, podex') ¶ BK I 1038, Hv. 304, Ln. 1284-5 || K: G šub-i 'spear, lance' ¶ Chx. 1850, DCh. 1529 || U: FP *šuye (< **✓ šuwye) 'spear, bear spear, spike (of a weapon)' > F Δ hui 'Spule', huitti id., '(runde) Spitze, Gipfel', Es hui, Δ hoi, Lv v o'j, v w o'j 'Netznadel; Spule beim Weben' | Lp: OSw {LÖ} s u o j, P/Ar 'suoyuq 'netting needle' | Prm {LG} *šū > Z шы šī, Z UV/I šī 'spear, bear spear (рогатина), bayonet', Vt ши šī, Vt MU šī 'sting, spike, bayonet' ¶ UEW 787-8, SSA I 177, LG 325, Lt. 198 || A: [1] pA *süb'i- - *sib'ü- 'awl, pointed', v. 'pierce' > NaT *sü:,j bri > OT s u v r i 'with a tapering end, sharp, pointed', Tk s i v r i, Az {Cl.} s i v r i, Qzq/TbTt {Rl.} süirü 'pointed' ¶ Cl. 791, Rl. IV 796 || M *sibüge(n) 'awl' > MM [S] ś i b ü g e 'Bohrer, Pfriemen', [IM} s i b ü g e, [MA] š i b ü g e, WrM {MED} s i b ü g e (n), HIM {MED, BMR} шөвөг, Brt шүбгэ 'awl', Kl {KRS} шөвг id., {Rm.} šöwga ~ šöwgö 'Ahle, Pfriemen, Spitz', Mnr H {SM} šub_ug_e 'alène', Mnr H/M {T} šibuge 'awl', Ord šöwögö 'alène' ¶ H 139, Pp. MA 332, 446, MED 696, BMR IV 372, Chr. 737, KRS 681, KW 367., Ms. O 630, SM 383, T 382, MYC 723 || Tg *sibi-v. 'thread (auffädeln, нанизывать)' and Tg {SDM} *sibi-pun 'awl', {AD} 'stick' > WrMc {Z} суйфунь 'awl', Ud sūla 'stick for stinging fish (while drying), Neg siwla-, Orc siwi-, Ork sīwi- ~ sīwwi-, Ul, Nn Nh {On.}, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} sī- v. 'thread (auffädeln, нанизывать)', Ewk šuwikēmz ~ šiwikēmz 'вышитый бисером' ¶ STM II 116-17, 428, On. 357, Z 632 || pKo *hó- v. 'sew, broad-stitch' > MKo hó-, NKo hó- id. ¶ Nam 490, Yu 755, MLC 1840 ¶¶ SDM 1262-3 (pA *sǰābi v. 'sew, perforate', 'awl' > Tg, M, Ko), KW 367 (M, T) || [2] pA *s|zA:bU 'ε stick' (× N *šapEhη∇ ≈ log, trunk of a tree', q.v. ffd. × N *ś'o'b_∇, t_∇ [or *s∇b_∇, t_∇] 'stem, piece of wood?') ◇ AD NM no. 33, ≈ S CNM 9-10 (unc. rejection of the K cognate).

2146. ₂ *šUd∇ 'fasten tightly, strangle, be violent to so.' > HS: WS *✓ šdd ~ *-šūd- v. 'fasten tightly, apply violence against, devastate' > BHb 𐤔𐤃𐤃 ✓ šdd G ~ 𐤔𐤃𐤃 ✓ šwd G (pf. 𐤔𐤃𐤃 šā'dad, ip. 𐤔𐤃𐤃 yā'sūd) v. 'deal violently with, devastate' ({KB} 'verheeren, verwüsten, vergewaltigen'), 𐤔𐤃 𐤔𐤃𐤃 'violence, oppression', Ug šdd G 'devastate', Md ✓ šd? ~ ✓ šdd v. G 'fasten (as chains), bind tightly, overpower', Ar ✓ sdd G (pf. sadda) v. {BK} 'fermer, boucher (avec un tampon, bouchon

etc.) un trou/orifice, barricader un passage', {Hv.} 'stop (a flask), dam (a river), close up (a breach)', Gz ✓ sdd v. G 'drive out\forth, chase away', Tgy ✓ sdd 'chase away, send', Tgr ✓ sdd v. 'brace (e.g. skin on a drum), fasten tightly; give trouble, bother, assail' ¶ KB 1317, BDB no. 7703, GB 808, OLS 433-4, DM 449, BK I 1068, Hv. 314, L G 485-6, LH 197 || K *šwd-, {FS} *šwed-/*šwd- v. 'choke; suffocate, be suffocated; drown, get drown' > OG štoba ~ šdoba n. act. 'to choke, to suffocate', šišudil- 'strangulation', Lz šk(∇)id-, šk̇id- 'suffocate, strangle', Mg škvid- id., 'drown, hang (so.)', Sv šgwd-, šgud- 𐌆 šk̇wd- v. 'strangle\drown, be strangled\drowned' ({TK} msd.: UB/L li-šgwd-e ~ -i, Ln li-šk̇wdi) ¶¶ K 215, K² 249, FS E 425-6, Q 359, TK 458 || N *sit∇ 'to tie' is an additional source of M *sižim 'thin string, rope' and T *sī:;δ n. 'skirt, hem (Schoß, пола, подол)' (< pA *sit∇ 'string, lace' from N *sit∇ 'to tie' [q.v. ffd.] × N *šUd∇) ◇ IS MS 350 s.v. 'насилие' *š'x'cdn, IS SS no. 3.24.

2147. *šûrad∇ (= *šürad∇?) 'good, happy, pleasant' > HS: WS *✓šřd 'be happy' > Ar ✓ sřd (pf. sařida) 'être heureux (un homme qui réussit)', ✓ sřd (pf. sařada) 'être heureux\propice\favorable' (a day, an hour), Sb šřd 'beneficence', (?) 'good fortune', šřd v. 'grant\bestoe a favor' (of a deity) ¶ Fr. II 316, BK I 1090, Hv. 321, BGMR 121-2 || ?? B: Kb {Dl.} żżə̇ẇi 'passer une période heureuse' (unless a caus. of a verb represented in Ah duət'be happy') ¶ Dl. 932, Fc. 221 || K *šed-/ *šd- 'be proper\fit' > Mg škid- id., {Q} škidapa 'decency; to benefit\become (приличествовать)', ma-škiduapa 'it befits me', Sv šged-, šgd- 𐌆 šked- 'deem sth. worthy' (msd. UB/LB/L li-šgd-e, Ln li-šked-e) ¶¶ K 214, K² 248, Q 360, FS K 376, FS E 422-3, TK 458, GP 178 || IE *swehd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant' (× N *žûhd∇ [or *žûhad∇?] 'sweet', q.v.): [1] NaIE *swād- 'enjoy; be pleasant' > Gk ἡδομαι, Gk D ἄδομαι, Gk B F ἄδομη 'enjoy oneself, take one's pleasure', Gk D ἄδυμος, Gk Hm ἡδυμος 'sweet, pleasant', Gk ἡδονή, Gk D ἄδονά 'enjoyment, pleasure' || L suādēō v. 'present (sth.) in a pleasing manner' (→ 'recommend, advise') || Gt sutis (·ἐπιεικής) 'mild, nachgiebig' || ? Vd sam̄-'sud-ē inf. {MW} 'to taste, to enjoy', OI 'svadatē 'is pleasant, tastes well' || Lt sũdyti 'to salt, to pickle (food)' || Tc B swār- 'please' [2] NaIE *swād̄u-s 'sweet' > OI svā'du- 'sweet, savory, pleasant' || Gk ἡδύς, Gk El F ἄδύς, Gk D ἄδύς id. || Clt {Matas.} *swādu- 'sweet' > MIn. pr. Sadb, Gl n. pr. Suadu-gena, Suadu-rix || OSx swōti, OHG swuozi

'sweet, pleasing', NHG *süß*, MDt *soete*, Dt *zoet*, ON *sætr*, NNr *søt*, Sw *söt*, Da *sød*, OFrs, AS *swēte* 'sweet', NE *sweet* || pTc **swāre* > Tc: A *swār*, B *swāre* 'sweet' | [3] NaIE **swād-w-i-s* > OI *svād-vī-* 'sweet, pleasant' || L *suāvī-s* id. | [4] NaIE **swād-o-* 'savory, pleasant', **swādos-* 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction' > Vd 'prā-svadas-' 'pleasant' || Gk ἡδονή 'delight, pleasure; vinegar', μελι-ηδής 'honey-sweet' | [5] NaIE **swādon-om*, **swādon-a* 'delight, pleasure' > OI 'svādanam' 'act of tasting; seasoning, making (food) savory' || Gk ἡδονή 'enjoyment, pleasure' ¶ P 1040, EI 566 (**swēh_αde/o-* 'be tasty, please'), 560 (**swēh_αdu-s* 'pleasing [to the senses], tasty'), M K III 567-9, M E II 788-9, 797, MW 1122, 1279, F II 622-3, WH II 611-12, Fs. 461-2, Vr. 577, Vr. N 868, Ho. 339, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1008, OsS 898, KM 765, Frn. 944, DLKZ 777, Ad. 725-6, Matas. 360 || ?φ **α**: NaT **sūçī-:* (< ***sūð-çī-:*) 'be sweet' (infl. of N **žûhd* ▽ [or **žûhad* ▽?] '↑?') > OT {Cl.} *süčī-* 'be sweet', *sü:čīg* 'sweet', Tkm *сүһжи* *θüyžī* 'sweet, tasty', OOsM XIII *süžī* ~ *süžü*, Osm {Rh.} *سوجى* *süžü*, Tk †π *süçü* 'wine', Tk † *süçük* 'pleasant, tasty', Tki *süčük* ~ *čüčük*, Uz *sučuk* ~ *čučuk*, Qrg *čüčü* 'sweet', XwT XIV *süčüg* 'sweet; wine', MQP XIII *süčü:* 'sweet, grape wine', Bsh *сөсө* *sḡsḡ*, VTt *төчө* *tḡčḡ* 'sweet (non salty)' (water) ¶ Cl. 795-7, ET L-S 345, Rs. W 438 (Rm.: **sūçī-* 'be sweet' <† **sūt* 'milk' + **sī*), TkR 596, Rh. 1086, TrR 796, Jud. 880 ◊ IE *-Hd- may belong to the heritage of N **žûhd* ▽ (*-hd- > post-N *-ht- [devoicing infl. of *h] > IE *-Hd-) ◊ If NaT **sūçī-* is a legitimate cognate, it points to the N vw. **ū* in the first syll. (N **šūrad* ▽).

2148. **š'ayü'd* ▽ 'throw, (?) leave (abandon)' > HS: CS (or S) (mt.) **š'dw|y* 'throw, cast, shoot' > IA *šdy* G 'shoot', JA [Trg.], JEA *šdy|w* G (pf. *šə'dē* ~ *šə'dā*) 'swing, throw, cast, shoot', Sr *š'dw|y* G (pf. *šə'dā*) 'hurl, throw, shoot (an arrow), cast, fling', Ar *š'dw* G (pf. *sadā*) {ḏLn.} 'stretch forward arms, hands, forelegs', 'play with walnuts, throwing them into a hole', {BK, Hv.} 'stretch forth the hand' || (× N **š'ät* ▽ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down') Ak *šyt* (inf. *šētum*, *šīātum*, p. -šīt-) 'übrig lassen' ¶ Js. 1524, Sl. 1109-12, Br. 757-8, JPS 560, Ln. 1336, BK I 1073, Hv. 315, Sd. 1221 || ?σ **K** **šwed-* / **šwd-* 'remain' (< 'be left?') > OG *šd-/šed-* 'remain', G *rč-*, Mg *skɛd-*, *skid-* id., Lz *skid-*, *skud-*, *sked-* (n. act. o-skad-u) v. 'live (wohnen)' || ?φ Sv *sed-/sd-*, *säd-* 'remain', UB *ka-sed* 'escape harm from sth.' (msd.:

UB/L li-sed) ¶¶ K 215, K² 249; FS K 379-80 and FS E 426 (without mentioning the Sv cognate), TK 447, GP 167 || U: FP *šaytt^rä¹- (> *šaytt^rä¹- ~ *šaytta-) 'throw, hurl' > F heittä- 'throw, cast; leave, give up', Es heida-/heit- 'cast, throw' || Lp S {Hs.} saatt'edh 'versetzen, abschicken, wegtreiben, fahren lassen', {Lgc.} sāt̄ti-, {SK} sēt̄te-, sitte- 'throw, hurl' || Z, Prmk šət-, Yz šõt- 'put corn into the drying house (ОВИН)', Z šõt- 'throw (e.g. snowballs) into the crowd' ¶ *^r-tt- (for *^r-δ-) may be due to suffixation (*^r-δ-t- > *^r-tt-) or to some unknown laws of phonotactics: *^r-yd- > *^r-ytt-?) ¶ UEW 781, Lgc. no. 6077, Coll. H no. 81.22, SK 65, TmK 781, Lt. J 199 || A: M *side- > WrM {MED} side-, HIM {MED, BMR} шидэ-, Brt шэдэ- 'throw, fling', Mnr {SM} 'arracher, déraciner' ¶ M *side- may be explained as going back to **sayidE < (delabialization) *šayüd∇ ¶ MED 697, BMR IV 351, Chr. 743, SM 334 || T *su₁:δ- 'spit out' > OT sō|uδ- ({Cl.} sōδ- with an unj. long vw.), Xk cyz-, Chv cyр- id.; MT {Rs.} suδ- 'Speichel' ¶ Cl. 799, Rs. W 431, Ash. XI 171-3, Fed. II 65, Jeg. 196, ChVS 173, Rs. W 431 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1313 (pA *suda- 'spit out, spurt' > T + unc. M *sacara- v. 'spurt, jet') || D (in SD) *čāṭ(ṭ)- / *čāṭ- v. 'throw' > Ml cāṭṭuka v. 'throw darts, hurl', cāṭuka, cāṇṭuka v. 'throw', cāṭṭu 'a hurl', Kn jāḍiṣu v. 'throw', Tu cāṇḍuni v. 'fling a spear' ¶ D no. 2439 ◇ ≠ S NSShS no. 13 (K *÷ IE *sed- 'sit'; in fact, IE *sed- 'sit down' [rather than 'sit!'] is from N *^rš¹ät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' [q.v.]).

2149. *š^ra¹q₁∇g₁aR∇ 'soot' (→ 'black') > HS: CS *š^rχ|ḥur- 'soot', *√š^rχ|ḥr v. 'be black' > BHb ḥḥḥ šāḥor 'soot', ḥḥḥ šāḥar 'was black', ḥḥḥ šāḥōr 'black', JA [Trg.] ḥḥḥ šīḥōr-ā 'coal' (→ MHb ḥḥḥ šīḥōr id.), Sr {Lv.} ḥḥḥ šīḥōrā 'soot', {JPS} ḥḥḥ šāḥā'rā 'burnt crusts of bread', Sr √š^rḥr v. G 'be(come) black', JEA √š^rḥr v. G 'be black', Sh 'get black', SmA šḥyr 'dark-colored' ¶ GB 819, KB 1358-9, Lv. IV 537, Js. 1551-2, 1559, Sl. 1129, Br. 770-1, Tal 887 || ECh: Kwn {J} sīrākán 'black' ¶ JI II 29, ChC s.v. 'black', Blz. EChWL s.v. 'black' || A *s|zakar- 'black' or 'grey' (→ *s|zakar-∇1 ([{ADb.} *saχar-∇1]) > eM **saḥar- →: [1] M *saḥar-al 'grey, ashen, dun-colored' > WrM sagaral {MED} 'ashen, dun-colored', HIM саарал {MED} id., {BMR} 'grey, ashen, dirty-colored', Brt һаарал 'dun' (color of horses), Kl {KRS} саарал id., {Rm.} sār] 'graugelb, буланый' (color of horses), Ord sārāl 'gris, cendré; robe qui va du gris au fauve clair'; [2] Ord sārāb^tur 'grisâtre' ¶ MED 657, BMR III 61, Chr 660, KRS 434, KW 318, Ms. O 561

|| Tg *sakar, *sakarīn, *sakalyan ({ADb.} saḫarīn) 'black' > Ewk Skh sakarīn 'black', Ewk NB saha 'grey', Ewk Hng saha 'black, grey', Lm haq̄rīn 'dark, black, brown (бурый)', Orc sakar 'black, dark', Nn Nh saḫarī: {STM} id., {On.} 'black', Ul saḫarī(n-), Ork saḫarī ~ sārī id., PCIWrMc [TF] {Mls} saḫaliyan, WrMc {Hr} saḫaliyan 'black', {Z} сажалянь 'black, very dark', Jrc {Md.} saḫa-lian, {Kiy.} saḫaliyan 'blackish' ¶ STM II 56, On. 356, Mls 233, Hr 756-7, Z 559, Kiy. 131 [no. 620], Md. ChF 138 || | K: [1] GZ *na-šqir- ~ *na-qšir- 'coal' > OG naqšir- ~ naqšir-, G naḫšir- ~ našḫir-, Mg nošker-, noškver-, Lz noške(r)- || | ? [2] G ž̄yari 'schwarzrot, grau' ¶ Chx. 1039, K² 139, Abul. 326 ◇ A hypothetic clister *-qg- (< N *-q∇g-) was probably reduced to HS and K *-q- (> S *-χ-, GZ *-q-) and to a velar cns. in pA (> M *-ϕ-, Tg *-k-), as well as possibly to pre-K *g (> K *ϕ) in K *ž̄ϕ (< *š̄ϕ), as reflected in G ž̄yari.

2150. *š̄ūhi₁w₁?∇ 'fade', 'go out' (fire), 'extinguish' > HS: S *^o✓šhw|y, ? WS *šaw?-: [1] S *^o✓šhw|y > Sr ✓šhw|y (pf. |^ošə'hā ~ |^ošə'hī) v. 'be extinguished' (fire), 'remisit' (febris), 'evanuit' (robur) ¶ Br. 759; [2] WS *šaw?- '≈ nothing, evil' (× N ?σ *šūw?∇ 'weak', q.v. ffd.) ¶ GB 809, KB 1323-5, BK I 1168-9, BGMR 52, L G 521 || | Eg XX swh (= {EG} śwh) 'verschwinden lassen' (unless a caus. of an unattested verb **wh) ¶ EG IV 72 || | IE: NaIE *swī- (also +exts *-g-, *-k-) 'decrease, become less, be(come) silent' > Ic inf. swíā 'to abate' (of pain) (× N ?σ *šūw?∇ 'weak'), with *-k-: OHG inf. swīgēn, NHG inf. schweigen 'to be silent', OSx inf. swīgon, AS inf. swīzian, suzian id., 'to be quiet' || | Gk σιγή, Gk D σιγᾶ (< *swī-g-) 'silence', Gk σιγα 'silently; in silence', σιγαῶ 'keep silence', σιωπᾶ (< *swiyō-p-) id. ¶ P 1052, Bv 736, Vr. 570, Ho. 337, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 915-16, KM 591, F II 700-1, EI 518 (? *swīg/k- 'be silent, hush') || | U: FU *^oš|čiya- (or *-η-) > F inf. hi i-pu-a 'to fade' (with the rf./ps. sx *-pu-, cp. F juo-pu-a 'to get drunk' < juo-da 'to drink', F Laan. 282) ¶ Rs. UAW 42, Alanne 97 || | A: Tg *sīb- (and *sī-?) v. 'go out' (fire), 'extinguish' > Ewk sī- v. 'extinguish', sīw- v. 'go out' (fire)', Sln śīgū-, Lm hīw-, Neg sīw- v. 'die out', Orc sīwi- v. 'extinguish', sipti- ~ siptɜ- v. 'die out' ¶ STM II 73, S AJ 215 [no. 131] (Tg *sī- 'extinguish').

2151. *šax̄k̄e 'to cover, to hide' > HS: SES *^o✓šḫk̄ > Jb C ✓šḫk̄ G (pf. šḫak̄) 'lie hidden' ¶ Jo. J 261 || | ? WCh: AG {Stl.} *sok v. 'hide' > Su {ChL} sòk, {J} sɔk, Kfr {Nt.} sók, Anf {ChL} sɔk, Gmy {ChL} sok ¶ × N *š'a'ka 'to

cover' (q.v.) ¶ JI II 186, Stl. VZCh A no. 233, ChL, ChC s.v. 'to hide', Nt. 37 || U *šakkE- v. 'hide' > FV *ša|äkkE > Lp: N {N} čiekkât / -g- v. 'hide, conceal, keep secret', L {LLO} tjiēhkā (in cds) 'hidden, concealed, secret' | Chr B šaktem v. 'insert, hide' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *tъk- 'verbergen' > Ng {Hl.} tзk- 'verbergen, verstecken, vergraben'; En Tn {Hl.} tos- (inf. tóte, 3s toʔaδa) id.; Slq Tm {KD} vt. takku (1s aor. taηηab_) 'keep (хранить)', Slq Tz {KKIH} ᵱllä taq- 'bury' (ᵱllä 'down'), Slq {Cs.}: Nr tahhar, Ke tagannau, Ch/UO/B taknam, NP takannam, MO taηnau, Kar taηnam, Tz taηnam, takpam 'I buried', ? Sq Tz {KKIH} inf. taq†t†-qo 'to close', ᵱllä taq†t†-qo 'to lock', {Cs.} takatam 'ich schloß zu', ?? Slq Chl {Cs.} tâgadām 'ich bedeckte (mit einem Tuch)'; Mt {Hl.} *tak- 'vergraben' (Mt M тагнамъ {Sp.} 'закопываю') ¶¶ Ps. sL 105-6, N I 384, LLO 1152, LG 256-7, Jn. 146, Cs. 144, KKIИ 114, 179, Hl. M 350 [no. 946] and 428 || A: [1] pA *sak'î- v. 'guard, protect' > M *saki- 'protect, guard' > MM [PP, S, HI] сақî- 'protect', [MA] сакî- 'guard, protect against', WrM {MED} сакî-, HIM {MED, BMR} сакî-, Brt һакî- v. 'protect, preserve, guard', Mnr H {T} sagî- id., 'expect', {SM} sagî- 'attendre, garder, protéger, veiller', WrO {Krg.} сакî-, сакîq-, Kl {KRS} сакî- sâk- 'protect, preserve, guard', {Rm.} sâkj- v. bewachen, bewahren, 'sorgfältig hüten', Kl Ö/T {Rm.} сакî- 'sorgfältig hüten, bewahren', Ba säge- 'wait for, expect', Dx {T} sagî-, Dg {Pp.} sagî-, {T} sagî-, {Mr.} sahî- v. 'guard (охранять, стеречь)', Ord saᵑᵑî- 'garder, observer, protéger' ¶ Pp. MA 318, Pp. KP 156, Pp. PP 129, H 131, Ms. H 93, MED 662, BMR III 100, Krg. 395, Chr. 679, KRS 445, KW 308, 318, SM 319, T 356, T BJ 146, T DgJ 161, T DnJ 133, Ms. O 553-4, SDM 1226 (erroneously adducing the M root to pA *sèk'û- 'preserve, be aware' [cf. pA *sag∇- 'be intelligent\ aware; know' < N *šahk'a' 'search, find, know', q.v. ffd.]) || T *sak(I-) 'guard, watch, be aware' > Chv L сых siᵑ, сыхă siᵑъ n. 'guard (охрана), defence; cautious', сых {ChVS} 'cautious; Aufbewahrung (хранение)' || NaT *sak 'aware' > OT Kr сақ id., Tkm вақ, Ggz, Qmq, QrB сақ 'vigilant (бдительный)', VTt, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, VTt сақ, Bsh һақ, SY сақа 'careful, vorsichtig (осторожный)'; NaT *sakin- 'protect, guard (стеречь, хранить) > OT Kr, MT сақî n-, Ggz, Kr сақî n-, StAlt сақî-, Tv саᵑî- 'guard, protect, keep (стеречь, хранить)', Tk сакî n 'beware!'; ⇨ NaT *sak-ᵑî 'a guard (person), guardian' > OT, Chg ≥xv сақᵑî id., XwT xiv сақᵑî, Tkm вақᵑî, ET сақᵑî, VTt сақᵑъ, Bsh һақᵑъ '(a) guard, sentry', Qzq сақᵑî 'watchman', Qmq

saqčI, Nog, Qq saqšI, Uz соқчи sqqčI '(a) guard', Qrg saqčI, StAlt saqčI id., 'guardian'] ⇨ Т *sakla- 'protect, guard' (× *sakla- 'watch') > Tkm θaqla-, Az saχla- 'protect, guard, hold', ET saqli-, Qmq, VTt, Nog, Qzq, Qq saqla-, Bsh haqla-, Qrg, StAlt saqta-, Chv сыхла- sɪχla- 'protect, guard', Osm saqla-, Tk sakla- id., 'conceal' ¶ Ash. XI 121-4, Fed. II 77-8, Jeg. 201, ChVS 176, Cl. 805-6, 810, ET L-S 156-7, DTS 485-8, Tkr 558-9, Sht. 171, BT 125 ¶¶ There is lexical interaction between this pA root and the pA reflex of N ***śahk'a**' 'search, find, know' (q.v.) ¶¶ SDM 1226 (pA ***sək'u** 'preserve, be aware' > M, T + unc.: pKo ***sākī-** [> MKo **sākī-** 'read characters, interpret', going back to N ***śahk'a**' 'search, find, know'] and pJ ***sūk-** v. 'like' [from N ***śuhk̄** 'wish, covet') and Tg ***seχu-** {i.e. ***seku-**} 'sensitive, responsive' [< N ***śEko** 'look at, watch, see']; in {SDM| pA ***sək'u** the rec. of pA *-e- is based on Tg), DQA no. 1957 (id.), KW 318 ¶¶ [2] ?? *AdS* of Tg ***seg|k-** v. 'litter (branches of conifer on the flour), cover the flour with sth.' and of WrM {Kow.} **sekci** 'herbes qu'on étend sur le lit' (< pA ***s|zægi**' 'to litter; mat (Matte)' < N ***ś'a'ka|æ** 'strew, spread', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM 1222-3 (pA ***s|zégì-** v. 'litter'; 'mat' > Tg ***seg-** v. 'litter', n. 'litter, mat', M ***seg-l-** 'mat', pJ ***sík-** v. 'litter, strew', pKo ***sk'ar-** v. 'spread out [as mat]'), DQA no. 1952.

2152. ***šoKo'ç'ê** (= ***šoKoçê**?) 'say' > IE: NaIE ***sek^ω-** v. 'say' > Gk ἐνέπω ~ ἐννέπω 'tell, tell of; speak' (imp. 2s ἔννεπε, ft. 1s ἐνλ-σπήσω, aor. Πένλ-σπον) ¶¶ L īnsequē 'sag an' (= Gk ἔννεπε), inquam 'I say, speak' (< *insquam, old inj. or conj., acc. to BD), inquit '(he) said' (< aor. *en-sk^ωe-t), Um prusikurent 'pronuntiaverint' ¶¶ Clt {Matas.} ***sek^ω-o-** 'say' > OW 3s pres. hepp, MW hebu, W {YGM} eb, ebe, ebr 'he said', OBr hep, OIr {Vn.} rosc 'dicton (généralement en vers) d'une formule légale, adage, aphorisme, brocard' (< *pro-sk^ω-), {P} arosc 'proverb' (*ad-pro-sk^ω-), insce 'Rede' (*eni-sk^ω-ya), MÍr sechid ~ sichid (p. sich) 'assert, declare'; ⇨ Clt {Matas.} ***sk^ωetlo-** 'story' > OIr scél, Cmn whethel, MW chwedl id., W {YGM} chwedl 'tale, fable, saying, report', MBr que-hezl 'information, intention', Br {Matas.} kehel id. ¶¶ Gmc inf. ***sagjan** (< NaIE ***sok^ωē-**) > ON, Ic, NNr inf. segja, Sw inf. säga, Dn inf. sige, OSx inf. séggian, OHG, NHG inf. sagen, AS inf. sečžan 'to say', NE say ¶¶ Lt inf. **sèkti** (1s pres. sekù) 'to tell, to narrate', sakýti id., 'to say', Ltv inf. sacīt 'to say' | Sl: ChS inf. со҃йти sočiti 'to indicate', Blg соча v. 'show, indicate',

ChS, OR **СОКЪ** **СОКЪ** 'κατήγορος, accuser', OR inf. **СОУНТИ** **СОЎТИ** 'to look for, to search, to sue (in a court), to be plaintiff', R † inf. **СОЧИТЬ** 'to sue, to be plaintiff', SCr inf. **СОЎТИ** 'to search for, to find out, to establish the guilt of', OCz **СОК** 'Ankläger', Cz **СОК** 'rival, adversary', OP **СОЗЕНІЕ** 'accusation', P **СОКА** id., 'libel', inf. **СОСОЗУЎ** 'to accuse' ¶ P 897-8, EI 536 (*sek^ω- 'say, recount publicly'), F I 520-1, WH I 702-3, Bc. G 343, Vn. R 44, Matas. E 328, 3389, YGM-1 155, O6, Vr. 467, Schz. 243, Kb. 818, OsS 734-5, KM 619, Ho.- 288, Ho. S 62, Frn. 757, 773, Brü. 384-5, Mikl. E 313, Mikl. L 870, Vs. III 708, Srz. III 460, 471, BD II 3, 127, 164, 468 || **U**: FP *šoke- v. 'say' (→ 'repeat') > F **НОКЕ**- v. 'say repeatedly; babble, chatter, speak', Es **Δ ογεδα** v. 'teach, give advice' || Prm {LG} *šu- v. 'say' > Z inf. **ШУ-НЫ**, Vt inf. **ШУЫНЫ** 'to say' ¶ LG 324, UEW 786-7 || ??? **A**: T (< d.?) *söglä- v. 'say' (× T *söblä- ~ *söylä- 'speak, say' < N *ś'ow'γ 'to sound') > MT [TZ] **сөүле-**, Qzq, Qq **сөүле-**, Tv **сөгле-** **сөүле-** id., Chg, Az **сөүлә-**, Tk **сөүле-**, Tkm **θөүле-** Qrg **süylö-** ~ **söylö-**, Blq, Xk **söle-** v. 'say', VTt **сөйлә-** **сөүлә-** 'speak, narrate' (→ Chv **Δ {Ash.} сойла-** **soyla-** **с** **сола-** v. 'говорить', Chv L **сүйлан-** 'говорить без толку, schwatzen', {ChVS} **сүйлан-** ~ **сүлян-** id., 'бредить', Chv **Δ {Jeg.} сүлян-** ~ **солян-** 'говорить без толку, schwatzen'), Bsh **һөйлә-** **һөүлә-**, Nog **сөүле-** v. 'say, narrate', Uz **сөүлә-** ¶ ET L-S 318, Rs. W 429, TvR 385, TrR 789, Ash. XI 163 and 179, Fed. II 54-5, Jeg. 193, ChVS 171 || **HS**: S *^o✓š|sq̄ > Ar ✓sq̄ G {BK} 'chanter' (se dit du coq), D {Hv.} 'abuse so. by blaspheming against him' ¶ BK I 1108, Hv. 372 ◇ In T *söglä- its front vw. *ö results from some regr. as., and its voiced cns. *g goes back to a cluster (most probably from N *K...γ).

2153. *šil'γ 'quiet' > **HS**: S *^o✓š|w 'stay quietly, be at rest' (× N *šalū 'intact' [→ 'entire'], 'in good condition, healthy', q.v.) > BHb ✓š|w (1s pf. **שָׁלוּתִי** šā'lawtī), OA ✓š|y 'stay quietly, be at rest', BHb **שָׁלוּ** šā'lēw 'untroubled, carefree, at ease', **שָׁלוּ** 'šēlū 'untroubled state', **שָׁלוּ** šā'lwā 'quietness, ease, security, untroubled state', Ug ✓š|w v. {OLS} 'rest (reposar)' ({A} 'sich trösten'), BA **שָׁלוּ** šā'lē 'quiet, carefree', **שָׁלוּ** 'šā'lū 'negligence', JPA ✓š|y|w G (pf. **שָׁלוּ** šā'lē ~ **שָׁלוּ** šā'lā) 'be at ease, be quiet, rest, be unconcerned', JEA ✓š|y|w G 'forget', ChrPA, NNEA {Mcl.} ✓š|y 'be carefree\calm, rest', JA [Trg.] **שָׁלוּ** šil'yā 'quiet, unconcerned', {Lv.} šil'yā 'Ruhe, Ungestörtheit', Sr **שָׁלוּ** šā'lē, em. **שָׁלוּ** šal'y-ā, Md šalia 'tranquil, peaceful, calm', Sr ✓š|y

(pf. **سكت** šə'lī) 'be silent, be still, abate, dwell in peace', IA *šlyh (pl. šlyrn), JA {Trg.} {Lv.} **שָׁלוֹם** šalēwā, **אָשׁוּב** šalēwə'tā 'Ruhe, Zufriedenheit, ungestörtes Leben', **אָשׁוּב** šalēwə'tā 'Ruhe, Frieden', Sr **سكوت** šel'y-ā 'stillness, quiet', Ar **سَلَو** ✓sɪw G 'console oneself for (se consoler de qch., ne plus s'en affliger)', ✓sɪw Sh (pf. **أَسْلَى** ʔaslā) v. 'be safe from wild beasts', **سُلُوَة** sulwat- 'confort, consolation', Ak NB šelū 'become negligent, neglect' ({Sd.}: ← Aram), Ak šilūtū ~ šilîttū 'negligence' ¶ HJ 1142, KB 1392-4, 1790, A no. 2609, BK I 1132, Deg. § 62, Lv. T II 482, 490-1, Js. 1582, Sl. 1148, BK I 1132-3, Hv. 334, Br. 778, JPS 579-80, DM 441, Mcl. 442, Sd. 1211 ¶ S *-w- may either go back to the N etymon (that will be reconstructed as *šILU) or be due to contamination with N *šalū '↑' || B: Ah sullān 'douceur', ETwl, Ty sol'lan id., 'lentement' ¶ Fc. 1832, PGG 298 || IE: NaIE *sil- 'be silent, be quiet' > L silē- 'be silent, be still, rest' || Gt inf. ana-silan* (· κοπάειν) 'nachlassen, verstummen' (of wind) (the attested form is 3s p. anasilaida) [Mc. 4.39], AS sālness 'silence (Schweigen)' ¶ Mn. 1139, WP II 462, Fs. 44, Ho. 269 || U: FU (att. in BF) *š|čilya- '(?) be quiet' > F hiljaa, hiljan, Krl hiílan adv. 'quiet', Krl Ld hií 'slow, quiet', Es hili, hilja 'late' (adv.), hilja 'late' (adj.), Lv īlig_ 'slow' ¶ SK 75, SSA I 163 || A: M *sil∇- > WrM silirke- {MED} v. 'be lazy\idle', HIM {BMR} шилэрхэ- 'walk\move too slowly, be lazy, (etw.) ungeren tun'; Kl {Rm.} šalā- (< *sila-yi-) 'nichts tun, faul daliegen', Brt hэлэн хатар- 'be idle, loaf' ¶ MED 707, BMR IV 355, Chr. 705, KW 346 ¶¶ Radloff (Rl. IV 653-4) and Räsänen (Rs. W 416) mentioned a T root in MQp [CC] {Rl. → Rs.} silī 'ruhig, gelassen' and in Kr silāḡ 'Ruhe', but it is not confirmed either by Grønbech (as to MQp [CC]) or by KRPS (for Karaite).

2154. *šulē 'throat, mouth' > HS: S *°✓š|sɪl > Ar sāḡil- 'throat', masḡal- id. (both words restructured as if they were derived from ✓sɪl 'cough') ¶ BK I 1093, Hv. 322 || ?φ CCh: Ms {J} sùllà, Bnn {ChL} sùldà, BnnM {ChL} sula 'hole' (× N *SIL∇ 'hole', q.v.) ¶ ChC s.v. 'hole', ChL, J KKS || U: FU *šūle 'mouth, lip' > Os: V luł, Vy yul, Ty ʔuʔ, D tut 'mouth' || F huuli (gen. huulen), Es huul 'lip' | Lp: N {N} sullā 'approximation to sth.', L {LLO} sullā 'in der Richtung gegen ..., in der Gegend von ...' ¶ UEW 903 || IE: NaIE *swel- v. {P} 'swallow' > Av xvar- 'genießen, verzehren' || NE swill 'drink eagerly\greedily', Ic sollr 'Trinkgelage' || ext.: *swelk- > MLG,

MDt *swalch* 'Schlund', NHG *Schwalch* 'Öffnung des Schmelzofens', OHG inf. *swelhan* ~ *swelgan*, ON inf. *swelga*, AS inf. *swelzan* 'to swallow', NE *swallow* v. ¶ P 1045 ¶ The absence of traces of the *lr.* in NaIE may be explained by metathesis (N **š*u \bar{u} l'ê' > mt. **s*welH- > **s*wel- with no **a* after a cns. and before vowels of the affixes).

2155. (₂?) **š*ü|ugL ▽ 'attack, be hostile, defeat (the enemy)' > HS: Eg fP *swyr* (= {EG} *ś*h \bar{r}) '(den Feind) niederwerfen, zu Boden strecken' töten', Eg L *swyr*ω (Bezeichnung für feindliche Menschen) ¶ EG IV 257-8, Fk. 242 || K: OG {DCh.} *š*u \bar{u} l-i 'quarrel, fight', G {Chx.} *š*u \bar{u} l-i 'dissension, strife, quarrel, enmity', *š*u \bar{u} l- 'auf Kriegsfuß stehen, in Unfrieden leben' (hardly [↔ DCh.] from Ar *š*u \bar{u} l- 'occupation, affaire, travail, besogne', F BK I 1245) ¶ DCh. 1530, Chx. 1854-5 || A: ?σ M: WrM {MED} *swilgūđū*- v. 'hate, detest, abhor; defame' ¶ MED 743.

2156. ₂ **š*lah₂UL ▽ 'roe, deer' > K: GZ **š*wel- 'roe, chamois' > G *š*vel-, Mg *skwer*- id., Lz *mskwer*-, *pskwer*-, *mskwer*- 'deer' ¶ K 216, K² 250, FS K 380, FS E 427, Chik. 91, Gm. SSh 27 (Gm.'s law: K **š*w- > Mg/Lz *skv*-) || HS: EC {Ss.} **š*āl- 'oryx' > Or {Th.} *swāl*-a, Or B {Sr.} *sālā*, {Vnt.} *swāla*, Gln *šāl*-to, Brj *sālā* id., EC ⇨ Amh *swāla* id. ¶ Ss. PEC 33, Ss. B 161, Th. 296, Sr. 382, Vnt. 131, GnK. 239.

2157. (₂?) **š*aĪΓ ▽ 'strike, break' > K **š*u \bar{u} l- > G {DCh.} *š*u \bar{u} l- vt. 'break, split' ('ломать, колоть, щепить'), {Chx.} 'Risse in etw. verursachen', G Kx {Chx.} *š*u \bar{u} l- 'zerquetschen, beschädigen etw. (z. B. vom Transport)' ¶ G *š*u \bar{u} - < **s*u \bar{u} - (by as.) < N **š*...Γ- (creation of a K word-initial "harmonic complex" [a cluster] of an obstruent and a pharyngeal cns. (actually a case of regular displacement of N word-internal pharyngeals) ¶ DCh. 1030, Chx. 1040 || ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) **slak*|k̄- or **slak*|k̄- 'beat, strike' > Clt: OIr *slachta* (cn. {Vn.}: *slachta*) 'beaten' ({Vn.} pp. of OIr **slac*- 'battere'), ScGt *slachdaim* 'I strike with a hammer', *slachdan* 'club'; with an "expressive" -kk-: OIr *slacc* 'sword', NIr *slacaire* {Dnn.} 'batter, bruise, beater' || Gmc: Gt inf. *slahan* (· *δέρειν*, *τύπτειν*) 'schlagen', OSx inf. *slahan*, ON inf. *slá*, Sw, Dn, Nnr inf. *slā*, OHG inf. *slahan* (*sluoc* / *sluogun* / *geslagen*) 'to beat, to slay, to slaughter', NHG inf. *schlagen*, OFrs inf. *slagia* 'to beat', AS inf. *sléan* id., 'to kill', NE *slay* ¶ P 959, EI 549-50, Vn. S 124, Dnn. 649, Vr. 512, Fs. 436, Ho. 298, Ho. S 67, Kb. 904, OsS 817-18, KM 652 || A: NaT **sal*- v. 'strike; move, put into (violent) motion' (× N **s*A1'ê' 'put, throw' [q.v.]) > Tkm *θal*- 'beat,

strike', Uz c o л - s o л -, Qm q s a l - 'strike', Qz q, Q q, Q r g s a l - 'strike\hit (violently)'; ⇨ NaT *s a l - i š 'battle, war' > Q r g, S t A l t, E T s a l i š, U z s o l i š id. ¶ Cl. 824, DTS 482, Jud. 625, UzR 377, MM 286, KrkR 559, TL 562 || M: AdS of M *s a l₁ u₁ - 'become separated, branch off', *s a l g a - vt. 'separate' (⇨ M *s a l a g a n 'branch') < N *š ä l₁ ∇₁ q U 'cleave, cut asunder' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ IS MS 353 s.v. *ś o¹ λ H¹ ∆ 'отделяться (от стада)' (K, U).

2158. *š ü l h ∇ 'sharp instrument, weapon' > K: GZ *m š w i l - 'bow (weapon)' > OG m š w i l d - i 'bow (weapon)', m š w i l - v - a 'werfen, schießen', Mg š k v i l -, š k v i n - 'bow (weapon)' ¶ FS E 248-9 || HS: S: Ar s i l ā h - 'weapon, sword' ¶ Hv. 330 || CCh: Bld {Srp.} s ā l á, Mf {SeignT} s ú l ō : m, {ChL} s ú l ō η 'arrow' ¶ Blz. NDA no. 123, Srp. WHA s.v. s ā l á, SeignT B s.v. s ú l ō : m || D (in SD): Tm c i l a i, Ml c i l a 'bow' ¶ D no. 2571 ◇ A rounded vw. in the initial syll. is suggested by K (and by Mf?), in Ar and D we may suppose delabialization *ü > *i ◇ Blz. NDA no. 123 (D, Ch, K + unt. T, M, Ko and J).

2158a. *š e í ∇ (or *š e í | l ∇ ?) 'take away\off, destroy, pull off' > K *°š a l - / *°š l - > G š a l - / š l - v. 'destroy, be destroyed, annihilate, spoil' ¶ Fn. SK 96 [no. 119], Chx. 1829-36 || HS: S *√ š l l v. 'take out\away' (× N *c o l | í ∇ 'be\make empty?') > Ar √ s l l v. G (pf. s a l l a, ip. - s u l l -) 'draw (a sword), extract gently, steal', Sq √ š l l v. 'ravir, enlever', BHb √ š l l G 'pull out' (2pm ip. t ā ' š o l l ū, Ruth 2.16), 'plunder', Ak √ š l l G 'withdraw (from a storage place?), plunder' (BHb and Ak: × S *√ θ l l 'plunder' > Ar √ θ l l id.) ¶ KB 1416-17, GB 814, BK I 1116-17, Hv. 329, L LS 417, Sd. 1142, CAD XVII/1 196-7 || IE: NaIE *s e l (w o) - v. 'take, seize' (× N *š i l¹ ū¹ [or *š i l¹ ū¹ ?] 'take, take away\off', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ U: FU *°š e í ∇ - v. 'split' > Prm š ö í - ({}LG) *š ö í - 'split, break into pieces' > Z Sk š o í - vi. 'split' (of playing knucklebones), Yz 'š u í a l - vt. 'chip (щ е п а т ь)' ¶ LG 321 || D *č e l - ({}GS) s -) v. 'pull off, draw' (× N *č e L ∇ 'pull [off], take away\out, rob', q.v.) > Kn s e l e v. 'draw, pull, pull off, rob', Tu s e l æ 'force', Tl {Km.} c e l u k u v. 'pull out (as eyeballs)', ? Kui ž e l k a v. 'pull', ž e l b a v. 'pull, draw' ¶¶ D no. 2791, Km. 363 [no. 472] ◇ If FU *°š e í ∇ belongs here, the N etymon is *š e í ∇, otherwise it may be either *š e í ∇ or *š e l ∇ ◇ Bru. 105 (S, IE), Blz. KM 120 [no. 22] (K, S, IE, D).

2159. (₂?) *š ∇ n̄₁ ∇₁ r ∇ (or *š ∇ ? ∇ n̄₁ ∇₁ r ∇ ?) 'make, build' > K *°š e n - 'build' > OG, G š e n - id. ¶ Ser. 181, Chx. 1780-1 || HS: Ch ({}Nw.) *š i n a 'work': CCh: Tr {Nw.} š ŷ n à n. 'work' | Bcm {Sk.} l¹ e n t e | Lmn {Lk.} š ŷ n à |

Glv {RpB} š̂zra, Dgh {IL} 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 (= 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡), MfG {Brr.} š̂zra ~ š̂zre n. 'work', pMM {Ro.} š̂zr id. > Hrz {Ro.} š̂era, Mlk {Ro.} š̂èrélè, Gzg D {Lk.} š̂zra, {Ro.} š̂zrá, Mofu {Ro.} š̂èréy id. | ZmB {Sa.} sīn id. || ECh: ? Skr {Lk.} ússan id. ¶ Ch *-n- > -r-, -r- in the Mdr and some Mtk lges (Mdr š̂áré, Glv š̂árda, Mofu {Ba.} š̂èr 'tooth') ¶ Nw. 34 [no. 150], ChC s.v. 'work', Brr. MG II 236, RpB s.v. š̂zra, Lk. G 137, Lk. ZSS, Lk. H s.v. Lmn š̂èná, Sa. L s.v. ZmB sīn, Ro. 362 [no. 817] || WS *√çn̄ 'make, work skilfully' > Ar √çn̄ G 'make, manufacture', Nbt √çn̄ v. G or D 'make' (← Ar?), Sb {BGMR} √çn̄ v. 'fortify', çn̄ n. or v. '(?) work', mçn̄t 'fortress, castle', Hdr {MA} mçn̄t(n) id., OYmn {Slw.} mçn̄h 'Festung, Bauwerk', Ar NY {Slw.} çānīf 'wall (Mauer)', Mn {MA} ʔçn̄ 'ouvrier, gardien', Qt {MA} ɔp-mçn̄t '(?) corporation des artisans', Jb {Jo.} 'š̂inaf v. 'invent', e'š̂unf v. 'build, invent', Mh {Jo.} ç̂n̄āt (√çn̄), Jb E/C {Jo.} ç̂n̄āt 'way of doing sth.' (hardly ← Ar O [< Ar صنعة ç̂anfa 'art']), Sr 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 ç̂n̄-ā 'skill, craft; a doing, contrivance' (← Sr √çn̄ D 'act skilfully'), BHb √çn̄ Sh (abs. inf. 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 haç̂'nēa) with questionable meaning ({BDB} 'make humble to work', {Hier.} 'solliciter ambulare', for other interpretations cf. KB 972-3) ¶ HJ 971, Cn. N II 172, JPS 481-2, Br. 633, KB 972-3, BDB 856, Ln. 1832-5, BK I 1375, Hv. 407, BGMR 143, MA 94, Slw. 136, Jo. M 364, Jo. J 240 ¶ The WS glottalized cns. *ç̂- (for *š̂-) requires explanation. It may go back to N *š̂̄n̄- if the N etymon was *š̂̄n̄n̄n̄n̄n̄n̄ || ?σ IE *senχx- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} sanh- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N *š̂̄n̄h̄n̄ '≈ acquire, obtain, increase', q.v.) || NaIE *se|ana-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' (× N *š̂̄Eηq̄n̄ 'seek, try to obtain', q.v.) > OI san- (pres. sa'nō-ti, aor. 'sanat) 'gain, obtain, procure', Av han- 'obtain, achieve' || ? Gk Hm ἄνυμα (Mn: < *san-j̄u-) 'take' (unless *aj̄-nu- ← IE *aj̄- 'seize' [> Ht ai- 'give']), Gk D 1p ipf. ἄνυμεθ {By} 'achever', Gk (thematized) ἄνύω, Gk A ἄνύω 'effect, accomplish', Gk Hm ἄνω (< ἄνFω) {By} 'mener à terme, accomplir, achever' || OIr {P} con-sn̄í 'fights (for sth.), wins', {Vn.} 'il se bat (pour), il dispute (qch.), il gagne', do-seinr̄n̄ 'pursues, strives', ?σ W c̄yn̄yddu inf. 'to overrun, to win', {P} 'erobern, zu gewinnen suchen', {YGM} 'to increase, to grow, to augment' || MHG inf. senen, NGr Sw inf. sanen, sānen, NHG inf. sehnen 'to long, to yearn', MLG senentlīken 'sehnsüchtig' ¶¶ WP II 493-4, P 906, EI 3 (*sen(h̄n̄)- 'seek, accomplish'), Mn. 1111-12, M K III 427-8, By 191-3, Vn. C 200, ≈ LP § 631, YGM-1 149, F I 41, 115, KM 698, Ts. W 70 ||

?σ **A**: T *sīn 'observation, external appearance' (one of two possible [but dubious] etymologies, ffd. cf. N *S'E?o'ñ∇ 'hear, perceive')..

2160. *šüñigo (or *šüño??) 'snow' > IE: NaIE *sneǵ^{wh}- v. 'snow', *snig^{wh}-, *snoǵ^{wh}o- n. 'snow' > pInA *snēha- > Prkr s i ṇ e h a- 'hoarfrost, snow, mist', pInA *sniḥ- > Prkr s i ṇ h ā- 'snow, dew, mist', Drd: Shina hīn 'snow' | Irn: Shgn žaniž id., Av snaēžā- v. 'snow' || Gk νέφ-α accus. 'snow', νεύφει 'it snows' || L n i x (gen. n i v i s) 'snow', nīvit (< *sneǵ^{wh}eti) 'it is snowing', ninguit id. (*-n-infix) || Clt {AD} *°snig^{wh}- n. 'snow', {Matas.} *snig^{wh}-(y)o- v. 'snow' > W {YGM} nyf 'snow'; {SDM} nyfio v. 'snow', OIr snig-id, -snig v. 'snow, rain', snige ntr. 'drip, flowing', snecht(a)e 'snow' (with a *t-sx like in Gk νεφετός 'falling snow, snowstorm'), NIr sneachta 'snow' || OHG, AS inf. snīwan 'to snow', ON snýr 'it snows', Gt snaiws, OHG snēo, NHG Schnee, ON snær, snjár, snjór, Dn sne, Sw snö, AS snāw 'snow', NE snow || Lt sniẽgas, Ltv sniẽgs, Pru snaugis 'snow'; Lt inf. sniẽg-ti, Ltv inf. snigt 'to snow', Lt inf. snéigéti 'to snow heavily' | Sl *sněgъ 'snow' (gen. *sněgà) > OCS снѣгъ sněgъ, R снєг, P śnieg, Cz sníh, SCr Cr sniēg, SCr Sr снѣг, Blg сняг || Tc B síricatsitse 'snowy' ¶ P 974, EI 530 (*sneǵ^{wh}- v. 'snow', *snig^{wh}-s ~ *'snoǵ^{wh}o-s 'snow'), ≈ Tu. no-s 13798 and 13802, F II 298-9, WH II 169-70, LP § 26.9, Vn. S 153, Dnn. 664, YGM-1 346, Fs. 440, Vr. 527, Kb. 920, 922, OsS 838, 840, Ho. 304-5, Frn. 853, En. 252, Vs. III 697, StSS 617-18, Glh. 568-9, Ad. 629-30 || **U**: FU (in FL only) *šüñe (or *čüñe) 'wet snow' > F hуу 'ice, melting snow' | pLp {Lr.} *sōvē 'snow with ice and water' > Lp: N {N} суовве 'wet snow', S {Hs.} суōvie 'Eisrinde, Eisschicht auf der Erde', Kld {TI} sūvv 'Haufen von Eisstücken neben der Wuhne' ¶ SK 94, Lr. no. 1196, Lgc. no. 7195, Hs. 1271, TI 538, SSA I 201, ≠ Lcm. NLP 13, ≠ It. EWF 52 (F-Lp comparison "ist lautlich nicht statthaft"), ≠ Ps. M 136 (F ÷ Er čov, čoñ, Mk šov 'foam'; rejected in UEW 621) || **A** *sü|öñ^E 'ice, snow; cold' > Tg *süñü 'hoarfrost, snow' > Ewk siñi-ksə id., siñi-lgəñ 'snow', Lm hīñьs, Nn Bk sunġu 'hoarfrost', sunġu- v. 'become covered with hoarfrost', WrMc {STM, Z} cy(н)- (cy-мби, pret. cyн-кэ) 'cover with hoargrost' ¶ STM II 90-1, Z 635, 644-5 || M *söñ > WrM sōñ {MED} 'small pieces of ice in a river', HIM {MED} сөнґ id., {Gl.} sōñ 'small pieces of ice in a river (in the autumn), sludge', Brt hун(г) 'crumbly ice, drifting ice in rivers in springtime', Kl {KRS} сөн id., {Rm.} sōñ 'Frühjahrseis, lose Eisstücke im

Fluß', Ord sōŋ 'glaçons charriés par une rivière' ¶ KW 333, Gl. II 445, MED 731, Chr. 696, Ms. O 587 || NaT *sāŋ 'ice flowing on water of a river, block of ice' > Qzq sēŋ 'ice flowing on water of a river', Nog sēŋ 'block of ice', Qq sēŋ 'ice, ice floe', Tk Δ sēŋčē 'ice-covered ground', Tkm Δ θēŋ 'Glatteis (ice-covered ground, Γολποлед)', Chg Xw {Rl. ← Vm.} s̄aŋ 'das leichte Eis, das sich auf der Oberfläche des Wassers bildet' ||| Chv c̄aH 'small pieces of ice on the river (шуга) (before the river gets ice-bound); wellenförmige Schnee-verwehungen' ¶ NaT *ä may be explained by as.: *šūñigo (or *šūŋo) > (progr. as.) **sūŋä > (regr. as.) **sāŋä > T *sāŋ ¶ ET L-S 238-9, Rs. W 410, Rl. IV 286, 448, KrkR 574, Sht. 174, NogR 294, TL 19, Ash. XI 45, Jeg. 178, ChVS 157 || pKo {S} *səŋ-/ *sán- 'be chilly' > MKo sánàr-hΛ-, sánàr-hΛ-, NKo singəŋ singəŋ ha-, səŋir-ha-, sanir-ha- ¶ S QK no. 834, Nam 282, 299, MLC 869, 935, 1065 || pJ {S} *sùnsù 'cool' > OJ suzu-si, MJ sùzù-si, J T/Kg suzúsí, J K súzúsì, StJ {Kenk.} suzúsī id. ¶ Mr. 841, Kenk. 1855 ¶¶ T *-ä- points to a pA stem-final *E (the above-mentioned regr. as. pA *-ü|ö,,E > pT *-ä- of the initial syll.) ¶¶ SDM 1294 (pA *sjuŋe 'hoarfrost' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2077 (id.), S AJ 81, Rs. W 410, KW 333, Rm. SKE 284 ◇ FU *-e in *šūŋe suggests progr. as. (something like *šūñigo > **šūñigi > **šūŋgi > *šūŋe) ◇ An alternative (and less convincing) rec. is N *šūŋo > *šūŋo > *šūŋo > (mt.) *Snigo > IE *sneig^{wh}- (for details of the vowel changes cf. AD NGIE 17-22) ◇ Not here (⇔ AD NM) Eg fP š rŋ.t ≈ haily weather' (< N *šāŋ ▽ 'cold', '≈ hoarfrost', q.v.) and ??? Eg MKL š rŋ 'Unwetter, Gewölk', {Fk.} 'storm cloud' (EG IV 502, 507, Fk. 268-9), because Eg š goes back to N *š rather than to *š ◇ AD NM no. 7 (N *šūŋU), S CNM 5 (÷÷ ST), Rs. UAW 476-7 (U, A).

2161. *šUŋE 'breathe' ([in descendant lges] → 'soul') > HS (× N ?σ *s'ü'N ▽ [= *s'ü'ŋ ▽?] 'breathe, take a rest, be calm') > HS: Eg fP s s r 'breathe', Eg L/G s r s r id; hardly here Eg fP s s r 'smell smth.', Eg MK/G s r s r id., Eg {Mks} s r s r.t 'perfume' (< N *čūŋ ▽ 'smoke, smell' × N *s ū ŋ ▽ 'to smell [sth.]' [q.v.]) ¶ EG IV 172, 277, Fk. 245, Mks III no. 2634, Tk. I 130 || S *°✓ š|snn > Ar sanīn-at- {Ln., Fr.} 'wind' or 'gentle wind', {BK, Hv.} 'wind' ¶ Ln. 1439, Fr. II 361, BK I 1147-8, Hv. 338 || ?? EC: Af {PH} sīne- v. 'inhale snuff, sniff (sth.)', sīno 'snuff (tabac à priser)', Sa {R} s ī' nō 'Schnupftabak' (unless ← Tgr {LH} ⚡ ⚡ s̄ēnā v. 'sniff') ¶ PH 191, R S II 326, LH 646-7 || U: FU *šūŋe 'soul (of a dead person), ghost' > F Δ h u u 'ghost, spirit' ||| Er {Ps.} čōV 'human soul',

čov-zo pača-zo 'his soul', čopača 'ghost, Gespänst', Mk {Ps.} šopača id. (according to UEW, pača is likely to mean 'soul', too) | Z {W} šęn šzn 'shadow of a dead person', Z шонъян šonyan, шонъянōй šonyanzy 'the late ...' (used with the name of a deceased person), Z Vm šzn 'stench' || ObU *θūŋ 'shadow soul of a person' > pOs *ḫuŋk id. > Os: V luŋk, Vy yuŋk, Ty/Y ḫuŋk, D/K tonχ, Nz tunχ, Kz ḫōŋχ, O lōŋk; pVg *tīw id. > MK tow, towi, UK tēw, P tēwəś ¶ UEW 503, Coll. 82, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *šori, Ugr *θorkĩ 'ghost'), LG 322, Ht. no. 127 (ObU *θūχ) ¶ F huu may be alternatively (but much less plausibly) explained as a loan from Gmc: ON hug-r 'Sinn, Gedanke, Mut', cp. OHG hugu 'mind' (Vr. 265) || A ?φ *sū:₁næ ≈ soul, spirit of one's life' (× N ?σ *s'ü'N∇ [= *s'ü'ŋ∇ 'breathe'] '↑') > T: Tlt {Rl.} sünä 'soul', StAlt {BT} süne 'human soul which remains near the person's body for some time after his death' ¶ Rd. IV 804, Rs. W 434, BT 134 ¶ Rs. supposed that the word is a loan from M (cp. M *süne-sün), which may be true only if the M word exists without the sx *-sün (of which no ev. is known to me) || M *süne-sün > WrM {MED} 'the animating principle' (roughly correspondent to 'soul' or 'spirit'), HIM cyHC(əH) {MED} id., {BMR} 'soul, spirit of one's life', WrO sūnesūn id., Brt hYHəhə(H) 'soul', Kl † {Rm.} sūnsŋ, Kl D/Ö {Rm.} sūmsŋ 'Seele, Schattenseele', Ord sūnesū 'âme', Mnr H {SM} sunīēzə 'âme, principe de vie' ¶ MED 744, BMR III 143, Chr. 697, KW 340, SM 361, Krg. 424, T 361, Md. O 598, Snz. AB 585 || ??σ pJ *sūn-kata 'form, shape' > OJ sugata, MJ sùgàtá id., J Y sùgata, J K sùgátá, J Kg sugatá, {Kenk.} 'figure, pose, form, shape' ¶ Mr. 841, Kenk.1829 ¶¶ Acc. to SDM: "Originally probably a shamanistic term" ¶¶ SDM 1293-4 (pA *sūnu 'form, shape' > M, T, J) ¶¶ Hardly here T *sīn 'body, stature' > OT sīn, Qq sīn 'body, stature; monument, tomb', Uz sīn, Nog, Qzq, Qrg, Xk, ShY, ET, Tv sīn 'body, stature', MT sīn, QrB, Qmq sīn 'monument, tomb', Bsh hīn id., 'idol', Tk sīn 'monument, tomb, the exterior', VTt sīn 'idol' ¶ Cl. 832, Rs. W 418, 422, ET L-S 400-1 || D *cōŋk∇ ({An.} *corkk∇) 'demon, evil spirit' > Tm cōku 'vampire, devil, goblin', Ml cōku 'demon', Tl cōku v. 'be possessed (by evil spirits)', v. 'possess' (of a devil), Prj cōku v. 'possess' (of spirits) ¶¶ D no. 2870, An. SG 133, ≠ Km. 365 (without distinguishing between the √ in question and D *cōrku v. 'be intoxicated\mad') ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE no. 8 (U, A, D) ◇ Not here K *šwēn- 'breathe, sigh; take a rest' (see N ?σ *s'ü'N∇ (= *s'ü'ŋ∇?) '↑').

2162. *šang∇ 'to wish, to like, to love' > ?K *š(w)n- > G šno 'Reiz, Scharm, Anmut, liebliche Schönheit', šnoiani 'beautiful, pleasant', ?σ G

š n- / š v n- 'passend finden', 'als selbstverständlich betrachten' ¶ Chx. 1837, DCh. 1524 || **HS**: S *^oš ŋ v. 'love' > Sr š ŋ v. G 'love', š engā't-ā n. 'love' ¶ Br. 790 || NrOm *šun(n)- 'love, wish' (× N *šonʔ∇ 'to wish', q.v. ffd.) || **U**: FU *š aŋ ∇ - v. 'wish, strive for sth.' > F h a v i -, h a v i t s e - 'eilig\wetteifernd nachstreben\nachhaschen', h a v i 'wetteifernde Bemühung', h a v i t e l e - 'desire, have a desire for, hunt after', Vp h a b i 'hardly, only just, with difficulty' ('еле, насилу, едва') || pObU {Ht.} *θōŋk- (/ ? *θāŋkā-) v. 'want, wish' > pVg *tāŋk- > Vg: LK/P taŋk-, MK taŋk-, tāŋk-, Ss taŋx- id.; pOs *čāŋka- / *čonk- ({Hl.} *čīŋka- / *čāŋk-) > Os: V lāŋqa-, Vy yāŋqa- v. 'wish, want, love', Ty/U čāŋq- / čāŋq^ω-, D tāŋχ-, K tāŋχ- / tāŋχa-, Nz tāŋχa-, Kz čāŋka- 'want, wish' ¶ UEW 496, Coll. 80, SK 63-4, ZM 101, Ht. no. 146, Hl. rHt 71-2, Trs. S 202 || **A** *s|za_l;ŋE v. 'envy' (× N *šonʔ∇ 'to wish' [→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to'], q.v.) > Tg: WrMc {Z} c a h r y (a person) gloating over another's misfortune', c a h r y ũ a - v. 'gloat over another's misfortune', {Hr} s a r y u š a - 'schadenfroh sein, etwas Böses gönnen' ¶ STM II 62, Z 556, Hr 766 || pKo {S} *sà i'ó- 'be jealous (eifersüchtig sein)' > MKo sà i'ó-, NKo säu- ¶ S QK no. 1034, Nam 296, MLC 924 || pJ {S} *sənia-m- v. 'grudge, envy' > OJ sonem-, MJ sóném- {S} id., J T soném-, J K sóném-, J Kg sònèm- {Kenk.} 'be jealous (of one's success), envy; be envious' ¶ S QJ no. 708, Mr. 755, Kenk. 1806-7 ¶¶ SDM 1210 (pA *s|zaŋe > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 1913 (pA *s|zaŋi v. 'envy') ◇ The loss of N *g in the K root is still to be explained.

2163. ?σ (₂?) *š aŋ k|Ka 'stalks, branches', ? 'straw' > **HS**: S *^oš |s ∇ n χ - (× N *s o n'∇ q' 'ü' 'sinew, tendon; root', q.v.) > Ar s i n χ - 'racine, bois\roseau de la flèche, le bas d'un fer de lance' ¶ BK I 1150 ¶ S *χ (< N *q) belongs to the heritage of N *s o n'∇ q' 'ü' || **U**: FU *š aŋ k a ~ (att. in Ugr only) *š aŋ ∇ (or *s aŋ ∇) 'bough, branch' > F h a n k a 'thole(pin), oarlock, rowlock', Es Δ a ŋ g a' d_ 'an die Ränder des Bootes befestigte Dollen' || Hg á g 'branch, bough, twig' | ObU *θā y 'bough' > pVg *tā y > Vg: T t a w, LK t a y, P t ā y, Ss t o w id.; pOs d. *čā y - ∇ 'durch einen Ast entstandene Vertiefung\Biegung\Schiefheit im Holz \ in einem Brett' > Os: VK yā y †, Ty čā y †, Kr tā w a, Kz čō w i ¶ The BF word points to FU *š aŋ k a, the ObU cognate suggests *š aŋ ∇ (or *s aŋ ∇), while Hg á g may go back to both variants ¶ UEW 496, 843, Sm. 550 (FU *š a ŋ k a, FP *š a ŋ k a, Ugr *š a ŋ k a 'branch'), SK 55, MF 69-71 || ?σ D *č|ka_lŋ_lkk-(ay)

'rind of fruit and other useless parts of plants' (× N ***ʳ**š'āŋḲa '≈ bough, inedible [or less valuable] parts of plants', q.v. ffd.).

2164. *šUŋḲa (= *šüŋḲa?) 'be tight (too narrow), be heavy, be difficult' > IE: NaIE *swenk- 'be heavy\difficult' > Lt inf. surnkti 'to grow heavy, to begin to feel heavy', {Frn.} 'in der Schwangerschaft voranrücken', surnkus 'heavy, difficult', Olt surnkinga 'pregnant' || AS swangor {Sw.} 'sluggish (physically and mentally)', {Ho.} 'schwer, langsam, träge', OHG swangar, NHG schwanger, Dt zwanger 'pregnant' ¶ P 1048, Frn. 941, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, Kb. 995, Schz. 277, KM 689 || HS: CS *✓šnḳ '≈ be tight (too narrow), be difficult' > MHb ✓šnḳ v. D 'strangle, choke', JA [Trg.] ✓šnḳ D id., 'trouble, confound', Sh (pf. קַיְנִיָּא ʔaš'neḳ) 'be narrow', JEA ✓šnḳ Sh 'torment', SmA ✓šnḳ D 'destroy', ʔσ Ar ✓snq G (pf. saniqa) 'suffer indigestion of milk' (of babies) ¶ Js. 1064, Sl. 1166, Tal 915-16, BK I 1153, Hv. 340 || U: FU *šonka- 'be difficult, be sick, be in distress' ({UEW} 'eng, Bedrängnis; eng werden') > Prm *šog ({LG} *šog) > Vt šug adv. 'difficult, uneasy', Z šog 'grief, misfortune, sorrow', Prmk šog 'nausea, sickness, sorrow', Yz šo'gal- 'be ill\sick' || ? Hg aggóč- 'worry' ¶ UEW 501, LG 320 ¶ The meaning 'eng, eng werden' (reconstructed by UEW) is not attested directly, but is a felicitous scholarly guess (probably based on typological grounds) ◇ The discrepancy between NaIE *-we- (a reg reflex of N *u and *ü) and FU *-o- (usually a reflex of N *o) is puzzling. A possible (highly hypothetic) solution is N *šüŋḲa with FU *o from N *ü due to the FU vw. harmony (regr. as.: *ü...a > *o...a).

2165. *šineR∇ 'mouse' > HS: S: (mt.) Ak šarāru 'ε rat' ¶ Sd. 1185 || U: FU *šinere 'mouse' > F hiiri, Es hiir, Vp hīr id. | Mk шeep šeyar, Er чeepь čeyer, Δ čever id. | Prm *šūr > Z, Vt шыр šir id. || Hg egér / egere- id. | pObU {Ht.} *θēŋkar id. > pVg tāŋkar > Vg: T/LK/MK/P tāŋkar, LL/ML nom. pl. tāŋkārt, Ss taŋkar; pOs *ḫōŋkar ({ḫHl.} *ḫōŋkar) id. > Os: V löŋkar, Vy yōŋkar, Ty ḫāŋkʷar, D/Nz tenkar, Kz lenkar, O lonkar ~ lenkar id. ¶ Coll. 81, UEW 500-1, Db. OS xxx, It. no. 303, Ker. II 156, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *širiiri, Ugr *širkĩrĩ), LG 326, Ht. no. 150 || A *siŋ₁K₁ER∇ > Tg *siŋer 'mouse, rat' > Ewk PT/Np siŋerē-kēn, Ewk Ag/D hiŋerē-kēn, Lm Al hiŋer-kēn, Neg siŋēyē, Orc, Ud siŋz, Ul siŋgərz, Nn KU siŋgəri 'rat', Nn Nh siŋgərz {STM} id., {On.} 'rat, mouse', PCIWrMc [TF] {Mls} siŋgeri id., WrMc {Hr} siŋgeri 'mouse, rat, small rodent', {Z} сингэри 'rat, mouse', Jrc {Kiy.} šinge 'rat' ¶

STM II 92, On. 365, Z 595, Hr 801, Mls 238, Kiy. 105 [no. 149] || T: OT {Cl.} ς IQIR-qān 'ε large rat' ¶ Cl. 816 ◇ Coll. 148 (FU, Tg).

2166. UA ₂ *šār▽ 'to spread' > U: FU *šār▽- v. 'reach; spread, open wide' > Prm *šer- > Vt {U3S} šerya- 'spread wide (one's fingers), растопыривать', 'thin out (plants), прореживать', Z šerg-zd- 'spread out, move apart, open wide' ||| pObU *θēr- > pOs *φer-əmt- ({}Hl.) *φār-əmt-) 'spread out (ausbreiten), unterlegen, auf die Erde legen' > Os Vy yerəmt-, Os D terəmt- id., Os Kz φerməφ- 'ausbreiten'; Vg: T tā'rāmt-, LK/P tārəmt-, Ss tārəmt- {Rd.} id. | Hg ér- 'reach to, extend\stretch; get to, arrive at, come to' ¶ UEW 497-8, LG 319, U3S 498, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *šārä-, Ugr *θārä- 'let go'), Hl. rHt 68, MF 793, ≠ Ht. no. 156 || A: NaT *sār- 'spread' > Tk ς er- 'spread over (расстилать, расстелить), ausbreiten (разложить)', {Akd.} v. 'spread, lay', Az sār- id., 'hang clothes on the line', Tkm θer- v. 'spread out on the ground (fruit for drying), hang clothes on the line', Kr {Rl.} sār- 'ausbreiten, ausspannen', Chv ς ap- vt. 'spread (стлать, расстилать, распространять)' ¶ Rs. W 411, TkR 576, TtR 764, Akd. 676, Äz. 306-7, Ash XI 57-61, Fed. II 14-15, Jeg. 178, ChVS 158-9, Md. 36, TkR 576, Rl. IV 457.

2167. ₂ *šorw▽ 'dry; to get dry' > K: GZ (mt.) *šwer-/*šwr- 'get dry; become dim' > OG, G šr- vi. 'get dry', Mg skir-, sk3r- id., Lz skir-, skur-, skir-, skur- id., 'become dim'; ? (according to Gm.) OG šwer- 'get tired' ¶ GZ *-w- is reconstructed on the basis of Gm.'s law (K, GZ *šw- > Mg/Lz sk(∇)-) ¶ Gm. SSh 63, K 216, K² 250-1, FS K 381, FS E 428 || U *šorwa 'dry' > pLp *sōrvē 'dead (dry) pine tree' > Lp: S {Hs.} sōārvie, L {LLO} sārivē, N {N} soarive /-rv-, Kld sūērřv id.; Lp L {LLO} sārvo, Lp N {N} soarivo- /-rv- vi. 'turn into dead pines, wither' (of pine trees) | Prm {LG} *sur- > Z, Prmk шурав- šurav-, Z Δ šural- vi. 'dry, dry in the wind' || Sm {Jn.} *t|ć+rā- (= {Hl.} *t|ć+ra-) vi. 'dry up and get hard' ('[hart] trocknen') > Ne: T {Ter.} тыра-, T O {Lh.} tir·ā' 'get dry', F L {Lh.} 3s aor. tīrrāṅṅāb id. | Mt {Hl.} *tiri 'hard, dried up' (Mt M {Sp.} тыры 'hard') | ⇨ Sm {Hl.} *t|ć+rīpta- vt. 'dry' > Ne T тырăбта- id., Mt {Hl.} *t|j|ribt3- id. (Mt M {Mil.} trīptima-challä 'dried fish, юкола') ¶¶ Coll. 57, UEW 502-3, Lr. no. 1161, Lgc. no. 6810, Hs. 1227, TI 510, LG 324, Jn. 160, Hl. M no-s 1028-30, Ter. 681 ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 313 (*čira 'roast') (unt. comparisons).

2168. *šariX▽ (or *šarüX▽?) 'to stream, to flow' > HS: S *^o✓^rš^vrĥ > Ar ✓srĥ N (pf. ?insaraĥa) 'couler librement et s'introduire en coulant'

(p. ex. de l'eau) ¶ BK I 1078-9 || Eg G 𐌺𐌹𐌸 'ein Gewässer'; but Eg G 𐌺𐌹𐌸 'brook' does not belong here (⇔ OS no. 226O), because in this word the character *r* represents [l] rather than [r], as has been shown by Vycichl (Vc. 262) on the ev. of Cpt Sd 𐌿𐌻𐌹𐌸 𐌺𐌹𐌸 ~ 𐌿𐌻𐌹𐌸 𐌺𐌹𐌸 (verbe se rapportant à la réparation de bords des canaux) ¶ EG IV 22, 528 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: Jmb {Sk.} 𐌺𐌹𐌸 'river', Sir {Sk.} 𐌺𐌹𐌸 'stream' ¶ ChC s.v. 'river', Sk. NB 37 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 226O (NrBc, Eg 𐌺𐌹𐌸) || IE: IE **serH_x*-, NaIE **sreu-* v. 'stream, flow' (× N **ǵ^húr^h* 'to stream' [q.v.]): [1] IE **serH_x*- > OI **sisarti*, **sarati* 'streams, hurries', OI **si'rā* 'stream, water' || Clt {Mtas.} **sruto-* n. 'stream, flow' > OIr **sruth*, MW **ffred*, OBr **frut* id.; ?? Mir {EI} **sirid* 'wanders through' ¶ Traces of **H_x* are preserved in OI **sisī^hsarti* (desiderative of **sisarti*) and in Gk Hm βῶομαι 'move with speed/violence' (< **srō-iō*); but IE **sermo-* (> Vd **sarma* 'flowing, das Fließen' etc.) is better explained as going back to N **ǵ^hVR^hm^h* 'to stream, to flow, to pour' (q.v.) || [1a] NaIE **sero-* 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood' (× N **sūN₁VR^hϜ^h* or **sūRN^hϜ^h* 'nasal mucus', ? ≈ liquid' [?]) > L **serum* id. || Gk ὀρός 'the watery/serous part of milk, whey' || [2] (× N **ǵ^húr^h* '↑' [q.v.]) NaIE **sreu-* v. 'flow, stream', **srou-* n. act. 'flow(ing), streaming', **sru-* to- adj. 'flowing', **sreu-men-* 'stream' > OI **sra^hvati* 'flows', **sra^hva-* n. act. 'flow(ing)', **sru^hta-* 'fließend, geflossen', OI **srōta^h*, OPrs **rauta^h* 'river', NPrs 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣 *rūd* id., 'torrent, flowing water', Av gen. pl. *raona^m* 'of rivers' || Gk βέω v. 'flow, stream', Gk βόος, Gk Cp βόρος (originally n. ag.) 'stream, flow of water, current', βυτός 'flowing, fluid' || Lt **sra^hvā*, Ltv **strāvā* 'a stream, streaming', Lt **srovē* 'current, stream, torrent', inf. *sru^hti* (1s pres. *sru^hvū*) 'to stream', inf. *sra^hvēti* 'langsam fließen, rieseln', Ltv inf. **strāvēt* 'to stream', Lt **sru^htos* 'dungwash, dungwater', Lt E **sraujā* 'rapid stream', Ltv **strauja* 'Strom(strich)', **straume* 'stream, torrent, flow' || pSl **struja* > OCS *струја* *struja* 'Strahl, stream', Blg *струја*, SCr **strúja* 'Strahl', R *струя* 'stream, jet, spurt', Slv **strúja* 'branch of a river, stream'; pSl **ostrъvъ* ~ **ostrъvo* (< **ob-strovъ/0*) 'island (in a river)' (← 'sth. flowed about') > OCS *островъ* *ostrovъ*, Blg, R *остров*, Uk *острів*, SCr *òstrvo*, Slv *ostròv* 'island'; Sl **strumī* (gen. **strumene*) (< **sreu-men-*) > P *strumien*, 'stream, brook', Slv *strúmen* id., 'branch of a river', Uk *струмінь* 'stream, jet', R Δ *струмень* 'brook' || OHG *strom* (>

NHG *Strom*), AS *stréam* (> NE *stream*), ON *straumr* 'a stream' ||| Arm **առնոցախնեմ** *aṛoganem* vt. 'I sprinkle, I wet', **ռռնոցախնեմ** *oṛoganem* vt. 'I water, I bathe, I bedew, I wet' ||| OIr *sruaim* 'stream', {Vn.} 'flot', OBr *strum* 'copia (lactis)' ¶ P 909-10, 1003, M K III 443-4, M E II 784-5, ≈ M E II 731, 733, Sg. 592, BM 251, F II 425, 650-2, WH II 525, Vn. *S* 188, Matas. E 353, Slit. 77-8. Flr. 309, Vr. 552, Ho. 325, Kb. 976, OsS 882-3, KM 758-9, Frn. 887-90, Vs. III 165, 785, StSS 421, 630, Glh. 590-1, EI 207 (**ser-* 'flow', **sreu-* id.) ||| **U:** eU ***šarE* > FU **šar*∇ 'flood, brook' ~ **šä|er*∇ 'brook': [1] FU **šar*∇ > Ugr {UEW} **θar*∇ 'während des Hochwassers entstandener See', {AD} 'flood, stream' > ObU {Ht.} **θūr*∇ > pVg **tūr*∇ 'lake' > OVg: N SoG, E TM *tur*, S ChusO *tor*, S Vt *топа*, S SSs *turr*, W Sol *түр* id.; Vg: LK/MK/UK/P/NVK/ML/ LL/Ss *tūr*, NVZ *tor* (nom. pl. *tōrt*), SV *tur* (nom. pl. *tūrt*), LL *tor* id.; pOs **θar* > Os: V *lar* (with ppa. of 1s *lūrām*) 'während des Hochwassers an einem Wiesenufer entstandenen See', Nz *tur*, Kz *θur*, O *lar* id., lake', Vy *yar* 'tiefliegendes Wiesenufer und Wiesengelände, das im Frühling überschwemmt ist', Ty/Y *θār* id., D *tor* 'lake' | Hg *ár* 'flood, stream' | [2] FU **šä|er*∇ 'brook' > Prm {Lt.} **šor* 'stream, brook' > Z *шор* *šor* 'brook, a stream of water after a shower or from melting snow', Vt *шур* *šur* 'river', Vt Sl *šur* 'narrow gully, ложбина' ||| Hg *ér* (accus. *eret*) 'brook' ¶ In FU **šare* the final **e* is evidenced by the long *vw. á* in the first syll. in Hg (*F* IS I 164); the variant **šä|er*∇ < ***šarE* is due to vowel harmony || pY **yēr-* ~ **ēr-* ({IN UJ} **θer-*) 'flow, float' > Y K {IN H} *yērэ-* id., {Iox.} *ere-* ~ *čere-* id., {IN UJ} *erə-* vi. 'плыть (float?)', *erəš-* vd. 'float (сплавлять)'; OY K {Bil.} *čarrai*, {Merk} *jarrej* 'плыть' ¶¶ UEW 499 and 843-4, Coll. 3, Sm. 550 (FU **šā/orā*, FP **šora*, Ugr **θāra* 'flood, lake'), Lt. 100, LG 322, U3S 510, MF 10, 160, Ht. no. 158, IN H 150, IN UJ 220-1, 299 ||| **A** **si,arí* 'wet, soaked, damp' (× pA **si,arú* 'marsh' < N **siharú* 'dirt, earth', q.v. ffd.) > T ≈ ***si,ar* ({Md.} **sjar*, {IS} **sār*) 'clay, marsh, dirt' > Blgh **šār* (↳ OHg *sár* 'muddy river, swamp, mire', Hg *sár* 'mud, mire, dirt') and NaT **saz* 'clay, marsh, dirt' (see ffd. N **siharú*) || Tg: [1] Tg **sire* 'spring of water' > Nn Bk *sirэ* id., Ud *sīэ*, {Krm.} *sē* 'narrow river bay with cold springwater', WrMc {Z} *шэри* 'spring of water' ¶ STM II 101, Krm. 282. Z 671 | [2] ?φ,σ Tg **sora-* (× N **Suří* ≈ squeeze out, filter, strain?) > Neg *soy-*, {On.}, Nh/KU {STM} *soro-* 'be soaked, become wet (промокнуть, намокнуть)', WrMc {Z} *супа-* {Z}

'промывать \ вымывать (крупы, мясо и пр.)' ¶ Tg *-o- may belong to the heritage of N ***Suří** ¶ STM II 104, 129, On. 376, Z 648 || pJ {S} ***sítu** 'dampness, damp place' > MJ *sítu* {S} id., J T *śícu* {BJRS} 'dampness, humidity'; pJ {SDM} ***sità-t-** v. 'drop, leak' > OJ *sita-ta-*, *sita-da-*, MJ *sità-ta-* id., J T *śítatár-*, J K *śítátár-*, J Kg *śítàtâr-* {Kenk.} v. 'drip, drop, trickle' ¶ S QJ no. 625, BJRS II 119, Mr. 753, Kenk. 1718 || pKo {SDM} ***hìrì-** v. 'flow' > MKo *hìrì-*, NKo *hìrì-* id. ¶ Nam 496, MLC 1890 ¶¶ SDM 1283 (A ***sìòrì** v. 'flow, be soaked' > Tg ***sora-**, J, Ko), DQA no. 2768 ¶¶ Proto-Altaic ***-i₁a-** in ***si₁ári** 'flow, be soaked' is probably due to the infl. of pA ***si₁áru** 'marsh' < N ***śiha₁ru** 'dirt, earth', q.v. ffd.) || **D** ***ĉā₁ru** ({ǵGS} ***s|ć-?**) 'juice, liquid (as food)' > Tm *ĉā₁ru* 'juice, sap, water with aromatic substances', Ml *ĉā₁ru* 'sap, broth', Kn *ĉā₁ru*, *sā₁ru* 'sap, juice, broth', Tu *sā₁r₁* 'sap, soup, broth', *ĉā₁r₁* 'ε pepper water', Tl Mrl *ĉā₁ru* 'ε curry', Kui *ǰāu* 'dhal, gravy, soup', Ku *ǰāyū* 'curry', *ǰāyū* 'sauce, curry, cooked pulse'; D **↳** Mrt *sā₁r* 'dilute mixture of tamarind etc.'; there is also a still unexplainable variant ***ĉē₁ru** > Tm *ĉē₁ru* 'sap, juice', Tl *ĉē₁ru* 'tamarind soup, broth' ¶¶ D no. 2484

◇ The labial vocalic element in IE ***sre₁u-** and in Tg ***sora-** may be interpreted as suggesting a labial vw. in the pN etymon (***śarü₁?**) ◇ D ***r₁** points to a N intervocalic ***-r-** (hence N ***śari₁**). Therefore T ***-r₁** has been inherited from pA ***si₁ári** (with ***-r₁-** < N ***-ri₁-** in ***śari₁**). The vowel of the first syll. in D ***ĉē₁ru** may be due to regr. as. (infl. of ***i** of the next syll.). The glide ***u** in NaIE ***sre₁u-** is likely to belong to the heritage of N ***ǰû₁r₁û₁** '↑' ◇ IS MS 369 (***śar₁**: IE, T, U, D), ≈ Resh. NNE no. 8 (U, A + unc. T ***sir₁-** 'ooze, melt' and Tg ***sir-** id., which are possibly connected with N ***Suří** '≈ squeeze out, filter, strain', q.v.).

2169. *śê₁r₁m₁û₁ 'sinew, root' > HS: Ch ***√Srm** 'root' > WCh: Maha {Nw.} *sorom*, Bl {IL} *šorin*, Ngm {Nm.} *šori*, Cg {J} *sú₁rê* id., Krk {Al.} *śírín*, Grm {Sh.} *sūrā* id.; Ron: Tmbs {Sh.} *sēmē*, DfB {J} *súrê*, Chal {Sh.} *sîr* id. ¶ Stl. VZCh B no. 190, JI II 276-7, ChC s.v. 'root', J R 220, Sh. Ch s.v. *sîr*, Sh. TY, Sh. T s.v. *sēmē*, Al. W, Nw. M 57-8 || **U**: FU {Resh.} ***ś₁e₁rm₁** '≈ sinew, thread' > F *hermo*, Δ *hermu* 'nerve' || ObU {Ht.} ***θōram** > pOs ***θōrem** 'signal thread in a net (stretching when fish is caught)' > Os: V *lōram*, Vy *yōram*, Nz *turam*, Kz *θōram*, O *loram* id.; pVg *tāram* > Vg Ss *tōrom* id. ('Fühlleine') ¶ Resh. NNE no. 10, SK 70, Stn. D 802-3, Ht. no. 162 || **A** ***s₁r₁m₁û₁** 'sinew' > M ***sirmü-sün** 'sinew, tendon' > MM *širmusu*, WrM {MED} *sirmüsün*, HIM {MED, BMR} *шөрмөс(өн)*,

Brт шүрмэхэ(н) 'nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament'; but pM *sirbü-sün 'nerve, sinew, tendon' does not belong here, it goes back to N ?σ ***ṡiRb**∇ 'sinew; to sew' (q.v.) ¶ MED 716, 718, BMR IV 373, Chr. 738 || ?φ Tg *sumu 'tendon' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Ud sumu, Lm OI/AI/M/O/P/Sk/T hum, Lm KO humä, Ul sumul(i), Ork humu ~ sumu id., 'thread made of tendon', Nn Nh sumul, Nn Bk sumulu, Nn KU sum-kã 'tendon', Ewk sumumэ 'made of sinews' (threads) ¶ STM II 126, On. 380 || pKo {S} *hím > MKo hím, NKo him 'sinew, strength' ¶ S QJ no. 513, Nam 500, MLC 1901 || ?Т *°sE_L:_rmE > Chv сёрме купăс 'violin' (lit. 'string купăс' [купăс is a musical instrument]) ¶ ChVS 166 ¶¶ SDM 1283-4 (pA *s_ið_rme 'sinew' > Tg, M *sirmö-, Ko + unc. M *sirbö- [i.e. *sirbü- from N ***ṡiRb**∇ 'sinew']), DQA no. 2083 (id.), ≈ SDM97 (*sürmu id.), Rm. SKE 63 ◇ The extant data do not allow us to distinguish between the N vowels *e and *i of the first syll. ◇ Resh. NNE no. 10 (U, A).

2170. ***šür**t_i∇ 'fibre (used as thread)' > U: FP *šürt∇ 'yarn, thread' > Chr Н шёрты 'šartъ, Chr U/B šürtö id., StChr L шүртö 'šürtö 'thread' | Prm *šart 'yarn' > Z шорт šart, Yz šört, Vt шорт šort ¶ UEW 785, Sm. 554 (FP *šürt_i∇ 'thread'), MRS 747, LG 323 || А *s_il_i:_rt_i∇ > Т *s_il_i:_rt (× pA *sErp_Lâ 'thick hair, bristle' < N ***šE**'_r∇'Rp∇ 'coarse hair', q.v. ffd.) > OT sirt 'thick\hoarse hair' || Blgh *širt > Chv шэрт šьрт 'bristle'; Blgh *širt б→ Bsh šьрт 'bristle', SbTt Tb {Rl.} širt, {Gig.} шырт, SbTt Ichk {TTDS} širt 'horse hair', Hg sërte ~ sörte 'bristle' ¶ Chv ш- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T *i (that later changed into *I due to vw. harmony) ¶ Cl. 846, Ash. XVII 340-1, Fed. II 449-50, Jeg. 335, ChVS 281, Gomb. BTL 117, Tm. 251, TTDS 519, Rl. IV 1075, EWU 1322-3 || ?? M: [1] M *°sirk∇ (from **sirt-k∇?) > Kl {Rm.} širkə 'Borste (des Schweinerückens), Nackenhaare'; [2] M *sirkeg (if from **sirt-keg) 'fibre, thread' (× N ***šER**_L∇_K∇ 'to plait, to wattle', q.v.) > WrM {MED} sirkeg 'fibre, thread', HIM ширхэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'fibre, filament (волосок), hair, bristle', Brт шэрхэг 'bristle', Kl {KRS} ширкг širkəg 'bristle', {Rm.} širkəg 'seideber Faden, Rohseide', ?φ Mnr Н {SM} šq_{aq} 'la trame d'un tissu', Ord širk^khek 'les fils d'un tissu, les fibres du bois'; M б→ WrMc {Z} сиргэ 'silk, silk thread'; [3] M *sirkey- > WrM sirkēi- {MED} v. 'bristle' (of hair), HIM ширхий- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'stand on end, становиться дыбом' (hair), Kl {KRS} ширки- v. 'bristle up (ощетиниться)', {Rm.} širkī- 'rauh\grob sein, zornig dastehen' ¶ MED 718, 718, BMR IV 363, Chr. 676, KW 360, KRS 676,

Kow. 1533, KW 360, SM 378, Ms. O 623, Z 619 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1260 (pA *sirp^a|o|u 'thick hair, bristle' > T *sirt + [not belonging to N *šÜRt∇]: Tg *sirpa-kta 'hoarse's hair, bristle' [going back to pA *sErp_L'^a < N *šE^r'∇'Rp∇ 'coarse hair, eyebrow', q.v. ffd.] and M *ser- ~ *sir- 'crest (гребень, холка, плавник), long rod, switch, bristle') || HS: Ar ✓ srd G v. 'sew\stitch (leather)' (× sd. from ✓ srd 'pierce'), sard- {BK, Hv.} 'mailed fabric', {Ln.} 'coat of mail' ¶ Ar d is likely to belong to the heritage of ✓ srd 'pierce' ¶ BK I 1079-80, Hv. 317-18, Ln. 1346-7 ◇ M *i and pre-T *i (> T *I) go back to N *ü (delabialization, which is a reg. change, see Introduction, § 2.4).

2171. *šeh^rE 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > HS: CS *✓ šhr > JA [Trg.], JPA, Sr, Md ✓ šhr G 'be awake', JEA ✓ šhr 'remain awake late', Ar ✓ shr G 'spend the night awake' (× N *šEhR∇ 'late' ([in descendant lges] → 'evening, night') ¶ Lv. IV 515, Js. 1527, Sl. 1129, Br. 760, Ln. 1451, BK I 1156, Hv. 341 || ECh: Jg {J} ser- v. 'see' (pres. sera, p. sirr-), EDng {Fd.} sàrìḡilè ~ sàrḡilè 'rester les yeux ouverts sans pouvoir trouver le sommeil, ne pas fermer l'œil' ¶ J BJ 117, Fd. 365 || C: Ag: Xm Wg {Blz.} šzr 'hear' ¶ Blz. E no. 10 || IE *seHr-, *serw- > NaIE *sēr-, *serw- ({IS} *se^rHr^r-, {P} ser_Lḡ-) {P} 'sorgend Obacht geben, schützen, bewahren': [1] IE *seHr- > Av haraiti 'hat Acht, schützt', {EI} 'defends', haratar 'Hüter, Wächter', hāra- 'Acht haben, schützen' || Gk ἥρωξ (gen. ἥρωος) '*protector' → 'hero' [2] NaIE *serw- > L servā- v. 'watch over, keep', Osc serevkiđ 'auspicio, iussu', Um seritu SERITU 'servato' || ?? Ld {Gsm.} katare- (= kat-sare-) (< *-soreye/o-) {Pol.} 'stand [upon so.'s] watch', sarēta {Pol.} 'protector' (valid if Pol.'s translation of the Ld words [EI 458] is right) ¶ The acute intonation in Lt suggests an IE √ with a lr. *H̄ or *H; Gk η points to a palatalized lr. ¶¶ P 910, ≈ EI 458 (*ser- 'protect'), Brtl. 1787, 1806, Frn. 776-7, En. 136, Tp. P A-D 52-3, IS II 107-8, F I 644-5, WH II 525-6, Bc. G 324, 345, Frn. 776-7, ≈ Gsm. LW I 64-5, 87 (Ld {Gsm.} katare- 'willfahren' [?], sarēta 'wohlgesinnt') || U: FL *šera|ä- v. 'awake' > F herä- v. 'awake, wake up', Vp herāštuda ~ herāštüdä id., Es {Rs.} āraneda 'fühlen, ahnen, gewahr werden, entdecken' | ? Mk cпрозе- sargožə-, Er сыпрозе- sirgože- vi. 'awake' (according to IS, pMr *srga- < *šrga- < *šer-kä) ¶ SK 71, ERV 628, PI 256 || A *sær^ri 'know, beware, feel' > T *særæ- > NaT *sæzæ- v. 'feel, perceive, understand' > OT, Chg sez- (aor. sezä-r) v. 'perceive, feel, discern, notice', Tk sez-, Az, Kt, Nog,

Qzq, Qq, Krg sez-, Xk sis-, StAlt ses- 'feel, guess', Tkm шебешар бол- v. 'undergo', ?ф θΙδ- 'feel', VTt сиз- 'feel' (→ Chv сис- id.), Bsh һизе- 'feel' ¶ Cl. 860-1, DTS 498, ET L-S 221-2, Rs. W 413, Tkr 570, 603, BT 128, Ash. XI 156-7, ed. II 52, Jeg. 192, ChVS 169 || M *seri- v. 'be awake, perceive' > MM [S] seri- v. 'notice, know, learn', [HI, MA] seri- vi. 'awake', sere- v. 'notice' ('s'appercevoir de'), 'feel', WrM seri- ~ sere- {MED} vi. 'awaken, revive; recover consciousness; keep vigil; learn', HIM сэрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'be awake, wake up; feel, have a presentiment; остерегаться', Brt һэри- ~ һэрэ- vi. 'awaken', Kl {KRS} сэр- ser- id., 'be awake', {Rm.} ser- 'wachen, erwachen, wachsam sein; fühlen; auf der Hut sein, vorsichtig\behutsam sein', Dg {Pp.} sěřĩ-, {T} sere-, Dx šīeri-, MMgl {Iw.} serūn- vi. 'awake', Mgl {Rm.} serānā 'he is awake', Mnr H {SM} sari- 's'éveiller, reprendre ses senses, se dégriser', Ord sere- 's'éveiller; se méfier, se défier' ¶ H 134, MED 689-90, BMR III 162, Chr. 708, KRS 451, KW 325, Ms. O 574, Ms. H 94, Pp. MA 320, Iw. 131-2, SM 327-8, T 357, T DgJ 163, T DnJ 142 || Tg *seri- 'feel, be awake' > Nn KU сэрэ- v. 'feel, notice', Ewk, Sol сэри- 'be awake', WrMc {Hr} sere- {Z} сэрэ- id., 'feel, guess, understand'; → Tg *seri-bu- vt. 'awake' > Ewk сэриw-, Sol, Nn Nh сэрū-, Lm hō:ru-, Neg сэуэw-, Orc сэуу-, Ork сэру-, Ud {STM} siū-si-, Ud Sm {Krm.} siu-si, Ul сэру-čū/i- id., WrMc {Z} сэрэбү- v. 'bring (so.) to his senses, sober (so.); to give to feel\understand' ¶ STM II 145, Vas. 378, Krm. 286, Klz. S II 40, Z 589, Hr 784 || pKo {S} *sari- 'beware, be careful, spare oneself' > NKo sari- id., Ko {Rm.} sari-, s̄gri- or s̄ri- v. 'be careful of oneself, be anxious about oneself']MKo sirkii 'wisdom', NKo silgi id. ¶ S QK no. 122, Nam 231, MLC 873, 1027, Rm. SKE 224, S AJ 256 [no. 122] || pJ *sír- v. 'know' > OJ sir-, MJ sír-, J T sír-, J K/Kg sír- id. ¶ S AJ 74, 91, 266 [no. 40], S QJ no. 40, Mr. 752, Kenk. 1707 ¶¶ SDM 1219-20 (pA *sā́ri 'know; beware, feel' > M, T [reconstructed as *sE|ḗr-], Ko, J + err. pTg *sā- 'know'), DQA no. 1946 (id.), S VL no. 207, S AJ 91-2, 276 [no. 38] (unc. rec. of a long *ē), ADb. SR 24, KW 325 (M, T), Rm. EAS 71, Pp. VG 29, 72 (T, M), Mur. EA 111, Mur. NKT 277-8, Mill. AJVC 852, Oz. NM 228-9, Mr. KJ 234 ¶¶ Starostin (S AJ 91-2) and SDM (l.c.) justified the adduction of Tg *sā- v. 'know' by presuming that A *-r- (and *-r̄-?) was lost after long vowels (S AJ 20-1), allegedly on the ev. of Tg *ī- v. 'enter' and Tg *mū- 'water', which Starostin equated with M *ire- v. 'come' and WrM mōren 'river', but both Tg *ī- and Tg *mū- have

obvious N etymologies without *-r- (*F* N *ʔ^re¹y∇ 'come, arrive' and N *mûhi 'water, fluid') and hence do not justify the hyp. of the Tg loss of A *-r- or *-r̄- || E: NEI, AchEI s̄i-r̄i 'ear' ¶¶ HK 1089 ◇ IS MS 331 (*šer̄), IS II 107-8 (*šeh̄r̄), Rs. UAW 43 (U, A), Blz. E no. 10 (E, HS) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 229 (*ser ~ *sor 'know') (IE, U, A, J + qu. Ko, Gil).

2172. *ʔ^rä¹t∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' > HS: WS *šit- (plural *šat-āt-) 'podex, seat (of body)' ('Gesäß') > BHb תּוּשֵׁי 'šēṭ (pl. תּוּשֵׁי תּוּשֵׁי 'šāṭūt) 'seat (of body), buttocks', IA št 'buttocks, anus', Sr [𐤒𐤍] 𐤒𐤍 ṣt-ā 'podex, nades; fundus (sepulcri)', Md šatā 'buttocks, pubic regions', Ar ʔist- (pl. satat-) {Ln.} 'podex, anus', {Hv.} 'buttock', Mh {Jo.} šīt (pl. šitūt) 'backside, buttocks, anus', Hrs {Jo.} šīt (pl. šitūt) 'backside, posterior', Jb C {Jo.} 'šet (pl. 'šetet), Jb E {Jo.} 'šet 'privates (front or back, of a male or female)', Sq {Jo.} ššh, {L} 'šeh 'parties sexuelles de la femme', Grg SI suto 'flesh of back above the hip', Grg Ed ušt 'waist'; MHb תּוּשֵׁי šyṭ (traditional rabbinical vocalization: תּוּשֵׁי šīt) 'a pit beside the altar (of the Temple) for libations' ('ein unterirdischer Raum ... am südwestlichen Winkel des Altars, wohin der Wein der Trankopfer hinabfiel') may be a late reinterpretation of BHb תּוּשֵׁי šēṭ written with a mater lectionis ֿ y for ē ¶ Ln. 56, Hv. 8, KB 1536-7, HJ 1198. Lv. IV 550, Br. 810-11, DM 446, Jo. M 396, Jo. H 125, Jo. J 267, L LS 413, L EDG III 102, 566, ≈ MiK I no. 1.255 (S *š∇t-, *ʔi-š∇t-) ¶ Not here (⇔ MiK) Ak išdu 'base, foundation' and Ug ʔšd = ʔišdu 'leg' (see N *s|šæd∇ [or *s|šid∇ ?] 'lower part')] ? S *-šīt- (*√šyt) v. 'put, place' > BHb תּוּשֵׁי √šyt G (ip. 3m yā-šīt, pf. 'šāṭ), Ph, Pun št (√šyt), Ug √šyt ([AkSc] inf. šītū), Amr {G} √šyt id.; (× N *š^rayū¹d∇ 'throw, [?] leave [abandon]) Ak √šyt (inf. šētum, šiatum, p. -šīt-) 'übrig lassen' ¶ KB 1375-7, HJ 1130-1, A no. 2702, OLS 456-7, G A 32, Hnr. 181, Sd. 1221 || Eg Md sty '(Hand, Arm an etw.) legen' (× Eg P sty v. 'throw' < N *sid∇ 'sprinkle, pour' × N *č^rūt∇ [or *č^rūt∇?] 'throw, fling, pour'), ? Eg fP st (if from *s∇t-t-) 'seat' (→ 'throne'), 'place' > Cpt Sd/B ce se 'seat, place', ce se- in Cpt Sd cemice se-mise 𐤉 Cpt B cemice se-misi {Vc.} 'delivery chair', {Crum, Crn.} lit. 'birth place, birth seat' → 'childbirth, delivery' (MICE mise is v. 'bear, bring forth') ¶ EG IV 1-6, Fk. 206, 328, Vc. 182, Crum 186, Crn. 90, 145, ≈ Tk I 228 (without distinguishing between Eg sty 'lay' and sty 'throw') || EC: ? Sml šito 'vagina' (← 'podex?') ¶ DSI 551 || NrOm: Kf {C} šittō, Mch {L} šitto 'vulva', Kcm {CR} settō 'clitoris', Ym {C} sētō 'hymen' (all from

*'podex'?) ¶ C SE IV 502, C SE III s.v. Janjero $s\bar{e}t\bar{o}$, L M 52, AD SF 247, Blz. OLBP no. 107 ¶¶ Ward ESE 407 → Tk. I 228 (Eg, S) || ? Ch: CCh: Lgn {Bou.} $s\grave{a}t\grave{z}\eta$ 'sit down' || ECh: Kwn {J} $s\grave{a}d\acute{i}$ id. ¶ JI II 295, Bou. K s.v. $s\grave{a}t\grave{z}\eta$, ChC s.v. 'sit (down)' || ?σ K * $\acute{o}st-$ > G $\acute{s}t-$ / $\acute{s}ten-$ / $\acute{s}tin-$ / $\acute{s}tom-$ 'remain, leave (let sth. remain)' (× ← K * $\acute{s}wd-$ 'renain') ¶ Chx. 1822, DCh. 1519 || IE * $sed-$ v. 'sit (down)' > OI $sad-$ 'sit down, be seated' (3s aor. 'a-sad-at, 3s pres. 'sīdati), Av had- v. 'sit down', 3s pres. hiδaiti (< * $sisde/o-$) 'sit', OI 'sadaḥ n. 'seat, place, residence' || Arm նստիմ nstīm 'I sit, I am sitting down', aor. նստայ nstaj (< * $ni-sed-/*ni-sd-$, cp. OI ni- $s\bar{i}dati$ 'sits down') || Gk 1s $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (< * $sed-yo-$) 'seat oneself, sit', 1s $\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (< * $sisde/o-$) 'make to sit, seat, place', 'sit, sit down', $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (gen. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$) ntr. 'seat, stool', $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ 'seat, chair, stool, bench' || L $sed\bar{e}-$ (1s pres. $sed\bar{e}\bar{o}$) v. 'sit', 1s $s\bar{i}d\bar{o}$ (< * $sisde/o-$) 'sit down' || Clt {Matas.} * $sed-o-$ 'sit' > OIr $saidid$, -said 'sit' ($saidid$ 'sits'), W {Vn.} inf. $seddu$ 'to sit', {YGM} $sedd$ 'seat', MBr $hezaff$ 'stop', Br {Hm.} $hezarn$'s'arrêter'; Clt {Matas.} * $\acute{o}sedyo-$ n. 'seat' > OIr $suide$ 'sitting, seat'; Clt {Matas.} * $sedlo-$ n. 'seat' > Gl $caneco-sedlon$ || Gt inf. $sitan$ ($\sigma\iota\tau\alpha\iota$) 'sitzen', ON inf. $sitja$, OSx inf. $sittian$, OHG inf. $sizzen$, NHG inf. $sitzen$, AS inf. $sittan$ 'to sit', NE sit || Lt inf. $s\acute{e}d\acute{e}ti$ 'to sit' (1s pres. $s\acute{e}dmi$, $s\acute{e}d\acute{z}iu$ 'I sit'), inf. $s\acute{e}sti$ / 1s pres. $s\acute{e}d-u$ (usually rf. $s\acute{e}sti-s$) 'sit down', Ltv inf. $s\acute{e}st$ / 1s pres. $s\acute{e}\acute{z}u$, $s\acute{e}du$ (rf. $s\acute{e}sti\acute{e}s$) id., Pru $s\bar{i}dons$ 'sitting' | Sl inf. * $s\acute{e}sti$ (< * $s\bar{e}d-ti$) (1s pres. pf. * $s\acute{e}d-o$) 'sit down' > OCS inf. $с\acute{e}стн$ $s\acute{e}sti$ (1s pres. pf. $с\acute{e}д\acute{o}$), R inf. $сесть$ / ft. $сяду$, SCr $с\acute{e}сти$ $\acute{s}j\acute{e}sti$ / † $\acute{s}j\acute{e}d\acute{e}m$, Slv $s\acute{e}sti$ / $\acute{s}j\acute{e}dem$, OCz $s\acute{i}esti$, P $si\acute{a}śc$ / $si\acute{a}d\acute{e}$, Blg $сядам$ id.; Sl inf. * $s\acute{e}d\acute{e}ti$ / 1s pres. * $s\acute{e}djo$ 'sit, be seated' > OCS inf. $с\acute{e}д\acute{e}ти$ $s\acute{e}d\acute{e}ti$ (1s pres. $с\acute{e}ж\acute{d}\acute{o}$), R inf. $сидеть$ / 1s pres. $сиджу$, Uk inf. $сидіти$ / 1s pres. $сиджу$, SCr inf. $s\acute{e}d\acute{e}ti$ / 1s pres. $s\acute{e}d\acute{i}m$, Δ inf. $s\acute{j}\acute{e}d\acute{i}ti$ / 1s pres. $s\acute{j}\acute{e}d\acute{i}m$, Slv inf. $sed\acute{e}ti$ / 1s pres. $sed\acute{i}m$, Cz inf. $sed\acute{e}ti$ / 1s pres. $sed\acute{i}m$ id., Slk inf. $sediet'$ 'to sit', Blg $седя$ 'I sit' || a rdp. in Ht $sesd-$ 'dauernd sitzen, ruhen' ¶¶ P 884-7, EI 522 (* $sed-$ / pres. * $sedsti$ ~ * $sisd\acute{e}ti$ 'sit down' / stative pres. * $s\bar{e}deh\acute{i}ti$ 'sits, is sitting'), M K III 423, 472-4, F I 443-6, WH II 507-9, Vn. S 7-8, Matas. E 325-6, 350-1, Hm. 381, YGM-1 389Sl. 99, Fs. 424-5, Vr. 477, Ho. 296, Ho. S 65, Kb. 860, OsS 768-9, Schz. 253, KM 711, Frn. 769, 777, En. 245, Vs. III 613, 618-19, StSS 478-9, Glh. 551-2, Ts. W 75, Frd. HW EH III 28 || A: Tg * $\acute{o}sed-$ v. 'sit' in d. * $\acute{o}sede-kin$ 'place for

sitting' > Ork s3d3xi(n-) 'plank bed (нары), floor' ¶ STM II 137 || D *ĉaṭṭa 'back (dos)' (if from 'podex') > Nkr saṭṭa 'back', Klm saṭṭa 'shoulder blade, shoulder', Gnd Δ saṭṭā ~ haṭṭā 'shoulder' ¶¶ D no. 2303
 ◇ Hardly here Eg ṣḍ 'vulva' and D *ĉūtṭ-, {ṭGS} *s|cūtṭ- 'private parts' because of the D vw. *ū and of the consonants: Eg ḍ and D *-tt- (both pointing to a N *-t-), see N *ś|ĉūtṭ ▽ 'vulva, anus' ◇ This et. suggests that N *ś yields Tg *s- ◇ If G št- / šten- / štin- / štom- does not belong here, the N rec. is *Sāt ▽ ≠ S NSShS no. 13 (comparison of IE *sed- 'sit' with K *šwed- / *šwd- 'remain'), ≠ Blz. DA 155 [no. 36] and ≠ Blz. NDA no. 35 (in both: HS and err. D {Blz.} *cūtṭ-, which belongs to N *ś|ĉūtṭ ▽ 'vulva, anus').

2173. *śūt ▽ 'hair, thread (made of hair?)' > K *°śit- 'thread' > G śit- i 'woollen thread' ¶ Chx. 1824, Fn. SK 95 [no. 113] (equating G śit- with Sum ṣita 'Band'), DCh. 1520, Chx. 1824 || HS: S *✓śty ≈ bind threads, fix the warp', *'śitiy- ~ *'śatay- 'warp' (× N *sit ▽ 'to tie' [q.v. ffd.]) || A *s|śit' ▽ 'bands, ribbons' > pKo {S} *stīḷ 'belt' > MKo stīḷ, NKo ṭi ¶ S QK no. 426, Nam 177, MLC 550 || pJ {S} *si(n)tai or *si(n)tia > MJ side, JT śide 'tassels tied to sacrifices' ¶ S QJ no. 425, BJRS II 75 || pM (+ext.) *seter 'bands tied to sacrificial animals' > WrM {MED} seter, HIM {MED, BMR} сэтэр id., Brt hэтэр 'нашейный амулет (у козла)', Kl {Rm.} setṛ 'geweihtes Opfervieh; heilig, geweiht', Mnr H {SM} sḍier 'ruban ou pièce d'étoffe attaché à la crinière ou la queue de l'animal consacré aux divinités', Ord set'er 'consecration d'une pièce du bétail à une divinité' ¶ MED 692, BMR III 165, Chr. 708, KW 327, SM 335, Ms. O 577 || ?ḥ T *°sīḍ- (× N *sit ▽ 'to tie', q.v.) > OT [MhK] sīḍiy ~ sīḍiy 'one of the two skirts of a robe' ◇ The unexpected pT cns. *-ḍ- (for the expected *-t'-) is to be explained (infl. of N *śUd ▽ 'fasten tightly?') (see N *sit ▽ 'to be') ¶ Cl. 799-800 ¶¶ SDM 1262 (pA *s|śit' ▽ 'bands tied to sacrifices' > M, J), DQA no. 1987 (pA *s|śit' ▽ 'bands, ribbons') || D *ĉuṭṭ ▽ ({ṭGS} *z|z-) 'tuft of hair' > Tm cuṭṭi, Tu juṭṭu, Klm 3uṭṭi id., Ml juṭṭu 'tuft of hair on shaven head', Kn juṭṭa, juṭṭu id., 'tuft growing on an animal's head', Kdg 3itti 'tuft of hair as worn by brahmans, woman's backhair', Tl juṭṭu 'long lock or tuft of hair', Gnd ĉuṭṭi 3 ĉuṭṭi 3 ĉuṭṭiṅ 'hair', 3uṭṭi 'tuft of hair', Krx ĉuṭṭī 'hair, bristles, mane'; D ⇨ OI jūṭa- 'twisted hair' ¶¶ D no. 2655 ◇ Blz. KM 120-1 [no. 23] (K, A, S + unc. Eg sṭy 'knüpfen') ◇ The unexpected M cns. *-t- is still to be explained. It may go back to

contamination with another root (pN *š^hay^hu^ht^h∇ or *š^hat^hUy^h∇ 'twig, rod'?) ◇ T *s^hiδ- is highly problematic as a cognate both because T *-δ- does not go back to pA *-t^h- and to N *-t- and because of its deviating meaning ◇ D *u in *č^hu^ht^ht^h∇ suggests N *-ü-. K *-i- < N *-ü- (delabialization).

2174. *š^hay^hu^ht^h∇ (or *š^hat^hUy^h∇?) 'twig, rod' > HS: WS *šaw^ht^h- 'rod, scourge, whip' > BHb 𐤒𐤓𐤕 šōt^h (pl. 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓𐤕 šō't^h-īm), Gz 𐌸𐌹𐌶 saw^ht^h id., JA [Trg.], JEA 𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌸𐌹𐌶 šō't^h-ā 'rod, scourge', Sr 𐌸𐌹𐌶𐌸𐌹𐌶 šaw^ht^h-ā 'whip, lash', Ar سوط saw^ht^h- 'leathern whip' ¶ KB 1337, Js. 1531, Sl. 1116-17, Br. 763, JPS 564, BK I 1164, Hv. 344, L G 521 || B *-s∇d^hw- (> *-s∇t^ht^h-) > Ah *tasat^ht^ha (pl. tisat^hd^hwa) 'branche coupée d'arbre épineux', Tmz {MT} asat^ht^ha (pl. isat^hd^hwan) 'branche', Kb {Dl.} tasat^ht^ha (pl. tisat^hd^hwa) 'branchette, rameau d'arbre' (the meaning of smallness is due to the f. gender of the word), Sll {Ds.} tat^ht^hat (pl. tisat^huīn), at^ht^ha (pl. is^ht^huan) 'branche', BSn {Ds.} tat^ht^ha (pl. tisat^hd^hwīn) id., 'rameau', Izd {Mrc.} tasat^ht^ha (pl. tasat^hd^hwīn) 'branche du palmier' ¶ Fc. 1805, MT 617, Dl. 758, Ds. 45, Ds. B 49, Mrc. 38 || K: MG [VT] št^ho, Gšt^ho ~rt^ho 'branch, twig'. The variant rt^ho may be of dialectal origin (West Georgian or Zanian rhotacism of sibilants?) ¶ Hardly borrowed from Arm **նւտ** ost or NArm **նւտ** vost 'branch' ¶ Chx. 1848, DCh. 1042, 1528 || U: FP *š^hay^hu^htt^h∇ or *š^hatt^hu^hy^h∇ 'twig, rod' > Yz šat^h 'branch of a leaf-bearing tree', 'thin trunk of a tree', Z UV/Vm/I/LV/Sk/Ud šay^ht^h, Z US/LL/P/Ss šat^h 'long flexible rod', StZ вугыр шать vug^hr šat^h 'fishing rod' (vug^hr means 'hook and line'), шатин šat^hin 'thin rod, fishing rod'; Z б→ Vg Δ sayt 𐌸 sāyt, Os O sāyat 'rod' | ? BF: F hut^hja, Δ hut^hia 'long thin rod, fishing rod', Es hut^hi (gen. hut^hja) {Slv.} 'cudgel, bludgeon, rod', {W} 'Stange, dünne Latte, Plumpkeule (beim Fischen)', Lv ud^hà {Sj.} 'Stange, Spieß, Lanze, Stachel', {Kt.} 'Stange zum Stoßen der Boote auf Flüssen und Seen' ¶ LG 318, SK 91, Raun EKET 13, Slv. 63, W EDW 1242, Kt. 448, Sj. LDW 121.

2175. *šaw^h∇ '(in the) middle' > IE: NaIE *-su, locative pl. ending (← 'among' ← 'in the middle'), e.g. *w^hlk^ho(i)-su loc pl. ('among wolves?') (with the marker of pl. *-o^hi- from the declension of demonstr. prns) > OI v^hrkē-^hsu 'among wolves', Olt, Lt A vilkuo-su loc. pl. (StLt vilkuo-se with the change *-u > -e under analogical influences, possibly of the Olt illative case [acc. to A. Senn]), Sl *v^hlc-ě-χ^h loc. pl. of the word for 'wolf' (> OCS влѣцѣхъ v^hlcěxъ), Gk λύκοισι

loc./dat. of the word for 'wolf' (transformation *-su > -συ due to the infl. of the loc. sg. ending *-i or of the Gk locative ending -υι < *-b^hi), ? L lup-ις (× dat./instr. pl.) dat./instr./loc. pl. of lupus 'wolf', NaIE *sūnu-su 'among sons, in sons' > loc. pl. of the word for 'son': OI sūnu-ςυ, Lt A sunuo-su, StLt sunuo-se, Sl *s+nb-χъ (> OCS {Lsk.} **СЫНЪХЪ** s+nbχъ [while in OCS {StSS} the form is **СЫНОХЪ** s+noχъ with analogical spread of -**ОХЪ** -oχъ instead of -**ЪХЪ** -bχъ]), NaIE *toi-su 'among\in these' (m. pl.) > OI tēςυ, OCS **ТѢХЪ** tějχъ, Lt tuose || It is not yet clear if Ht -as dat.-loc. pl. (in anzās 'to\among us', sumās 'to\among you [pl.]) belongs here ¶¶ Brg. KVG 395, 399 (table), Szem. EVS-8O 146-8, 151, 153-6, 16O-2, 167-8, 171-5, 187-92, 196, Szem. IEL 16O, 164-92, Lsk. 97, StSS 815, 826, Bks 114, 18, 173, Mz. BIES 218-28, Stang SLKM 125, Stang VG 186, Senn LL 12O || **K** {K, K²} *šowa-, {FS} *šūwa- 'middle, in the middle' > OG šuwa- ~ šowa- 'middle' (šuwa γames 'mihnight'), G šua- ~ † šuva- adj. 'being in the middle of, between; middle', Mg ška- ~ ska- 'middle', Lz ška- ~ ška- 'middle, waist; between', Sv {FS} sga, isga 'between, midst', Sv {TK, GP}: UB/L {TK} sga-~ isga-, Ln {TK} (i)ska-~ yska- pv. 'herein-, hinein-', UB {GP} -(i)sga- postp. 'in, into', UP/L sgāw, LB sgaw, Ln ska-w 'inside, inner Georgia', UB sgān, LB (i)sgan, L sgān, Ln ska-n adv. 'inside' ¶¶ K 218, K² 252, FS K 384, FS E 431-2, Chx. 1849-51, Q 359, Gm. SSh 51-4 (*šw- > Sv sg-), TK 7O2-3, GP 257 || **HS**: C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} zšew, {Bnd.} †šew, Aw D {CR} ša'wī, Aw {Wldm.} šowi, Dmt {CR, R} ša'wī, Knf {TBZAC} šew 'heart' ||| SC: a SC lge ⇨ Mb swaħo 'heart' ¶ Blz. CWL, Hz. NSA 138, Wldm. s.v. 'Herz', TBZAC 1O2, CR A s.v. ša'wī, TBZAC s.v. šew ¶¶ But Eg OK s.t 'place, seat' is more likely to belong to N ***ṣ'āt** ▽ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' (q.v. ffd.) || **U**: FU (att. in FV) *š|sawta 'lungs' > pChr {Ber.} *šobъ id. > Chr: L шодо šodo, B/M šodo, H шоды šody || pLp *sōvtē 'gill(s) (of a fish)' > Lp: Ml {Schl.} syöydee sūöüde, L {LLO} suou'tē, N {N} suow'de, K {Gn.} suvvd, Kld {SaR} cyvvyt suvvt id. ¶ UEW 754-5, Ber. 64 [no. 333], MRS 713, Ep. 151, Lr. no. 1198, Lgc. no. 7191, Schl. 133, Gn. 1O67, SaR 329 || **A**: M *sebe-sün 'content of ruminants' enrails' > WrM sebesü(n) ~ sebüsü(n) {MED} 'cud, animal excreta', HIM cэвс {MED id., {BMR} 'content of ruminants' enrails; cud', Brt hэбhэ(н) 'content of ruminants' enrails', ShY sawēsān id., Kl {KRS} cевсн sewsān id., {Rm.} sewsḡ 'Dreck im Magen, Grasball (der Wiederkäter)', Ord sewesü 'herbes mâchées

accumulées dans la panse des ruminants' ¶ SDM 1232 (M *sebe-sün; ≠σ: < pA *sep∇ 'inner fat, entrails'), MED 679, BMR III 149, Luv. 372, Chr. 702, KRS 446, KW 327, Ms. O 578, MYC 596 || ?φ Tg *saya(n) 'interstice between fingers\toes' > Ul saya(n-), sayā, Ork saya(n-), Nn Nh {On.} sayã:, sayiqã:, {STM} sayã, Nn Bk saya, Nn KU sayra, Ewk saya 𐎠 haya 𐎡 šaya id., Ewk PT saya 'interstice between reindeer's toes' ¶ STM II 55, On. 351, 356 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 121 [no. 24] (K, Ag, FU + err. Eg 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 'satt', not *'stomach').

2176. *šūwA or ***šuwE** 'fit, good' > **HS**: CS *√šw y v. 'be fit\equal\even' > BHb 𐤃𐤍𐤁 √šw y G v. 'agree, be like' (pf. 𐤃𐤍𐤁 šā'wā, ip. 𐤃𐤍𐤁 -šwē), 𐤃𐤍𐤁 šā'wē 'plain', MHb 𐤃𐤍𐤁 šā'wē 'equal', JEA 𐤃𐤍𐤁 √šw y v. G 'be equal, be worth, be appropriate', Sr √šw y|w G (pf. 𐤃𐤍𐤁 šə'wā) 'be equal, be fit, like', Ar 𐤃𐤍𐤁 √sw y G 'valoir', 𐤃𐤍𐤁 suwa(n) 'égal, choisi', sīy-(un) 'égal, pareil' ¶ KB 1333-5, GB 811-12, Br. 760-1, Lv. IV 518-19, Js. 1532, Sl. 1116, Tal 878-9, BK I 1170-3 || ??? B: Sll {Ds.} ssius 'be good' (pf. issius), but Gd {Lf.} ihusi 'was beautiful' suggests that the pB √ has an initial lr., which makes the comparison qu. ¶ Ds. 40, Lf. s.v. ihusi || ? C: Bj {R} šō 'gut, schön' ||| EC: Sa {R} sō 'gut!; schön!; bravo!' ||| SC: ???φ Irq {MQK} çū? 'nice, sweet' (= {Fl.} 𐤃𐤍𐤁 'good') ¶ R WBd 208, R S II 306, MQK 110, Fl. p.c. ||| K {K} *šū-, {FS} *šw- v. 'befit so., be proper' > OG *šū- in {Kl.} še-ma-šū-s 'befits me' (šemašus cχorebay igi 'life befits me, подобает мне жизнь'), še-a-šw-s 'es ziemt sich', šw-en-ier-i 'beautiful', G šven- 'be\look beautiful', Mg skv-: mo-skv-an-dz 'es ziemt sich für mich', skv-a 'beautiful', sku- 'decorate', Lz msku- v. 'be proud, impress by one's beauty', sku-a-l-i 'beautiful', Sv: sgu- v. 'befit so.' (msd. UB li-sgw-e), UB {GP} sgwän, {TK} sgwan, L sgwen 'beauty, charm'; ⇨ K *m-šw-en- 'beautiful' > OG mšwen- 'standing in beauty' ('красующийся'), G mšven-i 'schön, reizend, entzückend', mšvenier- '(wunder)schön, (bild)hübsch', Mg skvam- ~ skvam-, Lz mskva-, pskva- 'beautiful', Sv U/L musgwen, Ln muskwēn 'smooth, even' ¶¶ K 140, 217-18, K² 128-9, 248, FS K 377-8, FS E 424-5, Chx. 868-9, 1816-17, TK 577, 704, GP 166, 222, 258 ||| IE: NaIE *su- 'good, well', esp. as the first element in cds (e.g. *su-bhago- 'beglückend', preserved in IIn and Sl [with *bhag- 'zuteilen', cf. P 107, EI 161]) > OI 'su 'well, wrightly', Av hu-, OPrs u- 'good, well' (OI su- 'bhaga- 'possessing good fortune, lucky, happy', Av hu-baça 'gutes

Eheglück gewährend') || Gk ὑγιής 'healthy' (< *su-g^wiĵēs 'well living') || Clt {Matas.} *su- 'good' > OIr su ~ so- (in su-thain 'ewig', so-scél(a)e 'Gospel, Eu-angelium'), MW hy 'good', W hy- ~ hu- (in W hy-gar 'lebenswürdig' [= Gl p.n. Su-carus]), OBr ho- ~ he-, MBr {Matas.} he-, Br he- 'good', Crn hy-, {Matas.} he- 'good', Gl su- (in the theonym Succellos and in the p.n. Su-carus) || ON súsvort 'blackbird' (literally 'completely black [one]') || Lt sūdrūs 'abundant, rank (üppig, geil), dense' (of plants, vegetation), Lt sveikas, Ltv sveiks 'healthy, good' | Sl *съ-dorvъ(jь) 'healthy' > OCS съдравъ sьdravъ, Blg здрав, SCr, Slv zdrāv, Cz, Slk zdravý, P zdrowy id., R здо'ровый id., 'здо'ров 'is healthy'; Sl *събожьje 'possession' (< IE d. *su-b^hagō-, see above) > OCz sbožie 'possessions', Cz zboží 'goods (marchandise)', P zboże 'corn', R Δ збожье 'possessions, wealth, corn', Blr збожже, Uk збіжжя id. ¶ P 1037-8, EI 235, M K III 478-80, M E II 734-6, F II 954-5, Vn. S 155-6, Matas. E 358, Flr. 207, 210, 212-14, ≈ Vr. 559, Frn. 937, 950-1, StSS 678, Glh. 694, Vs. II 84-5, 90, Ma. CS 584, HIK 433-4 || U: FU (att. in FV) {Coll., Ker.} *šūwä 'good' > F hyvā, Es hea, hūva id. | pLp {Lr} *səvē v. 'improve, make better, amend' > Lp: N {N} sāvvet v. 'heal', S {Hs.} sūvvedh, U {Schl.} syvveet, L {LLO} savvēt, Kld {TI} səvva'd 'heilen', 'sich schließen' (von einer Wunde) | pMr *čivā > Er Δ {Ps.} čiv 'gut, tüchtig, brav', Mk Δ {Ps.} čiva 'gastfreundlich' | Chr H {Ep.} шц šu 'health, healthy' (шц эдэм 'healthy person'), {Rm.} šu 'gesund, frisch' ¶ Coll. 82, Lr. no. 1096, Lgc. no. 6073, Hs. 1275-6, TI 480, Ker. II 158-9 [no. 443], MRS 727, Ep. 154, ≠ UEW 499 (reconstructing *šēñä on the alleged ev. of Vt šōñer 'straight', Z šañ 'gut, tüchtig' and Hg igen 'yes, very', that are adduced in UEW with queries and hardly belong here) || A: M *su^βu > MM [S, HI] su {H} 'Segen und Schutz (der Genien der Ahnen), Glückseligkeit', {Ms.} 'Fortune', PCIWrM {Ms.} suu 'Fortune', ? WrM suu {MED} 'distinction, superior(ity), genius, ingenious(ness)', ? HIM cyu {MED} id., {BMR} 'genius; величие', ? Kl {Rm.} sū 'Vorzug (vor anderen)' ¶ H 136, Ms. H 96, MED 740, BMR III 135, KW 339 || T: ĩ OT su esän 'happily (благополучно)' (*Altun jaruq* 623.5), this may be a loan from Chn su v. 'rise from the dead' (the character composed of clues 195 and 115 covered by the clue 140), as supposed in DTS 312; the hyp. of the loan (far from being immediately convincing) can be checked by comparing the OT text of *Altun jaruq* (which is a translation

from Chn *Suvarnāprabhasa*) with the corresponding Chn text ◇ IS MS 371 (*šuwǝ 'good' > IE, K, HS).

2177. ?σ (₂?) *šuwǝ 'weak' > HS: Eg MK ɛɛ 'mit schwachem Arm', Eg fLMK zɛw 'weak' (of arm), 'tired' (of a person's back) (× N *suǝ'ǝ' or *suǝ'ǝ' 'lax, loose, slack') ¶ EG III 419 and IV 14, Fk. 209, Tk. I 65 (Eg ɛɛ ÷ Ar salisa 'be mild', B, EC, CCh *sǝ- ~ *šǝ-roots for 'soft, smooth', see N *suǝ'ǝ' (or *suǝ'ǝ') 'lax' and N *síīi - *síīayǝ 'smooth, slippery') || WS *šawǝ- > BHb, MHb 𐎧𐎡𐎴 šāw (spelled šāwǝ?) ~ 𐎡𐎴 šāw 'nothing, worthless', Ar sawǝ- {BK} 'mal, ce qui est mal', {Hv.} 'evil, mischief; wretched', Sb šwǝ 'evil, bad', Gz sayǝ 'disgraceful \ scandalous \ depraved act' ¶ GB 809, KB 1323-5, BK I 1168-9, Hv. 342, BGMR 52, L G 521 || A: M (+ext.) *°subsu > WrM subsu {MED} weak brandy (the last of the liquor distilled from stray)', HIM cybc {MED} id., {BMR} 'tasteless, weak' (beverage); WrM subsarǝ- {MED} become weak' (of brandy), HIM cybcra- {MED} id., {BMR} 'become tasteless\weak' (beverage)', Ö {Rm.} suwsǝg 'der schwächste letzte Branntwein' ¶ MED 733, BMR III 123, KW 339 || ? IE: NaIE *sǝwǝ- > Ic ɛvǝ 'to abate' (of pain) (× N *šǝhiǝwǝ'ǝ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish' [q.v.]) ¶ P 1052, Bv 736.

2178. *š'e'whǝ 'give birth, be born' > IE *seǝ'ǝ' / *suǝ'ǝ' > NaIE *seǝ'ǝ' / *sǝ- 'give birth' > OI 'sǝ-tǝ 'bears\begets (a child)', 'sǝ-tǝ- 'pregnancy', su-'ta-ǝ 'son', sǝti- 'birth', Av hǝnamǝ 'I give birth', hǝv- 'give birth', MPrs vǝ-šǝtak 'Ausgeburt' || OIr suǝth 'produit, portée (des animaux), progéniture', W hog-en 'girl' (*sukǝ-), hog-ǝn 'lad' || Arm nuǝnǝ ɛstǝ 'son' (transformed by analogy with ǝ nuǝnǝ ɛstǝ 'daughter') || [1] IE *suǝ'ǝ'-nu- > NaIE *sǝ'ǝ'-nu-s 'son' > OI sǝ'ǝ'-nu-, Av hǝnu- id. || Gt sunus, ORu sunR, ON sonr ~ sunr, OHG, OSx, AS sunu, NHG Sohn 'son', NE son || Lt sǝnǝs, Pru soǝns 'son' | Sl *sǝnǝ (gen. *sǝnǝ, pl. *sǝnǝv-) 'son' > OCS сѣнѣ sǝnǝ (gen. сѣнѣ sǝnǝ, nom. pl. сѣнѣ sǝnǝve), Blg сѣн sǝn, SCr, Slv sǝn, Cz, Slk, P sǝn, R сѣн, Uk сѣн || [2] *suǝ'ǝ'-ǝ 'son' > pTc *soǝ > Tc B soǝ, A se 'son' || Gk L/Cr vǝ'ǝ' 'son', μ Gk Hm/I/A vǝ'ǝ' id. ¶ WP 470-1, P 913, EI 56 (*seǝ(H)- 'bear a child' -> *suǝ'ǝ'- ~ *suǝ'ǝ' 'son'), StSS 675-6, Dv. no. 408, M K III 481, 492-4, M E II 741, Ch. 1153-4, F II 959-61, Vn. S 205-6, Fs. 460-1, Vr. 530, Ho. 330, Kb. 991, KM 713-14, Sl. 325-6, Frn. 941-2, En 252, Vs. III 817-18, Glh. 547, Wn. I 424-5, Ad. 703-4, Ad. H 126 || K *šew- / *šw- 'give birth, beget' > OG šev- / šv-, G šv- / šǝ-b- 'give birth', Mg sk-, sku-, Lz sku-, skv-, sk- 'lay eggs', Mg

sk-al-ed-i 'Lebewesen, Geborenes'; -d→ [1] K *m-šw-e 'born; child' > OG mšo- in p̄ir-mšo- 'first-born' (p̄ir- 'first'), Mg skua (pl. skual-) 'child', pSv *m-sge-y > {TK} UB/L sgey, LB sge, emsge, Ln sķe 'heir, (so.'s) child', UB {GP} sgey 'son', Sv {K} msgey 'child, boy'; [2] GZ *šw-il- 'born (child)' > OG šwil-, G švil-, Lz skir-, sķir- 'child', Mg oxora-sk-il- 'brother\sister- in-law' ¶¶ K 139, 214-17, K² 128, 248, 251, FS K 376-7, FS E 423-4, Chx. 1838, TK 704, GP 258 || HS: C: Bj {Rop.} -šiwī ~ -šuwī pcv. 'be pregnant', šiwia-bi/-ti ~ šuwia-bi/-ti 'is pregnant' ('ū-ša? šuweā-bi 'the cow is pregnant'), Bj {R} 'šūya 'pregnant' ('ū-ša? šū'yā-bu 'the cow is pregnant'), Bj B {Alm.} 'šuya 'pregnant' ('ane šu'yātu 'I am pregnant') ¶ Rop. 240, R WBd 220, Alm. BS III 63 || Eg G swĥ ({EG} śwĥ) v. (vom Erschaffen des Samens durch Chnum), as well as possibly Eg fP swĥ.t ({EG} śwĥ.t), {Vrg.} [sa:;wĥa-] 'egg; hard roe; the place of germinating life in the womb (sc. of a son)', DEg swĥ 'egg', Cpt: Sd cооуꝛε souhe, B cwoyꝛi sōuhi 'egg' (× HS *√cwh 'egg' > Ch *√cwh 'egg' > Hs čúwé 'testicle', pNrBc {Tk.} *caħwi ~ *čuh- 'egg', pMdr *čay- → *čiy- id. etc., see Stl. ZCh 180-1 [no. 327], JI II 122-3, Tk. I 155-6, Tk. NB 168, Sk. NB 19) ¶ EG IV 72-4, Er. 417, Fk. 217, Crn. 169, Vc. 202, Tk. I 155-6, OS no. 2210 || U: FU *°še|i w∇ > Chr: L † {Ü} шывэ šьwä, H † {Ü} шивэ šəwä 'children, posterity' ¶ Ü 282, 287 || D *čēv- ~ *čēp- 'child' > Tm cēy 'son, child', MI cēvala 'child at the breast (?)', Tu jēvū 'child, lad, youth', jōvū id., 'baby, female child', Prj cēpal, Gdb sēpal 'boy, youth', Gdb sāpal 'boy' ¶¶ Prj/Gdb -p- points to a pD *-p-/-v-. D *-p- may go back to a cns. cluster (< *-bH- < N *-wĥ-?) ¶¶ D no. 2813 ◇ IS MS 361 s.v. 'рождатъ' *š'e'w∆ (IE, K, U), AD LRC no. 45 (IE, K).

2179. *šūwĥ∇ 'loosen' ('release', 'let out', 'melt' etc.) > IE *seu^rH_gx¹- / *suHx- > NaIE *seu_lə₁- / *sū- 'let, neglect' > OI {MW} √sū- 'grant, bestow; allow, authorize' (≠ √sū- 'set in motion, urge, impel' < N *SuwH₁∇ 'to push, to cause' [q.v.]) || Gk ἔάω (< *'éáFω) 'suffer, allow, permit' (Gk [Hs.] ἔΰα ('... ἔα) 2s inv., Gk Sr [Hs.] ἔβασον ('ἔασον) 2s aor. inv.) || OHG fir-sūmen 'to neglect, to miss', NHG versäumen 'to neglect', MHG sūmen, NHG säumen, NGr S saumen, Nr Al sūme(n) 'to delay, to linger, to tarry' (P: < NaIE *sū-¹mō-s 'nachlassend, säumend') ¶ WP II 472, P 915, MW 698, 1239, F I 434, Kb. 986, WW 336-7, Schz. 275, KM 628 || HS: WS *√šwĥ (> μ *√šyĥ) v. 'melt, dissolve' > JPA

{Lv.} ✓ šwḥ G (pf. ḥwḥ) 'zerfließen', Sr ✓ šwḥ G (pf. ḥwḥ) 'melt, waste away', BHb ✓ šyḥ G (pf. ḥyḥ) 'melt, dissolve', Ar {Dz.} ✓ syḥ (pf. sāḥa) 'melt', Gz {L} ✓ syḥ (js. yā-sīḥ) G 'melt, liquefy, dissolve' ¶ KB 1369, GB 822, Lv. IV 517, PS 4089, L G 522 || ? Eg XX swḥ 'verschwinden lassen' (die Sprache der Besiegten) (unless a caus. from wḥy 'entgleiten') (× N *šūhi₁w₁? ▽ 'fade', 'go out' [fire], 'extinguish') ¶ EG I 339 and IV 72 || | K *šw- 'let so. go, leave' > OG šw-, G šv-, Mg, Lz šk(w)- id., Sv {K} šgwan- (msd. li-šgwan) 'let go, set free, send' ¶¶ K 214, K² 248-9. FS K 378, FS E 425, Q 359 || | A: Tg {ADb.} *sūbE 'release, untie' > Ewk suw- 'untie, unfasten, untether', Lm hū-, Lm A hūw- 'untie, unlace', Sln sūw3- 'unwrap', WrMc {Z} cy- vi. 'free oneself from, escape (a misfortune), get untied', cyby- vt. 'release, set free, bare, take off' ¶ STM II 116-17, Z 639, 644-5 ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. 'пуска́ть' *šw (IE, K).

2180. *š¹a?Eb ▽ 'to rot; rotten' > HS: C: Bj {R} sābeb- 'morsch werden, rosten', se'bāb 'Fäulnis, Rost' || | SC {E} *sa₁:p- 'dirt' > Alg sibi 'soot', b→ Mb sábu 'dry cow dung' ¶ R WBd 194, E SC 178, E PC no. 225 || ? S *o✓šyb > Ar šāyib-at- 'ordure, chiasse, tache; défaut, tache, ce qui dépare ou détruit la bonne qualité d'une chose' ¶ BK I 1284 || | D *čap-, {GS} *śab- 'rotten', v. 'rot, ferment' > Tm avī v. 'ferment (as decayed fruit, vegetable matter, manure heaps)', Ml avīyuka v. 'rot, spoil (as fruits laid on a heap)', Kn avī v. 'rot, be spoiled/damaged', Tl avīyū v. 'rot', Ku hap- 'be rotten', Gnd Ch sav-, Png hab- 'go bad, become rotten', Knd sab- v. 'rot and produce an offensive smell', Mnd hab- v. 'decay', (?) Krx čā:wā:r- 'get an unpleasant taste' ¶¶ D *-p- < *-?b- < N *-?Eb- ¶¶ D no-s 2341 and 2424, Pf. 5, GS 127 [no. 328], 38 [no. 68] ¶¶ In some D lges × D *čam- < N *č.ām₁ ▽, χ ▽ 'sour, bitter' || | A: Tg (att. in NrTg) *sēba-ksa 'rotten wood' (*-ksa is a sx of names of substances [Stoffwörter]) > Ewk sēwaksa 'rotten tree, rotten wood', Lm hāwys hēwas id. ¶ STM II 69 || | IE: NaIE {WP} *k̂sa₁:p- v. 'rot' > Gk σαπρός 'rotten, putrid', Gk σήπω, Gk D σάπω 'make rotten/putrid', Gk ps.: σήπομαλ (pfc. σέσηπα, 2s aor. ἔσαπην) 'be(come) rotten, rot, moulder' || | Lt inf. šip-ti (1s pres. šimpù) 'to rot' (of wood), Ltv {ME} inf. sūpēt 'schmutzig werden, verderben' (vom Mehl), 'modern' ¶ WP II 500, LS 1594, F II 696-7, Frn. 993 ◇ If the Ar word belongs here (which is qu.), the initial cns. of the N word was *š- ◇ If WP's IE rec. is accepted, the N etymon is likely to be *š¹a?Eb ▽ (because IE *k̂s-

suggests a N ***š̂**-, cp. NaIE ***k̂se(:)r-**: ***k̂se(:)r-o-** 'dry' < N ***š̂ar**∇ 'be dry'). If so, IE *-p- goes back to *-ʔb- < N ***-ʔEb-**.

2181. *š̂∇bɪ∇ or ***š̂∇ɪb∇** (= ***š̂ûbɪ∇** or ***š̂ûɪb∇**?) 'tribe, people' > IE: NaIE ***seb^hā** (~ ***°sweb^h-**?) 'tribe, Sippe' > OI **sā'bhā** 'assembly', {MW} 'congregation', {M} 'Gemeindehaus' ||| Gmc {P} ***seβjō** > Gt **sibja** 'blood relationship', {Fs.} 'Verwandschaft', **frasti-sibja** (· υίοθεσ(α) 'adoption as [one's] child', ({Fs.} 'Kindschaft'), **sunīwe sibja** accus. (· υίοθεσ(ίαν) 'adoption as a son' ({Fs.} 'Verwandschaft'), **ga-sibjon** (· διαλλάσσεισθα) 'sich versöhnen', ON d. **sifjaðr** 'related, akin', cd **sif-jungr** m. 'a relative', MDt, OFrs **sibbe** 'blood relationship, kin, Sippenband'; OSx **sibbia** 'kin (Sippe)', OHG **sippa** & **sibba** 'kinship', **sippo** 'kinsman', NHG **Sippe**, AS **sibb** 'kin, relationship', NE **sib** ||| L **Sabīnī** (← 'belonging to a tribe'), Osc **safinim** 'Sabine' (ethnonym) = Latin **Samnium** ||| ? Pru **subš** 'selbst, eigen' | ?φ,σ SI ***svoboda** 'freedom' (← *'state of belonging to the kin') > OCS **свобода** **svoboda**, Blg **свобода** ~ **свобода**, SCr **slobòda** ~ **svobòda**, Slv **svobóda**, R, Uk **свобода**, Cz **svoboda**, Slk **sloboda**, P **swoboda** ~ **świeboda** 'freedom' ¶ If SI ***svoboda** and Pru **subš** belong here, there is a NaIE root variant ***swēb^h-**/***sub^h-** pointing to a N ***u|ü** (***š̂ûbɪ∇**). The variation *-we-/*-e- goes back to a kind of Schwebelaut (****suēb^h-**/***seūb^h-**, see AD NGIE and NVIE) ¶ ≈ WP II 456, ≈ P 883 (***s(ū)ebho-** ~ ***s(ū)obho-** 'von eigener Art'), EI 354 (***s(w)eb^h-** 'lineage'), ≈ M K III 433, Bc. G 324, Fs. 417, Ho. S 64, Kb. 858, Schz. 262, OsS 758, WW 250, KM 710, Vr. 473, Vs. III 582-3, StSS 594, Glh. 562-3, Ma. CS 490, Brü. 528, En. 258 ||| **HS**: WS ***š̂aɪ₁∇₁b-** > Ar **š̂aɪb-** {Ln.} 'a great tribe, nation, people', {BK} 'tribu; troupe, bande' || Sb {BGMR} **š̂ɪb** 'tribe, community, group of village communities', Mn {MA} **š̂ɪb** 'tribe', Qtb {Rk.} **š̂ɪb** 'tribe, tribal group', OYmn [Hmd.] **شعب** **š̂ɪb** 'big community (consisting of many clans)', {Slw.} **شعب** **š̂ɪb** (= Hmr ***✓š̂ɪb**?) 'ansässiger Stamm, ansässige Bevölkerung\Gemeinde'; ? SES ***✓š̂ɪb** 'valley' (if ← 'tribe's country'): Hrs {Jo.} **š̂aɪb** 'valley', Jb {Jo.} **š̂aɪb** 'valley, watercourse', Sq {L} '**š̂aɪab** 'valley, wadi' (unless akin to Ar **š̂iɪb-** 'road') ¶ Ln. 1556, BK I 1235, BGMR 130-1, MA 85, Rk. 169, Slw. 12-14, Jo. H 117, Jo. J 244, L LS 431 ||| **K**: OG **sopeli** 'world, country, land (χωρ(ί)ον), village (κώμη)', G **sopeli** 'village, world' ¶ Abul. 401, DCh. 1190-1, Chx. 1271 ¶ -p- < N ***-b-** + lr.? ||| **A**: Tg: Lm **sɜwɜɜn** 'village

(село, деревня) ¶ STM II 134 || ? NaT *sü: (< *süβ?) 'army' > OT {Cl.} s ü:, MU, XwT XIII, Osm XIV-XVI s ü 'army' ¶ Cl. 781, TL 563, RI. IV 794-5 ◇ BSl, K and T suggest a N rounded vw. of the first syll.

2182. *šabEh'i' (or *šapEh'i'?) 'log, piece of wood' > IE *(s)peHj- 'long\pointed piece of wood' (× N *p̥iχ|yυ∇ 'sharp bone, sharp tool' [q.v.]) > [1] NaIE *°(s)p(h)ēj-/*(s)p(h)ī- 'pointed piece of wood' > OI 's p h y a- {MW} 'piece of wood shaped like a sword', {M} 'shoulder blade', Khw p h ī 'wooden spade' | NPrs {Sg.} فہ feh 'oar; rake or shovel; an agricultural implement for levelling the ground', فہ fāh 'oar, paddle', Shgn fay 'wooden spade', Ydg fīa, KhS p h v a i, Oss: I fiyyag ~ fzyyag, D fiyyagä 'spade, shovel' ¶ IE *s- *mobile* is due to the merger with N *p̥iχ|yυ∇ [2] +ext. with IE *-d- ~ *-t-: Ht ispatar (obl. stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer' || NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle' (× N *š'o' b, ∇, t, ∇ [or *s ∇ b, ∇, t, ∇] 'stem, piece of wood', q.v. ffd.) ¶ ≈ P 980-2, ≈ M K III 547, M E II 779, Ab. I 474-5, MW 1271, Vl. II 698, Sg. 942, Bai. 264, F II 830-1, WH I 318, Frn. 875, Vr. 532, Ho. 311, OsS 853, Ω KM 726, 728 || HS: S *°š'a'baḥ- '≈ piece of wood' > Ar šabaḥat- {Ln.} (?) 'a broad piece of wood' (du. الشَّبَحَاتَانِ ṣaš-šabaḥatāni 'two pieces of wood of the minqalat- [ε 'means of transport'], upon which bricks are carried from place to place'), شَبْحَة šabḥ-at- 'rafter \ timber of the ceiling', 'large door \ gate' ¶ Ln. 1495, BK I 1183 || U: FU *šapp∇ 'pole' > Vg {Kn.}: T šapəl, UK sōpəl, P šoplə 'Pfahl, Stange, Baumstumpf', LK šēt-sopəl 'pale, stake', Ss āwī-sōpla 'doorpost' | Hg Δ záp 'rung of a ladder; a board in the wall of a wagon \ cart \ barrow' || ? F s a p i l a 'Tragbahne der Heumäher' ¶ UEW 885 (rejecting s a p i l a because of -p-), Coll. 112, MF 703-4, SK 970 || A *s|z∇p|b∇ (*s|zap|bi or *s|zip|ba?) 'stick, pole' > M *sibeʁe > MM [HI] šibe, e 'haie', [S] síbe, e 'Zaun, Verhau', WrM s i b e g e {MED} 'tall fence, paling, enclosure of sticks\poles; palisade', HIM {MED} шивээ id., {BMR} шивээ(н) 'Zaun, Pfahlzaun (изгородь, частокон)', Brt шэбээ id., Kl {Rm.} š i w e 'Erdwall, Befestigung, Schanze', {KRS} шивэ 'fortress, citadel', Ord š i w ē 'double barrière de fagots plantés en terre que l'on érige lors de la chasse aux gazelles' ¶ H 139, Ms. H 96, MED 694, BMR IV 349, Chr. 741, KRS 669, KW 362, Ms. O 624 || NrTg (cd or +ext.) *sapkun > Lm hopkon, Neg sapkun 'root (of plants)' ¶ STM II 64 || pKo {S} *səp ({SDM} 'brushwood, firewood') > MKo səp {MLC} 'brushwood, kindling', NKo

ɛ ɹ p^h [s ɹ p] id., 'prop, support (of plants)' ¶ Ko *-ɹ- is not a regular representative of pA *-a- (not after labial con-sonants), here Ko *-ɹ- may be explained by the ass. infl. of pKo *-p ¶ S QK no. 485, Nam 301, MLC 961 || pJ {S} *sìmpá ~ *símpá 'firewood, brushwood' > OJ siba, MJ sîbà ~ sîbá, JT síba ~ íiba, JK síbá, Kg íibá id. ¶ S QJ no. 466, Mr. 522, Kenk. 1645 ¶¶ SDM 1211-2 (pA *sǎp'í 'stick, pole' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1919, Rm. PKE 177, Mr. KJ 227 (Ko, J) ◇ The labial cns. of the N word may have been either *-b- (preserved in Ar and changed in IE and U: N *-bÉh- > **-bĥ- > NaIE *-p-, -p^h-, U -pp-) or *-p- (preserved as *-p- in IE and as *-pp- in U, but changed into -b- [by unknown factors] in Ar) ◇ The vw. *i in M *sibeɣe (and probably in pJ *simpá) may be explained by regr. as.

2183. *ŝæb₁∇, X∇ 'animal fat' > IE: L sēbum 'animal fat', sēbōsus adj. 'fat' ¶ WH II 504, ≠ WP II 468, ≠ P 894 || HS: SS *✓ŝbĥ > Gz ŝabĥ n. 'fat; fatness, obesity', ✓ŝbĥ G 'be\grow fat', Jb C ŝabĥ n. 'fat on meat; corpulence', Mh ŝabĥ n. 'fat, corpulence', Hrs ŝabĥ n. 'fat' ¶ L G 525, Jo. J 245, Jo. M 371, Jo. H 118, MiK I no. 1.261 || EC: pSam {Hn.} *subaĥ 'butter' > Sml {ZMO} subag 'ghee, clarified butter, animal fat', Sml N {Abr.} súbag 'clarified animal fat', Rn {PG} súbàĥ / cs. subakkí 'liquid fat, oil', Bs {HL} sūba, Arr {Hw.} sībin 'butter', Elm sīpi 'fat', as well as possibly Af {PH} subaĥ 'clarified butter', Sa {HL} subaĥ id., {R} se'bāĥ ~ ze'bāĥ ~ su'bāĥ 'die zerlassene Butter, Schmalz'; the Af/Sa may be a loan from EthS, but its vw. u and its meaning 'butter' (specifically connected with other EC lges) suggest its EC origin ¶ ZMO 366, Abr. S 227, PG 267, HL 135, Hw. A 393, PH 194, R SS II 309, Hn. S 96, Blz. RL 258 || ? Ch: CCh: FIM {ChL} sɪ̀bùrù, Nz {ChL} sɪ̀b̀̀rɪ́ 'fatness' ||| ECh: EDng {Fd.} sèwè 'fat (animal fat, butter, oil)', Brg {Lk., J} síwín, ? Kbl {Cp.} amb sùwèngè n. 'fat', Mu {J} síwín n. 'fat', séwínít adj. 'fat' ¶ JI 132-3, ChL III 19 and 49, ChC s.v. 'fat', Fd. 369-70, L KKS, J LMF s.v. síwín, Cp. KL s.v. Kbl sùwèngè ||| A: Tg *sebe 'animal fat' > Ewk sɜwɜ 'melted fat of a bear', sɜwɜ- v. 'melt fat of a bear', Orc sɜwɜ- v. 'melt fat of animals\fish', Ud sɜwɜsi- v. 'melt fat', ?φ Ork sɜɣinɜ 'suet of a reindeer' ¶ STM II 135, Krm. 290 ¶¶ ≈ §DM 1232 (A *sep∇ 'inner fat, entrails'; semantically unc. comparison of Tg with M *sebe-sün 'cud, animal excreta, content of the stomach' [< N *šaw∇ '(in the) middle']), ≈ DQA no. 1949 (id.).

2184. ${}_2$ ***šad**∇ 'to tie' > **U** ***š**|śaḍa-'tie' ([in descendant lges] 'a tie') > pOs *sālā ({}Hl.) *s+lā) 'belly girth (of a reindeer), fastening girth' > Os: Kz sōḥ keḥ 'Bauchgurt des Renntiers' (keḥ 'rope'), V sālā id., 'den Zugriemen tragender Riemen über dem Rücken des Renntiers', Km sāta 'um eine Rindenschachtel genähter Verstärkungs«gürtel» aus Birkenrinde' || Sm {Jn.} *sār̄-, Hl} *sār̄-, *sār- v. 'tie' > Ne: F L {Lh.} śār̄ra-ś, T сяр̄ă-сь 'to tie', T O {Lh.} śār̄ā- v. 'tie'; En X {Cs.} seḥabo, En B {Cs.} seḥabo id. (1s aor. obc.); Slq Tz {KKIH} sōr̄i- 'tie to\together, attach, tie (a kerchief on one's head), knit', sarrē- 'attach, tie to', sarral- 'harness', Mt {Hl.} *sār- v. 'tie' (Mt M {Sp.} сарнымъ 'вяжу', шарнамъ 'привязываю', шарнамъ 'связываю') ¶ UEW 461 s.v. *śa|∇ (but UEW does not rule out U *śaḍa; in fact, the regular common source of pOs *-l- and Sm *-r- is U *-ḍ-), Jn. 137-8, KKIИ 168, 171, Hl. M no. 870 || **HS:** WS *✓šdd > Ar ✓šdd 'bind, fasten tightly', {BK} 'serrer, lier fortement' ({}Fr.) 'constrinxit, firmiter ligavit'), Mh {Jo.} mēšaddət (pl. mēšōdət), Jb C 'mēšdət (pl. mōšōd) 'girth round a camel's belly' ¶ Ln. 1517, Fr. II 402, BK I 1203, Hv. 356, Jo. M 372, Jo. J 246 || Eg Md/G šd 'Tuch um den Kopf, Kopfbinde' ¶ EG IV 566 ◇ ≠ IS SS 324 [no. 3.17] (wrongly equating Os sālā 'harness strap' with F sitō-'tie', M *side- and Ko sit-, which belong to N *sit∇ 'to tie' [q.v.]).

2185. ?σ ***šæd**∇w∇ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)' > **HS:** S *°šadaw- > Ar |šāda-(n) 'extrémité, bout' ¶ BK I 1206 || **A** *s|zæd'ī' > ppM *sedi- > pM *sež̄i-šūr 'extremity, edge, horn' > WrM sež̄i-gūr {Kow.} 'les bords [de l'habit, des côtés]', {MED} 'margin, hem; slit', HIM сэжүүр {MED} id., {BMR} 'end (extremity), Rand', Brt Kh һэжүүр 'подножие склона', Ord sež̄ūr 'coin'; M *sež̄i- > WrM sež̄i- {MED} v. 'butt with the horns, gore', HIM сэжи- {MED} id., {BMR}. 'gore with one horn, lift with the end of a horn', Kl Ö {Rm.} sež̄i- 'mit den Hörnern seitwärts stossen', Ord sež̄i- 'donner un coup de corne de côté' ¶ MED 692-3, Kow. 1359, BMR III 153-4, Chr. 703, KW 321, Ms. O 569 || Tg *se|çe- (+ sxs) 'point\head of a ski stick' > Ewk сэзэ-кī 'hook of a ski stick', Ul сэчэ-ру(n-), Nn Nh {STM} сэчэпӯ, {On.} сэчэпӯ ~ сэчипӯ, Nn Bk сэчэфу(n-) 'point\head of a ski stick' ¶ STM II 137-8, On. 388 || **K** *štaw- 'head' (× N *t∇w∇ 'head' [q.v.]) > K taV- 'head, ear (of cereals)', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-ša 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'), Sv: UB/L šda 'ear (of cereals)', LB šda, Ln šṭa 'corn cob' ¶¶ K 175 (*s₁)taw-, K DE 358, ≈ K² 66 (*taw-), Q 242, Chik. 43-4, TK 814, GP 271 || ? possibly **IE:** NaIE

*^os^rē¹d^h- > Gmc {Wtk.} *sīdō 'side' > ON síða 'side (of body)', Dn side, Sw sida, OSx sīda, OHG sīta, NHG Seite, AS sīde 'side', NE side ¶ ≈ P 891, ≈ KM 700-1, Vr. 472, Ho. 292, Ho. S 64, Kb. 858, OsS 768, KM 698-9.

2186. *ŝägar ∇ 'cut, pierce' > **HS**: S *^o✓ ŝgr > Ar ✓ šğr 'thrust with a spear' ¶ BK I 192, Hv. 352 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) *ŝäx|kr ∇- v. 'chop, cut' > pObU *šēvar ({{Ht.}} *šēvar) v. 'cut' > pVg *šāvar- v. 'cut' > Vg: T šāwr-, P šar-, N sāar-; pOs *sōvar- ({{Hl.}} *sōvar) v. 'cut' > Os: Ty sāx^war-, Y sāw^war-, D/Nz/Kz/O sewar- ¶ Ht. 183 [no. 585], Stn. OV 73 [footnote] || **IE**: NaIE *sker- v. 'cut' > pAl {O} *skera > Al shqerr (aor. shqorra) v. 'rip, tear' || OIr scar(a)im (< *sk_orā-mi) 'I separate (ich trenne)', W ysgar 'Trennen' || ON skera 'to cut, to pierce', OHG scēran, NHG scheren, AS scīeran 'to cut (hair), to cut off', NE shear || Lt inf. skirti (1s pres. skiriū), Ltv inf. šķirt (1s pres. šķir, ū) 'to separate, to detach, to disjoin' ¶ P 939-40, Vn. S 33-4, Vr. 490, Ho. 278, Kb. 877, OsS 789, KM 643, Frn. 808, Hamp AIEW 149, O 433, Frn. 808, ≈ EI 143 (*^(s)ker- 'cut apart/off') ¶ The IE √ is ambiguous because there are alt. possibilities to explain it ◇ NaIE *k (for the expected *g^h) is due to as. (**sg^h- > *sk-) (see Introduction, § 2.2.10). The IE velar cns. *k suggests that N *g was followed by the vw. *a ◇ An alt. etl. hyp. (involving a mt.): N *ĉägar ∇ > **HS**: S *^o✓ ŝrg > Ar خرج ✓ ḡrğ v. 'split' ('fendre') ¶ BK II 19-20, Hv. 416 || **IE** and **U** (as above).

2187. ₂ *ŝ ∇ y ∇ 'ray' > **HS**: S *^o✓ ŝr̥ > Ar šur̥- 'rays of light', 'clear, watery' (of milk), šar̥ā- 'rayon, filet de lumière' ¶ BK I 1234, Hv. 366, Ln. 1554 || **K**: G sχiv-i 'ray' ⇨ Sv {Ni.} sχiw id. ¶¶ Chx. 1306, DCh. 1207, Ni. s.v. 'лучь'.

2188. ₂ *ŝ^ra¹ka 'to cover' (→ 'to clothe') > **HS**: CS *✓ ŝkk v. 'cover' > BHb ככך ✓ skk (Late BHb s < *ŝ) v. G 'cover, screen; wrap oneself', Sh prtc. מְשַׁיִךְ mē¹šīk 'covering', BHb, MHb מְשַׁיִךְ suk¹kā (< eHb *ŝuk¹kā) 'cover of twigs, booth' → 'tabernacle (used in Sukkoth festivities)', JPA ✓ skk G (pf. ככך סא¹קא¹) 'verwickeln, flechten', {Js.} 'interlace, intangle', JEA ✓ skk D 'cover over', אככך סא¹קא¹ 'ceiling of twigs or matting, esp. the cover of the tabernacle' (⇨ MHb מְשַׁיִךְ סא¹קא¹ id.), Ar ✓ škk: pf. شَكَّ šakka {Fr.} 'totum se operuit (armis)', ✓ škk G {BK} 'être couvert d'armes, être armé de pied en cap', mišakk- 'armure, cote de mailles' ¶ GB 543, Lv. III 522-5, Js. 963-4, 990, Sl. 810, Fr. II 440-1, BK I

1256-7, ≈ KB 713 || Eg P/BD/G šc ({EG} št) 'bekleiden, schmücken', Eg P/N/G šc 'ε Kleid' ¶ EG IV 558 || ?? Ch: pAG {S} *sok 'hide' (× N *šaXKĒ 'to cover, to hide' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE: NaIE *sag- ~ *seg- v. 'cover, wrap, clothe' ([in some descendant lges] × N *šaXKĒ '↑') > Ltv segt 'to cover, to thatch, to roof', sega 'blanket, bedspread; cover', sagšà n. 'plaid, wrap', Lt † sāgē 'Umschlagetuch, Überwurf', Pru saxtis 'bark (of a tree)' | Gl †→ L sagum 'a mantle made of coarse wool' ¶ WP II 448-9, WH II 464, Frn. 754, ≈ Kar. II 164, En. 243, ≈ P 887-9 (Pokorny did not distinguish this IE √ from IE *seg- 'haften, sich anhängen, berühren'), ≈σ EI 64 (*seg- 'fasten').

2189. (₂?) *šok∇ 'be mad\stupid\drunk\intoxicated' > HS: WS *√ škk 'be mad\stupid' > Jb E šék 'be mad', Jb C šek, Mh šak 'sin', ? Ar √ škk (pf. šakka) v. 'doubt about', šakk- 'doubt, suspicion' ¶ Jo. J 250, Jo. M 377-8, BK I 1256, Hv. 372 || A *sô:jk|g∇ 'drunken, alcoholic drink' > M *sogta- 'get drunk' > MM [LM, S, MA, IsV] soqta-, {IM} soχta-, WrM soqta- ~ sogtu- {MED} 'be\become drunk\intoxicated', HIM согто- {MED} id., {BMR} 'get drunk', Brt hortо- id., Kl {KRM} согт- sogtъ- 'get drunk', {Rm.} sokta- 'betrunken\besoffen werden', Mnr H {SM} sog_dō- 's'enivrer, être ivre', Mnr H/M {T} sogdo-, Ba soχte- 'be\get drunk', Dx sodo- 'get drunk', Ord sog_t'o- 's'enivrer, devenir ivre', 'être en rut' (chameau mâle) ¶ H 135, Pp. MA 324, 446, Pp. L III 59, Lg. VMI 64, MED 723, BMR III 105, Chr. 681, KRS 453, KW 329-30, Ms. O 580, SM 351, T 359-60, T DnJ 133, T BJ 147 || T: OT [MhK] {MKD} soχdīč, {DTS} suχdīč 'a circulating feast in winter' ¶ MKD 165, DTS 513 || pJ {S} *sáká-i 'sake (a kind of alcoholic drink)' > OJ sáké, J: T sàke, K sáké id. ¶ S QJ no. 26, Mr. 517, Kenk. 1557-8 ¶¶ Hardly here pKo {S} *sù:ir 'wine, alcoholic drink', which is more likely to belong to N *s∇'k'∇R∇ 'intoxicating drink' (q.v.) ¶¶ SDM 1301-2 (pA *sólúgà > M, J + unc. OT Kr suχ- 'procure cheese', suχut 'dried cheese' and pKo *sù:ir 'wine, alcoholic drink'), DQA no. 2101, S AJ 275 [no. 24] (pA *sōka 'drunken, alcoholic drink') || ?φ D: Kn sekke 'country wine' ¶ ≈ D no. 2749 ◇ Some words belonging to A *s|šoka 'drunken, alcoholic drink' may have been connected or contaminated with the reflexes of N *sük∇?a 'to drink, to suck' (q.v. ffd.). If Kn sekke belongs here, its vw. e of the first syll. requires explanation.

2189a. (₂?) *š'í'ǰ|ǰ'Uk∇ 'flesh, meat' > HS: C: Ag {AD} *šik- ({Ap.} *sīx-/*s3x-) 'meat' > Bln {Bnd.} sēxa, {R} ze'gā (pl. zīk), Xm {R} zī'yā,

Xmt {CR} sēyā, {Bnd.} sīya, Km {CR} siyā, {Bnd.} sīya 'flesh, meat', Q {R} zeyā id., 'body'; Ag → Gz šəgā 'flesh, meat' ¶ L G 526, Ap. AV 17-18, R WB 296, R Ch II 419 (s.p. 98), CR LK 247, ≈ AD SF 99-100 || CCh: Mlw {Trn.} šúk 'meat', Mbara {TrnSL} šúk id., šúk sī id., 'body' (sī 'body') || WCh: Bg {J} šok 'body' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} kú-súkí 'flesh' ¶ Trn. LDM 30, TrnSL 270, Muk. MChS 256, Eb. 77, J ChMGB, JI II 34 and 233 || K *^oš|suḳ- > G suḳ-i {Chx.} 'Filet, Lendenstück', {DCh.} 'fillet, beefsteak' ¶ Chx. 1278, DCh. 1196 || D *čik- 'flesh' > Tl ciyua 'flesh, muscle', zigili 'plump, fleshy', Gdb seg 'muscle, flesh', Gnd Mn sikahk, (?) Png zey 'flesh' ¶¶ D no. 2549 || ??σ ρ: T *sīgun ~ *sūgun 'deer' > OT {Cl.} si:ḡun 'male maral deer', MQp XIII sḡin 'wild bovine', Chg ≥xv suḡun 'wild bovine', XwT XIV siḡun 'stag', StAlt, Tlt, QK siḡin, Qb, Xk, Shor, Tf sīn 'maral deer', Tv sīn, SY soḡun ~ suḡun 'male maral deer', Tk siḡin, Az siḡin 'elk', Tkm θūḡun 'stag' ¶ Cl. 811-12, Ra. 230, BT 135, Rl. IV 617 ◇ K and T (if the T cognate is valid) point to pN *š- (rather than *č-). The length of the vowel in T may be due to the contraction of the N sequence *-iʔ|ʔu- ◇ A lateral cns. in Ag and N is suggested by the Gz reflex ◇ The length of the first vw. in T and the glottality of K *ḳ are likely to suggest the presence of a N lr. *ʔ or *ʕ (N *^rš^riʔ|ʔuk▽) ◇ Blz. NDA no. 1 (D, HS), ≈ Blz. L no. 109b (incl. Ag, Ch and D).

2190. *šakā 'to split, to cleave' > HS: WS *^ršak v. 'split' > Ar ^ršaq (pf. šaqqa, ip. -šuqq-) v. 'cut lengthwise, cleave, split', Mh ^ršak (pf. šak) v. 'split, crack', Jb ^ršak id., Hrs ^ršak (pf. šak) v. 'split' ¶ Ln. 1575-6, BK I 252, Jo. M 378-9, Jo. J 250, Jo. H 120 || Ch: WCh: Klr {J} sik v. 'cut' || ECh: Brg {J} sikkí id. ¶ JI II 96-7 || C: DhI {To.} čakēd- 'distribute', {E} čakēd- 'distribute portions of food' ¶ To. D 149, E SC 214, J R 335 ¶ In DhI the glottalized č- (for š-) is probably due to as. || IE: NaIE *sek- v. 'chop' (× N ? *^svak▽ 'to carve, to chisel' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} éiscid 'haut ab' || Lt † i-sékti 'eingraben, schneiden', iš-sékti 'sculpere', pasékelis ~ posékelis 'smith's big hammer' || Sl inf. *sékti (1s pres. *sě'kq) 'to chop, to cut' > OCS inf. сѣщн sěštī (1s pres. сѣкѣ sěkq), R inf. сечь (1s pres. се'кы), SCr inf. сѣћи s(i)jěći (-d pres. сѣћем s(i)jěčēm), Slv inf. sékati (←d pres. sēkam), Cz inf. sici, sekati, Slk inf. siect', sekat', P inf. siec (1s pres. siekq) id. || L d. sēcula 'sickle' || AS sigðe (< *sekitā) 'scythe', NE scythe | NaIE *sek-ūrā 'axe' > L secūris id. || Sl *sekīra

id. > OCS, OR **секѣра** *sekĭra*, SCr *sjèkĭra*, Slv *sekíra*, R, Blg *секира*, Uk *сокира*, P *siekiera*, Cz *sekyra*, Slk *seker a* id. ¶ P 895-6, EI 38 (? *sekūr- 'axe' < *sek- 'cut'), Frn. 544, 773, Vs. III 592-3, Brü. 488, StSS 600, 680, Glh. 551, Tls. 541 || **A** *s|zak_L'_J∇ 'sharp instrument;', v. 'cut, split' > Tg {DQA} *°sak-pi- > Ul *saqqi*(n-) 'axe' ¶ STM II 56 || pKo {S} *sàkí- 'carve, engrave' > MKo *sàkí-*, NKO *sägi-* ¶ S QK no. 1102, Nam 282, MLC 920 || pJ {S} *sàk- v. 'rip, split' > OJ *sak-*, MJ *sàk-* id., J T *sák-*, J K *sàk-* 'split, cleave, rip' ¶ S QJ no. 1674, Mr. 746, Kenk. 1562 ¶¶ SDM 1203 (pA *s|zàk'a 'sharp instrument;', v. 'cut, split' > Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 1899 || ? **U**: FU *š|śa|ukk∇ 'a piece (Stück), part' > F *lyöđä sukū-ksī* 'to break into pieces' (*lyöđä* 'to beat'), ??φ *sukkū* 'zerquetschter Zustand' || pOs *sāk ({{Hl.}} *sĭk) > Os: Vy *sāq* in *yōηsāq* 'crumbled ice, Eisbrei (pieces of ice that crumble away in spring)' (*yōηk* means 'ice'), LK *sāq* 'fein zerkrümelt (Salz u. a.)', D *sāχat-* v. 'break, break into pieces, break up, reduce to small pieces', K *sāχat-* 'break into pieces, damage' | Hg Δ *szak* 'small piece, part', *szakit-* 'tear, tear asunder', *szakad-* id, 'be torn' ¶ UEW 457-8 ◇ One could possibly adduce U (in ObU only) *šāk|ŕr∇ v. 'chop, cut', but from the phonetic point of view it is preferable to ascribe it to N *šāgaR∇ 'cut, pierce' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II 86 (*cek ~ *sek 'cut') (IE, A, Gil, CK, EA; not distinguished from N ? *š∇K∇ 'to carve, to chisel').

2191. *šEĶo 'look at, watch, see' > IE *sek^ω- 'look at, see' > Ht *sakuwāi* 'look at, watch, observe', *sakuwa* 'eyes', Ld *saw-* 'see, observe', Lw {Ivn.} *tawā/i* 'eye', Lc *tawa* 'eyes' (< {Ivn.} pSAn *tak^ωa; pSAn *t- < IE *s-) || NaIE *sek^ω- > Gmc inf. *sex^ω-an > Gt *saíhan*, ON *sjá*, Sw, Dn *se*, OSx *sehan*, OHG *sēhan*, NHG *sehen*, AS *seón* 'to see', NE *see* || OIr *rosċ* n. 'eye, look' (< *pro-sk^ωo-), {P} *ar-secha* 'er sollte uns sehen' || pAl {O} *sākska- > Al: T *shoh*, G *shof* 'see' || pTc {ðAd.} *šotrājā > Tc: {P} A *šotre*, Tc B *šotri* 'mark (Zeichen)' (< *sek^ω-tr-), {Ad.} B *šotrūna* pl., *šotrūni* du. id. ¶¶ ≈σ P 897-8 and ≈σ EI 505 (both do not distinguish between *sek^ω- 'look, see' and *sek^ω- 'follow' < N *š'o'Ķo 'to follow'), Ts. W 67-8, Frd. HW 177, Vr. 477, Fs. 404-5, Kb. 834, OsS 749, Ho. 290, Ho. S 63, KM 697-8), Vn. R 44, O 425-6, Ad. 663, Ad. H 137, Ivn. OPA 133 || **HS**: CS (or WS) *✓škw|y 'look, expect' > BHb d. **שׂ כִּיָּה** * *šəḵī'yā (pl. cs. **שׂ כִּיָּוֹת** šəḵī'yōt) ?σ,μ {GB} 'Gegenstand des Schauens, Schaustück', [Vulg.] 'quod

visu pulchrum est', מַשְׂכֵּי תַּיִת maš'kīṭ {BDB} 'showpiece (e.g. carved figure), image, imagination', MHb {Js.} ✓ sky G (pf. הִבֵּן s̄ā'k̄ā) 'look, see, foresee', JA [Trg.], JPA {Js.} ✓ sky|w G (pf. הִבֵּן s̄ā'k̄ā ~ הִבֵּן s̄ā'k̄ā) id., 'look out, hope', JEA ✓ sky|w D 'wait', Sr ✓ sky D (pf. הִבֵּן s̄ā'k̄ā) 'wait for, look for', Md ✓ skw|y ({DM} skā) 'direct the gaze towards, look for(ward to), look', Ar ✓ škw G (pf. שָׁאַל šakā) {Fr.} 'ask for (from God)' (→ {Ln.} 'complain'), مَشْكَاة miš'kāt- {Ln., Hv.} 'niche for a lamp in a wall', Gz maskōt 'window' (Nld. and Jfr.: Ar miš'kāt ← EthS) ¶ GB 785, BDB 967, Js. 989, Lv. T II 161-2, Lv. III 522 (✓ sky|w G 'sehen, scahuen'), Sl. 809, Br. 473, JPS 376, Fr. II 444-5, Ln. 1589-90, Hv. 374, L G 365, Nld. NB 51, Jfr. 266, ≠ Rb. AWA 123 [fn. 20] (deriving Ar miš'kāt- and Gz maskōt from a Hb source) || | A *s|zE₁k'∇ > M (from a d. word?) *siqa¹ʿa- 'look searchingly, take aim' > MM [HI] siqažu uže 'observe attentivement!' (inv.) (uže means 'look, see'), WrM siqaga- ~ siqa- {MED} v. 'peer, look intensely or searchingly; take aim', HIM {MED} шагаа- id., {BMR} шагай- 'look, observe, peer', Brt шагаа- v. 'look, peer', Kl {KRS} шаһа- šaḡa- v. 'peer, заглядывать', {Rm.} šaḡa- ~ šaḡā- 'zielen, durch ein Loch oder eine Spalte gucken', ? Mnr H {T} sge- 'see, look', {SM} sg_e- 'voir' ¶ Ms. H 97, MED 721, BMR IV 330, Chr. 713, KRS 661, KW 344, SM 346, T 358 || AmTg *sexu- (or *seku-?) > Ul sɜxu¹i, Nn Nh sɜxu¹r 'keen' (of ear), 'light' (of sleep) ('чуткий' [сон]), Ul sɜxu¹u/i- v. 'sleep light' ('чутко спать'), Nn sɜxu¹ɕi- id., 'be vigilant' ¶ Acc. ADb.'s theory, in the intervocalic position in pTg there is a phoneme *x, preserved as x in the AmTg lges ¶ STM II 139, On. 388 ¶ ≠ SDM 1226 (pA *sək'ū- 'preserve, be aware' > pTg *sexu- 'sensitive, responsive' + [not belonging here] M *saki- 'protect, guard' and T *sak₁i- '[be] aware, protect' [{AD} 'guard, watch, be aware'] [both from N *šaxk̄E 'to cover, to hide'], pJ *sək- v. 'like' [from *šuhk̄∇ 'wish, covet'] and Ko *saki- 'read characters, interpret')

2192. *šipok'U' 'to get/be cold; cool' > A ≈ *š₁ok'U' 'cold' > T *sog₁- v. 'get/be cold' > OT soɣ₁- id., XwT XIV, Oosm XVI sovu-, MQp XIV sovu-, Tk soğ₁u-, Az soyu-, Tkm θowa-, Uz sɔwu-, ET savu-, QrB suu-, Qmq suwu-, Nog, Qzq suw₁- (inf. suw-uw), Qq suw₁-, VTt d. cyu-n-, Bsh h̄w̄b̄-, Qrg sū-, StAlt, Tv, Xk sō- v. 'become cold', ⇨ NaT *sog₁-q 'cold' > OT soɣ₁q, MQp XIII and XIV [CC] sawuq ~ sowuq, Chg ≥xv sawuɣ ~ sawuq, Tk soğ₁uk, Az soyuq, ET soɣa ~ savuq, Uz sɔwuq,

Tkm θowuq, Qmq suwuq, QrB suuq, Nog, Qzq, Qq suwıq, VTt su(ω)ьq, MsTt suwьq, Bsh һъwьq, Qrg sūq, StAlt, Tv sōq, Alt {Vrb.} sūq, Xk sōχ, Xlj sɔwuq id. || Chv L сивѣ, Chv Δ сивѣ, сиввѣ, сив', Chv МК {Md.} si 'cold', Chv сивѣн- 'become cold' ¶ Cl. 806, 808, DTS 507, Rs. W 425, TL 15, Md. 46, Fed. II 47-8, Ash. XI 142-3, Jeg. 190, ChVS 167, Tkr 582, ARL 271, UzR 374-5, S AJ 176 [no. 16], DT 191 || Tg *šig-/*š'ı₁a¹g- v. 'freeze, be cold' (= {ADb.} *sıaxu-ra- v. 'freeze') > Ewk Tk çig- v. 'freeze', Ewk Skh/Urm çig- v. 'shiver', WrMc {Z} шaxypa- v. 'freeze, shiver, suffer from cold', шaxypунь n. 'cold', Mc Sb {Y} šaɣwrun ~ saɣwrun n 'cold', {Mrm.} šaxurun 'cold wind' ¶ STM II 389, 423, S AJ 208 [no. 205], Y no. 2061, Klz. MS 253, Z 661-2 || pKo {S} *sik- v. 'cool off' > NKO sik- id. ¶ S AJ 257 [no. 156], S QK no. 156, MLC 1045, BKR I 766, Rm. SKE 233 ¶¶ SDM 1336 (*šıogō 'cold' [with unc. rec. of *-g-] > Tg *šig-, T *soɣıq, Ko + unc. pJ *sɜyɜ 'gentle\cool' [of wind]' [> OJ, MJ, JT soyɔ]), DQA no. 2173, S AJ 281 [no. 156], SDM95 (A *šıuk'∇ 'cold'), SDM97 (A *šäk'∅ id.), Rm. SKE 233, ADb. SR 11 || U ***ôšıkku- (in eU, which still had *u in the final syll.) > FU: pVg *šīk^ω-/*šēk^ω- 'cool' > Vg: N/K sēk^ω, ML šēk^ω 'the cool (прохлада)', {Mu.} 'kühl', K säk^ωi, N sēk^ωti- v. 'make cold\cool' ¶ MK 540, BV 110 || ?σ D *č'k'ıkk- v. 'thicken' (of liquid), 'harden' (× N *č'ık'∇ 'tight, narrow, dense', q.v. ffd.) || HS: the S root *^o√^rš'k'k is probably reflected in an Arabic dialect (not recorded in known sources) as *^rš'qq, which was borrowed by some NSA and B lges: Jb š'z'k 'cold, numbness', Sq 'š'εk'ak n. 'cold', ɣhεk adj. 'cold', Si š'qi n. 'cold' ({La.} ammutaɣa š'qi 'I am cold', lit. 'I am dying from cold'), Gd {CM} š'āqi^ε adj. 'cold'; the fact that the words in NSA and B are Arabisms is suggested by their phonetic shape: the cns. š'- in Jb and Sq (for š'- expected in an inherited word) and -q- in Si and Gd (typical of Arabisms) ¶ Jo. J 261, L LS 421, La. S 242, CM 123 ¶ Leslau (L LS 421) brought forward a possibility of connecting the MSA √ with Ar √š'qq 'être pénible' (??σ) ◇ Cf. AD AltAD no. 12.

2193. (₂?) *š'ısu^ra¹k'∇ (ı^r∇) 'resin' > IE: NaIE *^oswek₁^ω- 'resin' (× N *š'ıku [= *š'ıku?] 'juice') > Blt: Ltv pl. svεk'ı 'resin', Δ svakas (f. pl.) id., Lt sakai^ĩ (pl.), Pru sackis id. ¶ The absence of the expected -v- in Lt and Pru requires explanation. This -v- belongs to the etymological heritage (cp. below FU *-u- and Gnd -v- ~ -w-) ¶ ≈ P 1044 and ≈ EI 499-500 (both adduced Gk ῥπόζ and defined its meaning as 'Baumharz, resin', while in fact the Gk word means 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig trees' [see LS 1241], hence it hardly belongs here, see N

ŽUKU** '↑'), Frn. 756-7, ≈ Kar. II 334, En. 241 || **A**: T ***sakír** 'resin' > OT **saχiz** ≈ **saqiz** 'gum, resin', Tkm **θaqiδ**, CrTt, Kr **saqiz**, Qzq, Qrg **saγiz**, Qq **saγiz** ~ **saqqiz**, VTt **saγъz**, Bsh **haγъδ**, ET **seγiz**, Xk **sās**, Shor **saγis**, Yk **jas**, Chv L **cyxǎp** **suxъr**, Chv Δ **coxǎp** 'resin', Tk **çam sakızı** id. (**çam** 'pine, fir') ¶ Cl. 817-18, Rs. W 396, TL 117-18, Ash. XI 218-19, Fed. II 70, Jeg. 198, ChVS 174 || ??σ **HS**: S ***√ŝ|srk** 'adhere, cling, clutch' > Sr **√srk** *G* (ip. -**srak**) v. 'adhere, stick to' (of plaster), JEA **√srk** v. *G* 'adhere, stick, cling, clutch' (unless the basic meaning is 'clutch, hold fast, hang to', as in JA **√srk** v. *G*) ¶ Js. 1027-8, Lv. III 592-3, Sl. 831, Br. 499, JPS 392 || **U**: ?φ **FU** ***š|śur**∇ 'pitch, resin' > pPrm {LG} ***šūr** 'resin' > Z, Vt **cip śir**, Yz **śar** || Hg **szurok** 'pitch' ¶ UEW 492, LG 257, MF III 603 ¶ The **FU** √ belongs here if one finds a way of explaining the absence of the expected internal ***k** (š|śur**∇ < ****š|ś**∇**kur**∇) || ??φ **D**: Gnd **sever** ≈ **šever** ≈ **saver** ≈ **sowwer** ≈ **heber** 'gum', as well as possibly (with obscure phonetic history) Kn (← Tl?) **jigaṭ**, **jigaṭe**, **jibaṭu** 'stickiness, gum', Tl **jigaṭa**, **jiguru** 'gum, birdlime' and Klm **sijoṭ** 'sticky'; D ⇨ OI **cikka-** 'gum, birdlime' ¶¶ D no. 2488 ◇ If both **S** and **FU** cognates are valid, the **N** initial cns. is ***š-**. If the **FU** cognate is valid, but the **S** one is not, it may be **N** ***ś-** as well.

2193a. ₂ ***šA1**∇ 'acacia' > **HS**: ECh: Skr {Lk.} **śullē** and/or **śulē** 'a species of *Acacia*' ¶ Lk. ZSS || Eg (+ext.): Eg P, OK **šrз**, MK **šrз.т** 'acacia' ¶ EG IV 520-1 || **D** ***čāl-** 'acacia' > Tm **čāli** '*Acacia planifrons*, *Acacia tomentosa*, *Acacia latronum*', Kn **jāli** '*Acacia arabica*, *Acacia Fornesiana*', Tl **jāli**, **jāla** '*Acacia arabica*' ¶¶ D no. 2474 ◇ Blz. NDA no. 81 (D and **HS** words for 'acacia', IE ***salik̑-** 'willow' + [unj.] words of **HS** lges for different trees and other plants + [unj.] some words of Altaic lges for 'branch' etc.) ◇ Any connection between the **HS**-**D** word for 'acacia' and **N** ***śa1'a** 'willow' is not justified enough.

2194. ***šil'û** (or ***šil'û**?) 'take, take away\off' > **HS**: WS ***√ŝ|lw** ~ ***√ŝ|ll** id. > Ar **√šlw** *G* (ip. -**šluw-**) 'lever, soulever, hausser', Mh **√ŝ|ll** *G* v. 'carry, take, take away', Jb C **√ŝ|ll** *G* v. 'lift up off the ground', ? ItBHb **√sll** (< ***√ŝ|ll**) 'pile up in the street, leave around; pile up sheaves' ¶ KB 715, KBR 757, Fr. II 447, BK I 1264, Jo. M 379, Jo. J 252, GB 545 || **IE**: NaIE ***sel(w0)-** v. 'take, seize, lay hold of' (× **N** ***š'U** **th'û** 'take, take away, pull out' [q.v.] × **N** ***še1**∇ 'take away\off, destroy, pull off') > Gk **ἐλεῖν**, Gk Ep **ἐλέειν** (aor. II inf.), Gk **ἐλῶ** (ft.) {Ch.} 'prendre, s'emparer de', {P} 'nehmen, in die Gewalt bekommen', {LS} 'take,

grasp, seize', Gk ἔλωρ {P} 'Beute, Raub, Fang', {LS} 'spoil, prey' ||| Clt {Matas.} *selwā 'possession' > OIr selb id., MW, W helw id. (in ar helw 'en la possession de') ||| Gmc caus. ('to cause to have'): Gt saljan (· θύειν, λατρείαν προσφέρειν) 'opfern (to offer as a sacrifice, to sacrifice)', OHG sellen 'to give over, to betray, to transmit', ON selia, NNr selja, Sw sälja, Dn sælge, AS sellan 'to hand over (übergeben), to sell', NE sell ¶ P 899, EI 564 (*sel- 'seize, take possession of'), Ch. 335, LS 41 (s.v. ἄρῆω), Vn. S 79-80, Matas. E 329, Fs. 408-9, Vr. 469, Kb. 841, OsS 739, Schz. 248, Ho. 289 ||| U: FU (att. in Ugr) *šil|∇- > pVg *šīl- v. 'acquire' > Vg: N {Mu.} sēl-, ML {Mu.} šēl- 'erwerben, beschaffen', Yk {BV} seł- 'find, earn, acquire', N cəл- id., {Mu.} sēl- 'suchen, erwerben, kaufen' || Hg szül- v. 'give birth to' (< *'acquire [a child]') ¶ UEW 888, MK 540, BV 110, MF 604-5 ||| D *čil- ({θGS} *ś-) v. 'strip off', (→ ?) v. 'pluck' > Tm ili v. 'strip off, pluck', Tu cilkuri v. 'flay', Prj čil-kip/t- v. 'peel\scale off', Kui sli-ηga v. 'be plucked', ? Brh sil 'skin' ¶¶ D no. 2585. The D √ belongs here if its primary meaning is 'strip off' (< 'take off') rather than 'skin' ◇ If D *čil- belongs here, the N etymon is *šil'ū'. Otherwise it may be either *šil'ū' or *šil'ū'.

2194a. *šil|∇ (~ *sil|∇?) 'fat (Fett)' > U *šil|ä ~ FP *sil|∇ > F silava, Δ silevā 'pork fat, lard' || pChr *šel > Chr: L/H шел šel 'animal fat, lard (Speck)', M śel id., B šel 'melted lard\tallow' || Prm *súl > Z s+∇, Δ s+∇ n. 'fat, lard', Z s+la adj. 'fat' (of broth) ||| Vg LK/P {Kn.} šilt 'bear fat' || pSm {Jn.} *selb ~ *silb n. 'fat' > Ng {Cs.} 'sela 'melted fish fat', {Ris.} d. sielaga 'intestinal fat of a reindeer', {Cs.} selagā adj. 'fat'; Slq NP {Cs.} d. sīle id., Km {Cs.} sil n. 'fat', {KD} ś+ḷ. ś śiḷ id., 'tallow', Koyb {Sp.} сыль n. 'fat', сель 'animal fat (сало)' ¶¶ All U cognates (except Prm) are accounted for by U *šil|ä, while Prm *súl points to a U *s- ¶¶ UEW 478, 758, SK 1024, Ber. 59, MRS 698, Ep. 149, LG 267, Lt. 201, Jn. 140, Cs. 65, 160, 189, KD 61 ||| IE: NaIE (+ext.) *selp- n. 'fat' > OI sar'pīh /sarpiś- 'clarified butter' ||| Gk [Hs.] ἔλωρ (· ἔλαιον, στέαρ) 'olive oil, hard fat', Gk Cp [Hs.] ἔλωρ (· βούτυρον) 'butter', Gk ὄλη 'leathern oil flask' ||| Al gjalpē 'butter' ||| pTc *šāīpe (= {Ad.} *šālype) > Tc: A šālyp, B šālype '(sesame) oil; salve, ointment' ||| OHG salba, NHG Salbe, AS sælf(e) 'ointment, NE salve; ↗ Gt salbōn (· ἀλείφειν, χρίειν) 'salben', OHG salbōn, NHG salben, Sw salva, Dn, NE salve, AS sealfian 'to apply ointment, to

anoint' ¶ P 901, EI 194, MW 1184, M K III 446, F I 503, O 129, Ad. 652-3, KT 39 (on Tc 𐤔 = [ś]), Ho. 286, Fs. 407-8 || **HS**: S *^o√š|sly > Ar √sly T (pf. ٱسْتَلَى ʔistalā) 'be fat' (of a sheep), Ar SL مُسَلَّى musallā 'butter' ¶ Bel. 339, Hv. 334 ◇ Vg and Sm point to a N *š̂-, Z, Chr and S suggest a N *s-, while F and IE may go back to both. The variation is possibly due either to delateralizing dis. N *š̂...l > *s...l or to lateralizing as. N *s...l > *š̂...l ◇ BmK no. 285 (IE - U *śilä, sc. *š̂il|ä), ≈ Blz. L no. 50a (incl. IE, U, Ar).

2195. *š̂|su|∇ (= *š̂|su|∇?) 'trunk, log' ([in descendant lges] → 'board', 'trough' and sim.) > IE: NaIE *swel- ~ *sel- > [1] *swel- 'plank, board' > OHG swelli 'Sockel, Fußgestell', swella 'Schwelle, sill', NHG Schwelle 'threshold', ON svill, syll 'foundation beam, doorsill, threshold', Ic sull 'sill, the horizontal beam that bears the upright portion of a frame', Sw syll, Dn sýld, NNr svill 'threshold', AS syll id., 'doorsill', NE sill | [2] *sel- 'board', 'trough', 'bench' and sim. (× N *ǵæ|∇ 'ē tree', q.v..) > Lt sùolas 'bench', Lt Δ ? sílè 'trough, pig's trough', sílìs 'crib', ? Ltv síle 'trough, manger' || AS selma ~ sealma, OSx selmo 'bed' (sc. 'wooden bed') || L solium 'a chair of state, royal\official seat, throne; bathtub; sarcophagus' || pAl {O} d. *sālā > Al T gjollë (< *sēlā) 'slab on which salt for livestock is placed' || Gk [Hs.] ἑλματα (pl.) {EI} 'planking, decking', (× N *ǵæ|∇) Gk σελίς 'crossbeam of stone in ceiling constructions', σέλματα (pl.) 'logs of building timber', 'rowing benches', sg. σέλμα (gen. σέλματος) 'the upper planking of a ship, deck; seat, throne' ¶ P 898-9, EI 431 (*swel- ~ *sel- 'plank, board'), WW 286, Vr. 573, Kb. 1000, OsS 911, KM 692, Ho. S 63, Ho. 286, 340, HDEL 1206, F II 691-2, Frn. 785, 942-3, ≠ WH II 554, ≠ EM 633, ≠ Mn. AHG 87 || **HS**: B: Ah, ETwl, Ty a-sallum 'board' ¶ Fc. 1831, GhA 173 || possibly CS *^oš̂|ullam- 'ladder, stairs' > JA sullā'm-ā, if Hb sull|lām, Ph slmh and Ar sullam- id. are loans from Aram; otherwise (if there was a CS *sullam-), this S word does not belong here ¶ BK I 130-1, KB 715, HJ 788 || **U** *š̂|su|∇ 'wooden receptacle' > FU: Es {W} sulu 'trough, wooden compartment (Verschlag) in a room (for small animals)' | Prm: Vt Sr súl+s, Vt Kz súlšs 'oblong small wooden trough (Holzmulde) (used for screening flour etc.)', Vt G súlšs 'oblong bowl' || Sm: En {Dlx.} suruku 'ē Geschirr', En X {Cs.} 'śuroka, Ng {Cs.} sílāʔka 'trogähnliches Gefäß'; ?? Slq: Nr {Cs.} holak, Tz {KKIH} sola, Y/B/Tz/Kar {Cs.} solarḡ, NP {Cs.} sollarḡ, Tm {KD} solak 'spoon' (unless

the Slq word is a loan from T; *see* Mt {Hl.} *šom_lak 'spoon' [Mt: M {Sp.} шомлакъ id., T {Mil.} schomolúkma 'my spoon'] ← T, cp. Qb samalaq, Xk samnaχ 'spoon' [÷ čavli 'Schaumlöffel' in other T lges?, *see* Dr. TM III 38, no. 1056] ¶¶ Coll. 58, UEW 488-9, Cs. 66, 92, 159, 249, Dlg. MSE 209, KP 202, KKIИ 170, Hl. M no. 905 || A: Tg *°sul... 'pole' > Ud sulakku 'ε pole, pin (штырь, ε жердь)' ¶ STM II 124, Krm. 289 || D (in SD) *č|kúlikk- 'stick' > Tm cu_likku 'pikestaff, sharp-pointed stick carried by travellers', Kn cu_like 'a stout stick to beat cotton with' (× N *č_ul_l 'stalk, stick', q.v.) ◇ If the S word for 'ladder, stairs' is *šullam- (and it belongs here), we should reconstruct a pN *š̂-, otherwise we remain with an unspecified N *š|ś-. If D *-l̄- is due to the infl. of N *č_ul_l, we cannot unequivocally reconstruct N *-l̄- and remain with the unspecified N *-l̄- (= *-l̄l̄-).

2196. *š̂'ü'īi 'neck, nape' > U: FU *°š|śü|li > Prm *śūl- 'neck' > Z сьылі śīli 'neck', Vt силь śīl 'horse's withers (холка)', сильсьөр śīśzr 'nape' (lit.: 'neck's hind part') ¶ LG 271, U3S 389 || A *s|zil_l > M *sili 'nape of the neck, sinew of the neck' > WrM sil_i {MED} 'nape, flat-topped hill', HIM шил {MED} id, {BMR} 'flat-topped hill, Hochplateau, der obere Teil eines Gebirgsstockes; Kamm eines Gebirgsrückens', Brt шэлэ 'occiput, nape, hill', Kl {KRS} шил 'sinew of the neck, mountain ridge', {Rm.} šil_i 'Nackensehne; Nacken; grüne Bergwiesen', WrO {Krg.} šili 'nape', Brt шэлэ 'back of the head, nape', Ord šile 'nuque; tendon, nerf' ¶ MED 706-7, BMR IV 353, Chr. 744, KRS 672, KW 356, Krg. 446, Ms. O 616 || Tg *silni 'collar', *°silel- '≈ neck' > Orc sili 'women's collar of satin with fur', Ul sini 'women's collar of fur', Ork sinni 'collar', WrMc {Z} сэлхэ 'dewlap, loose-hanging skin under a bull's neck', сэлхэнь 'stocks on a criminal's neck' ¶ STM II 84, 140, Z 586 || HS: Eg Md {DW} šžžž.t, šžžžү.t 'Vorderhals-Gegend', {Fk.} šžžž.t 'bosom', Eg Md/G {EG} šžžžү 'Kehle, Kehlkopf' (?), as well as Eg XVIII/XX {EG} šžžžү.t, {Fk.} šžžž.t 'necklace' (the latter: × HS *s_lrs_l- 'chain' > S *šaršar- id., B: Skn i-sarsar id., Hs sassari id.) ¶ Eg IV 413, DW II 836, Fk. 261-2, Tk. I 312 ◇ The delabialization of *ü in T and M (or in proto-Altaic?) is a reg. phenomenon ◇ If the Eg words do not belong here, the initial N cns. may be either *š̂- or *ś̂-.

2197. *š̂i_lya_h (~ *č̂i_lya_h?) 'tooth, fang' ([in descendant lges] → 'sharp stick') > HS: S *°š̂a_ll- > Sq {SSL} š̂a_l 'dent, crochet', {L} 'š̂a_l 'tooth' ¶ L LS 431, SSL LSNP 471 || EC: Kns {BISO} š̂ūla 'tooth of

wild boar' ¶ BISO 186b, Ss. B 175 || A *sí:í:ía 'sharp stick, tooth' (× N ***šéíXâ** 'bough, twig, stick' × N ***šīlꞑL∇** 'to roast, to fry, to cook') > T *sī́ ~ *sī́ 'tooth, sharp stick' > Chv шăл š'bl 'tooth' || NaT *sīš ~ *sīš 'spit, sharp stick' > OT sīš {Cl.} 'spit, fork, spike', Tk sīš, Az šiš, Tkm čiš, Bsh шеш š'šš, Xk sīš, Tv, Tf šiš id., Qrg šiš 'sharp stick, sharp object', VTt шеш š'šš 'sharp rod' ¶ Cl. 856-7 ("The vowel was i in Xak. and is now everywhere i, the date of the change is uncertain"), TL 228, Rs. W 494, Md. 71, Fed. II 44O, ASh. XVII 28O-4, Jeg. 332, ChVS 278, Ra. 23, S AJ 192 || Tg *sila-pun 'spit' (× <d- Tg *sila- v. 'roast on a spit, grill' < N ***šīlꞑL∇** '↑', q.v.) > Ewk silawun, Lm hīlun, Neg silawun, Orc silō(n-), silzu(n-), Ud silou(n-), Ul silopu(n-), Nn Nh silpõ, Nn Bk silpō(n-), WrMc {Z} шолонь 'spit (Bratspieß), fork' ¶ STM II 82, On. 363, Z 675 ¶¶ SDM 1251-2 (pA *sī́ía > T, Tg + unc.: M *sidü 'tooth' [which goes back to N ***sit∇** 'tooth', q.v.], Ko *sár 'arrow, sting' (from N ***šäꞑoy'í'í∇** 'hair'?) and pJ *sàsi 'sharp stick'), DQA no. 2O97 (id.), S AJ 288 [no. 282], TL 228, Cl. 1O8, Rs. W 424, ADb. SR 13, Md. OJ 41-2, Dr. TM III 325-6, Dr. MT 24O, Mill. OJR 129, Str. A*1(V)b 3OO || ?φ U: FU (att. in FV) ***čilꞑL∇-m∇** 'fang, eyetooth (Eckzahn) of predators' > pLp {Lr.} ***čzla-m∇** 'fang' > L: U t̄jillàma, L t̄jalām, N {N} čâlam id., Kld {TI} č'āłłan 'Hauzahn der Hunde und Raubtiere' | Er цилим пей čílim-pey 'Überzahn (a new tooth that grows over the old one)', Δ 'fang', Mk šeĺán-pey & číĺán-pej 'Überzahn' (pej means 'tooth') ¶ UEW 613-14, Lr. no. 1O7, Lgc. no. 46O, TI 642, ERV 725 || D ***čil(1)-** 'spike, sharp stick' > Tm cilukku 'tooth of a saw, barb, iron staple', Ml cilukku 'spike, iron barb, javelin', Tu cillēli 'a sharp stick to dart a fish with', Tl ciluku, sela 'arrow' ¶¶ D no. 2568 ◇ T *-í- < *-ly- < N *-l∇y-. If the Altaic cognate is valid and FU *č- may be explained otherwise, the pN rec. must be ***šīꞑl∇yâ**, while the FU cognate suggests N ***čīꞑl∇yâ** ◇ Blz. L no. 112b (including Sq, T).

2198. ***šīaHꞑ'ü'L∇** 'dew' > U: FU *šūza 'hoarfrost, frozen dew' > Lp N {N} čqđđe 'coating of ice formed by frozen rain\sleet on stones or trees' || pObU *šōđ 'hoarfrost, frozen dew' > pVg *šā́ id. > Vg: T/P/V/LL šā́, LK šā́, N só id.; pOs *soy ({Hl.} *sāy < *sōy) > Os: V/Vy soy, Ty/Y sōy 'Reif, Rauh frost', D/K suy 'Rauh frost' ¶ Coll. 75, UEW 488, Sm. 549 (FU ***śudā**, FP ***śudā**, Ugr ***śudā** 'ice crust'), Ht. 181 [no. 562] || A [1] pA *sil∇ 'dew, liquid; hoarfrost' > Tg *sile-, *sile-kse 'dew' (× Tg *silemse 'saliva, dew' < N ***śūí∇ꞑü** (kê) or ***śíí∇ꞑi** (kê) 'mucus,

slime, saliva', q.v.) > Ewk silɛksɛ ~ silɛksɛ ~ hilɛksɛ ~ šilukšɛ, Sln šilikšči, Neg silɛksɛ, Orc silɛŋsɛ, Ud {Krm.} silihɛ, Nn Nh/KU, Ul silɛmsɛ, Ork šilɛ́ksɛ, WrMc {Z} силэнги, Jrc {Md.} sie-le-un, {Lg.} šileün, {Kiy.} šileun, Lm hilɛs 'dew', hīli 'light rain, hoarfrost', Lm A sīli 'dew', Nn silɛ-u-, Ewk silɛ-šī- v. 'be covered with dew, get wet from dew' ¶ STM II 85-6, Krm. 285, On. 363, Z 606, Gru. SSJ no. 10, Md. ChF 158, Kiy. 97 [no. 0010] || T *si:ɟl, *si:ɟlEm 'spittle, saliva' > Tk Δ sel, Qrg silämägäy id., ET šilim 'slime'; T *si:ɟlik > MT silik, Tk Δ, Qzq, Qq silekey, ET šillik 'spittle, saliva', Az selik, Uz šiliq 'slime', ET šillik 'slimy (слизистый)' ¶ ARL 260, MM 317, Naj. 556, KrkR 576 || pKo {S} *sərí 'hoarfrost' > MKo sərí, NKo səri id. ¶ S QK no. 215, Nam 299, MLC 936, BKR II 681, Rm. SKE 230 ¶¶ SDM 1248-9 (pA *sila 'dew, liquid. hoarfrost' > Tg *sile-, T *sil-, Ko + unc. M *sil- 'slime, saliva; get wet; slobbery'), DQA no. 2005, Rm. SKE 230, Rm. EAS I 71-2, Rs. W 435 || [2] pA *sāl_L∇_L'g∇m' (= *sāl_L∇_L'g∇m'?) > T *sālgI'm' 'dew, hoarfrost' (→ 'cold weather?') > Chv сылăм ~ сывлăм 'dew' (в in сывлăм is due to the infl. of Chv шыв 'water') ||| Tkm θālgim 'mirage in a desert', OT {Cl.} salqim 'cold, hoarfrost', Xk salim 'dew'; see also Shor šalim, Tv, Tf šalim and StAlt ćalim 'dew' (their initial cns. suggests that they may be loans from Xk or another T lge with the merger of pT *s- and *ç-) ¶ Cl. 826, 849, TL 39, Ash. XI 107, 110, Fed. II 75, Jeg. 200, 340, ChVS 175, Ra. 230 || J: Kgr {Mill.} *salgun 'frost' ¶ Mill. OJL 8 || HS: B *°saHluH - *°salHuH (pl. *°suHlaH- - *°sulHaH) > *-sālū- > Kb a-salu (pl. i-sula) 'thick layer of snow'; there is an alt. et. (B *saHluH - *salHuH < N *čáí∇g∇ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost'), which is less plausible for lack of the expected reflex of N *g ¶ Dl. 771 ◇ Tg *-i- (that may go back to *-ü-, but not to *-u-) suggests that FU *-u- results from assimilative depalatalization of *-ü- ◇ The length of the T vw. points to a N lr. The long vw. *ā in T *sālgI'm' and *aH in B *°saHluH suggest a rec. of *-aH- in N *šāH'ü'Lɿ∇.

2199. *šäl_L∇_LqU 'cleave, cut asunder' > HS: CS *✓šlχ id. (or S *°✓šlχ) > Ar ✓šlχ G 'split with a sabre', ?? Sr səlīh-ā 'canalis, alveus, cloaca' (< *šālīχ-, pp. of the verb *✓šlχ in the meaning 'dig?') ¶ Fr. II 446, BK I 1263, PS 2644 || K *°s|šχ_La_L- / *°s|šχw_L- > G sχl-/sχal-/sχw_L- 'beschneiden (Reben, Baum)' ¶ Chx. 1306 || U *šälü- 'split, cut' > FU *šälü- (> *šäle-) v. 'cut' > F sālī- 'in Splitter spalten', säle, gen. säleen 'splint(er), slat' || Lp: N {N} čalle- v. 'make a line, cut (into)

a split', L {LLO} t̄jāllē̄t 'ritzen, schneiden, schnitzen' || Chr B šela- '(sich) spalten', Chr H šelä- 'erstechen, zerreißen, zerhauen' ||| pObU *šīl-/*šūl- v. 'cut' > pVg *šīl- id. > Vg: UL sil-, T/LL šilt-, LK, MK silt-; pOs *sül- id. > Os V/Vy sül- || Hg szel- v. 'slice, cut' || ? pY {IN H} *sól- or *seí- ({IN UJ} *óöl-(ǝz)- vi. break') > Y K {IN H} šélgey-, Y T {IN H} saíʏay- vi. break, burst, become torn, faint', Y K {IN H} šelgʒdey- vt. 'break', Y T {IN H} saíʏarey- 'castrate', {Krn.} saíʏarey- vt. 'break', Y T {IN H} saíʏū 'cripple', ?σ Y K {IN H} šölgī- ~ solʏī- 'beat' ¶¶ UEW 470-1, Sm. 549 (FU, FP *śälä, Ugr *śälä 'cut'), LLO 1130-1, Ht. 184 [no. 588], MF 577-8, LG 311, IN H 411, IN UJ 222 ¶¶ To my mind, pObU *ī|*ū may be accounted for by the infl. of a labialized vw. (*ü) of the second syll. || ¶ *s|za|∇ 'be separated' > M *sa|u| - {SDM} 'become separated, branch off' (× N *šāīΓ∇ 'strike, break') > WrM sal-, salu- {MED} v. 'separate, branch off; be detached\isolated', HIM сала- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'separate, избавляться', Brt hala- id., Kl {KRS} сал- sal- id., {Rm.} sal- 'sich trennen, sich verzweigen, losgehen', Dg {T} sala- vi. 'be separated, separate', Ord 'se séparer de, être débarrassé de, perdre', WrO сала- id., 'part from, branch off', Ord sal- 'se séparer de, être débarrassé de, perdre' | ⇨ : MM [S] salu|čā- 'sich trennen' | ⇨ : M *salga- 'separate' > MM [S] {H} salha- (= salga-) '(ver)teilen', d. [H] salgaḡda- 'être donné comme part', WrM {MED}, WrO salga- vt. 'separate, divide', HIM салга- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'separate; vertreiben, избавлять', Kl {KRS} салh- vt. 'separate, различать, разлучать', {Rm.} saíʏa- vt. 'trennen, verzweigen, loslösen, sich trennen lassen', Ord salga- 'séparer, sevrer', Dg {T} salgā- vt. 'separate', Brt halga- id., 'remove' | ⇨ M *salaʏan > WrM salaga(n) {MED} 'branch, twig or limb of a tree, offshoot', HIM {MED} салаа id., {BMR} салаа(н) 'ответвление, развилина, разветвление', Ord salā 'ramification, branches qui vont en s'écartant l'une de l'autre; fourchu; branche', 'intervalle entre les doigts du pied \ de la main', Mnr H {SM} 'branche, rameau, ramification, rejeton, fourche', Dx sala 'branch\twig; limb of a tree, offshoot; bifurcation', Kl {Rm.} salā 'Ast, Zweig; Verzweigung', {KRS} сала 'space between fingers, bifurcation', Dg salā 'bifurcation'; M ⇨ Tb sala, Xk salā 'bough, twig', StAlt салаа 'bifurcation, tributary of a river', Qzq sala 'span (between fingers), arm of a river, fork of a road' ¶ H 131, Ms. H 93, MED 663, 665-6, BMR III 76, Gl. II 370, Krg. 389-90, KRS 436-8, KW 309-10, Chr. 667-9, Ms. O 554-5, SM 320, T 357, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, B DChT 146, BIG 179, BT

125, Sht. 165 || ?σ Tg *°salg∇- 'cleave in two parts' > Ewk Ald\Urm\Ucr salgʒdā- v. 'cleave\ tear lengthwise (in two parts)'; ⇨ Tg *salga-n 'fork (of a road, river), perineum' ({SDM} 'interval between legs') > Ork salda(n-) 'fork (of a road, river), perineum; forked crown of a tree', Nn KU salgã, Orc sãga, Ewk salgan, Neg salga, Ud saga, Lm hãlgь 'perineum', Lm Ol hãlgь 'span\interval (between the tripods forming the basis of a tent)', Nn Nh {On.} sãlga 'groin (пах)', WrMc {Z} салчжа 'crossroads, fork of a road' ¶ STM II 58, On. 352-3, Z 566 || Ko: pKo {S} *sári 'interval, space' > MKo sári, NKo † sari id.; ?? pKo *sâr- 'disappear, vanish' > MKo sâr-, NKo sara-ʒi- ¶ S QJ no. 717, MLC 871, Nam 291 || ?σ pJ {S} *sár- 'depart' > OJ sar-, MJ sár- {S} id., J T/K/Kg sár- {Kenk.} 'depart from, leave' ¶ S QJ no. 717, Mr. 747, Kenk. 1578 ¶¶ The vw. *a (rather than *ä) in pA may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of *-o) ¶¶ SDM 1206 (pA *s|zalo 'be separated' > M *sal(u)-, Tg, J, Ko *sâr-), DQA no. 1902, KW 309, Mr. KJ 245, Mr. CL 76, Str. JPAL 640 || D *čal- ({GS} *sel-) v. 'split, cut asunder' (× N *čal̥y, Eϛ, o 'to split, to cut') > Tu selæ 'chink, crack' || OTI {Km.} selagu v. 'cut', TI {Km.} celagu ~ celacu ~ selavu v. 'cut, chop', {BE} selagu ~ selayu v. 'cut', TI sela 'hole' || Krx čalx- v. 'open, uncover', Mlt čalge v. 'split\break open' || Krx čalx- v. 'open, uncover', Mlt čalge v. 'split\break open' || Brh čaliṅ v. 'become cracked, split' ¶¶ D no. 2377, Km. 363 [no. 470], 501 [no. 1225-6], GS 65-6 [no-s 201 and 211] ¶¶ The TI verb < N *šäl̥∇, qU × D *kell- (> Kn kelle 'a shiver, splinter', Tu kelle 'a splinter') ◇ N *q is suggested by S *χ, while in K the change *q > *χ and the mt. are due to certain laws of cns. combinations (accounting for the so-called "harmonic complexes" such as *šχ).

2200. *šäl̥i, w∇ (or *šäl̥i, w∇y∇?) 'e a wild gallinaceous fowl' > HS: CS *š'äl̥aw- (or *šalaway-?) 'quail' > BHb שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא (either from OA [if < S *'šäl̥aw-] or from *š'ul̥aw-), SmHb שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא, IA שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא, JA [Trg.] שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא, SmA {Tal} שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא sãlbi, {BH} שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא ~ שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא [sãlbi], em. שׂוֹלָא שׂוֹלָא, Sr سَلْوَا salway, Ar (← Aram) سَلْوَا salwā (spelled salway) 'quail' ¶ KB 1241, Lv. T II 166, BH II 603, Fr. II 348, Hv. 334, Tal 590, Br. 476, JPS 378 || ECh: Ke {Eb.} súlkú, Kwn {J} súlkó, Kwn M {J} sùlgó 'guinea fowl' ¶ JI II 175, J KKS, Eb. 93, ChC s.v. 'guinea fowl' || U: FU *š|šäl̥w∇ 'hazel grouse (*Tetrastes bonasia*)' > Prm *šóla > Z сьола śzla, Vt сяла śala 'hazel grouse'; (Z ⇨ ?) Vg {MK}: ML šulä, LL šula, P šulə, T šula

'hazel grouse' || pOs *sěϥlay ({{HL}} *sĩϥlay) > Os: Ty/Y səʁʔāy, Sl səʁtay, šďttāy, šātāy, Kr šutāy 'hazel grouse (*Tetrastes bonasia*)', D šütāy 'partridge' ¶ pOs *-ϥl- may go back to *-lϥ- (mt.) < FU *-lϣ-; on FU *-w- > pOs *-ϥ- see Hl. rHt 73-4 ¶ Coll. 111, LG 270, ≈ Rd. rLG 426 (Z ⇨ Vg; wrongly denying the Prm-Os relationship because of the seemingly superfluous Os *-ϥ-), MK 571, PD no. 2337, Trs. S 444, Hl. rHt 73-4 (on FU *-w- > pOs *-ϥ-), Stn. D 1315-16, Stn. OA IV 127, 140 (FU *-w- > pOs *-ϥ-) || D (in GnD) *čā̄l̄∇- 'quail' > Klm sālē ~ salle ~ sāle, Nkr sāl̄e 'quail' ¶ D no. 2480 ◇ The coinciding element *-ay in pOs *sěϥlay (*sĩϥlay) and S *'šalaway (> Sr and Ar salway) may have a common source at the pN level. GnD *-l̄- (for the expected *-l-) may be due to some positional factor (e.g. N *šā̄l̄i∇ > **šā̄ly∇ > **šā̄l̄i∇ > D *čā̄l̄∇).

2201. *šī́∇ (ma) 'eye; look, examine' > U *šī́mä 'eye' > F silmä, Es silm id. | pLp {Lr.} *čzlmē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjälmie, L {LLO} tjal'mē, N {N} čâl'bmē, Kld {SaR} чалльм, K {Gn.} čaḷm id. | Er сельме šélme, Mk сельме šélmə id. | Chr E šínca id. | pPrm *šim- > Z šin / šim-, Vt šin id. || Hg szēm id. | pObU *šēm id. > pVg *šǎm id. > Vg: T/LK/P/V/LL šām, MK/UK sām, N sam; pOs *sem ({{HL}} *šām) id. > Os: V/Vy/D/Nz/Kz/O sem, Ty/Y sām || pSm *sŷumä ~ *seumä, {HL.} *sŷume id. > Ng 'šayme ~ 'šeym, En sey, Ne T сэв сѣβ, Ne F хәε'm, Slq Tz {KKIH} say†, Kms sima ~ sayma, Koyb {Sp.} сима, {Pl.} simà, Mt {HL.} *sī́me 'eye(s)' (Mt: M {Pl.} simä, симя, {Sp.} сима id., {Mil.} schíme 'oculi', T {Mil.} schímedä id., K {Mil.} schíimi id., {Pl.} sjimide 'his eye[s]') ¶¶ UEW 479, Coll. 57, Db. OS xxxi, It. no. 387, Sm. 540 (U, FU, FP *silmä, Ugr *sī́mä, Sm *səjmä 'eye'), Lr. no. 110, Lgc. no. 464, Gn. 814, SaR 387, Ker. II 135-6, Ht. 184 [no. 592], LG 256, Jn. 132, Ptp. 37, Hl. M no. 886, KKI 167 || A *s|ziLm∇, *s|ziL∇ > Tg *silma- v. 'examine, choose', n. 'choice' > Ork silma 'choice', silma- v. 'choose, select', Ewk sinma- id., WrMc {Z} симнэ- 'aussuchen, examinieren' ¶ STM II 89, Z 611-12, Hr 798 || M *sili- v. 'select, choose' (← **'look'?) > WrM {MED} silī-, HIM {MED, BMR} шилэ-, Brt шэлэ- v. 'select, choose', Kl Ö {Rm.} šil- 'auswählen', Ord šili- 'choisir' ¶ MED 707, BMR IV 355, Chr. 744, KW 357, Ms. O 617 || IE: Clt: OIr {Vn.} sell 'iris de l'œil, œil' ⇨ sellaid '(he) looks'; W syllu, Crn sellos, Br sellout, sellet 'to look' (Vendryes did not accept WP's etymology equating the Clt words with Gk στύλλω 'glitter, gleam')] OIr súil 'eye' (unless it is

akin to Brtt *sāwēl- 'sun' and goes back to IE *suHl- / *suHeHl- 'sun', as usually supposed, although it is typologically not very plausible and has no parallels in the history of languages [at least to my knowledge]: the mythological concept of the sun as "the eye of the sky/heaven" can encourage the change from 'eye' to 'sun', but hardly from 'sun' to 'eye') ¶ ≈ Vn. S 82 and S 201-2, Bc. no. 4.21, EI 188, 438, 556, ≈ WP II 646, ≈ P 1035 ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 48d.

2202. *śīl̥w̥ 'flesh/meat of a limb (calf of the leg, shank' etc.)' > **HS:** S *°śīl̥w̥- > Ar šīl̥w̥- {Ln.} 'a limb (or member) of flesh/meat; body (of an animal)', {BK} 'membre séparé du corps, reste d'un animal égorgé', {Hv.} šālīy-at- 'piece of meat' ¶ Ln. 1592-3, BK I 1264, Hv. 375 || NrOm {Blz.} *suyl̥- > Hrr {Abb.} суул̥я 'leg', Gn̄j šule 'calf of the leg' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 89, CR H 661 || Ch: WCh: Bd {IL in JI} sīl̥k̥, {ChL} sīl̥ān 'bone' || CCh: Bu {ChL} s+l̥, {Mk} sl̥, BuP {Mk} sl̥, Mrg M {Mk} šl̥ 'leg', Hg Wl̄ {Mk} sull̥a, Lmn {Mk.} sil̥la id., Msk {Lk.} sil̥ 'bone', Ktk Af {Stz.} szale, {Sö.} sale 'shinbone' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} sīl̥l̥ò id. ¶ JI II 36 and 220, ChL, Mk I 174, 241, 281, Lk. ZSS, Sö. 262, ChC s.v. 'bone' and 'leg' || **A** *s|šīl̥b̥ ~ *s|šīl̥ 'flesh/meat of a limb' > M *sil̥bi 'calf of the leg, shin, shank' > MM [HI] šil̥bi 'tibia', [MA] šili 'calf of the leg', WrM sil̥bi {MED} 'shinbone, shank, tibia', HIM {MED} шилэв id., {Luv.} шилбэ 'shin, shank (голень)', {BMR} шилбэ(н) id., 'fibula', Brt шэлбэ 'shin, shank (голень); голеностопная кость', Kl {KRS} шилв šil̥wə 'calf of the leg, shinbone', Ord šil̥bi 'jambe (depuis le genou jusqu'au pied)', ? Dg šilem 'shinbone' ¶ S AJ 241 [no. 167], MED 705, BMR IV 353, Chr. 744, KRS 672, Pp. MA 333, Ms. H 97, Ms. O 615, T DgJ 183, Gl. II 495 || Tg (att. in NrTg) *çil̥ki 'muscle, biceps' > Ewk çil̥ki, Ewk çil̥qa id., Neg çil̥k̥ 'front leg of a bear' ¶ STM II 494 || pKo {SDM} *sárh 'flesh, meat; skin' (× N *śīR̥ 'skin of animals, rawhide') > MKo sár, sárh-, Nko sal ¶ S QK no. 53, Nam 290, MLC 895, S AJ 253 [no. 53] || pJ {S} *sìsì 'meat' (× pA *s|z̥'ig|k̥ 'food' < N *sêg̥ 'eat?') > OJ sisi, MJ s̄is̄i, J: Ns šìšì, Sh šíší, Y čìčì id. ¶ S QJ no. 128, Mr. 527 ¶¶ SDM 1332 (pA *šj̄ǎí 'piece of meat, flesh' > Tg *č|šil̥ki [for *çil̥ki], M, J, Ko), ≈ S AJ 95, 279 [no. 120] (pA *siw̄ or *sīw̄), SDM97 s.v. *sǣl̥w̄i (M, Ko, J + unc. Tg *silu-k̥ta 'gut(s)', which belongs to N *ś'oyi'l̥'U' entrails'), SDM97 (pA *sǣl̥w̄i), S AJ 95, 279, ADb. SR 311 (pA > M, Tg), Mr. KJ 232, Mill. AE 49 || **D** *čīla- in Kn cīlaman̄ḍe, Tl cīlaman̄ḍa 'ankle' (× N *č'ī'l̥, r̄ 'side of body' [→ 'rib', 'hip'] ¶¶ D no. 2634 ¶¶ D *man̄ḥ- means 'knee', see D no. 4677 || ?φ **U:** FU (in

FP only) (mt.?) *š|ś|siw∇|∇ 'meat' > Er сывель siveí, Mк сиволь śivǎí 'meat' | Chr L шыл щьл, H шыл щал, Uf щьл, M šíí, B {UEW} щьл, {Ber.} сьл 'meat' | Prm *sií- > Vt сйль 'meat' ¶ UEW 763, It. no. 400, Ker. II 144, Ber. 61, LG 258, PI 248 ¶¶ Chr š- (in all dialects, except M, on which the evidence is conflicting) suggests FU *ś- or š-, while Vt s- points to FU *s- ◊ D *-l- (rather than *-l- from N *-l-) is likely to back to a cns. cluster (from *-l-w- < N *-l-w-) or may be due to the merger with N *č'í'l,∇,∇ ◊ ADb. MSRM 21 [no. 16] (A [M + err. Tg], D).

2203. *šéíXâ 'bough, twig, stick' > A *sí:í:ía 'sharp stick' [× N *šíi∇yâ 'tooth, fang', q.v. × N *šil,?,L∇ 'to roast, to fry, to cook']] > T *si:í ~ *si:l 'spit, sharp stick' > OT {Cl.} si:š 'spit for roasting, fork, spike', Tk ṣi ṣ 'spit, skewer, knitting needle', Az šiš, Kr šiš 𐌆 sis 'spit', Qrg šiš 'spit, sharp stick', Tkm č:š 'spit, scharfe Spitze' || Chv шǎл щьл 'tooth' ¶ Chv š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T *i (before the change *i > *I due to vw. harmony) ¶ Cl. 856-7, S AJ 192, Rs. W 424, 481, Jeg. 332, Fed. II 440, Fed. M 166, Jud. 909, ChVS 278, KRPS 476, 646, TkR 733-4 || M *silb|müü-sün 'needle of a conifer tree' > WrM silmüğüsun ~ silbüsün, HIM {MED} шилмүүс, {BRM} шилмүүс(эн) id., WrO {Krg.} šilbusün, Kl {KRS} шилвсн 'needle(s) of a conifer' ¶ MED 705, 707, BMR IV 355, Krg. 447, KRS 672 || Tg *sila-pun 'spit (for roasting)' > Ewk silawun, Lm hilun, Neg silawun, Orc silō(n-), silzu(n-), Ud silou(n-), Ul, Ork silopu(n-), Nn Nh silõ, Nn KU silaõ, Nn Bk silφo(n-), WrMc {Z} шолонь id.; Tg *sila- v. 'roast on a spit' (× N *šil,?,L∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM II 82, Krm. 285, Z 375 ¶¶ SDM 1251-2 (pA *sīía 'stick', [err.] 'tooth' > T, Tg + unc. pKo *sár 'arrow, sting (Stachel)' (from N *šäyou'í'í∇ 'hair?') and pJ *sâsi 'sharp stick' + err. M *sidü 'tooth' [which goes back to N *sit∇ 'tooth']; the meaning 'tooth' in Chv is probably an innovation), DQA no. 2097, S AJ 288 [no. 282]. || D *č|ké|- ({ǰGS} *s-?) 'twig, rod' > Kt če] 'ε long round stick', Kn se|e 'twig, small branch, stick', ca|u, ce|u, ce|u, se|u 'long flexible twig\rod', Kdg ža|e 'long thin pliable stick', Tu cilæ, silæ 'fishing rod', Tl sela 'twig' ¶¶ D no. 2790 || HS: DEg šlĥ 'Sproß, Zweig' ¶ Er. 520 || Ch: ? Hs sàrfā {Ba.} 'stalk', ?? Hs šállà {Ba.} 'the reed guaranya', 'flowering spikes of the reed guaranya' (× N *sāī'a 'willow') ¶ Ba. 907, 925 ◊ A *-ī- (for the expected *e) may be due to contamination with N *šíi∇yâ and *šil,?,L∇.

2204. *šana (or ***š|šana**) 'word; say' ([in the M lges] → 'think') > **U**: FU (att. in BF) *°š|š|saNa 'word' > F s ana, Krl A sana ~ šana, Krl Ld, Vp sana, Es sōna, Δ sana, Lv s3nà, Lv W sinà ~ sūnà id.; ⇨ F sanoa, Es sōna-ma, Vp sanu-da 'to say' ¶ SK 964-5, ZM 496, Kt. 360 || **A**: M *sana- v. 'think' > MM [HI] {Ms.} sana- 'calculus', WrM {MED}, WrO sana-, HIM {MED, BMR} сана-, Brt һана-, Dg, Dx sana- 'think', Kl {KRS} сан- 'meinen, denken', {Rm.} san- id., 'beabsichtigen, gedenken, sich erinnern, nachdenken', Mnr H {SM} 'penser, réfléchir, songer à', Ord sana- 'penser, penser avec amour à qn, aimer' ¶ MM [HI] {Ms.} sana- 'calculus' may have been influenced by Chn M suan⁴ ({Kg.} suan') 'calculate' ¶ Ms. H 93, Ms. O 557, Pp. IM 164, MED 668, BMR III 89, Kow. 1281, Krg. 384, KRS 441, KW 312, SM 323, T 357, T DnJ 133, T DgJ 161, Kg. AD no. 825 || **HS**: WCh: Bd {ChL, Sch.} z3nân 'speak', ? Ngz {Sch.} z3nz3n 'riddle, tale' ¶ ChL I 260 [no. 373], Sch. DN 181 || Eg fMK šny v. 'question, inquire into, say, think' > DEg šn 'ask (a question)' > Cpt: Sd **ЦИНЕ** šine, B **ЦИНИ** širi 'demander, interroger'; Eg fMd šny 'beschwören, besprechen', šn.t ≈ 'Beschwörung' ¶ Eg šny belongs here unless it is a sd. from šny 'turn around' (as suggested by Vc.) ¶ EG IV 495-6, Fk. 268, Vc. 265-6, Crn. 246 || ? EC: amb Or sēnā 'memory' (unless derived from sēn- v. 'enter' or belongs to N *cuŋ▽ 'know' [q.v.]) ¶ Grg. 354, Brl. 371 (Or sēnā 'ricordo, memoria') ¶¶ Not here Ag: Bln {R} sēnā 'fable', Km {CR} sēn-i-z- 'tell a fable' (adduced by IS [IS MS 339]), because it is a sd. from sēnā 'as, like', cp. Ar maθal- 'proverb, parable' ← maθal- 'similar' < S *ma'θal- id. ◇ The semantic change from 'say' to 'think' is typologically justified (≡σ: Hb way'yōmer bālib'bō 'and he thought', lit. 'and he said in his heart') ◇ IS MS 339 (*sana 'think'; U, M + *÷ [with a query] Ag) ◇ If the Eg word belongs here, the N etymon is *šana, otherwise it is *š|šana.

2205. UA₂ *šæHn▽ 'mushroom, fungus, sponge (Schwamm)' > **U**: FU *šē|āne id. > F sienī, Es seen id. | pLp {Lr.} *čānā > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaanaa 'tinder fungus', Vfs {Lgc.} čā'n·a· 'frischer Feuerschwamm, Holzknoten, Höcker', L {LLO} tjatnā, N {N} čadna / -ān- 'tinder fungus on birch trees', Kld {TI} čānna 'Baumschwamm, Birkenlöcher-schwamm' | pChr {Ber.} *šīn 'fungus on trees, tinder' > Chr: L шен šen, B/M/Uf {Ber.} šen 'tinder (made of tinder fungus on trees)', H šīn id., 'tinder fungus' | Vt сеньки šeńki 'tinder', Vt: G/Sr šeńki, Sr senk†, Kz senka, senkъ, šeńkъ id., 'tinder fungus' || ObU *šīn'ψ▽ 'fungus on trees (Baumschwamm)' >

pVg {Ht.} *šīnəʃ id. > Vg: T šīnəw, LK šēnī, MK senī, P šēniʃ, NV/SV šēni, O sēniʃ id.; pOs {Ht.} sāñəʃ > Os: V/Vy sāñəʃ, Ty sāñəʃ, Y sāñəʃ, O sān, D sānə, Nz sanə, Kz sañ 'fungus on birches and other trees (used as tinder and for other purposes)' ('березовая чага, трутник') ¶ UEW 494-5, Coll. 113, Db. OS xiii, Sm. 548 (FU *śe/äñä 'fungus' > FP *śänä, Ugr *senä), Lr. no. 119, Lgc. no. 515, Lgc. SL no. 2821, Hs. 1293, TI 646, Ber. 60, MRS 700, 706, Ü 261, U3S 386, Ht. no. 596, Trs. S 416, Stn. D 1345 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} сэньчэ 'mushroom', саньча 'йудино ухо' ('ε edible mushroom [under oak trees and birches]), WrMc {Hr} sence 'eßbarer Baumschwamm' ¶ STM II 61, 143, Z 555, 576, Hr 765, 781.

2206. ₂ *š'ä'Nç∇ 'bark, skin' (→ 'vessel') > HS: CS *°√ çançin- ~ *çinn- > BHb ꞤꞤꞤꞤ Ꞥçin'çençt, SmHb şän'sēnet '(ε) container' (this semantic interpretation is confirmed by early translations: [LXX] στῆμινος 'jar', [Trg.] çəlō'hīç 'flask', L [Vulg.] vas 'vessel', Sr [Psh.] қес'т̄ā 'pot') or 'basket (?)', JA {Lv.} ꞤꞤꞤꞤ ~ ꞤꞤꞤꞤ çin'n-ā 'basket, plaited container', {Js.} 'basket of palm leaves', JEA ꞤꞤꞤꞤ çan'n-ā ~ ꞤꞤꞤꞤ çan'n-ā 'basket', SmA çnç 'jar', Ar çinn- 'basket for bread' ¶ KB 973, KBR 1039-40, Js. 1277, 1290, Lv. IV 202, Sl. 967-8, Tal 736, BK I 1373-4 ¶ The unexpected S *ç- is probably due to as. (infl. of N *-ç-) || U: FU (att. in ObU) *°š'ä:.'nç∇ 'birch bark' > pVg *šāš id. > Vg: T šāš, LK/NV ššš, MK/UK sšs, P/SV/LL ššš, UL/Ss sās id.; pOs *siñç id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty siñç, D/K señç, Nz/Kz šeś, O síś ¶ Ht. no. 597 ◇ It is tempting to adduce Eg N šny '(ε) vessel' (EG IV 503) and the qu. pC √ {E} *sāη 'water pot' (> Ya sānyā id., SC {E} ç'sa:.'η or *sa:.'ηg id. > Irq {MQK} isāηgi [{E} isangi] 'half-calabash bowl'; SC → Bantu lges: Mb (E) sangé 'water pot', Pare sangū, Luyia {E} *-siŋgo- id. [E PC no. 472, E SC 179]), but the absence of reflexes of the third cns. (N *ç') makes such a comparison too uncertain.

2207. *šE'y'ont'U' 'finger(s), fist' > HS: S (+ext.) *°√ šntr > Ar šuntar-at- ~ šantar-at- 'finger', OYmn شتر šntr (= OAr Y *šantar- or Hmr *šntr) 'finger' ¶ BK I 1275, Slw. 125-6 || WCh: ? Ngz {Sch.} má-sāuḍ-àk 'forefinger', sāuḍú v. 'wipe around inside of food bowl with curved forefinger to get what remains' ¶ Sch. DN 111, 145 || A: AmTg *se,antu 'fist' > Orc sāantu ~ sāntu 'fist (clenched for striking)', Ud santu, Ul sēntu, Ork sēttu, Nn Nh {On.} sianto, {STM} sianto ɔ -u, Nn Bk sānto 'fist' ¶ STM II 69, On. 357 || D (in SD) *čōñt- / *čōtt- ({θGS} s-) 'strike with knuckles of the fingers' > Tm cōttu, Tu sōñtuni id., Ml

с̄о̄т̄т̄у 'a slap on the head', с̄о̄т̄т̄ука- v. 'rap with the knuckles', ?φ Kn
 сон̄е 'strike with the fingers' ¶ D no. 2836 ◇ ADb. SR-D 449, ADb.
 MSRM 32 [no. 29] (Tg, D).

2208. *šüñz ∇ 'milk; to suck, to suckle' > K {FS} *šže, {K, K²} *(s)že-
 'milk' > OG s3e-, G r3e-, Δ rze- ∂ ze-, Mg bžā-, Lz bžā- ~ bžā- ~ mžā- ~
 mžā-, Sv UB/LB/L/Ln ləžē id. ¶¶ K 172 and K² 177-8 (*(s)že), FS K 288-
 9, TK 543, GP 208 ¶¶ If FS's rec. of *š- is right, K *š- (rather than the
 expected *s-) is due to as. (**sže > *šže) || ? HS: amb Eg fp šd̄y v.
 'suckle' (× N *sūt₁y₁ ∇ ~ *sü₁y₁t ∇ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk' × N
 *čæd₁ ∇₁y ∇ 'female breast' [q.v.]?) ¶ EG IV 564-5, Fk. 273-4, Tk. I 314
 ¶¶ If Eg šd̄y goes back to N *šüñz ∇, this is one of the cases of N *ž
 yielding Eg d̄ (F Tk. I), but the infl. of N *čæd₁ ∇₁y ∇ is also possible ||
 U *šüñćä 'breast' > FU *š|šüñćä > Hg sz ũ ḡy 'breast (of a horse, of
 a human being)', ? sz ě ḡy, sz e ḡy 'breast (of a bovine)' || ? F s i s ä -
 'inner, inside', Es s i s i 'inside' || Sm {AD} *šüñs̄, {HL} *süñs̄ 'breast' >
 Ng {Mik.} šínśā, {Cs.} s i n ś ā, En: X {Cs.} súđo, En B {Cs.} súso id.; ? Ne
 T c ю н з, Ne O {Lh.} šüñc 'jüngstes liebstes Kind' | Mt {HL} *künžü 'breast'
 (Mt: T {Adl., Mll.} kúnšum 'my breast', M {Mll.} kũndschu, K
 {Mll.} gúnšhu 'pectus', K {Pl.} gúndjude 'breast') ¶¶ UEW 480, Coll.
 CG 402, Sm. 540 (U *ś ũ n ś i / ä, FU, FP *ś ũ n ś ä, Ugr *sũñćä, Sm
 *sũñs̄), Jn. 144, Hl. MTKV 15 [no. 84], 88 [no. 391], Hl. M no. 595,
 Lh. 455 ¶¶ According to Hl. M 79, Mt k- goes back to Sm *s-; but the
 earlier hyp. (Ps., Coll., IS, AD) about Mt k- from U *š- (= *š' - of Coll.'s
 notation) is typologically preferable (cp. *š > k̄ in Daghestanian lges);
 cp. Mt keye 'heart' < U *š|šüžē 'heart' < N *šüž̄ A id. (U *š- may have
 been either original or resulting from as. [*ś...ž > *š...ž]); the only
 serious counter-example is Mt keyʔbe ~ ?keyʔbü 'seven' going back to a
 supposed pS {Jn.} *seyt³wē of Iranian origin; but borrowing from Indo-
 Iranian sources may have been accompanied by secondary lateralization,
 like in FU *šāta 'hundred' from Iir *śātam; other supposed counter-
 examples (mentioned in Hl M 79) are not valid because in those roots we
 cannot distinguish between U *ś- and *š-; besides, Mt kundāhā 'black'
 may be not a derivative from Sm *sunt ∇ (as supposed in Hl. M), but
 rather go back to Sm *kümt̄ 'smoke' || A: M *sün 'milk' (× N *sūt₁y₁ ∇
 ~ *sü₁y₁t ∇ 'to drink, to suck [milk]; milk' [if M *sün is a bf. from *süd,
 as supposed by Dr.] > MM [L, IM, IsV] s ũ n, [S] š u n 'milk', [MA] s ũ n
 id., s ũ (in s ũ kokekũ šidũn 'milk teeth'), WrM {MED} s ũ n, HIM

{MED} cȳȳ, {BMR} cȳȳ(ח), Brt hȳ(ח), Dg {Pp.} sù: id., Mnr H {SM} sun 'lait', MMgl, Mgl sùn 'milk' ¶ Dr. TM III 58, MED 744, BMR III 145-6, Chr. 696, Iw. 133, T 361, SM 360, Pp. MA 328-9, 447 ¶ The phonetic prehistory of M *sùn may be assumed as follows: N *šũn₃ ▽ > *sũny ▽ (if pre-M *ȳ is a reg. reflex of N *₃) > M *sùn ◇ One can consider adducing D *neńć- 'chest, heart' > Ml neńću, neńńu id., Tm nenću, nenćam id., 'mind', Kt nanź 'heart', Td n+₃ id., 'dewlap', Kdg neńńi, ńeńńi, Knd ninźam, Png nenźom 'chest', Prj dińńi, Png nenźa 'pith', Kui ninźa 'heart of a tree, pith', Ku linźa 'kernel, yolk of egg', ? Krx nisańđ 'core or hard wood of a tree' ¶¶ Cf. D no. 3736 ¶¶ Does Ku linźa preserve the ancient *l- (< N *ž-) before it changed (like any other *l-) to D *n-? But D *neńć- as a cognate is highly qu. for phonetic reasons. It can be tentatively accepted if we suppose a voiced N *ž-. But even in such a case the D vw. *e is not explained ◇ If Eg šđȳ belongs here, the N initial cns. must have been *š-. Otherwise it may have been either *ś- or *š- ◇ Eg š- and Sm *š- (> Mt k-) (if valid) suggest a pN *š-.

2208a. ₂ *šañ ▽ 'cold', '≈ hoarfrost' > A *s|zaju > Tg *saju-ksa 'hoarfrost' > Ewk sajuksa ȧ sańĩksa, Neg saksa, Ul sańaqsa, saqsa, Nn Nh sãqsa, Ud sajuHä id.; Ork sańe id.; Lm hańuṭ- 'be covered with hoarfrost' ¶ STM II 62-3, On. 352 || pJ *sàmù- 'cold' (× N *SEM₄ ▽, ṭ ▽ 'cold?') > OJ samu-, MJ sàmù- 'cold', J T samú-, J K sábù-, J Kg samí id., {Kenk.} 'cold, chilly' ¶ Mr. 839, Kenk. 1567 ¶¶ SDM 1210 (pA *s|zãṅo 'cold, cool' > Tg, J + unc. M *seȳü- 'shadow') || HS: Eg fp šńȳ.t 'haily weather (Hagelwetter)' ¶ EG V 502-3.

2209. (₂?) *šõṅ ▽ 'to wish' (→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to so.', 'to strive' [→ 'to reach']) > HS: WS *šõṅ v. 'hate' > BHb אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן G, Ug šńṅ G, IA [Eleph.] אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן, JA [Trg.], JEA אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן ~ אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן G (pf. אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן ~ אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן), Sr šńȳ|w G (pf. אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן), SmA {Tal} šńȳ, Md šńṅ, Ar šńṅ G 'hate', WS *šãniṅ- prtc. G 'enemy' > BHb אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן šõ'ńē, Ug šńṅ, SmA šń, Sr אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן > ā 'enemy', OCn (AkSc) šńṅ 'Hasser', M'b אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן šńṅ 'my enemies', Sb šńṅ '(personal) enemy, ill-wisher'; JA [Trg.] אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן šan'ṅā 'hater, enemy', אַנְנִי שִׂנֵּן šan'ṅā 'hatred, hostility' ¶ KB 1247-8, KBR 1338-40, OLS 446-7, Lv. III 550, 556, Lv. T II 174, Sl. 1006-7, Sl. P 384, Br. 483, Tal 599-600, BK I 1274, BGMR 133 || Om (× N *šang ▽ 'to wish, to like, to love'): NrOm: Kf {C} šńṅ- / šńṅ- v. 'love, prefer, want', Mch {L} šũnni(ȳé) v. 'love', šũn-aččõ 'intimate friend', Shn {Lm.} šũn- 'lieben, wünschen, wollen', Anf

{C, Lm.} šun-, Ym {Wdk.} šùnà, Bnc {Wdk.} šùn v. 'love' || ? SOm: Ari G {Fl.} šolm 'love' (Fl.: Ari G l and n vary as allophones) ¶ AD SF 115, C SE IV 498, L M 51, Lm. Sh 377, Wdk. BY 111, 135, Fl. OO 319 || **U**: FU (in FP only) *š|soŋe- v. 'desire, want' > BF (× N ***зoŋX** 'to want, to wish'): Es s o o v i- v. 'wish, want', F s u o- 'not (be)grudge, allow, wish', Vo sō v i- v. 'hope, wish' | Prm: Z c и - н ы śi-(n+) v. 'wish', Z I śi- v. 'be jealous' ¶ But ObU *θōŋk- (~ *θǎŋkā-?) v. 'want' goes back to FU *soŋe- id. < N ***зoŋX** '↑' ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, LG 256, Ht. no. 146 || ?σ A *s|zəŋE v. 'envy' (× N ***šang** 'to wish, to like, to love', q.v. ffd.) > Tg *saŋg- 'gloat over another's misfortune', pKo {S} *sàŋó- 'be jealous', pJ {S} *səŋŋa-m- v. 'grudge, envy' (ffd. *see* N ***šang**) ¶ A *-a- belongs to the heritage of N ***šang** ◇ But IE *senχχ- v. 'strive, reach' (> Ht {Ts.} s a n h- id.) cannot belong here, because Ht h (< IE *χχ) does not correspond to S *?. IE *senX- is more likely to go back to N ***šEŋq** 'seek, try to obtain' (q.v. ffd.).

2210. ₂ ***ša|oŋ** '≈ run, jump, climb' > HS: WS *✓ śnɤ > Ar ✓ śnɤ D 'être rapide\véloce, se dépêcher, accélérer', Sh (pf. ʔaśnaɤa) 'être rapide dans sa marche', Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓ śnɤ (Mh pf. śūna, sbjn. ʔəśnē, Jb E/C 'śinaɤ 'stand on the hind legs with the forelegs on a tree' [of animals], Jb C 'śɔtnaɤ v. 'climb and play around; jump', əś'tɔnɤ v. 'jump', Hrs śōna v. [pf.] 'stand on the hind legs [to feed]') ¶ BK I 1276, Hv. 379, Jo. J 253, Jo. M 380-1, Jo. H 120 || **U**: FU (att. in Ugr) *ša|oŋ- v. 'run, jump' (× N ***čəŋU** 'jump, skip') > Hg s z á g u l d- v. 'move\run at top speed, rush' | pObU *šūɥ|w-> pOs *saɥal-/ *s+ɥal- v. 'gallop' > Os: Ty/Y sáɥəɬ-, D saχit-, Kz sīχəɬ- id., pOs *suɥəm- 'Sprung' > Os: Ty suɥəm, Y suwəm, D/O soχəm, Nz suχəm, Kz sŵχəm id.; pVg *šūm- v. 'gallop' > Vg: T šōm-, LK/P šūm-, MK/UK sūm- id., pVg *šūlant- id. > Vg: P šūlant-, UL sūlint- ¶ UEW 890, Ht. no. 579, MF 559-60 || ? AdS of D *č|kaŋk-, {GS} *čəŋ- v. 'jump, climb' (< N ***čəŋU** '↑', q.v. ffd.).

2211. ***š'äŋKa** '≈ bough, inedible (or less valuable) parts of plants (straw, rind of fruit)' > **U**: FU (att. in FV) *š|šäŋke (or *säŋke) 'stalks, dry twigs\boughs' > F s ä n k i (gen. s ä n g e n) 'stubble' | pChr {Ber.} *šəŋgɤ (= {JBer.} *šəŋgā) > Chr: H {Wc.} šäŋɥə 'dürerer Ast', {MarS} ш ä н г ы 'šäŋɥɤ 'dry brushwood, fallen twigs\branches (сухой хворост, валежник)', пу-ш ä н г ы pu-'šäŋɥɤ, L пу-ш ä н г е pu-'šəŋɥe 'tree(s)', Uf/M/B pu-'šəŋɥe id. (pu 'tree') ¶ Some scholars (Setälä, Wk., Stn.) adduced Lp N {Fri.} s a g g e 'paxillus, acus reticularia' and Lp K {Gn.}

s a¹ηkε 'Pflock', but UEW rejected it on semantic reasons; without the Lp word the FU initial cns. may be reconstructed not only as *s- (as in UEW), but also (even more plausibly due to Chr E š-) as *š|ś- ¶ UEW 756 (*säηke), It. no. 267, SK 1167-8, Gn. 957, Stn. FUV 42, Ber. 60 [no. 313], MRS 474, 697, Ps. OT 120 || IE: NaIE *sonko- (or *songh'o-) 'sheaf of ears, straw, chaff' (× N *z'εη∇ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant', q.v. ffd.) > Arm n¹υq unğ (gen. ρ¹υq n¹ j a n g o y) 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' || MHG, MLG sange 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ Sange, Sangel, NE Δ sangle 'sheaf of corn', NLG † sangeln 'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' || Gk ἄχυρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' ¶ WP II 510, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, F I 203-4 || D *č|ka₁η₁kk-(ay) 'rind of fruit and other useless parts of plants' (× N ?σ *šank|ka 'stalks, branches'?) > Tm cakka₁ 'refuse as of sugarcane after pressing, rind of fibrous parts of fruits, bark', Ml cakka 'rind of a fruit', Tl cekka 'oil-cake refuse after pressing oil' ¶¶ D *-ηkk- > -kk-, acc. to the theory of KR ¶¶ D no. 2276, An. SG 137, KR 14-69 || HS: ?σ S *^o✓ šn₁ > Ar شنيق šanīq- 'piece of wood for raising honeycomb' ¶ BK I 1278, Hv. 379 || ?σ Eg MK š n. ω 'grass as fodder for cattle' ¶ EG IV 502 and VI 71 ◇ If either Ar šanīq- or Eg š n. ω belong here (in spite of semantic difficulties and the absence of q or k in Eg), the initial N cns. is *š, otherwise it may be either *š|ś- or *s- (*s- is less probable in vue of pChr *š- [that usually goes back to FU *ś, *š or *š-]).

2212. *šap∇ (or *šop∇?) 'to sew (leather); leather' > HS: WS *^o✓ špy|w v. 'sew (leather)' > Mh šəfū, Jb 'šfe id., Mh məšfīw, Jb məš'fe? 'nail for sewing leather bags', Ar شفي | ?išfā (✓ šfy) 'awl' ¶ Jo. M 374, Jo J 247, Fr. II 436, Hv. 371, L G 490 || CCh: Glv šap¹-/šapu-, Nkc šapanšapa, Lgn {Mch.} s b a 'sew' ¶ ChL, JI II 289, ChC s.v. 'sew' || U: FU *šopa 'shirt, garment' ('ein hemdartiges Kleidungsstück') > F sopa 'shirt, garment', Es sōba 'Shawl, wollene Weiberdecke, Regendecke', Vp soba 'clothes' || pVg *šū|ūp 'shirt' > Vg: T šop, ML šup, Ss sup id. ¶ SK 1072-3, W EDW 1070, MK 578, ZM 516 || A *s|zâbg∇ or *s|zâbk∇ > M: WrM sabkin {MED} 'dressed skin, leather', HIM {MED} савхин id., {BMR} савхи(н) 'morocco, dressed skin of sheep and goats', ?φ Ord sawiyā 'cuir de Russie, maroquin' ¶ MED 653, BMR III 66, Ms. O 566 || Tg *sôbgô 'fish skin used as leather' > Neg sobgu id., Ewk ₁subgu 'fish skin', Orc subbu, Ud, Ul sugbu, Ork subgu ~ sugbu, Nn Nh/Bk/KU sobgo ~ sogbo, Nn

Nh {On.} sogbo id., Orc subbu-ma, Ul sugbu-mэ, Nn sogbo-ma 'made of fish skin' ¶ STM II 116, Vas. 365, 373, On. 371 ◇ The rec. ***šap**∇ means that the M vw. *a is original, while the labialized vw. in FU and Tg is probably due to the assimilating infl. of the adjacent labial cns. An alt. solution is to reconstruct N ***šop**∇, but in this case the M vw. *a remains unexplained.

2213. ***šapEhη**∇ '≈ log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *sp^hēn- {P} 'long flat piece of wood' > Gk σφῆν 'wedge', [Hs.] σφάνιον· κλινίδιον 'couch, bed' ||| Gmc *spēnu-s > OHG, MHG span, NHG Span, AS spōn, Sw, Dn spån 'chip, shaving of wood', ON spánn, spónn id., 'shingle, wooden disk', NE spoon ||| OIr sonn 'staff; support', W ffon 'staff' ¶ EI 431 (IE *sp^hen- 'flat-shaped piece of wood'), F II 830-1, WH I 318, Frn. 875, Vr. 532, Ho. 311, Kb. 929, OsS 853, KM 726, 728 ||| HS: CS *^ʃapīn-at- 'boat' > IA spyñh 'boat', JA [Trg.] אַפִּינָה səpī'nā, אַפִּינֵת səpīn'tā {Lv.} 'ship', {Js.} 'freight ship', JEA אַפִּינָה səpīn'tā 'boat, ship', Sr אַפִּינָה səpī<n>t't-ā, Md spīnta, BHb [Jona 1.5] אַפִּינָה səpī'nā 'ship'; Aram → Ak NB/NA sapīn(n)atū 'ship', Ar safīnat- {Ln.} 'ship, boat' ¶ HJ 797, KB 721-2, Lv. T II 180-1, Js. 1013, Sl. 825, Br. 490-1, DM 334, BH II 610-11, Frnk. 21, CAD XV 164, Ln. 1375 ¶ An alt. CS reconstruction of *s- of the initial cns. is less likely because S *s- goes back to an affricate and cannot be related to FU *š|ś- and A *s- ||| U: [1] FU *š|śawηa 'pole' > F sauvā id., Es †, Δ saυ (gen. saυa) id. | pLp {Lr.} *čāvηē 'prop' > Lp: N čaw'gηe 'a pole in the roof of a Lappish lath hut (which is not for living in)', A tjaavkng-, I čevηi 'prop' ||| ObU *š|su:ψ ({Ht.} *sūψ) 'staff, stick (Stab)' > pVg *š|sūw id. > Vg (partially in cds): LK/MK soψ, P suψ, Ss suw, pOs {Ht.} *sūψ id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty sūψ, Y/D/K sūw, Nz/Kz sūw, O suw ¶ UEW 468-9, Lr. no. 125, Lgc. no. 490, N I 376, Ht. no. 578 ||| [2] possibly U *š|śaym∇ (if from **šawe|iη∇) 'log that is hollowed out, wooden vessel' → 'crib, mortar, boat' > F saima 'ε big boat with sails', seimi ~ soimi 'manger, crib', Krl: K šojmi, Ld saimэ, Vp soim 'big boat', Es soimi, söime, sōim 'crib' | Er suma, Mk cюma sú'ma, Δ síma 'aus einem Baume ausgehauener Trog, trough for feeding animals, колода' | Vt: Sr/Y sum+k, Kz sumэk 'small glass, wooden bowl', Y sum+k 'a glass, 'wooden bowl for vodka' ||| Slq: Tm somma 'mortar' ({Hl., Stn.} → Os Vy {Stn.} somma id.), Tz sumä 'bucket' ¶ UEW 456-7, Coll. 114, SSA III 142-3, PI 262, Stn. D 1342-3, KKIИ 172 ||| A *s|zA:bU (= *s|zÄ:bU?) 'ε stick' (× N *šubyE 'spike, spear; to

pierce' × N *ś'ŋ' b_l∇_l t_l∇ [or *s∇ b_l∇_l t_l∇] 'stem, piece of wood' × N *ś'abEh'i' 'log, piece of wood') > Tg *sōba > Neg sōwa ~ sōya 'stick used to hang a teapot over the fire', sōwalá- ~ sōyalā- 'drive/run a stick into sth.', Nn Nh sōwōč'a 'landmark, sign' ¶ The quality of the Tg vw. *ō is probably due to the infl. of N *ś'ŋ' b_l∇_l t_l∇ or *s∇ b_l∇_l t_l∇ ¶ STM II 103, On. 370 || pJ {S} *sàwù'a 'pole, rod, staff' > OJ sawò, MJ sàwò id., J T/Kg saó, J K sáò {Kenk.} 'pole, rod, staff' ¶ S QJ no. 465, Mr. 518, Kenk. 1576 || M *seʒül (< ppM **seβül) 'tail; Steuerruder' or 'oar' > WrM {MED} seʒül 'tail', zigasun seʒül 'oar' (zigasun means 'fish'), HIM cγγπ {MED} id., {BMR} 'Schwanz, Steuerruder', Brt hγγπ id., Kl {Rm.} sü:l id., Ord 'queue' ¶ MED 683, BMR III 147, Chr. 699-700, KW 342, Ms. O 597-8 For the semantic change from 'stick' to 'tail' cp. the same development in the R social dialect of hunters (палка 'stick' → 'tail') ¶¶ The loss of *-ŋ- in pA is still to be explained (contamination with NN *ś'abEh'i'?) ¶¶ SDM 1263 (pA *sǰãbò 'a kind of stick' > Tg *sōba 'bough. stick', M, J), DQA no. 2063 (pA *sǰõba '€ stick') ◇ NaIE *p^h suggests the presence of a N lr.; the only N lr. that may be lost in pS and may cause aspiration in NaIE is *h. Does N *-p...h- yield pA *-b-?

2214. *ś'ug∇ 'breathe in, smell sth.' > HS: CS *ś'ūķ- 'smell sth.' > Sr ✓ s w ķ G (pf. s ā ķ) v. 'take breath, draw breath, inhale, smell, scent', ?σ Ar ✓ š w q G (ip. ya-šūq-u) v. 'excite so.'s desire in'; CS *ś'awķ- > Sr ^o s a w ķ - ā 'breathing, breath, nostrils, sense of smell', ?σ Ar š a w q - 'yearning' ¶ Schlt. HWS 24 [no. 3], Ln. 1620, Hv. 382, JPS 370 || K *°s|ś'ug- > G suq- 'das Gefühl des Überdresses bewirken (von allzu fetten Speisen)' ¶ Chx. 1287 || IE: NaIE *swek|k̄- v. 'smell of sth., smell sweet' > W c h w e g, Crn w h e k, Br c 'h w e k 'sweet, pleasant', W c h w a e t h (< *swekto-) 'taste (Geschmack)' || OHG swehhan 'to smell of sth., to smell foul', with gem.: OHG swecka, swecki 'fragrance', OSx swec n. 'smell, odor', AS swecc, swæcc id., 'taste'; OSx swékkian 'to stink', AS swæccan ~ sweccan 'to smell (of sth.)' ¶ WP II 521, P 1043, YGM-1 154, 156, Hm. 131, Kb. 998-9, OsS 907, 910, Ho. S 73, Ho. 331 || U: FU *°ś|šuk∇- > ObU *°ś|šuk v. '≈ sniff' > pVg *suk 'schnupfen' > Vg: LK sōx-, sãx-, MK sōk-, UK/SV sək^ω-, P/NVK suk-, NVZ s+k^ω-, LL sōk-, suk-, UL sōx- id., Ss {Stn.} s i x^ω- 'schluchzen' ¶ The initial *ś- was delateralized either in pU\pFU\pUgr or in Vg probably due to ideophonic associations of the word ¶ Ht. no. 814, Stn. WV 295, MK 571 ¶ Ht. l.c. tried to equate the Vg word with Os V s+qam, Os Vy

s+q+m 'schneuzen', which is untenable because of irreg. sound corrs between vowels, which prevented Ht. from reconstructing a pObU stem || **A:** Tg: Ork sukručč'i- v. 'smell sth., scent' ¶ STM II 122 ◇ The rec. of N ***š** is based on the ev. of Sr s (that cannot go back to any pS non-affricate sibilant but ***š**), as well on the semantically uncertain ev. of Ar š.

2215. *šar ▽ 'to be dry' > **HS:** S ***š**r̥r|y > Ar **š**r̥r ~ **š**r̥y 'dry sth. in the sun' ¶ BK I 1208, 1223, Ln. 1524, Fr. II 406, 417, Hv. 358, 363 || Eg fMK **ω**-šr 'dry up', Eg G **ω**šr 'das Trockene, das Dürre', Eg Md **ε**-šr vt. 'dry, dry up', **ε**-**ω**šr 'dörren, {Fk.} vt. 'dry' ¶ EG I 374-5, IV 76 and 295, Fk. 70, 218, 269 ¶¶ Cal. 28 || **IE:** NaIE *k|k̄se(:)r- '(be) dry', *k|k̄se(:)r-o- 'dry' > Gk ξηρός adj. 'dry' || L ser-esc- v. 'get dry', serēnus 'dry' (of weather) || Ltv {Turk.} sēr-t 'to put (corn) to dry before threshing', sers 'corn brought home for drying', ??σ Lt Δ šāras 'fodder' ({P} 'dry fodder') || MHG, NGr Δ serben vi. 'to dry up, to wither (verdorren, welk werden)', ? OHG serawēn 'arescere; dwindle, consume' || ?φ Arm ζnp č^hor adj. 'dry', ζhp č^hiɾ 'dry fruit' (though Arm č^h- is not a regular reflex of IE *k|k̄s-) ¶ *÷ (⇔ P) OI k̄sā'rah 'caustic', sharp' (actually akin to k̄sāyatī 'burns') ¶ WP and P reconstruct IE *k̄- on the highly qu. evidence of Lt šāras ¶ WP I 503, P 625, EI 170 (*k̄seh₁ro-s), Mn. 571, WH II 520, F II 335-6, M K II 288, Kb. 844, OsS 756, Frn. 964, Kar. II 173-4, Turk. 599, Ach. V 748-9, Slit. 234, Hü. 485 || **U:** FU *šar ▽- v. 'get dry' > pPrm *šur- v. 'get stale\dry\ hard' > Z I šur- v. 'get stale\dry', šurem adj. 'stale, got dry (засохший)', Z Ud šurmēm id. || pObU *šūr- v. 'get dry' > pVg *šūr, *šūr- id. > Vg: ML šurr-, N sūr- id.; pOs *sar- 'trocknen' > Os: Vy/O sar-, D/K sor- id. | Hg szárad- 'dry (up), become dry, wither', szárít- vt. 'dry' ¶ Coll. 117, UEW 466, Sm. 549 (FU *śorā- 'wither, dry' > FP *śora, Ugr *sora-), MF 570-1, LG 275, Ht. 185 [no. 605] || **D** *č|k̄ar- 'rough of surface, coarse' (× N *šōRw ▽ 'dry', whence D *-r- < N *-Rw-, while N *-r- outside clusters yields D *-r̥-) > Tm caracara v. 'be rough of surface', Tu carat̄æ 'what is coarse', Kui srogu 'a rough surface' ¶¶ D no. 2354.

2216. ₂ *šīR ▽ 'skin (of an animal), rawhide' > **HS:** SS *š^ri^r- id. > Sq {L} 'širhi 'skin', Grg Sl {L} sīr, Grg Wl {L} sir 'hide of cattle after the hair has been pulled off' ¶ L LS 433, L EDG III 559, SSL LSNP 1474, MiK I no. 1.267 || **A:** M *sirin > MM [SH] {H} śiri 'rawhide', WrM {MED} siri(n), HIM {MED, BMR} шир 'skin, rawhide', WrO {Krg.} širi 'hide,

skin', Kl {Rm} šir, širi 'umgezogene, umgegerbre Haut, Tierhaut, Fell', Ord šire 'peau de bœuf ou de chmeau; cuir' ¶ H 142, MED 717, BMR IV 361, Krg. 451, KW 359, Ms. O 622 || ?φ pKo {S, SDM} *sÁrh 'flesh, meat; skin' (× N *šîí∇w∇ 'flesh/meat of a limb', q.v. ffd.).

2217. *šûr∇ 'a herd\swarm\flock (of wild animals)' > U: FU *š|śur∇ 'herd' > pLp {Lr.} *ćorǝk 'herd of reindeer' > Lp: L {LLO} tǝǝrā, Nt {TI} ćōra id., N {N} ćqra /-rrâg- 'rather small herd of reindeer' || pOs *sur > Os V/Vy/D sur 'small herds of wild reindeer and elks' ¶ UEW 491-2, Coll. 75, Lr. no. 165, Lgc. no. 653, TI 678, Stn. D 1365-6 || A: NaT *sürüg 'herd' > OT sūrüg 'flock, herd', Tk sūr u, Az, Ggz sürü 'herd, crowd', Tkm cypri θüri, MQp [CC] svrvv sürüv, Qmq cипив siriv, QrB cюрюү sürüw, Nog sürüv, Tv sürüg 'herd', Uz suru, suruv, Qq süriw 'herd of sheep' ¶ ≈ Cl. 85O, Rl. IV 815-16, Grøn. 227, RKumS 973 || HS: S *°✓š|swr or *°✓š|syr (*šū|īr- or *sū|īr-) > Md sirā 'flock (of birds), swarm' ¶ DM 329 || B: Ah, Ttq a-səra 'herd of wild animals' ¶ Fc. 1851, Msq. 344 ◇ ≈ IS I no. 4O (*Cūr∇ 'herd of wild animals').

2218. (₂?) *šeḷar∇ 'reach, approach, enter' > HS: S (CS?) *✓šir > Ar ✓šir G 'entrer dans l'eau', 'entamer\commencer (une affaire)', 'être dirigé droit contre quelqu'un' (lance), ?σ Sr ✓s r G 'visit, inspect; do, deal, commit' ¶ BK I 1216-17, Br. 488, JPS 384 || D {ḡEm.} *ć|kēr- ([GS] *sēr-) 'reach, arrive, go into' > Ml cēr uka 'approach', Kt ćer-, Td sōr- 'arrive', Kn sēr- 'be(come) close\near, go to, approach, reach, enter', Kdg se r- vi. 'join', Tu šēr u- 'arrive, reach', Tl cēr u 'join, approach, reach, arrive at, enter\join as a class', Gdb sēr- v. 'arrange, reach', Gnd B {ChenT} sēr ā r ā 'invade (a country), enter or occupy (a house)', Gnd G/HMS {BB, Lind} here 'near', Knd sērpu 'neighborhood', Kui serna 'cleave to', Ku herinaḷ v. 'reach', Krx (past stem) ker- 'go', ? Brh kēb 'nearness, vicinity; near' ¶ × D *ćār- (or *kār-) 'approach, be united' (F D no. 246O, Em. DS 361-2) ¶¶ D no. 2814, BB CVG no-s 3483 and 3585, Em. DS 366, GS 18O [no. 457] and 6O [no. 177] || ?σ A: NaT *sārī 'direction (towards)' > OT {DTS} sarī 'direction' (taḡ sarī-qa bardīlar 'went in the direction of the dawn', tōrt sarī-qa 'to the four directions [sc. cardinal points]'), {Cl.} sarī: 'towards, in the direction of', Chg XV sarī 'direction, side', XwT XIII sārī, MQp [CC] sarī 'towards', Tkm † θārī postp. 'to, towards, in the direction of', Osm {Rh.}, Az, Sg/Qb/Qc {Rl.} sarī, Kr 'ḡ sarī, Uz sarī, Tb {B} sār ~ sārī id., Qmn {B} sārī 'direction, side (с т о р о н а)', Xk sarī- (+ppa.) 'side,

direction; on\from the direction of' ¶ DTS 488, Cl. 844, TkR 567, Rh. 1027, Rl. IV 322, Äz. 258, UzR 356, B DK 244, 246, B DChT 145, BIG 182, ≈ Rs. W 403 ◇ D *-r- goes back to the cluster *-Hr- (< N *-ſ₁a₁r-).

2219. *ſ₁oſ₁∇r∇ 'grain, (wild) cereal' > HS: WS nouns with the root *ſ₁ſ₁r 'barley': WS *ſ₁∇ſ₁ā-r-at- 'barley, *Hordeum sativum*' > BHb הַבָּרֵי *ſ₁oſ₁rā* 'barley', Ug ʕ₁r m pl. t., OA הַבָּרֵי *ſ₁ſ₁r h*, IA (pl.) ׀ ׀ ׀ *ſ₁ſ₁r n* (׀ ׀ = [s]), JA {Js.} אֲבִירִים *sə₁ar'tā* (pl. ׀ ׀ ׀ ~ ׀ ׀ ׀ *sə₁ā'r īn*, pl. em. אֲבִירִים *sə₁āray'yā*), SmA *ſ₁r h*, Sr *sə₁ā'r'tā* (pl. *sə₁ā'r ē*), OSA *ſ₁r* 'barley'; Ar شعير *šə₁īr-* 'barley', n. unit. شعيرة *šə₁īr-at-* 'grain of barley'; Ar ʔ → Mh šə₁īr, Jb E 'š₁ir, Jb C š₁'ir, Tgr הַבָּרֵי *šə₁ar ~ הַבָּרֵי *sə₁ar* 'barley' ¶ KB 1254, KBR 1345-6, A no. 2658, OLS 427, Br. 489, Tal 603, Lv. T II 178-9, Lv. III 562, Ln. 1561, BK I 1239, LH 226, Jo. M 391 || C: EC: Sa {R} *s₁nrā* (ʔ → or ← EthS), Af {PH} *sirray*, Sml {ZMO} *sarrēn*, Sml N {Abr.} *sārēn* 'wheat' ||| Bj Hd {R} *s₁rām* 'barley' ||| acc. to Praet. AS and L G, C ʔ → Gz *šarnāy* 'wheat', Tgr š₁r₁ay ~ š₁r₁ay (ʔ → Bln {R} *š₁r₁ay* 'wheat'), Tgy *s₁r₁ay* id. ¶ L G 534, Praet. AS 78, R WB 327, R WBd 205, R S II 329, PH 192, Abr. S 218, ZMO 356 || U *ſ₁śora 'grain' > FU (att. in FP) *ſ₁śora > pMr *śūr > Er суроро *śuro*, Mk сѣра *śora* 'grain, cereal' | F sora 'gravel; grit' (← *'grain'), Es Δ sora 'crumbled stone', sora 'small pearls' (all ← *'grain') | Chr L *šūr* 'soup', Chr U/M *šürö* id., Chr *šū'raš*, Δ *šürakš* 'cereals (Grütze, kryna)' || ?? Ne {Lh.} *śorrā* '(edible kernel of) stone pine nut; seed of coniferous trees'; here Ne ś- is irreg. ¶¶ ≈ UEW 776, Ker. II 150, Ber. 73-4, MRS 746, Ü 280, Lh. 451 || D: [1] ? (in SD) *č₁kār 'boiled rice' > Tm, Ml *cōru* id., Td *tw₁r* 'cooked food'; [2] *č₁kār 'cake, bread' > Gdb *sāru* 'pancake', Gnd *sār₁*, *sār₁*, *hār₁* 'bread', Png, Mnd *hār₁*, Ku *hēra* & *hē'ra* 'bread, cake' ¶¶ D no-s 2465 and 2897 ◇ If the D cognate is *č₁kār, the N rec. must be *ſ₁oſ₁∇r∇, while D *č₁kār may go back to a cd like N ≈ *ſ₁oſ₁Ar∇ + another word ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 163 [no. 110] (HS, D).*

2220. *ſ₁ih₁a₁R∇ '≈ grey, bright' ([in descendant lges] → 'dark?') > HS: S *^oſ₁hr > Ar ʔašāhir- 'couleur blanche de narcisse' ¶ BK I 1282 || ʔϕ B *^oſ₁rr > Ah *ſ₁rr* 'be bright (almost white)', *as₁ir* 'blanc; de couleur très claire, presque blanche' ¶ Fc. 1856 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *ſ₁īr∇ 'grey' > pVg *šīr-/š₁ir- > Vg: N {Mu.} *sér₁*, P *š₁ir*, K *s₁ir* 'dusk, twilight, dawn', Ss {BV} *сэри-пос* 'aurora, заря', Yk {Vxr.} *ser-pās*, *seray-pās* id. (пос, *pās* 'light') | OHg XIV *szir* ~ *zūr* 'grey', XVIII *szür* 'grey, dark, dust, dämmerig', Hg *szürke* 'grey' (-ke is a derivational

sx) ¶ MF 605, EWU 1465, ≈ UEW 36 (adducing Z žor, Z US žor 'grey' and Vt žar 'Morgendämmerung' and reconstructing FU *ćer∇, which is unt., because FU *ć does not regularly yield Hg sz- and Vg *š-; in my view, the Prm root belongs to FU *ć|śar∇ 'bright [hell]' < N *ž'a'hr∇ – *ž'a'hr∇ – *z|ž'a'hr∇ 'shine, be bright') || D *ć|kir- ({{θGS} *ś-) 'dark' > Tm iru 'black', iru| 'darkness, dark color', Ml iru 'be dark', Tl irulu 'darkness', Klm ċirum 'very dark', Gdb siriŋ 'black', Prj ċiruŋ, Gnd hirki, Knd siruki, Ku sīŋga 'charcoal', Kui srīva 'soot'; (× D *ćir- [{{θGS} *ś-) 'night' < N *śEhR∇ 'late, [in descendant lges] → 'evening, night'): Tu ir|ь, ir|ь 'dusk, darkness, night' ¶¶ D no. 2552. The semantic change from 'grey' to 'dusk, dark' is typologically justified (a semantic parallel: OHg szūr) || A *si,ārik|g∇ (× N *śErEK'a' 'red, yellow', q.v. ffd.) > T *si,āriḡ ({{Rm., SDM95} *sāriḡ, {{Md.} *si,āriḡ) 'yellow' (× N ? *ś'EḶar∇ 'bright; daybreak', q.v.) > NaT *sāriḡ > OT sarıḡ 'yellow', Tkm θāri, Tk sarı, Az, Qzq, Qrlq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt sari, VTt sarь, Bsh harь, Xk, Shor sariḡ, Tv, Tf sariḡ, Uz sariḡ, ET sariḡ ~ sariḡ 'yellow', Yk arayas 'light yellow' || Blgh *šar (< *si,ar) 'white' (in the place name *šarkel, attested in the medieval Byzantine and Hebrew sources as Σάρκελ טַרְכִיֶל 'Sarkel, "white city" [the ChS name of Sarkel БЕЛОУЖА bělověža means 'white house\tower']) > Chv L шурpa šura ~ шур, Chv Δ шора šora 'white'; Blgh ⇨ OHg sár 'yellow (?), blond (?)', Hg sár- (in cds sár-aranŷ 'pure gold', sār-gyik 'yellow lizard'), sár ga 'yellow' ¶ Cl. 848, Rs. W 403-4, TL 601-2, Gomb. BTL 200, Ash. XVII 231-41, Fed. II 462-3, Jeg. 339, ChVS 284, EWU 1305-6, Ra. 226, Md. 114 || Tg *si,arūn, > Ewk sērūn 'lightning, rainbow', Ork sērro ~ sīro 'rainbow', WrMc {Z} шари 'is light (светло)', 'white' ¶ STM II 72. 381, Z 666 ¶¶ The cns. *g in T *si,āriḡ may belong to the heritage of N *śErEK'a'. The long pA vw. *-ā- is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 1264-5 (pA si,āyri 'white' > T, Tg + unc. M *sira 'yellow', pKo *hyè 'white' and pJ pJ *sīruà 'white').

2221. (₂?) *śiX,U,R∇ 'side, edge' > HS: S *°ś'i'hr- > Ar šihr-at- bord, rivage, côté (d'un fleuve, de la mer, d'une vallée) {Hv.} 'narrow margin of a river, a valley', {BK} ? šahr- 'Chahr, littoral entre l'Oman et l'Aden', (?σ) 'intérieur, milieu d'une vallée' ¶ BK I 1197, Hv. 354 || B: Ah {Fc.} sar 'du côté de; vers', ETwl/Ty {GhA} sar 'vers, en direction de' ¶ Fc. 1851, GhA 177 || U: [1] FU (att. in FV) *ś|śīre 'side, edge' > FΔ siiri (gen. siiren) 'Seite, Rand, Kante', Krl A sīri-ći, Krl Ld šīri-ći ~ sīrići, Vp

sirīći '(passing) by, vorbei' | pMr {Ker.} *śīrā 'side, edge' > Er чире číre, Er Kd/Kl/Vck śíře, Mk шире šíra, Δ šírā ¶ UEW 774, Ker. II 157-8, SK 1018 || [2] FU (att. in FP) *ś[š]üry^rA¹ 'edge, side' > F surjä 'edge, border, side' | Chr H/Uf/M/B šör 'edge, rib (not a bone), verge', Chr L шör šör id. ('край, ребро, грань') || pPrm *śŪr- 'place outside (the object), edge, border' > Z Ud śzr 'place behind (sth.)', Vt śzr in śilśzr 'back of the head' ¶ It. no. 425, SK 1148, LG 270, 275, U3S 389, MRS 724, Ü 270, ≈ UEW 779-80 (FV *śüryā without taking into account Prm) || ? A: Tg: Ewk Ucr sirkun 'Кап (мыс)' ¶ STM II 95 ◇ ≈ Blz. LNA no. 52 (he suggested to equate U *śüryā with Tg and adduced the EC, T, K and D reflexes of N *ś¹E¹r∇ 'back [dos], nape of neck', N *śaR∇ 'top, hill' and N *ć²oR∇ 'tip, top, edge'; err.: N *Sir(y)u ~ *Süryā '[top of] hill, mountain') ◇ FP *ś[š]üry^rA¹ suggests pN *śiXUR∇.

2222. *śêRw∇ 'insert, thrust in, stop up' > HS: Eg MK {Fk.} šr v. 'stop up, block', {EG} šrω.t 'Verstopfung' ¶ EG IV 528, Fk. 270 || D *kér- (+ sxs *-uk-, *-ukk-, *-ut- etc.) v. 'stop up, thrust, plug, dam' > SD, SCD *ćer- (× N *ćERh₂∇ [= *ćEr∇?]) 'to stick in, to gouge' × N *ć²i¹gR∇ [~ *ć²i¹R¹g¹∇?] 'to stop up, to plug, to dam?') > Tm ceruku v. 'insert, slide into', Ml cerutuka v. 'shove in, put in, insert', Kn serku, sekku 'shove in, put in, insert, tuck (the end of the garment into another part of the garment)', Tl cekku v. 'set (as a precious stone), thrust, tuck up', ceruvu v. 'insert, stick in', Gnd harž²- vt. 'fix, fit in' || NED: Krx χerr- 'introduce lengthwise by gradual pushing, insert, stick into or behind', Mlt qere v. 'thrust in, tuck in', {Hahn} kherr- v. 'pocket, put in' ¶¶ D no. 2778, Km. 360, no. 469, ≠ no. 454, Em. DS 365-6 || A: Tg: Ewk sirbэрэ- 'drive in (a nail)' ¶ STM II 95 ◇ This is the only unambiguous case of N *ś- yielding D *k̄-. Cf. D {ǵEm.} *k̄ēr- ([GS] *sēr-) 'reach, arrive, go into' < N *śe₁a₁r∇ 'reach, approach, enter'.

2223. *ś¹o¹rUb∇ 'to drink, to gulp, to sup, to suck' > IE *serbh^h- / *sorbh^h- / *sr̥bh^h- v. 'sip, sup, drink' > Arm արբեմամ արբեմ 'I drink (alcoholic drinks)' / aor. արբի արբի (< *sr̥bh^h-) || Gk ῥοπέω, Gk ἴρῥοπέω v. 'sup greedily up, gulp down', Gk ῥόφημα, Gk ἰρῥόφημα {LS} 'that which is supped up, thick gruel \ porridge', {Ch.} 'plat que l'on avale, soupe épaisse' || pAl {O} *serba- > Al gjerb- v. 'sip' || L sorbeō / inf. sorbere 'suck in, drink down, swallow' || Lt inf. srebti (1s pres. srebti) 'to sup', inf. surbti (1s pres. surbti) 'to suck, to sup', Ltv inf. surbt (1s pres. surbjū) 'to sup' | Sl *srb- ~ *srb- ~ *serb- v.

'sup (хлебать)' > OCS inf. **срѣвати** *srěbati*, OR inf. **серевати** *serebati*, R Δ inf. **сер'бать** *ser'baty*, Blr inf. **сер'баць**, Uk inf. **сер'бати**, Slv inf. **srébatí**, Cz inf. **střebati**, Slk inf. **střebat'**, P inf. **sarbać**, **serbać** 'to sup', Blg 'сърбам 'I sup' || ?? *on.* Gmc: NGr Δ inf. **surpfen** *sürp(f)en* 'to sip', Sw † (early XIX c.) **surpa i sig**, MHG inf. **sür(p)feln**, Sw inf. **sörpla** 'to sip', as well as MLG, MDt, Dt inf. **slorpen**, Dt inf. **slurpen**, NHG inf. **schlürfen** 'to sip; to eat\drink noisily', NE **slurp** 'eat greedily\noisily', NE Δ, NE Sc **slorþ** 'drink\eat\sup greedily\noisily' ({KM}: -l- due to the infl. of the Gmc root represented in MLG inf. **slucken**, MDt, Dt inf. **slokken**, NHG inf. **schlucken** 'to swallow') from NaIE {P} *(s)leugg-~*(s)leuk- 'schlüpfen' (P 964-5) || Psh **رودل** *raw-'dɜl ~ rɜw-'dɜl* (pres. **روي** *rɜ'wi*) 'to suck breast' || Ht **sarap-** / **sarep-** v. 'sip (nippen)' ¶¶ P 1001, EI 175 (*sreb^h- / pres. *srob^heĵ 'gulp, ingest noisily'), F II 663, Ch. 978, Sl. 240, O 132-3, Vs. III 604, Srz. III 335, Hlq. 1154, Vr. N 654, Lx. 219, KM 659-60, OED IX 233, 250, Asl. 455, Mrg. 65, Ts. W 71 || **HS**: S *✓*śrb* 'drink' > Ar ✓*šrb* G 'drink, suck', Gz ✓*šrb* G 'drink, absorb, sip', JA **שָׂרַב** ✓*śrp* (= ✓*srp*) G {Lv.} 'einschlürfen, Flüssigkeit an sich ziehen', MHb **שָׂרַב** ✓*śrp* (= ✓*srp*) G {Lv.} id., 'drink', JEA **שָׂרַב** ✓*śrp* (= ✓*srp*) {Sl.} 'gulp down, consume, quaff', Sr ✓*srp* G 'sup up, swallow up, absorb', **sar'ba** 'syrup', Md ✓*srp* G 'swallow, gulp down', Ar (←*b*-Aram) ✓*srf* G 'donner trop de lait à son enfant, le nourrir de lait à l'excès', Ak YB (←*b*-Aram) **sarāpu** v. {CAD} 'sip (?)', {Sd.} '≈ einsaugen' ¶ The devoicing *b > p in Aram (←*b*→ MHb, Ak YB, Ar) (just as other cases of the variation *b ~ *p in S) is still to be explained ¶ L G 533, Lv. IV 613, Js. 1632-3, Sl. 1190, BK I 1083, 1209-10, Hv. 318, 358, Br. 496, 500-1, JPS 389, 392, DM 338, CAD XV 172, Sd. 1028 || **A** **sōru-* (= **sō'ru-*?) v. 'suck' > M **so_lru-* 'suck (in)' > WrM {MED} **soru-**, HIM {MED, BMR} **copo-**, Brt **hopo-** v. 'suck in, draw in, imbibe', WrO {Krg.} **sor-** 'suck' ~ **suru-** 'imbibe, draw into oneself', Kl {KRS} **cop-** v. 'suck, draw (a liquid) into oneself', {Rm.} **sor-** 'aufsaugen, einschlürfen', ?? Dg {Mr.} **sorete-**, {T} **sorto-** 'get drunk', {Mr.} **soretō**, {T} **sortō** 'a drunk; drunk', Ord 'attirer avec le souffle, aspirer pour avaler, humer' ¶ MED 729-30, BMR III 116, Gl. II 438, Kow. 1413, Chr. 685, Krg. 412, 422, KRS 455-6, KW 332, Mr. D 212, T DgJ 164. Ms. O 584-5 || NaT **sōr(u)-* 'suck' > OT [MK] **sōr-** (aor. **sōru-r**) 'suck (sth.), suck up\out', XwT XIV, Chg XV **sor-**, MQp XIII **šor-**, Tki {Cl.} **šora-** ~ **šori-**, Tkm **cop-** **θōr-**

(not $\check{s}\bar{o}r-$, as in Cl. 843), OOSm XIV $s\bar{o}r-$ 'suck', Tk † $s\bar{o}r-$ (aor. $s\bar{o}rur$), Az, Qrg, QK/Tlt/Shor/Kü {Rl.}, Xk $s\bar{o}r-$, Uz $c\check{y}p-$ $s\bar{w}r-$, StAlt {BT} $s\bar{o}r-$, $s\bar{o}ru-$ 'suck, suck out', Qmq, Nog, Qq, Qzq $s\bar{o}r-$, Uz $c\check{y}p-$ $s\bar{w}r-$, Bsh $h\check{y}p-$ $h\check{y}r-$ id., 'extract (liquid)', ET $\check{s}\bar{o}ri-$ id., 'drink (off)' ('выпить'), ET Δ {Jr.} $\check{s}\bar{o}ra-$ v. 'suck' ¶ The irreg. \check{s} - in some lges is puzzling ¶ Cl. 843, Rs. W 429, Rl. IV 542, TrR 786, Äz. 270, TkR 586, UzR 394, Nj. 549, Jr. 288, BR 638, KumRS 288, BT 130-1, BIG 104 ¶¶ A long $*-\bar{o}-$ in pA may be due to complementary lengthening ($*-orob- > **-or\omega- > *-\bar{o}r-$)? || D $*\check{c}k\acute{u}r-$ ~ $*\check{c}ur|rup-$ 'drink, sip' > Kn $s\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ v. 'drink with a sipping noise', Kn Cr $j\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ v. 'sip', Tu $s\bar{u}r\bar{u}s\bar{u}r\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ 'drinking liquids with a sipping noise', Tl $j\bar{u}r\bar{r}\bar{a}$ 'a sup of liquid or semiliquid food', $j\bar{u}r\bar{r}\bar{u}$ v. 'drink\|sip\|sup (liquid or semiliquid food) with a noise', Knd $z\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ 'suck up (liquids with a noise)', Nkr $\check{c}urpip-$ v. 'suck', Ku $surpu\ r\bar{e}?$ 'suck in, slurp, eat food easily', ? $\check{z}uru$ 'gruel', Krx $surup-$ v. 'drink with a noisy sucking of the lips' ¶¶ D no. 2712, ≠ Pf. 197 (believing that Krx $surup-$ is onomatopoeic) ◇ The N vw. between $*r$ and $*b$ is reconstructed on the ev. of D, because D $*-r-$ goes back to a N intervocalic $*-r-$ rather than to a cns. cluster. In D $*\check{c}k\acute{u}r-$ and in A the N intervocalic $*-b-$ is lost ($*-b- > *-\omega- > *-\emptyset-$), but in D $*\check{c}ur|rup-$ it turned to $*-p-$ (due to some unknown factors). D $*u$ (rather than $*o$) may be due to as. (something like N $*o...u > *u...u$) ◇ IS MS 354 s.v. 'пить (хлебать)' $*\check{s}\bar{a}r\bar{p}\bar{a}$ (IE, S).

2224. $*\check{s}\bar{a}R\check{K}\acute{e}$ '≈ break, split, cut' > U: FU $*\check{s}\bar{a}rke-$ 'break, split, chop, cut' > FP $*\check{s}\bar{a}rke-$ (× FU $*\check{s}\bar{a}rk\bar{\nabla}- < N *z\bar{a}Rga$ 'to strike, to trample, to break' [q.v.]) > F $s\bar{a}rke-$ 'break, crush (stones etc.), smash', Es Δ $s\bar{a}rge-$ v. 'split, break into pieces', Vp $s\bar{a}rge-$, $\acute{s}ar\acute{g}e-$ 'zerbrechen, spalten (z. B., Kienspäne)', {ZM} $s\bar{a}rk-ta$ / pres. $s\bar{a}rgeb$ 'chop splinters (used as wooden torches) (щепать лучину)' | Lp L {LLO} $tjier'k\bar{e}-$ ~ $tj\bar{a}r'k\bar{e}-$ 'zu(recht)schneiden, ab-\|aus-runden (das Loch im Schuh)', $tjier'ka\bar{v}$ 'log, billet' (< $*broken, sawn$), Lp N {N} $\check{c}ierg\hat{a}$ 'piece that has been sawn off' | ?? Chr: H {It.} $\check{s}\bar{a}r\check{v}e-$, {Ep.} $\check{s}\bar{a}rg\acute{a}-$ v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open, unroll, unfold', E {It.} $\check{s}er\check{v}e-$ 'öffnen, zerstreuen', E {Szil.} $\check{s}er\check{v}alta-$ 'ein Sträußchen auseinanderteilen; zerreißen', Chr L {MRS} $\check{s}er\check{v}ta-$ v. 'open wide, cut through, move\|slide apart' | Mk {PI} $s\bar{a}r\check{v}to-$ $\acute{s}\bar{a}r\acute{a}-ft\bar{a}-$ v. 'fell' | Vt $s\bar{a}r\check{v}-$ $c\bar{o}p\bar{r}\bar{y}-$ v. 'break (sth.)' || ObU (mt.) $*\check{s}\bar{e}\check{v}\bar{a}r-$ v. 'cut' > pVg $*\check{s}\bar{a}\check{v}\bar{a}r-$ > Vg: T $\check{s}\bar{a}\check{w}r-$, LK $s\bar{o}\check{v}r-$ ~ $s\bar{a}\check{v}r-$, MK $s\bar{a}\check{v}r-$ ~ $s\bar{a}\check{v}r-$, UK $s\bar{a}\check{v}r-$, P $\check{s}\bar{a}\check{v}r-$, UL/Ss $s\bar{a}\check{v}r-$ id.; pOs $*s\bar{o}\check{v}\bar{a}r-$ ({Hl.} $*s\bar{o}\check{v}\bar{a}r-$) v. 'chop' > Os: Ty $s\bar{a}\check{v}\bar{a}r-$, Y $s\bar{a}\check{w}\bar{a}r-$,

D/Kz/Nz/O *sewar-* id. ¶ UEW 32-3 (s.v. FU *ćärke-; UEW does not distinguish FP *śärke- 'break, split' from FU *ćärke- 'ache, pain' < N *čāΓr∇ 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent' [q.v.]), It. no. 268, SK 1170-1, ZM 538, N I 387, LG 267, Ht. no. 585 || HS: S *°✓šrḳ 'cut' > Ar ✓šrq 'fendre, couper en deux', {Ln.} 'slit (the ear of a sheep\goat), pluck (fruit)' ¶ Ln. 1539, BK I 1220, Hv. 359.

2225. *šErEK'a' 'red, yellow' > HS: S *°✓šrḳ > Ar ✓šrq (pf. šariqa) 'rougir, paraître rouge' (se dit du sang, des yeux atteints d'une inflammation)]? (mt.) CS *✓šḳr G 'be\make red' > MHb, Sr✓sḳr G 'paint red', {Br.} 'rubrum fecit', Ar ✓šqr (pf. šaqira) 'être roux, have a ruddy\fair complexion' (of humans), 'be sorrel' (horse), ʔašqar- 'red-haired' (person), 'roan, sorrel' (horse), JPA אֲרָקִי sīḳ'r-ā, Sr 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤍 sākār'tā 'red paint, fucus', JEA אֲרָקִי sāk'rā'tā 'red paint', Ar šuqr-at- 'reddish color' ¶ Js. 986, 1021, Br. 495, PS 2722, Sl. 829, JPS 380, BK I 1220, 1254-5, Hv. 372 || IE: NaIE *°serk|k^w- > Lt Δ sárkanas 'rosig, rosarot, grell', Ltv Δ {ME} saṛks 'reddish', Ltv saṛkans 'red, scarlet', Lt sarkti, Ltv saṛkt 'to redden' ¶ Frn. 763-4, 775-6, Kar. II 155-7, ME III 721 || A *si-ārik|g∇ (× N *ših_aR∇ 'grey, bright') > M *sirga > MM [MA] širga, WrM {MED} sirga 'light bay' (a horse), HIM шарга {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'pale-yellow', Brt шарга id., Kl {KRS} шaph šarḡb id., {Rm.} šarḡa 'gelblich, isabellfarbig, hellgelb', šarḡa 'gelblich, strohfarben', Ord šarḡa 'couleur isabelle' (ron de cheval), 'cheval isabelle', WrO šarḡa 'bay\yellow' (horse) ¶ Pp. MA 336, MED 716, BMR IV 343, Chr. 722, KRS 666, KW 350, Ms. O 609, Krg. 439 || T *si-ārig ({Rm., SDM95} *sārig, {Md.} *sḡariḡ) 'yellow' (× N ? *š'EXar∇ 'bright; daybreak', q.v.) > NaT *sārig > OT sarig 'yellow', Tkm θāri, Tk sarı, Az, Qzq, Qrlq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt sari, VTt sarb, Bsh harb, Xk, Shor sariḡ, Tv, Tf sariḡ, Uz sariq, ET sariq ~ sariḡ 'yellow', Yk arayas 'light yellow' || Blgh *šar (< *sḡar) 'white' (in the place name *šarkel, attested in the medieval Byzantine and Hebrew sources as Σάρκελ ܫܪܟܝܠ 'Sarkel, "white city" [the ChS name of Sarkel БѢЛОУѢЖА bělověža means 'white house\tower']) > Chv L шурпа šura, шур, Chv H šorb 'white'; Blgh 𐤃𐤀 OHg sár 'yellow (?), blond (?)', Hg sár- (in cds sár-arany 'pure gold', sár-gyik 'yellow lizard'), sárḡa 'yellow' ¶ Cl. 848, Rs. W 403-4, TL 601-2, Gomb. BTL 200, Ash. XVII 231-41, Fed. II 462-3, Jeg. 339, ChVS 284, Md. 114, EWU1305-6, Ra. 226 || Tg *si-arūn₁ > Ewk sērūn

'lightning, rainbow', Ork *sērrō* ~ *sīrō* 'rainbow', WrMc {Z} *шари* 'is light (светло)', 'white' ¶ STM II 72. 381, Z 666 || pJ {SDM} **sīruā* 'white' > OJ *sirwo*, MJ *sirò*, J T *śiró*, J K *śíro*, J Kg *śiro* id. ¶ Mr. 840, Kenk. 1705 ¶¶ The voiced reflex (M *g, T *g) of N ***Ḳ** is still to be explained ¶¶ The pA disyllable *-i₁ā- is likely to belong to the heritage of N ***ʿś**'E**Xar**∇ and ***śih**₁**a**₁**R**∇ ≈ grey, bright'. The long pA vw. *-ā- is still to be explained ¶¶ SDM 1264-5 (pA *sīāyri* 'white' > T, Tg, pJ + unc. M **sira* 'yellow' and pKo **hyè* 'white'), S AJ 26, 73, 86, 278, Md. OJ 195, KW 349, Vld. 146, 318 || ? U: FU: F *särki* 'red-eye, roach, *Rutilus* (a fish with red scales)' ⇨ R Δ *co'porai* id. ¶ SSA III 241 ◇ The vibrant of the N etymon is *r if the cns. *r in T **sīārīg* belongs to the heritage of the etymon in question (rather than to that of N ? ***ʿś**'E**Xar**∇). Otherwise the N word must be reconstructed as ***śER**₁**∇**₁**Ḳ**'a'.

2226. ***śER**₁**∇**₁**Ḳ**∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'plait' > HS: WS **śrḱ* ~ **śrg* > Gz *ʔaśrəḱō* ~ *śarḱō* 'plait', *śarḱō* 'rope, snare'; with an unexpected *g for *ḱ: BHb *לָרַק* *śrg* G (3pm ip. paus. *ya-sō'rāgū* 'will be interwoven'), TD (ip. *לָרַקְתִּי* *yiśtāra'gū* 'will be woven \ braided together'), MHb *śrg* D 'strap (in zigzag), girth; make a partition by means of network', *לָרַקְתִּי* *sā'rāgū* 'weaver, net plaiter', JEA *śrg* D vt. 'saddle', Sr *śrg* G 'set the wrap in the loom, begin to web; interweave, entangle', {Br.} 'plexit, implicuit, firmavit', Ar (← Aram?) *śrġ* G (pf. *سَرَجَ* *saraġa*) 'plait (her hair)' (a woman), *śrġ* D 'embellish, adorn', Gz *śrg* G 'intertwine, embroider, interlace' (← Ar Eg); acc. to Leslau, also BHb *śrḱ* v. 'card (flax)', JPA, JEA, Sr, Md *śrḱ* 'comb' (L: "'comb' [that is, sth. used for plaiting]") ¶ L G 512, 534, KB 1261, 1268-9, KBR 1353, Js. 1022-3, Sl. 832, Br. 496, JPS 389, BK I 1078, Hv. 317 || IE: NaIE **serk*|*k̄*- 'wicker-work, wattling', ? v. 'hedge in' > Gk *ἔρκος* 'fence, enclosure (round gardens and vineyards); place enclosed, courtyard; wall for defence; net\toils for birds', *ἔρκύνη* ~ *ἔρκύνη* 'enclosure, fence' || L *sarciō*, -*īre* v. 'patch, mend, repair' || with an infix -n-: Ht *sar-nin-k-* 'compensate (ersetzen, entschädigen, büßen)' ¶ P 912, EI 629 (**serk-* 'construct \ repair a wall'), F I 561, ≈ II 418, WH II 478-9, Ped. H § 52.2, Frd. HW 187, Ts. W 72 || U: FU (att. in FP) ***ś**|**śerk**∇- v. 'tie together', d. ***ś**|**śerm**∇... '(sth.) tying together' > Chr L *шөрґаш* *šör'g-aš* 'to tie together (завязывать, запутывать)', *шөрмыч* 'šörmъč, Δ 'šörmăč ~ 'šermъč 'bridle', Chr H *сермыц* 'sermăc id. || Prm ***ś**armet 'bridle' > Z *сермод* *śerməd*, Z Vm/LV/Ud

śerməd, Vt śermet id. ¶ It. 175 [no. 302], MRS 528, 725, Ep. 108, LG 251
 || ?σ **A** *særu(k'∇) 'ε box or bag' > Tg *seruk 'bag, wicker vessels' > Lm
 h̄ēruk 'bag; wicker vessels (of birch bark)', Ewk s̄zruk, Neg s̄zyux, Ork
 s̄zruku 'saddlebag' ¶ STM II 146 || M *sarq'u' ({{SDM *sarqu}}) 'vessel,
 kitchen dish' > WrM {Rm.} s̄arq'u '?' (↳ WrMc {Z} сарху 'shelves for
 vessels' [{Z} 'полки\поставец для посуды; прибитый гвоздями к
 стене; полки в шкафу для посуды']), Kl Ö {Rm.} sarχα 'Gefäß,
 Behälter, Küchengeschirr', Kl {KRS} сав-сарх 'plates and dishes', ?σ
 MM [S] s̄arqut 'meat for sacrifices' ¶ KW 313 (mentioning WrM
 s̄arq'u '?', not confirmed by other sources that are available to me),
 KRS 443, H 132, Z 572]?? M *sirkeg 'fibre, thread; bristle' (× N *šūrṭ∇
 'fibre [used as thread]', q.v. ffd.) || pKo {S} *s̄ark 'ε box' > MKo s̄ark,
 NKo s̄algi ¶ S QK no. 400, MLC 950 || pJ {S} *s̄ur,u,i > OJ suri, MJ s̄ur'i
 'bamboo box for travelling' ¶ S QJ no. 410, Mr. 534 ¶¶ SDM 1236 (pA
 *seru(k'∇) 'ε box\bag' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 1970 (id.) ◇ If Tg
 *seruk belongs here, the N rec. is *šERUK∇. M *-a- in *sarq'u' is due to
 regr. as.

2227. *šE'ṭ∇'Rp∇ 'coarse hair, eyebrow' > HS: (mt.) S *'šap(p),a,r- >
 JPA [Tos.] d. אַפְּרָא s̄ap̄ī'rā ~ אַפְּרָא צַפְּרָא çap̄ī'rā 'goat's hair', Ar š̄afr-
 (~ š̄ufr-) {BK} 'bord de la paupière où naissent les cils', {Hv.} 'place of
 growth of the eyelash' (↳ pl. [← coll.] ṗašfār- ↳ Tgr {LH} ṗasfar pl.
 'eyelashes'), Jb C {Jo.} 'š̄ef̄zr, Sq Δ {SSL} 'š̄é̄f̄zr, Sq {Jo.} š̄frir, Mh {Jo.}
 š̄zfrīr, Hrs {Jo.} š̄fzrīr 'eyelash', ? Ak YB s̄appartu {Sd.} 'Kopffell, Fell
 an Hornwurzel'; CAD interprets the last word as 'tip of an animal horn'
 (÷ BHb אַפְּרָא שׁוֹפָר š̄ō'pār 'horn as a wind instrument') ¶ Js. 1014, BK I 1247,
 Hv. 369, LH 201, L ALT 166, Jo. M 374, Jo. H 119, Jo. J 247, SSL LSNP
 1473, Sd. 1027, CAD XV165, MiK I no. 1.266 || **K**: GZ *çarb- 'eyebrow' >
 OG, NG çarb-, Mg XIX {Brs.} çob- id. ¶ K 248, K² 307, FS K 459, FS E 520,
 Brs. 74 || **A** *sErp'â 'thick hair, bristle' > M *serbe '≈ fish fins, tuft of
 hair' > WrM {MED} serbe ~ serbege, HIM {MED} сэрвээ, {BMR}
 сэрвээ(н), Brt h̄erb̄z̄z̄ 'fish fins', Kl {Rm.} serwē 'die Flossen (der
 Fische), die Flügel (der Vögel), Widerrist (des Pferdes), hervorstehende
 Stellen (der Körper oder in der Landschaft)', {KRS} сэрвэ serwä 'back
 fin (of a fish)'; M *serbege > WrM serbege {MED} 'disheveled, with
 hair standing up', HIM сэрвэгэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'раскидистый,
 торчащий, редкий, растрепанный, взъерошенный, неровный', Brt
 h̄erb̄z̄ḡz̄ 'herorstechend', Kl {Rm.} serwaḡz̄ id., Ord serweḡz̄ 'qui
 présente un aspect hérissé\ embroussaillé'; WrM sirbege {MED}

'tousled, disheveled, shaggy', HIM ширвэгэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'взьерошенный, торчащий', WrM sirbeger üsü coarse, shaggy hair', sirbeger kömüsgē 'shaggy eyebrows' ¶ MED 688-9, 715, BMR III 158 and IV 361, Chr. 707, KW 326, KRS 450, Ms. O 576 || Tg *sirpa-kta 'horse's hair, bristle' > Nn Nh sirbaqta ~ sirpaqta, Nn Bk/KU sirbiqta, Nn Bk sirbiχta, Ul sirpaqta id., Orc sipakta ~ sippakta, Neg sitpakta 'horse's hair' ¶ STM II 99-100, On. 367-8 || T *sirt (× pA *sir- < N *šüRt∇ 'fibre', q.v. ffd.) > OT sirt 'thick hair, hoarse hair' || Blgh *širt > Chv L шăрт 'bristle'; Blgh *širt → Bsh šьрт 'bristle', SbTt Tb {Rl.} širt, {Gig.} шырт, SbTt Ichk {TTDS} širt 'horsehair', Hg sërte ~ sörte 'bristle' ¶ Chv ш- š- < pT *s- due to the palatalizing infl. of pre-T *i (that later changed into *I due to vw. harmony) ¶ T *-t is likely to belong to the heritage of N *šüRt∇ ¶ Cl. 846, Ash. XVII 340-1, Fed. II 449-50, Jeg. 335, ChVS 281, Gomb. BTL 117, Tm. 251, TTDS 519, Rl. IV 1075, EWU 1322-3 ¶¶ But hardly here M *sertey- 'stick out, protrude' ¶¶ SDM 1260 (A *sirp'a|o|u 'thick hair, bristle' > Tg, T, M *ser- ~ *sir- 'bristle' [+ M *ser- ~ *sir- 'crest. ;long rod, switch', which are uncognates]), DQA no. 2020 (id.), Md. OJ 45, TL 268, KW 360 ◇ K *ç- is likely to go back to *š̂? < N *š̂, ∇, ?-. The voiced cns. *b in K is still to be explained.

2228. *šäγoy'i'rá∇ 'hair' > HS: S *šī'ar- ~ *šā'ar- 'hair' > BHb שׂוּר שׂוּר šē'ār, Ug š̂r, OCn (EgSSc) sa-ʿa-ru, BA cs. שׂוּר שׂוּר sa'ar, JA {Trg.} שׂוּר שׂוּר sa'ar / em. אַרְבָּע sa'arā, JEA אַרְבָּע שׂוּר sa'arā [sa'arā] (cs. שׂוּר שׂוּר šā'ar), SmA ŝr, Sr }؛سار sa'ar-ā, Md sara, Ar šā'ar- ~ šā'ar- 'hair', Hrs {Jo.} šōr 'hair, wool', Sq {L, SSL} 'šārihor pl. 'cheveux'; S snglt. *š̂'ar-at- 'a hair' > BHb אַרְבָּע שׂוּר šā'arā id., Ug š̂rt 'wool', Ar šā(a)rat- 'a hair', Gz šā'arət 'hair', Ak šārtu ~ šāratu ~ šērtu 'hair, hide', Eb sa-ra-tum [*šāratum], se-ra-du-um [*šēratum] {Frnz.} 'skin, hide'; Cn → Eg N ŝrt pl. 'wool (as merchandise)' > DEg ŝrt > Cpt Sd/B copt sort 'wool', Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} sá-ʿá-rú ({}Hlk} sá-ʿá-rú) 'hair, thicket' ¶ KB 1253-4, 1786, KBR 1344-5, Br. 488, OLS 426-7, Alb. VESO 28, EG II 49, Er. 411, Vc. 197, Lv. III 562, Lv. T 178, Js. 1010, Sl. 1189, Tal 602-3, DM 315, BK I 1237-8, Jo. H 117, L LS 432, SSL LSNP 1472, Sd. 1191-2., Frnz. EL 180, Hlk no. 187, SivCR 82, MiK I no. 1.260 || C: pAg *č̂ẑgʷẑr 'hair' > Bln š̂ẑgʷẑr; Ag → EthS: Gz šagʷr 'hair, fur, feathers', Tgr, Amh č̂ẑĝer, Tgy šegʷri 'hair' || ? pLEC {Bl.} *dogor 'hair' (× N *t̂üK∇ 'hair', q.v.) > Af dogor, Sa {Wlm.} dagar, Af/Sh

{R} 'tagōr 'fur, animal's coat', Af {Clz.} 'tagā̃r 'pelo, capello, crine ', Bs ogorro, Dsn {To.} ðûr 'fur, animal's coat', Sml đogor 'fur, animal's coat, pell', Sml N đógór 'animal's coat' ||| Bj {RHd.} šurą 'pubic hair' ¶ Bl. 217, AD SF 119, HL 65, L G 550, To. DL 496, Abr. S 165, ZMO 122, R A II 909 (s.p. 117), Clz. 134 || NrOm: Mj {Bnd.} sārū 'hair', Shk {Fl.} šiaru 'beard' || Shn {Lm.} çīrá 'hair; hide (Pelz)', ?? Hrr {Abb.} sorġē 'crown of head' ¶ Fl. OWL, CR H 661, Lm. Sh 400 || Ch: WCh {Stl., AD} *š̂∇ĥ∇r 'hair' > Hs {Ba.} šǎrì 'long hair on ram's chest', Hs Kc {Ba.} šìrò id., sùrā 'the growth of hair on the head from its first appearance after the head has been shaved until it is long', Bks syah (-h < *-r) 'hair' ||| ECh: Skr {Sx.} l̥əw̥r, EDng {Fd.} láwà, Mkl {J} lǎwó 'hair' ¶ JI II 186-7, ChC s.v. 'hair', Stl. ZCh 201 [no. 520], Sk. HCD 184, Ba. 930, 943, 958, 962 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 107 ||| U: FU (in Ugr only) *š̂ä̃u,r∇ 'hair' > pVg *š̂ä̃r (> *š̂ār in some dialects) > Vg: N (M) sã+r, sār+r, sa+r 'horse's hair', Ss sār, P šār 'Roßhaar', T šār id., 'Pferdeschweif', Yk {Vxr.} sæ̃r, s̥ə̃r 'horse's hair' ||| OHg szér, Hg szór 'hair' ¶ UEW 886, MF 598-9, MK 510, BV 96 ||| A: WtM {MED} soir, HIM {MED} сойр 'coarse long hair which projects from the fur' ¶ MED 724 || ?σ pKo {S, SDM} *sár 'arrow, sting (Stachel)' > MKo sár, NKo sa| id. ¶ S QK no. 162, S AJ 257, MLC 895, ?? SDM 1251-2 (pA *sī́la 'sharp stick, tooth' > Ko + [not belonging here] Tg *sila(-bun) 'spit', M *sidü 'tooth', Tk *sī́ ~ *sī́ 'tooth, sharp stick' and pJ *sàs-, *sàsì v. 'prick,stab', n. 'sharp stick') ||| D (in GnD) *č̣ḳṑra 'a hair' > Kui sṑra id., Ku hora 'a single hair of the beard', horaŋa ~ hṑḍaŋga 'beard', ? Gnd sorkoo 'man with a beard' ¶ D no. 2894 ¶ D *-ō- < *-ãyo- < N *-ä̃yo-? ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 17] (D, HS [Ch, Om, Bj] + Sum s̥ũur or s̥ũur 'cheveux, Haarschopf), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 16 (D, HS [with many unjustified supposed cognates], Sum) ◇ M *soyir points to *-ĩr- (sc. pN *š̂ä̃yoir∇).

2229. ₂ *š̂∇t∇w∇ 'cold weather' > K *štow- v. 'snow' ({K} *(š̂)to- v. 'snow', {FS, K²} *to w-) (× N ?φ *tūw∇ 'rain; to sprinkle'??) > OG to w-, G to v-, Mg tu-, Lz (m)tu-, Sv: UB/LB/L šdu- / šdw-, Ln štu(w)-, štu- (msd.: UB li-šdw-e, LB/L li-šdu-e, Ln li-štu-e 'to snow', UB šduwe, LB/L šdue, Ln štue 'it snows'), UB šduwa 'snowfall'; ⇨ GZ *štowl- 'snow' ({K} *(š̂)to w]_) n. 'snow' > OG to w|-, G to v|-, Mg t̥r- ̥ tir-, Lz (m)tv̥i(r)-, mtur- ¶¶ K 175-6, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4, Chik. 189, TK 461, 816, GP 178, 272 ||| HS: WS *š̂i'taw- ~ *š̂at̥a,w- 'winter, rainy season' > Anchb *š̂a'tāw > ItBHb 𐌸𐌰𐌳̅ s̅a'tāw 'rainy season, winter', OA š̂t̅w, JA

[Trg.] אִתְּוּא sit'twā, Md sitwa, Sr ܫܘܬܘܐ sat'w-ā, SmA ܫܘܬܘܐ stw, Ar شتاء šitāʔ-, شتوة šatw-at-, Mh šētəw, Hrs 'šətəw, Jb E/C 'šətəʔ 'winter', Sq {Jo.} 'šetə 'north, north wind' ¶ KB 728, KBR 770-1, Deg. 48, Lv. T II 192, Js. 1030, Br. 502, Tal 613, DM 330, Ln. 1504, BK I 1190, Jo. M 387 ◇ This is one of the K roots suggesting a law: pre-K *st, *št, *št > K *št (= {K} *(s₁)t) (> G, Mg, Lz t, Sv šd), cp. S *ʕašarat- b> K *ašt-ten', S *χamišat- b> K *χušt- 'five', N *kḏš' d' d' 'to chop, to cut' > K *kwešt- v. 'chop, cut', N *d'š' 'moon' > K *d|tušte- id.

2230. (₂?) *šōt' 'to exercise magic' ([in descendant lges] → 'to curse', 'to bless') > HS: WCh: AG {Tk} *sōpōt 'witchcraft, witch' Ang {Flk.} sōt 'witchcraft', Mpn {Frz.} sōt 'id., 'witch, evil spirit', Kfr {Nt.} sogot 'witch', Gm {Hf.} sōt 'witchcraft' ¶ Hf. AG 20 [no. 102], Tk. CDAS 337 || S *šw' (> *šy') v. 'harm' > Ar šiwā' ~ šuwā' 'calomnie, injure', šy' D {BK} 'livrer à la mort \ à la perte'; CS (+ext.) *š' v. 'be hostile, oppose, attack, accuse' > BHb ܫܘܬܘܐ š' 'show enmity, oppose', JA [Trg.], SmA š' G 'hinder, be hostile', Ar š' 's'opposer (à quelqu'un)'; d> BHb ܫܘܬܘܐ šā'tān 'adversary, opponent' (→ 'Satan'), JA [Trg.] ܫܘܬܘܐ sātān 'adversary, accuser (in court); Satan', CS (+ext.) *š'm > BHb ܫܘܬܘܐ š'm G 'show enmity, persecute', Ar شتم štm G 'insulter, injurier', {Hv.} 'revile, vilify' (as. *š' > št) ¶ KB 1227-8, KBR 1317, Js. 973, Lv. T II 155, Tal 581, BK I 1190, 1231-2, 1288, 1297, Hv. 351 || Eg MKL štm 'heftig werden (beim Sprechen), verleumden', {Fk.} 'be quarrelsome' ¶ EG IV 557-8, Fk. 273 ¶¶ Vc. GÄSW 400, Tk. I 228 || U: FU *šōt'a' '(magic) force', v. 'curse' (→ 'cause damage to'), v. 'bless' > pMr *šūdb- > Er šudo-, Mk šudā- v. 'curse' | Chr M šū'δem 'verfluchen, verwünschen', L 'šūδbš 'Fluch, Verwünschung', H šūδbš 'damnation, invocation' | ?σ F sōta, Es sōda 'war, battle', F sōti-, Es sōdi- v. 'wage war' || pObU *šōt > pVg *šāt 'Glück' > Vg: T šāt, UL sōt, Ss sōt; pOs *sōt/*sot ({Hl.} *sōt/*sāt < *sōt) 'force, power' > Os: Kz sōt, O sōt ¶ Coll. 115, UEW 777, It. no. 123, Ker. II 151, Ü 272, Ep. 155, SK 1084, Ht. 186 [no. 608], KrT 884-5 || ?σ D *čōt' 'insinuation; defect, blame; fault' (× N *čod'U ≈ defect, evil deed', q.v. × N ?σ *č'Ud' 'be weak, be damaged, be weary', q.v.?.; the merger is responsible for the unexpected *-t' for *-t(t)-) > Tm cōt'U 'defect, insinuation', Ml cāt'U 'fault', Tl sōd'U 'defect, fault; blame, imputation' ¶¶ D no. 2837 || ?φ A *sat' 'a v. 'ill-treat, betray' > M *sadur {SDM} 'treacherous, vile' > WrM sadur {MED} 'vile, immoral, lewd, wanton', HIM sadap {MED} id.,

{BMR} 'ausschweifend, unzüchtig, lüstern (распутный, развратный, похотливый)', Brt һадар 'распущенный', Kl {Rm.} sadṛ 'liederlich, ehe-brecherisch, hurerisch', {KRS} садр садър 'disgusting, lecherous' ¶ MED 656, BMR III 68-9, Chr. 662, KW 307 || T *sat-ga- ({SDM} *s₁at-ga-) > OT, MT satḡa-; NaT *satga-š̄ > Tk satas-, v. 'disturb, pester, bother', Ggz, Az, Kr, Qmq sataš-, Yk ataḡastā- 'oppress, ill-treat', Nog satas- 'путаться, сбиваться с толку', Tkm ḡataš- 'undergo (sth. bad)' (ol baḡtiḡliḡa ḡatašdi 'его постигло несчастье'), VTt sataš-, Bsh ḡataš- v. 'be delirious, rave (бредить)' ¶ SDM mentioned here Chv шот 'trouble, anxiety', but this word with the meaning 'trouble, anxiety' is not mentioned in any of the available dictionaries of Chv. It may be a semantic misinterpretation of Chv шот шут 'count' (→ 'meaning'), which is a loan from R счѣт 'count' (cf. Ash. XVII 248-50, Fed. II 463, ChVS 285, Jeg. 339) ¶ SDM reconstructed pT *s₁at-ga- with *-₁a- on the basis of the supposed (and non-existing?) Ch cognate шот 'trouble, anxiety' ¶ Cl. 800, Rs. W 405, KW 307, Tm. 186, BR 623, Rl. IV 376-81, TrR 754, NogR 290, TrR 568, JkR 51 ¶¶ SDM 1270 (pA *s₁ata 'ill-treat, betray' > T *s₁at-ga- [misprint for *s₁at-ga-], M), KW 307, S CNM 3 ◇ The vw. *a of the first syll. in pA may be explained by regr. as. (something like N *o...a > *a...a). M *-d- (for the expected *-t-) requires explanation ◇ Cf. IS MS 357 (*^rṣ¹otḡ 'curse' > U, D), AD NM no. 123, S CNM 3 (suggesting to adduce M *sadur and T *satga; ÷ NrCs).

2231. ₂ *š¹ĉūt¹ ∇ ≈ 'vulva, anus' > HS ≈ *š¹∇t¹- > Eg Md šd {EG} 'vulva', {DW} 'weibliche Scheide' ¶ EG IV 566, DW 873 || B: Izd {Mrc.} iḡd (pl. iḡdān) 'vagina' ¶ Mrc. 259 ¶ mte.: (**S...t¹ >) **s...ḡ > *ḡd || D *ĉūt¹- 'private parts' > Tm cūttu 'anus, buttocks, private parts, pudendum muliebre', Ml cūttu 'testicles, penis', Kui suti 'female urinal passage', → OI cūta-, cūta-, cyuti- 'anus' ¶¶ D no. 2724, M K I 395 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 155 [no. 36] and ≠ Blz. NDA no. 35 (in both: D, Eg + err. S *sit- 'podex' and other HS reflexes of N *^rš¹āt¹ ∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' [q.v.]).

2232. *šat¹ahi¹ '≈ to take away' > HS: Eg fP šdḡ 'take, take away, remove, rescue, salvage' ¶ EG IV 560-2, Fk. 273 || IE: *steh₂- ({M} *steh₂-) > NaIE *ostāy-, *ostāyu-s- > OI stā'yu-, 'stēya-m 'theft' ¶ P 1010, EI 543 (*(s)teh⁴- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'), M K I 496 and III 513-14, M E II 75 || A: T *sat- v. 'sell' > OT, MU, XwT, OOSm, Chg xv sat-, MT XIV sat- ([IM] -سات sāt- ~ -ط sat-), MQp XIII sat-

([TAG] -طلس sāt-), Tkm cāt- θat-, Tk sat-, Ggz, Az, Xlj, ET, VTt, Blq, Qmq, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, Shor sat-, Uz sāt-, Bsh hat- id., Xk, Tv sat/d-, Tf sāt'- id., v. 'trade', Yk at-ī n. 'trade', Chv L cyp- sut/d-, Ch Δ cōt- v.. 'sell' ¶ The MT and MQp spelling with the letter alif (in IM and in TAG) is merely graphic and does not indicate the length of the vw. ¶ Cl. 798-9, Rs. W 405, TL 335, Ra. 226, Ash. XI 207-10, Fed. II 67-8, Jeg. 197, ChVS 173, Tkr 568 ◇ The only N lr. that may be lost in Eg and preserved in IE as *H (vowel lengthening in NaIE) is *h.

2233. *ś̂ ∇ t̂ ∇ R ∇ 'a tie' (→ 'rope'); to twist (means of tying)' > K *^oś̂tr > Sv L {Dn.} š̂t̂r(ān)- / š̂trān- 'twist, twist a rope', 1s aor. (pfc.) oχ š̂t̂rān 'I twisted a rope, 1s pres. χwaš̂trāni, msd. UB {TK} li-š̂drān-i, L {Dn.} li-š̂trān-e, {TK} li-š̂drān-i, Ln {TK} li-š̂trān-i ¶ TK 460, Dn. s.v. š̂t̂r(ān)- || IE: NaIE *stre_lg- 'twist together; rope' > L string-ō / -ēre (pp. strictus) 'bind, tie' (to distinguish from other semantic variations of the verb, which do not belong here) || Gmc *strikki- 'rope' > OFrs, MLG strik, OHG, MHG stric, NHG Strick 'rope' || Mir {EI} sren̄g 'string, cord' ¶ P 1036, WH II 604-5, Kb. 974, OsS 880, KM 757, ≈φ,σ EI 574 (*strenk- 'string, pull tight') || HS: mt.: CS *^oś̂rt̂ 'rope' > MHb שרית 'seret̂ {Lv.} 'rope (Seil, Strick)', {Js.} 'stripe, strip of a sheet', Ar شريط šarīt̂- 'rope made of palm tree fibres', some S lg. (Ph.?) b→ Gk [Hs., Man.] σύρτης 'cord for drawing with, rein' (reinterpreted as connected with σύρω 'drag, draw, trail along') ¶ Lv. III 590, Js. 1025, BK I 1216, Hv. 360, LS 1733.

2234. (₂?) *^rś̂^o ∇ w ∇ 'feather, wing' > HS: Eg fP ṣw.t̂ 'feather, wing' ¶ EG IV 423-5, Fk. 262 || Ch: WCh: Fy {J} sō̂ (pl. sō̂) 'feather', Krkr {IL in ChL} sawku, Bole {IL} sowv id. || ECh: Smr {J} swàk 'wing' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'feather' and 'wing', J R 89, J LS s.v. swàk || K: GZ *swē- 'wing, feather' > MG, G X/P sve-, Mg sua, psua-, Lz sua-, psua-, mswa- id. ¶ K 163, K² 165, Chik. 101, FS K 269, FS E 299 || A: ?σ M *soyil- v. 'fly very high' > WrM soil- {MED} id., HIM сойло- {MED} id., {BMR} 'fly up, take wing (auffliegen)' ¶ MED 724, BMR III 107 ◇ This is one of the two N words, in which N *ś̂- is likely to yield K *s- (see N *ś̂ ∇ y ? ∇ 'thing'). An alt. solution is to reconstruct here N *ś̂- and to suppose that in certain (still unknown) conditions N *ś̂- yields Eg ṣ-.

2235. ₂ *ś̂ ∇ w ∇ 'to swell' > HS: Eg Md {EG} ṣww 'emporsteigend, anschwellend' (von einer Geschwulstblase o. ä.), {DW} ṣwυ 'emporsteigen, aufschwellen' (von einer Geschwülste, Wunde) ¶ EG IV 431, DW

841-2 || K {FS} *šiw- 'swell, swell up' > OG, G siw-, Mg šin-, Sv {K} šiw- / ši- id., msd.: UB {GP, TK} li-šy-e, LB li-ši-e 'to swell' ¶¶ K 177 (*ši-), K² 180-1 (*šiw-), FS K 284, FS E 316, Q 357, TK 463-4, GP 179
 ◇ Cf. N *Sṽʔ_Ly_L'û' 'be full'.

2235a. *šAʔ¹iwe 'body of water', 'wet/swampy ground' > HS: Eg š 'pool, lake, basin' (acc. to EG and Tk., the spelling of the word represents šy; acc. to Vc., it is ≈ *šyw) > DEg {Er.} šy 'lake, well' > Cpt Sd/B **шн** šēi (pl. Sd **шнү** šēw) 'puits, citerne, fosse, bassin' ¶ EG IV 397-8, Fk. 260, Er. 485, Vc. 258-9 || C: Dhl {EEN, E} ḥāʔa 'lake', {To.} ḥāʔa 'river, lake' (× N *s¹ʔ_Ly_L'u 'surface of water', which accounts for -ʔ-) || SC: Irq/Alg {E} ḥawī, Brn wa 'lake' ¶ E SC 214, EEN 18, To. D 149 || ?σ S *ōšaʔ_Lṽ_Lw- > Ar šaʔw- 'vase, limon qu'on extrait d'un puits' ¶ BK I 1180 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 9 (C, Eg) || IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *s¹ʔ_Lw- 'body of water (lake?)' > pGmc *saj_Lwa- ~ *saj_Lwi ≈ lake' > Gt saiws (: λιμνη) 'See (lake), Marschland', ON sjá-r, sjó-r, sæ-r, OSx sêo, OHG sēo (gen. sēwes) 'sea, lake' (> NHG see id.), MDt see (gen. sêwes) id. (> Dt zee 'sea'), AS sǣ 'sea, lake, swamp' (> NE sea); NrGmc þ → F saiwo 'clear place in a sea' ¶ Fs. 406-7, Vr. N 856-7, Vr. 575-6, Ho. 266, Ho. S 63, OsS 757, Schz. 249, Kb. 843-4, KM 676, ≠ EI 503 (the Gmc word ← non-IE sources) || D *ōk¹av- > Kn javug_u, jōg_u, javal_u, javul_u 'swampy ground' ¶ D no. 2398 || A *s¹:b|pæ 'swampy ground, swamp vegetation' > M *s¹:ber 'swampy' (of ground), 'swampy ground' > MM siber {SDM} 'swamped forest (заболоченный лес)', Kl {KRS} шивр 'swampy' (of ground)', Kl Ö {Rm.} šiw_r 'nasses Land mit Gebüsch und Wald, Waldung, Urwald', WrM siber {MED} 'dense shrubbery on a marsh, overgrowth on a river bank; dense forest, thicket', HIM шивэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'swamped forest (заболоченная чаща)', dense forest, shrubbery near a river', Brt шэбэр 'dense forest', Ord šiwēr 'terrain humide et où il y a du gazon touffu' ¶ MED 695, BMR IV 349, KRS 669, KW 362, Chr. 741, Ms. O 625 || pJ {S} símpà / símpá 'turf' > MJ síbà, JT síba ~ síbà, JK síbá, JKg síba ¶ S QJ no. 276, Mr. 522, Kenk. 1645 || Tg *sībe, *sībe-gi 'swampy ground where horsetail grows', *sībe(-kte) 'horsetail' > Ewk sīwz_y ~ sīwz_yi 'swampy lawn where horsetail grows', Lm hīwz_y 'horsetail thicket', Ewk sīwz-ktz, Lm hīwzt, Neg siwu-ktz, Ul, Nn Nh siu-ktz, WrMc {Z} сибэ ~ сибя 'horsetail' ¶ STM II 76, On. 369, Z 598-9 || ??σ,φ T *ōsæb- > Tkm θōv-dek 'spurge (*Euphorbia*)' ¶ TkR 587 ¶¶ SDM 1256 (pA *sīpe

'swamped ground, swamp vegetation' > Tg *sībe 'horsetail', M, T, J), DQA no. 2099, S AJ 79, STM II 76 ◇ Eg ǃ goes back to a N lateral cns. (*ŝ- or *ĉ-). The Altaic cognate suggests a N ††*S-cns. (rather than an affricate); the C cognate hardly proves that the initial N cns. was a lateral affricate, the affricate in Dhl (ĉ-) is more likely to result from the cluster *ŝʔ (< N *ŝ∇ʔ-). On N *-Aʔʔ i- > Tg *-ī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ Hardly identical with N *śʔ∇yʔ yU 'surface of water' (q.v.), because Eg ǃ 'pool, lake' and IE *s0jw- cannot be cognate with S *š|sʔʔ and with K *zʔwā (irreg. corrs of the initial sibilant and no lr. in Eg and IE).

2236. ₂ *ŝʔoʔhy∇ 'to wish' > HS: WS *√ŝhy|w ~ *√ŝwy v. 'wish' > Sr √swy|w (pf.)ᵀᵀ sə'wā, ip.)ᵀᵀ nε-s'wē) v. G 'long, desire',)ᵀᵀ sə'wē 'cupidus, studiosus', Ar √šhy|w G (ip -šhay- ~ -šhaw-) v. 'covet, long for', Sq {L} 'ŝeʔe 'se soucier', Mh, Jb √ŝhw|y T (Mh 'ŝathi, Jb 'ŝuthi v. 'want, like'), n. act. Mh ŝəhwēt, ŝhə, Jb ŝhə'wət 'desire' ¶ Br. 462, JPS 363, Jo. M 376, Jo. J 250, Fr. II 462, Hv. 380, Lv. III 488 (JEA 'ᵀᵀ √swy {Lv.} 'sich nach etw. sehnen, etw. im Geiste verlangen' is interpreted by Sokoloff [Sl. 792 as ? 'jump']) || ? Eg L ǃǃ 'be friendly' (of the heart) ¶ EG IV 401 || C: SC: Irq {Mgw., MQK} ŝāʔ- v. 'want, desire, like, love', {Wh.} ŝāʔ- v. 'like, love', Grw/Alg {Wh.} ŝāʔ-, Brn ŝaʔ- v. 'like', Kz {E} ŝaʔas-, Asa {E} ŝaʔat- v. 'love, like' ||| Dhl ŝaw- {To., E} id., {EEN} v. 'love' ¶ AD SF 115, E SC 208, EEN 26, Wh. IC 56, Wh. SI s.v. -hlāʔ-, Mgw. 101, MQK 94, To. D 142 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 9, Tk SCC 84 [no. 14.1] ¶¶ Unlike Takács (Tk SCC), I do not believe that there was *ʔ in the S √ (the letter) ʔ in Sr is a spelling device) and that ʔ in SC and Eg (ǃ) is ancient, it is rather a hiatus-filling epenthesis || U: FU (att. in FP) *ŝ|ś|sōy∇- v. 'wish' > pPrm *śʔ i- (< pre-Prm *śʔāyâ?) v. 'wish' > Z śi- id. | ? BF: F sūo- v. 'wish', 'allow, permit, let', Krl sūva, Es sōoʔ 'wish, desire' ¶ LG 256, SK 1110.

2237. ?σ ₂ *ŝ∇yʔ∇ 'thing' > HS: WS *ŝayʔ- 'thing' > Ar šayʔ- id., Mh {Jo.} ŝī, Hrs ŝi, ŝī, ŝəy, Jb C {Jo.} 'ŝe, Jb E {Jo.} ŝiʔ id., Sq {Jo.} ŝi, {L} ŝī ~ ŝiʔ 'something', (with a negation) 'anything' ¶ Ln. 1626-7, BK I 1293-4, Jo. M 390, Jo. H 123, Jo. J 259, L LS 428 || K: GZ *sa-, basis of interr. adverbs: OG, G sa-da 'where?' (-da is a locative ending), saidam, saidyan 'where from?', Mg, Lz s0 'where?', s0-le 'where from?', Mg s0-š'a 'wither?' ¶ The semantic prehistory of K *sa-: 'thing' → 'what thing?', 'what?' (possibly an ellipsis like It che cosa? > cosa? 'what?'), *sa-da 'in what' → 'where?' ¶ DCh. 1061, 1075, Q O116, Marr 185 ◇ This is

one of the two N words, in which N ***ŝ**- yields (or is likely to yield) K ***s**- (see N ***ŝ**¹**ʼo**¹**w**[∇] 'feather, wing').

2238. *ŝ**ü**ŝ**ɤ**A**** 'heart' (← 'breast'??) > K: GZ ***š**ul- 'soul, spirit' (→ 'smell') > OG **su**l-, G **su**l- 'soul, spirit, smell', Mg, Lz **šur**- id., Mg **go-šur**- v. 'smell (sth.)', **šur**-am-i, Lz **šur-on**-i 'fragrant', Lz **o-šur-u** v. 'smell (riechen)', Lz {K} **šur**- 'smell sth', 'smell of' ¶ K 178, K² 182, FS K 287, FS E 319, Q 358-9, TK 465, 823, GP 18O, 272 || **HS**: Eg CT/BD **š**nɤ 'chest, upper part of the human body' ¶ EG IV 5O4-5 || C ***ŝ**¹**∇**¹**ɤ**- > EC ***sazɤ**- (< ***sažɤ**- ?) 'heart' > Kns **sata**-ta, Arr {Hw.} **zàzzá** id., Gwd, Gln **saf-kó**, Gwd D **sataɤte**, Hr, Dbs **sasaɤ-kō** id.; ǰ Arr {Ss.} **sede** id. (acc. to Ss. [absent in Hw. A], a loan from some related lge because of d) ¶ Ss. WOKS 138 [no. 13], Hw. A 4O1, AMS 184, 22O, 248 || Ch: WCh: Tng {J} **sùldùm** 'heart' || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} **sàlìyǎ** id. ¶ J T 148, ChC s.v. 'heart', Cp. KL s.v. Kbl **sàlìyǎ** || ??? S ***ŝ**¹**u**¹**ɤ**¹- or ***ŝ**¹**u**¹**ɤ**¹- > Ak **š**ũl-u 'ein Totengeist' (?) ¶ Sd. 1269 || **U** ***ŝ**ü**ž**ä(me) 'heart' > FU: F **sudä**n (gen. **sudäme-n**), Es **süda** (gen. **südame**) 'heart' | pLp {Lr.} ***ć**ž**δ**ēm 'heart' (> Lp Pa {TI} **ć**ē**δ**ē id.) ⇨ pLp ***ć**ž**δ**žk 'through' > Lp: S {Hs.} **tjirreh**, Tn {Lgc.} **č**+rr**^**h ({Lgc.} **č**jŕ**ŕ**ē**h**), Vfs {Lgc.} **č**+rr**^** ({Lgc.} **č**jŕ**ŕ**ē**h**), L {LLO} **tjatā**, N {N} **čâđâ** 'through' | pMr {Ker.} ***ś**í**đ**žy > Er **śedey**, Mk **śedi** 'heart' | Chr **šüm** id. | pPrm ***ś**Ü**lem** id. > Vt **śulem** id., Z **śžłžm** 'heart, soul, spirit' || Hg **szí**v, **Δ** **szú**, **szú**v 'heart' | pObU ***š**im > pVg ***š**im id. > Vg: T **šäm**, LK/P/LL **šim**, N **sim** id.; pOs ***s**ēm id. > Os: E **sēm**, Nz/Kz **sām**, O **sām** || pSm {Jn.} ***se**y**ь** 'heart' ({AD} ***ŝ**e**y**ь) > Ne T **ceŷ**, Ne F **šēy**, Slq Tm **šīđ**, Mt {Hl.} ***ke**y**e** (Mt: M {Sp.} **кеемъ**, T {Mll.} **kéim** 'my heart', K {Mll.} **gíi** 'heart', {Pl.} **geíide** 'his heart') ¶¶ Coll. 59, UEW 477, It. no. 42O, ≈ Sm. 549 (FU ***ś**ü**đ**ä**m**i / ***ś**e**đ**m*i*, FP ***s**ü**đ**ä**m**i, Ugr ***s**ĩ**m**ĩ 'heart'), Lr. no. 1O0, Lgc. no. 438, Lgc. SL no. 2884, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139-4O, Ber. 73, Ht. no. 593, LG 27O, SK 1142-3, Jn. 139, Hl. M no. 455, ≠ 79-8O (supposing that Mt k- is from Sm ***s**- before ***e**, ***i**, ***ü**) ¶¶ In my opinion, it is more natural to suppose here a pSm ***ŝ**-, because a change of a lateral obstruent into a velar is typologically more plausible (it occurs in the Daghestanian lges) than a change ***s**- > ***k**- || **A** ***s**z¹**ü**¹**L**[∇]- > Tg ***s**∇**l**e**m**e 'heart' > Ewk {Vas., STM} **sžłžmž** ~ **hžłžmž** ~ **šžłžmž** id. ¶ Ewk **ž** of the first syll. may be due to as. ¶ STM II 141, Vas. 376, Vas. RES 269 || ? M ***s**ü**l**de > WrM {MED} **sü**l**de** '«soul», sc. 'tutelary deity\deities, protecting genius (Tibetan bla), might', HIM **cy**л**d** {MED} id., {BMR} 'spiritual power

(духовная мощь), vital force, spirit (дух), intellect', WrM {MED} uridus-un sülde 'ancestral spirits', {Kow.} sülde 'bénédiction; génies tuteurs, pénales, lares', Brt hülde 'духовная мощь, жизненная сила', Ord sülde 'génie protecteur'; M *sülde ⇨ *sülde > MM [S] sülde 'Glückszeichen; Würde, Majestät', Kl {Rm.} sülde 'Schicksal, Los, Glück' ¶ MED 743, BMR III 1412, Kow. 1428, Chr. 695, KW 340, Ms. O 598, H 137 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1511 (pA *zela 'be awake, live' > M *sülde 'energy, vitality' + unc.: Tg *sele 'wake up, rejoice', T *jalaḡuk 'person' and pKo *sār- 'live; person' (all of them actually from N *ZaḡĪE (η∇) '[be] awake\alive', q.v. ffd.)) ◇ Coll. 146 (U, Tg), ≠ UEW 477 (rejecting the connection of U with Tg, because it was supposed that Ewk s3l3m3 is a d. from Ewk s3l3 'iron' and is identical with s3l3-m3 'made of iron', which is highly qu. unless a semantic or mythological proof of the above identity is provided) ◇ An alt. N rec. is *ŝŭLɿA, which does not account for EC *saɿɿ-. The sonorant *l in K, Tg, M and Eg (where *-l- > -n-) is a reg. reflex of N *-ŷ-.

2239. *t'ä¹ 'away (from), from', ablative (separative) pc. > HS: C: Ag: Knf {Hz.} -da, as well as possibly Aw -des and Bl -l3d 'from'; Bln -d 'in' indicates also the cause (qenɣat-i d 'aus Neid') which may go back to a sx of abl. ¶ Hz. AL 16-17, R BilS 679-80 || IE [1] NaIE *dē 'away (from), from' > L dē prep. 'from' and dē- (preverb of separation), Fls DE prep. 'de', Osc DAT id., DA(D)- pv. 'de-', Um DA- id. (DAETOM 'deitum, delictum'), L in-de 'thence, from there', un-de 'whence?' || Clt {Matas.} 'from, of' > OIr dī, de 'from ... down, from ... away', MW, OBr dī, Crn the, pv.: OIr dī-, de-, privative ('without', negative): W, Crn, Br dī- | [2] NaIE *-de / *-T (archiphoneme *-dʰ | *-d | *-t), separative (abl.) case ending > Gk Cr τῷ-δε 'from here', Gl βρατου-δε 'ex merito'; *-T 'from' > OI 'ma-d, Av ma-t, OL mē-d 'from me', OI 'tva d, Av ɣwa t ~ ɣwā t, OL tē d 'from thee'; with the *-o-stems *-ōT / *-ēT: OI v r̥ō kā d 'from the wolf', pas 'cā d 'from behind', Gk DI φοικω 'domo', Gk D ὅπω 'from where?', ὅ 'from which' (rel.), 'whence?', OL -ō d 'from' (Gnai vō d > L Gnaeō 'from Gnaeus'), Osc sakaraklūd '(ex) sacellō', toutad 'from the community\people', Gt haprō (· πόθεν;) 'woher?', as well as the BSI ending of the *o-stem: Blt *-ā (> Lt -o, Ltv -a) and Sl *-a: Lt tō 'of\from this', viĩko 'from\of the wolf', diēvo, Ltv diēva 'from\of God', ChS ТѢЛА РАЗЛОУУНТН СѦ tĕla razlučiti sĕ 'to separate **from** the body', ВЛѢКА vľka 'of\from (the) wolf', R 'волка 'of (the) wolf' ||

AnIE *-a^ti, ablative case ending: Ht -az(a), Ld -ad id., Lw, HrLw -ati, Pal -at (?), Lc -adi, -edi (abl.-instr. case ending) ¶ Brg. KVG 383-4, 404, 411, EI 37 (*dē 'away [from]'), WH I 325-6, LS 1242, 2029, Bc. G 314, 332, ≈ Pln. II 444, LP §§ 344, 431.9, YGM-1 452, Stang VG 181, Vnd.¹ II 240, P 702, IS I 213, Rsk. 54-6, Matas. E 97 || U *-t∇ ({Coll., Hj.} *-ta/*-tä) 'from', sep. case ending > FU (att. in FV) *-ta/*-tä id. > BF primary sep. ending *-ta/*-tä/*-ða/-ðä > F -ta/-tä (after cnss), -a/-ä (after vowels) in F kotoa 'from home' (↔ kotona 'at home') (koto means 'home'), luota 'from (smbd.)' ('de chez'), 'from the vicinity of' (↔ luona 'near, bei, chez'), alta 'from under' (↔ alla 'under'), yltä 'from above' (↔ yllä 'above'), ulkoa 'from outside' (↔ ulkona 'outside, out of doors'), tyköä 'from the vicinity of' (↔ tykönä 'near, bei, chez'), whence the BF partitive ending *-ta/*-tä/*-ða/*-ðä > F -ta/-tä/-a/-ä (vettä 'de l'eau', verta 'du sang', lapsia 'des enfants'), Es -t/-d/-Ø (aastat prt. 'year', aasta-i-d pl. 'des années', leiba prt. 'du pain'); the form of primary separative (with *-ta/*-tä) from derived stems with locative sxs *-s- and *-l- gave rise to secondary case forms: elative *-s-ta/*-s-tä 'from within' (cp. the secondary inessive *-s-sa/*-s-sä 'in' < the locative *-s-na/*s-nä) (> F talosta 'from the house', Suomesta 'from Finland', Helsingistä 'from Helsinki', Es linnast 'from [the] town') and delative *-l-ta/*-l-tä 'from the surface of' (> F pöytä-ltä 'from the table' [sc. 'from the surface of the table'], tori-lta 'from the market', Es laualt 'from the table', põllu-lt 'from the field') || Lp S {Sz.} -t, -de 'from' (ablative), e.g. allē-t 'from the west', yille-de id., pađđē-t 'from the top', Lp K -δ 'some, du' (partitive), e.g. sammeδ 'de la force' || Er -do/-de/-de, (after vl. cnss) -to/-te/-te 'from', Mk -da, -ta, e.g. Er tolgado, Mk tolgada 'from a/the feather' || a controversial case: Ugr *-l 'from' > Hg -l 'from' (aló-l 'from below', marker of the elative case -bó-l/-bó-l 'out of', delative case marker -ró-l/-ró-l) || Vg: UL -l, -əl, Ss -l, -əl, -n-əl 'out of, from' (relative case); Hajdú rejected Ugr *-l as a cognate and tried to find its etl. ties elsewhere (FU d. *-l 'place on', in my opinion probably cds with *l, e.g. BF *-l-ta/ä 'from', sc. 'from the surface of', and Chr {Sz.} -leć ~ -leć 'from') || Sm *-tE sep. > Ne T {Ter.} -x-∇/-rǎ-∇/-kǎ-∇, pl. -x-∇/-rǎ-∇/-kǎ-∇, En {Ter.} -h-δ/-go-δ/-ko-δ, pl. -h-t/-g+/-k+/-t, Ng -gə-tə/-kə-tə, pl. -gi-tə/-ki-tə, Mt {Hl.} *-l_adu 'from' (Mt K {Pl.} irnjadu 'von vorn', chúnadu 'von hinten'), Kms -tt- ~ -tći- 'from'

(+ppa.: tura-tt-ə 'from his house' ↔ tura-nd-ə 'in[to] his house', turattan 'from thy house' ↔ turānan 'in[to] thy house', turatći 'from my house' ↔ turāńi 'in[to] my house') || Y: Y K qada-t 'whence?' (qada 'where?'), tada-t 'from there' (tada 'there'), teni-t 'from here' (teni 'here'), Y T x0-t 'whence?' ¶¶ Sz. 56-8, 63-8, Coll. CG 287, Srb. PGS 40-1, Rmb. 50-1, Ter. NJ-93 332, Ter. EJ-93 346-7, Ter. NgJz-93 353-4, Hl. MTKJ 337, Hl. M 140, Kü. KJ 384-5, Hj. US 227-8, Krn. JJ 207-10, IN H 83 ¶¶ The vw. *-a/*-ä in FV *-ta/*-tä may be due to grammatical analogy with the locative *-na/*-nä within the nominal case paradigm ¶¶ If Ugr word-final *-l 'from' belongs here, it points to a pU *-δ∇, which became *t in FV (a reg. reflex of the postcons. *δ). But if Ugr -l does not belong together with FV *-ta/*-tä (which is Hajdú's hyp.), the pU case ending may be reconstructed with the cns. *t (as in Coll. CG 287-8 and Hj. US 227-8), which suggests that the pN etymon is to be reconstructed as *ta or *tä

|| A: ? NaT *-ta/*-tä, sep. (abl.) case ending (functioning as a semantic variant of the locative *-ta/*-tä?) > Yk -ta/-to/-tä/-tö (with phonetically conditioned allomorphs -da/-do/-dä/-dö, -la/-lo/-lä/-lö, -na/-no/-nä/-nö) (partitive case ending), OT Tü -da/-dä/-ta/-tä (sep.: (the Toñuquq inscription) tabxač-da adırılŋi '(the Türküt people) separated **from** the Tabghaches', qırqız-da jantimiz 'we returned **from** the Qırgız land', (the small Kül-Tegin inscription) men ... tabxač qahan-ta bedizči kelürtim 'I have brought stone carvers **from** the khan of the Tabghaches', Az Δ -da/-dä 'from' ¶ Kon. GJTRP 157, GJJ 134-5 || D *-t̄i 'from' > Kui, Ku -t̄i, Krx -t̄ī sep. ending, Mlt -te, -t̄ī id. (mann-te 'from a tree', male-n-te 'from a man', naib ālar-t̄ī 'from four men'), Klm att-aṭ 'whence?', -n-attaṭ (sep. ending ← "increment" -n- [\leftarrow N *nu] + attat̄), Tu {ShanBh} -tt̄i/-t̄i 'from' (a ugeli-tt̄i āk̄lu ońzi ĉeńđ+n̄i getteri 'they removed a ball **from** that well', kay-t̄i '**from** the hand'), {RamR} -d̄đ̄i 'from' ¶¶ An. SG 215-16, BB K 247, Shanm. DN 308-9, 357, 363, 382, ShanBh T 85, RamR SLDT 81, Hahn KG 14-15 ◇ FV *-ta/*-tä and T *-ta/*-tä suggest N *ta or *tä, while IE *dē points to a N front vw., sc. to N *t̄'ä'. The vw. *-i, *-ī in D and AnIE apparently suggests a variant *ti of the original N particle, but a cd of *t̄'ä' with another pc. is a more plausible solution. IE *(-)de 'from' (> Gk Cr τῶ-δε 'from here', Gl βρατου-δε 'ex merito', L dē, OIr dī, de etc.) provides ev. for N *t, while Ugr *-l 'from' (if it belongs here) point to a N *d (rather than *t), which is still to be explained ◇ IS I 212-14 (*da, locative pc.;

IS did not distinguish between the etymon in question and the locative *da, sc. N *d_loy_a 'place, inside'), Gr. I 157-60 ("ablative T" in IE, U, EA, Yk + unc.: Tg, Gil, CK).

2240. *t∇, a postnominal marker (prn.?) of plurality ('together') > K: [1] K *^o-ta, plural ending in the oblique cases > OG, G -ta id.; in modern G this so-called "old plural" is used mainly in the written style and is more bookish than the form with the pl. sx -eb- ¶ Fn. GAS 55-61, Vogt GLG 30-2 ¶¶ [2] K *-t, sx of pl. subiecti in verbs of the 1st and 2nd persons > OG, G, Mg, Lz -t, Sv -d; the same sx functions (in all K lges) as a verbal marker of pl. obiecti (with morphological positional limitations that differ in different lges) ¶¶ For more details see Dt. 57-60 | | HS *-t-, marker of plurality (coalesced with the *t-endings of different origin and functioning, incl. *-t of the fem.-and-inanimate gender, F N *t_ä [dem. prn. of non-active objects] [q.v.] and N *'ʔ'at∇ 'female, woman' [q.v.]) > C *-(∇)t∇/*-∇tt∇, sx of pl. > Ag: Bln {Plm.} m⁺raw-ti 'snakes' (↔ sg. m⁺ra⁺w-a), k⁺nž⁺l-ti 'ovens' (↔ sg. k⁺nž⁺l-a), ayg-ut 'lakes' (↔ sg. ay⁺g), {R} 'abd-it 'trees' (↔ sg. ab⁺da), 'ardæt 'lords' (↔ sg. adæ⁺-a), t-æder-æt 'ladies' (↔ sg. t-adæ⁺ra), Xm {R} zin-t 'brothers', ηin-t 'houses' (↔ sg. zin, ηin), ir-t 'eyes' ¶ EC *-∇t(∇), sx of pl. > Sa {Wlm.} -it ('da-it 'stones' ↔ sg. 'da-a; 'santit 'knives' ↔ sg. 'santi; 'loynit 'herdsmen' ↔ sg. 'loyna; 'hođit 'trees' ↔ sg. hađa), Af {Bl.} -it'te (ʕamm-it'te 'uncles' ↔ sg. 'ʕammi; alsit'te 'moons' ↔ sg. 'alsa), Af S {Morin} -ti (saʕol-ti 'elder brothers' ↔ sg. saʕal); Sml *-at > -o / -ad-(+ppa.) (Sml N {Lm.}, Sml B {Mrn.} walālo 'brothers' ↔ sg. walāl; Sml B ilko 'teeth' ↔ sg. ilik), Sml Ji {Lm.} -dā ~ -dō (lamdā 'men' ↔ sg. lam; lohodō ~ lohoda 'legs' ↔ sg. loho), Bn {Hn.} -ti (urti 'cheeks' ↔ sg. úr); Arr {Hw.} -te (ʔarté 'bulls' ↔ sg. ʔār; ηawʔ-té 'crocodiles' ↔ sg. ηáwʔ; kačč-té 'chests [of body]' ↔ sg. káčč); Or -ōta ~ -ota (namōta 'men' ↔ sg. namā; uržōta 'stars' ↔ sg. uržī, Or B nēńčota 'lions' ↔ sg. nēńča), Kns {BISO} -ađa ~ -ađđa (sinađđa 'noses' ↔ sg. sīna; iskatadđa 'women' ↔ sg. iskatt-eta; afađđa 'mouths' ↔ sg. afa; mottađa 'friends' ↔ sg. motta), Gdl {Bl.} -ađa (appađa 'fathers' ↔ sg. appa; arappađa 'tongues' ↔ sg. arap⁺p-at; 'parađa 'years' ↔ sg. 'par-at); Hr, Dbs -a(:)dđe (kāsadđe 'shadows' ↔ sg. kāsse; ikādđe 'peoples, tribes' ↔ sg. iko), Gln -idđe (šamp-idđe 'youngsters', māng-idđe 'corns'); Ya -et, -et (íkut-et 'thighs' ↔ sg. íkut; nótet 'lips' ↔ sg. nōtō) (unless a case of pl. reduplication); HEC: Kmb {L} -ta, -te, suff. of collectiveness (hol⁺l-ata 'sheep' pl. ↔ snglt.

hōl-čū; miḱ'ḱ-ata 'bones' ↔ miḱ-ič'čū 'a bone') || DhI {To., Zab.} -ūta, -to, {EEN} -ūṭa, -ṭo (ṛánūṭa 'heads' ↔ sg. ṛànì; kalatṭēṭo 'incisors' ↔ sg. kálàṭi), (here?) -addi, -udda (sínaddi 'noses' ↔ sg. sína; ḱóḱaddi 'throats' ↔ sg. ḱòḱ; ṣāludda 'friends' ↔ sg. ṣāle) || SC (here?): Irq, Alg -du, sx of pl. (Irq {Mous} ṛafaydu 'sides' ↔ sg. ṛafay; ĉaṅkadu 'bridges' ↔ sg. ĉaṅka, Alg {Wh.} fradu 'bones' ↔ sg. fara) ¶ Zab. MNPC 38-43, 61-76, 90, 115, 137-8, 153-4, 162-6, 179, 196, 207-8, 283, 294-5, Plm. NB 387, R BilS § 146, Wlm. S 159-60, Bls. GGA 177-8, Morin NAS 367, Mrn. SS 26, Hw. A 336, 371, 388, To. D 136, EEN 10, 13, Mous 53-5, Wh. IC 19-26 ¶ Ag *-t- goes back to a pC *-tt- (while pC *-t- > Bln -r-); the same may be the origin of some sxs in the EC lges The origin of the glottalized consonants ṭ and ḍ in the pl. ending of some EC lges is still to elucidate ¶¶ The S *-āṭ-plural (originally marker of n. coll.) does not belong here (↔ IS I 12) (see N *ṭā, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects and the comment at the end of this entry) || U *-t, pl. of nouns for animate beings > FU *-t, plural ending: BF nom. pl. *-t (F kala-t 'fishes', Krl kala-t, Vp kala-d, Lv kala-t, Es kalad), in the obl. cases pl. BF *-j-te- (*-j- is another marker of pl.) ~ *-te-, e.g. pl. gen. *-j-te-n ~ *-te-n (> Vp kalojd^hen, F kalojerⁿ, Es kalade) || pLp *-k nom. pl. (reg. reflex of pFL *-t, e.g. pFL *kala-t 'fishes' > pLp *kōlēk) > Lp N -k (g u o l e k 'fishes'), Lp S/L -h, -Ø, Lp I -h || Er/Mk -t / -t̄ (tolga-t 'feathers', pē-t̄ 'ends') || ObU *-t > pVg *-t > Vg {Lml.}: T, LK/MK/UK, SV/NV/P/LL/ML/UL -(ə)t, Ss -(ə)d (T kōḷ-ət, LK xūlt, MK/SV/UK kūl_ot, Ss xūld 'fishes' etc.); pOs *-t > Os (all dialects) {Ht.} -t (with allomorphs -ət, -ɛt), pl. ending of the absolute (non-possessive) paradigm || Sm {Mik.} *-t, sx of nominal pl. > Ne, En, Ng -ʔ, Kms -ʔi, (combination with the pSm marker of pl. *y) -yeʔ, -yeʔ, Slq {Mik.} -T² (= -t/-n) > Slq Tz -t, marker of pl. of the non-possessive paradigm: kana-t 'dogs', pō-t 'trees'; the same ending is probably present in other dls of Slq, too (F Cs. GSS 140-54), but for lack of descriptions of these dialects no precise information is available; the same marker of pl. -T² is found as a predicative ending of 3p ({Mik.} -T² 'sunt'), within the predicative endings of 1p -m+T², 2 pl. -l+T² and in the possessive endings of nouns: 1p -m+T² 'our', 2 pl. -l+T² 'vester', 3 pl. -t+T² 'their' ¶¶ Coll. CG 297, Sz. 51, Laan. 148-50, Krh. 197, 208-9, Lml. HFW 11-12, Ht. ChrO 36-7, Ht. XJ 308-9, Mik. GSS 238-9, Hj. SS 11, 19, 23, 26-7, Hl. M 134, Prk. SG 33-8, KHG 169-70 || A *-t^{ra} / *-t^{ra} > M *-d, pl. ending of nouns > MM -d, -ud (e.g. [HI] noyan-d ~ [PP] noya-d 'officers' [↔ sg. noyan], yabiḡa-d

'equestrians' [\leftrightarrow sg. yabiyān], [S] ele-t 'sands' [\leftrightarrow sg. ele-sūn], [MA] baḡ-ut 'ties' \leftrightarrow sg. baḡ), WrM $-d$ (mor i-d 'horses' [\leftrightarrow sg. morin], gāzad 'countries' [\leftrightarrow sg. gāzar], HIM, Brt $-d \sim -t$, Ord- $d \sim -t$, Kl {Rm.} $-d$, Mgl $-t$; M $*-d$ is also found in the interr. prn. $*ked$ (pl. of $*ken$ 'who?') > MM ket , WrM ked ¶ Pr. IM 178-80, 229 || Tg: WrMc {Z} $-та / -тэ$, pl. ending of some animate nouns: ama-ta 'fathers' (\leftrightarrow sg. ama), emə-tə 'mothers', asixā-ta 'youngsters' (\leftrightarrow sg. asixān), əčžə-tə 'chiefs' (\leftrightarrow sg. əčžəñ); $-t-$ for the expected $*-d-$ has not yet found explanation ¶ Hrl. 33-4 || ? T: OT $-t$, $-\nabla t$: erät 'men, warriors' (pl. of er), oylit 'descendants' (pl. of oylan), tarqa-t (pl. of tarqan [a title]), tegit (pl. of tegin 'prince'), OT {Pel. \rightarrow Mng.} $*türküt$ 'Turks' (preserved in Chinese transcription); acc. to Br., this sx is of M origin, but Sinor (Sin. UAP 212-13) is not sure about it; Kon. suggested that $-t$ is a loan from Sogdian; $-\bar{a}t$ in MT $\text{bāḡā}t$ 'gardens' \leftrightarrow sg. bāḡ , $\text{aymaqā}t$ 'stems' \leftrightarrow sg. aymaq is of Prs (\leftarrow Ar) origin ¶ Gbn ATG § 172, SIGTJM 12-13, Kon. GJTRP 147, Tekin GOT 122, Pel. T 687, Mng. TLP 111, Batm. JJP 102, Ajd. 144, Br. OTG 150-1 \diamond The original meaning of the etymon is hard to determine. One of possible meanings is 'together', which is compatible with its use as a marker of multiple subjects and multiple objects in K \diamond IS's hyp. of the exclusive connection of {IS} $*-t\nabla$ with inanimate nouns is not sufficiently proved; its only argument is S $*-\bar{a}t-$ as marker of pl. of non-active nouns, which is not a valid proof: in fact S $*-\bar{a}t-$ is a compound: $*-\bar{a}-$ as a marker of collectivity (used without $*-t-$ in the pred. case of f.) + $*-t-$ as a nominalizer (allowing to use the construction N [nominal] + $*-\bar{a}-$ in specifically nominal cases with case endings [$*-u$ of nominative, $*-a$ of accus.-genitive] and with the determiner $*-m$). The resulting form $*N-\bar{a}t-um$ nom. / $*N-\bar{a}t-am$ accus.-gen. is not actually a pl., it has the case-and-status endings of sg., because in pS it was a n. coll. (sg. f.). The morpheme $*-t-$ in S $*-\bar{a}t-u(m)/*-\bar{a}t-a(m)$ goes back to the N prn. of inanimate objects $*tā$ (q.v. ffd.) and hence does not belong to this etymon $\diamond \approx$ IS I 12 ($*-t\nabla$ as marker of pl. of inanimate nouns), Sin. UAP 211-14 (U, A), Gr. I 106-8 ("plural T" in U, A, EA, Gil, ζ Ai).

2241. $*tiʔū$ 'shine, be bright, be seen' > HS: Eg: fOK $tʔ$ v. 'be hot' (sky, bread etc.), G $tʔ$ 'verbrennen', fMd $tʔ.ω$ {Fk.} 'heat', {EG} 'Hitze, Glut', NK $tʔy.t$ 'Glut' ¶ EG V 229-31, Fk. 293 || K $*te-$ 'light (lux)' \rightarrow : [1] pGZ $*na-te-$ 'light' > OG $\text{nate}l-i$ n. 'light, ray', OG, G $\text{nate}l-$ adj. 'light, bright', Mg, Lz note- 'torch, splinter (used as torch, лучина)'; \rightarrow $*nat-/ont-$

'shine, give light' > OG nat-eb-a, nat-ob-a n. act. 'shine, give light', G a-nat-eb-s 'lights up, illuminates', a-nt-ia '(it) shines, gives light'; ?? [2] K *te-n- 'become visible, get lighter' (× N *t'o'N∇ 'appear', q.v.) > OG ten-'be dawning' (da witar gantena yamei igi ... 'when the morning was come ...' [Mt. 27.1]), Mg tan- v. 'be getting light; spend the night', Lz tan-'be getting light; be visible', Sv ten-/tn- 'become visible, be born'; GZ *ten-eb-a 'dawn' > G teneba 'dawn', Lz tanapa id., Mg tanapa 'Easter' ('resurrection') ¶¶ K 92 (*ten-), 145 (*na-te-), K² 68 (*ten-/*te-), 136-7 (*nat-e- 'light', *nat-/*nt- 'shine, give light'), FS K 143 (*tan-/*tn-), 147 (*ten-), Q 240, Marr 146, Abul. 318 || IE: [1] *deǵ- 'shine, be bright' > OI 'dīdē-ti 'shines, is bright', 3p dīdyati || Gk Hm δέατο 3s ipf. 'videbatur, seemed', Gk Ep δέελος 'visible' || IE broken rdp. *doǵ-do- and sim. > ON teitr, AS tāt 'glad, merry' (← 'shining'), ON teita 'to gladden, to delight', AS tætan id., 'to caress', AS tāt 'glad, merry', OSx tēt 'glad', OHG zeiz 'zart, lieb, angenehm' ¶ P 183-4, EI 513, M K II 45, F I 354, 378-9, Vr. 586, Ho. S 74, Ho. 342-3, Sw. 167, Kb. 1246, OsS 1241 || [2] IE *dyeǵ- 'daylight', 'deified daylight, heaven' > NaIE nom. *dyēǵs ~ diyēǵs, accus. *dyē(ǵ)m, voc. *dyeǵ, gen. *di'w-es, *di'w-os) > OI 'dyāuḥ (accus. dyām, gen. di'vaḥ ~ 'dyōḥ) 'heaven, sky, day', Av dyaoš abl.-gen. 'from the sky'; OI 'di'vā 'by day', 'di'vasa- 'heaven, day' || Gk Ζεύς (accus. Ζῆν, gen.: Διός, Gk In Διός), Gk B/Lc Δεύς 'Zeus', Gk ἔνδιος 'at midday' || L gen. iovis 'of Jupiter', Osc dat. Diúveí, Διουφέι 'to Jupiter', L diēs 'day' (for the expected *diēus on the analogy of accus. diēm), L [Plt.] dius 'by day', L nu-dius tertius 'now is the third day' || Clt {Matas.} *dīy_ejo- 'day' > OIr díe, Brtt {RE} *dīǵǵs (< IE *diyēǵ-s) > OW did, MW dit ~ dyt ~ dyd(d), W dydd, OCm [VC] det, OCm det, Cm deth, dyth, OBr {Flr.} ded ~ did, MBr dez, Br deiz 'day' || Arm unḥl tiw 'day' || Ht siu- 'god' ({GI} 'god of sun', 'god of heaven'), siwanna- 'divine', siwatt- 'day', Lw tiwat- (nom. tiwaz), Pal tiyaz 'god of sun' || [2a] IE *dyēǵs patēr 'father daylight, father heaven' (name of a god) > OI 'dyāuḥ p i t a - || Gk Ζεύς πατήρ || L Iūpiter ~ Iuppiter, Um voc. Iupater, dat. Iuuepatre || Ir [Hs.] Δει-πάτυρος || [2b] a derivative with an *o-sx: NaIE *'deǵwo-s 'heavenly' (→ 'god') > OI de'vaḥ 'heavenly, divine; god', Av daēva- 'demon, false deity' || OL deivos, L deus 'god', dea 'goddess', dīvus 'divine, god' (→ dīvīnus 'divine'), Osc deívaí

'deae' ||| Clt {Matas.} *dēwō- 'god' > OIr {P} die, {Matas.} dia (gen. dé) 'god', NIr dia, OCrn duu, duiu-(tit) 'Gott(heit)', OW duiu, MW {SEv.} dwyw, dyw, W duw, Br {Hm.} doue 'god', MW {LP} dwymawl 'divine', Gl n. pr. Deuo-gnata ||| ON tívar pl. 'gods', Gmc *teiwaz > ON Týr 'war god', pl. tívar 'gods', OHG Ziu, Zio (gen. Ziwes) 'Mars' (in ziestac 'dies Martis, tuesday'), AS Tīz (gen. Tīwes) 'Mars', cd tīwes-dæg 'tuesday' > NE tuesday ||| Lt diēvas, Ltv diēvs, Pru deiws, deywis (gen. deywas) 'god' ¶¶ P 184-6, EI 149 (*dye(u)- 'day'), 230-1 (*deiw-o-s 'god', *dyeu-s ph_hatēr 'sky-father'), Ts. W 77, Carr. P 75, Lar. 128-9, GI 791, Wtk. G ∇, Neu AT 116-31, M K II 42, 63-4, 70-1, M E I 750-2, F I 610-11, WH I 345-6, 349-51, 359-60, 732-4, Bc. G 315, 338, LP §§ 6.2, 16, Thr. § 340, RE 87, SEv. 29, Flr. 132, 138, YGM-1 197, Vr. 603, OsS 1291, Ho. 350, Frn. 93-4, En. 158, Tp. P A-D 321-4, Slr. 60-1, Matas. E 96-7, 101, Hm. 147, 223 ||| ? A: M: MM [*Altan Tobchi*] ciügen ~ ceügen 'shining' ¶ MED 1200 ◇ IE *dyeu- and MM ciügen ~ ceügen suggest a word-final N vw. *u or *ū, while the absence of its reflexes in IE *deĵ- and K *te- still requires explanation ◇ Cp. Etr tiu, tiv- 'moon' ¶ Pfiffig 304-5, Pall. Ew 303 ◇ ≠ BmK 303-4 (equating IE *dyeu- with Sum dé v. 'smelt' and D *tī- 'fire', actually belonging to N *t'e'ɣaw'a' 'fire' [q.v.]), ≠ S NSR 4-6 (err.: he compared IE with K *dye 'day' [in fact from N *d∇wɣ|ɣ∇ 'sun, day, morning'] and reconstructed a pN *d^w-).

2242. ₂ ≈ *to'ɣ'i 'fig' > HS: S (+ext.) *t∇ɣi'n-at-, *t∇ɣin- 'fig tree, fig' > BHb תִּנְיָא təpē'nā, Pun (?) תִּנְיָא tyn, IA tyn, JA [Trg.], JEA תִּנְיָא tēn(ə)tā, SmA t'nh, tynh, Sr E תִּנְיָא tēn<ɣ>'ttā, Sr W תִּנְיָא tēn<ɣ>'ttā, JN תִּנְיָא tēn<n>'ttā, Md tina 'fig tree', Ar tīn- 'fig(s), fig tree(s)', snglt. tīn-at- 'fig, fig tree', Ak tittu(m) (pl. tinātum) id. ¶ KB 1544-5, Lv. T II 536, Sl. 1205-6, Ln. 325, BK I 213, Hv. 64 || EC: Sml {R} dēym 'fig tree, fig', pl. dēymo ¶ R SS II 123 || NrOm: Ym {C} te'ā 'sycamore' ¶ C SE III 85 || D {ɣKm.} *tōy-, {GS} *tōɣ- 'e fig tree' > Prj tōy '*Ficus glomerata*', Gdb tōy marin id. (marin 'tree'), Gdb toiā ≙ tōya, Knd tōga, Png tōga mar, Mnd tūge 'fig tree', Kui tōga 'fig, fig tree', Ku tōya 'fig' ¶¶ D no. 3537, GS 188 [no. 478] ¶¶ The cns. -g- in Knd, Png, Mnd and Kui is still puzzling. Krishnamurti (Km. 33-4) claimed (without formulating a clear phonetic law) that -g- of several D lges, incl. some lges of the SCD, CD and NED branches, may go back to pD *-y- ◇ ≠φ Blz. DA 160

[no. 80] (equating the D root with Arm $t^h u z$ 'dried fig' and Gk B $\tau \tilde{\upsilon} \kappa \omicron \nu$ 'fig tree' [cp. F II 818] and HS {Blz.} * $t i k$ - 'fig').

2243. * $t \ddot{u} \text{?} \text{?} \text{?}$ 'two' > IE * $d w \bar{o}(\underline{u})$ 'two' m. (and * $d w \bar{a} j$ f./ntr., {Huld} * $d u w \bar{a} j$ f.) > OI m. $d(\underline{u}) v a u$, f./ntr. $d(\underline{u}) v \bar{a}$, YAv m. $d u u a$, ntr. $d u u a \bar{e}$ - $\check{c} a$, KhS $d u v a$, NPrs $d u$ [d \bar{o}], Psh $d \omega a$, Oss: I $d \bar{z} w w \bar{a} \sim d u w \bar{a}$, D $d u w(\underline{w}) \bar{a}$ 'two' ||| Arm $t p l y n l e \check{r} k u$ id. ||| Gk Mc $d \omega o$, Gk Ep/Hm $\delta \acute{u}(F) \omega$, Gk A $\delta \acute{u} o$ id. ||| pAl {O} * $d u w \bar{o}$ (f. * $d u w \bar{a} j$), {Huld} * $d \ddot{u}$ (f. * $d \ddot{u}$) id. > Al: T/G $d y d \ddot{u}$, SG/Be $d \ddot{u}$, P $d \ddot{u}$, f. $d \ddot{u}$ ||| L m./ntr. $d u o$, f. $d u a e$ ||| Clt {Matas.} * $d w \bar{a} w$ 'two' > OIr $d \acute{a} u$, $d \acute{o} u$, $d \acute{o}$, $d \acute{a}$, NIr $d \acute{a}$ id., Brtt {RE} * $d w \bar{a} y$ m. 'tree' > OW $d o u$, MW $d e u$, W $d a u$, Crn $d o w$, $d e u$, OBr, MBr $d o u$, Br {Hm.} $d a o u$ id. ||| Gmc 'two': Gt m. $t w a i$, f. $t w \bar{o} s$, ntr. $t w a$, OSw Ru $t u a i r$, OSw m. $t w \bar{e} r \sim t w \bar{e}$, f. $t w \bar{a} r$, ntr. $t u$, ON m. $t v e i r$, f. $t v \bar{a} r$, ntr. $t v \acute{a} \sim t v a u$, OHG m. $z w \bar{e} n \bar{e}$, f. $z w \bar{o}$, ntr. $z w e i$, eNHG (before the 18th c.) m. $z w e e n$, f. $z w o$, ntr. $z w e i$ (> NHG $z w e i$ and $z w o$), OSx m. $t w \hat{e} n e$, f. $t w \bar{a}$, ntr. $t w \hat{e}$, AS m. $t w \bar{e} \check{z} e n$, f. $t w \bar{a}$, ntr. $t \bar{u}$ 'two', NE $t w o$ (and † $t w a i n$); the ON, OSw, OSx, AS and OHG m. forms are due to analogical restructuring within the paradigm of cases and genders (in WGmc based probably on pGmc forms of obl. cases, incl. gen. * $t w a y \bar{o} n$ and dat. * $t w a y i y \bar{o} m$ that preserve the pIE du. morpheme *- $o j$ -, see Brg. DK 55ff.) ||| Lt $d \ddot{u}$ m., $d v \acute{i}$ f., Ltv $d i v i$, Pru $d w a i$ 'two' ||| Sl * $d(\underline{b}) v a$ 'two' m. > OCS $\Delta \bar{b} \bar{b} a d \bar{b} v a$, Blg, R, Uk $d b a$, SCr, Slv $d v \bar{a}$, Cz, Slk $d v a$, P $d w a$; Sl * $d(\underline{b}) v \check{e}$ 'two' f. > OCS $\Delta \bar{b} \bar{b} \bar{e} d \bar{b} v \check{e}$, Blg, R $d b e$, Uk $d b i$, SCr $d b \bar{e} \check{z} d v \acute{i} j e$, Slv $d v \bar{e}$, Cz $d v \check{e}$, Slk $d v e$, P $d w i e$ ||| Tc: A $w u$ m. (< * $d w o - \underline{u}$), $w e$ f. (< f. * $d w a - \underline{j}$), B $w i$ m./f. (< * $d w o - \underline{j}$) 'two' | The initial component of a cd: NaIE * $d w i$ - 'two-, bi-' > OI $d v i$ -, Av $b i$ -, Arm $t p l y h - e \check{r} k i$ -, Gk $\delta \iota$ -, OL $d v i$ -, L $b i$ -, ON $t v i$ -, Lt $d v i$ - || HrLw $t u - w a - i$ 'two', accus. $t u w a n z i$ 'duos', Ht cd $d a - y u g a$ 'two-year-old', $d \bar{a} n$ 'for the second time' ¶¶ P I 228-9, Mn. 174-6, EI 399-400 (* $d w o j$ - ~ * $d(u) w o j y o s$ 'two, group of two' [cardinal collective], * $d w e h_3(\underline{u}) \sim *d u' w e h_3(\underline{u})$ 'two' du.), M K I 82-4, M E I 761-3, Bai. 163-4, Ab. I 385-6, F I 424-5, WH I 381-3, Huld 56, StSS 200-1, O 79, Me. EAC 165, RE 141, SEv. 45, LP § 13.3, YGM-1 164, Flr. 151, Fs. 484-5, Vr. 601-2, Ho. 357-8, Ho. S 76, Kb. 1271, OsS 1310-11, KM 896, Frn. 107-8, En. 164, Tp. P A-D 395, ESSJ V 185-8, KT 158, Wn. I 585-6, Matas. E 110, Hm. 141, Ad. 598-9, Ad. H 19, 137, Ts. E III 5, Mer. HHG 16, Mer. SGA 283 ||| HS: S * $t a w \text{?} a m$ - ~ CS * $t u \text{?} \bar{a} m$ - 'twins, a twin, sth. double': S * $t a w \text{?} a m$ - > BHb $\text{תּוּאִים} t \bar{o} \text{?} \bar{a} m - \bar{i} m$ pl. 'twins', Ar $\text{توأم} \sim$

تَوَامٌ taʷam- 'one of the twins', Ak tū(ʔ)am-tu 'twins; sth. double (double door, double bag etc.)'; CS *tuʔām- > BHb תאָוּמִים təʔō'm-īm 'twins', Ar تَوَامٌ tuʔām- 'joint à un autre, faisant pendant à un autre; qui vient à la suite d'un autre'; d. CS *taʔʔum- 'twin' > Ar تَوُّمٌ taʔum-, OA *taʔʔum(-ā) (→ Ak NA taʔʔum- 'double, of twins'), BHb תאָוּמִים təʔōm-īm 'twins'; Sr W تَوُّمٌ t̄ā<ʔ>'mā, JPA *tāmā [*tōmō] 'twin' → Gk Θωμᾶς 'Thomas' ¶ GB 871-2, KB 1561, BK I 189, ≠ Br. G I 384 (an unc. hyp. connecting S *taʷam- ~ *tuʔām- with Ar ʷāʔama 'agree, live peacefully with'), Sd. 1340, 1364 || ? WCh: AG {Tk.} *°tō 'repeat, do again' > Ang {Flk.} tō, tu-tō 'do sth. over and over again', Ang K {J} tō 'repeat (an act)' ¶ Flk. 294, Tk. (p.c., 2002), J TAngK s.v. tō || U: FU (att. in BF) *to-ńće 'second' (*-ńće is a sx marking ordinal numerals) > F toinen (gen. toisen), Es teine (gen. teise), Δ tōine, Vp toyńe (gen. toyžen), Lv tʷoy (gen. tʷoyz) 'second' ¶ SK 1327-8, Kt. 444 || A ≈ *t̄ú:ʷ∇ 'two' ({SDM97} *tūwʷ, {SDM} *t̄jubu) > Tg *jube- 'two' > Ewk, Sln jū-r, Lm jō-r ɘ jū-r, Neg jū-l, Ork, Ud žū, Nn Nh {On.} žuz, žuz-r, {STM} žuz-r, Nn Bk žū, žuz-rz, Ul žuz-l, Ork dū, WrMc {Z} чжувэ, Mc Sb žū, Jrc {Kiy.} žuʷe 'two' ¶ Tg *ju- < pre-Tg *dju- from pA *t̄ú:-? ¶ STM I 276-7, Krm. 234, On. 175, Y no. 2736, Klz. MS 150, Kiy. 132 [no. 637], Z 1016-17, S AJ 215 [no. 132] || Ko: [1] pKo {SDM} *tuburh, {S} (in S AJ) *tub|wir 'two' > OKo {Lee} tüpör ~ tüβör, eMKo [NR] {Blz.} tufuri (sc. tuɸuri), MKo {Lee} turh, {SDM} tūr / tūrḥ-, tu'ur, NKo, Ko Ph tūl, Ko Sl tūl, Ko Ks tūl, Ko Hm tūl || [2] pKo {S} *tubu- > MKo, NKo tū- {MLC} 'two, a couple' in cds and as the first component of nominal phrases; pKo *tuburh 'two' > MKo tūr / tūrḥ-, tu,ur, NKo tūl ¶ S AJ 255 [no. 94], S QK no. 94, Nam 166, MLC 501, 509, Lee GKS 174, Mr. KJ 245, Blz. N I 128 || M *ž̄iḷw̄rin ~ *ž̄uirin 'two' > MM [S] ž̄ir in 'two', WrM {MED} ž̄ir in, HIM {BMR} жиpин 'two', Dg ž̄ūr(ū) 'pair', Mnr H {SM} ž̄ūr 'couple, pair' ¶ H 90, MED 1060, BMR II 179, S AJ 238 [no. 98], SM 96 || ? T: [1] *t̄ū- ́ 'making a pair to, a second one (just like this one)' → 'equal, counterpart, corresponding to so.\sth.', 'a place opposite to this one' > NaT *t̄ūš > OT t̄uḷ:š id., OT U t̄uḷ:š 'one of the same age, comrade', 'counterpart', Tkm dūš 'approximately equal' (ol biḡ duḷ:š bar 'he is approximately of our age', lit. 'he our [age]-equal is'), Qrg, StAlt tuš, Tv, Tf d_uš 'a place opposite to this one' (StAlt tuž-im-da-ʷi 'one who is opposite to me', lit. 'opposite-my-in-being'), Qrg tuš-tuq 'corresponding,

counterpart', Yk *tus* 'the side in front of so.', Chv L *тѣл тьл*, Chv H *тб̆л* 'a certain place; just; opposite'; NaT **t'ũš* \rightarrow M **tus* 'opposite (gegenüber)' > WrM {Gl., Rm.} *tus* 'gegenüber', {Kow.} *тос* 'contre, vis-à-vis, devant', Kl {Rm.} *tus* 'gegenüber', {KRS} *тѹс* 'opposite, face to face', Ord {Ms.} *t'us*, Mnr H {SM, T} *t'us* 'vis-à-vis, en face, vis-à-vis de, en face de', 'opposite' (cf. ¶ KW 412, Kow. 1823, SM 437, T 367, Gl. III 180, Ms. O 683) ¶ [2] SDM suggested a T etymon {SDM} **Т ▽ b ▽ r* (= **t' |t' ▽ b ▽ r*) 'second' > *џџ* Blgh {SDM97} *tωirēm* (the source?; not mentioned in Erd.) and Chv *тєпѣр тєб_ьр* 'another'; but Jeg. and Fed. suggested a more plausible et.: Chv L *тєпѣр* 'another' < *тата пѣр* 'noch (*тата*) ein (*пѣр*), *тєпрє* 'another' < *тата пѣррє* 'noch ein' (*пѣррє* is 'one') (cp. VTt TYK {TTDS} *tābьr* 'once more' < *тауь бьр*, lit. 'noch ein') ¶ Cl. 558, Rs. W 501, DTS 590, Tz. UIS 102, Rl. III 1508-9, Rh. 922, TkR 287, BT 159-60, Jud. 774, TvR 184, Ra. 146, Pek. 2854-5, Ash. XIII 297-301 and XV 28-33, Fed. II 208. 214, Jeg. 243, 245, ChVS 208, 210, TTDS 435 ¶¶ SDM 1374-5 (A **tjubu* > Tg **jube-*, M **ʒiwrin* ~ **ʒuirin*, Ko **tubu-*, **tuburh* 'two' + err. T **Т ▽ b ▽ r*), DQA no. 2247, S AJ 33, 292 [no. 424] (pA **djüw ▽* 'two'), Blz. N I 110, 112-13, 118-21, 128 ¶¶ ?φ K **tqu-* 'two' in extended stems: [1] **tqu-b-* 'pair, twins' > OG, G *tqub-i* ~ *tqup-i*, Mg *tqup-* ~ *tqub-*, Lz *tqub-*, Sv UB/Ln {TK} *tqwib*, L {TK} *tqub* 'twin(s); an equal one; couple, pair', G *tqup-ad* 'in twos, in pairs', *tqup-* 'zwei Dinge aufeinanderlegen', Sv UB {GP} *tqwibd* adv. 'in pairs', *tquba* 'one of a pair', [2] **°tqu-č-* > G *tquči* 'pair of joint fruits\nuts, pair' ¶¶ K 184-5, K² 194, Abul. 415, DCh. 1232, Chx. 137, TK 722, GP 261 ¶¶ The K stems may belong here only if the "harmonic cluster" **tq* goes back to the cluster **tʔ* (cp. GZ **čqal-* 'water, well' < N **čīṯhA* [= **čīṯhA?*] 'be wet\moist; moisture [water etc.]') or there is another source (ext.?) of K **q* ◇ Cf. Mng. E-1 23 (IE, U, Ko), IS MS 338 (IE, U, Ko), AD KJRE 110-11 (IE, S, U, Tg, Ko, K), ≈ Blz. IET ∇ (IE, A, mentioning BF and rejecting the S cognate [on the basis of Br.'s unc. hyp. connecting S **taʔam-* ~ **tuʔām-* with Ar *ʔāʔama* 'agree, live peacefully with' [not 'imitate']; Blz. mentioned similar words in other lges: Austronesian **Duwa*, Ainu *tu* 'two', Sino-Tibetan **Tur* 'pair' and Cherkes *tū* 'two'), Tk. (p.c.) (Ang, IE); / AD AltAD no. 4, ≈ Gr. II no. 404 (**tu* 'two') (IE, U, A, Ko, Ai).

2244. ?₂ **taʔ' ▽* 'towards (smth.)' > IE: NaIE **dō* 'towards', {P} 'herzu' > Gmc **tō* prp. 'zu' > AS *tō*, OSx *tō*, OHG *zu*, NHG *zu*, NE *to* ¶ Clt {Matas.} **tō* 'to' > OIr *tō-* ~ *do-* ~ *du-*, OW *di*, W *dy*, OBr *do*

id. ||| L *dō-ni-cum*, *dōnec* 'so lange als, bis daß, bus endlich' ||| Sl **dō* 'up to', 'towards' > OCS, OR **Δο** *δο* 'usque, ad', Blg, R *до* 'up to', Slk *do* id.f, Ukr *до* 'towards', 'to' (direction), Cz, Slv *do* 'up to, to', Pol *do* 'up to' ¶ P 181-2, Matas. E 381, ESSJ V 37-8, Vs. 519 || **HS**: Ar {BK} *tā-*, particule inséparable, s'emploie dans les serments (+ gen.), e.g. *tāllāhi* 'j'en jure par Dieux' ¶ BK I 188.

2244a. ₂ ≈ **ta₁'i₁* 'to tear' > **HS**: C: DhI {EEN} *d'ā₁-* v. 'tear' ||| SC: Kz {E} *da₁-* v. 'bite' ¶ EEN 27, E SC 163 (SC **dā₁-* v. 'rend, tear') || Ch: WCh: AG: Su {J}, MntI {J} *tē*, {ChC} *tê*, Kfr {Nt.} *tē* v. 'tear' | BT: Glm {Sch.} *tá-(ā)lá* id. ||| CCh: BM: Hld {ChL} *túwá*, Wmd {ChL} *tuwa* id. ¶ J S 84, J ChMGB, Sch. BTL, ChC s.v. 'to tear', ChL II 106 and 116. Nt. s.v. *tē* || **IE**: NaIE **dā-* / **də-*, **dā₁-* / **də₁-* / **dī-* v. 'divide, tear\cut into pieces' > OI *dāti*, *dya₁ti* 'cuts up, divides, mows', *dayatē* 'divides; participates' ||| Gk *δαίωμα* v. 'divide', *δάρις*, *δάρις*, *δαυτός* {Ch.} 'repas, banquet où chacun a sa part' ({LS} 'meal, banquet') ||| Gl arcanto-dan ~ arganto-dan, 'monetarius' (lit. 'silver divider') ||| ? pAl {O} **daña* (from **daya-* under the infl. of other verbs in *-*ña*) > Al *daj* (aor. *dava*) 'divide' ¶ P 175-6, EI 161 (**deh₁(i)-* 'cut up, divide'), M K II 20-1, Ch. 247, F I 341-2, Billy 13-14, O 54 ◇ ≠ BmK 312 (equating the IE √ with S *√*ṭhn* v. 'grind', SC {E} **ḍah-* v. 'knock' and K **ṭex-* v. 'break').

2245. **tU₁b₁∇* (= **tüba?*) (or **tiba?*) 'grass, straw; to cut grass\plants' > **HS**: S **tib₁∇₁n-* 'straw' > BHb *ṭṭṭ* *tēb₁en*, JA [Trg.], JEA *ṭṭṭ* *tib₁'nā*, Sr *ṭṭṭ* *tēb₁'nā*, Ar *tibn-* ~ *tabn-* 'straw', Ak *tibru* 'straw, chaff' ('Stroh, Häcksel') ¶ KB 1553, GB 870, Js. 1645, Lv. T II 524, Sl. 1203, BK I 192, Sd. 1354-5 || ?ϕ Ch: pAG {Stl. VZCh} **d₁'i₁b*, {Hf.} **ṭip* v. 'harvest' > Gmy {Hf.} *ṭip*, Ang {Hf.} *ṭip*, Su {J} *d₁'ip* id. ||| ? CCh: Bcm {Sk.} *d₁aw₁* id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'harvest', J S 64, Hf. AG, Stl. VZCh, Sk. BW s.v. *d₁aw₁* ¶¶ The origin of the initial glottalization in Ch is not clear ||| **K**: [1] GZ **tib-* 'grass' > G *tiv-a* 'hay' ({K}: < *tib-va*, n. act. of *tib-* v. 'mow'), G Aj *tiba-*, Mg *tib-* 'hay', Lz *tib-* 'grass'; [2] GZ **tib-* 'mow' > OG, G *tib-*, Mg, Lz *tip-* id. ¶ K 94, K² 71, FS K 149-50, FS E 162-3 ||| **A**: NaT **ṭ₁'₁o₁'₁* Pan 'straw, husk, chaff' > Nog *toban* 'straw', Qzq, ET *topan* 'husk, chaff', Qq *topan* 'chaff, bran', Qrg *topon* 'chaff', Shor *toban* 'dust of grain, dust of rotten wood' ¶ KrkR 648, Rl. III 1232, MM 349, Sht. 202, Nj. 310, NogR 353, Jud. 751 ◇ NaT **o* is likely to go back to an earlier **U* (if this was **ü*, we may suppose regr. as. **ü...a* > **o...a*). K **tib-* suggests that the

vw. of the N word was either *ü (because K *i is one of the regular reflexes of N *ü) or *i.

2246. *tubɜ̃ 'tail, back' > U: FU *tuppɜ̃ 'back (dos), spine' > Chr: L/H τυπ, KB/U/B τυρ 'Rücken' | Vt тыбыр 'back (dos), backbone', Vt Sr tɪbɪr, Vt Kz tɔbɔr 'back (dorsum), spine' || Hg Δ τορ 'der dicke Teil der Schweinskeule oder des Schinkens', Δ τομπ 'Oberschale des Rindes', Hg τομπορ 'buttock, haunch', † 'thigh (Schenkel)' ¶ UEW 538, MRS 599, Ep. 121, U3S 432 || HS: CS *√tbɜ̃ 'be behind, follow' > Ar {Ln., BK} √tbɜ̃ G 'follow', {BK} tabaɜ̃- 'foot (of quadrupeds)', ?σ Ug √tbɜ̃ G 'go, depart' ¶ Ln. 293-6, BK I 190-1, A no. 243, OLS 461, Hnr. 184 || (+ext.) B *√dʒfr 'hind' > Ah dʒæffər 'derrière', Gh √dʒfr v. 'be behind, follow', Kb, Gd, ETwl, Ty, Rf, Izn, Mz, Wrg √dʒfr, CM √dʒfr, Shl {Z} √dʒfr ɘ √tʃfr, Gd eʃfər 'follow', Zng {TC} eʃfər 'avoir une dette' (pf. yəʃfer) ¶ Fc. 261, NZ 451-3, DCTC 285, TC Z 316 || Om: SOM: Dm {Fl.} tɪfɔ 'behind' || NrOm Kf {C} tɛfɔ̃ 'kidneys'; ? NrOm *√dʒpʰ > Bnc {Wdk.} dáb v. 'follow', Ym {C} dɪpʰ-, {Wdk.} dùpò ~ dùpò v. 'hunt', Kf {C} dabbɔ̃ 'caccia con la trappola \ il lacciuolo' ¶ Fl. OO 317, C SE III 72 and IV 424, 504, Wdk. BY 100, 121 ¶¶ B *dʒf may be explained by mte. (*tbɜ̃ > *tɪp > *tʃp > B *dʒf). The cnss *rʰ and f in the Om lges go back to the cluster *-bɜ̃- || A ≈ *d|taʔubʰü 'end, edge' (× N ≈ *daʔûbü 'edge, end', q.v. s.v.) > Tg *dubē 'end (of an object), top' ({SDM} 'конец, край') > Ewk duwɜ̃ ~ duɜ̃ɜ̃, Neg duwɜ̃, WrMc {Z} дубэ, дубэнь id., 'point (of a sword)', Mc Sb {Y} duvə, duvu 'tip, point, end', {Mrm.} dube 'oberes Ende, Spitze, Schluß', Lm duwɜ̃t 'top (of a tree), point', Orc, Ul du(w)ɜ̃, Ud, Nn Nh/Bk/KU duɜ̃ 'end, edge; point' ¶ STM I 218, Krm. 229, On. 164, Z 831-2, Y #2604, Klz. MS 140 || M *daɣus (< *daβus) > MM {H} da,us, dawus 'complete', WrM {MED} daɣus- v. 'end, finish, lapse; become accomplished', HIM дуща- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'end, finish, lapse', Kl {KRS} дущ- vt. 'end, finish, complete', {Rm.} dūs- 'zu Ende sein, aus sein; zu Ende bringen, abschließen', Brt дуща- 'end, finish; exterminate, liquidate', ShY dūs-, Dg dausa- v. 'end, finish', Ord d_ūs- 'atteindre\toucher au but; s'achever, prendre fin, cesser d'exister, mourir' ¶ MED 220, BMR II 81, Chr. 206-7, KRS 218, KW 104, MYC 233, T DgJ 135, Ms. O 164 || pKo {S} *túih 'behind, back, North' > MKo túi / túih-, NKo twi ¶ S QK no. 367, Nam 168, MLC 517, Rm. SKE 275-6 || pJ {S} *túpí n. 'finish', 'at the end' > OJ tupi, MJ túφí 'finish', J T/K cúi-ni, J Kg cúí-ni 'at last, finally' ¶ S QJ no. 37, Kenk. 2048 ¶¶ SDM 1381 (pA

*t'ú|óbù 'end, edge' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 2264, S AJ 71, TMS I 218, Rm. SKE 275-6, ADb. SR 12 ¶¶ The meanings of Tg *dubē and pJ *túpí are due to contamination with the heritage of N *daʔúbü 'edge, end' | | ?σ IE: NaIE *dubb- (if the original meaning was 'tail') (× NaIE *°dop- ~ *°dub- 'tip, summit' < N *tôpæ 'head, top' [q.v. ffd.]) > Ltv {ME} d u b a 'a sheaf (standing upright), aufgestellte Garbe' ||| Gmc *tuppa 'plait (of hair)' > MHG zopf, NHG Zopf id., ON toppr 'aufgebundenes Haar' ¶ ME I 508, Ptrs. H 70-1, ≈ P 227, HDEL 1347, 1545 ◇ FU *-pp- and IE *dubb- are likely to go back to the the cns. cluster *-ʔb- .from N *daʔúbü.

2246a. ?σ₂ *tæb₁∇₁š∇ ≈ 'heel; to trample, kick with the heel' > HS: Eg NK t b s 'heel' > DEg t b s > Cpt: Sd † B C t i b s, B † I B C t h i b s id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 || A: M *debse- > WrM {MED} debse- v. 'stamp the feet, trample', HIM {MED, BMR} дэвсэ-, Brt дэбһэ- id., Kl {Rm.} d e w s a - 'mit dem Fuße auf etwas treten, trampeln, stampfen, auf etwas stehen', {KRS} д e в с - 'kick with the foot', MM [S] d e b s e - v. 'dance', Ord d_ebs_e- 'frapper le sol des pieds' ¶ MED 239, BMR II 98, Chr. 214, KRS 191, KW 90, H 34, Ms. O 132 ◇ It is tempting to adduce U: ?? OHg fxvii, Hg id. t a p o s - 'tread (on/down), trample' (¶ EWH 1481), but it is more likely to be a derived descendant of U id. *tapp∇ v. 'trample' (< N ? *tābHa or *tabHE v. 'trample, kick, crumple, press') ◇ Qu.

2247. *taʔæga 'rock, mountain; top' > HS: B: Ah etaq (pl. itaqqan) 'rocher à pic un peu surplombant' ¶ Fc. 1919 || Om: {AD} *dāk-/*tak- 'mountain' > NOM: Ma {Gt.} dagó 'montagna', Kf {R} 'tāqō 'Stein, Fels', {C} taqqō [takqō] 'pietra' ||| SOM: Hm {Ldl} duqa 'mountain' ¶ Bnd. AL 135, C SE IV 507, Gt. 350, R K 89, Ldl H s.v. duqa || C: Ag: Xm {BSW} tæg^ωa 'up', {R} adv. and postp. dāg 'up, on', bī-dāg 'im/auf dem Lande', dāges 'upon', dāg'sēsa 'upper', Bln {R} dāg postp. 'on, above', Q {R} dig 'über, auf' ||| Bj {R} 'tagega 'Höhe', ta'gig 'height', Bj A {AD} ?i ta'gīg 'highland, mountainous region', ta'gēga 'high' ¶ Ss. B 61, Ss. PEC 18, Bl. 184, Grg. 118, Brl. 89, Sr. 294, R WB 98, R QW 47-8, R Ch II 352, R WBd 223, BSW KhWL 7, ADP BFN ¶¶ Blz. OL (HS *daguh 'mountain, rock') ¶¶ Since the connection of the above data with EC {Ss.} *dagh-, {AD} *tag∇h- 'stone, rock', with B *√ d y 'stone' and with Ch *d∇g- ~ *d∇g- 'stone' remains too qu. on phonetic and semantic grounds, it has not been taken here into account ||| A *tæga 'high, top; mountain' > T *tāg 'mountain'

({ADb.} *t-) > OT таҕ, Tkm dāγ, Tk daǰ, Ggz dā, Az, CrTt daγ, Qzl {Jk.} taγ ~ tāγ, Tv даг d_aγ, Tf d_aγ, Slr dāγ, SY, Ln, ET, Xk taγ, Uz тoт таγ, CrTt таv, Qmq, Nog, Qz1, Qq, VTt, Bsh taω, Qrg tō, StAlt tū id., Chv L тy 'mountain, hill', Yk tīā 'mountain, forest' ¶ ADb. Ttd 52 [no. 18], ADb. DV 54, S AJ 180 [no. 54], Cl. 463, ET VGD 117, Rs. W 454, Ra. 168, Md. 27, 178, Jk. K 31, Dr. TM II 439-40, Fed. II 240, Jeg. 254 || M **dege- 'above, up' -d→ M *de^ge-re 'above, up' > MM de^gere ([PP] de^gere, [MA, IM] dēre), WrM degere {MED} adv., postp. 'above, on top of', adj. 'high', HIM дээр {MED} id., {BMR} 'above, on top of', n. 'top', Brt дээрэ, Kl {KRS} дээр dēr adv., postp. 'above, on top of', adv. 'high (высоко)', {Rm.} dērā 'ober, über', Dx žiɜɜ, Dg dēr, Mgl {Rm.} dērā 'on, on top of', Mnr H {T} dere, {SM} d₃re 'en haut, sur; toit', Ord d₃re 'en haut, au desus, sur', Dg {Iv.} d₃ere 'top'; M *dege-dū > WrM {MED} degedū, HIM {MED, BMR} дээд, Brt дээдэ 'higher, upper; highest', Kl {KRS} adj. дээд 'upper', {Rm.} dēdi 'der obere, der höchste, der beste', Mnr H {SM} d₃ed₃i 'upper'; M *deg₃e₃dE^g- > WrM {MED} degde-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt дэгдэ- 'rise', Ord d₃eg₃d₃- 'être haut sur jambes', M↔ Ewk d₃gdi-, Sln d₃gd₃-, WrMc {Z} дэ̄кдэ- 'rise' ¶ S AJ 239 [no. 129], MED 242-3, Luv. 170-1, BMR II 101, 116, 118, Chr. 219-20, KRS 194, KW 91, T 328-9, SM 49, Ms. O 134, 140-1, STM I 228-9, Z 800-1 || ???σ Tg *deg- v. 'fly' > Ewk, Lm, Neg d₃ɜ-, Orc d₃ili, Ud di₃li-, Ul, Nn Nh d₃gd₃-, WrMc {Z} дэ̄б-, Mc Sb d₃y₃- id.; NrTg: Ewk d₃ɜi ~ d₃ɜī, Sl, Neg d₃ɜī, Lm d₃ɜi 'bird' ¶ STM I 228-9, On. 166, Z 798 || pKo *tə 'still more, moreover' > NKo tə id. ¶ S AJ 256, S QK no. 147, MLC 439 || pJ *tākà 'high' > OJ taka-, MJ tākà- 'high', J: T/Kg taká-, K tākà- 'high'; OJ take {S, SDM} 'mountain', J T/Kg také, J K tákè {Kenk.} 'height; peak, mountain' ¶ S AJ 271 [no. 162], S QJ no. 162, Mr. 539, 841, BJRS II 234, 237, Kenk. 1893 ¶¶ SDM 1359-60 (pA *tēga 'high; top, mountain' > M *de^ge-, Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2236, S AJ 283 [no. 188], Pp. VG 58, 89 (M, Tg), Rm. SKE 260, Rm. EAS I 51, 145 || U: Sm {Jn.} *t¹ä¹k¹w¹ь (= *t¹č¹säk¹t¹w¹m¹∇) 'das Obere, Oberlauf' > Ne T Y {Ter.} dat. sg. тю” 'up, to the sides', Ne T dat. sg. {Ter.} тю”ц̄ 'up', {Lh.} tá̄βūĩ ɘ́ tú̄ūĩ 'up', Ne T тю”ц̄й 'top, upper', Ne F {Lh.} dat. č̄ĩ̄ūβ 'up', En {Cs.} tē̄i 'top', Slq Tm {KD} tām 'aufwärts', Slq Ch {Cs.} tammel 'das oben befindliche', Kms {Cs.} thâwа 'aufwärts' ¶ Jn. 155, Ter. 699, Cs. 146, 186, 200, 257, Lh. s.v. tá̄βūĩ ɘ́ tú̄ūĩ and č̄ĩ̄ūβ ◊ The vowels in the Altaic lges (T *ā, M and Tg *e) may be accounted for if the N etymon was *taʔæga. But if

the vocalization hyp. of SDM97 (A *ē) is right, this A vw. corresponds to U *ä and may point to N *ä within pN *tāʔ∇ga. In Altaic there is compensatory lengthening of the vw. (evidenced by T *ā) due to the loss of the lr. Ah q, Om *-k- (and probably Sm *-k-) go back to ** -k- from N *-ʔ∇g-).

2248. ₂ *tuʔ^g∇ (or *ṭuʔ^g∇?) 'listen, hear' > HS: C {AD SF} *✓ ṭg(g) > EC: Arr {Hw.} -tteg-/-ttig- 'know' (1s ʔíttige, 2s, 3f téttege, 3m yéttige) (× N *dāhgU 'to watch, to look at?'); EC *d^ga^g- 'ear' > LEC {Bl.} *ḍa₂g- 'ear' > Af {PH} ḍag 'auricular region', Rn {Oo.} 'ḍog(-e) 'ear', {PG} ḍóg 'eardrum; hearing (ability to hear)', Bn {Hn.} ḍeg, Sml ḍeg, Sm N {Abr.} ḍég 'ear' (the vw. e on the analogy of the d. verb ḍeg-ay-sad-); ⇨ LEC *ḍa₂ga-ay- v. 'hear' > Kns {BISO}, Gdl ḍakay- 'hear', Or {Grg.}, Or H {Ow.} ḍagay-, Or B/O {Sr.} ḍagā, ḍagēta, Or O {Sr.} ḍage-a, ḍagēta, Elm {Hn.} ḍek-ay-, Arr {Hw.} ḍeg(a)y-, Kns ḍak-ay-sad- and Sml ḍeg-ay-sad- (both latter forms with sxs of benefactiveness + caus.) v. 'listen'; F also Rn {PG} ḍāg-, {Sim} ḍag-, Arr ḍeḍegaḍ-, Ya dek- v. 'hear'; Brj 'ḍaga 'ear' ¶ Ss. B 61, Bl. 137, 248, BISO s.v. ḍakay-, Abr. S 54, ZMO 115, Grg. 118, Ow. 258, Sr. 294, Sim 19, PG 88, 96, Hw. A 354-5, PH s.v. ḍag, Hn. BD, Hn. E s.v. ḍek-ay- || Ch: WCh *✓ dḳω (or *✓ dḳω) > NrBc {Stl.} *n-duḳω|y- v. 'hear' > P' {MSk.} nduḳù, Mbr {Sk.} ḍэкэ, My {Sk.} ḍэкáу-, Sir {Sk.} ḍэхíwí id. | Bd {ChL} ḍэк̣ωân, {IL in ChC} dúg̣ωà id. || CCh: Tr {Nw. in ChC} tэк̣ì id. || ECh: Kjk {DB} dug̣iye, Kjk ažigala, Mnj žîgég̣wò, Mu {J} žègég̣w, Jg {J} ḍoy-, Brg ḍòyí id.; ? Ke {Eb.} ḍígí 'think' (× N *dāhgU '↑') ¶ Stl. ZCh 252 [no. 56], JI II 184-5, ChC s.v. 'hear', Sk. MB, MSk. s.v. nduḳù, DB s.v. Kjk dug̣iye, Blz. EChWL no. 40 || A *ṭuʔ^g∇ v. 'hear, listen' > M *duʔuʔ- (< pA *ṭuʔ^g∇ + ext.?) > WrM {MED} ḍuʔuʔ- v. 'hear, listen', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'recognize (унаватъ)', Brt дцула- 'hear, listen', Ord ḍū- 'entendre'; ⇨ M *duʔuʔ-ga- > MM [S] ḍuʔuʔq̣ga-, [PP] ḍuʔuʔqa 'let know, inform', WrM ḍuʔuʔga- {BMR} id., 'advise', HIM дцулга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'let know, inform' ¶ H 40, MED 271, BMR II 78-9, Chr. 205, Ms. O 160, Pp. MA 147, Pp. PP 122 || NaT *ṭuʔ- (JADb.) *duʔ- v. 'perceive, hear, feel' > OT {Cl.} ṭuʔ- v. 'feel, perceive, notice', Tk ḍuʔ- v. 'feel, hear, learn', Az duʔ-, ET tuʔ- 'feel, learn', Ggz, Tkm duʔ-, VTt, Bsh ṭḅy-, CrTt, Qq, Nog, Qrg, Uz, ET tuʔ- v. 'feel'; Qp ⇨ Chv L тцй- 'feel, notice' ¶ Cl. 567, ET VGD 290, Ash. XIV 92-4, Fed. II 241, Jeg. 255, Rs. W 497, ADb. Ttd 59-60 || Tg ({DQA} *°duya-): WrMc {Z} дцйлэ- 'interrogate, investigate a complaint'; but WrMc {Z} дцйлэ-,

дцйбулэ- 'collate' may have been influenced by or borrowed from Chn d_цу 'pair; to collate' ¶ STM I 220, Z 829 || ??σ,φ pJ {SDM} *tua-p- 'ask (fragen)' > OJ tωop-, MJ τόφ-, J T tò- ~ τό-, J K τό-, Kg tò- ¶ S QJ no. 1171, Mr. 771, Kenk. 2037-8 ¶¶ SDM 1383 (pA *tuyu 'listen, perceive' [without explaining the M cns. *-y-] > T, J, M + unc. Tg: Lm dūya 'noise' and v. duya-dūya- 'shout, cry'), DQA no. 2268, Pp. VG 139, ADb. SR 18, ADb. Tdt 59-60 ¶¶ The loss of N *-g- (or its transformation into *-y-) in T, Tg and J is still to be elucidated ◇ C *t̥- and EC *d̥- go back to a cluster *t- + *ʔ.

2249. (₂?) *tiy∇ 'to flow' ([in IE] → ?σ 'to run quickly') > HS: S *°-tīf- > Ar ✓ tyf, -tīf- G {BK} 'être liquide et couler', {Fr.} 'fluidum fuit, fluxit', {Hv.} 'flow and spread' (water); ?? cp. also Ak ✓ tχχ G (inf. tαχāχα) 'übergießen' ¶ BK I 212-13, Fr. I 206, Hv. 64, Sd. 1301 || K *teχ-/ *tχ- 'pour' > OG, G tχ- 'pour, spill', Sv dətχel 'liquid', Mg (n)tχ-, Lx ntχ- v. 'fall'; ?? (acc. to K²) Sv šdχ-, štχ- v. 'exhaust', šdeχ- 'be exhausted' ¶¶ K 98, K² 70, Chx. 508, Schm. 115-16 || ?σ IE *deḷH₂-/ *dyeH-/ *dyH₂- > NaIE {P} *deya-/ *dyā-, *dyā-, *dī- 'fly, hurry, run quickly' > OI dīyatī 'flies, soars' || Gk Hm δύον 'I fled', Gk δύεμαι {Ch.} 'se hâter, s'élancer dans', {LS} v. 'hurry, speed', Gk Hm δύεσθαι 'hasten away' || Clt {Matas.} *°dēno- adj. 'fast' > OIr {Thr.} dían 'swift', déne 'swiftness', {Matas.} [y] dían 'creber' || ? Ltv diēt 'to dance' ¶ P 187 (IE 'eilen, nacheilen, streben'), M K II 46, Ch. 281, Hofm. 61, F I 389-90, Thr. § 257, Matas. E 95, ≈ Kar. I 217-18, ≈ EI 208 (*dih₁- [pres. *dih₁ye/o-] 'fly; move quickly') ◇ An alternative etymological comparison: N *tiq∇ > Ak tαχāχα 'übergießen', IE and K (as above) ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS MS 347 s.v. 'течы' *tα[h₁]α) equated K with the dubious IE √ **dā- 'fließen' (P 175) (which is based on an implausible comparison of Iir *dāna- 'stream' with Arm տառնկ տառնկ 'moist, humid' and Al dhjamē n. 'fat').

2250. *t'e¹yaw'a¹ 'fire' > HS: C: ? Bj {R} 'dihē 'embers, charcoal' || EC: ? Sa {R} tatāḥ dāh 'Funken machen; das Feuer sprühen\spritzen'; C → Tgy ተተዕበሰ tətəf bələ id. (the direction of the borrowing is not clear; but since the word is isolated in S, the C source is more probable); || C → Mb -totoxo~-totoko vi. 'boil'; ??σ,φ SC: Ehret adduced Brn čaxasa 'salt (from ashes of burnt reeds)' ¶ E SC 193 (equating Mb, DhI and Brn and reconstructing SC *tαx- vi. 'burn'), R WBd 64, R S II 358 || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mch.} díye, BtG {Srp.} dié 'fire' || ECh ≈ *✓ Tω 'fire' > Kwn {J}

tòwá, Ke {Eb.} čśwá, Kbl {Cp.}, Ll {Grgs} tùwà, Smr {J} dùwá, Nd D {J} dǒw, Tmk {Cp.} dzu, Kjk {DB} ta we id. ¶ JI II 139, ChC s.v. 'fire', Eb. 6, Lk. ZSS 77, 89-93, Blz. EChWL no. 27, DB s.v. Kjk ta we, Grgs L s.v. tùwà

|| **K**: OG, G daϑ- (aor. -daϑ-) 'brandmarken', G daϑ-i 'Brandzeichen, Brandmal, Brandeisen', G Kzq daϑ- 'braten (Zwiebeln in Fett)' ¶ Chx. 277-8 ¶ As. *t-ϑ > *d-ϑ? || **IE** *deH_u- (= {EI} *deae₂_u-) / *dH_u- > NaIE *dā_u- / *dāw- / *du(:)- (/ ? *dēw-) vt. 'burn, kindle' > OI dū-'nō-ti vt. 'burns, tortures', dū-'nah₁ 'burnt', dā'vah₁ ~ dāvah₁ 'fire, Brand' || Gk δαύω ({EI} < *dāF-jω) v. 'light up, kindle', pfc. δέδηε 'burns' (itr.), prtc. pfc. ps. δεδαυμένος || Clt {Matas.} *dāw-yo- 'kindle, burn' > OIr {Matas.} dōud n. act. 'burning', {P} dóim 'ich senge\brenne', MW deifyaw v. 'burn, singe', W dewy / inf. deifio v. id., OBr deuu 'burn', Br {Matas.} devo id., {Hm.} dev 'brûlure' || OHG zusen vt. 'to burn (up), adurere, exurere, oburere' || Lt džíáu-ti 'to hang up for drying', Ltv žaut id., vt. 'to dry' (Lt and Ltv suggest an *ē-grade *dē_u-) || pTc {Ad.} *tu- > Tc: B tu-, A, B twās- 'kindle, ignite, light' ¶ P 179-81, EI 87 (*deh_u- 'kindle, burn, blaze'), M K II 49-50, Hofm. 50, Ch. 248-9, F I 343-4, Vn. A 102, Matas. E 92-3, Hm. 153, By 427, LP § 39.1, YGM-1 166, Kb. 1270, OsS 1306-7, Frn. 117, Ad. 298-9 || **U**: FU *tew∇-t∇ 'fire' (× N *te'p'∇ 'to warm, to be warm'?) > Ugr {MF} *täwt∇, {UEW} *tüw∇-t∇ > ObU {JHl.} *tōwæt 'fire' > pVg *tāwæt id. > Vg: T tāwæt, LK tōwt, tōwt, tāwt, MK/NV tōwt, P/SV tōwt, LL tōt; pOs *tō_uæt > V/Vy tō_uæt, Ty tē_uæt, Y tēwæt, D/L tūt, Nz/Kz tūt, O tut id. | Hg tǔz (accus. tǔz-et) 'fire' ¶ MF 648, UEW 895-6, Ht. no. 631 (ObU *tō_uæt) ¶ UEW (l.c.) reconstructs pUgr *tü_u∇-t∇ or *tüw∇-t∇, Ht. no. 631 reconstructed pObU *tō_uæt, but Helimski (Hl. rHt 73-74) has shown that in stems with front vowels there is a pObU distinction between pObU *-w- (> pVg *-w-, pOs *-ϑ-) and pObU *-ϑ- (> pVg *-ϑ-, pOs *-ϑ-), hence in the stem in question the pObU (as well as pUgr and pFU) medial cns. is *-w-. In Os dialects *ō changes into ē due to the infl. of the following *w. Acc. to Hl. rHt 68-9, pVg *ā and pOs *e ({JHl.} *ǎ) correspond regularly to Hg. e, sc. go back to pFU *ä (in contradistinction to pVg *ä and pOs *ē (*ǎ) which correspond to Hg. ē and go back to higher pFU vowels). In the stem in question we have to reconstruct pFU *ä and suppose that Hg. ǔ/ǘ is here from pFU *äw || **A**: Tg: WrMc {Z} da- v. 'catch fire', {Hr} dā- 'brennen' (Feuer), WrMc {Z} da-, da-b_u- 'kindle, light fire', Mc Sb da- 'catch fire', da-va- v. 'light

fire', ? Ewk dariçī 'burning', ? Ork darrīngatū, darrīptangi 'kindling (wood) (пастопка)' ¶ STM I 200, Hr 168, 176, Z 782, 791-2, Y no-s 479 and 481 || **D** {tr.} *tī₁y₁- ({{GS}} *tyī-) 'fire', vi. 'burn' > Tm tī, tiy, Ml, Kn tī 'fire', Tu tū 'fire', Tm tī, tīy v. 'be burnt', Kt tiy- v. 'be singed/roasted', Td tiy- v. 'be singed', Kn tī v. 'burn, scorch, singe', Brh tīn 'scorching, scorching heat' ¶¶ D no. 3266, GS 202 [no. 511] ¶¶ The quality of the D vw. may be due to the infl. of *y ◇ The initial d- for the expected *t- in Bj and G may be due to the infl. of other roots (heritage of other N words) (e.g. G dag- 'brandmarken') ◇ IE -eH- (> NaIE *-ā-) and WrMc {Z} -a- suggest the presence of N *a after the lr.

2251. *toH'ü' ~ *ta|æH'ü' (= *to'Γ'ü' ~ *ta|æ'Γ'ü'?) 'bring, fetch, give' > IE *deh^ω- ~ *deh^ωw- > NaIE *dō-/*dā-, *dō_u-/*dā_u-/*du- v. 'give' > OI 'dadā-ti, Av daðā'ti 'gives', OPrs dadātu v 'let him give!' || Gk δίδωμι 'I give', {Ch.} vadj. ({{P}} pp.) δοτός {LS} 'granted' || L dā- v. 'give', pp. dātus 'given' (m. sg.) || Arm տա-մ 'I give', aor. ետու ետու (< NaIE *e-dō-m) || Olt dúo-mi 'I give', inf.: Lt dúo-ti, Ltv dôt 'to give', Pru dās t 'gives' | Sl *dǎ-ti (1s pres. pf. *da'mb) 'to give' > OCS inf. ДАТИ dati (1s ДАМЬ damь), R inf. даТЬ (1s ft. дам), SCr inf. dāti (1s dām) 'to give', Slv inf. dáti, Cz inf. dati, Slk inf. dat', P inf. dać id. || ? Clt: (*pro-dō/ə-) > Brtt {RE} *rodīmi 'give' > OW rodesit 'he gave', MW rođi ~ roi, W rhoddi ~ rhoi, Cn rū, MBr reiff, Br reiñ 'to give' ¶ Acc. to P, NaIE *dōu-/*dāu-/*du- is represented by OI dā'vanē, Av dāvōi 'zu geben', Gk Cp δυFάνοι 'er möge geben', inf. δοFεναι, and L arc. duim, duis 'dem, dēs' || ? Lc M {ABIV.} dā-/dū- v. 'give (?)', Ld dāν 'I give (?)' ¶¶ P 223-6, EI 224 (*deh₃-), M K II 13-14, F I 388-9, WH I 360-3, Ch. 279-81, Ped. VG II 473 (Brtt < *pro-d-), ≈ LP § 506 (Brtt < *pro- + Clt *to-ber-), RE 99, Slk. 105, Frn. 111-12, ESSJ IV 194-8, StSS 184, SPS II 353-7, Glh. 189-90, Vs. I 485, Ts. E III 5-11, Gsm. LW 94, 96-7, ABIV. I 85 || **U** *toye- v. 'bring, fetch, give' > F tuo-, Es too, tuu- v. 'bring, fetch' | Lp Vfs {Lgc.} tu'o'kkz-, Lp S {N} duok'a v. 'sell' | pMr {Ker.} *tūyъ- > Er тye- тye-, Mk тy- tu-, Δ tuyə- v. 'bring, fetch' || pObU {Ht.} *tū-, *tuy- > pVg *tū-l- 'holen' > Vg: T tōl-, MK/UL/ML/Ss tūl-, P tūl- ~ tul- id.; pOs *tu-, *tuy- 'bring' > Os: V/Vy/Ty tu-, tuy-, Y tu-, tuw-, D tu-, tēw-, tāw-, K tu-, tōw-, tāw-, Nz/O tu-, tūw- | ? Hg toj- 'lay eggs' || pSm {Jn., Hl.} *tъ- 'bring, give' (= {Jn.} *tā-) > Ng tasa 'give', inv. тә" 'give!', En тә" id., Ne T тась tā-ś 'to give', тә tā 'Ersatz, Tausch', Ne F та'ś 'to give', aor. tāηāt 'I gave', Slq Tz

{KKIH} *tū-* 'carry' (τᾰσκᾰτᾰ), Kms *det-*, *tet-* 'bringen, holen', Mt {Hl.} *ι* **ta-* 'geben, hergeben' || pY {IN} **t∇-* 'give' > Y: K/T {IN} *tadī-* 'give', ? K {Iox.} τᾰᾰ- id. ¶¶ UEW 529-30, Coll. 64, Sm. 550 (FU, FP **toxi-*, Ugr **toḡī-* 'bring'), MF 635-6, Ker. II 171, Ht. no. 613, Lgc. SL 179, Jn. 145, KKIH 188, Hl. M no. 930, IN 247, Iox. JR s.v. τᾰᾰ-, ≈ Rd. UJ 44 [no. 56] (Y ← U) || ¶ A: pKo **tá-* > MKo *tá-kò*, NKo *tágo*, Ko Ph *tá(g)o* 'give me' ¶ Rm. SKE 247-8, S QK no. 947, MLC 378 || ¶ D {Pf.} **tay-* ~ **tey-*, {Km.} **tay-* ~ **tey-* ~ **ta(:)-* ({ǰGS} **t-*) v. 'bring', v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)' > Tm *taru* / *tār-* (inv. *tā*) v. 'give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', Ml *taruk*, *tār-* (inv. *tā*) id., Kt *ta·r-*, *ta-*, *ta·*, Td *to·r-*, *ta-*, *to·*, Kdg *tar-*, *ta·* id., Kn *tar-*, *tār-*, *tā* v. 'lead or conduct near, bring, give (to the 1st\2nd pers.)', Tl *teccu*, *tē-* v. 'bring', Gnd *ta-* / *tar-* v. 'bring', Knd *ta-*, *t-*, Png, Mnd *ta-* id., Kui *tapa*, *tat-*, Ku *taʔ-* id., Brh *tinij*, *tir-*, neg. *ti-* v. 'give'; Pfeiffer adduced Krx *tay-*, *tēy-* v. 'send a newly married girl out of the village' and Mlt *teye* id. ¶¶ D no-s 3098 and 3418, Pf. 18 [no. 77], Km. 389 [no. 598] || ¶ HS: ??_{amb} Eg N *thm* '(Leute, Vieh) herbei-bringen\holen' (unless a sd. from Eg fMd *thm* 'stoßen, drängen') ¶ EG V 321 ¶ Eg *h* may go back to **ɥ* < N **ɥ* and **ɥ* (the initial combinations *t∇ɥ* and *d∇ɥ* do not exist in Eg) ◇ ≠ BmK 275 (unc.: D *√ ÷ S* **√ hdy* v. 'convey, take' [interpreted as **day-*]) and 305; unc.: suggesting that the IE and U roots are related to Eg *ɔw* / *ɔ* v. 'put, place' and *ɔj* 'present' [interpreted as **ɔ*, *ɔw* v. 'give, put, place'; in fact Eg *ɔw* / *ɔ* is a cognate of IE *d^hē-* v. 'put' < N **diɥê* [~ **d∇HU?*] 'to put, to place'), S NSShS no. 19 (IE, A **t'oye-*) ◇ *-y- in A **t'oye-* and in D **tay-* ~ **tey-* is a hiatus-filling cns. (after the loss of the *lr.*). IE **deH^w-* (> NaIE **dō-* / **də-*) may have resulted from the loss of *-*w-* (possibly as. **toH^rü* > **toHo*) ◇ The variation **toH^rü* ~ **ta|æH^rü* may be due to assimilation (either labialization *-*a|æ-* > *-*o-* or palatalization *-*o-* > *-*æ-* under the infl. of *-*r^ü*) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 174 (**to* 'give') (IE, U, CK + unc. A, Ko, EA).

2252. **tawikæ* 'insect, vermin, (?) reptile' > HS: B **ta-wk-* 'worm' (metanalysis reinterpreting the form as n. ag. of **√ wkk*) > Ah *tawkke*, Ty, ETwl *tawəkke*, Gh *tawki*, Sll *tawkk^wa*, Gd *tawkakka*, Izd *tawkka* 'worm' ¶ Fc. 1476, Lf. II no. 0709, GhA 197, Mrc. 261 || S: JEA {Sl.} ת כ ת *tkk* (without vocalization) 'ε worm', JA *tə'kək* {Js.} 'worm of silk', {Lv.} 'Motte', JA {Dlm.} *takkə'kə* 'Zernager [Motte]' ¶ Sl. 1207, Js. 1663, Lv. IV 642, Dlm. 420 || C: DhI {E} *takk^waʔe* 'dung beetle' ¶ E 169

|| Eg P tkk.t 'Schlupfwespe' (*Ichneumonida* o. ä.) ¶ EG V 336 || IE: NaIE *deǵ̃- '≈ tick (*Ixodes*)' > Arm unḥq tiz 'tick' || Clt {Matas.} *°dig-ed-'chafer, beetle' > Mir {P} dega (accus. degaid) (< *digāt-) 'stag beetle' || Gmc *tīkan- (with intensifying gem. *tikkan-) 'tick' > AS {Ho., Sw.} ticca id. (P: read tiica or ticca), NE tike and tick, NHG Zecke 'tick'; Gmc *tikan- > MLG teke, OHG zēhho, MHG zeche, zecke 'tick' ¶ P 187-8, EI 257 (*diǵ̃_l^h), Sl. 335, Ho. 346, Sw. 172, Skeat 646, WrW 565, Kb. 1243, OsS 1242, Lx. 330, KM 876, Matas. 98 || A *Tak∇ 'snake, lizard' > pKo {S} *tōirjōŋ 'lizard' > MKo tōiryōŋ, NKo toroŋ-nyoŋ ¶ S QK no. 909, Nam 162, MLC 464 || pJ {SDM} *táka- 'lizard' > MJ tókágè, JT tòkage, JK tòkágè, JKg tokáge, JY tùgàrà 'lizard' ¶ S QJ no. 123, Mr. 548, Kenk. 1994 || ??σ Tg *dak∇ 'sheafish' > Sln dāxi, Neg dāxi ≈ dāk_i id., Nn Nh {STM} dōāqa id., {On.} dōāqa 'крупный сом' ¶ STM I 192, On. 157 ¶¶ SDM 1350 (pA *t|dake)), DQA no. 2203 || ?φ,σ K *(š)tagw- 'mouse' (unless akin to ECh: Ke dùglà 'mouse') > OG tagu, G tagv-, Lz mtug-, mtuy-, Sv šdugw, štugw- 'mouse' ¶¶ K 175, K² 66 (*tagw-), FS K 142 and FS E 154 (*tagw-), Abul. 172, Eb. 42 ◇ The K cognate is highly qu. (because of the irreg. *-g- and the meaning).

2253. *tek∇ 'to touch' > HS: WS *✓tk̥ (× N *t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push'?) > BHb ✓tk̥ v. G 'strike with the hand', JA ✓tk̥ G id., 'clap', Tgr ✓tk̥ G 'clap hands' ¶ KB 1642-3, Lv. T II 554, Js. 1693, Sl. 1229, LH 614-15, L G 595 || EC: Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tuk- v. 'touch', ? Af {PH} -ōtok- v. 'strike' (× N *t'ü'Ka '↑') ¶ Grg. 380, Sr. 394, ≠ Ss. PEC 48 (adducing Rn taχ- and Dsn tá? v. 'push', cp. N ≈ *te_l'h'a_lka_lé 'to put, to set'), PH 177 ¶¶ The glottalized cns. *k̥ in S and EC may belong to the heritage of N *t'ü'Ka || IE: NaIE *dēg̃- v. 'touch' > Gt tēkan (3s p. taítōk) and at-tēkan (· ἄπτεισθα) 'anrühren', MLG tacken 'to touch', ON taka (p. tōk), Dn tage, Nr ta, MDt taken 'to take', Sw taga 'to take, to touch, to catch'; NrGmc ↘ ME taken 'to take' > NE take || Tc B tāk- v. 'touch' ¶ P 183, EI 595, Fs. 475, Vr. 580, Hlq. 1158-9, Wn. I 504-5, Ad. 289 || A *t'ek'ü- 'touch, reach' > T *t'eg- v. 'touch' > OT {Cl.} täg- v. 'touch, reach', MT [IM] däg-, Tk deǵ̃-, Az dāy-, Ggz dī-, XT {ADb.} dey-, Qrg, StAlt tiy- v. 'touch', Tkm deš- id., 'hit (the target)', VTt, Bsh тий- tiy-, Uz teg- v. 'touch (undeliberately)' ('задеть, коснуться'), ET täg-, Tv d_eš-, Tf d_eš-, Chv тив- v. 'touch' ¶ Cl. 476, IS AD no. A 10, ET VGD 173-5, ADb. Ttd 52 [no. 4], Ra. 171, Ash. XIV 23-30, Fed. II 226, Jeg. 249-50, ChVS 215 ¶ But OT täg- v.

'attack' (Cl. 476) belongs to N ***tāk** ▽ 'to attack' (q.v.) || M ***dökü-** vi. 'approach, move closer, be close to' > WrM {MED} **dökü-**, HIM {MED, BMR} **дөхө-**, Brt **дүхэ-** vi. 'approach, move closer', Kl {Rm.} **dökü-** 'nahe (an etw.) kommen, beinahe sein, kaum hinreichen', Ord **d_ögöm** 'proche' ¶ MED 266, BMR II 65, Chr. 213, KW 98, Ms. O 155 ¶¶ SDM 1372-3 (pA ***tjok'e** v. 'touch, reach' > M, T) || **D** ***tak-** ({ǾGS} ***t-**, ***-g-**) v. 'touch' (× N ***taka|æ|ʔU**, 'to touch', q.v. ffd.) ◇ IS MS 369 (***tāk** ▽ 'τρογάτῃ' > IE, A, D ***tak-**) ◇ T ***-g-** < N ***-k-** (reg. , cp. N ***hak** ▽ 'to stand, to stop, to stay, to be' > T ***āg-** v. 'rise' and N ***ĉek|k** ▽ 'to step, to tramp, to trample down' > T ***çigrü-** v. 'trample down').

2254. ***tAkU'ń|ń** ▽ (or ***tAkU₁H** ▽₁?) 'bug' > HS: C: pAg ***tək^wan** 'bugs' > Bln {R} **tū^wan** (**təx^wan**) ~ **tux^wan** (**təx^wan**), Xm {R} **tux^wan** (**təx^wan**), Q {R} **tükān** 'bugs', Km {CR} **tuxān-a** 'bug'; Ag **↳** Gz {L} **tək^wān** 'bedbug'; EthS **↳** Sa, Af {R} **tək^wan** 'bug' ||| EC: Sml {ZMO} **tuxān** 'bug, weevil, bedbug', Sml N {Abr.} **túkān**, Or {Th.} **tukān-a** (nom. **tukān-ni**) 'bug', Or B {Sr.} **tukāni**, Qbn {L} **tuhāna** 'bedbug' ||| Dhl {E} **takk^waʔe** 'dung beetle' (unless from N ***tawikæ** 'insect, vermin') ||| ?ϕ SC: Irq {Wh.} **taḥān-mo** 'bedbug' ¶ AD SF 53, 273, R WB 334, R Ch II 420 (s.p. 106), R DQW 684 (s.p. 48), CR LK 257, Sr. GBO 222, ZMO 397, Abr. S 155, Th. s.v. **tukāna**, L G 573, EEN 8, E 169 ¶ ***÷** (σ) Brn {E} **taqambariya** 'butterfly' (E 169) || ?? S: JEA {Sl.} **תכק** **tkk** (with unknow vocalization) 'ε worm' (more probably from N ***tawikæ** 'insect, vermin', q.v. s.v.) || **D** (in SD) ***tak^uń|ń** ~ ***tak^u]** ▽ ({ǾGS} ***t-**, ***-g-**) 'bedbug' > Kn **taguṇe**, **tagaṇi**, **tagaṇe**, **tiguṇe**, **tigaṇe**, Td **tixiṇy**, Tu **tagulæ**, **cagulæ**, Krg M **čavṇa**, Krb **tokki** 'bedbug' ¶ D no. 2996 ◇ If the Eg, S and Dhl words (mentioned s.v. N ***tawikæ**) belong here, Ag, EC and D ***-n(▽)** may go back to a **sx** (whence a N rec. ***tAkU₁H** ▽₁); alternatively, S, Eg and Dhl cognates may have lost the ***n**-element (metanalysis?) ◇ Blz. DA 159 [no. 70] (suggesting to add S, Eg and SC to the Ag-EC-D comparison), Blz. NDA no. 72.

2255. ***tAkæ** 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit' > IE ***deḱ-** v. 'suit, be fit' > L **decē** t 'it is proper\seemly\fitting', ? Um **tiçit** 'decet, is allowed' | **↳** NaIE n. abstr. ***deḱ-os** > L **dec-us** / **dec-or-is** 'that which adorns or beautifies, distinction, grace' ||| Vd **daśas'yati** 'favors, serves, obliges' (← ***daśas** ntr. ÷ L **decus**) ||| OIr **dech** 'der beste' | other ds: ? Gk **δύκιμος** 'acceptable; trustworthy; approved, esteemed' (unless ← **δοκεύω** 'keep an eye upon, watch narrowly' [so according to

F I 405) || OHG *zehōn, gizehōn* 'to restore', *gizeh* 'richtig', Gt *tēwa* (· τάγμα) 'Ordnung', *gatēwjan* (· χειροτονεῖν) 'anordnen', AS *tiohhian ~ tiozan* 'to determine, to judge', ?? *táwian* 'to prepare, to tan' || Ht {Ts.} *đakk-* 'entsprechen, ähneln' ||] ? ⇨ IE **deḱs-* 'right, right (dexter)' (× N **ṭogV* 'straight', q.v.) > OI *đaksati* 'acts to the satisfaction of', *đaksina-*, *đaksina-* 'right (dexter), southern, able, dexterous', Av *đaxšat* '(?) macht es (einem) recht', *đašina-* 'right, south' || Gk *δεξιτερός* 'right (dexter)', {LS} 'right-hand of two', *δεξιός* adj. 'on the right hand\side; fortunate' || pAl {O} **deca* 'right (dexter)' > MAI [Bzk.] *djathē* id. ⇨ MAI {FB} *djaṣte* [djaθtʌ], StAl T *djathētē*, Al {Kf.} *djathētē*, Al Δ {Huld}: SG *djaθt*, D *djāθt*, A *jat*, M *djastʌ* id. || L *dexter* 'right' (↔ 'left'), Osc *destrst* 'dextra est', Um *DESTRAM-E* 'in dextram', *testre e* 'in dextro' || Clt {Matas.} 'right, south' > OIr *deas*, NIr *deas/deis-* 'right (dexter)', Gl **deksiva*, *deuxae*, Clt *Dessuaeona*, Brtt {RE} **deksowos* 'right (dexter)' > MW *deheu ~ dehaui*, W *deau*, Cm *dyghow*, OBr, Br *dehou* 'right' || Gt *taíhswa* adv. (· δεξιός) 'rechts', OHG *zēsō* 'right (dexter)' || Lt *dēšinas* id., *dēšinē* 'right hand' || Sl **desnъ* (jъ) 'right (dexter)' > OCS Δ *ε C N Ъ* *desnъ*, Blg *десен*, SCr *dēsni*, *dēsan*, Slv *désen* || Ht {Ts.} *taks-* 'fügen' (im Sinne von 'unternehmen [Kriegszug]'), 'bereiten' ¶¶ P 189-91 and Mn. 137 (both did not distinguish this √ from homonymous **deḱ-* 'nehmen, aufnehmen', {Mn.} v. 'find, get'), WH I 346-7, M K II 10-11, 27, M E I 689-91, 710, MW 465, F I 366-7, 404-6, WH I 330-1, 346-7, Bc. G 315, 332, 349, Pln. II 730, Thr. § 262, LP §§ 25.4, 323.3, Fs. 471, 476, Ho. 342-3, Kb. 392, 1243, 1248, OsS 1239, 1242, 1252-3, Schz. 333, Frn. 90, ESSJ IV 218-19, StSS 186, ≈ Glh. 192-3, Kf. 83, O 67-8, Huld 53 (pAl **djaθ-tʌ*), RE 122, Flr. 133, Matas. E 97, Hm. 147, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 31-2, 40-3, EI 564 (**deḱ-* [pres. **doḱe j*] 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from **deḱ-* 'find, get', see N **t'e'Kæ* 'take, carry'), 271 (**deḱes-* 'honor') || D **takk-/takV* ({*ṭGS*} **t-*) v. 'be fit\appropriate\ready' > Tm *taku* (ft. stem *takuu-*, past stem *takk-* / *takunt-*) 'be fit\excellent', Ml *taku* v. 'be fit, suit', *takka* 'fit', Kt *takl* 'preparation of half the village lands for sowing', Td *tokoθ* 'suitable', Kn *tagu* (past stem *takk-*) v. 'be fit\proper, suit', *takka* 'fit, proper', Kdg *takka* 'sufficient', Tu *takka* 'fit, suitable, worthy', Tl *tagu ~ tavu* v. 'be proper\fit\suitable' ¶¶ D no. 3005, ≠ Km. 373 [no. 522] (+ unc. *Kui sanṣa* v. 'be fitting\beautiful', whence

unt. rec. of pSD and pCD *čāy-/ *čay-∇ > *tāy-/ *tak-∇) || HS: S *✓ tkn v. 'be straight, be in good condition' (× N *t̥iKa 'be straight', q.v. ffd.)
 ◇ IS MS 355 ('подходящий' *t̥a¹k̥¹∆: IE, D), IS SS no. 2.6 (IE, D) → BmK 313-14.

2256. *t̥e¹Kæ 'take, carry' ([in descendant lges] → 'get, possess') > HS: Ch {JS} *✓ tk v. 'take' > WCh {Stl.} *t∇k- id. > Ron {J}: DfB tyêk v. 'take, take out', Sha tɜk v. 'take' || CCh: Msg {Trn.} t∇k∇, Msg G {MB} tk-, Msg P tik- v. 'take' || ?? McKtk: Lgn {Lk.} zǵí, zɜǵí, zǵó, Bdm {Lk.} ẓ̌uǵu v. 'take' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [no. 167], ChC s.v. 'to take', ChL, JS 261, MB SMSM 112, Lk. L 140, Lk. B 140, Trn. RVM || ? S *°-tīk- or *°-tūk- > Ar ?itākat- (n. act. from a derived verbal stem) 'épilation, action d'arracher le poil et les plumes' ¶ BK I 213 ¶¶ OS no. 2388 (*tek- > WCh, CCh *tyak-, erroneously Eg tkk *'grasp, seize', in fact v. 'attack') || IE *deḱ- {Mn.} v. 'find, get' (→ 'deem, judge'), {P} 'nehmen, aufnehmen' > YAv d̥asa- 'goods, possessions', d̥asaθavant 'rich', KhS d̥ās- v. 'receive, get (possessions)', d̥ās̥t̥a- 'rich, happy', NPrs دأشتن d̥āštān 'to have, to possess, to keep' || Gk I/Ae/Cr δέχομαι v. 'take, accept, receive' (Gk A δέχομαι id. under the infl. of forms like aor. ἔδέχθη, inf. δέχθαι) || ???σ SI *desi- v. 'find, meet' (× N *t̥æis̥∇ 'to track [game], to follow the tracks of', q.v. ffd.) || ? Ht {Ts.} t̥aks- 'fügen, bereiten' (< *deḱ-s-) (× N *t̥AKæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit') ¶¶ Mn. 137, Brtl. 702, 740, Bai. 157, BM 207-8, WP I 783, P 189-190 (all of them did not distinguish this ✓ from the homonymous *deḱ- v. 'suit, be fit', F N *t̥AKæ '↑'), F I 373-4, Ts. W 81, Ts. E III 40-3, ≈ EI 564 (*deḱ- 'take\accept graciously or properly'; no distinction from *deḱ- 'be in order', see N *t̥AKæ '↑') ¶¶ NE take does not belong here, it goes back to NaIE *d̥eg|ǵ- v. 'touch' < N *tek̥∇ 'to touch' || A: Tg *tuk- (= {Bz.} *tök-) v. 'carry, hold' > Ewk tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, hold', Lm tók- tuk- v. 'carry on one's back, take', Ud tugɜɜ- ~ tuɜɜ- v. 'take in one's arms', Ul tūwu, Nn Nh tuxi, Nn KU tuxi ~ tuxiɜ ~ tuxɜ 'armful' ¶ STM II 206-7, Krm. 296, On. 413 ¶ as.: N *t̥...K̥ > **t̥...K̥ > Tg *t̥...k || D (in SD) *tekk-/ *tek- v. 'take, pull' ({θGS} *t-) > Tm tekku v. 'receive, take', ? teυυυ v. 'get, take, obtain, seize', ? Kt teυ- v. 'pull along or out of', Kn tege, tegu, tegi v. 'pull' ¶ D no. 3407 ◇ The origin of the Tg vw *u in *tuk- is still to be established (cp. the above-mentioned Bdm ẓ̌uǵu). A highly tentative solution is a rec. of a N *te?oKæ or *to?eKæ (*? and *o are N phonemes that may disappear without traces

in IE, unlike other laryngeals and labialized vowels) ◇ BmK 313-14 (IE, D + tying in IE $de\bar{k}m̥$ 'ten').

2257. * $ti\check{k}ü$ '≈ show' ([in some descendant lges] → 'say') > HS: S * $\check{t}y\check{k}$ (= prm. * $-t\bar{i}\check{k}-?$) > Gz $\check{t}y\check{k}$ (*D* pf. $\check{t}ayya\check{k}a$) v. 'observe, look at' (as. ** $\check{t}y\check{k}$ > * $\check{t}y\check{k}?$) ¶ L G 600 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} $t\grave{a}tk\acute{u}$ (3s p.) v. 'show, demonstrate' (n. act. $t\grave{a}tk\grave{a}$, sbjn. $t\grave{a}t\acute{a}k$), Bd {Sch.} $t\grave{a}tk\grave{e}d\grave{a}n$ v. 'show' ||| CCh: BnnM {ChL} $takamo$, ZmB {J} $t\acute{a}k$ v. 'show' ¶ JI II 292, JS 227, ChL, ChC s.v. 'to show', J KKS s.v. Zm $t\acute{a}k$, Sch. DN s.v. $t\grave{a}tk\acute{u}$ || K * $tkw-$ v. 'speak, say' > OG $tkw-$, G $tkv-$ id., Mg, Lz $tk(v)-$ v. 'say', Sv $-:kw-$: n. act. {K} $l\bar{i}kwisg$, {GP} (UB) $l\bar{i}kw\bar{i}sg$ 'to say sth.', 3s aor. {Test.} $\chi-\bar{a}kw(in)$ 'he told him', 3s ft. pfc. {Test.} $\chi-\bar{a}kwni(ne)$ ¶¶ K 96-7, K² 75, FS K 153, FS E 166-7, Chx. 736-8, GP 174, Test. S 22 ¶¶ K * $tkw-$ < ** $t\check{k}w-$ (as.) || IE * $de\check{i}k-$ v. 'show' (→ 'say') > OI $d\bar{e}\acute{s}-$ (pres. $d\bar{i}d\bar{e}s\acute{t}i$, $d\bar{i}'sati$, $d\bar{e}s\acute{a}yati$) 'show, indicate', Av $da\bar{e}s-$ id. ($da\bar{e}d\bar{o}i\check{s}t$ 'shows', inv. $d\bar{o}i\check{s}i$ 'show!', 2s aor. inj. $d\bar{a}i\check{s}$ 'du sollst zeigen') ||| Gk $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\kappa\nu\mu\iota$ v. 'bring to light, show forth; show' ||| L $d\bar{i}c-\bar{o} / -\check{e}re$ v. 'say', Osc $de\check{i}kum$ DEICVM id., $d\bar{i}c\check{u}st$ 'dixerit', Um $teit\check{u}$, DEITU 'dicitō'; d.: L $d\bar{i}c-\bar{o} / d\bar{i}c\bar{a}re$ 'consecrate, dedicate, devote to gods; inaugurate' ||| Gt $gateihan$ (· $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\check{\iota}\lambda\alpha\iota$) 'anzeigen, verkünden', AS $t\bar{e}on$ {P} id., {Sw.} 'to accuse', ON $t\acute{e}a$ (> $t\acute{i}a$) 'to show, to communicate', $t\bar{e}ga$ 'to show, to reveal', OHG $z\bar{i}han$ 'to say sth. about so., to blame, to accuse' > NHG $zeihen$ 'to accuse' | intens.: OHG $zeig\bar{o}n$ > NHG $zeigen$ 'to show' || Ht $tekkussai-$ '(sich) zeigen, präsentieren' ¶¶ P 188-9, EI 516, Ts. W 89, Ts. E III 302-6, M K II 43, F I 355-6, WH I 348-9, Bc. G 315, 332, Fs. 204, Ho. 345-6, Vr. 585, 590-1, 877, Kb. 1251, OsS 1238-9, 1259-60, KM 877, Me. WB 56-7 ('show' → 'say' in juristic usage in some IE lges) ||| A: Tg * $\check{c}ik-$ + sx 'come in sight, appear', 'be shown' > Ewk $\check{c}ikiltu-$ v. 'appear, come in sight' (of leaves, horns of reindeer), WrMc {Z} $\check{c}ik\check{c}jal\bar{a}-$ vi. 'sprout' (of shoots, sprouts of plants), 'rise from the ground' ¶ STM II 391, Z 935 ◇ As.: N * $ti\check{k}$ > ** $t\bar{i}\check{k}$ > S * $\check{t}y\check{k}$ and pre-Tg ** $tik-$ (> Tg * $\check{c}ik-$).

2258. * $to\check{k}E|a$ or * $ta\check{k}E|a$ 'to tear' > IE: NaIE * $de\bar{k}-$ or * $dek-$ v. 'tear (up), reduce to threads' ({P} 'reißen, zerreißen, zerfasern') > Gt $tahjan$ (· $\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'reißen', $dis-tahjan$ (· $[\delta\iota\alpha]\sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'zerstreuen', Ic $t\bar{a}ja$ (1s pres. $t\bar{a}$, pp. $t\bar{a}\check{d}i$) 'to card (wool)', Nr $\Delta t\bar{a}ja$, $t\bar{a}a$ 'fasern, zerreißen' ||| ? OI $das\bar{a}$ 'fringe of a garment' (× NaIE $\check{v} *de\bar{k}-$, * $do\bar{k}-lo-$ 'a single hair, tail' > Gt $tagl$ [· $\theta\rho\acute{\iota}\xi$] 'Haar', AS $t\bar{a}zel$ 'tail', OIr $d\bar{u}al$

'plait, tassel') ¶ P 191, M K II 27, Fs. 470-1, Bv 785, Ho. 341, Thr. 41 ||
A: Tg *tagd∇- v. 'tear out' > Ewk tagdī- 'tear out, take away (sth. from so.)', Ewk Urm/Ucr tagdī- 'tear away', Lm tād- (STM: < *tagdi-) 'tear to pieces', Neg tagdī- 'tear to pieces, tear away, pull out\aside', Ul tagdī-, Nn Nh/Bk tadora- 'tear\pull out', NnNh {On.} tadora- frq. 'дёргать; вытаскивать, выдёргивать', Ud tagdi- tear\pull out, tear out\off', WrMc {Z} тадц- 'tear to pieces \ tearoff' ¶ STM II 150-1, On 389-90, Z 708 ¶ as.: N *t...k̄ > **t̄...k̄ (> pre-Tg **t...k -d→ **tak-d∇- > Tg *tagd∇-) || **D** (in NED) *tok-/ *tonk- v. 'tear off' > Mlt toqe v. 'nip off (as herbs), cut off (as bamboos)', Krx toŋk^h- v. 'break a part of a plant with fingers, cull or pluck a leaf' ¶ D no. 3479, Pf. 192 || ?? **HS:** WS *✓ntk̄ v. 'tear away, pull, draw' > BHb ✓ntk̄ G (pf. 𐤁𐤍𐤊𐤏 nā'tak̄) id., D (pf. 𐤁𐤍𐤊𐤏 nit'tek̄) v. 'tear apart, tear out', Ar ✓ntq G v. 'pull off, draw off', ? Gz ✓ntk̄ G v. 'pull' ¶ Here there may be contamination with other S verbal roots beginning with *✓nt-, such as *✓ntš 'ausreißen', *✓ntr v. 'tear'. The initial *n- may be a former px ¶ BDB no. 5423, KB 695, L G 407 ◇ D points to a N *o, while Tg suggests *a. This discrepancy is still to be explained.

2259. *täyK̄∇ 'finger', → 'one' > **HS:** C: EC *t∇k̄∇ 'one' > Or T {Mrn.} tokko m. 'one', tokka f. 'one', Or {Grg.} tokko, Or B/Wt {Sr.} tokko, Or O {Sr.} to(k)ko, ta(k)ka, Or H {Ow.} tokko, takko, Arr {Hw.} tokkó m., takká f. 'one', Elm tóko, f. taka, Dsn takaç, tikiḍ(ḍi), Kns {BISO} takka ~ tokka, Ged {Hd.} takka 'one', ? Sa {R} ti 'one', ? Af {PH} tiya (f. tī) 'one thing, something, anything', ? Af {R} t̄āw 'solus, jerer', Rn tákkày ~ tákkàč 'one by one, one at a time' || Ag: Bln {R} t̄ū, Xm {R} t̄ī 'alone, solus' ¶ Grg. 377, Sr. 391, 393, Ow. 90, Hw. A 396-7, BISO 189, 197, Hd. 107, PH 200, R WB 344, R Ch II 419 (s.p. 105), R S II 347-8, R A II 910 (s.p. 118), PG 274, To. DL 529, Blz. DL s.v. 'one' || Ch: CCh *t∇k̄^w- 'one' > Dgh {Frk} ték^wè, títk^wè, Ngs {IL} t^hš^hwù, Msy {Mch.} takan, Db {LnG} tàkàw, Gdr {Mch.} t̄ákā, Lgn {Lk.} tkú 'one' ¶ JI II 262-3, Lk. L s.v. tkú, Frk. s.v. ték^wè, LnG s.v. tàkàw, ChC s.v. 'one', ChL || **IE:** NaIE *deǵk̄|k(w)- 'finger' > L digitus, EpL dicitus id. || Gmc (< *doǵk̄|kwā): ON tá, OHG zēha, NHG Zehe, MLG tēwe, NGr M/S cēve, MDt tee, Dt teen, AS tāhe, tā 'toe', NE toe || ? amb Gk δάκτυλος 'finger' unless it is from *δάκτυλος < IE *d̄ḡt-kulo-s (÷ OHG zirkō 'spike, sharp point' > NHG Zinken 'spike', as supposed by J. Hofmann) ¶¶ Bc. 239-40, WH I 351, F I 344-5, Ch. 249-50, Hofm. 51, Bois. 164, Vr. 578-9, Vr. N 726,

Ho. 341-2, Kb. 1242, 1254, OsS 1236, 1281, KM 877 || **A**: NaT *t'æ̃k- 'only, alone' > OT {Cl.} tāk 'only', Chg tāk 'only, alone', Tk tek 'only; odd', tekīn 'alone', Tkm tāk 'odd (number)', Az tāk id., 'alone', Qzq tek 'only' ¶ Cl. 475, Rs. W 470, ARL 287, MM 341 || **Gil**: Gil ES {Blz. ← ?} tōxān 'finger' ¶¶ Blz. KM 137 [no. 18] ◇ N *y is suggested by IE (*ẽ) and by T (length of the vw.: N *äy > T *æ̃). The fortis *t'- in T (pointing to an earlier *t̃-) may have been influenced by the internal cns. (N *-k- > T *-k-). Another possible solution is to separate the N word for 'finger' (*t̃ỹk̃ > IE, Gil) from that for 'one' (N *t̃äk̃ > HS, T) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 137 [no. 18] (equating Gil tōxān with K, HS and A words for 'span, hand', see N *t̃ok̃ ≈ [palm of] hand [with fingers] [→ 'span of the hand'] ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 150 (*tik 'finger') (IE, A, Ko, Ai, Gil + unc. CK, J).

2260. *taL̃ (= *taLU?) 'to shake, to wave' > **HS**: CS *√tltl id. > Ar √tltl (pf. taltala) 'agiter, secouer', ? BHb תַּלְתַּלִּים taltal'īm '(?) waving palm branches' (Cant. 5.11) (the meaning tentatively supposed on the ev. of some early translations: [LXX] ἐλάττα, [Vulg.] elatae palmarum 'Triebe von Palmen', as well on the Arabic cognate) ¶ GB 880, BDB 1068, KB 1603-4, BK I 203 || **IE**: NaIE *del(d), ? *°doũl- vi. 'shake, swing' > AS teal̃t 'unsteady, heaving (ship); precarious', teal̃t(r)ian 'schwanken, wackeln, unsicher sein', MDT touteren 'to stagger, to reel, to swing', Dt touteren id., 'to be irresolute', Nr tỹlten 'shaky, unsteady, tottering', Sw tult̃a 'to hobble, to toddle' || ?? Lt inf. deĩsti (1s pres. deĩsiũ) 'to linger, to loiter, to delay', inf. dũlinẽti 'to wander, to drag oneself along' || ?φ OI dō'lā 'swing, litter', dōlāyatē 'rocks about like a swing, moves to and fro', dōlita- 'swung, shaken, tossed' (unless borrowed from an Austronesian lge, as supposed by M) ¶¶ WP I 809, P193-4, Ho. 343, Sw. 171, Vr. N 743, ≈ Hlq. 1241, MW 498, M K II 67, Frn. 88 (connecting deĩsti with IE *del- 'long') || **A [1]** pA *t'al- > **I**: NaT (+ext.) *t'alb- > OT {Cl.} talpī- v. 'flutter, palpitate, pulsate' (in ds: talpīn- id., v. 'struggle', [MhK] talpīr- v. 'flutter': kuš talpīrdī 'the bird flutted its wings'; [MgK] talpīš- v. 'flutter' [cooperative: kušlar kamuğ talpīšdī 'the birds all fluttered together']), XwT XIV talbī- v. 'struggle, flutter', OOsM XIV-XVI talbīn- ~ dalbīn- v. 'flutter, palpitate', Tk Kn dalbīn- 'flounder in water' (of so. who cannot swim), Tv d'ālbay- vi. 'spread' (of wings), d'ālbay-ālbayna- 'flap wings', Yk talbā n. act. 'swinging arms', talbar- 'take wing' ¶ Cl. 493, IS AD 47, Pek.

2538, TvR 145, SDD I 396 | II: NaT (+ext.) *t'alga 'wave (Welle)' > Tk d'alga, Az dalʒa, Ggz далга, Kr далгъа id. ¶ TrR 206, AzRL II 27, KRPS 169 || M: [1] M *dalal- > WrM {MED} dalal-, HIM {MED, BMR} далла- v. 'beckon, wave the hand', Brt далла- id., Kl {Rm.} dal|o- 'winken, schwingen', Ord d_alal- 'faire signe de la main comme pour appeler quelqu'un'; M *dalayi- 'wave\swing one's hand\ arm' > MM [MA] dala- v. 'make a sign', WrM {MED} dalai-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt далай- v. 'raise the hand in order to strike, brandish, swing, wield', Ord d_alā- 'lever le bras comme pour frapper'; M ↗ Tlt/Alt {Rl.} talay- '(die Hand, die Peitsche) zum Schläge aufheben, schwingen, in der Luft bewegen' ¶ KW 74, Pp. MA 138, MED 224, BMR II 25, 29. Chr. 183, 185, Ms. O 114-15, Rl. III 879 || [2] pA *t'o;L- > M d. *doligi- > WrM dolgi- v. 'wave, undulate, be tempestuous', HIM {BMR} долги- v. 'wave', 'колебаться, биться' (of waves); ↗ M *doligiyan 'wave' > MM doligiyan, dolgiyan, WrM {MED} dolgiya(n), HIM {MED, BMR} долгио(н), Brt долги(н), Dg dolǵēŋ ~dolǵān 'wave' ↗ Ewk A tōlgān 'whirlpool', WrMc долчинь 'wave', Yk dolgun, Tkm tolqun, Qzq tolqin, Az dalʒa, Tk d'alga 'wave' ¶ MED 259, BMR II 48, IS AD no. 6.43, Pp. AU 100, Pp. IM 77, Rm. VMT 15, 55, KW 94, Z 821 ¶¶ In the preconsonantal position T *l may go back both to A *l and to *l' ¶¶ ≠ SDM 391-2 (pA *čalu 'wave'; v. 'overflow' > M *dolgi- 'wave [Welle]' + [not belonging here] Tg *jal- [in fact *jāl-] 'overflow' and T *t'alg- 'wave [Welle]'), IS AD 47, Pp. AU 100, Rm. VMT 57 ◇ IS SS 320 [no. 2.2], IS MS 369 ('трясти(сь)' *talʌ [HS, IE, A]). CS *tʌlʌ, IE deld- and M *dalal- are likely to go back to a N reduplicated *taL∇ taL∇ ◇ IE *doyl- and M *doligi- ↗ *doligiyan suggest a labial vw. within the N etymon (possibly N *taLU with further regr. as. in T and M, which is the origin of IE *-oyl- and M *-o- in the initial syll.

2261. *tæL∇ 'cut (split, trim, cleave)' > K: pGZ *tal-/*tl- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' > G tal-/tl-, Mg tol- id. (× N *tiī∇ '≈ to roughhew, to chisel [behauen]') ¶ K 90-1, K² 66-7, FS K 143, FS E 155 || IE: NaIE *del_lə- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N *tiī∇ '↑') > OI 'dalati vi. 'bursts, cracks' (semantic infl. of 'phalati 'bursts, splits, cleaves open or asunder'), dā'layati 'causes to burst', dala-m 'part, piece, half' || Gk (int.) δαυ-δάλλω 'work cunningly, embellish', δαύδαλος, δαυδάλεος 'cunningly\curiously wrought' || pAl {O} *dalnānya (adj. with *-no-; ↗ IE *del-) > Al dalloj

'distinguish, discern', {BFU} 'scheiden, teilen', {Kf.} 'χωρῖζω' ('divide, break up') || L *dolā*- v. 'hew with an axe' (× IE **del*- v. 'split') || ? Clt {Matas.} 'form, appearance, image' > OIr *delb* 'form, image', Crn *del* id., OW *delu*, W *delw* 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE **del*- '↑') || ON *telgja* 'to carve, to cut', NLG *talter* 'Lumpen, Fetzen' || ? Arm {WP, P} **տոթեմ** *toṭem* 'ich präge ein, brenne ein' (if from **d_o*- [as WP and P after Scheftelowicz], unless it is a sd. from Arm *toṭem* 'I thread, I string, I arrange' [→ 'I write'], F N ***tUL**∇ ≈ to line up') || Lt *dalīs* 'part', inf. *dalýti* (1s pres. *dalijù*) 'to divide', *dalià* 'share, destiny', Ltv *daļa*, Δ *dalis* 'part, share', Lt *pūs-dylis mėnuo* 'moon in its last quarter' (*pūs* is 'half', *mėnuo* is 'moon'), Pru *dellieis* inv. 'divide' || Sl **dolā* 'part, share' > RChS, OR **ДОЛЯ** *dolja*, R, Uk 'доля, P *dola* id., 'destiny', OCz *s dolí* 'happily, with success' ¶ P 194-6, EI 143 (**del*- 'carve, split, cut'), M K II 24-5, F I 339-40, WH I 364-6, Vr. 586, LP § 19, Frn. 81-2, Kf. 75, O 55, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, Matas. E 95, ≠ WP I 809-12 || **а** **t_æ*∇ 'split, cut' > M **delbere*- v. 'burst or crack asunder, go to pieces, split, break' > WrM *delbere*- {MED} id., HIM *дэлбэрэ*- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'burst, explode; sich spalten (раскалываться)', Brt *дэлбэр*- id., Ord *d_{el}bere*- 'crever, éclater'; WrM *delberkeu* {MED} 'split, cracked; crack, cleft, crevice' > HIM *дэлбэрхий* {MED} id., {BMR} 'burst, cracked; Reiß, Spalte (трещина, щель)', Brt *дэлбэрхэй* 'burst, cracked (в трещинах, потрескавшийся), torn', Kl {KRS} *делвркə* 'deep scratch', {Rm.} *d_{el}w_rkē* 'tiefer Reiß', Ord *d_{el}ber^kxī* 'crevé, fêlé' ¶ MED 248, BMR II 105, Chr.215, KRS 196, KW 87, Ms. O 136 || Tg **delk^ri*- v. 'split' (× N ?σ ***dæL^ka** 'to prick', q.v.?) > Ewk *d₃lki*- v. 'split\chop into pieces', Lm *d₃lkъ*- v. 'separate, chop into pieces', Lm Sk *d₃lkə*- 'split, chop (a tree) into pieces', Nn Nh/Bk/KU *d₃lki*- v. 'split (reed in order to plait mats)', Nn Nh {On.} 'split reed', WrMc {Z} *дэлхэ*- vi. 'separate', Mc Sb *d₃lүз*- 'be disconnected, be ripped off; come off, go off, peel off', Jrc {Md.} *d_{el}x_e*-, {Kiy.} *t_{el}x_e*- v. 'separate' ¶ STM I 232-3, On. 167, Z 806-7, Y no-s 1200 and 1713, Kiy. 119 [no. 390], Md. ChF 136 || T **t_æ;*∇ v. 'bore through' (semantic infl. of T **t_æ*- 'pierce'. < N ***teí_{h2}**∇ 'to bore, to pierce', [q.v.]?) > OT, Tk *del*-, MT *tel*-, Ggz, Kr, Tf *del*-, Az *däl*- 'make a hole, pierce, bore' ¶ ET VGD 185-6, Cl. 490, Rs. W 471, TkR 216, Akd. 510, ARL 103 ¶¶ SDM 1363 (pA **t_{el}*∇ 'split', [err.] 'strike' > Tg **del*- [i.e. **delk^ri*-] + unc. NaT **t_{el}*- v. 'bore, through, cut open' and M **dele*- 'strike, beat, hit' [both

from pA *t'ā|'ā- < N *t'a'lh▽ or *tahE1▽ '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged', q.v. ffd.), DQA no. 2227, ≈ ADb. Ttd 58 [no. 11], ≈ SDM97 (A *t'i'l(k)a 'split, divide, differentiate', incl. M, Tg) || D *°ta||- > Mlt tale- v. 'cut off' ¶¶ ≈ D no. 3124 || HS: d.?: WS *'talam ~ *'talujim 'furrow' > BHb תַלְמַם 'tələm, JA {Dlm., KB, Js.} תַלְמָא tal'm-ā (and [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} תַלְמָא təlā'm-ā), Ar تَلْم talam-, Gz talm id. ¶ KB 1602, Dlm. 421, Lv. T II 540, Js. 1672, BK I 205, L G 574-5 ¶¶ It is originally a deverbally derived noun with the nominal sx *-▽m- ◇ M, Tg *e suggest N *e, but D *a point to pN *ä ◇ AD GD no. 125 and DQA l.c. (IE, A), IS MS 360 (*te'f'α: 'расщеплять': IE, A, ? K, ? HS [C]), IS SS no. 2.12 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 218 (*tel 'hurt') (IE, A + unc. CK).

2262. *ti1▽ '≈ to roughhew, to chisel (behauen)' > K: pGZ *tal-/°tl- v. 'plane, trim, shave, hew' (× N *tæL▽ 'cut [split, trim, cleave]' [q.v.]) > G tal-/tl-, Mg tol- id. ¶ K 90-1, K² 66-7, FS K 143, FS E 155 ¶ The vl. *a in *tal- suggests that the main source of the K root is *tæL▽ || IE: NaIE *del₁ə- v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen') (× N *tæL▽ '↑') > OI dā'layati 'spaltet, macht bersten', 'dalati 'birst' (semantic influence of 'phalati 'springt entzwei') || Gk (intens.) δαλ-δάλλω 'work cunningly, embellish', δαλδαλος, δαλδαλεος 'cunningly\ curiously wrought' || L dolā- v. 'hew with an axe' || ? Arm տոլեմ tōləm 'ich präge ein, brenne ein' (if from *d_o- [as WP and P after Scheftelowitz], unless it is a sd. of Arm tōləm 'I thread, I string, I arrange', / N *tUL▽ '≈ to line up') || ? L dolā- 'behauen, bearbeiten' (× IE *del- v. 'split') || ? OIr delb 'Gestalt, Form', OW delu, W delw 'imago, figura, effigies' (× IE *del- v. 'split') || LG talter 'Lumpen, Fetzen' || ??σ Lt dylù, inf. dilti, Ltv dēlu, dilstu, inf. diîlt 'grow used up (by rubbing)', dilot 'abschleifen' ¶ P 194-6, Frn. 81-2, ESSJ V 62-3, SPS IV 81-2, ≠ WP I 809-12, WH I 364-6 || A: NaT *t'il- 'zurechtschneiden', 'cut into slices\strips' > OT {Cl.} til- v. 'cut into slices', Tk dil-, Ggz dil- 'divide in pieces\parts\stripes', Tkm dil- 'cut into segments\lices\stripes', MOg [L] dilla- 'cut to pieces', Ggz, Az dil- im 'slice', Bsh tıl-, Qmq, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Ln, ET, Uz til-, Qzl, Xk tıl-, Chv чёл- 'cut into hunks\stripes, Riemen zuschneiden (кроить ремни)', 'щепать лучину', VTt tıl- id., v. 'chop sticks, cut up leather to thongs', Tv d'il- v. 'saw up (a log to boards), cut up (leather to thongs)', Tf d'il- 'cut up to long narrow stripes\slices', Yk tel- 'schneiden, zerschneiden' ¶ Chv ч- < pT *t- is due to the palatalizing infl. of the vw. *i ¶ Rs. W

490-1, IS AD 39, ET VGD 230-1, TkR 270, TrR 232, GRM 145, JkR 425, Ash. XV 279-80, Fed. II 410, Jeg. 322, ChVS 269 ¶ × pA *t'æ|∇ 'split, cut' < N *tæL∇ 'cut [split, trim, cleave]' [q.v. ffd.] × N ?σ *dæL'k'a 'to prick'), {SDM95} *t'í|l(k)∇ v. 'split, divide, differentiate' (> M *čilü-øen 'space between', Tg *de|l- v. 'split, divide', pKo *târΛ 'be different', pJ *tànkáp-/ *tínkáp- v. 'differ') ¶¶ ≠ SDM 394-5 (pA *čē|∇ v. 'split', 'hole, crack' > T + unc.: Tg *žē|ge 'crack, narrow passage' and M *čilüøe 'space between. leisure') ◇ IE *e and K *a are likely to belong to the heritage of *tæL∇.

2263. *tuL∇ ≈ tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts' > HS: S *°√t|w| > Ar √t|w| G 'exercer un enchantement\sortilège', Ar tuwal- 'magic art, witchcraft', ? *°√t|w| (× N *tjeL∇ 'shout, call') > Ar √t|w|: talā tilāw-at-an 'he read (a book), recited (sth.)', tilāw-at- 'reading, recital' (unless ← √t|w| G 'follow') ¶ BK I 205-6, 211, Hv. 62, 64 || ? B *°√t|H > Shw {Hy.} utla v. 'parler, discourir' ¶ Hy. 556 || ?σ C: Ag: Bln/Q {R} telā 'Arznei', Xm {R} telā 'Arznei, Gift', Km {CR} tilā 'remède, medicine' ||| EC: Sml {DSI, ZMO} talo 'decision, advice, opinion, proposal', {DSI} tali- v. 'decide, advise', {ZMO} rule, govern', Sml N {Abr.} tálo 'decision' ||| SC: Kz {E} tulatu 'court case' ¶ R WB 338, R QW 133, R Ch II 421 (s.p. 107), CR LK 258, Abr. S 234, DSI 574-5, ZMO 385-6, E SC 325 ||| IE *de|l- 'tell, narrate, pronounce ritual texts' > Ht talliya- v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {KrlSh} tali '(heathen) priest' (× N *tjeL∇ '↑' [q.v.]) || Gmc *talō 'narration', *taljan 'to tell, to narrate' > ON tala 'speech, conversation', AS talu 'narration' (> NE tale), MLG tale 'speech', MDt tael, tāle 'speech, language', Dt taal 'language, speech', OHG zala 'tale'; ON tala 'to speak, to talk', AS talian 'to enumerate; to consider (a thing to be so-and-so)', tēllan 'to narrate' ¶¶ P 193, Ts. IAH 265, Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 580-1, Vr. N 718, Ho. 342, 344, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, ≠ Pol. ONRT 661, GI 808 (fn. 1) ||| U: FU (< d.?) (att. in Ugr) *tult∇ 'witchcraft' > Hg táltos 'sorcerer, shaman; Zauberpferd' | ObU *tV|lt > pOs *tol|t/*tol|t ({H1.} *tol|t/*tā|t) > Os N tolt 'giant' (← 'sorcerer'), toltñ, toltñ 'mit Zauberkraft', Os Vy tolt 'fever', Os Kz tūft 'Hilfe; Linderung (bei einer Krankheit, in der Armut)', tūfta 'without effort, without noise; suddenly'; pVg *tū|t > Vg N tū|tñ, tū|tñ 'leicht, einfach' (← *'by witchcraft') ¶ UEW 895, Ht. 188 [no. 637] ◇ This N word may be (but not necessarily is) connected with N *tUL∇ ≈ to line up' (q.v.)

◇ IE *de_l- (rather than **de_ul- with *e_u < N *u) is due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants ◇ AD NM no. 124, S CNM 9 (÷ ÷ ST), ≈ Blz. KM 122 [no. 27] (S, C, B, IE + reflexes of N *tUL▽ '≈ to line up' + unconvincingly: Tg *tēluŋu 'narrating, folk tale' [which should be better referred to N *tēL▽ '↑'] and Ak tēlu 'pronounce distinctly' [ē points to a S *ɣ or *ħ]).

2264. ₂ *tUL▽ '≈ to line up' ([in descendant lges] → 'to count') > K: pGZ *twal-/ *twal- v. 'count' > G tval(-a)/tval-, Mg tval- (← G?) id. ¶ Fn. KW-2 42 [no. 6], Chx. 487-8 || IE: NaIE *de_l- '≈ row, thread, counting' > Arm **տող** tōł 'row', **տողեմ** tōłem 'I thread, I string' || Gmc *talō 'counting, narration', *taljan 'to count, to tell' (× N *tuL▽ '≈ tell [a story], pronounce magic\ritual texts', q.v. ffd.) > AS talu 'series', tæl 'number', ʒætæl 'number, series', OHG zala 'row, number, counting, account', NHG Zahl 'number'; OHG zalōn, NHG zahlen 'to count' ¶ P 193, Vr. 580-1, Kb. 1239, OsS 1226, KM 872, Bdr. 707, EI 397 (*de_l- 'aim, compute') ◇ The meaning 'narration, to talk' (as in Gmc) has a double origin: it goes back both to N *tUL▽ '≈ line up' (cp. Fr *compter* - *raconter*) and to N *tuL▽ '≈ tell (a story), pronounce magic\ritual texts'. An alt. solution is to assume that these two N words are identical: *tul▽ '≈ line up' → 'narrate, tell (a story)' → 'pronounce magic\ritual formulas' ◇ ≈ Blz. 122 [no. 27] (incl. K, IE; *see* above s.v. ≈ *tuL▽ '↑').

2265. *toH₂l▽ (or *toH₂l▽) 'to fill, to pile up; full' > HS: EC *tūl- v. 'pile up' (× N *ti'ʔa'íō 'stone, heap of stones'??) > Or, Kns tūl-, Bs tūl-a- 'pile up', Sml {ZMO} tūl- v. 'load, dump in a heap, pile (up)', Sml N {Abr.} tūl- v. 'heap up, pile'; HEC *tūl- v. 'pile up, stack' (of grain) > Brj {Hd.} tūl- id., Ged {Hd.} tūl- id., {L} tūle v. 'heap', Sd {Gs., Hd.} tūl- v. 'pile up' || ???σ SC: Kz {E} tal- v. 'grow' ¶ Ss. B 180, Bl. 185, AD GDS no. 7.19, Abr. S 240, ZMO 399, Grg. 381, L M 54, Hd. 113, 223, 263, 396, Gs. 318, E SC 168 || NrOm: Ym {C} tūl- 'fare i covoni, ammuchciare', {Wdk.} tūlo- v. 'heap up', Mch {L} tūlló 'heap, pile' ¶ L M 54, C SE III 83, Wdk. BY 137 || Ch: WCh: Hs túlì 'heap, crowd', Ang {Flk.} tūl 'a swelling', {J} tūl 'swelling after a bit by a fly' || Ech: Ke {Eb.} tɔlaŋ 'völlig' ¶ Abr. H 897, Ba. 1053, Eb. 97, Flk. s.v. tūl || ?σ B: Ah tawaltwal 'swell, inflate' ¶ Fc. 1909 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. SCC 79 [no. 6.2] (C, Om, Ch + unc. Eg tωɜ 'hochheben, hold up, support', Ar tall- 'hill' and JA təlī'1-ā 'high' [actually pp. 'lifted up, exalted' → 'high', *see* N *ti'ʔa'íō '↑']) || K *^otwal- > G tval-

'zur Reife kommen, reif werden' (e.g. fruit) (← * 'become full') ¶ Chx. 474 || **A** *t'ōl∇ (= *t'ōl∇?) > T: **[1]** T *t'ōl- v. 'be filled, be full' (× pA {SDM} *čālo 'full', v. 'fill') > OT {Cl.} tōl- id., Tkm dōl-, Tk dōl-, Az, Ggz dōl-, VTt, Bsh tul-, CrTt, Qry, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, ET, Ln, StAlt, Xk tōl-, Uz tωl-, Chv L тупл-, Tv d_ōl-, Tf d_ōl-, Yk tūōl- id., Tf d_ōl- vi. 'come to an end, be done, be filled'; ⇨ T *t'ōlu 'full' > OT {Cl.} tōlū, Tk dōlu, Az, Ggz dōlu, Tkm, XT {ADb.} dōli, Nog, Qzq, Qq tōli, Blq, Yk tōlu, VTt, Bsh туплы tulь, Qrg, StAlt tōlo, Uz tωlä, Tv d_ōlu 'full, filled', Yk tolor- v. 'fill, fulfill'; T ⇨ Ewk tōlu 'full' ¶ IS AD 40, ADb. Ttd 61 [no. 9], Rs. W 486, ET VGD 257-9, Jeg. 256, Fed. II 242-3, Ra. 173, JkR 389, 402, Pek. 2819-20, Rl. III 1191-3, DTS 172-3 | **[2]** T *t'ā́(1)- v. 'overflow' (infl. of pA *d|tāL- '≈ flood, wave' < N *dalq∇ 'wave [Welle]') > OT, XwT XIV, Chg ≥xv tās- v. 'overflow', MQp XIV tās- v. 'boil over' (of a pot), Tkm dās-, Ggz, Kr tās- 'overflow', 'overflow its banks' (a river), ET tās-, Uz τω- tās- id., 'run over', Tk tās, Az daš, CrTt tās- id., 'boil over' (of water\milk in a pot), Xk tās- 'run over, overflow its banks' ¶ Cl. 559, ET VGD 169-70 ¶ T *-ā- may be due to the infl of pA *d|tāL-. The palatal T *-í- may go back to *-ly- with *y belonging to a sx) || Tg *dōl-∇m- v. 'fill' > Neg dōlimiça 'full, whole', WrMc {Z} долмо- 'pour in (wine), fill the cup, add (wine)' ¶ STM II 195, Z 821 || ?σ pJ *tār- 'be sufficient\full' > OJ tar- {S} id., J T tārī-, J K tārī-, J Kg tarí- 'be sufficient' ¶ S QJ 158, Mr. 764, Kenk. 1919 ¶¶ SDM 390-1 (pA *čālo 'full, fill' > T *t'ōl-, pJ + unc.: M *del- 'full, abundant, wide', Tg *žalu(-m) and pKo *čāra- 'be sufficient\enough'), S AJ 13, 45-6, 75, 282, Mr. KJ 243, Mill. AJVC 853, 858, 863, Mill. ACOJN 195-6, ADb. SR 12 ¶¶ S AJ, SDM 390-1 and DQA no. 229 equated the T and J stems with Tg *jalu(-m) 'full' (> Ewk, Neg jalum, Lm jalū-, Ul žalu(n), Ork dalumžī, Nn žalo, Orc žalu-, Sln žalū, WrMc {Z} чжалу 'full', WrMc {Z} чжалу-, Jrc žaw-lu-χa) and pKo *čāra- v. 'be sufficient\ enough' (> MKo čāra-, NKo čāra-), and SDM reconstructed pA *čālo 'full', v. 'fill'.

2266. *talq'ō' '≈ (back of the) neck, shoulders' > **HS**: S *^o✓tlf 'neck' > Ar talaḡ- 'longueur du cou \ de l'encolure', ✓tlf G (pf. talīḡa, ip. -tlaḡ-) 'avoir un long cou \ une encolure longue'; in Ar the semantic component of 'length' is probably due to the infl. of the paronymous root ✓tlf v. 'be tall' (as in the word talīḡ- 'tall') (< N *tæLḡE 'be long', q.v.); ?σ S *✓tlf 'breast' > Gz {L} tallāḡ 'breast', Ak B/NA

t u l ū (m) 'Brust(warze), mamma' ¶ BK I 204, L G 574, Di. 552, Sd. 1369-70 || ???ϕ C: SLEC {Bl.} *d u l 'back (dorsum)' > Kns túl-ta id., Sml N {Abr.} d ū l id., 'on', Sml {ZMI} d u l 'top, surface; on, above' ¶ Bl. 177, Abr. S 68, ZMI 100 || IE (att. in Blt) *^od_l^h₁e|H₂x-b- / *^od_l^h₁o|H₂x-b- / *^od_l^h₁o|H₂x-b- 'upper arm' > Ltv Δ d a ĩ b a ɔ̣ d a ĩ b s 'Stamm des Baums, Stange', Lt d ĩ l b i s 'forearm' ({P} 'Röhren-knochen, Schienbein'), Ltv d e l b s 'Oberarm', d ĩ ĩ b a ~ d ĩ l b s 'forearm (Oberarm)', Δ 'Schienbein'; ??σ (× N ***dæLb**∇ 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through'?): Lt d á l b a ~ d é l b a 'lever, crowbar', Pru d a l p t a n "Durchschlag" 'crowbar (for punching holes)' ¶ P 246, Frn. 81, En. 156, Tr. P A-D 291-4, ME I 434, 454, 466-7, PiesS 128, 144 || A *t' a l u | o 'shoulders, shoulder blade' > NaT *t' a l : j l 'upper part of the back; back (dorsum)' > Tk d a l 'back (dorsum)', Δ d a l ɔ̣ d a l h, Az d a l id., 'back part', Az Tbr/Erz {Foy} d a l 'part of the back between the shoulders', Tkm † d a : j l 'back part', Tkm Δ {Mux.} d a l 'back' ¶ IS AD 47, Rs. W 130, ET VGD 131-2, ADb. SR 141-2, ARL 95, Foy AS II 213, Mux. 234 || M {Lg.} *d a l : j l u 'shoulder blade, the hinder part of the shoulder', {SDM} *d a l u, {AD} *d a l E₁ u or *d a l u > MM [MA, IM] د ا ل u ([d a l u], IsV) د ا ل u (d a l u), WrM {MED} d a l u, HIM {MED, BMR} д а л 'shoulder blade', Brt д а л а, MMgl d ā l ū ({AD} [d a l u] {Lg.} [d ā l u]), Mgl {Rm.} d ō l u, Dg d a l id., Dx d a l e u, Ba d a l i 'shoulder, shoulder blade, Mnr H {SM} d ā l i 'épaule', Kl {KRS} д а л 'shoulder blade', {Rm.} d a l a 'Schulterblatt', Ord d a l u 'omoplate' (MM د ا ل u and Dx d a l e u suggest pM *d a l E₁ u); ??σ M {SDM} M *d a l i 'wing of a bird' > WrM {MED} d a l i, HIM {MED, BMR} д а л ь, Brt д а л и id. ¶ M ⇨ Chg d a l u id.; M *d a l a ŋ ({ADb.} *d a l u - n) 'horse's withers (загривок); fat under a horse's mane' (ADb.: ← adj.) > WrM {Kow.} d a l a ŋ 'nuque, le dessus de cou (des chevaux, des mulets)', Kl {Rm.} d a l ŋ 'Nackenfleisch der Pferde und Esel, Widerrist', {KED} д а л њ д а л њ 'fat of horse's withers (подгривный жир)', WrM {MED} d a l a ŋ 'nape of the neck (of animals), withers (of a horse)', HIM д а л а н (г) d a l a n ~ d a l a ŋ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'fat under a horse's mane', Brt д а л а н 'horse's withers' ¶ SDM 1351 (M *d a l u 'shoulder blade', qu. *d a l i 'wing'), IS AD 47, MED 226-7, BMR II 23, 25, 29, Chr. 183, 185, Kow. 1632, 1635, ADb. MSR 9 [no. 10], Pp. MA 138, 435, KRS 178, 180, KW 73-4, Rm. M 27, Iw. 97, Lg. VMI 25, SM 42, T 327, T BJ 138, T DnJ 117, T DgJ 134, Ms. O 116 || Tg: Ewk d a l ū 'shoulder blade of reindeer/elk' (← M?) ¶ STM I 195 || ?σ p K o {S}

*tʰr'áj̥ 'wing of a saddle' (unless derived from tʰr- 'hang', as supposed by MLC) > MKo tʰr'áj̥ 'wing of a saddle', Nko tarä 'mudguards hanging on either sides of a horse; two sideboards of a coffin' ¶ S QK no. 857, Nam 141, MLC 382 || ??σ pJ {S} *tʰari 'hand, arm' > OJ te, MJ tè, J: T/Kg té, K tè, Ns tí, Sh tí, Ht ší, Y tí ¶ S AJ 266, S QJ no. 35, Mr. 545, Kenk. 1934-6 ¶¶ SDM 1351 (pA *talo 'shoulder blade', [qu.] 'wing' > M *dalu 'shoulder blade', *dali 'wing', J, Ko), DQA no. 362 (id.), IS AD 47, STM I 195, ≠ ADb. SR 445 (M ÷ T *jā́l 'fat under the mane of a horse'; pA *dalu) || D (in SD) *tṓl ({{ǰGS} *t-) 'shoulder, arm' > Tm tṓl id., MI tṓl 'shoulder', Kt tṓl 'upper arm (elbow to shoulder)', Td tωþ·l̥fody 'bangle worn on upper arm', Kn tṓl(υ), Tu tṓlυ 'arm' ¶ D no. 3564 ◇ SD rounded *ṓ is probably due to regr. as. ◇ IS MS 355 ('плечо': A-D).

2267. *tæLɹE (ga) 'be long' > HS: S *^o✓tlɹ v. 'be tall\high\long' (× N *tuɹɹ▽ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') > Ar talīɹ- 'tall', ? talɹ-at- 'hauteur, élévation, monticule', (× S *^o✓tlɹ 'neck' < *talɹɹ'o' '[back of the] neck, shoulders') Ar ✓tlɹ (pf. talisa, ip. -tlaɹ-) 'avoir un long cou, une encolure longue' ¶ BK I 204, Hv. 61 || IE: [1] IE *del_lH_oX₁- > NaIE *del_lə₁- 'long' > Sl {ESSJ} *dъlb, {Bern., SPS} *dъl̥a 'length' > OCz, Cz dél, LLs del, OP dla id.; Sl inf. *dъliti (1s pres. *dъl̥o) 'to prolong, to make longer' > OCS inf. **продълити** prodъliti (prodъliti slovo [· μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον] 'to speak long', lit. 'to prolong the speech', R inf. про-длѣ-тъ 'to prolong, to make longer', SCr † inf. dljiti id., Cz inf. dlíti, R Δ inf. длѣ-тъ 'to prolong, to postpone', R rf. длѣ-тъся inf. 'to last'; Sl *dъlina 'length' > R длѣ-на, SCr † dljina id., ⇨ R длѣ-н-ый 'long' || Gmc: Nr Δ tǝla 'zögern, warten' || [2] IE *deleḡh^h-/*dḡh^h-o- 'long' > NaIE *delēg^h-/*dḡg^h-o- > OI dīr'gha-, Av darəga-, darəḡa-, OPrs darga-, Oss I/D даргъ darγ 'long' || Gk δολιχός id. || ?σ Gmc: Gt tulgu^s adj. (· στερεός, ἑδραῖος) 'fest, standhaft', OSx tulgo 'very' || Blt (with unexplained loss of *d-): Lt ilgas, Ltv iļgs, Ytv ilg 'long', Pru ilga 'for a long time, diu' | Sl *dъlgъ (dadj. *dъlgъjъ) 'long' > OCS **длъгъ** dlъgъ ~ **длъгъ** dlъgъ, Blg дълъг, SCr dūg, Slv dōlg, Cz dlouhý, Slk dlhý, P długi, R долгий 'long', R 'долог 'is long' || Ht daluki- 'long' (of time and space) || [3] NaIE *dlong^h-o- 'long' > L longu^s || Gt laggs 'lang' (nur von der Zeit), ON langr, OHG, NHG, AS lang 'long', NE long || MPrs drang 'long' || pAl {O} *dlata 'long' (< *dlong^h-to-) > Al gjatē, Δ glatz ¶¶ P 196-7, EI 357 (*dḡh^h-o-s and *dlong^h-o-s 'long'), StSS 189, 520, F I 406-7, Frn. 183-4,

Zink. LJZ I 73, En. 183, Тр. P I-K 40-1, Bern. I 251-3, StSS 189, 520, SPS V 215-16, 219-20, Glh. 209-10, ESSJ V 207-12, M K II 47, Ab. I 344-5, Fs. 318, 482-3, Hs. S 76, Kb. 588, Ts. W 82-3, Ts. E III 61-5, ABIv. II 111-12, Vr. 345, Fs. 318, O 130-1 || **А:** M: WrM *delegüü* {MED} 'large, vast, spacious, wide', HIM *дэлүү* {MED} id., {BMR} 'broad, spacious, обширный, пространный', Brt *дэлүүн* (*дэлюүн*) "broad, spacious"; MM [MA] *delge-* v. 'open wide', *delgere-* v. 'spread', WrM *delge-* {Pr.} 'ausbreiten', {MED} vt. 'spread', HIM *дэлгэ-* {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'раскладывать, разомкнуть, расправлять, unfold, open wide', Brt *дэлгэ-* 'unfold, развертывать, раскладывать', Kl {KRS} *делг-* 'настилатъ, расстилать', {Rm.} *delgə-* 'ausbreiten', Mnr H {T} *delge-* vt. 'spread, unfold', {SM} *diergē-* 'étendre, déployer, étaler, dérouler', Ord *d_elge-* 'déployer en long et en large, étendre, étaler, répandre, propager'; WrM *delger* {MED} 'extensive, vast', HIM *дэлгэр* {MED} id., {BMR} 'full, изобильный', Brt *дэлгэр* adj. 'broad, open, spacious, пространный', Kl {Rm.} *delgr* 'weit, breit', Ord *d_elger* 'étendu, vaste, grand'; M \rightarrow Yk *däläy*, *dälägäy* 'abundant, vast', Ewk *dэлзүзү*, *dэлзү* 'vast' ¶ MED 248-9, BMR II 106, 108, Chr. 115-16, KRS 197, KW 86, Pp. MA 140-1, T 328, SM 52, Ms. O 137-8, STM I 233-4 ¶¶ STM I 233-4, ≠ Pp. VG 22 (considering Ewk *dэлзү* to be an inherited Tg word and a cognate of M **delge-* rather than a loan) ◇ ≈ IS MS 339 (**tel(h)an* 'long') and IS SS no. 2.13 (in both: A, IE, *S [a non-existent Ar \checkmark tħ]) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 249 (**del* 'long') (IE, CK + err. A **delp*'a 'wide').

2268. **tuł̥* ▽ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' > HS: S * \checkmark t̥l̥ > Ar *tal̥-at-* 'high\elevated land\ground' (× S * \checkmark t̥l̥ 'be tall\long' < N **tæL̥E* (ga) 'be long') ¶ Ln. 312, BK I 204 || EC: Sml {DSI} *tuluḥ* 'hump; large benign tumor on the hind part of the neck', {ZMO} large wart, benign tumor', Or {Grg.} *tullū* 'mountain, hill', Sd {C} *tullō* 'mountain', {Gs.} *tullitte*, coll. *tullo* 'hill, heap', {Hd.} *tull-ō* 'hill' (semantic infl. of *tūl-* v. 'pile up?', / N **toH₂I̯* ▽ \rightarrow **toI̯H₂* ▽ 'to fill, to pile up; full' and N **tiʔa'íō* 'stone, heap of stones') ¶ DSI 589, ZMO 397, Grg. 379, Gs. 318, C SE II 221, Hd. s.v. Sd *tull-ō* || **U:** FU **tužka* 'point, upper end' (\rightarrow FP **tužka-m* ▽) > F *tutka* 'Spitze', *tutkan* (gen. *tutkamen*), 'Spitze, Ende', Es *tutk*, *tutkem* 'Ende, Winkel' | Lp N {N} *dučkum* ~ *dučkun*, Lp L {LLO} *tur'kum* 'leaf bud (on trees)', Lp Vfs {Lgc.} *d_urč'k'omz* 'Knospe, Kätzchen an Bäumen' | Prm **to|ǰ* 'sprout, shoot, excrescence' > Vt *tuł̥+m* 'young shoot on the top of a tree' ('die oberen zarten Sprößlinge der Bäume'), *toía* 'fir cone', Z

LL/MS pon-toí 'sty on the eye' (pon- 'dog's' → '≈ rotten') || ObU {Ht.} *tōž/*tēž, *tož/*ta:ž 'Gipfel, Spitze, oberes Ende' > pVg *tǎ́lak ~ *tǎ́lak id. > Vg: T/LL/ML taíak, LK tǎ́lak, MK/UK tǎ́lak, P/SV taík, NV taík & taíak, UL taíak, Ss toíak ~ taíak id.; pOs *tōy, *tōy ({/Hl.}) *tūy, *tūy) > Os: V/Vy tōy, Ty/Y tōy, D/K tēy, Nz/Kz tīy, O tǎy id. | OHg tōlgū, tōlgū, Hg tōgū 'udder', {UEW} 'Euter, Gesäuge' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 533-4, Sm. 550 (FU *tūdkā 'tip' > FP *tūdka, Ugr *tūdkā), MF 643-5, LG 281-2, Ht. no. 616-17 ¶¶ Cf. N *tōlǵA (k∇) or *tAǵ∇ (k∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip' || D *t'ulǵi n. 'sprout, bud', *t'ulǵi- v. 'sprout, bud' > Tm tūlǵir- v. 'bud, sprout, shoot, put forth leaves', tūlǵir 'bud, sprout', Ml tūlǵir 'a bud', Kn sūrǵi 'tender sprout', Kn Hl sulǵi, Kn B čulǵi 'sprout', Kn R tǵlǵalǵu 'mango shoot', Kdg čulǵi 'leaf shoot', Tu sūrǵi 'tender shoot, germ, bud', Mlt {Drs.} čulǵe v. 'sprout', čulǵo 'blade of grass or corn' ¶¶ D no. 3362 ◇ AD LZL 359-60 (*tūlǵōn HS, U, D + *÷ T), IS I 222 (*čulǵn; U, D + *÷ K).

2269. *t'a'lh∇ or *tahE1∇ '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged' > HS: S *o✓tlh > Ar ✓tlh G (ip. -tlah-, pf. taliha) 'périr; être triste et chagrin' ¶ BK I 205 || IE *deh₁l-/*dh₁l- > NaIE *dēl-/*dāl- v. 'damage, destroy' > Gk δηλέομαι v. 'damage, spoil', παν-δάλητος {By} 'tout à fait détruit, anéanti', φρενο-δάλης {By} 'qui fait perdre la raison', {LS} 'ruining the mind' || L dolē- v. 'ache' (mihi dolet 'it hurts me', caput dolet '[one's] head aches'), dolor 'pain', but not dēlē- 'blot out, efface' (where dē- is a px) || Ltv dēlīt 'to wear out', Δ {ME} 'quälen, Δ {ME} dēl 'es ist eine Schande' ¶ ≠ P 194-5, F I 378, WH I 335-6, 364, By 1449, 2097, ME I 463, ≈ Kar. I 208-9 ¶ L and Ltv < IE *dēl-/*dāl- × IE *del- v. 'split' (< N *tæL∇ 'cut [split, trim, cleave]') || U: FU (att. in Vg) *o|s|š'a'1|1|∇ > Vg N {Mu.} tal ~ tǎl 'illness, contagious disease' ¶ MK 621 || A *t'ǎl'ǎ- > M {SDM} *dele- 'strike, beat, hit' > MM delet-, dilat-, WrM deled-, deles- {MED} id., HIM дэлдэ-, дэлцэ- {MED, BMR} id., Kl {Rm.} deIdə-'schlagen, klöpfen', Kl Ö {Rm.} del-'schlagen, klöpfen' (z.B. das Herz), 'zerschlagen', Ord d_eId_e- 'frapper, battre' ¶ Lew. II 38, MED 248-9, BMR II 107, KW 86. Ms. O 136 || T *t'ǎla- 'bite' (of animals), 'damage, ruin' > OT talā- v. 'damage, pillage', MQp XIV-XV, Oosm ≤XIV talā- 'bite, tear; plunder', Chg ≥XV talā 'pillage', Tk dala-, Az, Ggz dala- 'bite' (of animals), Chv L {Jeg.} тyла-, Chv Δ {Jeg.} тǎвла- id., 'abschlächten' (of predators), Chv L тyла- {Fed.} 'take by force, plunder, wegnehmen', {Ash., ChVS} id., 'терзать, рвать,

трепаты', Tkm *tāla-*, Az *tala-* 'bite' (of animals), 'plunder', Uz, Qrg *tala-*, Yk *talā-* 'plunder', Xk *tala-* v. 'ruin, destroy', StAlt *tala-* id., 'plunder; scold, abuse', VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qq, Nog, Qmq *tala-* 'plunder', 'bite' (of animals) | T → M (× N ***tā́lha** 'lift up, carry', q.v.): MM [S, MA] *talā-*, Kl {Rm.} *talā-* v. 'plunder', WrM {MED} *talā-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *тапа-* v. 'take away, confiscate, plunder; ruin', Ord *t'ala-* 'piller et casser (les objets), briser, endommager'; M → WrMc {Z} *talā-* 'confiscate' ¶ Cl. 492, ET VGD 134-7, Rs. W 458, Jeg. 256, Ash. XIV 119-20, Fed. II 244-5, BT 140, Pek. 2533, MED 771, BMR III 182, KW 376, H 144, Ms. O 641, Pp. MA 339 || Tg {SDM} **dala¹w¹*- 'feed' > Neg *dala¹w-*, Orc *dalau-*, Ul *dalan-*, Ork *dala¹w-*, *dallau-*, Ud *dalausi-*, Nn Nh/KU *dalo-*, Nn Bk *dala-* v. 'feed (dogs, pigs [Schweine])' (× Tg **dala-* 'lap, swill' < N ***daṭṭ** 'lick', q.v. ffd.) ¶ STM I 193, On. 137 || ?σ pKo {S} **tār'áj-* 'lure, seduce, coax' > MKo *tār'áj-*, NKo *tallä-* ¶ S QK no. 624, Nam 139, MLC 404 || ?σ pJ {S} **tárás-* 'deceive, lure' > MJ *tárás-* {S} id., J: T *taras-* {Kenk.} 'deceice, cheat, wheedle' ¶ S QJ no. 570, Kenk. 1918 ¶¶ SDM 1352 (pA **tāṭ* [err.] 'lick' > T **tāla-* 'bite', Tg **dala-* 'bite' + err. Tg **dala-* 'lap' [of animals] and M **dolôṽa-* 'lick' [both from pA **dal^o*- 'lick' < N ***daṭṭ** 'lick', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 2321 (A **t'āla* 'plunder, seduce'), SDM 1363 (pA unc. **telṭ* v. 'split, strike' > M **tele-* 'strike, beat, hit' + unc.: Tg **del-* v. 'split, divide' and T **t'el-* 'bore [through], cut') || **D** **tall-* v. 'beat, hit' > Tm *tallu* v. 'beat, crush', MI *tallu* 'a blow, stroke, beating', Tu *dalliyuni* v. 'slap, beat', Tl *Δ talgu* v. 'strike', Knd *talg-* v. 'strike, hit' ¶¶ D no. 3105 ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I no. 7 (IE, ?U + erroneously HS **dall-* 'weak').

2270. **tæṭ^h,^o* ≈ be foolish; deceive' > HS: S **^o√tlh* > BHb *√tlh* *Sh* pf. 3m *הַתְּלֵה* *hē¹t̪el*, 2m *הַתְּלֵה* *hē¹t̪altā*, ip. 3pm *יַהֲלֵה* *yahā¹t̪el¹lū*) v. 'deceive, cheat'; ?σ S **^o√tlh* > Ar *√tlh* *G* 'perdre la tête, demeurer interdit\stupéfait', *tālih-* 'stupéfait, interdit' (unless sd. of *√tlh* 'périr', see N ***t'a¹lhṭ** ≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged') ¶ GB 879, KB 1602, BK I 205 || IE: NaIE **del-* {P} 'listig schädigen', **del-os* 'lure' > Gk *δόλος* 'cunning contrivance for deceiving\catching', *δολόω* vt. 'beguile, ensnare, take by craft' || L *dolus* (gen. *dolī*) 'fraud, deceit, guile', Osc accus. *DOLOM* 'dolum' (L and Osc ← Gk?) || OIr *dul* 'snare', NIr *dol* 'snare, fishing net', OIr *dolb*, *dailbe* 'deceit', NIr *dolbh* 'sorcery', W † *dól* (pl. *dolau*) {YGM} 'loop', {Mn.} 'noose' || ON *tál* n. 'deceit, cunning (Betrug, List)', *tæla* 'to entice, to deceive' ¶ P 193, Mn. 154,

WH I 366-7, Bc. G 315, F I 407-8, Dnn. 255, YGM-1 193, Vr. 580-1 || **A**: NaT *t'æli|ü- ({{Adb.}} *t'ā|(*w*)i-) 'mad, fool' > OT Og [MhK] tēlū 'stupid', Tk dēli, Tkm dāli, Ggz, CrTt, Qmq deli, VTt tilb, Qrg teli 'mad', Az dāli, Nog teli ~ deli, Blq teli, Bsh tilb id., 'stupid'; NaT *t'ē|E|bE > OT tēlvä 'lunatic, mad', Tkm telbe id., Uz telba id., 'stupid', ET Δ {Jr.} tēlbε, Qrg delbe 'fool, foolish', Qq delbe 'extravagant, crazy' ¶ Cl. 493, MKD 184, DTS 551, ET VGD 214-17, Jr. 302, TkR 300, ARL 102, UzR 422, Adb. Ttd 61 [no. 16] ¶ The variant *t'ē|E|bE- may be explained by the infl. of the reflex of pA *dūlü'â- (or *dūlâ-) 'mad, crazy' ({{SDM97}} *dūlbi 'crazy, stupid') < N *dū|U|h∇ 'be mad, be stupid' and/or result from a phonetic change: N *o + *E of a suffix > **-wE > T *-bE ◇ Ar ✓tlh and the long vw. in NaT *t'æli|ü- suggest that in the pN etymon there was a cs. *h, that was lost in Hb and in the prevocalic position in NaIE.

2271. *tä|U|H₂A or *ta|U|H₂ä '≈ cold season, rain' > IE: NaIE *del- 'rain', 'moist' ('humide') > Arm տեղ tēł 'heavy rain', տեղամ տեղամ տեղամ տեղամ տեղամ տեղամ (1s pres.) 'cause to rain heavily, open the windows of heaven' ||| Clt {Matas.} *delto- 'moist' > OIr {P, Matas.} dēlt 'dew', MBr dēlt 'moist' ('humide'), Br {Hm.} 'moite, humide' ¶ P 196, ≈σ EI 207 (*del- 'flow'), Ern. 151, Hm. 149, Bdr. 697-8, Matas. E 95, Hm. 149, ≠ Ach. IV 392 ||| **U**: FU *tä|wä 'winter' > F talvī (gen. talven), Es talv, Lv tǫla, Lv W tǎla id. | pLp {Lr.} *tāl|vē id. > Lp: N {N} dal'vε, L {LLO} tal'vē, S {Hs.} daalvie, Vfs {Lgc.} dālεw|ε, Kld тǎлльв tāl':v | pMr {Ker.} *tālā > Er теле téle, Mk тѣла tāla id. | Chr: KB tel, Uf telā, B tele id. | Prm {LG} *tōl > Z tǝv, Yz tōl id. ||| ObU {Ht.} *tē|l(ə)ψ 'winter' > pVg *tāl ~ *tālī > Vg: T tāl, LK/MK/UK/NV tōl, P/SV/LL tōl, UL/Ss tāl 'winter', LK/MK/Ss tēli 'in winter', P tēl-pēl, UL tēli-pāw| 'Winterdorf'; pOs *tēləψ ({{Hl.}} *tǎləψ) 'winter' > Os: V/Vy tēləʃ, Ty/Y tǝʃəʃ, D/K tēta, Nz tāt, Kz tǎʃ, O tāl | Hg tēl (accus. telet) id. ¶ UEW 516, Coll. 118, Coll. CG 414, Db. OS x, Sm. 550 (FU *tä|wä, FP *tälvā, Ugr *tālgä), MF 625-6, It. no. 271, Kt. 429, LG 283, Lr. no. 1223, Lgc. no. 7728, Hs. 403-4, SaR 344, Ker. II 166, Ht. no. 635 ||| **A** ≈*t'ol∇ > NaT *t'olu 'hail' > Tk dolu, Az dolu, Ggz tolu (the vl. t- is still to be explained), Tkm {TkR, TDS} dolı (not dōlı, as in AB and Rs. W), XT {Adb.} dolı, Xlj t'olı, Kü {Rl.} tolı, Tv d'olu, Yk tolon ¶ IS AD 42 [no. 24], Rl. III 1196, Rs. W 486, TkR 278, TDS 264, DT 208, ET VGD 260-1, Adb. Ttd 61 [no. 5], TvR 170 ¶ IS reconstructed *t'- on the

basis of alleged variations *t-* ~ *d-* (observed in Ggz *tolu*, Tk Rh *tolu* and MT [L] {presumably *Türkmäni*} *tolu*), which is hardly reliable ¶ S CNM 6 on my T **tolu*: "Turk. **dōlu* (no **tolu*)". A misunderstanding: my lax T **t-* = {S} **d-*. The pT vw. was short, as proved by Tkm *dolı* (TkR 278, TDS 264) || pJ {S} **tūrará* (× N **t̥ULy∇* 'to drip; drops of water, dew') > OJ *turara*, J T *cūrara*, J K *cūrará*, J Kg *curará* 'icicle' ¶ S CNM 6, S QJ no. 154O, Kenk. 2071 ¶¶ The labial vw. of the first syll. in T and J belongs to the heritage of N **t̥ULy∇* ¶¶ SDM 400 (pA **č|t̥jòlú* 'ice, hail' > T, pJ + unc. Tg **žalka* 'fine snow', 'fall' [of fine snow])) || ?? Attention should be paid to Gil A *tilf* (/ *tilv*) 'autumn' and *t'ulf* (/ *t'u|v*) 'winter' ¶¶ ST 354, 386, ST RN 162, 264 || K: pGZ **toʷ]* 'snow' > OG *toʷl-*, G *toʷl-*, Mg *tʰr-*, *tir-*, Lz (m) *tvi(r)-*, mtur- id. ¶ This K stem belongs here only unless it is d. from {K} **(š)tō-* v. 'snow' (< N **š∇t∇w∇* 'cold weather') ¶ K 176, K² 73, FS K 151, FS E 163-4 ◇ The absence of **u* or **u̥* (< N **u* or **ü*) in the IE word (**del-*) may be explained either by its loss in stem-final position (before vowels of the next morpheme) or as suggesting that the N vw. was **o* ◇ The labialized vw. **o* in T and K is probably due to the ass. infl. of U: **-A1U-* > T **-o|u*, GZ **-oʷ]* ◇ AD NM no. 12, Gr. II no. 427 (**tel* 'winter') (U, Gil).

2272. **tAÍ∇* 'to tread, to pound' ([in descendant lges] → 'to thresh') > K **tel-*/**tl-* 'trample, press' > G *tel-* 'trample, crush', {Chx.} 'zertreten, zerstampfen', Mg *tal-* id., Sv *tel-/tl-* v. 'press, touch' ¶¶ K 92, K² 68, FS E 159 || U: FU ***taíä-* or ***täla-* > FP **taía-* ~ **°täí∇-* 'trample, tread upon' > F *tallaa-*, Es *talla-* id. | Prm {LG} **taí-* > Z *taí-n+*, *taíav-n+* 'to trample down, to puddle (clay) with feet' | ?ϕ Mk *тряля- táíä-* v. 'thresh' ¶ UEW 791, FF 1017-18, LG 278 || D **tal-* v. 'pound, thresh' (× N **dä'ž'∇* 'to strike') > Kn *talısu* v. 'pound, beat, deprive rice of its bran by pounding', Tu *talı* 'threshed, beaten', *talpurni* v. 'thresh', Gnd *dalsānā* v. 'pound, thresh' ¶¶ D no. 313O ◇ Cf. BmK 293-4 (an attempt to equate the K and the D √ with IE *telk-* v. 'push', FU **toí∇* v. 'shove, thrust in' and SC: Irq *cil-* v. 'sting', Kz *cal-* v. 'stab' etc.). It is more plausible to equate IE **telk-* v. 'push, strike' with T **t'alk'-* v. 'strike, beat' etc. (F N **tal̥ka* 'strike, push').

2273. ₂ **tuí|∇* '≈ be bright\light (hell)' > A **t'üíE* 'clear' (of weather), 'clear sky, noon' > M: [1] M **dul* (× N **duṽ'i'* 'fire'; 'hot, warm') > WrM *clul* {MED} 'clear, serene, calm, bright' (of weather), HIM *дцл* {MED} id., {BMR} 'clear, windstill' (of weather), Brt d. *дцлаа(н)* 'warm', Kl

{Rm.} *dul* 'warm; Wärme', *dul ödr* 'Sommertag; warmer, windloser Tag', Ord *d_u* | adj. 'sans vent et sans froid' ¶ The apparent absence of final *vw* in *pM* seems to suggest that *M *dul* is a loanword ¶ MED 272, BMR II 67, Chr. 200, Ms. O 16, KW 101 | [2] *M *edür dūli* 'noon' (lit. 'middle of day' [**edür* means 'day']) (pre-*M *dūli* 'noon' coalesced with *M *dūli* 'middle') > *WrM dūli* {MED} 'noon, middle', *HIM дγπ* {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'heiterer, windstiller Tag', *MM ödür dūli* [IsV] 'noon', [IM] 'afternoon', [S, HI] *üdü r dūli* 'noon', as well as possibly *Mnr H* {SM} *d_ur* 'midi, milieu du jour', {T} *dur* 'noon, day' (× *M *edür* 'day') ¶ MED 280, BMR II 85-6, SM 66, Lew. 5, T 331-2, Pp. MA 443, Lg. VMI 28, Ms. H 107, H 38 || *NrTg *dōlā* 'clear (sky)' > *Ewk dōlō* 'clear' (of the sky), 'evident', *Lm deləd* 'clear sky', adj. 'open' ¶ STM I 215 || *T *tū:ǰ* 'noon' > *NaT *tū:š* > OT [MhK], Chg [San.] *tūš*, Blq, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt *tūš*, Qzq, Nog, Qq *tūs*, VTt, Bsh *теш* *tšš*, Kr *tūš* ~ *tis*, Uz *tuš*, Tv *дγѣш* *d_šš*, Tf *d_šš* 'noon' ¶ Cl. 559, DTS 600, Rs. W 507 ('noon'), TL 78-9, Ra. 178, Rl. III 1586-7, Jud. 786, BT 163 ¶ Hardly from **tūš* 'halt in a journey', as supposed by Maḥmūd al-Kašgarī and Clauson ¶¶ SDM 1384 (*pA *tūš* 'clear sky, noon' > *M *dūli* 'middle [of day, night]', T, Tg), ≈ DQA no. 2280 (id.), TL 79, Vld. 366 || **D *tu**[-(a)k-/-akk-] ({ǰGS} *t-) v. 'shine, be bright' (× *N *du* 'i' '↑') > *Tm tu* | aṛku v. 'shine, be bright, luminous', *Ml tu* | aṛṛuka v. 'glitter', *ti* | aṛṛuka, *te* | aṛṛuka v. 'shine, glitter', *Tm, Ml tu* | akkam 'brightness, splendour', *Kn to* | agū v. 'shine', n. 'shine, splendour', *to* | apu 'shine, lustre', OTl {Km.} *tol* | āku v. 'shine, be splendid', *Tl tul* | akinu v. 'shine, rejoice', *tu* | akimpu 'shining, rejoicing' ¶¶ **D** no. 3360, Km. 381 [no. 560], 395 [no. 633]; for the history of *u see Zv. 65-6 || ? **HS**: Possibly *AdS* of SC: *Irq* {MQK} *dēlō*, {E} *delo* 'day', *Kz deles* 'yellow' (pl.), *Asa -dili* | i 'red' (all from *N *d'i* | 'daylight, sunshine, bright') ¶ E SC 346 [no. 11], MQK 29.

2274. **₂ *t** | 'i' (or either ***tA** | 'y | H' | 'i' | 'i' or ***ti** | 'y | H' | 'A' | 'i' | 'i'?) 'female' > **A**: *T *t* | 'i' | 'i' (~ **t* | 'i' | 'i' | 'i') > *NaT *t* | 'i' | 'i' | 'š' (~ **t* | 'i' | 'i' | 'š' | 'i') 'female' > OT *ti* | 'š' | 'i' 'female' (but [MhK] dat. *ti* | 'š' | 'i' - qā), *XwT, MQ, Chg xv ti* | 'š' | 'i' id., *Cmn ti* | 'š' | 'i' id., 'woman', *OOSm xv di* | 'š' | 'i' 'woman', *Tk di* | 'š' | 'i', *CrTt, Qmq ti* | 'š' | 'i', *VTt Δ t* | 'š' | 'š' | 'š', *SbTt t* | 'š' | 'š' | 'š', *StAlt ti* | 'ž' | 'i', *Xk t* | 'z' | 'z', *SY t* | 'e' | 'e', *Tv дижи* *d* | 'i' | 'ž' | 'i' 'female animal', *Kr ti* | 'š' | 'i' & *tisi* 'female, woman' ¶ Cl. 560-1, ET VGD 244-5 || **D *ta** | 'l' | 'i' ({ǰGS} *t-) 'female, mother' > *Tm ta* | 'l' | 'l' | 'a' | 'i', *Ml ta* | 'l' | 'l' | 'a', *Tl ta* | 'l' | 'l' | 'i', *Prj ta* | 'l', *Kn* | 'd' | 'a' | 'l' | 'i', *Png ta* | 'r' | 'i', *Kui* | 'ṭ' | 'a' | 'd' | 'i' id., *Kui ta* | 'l' | 'i' 'female

bird\mammal, hen', Gnd HM *talloʁ* 'mother, female of animals', {Mtch.} *talur* 'female of animals', Gnd Mu *tallur* 'mother of animals\birds, hen which has laid eggs more than once', Gnd B *tāli* 'cow', Ku *tali* 'female of animals', Δ *talli* id., 'mother' ¶¶ D no. 3136.

2275. **tiʔa'ío* 'stone, heap of stones' > A **ṭi,áí∇* (= **ṭi,á'ío*?) (= **ti,áí∇*?) > Hun {Prc.} *tiāl* 'stone' ¶ Prc. HsS ∇ || T **t'i,a;í* 'stone' ({ʃπAD}: < ***t'Eaí*) > Chv L *чул*, Chv H *чол* id. || NaT **t'āš* > OT *tāš*, Tk *taš* 'stone', Tk Iç *daš, ağır* 'stony country' ('çok taşlı yer'), Az, Slr *daš*, Tkm *dāš*, Ggz, ET, CrTt, Qmq, Blq, VTt, Bsh, Qrg, StAlt *taš*, Nog, Qzq, Qq *tas*, Uz *taš*, Tv, Tf *d_aš*, Yk *tās* 'stone' ¶ Rs. W 466, Cl. 557, ET VGD 167-9, Ash. XV 220-1, Fed. II 421-2, Jeg. 326, ChVS 272, IS AD no. B 15, SDD I 405 || M **čilaṽun* 'stone' > MM (ChSc) *čilaṽun* id., WrM *cilaṽu(n)* {MED} 'stone, rock', HIM *чулчү(н)* {MED} id., {BMR} 'stone', Brt *шүлчү(н)*, Kl {KRS} *чолчүн*, {Rm.} *čolūn*, Dg *čolō* 'stone', Ord *č'ílū* 'pierre, caillou' ¶ MED 182, BMR IV 321-2, Chr. 733, KRS 654-5, KW 444, Ms. H 47, Ms. O 704, H 27, Klz. D I 131, T DgJ 182 ¶ Probably M **či-* < **t'i-* < post-N **tiʔ-* < N **tiʔ-* (sc. **t'-* < N **t∇ʔ-*) || Tg **jola*, {Vv.} **jolo* 'stone' > Ewk, Sln, Neg, Ork *jolo*, Lm *jol*, Orc, Nn Nh/Bk/KU, Ul *žolo*, Ud *žolo* 'stone' ¶ STM I 263, Krm. 234, On. 148 || pKo {S} **tōrh* 'stone', {Vv.} **tωōló-k* > MKo {Vv.} *tolh*, {S} *tōr/torh-*, NKo *tol* ¶ S AJ 37-8, 75, 254 [no. 83], S QK no. 83, Nam 159, MLC 478, Vv. AEN 369-70 || pJ {S} **d,ísì* 'stone', {Vv.} **d,ísò* > OJ {Vv.} *isi* 'stone', MJ {Vv.} *ísì*, J T *isí*, J K/Kg *ísi*, J Ht *ìšì* 'stone' ¶ S AJ 267 [no. 72], S QJ no. 72, Vv. AEN 369-70, Mr. 426, Kenk. 638 ¶¶ Tg and pKo *-o- of the initial syll. may be due to regr. as. (infl. of the vw. *o of the next syll.) ¶¶ SDM 1373-4 (pA **tiǒ'íi* 'stone' > T, M, Tg, Ko), DQA no. 2246 (A **tiǒ'yíi*), S AJ 37-8, 277 [no. 68], 237 [no. 88] (pA **tiǒ:ía-*), SDM97 (A **tó:íi*), Vv. AEN 369-70 || K **ṭa;í-* > G *ṭal-i* 'flint, fragment of a tooth' ¶ Chx. 1317, DCh. 1214 || HS: S **till-* (~ ***tīl-* ~ ?***tall-*) 'mound, heap of stones' > BHb *tel, till-* 'mound, hill, mound of ruins, heap of stones', JA [Trg.] *tel, til'l-ā* 'heap of stones, mound', JEA *تل'ل* *til'lā* 'ruin mound', Sr *tel-l-ā* 'mound, hill, heap', Ar *tall-* 'hill, heap', Ak *till-*, *tīl-* 'mound' ¶ GB 879, Sd. 1359, Ln. I 311, BK I 203, Lv. IV 644, Js. 1670, Sl. 1205, Br. 824, PS 4438, JPS 613 || ?? AdS of EC **tūl-* v. 'heap' (× EC **tūl-* v. 'pile up' < N **toH₂ṭ∇* [or **toṭH₂∇*] 'to fill, to pile up; full') > Sml, Kns, Brj *tūl-* 'heap' ¶ Bl. 185, Ss. B 180, Hd. 396 ◇ The long vw. *ā in NaT **t'āš* may go back to the dissyllable *-iʔa'-. The rec.

of N ***tiʔ-** accounts for the K reflex (K glottalized ***t̚-**). Cf. IS SS no. 11.25, IS MS 343: A, K \diamond AD NM no. 82, S CNM 8 ($\div\div$ NrCs), Vv. AEN 4-5 \diamond Gr. II no. 368 (***tu**l 'stone') (A, Ko, J, Etr).

2276. *teí₁H₂1 ∇ 'to bore, to pierce' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} \checkmark t1ʔ (1s: p. 'a-t1aʔ, pres. a-tanlīʔ) v. 'bore, pierce' ||| ? ϕ SC: Irq {MQK} \checkmark t̄1l- v. 'sting', Kz {E} \checkmark al- v. 'stab', \checkmark elet- v. 'drill', ? σ , ϕ Asa {E} \checkmark alas- v. 'bite, sting' ¶ R Wbd 226, E SC 193 (SC ***t̄el-** v. 'prod, poke'), MQK 109 ||| **A**: NaT: [1] ***t̄æí-** v. 'pierce, bore' > OT {Cl.} t̄äš-, MOg [L] d̄iš-, Tk d̄eš- v. 'split, pierce', Az, Ggz, Tkm, XT {ADb.} d̄eš- v. 'pierce', Qmq, Uz, Qrg, StAlt teš-, ET {BN} t̄äš- ~ t̄öš-, Nog, Qzq, Qq tes-, VTt, Bsh tiš-, Tv d̄éš-, Tf d̄éš-, Xk tis-, Yk tās- id., Tki {Zn.} تيش tiš (for teš?), ET Δ d̄äš 'hole' \rightarrow NaT ***t̄äšik** 'hole' (> Cmn tešik, Tk d̄ešik, Tv d̄ešik etc.); [2] NaT ***t̄æ₁1-** 'pierce' (a secondary variant; it resulted probably from merger with T ***t̄æ₁1-** v. 'bore through' < N ***t̄æL** ∇ 'cut, split', q.v.) > OT, XwT, MQp, Chg d̄el-, Osm, Tk d̄el-, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr d̄el-, Az d̄äl- 'pierce' ¶ IS AD 39, Cl. 490, 559, ET VGD 185-6, 210-12, BN 152, Ra. 172, Rs. W 471, ADb. Ttd 58 [no. 11] ||| **IE**: NaIE ***de₁l̄a₁-** v. 'cleave, carve' (\times N ***tiī** ∇ '≈ to roughhew, to chisel (behauen)', q.v. ffd.) \diamond SC ***ç-** still requires explanation.

2277. *tem ∇ 'full, complete' > **HS**: WS ***tamm-** id. > BHb \square tam 'is complete, has been completed\finished' (pf. of the verb \checkmark tmm), \checkmark tmm (ip. yit'tom) v. 'be complete', Ph, Pun tm 'perfect, undamaged; honest', tm (and Pun THEM) 'totality, completion, integrity', Sr \checkmark tmm D (pf. \checkmark tam'mem) 'make entire\perfect', Md \checkmark tmm v. 'be, become, remain', Ar \checkmark tmm G (pf. tamma) 'être fini\achevé\complété; avoir lieu complètement; finir', tamm-, timm-, tumm- 'fin; complément, ce qui complète; perfection', Mh, Jb, Sq \checkmark tmm v. 'be finished, finish' (pf. 3m Mh t̄m, Jb E tim, Jb C timm, Sq tem 'is finished, has been finished') ¶ KB 1613-15, JH 329, HJ 1216-18, JPS 714, BK I 206, Jo. M 402 ||| Eg fP tm 'everything, totality', tm 'be complete', Eg NK tm 'vollständig machen' ¶ EG V 303-5, Fk. 298-9 ||| NrOm: Ym {Wdk.} t̄mà 'much filled', t̄mì 'filled sufficiently', {Lm.} t̄m- 'be full' ¶ Wdk. BY 137, Lm. Y 379 ||| ? C: Bj {R} te'mīm 'ganz', temīm- 'ganz sein' (\leftarrow Ar tamīm- 'entier?') ¶ R Bd 229-30 ||| CCh: MDb: Msy {Mch.} tem, Db {LnG} té'm 'all' ¶ ChC s.v. 'all', LnG s.v. té'm ||| **K**: G Kx -tamam- 'gut gedeihen' (z.B., von Pflanzen), ? σ G -tamam- 'kühn sein'] possibly AdS of G tem-i '(Dorf-\

Land-)Gemeinde' (< N *tam₂'ú' 'earthen wall, hut', q.v.) ¶ Chx. 450, 472 || U: FU *tem∇ 'full', *tem∇- vt. 'fill, cram' > Chr: KB temə, B teme 'full', KB temä-, L тема- (inf. темáш), KB temä-, U tema- 'become full\sated', L тема- (inf. темáш) 'fill, make sated', KB/U/B teme- id., H тэмä-ш temä- 'get sated, fill' || Hg † tēm-, Hg tōm- vt. 'stuff, fill' ¶ UEW 520, Coll. 119, MRS 569, Ep. 117 || D (att. in SD) *tum(p)- ({ǵGS} *t-?) 'full', (-d→ ?) v. 'be filled, fill' > Kt tumn 'full', Kn tumbu v. 'become full\complete, become filled up', tombe 'multitude', Irl tumba 'much', Tm tumpai 'assembly, crowd', Kdg dumb- v. 'become full', Tu tombara 'abundant, much', Kt tub- v. 'be filled full', tubc- vt. 'fill', Kn timbu vt., vi. 'fill', Tu tumbuni v. 'be filled', Krg tumđi v. 'fill' ¶ D no. 3331 ◇ The vw. *u in D (and u in NrOm) may be due to the ass. infl. of *m ◇ Blz. L no. 1c, ≠ IS MS 356 and IS SS 320 [no. 2.4] (CCh ÷ U *täñe 'full', D tañ- 'abound'), ≈ BmK 292-3 (HS, D, Sum t u m 'abundance, plenty' + unc. FU *tuñke- v. 'stuff in' [UEW 537-8]), ≠ Gr. II no. 5 (*tuma 'all').

2278. *t∇m∇ (= *tam∇?) 'hair' > HS: EC: Rn {PG} tím 'hair', pSml {Lm.} *tim- id. > Sml {ZMO} tin/tim- 'a hair', Sml N tín/tim-, Sml B/Ash/My/Db {Lm.} tiñ 'hair' ¶ ZMO 393, Lm. SD 337, Abr. S 238, Oo. 68, PG 277 || CCh: Ms {Lk.} túmúsá, Azm {Pc.} túmúsá, ? FIK {ǰMk.} činč'i 'hair' ¶ Lk. ZSS 132, Mk. s.v. Kiria tshintshi, Pc. 398 || ?σ Eg fMK tmɜ 'mat; sack (for corn etc.)' > Cpt: Sd TME tme, B ΘMH t^hmē 'natte (jonc, alfa)'; DEg tm 'Matte' > Cpt: Sd TOM tom, B ΘOM t^hom id. and/or Sd TWMME tōōme, A TWMEC tōmes 'bourse, sac' ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Er. 631, Vc. 214-15 || K: pGZ *tma- ~ *tama- 'hair' > G tma, Mg toma-, tuma- 'hair', Lz (n)toma- 'hair, wool, fleece' ¶ K 95, K² 73, Fn. KW-2 42 [no. 9], FS K 151-2 and FS E 164-5 (*tom-) || ? U: FP *tañka 'lock of hair, lump of hair\wool' (< **tam-ka with the sx *-ka?) > pLp {Lr.} *tōñkē > Lp: N {N} d u o g'g e 'lump of hair, lump of wool; tangled beard', L {LLO} tuoggē 'Knoten, Knäuel von etw. Verfilztem\Verwickeltem (z. B. von Haaren, Wolle)', Kld {Lr.} tūñ:g, {TI} tū'ñ'k' 'a cloth of uncarded felt wool', {TI} túëgg_ăd_ 'sich verfilzen' (Haar, Wolle) || Prm *tug or *tüg > Z tug / tuğy- 'tassel', Z Ud tug/tuğy- 'Haarflechte, Zopf', Vt tug, Vt MU tūg, Vt B to'g ({JLG} tθ-g) 'tassel, fringe hair\fibres (бaxpoma)' ¶ UEW 791, Lr. no. 1301, Lgc. no. 8070, Lt. 221, LG 285, TI 614 ◇ Tromb. CCS II 156 (K, S, Cpt), Blz. KM 121 [no. 25] (K,

HS: C, Ch, *÷ B: in Ntf, BMn, Izn timmi, Shl timint etc. the element ti- is a px of f.).

2279. $_2$ *t∇m∇ 'worm, snake' > HS: EthS *taman- > Gz taman 'snake, dragon', Tgy, Amh tēmən id. ¶ L G 578 || EC: Sa {R} timbaki'yā 'worm' ¶ R S II 355 || IE: NaIE *dem(-el)- 'worm' > Al: T 'dhemjē 'caterpillar, maggot' (-mj- < *-ml-?), T dhemizē ~ {Hamp} dhē'mizē, dhi'mizē, G dhemizē, dhemēz id., 'blowfly' || Gk δεμελέας accus. pl., Δ [Hs.] δεμβλεῦς pl. (· βδέλλα) 'leeches' ¶ P 201, EI 650 (IE *deme'li-s 'worm'), F I 363-4, Hamp AIEW 143, BFU 116, FGJSh 402, ≠ O 81 (pAl *zōmyā 'worm' ← pAl *zō 'earth' < IE *dʰǵʰōm 'earth') ◇ ≠ BmK 308-9 (trying to equate the IE √ with EthS √ tmm v. 'twist', M tōmu and Th *tōm- v. 'twist').

2280. $_2$ *t'a'h₁∇₁m∇ or *t∇ham∇ 'fire; to kindle; very hot' > HS: S *°√ thm > Ar taham- 'chaleur brûlante' ¶ BK I 209 || Eg G thm 'kochen' (unless ← Eg XVIII/G hm 'heiß sein [ein krankhafter Zustand], brennen') ¶ EG II 489 and V 322 || NrOm {Blz.} *tam- 'fire' > Gf {Mrn.}, Wl/Zl {C} tamā, Wl {LmS} tama, Cha/Bsk/Bdt {C} tamā, {Fl.} tama, Dk {CR} tamā, Male {Fl.} ta·mi, {Si.} 'tami, She {C} tam, Bnc {Wdk.} tām, Shn {Fl.} taʷa, Krt {Fl.} 'tamo, {Si.} tama, Anf {MYTY} temma, {Fl.} tamo, Gnj {Si.} 'tama, Kcm {Si.} ta'ma, Sz {Fl.} ta·mì, {SWW} tammì, HzMa {Fl.} ta·mε, {SWW} tammì, Na {C, Fl.}, Shk {Fl.}, Mj {Bnd.} tamu 'fire'; Bnd PO 146 mentioned Kf tamō 'fire' (not confirmed by other sources [four rather voluminous dictionaries of Kf!]) ¶ Blz. OL no. 96, C SE III 116, 176, C SO 35, 45, 63, Mrn. O 157, Wdk. BY 154, LmS 519, Fl. OWL s.v. 'fire', MYTY 120, Si. ACh 4, Si. M 8, SiW BA 12, Bnd. PO 146, CR LRS s.v. Dk tamā || SC: [1] Irq {Blz.} tumúq 'hot ash' (the word is not found in the "Iraqw vocabulary" by Mgw., though Blz. mentioned Mgw. as the source); [2] (???) Ehret reconstructed SC *tōm- 'hot' on the alleged ev. of Kz camali 'hot' and Mb sumasú 'hot season' (→ Kikuyu themithu 'hot season') ¶ E SC 175, Blz. CP s.v. 'ashes' ¶¶ Tk. p.c. (Om or Eg thm ← hm) || A *t'|t'Am∇ 'v. 'burn, kindle' > NaT *t'lam- id. > Qrg tam-, Xk tamil- 'catch fire', OT tamδur-, SY tamdir- vt. 'burn', VTt tamъz-, Qrg, Nog, Qq tamiz- id., Yk timit- v. 'kindle'; OT [MhK] {Cl.} tamdū, tamduq 'fierce fire, blaze' ¶ Cl. 504, Rs. W 459, Jud. 698, Rl. III 1001, BIG 216, TL 363 || pJ *təmə-s- vt. 'burn, light' > OJ tomos- {S} id., J: T tòmos-, tomós-, K tómós-, Kg tòmòs- vt. 'burn, light (a lamp)' ¶ S QJ no. 183, Kenk. 2011 ¶¶ SDM 1416 (*t'|t'emo 'burn, kindle' > T, J), DQA no. 2342, SDM95 (pA *t'am∇ [~ t-] 'burn, incend'), S AJ 286 [no. 254].

2281. *tam₂'û' (or ***tä₂'û'**) 'earthen wall', 'hut, house' > K *°te₂'m- > G *temi* '(Dorf-\Land-)Gemeinde; Stammverband; Gebiet, Bezirk' (× N ***tem₂'** 'full, complete' [q.v.]?) ¶ Chx. 472, DCh. 557 || IE *domh₂u-, *domh₂o-, *demh₂x- > NaIE *domu-, *domo- 'house', *demə- v. 'build': [1] *domu- > L *domus* (gen. *domū-s*) 'house' || SI *dom₂ (gen. *domu) > OCS **ДОМЪ** *domъ* (gen. **ДОМОУ** *domu*) 'house', Blg, R **дом** 'house, home', Uk **д і м**, SCr **до м**, Cz **д ů м**, P **д о м** 'house', Slv **д ђ м** 'home', OCS **ДОМОВН** *domovŭ* 'nach Hause' || OI *damū-nah₂* / *damū-nas-* 'householder, master' || Lt *namū-darū₂s* 'Baumeister' (as. *d...m > n...m?) || ?φ Arm {Bdr.} **տ ա ն ու տ է ր** *tanu-tê₂r* 'master of a house' || [1a] the apophonic grade *°dmō₂- is represented in Gk I **δ μ ώ ς** (gen. **δ μ ω ό ς**) 'slave taken in war (Knecht)' (← *'house servant?') || [2] NaIE *dom-, *dōm / gen. *dem-s 'house' > OI 'dam- id. (att.: gen. pl. *da'mām*), Av *dām, dāmi, dān* loc. sg. 'in the house', *n³mō* gen. of the house' || Gk Hm **δ ō** 'house' || Arm **տ ու ն** *tun* 'house' || [2a] *dems *poti-* 'master of (the) house' > Gk **δεσπότης** ('master of [the] house' →) 'master, lord, owner', OI 'dam-pati-, Av *dāng pati-* id., 'ruler' || [3] NaIE *domo-s 'house' (analogical change due to the influence of the more numerous *o-stems?) > OI 'dama₂ 'house' || Gk **δ ό μ ο - ς** id. || L *domī* loc. 'at home' (÷ OI 'damē 'in [a, the] house, at home') || Lt *nāmas* 'house' (as. *d...m > n...m?) || [4] NaIE *demə- v. 'build' > Gk **δέ μ ω** v. 'build', pfc. ps. **δέ δ μ η μ α ι** (rdp. from *dmē- [an apophonic grade of *demə-]), Gk **νεό-δμη-τος**, Gk D [Pindar] **νεό-δμᾶ-τος** 'new-built' || KhS **pa-dīm-** 'make' || HrLw {EI ← ?} **tama-** 'build' || [5] +ext. *-r- 'building', v. 'build, carpenter' > ON *timbr*, OSx *timbar*, AS *timber* 'timber, wooden building', OHG *zimbar* id., NHG *Zimmer* 'room (in a house)', NE *timber*; Gt *timrjan* (· **οἰκοδομεῖν**) 'bauen', ON *timbra*, OHG *zimbaren* 'to build, to timber', MHG *zimbern*, NHG *zimmeren* 'to build, to carpenter' ¶¶ If the inter-pretation of HrLw *tama-* is valid, the PIE root is *dom₂h₂u-, *dom₂h₂o-, *demh₂x- ¶¶ P 198-9, EI 87 (*dem(h₂)- 'build [up]'), 192 and 281 (*'dōm / *'dem-s 'house, household, nuclear family', *'dom(h₂)os- 'house, household'), M K II 18-19, F I 364-5, 402-3, 408-9, 428-9, WH I 369, Vr. 588, Fs. 478, Ho. 348, Kb. 1252, OsS 1261-2, Lx. 336, Frn. 410, ESSJ V 72-3, StSS 194, Bern. I 210-11, SPS IV 98-101, Glh. 203, Slr. 209-10, Bdr. 690 || **А *t'ām'a'** 'wall, roof', (?) 'house' > NaT *t'ām 'wall' > OT {Cl.} **tām**, XwT XIII-XIV **tām** 'wall', MQp XIII, Cmn XIV **tām** 'roof', Chg ≥XV **tām** 'roof, wall', OOSm

≥XIV *dam* 'building', Osm *dam*, Tk *dam* 'roof, hut, roofed shed', Az *dam* 'building, house, roof, roofed shed', Ggz *dam* 'stable, roofed shed', Tkm *tām* 'house', Uz *тоm* *tom* 'roof', Uz *Δ том* 'lodging, room (Zimmer)', Qzq *tam* 'wall, house, mud hut', {Rl.} 'Aufbau über einem Grabe', Qq *tam* 'house', Qrg *tam* 'wall (of mud or brick), house (of mud or brick)', ET {Nj.} *تام* *tam* 'wall, fence, mud building' (↳ Kl T {Rm.} *tama* 'wall [Wand, Mauer]', WrM {Rm.} *tama* 'wall' [not mentioned in other available sources of WrM]), SY *tam* 'wall, fence', Sg {Rl.}, StXk *tam* 'Erdschichte', Xlj *dām istü* 'roof' {DHST, but not mentioned in DT} ¶ Cl. 502, Rs. W 459, TrR 207, ARL 96, Sht. 191, Jud. 698, Nj. 283, KrkR 616, Ml. ZhU 110, Rl. III 991, 1648-9, UzR 442, BIG 215, DHST 304, ADb. Ttd 62 (*÷ *t'ām without ev. for *t'-), KW 377 || Tg {SDM} **tam*∇ > Lm *tamana* 'birch-bark cover of a tent (берестяная покрывка для чума)', Nn Bk *tamixi* 'навес (Schirmdach?)' ¶ STM II 159 || Ko **tám* 'wall' > MKo *tám*, NKo *tam* ¶ Yu 200, HMC 230, MLC 408 || pJ **tàmuruá* 'plot, camp' > OJ *tamura*, MJ [RJ] *tàmuró* {S} id., J T *tamuró*, *támuro*, J K *támurò*, J Kg *tamuró* {Kenk.} 'police station, military station' ¶ S QJ 393, Mr. 541, Kenk. 1904 ¶¶ SDM 1398 (pA *t'āma 'wall, roof' > Tg, T, J, Ko + M **tama* 'wall' [borrowed from T]), DQA no. 2323, Rs. W 459, Rm. EAS I 116, KW 377 ¶¶ The fortis pA cns. *t'- may have been induced by the pN lr. (*t'- from N *t...H₂-) || HS: B *t∇mmū > Kb *aṭammu* (pl. *iṭamma*) 'hutte à fourrage \ à paille', BSn {La.}, SrSn {Rn.} *aṭammun*, Rf {La.} *aṭmun*, Kb Z {Rn.} *aṭammu* 'meule de paille' ¶ Dl. 825, La. MChB 363, Rn. 303 ◇ The length of the vw. in T *t'ām is likely to reflect the N lr. ◇ The ancient meaning 'hut' of the N word is preserved in B, Tk and Qzq ◇ The N final vw. is hard to determine: IE **dom_lh₁u-* and B *t∇mmū suggest N *-u or *-ü, but Gk D *νεό-δμᾶ-τοϛ* points to an *a-colored lr., hence pN *-a ◇ Rs. W 459 (A, IE); S NSShS no. 21 and S NSR (A, IE); cp. also BmK 314 (IE, Sum *clím* v. 'make, fashion').

2282. ₂ *t∇m_l∇₁ŝ∇ 'to gather, to concentrate, to condense' > HS: S *^o√tmŝ > Ar √tmš v. G 'gather, collect' ¶ BK I 208, Hv. 62 || IE **dens-/*dn̥s-* '≈ dense' > Gk *δασύς* (f. *δασεῖα*) 'hairy, shaggy; thick with leaves' || L *dēnsus* 'dense, thick (with vegetation etc.)' || Ht *classus* 'massive, heavy, mighty' ¶¶ P 202-3, EI 574 (**densu-s / *dn̥'sou-s* 'thick'), F I 351, WH I 341-2, Ts. E III 259-66 ◇ ≠ BmK 308 (equating the IE √ with Eg *clns* v. 'be heavy', which goes back to N **dońćE* 'large, heavy' [q.v.]).

2283. *t'o'N∇ 'appear' ([in descendant lges] → 'seem') > HS: S *o'√tnn v. 'be similar' > Ar tinn- 'semblable, pareil; ami; égal en rang', {Hv.} 'similar, equal; companion' ¶ BK I 208, Hv. 63 || **K** *tan-/*tn- ({Fn. KW-1} *tan-) 'appear, be visible', *ten- 'become visible; be getting light'; (× N *ti?û 'shine, be bright, be seen', q.v.) > G tnev-/tni-/tn- 'an jem.\etw. Gefallen finden, etw. gutheißen\billigen', Mg ton-ua 'scheinen, erscheinen', Sv -ten-/-tn- 'appear, become visible, be born; make visible, show; give birth' (aor. äχten, msd. L {Dn.} li-ten 'show', UB/L li-tn-e, Ln li-ten-e 'give birth, be born', make visible) ¶¶ ≈ K 92, ≈ K² 68, Fn. KW-1 35 [no. 28] (G, Mg), Chx. 495, Ni. s.v. 'появиться', Fn. KD (K *ton-/*tn-), FS 143, FS E 155-6, TK 434, GP 154 (Sv UB litne 'give birth, be born'), Dn. s.v. ten (Sv liten 'show', litne 'be born') || **D** (+ext.) *tōn̄r- (= *tōn̄d-) ({ǵGS} *t-) v. 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (× N *tōn̄∇ 'learn [erfahren], inform') > Tm tōnr̄u, Kn tōr̄-, tōru- 'be visible, appear, come to mind', 'come into existence', Ml tonruka v. 'spring up, occur, appear to the sight', Kt tōr- v. 'be visible', Td twi'ḷ- ~ twi't- 'be foreseen', twi'r̄- id., 'be visible', Kdg tōnd-ic̄i 'it (a sudden idea) came in a flash', Tu tōjuni 'appear, seem, be seen', Tl tōcu 'occur in the mind, seem, appear', Krg tō:pu 'that which strikes the mind, an idea; manifestation, appearance', Prj tōnd-, Gdb tōnd- v. 'appear', Knd tōr- v. 'appear, be seen', Kui tōn̄za v. 'appear, seem', Ku ton̄za-aḷyali v. 'appear' ¶¶ The element *-r̄- may go back to a sx ¶¶ D no. 3566 ◇ Cf. Fn. KD no. 73 (K, D *tōr- 'appear, be seen').

2284. *tEḡg∇l̄|í∇ 'heavenly light in the night (star[s], moon)' > IE: NaIE *o'dḡg_{l̄}l̄o- > Gmc *tungal- 'star(s), constellation' > Gt tuggl, OSx tungal, OHG himil-zungal 'Gestirn', AS tunzol id., 'star, constellation', ON tungl 'Gestirn, Mond' ¶ WP I 792, Fs. 481-2, Ho. 355, Ho. S 76, Vr. 601 || **HS: C:** Ag *č̣əḡgəw- ({Ap.} *cəḡgəw-/*cəḡgəw-) 'star' > Bln/Km {Ap.} ṣ̌əḡgəwə, Bln {R} ṣ̌inru'wā, Km {CR} ṣ̌ing̃ir̄wā (pl. ṣ̌ing̃ir̄ū-t), Xm {R} ṣəḡluwə, Q {R} ṣ̌inru'wā, Awn {R} ṣəḡul'wā id. ¶ Ag *č̣- for the expected *t- still requires explanation ¶ Ap. AV 20, R WB 326, R Ch II 415 (s.p. 115), R QW 127, CR LK 252, ≈ AD SF 125-6 || ?φ NOM: Anf {C} č̣igir̄ō, {MYTY} ṣ̌igr̄ō, {Fl.} č̣ige'ro, Bsk {C} ṭeqnā, Kf {C} ṭoženō, Mch {L} ṭoẓ̌ō 'star' ¶ MYTY 119, AD SF 125-6, C SE III 116 and IV 509, L M 55, Fl. OWL || Ch: CCh: Bt {Mk} tekeliē, Bc {Sk.} ṭəkùlé, {ChL} ṭikùl̄èy 'star' || ?φ WCh: Kfr {Nt.} ḍāgar id. || Sy Zk {Sh.} č̣àžur, Tule {Sh.} č̣āč̣ūr id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'star', ChL, Sh. SB 31,

Nt. s.v. *ḍāgar* || D **tiŋka* 'moon' > Tm, Ml *tiŋka*l, Td *tiŋi*l, Kn *tiŋga*l, Tu *tiŋgo*l, Kt *tiŋ*l id., *tiŋg*l 'month', Kdg *tiŋga* 'month', Kui *tiŋgal* *dan*ḥu 'crescent moon' ¶¶ D no. 3213 ◇ Blz. LNA no. 53 (suggesting to equate IE with D and to reconstruct pN **tiŋka*(l∇) 'moon').

2285. **tōpæ* 'head, top' > HS: Eg fP *t p* 'head', Eg N *t b n* id. (+ *AdS* : N **ṭāhipē* 'high place, top, hill?') ¶ EG V 261, 263-72, Fk. 296 || A **t'Upæ* 'hill, top' > NaT **t'öpöü* ~ **t'öpæ* 'top, hill' > OT {Cl.} *töpü*: 'the top (head, summit, mountain, hill)', MQp *tepe* ~ *depe*, Cmn *tebe*, Chg *töpe*, Tk *tepe*, Ggz *tepe*, Az *täpä*, Tkm *depe*, Qry *töbe* & *tebe* & *töba*, VTt, Bsh *tübä* (→ Chv *түпе* 'top, top of as hill, zenith'), Nog, Qzq, Qq *töbe*, Qrg *töbö* ~ *döbö*, StAlt *töbö*, Uz *tepa*, ET *töpä* 'crown of head, hill, summit', Tv *t'ey* id. ({ADb.}: < ***dhey* < ***depey*), MU *tepe* ~ *töpe*, Xlj *täpä* 'hill, summit, top of sth.', Yk *töbö* id., 'head' ¶ In the T lges we may suppose mutual infl. of the paronymous pT words **töpöü* 'top, hill' and **t'æp'æ* 'top of the head, summit, hill' (on the latter see s.v. N **ṭāhipē* '↑'). The attempts to unite these two T roots in spite of the phonetic differences (by postulating pT **t'äp'ö* [Dr.TM III no. 872 and DT 201] or by reconstructing ppT **t'öp'e* {Md.}) are superfluous ¶ Cl. 436, TL 201, BT 154, IS AD 42 [no. 23], Ash. XIV 214-15, Fed. II 262-3, Jeg. 265, ChVS 225 || M (× N **dEb∇* 'hill') **dobun* 'hill' > WrM {MED} *добу*, *добун* 'hill, mound, knoll', HIM *дов* {MED} id., {Luv., BMR} 'Erhebung (бугор), Hügelchen (холмик), кочка', Brt *добо* 'hill, hillock', Kl {Rm.} *dowŋ* 'Hügel'; → WrM {Gl.} *добогун* 'summit of a mountain, peak', {MED} *добунг* 'small round-top elevation, hill', HIM {MED} *довон(г)* id., {BMR} *овон довон* 'буграми, волнами', Brt *добуу(н)* 'a heith, hill, бугор', Kl {KRS} *довун* 'hillock, rising ground', Ord *d_ow_0ŋ* 'petite colline à sommet arrondi, butte, petite hauteur'; ? M **döben* 'hill' > WrM {Rm.} *döben* (not attested in MED), Kl D {Rm.} *döwŋ* 'Hügel'; M → Yk *dobun* 'Erhöhung'; the variant with *t-* (in Kl {Rm.} *towxŋ* 'Hügel' < {Rm.} **tobu-qan*) is probably a loan from T ¶ Kow. 1818, MED 255, BMR II 44-5, Gl. III 177-8, Chr. 192-3, KW 97, 100, KRS 202, SM 64, Ms. O 155, Ms. O 155, MYC 221, SDM 1383 || Tg **düb-* (~ **dū-*?) 'top, mountain top, taiga region', {DQA} 'upper (on the mountain\hill); top' (× N **tōpæ* 'head, top' and N **d_oy_a* 'place [within, below], inside?') > Ewk *dīw* ~ *dīyū* 'upper (on the slope), *dī-lē* 'at the top', 'forest on the mountain slope', *dīn* 'upper part of the

mountain', Lm *dä* 'mountain peak', *d̄ȳi* *d̄w̄* *d̄z̄* 'upper, found at the top', Neg *dī-* (+ppa.) 'top, peak', Ul *duwu* 'taiga region', Ork *duww̄*, Nn Nh {On., STM} *duwuy* adj. 'farther from the river bank', Orc *dī-l̄z̄*, Ud *dīxi* 'farther from the river bank', Ork *dī-si* 'up from the bank', *dipti* 'upper part of the tent', Ork *duww̄*, Nn Nh *duȳz̄* {On.} 'area farther from the river bank', {STM} 'the side from the river bank to the woods' ¶ STM I 202-3, On. 161 || pJ {SDM} **d̄j̄ip̄a* 'rock, cliff' (× N **dEb̄* 'hill') > OJ *ip̄a* {S} id., J: T *iw̄á*, K *iw̄à*, Kg *íwa* 'rock, crag' ¶ S QJ no. 1242, Mr. 429, Kenk. 661 ¶¶ SDM 1382-3 (pA **t'úyp̄è* ~ **t'úyp̄è* > Tg, M **dobu* ~ **döbe*, J), DQA no. 400 (id.), SDM97 (pA **top'E* 'hill, top' > T, M) || IE: NaIE **doP-* ~ **dub-* 'tip, summit' (?) > Gmc **talopp-* (~ ? **tupp-*) > AS *topp* 'summit' (> NE *top*), OFrk **topp-* 'summit' (↳ OFr *top* 'pointe, sommet', *topet* 'sommet', Fr *tourpie* 'top, spinning-top, peg top'), NLG *topp*, Dt *top* 'summit', ON *topp-r* 'Spitze', MHG *zopf* 'tip', as well as possibly MHG *zopf* 'plait (of hair)', NHG *zopf* id., ON *toppr* 'aufgebundenes Haar' and *tuppi* 'end' (see N **tub̄* 'tail, back' (q.v.) ||| Sl **d̄ba-ti* > Slk *dibat'*, R *дыбать* 'to tiptoe', Uk *дибати* 'to walk on stilts' | ? Ltv {ME} *дуба* 'a sheaf in a upright position' ('aufgestellte Garbe') ¶ Ptrs. H 70-1, ≈ P 227, HDEL 1347, 1545, AHDI 69, Sw. 174, GH 562-3, Ho. 351, Vr. 595, ME I 508, Bern. I 249, Vs. I 557, ≈ ESSJ V 197-8 (without distinguishing Sl **d̄ba-ti* 'to tiptoe' from the homonymous verb **d̄ba-ti* 'to reel, to stagger') || E: NEI *te-ib-ba* ({Blz.} *tebba* [teppa?]) 'vorn, oben' ¶¶ HK 307 ◇ The cns. *b* in Eg *tbrn* and the deviant IE cns. **-b-* in BSl **-b-* are still to be explained (infl. of other roots?) ◇ Blz. E no. 13 ◇ The labialized vw. of the second syll. in NaT **t'j̄öp̄ö|ü* and in M **dobun* is due to progr. as.

2286. **tū|up̄* 'to blow, to breathe' > HS: Eg fMK *tpy* '(Luft, Lebensatem) einatmen, atmen' ¶ EG V 296 || A: T {ḡADb.} **t'j̄üb-* > OT *t'x̄'vak* 'a blowpipe' ¶ Cl. 439 || D (in GnD) **tūp̄j̄-* ({ḡGS} **t-*?) v. 'blow' > Png *tūb-* (p. *tūpt-*) v. 'blow with the mouth', Knd *tūb-* id., v. 'puff, blow out (lamp)' ¶ D no. 3388.

2287. **ta'P'k* or **ta'wk* 'to obstruct, to prevent, (?) to overpower' > U: FP **ta'wk-* v. 'stop\cease (doing sth.), abstain from doing sth.' > F *tauota* / *taukoa-* v. 'discontinue, cease' || Lp N {N} *duow'got* v. 'be weaned; be ashamed to do sth.' || pPrm **dug-d-* > Z *dugd+* v. 'cease doing sth.', Vt *dugd+* v. 'stop' (**-d-* is a Prm reflexive sx) ¶ It. no. 48, Sm. 554 (FP **t'ē'ka-* 'stop'), LG 97, N I 600, ≠ UEW 422

(rejecting the Prm cognate because of the alleged lack of corr. between Prm *g and F -k-, but in fact the voiced Prm *g is explained by as. caused by the adjacent reflexive sx *-d-) || **A**: NaT t_L'_Lo_L:_Lg (< **t_L'_La_Lωg < **t_L'_Labg or **t_L'_Lapg?), ({ʃADb.} *tōg) {Cl.} 'obstruction, barrier; obstructed' > OT {Cl.} tōx 'stopper, obstruction to anything; dam; spurs (of a mountain)', ? Shor, Sg tōy 'gelt (die noch nicht geboren hat)' (of a female animal), Sg, Qb tuy 'eine gelte Stute', Qrg tū, Qzq τy tuω, Qq tuω 'barren' (of a female animal), Qrg tūbas 'barren' (of a woman or a female animal) ¶ Cl. 463-4, Rl. III 1157, 1430, Jud. 772, MM 352, KrkR 657 || **D** (in SD) *taka- ({ʃGS} *t-, *-g-?) v. 'stop, resist, obstruct' > Tm takai id., Kn taga 'delay, obstacle, hindrance' ¶ D no. 3006 || ?σ **HS**: CS (mt.) *√tkp v. 'overpower' (mt. < **√tpk < [as.] *√tpk) > BHb ḡḡḡ √tkp v. G 'overpower, prevail, attack' (Eccl. 4.12), BA √tkp v. G 'grow strong' ¶ ESh MH III 1476, KB 1644 ◇ If CS *√tkp belongs here, the N labial cns. is a stop (*P), otherwise it may be either *P or *w.

2288. *teq'æ?U' 'say, talk to' > **HS**: C {AD} *√tχ^ω v. 'say, speak' > EC {Ss.} *-dḥ-, {AD} *-tḥ- v. 'say' > Sa {Wlm.} -dḥ- / -dḥ- v. 'say' (inv. edḥ, p. -edḥe), Af {PH} (e)-dḥe-/-a-dḥ-, Sml {AD IPCV} -idih-, {ZMO} dḥ-, Sml N {Abr.} dḥ- / dḥ- / -dī- / -dāh(d)-, Sml Cri / rih- / rah-, Rn {Sim} -dḥ- / -dḥ- (ayidāh 'he said', ayadḥ 'he says'), {PG} -dēh- / -dāh / -dāh- (yadēh 'he says, does', 3s p. yidāh) 'say', pBn {Hn.} p.: *-ereh- / n.-p. *-erah- > Bn J -ēr- / -erah-, Bn K -ereh- / -erah- id. || ? Ag *dɜk^ω-, {Ap.} *dɜx^ω- / *dɜq^ω- v. 'speak' > Bln/Q {Ap.} dɜw-, Xm {Ap.} dɜq^ω-, Aw {Hz., Ap.} dɜy^ω- (1s dɜq^ω-) || Bj A {AD} -di-/-dī- (pres. -n-dī-), Bj {Rop., R} -di- (p. 1s 'a-di, 2m te-'diy-a, 3m 'ē-di; 1s pres. 'andī) pcv. 'say, name' ¶ AD SF 57, 321, AD IPCV §§ 1.2.3.2 and 1.2.3.3, Abr. S 191-2, ZMO 116, Ss. PEC 41, Hn. S 67, Hn. BD 35, 57, 144, PG 60, 148, Ap. AV 9, Rop. 78-9, R WBd 55, R WB 115, PH 94, 270-4, 282, Sim s.v. -dḥ- / -dāh-, Hz. VS || **IE** *d_L'_Leḥ- 'say' > NaIE *^od_L'_Le- > Sl *dě- v. 'say' > OP dzie 'inquit', OCz inf. diēti (1s pres. diēm), Cz inf. dīti, HLs inf. dźeć, LLs inf. zás, Slv inf. dejāti 'to say', OR **Δ**'**Ε****Η** děi, **Δ**'**Ε** dě, R **π**e (pc. of quoting [indirect speech]), OUK **π**ξ 'namely', Uk **Δ** **π**i 'namely, that is' || Ht te- {Frd.} 'sagen', {Ts.} '(autoritativ) sprechen' ¶¶ Frd. HW 319, Ts. W 85-9, Ts. E III 143-7, 291, Vs. I 489-90, SPS III 106 (*dě as pc. of quoting), ≠ ESSJ IV 229-30, Ivn. OPA 80-1, SPS III 126-8 (without distinguishing between Sl *dě- v. 'place', *děja- v. 'do' and *dě- v. 'say') || **K**: pGZ *tq^w- v. 'report, let know' > OG tq^w-, G tq^v- v. 'say, tell,

report, let know', Mg ʈq̥u- ~ ʈq̥w- ʌ ʈq̥v- 'say' ¶ K 184, K² 193, FS K 303-4, FS E 338, Chx. 131-2, Q 331 || ¶ *t̥é^rw¹∇- (= *t̥é^rw¹u_L-?) 'say, sound' > T *t̥ē- v. 'say' > OT tē-, XwT XIV de- ~ te-, MQp XIII dē-, Chg ≥XV de- 'say', MOg Tkm XIV {Cl.} de-di: 'he said', Tkm diy-, ET de- ~ dā-, Tk de-, Az, Ggz, Uz, Ln, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt de-, VTt di-, Bsh, Qmn ti-, Tb tiy-, Xk t̥-, Tv d_e-, Tf d_e-, SY ti- te-, Yk dīā-, Chv тe- 'say' ¶ Cl. 433-4, IS AD 39, Rs. W 467-8, ET VGD 221-4, Ra. 170-1, Ash. XIII 258-65, Fed. II 205, Fed. M 130, Jeg. 241-2, ChVS 2)7, S AJ 182 [no. 70] || Tg *de^rb¹- 'song; shamanizing' > Ewk d̥ɜwɜy 'song', d̥ɜwɜy- v. 'sing and dance an Ewenki dance', d̥ɜwɜki- v. 'shamanize', ?? Orc {SDM} dā-saŋgo 'chorus in shamanizing', WrMc {Z} дэѣнҫу 'melody (напев)' ¶ STM I 228, 230, Z 798 || ?σ,φ M *daɣu-n 'sound' > WrM d̥aɣu(n) {MED} 'sound, noise; voice; tone; musical sound, song', HIM дуу(н) {MED} id., {BMR} дуу(н) 'sound, voice, Schrei', дуу 'song', Brt дуу(н) 'sound, voice, song', Kl {KRS} дуу 'voice, song, sound', {Rm.} dūn 'Laut, Stimme, Gesang', Mnr H d_u 'voix, chant, ton, son, bruit', Ord d_u 'voix, chanson, tonnerre' ¶ MED 219, BMR II 76-7, Chr, 206, KRS 214, KW 104, SM 62, Ms. O 158 ¶¶ SDM 1358 (pA *t̥é 'say; sound' > M *daɣu- [for *daɣu-], Tg *de_Lb_L-, T), DQA no. 2235 ◇ The glottalization of the original *t̥- in C and K is due to the N Ir. *ʔ; K *q̥ < N *q̥∇ʔ; C *✓t̥χ^w may be explained by mt. (*teq^ræʔU¹ > *t̥∇ʔ∇qU > C *✓t̥χ^w). If M *daɣu-n belongs here, its *a may be due to regr. "harmony of vowels" (*e...u > *a...u), which suggests that the N final labialized vw. was *u. In the prehistory of IE and T the final syll. *-ʔU was probably lost. If we accept an alt. hyp. admitting that the N initial cns. was *t̥, the initial cns. of NaIE and A remains unexplained ◇ ≈ IS MS 365 (*te^rh¹∇ 'say' > IE, T + unc.: K *t̥χ₀- v. 'ask' [actually from N *teɣw∇ 'ask for, beg']), BmK 318 (K, Sum d̥uɣ₄ v. 'say\|speak\|tell').

2288a. *taRû '(ε) tree, log' > HS: EthS (←b- C??): Tgr {LH} ቶር tor 'gable beam in the roof', (d. or cd?) ቶር ሞር tormor, {Abb.} ቶር ማን torman 'crossbeam in the roof' → Bj {R} тир'мāн (pl. 'тирман) 'der Dachstuhl, Querbalken, welcher das Dach stützt' ¶ LH 307, R WBd 232 || EC: Sml {ZMO} т̄ir 'post, pole, pillar', {DSI} 'pilasro, colonna; palo di sostegno, puntello' ¶ ZMO 392, DSI 882 || Eg NK т̄wr.т 'Stock, Stab aus Holz' ¶ EG V 117 || K: G taro 'Querblatt (an der Wand oder in einem Wandschrank)', {NCh.} 'shelf in the wall' ({DCh.} 'заставецъ') ¶ Chx. 463, NCh. 231, DCh. 554 || IE *deru- / *doru- / *dreu- / *drou- / *dru-

{EI} *¹doru / gen. *¹drou-s 'tree, wood' > Ht {Ts.} taru (tāru), Lw {Mlc.} tār u 'wood (Holz), tree', LycIs [StB] δέρβη- (*derwa-) 'juniper' ([StB]: Δέρβη ... ὅ ἐστι τῆ τῶν Λυκαόνων φωνῆ ἄρκευθος) || NaIE: OI 'dār u 'piece of wood, wood (Holz)' (nom. 'dr uṛā, gen. 'drōh, 'dr uṛah), 'dr u- 'wood, wooden implement, tree', Av dā u r u (gen. sg. draoś) 'tree trunk, piece of wood', NPrs 𐭪𐭥𐭥 dār 'wood (Holz), beam' ||| Gk δόρυ (gen.: Gk A δόρατος, Gk Ep/I δούρατος) 'stem, tree, plank\beam', δρῦς 'tree, oak' ||| pAl {O} *druwa 'tree, wood (Holz)' > MAI {FB} dr u u 'lignum', AI: T dr u, G dr ū 'tree, wood (Holz)', SG/Be/Mn dru, P dru, dr ū ni, U dru, dr uni, D/Kr dr ū id. ||| Clt {Matas.} *daru- 'oak' > OIr daur (gen. daro) 'oak', MW derw-en snglt. (pl. derw), MW dar, W dâr (pl. darwen), OBr {Matas.} dar, {Flr.} coll. daeru, MBr {Ern.} deruenn (pl. deru), Br {Hm.} deruenn (coll. der v) 'oak', OCrn [Y] 'quercus' ||| Gt triu (τρίυλον) 'Holz, Baum', ON tre, AS tréo (> NE tree) 'tree', OSx trio 'tree, beam' ||| Sl *dêrvō 'tree' > OCS ДРѢВО drěvo, P drzewo, Slv drevo id., SCr drêvo, R 'дерево 'tree, wood (Holz)', Cz dřevo, Slk drevo 'wood (Holz), timber'; Sl *drъvo 'tree', pl. *drъva 'wood (Holz), firewood' > Blg дърво, SCr др̑во, Slk дрво 'tree', Slv др̑во 'log, cudgel'; Sl *drъvo 'tree' > Blg дърво, SCr др̑во, Cz Δ, Slk др̑во id., Slv др̑во 'log (of firewood), club', Sl pl. *drъva 'firewood' ({EI} < *druh_{ro}/eh_{ro}) > OCS ДРЪВА drъva, SCr др̑ва, P drwa, R др̑ва, Blg дърва id. | Possibly words for 'resin, tar' (< *deru- 'tree?'): Ltv dar̃va 'tar, pitch', Lt der̃vā id., 'resin; resinous stump' ||| ON tjara 'tar' (< Gmc *terwōn), ON tǫrv, Nr tǫri, Sw töre ~ tyre 'resinous wood', MDt tar, Dt teer, MLG ter(e) (↳ NHG Teer) 'tar', NHG lc. (in Kurhessen, Schwalm) '(Wagen-)Zehr id., AS teoru 'tar, resin', NE tar ¶¶ P 214-17, EI 598, Frd. HW 267, Ts. W 88, Ts. E III 230-5, Mlc. CL 218, M K II 36, M E I 721, Horn 116, F I 411-12, Fs. 480-1, Vr. 591, 597, 603, Ho. 346, 353, Ho. S 76, KM 775, SEv. 31, LP § 67, YGM-1 168, Flr. 128, Ern. 152, Matas. E 91, Hm. 152, Frn. 90-1, ESSJ IV 211-13 and V 141-2, StSS 197, 199, SPS III 54-7, O 76, Huld 56 (pAl *druna-) ||| ¶ *TôRV 'beam' > pKo {S} *tòrí > MKo tòrí, NKo tori 'crossbeam' ¶ S QK no. 373, MLC 465 || pJ {S} *túrí-(n)kǝǝ 'ceiling beam' > OJ túrígí, JT curigi ¶ S QJ no. 385, BJRS II 541 ¶¶ SDM 1439 (pA *t'jór_ge 'support, beam' > J, Ko + unc. T *Tærki (i.e. *t'|tærki) 'table, portable table', M *terki 'dais' [both going back to N *terVKV '(ε) tree, stick', q.v. ffd.] and Tg *turgā 'prop, support' [going

back to N ***tōRga** 'hold, prop up', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 2392 (id.), SDM97 s.v. ***t'ör(g)e** || | ? **D** [1] ***ōtaR-** > Kn **tāṛ** 'stem or stalk of corn, flowers etc.' ¶ ≈ **D** no. 3185 | [2] *Add source of D *tūr(-)* ({ǰGS} ***t-?**) 'bushes, bushy, thicket' (< N ***d'ū'r** ▽ 'woods, bush[es]') > Tm **tūr** u 'bushes, shruberry, thick underwood, low jungle', **tūr-** v. 'become bushy, sprout forth', Kt **tūr** 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td **tūr** / **tūr**- 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd **tōṛu** 'thicket' ¶¶ **D** no. 3401 ◇ The labialized vw. of the first syll. in pA may be due to regr. as. ◇ S AJ 289 [no. 312] (A ***ōt'ur** ▽ 'tree', IE), ≈ S NSR 4-6 (IE + A ***t'ūr** [with err. rec. of ***t'-**] + K: G **dvire** 'Balken'; on this basis Starostin reconstructed N ***d'w-**), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 77 (D ***tūr-** compared with HS ***tarw-**/***taw_lir-** and with IE ***derw-**).

2289. *ter ▽ 'to tear, to burst' > HS: S ***ō** ✓ **trr** > Ar ✓ **trr** (pf. **tarra**) 'éclater', 'partir (le noyau de la datte quand on la casse avec une pierre), 'être séparé' ¶ BK I 194 || | IE ***der-**, ***derHx-** v. 'split, tear' (× [?] N ***tūr** ▽ or ***turE** 'pierce' × [?] N ***toRy** ▽ 'to debark, to peel' × N ***tAr'q** ▽ '≈ make an incision, dig') > OI **dar-** (pres. **drō'ṇāti**, pfc. **da'dāra**) v. 'burst, cause to burst, tear', Av **a u u a ... dārāna** 'auseinanderspaltend', NPrs **دَرِيدَن** **dārrīdān** ~ **دَرِيدَن** **dārīdān** 'to tear, to rend, to lacerate', {VI.} 'lacerare, discerpere', Av **daradar-** 'split' (pp. **dārātō** [= OI **drō'ta-**]) || | Clt {Matas.} ***darno-** 'piece, part' > MW, W, Crn, MBr, Br **darn** 'piece, part', Gl {Matas.} ***darnā** ⇨ Fr **darne** 'piece, slice of fish' || | Lt inf. **dir̃ti** (1s pres. **derū** ~ **dirīū**), Δ inf. **dir̃ti** 'to tear asunder, to flay' | pSl inf. ***der-ti** ~ ***dbrǎ-ti** (1s pres. **dēr-q**) 'to tear, to flay (× N ***toRy** ▽ 'bark; to debark, to peel'): [1] Sl inf. ***der-ti** > S Cr {Tls.} inf. **дрѣти** ~ {ESSJ} **drijèti**, {Glh.} inf. **drijéti** 'to tear, to rend, to flay', Slv inf. **dréti** 'to skin, to flay', P inf. **drzec** 'to tear, to rend', Slk inf. **driet**, Cz inf. **dríti** 'to flay'; [2] Sl inf. ***dbrǎ-ti** > OCS inf. **ДЪРАТИ** (1s pres. **ДЕРѦ** **derq**) 'to skin, to flay, to lacerate', S Cr inf. **dērati**, Slv inf. **dērati** 'to tear asunder, to rend, to flay', Cz inf. **dráti**, Slk inf. **drat** 'to rend, to strip', R inf. **драть** 'to tear, to debark (a tree)', Uk inf. **драти** ~ **дерти** 'to tear asunder', Blg 1s pres. **деpa** 'tear asunder, rend, flay' || | Gt **dis-tairan** (· ῥηγνύου) 'zerreißen', OHG **zerren**, **fir-zerren** 'to tear, to tear up', NHG **zerren** 'to tear, to pull, to tug', AS **teran** 'to tear, lacerate', NE v. **tear** ¶ P 206-9, EI 567 (***der-** 'tear off, flay'), M K II 59, M E I 701-3, VI. I 844, Sg. 517, Horn 125, LP § 12.1, YGM-1 163, ECCE 230, Hm. 143, Frn.

96-7, ESSJ IV 209 and V 218-19, Bern. I 185, Vs. I 504-5, StSS 203, Glh. 191, Tls. 103, SJSS X 544, SPS V 231-5, Fs. 120, Ho. 346, Kb. 1248, OsS 1247-8, KM 880, Matas. E 90-1, Hm. 143 || **D** *teṛ- ({{ǰGS}} *t-) v. 'burst asunder, break, cut' > Tm tērī vt. 'burst asunder; break, cut', Ml tērīkka v. 'cut off', Kn tīrī v. 'cut, cut off', OTl trēyṽ v. 'be chopped, be cut off', trēvṽ v. 'be cut', Gnd tīvṽ-, Knd tēv- v. 'be broken', Png trēz-, Mnd trēy- v. 'cut (e.g. crops)' ¶¶ D no. 3437, Km. 399 [no-s 650 and 652] ◇ IS SS no. 2.11, IS MS 360 ('рвать' *ter(H)ṛ: IS, D + *÷ K *tḫar- v. 'dig').

2290. *tuRṽ 'back, back side' > **HS**: S *°-tūr- 'turn back, return' (× *-tūr- 'turn' < N ?σ *tūwrṽ → *tuwrE 'to [re]turn, to roll [up], to turn round') > Ak -tūr- G: inf. OAk, Ak A tūārṽ(m), Ak OB tārṽ(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren', Ak NA/NB tūrā 'komm zurück\ wiederum' ¶ Sd. 1332-6, 1372 || **IE**: NaIE (+ext.) *dors-/*ders- ≈ back (dos) > L dorsum 'back (dos)' ||| Ltv {ME} dīr̃sa 'der Hintere' (unless d. from dirst 'to defecate') ||| OHG zers 'penis' (← *tail?) ¶ WH I 373, ≠ WP I 798, 802, ME I 470, Kb. 1248 ¶ NaIE *-s- must be a sx or an ext. || **U**: FU {UEW} *turya 'nape, back of the head' > F turja 'Hinterteil des Nackens', Es turi (gen. turja) 'nape, upper part of the back' ||| OHg tar, Hg Δ tarja 'Genick, Hinterkopf des Rindes; Schulterstück', tarkó 'nape, back of the head' ¶ UEW 538-9 ¶ Acc. to UEW, FU *-ya is a poss. ending ◇ IE *dors- (rather than **dours- with *ou < N *u) is due to a law eliminating clusters of two sonants ◇ The comparison between Latin and FU was suggested by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. L no. 6c).

2291. *tūrṽ or *turE 'to pierce' > **A**: M *dürü- v. 'pierce, stick\push\shove into' > MM [S] dūrū- 'eindringen, hineinsetzen', WrM dūrū- {MED} 'put\push\stick into; slip in, insert, thrust in', HIM дүрә- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'eintauchen, tauchen, versenken (погружать в жидкость)', Kl {KRS} дүр- dür- 'put\push\shove in, hineinstecken', {Rm.} dür- 'hineinstecken, verstecken, verhehlen', Brt дүрә- id., 'dip', Ord dūrū- 'plonger dans (p. ex. dans un liquide)' ¶ H 39, MED 283, BMR II 93, Chr. 210, KW 105, KRS 220, KW 105-6, Ms. O 172 ¶¶ IS AD 47 ¶¶ Not here T *tūr- vi. 'string, thread (a needle)' (< N *tūrṽ → *turyE or *tūrṽ → *turE 'row, line; to string', q.v. ffd.) || **D** *torā- ~ *torā- 'hole' (× N *tūrHä 'to bore, to drill', q.v. ffd. × N *durṽ or *dürṽ 'hole, hollow', q.v. ffd. × N *tor'ṽh'a 'to pass over; through?') ¶¶ The cns. *-r- in *torā- belongs to the heritage of N *tūrHä || **HS**: C: DhI {EEN}

t̄ār- v. 'pierce, spear' (× N *t̄or'∇h'a '↑?') || EC: Sml tōrrey ~ tōrri, Sml N {Abr.} tōrray ~ tōrrí 'dagger', Rn {PG} tōr (pl. tōrár), Ya {Hn.} tōr (pl. tōróri) 'spear' || SC: Kz talangayo 'bleeding arrow', ?? {E}: SC ⇨ Mb ito, itoró 'spear' ¶ ZMO 396, Abr. S 239, PG 280, E SC 169 [no. 7] (*tār- v. 'spear, pierce with a weapon'), EEN 8 (Dhl ÷ Ya -tūra '?'), Hn. Y II 134 || IE: NaIE *der- v. 'prick, pierce' (× N *toRy∇ 'debark, peel' × [?] N *ter∇ 'tear, burst' × [?] N *tArq∇ '≈ make an incision, dig') > Lt inf. dūr̄ti (1s pres. dūriū), Ltv inf. dūr̄t 'to stab, to thrust, to prick', Lt dūr̄à 'crowbar' | pSl *der-/*dbr- > ?σ SCr inf. ù-driti (1s pres. ù-drim) 'to strike'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OCS ΔHPA dirа ('σχίσμα, scissura) 'hole, crack', SCr Δdirа ~ dīra ≈ díra, R Δдипа, Blr дзирка, Cz díra 'hole'; pSl *dira 'hole' > OR Δыра dīra 'hole', (?) 'passage' ('дыра', [?] 'проход'), R дыра, Plb darā 'hole' || OI darah 'hole in the ground, cave' ¶ P 206-9, ≈ Frn. 113, M K II 21, Drd. 861, Vs. I 515, 559, ESSJ V 30-1, 205, StSS 188, Srz. I 765 ◇ IS MS 357 (*tur̄ 'pierce'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D).

2292. ?σ *tūwr∇ or *tuwrE 'to roll, to turn round, to wind' > HS: S *-tūr-(× S *-tūr- 'turn back, return' < N *tuR∇ 'back, back side') > Ar ✓twr G (pf. tāra, ip. -tūr-) 'faire le tour, circuler autour d'un point', Ak -tūr- G : inf. OAk, Ak A tuār̄u(m), Ak OB tār̄u(m) 'sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren' ¶ BK I 210, Sd. 1332-6 || C: Bj {R} ✓trr (p. 'a-trir, pres. a-tan'rīr) 'drehen, wickeln' ¶ R WBd 232 || IE (+ext.): NaIE *derb^h- 'twist\bind together' > OI dr̄g 'bhati 'strings\ties together, ties in a bunch', Av dərəwδa- 'bundle of muscles', WIr̄n *(ham-)darb- v. 'sew' > Xuri dur-, dur-uft, Prc an-darf, Orm un-dərəw- id. || Sl *dorbъ > Blr 'доpаб 'basket, box (Korb, Schachtel)', R Δдоpо'бок 'box\basket of bast (короб)' || Arm un̄n̄ ū toṝn (< *dorb^h-n-) 'σχουνών, rope, cord, string, twine' || OHG zerben, p. zarpta (rf.) 'sich (um)drehen\wälzen', AS tearflian (< *tarbalōn) vi. 'to roll, to wallow' ¶ WP I 808, P 211-12, EI 607 (*derb^h- 'turn, twist'), M K II 60, M E I 703-4, MW 491, ESSJ V 74, SPS IV 112-13, Kb. 1248, OsS 1230, Ho. 344, Sw. 171 ¶ *-b^h- is a root ext. || A *tū|ōr∇- (= *tū:|ō:r∇?) v. 'wrap, fold' > NaT *tūr- v. 'roll up, fold, wrap', {SDM} vt. 'fold, roll together' > OT tūr- v. 'roll up (a scroll, one's sleeves etc.)', OOSm xv dūr- v. 'roll up', Tk dūr- 'roll up as a tube, fold', Tkm dūr-, ET tür-, Yk tūr- id., Tv dūr-, Tf dūr- 'roll up as a tube', Az dūr-māk 'some food rolled up in flat bread', Qzq, Qq, Qrg tür- 'roll up (sleeves, trouser legs), raise (hem of a skirt)', Nog, VTt, Bsh,

StAlt, Xk tür-, VTt t̄r- id., 'wrap' ¶ Cl. 530-1, Rs. W 506, ET VGD 319-20, Ra. 178, ARL 118, Jud. 783, ADb. Ttd 61 [no. 12], TkR 254, Akd. 520 || pJ {S} *tūtùm- 'wrap' > OJ tūtùm-, JT cucúm-, JK cúcúm-, J Kg cùcùm- ¶ S QJ no. 1120, Mr. 776, Kenk. 2077 || M *dörsEyi- > WrM {Cev.} dörsüyi- vi. 'warp, screw up one's face, sich zusammenkauern (коробиться, морщиться, ёжиться), HIM {Luv., BMR} дёрсий- id., Kl {KRS} дёрсә- dörsä- vi. 'warp (коробиться)' ¶ SDM 1287, Luv. 156, BMR II 64, KRS 212 ¶¶ SDM 1387-8 (pA *t̄ūri- v. 'wrap, fold' > T, M, J), DQA no. 2283 (pA *t̄ūri-).

2293. *tūrġê or ***turġê** 'full, filled' > HS: S *^o✓trġ > Ar ✓trġ (pf. tariġa, ip. -traġ-) v. 'be filled/full' ¶ BK I 196, Hv. 58 || **U** *türe 'full' > Prm {Lt.} *tūr 'full, filled' > Vt, Z t̄r id., Z t̄r- v. 'be full, become filled', Vt t̄r- v. 'fill; become full, satt werden' | F t̄r t̄r- 'bis zum Ekel satt werden', t̄r e h t̄r- 'stop, be(come) stopped, cease to flow', {Rd.} 'gedämpft werden, gehemmt werden, stocken, sich stauen', pLp {Lr.} *t̄rġ vi. 'stiffen, tighten' > Lp N {UEW} d̄âr r̄ât 'steif werden, erstarren, hart weden', Lp Kld {TI} t̄r r̄a- 'aufquellen', 'dicht werden' (ein spack gewordener Gegenstand in Wasser) || Sm: Slq NP t̄ir 'voll, Füllung', Slq B/Kt/UO t̄ir-, Slq Tur {Lh.} t̄ir t̄i- v. 'fill' ¶¶ UEW 524, Coll. 64, Lr. no. 1214, Lt. 198, LG 293, Décsy UP 109 (*t̄irä) || **A**: Tg *d̄ira-, d̄iramī₁, 'thick' > WrMc {Z} чжипра 'dense' (forest), 'thick' (grass, corn) pp({Z} 'густой, частый'), Ewk d̄iram, Sln d̄iramī, Lm d̄ir̄m, Neg d̄iyam, Orc d̄iyamī, Ud deāmi & d̄iyamī, Ul d̄iramī, Ork j̄iramī, Nn Nh ž̄iramī, WrMc {Z} чжипраминь 'плотный, толстый', Jrc {Kiy.} d̄iramey 'thick', Nn Nh {On.} ž̄iralā- (+ppa.), {STM} ž̄iralā- (+ppa.) 'thickness' ¶ STM I 207-8, On. 155, Z 990, Kiy. 135 [no. 692] ¶¶ SDM 1371-2 (pA *t̄īri 'thick, plenty' > Tg + unc.: M *ċirgaγu- 'tought, taut, hard, stiff' [going back to N *ċER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult'], T *t̄īri 'live; alive' and pJ *(d)ita- 'plentiful, strong'), ≈ DQA no. 225 (id.) || **D** *t̄ūr- v. 'be filled up' > Tm t̄ūr, Ml t̄ūr uka id., ??φ Krx ċūr-nā v. 'get obstructed, blocked up (as a rathole, pipe)' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-rġ- ¶¶ D no. 3390, Pf. 43 [no. 245], 77 [no. 488] ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' *t̄ur̄ (U, D), BmK 278 (HS, U; unc.: S ÷ Kz tal- v. 'grow' and DhI {E} t̄ar- v. 'collect together, mix').

2294. *tarh₂∇ 'to drink' > K {K²} *ter-/tr- v. 'drink' > OG ter-/tr-, G tver-/tr- v. 'get drunk', Sv tr- v. 'drink' (msd. UB/LB/L/Ln litre 'to drink'); K 69 plausibly suggested that -v- in NG results from mt. ter-v- >

tver- ¶¶ K 95-6 (*tr-), K² 69, Schm. 114; FS K 149 and FS E 162 (*twer-), TK 434, GP 154 || **A** *t̄ar∇ 'ε beverage' > NaT *t̄₁ar > OT t̄ar [MhK] ({Cl.} t̄ār) 'milk residue, that is the clotted milk which remains at the bottom when the pure butter has been melted and drawn off', Yk t̄ar 'sour boiled milk that is fermented in summer and stored for the winter', 'frozen sour milk'; T ⇨ WrM t̄arag {MED} 'clabbered milk, sour milk', HIM тараг {MED} id., {BMR} 'тараг (a kind of sour clotted milk)' ¶ Cl. 528, JkR 375, Pek. 2654, MED 779, BMR III 191 ¶ Cl.'s assumption of a long ā is based on the shaky argument of the Arabic spelling, but must be rejected on the clear ev. of Yk || M *darasun 'wine' > MM [IM, IsV] darasun id., WrM darasun {MED} 'sweet wine made from fruit or grain', HIM дарс(ан) {MED} id., {BMR} 'sweet wine made from fruit; a kind of beverage made from fermented rice or millet', Brt дарһа(н) 'тарасун (alcoholic drink made of fermented milk)', WrO {Krg.} darasun 'wine, drink', Kl {KRS} дарасн darasъn 'wine made of berries', Kl Ö {Rm.} darsn̄ 'eine Art Branntwein (aus Getreide), Wein (aus Früchten)', Mnr H {SM} d̄zrāsə 'genièvre, vin', {T} derāse 'wine', Dx darasun id., Ord ari^kxi d̄arasu 'eau-de-vie, genièvre, vin' (with ari^kxi 'eau-de-vie, genièvre, vin') ¶ The strange preservation of the final -un in Dx and Kl suggests borrowing (at least in Dx and Dx) ¶ Pp. MA 435, Lg. VMI 25, MED 232, BMR II 39, Chr. 189, Krg. 545, KRS 183, KW 78, SM 49, T 329, T DnJ 117, Ms. O 29, 12O || **D** *tar- ({ʒGS} *t-) v. 'drink, swallow' > Tl tr̄āgu, tr̄āvū v. 'drink', Prj t̄ār-, Gdb t̄ārg- v. 'swallow' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-rH₂- ¶¶ D no. 3174, ≠ Km. 398 [no. 644] (*÷ Tm ār- v. 'eat, drink' and Gdb K sark- v. 'drink water from the tank'; Km. reconstructed the D root as *tar-~*čar-) ◇ BmK 300 (K, D) ◇ The presence of a N lr. is suggested by D *-r- (< N cns. clusters *-r̄- reg.).

2295. *tiRHæ 'be quiet, lie (liegen)' > **HS**: Ch: WCh {Stl.} (+ext.) *t̄t̄ird- v. 'lie down, go to bed' > Ang {Flk.} t̄ēr v. 'cause to lie down, lie down', Kfr {Nt.} ter 'lie down' || Krkr {IL} táđù, {Lk.} tàđù v. 'lie down', t̄đu v. 'sleep', Gera {ChL} t̄đí v. 'sleep', Glm {Al.} t̄́r vi. 'sink, descend', Tng {J} t̄idē v. 'sleep' ¶ Stl. ZCh 166-7 [no. 195], J T 153, Flk. s.v. t̄ēr, Nt. s.v. ter, Lk. TS, Al. W a.v. Glm t̄́r, ChC s.v. 'lie down', ChL || ? Eg G t̄ṣḥ 'sich senken', 'sich ablagern' (vom Schlamm eines Gewässers) ⇨ (?) Eg MK {Fk.} t̄ṣḥ.t 'lees, dregs'; Eg N t̄ṣḥ 'eintauchen' ¶ EG V 233, Fk. 294 || **K** *otir- > G tir- '(sich) beruhigen' ¶ Chx. 491 || **IE** *dreH̄-/ *drH̄̊- > NaIE *drē-/ drə- v. 'sleep' > OI 'drāti, 'drāya-ti, drāya--tē 'is asleep' || Arm un w p un w d̄ t̄ar tam 'moving slowly, irresolute,

sluggish, idle, unsteady, cowardly' ||| Gk Hm (aor.) ἔδραθον (< *e-dr̥-dʰom) 'he slept', Gk 1s pres. δραθαίνω 'I sleep' ¶ P 226, M K II 76, Slr. 360-1, Ch. 253, F I 349-50, EI 526 (*dreh₁- 'sleep' = *der- + ext.) ||| ? A (*°t-ir|rga?): M (+ext.) *žirga- > WrM žirgā- v. 'set' (of the sun), ↑ 'sleep', HIM жарга- {MED} id., {BMR} 'set' (of the sun), Brt жарга- id., Ord žirga- v. se coucher' (soleil, lune, étoiles), ↑ 'go to bed' ¶ MED 1059, BMR II 161, Chr. 231-2, Ms. O 202 ||| D (in GnD) *ter- ({θGS} *t-) v. 'lie (down), sleep' > Mnd tēr- v. 'lie, lie down', trēp- v. 'lay down', Knd ter-p- v. 'put to sleep, cause to lie down, lay', Png trēp- v. 'lay down, put (a child) to sleep', Kui treppa- v. 'cause to lie down', Ku trip- v. 'lay down, make so. sleep' ¶ D *-r- < N *-RH- ¶ D no. 3425 ◇ D *e for the expected *i requires explanation ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'полный' *t'ur (U, D).

2296. (₂?) *toRy∇ 'bark; to debark, to peel' > IE: NaIE *der- v. 'skin, flay, debark' (× N *tūr∇ or *turE 'pierce' × [?] N *ter∇ 'tear, burst' × [?] N *tArq∇ '≈ make an incision, dig') > Arm unbn baf tērem 'I flay\ skin' ||| Gk δέρω v. 'skin, flay', δέλω id. (*-y0-present) ⇨ δέρμα (gen. δέρματος) 'skin, hide' ||| Lt inf. dir̃ti (1s pres. Lt 1s pes. dir̃i ū [*-y0-present], Lt Zh inf. der ū) 'to flay, to debark' | pSl inf. *der-ti ~ *dbrā-ti (1s pres. dēr-q) 'to tear, to flay (× N *ter∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 206-9, EI 567 (*der- 'tear off, flay'), F I 368-70, Frn. 96-7, ESSJ V 218-19, SJSS X 544, Bern. I 185, SPS V 231-5, Slr. 266-7 ||| A *t'ōr'u 'birch bark, vessel made of birch bark' > T *t'ūr 'birch bark' > NaT *t'ūr z > OT tōz 'birch bark', Chg, OOSm tōz, VTt tuz, Bsh tuδ, Qzq, Qrg tōz, StAlt, Xk, Shor tōs, Tv t'ōs, Tf d_ōs, Yk tūōs 'birch bark', Uz тўс tws 'birch bark used to trim saddles with' (a loan from a lge with reg. -s < NaT *-z?), ?? Az tōz-aγač'i 'birch tree' (if from *'birch-bark tree' rather than from 'dust tree') ¶ Cl. 571, Rs. W 491-2, Ra. 174, TL 103, UzR 467; ADb. Ttd 58-9 and ADb. SR 79 (on distinction between pT *t'- and *t'-) ¶ Due to the discrepancy within the Tv ev. and that of Tf one cannot distinguish between T *t'- and *t'- || M *duru-sun > WrM dūrusun {MED} 'shell, bark', HIM дурс {MED} id., {BMR} 'bark, bast (лыко, луб)', Brt дурхан 'bast (луб)', WrO {Krg.} dursun 'bast', Kl {KRS} дурсн 'bark', {Rm.} dursn 'Baumrinde', Ord dūrūsū 'écorce, peau, enveloppe (des fruits)' ¶ MED 276, BMR II 73, Chr. 204, Krg. 576, KRS 216, KW 103, Md. O 164 || Tg *duri 'cradle made of birch bark' > Lm dōr ≅ dur, Neg duy, Orc duyi, Ud dūi, Ul, Nn Nh/KU duri id., WrMc {Z}

дурѣ 'cradle' ¶ STM I 217, On. 164, Z 836, Pt. 49, Z 836 || pKo {S} *turəi 'bucket, scoop' > NKo ture ¶ S QK no. 994, MLC 503 || pJ {S} *túrú_mpàì 'bucket, pail' > OJ turub_ue, MJ túrúbè {S} id., J T cùrube, J K cùrúbè, J Kg curúbe {Kenk.} 'well bucket' ¶ S QJ no. 409, Mr. 557, Kenk. 2073-4 ¶¶ SDM 1380 (pA *tǒ́ru 'birch bark, vessel made of birch bark' > Tg, M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2263, KW 103, Dr. TM II 612 ("was nicht ganz unmöglich wäre"), TL 103 || ?φ HS: WCh: pAG {Stl.} *(n)daram 'bark' > Su {J} dǎrà'm 'thick tree bark', Tal {J} dǎram, Ywm {Sh.} ndàrà'm, Tmbs {Sh.} dǎrà'm 'bark', Ang {Flk.} dǎr m | Wrj {Gw.} tǎr hǎi 'skin' || ECh: Smr {J} tǎrín 'bark', Ke {Eb.} tǎrǎ 'Schale, Haut', Tmk {Cp.} dǎr 'human skin' ¶ JI II 8, 296, ChC s.v. 'bark' n., J S 62, Stl. ZCh 241 [no. 16], Cp. 52, Gw. s.v. Wrj tǎr hǎi, Eb. 98 ◇ The length of the T vw. (if reconstructed correctly on the ev. of Yk tǔŋs) is due to complementary lengthening (N *-oRy- > T *-ṓr-) ◇ AD NM no. 92, Vv. AEN 6, ≠ S CNM 14 (IE *der- v. 'skin' * < N *teri 'to tear, to burst'; Vv. rejected the IE cognate of the N etymon in question) ◇ An alt. etymological reconstruction is N *duǎE > IE, Ch (as above), M *duru-sun and T *jǔ́r- v. 'flay' (> OT jǔ́z- etc., F Cl. 984).

2297. *toRgǣ (= *torgǣ?) 'weak, loose' > HS: B *✓trǵ > Ah ətrǣǵ 'lâcher librement (un animal)', ETwl, Ty ətrǣǵ 'dénouer; détacher, lâcher librement; libérer, déboutonner' ¶ Fc. 1591, GhA 192 || IE: NaIE *dreg̃h- '≈ be slack, be loose, be weak' > Lt inf. dr ū ž -ti (1s pres. dr ū ž ū) {Frn.} 'to become weak', mano akis dr ū ž ta 'I am gradually losing the sight' (but {PiesS} dr ū ž ti 'to get clouded, to darken'), as well as possibly Lt inf. {Frn.} dri ž tí (1s pres. dri ž t ū) 'to be timid, to become miserable\weak' (→ 'to be afraid?') || Gt trīgō (τ. λύπη) 'Trauer', ON tregi 'sorrow', AS tregza 'grief, affliction', OHG trāgi 'slow, lazy, sad', NHG träge 'slow, dull', OSx trāg id., trāgi 'Trägheit', OHG trāgī 'weariness, sluggish-ness', 'taedium, pigritia, segnitias, torpor' ¶ WP I 821ff., P 226-7 ('un-willig, verdrossen' ← 'schlaff\zähe sein?'), Frn. 106-7, Fs. 480, Vr. 597, Kb. 1028, OsS 950, Ho. 352, Ho. S 75 || A *t'org∇ (and *t'ōr∇?) > M *dorgun > WrM dorgun {MED} 'lack, deficit; insufficient', HIM {MED} доргон id.; M *doru (or *doraγu?) > WrM doru {MED} 'weak, impotent, incapable', {Rm.} doragu (mentioned by Rm. as akin to Kl Ö dorū 'unterlegen, schwach, schlecht'), HIM дор {MED} 'weak, impotent, incapable' (not registered in BMR [a semantic misinterpretation of дор 'low,

низменный'?), Kl Ö {Rm.} dorū 'unterlegen, schwach, schlecht', Ord d_oro 'en bas, sous, au pied de' oriental'; M *doruyi > WrM dorui {MED} 'weak, feeble, emaciated', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt дорой id., MM [MA] doray kibe tū:ni 'weakened him', doraytūlqu üyle 'weakening work'; WrM dorğumzi {MED} 'weak, feeble', HIM доргомж {MED} id., {BMR} 'weak, kraftlos; никчемный' ¶ MED 262, BMR II 54-6, Kow. 1885-6, Chr. 196, KW 96, Pp. MA 143, Ms. O 152-3 || Tg: WrMc {Z} дорголо- v. 'stop growing' (cereals), 'bloom insufficiently; betoken bad harvest', ?? WrMc {Z} дурухаби 'одряхлел, одурел, ослабел от старости' ¶ STM I 216, 225, Z 828 and 837, Hr 120 (rejecting Mc dorğolo- as a misinterpretation) || NaT *t'ur- ~ *t'or- v. 'be(come) weak\ emaciated' > OT {Cl.} tūr- id., Xk tura par-, tura ka- 'be exhausted\ tired', Yk {Pek.} tūr 'emaciation', tūr- 'get emaciated', tūrxaу 'weak'; T ⇨ MM [S] тура- 'abnehmen, schwächer sein', турu- 'abmagern' ¶ Cl. 530, Pek. 2824, 2829, H 155, Rl. III 1446, BIG 240 || pJ *dūrū > OJ zuru-, zura-, MJ zūrū-, J T/Kg yurú-, J K yūrū- {S} 'slack, languid, quiet', StJ yurui adj. 'loose' ¶ Mr. 845, Kenk. 2230 ¶¶ SDM 483-4 (pA *dōru 'weak, slack, emaciated' > WrMc, M *doru, J + unc. T *jor- v. 'tire', adj. 'tired').

2298. *tæRp (or *tæRP) 'tremble, shake' > HS: S *^otrp > Sr ^otrp G {JPS} 'clap, flap, move', {Br.} 'percussit' ¶ Br. 290, JPS 182 || IE: NaIE *^odrep- ~ *^otrep- 'shake, tremble' > Psh دريل dra'bzl 'to shake, to press down' || SI *trep- > Cz třepati 'to shake, to flutter, to clap, to flap (one's wings)', LLs tsepás, HLs třepác 'to swing'; ⇨ SI *trep-etъ n. act. 'trembling, quivering' > OCS трепеть трепеть (trépetь, trépetь) id. ('дрожь, трепет'), Blg, R трепет, SCr trèpēt, Slv trèpèt, P tzpìot id. ¶ P 1094, Vs. IV 98-9, Asl. 402, Mrg. 22 || A: M *derbe- v. 'sway, swing, flutter' > WrM derbe- {MED} v. 'flutter; struggle (as birds\fish)', HIM дэрвэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich wiegen (колыхаться), flattern (развеваться); flutter (as birds)', Kl {Rm.} derw- 'flattern' (von Vögeln), 'zappeln' (von Fischen), Ord d_erwe- 'battre les ailes (oiseau), flotter au gré du vent (étouffe)'; ⇨ : MM [S] derbel- 'beben, erschüttern', WrM {MED} derbelze-, HIM {MED, BMR} дэрвэлзэ-, Brt v. дэрбэлзэ- vi. 'flutter, flap in the wind'; WrO дербекүül- 'make fly in the wind' ¶ MED 252-3, BMR II 112-13, Chr. 218, KW 90, Ms. O 141, H 36, Krg. 556, SDM 473 (erroneously connecting this M root to pA *dēru 'shake, sway' (sc. to pA {AD}

*d̥r|ǰg̥ 'shake') ◇ If the N etymon is *tæRp̥, IE *t- and S *t̥- (for IE *d- and S *t-) may be due to as. (N *t...p̥ > *t̥...p̥ > IE *t...p and S *t̥...p) and possibly to ideophony, but if the N rec. is *t̥æRp̥, M *d- defies explanation.

2299. *t̥r̥ 'suffer, endure' > **HS**: C: Bj {R} ✓ tr̥m pres. md. (1s: p. a-'tr̥m, pres. att̥a'r̥m; prtc. te'r̥ma) id., 'tolerate' ¶ R WBd 231-2 || **U**: FU (att. in FV) (+ext.) *tark̥- v. 'endure' > Ft̥arje-ta (pres. tarkene-) 'to stand the cold', Es Δ tare-ta, targe-ma (pres. targe-n) {W} id., 'vertragen, sich getrauen' | Chr H: StChr H 't̥ar̥a-š, Chr K 't̥ar̥e-m, Chr Y 't̥or̥e-m; StChr L t̥ur'ka-š, Chr Y/U 't̥urke-m 'I endure', 'ausstehen, aushalten, dulden, ertragen' ¶ It. no. 46, SK 1235, W EDW 1120 || **A**: T *t̥|t̥'ör- v. 'suffer, endure' > OT t̥öz- ({Cl.} t̥ö:z-), Chg t̥öz- id., XwT t̥öz- id., Tkm d̥öδ-, Az d̥öz-, VTt t̥üz- 'endure' (↳ Chv τ̥ύc- id.), Bsh t̥üδ-, Qry t̥öz- ̣ tez-, Qzq, Nog, Ln t̥öz- 'endure', Tk Ist d̥öz- id. ('katlanmak, tahammül etmek') ¶ Cl. 572, Ash. XIV 230-1, Fed. II 264-5, Jeg. 267, Rs. W 495, ET VGD 272-3, SDD I 471, ADb. Ttd 59 (in the *C̥z-stems the opposition *t̥- ↔ *t- is neutralized).

2300. *t̥Ar̥q̥ '≈ make an incision, dig' > **HS**: S *°✓ tr̥χ > Ar ✓ tr̥χ G 'scarifier le peau, y faire une légère incision' ¶ BK I 196 || **K**: GZ *tq|χar-/ *tq|χr- v. 'dig' > OG, G t̥χar-/t̥χr- 'dig', Mg (n)t̥χo(r)- 'dig, bury', Lz t̥χor- v. 'plough, dig' (× K *°št̥χar / *°št̥χr- v. 'dig' < N *Sid̥,ϑ̥,∇r̥ ~ *Sid̥∇r̥,ϑ̥,∇ 'to shovel, to sweep') ¶ Chik. 286; FS K 158 and FS E 171-2 (*t̥χar-/ *t̥χr-), K² 77-8, K 176-7 (*(s₁)t̥χar-/ *(s₁)t̥χr-) ¶¶ Within the "harmonious complex" *t + lr.\uvular the opposition between *q and *χ is neutralized || **IE** *derHχ- 'sth. dug' (× < *der-, *derHχ- v. 'split' < N *ter̥ 'tear, burst' [q.v.] × N *tūr̥ or *turE 'pierce' × [?] N *toRy̥ 'debark, peel') > OI dar̥a-h̥, dar̥ī 'hole in the earth, cave' ||| pSl *d̥br̥n̥ = {SPS} *d̥r̥n̥ (< NaIE *d̥r̥no-) > Slv d̥r̥n, Cz d̥r̥n, R д̥р̥н, LLs d̥ern, P dar̥r̥ 'turf, sod' ¶ P 206-9, ESSJ V 224-5, SPS V 50-1, ≈ M K II 21 || **D** (att. in GnD) *t̥ār̥-/t̥ār̥- ({θGS} *t-) v. 'dig, scratch' > Gnd Δ t̥ār̥ānā v. 'dig or scratch up, as pigs', t̥ār̥k- ̣ t̥ār̥k- ̣ tark- v. 'scratch', Knd t̥ār̥- v. 'scratch up earth, as rats', Mnd t̥ār̥-v. 'scrape off (bark)', Kui t̥ār̥a v. 'dig out, excavate, scratch out', Ku t̥ār̥̥- ~ t̥ār̥̥- v. 'scratch up (as dog, fowl etc.)' ¶ D no. 3122 ◇ BmK 301-2 (IE, D, Sum dar̥ v. 'split').

2301. *tus̥ ~ *t̥ūs̥ 'against, in the opposite direction' > **IE**: [1] NaIE *dus- 'mis-, un-', 'bad' (as the initial component of cds) > OI d̥us̥- ~

dur-, Av duš- ~ duž- id. || Gk δυσ- 'un-, mis-' (with notion of 'hard, bad, unlucky') || Arm un- t- 'un-' || L dis- 'un-' as in difficilis 'heavy' (lit. 'un-easy') || Clt {Matas.} *dus- 'bad, ill-' > OIr do-, du- px 'un-, mis-, δυσ-, bad' (e.g. do-chla 'ignorious'), MW dy- (e.g. in dyfydd 'gloomy'), W dy- 'bad' || Gt tuz- in tuz-ωērjan 'zweifeln', ON, AS tor-, OHG zur- 'un-' > NHG zer- 'un-, asunder' || Sl *dъždъ 'rain' ({SPS, ESSJ} *dъždъ 'rain') (< {EI} *dus-dyus 'un-day', sc. 'un-weather') > OCS дъждъ dъždъ, Blg дъжд, SCr дъжд ~ дăžd, Slv dež, R дождь, Uk дощ, P deszcz, OCz déšť, Cz déšť, P deszcz 'rain'] [2] NaIE *deus- v. 'lack' > OI dōsaḥ 'fault, crime, vice, want' || Gmc *tiuzōn > AS {Ho.} tīerian ~ tīorian 'nachlassen, aufhören, ermüden, müde sein', {Sw.} tēorian 'to fail, not to be up to the mark; to be tired', NE v. tire ¶¶ WP I 816, P 219, 227, EI 43, M K II 54-5, 67-8, F I 425, WH I 354-5, Thr. § 365, Fs. 484, Vr. 595, Ho. 346-7, 351, OsS 1305, KM 880, Sl. 275-6, SPS V 194-6, ESSJ V 195-7, StSS 201, Matas. E 109 || HS: S *°✓tš|sy > Ar ✓tsy L (pf. تأسى tāṣā) 'faire du mal à qn'; cp. also Ar tūs- 'maleur' (unless from tūs- 'nature?') ¶ BK I 199, 210 || U *°tūs∇ > Sm: Slq ti'tt-ḳo 'to swim\go against the stream' ¶ KKI 184.

2302. *t'ûs∇ 'bush (shrub)' > HS: Ch: Ngz dūs 'densely wooded area of bush' ¶ Sch. DN 51 || IE: NaIE *dus-(m0-) {Dv.} 'shrub (arbusto)' > OIr (WH, WP) doss 'Busch' || OL dūsmus, L dūmus 'a thorn bush, bramble' || MHG zūsaeh 'bushes, underwood (Gestrüpp)', zūse id., 'lock of hair' ([?] in Gmc contamination with another root meaning 'zerreißen, zerfasern': OHG zir-zūson 'zerzausen', {Kb.} 'to free, to dissolve', MLG tōsen 'reißen, zerren' etc.) ¶ Dv. no. 828, WP I 766-7, WH I 381, Lx. 341 || A: T: Tv dūs 'bush, shrub' (unless going back to Tv dūs 'root' < NaT *t'öz id.) ¶ TvR 179.

2302a. *tæf's∇ (more probable than *dæf's∇) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > HS: S *°'daḩ∇,š|s- > Ar daḩs- 'trace, piste; chemin battu', {Fr.} 'vestigium; multum calcata (via)', ✓dḩs G 'fouler fortement avec les pieds' ¶ Fr. I 33, BK I 700, ≠ DRS 202 || Ch: WCh: Df {J} dūsây, Btr {J} dīsây v. 'find' || Ngz {Sch.} tàsây (n. act. táší) v. 'find, come across, stumble upon' ¶ Sch. DN 158, ChC s.v. 'to find', J R 214 ¶ Probably d- < N *d- or *t- + *ḩ || K *°z|ž- > G ži- (pres. žeV-) 'forschen, suchen (nach)' ¶ Chx. 2072 ¶¶ K *z|ž- < *ds|š- (with *d- < pre-K *dḩ- < [as.] *tḩ- < N *t...ḩ-) || A: ??? M: WfM {MED} des, HIM {MED, BMR} дэс

'following, next, subsequent, second', WrM {MED} *desle-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *дэслэ-* v. 'be next, follow', unless a loan from Tib *de-s* 'therefore, ergo, after that' (abl. of Tib *de* 'that') ¶ MED 254, Kow. 1709-11, BMR II 114-15, Vv. AEN 15 (M ← Tib) || IE: NaIE **dē₁s₁-* / (?) **des-* 'find, track, trace' > Gk *δηω* 'I shall find, I shall meet with', Gk [Hs.] *ἔδηνεν* ipf. '(he) found' || pAl ? **en-das-sya*, {O} **en-da-sya* > Al *ndesh* v. 'encounter' || Sl **desiti* 'to meet, to find' (× IE **de₁k-* 'find, get' < N **t'e'Kæ* 'take, carry?') > OCS inf. **ΔΕΣИТН** *desiti* (1s pres. **ΔΕША** *dešq*) (· *εὐρίσκειν, καταλαμβάνειν, invenire*) 'to find/meet (so. somewhere), to overtake' ({StSS} 'застать' ['antreffen']), OR, RChS inf. **ΔΕСИТН** *desiti*, inf. **ΔѢСИТН** *děsiti* (· *invenire*) 'to find, to meet', RChS inf. **ΔОСИТН** *dositi* (· *invenire*) 'to find, to meet', inf. **ΟΥΔΟСИТН** *u-dositi* 'antreffen, finden (застать, найти)', SCr inf. *děsiti* (1s pres. *děsim*) 'to find, to meet', inf. *děsiti* 'to find so. (antreffen), to meet', *desiti se* 'to happen, to occur' ¶ The IE √ may be either **dē₁s-* or **dē₁-*, because both the Gk and the Al form may be interpreted in both ways, while Sl **des-* may well go back to **de₁k-* ¶ WP I 783, 814, P 217, F I 383, Ch. I 275, AlbED 554, O 284, ≈ ESSJ IV 217-18, StSS 186, Srz. I 655, 709-10 and III 1155, Glh. 192, Drd. 75, SPS III 74-6 ¶ If the NaIE √ was **dē-*, it may go back to IE **deH-* < **deHH-* < ***dēz|ž* < N **tæf's* (as. **-f's-* > **-f'z-*), hence the N etymon would be **tæf's* ◇ The IE cognate points to a N **t-*. If the N etymon is **tæf's*, the S initial cns. **d-* may be explained by as. **-tf-* > S **-df-* (in the primary stem *(*y*i)tfaš > *(*y*i)dfaš). A similar process in the prehistory of K may explain the pK voiced cns. **°z|ž-*. But if the N etymon is **dæf's*, the IE cns. **d-* remains without explanation ◇ AD NM no. 32, ≠ S CNM 13 (Starostin did not accept the G cognates and suggested that M **des-* may go back to ***di-se* with ***di-* like in **žirin* 'two'; he suggested to derive Ar ✓ *dis* from HS **diʕas-* 'walk'; hence he considered this N comparison "very shaky").

2303. (₂?) **tH₂t* 'finger' ([in D] → 'point, sharp edge') (= **tüH₂t* [?]; an alt. reconstruction is **tH₂U₁N₁t*) > HS **°tH₂t-* > eB **ḡahḡ-* > B **ḡāḡ-* (pl. **ḡūḡ-*) 'finger' > Kb {Dl.} *a-ḡaḡ* (pl. *i-ḡuḡ-an*), Snd {Prov.} *ḡad* (pl. *iḡudən*), {Bs.} *t'adi*, Wrs {Bs.} *ḡaḡ* (pl. *يَضودَان* *iḡudən*), Hrw {Bs.} *ḡad* (pl. *يَضودَان* *iḡudən*), Mz {CM} *ḡad*, Mz/Wrg {Dlh.} *ḡaḡ* (pl. *iḡudən*), Izd {Mrc.} *a-ḡaḡ* (pl. *i-ḡuḡ-an*), Ah {Fc.} *a-ḡaḡ* (pl. *iḡaḡwān*), Ty/ETwl {GhA}, Tw U {Sdl.} *aḡaḡ*, Gh {Nh.} *a-*

ḡaḡ (pl. i-ḡaḡwan), Ttq {Msq.} aḡaḡ (pl. iḡaḡũen), BSn/Skn {La.} ḡāḡ, Izn/SrSn/Rf {Rn.} ḡaḡ (pl. iḡāũdan), Tz {Stm.} 'aḡāḡ (pl. i-ḡwḡān, Si {La.} ḡāḡ (pl. iḡũḡān) 'finger', Gd ḡuḡān 'fingers' ¶ Dl. 172, Fc. 255, Sdl. 278, Lf. II no. O335, GhA 3O, Mrc. 88, La. MChB 118, Rn. 311, Msq. 94, Nh. 152, La. S 227, Stm. 157, Prov. ZQS 111, Bs. ZOu 86 || ?ϕ SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} dīḡa, Irq {MQK} dīḡa, {E} diḡa ḡ ḡiḡa, Alg/Brn {Wh.} dīnḡa (pl. dīḡo), Alg {E} dinḡa, Brn {E} dinḡa 'finger' ¶ Wh. IC 23, E SC 193, MQC s.v. dīḡa || ?ϕ WCh: Hs dīnḡi 'handful' ¶ Abr. H 216, Ba. 258 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (SC, Hs) || ?σ D *tuti, *tut-a ({ϑGS} *t-) 'point, sharp edge' > Tm t u t i id., Kn t u d i, Tu t u d i 'point, end, extremity, top', Tl t u d i 'end, termination', t u d a 'end, extremity, tip', Mlt t o t a 'point, pointed' ¶¶ D no. 3314 || K: GZ *tit- 'finger, toe' > OG, G tit-i id., Lz cd titi-mḡḡon- 'the little finger', ?? (dis.?) Mg ḡi(n)t-, Lz ḡit- 'finger' ¶ K² 71-2, Chx. 489, Abul. 181, Ser. 72 || ?? Gil: Gil A t'adm / radm 'crown (of the head), top', Gil ES t'adm 'crown of the head' ¶¶ ST 378, ST RN 2O4, Krn. N 353, 488 ◇ ≠ IS MS 352 ('oKOHечHOCTb' *ḡuλḡ; IS equated the D √ with U *tuḡka- and K *dud- 'point, upper end'), IS SS 323 [no. 3.2] (the same comparison) ◇ In HS (or eB) there is as. *t...ḡ > *ḡ...ḡ, while in K there is as. in the opposite direction: *t...ḡ > *t...t ◇ If D *tuti and *tut-a are legitimate cognates, they suggest N *t∇H₂Uḡ∇ ◇ The data of SC and Hs (if belonging here) and Mg ḡi(n)t- suggest a word-medial *N (probably N *t∇H₂UNḡ∇).

2304. ?? *tûw∇ 'rain; to sprinkle' > HS (+ext.): S *°√twḡ (or WS *√tw|ḡn?) > Gz taWAN 'season of the small rains (Aprile - July), spring rain', ? Ug {Grd.} tḡrnt (*[t∇ḡan-₁a₁t-]) 'rain' (not attested by Aistleitner and in OLS) ¶ L G 582, Grd. UT 49 || C: Ag: Bln {R} tuḡān (*tḡḡān) 'beginning of the rainy season, following the summer heat' ¶ R WB 342 ¶¶ Gz taWAN may be of Ag origin, but its exact source is unknown || D (att. in SD) *tū^rv¹- v. 'sprinkle' > Tm t ū v u v. 'sprinkle, strew', Ml t ū v u k a v. 'be spilled', t ū k u k a v. 'strew, spill, shower', Td tu'f- v. 'spread (grain in sun to dry etc.)', Tu ḡ ū s u r i v. 'sprinkle' ¶ D no. 3394 ¶ The D cognate is valid unless it goes back to **tuk- || AdS of K {K} *(ḡ)to- v. 'snow', {FS, K²} *toW- (× N *ḡ∇t∇w∇ 'cold weather', q.v. ffd.); cp. {K} *toWḡ- 'snow' (< N *tä₁UH₂A - *ta₁UH₂ä ≈ cold season, rain') ◇ Fn. KD no. 97 (K, D).

2305. *t∇w∇ 'head' ([in descendant lges] → 'oneself') > HS: NrOm: Sz {Fl.} t#wi, {SWW} túĩ ḡ tuĩ 'head', Cha {Fl.} toya, {C} toyā ḡ toyā ~

תּוֹפֵּן 'head' (unless < *toḳa, cp. Gm {Hw.} tēḳo 'head of') ¶ Fl. OWL, SiW
 BA 49, C SE III 176, Blz. OLBP s.v. 'head', Hw. EG || SC: Irq {Mous} ti
 'oneself; each other' (a rf. and reciprocal prn.): inós ti çarerē? 'he will
 hang himself' ('he' + ti + 'hang' 3m), naḡī ti al-tiḡinā? 'the children run
 after each other' ('children' + ti + 'together-run' 3p) ¶ Mous 139-40 ||
 HS **tω-, prefix of reflexivization in derived verbs (← 'oneself' ←
 'head') > B *tω- ~ *t-, prefix of passivization > Tw t- ~ tω-, Nf cω- ~
 tω-, Rf, SrSn, Izn tωa-, Kb cω-, Zng ṭ-: Tw {Pr.} tωaḡrḃω ~ tḃḡrḃω v.
 'be found' (↔ aḡrḃ v. 'find'), tḃnkḃḡ 'être coupé' (↔ ankaḡ 'couper'), Nf
 i-cω-aker 'he was robbed' (← aker v. 'rob'), Izn, Rf, SrSn tωaṭaf 'être
 pris\saisi\emprisonné' (← aṭaf v. 'take, seize'), Kb {Dl.} imv. cωilqəḡ
 / pf yəcωalqəḡ 'être ramassé' (← alqəḡ 'ramasser'), Zng {Nic.} ṭaraṭum
 'être relaché\payé\remboursé' ← arṭum '[re]lâcher, ouvrir, défaire') ¶
 Pr. M VI-VII 63-4, Beg. 68, Rn. 61, Nic. 55 || The S prefix *t- and the infix
 *-t- (following the first radical of the primary stem [> Ak p., Gz js., CS
 ip.]) with the reflexive (→ reciprocal, passive) meaning: [1] the stem of
 the basic stirps (Qal, fa'ala) + infix *-t- (so-called *Gt*) *yicṭaC∇C(-) >
 Ak icṭaC∇C, Ar yaCṭaCicū (VIII form), JA yicṭaṭ'e/iC, Sr nəCṭaṭ'eCaC
 (in Aram/Sr with verbs *primae dentalis et sibilantis* only), [2] the stem
 of the basic stirps + prefix *t∇- (*T*) *yitCaC∇C(-) > BA, JA
 yicṭaṭ'e/iC, Sr nəṭCṭaṭ'eCaC, Gz yəṭCaCaC, [3] the stem of the
 geminated (four-consonantal) stirps + infix (*Dt*) *y∇CtaCCiC(-) > Ak
 uCtaCCiC, BHb yicṭaC'eC, JA yitCaC'eCaC, Sr nəṭCaC'eCaC (Hb,
 Aram and Sr *Dt*-forms used with verbal stems *primae t, d, ṭ, s, z, ç, š*
 and *š* only), [4] the stem of the geminated stirps + prefix (*TD*)
 *y∇tCaCCaC(-) > BHb yitCaC'eC, JA yitCaC'eCaC, Sr nəṭCaC'eCaC, Ar
 yataCaCCaCu (= V form), Gz yəṭCaCCaC; these forms underly those of
 the new (actually derived) WS perfective aspect: Ar *Gt* (VIII form)
 ḡicṭaCaCa, *TD* (V form) taCaCCaCa, BHb *TD* hitCaC'eC, A *T*
 h|ḡitCa'eCaC, *TD* h|ḡitCaC'eCaC, Sr *T* ḡəṭCa'eC, *TD* ḡəṭCaC'eCaC, Gz *T*
 taCaC(a)Ca, *TD* taCaCCaCa, e.g. Ak *Gt* imṭaxṣū 'they faught each
 other' (← ✓ mḡṣ v. 'fight'), *Dt* uxṭabbīt 'he was robbed' (↔ *D*
 uxabbīt 'he robbed'), BHb *TD* pf. cons. וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ wayyithaz'zek
 'and he strengthened himself' (ip. 3pm וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ
 yithazzə'kū, pf. 3s וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ
 hitḡaz'zek) (← ✓ ḡzḡ *G* 'be\become strong'), *Dt* pf. cons. 1s וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ
 wāḡəštam'mer 'and I kept myself from' (← ✓ šmr 'guard, keep'), BA *T*
 pf. 3f וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ hitḡə'zerəṭ 'was cut out', *Dt* ip. 3m וַיַּחַזְקְתָּ
 yištan'nē 'will

be changed', *TD* js. יִתְבַקֵּר *yitbakḳar* 'let search be made' (← *D* ✓ *bḳr*), *JA* [Trg.] {Lv.} *T* pf. 1s אֶתְגַּמְאֵרִית *ʔitḡamā'rīt* 'I was destroyed' (ψ 109.23, Job 2.17), *Ar Gt* ip. يَعْتَرِضُ *yaʕtariḡu* 'opposes (\ will oppose) himself', *TD* يَتَكَبَّرُ *yatakabbaru* 'makes (\ will make) himself great', *Gz T* takadna ~ takadana 'covered himself, was covered', *TD* taʔammara 'showed himself' ¶ *Br. G* I 528-31, *Br. AG* 38-9, *Sd. G* 120-2 [§ 22], 10*-46*, *Rms.* 101-6, 299-307, *Lv. I* 146, *Di. G* 137-9, *Schlz. FSV* 43 (an unc. hyp. driving back the *S* stems with *-t-, *-t- to an analytical construction with *✓ *ʔtḡ|y* v. 'come') || *C* *-t-, reflexivizing affix of verbs, sc. prefix of pcvs, and an element of the word-final complex in scvs (< px of aux. verbs): [1] prefix: *Bj* passivizing px -t∇-: {*RHd.*} p. -tō-dār / pres. -tō-dār v. 'be killed' (from -dir v. 'kill'), p. -tdabāl / pres. -tdabāl v. 'be gathered' (from -dbil v. 'gather'), p. -tdagāy / pres. -tdagi v. 'be returned', vi. 'return' / -dgi ~ -digi vt. 'return'; *Bj* reflexivizing px -t- in the forms of present, habitative and permissive "tenses": pres. -ētlīw (/ habitative and permissive -ītlīw-) v. 'burn oneself' (from -liw vt. 'burn', pres. -tdabāl vi. 'gather' (from -dbil vt. 'gather'), pres. -tdagi (/ habitative -tdig, permissive -tdiga) vi. 'return' (from -dgi vt. 'return'), *EC: Sa* -t-, prefix of the medium voice (autobenefactive ~ intransitivizing voice): it was still preserved as -t- in *Sa I* of the 19th cent. (as described by *CR*), but has been assimilated to the following cns. in modern *Sa* (as described by *Wlm.*): -iggidil (< *-i-t-gidil) vi. 'break', 'break sth. undeliberately' (↔ -igdil vt. 'break'), -iggireḡ- (< *-itgireḡ) v. 'be cut off' (↔ -igreḡ- v. 'cut off'), *Af* -t- (interpreted by *Clz.* as reflexivizing and by *Hw.* as autobenefactivizing prefix): {*Clz.*} -utubalə 'vedersi' (p. 1s ʔutubalə, 2s/3f tu'tubalə, 3m yu'tubalə, 3p yu'tubalən etc.) ↔ -ubileə v. 'see' (p. 1s ʔubileə, 2s 'tubileə etc.), {*Hw.*} idḡiḡide (< *itḡiḡide) 'sew sth. for one's own benefit' (↔ idḡide 'sew'), ettēḡeḡe 'know for one's own benefit' (↔ ēḡeḡe 'know') |||| [2] a reflexivizing (rf.) or autobenefactivizing (abf.) sx, *-t- of the word-final morphemic complex in scvs (going back to a px of the aux. verbs): *EC: Af* {*Hw.*} -it-, e.g. digir-it-e 'play for one's own benefit' (↔ digir-e 'play'), faḡs-it-e 'boil sth. for one's own benefit' (↔ caus. verb faḡs-is-e 'boil sth.'), *Sa* {*Wlm.*} ʕakal-it- v. 'wash oneself', *Sml* -(a)t-, abf. sx: šub-(a)t- v. 'pour for one's own benefit' (præt: 1s, 3m šubtay, 2s, 3f šubatay etc.) (↔ šub- v. 'pour'), *Rn* abf. and rf. sx -t- (warāba-t-ta 'she fetches water for herself'

↔ warāb-ta 'she fetches water', dīx-t-a 'he washes himself' ↔ dīxa 'he washes'), Or T {Mrn.} abf. -t- (> -d- [$*-t-ʔ-$] and -n- [$*-t-n-$] due to the infl. of the following markers of person-number: $*ʔ-$ of 1s and $*n-$ of 1p): 1s aubf. bē'kadḏē (< $*bēk-at-ʔē$) 'I knew for my own benefit, I understood', 2s and 3f bē'kattē (< $*bēk-at-tē$), 3s bē'katē (< $*bēk-at-yē$), 1p bē'kannē (< $*bēk-at-nē$) etc. (↔ basic voice 1s 'bēkē 'I knew', 2s and 3f 'bēktē, 3m 'bēke, 1p 'bēkne etc.), Sd {Mrn.} rf.-abf. -iḏ- (as-iḏ- v. 'make for oneself, make oneself' ↔ as- v. 'make', haḏ- iḏ- v. 'wash oneself' etc.); SC: Irq {Mous} -t (marker of the middle voice, having reflexive and sim. meanings): hamḏīt v. 'take a bath' (↔ hamāḏ v. 'wash'), tuḏūt v. 'pull oneself out' (↔ tūḏ v. 'uproot'), dūxūt v. 'get married' (for a woman)' (↔ dūx v. 'take out, marry [a woman]'), ḏifīt v. 'sneeze'; the suffix -t may describe a situation, in which the body is central: ḏifīt v. 'sneeze', iwīt v. 'sit', šakāt v. 'be tired' ¶ AD KJ 93-6, Mous 175-8, PG 31 || NrOm: Gf {Mrn.} -et-, passivizing\ reflexivizing sx: beʔ-et- ~ bēt- v. 'be seen' (↔ beʔ- v. 'see'), ḏel-et- v. 'be born' (↔ ḏel- v. 'give birth'), ol-et- v. 'fight each other' (reciprocal ← rf.) (↔ ol- v. 'fight'), Ym -t-, passivizing sx: šuk-t- 'essere gozzato\sacrificato' (↔ šuk- 'sgozzare, sacrificare'), {C} qon-t- ({Wdk.} kōnto) v. 'be born' (↔ {C} qon- v. 'give birth') ¶ AD KJ 93-6, Mrn. O 59-60, C SE III 33-4, Wdk. BY 144 || K: GZ *taw- 'head' > OG tav- 'head', G tav- id., 'ear of cereals', Lz ti- 'head', Mg ti-šā 'to himself, home' (lit. 'into head'); Sv šda- 𐎧 šta- 'ear of cereals' (that is due to merger with N ʔσ $*šæd∇w∇$ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)', q.v.) ¶¶ K 175 ($*(s_1)taw-$), K DE 358, ≈ K² 66 ($*taw-$), Q 242, Chik. 43-4 || IE: AnIE: HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht -z, -za id. ¶ Mer. HHG 129, Mlc. CL 226, Mlc. L 72, Lar. 97, Ts. W 107 ◇ ≠ Illich-Svitych (IS I XIII, caus.-rf. $*t_1$) tried to find a common origin of the HS marker of reflexivization, the passive sx in BF and the causative sxs in A, U and D (which is doubtful both for semantic reasons and because of a structural difference: in U, A and D this is a postverbal sx that may go back to a N aux. verb, while in HS this is a prefix that is hardly explainable as an aux. verb in view of the syntactic structure of N).

2306. *tayh∇ (and $*taḏ|yḏ∇$??) 'incline, bend, bend\move aside' > HS: [1] S $*o-tīh-$ > Ar ✓ tyh, -tīh- (pf. tāha [$*tayaha$], ip. ya-tīh-u) v. 'go astray', 'errer à l'aventure (sans savoir où l'on va), s'égarer' ¶ BK I 213, Hv. 65] or [2] amb ? S $*o✓tḏy|w$ or $*o✓tḏy|w$ > BHb הַנְּתַח ✓ tḏy|w (pf. tā'ā, ip. yi-t'ā) 'reel, stagger' (ʔīš laʔeb'rō tā'ā 'they have

stumbled off, each his own way' [Is. 47.15], wubāššē'kār tā'īū 'sie taumeln vom berausenden Getränk' [Is. 28.7], tā'īā laḥā'ḥī 'mein Herz taumelt' [Is. 21.4]), 'wander about, go astray' (this last meaning is caused by the impact of the paronymous verb BHb הַבֵּט ✓ ṭ. ṣ. y | w 'wander, stray, err' < *✓ ṭ. ṣ. w), ??σ Ug {DrvG} ṭ. ṣ. y G (?) 'journey afar' (h. l.) ¶ KB 361, 1625-6, GB 884, DrvG 159 || U *taye- (or *toya-) vi. 'bend, decline, break' > F tairu- vi. 'bend, be bent, bow', Δ taimi 'Biegung', F taitta- vt. 'break, fold', Es {W} taibu- 'nicht steif oder unbeweglich sein', taiuuta- 'biegen, krümmen' | pLp *tīyē 'break' > Lp: N {N} doaggje-, S {Hs.} doājjudh v. 'break off', L {LLO} t̄ djē- 'brechen, durchbrechen' || Sm: Ne O {Lh.} tuyo- 'das Kreuz schlagend und betend sich verneigen (vor dem Heiligenbild)', ?? Kms taylō- 'zerbrechen, niederreißen' ¶¶ UEW 505-6, Coll. 51, Lr. no. 1272, Lgc. no. 7951, Hs. 442, Db. OS x || A *t'ay∇ v. 'lean' ({SDM} *t'aya 'lean out') > NaT *t'aya- > OT {Cl.} tayā- v. 'lean against (sth.), prop (sth.) up', Tk dayā-, Ggz, Az, Tkm dayā-, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, SbTt, Bsh, Qq, Qzq, Ln, StAlt taya- id., Uz taya-, Yk tayā- 'prop up'; rf. *t'aya-n- 'lean on, support oneself by' > OT tayan-, XwT, MQp, Chg ≥xv tayan- id., OOsM XVI-XVIII dayan- 'rely on', Tk dayan- 'lean against, rest on', Tkm, Az, Ggz dayan-, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Uz, ET, StAlt, Xk, Yk tayan-, Tv d_ayan- id. ¶ Cl. 567, 569, IS AD 45, Rs. W 455, ET VGD 125-7, ADb. Ttd 60 || Tg: WrMc {Z} дая- v. 'lean', ?σ даньча- ~ даяча- ~ даячи- ~ даяньчи- v. 'wave' ¶ Z 773-4, STM I 190 || M *dayi- > [1] MM [S] dayižī- 'abziehen, abfallen von jem-m'; [2] ?σ: M *dayiba-, *dayib∇la- > WrM {MED} daiba- vi. 'wobble, totter, sway', HIM дайва- {MED, BMR} id., WrM {Gl.} daibila- id., vi. 'shake', {Kow.} taibala- 'se balancer, chancellor, se remuer' (err. interpretation of the initial WrM letter d|t as voiceless t-), Ord d_āwul- 'chancellor, se balancer', WrM daibalza- {MED} vi. 'totter, wobble, sway, rock', HIM дайвалза- {MED, BMR} id., Brt дайбалза-, дайбагана- 'walk staggering', Kl {KRS} дәәвл- 'stagger', {Rm.} d_āwul- 'sich zur Seite biegen, sich seitwärts bewegen; wellen, wogen', Ord d_āwalž_i- 'chancellor, se balancer' ¶ MED 221, BMR II 20, H 31, Gl. III 2, Kow. 1549, Chr. 181, KRS 187, KW 83, Ms. O 132 || pJ *tayzr- or *tayar- > MJ tayor-, J T/Kg tayór-, J K táyór- 'lean on, rely on' ¶ Mr. 766, Kenk. 1933 ¶¶ SDM 1349 (pA *taya- v. 'lean on' > M *dayi-, Tg, T, J), S AJ 71 ◇ Coll. 146 (U, A), IS SS 320 [no. 2.1] (U, A), IS MS 350 s.v. 'наклонять' *tojḥ (U, A), AD

GD 14 ◇ The Ar root \checkmark tyh belongs here if the stem of ip. -tīh- is a secondary analogical back formation from the verbal noun tayh- 'going astray' and from the pf. form tāha (< *tayaha). S $^{\circ}\checkmark$ tʷy|w is a cognate unless BHb \checkmark tʷy|w is a deglottalized variant of S $^{\circ}\checkmark$ tʷy. The lack of lengthening of *a in T (evidenced by Tkm) speaks in favor of the N rec. *tayh∇, because *taʃ|yʷ∇ would have yielded a pA (and T) stem with a long vw.

2307. (₂?) *ta^ʳq|g^ʳay^ʳū^ʳ 'relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes)' > IE *deH₁wēr- > NaIE *dā₁wēr / *dā₁wēr- (gen. *dā₁w'r-es) 'husband's brother' > OI dē'var- (dē'vā) 'husband's brother; wife's brother (younger than ego)', Psh بولوار^lwar, Ygn 'sewir, Oss I тиву tīw, Oss D tew 'husband's brother' (Ygn, Oss and some other East Iranian forms suggest an EIr devoicing *d^h- > *t^h-) ||| Arm տալգր taygr ~ տազր tagr ~ տեզր tegr 'husband's brother' ||| Gk δᾶήρ (< *δα₁ρ, {EI} *δα₁ρ id. ||| L lēvir ~ laevir (gen. -ī) id. (a dialectal form ["Sabinism"] with l- for the expected *d-; ē [for aē] is a rusticism; the stem was presumably transformed due to the infl. of vir, -ī 'man') ||| OHG zeihhur, zeichur, zehhor, AS tācor, OFrs taker 'husband's brother' ({P}: the inlaut cs. is due to the infl. of the Gmc cognate of Lt láigonas 'wife's brother') ||| BSI (*i-stem transformed from the original consonantal stem, the consonantal stem being preserved in the Lt gen. dieveris): Lt dieveris, Ltv diēveris 'husband's brother' | SI *děverь > RChS ДѢВЕРЬ děverь, R 'деверь, SCr дѣвѣр ђ djēvēr, OP, P Δ dziewierz id. ¶ WP I 767, P 179, EI 84 (*daj₁h₁wēr), FI 338-9, WH I 787-8, ME I 743-4, MK II 64, Asl. 775, Mrg. 40, Ab. III 296-7, Kb. 1245, OsS 1239-40, Stl. 174, Ho. 341, Frn. 95, Bern. I 198, ESSJ V 19, SPS III 179-80 (SI *děverь > *děverь), Glh. 200, Sl. 58 ¶¶ *-er- in the IE stem *deH₁wēr- is an individualizing sx of kinship names (as in *b^hrāter- 'brother' etc.) ||| A *t'ayay∇ 'relative from mother's or wife's side' > NaT *t'ayay- 'mother's relative' > OT taḡay ({Cl.} taḡāy) 'maternal uncle', Cmn taḡay, MQp t'īḡā, Chg ≥xv taḡay ~ taḡay₁ id., SY taḡey ~ taḡay 'mother's relative', MQp XIII t'āy, Tk day₁, Tkm dāy₁, Az day₁ id., Qq day₁ 'maternal uncle, relative from mother's side', Qrg {Jud.} tay 'matroclinous relationship', Tv d₁āy, Yk tāy 'mother's brother (elder than ego)'; NaT *t'a₁yay-iza 'mother's sister' (a cd with *āzä [a root represented in OOsM äzä 'mother's sister']) > OOsM

dayıza, dıyaza, diyeze, Tk {Rl.} dāyzä, Tk Δ dayza, diyeza 'mother's sister', Tkm dayba 'mother's female relative'; StAlt т а й д а - л а р (< *tay-ada-lar) 'matroclinous ancestors' ¶ Dr. TM III no. 1176 reconstructed pT *tagay and believed that *tagay and Og *tay are different roots ¶ The final -I in the Og lges and in Qzq may go back to the ppa. of 3s ('his, her') ¶ Cl. 474, ET VGD 127-9, TL 296, Rs. W 455-6, TvR 139, TkrR 243, BT 139, KrkR 157, Jud. 688-9, JkR 371, ADb. Ttd 60 [no. 7], Dr. TM II 196 || Tg *dā- > Ewk, Lm dā, Neg dāṅta 'relative-in-law', WrMc {Z} даньчан 'relation from mother's\wife's side', 'wife's relatives (женин дом)' ¶ STM I 183-4, Z 775 || pJ {S} *dai or *dia > OJ ye 'elder brother\sister, elder relative' (× N *hUd∇ 'sister', 'ε female relative', q.v.) > OJ ye ¶ S QJ no. 813, Mr. 392 ¶¶ SDM 135O (pA *t'āy∇ 'elder in-law, elder relative' > Tg, T **t'āy 'uncle', J), DQA no. 2215 || ??σ HS: amb B: Ah ti ~ təy 'father, uncle, father-in-law', Ty ti- (pl. tьy-) +ppa., Twl š'i-/ tьy- +ppa. 'father' (TY ti-s 'his father'), Tw D/U {Sdl.} ti- (pl. t'āy-) ¶ Fc. 1877, PGG 336, Sdl. 259 ¶ The word is partially or entirely a Lallwort. It belongs here unless the Ll.-factor is not the only origin of this kinship name ◇ IS MS 361 (*tə^hj^h 'a relative': IE, T).

2308. *taqo^rzⁱ 'to plait, to wattle' > K (in GZ) *tq|χaz-/*tq|χz- (or *tq|χaz̄-/*tq|χz̄-, as suggested at the end of this entry) v. 'plait (together), weave' > OG tχz- v. 'plait', G tχz- v. 'compose (poetry, music), fabricate', Lz (n)tχoz- v. 'plait' ¶ K 97, K² 76-7, Chik. 285 || HS: Ch {JS} *√tk^ωs₁ v. 'tie' > WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ták^ωs⁺ ~ ta^ωs⁺, Bd {ChL} taksân id. || CCh: Glv {RpB} tak^ωás 'bind' ¶ The Ch cns. *k^ω as a reflex of N *-qo- still requires explanation ¶ Sch. DN 156, JS 269, RpB 86, ChL, ChC s.v. 'tie' || IE *deH̄(y)-/*dH̄(y)- > NaIE *dē-/*dā-, *dēj̄-/*di(:)- v. 'bind' > OI 'dya^ti 'binds', Av nī-dyā- 'bind\tie fast' || Gk Hm δέω (<*δέjω) v. 'bind, tie, fetter' | pp. *dā-'to- > OI di'ta- 'bound, tied' || Gk δετό-ς 'that may be bound', [Hs.] 'fetter, sheaf' | *dē-mṅ 'string, cord' > OI 'dāman- (nom. 'dāmā) 'string, cord, fetter' || Gk ὑπό-δημα 'sole bound under the foot with straps, sandal', δία-δημα 'band, fillet; the band round the τύρα of the Persian king', Gk Mc δε-δε-me-ρο 'bound' ¶ WP I 771, P 183, EI 64 (*deh₁-), M K II 34, 69, M E I 716-17, Brtl. 761, F I 374-5, O 59 (showing that Al d^uaj 'sheaves of grain' and dell 'tendon' do not belong here) || U: FU *tos∇ 'a vessel, basket' (← *'wicker basket' ← *'sth. wattled') > pPrm *doz- or *döz- '(kind of) vessel' > Z doz, dozy- 'vessel(s), box, bast basket', Z US dωz, Yz 'duz id., Vt duz 'wooden tub

(кадушка)', Vt SW dũz id., 'bast vessels' || pOs *tõč > Os: Sr tõč, Ty tõč 'Kiste, Kasten', N {Ahl.} tul 'Köcher', ?σ O tõt 'Zwischenwand' ¶ UEW 532, LG 94, Stn. D 1428 || ¶ A: [1] pA *t'osč² 'E' ≈ mat' > Tg (< pA d.?) *°d¹o¹sçi- v. 'lie (liegen)' > Lm: Ol/B/O/P dəsçi-, Sk dössi- ~ dösçi- v. 'lie', Ol dəsçijək 'place to lie, bed' ¶ STM I 238 || NaT *t'öšæ ~ *tösæ v. 'spread out (as mat)' > OT t'öšäk, Tk dösək 'mat, mattress' (some NaT lge → Chv тўшек ~ тёшек 'feather bed, mattress [перина, тюфяк]'), Tk dösə- v. 'spread out (as mat)', Ggz dösə-, Az dösä- 'spread out', StAlt t'öžö- v. 'spread out, make (a bed)', Nog тоьсе- töse-, Qq төсе- töse-, Qzq tösö- 'spread out', {KzR} төсел- tsel- 'be spread (as mat)'. ¶ Acc. to SDM, NaT *-š- goes back here to *-sč- (i.e. *-sč²-) ¶ Cl. 561, 563, TrR 247, GRMS 160, AzRL II 171-2, NogR 362, MM 376, KrkR 652, BT 155, Ash. XIV 233, Fed. II 265-6, Jeg. 267, ChVS 226 ¶ In *CÉš-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t'- is neutralized (ADb. Ttd 57-8) || ??σ M *dōsi 'anvil' > MM [IM] dōsi, [MA] dōšī, WrM {MED} dōsi, HIM {MED, BMR} дѠш, Brt дγшэ, Kl {KRS} дѠш id., {Rm.} dōš 'Amboß; Brett oder Baumende, auf dem man etwas baut', Mnr H {SM} d_ōšə, Ord d_ōšö 'enclume' ¶ Pp. MA 144, 436, MED 269, BMR II 65, Chr. 213, KRS 212, KW 100, T 331, SM 62, Ms. O 158 ¶ A possible semantic prehistory: 'anvil' ← 'sth. underlying, mat' ¶¶ The adduction of pA *t'osç²'E' is plausible only if its original meaning is 'mat, mattress' (as assumed in SDM95) rather than 'spread, lie', which is qu. ¶¶ The pA vl. sibilant *-s- is due to assimilation || [2] ? M *tagsi 'cup' > WrM {MED} tagçsi 'cup', Hml тагш {MED} id., {BMR} 'small cup', Brt тагша 'tea cup, small cup'; M → Ewk takçi, Δ tāksə, takšī 'small cup' ¶ MED 766, BMR III 177, Chr. 410, STM II 154 ¶ The unexpected M *t- (for *d-) is puzzling ¶¶ SDM95 s.v. *t'os∇ || D (att. in GnD) *toč²- v. 'tie, bind' > GnD toh-, doh-, to?- , do?- v. 'tie', Knd toḡ- v. 'tie, bind, build', Kui tohpa, toht- v. 'tie, bind', Ku doh- id. ¶ D no. 3536 ◇ GZ *-z- goes back to N *-ž-, while FU *-s- suggests N *-z-. This discrepancy needs investigation. A possible solution: if Lz (n)tχoz- is a loan from Georgian, the pK verb should be reconstructed as *°tq|χaz|ž-/*°tq|χz|ž-, and the N etymon may be *taqozi ◇ Klimov (K² 77) connected the K √ with IE *teks- 'plait, compose' (P 1058-9), which deviates from reg. sound correspondances.

2309. *tũz|ž∇ (or *tũ₁|ž₃∇) 'ε part of an arm\leg' > HS: S *°tisiy- or *°tiçiy- > Ak šisītu(m) ~ tisītu ~ tiçītu, Ak A sisītu 'Hand-\Fuß-gelenk' ¶ Ak -s- in šisītu(m) ~ tisītu may be due to

as. (*š|t...z > š|t...s), -s- in ti s̄ ī t u may go back to N *-ʔz|š- ¶ Sd. 1250 || K: OG tezo ~ tezo 'thigh' (Abul.: 'ծարկալո [Schenkel]', Jud. 3.16: = μηρός 'thigh'; Lev. 3.9: = ψόαι 'muscles of the loins'), G tezo 'Hüfte, Oberschenkel' ¶ Abul. 180, Chx. 474 || IE: NaIE *dous- '(upper) arm, shoulder' > OI 'dōs- 'arm, forearm', Av daosš- 'Oberarm, Schulter', eNPrs دوش dōš, NPrs دوش dūš 'shoulder (humerus)' || Clt {Matas.} *°dowsant- 'arm, hand' > OIr doē (< *dous-nt-s) (gen. doat) 'arm' || Ltv pa-duse 'armpit, bosom (Busen des Kleides)' | ? Sl *pǎzdjuxъ ~ *pazjdjuxa (< **paz-dux-?) > Slv pāzduha ~ pāzdiha, pāzuha ~ pāziha 'armpit', OCS пазуха pazuxa {StSS} (·_κόλπος, αἰ_ἀγκάλα) 'bosom, breast, armful' ('пазуха, грудь, охапка'), (·_μασχάλη) 'armpit', R, Uk, Blg Δ 'пазуха 'bosom', SCr pǎzuxa 'bosom, shoulder', OCz pazuch, Cz pazouch, pazoch, Slk pazúch, P pazucha id. ¶ WP I 782, P 226, EI 26, M K II 68-9, M E I 749-750, VI. I 931, Sg. 544, Horn 130, Kar. II 7, Vs. III 186-7, StSS 440, SJSS XV 5, Matas. E 102-3, ≈ Glh. 472-3.

2310. ***ṭä**, dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects (without distance opposition [proximal ↔ intermediate ↔ distal]) > **HS: I.** HS ***t∇-** / ***-∇t**, marker of the so-called "feminine gender", actually feminine-and-inanimate gender (a merger with N ***ʔ'at∇** 'female, woman' [q.v.], as well as probably with N ***ṭi** that constructs analytical nomina act. [q.v.]), used in different grammatical functions: [**a**] verbal px ***t∇-** of 3 pers. "feminine" (= feminine-and-inanimate\collective) > S, B ***t∇-** id., EC ***t(∇)-**, Bj, Aw **t(∇)-** of 3f in pcvs, ***t-** as marker of 3f in many Ch lges, as well as the 3f marker ***-t-** within the person-number-gender sxs; [**b**] HS nominal ending ***-∇t-**, marker of both the female sex in nouns (like S ***-at-** in ***bin-at-** 'daughter' > Hb **ḲḲ** **bat**, Ar **bint-** etc., B ***-t** in ***t-funas-t** 'cow', ONum **ṭlt** 'daughter') and of the fem.-and-inanimate gender (that is used to form singulative, collective and abstract nouns) in S, Eg, B, C and Ch, [**c**] HS pronoun ***t∇-** (prn. of the fem.[and-inanimate] gender) > OAr **tā** and **tī** 'this\that' f. (Br. G I 317-18 [§ 107g]), Sb **t** 'that (f.) which' = 'lo que' (**t-b-š r n** 'lo que está en el valle' (here the formal f. of **t** is likely to have an abstract meaning of Sp **lo**) [*F* Bst. 42, Bst. DSRP]); LbB: Gnc T {Mi.} **-to** 'this' (**mensey-to** 'this king'), pB ***t-ā** f. sg. / ***t-ī** f. pl. 'that\those which', 'that\those of' (ddn.) (the elements ***-ā** / ***-ī** go back to N ***ha**, deictic pronominal pc. ['ille', distal deixis] and to N ***yE** [= **y'i'**?] 'these, they' [deictic marker of animate pl.]) > **ta** f. sg. / **ti** f. pl. 'that\those which, that\those of' in practically all B lges (with a phonetic variant **ṭa** / **ṭi** in Kb and several other NrB lges) (Pr. M III, AiM 176, 211, 217, Fc. 1448-59), Bj **t-**, marker of the fem. gender in the df. art.: Bj A {AD} nom. sg. **tū-** ~ **tu-**, accus. sg. **tō-** ~ **tū-**, nom. pl. **tā-** ~ **ta**, accus. pl. **tē-** ~ **ti-**, Bj Hd {Rop.} nom. sg. **tū-** ~ **ti-**, accus. sg. **tō-** ~ **ti-**, nom. pl. **tā-** ~ **ti-**, accus. pl. **tē-** ~ **ti**, Bj (dialect recorded by Reinisch) nom. sg. **tū-**, accus. sg. **tō-**, nom. pl. **tā-**, accus. pl. **tē-**; B ***t∇-**, prefix of fem. nouns, both sg. and pl. (going back to an article similar to that of Bj), e.g. Sll, Nf **ta-lṽam t** 'she-camel' (pl. **ti-lṽamin**, **ti-lṽamatin**), Kb **ṭa-funast**, Tmz **ta-funast** 'cow', Zwr **t-funast**, Zmr **ṭ-funast** id. (pl. **ṭifunasin**), **ṭ-mṽart** 'old woman', Mz **t-mṽṭṭut** 'woman' etc. (*F* AiM 208-9); Sml **-ta**, **-tu**, **-tī**, fem. forms of df. articles; C marker of fem. ***t-** in dem., interr. and poss. pronouns: Bj {R} **t-ūr n** 'this' f. (accus. **t-ō n**), **t-ār n** 'these' f. (accus. **t-ē n**), Sa {R} **t-ā**, **t-ay** 'this' f., **t-o**, **t-oy** 'that' f., Sml **-t-aní** (accus. **-t-án**) 'this' f. (sx of a noun), **-t-āsi** (accus. **-t-ā**) 'that' f.

(general deixis) etc., Or H {Ow.} t-ana rect. 'this' f. (\leftrightarrow m. x-ana), t-uni nom. 'this' f. (\leftrightarrow m. x-uni), t-ǎní 'this' (anaphoric) f. (\leftrightarrow m. x-ǎní), t-ámí 'which?' f. (\leftrightarrow m. x-ámí), t-iyya 'my' f. (\leftrightarrow m. x-iyya), t-e 'thy' f. (\leftrightarrow m. x-e) etc., Or B tunì(-nǐ) 'this' f., rect. t-ánǎ, gen. táná etc., Sd t-e, t-enne, t-ēne, t-in 'this' f. etc. (F AD KJ 28, 46-8, 106, 116-17 and in this dictionary s.v. N *Kǔ'ü', dem. prn.), as well as a marker of the fem. gender within postnominal agglutinated markers of personal possession in Bj (-t-), Sml (-t-ì'nán-t-áy-d-u 'my daughter', where -t- is the marker of fem. of the suffixed poss. prn. -taydu, -ay- is the morpheme of 1s, and -d- is the marker of fem. of the postpositional article, cp. 'ínàn-k-àý-g-u 'my son', where -k- and -g- are masc. gender markers), Or Δ -t- etc. ¶ AD KJ 107-8, Ow. 88] The same marker *-t- of the f.-and-inanimate gender is found in the S compound ending *-ā-t-, that functions as a marker of feminine "plural" (Hb -ūṭ, Ar -āṭ-, Gz -āṭ, Ak -āṭ-). There is syntactic and morphological ev. that proves that in pS the forms with *-āṭ- were not real plurals, but collective nouns (in sg.): [a] the *-āṭ-forms have case endings of sg. (nom. *-u, accus.-gen. *-a) and a marker of status determinatus of sg. (*-m), [b] if they function as a subject, their predicate (in Arabic) is sg. f. Here the S morpheme *-t- is actually a nominalizer (substantivizer) of an originally analytical construction of collectivity (with collectivity pc. *-ā < N ?σ *ʔa'h'a [collective pc. of inanimate, '≈ de ça']). This is suggested by the fact that S *-āṭ- is found only in the purely substantive cases (nom., accus., gen.), while in the pred. case (> f. pl. of the WS new perfect) we find S *-ā without *-t-. The same *-t- is found as a substantivizer of Ak adjectives in pl. (-ūṭ- in substantivized adjectives in pl. \leftrightarrow -ū as pl. of adjectives that are not substantivized) || In Ch this HS prn. *t∇ contaminated with the reflex of N *ʔ'at∇ 'female, woman', giving rise to a personal prn. of 3f (actually, feminine-and-inanimate) that Blz. reconstructed as *tā. In WCh it functions (1) as a preverbal subject marker of 3f.: Hs tā (with past), tā (with some other verbal forms), in the BT lges (with neutral form, pf.: Bl, Gera tì, Krf, Glm, Grm tà, Tng tā etc.), in the Ron lges (with the main aspect of the verb: Fy, Bks, Klr tí); (2) as an aut. prn. of 3f (prefix + *tā, acc. to Kr.'s rec.): Hs i-tā, Bl i-tà, Ngm tē, Krkr d+-tɜw, Tng ŋ-tā, Fy, Bks yí-t, Ngz, Bd a-tù, Zul tì 'she'; (3) as an object prn. of 3f (*t∇, acc. to Kr.): Hs, Bl tā, Krkr, Tng tà, Ngz atù, Bd tù; (4) as a postnominal poss.

prn. of 3f (*ta, acc. to Kr.): Hs ta, Bl to, Krf tǎa, Krkr (ti)-təw, Tng tò, Pr tè, Ron: Fy -it, Bks -et. In CCh this pronoun appears: (1) as a ppa. of 3f: Gude -tà, Bcm -rò (-r- < *-t-), Mln -(gɜ)-tò, FIM -tù, Mbara -tá 'her'; (2) as an object prn. of 3f.: Bcm (na)-rò, Gudu ba-r (-r- < *-t-), FIM (gà)-tá, Msg G/P {MB} -ti 'her', Mbara -tá; (3) in some CCh lges it is one of the elements within isolable pers. pronouns of 3f (as in Mbara tí tí 'she'). In ECh it functions as a subject prn. of 3f (Mkl tí-/t-, Bdy -tí, -g-ít), as a pronominal object sx of verbs (Mkl -t, -tì 'her', Bdy -tá 'her', -tì 'to her', Tmk -d 'her', Mgm -tí, -tì 'to her'), as a ppa. of nouns (Mkl -tù, Bdy -t, -tì 'her') and as an emphatic aut. prn. ("pronom d'insistance"): Tmk tǎn 'she' (↔ dǎn 'he'), as a dem. prn. of the f. gender (*t-pronouns of f. ↔ *k-pronouns of m. [ffd. details see N *ʔ'atʋ '↑': Ke m. sg. tóŋ 'this', f. sg. táŋ, pl. téŋ 'these' [Sch. ED 158-9]) and as a CCh subject prn. of 3s m.: Msg G {MB} tɜ, Msg P {MB} te, Mbara, Mlw ti ¶ Cf. Kr. RChP, MB SMSM, J R, Sch. BTL, Sch. DN, Frz. GP, Blz. PPCh1 ∇, Blz. PPCh2 ∇, Trn. MVM 76, TrnSL 163-6, J LM, JA LM, Al. DB 196-206, Cp. 31 | II. A variant *tʋ without de-emphatization survives in Ch as *dʋ, a dem. prn. (→ a marker of definiteness) > {Sch.}: Hs káràs dǐn 'the carrot(s)' (↔ káràs 'carrot, -s'), Su lú dǐ-sè 'this house' (↔ lú 'house'), G'nd naf-dǎ 'the man', naf-dǐ 'this man' (↔ naf- 'man'), Msg dǐf dǎ 'the man' (↔ dǐf 'man'), Mkl ʔàʔú dóŋ 'the water' (↔ ʔáʔù pl. 'water'), as well as a pers. prn. of 3m (Tmk dǎn 'he') ¶ Sch. ED 158-6 O || IE [1] NaIE *to- (nom.-accus. *to-d), dem. prn. of the neuter (inanimate) gender (↔ *s0 dem. prn. of the animate gender) > OI t a -d 'it, that' ntr. ↔ s a (~ s a -s) 'he, that' m., Av G, YAv t a -t 'this, it' ntr. ↔ YAv hā m. ||| Gk τó, df. art. ntr. (and dem. prn. ntr.) ↔ ó, df. art. m. (and dem. prn. m.); these forms function as dem. prns in Homerus, Heorodotus and seldom in Attic prose ||| pGmc {SGGJ} *θat 'das' (ddn. prn.), ntr.(↔ *s0 m.) > Gt þata (· τούτο, ἐκεῖνο) 'dies' ntr. ↔ s a m., ORu þat 'das' ntr. ↔ s a m., ON þat ntr. ↔ s á m., AS ðæt 'das' ntr. ↔ s ē m. In the obl. cases the forms with *t- were generalized for all genders, e.g. NaIE accus. m. *to-m > OI t a m, Av t a m, Gk τόν, Gmc *þan(on) (> Gt þana accus., ON þann, AS ðone), NaIE accus. f. *tā-m (cf. nom. f. *sā) > OI, Av t ā m, Gk τήν. The form of the f. (a NaIE innovation) is *sā (based on *s0-). In many branches of NaIE the forms

with *t- were generalized throughout the paradigm of all genders: OCS 'that': m. ТЪ, f. ТА, ntr. ТО, Lt 'der, die; dieser': m. tās, f. tā. Cf. also L tam 'so', OIr 3m pers. pronouns as infixes: -d (+ nasalization) m. (< *tom), -d ntr. (< *tod), Tc A/B tu dem. prn. ('das') ntr., A tām 'this' ntr. ¶ P 1086-7, Brg. KVG 399-400, Fs. 489-91, Bks. 202-5, SGGJ III 318-22, LS 1193-5, Ho. 286, 360, KT 164-5, Wn. I 421-2, 443, StSS 826, Frn. 1064-5 ¶¶ [2] NaIE *-d = *-T (archiphoneme from **-t in the word-final position), ending of the neuter (inanimate) gender in pronouns: NaIE *i-d (= *i-T) 'it, that' (↔ *i-s m.) (> L id ntr. ↔ is m., Gt ita ntr. ↔ is m.), *k^ωo-d 'what' ↔ *k^ωo-s 'who' (L quod, ON hvat ↔ hver, OHG (h)waz ↔ (h)wer) and *k^ωi-d 'what' ↔ *k^ωi-s 'who' (> L quid ↔ quis, Gk τί ↔ τίς) etc. || AnIE *-t ntr. ↔ *-s anim. gender: enclitical forms of the pers. prn. 3s: Ht, Lw, Pal -at ntr. ↔ -as m., Ht apat 'it, this' ntr. ↔ apas 'he/she, this' anim. gender, Ht, Pal kuit 'what' ↔ kuīs 'who' ¶¶ Brg. KVG 402-3, Bks. 202-6, KrlSh. XLJ 20-2 ¶¶ [3] IE *-ti, "primary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the pres. tense) > OI -ti, Gk -σι (τίθη-σι 'puts'), L -t, Gt -p, OHG -t, pSl *-tb (> OCS -ТЪ, RΔ -ТЪ), Ht -zi, Lw, HrLw, Pal -ti (e.g. OI 'bhara-ti, L fer-t, Gt baíri-p 'trägt, leidet', OCS беретъ beretъ 'takes'), IE *es-ti 'is' > OI 'asti, Gk ἐστί, L est, Gt, OHG ist, pSl *jestъ (> OCS ѣстъ jestъ, OR ѣстъ jestъ [~ естъ estъ], R естъ, P jest etc.) 'is', Ht eszi, HrLw asti 'is'; IE *-t, "secondary" verbal ending of 3s (e.g., in the ipf.) > OI -t, L -t, Osc -d (kúm-bened 'convenit'). These endings spread to the 3p forms and were added to the original **-n-ending of 3p. due to generalization within the paradigm of the 3rd person: pre-IE **-t 3s ↔ **-n 3p > IE "secondary endings" *-t 3s ↔ *-nt 3p, "primary endings" *-ti 3s ↔ *-nti 3p (ffd. see N *n̄¹ā¹, prn. of collectivity and plurality) ¶¶ Brg. KVG 590-8, Bks. 232-7, Pv. I-II 285, Lsk. 118, 165, KrlSh. XLJ 22-3, 40-1, Mer. HHG 34-5, EI 457, Fs. 292, 296, 489-91, Gux. GJ 135, 147 || K: Mg te 'this', ti 'that' (attributive pronouns, followed by nouns), tena 'this one', tina 'that one' (aut. pronouns, used without nouns) ¶ Q O42 || U *tä, dem. prn. of inanimate objects (→ 'this', 'that'), as well as the initial element of compound pronouns (*tä-m∇, *tä-t∇, *tä-k∇, *tō < **tä + *o, U *tä + *a > FU *t¹ā¹ ~ *tā̄ etc., that indicate different distance-deictic positions: proximal, intermediate, distal etc.): [1] U *tä > F (with case endings) tähän 'hierher, her', tässä 'hier, hierbei' | Lp N {N} die

'there (nearer to the person addressed than to the speaker)', *die-tiste* || pMr *tä > Er те́те, Mk тя́tä 'this', (with case sxs) Mk тяса́tä-sa, Er тесэ́те-se 'here', Mk тяста́tästa, Er тестэ́те-ste 'from here' | pChr {Ber.} *ti > Chr: Н тѣ́та 'that, he', Е {Ps.} та́дти́дте 'this' || pObU {JHl.} *tē 'ille' or 'hic' > pVg *tä̃ > Vg: P tä, Ss ta 'jener'; pOs *tē-ta ({{JHl.}} *tä̃-ta) 'here' > Os: V tēt, D tētā id. | OHg té 'hierher' (in the set phrase *sem the jê towa [= szem té szem towa]* 'weder hierher noch dorthin') || [2] U *otä-m∇ > F tāmä 'this', Es те́ма, Δ temä 'he\she\it' || [3] U *tä-t∇ > Chr: Н {MRS} тѣ́ды тѣ́бъ, {Ep., Rm.} тѣ́ды тѣ́ба 'that, he', Е {Ps.} тѣ́бе 'this' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} тэ́ти 'that' (anaphoric) || [4] U *tä + *a > FP *tä̃ > Lp: N {N} dā 'here (hic-deixis)', dā-t 'hic' (obl. dā-), K {Gn.} tātt, Kld {Kert} tadd_ 'hic' | Prm *ta > Vt ta 'this', Z ta 'this, such' || [5] U *tä-k∇ > Er те́ке те́ке 'just this', Mk тя́ка tä́ka 'the only one' || pObU *tē̃ > Vg T tü 'jener' (< *tä̃w); pOs *tē̃'ү' ({{JHl.}} *tä̃'ү') > Os: O ti 'jener', V/K tē̃, Y tē̃ә 'hierher' || Sm: Ne Т {Ter.} тѣ́кы 'that, this' || [6] U *tō > F tuo, Es то́о 'ille' | Lp: N {N} duot / duo- 'that one over there, that ... over there', dō̃ '(far) over there', dō̃t / dō̃- 'that (one) far away over there', S {Hs.} duode 'iste', L {LLO} tuot 'that one over there (but nearer to the speaker than tāt 'ille)', Kld {SaR} ту́дт tu,t: 'ille' | pMr *to- > Er/Mk {Ker.} to-, tu- in Er/Mk то́на tona 'ille', Er to-sa 'there, then' | Prm *tō (or *to) 'that' > Z тэ́р+т 'yesterday' (< тэ́-р+т 'that evening'), Z Lu тэ́-лun, Z US тω-лun, Vt tolon 'yesterday' (lit. 'that day'), Vt tu-pal 'that side' (pul 'side'), Vt Sr tu, ? Z Ss t+ 'ille' || pObU *to 'ille' > pVg *tä̃, *tān- > Vg: P ta 'jener', LK/P ton, UL tōn id., LK tāt, Ss tot 'there'; pOs to-m 'ille' > Os: V tom(+), Vy tom+, Ty tōm(+), D/Nz tōm(ə), Kz tōm(ī), O tōm(i), tām id. || Slq Tz {KHG} to 'ille' || [7] Other compound pronouns with U *tä- > Lp: N {N} dāt 'this\that' (obl. dā-), S {Hs.} daade 'this, hic', L {LLO} tat 'this (der\die\das, dieser\diese\ dieses), he\she\it', K {Gn.} тэ́тт, Kld {Kert} tēdd_ 'iste', tēdda 'hic' || In the Sm lges there are rich systems of deictic pronouns based mainly on combination of U *tä with markers of deixis (vowels) ({{Hl.}} *tē(-), *tä(-), *te(-), *ti(-) ≈ this, that', *tü(-) 'this') and with other morphemes: Ne Т {Ter.} тѣ́кы 'this, that (present)', тѣ́кы 'that (pointed at)', тѣ́м' (pl. тѣ́в') 'this (pointed at, вот этот)', тѣ́лий 'iste', тѣ́лиюм' 'iste (the nearest between two)', тѣ́хэ 'ille (distant)',

т е х э ю м' 'ille (more distant between two)' etc., Ng {Ter.} tane 'ille (more distant)', tɛndɛ 'that', takɛ 'that (pointed at), ille' etc., Slq Tz {KHG} tam 'hic', toí, tōnna 'ille', t̄ina, t̄inana 'that' (anaphoric), Mt {Hl.} *ti 'he' (Mt M {Sp.} ты) ⇨ *tin 'he, that (jener)' (Mt M {Pl.} тинь 'he, they', {Sp.} тынь 'вотъ') and Mt *tik 'here (?)' (Mt M {Sp.} тыкъ), d. *tE|∇ŋ 'hither' (Mt K {Pl.} dɛlɛɾɿ 'сюда'), d. *ta|āna|ä ≈ da, dort' (Mt M {Sp.} дана 'there') || In Y there are different pronouns and pronominal adverbs based on N *t̄ä + deictic markers of distance and syntactical (local, temporal etc.) morphemes: pY {IN H} *tā (> Y K/T {IN H} tā 'there'), Y K/T {IN H} tadā 'there', taŋ 'that', Y K {IN H} tāt, Y T {Krn.} tat 'so', Y K {IN H} tātē- v. 'do so', pY {IN H} *ten (> Y T {IN H} ten 'this', Y K {IN H} ten-dī 'here it is; here'), Y T {IN H} teńi 'here', pY {IN H} *ti- (> Y K/T {IN H} tiŋ 'this', Y K {IN H} tī, Y T {Krn.} ti- 'here'), pY {IN H} *tittɛl (> Y K {IN H} tittɛl, Y T {IN H} tittel 'they'), Y T {IN H} tuŋ 'this', Y K {IN H} tuön / tuöd-, {Iox.} Y T tuben ~ tuwen ~ tubon, tuŋne- 'that' ¶¶ UEW 505, 513-15, 526-8, Kert SJ 173-4, Hs. 123-6, Ker. II 165, 168, Ber. 76, Ep. 125, Ps. M 140-1, Ps. OT 151-2, Rm. BT 144-5, MRS 119, LG 277, 284, Ht. no-s 611 and 614, Hl. rHt 68-9 (on pObU *ē), Hl. M 150, no-s 954, 977, 1006, 1016-17, 1022 and 1075, EWU 1514, Ter. OGNJ 148, Ter. NgJ 169, KHG 293, Krn. JJ 72, 82-7, 278, Krn. JJ-K 354-5, IN H 421-2, 428-30, 437, IN UJ 247-8 || ¶ *t'æ 'that' ('der, das' [deictically neutral dem. prn.]), *t'æ-r¹a¹ 'der, das' (marked topic-focalizing case, sg.), *t'æ-k|gæ (a dem. prn.) > M *te 'that' > MMgl te, Mgl, Ba te, Mnr H {T} te, {SM} t̄je, Mnr M {Rkh.} ti id., HIM {Pp.} tē terə, Brt {Pp.} tē tere 'that [pointed at, вон тот]'; M *te-re (theme-focalizing case ↔ stem of obl. cases *te-gün-) 'that' (used also as 'he, she') > MM tere, WrM {MED} tere, HIM {MED, BMR} тэр, Kl {Rm.} terə, Brt тэрə, Ord t'ere, Dg tɛɾɛ, obl.: M *teɣün- > MM te₁ün-, WrM tegün-, HIM, Brt түүн ({Pp.} t̄ün-), Kl {Rm.} t̄ün- ~ t̄ün-; M *te-de (pl. of *tere) 'those, they' > MM tede, WrM {MED} tede(n), HIM {MED, BMR} тэд, {Pp.} tedda, Brt тэдə, Kl {Rm.} tedŋ ~ tedə, Dg {Pp.} tɛdɛ, Ord t'ed_e ¶ Pp. IM 225-8, BMR III 276, 283, 293, Chr. 452, 457, KW 393, Iw. 136, Rm. M 40, SM 416, T 364, T BJ 148, Rkh. 379, Chr. 448, 459, Ms. O 653, 660 || Tg: [1] AmTg te-y₁i₁ 'that', distance-deictically unmarked dem. prn. (↔ *ey 'this', hic-deictic prn.) > Nn Nh tɛy, Nn Bk t̄i:, Nn KU t̄iy, Orc t̄i, t̄i 'that, he\she\it', Ud {STM} t̄i, t̄yi 'that, this', Ud Sm {Krn.} ti 'that', Ul t̄i, t̄iy 'that, he\she\it', {PSchm.} 'this';

Tg *tere ~ *tar∇ (< **te-r¹a¹ [assimilation]) and its pl. *^otese > WrMc }Z} тэрэ (pl. тэсэ) 'that, he', Mc Sb {terə} [tɜr] 'that, he\it', {tesə} [tɜs] 'they' (↔ {erə} [ɜr] 'this', {esə} [ɜs] 'these'), {tērə} [tɜr] 'that', Ewk tar, tare, tari, Neg tay 'that, this, he\it', Sln taya, tari 'that' ¶ WrMc тэрэ cannot be a loan from M (as some scholars believe), because it has an irreg. form of pl. (тэсэ) with an ancient (pN) et. and without parallels in M | Tg [2] *tā 'that, ille' (marked) (< N *ṭā ha [prn. + deictic pronominal particle of ille-deixis]) > Nn Bk tā 'there', 'there (pointed at place)' ('там, вон там'), Orc tā-dū 'there', tā dūk 'from there', tāla, tāti 'dorthin', Ud {STM} tadu 'there', tala 'there (dort, dorthin)', Nn Nh {On.} taya 'that (opposite) side', Nn Nh/Bk {STM}, Ork taya 'that side', Ewk tā dū 'there', tala 'there (dort, dorthin)', Lm tar 'that', 'voilà' ('бот, вон, то; тот') ¶ STM II 164-7, Krm. 294, On.388, 397, 416-7, Z 724, 729-30, Y no-s 2878-83, Hrl. 42-3 || ? NaT *Tæ-gæ ~ *Ti-gi ~ *Tæ-g¹u¹ '≈ iste', 'вон тот' ({IsxP}: 'that seen, but more distant than бy ['this']) > VTt, Bsh теге тбгб, Qrg tigi 'that' ('тот'), Qrg tē, StAlt tu, Qmn tu oɫ, Xk тиги тлгл, Tv d_o / d_o / d_u / d_u 'that pointed at' ('вон тот'), Tf d_ē 'that (seen from here)', Slr U tū ~ t(')ū, Slr Ul tū 'that (ille); there (illic)' ('там, вон там'), Slr U t(')ū gu 'there (illic)'; in Slr there is a system of 4 deictic pronouns: pu 'this (nearest to the speaker)' ↔ шу (= {Tn.} c_iu) 'this (less near)' ↔ vu 'that' ↔ tū 'that (farthest from the speaker)' (Tn. SJ 129) ¶ Ra. 172, Ra. MTJ 256, Isx. M 247-9, IsxP 231-4, BIG 227, 416, B DK 53, Tn. SJ 129, 522, 526, Rs. W 479, S AJ 194, Rl. III 1410 ¶ The prn. is not attested in OT, therefore Starostin (S AJ 52) supposed that it is a loan from M. The M source may be the stem of the obl. cases *Te-gün- || pKo *tjǎ 'that' > MKo tjǎ, NKo čǎ 'that' ¶ S AJ 52, 254 [no. 87], S QK no. 87, Nam 154, MLC 1417 || pJ *tǎ- 'that way (so, так, таким образом)' > MJ to-ni-kaku-ni, tò-zàmà-kàù-zámá id., to-mo-kaku-mo 'this and that, so and so', to-kaku-no 'this and that', ?? to as a quotative pc. (Gr. ← As.³: tō may go back to a dem. prn.) ¶ Mr. 550-1, Prl. JUA 177, Kenk. 1994, As.² 142, As.³ 139, Mill. JL 344, Gr. I 97-8 ¶¶ The semantic position of Tg *tey_i within the system of the Tg dem. pronouns (↔ *e(y) 'this' and *ta 'that, ille') can be understood from the scholars' observations: Avrorin (Avr. G I 262) points out that Nn тэy is used much more than R тот, while зy 'this' is used only if the object is very near to the speaker. It means that тэy is the unmarked member of the opposition. From its Russian translation (not only 'тот')

= 'that', but also 'он, она, оно' = 'he, she, it') we may conclude that this is also used as a distance-deictically neutral pronoun. On the relation between Tg *te- and *ta- cf. [1] Sem BD 61 on Nn Bk t̄t̄yi 'iste (pointed at)' ('вон тот [не так далеко]'), t̄ā́i 'ille (pointed at, more distant than t̄t̄^yi)', as well as [2] Sun. KUD 85 on Nn KU: tiy, t̄zy 'that' ('тот'), t̄aya 'that (on the other side)'. Sunik (Sun. UJ 40) pointed out that Ul t̄i 'that' and zy 'this' are usually used as a kind of articles ¶¶ SDM 1389 (pA *t'a, t'e 'that' > T *ti-(kü) 'that', M *te-re id., Tg *ta-id., pKo *t̄i^á id., pJ *t̄z- 'that way'), DQA no. 2286, S AJ 52, 289 [no. 311], Rm. SKE 26, Rm. EAS 126, KW 393, Lee CSMK 118, Dr. MT 26 ("Elementarverwandschaft") || D: in D this N prn. is represented in four different functions: in the {Zv.} "resumptive" and personal (3s) prn. *t̄ān / (obl.) *tan- 'himself', in its pl. form *t̄ām / *tam(m)- 'they themselves, they', in the ending of the inanimate gender *-tu (Zv. DL 21) and in the ending of the 3s ntr. (inanimate) of the appellative non-past {Zv.} *-N-(a)t̄o (Zv. DL 32; on the meaning of the term "appellative" / Zv. DL 26-7): [1] sg. *t̄ān / obl. *tan-, "resumptive" and pers. prn. of 3s > Tm t̄ān / obl. tan- 'oneself', t̄ānē 'himself', MI t̄ān / obl. tan-, '(one)self', t̄ānē 'by himself', Kt ta·n / obl. ta(n)-, Td to·n / obl. tan-, Kdg ta·n̄ / tan- 'oneself', Kn t̄ān / obl. tan- 'he\she\it' (with the meaning of a reflexive prn.), Tu t̄ānə, Klm ta·n / tan-, Prj, Gdb, Gnd t̄ān / tan- Kui t̄ānu / tan- '(one)self', Tl t̄ānu / obl. tan- 'one's self, he\she, him-\her-self', Png t̄ān 'he, himself', t̄ā 'his, one's own', Kui t̄ān 'him-\her-self, Krx t̄ān / obl. tan̄g- 'himself', Mlt {Drs.} t̄án(i) / tan̄g- 'him\her\it-self, Brh t̄ēn 'self, my\thy\him-self, our-\your-\themselves' ¶¶ D no. 3196 ¶¶ [2] pl. *t̄ām / *tam(m)- 'they, themselves' > Tm, MI t̄ām / obl. tam(m)-, Kn t̄āmu / tam-, t̄āv / tav-, Klm, Prj, Gdb, Krx t̄ām / tam-, Nkr t̄ām, Gnd tammā, Knd t̄ām, Kui t̄āru, Ku tambū / obl. tam-, Mlt {Drs.} t̄ám(i) / obl. tam- id., Kt, Td ta·m / tam-, Kdg tan̄ga 'themselves' ¶¶ D no. 3162 ¶¶ [3] *-tu, ending of ntr. (inanimate gender) in pronouns and numerals, e.g. [a] Tm a tu ~ a.: tu 'that thing' (↔ a-vañ 'that man', a-vaḷ 'that woman'), MI a-tu, Kt a-d, Kdg a-d̄-, Png a-di 'that thing', Kn a-du, a-tu, a-ttu 'that thing' (↔ a-va 'that man', a-vaḷ ~ āke 'that woman'), as well as with merger of the homonymous markers of f. and ntr.: Tl a(d)di, Klm, Nkr, Nk, Prj, Gnd Δ a-d, Knd a-di, Kui ā-di, Mlt {Drs.} āth 'that woman\thing'; [b] Tm i tu ~ i.: tu 'this thing' (↔ i-vañ 'this man',

i v a l 'this woman'), *Ml i t u*, *Kt i d*, *Kn i d u ~ i t u ~ i t t u*, *Kdg i d †*,
Png i d i 'this thing', *Mnd i d i* 'this' (ntr.), as well as with merger of the
 markers of f. and ntr.: *Tl i (d) d i*, *Klm*, *Nkr*, *Nk*, *Prj*, *Gdb i d*, *Gnd Δ (h) i d*,
Kn d i d i, *Ku i d i*, *Krx i d*, *Mlt {Drs.} i t h* 'this woman\thing'; [**c**] *Tm u t u*,
Kn u d u, *Tu u n d u* 'ista res', as well as with merger of f. and ntr.: *Ku*
ū d i, *Krx h ū d* 'ista mulier\res'; [**d**] *Tm o n r u ~ o n r u* ({Zv.}: < *o r -
 t u) 'one' ntr., *Ml o n r u*, *Gnd Δ u n t h ā l i d.*, *Kn o n d u*, *Kdg o n d †*, *Tu o n j i*,
Tl o n d u, *Krx o n t ā*, *Mlt - o n d* 'one thing', as well as with merger of f.
 and ntr.: *Kn d u n r i* 'one woman\thing'; [**e**] *Kdg d a n d †* (< *i r a n - t u) 'two
 things', *Tu r a d d ə*, *Tl r e n d u*, *Nk e r n d i*, *Krx ē r ~ ē n d i d.*, *Prj i r d u i d.* (↔
i r u l 'two men', *i r a l* 'two women') ¶¶ D no-s 1, 41O(a), 474, 557(a),
 99O, Zv. DL 21 ¶¶ [4] {Zv.} *-N-(a)t°, 3n of the appellative non-past >
 ModTm -p p a - t u (3n, appellative), *Tl - t u r - d i*, *Png - n - a t* (3n ft.),
Gnd - n d ū (3n, {Zv.} "past irrealis cum habitual") ¶¶ Zv. DL 32 ¶ E: [1]
 MEI - t 'iste' (allocutive ending of nouns) ↔ - k 'hic' (locutive),
 resembling the situation in Slavic: *t b (a distance-deictically neutral
 and anaphoric prn.) (> R T o T 'ille, iste') ↔ *s b (< IE *k̂ - i -) 'hic' (ESISJ-
 SGZ II 618-23, 707-10); [2] MEI - t, a rare ending of the inanimate
 gender ("Dans la documentation méso-élamite, les inanimés à suffixe - t
 ... sont en voie de disparition" [GrilS EGE 13]), and possibly AchEI - t | d a /
 - t e, generalizing sx of abstract nouns (derived from nouns and
 adjectives): *m a r r i - d a* 'all, everything', *d a k i - d a* 'other things' (cp.
d a k i 'various, other') ¶¶ McA 66, Dk. JDPa 97, Grillot EGE 13-14 ◇
 AD GD 14, IS I 7 (*t ä 'this, that') → BmK 287-9 ◇ The N prn. *t ä is
 a member of several semantic oppositions: [1] N *t ä as a prn. of non-
 active objects is opposed to N *s E (prn. of active [animated] beings
 and active objects). This opposition is preserved in IE (*s o 'he' [active
 gender] ↔ *t o T 'it' [non-active gender]), partially in FU (F h ä r n and Lp
 N {N} s q̄ r n [both from N *s E] are used for human beings ['he\she'],
 while the t -pronouns are used indiscriminately), in D (Krx -s m. ↔ - d
 ntr. and f. [merger of homonymous markers] in pronouns, F Hahn KG
 23-6) and probably in Eg (-f [< *s w -] m. ↔ - t f. [sc. "female-and-
 inanimate" gender]). In some daughter-families N *t ä was opposed to
 the N animate *y i 'he' (e.g., S *y - 3m [< N *y i 'he'] ↔ *t - 3f) or to
 other dem. pronouns (that either were connected to animate beings or
 were originally neutral as to the opposition 'active' ↔ 'non-active'): C
 *k - m. (< N animate [?] dem. prn. *K r ü) ↔ *t - f., Sm: in Ne T the

pronouns ТЮКУ and ТИКИ (anaphoric) are used anaphorically when referring to non-humans only, while for human beings the prn. of 3s ПЫДА 'he\she' (a Ne innovation) is used (Ter. OGNJ 148) | [2] The N prn. *ṭä as denoting a single object is opposed to the N prn. of collectivity\plurality *n̄ä (q.v.). The opposition is preserved (a) in U (e.g. F ṭämä 'this' ↔ nāmä pl. 'these', ṭuо 'that' ↔ nuо pl. 'those' etc.), (b) in Eg: pṣ 'this, the' m. ↔ tṣ f. ↔ nṣ abstr., pl., pω 'this' m. ↔ tω f. ↔ nω abstr., pl., pṛ 'this (near me)' m. ↔ tṛ f. ↔ nṛ abstr., pl., pf 'that' m. ↔ tf f. ↔ nf abstr., pl. (Gard. 85); in Eg O (acc. to Ed. 83-9, EG 216 and 251) nω, nf etc. were not pl. forms, but abstract pronouns: nω 'Dieses, Dieses da', nf 'Jenes', probably from collective pronouns: pω 'this' m. ↔ tω f. ↔ nω abstract < *coll.), (c) in IE ("primary" verbal endings: *-ti 3s ↔ *-nti 3p, "secondary" endings: *-t 3s ↔ *-nt 3p), while in Eg fMK nω, nṛ and nf had (preserved?) the function of pl.; this situation may go back to an ancient difference between dialects of Eg, so that one cannot rule out the very old age of this n-pl. of pronouns (which may be even inherited from pN) (cp. the dual marker *-ni in S, -n of du. in Tz {Stm.} mārāw-i-n 'twenty' and other traces of the N pronoun of duality *nE 'they [two]' [in U, K and A, see s.v. *nE]) | [3] A new opposition of N *ṭä demonstrative vs. N *Ḳo interrogative has developed in some lges, in which both N *Ḳo 'who?' and N *ṭä lost the semantic feature of animateness (in N *Ḳo) and inanimateness (in N *ṭä), and both were generalized as interr. resp. dem. pronominal stems: L quantum ↔ tantum, NHG was ↔ das, wer ↔ der, NE where ↔ there, when ↔ then, R куда 'whin?' ↔ туда 'dorthin', когда 'when?' ↔ тогда 'then', как 'how?' ↔ так 'so', какой 'which?' ↔ такой 'such', Y T qada 'where?' ↔ tada 'there', probably also in WrM kedū(n) 'how much?' ↔ tedūi 'so much' ◇ The sx of the theme-focalizing case (≈ marked nominative) *-re in A *te-r∇ (preserving this function up to the attested M lges) is akin to the IE nominative-accusative ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns and is to be projected up to the pN level (F N *r∇, theme-focalizing [topicalizing] pc.) ◇ IS I 7 (IE, HS, K, U, A, D), Gr. I 94-9 ("demonstrative T" in IE, U, A [incl. Ko, J], Gil, CK, EA, Ai).

2311. *ṭi, syntactic pc.: it is combined with words of verbal meaning to build analytical nomina actionis > IE: NaIE *-ti-, sx of nomina actionis, e.g. *mṇ-ti-s 'thought' (abstract noun) (<d- *men- v. 'think') >

OI *mati-h* 'mind, intellect', Av *mainiš* 'memory', L *mens* (gen. *mentis*) 'mind', Gt *ga-munds* (· μνημοσύνη, ἀνάμνησις, μνεία) 'Andenken, Gedächtnis', OHG *gimunt*, AS *ze-myrd* 'memory', OCS **ПАМАТЬ** *pa-meť* id., NaIE **ġnō-ti-(s)* 'knowledge' (← **ġnō-* v. 'know') > Gk *γνῶσις* 'knowledge; seeking to know, inquiry', OI *'pra-jñā-ti-h* 'knowing the way to' (n. abstr.), OHG *ur-c(h)nāt* 'recognition, agnitio', OCS **ПОЗНАТИ** *po-znati* (inf.) 'to learn [erfahren], to get to know', OCS **ЗНАТИ** *zna-ti* (inf.) 'erkennen, wissen', Lt *žinoti* (inf.) 'kennen, wissen', NaIE **dō-ti-s* 'giving' (n. abstr.) (← **dō-* 'give') > OI *'dā-ti-*, Gk A *δόσις* (gen. *δόσεως*) 'giving' (n. abstr.), 'gift', L *dos* (gen. *dotis*) 'a dowry, gift', Lt *dūo-ti* (inf.), OCS **ДАТИ** *da-ti* (inf.) 'to give' ¶ Brg. KVG 348-9, Fs. 194, StSS 238-9, 331, 466, Frn. 111-12, 1310-11 || HS **-t-* and **t∇-*, *sx* and *px* of *nomina actionis*: [1] HS *sx *-t-* > S **-at*, *sx* of *nomina actionis* and of *deverbal abstract nouns*, in numerous patterns, e.g. in the pattern **1∇2a'3at-* (BHb **הַרְקָה** *caḏā'kā* 'righteousness', Sr **يُدَا'تْ** *yida'ṭā* 'knowledge', Ar **حَرَكَة** *ḥarakat-* 'movement', **خُرْجَة** *ḫaraġat-* 'military expedition' [*<* n. abstr. 'going out'], **نُفْضَة** *nufaḏ'at-* 'shivering caused by fever', BHb **בְּרָכָה** *berā'kā*, Gz *barakat* 'benediction', Ak *iḥiltum* 'Verbindlichkeit', *dīktum* 'killing' [n. act.] [from the verb *dūk-*] and in the S pattern ***12i'3at-* (> **2i'3at-*): **šī'nat-* 'sleep' (n. abstr.) (< ***wšī'nat-* ← **wšn* v. 'sleep') > BHb **שֵׁנָה** *šē'nā*, Ar **سِنَّة** *sinat-*, Ak *šittu* n. 'sleep' | BHb infinitives with *-eṭ/-at*, *-t*, e.g. **רָדַעַת** *'reḏeṭ* 'to descend' (✓ *yrd*), **דָּעַת** *'da'eṭ* 'to know' (✓ *ydf*), **תַּת** *teṭ* 'to give' (✓ *ntn*), **בָּנִית** *bā'nōṭ* 'to build' (✓ *bnṽ*), Ph infinitives with *-t*: Ph By *l-d'ṣt* 'to know' (✓ *yḏ'ṣ*), Ph *šbt* 'to sit' (✓ *yšb*), *l-bnt* 'to build', Pun *l-tt* 'to give' (✓ *ytr*) ¶ JB NB 86-94, Sd. G 57-63 [§§ 55-6], FrdR 73, 82 || Eg *-t* [**-∇t*], *sx* of *nomina act.* (and other abstract nouns) in different nominal patterns, e.g. in the pattern reconstructed by Osing as **'1i.23-at* (> Eg L {Os.} **'1e.23--t*) (Eg OK *qrṣ.t* [n. act. of *qrṣ* 'bury'] > Eg L {Os.} **'k'e.rs--t* > Cpt *kaise* 'Bestattung, Balsamierung', Eg NK *rq'ṣ.t* 'Schneiden, Schmerz' [n. act. of *rq'ṣ* 'einritzen, aufreißen'] > Eg L {Os.} **'ne.k'ṣ--t* > Cpt A *neeke* 'Wehen', Eg OK *wzš.t* [← verb *wzš* 'ausscheiden'] > Eg L {Os.} **'we.zš--t* 'Ausscheidung' → 'Harn' > Cpt Sd/B/F *iš* 'Harn' etc.) and in the pattern **'1a.23-ut* (> Eg L {Os.} **'1a.23--t*): Eg NK *grg.t* 'Fang (mit dem Schleppnetz)' (n. act. of *grg*

'Falle stellen') > Eg L *¹ga.rg--t > Cpt Sd **ḡopḡc** corcs 'Fang mit dem Schleppnetz' ¶ Os. I 96-118 || B nomina act. (used also as infinitives) of the form *t∇-...-∇t, where the prefix *t∇- goes back to the prefixed article and therefore does not belong to the N etymon in question, but the sx *-∇t does belong here. Examples from Tw {Pr.}: t-and̄ar-t 'fait d'être en colère' (inf. and nom. act. of the verb and̄ar 'be angry'), t̄m̄d̄int 'act of grazing\pasturing' (inf. and n. act. of əd̄an) ¶ Pr. M IV-V 81-97 || C: Ag: Bln {R} -ət, -t, sx of abstract nouns: bi'r-ət 'heat', fər'h-ət 'joy', gə'n-it 'age' || Bj {Rop.} -ti, sx of nomina act.: 'tamti 'act of eating' (< tam 'eat'), 'dābti 'act of running' (< dāb 'run'), hi'rertti 'act of walking' (< hi'rer 'walk') ¶ R BilS 661, Rop. 38 || [2] HS *t∇-, prefix of deverbal abstract nouns > S *t∇-id.: Ar nomina act. (masdar): تَذَكَّرُ taḡkār-un 'to remember, das Erinnern' (< *√ḡkr 'remember'), Gz tafdāl 'Vollendung', BHb תגמול tag'mūl 'compensation', Sr taktu'šā 'fight'; with both a prefix *t∇- and a sx *-at-: BHb תהרהר tardē'mā 'deep sleep', Sr taħmes'tā 'bashfulness, modesty' ({Br.} 'pudor, pudefactio') etc. ¶ JB NB 287-311 || U *-t∇ ~ *-tt∇, sx of nomina act. (→ infinitive): BF {Laan.} *-ta-k / *-tä-k, infinitive (*-k is the lative case ending) > F sx of the "1st infinitive": -ta/-tä, -da/-dä, (after short vowels) -a/-ä, (after certain cnss) gmc.+ -a/-ä (juos-ta 'to run', pes-tä 'to wash', teh-dä 'to make', saa-da 'to get', sano-a 'to say', tulla [< *tul-tä-k] 'to come'), Vp -da/-dá/-ta/-tá, sx of the infinitive (aya-da 'to drive [fahren, treiben]', hüptá 'to jump', pan-da 'to put'), Lv -da/-dɜ, sx of the infinitive (tūlda 'to come', yu'ōdɜ 'to drink'), Es -da (marker of the infinitive) || pLp {Krh.} *-dē-k, sx of the infinitive (*-k going back to the lative case ending) > Lp: N/Å -t, J -yh / -t, I/Kld -ḡ, Klt -d, T -ḡ ~ -de, sx of the infinitive (pLp *kul'ɜ-dēk 'to hear' > L: N {N} gullât, J guw'əyh, Klt kulləd id.) || pOs {Ht.} *-ta / *-tä, sx of the infinitive > Os: V -ta/-tä, Vy -ta/-tä, -nta/-ntä, Ty/Y -taɣb/-täɣə, Nz/Sh/O -ta, Kz -tī id.; Os Sh {Gu.} -at, sx of abstract nouns: χūw-at 'length' (< χūw 'long'), lōw-at 'size' (< *lōw 'large, big') || Sm *-t∇, sx of deverbal abstract nouns (< U *-tt∇): Slq: Chl {Cs.} oldöt 'Anfang' (< oldam 'I begin'), UO {Cs.} èaldöt, Chl {Cs.} oaldöt 'sign' (< Chl oaldam 'zeichnen, ein Zeichen machen), Ne O {Lh.} gen. sg. nām'k-āḡ-an (nom. sg. is nām'k') 'das Hängenbleiben' (< nām'kā 'hängen bleiben') ¶¶ Lh. PIAS 273-87 Sz 79 Laan 246 Krh 288-90 Ht ChrO 55-6 Mait SM

355-7, Gu. MOUJ 311 || **A:** ? NaT *^o-ti/*-tI, a rare sx of deverbals nouns: OT {Cl.} ögdī: 'praise' n. <đ ög- ({Cl.} ö:g-) v. 'praise' ¶ Cl. xliii, 100 || ? Tg *-te in *bu-te 'death, illness' (> Lm but3n 'illness, disease', Neg butun 'lepra' <đ pTg *bu- v. 'die') and in *jeb-te 'food' (if from 'das Essen', as supposed by Rm.) > Ewk Z j3bt3, Orc ž3pt3 'food' <đ pTg *jeb- v. 'eat' ¶ STM I 98-9, 279-80 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 124-5.

2312. *t'ü' (> *t'i) 'thou' > **HS: [1]** HS *t∇-, verbal px of the 2nd pers. > S {Hz.} *ti- id. (in the prefix-conjugated verbal tenses of the underived verbs [G]) > Ak ti-, Ar ta- (transformed from *ti- due to generalization of the vw. -a- in the paradigm of the ip. activi), BHb ti- ~ ta- ~ tā- ~ te- (ti-k'bor 'you [sg. m.] will bury', ta-dabber 'you will speak', תבא תא' תא' 'you will come', wat'tebk_la_l [pf. c.] 'and you wept') going back partially to the original *ti- and partially to the generalized *ta-, Ug, Ph t∇-, BA ti- (~ unattested *ta-), JA ti- ~ ta-, Sr-^ñtε- ~ -^ñta-, OSA Sb t∇- (tr ħm 'mayest thou have mercy'), Gz ta-, Mh, Jb, Sq t3- (sbjn.\js. and pres.); in the derived verbal patterns (and probably in the negative verbal forms) the pS px is *ti- and *tu- (the latter from *ti- + *-u- of derivational origin) (ffd. see Hz. VP) ¶ Hz. VP ∇, MSUS 142, Seg. AAG 263-307, Br. SG 126-43, Bst. 14, Jo. MSA 15, , FrdR 61, 68, 70, 73, 77-8 || LbB (= pre-B) {Pr.} *t∇-, px of 2s of the verb > ONum {Rö.} t∇- id. (O. Rössler's tentative rec. is based on proper names, e.g. tr rnb-r 'you [god] will add to us') || pB {AD} *t∇-...-at, {Pr.} *t∇-...-ad, 2s of verbs (the preradical vw. *∇ varies according to tenses: namely *tã-...-ad|t in pf., *tũ-...-ad|t in ip., resulting from grammatical processes and analogies within the verbal aspect system) > Shl, Tmz, Dmn, BMn, Rf, Jrb, Snd, Zwr, ASgr, Wrs t-...-t (~ t-...-t), Ah, Ttq, Gh, Mz, Wrg, Shw, Izn, SrSn, BSn, Zng, Nf t(ə)-...-(ə)d and t(ə)-...-(ə)d), Fgg/Grr t-...-č, Kb {Mmr.} t-...-č, Kb AZ {Gln.} t-...t, Kb GK {Gln.} t-...č, Shnw {La.} h-...-č ¶ The B form *t∇-...-aT is a "mixed form" ({Pr.} "système mixte") going back to contamination of the original verbal *t∇-form and the predicative adjective (stative) with 2s sx *-T (*F* below **[4]**). In my opinion, the pB form was *t∇-...-at, while the voicing *-t > -d is an innovation of Tw and some other lges, which is not shared by the rest of the B lges The causes both of the voicing *-t > -d and of the emphatization *-t > -t ~ -č ~ -č are not yet known ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 9-10, 12-17, Rö. JN 440-1, Ai. MCB 83, Beg. 45-58, Allaoua PK, Mmr. 49-50, La. Ch 59-60 || C *ti-, prefix of the 2nd pers. of pcvs. > Bj ti-/t3-/t-, 2

pers. prefix: (p.) ti-...-a (2m), ti-...-i (2f), ti-...-na (2p) || Ag: Aw {Hz.} ti- 2s (no opposition of gender) (tínté 'you come' ↔ 1s ánté, 3m yínté etc.) || EC *t-, 2s of pcv.: Af, Sa, Sml, Rn t-, Bn J -t- (preceded by á-: 2s átùhùṅṣè 'you [sg.] ate', átàhàṅà 'you eat' ↔ 3m ážžùhùṅṣè, ážžàhàṅà)

] In all C lges the same marker of the 2 pers. *-t- functions in the suffix-conjugated verbs (going back to constructions Nominal form of the verb + Auxiliary pcv.) as the initial element of the former aux. verbs, e.g. EC: Or B tùm-t-ṣ 'you (sg.) forged' ↔ tùm-ṣ 'he forged', Sd {Mrn.} hurn-te 'you (sg.) exterminated' ↔ 3m hurn-e, Af ab-teh 'you (sg.) did' ↔ abe-h '(he) did', ab-tah 'you (sg.) do' ↔ ab-ah '(he) does', Ag: Aw {Hz.} žew-t-é 'you (sg.) bought' ↔ 3m žew-é etc. (2s: verb + *t∇-?∇, where *-?∇ is the stem of the aux. verb ↔ 3m: verb + *y∇-?∇) ¶ AD KJ 118-19, AD IPCV § 1.2, Zab. VC, Hz. AL 22, Sim 24, PH 254-5, PG 42-4 || Om: verbal sxs of 2s sometimes contain the cns. t (e.g. Ym {C} pf. -t, ipf. -ata, -uta, {Lm.} -t(a)), but this is not enough to draw conclusions because of the complicated interplay of possible archaic morphemes with innovations and with sxs of tenses\aspects ¶ Bnd. MO 103-4, C SE III 16-19, cp. genetic hypotheses: Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Zab. VO 25-8 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 78, Blz. PPCh1 11-20 ||] [2] HS *^{oo}-t^ri¹, verbal sx of the 2nd pers. within the paradigm *-mi 1s - *-ti 2s, surviving in HEC only: Kmb yom-mi 'I am' - yon-ti 'thou art', as well as in the paraphrastic paradigms of the HEC independent pfc. and independent ipf. going back to endings of the aux. verb *∇n-: {AD} *it ∇₁n-m∇ 'I eat' - *it ∇₁n-t∇ 'you (m. sg.) eat' - *it-t ∇₁n-t∇ 'you (f. sg.) eat', *it ∇₂n-m∇ 'I ate' - *it ∇₂n-t∇ 'you (m. sg.) ate' - *it-t ∇₂n-t∇ 'you (f. sg.) ate', whence Alb {Mrn.} itam 'I eat' - ittanti 'you (sg. of both genders) eat', iččo 'I ate' - ittonti 'you (m. sg.) ate', Sd {Mrn.} itemmo ~ itam 'I eat' - itatto 'you (m. sg.) eat', itommo 'I ate' - itotto 'you (m. sg.) ate' etc. ¶ AD PLOG 103-12, Mrn. S (on Alb: Mrn. S 300), Mrn. ApD, C SE II 228-9, 237-8, C S 597-692 ||] [3] HS *-ti within the autonomous isolable (subject) prn. *?an-ti 'thou' (< N *?oñ∇ 'self, the same' + N *t^rü¹ [> *t^ri] 'thou') > pS *?an-ta 'thou' m., *?an-ti 'thou' f.: (α) pS *?an-t-a 'thou' m. > BHb הַתָּאּ pat^ttā, Ph, Ed, OA, Yd ?t, Pun (Ro 'thou' mSc) [Plt.] ETHA, Ug ?t, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ?atta₁, Amr {G} ?atta, IA, Nbt, Plm ?nt, EpJA הַתָּאּ ?nth ~ הַתָּאּ ?th ~ אַתָּאּ ?t?, BA k הַתָּאּ ?nth, q הַתָּאּ ?ant₁, JEA Nd/G הַתָּאּ ?nt, JEA B אַתָּאּ ?t, Sr W אַתָּאּ ?a<n>t ?att₁, Ar اَنْتَ ?anta, Gz ?anta, Ak atta, Eb an-da, (β) S

*ʔan-t-i_ḷ 'thou' f. > BHb 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤁 ʔatt_ḷa_ḷ, Ph ʔt, IA, EpJA ʔnty ~ ʔnt, Sr W 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤁 ʔa<n>t<y> ʔatt_ḷa_ḷ, Ar 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤁 ʔanti, Gz ʔantī, Ak attī ¶ Br. G I 300-1, Br. SG 48, KB 98, OLS 58, Hnr. 108, 293, HJ 85-6, GB 76, 78, 895, G A 13, Rybak AN, Harv. 97 ¶ The opposition *ʔan-ti_ḷ f. ↔ S *ʔanta m. is a pre-S innovation based on association of *ʔanti with the fem. ending *-i_ḷ and on pre-S creation of *ʔanta < *ʔanti + HS marker of masc. (in 2s) *-a (that appears as the ending of masc. in Bj ti-...-a, 2m form of pcvs. within the paradigm a-dir 'I killed' - ti-dir-a 'you (m. sg.) killed' - ti-dir-ī 'you (f. sg.) killed' - i-dir 'he killed' etc.) || C *ʔanti 'thou' (without gender distinction) > Ag *ʔantī 'thou' > Bln {R} en'tī, Aw {Hz.} ʔnt̄ ¶ EC *ʔati 'thou' > Sml adí-ga, adí-gī, Rn àtí, Or ati, Kns {BISO} átti, Gdl {Bl.} átte, Bs {HL, AOM} ati, Af/Sa atú (-u from the nominal case inflection), Sd ate etc. || Dhl {To.} ʔáta, {E} ʔáta 'thou' ¶ AD SF 13-14, Bl. 131-2, 184, Ss. PEC 10, R WB 43, PG 40, HL 78, Ow. 254, Sr. 266, AOM 6, E SC 282, To. DL 40, To. D 37 || ? Om: Dzd: Mj yetu 'thou' (accus. yet-ḥ), Shk yetá, Na yeta id. ¶ All. D 383, 392 (note 6), Bnd. MO 145-6 ¶ This Dzd prn. may explain (but not necessarily does) the origin of the puzzling NrOm prn. *ne 'thou' and SOm *∇na id. (> Ari ānā, Gll ylnā id.). The possible scenario is: HS *ʔan-t∇ with subsequent loss of *n in Dzd and of *t in NrOm and SOm (cf. AD SF 20-1); Bender (Bnd MO 145-6 and 201) rejected similar explanations by supposing that Dzd *-t∇ is a sx ¶¶ AD PP 69, 112, AD PSH § 6.3 [no. 174], HL 78, Blz. PPCh1, Blz. PPCh2 ¶¶ [3a] The same HS isolable prn. *ʔan-ti 'thou' followed by morphemes of pl. and du. gave rise to autonomous pronouns of 2p and 2d: HS **ʔan-tin 'you' (pl.) > C (nom.): LEC *ʔatin id. > Sa átin, Sml idín-ku, Rn atín, Dsn ʔitínì, ? Bs {AOM} isin || Ag: Bln {Ap.} ʔnt̄, Km {CR} int̄, {Ap.} ʔnt̄(n)diw nom. (accus. ʔnt̄), Q {R} ent̄, Aw {Hz.} ʔnt̄óži (Hz: -ži "was later added, as a part of the renewal of plural marking of pronouns" [Hz. ES § T.2]) ¶ Bl. 131, Hz. AL 20, Hz. NSA 134, R DQW 663 (s.p. 27), CT LK 168, PG 40, Ap. K 320, To. DL 211 ¶¶ S *ʔan-tim(mu) (< **ʔan-ti-n-mu) 'you' (pl. m.) and *ʔanti-n-na 'you' (pl. f.) > pronouns of 2 pl.: Ak OB/OA attunu m. (< *ʔantunmu < *an'tinmu by assimilative labialization), attina f., Eb {Frnz.} an-da-nu 'you' pl., BHb 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤁 ʔat'tem 'you' pl. m., 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤁 ʔat'ten 'you' pl. f., SmHb {BH, Mc.} attimma 'you' pl. m., atten 'you' pl. f., Ug ʔtm pl. m., IA ʔntm pl. m., BA 𐤀𐤏𐤃𐤁 ʔan'tūn, EpJA ʔtwn pl. m. ¶ Sd. G 41, KB 99, 1670, BH IV 42, HJ 86, A. 164, OLS 50 || Om: NrOm (AD) *ʔant̄ (E) (< **ʔant̄) (Blz.)

*ʔantuni/*ʔantuna 'you' (pl.) > Wl {C} intē, {Bnd.} intena, {AIA} inte, Hrr {CR} hantēnā, Zl/Gf {C} intē, Gf {AIA} hinte, Bsk {C} inti, Zs {Si.} ʔuti'ni, {C} (w)untuna, Zrg {Si.} 'hutuna, {Bnd.} wutuna, Bdt {Hw.} hinūni, Gnj {Si.} ʔīnina, Dwr {Bnd.} hntetta, Dc {Bnd.} intena, Drz {AIA} intenī, {Bnd.} intani, Cnc {AIA} intenī, Oyda {Bnd.} intana, Male {Bnd.} intči, Gdc {Bnd.} unninna, Cha {C} intē ɹ inti, {Bnd.} inte, Gamu {AIA} ēti, Ym {C} ittō, {Bnd.} nutto, {Wdk.} nittó, Kf {C} ittō, ittōš, Mch {Bnd.} itōš, {Lm.} ittō(š), Shn {Lm.} itti, Bnc {Bnd.} intāyku 'you' (pl.), {Wdk.} yintāykū id. (obj.), 'vester' (pl., poss.), Anf {MYTY} inta 'vester' ⇨ intašine 'you' (pl.) (derived like bašinne 'they') (cp. Anf {Bnd.} intāši 'you' [pl.]) ||| Dzd: Mj {Bnd.} iti, {AIA} yetu 'you' (pl.), Shk íti id., it- (verbal prefix of 2p), Na ití-kis 'you' (pl.) ||| SOM: Dime {Bnd.} yäto, Ari/Gll {Bnd.} yetá, Hm B {Bnd.} yäddi 'you' (pl.), Ari {Bnd.} -ete, Ari G {Bnd.} -et (verbal endings of 2p) ¶ AD SF 134-5, Blz. PPCh1 23-5, Lm. Sh 274, AY ShM 7, 9, Wdk. BY 113, 132, AIA ODS 10, MYTY 105, Bnd. AM 7, Bnd. MO 163-4 ¶¶ Blz. PPCh1 3-6, 11-25 ||| **[4]** HS *-t^ri¹ 'you (sg.) are', sx of the 2s subject of the nominal predicate: S *-a-ta m., *-a-ti f. id. (*-a- of the pred. case) > Ak -āta (m.), -āti (f.) id. (the so-called "stative"), WS *-ta (m.), *-ti (f.), 2s forms of the WS new perfect > Ar -ta m., -ti f., BHb -tā m., -tə f., Ph, Pun -t (the unvocalized script does not distinguish between gender forms), IA -t m., -ty f., Sr -t m., -ty f. (pronounced -tə f. in both genders due to the reduction of the final vw.), but before object sxs: -tā- (Sr W -to-) m., -tī- (Sr W -ti-) f. (Sr kṭltny [kəʔal-'to-n] 'you [m. sg] killed me', kṭltny [kəʔal-'ti-n] 'you [f. sg.] killed me'); in SS (OSA, the EthS and SES lges) *-t- of the sxs were replaced by *-k- (generalization of *-k- from the 1s ending within the conjugation paradigm) ¶ The differentiation between *-ti f. and *-ta m. is a (pre-)S innovation, identical with the afore-mentioned differentiation in the isolable pronoun (*F* above **[3]**). In the Ak forms the vw. -ā- was introduced due to the generalization of the vw. of the 1s form: pS *šalim-āku 'I am well', *šalim-a-ta 'you are well' etc. > Ak šalimāku 1s, šalimāta 2m etc. ¶ MSUS 137, Sd. G 100-1, 8*, Br. SG 45 [§ 75], 126-49, Seg. AAG 265, 263, FrdR 58 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-17 || B *-t (> -ḏ, -d), marker of 2s of the qualitative verbs (verbs denoting quality) > Kb {ABs., Mmr.} -(ə)ḏ (zəddig-əḏ 'you [sg.] are clean'), Gd, Awj -at (Gd {CM} məqqr-at 'thou art big', Awj

məllat 'thou art white'), Ah -äd (karroz-äd 'thou art sad'), Ttq -ad (səməm-əd 'thou art bitter'), Gh -əd (məllul-əd 'thou art white'); in Si {La.} -aṭ has been generalized as marker of 2s throughout the tenses of the indicative: ləmz-aṭ 'tu as mâché', gəfl-aṭ 'tu passeras' ¶ Ai. MCB 74, 77-80, Mmr. 65-7, La. S 51-2 || Eg O/M -tî, marker of 2s in the "pseudo-participle" (= Gard.'s "old perfective"): Eg M hr.tî 'thou art content', iω.t(i) {Gard.} 'thou art come' ¶ Ed. 271-2, Gard. 234-8 ¶¶ Dk. SXJ 85-94, Dk. AL 92-7, Blz. PPCh1 11-17 ||] [5] The same HS ending *-ti 'thou' followed by morphemic markers of pl. and du. (just as in [3a]) gave rise to endings of 2p and 2d of predicative nomina (→ stative forms): S *-a-tim(mu) (< **-a-ti-n-mu) 'you' (pl. m.), *-a-ti-n-na 'you' (pl. f.) and *-a-tim-ā 'you' (du.) (*-a- is the marker of the pred. case of nomina) > Ak -āturru (2p of both genders; -ā- by generalization from 1 sg. -ākū), WS person/number endings of the "new perfective" (Qatal tense): 2pm *-tim(mu), 2pf *-tinna, *tim-ā 2d, whence BHb 𐤀𐤌𐤍 -'tɛm 2p m., 𐤀𐤌𐤎 -'tɛn 2p f., Ug -tm 2p m., -trn 2p f., -tm 2d, IA 𐤀𐤌𐤎 *-tūn (BA 𐤀𐤌𐤎 -'tūn) 2p m., IA 𐤀𐤌𐤎 {Seg.} *-tēn (JA [Trg.] 𐤀𐤌𐤎 -'tīn, JEA 𐤀𐤌𐤎 -tyn) 2p f., SmA {Mc.} 𐤀𐤌𐤎 -ton 2p m., 𐤀𐤌𐤎 -tɛn 2p f., Sr W -'tun, Sr E -'ton 2p m., Sr W/E -'tɛn 2p f., Ar -tum 2p m., -tunna 2p f., -tumā 2d; in pre-Ak, Aram and Ar labializing as. -um- < *-im- followed by generalization of *-u- (in Ar and Ak) ¶ Siv. U 72, Dlm. GJPA, Levias 86, Epst. 54, Mc. GSA 143, A U 51-3; for other references *see* above [4] ||] IE: [1] NaIE *tū nom. 'thou' and possibly *tω-om id. (preserved in IIr and Tc B) > pIIr *tū > Av G tū (following the sentence-initial word), Prt tu, MPrs tō, CINPrs تو tu, NPrs تو tō, Oss I dɜ, Oss D du 'thou' (Ab.: Oss d- < *t- originally in an intervoc. position in word groups, where this change is regular); pIIr *tuᵛ-am 'thou' (either from NaIE *tω-om or on the analogy of *eġʰom) > OI 'tᵛam ~ tu'ᵛam, Av G tuuəm, YAv tūm, tum, OPrs tuᵛam 'thou' ||] Gk D τύ 'thou', Gk A/Hm σύ id. (σ- on the analogy of σέ 'thee' [accus.] < IE *twe) ||] Arm 𐎧𐎺 𐎠𐎵 du 'thou' ||] pAl {O} *tū > Al G/T ti 'thou' ||] L tū 'thou' ||] Clt {Matas.} 'thou' > OIr tú, OW, MW, W {YGM} ti, MBr ti ~ te, Br {Hm.} te, Crn ty ||] Gmc: Gt þu, ON þú, OHG dū ~ du, NHG du, AS ðū ~ ðu 'thou', NE thou ||] Lt tū, Ltv tu, Pru tōu (enclitic tu) 'thou' ||] pSl *tī 'thou' > OCS тѣ ty, Blg, Uk ти, R тѣ, SCr, Sln tī, P, Cz, Slk ty 'thou' ||] pTc {Ad.} *tuwe 'thou' > Tc B

t(ʉ)wē (acc. to Ad., from IE *tuHom ≈ NaIE {AD} *tʉ-om), Tc A tʉ
 (< NaIE *tū) || AnIE *ti 'thou' nom. > Ht z i k, z i g g a, {EI} z ī g 'thou' (-
 g by analogy with 1s), tʉ g 'thee', Pal {EI} t ī 'thou', t ū 'thee' ¶¶ P
 1097-8, Blz. IEPP ∇, AD PP ∇, EI 455 (IE *'tuH [emph. *tu'Hom], accus.
 *'te w e [encl. *te, emph. *'tʉem], gen. *'te w e), Fs. 504, GSchm. IGPP
 113-19, 143-4, Brg. KVG 410-13, Brtl. 654-5, 660-1, M E I 682-3, Ab.
 I 378, F II 817, EWA II 826-36, Frn. 1133-4, Matas. E 392-3, YGM-1 409,
 Hm. 779, En. APG 129, Stang VG 247-8, Glh. 624-5, Vs. IV 130, LP §§
 337, 357, KT 162, Wn. I 516-17, Ad. H 149-56, Cowg. EG 169-70, O
 455-6, Huld 116, KrlSh. XLJ 20, 36, Ts. W 92, 109 ¶¶ [2] IE *tʉe and
 *te 'thee', *tu-/*tʉe-/*teʉ-/*te- (with case markers or without them)
 functioning as the stem of oblique cases of the prn. of 2s; Cowgill
 (Cowg. EG 169-70) and Adams (Ad. H 161) reconstructed the IE case
 system of this prn. as follows: stressed accus. *'tʉe, unstressed accus.
 *te, stressed gen. *'te w e, unstressed gen. *toʉ; G. Schmidt's rec.
 (GSchm. IGPP 110, 144, 204-5, 245-6): accus. *tē and *tu, gen. *teʉ,
 dat.-loc. *toʉ-oy and *tu-bʰeʉ, abl. *tu-s; O. Szemerényi's
 reconstruction (Szem. EVS-80 228-34): NaIE: accus. *tʉe(:)/*te(:),
 *tʉe(:)-m/*te(:)-m, gen. *te w e/*te w o and (encl.) *t(ʉ)eʉ/*t(ʉ)oʉ,
 accus. *tʉe-d, dat. *t(ʉ)eʉ/*t(ʉ)oʉ, *te-bʰi; pIE: accus. *tu-'e, gen.
 *tu-'os, dat.-loc. *t(ʉ)eʉ, *t(ʉ)-ebʰi, abl. *tu-ed; Beekes's rec. (Bks. VT
 249-53): accus. *'tʉe, gen. *te w e, *teʉ, Av *tʉed, dat. *te bʰyo, *toʉ,
 loc.-instr. *toʉ. Representation in some principal IE lges: OI accus. tʉā,
 'tʉā m, abl. 'tʉad, dat. 'tʉabhya(m), tē, loc. 'tʉē, 'tʉayī, instr.
 'tʉā, 'tʉayā, gen. 'tʉava, tē, Av {Rch.} accus. ʒwā m (YAv ʒwā),
 abl. ʒwāt ~ ʒwā t, dat. ta'ibyā, ta'ibyō, loc. tē, gen. tʉvā ~
 tʉva, Gk accus. σέ (Gk D τέ), dat. (Gk A) σοί, (Gk D) τοι, gen. (Gk Ep)
 σεῖο, (Gk A) σοῖ, (encl.) σοῦ, L accus. tē(đ), dat. tībī, gen. tuī (OL
 tīs), Gt accus. þu-k, dat. þus, OHG accus. di-h, dat.-loc. dir, Lt
 accus. tʉvè, dat. táu, instr. tʉvimì, loc. tʉvyjè, gen. tʉvẽs,
 OCS accus. тѣ, dat. тѣбѣ tebě / ти ti, loc. тѣбѣ tebě, instr.
 тобою tobojō, gen./accus. тѣбе tebe (by analogy of the dat.
 form), Ht accus., dat.-loc. tuk ~ tukka, gen. tuel, abl. tuedaz, Pal
 accus.-dat. tū 'dich, dir'; in Brtt the accus. form *te acquitted the
 meaning of nom.: Brtt *ti 'thou' > OW, MW, W ti, Crn ty, te, MBr, Br
 te ¶¶ GSchm. IGPP 120-44, Fs. 504, Blz. IEPP ∇, Brg. KVG 410-13, Rch.
 204-13, Stang VG 248-53, LP §§ 348-57, RE 139, Ts. E III 423-6, KrlSh.

XLJ 20, StSS 713, 825, Lsk. 109, Kas. AN 172-3 || **U: [11]** U *tE (originally *ti < N *t'ü'?) 'thou' nom., *ti-nu gen. (> *tin'u' ~ *tun'u' [serving as a common basis for the oblique cases] < N *t'ü' nu with the N genitive pc. *nu) > FU {It.} *ti- / *tin∇ (and *ten∇?) (in BF, Chr, Prm, Hg) ~ *tu- / *tun∇ (in Lp and Mr) > F sinä (gen. sinun), Es sina (gen. sinu) | pLp {Wk.} nom. *tunna, *tun, ill. *tunn- + case ending, gen./accus. *tun (> *tū in the Northern and Southern dialects, probably a bf.) > (1) nom.: Lp N dōn ~ dōn, Lp Vfs d_ātnε, Lp L ton, totno, Lp Ar ton, Lp M todn, Lp Kld/T/Nt/A tonn, Mt *tik ton, Itun, (2) gen./accus.: Lp: Kld {Kert} tonε, T tonj, N dū ~ dū, L/Ar tū, tuωωa, M/Nt/A/I tū | pMr {Ker.} *tun > Er/Mk nom. тоh ton, gen. тоhъ toh' | pChr {Ber.} *tiñā > Chr: H тьhнь tēh', L тьhъ tēh', Ch тьhē ~ тьh', P/B/M tiñ 'thou' | Prm *ten (Lt. *tēn) 'thou' (< FU *ten∇?) > OPrm te / obl. ten-, Z, Prmk, Yz тэ te 'thou' / obl. тэн- ten- (accus. Z tenз, Yz 'tenΛ, dat. Z ten+d, Yz 'tenut), Vt тоh ton 'thou' || Hg tē 'thou' (accus. tégēd) || Sm {Hl.} *tēn, {Jn.} *tēn 'thou' > Ng {Mik., Ter.} tēnз, {Cs.} tannar, En (cmpd.) {Cs.} tōdī, En X {Prk.} tōdī 'thou' (but En B {Prk., Ter.} ū 'thou', obviously of different origin), Slq Tz {KHG} nom.-accus. tan 'thou', 'thy', dat./all. tānti, Kms {KD} nom.-gen. t'an, accus./dat./loc. t'ānan, Koyb {Sp.} таhъ 'thou, thy', Mt {Hl.} *tēn- 'thou' (Mt: M {Sp.} тāhъ, {Pl.} таhъ, K {Pl.} -ды-) || pY {IN H} *tzt 'thou' > Y K {IN H} tzt, {Krn.} tet, OY xvii {Wts.} dót, tot, totlié, OY Ch {Mat.} tota, {Boe.} tōtli 'thou', OY O {Mat.} ти- || **[1a]** Lp prn. of 2d (Lp: N {N} doai, Ar {Lgc.} d_ōj, Tf {Lgc.} d_ōaj < *tun-∇y) is explained by E. Itkonen (It. LC 100) as derived from the prn. of 2s (pLp *tun, *tunna) ¶¶ Acc. to Sm.'s and Jn.'s alternative theory of the U historical phonology, the pFU and pU prn. is reconstructed as *tun (Sm. LM 38, Jn. UK 14), but since no details of the rec. are published, at least in the papers available to me (incl. in the "Historical phonology of the Uralic languages" by Sammallahti), it is so far impossible to evaluate it ¶¶ It. no. 388, UEW 539, AD PP, Wk. EUL 278-86, Lgc. no. 7947, Kert SJ 73, Ker. II 169, Ber. 76, Kov. LV 230, Kov. GM 246, Lt. 138, Lt. J 61, LG 293-4, Lt. DPJ 108-10, Jn. 147, KHG 288-9, KD 143, Ter. NgJ 161, Ter. EJ 447, Cs. GSS 347-53, Prk. ED 86, Hl. M 147-8, no. 928, IN H 429, IN UJ 248, 322, Krn. JJ 72, Krn. IMJJ 142-3, PBS II 115-25 ¶¶ The variant *tun'u' < *tin'u' is by as. The forms without *n (Lp *tū and Hg tē) may be interpreted as phonetically reduced variants of *tun'u' and *tin'u' || **[2]** U *ti|e 'thy' (enclitic prn. → ppa.) > (with nouns in sg.) BF

*-si > F -si, Krl -š, Vp -jž, Vo -zi || pLp {Krh.} *-tз > Lp: N/U -d, Kld -d, P -t || Er -t (күдо-т 'thy house'), Mk -t in most obl. cases (ор-ко-т 'in thy coat', ор-до-т 'of/from thy coat' etc.), but -ćа / -ć- (< -t- + demonstrative śа / ś) in the nom., gen. and dat.-iness.: орце ор-ćа 'thy coat', орцень ор-ćа-ń 'of thy coat', орцти ор-ć-ті 'to thy coat') || Chr: L -t (ава-т 'thy mother'), H -t, -et, -c || Prm: Vt -ed, -d, Z -t+d, -d 'thy' || Hg -(a/o/e/ö)d (ház-ad 'thy house', kōnyv-ed 'thy book') (Hg -d < FU *-n-t∇? [F Décsy UP 67]) || Sm {Jn., Sm.} *-r∇, {Hl.} *-r(ь), {Kü.} *-δ∇ 'thy' in nom. (> Ne F, En -r, {Cs.} -lo, -lo, -ro, Ng -rз, Slq Tz {KHG} -l(†), Kms -l, -l∇, Mt {Hl.} *-r in Mt *tandər 'thy' [Mt M {Sp.} тындарь]) and Sm {Jn., Sm.} *-t∇, {Kü.} *-d/t∇ obl. (> Ne -d(a), -θu, -tə, En -δ, -d, -do, -to, Ng -dз, -ta, -tз, Slq -d, -d∇, -t, -t∇); the pU voiced cns. *-δ- (> pSm *-r-) for the expected *-t- (> pSm *-t-) is still to be explained ¶¶ Majt. SM 273-6, Majt. VJ I 111-18, Laan. 181-4, Krh. 237-8, Ps. M O4, PI 334, KHG 184-8, Hl. SelJ 365-6, Hl. M 142, Kü. SUKF I 164-82, Kü. KJ 384, Décsy UP 67-8 ¶¶ The status of *ti|e as an enclitic word (rather than a sx) is evidenced by its position: in some lges it follows case endings (incl. those of late origin): F kirjassa-si 'in thy book' ||] [3] A morpheme or morphemes reconstructible as *t∇ (some-times fused with preceding grammatical or derivational morphemes) function as the verbal marker of 2s (< postverbal prn. of 2s) in several tenses of the U lges: F -t, Es -d || Mk/Er -t (present) || Chr L/H -(∇)t (present) || Vt -d || Hg -d (s/obcj.; the endings -sz and -l of the subjective conjugation are Hg innovations based on verbal derivational sxs with loss of the original marker of person) || Sm: NrSm: [1] s/obcj., sg. of the object: Ne T, En B -p -r, Ng -rз; [2] s/obcj., du. or pl. of the object: Ne T -d -d, Ng {Ter.} -tä, En B {Ter.} -δ || Slq Tz {Hl.}: -l (s/obcj.), -nt† (sbcj.) || Kms {Kü.} -l (both s/obcj. and sbcj.) ¶ In these markers of du. or pl. we see reflexes of the pU voiced cns. *-δ- (> pSm *-r-) for the expected *-t- (> pSm *-t-), which is still to be explained ¶¶ Coll. CG 242-4, 308-10, Sz. 129, Décsy FUS 176, BBB 417-18 (Hg -d < *tĒ; Hg -sz and -l of 2s go back to derivational sxs), Ter. NJ 386, Ter. NgJz 428 || A: pA {SDM} *°t'í 'thou' > M *ćí 'thou' > MM ci, WrM ci, HIM чи čí, Brt ши, Dg, ší, Mnr {H} ć'í, Mgl, Ord, Kl чи čí, Dx čí, Ba če id. The genitive *ćinü of this prn. (> MM cinu ~ ciní, WrM cinu, HIM {DL} чиний činī ~ чинь čín, Brt шинии ({Pr. šeńi(:)}, Ord, Mnr ć'ini, Kl {KRS} чини, {Rm.} činī. Dg šínī. Dx číní. Ba čene) goes back to **ti-nu < N *t'ü' nu

('thou' + postposition of genitive). Other oblique cases are based on *č²ima (originally accus. < **t̥i-ma < N *t̥¹ü¹ mA, sc. 'thou' + marker of accusative), whence pM accus. *č²ima-yi 'thee' (*č²ima + M accus. ending *-yi) (> MM, WrM č²imay¹i), pM dat. *č²ima-du(r) 'to thee' (*č²ima + M dative ending *-du_Lr_J) (> MM č²imadu(r), WrM č²imadur etc.)]]] In some modern M lges the M pronoun *č²i 'thou' in the postpredicate position (sc. following either a verbal or the nominal predicate of the sentence) changed into a personal affix of the predicate. This occurred in Brt, Kl, Dg and Mgl: pM *č²i 'thou' > Kl -č̣, Brt -ṣ̌i ~ -ṣ̌, Mgl -č̣i, Dg -ṣ̌i (Kl {KRS} гарв-ч, Brt гарба-ш 'you went out', Mgl irān-č̣i 'you come', Dg yawbej-ṣ̌i 'you will go'). In the postnominal position M *č²i had a possessive meaning. It lost its stress and ultimately (in modern M lges) became a ppa.: pM *č²inü 'thy' > HIM {Pp.} -č̣in, Kl -č̣ŋ, Brt -ṣ̌ní ~ -ṣ̌, Ord -č̣in, Mgl -č̣i, Dg -ṣ̌iń, -ṣ̌ní (pM *aqa č²inü 'thy elder brother' > HIM {Pp.} αχχᾶḱβn id.) ¶ Pp. IM 35, 112, 213, 218-24, 251, Snz. SG 151-2, Snz. SG-G 84-5, MED 174, BMR IV 308, 315, DL II 602, 658, SM 441, T DnJ 27-30, T BJ 40-8, T DgJ 53-4, Ms. O 705 ¶¶ SDM 1424 (pA *t̥i 'thou' pM *č²i 'thou', mentioning the pM 2p pronoun (*ta) without explaining its pA origin) || D {Zv.} *-N-ti, pers. ending of 2s non-past of verbs > OTm -ti († non-past), Kui (ft.), Krx (pres., female) -di, Knd (non-past) -n-i(d); D {Zv.} *-N-ti-r, pers. ending of 2p non-past > OTm -tir, Kui ft. -d-eru, Krx pres. female -d-aŋ, Knd non-past -n-ider ¶¶ Zv. DL 36 ¶¶ The D pl. sx *-r goes back to N *r∇yE (= *r∇y¹i¹?), a compound prn. of plurality\ collectivity (q.v. ffd.) || E: pEl {McA} *-ti > MEI {McA} -ti, {Dk.} -t(i) > -t, {ER, Grillot} -t, AchEl {Pap.} -(n)ti, -(n)ta (verbal enclitical marker of 2s), MEI {Dk.} -h-t(a), {GrilS} -h-t (verbal marker of 2p), MEI, AchEl {ER} -t (nominal sx of 2s, so-called "allocutive", sunki-t 'thou [the] king') ¶¶ McA 113, Grillot EGE 33, ER E 76-7, Dk. JDPa 100-3, Paper RAE 42-4 || K: GZ *tkwen- 'you' (pl.), 'your (vester)' > OG tkwen-, G tkven- id., Mg, Lz tkva(n)- 'ye', tkvan- 'your (vester)' ¶ K 176, K² 75-6, FS E 167, Chik. 223-4 ¶ This prn. goes back to a N cd *t̥¹ü¹ 'thou' + *kU of plurality + *nu of genitive; which suggests that the original meaning of *tkwen- was 'of you, yours' (pl.), but later it was generalized as the prn. of 2p without case distinctions (cf. a parallel change in the prehistory of G šen 'thou') ◇ IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, UEW 539, McA 113 (D, El), BmK 285-7, Gr. I 71-4 (IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA). The variant *t̥i is likely to result from delabialization of the original N *t̥¹ü¹ (loss of a marked

phonemic feature typical of grammatical morphemes, possibly induced by the analogy with N *mi 'I'). The de-emphatization *t̥- > HS *t- is very typical, but is obligatory in grammatical words/morphemes only. That is why there are no glottalized cns among the grammatical morphemes in HS. On M *ta 'you' (pl.) and U *tä ~ *te id. *see* s.v. N *t̥'ü' ʔa 'ye (vos)' ◇ Op. Kas. AN 172-3 (reconstrting N *ti and rejecting *tu [considered to be an IE innovation]) ◇ On N *ś'ü' (> *śi) 'thou' (that is likely to go back to a phonetic variant of *t̥'ü') *see* above s.v. N *ś'ü' (> **śi) 'thou' (entry 2006a).

2312a. *t̥'ü' ʔa ~ *ś'ü' ʔa 'ye (vos)', prn. of 2p (N *t̥'ü' ~ *ś'ü' 'thou' + N *ʔa, pc. of plurality [q.v. s.v. ffd.]) > IE verbal endings of 2p: "primary" *-t₁H₁e ({Bks.} *-tHe) (> OI -t₁h₁a, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -p, Lt -te, Sl *-te, Ht -ten₁), "secondary" *-te (> OI -ta, Gk -τε, L -tis, Gt -p, Sl *-te, Ht -ten) ¶¶ The OI cns. th (an unusual reflex of N *t̥...? [??]) is still to be explained ¶¶ Szem. EVG-80 216, Bks. 232-7, Brg. KVG 591-6 (incl. the table of p. 596), Mer. SGA 334, 339-40, Gux. GJ 135-6
 || **U [1]** *te ~ *tiy∇ (as well as *te + du. sx *-yä) 'ye' (pers. prn. of 2p) > pLp {Krh.} *tiy > Lp: N {N} dī, Vfs {Lgc.} d₁iyyεθ, S {Hs.} dī(j)h, Kld {SaR} тыйй tiyy 'you' (pl.) | Er тынь tiń, Mk тинь tíń id. | pChr {Ber.} *te, {Rd.} *te id. > Chr: L те te (gen. тендан tendan, accus. тендам tendam), B/M te, H tä tä (gen. тәмдан tämdan, accus. тәмдам tämdam) | Prm *ti id. > Z ти ti (gen. tiyan), Prmk тійö tiyз ~ ти ti (gen. tiyan), Yz 'teyΛz (gen. ti'yan), Vt тй ti (proc. тйя tiya, gen. тйляд ti'lad) id. || OHg XII tiu [tiü], XVI thew, XVIII thū, Hg ti 'you' (pl.) (unless OHg -ü < *-y < *-k) || ? Sm {Jn.} *te(n) 'you' (pl.) > Ng tэη, Slq Tz tē, Kms {Kü.} šīʔ, Koyb {Sp.} ce; but Mt {Hl.} *tendä id. (Mt M {Sp.} тэндэ, {Pl.} тендя) is a derivative from the prn. of 2s (Mt *tān 'thou') ¶ Sm *te(n) may go back either to the pU prn. for 'ye' or to the prn. of 2s with an additional marker of pl. || pY {IN H} *tit > Y K {IN H} tit, Y T {Krn.} tit ~ tīt 'vos' ¶¶ UEW 540 explains pLp *-y, Prm -yз and Mr *-ń (< U *n∇) as ppas ||| **[2]** The U pronouns *te ~ *tiy∇ 'you' (pl.), when used enclitically after nouns, gave rise to pronominal possessive suffixes of 2p: Chr: L -da, H -da/-dä 'vester' | Prm: Vt -(+)d, -t-, Z -n+-d, Prmk -n+-t, Yz -ni-t 'vester' || Sm: Ne T rect.-accus. -да" -daʔ / gen. -та" -taʔ 'vester' (pl. possessoris), En B {Ter.} rect. -раʔ / gen.-accus. -раʔ id. (du. and pl. possessi: rect. -баʔ 'vestri' / gen. -таʔ), Ng {Ter.} rect. -r+ʔ / accus. -m-t+ʔ (-m is the marker of accus.) / gen. -tiʔ 'vester' (pl. possessoris) (pl./du. possessi: nom. -tiʔ 'vestri' / gen. -tiʔ 'vester' (pl. possessoris))

-tuʔ), Slq Tz {KHG} [-lɪt₂] = -lɪn/t 'vester' / gen.-accus. [-tɪt₂] = -tɪn/t, Kms {Kü.} -laʔ / (after a nasal cns.) -naʔ 'vester' (pl. possessoris), Mt {HL.} *-ra_{lʔ} / *-rã_{lʔ} 'vester'; benefactive forms of 2p of nouns: Ng -ruʔ / -tuʔ (taðɜ-ruʔ tuʔo 'the reindeer came for you [pl.]', lit. 'cervus-vobis venit'; satɜrɜtɜm-tuʔ koðaʔaruʔ 'you [pl.] obtained [preyed on] a polar fox for yourselves', lit. 'vulpem-vobis consecuti estis')]]] **[3]** The U pronominal morpheme *te ~ *tiy∇ 'you' (pl.), when used enclitically after verbs (sometimes with sxs of pl.), gave rise to personal endings of verbs: (sbcj.) Mk -da, -dá, Er -do, -dé | Chr L/H -da | Prm: Vt -dɪ, Z -(n)nɪd, Prmk -t, -tɜ, Yz -tʌ, -t || Hg -tok / -tök / -tek || Sm: Slq Tz {KHG} -lɪt/n (ending of 2p), Ne T {Ter.} -da- (ending of 2p, sbcj.), -ra- (id. with sg. obiecti) (pres. -da-ʔ, -raʔ, p. -da-ć, -ra-ć), En {Ter.} -ra- (2p, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. obiecti), -ða- (s/obj. with pl./du. obiecti), (pres. -ra-ʔ / -ða-ʔ, p. -ea-ç / -ða-ç), Ng {Ter.} -ruʔ / -rüʔ / -rɪʔ / -riʔ (2p, sbcj. and s/obj. with sg. obiecti), -tuʔ / -tüʔ / -tɪʔ / -tiʔ (2p ending, s/obj. with pl./du. obiecti), Kms {Kü.} -leʔ (ending of 2p) ¶¶ UEW 539-40, Laan. 182-4, 191-4, 228-30, Mark PSUS-25 ∇, Mak. KJ 69-72, Kask EJ-66 47-9, Vääri LJ 144-8, Krh. 209, 240-5, 280-3, It. LC 97, Lgc. no. 7843, Lgc. SL no. 2644, Hs. 118, SaR 352, 365, Fkt. EJ-66 185-91, Fkt. MJ-66 203-5, 207-14, Ps. M O5, Ber. 75, Kov. LV 227, 230-3, Kov. GM 244-9, LG 279, Lt. J 45, 61, 67-9, 185, Lt. KZJ 287-92, Lt. KPJ 305-9, Tepl. UJ 265-72, MF 632-3, Ht. ChrO 38-9, Stn. XJ 216-20, Stn. OG 70, Trs. VD 84-7, EWU 1516-17, Jn. 156, KHG 184-7, 258-64, 288-93, Hl. M 144, no. 983, Ter. NJ 381, 386-8, Ter. EJ 444-51, Ter. NgJ 96-7, 161, 185, Ter. NgJz 423-31, Kü. KJ 383-6, Krn. JJ 72-80, Krn. JJ-T 440-1, Krn. JJ-K 354, Ku. 272-3, IN H 431, IN UJ 248 || **A** {AD} nom. *t'ü_a ~ sü_a / gen. *t'ü_anu ~ *s'ü_anu 'you' pl. > Tg nom. *su_e ({Bz.} *süä) / obl. *sun- (~ ? *°su_en-) id. (< N *ś'ü' ʔa, sc. *ś'ü' 'thou' + plurality pc. *ʔa) > WrMc {Z} сувэ, obl. сувэни, Nn Nh nom. суэ / obl. {STM} sun-, Nn Bk/KU sū, Orc, Ud, Ork, Neg, Ewk, Sln nom. sū / obl. sun-, Lm hū / obl. hun-, Ud {Krm.} nom. su / obl. sun-, Ul suni ~ sunu; in many Tg lges the form *su_enu ~ *suni is used with the sx ≈*-ngü|_i: WrMc {Z} сувэнингэ, Ewk sunñī, Lm hunñi, Neg sunñī ~ sunñī, Orc suñingэ, Ud suñuñu, Ork sunuñi, Nn Nh suзngi, Nn Bk/KU sunñgi, Nn Bk sunəngi 'yours'] In some modern Tg lges the Tg prn. *su became a postnominal ppa. of 2p: Nn, Ul, Orc -su, Ud -hu 'vester' ¶ Bz. 107-11, STM II 72-3, 115, Krm. 87, 91, 288, On. 381-2, Z 652 || M *ta / gen. *tanu / dat. †*tan-a 'you' (pl.) > MM, WrM

nom. *ta* / gen. *tanu*, HIM, Brt nom. *та*, Dg nom. *tā* / gen. {Pp.} *tanāī*, Kl {KRS} *та*, {Rm.} *ta*, {Pp.} nom. *ta* / gen. *tañ* ~ *tanb*, Mnr {Pp.} nom. *ta* / gen. *tani*; later on (in Brt, Kl, Dg, Mgl) M **ta* in the postpredicate position changed into a subject ending of 2p: Kl *-t*, Brt *-ta*, *-t*, Dg *-tā*, Mgl *-to* (Kl *гaрв-т*, Brt *гaрба-т* 'you [pl.] went out', Dg *xelsan-tā* 'you [pl.] said'); in the postnominal position **tanu* became later a ppa. of 2p: > HIM *-таh* ({Pp.} *-tān*), Ord *-t'an*, Kl *-tŋ*, Brt *-tñā*, Dg *-tāñ*, Dx *tani* ~ *tayi*, Mgl *-toni* 'vester' ¶ Pp. IM 218, 221, MED 76O, BMR III 167, Chr. 4O6, KRS 467, KW 373, Ms. O 644 ¶¶ ≈ S AJ 52 (A **sä* 'thou' in T **sä-n* and Tg **si* 'thou'), SDM 225 (pA **t'i* 'thou' and **t'a* 'vos' [rec. based on M forms only]); SDM 1424 (pA **t'i* 'thou', mentioning the pM 2p pronoun [**ta*] whitout explaining its pA origin) ◇ See IS I 6, AD PP ∇, Blz. IEPP ∇, ≈ Palm. LMP 169-74, Gr. I 71-4 ("second-person T" in IE, U, A, Gil, CK, EA) ◇ Cf. N **ʔa*, pc. of plurality ◇ S **-timmu* 'ye' m. (the autonomous prn. **ʔan-timmu*), **-tinna* 'ye' f. (the aut. prn. **ʔan-tinna*) and the related pronouns of B, C and Eg do not belong here. They are likely to be independent derivatives (or cds) of pHS origin (N **t'ü'* + HS markers of pl.). Mutatis mutandis the same is true of K **tkwen* 'ye', 'vester'.

2313. **t∇*, a marker of passive participial constructions (verb + N **t∇* = an analytical construction with the meaning of a passive participle or a passive verbal adjective) > IE: NaIE **-to-*, a marker of verbal adjectives (mostly with passive meaning) that in some descendant lges were incorporated into the verbal system as passive participle: NaIE **g̃nō-to-s* ~ **g̃n̄:-to-s* 'known' (> L *nōtus* id., OIr {LP} *gnáth* 'known', W {YGM} *gnawd* 'customary', Gk *γνωτός* 'perceived, understood; known', Gt *kunps* (· *γνωστός, γνωσκόμενος*) 'bekannt', Lt *pa-žintas* 'gekannt'), NaIE **k̃lu-'to-s* 'heard, heard of' (> OI *śru'ta-* 'heard, listened to, heard of', Gk *κλυτός* 'renowned, glorious', L *inclutus* 'famous'), NaIE **s(y)ūtōs* 'sewn' (> L *sūtus*, Lt *šūtas*, Chs ({Mikl.} OCS) *штѣ ѡтъ*, OI *syū'tah* id., Gk *νεο-κάτ-τύτος* 'freshly sewn'), NaIE **m̄-to-s* 'thought (gedacht)' (> OI *ma'tah* id., Lt *mirntas* pp. 'remembered', L *com-mentum* / *-i* 'invention, what smb. invented', *com-mentus* 'which has remembered', Gk *αὐτό-ματος* 'acting on one's own will', (of inanimate things) 'self-acting, spontaneous') ¶ Hirt IG III 284-6, Bks. 250-1, LP § 9.1, YGM-1 236, Fs. 317, Mikl. L 1134 || U: FU **-∇tt∇* nomina patientis (obiecti) (> pp. and sim) > RE *-(t)tu* / *-(t)ti* pp. of nfc > Fl *lettur* 'sung' *tehtur*

'done', Krl annettu 'given', ommeldu 'sewn', Vp anttud 'given', féhtud 'done' (with -d on the analogy of the pfc. prtc. ending -nud), Vo s̄ātu 'received' | Er -do ~ -da and compound morphemes -sto / -ste, sxs of gerunds (verbal adverbs): oza-do 'in sitting position (сидя)', yuram-sto 'on passing (проходя)', Mk -da: koma-da 'gebückt, in bent\leaned position' || Hg -at / -et, sx of deverbal nomina obiecti: ir-at 'document' (←đ ír- v. 'write'); Hg -tat, sx of past pp.: olvasott 'gelesen' (a tegnarp olvasott könyv 'das gestern gelesene Buch') ¶ Sz. 79, Laan. 249-50, Fkt. EJ-66 192, PI 120, Majt. SM 355-7, Majt. VJ-76 387, 400 ||] This FU pp. may underly the BF passive verb stems (the pres. pp. F s̄aa-ta-va 'being got\received' with the participle sx -va) ¶ Coll. CG 279 || | A: T *-t ~ *-tu/*-tü ~ ? *-ti, sx of deverbal adjectives with passive meaning: NaT *ögi-t 'ground grain' (> OT [MhK] ögit 'ground wheat etc.', ET {Jr.} ügüt 'grain cleaned ready for grinding') ←đ *ögi- v. 'grind', NaT *jar-t(u) 'sth. split' (> OT {Cl.} jartu 'sth. split off', [MhK] jartu 'long strips of wood', VTt jart 'half') ←đ pT *jar- v. 'split', Az joçur-t 'sour milk' ←đ joçur- v. 'mix', Tkm ayır-t 'offshoot, ответвление' ←đ ayır- v. 'separate', as well as possibly OT [MhK, QB] sökti 'bran' ←đ sök- v. 'tear apart' ¶ SrbG SIGTJ 229-30, Cl. xliii, 101-2, 819, 954-9 || Tg *-ta / *-te, sx of derived nomina (result of an action): Ewk -ta / -tɜ / -tɔ, nouns of passive results of an action, e.g. 3mɜn-tɜ 'remainder' (sc. 'what is left') ←đ 3mɜn- v. 'leave', nōdān-tɜ 'отброс' ('sth. thrown away') ←đ nōdān- v. 'throw', Nn Nh {On.} -tā / -tɜ, sx of pp. adv: dɜptɜ 'ноев' ¶ Vas. 790, On 551 || | HS: In the pHS lge nomina obiecti and passive deverbal adjectives with the ending *-∇t- may have existed, but since they are always feminine (because of their ending *-∇t-, associated with the fem. gender), they cannot be distinguished from forms with the feminine *-t- derived from masculine prtcs, adjs and substantivized adjs. As to the *t∇- prefix with the original meaning of nomen obiecti, it cannot be distinguished from metonymic usage of nomina actionis with the prefix *t∇- (F. N *t̄i [a syntactic pc. that constructs analytical nomina actionis]). Hb taš¹lūm 'payment' is a nomen obiecti, while tah^alū¹qā 'procession' is a nomen actionis ◇ Cf. IS I 218-19 (*-di, sx of the past; IS did not distinguish between *d^ri¹ of imperfectiveness and *t̄∇ of pp.), Cald. 508-10 (FU: F -t [pp.] and Hg -t [past tense], D *-t(t) [p.], T -d- [p.], IE: NPrs -d- [p.]), Gr. I 179-82 ("passive participle

T" in IE, U, EA) ◇ Illich-Svitych (IS I xiii [caus.-rf. *t̥ʰ]) tried to find a common origin of rf.-ps. verbal derivatives in U and HS (F N *t̥ʰw̥w̥ 'head') and a marker of causative in A, U and D (which is doubtful both semantically and because of a structural difference: in U, A and D this is a postverbal sx that may go back to a N aux. v., while in HS this is a px that is hardly explainable as an aux. v. in view of the syntactic structure of N) ◇ ≈ Gr. I 197-200 ("denominative T" in IE, U, Y, A, CK, Ai, EA).

2314. (₂?) *t̥ʰw̥w̥, pc. of marked (definite?) accusative (→ accus. of pronouns) > HS: S *-t̥ʰw̥w̥ or *-ā t̥ʰw̥w̥, accus. ending of pers. pronouns (*š̥ūʔa(:)t̥ʰw̥w̥ 'him' etc.): OAk {G} -ā t̥ʰ, accus./gen. ending of suffixed pers. pronouns (-niʔ-ā t̥ʰ 'us', -kin-ā t̥ʰ 'you' f. pl., -š̥in-ā t̥ʰ 'them' f.), Ak OB (-ā-/ū-)t̥ʰi, accus. ending of pers. pronouns (-niʔā t̥ʰi 'us', -kunū t̥ʰi 'you' m. pl., -kinā t̥ʰi 'you' f. pl., -š̥unū t̥ʰi 'them' m., -š̥inā t̥ʰi 'them' f.), Ak OB -(ā)t̥ʰ(i); accus.-gen. ending of separate pers. pronouns: 1s 'y-ā t̥ʰi, 2s OAk ku(ω)-ā t̥ʰi, 2m Ak OB/OA k-ā t̥ʰi ~ k-ā ta, 2f Ak OB/OA k-ā t̥ʰi, 3m š̥u-ā t̥ʰi > š̥ā t̥ʰi (with innovative forms: š̥uā t̥ʰu > š̥ā t̥ʰu), 3f OAk š̥i-ā t̥ʰi, later š̥ā t̥ʰi, š̥uā t̥ʰi, 1p ni-ā t̥ʰi, 2pm kunū-t̥ʰi, 2pf kunā t̥ʰi, 3pm š̥unū-t̥ʰi, 3pf š̥in-ā t̥ʰi; the forms k-ā ta and š̥uωā t̥ʰu (> š̥ā t̥ʰu) result from analogy: 2m k-ā ta with -a due to the infl. of the nom. a t̥ʰā 'thou' m. (versus a t̥ʰī 'thou f.), 3m š̥uωā t̥ʰu with -u on the analogy of nom. š̥ū 'he' (vs. š̥ī 'she'), Ug {Siv.} -t̥ʰ, ending of accus./gen. in pers. pronouns: hω-t̥ʰ 'him, his', h̥y t̥ʰ 'her (accus./gen.)', h̥m t̥ʰ 'them, their (m. pl.)', h̥m t̥ʰ 'them, their (du.)', Sb accus./gen.: 3m hω t̥ʰ, 3f h̥y t̥ʰ, 3pm h̥m t̥ʰ, h̥m ω t̥ʰ, 3pf h̥n t̥ʰ (↔ nom.: hωʔ, hʔ 'he', h̥yʔ, hʔ 'she', h̥m ω 'they' m., h̥n f.). In some lges these forms have lost their ancient case meaning: Ph OBy hʔ t̥ʰ 'he', OPh, Ph h̥m t̥ʰ 'they', Ar Sp HUET 'he', HIET 'she', HUMAT 'them' m., HUNNAT 'them' f., Ar P {Leslau ← ?} hū tu 'he', hite 'she', Gz wəʔə t̥ʰū 'he, this\that', yəʔə t̥ʰī 'she; this\that' (f.) (with new accus. forms based on the nominal accus. ending -a: wəʔə t̥ʰ-a, yəʔə t̥ʰ-a), ʔammūntū 'they' m., ʔammāntū 'they' f., ʔallōntū ~ ʔallūntū 'these' ¶ Sd. G 41, G OAWG 130-2, Dk. AkJ 90, 106, Dk. XAU 114, Siv. U 36, BGMR 55, FrdR 45-6, L G 20, 25, 602, 625, Br. G I 303-6 || C: Ag *-tt̥, accus. (or accus./dat.) of pers. pronouns and some nouns: Xm {Ap.} -t̥, object case ending of pers. pronouns (yí-t̥ 'me', kí-t̥ 'thee', ŋí-t̥ 'him', ŋí-t̥ ~ ŋír-t̥ 'her', yina-t̥ ~ yínä-t̥ 'us', kíta-t̥ ~ kítä-t̥ 'you' accus. pl. ní-t̥ ~ ná-t̥ 'them') Bln {R} ŋi-t̥ 'me to me' kī-t̥ (kωə-

t) 'thee, to thee', $n\bar{i}$ -t 'him, to him', $\text{y}\bar{i}'na$ -t 'us, to us', $i'n'ta$ -t 'you' (accus. pl.) 'to you', na -t 'them, to them', Km {Ap.} ku -t 'thee' etc.; the same accus. ending is used with some nouns in Km {Ap.}: aba -t 'patrem', $i\omega\eta na$ -t 'feminam', in Bln: $\text{ž}\bar{a}na$ -t 'elephantem', $j\text{ə}'r\text{ə}ba\text{u}kun\ g\text{ə}n'j\bar{i}na$ -t 'I need a female slave', $n\bar{i}\ g\text{ə}n'j\bar{i}na$ -t $ke'\text{ŷ}\bar{a}n't\bar{i}\text{u}\chi$ 'he married (his) female slave', as well as possibly with feminine nouns in Km: $l\acute{w}\bar{a}$ -t 'cow' accus. (vs. $l\acute{w}a$ 'cow' nom.), $l\acute{w}\bar{a}y\bar{a}n$ -t 'the cow' accus. (vs. $l\acute{w}\bar{a}y\bar{a}n$ 'the cow' nom.) (unless in the latter case the ending -t is connected with the *t-ending of f.); ?? Bln {R} -t \bar{i} , marker of accus. in proper names (with a final cns.) and pronouns > $gir'g\bar{i}s$ -t \bar{i} $j\text{ə}'r\text{ə}bna\text{u}kun$ 'we are looking for Girgis', aw -t \bar{i} $j\text{ə}'r\text{ə}bd\text{ə}'n\bar{a}\text{u}\chi un$ 'whom are you looking for?' ||| EC: Sa {R} $y\bar{o}$ -t ~ $y\bar{o}$ -d 'me' accus., $n\bar{u}'ma$ -t 'uxorem' ¶ Ap. K 325, Ap. Kh I 259, 263, R BilS 677-8, R S II 345, 377, R WB 42-3, 209, 279, 365-6 ||| U: FU *-tt ∇ , sx of the accus. > F -t, marker of the pronominal accus. ($minu$ -t 'me', $sinu$ -t 'thee', $h\bar{a}ne$ -t 'him', $meid\bar{a}$ -t 'us', $teid\bar{a}$ -t 'you' accus. pl., $heid\bar{a}$ -t 'them', $kene$ -t 'whom?'), Ing -d of the pronominal accus. ($me\bar{i}ye$ -d 'us', $te\bar{i}ye$ -d 'you' pl., $he\bar{i}ye$ -d 'them') ||| Os: V {Trs.} -t ~ -bt, accus. ending of pronouns (1s $m\bar{a}n$ -t, 2s $n\bar{e}\eta$ -bt, 3s $l\bar{e}\eta$ -bt, 1d min -t, 2d $m\eta in$ -t, 3d lin -t, 1p $m\eta$ -\text{ət}, 2p $n\eta$ -\text{ət}, 3p $l\text{ə}\eta$ -\text{ət}), Sh {Trs.} -\text{ət} id. (1s man -\text{ət}, 2s nan -\text{ət}, 3s tuw -\text{ət}, 1d min -\text{ət}, 2d $n\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 3d $t\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 1p $m\eta$ -\text{ət}, 2p $n\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 3p $t\text{ə}w$ -\text{ət}), Kz {Rus.} -\text{ət} id. (1s man -\text{ət} ~ man -t\text{ə}, 2s $n\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 3s $\text{f}uw$ -\text{ət}, 1d min -\text{ət}, 2d $n\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 3d $\text{f}\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 1p $m\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 2p $n\eta n$ -\text{ət}, 3p $\text{f}\text{ə}w$ -\text{ət}), Vy/Ty/Y/D/K/Kr/Nz {Ht.} -t id. | Hg -t, accus. of pronouns and nouns. Szinyei (Sz. 60) and Klemm (Klemm MTM 270ff.) believed that the Hg accus. is akin to the Mr df. form with -t̄, which is hardly plausible because the latter goes back to the U enclitic prn. *t̄ä < N *t̄ä (dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects) ¶ Laan. 190-2, Laan. IJ 108, Jelis. FJ-93 100-1, Mak. KJ 69, Trs. XJ 328, Rus. SXJ 84, Ht. ChrO 70-1 ||| ? IE *-t̄, accus. ending of personal pronouns (acc. to Blz.'s hyp. [Blz. IEPP 14]) > OL accus. $m\bar{e}d$ 'me', $t\bar{e}d$ 'thee' (GSchm. IGPP 102). Blz. (IEPP 3 and 8, note 6) equated this OL form with the Ht ntr. nom.-accus. ppas -mi|e-t 'my', ti-t 'thy', which is hardly acceptable, because this Ht ending is obviously that of the neuter gender (< IE *-t̄ nom.-accus. ntr., whence L $i\bar{d}$, $qu\bar{i}d$, $qu\bar{o}d$ etc.) ↔ the animate gender ending (nom.) -s (in Ht -mi-s 'my', -ti|es 'thy' and IE *-s nom. anim. [whence L $i\bar{s}$, $qu\bar{i}s$ etc.]) ◇ Blz. IEPP

3, 14-15 (HS, IE, U) ◇ This N particle is hardly identical with the N prn. ***ṭä**, because the latter refers to inanimate objects, while the N accus. pc. ***ṭ**∇ is used with pronouns that denote (at least in the 1st and 2nd persons) human beings. One of the possible explanations is that N ***ṭ**∇ originally denoted accusative of definite referents (like BHb **ṭ**ṭ **ṭ**ṭ and the Tk accus. form), hence their use with definite pronouns in U, HS and possibly in IE.

2315. *ṭEṭU 'to take' > **HS**: S ***ṭ**-tīṭ- > Ar ✓ **ṭyṭ** (ip. -tīṭu, pf. tāṭa) v. 'take, carry away' ¶ BK I 212-13, Hv. 64 || **K**: pGZ ***ṭe**(w)-/***ṭi**(w)- v. 'contain, have enough room for (содержать, вмещать)' > OG **ṭe**(v)-/***ṭi**- 'contain, receive', G **ṭe**-/***ṭi**- 'contain', Mg (n)**ṭi**(r)-, ṭr-, Lz (n)**ṭi**(r)-, (n)**ṭi**(n)-/(n)**ṭr**- {Kl.} 'fit in', {Chik.} 'поместиться' ¶ K 180, K² 186. Chik. 326 || **IE**: Ht **ṭa**-, HrLw **ṭa**- v. 'take' ¶ Ts. E III 5-11, Mer. HHG 114-15 ¶ Connection with IE ***d^hē**- v. 'put' is not ruled out, but is less plausible || ? **A**: M ***tu** / ***tü** > MM [S] **ṭu** 'having', possessive pc. (gergai **ṭu** 'having a wife', qahca **niṭu ṭu** 'having [only] one eye'), WrM -**ṭu** / -**ṭü**, HIM -**ṭy** / -**ṭy**, sx forming adj. (in WrM sometimes written separately) and expressing the idea of possessing: WrM {MED} **mori-ṭu** 'having a horse', HIM {BMR} **морьт** id., Ord **morit^ṭ** 'ayant un cheval' ¶ H 153, Pp. GPMJ 111, MED 838, 848, BMR II 341, Ms. O 467.

2316. *ṭab∇ 'fit, good' > **HS**: S ***ṭāb**- 'good, pleasant' > BHb **ṭūṭ** **ṭōṭ** id., Ug **ṭb** 'good, sweet, pleasant', (AkSc) {Hnr.} **ṭābu** 'sweet, pleasant', OA, IA, Plm **ṭb**, BA **ṭṭ** **ṭāṭ**, JA [Trg.] {Lv., Js.} **ṭṭ** **ṭāṭ** / em. **ṭṭ** **ṭāṭ** **ṭāṭ** **ṭāṭ**, [BT] {Sl.} **ṭṭ** **ṭāṭ**, JEA {Sl.} **ṭāṭ**, Sr **ṭṭ** **ṭāṭ** 'good', JA [Trg.] **ṭṭ** **ṭāṭ** adv. 'well, much', Ar **ṭāb-un** 'chose bonne\agréable\douce', {Hv.} 'palatable thing', Ak **ṭābu(m)** 'schön, gut, süß', Eb {Frnz.} **ṭāb**- 'good'; in pS the adjective (in its predicative form) was incorporated into the verbal system as a stative form (> WS new perfect): BHb **ṭūṭ** **ṭōṭ** 'is good', Ar **ṭāba** 'was good', Ak (stative) **ṭāb** 'is good\fit\beautiful' → d.: Ak **ṭiābu(m)** 'to be good, to fit', JA ✓ **ṭṭ** **G** (pf. **ṭəṭeṭ**) {Js.} 'be bright\good\well', {Lv.} 'wohlgemut\fröhlich sein', Sr pf. **ṭṭ** **ṭε<ṭ>** **ṭ** 'was good', Ar ✓ **ṭyṭ** **G** (pf. **ṭāba**, ip. **yā-ṭīṭ-u**) v. 'be good' ¶ BDB 373-5 [no-s 2895-6], 1094 [no. 2869], Js. 515, Lv. II 131-2, Lv. T I 292-3, Sl. 492, Br. 265, 269, HJ 415-19, KB 355-6, Sd. 1376-8, 1380-1, A no. 1110, OLS 479, Hnr. 131, Frnz. EL 167, BK II 126-8, Hv. 443 || **EC**: Dsn {To.} **ḏabán** 'good, pretty', {Ss.} **ḏabān** 'pretty' ¶ To. DL 492, Ss. D s.v. **dabān**, Blz. DL s.v. 'good' || **IE**: NaIE ***d^hab^h**-, **d^hab^h-ro**- 'fit,

good' > L *faber* 'ingenious, skilful' (→ 'worker, artisan') || Arm
դարբին *darbīn* 'forger, locksmith' || Gt *gadōfs** m.
 'passend\schicklich' (ntr. *gadōb* ~ *gadōf*), *ga-daban* (· *συμβάλειν*)
 'sich ereignen, (· *πρέπειν*) 'passen', ON *dafna* 'to become fit\strong, to
 thrive', MDt *gedouf* 'sich fügen', Dt *deftig* 'proper, decorous,
 portly', AS {Ho.} *zedafen* ~ {Sw.} *zedēfe* 'fitting, seemly', NE *daft* ||
 Sl **dobъ* 'good' > R Δ *доб* 'is good', до'бой 'good', Uk Δ *добий*
 'good'; **dōb-rъ* (dadj. **dobryjъ*) 'good' > OCS **ДОБРЪ** *dobrъ* 'good,
 beautiful', R 'добрый', Blg до'брь 'good, good-hearted', SCr *dōbar*,
 Slv *dóber*, Cz *dobrý*, P *dobry* 'good' | Lt *dabà*, Ltv *daba* 'nature,
 character', Lt *dabìn-ti* (1s pres. *dabìn-ù*) 'to adorn, to beautify' ¶ P
 233-4, WH I 436-7, Fs. 176-7, 179, Ho. 69, Sw. 41, Vr. 71, Frn. 79,
 Kar. I 193-4, ESSJ V 45-7, StSS 192, Vs. I 520-1, Glh. 202, Sl. 146, ≈ EI
 139 (**dʰabʰ-* 'put together' ⇨ **dʰabʰros* 'craftsman') ¶ The sequence
 dʰ...bʰ* (rather than *t...bʰ*) is due to the IE incomptability law that
 rules out combination of vd. aspirates and vl. cnss in the same root ||
 A **tʰa_l:_lʰbʰ-* > M **tab_l∇_l* > WrM *таб* {MED} 'pleasure, comfort;
 benevolence', 'well done, completely', HIM *тав* {MED} id., {BMR}
 'Zufriedenheit, Geschmack, Ruhe', Kl {KRS} *тав* *таwъ* 'wish; pleasure',
 {Rm.} *tab_l* 'guter Zustand, das Geeignetsein (für einen Zweck)',
 'Wohlbefinden, Vergnügen, Befriedigung', Ord *tʰab_l* 'bien, efficacement,
 complètement', MM [S] *таб* 'recht, richtig, wahr'; ⇨ : WrM *табтай*
 {MED} 'good, comfortable, pleasant', HIM *тавтай* {MED} id., {BMR} adj.
 'pleasant, comfortable; ruhig, не знающий тревог', adv. 'ruhig,
 bequem', {Kow.} 'bien, convenablement', Kl {KRS} *тавта* 'comfortable,
 favorable' ¶ MED 760-1, Kow. 594, 1609, BMR III 171, 174, H 143, KRS
 470-1, KW 373, Ms. O 639 || NaT **ta_l:_lbʰ* 'satisfaction, sufficiency' > OT
 {Cl.} *таp* id., 'satisfactory, sufficient', Qc {Rl.} *таp* 'das Passende,
 Zusammenhörige', Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *таp-рiла qil*, *таpиџа qil* 'tue was du willst,
 nach eigenem Gutdünken!', Tv *таптыг* *tʰap-tʰiγ* 'tasty, sweet,
 beautiful' ¶ Cl. 434, Rl. III 946, TvR 407 ¶¶ The devoicing of pT *-b in
 OT and Qc still needs investigation ¶¶ Rs. W 462-3, TvR 407 ◇ IS MS
 355 s.v. 'подходящий' (fit'), IS SS no. 13.6, Mö. VW 51 (all of them:
 S, IE).

2317. ?σ₂ **tʰab∇* '≈ head' > HS: Eg N *db.t* 'head' ¶ EG V 494 ("wohl
 fehlerhaft") || ?σ A: M **tab_lu_l* 'head of a nail' > WrM {Rm.} *таб*,
табу, {Kow.} *таб* id., {Gl.} *таб* 'шляпка\бляха на эфесе меча\на
 псаге' {MED} *таб* 'head of a nail; rivet; metal plate; scab' HIM *тав*

{MED} id., {BMR} 'head of a nail; 'заклепка, металлическая бляха', Brt таб 'rivet (заклепка), metal plate (бляха)', Kl {Rm.} tab_ 'Nagelkopf, Mützenkopf', тава 'Kopf oder Knopf des Nagels', {KRS} тав тава 'head of a nail\rivet, button, rivet', Ord t'ab_ 'tête de clou', WrM {MED} таб {MED} 'part of the scalp on which a braid or pigtail grows', HIM тав {MED} id., {BMR} 'hair on the crown of head that is preserved in order to grow one's plait'; Haarschopf, оселедец' ¶ MED 780, BMR III 171, Chr. 407, KW 373, 385, Kow. 1594, Chr. 407, KRS 470, Gl. III 27, Ms. O 639 ¶ The word is attested in modern M lges only, which may be accounted for by its meaning (a technical term not expected to be mentioned in short vocabularies of the MM period or in "The Secret History"); an alt. hyp. is its foreign origin.

2318. $\text{₂} *t\text{æ}b\text{∇}$ 'catch, seize' > HS $*\check{t}b$ > B $*-t\check{t}\text{∇}f-$ (†Pr.: < $*\check{w}d\check{f}$ < eB $*\check{w}t\check{f}$) v. 'seize, grasp' > Rf, SrSn $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ v. 'seize, take', Izn $\text{ɔ}t\check{t}f$, Si $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ (pf. $\text{y}\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$), Nf, Snd $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$, Gd $\text{ɛ}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ (pf. $\text{i}t\check{t}\text{ɛ}f$, Lcj. 8) v. 'seize', Kb, Wrg $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ v. 'hold, take, seize', Mz $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ 'tenir ferme, saisir, attraper', Tmz $t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ 'prendre, saisir, tenir, attraper', Izd $t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ (pf. $\text{i}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$) v. 'take, seize', Sll {Ds.} $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ (pf. $\text{i}t\check{t}\text{ə}f \sim \text{i}t\check{t}\text{ā}f$) v. 'hold, possess', Ah $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ v. 'take, hold', Twl, Ty $\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ə}f$ v. 'take, marry' (pf. Twl $\text{i}t\check{t}\text{ɔ}f$, Ty $\text{y}\text{ə}t\check{t}\text{ɔ}f$, Pcj. 1 A 2) ¶ Lf. I 242-5 (on Lcj. 8) and II no. 1603, Rn. 311, Fc. 276, Mrc. 202, 229, Dl. 835-6, Dlh. Ou 342, Dlh. M 38, La. S 292, MT 738, GhA 30, 246-7 (on Pcj. 1 A 2), Ds. 226, 276-7 ¶ B $*-t\check{t}\text{∇}f$, $*\check{w}t\check{f}$ < $**\check{t}p$ by as. from $*\check{t}b$) || Ch: WCh {Stl.} $*tab-$ ($\sim *t\text{ā}b-$?) 'seize, catch' > Krf {Sch.} $t\text{w}á-w\grave{o}$ (verbal noun $t\grave{o}f\acute{a}$), Glm {Sch.} $t\acute{a}b-\grave{a}l\acute{a}$, Gera {Sch.} $t\hat{a}w-m\acute{i}$ v. 'catch, hold' || Gj {ChL} $d\grave{o}b\acute{i}$ v. 'seize' ||| CCh: MfG {Brr.} $-t\text{z}b-$ 'accepter, recevoir, prendre ce qu'on donne' ||| ECh: Mkl {J} (aor.) $t\hat{i}:b\acute{a}$ / (progr.) $t\hat{a}:b\acute{u}$ 'picorer' ¶ Stl. ZCh 168 [no. 205] (adducing Hs $t\acute{a}b\grave{e}$ v. 'rip' [??σ]), Abr. H 834, Ba. 968-9, ChC s.v. 'catch', ChL, Sch. BTL 59, 88, Brr. MG II 239, J LM 180 || Eg XXI $\text{d}b\text{d}b$ 'angreifen' ¶ EG V 442 ¶¶ OS no. 2446 ($*tab-$ 'catch, seize': Eg, Ch; Orel and Stolbova adduced Hs $t\acute{a}b\grave{e}$ without indicating its real meaning) ||| A $*t\text{æ}b|p\text{∇}$ 'catch, embrace; armful' > Tg $*te_{:j}be-$ ({SDM} $*t\bar{e}b\bar{e}-$) v. 'catch' > Ewk $t\text{z}w\text{z}- \sim t\bar{z}w\bar{z}-$, Neg $t\text{z}w\text{ə}n-$, Lm $t\text{z}w-$ v. 'catch, grasp (sth. flying)', Ud $t\text{z}w\text{z}\text{n}\text{z}-$ v. 'try to catch sth. flying', $t\text{z}w\text{z}\eta\text{i}-$ v. 'catch sth., throw back', WrMc {Z} $t\text{z}b\text{d}\text{z}c\text{z}\text{ə}-$ v. 'play ball, play shuttlecock' ¶ STM II 226, Z 724 ¶ The WrMc $t\text{z}b\text{d}\text{z}c\text{z}\text{ə}-$ has a variant $t\text{z}b\text{k}\text{z}c\text{z}\text{ə}-$ (Z 724), obviously connected with the Wanderwort represented by WrM $tebe\text{g}$, HIM $t\text{z}v\text{z}\text{g}$ 'shuttlecock' and Kl Ö {Rm.} $tew\text{ə}g$ 'ein aus Metallstücken verfertigtes Spielzeug mit angebundener Feder' (MED 780, KW 205); the

origin of the word is obviously Turkic: OT [MhK] тєрүк 'a thing cast from lead which is wrapped in goat's hair or the like and used as a toy', MQP тєрүк 'a toy with which children play' (← рТ *t'єр- v. 'kick' [Cl. 435, 439]) || М *teberi- > MM [MA, IM] тєвєрє- v. 'embrace', [S] тєвєrі- id., 'put one's arms round (umfassen)', Brt тэбэри- id., Kl {KRS} тєвр- id., {Rm.} тєwꝛ-; WrM тєвєrі- {MED} 'encircle, encompass with or carry in one's arms', HIM тэврэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'embrace; it beiden Händen umfassen (брать в охапку)', Mnr H {SM} t'ōri-, t'wēri- 'prendre dans ses bras, embracer', Ord t'ewere- id., 'tenir\porter dans les bras', Dg теурѣ, ShY теверде- 'embrace'; WrM тєвєrі {MED} n. 'embrace, clasp, armful', HIM тэвэр {MED} id., {BMR} 'Umarmung (объятие); armful (охапка)', Brt тэбэри 'armful (охапка)', Kl {Rm.} тєwꝛ 'Umarmung, ein Armvoll, eine Bürde (soviel man in die Arme nehmen kann)', Dg теур, ShY тевер 'armful (охапка) ¶ Pp. MA 343-4, 447, Pp. VD 14-15, H 147, MED 790, BMR III 280-1, Chr. 451, KRS 488, KW 395, Ms. O 662, SM 425-6, 437, T DgrJ 167, Mr. D 224 || pKo {S} *təpír- 'lead, take so. with' > MKo təpír-, NKo təbul- ¶ S QK no. 860, Nam 150, MLC 443 || ?σ pJ {S} *təmpá 'bundle' > MJ taba, J T tába, J K tàbá, J Kg tabá ¶ S QJ no. 1031, Mr. 536, Kenk. 1856 ¶¶ SDM 1418 (pA *t'ē pá 'catch, embrace', 'armful' > Tg, M, J, Ko), DQA no. 2362, Pp. VG 14, 45, ≈ Dr. MT 52.

2319. *t'ebA (~ *t'emb∇?) 'ε ruminant (antelope, cervid)' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *tāb∇(-r) 'gazelle' > AG: Su {J} tāp 'crested duiker', Ang {Flk.} tēp, {ChC} тєр 'antelope', Kfr {Nt.} tap id. | ? NrBc {Sk.}: P' tambura, Sir təmbəri, Jmb tamur, Mbr tambur, Kry tambur 'gazelle' ¶ Stl. ZCh 161 [no. 153], ChC s.v. 'antelope', J S 84, Flk. s.v. tēp, Sk. NB 10, Nt. s.v. tap || SC: Grw çefelu 'reedbuck', Kz çefeluko 'Thomson's gazelle' ¶ E SC 354 (SC *t'ēfelu > pRt *çefelu 'small antelope') || U *tewä 'elk, reindeer' > F тева 'male elk' || Hg теhén, Δ теhен, теjén 'cow', † 'cattle' || Sm {Jn.} *t'čzǎ '(domestic) reindeer' > Ne T ты t̄, Ne F t̄, Ng {Mik.} tā, En {Mik.} t+a, {Ter.} tea, Kms {KD} t'о, Mt {Hl.} tз;gä (Mt {Mil.}: M tíggä, K dége, T tágä 'rangifer ferus', Mt T {Pl.} tagoe 'Cervus tarandus, северный олень' = 'Rangifer tarandus'); cds: Slq UTz {Hl.} ūtä 'domesticated reindeer', maćin ūtä 'wild reindeer (maći 'forest, woods') ¶ Hl.'s reconstruction of the Sm √ as an unambiguous *čzǎ is hardly justified ¶¶ Coll. 62, UEW 522-3, Jn. 155. Hl. M no. 1001 || A *t'e'b'æ 'camel' > T *tebæ ({Md.} *t'ebæ) 'camel'

> OT [ThS II] tebä, OT Kr [MhK] {Cl.} tävāy, OT Og [MhK] {Cl.} dāvāy ~ dāvā:, XwT XIV tevā, MQP XIII-XIV tevē ~ devē, Cmn XIV töve, Tk deve, Az dāvā, CrTt, Qry deve ~ teve ~ tüye, Tkm düye, VTt, Bsh dbyä, Blq, Nog, Qzq, qq tüye, Uz tuya, ET, Ln tögä, Qrg, StAlt tō, SY te ~ ti, Xk тибе tibe, Tv t'ewe, Tf t'ēbe, Slr töüvä 'camel', Yk taba 'reindeer' || Chv L тѣве тьве, Chv H тѣве 'camel', Blgh б→ Hg те́ве 'camel' ¶ Cl. 447-8, Shch. Zh 103-4, ET VGD 313-15, Mng. WK, BT 156, Ra. 233, Md. 96, 178, Ash. XV 13, Fed. II 211, Jeg. 244, ChVS 209, Rs. W 468, DTS 556 ¶ The initial cns. t'- in Tv and Tf suggests pT *t'-, but ADb. (Ttd 51) found that in roots with a medial voiced obstruent the opposition *t'- ~ *t'- is neutralized || M *temegen 'camel' > WrM {MED} temegen, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt тэмээ(н), Kl {KRS} темән temän, {Rm.} temēn, Mnr {SM} t'imiēn, Ord t'emē 'camel'; M б→ Sln tзмэгã, Orc, Nn тзмз, WrMc {Z} тэмэнь 'camel' ¶ MED 800, BMR III 287, Chr. 453-4, KRS 491-2, KW 390-1, Ms. O 656, STM II 235, Z 726 ◇ The appearance of m in NrBc and M has no explanation so far. It may suggest a variant *tēmb∇ of the N etymon in question.

2320. ₂ *tob∇ 'teat' > HS: WS *tub_L∇_Ly- (~ *tib_L∇_Ly-?) 'teat' > Ar tuby- ~ tiby- 'teats of animals', Gz тэб, Tgy túb 'teat', Tgr túb 'breast, teat', d.: Ar {BK} ✓ tby 'avoir les pis bien à bas' (a she-camel); S *o✓ ṭbω > Gz ✓ ṭbω G (js. yə-ṭbū) 'suck (the breast), suck milk', Tgr ✓ ṭbω, Tgy pf. ṭeba id.; WS *'waṭ_L∇_Lb- > Ar waṭb- 'outré à lait, sein très développé', 'protuberant woman's breast', Mh {Jo.} wōṭẓb (df. ḥ-ōṭẓb) 'teat, nipple', Hrs {Jo.} ḥ-āṭẓb 'teat', Jb C {Jo.} 'ēṭẓb 'teat of a camel', Sq {L} 'ṗaṭab 'pis' ¶ BK II 58-9, 1561, Ln. 1829-30, Hv. 427, 878, L G 587, L LS 57, LH 616, Bsn. 913, Jo. M 433, Jo. H 138, Jo. J 294, MiK I no. 1.277 || A **o'ṭo_Lṭ̣b- > M (+ an ancient sx?) *tobč̣i 'nipple (?), button' > WrM {MED} tobč̣i, HIM {MED} товч, {BMR} товч(иH) 'nipple, teat, button', Br тобшо 'nipple, buton', MM [MA, IM] {Pp.} tobč̣i 'button', Kl {KRS} товч 'nipple, teat, button', {Rm.} t'opč̣i 'Knopf', WrO tobč̣i 'nipples, button', Mnr H {T} debč̣i 'button', {SM} ḍīēṣ̌ẓi 'bouton', Mnr M {T} toψč̣i, Dx tiẓ̌i 'button', Ord d_ob_č̣i 'bouton' ¶ MED 810, BMR III 210, Krg. 501, KRS 499, KW 401, SM 54, T 328, Pp. MA 350, 448, T DnJ 136, Ms. O 146, Chr. 423 ◇ Valid only if the primary meaning of M *tobč̣i is 'nipple, teat' rather than 'button'.

2320a. *tūb∇ 'thin, small, of short stature' > HS: EC: pSam {Hn.} *dūban- 'thin' > Sml dūban- 'be thin', 'essere sottile\magro\snello', Bn (Hn.) dūb 'thin', Dn (Tc.) dādab 'become thin' ¶ Hn. S 59, DSI 102, Tc.

DL 490 || S: Ar *ṭibb-at-* (pl. *ṭibab-*) 'oblong piece of land \ cloth \ cloud', *ṭibbān-at-* 'longue bande de cuire \ d'étoffe; longue bande de terre \ nuage que l'on voit s'étendre sur l'horizon'] Ar *ṭafāf-at-* 'petite quantité, un peu', *ṭafīf-* 'peu nombreux' ¶ BK II 51, 87, Hv. 425 || D (att. in KK) **ṭup-* > Kui *ṭup* 'short, dwarfish', *ṭupri* 'short', *ṭupura* 'a short man\boy', Ku *tūpla* 'short', *tupla* 'dwarf' ¶ D no. 2963 || A: Tg: Lm: Sk *tōbззэ*, Ol *tōbarзкзкэн* ~ *tōbarзккэн* 'dwarf', Ol *tōbәзэ*, O *tōbзәзән*, Sk *tōbз́з* 'of short stature, dwarfish' ¶ STM II 201 ◇ D **ṭup-* may go back to a d. word (from N **ṭūb* ▽ + a sx), which can explain the D cns. **p* (and not **v* from N **-b-*).

2321. (₂?) **ṭūb* ▽ (or **ṭubE*?) 'calm, quiet, (?) even' > U: FU **tūw* ▽ 'calm, quiet' > F *tṭvven*, Es *tṭve* 'calm, quiet' ('ruhig, still') || ObU {Ht.} **tōṽan* > pVg **tāwənt* 'Ruhe, Stille' > Vg: T *tūwḗt*, LK *tāwə́t*, UL *tā:paññ_t*, Ss/Sg *tawənt* id.; pOs **teṽan* ~ **tōṽan* 'still' ({[Hl.]} **tāṽan* ~ **tṭṽan*) > Os: V/Vy *teṽan*, Ty *tāṽan*, Y *tāwə́n*, K *tewin*, Nz/Kz/O *tewə́n* id. ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 550 (FU **tīwä* 'calm, deep' > FP **tīvā*, Ugr **tīgä*) (both UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this *v* and FU **tūw* ▽ 'deep' < N **ṭūb* ▽ 'deep', q.v.), Coll. 120, Ht. no. 626 || A: M **tüb-* ⇨ **tübsin* 'calm; even, straight' > MM [S] *tubśin tukul* 'ruhig, friedlich', *tubśin ḡar iḡu* 'in Frieden heimkehren', [MA, HI] *tṭbśin* 'even, straight', WrM *tṭbśin* {MED} 'peaceful, calm; level, even', HIM {MED} *tṭvšin* id., {BMR} *təvšin* ~ *tṭvšin* 'ruhig (тихий, спокойный), уравновешенный); straight, even, flat, smooth', {Kow.} *tṭvšin* 'tranquillement', Brt *tṭbšən* 'ruhig (тихий, спокойный)', Kl {KRS} *təvšün* 'peaceful(ly), quiet', Kl Ö {Rm.} *tūwšṅ* 'friedlich, ruhig; Frieden, Ruhe; glatt, eben', Ord *d_öb_śin* 'uni, solidement établi, bien en ordre, en équilibre'; M **tübsid_e* - > WrM *tṭbśid* - {MED} 'be\become pacified; be\become straight\smooth\level', HIM {MED} *tṭvšdə-* id., {BMR} *təvšdə-* ~ *tṭvšdə-* 'be too calm, be very calm; be very level\straight, happen to be more ;evel\straight', {Rm.} *tūwšṅidə-* 'ruhiger\milder werden, sanftmütig sein, sanftmütig werden', Ord *d_öb_śid-* v. 'devenir égal\uni\droit'; MM [HI] *tṭbśi_erit* 'pacifier', HIM {BMR} *tṭvšyür* 'calm (Ruhe, Stille), peace'; M **tü|öbkine-* > WrM {Kow., Gl} *tṭbkine-* {Kow.} 'apaiser, radoucir', {Gl.} 'appease, pacify, establish calm (успокоить, укротить, водворить спокойствие)', {BMR} *tṭbkine-* 'be\become stabilized. settle down. be put in order'. HIM *təvxne-*

{MED} id., {BMR} 'seßhaft werden (устраиваться на жилье, оседать), be very straight \level, happen to be more straight\ level', Brt түбжинэ- 'seßhaft werden (оседать), водворяются', Kl Ö {Rm.} түркү- 'sich besänftigen, beruhigen, sanftmütig werden'; M *tūbtū > WrM {Kow.} тū б тū 'straight, sincere', Kl {Rm.} түртә- 'sanft\ruhig\mild werden', Ord d_öb_t'ī 'en paix, coi' ¶ KW 415-17, MED 848-9, BMR 236, 238, 265, Gl. III 236-7, Chr. 441, Kow. 1907-9, Chr. 441, KRS 511, H 153, Ms. H 103, Ms. O 155, Pp. MA 357-8 || ??σ HS: S *^o✓ tūbb > amb Ar ✓ tūbb G (pf. tūbba) 'traiter (qn) avec douceur', 'act kindly\mildly' (coalesced [1] with Ar ✓ tūbb v. 'be intelligent; être habile\savant', akin to Sr ✓ tūbb v. 'make inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', Sb tūbb v. 'teach, proclaim', Gz ✓ tūbb v. 'be wise\prudent' and Sq {L} tūeb v. 'know', as well as [2] with Ar ✓ tūbb v. 'treat medically', possibly akin to Jb ✓ tūbb v. 'cut the skin of a slaughtered goat') ¶ Fr. III 36, BK II 50-1, Hv. 425, BGMR 152, Jo. J 274, L LS 198, L G 585, JPS 165, Br. 265 ¶ The adduction of Ar ✓ tūbb 'traiter avec douceur' is valid unless it is a sd. from ✓ tūbb 'be wise' ◇ IS SS 317 [no. 1.14] (FU, M *tūb 'quiet').

2322. *tūh₂ib∇ 'reed, stick' > HS: S: Ak tūbū '(ε) reed' ¶ Sd. 1393 || ?φ EC (mt.?) *?utū₁b- 'pole', {Ss.} *?utb- 'roofpole' > Sml udub 'pole, pillar, post', Sml N údub 'roofpole, tentpole', Rn {PG} útūb 'curved house pole', Or {Grg.} utubā 'central pole that supports roof beams', Or B/O {Sr.} utubā, Or Wt utuwā 'poles, long thick sticks', Arr {Hw.} ?utúb 'centre pole of a house' ¶ Ss. PEC 57, Abr. S 242, PG 286-7, Grg. 391, Sr. 39, Hw. A 344 || IE: [11] NaIE *tūwīb^h-, *tūb^h- 'hollow as a reed' ('röhrenartig hohl') > Gk στύφων 'drainage tube; pipe; siphon (used for drawing wine out of the cask\jar), Gk [Hs.] στυφός (*κενός) {P} 'hohl' || L tībīa 'pipe, fife, flute; shinbone', tūba 'straight war trumpet', tūbus 'pipe, tube', Osc ⇨ VL *tufa, *tufus 'tube, horn (musical instrument)' > Romance lges: It Tr tōf 'Öse', Srd L tuva 'Höhlung im Mühlstein', Port tūfō 'Öffnung zum Ablassen des Wassers', Sp Mrg tūfō 'end of an axle', It STs tufa, It Sr tofa, It Ab tofā 'shepherd's horn', It Np tofā 'bugle horn' ¶ L tībīa may go back to a merger of IE *tūwīb^h- and IE *(s)teyb^h- 'stalk' (> ChS СТЪБЛЪ стьблѣ id. etc.) ¶ WP I 751, P 1102, WH II 680, 712, F II 713, ML no-s 8964 and 8969 || [2] NaIE *d^heūb^h-/*d^hub^h- 'sharp stick, pin, wedge' > Gk [Hs.] τυφολ (*σφῆνες) 'wedges' || Gmc: Sw, NNR dūbb 'pin', NGr Trl Турпе 'large piece of wood' (dim): OHC tūbīl 'blue', tūbīlī 'dowel' MHC

tübel, MLG dövel 'Döbel, Pflock' (↳ NHG Döbel ~ Dübel 'peg, pin'), MDt dövel 'peg, plug, pin, dowel', NE dowel ¶ P 268, EI 638 ('dʰubʰo-s 'wedge, peg'), F II 950, Hlq. 160, Kb. 1043, OsS 965, Lx. 233, KM 145, Vs. III 750 || A: M: WrM tɔibur {MED} 'stick, cane, crutch', HIM тойвор {MED} id., {Gl.} 'костыль, клюка, багор', {BMR} 'crutch' ¶ MED 819, BMR III 216, Gl. III 149, Kow. 1582 || ?φ Tg: WrMc {Z} тэбэн, тэбэн моо 'prop, support', {Hr} teben moo 'Stützholz' (моо моо is 'tree as timber, log') ¶ STM II 225, Z 722, Hr 894 || Gil: Gil A t'if 'reed' ¶¶ ST 381 || ?φ D *tū'pp'∇ / *tūmp_∇∇_∇ ({ǰGS} *t-) 'tube, hole' > Kn tūbu 'tube of an ear ornament' (but Kn tūbu 'nave of a wheel' is a loan from Mrt tūbā id. ← a word of Modern IAr lge such as Oriya tumbʰa 'nave of a wheel' [< OI {Tu.} *tumba- 'obstruction, boss']), Tl tūparamu 'hole', Tm tūmpu 'tube, sluice, bamboo tube' ¶¶ D no. 3389, Tu. no. 5869 ◇ In IE *tʷībʰ- the incompatibility law (rejecting a combination of a vl. stop and a voiced aspirate in the same √) is infringed, which is probably due to the two-syll. distance between *t̥- and *-b- in the N word (and presumably in the Pre-IE root) and possibly to the presence of a cns. between them. But in IE *dʰeubʰ- the obligatory as. does operate, probably due to a kind of phonetic reduction (in prosodic conditions that were different from those of *tʷībʰ-?) ◇ The short vw. of the first syll. and the long vw. of the second syll. in Ak may be explained if Ak tūbū goes back to post-N *tūb∇H∇ (mt. from N *tūh₂ib∇) ◇ D *-'pp' - may go back to *-Hb- < N *-h₂ib- ◇ The M vw. *o for the expected *u is still to be explained.

2323. ₂ *t̥æb̥'U' 'to fill' > A *t'æb∇ v. 'put, place, load, convey in a carriage; fill' > Tg *tebu- v. 'load, convey in a carriage; fill' > Ewk tɜw(u)-, Ewk I tup- ~ tɜp- v. 'put into, load, fill, stuff (with sth.)', Lm tɜw(u)-, Nn Bk tɜu- v. 'load, fill, stuff', Neg tɜw-, tɜwu- 'id.', Orc tɜwu-, tɜu-, Ork tɜw(w)ɜ-, tɜu- v. 'load, stuff', Ud tɜu- v. 'load, pour in', Ul tɜu-č̣i- v. 'load', WrMc {Z} тэбү- v. 'put, seat, load, fill (a vessel)' ¶ Ci. 168, STM II 224-5, Z 723 || M *teʷe- (< **teβe-?) v. 'load; convey, transport' > WrM tege-, tegege- {MED} id., HIM тээ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'carry, transport, load', Brt тээ- 'laden (накладывать, нагружать)', MM te_∇e- [S] v. 'load (on a vehicle)', [HI] 'charrier', Kl {KRS} tee- tē- 'carry, convey, transport', {Rm.} tē- 'mit sich nehmen, (etw.) auf den Wagen laden, beladen; fahren', Mnr t'īē- {SM} 'transporter en voiture, charrier, tirer une voiture, conduire un char', Ord t'ē- 'charrier transporter (une charge) en la chargeant sur une

bête de somme, porter (une charge)' ¶ MED 792, BMR III 299, Chr. 460, KRS 489-90, KW 395, SM 416-7, H 147, Ms. O 654, Ms. H 100 || pKo {S} *tú- v. 'put, place' (× N *ṭa'p∇?'E 'put'??) > MKo tú-, NKo tu- id. ¶ S QK no. 872, Nam 163, MLC 502 ¶¶ SDM 1409-10 (pA *t'eb∇ > Tg, M, Ko + unc. NaT *t'ebir- v. 'capsize, subvert'), DQA no. 2330, Pp. VG 14, Rozycki MM 205-6 || | HS: WS *√ṭbṣ 'fill' > Ar √ṭbṣ G 'emplir, remplir (une mesure, un vase, une outre)', Jb √ṭbṣ G (pf. Jb C ṭṣṣ, Jb E ṭṣṣ) v. 'drink more than enough', Jb E √ṭbṣ Sh (pf. εṭ'baṣ) 'make so. drink too much milk', ṣṣṭ'baṣ v. 'drink plenty, too much' (this Jb verb was influenced by √ṭbṣ v. 'drink straight from the source') ¶ BK II 53, Jo. J 274, Jo. M 405 || | ? C: Bj {R} -tiḅ pcv. 'fill' (1s: p. a'tiḅ, pres. an'tiḅ), -tāḅ 'be full' (1s: p. a'tāḅ, pres. 'atāḅi) ¶ R WBd 220 ◇ In some Tg lges there may be infl. of Tg *tēb- v. 'put (stellen)' < N *ṭa'p∇?'E 'put' (q.v.) || | An alt. (and less plausible) comparison: N₂ *ṭæp'U' 'to fill' > A: Tg *tebu- v. 'load, fill' || | HS: Bj {R} -tāḅ v. 'be full', -tiḅ v. 'fill', a'tāḅ 'full' ¶ R WBd 220 || S *√ṭpp v. 'be full' > Ak MA {Sd.} ṭappu 'filled (gefüllt)', MHb {Lv.} pp. ḡḡḡḡ ṭā'pūp 'full', Ar {BK} √ṭff Sh v. 'fill up, remplir entièrement (un vase, la mesure)' ¶ BK II 87, Hv. 433, Lv. II 182-3, Sd. 1379-80 || | ?φ Ch: Hs túmfāyē v. 'fill; become full' ¶ Abr. H 898, Ba. 1055 ¶¶ OS no. 2481 (*ṭu(m)f- 'fill, be full': S, Hs).

2323a. *ṭæbṣ∇ (= *ṭābṣ∇?) 'follow, run, chase' ([in pN or in descendant lges] → 'beg hard, demand') > HS: WS *√tbṣ > Ar √tbṣ v. G 'follow, come with', D 'pursue unremittingly', 'demander avec insistance', MHb √tbṣ v. G 'search, ask, claim, summon', JA [Trg.] √tbṣ v. G 'ask, demand, inquire', JEA √tbṣ G 'demand, claim, solicit', Sr √tbṣ G 'seek, demand, beg; require, claim', Mh √tbṣ G (pf. tūba, sbjn. yṣtbē), Jb E/C √tbṣ G (pf. tēṣ, sbjn. 'yṣtbaṣ) 'follow' ¶ BK I 190-1, Js. 1645, Sl. 1191-2, JPS 603-4, Hv. 55-6, Jo. M 399 || | D *teṣ- v. 'beg hard, importune by begging' (× N *ṭeṣw∇ 'ask [for], beg') > Tm teṣṣu v. 'beg hard, importune', Ml tēra 'beggar', Tl dēṣurincu v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx temb- v. 'beg for alms' ¶¶ D no. 3431A || | A *t'ā'ā:ba- (or *t'ābE-) 'run' and *t'abí- id. > T: [1] NaT *taṣṣbira- 'run at full speed, rush, gallop' > OT {Cl.} taṣṣā- 'hasten, be in a hurry', Tk Δ dabra- ~ daṣṣi- 'galop, run at full speed' ¶ Cl. 443, DTS 542, ET VGD 112-14 || [2] NaT *tabí- > Chg {Bu.} taṣṣ- 'run, jump' and d. T *tabí-gan 'hare' > OT taṣṣgan, MOg XIII

tawšān, MQp XIV dawušağan, Chg XV tawušqan, MU tawišqan ~ tavšan, Tki {Cl.} tawšqan (sic!), Tk tavşan, Az dovšan, Ggz, Qmq tavšan, Tkm towšan, Xlj dovuşğan, Uz (Shch., TL) twšqan, ET tošqan, Yk tabısxān id. ¶ Cl. 447, TL 164 || M *tawulayi 'hare' > MM [PP] t'avlayi, [LM] تَوَلَاي tawlay, [MA] ta,ulay, [S] taolay ~ ta,ulay, [IsV] taulay, WrM {MED} taulai, tulai, HIM {MEED, BMR} туулай, Kl {KRS} туула, {Rm.} tūlā, Ord t'ūlā, Dg {Pp.} t'āyūlē, {T} tauīē, tauí, Dx taulei, tauləi, Ba toli, ShY tūlī, Mnr H {T} tūlī 'hare', {SM} t'ūlī 'lièvre, lapin', Brt туулай 'hare, rabbit' ¶ MED 788, BMR III 261, Chr. 438, KRS 520, KW 413, Rs. W 453, Shch. Zh 136, TL 164, Bu. I 338, Pp. PP 131, Pp. L II 1270, Pp. MA 343, HJ 145, Iw. 107, SM 430, T 367, T DgJ 166, Mr. D 193, MYC 649, Dr. TM I 276, Ms. O 679 || Tg *tēb- > Ewk tēwul- 'catch up with (догнать)', Lm tēwut- 'go behind so.', Ud tau-māna- 'walk behind smb.', ??σ,φ Sln tabxa 'tail on shaman's belt' (× N *tāhipē 'high place, top, hill') ¶ STM II 148, 172, 226 || ?μ pJ {S} *tapasir- 'run' > OJ tapasir- (tabasir-), influenced by OJ pasir- 'run' (unless d. from it with the px ta-) ¶ S QJ no. 744 ¶¶ ≈ S D M 1408-9 (pA *t'ēbà- 'run' > Tg, T *t'ābiígan, M *tawulay 'hare', J, DQA no. 2354, Vld. 255 (M, T), TL 164, Pp. VG 13, 44, 77, KW 413, Rm. EAS I 109, Mill. OJR 128, Mill. JAL 118, Nov. IE 123-4 ◇ If the vw. *e in D *teV- belongs to the heritage of N *teyW∇, the N etymon is to be reconstructed as *tābV∇ ◇ Qu., because D *teV- has an alt. et.

2324. *tābV∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water' > K *tāba (< **tāwba?) ~ *tāub- 'ravine, lake' (× N *tāübA 'deep'??) > OG, G tāba- 'lake', Lz tāba-, tāiba- 'lake, pond', Sv {K} tāub(a)- 'ravine, lake', Sv {TK}: UB/Ln tābā, Ln tābā, L tāba 'puddle, swamp'; ? Sv {Ni.} tāwib 'river', Sv UB {GP} tāwib 'ravine with a rivulet, runnel', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} tāwib 'ravine, gorge' ¶¶ K 179 and K² 185 (*tāba 'lake'), TK 719-20, GP 260, Ni. s.v. 'рѣка'; GM S 114-15 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic 0 in Zan) ¶¶ The variant *tāub- is represented in Sv (tāwib- < *tāub-i), while the variant *tāb- may go back to *tāwb-, like in the √ *g_Lw_Js-/*g_{us}- v. 'web' (with *g_Lw_Js- > G ksoV-, F K 67) or in other cases of *CwC > *CC supposed by K: *k_Lw_m- v. 'emit smoke' > G k_Lm- v. 'burn incense', *rk_Lw_m- > G rkm- v. 'cover', *s_Lw_m- > G sm- v. 'stroke with the hand, smear', *tāizw_η- > G *tāizn- v. 'lice', *tāik_Lw_η- > G tāik_Ln- v. 'leap', *warc_Lw_η- > G varc_Ln- v. 'comb', *tkwlep- > G tklep- v. 'eat greedily, gobble' || HS: NrOm: BMa {SSW} tāwé 'lake' ¶ SiW ABK 17 || S *tāib- >

Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ib}\text{f}$ - 'fluvius; vadum aquae', {BK} 'fleuve, gué', {Hv.} 'river' ¶ Fr. III 38, BK II 54, Hv. 426 || IE: NaIE * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{u}\text{b}$ - ~ (with a nasal infix) * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{u}\text{m}\text{b}$ - 'depression in the ground (filled with water)' (× * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{u}\text{b}$ - 'deep' < N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ü}\text{b}\text{f}\text{A}$ id.) > Ilr $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ 'sea' || MHG $\text{t}\text{u}\text{m}\text{p}\text{f}$ 'pool, puddle', OHG $\text{t}\text{u}\text{m}\text{p}\text{f}\text{i}\text{l}\text{o}$ 'shallow place (Untiefe); whirlpool', MHG $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{m}\text{p}\text{f}\text{e}\text{l}$ 'deep place in water, Strudel', NHG $\text{T}^{\text{u}}\text{m}\text{p}\text{e}\text{l}$ 'deep place in water', 'pool of stagnant water', NE lc. $\text{d}\text{u}\text{m}\text{p}$ 'a deep hole in the bed of a river\pond' || Lt $\text{d}\text{u}\text{b}\text{u}\text{r}\check{\text{y}}\text{s}$ ~ $\text{d}\check{\text{u}}\text{b}\text{u}\text{r}\check{\text{y}}\text{s}$, $\text{d}\check{\text{u}}\text{b}\text{u}\text{r}\text{a}\text{s}$ 'pit, depression filled with water', $\text{d}\text{u}\text{m}\text{b}\text{u}\text{r}\check{\text{y}}\text{s}$ id. ¶ P 267-8, Kb. 1045, OsS 969, Lx. 234, KM 796, OED III 714, ≈ Frn. 108 || U * $\text{t}\text{o}\text{w}\nabla$ 'lake, pond' > FU: pPrm {LG} * t^{u} > Z, Vt $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{t}$ 'lake' || pObU {Hl.} * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}|\text{y}$ 'lake' > pVg * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}$ > Vg T t^{h} id.; pOs * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{y}$ ({Hl.} * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{y}$) id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{y}$, Y/K $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}$, D $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}$, Nz $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{w}$, O tuw id. | Hg $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{o}$ (accus. $\text{t}\text{a}\text{v}\text{a}\text{t}$) 'lake, pond' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} * to 'lake' > Ne T to , {Lh.} t^{h} , Ne F {Lh.} t^{h} tou , En {Ter., Mik.} to ; ? Ng {Mik.} d. 'turku (< {Jn.} * $\text{t}\text{o}\text{-r}\text{k}\text{a}$) id.; Slq Tz {KKIH} t^{h} , Slq Tm {KD} t^{h} ; Kms {KD} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}$, Koyb {Sp.} to id.; Mt {Hl.} * toh id. (Mt: K {Pl.} doh , {Mil.} do , M {Sp.} toa , M/T {Mil.} to) ¶¶ UEW 533, Coll. 62, Sm. 540 (U * $\text{t}\text{o}\text{x}\text{t}$ 'lake' > FU, FP * $\text{t}\text{u}\text{x}\text{i}$, Ugr * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{g}\check{\text{i}}$, Sm * to), MF 635, Ht. no. 620, LG 292, Jn. 164, KKIИ 186, Hl. M no. 1043 || A: T * $\text{t}\text{u}\text{b}\text{a}$ 'deep lake, deep place in a lake\river' (infl. of N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ü}\text{b}\text{f}\text{A}$ 'deep') > Chv $\Delta\text{t}\check{\text{a}}\text{p}\check{\text{a}}\text{t}\check{\text{b}}\text{a}$ 'deep place in a river\lake (омут)', MsTt, VTt TYK/TYT, Bsh $\Delta\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{b}\text{a}$ id., 'deep place (пучина, омут)', VTt U $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{b}\text{a}$ 'deep lake without outlet with steep banks; swampy riverbed that is without water in dry years', Qq $\text{t}\text{u}\text{b}\text{a}$ 'backwater (заводь)' ¶ Ash. XIV 282, ChVS 203, IS MS 336, TTDS 416, BR 529, KrkR 653 ◇ In IE and K this N word coalesced with N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ü}\text{b}\text{f}\text{A}$ 'deep', the meaning 'lake' being interpreted as 'a deep depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where * o and * ü did not merge, the distinction between N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{o}\text{b}\text{f}\nabla$ 'lake; natural depression' (> * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}\text{b}\text{f}\nabla$ in the prehistory of T) and N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ü}\text{b}\text{f}\text{A}$ 'deep' has been preserved (although there is semantic infl. of N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ü}\text{b}\text{f}\text{A}$ on N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{o}\text{b}\text{f}\nabla$). The IE and T reflexes of N * $\text{u}|\text{ü}$ are due to the merger with N * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{ü}\text{b}\text{f}\text{A}$ 'deep' ◇ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}\text{b}\text{a}$ (?IE * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{e}\text{w}\text{b}/\text{p}$ - 'deep', T * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}\text{b}\text{a}$ 'омут', U * $\text{t}\text{u}\text{w}\nabla$ 'lake', D * $\text{t}\text{u}\text{v}\nabla$ v. 'dip in', K * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}(\text{u})\text{b}\text{a}$ 'deep, lake') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 231 (* to 'lake') (U, J, Ai, Gil).

2325. * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{u}\text{b}\text{f}\nabla$ 'hoof, finger-\toe-nail', sole of foot, heel' > HS: EC: Af {PH} $\text{d}\text{ib}\text{f}\text{i}$ (pl. $\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}\text{b}\text{if}\text{i}$), {R} $\text{t}\text{i}^{\text{h}}\text{b}\text{if}$, Rn $\text{d}\acute{\text{a}}\text{d}\text{d}\acute{\text{a}}\text{b}$ 'heel', ? Arr {Hw.} $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{b}$ 'foot,

spoor' ¶ PH 91, R A II 115, Hw. A 396, PG 100 || ? Ch: WCh: DfB {J} tãmbà 'sole (Sohle)', tãmbà ti sakúr 'sole of foot', Bks {J} tã~bà-i sây 'sole of foot (with the heel)', tã~bà-i râ 'palm of hand' ||| ECh: Kbl {Cp.} tãbã, Kwn M {J} taba 'foot' ¶ ChC s.v. 'foot', J R 146, 221, OS no. 2347 || ?φ Eg NK tbs 'heel' > DEg tbs > Cpt: Sd †BC ti b̄s, B †IBC t^hi b̄s id. ¶ EG V 262, Er. 625, Vc. 211 ¶¶ OS no. 2347 (C, Ch) (pHS *tab-/*tib-) || U *°top_lp_la (or *°šop_lp_la) > Sm {Jn.} *topã, {Hl.} *topa 'hoof' ('Klaue, Huf') > Ne T тоба 'hoof', Ne T O {Lh.} tōb_ã, Ne F L {Lh.} tōp_ã 'Klaue, Huf' | Slq: Tz {KKIH} top†, {Cs.} tope 'foot', Nr {Cs.} tob, Ke toppa, NP toppe 'foot' | Mt K {Hl.} *toha|o ({Pl.} tohotò 'hoof') ¶ Ter. 664, Lh. 492, KKIH 185, Cs. 148, 225, Hl. M no. 1044 || A *t'üpa 'finger-\toe-nail, hoof' > NaT (d.) *t'ubńak or *t'ubńak 'hoof' > OT Kr [MhK] {Cl.} tuyaç, MU tuynaq, MQp tuyaq ~ tuynaq, XwT tuynaq ~ tunyaq, Osm XIV-XVI duynaq ~ tuynaq ~ diynaq ~ tiynaq, Tk toynak ~ duynak, Tkm toynaq, Chg {Rl., Bu.} توأغ tuwaç, {Bu.} تويناق tuiynaq ~ تياق t'ua'yaq, ET {BN, Jr.} tuvaq, {Rl.} توواق tuvaq, {Nj.} توياق tuiyaq, Δ توواق tuvaq, ET Δ {KtnM} tubaq, ET Kc {LCq} tuwāq, Uz тyёқ tuiyaq, VTt, Bsh t'uyaq, Qry, Qmq, Blq, Nog, Qq, Qrg tuyaq, Qzq t'uyaq, StAlt тyйгак tuiyaq, QK (B, Rl.), Sg {Rl.}, Qc {Rl.}, Qb {Rl.} tuiyaq, Xk тyйгак tuiyaq, SY {Ml.} tuyaç ~ tuiyç- ~ tiyç, Tv дyюг d_uyuç, Yk {Pek.} тyйгак tuiyaq 'hoof' ¶ SDM 1445-6 (T *t'ubńak 'hoof'), SDM97 s.v. *t'úp'o id., Cl. 519, Rs. W 499-500, ≈ TL 147 (adducing a misquoted Slr "c'inaç" for c'irnaç that does not belong here, see Tn. SJ 305), S AJ 179, ADb. DV 54, TrR 252, 868, Rl. III 1424, 1435, BIG 239, B DLT 209, BT 157, BN 58, Nj. 340, RUjS 508, Jr. 317, Mng. G 808, Ml. ZhU 124, 128, Bu. I 410 ¶ The rec. of *b- in *tubńak is suggested by ET tubaq ≍ tuvaq ≍ tuwāq and by Chg {Rl., Bu.} توأغ tuwaç. But ADb. (TL 147) reconstructed the pT √ as *t'uygak || ppM **tu^βur > pM *tuyur 'hoof' (× N *t'ûP_∇R_∇ ~ *t'ûR_∇_P_∇ 'ε part of a foot', 'foot', q.v.) > WrM {Rm.} tugur, Kl {Rm.} tūr 'der untere harte Rand des Pferdehufs', HIM {MED, BMR} тyур 'hoof', MMgl {Mel.} tūr 'Pferdehuf'; pM *tu^βurayi 'hoof' > WrM {MED} tugura, tugurai, {Gl.} tugurai, HIM {MED, BMR} тyурай 'hoof'; WrM {Gl.} togurun id.; (mt.) pM *turuçun > MM turu_ун, turwun, {Lg.} turūn, WrM {MED} туруçu 'hoof', HIM тyрyу {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'bones of animals', Brt тyрyу(н) 'hoof', Kl {KRS}

тyрyн id., {Rm.} turūn 'Huf (des Pferdes)', ShY turūn, Dg {T} torō 'hoof', Ord t'ūrā 'sabot des animaux' ¶ MED 839, 844, BMR III 256, 261, Chr. 437, Kow. 1812, Gl. III 172, 175, KRS 518, KW 412-13, Klz. D II 138, Lew. II 15, Luv. 424, 427, T DgJ 168, Ms. O 682, Lg. VMI 70 (WrM turguray and MM turū(n)) || Tg {SDM} *^otūpa 'fingernail' > Orc tipa id.; ⇨ Tg {SDM} *tūp-ken 'nail (clavis), peg' > Ewk tipkən 'wooden nail, peg', Sln tikkēsū, {Iv.} тебко'сyн, Lm tipkin ≍ tipkən ≍ tipkir 'wooden nail; stake (кол)', Neg tipkən, Orc tippə (< *tipkən), Nn Nh tukpē, Nn KU tipkē, Nn Bk tuḡkə(n-), Ork tukpə ~ tuḡkə 'nail (clavis)', Ud tikpə / tikpən-, Ul tukpə / tukpən- 'nail, peg' ¶ STM II 185-6, On. 410 || pKo {S} *tōph 'fingernail, toenail' > MKo t^hop, Ko Chj t^hop id.; Ko Ph/PhN/Kw (and StNKO) son-t^hop, Ko Chs Lson-L^hop, Ko Ks/SI son-t^hop, Ko Hm sōn-t^hop 'fingernail' (lit. 'hand nail', because son means 'hand') ¶ S AJ 252 [no. 13], S QK no. 13, Nam 459, MLC 1708 || ?φ pJ {S} *túmaí 'fingernail, claw' > OJ tume, MJ túmé, J: T cúme, J K cúmé, J Kg cúme, Ns čímí, Sh čímì, Ht s^hm^h, Y m^hm^h id. ¶ S AJ 268 [no. 93], S QJ no. 93, Mr. 555, Kenk. 2064 ¶¶ SDM 1445-6 (pA *t'úpp'ō 'nail, hoof' > M *tuwra, *turuḡu, Tg, T *tub^hak, J, Ko), DQA no. 2404, SDM97 s.v. *t'úpp'ō id., DQA no. 2404, SDM97 s.v. *t'úpp'ō 'nail, hoof', S AJ 96-7, 278 [no. 87] (pA *t'up'∇), Rm. EAS I 98, Vld. 293, Pp. VG 66 (T, M), Mr KJ 228, TL 147 ◇ The nasal element in J and WCh defies explanation so far. Altaic *-p'- may well go back either to N *-p- or to *-P-, but N *-P- (namely *-b-) is more plausible in the light of the Ch data ◇ Gr. II no. 65 (*topa 'claw') (U, A, incl. Ko, J).

2326. *tūbɜA 'deep' > **K** *tūba 'deep' > Mg tōba-, tōbo- 'deep', (× N *tōbɜ∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water'): Sv UB tūwib ≍ {K} tūb(a)- 'ravine' (ffd. see s.v. N *tōbɜ∇) ¶¶ K 179 (*tūba 'lake'), GM S 114-15 and GM SAKS 43 (anaptyctic o in Mg), TK 720, GP 260 || **HS:** S *✓ tūbɜ v. 'sink deep, be drowned' (× N *t'a'pɜ'∇ 'plunge, immerse', q.v. ffd.) || (mt.): Eg fMd tχb 'immerse, irrigate' (× N *t'a'pɜ'∇), Cpt Sd TωzB tōhb 'tremper, plongeur, mouiller' ¶ EG V 326, Fk. 301, Vc. 226, Vrg. PhHE 144 [no. 21.b.14], T I 308 (Eg, S) || **IE:** NaIE *d^heub- 'deep', with a nasal infix: *d^humb- 'Erdvertiefung' (× *tūbɜ∇ from *tōbɜ∇ '↑') > Gt diups 'tief', ON djúpr, AS déop, OSx diop, OHG tiop, NHG tief 'deep', NE deep; Gt daupjan (βαπτίζειν) 'taufen', OSx dōpjan, OHG toufen, NHG taufen 'to baptize', ON deyfa, AS diepan 'to dip. to baptize'. duopan id. (> NE diop). ON deupa.

dýfa, dúfa, AS dýfan 'to dip', NE dive; MHG tobel, NHG Tobel
 'wooded gorge, ravine, gully' ||| Clt {Matas.} *dubno- 'deep' > OIr
 {Matas.} domain ~ doimin, {Thr.} domuin, MW dōfn, Cm down,
 MBr {Ern.} doun 'deep', Br {Hm.} deun 'fond' (< *dʰubni-) ||| Lt
 dubùs 'hollow, concave', Ltv dōbjš 'hollow, deep', Lt dūbti (1s
 pres. dumbu) 'to become hollow\sunken; to stick, to sink', Ltv dubt
 vi. 'to sink, to be hollowed out, to become hollow' | Sl *dʰb'no 'bottom
 (of river\sea\lake, of vessel)' (< *dʰub-no-) > OCS ДѢНО дѣно, Blg
 дѣно, SCr dnō, Slv dnō, Cz, Slk, P dno, R, Uk дно id. ¶ P 267-8, EI
 154 (*dʰeub- 'deep'), Fs. 117, 121, Vr. 76, 78, 87, Kb. 1019, 1024-5,
 OsS 939, 942, 947, Lx. 227, Ho. 72-3, 79, 81-2, Ho. S 13, Thr. § 190, LP
 § 48, YGM-1 197, Ern. 195, Frn. 108-9, Kar. I 222-3, 234-5, Mikl. L
 183; Maras. E 107, Hm. 153, ESSJ V 174 and Glh. 201-2 (in both: Sl
 *dʰbno with unj. [for the pSl level] rec. of *b), Vs. I 519 (Sl *dʰbno <
 *dʰbno) (in fact, the IE cns. *b disappeared in the prehistory of the Sl
 word due to the pSl phonetic law of loss of preconsonantal cns) ||| U:
 FU *tūwä 'deep' > F svv ä 'deep', Es Δ sūva ∂ sūv ä, ? Es sūgav
 'deep, depth', Lv tɜva, Lv W tiv a, tüva 'tief, weit nach innen' | pLp
 {Lr.} *tɜvē 'deep; the water far out, deep water' > Lp: N {N} dāvve /
 -v- id., 'the deep of the river or fjord', U {Schl.} dīvvè-, I {It.} tavve
 'die Meerestiefe, das tiefe Meer', Pa {TI} tɛ'vv, T {TI} tāvve, Kld {TI}
 tɛ'vv(ə), K {Gn.} tɛjvv [tɜ'v̥v̥] 'open water surface', esp. 'deep sea',
 S {Hs.} d. dyyv'ene 'draußen in einem Fjord' ||| ?? Chr tü-, tüyū-
 'outside' ¶ UEW 525-6, Sm. 550 (FU *tiwä, FP *tivä, Ugr *tīgä
 'calm, deep') (UEW and Sm. do not distinguish between this v and FU
 *tūwv 'calm, quiet' < N *tūbv [or *tubE?] 'calm, quiet, [?] even',
 q.v.), Kt. 416, Lr. no. 1216, Lgc. no-s 7677 and 7877a, Hs. 475-6, TI
 578 ||| A *°tūp'v ({{S} *°tūp'v) > T *tūp 'bottom (of a
 river\lake\vessel), bottom, root' > OT tūp, Tk dip/dib- id., VTt, Bsh
 tūp, StAlt tūp 'bottom (of a river\lake\vessel), root', ET tūp 'bottom,
 root, under', Tkm düj̄p, Az dib, Ggz dip, Tv dūp, Xk tūp id., 'bottom (of
 a river\lake\vessel)', Qrg, SY tūp 'bottom (дно, низ)', Tf dūp 'bottom
 (of a vessel\river)', Chv тѣп tɛp ∂ tɛp id., 'bottom (lower part)' ¶ Cl.
 434-5, Ra.178, Rs. W 505, TL 108-9, ET VGD 317-19, Md. 65, Dr. TM II
 652ff., TkR 191, ARL 106, Ml. ZhU 127, BN 159, Nj. 326-7, BT 162, S AJ
 194 [no. 207], ADb. Ttd 54, Fed. II 217-18, Ash. XV 57-68, Jeg. 246,
 ChVS 211-12 ¶¶ S AJ 289 [no. 316], ≠ SDM95 s.v. *tūb'j' end, edge'
 (suggesting to include T *tūp 'bottom' or N *tūp 'head, top') < In

many lges (IE, K) the reflexes of this N word coalesced with those of N ***t̥ob̥s̥**∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water'. But in U and T, where N ***u** and ***ū** did not coalesce, the distinction between N ***t̥ūb̥s̥**∇ 'deep' and N ***t̥ob̥s̥**∇ '↑' has been preserved. In IE (Gmc and Blt) the reflexes of this N word may have been semantically unfluenced by the paronymous reflexes of N ***t̥a'p̥s̥**∇ 'plunge, immerse'. In pA there is mte. from the initial cns. to the word-medial one. In IE the cns. ***d^h**- for the expected ***t**- may be due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emphatic vl. + vd. cns [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]). The length of the vw. in T is due to the presence of an additional cns. (N ***s̥**)

◇ Cf. IS MS 336 s.v. 'глубокий' ('deep') ***t̥ub̥**∇ (?IE, T, U ***tuw**∇ 'lake', D ***tuw**∇ v. 'dip in', K ***t̥(u)ba** 'deep, lake'), S AJ 289 (A, IE).

2327. ? *id.* ***t̥äbHa** or ***t̥abHE** 'trample, kick, crumple, press' > HS: B ***°**✓ **tbb** (× N ***t̥a'p̥**'E 'squeeze, press') > Ah **atbāb** 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || C: SC: ?? Alg {E} **çob̥o?ot**- v. 'melt', C **→** Mb -**síbi** v. 'wring' (× N ***t̥a'p̥**'E '↑') ¶ E SC 176 (equating Alg, Mb and DhI and reconstructing SC ***t̥ūb**- v. 'squeeze out') || IE (pre-IE ****t̥¹eb^hH-**): NaIE ***dep^h**- 'trample, push, knead, strike' (× N ***dap̥_L∇,γ∇** ~ ***dayop̥∇** 'push' [q.v.]) > Arm **un n̄h̄ t̄ u' t̄ op̄ h̄ e m** 'I strike' || Gk **δέφω** vt. {LS} 'soften by working with the hand', {By} 'amollir par l'attouchement' ({P} 'kneten, walken') || Sl ***děb-** (inf.: {ESSJ} **děbati**, 1s pres. **děbq**) v. 'strike' > Cz **děbati** 'to srike, to lash', R Ps **дябать** 'to break', SCr † 1s pres. **děp̄m** / inf. **děp̄iti** (ip. **děp̄ati**) v. 'strike'; ? Sl ***deptati** > P **deptac** 'to tread upon, Cz **deptati** id., 'to oppress' ¶ NaIE ***d-** rather than ***t-** is due to the IE incompatibility law (ruling out roots with emphatic cns. + vd. [> IE vl. + vd. aspirate]) ¶ WP I 786, P 203, EI 550 (***depH-** 'strike'), LS 382, By 450, Ch. 267 (**δέφω** 'frotter, assouplir'), Sl. 389, Tls. 85, F I 37, SPS III 159, Brü. 87, ESSJ IV 225 || U *id.* ***tapp**∇ v. 'trample', 'strike with one's foot' (× N ***t̥ab_L∇,qa** 'hit, strike' × N ***dap̥_L∇,γ∇** ~ ***dayop̥∇** 'push' × N ***t̥a'p̥**'E 'squeeze, press') > pMr ***tapa-** > Er/Mk **tapa-** 'zertreten, niedertreten' || Prm *id.* ***tap-** 'trample, press; flap (хлопнуть)' > Z *id.* **tapk+**- 'flap', 'strike with one's hoof' (of a horse), 'walk slowly', **tapya**v-n† 'to walk with soft quiet steps', Vt *id.* **tap+r̄t+**- 'stamp one's feet' || Hg *id.* **tapos-** 'tread (on\down), trample', **tapod-** 'treten, zertreten' || Sm: Ne T *id.* **т̄āп̄āp-** v. 'kick, push with one's foot', Ne O {Lh.} **tapar-** 'mit dem Fuß treten, stoßen', Slq Tz {KKIH} **tappal-** 'kick, strike with the foot (сумяти, сгнумяти)' (Ed.) **tapik** 'mit dem Fuß stoßen', Slc {Ca.} P

taper-, Ke tāber-, Nr tabar- 'stoßen' ¶¶ UEW 509, MF 613-14, LG 278, TmK 671, Ker. II 164, Lh. 449, ККИН 179, Erl. 251, Ter. 509, Cs. 146, 286 || **A** *id.* *t'äp- and *t'upE v. 'trample' > [1] **A** *t'äp- > T *t'äp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N *ṭab₁∇₁qa '↑') > OT täp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap', MT XIV [IM] dāp-, Tkm dep-, Tk tep- v. 'kick' (of horses), Osm {Rl.} dāp-, Chg {Rl.} dāp- 'mit Füßen treten, ausschlagen' (von Pferden), Ggz tep- 'kick, strike with the feet', Az täp- v. 'stop up; felt (valenki, felt boots)', täpik 'a kick (пиннок)' (*t'- > Tkm d- in *C∇p-roots, / ADb. Ttd 54), XT dep-, Qzq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt tep-, Xk теп- / -б- tep-/-b-, Sg тip-/-б- tip-/-b-, VTt, Bsh тьp-/-б-, ET täp-, Tv t'ēp-, ftp. t'ēv-er, Tf t'ēp'-, Yk täp- v. 'kick' (пинать, лягать), Chv тап- tap/b- v. 'kick (пинать), push, mit den Füßen stampfen' ¶ IS AD 43 [no. 8] (mentioning a Tv variant *dēv-, not confirmed by Tv dictionaries), Cl. 435, ET VGD 195-7, TrR 850, Rl. III 1108-9, 1687, TL 394, TvR 409, Ra. 234, ADb. Ttd 55-6, BIG 223, 225, Fed. II 171-2, Ash. XIII 186-92, Jeg. 230, ChVS 197 || Tg *°teb-, *tept- > Lm tabъk- 'press\squeeze (sth. juicy)'; *id.* Tg *tepte- 'trample down' > Ewk тэртэ- *id.*, Nn Nh {On.} тэрэтэ-, {STM} тэрэтэ- v. 'dance', ? Lm тэрсэһпī- 'trample ground on the same place, mark time' ¶ STM II 224, 238, On. 421 ¶¶ SDM 1437 (pA *t'jōp'é v. 'trample' > T *t'ep- ~ *t'er- 'stemp, trump' + [not belonging here] M *teve-, *teyi- 'crush, trample, kick', pKo *tyap- 'kill, slaughter', Tg *tubu- ~ *tupu- v. 'step, trample' and pJ *túmpú- 'be trampled\destroyed'), cp. SDM 1420 (pA *t'ēp'a 'hit, tip over', comparing Ewk тэртэ- with Tg, M, T and J words that do not go back to N *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE) || [2] **A** *t'upE v. 'trample' (*-u- due to the infl. of N *ṭUb₁∇ 'hoof, fingernail, toenail, sole of foot, heel?') > M *tüβire- (and *teβire-?) > WrM {MED} түбер- v. 'stamp the feet, trample underfoot', teire- v. 'kick with the hind legs, kick back', HIM тийрэ- {MED} *id.*, {BMR} v. 'kick with the hind legs' (of animals), Brt тиирэ- 'trample the ground (утаптыватъ)', Kl {Rm.} tīr- 'mit dem Hinterfuße ausschlagen', {KRS} тиир- tīr- 'kick with feet' (лягать, пинать ногами), Ord t'īr- 'frapper vivement d'un pied de derrière', ? t'üwerē, t'ewerē 'bruit de sabots d'animaux frappant le sol en courant; bruit des pas' ¶ MED 797, 848, BMR III 308, Chr. 422, KRS 498, KW 396 (Kl tīr- < *tewire-), Ms. O 662, 689 || Tg *tu₁b- v. 'step, trample' > Ewk tūw-, Lm tō- *id.*, Neg tuasan 'track', WrMc {Z} туфунь 'stirrup near the saddle (стремя у седла)', Jrc туw-фу 'stirrup' ¶

STM II 202-3, Z 764 || pJ *túmpú- 'be trampled\destroyed' > MJ túbúra- {S} id., J T cùbu- {S} 'be trampled\destroyed', d: J T cùbu-s- {S} 'trample, destroy', {Kenk.} 'crush, smash, break' ¶-S QJ no. 1197, Mr. 772, Krnk. 2043 ¶¶ IS AD 50, Pp. AU 100, SDM 1437 (pA *t'jǒp'é v. 'trample' > Tg, M *tübü-, J+ [not belonging here] M *teye-, *teyi- 'crush, trample, kick', T *t'ep- ~ *t'ep- 'stemp, trump' and pKo *tyap- 'kill, slaughter', DQA no. 2390, Vld. 272 || ?id. D *tapp- ({ʃAD} *dabb-) v. 'strike, beat' (× N *t̥ab₁∇₁qa 'hit, strike', q.v. ffd.) ◇ *a in U *tapp∇ is probably due to vowel harmony (N *-ä...a > U *a...∇). One of two possible pN reconstructions is *t̥abHE (suggesting that A *ä is due to regr. as.: *a...E > A *ä...∇) ◇ The et. is qu. because such onomatopoeic words and roots may have originated independently in different descendant families and subfamilies.

2327a. *t̥ab₁∇₁qa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lges] → 'kill') > HS: S *✓ t̥bχ v. 'slaughter' (→ v. 'cook') > Ak ✓ t̥bχ (inf. t̥abāχu), BHb ✓ t̥bh G v. 'slaughter, slay, kill off', Ug ✓ t̥bχ 'sacrificar, degollar', JA {Trg.} ✓ t̥bh v. D, JEA ✓ t̥bh v. G 'slaughter, slay', Sr ✓ t̥bh G 'slay, strike', Pun, OA d. t̥bh 'butcher, cook', Ar طبخ ✓ t̥bχ v. G 'cook', Gz ✓ t̥bh G (pf. ṁ-ṁṁ t̥abha, js. ṁṁṁṁ ṁṁṁṁṁ [ṁṁṁṁṁ]) v. 'slaughter, slay, kill', Tgr/Tgy ✓ t̥bh G 'strip off the skin', Sb d. t̥bχ 'meat', Hrs ✓ t̥bχ (pf. t̥abōχ) v. 'cook\boil', Mh ✓ t̥bχ (pf. 't̥awbɜχ) v. 'cook', 'make a mark' (← *'slaughter, sacrifice', cp. Gz Sh ʔat̥bəḥa v. 'make an incision, sacrifice'), Jb ✓ t̥bχ (Jb E pf. t̥ōχ, Jb C pf. t̥ēχ v. 'wrap edible corms in cow pats and bake'), Jb C t̥ɜb'χun 'baked' ¶ Sd. 1235-6, A no. 1111, OLS 479, HJ I 419, KB 352-3, KBR 368, HJ 419, Lv. T I 293, Js. 516, Sl. 492-3, ≈ Br. 267, JPS 166, BK II 52, Jo. M 406, Jo. J 274, L G 585-6, LH 615 ¶ EthS *ḥ for the expected *χ has not been explained (a loanword from a ḥ-lge?) || U: FU (att. in FV) *tappa- v. 'strike' (→ v. 'kill') (× N *dap₁∇₁ʔ∇ ~ *daʔop∇ 'push' × U id. *tapp∇ v. 'trample' < N ? id. *t̥äbHa or *t̥abHE 'trample, kick, crumple, press') > F тара-, Es тара- v. 'kill, slaughter' | pMr *tapa- > Er/Mk {Ps.} tapa- v. 'strike and wound (or leave a mark)', {KC, PI, ERV} тара- v. 'break, defeat (the enemy)', Mk {Ahl.} тара- 'schlagen, prügeln' | ? id. Chr tapt-aš 'forge (ковать, отбивать)' ¶ UEW 509-10, Ker. II 164, KC 299, PI 266, ERV 645 || A id. *t'äp- > T *t'äp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap' (× N ? id. *t̥äbHa '↑', q.v. ffd) || D *tapp-, {ʃAD} **dabb- (?) (< **tapH-) (× N ? id. *t̥äbHa or *t̥abHE '↑') > Tm тара v. 'strike, kill', тараṁ 'a blow', Kn

dabbe, debbe, đabbe, đebbe 'a blow, stroke', Tl debba id., dabbadīncu v. 'slap', Prj tapp- v. 'strike, kill', Knd tap- v. 'strike, hit' ¶¶ D no. 3075 || ?? K: GZ *tkwep-/*tkwip- 'beat, beat up' (× N *dûk'U' 'strike, beat', q.v. ffd.) ¶ The cns. *k for the expected *χ and the unexpected labial phoneme *w may be due to the heritage of N *dûk'U' ◇ T *-p'-, U and D *-pp- < *-bH- (H is a vl. lr.) < N *-b_L∇_Lq- ◇ In my opinion, we may distinguish between several N words: *ṭab_L∇_Lqa 'hit\strike', id. *ṭa'p̣'∇ 'hit (the target)', *dap_L∇_Lʏ∇ ~ *daʏop̣'∇ 'push', (?) id. *ṭäbHa 'trample, kick, crumple, press' and *ṭa'p̣'E 'squeeze, press'. In the descendant lges the roots going back to these words influenced each other, sometimes contaminated and merged. Ideophonic associations could also play a role ◇ IS MS 330 and IS SS no. 1.10 (both: id. *ṭap'∆ v. 'beat': IE *tep- 'beat\tread', A *t'ap∇ v. 'beat\forge\tread' [T, Tg], U *tappa v. 'beat with feet, tread', D *tapp- v. 'beat', K *ṭḳep-/*ṭḳeb- v. 'trample', HS *ṭp- v. 'beat, break, trample'), → BmK 318-19 (*t'ab-/ *t'əb-: S, U, D).

2328. ?φ₂ *ṭ∇b∇'L'∇ 'dip in, immerse' > K: G ṭbor- 'unter Wasser setzen' ¶ Chx. 1332 || HS: WS *√ṭbl v. 'dip in' > BHb √ṭbl G (ip. -ṭb0l) v. 'dip into (a liquid), dive, plunge into', JA [Trg.] √ṭbl G 'dip into, bathe', JEA √ṭbl G vi. 'immerse oneself for ritual purification', vt. 'dip food', Ar {KB} muṭabbal- 'feucht' (not found in the available dictionaries of Classical Ar), Gz √ṭbl G v. 'wash with holy water', ṭabał 'holy water, baptismal water', ? Mh mɜṭbɜlōt 'hot stones put under and on to dough in a glowing fire' (← *'hot stones put into water heat it and to cook food in it') ¶ KB 353, KBR 369, BDB no. 2881, Lv. T I 293, Js. 517, Sl. 493, L G 586, Jo. M 406 ◇ The N cns. *L is tentatively reconstructed on the basis of WS *l. The transformation of N *-L- into Georgian -r- still needs investigating.

2329. ₂ *ṭûH'c'∇ ~ *dûHĉ∇ 'glide, slip' > HS: WS *√ṭHs|ç id. > Mh, Hrs √ṭhs G, Jb E √ṭhs G v. 'slip, stumble', Jb C Sh eṭ'hes ~ eṭhes v. 'slip', Ar Y {Goit.} tuḥuṣ 'schlüpfrig'; WS *√dχŝ|ç > Ar √dḥṣ G 'glisser, trébucher dans un terrain glissant', Sq {L} √dḥḍ (= √dḥŝ) 'glisser, trébucher, s'égarer', Gz √dχŝ G v. 'slip', Jb: E 'daḥaŝ, C 'mud'ḥaŝ 'slippery place' ¶ Jo. M 408, L G 128, L LS 125, BK I 675, Goit. 38 || D {Pf.} *tuĉ²-∇k- v. 'slip, slide' > Tl ḍusuḳu v. 'slip, slide (as a tied knot, sth. hold in hand, foot in clay etc.)', ḍusiki(l)ḷu v. 'slip, slide',

Krx tus(ǝ)g- v. 'loose threads that are knitted' ¶¶ D no. 3288, Pf. 74 [no. 454], Km. 403 [no. 667].

2330. ≈ *tāwod∇ 'be full' > U: FU *täwðe 'full', v. 'fill' > F täysi (gen. täyden) 'full, filled, whole', Es täis (gen. täie) 'full, filled' | pL {Lr.} *tēvtē v. 'fill' > Lp N {N} dæw'ðe-/-wd-, Lp S {Hs.} dievtedh, Lp Vfs {Lgc.} d_ɹ_ɹ_w]t_ɹ-, Lp L {LLO} teu'tēt id., Lp Kld tjeV:deδ id., tīvt, tivt 'full' | StChr L тич, Chr U/B/M tić 'full' | Prm: Vt дол-дол, долак 'everybody, everything, (as a) whole', Prmk dōl 'all, everybody, everything', Z Δ dзла 'very, completely' (Z Δ {Glv.} dзла kuš 'stark naked' [kuš is 'naked'], dзла bi 'very hot' [bi is 'fire, heat'] → Z dзла бизн 'blazing') || ObU *tēɣa| 'full' > pVg *tāɣa| > Vg: T täw], LK tōɣla, MK/UK tāɣla, P taɣla, NV tāwla, LL taɣl, UL/Ss tāɣl id.; pOs *tel ({HI.} *tāl) > Os: Vy/O tel, Ty tāɣ, K/Nz tit, Kz teɣ id. | Hg tele, teli 'full, filled' ¶ UEW 518, Coll. 119, Sm. 550-1 (FU *täwdä, FP *tävdä, Ugr *tägdä 'fill'), SZ 113, ≈ TmK 209, MF 626-7, Ht. no. 622, ≈ Lr. no. 1249 (Lp ← F), Lgc. no. 4821, Hs. 435 || A *t'od∇ 'be full' > T *Tōδ- v. 'be full, be sated' > OT tōδ- id. ({Cl.} tōδ- without proof of the length of o), Tk doy-, Tkm, Az, XT doy- 'be(come) sated', SY toz-, Qzq, Qrg, Qq, Nog toy-, VTt, Uz tuy-, Tv tot- (ftp. тод-ар t'od-ar), {ADb.} t'ót-, Tf {Ra.} d_ɹ_ɹ_t-, {ADb.} d_ɹ_ɹ_t- id., Yk tot 'full (sated)', tot- 'be full (sated)'; T *Tōδ-gun- > OT [MhK] tōδɣun-, Tkm doyan-, Chv L тӓран- t̃ran-, Chv H t̃ran- 'eat one's fill' ¶ Cl. 451, Rs. W 483, TrR 244, Md. 43, 179, Ra. 147, ADb. Ttd 52 [no. 17], Ash. XIV 303-4, Fed. II 195-6, Jeg. 238, ET VGD 251-2 (s.v. дой) || M *tod-sun (ADb.: < **t'od-sun) n. 'fat (as food), butter' (← *'sating') > Mnr H {SM} t'ōzɹ 'huile, graisse', MM tōsun {S, MA, IM} 'butter', [HI] 'fat, oil', [IsV] 'fat (graisse)', WrM tōsun {MED} 'fat, butter, oil, tallow', HIM {MED} тос id., {BMR} тос(он) 'butter, melted fat', Brt тоно(н) id., Kl {Rm.} тосη 'Fett, Öl', {KRS} тосн 'butter, oil', MMgl tusun 'oil, grease', Mgl {Rm.} tusun 'Fett, Speck', MNR {SM} t'ōzɹ 'huile, graisse', Ord d_ɹ_ɹ_ɹ_ 'graisse, huile, beurre' ¶ MED 828, BMR III 231-2, Chr. 432, KW 403, KRS 509, SM 422, Rm. M 40, Rs. W 483, H 152, Pp. MA 351, 448, Ms. H 102, T 365, Ms. O 165, Iw. 139, Lg. VMI 69 || Tg: Ewk tudɹ- 'be constipated (закрепить)' (on bowels) ¶ STM II 205 ¶¶ SDM 1376 (pA *toda 'be full [on stomach, belly] > Tg *°tude-, T *t'ōδ- become satiated/full' [err. pA and T *t'- for *t'-], ? M *tosun 'melted fat'), KW 403, ADb. Ttd 52 || K {K} *t̃ten- (< **t̃d-en- < **t̃wd-en-?) v. 'fill, stuff, pack (tight) with' >

OG, G $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}$ - id., Mg $\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}\text{n}$ - v. 'stuff tight', Sv: {K} $\text{t}\acute{\text{t}}\text{ə}\text{n}$ -/ $\text{t}\acute{\text{t}}\text{ə}\text{n}$ - 'fill to the brim', L {Dn.} $\text{t}\acute{\text{ə}}\text{t}\text{ə}\text{n}$ - (msd. $\text{li-t}\acute{\text{t}}\text{ə}\text{n-e}$, 1s aor. $\text{o}\chi\text{-t}\acute{\text{t}}\text{ə}\text{n}$) id.; L $\text{li}\text{t}\acute{\text{ə}}\text{n}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}\text{e}$ msd. 'to fill' ¶¶ K 183, K² 186 (* $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}$ -), FS 292-3, FS E 325-6 (* $\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{n}$ -), Dn. s.v. Sv $\text{t}\acute{\text{ə}}\text{t}\text{ə}\text{n}$ -and $\text{t}\acute{\text{ə}}\text{n}\text{t}\acute{\text{e}}\text{l}$ - || D (in SD) * tav - ({ $\text{t}}\text{GS}$) * t -) 'much' > Tm $\text{t}\text{av}\text{a}$ 'much, intensely', Kn $\text{t}\text{av}\text{e}$ 'abundantly, wholly, completely', Td $\text{tof t}\text{n}$ - v. 'be perfect' ¶ D no. 3106 ¶¶ The loss of N *-**od**- in D still needs investigation || ? σ IE: NaIE * $\text{t}\text{e}\text{u}\text{t}$ - 'the whole, everybody, people' (> L $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\text{u}\text{s}$ 'the whole, entire', Br tud 'hommes') (× N ***tutE** 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ WH II 695-6, StéphS LBF 89 || Gil: Gil A $\text{t}\text{at}\text{a}$ - $\text{d}\text{ad}\text{a}$ - 'all, whole, full' ¶¶ ST 344-5 ◇ BmK 289 (U, D + erroneously IE {P} $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\text{w}$ -/ $\text{t}\text{ew}\text{ə}$ - v. 'swell' and Eg $\text{t}\omega\text{z}\text{.t}$ 'swellings'); ≠ Resh. NNE no. 11 (phonetically unj. comparison of FU * $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\omega\delta\text{e}$ 'full' with A {DQA} * $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\text{í}\nabla$) ◇ In IE the consonants * $\text{t}\dots\text{t}$ - instead of the expected * $\text{t}\dots\text{d}^{\text{h}}$ - are a contribution of N ***tutE**.

2331. *tögæ 'dust, earth' > HS: C: Dhl {To.} $\text{t}\text{ugg}\omega\text{a}$, {EEN} $\text{t}'\text{ugg}\omega\text{a}$, {E} $\text{t}'\text{og}\omega\text{a}$ 'smoke' || Ag: Xm {BSW} $\text{t}'\text{iya}$ 'smoke' ¶ E 228 compared the Dhl word (believing that Dhl belongs to SC) with Kz selemuko 'smoke' (< earlier {E} * $\text{so}\text{g}\omega\text{alem}$) and reconstructed SC * $\text{t}'\text{og}\omega\text{a}$ 'smoke' ¶ E SC 228 (SC * $\text{t}'\text{og}\omega\text{a}$ 'smoke'), EEN 17 (believing that the SC word is a loan from Khoisan), To. D 148, Blz. CL 180, BSW KhWL 77 || S: Ar دَيَجُور $\text{day}\check{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ - 'earth, dust' ¶ Fr. II 8, BK I 671, ≠ Ln. 853 (supposing that Ar $\text{day}\check{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ - 'earth, dust' is a sd. from $\text{day}\check{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{r}$ - 'darkness') ¶ Ar d - for the expected t - is due to the incompatibility of initial * t - and medial *- g - in S roots (similar to the known IE incompatibility law) || ?? Ch (× N ***tukâ** 'earth [substance], mud, dust'): WCh: Hs $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'cold ashes' || Tng $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\text{a}$ id., 'potash, salt' ¶ Abr. H 868, Ba. 1018, J T 81, ≈ Sk. HCD 258 || IE * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{e}\bar{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}$ / * $\text{d}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}\text{em}$ - 'earth' > NaIE: OI $\text{k}\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ - (nom. $\text{k}\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{h}_1$, accus. $\text{k}\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$, gen./abl. $\text{g}\text{m}\text{a}\text{h}_1 \sim \text{j}\text{m}\text{a}\text{h}_1$, instr. $\text{j}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}$), Av $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ - (nom. $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}$, gen. $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}-\bar{\text{o}}$, accus. $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$) id., NPrs $\text{z}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}$ id., 'ground' || Gk $\chi\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ (gen. $\chi\theta\text{ον}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) 'earth', $\chi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ 'on the ground' || pAl {O} * $\text{z}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'earth, land' > MAI G {FB} $\{\text{e}\text{e} [\delta\bar{\text{e}}]$, StAl T/G $\text{d}\bar{\text{h}}\text{e}$, Al {Huld}: D/P $\delta\bar{\text{e}}$, Be/C/Ba/F δe id. || L humus 'earth (soil)' || Clt {Matas.} * $\text{o}\text{g}\text{don}$ - 'earth, place' > OIr $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}$ (gen. $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\text{n}$) 'place, spot' || Pru $\text{semme} \sim \text{same}$ ({En.}: [$\text{z}\text{em}\bar{\text{e}}$]) 'earth'), Lt $\check{\text{z}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}$, Ltv zeme 'earth, land' || Sl * zemja 'earth, land' > OCS $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\bar{\text{l}}\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}$, Blg $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{a}}$, SCr $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\bar{\text{l}}\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}$, Slv $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\bar{\text{l}}\text{j}\bar{\text{a}}$, Cz $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\bar{\text{ě}}$, Slk $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}$, P ziemia , R, Uk $\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{m}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{a}}$ id. || Phr Gdan Ma 'Mother Earth' ||

pTc {Ad.} *tken > Tc: A tkam̄, B kem̄ 'earth, ground' || AnIE (× N *t̥uKâ 'earth [substance]', q.v.): Ht tekan / gen. taknas 'earth', loc. tagan (= {GI} [tkan]), abl. tagnaza, Lw tiyam(m)i- 'earth', HrLw {Ts.} takmi 'earth, land' (dat. takami 'to the earth') ¶¶ ≠ P 414-16 (*ġ^hdem-), EI 174 (*^hd^heġ^hō-m 'earth'), M K I 288, 448, M E I 424-5, Bai. 346, F I 1098-9, WH I 664, LP § 28, Frn. 1299, En. 245-6, Glh. 695, Vs. II 93, Wn. I 506-7, Ad. H 35, 42, Ad. 192, Huld 57-8 (pAl *d̥ē; refers Al to IE *d^hoyġ^hā 'that which is molded, daub'), O 80-1; Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-50 (analysis of phonetic changes), Matas. E 155-6, StSS 235-6, ABIv. II 133-7, Mlc. CL 230-1, Ts. E III 292-300 ¶¶ IE *d^h- (rather than *t- from N *t̥-) is due to regr. as. and to the incompatibility law that rules out roots with voiceless stops + voiced aspirates || A *t'og∇ 'dust, clay' > NaT *tog 'dust' > OT tōχ (={Cl.} tōχ), Chg {VZ, Rl. → Rs.} توغ tōχ 'dust', ET Δ {Nj.} tōψ 'dust', {Jr.} tōψ 'dirt which as the result of a dust storm gathers on leaves' ¶ Rs. W 483, Cl. 463, Nj. 316, Jr. 309, Rl. III 1158 || M *to^rψ¹u-sun 'dust' > MM [S, HI] to_osun, WrM {MED} togusun, HIM {MED} тоос, {BMT} тоос(он), Brt тооно(н) 'dust', Kl {Rm.} tōsŋ 'Staub', Ord t'ōsu ~ t'ōs 'poussière', Dg {Pp.} tōs, {Mrm.} тос 'dust', {Mr.} tuāse 'dust, dirt' ¶ MED 818, BMR III 227-8, Chr. 430, KW 405, Klz. D II 138, H 151, Ms. H 101, Mr. D 226, Ms. O 672 || Tg ≈ *toaksa 'clay' (with a nominal sx *ksa for uncountable objects) > Ewk, Neg tāksa, Lm tās, Ud takeä, Ul toaqsa ~ tyaqsa, Ork tōqso 'clay', Nn Nh/KU {STM} toaqsa id., Nn Nh {On.} toaqsa 'white clay, lime' ¶ STM II 154, On. 398]??σ Tg *tug- 'cloud' > WrMc {Z} туги, Jrc, Ewk A/Tkm tuɣu, Lm tōχzi, Ud tokō 'cloud'; Tg ≈ *tug∇-kse id. > Ul, Ork, Nn Nh tɜwɜksɜ, Nn Bk tuɜksɜ, Ewk tūksu, Sln tukcu id., Ork tɜwɜɜwu 'cloudy' ¶ STM II 208, On. 415, Z 750 ¶¶ SDM 1467 (pA 'storm, dust' > Tg *tuge- 'cloud, winter' + [not belonging here] M *tuyi 'thin falling snow, dust-snow' and T *tüge-le 'whirlwind'), STM II 154 (Tg, M).

2332. (₂?) *t̥og∇ 'straight' ([in descendant lges] → 'true') > HS: EC *d̥ug- 'true' > Or {Grg., Sr.} d̥ugā 'true, right', Arr {Hw.} d̥úggā, Dsn d̥ū, Kns d̥uk-āta, Gdl, Gln d̥uka 'truth', Brj d̥uh-a-kka/-tta 'certain' ¶ Ss. PEC 26, Ss. B 66, Bl. 217, Hw. A 357, Grg. 130, Sr. 299, AMS 198, To. DL 495 || A *t'og∇ > NaT *tog- > OT tōχ- v. 'go straight for (sth.)', tōχur- v. 'be upright\straight', tōχuru 'straight', Tk doğru, Tkm doçru id., Az doçru 'true', Chg tōçrı 'opposite', Cmn tōçru 'straight',

?φ tuvpa 'even', Qzq tūra 'straight', VTt turъ id., 'true' ¶ Cl. 465, 472-3, ADb. DV 53, Rs. W 484, ARL 111, DHST 305, Grøn. 247, 258 || Tg *tondo ~ (<?) *tonno 'straight' > Neg tonno, Sln tondōxō, {Iv.} тондó, Ork, Nn Nh tondo, Nn KU tonno, WrMc {Z} тоньдо 'straight; just, honourable', Ewk tonno id., 'faithful, loyal', Orc tonno(n-), Ud X/B {STM} tōndo 'straight', Ud B {Shn., Krm.} tondo 'a hit' (of hitting the target), Jrc {Kiy.} tondo 'loyal' ¶ STM II 197-8, Krm. 296, On. 404, Kiy. 119 [no. 407], Z 734 ¶ If the pTg form is *tonno, it may go back to **tog-no || ?σ IE: NaIE *deks- 'fortunate; right (dexter)' (< **deġ^h-s-? × <d- IE *deġ- v. 'suit, be fit' < N *tAKæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit', q.v. ffd.) ◇ In IE *deks- the cons. *d- is accounted for by *t- in N *tAKæ and by the incompatibility law ruling out the occurrence of a vd. asp. and a vl. stop in the same √ (whence IE **d...ġ^h is for **t...ġ^h).

2333. *tægw∇ 'swell, be(come) thick\large\strong', ? 'fat; become fat' > HS: CS *√tǔtǔ, *√tǔw v. 'swell' > Sr {Br.} √tǔtǔ id. ('tumere'), Ar √tǔw G ~ √tǔy G 'dépasser la mesure, être trop grand \ très haut', 'déborder' (se dit d'un torrent, d'une fleuve); ?σ S *-tǔ^rǔ^r - > Gz √tǔy G (pf. tēfa) 'besmear, anoint' [< *besmear with fat'?) (× N *teq∇ 'to smear, to rub') ¶ Br. 283, Fr. III 58, BK II 86, ≈ L G 600 || ? Ch (× N *teq∇, [in HS: → 'fat, marrow'] [q.v.]?): WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} dǔgǔ, ? Gmy {ChL} dówǔ 'fat' n. ¶ JI II 132, ChL || IE *tehw- / *twoh- / *thǔ- > NaIE *tēw- / *təw- / *tōw- / *tū- '≈ big, strong' > OI tavī-ti 'is strong, has authority' (pfc. tūtava), tavas- 'strong, powerful; strength', Av tav- 'be capable of' (pfc. tūtava), tavah- 'strength, power', OPrs atāvayam 'ich vermochte', u-tava- 'strong' || Arm 𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎵 t^hi w 'number' || Gk [Hs.] ταύς ('μέγας, πολύς) 'big, numerous' || L *tovē- v. 'stuff' -> tōmentum 'stuffing (of a pillow, mattress)' || Sl: RChS тѣти tĕ-ti (1s pres. тѣю tĕj-u) 'to be fat', SCr tōv n. 'fattening' -> Sl *tovīti > SCr tōviti 'to fatten' ¶ P 1080-1, ≈σ EI 560-1 (*teu^hǔ- 'swell [with power], grow fat'), M K I 490-1, M E I 638-9, F II 861, WH II 689, Glh. 634, Jah. OSK 30, 111 || A: M **tebeve- -> *tebeve-re > WrM tebevere {MED} 'fatness, plumpness', HIM тэвээр {MED} id., {BMR} 'Wohlgénährheit (упитанность)', Brt W тэбээл tebēl 'fatness (of cattle)'; WrM tebevere- {MED} v. 'become vigorous, regain one's health\strength, become plentiful\abundant', HIM тэвээрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'regain one's weight' (of emaciated cattle). 'fatten'. 'sich herausfuttern. wohlgenahrt werden'. Brt тэбээд-

'become well-fed\fat' (of cattle), Kl {Rm.} *tewēr-* 'stark\kräftig werden', Ord *t'ewēre-* 'redevenir vigoureux' ¶ MED 790, BMR III 281, Chr. 451, KW 395, Ms. O 662 || ? T **Tob_lur-* v. 'be large\big' > OT [MhK] *toṽur* 'large', *toṽra-* v. 'become big', Tk d. *dobur-cuk* 'rain with large drops' ¶ Cl. 444, TL 26, THADS IV 1534 ◇ If T **Tob_lur-* belongs here, its vw. **o* is due to ass. infl. of **b* and possibly of **u* of the next syll. ◇ ≠ BmK 289 (an attempt to equate the IE √ and Eg *tωβ.t* 'Schwellung' with FU **tāwδe* 'full' and D **taV-* 'much', see N ≈ **ṭäwod* ▽ 'be full').

2334. **teγw* ▽ 'ask (for), beg' > HS: EC **ḍāṣ-* v. 'ask for' > Af {PH} *ḍāṣē* v. 'plead, pray, supplicate, beg', Sa {R} *ḍaṣ-* ~ *ḍeṣ-* 'rufen, nennen; bitten, beten, die Gottheit anrufen' (unless ← *ḍaṣ-* 'rufen, nennen'), Rn *ḍāḥ-* v. 'ask for', Arr {Hw.} *ḍaw(i)ʔ-* 'beg' ¶ PH 88, PG 88, R S II 96-7, Hw. A 354 || ??σ S **o-ṭūṣ-* > Ar *-ṭūṣ-* v. 'obéir; prononcer\répéter qch. à qn' ¶ BK II 119, Hv. 441 || K: pGZ {K} **tχo-*, {K²} **tχo(w)-*, {FS} *tχow-* v. 'ask for, beg' > G *tχov-* v. 'ask for, marry (a woman)', Mg *tχv-* 'ask for; marry (so. to so.)', Lz *tχv-/tχ-* 'ask for, marry' ¶ K 99, K² 79, FS K 160-1, FS E 174, Q 245-6 || D **teV(V)-* v. 'beg' (× N **ṭæb* ▽ (= **ṭäb* ▽?) 'follow, run, chase' [→ 'demand']?) > Tm *teVVu* v. 'beg hard, importune', Ml *tērā* 'beggar', Tl *dēvurincu* v. 'beg humbly, importune', Krx *temb-nā* v. 'beg for alms', *tembārus* 'mendicant, beggar' ¶¶ D no. 3431A.

2335. **ṭāk* ▽ 'to attack' > K **oṭaḳ-* > G {Chx.} (*da-*)*ṭaḳ-* 'an-\zusammen-stoßen, zusammenprallen, angreifen' ¶ Chx. 1316 || HS: Eg MKL *tkk* 'attack; violate (a frontier)', *tkk.ω* 'attackers', Eg XIX/G *tktk* v. 'angreifen', *tkk* 'der Angreifer' (HS de-emphatization **t-* < **ṭ-*) ¶ EG V 336, Fk. 302 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Tk. I 221) S **✓tkk* ~ **tktk* 'tread on (with feet), step on, oppress' (GB 788) and Hs *tākà* 'disobey, break the law' || A: NaT **Tæg-* v. 'attack' (× T **t'eg-* v. 'touch' < A **t'eK^rü-* 'touch, reach' < N **tek* ▽ 'to touch') > OT {Cl.} *täg-* v. 'attack', ? Tkm *deg-* v. 'hit (the target)', Qq, Qz1 *tiy-* 'attack' ¶ Cl. 476, Tkr 251, TL 572 || D **tākk-* ({*ṭGS*} **t-*) v. 'attack, assault' > Tm *tākkū* v. 'attack, strike', *tākkām* (n.) 'attack, assault, hit', ? Ml *tākkukā* v. 'hit', Kn *tākū* v. 'attack', ? Tu *tākuni* ~ *tāguni* v. 'hit', Tl *tākū* v. 'attack' ¶¶ In some D lges the √ coalesced with the homonymous verb **tak-* 'touch' (< N **ṭaka|æ,ʔU,* 'to touch'), which may account for the unexpected long vowels **ā* ¶ D no. 2150, Krm 280, [no. 554] (be

did not distinguish between several roots and reconstructed *tāy-nk-/-kk-) ◇ K and D seem to suggest N *-k-, but their evidence is not decisive (since as. is possible), while T *täg- provides decisive ev. for a N *-k-.

2336. *t'e'kE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' > HS *√t∇k- > Ch {JS} *√d̥k v. 'build, make earthenware' > WCh {Stl.} *d̥∇k id. (× N *t'o'g'a 'to plait, to bend?') > pAG {Hf.} *j̥ik v. 'build, make pottery (from clay)' > Su {ChL} d̥ik, {J} dik, Gmy {Hf.}, Chip d̥ik, Kfr M {Hf.} j̥ik, Ang {Hf.} j̥iāk v. 'build, make pottery', {ChL} j̥ik v. 'build'; BT: Pr {Frz.} d̥ígù v. 'build', Krkr {Lk.} d̥àkò, {ChL} d̥ɜku v. 'build, make earthenware', Dr d̥ì v. 'build' || ECh: ? Mu {J} d̥ìyá v. 'build' ¶ JI II 52, JS 56, ChC s.v. 'build', Stl. ZCh 174 [no. 263], ChL, Hf. AG, Frz. P 29 || ? Eg N d̥g̥ɜ 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; pflanzen' (× N ≈ *t'e,'h'a,kəʔê 'to put, to set' [q.v. ffd.]) || IE (+ext.) {P} *teḱp-, {ABIV.} *teks-, {EI} *teḱs- 'fabricate', {Mn.} *teḱs- v. 'fashion, do carpentry, create, cut (behauen)' > OI 'takṣ- id., Av taš-t 'has built', ?σ taš a- 'axe', MPrs tāš īḍan 'to cut, to shape', ?σ NPrs تاش tāš 'hatchet, axe'; Irn ⇨ Arm unwəb' tašem 'I roughhew, I roughen down, I plane' || Gk τέκτων (gen. τέκτονος) 'carpenter, worker in wood', 'craftsman' or 'workman', τέχνη 'art, skill, cunning of hand (esp. in metal working); craft, cunning (in bad sense)' (< *teks-nā) || L tex- (tex-ō, tex-ěre, texui, textum) v. 'plait, weave' (× NaIE *tek- id. < N *t'o'g'a 'to plait, to bend') || OIr tál 'adze, paring knife, carpenter's axe; doloire' (< *tōks-lo-) || OHG dehsa 'axe', dehsala 'axe, adze', ON þexla 'Queraxt' || Sl *tesáti (1s pres. *tešq) 'to shape by hewing' ('behauen, тесать') > OCS тесаѡтн tesati (1s pres. тешѡ tešq) id., 'to hew with an axe', R тесать (1s pres. тешѡ), SCr tēsati (1s pres. tēšēm), Sln tēsati (1s pres. tešem) 'to hew, to trim (as log)', Cz tesati, Slk tesat' 'to hew, to hack, to chisel', P ciosać (1s pres. cioszę) ~ ciesać (1s pres. 'cieszę) 'to hew, to square' || Lt tašýti (1s pres. tašau̯) 'to roughhew, to trim', Ltv tēst (1s pres. tēšu) 'to cut (wood), to hew, to trim' || AnIE {ABIV.} *tak-s- / -t- > Ht takṣ- {Ts.} 'bereiten (Wohnung)', 'fügen (Kriegszug)', {ABIV.} 'make, fashion (делать, мастерить)', Ld taśo '≈ befehlen, anordnen'; Ajkhenval'd, Bajun and Vjach. Ivanov (ABIV. II 146-8) tie in Ld taqtula- {ABIV.} interpreted as 'conclude a treaty, tie (two entities) by a treaty' but Ts did not accept the connection for morphological

reasons and because of the obscure meaning of the Ld word ¶¶ Mn. 1374, P 1059-60 (*teġp- 'flechten, das Holzwerk des geflochtenen Hauses zusammenfügen'), M K I 468, M E I 612-14, Horn 87, F II 867-8, 889-90, WH II 678-9, Vn. T 21, Kb. 147, OsS 98, EWA II 564-8, Vr. 609, Frn. 1065, Vs. IV 50-1, Sl. I 105, Glh. 623-4, Ts. E III 40-4, 46-9, ABIv. II 146-8, Gsm. SL 296, Gsm. LW 209, 211, EI 139 (IE *teġs- (t)or/n- 'one who fabricates [cloth, wool etc.]' ← *teġs- 'fabricate'), 38 (IE ? *teġso/eh_h- ~ *teġsleh_h- 'axe, adze') ¶¶ IE *ġ (for the expected *ġ) is accounted for by as. *-ġs- > *-ġs- (or *-ġp- > *-ġp-) || U: FU *teke- v. 'do, make' > F teke-, Es tege- id. | pLp *tġkġ- > Lp: N {N} dâkkâ-/g-, S {Hs.} dakkedh, L {LLO} tahka-, Kld tġkkâ-/tġġā- id. | pMr {Ker.} *teġā- > Er tee- íeye-, Mk тие- íiya- v. 'do, make' || Hg tġv-/tġ-/ tġsz- id.; at the pFU level the √ merged with FU *teke- v. 'put, place' (F N ≈ *te_h'a_hka_h?é 'to put, to set') ¶ UEW 519, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *teki-, Ugr *tekī- 'do'), Lr. no. 1210, Lgc. no. 7631, Hs. 413, TI 581, Ker. II 165-6 || A: [1] A *t'ak'∇ 'repair' (× N *tAġæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit') > Tg *taku- 'repair' > Ewk taku-, Lm taq-, Ul taqu-, taqunaġi-, Ork tautġi- ≈ tāwġi-, Nn KU taqo- id., Nn Nh/Bk tago- ~ taogo- {STM} id., {On.} id., 'переделявать' ¶ STM II 155, On. 389, 393 || pJ: (1) ?pJ *tùkùr- 'make' > OJ tukur-, MJ tùkùr-, J: T cukúr-, K cúkúr-, Kg cùkùr- id.; (2) pJ *tùkùròp- 'repair' > OJ tukurop-, MJ tùkùròp-, J T cukuró-, J K cúkúró-, J Kg cùkùrò- 'repair' ¶ S QJ no. 1011, Mr. 774, Kenk. 2062 || T *Tagira- > Xk {BIG} taġira- 'repair, mend (footwear, clothes)', Sg {Rl.} taġra- 'ausbessern, zunähen (einen Riß)', Qzl {Jk.} taġra- 'stopfen, flicken, nähen (alte Kleider)'; but not here (⇔ Rs.) Tv t'ār- 'cut/clip (hair, plants)' (T ← M *taġari- 'cut short, cut off', cf. MED 765) ¶ Rs. W 454, BIG 212, Rl. III 800, TvR 401 ¶¶ SDM 1393 (pA *t'āk'ù), DQA no. 2291, ADb. SR 15 || [2] amb M *tege- (× d. from the M *te- 'that', see Pp. IM 228) > WrM tege- {MED} v. 'do so \ thus \ that way', HIM тэгэ- {MED, BMR} id., Kl Ö {Rm.} 'das sein, so sein, so machen' ¶ MED 792, BMR III 283, KW 389 ◇ The cns. ġ in Eg dġ may be due to as. (*d...k > dġ) ◇ An alt. pN rec. (based on IE and Tg) is *ġ in *t'e'ġE, but it fails to account for the cognates in FU, T and M ◇ Cf. BmK 277 (IE, FU) ◇ ≠ Gr. II 103 (*tek 'do') (U, CK + err. IE *dhē-).

2337. *tiko 'horror, fear' ([in A] 'abhor, hate') > IE: NaIE *tyeg^ω- {P} 'scheu vor etwas zurücktreten oder auffahren', {EI} 'give way, pull

oneself back (in awe)' > OI 'tʲaj-atɪ 'leaves, abandons, quits', {EI} 'stands back from sth.', OI 'tʲajah 'abandonment', Av iθiiaʃah- (iθyaʃah-), iθiieʃah- (iθyeʃah-) id. || Gk Hm σέβομαι v. 'feel awe or fear (before gods), feel shame', Gk σέβομαι 'revere, worship', σέβω v. 'worship, honour', σέβας ntr. 'reverential awe', σοβέω vt. 'verscheuchen, verjagen', {LS} 'scare away (birds); drive away, clear away' ¶ P 1086, EI 650, M K I 529-530, M E I 673-4, F II 686-7 || D (with an ancient sx?) *tik∇l- ({θGS} *dig∇l-) 'fear, fright' > Tm tikil, tikir 'fright, terror', Kt digiḷ in- v. 'be thunder-stuck, be astounded because found out in wrongdoing', Kn digil(ʉ), digalʉ 'consternation, horror, fear', Tu digilə, Tl digulʉ 'fear, alarm', Knd tiyel 'fear', tiyel- v. 'be afraid' ¶¶ D no. 3202 || A *t'ik'∇- > NaT **t'ḷi:ḷkḷi- ⇨ [1] NaT *Ti:ḷksi:ḷn- > Osm tiksir- 'abhor', Tk tiksir- 'be disgusted, loathe', Az diksir- 'start, be frightened', Qq tiksir- 'be squeamish', ?φ Tv českin- id.; T ⇨ M: WrM žigsi- {MED} 'abhor, hate, be disgusted with', loath, dislike; be shy at', HIM жиґши- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'have an aversion to, пренебрегать', Brt жэґшэ- 'have an aversion to, пренебрегать; hate', Kl {KRS} жиґш- 'have an aversion to', vi. 'erschrecken, отшатнуться', {Rm.} žiksir- 'Widerwillen fühlen, abscheuen, mäkeln, zurückfahren', Ord žigšir- 'éprouver de l'aversion, 'éprouver de la répugnance'] [2] QrB tik-lik 'tension (of relations)' ¶ Rl. III 1351, ARL 107, KrkR 640, MED 1052, TvR 529, BMR II 167, Chr. 235, KRS 226, KW 109, Ms. O 195 || Tg *tikun-, *tikul- 'be(come) angry' > Ew ṽtikun, Lm tiqun- 'be angry', Ewk tikul-, Sln {Iv.} tegú- ~ tuṽul, Lm tiqul- 'become angry' ¶ STM II 179 || M *čiqul > MM {Lew.} ciqul, WrM ciqul ~ cuqul {MED} n. 'rage, irritability, nervousness', HIM цухал {MED} id., {BMR} 'irritability, nervousness, irritation', Brt цухал 'anger, rage', Kl {KRS} цухл цухь 'anger, indignation', {Rm.} цухал 'Entrüstung, Zorn', Ord žuxuld- ~ žuxuld- 'être pris de désespoir \ de peur, perdre contenance' ¶ Lew. 54, MED 193, 208, BMR IV 279, Luv. 617, Chr. 397, KRS 642, KW 433, Ms. O 216 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1426 (*t'ik'∇- 'fear, hate' > T *tik- 'hate, fear', Tg, M), DQA no. 2369 (id.), ADb. SR 14 ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. 'ужас' *tikU, IS SS no. 1.28.

2338. (₂?) *toku 'large, thick' > IE: NaIE *teg|ǵu- 'thick' > Gmc {Vr.} *θikkw- 'thick' > ON þykkir, þjokkr, þjukkr, Nnr tjukk, Sw tjock, Dn tyk, OHG dicki, NHG dick, OSx thikki, AS ðicce 'thick', NE thick || Clt {Matas.} *tegʷ- 'thick' > OIr {Vn.} tiug 'thick',

MIr {Matas.} t̄iug 'thick, dense, solid', Brtt {RE} *tegus > OW teu, MW tew id., W {YGM} tew id., 'great, fat', MBr teo ~ teu, Crn tew 'thick, fat', Br tev 'gros, gras, épais' ¶ WP I 718, P 1057, EI 547 (*tegu-s 'thick, fat'), Vr. 630, OsS 102, EWA II 624-6, Ho. 364, KM 131, Vn. T 76, RE 138, Mats. E 377, YGM-1 409, Hm. 788 || HS: ?φ C: Bj {R} deg- 'be heavy', 'dēga 'heavy' ¶ R WbD 62 || A: M: WrM {MED} toɣumag 'rather large\fat', toɣlu- 'be large\robust\corpulent', HIM тоглой- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be large\ corpulent (быть крупным\дородным); wohlgenährt\gemästet\ fleischig\stammig werden (становиться мясистым\упитанным\плотным), ? Brt тугжы- 'be stout\corpulent' ¶ MED 814, 817, BMR III 212, Chr. 434.

2338a. *t̄ok∇ '≈ (palm of) hand (with fingers)' ([in descendant lges or already in pN] → 'span of hand') > K: GZ *m-t̄ka-wel- 'span (the distance between the end of the thumb and the end of the little finger of a spread hand)' > OG m̄t̄ka-wel-, G m̄t̄ka-wel-, Mg t̄ku-, t̄kū-, t̄kou-, Lz m̄t̄ko-, m̄t̄ku-, (m)̄t̄u- id. ¶ K 138 and K² 126-7 (*m̄t̄ka-wel-); FS K 223-4 and FS E 426 (*m̄t̄ka-w-) || HS: EC *ta₁kk- 'span of hand' > Sml {ZMO} t̄āko 'hand-span measurement (based on the distance between the thumb and the tip of the middle finger)', Sml N {Abr.} t̄āko 'span', Or T takku 'palm of hand (with fingers)', Or {Grg.} t̄ākkū 'span (distance between thumb and forefinger)', Sd {Gs.} t̄ākkō id., Ged {Hd.} t̄āko, Hd {Hd.} t̄ākkōʔo, Kmb t̄āčču-t ({Hd.}: < *t̄āk-čču-t), Qbn {L} taččuta 'span of hand', Ya {Gr.} tegei 'hand', {Hn.} t̄éké (pl. t̄éhkéí) 'arm' ¶ AD SF 262, ZMO 381, Grg. 371, Gs. 310, Hd. 139, 261, 299, 339, Hn. Y II 120 || NOm: Hrr {L} t̄ākā-δu, ? Gm {Hw.} tađáko 'span', ? Mch {L} t̄āčči- v. 'measure' ¶ L M 53, Hw. EG || A *t'ok|gE > M *t̄oɣe 'big span, span of hand' > WrM {MED} t̄oɣe 'span, the space from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index or middle finger when extended', HIM тәә {MED, BMR} id., Brt тәә 'span (distance between the thumb and the fourth finger)', Kl {KRS} тә id., {Rm.} t̄ō 'große Spanne, Abstand zwischen der Daumenspitze und dem ausgepreizten Mittekfinger', Dg {MYC} tuḅ, Mnr E {MYC} t̄ū 'span', Ord t'ō 'distance entre l'extrémité du pouce et celle du doigt de milieu, quand ces deux extrémités sont éloignées que possible; mesure de longueur (espèce d'empan)' ¶ MED 832, BMR III 244, Chr. 433, KRS 511, KW 408, MYC 643, Ms. O 672 || Tg *toɣar 'big span, span of hand' > Ewk t̄oɣor 'span (distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the index)', Neg t̄oɣoy, Orc, Ud t̄ō, WrMc {Z} то ~ тоо 'span (distance between the thumb and the middle finger)', Im t̄oɣɣr, Ul t̄awali, Nn Nh t̄awar, Nn

Bk tawara, Nn KU tor 'span' ¶ STM II 190-1, Z 731 || pJ *tùkà > OJ tuka, MJ tùkà 'width of four fingers' ¶ Mr. 554 || ?σ pKo {S} *tóí > MKo tóí, NKo twe 'measure of capacity (1/10 mal)' ¶ QK no. 1170, Nam 161, MLC 496, S p.c. ¶¶ SDM 1451 (pA *t'ògì 'span' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 2418 (id.), KW 408, Pp. VG 60 ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 137 [no. 18] (incl. K, EC, Om, M, Tg; Blz did not distinguish this N word from N *tá yK ▽ 'finger').

2339. ≈ *t_e'h'a₁kaʔê 'put, set' > HS: Eg N dǵǵ 'Steine verlegen, Säule aufstellen, Gewölbe bauen; (Bäume) pflanzen; (etw.) ankleben' (d < HS *t) (× N *t'e'kE 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' [q.v.]), Cpt: Sd **ТЩЩБЕ** tōōcē ~ ({Vc.}: aberrant form) **ТЩКЕ** tōke, B **ТЩХІ** tōzi 'ajouter, appliquer, joindre, planter' ¶ EG V 499, Vc. 227 ¶ Eg g (for k) requires explanation (possibly as. (*d...k > dǵ) or infl. of N *h that could produce a lenis cns. [Eg "voiced" obstruent consonants are very likely to have been lenes]) || ?? S +ext. *°✓tkl > Gz ✓tkl v. G 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (↳ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'stechen') ¶ L G 573, R WB 336, R CH II 421 (s.p. 107), R S II 352 || **U:** FU *teke- v. 'put, place' (× N *t'e'kE '↑' [q.v.]) > Lp: N {N} dâkkâ- / -g- v. 'place, dispose of', ?σ L {LLO} tahkat 'hervorbringen, schaffen; tun, machen' | Er tēye- v. 'place (somewhere) ('деть, девать)' || Hg tēv- / tē- / tēs- 'put, place, lay' ¶ UEW 519, ERV 652, LLO 1064 || **A** *t'EK'E- 'sit (down)' > Tg *tege- 'sit down' > Sln {Iv.} tzkz-, tzi- id., Ewk tzi- 𐌆 tē-, Lm taz- id., WrMc {Z} тэ-, 'sit, sit down', Mc Sb tē- 𐌆 tzi- id., Neg tzi-, Orc, Ud, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk tē- 'stand\sit up (from lying)' ¶ STM II 226-8, On 414, Z 728-9 || NaT *tik- v. 'put, place, insert' (× N *t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push' [q.v. ffd.], with T *t- going back to N *t'...h'-) > OT tik- v. 'insert', Tk dik- 'erect, set up, plant', Tkm dik- 'insert, build, dig in, plant', Qzq tik- тик- v. 'put, place, insert into the ground', Tv t'ik- (ftp. тигер) 'put (a cauldron) on fire, put, set up (a tent), establish' ¶ Cl. 476-7, Rs. W 479, TvR 413 || pKo {S} *th'á- > MKo th'á- 'ride' ¶ S QK no. 510, Nam 456, MLC 1684 || ??σ pJ {S} *tá'k'á 'bed (постель)' (if ← 'sit') > OJ toko, MJ, J K tókó, J T tòko, J Kg tókó 'bed' ¶ S QJ no. 211, Mr. 548, Kenk. 1998 ¶¶ SDM 1410-11 (pA *t'égè|ò- 'sit; bed' > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 2333, S AJ 292, Lee CSMK 118 || **IE:** NaIE *tāg- v. 'put (sth.) to its right place, arrange' (→ 'command') > Gk (1s pres.) τάσσω, Gk A (1s pres.) τάττω (aor. ἐτάχην, pfc. τέταχα) v. {Ch.} 'placer\ranger des

troupes en bataille, désigner, mettre dans un certain ordre', {LS} 'draw up in order of battle, form, array, marshal (both of troops and ships); put, station', τάγμα (gen. τάγματος) 'ordinance, command; body of soldiers, division; order, rank', Gk τᾶγός 'leader, commander, chief' || Lt pa-togū's 'convenient, comfortable' (cp. Gk εὔτακτος 'well ordered'), Ltv Δ {ME} patāgs 'handlich, bequem', Lt {Ju.} su-tógti 'sich trauen lassen, sich verbinden, sich verheiraten', {EI} 'to ally oneself with, to get married' (← *to arrange oneself with) || Irn: Prt tgm̄dr '≈ commander' (← *tagma-dāra- 'command giver') || ? Tc: A tāsíi pl. 'commanders', B tās '≈ commander' ¶ P 1055, EI 472 (*tāg- or *teh_g- 'set in place, arrange'), Ch.1095-6 (having doubts about *ā), F II 845-6, 859-60, ≠ Mn. 1365, Frn. 551, ME III 119, Wn. I 49, Ad. 387-8 ◇ A N lr. that produced vw. lengthening in IE, but disappeared in both Eg and S (and did not cause glottalization of any adjacent cns.) is most probably *h. The *a-coloring laryngeal in pIE is likely to go back to N *-ha- ◇ ≠ Gr. II 103 (*tek 'do') (U *teke- 'do', CK: Chk, Kor teyk id. + err. IE *d^hē- 'put').

2340. *t^oh¹æk∇?∇ 'to burn; fire' > HS: Eg fXVIII tk̄ vi. 'burn, illumine' > DEg tk 'verbrennen, anzünden' > Cpt: Sd T^WK tōk, B Θ^WK t^hōk 'allumer, chauffer'; Eg fP tk̄.ω ({Vc.} tk̄) (= {Os.} *ti.k[?]ω, {Vc.} *taki?) {EG} 'Flamme, Licht, Fackel, Kerze', {Fk.} n. 'torch lighting' > DEg t_yk 'spark' > Cpt: Sd T^IK tik, B Θ^IK t^hik id. ¶ EG V 331-3, Fk. 301-2, Er. 659, Vc. 212, Os. I 79 and II 460 ¶ Vc. 212 distinguished between Eg fP tk̄ 'flamme' and Eg M tk̄.ω, while EG V 331-3 mentioned only Eg fP tk̄.ω 'Flamme, Fackel, Kerze' || ? C: Bj {R} ✓ tk^ωy (1s: p. 'atk^ωi, pres. atan'k^ωī) vt. 'cook' (× N *dEk^o 'burn (brûler)', q.v.?) ¶ R WBd 225 || K [1] pGZ *tutk- v. 'scald, burn on the surface' > G tutk- 'scald, scald oneself', {Chx.} (ga-)tutk- '(an-, ab-)brühen', (da-)tutk- 'verbrühen, verbrennen', Mg tkutk- {Fn.}, Lz tutk- v. 'burn' ¶ K 74 (*tutk-), Chx. 503, DCh. 570, Fn. KW-2 48 [no. 2] | [2] K (+ext.) *^ot_krec|ç- > G t_krec- 'an der Oberfläche verbrennen' ¶ Chx. 1354 || IE *teh_g|g- > NaIE *tēg|g-/*tāg|g- v. 'burn' > Gk τήγανον ~ mt. τάγηνον 'frying pan, saucepan' || OHG dachazzen ~ dahhezzen 'to flame (lodern), to blaze', AS ðéccan vi. {Ho.} 'verbrennen'; ðæcēlle 'torch, a light' (infl. of fæcele 'torch' ← L facula id.) ¶ WP I 717-18, P 1057, F II 815, Kb. 141, OsS 95, EWA II 488-9, Ho. 359, 361 || A *t^ook|gE- 'fire' > NaT *Tö_;g^ün 'brand' > OT [MhK] {Cl.} tögün, MT, Chx. xv tögün id. Gem {Ph.} dödüñ 'tattoo mark' StAlt tön 'tinder' Ty

дөөн 'wick (фитиль, запальный шнур)', Yk tūōn 'moxa, tinder used for cauterization'; T → WrM {MED} tōgene 'cauterization, moxa', HIM төөнө {MED} id., {BMR} 'cauterization', Brt төөн 'brand (Brandmal) on animal's skin; white spot (weißer Fleck) on animal's skin', Kl {KRS} төөн 'cauterization; 'brand (Brandmal) on animal's skin', {Rm.} tōnō 'das Brennen\Sengen der Wunde (als Heilmittel)', Ord t'ōn 'cautère'; WrM {MED} tōgene- 'cauterize, apply a poultice or a high compress', HIM төөнө- {MED} id., {BMR} '(eine kranke Stelle) ausbrennen\durchwärmen; stark wärmen' (die Sonne)', Brt төөнэ- v. 'cauterize', Kl {Rm.} tōnō- 'die Wunde brennen (mit heißem Eisen oder mit Zunder)', Ord t'ōnō- 'cautériser à l'aide de la chaleur, appliquer un objet chauffé sur une partie du corps dans un but médical' ¶ SDM 1451 (*Tōgen 'brand, tinder'), Cl. 484, Pek. 2902, MED 832, BMR III 244, Chr. 433, KRS 513, Ms. O 674, Rh. 926 || M **tūye|i- → [1] *tūye|i-deg > WrM {MED} tūgūdeg, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt түүдэг 'campfire', Kl {KRS} түүдг id.; [2] *tū'x'i-mer > WrM {MED} tūimer, HIM {MEDD, BMR} түймэр 'forest fire, steppe fire, wildfire', Brt түймэр, Dg {T} tuimer, {Mr.} tuimere 'fire (incendie)', Ord t'ūimer 'incendie', WrO {Krg.} tūimer 'fire, blaze', Kl {KRS} түүмр tūmar 'fire (incendie)', {Rm.} tūmr 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ MED 850-1, BMR III 268, 276, Chr 443, 448, KRS 525, KW 418, T DgJ 169, Mr. D 227, Krg. 530, Ms. O 684, MYC 657 || Tg *toga 'fire' > Ewk toxo ≍ towo ≍ togo 'fire, campfire', Sln togo 'fire', Lm tox ≍ tow 'fire', Neg tō ~ toxo, Orc, Ud tō 'fire, campfire', Ul taʷa 'fire', taʷu-/-i- v. 'light (a candle etc.)', Ork taʷa ~ tāʷa 'fire, hearth', Nn Bk ta(ʷ)u, Nn KU tō 'fire, campfire, hearth', Nn Nh taʷa {STM} id., {On.} 'fire, campfire', Nn Nh {STM} tāō(ʷō)-, Nn Bk ta(ʷ)u- v. 'ignite', WrMc {Z} туба, Mc Sb tua, Jrc {SDM} towi 'fire', Mc Sb tabu- v. 'ignite' ¶ STM II 190, Krm. 295, On. 388, Z 765 ¶¶ SDM 1450-1 (pA *t'oge|i 'fire' > T *Tōgen 'brand, tinder', M, Tg), DQA no. 2417, S AJ 157 (adducing pJ *tāk- v. 'burn, set fire' > OJ tak-, MJ [RJ] tāk-ù {S} id., J T tāk- {Kenk.} vt. 'burn, kindle', cf. S QJ no. 649, Mr. 762, Kenk. 1895) || ? **Gil:** Gil A tuʷr 'fire' ¶¶ ST 384-5 ◇ Cf. Blz. KM 121-2 [no. 26]: K *tkutk- (sc. *tutk-), HS *✓tkʷ and A *toka v. 'burn' (Tg *toga + *÷ pJ *tak-) equated with Ugr *tūʷə-t (sc. U *teʷ∇-t∇) 'fire' (which, to my mind, does not belong here, but goes back to N *t'e'ʷaʷ'a' 'fire') and with an alleged D *tik-

/*tukk- 'hearth, fireplace' (actually *tikkel-/ *tunkel-), which is too doubtful.

2341. *ṭaka|æ̌ʔU 'to touch' > HS: C: EC: Af {PH} ḍage v. 'touch', Sa {R} ḍag- ~ ḍag- 'berühren, anrühren' || Ag: Xm {R} ḍag̃- [daʁ-] 'berühren, antasten' ¶ PH 89, R S II 102, R Ch II 38 || WCh: NrBc: Mbr, My, Jmb təkən v. 'touch' ¶ ChC s.v. 'to touch', Sk. NB 45 || IE: NaIE *tag|ǵ- v. 'touch' > Gk Ep τεταυωv (aor. II prtc.) 'having seized' || L tangō / tangēre / tetīgi / tactum v. 'touch', Vls atahus (ft. II) 'attigerit' || AS ḍaccian 'to touch, to stroke (a horse)', ME thakken 'to stroke', OLG thakolōn 'streicheln' ¶¶ P 1054-5, EI 595, F II 684, WH II 647-8, Pln. I 442, Ho. 359, Skeat 645 || A *t'ôǩu- > NaT *Tǒku- v. 'touch' > Az toχun-, Tk dokun-, Ggz dokun- id., Chg {Rl.} طوقنمق toqun-maq inf. 'sich an etwas stoßen, anstoßen', ET {Nj.} toqun- 'touch, catch on, collide (задевать, зацепляться; сталкиваться)' ¶ ARL 296, GRM 151, Rl. III 1150, Nj. 319 || AmTg *tugde > Orc tugdз-, Ul tugdi- v. 'reach (bis ... langen)' ('доставать до ...') ¶ TM II 203 || D *tak- ({ǵS} *t-, *-g-) v. 'touch' (× N *teǩv 'to touch', q.v.) > Kn tagalu, tagilu, tagulu 'come in contact with, touch, hit', Tu tagaruni 'draw near', Tl tagulu, tavulu v. 'touch, come in contact with, strike against', Knd tagli v. 'touch, hit', Krx taknā 'rub\graze in passing, give a very slight knock', Mlt take v. 'touch, hurt (as a sore)' ¶¶ D no. 3004 ◇ If the N etymon is *ṭaǩv, NaT *o in *ǒku- and Tg *u have no explanation. A possible solution: N *ṭaka|æ̌ʔU with loss of *-ʔU in IE and with regr. as. (infl. of N *-ʔU) in the Altaic lges (NaT *-ǒu- and AmTg *-u- in the initial syll. ◇ EC *taḱ- v. 'push, strike' and Or tuḱa v. 'touch' can be better explained as going back to N *teǩv '↑' and N *ṭ'ü'ḱa 'to thrust, to stab, to push' (q.v.) ◇ IS SS no. 5.19, IS MS 369 (*tāǩ 'to touch': IE, A, D) → BmK 283-4 (IE, D + Sum tag v. 'touch' + *÷ EC *taḱ- v. 'push, strike' + *÷ SC: Alg tinq- v. 'squeeze out').

2342. *ṭuǩU|ḷE ~ *ǒU|ḷv̌kE 'wolf, jackal, fox' > HS: C {AD} *✓tǩ 'Lycaon pictus, jackal', {E} *taǩ- 'wild dog' > pAg {AD} *taǩā > Bln {R} tåg'lā, Q {R} taχ̌elā 'wolf'; Ag ⇨ Gz ṭḥṭ taǩā, Tgy, Amh ṭḥṭ teǩla 'wolf, Canis famelicus (?)', Tgr {LH} ṭḥṭ təkla, {Mz.} tokla 'Lycaon pictus' (or 'Canis lupaster'); Ag or EthS ⇨ Bj {R} tākla 'Lycaon pictus', Sa {R} tākla ~ tāǩlā id. || SC: WR† {E} *taǩer- 'jackal' (IE) > Iro {MOK} nl tawér 'wild dogs' so

ta \bar{w} ēr(a)mō 'wild dog', {Mgw.} ta \bar{w} ēr-mō 'fox, jackal', Grw {Fl.} tuer 'wild dog' [Ehret postulated a change SC *-l- > WRt *-r-] ¶ E PC no. 412, R WBd 226, R WB 334, R S II 352, L G 573, LH 316, MQK 100, Mgw. 108, Fl. p.c. || NrOm: Gnj {Si.} 't̥irku, Gcm {Si.} t̥r'ko, Bdt {Hw.} 'tolko, Krt {Si.} t̥olkɔ, Zs/Zrg {Si.} 't̥olkɔ, HzMa {SWW} dullí, Sz {SWW} d̥ulí & d̥ulè 'hyena' ¶ Hw. NKL 219, Blz. KV s.v. tólko, Si. ACh 16, SiW BA 14 ¶¶ It is tempting to include here the word for 'jackal' in some WCh lges: Stolbova reconstructed WCh *dila 'jackal' > Hs d̥ílā, Gw dila id. || BT: Krkr d̥ílá id. || Ron: Sha {J} fatɜ-ⁿje | id. || Ngz {Sch.} d̥ílá id. (Stl. ZCh 173 [no. 256]), but the word (except that of Sha) is obviously a loan from Kanuri d̥áḷú 'jackal' (Lk. KL 194, Sch. DN 34) || ¶ *t'ul_l∇_lkE 'wolf, fox' > T *Tülkü ~ *Tilkü 'fox' ({ADb.} *tilkü, {Md.} ppT *t'üjlk'i) > OT [QB] {DTS} tilkü ~ tülkü, {Cl.} tülki, [MhK] {Cl., DTS} tilkü ~ tilki, MU, XwT tilkü, Cmn, Chg tülkü, MQp tülkü ~ tilkü, OOsm d̥ilkü, Tk tilki, Ggz, Tkm tilki, Az tülkü, Slr A tüligu ~ tülügü(r) ~ tülugo, Slr U t'uligur ~ t'ulugu ~ t'ulugo, VTt төлке т̥лк̆, Bsh төлкө т̥лк̆, Qry tülkü ~ tilki, Qzq, Qqm, Nog tülki, Qmq, Qrg, StAlt tülkü, Xk tülgü, Uz tulki, Uz XwrOg tilki ~ tülki, ET {Nj.} tülkä, Tv дилги d̥ilɣi, Tf d̥ilɣi 'fox' || Chv L тилѣ tilь, Chv Δ til id. ¶ Cl. 498-9, DTS 596, Shch. Zh 135, TL 161, 643, BT 161, Tn. SJ 526, Ra. 173, Nj. 338, Ash. XIV 35-6, Fed. II 229, Jeg. 251, ChVS 216, Md. 66, 181 || Tg: Sln t̥ülgɜ 'wolf' ¶ STM II 210 || ??φ pJ {S} *tuárá 'tiger' > OJ tuora, MJ [RJ] tórá, J T tóra, J K tórá, J Kg tóra id. ¶ S QJ no. 273, Mr. 550, Kenk. 2015 ¶¶ SDM 1471 (pA *t'ule(k∇) > Tg, M, pJ), DQA no. 2460 (pA *t'ulke), S AJ 70, TL 761 || ¶ D *tōl- ({{ǰGS} *t-) 'wolf' > Kn tōl̥a, Tu tōl̥ə ~ tōl̥e 'wolf', Brh tōla 'jackal', as well as possibly Tm tōnṭān̄ and Tl tōḍe_l:_lu 'wolf' (where -nṭ- and ṭ < *-l + t-) ¶¶ D no. 3548 ◇ The rec. of N *-k_lU_l- is preferable to *-l_l∇_lk- because it is more natural to explain the length of the vw. in D by compensatory lengthening caused by the loss of the first component of the N cluster *-k]- (< N *-k_lU_l-): *-∇k]- > *-∇:]-.

2343. *t̥äkt∇ 'louse' > HS: C: Bj {R, Rop.} t̥āt (pl. t̥at) 'louse' ¶ R WBd 232, Rop. 245 || Ch *t∇t- 'louse' > WCh: Ron: Fy {Sch.} t̥ét, Klr {IL} t̥híd id. || BT: Krkr t̥óḍà, Grm {Sch.} t̥ḍḍḍḍ id. || CCh: BtG {Mch.} t̥étiy̆e, Mtk {ChC} t̥éčé, Mkt {Ro.} àtáč, Md ìtét id. ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'louse', Ro. 286 || ¶ U: FU *°t̥äkt∇m∇ > ObU *t̥ēkt∇m∇ 'louse' > pVg {Ht.} *t̥āk_m∇ id. > OVg: W P, S Vt тахма, N SoO такмъ, W Sol тахмъ id.; Vg: T tākəm. LK/MK/UK t̥āxəm. P/NV/LL тахам. SV t̥āxəm. UL/Ss tākəm

'louse', LK/MK tāχamy-, UK tāχməy- v. 'delouse'; pOs {Ht.} *tōytam 'louse' > Os: V/Vy tōytam, Ty tāχwtam, Y tāwtam, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtam id. ¶ Ht. no. 634 || **A:** Tg *tikte 'louse' > Ul tikṭz, Ork tikṭz ~ čiktz, Nn Nh {STM} čiktz, {On} čīktz; WrMc {Z} чихэ ~ чихи 'louse' ¶ The vw. *i may be due to coalescence with Tg *tī- that is found in the Tg vb. *tī-le- 'look for lice' (ffd. see N *tāy▽ 'louse'), so that *tikte could be interpreted (folk etymology) as *tī- + nominal sx *-kte. The origin of WrMc {Z} -x- is not clear ¶ STD II 179, On. 503, Z 936 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 165 (on the Tg sx).

2344. *t'a'Kæ 'be\keep quiet, be silent' > **HS:** Ch: WCh: pAG *dok v. 'be\keep quiet' > Gmy, Kfr, Kfr M, Ang dok, Su {J} dōk id. | pNrBc {Stl.} *tikī 'silence' > Kry tíkī, My tíkītíkī, Sir təkī id. ¶ Hf. AG no. 79, Stl. Ang no. 60, Stl. ZCh 250 [no. 37], Nt. 10, J S 65, ChC s.v. 'silent, silence' || **IE:** NaIE *tak|k̄- v. 'be silent' > L tace-ō / tacē-re / tacui / tacitum v. 'keep silence', Um taçez TASES 'tacitus', TASETUR nom. pl. 'taciti' || ? W gosteg 'silence' || Gt pahān (σιωπᾶν, σιγᾶν) 'schweigen', ON þegja, OSx thagōn, OHG dagēn 'to be silent', ON þagall, þogull 'schweigsam, still' ¶ WH II 641-2, ≈ EI 518 (*tak-), Bc. G 348, Pln. II 758, Fs. 487-8, Vr. 605, 607, OsS 94, EWA II 488-90, Ho. S 76 || **A:** NaT *Tæk > OT, QT tāk 'silent, silently', tāk tur- v. 'be silent, stand silent', Chg tek ~ dek 'silent', OOG XI tāk tur- v. 'stand silent', Tk tek dūr- v. 'stand silent\quiet', Tkm dek 'quiet', dek dūr- 'stand quiet!', Qrg tek 'quietly (смирно, спокойно)', tek tur- 'teilnahmslos\ unbeschäftigt sein', Qq, Qrg, Uz tek 'quietly (смирно, спокойно)', tek tur 'stand quiet!', Nog tek oltir- 'sit quiet!' ¶ Cl. 475, TrR 841, TkR 252, KrkR 633, Jud. 719, UzR 422, NogR 343 ◇ The IE vw. *a points to a N *a. The vw. *æ in T (< A *^oā¹?) is likely to be due to vowel harmony (suggesting a front vw. of the second syll. in the N etymon).

2345. *tikā 'be straight' > **HS:** S *✓tq̄n v. 'be straight, be in good condition' (× N *tAKæ 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit', q.v.) > BHb ✓tq̄n v. G (inf. 𐤊𐤒𐤍 li-t'q̄on) v. 'be straight', D 𐤊𐤒𐤍 (pf. tik'q̄en) 'he made (it) straight', Sr ✓tq̄n G (pf. 𐤊𐤒𐤍 tə'q̄en) 'be established\firm', Ar ✓tq̄n Sh (pf. ?atqana) vt. {Ln.} 'make\render (sth.) firm\stable\solid', {BK} 'construire\bâtir avec art, habilement et solidement', {Hv.} 'improve', Ak ✓tq̄n G 'geordnet\gesichert sein\werden', ?φ Tgy ✓tq̄n D v. 'stabilize' ¶ GB 888, Sd. 1323-4, Br. 831-2, KB 1642-4, Ln. 309,

BK I 202, Hv. 60, L ESAC 55 || **IE:** NaIE *te_ɪk- / (with a nasal infix) *tink- v. 'be fit; trust' > Lt tìk_ti (1s pres. tìnk_u) 'to be fit\suited', Ltv tikt (1s pres. tìk_u) 'to like, to enjoy'; Lt tike_ti (1s pres. tiki_u), Ltv ticē_t 'to trust, to believe' || OHG dīngen 'to hope, to strive to', MHG dīngen 'hoffen, glauben, Zuversicht haben' ¶ WP I 705, Frn. 1090-2, Kar. II 402-3, Jg. VB 91-103, Kb. 155, OsS 103, EWA II 653-5, Lx. 31 || **A:** [1] A *t'ik'∇ 'straight' > ? NaT *t'ik- > Az tik- v. 'build', Tv t'ik-/ t'ig- 'put (a cauldron) on fire, set up a yurta (tent)', Xk тик-/ -г- tɪk-/ -g- 'put food on fire (to cook it)' ¶ ET VGD 226-7, TvR 413, Äz. 340 || M *čike adj., adv. 'straight' > WrM {MED} cike, HIM {MED, BMR} цэх, Brt сэхэ id., WrO ciki 'straight, direct', Kl {KRS} чик čikə adj., adv. 'straight', {Rm.} čikə 'gerade, ohne Krümmung, in der richtigen Richtung, gerechten Sinnes, aufrichtig', Ord žikə 'qui n'est pas courbe, droit; tout droit devant soi' ¶ MED 180, BMR IV 292, Kow. 2175, Krg. 636, Chr. 405, KRS 649, KW 439. Ms. O 196 || ? Tg *-tikī 'towards' (directive case ending, {Ci.} allative ending > Ewk -tikī ~ -tkī (e.g. oron-tikī 'towards a\the deer', bira-tkī 'towards a\the river'), Neg -tiḡī ~ -tkī, Sln -tiḡī ~ -tḡī, Lm -takī ~ -tkī, Ork -taki ~ -tai, Orc -ti(kī), Ud -tigi, Ul -ti, Nn -čī ɖ -tki ɖ -ki, Nn Nh {On} -čī 'towards' (directive case ending) ¶ This ending belongs here unless it is a cd *-ti + *-kī (as supposed by Bz.) ¶ Vas. 791, 793, Bz. 85-7, Ci. 256, Sun. S 161, On. 552 ¶¶ SDM 1370 (pA *t'ik' i v. 'plant vertically', connecting M *čike 'straight' with Tg *dīkē- v. 'hide' and T *t'ik- v. 'plant vertically' [see below]), KW 439 (M, T, Tg, Ko čik 'Richtung, gerade, aufrichtig') || [2] A *°tik'∇ > T *tik- v. 'insert vertically' (× N *t'ü'ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push', q.v. ffd. × N ≈ *te_h'a_{ka}?é 'to put, to set'), *tik 'straight, vertical, precipitous' > OT tik- v. 'insert vertically', tik 'straight, vertical, upright, precipitous', OT [MhK] dik tur- v. 'be vertical', Chg tik 'vertical', Tk dik, Ggz dik id., 'precipitous', Tkm dik 'straight; precipitous, steep', Az dik, ET tik 'straight, vertical', Tk dik-, Tkm, Ggz dik- v. 'install\insert vertically', ET tik- v. 'install, plant', Chv {Ash.} чикε čig_e 'precipitous, upright' ('крутой, отвесный') ¶ Chv čī- < *Ti- (palatalizing infl. of *i?) ¶ Cl. 475-7, Ash. XV 196, Md. 80, 179, IS AD 41 [no. 11] (equating Tk tik- with T *t'ik-), TvR 413, BIG 227 ¶¶ SDM 1370 (pA *t'ik' i v. 'plant vertically' > T *t'ik- v. 'plant vertically', M *čike 'straight, vertical' ({AD} 'be straight') + unc. Tg *dīkē- vi. 'hide' [probably from A

*t'ik'∇ v. 'place into, stuff into' < N *t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push', q.v.]), Rm. EAS I 50, 150, Pp. VG 16 ◇ ≠ BmK 290 (a semantically unwarranted attempt to equate S *√tkn v. 'be straight' with IE *tegu- 'thick' and M c i g i r a g 'strong').

2346. *t'o'ko 'run away, run, stream' > HS: S *°√tkw > Ar ṭq̣w G (pf. ṭāqa, msd. ṭaqw-un) {Fr.} 'celeriter incessit', {BK} 'marcher avec rapidité' ¶ Fr. III 12, BK II 112 || EC: HEC *toq- v. 'flee' > Sd {Hd.} ṭōḳḳ-, {C, Mrn.} ṭoq- id., Brj ṭokk- id., Hd {Ss.} tok- v. 'flee, leak' ¶ AD SF 276, Ss. B 182, Hd. 223, 397 || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *taq- v. 'go, run' > Hs Kc túq̣à v. 'go away, go to a journey', Hs ṭàq̣ǎ n. 'pace' | Glm {Sch.} ṭāg-(ǎlà) v. 'run' | DfB {J} ṭôk / hab. ṭwâk id. || ? CCh: Hw {ChL} ṭáḳwà v. 'follow' ¶ Stl. ZCh 163 [no. 168], Ba. 977, 1050-1, Abr. H 840, Sch. BTL 89, J R 222, ChL, ChC s.v. 'run' ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 2418 (*tuq- 'go, run') || K: pGZ *ṭiḳw̄- v. 'skip (away), run quickly' > G Δ (ga-)ṭiḳn- 'skip, skip away (скакать, ускакать)', Mg ṭi(r)q̣on- v. 'run as fast as one can' ('бежать без оглядки') ¶ K 181, Q 328 || IE *teḳw- v. 'run, flow' ({EI} 'run, flow swiftly') > OI 'tak-ti 'hurries, rushes along', Av tačaiti 'runs', KhS ttays- v. 'run, stream', NPrs تازد ṭōz-ād 'walks fast, runs', تاختن ṭāχtān 'to hasten, to walk fast, to run' || pAl {O} *en-teka 'chase, pursue, follow' (< {Huld} *en-teḳw-ō) > MAI G {FB} ndiecuue > Al T/G ndjek / ndoqa, Al Δ: SG {Huld} ndjek / ndoḳja, D njeku / noća id. || Clt {Matas.} *teḳw-ō- 'flee, run' > OIr {Vn.} tech- 'flee', {Matas.} teichid, -teuch 'flee, run', MW {Matas.}, W {YGM} techu, Cm tēgh, MBr techet 'flee', Br {Hm.} tec'h 'fuite', tec'hout 'fuir, s'en fuir' || Lt tekéti (1s pres. teḳu) 'to run, to stream', Ltv tecēt (1s pres. teḳu) 'to run, to flow' | Sl *tek- (1s pres. *te'k-ō, inf. tek-'ti) > OCS 1s pres. ТЕКЪ tek-ō (inf. ТЕЩИ tešṭi) 'flow; run', SCr 1s pres. ṭèčēm (inf. ṭèći), Slv 1s pres. ṭéčem (inf. ṭéći), R 1s pres. те'кы (inf. течь), Cz 1s pres. teḳu (inf. ṭéći) v. 'stream, flow', P 1s pres. сиек̣е (inf. сиеć) 'run, leak', Blg тека 'flow', d.: Uk тикати 'to run' || ? Pal tekanza {ABIV.} 'flowing' (but {Carr.}: аср. '?'); Mn. adduced Ht {Ts.} w̄a-tku- v. 'jump, flee', which is unc. ¶¶ P 1059-60, EI 491, ABIV. II 163-4, Carr. P 74, Ts. W 104, M K I 466, M E I 610-11, Bai. 121, Sg. 273, Horn 82, Mn. 1372, Ch. 1113, Vn. T 40, YGM-1 406, Hm. 780, Frn. 1074-5, Vs. IV 37, Glh. 622, StSS 694, O 286, Huld 97 (pAl *ndek- / ndok-j- > pAl *ndjek / *ndoqa) || A:

[1] ? T *t'ök- 'pour out (a liquid)' (× N *t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push'??) > OT, OQp XIII, XwT XIV, Chg XV t'ök- id., Tk t'ök-, Az, Tkm dök-, Uz twk-, VTt, Bsh tük-, Qzq, Qrg, ET, Yk t'ök-, Tv t'ök- / d'ök- 'pour, pour out', Tf t'č'k'- 'pour out' ¶ Cl. 477, Ra. 235 ¶ The front vw. still defies explanation (trace of an *E-sx or infl. of pN **t'ü'Ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push'??); the unexpected initial lenis cns. is still to be explained | [2] pA *t'ok_l∇₁s∇ v. 'run' > M *toqsi- v. 'flee' (of animals) ({SDM} 'run away jumping') > WrM toqsi- {MED} v. 'flee in fright', HIM тогши- {MED} id., {Gl.} 'flee, escape (from a human)' (of animals), {Luv., BMR} 'flee by leaps, bound a way off' (of animals, e.g. antelope), Ord d₀g_ši- 'fuir de peur' ¶ MED 815, Luv. 403, BMR III 216, Gl. III 212, Ms. O 148 || Tg *tuksa- v. 'run, skip' > Ewk S/N/E tuksa-, Ewk Ald/NB/Tkm toha-, Ewk Brd/Sm/NB tukša-, Ewk Ald/UL/Tkm/Hng tuha-, Neg toksa-, Ud {STM} tukseä-, {Krm.} tukä- v. 'run', Sln tukçān- v. 'skip, jump', Lm tūs- 'run in a slow trot', Lm Al tūh- v. 'skip' ('скакать'), Ork tuqsa- v. 'compete in reindeer-sledge race' ¶ STM II 208 || ??? T *To^g|^γus- ({SDM} *togus-) > Tkm tovus- 'jump', Blg {SDM} '(year of) mouse' ¶ SDM 1451, Tkr 636 | [2a] ⇨ pA *t'oksa-kī 'hare' > Tg *tuksa-kī > Ewk S/E/N tuksakī, Ewk E/S tohakī, Ewk Brg/Sb tukšakī, Ewk E/S tūhakī, Sln tūrçaxi ~ tūtçaxi, Neg toksakī, Orc tuksa(n), Ud {STM}, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} tuksa, Ud X {Krm.} tukća, Ork tuqsa, Nn Nh/Bk toqsa id. ¶ STM II 208, Krm. 297, On. 402 (and 115) || pKo *t'óskí 'hare' > MKo t'óskí, NKo t'ókī id. ¶ S QK no. 282, Nam 459, MLC 1705 ¶¶ SDM 1451 (pA *t'ògsu 'run; hare' > Tg, M, Ko, T), DQA no. 2419 (A *t'ògsu 'run; hare'), Rm. SKE 283 ('hare': Tg, Ko) ◇ AD GD no. 123 (IE, K, Tg) ◇ Gr. II no. 302 (*tekω 'pour') (IE, T, qu. Ko, J, EA).

2347. *tuKâ 'earth (substance), mud, dust' > HS *^o✓ t_kω > C: pAg *da_kω-/*dada_kω- ({Ap.} *daqω-/*dādaqω-) 'mud' > Q {AP} dax^ωa, (× N *t_UX|q^r∇ [or *t_oX|q_Ury∇?] 'dirt; be dirty'): Bln {∂R} dera^qā ({R} dera_uqā ~ deraq^ωā) 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm', Xm {R} r_o'q^ωā 'Ton, Lehm' || LEC *d_o:₁k_k- > Sml {DSI, ZMO} dōqo 'mud (fango, melma)', Sml N {Abr.} dōqò 'turbid water', Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} d_ok_kē 'mud, dung', Or Gj {LLC} d_ok_kē, Or {Th.}, Or M {LLC} d_ok_e, Kns d_oqqe-ta 'mud', Gdl dōk_k-itot 'quicksand', Gwd {AMS}, Gln {AMS}, Grs {AMS} d_oqqolo 'mud' (to be distinguished from LEC *č_o:₁k_k- > Gdl č_ok_ka, Gwd {Ss.} č_ok_ka 'mud' and [borrowed from LEC] Amh č₃k_a 'mud') ¶ Ap. AV 8, Ss.

PEC 30, 50, DSI 178, ZMO 123, Abr. S 66, R WB 111, R Ch II 403 (s.p. 89), Grg. 129, AMS 198, 265, Bl. 218 ¶ Ss. PEC mentioned Or $\text{d}\bar{\text{o}}\text{k}\text{k}\text{-}$ with a long $\bar{\text{o}}$, which is at variance with lexicographical sources (Grg., Sr., Th., LLC), hence his rec. of EC $\text{*d}\bar{\text{o}}\text{k}\text{k}\text{-}$ is less accurate than Bl.'s $\text{*d}\bar{\text{o}}\text{;}\text{k}\text{k}\text{-}$ || ?? B $\text{*d}\nabla\text{qq-}$ ~ $\text{*t}\nabla\text{qq-}$ 'clay' > Rf Wr/B/Am, SrSn $\text{i-d}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqi}$ 'clay', Tmz {MT} $\text{id}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqi}$ ~ $\text{it}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqi}$ 'argile, terre à potier, terrain argileux', Sll {Ds.} $\text{id}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqi}$ 'argile à potier', Chl {NZ} $\text{id}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqi}$ d $\text{it}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqi}$ 'terre à poterie', Ty $\text{id}\bar{\text{a}}\text{qqan}$ pl. 'morceaux d'argile séchés et durcis; terre cuite' ¶ Rn. 309, MT 70, Ds. 20, NZ 366 || WCh (\times N $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}\text{e}$ 'dust, earth [substance]', q.v.): Hs $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'ashes' | Tng $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., 'potash, salt' ¶ Abr. H 868, Ba. 1018, J T 81 || A: Tg $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'earth, clay, sand' > Ewk Z/I $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'sand', Ewk S/E/N $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'earth, soil, clay', Ewk Ald/Ucr $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Ewk {Cs.} $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'soil, ashes', Ewk Brg/NB $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'mud', Sln $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'earth', Lm $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{q}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ d $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{q}\bar{\text{a}}$ d $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{q}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'litter, dirt', Neg $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{x}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ~ $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{k}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., 'dust, earth, soil', Orc $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Ud $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Ul $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{a}}\text{q}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'clay', Nn Nh/Bk $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Nn KU $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{x}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ ~ $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{q}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'earth, soil, clay' ¶ STM II 207, On. 407 || D $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\text{-/}$ $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\text{-}$ 'dust, earth' > Tm $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'dust, particle of dust', Tl $\text{d}\bar{\text{u}}\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'dust, dirt, soot', Klm $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{'k}$ 'dust, earth, clay', Nkr, Prj $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}$, Gdb $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{r}}$ 'earth, clay' ¶¶ D no. 3283 || AdS of IE $\text{*t}\bar{\text{r}}\text{ek}\text{-/}\text{*t}\bar{\text{r}}\text{k}\text{-}$ 'earth' (< N $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}\text{e}$ '↑', q.v. ffd.); the absence of $\text{*e}\bar{\text{u}}$ or *u (the expected reflex of N *u in $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{K}\bar{\text{a}}$) suggests that the main source of the IE root is N $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{g}\bar{\text{a}}\text{e}$ ¶¶ Ivn. OPA 25-35 and GI 149-150 (analysis of phonetic changes), ABiv. II 133-7, Ts. E III 292-300.

2348. $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{K}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)' > HS: S $\text{*}\bar{\text{o}}\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{k}}\text{-}$ > Sr {Br.} $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{w}}\bar{\text{k}}\text{-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'young pigeon, chicken' ('pullus columbae sive gallinae') ¶ Br. 272 || IE: NaIE $\text{*t}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\text{-}$ 'offspring' (\times N $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{w}\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'germ', q.v.) > OI $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\text{'k}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{m}}$ 'posterity, children', Vd dat. sg. $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{'c}\text{-}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'to the children\ offspring (Nachkommenschaft)' || MHG diehter ~ tiehter , NGr Δ Tichter 'grandchild' (infl. of MHG tohter , NHG Tochter 'daughter' < IE $\text{*d}^{\text{h}}\text{ugH}\text{-ter}$?) ¶ P 1085, M K I 508, 527, M E I 651, 670 (rejecting the MHG-NGr cognate and preferring to connect it with IE $\text{*d}^{\text{h}}\text{ugH}\text{-ter}$ 'daughter'), Vl. I 426-7, Sg. 288-9, Horn 84, Lx. 30 ¶ The N etymology of IE $\text{*d}^{\text{h}}\text{ugH}\text{-ter}$ (P 277, WP I 868) is still to be investigated; it is worth paying attention to Ar $\check{\text{d}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{q}}$ 'mettre bas, enfanter' (BK I 674-5) (unless it is a sd. of Ar $\check{\text{d}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{q}}$ 'chasser, éloigner') and to T *yegen 'grandchild, nephew' (TL 293) || A $\text{*t}\bar{\text{'u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{'a}}$ 'young artiodactyl' > Tg $\text{*t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\text{-}$ id. > Ewk $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ d $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}$ d $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{n}}$ 'young elk', Sln $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\text{x}\bar{\text{s}}\bar{\text{a}}$

'Kalb bis zu einem Jahr', Lm tuʁu- ~ tū- v. 'fawn, whelp', WrMc {Hr} tuqʂan, {Z} туқшань 'calf' (↳ Sln tuʁʂan id.); some Tg lge ↳ Yk tugut ~ tubut 'Rentierfohlen; reindeer less than a year old' ¶ STM II 210, Klz. S II 48-9, Z 750, Hr III 925, JRS 398, Pek. 2791, 2783 || M *tugul 'calf' > MM [S, HI, ZhY] tugul (tu-qu-lun, tu-quɫ, tu-quɫn), [MA, IM] tuɣul 'calf', WrM {MED} tuɣul, HIM {MED, BMR} туғал 'calf less than a year old', Brt туғал 'calf', Kl {KRS} туғл туʁьл 'calf; suckling (artiodactyl)', {Rm.} туʁул 'Kalb, junges Tier überhaupt', MMgl [Z], Mgl {Rm.} туʁул, Mnr H {T} tugul 'calf', {SM} t'ugur 'veau', Dx tugunča, Ba tolček 'calf', Ord t'ugul 'veau de la première année' ¶ MED 838, BMR III 249, Chr. 433, KW 409, KRS 516, Ms. H 103, H 153, Iw. 139, T 366, SM 429, Ms. O 676, Pp. MA 354, 448 || NaT *t'okli 'a very young lamb' > OT {Cl.} toqli 'a lamb a few months old', MT XIV [IM] toɣli, MQp toqli, Tk toklu, Ggz toqlu, Tkm toqli, Qq toqlu ~ toqli ~ toqti 'yearling lamb', Az Δ toʁlu ɟ toʁli ɟ toɣlu 'sheep of the second year', Qzq toqti 'a lamb older than 6 months', Qrg toqtu 'young ewe', Qrg S toqtu 'two-year-old wether', Nog toqli 'two-year-old ram', toqlu 'two-year-old sheep', S toqti, Tv t'oʁdu 'yearling lamb'] ?φ NaT: Tkm doʁ 'one-year-old goat up to the first kidding'] ?σ,φ NaT *Tug- v. 'be born, give birth to' > OT tuɣ- v. 'be born', XwT, Chg tuɣ-, Cmɫ toɣ- ~ toɧ- ~ tuɧ-, OOsɫ doɣ-, Tk doɣ-, Tkm doʁ-, Uz tuw- v. 'be born', Az doʁ- v. 'bear; appear, be born' ¶ The T verb *Tug- is a very qu. cognate because of its meaning ¶ Cl. 465-6, 469, Shch. Zh 115, TL 433-4, 698 (*toʁ- 'be born'), GRM 472, Jud. 147, 744 ¶¶ The unexpected vd. cns. *g in pM needs explanation ¶¶ SDM 1470 (pA *t'uk∇ 'calf, lamb' > Tg, M, T *t'okli), DQA no. 2458 (id.), KW 409, 414, ADb. SR 7, TL 434, Sin. ANB 321 ◇ NaT *o (for the expected *u) in *t'okli still requires explanation ◇ Cf. N *t'owkâ 'germ, seed', although the connection between descendants of these two N words (like in Irn [OPrs taumā 'family, clan', Av taoxman 'seed, germ']) is hardly ancient.

2349. *t'ü'ka 'to thrust, to stab, to push' > HS: EC {Ss.} *taḳ- v. 'push, strike' > Rn taɣ-, Dsn tá? v. 'push', ? Af {PH} -ōtok- v. 'strike (sth. inanimate)' (× N *tek∇ 'to touch?') ¶ Ss. PEC 48, PH 177, Sim 4, PG 274, To. DL 529 || ?? S *o✓tkl (× N ≈ *te, 'h'a,kaʔê 'to put, to set') > Gz ✓tkl G v. 'plant, implant, set up, establish' (↳ Bln {R} takal, Xm {R} tikel v. 'plant', Sa {R} takal 'einsetzen, einpflanzen in die Erde').

One may tentatively adduce SES: Mh, Jb ✓ ʈk̥k̥ (Mh pf. ʈz̥k̥, Jb C pf. ʈek̥k̥, sbjn. ʈɔʈʈz̥k̥, Jb E pf. ʈek̥) v. 'knock, bang, pound', Hrs ✓ ʈk̥k̥ (pf. ʈz̥k̥, sbjn. ʈz̥ʈk̥āk̥) v. 'knock', resulting from contamination of different paronymous roots + ideophonic factor (or onomatopoeia) ¶ Jo. J 276, Jo. M 409, Jo. H 129, L G 573, R WB 336, R CH II 421 (s.p. 107), R S II 352 || IE: NaIE *tuk- v. 'thrust, stab, prick' > VL *tūkkāre 'to touch' > It toccare, OFr tochier, Fr toucher, Sp, Prt, Ctl tocar id. || Clt ({SB, Vn.}: < *tuk-slo-): OIr toll 'pierced, perforated; hole', Crn toll, tol, MW {Flr.} tull, {SEv., Vn.} twll id., W {YGM} twll 'hole', OBr {Flr.} tull 'foramen (= hole)', MBr toull 'hole', Br toull 'pierced, hollow; hole'; ?: OIr túaḡ 'axe', NIr tuagh 'axe, hatchet', OIr túaḡaid v. 'chops with an axe' || Gk τυκος 'instrument for working stone, a mason's hammer/pick', τυκίζω v. 'work stones' || Sl *tǫk- > OCS ТЪКНѢТИ tǫknǫti (1s pres. ТЪКНѢ tǫknǫ) {StSS} ('νύσσειν, τρώειν) 'кочнуться, прикочнуться, толкнуть, стукнуть' ('to touch, to thrust, to give a knock'), R ткнуть 'to poke into, to stick into, to probe', Cz tknouti mom. 'to poke, to prick' ('ткнуть, кольнуть'), P tkać (1s pres. tka) 'to thrust, to stick, to stuff'; ip. stem *t+k/č- > ChS ТЫКАТИ tɨkati (1s pres. ТЫУѢ tɨčǫ) 'to prick' ({Mikl.} 'pungere'), R 'тыкать (ip. of ткнуть) 'to poke, to jab', Blg 'тикам 'I thrust, I stick into' ¶ Mn. 1452, ≈ P 1032-4, ≈ ML no. 8767, ≈ Kö. no. 9802 (Rom ← Gmc *tukkōn 'zucken'), GH 561, F II 941-2, SB 134, Vn. T 103, 158, Dnn. 760, SEv. 36, YGM-1 423, Flr. 325, Hm. 798, Mikl. L 1017, 1020, Mikl. E 367-8, StSS 711, Vs. IV 64, 130 || U: [1] FU *t'ü'k∇- v. 'push, thrust' > F tyōntǎ- 'push, shove' || Prm *tōy- or *toy- 'push, thrust, prick' (× FU *toí∇ v. 'push' < N *dA|oí, ∇, ∇ 'push', q.v. ffd.) || ObU *tōk- /*tēk- 'stopfen' > pVg *tǎǰ- 'stopfen, stechen, drängen' > Vg: T tāw-, MK tāǰ-, UK tāǰ- ~ tāǰ-, P tāw- ~ tāw-, Ss taǰ- id.; pOs *tök- ({Hl.} *tǫk-) 'stopfen' > Os: V/Vy tōki-, Ty/Y tākʷi- id., V/Vy tōkən-, Ty/Y tākʷən-, Kz/Nz tekən-, O tokən- 'sich füllen', V/Vy tōǰəl-, Nz tewat-, Kz tewəf-, O tewəl- 'verstopfen' || Hg † be-tōv- 'tief eindringen', Hg tǎz- v. 'pin, stitch, stick' ({UEW} 'anstecken, aufstecken') ¶ UEW 520 (FU *tek∇-, but why are the reflexes in the descendant lges so different from those of FU {UEW} *teke- 'tun, machen' [where there is no labial element]? [see UEW 519]), LG 281, Ht. 187 [no. 619] || ?? [2] FU (att. in FV) *tokka 'pierce, hit, touch' > F tokka- 'pierce, peck' || Er

(by striking\bumping)' ('тронуть, ушибить') ¶ If FV *tokka belongs here, its vw. *o (rather than *ü) is puzzling (may it be due to regr. as.?)

¶ UEW 796-7, ERV 665, PI 272 || А *t'ik'∇ v. 'place into, stuff into' ({SDM97} *t'ik'u v. 'stuff into, press into') > Tg: [1] AmTg *tiki- v. 'be placed into, fit' > Orc tiki- 'be able to contain (вместать)', Ul tiki-, Nn Nh čiqi-, Nn KU tiyki- 'go in' (in a container)' ('помещаться'), Ud {STM} tixi- ≈ tikʷi- id., 'have enough room for (вместать)', Ud Sm {Krm.} tixi- id., v. 'fit, be large enough, налезать' (of clothes, footwear) || [2] Tg *çiki- v. 'put, insert, stuff' (× N ≈ *ʧe,ʰa,kaʔê '↑') > Nn Bk čiqo- 'put, insert, stuff', Ewk çikiw- 'insert, stuff', çikça- 'stuff tight', Sln щикçэ- ~ щитçи- 'stuff\cram into, poke', Neg çimɣət- 'pick one's teeth', Ul čigžiči- ~ čirgžiči- 'stop up tightly, drive a wad into the rifle', WrMc {Z} чики- 'be the right size for, fit to the hole' (of a handle, axe handle), 'be a tight fit, go in' ¶ STM II 178, 391, Krm. 295, Z 933 ¶ The forms meaning v. 'stuff into' or sim. may be loans from M (see ⇒) || М *čiki- v. 'stuff into, press into' (× N ≈ *ʧe,ʰa,kaʔê '↑') > WrM {MED} ciki- v. 'jam, stuff, press, shove', HIM {MED, BMR} чихэ-, Brt шэхэ- id., Kl {KRS} чик- čik- id., 'squeeze into', {Rm.} čiki- 'hineinstopfen, volldrängen, füllen (z.B. einen Sack, seinen Magen)', Mnr {T} čigi- v. 'stuff into, press into', H {SM} č'ig_i- 'faire entrer un objet dans une ouverture en le poussant, boucher', Ord ž_ikʰe- id., 'remplir en poussant', Dx čiqi- v. 'stuff into, press into' ¶ MED 181, BMR IV 317-18, Chr. 751, KRS 650, KW 439, SM 448, T 379, T DnJ 141, Ms. O 196, STM II 391 || Т: [1] *Tik(a)- v. 'stuff into, press in' (× N ≈ *ʧe,ʰa,kaʔê '↑') > OT U tiq- 'stuff into, press in', Tk tikə- vt. 'plug, stop up', Ggz tiqa- 'stop up', Az tiχa-, Tkm diq-, Δ tiq-, Qzq tiq- v. 'stick into, thrust into', Tv d_ɪʷi- vi. 'stuff (with), thrust' ('плотно набивать, просовывать'), Chv чых- čix/ɣ_- vt. 'stuff (with), fill; есть жадно' ¶ Chv č- < *T- (palatalizing infl. of *ü?) ¶ Cl. 476-7, IS AD 41 [no. 11], Rs. W 477-8, 479-80, TkR 268, 297, Sht. 208-9, TvR 413, Md. 75, Ash. XV 425-6, Fed. II 428-9, Jeg. 329, ChVS 275 || [2] NaT *t'ik- v. 'put, place, insert' (× N ≈ *ʧe,ʰa,kaʔê 'to put, to set') > OT tik- v. 'insert', Tk dik- 'erect, set up, plant', Tkm dik- 'insert, build, dig in, plant', Qzq tik- тик- v. 'put, place, insert into the ground', Tv t'ik- (ftp. тигер) 'put (a cauldron) on fire, put, set up (a tent), establish' ¶ Cl. 476-7, Rs. W 479, TvR 413 || pKo {S} *t'ik- > MKo t'ik-, NKo č:ik- v. 'dip down, imprint' ¶ S QK no. 497, Nam 181, MLC

1540 || pJ {S} *túk- v. 'poke, thrust' > OJ túk-, J T cùk-, J K/Kg cúk- id. ¶ S QJ no. 475, Mr. 773, Kenk. 2O61 ¶¶ SDM 1370 (pA *t̥ik'í v. 'plant vertically' > M, NaT *t̥ik- + unc. Tg *d̥ikē- vi. 'hide' [> Ewk d̥ikē-, Lm dik̥-n-, Neg U dik̥-n-, Neg L diḫē-n-, Ud dig̥-n̥- id., cf. STM I 205]), DQA no. 2249, ≈ SDM97 (pA *t̥ik'u- v. 'stuff into, press into'), ADb. KL s.v. *t̥ik'í- 'всовывать' || D *tukk- v. 'push, shove' > Kn Δ dūku, d̥ūki v. 'push', Krx tukk-nā v. 'give a push, shove', Mlt tūke 'push, remove' ¶¶ D no. 3286 ◇ In the descendant lges the reflexes of this N word contaminated with those of several paronymous words sharing the basic meaning v. 'knock, strike', whence probably K: G tutk- v. 'push, strike' ◇ ≠ BmK 316-18 (an attempt of indiscriminated comparison of different [possibly ideo-phonetic] Gmc, K, S, C, FU, D, A and Sum roots with meanings such as 'knock, strike', 'crack', 'break\crush', 'tread down' etc. and sharing an initial t̥/t and a second cns. *k/g/ḳ, partially with different stem-final cns: G t̥ḳac- v. 'strike', Sag tuḣula 'strike with the feet' etc.); ≠ IS II 28-9 (NED *tukk- < N {IS} t̥ūḳ̆ 'pierce, thrust').

2349a. (₂?) *t̥ūḳ̆ (or *t̥ūk̆?) 'hair' > HS: C: EC {Bl.} *ḍogor 'hair' (× N *šāyoy'í'í' 'hair'?) > Af {PH} ḍágor, Sa {Bl.} dagar, Bs. ogor-ro 'hair', Sml {DSI} ḍogor 'animal's coat, wool', Sml N {Abr.} ḍógór 'animal's coat', ? Dsn {To.} ḍūr 'hair' ¶ Bl. 217, PH 89-90, Abr. S 65, To. DL 496, DSI 177 || Ch: WCh: Cg {Sk.} ták, Ywm {IL} t̥h̥k̥h̥ 'hair', {JI} t̥w̥t̥h̥k̥h̥ 'hair of head', Tala {IL} ták id ¶ JI II 176, ChC s.v. 'hair', ChL || A *t̥ük'E 'hair of the body' > T *t̥ük 'hair of the body, animal's coat' > OT U, Chg t̥ūk, MU, XwT t̥üg 'hair of the body', MQp t̥üg 'feathers', XwT t̥ūḣ 'fur', Tk t̥ūḣ, Ggz t̥üy, Az t̥üg 'hair, down, feather', Xlj t̥ik 'hair of the body', Tkm t̥üy id., 'hair of animals', Blq, Xk t̥ük 'hair, hair of animals, feather', Qmq, Qzq t̥ük, Uz tuk 'hair of the body', Bsh t̥ök, ET t̥ük id., 'hair of animals', VTt t̥ök, StAlt t̥ük id., 'small feathers', Qq t̥ük 'hair of animals, down', Nog t̥ük id., 'hair of the body', Qrg 'hair of the body (of humans), short hair of animals', Tv d̥ük, Tf d̥ük 'hair', Chv т̥эк t̥эк 'feathers, down, hair of the body, hair of domestic animals' ¶ ≈ Rs. W 503 and ≈ Cl. 433 (in both: unj. φ adduction of OT t̥ū 'hair of the body'), DT 204, Ra. 177, Ash. XV 20-1, Fed. II 212, Jeg. 244, ChVS 209 || Tg *t̥ik̆i-k̆ta, (??) *t̥ik̆i- 'hair' > Neg t̆ik̆ta, Orc t̆ik̆ta 'hair (on the hide)', Ewk Tmt t̆ik̆ik̆ta ~ tek̆ik̆ta, Ewk Urm t̆ik̆ik̆ta 'a hair near its root', ? Lm t̆ik̆̄n̄ 'hair of animal's head', ?? WrMc {Z} т̆үк̆ү 'cover of

SDM 1442 (Tg *ti|üki-) || ? M *toqum 'saddle blanket (попона)', *toqum- v. 'saddle' > MM тоху, тухум 'saddle blanket', WrM {MED} тоқум 'saddle fender made of fell or leather which is attached to the saddle', HIM {MED} тохом {MED} id., {BMR} 'Schweißpolster auf dem Pferd (ПОТНИК), Filz unter dem Sattel', Brt тохом id., Dg току, токо, токе, Dx тоғун, ShY тоғом, Mnr туғун, туғум 'saddle blanket', Kl {KRS} тохм тохам, {Rm.} тохом 'Schweißpolster auf dem Pferd (ПОТНИК)', Mnr {SM} t'ugun 'feutre ou tapis qu'on met sous la selle immédiatement sur le poil', Ord d_оxом 'chebraque sur laquelle repose la selle'; M *toqu- > WrM {MED} тоқу- 'put on or over', HIM тохо- {MED} id., {BMR} 'ein Schweißposter auf dem Rücken des Pferdes auflegen', Brt тохо- id., Kl {KRS} тох- тоха- 'den Sattel auf dem Rücken des Pferdes legen', {Rm.} тохо- 'den Sattel auf das Pferd legen, satteln; auf sich legen, beladen'; Dg тоғу-, тоһе-, токе-, Dx тоғу-, Ba тоха-, ShY тоғо-, Mnr туғу- vt. 'saddle (den Sattel auf das Pferd legen, оседливать)', {SM} t'ugu- 'seller', Ord d_оxо- 'placer (la selle sur un cheval), placer une étoffe, un tapis, etc. sur un objet; placer sur' ¶ Lew. 39, MED 829-30, BMR III 236, Chr. 432, KW 397, KW 397, Mr. D 225, T DgJ 168, MYC 363, 642-3, SM 428-9, Ms. O 149 ¶¶ SDM 1442 (pA *t'jũk'e|i 'hair [on body]' > Tg *tik|ü- [for *tiki-], M *toqun, T **t'ũk [with unj. long vw.]), DQA no. 2408, S AJ 282 [no. 168] (pA *t|t'u|ük'∇ 'hair, wool, покрывка на шубе'), ADb. SR 10, TL 198 || ?φ D: Krmb {Zv.} ?φ takare 'hair' ¶ The vw. a in the first syll. may be explained by regr. as. ¶ Zv. BNTL 655-6 ◇ Tg *-k- suggests a N *-Ḳ-, while EC *-g- may be due to dis. (deglossalization due to the presence of another glossalized cns.) ◇ Blz. DA 152-3 [no. 4] (he adduced D and unconvincingly words for 'head' and 'neck' in different HS lges).

2350. ≈ *ṭoʔj̣äḲḷẉA 'goat, sheep' > HS: Ch: CCh: Glv {Rp.} tũʔwà 'sheep, lamb', Dgh {IL} tʰúʔwéʔè, {Frk} twíʔè 'sheep' | Lmn {Lk.} túwáká id. | MfG {Brr.} ḍókẉ id. || ECh: Nd D {J} ḍóǵâ 'goat' ¶ Ch *w suggests a N *w following *Ḳ ¶ JI II 167 and 291, RpB 95, ChC s.v. 'sheep' and 'goat' || A *t'o,äk'E 'horned animal' > T *Täkḷj̣ä ({ADb.} *t'ek'e) 'he-goat, male wild goat' > OT tākä, Tk teke, Az tākä, Tkm teke, Ggz, Qzq tekä, XT {ADb.} tekε, Tv ḍéʔe id., Chv така tag_a 'ram' ¶ Rs. W 470, ADb. Ttd 55 [no. 11], TL 154, 428, 647, Ash. XIII 152-3, Fed. II 163-4, Jeg. 228, ChVS 196 || M *teke > WrM {MED} теке 'wild goat, ibex (Capra siberica)', {Kow.} 'uncastrated he-goat', HIM тэх

{MED} wild goat, ibex', {BMR} 'ibex (*Capra ibex*)', Brt т э х э 'uncastrated he-goat', Kl {KRS} тек tek id., Kl Ö/T {Rm.} текә 'Ziegenbock'; M б → WrMc {Z} т э х э 'wild he-goat with large horns', Sln те х е 'he-goat' ¶ Acc. to Rs. W 470 and SDM95, M ← T ¶ MED 797, BMR III 207, Chr 458, KRS 490, STM II 230, Z 721 || Tg *tōkī 'elk' > Ewk tōkī, Sln tōxi, Neg tōkī, Ork tō ~ tōxo, Ul, Nn Nh tō, Nn KU tōki 'elk', Lm tōki 'male elk', WrMc {Z} т о х о 'grown-up elk'; Tg б → Gil t'ox 'elk', WrM {BMR, SDM} тогиу and HIM {BMR} тоги 'frown-up elk' ¶ STM II 191-2, 230, Z 738, BMR III 212, SDM 1430 ¶¶ Attention should be paid to words for wild horse and wild ass: M: WrM {MED} taki 'wild horse (*Equus Przewalski*), wild ass', HIM {MED, BMR} тахь id. (cf. MED 770 and BMR 204) and probably NaT *tagi 'female of the wild ass' (> OT xi [QB], MU тауи id., cf. Cl. 466); it is not clear whether they belong here ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1430-1 (A *t'jāk'u 'a horned animal' > T, Tg + unc. M *otogiу 'frown-up elk' [a loan from Tg, see above on WrM тогиу and HIM тоги 'wild horse']), ≈ DQA no. 2385, ≈ SDM95 s.v. *t'jāk'∇ 'a horned animal' (T, Tg + qu. M *taki 'wild horse'), Rs. W 470, Cl. 466, Kow. 1656, ADb. SR 7, TL 154 || D *takar, {GS} *tagar- 'ram' > Tm takar 'sheep, ram, goat, male animal', Kn tagar, tagaru, tagara, tegaru 'ram', Tu tagaru, tagara, Tl tagaramu, tagaru id. ¶¶ D no. 3000, GS 223 [no. 546] ◇ The N rounded vw. of the initial syll. is suggested by CCh and Tg, while T, M and D point to N *-ā-. The problem may be tentatively solved by suggesting N *-oʔä- ◇ The N emphatic *ṭ- is evidenced by A *t'- (> T *t'-, M *t-) and possibly by MfG ḍ-.

2351. *tagl∇, K'a' 'to stick \ be stuck to sth.', 'to fix\attach (sth. to sth.)' > HS: SES *ṭyq̣ > Mh ṭyq̣: G pf. ṭyq̣ v. 'be stuck\attached to', Sh pf. ḥṭyq̣ v. 'stick sth. to sth.', Jb C ṭyq̣: pf. G ta'yaḳ, sbjn. ỵṭyq̣ v. 'be stuck\attached to', Jb E ṭyq̣ id., Jb C Sh (pf. ẹṭyq̣, sbjn. ỵẹṭyq̣) vt. 'stick, attach to' ¶ Jo. M 407, Jo. J 275 || ? Ch: Dgh {Frk} taḳmá, ? ṭíḳ v. 'stick' ¶ Frk s.v. taḳmá, ChC s.v. 'stick' || U *takk∇ ({UEW} *takka) 'hang, cling to, stick to sth.' > FU *takk∇ > F takkala 'adhesive state of the snow, so that it sticks to the skis', F Δ takki 'feuchter Schnee, Pappschnee', takalta-, takista- 'befestigen, anheften, kleben', Es takista- 'befestigen, andrücken; stecken bleiben, stocken, anhaften, hängen bleiben', F takerata-, takalta- 'stick to sth. (cf. snow etc.)', takerata-, takalta-

takistu- v. 'get stuck, stick, fasten' || Os: V tǎʁraʁtǎ- 'andrücken, D tǎʁart- 'haften machen, anheften', O tǎʁart- 'hängen (an einen Nagel, das Zugnetz auf Strangen)', tǎʁarlǎ- 'sich anheften, hängen bleiben' || Sm: Slq: Nr {Cs.} tokuatra, UO {Cs.} tókuaτρα 'es blieb hängen\haften' ({UEW} 'es blieb stecken, haftete eng'), Tz {KKIH} toqq+ 'stick' ('застрясть'), toqqal- 'dress so.; put on (clothes), haft (e.g., an axe on an axe handle)' ¶¶ UEW 507-8, Coll. 61, SK 1207-9, KKIИ 184, Cs. 148, 231 || A *t'aka- > NaT *Tak- > OT taq- v. 'fix\attach (sth. to sth.)', OOG, Chg, Cmn taq-, XwT daq-/daʁ- v. 'fasten', Osm {Rh.} taq- v. 'affix, attach, append', Tk tak-, Az taχ-, ET taq- 'fasten, attach, hang on, put on, wear', Tkm daq- 'sew (to\on), fasten (to)', Qzq, VTt taʁ-, Qq taq- id., 'attach, bind to' ¶ Cl. 464, Rh. 1225, TrR 822, TkR 243, ARL 284, MM 339, KrkR 611, Nj. 278-9 || Tg *taḷḷga- v. 'stick (fast), get caught' > Ewk taʁa- id., taʁaw- id., 'get caught (somewhere)', Neg tā-, taχa-, Orc tā- id., Ud ta-, Nh {On.} tā- id., Nh/KU {STM} tā- 'stick fast, get entangled (in a net)', Ul tā-, tāχa- ~ taoχa- 'get caught, run aground', WrMc {Z} та- 'наткаться (на что-л.), зацепиться (за что-л.)', Sln tāʁū- 'hook sth., get hold of' ¶ STM II 149-150, Krm. 292, On. 388, Z 710-11 ◇ Tg *-g- is puzzling (compare N *da'Kü' 'to approach; near' > Tg *daga 'near'). A possible solution: Tg *-g- in *taḷḷga- goes back to N *-gḷḷK- in *taḷḷK'a' (N *g caused voicing of the cns. that goes back to N *-K-).

2352. *towaKâ 'germ', 'seed' > HS: eB *√ tāk > B *-dāʁ-/ *-dāqq- 'grain, seed' (× N *dikḷ 'edible cereals\fruit'??) > Ah ta-dāq (pl. ti-dāʁ-īn) 'grain, semence', Ttq {Msq.} taḷaq (pl. tiḷaʁin) 'grain (de blé, d'orge)', Gh ta-dʁaʁ (pl. č i-dʁaʁ-in) 'grain (de céréale)' ¶ Fc. 289-290, Msq. 141, Nh. 163, ≠ NZ 478 (the B root ← *dḷʁ 'stone, caillou') || IE: NaIE (in IIn) *teukḷ- 'seed, germ' > OI 'tōk-man- 'junger Sproß von Getreide', Av taoχman 'seed, germ', OPrs taumā 'family, clan' (× NaIE *teuk- 'offspring' < N *tuKḷ 'offspring'?), MPrs tōhmag, tōm, NPrs تخم toχm 'seed', تخمه toχme 'seed (semen plantarum); origin', Psh tōma 'seed' ¶ MK I 527 || U: FU *towaKḷ 'germing', → 'season of germing, spring' ({UEW} 'spring') > F touko 'sowing, crop, season of germing, season of sowing', toukokuu 'May', Es tōug 'spring sowing' || pMr {Ker.} *tūʁa-nda > *tunda > Er tundo, Mk tunda 'in spring, spring' || pObU {Ht.} *tḷʁ(-) 'spring (Frühling)' > pOs *toʁ,

*toϥ+ ({{Hl.}} *tǝϥ, *tǝϥ+) > Os: V/Vy toϥ, Ty tǝϥ^ω, Y tǝ^ω, K tǝ^ω, Nz/Kz tɔ^ω id.; pVg *tūyā > Vg: HK/MK/LK tūyā, P/UL/Ss tūya, SV tūy id. ¶ UEW 532-3, Coll. 119, 132, Coll. CG 414, Ker. II 172, MF 620-1, Ht. 187 [no. 621].

2353. *tēL∇ 'shout, call', (?) 'utter ritual\magical incantations' > **HS**: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *t∇l- v. 'ask, shout' > pAG {Hf.} *tal v. 'ask' > Gmy, Kfr, Su tal v. 'ask (bitten)', Sr, Gmy tǝl, Ang {Flk.} talme v. 'ask (a question)' | BT: Pr {Frz.} télò id. | ??σ Hs {Ba.} tíllà v. 'call\speak loudly to so. for him to hear' (unless ← tíllà v. 'pierce a hole') ||| ECh: Ke túlúl 'Alarmgeschrei' ¶ Stl. ZCh [no. 196], Hf. AG 19, Ba. 1014, Frz. P 50, Eb. 100, ChC s.v. 'ask (bitten)' and 'ask (fragen)' || ?? S *^o✓tl^ω (× N *tuL∇ '≈ to tell [a story], to utter ritual incantations') > Ar ✓tl^ω v. G 'read (from a book), recite' (unless from ✓tl^ω 'follow'); but hardly here Ak tēlu 'to pronounce exactly', which for phonetic reasons must go back to S *^o✓tǝh | > ¶ BK I 205, Bel. 57, Hv. 62, Sd. 1345 ¶¶ OS no. 2362 || **K**: Sv {TK}: UB/L li-ṭūli, LB/Ln li-ṭuli 'to call (so.), to say', UB {GP}, L {Dn.} liṭūli id., 'to yell', Sv {Ni.} ṭuli v. 'shout' ¶ TK 449, GP 170, Dn. s.v. ṭūli, Ni. s.v. 'кричатъ' ¶¶ The origin of Sv ū is unknown || **IE** *tel- 'utter ritual incantations, pray' (× N *tuL∇ '↑' [q.v.]) > NaIE: ON þylja {EI} 'to recite a poem', {Vr.} 'aufsagen', þula 'string of words', {Ho.} 'song', þulr 'Kultredner, Dichter', AS ðyle 'orator, speaker; jester' || AnIE: Ht talliya- v. 'invoke (gods)', Lc M {Krl.} tali 'priest' ¶¶ ≈ EI 450 (*telH- '≈ pray'), Ts. E III 58-60, KrlSh. XLJ 86, Vr. 626, 630, Ho. 374 || **D** (in SCD) *tel||- ({{ǧGS} *t-) > OTl, Tl telucu v. 'praise, worship, request, beg', Gnd talehk- v. 'beg\ask for so.\sth., esp. a bride', Δ talk-, talp- v. 'ask, beg' (hardly from D *tel- v. 'become clear', as suggested by Km.) ¶ D no. 3427, Km. 390-1 ◇ ≈ Blz. 130 (equating the D root with the reflexes of N *tul∇ 'to tell [a story]', q.v.).

2354. *t̥i̯i̯∇ (K̥o) (↔ *t-?) (or *t̥i̯i̯∇K̥o [↔ *ti̯i̯∇K̥o?]) 'tongue, organs of speech' > **A** *t̥ilk∇ 'tongue, voice' > pT {TL} *Tilk > NaT *Til / *Til 'tongue' > OT til ~ til, MU til, XwT XIV, MQp/Cmn XIV, Chg ≥xv til, MT XIV [IM], OOsmdil, Tk dil, Az, Tkm, Ggz, XT dil, SY dil, Uz, ET, CrTt, Qry, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Ln, Tb til, Qzq, Xk tul, VTt t̥l, Tv, Tf d_l, Yk til 'tongue' ||| Chv чѣлхѣ ч̣ьл̣х̣ѣ (< *t̥iḷỵaq) 'tongue', чѣл̣х̣ ч̣ьл̣х̣ 'vocal cords' ¶ Chv č̣i- < *Ti- (palatalizing infl. of *i?) ¶ Acc. to Mudrak's rule (Md. DKCh 220-1), pT *-lK regularly

yields NaT *-l, while in Ch it remains as -lχ|k- (in Auslaut -lъχ|k / -lъχ|k) ¶ Cl. 489, IS AD 39 [no. 3], ET VGD 228-30, ADb. SR 36 (*dījlk = *tījlk), S AJ 171 [no. 28], 183-4 [no. 84], Ra. 179, TL 227-8, Md. 72 (ppT *tīlk > T *tīl), 179, ADb. Ttd 62 [no. 16] (*tīl < *tīlg), Ash. XV 280, Rs. 478, Fed. II 411, ChVS 168, Jeg. 323 || Tg *dīlga-n 'voice' > Ewk dīlgan, Sln dīlgā, Lm dīlgъn, Neg dīlgan, Orc digga(n-), Ul dīlžā(n-) ~ žīlžā(n-) 'voice', Ork žīlda(n-) 'voice, sound', Nn Nh/KU žīlgā, Nn Bk *žīlga(n-) 'voice', WrMc {Z| чжилгань 'voice, говор, pronunciation of words, sound', Mc Sb зīlган 'voice', Ud digan-a- v. 'say, cry', Ewk dīlg-ūrā, Lm dīlg-ur 'loud-voiced' ¶ STM I 206, Krm. 227, On. 153, Z 988, S AJ 210 ¶¶ SDM 1370-1 (pA *tīl∇ 'tongue; voice' > Tg, T *Til), DQA no. 2242 (id.), Md. OJ 38, 70, ADb. SR 47 (A *tīlg∇), S AJ 284, TL 228 || D (in KK) *t∇|l|ek- ({}GS) *t-?) v. 'put out the tongue' > Kui tlēpka (< *tlēk-p-) / tlēkt- id., Ku tek^h- (in vendōri tek^hmū 'put out your tongue') ¶ D no. 3430 || ?σ id. K: pGZ *t̥leq̥-/*t̥l̥q̥- 'lick', 'lick oneself' (of animals) > G t̥leq̥-, Mg *t̥ir̥q̥- 'lick', 'lick oneself' (of animals), ? Lz n̥t̥q̥val- id. ¶ K 182, K² 100-1, Fn. KW-1 36 ¶ Possible infl. of N on. *Tāk'U' 'to lick, to lap' || IE: NaIE *tolk^ω- 'speak', ≈ declare' > L loquor / inf. loquī / pfc. locūtus est 'speak' || Clt {Matas.} *otlok^ω-ī- 'talk' > OIr {Vn.} ad-tluch- v. 'thank', to-tluch- v. 'ask (bitten)', do-tluchethar 'prays', {Matas.} ad-tluchedar ~ atluchedar 'thanks', do-tluchedar 'demands' || Sl *tьlkъ > OCS ТЛЪКЪ тлѣкъ {StSS} (*έρμηνεύς) 'interpreter', {Mikl.} (*έρμηνεύς) interpretatio', (*έρμηνεύς, έρμηνευτής) 'interpretes', OR ТЪЛКЪ тьлкѣ 'interpretation (толкова-ние)', R толк 'sense', † 'explanation', Blg тъл'кувам 'I interpret, I explain' || ?? OI tar'kaṽati 'guesses, reasons about, considers as' ¶ P 1088, EI 535, WH I 821, EM 652, StSS 696, Vn. T 79-80, Matas. E 380-1, Mikl. L 992, Srz. III 1046, IV 71, qu.: M K I 484-5 and M E I 633 (?σ: OI tar'kaṽati ← tark-'drehen') || ?σ HS: B *t̥d̥l̥y, *t̥d̥l̥s 'lip' > Ah a-d̥aloy (pl. i-d̥lay), ETwl ьд̥ьл̥ь, Ty taḍ̥loyt, TnsI {NZ} aḍ̥alay, Gh a-d̥lu (pl. i-d̥layən) id., with an ext.: Mz {La.} a-d̥l̥as, Gd a-d̥alis (pl. ḍ̥alsān), Skn a-t̥lus (pl. i-t̥l̥ās), Skn aḍ̥lus 'lip', Nf aḍ̥ilsan 'both lips' ¶ Fc. 273, Lf. II no. O345, La. MChB 113 (fn. 5), La. S 253, Ds. IVB 276, Wlf. EAW 45, NZ 465, 467-8

◇ The IE, K and B roots suggest an initial N *t̥-, while the Altaic cognate points to a N non-emphatic *t̥-. If the pN initial cns. was *t̥-, the IE *t̥- and the K *t̥- may be explained by as. (*t̥...K̥ > *t̥...K̥). If the

supposed HS cognate is not accepted, the N etymon is ***t'ᵛiᵛᵛ**Qo [-***tiᵛᵛ**Qo?]).

2354a. ***t'ûLᵛ** 'fire; to kindle (a fire)' > **A** ***t'ULᵛ** > **M** ***tüli-** 'kindle a fire, set on fire, burn' > **WrM** **tüle-** ~ **tüli-** {MED} id., **HIM** **түлә-** {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'heat a stove (растопить\топить печь)', 'разводить огонь', **BrM** **түли-** ~ **түлә-** id., **Kl** {KRS} **түл-** id., {Rm.} **tül-** 'brennen, feuern', **Mnr** {SM} **t'uliē-** 'brûler; éprouver une excessive chaleur, se brûler', **Ord** **t'üli-** 'mettre le feu à; détruire\endommager par le feu; brûler, faire du feu' ¶ **MED** 852, **BMR** III 270, **Chr.** 443-4, **KRS** 522, **KW** 414, **SM** 431, **Ms.** O 685 || **Tg:** **WrMc** {Z} **толо-** 'kindle a torch, set fire' ¶ **Z** 741 ¶¶ **SDM** 1472 (pA ***t'u|o|ᵛ** or ***t'u|o|ᵛ** 'burn' > **Tg** ***tola** 'kindle [a torch]', **M** ***tüle-** vt. 'burn'), **DQA** no. 2461 (***t'u|o|ᵛ** 'kindle a fire') || **U** ***tu|le** 'fire' (× **N** ***duᵛ'i** 'fire', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ **Gil:** **Gil** **A** **t'ulf** 'summer' ¶¶ **ST** 386 || **HS:** **S** ***t'ulᵛ**ω > **Ar** **t'ulω-at-** 'éclat de l'aurore', {Hv.} 'brightness\gleam of dawn' ¶ **BK** II 104, **Hv.** 437 || **WCh** (× **N** ***duᵛ'i** '↑'): **Ang** {ChL} **tal** vt. 'burn' | **Tng** {J} **tèlè** v. 'fry, put in\on fire, roast', **Dr** {J} **tɜl** vt. 'burn' || **Ch:** **HgB** **təlìndɔ**, **FlK** **təlùntiku** vt. 'burn' ¶ **JI** II 54, **J** **DK** s.v. 'brennen', **ChC** s.v. 'to burn' tr., **ChL** ◇ **IS** **MS** 341 (**A** ÷ **K** ***t'wr-** > **Sv** **t'wr-** 'kindle a candle') ◇ **Gr.** II no. 152 (***tuᵛ** 'fire') (**U**, **A**, **CK**, **Gil**, **Ai**).

2254b. ₂ ***t'ᵛᵛᵛ** 'hang' > **HS:** ***✓tly|ω** 'hang' (**KB:** '[an]hängen') > **S:** **Hb** ✓**tly** **G** (pf. **הַתְּלָה** **tā'lā**, pp. **הַתְּלָה** **tā'lūy**), **IA** ✓**tly** 'hang', **JA** [**Trg.**] ✓**tly|ω** **G** 'lift up, hang', **JEA** ✓**tly** **G** 'hang, suspend', **Ak** **tullû** **D** 'behängen' ¶ **KB** 1601, **Js.** 1671, **Lv.** **T** II 539, **Sl.** 1208-9, **Sd.** 1369 || **ECh:** **Nd** **D** {J} **tùlà**, **Ll** {Grgs} **tǔl** 'hang' ¶ **ChC** s.v. 'hang', **J** **KKS**, **Grgs** **L** s.v. **tǔl** ¶¶ **OS** no. 508 || **A** ***t'ᵛLᵛ-** 'hang, fasten', n. 'fastening strap, belt' > **pKo** ***t'ár-** vt. 'hang, fasten' > **MKo** **t'ár-**, **NKo** **tal-** ¶ **S** **QK** no. 952, **Nam** 140, **MLC** 403 || **pJ** ***tàr-** vi 'hang' > **OJ** **tar-**, **MJ** **tàra-**, **J** **T** **taré-**, **J** **K/Kg** **tàrè-** ¶ **S** **QJ** no. 1159, **Mr.** 764, **Kenk.** 1919 || **Tg** ***tōli** 'strap for trousers, belt' > **Ewk** **tōl**, **Ud** **tolixe**, **WrMc** {Z} **толи** 'belt for children's trousers' ({Z} 'продевной гашник у детских штанов') ¶ **STM** II 232-3, **Vas.** 392, **Z** 741 || **M** ***teley^ri** 'belt for trousers' > **WrM** {MED} **telei**, **HIM** {MED} **тэлээ**, **тэлий**, {BMR} **тэлээ** id., **Kl** {Rm.} **telē** 'Hosengurt (um die Hosen zu tragen)' ¶ **MED** 798, **BMR** III 284, **KW** 390 || ???σ **T** ***Tal^rg¹**- > **OI** **Kr** **talguč** {SDM} 'poles for fastening burden on animal's back', {SDM, Cl.} **talgič** 'tension of cords', {SDM} **talguč** 'wedge for fastening the axe blade' ¶ **Cl.** 496 (with a different definition of the meaning of two of these OT words: OT **talguč** 'a piece of wood

that is inserted between a package and the cord', $\text{talg}\bar{\text{u}}\text{q}$ 'the peg [or tang] which is inserted on the handle of a spade of axe, so that the spade or the axe head can be secured') ¶¶ SDM 1432 (pA * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'hang', 'strap' > Tg, M, T * $\text{°T}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{K}}$ - 'tention of cords [for * $\text{°T}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{g}}^{\text{h}}$ - 'h'], J, Ko,), DQA no. 2386 $\diamond \approx$ Gr. II no. 196 (* $\text{t}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'hang') (A, Ko, J, M, Tg, Ai + err. IE).

2355. * $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\chi_{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'spleen' > HS: CS * $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ - id. > MHb $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}$, Ug $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{l}}$, JEA, Sr $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}$, Md $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}$ id., Ar $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ - id., d. coll. $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{l}}$ - id.; S * $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{m}}$ - 'spleen' > Ak OB/LB $\text{t}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{m}}\bar{\text{u}}$, Mh, Hrs $\text{t}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{m}}$, Jb E/C $\text{t}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{h}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{m}}$ id. ¶ OLS 480, Br. 272, Js. 528, Sl. 499, DM 173, BK II 61, Sd. 1394, Jo. M 410, Jo. J 277, Jo. H 13, L A 223, L EDH 152, L EDG III 616, MiK I no. 1.278 || A * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{o}}$ 'spleen' > NaT * $\text{T}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'spleen' > OT U $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ ({Cl.} $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$), ET $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$, Yk $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}$ id.; \rightarrow NaT * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\text{-ak}$ (\sim $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{k}}$) id. > OT Kr, MQp, Chg $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{q}}$, Tk $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{k}}$, Ggz $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{k}}$, Az $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{q}}$, Az Tbr {Foy} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{x}}$, Tkm $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{k}}$, Qry, QrB, Qmq, Qzq, Nog, VTt, Bsh $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{q}}$, Uz $\text{t}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{q}}$ id. ¶ IS AD 47, Cl. 495, Rs. W 457, TL 279 (T * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}(\bar{\text{h}})\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\text{-ak}$), ET VGD 137-8, Nj. 281, Rl. III 880, ADb. Ttd 61 [no. 6] || M * $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ (\sim * $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$?) 'spleen' > WrM $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ \sim {MED} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{u}}$, MM [L] $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$, [HI] $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$, [MA, IsV] $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{u}}\text{:n}$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{y}}(\bar{\text{h}})$, Brt $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{u}}(\bar{\text{h}})$, Kl {KRS} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{h}}$, {Rm.} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$, Mnr H {SM} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{u}}$, Ord. $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{u}}$, Dg {T} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}$, Dg Cc {T} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{g}}$ id.; AncM * $\text{d}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\text{-k}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ \rightarrow WrMc {Z} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{h}}$ \sim $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{y}}\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{h}}$, Ewk $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{n}}$, Sln $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{k}}\bar{\text{i}}$ id.; MM * $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ > Ud {Shn., Krm.} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{i}}$, Ud Sm {Krm.} $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{g}}\bar{\text{z}}$ id. ¶ IS AD 47, Gomb. LAS 21, MED 250, BMR II 108, Gl. III 114-15, Kow. 1719, Chr. 216, SM 55, Ms. H 50, Ms. O 138, Lg. VMI 27, Pp. L III 56, KW 86, STM I 233, Z 806, Krm. 230, ADb. Ttd 61, Gl. III 114-15 || Tg * $\text{j}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}$ 'gall' > Orc, Ud $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{o}}$, Ewk, Lm, Neg $\text{j}\bar{\text{o}}$ id., Nn Nh $\bar{\text{z}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}$ {STM} id., {On.} 'dried bear's gall' ¶ The loss of pTg *-l in most Tg lges is still to be explained ¶ STM I 260, On. 148 || pKo * $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}$ > NKo $\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{a}}$, $\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{ä}}$ 'spleen' ¶ S QK no. 888, MLC 1529 || ?? pJ * $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{i}}$ \rightarrow * $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{j}}\bar{\text{z}}\text{-i}$ > OJ $\bar{\text{i}}$ 'gall bladder', {SDM} 'liver' ¶ S QJ no. 1644, Mr. 420, SDM 1373 ¶¶ SDM 1373 (pA * $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{e}}$ 'spleen' > Tg * $\text{j}\bar{\text{o}}$, M, T * $\bar{\text{d}}(\bar{\text{i}})\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{k}}$, J, Ko), DQA no. 2285, S CNM 11 (pA * $\text{t}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{e}}$ id.) (in both sources T, M, Ko + * $\bar{\text{d}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{l}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'diaphragm'), S AJ 14, TL 279, IS AD 47, Gomb. LAS 21, Gl. III 114-15, SM 55, Ms. H 50, Lg. VMI 27, Pp. L III 56, KW 86, STM I 233, Krm. 230, ADb. Ttd l.c. ¶¶ A * t^{h} - (for the expected * t^{h} -) may be due to the infl. of * χ (N * $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\dots\chi$ - > ** $\text{t}\bar{\text{h}}\chi$ - > * t^{h} -) ¶¶ T *-a- may be explained by vw. harmony (regr. as. * $\bar{\text{a}}\dots\bar{\text{o}}$ > * $\bar{\text{a}}\dots\bar{\text{o}}$) || K: pGZ

*t̥g̥irp- 'spleen' > G t̥g̥irp-, Mg t̥g̥irp- id. ¶ K 184, K² 193 ¶ The K root is likely to go back to N ?φ *^ot̥äχ_la_lṽ'o' b ▽ (sc. *t̥äχ_la_lṽ'o' + N *b A [adjectival pc., q.v. ffd.]); N *t̥...χ > **t̥χ- > K *t̥g̥- (ass. glottalization of *χ); K *r from N *ṽ due to some unknown phonetic rule? ◇ ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. 'селезенка' ('spleen'). Not here (⇔ IS) Lp N {N} d̥ad̥v̥e and Lp S {Hs.} h̥áb'ṽi̥e 'spleen'. On the ev. of the cognates in U (incl. other dialects of Lp) this Lp word for 'spleen' goes back to U *läpp ▽ (F UEW 242) < N *l'æ'p̥ A 'spleen' (q.v. ffd.) ◇ AD NM no. 103, S CNM 11 (÷÷ NrCs), Vv. AEN 6.

2356. *t̥a_lṽ ~ *t̥a_lṽ ▽ '≈ shoot, sprout, twig' > HS: S *^o✓ t̥lṽ > Ar t̥a_lṽ- 'spathe du palmier; fruit, quand il commence à se nouer; fruits', ✓ t̥lṽ G 'être en fleur', 'produire la spathe' (un plamier) ¶ BK II 96-8 || B *^o✓ d̥lH, *-d̥luH > Ah əd̥lu (Fcj. 14) 'être vert et pousser rigoureusement', ?σ Tmz d̥lu / d̥li 'être en grande quantité, abonder', ? SrSn t̥ad̥la (pl. t̥ad̥liw̥in) 'gerbe']?φ B *^o✓ d̥l_lH_l 'branch' > Ah t̥ed̥ale 'a thick trunk, a thick branch' ¶ Fc. 192, 271, MT 89, Rn. 309, NZ 328, 463 || K: ?σ *m-t̥il- 'greens, vegetables' > OG, G m̥ṽili 'kitchen garden, garden', Mg d. o-r̥ṽin-, o-r̥ṽil-, Lz (der.) o-n̥ṽul-e 'kitchen garden' (← Mg *r̥ṽ(w)in-, -r̥ṽil- and Lz *n̥ṽul- 'vegetables'); ??φ Sv: UB/L/Ln {TK} lar̥ṽam, UB {GP} lar̥ṽām, LB (h)ar̥ṽam, Sv {K} (l)ar̥ṽam, ler̥ṽām 'kitchen garden' ¶¶ Doubtful as a cognate because of the unexpected vw. *i ¶¶ K 138, K² 126, Chik. 147, TK 367, GP 136 ||] ?φ G t̥ela 'elm (вяз)', t̥eladuma 'Ulmus campestris (карагач)', t̥elamuš̥i 'Ulmus scabra and Ulmus elliptica' ¶ DCh. 556, Chx. 471 ¶ The unexpected initial *t- may suggest that G t̥ela etc. are loans from another lge (T?) || IE: NaIE *t̥āl- 'shoot' ('junger Trieb') > Gk τ̥ḡλλεζ (gen. τ̥ḡλλεωζ) 'fenugreek', τ̥ḡλλεθ̥άω 'be luxuriant\ flourishing' || L t̥ālea 'short stake\bar; a cutting, slip for planting', t̥ālia ~ t̥alla 'hull of onion' ([Fest.] t̥alla 'folliculum cepae') ¶ Not here Oss t̥ala 'young tree, sprout' (← T), as well as Lt at̥ólas 'aftergrass, aftermath' (⇔ P), Ltv at̥ālis 'aftergrass, aftermath, second crop' and Pru at̥tolis 'Grummet' (cognate of Gt alan 'wachsen') ¶ WP I 705, P 1055, F II 892-3, WH II 644, Ert ED 235, Ab. III 224-5 (Oss ← T), Frn. 22, Fs. 34 || A *t'āl ▽ > NaT *t'āl 'branch, willow, tree' > OT Kr t̥al ~ d̥al ({Cl.} t̥āl) 'willow', [MhK] 'a green branch ('arraṽbu-l-qadi:bi)', MT t̥al 'branch', d̥al 'tree', MU XIV t̥a_l:_l 'willow', Chg d̥al 'tree, willow', t̥al 'willow', MQp

XIII طال $t_{a:l}l$, VTt, Bsh tal id., Qrg tal 'willow, withe, twig', Tv t'al id., Tk Yk d. (\leftarrow dim.) tal-aḥ 'willow', Osm dal, Tk dāl 'branch, bough, twig', Ggz, Az dal, Kr tal 'branch', Qzq, Qq tal 'branch, willow', Slr dāl 'tree', Qmq dāl, QrB, Qmq, Nog, StAlt, ET, Xk, Shor tal, Tkm {TDS, TkR} tal (but {Rs.} tāl) 'willow (ива, тальник, верба, ветла)' ¶ Cl. 489, ADb. Ttd 62 [no. 4] (proving that the initial cns. in pT is *t'-), Dm. NRTAJ 156, 188, 205, Rs. W 457, TL 125-6, Rh. 883, ET VGD 130-1, TkR 615, TDS 632 ¶ The pT vw. *a is not long (\Leftrightarrow Cl.) on the ev. of Tkm and Yk (acc. to the available dictionaries), the letter 'alif in the Arabic transcription of OT and MU is not a reliable ev. for a long ā || Tg *talǵik ({ADb.} *talǵik) 'fallen trees, twigs and branches' ('валежник') > Ewk talǵīḡ, Lm tālǵīḡ, Neg talǵīḡ id., cp. (here ???) Nn Nh dataḷā 'a kind of willow' ({On.} "ива, тальник [разновидность]') ¶ Pt. 43, STM I 201, On. 142 || D *tal- ({ǧGS} *t-?) v. 'shoot forth, sprout' > Tm talir id., talir 'sprout, tender shoot', Ml talir 'bud, new leaf, shoot', Ka talal, talir v. 'bud, sprout, shoot', Tu talirə 'sprout, bud', Tl talaru v. 'bloom', taliru 'sprout, shoot', Ku dāl- v. 'blossom' ¶¶ D no. 3131 ◇ In NaIE and D (where the lr. was lost) there was a partial merger of the reflexes of this N word with those of N *tal, Ey, 'o' 'to give birth to; young of an animal, child' ◇ Cf. *t∇l∇ 'rod' ('прут') in the Daghestanian lges. The de-emphatization in B (*d for *ḍ) is still to be explained ◇ IS MS 359 *tälā 'расти' and IS SS no. 1.4.

2357. *tōlǵA (k∇) or *tAlǵ∇ (k∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip' > HS: Ch: CCh: pDb {Blz.} *talan 'head' > Db {LnG} tālān, Db K {Sb.} tálân, Msy {Mch.} tálā 'head' ¶ JI II 183, ChC s.v. 'head' || WS *✓tǵ ~ (?) *°✓tǵ > Ar ✓tǵ G 'gravir une montagne, s'élever sur une hauteur', tǵlǵ- 'lieu élevé d'où l'on peut voir les alentours'; 'bord, marge'; Jb E/C ✓tǵ (C pf. 'telaḡ), Mh ✓tǵ G (pf. 'ṭawla, sbjn. yǵtǵē) v. 'rise, get up'; ??? (× N *tuǵ∇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit') Ar talǵ-, talǵat- 'hauteur, élévation, monticule' ¶ BK I 204 and II 96-8, Ln. 312, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277 || A *t'o:lǵu 'head' > M *toluǵay 'head' > WrM {MED} toluǵai 'head, top, tip', HIM толгой {MED} id., {BMR} 'head, summit, hill', WrO tologui 'head', tologoi id., 'top', Kl {Rm.} tolyā ~ tolyā 'Kopf, oberes Ende', Mnr H {T} tolguē, {SM} t'orguē, {Pot.} толгой, Mnr M {Pot.} толгай, {Rkh.} torgé, Ord t'ologō 'head' ¶ KW 392, MED 822, BMR III 219-20, Krg. 504, T 366, SM 424, Ms O

665-6, Pot. 412, Rkh. 378 || pKo {S} *t^hikòr > MKo t^hikòr, NKo t^haguri 'forehead' ¶ S QK no. 306, Nam 147, Yu 188 || ?σ AmTg: Ork tolpomu ~ torpomu and Nn tōrpoã (both from a compound or derived word?) 'sinciput' ¶ STM I 217. || ?σ T *Tu₁:luguη|m 'temple (Schläfe), hair on the temples' > OT {Cl.}, Cmn tulum, MQp tulum ~ tuluη, Chg {Vm.} tuluχum (inaccurate record?) 'temple', XwT {Faz.} tuluη 'hair on the temples', OOsM ≥XIV dulum ~ tuluη, Osm {Rh.} tolun ~ toluη, Tk tulum, Δ dulum ≍ dulum, Qmq Δ tulum 'temple', VTt толым t^hlym, Bsh толом t^hlym, Nog, Qq, Qzq tulim, Qrg tulum, StAlt tuluη, Shor tulun 'plait of hair', Xk tuluη 'two plaits of hair', Chv т^hл^hм t^hlym 'lock of hair' ¶ The T cognate is valid only if one can find proper contexts (and/or typological parallels) for the semantic change 'head, top, upper end' → 'temple' ¶ Cl. 501, Rs. W 498, TL 203-4, Faz. II 411, Rh. 1261-2, Ash. XIV 257, Fed. II 188-9, Jeg. 235, ChVS 202, Vm. 266 ¶¶ SDM 1455 (A *t^hōlu 'head' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 2426 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *t^hōluk'▽ 'head', TL 204 || D {tr., GS} *tal- 'head, top' > Tm tala₁, Ml tala 'head, top, end', Kt tal 'head, top', Tu taræ, Tl tala id., 'hair of head', Td tal 'head, end, edge', Kn tale, tala 'head, being uppermost', Kdg tale 'end', Klm, Nkr, Nk, Gdb tal, Prj tel, Gnd talla ≍ talā, Knd tala, Kui tlau, Ku t^hrāyū ≍ trāyu ≍ tala 'head', Mlt tali 'hair of head' ¶¶ D no. 3103, GS 180 [no. 456] || ?σ IE: NaIE *^ot^hl- > Clt {Matas.} 'forehead, front' > OW, MW 'forehead', W {YGM} tal 'forehead, front', OBr talar, MBr tal 'forehead', Br tal {Matas.} id., {Hm.} 'front, façade', OCrn [γ] tal 'frons', Crn tal ~ taal 'forehead, front', OIr {Vn.} tel ~ taul ~ tul and tul cind 'forehead' (cind 'of the head'), {Matas.} taul 'boss, protuberance'; this Clt word belongs here, unless (acc. to WP I 740 and P 1061) it goes back to NaIE *tel- 'flat' (→ 'surface' → 'surface of the head, forehead') ¶¶ Bc. 218, Vn. T 180-2, YGM-1 403, Hm. 771 ◇ The A cognate points to a N *^o in the first syll., while the D root suggests *a or *ä. This discrepancy is still to be explained. One of possible solutions: the N etymon is *^hol₁A (k^h▽), and the unexpected pD vw. *a of the first syll. may be due to the ass. infl. of the N vw. *A of the next syll. ◇ Hardly here (because of the vw. *u) FU *tu^hka 'point, upper end' (-d→ FP *tu^hka-m▽), which probably goes back to N *^hul₁▽ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit' (q.v.) ◇ BmK 294 (Clt, D), ≠ BmK 309-11 (an attempt to connect S *^hul₁ v. 'rise' with some C, IE, U, D and A roots meaning 'forward',

'come', 'old', 'touch' etc.), Blz. DA no. 3 (D, CCh, Clt), Blz. NDA no. 3 (D, HS, IE + wrong supposed A cognates).

2358. *t̥uṽṽi,ɹ̥ê 'come, enter' > HS: S *^o√t̥l̥ɹ̥ > Ar *t̥l̥ɹ̥ G 'venir dans un pays, se rendre dans un pays; survenir, se présenter chez quelqu'un' ¶ BK II 97 || Ch: WCh: AG *^o√d̥l̥ 'go in' > Su {J} d̥ɛl, Chip d̥ɛl, Mnt d̥ɛl id. || ? SBc: Gj, Plc d̥ɛli 'go out'; ?? Gj tuluw̃i {ChL} v. 'come' || ECh: Jg {J} dul, dol v. 'come' ¶ JI II 83, Stl. ZCh 174 [no. 272], J J s.v. dul, J S s.v. d̥ɛl, ChL, ChC s.v. 'go in' || U *tuṽṽe- v. 'come' > F, Es t̥ule- id. || Lp T {TI} toł̥ɹ̥- id. || Chr KB/U/B tola- id. || ??σ Hg talál- v. 'find, discover' || Sm {Jn.} *toy- ~ tuy- v. 'come' > Ne T τo-σβ, T O {Lh.} tōś, Ne F tō-ś (imv. tu?), En B {Ter.} τo-σβ 'to come', {Cs.} 1s aor. τoραδο, En X {Cs.} 1s aor. τoραρο, Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. t̥ûρam, {Ter.} туй-ся, Slq Tz {KKIH} t̥ü-ɹo v. 'come', tuíć+-ɹo id., Slq {KD} Tm t̥ūa- '(an)kommen', Mt {Hl.} *toy- 'come' (Mt K {Pl.} d̥èlym̥doĩ 'come here' [d̥èlym̥ 'here'], M {Sp.} той 'сюда'), ? Kms {KD} 1s pres. šōíam 'I come' ¶¶ Coll. 63, UEW 535, TI 605-6, Sm. 540 (U *tol+-, FU and FP *tuli-, Ugr ? *tũlĩ-, Sm *toj-), MF 609-10, It. no. 206, Jn. 164, KKIH 189, Hl. M no. 1047 || ? A *t̥'ü|ō̃|í|∇ 'enter' > M: Brt π {Rm.} túlgú- 'eintreten, arrive\enter' (ene χολο daɹɹada irehen túlgúhen χoɹnoɹo 'after your arrival and entering this distant continent' [Zhamtsarano, *Alamzhi mergen*, line 4537]) ¶ Rm. SKE 266-7, Rm. EAS I 110 || pKo *tír- 'enter' > MKo tír-, NKO til- v. 'enter' ¶ S QK no. 677, Nam 174, MLC 534, Rm. SKE 266-7 || ? T *Tü:;í- 'settle (somewhere)' (× pT *Tüí- 'fall, descend') > OT {Cl.} t̥üš- id., Tlt {Rl.} t̥üš- 'irgendwo hinkommen, sich wohin begeben', Tv d̥úž- 'stop at (a place)', ET čüš- ~ t̥üš- 'stop at (someone's house, inn)', Qzq t̥üs- 'stop (at someone's house)' ¶ IS AD 40, TvR 186, MM 368, Nj. 398-9, Rl. III 1587-8, BT 163 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 110 ("tü. t̥üš- 'hineintreten', t̥üšüm 'Einkommen', mo. burj. tulgu- 'eintreten', kor. t̥j̃l- 'hineintreten'") ¶¶ The adduction of the A √ is qu. because the meaning 'come, settle down' is not demonstrably primary in T and because the M word is based only on Rm.'s interpretation of one epic text ◇ If the T cognate is valid, the A lateral cns. is *-í-, accounted for by a contraction: N *t̥uṽṽi,ɹ̥ê > *t̥uṽṽiE > *t̥uṽṽiyE (with *-y- appearing in hiatus) > *t̥uṽṽiyE > A *t̥'uíE ◇ ≠ BmK 309-11 (an attempt to connect the above U √ with some S, C, IE, D and A roots meaning 'rise', 'forward', 'old', v. 'touch' etc.) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 72 (*tul 'come') (U, Ko, CK, EA + err. T and M).

2358a. (?)₂ ***teĩ**∇ 'say, narrate' > **HS**: S ***o**✓**t̥**l̥f̥ > Ar {BK} ✓**t̥**l̥f̥ G 'prononcer, répéter qch. à qn.; obéir à qn.', PsClAr {Wehr} muṭālaʔa 'Lesen, Lektüre, Studium' ¶ BK II 119, Wehr 511 || **A**: Tg ***tē**luŋu 'narrating, folk tale' > Lm t̥l̥əŋ, Neg t̥l̥əŋ, Orc t̥l̥əmu ~ t̥l̥əŋu, Ud t̥l̥əŋu, Ul t̥l̥əŋu, Ork t̥l̥əŋ(g)u, Nn Nh/Bk t̥l̥əŋu id.; cp. Gil t̥'ɫgu 'legend' (← Tg?) ¶ Bz. 985, STM II 233, Krm. 298, On. 418 ¶ Blz. KM no. 27 equated Tg ***tē**luŋu with words belonging to N ***tuL**∇ '↑', but it is hardly acceptable (≠ϕ).

2359. ₂ ***t̥oLH**∇ 'to cross (a river, a mountain range etc.)' > **IE** ***t̥**l̥H-**t̥o**- 'ford, passage' > Lt t̥i̯ltas, Ltv ti̯l̥ts 'bridge' || Vd t̥īr'tham 'ford, passage' (× ← OI 'tarati 'crosses over') ¶ IS IA 74, M K I 507; ≠ P 1061 and Frn. 1094 (both did not distinguish between this stem and homonymic stems: ***te**l̥ə- 'flat' and ***te**l̥- 'board') || **A** ***t̥**o̯l̥i̯∇ 'bridge, crossing' > Tg ***t̥o**l̥- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge, a stream)' > Ewk tuldun- v. 'cross (a mountain ridge)', Ork tolo- v. 'cross a stream (on a tree trunk put across it)' ¶ STM II 195, 210 || pKo {S} ***t̥**l̥r̥i̯ 'bridge' > MKo t̥l̥r̥i̯, NKo tari ¶ S QK no. 379, Nam 132, MLC 383 ¶¶ SDM 1456 (pA ***t̥**o̯l̥i̯∇ 'bridge, crossing' > Tg ***t̥u**l̥-, Ko), DQA no. 2427 (id.), SDM95 s.v. ***t̥**o̯l̥i̯∇ v. 'cross (a stream\river, a mountain ridge)'.
2360. ***t̥aLh**∇ 'flat; equal' ([in descendamt lges] → 'half') > **HS**: CS ***o**✓**t̥**l̥h 'be flat' > Sr t̥əli̯h-ā 'flat', Ar t̥al̥h-īy-at- {BK, Hv.} 'sheet of paper', Ar t̥al̥h- {Ln.} 'spadix\spathe of a palm tree', {Fr.} 'spatha palmae' ¶ Br. 276, Ln. 1865, Fr. III 363, BK II 94-5, Hv. 435 || NrOm: Kf {C} t̥ellō 'a plain', Mch {L} 't̥ällō 'meadow, plain' ¶ C SE IV 510, L M 55 || ?σ K: pGZ ***t̥**l̥a- / ?***t̥**l̥- > G R {Brd.} t̥ala 'layer (пласт)'; ?ϕ G {DCh.} t̥lu 'single (одиночный)', 'naked tree without branches'; Mg t̥oli 'equal', (Mg ⇨ ?) G t̥ol-i 'equal, person of the same age', (G ⇨ ?) Sv {TK}: UB/LB/Ln t̥wel, LB t̥uwel, t̥el id. ¶ DCh. 1224-5, Brd. IR 40, Chx. 1359, TK 720 || **IE** ***te**l̥H₁- 'flat, flat ground' > OI tala-m 'flat surface, level, palm (of hand)' || L tellūs, gen. -ūris 'earth' (< ***te**lnos), mediterraneum 'inland' || OIr talam 'earth, land' (< ***t̥**o̯lə-mo-) > Nir talamh 'a farm of land'; MW {TLw.} tal 'plot of land' || Arm բաղա t̥h̥aɫ 'quarter, ward, district; neighborhood' || Pru talus 'floor' || Sl ***tl̥o** 'ground, soil, floor' > SCr tl̥ò, Slv tl̥à (gen. pl. t̥ál) id., OR, RChS тѣло t̥l̥o 'Boden', P t̥l̥o 'floor; the ground of a picture, ground of a stuff', Uk тло 'ground of a picture, ground of a stuff', r. 'field' ||

ON βel 'ground', βeli 'frozen ground' ¶ In BSl: $\times NaIE$ * $tel_{\downarrow}a_{\downarrow}$ - 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' < N * $\ddot{t}A\acute{I}_{\downarrow}X_{\downarrow}\nabla$ or * $\ddot{t}A\downarrow_{\downarrow}X_{\downarrow}\nabla$ 'stem, (ϵ ?) tree' ¶ WP I 740, P 1061, Mn. 1375, $\approx\sigma$ EI 247 (IE * $telH$ -om \sim ? * t_{\downarrow} -H-om 'floor [of planks]'), WH II 655-6, Vn. *T* 22-3, Dnn. 713, Flr. 310, TLw. 270-1, Vr. 608, 610, Frn. 1093 (without distinguishing between * $tel_{\downarrow}a_{\downarrow}$ - 'flat' and * tel - 'board'), En. 262, Glh. 631, Srz. III 1078-9, Mikl. E 370, Brü. 571 || **A** * $t'a\downarrow\acute{I}\nabla$ 'flat, plane; open place' > M: [1] M * $tala$ 'plain, steppe' > WrM $tala$ {MED} 'plain, level space, steppe', HIM тал {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'field', Brt тала id., Kl {Rm.} tal_a 'offene Steppe, falcher Erdboden, Ebene', {KRS} тала 'open place, field, plain', Dg {Mrm} $ta\acute{z}$, $ta\acute{z}\check{a}$ 'plain, field', Ord $t'ala$ 'plaine'; \rightarrow T: Qrg $tal\bar{a}$, Chg $tala$ id., Tk $\acute{c}ala$ id., Tk $\Delta tala$ 'flat country', Az $tala$ 'glade', Yk $t\bar{a}la$ 'steppe (чистое поле), plain'; [2] M * $talaba|ur$ 'flat surface' > MM [HI] $talabar$ 'plat, assiette', WrM $talabur$ {MED} 'field', HIM талбар {MED, BMR} id.; [3] M * $talabay$ 'field, ebener Platz' > WrM {MED} $talabay$ 'square field, public square, plaza', HIM талбай {MED} id., {BMR} 'field, площадька, ebener Platz, public square in a city (площадь)', Kl {Rm.} $talw\bar{a}$ 'kleine Ebene, offener Platz'; [4] M * $talamayi$ > WrM $talamai$ $gazar$ {MED} 'smallplace, steppe', HIM {BMR} талмай газар 'kleine Ebene, kleine Waldwiese (поляна), Steppe' (газар means 'ground, land'), Brt талмай 'Fläche; public square in a city (площадь)'; [5] M * $tala$ 'side (сторона); half' > WrM tal , $tala$ {MED} 'half, one of a pair', HIM тал {MED} id., {BMR} 'half, side (сторона)', Brt тала 'side (сторона)', Kl {KRS} тал $tal\check{b}$ id., 'half', {Rm.} tal_a 'Seite, Hälfte', Ord $t'ala$ 'côté, moitié'; [6] M * $talbigun$ (\times N * $\ddot{t}aLb\nabla$ 'vast; room [space]') > WrM {Rm.} $talbagu$, 'flat, even', {MED} $talbigun$ 'broad, wide, vast', HIM талбиу {MED} id., {BMR} талбиу(н) id., {Rinch.} талбиу 'широкий, просторный', Kl {Rm.} $talw\bar{u}$ 'flach, eben', Ord $t'alb\bar{u}$ $g_a\check{z}_ar$ 'terrain qui est en pente douce' ($g_a\check{z}_ar$ means 'ground, land') ¶ MED 771, 773. BMR III 181-3, Chr. 411, Klz. D II 135, Ms. H 99, KRS 473-4, KW 375-7, Ms. O 641, Rs. W 458, Rinch. 195, Kow. 1638, Gl. III 58, Krg. 476, Ms. O 642 || Tg ** tal -v. 'be flat' \rightarrow [1] Ewk Y/Skh/Urm $talla\check{z}\bar{a}$ -, Ewk Np $tallak\bar{a}$ - v. 'flatten (the ground)', Ewk Y/Np/Skh/Urm $tallama$, Ewk Z $tallak\bar{a}n$ 'plain, flat land'; [2] Tg * $tal_{\downarrow}u_{\downarrow}gan$ 'plain surface (of land or body of water)' > WrMc {Z} талгань 'surface, flat surface, surface of an object, surface of water', {Hr} талган 'surface of a flat object', Ewk $talg_{\downarrow}n$ 'flat

surface of a body of water (ГЛАДЬ)', 'backwater (ЗАВОДЬ, ЗАТОН)', Nn Bk/KU talga 'bay, lake (connected with the main body of water)'; Tg б → Yk tolōn (< *taluyān) 'valley'; [3] Tg *talg∇ 'open sea, far from the shore' > Lm talgīn 'bay (ЗАВОДЬ, ЗАТОН), quiet sea surface'; Ul talžī, Ork talda, Orc tagga-la, tagga-si, Ud tagä 'far from the shore, open sea, Nn Nh {On., STM} talgīa id., {STM} talga 'bay', talī-talī 'quiet sea surface' ¶ STM II 150, 157-8, On. 391, Z 709, Z 709, Hr 884 || Ko {MLC} tīl 'a plain, an uncultivated field', {Gale} tīl 'flats, prairie, a wilderness', {Und.} nəlbīn-təl 'savannah' (literally 'broad plain') ¶ Plv. KA 1202, Rm. SKE 262, 266, MLC 533, Und. 515, Gale KED 270 ¶¶ SDM and DQA adduced Ewk tālgu- {SDM} 'become quiet' ({STM} 'sich legen' [Wind], 'СТИХНУТЬ' [о ветре]), which is unc., and on its alleged ev. they reconstruct a long pA vw. *ā, which cannot be accepted ¶¶ SDM 1396-7 (pA *t'ā|'∇ 'open place, open sea' > M *tala and *tal-b- 'steppe, open place; quiet, peaceful', Tg *talg∇ [erroneously reconstructed as *tālgī] + unc.: Lm talargīn 'become quiet' [of wind, weather] and Ewk tālgu- {SDM} id. = {STM} 'sich legen' [Wind], СТИХНУТЬ [о ветре]), DQA no. 2322 ◇ IS ms. *t'al'h'a 'плоский' (IE, Om, K, T, M, Tg, Ko, but not S).

2361. *t'al'ey'o' 'young of an animal, child; to give birth to' > HS: WS *t'alay- (~ *t'alay-?) 'young of an animal, child' > BHb הַלְבֵּי תֹאֵל 'lamb', JA [Trg.], JEA הַלְבֵּי תֹאֵל / אֲלֵבֵי תֹאֵל 'young man, lamb', Ar طَالُ tala-n 'young of a gazelle, young of artiodactyls', Sr t'al'y-ā id., Plm t'ly 'young, boy', Sb t'ly 'yearling lamb', Gz t'alī 'goat, kid' ¶ GB 276, KB 359, KBR 375, Lv. T I 302-3. ≈ Js. 536-7, Sl. 504, Br. 276, BK II 103, Fr. III 68, BGMR 153, L G 590 || Eg BD dɛ, dɛdɛ v. 'copulate' ¶ Fk. 309 || EC {Ss.} *d'al- v. 'give birth, beget' > Sa, Af, Sml d'al-, Rn d'el-, Bn d'el-, Elm dal-, Arr, Kns, Gdl, Dl d'al- id., Dsn d'al- 'give birth, generate'; Sa {Wlm.} d'aylo 'young of an animal' ¶ Bl. 103, 195, Ss. PEC 21, 30, Ss. B 62, 129, AD SF 57-8, ZMO 108, PH 90, Sim 11, 13, 25, PG 93, HL 65, Hw. A 353, To. DL 493 || ECh: Mu {Lk.} d'āl-, Mgm {JA} d'ōlō v. 'lay (eggs)' ¶ Lk. ZSS 181, JA LM 81 ¶¶ Tk. I 247 || U: BF: F Δ tallo 'yearling pig, young pig', Es tall (gen. -e), Vo ta'lu, talikka 'lamb' ¶ SK 1213-14 || ?φ K: G tel-i 'sucking pig' ¶ Chx. 556 ¶ G t- (for the expected t-) is puzzling; a possible solution is to suggest that G tel-i is a loan from some Turkic lge (see below on T *t'āl'ēl 'young animal [calf etc.] that is suckled not by its own mother' [Rs. W 471] and on T *t'ōl 'progeny') ||

IE: NaIE *te(:)l- 'young of an animal, child' > Lt *tēlias*, Ltv *telš* 'calf'
 | Sl *te'l-ē (gen. *telĕte) 'calf' > SrChS **ТѢЛѦ** *telę*, OR *telja*, R pl.
телята (sg. d. *телѣнок*), Uk *теля* (gen. *теляти*), Blg *теле*, SCr
tēle (pl. *tēleta*) 'calf', Slv *tēle*, Cz *tele*, Slk *tel'a*, P *cielę* id.; Sl
 d. *telъсь (< *tel-ькъ) > OCS **ТѢЛЪЦЬ** *telъсь* (τ. μόσχος) 'calf, young
 ox' | *o-grade of apophony: OLT *talokas* 'grown-up daughter', Lt
talõkas 'grown-up man' | with an unexplained vw. *ā*: Gk τᾶλις
 (gen. τᾶλιδος) 'marrigeable maiden', Gk Ae τᾶλις 'betrothed maiden,
 married woman, bride' ¶ Mn. 1375, F II 850, Frn. 1056, 1077-8, Kar. II
 388-9, Glh. 622, StSS 693, Vs. IV 38, Sls. I 99 || **¶** *t'öl̥ 'progeny,
 generation' > NaT *t'öl̥ 'progeny, breed; new-born animals' > OT U *töl*,
 Tv *t'öl* 'child, young of an animal', MOg XIV, Tk *döl*, Xk, SY *töl*
 'progeny, breed', OT Kr *töl* 'season when animals give birth to their
 young; the newborn young', MT *töl*, Az *döl*, Qmq, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg,
 ET *töl*, QrB *tölü* 'breed, new-born animals', Tkm *döl* 'sperm, breed,
 progeny', Az *döl* {Ax.} 'foetus (of humans and mammals)', 'season when
 animals give birth to their young', Uz *тол* 'lambing', VTt *tül* 'bird
 ovary', Bsh {BR} *tül* 'foetus; capacity for breeding'; T **↳** WrM *töl*
 {MED} 'newborn animals, increase of animals', HIM **төл** {MED, BMR},
 Brt **түл** id., Kl {Rm.} *töl* 'jährlicher Zuwachs des Viehs' ¶ Cl. 490, Rs. W
 493, TL 322, MM 375, Tkr 282, MED 833, BMR III 240, Chr. 443, KW
 406, Ax. II 161, UzR 463, BR 556 ¶ Clauson reconstructed a long **ō* for
 OT and OOG, but Tkm provides ev. for a short pT **ö* || M **tölügen* 'one-
 year-old lamb' > WrM *tölüğe(n)* {MED} 'last year's lamb', HIM {MED}
төлөг ~ **төлгө** id., {BMR} **төлөг** 'one-year-old lamb', Brt **түлгэ**
 id., Kl {KRS} **төлг** *tölæg* id., {Rm} *tölgü* '(männliches) Schaf im zweiten
 Jahre', Kl D {Rm.} *tölgə* id., Dg *tułgu*, ShY *tölöge* 'one-year-old lamb',
 Ord *t'ölögö* 'agneau dans sa deuxième année' ¶ MED 834, BMR III 242,
 Chr. 443, KW 406, KRS 512, Ms. O 674, MYC 646 ¶¶ Hardly here T **t'ēl*
 'young animal (calf etc.) that is suckled not by its own mother' (SDM
 1415, Rs. W 471), because the specific (hence the original) semantic
 component here is not 'offspring', but 'suckled not by one's own
 mother', which may be related to S **✓t̥ll* (Ar *✓t̥ll* G 'léser quelqu'un
 de ses droit, le priver de ce qui lui est dû', BK II 91) and to IE (OIr
tlernaím 'I steal') ¶¶ A *-*ö-* in **t'öl̥* may be explained by regr. as.
 (infl. of N *-*E-* and *-*o* in **t̥al̥Ey, 'o'*) ¶¶ SDM 1379 (pA **tóle* -
 **t̥jól̥ále* > T [reconstructed as **t'öl̥*] + unc. pJ **d̥* 'generation, age',
 DOA no. 2258. ≈ SDM 1415 (pA **t'ēl̥* 'young lamb. calf' > M **tölüge* +

unc. T *Tēl 'put the kid\calf to a different milch ewe or cow', 'kid\calf sucking two milch ewes or cows') || D (in SD) *ta|- ({{ǂGS}} *t-) 'breed' > Kt tayl 'breed of cattle', Ka tala 'race, family, stock, breed' ¶ D no. 3131 || E: SchEl ti-la 'Kalb' ¶¶ HK 329 ◇ The quality of T *ō may be explained by regr. as. (infl. of N *-Eyo?). The length of T *ō still requires explanation ◇ Blz. E no. 59 (E, HS) ◇ Cf. IS MS 359 *tälā 'расти' and IS SS no. 1.4 (without distinguishing between the etymon in question and N *tāl̥ ~ *tāl̥ 'shoot, sprout, twig') and quoting S *tala-, IE, T, M, D, but not C, U and K).

2362. *tala 'skin, fell' > HS: Ch: WCh: pNrBc {Stl.} *tala 'skin' > Kry {Sk.}, P' {Sk.} tala, Cg tal 'skin' ¶ JI II 296, Sk. NB 40, ChC s.v. 'skin', Stl. ZCh 251 [no. 43] ¶¶ Tk. I 134 || U *tal|ya 'skin, fell' > F talja id. | pLp {Lr.} *tōlyē 'fell' > Lp: N {N} d̥uol'ije, S {Hs.} d̥uoli je, U {Schl.} d̥uell'jee, L {LLO} tuol'jē, Kld tūl' id. || Sm {Jn.} *t̥ḁ̄y|h̥ (most probably *t̥ḁ̄y) 'skin of the forehead' > Ne T тай 'skin of the forehead; forehead', Ne O tāy 'skin of the face', Ne F {Cs.} tai, {Lh.} tāyok:u id., Ng {Cs.} tuaja 'skin of the forehead', En X {Cs.} tājо, En B {Cs.} taijо 'skin of the head', Kms d. {KD} t'uyu-š'k'tu' 'Schlafstätte aus Rentier- oder Elentierhaut', Mt K {Pl.} dáihase 'bald patch on the head (пleshь)' ¶¶ UEW 508-9, Lr. no. 1294, N I 593, Lgc. no. 8082, Hs. 467, Jn. 150, Hl. M no. 939 || A *t'alu > Tg *talu 'birch bark' > Ewk talu, Sln tala ~ talu, Neg, Ul, Ork talu, Orc talu, Ud taluga, Nh {On.} talo, Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} talo ~ talu, WrMc {Z} толхонь id. ¶ STM II 158, On. 391. Z 741 || NaT: [1] *Tul-gak ~ *Tul-kuk 'bared skin; leather sack' > OT Trf {BG} tolquq 'a hide filled with air and used as a float', Osm {Rh.} طولق dolquq ({{Rh.'s transcription}} dólquq) id. (× Osm {Rh.} طولق dolquq [= {Rh.'s transcription}} dólquq] 'filled'), MT [IM] {Battal} tolkuq, [other sources] tulkuq 'tulum (skin used as a receptacle for liquids)', MT XIV {AH} dolquq id., Oosm xv, Tk Δ tula 'raw hide', Bsh tulaq id., Qzq {Bu.}, Qq tuwlaq 'dry hide (of a cow\horse) used to felt wool on', Alt/Tel {Rl.} tulaq 'kahles, abrieriebenes Fell; ein Fell, das auf dem Boden ausgebreitet ist, auf dem man sitzt; ein trockenes hartes Leder, auf dem man die Filzdecken schlägt', tulaq ton 'ein kahler Pelz, Ledermantel', Az тулуг tulug 'a hide taken off as a whole, wineskin', Tk tuluk / tulug̃ - 'бурдюк', Osm {Rh.} طولق doluq ({{Rh.}} dólquq) 'a skin or hide used as a

receptacle or a float', Qrc {Rs.} tuluq 'wineskin', SY {MI.} tuluḡ soqpa 'corn grains with husks'] [2] T *Tulum > Osm {Rl.} tulum 'gegerbtes Fell von Tieren, ein Lederschlauch', {Rh.} طولوم tulum 'a skin or hide taken off whole and used as a receptacle; bagpipe', Tk {Thms.} tulum 'bag or bottle made from the skin of animals for holding cheese, liquids, water and wine; a kind of bagpipe made from the same material', SY {MI.} tulum 'leather sack for milk and milk products', Yk tulum 'useless piece of leather', ET, Uz Δ tulum 'leather receptacle for liquids', as well as Qry/Alt {Rs.} tulup 'leather coat' (↳ R туплуп 'sheepskin coat'), VTt толоп т'ол'ор 'sheepskin'; T ↳ M: MM [IM] tulum, MMgl tulum, 'whole skin used as a vessel for liquids', WrM tulum {MED} id., 'leather bag', HIM тулам {MED} id., {BMR} 'leather bag filled with air; leather bag used for crossing rivers; whole skin', Brt тулам 'leather bag', Kl {KRS} тулм id., {Rm.} तुलु 'lederner Sack (aus einem ganzen abgezogenen Ziegenfell)', Mnr H {SM} t'ulun 'peau d'animal cousue en forme de sac; outre', {T} tulum 'lederner Sack', Ord t'ulum 'outre, petite évelure de l'épiderme remplie de sérosité, vésicule'; M ↳ Tg: Sln tolō 'бурдюк', tol'ma 'bucket', Ewk d. tulum-kān 'whole skin of a calf used as a vessel for grain, flour and dried curds', WrMc {Z} тулума, турмэ 'leather sack filled with air (for crossing rivers)'; the M word is a loan rather than a genetic cognate, as suggested by the absence of final vw; T ↳ (through some M and/or Tg lge) NKo turumaki 'overcoat' (*see* Lee CSMK 118)] [3] T: StAlt {BT} tuluš 'leather sack from a whole skin of an animal' ¶ StAlt u of the first syll. may be due to as. (pA *t'a...u- > StAlt tu-) ¶ BG AI 47, Rs. W 497-8, TL 187-8, Rl. III 1467-71, 1721, Bu. I 751, KrkR 658, ARL 207, Äz. 344, BT 158, MI. ZhU 124, TrR 870, Rh. 1261-2, Thms. 495, Dr. TM II no. 931, Pek. 280, Pp. MA 448, MED 841-2, BMR III 251, SM 431, Ms. O 680, T 367, Iw. 139, KRS 517, KW 410, Chr. 434, STM II 212, Hr 927, Z 758, 764 ¶¶ SDM 1473 (pA *t'ulu|o "torn and scraped skin", sc. 'bared and tanned skin' > T + err. M and Tg words for 'leather sack' and Ko turumaki [treated as genetic cognates]), DQA no. 2731 (id.), S CNM 8 || D *tōl / *toli ({ǵGS} *t-) 'skin, hide' > Tm, MI tōl 'skin, hide', Tm toli id., 'husk', MI toli 'skin, bark, peel, rind', Kt tōl, Td twi's, Kn tōl(α), Kdg tōli, TI tōlα, Ku tōlū, tōlu 'skin, hide', Tu tolikæ, Prj, Gdb tōl 'skin, bark', Nkr, Nk, Prj tōl 'skin', Gnd tōl 'skin, hide' ɘ tōla 'skin, bark of tree' ɘ tōlu 'skin', Knd tōl, tōlu 'skin (of animals)'; forms with word-internal -k-, -g-, -v- (MI tukaal 'skin of a fruit', Kn

togal ~ toval id., 'skin, hide', Tu tugalə 'skin, bark') either do not belong here or go back to a contraction of cds, like Kt tō·kr̥l < tō·l kar̥l 'peg used in pegging down hide to dry' (literally 'hide wood', *F* D no. 1389); on the contraction hypothesis *F* Zv. 66-7 ¶¶ D no. 3559, Zv. 64 (rec. of *ō) ◇ The rounded vw. of the first syll. in T and D may be due to regr. as. (infl. of N *U of the second syll.). An alt. N rec. is *t̥ōl̥, but it does not explain the vw. *a in U and Tg ◇ Cf. Blz. SNE I 242 [no. 6] (U, D) ◇ AD NM no. 96, S CNM 8 (÷÷ ST *t̥aʔH 'membrane, pellicle').

2363. *t̥ULy̯ (= *t̥uLy̯?) 'to drip; drops of water, dew' > HS: WS *t̥all- 'dew; to drizzle' > BHb t̥al, t̥all-, Ar t̥all- 'dew, light rain', Ug t̥l, JA [Trg.] t̥al / t̥al'l-ā, Sr t̥al'l-ā, Gz t̥all, Tgr, Amh t̥əll, Tgy t̥əlli, Mh {Jo.} t̥al, Hrs {Jo.} t̥ʌl, Jb E {Jo.} t̥ɛhl, Jb C {Jo.} t̥ɛl 'dew', Gz t̥all 'dew, moisture', Ug ✓ t̥ll v. 'fall' (dew), Ar ✓ t̥ll v. G 'moisten slightly the soil' (dew), 'être humide, être légèrement humecté par la pluie ou par la rosée', Gz ✓ t̥ll G (pf. t̥alla) 'be moist\humide\wet, be covered with dew' ¶ KB 358-9, KBR 374-5, BDB no. 2919, Js. 535, Lv. T I 302, L G 591, Br. 275, LH 606, A no. 1118, OLS 480-1, BK II 91, Hv. 134, Jo. M 409, Jo. J 277, Jo. H xv, 129 || IE: NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'drip' > Gk σταλάσσω v. 'let drop (e.g. tears)', vt. 'drop', στάλαγμα ntr. 'drop', σταλαγμός n. 'dropping, dripping', {P} 'das Tröpfeln, Tropfen' || ME stalen, NE stale, MLG, NHG stallen 'to urinate', NE stale 'urine', MLG stal 'urine of horses' || ?σ Lt tuĩžti 'to become humid' ¶ P 1018, F II 776, KM 737, HDEL 1255 ¶ Acc. to IS's hypothesis, IE *(s)- is an indirect reflex of the N word-medial palatality || A *t̥'̥ōLy̯ > [1] T *°Tü̥:̥í > OT [MhK] t̥üš 'nocturnal emission (spermatorrhoea)' (MKD 125) ¶ DTS 600, Cl. 559 (interpreting it as a private case of t̥üš 'dream') | [2] ?σ T *Tōí 'ice' > NaT *Tōš > OT {DTS} t̥oš 'glacier in the mountains', StAlt, Tb t̥oš, Tv d̥oš, Tf d̥šš 'ice', Qmn t̥oš, Xk t̥os, VTt tuš 'water over the ice of rivers\lakes (наледь)', Yk t̥ohō- v. 'break ice in a river' ¶ DTS 578, Cl. 557 (interpreting OT t̥oš as 'pool'), Ra. 174, BT 154, B DChT 157, B DK 255, BIG 233, TatR 559, JkR 392, ≠ DQA no. 244 (T *t̥'̥oí 'ice' < err. pA *č̥'̥òlú 'ice, hail'; the etymology is based on the highly controversial hyp. of T *t̥'̥- going back to A *č̥-), Vv. AEN 8 ¶ The vw. *o (for the expected *u) in T *Tōí still needs explaining || pJ {S} *t̥ùrará (× pA *č̥'al̥l̥ 'snow, ice' < N *č̥'al̥g̥ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost', as well as [??] N *t̥älU_H₂A or *t̥älU_H₂ä ≈ cold season, rain) > MJ turara, IT cùrara IK cùrará IKσ curará 'ice' ¶ S OI no. 1540 S CNM 6

Kenk. 2071 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 400 (pA *ç|tjòlú 'ice, hail' > J *tùrará + [not belonging here] Tg *jalka 'fine snow' and T *tòlu 'hail'), DQA no. 244 (pA > pJ *tùrará, T *tòl 'ice') || D {Km.} *tu]- ({ǾGS} *t-) > Tm tu||i 'a drop', tu||am 'little drop of water', tu|i v. 'drip', Ml tu|i, tu||i 'a drop', Kt tólǵ- v. 'wash one's hands with tears', Td tüǵy a drop', tǵy- vi., vt. 'sprinkle', Kn tu|akv v. 'be scattered in drops', tu|ukv v. 'sprinkle', Kdg tu|i 'a drop', OTI {Km.} tolǎkv v. 'spill, scatter (as water); overflow', TI {BE} tolukv v. 'rain', Prj tolk-, Knd tořk- vi. 'spill' ¶¶ D no. 3361, Km. 395 [no. 632] ◇ The pJ cns. *-r- rules out pA *-í- and pN *-í- (cf. Mill. JAL 114 and J AP 75-6) and suggests pA *-Ly- and pN *-Ly- instead ◇ D *-]- goes back to post-N *-í- < N *-Ly- ◇ ≠ BmK 302-3 (equating S and D with IE *del- [> OIr delt 'dew', Br delt 'moist', Arm untn tēł 'heavy rain' etc.], which in my opinion belongs to N *tä|U_h₂A ~ *talU_h₂ä '≈ cold season, rain', q.v.).

2364. *taLb∇ 'vast; room (space)' > HS: S *°✓t|b '≈ far' > Ar ✓t|b (pf. taliba) 'se trouver loin; être éloigné', tulb-at- 'voyage lointain' ¶ BK II 93 || IE: NaIE *telp- v. 'have room', *tolpā 'space' > OI 'talpaḥ 'Lager, Ruhesitz, Bett' || OIr -tella 'have room for sth.' || Lt inf. tiĩpti / 1s pres. telpù, Ltv inf. tìlpt / 1s pres. telpu 'fit in, find room (Raum wohin haben)', Lt talpà 'capacity, ausreichender Raum', Ltv teĩpa, tiĩpa, tilpe 'space, Raum', Lt túlpinti, Ltv tilpinât 'to give place' || ??σ SI *t|pa > OCS тлъпа тьра, Blg тълпа, R тол'па 'crowd', Cz tupa 'band, gang', Slk {SBR} tupa id., 'crowd' || pTc {Ad.} tālp- > Tc B tālp- 'be emptied' ¶ P 1062, EI 536, M K I 489, ME I 637-8, Thr. §§ 83, 153, Frn. 1054, 1094, 1138, Kar. II 385-6, SJSS XLIII 460, StSS 696, Vs. IV 74, Ma. CS 530, SBR 887, Ad. 297 || A: M *talbi-γun ~ *talba-γun (× *taLh∇ 'flat') > WrM {Rm.} talbagu 'flat, even', {MED} talbigun 'broad, wide, vast', HIM {MED} талбиу id., {BMR} талбиу(н) id., {Rinch.} талбиу id. ('широкий, просторный'), WrO talbui 'sloping', Kl {KRS} талвң n. 'square' (Ленина талвң 'Lenin square'), 'field' (спортын талвң 'playground), Kl D {Rm.} talwŋ, talwŋ gazɣ 'eine kleine Ebene, Steppe' (gazɣ means 'Land, Ort'); Kl {Rm.} talwū 'flach, eben', Ord t'albū g_aǰ_ar 'terrain qui est en pente douce' (g_aǰ_ar means 'Land, Ort') ¶ MED 773, BMR III 182, KRS 474, KW 377, Rinch. 195, Kow. 1638, Gl. III 58, Krg. 476, Ms. O 642 ◇ IE *p (for *b^h) is due to the IE morphophonology that rules out co-occurrence of vl. consonants and vd. aspirates.

2365. *ṭaṭka 'strike, push' > HS: WS *ṭl̥k v. 'throw, let run, release' > JA [Trg.], JPA ṭl̥k G v. 'cast, throw', ? Sr ṭl̥k v. G 'be abandoned, disappear', Ar ṭl̥q (ip. -ṭliq-) G 'lâcher qch., laisser passer de ses mains en les ouvrant', Jb ṭl̥k (pf. et'leḳ, sbjn. 'yeṭl̥ḳ) v. 'release, let run, shoot', Mh, Hrs ṭl̥k Sh v. 'let run' ¶ BK II 100-1, Fr. III 66, Js. 538, Lv. T I 306, Br. 278, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 277-8, Jo. M 410, Lv. II 162 ¶ The S ṭ (adduced to this etl. comparison by IS) remains qu. as a cognate because its primary meaning may have been 'let go, release'. If it does belong here, the underlying semantic prehistory may be: 'let go, release' ← 'push' || ?φ WCh *ṭl̥ > Bg {Sh.} ḍal v. 'beat' ¶ ChC s.v. 'beat', Sh. BZ s.v. Bg ḍal || K: G I ṭḳvleḳ- / ṭḳvliḳ- 'zerbrechen, zerschlagen' ¶ Chx. 1353 ¶ This is a case of a typical K mt. (lrs, uvulars and velars are attracted to the position after the initial or nearest dental, sibilant or labial stop\affricate) bringing about "harmonic clusters" || IE: NaIE *telk- / *tolk- / *ṭḳk- v. 'strike, push, crash' > Clt: OI {Vn.} tolgaid 'il attaque', tolg 'force, énergie', NIr tolg 'strength, effort', tulca 'a sudden charge with the horns', talca (a) 'force, vigour'; ⇨ Clt {Matas.} *talskṽ- 'fragment, piece' > W {YGM} talch 'fragment', {Matas.} 'fragments, 'outmeal, groats', OCrn [ʏ] talch "furfures" || BSl: Ltv {Vs.} no-tālcīt 'to beat (поколотить)' || Sl *telkti (1s pres. *ṭḳk-ḳ) > OCS тлѣщн tlěštī (1s pres. тлѣкѣ tlěk-ḳ) 'schlagen, prügeln; klopfen, pochen', 'zerstoßen, zerstückeln (толочь, дробить)' ({Mn.} 'to clash, to crush'), RChS тлѣщн tlěštī (1s pres. тлѣкѣ tlěk-ḳ) 'to push', тлощн tloštī (1s pres. тлѣкѣ tlěk-ḳ) id., 'to knock', OR тѣлѣн tělčī 'to beat, to strike, to crush', R толочь (1s pres. тол'кѣ) 'to crush, zerstoßen', Slv inf. tlečī 'to flog', tlouci (1s pres. tluḳ-u) 'to knock, to beat', P tḷuc 'to grind, to pound'; ds: R тол'каты 'to push', R {SSRLJ} тол'лока n. act. 'grazing cattle on fallow'; Sl d. *tolkь > Cz tlak 'pressure', Slv tlāk 'paving, floor', {Frn.} 'festgestampfter Boden, Druck', P tḷok 'Gedränge', R Δ толок 'Stampfer, Handramme'; P tḷokno, R толок'но 'oat floor'] pBSl *talkā 'collective voluntary work' > R Δ тол'ка, Ltv tālka f., Lt talkā 'voluntary collective work for a member of the village community', {Mn.} 'rally', {Frn.} 'zusammengebetene Arbeitsgemeinschaft, welche nach der Arbeit mit einem Schmaus bewirtet wird', ⇨ Lt telkiū / inf. telkti {Mn.} v. 'mass, rally', {Frn.} 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft zusammenbitten, sammeln' ¶ Mn. 1376, 1402, 1410, WP I 741 (*teleḳ- 'stoßen, zerstoßen, schlagen'), R 1062 (*telek- id.) Fr 471 (**telek- 'knock, thrust') Vn. T. 102 Matas. F

367, YGM-1 403, LP § 54, Dnn. 713, 743, 766, YGM-1 403, 411, SJSS XLIII 461, StSS III 696-7, Srz. III 966, 1048, Frn. 1053-4, 1078, Tr. 321-2, Vs. IV 73-4, SSRLJ XV 559, ME IV 127-8 || **¶**: NaT *Talk(1)- v. *'strike, beat' (→ [1] 'crush', cf. *t₁'alk'an 'crushed grain', [2] 'injure, harm', [3] 'soften [leather] by beating it') > OT {Cl.} talq- (gerund talqar) v. 'injure, harm', Alt/Tlt/Shor {Rl.} talqI-, Tv d₁alψI- 'soften (hides in order to manufacture leather)', VTt, Bsh talkъ-, StAlt talqu-la-id., 'brake (flax)'; NaT *Talkan (< *Talk-gan) 'parched crushed grain' ('толокно') > OT {Cl.} talqan, Chg talqan, StAlt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, ET talqan, Xk talψan, Uz talqan id., Tkm talχan 'sweet parched crushed grain'; T ↷ MM [MA] talqan 'parched crushed grain', Kl {KRS} талхн talχъn id., 'Pulver (порошок)', Kl Ö {Rm.} talχan 'geröstetes Weizenmehl', WrM {MED} talqa(n) 'powder, flour, meal; bread', HIM талх(ан) {MED} id., {BMR} 'bread', 'Pulver (порошок)', Oyr talqan 'wheat flour', Brt талха(н) 'flour; bread'; (↷ ?) Tv d₁alψan 'flour' and Tf t'alhan 'parched crushed grain (толокно)', 'fried flour'; R толокно and P t'okno 'parched oat flour' may result from coalescence of a Sl derived word (cp. R толочь, P t'uc 'zerstoßen') with a loan from T ¶ Cl. 495, DTS 519, Rs. W 458, TL 382, Rl. III 890, Ra. 169, BT 140, MED 773, BMR III 183, Chr. 411-12, Pp. MA 339, ADb. Ttd 65 [no. 7], KRS 274, KW 376, Vs. IV 73-4 ¶ Tkm t- suggests pT *t'- (F IS AD), F ADb. Ttd l.c. || **D** *ta|- ({{θGS} *t-) v. 'push' (× N *dA|o'í, ∇, √ ∇ 'to push', q.v. ff.) ◇ IS MS 369 (*t₁alκan > IE, S, D).

2366. ₂ *t₁u'íE (or *t₁æwU'íE?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long' > **HS**: WS *-t₁ūl- 'long, far' > Ar √ t₁wl (pf. t₁āla, ip. -t₁ūl-) 'être long, s'étendre en longueur', t₁awl- 'length', t₁awīl- 'long, tall', BHb *Sh* ps. pf. הוּטַהּ hū'ta| (ip. yū'ta|) {GB} 'hingestreckt werden, der Länge nach hinstürzen', *Sh* hē'tīl v. 'throw far', Sb ip. y_ht₁ln v. 'extend', t₁l 'length', Gz, Tgr √ t₁wl *D* 'extend', Mh t₁ōl, Hrs t₁awl, t₁ɜl, Jb E t₁ɛbl, Jb C 't₁ol 'length', Mh, Hrs t₁ɜwayl 'long' ¶ GB 274-5, KB 357, KBR 373, BK II 123-5, Hv. 442, BGMR 154, Jo. M 413 || EC: Sa {R} d₁ēl, d₁ɛl 'long, high, far' ¶ R S II 125 || WCh: Su {J} dul 'pull, ziehen', Cp {J} dil id., Plc {Sh.} d₁l+ id, Mpn {Frz.} dūl 'pull' ¶ ChC s.v. 'pull (ziehen)', J S 63, J ChMGB, Frz. DM 12, Sh. SB || ? Eg fP d₁w n vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N *t₁o?an∇ 'draw, stretch, extend'), if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg n ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 || **¶** *t₁'ō'íæ- > T *Tō'íe- > NaT {IS} *Tōš'e- v.

'spread out (e.g. a mattress)' > OT {Cl.} tōšē- id., Tk dōšē-, Ggz, Tkm dōše-, Tkm NY tūše-, Az dōšä-, MT [IM] dōšä- ~ tōšä-, Chg, MQp tōše-, Tv d_ǎžē- v. 'spread out', ET Tr tōšä- 'als Lager ausbreiten', Qq tōse-, Qzq tōsel- v. 'spread out, make up (a bed)'; ⇨ *t_ǎšēk 'mattress' > Tk dōšēk, Az dōšäk, Ggz dōšek, XT {ADb.} dōšek, Tf {ADb.} d_ōžek id., Tv d_ōžek id., 'bed' ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) supposed that in *C∇š- roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t'- is neutralized ¶ Cl. 561, IS AD 42 [no. 22], Rs. W 495, MM 276, KrkR 652, ADb. Ttd 58 [no. 10] || M *tele- > WrM tele- {MED} v. 'stretch (as hide or bow), smooth by stretching (as textiles)', HIM тэлэ- {MED} id., {BMR} v. 'stretch (as hide or cloth)', vt. 'auseinanderfalten, verbreitern (расширять), vergrößern', vi 'sich erweitern, größer weden', Kl {KRS} тел- tel- vt. 'stretch out, extend', {RM.} tel- 'ausspannen (z.B. eine frische Haut mit Holzstücken), ausziehen und mit einer Stütze versehen, stützen', Ord {Ms.} t'ele- 'étirer, distendre, étendre' ¶ MED 797, BMR III 284, KRS 491, KW 390, SM 418, Ms. O 656 || Tg *tele- v. 'extend' > Ewk, Neg, Orc, Nn Nh/Bk/KU тэлэ-, Lm тэлгъ- ~ тьлгъ- v. 'stretch (a hide on a frame)' ('растянуть'), Ul тэлү- v. 'stretch (fish skin)', WrMc {Z} тэлэ- v. 'extend, stretch, smooth by stretching' ¶ STM II 232, On. 418, Z 726 ¶¶ SDM 1414-15 (pA *t'élù 'string, spreader', v. 'spread' > Tg *tel- v. 'cock [a crossbow], spread a carcass'), M + unc. T *tēl 'wire, string, thong, strand') ◇ One of possible N reconstructions is *tUÍE, that presupposed that M and Tg *e of the first syll. is due to regr. as. (*ö...e > *e...e). If Eg dωn belongs here, the Eg, M and T cognates suggest to prefer the rec. *tæwUÍE ◇ ≠ BmK 306-7 (they equated the S √ with IE *del-, *delēgh- and *d_olagho- 'long').

2367. ≈₂ *tUÍE∇ 'breast, female breast' > HS: S *t'u¹l∇s- id. > OAk tulipum ~ tula²um 'breast', Ak B/NA tulû, telilû 'breast, nipple', Gz +¹ talā² [talla²] 'breast', Mh тэлт (✓ тлс) 'nipple' ¶ G OA 297, Sd. 1369, L G 574, Jo. M 401, MiK I no. 1.276 || A *t'ô:ÍE (= *t'ó:|ú:ÍE?) 'breast' > T *t'ōí 'breast' > Chv чүлэк чүльк 'hame strap, Kummtriemen' ('супонь'), 'ремень для стягивания хомутных клешней под шеей лошади' (< *t'ōí-lik 'breast collar' ['нагрудник'], ср. Az dōšlük, Bsh tūšlyk id., VTt tūšlyk 'подгрудник' ['lower breast collar'?]) || NaT *t'ōš > OT U tōš 'breast', OT [MhK] {MKD} tō:š 'sternum, breastbone', MU dōš ~ tōš, XwT tōš ~ toš, MT XIV [IM], Cmn, Chg tōš, MQp, OOsM dōš 'breast', Tk dōš, Az, XT

{ADb.} dōš, Tkm dōš, Qry tōš ɖ teš, Qmq, Blq, Qrg, StAlt, Tb, QK, ET tōš, VTt, Bsh tūš, Nog, Qz1, Qq, Xk tōs, Uz twš, Xlj tōš~d_ōš, SY tōs, tūs id., Tv τῶσ t'ōš, Tv NE {ADb.} d_ōš 'breastbone', Tf d_ǰš, Yk tūōs 'chest, breastbone' ¶ Rs. W 495, TL 271-2, ADb. Ttd 58 [no. 18], MKD 198, Md. 119, 179, Ash. XV 266, Fed. II 427, Jeg. 328, ChVS 274, DHST 307, Pek. 2908, ≈ DQA no. 2441 (T *t'ṓ) || Tg: WrMc {Z} тупу 'breast (of a horse)' ¶ STM II 211, Z 758 ¶¶ A. Dybo (ADb. SR-D 446 [no. 22] and ADb. Tts 58) adduced a Tg stem reconstructed by her as *tuǰl-gen 'breast of an animal' (> Ewk tiŋɜn, Sln, Nn KU tiŋǰ, Lm tiŋɜn, Neg tiŋɜn, Ud tiŋɜ(n-), Ul, Ork tunǰɜ(n-), Nn Nh tunǰǰ, WrMc {Z} tunǰen [F STM II 184-5, Krm. 295]), but since no ev. for *l in this √ has been produced, the rec. is not reliable ¶¶ SDM 1456 (pA *t'ṓi|e 'breast' > Tg, T *t'ṓ), DQA no. 2441, ADb. Ttd 58 [no. 18] ◇ The Altaic root may have resulted from a mt.: N ≈ *t'UÍEǰ ▽ > ≈ *t'Uǰ|ǰEÍ ▽ > ppA ≈ *t'EṓiE > A *t'ô:íE.

2368. *t'aílg, ▽ 'be quiet\calm' > HS: S *°√ tǰlǰ > Ar √ tǰlǰ G 'être faible\fatigué; faire qch. mollement (faute de force)' ¶ BK II 99 || IE: NaIE {P} *tel- 'still sein', *(s)tel- v. 'be quiet\still' > OIr tu(i)lid, con-tu(i)li 'is asleep' (iter. *toleuō), cotlud n. 'sleep' (*kom-toli-tu-s) || Lt tyléti (1s pres. tyliù) 'to be\keep silent', tìlti (1s pres. tìlù) 'to grow quiet' || Sl: Cr zà-tljati (1s pres. zà-tljām) 'to doze off'; caus. Sl *toliti > OCS **оуполити** 'beruhigen' (· ἀναστέλλειν, καταστέλλειν), {Mikl.} (· праўнеи) 'mitigare', ChS **толнн** toliti 'placare', Slv tólití vt. 'to quiet', SCr utólití 'to become calm; to appease', R inf. у-то'лнть, Blg уто'лявам v. 'appease, slake (thirst, hunger)' || ON stilla 'to still, to soothe', OHG, NHG stillen 'to still', OHG stilli, NHG still 'still, quiet', AS stillan 'to still', stille 'quiet', NE still ¶ P 1061-2, EI 475 (*(s)tel- 'be still\quiet'), Vn. T 170-1, Matas. E 382-3, Kb. 964, KM 750, Frn. 1095, Vs. IV 71, ≈ StSS 752 (**оуполнн** 'убеднть, уговорнть, успоконть, смягчнть словом'), Mikl. L 1076, Tls. 146 || A (+ext.?) *t'alp, ▽ 'calm' > M *talbi- > WrM talbi- {MED} 'set free', HIM {BMR} талбн- 'set free (e.g. from jail); отпущать; пущать, подпущать', Kl {KRS} талва- 'calm down', ?ф Ord t'áwi- 'lâcher, lâcher prise, mettre en liberté, laisser croître (p. ex. les cheveux)'; ⇨ : [1] M *talbiyun > WrM talbigun {MED} 'gentle, calm', HIM {MED} талбну id., {BMR} талбну(н) 'still, ruhig' (of a person), 'in einer unerschütterlichen Seelenruhe (невозмутнмо спокойннй), mit

ruhigem Gemüt (безмятежный)', Ord t'albū 'doucement, à son aise, en paix, qui est en pente douce'; [2] M *talbira- > WrM talbira- {MED} v. 'be relieved, calm down', HIM талбира- {MED} id., {BMR} 'calm down, приходить в себя', ?φ Ord t'āwira- 'se relâcher, diminuer d'intensité' ¶ MED 772-3, BMR III 173, 182-3, KRS 473, Ms. O 647, 650-1 || Tg *talpa 'calm water; backwater (заводь)' > Nn Nh talbō {STM} 'backwater, glassy surface of water, broad part of a lake', {On.} 'broad\deep part of a lake\bay', WrMc {Z} талфа 'shallow lake, backwater (заводь, займище), calm water', талфари 'low' (speed of a ship in shallow water) ¶ STM II 157, On. 391, Z 710 ◇ IE *(s)- suggests the presence of a palatal element within the N word, hence it is supposed that the N lateral cns. was *í.

2369. *túí, ∇, 'g' ∇ 'spread like a veil\net, cover with a veil\net, catch (fish etc.) with a net' > HS: S *^o✓ túy|f > Gz {L} ?an-ṭoləfa v. 'spread, stretch, spread like a veil, veil, cover with a veil', Tgr ṭanṭoləfa ṭanṭoləfa v. 'spread, stretch out' (Gz, Tgr <б- C [an unk. C word]?) ¶ L G 590, LH 618 || K *tχewl- v. 'fish with a net' > OG tχewl-, G tχevl- id., ? Sv: {K} tχēl- v. 'look for, hunt', UB/L {TK, GP} li-tχēl-i, LB/Ln li-tχel-i msd. 'to search for' (acc. to Dn., plrt. of li-tχ-e 'look for, find') ¶¶ K 98, TK 435, GP 154, Dn. s.v. tχ-, ≠ FS K 158-9 (reconstructing *tχe- 'catch, look for' on the basis of Sv words and forms without *l, e.g. me-tχw-yär 'hunter', but there the loss of *l is a reg. phonemic change) || U: FU *tul̥k ∇ 'seine, dragnet' > Z: Sk t+v, UV, US, P, MS t+l id. || ObU {Ht.} *tōləy ~ *tōyəl id. > pVg *tōləy > Vg: ML toli, UL, Ss toliy id.; pOs *tōyəl ({Hl.} *tūyəl) > Os: Nz tōχət, Kz tōχəf id. ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 536, LG 292, SZ 389, Ht. no. 636 || A *t'uí ∇- > T *Tuía- v. 'hobble' (an animal, e.g. a horse)' > OT tuša-, Qzq tṭsa- tusa-, Qrg tuša-, Tv d_úžā- (inf, дужаар), Tf d_ušā- id., ⇨ Ch тәл-ла- v. 'hobble (a horse)', T *t_úíāk n. 'hobble' > OT tušāy ({Cl.} d_ušāy), Tkm dušāq, Az Shm tušāx, VTt, Bsh тышау тьšaw, Qzq tṭsaу tusaw, StAlt тужак tužaq, Uz тушов tušow, Tv {TvR} дужак, {Ra.} дужаг d_úžay, Tf d_ušay id., Qrg tušō, Xk тузах tuzax id., 'fetters' ('окковы'), Yk tuhaχ 'loop, snare, chain, fetters' || Chv тәлә тьль n. 'hobble' ¶ Cl. 561, DTS 590, Rs. W 502-3, TvR 182-3, Ash. XIV 256, 259, Fed. II 188, Jeg. 235, ChVS 202, AzDDL 391, BT 157, Ra. 176, Md. 58, 180 (T *t_úí- [= *tu.í-] 'hobble') ¶ Cl. considered OT tuša- to be derived from OT {Cl.} tūš 'buckle' (Cl. 558), which is semantically qu.

and phonetically untenable, because the short *u is proved by the Tkm and Chv reflexes (provided that Cl. was right to suppose a long u in the word for buckle) ¶ A. Dybo (ADb. Ttd 57-8) suggested that that in *C∇š-roots the opposition *t'- ↔ *t'- is neutralized || Tg *tule- v. 'cast (a fishing net), install (a self-shooting bow, a trap, a snare)' > WrMc {Z} тцлэ- 'aufstellen (Fallen), auslegen (Netze)', 'cast (nets), set (a snare\trap)', Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn, Ewk, Neg तुल३-, Lm तुल- id., Ork तुल३gd३ 'fishing net', तुल३či- v. 'fish with a net'; Tg *tule- has also a broader meaning: 'install' (in a broader sense), 'arrange' > Ewk, Neg तुल३- 'put (on a stretching frame)', Lm तुल- v. 'arrange', Sln तुलु- 'hang up', Ork, Nn तुल३- v. 'sew on (a button)', WrMc {Hr.} तुले- 'anstecken (Holzgriff an Hacken, Holzgestell an Mühlsteine usw.)', {Z} тцлэ- 'насаживать ручку'. This broader meaning is likely to go back to a later semantic change. But of course we cannot rule out a possibility of casual homonymy or of a primary broader meaning with later semantic narrowing: 'install' → 'cast (a net), install (a snare etc.)'; in this last case the Tg √ does not belong to the pA and N etymon in question ¶ STM II 212, Krm. 297, On. 41O, Z 756, Hr 925 ¶¶ The Tg data suggest a strong A *t'-, while the T data are ambiguous in this respect || D *°tolko 'net for trapping' > Tm tolku id., Ml tol|a 'snare, trap' ¶ D no. 3531 ◇ N *g is tentatively reconstructed on the assumption that here FU *k goes back to a postcons. *g: FU *tul|k∇ < *tul|g∇ < N *t|u|l|g|'g'∇; a similar origin may be supposed for *k in D *°tolko. If this assumption is wrong and *k in FU and D is a sx, the N rec. is *t|u|l|g|'č|g'∇ ◇ The D vw. *o (for the expected *u) needs investigating ◇ N *g is suggested by the K and S roots. K *χ (rather than *ψ from N *g) is due to devoicing assimilation **tψ > *tχ ◇ AD NM no. 3O, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST), Vv. AEN 17 (unjustified doubts about the semantic change in T: 'catch with a net' → 'hobble'; misquotation: erroneous *tul|i|'g'∇ instead of N *t|u|l|i|'g'∇ [so in AD NM for N *t|u|l|g|'g'∇]), Lcm. NLP 16 (unjustified doubts about U, A and D).

2370. *tāiha 'lift up, carry' > HS: S: [1] CS *°√ t|'y' v. 'lift up' > JPA {Js.} inv. G t|ə'lī 'lift up', Md √ t|'y' T prt. u-mi t|liə 'and they shall be removed' ¶ Js. 536, DM 179-180 |[2] S *°√ n|l v. 'lift, carry' > BHb √ n|l G (ip. -t|t|) v. 'impose, lay upon, weigh', √ n|l D 'lift up', BA √ n|l G (pf. nə't|al), IA {HJ} n|l G v. 'lift', MHb {Js.} √ n|l G 'move\carry off, take', JA [Trg.] √ n|l G {Lv.} '(auf-\er-)heben', {Js.} vt. 'take, lift, move', JEA {Sl.} √ n|l G 'take', Sr √ n|l G 'sustulit', 'be

weighty; draw water', $na\ddot{t}\ddot{t}\bar{i}l-\bar{a}$ 'heavy', ? Ak $\checkmark n\ddot{t}l$ v. *G* 'see, look' (if \leftarrow 'lift up the eyes') ¶ KB 655, KBR 694, Js. 899-900, Lv. T II 104-5, Br. 425, JPS 337, Sl. 744-5, Sd. 766, CAD XI 121-2, JH 178, HJ 728-9 ¶ *n- is likely to go back to a HS verbal prefix || pCh {JS} $\checkmark d\ddot{l}$ v. 'carry, bring' > WCh: Jmb {Sk.} $d\ddot{o}lu\omega i$ v. 'bring' || ECh: Kwn {J} $d\ddot{o}l\acute{e}$ v. 'carry, bring', Smr {J} $d\ddot{z}g\acute{a}l$ v. 'carry on head' ¶ JI II 62-3, ChC s.v. 'carry' and 'bring', JS 61, ChL || ? C: Bj {R} $\checkmark tlg$ (1s: p. 'atlig, pres. atan'līg; prt. 'tilga) v. 'lift up' || ? SC: ?σ,φ Kz $\checkmark al-$ v. 'fly' ¶ R WBd 227, E SC 194 (pSC * $\checkmark ol-$ v. 'rise off the ground') || IE *telh-/*tleh- > NaIE *telā- / *tlā- v. 'lift, carry, endure' > OI $t\ddot{u}l\bar{a}$ f. 'balance, scale, weight', $t\ddot{u}layati$ 'lifts up, weighs', MPrs $t\ddot{l}^p\omega k$ [tarāzūg], NPrs $ترانوز$ $t\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}z\ddot{u}$ 'balance, scale; the sign Libra' || Arm $\rho n\eta n\iota \upsilon$ $t^h\circ\iota m$ 'I let\permit\tolerate' || Gk $\tau\lambda\eta\acute{\nu}\nu\alpha\iota$ inf., Gk D aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$ v. 'hold out, endure, be patient'; (pp. \rightarrow) Gk $\tau\lambda\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, Gk D $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'patient, steadfast in suffering; to be endured'; Gk $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ 'broad strap\band for bearing\supporting (anything)' || L $toll-$, - $\acute{e}re$ v. 'lift, take up\away' || OIr $tl\acute{e}n-$ 'enlever, dérober', 'steal' (semantic change like in M (see ↓) || Gt $\rho\ddot{u}lan$ ($\rho\acute{\nu}\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\epsilon\iota\nu$) 'dulden', ON $\rho\ddot{o}la$, AS $\check{d}ol\acute{i}an$ 'to endure, OSx $t\ddot{h}ol\ddot{o}n$, OHG $d\ddot{o}l\acute{e}n$ id., 'to suffer', NHG $d\ddot{u}lden$ 'to endure, to tolerate' || Ltv Δ {ME} $iz\text{-}t\ddot{i}lt$ 'aushalten' (unless from * $iz\text{-}stilt$) || pTc * $t\ddot{a}l-$ > Tc A/B $t\ddot{a}l-$ vt. 'uphold, keep raised' ¶ P 1060-1, EI 352 (* $telh_2-$ / pres. * $t\ddot{t}^h\ddot{e}h_2\text{-}ti$ 'lift, raise'), M K I 516, M E I 658-9, Vl. I 429, Sg. 291, F II 848-9, WP II 688-9, Fs. 504-5, Vr. 615, Ho. 366-7, Ho. S 78, OsS 107, EWA II 714-17, KM 146, Vn. T 78-9, ME IV 189, Wn. I 500, Ad. 296-7 ¶ If there is any connection of this root with N * $t\ddot{t}^h\ddot{e}h_2$ 'hang', it may be only secondary || A * $t^h\acute{a}l^h\acute{a}$ - v. 'carry, carry away' > T * $Ta\ddot{t}^h\acute{a}$ - ~ * $Ta\ddot{t}^h\acute{a}$ - v. 'carry, transport (sth. somewhere)' > OT $ta\check{s}u-$, Tk $ta\check{s}i-$, Ggz $ta\check{s}i-$, Az $da\check{s}i-$, Qmq $ta\check{s}i-$, Qzq $ta\check{s}i-$ (inf. $ta\check{s}\ddot{u}$), Qq $ta\check{s}i-$, Tv $d\acute{a}\check{z}i-$ id., Slr $t\ddot{a}\check{s}i-$ ~ $t\ddot{a}\check{s}i-$, Nog $ta\check{s}i-$ (inf. $tasu\text{-}\beta$) 'carry' ¶ Cl. 56, IS AD 42 [no. 21], Rs. W 466, Tn. SJ 504, NogR 339, RKumS 1003, KumRS 308, KrkR 626, MM 336 || M * $tal\acute{a}$ - v. 'take away, plunder' ($\times \leftarrow$ T * $t^h\acute{a}l\acute{a}$ - 'bite' [of animals], 'damage, ruin' < N * $tahE1\check{h}$, see s.v. N * $t^h\acute{a}l^h\acute{a}$ - * $tahE1\check{h}$ '≈ to hit, to damage') > WrM {MED} $tal\acute{a}$ -, HIM {MED, BMR} $tal\acute{a}$ - v. 'take away, confiscate, plunder', MM [S, MA] $tal\acute{a}$ - 'plunder, loot', WrO $tal\acute{u}$ - v. 'rob, steal', Kl {KRS} $tal\acute{a}$ - $tall\acute{a}$ - v. 'plunder', {Rm.} $tal\acute{a}$ - 'rauben, plündern', Ord $t^h\acute{a}l\acute{a}$ - 'piller et casser les objets'; M \rightarrow WrMc {Z} $tal\acute{a}$ - v. 'confiscate'

¶ MED 771, BMR III 182, H 144, Pp. MA 338, Krg. 475, KRS 474, KW 376, Ms. O 641, Z 708 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1396 (pA *t'āla- v. 'plunder, seduce' [probably merged with the pA reflex of N *t'a'lh▽ or *tahE1▽ '≈ to hit, to damage'] > M *tala- v. 'rob (грабИТЬ)' + unc.: T *tāla- v. 'rob, plunder', pJ *tárás- 'deceive, lure', pKo *târ'ái- 'lure, seduce, coax'), ≠ DQA no. 2321, KW 376 || D [1] *tā|- ({{ǰGS} *t-) v. *'lift' (→ 'hold', 'bear, endure') > Tm t̄ā|u (p. t̄ā|i-) v. 'bear, suffer, tolerate', Kn t̄ā|, t̄ā|u v. 'hold, take, undergo, experience, wait', Tu t̄ā|u ni, Tl t̄ā|u v. 'bear, endure' || [2] ?φ D (in NED) *t'e'|- > Mlt t̄éle v. 'lift (as the corner of a curtain or hem of a dress)', Krx telag-nā v. 'tuck up (e.g. garment before sitting)' ¶ Krx/Mlt | is a reg. reflex of D *|, but the vw. e is deviant ¶¶ D no-s 3188 and 3428, Km. 381 [no. 561] (reconstructing pSD *tā|- with an alleged variant *tā|- based on unc. adduction of Tm t̄ā|- v. 'stay, rest, stop') ◇ The N lr. is reconstructed on the ev. of IE, it was most probably *h, because it is the only N lr. that meets three requirements: it is lost in S (only N *h and *ʔ may be lost there), it yields NaIE *ə in syllabic position (Gk ǎ in τελαῦ-μῶν) (which rules out N *ʔ), and it has a-coloring effect on a preceding vw. (which N *ʔ cannot have) ◇ IS (ms.): *t̄al'h'e 'carry' (S, IE, D), Tromb. CL (IE, D), BmK 281-3 (IE, A, D + unconvincingly S *√tly ~ *√tll 'hang', *till- 'hill', C *t▽|- 'hill' + Sum t̄á| v. 'be wide\broad') ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 383 (*tal 'take') (IE, A, Gil, CK + qu. Ko, J, Ai), ≠ Gr. II no. 196 (*t0| 'hang') (an unc. attempt to connect the IE root with A, Ko and J, as well as with Ai words for 'belt', 'hang', see N *t̄▽|▽ 'hang').

2371. *t̄AÍ,X,▽ or *t̄A|X,▽ 'stem', '(ε?) 'tree' > HS: S *°t̄alh- '(ε) a big tree' > Ar t̄alh- (coll.) 'Acacia gummifera', t̄alh-at- 'an Acacia gummifera tree', '(tout) grand arbre dans un terrain sablonneux' ¶ BK II 94-5 || IE: NaIE *tel̄a,- 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree' > OI taruḥ 'tree' (semantic infl. of d̄aru 'tree?') || Gk τηλῦ 'board\table with a raised rim\edge; corn seller's or baker's board' || AS ðille 'floorboard', ðel 'plank, bed', ðelu ~ ðele 'plank', OHG d̄il, d̄ilo, d̄illa 'board, plank, floor made of boards; brette Wandbekleidung des Zimmers', NHG Diele 'board, plank; floor', Yid dil 'floor', ON p̄il 'floor\wall of planks', p̄ili 'wainscot, panelling', p̄ilja 'plank' || Lt t̄ileś pl. 'Boden-bretter im Kahn, Bodenbelag' (Mn.: < *t̄lyə), Ltv tilandis 'Bretter, die Diele eines Bootes bilden', (× IE *tel̄H,- < N *t̄aLh▽ 'flat') Pru talus 'floor' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1375, IS IA 74; ≈ P 1061 and

Frn. 1093-4 (both did not distinguish between *tel- 'board' and *tel_lə_l- 'flat'), En. 262, M K I 484, F II 892, LS 1787, OsS 102-3, KM 131-2, Ho. 362, 365, Vr. 610, Kb. 154, EWA II 644-7, ≈σ EI 247 (*telH-om ~ ? *t_lo- H-om 'floor [of planks]') || **D** (in SD) *tā_l ({{ḡGS} *t-) 'stem, leg' > Tm tā_l 'leg, stem, stalk', Ml tā_l 'stalk, stem', Kt tā:ḷ 'stem, trunk', Td to·ḡ 'thigh of animal's hind leg, trunk of tree', Kn tā_lḡ 'stem or stalk' ¶ **D** no. 3185 ¶ Either the meaning 'leg' is secondary or there are two homonymic pD roots, one for 'leg' and the other for 'stem'.

2372. *t_l'E'm∇ (= *t_l'E'mu?) 'feel by touch' > **HS:** Eg fP dmy vt. 'touch, feel by touch', vi. 'be joined' > Cpt: Sd **ТУУМЕ** tōōme, B **ТУМИ** tōmi 'unir, toucher' ¶ EG V 453-5, Fk. 313, Vc. 215 || **U** *tumte v. 'feel, touch, feel by touch' > F tunte- v. 'feel, recognize, sense, taste, smell, know', Es tunde- v. 'feel, sense, experience' | pLp {Lr.} *tomtə- v. 'feel, know (kennen)' > Lp: N {N} dōw'dāt v. 'know, perceive, sense', S {Hs.} dābde- ḡ dāmde-, U {Schl.} dāb'dat, L {LLO} tāb'tāt id., Kld {Lr. ← Gn.} tom:deḡ, {SaR} ТОММТЭ 'learn (erfahren)' | ppPrm {LG} *tūd- > pPrm *tōd- v. 'know, learn (erfahren), remember' > Vt inf. тодыны id., Z то̄дны 'to know, to recognize, to guess', Vt, Z тод 'memory', Yz {Lt.} т̄д- tōd- v. 'know' || Hg tud- v. 'know, be able' || Sm {Jn.} *tumtə (or *c̄-, *-m̄c̄-) v. 'know' ('kennen, wissen') > Ne T 'тумдась 'to learn (erfahren), notice', Ne T O {Lh.} tumtā, Ng {Cs.} aor. s./obj. Is tūmtū'áma 'erraten', En {Cs.} Is aor. s./obj. tuddabo 'erfahren, erraten', {Ter.} d. тумтару" 'learn (erfahren)', Kms {KD} t'əm̄n̄m 'wissen, verstehen', {Cs.} thūmnām 'wissen, sich erinnern', Koyb {Sp.} абытымнемъ 'не знаю' ('I do not know'), Koyb {Sp.} тымнелеймамъ, Mt *tumda- v. 'notice' (Mt M {Sp.} тумдуджугурамъ 'примечаю') ¶¶ Coll. 63-4, UEW 536-7, Db. OS xxxii, Sm. 541 (U *tumtī- 'know' > FU, FP *tumtī-, Ugr *tumtī-), Lr. no. 1268, Lgc. no. 7617, Hs. 408-9, SaR 357, Lt. 127, LG 283, Lt. J 186, Jn. 167, Cs. 63, 89, 187, KD 70, Hl. M no. 1091 || **A** *t'æm∇ v. 'feel by touch' > Tg *temⁱ- v. 'feel by touch' ('щупать') > Ewk tami- ~ tāmī-, Lm tami- ~ tāmī-, Neg tami-ktə-, Ul tāmuru-, Ork, Nn Nh tāmīri-, Nn KU tāmīrə- id.; Tg ⇨ Dg tāmīl̄- 'feel (betasten), touch' ¶ STM II 233-4, On. 419, T DgJ 167 || M *temte-li- / -ri- > WrM temtel-, temteri- {MED} v. 'grope, search by feeling, touch with the hands', HlM тэмтрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'betasten, durch Betasten finden, mit der Hand berühren; durchwühlen; grope one's way'

(‘ходить наощупь’), Brt тэмтэр- ‘grope one’s way’ (‘брести наощупь’), Kl {KRS} темтр- ‘grope one’s way (идти ощупью, брести наощупь)’, {Rm.} temtɾ- ‘im Dunkeln herumtappen, mit den Händen zu betasten suchen’, Mnr H {SM} t‘jänd_uli- ‘tâter, toucher avec la main’, Ord t‘emt‘ere- ‘tâter, tâtonner; trébucher (p. ex., en marchant dans l’obscurité)’ ¶ MED 800, BMR III 286, Chr. 453, KRS 492, KW 391, SM 415, Ms. O 657, MYC 631 ¶¶ SDM 1417 (pA *t‘em∇ v. ‘grope, search’ > M *temteri-, Tg), DQA no. 2343 (id.), Rm. SKE 261, 631, STM II 233-4, Dr. TM II 234 || D: [1] (in SD) *tiñt- ({{ʒGS} *t-) > Tm tīṛt̥u v. ‘touch, feel’, Ml tīṛt̥uka v. ‘touch’, Kt tiṛd̥- v. ‘be polluted by illegal sexual intercourse’, Kt, Td tiṛt̥ ‘pollution’, Kn tīṛd̥u v. ‘touch (as air or wind), touch (as with fingers)’, Kdg t̥iṛd̥- v. ‘touch’ || [2] (in SD) ??σ *tim∇r- v. ‘smear, rub (the skin etc.)’ > Tm timir v. ‘smear as sandal paste, rub, apply to (as a flower to the skin)’, Kn timir v. ‘rub and smear the skin’ ¶ D no-s 3234 and 3268 ◇ U *tumte, M *temte-li- / -ri- and D *tiñt- are likely to go back to an ancient cd *t‘E’mu T∇ ◇ The Uralic vw. *u may be explained by as. (infl. of N *u of the next syll.) ◇ IS MS 353 s.v. ‘ощупывать’ *t‘e’ma (TM, D).

2373. *tōm∇ ‘cut’ > HS: S *o∇t̥mm > Ar √t̥mm v. G (ip. -t̥umm-) ‘se raser la tête à tel ou tel endroit’, ‘shave’ ¶ Fr. III 69, BK II 105 || IE: NaIE *tem- v. ‘cut’, *tomos ‘a cut, slice (Abschnitt)’ > Gk Hm τέμει ‘he/she cuts’, Gk A τέμνω, Gk Hm/I/D τύμνω ‘I cut’, Gk τόμος ‘slice; piece, part’ || Laestumā- v. ‘estimate (the price of a thing)’ (denom. from *aṛs-tomos ‘der das Erz zerschneidet’) || OIr tamnaid ‘(he) cuts off’, tamun ‘tronc d’arbre, bille de bois’ || BSl *tīnō (< *tomnō ÷ Gk τέμνω) / inf. *tinti > Lt tīnti (1s pres. tīnū) ‘to whet (by hammering)’, {Frn.} ‘(die Sense) durch Klopfen mittels eines Hammers schärfen\ dengeln’, Lt {Frn.} tyrimas ‘Schlagen, Geißeln, Dengeln’ | Sl *teti (1s pres. *t̥n-ŏ) > Slv t̥eti (1s pres. t̥n̥m), OCz tieti (1s pres. t̥n̥u), Cz títi (1s pres. t̥n̥u) ‘to hew’, OR ТАТН teti (1s pres. ТЪНЪ t̥n̥u) ‘to kill\stab (with a sabre etc.)’, R Δ τηϋτ̥ (1s pres. τηϋ) ‘to stab (with a knife etc.)’, P ciāć (1s pres. t̥n̥e) ‘to hew, to smite, to strike’ ¶ WP I 719, P 1063, Mn. 1378, 1411, F II 874-6, WH I 20-1, Vn. T 25, Frn. 1099, Ju. I 651, Srz. III 1106, Slz. I 98 || A *t‘o;̣;̣m∇ > NaT *To;̣;̣mur- v. ‘cut’ (Cl.: caus. [σ?] from **t‘om-) > OT {Cl.} to|umur- v. ‘cut in a rounded shape’, Blq {Rs.} tomur- ‘aushauen, fällen’, VTt {ðRl.} tum̥r- ‘abhauen\absägen (den Teil eines Balkens)’,

SbTt Tv/Tr {Tm.} tumъr- v. 'hew, trim, roughhew', SbTt Tb tumъr- {Rl.} id., 'behauen', {Tm.} 'chop off', VTt {Rl.} tumра- 'hauen, abhauen, durch-hauen', SbTt Tb {Gig.} tumра- 'saw up (firewood)', VTt тумран tumran 'block of wood, log, stump (колода, чурбан, обрубок)', SbTt Tb/Tr {Tm.} tumрам 'stub, stump (пень, обрубок)', Tlt томір- v. 'cut through (a log)', Osm {Rs.} tumруq 'Stamm, Klotz', {Rh.} томруq 'a heavy log from the main trunk of a tree', Tk томрук 'log, block of wood' ¶ Cl. 509, Rl. III 1238, 1521-3, Rs. W 487, Tm. 218, Rh. 1263, TrR 865 || M: WrM тоби- {MED} v. 'engrave (gold, silver), beat out a pattern; incrust, inlay', HIM {MED, BMR} тови- id., {Gl.} id., 'carve' ¶ MED 811, BMR III 209, Gl. III 177 ¶ The denasalization *-m- > *-b- is still to be explained || D *tum- v. 'be cut (off)' > Tm tumi (fts. -v-, prts. -nt-) v. 'be cut off', tumi (fts. -pp-, prts. -tt-) v. 'cut off', Tl tumuru 'a small piece or bit' ¶¶ D no. 3325 ◇ T and M point to a N *o, D *u suggests N *u (or *ü), while the IE cognate can go back to etymons with any vw.

2374. *t̥oʷ|ʕam̥ 'to bite, to taste' > HS: S *√t̥ʕm v. 'taste' > BHb טעם √t̥ʕm G, IA √t̥ʕm, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr √t̥ʕm G 'taste, eat a bit', Ar طعم √t̥ʕm v. G 'taste, eat', Gz √t̥ʕm v. G 'taste, be tasty', Mh √t̥ʕm (pf. t̥ām, sbjn. yʕt̥ōm, verbal noun t̥ʕʕam), Jb, Sq √t̥ʕm (pf.: Jb C 't̥ʕam, Jb E t̥aʕam, Sq 't̥aʕam) v. 'taste, eat, try (food)', Ak {Sd.} t̥ēm̥u(m) 'Geschmack', BHb טעם 't̥aʕam n. 'taste, feeling' ¶ KB 361, KBR 377, Lv. T I 312, Js. 543, Sl. 510, Br. 283, BK II 83, Hv. 432, Sd. 1235-7 || C: EC *d̥am-d̥am- ~ *d̥ad̥dam- v. 'taste', adj. 'tasty' > Or {Grg.} d̥amd̥amā 'delicate, flavoured, savory', {Brl.} d̥and̥ama n. 'taste', d̥and̥amā 'tasty', Sml d̥ad̥dam- vi. 'taste', Bn d̥iddim- id., Brj d̥ed̥dēm-ā 'good-tasting', as well as probably LEC *d̥am- 'food, consume' > Sml d̥am- v. 'drink milk\blood', Sml N {Abr.} d̥am- 'drink milk', Rn {PG} d̥am- v. 'drink (food drinks)', Bs {HL} d̥am- v. 'drink', Or d̥ama 'whey', Kns, Gdl d̥am- v. 'eat', Dsn d̥an- {Bl.} v. 'bite', {To.} 'tear off, tear to pieces'; a more archaic LEC √ variant *d̥aʕm- is present in Sml {R} d̥aʕan, pl. d̥aʕmo 'Geschmack, Saft', Af {PH} d̥aʕame 'take a sample of food, taste' and Sa {HL} d̥aʕame v. 'taste' ||| Dhl {To.} tem- v. 'try, taste', {EEN} t̥em- 'try, look at' ¶ AD SF 317-18, AD PSH § 5.2 [no. 6], Ss. B 62-3, Bl. 100, Abr. S 46, R SS II 96, Hn. S 57, PG 91, PH 88-9, Grg. 120, Brl. 98, HL 92, EEN 8, To. D 148, To. DL 493, Blz. CL 178 || WCh (?) *d̥aʕim- > Gmy {ChL} ni tiʕm. v. 'taste', My {ChL} a d̥ahín v. 'taste, touch', Hs

ḍàṇḍānā v. 'taste', Bl danḍ- id. || CCh *√ ḍm > HgNk {ChL} ḍamata v. 'taste', Bdm ḍam, ? Msg P {Trn.} ṭm' id. ¶ Abr. H 184-5, Ba. 212, ChC s.v. 'taste' ¶¶ AD PSH § 5.2 [no. 6], § 6.3 [no. 73], OS no. 2454, ≈ Sk. HCD 55, Trn. LM, ChL I 55, 149 and II 135 || U: FU *°toʁ|w m ∇ (or *°tok m ∇) > pObU *tō ʁəm- or *tō wəm- v. 'bite' > pVg *tā ʁəm- or *tā wəm- id. > Vg: LK/MK tow m-, UL tō wəm-, Ss tō w m; pOs *to ʁəm- ({HL.} *tō ʁəm-) id. > Os: Ty tā ʁ wəm-, Y tā wəm-, D/K/O to ʁəm-, Nz tu ʁəm-, Kz {Stn.} to ʁəm-, {KrT} tō ʁəm-/to ʁ m- id. ¶ Ht. 187 [no. 625], KrT 977-8, Stn. D 1414-15 || A *t'am ∇- v. 'taste, munch' > Tg *tami- v. 'champ, taste (food)' > WrMc {Z} тамиша- id., v. 'savour (food)', Ewk tam- v. 'champ', (?) v. 'inhale', ? Nn KU tamī- v. 'swallow (air\saliva)' ¶ STM II 158, Z 710 || NaT (?) *T a; j m- n. 'taste' > StAlt {BT} tam, Tlt/QK/Shor {Rl.} tā m id. (for these lges of non-Muslim peoples the Persian-Arabic origin of the word is less likely than for Uz там ~ таъм 'taste' and ET tam 'food', which are obviously loans); ?σ T *t'am-gāk ({ADb. *t'an ʁ ak) 'soft palate and throat' > OT {TL} tam ʁ aq, {Cl.} tam ʁ āq, MU, MQp, XwT tamaq, MOg tamaq ~ tama ʁ id., Chg tama ʁ ~ tamaq, Tk damak, Ggz damak, Az damaq 'palate', Tkm damaq, Uz tam aq, Qry, QrB, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, ET, Alt/Qmn {Rl.}, StAlt tamaq, Xk, Shor tama ʁ 'throat', Tv t'an maq 'gills', Yk tama ʁ 'throat, pharynx' ¶ Cl. 505, Rs. W 460, TL 229-30, Rl. III 993-4, 1649, BT 140, MM 330 ¶ Tv t'- provides ev. for pT *t'- in the noun, while d- of the Og lges is ambiguous (F IS AD and ADb. Ttd 62-5) || M (< d.?) *tamsiya- > WrM {MED} tam si ʁ a-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt тамшаа- v. 'champ, click the tongue, taste food', Kl {Rm.} tam šā- '(mit den Lippen) schmätzen', {KRS} тамша- 'schmätzen (чавкаты), mit Genuß kosten (смаковать), cling the tongue (as a sign of pleasure)', WrO tam šā- 'champ. smack the lips', Brt тамшаа- id., v. 'savour (смаковать)', Ord t'am šā- 'faire du bruit avec la langue et les lèvres en mangeant ou en tétant'; M *tamsug|q 'tasty' > WrO tam š i q 'delicate', WrM таηсуq {MED} 'delicious, tasty; pleasant, joyous, agreeable; delicate, exquisite', 'pleasure, joy', HIM {MED} тансаг id. (infl. of *taηsu 'tenderness' and/or *taηsi- 'champ?'), {BMR} тамсаг ~ тансаг 'Leckerbissen, Süßigkeiten; pleasure, joy', 'pleasant, tasty, sweet; beautiful; freudig', Brt тамһаа 'Laune (прихоть)', Ord t'am su q 'agréable au goût, savoureux, exquis, excellent'; M *tamsiη > HIM {BMR} тамшин 'a person who finds pleasure in eating, mit Genuß

kostender Mensch, gourmand', WrO *tamš'ir* 'savory', Kl {KRS} *тамш'и* 'gourmand, fastidious (wählerisch) in food', {Rm.} *tamš'η* 'Feinschmäcker, wählerisch', *tamsäq* ~ *taṣäq* id., 'Süßigkeiten'; M \rightarrow Qzq *tamsanu-*, Qq *tamsan-* 'smack the lips', Qrg *tamš'an-* id., 'click the tongue (a sign of pleasure)' ¶ MED 775, 778, BMR III 186-7, 190, Chr. 413, Krg. 477-8, KRS 475, KW 377, 379, Jud. 700, Ms. O 643 || pJ **tāmias-* v. 'try, attempt' > OJ *tam_li_lesi* 'example', MJ *tames-* v. 'try, attempt', J T *tamés-*, J K *támés-*, J Kg *tàmès-* {Kenk.} v. 'try, attempt' ¶ S QJ no. 1012, Mr. 763, Kenk. 1903 ¶¶ SDM 1397-8 (pA **t'ama-* v. 'taste, munch' > Tg, M, J), DQA no. 2301 (id.), KW 377, Dr. MT ("onomatopoetisch-verdächtig") || ?σ,φ D: Tm *tīm* 'sweet', *tēm* 'sweetness' (unless from **tī's* -) ¶ D no. 3274, ≈ GS 202 [no. 512] (pD **tyī-* 'sweet'). If Tm *tīm* - belongs here, the N rec. may be ***ṭo|a|y|sEma** (with ***E...a** > pA ***a** in the second syll. [vw. harmony]) || AdS of Tl *tumuru* 'a small piece or bit' (> N ***ṭôm** ▽ 'to cut', q.v.) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 120 (**tamp* 'eat') (A **t'ama* 'taste' and EA ≈ **tam-* 'lick, chew' erroneously equated with IE **dapH-* 'feast, sacrifice' [a loan from S **ḏabh-* 'sacrifice'], as well as with Vg **tāp* 'food' etc.).

2375. ***ṭæq_lU_lm** ▽ 'sinciput, crown of the head, top, tip' > HS: S * \circ ✓ *ṭχm* > Ar [Qam.] {Fr.} *ṭaṭχam-* 'anterior pars nasi (in homini et iumento)' ¶ Fr. III 44 || C: Ag ***d▽m▽h* > Aw {L} *dūmī* 'top', Ag \rightarrow Gz *dāmāh* [damaḥ] 'head, crown of the head, summit' (unless from S **dimāy-* [> Ar *dimāy-* 'brain'], acc. to W. Müller) || ? EC: Or *duma* (nom. *dum-ti*) 'end' ({Brl.} 'estremità, fine') ¶ L G 134, Grg. 131, Th. 116, Brl. 128 || K * \circ t^rem- (or * \circ t^rēm-) > OG *tχem-i* 'top of the head' (Deut. 28.35), 'top of the hill' (Ex. 17.9, Mt. 27.33), G *tχem-i* 'Scheitel, Gipfel' ¶ Chx. 509, Abul. 186, DCh. 574, Ser. 74 || IE * \circ teḥmṇo > NaIE * \circ tēmṇo > Sl **těmę* / *těmen-* 'crown of the head' > SrChS, OR **ТѢМА** *temę* / gen. **ТЕМЕН-е** *temen-e* id., 'skull', R 'темя', Uk 'тім'я, P *ciemie*, SCr **тѣме** \rightarrow *tjěme* 'crown of the head, sinciput', Cz *témě*, *temeno* id., 'summit' ¶ Srz. III 1093-4, Vs. IV 41, Ma. CS 525, Sl. I 100 || A **t'um* ▽ 'head, top of the head' > Tg {SDM} **tumuṇu* 'crown of the head, occiput' > Ewk *tunulkēn*, Ewk I *təmulkēn* ~ *timulkēn* 'crown of the head', 'skull', Sln *tumulkī*, Ud *təmugz*, Lm A *tunuk*, *tunək*, Lm Ol *təṅzək*, Nn *təmbilku*, Orc {PSchm.} *тумаха*, Mc Sb *tunun* 'crown of the head, sinciput' ¶ STM II 217 || NaT **Tu_lmak* 'fur cap' > Chg {PC} *tumac* 'cap'. {Vm.} *tumax* 'fur cap of the Qazaqs'. ET {BN. Ni. RI}

tumaq, Bsh Δ t^omaγa 'winter fur cap with large earflaps', SbTt Tō TOMAQ t^omaq, Qrg tumaq, QK {Rl.} tubaq, Tkm Δ tumoq id., Uz TУМОҚ tumoq id., 'cap', Qzq {Sht., MM} TҰМАҚ tumaq 'winter cap, fur cap with earflaps and back flap (треух)', ET Δ, Ln tumaq 'ε cap'; T ⇨ Kl {Rm.} tom_oγa 'Mütze, Kappe' ¶ TL 483, BN 157, Nj. 339, Rl. III 1514, 1517-18, UzR 451, Jud. 765, Sht. 211, KrkR 654, Tm. 212, KW 399 || M *tomi n./adj. 'chief' > WrM tom_i {MED} 'chief, primiparous', tom_i ekener 'a woman parturient for the first time', HIM {BMR} TOMИ ЭХ id., Ord {Ms.} t^omi 'chef, primipare', t^omi-la- 'être à la tête de', Mnr H {SM} t^oumb_u ~ t^oomb_u 'le premier petit qu'un animal met bas' ¶ MED 800, 822, BMR III 222, KW 410, SM 423, 431, Ms. O 666 || pJ *tum- 'top, head' > MJ {S, SDM, Vv.} tumu-ri (~ {S} tuburi) 'head, top', J T/Kg cumurí, J K cúmúrí, J Sh číbúru 'head' ¶ S QJ no. 114, Mr. 556, Vv. AEN 6-7, Kenk. 2068, BJRS II 538 ¶¶ Starostin (S CNM 8) suggested to adduce T and OJ, as well as M tomi-la- 'chief' and tumur-liγ 'hat' ◇ The labialized vw. in the Altaic lges may go back to the labialized vw., if the N etymon was *t̥æqU_m∇. In the latter case the vw. *U must have been lost in the prehistory of IE: N *t̥æqU_m∇ > *t̥æqm∇ > IE *te^hm̥ŋ ¶¶ SDM 1475 (pA *t^oūmu 'head, top of head' > Tg *tum̥u 'top of head', M *tom- 'chief, first', T *tum- 'hat, cap' etc., pJ *tum-), DQA no. 2464 (id.), S AJ 109, 279, TL 483, Oz. NM 130 ◇ AD NM no. 105, S CNM 8, Vv. AEN 6-7.

2376. *t̥um_l∇, q∇ 'dark' > HS: S *^o✓ tmχ > Ak tamχ-û (m) 'evening', tamχ-ītu id. ¶ Sd. 1314 || C *t^ou^lm_lH_l- 'dark' > Ag *tem- > Xm {R} tema 'darkness', tim (pl.) 'dark nights', Q {R} tem- v. 'finster sein\werden', Km {CR} tem- v. 'être obscur\obscurité\énébres' || ? HEC *tuns- (or *t̥uns-??) > Hd {PB} t̥unso, {Hd.} t̥unso 'darkness', Sd {Gs.} t̥unsa- v. 'grow dark', Sd {Hd.}, Kmb {Hd.} t̥uns- v. 'become dark', Sd {Gs., Hd.} 'darkness', Hd {PB} t̥uns-, {Hd., Gs.} t̥uns- v. 'grow dark' ¶ AD SF 53-4, Hd. 47, PB 177, Gs. 319, R Ch II 421 (s.p. 107), R QW 133, CR LK 258 || Om: NrOm: Kf {C} t̥um- v. 'be dark', t̥umō 'darkness, evening, night', Shn {Abb.} t̥umā 'night', Bnc {Wdk.} t̥umám 'at night' || SOM: Dm {Fl.} t̥um 'darkness' ¶ C SE IV 510, Wdk. BY 112, Fl. OO 317 || ? Ch: ECh: it is tempting to adduce Mu {Lk., J} dèdém, Mjl {DB} deddem and Mkl {J} d̥d̥d̥ó 'night', but the morphemic structure of the word and the origin of the initial de-, di- are not clear; cp. also Kbl {Cp.} dāmā 'night' ¶ JI II 257, DB, J LM s.v. d̥d̥d̥ó, Cp. KL s.v. Kbl dāmā, Blz. EChWL

no. 61 ¶¶ AD SF 53-4, C SE II 221-2 (C, Om) || IE *temH- > NaIE *tem(ə)- 'dark' (and ds: *temes- ntr. 'darkness', *teməsrā 'darkness', *temsro- 'dark') > OI 'tamah_h [tamas] ntr., Av təmah- 'darkness', OI 'tamisrā_h (pl.) id., MPrs tom 'finster' || L temerā- v. 'darken', temere 'blindly', tenebrae 'darkness' (probably dis. from *temafrā < *teməsrā ÷ OI 'tamisrā_h) || OIr tem, later teim, temen 'dark, grey', OIr teime 'darkness', te(i)mel id., 'shade' || OHG dēmar, dēmerunga 'twilight', NHG Dämmer 'weak faint light', Dämmerung 'twilight, dusk', Ic {KM ← ?} þám 'dunkle Luft', þámaðr 'dark', Far {JM} tām 'haze'; OSx thimm 'dark', (*tem-sro/ā >) MDt, Dt † deemster, OHG dinstar 'dark, dusty' || Lt témti, Ltv tim-t 'to grow\get dark', Lt teméti 'to be dark (finster)', Lt témta 'it is getting dark, the day is closing in', Lt temà, Ltv tima, tímša, tùmša, Lt tamsà, Lt E tumsà 'darkness', Lt temsas, Ltv tùmšs ~ tumsš 'dark (finster)' | Sl *t'ь'ma (accus. *t'ьmъ ~ *t'ьmъ) 'darkness' > OCS, OR ТЪМА, R тьма, P ćma id., SCr táma 'darkness, dusk'; Sl d. adj. *t'ьmъnъ 'dark' ('dunkel, finster') > OCS ТЪМЪНЪ, R ТѢМНЫЙ, Blg 'тъмен, SCr tãman ~ táman, Cz temný, P ciemny ¶ P 1063-4, Dv. no. 319 (*temos 'tenebra'), EI 147 (*'tomHes- 'dark'), M K I 478, M E I 626, WH II 656-7, 664, EM 1027-8, Vn. T 48, Kb. 157, OsS 99, 104, EWA II 573-5, 660-2, KM 120, Ho. S 77, Vr. N 108, JM 438, Frn. 1055-6, 1080, 1139, Kar. II 440-1, StSS 714, Srz. III 1081, Vs. IV 40, 133-4, Glh. 619-20 || U: FP *tum_lm_l'e' 'dark' > F tumma id., tummentaa v. 'darken, make dark', Krl tumma 'dark-colored', Es t'õmmu 'dark', Lv tumà 'undurchsichtig', 'nebelig' (Wetter), F Δ tumēa 'dusky (hämärä)', Es tumē 'dark' | Prm {LG} *t'um- > Z LV t'im- vt. 'darken, shield from the light' ¶ SK 1395-7, Kt. 439, LG 293 || A *t'um- > NaT *Tu_l:_lm_l∇_l-, *Tu_l:_lm > Slr tum-, tumu-, tumi- vi. 'darken' (of the sky), 'cover with darkness (окутывать мглой)', SbTt t'omas 'cloudy, overcast with clouds', Tk Δ d'umcak 'cloudy weather', VTt Δ t'omъzъq 'cloudy' (cp. also VTt t'oma 'closed from all sides'), ?σ OT {Cl.} tum 'uniform' (of dark color): tum qara at 'a uniformly black horse', tum toriğ at 'a uniformly dark bay horse'; NaT *Tuman 'mist, fog, (?) darkness' > OT tuman 'fog, mist', 'darkness' ({DTS} 'мгла, мрак'), Chg {Bu.} tuman 'mist, fog, darkness', tumanlu 'foggy, dark', Tkm duman, Tv t'uman ~ duman, Tf duman. Oza tuman. Oa duman ~ tuman. Slr. Omd. Nog. Org. StAlt. ET. Uz

tuman, VTt, Bsh t^oman, Xk tuban 'mist, fog', Brb tuman 'darkness (мгла)', Tk duman, Ggz, Az duman, Yk tuman id., 'mist, fog', as well as the R loanword туман tu'man 'mist'; pT **Tüm (with rdp.) > Chv тѣттѣм тѣтѣм 'dark', 'darkness' ¶ Cl. 503, DTS 585, IS AD 175, Rs. W 498, TL 33-4, ET VGD 295-6, Bu. I 753, Rl. III 1518, Tn. SJ 522-3, TatR 544-5, BR 531, BT 158, Dm. JBT 191, Ash. XV 103-4, Fed. II 224-5, Jeg. 249, ChVS 214 || Tg *^otum- > WrMc {Z} туминь 'dark' (of color) (× WrMc {Z} туминь 'thick, dense'), unless туминь 'dark' is a sd. from туминь 'thick'; ?ф Tg *тамна 'fog, mist' > Nn Nh/Bk тамна ~ тамна id., Ork, Ul тамна 'haze, mist, fog' ('мгла, туман'), Ud {Shn.} тамнзHä, {Krm.} тамнзhä 'mist', Ewk тамна-кса id., тамна- v. 'get misty' (weather) ('туманиться, идти пару'), Lm тамнарj 'fog, haze' ('Nebel, Nebel-schleier, Staubschleier'), тамнц- v. 'get misty' (weather) ('neblig werden'), ?ф WrMc {Z} талмань 'mist, steam' (the unexoeected WrMc cns. л needs explanaton (contamonation with some other root, e.g. pN *č'о'т'л'w'∇ 'shadow, shade, dark'??), Jrc тà h-мà-kî h 'mist, fog' ¶ STM II 159, 213, Krm. 293, On. 392, Z 710, 759, LW 942 ¶ The vw. *a (for the expected *u) in Tg *тамна is still to be explained (infl. of the nearly synonymous pA *da:~m- 'dust' < N *dAm∇ 'steam, mist, dust'? [q.v. s.v.]?) ¶¶ It is not clear if the meaning 'mist, fog' (in T and Tg) goes back to 'darkness' or there is coalescence with a different pA root || E: AchEl те-ман(?)-на(?)-на 'abendlich (?)', in a proper name: те-ман (originally 'Abend?') ¶¶ HK 317 ◇ IS SS no. 1.29, IS MS 368 s.v. 'темный' *тум∆ (IE, C [with Om], BF), AD rTPN (IE, HS, BF, A) → BmK 284-5 (IE, C + *÷ Eg tms v. 'hide'), Blz. E no. 74 (E, HS) ◇ IE and Tg suggest N *т-, while in S and C there is de-emphatization of the initial cns. ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 89 (*tum 'dark') (IE, U, A, CK, EA + err. Ko).

2386. UA ?₂ *тUmgä 'butt, lower end of a trunk' > U: FU *tüŋe id. > F түvî 'lower part of a trunk, larger end, bottom, base', Es тüvî 'stem, trunk', {W} 'unteres dickeres Ende (eines Stammes oder Stengels), тüü 'butt end, stump, stub, stubble' | Chr: Н тЫНГ тьŋg, L тÿн тьŋ 'butt, lower end of the trunk, base', U/B түŋ 'Stammende, dickes Ende eines Baumes' | Prm *d+ŋ 'butt, lower end of the trunk (комель)' > Vt дйнь diń, Vt Kz/Sr diŋ ~ diń, Vt G d+ń, Z дiн din, Prmk d+n id. || Hg тó (accus. тóvεт) 'stem; base, lower part' ¶ Coll. 120, UEW 523-4, LG 94, It. no. 420 || A *t'ü|ömgæ 'base of a tree trunk or grass stock' > NaT *Tömgä(k) 'stump (Baumstumpf)' > Tkm töŋŋe, Uz тÿнґак twŋgak,

түңка twŋka 'stump, stub; block of wood' ('пень, чурбан'), Brb {Rl.} töŋök, Alt/Tlt {Rl.}, StAlt töŋöš, Shor {Rl.} töŋäš 'stump (Baumstumpf)' ¶ Rs. W 493, ET VGD 279-81, Fed, 215, Jeg. 257-8, Rl. III 1247, BT 156 ¶ In some lges partial contamination with pT *Töm^ɾk^ɾ- 'hummock, tussock' (> VTt tümgäk, Tkm tümmeK, Chv L тумхах, тумха) || pKo *tuŋ- > Nko tuŋč^hi 'base of a tree trunk', Ko {Rm.} tuŋk^həgi 'root' ¶ S QK no. 921, MLC 511, Rm. SKE 277 || ? OJ twoma 'mat made of grass (miscanthus)' ¶ SDM 1474 || M *tünge 'stump (Baumstumpf), rough grass' > Kl {KRS} түңг түңге 'base of grass stock (основание травы)' Kl T {KRS} түңг түңге 'Baumstumpf', Kl Ö {Rm.} түңгө 'ein grobes und langes Gras auf der Steppe', WrM {SDM} түңге, {MED} түңке 'overgrowth of feather grass', HIM {BMR} түңге, түнх 'заросли чия (overgrowth of *Achnaterum* [a kind of high steppe grass])' ¶ MED 853, BMR III 271, KRS 523, KW 415 ¶ SDM 1474 ¶¶ SDM 1474 (pA *t^umgie 'base of tree trunk or grass stock' > M *tünge 'rough and long steppe grass', T, Ko, ? pJ), DQA no. 2462, KW 415, Rm. SKE 277 (equating Ko tuŋk^həgi with M түңке [interpreted by him as 'the down part, the base of a tree', but this meaning is not confirmed by other sources, including KW]) ◇ NaT *Tömgä(k) points to a N etymon *t^umgä, while FU *tünge (and pKo *tuŋ-?) may go back either to N *t^umgä or to *t^ümgä ◇ IS MS 344 s.v. 'комель' *t^ung^h, IS SS no. 1.18 ◇ Gr. II no. 400 (*tunke 'trunk [tree]') (U, A, Ko, CK).

2377. ₂ *t^um₁ka|æ 'to wet, to dip' > HS: S *^o✓ t^um₁ > Gz ✓ t^um₁: v. Sh (pf. ʔa^uma^ua) 'dip, immerse', t^uam^uk 'dipped, baptized', t^uam^uat 'immersion' ¶ L G 593 ¶ Glottalized k₁ for the expected k is probably due to as. || IE: NaIE *teng^hg- v. 'wet, moisten' (× N *t^uAŋ^h 'moisture') > Gk τέγγω v. 'wet, moisten; soak; dye' || L ting-ō, -ěre v. 'dip, dye, wash, sprinkle, paint' || OHG dunkōn, NHG tunken 'to dip', NGr Sw tink 'moist' || ? OIr tummaid '(he) dips, immerses' ¶ WP I 726, P 1067, EI 639 (*teng- 'moisten, soak'), F II 863, WH II 684, OsS 115, EWA II 855, KM 797, Vn. T 183, Mn. 726?

2378. ₂ *t^u'i¹m₁n₁ 'be quiet, be calm' > HS: S *^o✓ t^umn > Ar t^uamn- {BK} 'tranquilité, repos', {Hv.} 'quiet, enjoying rest', pf. t^ua^umana ~ t^uam^uana {BK} 'coucher son dos sur qch. pour reposer; se reposer de qch.' ¶ BK II 110, Hv. 439 || A *t^u'im- (= *t^u'im₁n₁-?) > Tg *tim- (= *tim₁n₁-?) 'calm' > Lm tim^ubr^ubn 'lull, calm weather (before a storm)', ? Ud ton v. 'calm down' (the wind) ¶ STM II 182 || T *Tim- 'be

silent', *TIM 'silence' > Tkm dim- 'fall silent', StAlt timi- 'be silent', Qq, Qrg timpıy- id., Qzq tim-tiris '(deathlike) silence', Qrg timizin 'quietly, in silence', Tlt/Qmn {Rl.} tim 'silence, silently', Xk tim n. 'quiet, silence', timix, StAlt timiq 'silence', Qzq timiq, Bsh t̄m̄q, VTt t̄m̄z̄q 'calm' ¶ Rs. W 47, TkR 298, MM 354, KrkR 656, Jud. 791, TatR 561, BT 163-4, Rl. III 134, BIG 244 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1375-6 (pA *t̄j̄m̄(k)u 'silent, calm' > T + unc.: Tg *duŋk- 'dark, sullen' and M *d̄üŋ- 'become dull\murky [of sky], sullen'), ≈ DQA no. 2271 (id.) ◇ ≠ B m K 307-8: a comparison between Ar √t̄m̄n ~ √t̄m̄n and IE *domH- v. 'subdue, conquer, tame', which is unc. on both phonetic and semantic grounds (the basic meaning of the IE √ is v. 'subdue, conquer, overpower' [cp. Gk δαμάω v. 'subdue'], the meaning 'tame' being secondary, while the S √ means 'tranquility' and v. 'rest').

2379. *t̄ümT∇ or *t̄üŋT∇ 'leather sack' > U: FU (in Ugr) *t̄üŋ∇₁tE (or *t̄äŋ₁ü₁tE?) 'quiver' > Hg tegëz ~ t̄egëz 'quiver' | ObU *t̄üwät id. > pVg *t̄äwät id. > Vg: LK/MK t̄äwät ~ t̄äwt, P t̄äwt, Ss t̄äwt; pOs *t̄üxät id. > Os: V/Vy t̄üxät, Ty t̄ixwät, Y/D/K tiwät, Nz t̄ixät, Kz t̄iwät id. || Ne T {PT} теһътъ' / -һ- t̄zn̄t̄ 'quiver' ¶¶ UEW 894 (Ugr *t̄äŋ∇-t∇), MF 624, Ht. no. 632, Hl. rHt, PT RNS 115, Mu. USz 90, Hal. USz I 262 || A: T *ot̄₁iŋdi or *ot̄iŋdi > Chg {Bu.} tiŋdi or tiŋdi 'ein Sack aus Leder oder aus Pilz' (≈ {Rl.} تیکدی tiŋgd̄i) ¶ Bu. I 439, Rl. III 1355 ¶¶ WrM c̄üŋke and HIM цҫнх 'bag, pouch' (MED 209, BMR IV 281) hardly belong here because of their initial cns. (see N *ĉ∇m₁∇₁'s'∇ 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together') || HS: Eg fMK t̄m̄z̄ 'sack for grain and other fruit' > Cpt: Sd TWMε t̄ōōme, A TWMεC t̄ōmes 'bourse, sac' (× Eg fMK t̄m̄z̄ 'mat' < N *t∇m∇ 'hair' [q.v.]?) ¶ Eg z̄ and the loss of N *K̄ in Eg are due to the infl. of Eg t̄m̄z̄ 'mat' ¶ EG V 307, Fk. 299, Vc. 215.

2380. (₂?) *t̄aŋ∇ 'feel, know' > HS: EC: ?φ Sa {R} √t̄n̄t̄n v. 'think (meinen, dafür halten)': imv. eṭ̄in't̄in, p. 3s i-'t̄inṭ̄ina, inf. a't̄anṭ̄en ¶ R S II 361 || A *t'ān^{r̄1}- v. 'know' > NaT *Tani- v. 'know, be acquainted with' > OT tani- v. 'be acquainted with', Tk tani-, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qq tani-, Bsh tan̄-, VTt tan̄- (inf. tanu), Qzq, Nog tani- (inf. tanuw), Uz tani- 'know, be acquainted with', Tf t'ani- 'be acquainted with, recognize', Slr tani- ~ tāni-, StAlt, Xk tani-, Tv t'ani-, ET tonu- v. 'recognize (узнавать, признавать)', SY t'ani- (< M?) ~ tani- v. 'recognize, distinguish', Tkm tanīmal 'known, famous', taniš

id., 'an acquaintance'; ⇨ Т *Tanuk ~ *Tanik 'witness' > OT, Chg tanuq, Osm danıq, Tk tanık, VTt tanьq, Qrg tanıq, ET tonuq id. || Chv тынѣ, тын 'witness' ¶ Cl. 516-19, Tn. SJ 500-1, BT 141, Ra. 232-3, Rs. W 461, Ash. XIV 317-18, Fed. II 267, Jeg. 268, Md. 100, 178, IS AD 42, ADb. Ttd 63 [no. 5] || М *tani- v. 'know, be familiar with; recognize (so.\sth. previously known)' > MM [S, HI, MA] tani-, WrM {MED} tani-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt тани- id., Kl {KRS} тань- таñ- id., {Rm.} tani-, tañ- 'kennen, erkennen', Ord t'ani- 'connaître, reconnaître', Dx, Ba tani-, Mgl tāni- v. 'know, recognize (connaître, erkennen)', Ord t'ani- 'connaître, reconnaître', Mnr H {SM} t'ani- id., 'pouvoir déchiffrer', MMgl [Z] taniħč'i 'an acquaintance' ¶ H 145, Pp. MA 340, KW 387, MED 778, BMR III 190, Chr. 414, KRS 477, KW 378, SM 408, Ms. H 99, Ms. O 645, T 363, Iw. 136, Wr. PM 183, Iw. 135, Td. BJ 147, Td. DJ 165, <Ms. O 645 || У *ton|ñ∇- v. 'get accustomed, learn' (× N *t̥oŋ∇ 'learn (erfahren), inform', q.v. ffd.; the merger accounts for U *-o-) ◇ AD GD 14, IS SS no. 1.6, IS MS 343 s.v. *t̥anʌ 'знатъ' (IE, U, A).

2381. *t̥iñE (= *t̥iñE?) 'strong', 'to strain' (= 'tension\force directed by so. to oneself') > HS: B *^o√ d̥ny > Kb √ d̥ny: əd̥ni 'être gros\corpulent', Shl {NZ} d̥ni / id̥ni 'être gros\solide\épais' ¶ Dl. 178, NZ 476 || WS *^o√ w|ytn 'flow continuously, be durable' (× N *^owetê '(flowing) water') > BHb ʔṽ'ṽ ʔē'tān 'constant, continual; always filled with running water', Ar √ wtn: G (pf. watana) v. {Hv.} 'flow continuously', {BK} 'être inépuisable\perpetuel' (de l'eau qui jaillit sans cesse d'une source), L 'persevere in', Sb wtn 'continuous' (rain), wātīn- {BK} 'qui coule, courant' (eau) ¶ KB 43, KBR 45-6, BK II 1482, Hv. 849, BGMR 165, DRS 652 || А *t'ine- > М *c̥ineχen > WrM c̥inege(n) {MED} 'strength, power; prosperity, opulence', HIM чинээ(н) {MED} id., {BMR} 'strength, power; Wohlhabenheit (зажиточность)', Brt шэнээ(н) 'strength', Kl {KRS} чинэн 'strength, power', {Rm.} činēn 'Stärke, Vermögen, Kraft', Ord č'inē 'vigueur, force, pouvoir'; Kl {KRS} чинэтə činätä 'strong' ¶ MED 188, BMR IV 315, Chr. 748, KRS 651, KW 441, Ms. O 706 || Т *Tiñ 'strong, powerful' > Qzq, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Yk tiñ, Qmq tin, Tv diñ id., Uz tin-ka 'power' ¶ Rs. W 478, SDM 396 (descendants of *Tiñ + derived words and inc. cognates of different T lges) || ?? id. CIKo tin tin hada 'be solid\strong, be substantial', Ko {MLC} tin tin hada ~ t̄in t̄in hada 'be strong\robust\healthy; be hard\substantial' ¶ Pm. SKE 267, MLC 530 ¶

KW 441; ≈ SDM 395-6 (pA *čínō 'power, ability' > M *čineve 'force, strength, ability', T + unc. Tg *jīη 'very, extremely, really', pJ *tíná-m 'be related\connected' and pKo **čín- 'shape, appearance, conduct', 'make, produce'), ≈ DQA no. 237 (id.) || **Gil:** Gil A č'īη / sīη 'strong' (← M?) ¶¶ ST 458 || **D** *tiñ- ({{GS}} *t-) 'strong', *tiñđi- {Pf.} 'strength, violence directed to oneself' > Tm tiṛṛ 'strong, hard, firm', tiṛṛm, tiṛṛṇam 'certainty, vigour, strength', Ml tiṛṛ 'firm, strong, solid', tiṛṛṇam 'strength', Kn tiṛṛṇa 'thickness, stoutness, greatness', tiṛṛuku, tiṛṛaku v. 'use pressure or strain as in childbirth or in easing nature', Tu dīṛṛḍə 'stout, strong', diñṇa 'heaviness, heavy', Tl tinuku v. 'strain', Kui ṭingi 'tight, fast, taut', Krx ṭindī 'strength', tinx-nā v. 'strain', Mlt tinqe v. 'strain (as at stool)' ¶¶ D no. 3222, Pf. 83 [no. 527] || **IE:** NaIE *ten- v. 'stretch (to the uttermost), strain' (× IE *ten- v. 'stretch' < N *t̥oʔaṇ̥ 'draw, stretch, extend') > OI ta'nōti 'spannt, zieht aus', 'expands, extends, spreads' ||| Gk τεύω 'stretch (by force), stretch to the uttermost, spannen', τεταυός 'stretched, rigid; straightened, smooth', τέταυος 'convulsive tension, tetanus; erectio penis', ἄ-τευής 'stretched, strained', {P} 'sehr gespannt, straff' (ἄ- < *sm̥-), τόυος 'that by which a thing is stretched; that which can itself be stretched, cord, brace, band', n. act. 'stretching, tightening, straining' ||| pAl {O} *en-tenja > Al: T ndej ~ ndēnj, G ndēj v. 'strain' ||| ON þenja 'ausspannen, ausstrecken' ||| Clt {Matas.} *tan-nu- 'stretch, spread, broaden', W tannu 'spread out, extend', ? Crn tan impv. 'take!'; Clt {Matas.} *tantā- 'cord, cable' > OIr tét 'rope, cord. stringed instrument', OW [ʏ] tantou 'fides (Saite)', W PYGM} tant 'cord, string of instrument', OBr tarntou 'cord, cable'. Br {Matas.} tant id. ¶ P 1065-6, M K I 475, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, F II 853, 863-5, Vr. 609, Vn. T 55, Matas. 369-70, YGM-1 405, EI 187 (*ten- 'stretch') ◇ IS MS 364 s.v. 'сильный' *t̥iṛṛ (A, D), IS SS no. 1.20. If the IE stem belongs here, we reconstruct N *-ñ- (as the only common source of IE *-n- and D *-ñ-), otherwise it is either N *-ñ- or *-ń-.

2382. *t̥oʔaṇ̥ (= *t̥oʔaṇ̥uʔ?) 'draw, stretch, extend' > IE: NaIE *ten-, (?) *tenu- v. 'draw, stretch, extend' (× IE *ten- v. 'strain' < N *t̥iṛṛE 'strong; to strain'?) > OI ta'nōti 'expands, extends, spreads', ut-tāna 'ausgestreckt', Av ustāna id., KhS astan-, astān- v. 'stretch (a musical instrument)', ttanv- v. 'stretch' ||| Gk τεύω 'stretch (by force), stretch to the uttermost, spannen', τεταυός 'stretched, rigid;

straightened, smooth', $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'convulsive tension, tetanus; erectio penis', $\acute{\alpha}$ - $\tau\epsilon\nu\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ 'stretched, strained', {P} 'sehr gespannt, straff' ($\acute{\alpha}$ - < * $s\eta\grave{\nu}$ -), $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'that by which a thing is stretched; that which can itself be stretched, cord, brace, band', n. act. 'stretching, tightening, straining' ||| L $tend\text{-}\bar{o}$ / $\text{-}\acute{e}re$ 'stretch, stretch out, extend, spread' ||| Clt: MW, W {YGM} $tynnu$, Cm {ECCE} $tenna$ 'to pull', MBr {Ern.} $tennaff$ 'tirer', Br {Hm.} $tennañ$ id., 'retirer, ôter'; ? OIr \tan 'time' (\leftarrow 'duration, time extension?'), 'moment' ||| pAl {O} * $en\text{-}tenya$ > Al: T $ndej \sim nd\acute{e}nj$, G $nd\acute{e}j$ v. 'stretch, spread' ||| Gt $uf\text{-}panjan$ (sik) ($\text{-}[\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho]\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\nu$) 'ausstrecken, nach etw. trachten', ON $penja$ 'ausspannen, ausstrecken', AS $\acute{d}\acute{e}nnan$ 'to stretch, to extend', OSx $th\acute{e}nnian$ 'to stretch (dehnen, ausspreiten)', OHG $dennen$ 'to extend, to tense, to pull', NHG $dehnen, aus\text{-}dehnen$ 'to stretch, to extend' ||| Sl: ChS **ТЕНЕТО** $teneto$, **ТОНОТО** $tonoto$ {Mikl.} ($\text{-}[\acute{\theta}\eta\rho\alpha\tau\rho\nu\text{-}]$) 'rete', OR **ТЕНЕТО** $teneto$, R $те'н\acute{e}то, \Delta$ $тене'то$, Cz $tenata$ 'Netz, Fangnetz' | Lt $tiñklas$ 'net, fishing net', Ltv $tīklis$ id. | d. pp. * $t\eta\text{-}'to$ > OI $ta'ta$ - 'extended', Gk $\tau\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'that can be stretched', L $tentus$ 'stretched, stretched out, extended, spread' ¶ P 1065-6, EI 187 (* $ten\text{-}'stretch$ '), 574, Mn. 1379-1405, Hamp AIEW 149, O 283, M K I 471, 475, M E I 618-19, Bai. 12-13, 122-3, F II 853, WH II 663-4, 666, Vn. T 25-6, Ern. 687, Hm. 782, YGM-1 425, ECCE 298-9, Fs. 513-14, Vr. 609, Ho. 362, Ho. S 77, Kb. 150, EWA II 582-5, KM 125, SJSS XLII 447, Mikl. L 996-7, Srz. III 947-8, Vs. IV 42, 139-40, Frn. 1098-9 ||| **А** * $t'o\text{-}anE$ - v. 'pull, stretch' > Tg * $t'o\text{-}an$ - v. 'draw', {SDM} 'pull, stretch' > Ewk $t\acute{a}n$ - 'pull\take out, stretch' (' $\text{вытащить, вы-, по-, при-, на-, об-тянуть}$ '), Sln tan -, Orc, Ud $t\acute{a}n\text{-}a$ -, Ul $t\acute{u}an$ -, Ork $t\acute{o}n$ -, Nn Nh/Bk $toan$ - 'draw, pull' (' тянуть, ташить '), Ul $tañm\text{-}$ 'streth (растягиварь)', Lm $t\acute{a}n$ - 'draw\pull out' ¶ STM II 160, On. 398 ¶ In Tg the vw . was probably lengthened in an open syll. ||| М: **[1]** М {SDM} * $teneyi$ - vi. 'stretch (oneself), stretch' > WrM $teneyi$ -, $teniyi$ - {MED} 'unbend, become straight, stretch', HIM {MED, BMR} $t\acute{e}n\acute{i}y\text{-}$, Brt $t\acute{e}n\acute{i}y\text{-}$ id., Kl {Rm.} $ten\acute{i}$ - 'sich dehnen', Ord $t'\acute{e}n\acute{i}$ -, $t'\acute{e}n\acute{e}r\acute{e}$ - 'devenir uni, s'\acute{e}tendre' ¶ MED 801, 804, MED III 29), Chr. 455, KW 391, Ms. O 658 ||| **[2]** Kl {KRS} tan - 'twist\plait together', {Rm.} tan - 'aus Fäden oder Schnüren einen Knopf zusammendrehen; knoten, knüpfen, flechten' ¶ KRS 476, KW 378 (but WrM $tanu$ -, mentioned by Ramstedt in KW, is not registered in the available dictionaries of WrM) ||| pJ * $tana\text{-}pik$ - 'be stretched, spread' (* dik - means 'bull') > OJ $tana\text{-}duik$ -. MJ $t\acute{a}n\acute{a}\text{-}wik$ - id.. J T/K σ $tanab\acute{i}k$ -. J

K *tánábík-* {SDM} id. (but StJ {Kenk.} *tanabik-* means 'trail, hang\lie over') ¶ Mr. 763, Kenk, §905 || pKo {S} **tʌŋ-kʌ́j̥-* 'stretch, pull' > MKo *tʌŋkʌ́j̥-*, NKo *taŋgi-* id., Ko N {Rm.} *taŋgä-d* 'pull, draw' ¶ Rm. SKE 256, S QK no. 856, Nam 145, MLC 414 ¶¶ SDM 1400 (pA**t'āno-* > M **teneyi-*, Tg **t'ān-* v. 'stretch, pool', J, Ko), Rm. SKE 256 || D **tañt-* ({ǾGS} **t-*) v. 'pull' > Prj *taŋd-* id., Gdb *tind-* v. 'pull, pull a cart', Gnd *taŋd-* ~ *tend-* v. 'take out\off, remove' ɘ *tend-* v. 'take out\off, draw (water)' ɘ *taŋdānā* 'to extract (oil) ɘ *tendānā* 'to pull off' ¶¶ D no. 3052 || HS: Eg fP *ɔw n* vt. 'stretch out, stretch (bows), straighten (knees)', vi. 'be stretched out' (× N **ʈUÍE* [or **ʈæwUÍE*?] 'extend, stretch, be[come] long', if HS *-l- may regularly yield Eg *n*) ¶ EG V 431-2, Fk. 311 || CCh (× N **ʈaŋga|o* 'draw, stretch', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} *tāndá* v. 'drag, pull' || ECh: Jg {J} *teń-* v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} *téńè* 'tírer (la corde etc.)' ¶ Pc. 367, J J 117, Fd. 158 ¶¶ Tk. I 103 (Eg *ɔw n* ÷ S **ʈw|* 'be long, stretch out', EC {Ss.} **ɔ̄j̄ā|* 'exceed' and AG *du:|* 'pull', see N **ʈUÍE* (or **ʈæwUÍE* ¶¶ Bomhard and Kerns (BmK 290-2) proposed to adduce S **ʈntn* 'give', which deserves consideration if we can explain the initial **n-* ◇ IE **tenu-* may be interpreted as tentatively suggesting N **ʈoʔańû* ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. 'тянуть' *ʈanʌ* (IE-A-D), IS SS no. 1.10, ≠ BmK 290-2 (an unc. attempt to equate IE **ten-* v. 'stretch, draw' not only with S **ʈntn* v. 'give', but also with some other S roots [like **ʈwt n* v. 'endure'], with D **tan-* v. 'abound' and with M *taní-* v. 'know', cp. N **ʈań∇* 'feel, know').

2383. **ʈi'h'üń∇* 'mud, silt, dirt' > HS: WS **ʈīn-* 'mud, clay' > Ar *ʈīn-* 'mud, clay', Sr *ʈī'r-ā* 'lutum', Mh *ʈayn* 'clay, soil', Hrs *ʈayn*, Jb E/C *ʈun* 'clay' ¶ Br. 274, BK II 131, Hv. 444, Jo. M 414, Jo. J 282, Jo. H 131 || CCh: Lgn {Bou.} *tʌŋ* 'earth (substance)' ¶ JI II 117, ChC s.v. 'earth (substance', Bou. K s.v. *tʌŋ* || ?? Eg {Vc.} *ɔrnm* 'salé' (unless *n* = [l]), as suggested by comparison with Cpt Sd *ʈwʌem* *tōlem* 'salir, être salé'); not here Eg G *ʈnm* 'dirt' > Cpt *ʈwʌm̄* *tōlem* id. ¶ EG V 312 (Eg G *ʈnm*), Vc. 214 ¶¶ OS no. 2472 (HS **ʈin* 'earth, dirt') || IE **tiHn-* > NaIE **tīn-* > SI **tīnā* 'mud, slime' > OCS *ʈHNA* *tina* (τῆ-βόρβορος) 'mud, mire', {StSS} 'грязь, тина, ил' ('dirt, slime, silt'), OR *ʈHNA* *tina* id., 'slime, swamp' ({Sr.} 'болото, грязь, тина'), R 'тина, Blg 'тиня 'slime formed by green water plants (floating in water), OCz *tina* 'Kot, Morast' || ?σ AS *ʈīnan* 'become moist' || Tc B *ʈin-* 'be dirty' ¶ EI 160 (**tiHn-* '[be] dirty'), SJSS XLIII 456, Vs. IV 59, StSS 695, Srz. III 959,

Chuk. 1080, ≠ Tr. 323 (connecting the Sl word with BSl *tīmen- 'swamp'), ≈ Ho. 365 (with untenable etl. parallels), Ad. 297-8 || K: pGZ *°tχ¹u¹n- v. 'soil' > G tχun- 'beschmieren, verschmieren, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen'; reduplicated stem K *t_Lχ_Litχwη_o- v. 'soil, soil oneself' > G titχn-, Mg tχitχon- id. ¶ Chx. 490, 513, K 94 (*titχwη_o-), FS K 150 (*titχ-) || ?σ U: FU *°tüη_Lk_L∇ > ObU *tūηk 'moss' > pVg *tūηk > Vg: T tūη, LK täη^wk^w, P täηk, UL/Ss taη^wk^w id.; pOs *tōηk ({HL} *tūηk) > Os: V tōηk, Ty/Y tōηk, K tōηk, Kz tūηk, O tuηk id. ¶ Ht. no. 641 ◇ N *h is the only lr. that can both disappear in S and yield *χ in K clusters (here *tχ). N *h is represented by a lr. in IE.

2384. *tānχü - *tānχu (or *tānχü - *tānχu?) 'thin, short' > HS: S mt. *°✓ tñn > Ar tñhan- 'petit, courtaud, de petite taille' (of a person) ¶ BK II 62 || IE *ten_LH_Lu- > NaIE *tenu- ~ *t_onu- 'thin' > OI tã¹nu¹-h¹ 'thin, small, slender', MPrs tr^wk tanuk 'thin, shallow', NPrs تونوك tonok 'thin, light, weak' || Gk τανα(φ)ός {F} 'dünn, schmal, langgestreckt, lang', {LS} 'outstretched, tall, taper'; Gk τανυ- in cds: Gk [Hs.] τανύ-σφυρον 'mit schlanken Fußknöcheln', {LS} 'with long taper ankles\feet', Gk Hm τανύ-φλοιος 'with long-stretched bark, of tall\slender growth', τανύ-φυλλος 'with long-pointed leaves' || L tenuis 'thin' (based on the fem. form *tenu-ī-, cf. OI f. tanvī 'thin') || Clt {Matas.} *tanawyo- 'thin' > OIr tana, tanae 'mince, fin, étroit', Brtt [RE] *tanawo-s 'thin' > OW, MW teneu, W {YGM} tenau 'thin, rare', Crn tanow 'thin', MBr {Ern.} tan(n)au 'mince', {Matas.} tan(n)au 'thin', Br {Hm.} tanav (old spelling tanao) 'mince, rare, fin, fluide, clairsemé' || OHG dunni, NHG dünn, OSx thunni, ON þunnr 'thin', AS ðynne id., 'lean', NE thin || Lt tēvas 'thin, slim', Ltv tiēvs 'thin' (object), 'lean' (person) | Sl *tñnkъ ~ *tñnkъ 'thin' > OCS ТЪНЪКЪ тьнъкъ, ТЪНЪКЪ тьнъкъ {StSS} 'thin, mince (тонкий, мелкий), OR ТЪНЪКЪИ тьнъкыі (aadj.) id., R (pradj.) 'тонок, (aadj.) 'тонкий, SCr tãnak, Sln tãnāk, Blg 'тънък, P cienki, Cz, Slk tenký 'thin'; cmpr. Sl *tñ¹ñějī > OCS {Mikl.} ТЪНЪИ тьнѣі 'thinner' ¶ P 1069, EI 574 (*tenu-s / **tñ¹noy-s 'thin, long'), M K I 474, M E I 620-1, McK 82, BM 135, F II 851-3, WH II 666, Vn. T 26, Matas. E 367-8, RE 138, YGM-1 408, Hm. 773, Ern. 676, Hm. 773, Vr. 627, Ho. 374, Ho. S 79, OsS 115, EWA II 855-9, KM 148, Frn. 1086, SJSS XLIV 534, Mikl. L 1023, StSS 713, Srz. III 1049-50, Glh. 620, Vs. IV 76-7, Sl. I 100, Tr. 319 || A *t¹aη∇- > Tg *°taη¹a¹ > Ewk Y/Sm/Urm taηa 'lean, skinny', taηa-, Ewk

Skh *taŋna-* v. 'get lean, skinny' ¶ STM II 162, Vas. 386 || M **taŋki* (~ **taŋgi*?) 'delicate, tender' > MM [S] *taŋgi-* 'schwach, Schwächling', WrM *taŋki* {MED} 'delicate, tender; whimsical, spoiled', HIM {MED} *танхь* id., {BMR} *танхи* 'verweicht, verwöhnt', Brt *тангил* 'verweicht, delicate, tender, beloved' ('изнеженный, нежный, возлюбленный'), Kl {KRS} *таньг* *taŋg* 'weak', Ord. *t'añ^kxi* 'délicat, élevé délicatement'] M **tanu-* v. 'reduce in size, cut off, shorten' > WrM {MED} *tanu-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *тана-* id., Brt *тана-* id., 'reduce by cutting, cut off, обрезать, отрезать', Kl {KRS} *тан-* *tan-* 'shorten', 'reduce', {Rm.} *tan-* 'abschneiden, einen Schnitt machen', Ord *t'anu-* 'raccourcir, rendre plus étroit' ¶ H 145, MED 777, 779, BMR III 188, 190, Chr. 413, KRS 476-7, KW 378, Ms. O 645-6 ¶ ≈ SDM 1401-2 (pA **t'āŋe* 'admiration, condolence' > M **taŋ-* 'delicate, tender' + unc.: T **tāŋ* 'wonder, surprise', pJ **tāmu-rāp-* 'condole, mourn for') ◇ Altaic **-ŋ-* may go back to N **-ŋχ-* (or **-ŋħ-*?). If M **tanu* does not belong here, A **ŋ* may be original and go back to N **ŋ*. In NaIE the lr. is lost in prevoc. position (f. **tenwī* is a NaIE form derived from **tenu-* after the loss of the lr.) ◇ Trnt. NE (IE, A).

2385. **ṭAŋ|ṇ* ▽ 'moisture' > K: G *ṭen-i* 'humidity, Feuchtigkeit, сырость' ¶ Chx. 1335, DCh. 121, GL 490 || HS: ECh: Ke *téŋé* 'befeuchten, nässen' ¶ Eb. 96 || IE: NaIE **teng|ǵ-* v. 'wet, moisten' (× N **ṭm₁ṭka|æ* 'to wet, to dip', q.v. ffd.) || D **taṇ-* 'wet' > Tu *taṇasə*, *taṇasə* 'wetness, dampness, water', Kn *taḍi* 'wet, damp; moistness', Tl *taḍi* 'moisture, dampness, wetness; damp, moist, wet'; D ⇨ Prkr *taṇṇāya-* 'damp'; D **taṇṇī(r)* 'cold water' (semantic infl. of the isophonic √ **taṇ-* 'cold') > Tm *taṇṇīr*, *taṇṇi* 'cold water, water', Ml *taṇṇīr*, *taṇṇi* 'cold water, drinking water', Kt *taṇīr*, Kn, Tu *taṇṇīr* 'cold water' ¶¶ D no. 3045 (without distinguishing between this √ and **taṇ-* 'cold'), Tu. no. 13676 (2).

2385a. ₂ **ṭæŋ'U'* 'large body of water' > HS: S **ṭimm-* > Ar *ṭimm-* 'mass of water; sea' ¶ BK II 105, Hv. 438 || WCh: Tng {ChL} *téŋgūl* 'lake' ¶ ChL I 121, ChC s.v. 'lake' || A **t'æŋE* 'large body of water' > T **ṭ'æ'ŋ* > OT [MhK] *t₁'ṭ* ▽ *ŋ* 'lake' or 'marsh' (unvocalized Arabic script) ¶ Cl. 512, DTS 551] T (< an ancient d. or cd?) **Tæŋiṛ* 'large body of water' (→ 'sea') > OT *täŋiz* (or *teŋiz*) 'large body of water, sea', Tk *deniz* 'sea', Az *däniz*, Ggz *deniz*, Tkm *denið*, Chg *tä|eŋiz* ~ *deniz*, XwT *täŋiz*, CrTt, Qmq, Qrg, ET *deniz*, MQp, QrB,

Nog, Qq, Qzq *teñiz*, VTt *dingъz*, Bsh *dingъδ*, Uz *dengiz*, Xk *tiñis* 'sea', StAlt *teñis* 'sea, ocean' || Blgh **tæñir* → OHg, Hg *tenger* 'sea' ¶ Cl. 526, DTS 552, Rs. W 474, ET VGD 194-5, TL 89, Dr. TM III no. 1192, Grøn. 241, Faz. II 380, BT 147, ADb. Ttd 64, MT III 888 ¶ Acc. to ADb. Ttd 64, in the **CEñ*-roots the opposition **t'*- ↔ **t'*- is neutralized. The origin of the sx **-ir* is not yet known || Tg **teñ*¹*k*¹*i*₁*n*₁ >> WrMc {Z} *тэнигнъ* 'large deep lake, of which the banks cannot be seen', Orc *teñki*, Nn Nh {On.} *teñki*, {STM} *tēñki* 'puddle (лужа)' ¶ STM II 235-6, On. 420, Z 720 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1417 (pA **t'ēñà* 'lowland' > T **tEñ* 'pool, big river' + unc.: Tg **tēñ-* 'plain, lowland', pJ **tànì* 'valley') ◇ The N emphatic **ṭ-* is reconstructed on the ev. of S **ṭ-* and Tg **t-*. N **U*¹ is suggested by S **m* (< N **-ñ-* near a labialized vw. [reg.]) ◇ Not here the U √ which was recostructed by Coll. as **toñe* 'lake' (Coll. 62). In the light of the extant data, this U √ is to be reconstructed as **to*∇ (so in UEW 533) < N **ṭoḅ*∇ 'lake' (q.v.).

2385b. ₂ **ṭiñ*∇ 'hear, listen' > HS: ECh: Ll {Grgs} *ḍeñlí*, Nd D {J} *ḍùlà* 'hear', EDng {Fd.} *ḍéngé* 'ear' ¶ JI II 115, 185, Grgs. L s.v. *ḍeñlí*, Fd. 207, ChC 'hear' and 'ear' || A **t'ingâ-* > T **Tiñ* > OT *ṭiñ* 'listening' (Cl. 512 has doubts about the meaning), Qzq *ṭiñ* n. 'eavesdropping, overhearing', Qq *ṭiñ ṭiñla-* v. 'eavesdrop'; ⇨ T **Tiñla-* > NaT **Tiñla-* ~ **Tiñlä-* 'listen' > OT *ṭiñla-*, XwT XIII *ḍiñlä-*, XIV *ṭiñla-* id., Chg fxv *ṭiñla-* 'hear', Tk *ḍiñle-*, Tkm, CrTt *ḍiñle-*, Az *ḍiñlä-*, Uz, ET *ṭiñla-*, Nog, Qq, Ln *ṭiñla-*, Qzq, StAlt *ṭiñda-*, VTt, Bsh *ṭñla-*, Tv *ḍiñna-*, SY *ṭinna-* ~ *tinna-* 'listen', Xk *ṭiñna-* 'lend an ear to' || Chv L *тәһлә-тәһлә-* 'listen, listen attentively, внимать, understand' ¶ Cl. 522, DTS 568, ET VGD 236-7, Rs. W 478, MM 357, KrkR 668, Ash. XIL 274, Fed. II 1923 (suggesting that Chv *тәһлә-* is derived from *тәһ* 'mind, intellect, memory, conscience, дух' [cf. N **ṭoñ*∇ 'learn, inform']), Jcg. 237, ChVS 203 || M **č̣iñla-* v. 'listen, eavesdrop' (← T?) > WrM {MED} *ciñla-* ~ *ciñna-*, HIM {MED, BMR} *чагна-*, Kl {KRS} *чиһн- č̣iñna-* id., {Rm.} *č̣iñnə-* 'lauschen, belauschen', Ord *č̣'iñna-* 'écouter', Mnr H {T} *č̣iñla-* 'hear, listen', Mnr Nr {SM} *č̣'iñla-* 'écouter, prêter l'oreille' ¶ MED 190, BMR IV 298, KRS 652, T 380, SM 462, KW 441, Ms. O 707.

2387. **ṭoñ*∇ 'learn (erfahren), inform' > HS: Ch **✓ḍn* > WCh: Bks {J} *ḍiñî* v. 'see' || CCh: Ms {J} *ḍiñà* id. ¶ JI II 284, ChC s.v. 'to see', J KKS, J R 141 || IE: NaIE **teng-* / **tong-* v. 'think, feel', {Mn.} v. 'remind, draw attention to; reflect upon, long for', **tongā* 'sentiment' > L [En.]

tongē - v. 'know' ('nosse, scire'), L Prn tongitiō 'notio', Osc
 TANGINOM 'sententiam', abl. tanginūd 'sententia' || Gt þagkjan (3s
 p. þāhta) (· βουλεύεσθαι, [δια]λογίζεσθαι) 'denken', ON þekka 'to
 notice, to realize', OHG, NHG denken, OSx thēnkian, AS ðencan
 'to think', NE think; Gt þugkian (3s p. þūhta) (· δοκεῖν, φαίνεσθαι)
 {P} 'denken, überlegen', {Fs.} 'dünken, meinen', AS ðyncan, OSx
 thunkian 'to seem, to look like', OHG dūnken 'to think (aestimare,
 putare)', NHG dūnken 'to seem, to look, to imagine', ON þykkia
 'dünken, scheinen, gefallen'; ON þokkr, þokki 'opinion, favor
 (Gefallen)', OHG danc 'thanks, favor', dancōn 'to thank, to gratify, to
 bless', NHG danken 'to thank'; OSx thank 'Dank, Gnade', AS ðanc
 'thought, sentiment, thanks', NE thank || pTc *tānkω > Tc: A tuηk, B
 taηkω n. 'love' ¶ P 1088, EI 575 (*teng-), Mn. 1411-12, WH II 690,
 Bc. G 325, Fs. 487, 504, Vr. 607, 615, Ho. 360, 362, 374, Ho. S 77, 79,
 Kb. 143, 172, OsS 95-6, 115, EWA II 527, 579-81, 853-4, KM 121, 127,
 148, Wn. I 518, Ad. 277 || U *ton|ñ∇ - v. 'get accustomed, learn' (× N
 *tāñ∇ 'feel, know'; the merger accounts for *-ñ- [*-ñ|ñ-] instead of the
 expected *-η-) > FU: eMr {Ker.} *tāna- -d> > Er tonado-, Mk tonada- 'get
 accustomed, learn', Er tonavto-, Mk tonafta- v. 'teach, accustom so.' ||
 Chr: L ту́не'маш 'to learn, to study, to get accustomed', U/B tunema-
 'lernen, sich üben, sich gewöhnen', B tunakte- v. 'teach', mt.: Chr H inf.
 ты́'меня-ш, KB tьmenä-, tьmeyä- v. 'learn, get accustomed' || Prm
 *tun > Z tun 'soothsayer, medicine man', Vt tuno 'female soothsayer', Z
 inf. tunav-n+ / tuna|-, Z Δ tuna|-, Vt inf. tuna-n+ v. 'predict, vaticinate' ||
 Hg tanul- v. 'learn, study', tanit- v. 'teach' ¶ F tunte- ~ turne-
 v. 'know, recognize' and Es tund-ma 'to feel' do not belong here, but
 rather go back to FU *tumte- (F N *t'É'm∇ [= *t'É'mu?] 'feel by
 touch') || Sm {Jn.} *tāntā- (or *c̣-, *-nc̣-) v. 'teach', *tāntь- (or *c̣-, *-
 nc̣-) v. 'learn' > Ne Т тѣ'на- 'punish, teach a good lesson', Ne Т О
 {Lh.} tan'arā 'durch Strafen abrichten, belehren', Ne F L {Lh.}
 tannārāmm+ 'ist durch Strafen belehrt', Slq Tz {KKIH} tēn+
 'intelligence', tēn+m+ v. 'know, understand' ('знатъ, уметь,
 понимать'), tēn+rp+ v. 'think' ¶¶ UEW 537 (*tuna-), Sm. 550 (FU, FP
 *toni-, Ugr *tonĩ- 'get used to'), Ker. II 169-70, LG 286, MRS 597-8,
 Jn. 147, Ter. 625, KKIИ 180-1 ¶¶ Prm *u provides ev. for FU *o, while
 the vowels of other lges are ambiguos (may go back either to *o or to
 *u) therefore I prefer to reconstruct nII *ton|ñā- rather than *tuna- (as

in UEW) || **A** *t'uh̄∇- 'inform' > T *Tu_l:_lη > Chv тӑн тьн 'mind, intellect; memory, conscience, дух' and ET tühč̄i 'interpreter' (but not here Tv t'ǖη 'sum, total' [← Chn t'ú̄η 'together'], and hardly here words of T lges which mean 'metaphore', 'summary' and 'reality' (adduced in SDM 1477 and DQA no. 2751) ¶ Fed. II 192-3, Jeg. 237, ChVS 203, Rs. W 505 || **M** *tun̄ga- ({SDM} tun̄-) > MM туηγα-, туηχα- {Ms.} 'promulguer', {Lew.} 'proclamer, afficher', ?σ Ord ↑ t'uh̄gā- 'faire renouveler, faire réparer ou reconstrire', WrO туηγα-, Kl {KRS} туηха- tun̄yā- 'think, reflect'; ⇨ pM *tun̄gag > WrM {SDM} туηγαḡ n. 'appeal', {MED} tun̄gag ~ tun̄qag, WrO туηγαḡ 'declaration', HIM {Luv.} туηхаг id. ('воззвание'), 'manifest', {BMR} id., 'declaration; Benachrichtigung, Bekanntmachung', Brt {Chr.} туηхаг 'appeal (воззвание), Benachrichtigung, Bekanntmachung', Kl {Rm.} tun̄gāḡ ~ tun̄qāḡ 'Bekanntmachung', Ord t'uh̄gaḡ 'notification officielle' ¶ Ms. H 103, Ms. O 681, MED 842, BMR III 255, Lew. II 81, Lev. 424, Chr. 436, Krg. 519, KRS 518, KW 410-11 || Tg *tô̄η- > WrMc {Z} то̄нги- 'tell/narrate (erzählen) in detail (подробно рассказывать, пространно излагать)', Ewk NB tun̄z- 'know', Ewk I/Sm tun̄nī- v. 'warn' ¶ STM II 197, 216, Z 735 || J: [1] pJ {S} *tuanap- 'proclame, narrate' > OJ twonap-, MJ tónáφ- id., J T/Kg tonaé-, K tónáé- {Kenk.} 'recite, repeat, chant' || [2] ?? pJ túnká- 'let know, inform' > MJ túga- {S} id., J T cùge-, J K cúgé-, J Kg cugé- {Kenk.} 'tell, let know, inform' ¶ S QJ no-s 645 and 1014, Mr. 770, 772, Kenk. 2011, 2044 ¶¶ SDM 1477 (pA *t'uh̄e > Tg, M *tun̄- 'call, invoke, appeal', J *tuanap- + unc. T *Tǖη 'metaphore; summary, conclusion; interpreter; reality'), DQA no. 2751 || **D** *ton̄q̄-, {An.} *ton̄q̄- 'be visible, appear, come to mind' (× N *t'o'N∇ 'appear', [in descendant lges: → v. 'seem'], q.v. ffd.) ◇ U and D point to a N *o, while T and M *u still requires explanation.

2388. *t̄enq̄∇ '(ε) tree, (ε) forest' > **HS**: Ch *°t̄∇η (or °t̄∇η?) 'tree' > WCh: pAG {Hf.} *t̄z̄η 'tree' > Gmy {Hf.} t̄eη, {ChC} t̄+η, Kfr {Nt.} t̄z̄η, Su {J} t̄íη, Ang {Hf.} t̄+η (= {Flk.} t̄eωη) 'tree', Mpn {Frz.} t̄z̄η 'tree, wood'] It is not clear whether one may adduce Ch *t̄∇_lw̄_lη 'mahogany' (with a vw. different from that of Ch *°t̄∇η 'tree', to judge from the reflexes in Su and Ang) > Su {J} t̄én, Ang {Flk.} t̄an or t̄en 'mahogany', Glm {Stl.} t̄án, Gera {Stl.} čàní id. || CCh: Hw {ChL} t̄ìnz̄, G'nd {ChL} t̄înda, Gbn {ChL} t̄íȳl̄n-dá 'mahogany tree' ¶ Hf. AG 19 [no. 66], Nt. 40, Frz. M 83, J S 84-5 Flk sv t̄an (or t̄en) t̄eωη ChL II 15 25 34 ChC sv 'tree'

¶ OS no. 2392 (OS misquoted the Gbn word ascribing it to Gabri [sc. Smr G within ECh]), ≠ Stl. ZCh 165 [no. 182] (*tani/*tawni 'tree [baobab, mahogany]) ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 3297 (*tiʔin- 'tree' *÷ S *tiʔin- [sc. *tʷʔin-] 'fig, fig tree', which in fact goes back to N ≈ *toʔi 'fig' [q.v.]

|| K *tʷe(n)- 'forest, wood' > OG, G tʷe- 'forest', Mg tʷa- n. 'wood, weed', Sv UB/LB/L {TK} tʷen 'stick, cudgel' ¶¶ K 184, K²193, FS K 3O2-3, FS E 336-7, Chx. 1374, Abul. 414, Chik. 24, TK 721 ¶¶ K *tʷe(n)- is probably based on mt. (typical K displacement of lrs and uvulars to a position immediately following the preceding [esp. initial] stop or affricate) and subsequent assimilative glottalization: *tʷEnq- > *tʷEn- > *tʷe(n)- ||

¶ *otʷu:;nʷ (~ *otʷu:;nʷ?) > M *tünʷ 'woods, forest' > MM [S] tʷn, WrM tʷn ~tʷnʷ {MED} id., HIM {BMR} тʷн 'dense forest, Dickicht (густая роща, дремучий лес)', Kl {Rm.} tünü 'Wald, Dickicht' ¶ MED 853, H 154, MRS III 270, KW 415 ||

D *teŋ, ? *teŋ k̄āyʷ ({{ʔGS} *t-) 'coconut tree' > Tm teŋ, teŋn̄ai, teŋku, teŋkam, Ml teŋŋu, Kt ten ka'y, Kn teŋgu, t̄eŋgu 'coconut tree', Td tō(g) gō'y 'coconut', Kdg teŋḡi mara 'coconut tree', teŋge 'coconut', Tu teŋgə 'coconut tree', Tl tē-mrānu, tē:-zeʔtʷu 'coconut tree, teŋk̄āya, t̄eŋk̄āya 'coconut' ¶¶ D no. 3408 ◇ K *tʷq- < **tʷq- by as. ◇ The vw. *ü in M may be explained by regr. as., if we suppose that the pN word was *t̄eŋqU.

2389. *t̄angalo 'draw, stretch' > IE: NaIE *tengʰ- or *tengʷʰ- 'draw, pull, stretch, strain' ({{P} 'ziehen, dehnen, spannen') > Av ʔaŋg- 'ziehen, Bogen spannen', KhS t̄am̄j- 'draw, stretch' ||| Sl *teq- > ChS PASTAGX ras-teq-q (inf. PASTAXH ras-teq̄sti) 'distraho', OR TAGATH teqati, R Δтя'гать, R тя'нуть 'to pull, to draw', Blg тегна vi. 'weigh, weigh upon'; Slv tēg 'drawing force, drought' ('тяга'), SCr tēg id., 'weight'; SCr na-tēgnuti (1s pres. nātēgnēm) vt. 'to stretch, to draw tight', Slv tēgniti vi. 'to stretch', Cz tahati, táhnouti, Slk tiahnut', P ciągnąć 'to pull' ||| ? L temō ({{EI} < *tengʰ|gʷʰ-s-mon-) 'pole\beam of a waggon' ¶ P 1066, Mn. 1379-1405, Bai. 148, SJSS XLII 447, Vs. IV 139-40, Sl. I 98, EI 187 (*tengʰ- 'pull') ||| ¶ *otʷaŋʷ- > Tg *taŋgi- v. 'draw' > Lm taŋgiqu ~ taŋḡaqu 'implement for pulling the bowstring on the bow' ('станок для натягивания тетивы на лук'), WrMc {Hr} taŋgi-me-liyan 'nach hinten gekrümmt, ausgewölbt', {Z} тангимэлянь id. ¶ STM II 160, Z

698, Hr 887 || ?? pKo {S} *tʰə-kʰj- 'stretch, pull' (× pA *tʰo-anE- v. 'pull, stretch' < N *tʰoʔaŋ ▽ 'draw, stretch, extend', q.v. ffd.) || HS: Ch (× N *tʰoʔaŋ ▽ 'draw, stretch, extend', q.v.): Azm {Pc.} tāndá v. 'drag, pull', Jg {J} teń- v. 'draw', EDng {Fd.} téńè 'tierer (la corde etc.)' || ?? CCh: Lgn M {Bou.} d̄àʔám- v. 'draw' ¶ ChL, Pc. 367, J J 117, Bou. K s.v. d̄àʔám-, Fd. 158 ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. 'тянуть' t̄angʌ (IE, A). This etymon is likely to be connected with (derived from?) N *tʰoʔaŋ ▽ '↑'.

2390. *tʰæŋkʰa 'firm, dense' > HS: B *^o√ d̄ng (< **√ t̄nK) > Ah t̄ungʰat (= *t-d̄ungʰat) (pf. j̄ət̄t̄ungʰat) 'être fort' (une saveur, une odeur, un aliment, une chose parfumée) ¶ Fc. 278-9, NZ 475-6 || IE: NaIE *tenk- v. 'be strong\solid\dense' > Av taxma- 'tapfer, tüchtig, energisch, heldenhaft', Psh tat (< *taxta-) 'dense, thick' || OIr {Vn.} técht 'solide, épais; coagulé' || Gmc: [1] *θiŋhan 'to grow (wachsen), to thrive' > AS ðīon (p. ðunzon, pp. zed̄unzen) id., 'to flourish', OHG dīhan 'to grow (wachsen), to thrive, to prosper, to succeed', OSx thīhan, NHG gedeihen 'to grow, to thrive, to flourish', Gt þeihan (· προκόπτειν,· συμβεβάλλεσθαι) 'gedeihen'] [1a] pp: OSx gi-thigan 'gediegen, erwachsen', OHG gi-digan {Kb.} 'strict, severe, advanced, reliable', MHG gedigen 'grown up, firm', NHG gediegen 'solid'] [1b] AS ðingan, OFrs thigia 'to thrive', OSx a-thēngian 'ausführen'] [2] d.: ON þéttr, Sw tät, Dn tætt, NNr tett, MHG dīhte, NHG dicht, ME, NE Δthight 'dense', AS ðīht (in cds: maȝa-ðīht 'magenstark', mēte-ðīht 'thick from eating') || Lt tánkus 'thick (dicht), dense' ¶ P 1068 (without distinguishing this √ from IE *tenk-'sich zusammen-ziehen'), Brtl. 626-7, Mrg. 84, Vn. T 40-1, Fs. 493-4, Vr. 609, Ho. 365-6, Ho. S 77, Kb. 153, 339, OsS 102, 240, EWA II 634-7, KM 131, 238-9 || **■** *tʰæŋkʰ ▽- > M *tenke|ü- > WrM {MED} tenke- v. 'endure, recover strength or health', HIM тэнхэ- {MED} id., {BMR}. 'recover strength\ health', Brt тэнхэ- 'recover (after illness), recover strength', Ord tʰeŋkʰü- 'regagner ses forces, recouvrer sa santé, se remettre'; M *tenkegen > WrM {MED} tenke, tenkege, HIM {MED, BMR} тэнхээ, Brt тэнхээ(н) 'power, force, strength', Kl {KRS} теŋk tenkə id., Ord tʰeŋkʰē 'forces corporelles, vigueur' ¶ MED 802-3, BMR III 291, Chr. 455, KRS 494, Ms. O 658-9 || ?id. Tg *tEŋk, - *ti, aŋk, 'firmly, densely' > (secondary ideophonization?) Ork tēŋ, Orc tæŋ-tæŋ, Ud tēæk-tēæk, Ud Sm {Krm.} tāk-tāk id. ('крепко, плотно, туго'), Neg tēŋ-tēŋ. tēŋ-tīŋ. Ill tēŋ-tēŋ. Nn Nh tian-tian '(verv) firmly (крепко.

крепко-накрепко)', {On.} tian-tian id. ¶ STM II 173, Krm. 294, On. 397.

2391. *tun̥k̥ 'to press, to force oneself, to be too narrow, to be tight' > IE: NaIE *twenk- v. 'press' > Gmc {P} *θun̥xian (> *θūxjan) 'to press, to press down, to oppress ([nieder-]drücken, bedrängen)' > OHG dūhen 'to press, to urge', OLF bethūwen 'to press down', Dt duwen 'to push', AS ðūwan, ðéon, {Sw.} þūwan, þīen 'to press' || Lt tvankūs 'stuffy, close', {Frn.} 'schwül, drückend' ¶ It is not yet clear what connection there is with IE *twen̥g̥h- 'bedrängen' > Av θwaz̥aiti 'falls into distress', ON þwīnga 'to force, to torment', OSx thwīngan, OHG dwin̥gan 'to force, to compel', ON þwīnga 'zwingen, belästigen' ¶ P 1099-1100, ≠ϕ EI 451 (*twen̥g̥h- with unj. *g̥h based on controversial comparison with Gmc [ON þwīnga etc.]), Kb. 171, OsS 114, EWA II 842-4, 922-4, KM 897, Ho. 375, Sw. 182, Frn. 1149 || **U:** FU *tun̥ke- v. 'press, squeeze into, thrust into' > F tunkē- 'press, squeeze, thrust, push, force, force one's way through', Es tungī- v. 'force oneself, press, crowd' || pMr {Ker.} *tun̥g̥b- > Er ton̥go- (inf. тонго-мс), Mk ton̥g̥a- (inf. тонго-мс) 'hineinstecken', 'shove\stick (into), thread a needle' || Vg {Mu., MK}: T/P tokr-, LK/Ss toxr- 'zerknüllen, drücken, stecken', {UEW} 'stopfen' || Hg dug- v. 'stick\put\thrust into' ¶ UEW 537-8, Coll. 120, Sm. 550 (FU, FP *tun̥ki-, Ugr *tun̥kī- 'cram'), MF 135, Slv. 407, Ker. II 170, ERV 669, MK 650 || **HS** *tun̥k̥- > C: HEC {Hd.} *tuk̥k̥- v. 'be narrow' > Kmb, Hd tuk̥k̥- v. 'be narrow', tuk̥ka 'narrow' || SC: Alg {E} tin̥q̥- v. 'squeeze out' ¶ E PC no. 73 (pC *taq̥- / *tik̥- / *tuq̥- v. 'press'), L G 599, Hd. 104, 301, 341, 413 || S *°-tūq̥-, *°✓tūq̥y > Gz ✓tūq̥ G (pf. tūka, js. yə-tūq̥) v. 'be in dire straits, be oppressed\afflicted; compress, constrain', ✓tūq̥y (pf. taq̥aya) v. 'be narrow, be under stress, be painful', Tgy tūwweq̥e v. 'press, pressure' ¶ L G 599 ◇ IS MS 338 s.v. 'давить' *tun̥k̥a (IE, U), IS SS no. 1.26.

2392. *tun̥g̥ 'swell, swell up' > ? **HS:** S *°✓tun̥χ v. 'eat to excess' > Ar ✓tun̥χ G {Hv.} id., {BK} 'être gras', 'se charger l'estomac de mets gras et en avoir une indigestion' (semantic infl. of other roots of the tun̥- kernel: ✓tun̥h̥ 'avoir une indigestion', ✓tun̥θr 'avoir mangé de la graisse au point d'avoir une indigestion') ¶ BK II 112, Hv. 439 || **U:** FU *ton̥g̥ v. 'swell' ('[auf-, an-]schwellen') > Z dun̥ 'swollen, inflated', Z dund̥i-, Prmk {UEW} tund̥i- vi. 'swell' (body, bellow due to an illness), Yz {UEW}

dun'di- v. 'swell' (stomach) || Hg dagad- v. 'swell' ¶ UEW 530-1, MF 132, LG 98 || **A:** M *^otünke 'swelling' > WrM {MED} tūŋke 'overgrowth of feather grass'; ⇨ *tünkeyi- > WrM tūŋkei- {MED} v. 'swell up, become bloated or inflated', HIM түнхий- {MED} id., {BMR} 'выпучиваться, выпячиваться, sich aufblähen', Ord t'üŋkxī- 'être gros' (p. ex. un ventre, un paquet), ? t'üŋgī- 'avoir une forme ronde et massive, être gros\grand', ?? Kl {Rm.} čin- 'aufschwellen' ¶ MED 853, BMR III 271, KW 441, Ms. O 687 ¶¶ M *t- provides ev. for pA *t'- ◇ S *χ < *q < N *q (a reg. case of de-emphatization).

2393. *ṭa'p'E 'squeeze, press' > **HS:** C: Dhl {EEN} ṭ'ūβ-, {To.} *ṭūb- v. 'squeeze', {EEN} ṭ'ūβit'- v. 'milk' || ?? SC {E} > ?? σ Alg çoborot v. 'melt' (after Ehret, probably caus. from a v. for 'drip'), SC ⇨ Mb -síbi v. 'wring' (× N ? id. *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press?'); Ehret equated Alg, Mb and Dhl and reconstructed SC *ṭūb- v. 'squeeze out' ¶ To. D 148, EEN 17, E SC 176 || B *^o✓ tbb (× N ? id. *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE '↑') > Ah ətbəb 'se serrer dans ses vêtements, être serré dans ses vêtements' ¶ Fc. 1882 || S: +ext. *r: *^o✓ ṭpr > Ak ✓ ṭpr G ≈ 'sich herandrängen an' ¶ Sd. 1380 || **IE:** NaIE *tap- (*tap-?) 'press (down)' > ON þefja 'to stamp (stampfen)', þóf 'Gedränge', þófi 'felt', OHG bidebben ~ bideppen 'to suppress (unterdrücken)' || ?σ Gk ταπεινός {P} 'niedrig, demütig', {LS} 'low; humbled' ({P} ← *'gedrückt') ¶ P 1056, F II 854, Vr. 606-7, Kb. 151, EWA II 550-1 ¶ Doubtful, because the hypothetic meaning of the NaIE root is based only on the Gmc words || **U:** FU *^otä|epp∇ v. 'press tightly' (× N *daP∇ (K∇) 'to stick [adhere], to glue' [q.v.]) > Prm {Lt.} *təp- 'press tightly' > Z topzd-, Z US topəd- vt. 'press' ('жать, прижать, зажать'), ? Vt тупатыны 'to fix, to attach' ¶ Lt. 98, LG 282, Wc. StWU 51 || **A** ≈ *TapE- vt. press' > Tg *dap- vt. {SDM} 'flatten, press to sth. (прижимать)' (× N *dap, ∇, y∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'to push') > Ewk dapça- vt. 'flatten (плющить), flatten out' (расплющить), Ork dapaw- vt. 'zusammenpressen (сжать), (auf/an etw.) drücken (прижать) ¶ STM I 197-8 || T: [1] (influenced by N *dap, ∇, y∇ ~ *dayop∇, q.v.) Tkm dābala 'trample' (a camel), [2] T *t'æp- 'trample' (× N ? id. *ṭābHa or *ṭabHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press', q.v.) > OT {Cl.} tāp- v. 'kick, stamp, clap', MT XIV [IM] dāp-, Tkm dep-, Tk tep- v. 'kick' (of horses), Osm {Rl.} dāp-, Chg {Rl.} dāp- 'mit Füßen treten ausschlagen' (von Pferden), Gcz tap- 'kick, strike with the

feet', Az täp- v. 'stop up; felt (valenki, felt boots)', täpik 'a kick (пинок)', ХТ дєр-, Qzq, Qrg, Uz, StAlt тєр-, Хк тєп-/-б- тєр-/-б-, Sg тiп-/-б- тiп-/-б-, VTt, Bsh тьр-/-б-, ET täp-, Tv т'єр-, ftp. т'єv-er, Tf т'єр'-, Yk täp- v. 'kick' ('пинать, лягать'), Chv тaп- тap/b_- v. 'kick, push' ¶ IS AD 43 [no. 8] (mentioning a Tv variant *dēv-, not confirmed by Tv dictionaries), Cl. 435, ET VGD 195-7, TrR 850, Rl. III 1108-9, 1687, TL 394, TvR 409, Ra. 234, Ash. XIII 186-92, Fed. II 171-2, Jeg. 230, ChVS 197, ADb. Ttd 55-6, BIG 223, 225, Fed. II 171-2 || AdS of M *dabta- v. 'forge, beat, hammer out' (< N *dap_l∇_l∇ ~ *dayop∇ '↑', q.v. ffd. × N *daXw∇ [~ *dawX∇?] 'to press, to push') ¶¶ SDM 1355-6 (pA *Tāp'∇- 'stamp, press' > M, Tg + unc. T *tāp- 'trample' [from *dap_l∇_l∇ ~ *dayop∇]), DQA no. 2221 (id.), Pp. VG 104, ADb. SR 13, Mng. E-2 105 ¶¶ Tg and M *d- belong to the heritage of N *dap_l∇_l∇ ~ *dayop∇ ◇ FU *-ä|e- is due to vw. harmony (infl. of the front vw. of the second syll. [from N *-E]). T lenis *t'- (for the expected fortis *t'-) needs explanation.

2394. *t'a'pU (or *t'a'P?U?) 'to wade, to cross, to go through, to pass' > HS: C: Bj (R) -dīf v. 'wade a river' (1s p. a-'dīf), n. act. 'dāf 'ford(ing)' || ?σ EC: Sml dāf- {DSI} 'pass by; release, let go', {ZMO} id., 'leave, omit', Sml N dāf- v. 'pass by' ¶ R WBd 60-1, ZMO 104, DSI 146, Abr. S 42 || К *oṭop-> G ṭop- v. 'wade' ¶ Chx. 1359-60 || A *t'ap_l'∇ 'to go through' > NaT *Top- id. > Qzl {Jk.} tōp-, Xk {BIG} tobir-; NaT *topul-> OT {Pp.} topul- 'durchgehen', {Cl.} t'urpul- 'pierce', Yk tubul- id. ¶ Rs. W 489, BIG 229, Pp. VG 47, Cl. 440, Pek. 2694 || M *taṣul- (< ppM **taβul-) 'pass, go through' > WrM tagul- {MED} id., 'penetrate', 'have diarrhoea', HIM тyула- {MED} id., {BMR} 'go through, wade (a river), идти (по воде); 'have diarrhoea', 'durchgehen, durch-\hinüber-kommen', Brt тyула- 'have diarrhoea, Ausschlag haben', Ord t'ūl- franchir, passer, traverser', WrO туули- 'penetrate, come through', Kl {Rm.} tūl- 'durchgehen, durch-\hinüber-kommen' ¶ MED 766, BMR III 261, Vld. 211, Chr. 438, KW 413, Ms. O 678, Krg. 51 || Tg *tap adv. 'through (насквозь)' > Neg, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/KU tap, Ewk top, tapamnak ≙ topomnak id. ¶ STM II 164, On. 394 || pJ {S} *təpəz- {Mr.} 'pass by\through' > OJ top_lw_lor-, MJ tòpòr-, J T/Kg tōr-, J K tōr- ¶ S QJ no. 1015, Mr. 770, Kenk. 2029 ¶¶ SDM 1404 (pA *t'āp'è 'go through' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 2311 (A *t'āp'è 'to go through'), Vld. 211 (M, T), Pp. VG 47, S AJ 67, Mill. AJVC 854 ◇

The vw. *o in K and NaT may be due to the infl. of the labial vw. of the next syll.

2395. *id.* *t̥a'p'∇ 'hit (the target)' ([in descendant Iges] → 'succeed, find, find an answer, identify, recognize') > **A** *t'ap∇ 'hit the target, find' > **T** *t'ap- v. 'find, hit the target, guess' > **OT** {Cl.} tap-, **MT** [IM] d̥ap- v. 'find, learn', **Yk** tap- v. 'hit the target', **Tkm**, **Qmq** tap-, **Tk** Δ {SDD} tap- v. 'find', **Az** tap- v. 'find, guess' (not d̥ap-, as in **IS AD** 41), **Slr** tap- ̣ tap̄f- ̣ ta'p- ̣ taʔ-, **ET** tap- *id.*, **QrB** tab-, **VTt**, **Bsh**, **Qzq**, **Nog**, **Qq**, **Qrg**, **StAlt**, **Xk** tap- (prevoc. tab-), **Uz** τoπ- t̥op-, **SY** tap- ̣ ta'p ̣ taʔ-, **Tv** t'ip- (prevoc. t'IV-) v. 'find' (the vw. still needs explanation), **Chv** **L** τυπ- tup/b-, **Chv** Δ τoπ- v. 'find, detect', τυπ̄ä tub_б 'solution of a riddle' ¶ **Cl.** 435, **IS AD** 41 [no. 7], **Rs.** **W** 462, **TL** 699, **ARL** 283, **Äz.** 326, **SDD** III 1313, **BT** 142, **Tn.** **SJ** 502, **Tn.** **SJJ** 211, **Cs.** **KKS** 107, **Ash.** **XIV** 137-9, **Fed.** **II** 248, **Jeg.** 258, **ChVS** 221 || (? ppM *ta'β'a- >) **M** *taʔa- v. 'guess' > **MM** ta_α-[MA] v. 'guess', [HI] 'diviner', **WrM** taga- {MED} v. 'guess, solve a riddle', **HIM** {MED} *id.*, {BMR} 'guess, suppose', **Brt** таа-, **Dx** таʔa- v. 'guess, разгадывать', **Kl** {KRS} таа- tā- v. 'tell the fortune, suppose', {Rm.} tā- 'erraten; annehmen, mutmassen', **Ord**, **Mnr** **H** {SM} t'ā- 'diviner, conjecturer'; **M** *taʔa- ̣ Ewk tāʒ-, **Lm** tā- v. 'recognize\identify (so.), guess', **Sln** {Iv.} taʒi- 'know', **Neg** tak-, **Ul**, **Nn** taq̄- v. 'recognize\ identify', **Orc** takki- v. 'recognize (so. seen before)', **WrMc** {Z} така- '(er)kennen, können', **Mc** **Sb** taq̄ama v. 'identify' ¶ **MED** 763, **BMR** III 170, **Chr.** 407, **KRS** 469-70, **KW** 386, **Pp.** **MA** 338, **Ms.** **H** 98, **SM** 404, **T** 362, **T DnJ** 135, **T BJ** 147, **STM** II 149, **Z** 700, **Hr** 881, **Y** no. 1859 ¶¶ **Pp.** **VG** 13, 122, 139, 157-8, **IS AD** 48-9 ¶¶ **Poppe** (**Pp.** *l.c.*) considered the Ewk and Lm forms to be genetic cognates of **M** rather than loans and postulated their prehistory as *tapa- > *tawā-gi- > Ewk tāg-, **Lm** tā-; **Pp.**'s hyp. is hardly convincing because no traces of **Tg** *-w- have been discovered || **HS:** **WS** *√t̥bb 'know, be wise' > **Sr** √t̥bb (pf. t̥ab) v. 'make inquiry, inform oneself, be informed', **Ar** t̥abb- 'habile, savant, versé dans une science; circonspect', √t̥bb: pf. (< adj. of state) t̥abba 'était habile\savant', **Sq** {L} t̥eb 'croire, savoir', **Gz** √t̥bb v. *G* 'be wise\prudent\sage', **Sb** *d.* t̥bb v. 'teach, proclaim' ¶ **BK** II 50-2, **JPS** 165, **Br.** 265, **L G** 585, **L LS** 198, **BGMR** 152 || **IE:** **NaIE** *top- 'wohin gelangen, auf etwas treffen; Ort, wo man hingelangt oder hin will' > **Gk** τόπος 'place', τoπάζω v. 'aim at, guess', {Hs.} 'put in a place' || **AS** ðafian 'to consent to, to permit, to tolerate; to endure, to suffer' (**Hofm.**: ← *'Platz machen, Raum geben') || **Lt** t̥ap-ti, **Ltv** tap̄t'to

become (werden, entstehen)', Ltv *pā-tapt* 'to reach (a place), to be able to arrive', Lt *pri-tāp-ti* 'to take up with' ¶ P 1088, F II 911, LS 1805-6, Hofm. 369, Ho. 360, Sw. 179, Frn. 1057-8, Kar. II 375, Bc. 636 || U: FP **tap(ρ)∇*- v. 'find, succeed, fit' > F *tapaan / tavata* v. 'find, meet, come across' | Vt *tupa-* 'come to an understanding; fit, be the right size', dun *śar+ś tupa-* 'come to an agreement about the price' ¶ Wc. StWU 51 (F, Vt; other scholars did not find this etl. connection between F and Vt because they equated the above words with the isophonic FU verbs meaning 'to strike', 'to stick' etc.), SSA III 277, U3S 249 || D (in SD) **tāpp*◦ 'appointed time, proper time' > Tm *tāppu* 'expected moment, appointed time, convenience', Ml *tāppu* 'proper time, opportunity', Td *top* 'time, chance' ¶ D no. 3161 ◇ If the N etymon is **tap*∇, WS **b* (for the expected **ρ*) needs investigating. A possible solution: the N etymon is **tab*∇, while *-*ρ*- and *-*pp*- in IE, U, Tk and D are due to as. (N **t...b* > ***t...ρ*) ◇ IS MS 356 s.v. 'попадать (в цель)' **tap*'^h (IE, A, U, D + **÷* Eg and Ch [the Eg and Ang forms mentioned by IS are not acceptable on semantic grounds]), AD NM no. 34, S CNM 4 (÷÷ ST, Yn), Vv. AEN 3 ("the root may be onomatopoeic").

2396. **tap*∇ (L∇) 'to feel\touch with fingers, to smear' > HS: S **✓t*pl v. 'smear' Lv. T I 315-16, Js. 547-8, Sl. 513, Br. 285, Sd. 1379, BK II 89-90, Hv. 434 (→ v. 'soil') > BHb *כפח* ✓*t*pl v. G 'smear\plaster over, coat, cover', JEA ✓*t*pl G 'apply a paste', JA [Trg.] ✓*t*pl G μφ 'anheften, ankleben, zufügen', Sr pp. *tə'pīl* 'defiled, corrupt' (← *'soiled, made dirty'), *tə'pēl* 'sordidus', Ar ✓*t*fl v. G (pf. *tāfila*) 'be soiled by dust' (a plant), *tāfīl* 'turbid water', Ak ✓*t*pl G 'schmähen, verdächtigen' ¶ KB 362, KBR 379, GB 278, BDB no. 2950 || IE: NaIE {Mn.} **°tep-* v. 'smear' > Lt inf. *tēpti* / 1s pres. *tepu*, Ltv inf. *tept* / 1s pres. *tepjū* v. 'annoint, smear', Ltv inf. *tepēt* / 1s pres. *tepejū* v. 'smear', *tepe* 'putty'] NaIE **tep(0)l-* 'smear; lubricant' > Lt *teplióti* 'to smear', *tēpalas* 'lubricant, ointment', {Krsch.} inf. *teplénti* / 1s pres. *teplenū* 'mit Schmiere\Salbe mehrfach ordentlich schmieren' || ?σ Clt: W *tail* 'dung, manure' ¶ ≈ Mn. 1383, Frn. 108, Kar. II 392, Vn. T 47, YGM-1 403 ¶ This stem should be kept apart from NaIE **tap-* v. 'dip in' (⇔ WP I 705), that goes back to N **t'a'pʳ*'∇ 'plunge, immerse' (q.v.) || U: id. FU **tapp*∇ v. 'feel, finger, touch' > OHg XVI *tapat-* 'tasten', Hg *tapogat-* v. 'feel, finger', *tapint-* id., 'touch', ? *tapasz* 'plaster' || F *tapaila* 'to grope, to grope about' ¶ Bá. 300-1, EWU 1481, MTE III 842-6, Wc. SW 51, UEW

521 (Hg *tapogat-* 'betasten, befühlen, herumtappen' < FU {UEW} **toppa-* 'fassen, greifen, halten' [refers to an etymological entry in UEW that I have not been able to find]) || D (in SD) **tapp-* ({ǥGS} **t-*) v. 'grope, feel by touching' > Tm *tapru* v. 'grope, feel about', MI *tappuka* id., *tappal* 'groping', Tu *tabbuni* v. 'feel, grope' ¶ D no. 3072 ◇ IS MS 353 'ощупывать' **ṭarʿn* (IE [**ter-* v. 'smear, dip in'], ?A, U, D).

2397. **teʿpʷ* ∇ 'to warm, to be warm' > IE **ter-* > NaIE *ter-* v. 'be warm' > OI **tapati* 'makes warm, heats', *tap'ta-* 'heated, hot', **tapas-* n. 'warmth, heat', Vd {MW} **tapu-* 'burning hot', Av *tāpa'ti* 'is warm', *tafsān* 'es soll ihnen heiß werden', MPrs *tab*, NPrs *تب* *tāb* 'fever', NPrs *تافتن* *tāftān* 'to set on fire, to burn; to be hot; to shine, to sparkle', Oss: I *tav-3n*, D *tavun* v. 'heat, warm', I *tāv*d, D *tāv*dä 'hot' || L *tepē-* 'be lukewarm', *tepidus* 'lukewarm', *tepor* 'lukewarmness, moderate heat', *tepidus* 'lukewarm' || Clt {Matas.} **tefent-* 'hot, warm', **tefesmi-* 'warm' > OIr {Vn.} *té* 'hot' (pl. *téit* < **tepent-* ÷ OI prtc. *tapant-*), *ten(e)* 'fire', gen. *tened* (< **tenet-*), {Matas.} *te ~ tee* 'hot, warm', NIr *teine* 'hot', Brtt {RE} **tēm̄mos* 'warm, hot' > W {YGM} *twym*, Cm *tom*, MBr *toem*, Br {Hm.} *tomm* id., OCrn *toim* 'calidam' 'warm' (f. accus.); Clt {Matas.} **tefstu-* n. 'heat' > OIr *tes*, MW *tes* 'heat', W {YGM} 'heat, sunshine', OBr [ʁ] *tes* 'fotu', Br {Matas.} *tes*, OCrn [ʁ] *tes* 'fervor'; ? Clt {Matas.} **tefnēt* 'fire' > OIr *tene*, Brtt {RE} **tanos* > MW *tan*, W {YGM} *tân*, OCrn *tān*, Cm *tan* 'fire', OBr *tan* 'lares, foyer', MBr *tan*, Br {Hm.} *tan* 'fire' || NNR *teva* 'vor Hitze keuchen', ?σ AS *ḏefian* 'to pant' || SI dadj. **terlʷ-jʷ* m. 'warm' (and the corresponding forms without dadj. endings) > ChS {Mikl., Vs.} *тѣплъ* *terlʷ* 'warm', R 'тѣпел m. 'is warm', *теп'ло* 'it is warm', OR *тѣплын* *terlʷi*, R 'тѣплый', SCr Δ *tēplī*, Cz, Slk *terlʷý*, P *cierłʷy* id.; d.: OCS *тѣпlostь* *terlostʷ* 'warmth' | SI **toplʷ* 'warm' > OCS *топлъ* *toplʷ*, Blg *топлъ*, SCr *tōpa*, Slv *topel* *tópəʎ* id. | SI **topí-ti* vt. 'to heat' > SCr *tōpiti*, Slv *topíti*, Cz *topiti*, R *то'пить* id. || Ht {Ts.} *tapassa-*, HrLw *tapassa-s* 'fever, heat' ('Fieber, Hitze') ¶¶ P 1069-70, EI 263-4 (**ter-* 'hot'), Frd. HW 211, Ts. W 85, Ts. E III 121-13, M K I 477, M E I 623-5, MW 437, Horn 85, BM 105-6, Ab. III 237-8, 283, WH II 667-8, Vn. T 38, 49-50, YGM-1 404, 409, 424, Hm. 773, 793, Dnn. 730-1, RE 95, 143, Flr. 310, Ho. 362 StSS 694 699 Srz III 949-50 Vc IV 44 Gih 633 || K **tenh-* /

*t̥p|b- ({{FS, K²} *t̥ep- / *t̥p-, {K} *(t̥ab-)/ *t̥b-, {᠑Test.} t̥äp|b-) v. 'warm\heat, be warmed\heated' > OG t̥p-, G t̥b-, Mg t̥ɜb-, t̥ib-, Lz t̥ub-, t̥ib- id.; ⇨ K *t̥p-il- (~*t̥b-il-?) 'warm' > OG t̥pil-, G t̥bil-, Mg t̥ɜbu-, t̥ibu-, Lz t̥ibu-, t̥ubu-; ⇨ K *^ot̥eb-id- > Sv {TK}: UB/LB/L t̥ebdi, Ln t̥ebedi 'warm' (unless ← Oss t̥ävd ≅ t̥ävdä 'hot') ¶¶ K *ä is reconstructed in the framework of Testelec's theory of vowels, assuming the existence of a vw. *ä (> G a, Zan *з [= {JGM} *q̊, Sv e) ¶¶ K 179-80, K 186, 192, FS K 293-4, GM SAKS 56-7, Test. KV 69, TK 716, GP 260, Ab. III 283 || U: FU (att. in Ugr) *teω∇-t∇ 'fire' (× N *t'e'ɣaw'a' 'fire' [q.v. ffd.]) || A *t'ep'∇ 'warm', v. 'burn' (or pA *t'ep'∇, if the T root is not a legitimate cognate) > Tg *tepe vi. 'burn' > Nn Nh t̥ɜpɜ- vi. 'flame up, burn' (of fire), Nn Bk t̥ɜpɜ- id., 'stoke (a stove)', WrMc {Z} тэфэ- vi. 'burn down' (of firewood), ? Mc Sb {Y} t̥jɛvəm, t̥jɛvim [t̥jāvəm, t̥jāvimə] vt. 'burn, set fire, light' (representing a pA variant *t'eb∇, as supposed by SDM95?) ¶ STM II 238, On. 420, Z 730, Y no. 482 || pKo *t̥əb- 'be warm' > MKo t̥əp-/t̥əw-, NKo t̥əp-/t̥əw- id. ¶ S QK no. 468, Nam 153, MLC 451 || ?σ T *Tepi- vi. 'dry, become dry' > Chv тиг- id., Tkm tebit 'hot weather, intense heat (жара, зной)', Az t̥äpi- 'get dry, dry up (просохнуть)' ¶ Rs. W 253, Äz. 334, TkR 624, Fed. II 23, Ash. XIV 54-5, Jer. 252, ChVS 217 ¶¶ SDM 1421 (pA *t'ep'∇ 'warm; burn' > Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 2331 || HS: [1] *t̥∇p- > WCh: ? Ngz {Sch.} d̥ä fáy 'perspiration', ??σ,φ Hs t̥àfásà vi. 'boiled' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} ṅḍúfáʔá 'hot' ¶ ChC s.v. 'hot', Abr. H 836, Ba. 972, Sb. M s.v. ṅḍúfáʔá, Sch. DN s.v. d̥ä fáy || S (+ ext.): Ar t̥ābiχ-at- {BK} 'chaleur excessive et brillante du midi', {Hv.} 'the hottest hour of the day', but Ar ✓ t̥bχ v. 'cook' hardly belongs here, it goes back to pS *✓ t̥bχ v. 'slaughter' < N *t̥ab'∇, qa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lges: → 'kill'], q.v. ffd.; ? EthS: Gz ✓ t̥bs G (js. ɣə-t̥bəs) v. 'roast, parch, broil', Tgr, Tgy, Amh ✓ t̥bs G v. 'fry' (cp. Hs t̥àfásà 'boiled?') ¶ L G 586, BK II 52, Hv. 425 || [2] ?? HS *✓ dp (dis. *-t̥p- > *-dp-?) > S *^o✓ dpʔ > Ar {Fr.} ✓ dfʔ G (ip. -dfaʔ-) 'caluit, calidus fuit; calefecit', 'fovit' (vestis), 'être chaud, contenir de la chaleur; chauffer', 'échauffer' (un vêtement chaud) ¶ Fr. II 40, BK I 711 || ?φ EC: Sa {R} d̥ā'bē 'Glutkohle', pSam *d̥ab > Sml (incl. Sml N) d̥ab, Rn {PG} d̥áb, {Oo.} d̥ab, {Hn.} d̥ab 'fire'; Sa {R} d̥ūb- 'braten' ¶ Bl. 243, ZMO 76, R S II 98, Abr. S 39, PG 99, Oo. 67, R S II 98-9, Hn. S 55, PH 86 ◇ IS MS 338 s.v. 'греть(ся)' *t̥'ä'pʌ and IS SS no. 11.8 (both sources: IE, HS [partially err.], Ko, K) → BmK 214-15 (K, S + Sum t̥ab v.

'burn'), 277-8 (IE, Hs + Eg *t_ɸ v. 'burn', n. fire, flame' [quoted from Budge II 832, which is an unreliable source]).

2397a. ₂ *t_ɸ > IE: Lw tappani- 'hair' ¶ Kas. AN 172 | | A: M *tebeg > WrM {MED} tebeg 'topknot of hair (when the rest is shaved off)', HIM тэвэг {MED} id., {BMR} 'чүб', Kl {KRS} тевг 'forelock of hair (on horde's forehead); Zopf', {Rm.} te wəg 'Flechte, lange Haare im Nacken (der Mädchen) oder zwischen der Ohren (der Pferde)' ¶ MED 789, KRS 487, KW 395, BMR III 281 ◇ Kas. AN 172 (Lw, A > M *tebeg [and alleged [but uncertain] cognates in M, Tg, J and Ko]).

2398. *on.* *t_ɸ > HS: WS *tup-, *√tpp ~ *√tpʔ ~ *√tpy 'spit' > BHb תִּפְּת 'top_ɸt {BDB} 'act of spitting', {KB} 'Speichel, Auswurf', JEA תִּפְּת or תִּפְּת {Lv.} 'spit out!' [imv.], {Js.} 'spittle' (both based on different interpretations of one text in the Talmud [BT Keth. 61^b]: kl myʔ d_ɸdy lk twp šdʔy twp šdʔy, that Lv. interprets: 'alle Flüssigkeit, die dich quält, speie aus und wirf den Speichel fort'), {Lv.} √tpp (pf. *תִּפְּת tap, D *תִּפְּת tap¹pī) v. 'spit', {Js.} *תִּפְּת t_ɸpē id. (Lv.'s and Js.'s recs. based on BT Nid. 42^a: kwlkw brw_ɸʔ ḥdʔ tpyt_ɸ 'you all spit with the same spittle'), Ar SL {Bel., Hv.} √tff v. G (pf. taffa) 'spit (blood)', Ar Eg {Hv.} √tff v. 'spit', Gz √tfʔ G (pf. tafʔa) v. 'spit, spit out', ??σ Ar tuff- 'dirt under the nails' | WS *-tūb-, *°√tbb v. ≈ spit, vomit > JA [Trg.] תִּפְּת t_ɸbā, תִּפְּת t_ɸyū_ɸ-ā n. 'vomit', Sr √ty|wb v. Sh (pf. ʔatīb) 'vomit', t_ɸyō_ɸ-ā, t_ɸyō_ɸ-t-ā n. 'vomit', Sq {L} 'tebib 'spittle' | +ext. *-l-: WS *√tpl v. 'spit' > Ar √tfl G 'cracher (une salive fine)', taf_ɸ- ~ tuf_ɸ- ~ tufā_ɸ- 'crachat de salive fine', Mh/Hrs/Jb {Jo.} √tfl G v. 'spit', Mh t_ɸfyō_ɸ, Hrs t_ɸfē_ɸ, Jb E t_ɸfyō_ɸ, Jb C t_ɸfō_ɸ 'spit, saliva' ¶ GB 888, BDB no. 1064, KB 1638, L G 570-1, Lv. IV 658, Lv. T II 532, 535, Js. 1655, 1685, Br. 818, JPS 606, BK I 200-1, Bel. 55, Hv. 60, Jo. M 400, Jo. H 126, Jo. J 269-70, L LS 438, MiK I nos 2.72-4 | | Eg P tf v. 'spit', tf 'saliva' > Cpt: Sd taf ~ tēf, B t^haf ~ t^hēf id. ¶ EG V 297, Vc. 225 | | B *√wtf: Ty, ETwl {GhA} uttaf 'être craché', s-utaf v. 'spit', Ah {Fc.}, Ttq {Msq.}, Gh {Nh.} s-utaf id. ¶ Fc. 1885, Nh. 146, GhA 188, Msq. 70 | | C: Ag: id. Xm {R} titif, tiftif, tiftaf 'saliva' id., Bln/Xm {R} tif y- id., Km {CR} tiff y- 'spit' (v.) | | EC *tuf- > Bn {Hn.}, Sml, Rn, Or {Grg.}, Kns {Bl.}, Af {PH}, Arr {Hw.}, Gwd {Bl.}, Brj/Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.} tuf-, Hr {Bl.} a-čúf-iy, Gdl {Bl.} šuh- v. 'spit', Sa {R} tuf dāh 'anspeien, ausspeien', tufənā 'Speichel' | | id. Bj {R} tiffōy 'Gespuock. Speichel' ¶ R S II 350, R WB 347, R Ch II 420 (nos 106) R WB 322, CR LK 256, Ah. S 240, ZMO 207, DC 281, Hs. S

44, Grg. 378, Bl. 166, 184, Ss. PEC 10, Ss. B 179, Hw. A 397, PH 200, Hd. 222, 262, 299, 339, 396, AD GDS 77 [no. 7.7] || *id.* Ch: WCh: Hs tóǝ v. 'spit' || Fy {J} tuf, DfB {J} tuf id. || Krkr {J} t3f-, Bl {Lk.} tuf- id. || Ngz {Sch.} tɔpkú id. || ECh: Kwn {Lens.} áǝǝbé, Ke {Eb.} tufí id. || Mu {Lk.} tuffa, Brg {J} čifí id. || CCh: Glv {Rp.} taf-, Gdf {IL} tʰfdúǝ, Dgh {Frk} tfà, Ngs {IL} tfǝǝ id. || Db {LnG} tif id. || pMM {Ro.} *t3f > Myn tǝf-, Mofu {Ro.} táf, Zlg tǝfdá, Gzg {Ro.} táftàǝá id. || Bcm {Sk.} tǝfè, Gudu {IL in ChL} teǝǝ id. || Lgn {Lk.} tufu id. || Ms {J} tufnā, ZmB {J} tufó méǝ, {Sa.} tuf mèǝ, ZmD {KNC} tǝp (méǝ) id.] and +ext. *-l-: Mkt tfàlá, Hrz tíǝǝ v. 'spit' ¶ JS 249, ChC s.v. 'to spit', VhL, Stl. ZCh 162 [no. 157], Nw. no. 121 (pCh *tǝfǝ / *tǝfǝ), Eb. 99, Ro. 333 [no. 680], Lens. 102, KNC 27 ¶¶ AD GDS 77 (C, S, Eg, Ch), Cal. 44 (Eg, S), OS no. 2413 (*tuf- 'spit': S, Eg, Ch, C), 510 [no. 2433] (*tǝfǝl-/*tǝfǝl- 'spit' > S, CCh: Mkt), ≈ Sk. HCD 258 ¶¶ On the possible origin of the ext. *-l- (in S and CCh) *see* N *1A, pc. of verbal constructions (noun + *1A = analytical verb) (→ sx of denom. verbs) || K: Sv {Ni.} -tǝǝne, -tǝǝ, {FS} li-tǝǝne (pres. 3s aǝǝne), Sv UB {GP}, Sv L {Dn.} li-tǝǝne v. 'spit', Sv: {Ni.} na-tǝǝ, UB {TK, GP} na-tǝǝ, LB/L/Ln naǝǝ 'spittle' ¶ FS K 301-2 (connecting the Sv √ with the G onomatopoeic interj. tǝp 'тѣѣ' ['pah!, imitating a spittle], which is hardly a reliable etl. cognate), TK 614, GP 169, 229, Ni. s.v. 'плеватъ' and 'плевокъ', Dn. s.v. tǝǝ- || IE: Lw tǝǝ- {Mlc.} v. 'spit (on)' ¶ Mlc. CL 206, Lar. 90 || ?? *on.* Irn: NPrs تǝf tǝf, Tjk тǝf tǝf, Krd Sr تǝf tǝf 'spittle (salivæ eiectio, sputum)', Wx tǝf 'saliva, spittle' ¶ Ab. III 308-9 (on NPrs tǝf as *on.*), Sg. 312, Horn 87, Vl. I 449, GrSK VaxJ 476, RTdS 437, KrdJ 142 || A *t'ǝp'ǝ v. 'spit', n. 'spittle' > NaT (< d. or cd?) *Tǝpk'ǝr- v. 'spit' > Cmn tǝpkǝr-, XwT تǝfǝr {Faz.} tǝfǝr-, Chg {Rl.} توفكور- tǝfǝr-, Tv дǝпкǝр- dǝpkǝr-, Az tǝpǝr-, Uz tǝpǝr-, Uz NmA {Nal.} tǝpǝr-, ET tǝpǝr- ~ tǝkǝr, Ggz, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qrg, StAlt, QK, Shor, Xk tǝkǝr-, Tf {ADb.} t'ǝkkǝr-, Qzq tǝkǝr-, VTt tǝkǝr-, Bsh tǝkǝr-, Tk tǝkǝr-, Tkm tǝkǝr- id.; ǝ NaT *Tǝpk'ǝ 'a spit, spittle' > Tv дǝкпǝ dǝkp'ǝ (or a bf.?) ¶ Rs. W 504, Rl. III 1596, 1600, Faz. II 426, Grøn. 260, BT 161, B DLT 211, Nal. RSS 183, ADb. Ttd 57 [no. 8], TvR 187 || Tg *tǝpǝ ~ *tǝpǝ 'spittle' > Ork tǝpǝ / tǝpǝ-, Ul tǝpǝ / tǝpǝ- 'spittle', Nn Bk tǝpǝ, Nn Nh tǝpǝ id., 'saliva', Ewk tǝpǝ tǝpǝ tǝpǝ id., Sln tǝpǝ, Lm tǝpǝ 'spittle'; Tg *tǝpǝ-nǝ- ~ *tǝpǝ-nǝ- v. 'spit' > Orc tǝpǝ-, Ork tǝpǝ-, Ul {PSchm.} tǝfǝ-, Nn Nh tǝpǝ-, Nn KU

toϕina-, Ewk tumin- 𐌆 tumun-, Ewk {Cs.} tūmina-, Sln {Iv.} tomon- ~ tumun-, Lm tumni- 𐌆 tomni- id., Ud tumiŋi- v. 'spit out'; AmTg *tupi-ϕ∇ v. 'spit' > Orc tupiči-, Ul tṽpčṽi- id.; ? WrMc {Z| чaфэлэ-, Mc Sb čivələ- v. 'spit' ¶ The cns. *-m- in *tūmin and *tūmīn_la_l- may be due to assimilative nasalization *-p...n- *-m...n- ¶ STM II 213, On. 405, Z 942 || pJ {S} *^otū_lm_lpāk- v. 'spit' > OJ tupak- id.; pJ *tū_lm_lpāk- 'spittle' > OJ tupak(y)i-, MJ tūṽkṽi-, J T cubaki- id. ¶ S QJ no. 1027, Mr. 552, Kenk. 2041 ¶¶ SDM 1477-8 (A *t'ūp'i 'spit, spittle' > Tg *tupi- v. 'spit', T *Tüpk'ür-, J), DQA no. 2469 (id.) || D {tr.} *tupp-, {GS} *tup- v. 'spit' > Tm tuppυ-, Ml tuppυka-, Kn tūpυ-, Kdg, Krx tupp-, Mlt tupe v. 'spit', Td tūf in- 'spit'; D *tuppāl- 'saliva, spittle' > Tm, Ml tuppāl, Krx tuppālχō, ? Mlt tuggle id. ¶¶ D no. 3323, GS 53 [no. 140] ◇ D *-pp- (for the expected *-p-) may be due to ideophonic infl. ◇ We cannot draw any conclusions about the age of the forms with some *l-extension (S, CCh, D) before a grammatical analysis of these forms in CCh and D is accomplished ◇ IS MS s.v. 'плевать' *tupϱ (HS, K, D + *÷ IE *p_ly_leϰ- v. 'spit'). In HS there is de-emphatization *t̥- > *t- ◇ Gr. II no. 361 (*tup 'spit') (A, J, Ai, EA + unc. Ko).

2399. *t̥āhipê 'high place, top, hill' > HS: S *^o✓ t̥hp > Ar t̥ahāf- 'élevé, qui est bien haut dans les aires' (nuage) ¶ BK II 115 || ???σ,ϕ Eg N d̥b.t 'head' ({EG}: "wohl fehlerhaft"), Eg L/G d̥br 'head' (unless var. of t̥br id.) | AdS of Eg fP t̥p, Eg N t̥br 'head' (< N *tōp̥æ 'head, top' [q.v.]) ¶ EG V 261, 263, 272, 434, 437, Fk. 296 || U: FP *t̥āwe 'hill, island' (× N *dEb∇ 'hill') > Lp N {N} d̥ievva / -v- '(roundish) hill', Lp L {Wk.} t̥ievva-, t̥jevva-, {LLO} t̥ievvā 'hill' | Z d̥i di, Yz d̥i 'island, small island', Z Lu d̥i 'island, peninsula, hill' ¶ UEW 794, Wk. LLW 144, LG 94, Lt. J 110, SZ 108, TmK 198 || A *t'æp_l'_l∇ 'top of the head, summit, hill' (× N *t̥ab∇ ≈ head') > NaT *t'æp'æ ~ *t'æp'ö 'top of the head, summit, hill' (× N *t̥ab∇ ≈ head') > OT {Cl.} t̥ōpū 'top, mountain', MT XIV [IM] t̥äpā 'hill', Tk tepe 'hill; peak, summit; head', Ggz tepä, Az täpā, Tkm depe, Uz tepe, QrB, Qq, Qzq, Nog töbe, VTt, Bsh t̥öbä, ET {BN} t̥öpä, Tv t'ey (< *t'ep̥ey?) 'hill, crown of head', Qrg, Alt t̥öbö id., döbö 'hill', Yk täbä 'summit, crown of head', Chv L т̥үпе түбе 'top of a hill, a height, Dachfirst' ¶ Cl. 436, IS AD 42 [no. 23], TkR 258, GRM 466, ARL 289, Jud. 198, 755-6, BN 157, Ash. XIV 262-4, Fed. II 262-3, Jeg. 265, ChVS 225, ≈ DQA no. 2346 (T *t'ep̥ö|ü × A [DQA no. 400] *t̥üjp̥è 'hill, top') || Tg: [1] NrTg *tepb- > Ewk Nr {Cs.} tepe

'arrowhead (made of stone)', ? Neg тэwsэ 'high wooded hill' ¶ STM II 225, 238 | [2] ??σ Tg *teb- > Ewk тэwdukэ 'rags', Sln табха 'tail on shaman's belt' (× N *tæbɿ ▽ 'follow, run, chase') ¶ STM II 148, 225 || M *tebeg > WrM {MED} tebeg, HIM {MED, BMR} тэвэг 'topknot of hair; shuttlecock', Brt тэбэг 'shuttlecock', Kl {Rm.} tewæg_ 'Flechte, lange Haare im Nacken (der Mädchen) oder zwischen den Ohren (der Pferde)', Ord t'ewek 'jouet ressemblant à un volan' | Hardly here WrM {MED} таб, HIM {MED, BMR} таб 'part of a scalp on which a braid\pigtail grows; head of a nail' (the phonetic shape of the word suggests that it is a loan) ¶ MED 760, 789, BMR III 171, 281, Chr. 451, KW 373, 395, Ms. O 662 || pJ {SDM} *tampua {SDM} 'knot of hair on the back of the head' > MJ tabo {SDM} id., StJ tabo {Kenk.} 'the back hair, the chignon' ¶¶ SDM 1418-19 (pA *t'ěp'á 'tuft [of hair] > T *tepö|ü [for *t'æp'e|ü] 'hill, top of head', M *tebeg, Tg *teb- 'rags; tail on shaman's belt', J + unc.: Ko *tapar 'bundle, bunch' and M *tab > WrM таб 'long hair on back of head'), DQA no. 2346 (pA *t'ěp'á 'tuft [of hair]' ← 'top of head'), ≈ SDM97 (A *top'E 'hill, top'), KW 395 (M, T), Vld. 258 || D *tipp- ({{GS} *dibb-?) 'hill, heap' (× N *dEb ▽ 'hill') > Tm tippai 'mound, elevated ground', Kt tip 'rubbish heap', Kn tippe 'heap, hillock, dunghill', dibba, dibbu, tevar(у) 'hillock', Tu hippæ 'heap, hill', Tl tippa id., 'mountain', dibba 'hillock, heap', Prj dippa 'heap', dibba 'mound', Gdb dibbe id., 'hillock', Gnd dībe 'heap', dippa 'highland for cultivation', Kui dēpa 'rising ground, high land', Ku debbe, dibba 'hill', Krx dippā 'mound, hillock', Mlt tube 'rubbish heap' ¶¶ D no. 3229 ◇ FU *-w- (< *-b-) is likely to represent N *-p- ◇ D *-pp- may go back to *-hp- (< N **-hip-).

2400. ₂ *ta'p ▽ ?'E 'put' > D (in CD) *tapp- v. 'put' > Nkr, Gdb P tap- v. 'put', Klm tap- v. 'put (spell on buffalo)', Nk tap- v. 'make lie down; put on (shirt)', Prj tapp- v. 'put, plant (seeds)' ¶ D no. 3073 ¶ D *-pp- probably from *-p?- < N *-p ▽ ?- || A *t'ābi- (= *t'ābi-?) v.. 'put, set' > M *tabi- v. 'place, put' > WrM {MED}, WrO табi-, HIM {MED, BMR} таби-, Brt таби- id., Ord t'āwi- ~ t'āwi- 'mettre, placer, déposer' ¶ MED 760, 772, BMR III 173-4, Krg. 469, Chr. 408, Ms. O 650-1 || Tg *tēb- v. 'put (stellen), set, install' (× Tg *tebu- v. 'load, convey in a carriage; fill' < N *tæbɿ'U' 'to fill') > Ewk тэw-, Ewk Brg tōφ- v. 'put (stellen), plant (a plant)', Lm тэw- id., Lm A/O тэw- v. 'build', WrMc {Z} тэбу- 'setzen, invite to seat', тэбэнь 'подставка, подпорка', Jrc

теу-бев 'установленный' ¶ Tg *-ē- from pA *-ā- due to regr. as. ¶ STM II 225, Z 722-3 || Ko: [1] pKo {SDM} *tʰbi- 'become' > MKo tʰwi-, tʰʰi-, NKo twe- id. ¶ Nam 136-7, MLC 497 || [2] ??φ pKo {S} *tú- v. 'put, place' (× N *tʰæbʰʰ 'to fill') > MKo tú-, NKo tu- id. ¶ S QK no. 872, Nam 163, MLC 502 ¶¶ SDM 1411 (pA *tʰēybo > Tg, M, Ko *tʰbi-), DQA no. 2355 ¶¶ pA *-b- goes back to N *-p- (with loss of *-∇ʰ- in A) ◇ Acc. to Starostin's hyp., the long vw. in pA and Tg is reg. in N open syllables (a gravis sign in pA rec. {SDM} *tʰēybo denotes a tone in long vowels yielding short vowels in T and length in Tg). Cf. the Tg short *e from a vw. in a N closed syllable: Tg *tebu- v. 'load' < N *tʰæbʰʰ '↑'. The quality of Tg *ē is due to regr. as. (*ē... from N *a...E).

2401. *tʰaʰpʰʰ ∇ 'plunge, immerse' > HS: S *√ tʰbʰ v. 'sink, sink down' (× N *tʰübʰʰ 'deep') > BHb 𐤁𐤁𐤁 √ tʰbʰ G 'sink down', Sr √ tʰbʰ G v. 'sink, be sunk', MHb, JA [Trg.], JEA G √ tʰbʰ v. 'sink, drown', Ak tʰebʰû (m), Ak A tʰabʰāʰu (m) 'untertauchen, untergehen' ¶ BDB no. 2883, KB 353, KBR 369-70, JPS 106-7, Js. 518, Lv. II 137-8, Sl. 494, Br. 267, Sd. 1382 || (mt.): Eg fMd tʰχb 'immerse, irrigate' (× N *tʰübʰʰ 'deep'), Cpt Sd τωζβ tōhʰb 'tremper, plonger, mouiller' ¶ EG V 326, Fk. 301, Vc. 226, T I 308 (Eg, S) ¶¶ Alb. NESE18 95, 253, Ember PAOE 308 [no. 5], Ember ESS no. 15.c.4, Tk. I 234 || IE: NaIE *tapʰa- v. 'plunge, immerse, soak' > Arm 𐎧𐎱𐎺𐎠 tʰatʰawem 'I plunge, I immerse' || Sl *topʰi-ti > OR топнѣти topʰi-ti, R топнѣть vt. 'to drown; to sink (a vessel)', Blg топя 'dip in', Cz topʰi-ti 'to dip in', P topʰi-ć vt. 'to drown', SCr tōpʰi-ti 'to flood, to inundate'; Sl *to-nq-ti (< *topnqti) vi. 'to drown, to sink (in water)' > ChS тонѣти tonqti, SCr tōnuti, Slv tóniti, R тонуть, Uk тонуть, P tonać, Cz tonouti, Slk tonút' vi. 'to drown, to sink (in water)', Blg тъна 'I sink (in water)' ¶ P 1056, Vs. IV 78-9, Sl. 445, Srz. III 979 || ?σ K: G tʰbor- '(etwas) unter Wasser setzen' (Fluß, Regen) (× N *tʰübʰʰ 'deep' and N ??φ *tʰ∇b∇ʰʰ ∇ 'dip in, immerse') ¶ Chx. 1332, 1359-60 || D (in SD) *tu∇- ({ʰGS} *t-) v. 'dip in, soak' (× N *tʰübʰʰ 'deep') > Tm tu∇aḡ 'dip in, soak', Ml tu∇ekka v. 'steep, soak in water', Tu tu∇a 'overflowing, running over' ¶ D no. 3355 ◇ Assimilation N *tʰaʰpʰʰ ∇ > *tʰaʰbʰʰ > S *√ tʰbʰ-. Eg tʰχb may be explained by prehistoric deglottalization *tʰ- > t-, metathesis of the lr. and its ass. devoicing ◇ D *-u- is likely to belong to the heritage of N *tʰübʰʰ.

2402. *t'a'p_L∇, y∇ 'dirt, mud' > **HS:** WS *t'ubɿ 'dirt, mud' > Ar t'ubɿ (pf. t'abɿsa, ip. -t'baɿu) 'être sale \ sali d'ordures' (homme), 'être sale \ couvert de rouille' (un sabre), t'abaɿ- 'saleté, crasse, rouille', t'abɿɿ- 'sale, crasseux', Grg En t'äβa, Grg Ed t'äwä 'mud' ¶ BK II 53-4, L EDG III 608 || pCh {Nw.} *tab∇ 'mud' > WCh: Hs t'abō (→ Ngz {Sch.} t'abó), Gw {Mts.} t'obo || Bl {Nw.} teb̄bi, Ngm {ChL} ndèb̄i id. || Ngz t'abó || Cg {Sk.} ndábák'án, Kry {Sk.} tábàkù, Sir {Sk.} t'èb̄èhí, Mbr {Sk.} ndábákù, Dir {Sk.} àtúbàkù id. || Kir {ChL} ndòp or n'dòp, Plc {ChL} nduωɿp or n'duωɿp, Dw {ChL} ndωɿp, sc. n'dωɿp or n'dωɿp id. || CCh: Tr: Pdl {ChL} t'èbdì, Hw {ChL} t'abùrà, G'nd {ChL} t'əpta, Gbn {ChL} t'əptà, Bk {ChL} t'əptè id. || McHigi: FIM {ChL} dùbù id. || Ktk {Nw.} ndaḅe id. || ECh: Tmk {Cp.} dùbò, Nd D {J} d'èbyà id. ¶ Nw. no. 89, Stl. ZCh 161 [no. 154], Sch. DN 154, Cp. 55, Abr. H 835, Ba. 969, ChC s.v. 'mud', Mts. G 115, ChL, NwM CChPhL, Sk. NB, J KKS ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 248 || **K:** G t'χap- 'beschmutzen, besudeln', G P t'χip- 'schmutzig machen, beschmutzen, beschmieren' ¶ Chx. 508, 510 || **A** *t'ap_L'∇ (× N *t'ap∇ 'to feel/touch with one's fingers, to smear') > Tg *tap∇ > Ewk Ucr taparā- v. 'be soiled' ('пачкаться'), Ewk Np tapka- vt. 'soil' ('запачкаты'), ? Ork tapti 'clay' ¶ STM II 164 || NaT *Ta_L:p- > OT kir tapčā (a couple of synonyms) 'dirt', VTt, Bsh, Nog tap 'stain', VTt, Bsh tapla- vt. 'soil', Chg, QrB {Rs.} tap 'Fleck, Narbe' (but in Chg {Rl.} and QrB {RKB} the meaning of таб is 'scar' only) ¶ DTS 308, TatR 515-16, BR 506-7, Rs. W 462, Rl. III 945-6, 954, RKB 716, NogR 334] ?σ T *t'oprak' 'earth' (× ← T *t'opra- v. 'become dry' < pA *t'opura- id.) > OT {Cl.} topraq, MQp XIII, XwT/Cmn XIV topraq, Chg ≥xv topraḡ ~ topraq, Tk toprak 'earth, soil, dust', Qzq topyraq 'land, soil', Tkm, ET topraq, Uz tupraq, VTt tufraq, Bsh tupraq, Qrg topuraq, StAlt tobraq, Xk tobraḡ 'earth, soil', Tf t'ǰp'raq 'dust, soil', Tv доvурак d_òpuraq id., 'earth', Yk toburax 'dust, soil', Chv L т'ăпра т'ьпра, Chv H т'ьпра 'earth, soil, dust (прах)'; T → **[1]** WrM tob(а)rag {MED} 'earth, dust', HIM товрог {MED} id., {BMR} 'dust, ashes (пыль, пепел, прах)', Brt тоборог id., Kl {KRS} товрг towrɿg 'speck of dust', {Rm.} towrag 'Staub, Erde, Sand', Ord t'oworoq, t'owor 'poussière'] **[2]** ppM *toβ'u'rag > M *toɿurag 'earth, dust' > MM [S] to_orag, WrM toɿurag {MED} 'particles of matter suspended in a liquid', HIM тоорог {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'dust, ashes (пепел, прах), powder (порошок), Ruß (копоть, сажа)', Brt тоорог 'dust, specks of dust, motes', Kl {KRS} тоорм tōrɿm 'whirlwind dust, haze of

dust', {Rm.} tōrm̄ ~ tōr̄η̄ 'Staub, Staubwolke', Dx tura 'earth; dust (прах)', Dg tuāraḷ 'dust, specks of dust' ¶ Cl. 443-4, Rs. W 489, Ash. XIV 289-90, Fed. II 194, Jeg. 237-8, ChVS 204, Md. 43, 180, Ra. 234, MED 810, 817, Chr. 423, 429, KRS 499, 506, KW 404-5, T DgJ 169, S AJ 239 [no. 127], MYC 636 ¶¶ SDM 1404-5 (A *t'āp'o(r∇) 'earth, dust' > Tg, M *toϣur, T *t'oprak'), DQA no. 2313 (id.), Vld. 210 (M, T) ◇ *o in T *t'op_L'rak and M *toϣurag may be due to regr. as. (*-ap- > *-op-) ◇ S *b and Ch *ḅ are due to as.: *p̄ϣ > *bϣ > S *b̄ and Ch *ḅ.

2403. ≈ *t̄aP̄h∇ 'flat' > HS: EC: Sd {Gs.} t̄awo 'plain, flat plain', {Mrn.} t̄ab o 'plain, foot of a mountain' ¶ Gs. 324, Hd. 397, AD SF 227, Mrn. S s.v. t̄ab o || S *√t̄p̄h v. 'be flat\wide' > Tgr √t̄f̄h v. G 'be level\flat\wide', Tgy t̄ef̄he 'flache Kuchen machen', OAk √t̄p̄? (inf. t̄ap̄ā'um), Ak B t̄ep̄û 'hinbreiten', BHb ḡḡḡ √t̄p̄h D 'spread out', ḡḡḡ 't̄ep̄ah, ḡḡḡ 't̄op̄ah 'handbreadth, span', JA ḡḡḡḡ t̄ap̄û 'h-ā 'Fußlänge' ({Lv.}: 'Handbreite' → 'Fußbreite'), Ar Df {Rhod.} طفح t̄of̄h 'der Rücken, die stumpfe Seite der einseitigen Schwertklinge', Amh t̄zff̄i 'palm of one hand', ?σ Sq {SSL} 't̄af̄ah 'bord (du pied, de la main)' ¶ LH 621, Sd. 1388, BDB no-s 2946-7, KB 362, KBR 378-9, Lv. T I 315, Lv. II 177, Rhod. D 36, Kane 2192, SSL LSNP 147, MiK I no. 1.279 || K: Sv: LB {TK} t̄ap 'woodland glade', UB t̄ap {GP} t̄ap 'horizont(al)', {TK} 'wide gently sloping ground', {GP} t̄apēl 'flatcake', ?μ Sv {TK}: UB/L t̄āp̄šw, U t̄ap̄šw 'flat' || ? G {Chx.} Talbecken', t̄ap̄obi 'Waldwiese, Wiesengrund' ¶¶ GP 260, TK 715-16, Ni. s.v. 'плоский' (Sv t̄ap̄šw), Chx. 1330 || H *°t'ap̄∇ > M *tabqay- > WrM tabqay- {MED} 'be flat\low', HIM тавхай- {MED} id., {BMR} be\become flat\low', Brt табхай- v. 'be flat'; M *°tapsay- > WrM tabsay-, HIM тавсай- v. 'have a flat surface or top' ¶ MED 781-2, BMR III 175, Chr. 409.

2404. *t̄ûP̄∇R∇ ~ *t̄ûR̄L̄∇P̄∇ '∈ part of the foot', 'foot' > HS: B [1] *√t̄fr 'front part of the foot' (× N *č̄Up̄∇ (R∇) 'fingernail, claw'??) > Ah a-tf̄ar (pl. i-tarf̄ān), Ty/ETwl e-tāf̄ār (pl. i-tāfran) 'front part of the foot (including the toes)' ¶ Fc. 1885, GhA 188 | [2] *√d̄fr (< *√t̄fr) v. 'follow the tracks\footprints of' > Gd {Lf.} √t̄fr (εt̄f̄ar), Izd {Mrc.} √t̄fr (t̄fur, pf. īt̄far), Skn {La.}, BSn/BMn {Bs.}, Sll {Ds.} √d̄fr, Izn {Rn.}, Kb {Dl.} √ḡfr id., ZAS √t̄fr̄ ({Loub.} t̄f̄t̄) < *√t̄fr 'suivre, marcher sur les traces de'; but Ah {Fc.} and Gh {Nh.} d̄aff̄ar 'behind, after, the hind side' belong rather to the B stem *√d̄ff̄∇r 'behind, hind side' (> ETwl/Ty {GhA}, Wrg {Dlh.} d̄aff̄ar, Kb {Dl.} ḡaff̄ir)

influenced by * $\sqrt{d}fr$ v. 'follow the tracks of' ¶ Fc. 261, 1885, GhA 188, Loub. 464, Rn. 311, La. S 298, Dl. 172, Dlh. Ou 47, Nh. 150 ¶ Does the uvularized $\underset{v}{f}$ in ETwl/Ty $et\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{f}\underset{v}{b}\underset{v}{r}$ suggest mte. ** $\sqrt{t}fr > \sqrt{t}fr?$ || S * $^{\circ}t\underset{v}{a}rap-$ > Ar التَّطْرَفَان $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{a}t\underset{v}{-}\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{a}rf-\underset{v}{\bar{a}}n-$ 'the feet', $\underset{v}{\bar{a}}l-\underset{v}{\bar{a}}t\underset{v}{r}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}f-$ 'les pieds et les mains' ¶ BK II 72-3 || K * $^{\circ}t\underset{v}{e}rp-$ > G $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{e}rpi$ 'sole of foot, heel' ¶ Chx. 1336 || A: T: OT $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{o}r\underset{v}{p}i$ 'who follows' ('a calf following its mother') (semantic change: *'follows the heels' → 'follows [someone]') ¶ Cl. 533 || ppM (mt.) * $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{\beta}^1\underset{v}{u}r$ (× N * $\underset{v}{t}U\underset{v}{b}\underset{v}{\nabla}$ 'hoof, fingernail, toenail, sole of foot, heel') > M * $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{y}ur^{\bar{a}}n$ > WrM {MED} $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{g}ur\underset{v}{a}$ 'hoof', HIM {MED, BMR} $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{y}ur$, {Rm.} $\underset{v}{t}'\underset{v}{u}r$ 'hoof', Brt $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{y}u\underset{v}{y}(h)$ id., Kl {Rm.} $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{u}r$ 'der untere harte Rand des Pferdehufs', MMgl {Mlr.} $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{u}r$ 'Pferdehuf'; ppM * $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{\beta}^1\underset{v}{u}rayi$ > M * $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{y}urayi$ 'hoof' > WrM {MED} $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{g}ur\underset{v}{a}$, $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{g}ur\underset{v}{a}i$, {Gl.} $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{g}ur\underset{v}{a}i$ 'hoof', HIM $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{y}ur\underset{v}{a}i$ {MED} id., {BMR} 'hoof of a horse', Ord $\underset{v}{t}'\underset{v}{u}r\underset{v}{\bar{a}}$ 'sabot des animaux'; {Gl.} $\underset{v}{t}o\underset{v}{g}ur\underset{v}{u}n$ 'hoof' ¶ MED 839, BMR III 261, Chr. 437, Kow. 1812, Gl. III 172, 175, KW 413, Ms. O 682, Klz. D II 138, Lg. VMI 70 (WrM $\underset{v}{t}u\underset{v}{g}ur\underset{v}{a}y$ 'hoof').

2405. * $\underset{v}{t}e\underset{v}{q}\underset{v}{\nabla}$ 'to smear, to rub' ([in HS] → 'fat, marrow') > HS: WS (or CS?) * $-\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{i}\underset{v}{\chi}-$ 'smear, overlay' > BHb $-\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{i}\underset{v}{h}-$ or $-\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{h}-$ v. G (3m pf. $\underset{v}{n}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}h$) 'overlay', {KB} 'darüberstreichen, verputzen', Ug {A} $\sqrt{t}\underset{v}{y}\underset{v}{|}\underset{v}{w}\underset{v}{\chi}$ G 'übertünchen' (not mentioned in OLS), Ar $-\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{i}\underset{v}{\chi}-$ v. G 'être sali', 'defile', (× N * $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\ae}g\underset{v}{w}\underset{v}{\nabla}$ 'swell, become thick\large\strong?') Gz $\sqrt{t}\underset{v}{y}\underset{v}{\nabla}$ G (pf. $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}\underset{v}{\nabla}$) 'besmear, anoint' ¶ KB 357, A no. 1117, BK II 128, Hv. 443, L G 600 || Eg G $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\chi}$ 'fett, gemästet' (of oxen) ({Tk.}: < * $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{\chi}$) ¶ EG V 251, 325 || C: Bj {R} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}h$ n. 'fat', $-\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}h$ v. (1s: p. $\underset{v}{a}'\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}h$, pres. $\underset{v}{a}n\underset{v}{\bar{a}}\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}h$) 'be fat' || LEC {Bl.} * $\underset{v}{d}u\underset{v}{:}\underset{v}{h}-$ 'marrow' > Af {Bl.} $\underset{v}{d}u\underset{v}{h}u$, Sml {Bl.} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{h}$, Sml N {Abr.} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{h}$, Rn {PG} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{h}$, Kns {Bl.} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{o}\underset{v}{h}-ota$, Or B {Bl.} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{h}a$, ? Or Wl {Brl.} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{k}a$ id. ¶ R WBd 73, Bl. 108, Abr. S 68, PG 99, Vnt. 46 (Or B $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{h}a$, nom. $-\underset{v}{n}i$ 'midollo, polpa'), Brl. 12, LLC 123 || ? Ch (× N * $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\ae}g\underset{v}{w}\underset{v}{\nabla}$ 'swell, become thick\large\strong', ? 'become fat'): ECh: Kwn {JI} $\underset{v}{d}\underset{v}{\bar{a}}\underset{v}{w}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}$ 'fat' (n.) || WCh: ? Buli {Sh.} $\underset{v}{d}u\underset{v}{g}u$ id. ¶ JI II 132-3, Sh. SB, ChC s.v. 'fat' ¶¶ Tk. I 170 (S, Eg, C, Ch) || K: G $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\chi}un-$ 'be-\ver-schmierer, schmutzig machen, beschmutzen' (× N * $\underset{v}{t}i'h'\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{n}\underset{v}{\nabla}$ 'mud, silt, dirt', q.v. ffd.) || D * $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}y-$ ({ θ GS} * $t-$) 'rub (away\off), smear' > Tm $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}y$ 'wear away by friction, be rubbed', Ml $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}y\underset{v}{u}\underset{v}{k}a$ 'be rubbed off', Kt $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}y-$ 'become worn down', vt. 'rub, wear down', Kn $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}$, $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}y(u)$ 'grind, triturate\macerate in water on a slab', Kdg $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}y-$ vi. 'wear off', vt. wear off, smear', Tu $\underset{v}{t}\underset{v}{\bar{e}}p\underset{v}{u}n\underset{v}{i}$ v. 'rub,

polish', Krg $t\bar{e}di$ 'rub', Tl $t\bar{e}y\bar{u}$ 'be worn; wear by use, handling or rubbing', Ku $d\bar{e}$ - v. 'wipe' ¶¶ D no. 3458, Zv. 45.

2406. * $t\hat{u}^r q^i$ or * $t\hat{u}^r q^i y\bar{\nabla}$ 'hit, strike' > HS: ? σ S (or CS) * $\check{\nu} t\chi\chi \sim$ * $\check{\nu} t\chi y \sim$ * $^\circ\check{\nu} t\omega\chi$ v. 'throw, shoot' > Ar $\check{\nu} t\chi\chi G$ 'jecit, removit', 'jeter, rejeter, ôter', BHb $\eta\eta\bar{u}$ $\check{\nu} t\check{h}y/\omega$ *D* v. 'shoot' (in the set phrase $ki-m\check{t}a\check{h}^a, \omega\bar{e}$ 'k\v{e}š\v{e}t' 'distance of a bowshoot'), MHb $\eta\eta\bar{u}$ $t\check{a}'\omega\bar{a}\check{h}$ 'Schuß, Schleuderung', 'Schußweite' ¶ Fr. III 44, BK II 63, KB 357, KBR 379, Lv. II 149 || EC * $d\check{a}\omega$ - v. 'hit, strike' > Or $d\check{a}$ -e 'he hit', Kns, Gdl $d\acute{a}\omega\text{-}\acute{e}$ id., Arr {Hw.} $d\check{a}\omega$ - 'hit', {Ss.} $d\check{a}$ -y-i-y- (pf.), Elm $d\check{a}$ - v. 'hit, strike', Brj $d\check{a}\omega$ - id., Dsn $d\check{o}k / d\check{o}$ - 'hit, beat' ¶ Bl. 212, Ss. PEC 43, Hw. A 423, To. DL 495 || K * $^\circ t\check{e}^r q^i$ - / * $^\circ t\check{q}$ -d- v. 'break' > OG $t\check{e}\chi$ - vt. 'break', $t\check{q}$ -d- vi. 'break', G $t\check{e}\chi$ - / $t\check{q}$ - id. (trans. $t\check{e}\chi$ - v. 'break', ps. [inf.] $t\check{q}$ -d-oma, a- $t\check{q}$ d-eba 'bricht aus, [Emailschicht] springt ab', g a- $t\check{q}$ d-eb-a '[zer]bricht, geht kaputt') ¶ Abul. 412, 49, Chx. 1339-41, DCh. 1219, 1230 || IE: NaIE * $t\check{w}e(:)j\bar{u}$ - / * $t\check{w}\bar{o}j\bar{u}$ - v. 'hit, strike' ({P} 'schlagen') > AS $\check{d}\omega\bar{i}t\bar{a}n$ 'to cut, to shave off', ON $p\check{v}eitr$ 'Schlag, Querhieb, Einschnitt', $p\check{v}eita$ 'to strike, to chop, to push', Sw $\Delta t\check{v}e\check{t}a$, NNR $t\check{v}eita$ 'hauen, schlagen' (ON $e\check{i}$ < pScn * $a\check{j}$ < IE * $o\check{y}$) || Lt $t\check{v}\acute{o}$ -ti (1s pres. $t\check{v}\acute{o}j$ -u) 'to strike, to lash, to whip' (\check{o} < * $\check{u}\bar{o}$ [after \check{v}] < IE * \bar{o}) ¶ WP I 747-8, P 1099, Vr. 628, Frn. 1155-6, Ho. 374; Ptrs. VSW 33f., Bg. RR I 290 (both think of a $\check{\nu}$ * tu -) || A: Tg * $tuy\bar{\nabla}\eta ke$ v. 'push, knock, move' > Lm Ol/B $t\eta k\v{z}$ - v. 'knock (silently)', Lm Sk/T $t\eta k\v{z}$ - v. 'push (slightly)', Neg $tumku$ -, $t\eta ku$ - vi. 'move', 'beat' (of the heart), Ul $tuy\check{n}\check{u}lbu$ -, $tun\check{c}u$ - vt. 'move, stir', Nn Nh $tuy\eta ku$ - {STM} vi. 'move, stir', 'start beating' (the heart), {On.} 'swing (качаться), шевелиться', 'beat' (the heart) ¶ STM II 216, On 409 $\diamond \neq$ BmK 311-12 (an unc. attempt to equate EC * $d\check{a}\omega$ - v. 'hit, strike' and Sum $d\check{u}$ v. 'butt' with IE * $d\check{w}er$ - 'hand, fist', {Mn.} * $d\check{e}\omega s\bar{a}n$ - 'evil, harm' and IE {Wt.} * $d\check{e}\omega$ - v. 'burn, hurt').

2407. ($_2$?) * $t\check{U}q\bar{\nabla}$ 'near; be close to, approach' > HS: S * $^\circ\check{\nu} t\chi^r y^i$ > Ak $t\check{e}|\bar{i}\chi u$ '(unmittelbare) Nähe', $t\check{e}\chi\hat{u}$, Ak OA $\check{\nu} t\chi^r G$ (inf. $t\check{a}\chi\bar{a}^r u$) 'ganz nah heran-kommen\gehen-treten', 'reach, approach' ¶ Sd. 1384 || EC * $d\check{\nabla}\omega\omega$ - > Arr {Hw.} $d\check{e}\omega\omega\acute{i}$ 'near', $d\check{e}\omega\omega a\check{h}a\check{d}$ - 'approach', Sml {ZMO} $d\check{a}\omega$ adj. 'near, soon, close', {ZMO} $d\check{o}\omega$, Sml N {Abr.} $d\check{o}\acute{\omega}$ adv. 'near, nearby, close', Rn {PG} $d\check{o}\omega$ id., $d\check{o}\omega\omega\bar{a}d\check{a}$ v. 'approach, come close to'; ? (\times N * $t\check{i}yA$ 'be narrow') Sa {R} $d\check{a}y$ - v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\schmal\eng sein' ¶ ZMO 113, 123, Abr. S 66, PG 97-8, Hw. A 355, R S II 121 108 118 162 || IE: NaIE * $^\circ t\check{u}y$ - / ? * $t\check{u}$ - 'near' > Lt $t\check{u}l\check{t}$ -

adj. 'near', $t u v u, \Delta t u v i$ adv. 'near (by), close (by)', 'sogleich, 'sofort', Pru $t a w i s c h a s$ 'Nächster' | Sl $*t u, *t u-t o$ 'here' ($\times N *t \ddot{a}$, dem. prn. of non-active [inanimate] objects) > OCS, OR $\tau o y t u$ 'here' (\times OCS, OR $\tau o y t u$ 'there' < N $*t \ddot{a} \uparrow$), OR $\tau o y t o t u-t o \sim \tau o y t \ddot{b} t u-t \ddot{b}$ 'here, R, Uk $\tau y t$, Blr $\tau y t a$, Blg $\tau y-k a$, SCr $t \ddot{u}$, Slv $t \ddot{u}$, Cz $t u, t u t o$, P $t u, t u t a, t u t a j$, HLs, LLs $t u$ 'here', Slk $t u, t u-n a$ 'voici, here' ¶ The N et. in question is responsible for the Sl vw. $*u$ (< IE $*o u$) and for the hic-deixis of one of the variants of the Sl word ¶ Frn. 1147, En. 263, Vs. IV 126, StSS 707-8, Srz. III 1039-40, Brü. 583 || | ?σ D (att. in McTm) $*t \ddot{o} y > T m t \ddot{o} y$ 'come in contact with, reach', MI $t \ddot{o} y u k a$ v. 'unite' ¶ D no. 3556.

2408. $*t \ddot{a} \nabla q a$ 'melt, get spoiled' > HS: S $*\checkmark t \chi \chi > A r \checkmark t \chi \chi$ v. G (pf. $t a \chi \chi a$) 'become sour, transform into leaven' (paste), S rdp. $*\checkmark t \chi t \chi > A r S L \{H v.\} \checkmark t \chi t \chi$ v. 'be rotten\worm-eaten' ¶ BK I 193, Hv. 57 || | IE $*t e h-$ > NaIE $*t \ddot{a}-/*t a-$ (+exts: $*t \ddot{a} w-, *t \ddot{a} y-$) v. 'melt, dissolve' > Oss I $t a y z n$ / pp. $t a d$, Oss D $t a y u n$ / pp. $t a d$ id., 'be digested' || | Clt {Matas.} $*t \ddot{a}-y o-$ 'melt' > OIr $t a í d$, MW, W {YGM} $t o d d i$ id., {SEv.} $t a w d$ 'melts', {YGM} $t a w d d$ 'molten', MW {SEv.} $t a w d$ 'melts', MBr {Matas.} $t e u z i$ 'melt', Br {Hm.} $t e u z i r \ddot{n}$ '(se fondre, (se) dissoudre', OBr $t o d i a t$ 'fondeur' || | NaIE $*t \ddot{a} y-$ > Gmc $*\theta a w-$ > ON $\beta e y j a$, Dn $t \emptyset$, Sw $t \ddot{o} a$, Dt $d o o j e n$, OHG $d o u w e n \ddot{d} d e w e n$ 'to thaw', MHG $t o u w e n$ 'to thaw' (\leftarrow MHG U, where the opposition $d \leftrightarrow t-$ was lost?), NHG $t a u e n$, AS $\check{d} a w j a n$ 'to thaw', NE $t h a w$; NHG $v e r d a u e n$ 'to digest'; NaIE $*t a-y > *t \ddot{i}- > G m c$: ON $\beta \ddot{i} \check{d} r$ (< $*t \ddot{i}-t o-s$) 'melted' || | Sl $*t \ddot{a} j-a t i$ 'to melt, to dissolve' > OCS $\tau a j a t i$ (1s pres. $\tau a j a t i$ id., SCr $t \ddot{a} j a t i$, Slv $t \acute{a} j a t i$, Cz $t \acute{a} t i$, P $t a j a \check{c}$, R 'таять, Uk таяти id., Blg тая v. 'melt, dissolve'; Sl $*t a-l \ddot{b}(-j \ddot{b}) > O R$ $\tau a l \ddot{i} i$, R 'талый, Uk 'талий, P $t a \check{z}$ adj. 'thawed'; caus.: Cz $t a v i t i$, Slk $t a v i t'$ vt. 'to melt, to cast' || | Arm $\beta a w \check{u} w \check{u} t' h a n a m$ 'I wet\dip\moisten' (aor. vt. $\beta a w g h t' h a c' h i$, aor. vi. $\beta a w g w j t' h a c' h a y$) || | ?? with a $*b_{l} h_{j}$ -ext.: L $t a b \ddot{e}-$ (1s pres. $t a b \ddot{e} s c \ddot{o}$, pfc. $t a b u i$) 'melt' ¶ P 1053-4, EI 378 ($*t e h_{\beta}$ - 'melt'), AHDI 69, Ab. III 222-3, SEv. 117, 166, Matas. E 374, YGM-1 406, 411, Flr. 314, Hm. 787, WH II 639-40, Vr. 609-10, Vr. N 127, OsS 97, EWA II 619-22, \approx KM 773 (NHG $t-$ due to the infl. of NGH $T a u$ 'dew'), KM 812, Vs. IV 30-1, StSS 690, Mikl. L 984, Glh. 617-18, Srz. III 922, Brü. 563, Chrn. II 230, Slt. 377 ◇ The regressive direction of as. in S ($*t \ddot{a} \dots \chi > *t \dots \chi$) may be due to prosodic

factors $\diamond \approx$ BmK 295-7 (S, IE + semantically unwarranted comparison with D * $t\bar{e}y-$ v. 'rub, be worn out', K $t\chi e-$ v. 'pour out' and Eg $t\check{h}s$ v. 'grind').

2409. * $tAgU$ 'lie (tell a lie), deceive' > **HS**: S (+ext.) * $\checkmark t\check{k}l$ > Gz $\checkmark t\check{k}l$ G (pf. $takala$, js. $y\bar{a}-t\check{k}\bar{a}l$) v. 'lie, slander', Amh $\checkmark t\check{k}l$ G (pf. $t\check{e}k\check{k}e\bar{l}\bar{e}$) v. 'lie' ¶ L G 596 || **K**: pGZ * $tqu-$ > OG $tqu-$ 'lügen', G $tqu-$ / $tquv-$ / $tquil-$ ~ $tqvil-$: da-/mo- $tqu-$ 'anlügen, täuschen', Mg $tqu-$ (pres. $tqu-ap-a$ ~ $tqu-r-ap-a$) v. 'lie to so., deceive' ¶ Chx. 1378, FS K 305, FS E 340 || **D** * $takk-$ ({ θ GS} * $t-$) v. 'deceive' > Tm $takka\check{t}i$ id., Ml $takki\check{t}i$ 'cheating in weighing', Tu $takkad\check{i}-d\bar{a}ye$ 'one who cheats in weighing', Tl $takkari$ 'rogue', $takkali$ 'theft, deceit, trick'; D * $takk-$ \rightarrow InA * t^hagg- ~ * t^hakk- v. 'deceive, steal' > Mrt t^hak 'thief', $t^hak\eta\bar{e}$ v. 'be deceived', Oriya $t^hakib\bar{a}$ v. 'deceive' ¶¶ D 512 [app. no. 42], Tu. no. 5489 ¶¶ InA * t^h- suggests that that the initial cns. in D was probably fortis (* t' - or * t^h- as a reflex of N * t -?).

2410. * $tog'a$ 'to plait, to bend', ([in descendant lges] \rightarrow 'to build', 'to make earthenware', 'to weave'), ?? (\leftarrow ?) 'to twist' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: P' {MSk.} $t\acute{a}k\omega id\grave{u}$ v. 'plait' | Bg {Sh.} tuk , Kir {ChL} $tokkame$ id. | another possible cognate is Ch {JS} * $\checkmark d\check{k}$ v. 'build, make earthenware' (> WCh {Stl.} * $d\check{\nabla}k$ id. > pAG {Hf.} * $j\check{i}k$, BT * $d\check{\nabla}k-$ build, make earthenware) || Ech: ? Mu {J} $d\grave{i}y\acute{a}$ v. 'build'), but the vw. and the pBT cns. *-k- suggest that this Ch \checkmark belongs to N * $t'e'kE$ 'to build, to shape, to make' (q.v. ffd.) ¶ JS 56, J LMF s.v. $d\grave{i}y\acute{a}$, ChC s.v. 'build', Stl. ZCh 174 [no. 263], ChL, Hf. AG, MSk. s.v. $t\acute{a}k\omega id\grave{u}$ || ? **K**: Sv: {Ni.} - $t\check{g}pe$ v. 'bosselieren' ('лѣпить'), li- $t\check{i}gpe$ 'Bosselieren' ('лѣпка'), UB/LB {TK} - $a\check{t}gube$, L/Ln - $a\check{t}g\omega be$ 'unite, add', UB {GP} li- $t\check{g}\omega be$ msd. 'to unite' ¶ TK 65, GP 170, Ni. s.v. 'лѣпить' || **IE**: NaIE * $tek-$ v. 'plait, weave', ? 'twist' > Arm $\check{p}t\check{p}t\check{u}$ t^hek^hem 'I twist, I warp' || Gmc * $\theta\bar{e}x-$, * $\theta\bar{e}z-$ > OHG $d\bar{a}ht$ ~ $t\bar{a}ct$ 'wick, Docht', NHG $Docht$, MLG $dacht$, $decht$, NGr Sw $d\bar{a}egel$, $dohe$, NGr B $d\bar{a}hen$, NGr Als $D\bar{o}che$ 'wick', ON {Vr.} $p\acute{a}ttr$ 'Draht, Faden, Docht', Sw $t\acute{a}t$, Nr $t\acute{a}tt$ 'rope' || Oss I tag (< * $t\bar{a}ka-$), D $tag\grave{a}$ 'thread', ? Oss I $taxun$, Oss D $taxt$ v. 'adorn' || ? pSl * $t\check{b}k-\acute{a}ti$ 'to weave' (if from the IE zero grade * $t\check{g}k-$) > OCS {Mikl.} $\check{T}\check{b}k\check{a}t\check{h}$ $t\check{b}k\check{a}t\check{i}$ (\check{t} $\dot{\iota}p\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\upsilon$) (1s pres. $\check{T}\check{b}k\check{z}$ $t\check{b}k-o$), OR $\check{T}\check{b}k\check{a}t\check{h}$ $t\check{b}k\check{a}t\check{i}$ (1s pres. $\check{T}\check{b}ko\upsilon$ $t\check{b}ku$), R $t\check{k}a\check{t}h$ (1s pres. $t\check{k}u$), P $t\check{k}a\check{c}$ (1s pres. $t\check{k}\check{e}$), OCz $t\check{k}\acute{a}t\check{i}$ (1s pres. $t\check{k}u$), Cz $t\check{k}\acute{a}t\check{i}$, SCr $t\check{k}\grave{a}t\check{i}$, Slv $t\check{k}\acute{a}t\check{i}$ 'to weave', Pls $t\check{k}\acute{a}t\check{i}$ 'to weave' || ? I tax ($tax\bar{e}$ $\check{z}ka$ $\check{z}i$ $t\check{u}m$) v.

'plait, weave' (< IE *teḱs- 'fabricate' < N *tʰe'kE '↑') ¶ WP I 716, Mikl. L 1016, Mikl. E 367-8 (distinguishing Sl *tъk- v. 'weave' from the homonymic *tъk- v. 'poke\stick into'), Vs. IV 64 (without distinguishing between these two Sl roots), Srz. III 1043, Ma. CS 529, HIK 385, Ab. III 220-1, 242-3, P 1058, WH II 678-9, Kb. 1011, OsS 921, KM 136, Vr. 606, Sl. 378 ¶ Arm tʰekʰem 'I twist, I warp' and Oss fäldäxən v. 'turn over' suggest that in NaIE the verb meant also '≈ twist, bend' || A *t'ok'∇- v. 'bend, plait' ({ADb.} *tok'u- v. 'spin, plait') > NaT *Toku- v. 'plait, weave' > OT Kr toqı- v. 'weave (a fabric)', XwT XIV toqu- ~ toqı-, Cmn XIV, Chg ≥xv, MT [IM] toqu-, MQp toqı-, MOg doqı- ~ doqu-, Tkm doqa-, Ggz doku-, VTt, Bsh tuqъ-, Qzq toqı-, Qrg toqu-, Ln toqo- toqı-, SY toqo- toqı- 'weave', Tk doku- id., v. 'plait (a mat)', Az toxu-, Nog, ET toqu-, Qq toqı-, ET toqu-, Uz tωqi- id., 'knit', Qrg toqu- v. 'weave', Qzq toqu- v. 'weave, knit' ¶ Cl. 467, TL 395-6, Tkr 276, ARL 296, GRM 151, MM 352, ET VGD 253-5, Nj. 318-19, Jud. 744, UzR 468, Rs. W 484-5 (without distinguishing this √ from *t'ok'- v. 'strike'), Rl. III 1145-51 || Tg *tok- vi. 'bend, turn\go round' > Ud tokč'igu 'crooked', Ewk tokor-, Neg toxoy- 'turn\go round', Ewk tokoriw- 'be bent' ¶ STM II 192 || M *toki...- > WrM {MED} dokiy- 'become bent\crooked\sloping', HIM дохий- {MED} id., {BMR} "become bent\crooked\hunched' (WrM d- and HIM д- are still to be explained), Brt тохи- toxī- 'be bent'; M *tokir 'bent' > Brt тохир 'bent, crooked', WrM {MED} tokir, HIM {MED, BMR} тохир 'bent, crippled', Kl Ö {Rm.} tokr̥ ~ takr̥, Kl D {Rm.} täkr̥ 'krüppelig, verrenkt', Ord d_a'k'ir 'qui est privé de l'usage d'un bras ou d'une main', M ⇨ Yk tokur 'bent, bowed' ¶ MED 258, 820, BMR II 60 and III 234, Chr. 431-2, KW 395, 398, Ms. O 114, STM II 192, JkR 388 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1454 (pA *t'ok'∇- 'curved' > M *tokir- 'curved, bent', Tg *tox- 'wheel; go round; curved', T *tokum 'wheel hoop'), ≈ DQA no. 2424, SDM97 s.v. *t'ok'∇- v. 'plait, weave', STM II 192 || D (in SD) (+ a sx?) *tuk∇l- ({{AD} *duk∇l-}) 'woven cloth' > Kn dukula, dugula, dukūla 'woven silk, very fine cloth or raiment', Tm tukil, tuyil 'fine cloth, rich attire', Ml tukil, tuyil 'cloth, dress'; D ⇨ OI LSk/EpSk [MBh. etc.] dukūlam 'feines Zeug, das aus dem Bast der Dukula-Pflanze hergestellt wird', OI Sk dukūlah 'a kind of plant', Pali dukūla, dukāla, Prkr dugulla, dualla, duūla id. ¶¶ D no. 3285, Tu. no. 6389, M K II 48 ◇ The IE and T cognates provide ev. for N *tʰ-, while Tg

*d- suggests N *t-. The variation may be accounted for by some sort of as., dis. or a conditioned loss of tenseness in some A lges. The rec. of N *-g- is valid only if the Sv cognate is acceptable. Otherwise the N rec. must be *toKa ~ *toKa ◊ T, M, Tg and IE point to a N *o, while SD *u may be due to neutralization of the opposition *u ↔ *o in some environments in SD.

2411. *to^rú¹ga 'hide, skin' > K: pG Z *t₁ga_w- id. > OG t₁ga_w- 'leather, skin, hide', G t₁ga_v- id., 'fur (for a fur coat)', Mg t₁geb- 'skin', t₁gabar- vt. 'skin', Lz t₁geb- ~ t₁eb- 'skin, hide' ¶ K 183, Abul. 414, Ser. 155, Q 330-1, Marr 190, DCh. 1229, Chx. 1373-4 || HS: Ch: [1] {JI} Ch *✓ d₁k 'skin': WCh: Bl {Ib.} d₁š₁í, Grm {ChC} d₁š₁í id. || CCh: Ms {J} d₁íg₁ná, {Mch.} d₁ik 'skin', Zm {J} d₁igé 'skin (of humans)', ZmD {KNC} d₁igè, {Sa.} d₁íké ~ d₁iké, Lamé {ChL} dikietú, LamP d₁iketú 'skin'] [2] Ch {JI} *✓ tk (AD: maybe *✓ t₁k ~ *✓ tk) 'skin, body' > ECh: Mgm {J} túkkú, Jg {J} tok, Mu {J} tògò 'skin', {Lk.} tógò 'hide', Bdy {AIJ} tókò, Kjk {DB} taúwò 'skin' || WCh: Ywm {J} tak 'body' | Wrj {Sk.} t₁š₁á₁, Cg {Sk.} čúkè, Kry {Sk.} tí, My {Sk.} túwàtú, Mbr {Sk.} t₁š₁wó, Jmb {Sk.} túwá 'body' | Ngz {Sch.} t₁kà 'body' (unless from Knr tígè 'body') || ?? CCh: Ms {Mch.} t₁w₁á, {J} tú:ná, ZmB {J, Sa.} tú 'body' ¶ JI I 16, 152 and II 34-5, 296-7, AIJ 121, Blz. EChWL no. 74, DB s.v. Kjk taúwò, ChL, ChC s.v. 'skin' || ?σ S *✓ t₁q > Ar ✓ t₁q G 'être rempli' (outré) ¶ BK I 188, Hv. 55 || IE {EI} *¹t₁w₁ek- / *¹t₁w₁ok- 'skin, hide' > OI t₁v₁ak- id., t₁v₁acasya- 'in der Haut befindlich' | ? OPrs takā- 'shield' (← *'made of leather') (in takabarā adj. pl. 'carrying shields') || Gk σάκος (gen. σάκεος) ntr. 'shield', φερε-σσεκίς m. 'Schildträger, shield-bearing' (φέρω means 'carry') (σ- < *t₁w₁-, -σσ- < *t₁w₁-) || Ht t₁uekkā- 'body, person, self', Lc t₁uke₁drī- 'statue' ¶¶ WP I 747, P 1099, EI 522 (*¹t₁w₁ek-s / *¹t₁w₁ok-os 'skin'), M K I 537, M E I 684, Hinz 128, F II 672, Frd. HW 226, Frd. HW EH III 33, Ts. E III 401-5 || U: FU *^oto^k∇ (or *-š-, *-w-) > ObU *t₁ā₁γ- 'skin, leather' > pVg *t₁ā₁w₁á₁ id. > Vg T/SV/LL ta₁w₁á₁, Vg K/P/NV to₁w₁á₁, Vg N (= Vg LL/Ss) to₁w₁ id.; pOs *t₁ā₁γ₁ta ({{HL.}} *t₁ā₁γ₁ta) 'reindeer hide' > Os: Ty/Y ta₁γ₁tə, D/K t₁ā₁χ₁ət, Nz t₁ā₁χ₁tə, Kz t₁ā₁χ₁tī, O t₁ā₁χ₁ti ¶ Ht. no. 618, KrT 983 || D *tokk₁o ({{GS}} *t-) 'skin, bark, rind' > Tm tokku, Tl tokka id., Ml tokku 'skin, peel' ||] d. *toka₁ṭ 'bark, peel' > Kn toga₁ṭu, toga₁ṭe, tō₁ṭe 'bark, rind, peel, pod', Tm, Ml tō₁ṭu 'shell of a fruit', Gnd tō₁tā 'outer skin of the mahua fruit', Gnd K to₁ṭ₁te v. 'peel' ||] ? d. *tuk(k)-a₁- 'skin, hide' > Ml tuka₁al 'skin as of a fruit'. Kn t₁o₁ṭal. t₁o₁ṭal 'skin, hide, leather, skin of

fruit', Tu *tugalə* 'skin, bark, rind' ¶¶ D no-s 3544 and 3559, Zv. 66, 90,120 ◇ The meaning 'body' (in Ht and WCh) is secondary (σε 'skin' → 'body') ◇ ≠ BmK 315 (an attempt to equate the K word with IE *(s)teg- v. 'cover' and S *t̥k̥-roots meaning 'dark, black'), AD NM no. 95.

2412. *t̥ar▽ 'ε vermin, noxious insects' > HS: SC {E} *t̥er|d- 'cockroach' > Kz *talangayo* id., SC ↷ Mb *téré* id. ¶ E SC 170 || IE: NaIE *ter- '(ε) vermin, noxious insect(s)' ({P} 'malmendes oder bohrendes Insekt') > L *tarmes* (gen. *tarmitis*) ~ *termes* 'woodworm' ||| Clt (< *kon-trōno-): W *cynrhon-yn* (pl. *cynrhon*, {SB} *cynrhawn*) 'maggot, grub', Crn *contronen* 'maggot', {SB} 'bug (*Cimex*)', MBr *controunenn*, Br *snglt. kontronenn* / coll. *kontron* 'ver de viande'; Clt (*tōr-āko-) > W *torogen* ~ *trogen* (pl. *trogod*) 'tick', OBr {Flr.} *toroc* 'curculio, charançon', Br {Flr.} *teureug*, *teurg* 'tiques', {Hm.} *teurk* 'maladie de la peau des moutons' || ? Gk *τερηδών* 'woodworm' (↷ L *terēdo* id.), 'a grub which intests beehives' (× ← ✓ *τερ-* 'bore', cp. *τέρετρον* 'borer, gimlet') ¶ P 1076, F II 879 (*τερηδών* ÷ *τέρετρον* 'a borer'), Ch. 1106, WH II 649, SB 123 (Clt *kon-trāno- ← *trā- v. 'bore'), YGM-1 149, 418, Flr. 317, Hm. 475, 787, ECCE 224 || **A** *°t̥'ara- > NaT d. *t'ara-kan 'cockroach' > ET *تاراқан* *taraqan*, VTt, MsTt, Bsh, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qzq, Qmn/QK {B} *taraqan*, SbTt Tb {Rl.} *taraqan*, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} *taraqan*, Tv *t'araq'an* id.; T ↷ OR *ТАРАКАНЪ* ~ *ТОРОКАНЪ*, R, Uk *тара'кан*, Uk *тор'ган*, Blg *таp'кан* id. ¶ Rs. W 463, Nj. 271, TatR 517, Bu. I 721, TTDS 398-9, Rl. III 839, B DK 251, B DLT 202, BR 508, NogR 335, MM 333, KrkR 622, RKB 619, TvR 408, Vs. IV 20-1, Chr. II 228, Lok. 159 [no. 2027] ¶ On the T sx of nominal derivation *-kan see Rs. MTS 102, B GOJ 247 ¶ In some of the T lges of the former USSR (but not in ET) the word *taraqan* may be a loan from R *тара'кан* (which is obvious for Qmq/Az *tarakan* and Yk *tarakān* with -k- for the expected -q-, -χ-, and -ψ- in words which are not loans), but in the final account the origin of the word is Turkic rather than Slavic (⇔ Bu., Lok., Vs. and Chr.) || **D** (in GnD) *tḁ:̥r̥o 'ant' > Png *tār* ~ *dār*, Mnd *tār* 'ant', Kui *tāru* 'small black ant', ? Gnd *tārō* 'the queen white ant' ¶ D no. 3166.

2413. *t̥aR▽, *t̥aR▽ H▽g▽ 'to drag, to pull' > HS: WS *✓t̥rr ~ *✓trr > Ar ✓t̥rr G 'enlever, emporter, arracher; pousser devant soi',

Mh ✓ trr (pf. t3r) 'drag, lead away' ¶ BK II 64, Jo. M 403 || Eg fP d r 'entfernen (vertreiben, wegnehmen)' (× N *deR?i' 'thrust back, drive away?') ¶ EG V 473-4 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 2486 || K: [1] G {Chx.} țar- v. 'carry, bring, lead (führen)' ¶ Chx. 1325-8 ||] ?? [2] a variant with a deglottalized cns.: K {K} *tr-, {K²} *ter-/ *tr-, {FS} *tar-/ *tr- v. 'drag, pull' > OG ter-, eNG {SSO} G ter-/tr-, Mg (n)t3r-/(n)tir-, Lz tir-, tor-, tur- id., Sv: tr-/tir- id., U/OB/Ln {TK, GP} li-trine 'to drag'; acc. to FS, the variant *tar- is attested in eNG Δ {SSO} ga-tar-va 'gewaltsam heraus-bringen\ -zerren' and in G Mx/Mt/P/Im/Aj {FS} sa-tar-i 'Gerät zum Herab-schleifen\ -zerren\ -schleppen das Heu von den Bergen' ¶¶ K 95, K² 68-9, FS K 143-4, FS E 156, TK 434, GP 154 || IE: NaIE {Mn.} *tr̥g^h- (or *trag^h-) v. 'draw, pull' > L trah-ō, -ēre id. || ? OIr traigim v. 'ebb, run out' (× <d- tráig 'rivage'), NIr tráighaim v. 'drain', W treio 'to ebb' || Sl *tǔrga-ti 'to pull, to draw' > ChS (or OCS?) {Mikl.} ТРЪГАТИ 'velleré', SCr tr̥gati, Slv tr̥gati 'to tear\pull\pluck out', Uk торгати 'to pull, to tug, to tear', P targac id. (targac za ωłosy\sukniā 'to pull [so.] by the hair\coat'), Cz (u)trhati 'to pick, to pluck', OCS НСТРЪГНѦТИ is-tr̥g-nq-ti ('ἐξαρπάξειν, ἐξᾶν, ἀνασπᾶν, ἐξαρρεῖν) 'to pull\tear\throw out, to extract', {StSS} 'вырвать, извлечь, исторгнуть', R рас-торг-нуть 'to dissolve\annul (agreement, marriage)' ¶ Mn. 1445, P 1089 (adducing many semantically remote forms and reconstructing IE *tr̥g^h-/*tro(:)g^h-/*tre(:)g^h-), WH II 698-9, Vn. T 123 (traigim <d- tráig), Ma. CS 535, Vs. IV 83, StSS 272, Mikl. L 1006, Glh. 638 || U: FU *o^otarka- > Er 'targa- 'take out, draw\pull out', Mk targa- 'take out, pull' ¶ ≈ UEW 511-12 (*tartt∇- 'steckenbleiben, klebenbleiben') ¶ Cf. FU *tartt∇ v. 'hold, seize' < N *dar₁∇H₁∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten' (q.v.) (× N *taR∇ t∇?) || A (< N *o^otaR∇ t∇?): NaT *t'art- v. 'pull, drag' > OT tart- id., Tk tart-, Az dart- v. 'pull', Tkm, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk, Yk tart-, ET ta(r)t- v. 'pull, drag', Uz tart-, Tv t'irt-, Tf t'irt'- v. 'pull, drag out' ¶ The T and Tf vw. I needs explanation (suggesting T *t'i₁art-??) ¶ Cl. 534-5, Rs. W 265, Ra. 236 || ?φ M *tata- v. 'draw, pull, drag' > WrM {MED} tata-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt тата-, Kl {KRS} тат- tatъ- id., {Rm.} tat- 'ziehen, spannen, anstraffen', Ord d_at'a- 'tirer, attirer, retirer, tendre' ¶ MED 785-6, BMR III 200, KRS 481-2, KW 382, Chr. 417-18, Md. O 127-8 ◇ Rs. UAW 465 (U, A), BmK

297-8 (IE, K *tr- + a D ideophone of questionable origin: Kn *dar a dar a* [noise of dragging anyth. on the ground etc.]).

2414. ₂ *t̥æRV ≈ else, more, other' > IE: NaIE *-tero-, a sx of pronouns and adjectives with the meanings of comparison and choice between two objects\persons ('more than the other', 'between two'): NaIE *k^ωo-tero- ~ *k^ωu-tero- 'whether of the two?' (> OI *kata'raḥ*, Av *katāra-*, Gk *πότερος*, L *uter*, Lt *katrās* id., Gt *hapar* (· *ποτερος*;) 'wer von beiden?', Osc *pu'tereí-píd* 'in utroque', Um *PODRUHPEI* 'utroque', Sl **koτορъ(-jъ) ~ *koτερъ-jъ ~ *kъτερъ-jъ ~ *kъτορъ-jъ* 'which one?; which of them?' > OCS *КОТОРЪ* *коτορъ ~ КОТОРЫН* *koτοριi, КОТЕРЫН* *koteριi*, Blg 'котрый, котра, котро, Slov *kotéri*, Slk *koт(е)руý, koτοруý*, R *ко'торый*, Ukr *ко'торий*, P *który*, Cz *který* id.), NaIE *i-tero- 'another' (> OI *'itarah* id., L *iterum* 'for the second time'), NaIE *an-tero- 'the other of the two' (> Gt *anpar* [· *ἄλλος, ἕτερος, δεύτερος*] {Fs.} 'anderer, zweiter', OI *'antarah*, Oss *ändär*, ON *annarr*, OHG *ander*, AS *ōper*, Lt *añtras*, Pru *antars ~ anters* 'other'), the sx in L *alter* 'the other of the two', Osc *alttram* 'alteram', OCS *ВЪТОРЪ* *vъτορъ*, R *вто'рой* 'the second', the sx of the cmpr. *-tero- (> OI *ā'ma-tara-ḥ* 'rawer', Gk *ώμότερος* id., *παλαίτερος* 'older') ¶ Brg. KVG 321, Hirt IG III 209-13 [§ 129], P 37, F II 586, WH I 32-5, 723-4 and II 845, Bc. G 342, Fs. 53, 283, Ho. 243, EWA I 241-2, En. 142, Tr. P A-D 94-5, Mikl. L 306, ESSJ XI 201-3 and XIII 247, StSS 158, 292 || A: [1] ? Tg: Ewk *-tar/-t̥zr/-tor* *ō-*, a verbal form of additional continuation ('more'): *η̄zn̄zt̄zr* *ōjam* 'well, I shall come again' ('ну, еще приду'), *haval-tar* *ōcā* 'he went on working more' ('он еще поработал') (with the verb *ō-* 'become, werden') ¶ Vas. 791 | [2] pA *t'æRV- (= *t'æRV-?) 'pair', v. 'compare' > Tg *t̄erī 'pair, both, one of the couple' > Ewk *t̄erī* 'pair', *t̄erīn* 'one of the pair', 'one opposed to the other of the pair', Lm *t̄erī* 'pair', *t̄erīn* 'pair, both', Neg *t̄eyī* id., Orc *t̄eyī*, Ud {Shn.} *t̄iz*, Ud Sm {Krm.} *t̄ē* 'pair', Nn KU *t̄erīni* 'in the same way (одинаково)' ¶ STM II 239, Krm. 294 || pJ {SDM} *t̄atuap- 'compare, liken to' > OJ *tat(w)op(a)-*, MJ *t̄at̄oφ(a)-*, JT *tatoé-*, JK *tátóé-*, J Kg *t̄at̄òè-* id. ¶ S QJ no. 1475, Mr. 765, Kenk. 1929 ¶¶ The long vw. of the initial syll. in Tg *t̄erī (and pA *t'æRV-?) needs explanation ¶¶ SDM 1421 (pA *t'èra 'pair; compare' > Tg *t̄erī; J), DQA no. 2363 || ??? HS: one could consider the possibility of tying in S words: BHb *ⲙⲗⲏⲩ* 't̄erem 'not yet,

*twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in' < N *t̥u|u'ɾ'∇ 'turn round, surround, enclose' (q.v.) ¶ P 1101 (Pokorny reconstructed *twer- 'fassen, einfassen, einzäunen' and did not distinguish the √ in question from *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in'), F II 677, 687, 856, LS 1758-9, Frn. 1152, Vs. III 33-4, StSS 690-2, Glh. 646-7, ≠ EI 564 (SI < IE *twer- 'take, hold'), Mikl. L 984, Srz. III 938 || A *t'ör'ü' v. 'give birth to; be born, come into existence, be created' > NaT *Törü- ~ *Töre- id. > OT {Cl.} törü- v. 'come into existence, be created', Chg {Cl.} töre- ~ törü- v. 'come into existence, be born', OOSm {Cl.} dörü-, Tk täre-, Az töre-, Tkm döre-, ET {Nj.} töri- id., 'be born', töräl- 'originate, come into existence', ET Δ {Jr.} törēl-, Cmn {Cl.} töre- 'be born', Tk Δ töre- 'meydana gelmek, çoğalmak' (v. 'come into being, multiply'), Qrg törö- 'give birth to', Tv t'örü- id., 'be born', Xk tōpi- törü-, Tf d'jū- 'be born', Ln tōyō-t- 'give birth to, create', Yk törō- 'be born', 'bring forth' (of animals) ¶ Cl. 533, Ra. 175, Rs. W 495, Nj. 313-14, Jr. 314, Pek. 2779-80, SDD III 1393 || M *töre- v. 'be born; bear' > MM [MA] törē- v. 'be born', [IM] törü- v. 'bear', WrM törü- {MED} 'be born, come into being', HIM tēpē- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'bear (gebären)', Brt tɣpə- id., Kl {KRS} tēp- tör- 'be born', {Rm.} tör- 'gebären; geboren werden, zur Welt kommen', Ord t'örö- 'donner le jour, accoucher, mettre bas; naître; renaître', Dg {Pp.} t'ūr- v. 'be born, bear', Mnr H {SM} t'uro- 'enfanter, accoucher; naître', MMgl {Iw.} törē v. 'be born', Mgl {Rm.} tūrānā 'wird geboren', Δ {Lg.} tōrana v. 'be born' ¶ Pp. IM 49, Pp. MA 353, 448, MED 836, BMR III 246-7, Chr. 448, KW 407, KRS 515, T 367, Ms. O 675, Rm. M 41, SM 435, Iw. 139 || ??σ NrTg *tur- > Lm tōri 'family of bears', Ewk turī 'herd of deer during coupling' ¶ STM II 202, 219 ¶¶ SDM 1462 (pA *t'ōri 'be born, copulate' > Tg, M, T + unc. pJ *tūrù(m)p- 'copulate' > OJ turub-, MJ tūrùb-, JT curum- id), DQA no. 2436, S QJ no. 1679, KW 407, Vls. 322, ADb. SR 13, ≠ Cl. 533 (unc.: M ← T) || D *tor- ({tGS} *t-) v. 'work' > Tm toril 'act, action, work', torīi 'working woman', Ml toril 'business, occupation', Kn turil 'work, servitude', tortu 'servant' (esp. 'female servant'), Tu toḷilə 'trade, business', Tl tottu 'female servant' ¶¶ D no. 3524 || ??? HS: it is tempting to adduce HS *√tr v. 'plait, sew' > Ch (× N ≈ *tar∇, P∇, ~ *t∇P∇r∇ 'to tie together?'): WCh: Ron: Bks, DfB {J} tōr (hab. Bks twār, DfB twār) 'nähen, stechen, durchbohren' | Ngz {Sch.} tīrmú v. 'plait three strands together to make rope' | Kry {Sk.} tār-, My

{Sk.} tīr- v. 'sew' || CCh: Db {LnG} tīr v. 'plait', {Mch.} ter 'tordre', MfG -tǝrd- v. 'plait' ('tresser [cheveux, natte]'), Mf {BLB} tǝrd- 'tordre en spirale' ¶ JI II 288-9, ChC s.v. 'plait' and 'sew', J R 147, 222, Stl. ZCh 165 [no. 186] (WCh *t/ǝ Ar- v. 'sew, plait'), Mch. D 153, Brr. MG II 244, BLB 350, Sk. NB 39, Sch. DN 253 ¶ The words of the Ron and CCh lges are valid cognates only if the original meaning is v. 'sew, plait' rather than v. 'twist' and v. 'pierce' || AdS of EC: Sa/Af {R} ✓ tr tr pcv. 'sew' (probably < N ≈ *t̥ar̥_P_∇_ ~ *t̥∇P_∇r̥ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ OS no. 2406 ◇ IS MS 361 'ροждаѣъ' t̥ur̥ (BSI, A) ◇ The contradiction between the T ev. (T *-r- suggesting N *r) and that of D (D *-r̥- suggests N *r̥) may be solved if we admit that the N vibrant was followed by *y (or by *ü?) and that N *-ry- (or *-r- followed by *ü?) yields A *-r- and D *-r̥-. IE *we is a reg. reflex of N *o before *-u|ü.

2417. (₂?) *t̥URE 'start, set in motion, begin' > HS: C *✓ tr v. 'start' > Ag *°t̥er- v. 'begin, start' > Bln {R} t̥er y- 'sich auf den Weg machen; anfangen, beginnen', t̥er-s- 'beginnen, anfangen' || ??σ EC: Arr tīr- v. 'climb, ride' || SC {E} *tir- v. 'set in motion' > Kz tilim- id. || Dhl {To.} tirid-, {E} t̥iriδ-, {EEN} *t̥itiδ- v. 'move restlessly' ¶ E PC no. 75 (pC *tar-/tir- v. 'start up'), EEN 8, To. D 148, R WB 842, Hw. A 397, E SC 170 [no. 23] || WCh: Klr {J} taroη 'begin' || CCh: G'nd {ChL} t̥irt̥ik̥ānan, Gbn {ChL} t̥irt̥ik̥z̥n̥z̥, Bk {ChL} t̥irt̥ik̥ag̥t̥n v. 'begin' ¶ J R 355, ChL, ChC s.v. 'begin' || ?σ IE: NaIE *t̥wer- v. 'move quickly, stir up' > OI 't̥varat̥ē, tu'rati 'hurries', tu'ra 'rasch', Av θwāšā- (< Iir *'t̥varta-) 'eilig, rasch' || Gk ὀ-τρύ-ν-ω v. 'stir up, egg on, encourage' || Gmc (× N *t̥ü|u'r̥'∇ 'turn round, surround, enclose' [q.v.]): Sw t̥v̥ära 'to stir, to agitate', AS ḡweran id. 'to churn', OHG d̥w̥eran 'to stir up, to mix', d̥wiril 'twirling stick', ?? ON þyrja 'laufen, sausen' || NaIE *t̥(ō)r̥ū- (with mt.) ({Fick} < **turū-) (× N *t̥ü|u'r̥'∇ '↑' [q.v.]): Gk τ̥ορ̥ύνω ~ τ̥ορ̥ύνάω 'stir up/about', τ̥ορ̥ύνη 'stirrer, ladle for stirring things while boiling' || ?σ L tr̥uā 'scoop, ladle' ¶ P 1100, EI 607 (*t̥wer- 'stir, agitate'), M K I 514, 539, M E I 684-5, F II 440-1, Ho. 373, Kb. 178-9, OsS 121, EWA II 915-19, 925-6, Vr. 630, F II 914-15, WH II 708-9 || A: T (< d.?) *°T̥ör̥çi- > OT {Cl.} t̥ör̥č̥i- v. 'begin, start' ¶ Cl. 534 || ?σ M: *t̥üri- > WrM t̥ür̥i- 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'drag, push forward'), t̥ür̥ig̥de- 'be pushed', HIM {MED} т̥үр̥э- 'push forward', {BMR} 'толкать, теснить, гнать', Brt т̥үри- ~ т̥үр̥э- 'push forward', Kl {Rm.} t̥ür- 'schieben, vor sich herstoßen', ?σ Ord t̥'ür̥i- 'opprimer,

vexer' ¶ Gl. III 259, MED 855, BMR III 275, Chr. 446, 448, KW 416, Ms. O 688..

2417a. *t̥ur̥ 'hold' > IE: NaIE *twer-/*tur- 'grip, hold' > Lt t̥verti (1s pres. t̥veriù) 'to seize, to snatch, to grab', Ltv t̥vêrt (1s pres. t̥ver̥ù) 'to seize, to hold', Lt turéti (1s pres. turiù), Ltv turêt 'to possess, to own', Pru turit 'to have, to have to' | ? Sl *zav̥or̥i-ti 'to shut' (unless *t on the analogy of *ot-vor̥i-ti 'to open') > OCS **ЗАТВОРНТИ** zav̥or̥iti, R **затворить** 'to shut (e.g. the door, the mouth)', OR **ЗАТВОРНТИ** zav̥or̥iti id., 'to lock (запереть); 'to lock up, to imprison', SCr zav̥or̥iti, Slv zav̥or̥iti, Cz † zav̥or̥iti, Slk zav̥arat' 'to shut', Blg **затварям** 'I shut', Sl *zav̥or̥ 'bolt (shutting a gate\door), seclusion' > R † **затвор**, SCr **zátvor**, Slv zav̥or̥, Slk **zátvor**, P zav̥or id., Blg **затвор** 'prison; gate', OCS **ЗАТВОРЪ** zav̥or̥ 'bolt, lock (запор, засов); prison, dungeon', R **затвор** 'lock, bolt (of fire-arms)', (eccl.) 'seclusion' (× IE *t̥woros 'Einfassung' > N *t̥ū|u'í' ▽ 'turn round, surround, enclose', q.v.) || ?σ Gk σεργά, Gk I σεργή, Gk D σηρά 'cord, rope' (< *twer-yā) ¶ WP I 750-1, P 1101, Mn. 1466, Vs. II 82, BER I 612, Glh. 646, StSS 232-3, Frn. 1152, F II 687 (doubts about the origin of Gk σεργά) || **K**: G Gr t̥or-i 'amount held in two hands ("double handful")' ¶ GhI. 515 || **HS**: WS *t̥ry (~ S *t̥rr) > Ar t̥rr G 'rassembler, réunir en un seul lieu', Gz t̥ry Sh (pf. ʔat̥raya) 'possess, take possession', t̥ar̥it 'possessions', ??σ JEA {Lv.} t̥ry~t̥rw G 'give' (esp. šekal wə-t̥ar̥ā 'negotiate', lit. 'take and give') (unless Sl.'s interpretation of the JEA verb as 'throw' is valid) ¶ BK II 64, L G 597-8, Lv. II 189-90, Sl. 517 || **A** *t̥ūr̥i- (= *t̥ūri-?) 'hold, hold back, obstruct, prevent from running' > Tg *t̥ūr̥ ▽ - > Ewk t̥ūr̥īn- 'zurückhalten (удерживать)', Lm tor- 'hold back (удерживать, сдерживать)', Ewk Skh turuw- 'detain (prevent from running)', Orc turu- 'slow down, затормозить' (the draught reindeer), Ul turuwzn-, Nn Nh turū- {STM} id., 'stop' (vt.), {On.} vt. 'задерживать, stop' ¶ STM II 220, On. 412 || NaT *t̥ūr̥i- > Tv t̥ūr̥i- vt. 'pack tight (туго набивать)'; NaT *t̥ūr̥i-k > Alt, Tlt {Rl.}, Tf t̥ūr̥iq 'constipation', Tv t̥ūr̥iq id., 'ice blockage (затоп льда)', ?σ Az тырыг 'diarrhoea' ¶ TvR 431, Ra. 234, BT 165, Äz. 340, Rl. III 1322 || pKo *t̥ir- 'hold, lift' > MKo *t̥ir-, NKo *t̥il- ¶ S QK no. 134, HMC 336, MLC 535 || pJ: **[1]** pJ *t̥z̥r- (or *tuar-) 'take' > OJ t̥w̥or-, MJ t̥or-, J T t̥ór-, J K/Kg t̥or- ¶ S QJ no. 118, Mr. 771, Kenk.

2027-9] [2] pJ *tùtum- 'be hindered\blocked' > OJ tutum-, MJ tùtum-
 ¶ Mr. 776 || M *tor- > WrM {MED} tor- 'get stucked, be
 stopped\delayed, become tangled up in smth.', HIM торо- {MED} id.,
 {BMR} 'stumble over sth., (an etw.) anstoßen (спотыкаюсь,
 задевать). sich anhängen', Brt торо- 'stumble over sth., (an etw.)
 anstoßen (спотыкаюсь, задевать)', Kl {KRS} тор-
 'задерживаться, become tangled up in smth.', {Rm.} tor- 'anhalten,
 festsitzen (mit)', Ord t'or- 'être arrêté par qch., s'embarrasser dans,
 s'empêtrer' ¶ MED 825, BMR III 231, Chr. 431, KW 402, KRS 508, Ms. O
 670 ¶¶ SDM 1447 (pA *t'jũru 'hold, obstruct' > Tg *tũri- 'hold,
 support', M, T, pJ *tùtum-), DQA no. 2445 (pA *t'ũr|ře), S AJ 279 [no.
 110] (A *t'ũr∇), Mr. KJ 233 (Ko, J) ◇ In Ewk there is lengthening of
 the vw. in an originally open syllable (a reg. change).

2418. UA₂ *tũR∇ 'hard roe' > U *ot'ũ' r∇ > Sm {Jn.} (< d.?) *tirämä
 ~ *türämä, {Hl.} tireme ~ *türeme 'hard roe' > Ne T тиребя, Ne F {Lh.}
 tíříříméē, Ng {Cs.} tí'rimi, {Mik.} čirimi, En X {Cs.} tířê, En B {Cs.}
 tířê, {Ter.} čire, číri, Slq Tz {KKIH} tír, Slq Tm {KD} tē're'b, Kms {Cs.}
 thürümä, {KD} t'ür'mε, Koyb {Sp.} турмэ id., Mt {Hl.} *türmä id.
 (Mt: T {Mll.} tũrmjä, M {Sp.} турмэ, {Mll.} tũrmä, K {Mll.}
 dũrmjä) ¶ Jn. 163-4, Cs. 146, 264, KKIH 189, Hl. MTKV 20, 94, Hl. M
 no. 1101 || A *t'ũR'í' 'hard roe' > M *tũri-sün > WrM tũri-sün
 {MED} id., HIM {MED, BRM} түрс, Brt түрьһэ(н) id., Kl {Rm.} türsn
 'Rogen, Laich (der Fische)' ¶ MED 855, BMR III 273, Chr. 447, KW 416 ||
 Tg: [1] Tg *ti|ure-kse 'hard roe' > Ewk tirē-ksэ д tirēkšэ д tirēhэ,
 Sln, Ul tursэ id., Ork tǽrsu 'spawning ground (нерестилище)'; [2]
 WrMc {Z} чэрҫувэ 'hard roe' ¶ Vas. 415, STM II 189, Hr 143, Z 930
 ¶¶ SDM 1446 (pA *t'jũri - *t'jũro 'hard roe' > M, Tg *turu-kse 'fish
 roe'), DQA no. 2407, KW 416, Pp. VG 112 ◇ IS MS 343 s.v. 'икра'
 тұрһ, IS SS no. 1.17, KW 416, Sauv. 68, AD NM no. 77, Vv. AEN 4
 (adding WrMc tũri 'peas', which is doubtful).

2419. *tęgar∇ 'to heat, to roast, to fry' > HS: S: Ar ✓ түр G 'être en
 ébullition' (marmite) ¶ BK I 200 || A: Tg *ti,ar- vt. 'fry, melt (fat)' >
 Lm tēr-, Lm Al tjar-, Lm Sk tǽr- v. 'melt (fat, suet)', Neg tēy- (< *tēr-)
 v. 'melt (fat), fry', Orc tĩru- v. 'fry, bake, heat', Ork čĩru- v. 'cook fat',
 Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} čĩro- v. 'melt fat, fry', Nn Nh {On.} čĩro- v. 'fry',
 WrMc {Z} чару- id. ¶ STM II 173, On. 509, Z 925 || D {tr.} *teḡ-, {᠑GS}
 *teḡ- v. 'heat (intensely), scorch' (of fire, sun's heat) > Tm tēru v.

'burn, scorch', Nkr *tirup* 'sun's ray', Prj *ted-* ~ *teḍ-* v. 'be fierce' (of sun's heat), Knd *teḷ-* id., Gnd *ter-* id., *tarītānā* v. 'be hot' (of sun), *tarīstānā* v. 'heat bread over a flame' ¶¶ D no. 344O, GS 63-4 [no. 194] ◇ Tg **ḷa* < N **E...a* (acc. to AD AVD, *see* above Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ But hardly here SC: Irq {E} *ḷirīḥ-* v. 'glow' (E SC 175) because of the initial cns. (*see* N **ḷ'ī'Lḥ* ▽ '[char]coal, soot').

2420. **tehr* ▽ *r* ▽ 'clean, pure' > HS: WS **✓ṭhr* v. 'be clean\pure' > BHb *✓ṭhr* (ip. -*ṭhar*) v. 'be clean', *ṭā'hōr* 'clean', *✓ṭhr D* 'cleanse, purify', Pun *ṭhr* 'pure', *ṭhr t* 'purity', JEA *✓ṭhr G* v. 'be clean, be cleared away', Ar *✓ṭhr G* (pf. *ṭahara*, ip. -*ṭhar-*) v. 'be pure\clean', Gz *✓ṭhr G* (js. -*ṭhar*) v. 'be pure', Tgr *✓ṭhr G* v. 'be clean', Mh, Hrs, Jb *✓ṭhr* v. *G* 'be ritually clean, be pure', Mh *ṭz'hayr*, Hrs *ṭz'her*, Jb C/E *ṭhir* 'ritually clean, pure', Sq {L} *ṭahir* 'clean'; EthS *ḷ* Sa {R} *ṭi'rā* 'rein' ¶ KB 354, KBR 369-70, BK II 114, Hv. 44O, L G 589, Jo. M 408, Jo. J 275, HJ 42O, Js. 52O || **D** {Km.} **tēḷ-* ({*ḷGS*} **t-*) v. 'be(come) clear\pure' > Tm *tēḷu* v. 'be made clear as water, be clarified, be accepted as true', Ml *tēḷal* 'clearness', Kt *te·r-* v. 'become clear' (with subject *nā·r* 'country'), sc. v. 'dawn', *te·r-č-* v. 'make (day) dawn', Kn *tēṭa*, *tēṭe* 'clearness, purity (as that of water etc.)', Tu *tēṭə* 'pure, clear', OTl *tēḷu*, Tl *tēḷu*, *tēru* v. 'become clear or free from suspended matter', Gdb *tēr-sap-* v. 'clear (as a liquid)', Gnd *tēr-s-* v. 'filter' ¶¶ D no. 3471, Km. 392 [no. 614] || **K** ?σ **tetr-* 'white' > OG, G *tetr-*, ? Sv: UB {GP} *twetne*, {TK} *twetwne* ~ *tetwne*, LB {TK} *tetne*, L {TK, Dn.} *twetwne*, Ln {TK} *twetwene* 'white' ¶¶ K 91, TK 262, GP 106, Dn. s.v. *ṭvetṭvne* || **IE**: NaIE (+ext.) **°terb_lh₁-* > pSl **terbi*''-ti 'to clean, to stub' > ChS *трѣвити* *trěbiti*, Slv *trébiti* id., OR *теревити* *terebiti*, Blr *цере'біць*, P *trzebić* 'to grub up (a wood), to clear (a forest\wood) of trees', R *Δ тере'битъ* id., 'to clean', Uk *тере'бити* 'to clean, to shell', SCr *трéбити* *trijébiti* 'to clean', Cz *tříbíti* 'to sift out, to winnow, to refine', Blg *требя* 'I clean, I stub' ¶ P 1071, Mikl. E 354, Glh. 638, Vs. IV 45-6 || ?φ **A**: M (+ext.) **türçi-* > WrM *türçi-* {Kow.} 'nettoyer, essuyer, froter', {MED} 'clean, wipe off, rub', HIM {MED} *түрчи-* id., {BMR} d. *түрчихэ-* 'clean, wipe off', Ord *dürç'i-* in *arç'iχu dürç'i-χú* 'wipe (essuyer)' ¶ MED 854, Kow. 1953, BMR III 274, Ms. O 172 ¶ If this M rather questionable cognate belongs here, its vw. **ü* requires explanation ◇ D *-r- (going back to the N intervocalic *-r-) suggests nN **tehr* ▽ *r* ▽. The

unexpected short vw. in IE (rather than a long one from N *-eh-) still needs explanation.

2421. *t̥u|o₁w₁r∇ 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' > HS: S *^o✓t̥rr, *^ot̥urr- > Ar ✓t̥rr G 'pousser, germer, pulluler' (of plants, hair, beard etc.), t̥urr- 'chevelure longue et qu'on laisse pendre' ¶ BK II 64-5 || ??? C **^ot̥ur- > Ag **dūr- 'thicket' ⇨ Gz dūr 'forest', dōr 'wilderness', Amh dur 'wood, forest', Tgy dur {YGE} id., 'thicket, bush', {Bsn.} 'bosco, selva' ¶ L G 141 (hyp.: Gz dūr, dor ⇨ Amh dur < Oeth dabr 'mountain'), YGE 691, Bsn. 760 || K {Fn.} *t̥ewr- {AD} 'thicket; be dense' > G t̥evr-i 'dichter, dunkler Wald', Sv {Ni.} t̥äwre- 'get denser, thicken' ¶¶ Chx. 1334, Ni. s.v. 'густѣть' || IE: NaIE (mt.?) *tre(:)u-, *treus- 'flourish, thrive, ripen' > Av tuθruša adj. 'zur Vollreife gelangen', pres. stem θraoš- 'zur Reife\Vollkommenheit gelangen\bringen' || OHG triunit (OHG Al t- for p-) 'excellet, pollet, floret', OHG drowen ~ drouwen & trouuen (< *θraujan) 'to grow up (pubescere)', MHG ūfgedrouwen prtc. 'erwachsen', ON þróast (from *θrōwōn) 'wachsen, gedeihen', þroski 'Reife' ¶ WP I 754, P 1095, Brtl. 655, Kb. 169, OsS 960, EWA II 806, Lx. 242, Vr. 623 || A: ?σ M (< d.?) *torni- > WrM torni- ~ tarni- {MED} v. 'grow, grow up' (of children and young animals), 'reach manhood', 'improve' (of health), HIM торни- {MED, BMR} id., Brt торни- id., Ord t'orni- 'grandir et devenir gros, bien se développer' (petits enfants et jeunes bestiaux); WrM {MED} tornigun, HIM {MED, BMR} торниун 'of tall stature, well grown, corpulent; healthy', Ord t'orniūn 'qui est devenu grand et gros pour son âge' (enfants et jeunes bestiaux) ¶ MED 827, Luv. 411, BMR III 230-1, Chr. 431, Ms. O 671 || D *tūr(-) ({†GS} *t-?) 'bushes, bushy, thicket' (× N *d'ū'r∇ 'woods, bush[es]') > Tm tūr- 'bushes, shruberry, thick underwood, low jungle', tūr- v. 'become bushy, sprouth forth', Kt tūr 'bushy bunch of leaves of tree', Td tūr / tu·t- 'branch with leaves; bushes', Knd tōru 'thicket' ¶¶ D no. 3401 ◇ In NaIE *tre(:)u-, *treus- the position of *u may be explained as a case of metathesis (N *-wr- > *-reu-) ◇ Fn. KD 342 [no. 98] (K, D), ≠ Blz. NDA no. 77 (D + err [?φ] HS *tarw-/*taw₁i₁r- and IE *derw- 'wood, tree').

2422. *tor∇ (or *to?ar∇) 'fresh, new, young', 'young animal, child' > HS: WS *✓tr? > Ar t̥ari?- 'recent, fresh', ✓tr? (pf. t̥aru?a, ip. ya-tru?-u) v. 'be fresh\juicy', Mh t̥ε'ray? 'wet, damp, fresh', Hrs t̥rī?

'fresh', Jb C/E 't̥e'riʔ 'fresh' (food); with the loss of root-final *ʔ: Ar ✓ t̥r w / y (pf. t̥aruwa ~ t̥ariya) v. 'be quite fresh, be freshly plucked', t̥arīy- 'fresh, recent', BHb *t̥ā'rī (attested: f. הַיָּרֵב t̥arī'yā), MHb יָרֵב t̥ā'rī 'fresh', Ug {OLS} t̥r y 'fresh food', Sr t̥arrū'n-ā 'recens', Gz t̥arāy 'raw, crude'; ? BHb ׀רֵב 't̥erem 'not yet', 'noch nicht' (← *'earlier', cp. EpHb בְּרֵם 'before') ¶ HJ 430, KB 363, KBR 379, BDB no. 2961, A no. 1125, OLS 481, Fr. III 45, 54, BK II 65, 80, Ln. 1852, Hv. 428, 432, Br. 289, L G 598, Jo. M 411, Jo. J 279, Jo. H 130 || Eg t̥r (a character representing a budding sprout) ¶ Gard.¹ 469 [no. M4] || ? B ✓ t̥rr 'new' > Si {La.} a-trär (pl. trär-ən, f. ta-trär-t), Skn {Sarn.} trīr (pl. trīr-ət), Nf {CM} a-trar (pl. ta-trar-ət), Awj {Par.} atrār (pl. trār-ən) 'new' ¶ La. S 163, 266, Sarn. 22, CM s.v. Nf a-trar, Prd. 170 ¶¶ Tk. I 234 || K: OG t̥arig-i 'lamb' (Joh. 1.36), G t̥arig-i 'yearling lamb, sacrifice lamb' ¶ Ser. 153, Chx. 1329 || IE: NaIE *tornō- 'young man, young animal', *t̥'e'ru-no- 'young', *torm-/ *t̥m- id. (× NaIE *ter-, teru- 'delicate, weak' < N *t̥ar, ∇, H'û' 'delicate, thin', q.v.) > OI 't̥aruna- 'young, delicate, fresh', Av t̥auruna- 'young, boy', Oss I t̥ärən ~ t̥ärən, Oss D t̥ärna 'boy'; OI t̥arṇa-, t̥arṇaka- 'calf, young animal' || Lt t̥arṇas 'servant' (← *'young man') || Arm ԹՈՐՆԻ t̥hōr̄n (gen. ԹՈՐՆԻՍ t̥hōr̄in) 'grandson', ԹԱՐՄԻ t̥harm 'young, fresh, green' || pAl {O} *trima > Al trim 'grown man; brave\valorous man, hero', † 'warrior' || Gt ԹԱՐԻՏ ('ἄγναπος) {Fs.} 'ungewalkt', {P} 'ungewalkt, neu' (vom Tuch) (P: ← 'fresh') ¶ M E I 632, M K I 483-6, P 1070-1, Ab. III 280, Frn. 1060-1, O 464, Slr. 304-5, Fs. 490, ≠ EI 490 || U: FU (att. in BF) *°t̥ōre 'fresh, raw' > F t̥uoreʔ 'fresh', Es t̥oores 'raw, crude; unripe, green', Lv tuḡr̄bz_ 'green, raw' ¶ SK 1409-10, Kt. 441 || A *t̥'ōr̄ ∇ 'young animal' > T [1] NaT *T̥o,;ru|ı 'young', ĩ *T̥or 'calf' > Tk Δ {SDD} toru 'young' (of a man, tree), Slr torı 'foal', Chg {Rl.} tor 'calf'] [2] NaT *T̥ōrum 'young camel' > OT torum id., MT [IM] torum 'suckling young camel', Tk torun 'two-year-old camel', Tk Δ {SDD} torum 'young camel', Tkm t̥ōrum, Tv d_orum 'camel in its 2nd year'; T ⇨ M: WrM {MED} torum 'young camel in its 2nd year', HIM {MED} тором id., {BMR} 'a two-year-old camel', WrO {Krg.} torōm, torom, Kl {KRS} torəm id., {Rm.} torm̄ 'Kamelkalb im zweiten Jahre, zweijähriges Kamel'] [3] NaT *T̥o,;run 'grandchild' > Osm {Rh.}, Tk torun, Kr torun ~ torin 'grandchild', VTt turun 'great-great-grandchild'] [4] NaT *T̥o,;rpak 'calf in its 2nd year' > Chg [MA]

torpaq {Pp.} 'three-year-old calf', {Shch.} ı̇ 'calf in its 2nd year', Qzq torpaq 'yearling calf', Qrg torpoq, StAlt torboq, Xk torbaχ 'calf in its 2nd year', ET to(r)paq 'heifer in its 2nd year'; derivatives (?): Brb torboϑı̇š 'big calf', Yk torbos 'calf', ? Qrg toropoy 'young pig' | [5] NaT *To_{ı̇}ray 'child, young pig' > Qmq toray 'child', Tf t'oray 'yearling bear' and possibly Qrg toray 'young wild pig', Qzq, Qq, Nog toray 'young pig' (Qzq/Qq/Nog/Qrg toray are likely to be influenced by or borrowed from M) ¶ SDD III 1345-6, Cl. 549, DTS 578, IS AD 42 [no. 29], Rs. W 491, Shch. Zh 102, 106-7, 125-6, Rl. III 1179-80, 1183, 1189-90, Rh. 607, TvR 174, Pp. MA 126, BT 154, BIG 233, KRPS 539, MM 350, KrkR 649, NogR 358, Tn. SJ 517, Pek. 2736, Ra. 235, MED 827, Krg. 509, BMR III 231, KRS 508, KW 402 || M *toruyi 'young pig' > WrM torui {MED} 'suckling pig', HIM торой {MED} id., 'young yak', {BMR} "Ferkel des Wildschweines, young yak", Oyr toroy, Brt Δ торой 'Ferkel des Wildschweines', Kl Ö {Rm.} torä id., ?σ Ord t'orj̄ 'ânon'; M ⇨ Tf toray 'young bear (of the first year of life)' ¶ MED 827, Chr. 431, KW 401, Ra. 235, Ms. O 671 || ?σ NrTg *toro-kī|ū 'boar' > Ewk Urm/Ucr/Z torokī, Neg torokī id.; Tg ⇨ Yk {Pek.} toroku ~ toroχu 'boar' ¶ An alt. possibility is that the source lge is Yk ⇨ Ewk, Neg, but this is less plausible for two reasons: [1] Neg and Ewk Urm are spoken in regions outside any contact with Yk (namely, on the Middle and Low Amur and on the Amgun), while Yk has a strong Tg substratum, [2] Ewk, Neg torokī ~ -kī are explainable within Tg as derivatives with the sx of animal names -kī (Ewk tuksakī, Neg toksakī 'hare') ¶ Vas. 761, Pek. 2741, Shch. Zh 125-6 ¶¶ SDM 1464 (pA *t'ōr∇ > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 2446, ADb. SR 7, ≈ Dr. STM II 200 (Tg, M) ¶¶ Acc. to Starostin's theory the pA vw. length with an acute (> vw. length in T and shortness of the vw. in Tg) goes back to a compensatory lengthening caused by an additional element after the vw. or the following cns. within the N word || D *otar- 'child' > Kn taruvali 'boy, girl', tarale 'girl'; the D word may have been influenced by OI taruṇa 'young, fresh, tender' ¶¶ Cp. D no. 2817; cf. also M K I 483 ◇ It is possible that the pN reconstructions *tar_{ı̇}∇_{ı̇}H'û' 'delicate, thin' and *tor_{ı̇}∇ 'fresh, new, young', 'young animal' represent the same pN etymon (if the difference between vowels of the first syll. can be explained away) ◇ The long vw. in FU *otōre, pA {SDM} *t'ōr∇ and the vw. *-a- in D *otar- suggest N *tor_{ı̇}ar_{ı̇}∇ ◇ Blz. SNE I 243 [no. 10] (equating S and FU with IE *ter-).

2423. ***ṭor**ʳ∇h'a 'to pass over; through' > IE: [1] IE *terx-/*trex- (= *trex_h- with an ā-coloured lr.) v. 'pass over, cross' > NaIE *tera-/ *trā- > OI 'tarati, tirati 'crosses, passes over, overcomes, surpasses' (pp. tīr'naḥ, tūr'taḥ), Av tar-, taurv- 'overcome', OPrs viy-a-tarayam 'ich überquerte', Blc tarag 'umwenden', KhS bi-tar- v. 'cross' ||| L trāns 'through' (originally an active prtc. of the verb *trā- v. 'cross, pass over', cp. in-trā- 'enter'), Um TRAF, TRAHAF, tra 'through', TRAHVORFI 'transverse' ||| ? OHG derh 'pertusus, perforated' (× N ***ṭûRHä** 'to bore, to drill'); AnIE: Ht tarh-, tarhu- 'siegen, mächtig sein, können', (with the pc. -za) 'besiegen, bezwingen, überwinden' || [2] NaIE *ter_la₁- 'hindurch, über ... weg' > OI {MW} tirah₁ adv. 'across, beyond, over', Av tarā, tarō adv. 'seitwärts', OI tiras prep. 'through', Av tarō id., OPrs ta_lra₁, Phl tar 'across, through' ||| Clt ***°tar-** ({Matas.} ***°taras** ~ ***°trāns-**) 'across' > OIr tar ~ dar 'über ... hinaus', W trim-uceint 'thirty' ('a decade over 20') || NaIE {P} ***°tre**y > Clt. {Matas.} ***trē** 'through' > OIr tri, tre, OW trui, MW trwy ~ drwy, OBr trei, tre, MBr, Br {Hm.}, Crn dre 'through', W {YGM} tra 'extremely, very, over' ¶¶ But IE ***term-** 'boundary mark, end' (> Gk τέρμα [gen. τέρματα] 'end, boundary', L termen, termō [genitive termōnis], terminus 'boundary mark, limit, boundary' ||| MHG drum 'Endstück, Ende', Ht tarma- 'Nagel, Pflock, Stift', Lw {Lar.} tar mi- 'clou') is unlikely to belong here, as suggested by the absence of the lr. (present in IE *terx- > Ht tarh-) ¶¶ P 1074-6, EI 229 (*terh₂- 'bring across, overcome'), Hamp AIEW 150, M K I 480, 503, M E I 629-32, 646-7, Bai. 128, 282, MW 447, WH II 671-2, 700, Bc. G 349, Vn. T 28-9, Matas. E 370, 387, YGM-1 195, 412, 420, Hm. 228, Flr. 319, Fs. 488, Kb. 151, OsS 100, 119, EWA II 604-5, 879-82, Lx. 33, Ho. 364, Ho. S 79, Frd. HW 213, Ts. E III 157-70, 185-9 ||| ?σ amb K ***°ṭar-** > G {Chx.} ṭar- 'etwas durchführen', √-i-ṭar-eb (ft. ga-√-i-ṭar-e) 'sich mit etw. durchbohren', ga-ṭar- 'carry\lead\ transport through (some place)' ¶ Chx. 1327-8, DCh. 272, 1215 ¶ The G √ (if a valid cognate) is likely to go back to a coalescence of several ancient roots, whence the other meanings of ṭar-: 'führen, bringen, tragen' (× N ***ṭaR∇** 'drag, pull'), 'fahren, reiten' ||| U: FV ***tora**(-ks∇) 'across (quer)' > pLp {Lr.} ***tōrēs** id., 'transversal (quer liegend)' > Lp: N {N} doares, S {Hs.} doāres, L {LLO} tārēs, Kld {SaR} τυῆρες tūēres 'across' ('querüber') ||| pMr {Ker.} ***tūr**-ks >

Er troks, turks, Mk torkš 'through, across' || Chr: L τορεσ to'reš, H {Ep.} τορεσ 'across', H {Rm.} 'toreš 'die Breite; querüber' ¶ UEW 799, Lr. no. 1281, Lgc. no. 7973, Hs. 445, SaR 363, Ker. II 171, Rm. BT 148, MRS 582, Ü 207, Ep. 119 || **D** *tūr- ({{GS}} *t-) v. 'pass through', 'enter, penetrate (a hole)' > Ku dūh- v. 'pierce, go right through', Krx turd- v. 'pass through a narrow aperture, fall through a hole, ooze out', Mlt tuθr-kaṭe v. 'pass through a place, pass through (as an arrow)', (× N *duʔæri 'go, walk'??) > Tm NA tūr v. 'enter', Kn tūr̄u v. 'enter, enter a hole as a mouse, go through a hole or eye as a thread, penetrate, pierce', Tl tūr̄u ~ dūr̄u 'enter, penetrate', Gnd turrv- v. 'thrust into', dorrānā v. 'penetrate' ¶¶ D no. 3399(a) || **HS**: AdS of DhI {EEN} tār- v. 'pierce, spear' (< N *tūr̄ or *turE 'pierce') ¶ E SC 169 [no. 7], EEN 8 ◇ IS MS 357 (*tur̄ 'протыкать'), IS SS 321 (in both papers A is equated with D) ◇ The N lrs\uvulars yielding Ht h are *h, *χ, *ʕ, *g and *q. If both the K and the Ht cognates are valid, the only possible N lr. is *h (that yields zero in K), and subsequently D *-r- (the reg. reflex of the N intervocalic *-r-) points to the presence of a N vw. after *-r- ◇ Cf. also N *tURK̄ 'pierce through; through' (any etymological connection with N *tor̄'h'a?) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 124 (*teru 'edge') (IE {WP, P} *ter-mṅ 'Grenzpfahl' [obviously derived from *ter-'hinübergelangen', cf. P 1074-5] ÷ err. FU *terā 'cutting edge' and A *t'ērpo 'big cutting instrument' ÷ J and Gil).

2424. *tar̄ih̄ ∇ 'open, bald' > **U**: FU *tar̄(-) v. 'open' ('öffnen, offen') > Chr: H tara-š̄ {Ep.} vt. 'move apart', {Rm.} taraš̄ 'ausbreiten, auseinander sperren', {MRS} 'tara-š̄ id., vt. 'to separate, to move away', L το'ρασ id., το'ρα 'far away', 'far' adj., E {Ps.} tora 'weit, fern' || Prm *tar- > Z Le {SZ} taral- 'open wide (one's eyes), stare' || Hg † tār 'open', tār- v. 'open' ¶ UEW 510, SZ 365, LG 278, MF 614-15, MRS 563, 581-2, Ep. 115, Rm. BT 142, Ps. OT 143 || **A** *t'ar̄ ∇ 'bald', 'not covered with vegetation' > T *t'a:;r̄- 'bald', 'not covered with hair\vegetation' > OT taz ({{Cl.}} tāz) 'bald', Chg, MQp taz, OOsM XIV dāz id., Tk dāz 'bald, balding', 'not covered with vegetation' (land), 'arid argillaceous land without vegetation (такыр)', Az dāz, Kr taz, tAlt, Xk tas 'bald, balding; bald spot', Tv t'as 'bald, balding, not covered with vegetation', {TvR} дазыр dāzır, {IS} d_āzır 'land without vegetation, VTt, Nog, Qq, ET taz, Bsh taδ, Uz tūz 'tetter, scabby', Qzq taz {TL} 'kalköpfig', Slr taz 'bald-headed man'¶ IS AD 41 [no. 5] and IS AD 50,

Cl. 570, Rs. W 467, TL 671-2, TrR 212, TvR 143, 408, ARL 95, BT 144, BIG 220, TatR 508, MM 327, Nj. 274, UzR 440, Tn. SJ 506, ADb. Ttd 58 [no. 1] (assuming that there may be neutralization of *t' ↔ *t' in *C ∇ z-roots [C as a sign for "cons."]) || M *tar∇ 'bald, having sparse hair' > HIM тар {BMR} 'having sparse hair', Kl {Rm.} tar 'glatzig, kahl, schlecht behaart'; SDM mentions WrM tar 'naked', which is probably a mistake (WrM tar 'naked' is not registered in the available dictionaries of WrM [MED, Kow., Gl.]); ⇨ : [1] M *taraqay 'bald' > MM [HI] {Lew.} тар аҫ ау, {Ms.} тар аҫ ау 'bald', Mnr {H} t'arg_e' id, 'shaven' (head), Mnr [IM] {Pp.} тарҫау 'balding, bald', [MA] {Pp.} тарҫау 'tetter, scab', WrM {Kow., Gl.} тар аҫ аи 'galeux, mangy (шелудивый)'; M ⇨ Yk тар аҫ ау 'bald, balding' ⇨ Ewk тар аҫ ау id.; [2] MM тар ас un 'naked' ¶ KW 380, Lew. II 48, 77, Ms. H 99, Pp. MA 341, 447, Kow. 1663, Gl. III 75, SM 411, STM II 164 || pKo {S} *t^i- > NKo tä-məri 'a bald head' ¶ S QK no. 848, MLC 426 ¶¶ SDM 1423 (pA *t'e'ro 'bald' [unc. *e] > T *t'ar'- 'bald', M *tar-, Ko *t^i- + unc. MKo t'ark 'cracks on hands and feet [from cold]', DQA no. 2352 (id.), Rm. EAS I 111, Rm. SKE 250, Pp. VG 13, KW 380 || D (in SD) *tar- ({{GS}} *t-) 'bald' > Tm tar a i v. 'be(come) bald', Kt tar v- '(head) becomes bald', Td tar- v. 'become bald', tar mađ 'bald head', Kn tar a t a, tar a t a, tar a t u 'baldness; bald'; D ⇨ Mrt tar t e 'baldness' ¶ D no. 3145 ◇ D *-r- points to a N intervoc. *-r-. T *-r'- is probably from *-ry- < N *-riH- ◇ IS MS 347 'лысый' t ar a, IS SS 318 [no. 1.19] (A [T, M], D), ≠ BmK 298-300 (an unc. attempt to equate FU tara- v. 'open' with roots of other lges, such as IE *st_l_er- v. 'spread', S ✓ wtr v. 'stretch', Tm t a r r- v. 'winnow', M tara- and Sum tar v. 'disperse'; cp. N *t'ar'X∇ 'throw, disperse, scatter').

2425. *tar_l_∇_H'û' 'delicate, thin' > IE: NaIE *ter-, *teru- 'delicate, weak' > Gk τέρην 'soft, delicate', Gk [Hs.] τέρυ ('ἀσθενές, λεπτόν) {F} 'zart, schwach' || Sbn terenum ntr. 'soft' and possibly L tener 'tender, delicate, soft' (mt. induced by tenuis 'thin?') ¶ P 1070-1, F II 879, 883, WH II 665, Pln. II 80, 593, 724, ≠ EI 490 || A: NaT *Tār 'narrow (eng, schmal)' (< *thin') > OT {Cl.} t'ār 'narrow, constricted, confined', Tk dar, Tkm dār, Δ tār 'narrow', Az, Ggz, XT dar, ET ta(r), Uz топ тар, VTt, Bsh, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk tar, Yk tār, tūor, Xlj {DT} tār, Tv t'ar, Tf d_ar 'narrow (eng, schmal)' ¶ IS AD 41 [no. 13], Cl. 528, Rs. W 463, Rl. III 835-6, Ra. 169, DT 197, ADb. Ttd 61 || D *tār- ({{GS}} *t-

) v. 'be thin\lean' > Ml $t\bar{a}r\bar{u}k\bar{a}$ v. 'become thin, droop', Kt $targ\ a\bar{r}$ - 'become lean' ($a\bar{r}$ - v. is 'happen'), Td $t\bar{o}x$ - v. 'become lean\slender', Kn {Km.} $t\bar{a}r\bar{u}$ v. 'wither, become emaciated', Tu $targ\ o\bar{d}\bar{a}$ 'leanness', ? $t\bar{a}r\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{u}$ v. 'shrivel', OTI {Km.} $t\bar{a}r\bar{u}$ v. 'diminish, be reduced', TI {BE} $t\bar{a}r\bar{u} \sim t\bar{a}r\bar{u}$ v. 'fall away in flesh, become lean' ¶¶ D no. 3192, Km. 388 [no. 592] ◇ The long vw. in T suggests the presence of some additional element in the N word. It was most probably a lr. The loss of the lr. in the NaIE cognate is due to its prevocalic position. D *-r- (from the N intervoc. *-r-) points to a vw. between N *r and *H. It is quite possible that the N words * $t\bar{o}r\bar{v}$ 'fresh, new, young; young animal' and * $t\bar{a}r\bar{u}\bar{v}, H\bar{r}\bar{u}$ ' are etymologically connected (if the difference between vowels of the first syll. can be explained away) ◇ Blz. SNE I 243 [no. 10] (equating IE *ter- with the S and FU representatives of N * $t\bar{o}r\bar{v}$ '↑'), ≠ BmK 280 (IE *ter-, Eg {Budge} *tr v. 'be weak' [actually tr 'sth. bad, polluted' and $tr\bar{y}\bar{t}$ 'Schlechtes, Böses', F EG V 317]).

2426. ${}_2 *t\bar{u}RH\bar{a}$ 'to bore, to drill' > IE *terH- / *treH- v. 'bore, drill' > NaIE *terā- / *trē- id. > Gk τετραίνω, τρίτημι, ττράω 'bore through, pierce, perforate', ft. τρήσω; τρητός 'perforated, with a hole in it'; τρήμα 'perforation, aperture, orifice; hole'; τερέω (aor. ἔτορε) 'bore through, pierce', τόρμος 'hole/socket (in which a pin or peg is suck), mortise']]] +exts: [1] *truH-p- > Gk τρυπάω 'bore, pierce through', τρύπα ~ τρύπη 'hole'; [2] ? pGmc *θr-el- > MLG, MHG, NHG *drillen* 'to bore' ¶ P 1071-4, F II 885, 937, LS 1776, 1780, 1807, 1815, 1830, EWA II 604-5, KM 143]]] D *tura ({θGS} *t-) v. 'bore, drill' > Tm $tura$ v. 'tunnel, bore', $turuvu$ v. 'bore, drill', Kn $turi, turuvu$ v. 'hollow, bore, drill', Tu $turipini, turipuni, turupuni$ v. 'bore, perforate', Kui $trupka$ (< *truk-p-) v. 'bore, pierce', Krx $t\bar{u}r$ - v. 'pierce through, perforate' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-RH- ¶¶ D no. 3339 ◇ In the light of the D cognate it can be supposed that IE *terH- goes back probably to pre-IE **teurH- (see Introduction, § 2.4, AD NGIE and AD NVIE). IE *truH-p- is likely to go back to pre-IE **turH-p- (mt.) ◇ Qu., because it is hard to be distinguished from para- and homonymic words or roots with rather similar meanings (such as N * $t\bar{u}r\bar{v}$ or * $turE$ 'pierce'). An alt. tentative comparison: OHG *derh* (< IE * $t\bar{v}rk|\bar{k}$?) ÷ S: Ar $t\bar{a}r\bar{q}$ 'coup', ✓ $t\bar{r}q$ G 'frapper' (BK II 75-7).

2427. * $t\bar{u}RX\bar{v}$ 'long, large, far' > HS : S *✓ $t\bar{r}h$ > Ar $t\bar{a}rah$ - 'remote place, long distance' ed: $t\bar{a}rah$ 'distance' $t\bar{r}h$ 'endroit éloigné' $mitrah$

'long' (of a spear, bois de la lance) ¶ BK II 67-8, Hv. 428-9 || LEC {Bl.} *ḍer- ~ *ḍēr- 'long, tall' > Af ḍer-, Sml ḍēr, Or ḍēr-a?, Kns, Gdl ḍer-, Rn ḍêr, Arr ḍēr-á (f. ḍēr-í) id., Kns ḍēr-a 'tall person', Sml. ḍēr- 'be long\tall', Sml N ḍér-er 'length', Elm ḍēr-iḍa, Dsn ḍer 'long, tall, deep' ¶ Bl. 109, 314, To. DL 494, PG 93, Hw. A 354, Abr. S 56-7, ZMO 115, DSI 165 || A *t'uR- > M *turug > MM [S] {H} t u r u h 'far', WrM {MED} t u r u g, HIM {MED, BMR} т у р а г 'size, breadth, height', 'big, huge' (of animals), Brt т у р а г 'big' (of an animal or a person), 'huge', Ord t'uruq 'grand et gros, corpulent' ¶ H 155, MED 844, BMR 255-6, Chr. 436, Ms. O 682 || T {Cl.} **Tur- ⇨ [1] T *Turk 'the length (of sth.)' > OT {Cl.} t u r q id., Qzq turqı 'length', Qrg turq 'length (of sth.)', Tv d_urgu 'the whole' (of time) (e.g. ertem d_urgu 'the whole evening'), Tf d_urhu 'the whole' (of time), 'distance (equal to ...)', Chv т а р а х т а р а х 'environs, along', 'piece of linen at full length (холст во всю длину)' | [2] Tv d_urt 'length' ¶ Cl. 537, Ra. 176, Jud. 769, TvR 184, Jeg. 238, Fed. II 197 || D *tōra > Kn tōra 'bigness, largeness', tōritu 'that which is big', tōrida 'a big man', Tl tōramu 'thick, stout, large', Tu tōra id.; stoutness, thickness', Kui trōḷa v. 'grow in body' ¶¶ D *-r- < N *-RX- ¶¶ D no. 3557.

2428. *ṭar√yūi 'to rub' > HS: S *°√ṭrr ~ (?) *°√ṭry > Ar√ṭrr vt. G 'whet (a knife)'; ? Ak ṭerû 'einreiben, massieren; tief eindringen'; this Ak verb belongs here only if the primary meaning is 'rub in' rather than 'tief eindringen' ¶ Sd. 1388, BK II 64, Hv. 428 || IE: NaIE *teri-/trej- ~ *ter- v. 'rub' > Gk τεύρω v. 'reiben', {By} 'user en trottant', → {LS} 'oppress, distress, weaken' (of the effects of pain, sorrow), τεύρω v. 'rub' || L terō, -ēre (pfc. trīvi, sup. trītum) 'rub, wear away' || Clt: Brtt {RE} *terāwīmi 'rub' > OBr toreusit (3s p. of *torau 'to rub'), Br taravat 'to rub (frotter)', ?σ MW tereu (3s tery), W taro 'to hit' || Sl *ter-ti (1s pres. *ṭr-ḡ) 'to rub' > ChS т р ѣ т и trě-ti (1s pres. т а р а х ṭr-ḡ), R те'реть (1s pres. т р у), P trzeć (1s pres. trę), OCz třieti, Cz tříti (1s pres. tru ~ třu), SCr tr̃ti (1s pres. trēm ~ tārēm) id. || Lt trinti (1s pres. trinù), Ltv trīt (1s pres. trinū ~ trinū) 'to rub' ||]+ext.: NaIE *treuH- 'rub' > Gk τεύω {By} user par le trottement' → 'user, consommer, épuiser' || ChS {Mikl., Srz.} т р ы т и trīti 'τεύω, to rub' ¶ P 1071-2 (without distinguishing this √ from IE *terə- v. 'bour, drill' < N *ṭûRHä 'to bore, to drill'), EI 490 (*ter(i)- 'rub, turn', *treu(H)- 'rub away, wear away'), F II 865 WH II 472-3 Rv 1971 RE 124 Ern 1124-5 Vc IV 47 Glh 641

Mikl. L 1008, Srz. III 1015 || **A** *t'ar∇- v. 'scratch' > T *Tara- v. 'comb, rake' > OT {Cl.} tarā- v. 'comb (the hair etc.)', Osm {Rh.} طرامق tara-maq inf. 'to comb, to hackle, to rake, to harrow', Tk tarā- vt. 'comb, hackle, card, rake', Ggz, Qrg, QK tara-, Az, XT dara- v. 'comb, rake', Tkm dara-, VTt, Bsh, Qmq, Nog, Qq tara-, Tv, Tf {ADb.} d_ira-, Chv L тура- tura- v. 'comb, hackle', Qzq, Kr, StAlt, Uz, Xk tara-, Slr X {Tn.} t'arā-, ET tari-, Yk tarā- v. 'comb', Slr Ul t'arI- vt. 'rake (убирать граблями)'; ⇨ *Targak 'a comb, a hackle' (Cl.: ← 'constantly combing') > OT/MQp {Cl.} taraq, Chg {Cl.} taraḡ ~ taraq, MT XIV [IM] taraq ~ daraq, OXwT tarḡaq, ET tarḡaq ~ taḡaq, StAlt taraq, Yk tarāḡ 'a comb', Osm {Rh.} طراق taraq 'a comb, a rake, a hackle', Tk tarak 'a comb, a rake', Ggz tarak, Az дарак daraq, Tkm daraq, VTt, Bsh, Nog, Qq, QK taraq, Kr taraq ʔ taraḡ ʔ tarak, Chv L тура tura 'a comb', Chv Δ тора id., Qmq taraq id., 'harrow', ?σ Az Nx tarḡ, Slr A t'arḡ 'wooden comb', Qzq taraq, Qmn taraq ~ daraq, Uz taroq, Xk tarḡaq, Tv, Tf d_iraq 'a comb', Qrg taraq 'weitzähniger Kamm', at taraq 'horse comb', Yk tarāḡ n. 'comb, harrow'; (× T *Tirmaq 'harrow' [cf. TL 467]): ET tarmaq n. 'harrow' (× tarmaq 'twig'), Xk tarbas-ta- v. 'harrow; rake (hay)' ¶ The vw. *-i- in Tv and Tf still needs explanation (it may be due to the infl. of the reflexes of T *Tirḡaq 'fingernail, claw' [> Tv, Tf d_iraq id.]) ¶ In some lges there may have been mutual infl. of this root and pT *Tara- v. 'seed, till (the soil)' ¶ IS AD 41 [no. 19], Cl. 532, 539, TL 465-8, Rl. III 837, Rh. 1235, TrR 827-8, GRM 459, ARL 98, AzDDL 372, Tkr 246, Tn. SJ 502, Ra. 179, TvR 194-5, TatR 517-18, BR 507-8, KumRS 305, KRPS 514, MM 333, NogR 335, Jud. 706, BT 122, B DLT 202, B DK 251, UzR 407-9, BIG 218, Nj. 273-4, 278, Pek. 2564-8, Ash. XIV 251-3, Fed. II 250-1, Jeg. 259, ChVS 222, ADb. Ttd 63 [no. 19] (ADb. believed that t- in Tk tarā- is due to the infl. of tarak and reconstructed the verb as *t'ara-) || **M** (+ext.) *tarmu- d. v. 'rake', (←) 'scratch' > WrM tar mu- {Kow.} 'entasser le foin en râtelant', {MED} v. 'rake (as hay)', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt тарма- id., Kl Ö {Rm.} tarmā- 'kratzen, zusammenraffen' ¶ MED 781, BMR III 194, Gl. III 87, Chr. 415, Kow. 1681, KW 381 || **D**: [1] D *tar- ({ḡGS} *t-) v. 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, (→) churn (as buttermilk)' > OTI tar(υ)cu, traccu 'rub two pieces of wood for fire, churn', TI tari- adj. 'pertaining to churning', Prj terib-/ terit- v. 'churn' ¶¶ D no. 3095, Km. 378 [no. 5411] || [2] (in SD) *tar- ({ḡGS} *t-) v. 'rub, abrade, wear away'

> MI tarayuka, Kn tale v. 'be worn out, be rubbed (as a rope)', MI tarēkka v. 'rub down, grind (as sandal)', Tu tarepuni v. 'grind, rub', tareyuni, tarevuni v. 'be rubbed off, abrade, wear away', Δ talepuña v. 'rub' ¶ D no. 3114 ¶¶ The origin of *-r̥- of the latter D √ and the relation between both D roots are still to be investigated. It may be supposed that here D *-r̥- goes back to **-ry- < N *-r̥y-, while in another (accentual?) context the D cns. cluster **-ry- gave rise to D *-r- ◇ IS MS 368 (*ṭar̥ 'rub' > IE, A [M, T], D, S) → BmK 279 (IE, D + *÷ Sum tar v. 'be distressed/troubled') and 300 (D-A).

2429. *ṭiRy ∇ 'turn, bend, twist' (trans.) > HS: B (+ a HS sx?) *√ ḍr̥n (× N *ṭü|u'ṛ' ∇ 'to turn round, to surround, to enclose') > Ah, ETwl, Ty aḍr̥an '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre', Fgg ḍr̥an 'renverser', Gd εḍr̥an id., 'retourner', Wrg aḍr̥an 'retourner, se retourner sens dessus dessous; virer, renverser', Mz aḍr̥an '(se) tourner, changer de direction', Izd mḍar̥ra 'se retourner' ¶ Fc. 285, GhA 33, Lf. II no. O357, Dlh. Ou 67, Dlh. M 41, NZ 487-9 || ?σ S (+ a HS sx?): Ar √ ṭry̆n (pf. ṭaryana) 'être mêlé\brouillé, être en confusion; être troublé' ¶ BK II 80 || ? C: Ag: Bj {R} terir- 'drehen' ¶ R WBd 232 || ? ECh (partially × N *ṭü|u'ṛ' ∇ '↑'): EDng {Fd.} türkü 'palissade en paille tressée (entourant l'enclos familial)', Jg {J} tor̥k 'Zaun' / pl. torage (≡σ: R плетень 'wattle fence' ←д- плести 'to plait, to wattle'), Mgm {JA} tórókó 'clôture de la case', as well as possibly Bdy {AIJ} t̥irpò (pl. t̥iráp) 'palissade' and Mgm {JA} t̥irpò (pl. t̥errèppì) 'clôture, haie' ¶ J J 117, J LM 188, JA 130, Fd. 172, AIJ 120 || | K: G {Chx.} ṭrial- 'sich (im Kreis) drehen', ṭrial-i 'Drehung, Umdrehung' ¶ Chx. 1362-6, DCh. 1226 || | IE *ter-, *ter-k^ω- 'turn (round)': [1] NaIE *ter- > Gk κυκλο-τερής 'made round by turning', τόρνος 'carpenter's tool for drawing a circle' (↔ L tornus id. ↔ L tornā- 'turn in a lathe, make round' > LtL tornā- v. 'turn') || | L teres, -etis 'rounded, well-turned, {WH} 'länglichrund, glattrund' (× IE *ter- 'reiben' through the semantic interpretation of the word as 'glattgerieben'? [F P 1071]) || | OSx thrāian, OHG drāen, NHG drehen, MDt draeyen, Dt draaien 'to turn, to rotate', AS ḍrāwan 'to twist' || | Clt: W, Crn, Br tro n. 'turn', ↔ : W troi, OBr tro(u)-im, MBr treiff, troeiff, Br treifñ 'to turn' || [2] IE *ter-k^ω- > L torquē- vt. 'twist, wind, wrench' || | Gk ἄτρακτος 'spindle' || | OI tar'kuḥ id., niṣ-ṭar'kyā- 'aufdrehbar' (√ tark- 'drehen') || | AS ḍrāetan 'turn, twist, withel' || | BmK 279 'Drehen zum Bindegen

Pferdegeschirr' | Sl *torĭkъ > OR **ТОРОКЪ** torokъ, R, Uk **торок** 'strap behind the saddle for fastening load', SCr, Sln tr̂ak 'strip, ribbon, strap', Blg † **трак**, Cz †, Slk trak 'strap', P troki 'straps' || pAl {O} *terka > Al tjerr (aor. 'torra), Al {Kf.} tierr ~ tier ~ tir (aor. tora) v. 'spin' || Tc B tärk- 'twist around' || ?σ Ht tarku- v. 'dance' (if from vi. 'turn, se tourner', as suggested by Bn., rather than akin to Gk τρέχω 'run', as supposed by Lar.) ¶ P 1071-2, EI 572 (*terk(ω)- 'twist'), F I 180 and II 44, 913-14, WH II 670, 692-4, RE 141 (pBrtt *trogīmi 'turn'), Kb. 164, EWA II 747-50, Ho. 368, Ho. S 78, Vr. N 131, M K I 485, M E I 633, Tr. 314, En. 263, Vs. IV 85, Srz. III 982, Glh. 635, Ma. CS 533, O 457, Kf. 355, Ç II 184-5, 470, Wn. I 503, Ad. 294-5, Ts. E III 178-80, Bn. HI 125 || **D** {Pf.} *tīr- / *tir-∇ ({ǰGS} *t-) > Tm tiri v. 'turn, revolve, be twisted', Ml tiri 'a turn, twist, wick', tiriγuka v. 'turn round', Kt tiry- v. 'change in nature for the worst', tirg- vi. 'turn, return', Td tiry- vt. 'twist', tirx- vi. 'turn', Kn tiri v. 'turn round', Kdg tir- id., Tu tirriḡuni v. 'turn, revert, revolve', Tl tiri 'a twist, turn', Klm, Nkr tirg- vi. 'turn, wander', Png tirk- v. 'writhe', Gnd tiri- v. 'revolve', Knd tiri- v. 'be twisted', Ku tirvali v. 'turn round', Krx tīr- v. 'turn on one's heels', teram- v. 'roll up' ¶¶ D no. 3246, Pf. 32 [no. 153] ¶¶ D *-r- (rather than *-r̥-) points to a N cns. cluster, e.g. *-Ry- (as suggested by D *tīr- / *tir-∇, Ar ✓ t̥ryṇ and G t̥rial-) ◇ D *-r- (rather than *-r̥-) points to a N cns. cluster, namely *-Ry- (as suggested by D *tīr- / *tir-∇, Ar ✓ t̥ryṇ and G t̥rial-).

2430. *t̥UR̥∇, y∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' > **HS:** S *o✓ t̥rym 'spoiled water' > Ar ✓ t̥rym D 'être gâtée\puante' (eau) ¶ BK II 80 || Ch: WCh: pNrBc {Stl.} *t̥'∇r- 'dirt' > My {Sk.} t̥iri, Kry {Sk.} túrkù id. || ECh: Ke {Eb.} t̥irwá, Ll {Grgs} t̥irwé id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'dirt', ChL, Stl. ZCh 253 [no. 71], Sk. NB 18, Grgs. s.v. t̥irwé, Eb. 98 || SC: Irq {MQK} t̥ēri, {E} teri 'dust', SC ⇨ Mb it̥eri 'dust' ¶ E SC 170, MQK 100 || **K** *m-t̥wer- 'dust' > OG m̥t̥uer- 'dust, ashes', G m̥t̥ver- 'dust, whirlwind of dust', Mg t̥ver- 'dust', Lz m̥t̥ver- 'dust, ashes', ? Sv {K ← ?} t̥wi- 'earth' ¶¶ K² 126, FS 223, E 244-5, ≈ K 138 || **A:** Tg: WrMc {Z} **ТОРОНЬ** {Z} 'dust (raised by the wind or by walking people, animals, vehicles)', {Hr} **toron** 'aufgewirbelter Staub' ¶ Z 743, Hr 918 || **IE:** NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit; besudeln; verwesen') (× N *t̥'∇'R̥∇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty' [q.v. ffd.] and possibly N *t̥'∇'i'RK̥∇ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' [q.v.]) || **D** *tur-, *tur-k- ({ǰGS} *t-)

'rubbish, bits of straw' (× N * tUX|q' ∇ [or * toX|qUry ∇ ?] 'dirt; be dirty') > Tm turumpu 'bits of straw, refuse stalks as of sugarcane', turāl 'rubbish of dry leaves', Ml turumpu 'straw, awn', Tu turumbu 'chaff, {BhK} 'chaff and waste', Tl tukku , tukkuḍu , Prj turri , Knd tuḡi 'rubbish', Gdb tur 'weed, grass', Gnd tōg 'dust, rubbish', Kui turki 'refuse heap, manure', Ku truki ḍ turki 'refuse' ¶¶ D *-r- from a cns. cluster (*-ry- from N *- R_L ∇ , y-) ¶¶ D no. 3346 \diamond Klimov (K² 126) equated GZ * mṭwer- 'dust, whirlwind of dust' with IE * twer- /* tur- 'turn, whirl' (P 1100).

2431. * tūrY ∇ ~ * tūRYE or * tūr ∇ ~ * tūrE 'row, line; to string' > HS: S: [1] S * tūr- ~ * turr- ~ * ṭawr- 'row, (?) band' > BHb ṭūr 'row (of building stones, of jewels etc.)', Ak ṭurru 'Band, Knoten', ? Ar ṭawr- 'a time (vicis, fois)' (ṭawran baḥda ṭawrin 'une fois après l'autre'), ? Mh/Hrs ṭawr 'une fois, once', ? Mh mən ṭawr 'sometimes', BHb ṭūr-īm ~ ṭūr-īm 'course, row' (× N * tū|u' ∇ 'turn round, surround' [q.v.]) ¶ [2] with de-emphatization: S * turr- 'a string; turn, order' > BHb ṭōr ~ ṭōr ṭōr (pl. ṭōr-īm , pl. cs. ṭōr-ē) 'string (of pearls, of pieces of gold/silver)', 'row', MHb ṭōr 'rope' ({Dlm.} 'Schnur, Seil'), 'turn, order', Ug tr {KB ← DLS} 'Band' (tr ḡrṣ wšmm 'Band der Erde und des Himmels'), {OLS} 'timón, tiro (de carro)', JA [Trg.] ṭōr-ā 'rope', {Lv.} 'geflochtenes Seil', JEA ṭōr-ā 'line, row', Ak ṭurru 'Band, Knoten'; BHb * ṭīrā (attested cs. ṭīrāt) 'encampment protected by a stone wall, row of stones (along the wall); wall coping, battlement' ¶ KB 357-8, 1575, KBR 373-4, GB 275, 874, A no. 2800, OLS 470-1, Dlm. 440, Js. 1656, Lv. T II 533, Sl. 1199, BDB no. 2905, BK II 118, Jo. M 413, Jo. H 131, Sd. 1397 (hyp.: Ak ṭurru ~ turru \leftarrow Sum, but the opposite direction of the borrowing is more plausible) ¶ IE: [1] NaIE * twer̥yā > Gk σειρᾶ́ , Gk Ep/I σειρή , Gk D σηρᾶ́ 'cord, rope' (? × IE * twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay [a rope]' < N * ṭor'ü ~ * ṭor'yü 'bring\come into existence [create, make]' [q.v.]) ¶ [2] NaIE * ster- 'stripe' (→ 'ray') > Ltv Δ {ME} stars 'schmaler Streifen; quer ausstehender Ast', Ltv star-s '(sun)ray, ray of light', bikšus tara 'trouser leg', Δ {ME} stara 'Strich, Strecke; Ast, Zinke' ¶ Pokorny adduced Sl * strěla 'arrow' and other (mainly Gmc) words representing IE * strēl- , * strēm- , * streyb- etc. and meaning 'arrow, 'ray', 'stripe', which is highly qu. ¶ F II 687, ≠ P 1101, P 1028-9, ME III 1045, 1047, Kar. II 286-7 (without indicating

any plausible cognates of Ltv *stars, stara* within IE) || **A:** T *Tūr- ~ *Tīr- vt. 'string (aufreihen, *нанизывать*), thread (a needle)' (× pA *ĉ'ū'R∇ 'even, straight' < N *ĉ'U₁ʔ₁R∇ 'stand, stand up') > OT *tiz-* v. 'string (beads), arrange in a row', Chg ≥XV *tiz-* ~ *tūz-* id., MQp XV *tiz-* 'نظم *naḍama*' ('arrange in order?'), Tk *dūz-* 'arrange', *diz-* vt. 'string', Az *dūz-*, CrTt, Qry, Nog *tiz-*, Qzq *тиз-* *tīz-*, StAlt *tis-*, Xk *tis-* ~ *čis-*, Ln *tez-* ~ *tūz-*, Tv *дис-* *d₁is-*, Tf *d₁is'* v. 'string', Tkm *dūd-* id., 'fix (meat) upon a spit', Yk *tis-* v. 'thread a needle', Chv *тир-* id., v. 'aufreihen (*нанизывать*)', Qmq *tūz-* 'arrange in a row', VTt *тез-* *tbz-*, Bsh *tbδ-*, ET, Uz *tiz-* id., v. 'string' ¶ Cl. 572, DTS 564, IS AD 39, ET VGD 218-20, Ra. 173, Jeg. 252, Rs. W 482, Ash. XIV 62-3, Fed. II 235, Jeg. 252, ChVS 217, BIG 319, ADb. Ttd 59 [no. 6] ¶¶ All proposed inter-Altaic comparisons of this T root (with MKo *č'iri-tá* 'go the direct way' [S AJ 13, DQA no. 247], M *č'ir- 'straight' [DQA no. 247] and M *dūrū- 'put\stick into, insert' [IS AD 47]) are semantically unreliable ◇ Qu., because both IE recs. are based on one attested lge each.

2431a. ₂ *t₁∇R₁∇₁b∇ 'inside of the body, belly' > **HS:** CS *✓trb > Ar *tarīb-* 'chest', *tarīb-(at-)* {Ln.} 'part of the breast which is the place of the collar\necklace', *tarība-t-* {Hv.} 'uppermost part of the human breast; ribs', Aram (× S *θ∇rb- > Ar {BK} *θarb-* 'saindoux, axonge', {Hv.} *θirb-* 'fat of the intestines'): JA {Trg.} *תַּרְבָּה* *tə'rāb* ~ *תַּרְבֵּה* *tə'rēb* / *תַּרְבָּא* *tar'bā*, JEA *תַּרְבָּא* *tar'bā*, Sr *كَبْء* *tar'bā* 'abdominal fat' ¶ Ln. 301, 334, BK I 195, 221, Hv. 58, 68, Js. 1694, Lv. T II 557, Sl. 1230-1, Br. 833-4 || **IE:** NaIE *^oterb₁h₁- > Sl *terb-/*trbb- > Uk *тереб*, Scr *tr̂ba* 'belly', SCr *tr̂bonja* 'a pot-bellied person'; (with the sx *-ухъ ~ *-уха): Sl *tr̂buxъ 'entrails (esp. as food)' > RChS *требухъ* *tr̂buxъ*, Blg *търбух*, Slv *tr̂buh*, Cz *terboch*, P *trybuch*, *terbuch*, R *требуха*, Uk *трибух* id., SCr *tr̂buh* id., 'belly', R Δ *требух* 'glutton' ¶ Vs. IV 96, Glh. 637.

2432. *t₁iRga 'force, strength, effort' > **HS:** S *^o✓trg (de-emphatization *t₁ > *t) > Ar *تريج* *tarīg-* 'violent, fort' (wind), 'fort, robuste' (person) ¶ Fr. I 188, BK I 195 || **IE:** NaIE *treg- v. 'be strong, apply force\violence' (for **treg^h- due to the pre-IE incompatibility law ruling out emph. + vd. cns. in the same √) > Clt {Matas.} *trexs(n)0- 'strong' > OIr {Vn.} *tracht* 'force, Stärke', {Vb., Matas.} *trén* 'strong', MW *trech* 'stronger', W {YGM} *trech* 'stronger, superior, dominant', MBr

trech 'victory', Br {Hm.} tpec'h 'vainqueur; victoire" || ON {Vr.}
 prekr, prek 'Kraft, Stärke, Ausdauer', preka 'drängen, drücken', AS
 {Ho.} đreće 'violence', đracu 'pressure, force, violence', OSx
 wāpan-thréki {Ho.} 'Kraft', {P} Waffentüchtigkeit' || Ltv {ME}
 treksne 'Schlag, Stoß' ¶ WP I 755, P 1090, Vn. T 121, 235-6, Matas.
 E 389-90, YGM-1 415, Hm. 803, Vr. 620, ME IV 230, Ho. 367-9, Ho. S
 78-9, 83, Sw. 183 || U: FU (att. in ObU) *^oti_l:_r∇ > pObU {Ht.} *tīr
 '≈ force, violence' > pVg *tīr > Vg: N {Ht. after Mu.} tērēη 'erós
 (strong), kräftig', tēr p id., P {MK} tēr iη, K {MK} tēr ēη 'flink,
 schnell, wild' (Vg K tērēη vuoτ 'ein heftiger Wind', tērēη lū 'ein
 flinkes Pferd'), LK/MK {Ht. after Kn.} tērnaη ēri 'Kriegslied', MK {WVD}
 tēēr ({{Kn.} tēē r) 'spirit' (esp. 'spirit of illness'); pOs *tāran 'evil spirit'
 > Os: V/Vy tāran, Ty/D/K/O tāran, Nz/Kz taran id. ¶ The loss of N *g is
 still to be elucidated ¶ Ht. 189 [no. 643], MK 642, WVD VII 380 || A
 *t'igir∇ (probably mt. from N *t_iRga) 'strong, firm' > M *c_iirag
 'strong, firm' > WrM {MED} cigirag ~ cigireg, HIM {MED, BMR}
 чийрэг, Brt шиираг 'strong, robust, powerful', Ord č'īraq 'qui est en
 bon état, fort, solide', {SM} 'solide de corps', Kl {Rm.} čīrag 'sehr
 dauerhaft, fest, stark', {KRS} чиирг čīrag 'widerstansfähig, fest,
 stark', Mnr H {T} čirag 'strong, firm', {SM} č'irag_ 'serré, qui ne lâche
 pas, sévère' ¶ MED 179, BMR IV 311-12, Chr. 726, KW 443, KRS 648, T
 380, SM 456, Ms. O 708 || T *T_i:_gra- 'be firm\tough' > OT tiḡra- 'be
 firm\turdy', d. tiḡraq 'firm, tough'; T *t_i:_giR' 'firm, tough' > Tkm
 dīqīδ 'tough, stämmig (кряжистый)', Tk tīkiz, Qmq tiḡis, VTt
 тыгыз tiḡiz, Bsh тыгыз tiḡīδ, StAlt tiḡiš 'tight (тугой), 'плотный',
 Qzq tiḡiz 'плотный', ¶ Rs. W 477, Cl. 471-2, TrR 860. TkR 297, TatR
 560, BR 558, RKazS 531, KumRS 325, BT 163 || ?φ Tg *d_ijiktu- 'thickset,
 plump (упитанный), stout' > Neg, Ul, Orc diktu-, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk žiktu-
 id., WrMc {X} чжукту 'плотный, плотно сложенный, thickset, stout
 and strong' ¶ STM I 205, On. 153, Z 1002 || pJ *t_ikàrà 'force, strength'
 > OJ tikara, MJ t_ikàrà id., J T cíkará, J K cíkàrà, J Kg cíkára {Kenk.} id.,
 'might' ¶ Mr. 546, Kenk. 145-6 || pKo *c_irk- 'tough, firm' > MKo c_irkii-
 , NKo c_ilgi- id. ¶ MLC 151 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 395 (pA *c_ikíro 'firm, strong' > M,
 T, J, Ko + unc. Tg *d_ijiktu- 'firm, tough'), Vld. 199, Pp. VG 15, Oz. NM
 121-3, Mill. EIR 144-5, Mill. JAL 99) ◇ IE *t...g (rather than *t...g^h) is
 due to the law of incompatibility of vl. cnss and aspirates in the same
 root.

2433. ₂ ***toRga** 'hold, prop up' > IE: NaIE ***derg^h-** 'hold', {EI} 'grasp' > YAv **drag-** (3s pres. **dražaitē**, inf. **drājanhe**) v. 'hold, lead', KhS **dr̥j̥s-** 'hold' || Gk **δράσσομαι** (ft. **δράξομαι**, pfc. **δέδραγμα**), GA **δράττομαι** 'grasp, lay hold of' || SI ***dbŕžāti** 'to hold' > OCS **ДРЪЖАТИ** **dr̥žati**, SCr **dr̥žati**, Slv **dr̥žati**, Cz **držeti**, Slk **držat'**, P† **dzierżec'**, R **держать** id., Blg **държа** 'I hold' || Arm **տրցալ** **tʰɛhɑk** 'bundle (of brushwood etc.)' (< ***dorg^h-so-**) ¶ EI 564 (? ***derg^h-**), Brtl. 771, Bai. 164, ≈ F I 415, Bern. I 258, ≈ P 254, ≈ ESSJ V 230-1, StSS 197-8, ≈ Glh. 207, Xud. II 456 || **А** ***t'ôRK∇-** (= ***t'ôRg∇-**?) > Tg ***tôrga-** 'prop up, stretch; a prop' > Ewk **turga-**, Neg **toyga-**, Ork **tū(d)da-** vt. 'prop up', Nn Nh **toyga-** id., 'draw a hunting crossbow', Lm **turgъ-** vt. 'stretch (sth.), stretch a hide for drying', Ewk **turga**, Neg, Nn Nh **toyga**, Ul d. **tūžaqū** 'a prop', Ud **tuga**, Nn Nh **toyga** 'hunting crossbow', Orc **tugia-** v. 'prop' ¶ STM II 218-20, On. 400 ¶ Cf. N ***ter∇K∇** '(ε) tree, stick' || pJ ***túri-(n)kái** 'ceiling beam' > MJ **túrigí** id., J T **curigi** id. ('попoлoчнaя бaлкa') ¶ SDM 1439, BJRS 541 || pKo ***tòrí** > MKo **tòrí**, NKo **tori** 'crossbeam' ¶ Yu 225, MLC 465 ¶¶ SDM 1439 (pA ***t'jór̥g̥e** 'support, beam' [cf. N ***taRû** '(ε) tree, log'] > Tg, J, Ko + [not belonging here]: M ***terki** 'dais' and T ***Terki** 'table, portable table'), DQA no. 2392 (id.) ◇ IE ***d...g^h** for ***t...g^h** is due to the pre-IE incompatibility law (ruling out emph. cns. + vd. in one root) ◇ ≠ S NSShS no. 4 (Tg ***turga-** [i.e. ***tôrga-**] equated with K ***dwire** 'log, beam' and IE ***derw-** 'tree') ◇ Doubtful.

2434. ***ter∇K∇** '(ε) tree, stick' > HS mt.: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} **tákárwá** 'long bamboo pole' ¶ Sch. DN 155 ¶¶ OS no. 2361 || **U:** FU {UEW} ***tErkk∇** 'pine tree' (ε?), {Coll.} **te|irk∇** 'young fir tree, pine tree' > Chr: L **тырке** 'young pine tree', B **тырке** 'Fichte' || ObU ***tērəy** / ***tēyər** 'pine tree' > pVg ***tārəy** > Vg: T **tārəw**, LK/UK **tārī** (pl. **tārət**), P **tāriɣ**, NV/SV/LL/ML **tāri**, UL/Ss **tariɣ** id.; pOs ***teyər** ({HL} ***tāyər**) > Os: K/Kr/Sg **texər** id. ¶ UEW 540, Coll. 119, Sm. 550 (FU, FP ***tirkä**, Ugr ***tīrkä** 'fir'), Ht. no. 648, MRS 617, Ü 221 || **А** ***t'ær∇k'-** ≈ tree; beam' > T: **11** NaT ***t'æræk** 'poplar, tree' > OT {Cl.} **teräk** 'poplar', Tkm **derek**, Qq, StAlt **terek**, VTt **tiräk**, Uz **terak**, ET **teräk**, Shor, Tv **t'erek**, Xk **тирек** id., Chv **тирэк** id., 'black poplar (осокорь, *Populus nigra*), Qzq, Qrg **terek** 'poplar, tree', Bsh **tiräk** 'black poplar', CrTt, QrB, Qmq, Nog **terek**, Qry **teräk** & **terak** & **terek** 'tree', Tk **dirək**, Ggz **dirək** Az **diräk** 'pole post pillar' Yk **tiräx** ~ **täräx** 'poplar' Λ **tiräx**

'aspen; fir (Abies)' ¶ Cl. 543, Rs. W 475, ET VGD 205-7, TL 105, 134, S AJ 194 [no. 203], KumRS 312, NogR 346, KrkR 636, Sht. 199, Nj. 343, UzR 425, BR 528, BT 148, Ml. ZhU 118, Pek. 2679, Ash. XIV 65-6, Fed. II 235, Jeg. 252-3, ChVS 217, TvR 412 | [2] T *t'ǽrki > OT Kr tergi '{Cl.} 'table, portable table on which food is carried', OQp dergī 'large dish or tray', Osm xv dergi 'table' (> Tk dergi 'magazine, review, published collection of papers'), Chg {Rs.} tärki 'Präsentierbrett, der Tisch mit Speisen', Kr tirki 'sacrificial table', Tlt {Rs.} tärgi 'Gefäß aus Birkenrinde', Chv L тирёк, Chv Δ тиркё 'large wooden cup, Schüssel (блюдо, миска, плошка)' ¶ Cl. 544, Rs. W 475, KRPS 531, TkR 221, Akd. 511, Ash. XIV 65-6, 71, Fed. II 235-6, Jeg. 253, ChVS 218 || Tg: WrMc {Z} тэркинъ 'dais, platform, porch', {Hr} terki(n) 'Plattform, auf der die Halle steht; Freitreppe' (× ← WrMc {Z} тэрки- 'делать прыжок\скачок', {Hr} terki '[hin]über-\[hin]auf-springen'); Mc → Dg {T} terkin, {Pp.} terkīn 'dais, platform, stage' ¶ Z 730, Hr 904, T DgJ 167 ¶¶ Tg *tôrga- v. 'support, stretch', n. 'a prop' hardly belongs here (⇔ SDM) for phonetic reasons ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1439 (pA *t'jor(g)e 'support. beam' > T *Terki 'table, portable table', M *terki 'dais' + unc.: Tg *turga (i.e. *tôrga- 'prop up, stretch; a prop') 'prop, support' [i.e. Tg {AD} *tôrga- 'prop up, stretch; a prop'], pJ *túri-(n)kzi 'ceiling beam' and pKo *tôri 'crossbeam' [all of them going back to N *tōrga 'hold, prop up', q.v. ffd.), DQA no. 2392 (id.), SDM97 (pA *t'ör(g)e id. and *ter∇ 'poplar, tree') ◇ ≈ S AJ 289 [no. 312] (A, IE).

2434a. ₂ *tURK∇ 'pierce through; through' > IE: NaIE *°terk_Lω_Le- / *tṛk_Lω_Le- 'pierce through; through' > Gt þáirh, OHG durh, MHG, NHG durch, OSx thurh ~ thuru, AS ðurh ~ ðerh 'through', NE through; OHG derh 'pertusus, perforated' ¶ P 1076, KM 148-9, Fs. 488 || A: Tg: Ewk turkzt 'through (durch und durch, насквозь)' ¶ STM II 221.

2435. ≈ *tar∇_LP∇_L ~ *t∇P∇r∇ 'to tie together' > HS: CS *✓ tpr v. 'sew together' > BHb ✓ tpr G id., JEA, JPA ✓ tpr G 'sew' ¶ KB 1637, Js. 1689, Sl. 1226, Sl. P 588 || WCh: Ngz tǽrfú v. 'hobble, fetter' ¶ Sch. DN 153 | ?? Ch ✓ tr 'plait, sew' (× N *tor'ü' ~ *tor'yü' 'to bring\come into existence [create, make]', q.v. ffd.) || ?φ EC: Af {R} ✓ tr tr v. 'sew', Sa {R} ✓ tr tr v. 'sew, sew together' (Sa, Af: p. 3m i-'tirtiræ, pres. Sa a-'tirtiræ, inv. etir'tir, subj. Sa a-tar'tarō, Af a-tar'tarū) (× N *tor'ü' ~ *tor'yü' '↑?') ¶ R S II 358, R A III 118, Clz. 134 || IE: Ht

{Ts.} tarupp- 'sammeln, versammeln, zusammenflechten' ¶ Frd. HW 217, Ts. E III 240-4 || ?φ,σ D *ta^r₁∇₁t- ({θGS} *t-, *-d-) > Tl trāḏu 'cord, rope, thread', Klm ta·ḏ 'rope', Nkr ta·r̄ id. ¶¶ Nkr r̄ does not suggest D *r̄ (the reflex of D *r̄ in Nkr is r, cf. N *kuRy∇ 'young of an animal, child' > D *koṛ- > Nkr koraḷ and N *Ḳoyar₁w₁i 'fat, tallow' > D *koṛ₁∇v₁ > Nkr koru) ¶¶ D no. 3256 (connecting it with Tm caratū 'twisted thread', Ml caratū 'cord' and Kt c̄ard 'flat neckband') || A *ot'ar∇- > Tg *tara- v. 'tie together' > Ewk tarā- 'tie together (pieces of cloth, лоскуты)', Ul taragu- id., taračū- 'tie\stitch together' ¶ STM II 167 ◇ The tentative rec. of N *t- is based on Tg *t-. An alt. pN rec. is *tar∇ (P₁∇).

2436. *t'e¹RP∇ 'devour, eat, be sated' ([in descendant lges] → 'enjoy') > HS: S: [1] CS *√ trp v. 'devour' (× S *√ trp 'tear, strike' [> Sr, JA, Md √ trp id.]) > BHb √ trp G (pf. t̄ā'rap, ip. -trōp) v. 'devour', 'tear (its prey)' (of wild beasts), JPA √ trp G id., BHb √ trp Sh (pf. הִיִּרְיָהּ hit̄'rīp) v. 'make enjoy', Ar √ trf G (pf. ṭarifa) 'dévorer les bords \ les extrémités' (e.g. un chameau qui dévore les herbes des bords d'un pré) (× d. from ṭarf- ~ ṭaraf- 'bord, extrémité') ¶ KB 363-4, Js. 555-6, BK II 72, DM 182, Br. 290, JPS 172] [2] with de-emphatization: S *^o√ trp > Ar √ trf G 'jouir du bien-être, vivre au sein de l'aisance et des délices' ¶ BK I 197 || K *^otrp- > G trp-(oba) {DCh.} v. 'admire, be glad', {Chx., NCh.} v. 'love' ¶ DCh. 1227, Chx. 1368, NCh. 380 || IE: NaIE *terp- / *trp- / *trep- v. 'be sated, rejoice', {EI} id., 'take (to oneself)' > OI tarp- : 'trōpyati 'satisfies himself, becomes sated, is pleased with', Av praḡ(ə)ḏa 'befriedigt\ausreichend versehen', praḡs 'Zufriedenheit', ??σ: OI paśu-'trōp- 'cattle stealing', Av trəfay- ~ tarəp- 'steal' || Gk τέρπομαι v. 'have full enjoyment of; enjoy\delight oneself', τέρω v. 'delight, gladden, cheer' || ? Blt: Pru {En.} en-terpo 'nützt', en-terpon 'useful', Lt tar̄pti 'to thrive', {Frn.} 'gedeihen, gesund werden', Ltv tārpa, tē̄rpa 'Kraft' || Tc A, B tsārω- 'be confident, rejoice' ¶ P 1077-8, EI 500, LS 1777, Mn. 1387, M K I 524, M E I 634-5, MW 453, F II 881-2, Frn. 1062-3, En. 169, Ad. 731-2 || ?φ U: FP *ter∇ v. 'feed' or 'eat' > Er/Mk t̄ra-, t̄ira-, Er t̄ira- 'ernähren' || Prm *ter- > Z LL t̄r̄s̄i- v. 'eat' ¶ UEW 795, LG 284 ¶ The FU √ belongs here if the change from N *-RP- to F -r- is reg. or if there is another way of explaining the absence of labial cns. in FP ◇ AD GD 15, IS SS no. 1.13, IS MS 370 (*t̄ r̄ ḏ ḏ 'pleasure' > IE, S, K), ≠ BmK 302 (equating the K and S roots

with IE *drep-/*drop- v. 'scratch, pluck, tear') and 278-9 (the IE √ is equated with S *√trp v. 'remain, be left' [with a later sd. in Ar √trf 'live in opulence']).

2436a. (₂?) *ṭ'o'R'P'∇ 'to need, to suffer, to be moved (with sadness, [?] joy)' > HS: S *°√ṭrb G > Ar √ṭrb 'be sad, be moved (with sadness or joy)' ¶ BK II 65-6, Hv. 429 || ? C: Bj -terām pcv. (p. a -'trām, pres. attarim) 'sich fretten, mit Not und Mühe sich das Leben erkämpfen', am-terām 'mitleiden', {Rop.} tar'mūma 'long-suffering, forgiveness' (× N *t∇'∇ 'suffer, endure') ¶ R WBd 231-2, Rop. 245 || IE: NaIE *terp- 'suffer' > Gmc: ON þarf, OSx tharf, AS ðearf n. 'need, want (Mangel)', Gt þarba f. (· ὑστέρημα, ὑστέρησις) 'Armut, Mangel', þarba m. (· πτωχός) 'Armer', OHG darba n. 'deficiency, lack; fasting, starving', ON þarfa 'nötig sein', þarfr 'necessary, needed' || SI *trpěti 'to suffer, to endure suffering' > OCS ТРПѢТИ trpěti 'to endure (suffering), to be patient', Slv trpěti, Slk trpiet', Rscierpieć 'to suffer', Cz trpěti, R терпеть 'to suffer, to endure', Blg тръпна, тръпя 'I suffer' ¶ Vr. 606, 631-2, Ho. 361, Ho. S 77, Kb. 145, EWA II 536-40, Fs. 490, StSS 705 || ?σ A: OT {Cl.} torpun 'seeking', torpla- 'try to find out' ¶ Cl. 533-4.

2437. *ṭūRq∇ 'firm, dense, strong' > HS: WS *√ṭrḳ ≈ be\make strong, dense' > Ar √ṭrq G 'densae una alteram tegente fuerunt' (plumae avis), 'être épais \ bien fourni' (of bird's plumage), Gz √ṭrḳ G v. 'fortify\strengthen, make tight', Amh ṭerrəḳə v. 'fasten with nails, reinforce with metal' ¶ Fr. III 51-2, BK II 75, L G 597 || K: G K/Kx *ṭroq-i 'sehr dick, groß und plump' ¶ Chx. 1367 || A: NaT *Türk {Dr.} 'strong', {Cl.} 'in the culminating point of maturity' > OT {Cl.} tūrḳ 'just fully ripe' (of a fruit), 'in the prime of life, young, vigorous' (of a person), Qrg türk 'fat, in prime condition' (of a sheep), Chg {Rs.} tūrḳ 'tapfer und roh', MT XIII tūrḳ 'in the prime of life', Osm türk {Rh.} 'a beautiful\ beloved, but cruel one', Xlj türk 'mighty, flourishing', Ggz {ADb.} türk, Az {ADb.} türkä 'a commoner' ¶ Cl. 542-3, Dr. TM II 888, Rs. W 506, Jud. 783, Rh. 536, DHST 307, ADb. Ttd 65.

2438. (₂?) *ṭ'u'Rḳ|ḳ∇ 'dry, dried up, hard' > IE *ters- > NaIE *ters- v. 'be dry, dry up (trocknen, verdorren), be thirsty', *ṭṛsu-, *ṭṛso- 'dry' > OI 'ṭṛḥyatī 'thirsts', ṭṛḥṭah 'rough, harsh', ṭṛḥuh 'greedy, desirous', ṭṛḥā 'thirst', YAv taršū- 'dry', Av taršna- 'thirst', Psh 't3ž,a| 'thirsty' || Gk τέρομαι 'be\become dry, dry up' || L

torrē- v. 'burn \ parch \ dry up with heat\thirst' || Arm β wnwđ t^haṙam, β wn ζ wđ t^haṙšam 'faded, tarnished', β wnwđ β wđ t^haṙamim, β wn ζ wđ β wđ t^haṙšamim v. 1s pres. 'fade, wither' || pAl {O} *tarsya > Al ter vt. 'dry' || Clt {Matas.} *tar(r)tu- 'dryness, thirst' > OIr tart 'thirst', MW tarth 'vapor, steam, fume', W {YGM} tarth 'mist, vapor' || Gt gapaurśnan (*ξηραίνεσθαι) v. 'verdorren', ON þorna, OSx thorrōn, OHG dorrēn vi. 'to dry, to wither'; ON þorsti, OHG durst, NHG Durst, AS þurst 'thirst', NE thurst; Gmc *þarzjan > Gt gapairśan pp. 'verdorren', ON þerra, AS āđierran vt. 'to dry', OHG derren id., 'to roast' || Ht tars- vt. 'dry (trocknen, dörren), roast' ¶¶ P 1078-9, EI 170, M K I 524-5, M E I 635-6, Bai. 636, Mrg. 85, F II 882-3, WH II 694-5, Fs. 206, Vr. 609, 617-18, Ho. 365, 372, Kb. 151, 163, EWA II 605-7, 734-6, 877-9, KM 149, Sl. 154-5, O 452, Matas. E 371, YGM-1 405 Ts. E III 219-20 || **HS**: CS *√trz > Ar √trz G (pf. tariza, ip. yatrizu ~ pf. tariza, ip. yatrazu) v. 'be hard' (flesh, meat), 'be dry\arid', JA [Trg.] תרז תֹּרֵז tə'raz 'hard wood, wild oak' ¶ Fr. I 189, BK I 196, Hv. 58, Js. 1697, Lv. T II 559 || ?φ **U**: FU (att. in FV) *turta- 'stiff, rigid (steif, starr)' > F turta (gen. turran) 'numb, benumbed', turtu- v. 'become numb, be benumbed, become stiff', Es turđ 'half-dry (wood)', turđu- v. 'become half-dry' || Chr Uf/B turta-, H turta-ηθα- v. 'harden, stiffen', {MRS} id., 'get stronger (крепнуть)' ¶ UEW 801, Ep. 122, MRS 602 ¶ The fate of N ***3** and ***3** in U is still to be investigated ◇ BmK 283 (IE, S + ***3** ÷ S and C words for 'dust', which belong to N ***ṭ**UR₁ṽ₁yṽ 'litter, dirt, dust' [q.v.]).

2439. *ṭ**Aṙṽ** 'liver, entrails' > **HS**: C ≈ *tir- 'liver' > EC *tir- id. > Sa {R} tiraw, Af tiro, Sml T tarāw, Sml J turuw, Bs toto, Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} tirū, Kns {BISO} tírā, Arr {Hw.} tirá, Dsn číra, Hd/Kmb {C} tirō, Gln tíre ~ číre, Hr/Dbs {AMS} číre, Cm {Hw.} tír-e, Ged {Lm.} tiro ~ tiđo 'liver'; C ⇨ Mb {E} i-tira0 id. ¶ AD SF 54, 203, Ss. PEC 11, Ss. B 104, Bl. 104, R S II 358, PH 199, Hw. A 397, Grg. 376, Sr. 393, Th. 319, BISO s.v. tírā, AMS 255, To. DL 490, Lm. SD, Blz. CL 180 || Om: NrOm: Wl {LmS} tiriya, Malo {LmS} tire, Gm {Hw.} tíre, Dc tire 'liver' || SOm: Ari turi id.] ??? possibly NrOm words for 'chest': Wl {LmS} tira, Zs tire, Zl/Dwr/Gf {LmS} tira, Gm {Hw.} tirá, {LmS} tira 'chest' ¶ LmS 523-4, Hw. EG s.v. 'chest' and 'liver', AD SF 54, 203 || WCh: SBc {Sh.} (cds?): Plc wà-tèraʔè, Kir K f^wok-totok, Kir L h^wòk-turòk, Kir Mn f^wàk-turák, Ds Bn f³k-t³r³k, Ds B f^wàk-tirák 'liver', ?φ Cg táhàí id. | ? P'

{MSk.} tirḱ^wasa 'kidney' ¶ ChC s.v. 'liver', ChL, Stl. ZCh. 166 [no. 188], MSk. s.v. tirḱ^wasa, Sh. SB 26 || **D** (+ext.) *taṛ^wḱk- ~ *taṛak^wḱ ({ḡGS} *t-) 'liver, (?) internal organs' > Tu taṛka 'lungs, liver', Klm tarḡuḡ, Nkr tarḡuṛ, Nk taḡ, Prj taṛuḡ, Gdb taṛiḡ ɘ yaḡaḡil, Gnd taṛki ɘ tanaki, Knd taṛki ɘ taḡāki, Png ṛākiḡ, Mnd ṛākeḡ, Kui trāḡa ~ tlāḡa ɘ ṛāḡaḡa, Ku t^hṛā^wna ɘ tra^wna 'liver' ¶¶ **D** no. 3120 || **A**: T: Tlt {RI.} tōr^wöm 'Schafdärme, die mit gehackten Herzen, Leber, Lunge und Fett gefüllt sind' ¶ RI. III 1257, Rs. W 494 || ?σ **IE**: Clt: OIr tar^r, Brtt {RE} *to|arr- 'belly' > W, MCrn tor 'belly', OCrn [ʏ] tor 'ventre', OBr tar, torⁿ, MBr torr id., Br tor ~ teur 'ventre, bedaine, panse' ¶ The adduction of Uk тереб 'belly' and Sl *trǝbux- 'entrails' (suggested in Blz. L no. 103 and Blz. DA) is too qu. (because of the unexplained *-b-, *-bux-) and less plausible than an equation of the Sl words with Ar tarīb- 'chest' (see N *t^wṛ^wḱ^wḱ^w 'inside of the body, belly') ¶ Vn. T 33, RE 81, YGM-1 411, Hm. 787, 795 ◇ The vw. ö of the first syll. in Tlt tōr^wöm is accounted for by regr. as. ◇ Blz. DA 156 [no. 19] (D, HS + unc. Sl), Blz. NDA no. 18 (D, HS, Clt, T).

2440. ≈ *t^wṛ^wḱ^wḱ^w 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' > **HS**: B *-trī or *-tr^wḱ^w 'star' > Ah, Gh atri (pl. itran), ETwl aṛi (pl. eṛan), Ty aṛi (pl. aṛan), Izn, SrSn, Rf iṛi, Nf, Snd itri (pl. itran), Kb, Izd iṛi (pl. iṛan), ? Si, Skn, Gd iri (pl. iran) id. ¶ Fc. 1912, Dl. 827-8, La. MChB 388, GhA 191, Mrc. 108, Lf. II no. 1309 || **C**: Bj {R} terig ~ -k (pl. tirg) 'moon', Bj Am {AD} tu 'ḡṛig, 'ḡṛig, pl. ṛig id. ¶ R WBd 231, AD SF 48-9, 254-5 || Ch {Nw.} *t^wṛ-, {Stl.} *tariy-/*tiray-/*tayir- 'moon' > WCh {Stl.} *tārya ~ *tāyra 'moon' > AG {Stl.} *tary- > Su {J} tár, Ang {Hf.}, Ywm {Sh.} tār, Gmy {Hf.} ṛār, Chp {ChL} ter, Mpn {Frz.} tár | DfB {J} túré, Bks {J} tūrè id. | Tng {J} tere, Dr {J} téřè, Krkr {J} taré, Grm {Gw.} terre, Krf {Sch.} téré, Bole {Mk, IL} tere, Maha tarya, Gera tērá, Glm čīrā 'moon' | Kry {Sk.}, My {Sk.} tír, Wrj {Sk.} čírānā, P' {MSk.} čīra, Sir {Sk.} tēri, Jmb {Sk.} tīrā id. | Grn {Jgr} tārā, Wnd {Sh.} čār id. | Ngz {Sch.} tṛā, Bd {IL} tṛa id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} tera, Hw ndurā id. | HgNk {ChL} tṛe, {Mk} turre, FIK {Mk} turri id. | Lmn {Mk} turri, {Lk.} trī id. | Mdr {Eg.} tré, {ChL} tṛe, Dgh {ChL} tīlè id. | Msy {Mch.} trā, Db {LnG} tūrā, Kola {Sb.} trā id. | Zm {ChL} ter, ZmB {J} tér, Lame {LJ} čéř (= čéř?), LmP {Vnb.} če, Ms {ChL} tila, Bnn {ChL} tūyèlá, BnnM {ChL} tilna, Azm {Pc.} tīlā id. || ECh: Kwn {J} kī-dīr, Ke (K) kī tīr id. | ZH (C) kē dērē, U (C) dī dīrē id. | Swa (D) dūrē

Nd D {J} dár, Tmk {Cp.} dár id. | Mkl {J} téré id. || Jg {J} téré, Brg {J} tère, Mu {Lk., J} tírí, Mjl {DB} tirî, Kjk {DB} tiri, Kjr {DB} tìré id. ¶ JI II 238-9, ChC s.v. 'moon', ChL, Stl. IF 53-4, J T 53, J S 84, Pc. 387, DB s.v. Kjk tiri || ?µ S *ʕaθtar-(at)-, name of the goddess Astarta\Ishtar, personification of the planet Venus (morning star) (belongs here only if it goes back to a cd) > Ph ʕštrt (↳ Gk Ἀστάρτη), BHb תַּרְתַּרְתַּר ʕaš'toreṯ 'Astarta', Ug ʕθtr, (AkSc) {Hnr.} ʕaθtaru, DA ʕštr, OSA ʕθtr, Ak ištar, Eb daš-dar id., ? Sr ʕat,tīr nulpā'nā and ʕat,tīr nuh'rā (names of stars); S ↳ IE *xest(e)r ~ *xster- ({Pv.} *A₁est(e)r- ~ *A₁st(e)r-) 'star' > Ht xaster- (nom. sg. xasterza [xaster-s]), NaIE: Gk ἀστήρ (gen. ἀστέρος) 'star', Arm աստղ astł 'star', OI 'str̥bhīh̥ instr. pl. 'with/by stars', (gen. pl.) str̥ṇām ~ str̥ṇām 'of stars', Av star- 'star' (nom. pl. stārō), KhS stāraa-, MPrs stār, stārak, NPrs ستاره setōre, Psh stōrai, L stēlla (< *stēr-lā), Clt {Matas.} *sterā 'star' (> OIr ser [RE]: ↳ Brtt?), OW snglt. serenn, MW ser ~ syr, W {YGM} seren, OBr {RE}, MBr sterenn snglt. [pl. stir, stiret], Br {Hm.} sterenn, OCrn [ʏ] snglt. steren, Crn steren [coll. stér], {Matas.} ste(y)r, OW sserenn, W seren snglt. [pl. sêr], Gl sirona), Gt staírnō, OHG sterno, stern, ON stjarna 'star', Tc: B écirye 'star', A ére-ń pl. 'stars' ¶ The broadening of meaning (S 'the morning star Venus' → IE 'star') during or after the borrowing is not an obstacle for the et. (⇔ Dk. OH → EI 341), because such broadening is widespread in the history of language contacts: cf. the origin of NE trousers (↳ ScGt triubhas ↳ OFr trebus 'breeches'), R газета 'newspaper' (← Fr ← It gazzetta ← It Vn gazeta, name of a Venetian periodical that sold for one gazet), Uk гроши 'money' (↳ NHG Groschen, name of certain coins ↳ L denarii grossi) ¶ KB 850-1, OLS 94, Hnr. 164, Br. 554; Krb. EG 31, Shf. A ∇, AfD I ∇, Gese RAS 222, Hfn. VRA 244, IS DIES 6-7, AD IEH 15, AD CCIE 6, P 1027-8, LS 262, Pv. III 238-9, M K III 512, M E II 755-6, Bai. 433, Horn 157-8, Vl. II 220, Fs. 448, Vr. 549, Kb. 962, Sl. 123-5, Me. EAC 151, Vn. S 90, Matas. E 355, YGM-1 390, Hm. 754, RE 135, YGM-1 391, Flr. 307, Ern. 653, Wn. I 489, Ad. 640, ≈ EI 543 (IE *h₂stēr, -(e)r- 'star'; no distinction of inherited words [< NaIE *ter- 'star'] from Semitisms; unj. rejection of the obvious Semitic origin of the IE word) ¶¶ Gr. LA 59, Blz. 'AthAA ∇, Wtk. S ∇, Prv. ∇ || IE: NaIE *ter- 'star' > Vd nom. pl. 'tār ah̥ 'stars' || Gk Ep pl. τέραα {Ch.} 'signe du ciel, étoiles: signe envoyé par les dieux' Gk Ep pl. τέραα (gen. Gk Ep

τέρας, Gk I τέρεος) 'sign, wonder, marvel' ¶ M K I 497, 524, M E II 755, Ch. 1105-6, LS 1776, F II 878 (semantic doubts about the OI-G k connection) || A: [1] Ko {S} *tár > MKo tár, NKo tal 'moon' ¶ S AJ 253 [no. 54], S QK no. 54, Nam 140 || ?φ pJ {S} *tùkùì 'moon' > OJ tukji, J: T cukí, K cúkì, Kg cú], Ns čìkí, Sh čìčì, Ht si_kéN, Y thí 'moon' ¶ S AJ 94, 268 [no. 97], S QJ no. 97, Mr. 554, Kenk. 2056 ¶¶ ≈ DQA no. 2394 (pA *t'jorgu 'moon', including Ko, J), ≈ S AJ 278 | [2] ?? T *jul'túr (Md.) žũlčur = ju·l'túr) 'star' (a cd, possibly N *žusīV 'to be bright'; blaze; flame' + N *t'U'f'i, ffd. see ffd. N *žusīV '↑') ¶ | [3] the same T element *-t'úr is likely to be present in T *k'ünt'úr 'noon' (see ffd. N *KūñV - *KūñE 'sun, day') ◇ HS *t- (from N *t) is due to HS demphatization.

2441. *tū|u'f'V 'turn round, surround, enclose' > HS: CS *-tūr- v. 'go round', *tūr- 'surrounding wall', ? *tawr- 'surrounded place' > Ar ✓twr G: ip. ya-tūru ḥawla-hū 'goes around about' (pf. t̄āra) (ḥawla-hū means 'around him'), Ar SL {Bel.} t̄ār-, t̄āra-t- 'hoop (cerceau)', Ar t̄awr- 'one time (Mal, vicis)', Sr t̄aw'r-ā 'space (in time or distance)', MHb 𐤒𐤅𐤃 tūr 'protecting wall', Nbt t̄wr 'Mauer (?)': ds: OSA m̄t̄wr 'enclosing wall', Ar t̄awār- {Bel.} 'superficie, aire', {Hv.} 'area, yard of a house'; (× N *tūRyV - *tūRyE 'row, line'): BHb 𐤒𐤅𐤃 ~ 𐤒𐤅𐤃 tūr-īm 'course, row' ¶ KB 357-8, KBR 373, Ln. 1890, BK II 118, Bel. 360, Hv. 441, Br. 272 || B *✓dwr v. 'turn round' > Sll {Ds.} d̄b̄wer 'tourner', Tmz t̄dur 'tourner, virer, tourner, faire volte-face', d̄awwar 'faire tourner', ? Izd {Mrc.} m̄d̄ar̄ra'se retourner'; (?) +ext. *-n-: B *✓d̄rn '(se) tourner, changer de direction; tordre' (× N *t̄iRyV 'to turn, to bend, to twist', q.v. ffd.); B *°✓d̄r > Awj ūtar 'envelopper, enlacer, entortiller' ¶ Ds. 281, Fc. 285, GhA 33, MT 96, Lf. II no. O357, Mrc. 224, NZ 483 || ? ECh *✓trk, *✓trp 'palissade, haie' > EDng t̄rkù 'palissade (entourant l'enclos familial)' etc. (× N *t̄iRyV '↑', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in', *tworos 'Einfassung' (× N *t̄URE 'start, set in motion, begin', q.v.) > OHG d̄wēran 'to stir up, aufwühlen, rühren', AS ðweran 'to stir, to churn' || Lt tvérti (1s pres. tveriu) 'to seize, to fence, to enclose', tvérimas n. act. 'seizing, enclosing', ãp-tvaras 'fence (Gehege)', Lt tvorà, Ltz tvare 'fence (Zaun)' || (× NaIE *tworos < *twer- v. 'create, produce by plaiting' < N *tor'ü' or *tor'yü' 'bring/come into existence') ??σ Gk σορός 'vessel for holding human remains, cinerary urn' (< *tworos) | (?) +ext.: L

turbo 'a movement in a circle, an eddy, a whirling round' ¶ WP I 749, P 1100-1, ≈σ EI 564 (*twer- 'take, hold'), Mn. 1466, F II 754, WH II 718, Ho. 37, Kb. 178, OsS 121, EWA II 915-18, Frn. 1152, 1155 || ?? A₂ *t'û₁;₂Ri- v. 'turn round, surround' (*-i may be due to the contamination with N *t̥iRy∇ 'to turn', q.v.) > M: WrM {Gl.} t̥uri- v. 'surround, close in (окружать)', t̥uri-gde- {Rm.} v. 'be closed in', {Gl.} 'be surrounded', {Bb.} t̥uritke- v. 'barricade, put a limit to, put up a fence', {Rm.} t̥uri-megei '(the) closing or meeting the flanks of the hunters, encircling of the game', {MED} 'push around' (× N *t̥URE?) ¶ Rm. SKE 278, Gl. III 259, Bb. 1037-8 ¶ WrM t̥uri- means also 'push' ({Gl.} 'push', {MED} 'push forward'), and t̥urigde- means also 'be pushed'; WrM t̥uri- 'push' does not belong here, it is likely to go back to N *t̥URE 'start, set in motion' (q.v.) || NKo turI- {MLC} 'put around, surround, encircle; turn round', {Rm.} turu-, turI- v. 'surround, circle about, turn round, whirl about' ¶ MLC 504-5, Rm. SKE 278 ¶¶ Rm. SKE 278 (Ko, M + *÷ Tg: Ewk turku-ldi- does not have the meaning 'surround' [ascribed to this word by Rm.] [F Vas. 403]). The M cognate (if real) suggests pA *t'- ¶¶ But T *t̥ūr∇ v. 'roll up' hardly belongs here; for both semantic and phonetic reasons it is more likely to go back to N ?σ *t̥ūr∇ ⇨ *tuwrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' (q.v.) || ?σ D *tor̥(-) ({θGS} *t-) 'cattle stall, corral, pen for cattle' (× N *dur̥∇ 'camping site, abode', q.v. × N *dur̥∇ 'hole, hollow?') > Tm tor̥u 'cattle stall, manger, pound', t̥ōr̥(ām) 'cattle stall', Ml tor̥u 'stable', tor̥uttu 'stable, sheepfold, pen to goats', Kt to·y 'buffalo pen', Td tw̥i 'corral, pen', Prj -tol in ĉakur-tol 'cattle shed' (ĉakur goes back to a word for 'cattle, bull') ¶¶ D no. 3526 ◇ The D vw. *o (for the expected *u) has to be explained (cp. N *t̥ūr∇ or *turE 'pierce, stick into; hole' > D *tor̥a- ~ *tora- 'hole') ◇ IS MS 333 s.v. 'вертеть(ся)' *t̥ur̥ (HS, IE, A), IS SS no. 1.12 ◇ The nearly homonymic N words *t̥ū|u'ṛ'∇ and [?σ] *t̥ūr∇ ⇨ *tuwrE 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' inevitably coalesced in those lges that have lost the pN distinctions *t̥- ↔ *t- and *-ṛ- ↔ *-r- ◇ D ?σ *tor̥(-) is a dubious cognate, therefore the rec. of N *-ṛ- is not certain. If the D root belongs to N *dur̥∇ 'camping site, abode' and not here, the N rec. must be *t̥ū|uR∇ ◇ D *o (for the expected *u) still requires explanation ◇ Gr. II *401 (*tur 'turn') (IE + err. A *tolu, Ai + qu. Ko, J).

2442. ***ṭǖs̄r̄** 'leg' ('calf of the leg', 'thigh', 'knee?') > **HS:** C: EC: Af {PH} d̄ī̄s̄ā̄re 'thigh (cuisse)', {R} t̄ēs̄ā̄r̄ī 'Oberschenkel (?)' || DhI {EEN} ṭ̄ahara 'calf of the leg', {To.} tāhara 'heel' ¶ Blz. EDB 28, E PC no. 372 (*tahr- or *tarh- 'calf of the leg'), PH 91, EEN 8, To. D 148, R A II 115 || B *-ḡār- (< **ṭār) > Ah aḡar (pl. iḡārān), Gh, ShI, Gd aḡar, Awj aḡar, Fgg ḡar, Shw, Mz, Wrg ḡar, Kb aḡar, Tmz aḡar ḡ aḡar, Snd ṭar 'foot, leg', Ntf, Zng aḡar, Izn, SrSn ḡar, Nfs, Si ṭar 'foot', Rif ḡar ḡ aḡar 'foot, paw' ¶ Fc. 281-2, Dl. 180, NZ 479-80 || ???φ Eg G t̄ω̄z̄.t 'Bein (als Reliquie)' (unless <ϕ Eg fP t̄ω̄z̄ vt. 'support, sustain', vi. 'lean') ¶ EG V 250, Fk. 294 || **K:** G ṭ̄or-i 'paw (Pfote, Tatze, Pranke)' ¶ Chx. 1360 || **A:** [1] A *t̄'ū̄:ṝE 'leg, part of a leg' > ?σ T *T̄ū̄ṝ 'knee' ({ADb.} *t̄'ṭ̄ǖȳṝ, {DQA} *t̄'ī̄ṝ) > OT {Cl., Tz.} t̄i:z, Tk d̄i:z, Tkm d̄ī̄ḡ, SEXT ChS, NEXT G/J/M, NrXT Sh d̄ī̄z, NrXT Dg/Q, SWXT PK d̄ū̄z, SWXT QB d̄ū̄zin, SWXT SA d̄i:š, NrXT DG1 d̄i:z, NrXT DG2 d̄ū̄z, SWXT H d̄i:ḡ, Az, Ggz d̄i:z, ET, Nog t̄i:z, VTt t̄b:z, Bsh t̄b:ḡ, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt t̄i:ze 'knee', Tv d̄_i:s 'knees' (in the expression d̄_i:s kir̄iḡga olurar- 'kneel'), Chv ч̄ě̄p 'knee', Yk t̄i:s 'fell from an animal's leg (лапка)'; ? Xk t̄i:zek, ? Tv d̄_i:skek, Tf {Md.} d̄_i:skek 'knee' (the forms of Xk and Tv may result from contamination with T *t̄'ī̄rs̄æk 'elbow', cf. below) ¶ The apparently deviating meaning 'leg' may be explained by supposing that the former meaning of the word was 'upper/lower part of a leg' ¶ Anna Dybo (ADb. Ttd 59) reconstructed NaT *t̄'ṭ̄ǖȳz and suggested that here the opposition between *t̄'- and *t̄'- has been neutralized (as in the *C̄ṽz-roots) ¶ Md. 77, S AJ 95, 252, IS AD 39, Cl. 570, Rs. W 482, BT 149, Jeg. 323, Fed. II 413, Ash. XV 284-5, Jer. 323, ChVS 270, DH ChT 71, 81, 93, 116, 138, 151, 191, 202, 213, 225, 247, 280, ADb. Ttd 59, BIG 227 || pKo *t̄ar̄í > MKo t̄ar̄í, NKo tari 'leg' ¶ S QK no. 145, Nam 129, MLC 383 || M *tǖreyi 'bootleg' (< pre-M gen. *tǖreyi-n, cf. Pp. IM 188-90) > WrM t̄ür̄ei {MED} 'bootleg, boot top', HIM т̄ү̄р̄ӣй̄ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'Hosenbein', Brt т̄ү̄р̄ӣн̄ 'bootleg, boot top', WrO t̄ür̄ē, Kl {KRS} т̄ү̄р̄ə 'bootleg, boot top', {Rm.} tür̄ē 'Stiefelschaft', Ord t̄'ür̄ī 'tige de botte', Mnr H {SM} t̄'ür̄ī 'tige de bas\botte, canon d'une culotte'; M ⇨ T: Sg t̄ör̄äḡ 'Stiefelschaft' ¶ MED 854, BMR III 273, Chr. 446, KRS 523, KW 415, Krg. 530, Ms. O 688, SM 434, Rl. III 1251 || Tg ≈ *tu|ire, *tu|ire-kse (= *tǖre, *tǖre-kse, if the vw. *ǖ exists in pTg) 'bootleg, boot top' > WrMc {Z} т̄ү̄р̄ə, Ewk [Cs.] t̄urei, Ewk tir̄ē-k̄s̄ə ḡ tir̄ē-k̄t̄ə ḡ tir̄ē-k̄š̄ə ḡ tir̄ē-h̄ə, Neg tiȳzks̄ə, Orc ti(y)zks̄ə, Ud {STM} t̄īz̄H̄ə, Ud X/B/Sm

{Krm.} tēhэ, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk turэksэ, Nn KU tiriksэ id. ¶ STM II 188, Krm. 294, On. 412, Z 761 ¶¶ SDM 1447 (pA *t'jūrē 'leg, knee' > Tg *türe-kse, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 2410, SDM94 s.v. *t'ūrī 'leg, knee', KW 415, Rm. EAS I 112, Vld. 361, Pp. VG 112, ADb. SR 6, Md. OJ 39, TL 286, Dr. MT 69-70, S AJ 282 ||| [2] ?σ A *t'ir|ř... 'elbow' > T *Tirsæk 'elbow' ({Md.} *t'irs(g)ek, *t'irse) > NaT *Tirsæk (= *Tirsäk?) 'elbow' > OT {Cl.} tirsägä:k 𐤔 {ADb.} tirsäk, MQp tirsäk ~ dirsäk, XwT, Chg tirsäk, Tkm tirθek, Nog, Qq, Qmq tirsek, ET Δ tirsäk, Uz tirsak, VTt tırsäk, Bsh tırhäk, Tk dırsək, Ggz dirsek, XT dırsek, Xlj {DT} tīrsäk, Az dirsäk 'elbow', Az Qb dirsäk 'camel's hump', Slr tüssäx ~ tüssiḫ 'elbow, knee', Qzq тирцек tirsek {MM} 'shin', {TL} 'knee, inner side of the knee', Kü tirsäk 'Kniekehle', Qrg tirsek 'achilles tendon (tendo calcaneus)', Xk tursek 'knee of the hind leg'; (× NaT *Tiz < *Tūr 'knee' ↑): Tv d_iskek, Tf {Md.} d_iskek 'knee' || Chv {Ash., ChVS} чавса 𐏃 {Ash.} чавсавай 𐏃 часа 'elbow' ({Md.} < T *t'irse) (on the phonetic prehistory of Chv чавса see ADb. SR 166; it may be connected with the pT ascending diphthongs, see above Introduction, § 2.4.1) ¶ T *Tirsæk with *r (rather than *r̄ because of the precon. position [Hl.'s rule]) ¶ Cl. 553, Rs. W 481, TL 247-9, ADb. SR 47, 165-9, 198-9, Sht. 210, ARL 110, AzDDL 192, MM 362, Jud. 738, DT 205, Tn. SJ 527, KumRS 317, Rl. III 1377, Ash. XV 125, 160, ChVS 263, Md. 77, 83, 179 || Tg: [1] Tg {ADb.} *tija-ki 'muscles of the forearm (antebrachium) and shin' > Ewk tijakī 𐎠 çijakī 'calf (Waden), muscle of the calf', Lm tijiqi 'muscle, biceps; calf (Waden)', Orc tižaki 'calves of the legs', Ud težā'i, Ul č_žā-pan, Nn Nh č_žaki 'calf (Waden)' ¶ STM II 176, On. 503 | [2] ? Tg *o't'irak 'span' > Ewk çirak id. ('пядь') ¶ STM II 399 ¶¶ ADb. SR 311 ◇ In the light of Af and K the most likely N lr. is *ɣ ◇ Blz. L no. 100f (suggesting to add B and K), ≈ Blz. LNA no. 54 (pN *ṭarwi ~ *ṭawri 'leg' > B, K, A + unc. D *tār- 'stem' ~ *tā|- 'leg, stem' [see N *taRû '∈ tree, log' and N *ṭAÍ,X,∇ 'stem', '∈ tree']).

2442a. *ṭUχ|qr∇ (or *ṭox|qUry∇?) dirt; be dirty' > HS: C: EC {Ss.} *d_ur- v. 'be dirty' (× N *r'č' 'u'R∇ 'to soil, to stain; dirty?') > Or {Grg., Sr.} ṭurī 'dirt, filth', Or H {Ow.} ṭurī 'dirty', Or {Ss.} ṭur-, {Grg.} ṭurāwā, Arr ṭur-aw- id., ṭuré 'dirty thing', Sd, Hd ṭur- v. 'be dirty' || Ag: ?? Bln {θR} d_era'q̄wā ({R} d_erauqā ~ d_eraqwā) 'Ton, Tonerde, Lehm' (× N *ṭuKâ 'earth (substance), mud, dust', q.v.) ¶ Ss. PEC 29, 31, AD SF 56-7, E PC no. 76, Grg. 386, Sr. 396, Ow. 272, Hw. A 398, R WB

111 || Eg NK try.t 'Unreines, Schlechtes' ¶ Hng 936 || B *-dīr- > Ah eđir 'gros excrément', ETwl/Ty eđer 'human faeces', Tnsl eđer 'gros excrément (d'hommes, des quadrupèdes carnassiers)' ¶ Fc. 283, GhA 33, NZ 483 || ?? Ch: WCh: My {Sk.} tírì, Kry {Sk.} túrkú 'dirt' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} t́ŕwá, Li (Grgs) tír_wé, ? Kwn {J} dórúwó 'dust' ¶ ChC s.v. 'dirt' and 'dust', ChL, Eb. 98, Sk. NBC, Grgs. L s.v. tír_wé, J KKS ¶ Acc. to the sound corrs within Ch that are postulated in JI I xix-xxx, this Ch √ is easier to explain as belonging to N *d'û'Rʷ ∇ 'dirt' ¶¶ Tk. I 234 || K *°tχwr- > G tχvr-/ tχvar- v. 'be dirty, make dirty' ¶ Chx. 509 || A *t'óř ∇ 'soil, dust' > NaT *Tóř 'dust' > OT {Cl., IS} tōz, XwT XIII tōz, MQp XIII dōz, Cmn XIV, Chg ≥XV toz, Tk toz, Tkm tōδ, Az, Ggz, Qrg toz id. ¶ Rs. W 492, Cl. 570-1, DTS 578-9, TL 99-100, S AJ 195 [no. 229], ARL 295, TkR 637, Tz. UIS 102, ADb. Ttd 59 || Tg *tur ({ADb. Ttd} *tore) 'earth' > Ewk tur, Lm tō:r, Lm Al/B tūr, Lm M tuer, Neg tūy 'earth', Nn Nh {STM} turqa 'clod of earth', Nn KU turu nānī 'subterranean world' ¶ STM II 217-18, S AJ 209 [no. 33] || Ko *tér- '(become) dirty' > MKo t́r-m- id.; MKo t́rəp-, NKo t́rəp- 'be dirty/filthy/soiled' ¶ S AJ 255 [no. 113], S QK no. 113, Nam 153, MLC 442 || J: [1] pJ *tùtì 'earth' > OJ tuti, MJ tùtì, J T cućí, J K cúćì, J Kg cúćí id. | [2] pJ *tàrà {SDM} 'dirt' > ModJ doro 'mud, mire, dirt' ¶ S AJ 265 [no. 19], S QJ no. 19, Mr. 557, Kenk. 245, 2043 || M *°tor- > WrM {MED} toru, HIM {BMR} топ 'flying dust'; ⇨ [1] M *tortug- > WrM tortuğ {MED} 'soot, lampblack', HIM тортог {MED} id., {BMR} 'soot (сажа, копоть)', Brt тортог 'soot (копоть), гарь', Kl Ö {Rm.} tortuğ 'Schmutz und Rauch (auf der inneren Seite des Kessels), Ruß' | [2] ?? Brt тоорог 'dust, speck of dust (пылинка), Staubkorn (соринка)' [unless akin to WrM тобараг and HIM товпрог 'dust, earth'] ¶ MED 810, 827, Luv. 412, BMR III 229, 231, Chr. 429, 431, KW 403 ¶¶ SDM 1465 (pA *t'óře 'soil, dust' > T, M, Tg, Ko), DQA no. 2444, S AJ 91, 274 [no. 18], SDM95 s.v. pA *t'òw ∇ r' ∇ 'earth, dust, dirt', KW 405, S AJ 19, 70, 91, 274, ADb. SR 11 || D *tur- ({ǰGS} *t-) 'rubbish' (× N *tUR_ ∇ y ∇ 'litter, dirt, dust', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ IE: NaIE {WH} *tēr-os / *ter-ā 'earth' > OIr tír 'earth, ground; land, country', Brtt {RE} *tīros 'earth' > OW, MW, W, OCrn tir, Cmn tūr, OBr, MBr tir 'earth', Br tir 'land, country' || OL tera, L terra 'earth', Osc teer 'úm', terúm 'terra, territorium', teras 'terrae'; the connection with IE *ters- 'dry' (mentioned by WH, EM, EI) may be secondary (folk et.) ¶ WH II 673-4,

EM 687-8, Vn. *T* 74-5, RE 90, Flr. 314, Hm. 790, YGM-1 410, EI 170 ◇
 A and D suggest the rec. of the N vw. ***ṭo** (***ṭox|qUry**∇). Some of the
 above-mentioned words may result from a merger with N ***ṭUR**∇, y∇
 '↑'.

2443. *ṭarX∇ 'throw, disperse, scatter' > **HS**: WS ***ṭrḥ** v. 'throw' >
 Ar **ṭrḥ** *G* v. 'fling, cast away', {Fr.} 'con-\pro-\ab-\re-\in-iecit', Sq
ṭrḥ: {L} **ṭerāh** 'jeter, jeter l'ancre, rester', {Jo.} (in Jo. J) **ṭrāh** v.
 'throw, put down', Mh {Jo.} **ṭrḥ** (pf. **ṭawrḥ**, sbjn. **yṭrāh**) v. 'leave,
 allow, let', Jb E **ṭrḥ** (pf. **ṭerḥ**) id., Hrs {Jo.} **ṭrḥ** (pf. **ṭawrḥ**, sbjn.
yṭrāh) 'leave, desert, leave alone', Jb C {Jo.} **ṭrḥ** (pf. **ṭerḥ**, sbjn.
yṭrḥ) v. 'allow small calves to suck their mother's milk' ¶ Fr. III 46,
 Hv. 429, L LS 209, Jo. M 412, Jo. H 130, Jo. J 280 || CCh: McHigi:
 HgNk **t+rē**, HgG **t+rè**, HgF **túri**, FIK **tíru**, FIH **t+r+y** v. 'fall' ¶ ChL, ChC
 s.v 'to fall' ¶ OS no. 2484 || **IE**: NaIE ***sterH-**/***streH-** > NaIE ***sterā-**
/***strā-** ~ ***strō-** ~ ***ster-** ~ **strew-** v. 'spread, scatter' (× N ***čAR**'h''ú'
'to spread, to scatter' [q.v. ffd.]): the variant with a lr. is represented by
Vd **stīr**'**ṇa-** (prtc.) 'spread, scattered', OI **stārīman-** 'act of
spreading-out; bed, couch', Gk **στρωτός** 'spread, laid, covered', **στρωμα**
'anything spread or laid out for lying or sitting upon, a mattress, bed', L
strātus pp. 'spread, stretched out', **strāmen** 'straw, litter' ¶ The
variant ***ster-** without reflexes of the lr. (e.g. in forms with *-n∇-sx: OI
str'**ṇā-ti** 'spreads, scatters', L **sternō** 'I spread', Gk **στόρ-νυ-μι** vt.
'spread') goes back to N ***čAR**'h''ú' 'to spread, to scatter' ¶ P 1029-
31, EI 57 (***ster**(h₃)- 'strew' ⇨ ? ***sterh₃mṇ** 'strewn place, bed'), M K III
517-18, M E II 756-7, F II 802-3, WH II 590-1, Cowg. EG 155ff., Vn. S
93-5, Flr. 309, Ern. 662, Hm. 760, KM 757-8, Vr. 552, O 442, AlbED
844, Frn. 909-10, 917, Vs. III 379 || **Ṇ** ***t'a**;**ṛ**'**i** > M ***tari** v. 'sow' >
MM [MA, IM] **tari-** v. 'sow', WrM {MED} **tari-**, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt
тари- v. 'sow, plant', Ord **t'ari-** 'semer, ensemencer, planter', Dx
тарь-, Ba **tare-**, Mnr H {SM} **t'ari-** 'semer, ensemencer, cultivator'] a
related (derived?) stem: M ***tara-** vi. 'disperse, scatter' > WrM **tara-**
{MED} id., 'be separated', HIM **тара-** {MED} id., {BMR} id.,
'ausenander-gehen\fahren (расходиться, разъехаться), disperse',
Brt **тара-** id. (Brt **манан тара-ба** 'the mist has cleared' [lit.
'dispersed'], **ниндэн тараба** 'the birds flew away [in different
directions]'), Kl {KRS} **тар-** 'scatter, disperse' (yṭлн тарж одв 'the
clouds dispersed'), {Rm.} **tar-** 'sich ausbreiten, sich zerstreuen,
auseinandergehen', Ord **t'ara-** 'se disperser, se répandre, se dissiper' ¶

Pp. MA 411, 447, MED 779, 781, BMR III 192, 194, Chr. 414-15, KRS 479, KW 380, SM 411-12, T 363, T DnJ 135, T BJ 148, Ms. O 646, 648 || pJ *tir- 'fall' (of leaves, flowers), 'scatter' > OJ tir-, MJ tír- id., J T ćir-, J K/Kg ćír- 'fall, scatter, be scattered, be shed' ¶ Mr. 768, Kenk. 155-6 ¶¶ SDM 1392 (A *t'áryri 'scatter, disperse' > M *tara-, pJ + unc. pKo *tí- 'fall' [of flowers], cf. Nam 178 and MLC 1527), DQA no. 2315 (id.), Oz. NM 245-6, ≈ Dr. TM I 253, ≈ Shch. OSMI 154 ◇ IE *s- reflects the palatality within the N word. It is tempting to adduce Tm tār_r_ū v. 'sift, winnow'. It belongs here only if Tm tār_r_ū is from *tār_r-t-, but Tl tal(ū)cu v. 'winnow small grains from floor' suggests that the underlying form of Tm is *tāl-r- ¶¶ D no. 3195, Km. 381 [no. 564] ◇ BmK 298-300 (IE, M tara-, Sum tar v. 'disperse' + Tm tār_r_ū, FU *tara- v. 'open' and S *√ wtr v. 'stretch out').

2444. *tÉrgE 'to run' ([in descendant lges] → 'running place' → 'road') > HS: B *√ dgrg v. 'flee' > Ty, ETwl √ dgrg (d̥br̥r̥bg) 's'évader, s'enfuir, désertter', Ah d̥ar̥ágg̥ágg̥ 'fuire à toute vitesse', Tdq d̥arr̥ágg̥ 'flee' ¶ GhA 33, Fc. 283, NZ 486 || S *°√ tr̥k̥ (or WS *°√ tr̥k̥) 'way, road' (as from **√ tr̥g̥?) > Ar t̥ur̥q-at- (pl. t̥uraq-) {BK} 'marche', 'chemin, voie', t̥ar̥īq- 'chemin, route' (↳ Gw {Mts.} túrík̥^u 'road'), t̥ar̥īq-at- 'sentier, voie, tracé d'une route', Ar O {Jo.} t̥ir̥īgah 'way', Tgr {Ams.} t̥er̥ek̥-et 'way' (↳ Ar?) ¶ BK II 77-8, Hv. 431, Ams. 55, L G 597, Jo. H 130 || ? ECh: Ke {Eb.} t̥ár̥á n. act. 'run (Lauf)', fé t̥ár̥á 'run away' ¶ Eb. 97 || IE: NaIE *treg̥h̥g̥h- or {Mn.} *tr̥g̥h- (actually *tr̥g̥h̥g̥h-) v. 'run' > Gk τρέχω 'I run' ||| Clt: ? W traω m. 'progress, lead', Gl uer-tragos, οὐέπτραγος {Dtn} 'swift-footed dog', {Vn.} 'chien courant' (↳ L vertragus 'greyhound'), Clt {Vn.} *traget-s / gen. *tragetos, {Matas.} *treget- 'foot' > OIr traig (gen. traiged) id., Brtt {RE} *troget-s id. > MW troet, W {YGM} troed, OCm [γ] truit, MCm troys ~ tros, Cm {RE} trō id., OBr {Matas.} troat 'foot', {RE} treit 'feet' (sg. *troitt), MBr troat, Br {Hm.} troad 'foot', Gl {Endl.} treide instr. 'pede' ||| Gt pragjan (τρέχειν, φραμεῖν) 'laufen', AS ðræzan 'to run' ¶ P 1089, Mn. 142, EI 491 (*treg̥h- 'run'), F II 927-9, Fs. 500-1, Ho. 368, Vn. T 122-3, Matas. E 389, YGM-1 418, Hm. 815, Endl. NG 203, RE 97, Dtn 293, 298, Billy 156 ¶ It is not clear if this √ is identical or only isophonic with *tr̥g̥h- v. 'draw' (cf. N *t̥aR̥∇ ~ *t̥aR̥∇ H∇g̥∇ 'to drag, to pull'); NaIE *treg̥h̥g̥h- is an interesting case of the usually avoided root structure "tenuis + media aspirata"; it

remains to found out conditions for this kind of exception || **A** *t'ærgi- 'run, flee' > T *Tär 'run away' > OT täz v. 'run away, flee', Az Δ täz-, Tkm teδ-, Xk tis-/z-, ET täz-, Tv d_ez-, Tf d_es'- v. 'run away, flee', ET täz- v. 'leave one's nest/home', Chv т а р - v. 'run, flee' ¶ Cl. 672, Ra. 172, IS AD 41 [no. 6], Rs. W 477, S AJ 198 [no. 281], BIG 226, Ash. XIII 203-5, Fed. II 175, Jeg. 232, ChVS 198 ¶ The loss of the reflex of pA *g and N *g is still to be explained || M *tergi-le- v. 'run, flee' > WrM {Gl.} tergile- id., HIM {BMR} тэрэглэ- id., Brt тэргэл- 'run away, flee', Kl {Rm.} terg]- 'fliehen, entlaufen, entweichen', M *tergE-d'e'- > Brt тэргэдэ- 'flee', Kl {Rm.} terəgdə- 'fliehen, entweichen'; M *tergen 'vehicle (carriage, wagon, chariot)' > MM [MA, HI, S] tergen id., [PP] t'erged (pl.) 'carriages, wagons', WrM terge(n) {MED} 'carriage, wagon', {Kow.} id., 'chariot', HIM тэрэг, тэргэн {MED} 'carriage, wagon', {BMR} 'Leiterwagen, Wagen (телега, повозка)', Brt тэргэ id., Kl {Rm.} tergŋ 'Karre, Wagen', Mnr H {SM} t'īergē 'char, voiture, brouette', WrO tergen, Dg tэргэ 'carriage, wagon', Ord t'erge 'voiture de voyage à deux roues'; ⇨ M *terge-ür 'wide road, highway' > MM [HI] terge,ür 'grande route', WrM tergegür {MED} 'wide road, highway', {Gl.} '(wide) road, wide street', {Kow.} 'rue large, grand chemin', HIM {BMR} тэргүүр 'grande route, main street', WrO tergegür 'highway, road, street'; Dg tэргүүл 'road, way' ¶ MED 805, BMR III 294-5, Chr. 456, KW 393, Kow. 1775-7, Gl. III 145-6, T 365, T DgJ 167, SM 417, Pp. MA 349, Pp. PP 131, Ms. H 101, Ms. O 660, H 149, Krg. 496, S AJ 239 [no. 135] || Tg *tirgī- > Ewk tirgī- v. 'walk', Nn Nh {On.} čirgiliečigde adv. 'easily gliding through the water', ?? WrMc {Z} чирь сэмэ 'quickly' (сэмэ 'by saying') ¶ STM II 187, 400, On. 509, Z 940-1 ¶ Tg *-i- of the initial syll. is due to regr. as. (pA *-æ...i- > Tg *-i...ī-) || pKo {S} *tʌr'í (× N *dæR'h'∇ga ~ *dæR'h'∇k∇ 'to walk, to run; way, path', q.v.) > MKo tʌr'í {S} 'ride quickly', NKo talli {MLC} v. 'run (canter, gallop)' (of a horse), 'run, rush, hurry' (unless an iter. from *tʌd- 'run') ¶ S QK no. 511, Nam 141, MLC 405 ¶¶ SDM 1429 (pA *t'īrge 'run, flee' [with unj. length of the vw.] > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 2412 (pA *tēr-), S AJ 295 [no. 535] (A *t'är∇ 'run, run away'), SDM97 (pA *t'ārğa 'run, flee'), KW 393, Pp. VG 14, 104.

2445. *tūt∇ '(fore)arm' > K *tūt- 'arm, branch' > G P/X tūt-i 'hand', G P tūt-i 'limb of a horse', MG [VTq] tūt-i 'limb (of an animal)' (tūt-i

lomisa 'lion's paw'), G ʈoʈ-i 'twig, branch, arm of a river', šarvliš ʈoʈi 'trouser leg', Mg ʈoʈ-i, ʈvaʈv-i 'paw, hand', Lz ʈoʈ-i 'branch', Sv: UB/LB ʈwet / ʈoʈ-, LB ʈeʈ, L ʈoʈ, Ln ʈwet 'arm, hand' ¶¶ K 182, Chx. 1361, Chik. 135 (G, Lz), Q 330, DCh. 1225, NCh. 379, GTK KD I 594, Ghl. 515, TK 720, GP 260, Dn. s.v. ʈoʈ, Ni s.v. pyka (Sv ʈwet) || HS: C: LEC *d̥u(n)d̥um- 'forearm' > Sml N {Abr.} d̥úḍun (pl. d̥úḍúmmó) 'forearm (from elbow to fingertips)', Sml {DSI} d̥ud̥un / pl. d̥ud̥ummo 'forearm, ell', Or {Th.} d̥ur̥nd̥uma id., {Grg.} d̥und̥uma, Or M {AD} 'd̥und̥uma 'ell', {LLC} d̥ur̥nd̥uma 'lower arm', d̥ur̥nd̥uma 'ell', Or H {Ow.} d̥ùnd̥ú má 'forearm, arm's length, half a meter', Or B {Vnt.} d̥ur̥nd̥uma 'pugno', {LLC} d̥ur̥nd̥umo 'lower arm', Kns {BISO} d̥und̥uma 'cubit (from elbow to fingers)' ¶ AD SF 251, Abr. S 67, DSI 179, Th. 117, Grg. 131, Ow. 259, Vnt. 47, LLC 10, 64, BISO 26 || ??σ,φ Eg BD cycy {Fk.} 'trot', {EG} a word for legs ¶ EG V 357, Fk. 304 || Gil: Gil A t'ot' 'forearm' ('предплечье') ¶¶ ST 360 || D *tuʈ- 'thigh' > Tm tuʈai, toʈai, Ml tuʈa, Td twaʈ, Kn toʈe, Tl toʈa 'thigh', Tu tuʈæ id., 'shank', Klm duʈ 'hip', ? Kui d̥on̄d̥o 'thigh, ? Ku tuntu 'hip' ¶¶ D no. 3302 ◇ D *-ʈ- suggests N *-t-, while the K and LEC glottalized consonant in the Inlaut is due to assimilation.

2446. *tutE 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' > IE *teut-(ā) 'people (Volk), tribe' ({Dv.} 'tutto, popolo', {P} 'Menge Volkes', {McC} 'Stamm', {Bn.} 'plénitude, peuple, nation, civitas') > Osc τοϜτο, ΤΟΥΤΟ 'community (civitas)', Um accus. TOTAM, gen. TOTAR 'cizenry (civitas)', TOTAPER, TUTAPER 'pro civitate'; ? L tōtus 'whole' (unless from *to Watkins 'vollgestopft') || Clt {Matas.} *towtā 'people, tribe' > OIr túath 'tribe, people', Crn tūs 'folk, people, relatives', MBr tut ~ tud 'people' ('gens'), pl. tudou 'nationes', Br tud 'hommes' (pl. of den 'man, person'), {Hm.} 'gens, parents', MW tut 'people, country, land', W {YGM} † tud id. || Gt piuda (·έθνος) 'Volk', OHG diot, AS ðéod, ON þjóð 'Volk, Leute'; ds: NHG deutsch 'German', deutlich 'clear', deuten 'to explain' || Ltv tàuta 'people (Volk), nation', Olt, Lt tautà id., Lt tautà 'Oberland, Germany', Pru tau to 'Land' || ? Irn {Mrg.} *tauta-ka- > NPrs {BM} توده tūde 'mass of people, people' ('масса людей, народ') (as well as CINPrs توده {Sg.} tōda, NPrs توده tūde 'heap', Sgd tωδʔk 'Masse, Erdhaufen?') || ? AnIE {ABIV.} *tuti- 'army (Heer)' > Ht tuzzi- 'Heer, Heerlager, Truppenmacht' Lc tuʈa /i 'army' ¶¶ P 1084-5. FI 417 (*teu'teh- - 'the

people [? under arms]), Frd. HW 232, Ts. E III 499-504, ABIv. II 172-3, Dv. no. 449, WH II 695-6, Bc. G 325-6, 349, HM 137, BM 137, Vl. I 478 (CINPrs توده tōda 'acervus, cumulus'), Fs. 496, Kb. 158-9, EWA II 684-8, KM 129, Vn. T 164, Matas. E 386-7, Hm. 821, YGM-1 422, Frn. 1069, StéphS LBF 89, En. 263, GI II 749, Zm. IGSS 326, 328-9 [notes 47-53], McC 112-16, Vr. 613 ¶¶ Benveniste and Neu rejected the connection between AnIE *tuti and IE *tewtā (F Bn. VIIE I 366 and Neu HB 105) ¶¶ Muller (Mul. 490), Ernout and Meillet (EM 1050) and Szemerényi favored the connection of L tōtus with the IE √ in question, while Walde and Hofmann (WH II 695-6) rejected it and preferred to interpret the IE word as *toṵa-tos- 'vollgestopft'; McCone (McC 116) rejected the *toṵatos-etymology as phonetically untenable (lack of lr. in IE *tewt-) and preferred a semantically unreliable et.: *tewt- < *teṵ- 'aufmerken, dienen, schützen'; Ernout and Meillet (EM 1050) supposed a dialectal development *eṵ > L ō. The IE √ may go back to a coalescence of the N word in question and N ≈ *tāwod 'be full' (q.v.) || A *t'uti > NaT *t'ötü 'everybody, everything' > Tv τϑδϣ t'ödü, Tf t'ödü id. ¶ Ra. 235, TvR 418, Ra. 235 || M *otuži (< *otudi) > WrM {MED} tuzi, HIM {MED, BMR} туж 'throughout, always', WrM eđür tuzi 'all day long' (eđür means 'day'), M → OT tüzü 'all' (suggesting that M *otuži originally meant 'all') ¶ MED 848, Luv. 421, BMR III 249, Cl. 573 || HS: WCh: Pr {Frz.} dōè, Dr {Nw.} dá 'all' | ??φ Gw {Mts.} dúdú 'all', Hs dú, dúkà 'all' ¶ Abr. H 226, 229-30, Ba. 272, Frz. P 29, Nw. KL 123, Mts. G 38, ≈ Sk. HCD 50 || ?σ S: Ar tūt-, tāt- 'long, grand, long' ¶ BK II 119 ◇ Altaic *-t- for the expected *-t'- < N *-t- (in pA *t'uti > NaT *t'ötu and M *otuži [*< *otudi*]) may be due to dissimilation ◇ An alt. N rec. is *tutE, supposing as. (N *t...t > *t...t) in S and IE ◇ Hardly here U: Sm {Hl.} *tük- 'all' (> Ne T тюкү", {Prk.} tuku?, tükuti? 'alle(s)', Mt {Hl.} *tügüy 'everywhere' [Mt M {Sp.} тугүй]), unless *-k- is a sx and the U etymon is **tüt-k (F Jn. 168 [pSm *tüc|s|k|t-], Cs. 28, 90, KP no. 1601, Ter. SILSJ 98, Hl. M no-s 1069, 1078 and 1087).

2446a. *tüt'æ' 'dust, ashes' (→ [in descendant lges] 'smoke') > K *tuṵa- 'ashes' > G XVIII {SSO} tuṵ-i, G {DCh.} tuṵ-i 'lye', {Chx.} tuṵa 'lye (Aschenlauge)', tuṵ-e 'alkali', G I tuṵa, Mg tuṵa-, Lz mṵuṵa-, USv, Sv Ln tṵt, Sv UB, Sv L dṵt 'ashes' ¶¶ K 183, K² 192, FS 335, DCh. 1228, Chx. 1370, Ghl. 518, BU 295, TK 722-3, Chx. 160-1 (G, Mg, Lz) || A *t'üt'æ- 'smoke' > T *Tüt'æ- v. 'smoke (emit smoke)' > OT {Cl.}

tütä-, {Gb., DTS, Rs., TL) tüt-, XwT {Faz.} tütä-, Tk Δ tüte-, Xlj {DT} titi-, Tkm, Kr Cr, Nog, Qzq, Qq tüte-, VTt, Bsh tbtä-, Qrg tüttö-, Qmn tüde-, Ln düdü-, SY tütü- & tüt-, Xk, Shor tüde-, OOsM dütt-, Tk tüt-, Ggz tüt- id.; ⇨ T *t'üt'ün n. 'smoke' > OT, Chg Xw, MQp tütür, OOsM XIV düttür, Nog, Qq tütin, Qzq τυτιη tütin, Qrg, ET tütün, StAlt, Xk, Shor tüdün, Chv тѣтѣм 'smoke', Tk tütür, Az, Tkm tütün, SY tutun 'tobacco' ¶ Cl. 432 (supposing that the original stem is tütä-), 457-8, TL 364-5, DTS 601, Rs. 506, Faz. II 426, DT 20, Ash. XV 99-101, Fed. II 223-4, Jeg. 248, ChVS 214 || pKo *tìtkìr ~ *tìthìr 'dust' > MKo tìtkìr ~ tìthìr, NKo t'ik:il id. ¶ Nam 172-3, MLC 1726 ¶¶ SDM 1479-80 (pA *t'u't'it'i- 'smoke' > T *t'üt'ün n. 'smoke', *t'üt'-süg 'emit smoke', Ko), DQA no. 2472, SDM97 (*t'út'i [or *-t-] 'smoke') || HS: Ch: WCh: Dr {J} duḍá 'ashes' (unless from N *dARḡḡ 'ashes') || Klr {J} atotô 'ashes' || ? CCh: Nz {Mk.} təḍáke id. ¶ JI II 4-5, J R 350, J DF s.v. 'ashes', ChC s.v. 'ashes' || C: Ag: Awn tətrí 'dust'; ?ϕ pAg *tiza 'smoke' > Bln {R} te'dā (pl. tid), Km {Ap.} tiza, Xm tiya, {R} ti'yā id., Ag ⇨ Gz -ṭīs- (3m sbjn. yəṭīs, 3m pf. ṭēsa) v. 'smoke' || ? SC {E} *ted|ri > Irq {MQK} tēri 'dust, cloud of dust', SC ⇨ Mb itéri 'dust'; the SC word belongs here only if it is *tedi || ? EC: Sml {ZMO} ḍedo 'mist' ¶ Hz. NSA 137, R WB 334, R Ch II 423 (s.p. 109), L G 601, Ap. K, E SC 170, MQK 100, ZMO 114 ◇ The semantic change 'ashes' → 'smoke' (or vice versa) is not confirmed typologically (as far as I know); a possible filiation is: 'dust' → [1] 'smoke', [2] 'ashes' ◇ Cp. also D: Tm tātū 'powder, dust', Td tō·θ 'powdery' (D no. 3159); this D √ (as well as SC, EC and Ag roots with a front unrounded vw.) may belong here only if the discrepancy of vowels is explained away (e.g. by reconstructing the N etymon as *ṭuHA|ETḡ or *ṭA|EHuTḡ) ◇ The etl. connection between K and A was proposed by Blažek in 1989 (Blz. L no. 4f) and in 1992 (Blz. KM 140-1 [no. 28]); ≈ Blz. LNA no. 56 (N *ṭuṭi 'ashes, smoke' > Ch, K, Ko + ḡ M *tütün (in fact T) and *tüt-süg).

2447. ?σ₂ *ṭoHṭḡ 'to run, to stream' > A *t'Ut'a 'run' > Tg *tutḡ- ({Bz.} *tötä-) v. 'run' > Sln tutə-, Ewk tut-, Orc, Ud tutu-, Nn Nh tutu-, Ul tutu-, Ork tuta- v. 'run' ¶ STM II 223-4, On. 413 || pKo {S} *t'ḷd- > MKo t'ḷt/r-, NKo tat/r- 'run' ¶ S QK no. 855, Nam 139, MLC 401 || ?ϕ pJ {S} *tanta-yuap- {S} v. 'float, ramble', {Mr.} 'drift' > OJ tada-y₁w₁op-, MJ tádá-yoφ- {SDM} 'float, ramble', J T tadayó-, J K tádáyo-, J Kg tàdàyo- {Kenk.} v. 'float, swim, drift' ¶ S QJ no. 731, Mr. 761, Kenk. 1864 ¶¶ The rec. of the pA word-medial *-t'- is based on Tg *-t- ¶¶

SDM 1466 (pA *t'otá 'run' [with an err. *-t-] > Tg, J, Ko), DQA no. 2439 (id.), Rs. SKE I 269 || D *tōt̥ ({{GS}} *tōd̥-) 'a stream' > MI tōt̥u, Kn tōd̥u 'water-course', Kdg tōd̥i 'small stream', Tu tōd̥u 'drain, sewer, brook', Krg tōd̥a 'stream', Gnd d̥hōd̥a(:) ɖ d̥ōra ɖ d̥ōd̥a 'river', Δ dora 'running brook' ¶¶ D no. 3543 ◇ D *-t̥ (*-d̥) < N *-Ht̥- (de-emphasizing effect of the lr.?), while otherwise the intervocalic N *-t̥- would have yielded D *t. An alt. hypothetical rec.: N *t̥ot̥▽ with Tg as **t...d > *t...t.

2448. *t̥äw̥h̥▽ 'abandon, leave' > K: *o̥t̥ew- v. 'leave, abandon' > OG t̥ew- v. 'abandon', G t̥ov- v. 'leave\abandon'; acc. to Klimov, also Mg, Lz t̥al- v. 'be mixed' ¶ K 180 || HS: WS *-t̥ūh̥- (or *-t̥w̥▽h̥-?) 'go away, leave (partir)' > Ar ✓ t̥w̥h̥ (pf. t̥āha, ip. ya-t̥ūh̥-u) 'périr, être près de sa ruine; error; s'en aller', {Hv.} 'perish; go away; wander', Jb C e t̥'bah̥ (✓ t̥w̥h̥) v. 'wander off' ¶ BK II 117, Ln. 1888-9, Hv. 440-1, Jo. J 281 || A *o̥t̥'æ̥:;b̥▽ > M (with an ancient sx?) *tebc̥i- v. 'leave' > MM tebc̥i- [S] 'werfen, verlassen, verraten', [HI] 'abandonner, sacrifier', WrM {MED} tebc̥i- ~ tebsi- v. 'abandon, leave, abstain from; renounce, reject; kill', HIM тэвчи- {MED} id., {BMR} 'avoid, abstain from; dulden; kill', Brt тэбшэ- v. 'abandon, leave', Kl {Rm.} тepč̥- 'beiseite lassen, verlassen, sein lassen, dulden', Ord d̥ebc̥' i- 'renoncer à, abandonner' ¶ MED 789, BMR III 280, H 147, Chr. 451, Ms. H 100, KW 392, Ms. O 133 || D (in SD) *ta▽r- ({{GS}} *t-) > Tm tavir- v. 'abstain, cease, leave, separate from', MI taviruka v. 'be put aside', Kn Hv тавру v. 'drive away', Tu таурuni v. 'remove' ¶ D no. 3113 ◇ ≈ BmK 319-20 (K, S, D + Sum d̥u v. 'go\leave' + unconvincingly IE *dew(ə)-/*d̥wā-/*d̥ū- v. 'move forward' and other stems without reliable semantic connections with the N word in question).

2449. *t̥äy▽ 'louse' > HS: NrOm: Ym {C} tuṽā, {Wdk.} t̥uṽā, {Lm.} tuṽā 'louse' ¶ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 137, 163, Lm. Y 378 || U: FU *t̥äye 'louse' > F, Es t̥äi id. | pLp {Lr.} *ti-kkē > Lp: N {N} dik'ke, S {Hs.} dikkie, L {LLO} tihkee, Kld t+k'k' id. | Chr: Н ти ti, L тий tiy, E ti ɖ tiy id. | Prm *t̥öy (= {LG} *t̥ōj) id. > Z toy, Z US t̥oy, Yz 't̥uy, Vt t̥zy id. || ObU {Ht.} *t̥ēk(t)am▽ ({{Ht.}} *t̥ēk(t)am▽) id. > pVg t̥ākm▽ id. > Vg: T t̥ākam, LK/MK/UK t̥āxam, P/NV/LL taxam, SV t̥āxam, UL/Ss t̥ākam id.; pOs *t̥öy̥tam ({{HL.}} *t̥ō̥y̥tam) > Os: V/Vy t̥ōy̥tam, Ty t̥āy̥tam, Y t̥āwtam, D/K/Nz/Kz/O tewtam id. | Hgtet̥t̥ú id. ¶ UEW 515, It. no. 613. Coll. 119. Sm. 550 (FU. FP *t̥äii. Ugr *t̥äiī 'louse'). LG 250. Lt.

65, MF 631-2, Lr. no. 1251, Lgc. no. 7850, Hs. 437, MRS 374, Ep. 117, Ht. 188 [no. 634]; on pObU {Ht.} *ē = ē cf. Hl. rHt 68-9 || **A** *t'iy' ▽ 'louse' > Tg: Orc tīna- v. 'look for lice, louse (so.)', Tg *tī-le- id. > Ewk, Neg tīlз-, Lm tīl- id.; Tg *tikte (< **tī-kte?) ~ ?? *°tikE. 'louse' (× N *t'äkt ▽ 'louse', q.v.) > Ul tiktз, Ork tiktз ~ çiktз, Nn Nh čiktз, WrMc {Z} чихэ ~ чихи 'louse' ¶ STM II 179, 181, 392, On. 503, Z 936 || T *°Ti:,- > OT U ti-lär 'e insects' ¶ Cl. 501 ¶¶ Altaic *-iy- may go back to N *-äy- (assimilative palatalization *ä > *i) ¶¶ SDM 1425 *t'iy' ▽ 'louse' > Tg *tikte, T), DQA no. 2367 ◇ IS MS 335 (*t'äjä 'louse') and IS SS no. 1.9 (in both: A, U, K *t'il,- 'louse'); K {K} *t'il,- 'louse' or {K²} *t'il- id. (> G t'il-, Mg t'i(y)-, Lz mti-, Sv t'iš-; F K 181, K² 188, TK 718) may be accepted as cognate only if we can explain Sv -š- and K's *-l,- or *-l- ◇ Gr. II no. 254 (*tay 'louse') ([← IS]: L U, A + Ai).

2450. *t'iyA 'to be narrow' > **HS**: EC (× N *t'Uq ▽ 'near; be close to, approach'): Af {PH} dajı v. 'be close\near', Sa {R} daj- v. 'be close\narrow', 'nahe\schmal\eng sein' ¶ PH 91, R S II 121, 408, 448, 462 || **U** *t'iyä 'narrow (eng, schmal)' > Er тея teya, {ERV} теине 'narrow', Mk тьяня t'äyñä 'eng, schmal' || Sm {Jn.} *t'iyä id. > En {Cs.} t'ija, Ne Т тыя, Ne Т О {Lh.} t'iy'e id., Slq Tz {KKIH} t'ic' 'narrow passage, isthmus, neck of land', {Prk.} t'ic'i 'narrow passage (теснина)', Slq Ch/UO {Cs.} te'teka 'eng' ¶¶ Coll. 62, UEW 523, ERV 652, 661, PI 279, KKIИ 183, Cs. 147 || **A**: Tg *t'iy'e 'narrow' > Ewk tiyз ~ tiyэ, Lm t'ixэkun, Lm KO t'iwakun ~ t'iyakun, Lm A t'iyэkun 'narrow (eng, schmal)', Ork çit'ımзy, Nn KU t'iz'õ ~ -ũ, Nn Nh/Bk {STM} čiz'õ ~ -ũ 'narrow (eng)', Nn Nh {On.} čiz'õ 'eng (тесный)' ¶ STM II 176, Vas. 408, On. 503, CiR 640, Pt. 155 ◇ IS MS 370 s.v. 'узкий' *t'ija, IS SS 318 [no. 1.15], Coll. 146, Rs. UAW 36, Sauv. 71 (in all sources U, Tg).

2451. (2?) *t'Uhy ▽ 'eat, feed; food' > **HS** *√t'rh'y/w ~ ? *√t'hy/w > S [1] *√t'w/y 'eat' > Ak та?û v. 'eat, graze', Mh {Jo.} √twy v. G 'eat' (pf. tзwū ~ twuh, ip. yз'tayw, sbjn. yз'tē), Hrs {Jo.} tзwō, Jb E/C {Jo.} pf. 'te, pres. 'yte, sbjn. 'yit, Sq {Jo.} 'te id.; ? [2] *°√t'hy/w > Ar √t'hw/y (pf. t'ahā, ip. -t'hū ~ *-t'haw-, n. act. t'ahw-, *-t'uhw-, *t'uhy-) 'préparer à manger (cuire, rôtir, arranger les viandes\mets)', طاه t'āhi-n 'personne qui prépare à manger (cuisinier, rôtiiseur, boulanger); qui donne à manger' ¶ Sd. 1340, BK II 116, Ln. 1888, Jo. M 404 || Eg fP t 'bread' ¶ EG V 209, Fk. 292 || C: Bj {R} tiyu 'Kost, Nahrung. Lebensunterhalt' ¶ R WBd 233 || ?? NrOm: Ym resp. {C} та?-

v. 'eat', {Wdk.} tàʔrà id. ¶ C SE III 85, Wdk. BY 135, Fl. OWL s.v. 'eat' ¶ The adduction of this Ym word is qu. for three reasons: (1) there is no explanation for -r-, (2) the Ym word is isolated within Om (at least in the meaning 'eat'), (3) the social essence of the "respectful language (linguaggio di rispetto)" suggests that the original meaning of the word is not 'eat', but sth. else (possibly a metaphor) || Ch {AD} *✓th^ωy ~ ✓ty^ω, {JI} *✓t^ωy v. 'eat (soft food)', {Nw.} *ti v. 'eat' > WCh *✓th^ωy ~ *ty^ω, {Stl.} *tih^ω / *tah^ω v. 'eat (soft food)': Hs čí id. | BT: Dr {J} t^ωi / t^ωa, {Nw.} túi, Krkr {Lk., J} t- / {J} tu-, Grm {Sh.} tìyá, Krf {Sch.} tí-wò, Bl {Lk.} ti- id. | Klr {J} čí, {IL} t^hi^x, DfB {J} čuh / čwǎy, Bks {J} ču / čwǎy, Tmbs {Sh.} čí | NrBc: Sir {Gw.} t^ωa, {Sk.} tú, Mbr {Sk.} tì / tà, Jmb {Sk.} tí / tà id. | SBc: Gj/Buli/Tule {Sh.} čí id. | Ngz {Sch.} tá, Bd {IL} t³gi / t³di id. || CCh: Ms {J} tína ~ čína, ZmB {J, Sa.} tí id. || ECh: Mgm {J} tìy-, tìyá^ω, EDng {Fd.} tē, Bdy {AlJ} aor. tǎ / pfc. té / aor. pl. tēyè^ω id. | Skr {Sx.} tē, Mw {J} tē id. | Mu {J} tî / túwâ, {Lk.} túwà, inf. tìyá, Mjl {DB} tük, Kjk {DB} tu, Kjr {DB} tuye, Brg {J} táyà id. ¶ JI I 56 and II 120-1, J M, Stl. ZCh 167 [no. 201] (*ti/ah^ω), J R 213, Nw. KL 133, DB s.v. Kjk tu and Kjr tuye, Blz. EChWL ¶¶ OS no. 2345 (HS *taʔ- 'eat' > S, Eg, C, Ch), AD SF 53 (S, Eg, C, Om, Ch), ≈ Sk. HCD 34 || D (in SD) *tu₁y v. 'eat' > Tm t^u v. 'eat' (generally used in negative forms), t^u 'food', Kn t^uy^ual 'a dish of rice, milk and sugar' ¶ DED no. 2685, D no. 3282 || A *t'ôy∇ 'offer food to so; feast' (× N *toH'ü' ~ *ta|æH'ü' 'bring, fetch, give') > Tg *tuy^u- v. 'offer food to so. (e.g. a guest)' > Ewk, Ul t^uy^u-, Ewk Skh t^uy³-, Lm t^uy-, Lm Al t^uy-, Neg, Orc, Ork t^uy^o-, Nn Nh t^uy^u- id. ('yрощатъ'); Ewk t^uy^un, Ewk Skh t^uy³n, Neg t^uy^on, Orc, Ork t^uy^o / t^uy^on-, Ul t^uy^u / t^uy^un-, Nn Nh t^uy^ũ 'food offered to a guest' ¶ STM II 206, On. 414 || T *Toy 'feast' (× T *Toy 'camp, community?') > OT t^oy '(wedding) feast', XwT XIII, Cmn/MQp/OOsm XIV, Chg XV t^oy 'feast', Tkm t^oy 'wedding feast, wedding, feast', ET, Nog, Qzq, Qq, Qrg, StAlt, Xk t^oy, VTt, Bsh t^uy, Tv d^oy id., Chv L т^uй, Chv Δ т^oй 'wedding feast'; T ⇨ WrM {MED} t^oi 'wedding feast, banquet' ¶ Cl. 567, Rd. III 1141, Rs. W 488, Ash. XIV 94-101, Fed. II 241-2, Jeg. 255, ChVS 219, MED 819, ¶¶ SDM (pA *t'ũya 'give, give a feast') included here MM t^a, ul- 'give, distribute' (acc. to SDM, from pM *ta^u [i.e. *taH|ʔu] 'give, distribute', which is unc.), which is err., and Tg *tuy^u- 'give' (which ' goes back to N *toH'ü' ~ *ta|æH'ü' 'bring, fetch, give'), therefore the pA word in question does not mean 'give' (against the rec. proposed by SDM) ¶¶ SDM 1468

(pA *t'ũya 'give, give a feast': T *Toγ 'feast', Tg *tuγu- v. 'offer food to so.' + unc. T *Toγ 'community' and MM t_au_l- 'give, distribute'), DQA no. 2457 (id.), SDM97 s.v. *t'oye (id.), ADb.SR 14, ≠ Rm. SKE 260 (Tg, T [with untenable parallels for the Tg √]).

2451a. *t̥ahy∇ 'go away, take away' ([in descendant lges] → 'conceal') > IE *teh(y)- 'take away, steal' > NaIE *tāy- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief' > OI t̥ā'yu- 'thief', Av t̥āyu- id., t̥āya- 'theft' || Gk [Hs.] τήτη n. 'want', Gk τητάομαι, Gk D τᾰτάομαι 'be in want; be deprived\bereft of, be in want of', τηύσιος, Gk D τᾰύσιος 'idle, vain, undertaken to no purpose' (if ← ≈ *'[self-]deceptive') || Clt {Matas.} *tātant- 'thief' > OIr [γ] t̥áid 'fur (thief)' || Sl *taj- 'steal, conceal': *tájiti (pres. *tajǫ) 'to conceal' > OCS **ТАНТИ** tajiti (1s pres. **ТАНѢ** tajǫ), R та'ить (1s pres. та'ю), SCr t̥ájiti (1s pres. t̥ájī), Slv tajiti 'to conceal'; *tajь 'secret' > OCS **ТАН** taji adv. 'λάθρα, ἔω κρυπτῶ' 'secretly', {StSS} 'тайно, тайком, скрытно, украдкой', OR **ТАН** 'secretly', n. 'secret', Slv t̥āj 'denial', Cz pod tajem 'secretly'; Sl *tatь 'thief' > OCS **ТАТЬ** tatь, R † тать, SCr, Slv t̥āt 'thief, robber' || Tc B ene-staj 'in secret' || Ht, HrLw тауа- 'steal' ¶¶ P 1010, EI 543 (*(s)teh⁴- 'steal, bring secretly, conceal'), M K I 496 and III 513-14, M E II 75, Vn. T 7, Matas. E 372, StSS 686-7, 689-90, Srz. III 911-12, F II 895-6, Vs. IV 11, 28, Glh. 618, Ad. 84-5, Ts. E III 24-6 || **U**: Ugr *taγ∇-tta- 'verbergen, verheimlichen' (unless borrowed from Irn) > Vg: T tuyt-, tōyt-, P tuyt- id., 'verstecken', MK tuyt-, Ss tūyt- vt. 'hide', LL tuytkāt- vi. 'sich verbergen' || Hg titok 'a secret', † adj. 'geheim, heimlich' ¶ UEW 892 || **A**: Tg *tey- or *tī- 'take away (sth. from so.)' > Ewk, Ud, Ul t̥ī-, Lm tē-, Sln tīn-, Nn Nh čī- id., Neg tižayama 'thief' ¶ STM II 173-4, On. 501 || **HS**: S *^o√t̥hy ~ *^o√t̥yh > Ar √t̥hy G 'être loin, être éloigné', √t̥yh (ip. -t̥īh-) {BK} 'périr, se perdre, s'en aller; s'égarer et manquer le but', {Hv.} 'go astray, perish', √t̥wh (ip. *-t̥ūh- ~ -t̥īh-) G {BK} 'errer, rôder, aller çà et là; s'égarer et ne pas atteindre le but' ¶ BK II 62, 117, 128, Hv. 443 ◇ The Ugrian and IE cognates suggest that here Tg *-ey- or *-ī- go back to *-ay-.

2452. *w a 'also', (?) 'same' ([in descendant lges] → 'and') > **HS**: S *w a 'and' > BHb -ṽw ā- (before a stressed syll.) / -ṽw ə- / -ṽw u-, Ph w-, Pun w-, (LSc) U-, Y-, (GkSc) ou-, Ug w-, (AkSc) {Hnr.} w a- (?), OA w-, wʔ- ([wa]), BA, IA -ṽw ə- / -ṽw u-, Sr w ə-, Md u-, Ar, Gz w a-, Sb, Mn, Qt w-, Mh {Jo.} w(ɜ)- / ɜw-, Hrs w(ɜ)-, Jb E/C b-, Sq {Jo.} wɜ-, Ak u-, Eb {Krb.} ú, ù, w a 'and' ¶ Br. G II 484-90 [§ 302], KB 247, 1699, FrdR § 257a, HJ 294-6, Hnr. 122, OLS 512-13, Deg. § 46a, Seg. AAG 234, 532, Mc. HM 450-2, BGMR 154, MA 101, Rk. 47, L G 602, Jo. M 418-19, Jo. H 133, Jo. J 286, DRS 473-80 || **IE**: NaIE {WP, Mn.} *u 'and, but, also' > OI u ~ ū encl. 'and, also' (also in cds: nō < 'and not' [*na 'not' + *u], a t h o 'and then, and so' [< *a t h a 'then, so' + *u]) || Gk -u in π ἄ ν -u 'altogether', {WP} 'gar sehr' (< π ἄ ν, π α ν - 'all' + -u) || ? Tc A o k {Ad.} 'again', {JGH} 'yet, still', {Wn.} 'encore' (*u-g), B m ā w k, A m ā o k 'not again' | NaIE cd *u-te > OI u t a, Av u t ā, OPrs u t ā 'and, also', Gk -ύ τε in ἡ -ύ τε 'as, like as' ('ἡ 'as' + -ύ τε) | Highly problematic is the ambiguous NaIE apophonic grade *a u 'again' ({F} 'again, back [zurück]) (with a puzzling *a for the expected *e or *o) > Gk α ῦ 'again, anew, once more' || Gmc: Gt a u k (· γ ῦ ρ) 'denn, aber, auch', ON a u k 'also, and', Sw o c h, o c k, Dn o g 'and', OHG o u h, NHG a u c h 'also', OSx ô k, AS é a c 'also'. If IE *a u meant originally 'back, away' (as suggested by BSl: Lt a u -, Sl *u- 'away'), it does not belong here (unless the meaning 'back [zurück]' is the original meaning of the N word, whence the meanings 'also' and 'and') ¶ WP I 188, Mn. 1496, M K I 97, 101, M E I 209, ≈ F I 183, Fs. 67, Vr. 19, Ho. 82, Ho. S 57, Kb. 754, OsS 670, Schz. 231, KM 36, Wn. I 329-30, JGH 30, Ad. 109 || **K**: OG, G -ve 'also, same' (encl. pc. of identity): OG rametu χ ar-ve galilevel 'for thou art also a Galilaean' (Mark 6.20), mas-ve saχ lsa š ena 'in the same house' (Luc. 10.7), G š en-ve 'du selbst, gerade du' ¶ Ser. 62-3, Chx. 371 || **A**: M *b a 'and, also, (?) same' > MM [S] {H}, [HI] {Lew.} b a / b e 'and, also', [HI] {Ms.} b a / b e 'and', {Ms.} b a 'même', WrM {MED}, WrO {Krg.} b a 'and, also', HIM b a {MED} id., {BMR} 'and', Dg {T} b a (:) 'and, also', Kl bk. {Rm.} b a 'und, auch', Brt b a, Ord encl. -b ā 'and' ¶ H 11, 14, Ms. H 38, 40, Lew. II 16, 18, MED 64, BMR I 202, Krg. 322, Chr. 71, KW 27, T DgJ 123, Ms. O 41 ◇ ≈ BmK 603 (*w a / *w ə [sentence particle] 'and, also, but, like, as' > IE, S, K [without distinguishing between reflexes of N *w a 'also, (?) same' and those of N *ʔ a w ũ 'whether?', 'or']), ≠ K W 27 (M ← S??).

2453. *w∇ 'who?' > **HS**: Ch: WCh: Hs wā 'who?' | Fy {J} wá, Bks ʔá-wá, DfB wá(-mây) id. || CCh 'who?': Mrg, Klb wà, Bu wà...ri id. | McMtk: Mtk ware ~ wara, pMM {Ro.} *wa > Mada {BrrB} wwà / wwây, {Ro.} uwa, MfG {Brr.} wa, Mf {BLB} wá, wa id., as well as {Ro.}: Myn, Mlk, Mofu wáy, Hrz wíyà, Mkt, Gzg wa id. | Mdr wá id. | G'nd, Boka wùni, Gbn wùni 'who?' | Gude {Hsk.} wù, {ChL} wà id. | Lmn wè (< *wa) id. | Hide wa id. | Bdm (w)ōni 'who?' || ECh: Mkl, Jg wê, Bdy wá, EDng wā, Mgm wè id. | Mu {J} wā id. | Li wéy id. ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'who?', Lk. G 42, Ro. 359 [no. 803], J LMF s.v. wā, Hsk. s.v. wù, BLB 376, Brr. MG II 252-3, BrrB 262, Abr. H 912-13, Ba. 1070, Blz. EChWL no. 98 || B: Zkara wi, Kb wi, wu 'who?' ¶ DI. 848-9 || ? C: Ag: Bln {R} wu'rā 'what?', Aw {Hz.} wátay 'what?', wǎš 'where?' ¶ AD KJ 117, R BilS 691-2 || **K** *wi- 'who?' > OG nom., erg. wi-n, G nom., erg. vi-n (gen. vi-s, dat. vi-s(a)) 'who?', Sv {TK} i- ɖ yi- ɖ e- (*'who?') in the gen. form: UB i-šā, L yi-šā, Ln e-šā 'whose?' (i-šā hašwiš li? 'whose daughter is she?') ¶¶ Fn. GAS 73, Vogt GLG 41, FS K 124, FS E 135, ≈ K² 52, ≈ K 135, Mrtr. N 183, TK 311 || **ñ**: Tg *u- 'who?', 'what?' > Ewk PT uɣun 'who?', 'what?' (of sth. unknown), Nn KU ūnɜkɜ- (interr. verb ['how to act?', 'what to do?']) ¶ STM II 247 ◊ The elements *-i- (and -i-n) in K and B may have been induced by K *mi-n 'who?' and by N *mi 'what?' (or go back to N *ya 'which?', 'what kind of?', cf. Myn, Mlk, Mofu wáy, Hrz wíyà 'who?').

2454. *wEĉû 'good, beautiful', (?) 'fit' > **HS**: S *✓ wsm > Ak (w)asāmū 'be fit, be proper, be suitable', Ug ɣsm 'beautiful, pleasant', ɣsmt 'beauty', Ar ✓ wsm G (pf. wasama, ip. yasimu) 'surpass so. in beauty', (pf. wasuma) {BK} 'être beau de visage' ¶ Sd. 1473-4, OLS 539, BK II 1537, Ln. 3054, Hv. 870, DRS 569 || **IE** *wesu- / *wēsu- 'good' > OI 'wasu-ḥ (f. 'wasvī-), Av vaṇhu-, vohu- 'good', OI wasīyān, Av vahyā 'better', OI wasiṣṭha-, Av vahištō 'best', NPrs ɸbeh 'good, better' || Clt {Matas.} *°wesu- 'excellent, noble' > OIr feib 'in excellence' (< *wesw-ā), febas {P} 'Vortrefflichkeit', fó 'good, goodness', {Thr.} fíu 'worth' | BSl *wes-el- > Ltv vēsēls 'healthy, unhurt, intact' | Sl *veselъ(jb) > OCS весель veselъ, Blg 'весел, SCr vēseo, Slv vesel, Cz, Slk veselý, OP wiesioły, P wesolý, Uk веселий 'gay, cheerful', R весёлый id., 'весел 'is gay, is cheerful' || Lw {Mlc.} wāsū- 'good' || NaIE *eys-

'good' > Gt *i u s i z a* 'besser, vorzüglicher' | OCS *оу нѣнн ун-іі ~ оу нѣн ун-ѣі* adj. 'better' (cmpr. of *uno** < **e ws-no-*) ¶ P 1174-5, EI 235 (**wesu-* 'excellent, noble'), M K III 173-4, M E II 533-4, VI. I 282-3, Sg. 209, Horn 55, Thr. §§ 249, 911, LP § 24.4, YGM-1 267, 274, Ern. 307, Hm. 365, Fs. 298-9, StSS 740, Vs. I 303, StSS 740, Glh. 667, BER I 136-7, Kar. II 513-14, Mlc. CL 266 | | U: FU **wEć∇* 'beautiful, straight' > Prm {LG} **veś* 'straight' > Z *веськыд* *veśkɨd*, Yz *veśkʌt* 'straight, truthful', Vt *veśkɨt*, *veś-veś* 'slender', *veśkɨtskɨ-* v. 'straighten oneself' ||| ObU {Ht.} **wīćaŋ* 'beautiful' > pVg **wīśaŋ* id. > Vg: LK *wīśaŋ*, MK *wīśam*, Ss *wēśaŋ*; pOs **wīćaŋ* id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty *wīfāŋ*, D/K *wefāŋ*, Kz/O *wesāŋ*, Nz *wesāp* ¶ LG 54, Ht. no. 654 ◊ ≠ Gr. II no. 180 (**asu* 'good') (IE + unc. A, EA).

2454a. **wic|ć∇* (or **wEńć|ć∇*??) 'whole, all' > IE: NaIE **wējs-* / **wis-* 'whole, every', (pl.) 'all' > Lt *vīsas*, Ltv *vīss*, Pru *wīssa* 'whole' (pl. 'all') | SI **vьsbь* 'whole, every, all' > OCS m. *вѣсь вѣсь*, f. *вѣся вѣся*, ntr. *вѣсе вѣсе* 'whole, every', m. pl. *вѣси вѣси* 'all', f. pl. *вѣса вѣса* 'all', ntr. pl. *вѣся вѣся* 'all'; m.: Blg *се*, Slv *veś*, SCr *Δ vās* *∂ ves*, OCz *veš*, OP *wszy*, R *весь*, Uk *увесь* 'whole' ||| ?? Iir (if from a d. **wis-k̄_lu₁we|o-?*) > OI *vīśvaḥ*, Av *vīspa-*, OPrs *vīsa-*, Sgd *wyśp-*, KhS *biśśa-*, MPrs Trf *vyspy* 'every, all'. The element **-k̄-* may be tentatively equated with *-k-* in OI 'pīnākam 'stick', Gk *πίναξ* (gen. *πίνακος*) 'board, plank' (← NaIE **pīn-* 'Holzstück', see P 830, Eul. 171-4). Is it possible to equate the Iir stem with Lt *vīsõks*, OCS *вѣсякъ вѣсякъ*, R *всякий*, Cz *všaký* 'all kind of'? ¶ Frn. 1264, En. 275-6, Vs. I 304-5, 364, StSS 162-3, 827, Glh. 541, M E III 225-6, Bai. 289, ≠ P 1176 (IE **wi-k̄-*) | | HS: NrOm: Bsk {Fl.} *wojci*, Dk {Blz. ← Fl.?) *wajci* 'all' ¶ Fl. OWL s.v. 'all', Blz. L no. 1d | | U {UEW} **wEć∇* ~ (??) **wEńć∇* 'whole, all' > Er *весе veše* *∂ veśi* ~ *väśiy* 'whole, every, all' | Prm {LG} **w∇ć∇* > Vt N *vóćak* 'whole, entirely' ('всё, целиком'), Z *Δ vać* 'completely, quite' ||| Hg *össze*, OHg, Hg *Δ összve* adv., pv. 'zusammen, aneinander, zueinander' || Sm: Ng {Ter.} *bзnsз* (pl. *bзnje*) 'whole' ('весь'), Kms *bűš'a* 'heil, ganz' ¶ UEW 568, Coll. CG 68, 140, LG 4, Ter. NgJ 169, KD 12 | | D (on GnD) **vić-* 'all' > Knd, Png *vizu*, Mnd *viž'a* 'all', Knd *vizer*, Png *vizer*, Mnd *viž'ar* 'all men, all people' ¶ D no. 5387 ◊ Since IE **i̯* may go back to N **ń*, one of two alternative N reconstructions is **wEńć|ć∇* (not accounting for D **vić-*). But if the N etymon is **wic|ć∇*, U **e* in

*weć∇ ~ (??) *°weńć∇ requires explanation ◇ The equation was first proposed by Blz. in 1989 (Blz. L no. 1d); Blz. LNA no. 57 (Om, BSI, U, D).

2455. *wac_l∇_lq∇ 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty\filthy liquid'), 'dirt' > HS: WS *✓wsχ v. 'be dirty' > Ar وسخ ✓wsχ G (pf. wasiχa, ip. yawsaχu ~ yasaχu ~ yāsaχu) v. 'être sale\malpropre' (of hands, body, clothes), wasaχ- 'saleté, malpropreté', wasiχ- 'sale, malpropre, sali', Mh, Jb ✓wsχ: Mh pf. a'wasχ, sbjn. ya'wasχ, Jb E pf. a'wusχ, Jb C pf. ūsχ v. 'dirty' (but Mh w3sāχ, Jb E/C ws3χ 'dirt' may go back to Ar O wi'saχ id.), Tgr {d'A} ✓wsχ G (pf. wesχe) 'troubler, salir' ¶ BK II 1532-3, Jo. M 431, Jo. J 293, LH 437, DRS 567 || IE: [1] IE *w0(:)s-0-s, -ā, -i-s, *wes-, *wōs- 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty liquid'), 'moisture' > OI 'vasā 'liquid, fluid', NPrs هب bōh 'sperm, coitus' || Um VESTICATU vestikatu 'libato', vesticia 'libamentum (libation)' || OFrs wase 'mire', Dt waas 'layer of mist of fine drops', AS wōs 'juice, liquor, sap', NE ooze; ? Nr vass- 'water' (in cds and ds: vassen 'watery', vass-flo 'stream of water', Δ vass-fall 'waterfall, shower' etc.) (unless vass- is a still unexplained phonetic variant of watn 'water') || Ltv Δ {ME} ie-vasa 'moisture in the ground, sap in trees', ??? vasa 'forest with wet ground and blue clay' | Sl: Cz SEB/Mr d. {Ma.} vaskī (spelled by Ma. as vazkǔ) 'damp, moist (vlhký)' || ?? Ht {Frd., Ts.} wassi 'Ingredienz; Heilmittel, Salbe' (Mn. 1495 interprets this word as '[ε] ritual liquid') || [2] -d- NaIE *w0sə-l0-s 'fluid' ({Mn.} 'fluid, serum') > OIr {SB} fúal (gen. fúail), NIr fual 'urine', OBr [γ] di-di-oulam · "micturio" (unless from Clt {SB} *w0g10- 'urine') | ?? OIr, Ir fuil 'blood' || OHG wasal 'feuchte Erdmasse', Sw vassla 'whey'; a Gmc source (OHG Δ?) -b- MdL [LxS] {OsS} wasilus 'humor' ¶ Some of these words may result from a merger with NaIE *weis-/*wois-/*wis- 'liquid, swamp' (> ON veisa 'mud, swamp', OI vi'sam 'liquid') ¶¶ P 1171-2, Mn. 1495, 1525, 1582, ≈ EI 639 (*h₁wes- 'moist'), M E II 533, ≠ M K III 168-9 (treating OI 'vasā as a variant of vāśam 'grease'), Vl. I 186, Bc. G 351, Thr. 171, Dnn. 337, 339, SB 266, Ho. 406, Ho. S 84, Kb. 1151, OsS 1102, Hlq. 1321-2, Vr. 652, Ar. 983, Frn. 23 (s.v. atvašà), ME II 86, Ma. CS 557-8, Frd. HW 248, Ts. W 103 ¶ If Mn.'s rec. *w0sə10s is valid, *ə is a trace of an IE lr. from N *q || U: FU *wac_l∇_lq∇ 'dirt, (dirty) liquid' > Er vacé, Mk vacə 'faeces, dirt' || OBr {Frd.} *vāśak 'dirt' > NPrs {Ht.} *vāśak > OBr. S. Vt

вочагъ, Tb вочахъ, S Tr восяхъ, W Sol вóчaxъ, Vg: T {Mu.} $\bar{u}c\acute{e}x$, P {Mu.} $v\acute{a}c\acute{e}x$ 'Kot', LK {Kn.} $w\acute{o}stax\bar{t}$ -, MK $w\acute{a}stax\bar{t}$ - 'sich beschmutzen'; pOs $*w\acute{i}c\acute{a}k$, $*w\acute{a}c\acute{a}k$ ({[Hl.]} $*w\acute{i}c\acute{a}k$) 'dirt' > Os: Cng $w\acute{i}t\acute{a}x$ 'dirt', K $w\acute{i}t\acute{a}x$, Ks $w\acute{a}t\acute{a}x$ 'mud (няша, Schlamm)'; Os: Vy $w\acute{i}t\acute{k}a\bar{l}$, Nz $w\acute{o}s\acute{l}a\bar{x}$, Kz $w\acute{o}s\acute{l}\bar{a}x$, O $w\acute{a}s\acute{l}a\bar{x}$ 'humid (feucht)' ¶ But pLp {Lr.} $*v\acute{o}n\acute{c}z$ 'water on ice, bare ice, matter in a wound' (> Lp N {N} $v\acute{u}o\check{z}'\check{z}e$, Lp L {LLO} $v\acute{u}o\check{d}tja$ etc.) hardly belongs here, it may be better equated with D $*va\check{n}t\bar{t}$ - 'dirty' [D no. 4282] ¶ UEW 557-8, Coll. 122, Ps. M 151 [no. 1247], Ht. no. 653, Stn. D 1650-1, Jv. 68 (Er ваце 'кал, шлак'), Lr. no. 1446, Lgc. no. 8719 || A: M: WrM базимаг, базима 'sediment, drugs, residue of a liquid', HIM бажмаг 'lees of wine' ¶ MED 93, BMR I 214 || D (in SD) $*va\check{c}$ - 'fluid', v. 'ooze, flow, rain' (× N $*wAS\check{V}$ 'rainy weather, rainy season') > Tm $vaci$ 'rain, water', Kn $bas\acute{i}$, $bose$ v. 'drip, trickle, ooze', $basu$ 'oozing', Tu $basabasa$ 'gushing, flowing in a stream', $bas\acute{a}$ 'overflowing' ¶ D no. 5214 ◇ The vd. WrM cns. \check{z} (for the expected vl. one) needs an explanation.

2456. (z_2 ?) $*we\check{c}\check{V}$ (or $*wi\check{c}\check{V}$?) 'to order, to require, to beg' > HS: WS $*\check{v}w\check{c}y|w$ > Ar $وَصَاةٌ$ $wa\check{s}\bar{a}-t$ - 'commandement, ordre', $\check{v}w\check{s}y$ D 'léguer qch. par testament, recommander qch. en se mourant', $\check{v}w\check{s}y$ Sh id., 'ordonner, commander', BHb $\check{v}caw$ n. 'order', {KBR} 'command', $\check{v}cwy$ v. D (pf. $\check{v}\check{c}i\check{w}'w\bar{a}$) 'command', SmA $\check{v}sqwy$ v. D 'command', Sb $w\check{s}t$ 'decree', Mh {Jo.} $aw\bar{o}si$, Jb C $\bar{o}si$ 'give dying instructions'; $\check{v}cwy$ D v. 'order', IA $b\check{s}wt$ 'in an order, by ordering' ¶ BK II 1551-2, KB 946-8, KBR 1008-9, Tal 726, BGMR 164, Jo. M 432, Jo. J 293, DRS 592 || Eg fOK $w\check{z}$ v. 'command, decree, commend to', $w\check{z}$, $w\check{z}.t$ 'order' ¶ EG I 394-7, Fk. 73-4 || C: Ag $*c\acute{i}w-$ / $c\acute{a}w-$ v. 'beg' ([??] × N $*s'\acute{a}w\check{c}g\check{V}$ 'want, beg', q.v. ffd.) || $\check{v}\phi$ K: GZ $*\check{c}w'e\check{c}\check{c}$ -- > G $\check{c}ve\check{c}$ - v. 'beg', Mg, Lz $\check{c}ve\check{c}$ - id. (← G?) ¶ Chik. 427 ¶ $*\check{c}$ - may be due to metanalysis of the 1 sg. form (with the pK px $*\check{c}w-$ of 1s) || D (in SD) $*ve|i\check{c}a-$, { $\check{v}GS$ } $*ve|isa-$ 'command, order' > Tm $vi\check{y}am$ id., Kn $besa$ 'performance of a prescribed act, demand, order' ¶ D no. 5405, GS 75-6 (on the SD neutralization of $*i$ and $*e$ before $*a$ of the next syll.).

2457. $*we\check{c}\check{V}_1\check{V}_2\check{V}$ 'go out' > HS: S $*\check{v}w\hat{s}\check{?}$, $-w\hat{s}i\check{?}$ - 'go out' (× WS $*\check{v}w\hat{s}\check{?}$ 'blossom' < N $*wi\hat{s}\check{?}\check{V}$ 'grow' [esp. of plants], q.v. ffd.) > OCn [EA] $ci-sa$ (3s ip. G), Ph $\check{v}uc\check{?}G$ 'go out', BHb $\check{v}uc\check{?}G$ {KBR} id.,

'come out, come forth', Ug ✓ $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{u}\text{s}^{\text{r}}$ v. 'come out', {OAS} 'salir, asomar', Amr {Krb., Frnz.} inf. $\text{w}^{\text{a}}\text{-z}^{\text{a}}\text{-}\text{u}^{\text{e}}\text{-u}^{\text{m}}$ (= $\text{wa}\text{s}\bar{\text{a}}\text{?um}$) 'go out', Sr ✓ $\text{y}\text{r}\text{w}\text{y}$ (pf. $\text{y}\text{r}\text{w}\text{y}\text{r}$) v. G 'grow', Sb, Gz ✓ $\text{w}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{r}}$ v. 'come out, go out', Ak ✓ $\text{w}\text{s}^{\text{r}}$ v. 'go out\away', S d. $\text{*ma}\text{w}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{r}}\text{a?}$ -> BHb XZr $\text{m}\bar{\text{o}}^{\text{r}}\text{c}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'place\act of going out, source', Ph $\text{m}(\text{w})\text{s}^{\text{r}}$, Y'd XZr $\text{m}\text{q}\text{k}^{\text{r}}$ ($\text{k} = [\text{X}]$), IA $\text{m}\text{w}^{\text{r}}$ 'rising (of the sun)', Sr (d.) $\text{ma}\text{w}^{\text{r}}\text{i}^{\text{r}}\text{-}\bar{\text{a}}$ 'growth (Wachstum), plants', {Br.} 'crescentia, planta', Ak $\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}^{\text{r}}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'exit, passage, escape' ¶ KB 406, 530, KBR 425-7, BDB 422-6, HJ 465, 604-5, A no. 1222, OLS 539-40, Br. 304-5, Lv. T I 340, Js. 583, BGMR 156, L G 606, Sd. 1475, Frnz. EL 152, 157, Jo. J 296, CAD X/2 247, DRS 595-6 || IE: NaIE (+ext.) *wesk -v. 'go out, depart' > OI [Dhat.] $\text{vas}\text{k-at}\bar{\text{e}}$ id. ({MW}: $\text{vas}\text{k-at}\bar{\text{e}}$ is an err. spelling for $\text{vas}\text{k-at}\bar{\text{e}}$) || MHG wischen v. 'leicht und schnell sich bewegen, (ent)schlüpfen' || W {Mn. \leftarrow ?} gwesu 'to go out, to depart' ¶ Mn. 1528, 1678, MW 930, Lex. 324 || A: NaT $\text{*}\bar{\text{o}}\text{c}$ -v. 'go out' (of fire etc.), 'be extinguished' > OT {Cl.} $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}$ -id. ([MhK] $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}\text{di}$ 'the fire went out [ساقانا saqana]', $\text{erni}\eta$ $\bar{\text{o}}\text{pk}\bar{\text{a}}\text{s}\text{i}$ $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}\text{di}$ 'the man's anger died out [ساقانا saqana]), {DTS} $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}$ -v. 'stop' (of breath) ([MhK] $\text{erni}\eta$ $\text{t}\text{i}\text{n}\text{i}$ $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}\text{di}$ 'the man's breath stopped'), Tkm, Qrg, ET, Ln $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}$ -, Qzq, Qq, Tv $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{s}}$ -, Tf $\bar{\text{c}}\check{\text{s}}$ -, StAlt $\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}$ -, Uz $\bar{\text{y}}\text{c}$ - $\text{w}\check{\text{c}}$ -, Xk us -, Yk $\bar{\text{o}}\text{s}$ -v. 'go out' (of fire), VTt $\bar{\text{u}}\check{\text{s}}$ -v. 'die out' (of a clan etc.), 'be ruined' ¶ Cl. 19-20, DTS 376, ET Gl 559-60, Ra. 215, TatR 755 || D (in GnD) $\text{*ve}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ / $\text{*ven}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ v. 'take out' > Mnd $\text{v}\bar{\text{e}}\text{n}\bar{\text{z}}$ -, Kui $\text{v}\bar{\text{e}}\text{s}\text{a}$ -v. 'take out', Ku $\text{ve}\bar{\text{c}}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ v. 'take out\off' ¶ D no. 5523 \diamond T $\bar{\text{o}}$ - is a regular reflex of N *we - (cp. N $\text{*we}\bar{\text{i}}\nabla$ 'shoulder, humerus, back (Rücken)' > T $\text{*}\bar{\text{o}}\bar{\text{i}}\bar{\text{u}}\bar{\text{n}}$ '≈ shoulder').

2458. $\text{*w}\text{r}\bar{\text{u}}\text{u}\hat{\text{c}}\text{r}\nabla\text{r}\text{y}\nabla$ 'to put, to set, to lay' > HS: WS $\text{*}\check{\text{w}}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{r}}$ > Ar وضع ✓ $\text{w}\hat{\text{c}}^{\text{r}}$ G (ip. $\text{-}\text{w}\hat{\text{c}}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{r}$ -) v. {BK} 'placer, poser, mettre', {Hv.} 'put, put down, place', Sb $\text{h}\text{w}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{r}}$ inf. 'be stationed, be resident', ? σ Jb C {Jo.} $\text{m}\bar{\text{o}}\hat{\text{s}}^{\text{r}}\text{a}\text{r}$ 'circular house; family' ¶ BK II 1554-7, Hv. 876, BGMR 157, Jo. J 296, ≈ DRS 598-9 || K $\text{*}\bar{\text{o}}\check{\text{c}}\text{q}$ - (or $\text{*}\text{c}\text{q}$ -) > OG, G cq - 'put\set (several objects on sth.), arrange' (\rightarrow 'draw up warriors in battle array') ¶ Chx. 2204, 2227, DCh. 1700, KEGL VIII 1215-16, Abul. 555 || D (in GnD) $\text{*u}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ v. 'set, put' > Png $\text{u}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ v. 'fix (e.g. a net), set (a trap), put (on fire)', Mnd $\text{u}\bar{\text{c}}\text{-}$ v. 'fix (net), set (trap)' ¶ D no. 582 || ? σ A: Tg: Ewk PT $\text{u}\check{\text{c}}\text{u}\check{\text{c}}\text{3}$ -v. 'lie, liegen' (of a person) ¶ STM II 297.

2459. $\text{*wed}\nabla$ 'to hunt' (\rightarrow [in descendant lges] \rightarrow '[to] wish') > K *wed - 'wish, ask' > Sv wad -/ wd - 'wish' (wad n. 'wish', i-wd-i 'he

longs for'), Sv: UB {GP} msd. li-wd-i 'to yearn for so.\sth.', UB/L {TK} li-wd-i, Ln {TK} li-wäd-i 'to wish'; OG, G ved-r- 'ask, implore' (OG evedreboda mas 'he asked him') ¶¶ FS K 121, FS E 131, Fn. GAS 231, GP 151, TK 45O || U: FU *w e δ ▽- 'kill, (?) hunt' (× N *w e d ▽ [or *w e ? ▽ d ▽ ?] 'push, strike, cut' [with weapon]?) > Prm {LG} *v i y- (or *v ɜ y-?) 'kill' > Vt в и- v i-, Δ v i y- 'kill', Z в и- v i-, Z LL, Prmk v i y-, Yz v i ·- id. || ObU {ǾHI.} *w ē l- 'kill' > pVg *ǎ l- > Vg: T ä l-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV ā l-, LL ä l- ~ ā l-, UL/Ss a l- id.; pOs {{ǾHI.} *w ǎ l- > pOs *w e l- > Os: V/Vy/O w e l-, Ty/Y w ǎ ɸ-, D/K/Nz w e t-, Kz w e ɸ- id. || OHg ≥XIII ö l- 'kill', Hg ö l- 'kill, slaughter', (× Ugr *y ä l ▽- 'go') OHg ≥XII ü l d-, Hg ǎ l d ö z- 'chase, pursue' ¶ UEW 566-7, LG 57, MF 513-14, EWU 1081, 1588, ≈ Ht. no. 680 (ObU *w ē l-/*w ǒ l-, pOs *w e l-) || D: [1] *v ē t t- / ?φ *v ē ñ t t-, {An.} *v ē ñ t t-, {GS} *v ē ñ t- 'hunt' (× N *w e n d ▽ 'to fight, to injure, to hurt') > Tm v ē t t a m, v ē t t a ĩ 'hunting, chase, murder', v ē t t u 'hunting, hunter', Ml v ē t t a, Kn b ē t e, b ē ñ t e, Tu b ē ñ t æ, b ó ñ t æ, b ē t i, Tl v ē t a, v e ñ t a 'hunting, chase', Kt v e t, Td p e t, Kdg b o · t e, Nkr, Knd v ē t a, Gnd v e t a ɹ v ē t a, Png, Mnd b ē t, Ku b ē t a 'hunting', Klm v e · t a · d- 'hunt'; [2] (× N *w 'o' ñ ▽ 'wish, love', q.v.) *v ē ñ - / *v ē ñ t t- / *v ē t t- / *v ē ñ - 'want, desire' > Tm v ē ñ t t u v. 'want, desire', v é t t a m 'desire, thing desired', v ē t a ĩ 'desire, longing', v e ñ (t) u m 'it will be required\necessary', Ml v ē ñ a m, v ē ñ t t u m 'it must\ought, it is desired', v e ñ 'necessary', Td p ö · d-. Kdg b o · d- v. 'beg', Kdg b o · ñ d u 'it is wanted', Kn b ē (ñ) t a 'longings, sexual passion', Tu b ē d u- v. beg, ask', Tl v ē d u v. 'pray, beg, wish' ¶¶ D *ñ in *v ē ñ - belongs to the heritage of *w 'o' ñ ▽ ¶¶ Zv. 104, D no-s 5527-8, GS 199-200 [no. 501], 60 [no. 172], An. SG 131-2 ◇ Fn. KD no. 42 (K, D).

2460. *w e d ▽ (or *w e ? ▽ d ▽ ?) 'push, strike, cut (with weapon)' > HS: Eg fOK w d y '(vom Ufer den Schiff) abstoßen' ¶ EG I 387 || ?φ B {ǾPr.} *-w H i | u t > Ah ayt (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6, pf. i w ǎ t, frq. a g g ā t), Ty/Twl ə w ə t (pf. y ə w ɛ t, Pcj. I A 6), Gd {Lf.} ε w ə t (pf. ī w ε t) 'frapper', Mz {Dlh.} ə w ə t id., Wrg {Dlh.} ə w ə t, Sll {Ds.} ū t, BSn {Ds.} ū w ə t, Izn {Ds.} u w ə t, {Rn.} e w ə t, Rf B/A {Rn.} e w ə t (✓ w t) id., 'battre', Kb w ə t id., Tmz {MT} w ə t / w t / u t id., ?φ Zng {TC} e w i h 'frapper' (pf. y u w a h, 3p y u w a ? n) ¶ Fc. 1533-8, 2005 (on Fcj. 62), GhA 203; Pr. M VI-VII 106 and GhA 247 (both on Pcj. I A 6); Dlh. M 230, Dlh. Ou 357, Rn. 284, Dl. 878-9, MT 772-4, Ds. 34, 135, Ds. B 33, 140-1, Lf. I 239 and II no. 689 DCTC 288 TC 7 309 TC Fl. 2 ¶ The unexpected R *-t- needs

explanation. The B root may be related to Eg NK {EG} ωt 'eine gegen Osiris gerichtete Handlung' (EG I 378) || Ch: Ngz $\omega \dot{t} d \acute{u}$ v. 'cut off, slice off' ¶ Sch. DN 164 ¶¶ Tk. p.c. || IE * wed^h - v. 'push, strike, destroy, slay' > OI $vadh$ - 'strike, slay, kill', ' $vadh$ ar 'a destructive weapon', Av $vadar$ - id., $vada$ - 'wedge for hewing wood', $vādāy$ ° 'zurück-stoßen\dringen' || Gk $\omega \theta \acute{\epsilon} \omega$ 'thrust, push', Gk Hm $\acute{\epsilon} \theta \omega \nu$ (pl. $\acute{\epsilon} \theta \omicron \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$) [$\Sigma \chi$.] 'damaging, destroying' {P} 'stoßend, verwühlend', Gk [Hs.] $\acute{\epsilon} \theta \epsilon \iota$ (' $\varphi \theta \epsilon \acute{\iota} \rho \epsilon \iota$)-'vernichtet, zerstört' || OIr $fodb$ {P} 'spoils of war', {EI} 'weapon' (< * wod^h - $w0$ -), $faisc id$ 'presses', MW $gwascu$ 'press' || Lt $vedegā$ 'adze, ice axe', Ltv $vedga$ 'ice axe, crowbar', Pru $wedigo$ 'carpenter's axe' || OCS $сѣбѡдѡсѣ$ - $vada$ 'quarrel, strife', {StSS} 'ссора, распря' || pTc {Ad.} * $wāt$ - > Tc: B $wāt$ - 'fight', A wac , B $weta$ 'combat, struggle' || here Ht $wezz$ - ~ $wiwida$ -, if it means {EI ← ?} 'strike, urge' rather than {Ts.} 'sich bemühen, anstrengen' ¶¶ WP I 254-5, P 1115 and EI 471 (all of them: * wed^h - 'push, strike'), ≈ Mn. 1498, MW 916, M K III 135-6, M E II 496-7, F I 446-50 and II 1144-5, Ch. 316, Hofm. 84, Frn. 1211, En. 272, StSS 639, Wn. I 541-2, Ad. 590, 608, Ts. W 107 || U: FU * wed ∇- 'kill' (× N * wed ∇ 'to hunt', q.v. ffd.) || D (in SD) {tr., θGS} * vet ṭ- 'cut with weapon, cut off, strike' > Tm vet ṭu 'cut with sword\axe, cut off, engrave, dig as a well', Ml vet ṭuka id., vet ṭu 'blow, strike, cut, wound', Kt vet n. 'cut, mark of a cut', Kn bet ṭu 'strike forcibly into, cause to enter firmly, impress, stamp, coin', Tu bet ṭu- 'cut, circumcise', ? bot ṭu- 'beat as a drum, knock as a door' ¶ D no. 5478 ◇ The root-medial lr. in pB (reconstructed according to Pr.'s theory) points to a pN lr., which is likely to have been *? (the only N lr. liable to leave no traces [such as lengthening of vowels] in NaIE). But if the form of the verb in B may be explained without postulating a lr. (⇔ Pr.), the N etymon is * wed ∇ ◇ IS SS no. 3.23 and IS MS 262 (* wed ∇ 'cut [with weapon]' > IE, D).

2461. * w ∇ d ∇ $ṣ$ ∇ (or * w ∇ $ṣ$ ∇) 'walk, go, set out for' > HS: B * $\checkmark w|y d H$ 'go' (× N * $\checkmark r' o' d U$ 'go' × N * $y \check{a} d' a'$ or * $y a d \check{a}$ 'go') > Sll {Ds.} $\check{a} d d u$ ~ $\check{a} d \check{z} u$ (3m pf. $i d \check{z} a$) 'go', n. act. $t a w a d a$ 'going, to go', Tmz {MT} $d d u$ (3m pf. $d d a$) 'go, go away', Izd {Mrc.} $d d u$ (pf. $i d d a$), Kb {Dl.} $d d u$ (3m pf. $y \check{a} d d a$), BSlh/BMs {Ds.} $\check{a} d d u$ (3m pf. $i d d a$) 'walk, go', SrSn {Rn.} $\check{a} d d u$, SrSn Gz ip. $t u d u$ 'go', BMs $\check{a} d d u$ (pf. $i d d a$) 'walk', Awj {Prd.} $\check{r} \check{a} d d$ (3m pf. $y a' \check{r} \check{a} d d$, $y a' \check{r} i d d a$) 'go' (with a puzzling \check{r}), Zng {TV} pf. $y i d d e$ 'aller' ¶ Ds. 13, Ds. B 10, 212, MT 750, Dl. 126-7, Rn. 305, Prd. 159,

Mrc. 18, 162, TC Z 306 || WS *✓wđŕ > Ar ✓wđŕ G (pf. waduŕa) 'partir pour un voyage', ?σ Jb C {Jo.} ✓wđŕ (pf. ōda/, sbjn. 'y-ɔdaŕ) 'see so. off' ¶ BK II 1509, Jo. J 286, DRS 502-3 || IE: NaIE *wad^h- (or *wad^h-/*wād^h-) 'walk, wade' > L vad-ō-, -ēre 'go' {{EI}: with new long grade), vadum 'shallow ford in a river\sea', vad-ō-, -āre v. 'wade' || Gmc: ON vada 'to wade, to advance', Dn vade, NNr, Sw vada, Nr va ð vade, OHG watan, NHG waten 'to wade', AS wadan id., 'to walk, to stride', NE v. wade; Gmc *wada n. 'ford' > OHG wat id., NHG Watt 'sandbank, shallows', AS wæd 'ford; water, sea', ON vað 'ford, shallow (place)' ¶ WP I 217, P 1109, EI 625 (*wad^h- 'wade'), WH II 723-4, Vr. 637, Kb. 1152, OsS 1103, Ho 378, Sw. 198, KM 841 || K: GZ *wed-/*wid- 'go, walk' ([?] × N *r'o'dU 'go') > OG w|ved-/wid-, G ved-/vid-, Mg, Lz id- 'go, walk' ¶ K 84, K² 51, FS K 121-2, FS E 130-1, Chik. 273 || R: M *o_lid- 'go, depart, set out for' (× N *r'o'dU 'go' [q.v. ffd.] × N *qAd_l∇_l?∇ 'to step, to walk') ◇ In the HS cognate the lr. follows *d, while in the IE √ (if it is *wad^h-/*wād^h-) it precedes N *d. It is not clear which variant of the N word is ancient and which results from mt.

2462. *wedhA 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)' > HS: WS *✓wdh > Ar ✓wdh (ip. yadihu) 'éloigner qn et l'empêcher de se livrer à qch.'; Mh {Jo.} ✓wdy (pf. awōdi) 'take away', Jb E {Jo.} ✓wdy (pf. ōdi), Jb (Δ?) {Jo. H} wudi id., Mh S {Jo.} awōdi 'bring', ? Hrs {Jo.} ✓wdy (pf. awēd, sbjn. yawēd) 'turn away' ¶ In SES the intervoc. *-h- is likely to have been lost ¶ BK II 1513, Jo. M 421, Jo. H 124 || Eg fOK wdy {Fk.} v. 'put, place, lay, throw', {EG} 'legen, setzen, darbringen, stoßen, werfen, bewegen, scludern' ¶ EG I 3847, Fk. 72 || EC: Sml wad- {DSI} 'lead, guide, direct, drive (conduire, guidare, dirigere)', {ZMO} vt. 'move; drive; conduct, lead', Sml N {Abr.} wad- 'drive', Rn {PG} weya or woya 'drive (animals), lead' || DhI {EEN, E} wad-, wada_l-, {To.} wad- 'carry' || SC: Kz {E} walit- v. 'wear', Asa {E} wades- v. 'lift, carry' ¶ Abr. S 246, DSI 602, ZMO 405, PG 293, E SC 311, EEN 43. To. D 149 || mt.: B {ḡPr.} *✓wht vt. 'drive, chase' > Ah {Fc.} awt, Ty/ETwl awat 'drive (domestic animals)' ('conduire en poussant devant soi [des animaux]'), 3m aor. Ah i-wat, ETwl i-wbt, Ty ya-wbt (Fcj. 62 = Pcj I A 6); coalesced with B *✓wht 'beat, strike', whence Kb awt i lmal 'chase away the cattle!' ('fait sortir les bêtes!') is interpreted as 'beat the cattle away!' ¶ Fc. 1533, 2005, Pr. M VI-VII 106, GhA 203, 246-7, Dl. 878-9 ¶ Tk. I 101 || IE *wed^h, H₁- > NaIE *wed^h- v. 'lead' (with loss of *ə [< *H] in the

prevoc. position) > Iir *wad^h- v. 'lead, lead a woman into one's house' > Av vadayeiti 'leads', upa-vadayeiti 'gives a woman in marriage', Yzg wad- 'marry', d. OI va'dhu-h 'bride, young wife', Av vadū- 'wife, woman', Sgd wdw 'wife', Psh wal-war 'bride-price' || AS weddian 'marry', NE wed || Clt {Matas.} 'lead, bring together' > OIr {Matas.} feidid / -feid 'lead, carry, bring', MW arweddu 'carry, bring', W {YGM} ar-weddu v. 'lead, bear', dy-weddiō 'betroth', MBr dimiziff 'marry', Crn demmedhi 'marry' || BSl: Lt vedū (inf. vēsti), Ltv vedu ~ vedu (inf. vest) 'I lead, I guide', 'I marry (a girl)', Pru west 'führen' | Sl inf. *vesti / 1s pres. *ved-ŋ 'lead' > OCS inf. ВЕСТИ vesti (1s pres. ВЕД. ѿ ved-ŋ), Cz inf. věsti (1s pres. vedu), Slk inf. viesť (1s pres. vediem), P inf. wieść (1s pres. wiodę), R, Uk inf. вести (1s pres. веду) 'lead', Blg ве'да 'I lead'; ⇨ iter.: Sl *vod íti (1s pres. *vodjŋ) iter. 'to (use to) lead' > OCS БОДНТИ voditi (1s pres. БОЖД. ѿ vožd-ŋ) id., 'to accompany', Cz voditi, Slk vodit', P wodzić, SCr vòditi, R во'дить (1s pres. во'жу) 'to (use to) lead', Blg 'водя 'I (use to) lead' | P adduced NaIE {P} ? *wed-mno- 'dowry' (in his interpretation 'bride-price') > Gk Hm ἕδνα pl., Gk A pl. ἕδνα, sg. ἕδνον 'bride-price' or 'wedding gifts', AS wituma, wetma, OHG widamo 'dowry (Brautgabe, Mitgift)', NHG Wittum 'dowry, widow's jointure'. If this derived word does belong here (which is doubtful), its *d for the expected *d^h may be due either to as. (caused by the adjacent plain voiced *m) or to contamination with a different √ ¶¶ Not here (⇔ EI) Ht huēt- / hut(t)- / hu(i)ttiya- 'draw, pull, pluck, drag' (see Pv. III 343-52) ¶¶ WP I 255ff., P 1115-16, ≈ EI 346 and 369 (*h₂wed(H)- 'lead, take a wife'; unj. adduction of Ht and rec. of *h₂-), M K III 136-7, M E II 497-8, F I 442-3, Thr. § 177, Matas. E 406-7, YGM-1 32, 205, Frn. 1231-2, En. 273, KM 865, Vs. I 284, StSS 113, 119, Glh. 677-8, Chr. I 146, BER I 126, Schz. 321, Kb. 1188, OsS 1137, Ho. 401 || U: FU *wetä- 'lead, pull, draw' > Vp {ZM} veda- 'drag; lead (so.)', kăžipóliš veda- 'lead so. arm-in-arm with oneself', F vetä-, Es veda- 'pull, draw, haul, drag' | pMr {Ker.} *veťa-/*viťa- ({Ker}: < ppMr *vīdā-) > Er ветя-мс veťa-ms, {W} veda-ms, Er Kz {Ps.} viťu-ms, Mk вятe-мс vătə-ms, {Ps.} vătə-ms & vädā-ms 'to lead' | pChr {Ber.} *wiďb- v. 'lead' > Chr: H wiđe- (inf. видаш 'wiďaš, {Ep.} 'wiďäš), L wüde- (inf. вүдаш wü'ďaš), Uf/B wüde- v. 'lead' || OHg XII-XIV vezet- 'accompanv. lead'. Hg vezet- v.

'lead, guide, conduct', OHg \geq XIV, Hg $\upsilon e z \acute{e} r$ 'leader, chief(tain)' ¶¶ Coll. 67, UEW 569-70, It. no. 343, Sm. 551 (FU, Ugr * $\omega e t \ddot{a}$ -, FP * $\upsilon e t \ddot{a}$ - 'pull'), SK 1719-21, ZM 621, ERV 129, PI 61-2, Ber. 89, Ker. II 188, MRS 65, 85, Ep. 12, Ü 35, MF 690, EWU 1631 || A \approx * $\bar{u}d\bar{i}$ - (= * $\bar{u}d\bar{i}$ -?) > M * $\bar{u}d\bar{u}$ - > WrM {MED} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}$ - 'start (as a flight), stir up', HIM {MED} $\bar{u}d\bar{a}$ - id., Ord $\bar{u}d\bar{u}$ - 'donner le branle, mettre en train'; \rightarrow M * $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r^{i'}$ -, * $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r^{i'd}$ - > MM $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{i}d$ - [HI] {Ms.} v. 'guide, lead', [S] {H} v. 'lead', WrM {MED} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{i}d$ -, HIM {MED, BMR} $\bar{u}d\bar{i}r\bar{d}\bar{a}$ - 'lead, guide, direct', WrO {Krg.} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{i}d$ - 'lead, guide, conduct', Brt $\bar{u}d\bar{a}r\bar{i}d\bar{a}$ - 'leiten, nach sich führen (руководить, вести за собой)', K1 {KRS} $\bar{i} \bar{u}d\bar{r}d$ - $\bar{u}d\bar{r}d\bar{b}$ - id., {Rm.} d. $\bar{u}d\bar{r}$ 'Folge', $\bar{u}d\bar{r} t\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ 'anführen, leiten', Ord $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{i}$ -, $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{i}d$ - 'être le premier à faire qch., prendre l'initiative, commencer, faire des préparatifs', $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{i}l$ 'entreprise, initiative', Mnr H {SM} $\bar{d}\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ - 'guider, conduire, préparer la voie, indiquer', {T} $\bar{d}\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ - 'lead, show the way', Dx {T} $\bar{u}d\bar{u}r\bar{u}$ - v. 'guide, be so.'s guide' ¶ H 159, Ms. H 105, MED 861-2, BMR III 310, Chr. 463, KRS 528-9, KW 446, Krg. 168-9, SM 67, T 332, T DnJ 136, Ms. O 723 || NaT * $\bar{i}\bar{d}$ - 'send (sth.)', (\rightarrow) 'allow to go, release' > OT {Cl.} $\bar{i}\bar{d}$ - 'send, allow to go, release', XwT XIV $\bar{i}\bar{d}$ - \sim $\bar{i}\bar{u}$ -, MQp [CC] XIV \bar{i} -/ $\bar{i}\bar{u}$ -, Qrg, StAlt $\bar{i}\bar{u}$ -, Xk $\bar{u}c$ - $\bar{i}c$ - 'send', Kr, QrB $\bar{i}\bar{u}$ -, Tv $\bar{i}t$ - (ftp. $\bar{u}d\bar{a}r$), Tf $\bar{i}t'$ -, Yk $\bar{i}t$ - 'send, allow to go' || ? ϕ Chv $\bar{u}r$ - $\bar{u}ar$ - id. ¶ Cl. 37-8, Rs. W 164, ET Gl 332-3, Md. 82, 165, Ra. 240, JRS 534, Ash. IV 211-19, Fed. II 503, Jeg. 354, ChVS 297 ¶ The pT initial * \bar{i} - may be explained by regr. as. ¶¶ SDM 611-12 (pA * $\bar{i}\bar{u}d\bar{u}$ - 'lead, direct' > T, M), DQA no. 678 (id.), SDM97 (pA * $\bar{u}d\bar{u}$ ' > T, M) \diamond FU *-t- < *-th- (as. from N *-dh-) \diamond The prehisory of the pA root may be reconstructed as follows: N * $\bar{w}edhA$ > pre-A * $\bar{w}udE$ (*-u- due to the ass. infl. of * \bar{w} -, *-E caused by progressive assimilation) > A * $\bar{u}dE$ (compansatory lengthening * $\bar{w}u$ - > * \bar{u} -) \diamond \approx IS MS 333 (* $\bar{w}e t \bar{a}$ 'lead': IE, ?A, U), \approx UEW 569 (U, IE).

2463. * $\bar{w}^{i'}g_{\bar{u}}\hat{e}$ 'carry, take (somewhere)' > IE: NaIE * $\bar{w}e\bar{g}^h$ - v. 'carry, convey', * $\bar{w}o\bar{g}^h\bar{o}$ -s 'way' > OI $\bar{v}a\bar{h}a\bar{t}i$ 'drives, transports, rides, draws (a car), leads', Av $\bar{v}a\bar{z}\bar{a}i\bar{t}i$ 'goes in vehicle (fährt)', MPrs $\bar{v}a\bar{z}\bar{i}t\bar{a}r$ 'dahinfahren', KhS $\bar{b}a\bar{y}c$ - v. 'move, run, ride, ride in vehicle' || Gk P $\bar{f}e\chi\acute{e}t\omega$ 'he should bring', Gk Cp aor. $\bar{e}\bar{f}e\bar{e}$ 'er brachte dar', Gk A $\bar{\upsilon}\chi\bar{o}\bar{c}$ {By} 'tout ce qui sert à transporter, véhicule; réceptacle', {LS} 'carriage; anything which holds' || L $\bar{v}e\bar{h}\bar{o}$, $\bar{v}e\bar{h}\bar{e}r\bar{e}$ / pfc. $\bar{v}\bar{e}\bar{x}\bar{i}$ / sup. $\bar{v}e\bar{c}t\bar{u}m$ 'carry, convey' || Clt {Matas.} * $\bar{w}e\bar{g}no$ - \sim * $\bar{w}e\bar{g}n\bar{u}\bar{a}$

'wagon' > OIr fénae 'wagon', [ʏ] fén 'plaustrum', W {Matas.} gwaín, {YGM} gwagen 'waggon', cy-wain {P} 'fahren', {YGM} 'haul, carry', Brtt ↳ Lco-vinnus 'war chariot of the ancient Britons and Belgæ' ({WH}: < *ko-weg^h-nos) || Gt ga-wigan (· σαλεύειν) 'bewegen, schütteln', OHG (gi-)wegan vt. 'to move, to shake'; Gt wagjan (· σαλεύειν) 'schütteln, bewegen', af-wagjan (· μετακινεῖν) 'wegbringen', ON vega vt. 'schwingen, heben', OHG weggen vt. 'to move, to shake', AS wezan vt. 'to move, to bring, to lead'; OHG wagan 'cart', AS wæzn 'vehicle', ON vagn id., 'sledge'; Gmc {Zlz.} *weg-a-z ~ *weg-u-z 'way' > Gt wig-s (· ὁδός) 'Weg', ON veg-r, OHG, OSx weg, NHG Weg, AS wez 'way', NE way || Lt vežti (1s pres. vežù) 'to convey', Ltv vizināt 'to take (out) for a drive' || Sl *vez- > OCS вестн vesti (1s pres. везѣ везо) 'to convey\transport in a vehicle\ship', R вез'ти (1s pres. везу), P wieść (1s pres. wiozę), Cz vézti (1s pres. vezu) 'to convey\transport', Blg ве'за 'I convey, I transport'; iter. R во'зить, SCr vòziti, P wozić 'to convey, to transport' || pAl {O} *weza > Al vjedh (aor. vodha) 'steal' || pTc {Ad.} *wäkne > Tc: A wäkñ (pl. wäkñant), B çakne 'way, manner' ¶ WP I 249-51, P 1118-20, EI 91 (*weg^h- 'bear, carry'), By 1433, M K III 177-9, M E II 535-7, Bai. 270, F II 457-8, WH I 282 and II 742-3, EM 717, LP § 17, Zlz. M II no. 29.41, StSS 113, Fs. 212, 541, 563, Vr. 639, 650, Kb. 1130, 1157-8, OsS 1074-5, 1109-10, Schz. 306, 313, Ho. 380, 388, Frn. 1236, SJSS 183, Vs. I 286, Chr. I 138, BER I 129, Matas. E 408, YGM-1 152, 253, O 510, Ad. 481-2 || U *wiye- > FU *wiye- v. 'take sth. somewhere, carry' > F vie v. 'take, bring, carry', Es vii- v. 'bring' || pLp {Lr.} *vikz- v. 'carry\transport (away, from one place to another)' > Lp: Klt {Lr. ← ?} viikkâd, Kld {SaR} выгкэ id., {TI} v+jk:ãð, T {TI} v+jk:ed 'führen' || pMr {Ker.} *vīyā- > *viyā- > Er Δ {ERV} вие-мс viye-ms 'отвезти', v. 'to drive\convey so. to some place', {Jv.} вие-мс ~ вии-мс ~ вию-мс 'отнести', v. 'to carry sth. to some place', Mk {PI} ви- vi-n, Δ vīyā- v. 'accompany so., send back sth. (with\through so.)' || pPrm {LG} *vayâ- v. 'bring' > OPrm wau-, Z vay-, Vt inf. vay+n+ id. (in the light of OPrm w- is it preferable to reconstruct pPrm *wau-?) || ObU {Ht.} *wī-/ *wīy- ~ *wīy- v. 'take' > pVg *wī-/ *wīy-/ *wēy- id. (= {Hl.} *wēy-, {Ht.} *wāy-) > Vg: T ü-/ *üy-/ üw-, LK/MK/UK wi-/wiy-/wäy-, P wi-/ wü-/ wiy-/wüy-/wäy-, NV wü-/wāy-, SV/LL ü-/üy-

/wāy-, UL/Ss wi-/ wiɣ-/woy- id.; pOs *wě-/ *wěy- 'take' ({[Hl.]} *wī- / *wīy-) > Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K wě-/wěy-, Mz/Kz wū-, O wu-/wuy- id. | Hg v i v - / v i - / v i s z -, Hg Δ v e y s -, v ē s -, v ü s - v. 'carry, lead', Hg v ē v - / v ē - / v ē s z - v. 'take, take away, buy', v i s e l - v. 'carry, lead' || pY {IN H} *wey- vt. 'lead' ({IN UJ} *weyē-) > Y K {IN H} egē- 'lead by hand', Y T wegīē- {IN H} 'lead, carry', {Ku.} 'lead after oneself', 'lead an animal (by the rein etc.)' ¶¶ Coll. 125 (*weye ~ *wiye), It. no. 405 and pp. 265-6, UEW 573 (*wiye), Sm. 551 (FU *wixi-, FP *vixi-, Ugr *wīgī- 'take'), Lr. no. 1384, TI 752, LG 47, Ht. no. 651, MF 687-8, SaR 65, ERV 134, Jv. 91, PI 55-6, Ker. II 190 (Mr *vīɣa- > *viya-, misinterpreted as 'weg-nehmen'), IN H 454, IN UJ 249-50, Ku. 46-7 ¶¶ The change FU *-ī- > Prm *a is still to be explained (It. 265-6: "a < vorperm. *ī. Könnte man sich die Entwicklung *-īy- > *-īj- > *-ej- > *-äj- > *-aj- vorstellen?") || HS: ECh: ? Nd D {J} *úgéy v. 'bring' ||| WCh: Gmy {ChL} wòkám 'road', Tng {J} ǰkǰ, {ChC} wókò 'way, path, road' ¶ J T 127, J KKS, ChL, ChC s.v. 'road' and 'bring' || Eg G wɜɜ.t 'way', Eg fMK wɜɜ v. 'go, set out, proceed' ('sich begeben, gehen') ¶ EG I 403-4, Fk. 75 || ?σ,φ EC {Ss.} *yug- v. 'pull off/out' > Kns {BISO} yuk- v. 'pull off, pull thread off spool', Gdl {Bl.} yuk- v. 'take, unhang (sth. fastened)', Dbs/Gln {AMS} yuk- 'herausziehen' ¶ Ss. PEC 43, AMS 192, 228, BISO 220, Bl. G 131 ◇ IS SS 334 [no. 6.20] (IE, U), IS MS 351 s.v. 'нести' *wegh (IE, U; *÷ Tg *^re¹gä v. 'carry, drag' [with a query]) ◇ In fact, the Tg √ in question is *e^rb¹e- (> Ewk PT ɜwə- ~ əɜɜ- v. 'carry on one's back to another place', Orc ɜwugī- v. 'bring', F STM II 436), and it is hardly a cognate of IE *wegh- and FU *wiye- ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 57 (*wek 'carry') (IE, U, A + Ai).

2464. *wäkŷê (= *wäkŷê?) 'strong, vigorous; strength' > HS: S *^o✓ w k ŷ > Ar ✓ w k ŷ 'be strong (robuste)' (a horse), 'be fast/firm' (thing) ¶ BK II 1597, Hv. 891 || IE: NaIE *wegh- 'strong, vigorous' (→ 'awake'), *wogh-s 'strenght', *weghē- 'be strong' > OI 'vāja-h̄ 'contest (Wettkampf), victory', Av vazišta- 'am besten mit Kraft versehen' ||| L vege-ō / vegē-re 'stir up, quicken', vegētus 'lively, vigorous, fresh', vigil 'wakeful, watchful' ||| Gt ga-wak-nan (· διαγρηγορεῖν) 'erwachen', ON vakna, AS wæcnan vi. 'to awake'; Gt wakan (· γρηγορεῖν) 'wachen, wachsam sein', OSx wakōn 'to be awake', OHG wāhhēn vi. 'to wake, to wake up (wachen, er-über-wachen)', NHG

wachen 'to be awake, to be on guard, to keep watch', AS *wæccan* 'wachen', NE *watch*; ON *vakin* 'awake'; AS *wacian* 'to be awake', NE *wake*; caus.: Gt *us-wakjan* (*ἐξυπνύζειν*) 'erwecken', ON *vekja*, OSx *wékkjan*, OHG, NHG *wecken*, AS *wéccan* vt. 'to wake' ¶ WP I 248-9, P 1117-18, EI 550, M K III 182, M E II 540-1, WH II 741, 788, Fs. 209, 536, 547-8, Kb. 1133, 1164, OsS 1079, KM 828, 842, Vr. 639, 652, Ho. 378, 387, Ho. S 62, 85 || U: FU **wäke* 'strength, power' > F *väki* (gen. *väen*) id., 'people, men', Es *vägi* 'might, strength, force' | pLp {Lr.} **vēkz* {AD} 'strength, might' > K {Gn.} *vīgġ*, Kld {SaR} *вѣгк* id., 'force', Lp: L {LLO} *viēhka*, N {N} *viēkkâ* 'rather large\strong', adv. 'fairly, rather' | Er *viy*, Mk *vi* 'strength, power, might' | Chr: L *виѣ* *wiy*, B *wiy*, H *ви vi* id. | Prm **viy-* 'strength' (homonymous with **viy-* 'joint, Gelenk' of uncertain origin) > Z I/Sk/Ss/Ud *узз-vi*, Z LV *узз-viy* 'strength' (*узз* 'people, men' and 'joint, articulation [of a limb]'), Vt *kať-vi* 'strength, power' (*kať* id.) || ObU {Hl.} **wēy*, {Ht.} **wēy* 'strength' > pVg {Ht.} **wāy* id. > OVg S Tr, OVg Tb *ва*, OVg N Chd *уа* (Cyrillic script), Vg: T *wāw*, LK/MK/UK/NV *wō*, LL *wō*, UL/Ss *wāy* id.; pOs {Ht.} **wōy* > Os: V/Vy *wōy*, Ty *wōy*, Y *wōw*, D/K *wey*, O *wey* id. || ?? Sm: Ne {Lh.} *β+k'a* 'Kraft' ¶¶ Coll. 123-4, UEW 563, It. no. 277, Sm. 551 (FU **wäki*, FP **väki*, Ugr **wäkĩ* 'power'), Lr. no. 1396, Lgc. no. 8518:6, SaR 42, LLO 1398, N III 77, MRS 65, Ep. 12, ≈ LG 55, SZ 141-2, U3S 178, Ht. no. 672, ≠ MF 681-2, Jk. rColl. 52, Lh. JVD 161 || R **bæk'v* 'firm', (?) 'strong' > NaT **bæk* 'firm, solid, stable' > OT {Cl., MKD} *bäk* id., XwT XIV *bek čok* 'very much', XIV *bek* 'firmly', OOsM ≥XV *pek* 'firm, solid, violent', Tkm *bek*, ET *bäk* 'firm, solid, stable', Qmq *bek* 'firm, solid; very', Tk *pek* 'hard, firm', QrB, Qrg *bek* 'firm', Qzq, Qq, Nog *bek*, VTt, Bsh *бик bik* 'very', StAlt *b_ek*, Tf *b_ék'*, Xk *пик pik* 'firm, solid', Yk *bigä* id. ¶ Cl. 323, Rs. W 68, ET B 117-20, Ra. 161, BIG 149 || M **beki* 'strong, firm, solid; robust, vigorous, durable' > WrM {MED} *beki*, HIM {MED, BMR} *бэx* 'firm, strong; durable', Brt *бэхи* 'fie, strong', WrO *beki* ~ *begi* id., Kl Ö {Rm.} *bekä* 'stark, fest'; MM [MA] {Pp.} d. *bekit-* v. 'strengthen' ¶ Pp. MA 116, MED 96, Krg. 342, BMR I 316, Chr. 134, KW 41 || pKo {S} **pəkh'* 'very' > NKo *p'hək* 'very, very much' ¶ Rm. SKE 213, MLC 1743 ¶¶ SDM97 (A **bæk'i* 'firm, hard, very'), Rm. SKE 213, Rm. EAS I 57, 145 ◇ N *-*kʃ-* (= probably *-*kʃ-*) is evidenced by S and A (A *-*k'-* < N *-*kʃ-* [= *-*kʃ-*]) ◇ IS MS 367

(N *wäke 'strong' > IE, U), UEW 563 (U, T, M) ◇ Gr. II no. 369 (*bek 'strong') (IE, U + err. A, Ko + qu. Gil).

2465. *wak₁∇₁Xa (= *wak₁∇₁ħa?) 'to shout' > IE (mt.) *we|ahg- / *wḥg- > NaIE *wāg- / (?) *wag- 'shout, cry' > L vāgĩ-ō / vāgĩ-re 'cry, whimper as a child', vāgor (gen. vāgōr-is) 'the crying of young children, the bleating of kids' || Lt vógrauti 'to whimper, to shout', {Nsl.} vógra, Lt Δ vōgras n. 'a whimpering person (child)' ¶ But OI fVd vāg'nu-ḥ m. 'cry, call, roar, sound (esp. of animals)' and Vd vāgvā'nu- 'sound, noise' are likely to belong not here (because of a), but rather to IE *wek^ω- (see N *w'a'Kō 'to call') ¶ WP I 214-15, P 1110, WH II 723-4, Frn. 1271, M K III 123, M E II 488, cp. EI 89 (* (s)weh_ḥg^h- '≈ cry out; resound') || HS: S: [1] WS *✓wkḥ > Gz ✓wkḥ v. D 'clamour, boast', Sb {Mü.} wkḥy-n '(?) altercation, dispute', ? BHb ✓wkḥ Sh (ip. ḥ₁ḥ₁ḥ₁ yō'k₁āḥ) 'rebuke, call to account, judge', JEA ✓wkḥ Sh (pf. ḥ₁ḥ₁ḥ₁ pō'k₁āḥ) {Sl.} 'decide, establish; admonish' ({Lv.} 'zurectweisen'), JA [Trg.] {Js.} אָהַרְבֵּי אֱלֹהִים פִּקְחָהּ אֲדָמָה ~ אָהַרְבֵּי אֱלֹהִים פִּקְחָהּ אֲדָמָה 'reproof', ({Lv.} 'Zurechtweisen') (× *✓wkḥ 'argue, strife'), Ar ✓wkḥ G {Hv.} 'reprehend so. on' (ḥ for the inherited *ḥ may be accounted for by contamination with *✓wkḥ 'strike', hence the meaning {BK} 'réduire qn au silence par une forte reprimande'); [2] ?φ S *°✓wkḥ > Ar *✓wkḥ TD (V form) 'pousser des cris dans la douleur de la parturition' (female camel) (? for *ḥ due to onomatopoeia?) ¶ BK II 1594, 1597, Hv. 891, L G 612, Mü. ÄMSW 284, KB 391-2, Js. 25, Lv. I 502-3, Lv. T I 14, Sl. 534, DRS 538 || C: Ag *wak- 'shout' > Xm {R} wāχ- 'schreien, mit lauter Stimme rufen, lärmern' ¶ R Ch 425 (s.p. 110) || U: FU *°wak∇- 'call' (× N *w'a'Kō id. [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU {Ht.} *wāψ- 'call (rufen)' > pVg *wāψ- > Vg: LK/P wōw- / wōw-, MK wōψ- / wōw-, NV/LL wōw-, SV wōψ- / wōψ-, Ss wōw- 'call (звaтb), ask for'; pOs {Ht.} *wāψ- id. > Os: V wāψ-, Ty wāψ- id., Vy wāψ-, Y wāψ-, D/K/O wāχ-, Nz/Kz wāχ- 'call (звaтb)' ¶ Ht. no. 673, Trs. S 507, BV 23 || D (in SD) *vak- ({ḡGS} *vag-) v.. 'sound, cry' > Tm vakul₁i, vakun₁i n. 'sound', Kn bagul₁(u), bagal₁u v. 'bark, cry out', baggu 'crying', Tu bagal₁u-, bagul₁u- v. 'bark, clamour' ¶ D no. 5204 ◇ The loss of the lr. in Bj suggests that it was N *ḥ or *ḥ rather than *χ or *ψ; S *ḥ points to the N lr. *ḥ. But if the N lr. was *ḥ, S *ḥ in *✓wkḥ may be due to as. (*kḥ > *kḥ).

2466. (₂?) *w^{ra}ʔk_o (or *wæʔk_o) 'to call' > IE: NaIE *wek^w- (3s pres. *wok^w-ti) 'speak' (possibly with infl. of IE *Hwek^w- < N *χoʔu 'call out, pronounce aloud, speak [solemnly?]; incantations') > OI 'vak-ti (pp. uk'ta-), 'vi vak-ti 'says, speaks', Av vak- (pp. ũxta-) 'speak'; ? (with as. *kn > *gn and infl. of NaIE *wāg- / ? *wəg- 'shout, cry' < N *wak_l∇,χa 'to shout') OI fVd vag'nu-h₁ m. 'cry, call, roar, sound (esp. of animals)' and Vd vagva'nu- 'sound, noise' ||| Arm q n z t d' goč^hem 'I cry/exclaim/call' ||| Gk εἶπον, Gk L φέπειν aor. 'spoke, said' ||| L d. voc-ō, vocā-re 'call, summon' ||| Pru wackītwēi 'locken', wackis 'Geschrei', enwackēmai 'wir rufen an', {EI} 'we invoke' ||| NaIE d. *wek^wos- 'speech' > OI vacas-, Av vačah- 'speech, word' ||| Gk ἔπος 'word, a saying, speech', Gk Ae/Cp φέπος 'word' ||| NaIE d. *wōk^w-(s) 'voice' > OI nom. vāk / obl. vāc- 'voice, speech, word', Av nom. vāx-š / accus. vāč-əm id. ||| L vōx / gen. vōc-is 'voice, cry, call' ||| Gk ὄψ* 'voice' (Gk Hm ὄπ-α accus., ὀπ-ός gen.) ||| pTc {Ad.} *wek > Tc: A wak, B wek 'voice, noise' ||| NaIE d. *wōk^w-tlo-m > Clt {Matas.} *wōxtlo- > MW {Matas.} 'dispute, debate', W {YGM} gwaethl 'strife, battle', ?φ OIr {P} foccūl 'word' ||| other ds: OHG gi-wahan (p. giwuooc ~ giwuoag) {Kb.} 'erwähnen, erzählen, sagen, erinnern', giwahanen 'to mention, to remember', NHG erwähnen, Dt gewagen, gewag maken 'to mention'; ON vátta 'to testify', váttr 'testimony' (< Gmc *waxta-z); Gmc *wōxm, {Ho.} *wōhm- > ON ómun 'voice', AS wōm(a) 'noise' ¶¶ The adduction of Ht huek- 'conjure, treat by incantation' (as in P 1136) is convincingly rejected by Puhvel (Pv. III 323-7); on Ht huek- see N *χoʔu '↑' ¶¶ WP II 245-6, P 1135-6, EI 534-5, M K III 123-6, 180, 221, M E II 488-94, 539-40, Brtl. 1340-2, Vr. 419, 648, Vr. N 203, KM 174, YGM-1 253, Ho. 405, Kb. 1132, OsS 276, 1075, En. 169, 270, Slit. 382, F I 464, 545 and II 458, WH II 823-5, Wn. I 541, Matas. E 428, YGM-1 253, Ad. 607, Ad. H 37-9, Ts. E I 255-7 ||| **HS:** Ch: ECh: Smr {J} 'wògè 'call', Nd D {J} wuga, Tmk {Cp.} wèg id., Mkl {J} wâké 'appeler, nommer' ¶ JI II 59, ChL, ChC s.v. 'to call', Cp. s.v. wèg, J LS s.v. 'wògè, J LM 183 ||| ? **U:** FU *wak∇- 'call' (× N *wak_l∇,χa 'to shout' [q.v. ffd.]) ||| ? **A:** T *mākīr- 'shout, bellow' (× N *m^{ra}ʔ_l∇,ʔ_l∇ 'cry, shout', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. also SD *vak- v. 'sound, cry' (D no. 5204), which is more likely to belong to N *wak_l∇,χa '↑' ◇ If FU *wak∇ and/or T *mākīr- belong here, the N vw. of the first syll. is *a, otherwise it may be *a, *ä, *e or *o.

2467. *wīk^{ra} 'back part, behind, backwards' > IE: NaIE *we_ǵk- (~ *we_ǵg-??) 'yield, give way, draw back' (contamination with homonymous roots for 'move' [e.g. in NGr Hs *wicken* 'rasch und heftig hin und her bewegen', Sw *vicka* 'sich un stet bewegen', etc. [cf. P 1130]) > Gk *έικω* / aor. *έ-(F)ειξα* 'give way, retire; make way for' ||| OI *vi'jatē* 'starts back, recoils, flees from' ||| Gmc *wīk- 'give way, give in' > OSx *wīkan* 'to yield, to give in, to give way', AS *wīcan* 'to give way, to collapse', {EI} 'to yield, to give ground', OHG *wīhan*, NHG *weichen* id., 'to give in', ON *vikja*, *vikva*, *úkva* id. ¶ ≈ WP I 233-5, ≈ P 1130-1, ≈σ EI 607 (*we_ǵk- 'turn, yield'), ≈σ 63 (? *we_ǵk- 'bend a pliable object'), 607, ≈ Vr. 663, Kb. 1196, OsS 1154, ≈ KM 845, Ho. 392, Ho. S 87, ≈ Vr. 663 (all of them do not distinguish this √ from IE *we_ǵk/g- 'bend, swing'), F I 454 (a justified comparison between Gk, OI and Gmc), ≈ M K III 204-5 and M E II 577-8 (no distinction between *vi'jatē* 'flees' and *vi'jatē* 'heaves' of different origin), MW 959 ¶ The variant *we_ǵg- may be due to contamination with other roots ||| K: OG, G *u_ǵu* 'behind, backwards', *u_ǵu-px* 'backwards', OG *u_ǵu-ani* 'behind', *u_ǵu-mart* 'backwards' ¶ Chx. 1397-9, Ser. 157-8, DCh. 1251-5 ||| A: M *böke 'back, backside' > HIM {BMR} бөх 'наружная сторона бабки\альчика\лодыжки, спина бабки', Brt бүхэ 'back side of the body, зад', WrO {Krg.} бөц 'rear, torso, rump, posterior, buttocks', Kl {KRS} бөк böka 'backside of the knucklebone (serving as dice)', {Rm.} bökö 'der Rücken, die Rückenseite des Spielknochens'; ?σ WrM {Bb.} бөке 'the frame of a plough'; ?σ M *bökün 'hump of a camel' > MM [MA] бөке, WrM {Bb.} бөке, HIM {BMR} бөх(өн) id., Ord b_ök_x id.; ?σ WrM {Bb.} бөке 'the frame of a plough'; M б → Qzq {Rl.} bügö 'die Stelle des Knochens (beim Spiel) mit der Rückseite nach oben'; M *böksen 'backside, rear, buttocks' > MM [MA] {Pp.} бөксө 'buttocks', WrM {MED} бөгсе(н), HIM бөгс {MED} 'backside, posterior part, rear; rump, buttocks', {BMR} 'posterior part, posterior part of the body, rump', Ord b_ög_sö 'le derrière, la vulve', WrO {Krg.} бөцсө 'backside, rump', Kl {KRS} бөгс bögas 'rear, backside', {Rm.} bök_sö 'After, Hinterteil, Gesäß' ¶ Pp. MA 123, MED 126-7, BMR I 271, 277, Bb. 475, Krg. 359, Chr. 127, KRS 113, KW 55, Rl. IV 1881, Ms. O 85-6 ◇ The labialization N *i > M *ö (due to the ass. infl. of N *w [> M *b-]) is still to be investigated.

2468. *wouk- ▽ 'straight, even, fit' > IE: NaIE *weik- 'true', 'resembling' (= 'like truth'), 'fit' > Gk A εἰκός (gen. εἰκότος) ntr., Gk I οἰκός ntr. 'like truth, likely', Gk ἕοικα (pfc. with pres. sense) 'be like' ({Ch.} < rdp. *ἒεφοικα*), Gk Hm εἶκε ipf. 'it was opportune', Gk εἵκελος (*ἒεἵκελος*), ἕκελος (*ἒεἵκελος*) adj. 'like, resembling', Gk A εἰκάζω (*ἒε-ἒεἵκάζω*) 'represent by an image, portray', Gk A εἰκῶν (gen. εἰκόνοσ), Gk Cp *ἒεἵκόνα* accus. 'likeness, image' || Lt *υἕκ-τι* 'to be a success, to happen, to occur', *ἕ-υἕκ-τι* 'to come true; to happen, to occur', Ltv *υἕκt* 'gedeihen, vonstatten gehen', *υἕikt* 'to manage, to carry out', *υἕikties* 'to succeed (in), to do well' (a merger with the *υ* of Lt *υαικῦti* 'to chase, to hunt', *υeikt* 'to do, to act, to have an effect?'), ? Lt *παυεἰκσλασ* 'image, picture, example' (unless from *pa-veizd-klas < IE *weid-/wid-* 'see', as supposed by Bg. and Frk) || AS *ωἕζ ~ ωἕh ~ ωἕoh* 'image, idol' ¶ WP I 237, P 1129, Ch. 354-5, ≈σ EI 25 (*weik- 'appear [whether the appearance is into the speaker's sphere of reference or another's one]), F I 452-3, 530, Frn. 556, 1181, 1213-14, 1250, Bg. rHerm. 470 (= Bg. RR III 704) || K: OG, G *υακε* 'smooth, even', *υακ-* 'make\be smooth\even' ¶ Chx. 360-1, NCh. 213 || U: FU (att. in FV) *wouke 'straight' > F *οἰκεα* 'right, just, correct', *οἰκο-* 'get right, rectify, straighten' | pLp {Lr.} **υἕυκз* 'straight, right' > Lp: N {N} *υυοἰ'gâd* 'right, reasonable; straightforward', *υυοἰ'gâ* adv. 'really, straight, truly', K {Gn.} *υἕυ:g*, Kld {SaR} *υἕййк* adj. 'straight, even' | preMr {Ker.} **υἕυθ-дә-* > pMr {Ker.} **υἕυдә-* > Er *виде* *vide*, Δ *υἕυеде*, Mk *видя* 'vidā adj. 'straight', n. 'truth', Er *вить* *viť*, Δ *υἕυеť*, Mk *види* 'vidí 'right (dexter)' | pChr **υἕυа-* > Chr: H *виăкă* *wi(y)ăkă* 'straight', *виăнăш* *wi(y)ănăš* 'to become straight', B *υἕυне-* 'become straight'; {Ber.} **υἕυа-ks-* > Chr: L *виăш* *wi'yaš*, YO/V *υἕυăkš*, Ch *υἕυăkš*, B *υἕυăš*, H *виăш* *vi(y)ăš* 'straight' ¶ Coll. 103, UEW 824-5, SK 421-2, Lr. no. 1424, Lgc. no. 8735, SaR 54-5, Ker. II 190-1, ERV 132, 137-8, PI 54-5, Ber. 86, MRS 69, Ep. 12 ◇ IS MsN s.v. *wouk- ▽ 'straight' (IE, U).

2469. *wAla (and *wôla) 'big, large; multitude' > HS: CCh: Msg {Mch.} *wel*, Mlw {Trn.} *wèl*, Mbara {TrnSL} *wàlá* 'old' | Bu {ChL} *ʔwzla* 'large', Mrg {Hf.} *ʔwál* 'great' ¶ ChL II 55 [no. 281], Hf. M 26, ChC s.v. 'old (not new)', Mch. VCQP s.v. Msg *wel*, Trn. MVM 287, TrnSL 300 || ?σ C: Ag: Aw {Hz.} *wullá*, {CR} *wu'llā*, Dmt {CR} *wu'llā* 'all' ¶ AD SF 190 || ?σ SOm: Hm {Bnd. ← Fl., Ld.}, Hm K {Bnd.} (*w*)*u*(*l*), Hm B

{Bnd.} $\omega\bar{u}l$ 'all' ¶ Bnd. AL 144, Hz. NSA, CR A s.v. $\omega ul'l\bar{a}$, AD SF 190
 ||| The LEC word $*\text{ɣ}il\text{ɥ}s$ and $*\text{ɣ}ul\text{ɥ}s$ 'heavy' (> Sa $\text{ɣ}elias$, Sml $\text{ɣ}ulus$, Or
 $ulfa'$, Kns uls id.) hardly belongs here, it is more likely to go back to N
 $*\text{ɣ}a\bar{i}\text{ɥ} S\text{ɥ}$ 'big, strong, heavy' (q.v. ffd.); the origin of the Eg word $\text{ɣ}n\text{ɛ}$
 'heavy' (compared by Tk. with LEC $*\text{ɣ}il\text{ɥ}s \sim * \text{ɣ}ul\text{ɥ}s$) remains unknown
 ¶¶ R S II 14, AD SF 141, Ss. Gssf 245, Ss. WOKS 127, Hn. S 78, EG V
 468-9, Tk. II 516-7 || IE: NaIE $*\text{w}el-$ 'many, much, amount' > Gk: I $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$
 (< $*F\epsilon\lambda\nu-$), A $\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$ ($\bar{i}-$), D $\acute{\iota}\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ ($\bar{i}-$) (< $*F\iota\lambda\nu\bar{\alpha}$) 'band, troop of men',
 Hm/A $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ adv. 'in crowds, in plenty' ||| SI $*\text{v}elb(-j\text{b})$ 'big, great' > OCS
ВЕЛНН $\text{vel}i\bar{i}$, Blg 'вели, SCr $\text{v}\bar{e}lj\bar{i}$, OCz $\text{vel}\acute{i}$ id., OR **ВЕЛНН** $\text{vel}i\bar{i}$
 id. ('magnus, grandis, validus'), Cz vele , Slk velo , Hls $\omega j\bar{e}le$ 'very';
 SI $*\text{v}elb-mi$ 'very' (← instr. pl. of $*\text{v}elb$) > OCS, OR **ВЕЛЬМН**
 $\text{vel}bmi$, R † вельми , Cz velmi , Slk vel'mi , P $\omega ielmi$ id.; SI
 $*\text{v}elikb(-j\text{b})$ 'big, great' > OCS **ВЕЛНКЪ** $\text{vel}ik\bar{b}$, Blg вe'лик , SCr
 $\text{v}\bar{e}lik$, Slv $\text{v}\acute{e}lik$, Cz $\text{vel}(\bar{i})k\acute{y}$, Slk $\text{vel}ik\acute{y}$, $\text{vel'k}\acute{y}$, P $\omega ielki$ id., R,
 Uk вe'ликий 'great', R вe'лик 'is large/big' ||| ? W $g\omega ala$ 'amount,
 sufficiency, enough', MBr {LP} $g\omega alc'h$ (not mentioned in Ern.), Br
 $g\omega alc'h$ 'satiety, sufficiency', Br $a-\omega alc'h$ 'enough', $g\omega alc'haf\bar{n}$ 'to
 sate, to satisfy' ||| ?? Tc A $\omega\bar{a}l$, B ωalo 'king' (but more probably from
 IE $*\text{w}al-$ 'be strong, rule over' < N $*\text{w}A\bar{i}\text{ɥ}$ 'be strong, be able', q.v.) ¶ ≈
 P 1138, LS 828 ($\bar{i}-$ in $\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$, $\acute{\iota}\lambda\bar{\alpha}$), Ch. 462-3, ≈ F I 74, 722, StSS 110, 112,
 Srz. I 234, Vs. I 288-9, Glh. 665-6, BER I 131-2, LP § 37.3, YGM-1 254,
 Hm. 56, 344, Wn. I 554-5 ||| **U** $*\text{w}ul\text{ɥ}$ 'big, much, many' > FU:
 Lp: L $\acute{a}ll\bar{o}$ id., N {N} $q\bar{l}'lo \sim qllo \sim ql\bar{o}$ 'much, many' ||| Os: N {KrT}
 $\omega\bar{b}l$ 'big, older', O {Stn.} ωul , Pt {Stn.} ul 'крупный, groß' || Sm: Ne: T
 $\eta\text{ɥ}li$ " 'quite, very', T O {Lh.} $\eta ul\acute{i}?$ id. ¶¶ Coll. 44, UEW 543-4
 (reconstructing U $*ul\text{ɥ}$, without taking into account Os), Stn. D 1586,
 KrT I 222, Ter. 403, Lh. 43 ||| **A** $*\hat{o}l\text{ɥ}_{\bar{i}}n_{\bar{i}}$ 'big, many; good' > M $*olan$
 'much, many, numerous' > MM [IM] {Pp.} $olan$, [MA, HI, S] $olon$ id.,
 WrM {MED} $olan$ id., 'multitude, great number', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt
 $olon$ id., Kl {KRS} oln id., {Rm.} $ol\eta$ 'viele, manche', Mnr M {T} $ol\eta$
 'much, many, numerous', {SM} $ol\bar{u}on$ 'beaucoup, nombreux, en grande
 quantité; très', Mnr H {T}, Ba {T} $ol\eta$, Dx {T} $olon$ 'much, many', Ord
 $olon$ 'beaucoup, nombreux; multitude; souvent' ¶ Ms. H 81, Pp. MA
 264-5, 443, H 123, MED 607-8, BMR II 471-2, Chr. 354, KRS 395, KW
 285, SM 298, T 354, T BJ 145, T DnJ 131, Ms. O 510 || T: NaT d. $*ulug$
 'big, great' > OT, OOSm XIV $ul\text{u}\text{ç}$, XwT XIII $ul\text{u}(\text{ç})$, MQP XIII $ul\bar{u}$, XIV

[CC] ulu, Chg xv uluḡ ~ uluq, ET uluṽ ~ uluq, SY, Ln, Xk, Tv, Tf uluṽ, Tkm, Slr uli 'large, big, great', Tk ulu, Ggz, CrTt, Kr Cr ulu, Yk ulū id., VTt олы ъль, Bsh оло ъль 'large, big', 'old, grown up' (of a person), Az ulu 'big, great, ancient', Uz uluṽ, Qzq җлы uli, Qq ulli, StAlt ulu, Uz uluṽ 'great', Qrg ulū 'great, elder', † uluq 'chief, ruler', Yk ulū 'large, great' ¶ Cl. 136, ET Gl 593-5, Rs. W 513, Sht. 289, Jud. 803-4, MM 488, KrkR 67, Nj. 134, BT 167, Ra. 237 || ?σ Tg *ule₁n₁ > Ul ulz(n), Ork uloḡga 'good', Ud uligdigga 'beautiful', Nn {On.} ulz̃: 'good, beautiful', WrMc {Z} цлинь 'goods' ¶ STM II 260-1, Korm. 301, On. 429, Z 158-9 || ?σ pKo *ór- > MKo óró, NKo óro-z̃i 'completely, wholly' ¶ Nam 380, MLC 1198 ¶¶ SDM 1494 (pA *ulu|o 'big, many; good' > Tg, M, T, Ko), DQA no. 2517, S AJ 286, ADb. SR 12 || | D {tr., †GS} *val- 'multitude; (?) big' > Tm valaḡkam 'large family', Kn balaga 'mass, multitude, assemblage, troop, the family circle', Tu balaga 'quantity, heap, multitude', Krg bali 'clan', Tl balāgamu 'retinue, party, circle of friends and relatives'; (× N *wA1ṽ 'be strong, be able' [q.v.]?): D *val- > Gdb valan 'thick, stout', Mlt balehne 'large', balebale 'large ones', Brh balun 'big, large, elder' ¶¶ Tm -l- in *val- for the expected -l̃- is puzzling (infl. of the reflex of N *wA1ṽ '↑?') ¶¶ D no. 5308 and (merger of roots) D no. 5276 ¶¶ D *val- 'strong, hard' (D no. 5276) hardly belongs here (≠φ,σ) (⇔ IS MS) ◇ D *val- proves that the N vw. was *A. The U and A data suggest a rounded vw. ({N} *wól̃a), but this rounded vw. may be due to the infl. of N *w-. On M *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS II 109-10 ((wól̃a 'большой' > HS, IE, U, D, A), IS MS 331 s.v. *wól̃a 'большой' (> IE, A, U, D, HS), Glh. 665-6 (IE, U, D, A, Mrg ?wal + err. Eg wr) ◇ ≠ Blz. LNA no. 22 (equation of U and A with IE *ol- 'all', which [in my opinion] is phonetically better explained as belonging to N *?elṽ 'clan, tribe' [→ 'all', prn. of plurality], q.v. ffd.).

2470. *wA1ṽ 'be strong, be able' > IE: NaIE *wal- id., 'rule over' > L val-eō / valor 'τιμή, value', Osc {Pln.} فالε 'valens' or 'validus' (?) ||| Clt {Matas.} *°wal-na- 'rule, govern' > OIr {P} fal-n-, fol-n- 'herrschen', {P} flaithe 'Herrschaft', {SB} 'Herrscher', {Matas.} fallnaithe, fallnathar ~ -follnathar 'rule, govern'; Clt {Matas.} *walo- n. 'prince, chief' > Mir {Matas.} fal 'rule', {DIL} fál 'king', OW n. pr. Con-fual, OBr n. pr. Connual ||| Gt waldan ('ἄνκειν) 'ausreichen'. ON valda. OSx ei-waldon. OHG waltan. NHG

walten 'to rule, to have control over, to govern', AS *wæaldan* id., 'to possess', NE *wield*; ON *veldi* 'power, Macht' (< **woltiγom*); ON *vald* 'Macht, Gewalt', OFrs *weld*, OHG *walt* {Kb.} 'force, power, law', OHG *giwalt*, MHG (*ge*)*walt* 'Gewalt, Macht, Herrschaft', NHG *Gewalt* 'power, authority, violence', AS *ƷeƷeald* 'power' ||| BSI (+ext.): Lt *valdý*-*ti* 'to rule, to govern, to own', Ltv *vāldīt* 'to govern, to rule, to reign'; Lt *veldėti* (1s pres. *vėldu*, *vėldžiū*) 'to own, to rule, to take possession, to inherit', Pru *waldūns* nom. sg. {En.} 'mantinieks (legatee)' or 'Erbteil', *weldūnai* nom. pl., *weldīsnan* accus. sg. 'heritage' || SI inf. **volsti* (< **vold-ti*) / 1s pres. **vold-ŋ* 'own, rule over' > OCS **ВЛАСТИ** *vlasti* (1s pres. **ВЛАДѦ** *vladŋ*), OCz *vlasti* (1s pres. *vladu*) 'to own, rule over'; SI **voldě-ti* 'to own' > OCS **ВЛАДѢТИ** *vladě-ti*, OR **ВОЛОДѢТИ** *volodě-ti*, R **володеть**, Uk **володіти** id., Blg *bk. владея* 'I rule over, I own'; SI **volda-ti* 'to own' > OCS {Mikl.} **ВЛАДАТИ** *vlada-ti* 'imperare, dominare', Cz *cd o-vládati* {ACCA} 'to control, to have control of; to manage, to govern', SCr, Slv *vládati* 'to govern, to rule, to reign', P **władac** 'to make use of, to handle, to manage, to wield', Blg **владам** 'I rule over, I own'; SI **volstb* (< **vold-tb*) 'power (dominium)' > OCS **ВЛАСТЬ** *vlastb* '(political) power, power of the strong person; owned region' (↳ R **власть** 'political power'), OR **ВОЛОСТЬ** *volostb* 'region, country, power', R **волость** 'volost (small rural district)', Blg **власт** 'political power', SCr *vlāst* 'power, might, rule', Slv *lāst* 'property, possession', Cz *vlast*, Slk *vlast* 'one's native country', P **włóśc** 'landed property, estate'; ? OCS {Mikl.} **ВЛАТЬ** *vlatb* 'gigas' ||| pTc {Ad.} **wālo* (obl. **lānt*) (< **wl-ānt-* 'the ruling one') > Tc A *wäl*, B *walo*, A/B obl. *lānt* 'king', B *walo* 'king'; pTc **wlāw-* > Tc A/B *wlāw-* v. 'control' || Ht {Ts.} *walliwalli-* 'stark, kräftig', *walliwallai-* 'kräftigen' ¶¶ WP I 539, P 1111-12, EI 490, WH II 727-8, Pln. II 710, SB 262, LP §§ 136.1, 299, Matas. E 402, Fs. 548, Kb. 385, 1139, OsS 276, 1084, KM 835-6, Ho. 385, Vr. 640-1, 653, Frn. 1188-9, 1217-18, En. 270, 272, Vs. I 340-1, 344, BER 160-1, 163, Ma. CS 569-70, Glh. 674-5, StSS 118, Mikl. L 66-8, Srz. I 291, 293-4, Me. DIE 22 (SI **vold-* ÷ Gmc **wald-* rather than SI ← Gmc), Wn. I 554-5, Ad. 581-2, 617, Ts. W 100 ||| D **val*/*vall-* 'strong' > Tm *val* 'strong, hard, forceful', *vallam*, *valam* 'strength', *vallu* 'be able', *vallu* 'right side', MI *val*, *valu* 'strong, powerful, great',

valaŋ-kay 'right hand', valam 'the right\strong side', Kt val
 'powerful, very, right (dexter)', Toda paṣṣ 'right (dexter)', Kn bal v.
 'grow strong\firm', bal(у) 'strength, firmness', bala 'right
 (dexter)', Kdg bala 'power, strength', Tu bala 'strength', balata kay
 'right hand', Tl valanu 'skill, excellence', vala 'right', Prj vela key
 'right hand', Gdb valan 'thick, stout', Gnd wallē 'much, very'; (× D
 *val- < N *wAla 'big, large; multitude', q.v.): Mlt balehne 'large',
 balebale 'large ones', Brh balun 'big, large, elder' ¶¶ D no. 5276, Zv.
 156 [no. 225] || HS (with an ext.): C *^o√wlk > EC: Sd {Gs.} wolqa,
 {Hd.} wolqá ~ walqá 'strength, power', {C} wolqā 'strong'; HEC б→ Gf
 {Mrn.} wolqa 'strength, power' ¶ Gs. 348, Hd. 400-1, C SE II 252, Mrn.
 S s.v. wolqa, Mrn. O s.v. wolqa || Eg fOK wnmv 'rechts, rechte
 Seite' ¶ EG I 322 || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} uólema 'droit (dexter)' ¶ Cp. KL s.v. }
 uólema || A: M *buli- 'be superior in strength, overcome, be victorious'
 > WrM buli- {MED} 'be superior in strength', HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt
 були- id., (× M *buliya- 'take away by force, seize' < N
 *^l√w^rA^lly^l∇ 'draw, pull [out, off]', q.v.): MM [S] {H} buli-
 'conquer, rob, take away by force', WrM buli- {MED} 'overcome,
 conquer, take by force', HIM були- {MED} id., {BMR} 'overcome, take
 by force, siegen', Brt були- 'overcome', Kl {KRS} була-
 'herausreißen, выхватывать из рук, take away by force', {Rm} bulā-
 'rauben, entführen, mit Gewalt (einem etwas) entführen', Mnr H {SM}
 buli- 'enlever de force, piller, ravir', Ord bulā- 'prendre de force' ¶
 MED 134, H 22, BMR I 285, Chr. 111, KRS 117, KW 59, SM 33, Ms. O 93
 ◇ The vw. *u in M *buli- is to be attributed to the ass. infl. of N *w-
 and M *b- (on M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ BmK no.
 487 (IE, D), O NSD 123 (pN *wal^re^m 'right [dexter], right side' > > D,
 Eg and Kbl [err. semantic interpretation: the meankng 'dexter' in the
 prehistory of Eg and Kbl and in the history of several D lges is due to a
 secondary semantic change 'strong' → 'dexter', quite usual in the lges of
 the world).

2471. *w^ri^l∇ 'exchange', 'value' > U: pY {IN H} *^owalā or *^owolō >
 Y T walē {IN H} 'price; prize, fee; dowry; ransom', {Ku.} walē 'price,
 compensation, bride price', {IN H} walite- v. 'pay' ¶ IN H 451, Ku. 41
 || D {tr., †GS} *vil 'sell; price' > Tm vil 'sell, be sold', vilaj 'selling,
 price', Ml vilā 'sale, price', Td pil 'price', Kt bil, bili v. 'sell, buy', bili,
 bele 'price, cost', Kdg bele 'cost', Tu bilæ, belæ 'price, value, worth',

Tl *v il u v a*, *v e l a* id., 'cost', *v il (u) c u* v. 'sell, buy' ¶¶ D no. 5421 ||
HS: S (with an ext.) * \checkmark w l t̥ > Gz \checkmark w l t D 'change, exchange' ¶ L G
 614, DRS 550-1.

2472. * ω o \checkmark |g l ∇ (more probable than * ω o \checkmark |g l ∇) 'stay, be' > **HS:** S
 * \checkmark w f | y l > Gz \checkmark w f l (pf. *w a f a l a* ~ *w a f l a*, js. *y a f a l*) v. 'spend the day,
 remain, stay', Tgr, Tgy \checkmark w f l G v. 'spend the day' ¶ L G 602-3 || B
 (mt.) * \checkmark w l H (prm. *-w l ∇ H) v. 'be' (× N ***h i L 'U'** 'stand, be, exist',
 q.v.) > ETwl/Ty {GhA} imv. *ɔ l l u* (3 m pf. ETwl *i l l a*, Ty *y a l l a*), Ah imv. *a l l*
 (pf. *i l l a*) 'be' (Fcj. 11, Pcj. I A 9), Kb {DL.}, Wrg/Mz {Dlh.} *i l i* (pf. *y a l l a*),
 Gh {Nh.}, BSn {Ds.}, Si {La.}, Gd {Lf.} *i l i* (pf. *i l l a*), SrSn, Izn, Tmz *i l i* 'be'
 ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 119, Fc. 971, 2000 (on Fcj. 11), GhA 109, 246-7 (on Pcj.
 A I 9), Dl. 439, Dlh. Ou 161, Dlh. M 101, Ds. B 123, MT 362-3, La. S 66,
 Lf. II no. O853 || C: EC * \checkmark o l- (~ * ω o \checkmark l-?) v. 'stay' > LEC {Bl.} * \checkmark o l- {AD}
 v. 'stay, spend the day' > Or {Grg.} \checkmark o l- id., Kns \checkmark o l- 'spend the day', ? σ Gdl
 \checkmark o l-a \checkmark - v. ben. 'be late', Sml pres. \checkmark o l 'I stay', p. \checkmark o l 'I stayed', \checkmark o l 'did not
 stay', Sml N {Abr.} pcv. - \checkmark o l- and scv. \checkmark o l-/ \checkmark o l-/ \checkmark o l- 'live (wohnen)', Arr
 \checkmark o l l- / ip. \checkmark o l l- 'stand' || Brj ω o l- \checkmark - md. 'pass the time, stay', ? Hd ω u l-
 v. 'stand' ¶ Sml \checkmark o l- may go back to contamination with HS *-h i l- < N
 ***h i L 'U'** (q.v.) ¶ Bl. 112, 150, Ss. PEC 51, Ss. B 188, Abr. S 195-6, Grg.
 306, Hw. A 267-9 ¶¶ Coh. no. 196, L G 602-3, L ECDG 243 || **U:** FU
 * ω o l e- v. 'be, become' > Er *у л е - у л е -*, Mk *у л е - у л а -* id. || F, Es *o l e -* v.
 'be' || Chr L/E *u l a -*, H *ɔ l a -* id. || Prm * \checkmark u l- / * \checkmark o l- v. 'be, exist': * \checkmark u l- > Z
в ы л - ъ м \checkmark l l- з м 'existence', Vt G {Wc.} \checkmark l l l- v. 'be, be there', Vt Sr
 \checkmark l l-, Vt Kz \checkmark z l- id., 'exist', Vt *у л ы н ы - в ы л ы н ы*, Z *о в н ы - в ы в н ы*
 'to be, to be once upon a time' (Z *о л і с н ы - в ы л і с н ы* 'there were
 once upon a time' [in fairy tales], *о л ъ н ы - в ы л ъ н ы ъ н ъ д з* 'they live
 upon this very day [они живут-поживают до сих пор]') (о в -, о л -
 means 'live'), Z Vish/EV \checkmark u l- 'be, be once upon a time'; Prm * \checkmark o l- v. (in
 the past tense) 'be' > Z *в ъ л і* \checkmark z l i, Yz \checkmark o l i 'was', Vt *в а л* \checkmark a l 'was' (a <
 * \checkmark due to *) || ObU {Ht.} * ω o l- v. 'be, live' > pVg * \checkmark o l- > Vg: T \checkmark o l-/a l-,
 LK \checkmark u l-/u l-, \checkmark o l-, MK/NV/SV/LL/UL \checkmark o l-, P \checkmark o l-/o l-, Ss \checkmark l- id.; pOs * ω o l- >
 Os: V/Vy ω a l-, Ty/Y ω a \checkmark -/ ω o \checkmark -, D/K/Nz u t-, Kz ω a \checkmark -, O o l- id. || Hg
 \checkmark o l-/ \checkmark a l-/ \checkmark a g y- 'be' ¶ Coll. 103, UEW 580-1, Sm. 551 (FU
 * ω a /o l i-, FP * \checkmark o l i-, Ugr * ω a l i \checkmark - 'be'), Ker. II 175, Ht. no. 681, MF
 669-71, LG 67, 71-2, TmK 485 || **A** * \checkmark o l ∇- ~ * ω o \checkmark l ∇- > T * \checkmark o l- ~ * ω o \checkmark l-
 v. 'become, be' > **[1]** NaT * \checkmark o l- > OT, Chg, MQp \checkmark o l-, Tkm, Qmq, Qrg,
 Qzq, Qq, ET \checkmark o l-, Xk ρ o l-, Chv L *п у л - р у л -*, Chv Δ *п о л - р о л -*, Alt, Tv

b₀l-, Tf b₀l-, Uz b₀l-, VTt, Bsh bul-, SY pol-, Yk bū₀l- 'be, become', XwT, Nog b₀l- v. 'be'; [2] NaT *o₀l- 'be, become' > Osm o₀l-, Tk o₀l-, Tk W o₀l- 'be, become', Az, Ggz, CrTt {Rl.} o₀l- id., Uz Δ {Jud.} o₀l- 'be' ¶ Acc. to Mel.'s hyp. (Mel. T xl-xli), supported by other scholars (including Cl. and the authors of ET), the original T form is *b₀l-, with the loss of the initial *b- (through the stage of *w) in Og and Uz Δ ¶ Cl. 331-2, ET B 185-8, Rl. I 1080-3, Ra. 163, Ash. IX 261-76, Fed. I 442-3, Jeg. 164, ChVS 144, Md. 39 ¶ Tkm b₀l- points to a pT short *o. The length of the vw. in Tk W o₀l- requires explanation || M *b₀l- 'become' > MM [S, MA, IM, PP, IsV] b₀l-, WrM {MED} b₀l- 'become; happen, occur', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} 'become', Brt b₀l-, Kl {KRS} b₀l- 'become', {Rm.} b₀l- 'werden, sein', Dg, Mgl b₀l-, Dx w₀lu- ~ p₀lu- 'become', Mnr H {SM} o₀li-, Ord b₀l- devenir, être, pouvoir' ¶ Pp. IM 99, MED 114, BMR I 260, Chr. 102-3, KRS 107-8, KW 50, MYC 157, Rm. M 20, SM 296, Ms. O 75-6. T 318, T DnJ 114 || pJ *b₀l- 'be' > OJ w₀r-, MJ w₀r- id., J T/K/Kg o₀r- {BJRS} 'be (ser, estar)' ¶ S QJ no. 250, Mr. 742, BJRS I 78, Kenk. 635 ¶¶ SDM 372-3 (pA *b₀l₀-e 'be, become, come' > T *b₀l-, M *b₀l-, pJ *b₀l-), DQA no. 196 (id.), ≈ SDM 1050-1 (pA *o₀lu 'be, become', [not belonging here] 'come' > T *o₀l-ur-, *o₀l^r-tur- 'sit' + [not belonging here] Tg *o₀- 'make, become; new', M *o₀l- 'find, obtain', pKo *o₀- 'come), ≈ DQA no. 1595 (id.), S AJ 68, 284, KW 50, Pp. VG 99, Mill. AJVC 851, Str. JPAL 639, Dr. TM II 358, ET I 489-92 || D (in SD) *u₀l- v. 'be, have' > Tm u₀l-, Kn u₀l-/o₀l- id., Ml u₀l- v. 'be there, exist', Kt o₀l- v. 'exist, be (in a place)', Kdg u₀l₀- v. 'be, be in a place, have', Tu u₀l₀- v. 'be, exist, have' ¶ D no. 697 ◇ D *-l- (for the expected *-l-) may go back to pre-D *-l- in a derived stem with *-l- from **-l-y- (or may be due to the presence of a lr?). SD *u- may be explained by a kind of positional neutralization of the opposition *o ↔ *u in SD or by the assimilatory infl. of N *w-. An alt hypothesis (supposing that D *l goes back to N *l) does not explain U *-l- ◇ IS MS 332 (*w o x l a > A, U, ?D, HS).

2473. *w a H 1 ∇ 'produce sounds by voice, cry, speak' > IE: NaIE *w o | a | a l- ≈ id. > BSl: Sl *v o l a t i > P w o ł a c 'to cry, to call', Cz v o l a t (i) 'to clamour', (z a -) v o l a t (i) 'to call (to so.)' || Lt {Ma. ← ?} v a l i ú o t i 'to sing' (of mowers when mowing hey), Ltv v a l ó d a 'language, speech' || ?φ NrGmc: ON v á l a, NNr v a a l a 'jammern', ON v æ l a 'jammern, klagen', Sw Δ v ä l a 'schreien, blöken', Dn Δ v æ l l e 'schreien'; NrGmc

↳ ME *weilen*, *wailen* 'to wail', NE *wail* ¶ Not here ON *υοιλυα* 'prophetess, sibyl' (adduced by Mn. and BmK) ← 'Stabträgerin' ← ON *υοιλρ* 'runder Stab' ¶ Ma. CS 572, Brü. 630, Kar. II 478-9, ME IV 461-2, ≠ Mn. 1488, Vr. 640, 671, ≠ BmK no. 488 (+ err. ON *υοιλυα*, Gk *ἄλαζών* 'vagabond, false pretender', *ἄλαζονικός* 'boastful' and *ἄλαζονεύομαι* 'make false pretensions' [most probably from the Thracian tribal name *Ἀλαζώνες*], see Vr. 673-4, F I 61, Ch. I 53) || HS: B **waHl* 'word(s), language, way of speaking' > Ah {Fc.} *ǎ-wāl*, ETwl, Ty, Gh, BSn, Izd, Izn, Kb *a-wal*, Gd {Lf., CM} *awal* (pl. {CM} *iwallan*), Sll {Ds.} *a-wäl* (pl. *iwäliwn*), Tmz *awal* (pl. *iwaliwn*), Nf {La.} *a-wāl* id., Skn {Srn.} *a'wāl* n. act. 'speaking'; ↠ B {†Pr.} **si-Hwil* caus. (Fcj. 155, Pcj. I A 4) 'speak, produce sounds' (metathesis **✓Hwl* < **✓wHl*) > Ah *siwl*, ETwl, Ty *šiwəl*, BSn {Ds.} *Si* {La.}, Skn {Srn.} *sīwəl*, Sll {Ds.} *sawəl* ~ *sawl*, Tmz *siwəl*, Zng {TC} *šīwiy* 'parler' ¶ Fc. 1877-80, 2014 (on Fcj. 155), GhA 197, Ds. 212, Ds B 263-4, Dl. 862, La. S 262, MT 759, Lf. II no. 1667, CM 145, Pr. M VI-VII 100-2 (on Pcj. I A 4), DCTC 291 || Ch {Stl.} **waHal-* {Stl.} 'weep, cry', {AD} 'produce vocal sounds, weep, cry' > WCh: Hs *há-wāyē* 'tears' (*ha-* is a px for body parts) || pAG **wāl* 'weep, cry' > Ang, Mpn {Frz.} *wāl*, Cp *wal* 'weep, cry', Su {J} *wal* 'tönen, erschallen, klingen', *wál māp* 'wail, weep' || NrBc {Stl.} **war-* (< **waHl-*) > Jmb *wara*, Cg *wure* 'weep, cry' || SBc: Grn {Jgr} *wal-wi* 'weep' || ECh {Stl.} **ʔal-/ ʔil-* id. (loss of the initial syll.) > Ll *ile*, Mkl *ʔōle* / **īlé* id., EDng *álè* {ChC} id., {Fd.} 'emit sounds, weep', 'cry' (of animals), Mu {Lk.} *íléli* 'tears', Skr {Nc.} *āleʔāle* 'weep', *ólū* 'funeral song' ¶ JI II 342-3, Stl. IF 142, Abr. H 585, Ba. 461, Hf. AG no. 228, J S 86, Frz. DM s.v. *wāl*, Nc. s.v. Skr *āleʔāle* and *ólū*, ChC s.v. 'weep', ChL, Lk. ZSS 30, 37, Fd. 19 || C: Bj {R} *wālik-* scv. 'rufen, schreien' ¶ R WBd 238 || ??? on. S: id. CS **✓wl(w)l* > Ar *✓wlwl* (pf. *walwala*) 'wail, shriek' (woman), 'howl' (wolf), Sr {PS} id., on. *walwal't-ā* 'ululatus', BHb *יַבֵּי יַעֲלֵי, הַיַּבֵּי יַעֲלֵי* n. act. 'howling' ¶ BK II 1605-6, Hv. 892-4, PS 1063, DRS 542-4, BDB 410, LH 428 || U **wal||a* > FU (att. in FV) **wal||a* 'utterance' > F *vala*, Krl A *vala* 'oath, vow' || pLp {Lr.} **vōlē* 'song; conjure' > Lp S {Hs.} *vuo̅lie* 'Lappish song', Lp L {LLO} *vuo̅llē* «ein Jojker» (lappischer Melodiensatz, [F] *jojku*), N {N} d. *vuo̅llo-* '(noisily expressed) delight', Lp Pa {TI} *vũ̅žl̅ēd* 'jemandem übles wünschen oder vorhersagen (im Denken\Sprechen, bes. die Zauberer)' || Er, Mk *val* 'word' || pY {IN U} **walol-* ({IN UJ} **walma*

'shaman') > Y T {IN H} wɔlme 'shaman', Y K {IN H} almə id., aldu- v. 'conjure', {Jc} aluɔu- id., {IN H} alʏʒday- 'say invocations', Y T {IN H} wɔlmomā- 'shamanize', OY K {Bil.} alma 'shaman' ¶¶ UEW 812, SK 1614, Lr. no. 1432, Lgc. no. 8769, Hs. 1457, LLO 1445, TI 787, IN H 451, IN UJ 249 (Y T walmə [misprint for wɔlmə]), 295 || D *val- 'say, speak, produce sounds by voice' > Tm vāli v. 'say, tell, narrate', n. 'sound', Krg valli v. 'bark', Gnd Nr valliḥ- c. 'call, invite' ¶¶ D no. 5283 || ??? D *val-, *valava- 'babble, be talkative, noisy' (an ideophonic stem which may have developed on the basis of *val- 'say, speak') > Tm valava 'be talkative\wordy, babble', MI id. valava 'sound of babbling', Tu balakæ 'boasting', TI id. valava 'noise, fuss, hubbub' ¶¶ D no. 5310 ◇ ≈ BmK no. 488 (*wal-/ *wal- > IE, D, Ar ✓ w|w|).

2474. ? (₂?) *weH|yL∇ (or *weLH∇?) (= *weH|yL∇ - *weLH₁∇?) '≈ hip, waist' > HS: B: Sll a-wlā 'groin (aine)' ¶ Ds. 12 || A: T *bēlk 'waist' (× N *beLk∇g∇ 'belly, waist' [q.v. ffd.] × N *P_e|ʔê - *P_e|ʔê 'side of body, side') > NaT *bæ, Chv пилёк pil'ek 'waist' || ?σ IE: ζ Ht {Frd.} walla 'Schenkel, (?) Bein' (not mentioned in Ts. W) ¶ The cognate is valid only if Frd.'s interpretation of the word is right ¶ Frd. HW 242 ◇ The preconsonantal T *l may go back to any N lateral sonorant ◇ If Ht walla belongs here, the N etymon is *weH|yL∇ or *weLH₁∇.

2475. *walzæ 'wish, require' > HS: S *°✓ w|z > Ar ✓ w|z (pf. walizā, ip. -wlaḥ-) {Hv.} 'be fond of, covet', {BK} 'être avide de, convoiter' ¶ BK II 1604, Hv. 893 || WCh: Su wal, Mpn wāl 'aimer' ¶ OS 526 || IE *welHχ- > NaIE *wel₁a₁-/wle(j)- v. 'want, choose', n. *w|ti-s 'wish' > L vol-ō, inf. velle v. 'want' || OI ✓ var-: 3s pres. vṛṇī'tē, vṛṇāti, vṛṇōti, vṛṇutē 'chooses, prefers, wishes, loves', Av var- v. 'choose, want' || Gt wiljan (· βούλεσθαι) 'wollen', ON vilja, OFrs willa, OSx willian, wellian, AS willan, OHG wellen, NHG wollen 'to want', 3s pres. (being transformed into p./pres.): Gt wili, ON vill, vil, OFrs, OSx, OHG wili, NHG will '(he\she) wants', NE will v. (and analytical marker of ft.); ON vil, AS will n. 'wish, desire'; Gt wilja (· θέλημα) 'Wille', ON vili, OSx willio, OHG willo, NHG Wille, OFrs, AS willa n. 'will', NE will n. || ? Gk D λῶ (2s λῆς, 3s λῆ) v. 'wish, desire' (Gk Cr opt. λει(υ)οι, λειουεν, conj. λειοντι, prtc. λειοντος, -α) (E.= e|η) (Schw. GG I 676: < *valē/i mi) || OI *vallo- 'better' (Mates) 'good, desirable' > MW w

{YGM} gwell, MBr guell 'better', Br {Hm.} gwell 'meilleur, mieux', Crn gwell 'better' || Olt inf. vél̥ti / 1s pres. vél̥mi v. 'wish, prefer, allow' | Sl *vel- / *vol-: *velě-ti (1s pres. *veí-ŋ) 'to order' > OCS ВЕЛѢТИ velěti (1s pres. ВЕЛѢ ꙗꙋ veljŋ), Slv veléti, Cz veletí, R велеть (1s pres. велю), Uk веліти id., 1s pres.: SCr Δ vèl̥ju, SCr vèl̥im, Blg Δ 'велям ꙗꙋ велим 'I say', Δ 'велям 'I decide'; Sl *vol̥a n. 'will' > OCS ВОЛЯ volja, Blg, R, Uk 'воля, SCr vòlja, Slv vólja, Cz vůle, Slk vol'a, P wola id.; Sl *°volěti > SCr вòлети ꙗꙋ vòljeti 'to love'; Sl *do-vblě-ti 'to be enough' (< *w̥.lē-) > OCS ДОВЬЛѢТИ do-vblě-ti (1s pres. ДОВЬЛѢ ꙗꙋ do-vbljŋ), R до'влетъ, Uk до'вліти id. || ?? Arm գեղ geł 'beauty, charm, attraction, good grace' (unless < NaIE *wel- 'see, look') ¶ P 1137-8, EI 629 (*wel- 'wish, want'), M K III 244-5, M E II 511-12, WH II 88-30, F II 150, Fs. 563, Gux. GJ 168, Vr. 663-4, Ho. 396, Ho. S 88, Kb. 1166, 1201, OsS 1119-20, KM 859, 868, SGGJ IV 424, Frn. 1220, Vs. I 288, 347-8, 521, Matas. E 411, YGM-1 262, Hm. 252, StSS 112, 121, 193, Glh. 666, 678, BER I 132-3, 175-6, Sl̥t. 141-2 || U: FU *wā̆z̆∇- v. 'demand, desire, wish, urge' > F v̆aati- v. 'demand, ask (so. for), want, urge' | Prm *vaš- > Prmk vaš̆z̆t- v. 'zwingen, wegtreiben', Z US vaš̆z̆d-, Yz 'vaš̆ʌt- vt. 'drive' (ГНАТЬ) || Hg v̆ágy- v. 'desire, wish, long to' ¶ Coll. 122, Coll. CG 414, UEW 549-50, LG 49, SZ 67, Lt. J 95, KPR 57 ¶ The FU cognate is valid only if the Prm √ belongs here, otherwise the FU √ may be reconstructed as *wā̆č̆∇ (which may include ObU *wač̆∇ v. 'catch fish' > pVg *ūš̆- [> Vg UK, MK ūs- id.], pOs *wač̆- [> Os: Ty wā̆č̆-, Nz, Kz w̆oš̆-, O was- id.] [see Ht. no. 657]). If the FU word is *wā̆č̆∇, it does not go back to N *wāl̆z̆æ || A: Tg: Ewk Brg bala- v. 'order, compel' ¶ Vas. 49 ◇ AD LZL 360-1 ◇ On U and FU *z̆ from N *L̆z̆ see Introduction, § 2.1, remark 10 ◇ Blz. IELA 12 [no. 38] (HS, IE).

2476. ₂ *w∇L'h'∇ 'to hit, to attack' (→ 'to wound, to kill') > HS: ?σ S *°√ wlh, prm. *-wlih- > Ar √ wlh G (pf. walaha ~ waliha, ip. yalihu) 'be dejected, be depressed by grief', D (pf. wallaha) 'confound, perplex so.' (of grief), 'intoxicate so.' (wine), walh- 'grief' ¶ BK II 105-6, Hv. 894 || IE *wel̆X- '≈ strike, hit, fight' > Ht w̆alh- 'strike, attack' ({Ts.} 'schlagen', 'niederschlagen, überfallen, schädigen') || NaIE *wel̆l̆a- 'wound, slay, fight' (× N *gūL∇ 'to destroy, to fight; war', q.v.) > Clt {Matas.} *weli- ~ *woli- {AD} 'wound, blood' ({Matas.} 'blood') > Olt fr̆il̆ 'blood' MW et̆ t̆ol̆i 'wound, blood' W {YGM} et̆ t̆ol̆i 'wound

sore', Crn *goly* (pl. *golyow*) 'a wound', {Matas.} 'blood', MBr {Matas.} *goulyow* id., {Ern.} *gouli* 'a wound', *gouliaff*, *goulyaff* v. 'wound' (the meaning 'blood' is found in Matas.'s definitions only, which is doubtful, because other scholars report here words only with the meaning 'wound') || Gmc (× N **ƿōī* ∇ 'to starve, to die; dead', q.v. [?]): ON *valr* 'the slain in battle', AS *ƿæ̅l*, OHG {OsS} *wal*, *walu* id., 'slaughter, carnage; battlefield', NHG *cd walstatt* 'battle-field', OSx *wal* 'death'; AS *ƿō̅l* 'pestilence', OSx *ƿō̅l* id., 'ruin (Ver-derben)', OHG *wuol* id., 'disaster' || Sl: OCz *váletī* (1s pres. *váleju*) 'to wage war', Sl **valьka* > OCz, Cz *válka* 'war', P *walka*, Br *валька* 'fight, combat', ? Uk *валява* 'battlefield with bodies of those slain in battle' (× *валятися* 'be scattered all over') || Blt: Pru *ūlint* (< **wō̅lint*) 'to fight' ¶¶ Frd. HW 242-3, Ts. W 100, WP I 304-5, P 1144-5, ≈ EI 367 (**wel*(h₂)- 'strike, tear at'; unj. adduction of L *vellō* 'pluck, tear', which goes back to N **l'w'Al'liu* ∇ 'draw, pull (out/off)', Thr. 171, Dnn. 339, Ern. 282, Vr. 642, Ho. 380, 405, Ho. S 82, 89, Matas. E 410, YGM-1 262, Kb. 1232, OsS 1085, 1214, KM 834, ≈ Ma. CS 553, Tr. 548, En. 269 ◇ Not here (⇔ IS MS) the FU √ of Hg *ōl*- 'kill' etc., which is FU **wed* ∇ 'kill' (< N **wed* ∇ 'to hunt') rather than FU **wel* ∇ ◇ IS MS 367 (**wel* ∇ 'to fight' > IE, A, D ÷ * U).

2477. **wAl* | *í* ∇, *h* ∇ 'to turn, to roll, to revolve' > HS: WS **√ wly* vi. 'turn' > Ar *√ wly* *G* + prep. *fan* (pf. ... *وَلَّى عَن* *walā fan* ..., ip. *yaliyu fan*) vt. 'détourner de', *√ wly* *D* 'turn away from, turn back', Mh {Jo.} *√ wly* *Sh* (pf. *h3wlu*) vi. 'turn back, direct oneself to', Jb C {Jo.} *√ wly* *G* (pf. *ōli*) 'turn towards', Jb E/C {Jo.} *√ wly* *Sh* (pf. *eb'le*) 'direct oneself towards', Hrs {Jo.} *w3l* 'towards' ¶ BK II 1606-7, Hv. 894, Jo. M 429, Jo. J 292, Jo. H 136, ≈ DRS 549 || B **√ wHl* (mt. from ***√ wHl*?), pf. {†Pr.} *-*wHi|u* > Ah *āwl* (3m pf. *iwal*) '(se) tourner (changer de direction)' (Fcj. 62 = Pcj. I A 6), ETwl/Ty {GhA} *əwəl* id. (3m pf. ETwl *iwb̅l*, Ty *yəw̅b̅l*) ¶ Fc. 1480-94, 2005 (on Fcj. 62), GhA 197, Pr. M VI-VII 106 and GhA 246-7 (both on Pcj. I A 6) || C: DhI {E} *walam-* in *wálampáni* 'whirlwind' ({E}: *walam-* + *ʔūf-/yūf-* v. 'blow') || ? SC: Irq {MQK} *harwēr-* 'surround', {E} *harwel-* v. 'surround' ¶ E SC 314, E PC no. 576, MQK 47 || IE: NaIE **wel*(ə)- / **wlē-*, **welu-*, **wlej-* v. 'turn, roll' > Lt *vél̅ti* (1s pres. *v̅eli̅u̅*) 'to felt, to full (cloth)' (a NaIE heavy basis **welə-*), Ltv *v̅el̅t̅* 'to roll, to trundle; to felt, to full (cloth)' || Sl **val̅iti* s̅q̅ rf. 'to roll' > OCS *ВАЛѢТИ СѢ* *valiti* s̅q̅ id.

(*катиться*), Sl ip. **vaíǎti* 'to roll, to felt, to full (cloth)' > OCS **ВАЛЮТИ СЯ** *valjati se* rf. 'to roll' ({StSS} *кататься, катиться*), Cz *válet se*, R *ва'ляются* rf. id. (v.i.), R *ва'лять*, SCr *váljati* 'to roll, to felt, to full (cloth)', Cz *váleti*, Slk *vál'at'* id., Blg 'валям I felt, I full (cloth)' || OI *valati* 'turns, turns to, returns' (unless ← D **val-* 'surround, turn around'), Av *var-* '(se) vertere' || Arm **գելում** *gelum* 'I wring', **գելանիմ** *gelanim* 'I twist\wring\writhe', **գլեմ** *glem* 1s pres. 'roll, wheel' (< **wlē-*) || Gk *εἰλέω* (< **Fl-ν-έω*) v. 'roll up; wind, turn round', *εἰλύω* 'enfold, enwrap' || L *volv-ō, -ēre / volvī / volūtum* v. 'roll, wind, turn\twist round' || Clt {Matas.} **wel-no-* 'bend' > OIr *fillim* 'turn (drehen), bend', {SB} 'flecto', {Matas.} *fillid, -filli* 'bend', MBr 'green twig', Br {Hm.} 'oerche, bâton' || Gt **αῶλωjan** (*ἄποκυλῖεν*) 'wegwälzen', **αῶλωjan** (*προσκυλῖεν*) 'hinzuwälzen', **αῶρ-αῶλωjan** (*προσκυλῖεν*) 'vorwälzen', AS *wealwian* vi. 'to roll', *wielwan, wiellan* 'wälzen, rollen', ON *valr* adj. 'round', MLG *walen* 'drehen, wälzen, rollen' ¶ WP I 298-304, P 1140-3, EI 607 (*wel-* 'turn, wind, roll'), M K III 161 (against the connection between OI *valati* and IE **wel-*), Ach. II 112, Slit. 81-2, F I 457-8, WH II 832-4, SB 275, Frn. 1221, Vs. I 268, StSS 108, Glh. 661, Chr. I 132, BER I 116-17, Matas/ 41112, Hm. 344, Vr. 642, Fs. 13, Ho. 386, 393-4 || **A:** M **bulu* > WrM **булу** {MED} 'wheel, hub of a wheel; cylinder; roller for husking grain or leveling ground', HIM **бул** {MED} id., {BMR} 'hub of a wheel; buck rake (волокуша)', MM [HI] *bulu* 'hub of a wheel', Brt **бул** 'вал, валик', Brt E **була** 'hub of a wheel', WrO {Krg.} **булу** 'roller, hub', Kl {KRS} **бул** id., 'hub', {Rm.} **булу** 'Nabe (eines Rades)', Kl Ö {Rm.} **булу** 'hölzerne grosse Rolle, um die der neue Filz aufgerollt wird', Ord **булу** 'cylindre servant à écorcer le millet \ à aplanir la terre' ¶ M *-u- of the initial syll. may be accounted for by the ass. infl. of *b- and/or of the vw. *u of the next syll. On M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ¶ MED 136, BMR I 282, Chr. 110, KRS 117, KW 59, Ms. H 43, Ms. O 96, Lew. II 22, Krg. 366 || **D** **valaj* 'circle, ring' > Tm *valaj* 'circle', MI *vala* 'ring', Td *pa]* 'ring, circle', Kt *val* 'bangle', Kn **balē** 'ring, armllet, bracelet', Kdg **balē** 'bangle, ring', Tu **balæ** 'bracelet, hoop', ← OI *valaya-* 'bracelet, ring'; D **val-* (+ sxs) v. 'surround, turn around' > Tm *valaj* v. 'surround, walk around', MI *valayuka*, TI *balayu* v. 'surround', TI

{Km.} ν alayu vi. 'turn around', Kt ν alč²- v. 'walk in a circle, make round', Kn balasu 'go in a circle or round', Tu baleru- 'enclose, surround' ¶¶ D no. 5313, Tu. no-s 11405 and 11407, M K III 161 ◇ The IE and B data point to the existence of a lr., which is likely to have been *h (the only lr. which was easily lost in S) ◇ ≈ BmK no. 486 (*wal^h-/*wəl^h- > IE, HS [S, C], D) (with inaccurate information about Ar).

2478. *w^re' | | í_l∇_lh∇ (or *wi | | í_l∇_lh∇?) 'field, plain' > IE *wa|el- > Ht {Ts.} wellu- 'unmowed grass; meadow' | | ? NaIE: L vallēs, vallis 'valley' ¶¶ Ts. W 104, ≈ WH II 729 (with unc. etymological proposals), ≠ EI 200 (Ht < ž *'welsu- 'meadow, pasture' [an unc. rec.]) | | K: GZ *wel- 'field, plain' ({K²} 'valley, field') > OG, G vel- 'field, plain', Mg ve / vel- (in pl.) 'field, glade (поле, поляна)' ¶ K 82-3, K² 51, Q 234 | | D (in McTm) *ve|i|l- 'area, terrain, field' > Tm vi|ākam 'battlefield, surrounding area', Ml vi|ākam 'battlefield, garden' ¶ In Tm and Ml there is positional neutralization of the opposition *i ↔ *e before *a of the next syllable ¶ D no. 5435 | | HS: S *°✓ w|lh > Ar d. mīlah- {BK} 'vaste plaine, désert', {Fr. ← [Qam.]} 'campus, desertum' ¶ Fr. IV 505, BK II 1606, Hv. 894 | | C: Ag: Q {R} wulāu 'plain, field, meadow' ({Beke} wulagha), Km {CR} wulāu 'plaine, prairie', Xm {R} wulā- s- (← causative?) 'auf die Weide treiben' ¶ R Q II 142, R Ch II 111, CR Kh 265 ◇ D *-l- goes back to N *-l|í- in the intervocalic position, which suggests the presence of a vw. after N *-l|í-. An alt. hyp.: N *w^re' | | íh∇ > pre-D *w^re' | | í∇ > D *ve|i|l- ◇ Giorg. 65 and GI² 793 (IE, K), Blz. KM 141 [no. 30] (suggesting to adduce Ag and unconvincingly U *o|k∇ 'grass').

2479. *w^ri' | | i_lq∇ 'liquid; moist, damp' > HS: S *°✓ w|χ > Ar ✓ w|χ Sht [rf.] (pf. ṛista w|aχa) 'être arrosé par la pluie/rosée', 'être humecté\ humide' (le sol), ṛarḁun w|a|χ-at-un 'terre humectée\humide\mouillée', w|a|īχ-at-un 'boue, fange; lait épais' ¶ BK II 1602 | | U *wi | | i_l∇ 'sap of trees, sapwood' > FU: Chr L выле wь́́e {MRS} 'cambium', Chr E {Ps.} wь́́e 'sap of trees' | | ObU {Ht.} *ü|l-, {Stn.} *ö|l- {AD} 'sap of trees, sapwood' > pVg {Ht.} *ǘ́l- ~ *ǘ́l- 'sapwood' > Vg: T {Stn.} ó́́l, {Ht.} ó́l, UK/P/LL {Stn.}, LK/P/LL {Ht.} í́́l, ML í́́l; pOs {Ht.} *ö́́l 'sap of trees' > Os: V/Vy ö́́l, Ty ö́́l, Y ö́́l, D/K ělə, Nz ālə, Kz ā́́l 'sap of trees (birch, conifer trees)' ¶ Acc. to Stn. ZOUV, the non-palatal vw. ö́́ in Vg T is due to the infl. of Vg T ó́́l'st- 'abschälen (Baumstamm),

скоблить' || Sm {Jn.} *ül̥ > Slq: Tm {KD} ȫl̥, MKe {KD} ǖl̥:ç 'sap of trees', {Cs.}: NP ũll̥u, Yel ũ̄l̥, B ũ̄le, Tz/Kar ũ̄l̥ 'Baumsaft' ¶¶ The palatal ı̄ in Chr and Vg points to the presence of *y ¶¶ MRS 88, Ps. OT 17, Stn. ZOUV 237, Stn. D 90, Ht. no. 23, ≈ Jn. 27, Cs. 109, 203, ≈ UEW 24 (*āl̥ > 'sap of a tree'; UEW does not take into account Chr) || ¶ *ō̄l̥ > T *ō̄l̥ 'damp, moist' > OT {Cl.} ȫ:l̥ id., MQp/OOsm XIV ȫl̥ 'moist', XwT XIV ȫl̥ 'moisture', Chg XV ȫl̥, Tkm ȫl̥, Yk ũ̄ȫl̥, Qrg, Xk, Tv ȫl̥, Tf ı̄l̥, ET yȫl̥, StAlt ǖl̥, Qb {Rl.} ȫl̥ ~ ũ̄l̥, Shor {Rl.} ũ̄l̥ id., Tk ȫl̥ 'humidity\dampness (of soil)'; in some T lges pT *ō̄l̥- contaminated with *hō̄l̥:ı̄l̥- 'damp, moist' (< A *p̄ō̄l̥E 'wet, damp' < N *p̄ŪT̄H̄ > 'be liquid, be wet' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ Md. mentions Chv вил 'water, moisture', not confirmed by any dictionaries of Chv; it is likely to be a misinterpretation of Chv вил шыв ~ вил шывё ~ вилё шывё 'dew' ← {Jeg.} water of dead persons' or {Fed.} 'dead water'. where вил means 'dead' (cf. Fed. 122-3, Jeg. 34) ¶ Cl. 124, ET Gl 524-5, Rs. W 371, Ra. 214, Ms. O 531, Md. 50, 172 || ?σ M *ȫleŋ 'fresh\soft grass' > MM [MA] ȫleŋ 'grass' (att.: ȫleŋ t̄at̄aç̄u ç̄aç̄ar 'field used for mowing grass'), 'meadow' (ȫleŋin iç̄ēs̄ün 'луговой тальник'), [S] ol̄aŋ ({H}: read ol̄eŋ) 'fresh grass', WrM ȫleŋ {MED} 'soft grass, thick grass; sedge, *Carex*', HIM өлөн {MED} id., {BMR} 'thick grass, nährwertarmes Gras; sedge, *Carex*', Brt үлэн үбһэн 'sedge' (үбһэн means 'grass'), WrO {Krg.} ȫl̄öŋ 'meadow, green field, plain, lawn', Kl {Rm.} ȫl̄ŋ 'sanftiges Gras, Wiese', Ord ȫl̄öŋ 'herbes épaisses constituées par les feuilles du *Lasiagrostis splendens*' ¶ Pp. MA 275, H 122, MED 633, BMR III 17, Chr. 602, KW 295, Krg. 140, Ms. O 531 ◇ On N *w̄i- > T and M *ȫ- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS 333 (N *w̄īł̄, sc. *w̄īł̄ > U, A, ?S, IE *welk- ~ *welg- [see N *w̄iLka? > 'wet, moist'])).

2480. *l̄'w̄A'lı̄ȳ > (or *l̄'w̄ȫlı̄ȳ?) 'draw, pull (out, off)' > IE *l̄'wel-/ *l̄'wol- v. 'draw, pull, pluck, tear out' > L v̄ell-ō̄, -ēre / pfc. v̄elli ~ v̄olsi / sup. v̄olsum v. 'pluck, pull, twitch' || Gt wilwan (· ἄρπάζειν) 'rauben', wulwa (· ἄρπαζμός) 'Raub', wilwa (· ἄρπαξ) 'Räuber' || ? Gk ἄλίσκομαι 1s pres. (aor. ἦλων), Gk Th ἑλάσσεται 3s pres. 'be taken\conquered, fall into an enemy's hand' (of persons, places) ('gefangen werden'), 'be caught\seized', Gk ἄλωσις 'capture (Einnahme, Gefangennahme); taking\catching (of birds, fish)' || Arm q̄n̄h̄w̄w̄f̄ goł̄anam 'I rob\steal' || Ht walli- 'geschoren (?)', 'enthaart' (on hides), {EI} 'plucked' ¶¶ WP I 304-5, P 1144-5 (IE

*wēl- 'reißen, rauben' with unc. parallels from IE lges with different meanings), ≈ EI 567 (*wēl(h₂)- 'strike, tear at'), WH II 744-5, Fs. 564-5, F I 74, 77, Mn. 1509 ('snatch, tug'), Ts. W 100, ≈ EI 567 (IE *wēl(h₂)- 'strike, tear at' without distinguishing between reflexes of N *^l₁'w^rA¹l₁i₁y₁∇ and those of N *w∇L^rh¹∇ 'to hit, to attack') || A: M *buliya- > WrM {MED} булия- 'take away by force, seize, grab, rob, pillage', HIM булаа- {MED} id., {BMR} 'take away by force, seize', MM [S] {H} buli- 'rob, take away by force, conquer' (× M *buli- 'overcome' < N *wA1∇ 'be strong, be able', q.v.), WrO {Krg.} булиа- 'take away', були- 'take by force', Brt буляа- id., Kl {KRS} була- id., {Rm.} bulā- 'rauben, entführen, mit Gewalt einem etwas abnehmen', Ba {T} була- 'take away by force', Mnr H {T} buli- id., 'rob', {SM} b_uli- 'enlever de force, piller, ravir', Ord b_ulā- 'prendre de force' ¶ On M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ¶ MED 134-5, BMR I 283, Chr. 113, H 22, Krg. 366, KW 59, KRS 117, Ms. O 93, SM 33, T 320, T BJ 135 || K *^owl- > G a-vl- v. 'etwas einer Sache entlang ziehen\führen' ¶ Chx. 380-2 || D {tr., †GS} *val- v. 'draw, pull' > Tm v_ali v. 'draw, pull, row', Ml v_ali 'drawing, pull, tug, spasm', Kdg b_ali v. 'snatch, pull', Krg b_ali v. 'pull', Kui v_elba 'pull, pull up' ¶¶ D no. 5282 || ? U: FU *w^ol¹∇- 'strip sth. (bark etc.) off' > pLp {Lr.} *ṽl¹ṽ v. id., 'gnaw' > Lp: L {LLO} ṽllō- 'cut off branches', N {N} oallo- / -l- 'strip the bark off', K {Gn.} v_oalleδ, Kld {TI} v_uallaδ v. 'gnaw' | Er {W} vala- 'make even\smooth' -> {ERV} валаня valańa 'smooth, even' | Prm *v^ol¹- v. 'debark (a tree)' > Z, Yz v^ol¹-, Z US v^ol¹- id., Vt v^zl¹- 'remove a ring of bark from a tree in order to make the tree dry' || Vg {Kn.}: T o^ll¹t-, MK wa^ll¹t-, P w^ol¹t- v. 'abschalen (Baumstamm, Deichselstange)' ¶ UEW 582-3, TI 771, ERV 101, LG 621 ◇ *^l₁'w^rA¹l₁i₁y₁∇ as a pN rec. is preferred to *^l₁'w^ol₁i₁y₁∇, because M *-u- and FU *-o- may be due to the infl. of *w- (on N *wa- > M *bu- see Introduction, § 2.4), while D *val- rules out N *^o and suggests N *A ◇ BmK no. 485 (IE, D) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2481. *w^olE_y∇ 'look, see' > HS: B *will 'eye', *[✓]Hwl 'avoir l'œil sur' > Gd a-wall (pl. wallan) 'eye', Kb allan 'eyes' (pl. of t_it_i 'eye'), Ah awl (pf. ye wǎl) 'avoir l'œil sur (veiller sur, surveiller)' (Fcj. 63, Pcj. I A 4, bringing about the rec. of the stem as *-hwil) ¶ Fc. 1493-4, Pr. M VI-VII 100 || IE: NaIE *wēl- 'see', *w_o-tu- 'Aussehen' > Clt {Matas.} *wēl-o- 'see' > OIr {P} fil, {Matas.} -fil 'there is' (< imv. *wele

'behold!'), OIr *fili* (gen. *filed*), OIr gen. *velitas* 'seer, poet' (< **welēts*), Brtt [RE] **welīmi* v. 'see' > MW *gwelet* (1s *gwelif*), W {YGM} *gweled*, Crn *gweles* (1s *gwelaf*), OBr *guil-* ~ *guel-*, MBr *guel-* 'see', MBr *gwelet* 'see', Br {Hm.} *gwelout* 'voir' || *L vultus* ~ *vultus* 'expression of the face, countenance, look, aspect' || Gmc **wleīd-* 'see, look', 'face' > Gt *anda-wleizn* accus. (· *πρόσωπον*) 'Angesicht' (?), AS *wlītan*, ON *líta* 'to see, to look', AS *wlita* 'face' || Tc *B uel-* 'investigate' ¶ WP I 293, P 1136-7, EI 505, LP § 92, Thr. 58-9, 479, RE 126, Maas. E 412, YGM-1 262, Hm. 354, Flr. 191, WH II 831, Fs. 48, Ho. 403, Vr. 358, Ad. 507 || **U**: FU **wE1|l̥∇-* v. 'think, understand, learn' > Z *велав-* *velav-*, Δ *velal-*, Yz 'vólal-' v. 'learn, understand, get accustomed', OPrm, Z *velzd-* vt. 'teach, train, accustom', Vt *vala-* ~ *valal-* 'understand (понять, осмыслить)' || Hg *vél-* v. 'think (meinen)' ¶ UEW 589 (FU **wE1E-*), LG 51, Lt. J 101 || **A** **boǵu-* (or **bōǵu-*?) 'learn, be attentive' > T ***°boǵu-*ǵu- > ds: NaT **°bošǵun-* 'learn, receive instruction' > OT {Cl.} *bošǵun-* id.; caus. NaT **°bošǵut-* > OT *bošǵut-* 'teach' ¶ Cl. 379 || M **bolǵuṣa-* v. 'beware carefully, be careful, be cautious' > MM [HI] *bolǵa, a-* {Ms.} 'examiner avec soin', {Lew.} id., 'discerner, agir avec circonspection', WrM {MED} *bolǵuǵa-* v. 'be careful, be cautious, beware, act with care', HIM *болгоо-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'durchsehen, genau betrachten (осматривать просматривать), be careful, be cautious', Brt *болгоо-* 'vorsichtig sein, sich vorsehen (остерегаться, опасатся), be careful\cautious', Kl {KRS} *болһа-* *bolṣa-* v. 'be careful, be cautious, beware', {Rm.} *bolṣā-* 'vorsichtig sein, aufmerksam sein, Gewissenhaft\Bedächtnis an etwas geben', Ord *b_olǵō-* 'remarquer, s'apercevoir de, observer qch.' ¶ Ms. H 42, Lew. II 21, MED 117, BMR I 256, Chr. 99, KRS 105, KW 50, Ms. O 77 || ?φ pKo {S} **pal̥ihó-* > MKo *pal̥ihó-*, NKo *pāu-* 'learn (lernen)' ¶ S QK no. 818, Nam 252, MLC 749, 921 || pJ {S} **básí-pa-* > OJ *wpsipa-*, MJ *wósípa-*, JT *òsíe-*, JK *ósíé-*, J Kg *ósíé-* 'teach' ¶ S QJ no. 785, Mr. 742, Kenk. 1459 ¶¶ SDM 369 (pA **bóyíō* 'learn, be attentive' > M. T, J, Ko), DQA no. 189 || **D** (in CD) **ōl-* v. 'see' > Klm *ōl-* 'see, look at', Nkr *ōl-* 'see' ¶ D no. 1066 ◇ D, T and M point to pN **o*, while the FU front vw. of the initial syll. (*E) may be due to as.: N **wolEy∇* > **wE1Ey∇* > (ap.) FU **wE1∇*. In IE the N word-final **-Ey∇* was apocopized (the details still need investigation). The palatality of **í* in pA **bóyíō* is due to as. (*-y|l- > *-y|í-).

2482. $\text{₂}^* \text{w a L d} \nabla$ 'to give birth' > **HS**: S $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w l d}$ 'give birth' (\times N $\text{°} \checkmark \text{ü, L ū d} \nabla$ 'to grow', q.v. ffd.) > **HS**: S $\text{°} \checkmark \text{l d d}$ > Hb, Ph, Ug, OA, IA, JA [Trg.], JEA $\checkmark \text{y l d G}$, Sr pf. $\text{𐤓𐤁𐤍} \text{ } \checkmark \text{i' l e d}$, Ar, Sb, Mn, Qt, Gz, Ak $\checkmark \text{w l d G}$ 'give birth, beget'; Sr $\text{𐤓𐤁𐤍} \text{ } \checkmark \text{a l' d ā}$ 'birth'; WS $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w a l a d-}$ '(so.'s) child' > BHb $\text{𐤓𐤁𐤍} \text{ } \checkmark \text{y e l e d}$, SmHb $\checkmark \text{ā l a d}$, Pun, Ug, Nbt, Plm $\checkmark \text{l d}$ id., Ar $\text{وَالِدٌ} \text{ } \checkmark \text{w a l d-}$ 'né, procréé, enfanté; postérité, enfants', Sb $\checkmark \text{l d}$ 'born one, begotten one; children', Gz $\checkmark \text{w a l d}$ 'son'; a metatonic S variant $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w a' l a d-}$ > Ak ($\text{°} \checkmark \text{w}$) $\text{°} \checkmark \text{i l d u}$ 'child, lamb' and Ar $\text{وَالِدٌ} \text{ } \checkmark \text{w a l a d-}$ 'child, offspring, youngling'; Eb mu-li-tum ({Frnz.} = mulltum < $\text{°} \checkmark \text{mu wallitum}$) ~ mu-wa-li-tum = mu wallitum prtc. *D* f. 'midwife'; Mh {Jo.} w a' l e d coll. 'children', Jb C {Jo.} 'e'led id., 'e'lod pf. 'beget children' ¶ KB 393-4, HJ 456-7, OLS 526, Js. 578, Lv. T I 334-5, Br. 301, Sl. 534-5, BK II 1602-3, Hv. 893, Sd. 1496, CAD I/1 71, 287ff., Frnz. EL 146-7, BGMR 160, Jo. M 428, Jo. J 291, DRS 546-7, MiK I no. 2.80 || LbB $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w}$ (< $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w} \nabla \text{l d}$) 'son' > ONum \checkmark id., B $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w}$ > Ah a \checkmark , BSn \checkmark , Izd, Bmn, BSlh, Snd, Nfs u id., d. ilili 'newborn child', Sll, Snd, Nfs illi 'daughter', Kb u- ~ \checkmark - 'son of ...'; LbB $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w} \nabla \text{l t}$ (< $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w} \nabla \text{l} \nabla \text{d- t}$) 'daughter' > ONum $\checkmark \text{l t}$, B $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w} \nabla \text{l t}$ id. > Ah, Izd ult ~ ulat, Izn ult 'daughter of' ¶ Fv. LJ 418, Mrc. 118, La. Ch 149, La. S 239, Ds. 129, Rn. s.v. Izn ult, Fc. 1440-4 || EC: pSam {Hn.} $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w e i l-}$ (pl. $\text{°} \checkmark \text{w e i' l a l}$) 'child' > Sml $\checkmark \text{w i l}$ (pl. $\checkmark \text{w i l a l}$) 'boy, son', $\checkmark \text{w e y l}$ f. 'calf', Sm N {Abr.} $\checkmark \text{w i l}$ (pl. $\checkmark \text{w i l a l}$) 'boy', $\checkmark \text{w e y l}$ 'calf', Rn {PG} $\checkmark \text{w e l}$ 'child' (pl. $\checkmark \text{w e l a l}$ ~ $\checkmark \text{w e y l a l}$), {Hn.} $\checkmark \text{w e l}$ 'baby; baby camel', Bn Bi/J $\checkmark \text{w e l}$ (pl. $\checkmark \text{w e l a l}$) 'child' ¶ Hn. S 98, Hn. BD 98, PG 291-2, ZMO 416, Abr. S 253-4, Fc. 1440-4 || **A** $\text{°} \checkmark \text{b a l d} \nabla$ > Tg $\text{°} \checkmark \text{b a l d i-}$ v. 'give birth, be born' > Ewk b a l d i- , Lm $\text{b a l d} \text{ъ-}$, Neg, Ul b a l d i- , Orc b ā g d i- , Ork, Nn Nh/KU {STM} $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i-}$ v. 'be born, give birth', Ud b a g d i- id., 'live; grow', Sol b a l d i- v. 'give birth', ? WrMc $\text{b a n} \checkmark \text{i-}$ ~ b a n i- 'live, rise from dead, оживать после зимней спячки', Mc Sb $\text{b a n} \checkmark \text{i-}$ 'be born', Jrc $\text{b a n} \checkmark \text{i-}$ 'live' ¶ STM I 69-70, Krm. 210, Bz. 46, Z 468, 470. Kiy. no-s 388 and 488 || M (< d.) $\text{°} \checkmark \text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i r}$ 'infant, baby, newborn' > WrM {MED} $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i r}$ n., adj. 'infant, baby, suckling, newborn', HIM $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i r}$ {MED} id., {BRM} adj. 'of an infant (младенческий), minderjährig', Brt $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i r}$ 'of an infant (младенческий)', K1 {KRS} $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i r}$ 'child, infant' ¶ MED 80, BMR I 224, Chr. 84, KRS 80 || T: [1] $\text{°} \checkmark \text{b a} \checkmark \text{l d i r}$ > OT Kr $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i r}$ 'stepson, step-daughter' || [2] $\text{°} \checkmark \text{b a} \checkmark \text{l d i r}$ 'younger relative, younger relative-in-law' > OT, MT $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i z}$, Tk $\text{b a l} \checkmark \text{i z}$, Az, Nog, Kr, Qzq, Qq

baldiz, Ggz baldisqa, Tkm bāldiḡ, Bsh baldiḡ, Uz болдиз 'wife's younger sister', Yk balis id., 'younger relative', Chv пуптăр 'wife's\husband's younger sibling' ¶ Cl. 333-4, ET B 53-4, Rs. W 60, Ash. IX 282-3, Fed. I 443-4, Jeg. 164-5, ChVS 145 ¶¶ SDM 325-6 (pA *bāla 'child, young' > Tg, M, T *bāldir + unc. T *bāla 'child, young animal', *bālapan id. and pJ *bàràpăi) 'child').

2483. *wilkaz (= *wi'l'kaʔ) 'wet, moist' > IE: [1] NaIE *welg- 'moist, damp' > Gmc: OHG welc 'damp', MHG wēlk 'damp, wet' (and also OHG welc 'soft, limp', MHG welk 'limp', MLG welk 'welk, dürr', NHG welk 'withered, faded') || Lt vīlgyti, vālgyti 'to moisten, to damp, to wet', vīlkšnas 'damp', Ltv valgums 'moisture, humidity', valgs, veļgans 'moist, humid, damp' | Sl *vьlg-ък-ъ 'damp, moist' > RChS {Vs.} вѡлгѡкъ vьlgъкъ, R Δ 'волгкий, Cz, Slk vlhký, P wilgi id.; Sl *vьlg- > derivatives: R 'волгнутъ 'to become moist\damp', P wilgośc n. 'moisture, wet, damp', wilgotny adj. 'wet, damp, moist'; Sl *vǔlga 'moisture' > OCS вллага vloga id. (↳ R 'влага), Blg 'влага, SCr vlāga, Slv vlāga, Cz vláha, Slk vlaha id., 'dampness, humidity', OR волога vologa {Vs.} 'soup', {Srz.} ≈ liquid food', R Δ во'лога 'a liquid, liquid fat (as seasoning)', Uk во'лога 'fat liquid' || [2] NaIE *welk- 'moist, wet' > Clt {Matas.} *wlikʷo-, {RE} *wlikwu- 'wet' > OI {Matas.} fliuch, OW gulip, MW gulip ~ gwlyp ~ gwleb, W {YGM} gwlyb, OBr gulip, MBr gloeb ~ glueb 'wet', Br {Hm.} gleb 'mouillé, humide', OCrn [ʏ] glibor 'humor', Crn glyp 'wet'; Clt *wolk- > OIr, NIr folcaim 'I bathe, I wash', NIr folcadh n. 'bath, wash, dipping', Brtt {RE} *wolkīmi 'waschen' > W golchi, Crn golghy, MBr gwelchi, Br {P} gwalc'hi 'waschen', OBr gwolch-ti 'washhouse'; Clt: OIr {P} folc 'Wasserflut', {EI} 'heavy rain, wet weather' || Gmc: OHG welhc, MHG welch 'moist, damp' || Lt valkà 'puddle, pool', Ltv Δ {ME} valks 'fließendes Wässerchen, Waldbächlein, (Regen)bach, feuchter Ort' ¶ WP I 304-6, P 1145-6, Mn. 1145, ME IV 457, LP § 3.4, Tr. 358, RE 144-5, Dnn. 327, Kb. 1165, OsS 1118, Lx. 312, Ho. 386, Frn. 1191, StSS 117, Vs. I 337, 340, Srz. I 291, Matas. E 426, YGM-1 268, Hm. 317, ≈ EI 639 (*welk- ~ *welg- 'wet') || **A:** Tg *bil'k > Ewk bilki- 'moisten', Ud beāku- v. 'moisten the sledge runner in order to improve sliding', Nn Nh bil'xo- {STM} id., {On} 'cover the sledge runner with a thin layer of ice to improve sliding' ¶ STM I 82, On. 66 || **U:** ?σ FU *°w∇l'k∇- 'flow, drip' >

pOs {ǵHL.} *^owǎ̃l̥ǵ-, {ǵHt.} *^owǎ̃l̥ǵ- > Os: Vy {Trs.} wǎ̃l̥ǵ-, V/Ty {Trs.} wǎ̃l̥ǵ-, {KrT → Stn.} wǎ̃l̥ǵ-, Ag/UAg {Trs.} wǎ̃l̥ǵ- 'fließen' (Wasser vom Dach, auf der Erde, in einem kleinen Bach), 'rinnen\tropfen' (Wasser, Schweiß) ¶ Trs. S 517, KrT 224, Stn. D 1587 || **HS: B** {ǵPr.} *^o√_lw_ll̥ǵ > Kb alǵl̥ǵ 'mou et humide', llǵl̥ǵ 'être ramolli', Wrg llǵl̥ǵ 'être ramolli par imprégnation d'eau \ de liquide' (× B *^o√_ll̥ǵǵ ~ *^o√_lw_lǵ 'soft, tender, mild' < N ***L**Aǵû 'tender, mild') ¶ Dl. 458, Dlh. Ou 170 || ?σ Eg ∇ ω ɜ ɜ '(be) green, fresh', 'raw' (of food) (× N ***w**er∇K̥∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree', q.v.) > DEg ω t 'be green\fresh' > Cpt Sd/B oγwτ uōt id. ¶ EG I 264-6, Fk. 55, Er. 104-5, Vc. 238 ◇ N *-kaʔ- yields both **^o-kʔ > **^ok̥ > IE *k (in *welk-) and (with the loss of *ʔ) **^o-k- > IE *g; N *-kaʔ- > **^o-kʔ > **^ok̥ yields Tg *k ans B *ǵ ◇ If FU *^ow∇l̥K∇- belongs here, the N lateral cns. is *^ol̥, otherwise it remains an unspecified ***L** (N ***w**iLkaʔ∇) ◇ IS MS 333 (IE *welk-, *welg- < N *wīl̥, sc. ***w**i̥l̥∇ [see N ***w**'i̥l̥i̥q∇ 'liquid; moist, damp']).

2484. *wal̥K̥'a¹ 'be bright\white, shine' > IE: NaIE *wlek-/*w̥lk- 'radiant, shining, bright' > OI ul'kā 'fiery phenomenon in the sky, meteor', ?? varcah 'brilliance, lustre' (also 'energy, vital activity') || Gk Δ [Hs.] ὄφλαξ ('λαμπρῶς) 'brightly, brilliantly' (of sun, stars), possibly also (?) Gk ἠλέκτωρ n. 'the beaming sun; fire (as an element)', {By} adj. 'brillant', ἠλεκτρον ~ ἠελεκτρος 'amber; an alloy of gold and silver' || ? ⇨ NaIE *w̥lkānos {EI} 'smith god' > Oss D wārgon id. || L Volcānus, Vulcānus 'god of fire' ¶ WP I 321, P 1178, F I 629 (no et. for ἠλέκτωρ, ἠελεκτρον etc.), By 596, M K I 112, 153 and III 651, M E I 231-2, ≠ WH II 825-6 (Volcānus ← Etruscan or "Mediterranean"), Ab. IV 93-4 || **U:** FU *wal̥l̥K̥∇-/*wǎ̃l̥l̥K̥∇- 'bright, light-colored, white; light (lux)' > F valkea 'while, bright; fire, light of fire', valkas (gen. valkaan) 'white cow', valko 'white ox\horse', valkoinen 'white', Es valge (gen. valge) 'white, light; light (lux)', valgu 'white ox', Krl Ld vałged 'white, bright' | pLp {Lr.} *vēlk̥- 'white' > Lp: S {Hs.} v'öölge-de 'is white', v'öölge-ge ~ -ke, Kld vīl̥keδ 'white', L {LLO} viel'kat (at. viel'kis) 'light(-colored)', N {N} viel'gâd (at. vil'gis) 'white, light, pale' | Er валдо valdo, Mk валда valdā 'white' | Chr: L волгыдо 'wólɣ̥ɔ̆, Uf/B wólɣ̥ɔ̆, Y walɣ̥ɔ̆, H валгыды 'walɣ̥ɔ̆ 'light-colored; light (lux)' || ObU {Ht.} *wǎ̃l̥ǵ-v. 'glitter (glänzen, блескеть)' (× *wá̃l̥∇ 'light (lux), bright; shine' < N ***w**'e¹í∇ 'to shine, to lighten', q.v. ffd.; ObU *í is inherited from N

*w^re'í∇) | OHg ≥XIII, Hg v i l á g 'light (lux)', 'world' (a loan translation from some Slavic lges, in which the descendants of pSl *svěťb mean both 'light' and 'world') (OHg, Hg i is probably due to the infl. of *w^re'í∇ 'to shine, to lighten') ¶ Coll. 122-3, UEW 554-6, It. no. 52, Sm. 551 (FU *w̃lki- 'light' > FP *ṽlki'ta, Ugr *w̃lki-), SK 1619-21, Lr. no. 1399, Lgc. no. 8674, Hs. 1439-40, Ker. II 181, MRS 53, 74, Ht. no. 687, BV 24, ChCh 108, MF 691-3, EWU 1636-7 || D {tr., †GS} *vāl 'whiteness, purity' > Tm vāl id., Ml vāl 'purity', Tl vālucukka 'Venus (planet)' ¶¶ D no. 5364 ¶¶ Cf. D {tr., GS} *ve]- 'white, shining' < N *w^re'í∇ '↑' (q.v. ffd.) || ?σ HS: WCh: Hs wàlκíyǎ 'lightning', ? Dr w3li?yò id. ¶ Ba. 1077, Abr. H 919, J DK s.v. 'lightning', ChC s.v. 'lightning' ◇ IS MS 363 (*w^ra'í(k)∇ 'bright') (IE, U, D), AD GD no. 6 (IE, U).

2485. *w^ru'Lκa (or *w^ru'Lka?∇) 'remove, dislocate, pull, drag' > IE: NaIE *welk- 'draw, carry (away)' (possibly with the infl. of N *^ru'w^rA'íy∇ 'draw, pull [out, off]') > Av -varək- (with pxs only) 'draw, drag' || Blt: Lt inf. v i l k t i / 1s pres. v e l k ũ 'carry, drag, pull', Ltv inf. v i l k t / 1s pres. v e l k u 'pull, draw, drag' | Sl *velk-ti ~ *volk-ti (1s pres. *velkŋ ~ *volkŋ) vt. 'to drag, to draw' > OCS влѣщti (1s pres. влѣкѣ влѣкŋ) id. ({StSS} 'волочить, тянуть'), SCr v u c i (1s pres. v u c e m), Slv v l e c i 'to draw, to drag', Cz v l e c i (1s pres. v l e k u), P w l e c (1s pres. w ł o k e), R в о л о ч ь (1s pres. в о л о к у) 'to drag', Slk v l i e c t' (1s pres. v l e c i e m) 'to be drawn, to be dragged', Blg в л е к а 'I drag, I draw' || Gk α ῥ λ α ξ, ἄ λ ο ξ, Gk Hm accus. ῥ ῥ λ κ - α (nom. *ῥ ῥ λ ξ = {Slm.} ἄ [F] ο λ ξ) 'furrow' ¶ WP I 306, P 1145, ≈ EI 471 (*h⁴welk- 'pull'; unj. rec. of *h⁴- on the alleged ev. of Al T h e c 'draw, pull' [in fact akin to Gk ἔ λ κ ω 'draw, drag' < IE *solkeyo 'ich ziehe' see O 145, cf. P 901]), F I 77, Slm. U 258ff., Frn. 1253, Vs. I 342, BER I 165, Glh. 688 || HS: WS *√wλκ > Gz √wλκ G 'be dislocated, fall off, slip off', Tgy w e l e k e 'be dislocated', Amh w e l l e k e id., 'be taken off' (clothes), Ar √wλκ Sh ps. (pf. ?awliqa) 'be seized with madness', ?awlaq- {BK} 'folie, démence' ¶ L G 614, BK II 1605, Fr. IV 505, Hv. 894, ≈ DRS 554-5 || A: M *bulgu > WrM {MED} bulgu, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt булга, Kl {Rm.} bulγu (a M preverbal word expressing uprooting, pulling out of a socket, disjuncting: WrM {MED} bulgu tata- 'pull out with the root, uproot, jerk', HIM булга тата- {MED} id., {BMR} 'pull out with the root, ausroden (выкорчевы-вать)', Brt булга тата-

'luxate', Kl {Rm.} bulγu tat- 'verrenken, ein Glied verziehen', Ord b_ulgu d_{at}'a- 'tirer d'un mouvement brusque', WrM {MED} bulgu socki- 'knock out (as a tooth)', HIM булга цохи- {MED} id., {BMR} 'выбить, сбить', Brt булга сохи- 'сбить, break' [M *tata- 'draw', *coki- 'beat']); ⇨ M *bulgula- > WrM bulgul- {MED} v. 'disjoint, luxate; break at the root; knock out of a socket', HIM булга ла- {MED} id., {BMR} 'luxate, im Gelenk brechen, disjoint a bone from the carcass) (выломать кость при разделке туши)', WrO bulγul(a)- v. 'uproot, dislocate, disjoint', Brt булга л- 'break in adisjoint, выломать кость при разделке туши', Kl {KRS} булhl- 'dislocate, luxate, disjoint (a bone from the carcass)', {Rm.} bulγal- 'verrenken', Ord b_ulgul- 'arracher, déraciner (plante, etc.)'; M *bulgura- > WrM bulgura- {MED} 'be disjointed\luxated; come out of a socket; be uprooted', HIM булгара- {MED} id., {BMR} 'verrenkt\ herausgerissen werden, подворачиваться', WrO bulγur(a)- v. 'dislocate, uproot', Brt булгар- 'be luxated, вывернуться из кости', Kl {KRS} булhr-, {Rm.} bulγar- 'be dislocated\luxated', Ord b_ulgura- 'se détacher' (une chose implantée) ¶ MED 134, BMR I 284, Chr. 111, Krg. 367, KRS 118, KW 59-60, Ms. O 95 ◇ The deglottalization and voicing of N *k̥ in M *g is still to be explained. A possible solution is to reconstruct N *w^hu^hlkaʔ▽ (N *k > M *g, N *-kaʔ- > **kʔ > **k̥ > S *k̥ and IE *k) ◇ The apparent M evidence for N *u is not unequivocal, because M *u may be attributed to the infl. of the N cns. *w- or M *b- (on M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4).

2486. *wAlAʔ▽ (= *wAlAʔ▽?) 'run, flee' > K *wlt̥- 'run away, flee, escape' > OG lt̥- id., Mg rt̥- ~ nt̥- 'run away', Lz rt̥- ~ mt̥- id., 'flee', Sv √:ʔw- (msd. UB līʔw, 3s pres.: UB/L χēʔw, LN/Ln χeʔw) 'run away' ¶¶ K 85, K² 54, FS K 126, FS E 136, Chik. 419, GP 169, TK 248-9 || A: M *bulta- > WrM bulta- {MED} v. 'avoid, flee, dodge, sneak\slip away', HIM булта- {MED, BMR} id., {Kow.} 'éviter, fuir la peine', WrO bulta- 'avoid, flee', d. bultaγi- 'evade', Ord b_ult'ū- ~ b_ult'a- 'changer brusquement de direction (p. ex. pour éviter qch.)', Kl {KRS} булт- 'sich verstecken\verbergen', {Rm.} bultā- 'sich verstecken, sich vor etw. wegziehen wollen'; ⇨ M *bultari- > MM [S] {H} buldari- 'ausweichen', WrM {MED} bultari-, HIM {MED, BMR} бултра- 'avoid, evade', WrO bultari-, bultir- id., Ord b_ult'ūr- 'se luxer, se déboîter', Dg {T} boltoro- 'evade, get rid of' ¶ H 21, MED 135-6, BMR I

286, Kow. 1197, Krg. 267-8, KRS 119, KW 61, Ms. O 96, T DgJ 127 || **D**
 *valac̣- 'flee' > Tm valacaị, valacal 'emigration, flight from home',
 Kn valase, valise, olise id., 'flight', Tl valasa '(e)migration,
 flight or removal from one country to another' ¶¶ D no. 5278 ◇ D *-c̣-
 goes back probably to *ṭ + another cns. (belonging to a sx) or to a pre-
 D cluster *-ṭy- or *-ṭj- ◇ The M vw. *u is probably due to the infl. of
 *w-. On M *bu- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2487. ?φ₂ *w∇L₁∇₁ṭ∇ 'moist; moisture' > **K**: GZ *wlṭ- v. 'wet,
 moisten' > OG (∇)lṭ-, G lṭ- v. 'wet, get wet', Mg ṛṭ(w)- 'soften (by
 wetting)' (*l > r in a cluster) ¶ K 122 (*lṭw-), K² 110 (GZ *lṭw- or
 *wlṭ-), FS K 127 and FS E 137 (*wlṭ-) || **HS**: Ch: CCh: Bnn {ChL}
 lòdám^{wá} 'moist', Azm {Pc.} lā^udā^á msd. 'to melt (a solid, by heat)', ? lōtá
 msd. 'to dissolve, to melt away' ||| WCh: Ang lē^t v. 'melt, smelt' ¶ Flk.
 s.v. lē^t, ChL, Pc. 265, 273 || ?φ S *^o✓w|θ > Ar wālθ- 'small quantity of
 rain; remainder of wine\water', {BK} 'reste\résidue de vin \ de farine' \
 d'eau sur le sol sablonneux' ¶ Hv. 892, BK II 1600-1 ¶ S *θ (for the
 expected *ṭ or *t) may be accounted for by an ext.: *t-ṣ̌ > *č̣ > S *θ || ?
 B *-lū^d- (unless ← L lū^tū^m) > Gd {Lf.} a-lū^d, Shw {Hy.} lū^d, BSn {Ds.}
 lū^d, Izd {Mrc.} a-lū^d (pl. ila^{ṭ}ṭan) 'boue', Kb a-lū^ḡ 'boue (plutôt liquide),
 grosse boue', Tmz a-lū^d (pl. aludⁿ, ila^{ṭ}ṭan) id., 'glaise, eau boueuse',
 Mz lū^d 'limon, vase' ¶ Lf. II no. O878, Hy. 326, Ds. B 46, Dl. 445, MT
 369-70, Dlh. M 103, Mrc. 75, Msq. Z 493 || ? **IE**: AdS of NaIE *laṭ-
 'humid, moist' (see N *ẓaṭ∇ 'fluid, body of water' [q.v. ffd.]) ◇ ≈ IS II
 31 (*L^ra¹ṭ^h: IE *laṭ-, K, WCh + unc. S *^o✓ṛṭw 'moist') ◇ N.*w- is
 reconstructed on the ev. of Semitic and Old Georgian.

2488. *w^re¹∇ 'to shine, to lighten' > **HS**: Ch: CCh: G'nd {ChL}
 wùlwùdánžī, Gbn {ChL} wùlwùtté, Boka {ChL} wìlwútá 'lightning' || FIG
 {ChL} walàlí id. || Nkc {ChL} wulva id. || Ms {Caït.} wìlek 'lancer les
 éclairs' (orage), 'briller par intermittence', {ChL} wilata, Bnn {ChL}
 wèlèrá, BnnM {Lk.} welerá 'lightning' ||| ECh: Ke {Eb.} wél^{dé} id. ¶ ChL,
 ChC s.v. 'lightning', Eb. 102, Lk. ZSS, Caït. 151 || **K** *^owel- > Mg, Lz val-
 v. 'lighten' (Mg val-un-s, Lz val-um-s 'it is lightening'); but hardly here
 (⇔ Klimov, FS) G el- and Sv hel-, el- 'lighten', see N *hA1∇ 'to shine;
 bright' ¶¶ ≈ FS K 121 and FS E 131 (*wel-), ≈ K 79 and K² 46-7 (*el-);
 all of them adduced G el- and Sv hel-, el- || **U**: FU *wa¹∇ 'light (lux),
 bright', v. 'shine' > F valo n. 'light, lightning', vaalea ({UEW}:
 sporadic vowel lengthening). A {SK} valea 'light(-colored): pale. pallid.

white' | Er валдо valdo, Mk валда valda n. 'light', adj. 'bright, light' (× FU *walk∇ 'white' < N *walkʷa' 'be bright\white, shine') | Prm *vǝ́- (= {JLG} *vǝ́-) 'shine' > Z волявны volav-n+, Z US vǝ́lǝ́-n+ 'to be glossy, to shine', Vt: G číí-valí, M čííi-valí 'Glanz, Schimmer; glänzend, schimmernd', S valík, M valít 'glänzend, schimmernd, leuchtend' ||| ObU {Ht.} *wǎ́ǝ́- 'shine (glänzen)' (× N *walkʷa' ↑', q.v.) > pVg {Ht.} *wǎ́ǝ́- > Vg: T oík-, LK/MK/UK wǎ́ǝ́-, P/NV/LL waíí-, UL/Ss wǝ́ǝ́- v. 'glitter'; pOs {Ht.} *wǎ́ǝ́- ~ *wǝ́ǝ́-, {θHI.} *wǎ́ǝ́- ~ *wǝ́ǝ́- > Os: Kz wǝ́ǝ́-, O wǎ́i- 'glänzen'; the palatalized *í (at the level of pObU or pFU) is caused by the contamination with FU *waí∇ 'light (lux), bright; shine' | OHg ≥XIII, Hg világ 'light (lux)', 'world' (a loan translation from some Slavic lges, in which the descendants of pSl *svěť mean both 'light' and 'world') ¶ UEW 555-6 (suggesting that the ObU √ belongs here only if *-ǝ́- goes back to a derivational sx), Coll. 122-3, Sm. 551 (FU *wǝ́lki- 'light' > FP *vǝ́lkiṭa, Ugr *wǝ́lki-), ERV 101, Ker. II 181, LG 62, Ht. no. 687, (on FU *wal|lk∇-/*wǎ|lk∇- 'bright, light-colored, white; light [lux]' < N *walkʷa' 'be bright\white, shine'), Sm. 551 (FU *wǝ́lki- 'light' > FP *vǝ́lkiṭa, Ugr *wǝ́lki-) || D {tr., GS} *vel- 'white, shining' > Tm vel 'white, shining', veli v. 'break' (as the day), 'clear, whiten', Ml veli 'light, clearness', Kt vel 'white', velv- 'become pale', ? Td pöl 'white', Kn bel(ṭ), bel a 'whiteness, brightness', Kdg bol- 'become white', Tu bolь, боль 'white, bright', Tl velūgṭ 'shine, give light', Klm velen n. 'light', Prj vil 'white', Gdb viled id., Gnd werčī n. 'light', Ku vella ~ wella 'white', Krx bilč- v. 'shine, glitter, sparkle', Mlt bilbilre v. 'shine brilliantly; D → Prkr villa- 'bright, clear', vilha- 'white' ¶¶ D no. 5496 (a), GS 218 [no. 536] and 61 [no-s 179 and 185] ◇ The unexpected FU *a may be due to the infl. of U *walk∇ 'white' < N *walkʷa' 'be bright\white, shine' or result from regr. as. (if followed by a back vw.) ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 123 [no. 29] (Ch, K, FU, D + err. IE *wǝ́k- 'leuchten' and Hs wǎ́kǝ́yā 'lightning' that belong to N *walkʷa' ↑').

2489. *weí∇ and *weí∇ k̄∇ 'shoulder, humerus, back (Rücken)' > U *wǝ́k∇ > FU *wǝ́lka 'shoulder' > F olka, Es ōla, Δ olg ǝ́ ōlg id. | pLp {Lr.} *ǝ́lkē id. > Lp: S {Hs.} oǝ́lgie, N {N} oal'ge / -lg- id., L {LLO} ǝ́l'ke, Kld {SaR} вцэлльк, {Gn.} vūēl:g id. ('Schulter, Achsel') ||| amb Vg: LK/P {Kn.} wǝ́lǝ́p, Ss {Kn.} wǎ́ǝ́lǝ́p, {BV} ваглап, {ChCh.} waǝ́lǝ́p 'shoulder strap (дямка ошейник: Schulterriemen, Tragriemen, Riemen

im Zugseil [der Narte] am Schulter)' (× FU *wakla 'aus Ruten geflochtener Riemen') (-p is a sx) || pSm *wäykkъ 'neck, shoulder' > Ne Тик, Ne Т О {Lh.} yīk', Ne F {Lh.} βīe·h'k, Ng {Mik.} d. bakəbə, En {Ter.} bek 'neck', Slq Tz {Prk.} qзq 'shoulder', Kms {KD} bajg_ə 'Nacken', Koyb {Pls.} baiге, {Sp.} байгă 'neck', Mt {Hl.} (?) *bäykä ~ *bö|üyko|ü id. (Mt: M {Pls.} Бuикō, Бuикэ id., {Sp.} бюйхуде 'his neck', K {Pls.} Бүїкүdi id.) || pY {IN H} *wеле- ({IN UJ} carry on one's back\shoulders') > OY K {Bil.} ellēyī-, Y T welī- 'carry on the shoulders\back', Y K {IN H} eleyī- ~ eī- 'carry', Y T {IN H} weíibe 'saddle', {Iox.} wolibe ~ olibe 'dowry', Y K {IN H} elibe 'dot (dowry)', Y T {Krn.} weíire- v. 'load' ¶¶ At the pFU level the identity of the lateral cns. cannot be determined (because Vg l may belong to the heritage of FU *wakla), but a pU palatal *í is positively suggested by Sm *y ¶¶ UEW 581, Sm. 551 (FU *wolkā, FP *vorka, Ugr *wāлка- 'shoulder'), Lr. no. 827, Lgc. no. 4562, SaR 61, BV 20, ChCh. 107, Prk. SG s.v. qзq, Jn. 173, Hl. M no. 107, IN H 455-6, IN UJ 250, 299 || ¶ A *oíE 'shoulder, breastbone, collarbone' > T *ō:|í'ü'n > OT {Cl.} oš'ü'n ≈ 'shoulder' ([MhK] oš'ü'n 'ra'su-l-katifi' = 'point [sc. flexion] of the shoulder'), Alt/QK/Shor {Rl.} öžün 'collarbone', Brb {Rl.} üžün 'humerus, upper arm', Tv öžün 'humerus, forearm', Tki, ET Δ {Jr.} öšne ~ öšni, Shor öštü 'shoulder' (< *öšn-ü 'his shoulder'), Tf ó'ú'n 'shoulder', QrB öšün 'chest, breast'; StAlt öš 'Oberarm' ¶ Cl. 263, Rl. I 1308, 1907, ADb. SR 159-60, 192, Ra. 214 || Tg *ulin ~ *ulk∇n 'breastbone' > Ewk ulin (accus. ulin-ma) 'breastbone of a bear; chest', Lm o'lkэn 'chest, thorax', WrMc {Z} улкү гиранги 'breastbone, collarbone', улкүмэ 'chest strap (for fastening the saddle on a horse)' ¶ STM II 261, Z 160, ADb. SR 446 (*i|uleg) ¶¶ SDM 1051-2 (pA *o'í|e 'chest bone, collarbone' > Tg, T), DQA no. 2515 (id.), TL 241-2, ADb. KL 11 [no. 28] (A *ö|∇g), ADb. SR 309 [no. 23] (A *o'í|eg) || ¶ D *ve|∇k- ~ *ve|∇ηk- ({ǂGS} *-ηk-) '(lie) on the back' > Tl v'elikilü 'fall\lie on the back', v'elikila 'on the back, supine', Klm velākā 'lying on one's back', Gnd KM {BB} pal ve'ingi 'with the face upwards', Gnd B {ChenT} p'hat wa'ēngana 'sleep on one's back', Png r'ēη(g)- ʘ r'ēk 'lie on the back', Mnd r'ēη(g)- 'fall backward', Kui lāmgarī 'flat on the back' ¶¶ D no. 2499 ◇ The rounded vw. in FU and A is due to the labializing infl. of *w-. T ö- and Tg *u- are regular reflexes of N *we- (see Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ N *k∇ is preserved in U and D; in A it is absent, which suggests that the root extension *k∇

iin U and D goes back to a separate word (cf. Introduction, § 12). D *ve|∇ηk- may go back to N *we|∇ nu k̄∇ (with the genitive pc. *nu) ◇ ADb. MSR 21 [no. 20] (U, A, D), Resh. NNE no. 12 (U [FU, Sm], A).

2490. ?σ₂ *w∇|∇, P_E 'fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *w_o|p(-e_{k̄})- ~ *_lw_o|∇loupe(:)k̄- '≈ fox' > L v_olpēs ~ v_ulpēs 'fox' || Lt wilpišỹs 'wild cat', lāpē 'fox', Ltv lapsa id. || Gmc (× NaIE *w_o|k^{wo}-s 'wolf' < N *w^u|U'ž_Eκ_o ~ *w^o|K∇ž∇ 'ε a canine'): Gt w_ulf_s, ON ulfr, NNR, Dn, Sw ulv, MDt wolf ~ w_ulf, Dt, OHG w_olf, NHG Wolf, OSx, AS w_ulf 'wolf', NE w_olf || Gl ἄλωπηξ (< *Fαλώπηξ) (gen. ἄλωπεκος) 'fox' || ? Arm աղուէս ałuêš id. || OI lōpā'sah, Av raopi- 'fox, jackal', ZPhl l_wb^ʔ_s ~ l_wp^ʔ_s, CINPrs روباه rōbāh (> NPrs rūbāh) 'fox', KhS rrūvāsa- 'jackal', Oss I rūvas, Oss D robas 'fox'; Av urupi-s 'dog' || Ht {Ts.} ulip(pa)na 'ε predator' ('wolf?') ¶¶ WP I 317-18, P 212-13, EI 212-13 (*w_l(o)p- 'fox'), WH II 830, M K III 115-16, Ab. III 433-4, Fs. 576, Vr. 632-3, Vr. N 845, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, Kb. 1224, OsS 1196, KM 867, Frn. 340, 1254, Slit. 119, Ts. W 96 || ¶ A *U':|_lp|_bE 'fur-bearing animal' > M {SDM} *olbo ~ *olbi > WrM {MED} olbu, HIM {MED} олбо, {BMR} олбо, олби, Brt олбо 'flying squirrel' (unless there was an initial *φ- that left no traces in WrM, HIM and Brt) ¶ MED 608, BMR II 467, Chr. 353 || T *ū| > NaT *^oūš 'lynx' > Yk ūs 'sable, marten, lynx', as well as Xk/Shor/Tv/Tf ūs and StAlt ūs 'lynx' (all of them: ← Yk?), Dlg ūs-kis 'sable'; T *_lū:|_lEk (× N ? *w^u|U'ž_Eκ_o ~ *w^o|K∇ž∇ '↑', q.v.) > MT [IM] ūšek, Osm {Rl.} ūšäk, Tk ū_sek 'lynx' ¶ The long vw. in T is probably due to compensatory lengthening (*U|P∇ > T *ū|) ¶ Shch. Zh 141-2, TL 159, Rs. W 523, Pek. 3184-5, TrR 890, Rl. I 1904 || Tg (< d.?) *ulgi|u ({SDM} *ulgu-kī) 'chipmunk' > Ewk ulgukī, Nn ulgi, Ul ulžī, Orc uggukä:, Ud ugžixi id. ¶ STM II 258, On. 428 || ?φ pJ {S} *b₃s₃ ~ *b₃sua > MJ woso, J T kawa-uso ~ kawa-osso otter' ¶ S QJ no. 328, Mr. 512, Kenk. 882, 885, BJRS I 301 ¶¶ SDM 1497 (pA *ū|pe 'ground game' > Tg *ulgu-kī, M, T, J), DQA no. 2512 (id.), ADb. SR 9, TL 159 ◇ The absence of reflexes of N *P_l in T *^oū| and *_lū:|äk still requires explanation.

2590a. *wamU (ś|ś∇) 'articulation between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'), 'collarbone', 'shoulder' and sim. > IE: NaIE *om(e)so-s 'shoulder' > OI 'amśa-h₂ id., Oss I on, Oss D onä 'shoulder blade' || Arm ուս (gen. սսօյ) 'shoulder' || Gk ὤμοσ 'the shoulder with the upper arm' (< [?] *osmos < {EI} IE 'h₂|h⁴omso-s), cp.

[Theo.] {P} ἑπ-ομμάδιος ~ {Ch.} ἑπ-ωμάδιος adj. 'on the shoulders' || L *umerus* 'shoulder', Um *uze*, ONSE 'in umero' || Gt *ams* (or *amsa*) (· ὤμος) 'Schulter', ON *ás* 'mountain ridge' || pTc {Ad.} **āns|ce* > Tc *Aes*, B *āntse* 'shoulder' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Pv., EI) Ht *anassa-* 'body part in the rear of the lower torso', prob. {Pv.} 'hips, buttocks' (possibly connected with L *ānus*, see Ivn. R III-VIII 162 and Po. PBH 205) ¶¶ P 778, EI 515-16 (**h₁h⁴omsos*), Ch. 1301, M K I 14. M E I 37, Ab. II 227-8, F II 1148-9, WH II 815, Bc. G 339, Sl. 203-4, Wn. I 182, Ad. 43-4, Ad. H 20, 28, 147, Pv. I-II 63-4 || HS: WCh {AD} **wam(s)i* 'arm, (?) 'hand' ({Stl.} **ʔam(ŝi)* 'arm') > SBc: Bg {J} *ʔámsí*, Plc {Sh.} *am* 'arm, hand', Gj {Sh.} *ʔâη*, Grn {Sh.} *ʔã*: 'arm', Jim {Gw.} *am* 'hand', Kir {Sh.} *wam*, *wamsi* 'arm' | Ngz {Sch.} *ámâj* 'hand, arm', Bade {IL} *æmi* 'hand' ¶ JI II 178, Stl. ZCh 231 [no. 790], Sch. DN 9, Sh. SB, J ChMGB, Gw. s.v. *Jm am*, ChC s.v. 'arm' and 'hand' || U **wamś*∇ 'rump, crupper, shoulder' > FU: pOs **waməs* > Os: D *woməs* 'bones of the shoulder', V *waməs* 'withers, crupper', Vy *waməs* 'back part of the animal's trunk; pelvis and the back end of the spine together with the surrounding meat', Ty *wáməs* 'back part of the body, loins with their meat' || Sm: Ne: Т я м з 'groin', Т О {Lh.} *yá:pcara* 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Oberschenkel und dem Bauch um die Genitalien', Т Y *yá:msara*, Т MZ *yá:mз*, F *wĕāms* ~ *wĕāmc* id.; En: X {Cs.} 'ba^áaro, B {Cs.} 'ba^áado 'loins (Kreuz am Rücken)'; Ng {Cs.} *bob'sudu* 'loins, waist' ¶¶ Coll. 66, UEW 556, KrT 225, Lh. 103 || A **omuś*∇ 'shoulder, collarbone' > T **omuś* 'collarbone', 'breastbone' or sim. > Chg {PC}, MQp, OOs *omuz*, Tkm *omud*, CrTt, Qmq, QrB *omuz* 'shoulder', Tk *omuz*, Ggz *omuz* 'upper part of the back', Tk Δ *omuz* 'back, horse's chest', Uz *wmiz* 'shoulder', 'armhole (in garments)', Chv L *ǎмǎр ъмър*, Chv Δ *ǎмǎра*, Chv Δ *ǎмра* 'breast of a horse or a cow; свешивающа часть тела под шеей скотины вдоль плотки', Tkm *omurdan* 'shoulder, upper part of a sleeve' (with **ř* > *r* before a cns. [Hl.'s law]); ⇨ Т **omurtka* ~ **onurtqa* 'backbone' > OT *oçurça* id., Tk *omurğa*, Qzq *omirtqa*, Qrg *omurtqa*, OOs XIV *oçurça*, Tkm *onurça*, Az *onurça* 'spine, backbone' ¶ ET GI 453-5, 463, Md. 171 (**omuś*) and 41 (**onuriç*, **onurga*), Cl. 92-3, Rs. W 361-2, TL 240-1, ADb. SR 136-7, 188-90, Fed I 82-3, Jer. 40, ChVS 22 ¶ The original meaning is likely to be 'collarbone', 'breastbone' or sim., the semantic shift to 'shoulder' in the lges of the SW area (within and near the former Byzantine Empire) may be due to the infl. of Gk ὤμος 'the shoulder with the upper arm' || ppM {Pp.} **omuri-*

yun > M *omuru yun > MM [S] {Koz.} [UygSc?] omor u, {H, Pp.} omori₁ud ({H} pl. of omori h?) 'breastbone', WrM omurugun {MED} 'sternum, clavicle, breast', HIM omryy {MED} id., {BMR} 'collarbone, sternum, breast (of a horse\mule\fowl)', Brt omoryy(н) 'sternum of a horse', Kl {KRS} omryh 'грудь' (= 'chest?'), Kl D {Rm.} omrūn, Kl Ö {Rm.} omrū 'Brustkorn, Brustbein (bes. der Pferde und des Rindviehs)', Ord umūrū 'poitrail; partie de la poitrine située immédiatement sous la gorge (chez l'homme)'; M ⇨ Nog, Qq, Qzq omiraw 'breast, breast of a horse', Qrg omurō 'breast (of horses and other animals)', Qmq omuraw, VTt, Bsh umraw 'collarbone', StAlt omurū 'stature (стан)', Xk omiri y, Sg/Qb/Qc/Kü {Rl.} omri y 'front part of a horse's breast' ¶ MED 611, BMR II 475, Vld. 196, Chr. 355, KRS 397, KW 285-6, H 124, SM 251, Ms. O 732, ≈ ET Gl 453-4 (the authors tried to find a T et. for omraw ~ omuraw without considering it a loan from M), KumRS 243, BIG 126, Rl. I 1170-1 ¶¶ SDM 1052 (pA *omu₁∇ 'shoulder, collarbone' > M *omur- 'collarbone, clavicle', T), Pp. VG 68, KW 285-6, TL 241, ADb. SR 308 [no. 18], Kol. ChTM 93-4 ◇ The A cns. *-₁ may be explained if it is supposed that the above-mentioned IE, S, Ch and U words with a sibilant go back to the N cd *wamu s₁|s₁∇, while those without the sibilant (the Altaic and many WCh lges) go back to N *wamU without the element *s₁|s₁∇, while A *-₁ goes back to a different element of a cd ◇ IE *u- is likely to go back to *w₀-.

2491. *wUm∇ and *wUm∇ r∇₁∇ 'egg' > HS: Eg CT (mt.?) ω r m. t '(?) testicles' ¶ EG I 333 || S *^o✓^rw¹mr > Ak tumurtu 'ant's eggs' ¶ Sd. 1370 || ??φ Ch: Tng {J} amak 'egg' ¶ JI II 122, J T 66 || A: [1] pA *^oumu- 'lay eggs' > Tg: Ewk umū- 'lay eggs' ¶ STM II 269 || [2] pA *umur₁∇₁tk∇ 'egg' > T *jumurtka 'egg' > OT/Chg {Cl.} jumurtqa, Tkm jumurtqa, MQp jumurtqa, Tk yumurtqa, Az jumurta, Uz Δ jumurtqa, Qmq jimirtqa, VTt йомырка j₁ōm₁rqqa, Bsh j₁ōm₁rtqa, Nog jumirtqa, Qzq жұмыртқа žumirtqa, Qrg žumurtqa, StAlt žimirtqa, Tv чупурга čūrqa, Tf ŋumurha, Xk nimirqa, Shor nibirtqa, Yk сымыыт simīt 'egg' || Chv çāmartā ś₁mar₁a id. ¶ Cl. 938, ET J 250-1, TL 149, Rs. W 211, Ra. 210, Ash. XIII 22-5, Fed. II 94, Jeg. 207, ChVS 180 || Tg *umūkta 'egg' > Ewk umūkta, Sln umatta ~ umurta, Lm umt₁, Δ umta, Neg omokta ~ omukta, Orc, Ud umukta, Ul omuqta ~ umuqta, Nn Nh omoqta id., ?φ (with some phonetic transformation?) WrMc {Z} ymxan₁

'egg' ¶ STM II 269, Krm. 302, On. 310, Z 165 || M *ömdēgen 'egg' (originally a derived noun or a cd) > MM [LV] {Pp.} ömdēgen, [IM] {Pp.} öndüge, WrM {MED} ömdügen ~ öndegen, HIM {MED, BMR} өндөг, Brt үндэгэ(н), Kl {KRS} өндгн öndgən, {Rm.} öndögñ ~ öndögə, MMgl [Z] ũndagan, Mgl {Rm.} ũndāxōn, Mnr H {SM} nd_ig_e, {T} ndige, Mnr M {Rkh.} endéégé, Dx {T} endeʁi, Ba {T} ndegi, Ord önd_ögö id. ¶ Pp. L II 1261, Pp. MA 443, MED 635-6, BMR III 27, Chr. 505, T 349, T DnJ 144, T BJ 145, Iw. 144, Rm. M 41, KW 296, KRS 416, Ms. O 533 ¶¶ Loss of the reflexes of N and pA *-r- in Tg and M may be due to metanalysis and back formation ¶¶ SDM 1499 (pA *úmu-tki 'egg' > Tg, M, T), DQA no. 2522 (id.), ADb. SR 13 and TL 149 (both: A *ömur-), S AJ 58, SDM97 (pA *umi(r)-tk ∇ [~o-] 'egg') || D: Png rōnda, Mnd runḍa 'egg', as well as possibly D *uñṭa ({ʃGS} *und-) 'small globular object' > Tm uṇṭaḍi, Ml uṇṭa id., 'ball', Kt uñḍy 'round lump of food', Td uḍy 'round, ball', Kn uṇḍe 'a round mass or ball (of raw sugar, clay, cow dung etc.)', Tu uṇḍæ 'ball, ball-shaped confection', Tl uṇḍa 'ball, globe'; D b> OI uṇḍeraka-, Prkr uṇḍeraya- 'ball of flour, roll, loaf', Mrt ũḍā 'lump of kneaded dough' ¶¶ D no. 664(b), Tu. no. 1669 ◇ T *j- and Ak t- may be due to metanalysis: they are likely to be final cnss of the first components of word compounds, in which N *wUmv and *wUmv rṅTṅ were used. Alternatively, Ak t- may be a S px of derivation. T *j- cannot point to a N *y-, because it is ruled out by the M and Tg cognates. The D roots (Png rōnda, Mnd runḍa and D *uñṭa) may go back to shortening of N *wUmv rṅTṅ or to N *rṅTṅ.

2492. *wṅmoʔʔi 'use magical forces' ('make magical signs, utter magical incantations, swear, cause suffering, torment') > HS: S *✓wṅmʔ ~ ✓wṅmʔ|w '≈ make a (magical?) sign, swear' > OAk ✓wṅmʔ G (inf. wamāʔu) 'swear', d. Ak mā mītu 'oath, curse', JA {Trg.} ✓ymʔ|w G (pf. Ṃḥ'ṅə'mā), JEA {Sl.}, JPA Bz {Sl.} ✓ymʔ G 'swear', Sr ✓ymʔ|w G (pf. Ṃḥ'ṅə'mā ~ Ṃḥ'ṅə'mā) 'swear', Ar ✓wṅmʔ G (pf. wamaʔa) 'make a sign with the head to' ¶ Sd. 899-700, 1459, CAD X/1 189-90, Br. 303, Js. 580, Lv. T I 335-6, Sl. 242, 536, BK II 1609-10, Hv. 895, DRS 556 || IE: NaIE *omō(j̥)- v. 'swear; torment, vex, annoy' > OI 'amīti 'swears' || Gk ὅμνυμι ~ ὀμνύω v. 'swear'] another variant of meaning: OI amīva 'pain, grief; distress, terror', Vd amīva 'tormenting spirit, demon; affliction, disease', ? am- 'be pernicious/dangerous: be afflicted, be sick' (unless ← am- 'annacken.

anfassen') || ON *a ma* 'plagen, belästigen' || Tc B *a mi-ś ke* 'bad-tempered, despondent', {Wn.} 'mal disposé, de mauvaise humeur', *a mi ś k ä r í r í e* 'tristesse, affliction, détresse', {Ad.} 'bad disposition, despondency' ¶ The IE cognate is valid unless **a|om-* 'strong, strength' (> Av *a ma-* 'Kraft, männliche Potenz; stark') belongs here and its meaning is primary ¶ WP 178-9, P 778, Dv. no. 372, M K I 44, M E I 96-8, MW 80, 82, F II 388-9, Ch. 798-9, Slm. U 101ff., Vr. 8, Wn. I 143-4, Ad. 19, ≈ϕ EI 560 (**h₁emh₃-* 'swear') || U: FU **wâme-* v. 'influence by magic means' > Prm: Z *вомицз vomíċz*, Z US *vomíċz*, Yz 'vomíċz n. act. 'bewitching with the evil eye', Z *vomċzav-nċ*, Yz 'vomċzal-n^ 'to bewitch with the evil eye' || OHg *i m-á d-* 'pray, worship', Hg *i m á d-* 'worship, adore' ¶ UEW 589, LG 62, Lt. J 100, MF 318, EWU 608 ◇ The loss of the initial **w-* in IE (possibly N **w ∇ m-* > **oum-* > IE **om-*?) still needs investigating.

2493. (₂?) **wûmH ∇* (or **hûmh ∇*) 'spit, vomit' > IE: NaIE **wemə-* v. 'spew, vomit' > OI 'vami ti 'vomits', MPrs *vā mē δ* 'speit aus', Oss I *wāmən ~ omən*, Oss D *wāmun* 'to vomit' || Gk *ἐμέω* 'vomit', n. act. *ἔμετος, ἔμεσις* 'vomiting' || L *vom-ō / -ēre* 'vomit', n. act. *vomitus* || ON *vá ma* 'Unwohlsein', OSw *vami* 'Ekel', Ic *voma* 'nausea', Nr *Δ vimla* 'to feel nausea', *vimra* 'to make so. sick, to nauseate' || Lt *vém-ti*, Ltv *vem̃-t* 'to vomit' ¶ WP I 262-3, P 1146, EI 538 (**¹wemH-ni* 'spew, vomit'), Mn. 1517, M K III 146, M E II 506-7, Ab. IV 85, F I 504-5, WH II 835-6, Vr. 642, Frn. 1222 || D **um-* v. 'spit, vomit' > Tm *umi* 'spit, gargle', *umīnīr*, Tu *ubbi*, Tl *ummi* 'spittle, saliva', Ml *umi yuka* 'spit out', *umir. u* 'spittle', *umir. ka v*, 'spit, emit', Kn *ummalu*, *ummulu* 'phlegm, mucus', Tu *ubbi yuni*, {BhK} *ubi v* 'spit', Krg *ubbi id.*, *umi* 'saliva', Tl *umi yu v*. 'spit, spit out' ¶¶ D no. 636 || ? HS: Eg NK *hmh* 'saliva' or sim. ¶ EG II 490 ◇ BmK no. 408 (IE, D) ◇ If Eg *hmh* belongs here, the pN etymon may be **hûmh ∇* . But if Eg *hmh* is kept apart, the N rec. is **wûmH ∇* .

2494. **wān ∇* or **₁X ∇ ₁wān ∇* 'relative (of a younger \ the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lges] → 'brother\sister-in-law, son-in-law', [in HS] → 'child, son, daughter') > HS: ? Eg fP *ħw n* 'child, young man', *ħw n. t* 'girl, virgin, daughter', Eg N *ħw n* 'so.'s child, son', Eg fP *ħw n v*. 'be rejuvenated' ¶ EG III 52-4, Fk. 166, Tk. I 297 || Ch: WCh: NgzB: Ngz {Sch.} *wî n*, {Su.} *wùn* 'son', *wí nâ* 'girl, young woman,

daughter', Bd {ChL} wùnón 'son', wúnán 'girl' || NrBc {Sk.}: Wrj wúnáj, Cg úné, Kry wún, My wùn, Sir úná, Mbr wúná 'girl, daughter', Kry {Sk.} yín, yín 'son' || SBc: Plc {ChL} wun 'son', Buli {IL} wón^? 'child', {ChL} ún^ 'son, daughter', Wnd {ChL} wun id., {IL} wón 'child', Gj {Gw.} yeng 'son' || CCh: Pdl {ChL} wìnùšù 'girl', ? Lmn Hd {Lk.} yéne 'boy', ZmD {Srp.} wenyón 'child' ¶ JI II 74-5, Sch. DN 169 (Ngz wúnâ 'girl, daughter'), 201 (Ngz wúnâ id.), ChC s.v. 'son', 'daughter', 'girl' and 'child', ChL, Sk. NB 23, Gw. s.v. Gj yeng, Lk. H 107 || NrOm {Blz.} *wan- 'woman' > She {Bnd.} wan 'woman' ¶ Blz. OL no. 63, Bnd. LE s.v. 'woman' (Blz. p.c. 2000: "mistake?") ¶¶ Tk. I 297 (Eg, ? Lmn) || U *wāN∇ > [1] FU *wāŋü 'daughter's husband, younger brother' > F vā v y, † v ā y, Es v ā i 'daughter's husband' || pLp {Lr.} *v i v 3 id. > L {LLO} L v i v v a, N {N} v i v v ā, Kld v + v v id., S {Hs.} v 'i j v e 'younger sister's husband; sister's husband younger than ego' || Mk 0 v 'daughter's husband, sister's husband' || Chr H w i ŋ ʒ a, U/B w e ŋ e 'daughter's husband, younger sister's husband' || Sm *wānъ 'relative-in-law (durch Heirat verwandt)' > Ne T O y i y, Ne F L w i y 'younger relative's husband', En bī 'Schwager, Mann der Schwester', Ng b i ŋ i, -n 'daughter's husband', Slq: Tz {Cs.} ku en ä, Nr {Cs.} ku en ek, Kar {Cs.} ku en a ŋ 'wife's brother', Tm {KD} ku an · a ŋ 'svåger, svägerska', LTz {KD} k w 3 n a ŋ 'styvson, systems man' ||] [2] ? (d.?) U *want∇ 'bridegroom, relative-in-law' > Lp Kld v ū n t e m 'Freier, Bräutigam' || Sm: Ne O y a n n e', Ne F L w e n n i' 'durch Heirat verwandt, verschweigert' ¶¶ Coll. 67, UEW 557, 565-6, It. no. 278, Sm. 541 (U *w e | ä ŋ i w 'son-in-law' > FU *w ā ŋ i w, FP *v ā ŋ i v, Ugr *w ā ŋ i -, Sm *w i ŋ o -), Jn. 173, Lr. no. 1394, Lgc. no. 8611, Hs. 1430, Cs. 277 || A: Tg *bene- 'wife's sibling' (× N *beñ|ñ∇ 'younger relative', q.v.) > Ewk b 3 n 3 r, Ewk Z/Sm b 3 n 3 'wife's brother, wife's younger sister', Lm ben a r 'wife's\husband's younger sibling', Neg b 3 n 3 'wife's younger sibling', Orc b 3 n 3 id., 'wife's younger sister's husband', Ul b 3 n 3 l i, b 3 n 3 r 'wife's younger brother', Ud {Krm.} b 3 n 3 'wife's younger sibling', Nn Nh {STM} b 3 n 3 r- 'wife's younger male cousin; nephew', {Pt.} 'nephew' ¶ STM I 125, Krm. 216, Pt. 29 || D: [1] ?? *vañña or vanna '(elder) brother's wife' > Klm v a n n a 'brother's wife', ? Png o n i 'elder brother's wife', ? Knd o n i id., 'maternal uncle's daughter (older than the person concerned)' (unless the D word is a loan from Prkr v a h u ñ ñ i 'husband's elder brother's wife') || [2] (in GnD) (< d.?) *v ā ñ i 'wife' > Png, Mnd

vāñi id. ||| [3] D *-vaŋ 'man' (within dem. pronouns): D *a-vaŋ 'that man (ille homo)' (↔ *a-tu 'that thing') > Tm a^vaŋ ~ a^vv^aŋ 'that man', Ml a^vaŋ, Kn a^va, Nkr a^vnd id. (↔ Tm, Ml a^tu 'that thing', Kn a^du, Nkr a^d 'that thing'), D *i-vaŋ 'this man' (↔ *i-tu 'this thing') > Tm i^vaŋ 'that man', Ml i^vaŋ, Kn i^va, Nkr i^vnd id. (↔ Tm, Ml i^tu 'this thing', Kn i^du ~ i^tu, Nkr i^d 'this thing, this woman'), D *u-vaŋ 'iste homo' (↔ *u-tu 'ista res') > Tm u^vaŋ, Kn u^va 'iste homo' (↔ Tm u^tu, Kn u^du 'ista res'); the same √ is found in cds, e.g. Kdg illa-^vñ 'man who is a relative' (lit. 'house man', 'family man': illa- is 'house, family'), Mlt qal-we 'thief' ¶¶ D no-s 1, 410, 494, 5251 and 5348, ADb. NNN 35, Shanm. DN 30-140 ◇ The semanteme 'relative from the other exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (preserved in U, A and D) was transformed in 'younger relative' in HS ◇ FU *-ŋ- in *wāñü may be due to the presence of a sx ◇ The pN element *X^v- (> Eg ħ-) may go back to the first component of a cd ◇ AD NM no. 112, ≠ S CNM 12 (rejecting the Tg cognate, because, in his opinion, N *w- cannot yield A *b-; but cf. N *w^aL^d^v 'give birth' [q.v.] > S *√w^ld G id., Tg *bal^di- v. 'give birth, be born' and other N words with A *b- < N *w- that are quoted in this dictionary).

2495. *w^oñ^v 'wish, love; luck' > ? HS +ext.: *√w^{ng} ~ *√w^{nk} > EC: Sml w^anā^g 'goodness, kindness, mercy', Sml N {Abr.} w^anā^g 'goodness', Sml w^anā^gsan, Sml N w^anā^gsán 'good, nice, kind' ¶ ZMO 408, Abr. S 249 || S *^o√w^{nk} > Ar √w^{nq}: mūniq- adj. 'qui plaît, agréable' (derivational pattern of a prtc.) ¶ BK II 1611 || ? Ch: Hs w^añgá^lá 'feeling pleasure' ¶ Ba. 1079, Abr. S 921 || IE *wen- 'wish, strive for, love' > OI 'vanati, va'nōti 'demands, strives for, likes', vani- f. 'wish, desire', 'vanah / vanas- ntr. 'loveliness; longing, desire' (÷ L *venus*), vāñchā n. 'wish', vanitā- 'beloved (woman), wife', Av vantā- id. || L *venus* (gen. *veneris*) 'charm, attractiveness' → *venus* 'goddess of love'; *vener-ō* / -āre v. 'ask reverently; revere, respect, worship, honour' || OIr *fine* (< *venyā) 'kinship, (joint) family' || Gmc *wēnō 'expectation, hope' > ON v^an ~ (v)ón, Nr von, Sw v^an id., Gt wēns (· ἔλπεις) 'Hoffnung'; Gmc *wānjā- adj. > ON v^aenn 'belonging to hope; beautiful'; Gt wēnjan (· ἔλπίζειν) 'warten', ON v^aēna 'to expect, to hope'; ORu -winaR, ON vinr, AS wine, OSx wini, NNr vin, Dn ven, Nr venn, Sw v^an 'friend', OHG wini id., 'beloved'; Gmc *wunskō- n. 'wish' (÷ OI

vā́rchā) > ON ósk, OHG wunsc, NHG Wunsch, MDt wonsc ~ wunse n. 'wish', AS wýsc ~ wūsc n. 'wish' (in the cd wūsc-bearn 'liebes Kind') ⇨ Gmc *wunskjan > ON yskja, æskja, OHG wunskēn, NHG wünschen, AS wýscān 'to wish', NE wish v.; OHG R wunja, OHG wunna, wunnī 'delight', NHG Wonne 'joy, delight', OSx wunnia, AS wynn 'joy', NE d. winsome || Tc: A wāri, B wīna 'pleasure' || Ht wen-, went- 'copulate' ¶¶ WP I 259, P 1147, EI 158 (*wenH- 'desire, strive to obtain'), M K III 141-2, M E II 499-500, WH I 752-3, Thr. § 259, Vr. 421, 643, 666, 671, 680, Fs. 561, Kb. 1203, 1229, OsS 1160, 1212-13, 1228-9, KM 868-9, Ho. 397, 411-12, Hlq. 1376, 1389, Wn. I 544, Ad. 601-2, Ts. W 105 || U: FU: FL ≈ *_Lw₁onne 'luck' > Fonni 'luck, chance, fortune', Es ōnn 'happiness, luck, fortune' | pLp ≈ *vōnnz > Lp: L {LLO} v u o d n a 'Glück', N {N} v u o d' n â / - d n - 'good fortune, luck' ¶ SK 422, N III 784, Lgc. no. 8784, LLO 1430 ¶ FL *n may go back to pFU *n or *ñ || A: T *on- v. 'thrive, prosper' > OT {Cl.} on- id., Chv ǎh- ьn- 'succeed', 'be good' (crop), 'breed well' (livestock), Tk on- ~ un- 'improve, be healed' ¶ In most T lges the cns. -n- changed into -ŋ- under the infl. of the word oŋ 'right' (Cl.: "by false analogy with oŋ"): OOSm ≥XIV oŋ- 'prosper, thrive', MQp XIV oŋ- id., 'be satisfactory', Tkm oŋ- 'get right, return to normal (наладиться)', Uz ǎŋ- ωŋ- 'be successful, fit', Qrg, Nog, Qq, ET oŋ-, VTt, Bsh uŋ- id., 'have luck', QbB oŋ-, Qzq oŋ- 'succeed, have luck', oŋ 'success, good luck' ¶ Cl. 166-9, DTS 367 (OT on 'fate'), ET Gl 456-60, Sht. 155, UzR 584, Md. 42, 171 (pT *oŋ-), Ash, IV 46-7, Fed. I 84, Jeg. 40-1, ChVS 23 || ?σ M *onu- 'hit the target' → 'guess rightly' (× N *wanE 'to hit, to injure', q.v. ffd.) || D *vēñ- / *vēñt̥t̥- / *vēt̥t̥- 'want, desire' (× N *wed∇ 'to hunt', q.v. ffd.); the D vw. *ē belongs to the heritage of N *wed∇ ¶¶ D no. 5528 ¶¶ The D root was reconstructed by GS 173 [no. 435] as *vēr̥- > SD *vēr̥- / *vēnr̥-; if GS is right, the D √ does not belong to N *w^ro¹ñ∇ ◇ Blz. SNE I no. 15 (C, Ch, IE, U, T).

2495a. (₂?) *w∇_L∇_JN∇ 'stay, (?) be' > HS: C: Ag {AD} *w^rā¹n- 'stay, be' > Bln {Ap.} wan-, {R} wān- 'weilen, sich aufhalten, die Zeit verbringen', Xm {Ap.} w3n-, {R} win- 'sein, existieren, bleiben', Q {R} wān- id., Km {Ap.} wan-, {CR} wān- 'être, exister' ¶ Ap. IC 50 (Ag *√wn 'be'), R WB 357, R QW 142, R DQW 647 (s.p. 11) and 675 (s.p. 39), R Ch II 425 (s.p. 111), CR Kh 265 || Eg √ wn(n) 'be' ('sein,

vorhanden sein') ¶ EG I 308-9 || ?σ S *^o✓ wafin- > Ar wafin- 'lieu où l'on se retire, asile, refuge'; possibly also WS **-fūn- 'dwell' ⇨ WS *mafān- 'place, dwelling' > BHb מַאֲוָן mā'fōn 'dwelling' (⇨ Sr مَعَانِ mā'fōn-ā 'country, region'), Ar مَعَانِ mā'fān- 'lieu, endroit, place', Sb m f n 'dwelling' ¶ GB 443, ≈ KB 577 (err. equation of BHb mā'fōn with Ar maḥna-n 'dwelling', which is derived from ✓ ḥny 'dwell' and does not belong here), BK II 414, 512-13, 1570, Br. 398, BGMR 23 ¶ WS *mafān- belongs here if it goes back to S *^o✓ w f n with metanalysis (re-interpretation of *w- as a prefix of intransitivity) ¶¶ If the S root belongs here, the absence of f in Eg is still to be accounted for || K *^owan- > G van-: [1] 1s pres. v-i-van-eb 'sich einrichten, niederlassen, ein Haus beziehen', [2] 1s pres. v-a-van-eb vt. '(jemanden) herbergen' ¶ Chx. 362, ≈ Fn. KL 72 (unreliable equation with Mg on- [name of a city] and Sv wan 'plain, lowland, plateau') || Highly doubtful: IE: Ir fanaim {IED} 'wait, stay', {Mn.} 'tarry, dwell' (acc. to Mn. from NaIE {Mn.} *^owān- 'stay, dally, linger, limp', but the alleged cognates of the Ir word (L [vān u s], Gmc and Al, adduced by Mn.) are not likely to be semantically related to the N word ¶ Mn. 1490, IED 43 ◇ If S *^o✓ wafin- belongs here, the N rec. must be *wafin- ◇ ≈ Blz. KM 141 [no. 29] (he suggested the K-Ag-Eg comparison and adduced the dubious IE parallel).

2496. (2?) *wend- 'to fight, to injure, to hurt' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'wound, injure' (× N *wanē 'to hit, to injure') > Gt wand- adj. 'wund', AS, OSx, NHG wund, OHG wunt adj. 'wounded', ON und, OHG wunta, NHG Wunde, OSx wunda, AS wund n. 'wound', NE wound n.; Gt ga-wundōn (· τραυματίζεω) 'verwunden', ON unda, OHG wuntōn, NHG wunden 'to wound' || Arm վանդեմ vandem 'I undo, I destroy, I ruin' ¶ Fs. 213, 577-8, Kb. 1129-31, KM 869, Vr. 634, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, OsS 1213, KM 869 || D {†An.} *vēnēt- 'hunt, (try to) kill' (× D *vēt- 'hunt' < N *wed- 'to hunt') > Kn bēnēte, Tu bēnētæ ~ bōnētæ, Tl vēṭa ~ venṭa 'hunting, the chase', as well as Tm vētṭam, Nkr vēṭa id. etc. (ffd. see N *wed- 'to hunt') ¶¶ D no. 5527, An. SG 131-2 || ? A: M *^oonzi- (< *^oondi-) > MM [S] onzi- 'punish (bestrafen)' (unless identical with MM [S] honcīt- 'tadeln, maßregeln' with h- < pM *φ-), WrM {MED} onzi- vt. 'reprimand, blame, scold' ¶ H 77, 125, MED 616 ◇ Doubtful because of the alt. etl. connections in IE and D. The M cognate is

legitimate if M *o- may go back to N *we- (cp. M *öte-gün 'old [senex]' from N *w'e' t̪ ∇ 'long time, year; old').

2497. (₂?) *wen̪d ∇ 'to wither, to dry' > IE: NaIE *wendʰ- 'be barren, wither' > OI vandhya- adj. 'barren', vandhyā 'barren woman' ||| Arm qn̪u̯ g̪on̪ʒ 'mangy, scurfy' ||| ? OIr {SB} fann 'weak', NI fann 'weak, languid, faint', OCrn guan, Crn, Br gwan 'weak' (< *w̪ndʰ-) ||| Sl *ve̋d-n̪-ti (ip. *ve̋dati) 'to fade, to wither' > OCS ѡвѣдѣти u-ve̋dati, SCr vénuti, Slv véniti, Cz vadnouti, Slk vädnut', P więdnać, R 'вянуть' 'to fade, to wither', Blg Δ вена ђ вѣна v. 'wither' (Blg вѣна ђ вѣна id. has x due to the infl. of сѣхна vi. 'dry'); ?? ChS ѡдѣти ođiti, Cz uđiti, P wędzić vt. 'to smoke, to humigate' ¶ WP I 261, Mn. 1513-14, ≈ P 1047, 1148, SB 259, Dnn. 297, Hm. 347, M K III 143-4, M E II 503, ECCE 250, StSS 377, ≈ Vs. I 375, ≈ Glh. 666, BER I 138-9 ||| D *ve̋nt̪- ({{GS}} *vend̪-) > Tm ven̪tu v. 'dry as in the sun, become withered', Ml ven̪t̪-elpu 'an old bone', Kn be̋ndu 'ε white and light corky wood; cork, pith; a soft/light/useless substance', Tu be̋nd̪ъ ~ be̋nd̪u 'pith; *Aeschynomene aspera* (a light and spongy plant growing in water); thin(ness), lean(ness), light(ness), emaciated', bőnd̪u 'pith', Tl be̋nd̪u '*Aeschynomene indica*', 'soft, powerless'; D ⇨ Mrt bʰēd̪ 'pith' ¶¶ D no. 5480 ||| ?σ,φ A: T: OT [[MhK]] {DRS} be̋δ- vi. 'weaken' (of sight), {Cl.} be̋δ- 'be weak' (of eyesight) (without proof of the length of e, suggested by Cl. on the alleged ev. of the Arabic spelling) ¶ Cl. 298, DTS 91.

2498. *wen̪t̪ ∇, d ∇ 'to turn' ([in descendant lges] → 'to return') > HS: B {θPr.} *√ w̪nd̪ (Pcj. I A 2) > Ah {Fc.} imv. ənnə̋d̪ 'se tourner, changer de direction', Ty/ETwl ənnə̋d̪ (3m pf.: Ty yənnə̋d̪, ETwl innə̋d̪) 'enrouler, envelopper, tourner (dans une autre direction), être enroulé/tourné', Tmz {MT} ənnə̋d̪ 'envelopper', Rf/Izn/SrSn {Rn.} ənnə̋d̪ '(se) tourner', Kb ənnə̋d̪ '(s')envelopper, tourner', Wrg {Dlh.} ənnə̋d̪ 'tourner, entourer', Mz {Dlh.} ənnə̋d̪ id., 'enrouler', BSn/BMnc {Ds.} ənnə̋d̪, Nf {La.} ənnə̋t̪ 'tourner', Skn {La.} ənnə̋t̪ 'tourner en rond', Gd ənnə̋d̪ (3m pf. innə̋d̪) 'tourner, enrouler' ¶ Fc. 1298, Pr. M VI-VII 300, GhA 140, Dl. 546, Dlh. Ou 212-13, Dlh. M 133, Ds. B 348, MT 466, La. S 304, Lf. I 244 and II no. 1096 || C: Ag: Q {R} w̪ánt̪ə-r- vi. 'zurückkehren, umkehren', Xm {R} w̪at̪er- vi. 'zurückkehren, heimkehren', Bln {R} w̪ánt̪ə-r- id., vt. caus. w̪ánt̪ə-s- vt. 'give back, put back, answer' ¶ R WB 358, R QW 143, R Ch II 427 (s.p. 113) ||| IE:

NaIE *wend^h-/*wond^h-/*wŋd^h- 'turn, twist, plait' > OI van¹dhur- 'wicker basket tied on a wagon, wicker carriage' ({M}: < Iir *wand^h- 'flechten, winden') ||| Gk cd κάλυ(ν)αθρον 'cane or wicker carriage' (< κάλυνα ~ κάλυνη 'reed'), Gk R [Hs.] ἄθραξ (*άρμα) 'chariot' ({EI}: ἄθραξ < *wŋd^h-r-) ||| Arm qh¹ŋ gind 'earring, buckle' ||| Um PRE-VENDV 'advertitō', ζ AHV-VENDV 'avertitō (let him turn aside)' ||| Gmc: Gt bi-windan (·σπαργανοῦν) 'umwinden', us-windan (·πλέκτειν) 'winden, flechten', OSx, AS windan, ON, NNr, Sw vinda, Dn vinde, OHG wintan, NHG winden 'to wind', NE v. wind; d. caus. Gmc *wandjan > Gt wandjan (·στρέφειν) 'wenden', ON, NNr vanda, Sw vānda, Dn vende, OSx wēndian, AS wēndan, OHG wenten, NHG wenden vt. 'to turn, to bend' ||| pTc *wānt- > Tc A/B wānt- v. '≈ cover, envelop' ¶ WP I 261, P 1148, EI 607, Mn. 1513, 1556-7, 1575, M K III 143, M E II 503, F I 779, Pln. 725, 751, Fs. 98, 537, 550, Vr. 653, 665, Ho. 389, 397, Ho. S 85, 88, Kb. 1168, 1206, OsS 1089, 1164, KM 852, 861, Slr. 142-3, Ad. 592 ||| D *veñt-, {θGS} *veñd- v. 'turn (round), return' > TI venḍi 'again, once more', Ku vendali 'go back, return', ? Kui vṛēpa (p. vṛēt-) v. 'return, come back', ? Krx biṛd- vt. 'turn over, turn round, give back' ¶¶ D no. 5481 ◇ The emphatic *d in B and the vl. *t in Ag (for the expected *d) suggest the presence of a lr. in the N word, that is likely to have been *? (N *-?∇d- > *-?d- > *-t- > B *d); any other lr. would have yielded a NaIE *ə, which is not the case.

2498a. (2?) *w¹o¹n¹∇ 'hot' > IE: Ht v. want-ai- v. 'heat', want-ess- 'become hot', want-emma- n. 'heat' ¶ Kas. AN 175 ||| U: FP *onta 'Wärme, Hitze' > Es Δ ind 'Brunst', Prmk 3 d 'Badestubenhitze', Z Le 3 d id., '(künstliche) Hitze, Glut' ¶ U EW 719 ◇ Kas. AN 175 (Ht, U + err. K and unt. D).

2499. (2?) *w¹o¹n¹t∇ 'belly' > IE: NaIE *went-/*wont- id. > L venter (gen. ventris) 'belly' ||| Gmc *wantha- > d.: MLG ingewāt, ingewant, ingewende, MDt inghewant, Dt ingewanden 'entrails' (infl. of MDt inghewâde ÷ NHG Eingeweide 'intestines, bowels' of different origin) ¶ ≈ P 1104-5, WH II 751, ≈ Vr. N 281 ||| U: FU *^o₁w₁ont∇, *^o₁w₁ont∇r∇ > ObU *ōnt, *ōntar 'belly, inside of the body' > pVg *āntar > Vg MK/UL ontar 'stomach (Magen)'; pOs {Ht.} *ont ({θHl.} *ānt < *ōnt) > Os: V/Vy ont, Ty/Y ōnt, D/K/Sh unt 'inside of the body (υτρω, Inneres), belly'; pOs {Ht.} *ontar ({θHl.} *āntar < *ōntar) {Ht.} 'Leib' > Os: Vy/O ontar, D/Nz untar 'womb', Sh untar id., 'belly,

inside of the body', Kz wŭntar 'belly', V ontar, Ty/Y ōntar {Trs.} 'length, extension, distance' ¶ Sm. 542 (FU, FP *oŋti, Ugr *oŋtĩ 'cavity'), Ht. no. 4O, Stn. D 117-18, Trs. S 327 || | ?σ HS: mt. WS *✓wɫn 'dwell' (← *'be within [a house]'), *°w∇ɫ∇n- (*wa'tan-?) 'dwelling, place to dwell' > Ar ✓wɫn (ip. -wɫinu) G 'dwell in, settle, inhabit (a place)', waɫan- 'dwelling; stable for cattle; fatherland', Jb C {Jo.} ✓wɫn G (pf. ɔtɫn) 'start living in a new place' (←b- Ar?), Sb d. (n. l.) m w ɫ n 'temple' ¶ BK II 1563, Hv. 878-9, Jo. J 294, BGMR 166, DRS 529.

2500. *wañ∇ɫa' 'belly' > HS *✓wnǰ ~ *w∇ǰ∇m/n- (mt. from *✓wnǰ) > Ch: CCh: Db {LnG, ChL} wènǰi 'entrails', ? G'nd {ChL} wənsǰà, ? Gbn {ChL} wənsèwuré id. || ?? WCh (× N *'wAt∇ 'belly?'): Zar {Sh.} v̀icíkì 'stomach' ¶ ChC s.v. 'intestines' and 'stomach', ChL, LnG s.v. wenǰi, Sh. Z s.v. v̀icíkì || S *°waðam- > Ar waðam-at- 'ventricle with the bowels' ¶ BK II 1515, Hv. 961, DRS 506 || C {AD} *w∇ɫ∇n- (? ~ *w∇ɫ∇m-?) 'belly, inside' > Ag {AD} *°w∇ɫ∇n- / pl. *°w∇ɫɫ∇n- > Bln {R} wɔðen (pl. wɔzɛn) 'belly, heart, inside of the house', Xmt {Bnd.} ɛzɛn 'heart' || EC {Ss.} *wazn- (~ *waz∇m-?) > Af {R} wadanā 'Bauch, Herz; Inneres', Sa {Bl.} wadan-ā, {Ss.} wadana ~ wazana 'heart', {Wlm.} wadana 'belly'; pSam {Hn.} *'wéznè 'heart' > Sml wadne, Sml N {Abr.} wádne 'heart', pBn {Hn.} *wénnè (> Bn: Bi wennɛ, J/Kj wénnɛ, K wénnɛ), Rn {Hn.} 'wéyn-a, {PG} wéynà, Bs {Fl.} wɫzɛna id., Or B {Anr.} ónne?, {Sr.} onnē, Or T {Mrn.} onnē, Or H {Ow.} ónné, Or Wt {Hn.} ona_ id., Kns {BISO} otan-ta 'center', Dsn {To.} ḥūðin-u 'chest', ḥūðin-ni 'heart', Elm pawa (< *wawa < *wazan), ?φ Arr zazzá 'heart', pHEC {Hd.} *wazana 'heart' > Sd wadana, {Gs.} wodana, Alb, Kmb wazan-a, Hd {Hd., Ss.} wodan-a, Tmb {L} wazano, Brj {Ss.} wodán-a id.; LEC ↪ Gf {Mrn.} wozana, Gm {Hw.} woziná, Wl/Malo {LmS} wozana, Kcm {LmS} wazzo 'heart'; EC ↪ EthS: Har {L} wazāna 'chest, courage', Grg SI/Z wɛzɛnɛ, Grg Wl {L} wɛzɛn 'heart, chest'; Rn {PG} woyǎm, {Fl., Bnd.} wayam 'heart' may represent C *w∇ɫ∇m- and EC *waz∇m- ¶ AD SF 187, Ss. PEC 2O, Ss. B 187-8, Bl. 211 (LEC *wadn-/*wadan-), BISO 131, R WB 353, R A II 912 (s.p. 12O), ZMO 4O6, Abr. S 246, Sr. 337, Ow. 27O, Hn. W 6O, Hn. S 98, Hn. BD 111, 15O, Hn. R s.v. *wénnè, PG 293-5, Hd. 77-8, 226, 3O2, 343, 4O1, L Z 12O, L EDG III 675, Hw. A 4O1, Hw. EG s.v. 'heart', LmS 552-3, C SE I 279, To. DL 5O7, PG s.v. wéynà, Anr. BG, Mrn. G s.v. onnē, Gs. s.v. wodana, LnG s.v. wenǰi, Sh. Z s.v. v̀icíkì, Fl. p.c. || ? B: Sll {Ds.} adān

(ann. *wadān*) pl. 'intestins grêles, boyau', BSn/Izn/Mtmt {Ds.} *āḏaḥn* 'intestins (incl. panse des ruminants, cœur, poumons, foie)', Ty/WTwl *adan* 'intestins grêles', Ah {Fc.} *adānān* pl., Gh {Nh.} *adan*, Izd {Mrc.} *adan* 'intestins', Nf {La.} *adun*, {Beg.} *adū* (pl. *adān*) 'intestino', Gd {Lf.} *ādan* (pl. *adānən*) 'intestins, boyaux' ¶ Ds. 45, 159, Ds. B 178, Fc. 205, GhA 24, Lf. II no. O291, Beg. 238 || ? Eg P *ω z m ω* 'ε human body part'; according to Tk. I 176-86, Eg z < HS **ž* is not anomalous (⇔ OS) ¶ EG I 357 ¶¶ Coh. no. 397 (C, B), OS no. 2538 (HS **wažam-* 'intestines' > S, Eg) and no. 2539 (**wažan-/wažin-* 'intestines' > B, Ch, C, Om) || U: FU **waća* 'stomach, belly' > F *vatsa* 'belly, stomach', Es *vats* (*vatsa*) 'paunch, belly' || Vg {Mu.}: N *vas*, ML *vaša* 'stomach' ¶ Coll. 123, UEW 547, MK 721 || D **vanč-* ~ **vač-* 'belly' ({Zv.} **vač-*) > Tu *baríji* 'stomach, belly, womb', Tm *vayin* id., *vayiru* id., 'paunch, womb, centre', *vayā* 'foetus, womb', Ml *vayar* id., 'belly, stomach, inside', Kt *vir*, Td *pir* 'belly, pregnancy', Kn *basar*(u), *basir* 'belly, abdomen, womb', Knd *vaski* 'small intestines', Png/Mnd *vahin* pl. 'intestines', Kui *vahi*, Kw *wahi* & *vahi* & *vahī* id. ¶¶ D no. 5259, Zv. 112 || IE: NaIE {F} **wēnes-tro-* 'ε internal organ (in the belly)' ('stomach of ruminants?') > Gk ἄβυστρον 'abomasum (the fourth stomach of ruminant animals)' || Nr *Δvinstr* id., Sw *Δvinster* 'Lab-\Blätter-magen', Ic *vinstr* 'omasum (the third stomach of ruminants)', Far *vinstur*, Nr *Δvinstr*, Sw *Δvinster* 'abomasum', Ic *vinstur* {Bv} id., {Hlq.} 'the third stomach of ruminants', OHG *wanast*, *wenist* 'belly', {EI} 'the first stomach of ruminants', NHG *wanst* 'rumen' || OI *vanis* 't̥hu 'a part of the entrails of an animal offered as a sacrifice' ¶ P 1105, EI 2 (**wen*∇st(r)- 'abomasum, omasum'), M K III 140-1, 175, F I 638, WH II 750-1, Kb. 1140, OsS 1088, KM 837-8, Bv 861, JM 506, Hlq. 1351-2 ◇ Uralic **-ć-* suggests N **-ž*, while Ar *-ḏ-* points to a N **-ž*; FU **waća* and D **vač-* reflect a later epenthetic variant of the N word with loss of the nasal consonant ◇ ≠ BmK 617 (equating the FU and D roots with IE **udero-/wēdero-* [see N **wa*∇ 'belly']).

2501. **wań*∇ 'squeeze, press' ([in descendant lges] → 'weaken [sth.], 'ram, trample down, make compact by pressing') > HS: S **√wny* '≈ suppress, weaken (vt.)' > BHb *√yny|w* 'suppress, oppress': acp. G *הַנְּיָוּי* *yō'nē* 'oppressing' (f. *hā'vīr hayyō'nā* 'the oppressing city'), Sh pf. *הוֹנָה* *hō'nā* '(he) oppressed, (he) maltreated', JA [Trg.] *√yny*: Sh pf.

'𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤁𐤏' id. ({Lv.} ✓ yny *Sh* 'bedrücken'), JEA {Sl.} ✓ yny *Sh* 'act fraudulently', JPA Bz {Sl.} ✓ yny *Sh* 'vex, taunt, deal fraudulently', Ar ✓ wny *G* 'être fatigué; être faible, être mou, manquer de force' (← *'be weakened'), Ak (fOAK?) {Sd.} inf. w a n ā ʔ u m ≈ unter Druck setzen, bedrängen mit', Sb {DRS ← VAbd.} h w n y 'dépérir' ¶ KB 398, BDB 413, GB 303 (adducing Mn *✓ wny that is not confirmed by up-to-date research), Lv. T I 337, Sl. 538, Sl. P 242, BK II 1612, Hv. 896, Sd. 145, DRS 562 || U: FU *w a n ∇ - 'make soft(compact (by kneading, fulling)' > F v a n u - 'become condensed\thick, be kneaded; become matted\mat', v a n u t t a - 'shrink, cause to shrink, knead; full, mill', {SK} 'thrash soundly (mukiloida)', Es v a n u - 'shrink; become matted, mat, felt', {W} 'walken' || OHg v á n y o l - 'walken, filzen; massieren', Hg v á n y o l - v. 'felt (wool); full, mill' ¶ UEW 558, W EDW 1306, MF 671-2, EWU 1605-6 || A: NaT *u:;y- (< *u:;h-?) 'squeeze, trample' > OT {Cl.} u y - 'squeeze (to make compact)', {DTS} 'trample', MT [IM] u y - 'knead', ds.: OT {Cl.} u y m ā n. 'felt', Tkm Δ u y u q 'felt socks', Tb/Qzq/Chg {Rl.} u y u q 'felt boots (валенки)' ¶ Cl. 267, 273, DTS 60 (OT u y - 'compact'), ET Gl 581-2, Rl. I 1633 || ? IE NaIE *weġ(ə)- / *wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *weġ-s '(make) wither, weaken' (× N *wiž∇ 'grey, [?] withered' [q.v. ffd] × N *w a h y ∇ '[be] weak' [q.v.]) ◇ The NaT vw. *u- (from N *w a -) may be connected with the labializing infl. of *w- (on similar development in M an Tg see Introduction, § 2.4).

2501a. ₂ *wEyñ|ñ∇ ~ *wEñ|ñy∇ 'daylight' > HS: Eg G w y n ~ w n y , DEg w y n 'light (lux)' > Cpt: Sd o y e i n u e i n , B o y w i n i u o i n i id. ¶ EG I 315, Er. 79, Vc. 231 || C: Bj {Rop.} w á n a 'at dawn, early morning' ¶ Rop. 248 || NrOm: Wl {LmS}, Gm {LmS} w ō n t a 'morning', w ō n t o 'tomorrow', Gf {LmS} w o n t a id., 'morning', Zl {LmS} w o n t o , {C} w o n t o , Dwr {LmS} w a n t o , Gm {Hw.} w o n t ó 'tomorrow', Dc {LmS} w o n t o , Bsk {LmS} w o n t o , w o n s , Cha {LmS} o n t a ~ w o n t o 'tomorrow', Kcm {LmS} w a n t o id., 'God' (← *'daylight'), Hrr {CR} w e n t o 'God; tomorrow', Bdt {Hw.} w o n t - 'dawn', She {CR} w e n - d e n 'today', w o n - ʒ , w e n s e n , Bnc {Wdk.} w ó n s á n 'tomorrow', Ym {Wdk.} w ò n à 'time, day', w ò n ò 'tomorrow' ¶ LmS 546, Wdk. BY 113, 138, C SE III 81, C SO 45, Hw. EG, Hw. NKL 236, CR NGS 13, CR H 665 || Ch: WCh: Hs w ú n ì , y í n ì 'daytime', Hs. Z ʔ u n i id., Tng {J} w u n i 'day and night (сутки)', Ngz {Sch.} w a n a id. ¶ Sk. HCD 292, Abr. H 934, 956-7, Ba. 1068, 1093, 1116, J T s.v. w u n i , Sch. DN s.v. w a n a || D [1] *v i ñ 'sky' > Tm v i ñ , v i ñ ʔ u , Ml

v i ṅ ṅ u 'sky, heaven', Tl v i n (n) u 'sky', Mlt bi ṅ ye 'god of thunder and lightning' ¶¶ D no. 5396 ¶¶ [2] * v ā ṅ a 'sky, cloud, rain' (× N * ṅ ṅ w ṅ a ṅ ṅ 'sky, cloud', q.v. ffd.); the vw. *-ā- belongs to the heritage of N * ṅ ṅ w ṅ a ṅ ṅ ¶¶ [3] It is not clear if one may add here D * v ē n t - 'spirit, god' (> Prj v ē : d i d ṅ v ē : d i d 'god', Gdb {BB} v ē n d i ṅ 'devil[s], spirit[s]', Gdb O v ē n d i ṅ 'god', Gnd p ē n d r a v a n d i n 'the highest god of the Muryas'), it is more plausible to equate it with D (McTm) * v ē n t - 'king' (> Tm v ē n t a ṅ 'king, Indra', Ml v ē n t a n , v ē n t u 'king') ¶¶ D no-s 5529-30 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162 [no. 101] and Blz. NDA no. 105 (in both: HS, D; Blz. included D * v ē n t - 'god').

2502. * w a ṅ E 'to hit, to injure' > IE: NaIE * w e n - 'hit, injure' > W ṅ m - w a n 'to joust', ?σ Brtt {RE} * w a n a m i 'to pierce, to stab, to thrust' > MW g w a i n t , W g w a n u , C m g w a n a , M B r g o a n a f f , B r g w a n a ṅ i d . ¶¶ ?σ Gt w i n n a n (· π á σ χ ε ι ν) 'leiden', w u n n s (· π á θ η μ α) 'Leiden' ¶ P 1108, EI 548-9, RE 119, YGM-1 256, 440, Fs. 566, 578, KM 869, Vr. 634, Ho. 410, Ho. S 90, OsS 1213, KM 869 ¶¶ K: GZ * w n - 'injure, harm; torment, suffer' > OG v n - v. 'harm; suffer' (m r a v l i m e v n o m e ... 'I have suffered a great deal ...' [Mt. 27.18]), G v n - v. 'injure, harm', OG v n e b a - ṅ , G v n e b a n . 'suffering, Easter', Mg n - v. 'harm' ¶ K² 54-5, FS E 137, DCh. 509-10, Ser. 65-6, Q 285 ¶¶ U: FU * w a ṅ ṅ - 'hit, cut' > ObU {Ht.} * w ā ṅ k - > pVg * w ā ṅ k - 'hit' > Vg: T/SV/LL w a ṅ k - , M K / U K / P / N V / M L w o ṅ k - i d . , U L w ḡ ṅ x a p n . 'hammer'; pOs {Ht.} * w a ṅ k - (= {JHl.} * w ā ṅ k -) 'hew (behave)' > Os: V/Vy w a ṅ - , Ty/Y w ā k - , D/K w a ṅ x - , Nz/Kz w a ṅ - , O w a ṅ - i d . ¶ OHg v á ḡ - 'hew down, chop, slaughter', Hg v á ḡ - 'cut, hew down, chop' ¶¶ ? Prm {LG} * v ā n - 'cut' > Z в у н д ы н ы v u n d ṅ ṅ 'to cut, to crop', Vt в а н д ы н ы v a n d ṅ ṅ 'to cut, to slaughter' ¶ UEW 558, LG 70, Ht. no. 698, MF 665-6, EWU 1595 ¶¶ A: [1] pA * b ṅ ṅ ṅ ṅ - > T * m ḡ ṅ k - ~ * m ḡ ṅ k - (< ** b ḡ ṅ k - ~ * b ḡ ṅ k -) > OT [MhK] m ḡ ṅ - {MKD} 'kick', ET {Nj.} m ḡ ṅ - , m ḡ ṅ k - 'kick (брыкаться)', ET Tr m ḡ ṅ - v. 'sich bäumen, ausschlagen (становиться на дыбы, лягаться)' (a horse), Qzq m ḡ ṅ k i - 'лягаться', Tv m ḡ ḡ - 'kick (брыкаться)', Qrg m ḡ ṅ k ü - , StAlt m ḡ k ü - , Xk m ḡ k ü - , Yk m ḡ x - 'становиться на дыбы' ¶ ET L-S 79-80, Cl. 767, MKD 119, Nj. 711, Rl. IV 2130 ¶¶ Tg * * b a ṅ s a - 'kick (пнуть, лягнуть)' (a horse) > mom. * b a ṅ s a l a - > Orc, Nn b a ṅ s a l a - , Ud b a ṅ ṅ a l a - , Ul, Ork b a s a l a - 'kick (once) (пнуть, лягнуть)', WrMc {Z} б а ш и л а - 'kick, strike with a fist'; iter. (?) * b a ṅ s a ṅ i - > Ul b a s a ṅ ṅ - , Nn b a ṅ s a ṅ ṅ - 'kick' ¶ STM I 72 On 60 Z. 475-6 ¶ [2] M * n n u - 'hit the target' >

WrM o n u - {MED} 'hit the target; guess or conjecture rightly; understand', HIM {MED} o n o -, o n - id., {BMR} o n o - id., Brt o n o - 'hit the target; guess rightly', WrO o n o - 'hit the target, understand', Kl {Rm.} o n o - 'gut geraten. das Ziel treffen', Ord o n o - 'atteindre le but (en tirant); comprendre, diviner juste; gagner, faire une bonne affaire' ¶ MED 615, BMR II 481, Krg. 107, Chr. 357, KW 286, Ms. O 512-13 ¶¶ SDM 327 (A *bǎŋk'ī v. 'kick' > T *böŋk- v. 'kick, buck', Tg *baŋ-sala- 'kick'), DQA no. 95 (A *bǎŋgi v. 'kick') ◇ On M *o- < N *w a - see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ T *-ö- can be explained by the palatalizing infl. of *-E and the labializing infl. of *w-.

2503. *wǎŋ'g'o 'hook' ([in descendant lges] → 'handle') > U: pre-FU **wǎŋkâ > (after synharmonic levelling) FU *wanŋk∇ (= *wanŋkU?) ~ *wǎŋk∇ 'hook' (× N *wǎŋka 'to bend'): [1] FP *wanŋk∇ (= *wanŋkU?) > F {Cl.} vanko, vanka, vanku 'hook lever used for rolling burning logs across a burn-beaten clearing', Es v a n g (gen. v a n n u) 'handle; crook, bend, loop' † Prm *v u g ∇ 'handle, hook' > Z v y r v u g 'handle, bucket handle (дужка)', v y r y r v u g + r 'fishing hook, fishing line', Vt v y r y v u g + 'handle (of a door, bucket, cauldron etc.)' ('ручка, скоба двери, дужка ведра\котла') † [2] FU (in ObU) *°wǎŋk∇ 'hook' (→ 'draw with a hook', 'hang on a hook') > ObU *wǎŋk- (and *wǎŋk- + sxs) > pVg *wǎŋk- > Vg: LK/MK wǎŋr-, LL w a x r i t - 'draw with a hook', T wǎŋkər, P/NV/SV w a x r ə p, UL/Ss wǎŋk r i p 'hook'; pOs {Ht.} *wǎŋk- / *w i ŋ k -, {ǰHl.} *wǎŋk- / *w i ŋ k - > Os: V/Vy w i ŋ - ({Ht.} w i ŋ ' -), Ty/K/Kr w i ŋ k - vi. 'remain stuck\hooked (зацепиться, застрять), hängen bleiben (повиснуть)', Os d.: V/Vy wǎŋ_ləy-, Ty wǎŋ_φəy- id.; Os ds: V/Vy w i ŋ k ä l i, Ty w i ŋ l i, D/K wǎŋk l ə, Nz w a ŋ k a l ə 'hook', Vy wǎŋ_wä, Ty wǎŋkər, K/Kr/O wǎŋkəm, Nz/Kz w a ŋ k ə m id. ¶ Coll. 139, It. no. 54, Sm. 554 (FP *v ě ŋ k a 'handle'), LG 69, UEW 814, Ht. no. 699, Stn. D 1608-10, Trs. S 513, 524 || D *v a ŋ k - 'hook' > Tm v a ŋ k i 'ε iron hook or curved instrument; ε armlet', Kn v a ŋ k i, o ŋ k i 'hook; gold armlet of a curved shape', Tu o g g i, u g g i 'handle, hook', v a ŋ k i 'ε bracelet', Tl v a ŋ k i 'ε curved ornament worn on the arm', o ŋ k i y a, o ŋ k e 'hook\peg fixed in a wall', Gnd ChM {LuC} v a k o n j e e 'an elephant goad' ¶¶ D no. 5210 || IE: (mt.) NaIE *w o g w h n i - s, *w o g w h n e s - 'ploughshare' > Gk [Hs.] ὄψυγος (ὄψυγος, ἄροτρον) 'ploughshare, plough' † Prū w a g n i s 'Sech' = 'Pflugeisen', {EI} 'coultter' † OHG w a d a n s o NGr B W a d e n s u n ON v a n d s n i (Vr) <

*vagsni), NNr vagnse, vangsne, Sw Δ wangs 'ploughshare' ∥ L vōmis (gen. vōmeris) id. (whence nom. vōmer id.) ({WH}: probably from IE *wog^whsmis) ¶ WP I 315, P 1179-80, Mn. 1561-2 (wog^whsnis), EI 434 (wog^whnis), F II 453-4, WH II 835, En. 269, Vr. 643-4, Kb. 1132, OsS 1074, Hlq. 1341 (s.v. vigg) ¶ NaIE *-g^whⁿ- < N *-ηg- can be explained as a case of metathesis ∥ A: M *oηgi 'handle, socket or ring for a handle in an axe\spade\hoe' (× M *oηgi id. [< N *wanK∇ 'hole, orifice', q.v.]) > MM [S] {H} oηgi 'handle (of a sword)', WrM oηgi {MED} 'socket\ring for a handle in an axe\spade\hoe', HIM oηги {MED} id., {BMR} 'orifice\socket for a handle (черенок, рукоятка), Henkel (проушина, ушко) einer Axt', Brt цнги 'Beilrücken', Kl {KRS} oηh 'Henkel (проушина) einer Axt', Ord oηgi 'virole, anneau dans lequel on fait passer la manche d'un instrument'; M ↗ WrMc {Z} цнгинь 'orifice for a handle in an axe\spade' ¶ H 124, MED 614, BMR II 476, Chr. 470, KRS 398, Ms. O 514, Z 142 ∥ ?φ HS: WS ≈ *w^ran^lw- 'hook' > BHb ḥ^{*} wāw^{*} (att.: pl. ḥ^{*}ḥ^{*} wā^lwīm, pl. cs. ḥ^{*}ḥ^{*} wā^lwē) 'hook, pin, peg', Pun w^w 'nail', Ph *wa^l:^lw (name of the letter ww) > Gk F αῦ (name of the letter F ww); JA [Trg.] ḥ^{*} wāw, em. ḥ^{*}ḥ^{*} wā^lw-ā 'hook', Gz wāwē 'hook, ring, buckle, point' ¶ KB 249, BDB 255, HJ 297, Js. 372, Lv. T I 207, Dlm. 114, L G 623, DRS 513-14 ¶ A tentative explanation: Hb, JA ā < *ā̃ < *an (like in Hb ḥ^{*}īš 'man' < *ḥ^{*}īnš, see AD PSH 57-8), which accounts for ā (rather than ə) in the Hb pl. cs. wā^lwē; absence of *n in Gz suggests that this is a loanword. The irreg. w- in Hb, Ph, Pun and JA smay be explained by as. (*w- preserved in Cn and Aram due to the infl. of the medial *-w-) ◇ Alternatively, one may consider the possibility of borrowing: FU *wanK∇ and D *vanK- ← Ir *wank- (see N *wānka 'to bend'), but this latter hyp. (suggested for FU *wanK∇ by Coll. and UEW) is less plausible because in Ir we do not find the meanings 'hook' or 'handle' ◇ ≈ ADb. NNN 34 (N ? *η¹A^lηK∇ 'hook, handle' > U, D, IE, M + unc. A *η¹uηni 'heel, hook' > Tg *ńuηni 'heel, shin') ◇ M *o- goes back to N *-o (in *wāη^rg^lo) or *a in *wanK∇ 'hole, orifice'. On M *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2504. *wanK∇ 'hole, orifice' (→ 'pit') > U **w^ra^lηK∇ > FU *wοηK∇ 'hole, cave' > F onkalo 'cleft, crevice, ravine, gorge; cave; hollow, cavity, pit', Δ ongahta- 'become hollow', onger^rta- v. 'hollow out', Es ongas (gen. onka), ungas (gen. unka) 'venthole (in the gable of the house)'. ?σ Es un^k (gen. un^ga) 'rafter (of the roof)' ∥ Ld: N {Fri.}

v u o g g o 'field mouse's burrow; hut' ('antrum, in quo mus sylvestris
 tegit, urj; tugurium'), Kld {SaR} вцэңк vūēŋ:k 'foxhole' || ObU {Ht.}
 *wōŋk, *wōŋkā > pVg {Ht.} *wāŋkā 'Grube' > Vg: T waŋkā, LK woŋka,
 MK/UK woŋka, P/NV/ML woŋka, UL wōŋka, Ss wōŋka id.; pOs {Ht.}
 *woŋk, {ǾHL.} *wǎŋk 'Lager, Höhle' > Os: VK/Y woŋk, Ty wōŋk, D/K
 woŋx, Nz uŋx, Kz wŋk, O oŋk id.; pOs {Ht.} *wǎŋka ({ǾHL.} *wǎŋka) id.
 > Os: V wǎŋka, wōŋka, Vy wǎŋka, Ty/Y wǎŋka, D wǎŋxə id. || Sm {Jn.}
 *wǎŋkǝ > Ne: T ваңг, O/F {Lh.} βāŋk 'pit, ravine; animal's hole, lair';
 En {Cs.} 'baggō 'pit', {KD} d. bāgūta 'nest'; Ng {Cs.} 'banka 'pit, nest';
 Slq: Tm {KD} d. kǔŋgǝr 'bird's nest hollowed out in a tree', UO {KD}
 kʷoq'a 'small pit' ¶¶ Coll. 44, UEW 583, Sm. 551 (FU *woŋki 'den' > FP
 *vōŋki, Ugr *wǎŋkǝ), SaR 63, Ht. no. 697, Trs. S 517, Jn. 171-2, Ter.
 42 || **A** *ōŋgE 'orifice, pit, hollow' > **[1]** M *oŋgi 'handle, orifice, socket
 or ring for a handle in an axe\spade\hoe' (× N *wǎŋ'g'o 'hook', [in
 descendant lges] → 'handle', q.v.) > MM [S] {H} oŋgi 'handle (of a
 sword)', WrM oŋgi {MED} 'socket\ring for a handle in an
 axe\spade\hoe', HIM oŋgi {MED} id., {BMR} 'orifice\socket for a
 handle (черенок, рукоятка), Henkel (проушина, ушко) einer Axt',
 Brt цнги 'Beilrücken', Kl {Rm.} oŋgi 'Loch, Öffnung', {KRS} oŋh 'orifice
 (проушина) in an axe', Ord oŋgi 'virole, anneau dans lequel on fait
 passer la manche d'un instrument'; M ↗ WrMc {Z} цнгинь 'orifice
 for a handle in an axe\spade'; **[2]** M *oŋgayi > WrM {Rm.} oŋgai, Kl
 {KRS} oŋha 'hollow in a tree, cave', {Rm.} oŋgā ~ oŋgā 'Höhle,
 Vertiefung; leer, hohl'; **[3]** M *oŋgayi- > WrM {MED} oŋgai-, oŋgai-
 {MED} 'become wide open, form an opening\gap, gape', HIM oŋgoi-
 {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'open', Brt oŋgoi- id., Ord oŋgō- 'être ouvert (p.
 ex. une porte), 'être béant, bâiller', Kl {KRS} oŋha- v. 'gape', {Rm.}
 oŋgā- ~ oŋgā- 'leer\hohl\offen sein', **[4]** M *oŋg'a'rqay > WrM {MED}
 oŋgurqai ~ oŋgarqai, HIM {MED, BMR} 'opening, orifice, gap,
 hole', Brt oŋgorxoi 'Spalte; gap, hole', Ord oŋgorxō 'ouvert, troué;
 trou', WrO oŋgorqa 'hollow, pit, opening; eye hollow', Kl {KRS}
 oŋhrxa 'hollow, eye hollow; hole, cave', {Rm.} oŋgarxā 'vertieft, hohl;
 Vertiefung, Höhle'; **[5]** M *oŋgila- > WrM {MED} oŋgila- v. 'dig, dig in,
 rummage', HIM oŋgilo- {MED, BMR} id., Brt oŋgilo- v. 'dig;
 rummage', Kl {Rm.} oŋg]- ~ oŋgi]- 'ein Loch bohren, die Erde ausgraben
 (z.B. für eine Säule)' ¶ MED 614, Luv. 299, BMR II 476-8, H 124, Chr.
 356, 470, Ms. O 514-15, Krg. 108-9, KRS 398-9, KW 287, Ms. O 514, Z

142 || Tg *oŋu 'hollow, cave' > Orc, Ud {STM} oŋgo 'cave', Nn Nh {STM} oŋgo 'rectum', ? Ewk d. uŋtukāçān 'small hollow (ямка)'; ? ⇨ Tg *Uŋala 'pit, hole, hollow' > Ewk uŋulu 'pit, puddle', Ud uŋulu 'hollow in a tree', Ul oŋgolo id., 'cave', Nn Nh {On.} oŋgolo id., Nn Nh/Bk/KU {STM} oŋgolo ~ uŋgulu, Neg oŋolo id., 'hollow (depression)', WrMc {Z} цнґала 'hollow in a tree, hole, hollow of the ear' ¶ STM II 280, Krm. 302, On. 311, Vas. 497, Z 142, Z 142 || T *ü:;ŋ- 'dig a hole in' > OT {Cl.} ǔŋ- id., 'hollow (sth.) out', OT Kr ǔŋ- 'dig, delve', MQp XIV ǔŋ- 'hollow out, excavate', [CC] 'dig, excavate', Qzq üŋg- 'make a pit\hole (by boring), make an excavation, dig a pit (делать яму)', Qrg üŋü- 'make\punch\forge a hole, bury oneself in' ¶ Cl. 16, DTS 626, Rs. W 521, Sht. 28, Jud. 822, ET Gl 634 (on the T d. *üŋür 'cave, animal's hole'), MM 485 || ? pKo *òŋtán- ~ *ùŋtán- 'pool, bog', {SDM} 'лужа, заполненная водой яма' ¶ Yu 597-8, MLC 1251 ¶ SDM 1501 (A *uŋe 'hollow, pit' > Tg, T, Ko, M *oŋgi 'hollow' + unc. M *oŋgi 'nest; trough, vessel, ship'), DQA no. 2528 (id.), KW 287 || | D (in SD) *v aŋk 'orifice' > Tm v aŋku 'orifice, hole, hollow, rathole, snake hole', Ml v aŋku, Tu oŋka 'rathole, snake hole' ¶ D no. 5212, Tu. no. 11191, M K III 124, 127-8 || ??ϕ HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} an'qāy 'hole, cave' ¶ R WB 40 || B *-w∇nuH (and *-^rw∇^rgnuH-?) 'well (puits), pit' > Awj {Prd.} a'wānū (pl. wān'yin ~ wānni'yin) 'well', Izd {Mrc.}, Tmz {MT} anu (pl. una), Gd {Lf.} ānu (pl. {CM} anuyin), Nf, Snd {La.} dim. tanut (pl. tina), BS {Ds.} ānu (pl. anūyān), Izn {Ds.} ānaw (pl. anwāyān), Sll {Ds.} ānu (pl. una), Si {La.} anu, Gh {Nh.} anu (pl. unan) id., Ah ānu (pl. ūnān), Ty aŋu (pl. uŋān), ETwl aŋu (pl. eŋwan) id., 'pit', Kb {Dl.} anu 'gouffre ou puits naturel', Ntf {La.} dim. tanut 'petite excavation dans le sol'; ?? * -^rw∇^rgnuH- > Ah taǧnut 'puits peu profond' ¶ Prd. 172, Fc. 1283-4, GhA 137, La. MChB 412, Mrc. 207, Lf. II no. 1066, CM 150-1, Ds. 235, Ds. B 292, MT 458, Dl. 537 ◇ On M and Tg *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ IS MS (*w oŋ^rk^r ŋ 'orifice' > U, A, D), Rs. UAW 33 (U, A).

2505. (₂?) *wāŋka 'to bend' > IE: NaIE *weng-/*wong- 'bend; bent, crooked' > Gmc: OHG w i n k e n 'to wave, to nod', MHG w i n k e n 'to move to and fro (schwanken), to wink one's eyes', MLG w i n k e n, AS w i n c i a n 'to shut eyes, to blink', NE w i n k v.; AS, OHG w i n k i l, NHG W i n k e l 'corner'; Gmc *wankōn > ON v a k k a, Sw v a n k a, Dn v a n k e 'to wander about', OSx w a n c o n, OHG w a n k ō n 'to waver, to shake', NHG w a n k e n 'to move to and fro' | Lt v é n g t i (1s pres. v é n g i u) 'to

avoid, to evade, to shun' (← 'to bend\turn outwards'), *vingis* n. 'bend, curve; winding', *vingiuoti* 'to twist, to wind, to meander', Pru *wīngriskan* n. accus. sg. 'cunning', {EI} 'trick' | ?σ pAl {O} **wengā* > Al: T *vēng*, G *vang* {AlbED} 'wooden rim of a wheel, wooden stake (stuck in the ground and tied to sth.)' ({O} 'hoop, tyre, ring, rim') | OI *vargati* [Vop.] 'goes lamely, limps', [Dhat.] 'goes' ¶ P 1148-9, EI 63, Vr. 639, Kb. 1142, 1204, OsS 1092, 1162-3, KM 837, 861, Frn. 1223, 1256-7, En. 274, Tr. APS 462, O 504, AlbED 928, MW 912 || ? U: pre-FU ***wāṅkâ* 'hook' > FU **wāṅk*∇ (= **wāṅk*U?) ~ **wāṅk*∇ (× N **wāṅg'o* 'hook', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Coll. 139, It. no. 54, Ht. no. 699 || D **vāṅk-* ({GS} **vag-/vāṅ-*) v. 'bend, bow' > Tm *vāṅku-* ~ *vēṅku-* vi., vt. 'bend', Ml *vāṅṅuka* vi. 'bend', Kt *vag-* 'be slightly bowed', *va'g-* 'make (pot) bulge (in throwing it on the potter's wheel)', *vak-* vi. 'bend, be cowed', Kn *bāgu* v. 'bend, bow', *boṅkane* 'in a bending\bent way', Kdg *bāṅg-* 'become bent, slope', Tu *bā(ṅ)gu-*, Tl *vargu-* v. 'bow, stoop', Klm, Nkr, Png, Gdb *vāṅg-* vi. 'bend', Knd *vāṅ-* id., 'become bent', Ku {Fzg.} *vāṅgali* 'be crooked', {Isr.} *vāṅg-* vi. 'bend, be bent', Krx *beṅk(a'ā)-* vt. 'turn from a straight line, bend, curve', *beṅkō*, *baṅkā* 'crooked, bent, curved'; D ⇨ OI *varīcati* 'moves crookedly', Pali *varīka-* 'bent, crooked' (this borrowing accounts for the cns. c/k, because in the inherited IE word [*< IE *weng-*] we expect OI *g* [see on OI *vargati* above]) ¶¶ D no. 5335, GS 23-4 [no. 2], Tu. no. 11191, M K III 124, 127-8 ◇ IS MS 336 (**wank*∞ 'to bend' [vt.] > IE, U, D).

2506. **wop*∇ 'pour, strew' > HS: B {ṯPr.} **✓wfy* 'pour' (Pcj. I A 2, Fcj. 32) > Tw {Pr.} inv. *əffi* 'verser' (3m pf. *iffḅy* = {JPr.} *iffäy*) id., Ty/WTwl {GhA} inv. *əffəy* id. (3m pf. WTwl *ikkḅy*, Ty *yəkkḅy*), Ah {Fc.} inv. *əffi* (3m pf. *iffəy*) id., Izd {Mrc.} *ffi* (3m pf. *iffi*) id., {MT} *ffəy* ~ *ffi* 'suppurer', 'déborder' (liquide), Sll {Ds.} *əffi* (3m pf. *iffi*) 'verser (liquide)', Izn {Rn.} *əffəy* id., 'transvaser', Gd {Lf.} *S səfi* 'déborder' (marmite qui bout), Kb {DL.} *əffi* 'puiser' ¶ Fc. 310-11, 2002, Pr. M VI-VII 92-3, GhA 45, 246-7, Rn. 297, Lf. II no. 0461, Dl. 243, Mrc. 262, Ds. 292, MT 140-1 || +ext.: Eg fP *w pš* v. 'strew, scatter' ¶ EG I 305, Fk. 60 || IE: NaIE **wep-* 'strew' > OI *vapati* 'strews, scatters (seed)', *vapra-h* 'earth mound', Av *vī-vap-* 'disicere', 'zerstreuen', Irn **vafra-* 'snow' (← *'aufgeschüttet?') > Av *vafra-*, Phl *vafra*, NPrs برف *bārf*, KhS *baura* 'snow' ¶ WP I 256-7, P 1149, M K III 144-5, M

E II 503-4, Horn 47, Bai. 305-6, Brtl. 1346-7 || U *^owo|apta- or *^owo|aps|ša- (× N ***h**op₁∇₁IE 'flow down'?) > Sm {Jn.} *wāptā- ~ (vi.) *wāptъ-, {Hl.} *wapta- 'pour (out), overturn' > Ne Т в а б т а њ - ц њ 'to strew out; to overturn', T O {Lh.} βāptā- 'strew out; overturn', Ne F L {Lh.} βāptā- 'umfallen', En {Ter., Mik.} bata-, {Cs.} ба'та- 'pour out', Ng {Mik.} boptuda 'turn over' || Slq Tm {KD} d. vt. 1s aor. kōptarnag 'drown' || Kms {KD} 1s pres. ba'pta'ám 'I pour, I strew' || Mt {Hl.} *baχtз- 'overturn' (Mt M {Sp.} б а х т ы я м њ 'I overturn') ¶ Jn. 172, Ter. 29, KP 31, KD 8, Hl. M 72, 213 [no. 92] || D (in NED) *op(ρ)- vt. 'wet, soak' > Krx op- 'wet, soak (with a view of softening and preparing to work)', Mlt rf. oprare 'become soft (as earth by water)' ¶ D no. 981, Pf. 187 [no. 53].

2507. *w'a¹qa 'hit, hurt' > HS: S: Ar {Fr. ← [Qam.]} wаχχ- 'dolor' ¶ Fr. IV 446, BK II 1503 (Ar wаχχ- 'peine, fatigue') || Eg d. ɛ-ωχ[?] (caus. of ✓ ωχ[?]) vt. 'damage' ¶ EG IV 74 || IE *weh-/*woh-/*w_h- > NaIE *wā-/ *wō-/ *wə- 'hit, wound' > Gk ἄάω (< ἄFάω) 'hurt, damage', n. act. ἄτη < ἄFάτη (Gk Ae αῦάτα) > Gk A ἄτη 'bewilderment, infatuation' | with a *-t-ext.: Gk οὔτάω v. 'wound, hurt, hit', ὠτελλή n. 'wound' || Ltv vāts n. 'wound' ({EI} 'suppurating wound'), Lt vortis 'ulcer' ¶ WP I 211, P 1108, ≈σ EI 650 (?*weh_ht- '[suppurating] wound'), Ch. 3, Hofm. 27, F I 2, II 449-50, 1153, Frn. 1275 || A: Tg *wā- (< N *w'a¹qa?) 'kill' > Ewk, Sln, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn Nh/Bk/KU wā-, Lm A wā-, WrMc ба-, Mc Sb wā-, Jrc wadula 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-8, Krm. 216, Vas. 77, On. 87, Z 1110, Kiy. 122 [no. 459] || D *vay- 'strike' > Kn bese 'strike with a whip', Knd vey- v. 'flog, beat', Kui vēpa (p. vē-t-) v. 'strike, beat', Ku vē'- 'beat' ¶¶ D no. 5555 ◇ IS MS 330 (*wā^h 'beat'), AD GD 5 ◇ Gr. II no. 435 (*wā 'wound') (IE, A + qu. Gil).

2508. *wAr'E¹ 'to burn, to heat, to cook\ fry' > HS: S *^o✓wry > Ar ✓wry (pf. wariya) 'donner (faire jaillir) du feu' (of a strike-a-light), ✓wry (pf. وری warā, 3m ip. ya-rī) id., 'être allumé' (of fire) ¶ BK II 1526, Hv. 865 || C: EC: Sml war- 'put out to dry', pBn {Hn.} *war- > Bn Bi/J/K/Kj war- v. 'dry in the sun' ¶ ZMO 409, Hn. BD 103 || NrOm: Malo {Fl.} ware 'warm' ¶ Fl. OWL || Ch: WCh: Dr {J, ChC} wari v. 'roast' || CCh: Pdl {ChL} vara v. 'burn', Gzg G {Lk.} wur vt. 'burn', Gzg Mj {Lk.} wur 'roast', ZmB {Sa.} wór id. ¶ JI II 55 and 275, J DK s.v. wari, ChL, ChC s.v. 'roast' and 'burn', Lk. G 138 ¶¶ BmK adduced Eg G wr.t

a word with unknown meaning, hence the comparison is not reliable ||
K {FS} *war- > G varvar- v. 'glow, light, blaze (glühen, leuchten, flammen)' {DCh.} 'пылать', Sv {Fn.} warwāl- v. 'glitter, flash, glance'
 ¶¶ Fn. KW-1 35 [no. 19], FS E 127-8, Chx. 367-8, DCh. 502 || **IE**: NaIE
 *wer- v. 'burn, heat' > ? Arm վանեմ վաբեմ vt. 'I light up, I set fire to',
 վանիմ վաբիմ vi. 1s pres. 'take fire, be kindled, lighted, be on fire, flame' ||
 ? Gmc *warmā- 'warm' (× IE *g^ʷhormo- 'warm' < N *gōrǣ 'hot; to heat; embers') > ON varmr, Nnr, Dn, Sw varm, OFrs, OSx, OHG, NHG warm, AS wearm 'warm' (adj.), NE warm adj.; Gt warmjan (𐌿 𐌿𐌸𐌰𐌿𐌶𐌰) 'wärmen, OSx warmian 'to warm' || Sl: [1] *varb 'heat' (n.) > OCS, OR варъ варъ, Uk вар id.; [2] Sl *vbrě-ti vi. 'to boil, to seethe' > OCS вьрѣти вьрѣти (1s pres. вьрѣ вьрѣ), SCr vrěti (1s pres. vrīm), Slv vréti, Cz vřítí, Slk vret', P wrzeć, Uk вприти, Blr врэць id., R Δ вретъ vi. 'to sweat intensely'; [3] Sl *variti vt. 'to cook' (< *varb 'heat') > OCS варити variti, SCr variti, Cz vařiti, Slk varit', P warzyć, R ваприть 'to cook', Slv varítí 'to weld (iron)', váriti 'to brew', Blg варя 'I cook'; ↳ *varb n. act. 'boil' > Slv vār, Cz, Slk var n. act. 'boil', SCr vār (gen. vāra) 'boiling water', R вар 'boiling water, pitch, heat' || Lt virti (1s pres. vérdu, 1s p. viriaũ), Ltv virīt (1s pres. veŗdu ~ virstu, 1s p. viru) 'to boil, to bubble, to seethe' || Tc A wrātk- 'cook' || Ht war-/ ur- vi. md. 'burn', warant- 'burnt' ¶¶ The irregular Arm v- (for the expected g- < IE *w-) is puzzling; Cuny R 88f. tried to explain it by postulating two different *w-phonemes in pIE (*w₁- > Arm g-, *w₂- > Arm v-); Mallory (EI 88) supposed that the Arm words are of Iranian origin ¶¶ P 1166, EI 88 and 125 (*wer- 'burn', 'boil, cook'), Fs. 552, Vr. 64, Kb. 1147, OsS 1100, Ho. 387, Ho. S 84, KM 838, Vs. I 273, 362, Glh. 662-3, 783, StSS 108-9, 161, Srz. I 229-30, BER I 118, 121, Frn. 1263, Frd. HW 344, Slit. 451-2, Ts. W 101 || **D** {tr.} *varc-, {GS} *vadc- 'be fried\grilled' > Tm varu (ft. -v-, p. -nt-) id., varu (ft. -pp-, p. -tt-) vt. 'grill, fry, toast', Ml vara 'frying', Td parf- (p. part-), Prj vedp- (p. vedt-), Gdb vaṭp-, Gnd vars- 𐌸 vah-, Png vah- v. 'fry', Kdg bare- 'be fried', Mnd vahpa- vt. 'cook, bake', Kui vahpa- vt. 'fry, grill', Ku vah- 'fry, roast' ¶¶ D no. 5325, GS 34 [no. 51] ◇ BmK 613 (HS [S, Eg], IE, D + Sum ur₄-ur₄ v. 'burn up, flicker, flame, glitter'), Blz. KM 123 [no. 28].

2509. *war ∇ 'stream of water' > **HS**: Eg √ ω ɜ ω {EG} 'surf (Brandung) of the sea \ of high water of the Nile', Eg G ω ɜ ω 'flood, water', Eg MK {Fk.} ω ɜ ω 'waves of the sea' ¶ EG I 249, Fk. 53 || C: [1] LEC *war- 'river' > Dsn {To.} wár, Arr {Bl.} war id., Rn {PG} wór 'well', Sml war 'pool, pond' ('stagno, pantano, riserva naturale o artificiale di acqua piovana'), Sml B wár 'pool, pond'] [2] pC *√ wrb|p ({E} *warb-) 'stream of water; to pour\fetch water' > EC *warāb- 'draw\pour water' > Or {Grg.} warāb- 'draw water', Kns {Bl., Ss.} orāp-, Gdl {Bl.} orrāp-, Ya irpa- id., Arr {Hw.} war(a)b- 'draw and fetch water', Sml caus. warāb- iy- v. 'water', Rn {PG} warāb- 'fetch water, fill (container) with water', Bs worāb- 'drink water, be watered' (of cattle), Brj hurāb- 'pour out' || Ag {AD} *w^{ra}rap 'river' > Bln {Plm.} werē'ba (pl. wē'rēf), Xm {R} wirbā (pl. wirib), Xm T {CR} wirvā id. ¶ Bl. 100, Bl. G s.v. orrāp-, Ss. PEC 42, Ss. B 102, Abr. S 250, DSI 607, PG 291 and 294-5, Grg. 400, Hw. A 399, ≈ AD SF 247, E PC no. 581, R WB 360, R Ch II 425 (s.p. 111), Hn. Y s.v. irpa-, To. DL 531 || NrOm: Male {Tre.} v o r o 'river' ¶ Tre. s.v. Male v o r o || Ch: WCh: My {ChL} wár 'lake' || ECh: Ke {Eb.} vòr 'lake, river' ¶ ChL, Eb. 101 || S *°√^rw¹r > Ug yr 'early rain' ¶ OLS 535 || **IE**: NaIE wer-/*wēr-/ *ūr- 'water, flowing water' > Vd vār- (nom. vāh), OI 'vāri ntr. water' (× 'vāri 'rain' < N *w^{ra}qR ∇ 'to rain, to drip'), Av vāiri- m. 'sea' || ??? Arm q u j n gayr 'mud, mire, filth' (× N *w^{ra}qR ∇ '↑', q.v.) || Gmc: ON varī n. 'a liquid, water', π vāri 'a liquid', π vé r 'sea', AS w æ (:) r 'spray (Spritzwasser)' || Pru w u r s 'pond, pool' (× NaIE *wŕn-/ *ūr-/ *aur- < N *r ŭ r ŭ 'to flow, to stream') || pTc {Ad.} *wār > Tc: A w ä r, B w a r 'water' || Lw {Mlc.} wār id. ¶¶ WP I 252-3, P 80-1, ≈ φ, σ EI 636 (*¹w e H r - / *¹w o H r 'water'), Dv. no. 331, M K III 194, M E II 544-5, MW 943, WH II 840, ≈ Vr. 646, 653, En. 278, Wn. I 557-8. Ad. 577-8, Mlc. CL 257 || **U**: FU *°w a | o | u r _L ∇ _L y ∇ > ObU {Ht.} *wūr ∇ y 'riverbed' > pVg {Ht.} *wūrāy id. > Vg: T orāy, LK ori, MK worī, P wuri, NV uri, Ss ūray; pOs {Ht.} *wur+ id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty ur+, D/K/Nz ura, Kz wŭrī, O wuri id. ¶ Ht. no. 712 || **D** *v ar_L- 'flood, torrent' > Tu b a r a k e l b 'inundation', Tl v a r a d a 'flood, torrent, inundation, deluge', v a r r u 'flow, flood', v a r u t a loc. 'in the flood\river', Prj vered, Knd urda 'flood', Ku vāru id., varda piyu 'torrential rain', Kui vāru 'stream, torrent' ¶¶ D no. 5323, ≈ no. 5356 (referring Kui vāru to a wrong

pD √) ◇ ≈ Blz. L no. 15 (the first to adduce Ug, Male and Ch cognates), Blz. NDA no. 101 (D, HS).

2510. ₂ ***waR∇** 'crow, raven' > **IE**: NaIE (+ext.) ***worn-** id. > BSI ***vorn-o-s** 'raven' > Lt **vārnas**, Lt W **várnas**, Pru **warnis** id. | SI ***vórnъ** id. > OCS **вранъ** **врань**, Blg **Δ** **вран** (df. **вран-ът**), McdS **вран**, SCr, Slv **vrān**, Cz **vran**, R, Uk **ворон** id. | BSI ***vorn-ā** 'crow' > Lt **várna**, Ltv **vārna**, Pru **warne** id. | SI ***vórna** 'crow' > Blg **врана**, SCr **vrāna**, Slv **vrána**, Cz, Slk **vřana**, P **wrona**, R, Uk **во'рона** id. ||| Tc B **wraṅṅá** {Ab.} '≈ crow', {Wn.} 'corneille du prédicateur' ({Wn.}: < ***wārn-auṅṅá**) ||| *on.?* Arm **ագրաւ** 'raven, crow' (perplexing **a-**; **ř** due to onomatopoeia?) ¶ Frn. 1201, En. 272, Vs. I 253, StSS 122, Glh. 681, BER I 180-1, Wn. I 583, Ad. 616-17, EI 142 (***wer-** 'crow') ||| **U** ***war∇** 'crow' > F **varis** ~ **vares** (gen. **variksen** ~ **vareksen**), Es **vares** (gen. **varese** ~ **varekse**) id.; Krl A **varoj** id. | pLp {Lr.} ***wōrććē** 'crow' > Lp: S {Hs.} **vuortje**, U {Qv.} **vuōr'tjee**, N {N} **vuor'čes**, K {Gn.} **vūrēčč** id., Kld {SaR} **вүрэч** **vūreč** 'magpie' | Er **варака** **varaka**, **Δ** **варсей** **varśey** 'raven, crow', **Δ** {Ps.} **varćey**, **varćen**, **varkśiy** 'crow', Mk **варси** 'varśi id. ||| ObU {Ht.} ***wūr-** id. > pVg ***ūr∇n** > Vg: ML {Mu.} **urīn-ṽēkwä**, Ss **ūrīn-ēkwā** id. (**ṽēkwä** ≍ **ēkwā** 'woman'); pOs ***wurṅay** 'crow' > Os: V/Vy/Ty **urṅt**, Y **wurṅt**, D **wārṅāy**, K **wārṅāy**, Nz/Kz **wōrṅa**, O **wārṅa** id. | Hg **varjū** (accus. **varjat**) id. || Sm {Jn.} ***wър-**, {Hl.} ? ***wърä** 'crow' > Ne: T d. **вәрҥэ**, T O {Lh.} **βarṅāē**, F {Lh.} **βarṅt** ≍ **βaṅṅāēi**; Slq Tz d. {KKIH, Prk.} **kzrä**, {Prk.} **kṽzrä** id.; Kms {KD} **barī**, Koyb {Sp.} **bare** id., {Pls.} 'bare' 'carrion crow'; Mt {Hl.} ***bErE** 'crow' (Mt M {Sp.} **берě**) ¶¶ UEW 559, Coll. 66, Lr. no. 1459, Lgc. no. 8801, SaR 58, ERV 108-9, PI 46, MF 673-4, Ht. no. 709, Jn. 170, KKIH 116, Hl. M no. 111.

2511. ***war∇** 'look, watch' > **IE**: NaIE ***wer-/wōr-** id., 'perceive, pay attention to, take care', ***wō'r-os** 'watching, cautious' (× N ***z'UR'i'** 'look at, examine?') > Ltv rf. **vēr-tiē-s** (pres. **vēr-**) 'to look at', **vērība** 'attention, notice' ||| Gk **φορ-**, **ορ-**: Gk Hm **ἐπὶ ὄρονται** 'sie beaufsichtigen', Gk [Hs.] **ὄρει** (* **φυλλάσσει**) '(he) guards\watches', Gk A **ὄρώ** {By} 'avoir des yeux, être voyant; fixer les yeux, porter ses regards' (F. evidenced by the hiatus in **έώρον** ipf. and **έόρᾱκα** pfc. of this verb), **ἑφορος** 'overseer, guardian' ||| L **vereor**, **-ēri** v. 'behold with fear (ängstlich beobachten), fear, have respect for, revere' ||| Clt

(< *kom-waryos) > OIr {Vn.} cóir, coair 'juste, égal, droit, approprié', W cywair 'perfect, orderly, ready' || Gmc: ON varr 'attentive, cautious', OHG war 'aware, careful', gi-war 'conscious, careful', AS wær 'aware; attending, heading', OSx war 'cautious', Gt warai (nom. pl. of *wars) 'behutsam', OSx, AS waru 'precaution, care', OHG wara 'awareness, care' (< *worā); OHG be-warōn 'to protect', NHG bewahren 'to keep, to preserve; to guard', NE beware; OSx, OHG warōn 'to beware' (> NHG wahren 'to watch over, to look after, to keep safe'), AS warian 'to guard, to watch over', NE cd aware || Ltv vėrt (1s pres. véru), usually rf.: vėrties 'to be considered, to be reckoned' || Tc: A wär- v. 'smell (sentir)', B wär-sk- act. 'emit a smell', md. 'smell (receive a smell)', A war, B were n. 'smell, odor' || ??σ Ht werite- v. 'fear' ¶¶ WP I 280-5, P 1164-5, By 1395-6, Mn. 1516-17, F II 409-10, WH II 757-8, Vn. C 152, YGM-1 152, Fs. 551, Vr. 645-7, Kb. 387, 1145, 1148, OsS 58, 277, 1096, 1101, Schz. 309-10, Lx. 309, KM 832, Ho. 380, 384, Ho. S 83-4, Kar. II 513, Wn. I 558, Ad. 596, Ts. W 105, EI 417, ≈ EI 606 (*w(h₁)erH-; unc.: ← IE *weHro-s 'true') || U: FU *war∇- > Ugr *war∇- 'wait, be on one's guard, keep safe' > Vg: T ōr- 'wait', MK ūr-id., 'be on one's guard', P d. wurlāt- 'ein wenig warten', Ss ōr- 'wait; treat carefully, keep safe' | OHg XII vār- 'wait', Hg vār- 'wait, expect, look to' ¶ UEW 898-9, MF 672-3, EWU 1606 || A: M (< d.) **baraṣa- > [1] Brt барай- 'unklar sichtbar sein' (semantic infl. of Brt бараа(н) 'dark') | [2] M *baraṣan 'a thing seen, the sight of' > MM бара,а 'Form, Erscheinung', WrM барagan {MED} 'object visible in the distance; view; form', HIM бараа {MED} id., {BMR} 'Umrisse (очертания, контур), Silhouette', Brt бараа(н) 'object visible in the distance; die äussere Konturen, Umriß', WrO barā 'a thing seen, the sight of', Kl {KRS} баран 'outline, view', {Rm} barān ~ barā 'die äussere Konturen eines Gegenstandes; Schatten; Figur, Umriß; Aussehen (aus der Ferne gesehen)', Ord b_arā 'objet; les dimensions d'un objet, pour autant qu'elles tombent sous le sens de la vue (à une certaine distance); aspecte, présense vue de loin, protection' | [3] M (< d. or cd) *baraṣala- > WrM baragalā- {MED} 'appear in the distance', 'be visible', HIM бараала- {MED} id., {BMR} 'be visible (of a distant object)', WrO baralā- 'become visible' (of a distant object); WrM baragalqa- {MED} 'look up, glance upward; have an interview or an audience with a dignitary, present oneself to a dignitary', HIM

бараалха- {MED} id., {BMR} have an audience with a dignitary, present oneself to a dignitary', Brt бараалха- id. | [4] M *baraγataγi 'seen from afar, visible' > WrM {MED} baragatai, HIM бараатай {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'sperrig, massiv', Brt бараатай 'солидный, представительный; дородный, массивный', Dg barātī 'seen from the distance', Ord b_arātā 'visible, qui est en vue; ayant un aspect \ une appaence (vu d'une certaine distance)' ¶ H 12-13, MED 83, BMR I 227-8, Chr. 85-6, KRS 81, KW 83, Krg. 334, T DgJ 124, Ms. O 50-1 ◇ The adduction of Eg ωrǝ 'spend the day, be awake' (proposed by Bm.) is highly qu. ◇ MF 672-3 (FU, IE), BmK 604 (*war-/*wār-'look, watch our for, observe, care for' > IE, FU + qu. Eg ωrχ [not confirmed by the available dictionaries], ωrǝ) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2512. *wārE 'make, do', (← ?) 'plait' > HS: C *✓wry 'do' > Bj ✓wry {R} (1s: p. a'wēr, pres. awa'rī) 'machen, tun', {Rop.} -wεr 'do, act' (a'wεr 'I did', a'wari 'I do', ti'waria 'thou doest'), {R} 'wara ~ 'wāra 'Werk, Tat, Handlung, Arbeit, Geschäft' || Sa {R} ū'rāy 'Geschäft, Gewerbe' (ay s īn ū'rāy 'what is your occupation?'), Af {R} u'rāy 'Geschäft, Arbeit, Gewerbe' ¶ R WbD 239, Rop. 78, 248, R S II 48, R A II (s.p.) 24 || EthS (← C?) *✓wry 'do, make' > Tgy pf. 𐎧𐎡𐎴 warəyē / js. 𐎧𐎡𐎴 yzwarī 'operare, fare', 𐎧𐎡𐎴 wɜray 'faccenda, affare', Tgr pf. 𐎧𐎡𐎴 wera 'do, try', 𐎧𐎡𐎴 werat n. 'work' ¶ LH 435, Bsn. 642-3 || ? Eg v̄ir̄y 'do, make' > DEg ĩr, ĩry > Cpt: Sd eipe, B ipi id. ¶ EG I 108-12, Er. 36, Vc. 65, ≠ Tk. I 140 (reading ĩry as ✓yly) || NrOm: ĩ Cha {Hnz. ← ?} ĩr 'make' ¶ Hnz. HS 75 ¶¶ Tk. I 140 (Eg, Bj, Cha + err. EC *yēl-/yāl, Asa wēl-), Hnz. HS 75 (Eg, Cha) || U: FU *°wār∇- > ObU {Ht.} *wēr- 'make' > pVg *wār- > Vg: T wār-/wār-, LK/MK/UK wōr-, P/LL/ML wōr-/war-, NV wōr-/war-, SV wōr-/wār-, UL/Ss wār- id.; pOs {Ht.} *wer-, {ǝHl.} *wār- > Os: V/Vy/D/K/Nz/Kz/O wer-, Ty/Y wār- id. ¶ Coll. 139 (FU ← Ary), Ht. no. 703 || A *ōr'æ¹- (= *ō:r'æ¹-?) v. 'plait, weave' (× N *waR?'ū¹ - *wa?R'ū¹ 'a tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope'], 'to bind, to tie') > T *ōr- v. 'plait' > OT {Cl.} ō:r-, MQp, Chg ör- id., Tkm ōr-, Tk ör-, Az hör-, CrTt ór- id., 'knit', Uz ωr-, ET ö(r)- 'plait', Qzq, Nog, Qq, Qrg, Alt, Yk ör- id., 'twist (ropes)' ¶ Cl. 105, ET Gl 544-6 || M *öre- > MM [MA] öre- 'plait'; ?σ pM *örmege 'soft woolen cloth' > MM [SH] ormege id., WrM örmöge {MED} id., HIM өрмөг {MED} id., {BMR} 'Bastmatte, Sackleinwand'

(рогожа, дерюга), комплот (Webstoff aus Kamelwolle)', Brt үрмэгэ 'Fußmatte (половик)', Kl {KRS} өрмг 'армяк (eine Art Bauernrock)', {Rm.} örmög 'eine Art Paletot oder langer gruber Bauernrock', Mnr H {SM} mīergē 'espèce de tissu grossier fait de poils ou de laine', Ord örmögö 'tissu grossier fait de poils ou de laine' ¶ Pp. MA 277, MED 331, BMR III 40, Chr. 513, KRS 424, KW 300, SM 236, Ms. O 538 || pKo *ór 'strands of rope' > MKo ór, NKo ol id. ¶ S QK no. 790, Yu 579, MLC 1207, Kenk. 1454 || pJ *ǝr- > OJ or-, MJ ór-, JT ór-, JK/Kg òr- 'weave' ¶ S QJ no. 248, Mr. 742. Kenk. 1454 ¶¶ The pA long vw. *ō- belongs to the heritage of N *wārʔr̥ʔ̄ - *wārʔr̥ʔ̄ ¶¶ SDM 1059-60 (pA *óre- 'plait, weave' > M, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 1604, Pp. VG 110, MLC 1207, Yu 579 ◇ This etymological comparison suggests that N *wä- may yield T *ō- and M *ö- ◇ Two possible directions of semantic change: (1) 'plait' → 'make by plaiting' → 'make' or (2) 'make' → 'make by plaiting' → 'plait, weave' ◇ IS MS 339 (*wǝr̥r̥n 'делатъ': U, C + qu. IE *werǵ-/ *wreǵ- 'act, do', see N *workê 'make') ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 420 (*ur 'weave') (IE, A, Ko, J + err. U *work∇ [< N *workê 'make'] + unc. Gil, EA).

2513. *wer∇ 'to speak; communication, information' > HS: EC *war- 'news, information' > Sml war, Sml N wár 'news, communication, information', Sml warso / war-s-ad- v. 'ask (a question), inquire', war-s-t- 'get news', Rn {PG} wór 'news', wor-s-ad-, Brj war-s-aḏ- 'ask (about sth.)', Sd {Gs.} worē 'matter, strange thing; news, fable' ¶ Ss. PEC 42, Bl. 211, ZMO 409, 411, Abr. S 251, PG 294-5, Gs. 350 || ?? WS *✓wry > [1] CS *✓wry Sh 'teach, let know' (< *w∇r̥l̥∇r̥y 'news, information' or **✓wry G 'get information?') > JA ✓ury Sh (pf. אורִי פֹרֵי) 'teach, instruct', BHb ✓ury|w Sh (pf. הורה hō'rā, 3m ip. יורה yō'rē) 'teach, instruct, direct', BHb d. תורה tō'rā 'instruction, law', MHb תורה tō'rā 'teaching, Jewish religion', EpJA הורה hwrʔh Sh inf. abs. 'to teach', JA [Trg.] ✓ury Sh (pf. אורִי פֹרֵי) 'teach', JEA {Sl.} ✓ury Sh 'instruct, make a legal decision', JPA Bz ✓ury Sh 'teach, instruct', Ar SL ✓wry Sh (pf. أَوْرَى pawrā) 'show' (semantic influence of the paronymous verb أَرَى parā 'show?'); [2] EthS *✓wry > Gz ✓wry G (3m pf. waraya, 3m js. yaray) 'tell news, narrate', Tgr ✓wry (3m pf. ወረረ wera) 'announce', were (< *waray-) 'communication', Tgy were 'notice, fame', Amh were 'news', EthS →

Sa, Af ware 'news', Or {L} warē, {Brl.} ware, Hd ware 'fame' ¶ GB 318, KB 415-16, BDB 434-6, Js. 596, 1657, Lv. T I 344-5, Sl. 542, Sl. P 245, BK II 1526, Hv. 865-6, HJ 277, L G 618, Brl. 421, DRS 627-8 || **IE:** NaIE *wer- 'say, speak, tell' > Gk εἶρω 'say, speak, tell', ῥῆσις (gen. ῥήσεως), Gk Ar ῥῆσις 'a saying, speech', Gk ῥῆτωρ (gen. ῥήτορος) 'public speaker', Gk Hm ῥητήρ (gen. ῥητήρος) 'speaker', Gk ῥήτρᾱ, Gk Ae ῥάτρᾱ 'verbal agreement, bargain, covenant', Gk ῥῆμα (gen. ῥήματος) 'that which is said\spoken, word, saying' || ?σ Iir: Av urvata- 'command, ordinance, rule', KhS gvar- 'assert, tell, speak', Ydg wor 'oath', Vd {MW} vra'ta-m '(?) will, command, law, ordinance, rule' ({M} 'Gelübde, religiöse Observanz, Pflicht' ← 'Gebot, Anweisung, Regel') || Pru wertemmai 'we swear' | Sl: [1] Sl *rota 'oath' (unless < *rok-ta) > OR ροτα rota, R † πο'τα 'oath, vow', SCr rōta, Protā 'oath'; ↯ Sl *rotīti sę 'to swear' > OCS ροθηтса rotiti sę, SCr rōtiti se, HLs ročić so id., Sl *rotīti > Slv rotīti 'to implore, to entreat', Cz rotiti 'to grumble at, to be angry with'; [2] Sl *°vbrati (1s pres. *°vbrq) > R врать (pres. врy) 'to tell lies'; ↯ Sl *vráčь 'soothsayer, sorcerer, medicine man' > SCr vrāč id., 'witch doctor', Slv vráč 'witch doctor, medicine man', Blg врач id., 'sorcerer', OCS вpачь vráčь ἰατρός, one who heals, physician', R врач 'physician' || Ht {Ts.} weriya- v. 'call, name, mention', -war- (pc. of quoted speech ← 'said'), Pal wērti 'calls' ¶¶ WP I 283-4, P 1182-3, ≈ EI 535 (*(s)wer-; unj. adduction of reflexes of N *Súr̥ [= *Sur̥E?] 'speak', q.v.), Mn. 1516, AHDI 77, F I 469-71, MW 1042; M K III 278-9 and M E II 594-5 (doubts about the connection of the Iir stem with IE *wer-), Bai. 94-5, En. 273, Vs. I 361 and III 507, StSS 123, 585, Srz. III 176-8, Glh. 531, 680, BER I 183, Ts. W 101, 105 || **D** {BE} *veřř- ({ǵGS} ≈ *-ǵ- or *-ř- + cns.?) 'speak' > Gnd veh- ǵ weh- v. 'tell', Knd ver- v. 'speak, tell', Png več- v. 'speak', Mnd veh-, Ku veh- v. 'tell, say', Kui vesta / p. vest- v. 'say, speak, tell', ? Krx baʔa- 'say, command', bār- 'be called' ¶¶ D 5514 ◇ BmK 613-14 (N *wer- / *wir- > IE, HS, D).

2514. *wer̥ 'without, not, void of, (?) empty' > **HS:** B *w̥r 'not' (negation of verbs) > ETwl, Ty war, Ttq {Msq.} wr, wor ({Msq.} ũr, ũor), Ah, Shl, Izd ur 'not', Tmz ur ~ war, Izn, Rf, Srsn ur (ur ... š etc.), Zng {TC} wer id., Kb ur (usually with completive ara, sc. ur + verbe + ara) 'not, do\does\did not', a war 'let ... not' (a war d-yuʔal 'qu'il ne revienne pas!', a war tāsʔuḡ 'que tu n'en aies pas'); B *w̥ā'r > Kb, Tmz

war 'without' ¶ Ai. MCB 203, Nic. 15-16, 65, Fc. 1522, GhA 201, Msq. 207, Mrc. 435, MT 765-7, Rn. 127, Ds. 197, Dl. 871-2, TC Z 309 || K: GZ *wē_l:_r- 'not' > OG wer 'not, cannot', G ver 'cannot', (in certain cases) 'does not ...' (dȳes ver arid kargad 'today he does not feel good [unfortunately]'), ver- 'no-' (in negative pronouns\adverbs: ver-vin 'nobody', ver-ȳara 'not any more'), Mg va(r) 'not; do not!; cannot', Lz var ~ va 'not, -less' ||| K *-ur (sx of nomina attributiva privativa ['-less']) > G -ur id. (G I kud-ur 'without tail'), Sv -ur '-less' (χeχ-ur 'without wife', di-ur 'without mother', nic-ur 𐌺 liv-ur 'without water') ¶¶ Mg, Lz a in a close syll. points to a pK *ē (Test. KV) ¶¶ K 83, FS K 123, 309-10, FS E 132-3, 345, Fn. GAS 213, Ser. 63, Vogt GLG 218, Chx. 373, DCh. 505, Q 233, Marr 143, TK 730 ||| D *ver_l- 'void of, empty' > Tm ver_lu 'empty, Ml ver_lu 'asunder, void of, empty', Kt ver 'mere, unmixed, vain', ver a_l 'man without wife or children', vera_lċ 'woman temporarily without a child', Kn bare, bari, bar_lu 'emptiness', Kn PBh bar_lide 'for nothing, without cause', Kdg bari 'only, merely', Tu baji id., 'empty', Tl barigi, Nkr vaṭṭi, Mnd veru, Ku varṭi 𐌺 v^ωāri 'empty', Prj vededi, Gnd warrōl 'alone', Knd vari 'mere, simple, nothing but', Png vari 'bare, empty', Kui vari 'only', Brh bira 'simply, just' ¶¶ D no. 5513.

2515. *wa_lrē 'wooded hill\mountain' > HS: CS *wa_lr- 'forest, thicket' > BHb 𐌶𐌵𐌹 'ya_lar 'thicket, wood', M'b ȳ_lr 'forest, parkland', Pun ȳ_lr, [Aug.] IAR 'wood' (h_lr s_lm s_l-ȳ_lr 'wood craftsmen'), Ug {A} ȳ_lr 'Gestrüpp, Wald', {OLS} 'forest', JA [Trg.] ȳ_lr-ā 'forest, thicket', Sr ȳ_lr-ā 'thicket, a tangle of thorns and briars', {Br.} 'herba inutilis, virgulta; vepres', Ar Y {L ← ?}, Ar B {Lb. ← Stace} وعرَة wa_lra 'thicket' ¶ KB 404, KBR 422-3, HJ 464, Br. 305, JPS 194, Js. 585, Lv. T I 340-1, A no. 1200, OLS 517, L G 603, Lb. 2928, Stace 171, DRS 580 || B *✓wrr, *w_lrīr 'mountain, hill' > Mz awrir (pl. iw_lriran) 'mountain, big hill', Mz, Izd, Sll taw_lri_l (pl. tiw_lririn) 'hill', Kb awrir, taw_lri_l 'a height (hauteur du terrain)', Tmz awrir (pl. iw_lrirn), taw_lri_l (pl. tiw_lririn) id., 'hill', Si turarət (pl. turār) 'hill' ¶ Dlh. M 228, Mrc. 54, Dl. 872, Ds. 69, MT 768, La. S 216 || LEC: Cm {Hbl.} wóro 'forest', Dsn {Bnd.} war_l, {Hbl.} wār, {Fl.} w_lr 'mountain' (but hardly here Dsn {To.} wār 'stone', related to Ah aw_lra 'small stone', see To. DL 531 and Fc. 1521) ¶ AMS 278, Blz. CL s.v. 'mountain', Hbl., Fl. p.c. || NrOm {Blz.} *wor_l- 'forest' > Wl/Zl {C} 𐌶𐌵𐌹 𐌶𐌵𐌹 Wl/Zl/Ds {Hbl.} wóro Cm {Fl.} wār id. ¶ C

SO 35, Blz. OL no. 144, Hw. EG, LmS 547-8 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} wûrú 'forest', Zr {ChL} wur, {IL in ChC} wǝr 'mountain' || CCh: Kola {Sb.} wúrûm id. ¶ ChC s.v. 'mountain' and 'forest', ChL, Sk. NBC s.v. wûrú, Sb. K s.v. wúrûm || U *wōre (< **wāre) 'wooded mountain' > F vuori (gen. vuoren) 'mountain' || Prm *vōr 'wooded hill, wooden height' > Z вöр вэр, Yz 'vūr 'forest', Z vэrv+в 'an oblong height in the floodplain', Vt выр в+р 'height, hill' || ObU {Ht.} *wōr 'coniferous forest' > pVg {Ht.} *wār > Vg: T wār, UK wōr, NV/LL wor, Ss wɔr id.; pOs {Ht.} *wor > Os: V/Vy wor, Ty wōr, Kz wūr, O or id. || Sm: Kms bōr 'Berg, Landrücken' (here unless a loan from Tg) ¶¶ UEW 571, LG 67, Ht. 196 [no. 705], KD 10, Sm. 551 (FU *wōori 'forest, hill' > FP *vōori, Ugr *wārǝ) ¶¶ The vw. *ō (from earlier *ā) is probably the reg. reflex of N *aH. This is suggested by the absence of *ā in the pU (and pFU) vocalism (F Db. OS xxii-xxvi). In FU (FL) there is also a variant stem *wārā 'wooded mountain' > F vaara 'wooded hill\mountain' | pLp {Lr.} *vārē 'mountain, forest' > Lp: {Hs.} S vaarie, L {LLO} vārre, N {N} varre 'mountain', Kld vārř / varř 'forest' (Coll. 121-2, Lr. 144-5 [no. 1357], Lgc. no. 8454, Hs. 1399-1400). FU *wārā may have originated from regressive as.: pre-U *ā > *ā due to the infl. of the front vw. in the second syll. || A: ppA *wōrE (= *wōrE?) > pA *bōrE ~ *o:;rE > Tg *bōrī 'small (wooded?) mountain' > Ewk Skh/Urm borī 'a height covered with burned wood', Ewk Ald/Z/Ucr borī 'stony hill', Ewk Skh bor 'small mountain wooded by creeping trees\bushes (горка, покрытая стлаником)', Ork bōri 'a small height' ¶ STM I 95 || NaT *ö:;r 'a height, high ground, high' (*ö:;r- < **o:;r- due to as. caused by a ppT front vw. of the second syll.) (× T √ *ōr- 'rise' < N *H,erU 'ascend, rise' [q.v.], F IS I 254-5 [no. 116]) > Chg ≥ XV ö r, ö r k 'high ground, upwards', Tk ö r 'a height, hill', Qmq ö r id., Qzq ö r 'a small height', {Rl.} 'eine hohe Stelle, die Erhöhung', 'mountain ridge' (taladan ör körünü 'von der Ebene aus war ein Bergrücken zu sehen'), VTt ür 'a height', Uz ω r 'a gently sloping height', Qq ör 'riverhead, upper reaches (of river)', SY ür 'a high place', Qzq (or SbTt Tb?) {Rl.} ür 'eine kleine Erhöhung, ein Hügel' Qmq ör 'top', SbTt Tb {Rl.} ür 'der höher liegende Teil' etc. ¶ Cl. 193, ET Gl 542-4, Rl. I 1216-18 and 1824 || D (in SD) {tr., †GS} *var∇ 'mountain, slope' > Tm varai 'mountain, peak, slope of hill', Kn bare, Kdg bare 'steep slope'. Tu hare 'a steep precipice' ¶ D no. 5274 ¶¶ D *-r-

(unlike *-r̥-) is a reg. reflex of N *r-clusters (*r + cns. or cns. + *r), in this case *-r̥r- || ?σ IE: NaIE *wer- > CINPrs بر bar > NPrs بär 'up, upon'; +exts: (1) NaIE *wers-/ *wrs- > OI var̥sman- 'peak, top', Lt vir̥śús, OCS ВРЪХЪ ВРЪХЪ 'top, summit, sinciput', (2) NaIE (in Clt.) *°werk|k̥-/ *°wr̥k|k̥- > Ir feirc 'peak, bulge', W g̥wyrch 'top' ¶ P 1151-2, BM 63 ◇ Tg *bō- and T *ö̥:̥- are likely to go back to ppA *wō- < N *waf̥-, see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ ≈ IS MS 337 (*wō'rH'Δ 'mountain' > Tg, U *wōr̥ + err. D *vōr̥ (sc. *pōre, see D no-s 4505 and 4567), ≈ Blz. DA 161 [no. 88] (unc. equation of this N word with D *vār- 'slope, side'), ≈ Blz. NDA no. 92 (D, HS, FU, Tg + unc. IE *wer- > Prs bar and Arm gēr 'up, upon').

2516. ₂ *wAHR̥ or *wARH̥ 'to scratch, to scrape, (?) to comb' > U *°w'a'r|ðe- > Sm {Jn.} *w+r̥- v. 'scratch, scrape' > Ne Т В Ы Р Д А - v. 'scratch; rub, wipe, scrape', Ne Т О {Lh.} β+r̥ā- 'kratzen, schaben', Ne F β+r̥tā- 'mit dem Wetzstein schleifen' | Slq Tz {KKIH} k̥r̥t- v. 'ободратъ' (= v. 'debank?') ¶ Jn. 175, Ter. 62, Lh. 73, KKIH 117 || D *vār- v. 'comb (as hair)' > Tm vār, vār̥u, Ml vātuka, Kn bār̥cu ~ bācu, Tu bār̥cu- ~ bācu- id., Krx bagr- v. 'comb oneself'; D ⇨ OI vārakira- 'a small comb' ¶¶ D no. 5357 ◇ ≠ Fn. KD no. 4 (equating D with K *warc̥χ- that belongs to N *wAr̥,̥,̥c̥ 'rub, scrape', q.v.) ◇ D *-r- (reg. reflex of N *R-clusters) and the D long vw. suggest the presence of a N lr.

2517. *w'a'qR̥ (or *w'a'Rq̥?) 'to rain, to drip, to trickle', 'to be strained (durchsieben)' (a liquid) > IE: NaIE *wēr-/ *ūr- 'rain', (?) 'liquid' (× N *r̥ūr̥ 'to flow, to stream' [q.v.]) > OI 'vār̥i n. 'rain' (× OI vār̥i 'water' < N *war̥ 'stream of water'), Av vār- n. 'rain', vār- v. 'rain', KhS bār-, Psh wōr̥ēdāl- id. || ?? Arm q̥w̥jn gayr̥ 'mud, mire, filth' (more likely than from N *war̥ '↑', q.v.) || Gmc: ON úr 'humidity, drizzling rain', úr̥a 'to drizzle (fein regnen)', ? AS ūr̥i̥z 'moist' || L ūr̥īna 'urine', ūr̥īnor / -ār̥i v. 'dive' ¶ WP I 252-3, P 80-1, EI 636 (*'weHr-/ *'wōHr- 'water'), M E III 194, Brtl. 410-11, Mrg. 88, Bai. 278, WH II 840, Vr. 635 || D {tr., GS} *vār- v. 'flow, trickle', 'strain' (liquid) > Tm vār v. '(over)flow, trickle', vār̥i 'channel for draining off rain water from roof', Ml vār̥uka 'run, flow down, be strained off' (of water), Kt vār̥y 'ditch around a field', Td pōr̥y 'ditch', Kn bār v. 'set free a liquid, pour out, purge', Tu bār̥cel̥

'channel to empty surplus water (as from a field)', Tl $\check{v}\bar{a}r\check{u}$ v. 'flow down as water from boiled rice, be drained off', Nk $\check{v}\bar{a}r\ \check{z}a\check{v}$, Prj $\check{v}\bar{a}r\ \check{z}\bar{a}va$ 'water of boiled rice', Prj, Gdb $\check{v}\bar{a}rp-$ / p. $\check{v}\bar{a}rt-$ v. 'strain (as water from boiled rice)', Gdb $\check{v}\bar{a}r-$ 'be filtered (like boiled rice)', Gnd HMB {BB}, Png $\check{v}\bar{a}r-$ v. 'pour', Gnd Mu {Bh.} $\check{v}ar$, Knd $\check{v}\bar{a}ra$ 'irrigation channel', Kui $\check{v}\bar{a}ru$ 'water channel' (× Kui $\check{v}\bar{a}ru$ 'stream, torrent' < N * $\check{w}ar\check{\nabla}$ '↑') ¶¶ D no. 5356, GS 36 [no. 61], 31 [no. 33] || mt. (?): HS: S * $\check{w}r\check{\chi}$ > Ar $\check{w}ar\check{\chi}$ - 'arrosé et amolli par la pluie' ¶ BK II 1517 || A: M * $\check{b}oruy\check{a}n$ 'rain' (if recorded accurately, × M * $\check{b}oray\check{a}n$ 'wind, snowstorm' < N * $\check{b}uR\check{\nabla}$ 'storm, stormy wind', q.v.) > WrM {MED|} $\check{b}oruga(n)$, HIM {MED, BMR} $\check{b}opoo(H)$, Brt $\check{b}opoo$, Brt *bk.*, Brt Ag $\check{b}opooH$, WrO {Krg.} $\check{b}uran$ 'rain', Kl {KRS} $\check{b}or\check{a}H$ 'rain, bad weather', {Rm.} $\check{b}or\check{a}n$ 'Unwetter, Sturm mit Regen oder Schnee, Regenwetter', Mnr H {SM} $\check{b}_ur\check{o}n$ 'petite pluie continue', Ord $\check{b}_or\check{o}n$ 'pluie' ¶ On M * $\check{b}o-$ < N * $\check{w}a-$ see Introduction, § 2.4 ¶ In Mnr and WrO the vw. u of the first syll. may be due to the infl. of * $\check{b}uray\check{a}n$ 'storm, snowstorm' and WrO $\check{b}ur\check{a}n$ id. (cf. * $\check{b}uR\check{\nabla}$ 'storm, stormy wind') ¶ MED 121, BMR I 266, Krg. 371, KRS 110, KW 51, Chr. 106, SM 36, Ms. O 81 ◊ ≠ Gr. II no. 310 (*urus 'river') (untenable comparisons).

2518. * $\check{w}e\check{\nabla}r\check{\nabla}$ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated' > HS: S * $\check{w}\check{h}r$ > Ar $\check{w}\check{h}r$ G (pf. $\check{w}a\check{h}ira$, 3m ip. $\check{y}a\check{h}iru \sim \check{y}a\check{w}\check{h}aru$) 'être animé, de colère\haine contre qn, être infecté du venin du lézard called وحرة $\check{w}a\check{h}ra$ ' ¶ BK II 1499 || IE: NaIE * $\check{w}\check{o}r-$ 'be mad, be giddy' (× N * $\check{w}'a'R\check{\nabla}$ [~ * $\check{w}'a'\check{\nabla}R\check{\nabla}$??] 'weak' [of a person]) > Gk $\check{\omega}p\check{\alpha}k\check{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ v. 'faint, swoon away' || ON W $\check{o}r\check{a}r$ pl. 'attacks of mental disturbance', {Vr.} 'Betäubung, Wahnsinn', NNr $\check{o}r\check{a}r$ id., ON $\check{a}er\check{r}$ 'mad, (mentally) disturbed', NNr, Dn $\check{\emptyset}r$, Sw $\Delta\check{o}r$ id., OSx $\check{w}\check{o}r\check{i}g$ 'entkräftet, mühe, matt', OHG $\check{w}uorag$ 'intoxicated (berauscht), languorous' ¶ P 1180, F II 1151, Vr. 419, 684, Kb. 1232, OsS 1214, Schz. 331, Ho. S 90 || D * $\check{v}er\check{\nabla}$ [GS] * $\check{v}er\check{\nabla}$ - 'drunken, mad' > Tm $\check{v}er\check{i}$ 'be drunk, be intoxicated, become mad', Ml $\check{v}er\check{i}$ 'intoxication, fury', Kn $\check{v}er\check{i}$ id., 'madness, confusion', Tl $\check{v}er\check{r}\check{i}$ 'madness, mental derangement', Knd $\check{v}er\check{i}$ 'foolish, simple', Ku $\check{v}erila$ 'madman', Brh $\check{b}irr$ 'wild, not tame', $\check{b}irr\check{i}$ 'wildness' ¶¶ D no. 5511, GS 57 [no. 158] and 66 [no. 204] || ?σ U: FV * $\check{u}r\check{\nabla}$ - 'be drunken\intoxicated' (× N * $\check{?}uRE$ or * $\check{?}uR\check{\nabla}$ 'drink, swallow' [q.v.]) > Prm {LG} * $\check{u}r-$ > Z $\check{y}p\check{o}\check{w} \check{t}r\check{z}\check{s}$, Yz $\check{\wedge}'r\check{\wedge}\check{s}$ 'kvass (ε small beer)' | Er $\check{u}p\check{o}p\check{o} = \check{i}k\check{e}d\check{e}$, Mk $\check{u}p\check{o}p\check{o} = \check{i}k\check{e}d\check{e}$ 'be drunken, get

carbon monoxide poisoning (from burning firewood)' || ? Slq Tm {KD} ūra- ~ ȳra- 'get drunk' ¶¶ But Sm *ʒr- v. 'drink' is likely to belong to N *ʔuRE or *ʔÜR∇ '↑' only ¶¶ Coll. 16, UEW 85, LG 329, Lt. J 160, Jn. 21-2, Hl. M no. 249 ◇ FV *ür∇ belongs here if FU *ü- may go back to N *we- (*we- > [as.] *wü- > FU *ü-?).

2519. *wixR∇ (or *wixER∇?) 'male, man' > IE: NaIE *wīro-s nom. 'male person, man' > OI vī'ra-, Av vi:ra- 'man, warrior, person, hero', MPrs vir, Sgd wūr- 'husband, man' || L vir 'male person', OL vir 'husband', Um VEIRO, VIRO 'men' (accus. pl.) || Clt {Matas.} *wiro- 'man' > OIr fer, Brtt {RE} *wiros 'man, husband' > OW gur, MW gwr, W gŵr, OCrn, OBr gur id., OCrn [ʁ] gur 'vir', MCrn, MBr gour 'man', Br {Hm.} gour 'homme' || Gt wair (·ἄνῆρ) 'Mann', OSx wer, OHG wër 'man', AS wer, ON verr 'man, husband' || Lt v̄yras, Ltv vīrs id., Pru wijr ~ wirs 'Mann' ¶ The perplexing shortness of i in L vir still requires explanation ¶ P 1177-8, EI 366 (*wiH'ros 'man, husband'), M K III 238-9, M E II 569-70, WH II 796-7, Fs. 544, EM 738-9, Bc. G 351, Pln. II 763, Thr. §§ 57, 74, LP §§ 5.5, 6.3, RE 111, Fs. 544, Vr. 657, Ho. 391, Ho. S 85, Kb. 1170, OsS 1122, Frn. 1258, Matas. E 423, YGM-1 269, Hm. 331, En. 275, ≈ P 1177-8 || **HS:** C: Ag: Bln {R} wuhīr 'bull'; Ag ⇨ Tgr w̄w̄w̄h̄z̄r 'bull' || EC: Sml war, Sml N wár 'you, fellow!', 'hey, you!', 'man!' (addressed to a male person) (≡σ: Sp ihombre! and G k̄ac̄o! 'you, fellow!' ← 'man!') ¶ AD SF 203-4, R WB 354, LH 427, DSI 607, Abr. S 250, ZMO 409 || **K** mt.: Sv L/LB/Ln χwir 'male animal (dog, cat, bear)', Sv UP χwir 'male (dog)' ¶ Dn. s.v. χvir, TK 878, GP 302 || **U:** FU *°wEr∇ > pPrm *ver 'man, male' > OPrm wer 'servant, slave', Z pi-ver 'husband's brother' (pi 'son'), Z Vm ver-ćeri 'male fish' (ćeri 'fish'), Vt {Mu.} var, war 'slave, servant' ¶ LG 52 ◇ The unexpected Prm vw. *e still requires explanation. A possible explanation is N *wixER∇ (with loss of the vw. of the initial syll. in FU: N *wixER∇ > FU *°wEr∇ > pPrm *ver).

2520. *warʔ'û' or *waʔR'û' 'a tie' (→ 'thong', 'rope'), 'to bind, to tie' > **HS:** [1] Eg OK w̄z̄r 'zusammenschnüren', Eg fBD w̄z̄r.t 'Schnur, Strick'] [2] Eg fBD w̄z̄ 'Schnur, Strick', Eg XVIII/Md w̄z̄.t 'Schnur, Band', Eg fXVIII w̄z̄w̄z̄.t 'rope' ¶ EG I 244, 250, 252 || **IE:** NaIE *wer- v. 'bind, tie', *werw- 'rope' > Lt vérti (1s pres. veriù) 'to string', Ltv v̄ert (1s pres. veru) id., sa-vāre 'Rute zum Binden', Lt E v̄irtinē 'Bündel'; Lt virv̄ē, Ltv v̄irve 'rope', Pru wirbe 'rope (Seil)'; but not

here (\Leftrightarrow EI) Lt $v\acute{e}r\acute{t}i$, Ltv $v\bar{e}r\acute{t}$ 'to thread (a needle)' (\div R Дверать '[ver]stecken, hineinlegen, verbergen, wühlen in etwas', Blg вра се 'соваться, пихаться' and OCS ВЪВРѢТИ $v\bar{v}$ -vrěti 'to stick\thrust into') || SI * $v\bar{v}rv\bar{v}$ 'rope' > OCS ВРЪВЪ $v\bar{r}$ $v\bar{v}$ (~ ВРЪВЪ $v\bar{r}$ $v\bar{v}$), OR ВЪРВЪ $v\bar{v}r\bar{v}$, R † вервь, Blg врѣв, McdS врв, OCz, SCr Δ $v\bar{r}v$, Slk $v\bar{r}v$ id.; ds (originally dim.): (1) SI * $v\bar{v}rv\bar{v}ca$ > SCr $v\bar{r}vca$ ~ $v\bar{r}pca$, Slv $v\bar{r}vca$, d. $v\bar{r}vica$, P $wirzba$ id., (2) SI * $v\bar{v}rv\bar{v}ka$ > R ве'рѣвка, Uk віршовка 'rope' ||| Gk $\rho\acute{\upsilon}t\eta\rho$ ({P}: < * $F\rho\acute{\upsilon}t\eta\rho$) (gen. $\rho\acute{\upsilon}t\eta\rho\varsigma$) 'strap (by which one holds a horse), rein; strap to flog with' (\times \leftarrow $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'drag, draw'???) , ? $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ - $\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ 'bind\yoke together' ||| Vd $v\bar{a}ra$ ' $t\bar{r}\bar{a}$ - 'thong' ||| ? (+ext.): Clt: OIr fraig 'wattle, osier', {Thr.} 'wall', NIr fraigh 'inside roof of a house; rafters', Brtt {RE} * $w\bar{r}\bar{i}gami$ 'to sew' > Cmn $g\bar{w}r\bar{u}as$, OBr $gru\bar{i}am$ (1s), MBr $gru\bar{y}at$, $gr\bar{y}at$, Br $g\bar{w}ri\bar{a}d$, $gr(\bar{w})\bar{i}at$ 'sew' ¶ WP I 263-5, \approx P 1150-1, EI 64 (* $(h_2)wer$ - \approx attach'), F I 23-4, Thr. 191, Dnn. 333, RE 127, Frn. 1263, En. 274-5, BER I 187, Vs. I 295, StSS 123, 127, Glh. 686; \neq M K III 245-6 (connecting OI $v\bar{a}ra$ ' $t\bar{r}\bar{a}$ - with $v\bar{r}_o$ ' $n\bar{o}t\bar{i}$ 'covers'); \neq F I 571 and Ch. 367 (both: $\rho\acute{\upsilon}t\eta\rho$ \leftarrow $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ 'drag, draw') ||| D {tr., †GS} * $v\bar{a}r$ - 'thong' > Tm $v\bar{a}r$ 'churning rope, leather strap', Kn $b\bar{a}r$, $b\bar{a}ra$, Tl $v\bar{a}r\bar{u}$, $v\bar{a}r\bar{u}$ 'leather strap, thong', Ml $v\bar{a}r$ id., 'tendon', Td $p\bar{o}r$ 'whip' ¶¶ D no. 5363 (b) ||| A: Tg d. * $bartukin$ 'rope' (\times N * $weRaH\bar{u}t\bar{u}$ 'root, sinew', q.v.) > Ul $batuxu(n-)$ 'rope, cable' (канат), Nn Nh $bartox\bar{i}$ {On.} 'thick rope, cable (канат), бечева', {STM} 'rope, канат', Neg $batuxin$, Orc $b\bar{a}tux\bar{a}$ ~ $b\bar{a}tuxi$, Ud {SDM} $batixi$ 'rope' ¶ STM I 77, On 63 ||| AdS to the A root for 'plait, weave' (T * $\bar{o}r$ -, M * $\bar{o}re$ - 'plait', pJ * $\acute{z}r$ - 'weave', pKo * $\bar{o}r$ 'strands of rope') (< N * $w\bar{a}rE$ 'make, do', [\leftarrow ?] 'plait', q.v. ffd.).

2521. $_2$ * $wer\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{u}$? \bar{u} (or * $weyr\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{u}$? \bar{u} ??) 'back' > HS: WS * $\checkmark wr?$ > Ar $w\bar{a}r\bar{a}?\bar{a}$ 'ce qui est derrière ou au delà', $\checkmark wr?$ v. G 'éloigner', ? Mh {Jo.} $\checkmark wr\bar{r}|\bar{r}$ v. Sh (pf. $h\bar{z}wr\bar{e}$ ~ $h\bar{z}wr\bar{e}?$) 'turn, bring back (beasts, people), keep back\away', ? Hrs {Jo.} $\checkmark wr\bar{r}|\bar{r}$ v. Sh (pf. $a\bar{w}r\bar{a}$) 'bring home (livestock) in the evening', v. Sh (pf. $\check{z}wr\bar{a}?$) 'back off, be brought back', ? μ Sb $h\bar{w}r\bar{t}$ 'back part' ¶ BK II 1516, Jo. M 429, Jo. H 136, Mü. BHS 70, BGMR 57, DRS 614-15 || EC: Or {Grg.} $w\bar{i}r\bar{t}\bar{u}$ 'spine' ¶ Grg. 403, Brl. 424 || ? σ Ch * $\checkmark w\bar{u}\bar{u}\bar{r}$ 'neck' ({Stl.} * $\check{h}a$ - $wuyar$ [with the px of body parts * $\check{h}a$ -]) > WCh 'neck': Hs $w\acute{u}y\bar{a}$ id. | Klr {J} wur id. | Wrj {J} $yir\bar{a}y$, Cg {Sk.} $w\bar{u}r\acute{e}$, Kry {Sk.} (\check{u}) $w\bar{i}r$, My {Sk.} $w\bar{i}r$, Mbr {Sk.}

(ʷ)wírò, Jmb {Sk.} yírá id. | Kir {SAh.} uyar, Tala {Sh.} yār, Zar {IL} yêr id. | Ngz {Sch.} wùrá id. || CCh: HgNk {Mk} wure, FIK {Mk} wuri 'neck' | Gude {Hsk.} ùrá 'neck, throat', Gude/Nz/ Bcm {Mk} wura, BtG {Srp.} wūr é, Gudu {IL} wura 'neck' | Lmn {Mk} wurék id. || ECh: Jg {J} were, Mu {J} wírì id. ¶ JI II 252-3, Nw. no. 91, Abr. H 937-8, Ba. 1096, ChC s.v. 'neck', ChL, Stl. IF 142 (pCh *ħa-wuyar), ≈ Stl. ZCh 239 [no. 860] (*[ħʷ]-yara), Hsk. 287 || Eg G wɜy.ɪ 'Kehle (des Gegners, die durchbohrt wird)' ¶ EG I 49 || B *√wr > Izn {Rn.} awərr, Rf {Rn.}: T awar, B awarn 'behind, after'; Mz {Dlh.} awarɟi 'au-delà' ¶ Rn. 285, Dlh. M 228 || D *verɳn 'back' > Tm verin, Kt, Klm ven, Kn ben, Kdg benni, Tl ve(n)nu '(the) back', Nkr venka 'behind', Knd venka 'afterwords' ¶¶ D no. 5488 ◇ D *-r- suggests a N or post-N *r-cluster; in view of the Ch and S cognates it is likely to be either *-rʔ- (< N *rɳʔ-) or *-yr- ◇ Blz. DA 154 [no. 23] (HS, D), ≈ Blz. L no. 6c (including S, EC, B, D), Blz. NDA no. 22 (D, HS).

2522. *wʳaʳɳɳ (~ *wʳaʳɳɳʔʔ) 'weak' (of a person) > HS: S *√wrɳ > Ar √wrɳ G (pf. waraɳa, 3m ip. yaraɳu) {Hv.} 'be faint-hearted\weak', {BK} 'être faible \ sans énergie \ incapable de tout effort; être timide; être modeste\pieux' ¶ BK II 1521, Hv. 864 || IE: NaIE *wōr- 'be weak, faint': (1) > OSx wōrig 'entkräftet, mühe, matt' | (2) (× N *wēXɳrɳ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated') > Gk ὠρᾶκιάω v. 'faint, swoon away' || ON W órar pl. 'attacks of mental disturbance', {Vr.} 'Betäubung, Wahnsinn', NNr orar id., ON ærr 'mad, (mentally) disturbed', NNr, Dn ør, Sw Δ ör id., OHG wuorag 'intoxicated (berauscht), languorous' ¶ WP I 316, P 1180 || A: M (< d.) *barama > WrM {MED} barama ~ barma, HIM {MED} барам 'weak' (of a child), 'weakling' (not registered in BMR).; ?? WrO barama 'alas!', 'woe is me!', 'poor fellow!', ?? Kl {Rm.} barma 'armer Teufel!', Brt барма 'poor fellow!' (unless ← M *bar- > Kl {Rm.} bar- 'come to an end') ¶ MED 84, 88, Krg. 335, Chr 89 ◇ The long *ō in NaIE *wōr- may be accounted for by a metathetical variant *wʳaʳɳɳ of the pN word (or by complementary lengthening (*-ʳaʳɳɳ- > *-ōr-)).

2523. *wʳiʳhʳü|uʳ 'be wide\broad, expand, spread' > HS: S *√wrh > Ar wārih-at- adj. f. 'broad, spacious' (of a house), √wrh G 'be very fat' (of a woman) ¶ BK II 1525, Hv. 865 || Eg √wr, wrr 'big; be big' ¶ EG I 326-30 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} ʔur 'big, great', {E} ur 'big, large', ur-aw- 'grow up' ¶ E SC 395 MQK 113 || Ch. WCh. Anō {Flk} warrn 'big' Su

{J} wúrán 'big', ? Gmy warr 'strength' || Cg {Sk.} bù wûrmè 'strong' || Glm wur- v. 'surpass' ¶ Flk. s.v. warr, JS s.v. wúrán, Sh. TY s.v. Gmy warr, Al. W s.v. wur-, ChC s.v. 'big' and 'strong' ¶¶ OS no. 2529 (Eg, Ch, Irq), ≈ IS II 109-10 || IE {EI} *werHu- (nom. *werHu-s, gen. *werHu-s) 'broad', *werH-os- 'breadth' > OI u'ru-h, Av vouru-š 'wide, broad', Oss I wäräχ, Oss D uruχ 'broad, spacious' || mt.: Gk εὐρύς 'wide, broad', εὐρος ntr. 'breadth, width' ¶ WP I 285, P 1165, MK I 110, ME I 227, Ab. IV 90-1, FI 592-3 || ? K (+ext.): GZ *wɾç- 'be broad/wide' > OG, G vrc- v. 'widen'; -d> GZ *°wɾç-ēl- 'broad, wide' > Mg pirčā- 'broad' (of eyes), 'branchy' (of trees) ¶ K 85-6, K² 55, FS K 127-8, FS E 137-8, Abul. 161 || D {tr., †GS} *virli- v. 'expand, open' > Tm viri, Ml viriyuka id., Kn biri id., 'burst open', Tl viriyu id., vi. 'open', Td piry- 'be opened' (bag), 'be parted' (hair), Kdg biri- (p. birinž-) v. 'dismantle' (a house), 'open' (jackfruit), biri (p. birič-) 'spread', Tu biriyu- vi. 'split', Prj virng- 'be loosened', Gnd A {Sbr.} virp- vt. 'spread', Knd vir(i)s- 'open (as a book), lay open', Krx berr- 'get out of space by expanding sidewise' ¶¶ D no. 5411 || A: Tg *bire- v. 'roll out dough' > Ul, Nn Nh birz-, WrMc {Z} бирэ- id., 'укатывать катком посеянные семена'; ? Tg *birli- > Ewk biri- v. 'spread perches'; -d> Tg *biri-ptin > Ewk biriptir, Ud bipti 'perches that are spread as flooring', Orc bipti 'a tent for provision'; Tg *biri-ke:;n > Lm birkən, Lm A birkən, Neg biyžžž 'perches spread as flooring', WrMc {Z} бирэгэнь ~ бирэкэнь 'wattle fence' ¶ STM I 84-5, Krm. 212, On. 67, Z 504-5 ◇ D *-r- is the reg. reflex of N *R-clusters (rather than of the intervocalic *-R-), hence the Ir. *h (attested in Ar) must belong to the N word ◇ Bm. TPN 364-5 [no. 400] (Eg, IE, K), ≈ IS II 109-10 (Eg, WCh < N *wɔl'a 'big, large' [sc. N *wA]a [or *wô]a?] 'big, large; multitude', q.v.).

2523a. *wARh∇ 'grain (of cereals)' > HS: Eg fXVIII wəh̄t 'Ertrag der Ernte, Fülle des Kornes', 'Getreide' (spec. 'Spelz') ¶ EG I 258 || SC: Irq warāri (pl. warāri^w) 'seed(s)' ¶ MQK 115, Blz. CP s.v. 'seed(s)' || Ch: WCh: Kry/My {Sk.} váré, P' {MSk.} vārí, Wrj {Sk.} váríná, Cg {Sk.} vārín, Sir {Sk.} (ʃ)wuryí 'seed' || ECh: Mu {Lk.} wār 'Getreide, Korn', Kjk {DB} wār 'seed' ¶ JI II 286, Lk. ZSS 186, DB s.v. Kjk wār, Blz. EChWL no. 72 || IE: Ht {Ts.} warwatna- 'seed, posterity', (?) Lw {Ivn. < ?} warwalan id. ¶ Ivn. SANA 154, Ts. W 102 (hyp.: warwatna- < Lw) || D: [1] *var- 'rice' > Tm, Tl vari 'paddy', Prj pl. verčil

id., vars pīru 'rice straw', Ml varī 'wild-growing rice with rough beards' || [2] *varak- 'millet' > Tm varaku id., Ml varaku '*Paspalum frumentacium* (a kind of millet)', Kn baraga, baragu id., 'Indian millet', Tl varaga, EpTl vruvu 'hog millet (*Panicum miliaceum*)' ¶ D no-s 5260 and 5265 ◇ D *-r- (regularly from N *R-clusters) and Eg ħ point to the presence of a N lr. ◇ Eg ħ and the AnIE loss of the lr. suggest that it was N *ħ.

2524. *wīRχ∇ 'ε leaf-bearing tree' > K: GZ *werχw- 'aspen' > OG verχu {Abul.} 'aspen' or 'white poplar (*Populus alba*)', G verχv-, Mg vex- 'aspen'; (G → ?) Sv: Ln werχw, L werχw-la, UB yerχw, UB/KB/L yerχw-la, LB erχw(-la) id. ¶¶ K 84, K² 52, Abul. 157 (translating OG verχu into G as 'aspen', but into L as '*Populus alba*'), TK 639 || IE: NaIE *werno-, wernā {EI} 'alder (*Alnus barbata*)', {P} 'alder, poplar' > Mcd [Hs.] ἄλιζα (- ἡ λεύκη τῶν δένδρων) 'white tree' (sc. 'white poplar', {LS} 'abele' [*Populus alba*]) || pAl {O} *werna > Al T/G verr 'alder' || Clt {Matas.} *werno- 'alder, alder tree' > OIr fern, OCrn guern-en 'alder', MW gwern 'alder, mast of a ship', W {YGM} gwern 'alder trees', gwernen 'mast', OBr guaern, MBr guern 'alder, mast', Br {Hm.} gwern 'aunes (arbre)', ; Gl → VL *verna > It P verna, Prv verna, Ctl vern, Fr Lr ver(n), verñe 'alder' || Arm գերան geran 'beam, rafter, joist' (not 'alder', as in EI!) ¶ WP I 292, P 1169, EI 11, Mn. 1520, GI II 635, O 500, LP § 72, Matas. E 414, Hm. 358, YGM-1 264, ML no. 9232, Sl. 294-5 || A *bur|rga- 'willow', (??) 'poplar' (× *wer∇K∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree?') > M *burga-sun 'willow, osier; willow branches' > WrM burgasu(n) {MED} id., 'twigs of willow; brushwood', HIM бургаас(ан), бургас(ан) {MED} id., {BRM} 'willow, violet willow (*Salix daphnoides*, верба), twigs of willow', Brt бургааһа(н) 'twig, (long) dry branch, rod (прут, хворостина, лоза)', 'willow, shrubs', WrO бурҕасу 'willow, rose willow', Kl {KRS} бурһсн 'pussy willow (*Salix acutifolia*)', {Rm.} бурҕасһ 'Strauch, Weidenbusch', Ord b_urgasu 'saule des dunes', ?σ MM [S] {H} burḥasun 'elm bark', ?? MM [MA] {Pp.} бурҕасуt pl. 'leaves' ¶ MED 137, BMR 288-9, Ms. O 98, H 22, Pp. MA 125, Krg. 372, KRS 120, KW 62, Chr. 113 || Tg *burgan, *burgak '(poplar\willow) grove, thicket' > Ewk Tt burgak 'poplar brushwood', Ewk Chlm burgan id., 'grove on a riverbank', Sln bur'gan 'grove', buḡḡā ~ burḡā 'purple or rose willow', Ewk Ald/M/Skh/Tt/Urm/Ucr burgan 'thicket on a riverbank', Lm

buṛḡay 'poplar\willow grove', Ork buḡda 'willow brushwood', Nn Bk boṛḡa mōñi 'purple\rose willow', WrMc {Z} бучжаны 'forest\grove in the plain' ¶ STM I 111, Z 538 ¶ A *-g- in *bur|ṛḡa may be tentatively explained by the infl. of N *wer∇K∇ or go back to N *wiRχ∇ with an ext. (a pN cd?) || D *vir∇- 'sebesten (*Cordia*)' > Tm viracu, viricu, virucu 'large sebesten', viriyan 'common sebesten', Ml viriśu 'tree', Tl virigi '*Cordia sebestena*' ¶¶ D no. 5408 ◇ M and Tg *u may be explained by labialization of the original vw. (caused by the heritage of N *w-) and by its depalatalization (due to regr. as., caused by the M and Tg vw. *a of the second syll.). A *bur|ṛḡa is likely to go back to the N word with an ext. (a pN cd?) ◇ BmK 614 (*wir- / *wer- > K, IE and D).

2525. *wERY'E' (= *wiRY'E'?) another', *yi w'E'RY'E' 'one and another one' (→ 'two') (N *yi 'a couple' [→ a marker of dual] + N *wER,y,E 'another') > K *yōr- 'two' > OG, G or-i, G Ing {Schm.} oōr-i, G G {Ghl.} vōri (= wōri?), Mg žir-i ~ ẓ̌ir-i, Lz žur-i & ẓ̌ur-i, Sv: UB yōr-i, yōr-u, yeru (dat. yarw), LB yōri (dat. yarw), L yeru, Ln yerbi 'two' ¶¶ K 149, FS K 243, FS E 267-8, Schm. 129, Ghl. 227, TK 640, GP 238, Dn. s.v. yeru || HS: C: Bj {R} wēr, 'wār i 'another, second', {Rop.} wēr '(an)other' || Ag *ʔaḥi / *ʔḥi, {Ap.} *ʔari / *ʔḥi (*-l- < *-rḥ-) 'other' > Bln ʔari-χʷ, Km ayḥ-γʷ, Aw ʔl'i-w id. ¶ Ap. AV 2, R WB 45, R WBd 245, Rop. 248, E PC no. 579 || D *ir- 'two' > Tm, Ml iru (before cnss) / īr (before vowels) 'two', Tm iranṭu, Ml ranṭu 'two', Kt ir, Td, Kdg i'r 'two' (bound form: Kt ir va'd 'twenty', ir pa'ny 'two pa'ny measures', Td i'r q̣ṛ, Kdg i'r aṇḍi 'two years'), Kn iru / ir / ik / īr 'two', Tu irḅ, ir- 'two, double, both', Tl iru-, īr- (in some cds, e.g. iru-vadi 'twenty'), Klm, Nkr iddar 'two men', Klm iral, Nk iral 'two women', Prj irḍu, Gdb inḍi 'two things', Prj, Gdb irul 'two men', iral 'two women', Knd riʔ-/ri-, Png, Mnd, Kui ri, Ku rī & ri 'two', Krx irb, Mlt iwr 'two persons', Brh iraṭ, irā- 'two' ¶¶ D no. 474 || A *ōræ 'other, one of two' > T *ōr-gæ 'another' (originally dat. of **ōr 'another') > NaT *ōzgæ > OT {Cl.} özge 'other', Chg özgä 'other, other than, different', Tk özge, Tkm ɵzre öḍge, Az, ET özgä, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Qq özge, VTt üzgä, Uz ωzga, Qrg özgö, StAlt öskö, Tv öske 'other' ¶ Cl. 285-6, DTS 395, Rs. W 377, ET Gl 508-9, UzR 579 ¶ We agree that the T word belongs here unless we accept the etymological hyp. of Bu. and Rl. interpreting NaIE *ōz-gæ as the dative case of *ōz

'oneself' || M *ōre_{re} ≈ 'otherwise' > MM [S] {H} ore_{re} 'anders, besonders'; M *ōre_{re}eli > WrO örōli, Brt γρῶελᾶ 'one of a pair, half', Kl {Rm.} örēli; 'Hälfte, halb; der eine von zwei gleichen', {KRS} epəl öräl 'half', MM [MA] örēle, WrO örōlō 'half'; WrM örügel {MED} 'half of a carcass', HIM epῶel {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'half'; M *ōre_{re}el-sün 'one out of a pair' > MM [HI] öre_{re}elsün {Lew.} 'qui n'est pas double, qui est seul d'un pair, impair, unique', WrM {MED} örüge(l)sün, HIM {MED, BMR} epῶecən, Brt γρῶη(η) 'one out of a pair', Kl {KRS} epacη örāsən id., {Rm.} örēsη 'der eine von zweien', Ord örōsön 'l'un des éléments d'une paire; ne formant pas une paire; qui est seul d'une paire' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 84, Lew. II 69, Pp. MA 277, MED 643-4, BMR III 42-3, Krg. 149, Chr. 513, KRS 422, KW 298, Ms. O 539 || Tg *urē- 'resemble' > Ewk urē- id., v. 'echo', Lm urēç, Ork urəxə 'resembling, similar, equal to' ¶ STM II 289 ¶¶ SDM 1064 (pA *ōre_{re}li 'other, one of two' > T, Tg. M *ōre_{re}ele 'half of a carcass' + unc. M *ōre_{re}'set in order, put in line, arrange in a row'), DQA no. 1579 (A *ōre_{re} 'other, one of two') ◇ D *-r- points to a N cns. cluster (*R + another cns.), so that the D and T ev. may be conciliated by reconstructing N *-Ry- ◇ The labialized vw. in pA, T, M and Tg is not necessarily original, because it may be caused by the ass. infl. of N *w-.

2526. *wORDV 'grow' (trans.?), 'raise, bring up (children\animals)' > IE: NaIE *wred^h-/*werd^h- 'grow', *word^ho-s 'grown, full-grown, upright, high', *wr_od^h- 'raised, upright, high' > OI 'vardhatī 'increases, augments, strengthens', 'vardha-h_i adj. 'augmenting', m. 'increase', ūrdh'vah_i 'raised, upright', Av varədō adj. 'growing', NPrs {Sg.} وَاوْا vāwā 'exalted, eminent, high', بَالا bālā 'high; height', بِالْيَدْنِ bālīdān 'to grow, to wax great' (< *werd^h-), Oss I wərdəg, Oss D urdug adj. 'vertical, perpendicular (отвечный)' || Gk ὀρθός, Δ Forθός & βορθός 'straight, upright' || Arm արդալ arđak adj. 'smooth, even' || ?σ ON varđī m., varđa f. 'cairn' || pTc *wrāt- > Tc: B wrāt- ≈ 'shape, form', A wrātāl in sne-wrātāl 'formlessness' || BSI (× IE *Hord^h- < N *z^hVR^hdV 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear', q.v. ffd.): Ltv rādīt 'create, produce, give birth to', Sl *rodi-ti 'to give birth to' (ffd. see N *z^hVR^hdV) ¶ P 1167, Mn. 1578, 1598, EI 249 (*wred^h- 'grow, stand, take shape'), M K III 157-8, M E II 520-1, Horn 39-40, Vl. II 140, Ab. IV 121-2, F II 415-16, ME III 462, Vs. III 492, Xud. I 167, Vr. 645, Ad. 616 || u: FP *wortV- vt. 'rear \ raise \ bring up (e.g., domestic animals,

children)' > Chr: L урда- urða- 'keep\rear\raise (e.g. animals)', Kz urðe- , Y wərðe- , YU {Bk.} wərðe- 'erziehen\halten (Vieh, Bienen, Diener, ein fremdes Kind)' || pPrm *verd- 'bring up, feed' > Z verd- , Yz 'verd- 'feed', Vt vordþ- 'bring up'; ?? pPrm *verd- 'give birth' > Z Δ verd- id. , Vt vordskþ- 'be born' ¶ U EB 183-5, Ü 230, LG 52; qu. UEW 825 and It. no. 401 (supposing that FU is borrowed from Ary) || **A:** M *borda- ~ *bordu- vt. 'fatten (animals)' > WrM borda- ~ bordu- {MED} id., 'fertilize the soil', HIM бордо- {MED, BMR} id., Kl {KRS} борд- id., {Rm.} borda- 'mästen, fett und dick machen', WrO {Krg.} bordo- 'fatten up, feed so as to slaughter; get fat', Brt бордо- vt. 'fatten (cattle)', Ord b_ord_0- 'nourrir de graines farineuses'; M \rightarrow Chg {Rm.} borda- 'fett und dick sein' ¶ MED 120, BMR I 265, Chr. 105, Krg. 356, KRS 111, KW 51, Ms. O 80 || ?? **HS:** S $\text{*o'war}_1\text{v}_1\text{d-}$ *boy' , $\text{*o'war}_1\text{v}_1\text{d-at-}$ 'girl' (if \leftarrow *erzeugtes Kind) > Ak fOAK (w) ard-u(m) 'servant, slave', (w) ardatu(m) 'girl, young woman' ¶ Sd. 1464-6 ◇ IS MS 335 (IE, U).

2527. ($_2$?) *workê 'to make' > IE: NaIE *werg- 'do, make, work' > Av varəz- 'act, do, make', NPrs ورزیدن vārzīdān {Sg.} 'to labour, to endeavour; to exercise, to perform; to sow', {Vl.} 'strenuum\assiduum esse in agendo, factitare, exercere', برزیدن bārzīdān 'to sow; to persevere', برز bārz 'seed, agriculture', ورز vārz id., 'trade, art, craft; custom, habit', {Vl.} 'labor asiduus; opificium', KhS valys- v. 'work, cause' || Arm գործ gorc 'work, affair, deed' || Gk ἔργον , Gk D ἔργον , Gk El ἔργον n. 'work, deed', Gk ὄργανον 'instrument\tool for doing\doing sth.; organ (of sense\apprehension); instrument; work\product', ἔρδω 'do' ({F, LS} < *F ἔργω) / pfc. ἔοργα , Gk Cp aor. ἔFεργα id. ; Gk $\text{ῥέζω 'do, act, deal'}$ ({F} < *wrg-) || Clt {Maras.} *wreg-0- 'do, make' > MW guereit, gwreith 'deed', {Matas.} gwnethur , 3s pres. goruc 'do, make', W {YGM} gwned, gwnethur 'make, do, perform', OBr guerg 'efficax', MBr 3s pres. $\text{groa} \sim \text{gra}$, Br {Hm.} grā n. 'act, action', Crn 3s pres. gwra 'do, make' || ON, NNr, Dn verk , Sw verk, vārk , OHG $\text{werc} \sim \text{werah}$, NHG werk , AS $\text{weorc} \sim \text{worc n.}$ 'work', NE work n. ; Gt waúrkjan (ποιεῖν) 'wirken', ON yrkja (p. orta), NNr yrkja , Sw yrke , OSx wirkian , OHG wērkōn 'to work, to act', OHG U wurchen (p. wor(a)hta), OHG F $\text{wirkan} \sim \text{wirchen}$

(p. *war(a)hta*), NHG *wirken*, AS *wyrċan* (p. *worhte*) 'to work, to do', NE *work* v. || Tc *wärksäl*, Tc B *warkšäl* 'power, energy' ¶ WP I 290-1, P 1168-9, EI 649 (**werġ-*, pres. **wr̥ġeye/0-* 'work'), Dv. no. 540, Brtl. 1374-9, Sg. 173-4, 1462-3, Bai. 379, F I 54, Flr. 189, LP § 491.5, Vr. 656, 679, Fs. 555, Ho. 390, 411, Ho. S 88, Kb. 1180, OsS 1122-4, 1128-9, 1168, KM 854, 862, Slr. 144-6, Ad. 579-80, Matas. E 429-30, YGM-1 268, Hm. 337 || U: FU {Ber.} **worke-* 'sew' > pChr {Ber.} **wurȝa-* ([Ber.} **wurȝā-*) id. > Chr: L *yrre-* *ur'ȝe-* (inf. *yrraš ur'ȝ-aš*), Uf/B *urȝe-*, H *yrre-* *ȝrȝe-* (inf. *yrraš 'ȝrȝ-aš*) id.; Chr: L *yrrem* *wur'ȝ-em*, Uf/B *wurȝem*, H *vyrrem* *'wȝrȝ-em* 'cloth' || Prm **vur-* 'sew' > Z *vurny* *vur-ni*, Vt *vuryny* *vur-ini* 'to sew' || Hg *varr-* 'sew' ¶ UEW 584-5, Ber. 82, MRS 82, 89, 632, 764, Ep. 166, LG 70, MF 674-5 || ?σ HS: S **√wrk* > Ar *√wrk* G 'be able to do', {BK} 'être de force et au delà pour faire (telle ou telle chose)', D *warraka* *ʕalā* 'être de force à faire qch.' ¶ BK II 1523-4, Hv. 864.

2528. ₂ **wer*∇*ḳ*∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree' > HS: S **'waraḳ-* 'branches, leaves of a tree' > Ar *ورق* *waraq-* 'leaves of a tree, foliage' (→ 'sheet of paper'), *√wrq* G {BK} 'être branchu, avoir des branches longues' (a tree), {Hv.} 'put forth leaves' (a tree), OA *yrḳ* 'verdure', JA [Trg.] *ירק* *yar'ḳ-ā* n. 'green, herb, vegetables', adj. 'green', JEA *yar'ḳ-ā* 'vegetables', BHb, MHb *ירק* *yērēḳ* id. (→ MHb *ירוק* *yā'rōḳ* 'green'), Sr *يرق* *yar'ḳā* (abs. *يرق* *yī'rēḳ*) 'a herb, vegetables', Sb *wrḳ* 'vegetable crops', Ak (ω) *arḳu* 'gelbgrün, Grünes', Ug *yrḳ* {A} 'Gelbes, Gold', {OLS} 'amarillo verdoso' (un metal, oro); Qt {Rk.} *wrḳ* '(piece of) gold', Sb *wrḳ*, Gz *warḳ* 'gold, gold coin' (← 'yellow' ← 'green'), OYmn (= Hmr?) *wrḳ* ({Slw.} *wariq-*) 'silver, money', Ar (← OSA or Eth) *warq-* ~ *wirq-* ~ *wurq-* 'argent monnayé'; → (?) **√wrḳ* 'be green' > Ak *√wrḳ* G 'gelbgrün\fahl sein\werden', MHb/JA {Js.} *√yrḳ* *Sh* (MHb pf. *ירק* *hō'rīḳ*, JA *ירק* *ʔō'rīḳ*) 'be light-colored\pale\green\yellow', Sr *√yrḳ* G 'be\grow pale', *yar'ḳān*, *yarḳā'nā* 'yellowish, pale yellow', {Br.} *yurā'ḳ-ā* 'viridis, lividus' ¶ BK II 1522-3, Hv. 864, HJ 471, KB 420-1, Sd. 1463-4, 1470-1, Js. 597-8, Lv. T I 345-6, Sl. 543, Br. 309-10, JPS 197, BGMR 162, Rk. 56, Slw. 219-20, L G 618, A no. 1247, OLS 538, DRS 632-4 || Eg ∇ ω₃∇ '(be) green, fresh', 'raw' (of food) (× N **wilka*∇ 'wet, moist' [q.v.]) > DEG ω_t 'be green\fresh' > Cpt Sd/B *oywt* *uōt* id. ¶ EG I 264-6, Fk. 55, Er. 104-5, Vc. 238 ¶¶ Tk. I 319-20 (sceptical about the Eg-S

connection) || **D** *ve_ɹ∇k- 'firewood' (< *'branches used as fuel?') > Tm v_ɹaku, v_ɹāy, Knd ve_ɹgu, Png ve_ɹgu, Mnd viyke, Kui ve_ɹu, ve_ɹgu, Ku ve_ɹgu ɖ ve_ɹū ɖ ve_ɹu ɖ we_ɹgu 'firewood, fuel', Ml v_ɹuku, Kt ve_ɹ, Td berkh, Krg bi_ɹi 'firewood', Tu birin_ɹi 'slender pieces of firewood', Gnd verrki ɖ vark ɖ verk ɖ vaχk, veχki 'fuel, stick of firewood' ¶¶ D no. 5440.

2529. *weRaH_ɹt∇ 'root, sinew' > **IE:** NaIE *wrād-/*w_orād-/*w_orād-/*wrād- 'branch, twig, rod, root' > Gk ῥάδιξ (gen. ῥάδικος) 'branch, frond', ῥάδαμνος {By} jeune branche, rejeton', Gk ῥίζα, Gk ῥίζη, Gk L βύσδα 'root' (< *Fρέδ_uā) || L rādīx (gen. rādīcis) 'root' || pAl {O} *wradhā > Al: T rrenjē, G rranjē 'root' || Clt {Matas.} *wridā 'root' > OIr frén 'root' (< NaIE *w_ɹd-o-), frém (< NaIE *w_ɹd-mā) id., MIr frém id., Brtt {RE} *wrad_ɹos 'root' > MW gwreidd 'root', W {YGM} gwreiddyn (coll. gwraidd), OCm [ɣ] grueiten 'radix', Cm gwredhen, OBr {Flr.} ureid, MBr gwruizyenn, {Matas.} gruizyenn 'root', Br {Hm.} gwrizienn 'racine'; W gwrysg {YGM} 'haulm', {P} 'Äste, Zweige' || Gt waurts (· ῥίζα) 'Wurzel', ON urt, OSx wurt, AS w_ɹrt 'root, herb (Kraut)', OHG wurz, NHG wurz 'herb, spice, root', cd: AS w_ɹrtwalu 'root' (lit. 'Kraut-stock'), OHG wurzala, NHG wurzel, MDt wortele, Dt wortel 'root'; ON rót (< *wrād-) (↳ ME rōt > NE root), Sw rot, Dn rod id. || An unknown (Irn?) lge ↳ Sr [∘] [±] [∘] warī_ɹ-ā 'blood vessel, sinew', MHb [∘] [±] [∘] wā_ɹrī_ɹ 'blood vessel, jugular vein' and Ar warīd- 'jugular vein' (the cons. d [for the expected *t in the inherited S cognate] and Aram/MHb w- [that are ruled out in inherited S words] suggest that these words are loans from an IE lge) ¶ WP I 228, P 1167, ≈ EI 80 (*wr(h_ɹ)d-, *wr(e)h_ɹd- 'root, branch'), F II 637-8, 655, WH II 415, O 384, LP § 44, By 1712, Bc. 522, RE 123, Hm. 366, YGM-1 273, Fs. 556, Vr. 452, 636, Vr. N 847, Kb. 1236-7, OsS 1218-19, KM 870, Ho. 412, Ho. S 91, Br. 186, Js. 375-6, BK II 151, Matas. E 430, YGM-1 270, 273, Hv. 366 || **A:** (< d.?) Tg d. *bartukin 'rope' (× N *waR_ɹ'ū' or *wa_ɹR'ū' 'a tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope'], q.v.) > Ul batuxu(n-) 'rope, cable' (канат), Nn Nh bartoxī {On.} 'thick rope, cable (канат), бечева', {STM} 'rope, канат', Neg batuxin, Orc bātuxā ~ bātuxi, Ud {SDM} batixi 'rope' ¶ STM I 77, On 63 || **D** *vēr- 'root' > Tm, Ml vē_ɹ, Kt, Klm ve_ɹ, Td pō_ɹ, Kn bē_ɹ(u), Kdg be_ɹī, Tu bē_ɹь, Tl vē_ɹu, Nkr, Gdb vē_ɹ, Prj vār, Knd vēla ~ vēla, Ku {Fzg.} ve_ɹla, {Isr.} ve_ɹla 'root' ¶¶ D

5535 ◇ Tg *a may be due to the heritage of N *waRʔʔ̂ or *waʔRʔ̂. D *-r- and *ē suggestst that *-ēr- in the D root goes back to pre-Dravidian *-eRH∇- < (syncope) N *-eRaH∇-.

2530. *ʷ∇R̥∇,ʒ∇ or *ʷ∇ʒ∇R∇ 'to pour, to flow' > IE *ʷers-/ *ʷors- > NaIE *ʷers- 'rain, dew' > OI varṣati 'it rains', var'ṣa- 'rain, rainy season, year', Av aiβi-varṣta- 'beregnet, worauf es geregnet hat', Krd wäšt 𐎧 wīšani 'rain' ||| Gk ἔρση, Gk D ἔέρσᾶ, Gk Ep ἔέρση 'dew' ||| OIr frass {Thr.} 'rain', {P} 'rain, shower (of rain)' ||| Clt {Matas.} *ʷrastō- 'shower' > Mlr frass 'rain shower, torrent' || Ht warsa- 'rainfall', Lw warsa- 'drop' ¶¶ WP I 261, ≈ P I 81 (IE *wers- < ʰ *awer- 'water'), ≈ WH II 761, M K III 160, M E II 522-3, F I 567, Thr. 131, Matas. E 429, Ts. W 102, Lar. 108, ≈ EI 477 (*h₁wers- 'rain') ||| HS: B *ʷr̥ (× N *ʒ̥ʔ̂ʔ̂ 'to stream') > Kb inv. əzzər v. 'couler; aller au fond' ¶ Dl. 952 ||| A: M ≈ *ʷbursu > MM [L] بَرَسُو {Pp.} bursu, [MA] bursu 'river' ¶ Pp. L II 1265, Pp. MA 125 ◇ M *-s- < ** -z- (loss of the obstruent part of N *ʒ in the M postconantal position?) ◇ On N and pIE *ʷ- see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2531. ₂ *wAʔ̂∇ 'way, path' ([in descendant lges] → 'road') > HS *w∇r- > Eg √ wʒ.t 'way' ¶ EG I 246-7, ≈ Vc. 231 ||| Ch: WCh: Gmr {Gw.} war, Kfr {Nt.} wár 'road' ||| ? CCh: Zm {Sa.} várì, {ChL} vari id. ¶ ≈ Stl. ZCh. no. 793, ChC s.v. 'road', ChL, Gw. s.v. Gmr war, Sa. LM s.v. várì, Nt. s.v. wár || ?? SC: Rft *ʷr̥∇r- > Irq {MQK} ʔirwā 'path', Grw {Wh.} úrûwa (pl. úrdu) 'path, way' (unless from *ʷr̥χ 'road' < N *ʔu|or∇q∇ 'path, way') ¶ OS no. 122 (pRft *ʔuruw-), Wh. IC 24, MQK 57 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 122 (incl. Gmy and Grw; Orel and Stolbova did not distinguish this HS root from *ʷr̥χ 'road') ||| D: SD *vaʔ̂i 'way, road' > Tm, Ml vaʔ̂i id., 'path', Kn baʔ̂i 'way, road', Tu baʔ̂i 'lineage, descent' ¶ D no. 5297 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162-3 [no. 104] (incl. the D and HS cognates; unc. Blz's other equations: with the FV *ura 'way, path' [< N *ʔu|or∇q∇ '↑'], with T *oram 'street' and M *h₁oram 'trace, trail' [most probably < A *p̥'òr∇ 'trace', cf. pKo *pórám 'sign', see SDM 1174 [pA *p̥'òr∇ 'trace'] and Rm. SKE 206]), Blz. NDA no. 111 (D, HS).

2532. *ʷur̥ú 'to scrape' ([in descendant lges] → 'to plough') > IE *ʷorw- > [11] NaIE *ʷorw-/ *ʷr̥w- 'plough, dig up' > L veru-ag-ō 'brachen' ({Mn.} 'plough up a fallow'), veru-actum 'newly turned fallow' ||| Nlr fearb 'a stripe' (× N *ʒoΓR̥ú [or *ʒoR̥ú] 'line \ boundary \ strip of land between geographical objects/cross') ||

[2] NaIE *^hworwos 'furrow, ditch' ([in descendant lges] → 'boundary ditch' → 'boundary') > Gk: Mc ωο-ωο, {ChB} ωοιρῖωο- '(?) boundary', {AJ} 'frontera, límite' [?], Gk A ὄρος, ἰοῦρος, Gk Crc {Hofm.} ἡορφος, ὄρβος, {Schw., Bc., Ch.} ὄρφος (written ὄρβος) 'boundary, landmark', Gk Cr/Ar ὠρος id., Gk οὔρον ntr. 'limit, range', Gk Hm οὐρός 'trench/channel for hauling up ships and launching them again' ||| L (amb-)urvā- 'surround (a territory) by a boundary ditch', [Ϝ] urvus 'circuitus civitatis', Osc uruvū {WH} 'boundary' ({Bc.} 'curva, flexa [?]) ||| Nir forba 'glebe land' ||| Lt uřvas 'ditch, hole, den', Ltv urva 'Loch, Höhle (in der Erde)' ||| ?? OI ūr'vah 'dungeon' (⇔ M K I 117 and M E I 245 [denying the connection of ūr'vah with this IE √]) ¶ Mn. 1523, 1581-2, 1606, EI 215 (*worwos 'furrow'), ≠ WP II 352-3, F II 425-6, 447, Ch. 825, Bc. GD §§ 54 and 58c, Schw. GG I 135, Hofm. 239, WH II 767, 843-4, Bc. G 326, Dnn. 304, 330, AJ II 450, ChB 228, Ch. 825, Tr. 335f., Frn. 1171 ||| U *^hwur|ða- > Sm {Jn.} *w̄ra- , {Hl.} *w̄ra- vt. 'scrape, plane' > Ne T vāpa- 'make wood shavings by scraping a birch tree', Ne T O {Lh.} βar·ā 'schaben (mit dem Messer, usw.)', Ne F {Lh.} βorraa-ś id.; Ng {Cs.} 1s obj. aor. barā'ama 'scrape'; En {Cs.}: X 'bořabo, B 'borabo 'schaben'; ?ϕ Slq Tz {KIII} qorsan 'adze' (q- for the expected k-); Mt {Hl.} d. (r-frq.) *barər- 'scrape' (Mt M {Sp.} барарнамъ 'I scrape [скоблю]') ¶ Jn. 170, Ter. 45, KKIИ 163, Hl. M no. 101 ||| D *ur̥u- v. 'plough, dig up', (?) 'scratch' > T m ur̥u v. 'plough, dig up, scratch', Ml ur̥uka, Td us̥f-, Kn ur̥-, Kdg u̥l-, Tu ūd̥u-, Prj, Gnd ur̥-, Gdb ūd̥-, Png, Mnd, Ku řū-, Krx ui-, uy- v. 'plough', Kt ug- (p. ur̥t-) id., 'be ploughed', Klm, Nkr ur- v. 'harrow, plough', Knd řū- v. 'plough, till soil', Kui řūva v. 'plough', ūřa 'dig up with snout, root up', Mlt use v. 'turn up the soil (as pigs do)' ¶¶ D no. 688 ◇ h- in Gk A ὄρος (and in Hofm.'s reading of the Gk Crc word as ἡορφος, ὄρβος) is probably ancient, while in other Gk dls there is psilosis (loss of h-) (see Bc. GG 52-5), therefore we must reconstruct pIE and pN *^hw- (see Introduction, § 2.2.6) ◇ BmK no. 489 (*wur̥-/ *wor̥- 'to scratch, to incise, to dig up' > IE, D, Sum ur̥u₄, ur̥u₁₁ (-ru) 'to plough').

2533. *wAr̥₁∇₁ĉ∇ 'rub, scrape' > K: GZ *warcχ- v. 'comb' (× N *h¹ur̥₁∇₁ĉ∇ 'to scratch, to comb', q.v.) ⇨ [1] GZ *warcχ-wn- v. 'comb' > OG, G varcχn-, G Gr barcχn-, Mg rcχon-, Lz (n)cχon- id., msd. o-(n)cχon-u; [2] GZ *(s)a-warcχ-ar- n. 'comb' > OG savarcχal-, G savarcχel-, Mg orcχonž-, orcχond-, Lz o(n)cχož- id. ¶ K 81, 169, K² 49,

173, Abul. 336, 356, Chx. 369, Chik. 180, Ghl. 60 || **HS**: mt.: S * \checkmark wšr v. 'saw' > Ar \checkmark wšr G, Gz \checkmark wšr G id. -> Gz mōšart 'a saw', Ak OA, OB šaššāru ~ šuššāru ~ šaršāru id.; μ: BHb \checkmark šwr (pf. c. ׁוּׁוּׁוּ way'yāšar) v. 'saw'; (+ initial ext. from an ancient px): S * \checkmark nšr id. > MHb, JA [Trg.], Sr \checkmark nsr G v. 'saw, cut asunder', Ar \checkmark nšr G 'saw', Ak OB/OA nasru 'gesägt'; CS *manšār- 'a saw' > BHb ׁוּׁוּׁוּ maš'šōr, JA ܡܫܐܪܢܐ massā'r-ā, Sr ܡܫܐܪܢܐ ; ܡܫܐܪܢܐ massā'r-ā, Ar minšār-, Ak YB (←b- Aram) massāru id. ¶ BK II 1258, 1260, 1541, GB 465, 781, KB 605, 1224, Br. G I 226 [§ 84.3], Br. 434, JPS 342, Dlm. 233, ≈ Nld. NB 172, Js. 919, Lv. T II 117-18, DM 242, 302, Sd. G § 57a, Sd. 619, 753, 1198 || ?φ Eg fOK wsw v. 'saw' > DEg ws > Cpt: Sd **oyeice** uoise, B **oyici** uisi v. 'saw, cut' ¶ EG I 258, Er. 99, Vc. 237 ¶ The Eg cognate is qu. because of the unexpected cns. s (for š) || **IE** *wers-/*wors- > Ht wars- '(ab)wischen, (ab)streifen' || NaIE *wers-/*wors- {P} 'drag over the ground' > L verr-ō / inf. verrēre / pfc. verrī / sup. versum 'drag, trail, sweep, pull' || Gk ἔρω, Gk Lr ipv. φερέτω, Gk El inf. φάρεν 'go slowly' || ON vǫrr 'stroke of the oar' ¶¶ WP I 292, P 1169-70, F I 566, WH II 761-2, Vr. 675, Ts. W 102, Frd. HW 246 || **D** {tr., †GS} *var- 'scrape, wipe' > Tm varī v. 'wipe, scrape, gather together as a pulpy mass, rub in', Ml vaṭikka v. 'wipe off, scape, polish', Td poḍy- v. 'scrape', Kn barī, borī 'sweep together, wipe off', Tu baḷi 'smear as lime', OTl vraccu, Tl vraccu v. 'efface (the writing)', Tl baḍiyu 'sweep away' ¶¶ D no. 5295 ◇ K *c for the expected *ç defies explanation (a special development in a cns. cluster?). K *χ (having no parallels in S, IE and D cognates) is likely to belong to the heritage of N *h'ūrχ∇∇ ◇ ≠ Fn. KD no. 4 (K, D).

2534. *w'i'í∇ 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb etc.)' > K: GZ *werž- 'ram' > OG, G verž-, Mg erž- id. ¶ K 84, FS 123 || **IE**: NaIE *wersē-/ī- '(young) herbivorous mammal' > Lt veršis 'calf', Ltv versis 'ox, cattle', Pru dim. werstian 'calf' || L verrēs / -is 'a boar' || Ir (× IE *wers- 'male'): OI vr̥ṣah 'bull', Av varəšni 'male, ram' || ? pTc {Ad.} cd *keu-wārsän 'bull' (lit. 'bull calf' or 'bull male') (× IE *wers- 'male') > Tc: A kauurṣ, B kauurṣe 'bull' ¶ WP I 269, WH II 761, M K III 251-2, M E II 575-6, Frn. 1228-9, En. 273, Ad. 212, ≈ EI 363 (*'wersēn 'male [as sire]') || **A** *bīra(gu) 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb etc.)' (× N *b'A'∇r∇ 'ungulate') > M *biraḡun 'calf' > MM [S] hura u 'two-year-old calf' [MA] hurū 'three-year-old

calf', WrM *biragu*(n) {MED} 'calf of its second year', HIM {MED} *бярүү* id., {BMR} *бярүү(н)* 'two-year-old calf', Brt *бүрүү* 'calf of its first year; young bear\lynx\elk\deer (of the first year)', Kl {KRS} *бүрү* *bürü*, {Rm.} *bürü*, Ord *bürü* 'calf of the second year', MMgl [Z] {Iw.} *buraūl* 'two-year-old cow', *buraγul* 'three- or 'four-year-old cow', Mnr M {Pot.} *piru* 'calf'; M ⇨ ? Yk (d.) *borōsku ~ borōsko* 'calf (after its first 4-5 months)' ¶ Pp. MA 126, MED 106, BMR I 319, H 22, Chr. 114, KW 69, KRS 130, Iw. 93, SM 36, T 320, Ms. O 70 ¶ In some M lges the original vw. *i was labialized to u due to the infl. of b- || T *bu'ragu ~ *bi'ragu 'calf' > OT, Oosm *buzaxu*, MQp *buzaxu ~ buzawu*, [CC] *buzaw* 'calf', Chg *buzaxu ~ buzaχ ~ buzaw* 'young of a cow\buffalo', Az *buzov* 'calf of the first 6 months of its life', Δ *bizō* 'two-year-old calf', Tk *buzag'i*, Ggz *buzā*, Tkm *buδaw*, Qmq *buzaw*, VTt *бозау b'zaу*, Bsh *бъδау*, Qzq *бұзау buzaw*, Qq, Nog *bizaw ~ buzaw*, Qrg *muzō*, Alt *biza* ɘ *bozu*, Uz *buzoq*, ET *mozaу*, Xk *pizo*, Shor *piza*, Tv *bizā*, Chv L *пӓрү рьру* (obl. *пӓрӓв- рьрьв-*), Chv Δ *пӓрӓв рьрьв*, Chv H *р'ру* (Chv {Md.} *р'рү*) 'calf' ¶ Rs. W 74-5, Cl. 391, Shch. Zh 100-1, ET B 239-42, Tkr 117, TL 438-9, Ash. X 133-5, Fed. I 402-3, Jeg. 149, ChVS 131, Md. 57, 175 (T *bu'ragu) ¶ In my opinion, the original vw. of the first syll. is likely to have been *i, which in many T lges was labialized to *u by as. to the adjacent *b- || Tg: Ewk Np *bēru*, Ewk Tkm *bēranki* 'sheep', ?φ Ewk O/Tng *borē* 'ram' ¶ STM I 78 || pKo {S} *puruk 'young bull, bull calf' > Nko *puruk-so* (so 'cow'), *purugi* 'bull calf' ¶ S QK no. 1153, MLC 813 || pJ {S} *pitú-nsí 'sheep' > OJ *pyituži*, MJ *φítúží*, J T *hìcuží*, J K *hícúží*, J Kg *hicúží* id. ¶ S QJ no. 330, Mr. 411, BJRS II 485 ¶¶ SDM 353-4 (pA *bi'ǒ'ru 'calf, lamb' > Tg *biaru, M, T *bu'ragu, J, Ko), DQA no. 136, SDM95 s.v. *bi'ǒ'ru 'calf, lamb', SDM97 (A *bär'í' id.), Pp. VG 21, 60, 81, 131, 146-7, KW 69, Vld. 361 || HS: S *✓ wrz > Gz *warēzā* 'young animal, young man', Tgr *w3reza* 'young man', Oak *ur ā̄s -um*, Ak OB/MB/MA *ur ī̄s -um* 'billy goat' ¶ L G 619, Sd. 1430-1 ¶ The Ak glottalization of the sibilant (s̄ for the expected z) is still to be investigated (traces of a *H̄' -sx?) || EC: Rn {PG} *ôr* 'bull, male camel', HEC {Hd.} *warʔe 'young female calf' > Sd *wa'r-iččō* (pl. *wa'dda*) 'female calf', Hd *wēʔ-iččō* 'young female calf', pl. *wa'la* 'young calves'; Sd *war-āmo* '(rather old) male calf; ox, bull' ¶ PG 241, Hd. 35, 302-3, 400 ¶ The disappearance of the reflex of *ʒ is still to be explained ◇ AD GD no. 40 (IE, K, A [T, M]). Here pA *-ř-

may go back to ppA ******-*ř*- (with ****** *ř* in postcons. position): ppA ******-*ř*- > (as.) pA *****-*ř*-.

2535. *wAsV 'rainy weather, rainy season' > **HS**: Ch {JS} ✓ *w s₁n* 'rainy season' > WCh {Stl.} ******wasun-* id. > NrBc {Stl.} ******wasun* id., 'year' > My {Sk.} *wáśt̄m* 'rainy season', Wrj {Sk.} *wásənná*, Kry {Sk.} *wásən*, My {Sk.} *wáśš śân* or *wáśšśân*, {ChL} *wəššəšəm*, Sir {ChC} *wəsənúwá*, Mbr {ChC} *wásən*, Jmb {ChC} *wásùn*, ? Dir {ChC} *ášìn* 'year' || SBc {Stl.} ******wašun* > Plc {ChL} *wášìn*, Zul {ChL} *wášìnè*, Gj {ChL} *wašin* 'rainy season', 'year' || CCh: Gude {Hsk.} *vəná* 'rain', ??φ Gudu {ChC} *vīečú* 'rainy season' ¶ ChC s.v. 'rainy season' and 'year', ChL, Stl. ZCh 238-9 [no. 852], Sk. NB 49, Hsk. 288 || **IE**: NaIE ******wesr̥* / gen. ******wesn-es* 'springtime' > OI *vasan-*'*ta-h* id., Av *var̥ri* loc. 'in spring', MPrs *vahār*, NPrs *بهار* *bāhār* 'spring' || Arm **q w p n l ũ** *garun* id. (< ******wesr-*) || Gk *ἔαρ* (< ******F éap*, reconstructed on the ev. of prosody), gen. *ἔαρος* ~ *ἡρος* (whence nom. *ἦρ*), [Hs.] *ἔεαρ* 'spring' (< ******wesar*) || L *vēr* (gen. *vērīs*) 'spring' || Clt {Matas.} ******wesr-* / ******wesn-* 'spring' > OIr *errach* id. (lenition from ******ferrach*) (from ******wesr-āko-*), OW *guiannuin* 'in spring' (from ******wes-nt-eino-*), OCrm [γ] *guaintoin* 'ver' || ON *vár*, Dn, Sw *vår*, OFrs *wars* id. || Lt *vāsara* ~ *vasarà*, Ltv *vasara* 'summer' || Sl ******ves'na* 'springtime' > OCS **вєсна** *vesna* id., 'summer', OR **вєсна** *vesna*, R, Uk **вєс'на**, SCr **Δ vèsna**, Slv **vēsna**, Cz, Slk *vesna*, Cz **Δ vesno**, P **wiosna** 'springtime' ¶ WP I 301, P 1174, EI 504 (******wesr̥*), M K III 172-3, M E II 532, StSS 113, Srz. I 247, Horn 56, F I 432-3, WH I 755, LP § 26.3, Vr. 644-5, Frn. 1206, Vs. I 303, Chr. I 145-6, Ma. CS 582, Sl. 139-41, Matas. E 417 || **D** (in SD) ******vač̣-* 'rain, flowing water', 'v. 'ooze' (× N ******wac̣₁qV* 'liquid' [esp. 'dirty/filthy liquid'], 'dirt', q.v. ffd.) || **A**: ???σ M ******osu-* > WrM {MED} *osu-* v. 'suffer from cold weather', HIM **осо-** {MED} id., {BMR} 'обветриться, делаться грубым от ветра и холода', 'шершаветь' ¶ MED 624, BMR II 504 ◇ If M ******osu-* belongs here, the N rec. is ******waS V*. On M ******o-* < N ******wa-* see Introduction, § 2.4.

2536. *wä?esV 'get tired, be(come) weary/troubled' > **U**: FU (att. in FL) ******wäs V*- 'get tired/exhausted' > F *väsüä* 'to get tired/weary', {Hkl.} † 'abgenutzt werden', Krl A *väzüü*, Krl Ld *väzüdä*, Vp *väzüdä*, Vo *väsüä* 'ermüden', Es *väsü-*, **Δ** {W} *väsü-* 'get tired' || pLp {Lr.} ******vēsə-* id. > Lp: L {LLO} *viessat* 'be exhausted', N {N} *viessât*, Kld *vīssaō* 'get tired' ¶ SK 1847-8 ≈ Hkl Ev 113-15 W EDW 1335 Lr no 1413 Loc no

8693, LLO 1409 || **D** * $\check{v}\bar{e}\check{c}$ - 'be weary, get tired' > Krg *bisirige* 'homesickness', (× modern IAr lges [e.g. Hindi *bē-zār* 'sick' ← NPrs زآر *zār* 'weak, emaciated']) Tm $\check{v}\bar{e}\check{c}ar_u$ 'be weary\fatigued\vexed', $\check{v}\bar{e}\check{c}a(:)\check{t}ai$ 'sorrow', MI $\Delta \check{v}\bar{e}\check{c}\bar{a}r_u$ 'anxiety', Kn *bējār_u* 'weariness (from fatigue, pain, vexation)', *bēsar_u* 'grow weary\fatigued', Kdg *be·žā·ra* 'sorrow', Tu *be(:)jār_b*, *be(:)sār_b*, Tl *vēsata* 'weariness, fatigue', $\check{v}\bar{e}\check{s}a(:)ru$ 'be troubled\fatigued', Krg *bisirige* 'homesickness' ¶¶ D no. 5524 || **HS**: WS * $\check{w}\check{p}\check{s}$ ~ * $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ v. 'despair' > BHb $\check{w}\check{p}\check{s}$ *N* (pf. ܘܦܫܘܢܐܫ , prtc. ܘܦܫܘܢܐܫܝܢ) 'despair', BHb $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ (< * $\check{w}\check{p}\check{s}$) *D* 'make despair', JA [Trg.] $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ (< * $\check{w}\check{p}\check{s}$) *D* 'verzweifeln machen\lassen, zur Verzweiflung bringen', ܘܦܫܘܢܐܫܝܢ *ܘܦܫܘܢܐܫܝܢ* {Lv.} 'Verzweiflung, Desperation', {Js.} 'despair', JPA Bz {Sl.} $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ *TD* 'abandon hope', JEA {Sl.} $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ *TD* 'abandon a claim', SmA $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ n. 'despair', *mwpš muwwoš* 'desperate', Ar $\check{w}\check{p}\check{s}$ *G* (pf. *waḥṣa* ~ *waḥusa*, ip. [Qm.] *y-ḥṣu*) 'désespérer de, perdre tout espoir de', $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ *G* id., *Gz* $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ (js. *yā-ḥṣ*) 'waste away, languish' ¶ BDB 384, Fr. I 75 and IV 514, BK I 74 and II 1621, KB 364, Js. 560, Lv. T I 324, Sl. 521, Sl. P 233, Tal 328, L G 5 ¶ The Ar cns. **y-* in the pf. *waḥṣa* ~ *waḥusa* (for the expected *w-*) may be due to the root reinterpretation in the form of ip. (where the morphophonemic opposition [w] ↔ [y] was neutralized). Similar reinterpretation may have brought about the transformation of * $\check{w}\check{p}\check{s}$ into * $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ (due to the loss of *w in the intervoc. position in some verbal forms) ◇ The D vw. (**e* for the expected **a* < N **ā*) suggests the presence of a N front vw. **-e-* after the lr. ◇ Schrd. DU 95 (FU, D), IS MS 370 (BF, D).

2537. (₂?) * $\check{w}\check{v}\check{s}\check{r}$ (= * $\check{w}\check{u}\check{s}\check{r}$?) 'wide, vast' > **HS** * $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$ > WS * $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$ > Ar $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$ (pf. *wasīṣa* ~ *wasuṣa*) 'be broad\ample\wide', ?σ Sb $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$ 'amply supply (with water)', as well as possibly (?σ) Hb d. ܘܦܫܘܢܐܫܝܢ 'yešāṣ', M'b $\check{p}\check{r}$ 'deliverance, salvation', BHb, M'b, SmA $\check{w}\check{p}\check{y}\check{s}$ *Sh* 'save, deliver' ¶ BK II 1534, Hv. 869, KB 427-8, HJ 476, Tal 364, BGMR 162, DRS 648 || Eg OK $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$ 'wide' ¶ EG I 364-5 ¶¶ Tk. I 326 (Eg $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$ < * $\check{w}\check{s}\check{r}$) || **IE**: NaIE (+ext.) **wasd^h*- 'wide, long' > L *vastus* 'vast, enormous' || Clt: [1] OIr *foṭ* 'length', *foṭae* 'long', Ir *fad* 'length', *fada* 'long', Mx *foddey* id.; [2] ?σ Clt {Matas.} **°wāsto-* 'empty' > OIr *fás* id. ¶ P 1113-14, WH II 737, Thr. §§ 80, 345, Dnn. 269-90, Matas. E 403-4 || ??σ **U**: FU **°wō|uś*- > ObU {Ht.} **wūs-* 'yawn' > pVg **ūsant-* < Vg. T *ūsant-* IK *ūsant-* II /Se *ūsint-* P *ūsantā-* id. nOe **wūs-* id. <

Os Km os- id., Os d.: V/Vy us+1-, Ty/Y us+4- id., Nz usīyt-, Kz w̄w̄sīđa-, D w̄āses-, K uses- id. ¶ Ht. no. 72O, Trs. S 5O3-4 ◇ The absence of the expected *ə in NaIE requires explanation. It may be suggested that the reflex of N *ʷ merged with adjacent consonants (e.g., *ʷ-t > **d > IE *dʰ-). Another possible solution: N *w̄w̄s̄w̄t̄w̄ with loss of *-ʷ in IE; later an IE cd *was- + *dʰ-.

2538. *was₁w̄t̄w̄ 'place inside' > HS: S *'was̄it̄- (~*was̄at̄-?) 'middle' > Ar was̄t̄- 'midst, middle', d. was̄at̄- 'intermediate, middling', Sb, Mn w̄ś̄t̄ n. 'middle, midst', Qt w̄ś̄t̄ 'in, in the middle of', Gz was̄t̄ 'interior, middle, inner part', as well as possibly JEA X̄w̄w̄w̄ w̄εś̄'t̄ā 'oesophagus', JPA X̄w̄w̄w̄ w̄εś̄'t̄ā 'gullet', MHb {Js.} w̄w̄w̄ 'w̄εś̄εt̄ id. ({Lv.} w̄w̄w̄ 'w̄εś̄εt̄ 'Schlund'), JPA Bz {Sl.} w̄w̄w̄ 'throat' (the JA and MHb words are borrowed from a *w̄-preserving S lge), Sr w̄w̄w̄ 'w̄εś̄εt̄ā {JPS} 'throat, gullet, windpipe', {Br.} 'oesophagus, arteria'; ? OAk, Ak iś̄t̄u 'since, after, as soon as' (a reg. reflex of *wa'ś̄at̄-, valid if from 'within'), ?? Eb áś̄-ta, áś̄-ti, áś̄-tù 'chez; from' (if the loss of *w̄- is reg.) ¶ Gz ə points to a pS posttonic vw. *i (AD SNSE) ¶ L G 62O, Fr. IV 464-5, BK II 1533, Hv. 868, Js. 376, Lv. I 5O5, Sl. 396, Sl. P 17O, Br. 31O, JPS 189, Penn. SPE 295-7, BGMR 163, MA 1O5, Rk. 56, CAD VII 284-8, DRS 645-6 || IE: NaIE *wa(:)stu ~ *west₁u 'home, house, dwelling' (× NaIE *wes- etc. 'be, live, dwell' < IE *xwes- < N *ʷ'ū'ś̄w̄ 'live' [q.v.]) > Vd 'vāst̄u- 'homestead, house' (× OI ClSk/BdhSk vāst̄u- 'place, seat' that goes back to a d. from *wes- 'be') ||| Gk ἄστυ (gen. ἄστυος) < *F áστυ (Gk B gen. F áστυος, Gk M wa-t̄u) 'town' ||| L Vest̄-a 'goddess of home hearth' ||| Clt {Matas.} *wastu- 'dwelling' > MW gwas 'abod, dwelling', W {YGM} gwas 'abode', {P} 'Heimstätte', OIr {P} i foss 'at home' (not here OIr foss 'Bleiben, Rasten' < NaIE *wes- 'be, live') ||| pTc {Ad.} *wost > Tc A was̄t̄ (pl. was̄t̄u), Tc B ost̄ (pl. ost̄wa) 'house' ¶ ≈ P 117O-1, ≈ EI 281 (*'h₂wostu 'dwelling' [with unj. *h₂-] * < *h₂wes- 'dwell'), M K III 198, M E II 549, F I 123-4, ≈ WH II 772-4, YGM-1 258, SB 277, Wn. I 342-3, 549, JGH 11, 7O, 9O, 1O1, 164-5, 258-9, Ad. 128, Ad. H 24, 125-6, Matas. E 4O4, YGM-1 258 ||| U: FU (att. in FV) *wasta 'place, place by, place opposite sth., in the opposite direction' > Mk васта, {Ker.} vastə, {Ahl.} vasta 'place (Stelle, Platz, Ort); sleeping place (Schlafstätte), bed' | F vasta- in vasta-ranta 'the opposite bank of a river', vasta-kohta 'the opposite (of)'. vastaan 'against'. Vp vast(e') 'bv. near' (iknad

vast(e') ištub 'sits by the window'), '(leaning) against' (panda siṅnad vast(e') 'поставить к стенке'), Es vastas 'opposite, opposite to' (kauplus on teatri vastas 'the shop is opposite the theatre'), vast 'only just, just now' || pLp {Lr.} *vōstē 'nearby, opposite, in the opposite direction' > Lp: S {Hs.} vuoštie 'nearby' (jukken vuoštie 'ganz nahe am Fluß'), 'entgegen', L {LLO} vuoštē 'by (a time limit), immediately before', vuoštē - 'opposite, entgegen' (vuoštē-piegga 'head wind', vuoštē-rauvē 'Gegen-strömung'), N {N} vuošte 'in the opposite direction', Kld {Kert} vuš' 'up to, before', 'against (an, o) (postpos. of place), {SaR} vūšyt vūš'it 'opposite, in front of, прямо перед', adj. 'in the opposite direction' (vūšyt piṅṅk 'head wind') || Chr: L vaštareš vašta'reš 'opposite' (vaštareš i'la 'he lives opposite [my house]'), 'in the opposite direction', 'against', B vaštareš 'gegenüber', H {Ep.} vaštareš 'in the opposite direction', vaštareš mardež 'head wind' ¶ The semantic variant 'place opposite sth.' may be due to a semantic change 'place by' → 'place opposite sth.' → 'against' (as seen in Vp and Lp) or to contamination with a different √ ¶ It. no. 57, UEW 815, ZM 616-17, Lr. no. 1471, Lgc. no. 8839, Hs. 1467, LLO 1462-4, SaR 58-9, Kert 216, Ker. II 182-3, MRS 58, Ep. 10 || | D (in SD) *vati, {ǵGS} *vadi 'so.'s place, dwelling' > Tn vati 'lair, nest', Kn bađi 'a deity's place, small building', Tu bađi 'roofed shelter (temple) constructed for a devil' ¶ D no. 5246.

2539. ₂ *wiš' ∇ 'green' > IE: NaIE *wis- > L virē - 'be green\verdant', viridis 'green' (× *weis- v. 'sprout, grow' < N *wiš' ∇ 'to grow') || | ? Gk lóγ 'rust, verdigris' ¶ P 1134, WH II 797, F I 730-1 || | U: FP *wiša 'green, yellow' > F vihan̄ta 'green, blossoming', viheriä, vihreä 'green' || Er ožo 'yellow' || Chr H ǰar, žar, Chr Uf/B užar 'green' || pPrm *vež' 'green, yellow' > Vt वोज 'green', Z веж 'green, unripe, not black', Prmk веж, Yz 'viž' 'green, yellow' || | Not here FU (att. in FP) {UEW} *wiša 'poison' (> F, Es viha 'hate, anger', Vt vož 'Zorn', Vt G {W} vožo 'an evil spirit causing illness', Yz 'viž'ukti v. 'be jealous'), because it is obviously a loan from Iir *wiša- 'poison' (see N *wiḥ, ∇, 3 ∇ 'spring (fons); to flow') ¶ It. no-s 391-2, LG 49, Coll. 140-1, UEW 823-4, Sm. 554 (FP *viša- 'green', *viša- 'hatred') ◇ ≈: Coll. 141 and Jcs. 26.

2540. *wiš' ∇ 'to grow' (esp. of plants) > HS: WS *√wš' ~ *√wšy

'yŝ̌εʔ) 'grow' (plants), Sq {L} eŝ̌a G pf. 'pousser' (herbes), JA [Trg.]
 𐤎𐤏𐤃 ✓ yŝ̌w|y v. 'blossom' (of plants) ({Js.}: ← 'burst forth', {Lv.}: ←
 'herauskommen'), Sr ✓ yŝ̌w|y (pf. 𐤎𐤏𐤃 y i'ṣā) v. G 'shoot, sprout, bud,
 spring\come up', 'grow' (of plants) ¶ Br. 304-5, JPS 194, Lv. T I 340,
 Jo. J 296, L LS 70, DRS 598-9 ¶ The Aram (incl. Sr) root goes back to
 a merger of N *w i ŝ̌ʔ ∇ 'to grow' and CS *✓ w ŝ̌.ʔ v. 'go out' (< N
 *weĉ̌.∇,ʔ ∇ '↑', q.v.) || IE: NaIE *weġs- v. 'sprout, grow' ('sprießen,
 wachsen') > Lt veĩst̃i 'to procreate, to breed', veĩst̃i-s vi. 'to
 multiply', Ltv viesti-s 'sich vermehren, gedeihen', Lt veislũs,
 viislũs 'fecund, fertile, prolific', Lt veislẽ, Ltv vaisla 'breed', Pru
 wēisin 'fruit', weijsewingi 'fruchtbar' || ON vísir, NNr visa
 'bud', AS wīse 'sprout, stalk' ¶ WP I 242, P 1133, Frn. 1214, En. 272,
 WH II 797, Vr. 668, Ho. 399 || A *ösæ (→ *üsæ?) 'grow, sprout' > NaT
 *ös- v. 'grow' > OT ≥VIII ös-, Tkm öθ-, Uz ωs-, Qmq, QrB, Qzq, Nog,
 Qq, ET, Qrg, Alt, Xk, Tv ös-, VTt üs- v. 'grow' (→ Chv ýc- üs/z- id.),
 Bsh üθ-, Ln ös- 𐌆 üs- v. 'grow' ¶ Cl. 241 (supposing [without arguments]
 that the T word is a loan from M), ET Gl 552-3, Rs. W 376, Jeg. 281, BT
 120, Ash. IV 21-3, Fed. II 301-2, Jeg. 281, ChVS 237 || M *ös- v. 'grow'
 (esp. of children, animals, plants) > MM [S, HI] ös- v. 'grow' (of
 children), [MA] {Pp.} ös- v. '≈ grow' or '≈ stand up' (of hair), d. [HI]
 {Ms.} öske- 'faire accroître', WrM ös- {MED} 'grow, multiply, increase',
 HIM {MED, BMR} ecθ- id., Kl {KRS} ec- ös- 'grow' (of children),
 'multiply, increase', {Rm.} ös- 'wachsen, zunehmen, größer\mehr
 werden, aufwachsen', Dx {T} os̃- v. 'grow, multiply' (of humans and
 animals), 'increase', Mnr H {SM} õs̃- 'croître, grandir', {T} õse- v.
 'grow' (of plants, children), Ord ös- 'croître, grandir, se multiplier,
 devenir nombreux' ¶ H 128, Ms. H 84-5, Pp. MA 279, MED 645, BMR III
 46-7, KRS 427, KW 301, SM 298, T 354, T DnJ 132, Ms. O 540-1 || Tg
 *üse^ru¹- v. 'grow', ({SDM} *üse-, {ADb., SDM95} *iseb-, {Bz.} *üsü-) (× N
 *'y' i ŝ̌ ∇ b ∇ [(or: either *'y' ü ŝ̌ ∇ b ∇ or *'y' i ŝ̌ U b ∇)] 'grow;
 vegetation', q.v.) > Lm isu- v. 'grow, vegetate', Neg is̃w- id., Ewk
 is̃w- v. 'grow', Ud {Krm.} yiu-, {Shn.} ỹ^Hu- v. 'grow' ¶ STM I 332,
 Krm. 242 || pKo {S} *is̃ak- > MKo is̃ak-, NKo isak- v. 'sprout, ear
 (Ähre)' ¶ S QK no. 482, Nam 401, MLC 1330 ¶¶ SDM 623-4 (pA *jüse
 'grow; sprout' > Tg *üse- 'grow', M, T + unc. Tg *üse- 'seed' and pKo
 *òrá- 'late, long ago'), DQA no. 674, Rs. W 376, SDM97 (A *üsü 'to
 grow, to sprout'), Pp. VG 108 ◇ The A data point to a N fricative

sibilant (S-sound) rather than to an affricate. Semitic *-š- goes back to a N cluster *-šʔ-. On T and M *ö- from N *wī- see Introduction, § 2.4 ◇ The glottalized cns. *ṣ̌ in Semitic is due to as. (**šʔ > S *šʔ).

2541. ***wes̥|čʷ** 'to wind, to wrap, to clothe' > **HS:** S ***o**✓ wšʷ > Ar ✓ wšʷ *D* 'make up (thread, cotton) into a ball', waššīʷ- 'layer of palm leaves under the coating of a flat roof', 'haie vive en arbrisseaux dont on entoure un jardin', 'variegated tent of a chief', wuššūʷ 'cobweb' ¶ BK II 1542, Hv. 871-2 || **IE** ***wes**_{LHX}-/***wos**_{LHX}- 'cover, clothe' > Ht was(s)-, wassiya-, wessiya- vt. 'clothe, cover; put on (clothes)', wess- md. 'be clothed', 'be put on' (clothes) || NaIE ***wes**- vt. 'clothe', ds: ***wes**_o-no-, ***wes**-mŋ-, ***wes**-tro- n. 'garment' > OI **vastē**, Av **vastē** 'wears, is dressed in', OI **vasana-**, Av **vanhana-**, OI **vastra-**, Av **vastra-** 'cloth, clothes, dress, garment', **vasman-** 'cover, clothes' || Arm **q q b n u l** *z*-genum 'I clothe, I get dressed; I put (clothes) on my back, I wear' (< ***wes**-nu-), **q q b u u n** *z*-gest 'dress, robe, garment, clothes' || Gk **έννυμι** (Gk **ἐίνυμι**), aor. **έσσα** 'put clothes on (so.)', **έσθημα**, **έσθος**, 'garment', Gk **έσθής** (gen. **έσθητός**), Gk **D έσθης** 'clothing, raiment', Gk **D F έστρα** ([Hs.] **γ έστρα** : **στολή**) {P} 'wärmeres Wintergewand, Soldatenmantel' || pAl {O} ***wesya** > Al **vesh** 'put on (clothes), cover' || L **vestis** 'covering, garment, clothing', **vestiō** vt. 'dress, clothe, cover' || MW **gwisgaw**, W **gwisgo**, MCrm **guyske**, Crm {ECCE} **gwyzca**, MBr **guisquaff**, Br **gwiskañ** 'to dress, to wear (clothes)' || ON **verja** 'to wrap, to clothe', Gt **wasjan** (· **ἀμφιεννύναι**, **περιβάλλειν**) 'kleiden, bekleiden', OHG **wërien**, OSx, AS **wërian** 'to wear, to dress', NE **wear** v.; Gt **wasti** (· **ἱμάτιον**, **στολή**, **ένδυμα**) 'Kleid'; ON **vesl** 'upper garment, coat'; MHG **wester** 'Taufkleid' || pTc ***wäs**- > Tc: A/B **wäs**- 'be\get dressed in' ¶¶ WP I 309, P 1172, EI 109 (***wes**- 'be dressed, dress'), M K III 175-6, M E II 529-30, F I 521-2, WH II 775-6, LP § 474, YGM-1 267, ECCE 257, Hm. 365, O 501-2, Fs. 552-3, Vr. 655-8, Fs. 552-3, Ho. 391, Ho. S 86, Kb. 1179, OsS 1102-3, 1128, 1132, Lx. 315, Slt. 247-8, Wn. I 564-5, Ad. 597, Frd. HW 428, Ts. W 103, 105 ¶¶ N ***ʷ** > Ht ∅. The (apparent) absence of any traces of lrs in NaIE is explained, if the primary stem was ***wes**_{LHX}- with subsequent loss of ***LHX** in the prevoc. position, while the derivatives may have been of later origin (after the loss of the prevoc. lr.). Is it possible to interpret NaIE ***o** in ***wes**_o-no- as a trace of a lr? || n ***ʷ**ē²- ***ʷ**ēn²- 'wrap, put on (as a dress), wear

(clothes)' > Tl $\nu\bar{e}\gamma\upsilon$ 'put on (as a dress)', Krx $b\bar{a}\check{c}$ - 'throw (a piece of clothing) on so.'s shoulders, wrap it around his body', Mlt {Drs.} $b\bar{e}n\bar{j}e$ v. 'dress, gird', $b\bar{a}\check{s}r\bar{e}$ 'cover oneself in clothing', ? Brh $b\bar{e}n\bar{i}\eta$ 'wear, put on' ¶ The nasalized root variant $*\nu\bar{e}n\check{c}$ - in NED (and Brh?) is probably due to some D morphological pattern ¶¶ D no. 5534 ◇ On N and pIE $*\check{c}$ - see Introduction, § 2.2.6.

2542. (₂?) $*\check{c}wAt\check{\nabla}$ 'belly' > IE: [1] NaIE (< d.?) $*\check{c}u\check{d}ero-$ / $*\check{c}w\bar{e}\check{d}ero-$ 'belly' > OI $u'dara-m$, Av $u\check{d}ara-$ 'belly' ||| Gk [Hs.] $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\cdot\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$) 'belly' ({P} = $*\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma?$), acc. to Frisk, here also Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'dropsy' (← $*\check{c}$ 'swollen belly') (×: connection with $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$ 'water', $\sigma\equiv$: NHG *Wassersucht* and R *водянка* 'dropsy') ||| Pru $w\check{e}d\check{e}rs$ 'belly, stomach (Bauch, Magen)', Lt $v\acute{e}\check{d}aras$, $\Delta v\acute{e}\check{d}eras$ id., † 'intestines'; 'e sausage made of entrails and potatoes', Ltv $v\acute{e}\check{d}\check{e}rs$, $\Delta v\acute{e}\check{d}\check{a}rs$ 'belly' | [2] ? NaIE $*\check{c}ud-tero-$ 'belly, womb' > Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ 'womb', [Hs.] $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\cdot\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$) 'stomach' ||| L *uterus* ~ *uterum* (gen. *uteri*) 'womb, belly' (× NaIE $*\check{c}u\check{d}ero-$, see above) ¶ WP I 190-1, P 1104-5, EI 2 ($*\check{c}u\check{d}ero-$ 'abdomen, stomach'), M K I 104, M E I 216, WH II 846, Ch. 1151, 1162, F II 956, ≠ 975-6 (Gk $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\alpha}$ 'womb' ÷ OI $u'ttar\bar{a}$ 'oberer, höherer', sc. cmpr. of $*ud-$ 'upper'), Frn. 1210-11, En. 272 ||| D (in SD) {tr., †GS} $*\check{c}va\check{t}\check{t}i$ 'belly, rupture' > Ml $\check{c}va\check{t}\check{t}i$ 'belly; rupture', Kn $b\check{a}\check{t}\check{t}i$ 'rupture, hernia; big intestine', Kdg $b\check{a}\check{t}\check{t}i$ 'stomach (Magen)', Tu $b\check{a}\check{t}\check{t}i$ 'rupture' ¶ D no. 5232 ||| ? HS: WCh: Zar {Sh.} $v\grave{i}c\acute{i}k\grave{i}$ 'stomach' (× N $*\check{c}w\bar{a}\bar{n}\check{\nabla}\check{c}'a'$ 'belly' [q.v.]?) ¶ Sh. Z s.v. $v\grave{i}c\acute{i}k\grave{i}$, ChC s.v. 'stomach' ◇ ≠ BmK 617 (equating IE $*\check{c}u\check{d}ero-$ / $*\check{c}w\bar{e}\check{d}ero-$ with FU $*\check{c}w\bar{a}\check{c}\bar{a}$ 'stomach, belly' [{BmK} $*\check{c}w\bar{a}t^{\check{c}}\bar{a}$] and D $*\check{c}va\check{c}^{\check{c}}$ - 'belly' [see N $*\check{c}w\bar{a}\bar{n}\check{\nabla}\check{c}'a'$ ↑]).

2543. $*\check{c}wAt\check{\nabla}$ 'earth, ground, dirt' > IE $*\check{c}wed-$ > NaIE $*\check{c}wed-$ 'ground, earth' > Gk $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ (gen. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$) 'surface of the earth, ground', $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ (gen. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\alpha}\varphi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$) 'bottom \ foundation \ base (of anything); ground floor, pavement' with the suffix $-\alpha\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ (unless ← $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ 'seat') ||| Arm $q\bar{t}u\bar{h}\bar{u}$ *getin* 'ground, earth, soil, land' || Ht $u\check{t}n\bar{e}$ - 'land', 'country' (↔ 'city') ¶¶ WP I 254, F I 441-2 and II 442 (Ht < IE $*\check{c}wedeno-$ / $*\check{c}udn-$), Ts. W 98 ||| HS: Eg fXVIII $\acute{i}\omega\check{t}n$ ~ $\acute{i}t\check{t}n$ 'surface of the earth, ground, dirt, dust', DEg $\acute{i}\omega\check{t}n$ 'ground', Cpt: Sd **EITNE** *eitn*, **BITEN** *iten*, **F EITEN** *eitn* 'ground, earth, dust' ¶ EG I 58, Er. 47, Vc. 68, Crn. 49 ||| D (in SD) $*\check{c}vati$, {†GS} $*\check{c}vadi$ 'mud, mire' > Tm $\check{c}vati$ 'mire', Kn $b\check{a}di$ 'mud,

mire, slush, ooze' ¶ D no. 5245 ¶ D *-t- for the expected *-t̥- is puzzling (D *-t- < pre-D *-t̥- + a sx?).

2544. *wät̥ > HS: WS +ext.) *^lwatar- 'sinew' > BHb יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר, Gz watr 'sinew, cord, bowstring', Sr יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר ya't̥'r-ā (abs. יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר yi't̥'ar) 'sinew; string (of a bow, of a musical instrument)', JA [Trg] {Lv.} pl. יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר ya't̥'ā'r īn, יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר ya't̥'ā'r ay'yā 'ropes' (← Hb pl. יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר ya't̥'ā'rīm, as suggested by -ā- after t̥), JEA {Lv., Dlm.} יָתֵר יַעֲטֵר ya't̥'r-ā 'bowstring, straight side of the stomach', Md iat̥ra, Ar واتر watar- 'sinew; bowstring; chord of a musical instrument' ¶ KB 431, Lv. II 280, Lv. T I 349, Dlm. 180, Js. 605, Br. 313, JPS 200, DM 166, BK II 1480, Hv. 848, L G 62, DRS 653, MiK I no. 1.290 || ??? Eg XVIII ω̣.τ 'Strick bei der Gründungszeremonie', Eg Md ω̣.τ {EG} «Bänder», sc. 'Muskeln und Sehnen am Kiefergelenk', {DW} 'Band am Kiefergelenk' (valid if ω̣.τ < *^lwrt̥ < mt. *^lwtr?) (× Eg fBD ω̣.τ 'Schnur, Strick' < N *waR̥?ū' -> *wa?R̥?ū' 'a tie' [→ 'thong', 'rope']) ¶ EG I 244, DW I 160 || U *^owät̥t̥^l'E' (unless it is *^owäs|š'E') > Sm {Hl.} *wetö, {Jn.} *wet̥(-) 'gut' > Ne: T ed̥, T O {Lh.} yēd̥, F {Lh.} β̣̣̣̣̣̣̣; En X {Cs.} 'bere, B {Cs.} 'bede; Ng {Cs.} 'beaṭ, {Mik.} pl. 'beṭ'; Slq: Tz {KKIH} keṭ, Tm {KD} kēd̥ id.; Kms {KD} beḍ, β̣̣̣̣̣̣̣, {Cs.} bēḍ, Koyb {Sp.} baḍ; Mt {Hl.} *beḍ|öh (Mt K {Mil.} beḍ, Mt M {Mil.} beḍ 'gut', {Sp.} beḍ'his gut', T {Mil.} be'ḍḳta id.) ¶ Jn. 175, Ter. 88, Lh. 121, KKIH 115, Hl. M no. 106, Cs. 69, 93, 117, 191, 211 || D {tr., ʒGS} *vat̥- 'cord, string, rope' > Tm vaṭam id., 'bowstring', vaṭi 'rope', Ml vaṭam 'rope', Kn vaṭa, vaṭara, vaṭi 'string, rope, tie', Tl vaṭi 'rope, cord', Gnd vaṭiya 'e strong rope' ¶¶ D no. 5220.

2545. *^lwet̥ 'flowing' water' > IE *^lwed-/^lwod-/^lud- 'water' ({EI} *^lwoḍ / gen. *^lweḍ-s / loc. *^lu'den-i 'water'; coll. *^lweḍōr / accus. *^lu'den-ṃ / gen. *^luḍ'n-os 'water') > OI gen. uḍ'nah, loc. u'dan(i) 'water' || Arm q̣ṭun get 'river' || Gk ὑδωρ ntr. 'water' (gen. ὑδατος < *^luḍ-ṃ-tos) || Phr β̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ 'water' || Um utur accus.id. (abl. une < *^luḍ-n-i) || Clt {Matas.} *uden-sk-yo- 'water' > OIr uisce ({EI}: < *^luḍ-ṃ-s-kyo-) id. || Gt watō (dat. pl. watnam), ON vatn (generalization of the stem for the obl. cases), OSw vatur, OSx watar, OHG wazzar, NHG Wasser, AS wæter 'water', NE water || Blt (with the puzzling infix *-n-): Lt vandũ (gen. vandeṇs, accus. vandeṇi), Ltv vanḍa, Ruv vanḍa, vada 'water' || *valde id. (gen. *valde) >

OCS **В О Д А** voda, Blg, R, Uk во'да, SCr vòda, Slv vóda, Cz, Slk voda, P woda 'water' || pAl {O} *udr-yā 'water' > Al uje, pl.: Al: T ujera, G ujna id. || pTc {Ad.} *wār > Tc: A wār, B war id. || AnIE: Ht watar 'water' (obl.: weten-, wit-), Lw {Lar.} wid- id. (dat. ú-i-ti, accus. pl. ú-i-da-an-za) || NaIE *^ol₁ouđ- v. 'flow' (of water) > OI **ōd-** 'quellen, benetzen' (pres.: 3s u'natti, 3p un'danti), **ōd-man-** n. 'flood, flooding', Av aoda 'well, spring of water' || d.: ON váttr 'humid, wet', Sw vāt, Dn vād, OFrs wēt, AS wætt id., NE wet || Sl *vědro 'pail, bucket' (< *'vessel for water') > OR **Β Ἐ Δ Ρ Ο** vědro (· στάμνος, urna) '(?) pail, bucket', OCS **В Ἐ Δ Ρ Ο** vědro, Blg, R ведро, Uk відро, SCr vědro & vjèdro, Slv védro, Cz vědro, Slk vedro, P wiadro 'pail, bucket' ¶¶ P 78-80, EI 66 (*'wodrō 'water'), M K I 103, 132, M E I 215-16, 279, F II 957-9, Bc. G 350, Pln. II 761, Vn. U 21, Fs. 553-4, Vr. 648, Ho. 381-2, Kb. 1153, OsS 1106, KM 840, Frn. 1194, En. 269, Vs. I 283-4, 330, StSS 119, 164, Srz. I 479-80, Mikl. L 120, Glh. 676-7, BER I 127, 168-9, Slt. 34-6, O 483-4, Ad. 577-8, Frd. HW 249-50, Ts. W 104, 106, Lar. 111, Matas, E 395-6 || **HS**: EC: Ged {Hd.} wadaʔe 'water, river', as well as possibly (× EC *✓ wɪ 'flowing water' < N *ho₁w₁ɟa [or *ho₁wa] 'to flow, to stream; a stream'): {Hd.}: Hd wəʔə, Kmb waʔa, wiʔa, Sd wā, Brj 'wā (gen. wayin-) 'water' and (C →) Amh wəha 'water' ¶ Hd. 164-5, 264, Ss. B 186, PH 211 || WS (+ext.) *✓ wtn v. 'flow continuously' (water) (× *✓ w|ytn 'be continuous' < N *t₁īnE 'strong') > Ar wātīn- 'flowing continuously' (water) ({BK} 'qui coule, courant' [eau]), ✓ wtn (pf. watana, ip. yatinu) v. 'flow continuously' (water), Sb wtn 'continuous' (rain); ??? Sb ✓ wɔw|y v. 'flow' ¶ BK II 1482, Hv. 849, BGMR 156, 165, DRS 652 || **U** *wete 'water' > FU *wete id. > F vesī (gen. veden), Es vesī (gen. vee) id. || pMr *vedā- > Er/Mk vedь véđ id. || Chr H вѣд vəđ, Chr L вѣд vüđ id. || Prm {LG} *va (or *vā?) > Z va, Vt vu id. || ObU: Vg: T üç, LK wiç, P wüç, Ss wit id. || Hg vız (accus. vizeɬ) id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *wit 'water' > Ne F {Lh.} βit, Ne T и", Ne T O {Lh.} jīʔ, Ng {Cs.} bēʔ (gen. bed-aŋ), {Mik.} b+ʔ, En B/X {Cs.} bîʔ (gen. En B bīroʔ, En X bidoʔ), En {Ter.} biʔ, Slq Tz {KKIH} üt, Kms {KD} bú, {Cs.} bü, Koyb {Pl.} bü, бы, {Sp.} b̄, Mt {Hl.} *bü (Mt: M/K/T {Mil.}, A {Msrs.} бу, M {Pl.} бу, {Sp.} б̄) id. || ??φ pY {IN UJ} *ōnčī 'water' > OY K {Lndn.} óndschi, {Bil.} -ondschi, {Klc.} ожей, онжи, OY Ch {Mat.} онде, {Boe.} и\$нжии\$, и\$жи\$ело, Y K {Km.} ōjī, {IN H} ōzī, {IN UJ} ōžī 'water' ¶

The Y cognate is qu. because of the unexpected word-internal *n ¶¶ UEW 570, Sm. 541 (U, FU *weti, FP *veti, Ugr *witi, Sm *wit), Ker. II 188, LG 46, Jn. 176, KP 17, KKIH 193, Hl. M no. 143, IN H 330-1, IN UJ 273, 316, Krn. JJ 283 || A *ôd∇ 'rain' > Tg *udun 'rain' > Ewk udun, Sln udũ, Lm udɛn ɔ udun, Ork udu / udun- id. ¶ STM II 248 || pKo {S, SDM} *òrán- 'heavy rain' > MKo òrán-pí ¶ S QK no. 880, Yu 575 ¶¶ SDM 1484 (pA *u|ot|d∇ - *j|ot|d∇ 'rain' > Tg, Ko) || ?φ D *vat- ({{ϑGS} *-d-) v. 'flow, run in a small stream' > Tu ođđa 'flowing', ođđuni v. 'flow, run', Kn ođi v. 'flow in a small gentle stream', Tm vatı v. 'drip, trickle', v. 'ebb' (of tide), Ml vatıvı 'a current', vatıyuka v. 'overflow, ebb, trickle', Td warf / wart- v. 'flow' (of blood), Tl vadıyı ~ ođıyı v. 'be strained, percolate', vadıcu ~ vadacu v. 'pour slowly, let falling drops', Klm vadp- v. 'pour', Knd vadıs- v. 'pour down' ¶¶ D no. 5221 ◇ The element *-n- in S *wtn, Tg *udun and in the oblique cases *wedn-, *ud(e)n- of the IE heteroclitic noun goes back to the N genitive pc. *nu (*'wetê nu 'of water') ◇ Tg *u- is a regular reflex of N *we- (see Introduction, § 2.4). D *vat- is a qu. cognate because of the vw. *a (for the expected *e) ◇ IS SS no. 2.17, IS MS 336 (*wetn: IE, Tg, U + S: Sb wdw|y 'flow'), ≈ AD MRV 29 (IE, U, Tg), ≠ BmK no. 483 (*wat-/*wat-: IE, U + D [Tm otam 'moisture' etc.]; wrong phonetic correspondences) ◇ On N and pIE *'- see Introduction, § 2.2.6 ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 416 (*wet 'water') (IE, U, A + unc. Ai).

2546. (2?) *wAht∇ '≈ to smell (sth.), to smell (of sth.)' > HS: ? B {ϑPr.} *wht > Ah inf. awt 'be smelled' (unless ← awt 'be struck') [Fcj 62 = Pcj I A 6], ??σ Ty ɔwɔatɛn n. 'smoke' ¶ Fc. 1536, Pr. M VI-VII 106 (on the conjugation Pcj I A 6), PGG 352 || D {Pf.} *vāt- 'smell' > Tm vātı 'fume, scent', Ml vātı 'scent of dogs', Tl vādı 'smell', Krx bā:ř- v. 'perceive as by sniffing, scent, discover\track by the smell' ¶¶ D no. 5343, Pf. 59 [no. 370] || U *watta- 'find tracks of', 'follow the tracks of' > pLp {Lr.} *vōttē- id. > Lp: S {Hs.} vūttēdh 'nachspüren, (einen Wolf\Elch) aufspüren, der Spur folgen', L {LLO} vūhhtē 'find tracks of', N {N} vūttē id., 'observe, get to know', Kld {TI} vū:te- 'folgen, die Spuren verfolgen, aufspüren' | Fotta-, Es vōta-, Vo vōttā, Lv vōt'ɔ 'take, take away', F d. otus, Krl d. otuš 'game (animal)' | Prm {LG} *vōt- v. 'chase' > Z Δ vōt-, Z d. vōtly- vōt-lı- id., Prmk vōt- vōt-, Yz vōt-, Z vōtɔd- 'run after\down, catch up'

clothes Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} *wēde-* 'look after \ inspect (nachsehen), visit (as a sick person)', T {Ter.} *vēde-* id. ('проследить, проверить, разведать, навестить') ¶¶ Coll. 69, UEW 561-2, Lr. no. 1476, Lgc. no. 8847, Hs. 1468, TI 800, SK 443-4, LG 69, KPR 85, Lt. J 101, Ter. 68, Lh. 68 ◇ U *-tt- as a reflex of N *-Ht- still needs investigating ◇ In some lges there may have been influenced of N **wēt₁∇₁'γ'∇* 'look, see' (q.v.).

2547. ₂ **wit∇?∇* 'find' > HS: S **o*✓*w*t? (or **o*✓*w*th) 'find' > OAk, Ak OA inf. *wa*tā[?]-um, Ak B inf. (*w*)atū[?]m, p. 3s ū[?]ta 'finden, entdecken' ¶ G OA 81-2, Sd. 1493-4 || ?? WCh (× N **wēt₁∇₁'γ'∇* 'look, see'): pBT {Stl.} **w*∇- v. 'see, find' > Dr {J} *wa-*, Krkr {J} *w-* 'find', Tng {J} *wē-* 'see, look' || ?? Bks {J} *wisī* 'finden, bekommen' ¶ Stl. VZCh B no. 208, Stl. ZCh 247 [no. 57], ChC s.v. 'to find', J T 161, J DK s.v. *wa-*, J WDK s.v. 'finden', J R 147 || IE: NaIE **wēid-* v. 'find' (× N **wēt₁∇₁'γ'∇* '↑') > OI *vid-* v. 'find, discover, obtain' (3s pres. *vidati* ~ *vētti* ~ *vit'tē*, aorist *avidat*, pfc. *vi'veda*), Av *vaēd-* 'finden, erlangen' (pres. *vīnastī* ~ *vindanti*, pfc. *vīvaēda*), MPrs *vindātan* 'gewinnen, erreichen' ||| Arm *qanwub* *gtanem* 'I find', aor. 3s *gqhun egit* 'he found' ||| Clt {Matas.} **wi-n-d-o-* 'find, experience' > OIr *ro-finnadar* id., (< **fro-wi-n-d-o-*), MW *gwybot* 'know' (3s pres. *gwn*), W {YGM} *gwybod* id., MBr *gouz(o)ut* (1s pres. *goun* ~ *gon*) 'know', Crn *godhvos* 'know' ¶ P 1125, Me. EAC 49, 106, 160, M K III 214, M E II 579-81, Matas. E 422-3, YGM-1 273, ≈ Sl. 82-3 (Arm *gt-*/*get-* < NaIE **woida* 'know') ||| A: M **bedere-* (× N **wēt₁∇₁'γ'∇* 'look, see') > MM [S] *bedere-* 'suchen, absuchen', WrM {MED} *bedere-* v. 'seek, search, look for', HIM *бэдрэ-* {MED} id., {BMR} 'look for' (искать, разыскивать), Brt *бэдэр-* id., Kl {KRS} *бедр-* 'get\be ready to, intend to', Kl D {Rm.} *bedr-* 'anschaffen, in Ordnung machen, sich für etwas fertig machen, sich vorbereiten', Ord *b_ē_d_ere-* 'préparer d'avance, s'approvisionner, tenir qch. en réserve pour un besoin futur, se précautionner pour parer à un besoin éventuel' ¶ H 14, MED 94, BMR I 312, Chr. 129, KRS 93, KW 41, Ms. O 61 ||| D **vet-* (**vedd-*?) v. 'seek, search, look for' (× N **wēt₁∇₁'γ'∇* '↑?') > Kn *bedaku* 'seek, search, look for', Tl *vedaku*, *vetaku* v. 'search, explore' ||| Krx *beddnā* (*biddyās*) v. 'seek, search', Mlt *bede* v. 'seek, marry' ¶¶ D no. 5483 ¶¶ According to IS, D *-dd- (and {AD} *-t-) goes back to N *-tH- ◇ S **o*γ|h suggests that in the N etymon there was a lr. The only N lr. that could

leave no traces in IE is *ʔ (with a preceding vw., otherwise N *-tʔ- [> *-t-]) would have produced an IE cns. *-t-).

2548. ***wot₁∇ʔ₁E** or ***wot₁Eʔ₁∇** 'speak, utter sounds', (?) 'organ of speech' > HS: Eg P ω t 'tongue' or 'mouth' (?) ¶ EG I 377 || Ch: ECh: Ke {Eb.} wǎté 'say', wǎté kel 'speak' (lit. 'say words'), ??φ Smr {J} wá y 'speak', {Nc.} ω o i o 'speak, talk' || CCh: ?σ Gude {Hsk.} wuđ 3 'take oath on a fetish', wùđá 'formal oath', {IL} wađ+ 'say', ??φ Lgn {Lk.} wá- ~ wǎ- 'say' ¶ Eb. 101, ChC s.v. 'say', Hsk. 293, Lk. L 125, Lk. ZSS 82, J LS s.v. wá y, Nc. s.v. ω o i o || WS ***✓ w₁t₁** > Ar **✓ w₁t₁ G** (pf. wa₁t₁a) 'shout, make noise', 'cry out' (of children), Tgr **✓ w₁t₁'y₁ G** (pf. **ω₁η₁ w₁e₁ta**), Tgy **✓ w₁t₁ G** (pf. **ω₁η₁ w₁e₁t₁e₁y₁e**) 'sing', ?? (*on.?*) Tgr **✓ w₁č₁č₁** 'howl, make a noise, bluster' ¶ BK II 1559, Hv. 877, LH 440, ≈ DRS 528 || C: HEC {Hd.} *ođʔ- 'cry, mourn' > {Hd.}: Brj, Ged, Kmb, Sd ođʔ- id. || Bj {R} ađ- scv. 'bellow' (of camels) ¶ Hd. 45, R WBd 8 || IE ***wed-/*ud-** 'utter vocal sounds, speak' (× N ***haw₁t₁∇** 'speak, utter sounds') > O I **vadati** (pp. ud-i'ta-) 'speaks, says, raises the voice' || Lt **vadinti** (1s pres. vadinu) 'to call by name; to invite, to ask' (as well as Sl *vaditi > OCS **ВѦΔΗΤΗ** vaditi 'to accuse?') || ?φ Clt {Matas.} ***wet-** 'say' > OW **g₁uetid**; the vl. consonant *-t- (for the expected voiced one) is still to be explained (maybe pIE *wet- with *-t- from N ***-t∇ʔ-**) || Gk [Hs.] γοδᾶν (sc. φοδᾶν) (*κλαίειν) 'to lament', Gk ὑδέω ~ ὑδω v. {LS} 'call, name', {F} 'besingen, verherrlichen' || ? Ht **uttar / uttan-** 'word, speech' (× N ***wA₁t₁∇r∇** 'speak') ¶¶ The NaIE variant stem ***aud-** (> Gk αὔδαω v. 'utter sounds, speak', αὔδη 'voice, speech, sound') is hardly explainable as a Schwebeablaut from ***wed-** (because of the unexpected vw. α-) and may be attributed to N ***haw₁t₁∇** '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ WP I 251-2, ≈ P 76-7, EI 535 (*wed- 'raise one's voice'), M K III 133-4, M E II 496, Frn. 1177-8, StSS 108, F I 184 and II 956, Matas. E 418, Ts. W 97-8 || **A *ot'E** (= *ot'i?) 'emit sounds' > T ***öt-** v. 'sing' (of birds), 'emit a sound' > OT **öt-**, Az, CrTt, Ln **öt-**, Ggz **yöt-** 'sing' (of birds), Tk **öt-** id., 'resound', 'emit sounds' (of musical instruments), OOSm XIV v. **öt-** 'bleat', Tv **œt-** 'emit sounds', Chv **авăт-** avbt- 'sing' (of birds), 'croak' (of frogs), zirpen (Grashüpfer, Heimchen), v. 'thunder' ({Ash.} 'canere' [de quibusdam avibus dicitur], 'coaxare' [de ranis], 'tonare' [de fragore coeli]), Yk et- 'say' (and **úôt-** [*on.?*] v. 'coo, invoke [spirits]?') ¶ Cl. 39-40, ET Gl 556, Ash. I 55-6, Jeg. 21, ChVS 8, Rs. W 52, 376, TvR 606 || M ***öci-** (< ****öti-**) 'say, inform' > MM [HI, S] **öci-** v. 'inform, report' [MA] **öciha** v. 'account' **öciha** **tiçetti** 'said

a word', WrM {MED} öci- v. 'say, answer, testify; pray', HIM өчи- {MED} id., {BMR} 'say', WrO {Krg.} öci- v. 'depose, say respectfully', Kl Ö {Rm.} öčə- v. 'answer to an accusation', Ord öč'ö- 'réciter à haute voix (prière)'; \rightarrow M *öci-g > WrM öciğ {MED} 'testimony, deposition (in court), prayer', HIM өчиғ {MED} id., {BMR} 'Aussage (im Gericht); promise', WrO öciğ 'reply', Kl Ö {Rm.} öčǎğ n. 'Antwort', Ord öč'ök 'prière recitée à haute voix lors d'une offrande; acte d'accusation qu'on présente au tribunal; déclaration d'un accusé; aveu de culpabilité'; ?σ Dg učun 'song', učule- v. 'sing' ¶ H 121, Ms. H 83, Pp. MA 272, MED 628, BMR III 48. KW 302, Krg. 143, T DgJ 172, Ms. O 542-3 || Tg *oṭ- (unless it is *oḡoṭ-) > Ewk oṭutka- 'shout' or 'cry' ('schreien') ¶ STM II 29 || pJ {S} ótè n. 'sound' > OJ oto , MJ ótò , JT otó , JK ótò , JKg óto id. ¶ S QJ no. 180, Mr. 513, Kenk, 1468 ¶¶ SDM 1068 (pA *óť|tè 'sound' > Tg, M, T, J), DQA no. 1589, S AJ 286 [no. 245], KW 302, Pp. VG 51, Vld. 323 ¶¶ SDM 1068 (pA *óť|tè 'sound' > Tg, M, T, J), S AJ 286, KW 302, Vld. 323, Pp. VG 51 || **D** (in SD) *ōt- ({ǧGS} *d-) 'utter, recite, pronounce' > Tm ōtu v. 'read, recite, utter mantras, speak', MI ōtukə v. 'recite, read, say', Kn ōdū id., 'utter', Kt ōd- 'read, pronounce (charms)', Td wI'θ- v. 'read', wI't 'incantation', Kdg qđ- , Tu ōdurni v. 'read' ¶ D no. 1052 ◇ The N lr. *t- survives in HEC, is lost in IE (a reg. change), while in the prehistory of some other lges (WS, Bj, D, pA *ot'E) it merged with N *t- (*tǧ- > *t-) and later produced reflexes of *t- (sc. pA *t'- , D *t- , WS *tǧ and Bj -d-). The long vw. in SD *ōt- may have resulted from loss of the N lr. *t- (complementary lengthening).

2549. *wêṭ, ṽ, ṽ 'look, see' > HS: S *w d f v. 'know' (N *t, ṽ, ṽ - > *t'ṽ - > [as.] *d'ṽ - > S *d f -) > Ph, Ug, Aram w d f G v. 'know', BHb w d f G (pf. w d f) 'know, learn, notice', w d f hōdīa (Sh pf.) 'communicate', Mh w d f v. 'know', Sh $\text{həw d ē} \sim \text{həw d ē}$ v. 'tell people that so. is under one's protection', OAk i d ā'um , Ak fOB $\text{i d ū} \sim \text{e d ū}$, Ak MA/NA (w a) d ū , v. 'know', Eb w d f id. ({HMu.} 3m aor. $\text{i'ī-dā} = \text{y i w d a f}$ 'he knew\knows'), SCn acp. G *yō'di f - \rightarrow Eg (EgSSc) {Hlk} y(ū)-dī-ʿa '(one) knowing'; \rightarrow S *dī f-at (from **w d i f at) 'knowledge' > BHb w d f dē'ā, Pun, Ug {OLS} d f t id., Ak $\text{d i ?(a) t u} \sim \text{d a ?(a) t u}$ 'notice, information' (× N *d i 'h' a 'look at', q.v.) ¶ OLS 126-7, 521, KB 373-5, KBR 390-2, HJ 439-40, Sd. 187-8, 1454-6, CAD III 130-1, IV 34-5 and VII 20-34, Krb. PE 40-1, HMü. 180. 183. Hlk 530. SivCR 78. DRS 502-3 || Ch: CCh: McMs: Azm

{Pc.} wédá msd. 'to see, to know', ? Ms {Caît.} wì 'see, know', {Mch.} wā 'see', Br {ChC} wútà, BM: Cb {ChL} wùtì 'see' ||| ECh: Smr {J} ?wòtḡ 'know' ||| ??φ WCh: Tng {J} wē- 'see, look' (× N *wit∇?∇ 'find?') ¶ JI II 217 and 284-5, Pc. 417, Caît. 150, ChC s.v. 'see' and 'know', Mch. VCQP s.v. wā, ChL, J LS s.v. ?wòtḡ, JT 161 ||| IE: NaIE *weǵd- v. 'see, look' > Gk aor II εἶδον 'see', pfc. (in pres. sense) ὄδα 'know', εἰδήσω ft. 'I shall know', besides Gk Hm εἶδομαι, Gk Ep 3s ἐεἶδεταλ 'be seen, appear' ||| L video, -ēre v. 'see, look' ||| Clt {Matas.} *wēdo- 'sight, presence' > OIr fiad 'in the presence of', MW gwydd 'sight, presence', W {YGM} gŵydd 'presence', CltI [ϣ] weizos 'witness'; ?φ Clt {Matas.} *wet-o- > Mir 'watches over, observes' ||| Gt witan (p./pres. 1s wait 'ich weiß' [← 'ich habe gesehen'], 1p wítum 'wir wissen') (ffd. see below s.v. NaIE pfc. 3s *'woyð-e *'has seen' → 'knows'), Gt witan w.v. (p. witaida) (·τηρεῖν) '(auf etw.) sehen, beobachten', ON vita, AS be-witian 'to observe, to watch', OHG wizzen, gi-wizzen 'to become wise, to know' ||| Sl *viděti (1s pres. **vidjǫ) 'to see' > OCS ВИДѢТИ vidě-ti, SCr видети њ vidjeti, Slv vîdeti, R видеть, Cz viděti, P widzieć id., Blg виждам ~ видя 'I see' ||| Ltv {ME} vīdēt '(in der Ferne \ flüchtig \ nicht genau) sehen, wahrnehmen', μ viedēt 'to see, to have the faculty of sight', ?φ Lt veizdėti 'to see', Pru widdai '(he) saw'] a derived noun: *weyð-o- > Gk εἶδος 'shape, aspect' ||| Sl *vidъ > OCS ВИДЪ vidъ 'aspect (Aussehen, вид); eyesight', R, Uk вид, Slv vîd, Cz, Slk vid 'Aussehen', SCr vîd 'face, Aussehen' | Ltv veīds 'shape, form', Lt veidas 'face' ||| NaIE pfc. 3s *'woyð-e *'has seen' → 'knows' / 1p *wid-me 'we know' > Gk οἶδε 'knows', ἴδμεν 'we know' ||| OI 3s vēda (1p vid'ma), Av vaēšā 'knows' ||| Clt *widri (< pfc. *widrǫ 'they know') > W {LP} gŵyr, Crn gor, Br goar 'knows', OIr -fitir id. (ro-fetar 'knows'), W gwydd- 'know' ||| Sl *vědě > OCS ВѢДѢ věd-ě 'I know'; → μ *věděti 'to know' (prs: 1s vě-mь, 2s vě-si, 3s vě ~ věs-tь) > OCS ВѢДѢТИ věděti (prs: 1s vě-mь, 2s vě-si, 3s vě ~ věs-tь), Slv vědeti, Cz věděti (pres.: 1s vím, 2s víš), Slk vedet', P wiedzieć 'to know' → μ: R вѣдатель, Uk відати id. ||| Pru μ waist 'to know' ||| Gt 3s wait (1p wítum) p./pres. 'ich weiß' (← 'ich habe gesehen'), ON veit, AS wāt, OHG weiz, NHG weiß 'I know, he knows', NE † wit 'to know' (pres. wot, p. wist); ⇨ inf. OHG wizzan, NHG wissen 'to know' ||| Arm Գիտիմ 'I know' ||| Ltv irdi 'I have

seen, I saw' ||| Brtt [RE] *woj̥d-butā 'to know' (cd *woj̥d- + *b^hū-t- 'be', see N *buHi 'grow, appear, become') > MW gwybot, W gwybod, Crn gothwos, OBr gudbut, MBr, Br gouzout 'to know' | NaIE *wid- in Gk inf. aor. ἰδεῖν v. 'see', aor. εἶδον (< ἔϜιδον) 'I saw' | NaIE *wid-(o)- 'sight, shape, appearance' > OI vīd- 'knowledge' (× N *wit∇?∇ 'find' [q.v.]) ||| ON vit 'Verstand', OHG wizzī knowledge, wisdom', NHG witz 'wit', † 'esprit, mother wit', OFrs, AS witt 'intellect, knowledge, awareness', NE wit n.; Gmc d. (< *wid-yo-?) > Gt -witi (in un-witi 'Unwissenheit') ¶ Mn. 1501-2, ≈ P 1125-7, EI 337 (*wej̥d- 'see, know [as a fact]', pfc. *^lwoj̥de), Bks 238-9, F I 451-2 and II 357, Fs. 569, Ch. 526, 569-70, LP § 44, Sw. 24, Ho. 400-1, Kb. 1221-12, OsS 279, 1193-4, Vr. 669, KM 864-5, Frn. 1212-16, En. 269-70, 273, StSS 114-15, 164, Vs. I 283, 312, Glh. 668, BER I 143-6, Matas. E 407-8, 418-19, YGM-1 274 ||| U *^oü^rt^le- (= *ü|it_l|s|še-) > Sm {Jn.} *b̥t̥b- v. 'see', {Hl.} *b̥t̥∇- 'be seen\visible (sichtbar sein)' (× N *q^ri^t∇ 'appear, become visible', q.v. ffd.) ||| A: M *bedere- (× N *wit∇?∇ '↑?') > MM [S] bedere- 'suchen, absuchen', WrM {MED} bedere- v. 'seek, search, look for', HIM бэдрэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'look for' (искать, разыскивать), Brt бэдэр- id., Kl {KRS} бедр- 'get\be ready to, intend to', Kl D {Rm.} bedr̥- 'anschaffen, in Ordnung machen, sich für etwas fertig machen, sich vorbereiten', Ord b_ēdere- 'préparer d'avance, s'approvisionner, tenir qch. en réserve pour un besoin futur, se précautionner pour parer à un besoin eventuel' ¶ H 14, MED 94, BMR I 312, Chr. 129, KRS 93, KW 41, Ms. O 61 ||| D *vet- (*vedd-?) v. 'seek, search, look for' (× N *wit∇?∇ '↑?') > Kn bedaku 'seek, search, look for', Tl vedaku, vetaku v. 'search, explore' ||| Krx beddnā (biddyas) v. 'seek, search', Mlt bede v. 'seek, marry' ¶¶ D no. 5483 ¶¶ According to IS, D *-dd- (and {AD} *-t-) go bacck to N *-tH- ◇ The phonetic prehistory of the Sm (and pU) root still needs investigating ◇ The IE ev. points to a pN *i, while the D and M vowels suggest a pN *e. This controversy is still to be resolved. It may be supposed (as a possible solution) that the IE root was influenced by N *wit∇?∇ 'find' ◇ In NaIE *wej̥d- (< pIE **wej̥d_lH_l-) the traces of the expected lr. disappeared in the prevocalic position ◇ In some lges there may have been infl. of N *wAht∇ '≈ to smell sth.' (q.v.) ◇ The pN rec. *wê^t∇^r∇ is preferred to *wê^t^r∇, because *wê^t^r∇

would have been likely to undergo assimilation: *wê't'γ'∇ > *wêd'γ'∇ or *wê't'χ'∇.

2550. *waṭ∇ 'heavy, firm, strong' > HS: Eg fOK (+ext.) w d n 'be heavy, weigh' ¶ EG I 390, Fk. 73 || A *°ba_L:t'∇ > M *batu 'firm, solid, stable' > MM [MA] ба_Lту id., [IM] ба_Lту 'hard, strong', [IsV] ба_Lту 'hard, solid', [S] ба_Lту adv. 'fest (anziehen)', WrM ба_Lту {MED} 'firm, solid, stable, strong', HIM бат {MED} id., {BMR} 'solid, stable, firm (крепкий), надежный', Brt бата 'hard (твердый), firm, solid, steady', WrO ба_Lту 'firm, solid, steady', Kl {KRS} бат ба_Lть id., {Rm.} ба_Lта 'stark, fest, nicht schwankend, hart, ausdauernd', Ord b_Lat'ū 'solide, fort, sur qui on peut compter', Mnr H {SM} p'ad_Lu id., 'sûr', {T} padu ~ batu 'firm, solid, strong', Ba {T} батз 'firm, stable'; M → Chg {ShSB} ба_Lту 'strong, hard' ¶ Pp. MA 113, 433, Lg. VMI 19, H 13, MED 91, BMR I 236, Chr. 91, Krg. 325, KRS 84, KW 36, Ms. O 57, SM 300, T 354, T BJ 135, ShSB 66 ¶ M *bač'īm- 'hasty' does not belong here, but goes back to N *bag_L∇, t'ī 'be quick; sudden' (q.v.) || D: NED *ott- 'heavy' > Krx ott^hā 'burden; heavy, difficult', Mlt oye 'heavy, important' ¶ D no. 977, Pf. 186 [no. 50] || ?φ U: pY {IN H} *wad- 'firm, strong' > Y T war- {IN H} 'be firm\strong, {IN UJ} 'be firm\solid', Y K {IN H} ad- 'firm, strong', {Iox.} adi 'fest (die Tür zuschließen)', a'dulbe 'become hard\strong', a'dulbei 'vigour, courage, strength', a'dulet- 'strengthen, gather strength, grow strong', Y K {IN H} aduled-, Y T {IN H} warite- v. 'strengthen', warineŋ ~ warīneŋ 'firm, strong' ¶ Ku. 42-3, Ang. 4, IN H 449-50, IN UJ 91 (on pY *δ), 94-5 (on pY *w-) ◇ It is still to be found out if (and under what conditions) N *wa- may yield NED *o-, and N *-t- may yield pY *-δ-.

2551. *w'e't'∇ 'long time, year; old' > HS: B *w∇tāy 'year' > Ah {Fc.} awetay (pl. iw_Ltjān), Ty/ETwl {GhA} aw_Lṭay (pl. iw_Lṭyan), Gh {Nh.} awatay (pl. iw_Lč'ian) id. ¶ Fc. 1538-45, GhA 203, Nh. 27 || IE *wet- 'year' > pAl {O} *weta > Al vit, vjet id. || Ht witt-, d. wettant- 'year', ?φ: Lw {Lar.} ussa/i-, HrLw usa-s id. || NaIE *wetos / *wetes- / *wets- 'year', 'old' > OI d. vatsa'ra- 'year', ? vat'sa- 'calf, young of animals, child' (← *'yearling') || Gk ἔτος (gen. ἔτεος), Gk Δ F. ἔτος, Gk Mc accus. weto, dat. wetei 'year' || pAl {O} *vetuša > Al vic, 'calf' || L vetus (gen. veter-is) 'old', d. vetustus 'old, ancient', d. (dim.) vetulus '(poor) little old man', 'rather old' (of things) || It + A uē + uē = 'old (alt beahrt)' Itv

вѣсѣ 'old' (of things), 'aged' || Sl *вѣтъхъ 'old' (of things) > OCS
 вѣтъхъ вѣтъхъ id., 'ancient', Blg вѣхт, 'вѣтъх id., 'decrepit' (of
 things), R 'ветхий, Cz vetchý, Slk vetchý 'decrepit' (of things), P
 wiotchy, wiotki 'flimsy, sleazy' ||] -> NaIE *wet-elō- 'yearling' >
 Gk ἔταλον, ἔτελον id. ||] L vitulus 'bull calf', Um vitlu accus. id. ¶¶
 WP I 251, P 1175, EI 654, M K III 132-3, M E II 495, Ch. 382-3, F I 583-4,
 O 506-7, 509, WH II 776-8, 807, Bc. G 351, Pln. II 763, Frn. 1233, StSS
 113, Vs. I 307, Ma. C 564, BER 139, Frd. HW 255, Ts. W 106, Mer. HGG
 140, Lar. 103, Ot. 103 || | A *ot'É 'old (senex)' > T *ötü- ({{SDM} *ötü-
 with unj. long vw.) > Chv ватаѣ vad_ь ~ ват 'old (старый,
 старинный), древний, ветхий', Dlg ötök 'everything old', Yk ötöx 'old
 abandoned house'; Chg {Rl.} ötkün 'former (прошлый, vergangen)' ¶
 TL 86, Ash. V 184-7, Fed. I 102-3, Jeg. 47, ChVS 29, Rl. I 1269-70 || M
 **öte- -> [1] M *ötegün (pl. *ötegüs) 'old (senex)' > MM [S] {H} otogu,
 [L, MA, IM] ötegü, [HI] ötögü gü, ün 'old person', WrM {MED}
 ötegü 'old man; senior', pl. ötegüs 'seniors, elders, chieftains', HIM
 {BMR} өтөг 'old (senex)', {MED} pl. өтөгс 'seniors, elders,
 chieftains', Brt өтөө 'old', Kl {Rm.} ötögə, ötkö 'alter Mann, Greis'; [2]
 M *ötel- > WrM {MED} ötel-, HIM {MED, BMR} өтлө-, Brt үтэл-, Kl
 {KRS} өтл- 'grow old', {Rm.} öt]- 'alt werden, bejaart werden', Ord
 öt'öl- 'devenir vieux, vieillir', Mnr H {SM} sd_ōli- 'devenir vieux, vieillir,
 parvenir à une grande vieillesse'; [3] Mnr H {SM} sd_anoη 'l'année
 passée', {T} sdanoη 'last year' ¶ The M root has no initial *φ- (on the ev.
 of MM ötögü), so that the supposed ev. of Mnr s- (< h/φ, usually
 from pM *φ) has no value; acc. to Md.-Hl.'s law of a secondary Mnr h-
 /f-/s- induced by the stem-medial vl. cns. ¶ H 129, Ms. H 85, Pp. L II
 1258, Pp. MA 279, 443, MED 646, BMR III 47, Chr. 516, KRS 427, KW
 302, SM 332, 337-8, Ms. O 542 || NrTg *ut∇ 'old (senex)' > Ewk utu
 'old (senex), decrepit', Lm utз 'old' (of a dog), Sln {Iv.} ұтáц и
 'grandfather' ¶ STM II 294-5 || pJ {S} *z̄t̄z̄-nà 'grown-up man, aged
 person' > MJ otona id., J T òtona, J K/Kg òtónà id. ¶ S QJ no. 258, Mr.
 513, Kenk. 1469 ¶¶ SDM 1067-8 (A *ót'É 'old' [with unj. long vw.] > Tg
 *(χ)ut°, M *öte-, T, J), DQA no. 1610 (id.), Rm. EAS I 146, KW 302, Pp.
 VG 51, 107 (A *ötä- 'old'; M, Tg, Chv), ADb. SR 11, TL 85 ◇ T *ü- and
 Tg *ų- (and probably M *ö-) are regular reflexes of N *we- (see
 Introduction, § 2.4) ◇ B, IE and Mnr suggest that the original meaning
 of the word was 'year', while the cognate words in L, BSl and most A

lges may be interpreted as pointing to the meaning 'long time' (→ 'old'). Which meaning is the original one, is still to be investigated ◇ IS MS 337 (*w^re¹t^h 'year': IE, B, A).

2552. ₂ *wiṭṭ ∇ 'grain' ([in descendant lges] → 'seed') > HS: C: HEC *wiṭṭa 'seed' > Hd {Hd.} wiṭṭo 'seed, grain, cereal', Kmb {Hd.} wiṭṭa id., 'crop', wiṭṭa-ta 'seed', Sd {Gs.} wiṭṭa id. ⇨ *wiṭṭ- v. 'sow' > Hd {Hd.} wiṭṭ-, Kmb {Hd.} wīṭṭ- id., Sd {Gs.} wiṭṭ- v. 'sow, scatter, sprinkle' ¶ Hd. 130, 303, 343, 401, Gs. 344 || Eg G {+ext.?) wṭc 'seed', Eg fOK wṭc v. 'beget' ¶ EG I 381-2, Fk. 72 ¶ -c goes back probably to a sx; t for the expected d (< *ṭ) is due either to as. (*d...c > t...c) or to pHS deglottalization || Ch: CCh: Lgn {By} wùḍḍi 'seed' || WCh {Stl.} *wṇnṭṭ ∇ 'grain, seed' > BT: Krf {Sch.} wàttà, Bl {ChL} wəttò, Grm {Sch.} wàtá 'mush (staple food made from flour of cereals, called tuwò in Hs)' || SBc: Grn {Sh.} wandar, wandi, Gj {Sh.} wundeḷ, wund, {ChL} wundul 'grain, seed', Tule {Sh.} wòndé, Wnd {Sh.} wòndo, Zr K {Sh.} wundu- 'seed', Zem/Brw {Sh.} wanda ~ wonda, Sy {ChL} wəndu, Dw {ChL} wəndi 'grain, seed' ¶ JI II 288-9, Stl. ZCh 238 [no. 847], ChC s.v. 'seed', ChL, Sh. SB, Sch. BTL 59, 149, Ba. 1065 (on Hs tuwò) || D {tr., †GS}) *vittō / *vitt- 'seed', *vitt- v. 'sow', [GS] *vit- id. > Tm, MI vitṭu, Prj vittid 'seed, semen', Kt vit, Td pīt, Kn bittu, bitta, ? birṭu, Kdg bittī, Tu bittṭ, Tl vitṭu, Klm, Nkr vitanam, Gdb vīti, Knd vitu 'seed', Ku vīcāṇa, Kui vitkā 'semen'; Tm, Tl vitṭu v. 'sow, spread', Kdg bitt- v. 'sow, scatter', Kt, Nkr, Prj, Knd vit-, Td pīt-, Gdb vit- & vīt-, Gnd, Png, Mnd vīt- v. 'sow', Kn bittu v. 'put seeds, sow' ¶¶ D no. 5401, Zv. 93-4, GS 46 [no. 109] ◇ The cns. n in the WCh word (WCh {Stl.} *wṇnṭṭ ∇) still requires explanation (infl. of the HS root *√hnṭ going back to N *Xānṭ ∇ 'grain, kernel' [q.v.]??), .

2553. ₂ *waHṭ ∇ 'cold wind' ([in descendant lges] → 'north wind') > A: AmTg *ōtī 'north wind' > Ul ōtī 'northeast wind', Nn Nh/Bk {STM} ōčī 'north, north wind', Nn Nh {On.} ōčī- v. 'blow' (of north wind) ¶ STM II 28, On. 318 || D *vaṭ-/*vāṭ- ({†GS} *-ḍ-) 'north, cold wind' > Tm vaṭa 'northern', vāṭaī 'north wind, cold wind, wind', MI vaṭa 'north', vāṭa 'wind', Kn baḍa 'the north, to the north', Kdg baḍakī 'north', Tu baḍakāyi id., 'northern', Tl vaḍakūgoṇḍa 'Himalaya' ¶¶ D no. 5218 ◇ Here D *-ṭ- (the reg. reflex of N *-t-) is likely to go back to N *-Hṭ- (> *-t- by as.). On Tg *o- < N *wa- see Introduction, § 2.4.

2554. (₂?) *wAtǝrǝ 'speak' > HS: CCh: Gudu {IL in ChC} waǝr- 'say' ¶ ChC s.v. 'say' || D *vatarǝ-, {ǝGS} *vadarǝ- v. 'chatter, talk, shout' > Tm vatar_u v. 'chatter, be talkative', Kn oǝar_u v. 'sound, cry aloud, shout', Tu baǝaritanu 'defamation', Tl vadaru ~ vaduru v. 'prattle, chatter' ¶¶ D no. 5244 || ? IE: Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech, thing' (× N *wotǝrǝE - *wotǝrǝǝ 'speak, utter sounds') ¶ Ts. W 97-8 ◇ Cp. N *wotǝrǝE - *wotǝrǝǝ '↑' > IE *wed-/*ud- 'utter sounds, speak' (q.v.).

2555. *wayǝ 'want, wish, strive for' > IE *weǝǝ- 'strive for' > NaIE *weǝǝ- id. (× N *xawiǝǝǝ 'drive, chase, pursue' > IE *xweǝǝx- v. 'pursue\chase', q.v.) > OI 'vē-ti (3p 'vǝ-anti) 'tracks, has in view, strives for, hastens', vī-'ta- 'desired, liked, loved' || Gk {P} ἔμελλ- 'eile, strebe, begehre', Gk Hm {Ch.} ἔμελλ- ('la métrique hom. atteste un F initial' [Ch. GH I 142]) 'désirer, s'efforcer, se hâter', Gk {By} ipf. ἔμεμεν (prtc. ἔμεμενος) 'aller, se porter à\vers' || OL [DI] vōi-ς, L vī-ς 'you (sg.) want', in-vī-tus 'unwilling, against one's will' || pTc {Ad.} *woǝā- > Tc A wā-, Tc B wāǝa(:)- 'will drive, lead' ¶ Ffd. see s.v. N *xawiǝǝǝ ¶¶ ≈ P 1123-4, ≈σ EI 208 (*weǝǝ(H)- 'go after'), Ch. 456, By 959, M K III 255-6, M E II 509-10, F I 711-12, WH I 714 and II 800, Ad. 36-7 || A: Tg *°baǝ- 'look for, try to find, beseech' > WrMc {Z} бай- 'look for (sth. lost), search, ask, beg', {Hr} baǝ- 'suchen, (er)forschen, verlangen, (er)bitten', Mc Sb bia- (bia-mэ) 'look for, beseech, beg, seek, ask' ¶ STM I 64-5, Z 464-5, Hr 69, Y no-s 1527 and 1560 ¶¶ The connection with M *baǝǝaǝa- (> WrM baǝǝaǝa, HIM байцаа- v. 'investigate, inspect, inquire into, check, examine') is highly qu., because *baǝǝaǝa- is apparently derived from *baǝǝa 'state of being' < M *baǝ 'be' (see MED 72-3) || D *vaǝ- 'desire' > Tm vaǝam n. 'desire', vaǝā id., 'love', vaǝāvu v. 'desire', Kn baǝake 'longing, wish, desire', Kdg baǝ- v. 'feel hunger' (lit. v. 'hunger' [of the stomach]), Tu baǝaku-, baǝasu- 'long for, desire eagerly', Tl vāǝcu, vācu v. 'feel a strong desire for sth.', vāǝpu 'longing eagerly after long privation', Gnd vas- ǝ vah- ǝ was- '(hunger\thirst) be felt' ¶¶ D no. 5257 || ? HS: CS *ǝǝǝ > BHb ǝǝǝ D 'wish', Sr ǝǝǝǝ v. G 'agree' (only a participle: active prtc. m. ǝǝǝǝ / ǝǝǝǝ), Ar ǝǝǝ (pf. ǝaǝiǝa) G 'être ému, éprouver une émotion de pitié\compassion\tendresse pour qn' ¶ KB 20, BK I 72, Hv. 17, ≈ DRS 12 ¶ The initial *ǝ- may be somehow explained by Semitic apophony or reinterpretation of derived forms

2556. *w₂u₂ 'we' > IE: [1] IE *we₂- 'we' pl. > Ht wē₂ 'we' || NaIE *we₂- 'we' pl. > OI v a'γam, Av v aē₂m, OPrs v aγam 'we' ({M}: *-am on the analogy of other personal pronouns [those represented by OI a'ham 'I', 't v am 'thou']) || Gt w e i s, ON v é r, OSw w ī (r), OSx w i, w e, w i r, OHG, NHG w i r, AS w ē 'we', NE w e || pTc {Ad.} *wes > Tc: B w e s, A w a s 'we' ||] The cd *we₂- + *d w o 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt v e - d u, Gt, AS, OSx w i t, ON v i t ||] **[2] NaIE *wē 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N *^ow₂u₂ 'h'æ, with N ? *^rh'æ [an ancient marker of dual], q.v. ffd.) > Vd v ā m nom. 'we' du. (on OI ā'v a m accus. and ā'v ā m nom. 'we' du. see N *ⁿā 'we' excl.), OAv v ā 'we' du. nom. ||] OCS Б ѣ в ѣ 'we' du. ¶¶ Brg. KVG 410-13 (with a table), WP I 220, P 1114, EI 454-5 (*^lw e i 'we', emph. *w e' y o m), Mn. 1505, 1524, M K III 147, M E II 508, Ad. 265-6, Bks 208-9, Fs. 560, 568-9, StSS 164 ||] **HS: SOm: Hm {Ldl} w o 'we' (general form), w o s i, w o d i (aut. prn.), w o n (dependent) 'we', w o - n o / w o - n t i a / w o - n n a / w o - n n o 'our', Ari {Hw.} w o'(:) 'we' (basic form), w o'(:) t á 'we' (aut. prn.), w o'(:) - m 'us' (-m is a marker of accus.), w o'(:) n t é n 'our', Ari G {Bnd.} w o t a, w o t e, Dm {Fl.} w a t u / w o t o 'we' (abs.), accus. w o n - i m 'us', w o (with postpositions, e.g. w o g i š o 'because of us'), w o - k o 'our', {Bnd.} w o (:) t, Ari U/B {Fl.} w 3 t a, Hm B w 3 d i ¶ Hz. PO and Fl. OO reconstructed pSOm *w 3 t 'we', probably on the basis of early descriptions (Bnd. etc.) and of the verbal sxs of 1p: Gll - o t, Dm - t. Alternatively, the element *t₂ in the SOm prn may go back to the HS accusative ending *-t₂ (F N *^tt₂, marker of accusative) ¶ Ldl H 414-15, Hw. NAL 448-52, Fl. D 521-5, Fl. OO 315, Hz. PO 110-12, Bnd. AL 161 ||] ?? Eg w y 'I' (dependent) (× N *^hh₂ o y 'by me, my') ¶ Ed. 75, EG I 270-1 ||] **K** *čwen-i 'our' > OG čueni [čweni], G čveni, Mg čk3n-i ~ čkin-i, Lz čkun-i ~ čkin-i ~ škun-i ~ škin-i 'our', Sv UB {GP} g u - š g w ē (y), {TK} g w i š g w e y ~ g u š g w e y, LB g w i - š g w e ~ g u š g e 'our' incl., UB {GP} n i - š g w ē (y), {TK} n i š g w e y, LB n i š g (w) e 'our' excl. (g u - is the marker of 1p incl., n i - is that of 1p excl.), L g u š g w e, Ln g u š k w e 'our'; GZ *čwen-i 'our' → GZ *čwen 'we' > OG čuen čwen, G čven, Δ čon, Mg čk3-, čki-, Lz čku(n)-, čkin-, šku- 'we' ¶¶ K 219-20, FS K 388-9, FS E 436-7, Fn. GAS 72, Ser. 194, TK 183, GP US 45, Tt. 18-19, Dn. s.v. g u š g v e ¶¶ K *čwen- 'our' is analyzable as *č- (marker of poss. pronouns < N *č'ū¹ 'that of ..., that which' [cp. *če-m-i 'my', *šeni <****

**č-sen-i 'thy']) + *we- (< N *w ∇ y ∇ 'we') + *-n- (< N *nu, marker of gen.) + *-i (pK marker of nom.).

2557. *wahy ∇ '(to be) weak' > IE: [1] NaIE *wāy-/ *way-/ *wī- '(be) weak' > OI 'vāyatī 'vanishes, becomes exhausted, is extinguished', Av frāvayōitū 'es möge erlöschen' || Lt vójus adj. 'suffering, weak, ill', Ltv vājš (f. vāja) 'weak, feeble, lean' || ? Clt: W gwael 'poor, ill, base, vile', gwaelu 'to sicken' || ?? ON víl 'misery, need', AS wīl {Vr.} 'Bedrängnis, Kummernis', {P} 'Bedrängnis, Not' (absent in Ho. and Sw.) ¶ WP I 213-14, P 1111, M K III 189-90, M E II 538, Frn. 1272, YGM-1 252, Vr. 663-4 ||] [2] NaIE *weĵ(ə)-/ *wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither' (× N *wiž ∇ 'grey, [?] withered', q.v. × N *wan ∇ 'squeeze, press', [→ 'weaken sth.'], q.v.) > NaIE *weĵ(ə)-/ *wī-, +exts: wīt- (< wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō / -ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' || Clt {Matas.} *wiwō- 'withered' (from NaIE *wī-wō-) > OIr [ʃ]feugud 'marcor' ← OIr {LP, P} *feo 'withered', MIr {Matas.} feo 'withered', W {YGM} gwȳw id., 'feeble', gwȳwō v. 'wither, fade' || OHG wēsanēn 'to wither', MHG wesel 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; ON visinn 'withered' (prtc. of *wisan); → Gmc *wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, Nnr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' || Lt vūsti (p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop', Lt vūtinti (1s pres. pa-vaitinù), Ltv vītīnāt 'to make [sth.] fade', Ltv vietēt, vītēt id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265, Matas. E 425, YGM-1 252, 277 || **HS: S** * \checkmark w ∇ hy > Ar \checkmark w ∇ hy G (ip. -w ∇ hay-) {Hv.} 'be weak\frail', 'be rent' (clothes), 'break asunder' (skin, rope), {BK} 'être faible\débile; être crevé\déchiré; se détraquer, se déranger, tomber en morceaux' ¶ BK II 1618-19, Hv. 899 || **A: Tg** * \textcircled{b} a ∇ y- > Lm KO bāyay- 'scanty (скудный)' ¶ STM I 79.

2558. *woy ∇ h ∇ ê 'be strong, be able\capable' > **HS: S** * \checkmark w ∇ y > Ar wa ∇ y- 'strong beast', \checkmark w ∇ y G (pf. وَأَيُّ wa ∇ ā, 3m ip. يُؤَيِّ ya- ∇ ī, n. act. wa ∇ y-) 'promise, threaten' ¶ BK II 1474, Hv. 846 || **IE** *weĵH- > NaIE *weĵə- / *wī- 'strength, force' > OI 'vayās 'energy, strength, power' || Gk ἴς (with a long ī) 'strength, force', [Hs.] ἄς ('ἰσχύς) 'strength (of body)' (ἄς = * ∇ īς), Gk ἴ-φτ adv. 'by force\might' ('with strength')

(*wī + *b^hi-, pc. of instr.) || L vī-s (accus. vim) 'force, strength, power' ¶ The NaIE √ may have contaminated with homonymous *weḷ(ə)-roots (< N *'way∇ 'want, wish, strive for' and N *χawī₁?∇₁ 'drive, chase, pursue') ¶ The IE lr.*weḷH- is still to be explained, because it cannot go back to N ¶ ≈ P 1123-4, M K III 147-8, F I 735-6, WH II 800-1, EI 209 and 548 (*'weḷHs 'vital force' ← *weḷH- 'be strong') || U: FU *woye- 'be able, (?) be strong' > F vōi-, Es vōi- 'be able', F vōi-ma, Es vōim 'power, might' | ? Z † oñōc oγ-3s 'strength' || OHg >xiv vī-, Hg vīv- v. 'fight, struggle with' ¶ UEW 579, LG 204, SK 1805-6, EWU 1648 || A: NaT *u₁- or *u₁y- > OT {Cl., Rs.} ū- 'be able\capable' ↪ OT, Oosm u-ḡān 'almighty, God', Osm {Rl.} اويغان oγγan id. (?) [{Rl.} 'allgegenwärtig', an epitheton of God'], XwT XIII, MQp Δ XIII uḡān, Chg XV uḡan 'God' ¶ Rs. LTS 193, Rs. MIFTJ 167, Rl. I 970-1, Cl. 2 ◇ The discrepancy between Ar ? (in √ w?y) suggesting N *? and IE *H (that cannot go back to N *?) may be resolved by reconstructing N *woyhê with S *? from N *h (a rather common phonetic change: loss of N *h in a S word, followed by introducing a hiatus-filling *?) ||| This pN word may be the source of a marker of passivity\intransitivity in descendant lges: HS *w∇- ~ *-u₁- > Eg -w, verbal suffix of the passive form ¶ Ed. 261-9 || S: [1] *w- as the additional first radical of verbs of state and quality: *√ w|yṭb 'be good' (> BHb, BA, JA √ yṭb); cp. *ṭāb- 'good' (> BHb ṭōb id. etc.); [2] *-u- ~ *-ū- as an apophonic prefix\infix of ps.: CS *y-u-12a3- 3m ps. of the G-stem (> Ar y-u-qṭal-u 'he is\will be killed'), *y-u-šā-12a3- 3m ps. of the caus. Sh-stem (> BHb ḡṭāy y-u-ḡ-š'lam 'it will be completed\restituted', Ar y-u-slam-u 'he will be kept safe'), pS ps. verbal adj. of the D-stem *1u22∇3- (> Ak adj. 1u22u3, Ar 3m pf. 1u22i3a, BHb 3m pf. 1u2'2a3), pS ps. verbal adj. of the causative Sh-stem *šū12∇3- (> Ak adj. šu12u3, BHb 3m pf. ḡṭ1'2a3, Ar 3m pf. ?u12i3a), BHb ps. adj. of the G-stem 1ā'2ū3 (sā'ḡūr 'closed') ¶ Ptrc. IF IV 602ff., KB 354-6, 390-1, BL H 378 || pB {Pr.} *tiwi- / *-ttiwi- (> Tw tw-/ttw-, NrB ttw-), px of the ps. verb stems (< combination of the HS reflexive px *t- and the passive *w-): inv. *tiwi-kraz / 3m pf. *yittiwikraz > Tw inv. twäkräh / 3m pf. ittwäkräh 'être acquis' ¶ Pr. M VI-VII 56, 63, as well as 88-267 (on the ps. forms of different conjugations), Cadi 45-72 || ? EC: Sml -ow-, sx of verbs of state and quality (denom. inchoative verbs): 5011-0y- 'become hostile' ← 501

'enemy', $\text{ɣadd-}\omega\text{-}$ 'become white' \leftarrow ɣad 'white', Sml C {Mrn.} $\text{ɔux}\omega\text{-}$ 'become old' \leftarrow ɔux 'old man', Af {Hw.} $-\bar{o}\omega\epsilon$, derivational sx of inchoative verbs ($\text{h}\bar{a}\text{gidd-}\bar{o}\omega\epsilon$ 'become busy' \leftarrow $\text{h}\bar{a}\text{gid}$ 'matter, affair') ¶ Mrn. SS 97, 267, ZMO 53-4, 70, Hw. MVEC, PH 245 ¶¶ Kln. PSK 26 || U: FU $*-\omega\nabla\text{-}$ ($\sim *-\omega\nabla\text{y-?}$), passivizing and intransitivizing verbal sx: F $-\text{u-}/\text{-y-}$ ($\text{n}\bar{a}\text{k}\text{y-}$ 'be visible' \leftarrow $\text{n}\bar{a}\text{k}\epsilon\text{-}$ 'see', $\text{k}\bar{a}\text{a}\text{t}\text{u-}$ 'fall, overturn' \leftarrow $\text{k}\bar{a}\text{a}\text{t}\bar{a}\text{-}$ v. 'fell'), Es $-\text{u-}/\text{-i-}$ (passive\ intransitive: $\text{k}\bar{o}\text{r}\text{ɔ}\text{u-}$ 'repeat oneself, recur' \leftrightarrow $\text{k}\bar{o}\text{r}\text{ɔ}\bar{a}\text{-}$ vt. 'repeat', $\text{s}\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{i}\text{-}$ 'be kindled, catch fire' \leftrightarrow $\text{s}\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{t}\bar{a}\text{-}$ vt. 'kindle') | Lp N sx $-\text{u-}$: $\text{g}\bar{a}\omega\text{d}\bar{n}\text{u-}$ 'gefunden werden können, exist' \leftarrow $\text{g}\bar{a}\omega\text{d}\bar{n}\bar{a}\text{-}$ 'find' | Er $-\text{v}\bar{o}\text{-}$: $\text{k}\bar{a}\text{d}\bar{o}\text{v}\bar{o}\text{-}$ $\text{k}\bar{a}\text{d}\bar{o}\text{v}\bar{o}\text{-}$ 'remain' \leftarrow $\text{k}\bar{a}\text{d}\bar{o}\text{-}$ $\text{k}\bar{a}\text{d}\bar{o}\text{-}$ 'leave, desert', $\text{n}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{a}\text{v}\bar{o}\text{-}$ $\text{n}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{a}\text{v}\bar{o}\text{-}$ 'be seen' \leftarrow $\text{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}\text{-}$ $\text{n}\bar{e}\bar{y}\bar{e}\text{-}$ 'see' || pVg $*-\omega\nabla\text{-}$, sx of ps. verbal forms ({Rmb.} *субъектно-пассивное спряжение*) > Vg N $-\omega\epsilon\text{-}/-\omega\bar{\epsilon}\text{-}$: $\text{w}\bar{a}\text{-}\omega\epsilon\text{-m}$ 'he knows me' (lit. 'I am known [by him]'), Vg T {Ht.} $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{i}\bar{w}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I am made' (momentaneous present) \leftrightarrow $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I make', $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{a}\omega\text{s}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I was made' \leftrightarrow $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{s}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I made', Vg N $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{w}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I was made' \leftrightarrow $\text{w}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{s}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I made'; Os $*-\nabla\text{y-}$ sx of passive verb forms: Os V $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{l}\bar{u}\bar{y}\bar{m}$, Os Kz $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{\phi}\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I am made' \leftrightarrow Os V $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{l}\bar{a}\text{m}$, Os Kz $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{\phi}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I make', Os V $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{s}\bar{u}\bar{y}\bar{m}$, Os Kz $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I was made' \leftrightarrow Os V/Kz $\text{w}\bar{e}\text{r}\bar{s}\bar{a}\text{m}$ 'I made' || Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} $-\bar{o}(\text{:}) / -\bar{u}(\text{:})$, intransitivizing sx ($\text{śi}\bar{d}\bar{o}$ vi. 'awake' \leftrightarrow $\text{śi}\bar{d}\bar{e}$ vt. 'wake'), Kms {Cs.} $\text{š}\bar{u}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{ä}\text{m}$ vi. 'awake' \leftrightarrow $\text{š}\bar{u}\bar{d}\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{r}\bar{l}\bar{i}\text{m}$ vt. 'wake' ¶¶ The Os forms are likely to suggest the existence of a variant sx $*-\omega\nabla\text{y-}$ ¶¶ Coll. CG 281, Lh. 38-43, Kul. P ∇ , Ht. POU ∇ , Rmb. 113, 119, Cs. 184 || A: T {Rs.} $*-\text{u-}/\text{-}\bar{u}\text{-}$, sx of reflexive verbs and of denom. verbs of quality ('become\be X'), e.g. in: OT $\text{s}\bar{a}\text{š-}\text{u-}$ 'losmachen' \leftarrow $\text{s}\bar{a}\text{š-}$ 'lösen', OT $\text{b}\bar{a}\text{y-}\text{u-}$ 'become rich' \leftarrow $\text{b}\bar{a}\text{y}$ 'rich', $\text{b}\bar{ä}\text{k-}\text{u-}$ 'fest sein' \leftarrow $\text{b}\bar{ä}\text{k}$ 'fest', MT $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{z-}\text{u-}$ 'be expensive' \leftarrow $\text{q}\bar{i}\bar{z}$ 'expensive' ¶ Rs. RT ∇ , Cl. 384-5, Br. OTG 215 || Tg $*-\text{bu-}$, verbal sx of passivity (and causativity), e.g. in pTg $*\eta\bar{u}\bar{n}\text{-b}\bar{u}$ ({Bz.} $*\eta\bar{u}\bar{n}\text{-b}\bar{u}$) 'be said, cause to say' > Nn {Bz.} $\text{u}\bar{m}\text{b}\bar{u}\text{-}$ 'be said' \leftarrow $\text{u}\bar{n}\text{-}$ 'say' (STM I 171) ¶ Bz. 122 || Gil: Gil A v- , Gil ES $\omega\text{-}$ (px of the reciprocal voice) ¶¶ Pnf. II 62-3, Krn. NJ-79 313 \diamond Alternatively, the passivizing-intransitivizing morphem of HS, U, A and Gil may go back to some other N word (still to be reconstructed) \diamond Hardly here (\Leftrightarrow IS) the K causative sx $*-\epsilon\text{v-}$, because the connection between causativity and passivity is not close enough to justify the conjecture \diamond IS MS 364 ($*\omega\bar{o}\bar{i}\bar{H}^1\bar{n}$ 'сила': IE, T, BF), IS I 13 s.v. 'пассив' $\omega\bar{n}$ (A, U, ?K, HS), IS

MsN s.v. -u- ps. and intr., Gr. I 209-10 ("reflexive U/W" in U, A, Gil, Ai).

2559. *wauH∇ 'to descend; below' > HS: C: Bj {R} 'ωυηα 'Niederung, Tiefe', ωυ'hā-υ 'in der Tiefe; unter, unterhalb' ¶ R WBd 237 || U: FU *wau∇- 'sink, go to the bottom' > F vajuα- v. sink, fall, descend', Es vaju- v. 'sink, subside' | pLp {Lr.} *vōyō- vi. 'sink' > Lp: S {Hs.} vōājudh, L {LLO} vuođjo- id., N {N} vuooggjo- / -j- 'sink, go to the bottom', Kld {TI} oāyešūΛt̄te- inch. 'start sinking' | Er, Mk вая- vaju- v. 'sink (sinken, ertrinken)' | pPrm {LG} *vōy-, ({JLG} *vōj-) vi. id. > OPrm v3j-, Yz vūy- id., Z вōй- v3j- 'sink, be stuck (in)', Vt вьй- v+j- 'sink, immerse' || Vg: N {Mu.} uy- 'sink', Y/Ss {BV} uy-tt-, ML {Mu.} uy-t- d. vt. 'submerge, drown' | ? Hg vejsze 'weir basket, trap (for fish), Senkreuse' ¶ Coll. 122, UEW 551, It. no. 50, Sm. 551 (FU *wājā- 'sink' > FP *vaja-, Ugr *waja-), Lr. no. 1426, Lgc. no. 8753, Hs. 1435, TI 1723, LG 66, Lt. J 103, BV 128, EWU 1615-16 || A: ppA *wau- > pA *°ba:;y- ~ *ōy- > NaT *ba:;y|δI- v. 'disappear', 'set' (of the sun) (× N *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out?') > Osm {Rl.} bayI- 'vergehen, проходить, исчезать', VTt/Qzq {Rl.} bayъ- 'set' (of heavenly bodies), Qrg {Jud.} bayI- 'sink' (level of the water in a river(lake), 'stop giving milk' (of a cow) ¶ Rl. IV 1468-9, Jud. 98 ¶ Semantic infl. of T *bat- 'disappear, set (of the sun)' || NaT *ōyek 'part of the animal's skin under the neck or between the legs (подпрудок)', {TL} 'брюшная часть шкуры' > MT oyek, Tk Δ, Tkm Δ, Tv oyek, VTt üyäk, Qrg, Xk ö:k, StAlt öyök id. ¶ ET Gl 515, TL 146, 423, Rs. W 369-70 || M: [1] ?σ M *°öyекеу 'lower part of animal's belly' > WrM {SDM} öyūkei id., {MED} öyūke 'depression in the chest under the ribs, the thin flesh of the belly', HIM өөх, өөхий {MED} id., {BMR} 'lower part of animal's belly; белая линия живота' ¶ MED 633, BMR III 14, SDM 1037 | [2] ?σ M *oyi- > WrM {MED} oi-, HIM {MED, BMR} ой- v. 'fall down', ?σ v. 'be rebound, ricochet', Brt ой- 'feel sick, have nausea', Ord oö- 'attraper des maux de tête par suite d'une disposition' ¶ MED 604, BMR II 466, Ms. O 515, Chr. 352 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1037 (pA *ηūye ≈ long hair' > T *ōyek, M *öyекеу + [not descending from N *wauH∇] Tg *ηūyekse 'hair under the neck; tie, scarf' and pJ *bè 'tail'; the semantic rec. 'long hair' does not belong to N *wauH∇) ◇ Hardly here NaIE *we(:)- / *w0- {P} 'herab, weg von' (> L vē- grandis 'small, diminutive' ↔ grandis 'big, large', vē-sanus 'mad' ↔ sanus

'healthy', *see* WP I 13-14, P 72-3, WH 740-1), which cannot be separated from *a_u- 'herab'; actually, without identifying *wē̃- with *a_u- the rec. of the meaning as 'herab' is not justified ◇ IS MS 353 (U, T).

2560. *wäžǵ 'little, young' > K *°waž- > G važ-i 'son; boy; young man; man (male person)', važ- 'mannhaft sein', vežǵ voc. 'Junge!' ¶ Chx. 363, 373, DCh. 501 || HS: B: SrSn a-wzwiz 'un tout petit peu' ¶ Rn. 285 || ?σ S *°✓wzy > Ar وزي waza(n) 'petit de taille et au corps ramassé' (× ✓wzy [p. وزي wazā] 'être rassemblé, aggloméré sur un seul point') ¶ BK II 1532 || U: FU (att. in FV) *wäšä 'little, few' > F vāhā 'little, small, scanty; a little', vāhān 'a little', Es vāhe, Δ vāha, vāhā 'little (not much), few (not many)' || pMr {Ker.} vāžā 'small, younger' > Er вежава vežava 'younger brother's wife', вежаське véžás'ké 'little finger', веженьсь véžeńś 'youngest (son etc. in a family)', вишка víška 'small, younger' (in set phrases: вишка кель 'uvula' ['small tongue'], вишка патя 'husband's younger sister', вишка сур 'little finger' etc.), вишкине víškinē 'small, little', Мк вяжя vāžä '(new) daughter-in-law' (name used during her wedding party) ¶ UEW 818-19, Ker. II 187, ERV 118, 138, PI 61.

2561. *wižǵ 'grey, (?) withered' > K *°wež- > G † vežan-i {DCh.} 'dove-colored, grey (сизый, серый, бурый)', {Chx.} 'schwefelgrau, taubenfarbig', G Mt vežani 'getigert, gefleckt' ¶ Chx. 373, DCh. 505 || HS: B *°✓zwzω > Ah hawhəw v. 'be grey', ETwl {Nic.} n. act. tawzawwt 'being grey', Ty {ABs.} zawzaw, Gh {ABs.} zəwzəw 'être bleu(-clair)', Kb {DI.} a-zəjzaw 'green, blue, grey; uncooked, unripe' ¶ Pr. H 71 [no. 430], Fc. 624, DI. 936-7 || IE (× N *wahyǵ '[be] weak' and N *wanǵ 'squeeze, press', [in descendant lges] → 'weaken [sth.], q.v.): NaIE *weǵ(ə)-/*wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *weǵ-s '(make) wither, weaken' > L viēsc-ō / -ēre 'fade, wither, shrink', viētus 'withered, shrunken' || OIr [ʃ] feugud 'marcor' ← OIr {LP, P} *feo 'withered', W gwyw id., 'feeble' (both from NaIE *wī-wō- or *wis-wō-), W gwywo 'to wither, to fade' || OHG wēsanēn 'to wither', MHG wesele 'schwach, matt', NE Δ weasel, weazen 'thin, lean', ON vesall 'poor, miserable'; ⇨ Gmc *wis-n-ōn ~ -ēn > ON visna, Nnr visna, Sw vissna, Dn visne, AS wisnian 'to dry up, to wither' || Lt vūsti (1s p. vūtau), Ltv vīst 'to fade, to wither, to droop' Lt inf. vūstinti (1s pres. vūstinti) Ltv inf. vīstīt (1s pres. vīstīt) Ltv

υῖτινᾶτ 'to make (sth.) fade', Ltv υῖtēt, υῖtēt id. ¶ WP I 227-8, P 1123, WH II 787-8, LP § 95.3, YGM-1 277, Vr. 657, 668, Hlq. 1359-60, Ho. 39, Kb. 1184, OsS 1131, Frn. 1265.

2562. *w'U'žĒ,Ķo ~ *w'o'Ķ∇ž∇ '€ a canine' > IE: NaIE *w]k^wo-s 'wolf' > OI 'v_rka-, Av vəhrka-, NPrs گورگ id. || Gk λύκος id. (× NaIE *lu(n)k̄- < N *īuk'æ' '€ canine' [q.v.]) || L lupus 'wolf' (from Sbn or under the infl. of *w]p- ≈ fox' < N ? *w∇í,∇,PE 'fur-bearing animal?') || Gmc *wulǵ-ī > ON ułǵr 'she-wolf' | Gmc (× NaIE *w]p- < N ? *w∇í,∇,PE '↑', q.v. ffd.) > Gt wulf, ON ulfr, NNr, Dn, Sw ulv, MDt wolf ~ wulf, Dt, OHG wolf, NHG Wolf, OSx, AS wulf 'wolf', NE wolf; Gmc *f is due to the merger with NaIE *w]p- || Lt vīlkas, Ltv vīlks, Pru wilkis 'wolf' | Sl *vьlkъ id. > OCS вѣлкѣ vьlkъ (~ вѣлкѣ vьlkъ), Blg вѣлк, SCr vŭk, Slv vōlk, Cz, Slk vlk, P wilk, R волк, Uk вовк id. || Tc B walkwe id. || ?σ,φ AnIE: Lw walwa 'lion', Ld walw-el(i)- 'pertaining to a lion' ¶¶ WP I 316-17, P 1178-9, EI 646-7 (*'w]k^wo-s), M K III 240-1, M E II 570-1, Horn 202-3, F II 143-4, WH I 836-7, Fs. 576, Vr. 632-3, Ho. 410, Kb. 1224, Frn. 1251-2, StSS 119, Glh. 688-9, BER I 205-6, Wn. I 542, Mlc. CL 254 || HS: C *w∇K∇l- ~ *w∇l∇K- 'jackal, lycan' > Ag: Aw {R} wugeli 'jackal' || EC: HEC: Kmb {C} olokk-iččo 'jackal', {Hd.} orok-ičču 'wolf', Hd {PB} orok-iččo 'Lycaon pictus' (Hd -r- is the reg. reflex of pHEC *-l-); ? Arr {Hw.} woláte id. ¶ AD SF 189-90, Hd. 169-70, 335, PB s.v. orokiččo, Hw. A 399 || ? S *°wa'saḡ- > Ar wašaq- 'lynx' (↳ CINPrs وشاق wašaq id. ↳ Tk vašak, Az vašaq id.) ¶ Dz. II 808, Wehr 951, Bel. DFA 389, Blb. 546, ≈ Dr. TM IV no. 1765 (Tk, Az, NPrs ↳ ?) ¶ -q in CINPrs suggests that the Prs word is a loan (most probably, from Ar) ¶¶ The S root is qu. because the hypothesis of the foreign origin of the Ar word cannot be ruled out || CCh: Mofu {Brr. in ChC} wágálálē, MfG {Brr.} wagalak 'jackal (Canis aureus)' ¶ ChC s.v. 'jackal', Brr. MG II 253 || U: FU (in ObU only) *°w'okš∇r∇ 'fox' (× N ? *'g'oĶ∇š'Ķ∇ (R∇) '€ a canine') > pObU *wākšār > pOs *wāksar ({{Hl.} *w'ksar) 'fox' > Os: Y wāqsar, Nz/Kz wōχsar, D/K wāχsār, O ōχsār id.; pVg *ĵkšar id. > Vg: T okšār, LK/MK oxsar, P/ML oxšar, Ss oxsar id. ¶ Ht. no. 679 || ?φ A: T *ü,ĵĒk (× N ? *w∇í,∇,PE 'fur-bearing animal') > MT [IM] ušäk, Osm {Rl.} وشك üšäk, Tk üšek 'lynx' ¶ Rl. I 1904, Pek. 3 184-5, Shch. Zh 141, TL 159 || ?? Tg: Ewk ulz 'wolf' ¶ STM II 264 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1496 (pA

*úipe "ground game" > T *ūí- 'lynx', [i.e. *ü:ǰíEk 'lynx' + [going back to N *wǰíǰǰPE rather than here] + [belonging to N *wǰíǰǰPE] Tg *ulgu-kī 'chipmink', M *ǰǰolbo ~ *ǰǰolbi 'flying squirrel' and pJ *bǰǰ ~ *bǰǰsua 'otter'), ≠ DQA no. 2512 (id.) ◇ FU *ŝ (< *ǰ in a cluster *-kǰ- > *-kŝ-), Ar š (< S *ŝ), IE, C, Ch and M *ǰ suggest a pN *ǰ; in T *í the palatality may be either original (?) or belong to the infl. of *wǰíǰǰPE.

2563. *wihǰǰǰ 'spring (fons); to flow' > HS: S *°wǰǰǰǰ, *wǰǰǰǰǰ- v. 'flow' > Gz wǰǰǰ G (pf. wǰǰǰǰ, js. ǰǰǰǰ) 'flow' (of a stream, water), Tgy, Tgr wǰǰǰ G id. ¶ LG 610-11 || K: GZ *weǰǰ- 'spring (fons)' > G ǰǰǰǰ id., Mg menǰǰ id. (m- < *w- due to as. to the following n) ¶ K DE 361-12, K² 53 (*weǰǰ- 'mineral spring'), FS K 125, FS E 134-5, Ghl. 225 || IE: NaIE *weǰǰs- v. 'flow' ({P} 'zerfließen, fließen') > Vd {Grs.} ǰǰǰǰ- 'sich ergießen, fließen'] ⇨ NaIE *wisǰ- 'liquid' (→ 'poison') > L ǰǰǰǰ 'liquid, poison' ||| OI ǰǰǰǰ am, Av ǰǰǰǰ-, Phl ǰǰǰǰ, KhS ǰǰǰǰ- 'poison' ||| Gk ǰǰǰ (with ǰ-) 'poison (as of serpents), venom (of a mad dog)' ||| pTc {Ad.} *wǰǰǰ- > Tc: A wǰǰǰ, B wǰǰǰ id. ||| Clt {Matas.} *wisǰ- 'poison' > Mǰr fí id.; ? Clt {Matas.} [tentatively reconstructed and adduced] *°wǰǰǰǰ- (< *weǰǰǰǰ-) > W † {SB, YGM} gǰǰǰǰ 'blood' ||| ON ǰǰǰǰ 'swamp', OFrs wǰǰǰ 'mud', OHG wǰǰǰ, NHG wǰǰǰ 'meadow', AS wǰǰǰ 'mud, swampy country', NE ooze n. ¶ P 1134, M K III 223, 227-8, M E II 563-4, Bai. 282, WH II 800, Vr. 652, Ho. 38, Kb. 1213, OsS 1170, ≠ KM 858 (NHG ÷ ON ǰǰǰǰ 'Schlamm'), F I 730, SB 265-6, Matas. E 424, YGM-1 273, Ad. 584, EI 439 (*'wis-s ~ *wǰǰ 'poison') ||| U: FU *°wǰǰǰǰ ' (swift) current' > pPrm *ǰǰǰ > Prmk ǰǰǰ {Wc.} 'Strom, strömende Stelle im Wasser'; ⇨ Prm *ǰǰǰǰ 'rapid(s), current' > Z wǰǰǰǰ ǰǰǰǰ 'stream, rapid(s)', Vt wǰǰǰǰ ǰǰǰǰ 'стрежень, rapid(s), swift current' ¶ LG 56, Wc. SW 337 ◇ FU *-s- (rather than *-ǰ-) from N *-ǰ- still needs investigation (cp. N *ǰǰǰǰ 'to scold' > U *°kasǰǰǰ > pSm *kǰǰǰ- v. 'scold').

2564. *Xebǰ ∇ 'breast' > **HS**: CS *h'a'δay- (~ *o'h'aδ₁a₁y-) id. > Hb הַחֲזָאִי hā'zē id., BA h^a'dē* id. (הַחֲזָאִי h^a'd-ōhī 'her breasts' du./pl.), Sr حَضْرُؤُا ḥad'y-ā, SmA حِذْوُ الحِذْوِ ḥdy, MNA {OJ} ḥazyo, JA [Trg.], JEA חֲזָאִי ḥad'yā, Md ḥadīa 'breast, chest', Ar حِذْوُ الحِذْوِ ḥaδw-un, حِذْوِي ḥiδy-un n. 'vis-à-vis', حِذْوِي ḥiδāʔ- 'opposite to (gegenüber)', {BK} 'celui qui fait un vis-à-vis' ¶ KB 289, 1704-5, KBR 301, Tal 248, Js. 426, JPS 127, Lv. T I 240, Sl. 432, OJ M 177, BK I 399, Hv. 116, Dh. 105, MiK I no. 1.112 || C: HEC {Hd.} *aʒo 'milk', {L} *az- n. 'milk' > Brj 'ad-a, Sd, Hd ado, Kmb azu-t id.; ? Ya at-a' id. ¶ L Z 120, Hd. 99, Ss. B 23 || U: FU *eδe 'front' > F e s i (gen. e d e r n), Es e s i 'fore, forepart, forefront', F e d e l l ä 'before, in front of', Es e d a s i 'foreward' || ObU {Ht.} *yīl 'front' (with a prosthetic *y-) > pVg yīl > Vg: T, LK il, P il ~ íl, Ss ēla 'forward', LK ēlt, P yēlt, UL ēlit 'in front, before'; pOs {Ht.} *yil > Os: V/Vy > V/Vy il, Vrt iφa, Ty iφ, D it, Nz yet, Kz yeφ adj. 'front (vorder)', V/Vy ilən, Vrt iφən, Nz yetən, Kz yeφən 'in front' | Hg e l ó 'fore', e l ó t t 'before' ¶ UEW 71-2, Coll. CG 411, SSA I 108, Ht no. 187, Trj. S 52-4 || ?φ D *et∇, *et∇₁∇ 'breast, chest' > Kt e d 'trunk from chest to navel', e d m a 'r 'chest of body' (m a 'r 'chest'), Kn e d e, e d d e, e r d e 'chest, breast' (- r d - < * - t ∇ r - ?), Tu e d e 'heart, chest, bosom', Tl e d a 'heart, breast', e d ā d a, e d d a id., Prj edram, edrom, Knd eduḡam 'chest' ¶¶ D no. 827 || A: M *ebč₁i-šün 'breast, chest, sternum' > MM [HI] e b č e , ü n 'breast' ({Ms., Lew.} 'poitrine'), [S] {H} e b c e , u (n) 'Brust', WrM {MED} e b c i g ü (n), HIM {MED, BMR} e b c y y (H) 'sternum, chest', Kl {KRS} e b c y H ö w c ü n 'sternum', Shrn i š č u 'chest', Mnr H {SM} š ž ſ ſ ſ ſ 'poitrine, poitrail', Ord ö b č ' ſ ſ 'poitrine' ¶ MED 285, BMR III 7, H 40-1, H SMG I 28, KRS 409-10, KW 303, SM 492, Ms. H 51, Ms. O 526, Lew. II 12 ◇ In HS, FU, and D the N cluster *-bǰ- was simplified with loss of the reflex of *b. If the D root belongs here, N *ǰ yielded D *t ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 171 (*eti 'front') (U + err. IE, M + unc. Gil, CK).

2565. ₂ *χUč₁∇ 'to peel, to bark, to scrape off (hair, etc.)' > **HS**: S *o'✓ ḥçç > Ar ✓ ḥçç G (pf. حَصَّ ḥaṣṣa) v. 'shave (the hair)' ¶ Fr. I 386, Hv. 126 || K: (K or GZ?) *χwec₁-/*χwç₁- v. {K²} 'peel' > OG χwec₁- v. 'bark (a tree), peel, scrape, hew', G χveç₁- v. 'plane (wood), scrape (строгать, скоблить)', Mg, Lz χoç₁- v. 'peel', ? Sv na-χwç₁i ~ na-χçw₁i 'thin' (prtc. with the px. na-) ¶¶ K 259, K DE 359, K² 329, FS K 485, Abul. 329, DCh. 1744.

2566. * $\chi|q\ddot{u}_ly_d\nabla$ 'to separate' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'to divide; part') > **K:** MG, G $\chi vedr-i$ 'part, share, plot of arable land' ¶ DCh. 1743, Chx. 2348 || **IE** * ${}_{\text{L}}H_{\text{X}_1}weid^h-/*{}_{\text{L}}H_{\text{X}_1}wid^h-$ > NaIE * $weid^h-/*wid^h-$ v. 'separate, divide' > OI $vidh-$ 'be destitute/bereft of, lack, want', $nir-viddha-$ 'separated from each other, isolated', $vi'dhu-$ 'lonely, solitary', $vidhu'ra-$ 'bereft, bereaved (of a loved person), alone, solitary', ? $vidhā-$ 'distribute' || L d. $di-vid-ō / -ēre$ v. 'separate, divide', Um UEF 'partes' accus. pl. (< * $weif-f$), $vetu$ 'dividito' (< * $weiffletod$) | \rightarrow IE * ${}_{\text{L}}H_{\text{X}_1}wid^hewo-s$ 'separated' > L $viduus$ 'deprived, bereaved, destitute', W $gweddω$ 'widower', Gk $\eta(F)\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ 'unmarried youth'; \rightarrow IE * ${}_{\text{L}}H_{\text{X}_1}wid^hew-ā$ 'widow' > OI $vi'dhavā$, Av $vi\delta avā$ id., NPrs $بيوه bīve$ (< CINPrs $bēva$) 'widow(er)' || L $vidua$ 'widow; divorced \ unmarried woman' || Clt {Matas.} * $widwā$ 'widow' > OIr $fedb$, Crn $guedeu$ 'widow', MW $gwedde$ 'widowed, widower, widow, unmarried', W {YGM} 'widoe, spinster; widowed, solitary' || pAl {O} * $widewā$ > Al ve id. || Gt $widuwō$, OSx $widowa$, OHG $witūwa$, NHG $Witwe$, Δ $Wi(t)tib$, AS $widewe$ id., NE $widow$ || Pru $widdewu$ 'widow' | Sl * $vbdō'va$ id. > OCS **ВЪДОВА** $vъdova$, SCr $udōva$, Slv $vdōva$, Cz, Slk $vdova$, P $wdowa$, R $вдо'ва$, Uk $удо'ва$, Blg d. $вдо'вица$ id. || EI 642 (Huld) quoted Ht $SALu(i)dati-$ 'widow', which is not confirmed by Ts. W and other available sources; if Huld's perplexing interpretation of $SALu(i)dati-$ (with unexpected lack of h-) is valid, the derivational origin of the IE word for 'widow' (or only of the Ht word) is to be reconsidered || \rightarrow NaIE * ${}^owoj^dh-son-$ > Gmc * $wajsan-$ 'orphan' > OFrs $wēsa$, OHG $weiso$ > NHG $Waise$ ¶¶ P 1127-8, Dv. no. 617, \approx EI 160 and 642 (* $wi-d^hh_1-$ 'put asunder' \rightarrow * $wid^hh_1eweh_{\beta}$ 'widow'), WH I 359 and II 785-6, Bc. G 351, Pln. 762-3, \neq M K III 210-1 and ME II 556 (OI $vidh-$ < $vi-dh-a$, $vi-'dhá-$), Brtl. 1443, F I 625-6, O 497, Fs. 562, Ho. 393, Ho. S 87, Kb. 1163, 1218, Schz. 327, KM 865, En. 273, Glh. 650, Vs. I 281-2, Matas. E 420-1, YGM-1 260 || **A:** NaT * $üdür-$ > OT $üdür-$ v. 'choose (one of several); part, separate', Xk $üzür-$ v. 'choose (one of several)' ¶ Cl. 67-8, BIG 254.

2567. (${}_2$?) * $\chi^1\hat{u}d_l\nabla?,\nabla$ 'get (somewhere), reach (some place), clash (with sth.)' > **K** * $\chi wed-/*\chi wd-$ 'meet, come across, hit (the goal); be found' > OG $\chi wd-/\chi wed-$ 'meet (begegnet)' (da $\check{s}exudes magas ...$ 'thev\ befall him'). G {DCh.} $\chi vdoma \sim xdoma$ 'come across. pass by'.

{K²} 'meet, be found', G {Chx.} χvedr-/χvd- 'meet (treffen), hit', G G/I χvden-/χvdin- 'meet (unwillingly), come across', Mg, Lz χvad- 'meet (treffen)', Sv {K} χwīd- ({K}: < *χwī-+ed) 'meet (begegnen, treffen)' ¶¶ K 258, K² 328, FS K 484-5, FS E 549-50, Chx. 2346, DCh. 1728-9 || **HS**: pre-B ** ✓Hw̄t̄ > B *✓Hw̄d̄ > Ah aw̄d̄ 'parvenir à', Gd aw̄əḏ̄ 'rejoindre, arriver à', Kb aw̄əḏ̄ / yəββ^ωəḏ̄ 'atteindre, parvenir', BMn aw̄δ̄ 'arriver' ¶ Fc. 1461, Lf. II no. 1650, Dl. 851-2 || ? S: Ar ✓hd̄? G 'help so. against, rescue so, from (tyranny)', Ar ✓hd̄? G + ?ila 'seek a refuge towards, se réfugier auprès de qn.' ¶ Hv. 114, BK I 389 || | ?σ D *ūt̄t̄- 'be trapped \ caught in a trap' > Gdb ūt̄t̄ id., Gnd urrānā 'be jammed in a trap' (of fish) ¶¶ D no. 598 ◇ The N glottal stop * ? survives in S and indirectly in B (*d̄? > *t̄ > *d̄).

2568. ₂ *Xag ∇ 'dry, hard' > **HS**: S: Ar ?ahagǵǵ- 'dur' (crâne) ¶ BK I 379, Fr. I 344 ('durum [caput]') || C *✓hgg > EC *hgeg-/*hgog- ({Ss.} *(h)geg-/*(h)gog-) vt. 'dry' > Sa -ohgog- 'be dry', pOr {Bl.} gog > Or gog-, Kns kok- 'dry', Arr gog- vi. 'dry', gògá- adj. 'dry', Dsn gogū adj. 'hard, dry', gógob- 'be hard\dry', Elm gog-ídā 'dry' ||| Ag: Bl {R} hāg^ωag- 'vertrocknen, verdorren', Km, Aw kag- 'dry' (k- < *hg?) ¶ AD SF 256, Ap. 12, To. DL 500, Blz. CL 177, ≈ LmS 365 ||| **A**: M *ag- v. 'dry, dry up' (unless it is *p̄ag-) > WrM {MED} ag-, HIM {MED} aḡa- v. 'dry, dry up' (BMR does not confirm the meaning 'dry, dry up' for HIM aḡa-, but mentions aḡa- with the meaning 'penetrate, durchsickern'), Ord ag- 'être à bout par suite de la soif' ¶ MED 12, BMR I 38, Ms. O 6.

2568a. ₂ *Xa^rü¹gæ 'to lack, to want, to need' > **HS**: SES *✓hωg (= *-hūg-?) > Mh, Hrs, Jb ✓hωg v. (d. stems): Mh pf. hātūg / sbjn. yəḥtəwōg, Hrs pf. hātōg / sbjn. yəḥtəwōg v. 'need', Mh pf. 'hatwəg, Jb E pf. 'hat'εg, Jb C pf. 'hə'tεg (sbjn. yəḥ'təg) v. 'need', Hrs hāgəh (pl. ḥəgāt) n. 'need, thing', Mh 'hōgət (pl. həwōyag), Jb E ḥəgt, Jb C 'hógət (pl. 'həg) n. 'need, thing, something' ¶ Jo. M 193, Jo. J 120, Jo. H 63 ||| Eg MK ḥəy ({EG} ḥəj, {Fk.} ḥəj̄) vt. 'injure, destroy, annul', vi. 'fail' ¶ EG III 212-3, Fk. 182 ||| C: HEC {Hd.} *hōg- > Kmb, Sd hōg- v. 'lose, miss, lack' ¶ Hd. 322, 372 ||| **IE**: NaIE *ā₁ḡ^h-/*āḡ^h-/*īḡ^h- '(be) needy' > Gk [Theo.] ἄχρη 'poor, needy (arm, dürftig)', Gk Δ [Hs.] ἡχρηες 'κενοί, πτωχοί' 'those without property, beggars', κτεαν-ήχης 'πένης' 'poor', Gk ἔχανάω 'I long for' ||| Av āžī-š 'eager desire (Begierde)', NPrs 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌 id., Av āžā-š 'Streben, Eifer', izyatī 'endeavours to obtain, longs for', 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌 'Streben Eifer' OI īhē 'request desire' īhātē v. 'endeavour to

obtain; long for', $\bar{e}'ha-h$ 'desirous, wishing' ¶ WP I 49-50 (IE $*\bar{a}g^h-$), ≈ P 14-5 (err.: ÷ Tc A $\bar{a}k\bar{a}l$, B $ak\bar{a}lk$ 'wish', which are of Mirn origin, see Ad. 2), M K I 97, 130, F I 200, Vl. I 29 || AdS of A: NaT $*\bar{a}g-s\bar{u}-$ 'be(come) defective, deficient, lacking' (< N $*h|X'a'ka$ 'to need, to lack', q.v.) > OT $\bar{a}gs\bar{u}-$ ({Cl.} $egs\bar{u}-$), OT (BrSc) {Gb.} $\bar{a}gs\bar{o}-$, ET $\bar{o}gs\bar{u}-$, Chg $\geq XV \bar{o}ks\bar{u}-$, OOsM $eks\bar{i}-$, Tk $\Delta e\bar{s}i-$, $e\bar{y}si-$, Qrg, Ln $eks\bar{u}-$, Tkm $e\bar{x}i\theta-$ ¶ Cl. 117, ET Gl 257-8, DTS 168, Rl. I 687, 1188.

2569. $\text{₂} *X\bar{a}g\nabla r\nabla$ 'gird, tie around, surround', 'twist' > HS: S $\checkmark hgr$ v. 'gird; prevent from walking\approaching' > BHb $\checkmark hgr$ G vt. 'gird', vi. 'gird oneself', $\bar{i}r\bar{a}g\bar{o}'r-\bar{o}$ 'his girdle', $\bar{i}r\bar{a}g\bar{o}'r\bar{a}$ 'girdle, loincloth', Ug $\checkmark hgr$ v. 'gird', Pun $\checkmark hgr$, Nbt $\checkmark hr g^?$ '(protecting) wall, enclosure', JPA $\checkmark hgr$ G v. 'encircle, gird', Sr $\checkmark hgr$ G v. 'halt, limp, be lame', Ar $\checkmark h\check{g}r$ v. G {BK} 'empêcher qn. d'approcher, lui interdire l'accès', {Hv.} 'prevent, hinder, withhold, restrain', v. D 'be surrounded by a halo' (the moon), $\checkmark h\check{g}ur-$ 'chair qui antoure le sabot de la bête', Ar D $ma\check{g}ar$ 'abgegrenztes Weidegebiet', Sb $\checkmark hgr$ 'reserve (sth. for exclusive use)', m $\checkmark hgr$ 'land reserved (for so.'s exclusive use)', OYmn {Slw.} m $\checkmark hgr$ 'Plantage; bebautes, umfriedetes Landstück; abgegrenztes Weideland', ? Ak inf. $eg\bar{e}r\bar{u}$ 'to twist, to perverse' ¶ KB 279, KBR 290-1, A no. 903, OLS 174, HJ 348, Js. 424, Br. 214, Ln. 516-8, BK I 380-1, Hv. 111-2, Lb. 360, BGMR 67, Slw. 67-8, Sd. 190, CAD IV 41-2 || ? amb Ch: WCh: pAG {Stl.} $*g^{\omega}aHar$ 'gird' > Su {MtS} $g\omega har$, Ang {Flk.} $g\omega ar$ | pBT $*g\bar{a}r-$ v. 'tie to, bind' > Bl $\checkmark ar-$, Ngm {ChL} $ngar-$, Pr {ChL} $\checkmark r\bar{i}\bar{y}\bar{o}$, ? Tng {J} $k\bar{e}r\bar{i}$ 'tie, bind, imprison, fasten' ¶ Stl. ZCh 243 [no. 42], 246 [no. 40], ChL, J T 98, AD ChSC 33 ¶ The WCh \checkmark may be alternatively equated with Tg $*g\bar{u}r\bar{i}-$ 'tie under' (STM I 174) || A: NaT $*e|\bar{a}gir-$ vt. 'encircle, surround', 'twist' > OT {Cl.} $\bar{a}gir-$ id., v. 'twist, spin', Tk $e\check{g}ir-$, Tkm $e\check{x}ir-$, Uz $jigir-$, ET $egi(r)-$, Az $\bar{a}yir-$, Qzq $\bar{i}yir-$, Kr G, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt $\bar{i}yir-$, Tv $\bar{e}r-$ 'spin, twist (threads)' ('прясть, сучить'); the meaning 'spin, twist' is probably due to coalescence with a different \checkmark ¶ Cl. 113, ≈ Rs. W 37, ET Gl 227-31 || M $*e\check{x}ere-$ 'surround, rotate, revolve, twist' > MM [S] {H} $e\check{x}ere-$, WrO {Krg.} $\bar{e}r-$ 'surround', WrM {MED} $egere-$, HIM $\bar{e}r\bar{e}-$ {MED} 'rotate, whirl, twist, spin', {BMR} v. 'rotare, spin, спутывать, запутывать', Brt $\bar{e}r\bar{e}-$ v. 'spin, rotate (кружиться на одном месте, топтаться)', Ord $\bar{e}re-$ 'liewr ensemble plusieurs objets de façon que le tours du lien qui les unit se croisent; filer', Kl {KRS} $\bar{e}r-$

id., 'twist (zwirnen)', {Rm.} ēr- 'drehen, spinnen, zwirnen, im Kreis um etwas gehen' ¶ H 42, MED 299, BMR IV 445, Chr. 781, Krg. 78, KRS 706, KW 131, Ms. O 242-3 || ?σ pKo {S} *ǵrī 'spool' > MKo ǵrī id., NKo ǵlle 'reel, spool, bobbin' ¶ S QK no. 413, Nam 360, MLC 1144 ¶¶ SDM 496 (A *eg∇r∇ v. 'twist, spin'), DQA no. 417 (id.).

2570. ₂ *XakEC∇ 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit' > IE: NaIE *aks- → *aġ(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit' (× N *gotK∇ 'popliteal space [back of the knee], armpit') > Gmc: OHG {Kb.} uohhisa ~ uochisa ~ uohasa 'shoulder (Achsel)', MHG uohse, ũehse 'armpit'; with a *-n-sx: OHG uochsana 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit', AS o̅xn 'armpit'; with a *-t-sx: ON óst, óstr 'throat pit' ('Halsgrube'), Nr Δ ōste, AS ocusta ~ oxta id., NE oxter 'armpit'; NaIE *aġs-el- → *aks-el- 'shoulder' > ON oxl, AS eaxl, OHG ahs(a)la 'shoulder' > NHG Achsel || L āla (< *aksla) 'armpit; wing'; L axilla 'armpit' (with a dim. sx -illa); ↳ OIr oxal 'armpit' || Arm wūnlþ anuth (< *asnuth) 'armpit' || ?φ OIr ochae 'hollow of the armpit' (suggests IE *°ok-without *-s-?) || Av ašayā gen. du. 'of both shoulders (Achseln)' ¶ P 6, Dv. no. 243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ǵeġs- 'shoulder[join]; axle'; *h_ǵeġsleh_ǵ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 ¶ On the connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' see below. Connection with IE *aġs- 'axis' (supposed by many scholars) is unc. for lack of sufficient semantic ties ¶ P 6, Dv. no. 243, ≈ EI 516 (*h_ǵeġs- 'shoulder[joint]; axle'; *h_ǵeġsleh_ǵ- 'shoulder'), WH I 25, KM 6, Vr. 421, 689, Ho. 87, 234, Kb. 11, 1117, OsS 7, 1058, EWA I 114-6, Lx. 259, Vn. O 6, 36 || HS: Eg: {EG} MK/NK ħcc.t 'shoulder (Schulter, Achsel), armpit', MK {Fk.} ħcc.t 'armpit', ħcc v. 'carry under the arm' ¶ EG III 204, Fk. 181 || ?φ B *Hay∇t > Tmz t-ayt-t (pl. t-uyat), Kb t̄ayacc (pl. t̄uyat) 'shoulder', Izd tayt (pl. tuyat) 'armpit' ¶ Valid if N *-kEC- may yield B *-y∇t- ¶ DI. 923, MT 786, Mrc. 16, 420 || Ch: ?? Ke {Eb.} kósi 'shoulder' ◇ The connection between the meanings 'armpit' and 'shoulder' (at both the pIE and the pN levels) is not clear (semantic change [and if so, in which direction?] or secondary semantic association between originally unrelated stems?).

2571. *XakER∇ 'plain' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'field') > IE *He|aġro- > NaIE *aġro-s 'field, field in cultivation' > OI 'ajra-h̄ 'field, plain' || Gk ἄγρός 'field', Gk Hm ἄγρός 'farm' || L ager 'land in cultivation, a field', Um AGER 'ager'; L ↳ Izn igar 'terrain' || Gt akrs, OSx akkar, OHG

ackar 𐎠 ac(c)har, NHG Acker, AS æcer 'field (in cultivation)', NE acre || ? Arm 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 art 'field' ¶ ≈ P 6, EI 200 (*h₁eg₁ro-s 'field, pasture'), ≈ M K I 23, ≈ M E I 52, ≈ WH 22 (*: *aġro- 'land ← 'pasture' ← aġ- 'drive cattle'), Bc. G 327, F I 16, Mn. 5, Schz. 83, Ho. 8, Ho. S 2, Kb. 13, EWA I 40-2, KM 6-7, Sl. 132 || HS: CS *✓ħkr 'field in cultivation' > Sr {Br.} 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 ħkwr? (= *ħakūrā?) (not att. with vocalization signs) 'ager', Ar {Ln.} 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 ħākūr-at- 'a piece of land retained and enclosed by its proprietor for sowing and planting trees', MHb, JPA ✓ħkr G v. 'lease, rent (a field, a plot of land)', JEA ✓ħkr G 'contract agricultural land as a tenant'; S 𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎠 Sum akar 'field' ¶ Js. 43, Sl. 460, Sl. P 201, Br. 231, Ln. 616, Lv. II 49-50 || A: M *e₁erme (unless with *φ-) 'open plain' > WrM {MED} egerme 'open plain, desert, steppe', HIM ээрэм {MED} id., {BMR} 'отдаленная степь, menschenleere Gegend', WrO ekerme tala 'wasteland, barren plain' (tala 'plain'), Kl {Rm.} ērm̄ ~ ērm̄a (ērm̄a caṽān tāla 'leere, weite Wüste' [caṽān means 'white']) ¶ MED 299, BMR IV 445, Krg. 76, KW 131 ◇ The sound corr. between S *k and IE *g suggests a common heritage rather than borrowing. Therefore the hyp. of IE *aġro-s as a loan from either Sum akar 'field (in cultivation)' or from S needs revising (F ≈ AD IEH 23) ◇ M *e- from N *a is due to regr. as. (infl. of N *E of the next syll.).

2572. (₂?) *χako|aR∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity' > IE *χag₁ω₁r- > NaIE *aġro- 'top, point, summit, uppermost (oberstes)' > OI 'agram 'tip, summit, beginning', agra'maḥ 'the foremost', Av aṣra- 'der erste, oberste', aṣram n. 'Anfang, das Oberste, Spitze' || Ltv agrs 'early', agrums 'early hour, early morning' || Ht {Pv.} ħekur 'rock sanctuary, acropolis' ¶ P 8-9, M K I 18, M E I 45, Brtl. 49, Kar. I 56-7, Ts. E I 235-6, Pv. III 287-9 || HS: S *°✓ħrk > Ar {Ln.} ħarkak-at-, pl. ħarākik- ~ ħarākīk- 'heads \ extremities of the two hips\haunches that are next the ground when one sits', ħārik- 'upper part of horse's withers', 'branches of the two shoulder blades of a horse', 'place of growth of the lowest part of the mane, next to back upon which he who mounts lays hold' ¶ Ln. 553 ¶ The mt. may be connected with the S morphophonemic law ruling out roots with the sequence *ħ...k || B {Pr.} *✓Hy₁r > Ah {Fc.} āhyar 'escarpement à pic formant le couronnement (d'une montagne)' ¶ Fc. 1752, Pr. H no. 348 || ?σ,φ K: Sv hoqer 𐎠 wōqer 'the very bottom, end' (× N *ʿ¹oq¹i 'sharp point\edge', q.v. ffd.).

2573. *χεκ̣▽ 'scrape, scratch' > **K *χοκ̣-** v. 'scrape' > MG [VTq.], G χοκ̣- 'scrape, scratch', Mg χοκ̣- 'scrape, shave', Sv msd. li-χκ̣-ḡn-e 'to scratch' ¶¶ But hardly here Mg, Lz χακ̣-ar- 'scrape', that is likely to belong (acc. to K²) to K *pχεκ̣-/ *pχικ̣- 'scrape' ¶¶ K DE 367, K² 210, 330, Q 405, Chik. 332-3, Fn. KW-2 95 [no. 50], DCh. 1751 || **HS: S** *✓ħkk v. 'scratch' > MHb, JEA ḡḡḡ ✓ħkk G 'rub, scratch', Sr ✓ħkk G id., Ar ✓ħkk G (pf. ḡakka, ip. -ḡkuku) {BK} 'gratter; frotter', {Hv.} 'rub (a th.) with, scrape off (gold) with', Gz ✓ħkk G v. 'itch, scratch, rub, scrape', Tgr ✓ħkk G 'scratch, scrape, Tgy ḡaḳε̣ε, ḡanḳ^ωε̣ε pf. 'scratch', Jb C {Jo.} ✓ħkk G (pf. ḡeḳk, sbjn. yḡik) 'level off', Sh pf. aḡ¹kek 'plane, level, smooth', Mh {Jo.} ✓ħkk G (pf. ḡε̣k) 'level off, scratch', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ħkk G (pf. ḡε̣k), Jb C pf. ḡḡḡḡ 'scratch', Ak OB/LB inf. ε̣kε̣kε̣ 'to scratch' ¶ Js. 462, Sl. 460, Br. 230, JPS 141, Fr. I 409, BK I 469, Hv. 135, L G 228, Jo. M 173-4, Jo. J 107, Jo. H 58, CAD IV 63-4, Sd. 193, MiK I no. 2.23 || C: EC *ḡε̣κ̣-/ *ḡοκ̣- > Sa ḡokuk-, Sml ḡoq-, Bn ḡoʔ-, Gdl ḡε̣κ̣-, Arr ḡε̣κ̣- v. 'scratch', Rn {PG} ḡχ- 'scratch (an itchy place)', Or ḡḡκ̣- 'scratch (an itch)', Brj ḡοκ̣ḡκ̣- 'scratch oneself' (< rdp. *ḡοκ̣ḡοκ̣-) || Bj {R} ✓ḡg^ωn (1s p. a-ḡḡ^ḡg^ḡn, pres. aḡan^ḡg^ḡīn) v. 'scratch, itch' || DhI {EEN} ḡīκ̣- 'grind' ¶ Ss. PEC 48, 50, Ss. B 99-100, PG 241, R WBd 113, AD SEC 134 [no. 7.10], AD SF 157, E PC no. 528 (pC *ḡοκ̣^ω-/ *ḡε̣κ̣^ω-), Grg. 213-4, Hw. A 366, EEN 27 || ?φ WCh: Ang {Flk.} g^ωak 'rub hard, polish, grind corn' (if Tk. is right in postulating a reg. corr.: AG *g ÷ S *ḡ) ¶ Flk. s.v. g^ωak ¶¶ Tk. PAA 14 (Ang, DhI, S) || **D** *ekk- v. 'scratch, card' > Ml ekkukā, Png eċ- v. 'card (cotton)', Kt ek-, Tf ök- v. 'scratch (oneself, an itching limb)', Gnd eh- v. 'weed' ¶¶ D no. 765 ◇ Blz. KM 115-6 [no. 9] (K, S, Bj, EC).

2574. *χοκ̣Ḳ (or *χοκ̣i?) 'call out, pronounce aloud, speak (solemnly?); incantations' > **IE: Ht ḡuek-** 'conjure, treat by incantation' ¶ As shown in Pv. II 323-7, this NaIE verb is hardly connected with NaIE *wεk^ω- 'speak' (see N *w^ḡa¹κ̣o 'call') ¶¶ EI 449 || **HS: S** *°✓ħky|w > Ar ✓ħky|w G {BK} 'rapporteur, relater', {Hv.} 'relate (a fact)', ḡikāyat- {Hv.} 'narrative', {BK} 'récit, histoire, relation; conte' ¶ BK I 472, Hv. 136 || Eg fP ḡkε̣ 'magic spell (Zauber), supernatural force; incantation' (= {Vc.} *ḡikʔ > *ḡīkiʔ, verbal noun) > Cp Sd/B ḡIK ḡik 'magic'; ⇨ Eg: fP ḡkε̣.ω 'magician', MK {Fk.} ḡkε̣ω 'magic, magic spells', ḡkε̣y 'magician' ¶ EG III 175-7, Fk. 179, AD WIL (pre-S *χ...k > S *ḡ...k) || **A: T** *hoḳi:,- ~ *hoku:,- > OT {Cl.} oqī- 'call out

aloud, summon, recite' → 'read', Xlj h_oqu- v. 'read, sing', Osm {Zn.} oqu- 'pronounce aloud, read', Tk oku-, Az oxu-, Tkm oqa-, Uz ωqi-, CrTt, QrB, Qrg, ET, LN oqu-, Qzq, Nog, Qq oqi-, LN uqu-, VTt, Bsh uqʔ- 'read' ¶ Cl. 79, Rs. W 359-60, DT 134, ET Gl 439-41 ¶ It may be tentatively suggested (as a possibility) that N *χ- yields pT *h- (preserved in Xlj) (see No. 2585 [N *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva']). But, on the other hand, Xlj h- may be a language-specific innovation (as in other roots) ◇ IE *we as a reflex of N *o is explained by the rule 4 described in AD NGIE 17: N *o⊥u > pre-IE₁ *-u⊥u (⊥ = any cons.) and later pre-IE₁ *u > IE *we.

2575. ₂ *X^oʔyEK∇ 'lap, lower front part of the belly' > HS: WS *hayk- 'lap, loin' > BHb ʔʔ ħēk [ħēk], Ug (AkSc) {Hnr.} ħēku 'lap', JA [Trg.] ʔʔ ħēk-ā {Js.} 'lap, bosom', {Lv.} 'Schoß', Ar ħaqw- ~ ħiqw- 'cette partie du corps qui est au bas des côtes; ceinture', Sb ħkω-rhrn du. df., ħkω-ɟ du. cs. 'loins', Gz ħak^ωē ~ ħawk^ωē ~ ħawk^ωē 'hip, loin', Mh {SSL} ħākzω 'taille' (< Ar?), Jb C {Jo.} ħak'ħek 'hip(s), hip bone(s)' ¶ SS *k^ω and k^ω and Ar qw go back to the S nom. form (...k-u) ¶ KB 300, Hnr. 124, MiK I no. 113, Js. 460, Lv. T I 255, BK I 469, L G 239, SSL LNPM 220, Jo. J 108 || ? WCh: Tng {J} agɔ, {ChL} haɣò, Krkr {Lk.} ʔàkó, {ChL} ʔàkzω 'stomach, belly' ¶ J T 65, ChL || A *öye|äk'∇ > T *öye|äk 'part of animal skin on the lower belly' > Chg {PC} öyek id., 'hair under animal's neck', Tv öyek, StAlt/Tlt {Rl.} öyök 'belly (of animals), belly part of animal's hide', Shor/QK {Rl.}, Xk õk 'belly part of animal's hide', Qrg õk id., 'side of a horse', Chg {Rl.} أويأك öyäk 'Bauch- und Halshaut des Eichhörnchens', VTt {Bu.} أويأك üyäk 'подбрюшница' (this R word is absent in modern standard R, but in the dialect of the Volga-Kama region it means, acc. to Dal, 'a thong under horse's belly as part of the harness', see Dal III 162) ¶ ET Gl 515, Rs. W 369-70, TL 146, 423, PC 86, Rl. I 1179, 121, Jud. 597, BIG 136, Bu. I 165 || M: {SDM} *öyекеу 'lower part of animal's belly' > WrM {Kow.} öyеке 'bas-ventre, ventre, entrailles des animaux', {MED} öyüke 'the thin flesh of the belly; pit of the stomach' the thin flesh of the belly; pit of the stomach', НИМ өөх, өөхий {MED} id., {BMR} 'lower part of animals' brest, белая линия живота' ¶ Kow. 553, MED 633, BMR III 14 ¶ ≈ SDM *ηūye 'long hair' > T, M *öyекеу + [not belonging to the pA root in question] Tg *ηūyelse 'hair under the neck; tie, scarf' and pJ *bè- or *buà 'tail', ≈ DQA no. 1545 (id).

2576. ${}_2$ *XAKAr∇ 'need, want, be hungry' > HS: Eg fP ħḳr 'be hungry', Cpt Sd/B ʒko ħko (qual. ʒokεp hoker), Cpt F ʒika ħika id., Eg fOK ħḳr 'a hungry man', Cpt Sd ʒhke hēke, Cpt B ʒhki hēki 'poor' ¶ EG III 174-5, Fk. 178-9, Vc. 293 || ?σ S * $\sqrt{\text{ħḳr}}$ > Ar $\sqrt{\text{ħqr}}$ (pf. ħaqira, ip. -ħqaru) 'be mean, deplorable, contemptible; have no weight\worth', 'devenir vil, méprisable, tomber dans l'abaissement' (if from *'be poor' ← *'go hungry'); (pf. ħaqara) 'être vil et méprisé\dédaigné; mépriser' ¶ Ln. 611, Fr. I 407, BK I 466-7, Hv. 134 || C: SC * $\sqrt{\text{ḳʷr}}$ 'hunger' > Irq/Alg {MQK, E} qʷari, Brn {E} qori, Kz {E} ḳuliko id. || DhI ḳere id. ¶ E SC 280, MQK 89, EEN 19, To. D 138 || Ch: Mpn {Frz.} ḳér 'hunger' ¶ Frz. DM 31 ¶¶ Cal. no. 72 (S, Eg), Tk. I 211 and Tk. SCC 91 [no. 21.4] (S, Eg, C, Ch) || **D** *akkar- 'necessity, want' > Ka akkarε, Tl akkara id., 'need', Tm akkarai, akkarai 'concern, interest, need, necessity' ¶¶ D no. 21.

2577. * $\sqrt{\text{ħal∇}}$ (or * $\sqrt{\text{ħ-}}$, * $\sqrt{\text{ħ-}}$) (*'forehead' →) 'front, edge' > HS: S * $\sqrt{\text{ħlm}}$ (or ** $\sqrt{\text{ħlm}}$) > Ak ellamu 'front' (in space or time) ¶ CAD IV 101, Sd. 203 || ? Eg P ħz.t or ħẓ.t 'front part, face, forehead; beginning' (unless ẓ was followed by a vowel, sc. it was not from *l) > Cpt: Sd/B ʒiḥi, Sd ʒiḥi, εẓḥe ḥe, A ʒiḥi, ʒeḥi, εẓiḥi, εẓiḥi e ḥi e i 'beginning, front part' ¶ EG III 19-24, Vc. 285, 314, Tk. I 300 || ?ϕ K: G χling-i 'edge' (Chx.: χlingi 'Kante, Rand', DCh.: χlingi ~ lingi 'край у доски') ¶ Chx. 2369, DCh. 650, 1749 || **U** *a1∇ (?) > FU {UEW} *alka '(front\back) edge, beginning; to begin' > F alka-, Es alga- v. 'begin', F alku, Es alg (gen. alu) 'beginning' | pLp *alkē v. 'begin' > Lp S {Hs.} aalg'e-, Lp N {N} al'ge- -lg-, Lp L {LLO} al'kē-, Lp K āl'ke- ɖ al'ke-, Lp Kld аллькэ v. 'begin', Lp L {LLO} al'go -lg-, Lp L al'kō, Lp K ālk ɖ alk 'beginning, origin' || pObU *ālaγ ~ *ālaη ~ *āγal ~ *āηal 'beginning, end' {Ht.} > pVg *āγal > Vg: T aωl, LK/UL oωl, MK/NV/SV ōl, P ōl / nom. pl. oωlət, LL ōl / aγlt, Ss ɔωl id.; pOs *ālaη > Os: V/Vy/O alaη, Ty/Y āčaη, D/K otaη, Nz ɔtaη, Kz ɔčaη id. ¶ UEW 6-7, Coll. 71, Ht. no. 26, Lr. no. 46 (believes that Lp is a loan from F), Lgc. no. 185, Hs. 206, SaR 24 || ? Sm {Jn.} *o1b 'summit, head' > En {Cs.}: X oħi?, B ori? 'Gipfel, Höhe', X oħo 'früher', oħo?, B oro? 'vor'; Slq Tz {KKIH} o1a 'head', Kms {KD} uħu ~ ulu, Koyb {Sp.} yly id. ¶ Jn. 29, Prk. SG 120, KKIH 142, KD 80; Jn. (p.c.) does not connect Sm *o1b with FU *alka, because the vocalism of the Sm stem does not match that of the FU word || **A** *ā1∇ 'front side' > NaT *ā1 'front, forehead' >

OT al (= $*\bar{a}l$) 'front, facing, prior position', Qmq, QrB, VTt, Bsh, Tb, SY, Tk Δal , Qrg $\text{al}(d)$ 'front, front side', ET, Ln ayl id. , Tkm $\bar{a}l\text{-}a$, QK, Qrg $\text{al-}\psi a$ 'forward', Tkm Δal (= $*\bar{a}l$) 'forehead'; NaT $*\bar{a}l\text{in}$ 'forehead' > OT alin (= $*\bar{a}l\text{in}$), Tkm $\bar{a}l\text{i}$, Az, SY $\text{al}\text{in id.}$, Tk alin 'forehead, front, face', StAlt alin 'front', QK {B} alin 'front side, space in front of', Xk, Tb {B} alin 'front' adj., Tf, Tv Tj alin 'face' ¶ Cl. 121, 147 (he was not sure about OT al , because in the texts it occurs only with a 3s ppa. in oblique cases [dat., lat., abl.], which may be interpreted as cases of alin ; he suggests that $\bar{a}l$ appeared later [in Chg, etc.] as reinterpretation of the oblique cases of $\bar{a}l\text{in}$), ET Gl 124-5, 146-7, TkR 43, ARL 15, B DLT 138, B DChT 100, 102, Jud. 48, Ra. 153 || Tg: Ewk Nr {KD} $\bar{a}l\text{m}\text{u}$ 'front part of the garment'; ?? Tg $*e\text{l}\text{m}\text{u}$ (with a puzzling $*e$) 'front part of footgear' (передки) > Ul $\text{z}\text{l}\text{m}\text{i}$, Ork $\text{z}\text{l}\text{m}\text{u} \sim \text{z}\text{l}\text{m}$, Nn $\text{z}\text{r}\text{m}\text{u}$, Neg $\text{z}\text{n}\text{m}\text{u}$, Orv $\text{z}\text{m}\text{m}\text{u}$ ¶ KD KWV 26, STM II 454 || pKo {S} $*\grave{a}r\text{-}p$ 'front' > MKo $\grave{a}r\text{p}$, NKo $\text{ap}^h \text{ap}$ ¶ S QK no. 651, Nam 348, MLC 1098 || pJ {S} $*\grave{a}r\grave{a}p\text{-}ar\text{-}$ v. 'appear' > OJ $\grave{a}r\grave{a}p\text{-}ar\text{-}a\text{-}$, J: T/Kg $\text{arawar}\acute{e}\text{-}$, K $\acute{a}r\acute{a}w\acute{a}r\acute{e}\text{-}$ ¶ S QJ no. 589, Mr. 677 ¶¶ SDM 284 (A $*\acute{a}l\text{a}$ or $*\acute{e}l\text{a}$ 'front side' > T, Ko), DQA no. 66 (id.), SDM97 ($*\bar{a}l\text{a}$ 'front side') ◇ Cf. IS I 244 ($*H\bar{a}l\bar{\alpha}$): U, A. If the K cognate (qu., because its final part is not clear) is valid, the initial lr. of the N etymon must have been $*\chi\text{-}$ (it is the only one yielding K $*\chi\text{-}$ and a S epiglottal cns.). If the K cognate is rejected, but the Ak one is accepted, the N initial cns. could have been $*h\text{-}$, $*\text{ʕ}\text{-}$, $*\chi\text{-}$, or $*\psi\text{-}$.

2578. $*\chi A1\bar{\nabla}$ '(be\become) clean' > IE $*\circ\chi^{\text{r}}\bar{a}l\text{-}$ > Lw halali 'clean' \rightarrow Ht halali id. ¶ Pv. III 13, Ts. W I 126, Lar. 38 || HS: S $*\check{h}ll$ 'be clean' > Ak $\text{el}\bar{e}l\text{u}$ 'become pure', ellu 'clean', JA [Trg.] $\check{h}ll D$ 'wash, rinse', JEA $\check{h}ll D$ 'wash', Sr $\check{h}ll D$ 'wash away, cleanse, purify', Md $\check{h}ll D$ id., 'rinse, wash', ?σ Ug $\check{h}ll$ {OLS} 'desacralization, purification', ?σ BHb $\check{h}ll D$ 'entweihen', N 'entweiht werden' ('desacralize' ← 'purify, clean'??) ¶ Sd. 197-8, Js. 470, Lv. T I 260, Sl. 464-5, Br. 231, JPS 142, DM 148, KB 306-7, OLS 176 || C: EC: Sml {DSI} $\check{h}al\text{-}$ 'rinse, wash', Sml N {Abr.} $\check{h}al\text{-}$ 'wash' ||| SC: Asa $\text{hilus}\text{-}$ v. 'strain, filter' ¶ DSI 622, Abr. S 116, E SC 335 (SC $*h\text{el}\text{-}$ v. 'clean') || Eg OK $\check{h}3.ty$ d. 'Bleicher, Wäscher' ¶ Hng. 501 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 96 [no. 26.6] (C, Eg, S) || D $*a\text{l}\text{-}$ v. 'wash, clean' > Kn ale v. 'wash', alambu , alumbu , alabu , alubu v. 'rinse, wash', Tm $\text{alampu}\text{-}$, $\text{alajcu}\text{-}$ id., $\text{alacu}\text{-}$ v. 'rinse', Ml alakkuka 'wash clothes by beating', Td $\text{a}\psi\text{p}\text{-}$ v. 'clean', Tu

alambuni 'to wash', Tl {Brown} alamu v. 'wash' ¶¶ D no. 246 || E: NEI a-lik 'es wurde gesäubert (?)' ¶¶ HK 46.

2579. *χel A 'dwell, live' > HS: WS *-h'i'll- v. 'stay, live (somewhere), settle somewhere, encamp' > Sb llh ḥll v. 'encamp', Hrs {Jo.} ✓ ḥl(l) v. 'stay, alight, live (at)', Mh {Jahn} ✓ ḥll G 'stehen bleiben, verweilen, wohnen', {Jo.} v. 'settle', Jb C/E {Jo.} ✓ ḥll G id., Ar ✓ ḥll G (ip. -ḥillu ~ -ḥullu) 'descendre dans un endroit, mettre pied à terre, s'arrêter, faire halte', ps. ḥulla 'être habité' (un lieu), maḥall- 'halte; endroit, lieu, place', maḥallat- 'campement, hôtellerie, quartier (de la ville)' (in Ar the verb was semantically influenced by the verb ✓ ḥll 'dénouer, défaire [un nœud]', the ancient meaning 'habiter' being better preserved in the ps. ḥulla 'was inhabited' and in derived nouns: ḥulūl- 'habitation, demeure', maḥall-, maḥallat-, etc.) ¶ BGMR 67, Jahn MS 191, Jo. M 176, Jo. H 58, Jo. J 108, Fr. I 412-4, BK I 472-5 || K: GZ *χl- v. 'dwell, stay (somewhere)' > Mg msd. χor-ua 'to settle (somewhere)' ('sich ansiedeln') ({K}: < *oχor-ua < Mg oχor- 'dwelling'), G χl- v. 'be' (verbum existentiae, copula), 'be (in good, bad, etc. condition)': ga-χla-var(t) 'ich bin, ich bin's', peṭre gaχlavart 'I am Peter', gaχlav s, gaχlavt 'er\sie\es ist', 'es hat', 'ist vorhanden', (kargad/cudad) gaχlav s 'befindet sich (gut\schlecht)'; < GZ *ṣa-χl- (= {K} *(ṣ) a-xl-) 'house' (nomen loci with the literal meaning 'dwelling') > OG, G saχl- 'house', Lz oχor- id., Mg oχor- 'dwelling, abode; farmstead' ¶ Chx. 2365-6, Q 295-6, ≠ K 171-2, K² 176 (*ṣa-χl- < *χal-/*χl- 'be among, near') || U *elä- v. 'live, dwell' > F elä-, Es elä- v. 'live (leben, wohnen)' | pLp {Lr.} *ēlē- id. > Lp: N {N} ællet id., S jiel'ē- 'live (leben)', L īēllē-, T yīēlle- 'live, visit' | Chr: H {Rm.} əle-, {Ep.} вилä- əlä- v. 'live', L ила- ilä-, E ile- 'leben, wohnen' | pPrm *ɔl- id. > Z ol- ~ ov-, Yz ol- id., Vt ул(ы) - ul(ĭ)- v. 'live' || Hg él- id., pObU *yěl- (= {Hl.} *jěl-, {Ht.} *jäl-/*jěl-) > pVg *yält- v. 'be healthy' > Vg: T yilt-, K/P/V yält-, LL yelt-, UL/O yalt- id.; pOs *yēlpäṽlə- ({Hl.} *yīlpäṽlə-) v. 'resuscitate' > Os: V yēlwäṽlə-, Kz yīṽpāṽlə-, O yilpälä- id. || Sm {Jn.} *yilä, {Hl.} *yile v. 'live' > Ng níllíde id.; En {Cs.}: aor. 1s X iḥiro?, B jiredo? id.; Ne T {Ter.} inf. иле-сь, Ne O {Lh.} jīlīē-, Slq Tz {KKIH} ill- id.; Kms {KD} 1s pres. íilííem 'wiederaufleben', díli 'lebendig', Mt {Hl.} *ilä- 'live' (Mt: M/T {Mll.} ilínde, K {Pl.} ilindé, {Mll.} illende 'vivus') ¶¶ Coll. 10, UEW 72, SK 27, 8, K, J, C, 184, L, 226, L, 226, 226, 226, 226, N III 862, 4, H, 790

LG 203, Ep. 167, MRS 131, Ü 53, 294, Ht. no. 185, Hl. rHt 71, Jn. 27, Jn. UK no. 73, KKIИ 110, Hl. M no. 340 || **A**: M **ele- v. 'live, be healthy' ⇨ adj. *ele-ṣūr 'healthy', → 'sober' > MM [MA] ايلاور ele, ūr 'healthy', ايلاورليك ele, ūrlik 'health', [IM] الير el ūr 'sober', الير بي el ūr bi: 'health', Brt элүүр el ūr 'healthy', ⇨ : Yk ālīār ~ ölüör id., Ewk NB элэр 'sober'; mt. *eleṣūr > *ereṣül, whence WrM {MED} eregül, HIM {MED, BMR} эрүүл er ūl 'healthy, sober', Kl {KRS} эрүл, {Rm.} er ūl id. ¶ Pp. MA 152, 437, Chr. 763, MED 321, BMR IV 431, KRS 704, KW 128, STM II 450, otherwise Klz. MJ 17 || **AdS** of **D** *i11- 'dwelling, house' (< N *ṛi1'A' 'place to stay', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Cf. IS I 267-8 s.v. *ṛelA 'жить'. IS adduces words from K, S, B, C, T, and M, which have no obvious semantic connections with the meaning 'live' and arouse many doubts (concerning both the meaning and phonology). In my opinion, among the words adduced by IS there are reflexes of different N sources: besides N *χelA 'dwell, live', there are words going back to N *ṛel∇ 'clan, tribe' (q.v.), N *wos|g1∇ 'stay, be' (q.v.), and possibly other N words.

2580. *χel∇ 'fence, boundary, border; enclosure' > **HS**: WS (or S) *✓ħw1 ~ *✓ħy1 v. 'surround' > Ar ħaw1- 'surrounding', ħiwalāṛ-, ħulāṛ- 'seconde membrane qui sort de l'utérus à la parturition (chez les chamelles)', Sb ħw1 (prep.) 'around', (n.) 'surrounding a tomb chamber'; S *ħa'wil- (?) > Hb ħēl (spelled ח'י ח'י and ח'י ח'י) 'outer rampart, outwork', Ug ħ1 'fortaleza, baluarte; torre, finca, coto'; ?φ Ak χillu 'egg membrane' ¶ KB 299, KBR 312, BGMR 73, BDB no. 2426, OLS 175, BK I 519, Ln. 575-6, MiK I no. 1.130 || EC: Sml hēl 'space surrounding a settlement' ¶ DSI 305, ZMO 187 || **K** *°χ|qel- > G Lch χel-i 'Grenzzeichen, Steinhaufen im Wald' ¶ Chx. 2332 || **IE** *χel- 'enclosure' > Ht ħali- 'pen, corral; lunar halo' || Gk Hm ἀλωή 'garden, threshing floor', Gk Cp alawo = ἀλωω 'garden' ¶¶ Pv. III 26-28, Ts. E I 128-9, F I 82-3, Ch. 67-68 || **D** *ell-ay 'limit, border, boundary' > Tm ellai, Ml ella, Td ely, Kn elle, Tl ella id. ¶¶ D no. 846, Zv. 72.

2581. *Xili1∇ 'dirt, silt, soot' > **HS**: WS *✓ħ1ṛ v. 'rust', *ħ'1'li1ṛat- 'rust' > BHb הַאֲרָא *ħel'ṛā* 'rust' (הַאֲרָא הַאֲרָא 'her rust'), Sq {L} ħalṛe 'dirt', Mh {Jo.} ħ3lēt 'rust', ħ3lū v. 'become rusted', Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ħa'le v. 'rust' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, L LS 174, Jo. M 179, Jo. J 110 || **IE**: NaIE *ī1-, *ī1u- 'mud' ({P} 'Schlamm'), 'silt' > Gk ἔλυς, -ύος 'mud, silt' || pSl *i1b, *i1o, *i1a 'silt, mud' > OCS нлѣ i1b 'mud', R ил

'silt', Blg ил, SCr jíl̃a 'silt, slime', Cz jí̃l, Slk íl 'silt, clay', P ił 'loam, mud' ¶ P 499, Mn. 430, F I 723, Tr. 103, ESSJ VIII 221-2, EI 371 (*HíHlu- 'mud, swamp') || A: T *ií ~ *ií 'soot, dirty smoke' > OT iš 'lamp black, soot', Tv iš, Qb, Sg, StAlt, Tlt, QK iS, Shor, Kü, Qrg iš, Yk iS 'smoke'; possibly with infl. of T *is 'soot' (< N *hEyEšU or *hEyUšU 'faeces, filth', q.v.) ¶ Cl. 254, Rl. I 1406, Nj. 164, ≈ ET Gl 380 (T <b- M *isü 'smoke', see N *hEyEšU or *hEyUšU) || D (in SD) *ill- 'soot' > Tm illaṭay 'soot adhering to the inner side of the roof', Kn illṇa id., Ml illara-kkari, illar̃a-kkari 'grime, soot' ¶ D no. 498 ◇ T *-í- < *-ly- < N *-īi?-

2582. (₂?) *XaLb∇ (= *Xalb∇?) 'white' > HS: WS *ha'lab- n. 'milk' > BHb בָּלָבְּ hā'lāb id., MHb בָּלָבְּ hā'lāb id., 'white of egg' (→ MHb בְּלָבְּ hēl'bōn 'white of egg'), Pun, Ug, IA ḥlb, JA [Trg.] בָּלָבְּ hā'lab / אָבָבְּ ḥal'bā, JEA {Sl.} אָבָבְּ ḥal'bā, Sr {Br.} ḥal'ə'ḥ-ā, Ar حَلَبٌ ḥalab- {Fr., BK} 'milk', Gz ḥalab 'sour milk'; d.: Ar ḥalīb- 'milk', Gz ḥalīb, Tgr, Tgy ḥalib 'milk, curds', WS *✓ḥlb v. 'milk' > MHb, JA, Ar, Sr ✓ḥlb id.; WS (Aram?) → Ak NA ḡilpu 'milk' ¶ KB 302, KBR 315, HJ 372, OLS 176, Js. 464, Sl. 461, ≈ Lv. II 52 (JA בָּלָבְּ hā'lab / אָבָבְּ ḥal'bā), Br. 232, Fr. I 414-5, BK I 476-7, Hv. 138, L G 229, CAD VI 187 || C: SC ({E} *ḡilība 'milk'): Irq {Mgw., MQK} ḡilwā ~ ḡulwā, {Wh.} îlwa, Brn, Alg ilba, Grw ulûwa, Asa liba 'milk' ¶ AD SF 129, 152, Wh. IC 24, E SC 291, Mgw. 110, MQK 55 ¶¶ AD l.c., OS no. 1230, ≠ E EEA 93 (SC *ilība 'milk' <b- proto-East-Nilotic *lep- v. 'milk') ¶¶ The S words *ha'lab- and *ha'līb- have a morphological structure typical of adjectives (the patterns *Ca'CaC- and *Ca'CiC-), suggesting an original meaning of adj. ('white?') || IE: NaIE *albʰo- 'white' > L albus id., Um alfu f. 'white' || Gl albo- 'white' || Gk [Hs.] accus. pl. ἄλφους 'white', Gk ἄλφος 'whiteness, white leprosy' || pGmc *alβ-it, *alβ-ut- 'swan' > OHG albiȝ, elbiȝ, AS ælbitu, ielfetu, ON elptr, qlpt || Sl {Glh.} *ólbqdb ~ *élbqdb 'swan' > RChS ЛЕБЕДЬ lebedь, Blg лебед, SCr lăbūd, Slv lebéd ~ labód, R 'лебедь, Δ 'лебядь, P łabędź, Cz labut' ¶¶ Adduction of Ht alpas 'cloud' is unj. ¶¶ WP I 92-4, P 30-1, Mn. 13-4, F I 81-2, WH I 26-7, Bc. G 327, Vr. 101, Glh. 365, Kb. 16, Schz. 85, ≈ EWA I 152-4, Ts. E I 18, Pv. I 37-8 (rejects the connection of Ht alpas 'cloud' with IE *albʰ- for lack of semantic proximity), EI 641 (*h⁴el'bh⁰-s) || ?φ D *all- 'clear' (of liquids) (× N *hA1∇ 'to shine: bright' q.v.) > Krx all- 'become clear' (of liquid left

undisturbed), Mlt {Drs.} ále 'get clear (as water when left undisturbed)', ? Kui alga 'tidy, clear' ¶¶ D no. 261, Pf. 184 ◇ D *all- belongs here if N *-lb- may yield D *-ll-. If the D cognate is legitimate, the N etymon is *Xalb▽ ◇ If Ht alpās had belonged here, the rec. would have been N *hAlb▽, otherwise it is N *XaLb▽ ◇ Trnt. NE2 (S, IE), AD NM no. 20.

2583. ₂ *X^ra^llm▽ 'to dream' > HS: WS ✓hlm v. 'dream' > Hb, JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr, SmA, Ar, Gz ✓hlm G, Mh/Hrs ✓hlm (pf. 'haylɜm, sbjn. yɜh^llōm), Jb C ✓hlm (pf. 'hēlm, sbjn. ya^h'lum) id.; WS *'hul_l▽_lm- ~ *'hil_l▽_lm-, *hālām- n. 'dream' > Ph, Ug hlm, Ar hulm-, BA 𐤁𐤏𐤍 'hēlem, JA, Sr hēl'm-ā, Sb hlm, Gz halm, Hrs hālām (pl. hālōm), Mh hām (pl. hɜ'lawm), Jb E/C hum (pl. ɜh'lom) id., BHb 𐤁𐤏𐤍 hāl'lo^m id. ¶ HJ 375-6, KB 307-8, KBR 317-8, 320, HJ 375-6, L G 230, A no. 103, OLS 176, Lv. T I 261, Sl. 465, Br. 234-5, Tal 272-3, Ln. 631-2, BK I 482-3, Hv. 140, BGMR 68, L G 230, Jo. M 179, Jo. H 59, Jo. J 110, Nak. 246, MiK I no. 2.25 || U: FU *^ra^llm▽-, {Sm.} *ālmā-> FP: Chr: L omo n. 'sleep, dream', Δ om ɔ omə id. | Prm {LG} *onm- ({LG} *ɔnm-) n. 'sleep' > Z yH / yHM-, Z US ωn, Yz 'un, Vt yM / yMM- id. || ObU *wūlam / *wūlm▽ (or *-δ-) n. 'dream' > pVg {Ht.} *ūlm▽ > OVg S Kg oлма, OVg S VT oлмъ, OVg S Tr yлмy, Vg T ɔlām, OVg Tb yлым, OVg N Chd yлмъ, Vg LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss ūlam, Vg P wulām, Vg NV/SV/LL ulām n. 'dream'; ⇨ Vg: T oлmāy-, LK/NV/SV ulmāy-, MK/UK ūlmāy-, P wulmāy-, LL ulmāy-, Ss ūlmāy- v. 'dream'; pOs {Ht.} *wulām n. 'dream' > Os: V/Vy ulām, Ty uɔām, D/K otām, Nz utām, Kz wūɔām, O wulām id., ? pOs {Ht.} *alām n. 'sleep' (> Os: V/Vy/O alām, Ty/Y āɔām, D/K otām, Nz ɔtām, Kz ɔɔām) (× FU *oɔa- v. 'sleep') ¶ Sm. 542 (FU *ālmā 'dream' > FP *alма, Ugr *āлма), LG 297, TmK 722, MRS 379-80, ≈ Ber. 45, ≈ Ht. no. 664, Stn. WV 209, Kn. WV 170.

2584. (₂?) *Xo^l▽ 'middle; be among' > K: GZ *Xal-/*Xl- v. 'be among/near sth.' > OG, G Xl- id., Mg, Lz Xo^l- id. ¶ K 260, K² 325 (GZ *Xal-/*Xl- 'be among, near sth.') || A: T *^ol 'middle' > OT oš 'the heart/centre of a tree trunk/branch/horn' ¶ Cl. 255, Rs. W 366 || ?σ HS: S *^o-hūl- > Gz ✓hwl G (js. ya-hūl, pf. hawala ~ hōla) 'mix, mingle', T (pf. taħawla) 'be mixed, mingled', Tgr (tə)ħawəla 'eat and drink in community' ¶ L G 249.

2585. ₂ *Xam▽ 'womb, vulva' > HS: Eg fMd ħm.t 'womb (of a cow/woman), vulva', ?σ fP 'woman' ¶ EG III 76, DW II 597-600, Fk. 168-9 Tr I 123 || ?σ S *ħm▽ m(-at)- 'internal cavity of animal's

body', 'ε part of viscera' > Ar ḥamā m-at- {Ln.} 'middle of the breast\chest, (?) sternum', {BK} 'milieu de la poitrine \ du poitrail, sternum', ? ḥammā ?- 'fesses', Tgr ḥammət 'a dish of entrails cut to pieces', Tgy ḥammət 'una pietanza fatta d'interiori di capra\pecora, etc.', ? Sq Δ ḥé ?m {SSL} 'bas-ventre', ? Ak umā n d u 'ein Teil des Leibesinnern' ¶ Ln. 637, BK I 486-7, Hv. 141, Sd. 1412, LH 62, Bsn. 40, SSL LSNP 1460, MiK I no. 1.119 || A: T *ha_lḥm or NaT *a_lḥm 'vulva' > OT, MOg, MQp [incl. CC] am, Tk am, Kr, VTt, Qzq, Qrg, StAlt am id., Xlj {DT} hām id. It may be tentatively suggested (as a possibility) that N *χ- yields pT *h- (preserved in Xlj) (see N *χoḲU [or *χoḲi?] 'call out, speak; incantations') . But, on the other hand, Xlj h- may be a language-specific innovation (as in other roots) ¶ Cl. 155, Rs. W 18, DT 122, DHST s.v. ḥāḡm ◊ Cf. IS I 245 (supposes that T *a_lḥm goes back to N {IS} *Hangā, sc. N {AD} *ʔangā 'to open', 'opening' [esp. 'mouth']).

2586. ₂ *XEm∇ 'warm, (?) hot' > HS: S *✓ ḥmm 'be hot', *ḥamm- hot' > Hb ḥm ḥām (pl. ḥm ḥām 'm-ī m) 'hot', JA [Trg.], JEA, Sr ✓ ḥmm G (pf. ḥam) 'be hot', Ar ✓ ḥmm G (pf. ḥamma) 'heat (water, a bath, a stove)', Ak emm u 'hot'; ⇨ *ḥumm- 'warmth, heat' > Hb ḥm ḥom id., Sr {Br.} ḥm ḥm 'calor, aestus', Ug ḥm {A} 'heat', {OLS} 'heat, drought' ('calor, sequía'), Ar ḥumm- 'chaleur brûlante\excessive (de midi)', ḥumm-at- 'fever', Ak umm u 'heat' ¶ A no. 835, OLS 177, KB 312, KBR 325, Lv. T I 266, Sl. 469-70, Br. 238, JPS 145, BK I 485-7, HJ 380, Ln. 636, CAD IV 150-1 || C: DhI {EEN} ḥanṭ-iḏ- v. 'warm oneself' || SC: Irq {Mgw.} ḥām 'warm', {MQK} ḥām 'hot, warm' (of water), Alg hamis- 'set on fire' ¶ E SC 299, EEN 26, Mgw. 102, MQK 44, Blz. SCL s.v. 'warm' || ?φ Eg XVIII ḥm vi. 'be hot, burn' ¶ EG II 489 ¶¶ OS no. 1285 (S, Irq, Eg) || A: NaT *'i'm'i'k 'mild\warm' (of weather) > OT {Cl.} imik, Tk An imik ~ umuk id. ¶ Cl. 159, SDD 769, 1419.

2587. (₂?) *Xom∇ 'sour, bitter' > HS *ḥum- > C *ḥum- ~ *ḥam- > Bj {R} -hami (✓ ḥm y) pcv. 'be bitter, acid, sour' (1s p. 'a-ḥami, 1s pres. a-'hammi), 'ḥāmi 'bitter, acid, sour' || LEC *ḥum- ({Ss.} *ḥam- ~ *ḥum-) 'bad' (× N ?σ *XUm∇ '≈ old, bad, miserable', q.v. ffd.) || Eg MK ḥm ḥm, Cpt ḥm ḥm ḥm u 'salt' ¶ EG III 93-94, Fk. 170, Vc. 299 || S (+ext.) *✓ ḥm ḥm v. 'be sour, be fermented' > Hb ✓ ḥm ḥm G id., pf. 3m (pausal form) ḥām mēḥ vi. 'leavened', Sh prtc. māḥ mēḥ ḥm 'sth. sour-tasting', Sr ✓ ḥm ḥm G vi. 'ferment, leaven', JA [Trg.] ✓ ḥm ḥm G 'be(come) sour, be leavened' Ar ḥm ḥm ✓ ḥm ḥm G 'be(come) sour' Tor {d'Ab }

✓ ħmṣ̄ [ħmṣ̄] G (pf. ħamṣ̄ a) 'become sour\bitter', Ak emēṣ u v. 'be sour'; CS d. *ħumṣ̄- 'sourness, vinegar' > Hb ḥomεç, Ug ħmṣ̄, JA [Trg.] 𐤁𐤓𐤁 ḥ^amaṣ, em. 𐤁𐤓𐤁𐤁 ḥum^ṣ-ā 'vinegar', Ar حمض ḥamṣ̄- 'salt or bitter plants'; Cn ⇨ Eg N ħmṣ̄ 'vinegar' ({Vc.} = [ħumṣ̄-]), (EgSSc) {Hlk.} ḥà-m-ṣa > Cpt Sd 𐤒𐤌𐤕 ḥəmṣ̄, Cpt B hēmṣ̄ 'vinegar' ¶ KB 316, KBR 329-30, A no. 941, Lv. II 73, Lv. T I 266, Js. 478, BK I 492-3, Hv. 143, Br. 230, JPS 147, EG III 99, Vc. 303, Hlk. no. 169, SivCR 83 || Ch {Stl.} *ħama 'salt' > WCh: Fy {J} ʔamâ id. || CCh: Msg ḥom id. ¶ Stl. IF 115 ¶¶ OS no. 1231 (HS *ħam- > Eg, Ch) || IE *H^ωem-/*H^ωm- 'raw, bitter, (?) sour' > OI ā'mā- 'raw, uncooked' || Gk ῥμόç id. || L a m ā r u s 'bitter' || Clt {Matas.} *omō- 'raw' > OIr om, W of 'raw' || pGmc *ampra- (< *om-ro) > Dt † a m p e r 'sharp, astrigent, sour' ('scherp, wrang, zuur'), Sw amper 'bitter, sharp (piquant)', ON apr 'hard' || ? Arm ħ n l u ħum 'raw, unripe, sour' ¶ P 777 (*om-), Dv. no. 724, EI 478 (*h₂o'mo-s ~ *h₂ō'mo-s), M K I 77, WH I 35, Vn. O 21, F II 1149, Sl. 353, Vr. 11, Vr. N 16, Hlq. 17, Matas. E 299 || ?σ,φ U: FP *umra 'wild angelica (*Angelica sylvestris*)' or 'sorrel' (< *'sour grass') > Er umbrav, umrav 'sorrel', pPrm *ωmra > Z o m p a '*Angelica sylvestris*', Z US/LL umra, Prmk umra id., Yz 'umra 'angelica' ¶ Lt. 57, LG 205, U 372.

2588. ₂ *Xum∇ (= *χum∇?) 'to wish, to covet' > HS: WS *-ħūm- (~ *χūm-?) 'wish' > Ar ✓ ḥw m G (pf. ḥāma, ip. -ħūmu) v. {BK} 'vouloir, désirer', {Hv.} 'be thirsty, long for', {BK} ḥāyīm- 'altéré de soif', Mh ✓ ḥw m (sbjn. yṣḥōm) 'want, like, wish, need', Bth ✓ ḥw m, Hrs ✓ χw m (sbjn. yṣχōm) (with a puzzling χ for the expected ḥ), Hbt ✓ χw m v. 'want' ¶ BK I 521, Hv. 151, Jo. M 194-5, Jo. H 145, Nak. no. 1138 || Ch {AD} *χ∇m- {AD} 'wish, look for' ({Stl.} *χam- 'look for') (× N *qum∇ 'prey, ask') > ECh: Ll {ChC} ḥām- 'look for' || CCh: Bcm {Sk.} ḥmā 'want' || ?φ WCh: DfB {J} ḡām 'look for' ¶ Stl. IF 108, 289, ChC, J R 214 || A: NaT *um- 'ask for, covet' > OT {Cl.} um- id., MQp/OOsm XIV um- v. 'hope', Tk um-, Az, CrTt, Qmq um- id., Ggz, Kr Cr um- v. 'covet, hope', Uz Δ um- v. 'wish' ¶ Acc. to Cl., the meaning 'hope' developed due to the infl. of NPrs امید omīd n. 'hope', whence Tk um- v. 'hope, believe', Az, Ggz, CrTt, Qmn v. 'hope' ¶ Cl. 155-6. ET Gl 595-6, Vl. I 122 || ?σ pJ {S} àmè-p- 'think', {Mr.} *omō-pa > OJ {S} òmòp- id., {Mr.} omō-φu- 'think, feel', J: T omó-, K ómó-, Kg òmò- 'think' ¶ Mr. 741, S QJ no. 160, Kenk. 1442, ≠ DQA no. 34 (unc.: T *um- < *ǎmo 'mouth, taste) ◇ The

Ch cognate (if valid) is likely to point to N * χ -◇ I am grateful to S. Starostin (p.c., 1976) for drawing my attention to the J cognate.

2589. ? σ * χ U ∇ m ∇ '≈ old' (of things), 'bad, miserable' > U: FU *oma 'old, worn' (of things) > pLp {Lr.} * $\bar{\omega}$ mē 'old' > Lp: S oāmīe, L āmēs, N oames, In oami, Kld {SaR} вѡэмь vūēm' 'old' || Er umok 'long ago' || ? Hg (× FU *soŋ_lk_l∇ 'old' < N * ζ oŋE 'old'): ? OHg XI oħut, XII ou t, XVI awat '(very) old', ? Hg ó 'old, ancient, antique', avar 'dry fallen leaves and parched grass' ¶ UEW 337, Lr. no. 831, Lgc. no. 4573, SaR 62, EWU 10, 61-2, 1052, MF 71-2, 495 || **HS:** LEC *ħum- 'bad' (× N * χ om∇ 'sour, bitter') > Sa, Af um-a, Sml ħun/ ħum- 'bad, evil, worthless', Sml J huŋ-, Or {Bl.} hām-a', {Grg.} ham-ā (Or a < *u, acc. to Bl.) ¶ R WBd 118, Bl. 107, 201, Ss. PEC 38 (EC *ħam-~*ħum-), Hn. S 64, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E PC no. 519 || SC {E}: Brn, Alg ħamis- 'get lost, forget'; ?? σ : Brn ħam-, Alg ħamu 'hardship, distress' ¶ Ss. PC 38, ZMO 435, Th. 185-6, Grg. 197-8, E SC 334, 379 || **IE** *He|o μ mo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend' || Tc B a μ me {Ad.} '≈ misery', {Wn.} 'misère', Tc A omāske μ {Ad.} evil', {Wn.} 'mauvais, méchant' ¶ Vr. 19, Ad. 132 (*h₂e|o μ mo-), Wn. I 154, 335-6 ◇ Highly qu. (too loose and unreliable semantic connections). Identical with N * χ om∇ 'sour, bitter'? ◇ Suggested by Blz. (Blz. LB no. 7a and Blz. LNA no. 23: N *ħoma) ◇ Hardly here D *ūm- 'dumb' (better from N * ζ ' ζ 'um∇ŋ|ñ∇ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness / remembrance of') and Kl omūn 'soft' (⇔ Blz. LNA no. 23).

2590. * χ ∇m∇ 'wall, (?) windbreak' > **HS:** WS *ħām-at-, *ħām-īt- 'wall (around a city \ settlement)' > OCn (AkSc) ħu-mi-tu (= *ħōmītu), Hb הַחֵטְוֹת הַחֵטְוֹת 'city wall, wall (around a building or an area of a city)', Ph ħm γ t 'fortress', M'b ħm t 'wall', Ug ħm t, (AkSc) ħamītu 'city wall (Mauer, muro)', Sb ħm γ 'build a dam wall (for a canal)' ¶ KBR 298, HJ 381, A no. 944, OLS 178, Hnr. 125, BGMR 69, HJ 381 || **K:** G χim-i 'Zaun aus Rohr', χim-e 'Zaun aus Baumstämmen' ¶ Chx. 2361 || **IE:** Ht ħumma 'stable, stall, sty', Lw ħum(ma)ti 'stable' ¶ Ts. E I 283-4, Pv. III 373 || ? **A:** WrMc {Z} emile- v. 'screen' ({Z} 'заслонять, закрывать, застенять') ¶ Z 81.

2591. * χ am ∇ ,gê 'tight, narrow; to squeeze' > **IE** * χ amĝ^h- > NaIE *anĝ^h- 'tight (eng), narrow', v. 'narrow down, tie (up), squeeze' > Av azaŋhē 'zu bedrängen', n γ -āzara 'sie schnürt sich' || Gk ἄϣχω v. 'squeeze (esp. the throat), embrace, strangle, throttle' || Lang-ō-, -ēre

'press tightly; strangle, throttle' || OIr *ring* 'Bedrängnis' (P: < *ŋg^hi), Brtt {RE} **angios* 'narrow' > W *yrng* ~ *ring*, Crn *yrn*, OBr *enc*, MBr *encq*, Br *enk* id. || Sl inf. **vež-atī* 'to tie' (1s pres. **vež-ŋ*) > OCS inf. **ВЯЗАТИ** *vežati*, SCr, Slv inf. *vézati*, Cz inf. *vázati*, Slk inf. *viazat'*, R inf. *вязать* (1s pres. *вяжу*) id., Blg 'вежа 'I tie' | NaIE **an^hg^h-u-s* 'tight, narrow' > OI *am^hhu-h* 'narrow', MPrs {M} **anzūk* id. > MncMPrs *hnzωg*, Prt *ṛnžωg*, MPrs *ḅ* → Arm **անուկ** *anzuk* 'narrow, strait' || L *angi-portus* ~ *angi-portum* 'narrow street' || Gt *aggωu* (adj. ntr.), ON *qngr*, AS *enge*, OHG *engi*, NHG *eng* 'narrow' || Clt {Matas.} **angu-* 'narrow' > MW *ing*, MBr *encq*, Br {Hm.} *enk* id. || Sl **q¹zъ-kъ* m. 'narrow' (f. **q¹zъ-ka*, ntr. **q¹zъ-ko*), dadj. **q¹zъkъ-jъ* > OCS **ꙗzъкъ** *qzъkъ*, SCr *ǰzak*, Slv *ǰzek*, Cz, Slk *úzkuý*, P *ωazki*, R *узок / узкий*, in d. (words, forms) without *-ъkъ: cmpr. **qžbjъ* (< **qz-šbjъ*) 'narrower' > SCr *ǰžī*, Cz *úžǐ* id., R (pradj.) 'уже 'is narrower', d. nouns like OR **узота** *uz-ota* 'narrowness', etc. | NaIE **an^hg^hos-*, **an^hg^hes-* 'narrowness, oppresion, anxiety' > OI *am^hha^h / am^hhas-* ntr., Av *ązah* 'anxiety, trouble' || L *angor* 'suppression of the throat, mental distress, anxiety', *angustus* 'narrow', *angustia* 'narrowness' || ON *angr* 'ill humour, affliction, sorrow', OFrs *angist*, OHG *angust*, NHG *Angst* 'fear' || Lt *añkštas* 'narrow, cramped', ? ChS **ꙗзость** *qzostъ* 'narrowness' (unless d. within Sl) || Ht *ham(m)e(n)k-* ~ *hami(n)k-* 'tie; betroth' ({EI}: < **h₂m^hne^h*-) ¶¶ P 42-3, ≈σ EI 64 (**h₂em^h*- 'tie, constrain'), F I 17-8, M K I 14, M E I 38-9, RastM PJ 157 (on the Mnc letter *j* for Prt *ž*), WH I 47, RE 114, Flr. 100, 159, Fs. 13-4, Vr. 10, 687, Kb. 32, 200, Schz. 88, 124, EWA I 253-5 and II 1072-3, KM 22, 165-6, Frn. 11, Glh. 658, 667-8, Vs. I 374 and IV 154, Srz. III 1172, Ped. H 197, Pv. III 64-8, Matas. E36, Hm. 254 || HS: S **o^oh^hmg* > Ar *h^hmg^h* D v. 'cligner l'œil en rapprochant les paupières (pour mieux voir)', 'être maigre, maigrir' ¶ BK I 488 || U: FU {UEW} **anke* {AD} 'difficult', 'depressed', ? 'hard' > F *anke* {UEW} 'schwer (difficult), bedrängt, melancholisch', {Sz.} *ange* (gen. *ankeen*) 'Begrängnis', Es *angu-* 'gerinnen, starr werden' (both unless < Gmc [Gt *aggωu* 'eng', etc., *F* above]) || OHg *agg-* 'worry' ('sich um etwas kümmern'), Hg *aggód-* 'be anxious, worry', Δ *aggód-* v. 'curdle' (of cow milk) ¶ UEW 12, EWU 10-1 || D **ankañam* 'space between two posts\pillars\beams' > Kn, Tu *añkañam*, Tl *añkañamu* id. Tm *añkañam* 'space between two pillars' ¶¶ D no. 28

2592. *^ʁX¹o_lʔa₁muś|ś∇ (or *^ʁX¹o_lʔa₁mU (ś|ś∇)) 'articulation between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'), 'collarbone', 'shoulder', or sim.) > IE: NaIE *om(e)so-s 'shoulder' > OI 'amśa-h₁ id., Oss I on, Os D onä 'shoulder blade' ||| Arm nlus (gen. usoy) 'shoulder' ||| Gk ώμος id. (< *osmos, cp. ἐπ-ομμάδιος ~ ἐπ-ωμάδιος adj. 'on the shoulders') ||| L umerus 'shoulder', Um uze, ONSE 'in umero' ||| Gt ams 'shoulder', ON áss 'mountain ridge' ||| pTc {Ad.} *āns|ce > Tc A es, B āntse 'shoulder' ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Pv., EI) Ht anasa- 'body part in the rear of the lower torso', prob. {Pv.} 'hips, buttocks' (possibly connected with L ānus, see Ivn. R III-VIII 162 and Po. PBH 205) ¶¶ P 778, EI 515-6 (¹*h₁h⁴omsō-s), M K I 14. M E I 37, Ab. II 227-8, F II 1148-9, WH II 815, Bc. G 339, Sl. 203-4, Wn. I 182, Ad. 43-4, Ad. H 20, 28, 147, Pv. I-II 63-4 ||| HS: WCh {Stl.} *ʔam(śi) and {AD} *wam(śi) 'arm' > SBc: Bg {J} ʔámśí, Kir wam, wamsi, Plc am, Gj wómŕi id. | Ngz {Sch.} áamáĭ 'hand, arm' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231 [no. 790], Sch. DN 9, ChC || ʔσ Eg MK/G xms ({EG} hmś) v. 'bend one's back in respect' ¶ EG III 367, Fk. 201 ||| U *wamś∇ 'rump, crupper, shoulder' > FU: pOs *waməs > Os: D wóməs 'bones of the shoulder', V waməs 'withers, crupper', Vy waməs 'back part of the animal's trunk; pelvis and the back end of the spine together with the surrounding meat', Ty wáməs 'back part of the body, loins with their meat' || Sm: Ne: Т я м э 'groin', Т О {Lh.} yá:pcara 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Oberschenkel und dem Bauch um die Genitalien', Т Y yá:msara, Т MZ yá:mз, F wĕāms ~ wĕāmc id.; En: X {Cs.} 'bátaro, B {Cs.} 'bátado 'loins (Kreuz am Rücken)'; Ng {Cs.} bob'sudu 'loins, waist' ¶¶ Coll. 66, UEW 556, KrT 225, Lh. 103 ||| A *omuś∇ > T *omuś 'collarbone', 'breastbone', or sim. > MQp, OOSm omuz, Chg {PC} omuz, Tkm omuδ, CrTt, Qmq, QrB omuz 'shoulder', Tk omuz, Ggz omuz 'upper part of the back', Tk Δ omuz 'back, horse's chest', Uz ωmiz 'shoulder', 'armhole (in garments)', Chv L ǎmǎp, Chv Δ ǎmǎpǎ ǎmǎpǎ 'cow's and horse's breast, dewlap (подгрудок, свешивающаяся часть тела под шеей скотины вдоль глотки)', Tkm omurdan 'shoulder, upper part of a sleeve' (with *^ʁ > r before a cns. [Hl.'s law]); ↗ *omurtka ~ *onurtqa 'backbone' > OT ouruḡa id., Tk omurḡa, Qzq omirtqa, Qrg omurtqa, OOSm XIV, Tkm onurḡa, Az onurḡa id. ¶ ET Gl 453-5, Md. 171 (*omuś), 41 (*onuriḡ, *onurga), Cl. 92-3, Rs. W 361-2, TL 240-1, ADb. SR 136-7, 188-90, Ash. IV 39-41, Fed. I 82-3, Jeg.40, ChVS 22 ¶ The original

meaning is likely to be 'collarbone', 'breastbone', or sim., the semantic shift to 'shoulder' in the lgs of the SW area (within and near the former Byzantine Empire) may be due to the infl. of Gk ὤμος 'shoulder' || ppM {Pp.} *omuri- ψ un > M *omuru ψ un > MM [S] {Koz.} [UygSc?] omoru, {H, Pp.} omori-ud ({H} pl. of omori h?) 'breastbone', WrM {MED} omuru ψ u(n) 'sternum, clavicle, breast', HIM omryy {MED} id., {BMR} 'clavicle', 'sternum (of horses)', Brt {Chr.} omoryy(н) 'sternum (of horses)', {Pp.} omóruη 'horse's breast', Kl {KRS} omryh 'грудь' (= 'chest?'), Kl D {Rm.} omrūn, Kl Ö {Rm.} omrū 'Brustkorb, Brustbein', ? Mnr H {SM} muršdag 'Adam's apple'; M \rightarrow Nog, Qq, Qzq omiraw 'horse's breast; breast', Qrg omurō 'breast (of horses and other animals)', Qmq omuraw, VTt, Bsh umraw 'collarbone', StAlt omurū 'stature (стан)', Xk omiri ψ , Sg/Qb/Qc/Kü {Rl.} omri ψ 'front part of a horse's breast' ¶ MED 611, Vld. 196, BMR II 475, Chr. 355, KRS 397, KW 285-6, H 124, SM 251, \approx ET Gl 453-4 (the authors try to find a T et. for omraw \sim omuraw without considering it a loan from M), KumRS 243, BIG 126, Rl. I 1170-1 ¶¶ SDM 1052 (pA *omu \acute{r} a 'shoulder, collar bone' > M *omur- 'collar bone, clavicle' and T *omu \acute{r} 'shoulder'), Pp. VG 68, KW l.c., ADb. SR 308 [no. 18] \diamond The pA cns. *- \acute{r} - may be explained by supposing that *- \acute{r} - belongs to a sx, while N * \acute{s} ∇ (or * \acute{s} ∇) may have been an aux. word (> sx) used to form derived nouns or cds, esp. those with the abstract meaning; this N * \acute{s} | \acute{s} ∇ underlies the pIE abstract nouns with the stem-final *-os (e.g. * \acute{g} en-os > L gen-us [gen. gen-er-is], Gk γέν-ος [gen. γέν-ε-ος], OI 'jan-ah [gen. jan-as-ah]), and the Tg nomina collectiva with the sx *-sa / *-se (Ewk mō-sa 'grove, a group of trees' and Ork mōsō 'forest' \leftarrow Ewk, Ork mō- 'tree', F Vas. 258, 788, STM I 540-1). In this case the abovementioned IE, S, Ch, and U words with a sibilant go back to the N cd * \acute{x} ¹o \acute{r} a \acute{m} u- \acute{s} | \acute{s} ∇, while those without the sibilant go back to N * \acute{x} ¹o \acute{r} a \acute{m} U without the element * \acute{s} | \acute{s} ∇. Another explanation (very uncertain) is a hypothetic (reg. in some conditions?) change: N *- \acute{s} - > ** \acute{z} - > A *- \acute{r} -. Another possible case of this pre-A rhotacism is A {AD} *p \acute{o} k \acute{u} \acute{r} - 'bovine animal, bull' related to L pecus / pecoris (< N *p \acute{o} k \acute{u} '[herds of] ruminant animals, wild cattle' [q.v.] with a sibilant extension) \diamond U and WCh *wa- (in U *wam \acute{s} ∇ and WCh *wam(\acute{s} i)) are likely to go back to N * \acute{x} ¹o \acute{r} a- (> **Hga).

2593. (2?) * \acute{x} ¹ā \acute{n} ∇ (or * \acute{x} ¹ā \acute{n} ∇) 'to bow, to bend down, to descend' > HS. CS * \acute{r} knulw > Ar. \acute{r} knw G (in - \acute{r} knulw-) v 'recourber plier'

pencher la tête pour boire', ✓ ħny *G* (ip. ħniy-) v. 'courber, recourber, cambrer (un bois)', ħanw- 'crooked', 'courbé, courbure', BHb ✓ ħny (ip. -ħ^anē) v. 'decline, encamp', Amr ✓ ħny|w v. 'encamp' ¶ KB 319, KBR 332, Fr. I 437-8, BK I 506, Hv. 147 || ? (+ext.) Eg OK χnd ≈ bend (wooden sticks)', Eg MK {Fk.} 'bend (wood), twist together (flower stems)' ¶ EG III 312, Fk. 195 || | A: T *än|η- ({Md.} ppT *e-η-) v. 'descend, come down' > OT, XwT XIV en- 'descend, come down', Tkm eη-, Chv L an- v. 'descend, come/go down', Yk {Pek.} äñiyä ~ äniä 'slope' ('покатость, спон'); (here??) Tkm īn-, Tk irn-, Ggz jin- 'descend' ¶ Cl. 168, Rs. W 43, Fed. I 43, Jeg. 26, Pek. 270, ET Gl 353-4 (T *īn- 'descend'), Ash. I 210-13, Fed. I 43, Jeg. 26, ChVS 13, Md. 34, 164 (T *ēη = *ä-η 'descend'; rejects the connection with Tkm īn-), S AJ 18, 72, 257, 292. All forms except Tkm īn-, Tk irn-, and Ggz jin- can be accounted for by T *än-; the Tkm long vw. in īn- may suggest a pT long vw., but may be alternatively explained as going back to ji- (with a prosthetic *j-, as in Ggz). Acc. to Md. 34, Tkm īn- does not belong here. Tk irn- and Ggz jin- must be of the same origin as Tkm īn- ¶¶ ≠ DQA no. 1533 (T < A *ñēni 'go [down, away]', see N *ñāñE 'go [away]) || | ?σ,φ K: G I χvanχval- 'sich winden' ¶ Ghl. 749, Chx. 2345.

2594. *χin∇ 'be happy\glad, love' > K: Sv: UB -χēn- 𐤁 -χen- 'bring good news', msd. UB/L li-χēn-e, LB/Ln li-χen-e 'bringing (/ to bring) good news' ¶ TK 484, Dn. s.v. -χēn- || | HS: CS *ħinn- > Hb 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 'favour' / +ppa. ħinn- (3m ħin¹n-ō) 'grace, beauty; favour, approval', MHb ħen, JA [Trg.] 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 ~ 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 ħin¹nā 'grace, favour, loveliness', Ph ħn 'favour', OA, IA ħn {HJ} '(quality) which procures favour'; S *✓ ħnn, *-ħunn- > BHb ✓ ħnn (pf. ħā¹nan, ip. yā¹-ħon, pf. c. 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 way¹yāħon) 'be gracious, generous', Ph ✓ ħnn *N*, Pun ✓ ħnn *G*, Ug ✓ ħnn *G/D* (?) 'be benevolent, merciful towards so.', Amr {G} ✓ ħnn 'be gracious, be merciful', JA ✓ ħnn *G* (pf. 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 ħan, ip. 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 yē¹ħon) v. {Lv.} 'jem-m günstig\gradevoll sein, sich seiner erbarmen', Ar ✓ ħnn *G* (pf. حَنَّ ħanna) {BK} 'avoir une grande tendresse pour qn.; avoir compassion de qn.; être ému (de tristesse, de joie)', {Hv.} 'long for her child' (a woman), Ak enēnu 'seek grace'; ⇨ *ħa¹nān- > Htr ħnrn[?] 'pity, compassion', Sr 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 ħanā¹n-ā (abs. 𐤒 𐤇 𐤍 ħa¹nān) id., 'mercy', Ar حَنَّان ħanān- 'mercy, blessing, tenderness of heart', 'pitié, compassion', Plm ħnrn[?] 'clement, merciful' ¶ KB 318, 321, A no. 947, OLS 78-9, HJ

386-7, 389, BK I 498-9, Hv. 145, G A 20, Js. 481, 484, Lv. T I 268-70, Sl. 474, 457, JPS 149 || **A**: M *inag > MM [S] inah 'Favorit, Günstling', WrM {MED} inag 'beloved, darling; favourite, lover; friend; affection', 'benevolence, affection', HIM янаг {MED} id., {BMR} id., n. 'love', Brt янаг 'friendly, beloved', Kl {KRS} иньг 'beloved, friend', {Rm.} inǫg 'Freund, Liebling, Geliebter; Freundschaft, Liebe', Ord inag 'ami, chéri; qui ont une commerce de galanterie' ¶ H 82, MED 409-10, BMR IV 464, Chr.278, KRS 274, KW 208, Ms. O 385 || **D** *iñ- 'pleasant, agreeable' > Tm in- 'sweet, pleasant, agreeable', Ml in(i)p)ram, inupram, inima 'pleasure, delight', iniya 'sweet', Kn in, ini, ine 'sweetness, pleasantness, loveliness', Tu, Tl impu 'agreeableness, pleasantness', Tl incu 'be agreeable', ?? Brh hanēn 'sweet' ¶¶ D no. 530 ◊ Hardly here FU *int∇ 'energy' (LG 209-10, SK 108); NaIE *ans- 'be favourable' (P 47) is to be kept apart, because it belongs together with S *✓ʔnš id. (< N *ʔaṅ∇, 5∇ '≈ friend(ly), favourable, useful', q.v.) ◊ Blz. SNE no. 14 (*hin∇ in S, A + *÷ IE + *÷ U), ≠ Bmh NMF (*÷ IE *ans-, S).

2595. 2 *XAN∇, f∇ 'together, with' > **D** *-āñ > Tm -āñ 'with' (ending of instr.), ? OTI {An.} -aṅ ~ -a id. (ĉēyi 'hand' ↔ ĉētā(ñ) 'with the hand') ¶¶ An. SG 211-3 || **HS**: Eg fP ħn^s 'together with', 'and' ¶ EG III 110-2, Fk. 172 ||] This N etymon may underly the second element *-(i)ħen- of the HS compound aut. prn. *ʔaniħEñ-n∇ 'we' (*ʔan-[focalizing topic pc., forming aut. pers. pronouns] + *(i)ħen- + *nu∇ 'we, our') found in S, Bj, and B: S *ʔaniħnu 'we' (aut. prn.) > BHb 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 ʔa^anaħnū, Ph ʔnħn, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA † 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 ʔa^anaħnā, IA ʔnħn(h), Plm ʔnħnω, Sr 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 ħānan ~ (archaic) 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 ʔnħnn (probably 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥) *ʔanaħnan), Ar 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 naħnu, Gz nāħna, Mh/Hrs {Jo.} nāħā, Jb E 'nħa, Jb C 'nħan ~ 'nħa, Sq {Jo.} ħan ~ 'ħanhən, Ak (a)nīnu ¶ KB 69, 1669, Lv. T I 40, Sl. 144, PS 250, Br. 28, Nld. CSG § 163, Jo. M 290, Jo. H 95, Sd. G § 41) || C: Bj {RHd.} hi¹niñ, {Rop.} he¹nñen 'we, us', {R} ha¹nan, han¹in, he¹nin 'we', {R} he¹nē-b 'us', {RHd.} -hōñ, {Rop.} -hon 'us', {R} han¹nē 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 he¹nē 'our' (× N *hin∇ [= *Xin∇?] 'other?') ¶ R BedS §§ 157-165, Rop. 197-8, RHd. B 111-2 || B *hanā-ϣ 'us, 'to us' > Tw {Pr.} āñbϣ 𐎧𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎥 hāñbϣ id. (ffd. see N *ñ∇ 'we' excl.) ¶¶ If this conjecture is right, the HS word *ʔaniħEñ-n∇ originally meant 'we together'. For an alt. et. of *ʔaniħEñ-n∇ / s.v. N *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other'.

2596. *Xü'w' iñC∇ 'thin, narrow' > **HS:** Eg Md/NK ħns ({{EG}} ħnś) 'narrow (eng, schmal)' ¶ EG III 116 || C *✓ ħnC: ?φ EC: Sa {Wlm.} ħenda 'little, small', Af {PH} ħundā 'be small, be young', ?φ Arr *?iní 'child, boy' || Ag: Aw {Hz.} zncay 'boy' ¶ AD SF 143, HP 62, Hw. A 341 || **U:** FU *°wíńća (~ *°wíc∇?) 'thin, narrow' > Ugr: ObU {Ht.} *wīńć∇ > pVg *wĩś > Vg: T üś, LK/UK wĩś, P/LL íś 'small', UL uś ēηk 'elder brother's youngest daughter (младшая золовка)' (ēηk 'elder brother's daughter'); pOs *wäńć 'narrow' > Os: V/Vy wäńť, Ty/D wăť, Nz/Kz waś | Hg [early XIX] vézna 'hager, schmächtig', Hg O vézna 'lean, thin, slight (sovány, cingár)', Hg vézna 'puny, sickly, peaky, weak' ¶ UEW 899 (*wäńća ~ *wäć∇), Coll. 123 (*wäńć∇), Ht. no. 696, EWU 1631 || **A:** T *jinç-ḳä 'thin' > OT jinčgä 'thin, slim, delicate', Tk ince, Az, Ggz inžä, CrTt inže, Tkm ĩnče (ĩ < *ji), Qmq inče, QrB inčke ~ inčge, Nog jiniške, Qq žiniške, Qzq žiñiške, VTt ньśkä, Bsh ньskä, Uz ingičkä, ET iničkä, Δ jinžige, Qrg, Ln ičke, StAlt cíčke, Tv činje, Yk sińńigäs 'thin', Xk ħiske niske 'thin, narrow', Chv L çинче śinž_e, Chv Δ çинче 'thin (тонкий в обхвате)' (of threads and cords) ¶ Cl. 945, Rs. W 203, ET Gl 364-5, NogR 124, Tn. SJ 403, Ash. XII 162-5, Fed. II 119, Jeg. 214, ChVS 186 || M *üčü-ken ~ *öčü-ken 'small, little' (× N *ηUC∇ 'small, few', q.v. ffd.) || ? pJ *úsú- 'thin' > OJ úsu-, J: T ùsu-, K úsu-, Kg úši-, Ns ùsú-; *÷ J Sh inčá and J Ns ìkkʰá 'short' (acc. to Starostin, from pJ {S} *mĩnsikà 'short') ¶ S AJ 269 [no. 102], S QJ no. 102, Mr. 843 ¶¶ S VL 228, ≈ SDM97 s.v. *ńinč' i and *ηũč' e, ADb. NNN 34, SDM 1035 (A *ηũyčü thin, small' > T *ōçü-, M *öčü-, pJ *úsú- + [not belonging here] Tg *ηüşi 'small' and pKo *nʌč 'low, interior', ≈ DQA no. 1544 (id.) || **D** *ũńć- 'lean, thin; to dry up' > T m uńcaṭṭaj 'leanness, thinness', Tl ũca 'withered, lean, thin', Prj ũń- v. 'dry up, become emaciated' ¶¶ D no. 735 ◇ If the N etymon is *X'ü' ħC∇, U *wi- < *ü- may be a case of "labial fission" (see Introduction, § 2.2.7). But the rec. *Xü'w' iñC∇ is preferable, because it is able to account not only for FU *°wíńća, but also for T *jinç-ḳä (*Xü'w' i- > **üi- > **yi- > T *ji-).

2597. *Xäñk∇ 'jaw, palate' > **HS:** WS *ħink-, *ħa'nak- 'palate, lower jaw' > BHb ħħek id. / +ppa. ħikk- (ħik'k-ō 'his palate'), JA [Trg.] אַבְּחִי ~ אבְּחִי ħik'k-ā 'palate', JEA אבְּחִי ħin'k-ā ~ אבְּחִי ħik'kā, Sr سبْحُ ħen'k-ā ~ سبْحُ ħek'k-ā and pl. ħenl_ə,'kē 'palate, pharynx', Ar

ḥanāk- {BK} 'palais et la partie de la bouche sous le menton correspondante au palais', {Hv.} 'palate; lower jaw', Tgr ḥanək 'palate' (<Ar?), Mh ḥənnūk, Jb C/E ḥō'nuk 'gum and palate', Hrs ḥənnək 'gum and uvula' ¶ KB 300, KBR 313, Lv. II 82, Js. 455, Sl. 457-8, Br. 244, Ln. 639, Fr. I 437, BK I 505, Hv. 147, Jo. M 182, Jo. J 112, Jo. H 60, MiK I no. 1.124 || U *äḡ∇ 'chin, jaw, jaw bone' (× N *ʔäḡ|g∇ 'chin' [q.v. ffd.]) > ObU *ā'nə'ʕ' > pVg {Ht.} *ānə'ʕ' 'jaw' > Vg: T ānəw, LK/MK ǝnī, P ǝna 'jaw' ¶ Ht. no. 39 (*÷ Os *oñčəʕ ({{Hl.} *ǎñčəʕ) that can be better explained from N *Γaḡ'ĉ' U 'cheek' [q.v.] || A *āḡæK∇ 'chin, jaw') (× N *ʔäḡ|g∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) > NaT *āḡ or *ēḡ 'cheek', T *eḡäk 'chin, jaw, cheek', pJ {S} *ánk- 'jaw, chin; gills', Tg: WrMc {Z} eḡge 'beak' ¶¶ SDM 510-11 (pA *ēḡa(K'∇) 'chin, jaw'), DQA no. 434 (id.), Cl. 166, 183, DTS 174, Rl. I 714, ET Gl 284-5, TL 218-9, TkR 798, ARL 131, DTS 174, BT 195, Fed. I 45, S QJ no. 163, STM II 457.

2598. ?σ (₂?) *X∇Nk∇ (= *XäNka?) 'to untie, to open, (?) to remove' > HS: S *°✓ ḥnk > Ar ✓ ḥnk *Sh* (pf. ʔaḥnaka) 'éloigner, écarter, chasser' ¶ BK I 505 || C *hink- v. 'open, untie' ({E} v. 'remove, open') > Ag ≈ *ʔənk- (× N *ʔaḡga 'to open' × N *ñEko 'to open [?], to bare, to uncover') > Bln {R} ʔənk- 'öffnen, auflösen, aufbinden; befreien', Xm {Ap.} ək-s-, {R} iek-~ ek-, Q ʔñč-, ʔñš- v. 'open, undo' || SC: ı pRt {E} *hink- v. 'push away' (Ehret cites no reflexes in individual lgs.) || ? EC: Or {Grg.} hīk- v. 'loosen, untie', {Th.} hīc-u 'slegare, sciogliere, rilasciare, liberare' ¶ E PC no. 530, Ap. AV 4, R WB 37, Grg. 207, Th. 195 || U: FU *aḡa- 'untie, open (lösen, öffnen, aufmachen)' (× N *ʔaḡga '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ A: Tg: Ewk SB ʔḡʔyʔ- 'stretch (растягивать)' ¶ STM II 458.

2599. ₂ *χ|q'a'ñ,∇,K∇ (or *χ|q'a'ḡK∇) 'to bend' > HS: C: Bj {R} ✓ ḥng (1s p. a-ḥa'nig) 'biegen, krümmen' || ? SC: Alg xonḡoʔos- v. 'bend, wrap' ¶ R Wbd. 116, E SC 259 (SC *xonónko v. 'bend, fold' > Alg xonḡoʔos- and Mb kōñònkò 'joint [of body]') || IE *χenk- (~ *°χenk-?) 'bend' > Ht hīnk- v. 'bow (reverentially), curtsy' ¶ Ts. E I 250-1, Pv. III 292-6 || NaIE *ank- vt., vi. 'bend' > OI 'añcati, 'acati 'bends, curves', MPrs ančītan 'bends' || Gk ἄγκυον 'elbow', ἄγκυάλη, ἄγκυόνη 'bent arm' || Lt Δ ánka 'loop' || L [Fest] ancus 'qui aduncum brachium habet' || Tc A añcäl 'bow (arc)' || ? NaIE d. *onko-s 'crooked, hook' > Gk ὄγκος 'barb of an arrow' || L uncus 'crooked, hook' || OIr ékath 'fish hook' || OHG angō 'hook', ds: AS anȝel 'fish hook, hook', ON

oṅgull 'fish hook', OHG angul 'fishing rod', NHG Angel 'fish hook' || OI 'aŋ'ka-h n. 'hook, curve, bend', Av aka- 'hook' || OCS ꙗкоѣ ꙗкоѣ 'hook' ¶¶ P 45-7 (*ank-), EI 61-2 (*h₂enk- ~ *h₂eng- 'bend an object so that it stays bent'), and ≈ AHDI 3 (all of them do not distinguish between NaIE *ank- and *ang-), M K I 19, 24, M E I 47, 52-3, Vr. 687, Ho. 6, Kb. 32, EWA I 251-3, KM 22, F I 10-2 and II 347, Wn. I 146, WH I 46 and II 816, Frn. 11.

2600. *Xäñ∇Ꝛ 'grain, kernel' > HS: S *hintꝚ-at- (~ *hüntꝚ-at-?) 'wheat' > Hb הַחִיטִּים hitꝚ'tā, Ug ḥtꝚt, OA ḥtꝚh, IA ḥntꝚ? ~ ḥtꝚh, Plm ḥ(y)tꝚ, JPA, JEA ḫḥḫḫ hitꝚ'tā, Sr 𐩣𐩬𐩪𐩫 ḥetꝚ'tā, Md ḥḥita, Ar حنطة ḥintꝚat- (↳ Sq {L} ḥintꝚeh), Ak utꝚatꝚ 'wheat', Gz ḫatꝚat ~ ḫatꝚat- 'grain, seed', BA pl. ḫḫḫḫ ḥin't-īn 'grains of wheat', Jb C {Jo.} 'ḥi'tꝚet 'ear of rice', 'ḥitꝚ 'ears of rice, food, beans' ¶ KB 294, 1710, KBR 307, Lv. II 36, Js. 453, Sl. 453, Br. 227, Ln. 657, BK I 503, Jo. J 119, L G 268 || C {AD} *✓HyꝚ > EC: Sml N {Abr.} ḥādūꝚ 'corn, millet', Sml {ZMO} ḥādūꝚ 'maize, jowari, millet, sorghum' || SC: Irq/Grw {Wh.} ḥayitiꝚi (pl. ḥayitoꝚo), {MQK} ḥayitoꝚō (snglt. ḥayitiꝚī) 'maize' ¶ AD SF 221-2, Abr. S 102, ZMO 177, MQK 18 || IE (mt.) *Hēt(e)n (/ *Hēt(e)r-?) 'grain, kernel' > NaIE *et(e)n- 'kernel, grain' (× N *qat∇ 'e corn' [q.v.]) > OIr {P} eitne 'kernel', ScGl eite 'unhusked ear of corn', eitean 'kernel, grain' || Gk ἕτρος 'a thick soup of pulse, pea soup' || AdS of Ht ḥat(t)ar 'e cereal' ('ein Getreideart') (< N *qat∇ '↑') ¶¶ P 343, F I 582, Ts. E I 220, Pv. III 247 (Ht ḥat(t)ar ← ḥat- 'dry up') || D *añꝚi 'kernel, stone of a fruit' (× N *H'ā'ñt∇ 'kernel' [q.v. ffd.], whence D *-Ꝛ- rather than *-t-) ◇ Since Ht ḥat(t)ar goes back mainly to N *qat∇, it provides no decisive ev. for N *χ-. Therefore the N rec. is with *X- (= N *χ- or N *h-).

2600a. *Xayṅo (= *h|χayṅo) (a variant reconstruction instead of *ʔayṅo, q.v. s.v.) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') > HS: C {E} *hang^wl- 'brain' > EC *hang∇l- 'brain' > Sa {Wlm.} ḥangal, pl. ḥanguḷ id., Af {PH} ḥāngal 'brain', Or B {Anr.} enḡu ~ enḡō id. || ? DhI {E} ḥāni 'head' || Ag ↳ Amh angol 'brain' and Tgr ḥangal ḥangəl (pl. ḥanāgəl ḥanagḡl) id.; Ag: Bln {R} hang^wel (pl. hanāg^wəl) 'brain'; Ag: Aw ang^wal id. may be either a return loan from EthS (as suggested in AD SF) or an inherited C word (as in E PC) || ?? C ↳ Mb angálo 'head' (E SC 276 reconstructs SC *ḥaṅ- 'head' on the basis of Mb and DhI) ¶ E PC no. 522. AD SF 153. PH 126. To. D 136. EEN 13. ≈ E SC

27; acc. to E SC, the stem of Dhl and Mb may go back to SC *ʕaŋ- 'above, up' (> Irq {MQK} ʔāḥ 'past, already, ancient times', {E} aŋ 'in the past, long ago', Brn 0ŋ 'mountain', see E SC, MQK 15), but the direction of semantic change may have been the opposite as well || ? EthS (a loan from a C lge.): Gz ʔaŋg^ωəʕ 'marrow, the soft fat of animals', Tgr ʔəŋgəʕəʕ, Tgy ʔaŋg^ωəʕ, Amh aŋg^ωa 'marrow' ¶ L G 28-9 ¶ If the pN etymon is *ʔaŋgəʕ (a reconstruction based on the assumption that Gz ʔaŋg^ωəʕ is of pS origin), the unexpected C *ħ- has to be accounted for. It may be explained if we reconstruct pN *ħ|χaŋgəʕ and suppose that the EthS word is a loan from a C lge. that has lost the initial lr.; an alt. hyp. is to suppose that C {E} *ħaŋg^ωl- goes back to a cd *ħ|χ... ʔaŋgəʕ || NrOm: Kcm {CR} aŋqā, {Fl.} əŋqā 'head' ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 56, Fl. p.c. || Ch: CCh: Cb {ChL} ʔāŋgārā, Mrg {ChL} aŋgada 'brain', MbK {Mch.} āŋga, Bana {Lk.} ʔāŋga 'head' ¶ ChL, ChC s.v. 'brain', Mch. VCSP 173 ¶¶ For the HS comparison see AD SF 15 and Blz. OLBP no. 56 || U *aŋge (~ *aŋg^o?) (U {Coll.} *aŋgəʕ, FU {UEW} *aŋge) 'brain, ? marrow' > F aivo(t) 'brain, temple, temporal (bone)', Es aju 'brain' pLp {Lr.} *vōjŋə > Lp N {N} vuoirāš-: pl. vuoirgāšâk || Lp L {LLO} vuoirām ~ vuoirām 'brain' || pMr {Ker.} *oŋə > Mk ʔŋ uŋ 'marrow, brain' || ? Hg aŋg 'brain, marrow' (OHg also 'skull') || ?? Sm: Nn Т Ѡэвэй 'brain' (unless <Ѡ эва 'head'); acc. to Coll. 2, here also Ng {Cs.} Ѡia, En X {Cs.} ae, En B {Cs.} ebê, Slq: Nr/Ke {Cs.} kŋu, NP {Cs.} kŋŋ 'brain' || ?φ Y: OY O {Mat.} aборъ 'mozgъ' ('brain' or 'marrow'), OY {Bil.} aωoot id. ¶¶ UEW 5, Sm. 542 (FU *ājŋi 'brain' > FP *ajŋi, Ugr *ājŋi), Coll. 2, Lr. no. 1425 (does not distinguish it from Lp *vōjŋə v. 'breath'), Lgc. no. 8741, Ker. II 173, Ter. 415, Cs. 227, IN H 114, IN UJ 294 || IE: NaIE *ong^ω- 'anoint', *ong^ω-en- ~ *ŋg^ω-en- 'fat, grease' ({EI} IE *h₃eng^ω- 'anoint') > OI aŋj-, a'nakti (3p aŋ'janti, pp. ak'ta) v. 'smear, anoint', 'ājyam 'melted or clarified butter (used for oblations, for sacrifice, and for anointing anything sacrificed or offered)' (< ā + ajya < *ŋg^ωyo-) || Arm օճանեմ ὄσανεմ < *aŋcanem 'I anoint' || L unguō / pp. unctus v. 'anoint, besmear', Um umtu 'unguito' || OIr imb, W ymen-yn, OCm amen-en, Br amann 'butter' || OHG anko, ancho, MHG, NGr Al anke 'butter' || Pru anctan, ancte id. ¶ WP I 81, P 779, EI 24, Dv. no. 779, WH II 819-20, EWA I 263-5, OsS 20, LG § 8.1, Me. EAC 237, Tp. P A-D 91, En. 142, MW 133 ◇ Cf. UEW 5 (FU, Y, T); UEW mentions "türk. *āŋ

'Gedächtnis, Verstand"', probably a misprint for T *āη (a dubious connection). The U stem belongs here only if its medial cns. is *-η- (as reconstructed by Coll. and UEW); but Hl. [p. c.] suggests an alt. rec. with a medial *-w-; in the latter case (acc. to Hl.) the U stem may be a d. from U *oywa 'head' (UEW 336-7). If the latter conjecture is right, the U stem does not belong here, and the pN stem is to be reconstructed as *h|χano or *ʔano rather than *h|χayoηo or *ʔayoηo. But Hl.'s et. faces difficulties: the initial vw. of U *ayoη|we 'brain' is different from that of U *oywa 'head', and Lp -η- may hardly go back to U *-w-; at least, such a possibility is not envisaged by Krh.'s historical phonology of Lp (Krh. 76-197, Krh. HL 274-7) ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 68, S CNM 11 ◇ Cf. Gr. II no. 48 (*ayu 'brain').

2601. ₂ *XUηg∇ 'throat' > HS: Eg fXVIII ħnγγ 'pharynx' ('der Schlund [in dem die Zunge sitzt]) ¶ EG III 121 || S: Ar حَنْجَرَةٌ ħanğar-at- 'larynx', حَنْجَرٌ ħnğr D 'égorger', {Hv.} cut open the throat to'; ?? حَنْجُودٌ ħunğūd- 'larynx' ¶ BK I 501-2, Hv. 146 || C {AD} *ħ¹anK^ωar 'throat, pharynx' > Bj {R} ankar 'palate, gullet (Schlund), throat', Bj A {AD} ħankar 'gullet (Schlund), pharynx, and the back part of the mouth' || EC: pSam {Hn.} *hangúri > Sml hunguri, Bn {Hn.} ha'ηure 'throat', Sa {R} anqar 'palate, throat' ¶ AD SF 153-4, Hn. S 63 || WCh: ?? Ngz ηğúrââíyá 'throat' ¶ Sch. DN 127 || A: T *öηäç > OT {Cl.} öηüč, Tv öš 'larynx, windpipe', Xk öğös, ET öηgäč, StAlt öč 'windpipe', Sg ös 'thorax', VTt ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ, Brb öñäč, Bsh qḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ, Qzq, Qq öηeš, Qrg, Ln qizil öηgöč, QK öč ~ öš, Uz qizil wηač 'gullet, oesophagus', Bsh üḡäs 'front side of the neck', Yk öḡüs 'muscles of the occiput', öḡüs bas 'blood vessels of the neck' ¶ Cl. 172, DTS 387, ET Gl 536, ≈ ADb. SR 138 (unc. *öηäç ← *ömgen '[upper part of the] breast') || M *öηgeleür (× N *ḡom₁∇₁Kê '[ε part of the] neck') > WrM {MED} öηgelegür 'depression above [sic!] the Adam's apple', HIM ḡḡḡḡḡḡ {MED} 'id., {Kow., Luv., BMR} 'depression under the Adam's apple', Kl {KRS} ḡḡḡḡḡḡ öηgälür id., {Rm.} öηgölür 'Vertiefung zwischen dem Adamsapfel und dem Brustbein' ¶ MED 638, BMR III 24, Kow. 498, Luv. 322, KRS 418, KW 297 || Tg: Neg uηḡḡḡ 'bird's crop, Adam's apple', Lm uηrḡḡ 'ε muscle of the neck of male reindeer/elks' ¶ STM II 279-80 || pJ {S} *ùnà(-nsi) 'back of head, nape' > OJ una, ùnàzì, J: T ùnàzì, K únází, Kg unazì ¶ S QJ no. 1114, Mr. 563 ¶¶ SDM

1055 (pA *òŋi(ĉ∇) 'windpipe, part of neck' > Tg *uŋ-se, *uŋnu [err. rec. based on some words that do not belong here], M, T *öŋüç [incl. unj. MT öŋgü-lük 'нагрудное украшение', J), DQA no. 1573 (id.).

2602. *Xup∇ 'press, crush, rub' > **HS**: CS *-hūr- ~ *✓hūr 'rub, clean by rubbing': **[1]** CS *-hūr- > Mhb ✓hūr (prm. -hūr-, pf. hūr) 'rub the head with natron or another mineral in order to cleanse it', {Lv.} 'reiben, abreiben (eine Art des Kämmens)', Sr ✓hūr G v. {Br.} 'wash (one's head)', {JPS} 'rub, cleanse, sprinkle', **𐤆𐤀𐤎𐤏** hāw'p-ā {Br.} 'lautio (capitis et barbae)'; **[2]** CS *✓hūr > Mhb ✓hūr G v. 'rub; cleanse (one's head)', Ar ✓hūr G 'pluck (the hair of the face), shave (the head\ beard\moustache)', ({Ln.} 'cut\clip the hair of one's head, one's beard\ moustache') ¶ Lv. II 24-5, 94, Js. 437, 492, Br. 221, JPS 132, BK I 455, Ln. 597, Hv. 131 || **IE**: NaIE *ub- 'press, press down' > OI ub'jatī 'presses down, keeps under, subdues', Av ub'jate 'wird nieder-gedrückt' || Lt P inf. ũbiti 'zur Eile drängen' ¶ WP I 193, P 1103, M K I 107, Frn. 1156 || **U** *°op₁e- > Sm {Jn.} *t₁- v. 'press, squeeze' > Ne T Δ inf. h₁barc 'crumple\squeeze (in a hand), 'pinch with fingernails', Ne T O {Lh.} inf. h₁arc 'in der Hand zusammendrücken, in der Hand drücken', Ne F {Lh.} inf. h₁ar₁ id., Slq Tz {KKIH} inf. t₁ar-qo 'press\squeeze' ('давить'), inf. t₁ar₁-qo 'crush, squash (раздавить)', Slq Nr {Cs.} e₁ar'ar- 'drücken' ¶ Jn. 25, Ter. 406, Lh. 34, KKI 196, Cs. 103, 212 || **A**: NaT *u|ob- 'crush, crumble, rub to powder' > OT {Cl.} uv- v. 'crush, crumble, reduce to powder', Tk ov-, uv- Δ o- 'rub, crumble', Ggz ū-, CrTt o₁-, QrB u₁-, Bsh I₁-, VTt u- 'rub, rub to powder', Az o₁- id., 'crumble', SY u₁- 'crush', Xk u₁-, Qmq u₁- 'crumble', Kr u₁- id., 'knead' ¶ Cl. 4-5, Rl. I 1591, ET Gl 401-3 ◇ **U** *o- (for the expected *u-) is still to be explained ◇ Hardly here A {ADb.} *op'a 'powder' → 'flour' (F N *?o₁a ≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt').

2602a. *χAr∇ 'tracks, path, way' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'road') > **HS**: Eg fP h₁r.t 'Weg, Landweg' ¶ EG III 144 || S: Ar hār-at- {Ln.} 'a quarter of a city\town consisting of several narrow streets and having but one general entrance', {Hv.} 'quarter of a town, street' ¶ Ln. 666, BK I 525, Hv. 148 || B {Pr.} *h₂r₁ > Ah hurat, ETwl h₁urat 'suivre à la trace' ¶ Pr. H no. 65, Fc. 638, PGG 136 || Ch: WCh: Su {J} ?ar, Ang {ChC} ?ar₁ 'road' || Klr {J} ar'aw 'Weg' ¶ ChC, J R 350 ¶ ≈ OS no. 122 || **IE**: Luw harwa 'road' || **K**: GZ *χer- 'step; make a path\road' > Mg χar- 'eine

Spur durch den Schnee treten', Lz χar -i n. 'step', OG χer - v. 'lead, steer a course' (of pilots), G χer - 'show the way', s- χer -v-e-l-i 'Richtungsgeber, Steuer' ¶ FS K 481, FS E 547 || D: SD * $\bar{a}r$ - 'way' > Tm $\bar{a}r$ u 'way, road, path', MI $\bar{a}r$ u 'way, manner', Td $\bar{o}r$ 'way, entrance into thicket' ¶ D no. 405 ◇ ≈ Blz. DA 162-3 [no. 104] (incl. D and WCh).

2603. ??φ * $\chi^r a w _ a _ r E$ (or * $\chi a w E r \nabla$) 'bright, white' > HS: CS * $\check{h}wr$, *- $\check{h}war$ - (~ *- $\check{h}ur$ -?) 'be bright\white' > BHb $\check{h}wr$ G (3mp ip. $\check{h}wr$ $\check{h}i w' w \bar{e} r$) 'turn pale', MHb {Js.} $\check{h}wr$ D (pf. $\check{h}wr$ $\check{h}i w' w \bar{e} r$) 'make clear\evident', BA $\check{h}wr$ $\check{h}i w' w \bar{e} r$ 'white', JA [Trg.] $\check{h}wr$ G (pf. $\check{h}wr$ $\check{h}^a w \bar{e} r$) 'be white, pale', JEA $\check{h}wr$ G 'become white, be lighter in color', Sr $\check{h}wr$ G (pf. $\check{h}wr$ $\check{h}^a w \bar{e} r$) 'be(come) white', $\check{h}wr$ $\check{h}^a w \bar{e} r$ 'white', Md $hiwara$, $hawara$ id., Ar {Ln.} $\check{h}wr$ D (pf. $hawara$) 'whiten (clothes, wheat, food)', {BK} $\check{h}wr$ G (pf. $h\bar{a}ra$, ip. - $\check{h}ur$ -) 'wash\whiten clothes'; but Ar $\check{h}wr$ G (pf. $hawira$) 'have its white and its black strongly delineated' does not necessarily belong here, it may be related to Mh and Jb $\check{h}wr$ 'turn black' ¶ KB 287, 1706, Dlm. 104, Lv. T I 240-1, Js. 438-9, Lv. II 26-7, Sl. 435, Br. 223, JPS 133-4, DM 142, BK I 509-10, Ln. 665, Jo. M 195 || IE (+ext.) * $\chi ar\bar{g}$ -, * $\chi ar\bar{g}i$ - 'white' (× N * $\check{z}^r a' hr \nabla$ [- * $\check{z}^r a' hr \nabla$ - * $z\check{z}^r a' hr \nabla$] 'shine, be bright; light [lux]') > Ht $hark$ i- 'white, bright' || NaIE * $ar\bar{g}(i)$ - 'be white, by shiny' > OI $arjuna$ - \check{h} 'shiny white', $r_j r a$ - 'radiant, gleaming', {MW} 'red(dish)', $raja'ta$ - \check{h} 'whitish, silver-colored' || Gk $\acute{\alpha}p\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}p\chi\eta\varsigma$ 'shining, bright, white', $\acute{\alpha}p\chi\iota$ - $\acute{o}\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ 'white-toothed', $\acute{\alpha}p\chi\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ 'silver' || Msp ARGORIAN 'made of silver' || L $argu$ - \bar{o} / - $\check{e}re$ 'put in clear light' || Clt {Matas.} * $argyo$ - 'white; snow' > Gl (in n. pr.) {Schm.} $argio$ - *'shining, bright' ('brillant'), Brtt {RE} * $argios$ 'snow' > M W eiry, W eira, Ocm irgh, Cm ergh, MBr erc'h id. || Gt $a\acute{r}knipa$ accus. 'τὸ γνήσιον, genuineness' (from * $a\acute{r}knis$ [conjecture for $a\acute{r}knis$] *'clear, immaculated' → 'holy'), OHG $erkan$ {Kb.} 'steadfast, noble, agile', {EWA} 'hervorragend, ehrwürdig, fest, bestimmt, wirklich', {Schz.} $erchan$, $erchen$ 'fest, wirklich', {OsS} $erchan$, $erchen$ 'recht, echt' || Tc: A $\bar{a}rki$, B $\bar{a}rkwi$ 'white' ||| \rightarrow IE * $\chi\chi^r\bar{g}$ - $\eta\check{t}$ -om ({EI} * $h_2r\bar{g}$ - $\eta\check{t}$ -om) 'silver' > OI $raja'tam$, Av $\bar{a}razatam$, OPrs (a) $rdata$ -, KhS $\bar{a}ljsata$ - id. ||| L $argentum$ id., Osc $argentud$ id. (abl.) ||| Clt {Matas.} * $arganto$ - 'silver' > OIr $argat$, OW $argant$, MW $ariant$, MCm $arians$, Cm $arhans$, OBr

argant, Br arc'hant 'silver' ||| Arm **արծաթ** arcat^h id. (-at^h under the infl. of erkath 'iron') ¶¶ Pv. III 169-71, Ts. G I 197, P 64-5, EI 14 (*h₂arġi- 'white'), 641 (*h₂rġġ-u- ~ *h₂rġġ-es- id., *h₂rġġ-ŋt-om 'silver'), M K I 50-1, 120-1, and III 34, F I 132-4, WH I 66-7, Bc. G 312, Vn. A 88-9, Schm. KGP 134, Billy 14, RE 133, Fs. 25, Kb. 208, Schz. 126, OsS 147, EWA II 1140-2, Slt. 129-31 Wn. I 167, Ad. 49-50, Matas. E 41-2 ¶¶ IE *-ar- < *-aur- (loss of *u before sonorants) ||| A: T *ürün ~ *Ewrün 'white' (× N ***ʔ**¹Umr∇ 'burn' [intr.], 'shine, be bright', q.v. ffd.) > OT, Yk ürün id., Chg xv ewrür 'shining, bright, clear weather', MQP XIII ūrūn 'milk', Tk Δ ürün 'milk, yoghurt', ? Qrg ürün baran 'morning twilight, dawn; sth. dimly seen in the dark' ¶ Cl. 233-4, Jud. 825, TL 601.

2604. ***χ**OR₁∇₁ω∇ 'herd\pack of (wild) animals' (→ 'animal?') > K: G χρο∇-a, {DCh.} χρο 'pack (as of wolves, etc.), herd (of deer, etc.)' ¶ Chx. 2391, DCh. 1756 ||| HS: S ***✓**ħwr > Ar ħawar- {BK} 'taureau', {Fr.} 'taurus', {Hv.} 'ox' ¶ Fr. I 440, BK I 510, Hv. 148 ||| B {Pr.} ***✓**h₂rω > Ah tahrut 'herd (of camels, of sheep\goats)', Izd tawrut (pl. tiwra) id., Ah ehære (pl. ihərawəŋ) 'menu bétail', Twl {ABs., Nic.} ehære (pl. ihərwan), Gh ih₁ə₁ri id., possibly Ty ehəri 'calf', Sus ahruy 'moutons', tahruyt (pl. tihray) 'brebis' ¶ Fc. 640, Pr. H no. 397 ||| C: EC {Ss.} *ħor 'herd' > Kns hor-ēta 'wealth, livestock', Or horī id., 'cattle', Gdl horet 'cattle', HEC {Hd.} *ħor 'herd, property' > Ged hore 'herd', hor-te 'property', ?? Brj hor-ʔ- v. 'breed' ¶ Ss. B 101, Bl. 200, Hd. 79, 118 ||| A: AmTg *ora|on-, *ora|ok∇ 'animal(s)' (× N ***ʔ**or¹u¹ 'antelope, deer, mountain goat?') > Ul oro(n-) 'animal', Ud {Shn.} ʔo, {Krm.} ʔʔ (< *oroko) 'animal, bird' ¶ SMT II 25, Krm. 273 ◇ If AmTg *ora|on- and *ora|ok∇ belong here, the N etymon is ***χ**OR₁∇₁ω∇, otherwise it is ***χ**UR₁∇₁ω∇.

2605. (₂?) ***χ**aRč∇ (= ***χ**aRč∇?) 'rub, scratch' > HS: S ***✓**ħrθ v. 'plough, till the earth' > BHb ܘܪܝܢ **✓**ħrš v. G 'plough; engrave', OCn **✓**χrš v. 'plough', Ug **✓**ħrθ G v. 'plough, till (the earth)', IA ܘܪܝܢ **✓**ħrt v. 'plough', Plm **✓**ħrt, SmA, Md **✓**ħrt G 'engrave', JA [Trg.] **✓**ħrt G id., {Lv.} 'eingraben, aushöhlen', Sr **✓**ħrt v. G 'dig out, furrow', Ar ܘܪܝܢ **✓**ħrθ G {Hv.} 'till and sow (the earth)', {BK} 'labourer \ cultiver la terre', Tgr **✓**ħrs v. 'plough', Ak inf. erēšū 'to cultivate/plant (a field), to seed by drilling seed into a furrow by means of a seeder plow' ¶ KB 343, KBR 357, OLS 181, HJ 407, Js. 507-8, Lv. T I 286, Tal 298, Br. 260, JPS 160, DM 153, BK I 403, Hv. 117, CAD IV

285-9 || ?φ C: Bj {R} ✓ hsy (1s p. 'a-hasi, pres. ahansi) pcv. 'schärfen, spitzen' ¶ R WBd 127 || A: M *arĉi- > MM arĉi- [S] {H} 'wipe', [MA] v. 'clean, wipe clean', [IM] {Pp.} 'sweep, rub', WrM {MED} arci-, HIM арчи- v. 'wipe\clean\dry by rubbing; erase, weed', Brt арша- v. 'clean, wipw, wipe clean', Kl {KRS} арч- vt. 'clean, wipe', {Rm.} arĉi- 'rein fegen, abputzen, abwischen', Dg {T} arĉi- vt. 'clean' ¶ H 8, Pp. MA 104-5, 432, MED 51, BMR I 158-9, Chr. 61, T DgJ 122, KRS 52, KW 15 || IE: Ht hars- v. '≈ till (the soil)' (unless a loan from Ak, as supposed by Pv.) ¶ Pv. III 184-5, Ts. E I 183, EI 434 ¶ The loan hyp. may solve the enigma of the irreg. Ht s (for the expected IE *-st- or *-d-) ◇ If Ht hars- is an inherited cognate, the N etymon is *χaRĉǵ, but if it is a Semitism, the pN source is to be reconstructed as *XaRĉǵ (= *χ|ħaRĉǵ).

2606. *XiRgǵ 'e (horned?) artiodactyl' > HS: S ✓ ħrg > Gz ħargē, ħargī 'ram, male of sheep and goats', Ar ħaraġ-at- 'troupeau de chameaux', ħurġ- 'chamelle grande et forte', ħaraġ- 'chamelle maigre, exténuée de fatigue', ħurġaġ-, ħurġūġ- 'chamelle grande, forte et rapide à la course' ¶ BK I 404-5, L G 242 || C: EC {Ss.} *org- 'e male herbivore' > Sml org-i 'billy goat', Rn órgèy, Arr ʔòrgí 'uncastrated billy goat', Or B órg-e' 'baby she-camel', Gdl {Ss.} ork-eta 'billy goat', {Bl.} ork-ēt 'non-castrated male goat older than ca. two months', Hr ork-akko 'billy goat', Ya org-ej 'male giraffe'; ? cp. also (with mt.) Sml agor 'bull calf to two years old', Rn {PG} ògôr 'oryx, gemsbok' || Bj {R} er'gane, 'argin 'sheep, ram' ¶ The loss of the expected initial cns. in C is still to be explained ¶ Ss. PEC 23, Bl. 112, PG 238, 243, Hw. A 343, R WBd 29 || IE: NaIE *york|k̄- 'roe deer' (× N *ń'a'Rq̄a|æ [= *ń'a'Rqa|æ?] 'e deer' [q.v. ffd.]) || A {Adb.} *irge 'ram' > NaT *irk > OT {Cl.} irk 'ram', Tb {B} irk, Qb/Sg/Tlt {Rl.} ir(i)k id., Qmq, QrB irk, ET Δ {Jr.} eyik ~ iyik, Ln īk, Tv irt 'castrated ram', Qrg irik ~ irk, Tk Δ irk 'three-year old castrated ram' ¶ Cl. 220, ET Gl 377-8, Rl. I 1459, 1464, 1833, Jud. 303-4, Jr. 99 || M *irge > MM [S] irge, WrM {MED} irge, HIM {MED, BMR} ирэг, Ord īrge, Kl {KRS} ирг, {Rm.} irgə, Mnr H {SM} yergē 'castrated ram, wether' ¶ H 83, MED 414, Kow. 326, BMR II 281, KRS 272, KW 209, Ms. O 387, SM 492 ◇ The reflexes of this N word denote camels in Ar and Or only, while elsewhere they refer to horned animals. It may be tentatively suggested that originally the etymon denoted horned animals.

2607. *χaṛ'ü' 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' > HS: S *^o✓ħry > Ar حَرَى ħarā- 'gîte de la gazelle; aire de la maison, espace compris entre les murailles; plage; lieu où l'autruche dépose ses œufs', {Fr.} حَرَاة ħarā-t- 'atrium, mediumque domus; tractus latus; nidus ovorum' ¶ Hardly here (because of χ-) Ak χarru 'watercourse' ¶ Fr. I 373, BK I 417, CAD VI 114-5 || ?? Eg fO x̄r 'under', x̄ry 'which is under', Eg fMK x̄rω 'base, lower side, underside' (unless from unattested hypothetical Eg {Vc.} *x̄r 'heel' > Cpt B ḫa- χa- 'heel' or akin to Mh {Jo.} 3nχāli 'under, underneath' [as supposed by Tk.]) ¶ EG III 386-90, Fk. 203, Vc. 282-4, Tk. I 142-3, Jo. M 308 || IE *χery- - *χry- ({EI} *h₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (× N *gar'i' 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v. ffd.]) and (possibly) IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' (× N *z'a'ḥ₁r∇ 'low place, valley', q.v. ffd.) > Ht ħari-s (gen. ħariyas) 'valley' || U: FP {LG} *are 'pit, ravine, valley' > pPrm *or (JLG) *or 'ravine, gully' > Vt Sr/Y 3r, Vt Kz ôr 'Flußbett, Graben', Vt {W} ur 'Graben', Vt N ur-kîrem 'ravine (овраг, лог)' (kîr- 'wash away, break through' [of water]), Z Ud orov 'rut, gully' ('рытвина, промоина') (× Z or- 'be torn'), Z {TmK} кōдж-ōрōм кзž-зрэм 'former riverbed in a bend of a river' (кзž 'bend of a river') || Chr XVIII {Pl.} оръ 'ditch (ровъ)' ¶ LG 207 (*÷ Os V ur† 'old riv derbed', which goes back to pOs *wōr†, F Stn. D 163), ≈ UEW 721 (connecting the Vt and Chr forms with FP *ork∇ 'depression, valley') || A: T *ō:;r' 'valley' (× N *gar'i' 'valley', q.v. ffd.) > OT {Cl.} ōz 'valley (and the like)', Osm XVIII ōz 'wadi', Tk An ōz 'valley' || Chv L {Ash., Fed., ChVS} вap 'deep and dry ravine, trockenes Flußbett', ({Ash., Fed.} 'обдернелый овраг с пологими краями, лог, дол' ¶ Cl. 278-9, SDD 1124, Ash. V 162, Fed. I 100-1, ChVS 28 ¶ The vw. *ō (instead of the expected *a) is probably due to the palatalizing and labializing infl. of the vw. of the second syll. || D (in SD) *ar'i 'place where a lagoon\river joins the sea' > Tm ar.i 'place where the lagoon joins the sea', ar.i v u 'rivermouth', Ml ar.i id., 'bar', Kn ar.ave 'mouth of a river in which the tide ebbs and flows, bar', Tu aḷ u ve 'rivermouth, harbour', Krg aḷūbāgalu 'mouth of a river' ¶ D no. 278

◇ It is worth paying attention to K: G χriaṭi 'steiniger Abhang, Geröllhalde' (Chx. 2389), although the structure of this word and its prehistory are not clear.

2608. (2?) *χ'o't'A' 'scrape (off), 'rub off' > K *χweṭ-/*χwṭ- v. 'scrape' > G vvat- id. 'tear\scrape off, sweep' Mg vvat- 'scratch

gnaw', Lz $\chi\upsilon\alpha\tau\grave{\iota}$ - v. 'gnaw', Sv UB {GP} $-\chi\omega\iota\tau\grave{\iota}$ -/ $-\chi\omega\tau\grave{\iota}$ - (msd. $li-\chi\omega\tau\grave{\iota}e$) vt. 'exterminate', $-\chi\omega e\tau\grave{\iota}$ - (msd. $li-\chi\omega e\tau\grave{\iota}$) vi. 'perish' (of a multitude) ¶¶ K 259, K² 328-9, FS K 485, FS E 550, Chik. 425, TK 485, GP 188-9 || **HS**: S * \checkmark h̄tt > Ar \checkmark h̄tt G vt. 'rub off (mud), bark (a tree)', ??σ {BK} vi. 'fall off' (leaves of trees) ¶ Fr. I 339-40, BK I 373, Hv. 110 || ? **A**: NaT *ot'a- 'cut (grass)' (× ←d T *ot'- 'grass, vegetation') > OT {Cl.} ot'a- 'cut (grass)', 'pull up (weeds)', Tk ot'a-, Qzq, Qq ota-, StAlt oto- ⌘ odo-, VTt, Bsh uta-, Xk oda- 'pull up (weeds)' ¶ Cl. 34-5, 42, ET Gl 482.

2609. *X'o't'i' 'e fish' > **HS**: S * $\text{h}\bar{u}t$ - > Ar $\text{h}\bar{u}t$ - {Ln., BK} 'fish' (esp. 'a great fish'), {Hv.} 'salmon fish' ¶ Ln. 663, BK I 508, Hv. 148 || C: Bj {R} $\text{h}\bar{u}t$ 'fish' (← Ar?) || WCh {Stl.} *had∇ 'fish' > NrBc: Wrj {Gw.} eudei, {Sk.} $\text{y}\acute{z}\acute{d}\acute{a}j$, Cg {Sk.} $\text{h}\hat{a}t\grave{i}$, Kry {Sk.} $\text{y}\acute{z}\acute{d}\acute{e}$, My {Sk.} $\text{y}\acute{z}\acute{d}\acute{i}$, Jmb {Sk.} $\acute{a}w\grave{u}d\acute{a}$ ¶ Stl. ZCh 225 [no. 747] || **A** * $\text{o}\bar{t}'i'$ (= * $\text{o}\grave{t}'i'$?) > Tg * $\text{o}\bar{\text{c}}\nabla$ 'small fish' > Orc očko ~ očoko, Ul $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}\text{o}(n-)$, Ork otoa, Nn Nh $\text{o}\check{\text{c}}\text{a}q\bar{a}$, Nn B ocoa 'small fish', WrMc {Z} $\text{o}\bar{\text{c}}\text{a}$ ~ oca 'e species of *Gobio* (gudgeon or the like) with a large mouth and red eyes' ¶ STM II 29, Z 120, 131, Hr. 738 ¶¶ Tg * c (earlier * $\text{c}i$ < A * $\text{t}'i'$?) suggest a final A *i || **IE**: NaIE * $\text{o}|\text{ati}$ - > Lt $\text{at}\grave{i}s$, Ltv $\grave{a}te$ 'halibut, turbot' (× N * $\text{c}at\text{U}$ 'e fish', q.v.) ¶ Frn. 21, Bg. KS 274.

2610. *X∇t∇ 'quick' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{e}t$ -/* $\text{o}t$ - 'earlier, quick(ly)' > ON $\acute{a}\check{\text{d}}\text{an}$ 'earlier, before' || Lt U {Gtl.} otu 'quickly', otus 'eilfertig, behend, Eile habend, dringend' | d NaIE * $\text{e}tro$ -/* $\text{o}tro$ - 'quick' ({P} 'rasch, heftig') > OHG $\acute{a}tar$ (< * $\text{e}t'ro$ -) {EWA} 'scharfsinnig, rasch, eifrig (acer)', {OsS} $\acute{a}tar$ 'quick, clever, sharp (acer, fugax, celer)', AS $\acute{a}dre$, OFrs $\acute{e}dre$, OSx $\acute{a}dro$ 'at once, forthwith', ON $\acute{a}\check{\text{d}}r$ 'earlier' (← 'early') || Ltv $\acute{a}trs$ 'quick, fast, swift', $\acute{a}tri$ 'quickly, fast, swiftly', Lt U {Gtl.} otrus 'lebhaft, feurig, temperamentvoll; gierig (beim Fressen und Trinken)', ? Lt K $\acute{a}trej$ 'schnell, heftig, ungestüm' || ?? Tc {Wn.}: A $\acute{a}tar$, Tc B $\acute{e}tre$ 'hero' (unless an Iranian loan, as suggested by Bai.) ¶ P 345, EI 194 (? * $\text{e}tro$ - 'quick, fast'), Vr. 2, Kb. 47, OsS 33, EWA I 379-81, Kar. I 84, Frn. 518-9, Gtl. LS 99, Ho. 9, SiSS 22, 50, 228, 485, Wn. LE 23, Wn. I 152 || **HS**: S * \checkmark h̄tk v. 'hurry, go fast' > Ar \checkmark h̄tk G (ip. $-\text{h}\bar{t}iku$) v. {Hv.} 'walk at a quick and short pace', {BK} 'marcher rapidement d'un pas serré', Ak {Sd.} $\text{e}t\bar{a}ku$ 'sich beeilen, sich dranhaltend' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 375, Hv. 110, Sd. 260 || **A**: M * $\text{ü}|\text{ö}d$ -tür > MM {HI} öter 'vite, rapidement', WrM {MED} $\text{ü}dter$ ~ $\text{ö}dter$ ~ $\text{ü}d\text{t}\bar{u}r$, HIM {MED} $\text{y}d\text{t}\bar{e}p$, {BMR} $\text{y}t\bar{e}p$ 'immediately, quickly,

rapidly', Brt γτᾶρ id.; the element *-tūr may be identical with *tūr > WrM {MED} tūr 'temporarily, for a short time', Brt τγρ id., HIM τγρ {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'temporary', MM [MA] türgen 'quick, fast' (türgen usun 'quick water') ¶ Ms. H 85, MED 854, 996, BMR III 428, 472, Chr. 445, 516, KW 415, Pp. MA 359.

2610a. (₂?) *XEt̥VR̥ or *XiL̥t̥Vr̥ 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root' > IE: NaIE *ētor, *ētrom, *ētr̥ 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, internal organ' (× N *qûlhE,t̥V 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie') > AS ædre, æder, ON æðr 'vein', OHG ādra 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew', NHG Ader 'vein, artery' || Gk Hm ἤτορ 'heart', Gk A ἤτρον 'abdomen, the part below the navel', as well as [??] Gk ἤτριον, Gk D ἄτριον 'the warp in a web of cloth', Gk ἤτρια βύβλων 'leaves made of strips of papyrus' || OIr inathar 'entrails' ¶ P 344, EI 359 (*h₁eh₁tr- ≈ lung, internal organ'), Mn. 254-5, Dv. no. 256, F I 645, ≈ Vr. 680 (ON æðr < pScn *āðī + unc.: Ic æð, NNr æd 'small creek', interpreted by Vr. as 'Wasserader'), Ho. 9, Ho. S 4, Kb. 5, EWA I 54-7, OsS 3, ≈ KM 7, ≈ EI 359 (*h₁eh₁tr- ≈ 'lung, internal organ') || HS: S *°✓h̥tr > Ar hitār- (pl. hutur-) 'corde principale de la tente à laquelle on attache d'autres pour mieux la tendre' ¶ Fr. I 341, BK I 374 || Eg P/MK ħtr 'Strick, Seil', Eg Md/L/G ħtr v. 'bind together' > Cpt Sd ʒwtp̄ hōtər 'réunir, attacher, lier'; cp. Cpt Sd ʒετρε hεtre 'navel' (← 'navel string'); ?σ: Eg: fOK ħtr 'yoke of oxen', fXVIII 'span of horses; horses' > Cpt Sd ʒto ht̄o, Cpt B ʒθo ht̄h̄o 'horse' (Cpt θ→ Bj {R} hatāy id.) ¶ EG III 199-202, Fk. 180-1, Vc. 315-6, Ws. 400, Tk. I 304 || WCh: Su ɖugur v. 'darn (flicker)' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC 35; loss of the initial lr. in the AG lgs., as in Su {MtS} gwohar 'belt' [< HS *✓hgr id.] and in Mpn k̄r 'hunger' [< HS ✓h̥kr 'be hungry']) || A: ? T *jilt'ír (< **jilt'âr ~ **ilt'âr) 'root' > OT jiltiz, Osm {Rl.} يلديز jildiz, Kr jildiz, Chg {Rl.}, Uz ildiz, ET iltiz 𐰇 žildiz, Δ jildiz, StAlt žiltis, SY žiltis ~ jiltis, Shor čiltis, SY jiltis ~ jiltis, Kü {Rl.} jildis, Tf silid̄is, Yk silis id. ¶ T *j- < prosthetic *y-? ¶ Cl. 922, Rs. W 200, ET Gl 350, TL 109, DTS 267, KRPS 264, Rl. I 1495 and III 488, 521, Ra. 230 ◇ If the phonetically questionable T cognate is valid, the N rec. is *XiL̥t̥Vr̥, otherwise it is *XEt̥VR̥.

2611. *χaw̄ 'to rain, (??) 'to spurt (hervorspritzen, брызнуть)' > IE: Ht he(ω)u-, he(y)aw- n. 'rain' ¶ Pv. III 301-4, Ts. E I 235, 238-40 || HS: Eg: fP ħw.t, ħy.t, MK {Fk.} ħwyt n. 'rain', MK/NK/L ħwy, ħy

((Fk.) ḥwī) v. 'rain' (with 'the sky' as subject), as well as a mb Eg fMK ḥwγ v. 'flow, flood' and a mb Eg P/G ḥwγ, ḥγ n. 'flood (of a river\watercourse)' (× N *XōyE 'to swim, to float, to flow', q.v.) ¶ EG III 48-9, Fk. 165 || Ch: WCh: Sir {Sk.} ḥwī 'rain' ||| ECh: Smr {J} ʔ0 v. 'rain', {OS ← ʔ} ʔwā 'rain' ¶ ChC ¶¶ OS no. 1303 and Tk. I 46 (both: Eg, Ch) ||| A: T *°ab- v. 'spurt' (× N *qap∇ 'to stream, to flow'?) > OT U ȷ h.l. ab- v. 'spurt' (of blood) (Cl. considers it to be a misreading of aq in the Uyguric script) ¶ U2 27 (line 22), Cl. 4, DTS 1 ◇ Blz. EIAL 16 [no. 57] (IE, HS)..

2612. *χawī₁ʔ∇₁ 'drive, chase, pursue' > HS: S *°✓ ḥwω > Ar ḥawω- {Fr.} 'propulsio camelorum', {BK} 'action de faire marcher les chameaux' ¶ Fr. I 438, BK I 507 || Eg ḥwγ v. 'drive off (cattle)' (× Eg OK ḥwγ v. 'beat, strike', whence the double meaning 'Tiere schlagen und dadurch treiben') ¶ EG III 46-8, Fk. 165 || B *✓ hʔγ v. 'chase, pursue' > Ah əhi 'chasser devant soi rapidement', Tnsl, ETwl, Ty huγyət 'chasser' ¶ Fc. 541, Pr. H no. 441 ||| ? K *°χ|qeω- > G χeν- 'zurückweichen, sich zurückziehen' (← *v. 'be driven back'?) ¶ Chx. 2322 ||| IE *χχwe₁H^ω- v. 'pursue, chase' > AnIE *xwey- v. 'run, flee' (← *v. 'pursue' or ← *v. 'be driven \ chased \ pursued'?) > Ht huwa₁- /huγa- 'run, hurry', HrLw hwaya(n)ta or hu(i)γa(n)ta 'they ran' || NaIE *we₁θ₁- v. 'pursue, drive' (≠ {P} 'worauf losgehen, es erstreben, erjagen') (× N *°way∇ 'want, wish, strive for') > Av vī- (vayeⁱti, vyeⁱnti) 'pursue, chase', OI vēti ~ vayati 'follows, strives, leads, drives' ||| Gk Hm (F-)ύκη 'pursuit', Gk Crn Fύκει '(he) pursues' ||| Tc A wā-, B wāγa- 'will drive, lead' ||| ON inf. veiða, AS inf. wæðan to hunt, wander', OHG inf. weidōn {Kb., Schz.} 'to graze, to hunt', NHG inf. weiden 'to lead\drive to pasture; to graze'; ON veiðr 'hunt', AS wæð 'hunting; wandering, travelling', OHG weida {Kb.} 'prey (Beute), food (Futter), pasture', {Schz.} 'Beute, Fang, Futter, Weide', NHG Weide 'pasture' ||| Lt ls pres. vejū, inf. vūti v. 'drive\chase (away)', Ltv inf. vajāt 'verfolgen' | Sl *vojь > OCS вои војь 'warrior'; ⇨ [1] *vojinь id. > OCS воин воин, Cz, Slk vojín, R воин; [2] Sl *vojьna 'war' > OCS воина воина, SCr † vōjna, R война; [3] Sl *vojь-ska ~ *vojь-sko 'army' > OCS воиска воиска, Blg войска, SCr, Slv vójska, Cz, Slk vojsko, P wojsko, R войско, Uk вiйско ||| NaIE pp. *wī-tō- 'pursued' > OI {MW} vī-'ta- pp. 'approached, desired,

together with other forms with $*-\bar{i}-$ (Av $\nu \bar{i}-t a r-$ 'Verfolger, Nachjagender', etc.), provides ev. for a stem-final lr. (sc. the stem is a $\varepsilon e \ddot{t}$ -base). The original lr. must have been a light one (it yields zero in AnIE) with unknown vocalic coloring ($*H_X$ in my notation). Mayrhofer equates OI $\nu \bar{e} t i$ with Ht $\omega i \ddot{y} a-$ 'schicken, jagen', but it is unt. because Ht $\omega i \ddot{y} a-$ is actually $u-i \ddot{y} a-$ ('schicken' \leftarrow *'herschicken', acc. to Ts. W) with the px. $u-$ 'her', cp. $p-i \ddot{y} a-$ 'hinschicken' ¶¶ P 72-3, 1123-4, EI 208 ($*\omega e \ddot{i} (H)-$ 'go after'), Hirt IG II 108 (on $*-\bar{i}-$ as ev. for $\varepsilon e \ddot{t}$ -bases), M K III 255-6, MW 1004, WP I 79, F I 747-8, WH I 79 and II 713-4, Vr. 650-1, Ho. 382, 384, Sw. 200-1, Kb. 1161-2, Schz. 313, KM 846, Tp. P A-D 142-3, SchmB EV 75, StSS 719-56, Vs. I 334-5, Chrn. II 279, Glh. 678, Frn. 1185-6, 1267, Ad. 36, Ts. W 95, Pv. III 419-23 || **A** $*\bar{a} b \nabla$ ($= * \bar{a} b \nabla ?$) 'hunt; to hunt; wild game' (\times N $*\Gamma^{\circ} \omega \nabla$ 'wild sheep\goats', 'wild game'??) $>$ NaT $*\bar{a} b$ 'hunting, wild game' $>$ OT {Cl.} $\bar{a} \nu$ id., {DTS} $a b \sim a \nu$ 'hunting', OT Og [MhK] $\bar{a} \omega$ id., XwT XIII? $a \omega \sim a \nu$ id., 'wild game', Chg $\geq XV$ $a \omega$, MQp [CC] $a \nu$ 'hunting (venatio)', Tkm $\bar{a} \nu$, Tk $a \nu$ 'wild game, hunt', Tk $a \nu$, CrTt, Qzq, Nog, VTt $a \omega \sim a \nu$, Qmq $h a \omega \sim a \omega$ 'hunting', Uz $a \omega$, ET $a \nu \ddot{a} \omega \ddot{a} \omega \ddot{a} \omega \ddot{a} \omega$ 'wild game, hunt', Qrg \bar{u} 'hunt'; ? NaT $**a_{\cdot} b-$ $>$ Tk Δ {ET \leftarrow THDS} $a \nu-$ v. 'drive (away), chase' ¶ Cl. 3, DTS 1, 68, ET Gl 62-3, TL 417-8, THDS I 390, Rs. W 1 || M $*a_{\cdot} b a$ 'chase, hunt' $>$ MM [S, MA], WrM {MED} $a b a$ 'chase, hunt', HIM $a b$ {MED} id. {BMR} id., 'Jagd, Treibjagd', Brt $a b a$ 'Treibjagd, Jagd, Hetzjagd, Fang (ловля зверей)', MM [IM] $a \omega \sim a b$ 'battue', Kl {KRS} $a b a \omega b$ 'battue', {Rm.} $a \omega a$ 'Vogeljagd, Vogelfang'; MM [MA, IM] d. $a b a-l a-$ v. 'hunt' ¶ MED 1-2, BMR I 12-13, Chr. 19, KRS 20, KW 19, H 1, Ms. H 33, Pp. MA 93, T VM 105 || ? Tg $*\omega \bar{a}-$ ({S} $<$ $**a \omega \bar{a}-$) 'hunt, kill' $>$ Ewk, Neg, Lm A, Orc, Ud, Ul, Ork, Nn $\omega \bar{a}-$, Lm $m \bar{a}-$ 'kill, get game\catch (of hunt, fishing)', Sln, Crj $\omega \bar{a}-$, WrMc {Z} $b a-$, Mc Sb $\nu \bar{a}-$ 'kill' ¶ STM I 127-9, Z 1110, Y no. 739 ¶¶ Pp. VG 46, S CNM 10 (suggests to adduce Tg $*\omega \bar{a}-$) \diamond In A and in some IE lgs. there is semantic change 'drive\chase' \rightarrow v. 'hunt'. The IE stem-final light lr., unless it is of suffixal origin, provides ev. for a N stem-medial lr., which may be only $*?$, because this is the only lr. which both yields zero in AnIE and K and can be lost in S and Eg.

2613. $*Xay^{\circ} \bar{u}^{\circ}$ 'live' $>$ HS: WS $*\check{h} y \omega$ (G prm. $*-h y a \omega-$ $>$ CS $*-h y a y-$) v. 'live' $>$ Sb wuih $\check{h} y \omega$, Gz $\check{h} y \omega$ (pf. $\check{h} a y \omega a$, js. $-h y a \omega \sim -h y \bar{u}$), Sq {L} $\check{h} y^{\circ} \bar{y}^{\circ}$ ({DMü.} $\check{a}' s e$ 'le $\check{h} y e$ 'il vivra peut-être'), Hb $\check{h} u \omega$ (ip. $-h u \bar{e}$). Ph pf. $\check{h} \omega ?$. Ug $\check{h} \omega u$ $\neg \check{h} u u$. Amr {G}

✓ḥyy, IA הֵיָ, הֵיָ, הֵיָ ✓ḥyw|y G, BA אֵיָ ✓ḥyw|y G, JA [Trg.] יֵי ~ אֵיָ
 ✓ḥyw|y G, JEA {Sl.} יֵי ✓ḥyy G, Sr سَا ✓ḥyw|y G (ip. 3m سَا n-
 īhē ~ سَا n-ī<?>hē) 'live', Ar حَيَّ ✓ḥyy ~ ✓ḥyw G (pf. حَيَّ
 ḥayya ~ حَيَّ ḥayya, ip. -ḥyā) id., حَيَوَانٌ ḥayw-ān 'living, animal;
 life'; WS *ḥayy- adj. 'alive, living' > Hb, BA, JA יֵי ḥay, Ug ḥy, (AkSc)
 ḥayy-, Pun, IA ḥy, Amr {G} ḥayy-, Sr سَا ḥayy-ā (abs. سَا ḥay), Ar
 ḥayy-, Sb ih ḥy, Sq {L} ḥay id.; the substantivized pl. of the S adj.
 *ḥayy- means 'life': Hb pl. אֵיָ ḥay'yīm (sg. cs. יֵי, hē), Ph, Ug ḥym, BA
 יֵי ḥay'yīn, Ar حَيَاةٌ ḥayyāt- (sg. < pl. *ḥayy-āt-), Mh {Jo.} ḥyōt, Jb
 {Jo.} ḥyōt ¶ KB 295-7, KBR 307-10, GB 225-7, 906, A no. 911, Br.
 228, OLS 185-6, G A 19, Js. 454, Lv. T I 252-3, Sl. 453-4, Beyer AHG
 23, 27, JH 86-7, HJ 365-9, PS 1251-4, Fr. I 448-9, BK I 522-4, Hv.
 151-2, L G 252, L LS 171, Jo. M 196, Jo. J 122, BGMR 74-5 || C {AD SF}
 *✓ḥyw > Bj {R} ḥāy- scv. 'live, be healthy', ḥāy 'alive, living', {AD}
 ḥayīt 'situation', ? ṽ 'hiyu 'husband' (← *'person' ← *'living being?') ||
 EC: Sa {Wlm.} ḥeaw 'people, Menschen', ḥe'awto 'person'; ? Sa {R}
 ḥay- 'live' (if {JR} h is [ḥ] and unless it is a loan from EthS; the word
 may have merged with the C reflex of N *how'i' 'become, appear',
 q.v.) || SC: Irq {MQK} ḥawāta 'husband, male', {Wh.} ḥáwāta 'man,
 husband', Brn {Mnh.} ḥawata 'Mann' ¶ AD SF 156, R WBd 132-3, R S
 II 200, MQK 49 || ? Eg fp ḥw 'food' (≡σ: Fr viande, connected with
 vivre 'live') ¶ EG III 44, Fk. 160 || ? Ch: Bdm {Tlb.} ai ju 'live' ¶ Tlb.
 453 ¶¶ Coh. 103, Cal. 175-6, IS I 242 (with references to earlier
 studies), AD SF 156 || IE *Heyu- / *Hejw- > NaIE *ayu- / ayw- 'life' > OI
 'āyu 'life', 'āyu-h 'vital power', 'āyu-h 'lebendig, beweglich', Av 'āyū,
 gen. yaoš (< *Hēyu- / *Hyew-) 'lifetime, lifespan' || Gk αἰών 'vital
 power, life, eternity', Gk Cp αἰεί 'ever', Gk Cp ὑφ'αἰεζ' 'αἰεζ' 'during one's lifetime' || Al {Jokl} eshë 'Zeitraum' ({Jokl} < *aywesyā)
 || L aevus, aevum 'lifetime, time of life, period of time; eternity' ||
 OIr áes 'life, age' || Gt aiws, OHG ēwo, ēwa 'eternity' ⇨ ēwīg
 'eternal' (> NHG ewig id.), ON ævi, æfi 'eternity, lifetime'; Gt aiw
 'ever' (in the construction ni ... aiw 'never'), ON æ 'always', AS ā, ō
 'ever, always', OHG io, NHG je 'ever' || Tc A āym- {P} 'spirit, life' ¶ P
 17, Mn. 7, M K I 77, F I 35-6, 49, WH I 21, Fs. 30-1, Kb. 211-3, 506,
 Schz. 126-7, 175, EWA II 1175-8, Vr. 680, 682, Ho. 1, Jokl LKU 34, Wn.
 I 173, EI 352 and 548 (*'h_αoyus / gen. *'h_αoyus 'vital force, life, age of

vigour') || **A:** NaT *öy > StAlt öй öү, Tlt {Rl.}, Qmn {B} öү, Tv өй öү 'moment, time, season', Tb {B} öү 'time'. IS adduces Yk öyün 'future, time', which is a loan from Tg (F below) ¶ Rl. I 1172, BT 118, B DK 238, B DChT 142, TvR 333 || M *üye 'generation, time' > MM [HI] üye 'generation', [S] uye(n) üye(n) 'old, earlier', WrM {MED} üye, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt üye 'time, epoch, period, age; generation', Kl {KRS} үй id., {Rm.} üya 'Generation', HIM {BMR} 'generation', Dg {Mr.} uie 'generation'; the meaning 'generation' may have been a result of a merger of homonyms: M *üye 'time' × M *üye 'joint of body' ¶ MED 1001-2, BMR III 391, Chr. 495, KRS 547, KW 456, Ms. H 109, H 167, Mr. D 231 || Tg *uy∇-, *uyu-(n-) 'life, living' > Ul ^uyu, ^uyun- 'living', Nn Nh ^uyũ, Nn B uyu(n-) ~ uyз(n-) 'living, alive', Ork uyu(n-) 'living; a living being; life', WrMc {Z} вэйхунь 'living', 'provision', вэйчжү- ѡеүзү- v. 'resuscitate'; Tg б> Yk öyün 'future, life, lifetime, time' ¶ STM II 252, Sun. UJ 245, Z 1113, 1116, Antn. YSK 49 || pJ {S} *зёзё- 'grow old' > OJ òyù-, J: T/Kg oí- K òì- ¶ S QJ no. 1337, Mr. 740 ¶¶ SDM 1043-4 (pA *òye 'life, age' > Tg uyu-, M *üye, T *öy, pJ *зёзё-), DQA no. 1560 (id.), IS I 242, Oz. MN 656 (M, J) ◇ Blz. EIAL 16 [no. 58] (HS, NaIE) ◇ Cf. AD LRC åno. 62: IE, S; IS I 242-3: HS, IE, A. The initial *ö ~ *ü in Altaic is due to regressive as. of the kind called «Altaic vowel breaking» bringing about Altaic ascending diphthongs. The source of the ass. infl. must have been both rounded and palatal, sc. N *ü ◇ Gr. II *247 (*ayu 'live') (IE, A, J, sCK, EA).

2614. *XôyE 'to swim, to float, to flow' > **HS:** Eg MK ħwү v. {EG} 'flow' (of a river) ('fließen, fluten'), {Fk.} 'overflow, surge up' (of the Nile), amb Eg P/G ħwү 'flood' (× N *Xaw∇ 'to rain, to spurt' [q.v.]) ¶ EG III 48, Fk. 165 || **U** *uye- ~ *oye- v. 'swim' > F u i - 'swim, float', Es u j u -, Δ o j u -, o j o - 'swim' | pLp {Lr.} *∇ōjз v. 'swim, float' > Lp N {N} ∇uoggjâ-/-j-, Lp L {LLO} ∇uodja-, Lp Kld ∇ūjje-, Lp Nt ∇uojje- id., Lp S {Hs.} ∇uoje- 'swim' | pMr {Ker.} *uyə- > Er ye- uye-, Mk ye- uyə- id. | Chr: L ия- iya-, E iya-, H iä- id. | pPrm *uy- > Vt uya-, Z uy- id. || pObU *wūy- 'swim, float' > (1) pVg *(w)ūy- > Vg: T oy-, LK (w)oy-, UK/P wuy-, UL/Ss uy- id., (2) pOs *uy- > Os: K üy-, frq. üyit-, D uyit- v. 'crawl' (of a snake) | Hg úsz- v. 'swim' || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *u- id. > Ne F Ly ηū-, Slq: Tm (aor. 1s) u'ag-, Tz (aor. 1s) ūñǎg- id., Tz {KKIH} ū-, Mt {Hl.} *u;,- v. 'swim' ¶¶ Coll. 64, UEW 542, Sm. 536 (U *ux̣i- 'swim' > Sm *u-, FU, FP *uji-, Ugr *ũjĩ-), It. no. 211, Lr. no. 1422, Lgc. no. 8748, H. 1448, O. I. C. 206, S. D. 20, I. UK 42, 2. 100, I. 20, UKH

192, Ker. II 173-4, Hl. M no. 1108 || **A** {SDM97} *oye|o (or *uyо) v. 'swim' > M *oyi-mu- 'swim' (unless it is *фoyi-mu-?) > WrM {MED} oima-, oimuch- v. 'swim, swim across, ford', HIM {MED, BMR} oймо- id., Brt W oймо- id., Brt oймо- 'ein Fluß durchwaten', Kl {KRS} eem- v. 'bathe, swim', {Rm.} om- 'baden, schwimmen', Ord om- v. 'wade', as well as possibly M {DQA} *üyi- v. 'sink (ertrinken); put in a pot for boiling' (> WrM {MED} цц(ц)- v. 'put [meat, vegetables, etc.] into boiling water or soup in order to cook it', HIM чй- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'ertrinken [тонуть]', Ord ü-, Mnr H {SM} wī- v. 'put [meat, vegetables, etc.] into boiling water or soup in order to cook it') and M *üyer 'inundation, flood' (> MM [HI] {Ms.} цyer, WrM {NED} цyer id., HIM чер {MED} id., {BMR} 'Überschwemmung. Hochwasser [наводнение, половодье]), Brt чер id., 'разлив реки', Kl {KRS} чйер id., {Rm.} üyг 'Hochwasser, Strömung, starker Strom im Fluße, Überschwemmung', Ord üyer 'inondation') ¶ MED 604, 999, 1002, BMR II 464, III 392, 405, Chr. 351-2, 496. KRS 421, 647, KW 304, 456. SM 48, Ms. H 109, Ms. O 515, 754 || Tg *uy▽- v. 'swim' (of birds) > Ewk PT/Y/Urm uyу-, Ewk B uyу-, Ewk Y/Nr/Skh/Urm uñу-, Neg oyuyан- ~ oхuyан- v. 'swim' (of a waterfowl), Ud X {Shn.} uyан- ~ wuyан-, Ud B/Sm {Krm.} wayан- v. 'swim (on the surface of water)', Nn KU oyana- id. (of waterfowls and mammals) ¶ STM II 25, Krm. 217 || pJ *zèyènk- or *zèyuànk- v. 'swim' > OJ oy(у)og-, J: T oyóg-, K óyóg-, Kg òyòg-, Ns ògь-, Ht ù-, Y ùн- ¶ S QJ no. 74, Mr. 744 ¶¶ SDM 1043 (pA *òye 'swim' > Tg *üy▽, M *üyi, *oyi-mu-, J *zèyènk- or *zèyuànk-), DQA no. 1559 (id.), S AJ 220 no. 209, 238 no. 90, 267 no. 74, 277 no. 70, MED 604-5, KW 304, SM 182, STM II 253, Pp. VG 140, Rm. EAS I 98 ◇ The U and the A (M and Tg) stems were equated by many authors: Rs. UA 42, Coll. 147, AD LRC no. 81, IS MS 355, Rédei (UEW 542), and others. The Eg cognate has not been adduced so far ◇ ≈ Gr. II *377 (*oye 'swim') (U, A, J + err. Ko).

2615. *Xažü▽, *XažUPE, *XažEw▽ or *Xaž₁▽₁wE 'to cover, to spread', 'soft stuff spread on the ground as bedding' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'soft stuff [fell, feathers, hay]) > **HS:** S *^oħašw-, *^o✓ħš¹y|w¹ > Ar ħašw- 'pailles, crin, plume, tout ce qui sert à remplir un coussin\oreiller', ħašīyat- (pl. ħašā?-) 'matelas, lit' ¶ BK I 119 || **U:** FU *a|ož▽ 'bed (ein mit etwas bedeckter, zum Liegen [Schlafen] geeigneter Platz)' > Prm *wóí ((LG) *wóí(-) 'bed, bedding, litter (spread for animals to lie upon)' > Vt валес váles 'feather bed. bed. mattress'. Z vóí /

vóíí- 'fell of reindeer or elk', uv vóí 'bedding (made of cloth)' (uv is 'bottom'), Z vóíʒs, Z USs ǫ́íʒs 'bedding, litter (for animals to lay upon)', Z Δ vóí-paś, Z USs ǫ́í-paś 'bed' (paś is 'coat'), Prmk oípaś, Yz 'uípaś 'bedding' || Vg {Kn.}: T á'íá:t 'bed', Ss ǫ́íá t-yīw, ǫ́íá t-pum 'hay as bedding (Bettheu)' (yīw is 'wood', pum is 'grass, hay') | Hg á gɥ 'bed' ¶ UEW 4, Sm. 542 (FU, FP *oóđi, Ugr *ǫ́đĩ 'bed'), MF 74, LG 62, WVD VII 28 || D *a|- v. 'spread, cover' > Kn a|ur v. 'enclose, cover, overspread', OTl, Tl a|am u v. 'spread, extend', Knd a|mi v. 'level, spread out' ¶¶ D no. 307, Km. 285 [no. 45] || A: Tg *elbe- v. 'cover' > Ewk ʒlbʒ- 'cover a tent with reindeer fells or cloth', Neg ʒlbʒ- id., 'cover oneself with sth.', Orc ʒbbʒ, Ud ʒgbʒ- v. 'roof', Ul ʒlbʒmʒ 'foot gear', ʒlbʒnʒ 'a sacking cover for fish and meat', Nn KU ʒlbʒ 'roof', Ul, Nn Nh ʒlbʒnʒ 'sail', WrMc {Z} элбэ- v. 'roof, thatch, cover' ¶ STM II 445, Z 78-9 || T *ǫ́íü- > OT äšü- v. 'cover, envelop' ¶ Cl. 256 ◇ In the N etymon (*Xaǫ́üʔǫ́, *Xaǫ́UʔE, *Xaǫ́Ewǫ́, or *Xaǫ́ǫ́wE) the cns. *w or the reflex of the labialized vw. is preserved in S *oħašw- and in Tg *elbe- (*w or *Uʔ > Tg *b), but lost in U and D. OT äšü- suggests that *Xaǫ́üʔǫ́ or *Xaǫ́UʔE are the preferable reconstructions. Tg *e- and T *ǫ́- (rather than *a-) are explained by as. caused by the front vw. of the second or third syllables.

2616. *ya 'which?', 'what kind of?' > K: Sv yä- ǫ́ ya- 'who?': Sv UB nom. yär, erg. yärd, dat. yä-s, gen. iša ~ yeša, Sv L nom. ya-r, gen. ya-š, Sv UB nom. yä-r, gen. i-ša, Ln nom. (y)är ¶ Top. SJ 83, TK 637, Dn. s.v. yar || IE: NaIE *yo- 'which?', rel. prn. 'which' > OI rel. prn. 'yas, 'yā, 'yad 'welcher', Av yō id. || Gk ὅς, ἥ, ὅ id. || Clt {Matas.} *yo id. > Gl digiionti-io '(?) who worships', CltI rel. prn.: ios nom. sg., iom accus. sg., iomuī dat. sg. || Sl *jakъ(jь) 'what kind of?, which?', *jakъ 'how?': Sl *jakъ(jь) > OCS ѡкѡ jakъ id., Blg як, SCr jāk m. (jāka f., jāko ntr.), Cz, Slk jaký, LLs †, P jakі, Uk який, R S який 'which?', 'what kind of?'; Sl *jakъ 'how?' > OCS ѡко jako, P jak, Uk, Blr як id., P jako 'as' (OCS and P jako resulted from merger of *jakъ with Sl *ako 'as') ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + unc. Ht -ya pc. 'and, also' ¶ Sl *jakъ(jь) and *jakъ are derived from the IE descendant of N *ya with the sx *-k- (ffd. see N *Ka, substantivizing, singulative, or distinctive [singling out] prn.) ¶ P 283, Matas. E 436, ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 ¶ Cp. N *ʔǫ́yǫ́ 'which?', 'what?' (q.v.) || A *ua > M *ua ~ *ua-n 'what?' > MM ПсVl иа 'what?' (иа kiliti hi

'what have I done?'), [L, IsV, IM] *цан* 'what?', [MA] id., 'what ...!' (exclamatory: *цан öter* 'how quick [he is]!', *какой быстрый!*'), as well as Brt *яа*, Dx *цан* 'what?, which?', Ba *цаη* 'what?' (or from **цацун?*); M **цаца-* interr. v. 'was tun?' > WrO {Krg.} *ца-* ~ *цā-*, HIM, Kl {KRS} *яа-* *цā-* id., WrM {MED} d. *цагакі-* id., 'how to act?', 'what to do?', HIM {MED, BMR} *яа-х* (inf.) id., {BMR}, Brt *яа-ха* (inf.) 'what to do?'; M **ца-цун* 'what?, what kind of?, which?' > MM [HI] *яа-ц(н)*, WrM {MED} *цагц(н)*, HIM {MED, BMR} *юц(н)*, Brt *юцн*, Mnr H {SM} *цāн* id., {T} *цāη* 'what?', Ord *цū* id., *цūн* ~ *цūн* 'which?', Kl {KRS} *юн цун*, {Rm.} *цūн* 'what?', WrO *цунн* 'what?, why?' ¶ Pp. L III 77, Pp. MA 387, 450, Ms. H 110, MED 423-5, BMR IV 448, 452, 454, Chr. 785, 787, 789-90, Lg. VMI 73, SM 487, T 337, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Ms. O 406-7, Krg. 700-1, KRS 707-8, KW 218, 221 || Tg **ца* 'what?' > Ewk *ē*, Sln *ī*, Neg *ēwa*, Orc *цāwу*, Ud {STM} *цэwэηi* id., {Krm.} *цэ?у* 'what?', 'who?' (of animals), WrMc {Z} *я* 'what?, who?'; Tg **ца-* interr. verb ('was tun?') > Ewk, Neg *ē-*, Lm *ā-*, Orc, Ud *ца-* ~ *цэ-* id. ¶ STM I 288, Krm. 243, Z 178 || **D** **цā* 'what?, which?' > Tm, Ml *цā* 'what?', Td *e·θ* (obl. *e·n-*) 'which person\thing?', *e-/ey-* 'which?, what?' interr. adj., Kn *цā* 'what?, which?', Kdg, Klm *e-*, Tl *e-* 'which?', Knd *aye* 'which?, what?'; Tm *цāvan*, Ml *цāvan* ~ *ēvan*, Kt *e∨n*, Kn *цāvanу*, Kdg *e·∨əⁿ*, Tl *e∨āđу* 'which man?', Nkr *ēn* 'who?' (m.), Gdb *eyin* 'which man?', *eynd* 'who?', Gnd *benond* 'who?, which man?', Knd *ēn* 'who?', Krx *endr* 'what?' ¶¶ D no. 5151 ¶¶ Knd *aye* may go back to demonstr. **ʔa* + **ца* (like HS **ʔayy-*) || **HS**: ? Ch: CCh: Msg *yà* 'where?' ||| WCh: Hs *yāyà* 'how?' (× N **ʔāy∇* 'which?', 'what?') ¶ ChC ||| This etymon may be an *AdS* of the relative pronoun **yo-* in IE and FU (see N **ʔy¹iyō* 'which' [rel. prn.], 'that which, related to'). N **ya sE* (with the dem. prn. **sE*) is an *AdS* of IE *-is- (of cmpr.) and of the K genitive ending *-is̄ (see N **sE* 'he\she' and N **ʔy¹iyō* 'which') ◇ IS I 277-8 (**j∧* 'which, what kind of' [interr. and rel.]), Gr. I 225-9 ("interrogative J" in IE, U, A, Gil + unc. Ai) ◇ Cf. N **ʔāy∇* '↑'.

2617. ? **yE* (= **y¹i¹*?) 'these, they' (deictic marker of animate plural) > **HS**: B {Pr.} **ī-*, nominal px. of m. pl.: {Pr.} **ī-цūnāb* 'feathers' ↔ sg. **ā-цūnāb* 'feather' (> Ah {Pr.} pl. *iцūnab* ↔ sg. *āцūnāb*), **ī-dihāran* 'feet' ↔ sg. **ā-dihār* 'foot' (> Ah {Pr.} pl. *i-dārān* ↔ sg. *ađār*, Kb {Dl.} pl. *iđarцān* ↔ sg. *ađarц*), Tw, Shl, etc. *i-* (with allomorphs depending on the environment); according to Vc. ADB, this px. goes

back to a df. art. of m. pl. ¶ AiM 211-2, Pr. M IV-V 14-6, 50-63, Dl. 180 || Eg O y-, px. of pl. in dem. pronouns: yprn 'these' m., yprt n 'these' f. (↔ prn 'this' m., trn 'this' f.), ypf 'those' m., yptf 'those' f. (↔ sg.: pf m., tf f.), ypw 'these' m., yptw 'these' f. (↔ sg.: py > pw m., ty > tw f.) ¶ Lpr. 68 || C: Bj R yā / ā 'the' nom. pl. m., yē ~ yi / ē ~ i accus. pl. m. (yā, yē, yi before vowels and lrs., otherwise ā, ē, i) (↔ ω ū / ū 'the' nom. sg. m., ω ō / ō accus. sg. m.), Bj {Rop.} yi 'the' pl. (before nouns beginning with h-), i ~ ε 'the' pl. (before disyllables with a long vw.) || EC {Zab.} *-∇y(-), marker of pl. > Sml Me {Lm.} -āy-tī (-tī is an article of f. sg.) (nin 'man' - pl. nim-āy-tī, luk 'leg' - pl. lu?-āy-tī, ilmo 'child' - pl. ilmaδ-āy-tī), Arr -áy ~ -éy (sirg-at 'mad person' - pl. sirg-áy, kede-té 'bee' - pl. ked-éy, tōma-té 'waterpot' - pl. tōm-áy), Elm -ay (óna-te 'fruit' - pl. ónay, hárúwáte 'girl' - pl. hárúway, élete 'jackal' - pl. élay), Or -eyyi / -iyye (obolēssa 'brother' - pl. oboleyyi, Or B dāha 'rock, stone' - pl. dahāyye, wāti 'baby calf' - pl. watíyye), Kns {BISO} -iyya / -aya (ap-itta 'fire' - pl. ap-iyya, okk-atta 'cow' - pl. okk-aya), Gdl -ayya, -iyya (qím-ayt 'old man' - pl. qím-ayya, hál-itt 'stick' - pl. hál-iyya), Sd -∇yye (bal-ičča 'gazelle' - pl. baliyye, og-ēssa 'doctor' - pl. o'gēyye), Ya -ai ~ -ay ~ -ey (ilmámu 'tear' - pl. ilmámay, xoxormōra 'penis' - pl. xoxormōráí, moržī? 'sinew' - pl. moržey) ¶ Rop. 9, R BedS 60-1, Zab. MNPC 77, 113-4, 118-9, 141-2, 156, 169-70, 190, 241-2, 296 || ? pre-S morpheme (*-ʳʲi?) of nom. plural, which followed the case ending and later merged with it into nom. pl. *-ū, accus. pl. *-ī, gen. pl. *-ī; the palatality of the accus. pl. *-ī (contrasting with the accus. sg. *-a) points to a palatal element within the original marker of pl., so that the prehistory of the S case/number sxs. may be conjectured as follows: accus. sg. *-a + pl. *-ʳʲi > accus. pl. *-ī, nom. sg. *-u + pl. *-ʳʲi > nom. pl. *-ū, gen. sg. *-u + pl. *-ʳʲi > gen. pl. *-ī || IE *-j, plural ending of the animate gender (> NaIE m. and f.) of dem. and interr. pronouns, e.g. *tō-j 'these' (animate gender) > OI tē, Lt tiē, OCS ТН ti, OR ТѢ tě, R те, Gt pai id., Gk B/D/Hm τοί (m. pl. of the df. art.; Gk A/I οί id. was created on the analogy of m. sg. ó), L iς-tī 'those' (thou-deixis), as well NaIE m. pl. locative *tō-j-su 'in these' > OI 'tēϛ, OCS ТѢϛ těϛ id., Gk Hm τοῖσι, Gk A τοῖς (dat. pl. of the df. art.). The form *tōj is specifically connected with the animate (> masc.) gender and not with the inanimate (neuter) one (where the marker of plural is IE *-h₂ > *-ə [NaIE *-ā goes back to the

thematic vowel + *h]). In some dialects the *-o_l-form of nom. pl. m. spread to the system of nouns and adjectives (declension of the *-o-stems), whence such forms as Gk λύκοι 'wolves', θεοί 'gods', OL ποῖοι 'peoples', L lupī, OCS вѣцнѣ ѡлѣци 'wolves', L vir-ī, and OIr fir (< *viro_l) 'men', Gt blindai 'blind' (m. pl.) || Ht k-ē 'these' (pl. anim. of the dem. prn. {Rsk.} kā-s), ap-ē 'those', HrLw īi, pl. anim. of the dem. prn. ī-s ¶¶ Bks. 200-6, Brg. KVG 390-1, 406-6, Brand. GS II 76-7, Vnd.² II 78-9 (Sl *tě > OCS тѣти, OR тѣтѣ), Rsk. 68-70, Mer. SGA 322-3 || | U {Coll.} *-y_i/-ʔi (> -i-, -i_l-), marker of pl. in oblique cases > FU *-y, pl. ending in obl. cases: F koulu-i-sa 'in schools', kaloi-sata 'from fishes', Lp N sul'lu-i-d accus. 'islands' (from sulolo 'island') || ? Sm {AD} *-y/*-ʔi-, (+ppas.) {Hl.} *-y- (marker of plural): Kms {Kü.} žaša-ʔi-m 'rivers' (accus. pl.), žaša-ʔi-n 'of rivers' (↔ sg. žaša-n 'of [a\the] river'), žaša-ʔyeʔ 'rivers' (nom. pl.), possibly also Ne {Coll.} ηudiʔ 'hands' (gen. pl.) (↔ ηuda 'hand'), Tv {Coll.} kindai 'smoke' (accus. pl.) (↔ kinta [nom. sg.]), En {Coll.} yohēʔ 'rivers' (accus.-gen. pl.) (↔ yaha [nom. sg.]); +ppas.: -y-na 'my ...s' (*-y-pl. + *-na 'my' with pl. nouns) > Mt {Hl.} *-n|nE (*ayənE [Mt M {Sp.} аине] 'my children') ¶¶ Hj. US 233, It. LC 41-6, Kü. KJ 383, Kü. SUKF I 31-8, Coll. CG 297-8, Hl. M 145 || | A: Tg *-ye, pl. of the interr. prn. *η^ruy^r 'who?' > Ewk, Neg nī-yə ~ nī-yə, Lm nī-yə ~ nī-yə, Orc nī-yə '¿quiénes?' ¶ STM 660 ◇ IS interpreted this N etymon as a sx, which is untenable, because in the descendant lgs. it functions both in the word-final and in the word-initial position (the latter in Eg (y-) and B) and as a separate word in Bj, which proves that N *yE was movable, and hence it was a separate word ◇ ≈ IS I 12 (IE, U, HS), Gr. I 108-10 ("plural I" in IE, U, CK, EA, unc. Gil).

2618. *y_i 'he', (?) 'that' (anaphoric) > HS *y_i- 'he' (verbal px. of 3m) > S *y_i- id. > Ak i-, pWS *y_i- (with verbs having a thematic vw. *a) > BHb yi-, ye- (e.g. 𐤎𐤍𐤅𐤍 way^ryebk_la_r 'and he wept'), Gz ya-; the vw. *-a- in Ar ya- and in BHb yā- (𐤎𐤍𐤅𐤍 way^ryāk_om 'and he stood up') is due to analogical generalization of the vw. in the paradigm of the verbal personal pxs. ¶ Hz. VP 35-48 | N *y_i may be also present in S *miy^r 'who?' (possibly from N *^omi y_i = N *mi 'what?' + N *y_i 'he', see ffd. N *mi 'what?') || B *ī-, verbal px. of 3m > i- in modern B lgs. || C *y_i-, verbal px. of 3m: Bj (?)i-; EC: Sa, Af, Rn y-, Sml yi-, y-, ya- (-a- in yaqān 'knows' and yahay 'is' goes back to a px. of imperfectiveness ←

aux. verb, / AD IPCV), Dsn $\text{y}i-$, $\text{y}-$; Ag: Aw $\text{y}i-$; C $*\text{y}i-$ is probably present in Or $i-sa$ 'he' (the marked nominative $i-n-ni$), Aw $\acute{z}-n$ 'this', in SC: Irq {Mous} $\text{?in}\acute{o}s$, $\text{?}\acute{i}s$, pl. $\text{?in}\acute{o}\text{?}\acute{i}n$, $\text{?in}\acute{i}n$, {Wh.} $\acute{i}n\acute{o}s \sim \acute{i}n\acute{u}s$ 'he, she', pl. $\acute{i}n\acute{o}\text{?}\acute{i}n$ 'they', Grw $\acute{i}n\acute{o}(s)$, pl. $\acute{i}n\acute{o}\text{?}\acute{i}n$, $\acute{i}n\acute{i}n$, Alg in , pl. ina , Brn ina 'he, she', pl. $iney$ 'they' ¶ Zab. VC, AD KJ, AD IPCV, Hz. AL 21-2, PH 259-62, Grg. 22, PG 42-4, To. DL 200-2, Wh. 57, Mous GI 112 || NrOm: Hrr {CR} $\text{y}i$, Zl/Gf {C}, Wl {LmS} \bar{i} , Male {AzA} $\text{?}\acute{i}$ 'he', Bsk {Bnd.} $\text{?}\acute{i}\text{y}$ 'he', $i\text{y}$ 'his' ¶ CR H 630, LmS 92, 273-4, AzA 80-2, C SO 38, 48, Bnd. MO 11 || Ch {Sch.} $*-i$, marker of definiteness: Dr $\text{g}\acute{a}m-\acute{i}$: 'the ram' (\leftrightarrow $\text{g}\acute{a}m$ 'ram'), Zr $\text{g}\acute{i}m\bar{a}n-i$ 'the husband' (\leftrightarrow $\text{g}\acute{i}m\bar{a}n$ 'husband'), EDng $\acute{a}k-\acute{i}$ 'the fire' (\leftrightarrow $\acute{a}k\acute{o}$ 'fire') ¶ Sch. ED 158-60 || IE $*\text{?e}\acute{i}n-/\text{?}i$ (or $*\text{?}\acute{h}e\acute{i}n-/*\text{?}\acute{h}i-$?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)' (\times N $*\text{?}\acute{h}i$ 'iste' or 'hic') > OI $a'y-am$ m., GAv $ay-\bar{e}m$ m., OI $i'y-am$ f., OI $i-'d-am$ ntr., OI $i'm-am$, OPrs $i\text{m}am$ m. accus. 'eum' || Gk Cp $\acute{\epsilon}v$ 'eum, eam' || Li-s m., $i-d$ ntr., $e-a$ f. (dem. pronouns 'he/it/she', 'this/that') || OIr $\acute{e} \sim \acute{h}\acute{e}$ 'he' ($< *i-s$), $e\acute{d} \sim \acute{h}e\acute{d}$ ($< *id$ or $*id-\bar{a}$) 'it', pl. $\acute{h}\acute{e}$ || Gt $i-s$ 'he', accus. $i\text{r}-a$, ntr. $i\text{t}a$ 'it', pl. $e\acute{i}s$ 'they', ORu eR , iR , $i\bar{a}R$ rel. 'that, which', ON $e\acute{s}$, later $e\acute{r}$, OHG $e\acute{r}$ 'he', $i\acute{z} \sim e\acute{z}$ 'it', NHG $e\acute{r}$ m. 'he', $e\acute{s}$ ntr. 'it' || Lt $j\acute{i}-s$ 'he', $j\acute{i}$ 'she' || Sl $*j-$ dem. 'is, ille', rel. 'which': m. nom. $*j\text{b}$, f. nom. $*j\text{a}$, ntr. nom.-accus. $*j\text{e}$ > OCS, OR m. $\text{H}i$, f. $\text{I}a$ $j\text{a}$, ntr. $\text{I}e$ $j\text{e}$; Sl $*j-$ in the obl. cases: OCS gen. m.\ntr. $\text{I}e$ Γ O $j\text{e}$ $g\text{O}$ 'of him, of it', dat. m.\ntr. $\text{I}e$ M Oy $j\text{e}$ $m\text{u}$ 'to him, to it', etc. || AnIE: HrLw $i:-$, nom. $i:-s$ 'this' (Mer. HHG 61-7); but Ld $-i-$ (enclitic px. of the 3rd pers.) does not necessarily belong here: it looks like a variant of a more typical $-a-$ id. (Mer. SGA 319: "A fianco di $-a-$ [in lidio] compare qualche volta una forma di $-i-$... Si può provvisoriamente accettare che si tratti d'una variante per evoluzione fonetica") ¶¶ P 281-3, Bks. 202, M K I 13, 46, 86, M E I 103, WH I 720-1, F I 726, Fs. 296, Vr. 105, EWA II 1092-1107, LG § 358, Thr. §§ 25, 405, Frn. 194, ESSJ VIII 204-5, Gsm. LW 129 || K $*\text{?}\acute{h}i$ 'that' (distal deictive stem), 'he' > G $i-s$ 'he; that', $i-gi$ id., Mg $i-$, Lz $hi-$, Sv $i-$ 'that' (\times N $*\text{?}\acute{h}i$ 'iste' or 'hic', q.v. ffd.) || A $*i$ > T $*-i/*-I$ 'his\her\their' (after cnss.; $*-i$ and $*-I$ are distributed acc. to the palatal harmony of vowels; in lgs. with labial harmony of vws. there are additional allomorphs $-ü/-u$) > OT, MQp [CC], XwT, Chg $-i/-I$, Tkm, CrTt, ET Δ , Nog, Qq, StAlt $-i/-I$, Qzq, Xk $-l/-I$, VTt $-b/-\text{b}$, Tk $-i/-I/-\acute{u}/-u$, Az, Ggz, Qmq, Qrg, Tv, Tf $-i/-I/-\acute{u}/-u$, Bsh $-b/-\text{b}/-\acute{b}/-\acute{b}$, Kr T/G $-i/-I/-u$, Yk $-ä/-a/-\acute{o}/-\acute{o}$, Chv $-\text{b}$, (stem-final vw. $-a$ or $-e$ + ppa. >) $-и$,

(after geminated cnss.) --и; ? Blq in0l 'that'; the T allomorph *-si / *-sI 'his\her' (after vowels) is of more complicated origin (probably N *sE 'he\she' [q.v.] + vw. *-I/i induced by the postcons. allomorph) ¶ Ktw. PLA 46-7, Bz. BT 1-17, Rs. MTS 21-5, Dmt. KP ∇, Sev. KP ∇, PhTF ∇, Pokr. GJ 117, Mag. 198, Ra. MTJ 22 || M *i- 'he' (gen. *i-nu, in other cases *i-ma-, which goes back to the N accusative construction *yi mA 'him') > MM, WrM i-nu 'his', i ma-, stem of the obl. cases of 'he'; *-i 'his' > PCIWrM -i id.; gen. *i-nu > Dg Cc {Pp.} īη ~ īĩ̃ 'he', gen. ińī, as well as WrM i nu (focalizing marker of the theme) ¶ Pp. IM 214-5, MED 412 ¶¶ ≈ DQA no. 582 *i (a deictic √; T, M i- 'he' + deictic *i- in Ko and J; no distinction between the reflexes of N *yi 'he' and N *h'i 'iste') ◇ Cf. IS I 270-2 (combines together N *yi 'he', N *h'i 'iste', and N *h'e' 'this' as variants of the same word), Gr. I 81-5 ("third-person I ~ E" and a similar "pronoun/demonstrative" in IE, U, A, Gil, and Ai).

2619. *yi 'a couple' (inanimate) ([in descendant lgs.] → a marker of dual) > IE: the NaIE ending of dual (ntr.) *-o-ǵ / *-i(:): [1] NaIE ntr. *-o-ǵ (of *-o-stems) (*-o- belonging to the stem): OI yu'gē 'two yokes', OCS HZĚ izě, [2] NaIE *-i(:) of consonantic stems: Av v īsa't-i, Gk F λκατ-ι, L v i g i n t -ī 'twenty', OCS r HMENH imen-i 'two names', TĚΛECH těles-i 'two bodies'; [3] NaIE *-aǵ, nom.-accus. du. of *ā-stems m., f.: OI 'aśvē 'two mares', OIr tuaitĥ 'two peoples' (sg. tuath 'people') (< pCl̄t *toytaǵ), Lt rankì, OCS pAУĚ račě 'two hands'. Bks. 194-5 reconstructs the IE dual ending of nom. ntr. as *-iH₁ (sc. *-iHχ) - mainly on the ev. of NaIE *-ī in OI (akṣī 'eyes'), which would suggest N *yiH∇, but since this IE lr. has no counterpart in S and Eg, I am inclined to suppose that the length of i in OI is of analogical origin and does not go back to any ancient lr. ¶ Brg. KVG 388-9 || HS: S *-ay, the marker of accus.-gen. dual > Ar -ay, -ay-ni accus.-gen. dual (ʔibn-ayni accus.-gen. 'two sons', ʔibn-ay accus.-gen. cs. 'two sons of ...'), with loss of case distinction: BHb -'ayim du. (st. abs.) (𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 yō'm-ayim 'two days'), -īē du.\pl. cs. (𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓 qar,nē 'horns of ...'), OAk -ī-n (ṣalmīn annīn 'diese beide Bildnisse'), Ak OA -ēn (šēnēn patītēn 'two open shoes') ¶ Br. AG § 69, Sd. G 76 [§ 61] || Eg -ωy du. masc., -ty du. fem. (nominal sxs.): zn.ωy 'two brothers', zn.ty 'two sisters' || ? Ch: Hs D/Dm {Vc.} -ay, -āyē, dual sx: fantaziye 'zwei Hacke' ¶ Vc. HÄ 93-6 ¶¶ Dk SXI 60 (S Fσ R) || A· T palatalization of *-r in names of paired

body parts > T *kṓr 'eye, both eyes' (> OT kōz [kōz-in kōr ūp 'seeing with the eyes'], Tk gōz, Tkm gōδ, etc. 'eye'; cp. T *kūr- v. 'see' < N *g'ū' r∇ 'look, look for' [q.v. ffd.]), *k'ökür 'breast, two female breasts' (> OT kōkūz 'chest, breast, both breasts of a woman' [kōguzi qara 'with black breasts'], Tk gōğūz 'breast', Tkm gōvüθ 'female breast, woman's breasts', Chv: L кăкăр кьг_ьр, Chv H кьг_ьр id., etc.; cp. without the reflex of *yī: T *k'ökür-āk 'breast, chest' > Tkm kükrek, Qrg kökürek, Qzq kökrek), T *t'īr 'knee' (> OT ti:z, Tk dīz, Tkm dīδ, Tv dis-kek, Chv L чёр), T *muyū́r (> *mühǘr) ({Md.} *bo-ḥḥ'ór) 'horn(s)' (> OT müḥūz ≈ müyūz, Tk boyruz, Tkm buyriδ, Az buyriz, Chv {Ash.} ма́йра 'horn(s), [cd.] Chv L ма́йрака тьуrag_a, Chv V mīrag_a ~ му́rag_a, Chv MK mīrag_a, Chv Δ.{Ash., Fed.} мы́рака ~ мырака ~ мыряка 'horn', cp. M *mögere-sün 'cartilage, gristle') ¶ Cl. 570, 712-4, 736, 756, Rs. W 202, 288, 294-5, 347, 482, Ash. VIII 292, Jeg. 98, Fed. I 249, Md. 51, 169, 174, TkR 194-5, 420, MED 545, KW 268
 ◇ IS MsN s.v. *-i- dual (IE, HS).

2619a. *y∇, pc. of hypocoristic (?) address (vocative) > HS: S *-ay- (diminutive-hypocoristic infix): *yulaym- (S *yulaym- 'boy, young man', *yulaym-at- 'maid, girl' > OA ϑlym 'child', IA, Nbt, Plm ϑlym 'servant', JA אֲנִי־לַיִם ϑulê'mā, JEA {Sl.} אֲנִי־לַיִם ϑulê'mā 'young man', Sr ϑalaym-ā 'boy, a youth', etc.; f.: SmHb אַלִּימָא 'maid', IA ϑlym'h', ϑlym t-, Plm ϑlym tʔ 'female servant'), which is a diminutive-hypocoristic derivative from S *'yaly∇m- 'young man' and *'yaly∇m-at- 'maid' (ffd. see s.v. *gil'U' 'boy, young man'); Ar ġumayl- (hypocoristic of ġamāl- 'beautiful'); Ar ya, preposition of the analytical vocative case || K: GZ *-ia, a diminutive suffix: G, Mgr -ia: G zam-ia 'old chap, братец', Mgr žimaia id., G baç-ia 'little hare', Mgr k̄iboia 'crawfish', parpalia 'butterfly' ¶ K 100, K² 80 || IE: NaIE *-yo-/*-iyō-, a diminutive suffix > Gk παιδ-ίον 'Kindchen' (from παις 'child'), ὄρνιθ-ιον 'Vögelchen', L -iō in pūsiō 'a little boy', pūmilio 'a dwarf' (from pūmilus 'a dwarf'), senecio (diminutive-hypocoristic derivative from senex 'old man'), OCS робнѣшь robišť 'servulus' (-išť < *-īt-yo-s) ¶ Brg. KVG 337-8 || U: FU *-y > BF *-y in diminutives: F Δ enoḷ 'mother's brother', kukkoḷ 'петушок' (diminutive of kukko 'cock'), Krl A moamoḷ 'mother', kāgöḷ 'cuckoo', F Δ, Vp reboḷ 'fox', Krl Ld, Vp kukoḷ, Ing kukkoḷ 'cock', Krl Ld meišōḷ 'capercailie', taloḷ 'house', Vp íamoy 'fire' (from íám 'warm'). Ing tüttöi 'girl' ¶ Laan. 214-5 || A: Tg *-(a)u.

hypocoristic suffixes (usually in address words): Ewk -y in hypocoristic address forms of nouns: akā-y 'братец!' (from akā 'brother'), зкэ-y 'сестрица!' (from зкэ 'sister') ¶ Vas. 757 ◇ Evidence of the analytical origin: the etymon is represented by suffixes, by a prefix (that is, it was movable) and by a preposition.

2620. *yabE (~ *yapE) 'to cover, to fence, to protect' > HS: Eg MK iḅ.ω 'refuge, shelter' ¶ EG I 62, Fk. 15 || C: DhI {EEN} žāβ-, {E} žaβ- v. 'save' || SC: Irq {MQK} yāω- 'protect with a fence', {E} yaω- v. 'enclose, fence', Alg yaba 'fence' || HEC {Hd.} *if- 'be covered' -d→ caus. *if-iḷ;ḷs- v. 'cover' (× N *quP_∇ [¬ *quP_∇?] 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover') > Hd {Hd.} if-īs-, Kmb {Hd.} if-is- v. 'cover', Hd if-očču n. 'cover, stopper (e.g. cork)', Sd {Gs.} if-iččo n. 'cover'; C → Grg {L}: Ch efa v. 'cover with a lid, stop up (an opening)', Ez, Ms effä id., Gt ifä, Ed, Sl, Wl iffä, Ms, Go iffa n. 'lid, cover' ¶ E SC 315, MQK 122, EEN 29, Hd. 44, 284, 323, 373, L EDG III 19 || ? WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ábû 'hiding, seeking refuge' ¶ Sch. DN 4 ¶¶ Tk. SCC 104 [no. 34.1] (SC, DhI, Eg, Ch) || A: T *jap- 'cover; build (a wall)' > OT {Cl} jap- 'cover (things), build (a wall)', XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC] jap- v. 'cover, shut', OOsM jap- v. 'cover; hide, conceal', Tkm, CrTt, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, QrB, Qrg žap-, Qzq, Qq žap, Xk čap-, Tv šip-, Tf ćip'-, Yk sap- 'cover', ?σ: Tk yap-, Ggz jap- 'make, build' ¶ Cl. 870-1, Rs. W 187, ET J 126-9 || M *ibe(-ye) ~ *ipe(-ye) > MM [HI] {Ms.} ihē- v. 'protect', ihē, en 'protection', ihēgde- 'be protected', [S] {H} ihē, e- ~ ihē- 'protect, help', ihē, el ~ ihēyel 'protection (Schutz)', WrM {MED} ibe- v. 'pad, lay sth. between or under', HIM ивэ- {MED} id., {BMR} 'unterlegen', WrM {MED} ibege-, HIM {MED, BMR} ивээ- 'protect, help', Ord iwegē- 'traiter avec bonté (prince, ses sujets)', WrO {Krg.} ibe- v. 'protect, save', ibē- 'save, rescue, protect', ibege- v. 'protect', Kl † {KRS} ивэ- iwä- 'patronize, protect (покровительствовать, опека́ть)', Kl {Rm.} iwē- 'be-\unter-schützen, hüten, helfen', Kl ивал iwäl 'protection, care', {Rm.} iwēl 'Schutz, Hut, Segen, Hilfe', Brt W эбигээл 'patronage, protection' ¶ Ms. H 62, Ms. O 390, H 81, MED 396, BMR II 259-60, Krg. 89, KRS 262, KW 212, Chr. 753 || Tg *u|psi 'garment' > Ul psi 'shaman's garment', Neg psi id., 'skirt', Nn B ufsi 'belt' ¶ STM II 281, Ci. N 285 || pKo *psí- 'wear\put on (headgear)' > MKo psi-, sí- NKo ssi- ¶ S QK no. 900, Nam 317, 319, MLC 1023-4 || pJ {S} žp- 'put on clothes (on the upper body), cover' >

OJ op-, òpòp-, J: T ò-, K/Kg ò- ¶ S QJ no. 1047, Mr. 742-3 ¶¶ SDM (pA *jòpe v. 'cover, wear' > M, Tg, Ko, J), DQA no. 644 (id.), Pp. VG 236, 286 ¶¶ The change of M *i- < N *y∇- and that of Tg *y|yp- < **ip- (assimilatory labialization) < N *y∇P- are still to be investigated || IE: NaIE *yeb^h- / (SA) *oĵb^h- 'copulate' (× possibly IE ?? *yeP- 'enter' > pTc {Ad.} *yāp- 'enter' and Lw ipatarma 'west') > OI 'yabhāti 'copulates', BdhSgd ᳚᳚᳚᳚᳚ 'adulterous' || Gk D οΐψω 'futuo' || Sl {Bern.} *jeb- (1s pres. *jeb-ŋ, inf. *jeti and inf. *jebati) 'futuere' > Blg pres. еба 'futuo', SCr 1s pres. jébēm / inf. jèbati, Slv 1s pres. jêbam / inf. jébatī, P inf. jebać, R 1s pres. eby / inf. еть ~ ети ~ ебать, Uk inf. їбати yī'batu 'futuere', OCz inf. jebatī id., 'beat' ¶ WP I 198, P 298, ≈σ EI 508 (*yeb^he/o- 'copulate' ← 'enter\penetrate'), M K III 7, M E II 398-9, F II 371, Bern. I 452, ESSJ VIII 188 (Sl *jěbati with *ě on the ev. of Uk i in yī'batu, but his *ě is at variance with many attested forms, e.g. R p. ёб юб), BER I 474, Ad. 496-7 Mlc. CL 91 ¶¶ The semantic change 'cover' (v.) → 'futuere' is most natural when referred to cattle ('the steer covers a cow'), so that it may be supposed that it occurred in the language of the IE cattle breeders ◇ ≠ Blz. IELA 5 (IE *H_xyeb^h-/*H_xoyb^h- 'futuere' + S *✓ʔby 'want, desire' (the adduction of S *✓ʔby and the rec. of IE *H_x- are not acceptable, because the pA cognate points to the N initial *y- and to the pN meaning 'cover').

2621. *yädʹa' (or *yadä) 'go' > U: FU *°yä|eδ∇- (or *°yä|e|∇-) 'go' > ObU *yěl- > pVg *yäl- > Vg: T yil-, LK/MK/UK/P/NV/SV/LL yäl-/yāl-, UL/Ss ya|-'go' ({BV} 'сходить, съездить'); pOs *yěl- ({Hl.} *yīl-) > Os V/Vy yěl- 'go' ({Trj.} 'ходить, ездить') ¶ Ht. no. 184, BV 151, Trj. S 91 || ¶ NaT *jaḁa- v. 'walk', *jaḁa-k (jaḁa-g) 'on foot, pedestrian' (N *ä > T *a due to vowel harmony) (× N *rayd∇ 'foot, track; to walk' [q.v.]) > OT, MT jaḁa-ḡ 'on foot, 'pedestrian', Chg {Rl.} jaya- 'im Wasser gehen, indem man Grund unter sich hat', Chg ≥xv {Cl.} yayaq 'pedestrian, on foot', Tk yayalik n. act. 'walking', Tk yaya, Az jayaq, ET jayaq, Uz jayaw, VTt žäyäv, Bsh jäyäv, Qzq žayaw, Qrg žō, StAlt žoyu, SY jazaq, Xk čazaq, Tv čadaq, Tf čad_aq, Yk satī 'pedestrian, on foot' ¶ Cl. 887, Rs. W 177, ET J 68-9, TrR 918, Rl. III 72, Ra. 193 || ¶ HS: B *✓y|wdw 'go' (× N *w∇d_l∇,ʹ∇ 'walk, go, set out for', q.v. ffd.).

2622. *yʹoʹd∇ 'hand', 'claws (as of a lobster\scorpion)', 'to hold between fingers \ claws (e.g. of a lobster)' > D *iṭukk- 'claws of a lobster\scorpion' 'take between the claws' > Tm iṭukkt 'anchoville

claws (of a scorpion \ lobster)', *iṭṭukkū* v. 'take between the fingers \ toes, grasp as with pincers', *iṭṭukki* 'prehensile claws of a crab\scorpion, pincers, tongs', *Ml iṭṭukkū* 'claws of lobster', *Kt ikl* 'tongs', *Kn ikkur̄, ikkur̄a, Tu ikkūli* 'pair of tongs \ pincers', *Kn ir̄kkur̄i, Kui ḍīpa* 'tongs, pincers', *Kn iḍḍaku* v. 'pinch, tweak' ¶¶ D no. 444 || **A**: *Tg: WrMc {Z} iōda-* v. 'hold (something that hangs down)' ('держу въ руке что свесивши, несy небрежно, повесив в руке'), {Hr.} *ḡōda-* 'in der am Arme herabhängenden Hand tragen' ¶ Z 202, Hr. 1022 || **HS**: *S *yad-* 'hand' > *BHb ṭṭyād* 'hand, forearm', cs. *ṭṭyad*, st. pm. *ṭṭyād-ō* 'his hand', du./pl. *ṭṭyādayim*, pl. cs. *ṭṭyādē*, Ph, Ug, IA *ḡd* 'hand', JPA *ṭṭyad* (~ *ṭṭyād* ~ *ṭṭyād*), BA cs. *ṭṭyad*, Sr *ṭṭyād* ~ *ṭṭyād*, Ar *yād-*, Sb, Mn, Qt *ḡd*, Gz *ṭṭyād*, OAk, Ak *ṭṭyād-u(m)*, Eb *i-tum* = {Frnz.} *yidum* 'hand', *i-tim yidim* gen. sg. and accus.-gen. du. 'hands', Mh {Jo.} indf. *ṭṭyād*, df. *ḡa-yd*, Jb E/C {Jo.} 'ed' 'arm (from fingertip to shoulder), hand', Hrs {Jo.} *ḡayd* 'hand, arm, forepaw', Sq {Jo.} *ṭṭyād*, {L} *ṭṭyād* 'hand'. In some lgs. (Aram dialects, SES, Eth, Ak, Eb) there is as. **ya-* > **yi-* and later (?)*i-* ¶ KB 39-71, KBR 386-8, HJ 443-9, A no. 1138, OLS 520-1, Br. 295, Nld. CSG § 146, BK II 1624-5, L G 7, BGMR 167, Rk. 80-1, MA 108, Jo. M 460, Jo. J 313, Jo. H 146, L LS 52, Krb. EG 19, 21, Frnz. EL 144, BHKKLMBIz. SAL no. 96, MiK I no. 1.291 || Eg *ṭṭyād hier*. **hand* (unless alternatively, Eg fP {ḡRö.} *ṭṭyād* 'arm' [ḡRö.: HS **d* > Eg *ṭṭyād*]) ¶ EG I 156 and V 414, 580, Fk. 308, Tk. I 37 || ? **K**: *pGZ *dlaḡw-* 'elbow' (if from N **y'o'dṡ ṡa'ṡḡU* 'bend of arm' = **y'o'dṡ* + **ṡa'ṡḡU* 'a bend, a joint in a limb', q.v. ffd.) ◇ D **i-* from N **yṡ-* needs investigating (cp. the item no. 2646) ◇ The semantic change 'claw of a lobster\scorpion' → HS 'hand' is a typical zoomorphic metaphore (reminding the NE slang usage of *ṡaw* for 'hand', *muzzle* for 'face', etc.).

2623. (₂?) **yugê* (or **yukê*?) 'to drink' > **U**: FU **yuyē-* (or **yuke-*?) v. 'drink' > F *juc-*, Es *joc-* (inf. II *juc-a*, Is p. *jōin*), Lv inf. *juc-dḡ id.* | pLp {Lr.} **yukz id.* > Lp: S {Hs.} *jucge-*, L {LLO} *jucḡa-*, N {N} *jucḡâ- / -g-*, Kld *югкэ-*, K {Gn.} *jucḡe-* id. | pChr {Ber.} **yuy-* > Chr: L *ḡya-* *yüa-* (inf. *ḡyāš yü'aš*), B *yüya-*, Uf *jüa-*, H *ḡyā-* *yüä-* (inf. *ḡyāš yüäš*) id. | Prm {LG} **yu-* > Z, Vt *ю-* *yü-*. Prmk, Yz *yü-* id. || ? ObU: ? pOs **yāñc-* id. (belongs here if **-ñc-* is a sx) > Os: V/Vy *yāñc-*, Ty/Y *yēñc-*, D/K *yāñc-*, Nz *yās-*, Kz *yēñc-/yāñc-*, O *yēñc-/yēs-* 'drink'; ?? Vg: T *äy-*, LK *äy-*, MK/UK/P/LL *äy-/äy-*, UL/Ss *ay-* id. | OHg *≥XI i-*, ḡyü-, Hg *iṡ-* (/i-,

iɛz-), Δ ihu- id. ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 105, Db. OS xxvii, xxxii, It. no. 231, Sm. 543 (FU, FP *juxi-, Ugr *jũgĩ-), SK 124, SSA I 249, Lr. no. 285, Lgc. no. 1807, SaR 427-8, Gn. 468, Ber. 12, MRS 155, Ep. 52, LG 335, Ht. no. 726, MF 329-30, EWU 629-30, Mägiste ELLE || A: NaT *°ju:ǰg or *°j0:ǰg > OT jū|ōǰ, {DK} jōǰ 'meal for the dead', {Cl.} jōǰ 'funeral feast' (the vw. ō was reconstructed by Cl. and DK on the basis of the Ar spelling with ǰ in MhK, which is not a sufficient proof), OT VI b→ BzGk VI [MnP] δόϣτα 'Turkic funeral feast' (Gk δ- renders eOT j- and thus confirms the hyp. of an obstruent pT *j-) ¶ Cl. 895, MKD 229 || ? HS: Ch: Tng {J} yē 𐌺 ē v. 'drink' ¶ J T 86 || EC (× C *✓ ǰg 'drink' < N *ǰ'æ'g0 id. [q.v.]): Arr {Hw.} ǰig-, Dsn ǰík, Elm {Hn.} īk-, Kns ik-, Msl/Gdl {Bl.} uk- v. 'drink' ¶ Ss. PEC 17, Wh. IC 56, Bl. 108, BISO s.v. ik, Hw. A 340, To. DL 482.

2623a. *yuh∇ 'to tie, to bind', 'sth. that binds\ties' > IE: NaIE *yēu- {EI} 'bind, join together' > OI 'yau-ti 'binds, unites', yū'ti- 'Verbindung, Vereinigung' || ? Blt: Lt jāutiɛ 'ox, steer' ({EI}: 'that which is yoked'), Ltv jūtiɛ 'fork in a road' ¶ EI 64, M K III 25, 28-9, Frn. 191 || A: T *jular (with a sx *-lar of n. coll.) > OT yular ({Cl.} yulār with unj. vowel length) '(a horse's) halter', Osm {Rl.} yular, Tk yular, Ggz yular, StAlt žular, Slr žulur, Tv čular, Yk sular id., Slr čulīř 'short rope (part of a horse's bridle)', Chg {ShSB} yular 'a rope attached to the animal's neck', Tk Δ yular 'golden thread hanged on a woman's forehead' ¶ Cl. 932, ET J 244-5, Rl. III 554, ShSB 105, Tn. SJ 314-5 || HS: C: Bj {R} yāy 'rope' ¶ R WBd 243, 336.

2624. ₂ *yak∇ '≈ to pour, to be covered with water' > A *yak- > T *jag- v. 'pour down, pour rain' > OT jaǰ- id., MU, XwT, MQp, Chg ≥XV, OOsm jaǰ-, Tk yaǰ-, Tkm, Az, ET, Slr, CrTt, Kr, SY, Xlj jaɣ-, Gz jā-, Uz jɔɣ-, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh jaɰ-, Qzq, Qq žaɰ-, Qrg žā-, StAlt žā-, Xk, Shor, Tv čaɣ-, Tf čaɣ- v. 'pour rain', Chv L ɸy- šu-, Chv Δ ɸǰb- šb v. 'wash'; T d. *jagmur n. 'rain' > OT jaɣmur, MQp [CC] (j)amɣur, Tk yaǰmur, Az jaɣmur, Tkm Δ jaɣmir, ET jamɣu(r) ~ jaŋmur, Uz jɔmɣir, Qmq jaŋur, VTt jaŋɣɪr, Bsh jamɣɪr, Qzq žaŋbir, Qq žamɣir, Qrg žamɣir, StAlt žaŋmir, Xk naŋmir, Yk samīr, Chv L ɸymǰp ~ ɸǰmǰp, Chv Δ ɸomǰp 'rain' (in some Turkic lgs. and contexts also 'snow') ¶ Cl. 896, 903-4, 908, ET J 57-8, TL 25, Rs. W 177, TkR 804, Äz. 182, Ash. XII 128-9, 235-8, 313, Fed. II 128, 135-6, Jeg. 216, 218, ChVS 178. 181. 189. Ra. 193 || Tg *°uaku- 'be covered with water' (of

ground) > Ewk *yaku-* id.; Tg **yaku*_{1n} 'ground covered with water, pit filled with water' > Ewk *yaku* 'grassy swamp, puddle, pit filled with water', WrMc {Z} *iōxohb* 'pit filled with water, ditch (in a field)' ¶ STM I 339, Z 201 ¶¶ SDM 598 (pA **iak*'i ~ **iaki* 'liquid, flow' Tg, T **jak-*, J), DQA no. 620 (id.) || HS: Eg Wc *ikn* 'draw (water), (Wasser) schöpfen' ¶ EG I 139.

2625. **yäk*'a' 'ice, cold' > IE: NaIE **yeg*[g̃] 'ice' > ON *jak*i 'piece of ice, icicle', NGr Sw *Jäch*, *Gicht* (= *Gejicht*) 'hoarfrost; frozen dew on trees'; dim.: Gmc {Vr.} **jekulaz* > ON *jokull*, Sw *jökel*, NLG *īs- hekel*, *jäkel*, OLG {Vr.}, OHG *ihilla*, NGr Δ *lchel* 'icicle', AS {Ho.} *ǰicel(a)*, *ǰicele* 'icicle, ice' (ǰ = [j]), NE Δ *ickle* 'icicle', NE (cd. >) *icicle* || Clt {Matas.} **yegi-* 'ice' > OIr *aig* (gen. *ega*), Brtt {RE} **yagis*, {Vn.} **yago-* > MW *ia*, W {YGM} *iā* 'ice', OCrn [ʏ] *iey* 'glaciers'; -> Clt: Brtt **yagnyos* 'cold' > OCrn [ʏ] *iein* 'frigus', MCrn *yeyn*, *yen*, MBr *yen* 'cold', Br {Hm.} *yen* 'froid'; Clt {Matas.} **owxtu-* n. 'cold' > OIr *ócht* ~ *úacht* id. || Ht *eka-* n. 'cold, frost, ice', e|i *kuna-* adj. 'cold' ¶¶ WP I 206, P 503, EI 287 (**yeg-* 'ice, icicle'), Vr. 289, 294, Ho. 142, Sw. 74, Km. 495, Matas. E 304, 435, YGM-1 294, Hm. 836, Vn. A 28, RE 106, Frd. HW 40, 81, Pv. I 257-9 || HS: C: Ag {Ap.} **ʔɜʔaʔ-* > Bln {Ap.} *ʔɜʔaxa*, {R} *eğagā* 'hail, ice, snow', Q {Ap.} (y)*eʔaʔa*, {R} *yeğāgā* id., Aw {Ap.} *ɜʔaʔi* 'ice'; possibly (but not certainly): Aw {Bnd.} *ɜgumi* 'cold', {Hz.} *ɜgɜmt-* v. 'feel cold' ¶ Ap. AV 6, R WB 17, R QW 149, R DQW 650 (s.p. 14), ≈ AD SF 263 || ??φ NrOm: Kf {C, Fl.} *aḵ-* 'be cold', {Fl.} *aḵḵo*, {C} *aḵḵō* 'cold', Shn {Fl.} *aḵa*, {C} *aḵā*, Amuru {Fl.} *áḵ^wa*, Anf {Fl.} *aḵo* 'cold' ¶ Fl. OWL, C SE IV402 ¶ The unexpected glottalized *ḵ* needs explaining || U (+ext.) ≈ ***yäkša* > [1] FU **yäkš*∇ 'cool, cold' > F *jäähty-* & *jähty-* 'grow cold, become cold\cool', Krl *yähtü-* id., Vp *yäyhtu-* 'congeal' || Lp: N {Fri.} *iksem*, *jiksem* 'frigidus', L {LLO} *jieksō-* 'get cooler\colder' (weather), *jeuhsas* 'cold and windy' (weather), T {TI} *yik:sem* adj. 'cold' || pMr {Ker.} **yäkšə* > Er *экше екше*, Mk *эше*, {Ps.} *äšä*, Δ *yäšə* 'cool; cool weather', Mk *эшкс äšks* adj. 'cool' || pChr *yükšə-* 'get colder' > Chr: L *yükšə-* (inf. *йүкшаш yükšāš*), B *yükšə-*, Uf *jükšə-*, H *ükšə-* (inf. *үкшаш 'ükšāš*) id. || Os: V *yöʔli*, Ty *yäʔči* n.\adj. 'cold', D *yäʔtə* 'cold, cool', Kz *yīʔi* 'cool' ||] [2] FV **yäkša* 'cool, cold' > Es *jahe* (gen. *jaheda*) 'cool', *jahtu-* 'cool down, become cool', Lv *yūʔ-* id. || Lp Sw {LÖ} *juoskos* 'rigidus', Lp Vfs {L.sc.} *iūškie* n. 'cold', *in'skoʔ-* 'get cooler' || Er *якушамн yakšamn*. Mk

якшама *yakšama* adj. 'cold', Ер якшамо, Мк якшам *yakšam* n. 'cold, cold weather' ¶ The variation **yäkš* ▽ ~ **yakša* suggests an old U √ with combination of a front vw. and a back one (probably ***yäkš* a) with subsequent as. (due to "vowel harmony") in two opposite directions ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 90-1, 631, It. no. 241, SK 133, SSA I 260, TI 65, ERV 776, 801, PI 318, 321, Ker. II 37, Ber. 13, MRS 156, 641, Ep. 132 || D (in NED) **o*'*y*a|e'*k*- > NED **o*ē*k*- 'become cool' > Krx ē*x*- vi. 'lose heat, cool', ē*x*ta'ā- vt. 'cool', Mlt ē*g*e 'become cool', ē*g*tre 'make cool' ¶ D no. 875, Pf. 186 [no. 43] ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 and IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this N etymon from N **yā*η*g*,ē 'ice; to freeze'), Blz. DA 162 [no. 98] (suggested to add NrOm).

2626. **yûka* 'attach, tie\bind to' > IE: NaIE **yeyg*- / **yung*- v. 'bind, harness, yoke' > OI *yuj*- (pres. 1s *yu'najmi*, 3s *yu'nakti*, 3p *yurñ'janti*), Av *yaog*- / *yuj*- v. 'harness, yoke, join', d.: MPrs ā-*yōxtan*- v. 'harness', ž*ux*t, CINPrs جفت ž*uft* 'yoke, pair', NPrs ž*oft* 'pair' || Gk ζεύγ-νῦ-μι v. 'yoke, put to; bind, bind fast' || OHG inf. *untar-jouhhen* 'subjugare' || L *jung*-ō / -ē*re* 'join, unite, connect' || OIr *cuing* 'yoke' (< **kom-yung*-) || Lt inf. *jūngti* (1s pres. *jūngiu*) 'to yoke, to join, to connect', Ltv inf. *jūgt* 'to harness, to put to' || ⇨ [1] IE **yug*-o-m 'yoke' > Ht *iuka*- id. || NaIE **yugo*-m id. > OI *yuga*-m, Av *yuga*-, CINPrs جغ ž*ux* id. || Gk ζυγόν id. || L *jugum* id. || Clt {Matas.} **yugo*- 'yoke' > Mlr *cuing* 'yoke', Nlr *ughaim* 'harness', OW *iou*, MW *iau* ~ *yey* 'yoke', W {YGM} *iau*, OCm *ieu*, MBr *yey* ~ *ieo* 'yoke', Br {Hm.} *yev* 'joug' || Gt, OSx *juk*, ON *ok*, OHG *joh*, NHG *Joch*, AS ζέος ~ *ioc* 'yoke', NE *yoke* || Sl **jǝgo* > **jǝgo* 'yoke' > OCS *нго* *igo*, Blg, R' *нго*, SCr †, b *igo*, Slv *igō*, Cz, Slk *jho* id., P *jugo* id., 'ε crossbeam', SCr Δ *jigō* 'ε crossbeam' || Lt *jūngas* 'yoke' (with *n* due to the infl. of *jūngti* 'to join'), Ltv *jūg-s* 'yoke' || [2] NaIE d. **yeyg*-os ntr. 'yoke\team of beasts' > Gk ζεύγος ntr. id., team (of oxen\horses\ mules) (Gespann)' || L *jūgera* pl. ⇨ sg. *jūgerum* 'a measure of land, ≈ 2,500 m²' (< 'a plot ploughed by a team of oxen') || MHG *jiuch* 'ein Morgen Landes' ¶¶ WP I 201-2, P 508-10, ≈ EI 64 (**yey*- 'bind, join together' [see N **yuh* ▽ 'to tie, to bind'], **yeyg*- 'join together; yoke'), EI 655 (**yug*-m 'yoke'), Bc. 726, M K III 19-21, M E II 412-3, 417-8, Horn 95, Vl. I 517, Sg. 364-5, BK 151, F I 609-10, 615-6, WH I 726-31, Vn. C 273, Matas. E 437-8, YGM-1 295, Hm. 836, LP § 35.3, YGM-1 295, Dnn. 774, KM 333, Fs. 304, Vr.

417, Kb. 522, 1107, Schz. 178, OsS 465, KM 333, Ho. 141, Lx. 102, Frn. 196-7, ESSJ VIII 206-8, Glh. 274, Pv. II 495-6, 498-9 || **HS**: EC: Sml {DSI} $y\bar{o}k\bar{e}$ 'legare le mani \ i piedi a qualcuno', $y\bar{o}k\bar{o}$ 'legatura delle mani \ dei piedi' ¶ DSI 647 || NrOm: Mch {L} $y\bar{o}kka(y\acute{e})$ v. 'spin', Kf {Msr.} $y\bar{o}kke$ id., Kf {C} $y\bar{o}k-$ 'domare (un bue per l'aratro); filare (il cotone ecc.)' ¶ C SE 520, Msr 241, L M 58 || **A**: T $*j\ddot{u}g\ddot{a}n$ (~ $*jugan?$) 'bridle' (< pre-T $**j\ddot{u}g\ddot{a}n?$) (× N $*Luk\ddot{a}?$ ∇ ≈ flexible rod, thong', q.v. ffd.) ◇ ≠ Gr. II no. 38 ($*yeu$ 'belt') (IE ÷ U $*yaye$ 'belt').

2627. $*yaks'o'$ 'to loosen, (?) to untie' > **U**: ppU $**yaks\bar{o}-$ > FP $*yaks\bar{a}-$ ~ $*yoks\bar{a}-$ 'untie' > pMr {Ker.} $*yuks\bar{a}-$ > Er $yuk\acute{s}\bar{e}-$ (inf. $\text{юксемс }juk\acute{s}\bar{e}ms$), $\Delta uk\acute{s}\bar{e}-$, Mk $yuks\bar{a}-$ v. 'untie' | Krl A $yaks\bar{a}-$ vi. 'undress', Krl {Gn.} $yak\acute{s}\bar{a}-$ id., vt. 'ausziehen, entblößen', Vo $yahza-$ 'die Fußbekleidung ausziehen', ?σ F $jaks\bar{a}-$, Es $jaks\bar{a}-$, $j\ddot{a}ks\bar{a}-$ 'be able to, have strength enough to' | Prm {LG} $*jusk-$ > Prmk, Vt $\text{юскыны }yusk+n\acute{i}$, Yz $jusk-$ v. 'unharness' ¶ IE 'take off'), Ker. II 46, LG 336 ¶ The variation $*yaks\bar{a}-$ ~ $*yoks\bar{a}-$ suggests an earlier etymon with a stem-final $*-o$ ($*yaks\bar{o}-$) with subsequent vowel assimilation in two opposite directions || **A**: NaT $*jas-$ 'loosen' > OT $j\bar{a}s-$ v. 'unstring (a bow); disband (troops)', MQp XIII $j\bar{a}s-$, OOsM ≥XIV $j\bar{a}s-$, Tk $y\bar{a}s-$ v. 'unstring (a bow)' ¶ The √ $*jas-$ 'flatten; flat' (represented in OOsM, Tk, and other T lgs., see Rs. W 191 and ET J 155-6) is either a semantic derivative from 'unstring the bow' or a different (albeit homonymous) root ¶ Cl. 973 || **HS**: WCh: pAG {Hf.} $*y\bar{o}k-$ v. 'become loose' > Kfr {Nt.} $y\bar{o}k$ 'loosen', Gmy {Hf.} $y\bar{o}k$ 'become loose', Ang {Hf.} 'be shaky, loose' ¶ The loss of N $*s$ in WCh is still to be explained ¶ Hf. AG no. 184, Nt. 45.

2628. $*y\ddot{a}k\ddot{a}$ (or $*y\ddot{a}k\ddot{h}\ddot{a}$?) '(very) bright, white' > **HS**: S $*-y\ddot{i}k\ddot{k}-$ > Ar ✓ $y\ddot{q}q$ (ip. $-y\ddot{i}q\ddot{q}-$) 'être d'une blancheur élatante' ¶ BK II 1631 || C: Ag $*-y\ddot{a}k\ddot{k}-$ > Bln {R} $y\ddot{a}q-$ 'be light\bright (hell)' ¶ R WB 365, ≈ AD SF 185 || ?? Eg L/G $\acute{i}k\ddot{h}$ 'shine (leuchten)' (unless connected with Eg MK $k\ddot{h}$ 'light [hell], light [lux]') ¶ EG I 138 and V 66 || **IE**: NaIE $*ye\acute{k}-(\bar{o}-s)/$ $*o\acute{j}\acute{k}-(\bar{o}-s)$ 'light color, clearness, brightness' > OI $y\ddot{a}k\ddot{h}$ ntr. 'beauty, splendour', Av $y\ddot{a}s\bar{o}.h\ddot{y}\bar{a}-$ 'Ansehen verleihen', YAv $y\ddot{a}s\bar{o}.b\ddot{a}r\ddot{a}t\bar{a}-$ 'in würdiger Weise dargebracht' || SI $*\acute{e}sb$, $*\acute{e}san$ 'light color, radiance' > SCr $j\bar{a}s$ 'clearness', Slv $j\bar{a}s$ 'light, splendour, radiance', $j\acute{a}sa$ ~ $j\acute{e}sa$ 'a ride cut in a forest', Slk $j\bar{a}s$ 'radiance, glitter'; ⇨ SI $*\acute{e}sb\bar{n}$ adj. 'clear. light (hell)' > OCS $i\bar{a}s\bar{n}$. Blg 'ясен. SCr $i\bar{a}san$. Slv $i\bar{a}sen$. R

'ясен / 'ясный 'clear', Cz, Slk *jasný*, R *jasny* 'clear, bright', Uk 'ясний ~ ясний 'bright, clean' | Lt *aiškūs* 'clear, bright' ¶ Mn. 440, M K III 12, M E II 405-6, Bern. I 276, ≈ ESSJ VI 50-3 (Sl **ěsa*, **ěsъ*, **ěskъnъ* with unjustified *k) || U **yækk*∇ > Sm {Jn.} **yek*∇ (unless it is **íek*∇) 'white' > Ng {Pl.} d. *дѣкагá*, Slq Nr {Cs. in Lh.'s interpretation} *cāg(a)*, Slq MKe {KD} *тѣуа*, Slq EKe {Kzm., Katz} *т'е:къ тѣуа* 'white' ¶ Jn. 42, Katz SQ 179-181, Kzm. DMSJ 274, KD D 73, Cs. 133, 153, 302, CsL SSM 96 || FV **yakś_lt_l'e'r*∇ 'red' (probably from N **°yæKæ çAht|d*∇ 'light red', see N **çAht*∇ - **çAhd*∇ 'red') > Er *yakstere*, Mk *yakstər*, Chr: L *йошкарге уош'карѡе*, Н *йакшаргы jakšarǝ* 'red' ¶ ERV 800-1, Üp. 300, ≠ UEW 606 (Chr < FV **akšte-r*∇ or **akš*∇-*ter*∇ 'gelt, güst, unfruchtbar') || A: ?ф M **yaga-yan* 'pink' > WrM {MED} *yagan* 'pink, ruddy, violet, lilac', HIM *ягаан* {MED} id., {BMR} 'pink, light violet', {Kow.} 'vermeil, rouge clair', IM {T} *yaṣān*, Brt *ягаан* 'pink' ¶ MED 423, BMR IV 455, Kow. 2246, Chr. 795, T VM 273 || ?ф pJ {S} **akà-* 'bright, red' (× N **h'awk'a'* 'light [lux]; bright', q.v. ffd.) || Tg **ikere* 'light (lux), lighting appliance (светильник)' > Neg UA *ikэрэ*, Neg LA, Nn *ixэрэ* 'light (lux)', Neg *ikэрэ* ~ *ixэрэ*, Orc, Ul, Ork, Nn *ixэрэ* 'lighting appliance, lamp (burning fat), candle', Ng LA *ixэрэ-*, Ork *ikэрэči-* v. 'light' ¶ STM I 302 || pKo **ikir-* > NKo *igil-kəri-* v. 'burn lively', *igil-igil-ha-* id., 'be deeply flushed' ¶ MLC 1319 ¶¶ SDM 598 (pA **iǎk*'∇ 'light, white' > Tg, M, Ko, J + unc. T **A:k* 'white' [going back to **h'awk'a'* 'light [lux]; bright']), DQA no. 634 (pA **iǎka* 'light, white' > T, J, Tg, M), S AJ 110, 277, SDM97 (A **ǎk'a* 'light, white' > T, J, Tg) ◇ Resh. NNE no. 3 (A, FV **yak-ś_lt_l'e'r*∇). The age of the semantic change 'bright, light' → 'pink, red(dish)' is not clear. It may be rather ancient (because it is present in several branches of N: FU, M and J). But it may also result from cds (e.g. N **°yæKæ çAht|d*∇ 'light red' → 'pink') with ellipsis in M and J. M *-g- is likely to go back to *-k- < N *-K_h-. Tg and pKo *i- as a reflex of N **yæ-* still needs investigating.

2629. *yokE (or ***ʔokE**?) 'seize, catch' > HS: Eg fOK *icɥ* (= {EG} *itj*) 'nehmen, rauben, fortführen', fNK *icɛ* 'etw. fortnehmen' ¶ EG I 149-50, Fk. 34 || EC: Hr/Dbs {AMS} *ekk-*, Gln/Gwd {AMS} *akk-* 'take' ¶ AMS 260 || Ch: WCh: Ang {Flk.} *ɥak* 'pick up/out, ladle out', Mpn {Frz.} *yák* 'hold, catch', Su {J} *yak* id., 'seize', Cp {J} *yák* 'catch, seize' | Bl {Lk.} *yokk-* 'pflücken', Pr {ChL} *yukò* 'seize' | Bg {Sh.} *yok* 'carry (load)' || ECh:


Jg {J} ʔek-it- 'take' ¶ JI II 62, J S 88, J J 112, Frz. DM 67, ChL, ChC ¶¶ Tk. I 235 || D (in SCD) *okk- ({ʔGS} *-gg-) v. 'trap' > Tl o g g u 'lay a trap/net, lay a wager', Gnd HMB {BB} o g - v. 'set (fishtrap)', Gnd Mn {Ph.} v a g g ā n ā, v a k k ā n ā 'set snare', Kui o g a - v. 'trap, snare', Ku o g - v. 'set a trap', ū r ū o g a l i v. 'noose' (ū r ū 'a snare') ¶ D no. 934 || A: ?σ Tg *ukī 'fishing tackle, trap (for fish/birds)' > Lm ū k i t, Neg u x ī, Orc, Nn u k i id., Ewk u k ī id., 'fishtrap', WrMc {Z} ʔ k ʔ 'fishtrap', 'trap for birds' ¶ STM II 25, Z 143 || IE: NaIE *eĵk̑-/*īk̑- 'take possession, possess' (*eĵk̑- is a SA from *ĵek-?) > OI 'īśē, 'īṣṣē 'owns, possesses, is master of', Av i s e 'is lord over', i s ē 'ich verfüge' || Gt inf. a i g a n * 'to have' (a i h 'I have', a i g u m 'we have'), ON inf. e i g a, OSx inf. ê g a n, OHG inf. e i g a n, AS inf. ā ʒ a n 'to possess', NE o w n v.; -> ON e i g a n, OSx ê g a n, OHG e i g a n, NHG e i g e n, AS ā ʒ e n adj. (← pp.) 'own', NE o w n; Gt a i g i n, ON e i g i n, OSx ê g a n, AS ā ʒ e n 'possession' || ?σ Tc B a i k - 'know, recognize' ¶ The length of *i in *īk̑- is still puzzling ¶ P 298-9, EI 270 (*h_heĵk̑- 'possess'), M K I 96, M E I 207, Fs. 20, Vr. 95-6, Ho. 2-3, Ho. S 14, Sw. 8, Kb. 187, OsS 126, EWA II 981-3, KM 156, Ad. 101-2 ◇ HS de-emphatization *K̑ > *k.

2629a. ₂ *yil∇ 'burn' (trans.), 'kindle' > A: Tg *yila- id. > Mc Sb yila-, Ewk ila-, Lm ɫla- id., Sln ila- 'сжечь', Orc, Ud ila- 'kindle'](× N *yel₁ay₁∇ 'to shine; light [lux]'): Sln ilā: 'light (lux) ¶ STM I 303-4 || M: [1] M *ilaga- v. 'fry (on a pan)' > WrM ilaga- v. 'fry sth. thin', HIM {BMR} ялгаа- ~ ялаа- id., {MED} ялаа- id., Mgr {SM} i:la- 'faire brûler; chauffer le lit en briques'; -> M *°ilagan 'frying pan' > Brt Ekh яла id. ¶ MED 402, BMR IV 259-60, Chr. 798, SM 190 || [2] ??σ M *ilč̑in 'warmth, heat' > WrM {MED} ilc̑i(n), HIM {MED, BMR} илч(ин) id.. Brt элэшэ 'Sonnenwärme; Strahl', Kl {Rm.} ilč̑i 'innere Wärme, igene Wärme', Ord ilč̑i 'chaleur, chaleur rayonnante' ¶ MED 403, BMR II 273, Chr. 763, KW 207, Ms. O 384 ¶¶ SDM 584 (pA *i:ía v. 'fry, burn' > Tg *ɫ₁ila- v. 'burn, kindle', M *ila- v. 'fry on a pan' + unc. T *il₁ç₁ 'smoke; soot' scent, odor; fumes) || HS: WCh: Jmb {Sk.} yila 'burn' (tr.) ¶ ChC || ?? AdS of IE *^rH¹el- (≈ *^rH¹al-?) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices' (see N *^raā∇ 'burn [esp. sacrifices], use magic means [sacrifices, magic formulae, etc.] to produce a particular result').

2630. *yel₁ay₁∇ 'to shine; light (lux)' > U *yel||ä 'light; sun, day' > FU: pLp {Lr.} *yēl₁kk₃s 'clear (weather), bright' > Lp: L {LLO} jielakis, N {N} iā₁lā₁kā₁s ~ iā₁lā₁kā₁s 'complete cloudlessness. clear weather'. K

{Gn.} $j i e l \chi e s$ 'clear weather' || Sm {Jn.} * $y e l ä$ ~ * $y ä l ä$ 'light (lux), sun, daytime' > Ne: Т я л я, Т О {Lh.} $y ä l e$, F {Lh.} $y ä l e$ id.; Ng {Mik.} 'jalit' 'daytime'; En {Cs.}: X 'jelerе, B 'jerere 'daytime'; Slq: Tz $č e l i t$ 'daytime, sun, light', Tm {KD} $t e l$ 'daytime', d. $t e l a d$ 'sun'; Kms {KD} $ž a t a$ ~ $d a t a$ ~ $č a t a$ ~ $t a t a$ 'daytime', $ž a t b m n a$ 'es tagt, es dämmert', Koyb {Sp.} д ж я л л а 'daytime', д ж я л л о к б л а 'I am lighting (я свѣчу)' || pY: Y K {IN H} $y e l o z e$ 'sun' (formally a prtc.), OY K {Bil.} $y e l o n s h a$, {Merk} $j e l o n d s c h a$ 'sun' ¶¶ Coll. 17, UEW 96-7, Lr no. 261, Lgc. no. 1618, Jn. 40-1 (Sm * $y ä l ä$), Jn. p.c. (Sm * $y e l ä$ ~ * $y ä l ä$), Cs. 11, 51, 83, 135, 187, KKIИ 103, KD 14, Pot. 38, 47, IN H 187, IN UJ 224, 303 (pY * $y e l z$ -), ≈ Rd. UJ 36 [no. 13] (Y ← U) || K * $h j e l$ - v. 'lighten' (× N * $h A l \nabla$ 'to shine; bright', q.v. ffd.) || A: T * $j a l u$ - ~ * $j i l u$ - > NaT * $j a š u$ - ~ * $j i š u$ - v. 'flash, shine' > OT $j a š i$ - id., XwT XIV $j i š i$ - v. 'shine', MQP XIV $y i š i$ 'flash' ('لَمَع'), Shor $č a š$ -, Chv L $ç i ç$ - v. 'lighten', Kr G $j a s$ 'lightning' | ⇨ T * $j a l i n$ ~ * $j i l i n$ > NaT * $j a š i n$ 'lightning' > OT, XwT XIV $j a š i n$, Qmq, Tb {Rl.} $j a š i n$, Uz $j a š i n$, Nog $j a s i n$, VTt, Bsh $j ä š b n$, StAlt $ž ä ž i n$, Shor {Rl.} $č a ž i n$, Xk, Sg {Rl.} $č a z i n$ id. || Chv L $ç i ç e m š i ž b m$ id. ¶ pT * a - of the first syll. is likely to result from the ass. infl. of the following * a ¶ Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, Ash. XII 171-4, Fed. 123, ChVS 186-7, Jeg. 214, Md. 104, 160 (reconstructs pT * $j a l i u$ - with $-l i ç$ - on the alleged ev. of Chv. * $-š$ -, but the latter may be explained by as. [$*š...l > š...š$]) ¶¶ The pT back vw. * a (~ * i) for the expected * e (< N * e) may be due to vw. harmony (regr. as.) ¶¶ Md. 104 equates the T $√$ with M * $n ö l e$ - 'fire, flame' and Tg * $n u l$ - 'kindle', which is less plausible semantically (albeit not ruled out as an alt. or an additional source of the T root); cp. Pp. VG 38 and STM I 609 that equate the M and Tg $√$ with T * $j a l i n$ 'flame' (that does not belong here, but goes back to N * $ž a l \nabla$ or * $ž a l \nabla \zeta \nabla$ 'flame', q.v.) ¶ M * $i l e$ 'clear, manifest; visible' hardly belongs here (⇔ IS); it goes back to A * $i l a$ - 'seen, visible' < N * $p i l \nabla$ 'eye' (q.v.) || D * $e l l$ - 'light (lux), sun' > Tm $e l$ id., 'lustre, splendour', $e l l i$, $e l l a i$ 'sun, daytime', Ml $e l l a$ 'light (lux), $i l a k u k a$ v. 'shine, twinkle', Tl {Km.} $e l a m u$ 'be shiny\splendid' ¶¶ D no. 829 ◇ D * $-l$ - and U * $-l$ - point to a N * $-l$ -; hence T * $-l$ - is secondary, probably from * $-l y$ - < N * $-l y$ -, the vw. * ∇ (most probably * a) being suggested by the fact that in U and D * $-l$ - has not been palatalized, sc. it was not in direct contact with * $-y$ - ◇ IS MS 362-3, IS I 281-2.

2631. (₂?) *y^ha¹mU (or *yom∇) 'go' > HS: S *^o✓ymm > Ar ✓ymm D 'aller prendre qch., diriger sa lance à dessein contre qn.' ¶ BK II 1634 || U (att. in Ugr) *^oyom∇- 'go, set out\off' > Vg: T yām- /yam-, LK/P yōm-, Ss yōm- 'go' † ? OHg XIV i^hndol- 'bewegen, rücken', Hg i^hndul- 'start, begin to move, set out\off, depart', OHg XV i^hndeit- 'abgehen lassen', Hg i^hndit- 'start, set off; set going' (-dul- and -dit- are derivational sxs.) ¶ UEW 100-1, MF 319-20, EWU 613 || A: ?ϕ M *yabu- 'go, walk' > MM [MA, IM, PP] yabu- id., WrM {MED} yabu- id., 'depart, go away', HIM ява- {MED} id., {BMR} 'gehen, fahren', Brt яба- id., Ord yawu- 'marcher, s'avancer; s'avancer vite, courir', Mnr H {SM} yū'- 'changer de place, se déplacer, déménager, émigrer, transplanter', {T} yū-, Mnr M {T} yau-, Dx {T} yawu-, Ba {T} yu-, Mgl {Rm.} yobu- 'go, walk', WrO {Krg.} yabu- 'go', Kl {KRS} йов- 'gehen, fahren', {Rm.} yow- 'gehen, reisen, sich bewegen' ¶ Pp. MA 385, 450, Pp. KP 159, MED 420, BMR IV 453, Chr. 793, SM 494, T 338, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Krg. 701-2, KRS 279, KW 220, Chr. 793-4, Ms. O 399-400 ◇ U *-o- may be due to regr. as. (*a...U [= *a...o?] > *o...∇) or to the labializing infl. of *m. If M *yabu- does not belong here, the N etymon may be reconstructed as *yom∇.

2632. *y^ha¹m∇ (or *yoma) 'good\fit' > HS: S *^o✓ymn 'right (dexter)' > BHb yā¹mīn 'right side', 'right hand', Ug ymn, Ar yaman-, Gz yamān, Ak imnu (f. imittu) id., Eb a-me-nún, a\i-me-tum (= yaminum, f. yamittum ~ yimittum) 'right (dexter), IA, Plm, Nbt ymn 'right side', Sr yammī¹n-ā  'right side', adj. 'right', JPA Bz yam¹mīn 'right side\hand', JEA {Sl.} yammī¹nā id., 'right foot', JA [Trg.] yammī¹n-ā, Sb ymn 'right hand', Ar yamīn- 'right hand, right side' ¶ A no. 1179, OLS 529, KB 396-7, KBR 415, HJ 461, Js. 580, Sl. 536-7, Sl. P 242, Br. 303, BK II 1634-5, BGMR 168, Krb. EG 20, Frnz. EL 135-6, MiK I no. 1.292 || Eg O imn 'right (dexter)', imn.t 'right side, west', Cpt: Sd εMNT emnt, B εMENT ement 'west, western', Sd/A/O aMENT, B aMENT† amenti, A/L εMNTε emnte 'les enfers, l'Enfer' ¶ EG I 86, Fk. 21, Vc. 11, 43 ¶¶ Tk. I 37 || U: FU (in Ugr only) *^oyoma 'good' > ObU: Vg: T yomās, LK/MK/UK yāmas, P yomās, NV yomās ɖ yamās, SV/LL yamās, UL/Ss yomas 'good'; Os: V/Vy/Ty/Y/D/K yēm, Nz/Kz yām ~ yīm, O yim 'good' † OHg ≥XII, Hg jó, Δ gyaó ɖ gyó 'good, fit', Hg java 'the best' ¶ UEW 850, Ht. no. 738, MF 339, EWU 645 || A *^ham_lb_l∇- (< **yam_lb_l∇- by as.?) NaT *jama- 'make good\fit' → v. 'patch' > OT

jama- ({Cl.} yamā-) v. 'patch', Chg ≥XV jama- v. 'patch, repair' ¶ Cl. 934-5, Rs. W 184 || ? M *^onimbayi > WrM {MED} nimbai 'precise, accurate, careful; thorough', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} нямба́й adj./adv. 'precise, accurate' ¶ MED 584, BMR II 451 || ?? Tg *nam qw. 'well, good, fit' > Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn nam id. ¶ STM I 580 ◇ U *^o may be explained by the labializing infl. of *m, which suggests a N etymon *yam∇. An alt. N rec. is *yoma (presupposing that NaT *a of the first syll. and Tg *a are due to regr. as. *yoma > *yama).

2633. *yām∇ 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water' > HS: CS *yamm- 'sea' > BHb 𐰇𐰺yām (pl. 𐰇𐰺𐰽yām¹m-īm) 'sea, large lake', Ph, Ug, OA ym, BA, JEA yam¹m-ā, Sr yam¹m-ā, Ar 𐤎𐤓𐤕yamm- 'sea', JA [Trg.] yam¹m-ā 'sea, lake'; Cn ⇨ Eg fXVIII ym, (EgSSc) {Hoch} ya-ma, ya-mu (= yamma/u) 'sea', Cpt: Sd **eiom** eiom, B **iom** iom, A/F **iam** iam id. ¶ KB 395, HJ 458-9, Br. 303, OLS 527-8, EG I 78, Hoch no. 52, Lv. T I 336, Js. 579, Sl. 536, Reym. 163ff., RR 1181, BK II 1634, Eg I 88, Fk. 18 || ?? B *[?]amaH|w|y- 'water' (with the masc. article *[?]a- and the pl. ending *-ān: *[?]a-[?]amaH|w|y-ān > *[?]a-[?]am-ān > *ām-ān pl. 'water') > Ah, Gd ām-an, Kb, Shl, Wrg, Mz, Izd, Si, Zng aman, Nf {Beg.} amēn, amān, Awj {Prd.} imīn 'water', Gd {Lf.} āman id., ām¹n 'in water' ||| Gnc AHEMON, AEMON 'water' (going back to the eB form *[?]a-[?]am-ān) ¶ The second syll. *-maH|w|y- (with *-aH|w|y- reflected in the final a < *ā in the attested B lgs.) may be due to contamination with HS *ma₁y₁w- 'water' (see N *mūhi 'water') ¶ Vc. UB 314, Vc. ADB 143, Fc. 1139, Lf. II no. O951, Mrc. 91, Dl. 479, La. S 228, La. MChB 196, Bs. NLB I 48, Wlf. 513, Nic. LBM 202, Beg. 215, 272, Prd. 139, Pr. M IV 146 (reconstructs pB *Ha-māH-an without taking into account the Gnc form suggesting a syll. between the px. and *m) || Ch *₁H∇₁y∇m- 'water' > CCh: Tr {Nm.} yim, G'nd {ChL} yèma, Gbn yème | BM: Cb yìmi, BuP {Mch.} jimi | HgNk yiemi | Lmn ími | Suk {IL in ChC} yâm | Mtk {Sb.} ìyâm ~ yàm, pMM {Ro.} *yam id. > Gzg {Lk.}, Mf {BLB} yam, MfG {Brr.} yám, as well as {Ro.}: Mada, Myn, Mlk, Zlg, Mofu yám, Mkt yáw | Db {Lnh., ChL} y¹m, Kola {Sb.} yîm, Msy {Mch.} yim | Msg {Mch.} yim ||| WCh: Su {J} àm, Tal {J} ham, Ywm {J} yam | Fy/DfB/Bks {J} ham, Klr {J} ʔà:m | Krkr {J} ʔam, Tng am 'water' ||| ECh: Mgm {J} àmmì | Brg {J} ʔàmì, Mu {J} ʔámù, ʔàm, Jg ʔám, Mjl {DB} ām, Kjk {DB} àmé 'water'] (with the px. *k-): Kwn {J} kām, Kbl {Cp.} kāmè, Ll {Grgs.} kámá id. ¶ JI II 340-1, ChL, ChC, Ro. 362-3, BLB 387, Brr. MG II 259, Blz. EChWL no. 94 ¶¶ ≠ Ap. ANH 23 (joins those

suggesting to adduce S *may- 'water', which is phonetically unacceptable) || U: Sm {Jn.} *yäm {AD} 'large body of water (sea, large river)' > Ng {Prk.} 'дзьяма' žama, {Cs.} jām 'sea', Ne Т ям' 'sea, large river', {Cs.} jām 'sea', {Lh.} yā:m? 'large river, the Ob', Ne F L {Lh.} yěā:m 'large river', Kms {Cs.} nām ('large river?') ¶ Jn. 40, Ter. 841, Cs. 12, 52 || D *am 'water' > Tm am, ām, Krx amm, Mlt amu id. ¶¶ D no. 187 ¶¶ IS (IS I 279-80) adduced NED *amm with a query ◇ AD GD 5 (HS, U), IS I 279-80 (HS, U, D), S CNM 6.

2634. *yum'a' 'day, daylight' ([in the prehistory of descendant lgs.] → 'sky, heaven, god') > HS: S *'ya w m- (or *'ya w a m-?) 'day, daylight' > Ak ū m- u, Eb {AD} ya w a m- ū (a- w a- m u) pl. 'days' ({Krb., Frnz.} ya w m ū), BHb 𐎢𐎺𐎠 'yōm 'day' (pl. 𐎢𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺𐎠 yā'm-ī m), Ph, Pun 𐎢𐎺𐎠 y m, Ug y m, (AkSc) {Hnr.} yōmu, OA 𐎢𐎺𐎠 y w m, IA 𐎢𐎺𐎠 y w m = BA 𐎢𐎺𐎠 yōm, em. 𐎢𐎺𐎠 yō'm-ā 'day', JA [Trg.], JEA 𐎢𐎺𐎠 yō'm-ā 'day, sun', Sr W 𐎢𐎺𐎠 y a w 'm-ā, Ar يوم ya w m-, Sb mui ~ mi y (w) m, Qt mui y w m 'day', Gz yō m 'today', Mh {Jo.} 𐎢𐎺- 'ya w m, Hrs {Jo.} 𐎢𐎺-yō m 'sun', Jb E/C {Jo.} y u m 'sun', Jb E y u m, Jb C y u (h) m 'day', Mh 𐎢𐎺-yū m pl. 'days', Hrs 𐎢𐎺-yō m z t (pl. 𐎢𐎺-yī m), Sq {L} yō m 'day'; JA 𐎢𐎺𐎠 y a m ā 'm-ā 'daytime, daylight'; BHb pl. yā'm-ī m and Eb a- w a- m u (if it is ya w a m ū) 'days' suggest the presence of *a after *w (lost in sg. and preserved in pl.: sg. *'ya w a m- > [posttonic syncope] *'ya w m-, but pl. *'ya w a 'm- ū / ī without syncope) ¶ KB 382-4, HJ 448-53, Br. 299-300, OLS 527, BK II 1637-8, L G 627, Js. 569, 580, Sl. 529-30, Hnr. 133, Krb. EG 29-30, Frnz. EL 137 || C: Bj {R} -ā y i m (1s p. a- 'ā y i m, pres. é- 'e' y i m ~ 'ē y y i m), Bj B {R} -y a y m v. 'pass the day', Bj {Rop.} 'ā y i m id., 'pass the noontime' ¶ R WBd 37, Rop. 158 ¶¶ ≠ OS no. 2576 (err. genetic comparison of S *'ya w m- with Jg {J} y o m 'day', while in fact Jg y o m is a loan from Ar ChCS yōm [RL 541-2]) || U: FU (att. in FV) *yuma 'sky, heaven, god' > Chr {Ber.} *yumъ 'sky, weather, god' > Н йумы цътъ, Л юмо yumo, Uf yumo 'god', {Ü} yumъndür, yumъn-tür 'horizon' ('edge of sky'), B {PsS} yumo 'sky, the chief god' | BF d. (with the derivational sx *-la): F jumala, Vp jumal ~ yumal, Es jumal, Δ jummal 'god' | Mr XVIII {Strl.} Jumishipas ({UEW}: = jumi-š-pas) 'Mordvinian gods', Er ёндо л yondol, Mk ёндо л yondal 'lightning' (lit. 'heaven fire', 'sky fire' or 'god's fire' with Er/Mk tol 'fire') ¶ UEW 638, It. no. 173, SK 122, SSA I 247, Ber. 12, MRS 163, 782, Ep. 32, Rm. BT 31, PsS 99, Ü 311-2 || IE: NOTE *uelom- name of a mythical being (deity) > Vd V a 'm a b (name

of a mythical being ruling the spirits of the dead), Av *Yimā-* (name of a legendary king of Iran), MPrs *šam(-šēt)*, CINPrs *جم šam, جمشید šām-šēd* (names of kings [lit. 'rex', 'rex splendidus', *šēd* from a Phl word for 'lux']) | Nrs proper names: *Ash imrā, Pra yumrā* (< **yama-rāšā* 'king Yama') || ON *Ymir* (name of a primordial giant in the Norse mythology) ¶ M K III 8, VI. I 528, Sd. 369-71, Vr. 678, Gnt. AWH 337.

2635. **yānh|ʔ, ∇* or (?) **ʔānh|ʔ ∇??* 'speak, say' (both from **ʔ ∇ yānh|ʔ ∇?*) > HS: Eg *∇ ĩr* 'speak, say' ¶ EG I 89, Tk. I 124-5 || B {ʔPr.} **√ ynh* (or **√ wnh*) 'say' > Ah *imv. ənn* (3s pf. *inna*, Pcj. I A 9 = Fcj. 11), Ty/ETwl {GhA} *ənnu* (3 pf.: Ty *yənnu*, ETwl *innu*), BSn {Ds.} *īni* (3s pf. *inna*), Gh {Nh.} *ən* (3m pf. *inna*), Gd *ən* (3m aor. *inna*), Kb, Wrg, Mz *ini* (3s pf. *yanna*), Sll, Tmz, Rf, Izn, SrSn *ini* (3m pf. *inna*) 'say' ¶ Fc. 1279, 2000, Pr. M VI-VII 119 (on Pcj. I A 9), Nh. 151, GhA 137, 246-7, Dl. 535-6, MT 457-8, Ds. 96, Ds. B 100, Dlh. Ou 209, Dlh. M 130, La. S 226-7, Rn. 391 || C: Bj {R} *-(ʔ)ən* (1s p. *a-ʔən*, 3m p. *y-ən*, 1s pres. *'a-ʔəni* ~ *'ʔəni*, 3m pres. *'yi-ni*) 'say' ¶ R WBd 19-20, R BedS IV §§ 306-7 || WCh: Ngm {Nw.} *ana* 'say' || CCh: ZmB {Sa.} *in id.* || ECh: Mu {J} *ʔéŋ*, Kw {J} *àné id.*, ? EDng {Fd.} *àà ~ àn* (introduces indirect speech) 'I\they say that', 'he sais that', ? Mkl *ʔùnté* 'say, declare' ¶ ChC, J DM 19, Fd. 10 ¶¶ OS no. 40, Tk. I 124 || U **ānh|ñe-* 'speak; voice' > FU **āne* 'voice, sound' > F *äāni id.* | pLp {Lr.} **yēnə* 'voice' > Lp: L *jiētna*, N *jiēdnâ*, Kld *yīnn id.* || Hg *ének, éněk* 'song' || pY **ańńz-* 'speak' ({IN H, IN UJ}) **an-* 'speak' > Y K/T {IN H} *ańńz-*, {Iox.} *ańńe-* 'speak', Y K {IN H} *antə-*, Y T {IN H} *antey-* 'respond, answer a call' ¶¶ UEW 25, Sm. 543 (FU, FP **āni*, Ugr **āni* 'voice'), Lr. no. 267, Lgc. no. 1737, IN 103-4, IN UJ 215, Ang. 17 || D {GS} **yan-*, {tr.} **eññ-* ~ **a^hñ¹-* 'say' > Tm *eñ id.*, Ml *ennuka v.* 'sound, say, think', Kt *in-, -n-, Td in-, Kdg p. en-d-, ft. em-b-, Prj en-, Gdb in-* 'say (so-and-so)', Kn *en, ennu, an, Tu anpi- ~ inpi-, Tl anu* 'say, speak', Nkr, Nk *en-, Gnd in- d ind-, Knd, Png, Mnd, Kw in-, Kui inba* 'say', Krx *an-* 'say, tell', Mlt {Drs.} *áne* 'think\say\do thus' ¶¶ According to Bur., the variation **e-* ~ **a-* in D suggests a ppD **ya-* ¶¶ D no. 868, Zv. 58, 129, GS 133-4 [no. 344], Bur. DS V 602 ◇ The rec. of a N initial **y-* is suggested by the B and D data (interpreted according to Bur.'s theory and Pr.'s pB reconstructions), while the Eg, C, and ECh data point to a N initial **ʔ-* ◇ The pB root-final **H* and the long vw. in FU point to the presence of a

lr. in pN, while the absence of any final lr. in Eg suggests that the N word-medial lr. was a "weak" one: *h or *ʔ ◊ IS I 280-1 (*jAnA).

2636. ???σ (?) *yæŋT∇ '≈ stretch, strain, pull' > D (in McTm) *ēnt-v. 'stretch' > Tm ēntu 'stretch out the hands', Ml ēntuka 'take up, stretch arms\legs' ¶ D no. 894 || ʔφ A: T *jā|ēt(ä)- v. 'lead, pull' > OT {Cl.} yēt|d- 'lead (a horse)', {DTS} yēt- id., 'pull (a person by the hand, an animal by a bridle rein), Tk yēt-, yede-, CrTt, Nog jet-, Tkm ĭt-, Tv čet-, SY jet- ʔ žit-, Ggz jede- 'lead', Yk sīāt- 'lead by the hand\rein\rope', ?? Chv: Chv L {Jeg., ChRS} çavăτ-, Chv T {Ash., Fed.} çavăpτ-, Chv Δ çat- 'lead by the hand, by a rein' ¶ Cl. 884, DTS 258-9, ET Gl 387-8, Ash. XII 67, Fed. II 81, Jeg. 202, ChRS 176-7, Pek. 2194-5 ¶ The long vw. is suggested by Yk and (according to IS) by the voiced -d- in Tk yede- ¶ The loss of the N *ŋ (with complementary vowel lengthening?) is still to be explained || ʔσ U *yāntä 'sinew, tendon' (× N *yaʔŋyE 'sinew, tendon') > F järne (gen. järteen) 'tendon, sinew, cord' || Lp Nt {TI} yē ädd_ă-pes_să 'loaded gun' (pes_să_ is 'gun') || Chr: H yəbän, Uf/B yəbən 'bowstring', L {MRS} йыдан yə'bän 'string for lockering wool and fluffing it up' (шерстобойная струна) || ObU {Ht.} *yE:ntəʔ 'bowstring' > Vg *yāntəʔ > Vg: LK yantəŋ, MK/UK yōntəŋ, P yanti ~ yāntuω, NV yantu, SV/ML yāntu|, LL yantū, UL yāntaω, Ss yāntəω id.; pOs {Ht.} *yōntəʔ > Os: V/Vy yōntəʔ, Ty/Y yōntəʔ, D/K yēntə, Nz yīntə, Kz yīntī, O yinti id. || OHg i deg 'sinew, bowstring', Hg i deg 'nerve' || Sm {Jn.} *yentь 'bowstring' > Ne T eH, T O {Lh.} yēn, Ne F {Cs.} jien, Ng {Cs.} yenti, En X {Cs.} jēddi, Slq Tz {KKIH} ćintī, Slq Tm {KD} çǝn'd, Kms {KD} nenǝ id. ¶¶ UEW 92, Cl. 18, Sm. 537 (FU, FP *jānti, Ugr *jāntī 'bow string'), TI 52, Ht. no. 195, Jn. 43, KKI 105 ◊ If U *yāntä belongs here (in contamination with *yaʔŋyE), its vw. *ä of the first syll. may go back to *a of N *yaʔŋyE (> U *ä [regr. as *a...E > *ä...∇]) (q.v.) ◊ IS I 281 [no. 147] (D, A, U).

2637. *yaʔŋyE ~ *yoʔŋyE (or *yawŋyE ~ *yowanŋyE?) 'sinew, tendon' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'bow [weapon]') > HS: Eg: [1] Eg fO ĭwr.t ∈ 'bow (weapon)' ('Art Bogen') ¶ EG I 55, Fk. 13 || [2] Eg MK ĭny 'Schnur; Seile des Schiffes', {Mks.} 'corde, lien', {Vc.} 'ficelle, corde (d'un navire)' > Cpt Sd/A eINE 'entrave, lien pour les pieds' ¶ EG I 93, Mks. I no. O322, Vc. 65 || U [1] *yŋse ~ *yŋkse 'bow (weapon)' > F jousi (gen. jousen), joutsī 'bow' || pLp {Lr.} *yōksə 'bow' > Lp: S {Hs.} juokse, L {LLO} juoksa, Kld jūḥ:s || pMr {Ker.} *yŋgaks 'bow' >

eMr XVIII {SJRN} i oHkc yonks, Er {Ker.} yonks id., {KC} кедь ёнкс 'e hand tools' (кедь is 'hand'), Er SA {ERV} ёнс 'hand-driven device for carding wool, wool-carding bow (ручная шерсточесалка, лучок)', Mk {Ker.} -yonks 'bow' | pChr {Ber.} *yonaž 'bow (weapon)' > Chr: H yaŋvež, Uf yonež, M yonũž || ObU {Ht.} *yōyath 'bow (weapon)' > pVg {Ht.} *yǎvat > Vg: T yāwt ɘ yawt, LK/MK/UK/UL/Ss yowt, P/SV yāɐt, NV yāwt, LL yeɐt; pOs {Ht.} *yoyaf > Os: V/Vy yoyal, Ty yaɤʷaf, Y yawaf, D/K yoxat, Nz yuxat, Kz yōχaf, O yoxal id. || Sm {Jn., Hl.} *int̥ 'bow, shooting bow' > Ne T Hын, {Lh.} ηin̥, Ne F {Lh.} ηin̥, Ng {Ter.} d̥inta, En {Cs.} ed̥do id., Slq Tz {KKIH} int̥ id., ünt̥ 'arc', q̥n ünt̥ 'rainbow', Slq Ch {Cs.} yn̥že 'bow', Kms {KD} īnə, j̥īnə id., Koyb {Sp.} инэ, Mt {Hl.} *mind̥i 'bow' (influenced by Sm *w̥in̥-, *w̥int̥∇- v. 'bend, bend a bow') (Mt: T/K {Mll.} m̥ind̥i, K {Pl.} m̥ind̥i 'Bogen', M {Sp.} мынди 'shooting bow') ¶¶ Coll. 19, UEW 101-2, It. no. 90, Ht. no. 179, MK 180, Sm. 537 (U *j̥in̥s̥i, FU, FP *j̥on̥si 'bow string'), Lr. no. 290, Lgc. no. 1838, Hs. 804, MF 317, Ker. II 45, Fkt. RMS 136, Ber. 11, Jn. 25, KKH 192, 196, Cs. 102, Hl. M no. 678 ¶¶ [2] AdS of U {UEW} *yānte 'sinew, tendon' (× N ???σ *yæn̥∇ ≈ to stretch, strain' [q.v. ffd.]) || A: T {Rs.} *j̥ān̥ 'bow (weapon)' (> *j̥āy ~ *j̥ā) > Bsh jan, Shor nan, OT j̥ā, Tkm j̥āy, Tk yay, Az, Ggz, Kr, Nog jay, Uz jay, Qzq, Qq žay, Qrg žā, StAlt žā, Yk sā id., Chv ɕy in Chv L ykɕy uk-śu, Chv Δ {Jeg.} okɕy 'шерстобитный лук' ('a bow for lockering wool and fluffing it up'), Δ ωk-śu 'shooting bow' (Chv L uk- < T *ok 'arrow') ¶ Rs. W 186, Cl. 869, ET J 74-5, Ash. III 203-4, Fed. II 129, Jeg. 271, ChVS 229 || ? pJ {Vv.} *ya > OJ {S} ya 'arrow' ◇ U *-k̥se goes back probably to a sx of derivation. Eg i̥w̥n and T *j̥ān̥ with a long vw. suggest two syllables between between N *y- and *-ŋ-, which explains the apparent conflicting ev. of *o in U and *ā in T ◇ ≈ AD NM no. 26, ≈ S CNM 13 (equates T *j̥ān̥ 'bow' with Tg *jeje-n 'sharp point' and has doubts about the N et. in question), ≈ Vv. AEN 8 ("The ev. for reconstructing Turkic *ž rather than *y is more than meager"; in fact, in my system there is neither T *ž- nor *y-, but a palatal obstruent *j- [suggested by the BzGk transcription with δ- and by the T phonological structure avoiding initial sonorants]; the remark on pJ *ya < A *dān̥ or *žān̥ with pJ *y- from *d|ž- and not from N *y- is interesting, but still has to be proved).

2638. *yāŋ,ġ,ê 'ice; to freeze' > U: FU *yāŋe 'ice' > F, Es jāä id. | pLp {Lr.} *yēŋɜ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} j̥iēŋe, L {LLO} j̥iekna, N {N} j̥ieŋâ, Kld

ЙҢҢ, К {Gn.} ӯт̄ηη | pMr {Ker.} *yǎʒ id. > Er эй еу, Δ en ɘ ev ~ iy ~ i, Mk эй äy, Δ yäy | pChr {Ber.} *iy 'ice' > Chr: L ий iy, B iy, Uf i, H и i | Prm *yō̄ ({LG} *yō̄̇) id. > Z йи ji, Z US y†, Yz 'yù, Vt йö yz || ObU {Ht.} *yēηk 'ice' > pVg yāηk∇ id. > OVg S ChusO jánka, OVg S Kg янка, анка, , OVg S SSs jong, jäng, OVg N SoG jank, Vg: T íāη, LK/MK/NV yō̄ηk, P/SV/LL/ML yō̄ηk, UL/Ss yāηk id.; pOs {Ht.} *yō̄ηk / *yēηk, {᠑HL.} *yō̄̇ηk/*yī̄ηk > Os: V/Vy yō̄ηk, Ty/Y yā̄ηk^ω, D/K/Nz/Kz yēηk, O yō̄ηk 'ice' | OHg xv íeg, xvi üeeg ɘ gýegh 'ice', Hg jég (accus. jēget), Δ gyég 'ice, hail' ¶ Coll. 84, UEW 93, Db. OS xxx, It. no. 244, Sm. 543 (FU, FP *jǎηi, Ugr *jǎηkī), Lr. no. 168, Lgc. no. 1738, SaR 92, Gn. 484, Ker. II 37, Ber. 8, MRS 138, Ep. 20, LG 111, Lt. J 123, Ht. no. 197, Hl. rHt 71-2, MF 338, EWU 642 || A: NaT *jǎ|e_L:_Jη ({Rs.} *jǎη) 'pieces of ice on the surface of water\ground' > Tv чең, Qc нинь niη 'шуга (pieces of thin ice on a river)', Qb Sl íeη id., 'drifting of ice', Xk Δ нинь niη 'drifting of ice', Sg/Qb {Rl.} neη 'ice on the ground, snow crust' ¶ Rs. W 197, TvR 527, Rl. III 677, BIG 117 || ? Ko N {Rm.} j̄eη ērgi- ~ eη ērgi- 'freeze, stiffen entirely in the cold' (unless <ϑ Chn iη 'ice'), ?? Ko {Rm.} eηgi_J-da 'congeal, stuffen, become solid', NKo {MLC} eηki-ta 'curdles, congeals' ¶ Rm. SKE 55, MLC 1154 || ?ϕ J: OJ yuk_Ji and StJ yuk_Ji 'snow' ¶ Gr. II no. 219, S p.c. (s.v. OJ yuk_Ji), BJRS II 569 ¶¶ Rs. W 197, Rm. SKE 55 (Ko, Tg) || HS: Ch: Dr {J} cd yéη-dé_r:á_li 'hail' (the second part related to Tng {J} dǎgluk 'hail') ¶ ChC, J T 77 ◇ ≈ AD GD 5 and IS MS 346 (IE, U, A; both do not distinguish this N etymon from N *yǎk'a 'ice, cold'), ≈ Rs. UAW 31 and Rs. W 197 (U, A; + err. Ewk iη- 'cold' [in fact from Tg *xiη_L∇_J]) ◇ ≈ Gr. II no. 219 (*yēnka 'ice') (IE, U, A, J + qu. CK).

2639. ?₂ *y∇P_Ji 'to rise; up' > HS: S *^o✓ ypf > Ar ✓ yff G 'climb (a mountain), be grown up', yafaɣ- 'hill', yāfiɣ- 'élevé' ¶ BK II 1631, Hv. 903 || IE: NaIE *epi-/*opi-/*pi- 'upon' (direction, place) (loss of *j̄- by analogy with *pi- < **^rj̄^rp_LH_Ji-?) > Gk ἐπί / ἔπι 'upon' || OI 'ap̄i- ~ pi-px. {MW} 'near, over', OI 'ap̄i 'also, and', Av a'p̄i, OPrs ap̄i_y 'bei, nach' || Arm **u** ew (> NEArm ye_v) 'and, also' || L ob 'auf - hin, nach - hin, auf - zu' → 'in front of; in return for, to the purpose; because of' || ? Gt iftuma adj. (← sprl.) in iftumindaǵa 'on the following day' || Pru ep- pv. 'be-' (← *'over'), Ltv ap̄ prep. 'around', Ltv ap̄- pv. 'round', Lt ap̄iē 'about' || Sl *ob prep. (+ accus.) 'against' (as a prep. of direction). 'against the surface of' (direction) > OCS. OR **объ** объ. о

o, R, Uk oб(о), o, P o, Δ o b, LLs ω o ~ ω e ~ h o, HLs ω o, Slk, SCr o, Sln o b id. ¶ WP I 122-3, P 323-5, 1105-7, MW 55, M K I 39, M E I 86, F I 535, WH II 192-4, Fs. 290, Frn. 12-3, En. 93, 169, Vs. III 96, ESSJ XXVI 71-4, ESISJ-SGZ I 133-4, 140-1, Slr. 397-8, EI 391 (*h₁epi ~ *h₁opi 'near, upon') ¶¶ The absence of NaIE *ə- in the apophonic zero grade suggests the pIE lr. *ʔ- or the glide *j̥-. The evolution N *y∇- > NaIE *e- still needs investigating (shall we suppose an intermediate stage **j̥epi- / **j̥pi- [cp. AD NVIE]?) ◇ The alt. hypothetic NaIE cognates *upo/*up- / *eyp- 'up' and *up-s- 'high' are ruled out because of the absence of the expected *ə in the intercons. position in *ups-; on NaIE *up(o), *ups- see s.v. N *ɣup∇ 'to take wing; up' ◇ The pN rec. *y∇P₁ɣi is more plausible than the formally possible alt. rec. *y∇P₂ɣi, because the N obstruent cluster *-P₂ɣ- is more likely to undergo as. (N *-P₂ɣ- > *-bɣ-) than the N cluster *-P₁ɣ- (obstruent + sonorant).

2640. ₂ *yUPχ∇ 'leopard' > HS: C: Ag *y^ri¹p- 'leopard' > Bln {R} 'yī bā, pl. yī f, Dmb/Q {R} yī bā 'leopard. panthere' ¶ R WB 365, R QW 149 || K *owepχ- 'leopard' > OG vepχi-, MG [VTq.] vepχvi, G vepχvi ~ vepχi id. ¶ Abul. 157, DCh. 506.

2641. *yE q¹i or *y^ru¹q¹i 'both, two (persons)' > A *i|ekk'E > T *i|ekk'i, {Md.} *e.k(k)i 'two' (x pA *p'E k'ye, {SDM} *p'æk'e 'follow, be next' < N *p.^rE¹K₁y∇ 'to track [game], to follow the tracks of') > OT ekk₁, MQp XIV ikk₁, Uz, ET, Qzl, Sg/Qb/Kc/Tb {Rl.} ikk₁, Xlj {DT} äkk₁, Yk äkk₁ ~ ikk₁, Tk ik₁, Tkm, Az, Ggz, Kr G ik₁, CrTt, Kr Cr, Qmq, QrB, Nog, Qq, Uz Δ, Qrg, StAlt {BT}, Tb {B} ek₁, Qzq ek₁, VTt, Bsh ике ikь, Qmn {B} ek₁ ~ ik₁, Alt/Tlt/QK {Rl.} äkk₁ (ä = /e/, no opposition /e/ ↔ /ä/), QK {B} ek₁ ~ ekk₁, Shor iygi, Xk ik₁ uk₁, Ln ĩke ~ ĩkke ~ ĩške, Tv iŷi, Tf iħ¹i, ET Δ {Jr.} iški ~ iški, {Ml.} iške, Slr {Tn.} iʃki [išk₁] ~ iʃke [išk₁] ~ iški ~ iški ~ iшki ~ iшk'ı, {Kk.} ĩšqı ~ šqı', SY {Tn.} išqı ~ iški ~ ški, Chv L иккѣ ikкь, икѣ ig₁ь, ик; T *ikkı́r 'twin(s)' (d. at the pA or the pT level) > OT {Cl.} ik(k)iz, {DTS} ikkiz ~ ekiz, MQp XIII jikiz, OTkm XV ikkiz, Tkm ekı̄b, Az ekiz, Qzq egı̄z, Nog, Uz egiz id., Qq, Qrg egiz, Alt egis id., 'couple', Chv yькьr 'double', yькьreš 'twins' ¶ Cl. 100-1, 119, Cl. TN 20 (on the pT geminated *-kk-), DTS 167-8, 206-7, ET Gl 252-4, 337-9, Md. 90, 163 (T *ĕk(k)i), Rl. I 682, 1421, Nj. 174, BT 190, B DLT 32, B DChT 37, B DK 49, BIG 412, Ra. 200-1, Jr. 139, Ml. UN 113, Tn. SJ 121, Tn. SSJ 71, DT 109, Ash. III 91-7, Fed. I 162-3, Jeg. 67-8, ChVS 51 ¶¶ The gemination of -k- may reflect

a pA cluster *-k'y- || M *iki|ere 'twins' (unless ← T) > MM [MA] i k i r, WrM {MED} i k e r e ~ i k i r e, HIM и х э р {MED} id., {BMR} 'twin; similar, парный', WrO i k i r e id., 'pair', Kl {KRS} и к р, {Rm.} i k ū r, Brt э х и р 'twin(s)' ¶ Pp. MA 195, MED 401, BMR II 288, Krg. 101, Chr. 779, KRS 267, KW 206 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1153 (pA *p'jòk'e 'pair, couple' > M *h₁ekire 'twins', T *ek(k)i 'two' + unc.: pJ *pžká 'other' and pKo *pžkí 'next, following'), ≈ DQA no. 1785 (A *p'jòk'e 'next, following') || U: [1] Sm *yъкъ 'twin' (< U *yuk_Lk_J∇ [or *í-, *ž-]) > Ne T d. я х а " y a x a ʔ, {Lh.} yǎχǎ, Ne F {Lh.} d. jǎχa'ííǎǎ, Ng {Cs.} 'jaka, En {Cs.} 'jeħo id., Slq Tm {KD} çāʔa šz'tāš 'two twins' ||| [2] U {Coll.} *-kä / *-ka, ending of dual of nouns: Vg N -š (āpa-š '2 cradles', pūt-+š '2 kettles'), Os V -ʔən / -šən / -qən / -kən (köt-kən '2 hands', weli-šən '2 reindeers'), etc., Sm: Ne T nom. -haš / -gaš / -kaš, En -h+š / -g+š / -k+š, Ng nom. -gzy / -kzy, Slq Tz -qí, as well as an ending of dual in verbs: Kms {Kü.} -ʔby / -g∇y (ending of 3d)¶¶ Jn. 34, Coll. CG 302-3, Ht. ChrO 123-40, Kálmán ChrV 43-4, Ter. NJ 380, Ter. EJ 442, Ter. NgJz 422, KHG 168-9, Kü. KJ 383 || K *o-ge > OG XI-XIII -ge, G F -ge, G Ing -g, G Mt/Kx -ge ~ -qe, sx of plurality of the indirect object of the 2nd and 3rd persons (geubnebi 'I say to thee' ↔ geubnebiqe 'I say to you [pl.]', unda 'he wants' ↔ undaqe 'they want') ¶ Dt. 60-1, Chik. Q || ? HS: the final element *y (< ppB *k) in pB *hanā-y 'us, 'to us' (> Tw {Pr.} ānby ǎ hānby id.), in the postnominal sx *-nay 'our' (> Tw -nby, Kb, Shl -nəy, Si, Wrg -nnəy, etc.), in the postverbal sx *-∇y ǎ *-(∇)n∇y 'us' (> Ah -nby, Kb, Shl, Wrg -ay, Si -anaay, Zng -əng) ¶ Pr. M I-III 164, 170-3, AiM 216-7 || WCh: Ron {J}: Fy kon 'we' du., Bks kún, Sha gžn, Klr yiǎí:n id., proclitics: Fy, Bks kú, Sha gí, Klr ġí id. ¶ J R 371, 390 ◇ In G (or already in pK?) the original meaning of dual shifted to plural. If the N vw. of the first syll. was *u (as suggested by Sm), the T and M vw. may be explained by vowel harmony and by the infl. of pN *y-: N *yugí > *yüki > yiki > T *ik'i, M *iki|ere.

2642. *yar^rú^r 'to shine (leuchten), to burn' > A *yar∇- > NaT *jaru- 'be(come) bright, shine' > OT {Cl.} j a r ū - 'be/become bright, shine', XwT XIV, Chg XV j a r u -, MQp XIV, Qmn/Kr {Rl.} j a r ɪ - id., Uz ёри- jari- v. 'be bright/light, dawn', ET j o r u -, Qrg ž a r ɪ -, Kr, SbTt j a r ɪ -, StAlt ž a r ɪ -, Xk, Shor č a r ɪ -, Tv č ɪ r ɪ -, Tf ć ɪ r ɪ -, Ln j a y u - v. 'shine (leuchten)'; ↗ T *jaruk n. 'light, gleam', adj 'bright, shining' > OT j a r u q id., MQp XIV j a r u q, [CC] j a r ɪ q n. 'light', Tkm Δ j a r ɪ q 'bright', Kr jarik ǎ jariχ, Slr

jarux, Uz ёруғ jaruғ, ET joruq, Qzq, Qq žariq, Qrg žariq, StAlt žariq, Xk čariχ, Tv čariq n. 'light', adj. 'bright' ¶ Cl. 956, 962-3, Rl. III 120, ET J 134-5, Bu. II 327, Rs. W 189, Ra. 200 || M *yar∇- 'shine, gleam; burn (as fire)' > MM [MA] {Pp.} yarilǰuba v. (p.) 'burned' (of fire), Kl {Rm.} yar- 'blinken, schimmern (in der Ferne), leuchten', WrO {Krg.} yaralza- v. 'gleam, glisten, sparkle', HIM {BRM} яралза- 'glitter, gleam (сверкать, блестеть), рябить', Kl {KRS} ярлз- yarǰz- 'glitter, gleam (сверкать, блестеть)', {Rm.} yarǰza- 'in der Ferne schimmern, aus der Ferne blinken; hell sein, leuchten' ¶ Pp. MA 387, KRS 711, KW 216 (mentions WrM yara-, which is not confirmed by the available dictionaries of WrM), BRM IV 467, Krg. 706, Luv. 695, KRS 711 || ?σ Tg *ya_l:r^u-, *ya_l:rukta- 'have a good look at, examine' > Ewk ērukta-, Lm āru- 𐎠 ēru- 𐎠 yāru-, Neg ēwukta 𐎠 ēyukta-, Orc āoktaçi- ~ yauktaçi-, Ud I {Krm.} yzuktəsi-, Ud K/Sm {Krm.} yaktasi-, Ul yorosu/ι-, Ork ēroqto-, Nn: Nh yārsi-, B yāraqta-, KU yāroqta- id. ¶ STM I 291, Krm. 243 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 68, Rs. W 189 (T, M) || | D (in McTm) *°er- 'shine' > Tm er_i 'shine, litter', Ml er_ikkā 'shine (as sun)', er_ippu 'sunshine' ¶ D no. 861 || | HS: Ch *✓ yr 'burn' > WCh: Bg {Sh.} yar, ? Tala Sh {Sh.} yā vt. 'burn' || | ?? CCh: Bdm {Lk ← Nc.} yīrɔu ~ yīrau ~ yērau 'heat, day' ¶ Sh. SB 34, JI II 54-5, Lk. B 131 || ? Eg G ĩr.t ≈ 'flame'; but Eg G {Crn., Vc.} ĩrr 'shed light' hardly belongs here, because Cpt Sd eielee eielee and Cpt B ielee eielee, elee elee 'shine, glitter' point to an Eg *✓ ĩll (÷ Hb 𐤀𐤁𐤇 ✓ hll 'leuchten') ¶ EG I 114, Vc. 62, Crn. 46 ¶¶ OS no. 2579 ◇ IS MS 364 (*jar 𐎠 'сиять': A, D), O HSN 122..

2643. ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' (← *'to cause misfortune'), (?) 'misfortune' > U: FU *yer∇- v. 'curse, scold' > Prm {LG} *yör- (JLG *jör-) v. 'curse' > Z ep- yor-, Z US yor-, Prmk yord-, Yz 'yur-, Vt юрисък- yuriśk-, {Wc.} yūr-, Vt B yAr- id. || | Vg {Kn.}: T/LK/P/Ss yēr- v. 'curse, scold' ¶ UEW 97-8, LG 101 || | A *ye_l:r- > pJ {S} *ira-t- or *dirat- 'be annoyed' (× N *žä?°r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate'?) > OJ ira-t-, JT iradat- ¶ S QJ no. 833, Mr. 698 || NaT *je_l:r- ~ *je_l:ri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N *zefer∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N *žä?°r∇ '↑') ¶¶ SDM 1535 (pA *žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted' T, J + unc. Tg *jēri- 'boast' and M *žirke- 'hate, be disgusted'), DQA no. 2598 (id.) || | D (in McTm) *īr- 'grief, anger' > Tm īr_al 'grief (as of a broken heart), deep-seated

sorrow', Ml $\bar{i}r_a$, $\bar{i}r_u$ 'anger, fury', $\bar{i}r_uka$, $\bar{i}r_ekka$ 'be angry' ¶ D no. 553 || HS: S: Ar $yarr-$ 'evil, calamity', {BK} 'mal, malheur, inimité' (unless $\leftarrow \checkmark yrr$ 'be hard') ¶ BK II 1626, Hv. 902 ◇ Is D * \bar{i} - a legitimate representative of N * y_e -? The matter is still to be investigated ◇ L $\bar{i}ra$ 'anger' and OI $iras'yati$ 'is angry' do not belong here (see MK I 91, P 335, and WH I 717-8).

2644. * $yOR\checkmark$ ($b\checkmark$) 'firm, strong, hard > HS: S * $\circ\checkmark yrr$ > Ar $\checkmark yrr$ G 'be hard' (a stone), $\checkmark yarr-$ (pl. $yurr-$) 'dur et uni naturellement (comme une pierre)'; possibly also ??? $\checkmark \checkmark rb$ G 'être dur \ difficile' (se dit des temps, du sort), ?? $\checkmark \checkmark rb$ TD (pf. $ta\checkmark arraba$) 'be hard towards so. in' ¶ BK I 22-3 and II 1626, Hv. 6, 901-2 || ? Eg $\checkmark \checkmark t \approx$ (so.'s) strength (Kraft)', {Fk.} 'striking power (of god, etc.)' > Cpt O HT- $\bar{e}t-$ in HT $\checkmark \bar{e}t-f$ 'sa force' ¶ EG I 2, Fk. 1, Vc. 56 || ? C: Bj {R} $e'r \bar{a}b$ 'strong (mächtig, stark)' (of people) ¶ R Wbd 28 || U: FU * $\circ yOR\checkmark$ > ObU {Ht.} * $y\bar{o}r$ 'force, power' > pVg * $y\bar{a}r$ > Vg: ML {Mu.} $y\bar{o}r$, Ss {Kn.} $y\bar{o}r$ 'Kraft, Macht; kräftig, mächtig', {BV} $\checkmark p$ $\checkmark ara$ 'by force, with difficulty (насилу, через силу)'; pOs {Ht.} * $y\bar{o}r \sim$ * yOR 'force, strength, power, violence' > Os: K/Nz/MO yur , Kz $y\bar{u}r$, O yOR id. ¶ Ht. no. 203, MK 175-6, BV 31, Stn. 403 || A: T * $\circ jarb$ 'firm, solid' (\times N * $da_yR\checkmark$ \rightarrow * da_yRE 'be[come] stiff/firm') > OT $jarp$ 'firm, solid' ¶ Cl. 957 ◇ The unexpected T * a may belong to the heritage of N * da_yRE ◇ N * $b\checkmark$ is probably identical with the N adjectival pc. * bA that formed compound (> derived) names of quality bearers (q.v.).

2645. * $y\checkmark a\checkmark \hat{u}rU$ (= * $y\checkmark a\checkmark \hat{u}rO$?) 'body of water' > HS: B: Zng {Bs.} $t-i\checkmark r-t$ 'river' || NrOm: Anf {Bnd.} $yuro$ 'river' || CCh: Msg {Mch.} $\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark$, {Trn.} $\checkmark \hat{e}$, {GKrs.} $\checkmark \hat{e} \checkmark r\bar{e}$ 'river', {Brt.} $e r \bar{e}$ 'Tal', Mbara {TrnSL} $r\hat{e}$ 'river' ¶ ChC, Lk. DQM 93, TrnSL 289 || ?? Eg $\checkmark tr\omega$ 'river', $\checkmark tr$ 'the Nile' (with puzzling $-t-$), [AkSc] $n\bar{a}rUy\checkmark a-rU-\checkmark u-\acute{u}$ 'the Great Riber' or 'the Nile', DEg $y\checkmark r$, $y\checkmark r$ 'Fluß, Kanal', Cpt: Sd $\epsilon i o o p \epsilon i o o r$, B $i o p i o r$, A $i w w p e i \bar{o} \bar{o} r e$ 'canal, watercourse'; acc. to Vc., the history of the word is as follows: * $yatra\omega$ > * $yarrow$ > dis. * $y\checkmark raw$ ¶ EG I 146-7, Er. 49, 50, Vc. 66 || S: BHb $\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark$ \sim $\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark$ $y\checkmark a\checkmark \bar{o}r$ 'the Nile', 'big river' (e.g. 'the Tigris') [Dn. 12.5-7], 'wasserführende Stollen eines Bergwerks'; Vc. 66 suggests the reading $y\bar{o}r$, which is ruled out by the spelling var. $\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark$; unless the word is a loan from Eg, it may go back to * $\circ y\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark a r-$ or * $\circ y\checkmark \checkmark \checkmark \checkmark ur-$ ¶ KB 364-5 || IE * $y u H\checkmark r-$ ({EI} * $y u H r-$) > NaIE: Blt * $y\bar{u}r-$ 'sea' > Lt $i\checkmark \checkmark r a$. pl. $i\checkmark \checkmark r \acute{e} s$. Ltv $i\checkmark \checkmark r a$. Pru $i\checkmark \checkmark r i n$ 'sea' || ? Thr $i\checkmark \checkmark r a s$ (name

of a river) ¶ Frnk. 198-9, Kar. I 362-3, ≈ P 81, EI 636 || **U**: FV {UEW} *yār^wä 'lake' > F jār^vi (gen. jār^ven), Es jār^v id. | pLp {Lr.} *yāvrē id. > Lp: S jaavrie, L jau'rē, N jaw're, Kld yaV:re | pMr {Ker.} *yārā-kā > Er эрьке ерке, Mk эрьхке ärkā id., 'pond' | Chr: L ep yer, Uf/B yer, H йәр yār 'lake' ¶ UEW 633, It. no. 242, SK 132, Lr. no. 258, Lgc. no. 1673, Ker. II 38, MRS 114, Ep. 28 || **A**: ?μ T *jir-mak 'river, waterstream' > Chg [LM] jirmaq 'large river, waterstream', Qmq jirmaq, Uz irmoq 'waterstream, affluent', Tk irmak 'river', VTt {Rl.} žirmaq 'die Bucht', Chv L ҫырма 'ravine (овраг), small river' ¶ Dubious because the meaning of *jir- is not clear ¶ Rs. W 202, ET Gl. 664- 5, Rl. IV 124, Ash. XII 121, Fed. II 156, Jeg. 226, ChVS 194 || **D** *yār^uu, {GS} *yār^u- 'river', → 'water' > Tm yār^u ~ ā^u 'river, brook', Ml ā^u, Tl ē^u 'river', Kt peyv-e'r id., te:lvⁱ-e'r 'the Pykara river', Tu ā^r 'river, stream', Prj per-ed 'river' (per- 'big'), Gdb ber bereṭ 'big river' (ber 'big'), Gnd yēr 𐎠 ēr, Knd ē^u(u), Png ez, Mnd ey, Kui ē^u 𐎠 ēsu, Ku ēyū 𐎠 ēyu 'water' ¶¶ D no. 5159, GS 134 [no. 345] ◇ D *-r- suggests an intervocalic N *-r-. FV *yār^wä may go back to N *yā[?]ūrU + sx *-A ◇ IE *H in *yūHr- and BHb -r- in yā[?]ūr (unless the Hb word is a loan from Eg) suggests the presence of a lr. (N *yā[?]ūrU). The vw. *u in IE and ō in Hb. suggest that the vw. of the second syll. was *u or *ü (*yā[?]ūrU). The absence of *u or *w in the IE Auslaut suggest that the N final labialized vw. was *o ◇ Blz. LB no. 96 (suggested to add the T and Zng words), Blz. LNA no. 24 (suggested to add the B, Om, Ch, Blt, and T cognates).

2645a. ₂ *y[?]g[?]r[?] 'honeycomb', {?} 'beehive' > HS: WS *ya[?]g[?]r[?]- (or *wa[?]g[?]r[?]-) > BHb 𐤎𐤓 'ya[?]ar 'honeycomb', snglt. cs. 𐤎𐤓 'ya[?]ar^a,rat[?] id., JA [Trg.] ya[?]rat[?] duḫšā id. (duḫšā 'honey'), ? (d.): Gz ma[?]ār ~ ma[?]ar 'honey, honeycomb', Tgr, Tgy m[?]ar, Amh mar 'honey' ¶ KB 404, Lv. T I 340, Di. 207, ≈ L G 326, Ap. CAAL 29 || **D** {Blz.} *y[?]g[?]- 'honeycomb, beehive' > Tm i[?]ar[?], i[?]al, Δ i[?]ā[?]ṭ[?], Kdg te[?]-eri, Tu e[?]i, Kui žēka 'honeycomb', Kn ir[?] id., ē[?]ri 'empty beehive', Gnd yēri 'the bee's comb in which the eggs and grubs live', Gnd HM a[?]ey 'part of hive where bees and grubs live' ¶¶ D no. 517 ◇ The S-D equation was suggested by Blažek (Blz. DA 163 [no. 111]).

2646. *yER[?] 'e (young of a) ruminant animal' > HS: CS *'ya[?]g[?]r[?]- 'kid' > BHb pl. 𐤎𐤓 'ya[?]ār-ō[?] 'kids', Ar ya[?]- 'chevreau'; WS *yar[?]- > Ar yar[?]- 'calf', {Hv.} 'young calf', ? Tgr w[?]er[?] 'mountain goat' ¶ KB 404,

БК II 1626, 1630, Hv. 602, LH 235 || **U:** FU *^oyEra > Z йѳра цзра 'elk'
 ¶ ≈ LG 113 (adduces [with a query] Chr {Ü} йѳгар цъгар 'ε a beast',
 which is a loan from T or M) || **D** *ir- 'antelope, deer' (× N *^{ci}R'i'
 '[male, young] big ungulate') > Tm iralaḷ 'stag', 'ε deer', Kn eraḷe ~
 erale 'ε antelope, deer', Tu eraḷe 'antelope, deer', EpTl iri
 (pl. irilu) 'stag', irḷi 'antelope', Mlt ilaru 'mouse deer' ¶¶ ≈ D no.
 476 ◇ Not here Chr {Ü} йѳгар цъгар 'ε a beast', because its
 connection with the N etymon in question contradicts the rules of
 sound correspondences known so far. It may be a loan from a T or M
 word that belongs to N *^{3Eg}|k∇RH∇ 'antelope' ◇ D *-r- is the reg.
 reflex of N *^R-clusters (here *-Rḷ-). D *i- from N *^y∇- needs
 investigating (cp. the item no. 2622).

2647. *^{ya}r'∇ 'to draw\scratch a sign' > **U:** FU (att. in Ugr) *^{ya}r'∇- id.
 > Os: V/Vy yeri- v. 'draw (lines), scratch (on the surface of sth.)'
 ('чертить, царапать'), Ty/Y yāri- id. ('einen Strich ziehen, kratzen
 [Nagel, Holzsplitter usw.]') || ?? Hg ír-, Δ ir- 'write', Δ 'einen Muster
 zeichnen, malen' (unless ← Blgh, cp. Chv śir- 'write', as supposed by
 Cl.) ¶ UEW 850, MF 321-2, Trj. S 72 || **A:** T *^{ja}r' ({Md.} *^{ja}r') (× N
 *ⁿⁱR'∇ 'rub, scratch, draw\make a sign', q.v.) > OT, OOSm XIV, Chg XV
 jaz- 'write', OTkm XIII -جـ jaz- (read by Cl. as jāz- on the insufficient
 ev. of the plene spelling), Tkm яз- jaḃ- (short a), Tk yaz-, Ggz, Az,
 Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, ET, Ln jaz-, Bsh jaḃ-, Uz ёз- jαz-, QrB, Qrg žaz-,
 Qzq, Qq žaz-, Xlj ja'z- id.; the variant *^ji'R- (represented by Chv L ѳыр
 'draw (zeichnen), write' and by the M loanword žiru- 'draw, paint')
 belongs to N *ⁿⁱR'∇ ¶ Cl. 984, Md. 104, 160, DT 221, Tkr 807 (yaḃ-
 with a short a), ET J 70-1, Ash. XII 111-12, Fed. II 154-5, Jeg. 225,
 ChVS 191 ¶ ≈ SDM 1013 (pA *ⁿⁱǰiǰǰe 'to draw' > T + unc. Tg *ⁿⁱiru-
 'draw' [in fact from N *ⁿⁱR'∇], M *^{zi}iru- 'scratch, draw, write' and pKo
 *^{nirk}- 'read'), DQA no. 1470. || **D** (in SD) *eḷut- v. 'draw (lines,
 pictures)' > Tm eḷutu v. 'write, paint, draw', Ml eḷutuka v. 'paint,
 write, learn', Kt eḷd-, Kdg ǰḷid- v. 'write' ¶¶ D no. 853.

2648. ₂ *^{ya}h₁∇₁'∇ 'broad open place' > **HS:** S *^oya'har- or *^oyahar- >
 Ar yahar-, yahr- 'broad place', {BK} 'endroit vaste, spacieux' ¶ BK II
 1637, Hv. 905 || **A:** T *^{ja}r'i 'broad open place' > OT jazī id., Tkm †
 язы jaḃi 'steppe, vast space', Tk yazi 'plain, valley', Nog Δ jazī, ET
 jazī ǰ jāzī ǰ jezi 'steppe', Alt/Kü {Rl.} jazī (= žazi) 'vast plain', Qzq Δ
 žazi Oro žazi 'plain' Xk čazi 'field steppe' Yk sthī 'olade' ¶ Cl. 984

Rs. W 194, ET J 73, RI. III 229, Jr. 155, MI. UN 116, Mng. G 738, BIG 306.

2649. *yAs∇ 'bone', (?) 'limb, joint (articulation)' > **U**: FU *yāsē 'limb, joint (articulation)' > F jāsen 'joint (articulation)', 'member', Es jāse 'limb' | pMr {Ber.} *yāzāñā 'limb, joint' > Er эзне еźне, Mk эзне äźñä, Mk P {Ps.} yāźñä ~ yāznä 'joint (Gelenk)' | pChr {Ker.} *yīžъŋ id. > StChr L йыжыŋ yъžъŋ, Chr E Δ јъžъŋ, Chr H ежыŋ yežъŋ | Prm {LG} *yōz- 'joint, articulation (in a limb, in a plant)' > Vt ёз yoz 'joint\node (in a plant)', Z UV yez 'Gelenk', Z P {Wd.} yzna 'Muskel, Gelenk', Z йозви yz-vi, Z USs yz-v+y, Vt ёзви yoz-vi id. (with vi 'force?') || Hg íz 'limb, joint' ¶ UEW 95, Sm. 552 (FP *jāsī 'joint'), MF 333, It. no. 243, 211, 291, Ber. 11, Ker. II 40, LG 112 || **A**: M *yasun 'bone' > MM [MA, IM, LV] yasun, [IsV] yāsun 'bone', WrM {MED} yasun id., 'corpse', HIM {MED} яс(ан) {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'skeleton', Brt яна(н) id., Kl {KRS} ясн 'bone, bones', {Rm.} yasŋ 'Knochen', Mnr H {T} yase, {SM} yāsə, Mgl {Rm.} yōsun, (ArSc) {Wr.} yāsūn ~ yāsū, Dgr {T} yasū, Dx {T} yasun, Ba yasŋ 'bone', Ord yasū 'os' ¶ Acc. to Hattori's hyp. (Hatt. LV), Mgl long vowels go back to long vowels in pM; but his hyp. has not yet been sufficiently proved for the reconstruction of pM *yāsun, the more so that Mgl {Rm.} yōsun has a deviant ō, while in Mgl (ArSc) yāsūn (just as in IsM) the orthographic ā reflects the Persian spelling of [a]-sounds; in any case, the et. of pM long vowels (if any) is unknown ¶ MED 430, BMR IV 469, Chr. 802, KRS 711-2, KW 217, Ms. O 398-9, Pp. MA 388, 450, Pp. L III 77, Lg. VMI 73, SM 490, T 337, T DgJ 197, T DnJ 122, T BJ 140, Rm. M 30, Wr. B 171 || **HS**: Ch (× N *yôč∇ 'bone'): WCh {Stl.} *y|was∇(-k∇) 'bone' > pAG *ʔas > Su j́yés, Ang jis ~ yis, Cp *ʔés | SBc: Zem, Brw, Wnd {Sh.} yes, es, Sy yiskí, Gj {Sh.} ʔīsī, Dw ʔis | BT: Tng {J} wos, Krkr ʔosŋ, Ngm {Kr.} ʔwòsô, Krf {Gw.} wóseni || ECh: Kbl {Cp.} ʔìsí, Ll {Grgs.} ísî; Skr {Sx.} ʔsîŋí; Mgm {J} ʔássú, Mkl {J} ʔòssé, Jg {J} ʔaso, Brg {J} ʔásó 'bone' ¶ Stl. ZCh 231-2 [no. 795], JI II 36-7.

2650. *yos∇ '≈ go\run, go away' > **HS**: S *^o✓y^rs|š^r or *^o✓yš^rs|š^r > Ar ✓yss (pf. yassa, ip. ya-yiss-u) 'aller, partir, s'éloigner' ¶ BK II 1627 || ?φ Eg: fOK ízy '≈ go! (gehe!)', MK {Fk.} ís (< íz) id. ¶ EG I 126, Fk. 29, Tk. I 176 (considers í- to be prosthetic and equates the Eg word with Mz zwa 'go', Hs žě 'go to', and related words of other B and Ch lgs.) || **IE**: NaIE *e_his-/*is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry' (× NaIE *e_his-/*o_his- 'move with impetus' < N *s_hiz∇ 'strong healthy?') > OI is-nā-ti

iṣṣyati 'sets in motion, swings', Av aēš- '(sich) in eilige Bewegung setzen' || OSx ovas̄t (< *ob̄-aṣ̄t?) n. 'haste', AS of-ost ~ of-est ~ of-st 'haste, zeal (Eile, Eifer)', ON inf. eiṣa 'vorwärtsstürzen', {EI} 'go dashing' ¶ P 299-301, EI 506 (*h₁eṣ̄- 'set in motion'), M K I 94, M E I 271-2, Ho. S 57, Ho. 240, Vr. 98 || U: FU *y^oʹs̄∇- v. 'ski, toboggan' > Z inf. iṣlav-n̄, Z Lu/LV/Ud inf. iṣlav-n̄, Prmk inf. iṣlaś-n̄, Yz inf. ʌs^llas-n̄ id. || ObU *y^oʹθ̄- > Os D/K yut- v. 'ski' ¶ LG 110, Stn. D 418 || ? A: Tg *_vōs- v. 'retreat' > Ewk, Lm ḡs- id., Neg ḡs-, Ork ḡss̄- v. 'step aside, clear (a place)', Ul ḡst-, Nn Nh/B ḡst-, ḡstḡ- v. 'clear (a place), tidy up' ¶ STM II 25-6 ◇ Eg fOK z (for the expected s̄) still needs explaining.

2651. *y_uṭ_ṭt^ʹi^ʹ 'with (mit)', 'with, by' (instrumental), 'together with' > HS: S *ṛitt̄∇ 'with (cum)' > OAK, Ak ṽ it̄ti, it̄tuṛn 'with, along with', 'by' (agens of ps. verbs), Ak MB/NA it̄u 'with, beside', BHb ṭṭ̄ ṛet̄ 'with' (/ -ṭṭ̄ ṛitt̄- before pronominal endings: 'ṭṭ̄ ṛitt̄-t̄-ī 'with me', etc.), Ph, Pun ṛt̄ 'with, near, beside', Tgr ṛṣt̄ 'by, with' (here also ṛṣt̄ 'on, in?'), Hrs ḥṣt̄ 'with, at the home of, at' ¶ Ug ḥt̄, interpreted in A no. 862 as 'with', actually means 'now' (OLS 169-70) ¶ CAD VII 302, 312, KB 97-8, A 93, HJ 131-2, LH 349, Jo. H 53 || ? C: Bj {R} -t̄ 'in, an, bei, von, aus, mittelst' ¶ R Bd § 134b || IE: Ht -it̄, ending of the instr. case ¶ Rsk. 54, 56, Mer. SGA 275, 292 || K: GZ {K} *-it̄, ending of the instr. case > OG -it̄(a) ~ -yt̄(a), G -it̄ / (after stem-final -o, -u) -t̄, Mg -it̄ / (after stem-final vowels) -t̄, Lz -t̄(en) id. ¶ K 101, K S 99-104, Fn. GAS 55-61 || U: FU *^oyutt̄∇ > Ugr *yutt̄∇ > ObU {Ht.} *yōt̄ 'with' > pVg {Ht.} *yōt̄ > Vg: LK/MK yāt̄, Ss yot̄ id.; pOs {Ht.} *yōt̄ (= {ḡHl.} *yūt̄) id. > Os: V/Vy yōt̄, Ty yōt̄, Y yōta || Hg Δ yāt̄ 'Namensbruder' (< **'together with'?) ¶ UEW 852 (pUgr *yut̄∇ 'friend, comrade'), ≈ Coll. 18, Ht. no. 210 || A: Tg *-jī (< **-dī), ending of the instr. case > Nn, Ul, Ork, Ud -ṣ̄ī, {Krm.} -ṣ̄u, Sln -jī, Neg -jī ~ -dī, Lm -t̄, -ç̄, (after a stem-final -n) -jī, (stem-final) -n + *jī > Lm -ń, ? WrMc -ī (< *-jī artially due to metanalysis) ¶ Bz. 1027, Ci. 257-8, Krm. 86 || D *-t̄∇, ending of the sociative case > Tm -t̄u, Ml -t̄a id., Klm -at̄, Brh -at̄ - endings of the instr. case, Brh t̄o (postposition) 'together with' ¶¶ Shanm. DN 250-386, An. SG 209-14 ◇ The least grammaticalized meaning (originally 'together with?') is preserved in Brh and probably underlies Hg Δ yāt̄ 'Namensbruder' ◇ Ht -it̄ and K *-it̄ suggest a front vw. (≈ N *ī), while FU *^oyutt̄∇ point to a labialized

u-like vw. The solution may be N ***u**, that was palatalized into *i* by *as*. to ***y-** and to final ***-i'**. S, D, and K point to a N plain ***t**, while U ***-tt-** is a regular reflex of N ***-t-** or some cons. clusters. The solution may be N ***-ʔt-** or another cluster (***-⊥t-**, where ⊥ is a symbol for an unspecified cons.).

2652. *yaHt̥∇ (= *yaʔt̥∇?) 'stranger, foreigner' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'enemy') > **Ā**: NaT *jāt 'foreign(er)' > OT jāt 'stranger, foreigner; strange, foreign', Chg ≥XV jāt ~ jad 'strange, foreign', MQp [incl. CC] jāt, OOsM jad 'stranger, foreigner', Tkm jāt, Qrg žat 'strange, so. else's (fremd); other', Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jāt 'fremd', Az jad, Uz ёд jad, Qzq, Qq žat id., Tk yad, StAlt žat 'strange, foreign'; Qp б→ Blgh > Chv L ют, Chv Δ.йот ђ ютă fremd, unbekannt' ¶ Cl. 882-3, ET J 158-9, TL 564, DTS 247, Ash. V 16-18, Fed. II 495, Jeg. 352, ChVS 294 || **D** (in McTm) *ēt- 'stranger, foreigner, enemy' > Tm ētalar 'foe, enemy', ētilar 'stranger, neutral', ētilār 'other, strangers, foes, enemies', ētinmaḷ 'strangeness, foreignness, enmity', MI ētil 'neighbourhood', ētalar 'enemies' ¶¶ *ē- < *ya_L- reg. ; the irreg. reflex of N ***-t-** (D ***-t-** for the expected ***-t-**) may be accounted for by the preceding lr. (assuming that N ***-Ht-** may yield D ***-:t-**) ¶ D no. 890 || **HS**: Eg ǐzd 'enemy' ('der Frevler, Feind') (unless ← Eg XIX/G ǐzd 'der Elende, der Arme') ¶ EG I 35.

2653. *yuw∇ 'tree' > **IE**: NaIE *e_ǵwā / *o_ǵwā, *e_ǵwō-s id. (SA from *ye_ǵ-/*yo_ǵ-) > Gk ῥα, ῥή, ῥή 'service tree (*Sorbus domestica*)' ||| Arm այգի aygi 'vineyard' ||| L uva 'bunch of grapes, vine' ||| GI *i_u-s 'yew' (б→ VL *ī_u-s > Fr if, Fr S lieu id.), OIr éo, W ywen (coll. yw), OCrm [γ] hiuin ('taxus'), Crm {ECCE} ewen (coll. ew), Br i_uin id. ||| ON úr, OHG īwa, NHG Eibe, MLG īwe, MDt ijf, AS īw, éow 'yew', NE yew ||| Pru i_uwis 'yew', Lt ievà, jievà, Ltv iēva 'bird-cherry tree' ||| Sl *j_bva 'willow' > OR **НВА** i_ua, R, Uk, Blg 'ива, SCr i_ua, Slv íva, Cz jíva, Slk i_ua, P i_ua || ? Ht e(y)a(n)- 'evergreen tree' ¶¶ P 297-8, EI 654 (*h₁e_ǵwō-s 'yew'), ≈σ EI 63 (*Ho_ǵwō/e_ǵ- '≈ berry, fruit'), F II 343, WH II 849, SB 46, Billy 90, ML no. 4560, Wb. IV 826, Dauz. 398, YGM-1 447, Hm. 400, ECCE 200, Vr. 679, Ho. 189, Kb. 519, OsS 460, KM 154, Frn. 183, En. 186, ESSJ VIII 248-9, Glh. 281, Pv. I-II 253-7 ||| **HS**: Eg G ǐwy 'tree or shrub' ¶ EG I 49 ||| **U** *yuw∇ 'tree' > FU *yuw∇ 'tree' > ObU {Hl.} *yuw∇ id. > pVg *yīw id. > OVg: S Tg ῥ, S Tr ю, S Chus ю, j_u, E TM j_u, N SoG j_u, W P

ицхъ, Vg: T/LK/MK/UK/NV yīw, P yūw, SV/LL īw, ML/UL/Ss yi w id.; pOs {Ht.} *yuy id. > Os: V/Vy/Ty yuy, Y yuw, D/K/O yux, Nz/Kz yūx id. || Sm {Jn.} *ye|зlw, 'pine tree' > Ne: T {Ter.} e (= ye), T O {Lh.} yē', F L {Lh.} jje· id.; Slq: Tz {KKIH} čō id., Tm P{KD} tō, B/Y {Cs.} tō, NP {Cs.} tūe, Kar {Cs.} tū, MO, UO kūe 'Föhre, Fichte'; Kms {KD} dú, d'wz: (= jū, j'wz:?) 'Fichte, Föhre', Koyb {Sp.} джэ 'pine tree'; Mt {Hl.} *čä id. (Mt: T/K {Mue.} dsc hā, K {Pls.} dja, M {Mue.} tsjä, {Sp.} тчя) || pY {IN H} *yā 'birch' > Y T yā id., OY NW {Lnd.} jai jāl id. ¶¶ Coll. 18, UEW 107, Sm. 537 (U *joxi- 'tree' > FU *yuxi, Ugr *yugī, Sm *yē), Ht. no. 175 (ObU *yuy ▽), Hl. rHt 73, Sm. no. 31, Jn. 42, ≈ Jn. UK 260 (U *y ▽ Hi), KKIH 106, Cs. 127, 154-5, KD 16, Pot. 48, Hl. M no. 194-5, IN H 180, IN UJ 223.

2654. *yow ▽ '≈ good, right, proper' > **IE: [1]** NaIE *yeu-s ~ *yoy-s 'good, right, proper; goodness' > OI 'yō h (yōs) ntr. 'welfare, happiness, prosperity', Av yaoš 'Heil', yaoš dā- 'heilkräftig machen', yaoš-dāθra- 'Heilkräftigkeit, Vervollkommnung', yaoš-dā- 'purification ritual', MPrs yōž-dahr 'holy' || OL ious > L iūs (gen. iūr-is) n. 'right, law', d. iustus 'just, equitable; lawful' || Clt {Matas.} *yustyō-adj. 'just' > OIr uisse 'just, gerecht' (< *yus-tiyos) ||| **[2]** NaIE *yewā-v. 'ease, relax, benefit' > NPrs ياور yāvār 'helper', ياورى yāvārī 'assistance' ||| Gk ἑῦω v. 'allow, let' ¶ WP I 203, P 512, EI 410-1 (*yew(e)s- 'order\normality required by the rules of ritual'), Mn. 447, M K III 27-8, M E II 420-1, VI. II 1509, Sg. 1527, WH I 733-4, Thr. § 25, LP § 20, Ch. 308-9, Matas. E 438, ≈ F I 434 (ἑῦω < ??? NaIE *sewə-, cp. OI savī- 'set in motion') ||| **A:** M *yō-sun 'generally accepted rule, custom, habit' > WrM {MED} yosun id., HIM ёс(он) {MED} id, {BMR} id., 'tradition', Brt ёho(н) id., MM [HI] yosun 'generally accepted rule, custom, habit', 'principle, norm', WrO {Krg.} yosun 'manner, custom, way', Kl {KRS} йосн yosъn id., '(political) power', {Rm.} yosŋ 'Sitte, Gewohnheit, ererbte Praxis', Ord yusy 'habitude, usage, coutume reçue, cérémonie prescrite par la politesse, bonnes manières, mœurs' ¶ MED 435-6, BMR II 142-3, Chr. 228, Ms. H 111, Krg. 712, KRS 280-1, KW 219 (supposes that M yosun is a loan from Chn yō, but it is not clear which Chn word was meant), Ms. O 406 ||| **HS:** Eg NK i'wz 'be glad (sich freuen)' ¶ EG I 49 || Ch: Krkr {Kr.} yz'wz'w, {J} yawaw, {IL} yawo 'good' ¶ ChC, ChL.

2655. *^ry¹iyo 'which' (rel. prn.), (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation): **[I]** as a prn. (× N *ya 'which?') > **IE:** NaIE: *^ry⁰-, rel. pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. *^ry⁰-s, f. *^ry⁰-ā, ntr. *^ry⁰-d) > OI m. ya-s, f. yā, ntr. ya-d id., Av yō 'which' rel. || Gk ὅς m., ἥ f., ὅ ntr. id. || Clt: GI DUGHONTI-IO 'who serve' || ? Phr λογ (νλ) 'whoever' || Sl m. *jb-že (> OCS **нже** iže), f. *ja-že (> OCS **яже** jaže), ntr. *je-že (> OCS **јеже** ježe) 'which' (rel.) || Ltv ja 'if' (< ntr. *yad), Lt jėi ~ jėĩ 'if' ¶ Wtk. OIV 16 and IS I 278: + unc. Ht -ya pc. 'and, also', ≈ P 383 (does not distinguish this √ from the NaIE dem. *e₁-/*e-), EI 457 (*^ry⁰-s / *^ryeh_π / *^ry⁰-d 'who, what, that' rel.), M K III 14, ≈ M E II 390 (IE *Hy⁰-), F I 434, Frn. 182, En. LG 825, ESSJ VIII 171, StSS 793-7, Vs. IV 552-3, Glh. 286 || **U:** FU (att. in FV) *y⁰- 'which' (rel.) (→ 'whatsoever') > F jo-ka (gen. jon-ka) 'which' (rel.), 'every', Krl yoka 'which' (rel.), F, Es Δ jos 'if' (< loc. of *y⁰-?) || Lp: N juogā 'something, something or other', L {LLO} juoka 'some', Klf yu^{kk}e every' || Chr: Н юж yuž, Л южо yužo, Uf/B yužo 'some (irgendeiner, некоторый)' ¶ UEW 637, It. no. 87, SK 116-7, Ep. 31, MRS 782 || **[III]** As a N postnominal pc.: **IE:** NaIE *-(i)y⁰- 'related to', sx of adjectives, e.g.: (1) NaIE *patr-iyo-s 'fatherly, paternal, belonging to (the) father' > OI pitr(i)yaḥ, Gk πάτριος, L patrius id., (2) Av asnyā- 'day-..., referring to (the) day' < azan- 'day', (3) Sl *-bj-: OCS **уловѣуь** člověčь (pronominalized adj. **уловѣуи** člověčii), R человекий adj. 'of a person, human', (4) Tc A -i, sx of possessive adjectives (marí-i 'of the moon, lunaire'), Tc B -i, sx of acp. (yām-i 'doing, making') || Ht -iy-, sx of derived adjectives (antur-iy-a 'staying within') || Here also L -ī (gen. sg. of the *⁰-stems), OGr -i id. in maqi (makk^ωi) 'son's', Gl -ī in SEGOMARI (gen. of a proper name) (Bks. on Itc-Clt *ī: "an adjectival sx"), as well as the glide in L -ae (gen. sg. of *-ā-stems) ¶ BD II/1 190-1, Vnd.¹ I 403, Saf. GHJL 131-2, Bks. 192, KK 28, 86, Kron. EHS I 168-70 || Possibly here also **[1]** NaIE *-is- of cmp. (< N *^ry¹iyo sE, lit. 'than / related to + he\she') (in OI bah-īyas- 'stronger', Gk βράσσων 'shorter', L mell-ior 'better', OHG eng-iro 'narrower', Pru maldaisei 'die Jünger', OCS **старѣиш-** star-ějš- 'older', Gt hard-iza 'harder', and OHG hert-iro id., see BD III:1 551-62), as well as **[2]** *-ist(h)⁰- of sprl. (< N *^ry¹iyo sE č'ü', lit. 'than / related to + he\she + that which'), see s.v. N *č'ü' 'that of

..., that which' || HS: S *-iy-, sx of denom. adjectives ("nisbah") and of nomina gentilia > BHb -ī (f. -i'yā and -īt, both from *-iy-āt-), Amr -iy-, Ar -īy-, Gz -ī, Ak -iy-, in Aram within compound sxs. (of the same meaning) -ā-y-; Hz. is probably right in adducing here the S genitive case ending *-i (> Ar -i, Ak -i, Ug -i, Gz -∅) ¶ Br. G I 397 [§ 220], Hz. ACCS 219-21, Siv. U 49, Hnr. 294-301 || Eg -y, sx of denom. adjectives: ncr y 'divine' (← ncr 'god'), zḥby 'belonging to a jackal' (← zḥb 'jackal'), also in denom. nouns: ḫtm y 'Siegel Schneider' (← ḫtm 'seal') ¶ Ed. §§ 246, 342 || ? B *-ī, sx of deverbal nouns > Zng {Bs.} etš-i 'food' ¶ Bs. MS I 156-8 || C: Bj {RHd.} -i gen. sg. / -ī- id. (preceding other grammatical affixes) (wi-ḥōr-i bāba 'pueri pater', ḥi-bāba wī-wi-ḥōr-ī-b 'patrem pueri' [-b, marker of accus. in nominal phrases], wi-ḥōr-ī-t de 'pueri mater' [-t is a fem. marker of accus. in nominal phrases]), {Rop.} -i (gen. sg. m.), -t-i (gen. sg. f.): 'tak-i 'kām 'a man's camel', ta'kat-t-i 'kām 'a woman's camel'); Bj A {AD} -(y)i, ending of gen. sg. / -ī- id. (preceding another affix) (-t of fem. possessi, -b of accusative possessi) || EC: Sa {R} -(h)i, genitive ending (galāy'to-hi lak 'camel's leg'), Af {PH} -i, -i-h (genitive ending: awk-í migaš 'the boy's name', kāy danan-ih gēra 'his donkey's tail') ¶ AD KJ 34, 109, Rop. 14-5, RHd. B 109, PH 226-7 || NrOm: Shn {PB} -i (gen. ending: fokk-i gašō-ni 'river-of bank-on', sc. 'on the bank of the river') (but Rtl. does not mention this ending), Kf {C} -e (gen. ending: tāt-e bušō 'king's son'), -i, Bdt -i (gen. ending) ¶ Zab. CO 619-20, PB SMS 68, C SE IV 294-7, Fl. KL 373, Rtl. ShM || possibly K *-iṣ (ending of the gen. case) (< N *'y' iyo sE, lit. 'which is' × N *ya sE id.) > endings of gen.: OG, G -iṣ, -s, Mg -iṣ, -š, Lz -š, Sv -iṣ (~ iṣ), -äš (ḏ -aš). On the origin of the cns. *-ṣ in this K ending see N *sE 'he/she' ¶¶ K S 88-93, K 103 || U ≈ *-ī ~ *-y∇, sx of denom. adjectives > F -i (at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha): silm-i-vesi 'water for the eyes and the face' (sil m-'eye'), lehm-i-karja 'herd of cows' (lehmä 'cow') || Vg {Sz.} -i at the end of the initial component of a tatpurusha (tāli- 'winter-...' ← tāl 'winter'; xōli 'morning-...' ← xōl 'morning', iōli 'der untere' ← iōl 'bottom'), Os {Sz.} ḫōd-i 'house-..., belonging to the house' ← ḫōt 'house', tōwi 'pond-..., of a pond' ← tōw 'pond' || Hg -i, sx of denom. adjectives (isten-i 'divine' ← isten 'god', tegnapi 'of yesterday' ← tegnapi 'yesterday') || Sm ending of denominative

adjectives: Ne -й, -і, -і (Ne Т пуй, Ne Т О {Lh.} руі, Ne F рӯі. ь рӯу 'situated behind' [cp. Ne F Ks рӯ 'buttocks, hind part'], Ne Т Ф теі, Ne Т О їіі 'gestrig, of yesterday' [cp. їіі 'yesterday'], Ne Т таңы, Ne Т О таңы 'sommerlich' [cp. Ne Т та' таң, Ne F таң 'summer']), Ng {Cs.} -уа (куфууа 'leathern' ← куфу 'leather'), En -уо (En X {Cs.} їіуо, En B {Cs.} їіуо 'gestrig' [cp. їі 'yesterday']) ¶¶ Sz. 86-8, 100, Coll. CG 264, Lh. PUAS 55-60 ◇ IS I 14, 282-4 (besides denom. sxs. in HS, IE, and U, IS adduces here the sx *-i of deverbals and prtcs. in A and the D sx *-i of converbs, which is less convincing).

2656. *зѡа (or *зѡа, *зѡа) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow' > K *zω- v. 'bear a young' (of animals) > OG zω-, G X/Ing zV- id. || Sv {K, FS} z(ω)-, msd. {K, FD} li-zā ~ li-zwe-l-i, Sv UP {GP} li-zā v. 'bear a young' ¶¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 131-2, FS E 142, GP 151 || HS: Eg fP z3 'son' ¶ EG III 408-10, Fk. 207 || U *sōya- (or *sō|zā-) > Sm {Jn.} *sōyā- v. 'be born, grow', {Hl.} *soya- 'give birth' > Ne Т inf. соя-сь, {Lh.} sō'yā:- v. 'be born, grow up', Ne F {Lh.} inf. xō'yēā-ś 'gebären, verschaffen', En X {Cs.} (1s aor.) соāро, En B {Cs.} (1s aor.) соjāдо v. 'grow', Slq Tz {KKIH} sōć(і)- id. ('вырасти'), Kms {Cs.} 3s p. sībie 'gave birth to', Koyb {Sp.} суйламъ 'I give birth', Mt {Hl.} *soyā- 'give birth' (Mt M {Sp.} соягура 'I give birth') ⇨ Mt {Hl.} *soyul|k, 'Gewächs, Gras, Heu' (Mt: M/T/K {Mll.} sōiу 'gramen' [sc. 'grass'], M {Sp.} соёкъ 'hay, grass', T {Mll.} heelim-soiу 'hay' [heelim means 'dried']) ¶ Jn. 142-3, KKIИ 170, Hl. M no-s 898-9 || A: ??σ Tg *sō:,- v. 'mate' (of animals) > Ewk sō-kan- v. 'mate', Ud sō-ni id.; hardly here WrMc {Z} чжуй or цзуй and Jrc {Md.} зуй-il, {Kiy.} зуйii 'child', because (acc. to Z) it is a loan from Chinese ¶ STM I 271 and II 105, Z 999, Kiy. 113 (no. 294), Md. ChF 138 (no. 294); Ewk -kan may be a verbal sx (F Vas. 700-1).

2656a. ₂ *zûgb ▽ fig tree (ε?) > HS: S *zûb > Ar pazûab- 'a big fig tree' ¶ BK I 993 || CCh: Glv {Rp.} acúwa 'fig tree' ¶ RpB 7 || D *zûv-, {GS} *zûv- 'fig tree' > Tm cuvī 'white fig, *Ficus infectoria*; stone fig, *Ficus gibbosa parasitica*', cuvālaḥ 'pipal, *Ficus religiosa*', Klm zûvi id., Ml cuvann-āl '*Ficus infectoria*', Kn juvvi mara id., Tl juvvi '*Ficus tsiela*', Prj zū meri, Gnd zū mara 'ε sp. of *Ficus*' (Kn mara, Prj meri, Gnd māra 'tree') ¶¶ D no. 2697, GS 116 [no. 307] ◇ S NM 10 inconvincingly suggests to adduce here A {S NM 7} *zūgū 'berry', reconstructed by him from NaT *iiddā 'ivibe tree/berry' and WrM

{Pp.} *zīgde* 'jujube (berry)' (to my mind, both go back to N **dik* ▽ 'edible cereals\fruit', q.v. ffd.), as well as to adduce M **ʒeʒergene* 'ε berry' and Tg **jüksi-kte* 'ε berry' ({S} **žũksi-kte* 'blueberry') ◇ ≈ AD NM 51 [no. 54], S CNM 7 (÷÷ NrCs), 10.

2657. **zig*'o'd ▽ 'stake, peg', ([in descendant lgs.' → 'paling, fence') > K **zɥude* 'fence' > OG *zɥudē* 'fence, wall', G, Mg *zɥude* 'fence', Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} *zɥwid* id., L *zɥud* id., ȝ Sv Δ {Wrd.} *zghwid* id., 'boundary' (a variant with *z-* is not confirmed by other sources); GZ **zɥwed-/zɥwd-* v. 'fence in, enclose' > OG *mō-zɥudva* msd., G *zɥud-* v. 'fence in, enclose', ?σ Mg *zɥvind-/zɥod-* v. 'destroy, exterminate' ¶¶ K 89 (Sv *zɥud* ← G), K² 62, Abul. 171, DCh. 533-4, TK 848, Wrd. 596, 604 || IE **H₁od^h-/*H₁ed^h-* > NaIE **od^h-/*ed^h-* 'stake, stake fence, enclosure' > AS *eodōr* 'enclosure, fence, hedge; dwelling', OHG *etar* 'fence (Zaun), edge (Rand)', ON *jōður-r, jaðar-r* 'Rand, obere Zaunstange' || SI **odrb* > OCS **одръ** *odrb* 'bed (κλίνη, κράββατος), funeral bier (σπορόζ)', Cz *odr* 'stake (Pfahl)', SCr *òdar* 'bier, catafalque', {P} 'rankender Weinstock', Blg *одър* 'flooring (настил)', Slv *ódar* id., 'hayloft' || ? Gk ὄστριμον (< **od^h-tro-*?) 'byre, enclosure for cattle' (⇔ Frisk) ¶ ≈ P 290, ≈ WP I 121, Vr. 289, Ho. 91, Km. 210, OsS 154, EWA II 1166-8, Vs. III 123-4, Ch. 833, ≠ F II 438 || A: Tg **sigdi* 'peg' > Ewk *sigdiwūn* & *higdiwūn* id. (with vowels of the closed series: accus. *sigdiwūnmə*) ¶ STM II 76, Vas. 349, 476 || D **çil:jt-* 'bamboo pin' > Prj *çitam* 'bamboo pin (for leaf cup)', Gnd *itam* 'leaf-pin' ¶¶ D no. 2641.

2658. **zed*h,ü|u (or **zend* ▽ h,ü|u?) 'pull, drag, draw' > K: GZ **zid-* v. 'drag, pull' > OG, G *zid-* id., Mg {Q} *zi(n)d-* id., 'pull out', Lz *zd-* v. 'take, arise, drag' ¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 133, Chik. 275-6, Q 237 || HS: S **o*✓ *zdw* > Ar ✓ *zdw* (prm. -*zduw-*) 'tendre, étendre', 'extendit (manus versus rem)' ¶ Fr. II 231, BK I 982, 1322 || EC {Ss.} **zit-* v. 'pull' > Sml *žīd-*, pBn *(*h₁ē-*)*šīd-* (> Bn Bi (*h₁ē-*)*šīd-*, Bn J/Kj *h₁ē-šīd-*, Bn K *h₁ē-sīd-* id.), Rn *žīt-* {Sim} id., {PG} id., 'drag', Kns *tit-*, Gd *tiš-*, Gwd, Gln *sit-*, Hr *sič-*, Brj *did-* (< **dit-d-*) 'pull' ¶ Ss. PEC 20, Ss. B 55, ≠ Hn. S 83, Hn. BD 122, Sim 11-2, 15, PG 166 || A: NaT **jü:jt-* v. 'carry' > OT {Cl.} *jūδ-* id. ([MhK] *ol jūk jūδti*: 'he carried the burden'), Tlt *jūy-* v. 'carry (?)', ET {Nj.} *jūdi-* 'load sth. on an animal', ET Δ {Jr.} *jūd-* ~ *jūd-* 'carry\load sth. on one's shoulders' ¶ Cl. 885, DTS 283, Rl. III 611, Nj. 793, Jr. 161 || D **čēnt-/čēt-* ({θGS} **s-*) v. 'draw' > Tm *cēntu*

v. 'draw (as a rope running over a pulley)', Kn $\text{sēd}u$, $\text{sēnd}u$ v. 'draw up (water from a well), pull in (as string of kite), draw in with the mouth', Kdg səd- v. 'drink a deep draught', Tu $\text{sēd}ur\dot{n}i$ v. 'draw water', OTI {Km.} $\text{cē}d\dot{u}$ v. 'pull up, draw up as water', TI $\text{cē}d\dot{u}$, $\text{cē}d\dot{u}$ id., Mlt čēnde v. 'remove in small quantities from a heap' ¶¶ D no. 2812, Km. 364 [no. 475] (the TI word < \leftarrow pSD $*cē-$ / $*tē-$) ◇ The origin of D $*-n-$ has not yet been elucidated. It is likely to be a Dravidian morphological infix. Alternatively, comparison between D $*čēnt-$ and Mg $\text{z}i(n)d-$ suggest a N etymon $*zēnd\text{∇}_1h_1\ddot{u}|u$ ◇ K, S, OT, and Tlt provide evidence for N $*-d-$, while EC and ET seem to point to N $*-t-$. This contradiction may be removed by supposing a N cluster $*-dh-$ or $*-d\text{∇}h-$ (> $*-dh-$), that explains the origine of $*-t-$ in the prehistory of EC and ET: $*-dh-$ or $*-d\text{∇}h-$ > $-th-$ (assimilative devoicing) > $*-t-$ (a hyp. supported by the D cognate: D $*t$ may go back to N $*-dH-$, but not to an intervocalic $*-d-$). NaT $*-ü_{i,j}$ may be due to regr. as. (N $*zē...ü|u$ > $**Zü...ü$ > T $*jü_{i,j}$?).

2659. $*zōg\text{∇}_1\text{?}_1U$ ~ $*zōgU_1\text{?}_1\text{∇}_1$ 'hill' > K $*zugw-$ 'hill' > Mg $\text{zug}u$ 'hill' in n. l.: $\text{Zug}d\dot{i}d\dot{i}$, etc.; Sv: UB/LB/Ln {TK} $\text{zug}w$, $\text{z}w\dot{i}g\dot{w}$, UB {GP} zug , L {TK} $\text{zug}w$ 'hill' ¶¶ FS K 137, FS E 148, TK 253, GP 105 || HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} $*žig\omega a$ 'hill, rock' > Su {J} $žwák$ 'rock' ('Felsen') || Krkr {Kœ.} $žigaw a$, $žigaw a$ 'hill' || Ngz {Sch.} $žigwàj$ 'small hill formed by hoeing in which grain is planted' || NrBc: P' {MSk.} $zìgíya$ 'rock' ¶ Stl. ZCh 194 [no. 462], J S 68, Sch. DN 85, ChC s.v. 'rock', MSk. 228 || U $*čukk\text{∇}$ 'hill, summit' (× N $*čuk\text{∇}$ 'thorn, point, summit') > pLp {Lr.} $*čokkə$ > Lp: N {N} $čqk'kâ-$ / $-kk-$, L {LLO} $tjâhkkâ$ 'summit, mountain peak', S {Hs.} $tjâkke$ id., 'hill', K {Gn.} $čokk$, Kld {TI} $čojk$: 'Spitze', {SaR} $чōγκ$ 'sharp' || Prm {LG} $*čuk$ > Z $чук$ $čuk$ 'mountain peak, small hills (небольшая возвышенность)' || ObU: Vg: T $čakəl$ 'heap (of hay, etc.)', LK $śaxəl$ 'Insel (auf der Wiese, auf dem Sumpf)', ML $m\bar{e}-śokəl$ 'small hill', Ss $ur-śaxəl$ 'hill'; Os: Ty $ťâk$ 'vorragendes Ende, Spitze', D $ťâk$ '(Spitze einer) Landzunge; vorragende Spitze, Ecke', O $śâx$ ~ $śâk$ 'Hammer' (< 'Spitze') || Sm {Jn.} $*sok$ 'hill' > Ne: T cok 'high pointed hill', T O {Lh.} sok 'hoher runder Erdhügel'; En X {Cs.} d. $sóro$, En B {Cs.} d. sod 'Landspitze' || Slq Tz {Prk., KKIH} sok 'promontory (мыс), Vorgebirge, hohe Landzunge' ¶¶ Coll. 8, UEW 42, Lr. no. 159, Lgc. no. 450, Hs. 1298-9, Gn. 725, SaR 398-9, TI 676, LG 312, Jn. 143, Ter. 567, KKIH 170, Erl. 209 ¶¶ The meanings 'sharp', 'edge', 'hammer' in

the FU lgs. are hardly derivable from N $*\acute{z}\acute{o}g_{\downarrow}\nabla\uparrow_{\downarrow}U$ ~ $*\acute{z}\acute{o}gU_{\downarrow}\nabla_{\downarrow}$ 'hill', but may be attributed to the heritage of N $*\acute{c}u\kappa_{\downarrow}\nabla$ 'thorn, point', which also accounts for the U affricate $*\acute{c}$ - (for the expected $*\acute{s}$ -) || A $*zU\kappa'\nabla$ > NaT $*^{\circ}jok$ 'high ground' > OT $j\acute{o}q$ id.; d.: [1] NaT $*jokaru$ ~ $*jokari$ (< $*jok-garu/I$, directive of $*jok$) 'upwards' > OT, Chg $\geq XV$ $j\acute{o}qaru$, Tk $\psi\acute{o}kar\acute{i}$, Tkm Δ $j\acute{o}qori$, ET $\psi\acute{u}qari$, VTt, Bsh $j\acute{u}\psi ar\acute{b}$, Yk $so\psi oru$ id., [2] NaT $*joku\check{s}$ 'a rise (in the ground), ascent, slope' > Kr Cr, Osm {Rh.} $j\acute{o}qu\check{s}$, Tk $\psi\acute{o}qu\check{s}$, ¶ Cl. 896, 906-7, ET J 213-5, Rh. 2216 || Tg: Ud B/Sm {Krm.} $s\acute{u}gb\acute{o}$ 'gentle slope (of a hill near a river)' ¶ STM II 118, Krm. 290 ◊ U points to a pN $*u$ (in the first syll.), while the deviant T $*o$ still needs investigating. Alternatively, it may be tentatively suggested that the pN vw. was $*o$, while U $*u$ results from a kind of regr. as. (N $*\acute{z}\acute{o}g_{\downarrow}\nabla\uparrow_{\downarrow}U$ > $*\acute{z}u\kappa_{\downarrow}u$ > U $*\acute{c}uk\kappa_{\downarrow}\nabla$ ◊ The apparent reflex of N $*\kappa_{\downarrow}$ in U and T is likely to go back to N $*-g\nabla\uparrow-$.

2660. $*\acute{z}\nabla gEr\nabla$ (or $*\acute{z}\nabla rg\nabla?$) 'back (dorsum)' > K $*^{\circ}z|zurg-$ > OG, G $zurg-i$ id. ¶ Chx. 420, Ser. 69, DCh. 531 || HS: B [1] $*\check{v}zgr$ 'back (dos)' > Kb {Dl.} $a-zajur$ (pl. $i-zajur-\acute{a}n$), Kb Z {La.} $a-zagur$ 'dos', Ntf {La.} $a-zagur$ 'chevelure' | [2] $??\sigma$ B $*\check{v}zgr$ v. 'be high, tall, long' > Ah $h\acute{a}g\acute{r}at$ id., $t\acute{a}hh\acute{a}g\acute{r}at$ ~ $t\acute{a}zz\acute{a}g\acute{r}at$ 'hauteur', Ttq {Msq.} pl. $i-h\acute{a}\check{z}ar-\acute{a}n$ 'high (in a high position)' ('haut [élevé]'), 'long', $h\acute{a}\check{z}ar\acute{a}n$ 'long', $t\acute{a}z\acute{a}\check{z}ar\acute{a}t$ 'hauteur', Wrg $z\acute{z}agr\acute{a}r$ v. 'be long, tall', WTml, Ty $z\acute{b}gr\acute{b}t$ v. 'be long, high, tall', Tnsl $\check{s}\acute{a}\check{z}r\acute{a}t$, Gh $z\acute{a}\check{z}r\acute{a}t$, $z\acute{a}\check{z}ar$, Gd $z\acute{a}g\acute{r}et$, Mz $z\acute{z}\acute{a}\check{z}r\acute{a}t$, Tmz $z\acute{a}grit$ v. 'be long', Tmz $azagr\acute{a}r$, Mz $az\acute{a}\check{z}r\acute{a}r$, Rf Wr/Br/A $a-zagr\acute{a}r$, Nf {La.} $a-zagr\acute{a}r$ 'long' ¶ Dl. 936, Fc. 531, GhA 211, MT 797-8, Dlh. Ou 387-8, Dlh. M 248, Msq. 148, 176, Rn. 325, La. MChB 115, La. S 253, Pr. H no. 182 ¶ B [2] $*\check{v}zgr$ v. 'be high, tall, long' belongs here only if the original meaning was v. 'be high' ← 'be on an animal's back' || A $*z\nabla gEr\nabla$ > NaT $*jag\acute{i}r$ 'back\withers of a horse' (→ 'saddle gall') (× N $*dag_{\downarrow}H_{\downarrow}or\nabla$ 'shoulder blade, upper part of the back') > OT $j\acute{a}\psi ir$, Az, Tkm $j\acute{a}\psi ir$ 'saddle gall', OT U {Bai.}, Chg [San.], {Bu.} $j\acute{a}\psi ir$ 'shoulder blade', Tk $\psi\acute{a}\check{g}\acute{i}r$ 'horse's withers, saddle gall', Tk Δ $j\acute{a}\psi ir$, Chg {Bu.} $ي\acute{f}r$ $j\acute{a}\psi ir$ 'back', VTt Δ $\acute{z}\acute{a}w\acute{b}r$ 'shoulder', Tki $j\acute{e}\psi ir$, Uz $j\acute{a}\psi ir$, ET $j\acute{e}\psi i(r)$, Ln $j\acute{a}\psi iy$, Qzq, Qq $\acute{z}\acute{a}w\acute{i}r$, Nog $j\acute{a}w\acute{i}r$, Qrg $\acute{z}\acute{o}r$, StAlt $\acute{z}\acute{u}r$ 'saddle gall', Chv L $\check{c}\psi p\acute{a}m$, Chv H $\check{c}op\acute{a}m$ 'back (dorsum), loins'; ⇨ NaT $*jag\acute{i}rin$ ~ $*jag\acute{i}rni$ 'back (of a pack animal)' (× T $*jagr\acute{i}n$, {ADb.} $*j\acute{a}\psi run$ 'shoulder blade as part of the back' < N $*dag_{\downarrow}H_{\downarrow}or\nabla$) > Tkm

jaʋirni 'back (dorsum)', Tk Δ jaʋrin, Uz jaʋrin, Qmq jawrun, Nog jawirin, Qzq žawrin, Qrg žōrun id.; T *jagir ⇨ M *daʋari 'abrasion, saddle sore' (> MM [S] da,ari, WrM {MED} daɠari id., HIM {MED} дайр id., {BMR} даарь ~ дайр 'abrasion (ссадина), saddle sore, a wound on animal's back', Brt дайр 'wound, abrasion', Kl {Rm.} "Schultergegend; Mitte des Rückens, wo der Sattel aufgelegt wird; Wunde vom Sattel an derselben Stelle', Ord d_āri 'blessure causée par le frottement de la selle ou du bât' ¶ The d. *jagirin 'animal's back' proves that the original meaning of *jagir was 'back' rather than 'saddle gall' ¶ Cl. 905, ET J 65-7, TL 242-3, Rh. 2188, TkR 805-6, Ash. XII 269-70, Fed. II 142, Jeg. 220, ChVS 191, MED 218, BMR II 6, 21, Chr. 182, KW 83, Ms. O 122 || M *seʋer ({Pp.} *segēr) > Kl {Rm.} sēr 'oberster Teil des Rückens, Rücken, Nacken', WrM {MED} seger 'spine, backbone, spinal column; a vertebra, nape of neck', HIM {MED} сээр id., {BMR} сээр(эһ) 'the breast part of the spinal column', 'the part of the spinal column between the neck and the waist', Brt һээр 'ε appendix of a rib (отросток реберной кости)', Ord ser 'la partie de la colonne vertébrale des animaux comprise entre le cou et la région lombaire; l'endroit, chez le bœufs, où se place le joug' ¶ MED 682, BMR III 166, Chr. 709, KW 328, Ms. O 573 || ?σ Tg *sigde ({ADb.}: < **sir-de < **siʋr-de) 'spinal column, sinew of the back, vertebra' > Ewk sigdз 'sinew of the back, vertebra, sirloin', Neg sigdз 'mountain ridge', Orc, Ul, Nn, Ud {Krm.} sigde 'a sinew of the back' ¶ STM II 76-7, Krm. 283-4 ¶¶ Pp. VG 73, 127, ADb. SR-D 443-4 [no. 3] ¶¶ But T *sirt 'back, mountain ridge' (Cl. 846) hardly belongs here (unless it is an early loan from M).

2661. (₂?) *zEgUt∇ (= *žEgUt∇?) 'thigh, leg' > IE *h₂ekT∇ (or *ʔ-) > Ht egdʉ, igdʉ 'leg' ¶ Pv. I-II 260-1 || A *zEgUt∇ 'thigh, hip' > NaT *jot∇ (and *°ja|o_lg|ut∇?) 'thigh, upper leg, shin' > OT {Cl.} jōta 'thigh', {DTS} jōda ≍ jōta 'shin, upper leg', ET jōta id., StAlt žodo, Xk, Tv, Shor čoda 'shin', SY jōta ≍ jawta ≍ jowta 'bone in a leg of a sheep', Yk soto 'lower part of the hind leg, shin' ¶ Rs. W 207, Cl. 886, ET J 29-30, DTS 269, 275, Tn. SJJ 185, BN 79 || M *seʋüžin 'hip, thigh' > WrM {MED} seɠūzi(n) 'pelvic bone, pelvis, hip, upper part of the thigh bone', HIM cʏʏж sūž̃ {MED} id., {BMR} 'hipbone, pelvis; hip', Kl {KRS} cʏʏж sūž̃ə id., {Rm.} sūž̃i 'das Kreuzbein', Ord sūž̃_i 'os iliaque, hanche', Mnr H {SM} sūž̃_i 'hanche', MMgl {Z} seʋūž̃i 'upper part of buttocks, haunch', Dgr seuž̃i {T} 'hip', {Mr.} 'lower back' ¶ MED 684,

KW 342, KRS 466, SM 357, Iw. 131, T DgJ 163, Mr. D 211, Ms. O 596 || Tg *^osigdi-pu > Ork sigžipu 'the upper part of the tarsus' ¶ STM II 77 || pKo {S} *hətú_lh_l 'foot, leg' > MKo hət^húⁱ id. ¶ S QK no. 32O, Nam 485 ¶¶ SDM 1519 (pA *ziǒgtu 'thigh, leg' > T *jo(g)t∇, M, Tg), DQA no. 2564 (id.) || HS: ?σ S *^o✓š|sgd > Ar ✓sğd (pf. سجد sağida) v. 'be swollen' (a foot), pasğadu 'swollen' (foot) ¶ BK I 1052, Hv. 309 ◇ If the S cognate is accepted and its initial cns. is *š, the N reconstruction is likely to be *žegUt∇.

2661a. ??? *žäKT'a¹ 'net' > IE: Luw {Kas.} akkat(i) 'hunting net', ?φ OI akṣu 'net' ¶ Kas. AN 156 ({E **akt-, *ikt-}) || U *śäkt∇- 'flechten\flicken (z. B. Rete)' > Lp N čik'te- 'mend (seine or other net)', Lp L tjiktē- 'Netze ausbessern, flicken', Vt śikt- 'Bastscuh flechen', Z śɜktal- id., Os Ty 'flicken (sas Netz)' ¶ UEW 470 || A *z|sakt'∇ ({Kas.} *zakt'i) 'cushion, mat' > Tg *sakta(n) 'mat (made of reed)' > Orc sakta(n-), Ul saqta(n-), Nn Nh {STM, On.}. Nn KU {STM} saqtã id. ¶ STM II 57, On 352 || ĩ pJ {Kas.} *sitania 'cushion' (I have not find this word in the available dictionaries of Japanese) || pKo {Kas.} *sät 'thin mat' > T ¶ Kas. adduces an alleged T word *jařtuq ~ *jařtuq 'pillow', but in fact this word is NaT *jastiq (> OT jastiq {Cl.} 'aomething propped up [pillow and the like]', MT jastiq 'pilow', Osm jastiq id., etc, which is derived from NaT *jasta- 'ein Kissen hinlegen, Pfeilern stützen' (for further details cf. Cl. 974, Rs. W 191 and dictionaries of modern Turkic lges). Therefore the T root cannot belong here.

2662. *ž∇kU 'to tie' > K *sķw- (< *zķw- [as.]?) v. 'tie, bind' (× N *śäk_l∇, ?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker') > OG mō-sķw- 'sich verschränken', sķul-, nasķw- 'knot', sķun- v. 'decide', G sķven-/sķun- v. 'close, shut', sķul-i 'zu bindend, Bund, Knoten', Mg sķv-/sķu- ~ skv-/sku-, Lz sķv- ~ skv- v. 'tie (up)', Sv UB le-sķw-er, Sv Ln lensķwer 'rope' ¶¶ K 164, K² 16O, FS K 272-3, FS E 3O2-3, Gm. SSh 71, Chx. 1265-6, TK 4O9 || HS: CS *z^ri¹ķķ- (+ ending of pl.) 'fetters' > BHb ziķ¹ķ-īm pl., JA [Trg.] {Lv.} זִיִּקִּי זִיִּקִּי pl. id., Sr zεķ¹ķ-ē pl. 'fetters' ('vincula') ¶ KB 266, GB 2O3, Lv. I 232, Br. 2O3, ≈ Js. 396 (JA זִיִּקִּי זִיִּקִּי), PS 1O42 || U: FU *^ośäku- v. 'plait' (× N *śäk_l∇, ?U '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ⇨ FU *śäkt∇- (or *š-) v. 'mend (a net, footwear, etc.), plait, set snares' ◇ The vw. *ä in FU *^ośäku- does not necessarily point to a N vw. *ä, because here FU *ä may belong to the heritage of N *śäk_l∇, ?U.

2663. *zûL∇ 'to fall, to crush down' > K: GZ *z̥wel-/ *z̥wl- v. 'fall, crush down' > OG {Abul.} zul- 'fall down', da-zul- ({DCh.}: = da-zwl-) v. 'collapse', G T na-zl-ob-ĩ 'landslide', Lz žol- ~ žul-: mi-žol-e-e-n ~ mi-žul-e-e-n 'es ist offenbar hinuntergefallen \ hinabgestürzt' ¶ K² 64, FS K 140-1, Abul. 109, 170, DCh. 364, Ghl. 403, Xb. 126-7 || **HS:** WS *✓zll v. 'fall (vehemently, e.g. from a rock or to a precipice)' (→ v. 'attack') > Jb ✓zll G (pf. zell, sbjn. 'yozzəł) v. 'fall from a ledge \ a rock; accost, attack'; Gt 'zottel v. 'fall off a rock \ a precipice', Mh, Hrs ✓zll v. 'attack', (× N *z̥iī∇ 'to slip, to slide') ?σ Ar ✓zll (pf. zalla, ip. ya-zill-u) v. 'slip' (foot), 'glisser sur un sol glissant' (a foot, a person) ¶ Fr. II 246, BK II 1002, Hv. 293, ≈ DRS 738, Jo. M 46, Jo. J 318 || **IE** *_LH_Xwel-/ *_LH_Xwōl- v. 'fall/fell down' > Arm գլեմ 'I incline' || Sl (caus. stem) inf. *valī-ti 'to fell, to pull down' > OCS inf. **ВЛНТИ** valiti 'to overturn', R inf. ва'лнть, Uk inf. ва'лнти, Sln inf. valíti, P inf. walić, Slk inf. valit' 'to fell, to pull down', Hls inf. walić id., rf. walić so 'to fall down (повалиться), to fall', Blg вали v. 'fall' (of rain, snow, hail), ва'л-еж 'precipitation, falling of rain/hail/snow' ¶¶ This verb is to be distinguished from its homonym (**IE:** NaIE *wel(ə)- / *wē-, *welu-, *wlej- < N *wA|í|∇, 'h'∇ 'to turn, to roll, to revolve', q.v.) that means 'roll' (v.) at the level of NaIE, in pSl, and in Arm (IE *_LH_JwelH-/ *_LH_JwōlH- / **_LH_JwleH- > pSl *vali-ti, *valā-ti v. 'roll', Arm գլեմ 'I roll, wheel') ¶ Slt. 81-2, Chr. I 132, Glh. 661, Trof. 340, BER I 114, ≠ P 1140-3.

2664. ₂ *ZaſīE (η∇) ⇨ *Zäſīa (η∇) '(be) awake/alive' > **HS:** S *°✓zſl > Ar ✓zſl (pf. zaſila, ip. -zſal-) {BK} 'être gai, dispos et alerte; marcher d'un pas rapide par suite de la vivacité naturelle', {Ln.} 'be brisk, lively, active', {BK} ✓zſl Sh (pf. ?azſala) 'rendre vif, alerte', zaſil- 'vif, dispos' ¶ Ln. III 1232, BK I 991-2 || **A** ≈ *zälâ(η∇), {ǰDQA} *zelâ(η∇) 'be awake, live' [→ 'human being']): Tg *sel_ne- 'wake up' > Ewk, Sln s3l3-, Orc s3n3-, s3n3gi-, Ud s3l3-, s3l3gi-, Ul s3n3-, s3ni-, Nn s3n3- vi. 'wake up', WrMc {Z} c3лa- vi. 'have a good time, cheer up, be happy' ¶ STM II 141, Z 584 || T *jal_aη-uk 'human being' > OT {DTS} jal_aηuq ~ jal_ηuq ~ jal_η(y)uq, {Cl.} jal_ηuq id., Chv śln(ь) id. ¶ Cl. 930, DTS 227-9, ≈ TL 325, ≈ Fed. II 153-4 || pKo *sār- 'live' > MKo sār-, NKo sāl- id.; ⇨ pKo *sār'ám 'person' > MKo sār'ám, NKo sāram ¶ S QK no. 64, Nam 290, 293, MLC 871, 897 ¶¶ SDM 1511 (pA *zela 'be awake, live' > T, Tg *sele-, Ko + unc. M *sülde 'energy, vitality'), DQA

no. 2554 (> T, Tg, Ko) ◇ The semantic ties between the supposed cognates within A are qu., and the et. is not certain.

2665. ***z**og1E 'back part\side' > A: M *sölür > WrM {MED} sölür ~ sülür adj. and n. 'bending backward (as a bow); one who throws back his head', HIM сөлөр {MED} id., {BMR} 'squint-eyed', 'den Kopf nach oben in den Nacken werfender' (a horse), Brt һүләр 'косо́й, неподогнанный', Kl {Rm.} solıǰ 'schiefäugig, schief' ¶ MED 731, BMR III 119, Chr. 696, KW 330 || Tg *sugli > EwkM sulīn 'back (dorsum)', Ewk Chlm sulīn 'hump', Ewk PT solin 'dorsal fin (of a fish)', Ork suli 'withers (of a reindeer, horse, bear)', Nn Nh soglĩ, Nn KU solı 'wild boar's mane', Orc sūli 'mane' ¶ STM II 70, 107, 124 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1521 (pA *zǰúla 'spine, nape' > Tg *suli 'hump, back, mane, nape' + [not belonging here]: M *sili 'back of head, nape', T *Jil 'mountain forest, thicket; spine' [going back to ***z**é1∇ (K̄a) 'dos'] and pJ *sasū 'sticking edges of the roof beams'), ≈ DQA no. 2569 (id.) || HS: S: Ar zuγl-at- 'podex', {BK} 'cul, derrière' ¶ Ln. III 1235, BK I 995 || D *cōll- ({ǰGS} *zǰ-?) 'back part\side' > Krx cōllā 'back wall or back side of a house', Mlt cōle 'the back of the house', ? Kn colleya, colleha, jolleha 'pointed end of a female's bundle of hair at the back of the head', Tl jollemu, joll̄em̄u 'a tire formed by weaving the tresses in chains and then coiling them up at the back of the head' ¶¶ D no-s. 2858-9.

2666. ***z**iL1∇ 'to shove', 'to knead\stir' > K: GZ *ze1/*zil-/*zǰ- v. 'crumple, press, knead, rub' > OG (da)zela- v. 'press, rub', G ze1-/zil- id., Mg {Q} zal- v. 'knead', zeli ~ zeri 'dough', ma-zal-i 'dough kneader', Lz 0-zal-e 'trough for kneading dough', {FS} 'Knetmasse, Knetgefäß'; ? Zan: amb Mg z-/zu-, amb Lz z- (if from *zǰ-) v. 'knead, rub, mix' (alternatively belonging to N ≈ ***z**iH1∇ 'to press, to knead, to rub' [q.v.]) ¶ FS K 130-1 and FS E 141 (GZ *ze1/*zil-), Schm. 111, Chik. 274-5, Q 235, K² 57 || HS: SES ***z**il1 > Mh pf. zūla, sbjn. yz1ē, Jb E/C pf. 'zela1 v. 'shove, push' ¶ Jo. M 467, Jo. J 319 || A *o'z' iL1∇ - > M *sileve- > WrM {MED} silēge- v. 'stir fire with a poker', HIM шилээ- {MED} id., {BMR} id., 'stir firewood in a stove with a poker', Ord šilē- 'attiser avec le tisonnier' ¶ MED 705-6, BMR IV 356, Ms. O 616.

2667. ?σ₂ ***z**ELq∇P_∇ 'sorcery, witchcraft' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'calamities') > HS: S *o'z' lχp > Ar zalχaf-at- 'malheurs, calamités' ¶ BK I 1004 || ? B *o'z' lω (< ****z**lH1φ?) 'calamities' > Kb zūalwi 'traverser une periode malheureuse' (unless from B ***z**lω 'être

tordu', *F* Pr. H no. 267, Fc. 599) ¶ Dl. 944 || **A** *zEL∇bE ({SDM95} *zil∇be, {SDM97} *zäl∇bi) ≈ sorcery, witchcraft): NaT *je|ilbi- > OT {Cl.} jelvi id., Xk čilbügen 'monster', Yk ilbi 'demoniac, possessed'; T → WrM {Kow.} cilbi ~ cilvi 'sorcery, trickery, deception' ¶ Rs. W 196, Cl. 919-20, Kow. 2346 || **M** *silmu- > WrM {Cev.} silmusun 'demon', {MED} silmu(ς) 'demon, evil spirit', HIM {MED} шулма(ς), {BMR} шулам, шулмас, шулмамс id., Kl {Rm.} šulmō ~ šulmu (pl. šulmus) 'Teufel, ein böser Geist', Ord šulmu ~ šulmus 'esprit malfaisant qui prend une forme humaine ou une forme animal' ¶ Luv. 659, Cev. 859, MED 707, 710, BMR IV 376-7, KW 867, Ms. O 634 || ?σ pKo {S} *sjāb v. 'be annoyed, vexed, sad' > MKo sjāp/w-, NKo sārāp/w- id. ¶ S QK no. 607, Nam 305, MLC 935 ¶¶ SDM 1515-16 (pA *ziā|∇bi 'sorcery, wutchcraft; to investigate [by magic power]' > M *silmu-, T, Ko + unc. Tg *silba- 'promise, warn' and pJ *sīrāmp- v. 'tune., adjust to rhythm, plaay rhythmical music; investigate'), DQA no. 2560 (> M *silmu-, T, Ko, J) || **IE** (Kas.) (< cd?) *≈°ho|alwō- > Ht {Kas.} aluwanz(a) 'sorcery' ¶¶ Kas. AL 155 ◇ Kas. AL 155 (IE, A).

2668. *zḗ|∇, (Ḳa) 'back (dos)' (or *zḗ|∇ (Ḳa) → [??] *zḗ|∇, Ḳa) > **A**: T *ji| 'spine' → 'mountain ridge' → 'mountain forest(s)' → 'thicket' (→ 'thick, dense') > NaT *jiš > Yk sis 'spine, rump, mountain ridge, mountains', OT jiš {Cl.} 'the upper part of the mountains covered with forests, mountain forests', {Ml.} id. ('чернь [лес и горы]'), StAlt žiš, Tb žiš, Xk čis id., SbTt {Tm.} jiš aḡac 'fir tree' (aḡac 'tree'); Cl. reads the OT word as jīš, with a long ī on the unreliable ev. of the plene spelling in Maḥmud al-Kashghari's ييش ٲٲڤ 'downward slope'; the Yk ev. contradicts Cl.'s hyp. of a long vw. ¶ Cl. 976, Ml. PDP 392, DTS 268, MKD 228, ET J 44, Rs. W 202, Rl. III 497-8 and IV 161, Tm. 92 ¶¶ SDM97 (*zi|∇ 'spine, nape'), ≈ SDM *ziú|a 'spine, nape' (> T + [not belonging here]: Tg *sulī- 'hump, back, mane, nape', M *sili- 'back of head, nape' and pJ *sāsu 'sticking edges of the roof beams'), ≈ DQA no. 2569 (id.); SDM and DQA reconstruct *ziú|a, combining reflexes of N *zḗ|∇, (Ḳa) and those of N *zōg|E 'back part\side', q.v.) || **U**: FU (att. in FV) *ś|šēlkä 'back (dos)' > F selkä, Es selg id. | pLp {Lr.} *čē|kē 'back, spine' > Lp: N {N} čiel'ge id., Kld {TI} č'iel:k:a_ 'spine', T {TI} č'el:k:e 'small of the back, rump' | Chr L 'шылыж 'š'lyž 'small of the back (loins)', Uf/B š'lyž id., 'rump', M {Wc.} š'ile 'back (dos), sacrum', Chr (= Chr Uf?) {Ü} шылыж 'muscles

of the back' ¶ It. no. 333, UEW 772, SK 995-6, Lr. no. 152, Lgc. no. 610, TI 661, MRS 753, Ü 283, Ber. 320 (pChr *šil) || HS: S *^o✓zlk > Ar zalaq- 'fesses (d'une bête de somme)' ¶ BK I 1006 ◇ Alternatively, one may suppose simplification of the final cns. cluster in T: N *-í_L∇, K_L∇ (in N *žêí_L∇, Ka) > pre-T **-íK' > T -í, but this is very doubtful, because no other cases of such simplification are known ◇ N *-a accounts for the T vw. *I (vowel harmony: *E...a > *I) ◇ Resh. no. 13 (U, A).

2669. *ž'u'g_L∇, í∇ (↔ *ž∇g'u'í∇?) 'flow, pour' > K: GZ *z_ywel- v. 'pour' (of heavy shower) > GI z_yvel- id., {Chx.} z_yvel-a 'heavy rain, shower', Mg z_yvar-z_yvali id., z_yvar-z_yval-an-s 'rain falls in a shower' ¶ K² 63, FS K 137-8, Ghl. 236, Chx. 423 || HS: S *^o✓zyl > Ar ✓zyl (pf. za_yala, ip. -z_yal-) 'verser par petites quantités', zu_yl-at- 'quantité d'eau, etc., versée en une seule fois' ¶ BK I 995, Ln. 1234-5 || ? B *✓zzl v. 'flow, run' (coalescence of two roots: *✓zzl v. 'flow' and *✓zzl v. 'run', the latter not belonging here?) > Ah aha_L v. 'flow (couler), run', BSn azzal, Gd {CM} azzal id., Izn, Rif, SrSn ✓zzl, Mz, Kb azzal 'courir, couler (eau)' ¶ Fc. 553-7, Rn. 442, Pr. H no. 212, Dlh. M 389, Dl. 940 || ¿¿ IE: Ht {Frd.} hu_walla 'ausgießen' ¶ Frd. HW 78 (rejected by Ts. E I 425 and not mentioned by Pv.) || A: T: [1] T *j'u'í- > NaT *j'u'š > OT {Cl.} j'u'š- v. 'pour out', ? Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jus- v. 'wash away' (of water) ('ab-\weg-spülen'); ↳ OT j'u'šul- v. 'be poured out' (of water) ¶ Cl. 976, 978, Rl. III 566 ¶ The cs. *-í- (rather than *-l-) in T *j'u'í- is due to contamination or to a *-y-sx][2] (here?) T *ju_L] 'spring, fountain' (× N ??φ *žER_L∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current' [q.v. ffd.] × N *LiL∇ 'water, sea'?) ¶ T *-l- in *ju_L] belongs to the heritage of N ??φ *žER_L∇ || ?φ D *čall-, {Km.} čal-/*če]-, {GS} *cal- v. 'pour out, sprinkle, disperse' (× N *čal∇ 'pour (out)', q.v. ffd.) ¶ D *-ll- is inherited from N *čal∇.

2670. *žEng∇ 'black, dirt-colored, dirty' > K *^ož|zang- > G zang- vt. 'make black/dirty' ¶ Not here G zangi 'negro' (↳ NPrs zängī 'Negro, Ethiopian', possibly connected with Ar zangǧ-) ¶ Chx. 390 || HS: S: Ar زنج zangǧ- {Ln.} زنج zingǧ- 'e nation of the blacks' ('East Africans, Ethiopians') ¶ Ln. 1256, Hv. 297, BK I 1015 || A ({SDM97} *zäne(r∇) 'yellowish, brown, gray'): NaT *^ojegren 'yellow' (of a horse) > OT jegren 'chestnut (color)'; T ↳ M: WrM {MED} zegerde 'red, chestnut (color)' HIM zagerd {MED} id. {BMP} 'Bathroun' (a horse) ¶

Cl. 914, ET J 22-3, MED 1043, BMR II 257 || NrTg *siŋa_lr_j- 'yellow, brown, gray' > Ewk siŋama 'yellow, yellowish-gray, brown, dirt-colored', Ewk siŋarīn, Neg siŋayun 'brown, yellow, gray', Ewk siŋālɜ-, Lm h_lŋāl- 'become yellow', Lm h_lŋańa 'yellow, brown', Sln śiŋarī 'yellow' ¶ STM II 90.

2671. (₂?) *zäŋ'k'∇ 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'waterskin', 'wineskin', 'sleeve', 'coat' etc.) > HS: CS *zi'n'k'- 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' > IA, Plm z_k 'goat skin (used to transport oil, wine, etc.)', JA zi_k'k'-ā 'hose, waterskin, wineskin', Sr zε_k'k'-ā 'wineskin, leathern bottle', SmA z_k 'waterskin', Aram → Ar zi_qq- and Ak NA zi_kq- 'wineskin', Ar → Gz zā_k 'leathern bottle, leathern bag' ¶ GB 205, HJ 339, Js. 396, BK I 998, JPS 119, Tak 238, L G 642, CAD XXI 129, Sd. 1531, DRS 785, Hv. 291 || A ≈ *zäŋ|gUn∇ ({SDM97} *zög(e)n∇, {SDM95} *zag(u)n∇) 'sleeve' > T *jäŋŋ ~ *jägn 'sleeve' > OT {Cl.} jēŋ, [MhK] jǎŋ, Tk yēn, Tkm, Uz jēŋ, ET jāŋ, Qzq, Qq žēŋ, VTt жиH ž'in, Bsh eH j_bŋ, Qrg žēŋ, StAlt žēn, Tv čēŋ, Xk hiH_b n_lŋ, Yk sīāχ, Chv L çanǎ, Chv Δ çan^ɛ çavHǎ 'sleeve' ¶ Chv Δ -BH- points to a pT *-gn- (= *-g^ωn-?), Chv a provides ev. for pT *ä, but VTt i goes back to *e (< *ä under the palatalizing infl. of pT *j- or VTt ž'-?) ¶ Cl. 940, Rs. W 197, ET J 186-7, Ash. XII 27, 39, Fed. II 94, Jeg. 202, ChVS 177-8, Rl. III 312, 322, 328 || Tg *sūn 'outer garments, coat' > Ewk [^]sun ~ [^]sūn (accus. sun-mɜ), Neg sūn, Ork sū(n-) ~ sū(n-) 'outer garments', Sln sū: 'coat, oriental robe (халат)'; Ewk → Yk son 'outer garments' ¶ STM II 126, Vas. 369-70 || pJ suán-tà'i 'sleeve' > OJ suódè, ItOJ [RJ] sóde, J: T sòde, K sódé, Kg sóde ¶ S QJ no. 360, Mr. 529 ¶¶ SDM97 (A *zög(e)n∇ 'sleeve'), SDM 1518-19 (pA *ziogn∇ > Tg, T, J), DQA no. 2563 (id.) || ?σ D (in GnD) *čank∇rè∇, *čank∇nè 'basket' (< 'leathern sack?') > Knd songorì 'basket that holds four seers of grain', Png han_gonè, Mnd han_gunè 'e basket', Ku hǎŋgorǎi ~ han_gorèi ~ han_gunèi 'small basket'; D → OI caŋgērī- 'basket' ¶ D no. 2288, Tu. no. 4565 ◇ The voicing of N *K in A (if the pA rec. of DQA is accepted) is due to the voicing infl. of *ŋ within the cns. cluster. The labialized vw. in Tg and Ko and the labial glide in pJ may be due to the infl. of the labialized vw. of the second syll. ◇ SDM97 l. c. (A, U) ◇ Hardly here IE *(s)k|kēn- 'abgespaltene Haut' (> Gmc *skenθa- > ON skinn, AS scinn, NE skin 'skin', W cern 'Häutchen, Haut'), because this stem is inseparable

from the v. *(s)ken- 'abspalten' (OIr scáin- v. 'split') and from words for 'film, scales' (W cen id., OCrn [LC] cennēn 'membrana', Br skant 'écailles', OIr ceirn 'écaille') and requires an additional hyp. of metathesis (F P 929-30, Vn. C 55, S 29).

2671a. *zāp₂∇ 'to make, to work' > IE *H₂op- (or *H^ωep-) > NaIE *op- v. 'work', *op-os ntr. 'work' > OI 'apah₂ [apas] 'work', Av h₂v- apah- 'good work' || Lopus /oper-is 'work', oper-ā- v. 'work', Osc úpsannam 'operandam', upsed 'fecit', Um OSATU 'facitō' ('make' 3s inv.) || AS inf. ēfnan 'to carry out, to do', ON inf. efna 'to work, to do', OHG inf. uoben {Km.} 'üben, pflegen, tun', {Schz.} 'üben, ausüben, pflegen' (> NHG inf. üben) || ? Tc A opṣaly 'season\time for action' ¶ P 780, Dv. no. 544, EI 649 (*'Hopes- n. 'work'), WH II 217-8, Bc. G 320-1, 340, Mul. 304, Ho. 88, Vr. 94, Km. 1116, OsS 1057, Schz. 304, KM 799, Ad. 76-7 || **A:** NaT *jap- 'make, prepare' > OT QU, MT jap- v. 'make', OT U jap- 'create', Tk yap-, Ggz, Chg yap- 'make, build', Ggz, Kr, Ln, VTt Δ, ET Δ jap- 'make'; T ⇨ G žapa- v. 'work hard' ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Br. MT 37, ≠ Cl. 870-1 (unc.: OT, Az žap-, Tk yap- 'make' ← T *jap- v. 'cover'), Chx. 2432-3 || **HS:** C: Ag {Ap.} *sab- / *cab- (< *t-sab-) v. 'do' > Bln hab-, Xm {R} sab- ~ cab-, {Ap.} s'ab-, Q šeb-, Km {CR} seab- ~ zeb-, Aw c3w- (1s c3p- [= {AD} < *s₁∇b-?- with ?- of the marker of 1s]) ¶ Ap. AV 17, AD SF 97, E PC no. 253.

2672. o *zap₂∇ - *žap₂∇ (or *žab|p₂∇) 'to strike' > K: GZ *zep₂- v. 'strike repeatedly' ('thrash, flog; trample down') > G zep₂- {K²} id., {Chx.} 'fetstampfen, festtreten (z. B. die Erde), flach\weich klopfen (z. B. Fleisch)', Mg zap₂- v. 'lash', Lz {K²} zap₂- 'lash', {FS} 'schlagen, klopfen' ¶ The irreg. *z- for the expected *ž- may be due to the onomatopoeic associations of the word ¶ K 87, K² 57, FS K 131, FS E 141 (*zep₂-), ≈ F KW1 no. 20 (*zap₂-) || **HS:** WS (+ext.) *✓zb₂ 'strike, hit' > Ar Y/D ✓zb₂ G 'kick', Gz ✓zb₂ G 'strike, smite, plague, beat', Tgr ✓zb₂ G 'hit', Tgy ✓zb₂ G 'hit lightly', Amh ✓zb₂ G 'beat, thrash' ¶ Lb. 1818, L G 632, ≈ Di. 1050, DRS 672-3 || **U:** FP *sapp₂∇- v. '≈ strike (a heavy blow)' > Prm {LG} *sap- > Z inf. sapk+n+ 'to cut off; to insert with a heavy blow; to chop at sth. with an axe', Vt inf. sapk+n+ 'to let fall, to knock down (by pushing. striking)' || ? Chr H inf. šäp-'kaya-š 'to scatter, to put into disorder' ¶ LG 249 || **D** *čapp- ({ǰGS} *ć-) 'clap hands', 'slap' (× N o *č₂ap₂ra 'beat, strike, chop' [q.v. ffd.]).

2673. ?σ₂ ***z̥oR̥** ∇ 'foreign, hostile' > **HS:** S *zar- 'foreign(er), enemy', whence the verb *√zʔr or *√zwr v. 'be foreign, hostile' (with insertion of an additional cns. in the root-medial position due to requirements of the S verbal morphology and on the analogy of triconsonantic verbs) > BHb zār 'strange, foreign(er), non-Israelite' (→ prt. Hoph'al רָאָה מִזָּר mū'zār 'estranged' > NHb רָאָה mu'zar 'strange, queer'), Ph zr {HJ} 'strange, other', OA zr 'foreigner', Yd zr {HJ} 'stranger', Ar zāʔir- (acp.) 'visitor, pilgrim' (interpreted as a participle, cp. Ar √zwr v. G 'visiter [un lieu saint ou une personne pour témoigner le respect]') (× WS *-zūr- v. 'visit' < N ***z̥UR̥**'i' 'look at, examine') || Ak zāʔiru ~ zēʔiru ~ zêru 'hostile', √zʔr (inf. zêru ~ zeʔāru 'dislike, hate, avoid' ¶ KB 256, 268, KBR 267, 279, JH 80, HJ 340, Ln. 1268-9, BK I 1025-6, Hv. 300-1, Jo. M 470, L G 646, CAD XXI 14, 94-7 || **A:** Tg *sorj- v. 'fight', *sorjn n. 'fight, battle' > Ork sōri id., Ul soru id., soru-, soru- v. 'fight', Nn sorl̃ 'fight, battle', soru- v. 'fight' || WrMc {Z} cоpи- v. 'shoot at each other' ¶ STM II 113, Z 628-9 || ? *AdS* of **IE** ***H̥er-** > NaIE *er- v. 'be angry, hostile' (< N ***zeʔr** ∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' [q.v. ffd.]).

2674. ***z̥UR̥**'i' (= ***z̥UR̥**'i'?) 'look at, examine' (or ***z̥UR̥**'i' 'to watch, to spy') > **K:** G zver- 'auskundschaften, rekognoszieren; belauern' ¶ Chx. 404 || **HS:** either [1] WS *-zūr- v. 'visit' (× S *zar- 'foreign[er]' < N ?σ ***z̥oR̥** ∇ 'foreign') > Ar -zūr- G v. 'visiter (un lieu saint ou une personne pour témoigner le respect)', Qtb {DRS} štzr 'tenter de visiter', Tgr/Amh {DRS} √zyr (pf. zeyyere) 'visiter, aller en pèlerinage', Mh zōr v. 'visit a saint's tomb', v. 'visit (so.)', Jb E/C zōr v. 'visit', ?σ SmA zrw 'idolatry' ¶ Ln. 1268-9, BK I 1025-6, Hv. 300-1, Jo. M 470, Tal 228 ||] or [2] S ***o-šūr-** (or *-θūr-) > BHb -šūr ({{trad.}} *√šwr) v. 'behold, regard; to watch stealthily, lie in wait' ¶ GB 816, KB 1345-7, BDB 1003, ≈ DRS 710 || **IE** ***lHx̥lwer-** 'look at, pay attention' (× IE ***w̥er-/w̥or-** id. < N ***w̥ar** ∇ 'look, watch', q.v. ffd.) || **A:** M *sori- v. 'test, examine, try out' > WrM {MED} sorī-, HIM {MED, BMR} cоpи-, Brt hopи- id., MM [S] sorī- 'prüfen, versuchen', Ord sorī- 'faire l'essai de qch. pour en voire la qualité, éprouver' ¶ MED 729, BMR II 115, H 136, Chr. 685, Ms. O 584 || **D** ***čūr̥-** 'see, look' (× N ***č̥ūr̥** ∇ ~ ***č̥ūr̥** id., q.v. ffd.) ◇ The rec. of the initial sibilant depends on the S cognate: if the latter is *-zūr-, we reconstruct pN ***z̥-**, but if it is *-šūr-, the N cns. is ***ž-**. Since the N etymon in question is not the main source of D ***č̥ūr̥-** the latter provides no decisive ev. for N ***ř**

2675. *zeɪr∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' > K *žar- > G zar- v. 'hate, detest', zar-ob-s / e-zar-eba 'er ist unlustig \ überdrüssig', Sv: UB/LB {TK} žar 'state of being bored (𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣)', Sv UB {GP} žaräy 'so. quick to take offence or to become bored', Sv {FS} msd. li-žär 'langweilig werden\sein', m-a-žär-da 'mir wurde es überdrüssig' ¶¶ FS K 138, FS E 149-50, Fn KW1 35 [no. 21], Chx. 391-2, 424, TK 683, GP 254, ≈ K² 63 (adduces G zar- 'be lazy' and reconstructs K *žar-/*žr- id.) ||

HS: S *^o✓zɪr (× N *žûrɛE 'fear, frighten') > Ar zaɪr-, zāɪr- 'méchant, dont on évite la société' ¶ BK I 990 || **IE** *H̄er- > NaIE *er- v. 'be hostile' (× N ?σ *ž'É'Rž∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' × N ? *ž'oR∇ 'foreign, hostile' [q.v.]) > Av ham-ara- 'Gegner, Widersacher', ham-arana, OPrs ham-arana- 'feindliches Zusammen-treffen, Kampf', OI sam-a'ra- 'strife, conflict' || Gk ἔρις (gen. ἔριδος) 'strife, quarrel' || SI *rāt̃ (gen. *rāti) 'fight, battle, army' ({M, Vs.}: < *or-ti-s) > OCS рать rat̃ (gen. rati) battle, war; enemy troops', R †, Uk рать 'army', SCr rāt̃, Blg рат 'war' ¶ MK III 436, F I 559-60, Glh. 519, StSS 579, Vs. III 448 || **A:** NaT *jæːr- ~ *jæːri- v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' × N *žäʔ'ô'r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate') > OT يير jēr- ({Cl., Dnk.} jēr-) v. 'loathe / be disgusted at (sth., esp. food), criticize, blame', OT Og -يير jēr- ({Cl.} jēr-) 'loathe (food)', Osm {Rh.} -ير jēr- ~ jir- id., Tk ɣer- v. 'loathe, blame, slander', Tkm īr- v. 'bore (so.)', Qzq žer- v. 'loathe', Yk sir- id., 'blame', Qq žeri- v. 'loathe, shun', Qrg žeri- v. 'shun, keep aloof [from] (e.g. its own youngs)' (of animals), StAlt žeri- ({Rl.} Alt jäpɪ), Tlt {Rl.} jəri- id., QK {Rl.} jəri- 'abhor' ¶ The length of the vw. is not certain: in Tkm the initial ī- may go back to *ye-, Yk has a short vw., and Cl.'s and Dnk.'s rec. of the OT *ē is based on the precarious ev. of the Arabic spelling ¶ Cl. 955, DTS 257, MKD 223, Rs. W 198, ET J 193, Rh. 2202, Rl. III 338-9, Jud. 250-1 ¶¶ Not here (because of the Anlaut) pJ {S} *ira-t- or *dirat- 'be annoyed' (see N ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry') (⇔ DQA no. 2598) ¶¶ ≈ SDM 1535 (pA *žēri 'be annoyed\disgusted' > T + unc. Tg *jēri- 'boast', M *žerge- 'hate, be disgusted' nd pJ *ḍjira- 'be nervous\angry'), ≈ DQA no. 2598 (id.). The pA cons.*ž- (suggested by SDM and DQA) cannot go back to N .*z- (reconstructed on the ev. of the S, IE and K cognates).

2676. * $\acute{z}o\Gamma R\hat{u}$ (or * $\acute{z}oR\Gamma\hat{u}$) 'line\boundary\strip of land between geographical objects\areas' > K * $z\psi war-$ 'limit, bound' > OG $z\psi var\ i$ id., G {Chx.} $z\psi var\ i$ 'Grenze, (Grenz)scheide', Lz $\psi o\check{z}$ 'border (of house), court', Sv {TK}: UB $h\ddot{a}\psi wra$, LB $\ddot{a}\psi wra$, L $a\psi wra$, Ln $l\ddot{a}\psi wera$ 'boundary, border'; d. K {K²} * $^{\circ}z\psi wan-$ v. 'limit, restrict' > OG, G $z\psi van-$ id. ¶¶ Chx. 422-3, DCh. 927, 532, Abul. 171, TK 894, ≈ K² 62 (* $z\psi war-$ ← * $z\psi wan-$) || IE * $^{\circ}worw-$ > NaIE * $^{\circ}worwo-s$ 'furrow, boundary ditch, boundary' (× d. from NaIE * $^{\circ}worw-$ /* $^{\circ}wr\ddot{o}w-$ 'plow, dig up' < N * $^{\circ}wur\hat{u}$ 'to scrape', q.v. ffd.) > Gk Mc $\omega o-\omega o$, {ChB} $\omega o_{\iota}r_{\iota}\omega o-$ '(?) boundary', {AJ} 'frontera, límite' [?], Gk A $\acute{\omicron}\rho o\varsigma$, Gk I $\acute{o}\acute{\upsilon}\rho o\varsigma$, Gk CrC {Hofm.} $h\omicron r\acute{\alpha}o\varsigma$, $\acute{\omicron}\rho\beta o\varsigma$, {Schw., Bc., Ch.} $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\alpha}o\varsigma$ 'boundary, landmark', Gk Cr/Ar $\acute{\iota}\rho o\varsigma$, Gk $\acute{\iota}\upsilon\rho o\nu$ 'boundary, limit', Gk Hm $\acute{o}\acute{\upsilon}\rho o\acute{\upsilon}$ pl. 'trenches\channels for hauling up ships and launching them again' || L ($a\ m\ b-$) $ur\upsilon\bar{a}$ - 'surround (a territory) by a boundary ditch', [ψ] $ur\upsilon\upsilon s$ 'circuitus civitatis', Osc $ur\upsilon\upsilon\acute{u}$ {WH} 'boundary' ({Bc.} 'curva, flexa [?])' || NIr $for\ b\bar{a}$ 'glebe land' || Lt $ur\tilde{v}as$ 'ditch, hole, den', Ltv $ur\upsilon a$ 'Loch, Höhle (in der Erde)' || ?? OI $\bar{u}r\upsilon a\acute{h}$ 'dungeon' (⇔ M K I 117 and M E I 245 [denies the connection of $\bar{u}r\upsilon a\acute{h}$ with this IE $\sqrt{\quad}$]) ¶ Mn. 1523, 1581-2, 1606, EI 215 (* $worwos$ 'furrow'), ≠ WP II 352-3, F II 425-6, 447, Ch. 825, Bc. GD §§ 54, 58c, Schw. GG I 135, Hofm. 239, WH II 767, 843-4, Bc. G 326, Dnn. 304, 330, AJ II 450, ChB 228, Ch. 825, Tr. 335f., Frn. 1171 || U: FU * $\acute{s}or\bar{\nabla}$ 'small area between two geographical objects, strip of land' > pPrm * $\acute{s}ur$ > Z Ud $mu-\acute{s}ur$ 'waldige Strecke Landes (bes. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' (mu is 'earth, land'), Vt $\acute{s}ures$, Vt SW $\acute{s}ur\acute{e}s$ 'road, way' || pObU * $s\bar{a}r$ > pVg * $sar\bar{f}$ 'valley, small swamp' (× N * $\acute{z}'a'hr\bar{\nabla}$ 'low place, valley', q.v.) > Vg T $sar\bar{e}$ 'small swamp', LK/MK $s\bar{a}r$ 'Engpaß', UL/Ss $sori$ 'valley'; pOs * $s\bar{a}rt$ ({Hl.} * $s\bar{r}rt$) 'enge Straße zwischen zwei Seen' > Os: K/O $s\bar{a}rt$, Nz/Kz $s\bar{o}rt$ id. In some forms there is infl. of the homonymous (or paronymous) $\sqrt{\quad}$ for 'narrow' (represented by Hg $szoros$ 'tight, close' and $szorul-$ v. 'get narrow') ¶ UEW 487, Ht. 185 [no. 601], MF 595, LG 275.

2677. * $\acute{z}'a'hr\bar{\nabla}$ (or * $\acute{z}'a'hr\bar{\nabla} - *z|\check{z}'a'hr\bar{\nabla}$) 'shine, be bright; light (lux)' > HS: WS * $\check{z}hr$ 'shine' > JA [Trg.] $\check{z}hr$ G (pf. $\check{z}a'har$) 'shine, bloom', Sr $\check{z}hr$ G 'be clear, transparent, bright', Ar $\check{z}hr$ v. G 'shine' (moon), 'glow' (fire), BHb $\check{z}hr$ v. *Sh* 'shine', MHb $\check{z}hr$ D 'brighten', Hrs {Jo.} $\check{z}hr$ I (pf. $z\bar{e}h\bar{a}r$, sbjn. $y\bar{a}zh\bar{o}r$) 'shine' (but Hrs

✓zhr I 'appear', Tgr ✓zhr Sh [pf. **זָהַרְתָּ** *ʔazharə*] 'become manifest, appear' and **חָצַר** *zahʕr* 'open, offenkundig' are more likely to belong to N ***ʕ'Ē'hR∇** 'see, know', q.v.), BHb **זָהַר** 'zohar 'shining, brightness', JA {Js.} **זָהַרְתָּ** *zah^ar-ā* 'light; brightness, splendour, moon', **זָהַרְתָּ** *zi h^ar-ā* 'moon, moonlight' (× N ***ʕ̂æh'a'Ra** 'moon?'), Sr *zah'r ā* 'brightness, splendour, flashing', Ar **زَهْرَة** *zuhr-at-* 'whiteness, shining color, beauty' ¶ KB 254-5, KBR 265, BDB no-s. 2094-6, Js. 382, 384, 391, Lv. T I 212, JPS 111, Ln. 1261-2, BK I 1019-20, Hv. 298-9, Jo. H 149, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?ϕ B ***o'zrr** > Kb *izrir* v. 'être clair, dégagé (ciel)' ¶ Dl. 954 || ?σ WCh (× N ***ʕ̂æh'a'Ra** '↑', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} *zār*, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} *zār*, Mnt {J} *zayí* 'star' || DfB {J} **žórèt** id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [no. 519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) || **А**: NaT **jaru|*- v. 'shine, send out light' (× N ***yar'û** 'to shine [leuchten], to burn', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ ≠ SDM 1512-13 (pA **zēra* 'light, moon' > T *jar-* 'shine, dawn, light, candle' + [going back to N ***ʕ̂æh'a'Ra** 'moon']: M **sara* 'moon', pJ {S} **sátúkú* 'the fifth month of the moon calendar' and possibly Tg **sē* 'year'), ≠ DQA no. 2556 (id.) || **U** ***ś'c'a'r∇** 'bright (hell), white' (× N ? ***ś'EḌar∇** 'bright; daybreak') > FU ***ć|sar∇** > pLp {Lr.} ***ćōrē** 'half-white, bright gray, gray-haired' > Lp: Ar {Lgc.} **čōrāk** 'half-white' (of hair), S {Hs.} *tjuōries*, S Sn {Lgc.} **čūōriēs** '(Renntier) mit hellen Haarspitzen', L {LLO} *tjuorrē* 'reddish-yellow, bright gray' (a dog), N {N} *čuoorre / -r-* 'mottled brownish gray color of (animal's) hair' || ?ϕ Prm ***žōr** ({JLG} ***žōr**) 'bright (color), pale' > Z **žōr**, Z US **žōr** 'gray (hair), grey hair', Vt **žar+** 'light (color)', ? Vt **žar** 'Morgendämmerung' || ? Sm **sər*, **sər-* 'white' > Ne: T {Ter.} **čəp**, T O {Lh.} **sərʔe**, F L {Lh.} **χ̄t̄z̄r**; Ng {Ter, Hl.} **сыр**; En {KD} **θē**, {Ter.} **сыр / сыр-**; Slq Tz {Prk., KKIH} **sər+**; Kms {KD} *d. sīrē, sīri*, {Cs.} *siri*, Koyb {Sp.} *d. сыры* id. ¶¶ Lr. no. 205, Lgc. no. 782, LLO 1184, N I 442, Hs. 1349, LG 92, Jn. 138, Lh. 410, KP no-s 1224, 1309, Hl. US 137, KKIH 169, Ptp. 35, ≠ UEW 36 (equates the Prm ***žōr** with Vg ***šīr-**/**šir-** 'dusk, dawn' and OHg **szír** 'gray', which is unc., see N ***ših₁a₁R∇** ≈ gray, bright') || ? IE ***χarǵ-**, ***χarǵi-** 'white' (× N ??ϕ ***χ'aw₁a₁'rE** [or ***χawEr∇**] 'bright, white', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the IE cognate is valid (in spite of the unexplained ext. *-ǵ-), the initial N cns. is ***ʕ-**, otherwise it may be ***ʕ̂-** as well. The Prm cognate favours N ***ʕ̂-**. The N lr. *-h- was lost in IE probably due either to dis. (***χahr-** > ***χar-**) or to the merger of the two lrs. (***χh-** > ***χ-**). If the U cognate is rejected

(because of its ambiguity in the Sm part), the N initial cns. will be less specified (*z|z').

2678. *z'a¹h₁r∇ 'low place, valley' > IE *HaHx_r- 'level\open place, vast space' (× IE *xa₁:₁ri- 'valley, low place' < N *gar'i¹ 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' [q.v.] × N *xar'ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' [q.v. ffd.]?) > NaIE {WP} ? *āro- 'open place, vast space' > OI abl. ā'rāt 'from a distant place', loc. ārē 'far away' || L ārea 'a level\open place' || Ltv âra 'outdoors', âres 'open country', ? Lt óras 'air, weather' ¶ WP I 79, ≠ M K I 78 (equates the OI word with L ōlim 'formerly, at that time'), M E I 173, ≠ WH I 65, ≠ Frn. 518 (equates the Blt words with NaIE *ār- v. 'plough'), Kar. I 76 || U: FU *ś|śār∇ 'valley, ravine, low place' > pPrm *mu-śār, *śärt (*ä = {LG} *ε) 'valley, ravine; space between two rivers \ swamps \ mountains' (*mu is 'earth') > Z mǝśǝr 'ravine, depression', śǝrt 'high fir-tree forest in a low place; a moist place in a river valley'; Lytkin and Guljajev distinguished this √ from the Vt paronym mu-śur 'lange Strecke Weges, waldige Strecke Landes (bzw. zwischen zwei Flüssen)' that goes back to FU *śor∇ 'small area between two geographical objects' (< N *zōr₁Ū [or *zōr₁Ū] 'line \ boundary \ strip of land between geographical objects\areas') || in the ObU lgs. both FU stems merge, their vw. going back to *o of FU *śora and their meaning reflecting both roots: ObU {Ht.} *sār- > pVg *sār̄ > Vg T sar̄ ~ sār̄ 'small swamp', Vg LK/MK sār, UL/Ss sori 'Waldrücken zwischen zwei Seen', {BV} 'saddle between two mountain peaks, forest between two swamps' ¶ LG 176-7, UEW 487, Ht. 185 [no. 601], Stn. WV 232, BV 106 || A: T jar ({Md.} *jār) 'steep bank, ravine, cliff' (← *'valley?') (× N *degar∇ 'hill, summit', q.v.) > OT ja₁:₁r ({Cl.} jār) 'a vertical bank of a river eroded by water or a gorge cut through a mountain side by water', Tk çar, Qmq, Nog jar, Ln ja₁y 'precipice', Tkm žar, ET ja(r) 'ravine', StAlt žar, Xk čar 'steep ravine (яp)', Qq žar, Qrg, Uz žar id., 'precipice, steep bank', Qzq žar 'ravine, steep bank', Chv L çыр 'precipice, steep bank', çыран id., ? Yk sīr 'small hill, a height' ¶ Cl. 953-5 (OT jār with a long vw. on the basis of the Arabic spelling), ET J 17-8, 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Ash. XII 109-10, 116-17, Fed. II 155-6, Jeg. 225, ChVS 193, Md. 99, 160, TrR 912, Fed. II 155-6, Pek. 2475 ¶ FU *ä (for the expected *a) may be due to vw. harmony (infl. of a front vw. of the next syll.).

2678a. ₂ *z'E¹hR∇ 'see, know' > K: GZ {K²} *zer-/*zir- v. 'look', {AD} 'look' or 'see' > OG, G mzer-/*mzir- 'look', Mg zir-, Lz (n)zir- ~

zir- ~ çir- 'see, find' ¶ K² 57-8, Chik. 390 || HS: S: [1] WS *✓zhr G (ps.) 'be seen', *Sh*, [?] *D* (caus.) 'instruct, warn' (← **'let know'; ≡σ: Tl inv. cū 'see!' - cumī, cūđī 'take care!', exclamation of warning [D no. 2735, Km. 359]) > Hrs {Jo.} ✓zhr G (pf. zēhār, js. yəzhōr) 'appear', Tgr ✓zhr *Sh* (pf. ʔazharə) 'become manifest, appear' and HUC zahər 'open, offenkundig' (but Hrs ✓zhr G 'shine' belongs to N *z'a'hr∇ - *z'a'hr∇ - *z|z'a'hr∇ 'shine, be bright' [q.v.]), BHb ✓zhr *Sh* (pf. hi-z'hīr) {KB} 'warn', {BDB} 'instruct, teach, warn', JPA B {Sl.}, SmA ✓zhr *Sh* 'warn', BHb ✓zhr *N* (pf. niz'har) 'be instructed, admonished, warned', BA ʔahī'r-īn pl. 'careful, cautious', IA zhr {HJ} *T* 'take heed, take care of', JPA ✓zhr G {Js.} 'look out, guard', MHb zā'hīr, JEA zə'hīr 'careful', JPA Bz {Sl.} zhyr 'careful, prudent, watching over', ChrPA {Schlt.}, Md ✓zhr *D* 'warn', ChPA *G* zhr acp. 'animum attendens ad cavendum'; [2] S *°✓zrr > Ar {Ln.} ✓zrr (pf. zarrā) 'increase in intelligence (and in probation and experience)', ✓zrr (pf. zarīra) 'become intelligent' ¶ Jo. H 149, KB 254-5, 1700, BDB 264, HJ 307, Js. 381-2, Sl. 400, Sl. P 172-3, Schlt. 54, Tal 222-3, BK I 1025-6, Ln. 1222-3, LH 493, DRS 695 || ?φ B *-zraH- ~ *-zruH- ~ ?*-ziHr- 'see; know' (× N *čûř∇ ~ *čûř∇ 'see, look', q.v. ffd.) || ??φ Eg fP ɛyɜ ({EG} ɛjɜ) 'recognize so. (erkennen); perceive; know' ¶ EG IV 30-1, Fk. 212 ¶¶ Zl. KÄLV 115 (Eg, B) ¶¶ Both the B and the Eg cognates are qu. because of the irreg. sibilant (*z for *z in B, ɛ for z in Eg [ɛ due to the infl. of the lr. *h?]) ◇ IS MS 333 s.v. видеть *zir∇ (K, Eg, B) ◇ The N lr. (*h) is suggested by WS *✓zhr, B *zraH- ~ *-zruH- ~ ?*-ziHr-. S points to the pN sequence *-hR-, while most B lgs. suggest that the lr. was the last cns. of the N word. The uvularization in B belongs to the heritage of N *čûř∇ ~ *čûř∇.

2679. ₂ *zaw_L∇_r∇ 'young of a beast' > K: GZ *mo-zwer- 'heifer' > G mo-zver-i, Lz mo-zar-i ~ mo-za-i ~ mu-zar-i id. ¶ FS K 132 || A: T {Md.} *jabru, {Dr.} *jabriϕ 'young of an animal' (× A *dä|bru id. > pTg *deb_Lren > Ul dɜuru(n-), Ork dɜwrɜ(n-) ~ dɜurɜ(n-) 'young of a bird', WrMc {Z} дэбэрэнь 'young of a beast\bird' [STM I 239]) > Chg {Rs.} jauri, MQp javri 'young of an animal', Osm {Rh.} jawri ~ jawru id., 'one's child', Tk ɟavru 'young of a beast, nestling', Chg [BaL] javri 'young wild animal', [AFT] jawri 'chicken, young bird', CrTt {Rl.} jäwrü; Chg jawru-q id., 'child', Chv L ɟăvăp šbv̆r, Chv H {Md.} šbv̆r

'young wild mammal', ??φ: Chv L *џура* ~ *џурă* ({Md.} *šurъ*) ~ *џури*
 'young animal (детеныш животного)' ¶ Rs. W 178, Md. 28, 160, Ash.
 XIII 6, Fed. II 140-1, Jeg. 219, ChVS 179, Rh. 2195, TrR 917, ET J 53, TL
 168-9 ¶¶ Pp. AU 105 (T, Tg).

2680. **z̥ur̥sE* 'fear, frighten' > K **oz|zar-* v. 'frighten', n. 'horror' >
 OG *zar-i* 'terror, horror', NG *zar-* v. 'frighten, inspire horror', *še-zar-*
 'jemanden in Angst/Schrecken setzen' ¶¶ Chx. 392 || HS: S **o✓zr̥s* (× N
 **ze̥sr̥∇* 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed') > Ar ✓ *zr̥s TD tazarrafa*
 'être prompt à faire du mal', {Hv.} 'hasten to do mischief' (× S **o✓zr̥s*
 'sow, cast seeds'?) ¶ BK I 985, Hv. 287 || A: M **süre-* > WrM {MED}
süre- v. 'awe, inspire horror', HIM *сүрэ-* {MED} id., {BMR}
 'demonstrate one's bravery; гарцевать перед строем войск (в
 виду неприятеля)', d.: Kl {Rm.} *sürē* 'Schrecken, Entsetzen', {KRS}
сүрәтә 'threatening appearance; appearance that inspires horror'; M
 **sür(е)кеу* > WrM {MED} *sür̥кеу* 'terrible, frightening; terrific', HIM
сүркий {MED} id., {BMR} 'exceptional, extraordinary', Ord *sür̥k̥xī* ~
süre̥k̥xī 'terrible, horrble; terriblement; énorme, très grand', Kl {KRS}
сүркә 'extraordinary, exceptional', {Rm.} *sür̥kē* 'furchtbar,
 schrecklich; imposant' ¶ MED 745, BMR III 144-5, Ms. O 599, KRS 465,
 KW 341 || D (in McTm) **čūr(-)* v. 'frighten' > Tm *сūr-* v. 'frighten, be
 cruel', *сūr* 'fear, suffering', Ml *сūr* 'fiend, affliction, disgust' ¶ D no.
 2725.

2681. (₂?) **z̥|z̥'i'R_LH₂∇* ~ **z̥|z̥'i'_LH₂R∇* 'be very cold' > K **oz|z̥wr-*
 > G *z(∇)r-* 'freeze, congeal' ({Chx.} 'erfrieren [lassen], abfrieren') ¶ Chx.
 416, 426, DCh. 529, ≠ K 65 (G < K **z̥r-* 'become damp\wet, freeze') ||
 IE: NaIE **srēj̥g-/srīg-* 'cold' (AdS of N **ś∇Rix̥ka* 'cold', q.v. ffd.) ||
 U **ś'ī'r∇-* or **č'ī'r∇-* '(crust of) snow\ice' (× N ?σ **с∇R_L∇_L∇* ~
 **с∇∇R∇* 'freeze, feel cold') > Lp {LLO} *tjar'va čařva* 'so hart
 gefrorener Schnee, daß man darüber gehen kann', Lp Ml {Schl.}
tjar'va t̃j_arwa 'Harsch, zusammengefrorene Schneedecke', *tjar'ka*
t̃j_arka 'gefrorener Erdboden' || Prm **čir* > Z I *čir* 'thin ice over snow', Z
 Vm/LV/ Ud *čir* 'hardened surface of the ice', Z UV *čirs* 'frozen surface
 of the ground'; ? Prm ⇨ Krl {Wc.} *čir̃te* 'thin snow crust (after a
 thaw)' || Hg *szirony* 'thin crust on ice over snow; hoarfrost' (acc. to
 EWU, -ny is a denom. derivational sx) || Sm {Jn.} **s+rã* 'snow' (× N
 **čar∇* [or **č'ar∇*] 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard\rough surface',
 q.v.) > Ne: T *сыра*, T O {Lh.} *s+rã*, FN {Lh.} *χ+r̃r̃bã* 'snow, winter'; Ng
 {Ce} *sĩru* {Mik} *sürü* id. En {Ter} *сыра* En {Ce} X *sĩka* B *sĩra*

'snow'; Slq Tz {KKIH} s+r+ id.; Kms {KD} sərə, {Cs.} sirä, Koyb {Sp.} сыра, {Pl.} sirrä id.; Mt {Hl.} *sirä (Mt T/M {Mll.} sirrä, Mt K {Mll.} sérre, {Pl.} sirä) id. ¶¶ Not here Z ćarəm, ćars 'ice crust on snow' (⇔ UEW 464), that goes back to N *ćar∇ (or *ć'ar∇) '↑' (q.v.) ¶¶ LLO 1139, Schl. 137, MF 789-90, EWH 1439, Wc. FUA 256, LG 307, Jn. 140, KKI 173, Hl. M no-s 891-2, ≈ UEW 464 s.v. *śarə (with *a on the presumed ev. of Z ćarəm and without taking into account Lp) ◇ Hg s z- points to a pU *ś (hence to N *ź-), while Prm *ć- (< U *ć- reg.) and IE *s- suggest a pN *ź-. If the N cns. was *ź-, the IE initial *s- (for the expected *h-) may be accounted for by some special reflex of N *ź- in the precon. position or in the position before *r. If the initial N cns. was *ź-, G zr- is likely to result from a precon. desaffrication of K *z-.

2682. *ź'ä'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' > K *°z|žerg-wŋ- v. 'trample down' > G zergn- 'feststampfen, festtreten (z. B. Erde)', v. 'press, trample, ram' ¶ Chx. 402, DCh. 521 || HS: CS *√zrg > Ar √zrg 'frapper avec le fer du bout inférieur de la lance', NNEA {Mcl.} zergā 'short spear' ¶ BK I 984, Fr. II 232, Mcl. 89, DRS 791 ¶ The meaning is likely to have been influenced by the paronymous Ar verb √zğğ 'frapper, percer avec le zuğğ-, c.-à-d. avec le bout inférieur de la lance' (←d zuğğ- 'ferrure pointue au bout inférieur de la lance') (BK I 973, Fr. II 225) || ?σ IE *Ĥerg^h_{LHX}- (× N *r∇g_L∇_J∇ 'to quake, to move in agitation' [q.v. ffd.]) > NaIE *erg^h- ≈ tremble, leap, fidget', Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence' ¶¶ WP I 147-8, P 339, M K I 119, M E I 249, F II 433, Ch. 830, LS 1258, Vs. II 22, 24, Pv. I-II 147-8, ≠σ EI 508 (*h⁴orġ^heġ ~ *h⁴r^oġ^hor 'mounts, covers') ¶¶ The meaning of IE *Ĥerg^h_{LHX}- is influenced by N *r∇g_L∇_J∇ || U: FP *śärk∇- v. 'break; [?] fell' (× FU *śärke- 'break, split, chop' < N *śäRĶê ≈ break, split, cut' [q.v.]) > F inf. särkeä 'to break' | Lp L {LLO} tjer'kaV 'log, billet' (< *'broken, sawn'), Lp N {N} čiergâ 'piece that has been sawn off' | Chr W 'šärŷ-em, E šer'ŷ-em {It.} 'öffnen, zerstreuen', Chr H šärgä- {Ep.} v. 'open sth. piled, heaped, rolled up', {Ü} v. 'open, unroll, unfold', Chr L {MRS} шерга- v. 'open wide, cut through, move/slide apart' | Mk {PI} сярфто- śärä-fta- v. 'fell' | Vt sər+ cōry- v. 'break (sth.)' ¶ It. no. 268, SK 1170-1, N I 387, LG 267.

2683. ?σ *ź'E}R'Z∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' > K: GZ *zrz-in- v. 'perturb' ('verwirren, приводить в смятение'), 'excite' > OG zrzen- id., G zrzen-/zrzin-: m-zrzn-is 'mich übernimmt ein

Zittern\Schauern, ich erzittere\schauere', Mg z3r23ni, zirzini 'noise, hubbub (крик, шум, вопль)' ¶ K 88-9, Chx. 417, Q 237 || HS: CS *zarīz- 'ready to fight, brave' > Sr zərīzā {JPS} 'brave, valiant, strenuous; ready, swift', {Cst.} 'puissant, fort, rapide', MHb זָרִיז זָרִיז {Lv.} 'gerüstet, zu etwas geschickt, befähigt', JEA זָרִיז זָרִיז 'swift, diligent, valiant', Ar [Qam.] zarīz- {Fr.} 'agilis, mundus', {DRS} 'agile, propre'; CS *✓zrz D v. 'arm, instigate' > JA [Trg.] {Lv.} ✓zrz D 'strengthen, instigate', {Lv.} 'rüsten, ansprechen', JEA ✓zrz D 'arouse, encourage, arm, strengthen', MHb {Lv.} ✓zrz D 'zu etw. ansprechen', SmA ✓zrz D 'hasten, hurry', Sr ✓zrz {Cst.} D v. 'arm', G 'être vaillant' ¶ The S cognate is valid unless it goes back to *z∇rz- 'girth' (> JA [Trg.] zə'raz / zar'zā id.) ¶ Lv. I 553-4, Lv. T I 420-1, ≈ Js. 412-3, Sl. 420, Cst. 92, JPS 120, Tal 239, Fr. II 233, DRS 793 || IE *H_{er}lH_x- > [1] NaIE *✓er(ə)- 'set (oneself) in motion, set on, incite' > OI (rdp.) 'iyar-ti 'sets in motion', md. 'īrtē, Av iyar-/īr- 'set (oneself) in motion', OI rō'nō-ti, Av ərənao'ti 'arises, moves', OI rō'ti-h̄ ~ 'rōti-h̄ 'attack', Av -ərətī- 'energy' || Gk ὄρνυμι 'I stir up, set on, incite', md. ὄρνυμαι (pfc. ὄρωρα) 'move, stir oneself' || OIr {P} ad-orth 'Erregung' || Gmc {Vr.} *arn- > ON ern 'tüchtig, energisch', Gt arniba 'ἄσφαλῶς, sicher', d.: OHG ěrnust n. 'earnest, zeal', {EWA} 'Energie, Entschlossenheit, Ernst', MHG ěrn(e)st 'Festigkeit, Ernst', NHG Ernst 'earnestness', ernst 'earnest', AS eornost 'zeal, earnestness; earnest, serious', NE earnest || [2] AdS of NaIE *er- v. 'be hostile' (< N *zeŕ∇ 'hate, abhor, be annoyed', q.v. ffd.) ¶ P 326-32 (× other roots), M K I 90, 122-3, and III 436, F II 422-4, WH II 222-3, Vr. 105, Fs. 58, Km. 208, OsS 150, EWA II 1144-5, Lx. 47, KM 172-3, Glh. 519, Vs. III 448, EI 506 (*h₁er- 'set in motion').

2684. *z'e'rd∇ (= *ze'rd∇?) 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear' ('to cause to grow') > K *z|žard-/ *z|žrd- v. 'grow; bring up, feed' > OG, MG zrd- v. 'feed, raise, bring up' (Mt. 6.26, III Kings 18.4, etc.; VT 5.19), OG zrd- v. 'be brought up' (Job 31.18), G zard-/zrd- ~ rd- v. 'grow', 'raise, bring up', Mg rd- id., Lz rd- v. 'grow', Sv (ə)rd-: msd. {K²} lī-rd-i (with compensatory lengthening), Sv LB/L {TK} msd. lirdi 'to grow', ({FS} 'wachsen, heranziehen'), Sv UB/L/Ln {GP, TK} msd. li-rdi 'rear so.\sth., grow\cultivate sth.; be reared, grow up', li-rd-e 'be somewhere, dwell, live, exist' ¶¶ K 88, K² 57, Chik. 308-9, Q 304-5, Marr 181-2, Abul. 169 Ser 68 Chx 416-7 Dn sv rd Ni TK 446 GP 165 FS K 129 FS F

139-40 (*zard-/zrd-) ¶¶ K, K², and FS K reconstruct here K *z-, but since the Zan and Sv reflexes are zero, one cannot distinguish here between K *z- and *ž- (F Mach. KEDP 165) || HS: WS *✓zrd (or *✓δrd) v. 'sprout' > MHb [Msh.] ✓zrd {Lv.} 'Zweige oder Reben in die Höhe ziehen, aufschliessen lassen', zarā'ḏ-ī m 'shoots, sprouts', ? Tgr 𐤆𐤌𐤁 zareda '(scarf) hanging long down, (cow) long-tailed' ¶ Lv. I 552, Js. 411, LH 497 || IE *H₂ord^h- (or *H^ωerd^h-) > NaIE *ord^h- v. 'grow, rise' (× N *H₁erU 'ascend, rise'?) > OI r_od^h- v. 'thrive, prosper, succeed', Av arəḏ- v. 'grow', Oss D irāzun id. || OIr arḏ 'high, big' || Dt inf. aarden 'to thrive, to grow', ON orḏ n. 'crop, harvest', AS earḏ ~ ierḏ 'harvest' (× NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough' < N *garH[∇] 'crush (the soil), grind', whence AS inf. érian, OHG inf. arjan 'to plough', AS earḏ ~ ierḏ, OHG art 'ploughing') || pSl inf. *rod-i-ti (1s pres.-ft. *rod-j-ŋ) 'to give birth' > OCS inf. родити roditi (1s рождѣ roždq), SCr inf. rōditi, Slv inf. rodíti, Cz inf. roditi, Slk inf. rodit', P inf. rodzić, R inf. родить, Uk inf. родити id., Blg родя 'give birth'; pSl 1s pres. *or₁st-ŋ 'I grow' (*-st- < *-d-t-) > OCS 1s pres. растѣ rast-ŋ, SCr 1s pres. rāstē, Uk 1s pres. росту id., n. act. Sl *orstъ > OCS растъ rastъ, SCr, Slv rāst, R рост 'growth' | Ltv inf. rādīt 'create, produce', {ME} 'give birth to' || possibly IE *g₂rd^u- > NaIE *ardu- 'steep, high' > L arduus 'steep, towering, lofty', ON orḏugi 'steep', OIr arḏ 'high, big', Av arəḏva 'upright', ? Ht harduppi ≈ high' ¶¶ Mn. 886-7, otherwise P 399, M K I 124 (OI r_od^h- < NaIE *a₁- 'grow'), M E I 118-9 (no definite et. of OI r_od^h-/ard^h-), Vr. 688, Ho. 86, 94, 187, Km. 45, OsS 27, 31, ≠ Vr. N 5-6 (Dt aarden < aarde 'earth'), Vn. A 87, Vs. III 490-2, 505, Glh. 518-9, Ma. CS 420, Chn. II 118-9, ME III 462, Pv. III 203, EI 269 (*h₂erdu-s 'high, lofty') || ?, φ U: FU {UEW} *serä, {Ker.} *sērä 'old' (of age), 'grown up' > pMr *sīra > Er сыре síre 'old' (of age), 'grown up' (of a wolf)', Mk сире síra 'old' || ? Hg öreg 'old' (of age), Δ 'large' ¶ UEW 440, Ker. II 142, MF 515 || D *çer- v. 'thrive, grow' > Tm çer_i id., Ml çerikka v. 'be fertile', ? Kui seṛi 'bride' ¶¶ D no. 2789 ◇ The U and D roots belong here if U *-r- and D *-r̥- may go back to N *-r̥d- (or *-rd-?). Cf. Fn. KD (equates K with D *cand- v. 'grow').

2685. *z|z|itχ|qa 'dirt, excrements' > K: G zitχ-i 'dirt' ¶ Chx. 408 || IE: NaIE *°sk|k̑e|ḡd₁H₁- > Gmc *ski(:)t- 'defecate' > ON inf. skíta, NNr, Sw. A inf. skita, Dan inf. skide, OHG inf. scēzan (NHC inf.

scheißen), Dt inf. schijten, AS inf. scītan v. 'defecate'; ON skítr, AS scitte 'diarrhoea', NHG Scheiße 'excrements', NE shit ¶ IE *sk|k̥- may be due to as.: *zītχ|qa > *cītχ|qa > IE sk|k̥eǵdH- ¶ Vr. 494, Vr. N 619, Kb. 887, OsS 800, KM 641, Sw. 148, Hi. 280, ≠ EI 144 (Gmc < *skeh₁-d- 'cut') || U *sitta 'excrements' > F Δ sitta, Es sitt 'dirt, filth, excrements', F Δ sittu-, Es sitti-, sittu- v. 'defecate' | Prm *sit 'dung, excrements' > Z cīt sit, Vt сйтъ síť id. || Sm {Jn.} *tüt 'excrements' > Ng {Cs.} tí?, tíī?, Slq Tz {KKIH} tüt, Slq Tm {KD} tūd_, Kms {KD} thú?, {Cs.} thū?đ id.; Sm *tüt- 'defecate' > Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. tí'di?em, Slq Tm {KD} tō'tku, 1s aor. tūnnag_, Kms {KD} 1s pres. thú'í'em, Mt {Hl.} *tūdər- id. (Mt K {Pl.} tjudernjam 1s pres.) ¶¶ Coll. 57, UEW 444-5, It. no. 390, LG 258, Jn. 167-8, KKIH 89, Hl. M no. 1071 || ?σ D *°cīt̥ō ({{σGS}} ≈ *z|ž id̥ō) 'greasy substance' > Kn (← Tl?) jid̥d̥u 'a smeary, greasy or oily substance, as ghee or oil', Tl jid̥d̥u 'oiliness, grease, greasiness, unctuousness' ¶ ≈ D no. 2516 ◇ G z- suggests N *z- (but does not rule out *z- as a possibility either), while IE *sk|k̥- points rather to a N affricate.

2686. (₂?) *z|zew₁h₁∇ 'to mix' > K: G (ga-)zav- 'vermischen, verdünnen' ¶ Chx. 388, FS K 131-2 || U ≈ *sewk-t∇-, {UEW} *sokta- v. 'mix, stir up', (?) v. 'sift' > F {Coll., UEW} seuh-to- v. 'stir up, mix, muddle up' | ?σ Er сувтне- suvtne-, Mk 'сифонде- sífǵnda- v. 'sift, sieve', Er сувтемь suvtém(e), Mk 'сифтем síftam, Δ súftam 'sieve' | ?σ Chr: H šakte, U šokte, M sokte 'sieve' || Sm: Slq {Cs.}: Tz/Chl/UO tuaktam, Kar/B tëaktam, MO tuaktau, Ke tuoktau v. 'mix, stir up (flour, meal)' ¶¶ Coll. 56, UEW 446 (it does not include F seuh-to- "for phonetic reasons" and reconstructs U *sokta-), Cs. 150 ¶¶ The element *-t- in the U stem may be interpreted as a verbal (frq. or another?) sx (F Lh. PUAS 294-316, 322-7), the cns. *k may go back to a sx || ?σ HS: S *°√xwĥ > Ar √zwĥ G 'réunir ce qui était dispersé' ¶ BK I 1025 ◇ Cf. N ≈ *žih₁∇ 'to press, to knead, to rub' (q.v.).

2687. *žayh₂∇ or *žah₂y∇ 'summer', ([in the prehistory of descendant languages] → 'year') > K *za- 'year, (?) 'summer' > Sv {TK}: LB zä (dat. zäv) 'year, summer', UB/Bc zäy (dat. zäys ~ zäv), L zay 'year'; the first element in names of seasons: [1] GZ *za-mtar- 'winter' > G zamtar-, Mg zotonž- id.; acc. to K 87, the element *-mtar- may be connected with Sv UB lintw-, Sv L lunt- 'winter' and may be akin to S *ma'tar- 'rain' (> BHb mā'tār, Ak mitr-u 'rain', Ar maṭar- 'heavy

rain'); [2] G za-pχul- 'summer' (cd. with K *pχ- 'warm') ¶¶ K 86-7, 194, K² 56, TK 251 || HS: B {Pr.} *✓zyh₁ 'of the same age' > Ah huuyət v. 'be of the same age', Twl {Nic.} zəuyət id., Ah a-hi 'one of the same age', Kb {Dl.} tizzya '(one) of the same age' (pl. tizzyiwin), Mz {Dlh.} a-zuyi 'égal d'âge, de force', Wrg {Dlh.} ta-zuya 'égalité, égal d'âge', Gd {Lf.} zaǵǵawɛn 'compagnons du même âge' ¶ Pr. H 73 [no. 445], Fc. 542-3, Dl. 964, Dlh. M 257, Dlh. Ou 401, Lf. II no. 1772 || A: T *jāy 'summer' > OT {Cl.} jāy 'summer, spring', Az, Qmq, SY, Ln jāy, Bsh jāy, VTt žāy, QrB, Qrg žāy, StAlt žāy, Xk, Tv čāy, Tf ć'ay, Yk say, Chv L ɕy šu (gen. ɕǎǎǎn šbɤ-ɤn, dat. ɕǎǎǎ) 'summer', Chv Δ ɕǎǎ 'summer', Nog Δ jāy 'spring'; ⇨ T *jāy-lak 'summer pasture' > Tkm jāy-la ~ jāyly 'pasture', Tk 'yayla, Az, Qmq jāyla, Qzq, Qrlq žaylaw, StAlt žaylu 'summer pasture' ¶ Cl. 980, Rs. W 179, ET J 74, 78-9, Rl. III 4, 1825, TL 74-5, Ra. 194, Ash. XII 1967, 312, Fed. II 128, Jeg. 215, ChVS 1§88 ◇ The rec. *žah₂y∇ is suggested by the long vw. *ā in T and presupposes a mt. N *žah₂y∇ > *žayh₂∇ in the prehistory of B. Otherwise (if B *✓zyh₁ preserves the ancient order of N *y and *h₂), there must have been a mt. in pre-T.

2688. (₂?) *ž|žæ₁y|ʔ|ʔ₁ž∇ 'to fill', (?) 'to overfill, to overflow' > K: GZ *ziz-in- {FS} 'fill, overfill', {K²} v. 'crowd (to overflowing)' > G, Mg ziz-in- {K²} id., {FS} 'vollstopfen, vollfüllen' ¶ K² 58-9. FS K 133, FS E 144, Fs KW-3 no. 14 || A: T: OT [MhK] yeyδ-ti 'he filled' ¶ Cl. 884 || HS: ? EC *zāz- 'flood; to flow' > Sml dād- 'flood', dād-ad- 'overflow', Kmb {Hd.} zāz-, Sd/Hd {Hd.} dād- 'spill, flow', Brj {Hd.} dād- 'float', ? Kns {Bl.} tāt- 'leave residue (food, drink)' ¶ ≈ Ss. B 50 (unc. EC *daʔd- ⇨ *daʔ- 'rain'), Hd. 184, 274, 344, 357, L Z 119-20 (proving the phonetic law: *z > Sd, Hd *d).

2689. *žUħEb∇ 'to swallow, to eat' > K: Sv: {Ni.} zweb- 'eat', msd.: UB/Ln {GP} li-zweb, Lx li-zeb, L li-zob 'eat sth.' (pres. (-)izbi); UB/Ln le-zweb, L le-zob 'food', UB {GP} zobläy 'eater (good \ bad eater)' ¶ Ni. s.v. їсть, TK 394, 432-3, GP 145, 152, Dn. s.v. zob || HS: S *°✓š|shb > Ar ✓shb (ip.. -shab-) 'avalier avec avidité (en buvant et en mangeant)' ¶ BK I 1057 || Eg: fMd s'x b ~ Md/XVIII s'x p ({EG} śhb ~ śhp) v. 'swallow (einschlürfen, einnehmen [Heilmittel])' > Cpt {Vc.}: Sd cωz n sōhp, A cωz n sōχ₂p v. 'swallow' ¶ EG IV 268-9, Fk. 244 ¶¶ Vc. 206, Tk. I 173 || A: Tg *jeb/p- v. 'eat' > Ewk, Lm jəb- ~ jəp-, Sln jəg- ~ jəb-, Neg jəw- ~ jəp-, Orc jəptə-, Ud {Krm.} žə- ~ žo- ~ žəptə-, Ul žəp-, Nn

ǰзб/р-, WrMc {Z} чжэ- ~ чжэф- 'eat' ¶ STM I 279-80, Z 977-8. 980, Krm. 236.

2690. ₂ *ǰom∇n∇ ≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a) dream' > K: GZ *zman-, K *zm- (< **zmn-) v. 'think, dream' > OG, G zman-, Mg {FS} zim- (inf. zim-ap-a) v. 'dream', Lz zmon- v. 'think', {FS} me-v-o-zmon 'I think'; Mg zim- v. 'dream', Sv {Srj.} zm- (msd. li-zm-āl-un-e) v. 'träumen' ¶¶ The meaning 'dream' is reinforced by the semantic infl. of *(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' (< N *ǰom_L∇_LR∇ 'dream' [q.v.]) ¶¶ K 88, ≈ FS K 134, ≈ FS E 145-6 (*zm-), ≈ F KW1 no. 22, Chx. 409-410 || A: Tg *jōm_L∇_Ln- 'remember, think, have a daydream' > Ewk jōn- v. 'remember', jōmkit/ĉ- 'recall, have a daydream (мечтать)', Sln jōmū- 'be recalled', jōn- 'think', Lm jōman- 'recall, remember (from time to time)', jōmqъn 'thought', Neg, Ul jombu-, Orc jōmbu-, Nn Nh/KU jōmbo- 'think of, invent (придумать, выдумать)', Neg jōn- 'remember', Ud ǰoŋi-, Ork dōndu- 'remember', WrMc {Z} чжо- 'sich erinnern (вспоминать), erinnern, erwähnen' ¶ STM I 264, Krm. 234.

2691. *ǰom_L∇_LR∇ 'dream' > K: GZ {K, K²} *(s)i-zmar- 'a dream' > OG, G sizmar- id., Lz izmoǰ(e)-, ezmoǰa- id.; d. (× N *ǰom∇n∇ ≈ think', ? 'remember', 'have a dream') (?) GZ *zman-/*zmn- v. 'dream' > OG, G zman- id., Lz zmon- 'think'; cp. GZ *zman-/*zmn- v. 'dream' ¶ K 172, K² 177, FS K 134 (*zm-), FS E 145-6, Chx. 1246 || HS: CS (?) *^o√šmr v. 'be\keep awake in the night' (< **'doze, be half-asleep' < *'dream') > Ar √smr 'passer la nuit à causer, deviser pendant la nuit; veiller'; it is not clear whether BHb šimmū'rīm '(night of) observance' (Ex. 12.42) belongs here, because it is either a semantic merger of the √ in question with Hb √šmr (< S *√θmr) v. 'guard' or a word derived from the latter √ only ¶ BK II 1136-7, GB 849) || ?? WCh {Stl.} *sām- v. 'sleep' > AG: Su sām, Tal {IL} sām, Gmy sām, Kfr {Nt.} sām, Ang {Flk.} sēm, {ChC} sēm, Cp {Kr.} sam v. 'sleep' | BT {Stl.}: Ngm, Maha som, Buli hōm id. ¶ Stl. ZCh 178 [no. 305], ChL s.v. 'sleep', JI II 298-9, J S 81, Flk. s.v. sēm || IE *H_xon(e)r- → *H^ωen(e)r- 'dream' > NaIE *oner- 'dream' > Arm ա ն ու ը անսն (← *onōr-yo) 'a dream' || Gk ὄναρ id., ὄνειρος id., 'god of dreams' || pAl {O} *anryā > Al: T ëndërr, G andërr 'dream' (< *onr-yo-) ¶¶ WP I 180, P 779, Mn. 1647, F I 393-4, Kf. 40, 97, O 92, My. 11, Sl. 287-8, Me. LHLG I 222f., EI 10 and 169-70 (*^h₃enr̥, *^h₃onr̥ 'dream') ¶ In all probability, pIE as. *nr- < *-mr- || U: FP *šompr∇- → *šopr∇- v. 'dream, daydream' > Z

шобрѡдлы- šobrǫdli- v. 'appear in one's phantasy\dream' || ? F hourata, houria, hourailla v. 'be delirious, be wandering (in one's mind)', F Δ hoprehtia id., F heure 'chimera, delirium, phantasm', Es Δ houri- v. 'speak thoughtlessly' ('puhua umpimähkään, ajattelemata') ¶ SK 82, LG 320 ¶ Z -b- is a reg. reflex of U, FU *-mp-, while the F and Es forms suggest U, FU *-p- ¶¶ In all probability, U *-mpr- < *-mr- (a typical epenthesis of a homorganic plosive within a cluster of a nasal cons. and r).

2692. *ǰǣśχ|q∇ 'blood' > K *ziszχ|∇ 'blood' > OG, G sisχ|-, Mg ziszχar-, ziszχir-, ziszχer-, Lz di(n)cχir-, Sv UB/LB/Ln/L ziszχ 'blood' ¶¶ K 87, K² 59, FS K 133-4, TK 252, Dn. s.v. ziszχ || **IE** *h₂esx-r_o (gen. *h₂esx-n-es) 'blood' > OI 'asr_ok, 'asr_ot, gen. as'nah₂ id. || Arm **արիւն** ar_iwn id. ({Ped.} < *asriyon, {P} < *esr_o-) || Gk ἄρ, εἶαρ, Gk [Hs.] ἦαρ id. || OL as(s)er ~ assyr id. || Ltv asins id., pl. asinis || pTc *yāsār > Tc A ysār, B yasar (pl. ysāra) id. || Ht e|isxar (gen. esxanas) 'blood', specially 'dark (venous) blood', Lw āsχar- /asχan-* 'blood', ásχanuwant(s)- 'bloody' ¶¶ P 343, WP I 162, EI 71 (*h₁esh₁r_o ~ *h₁esh₂ōr / gen. h₁esh₂'n-os '[flowing] blood'), M K I 66, F I 422, WH I 72, Slc. 129, Kar. I 78, Wn. I 607-8, Ad. 487, Ad. H 114, Pv. I-II 305-313, Mlc. CL 35-6, Ivn. SA 153 || **U**: FU (att. in ObU) *°čós_ok∇ or *°čók_os∇ > pObU *čōkās 'bear's blood' > pVg *šāwās > Vg LK/P šows, MK/UK sows, UL sōws, Ss sōws id.; pOs *čōwās / *čōwās ({HL} *čōwās / *čāwās) > Os Kr čōχāš, Sh šōwš id. ¶ Ht. 132 (no. 99) ¶¶ pObU *-kās is a reg. reflex of both U *-śk∇ and *-kś∇ ¶¶ PFU (or pU?) *č- for the expected *š- may be due to dis. (**šós_ok∇ > *čós_ok∇) || **A**: Tg *sēkse (< *sēs-kse < as. *jes-kse) 'blood' > Ewk sēksə ~ sēwsə ~ sēgsə, Sln sēkčə, sētčə, Lm hēs, Neg, Orc, Ul, Nn sēksə, Ork śēkśə, Ud sakeæ 'blood' ¶ Tg *-ksa/-kse is a reg. sx of uncountable nouns (such as 'meat', 'fish', etc.) ¶ Ewk sēšī- v. 'flow' (of blood) and Neg sē- id. are most probably bfs. based on metanalysis of Tg *sēksē as *sē-kse and/or *sēk-kse ¶ STM II 138-9 || ? **HS**: Eg fP {EG} zχn 'ein innerer tierischer Körperteil als Speise', 'ein Backwerk in Form des Fleischstücks', {Fk.} 'kidney fat' ¶ EG III 470-1, Fk. 241 ◇ IE and Tg point to a front vw. (*ǣ) in the first syll. of the IE word, while FU *o in *°čós_ok∇ or *°čók_os∇ is puzzling. It may be explained by regr. as. if we reconstruct the N etymon as *ǰǣśχ|qo or *ǰǣśoχ|q∇. If the N word

was *ǰæśχ|qo, IE *x (in h₁esx-r_o / *h₁osx-n-es) rather than *x^w is explained by its preconsonantal position.

2693. *ǰaśid∇ 'to cut' > HS: Eg fMK ǰ^ςd v. 'cut (off\down)' ¶ EG IV 422, Fk. 262 ¶¶ Hardly (⇔ many scholars) akin to S *√śrt₁ 'cut' (Eg^ς is not cognate with S *r) || IE: NaIE *la₁d^h- / *lid^h- v. 'cut, wound' > Gk λίστρον 'a tool for levelling \ smoothing', 'spade', 'ε shovel', λιστρέω v. 'dig round (a plant)', λισυάριον 'Grabscheit, Hacke zum Ebnen des Bodens', {LS} 'spade, mattock' ({P}: dim. of *λίστος [< *λιδ-σχο-]) || L laedō, inf. laedēre v. 'hurt, injure' || ? Lt lydīmas 'glade (in a woodland), clear space, clearance', Ltv līdums 'clearance, assart', inf. (līduma) līst (1s pres. līdu) 'to make a clearance, to clear woodland for tillage', Lt inf. lūdūtī id., 'to smooth' ¶ WP II 378-9, P 652, F II 129, WH I 749, ≈ Frn. 364 (rejects the abovementioned IE connection of the Blt √ and unconvincingly proposes a different et.), Kar. I 519, 540 || U: FP *laδ∇ 'incision, notch' (→ 'trace') > Fla₁tu, FΔ laju 'track, ski track', Krl Ld, Vp ʎadu 'ski track' | Lp: N {N} la₁t₁to / -tt-, L {LLO} la₁htoo, Snk {TI} ʎaδδa id. | pChr {Ber.} *loδa 'notch; mould (for making bricks)' > Chr: Н лады laδa id., Uf loδo 'notch', L lod-(aš) 'I make a notch' | Prm: Z lu 'mould' ¶ UEW 682, SK 280, MRS 279, 293, Ü 106, Ber. 31, LG 163 || D (in GnD) *na₁t₁- v. 'cut, tear' > Gnd na₁tk- ǰ ne₁tk- v. 'cut (wood), cut by splitting', Png na₁q₁- (p. na₁t₁-) v. 'be torn\severed', na₁q₁- (p. na₁t₁-) v. 'tear, sever', Mnd na₁q₁- v. 'be broken\snapped' ¶ D no. 3586.

2694. *ǰä'Ki'd∇ 'move, go' > U: FU *läkte- v. 'go, go out' (× N *La₁ka 'leg?') > Fla₁hte- 'go, proceed; go off\away', Es lähe- 'go' (part of the suppletive paradigm of the verb mine-), lähk 'Gehen, Fortgehen' | Lp: Kld {SaR} л̄ххте- 'go out', K {Gn.} līχte- ~ -ie-, T likte- 'sich begeben' | pMr *liχta- > Er ливте- lívte-, lífte- 'carry out, lead (an animal) out', Mk лифте- lífte-, Δ líχte- ǰ liχte- id. | Chr: L inf. лекташ lek¹ta-š 'go out', Uf lekta-, H {Ep.} inf. ләктәш, {MRS} inf. ләкташ 'läktä-š id., 'set off (sich auf den Weg machen)' | Prm *l₁kt- ({JLG} *l₁q₁kt-) 'arrive, come' > Z lokt-, Z US l₁kt-, Yz 'l₁kt-, Vt l₁kt- || pOs *lü₁ʎat > Os: V lü₁ʎat- 'go out', D tiwät- 'go out\away' ¶ Coll. 94, UEW 239-40, Sm. 552 (FP *läkti- 'depart'), It. no. 252, no. 271, SaR 160, ERV 341-2, PI 148, MRS 284-6, Ep. 60, LG 160, Gn. 1332, It. no. 271, Ker. II 79-80 || HS: WCh *ǰǰak∇¹d¹- ({Stl.} *ǰǰak∇d-) v. 'move' > Hs zā₁kū₁dā v. 'hitch up (the child slung on one's back)', Ngz ǰādū vi 'move off road, detour' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [no. 476] Δhr H 963

980, Sch. DN 47 || S *^o√^hškd > Ar √škd v. 'give' (← * vt. 'move') ¶ BK I 1257, Hv. 372 || IE: NaIE *le_it^h- ~ *li(:)t^h- v. 'go' (× N *Lič_∇ 'to pass, to go away' [q.v. ffd.]) || ? D {Km.} *naṭ-a-, [GS] *ńaḍ- v. 'walk, go, pass' (× N *rayd_∇ 'foot; track; to walk', q.v. ffd.).

2695. *ŽUKU (= *ŽOKU?) 'juice' > HS: SC: Irq {E} ĉaq^ωa 'sap' ¶ ≈ E SC 223 || IE: NaIE *sek^ωo-/*sok^ωo- 'juice' > Gk ὀπός 'vegetable juice, acid juice of fig trees' || SI *sōkъ 'juice' > OCS **СОКЪ** **СОКЪ**, Blg **СОК**, SCr **СОК** (gen. **СОКА** ~ **СОКА**), Sln **СОК** (gen. **СОКА** ~ **СОКУ**), R **СОК** (gen. **СОКА** ~ **СОКУ**), Uk **СОК** (gen. **СОКУ**), P **СОК** || ? L **სუცუს** 'juice' (× N *š|śu^ʔa¹κ_∇ (ʳ_∇) 'resin' × IE *seuk- 'suck'?) || pTc *sekwe > Tc: A **საკუ**, B **სეკვე** 'pus' ¶ P 1044, EI 499-500 (*sok^ωo-s 'sap, resin'), WH II 622-3, F II 405-6, Frn. 756-7, ≈ Kar. II 334, En. 241, Glh. 570, Vs. III 708, Brü. 506, Ad. 698 || A *z^ʔūk- (or *z^ʔūk^ʔ-?) > NaT *ju_i:k 'resin, gum' > Xk **чyx** **чyx**, Qzl **šux**, Qb **juq**, Tv **čux**, Tf **čux** 'resin', Shor/Sg {Rl.} **čux** 'Baumharz, Teer', Qrg **žux** 'sth. stuck to', ??φ OT U [UMT] {Rcm.} **jū** 'juice'; ⇨ NaT *juk- 'stick to' > Qrg **žux**-, StAlt **žux**-, Xk **чyx**-id. ('прилипаты') ¶ Rs. W 119, BIG 324, Rl. III 2165, Jud. 267, BT 58, DTS 283, Rcm. I 283, TvR 546, Ra. 198 || ? M *sigū-sün 'juice' (× N *š^uκ^ʔa¹ 'to drink, to suck' [q.v.]) || Tg *š|ç_ukse_ln₁ 'juice, sap' > Ewk **ç_uksə**, Neg **ç_uksə**, Orc **č_uksə** id., Lm **ç_us** 'juice of plants (esp. berries), juice (of meat, fish)', Ork **s_uksə** ~ **t_uksə** 'juice of berries' ¶ STM II 411 ¶¶ SDM97 s.v. pA *žūgi 'juice' (erroneously connected with pKo *skúr 'honey', that belongs to N *ś_∇κ_∇ 'honey' or 'bee' [q.v.]) ◇ IE *e/o (in *sek^ωo-/*sok^ωo-) points to a N *o rather than *u; if so, T *u, Tg *ū, and L **ū** must be explained by the infl. of a N word-final *ū (at variance with the IE ev. for a word-final *o) and/or by a merger with other words. M *i (< *ü?) still needs investigating ◇ ≠ The glottalized Irq ĉ- may result from ass. glottalization (N *Ž...κ_∇ > **ĉ...κ_∇ > Irq ĉ...q^ω). The rules of distribution of IE *l- and *s- as reflexes of N *Ž and *Ž are still to be investigated. M *s- points to N *Ž- ◇ ≠ IS MS 366.

2696. *Žom_∇ 'be hot', 'sun', (?) 'flame' > HS: S *¹šam^ʔa¹š- 'sun' > Ak **šamaš**, **šamš-**, Eb {Ptt.} **śí-piš**, Sb **šmš**, Ar **šams-**, BHb **šemeš**, Ug **špš**, (AkSc) {Hnr.} **šapšu**, Ph, IA, SmA **šmš**, BA, JA [Trg.], JEA em. **šimš-ā**, Amr {G} **šamsu** or **šapšu** 'sun'; Cn ⇨ Eg (EgSSc) {Hoch} **šamša** (**š a-m-š a**, **š a-ma₃-š a**, etc.) n. 1. In Cn (incl. Ug) and Aram there was an as. law: *š...š > š...š. S *¹šamaš- may go back to the a N cd *^ožnm_∇ **мєꝥаž_∇** ('≈ hot sun/light') on N ***мєꝥаž_∇** 'sun light' to

shine' ¶ HJ 1168-9, KB 1468-71, OLS 449-50, Hnr. 183-4, Lv. T II 497, Js. 1602, Sl. 1136, Tal 914, BK I 1269, G A 31, Dah. LCE 178, Hoch no. 402 || Eg fOK š m, š mm v. 'be hot' (esp. of fire and sun) ¶ EG IV 468-9 || ? Ch: WCh *ž|∇m∇ > Ang {Flk.} lem 'sun'; unlike Stl. ZCh no. 844, I do not see enough semantic reasons for connecting this word with Plc liyem 'sky, god', Dw lem-zi 'sky' and lem-si 'god' || U: FU *l|lom∇ 'flame, embers' > Chr: H lomъž, lombъž, L/B lomъž 'ashes' (< 'embers') | pPrm *lo|öm- v. 'flame', n. 'embers' > Z lomaw-, Yz lu'mal- v. 'flame', Yz lum 'embers', ? Vt Sr/M lumĩ t 'warm' || Hg lán g, Δ lang 'flame' ¶ UEW 250, MRS 294, Ü 107, Ep. 62, LG 160-1, Lt. 53, It. no. 53, MF 386-7.

2697. (2) *žUN_{lg}∇ '(young?) ungulate' > HS: S *°šānag- > Ar شَانِجْ šānağ- 'camel' ¶ Ln. 1604, Fr. II 455, BK I 1275 || A *zũntE ~ (?) *zũnŋE) > NaT *junt 'horse' > OT, OQrg junt id., Chg junt 'mare', MQp junt 'horses', OOsM jont 'mare; horses', Osm {Rh.} يُونْدُ yund 'wild, unbroken broodmare', Tk yont 'unbroken mare', yont yil 'Horse Year (one of the 12 years in the Turkish animal cycle)', Tk Δ jund 'horse; male ass', jont 'unbroken horse', SY jut ɘ jot ɘ jüt ɘ jüt 'horse', Yk {Pek.} sono-γos 'young horse'; T -d→ Sm {Jn.} *yuntā 'horse' (> Ne T юно, T O {Lh.} yún:ǎ, Ng {Strl.} junta, En {Ter.} дюда, Slq Tz {KKIH} ćuntǎ, Kms {KD} ĩne, Koyb {Sp.} ине, Mt {Hl.} *ń|nunda 'horse' [Mt: M {Sp.} нундо, M {Mil.}, A {Msr.} nunda, {Pl.} нонда, T {Mil.} njũndǎ, K {Mil.} njunda) ¶ Rs. W 211, Cl. 946, Rh. 2221, ET J 253-4, Pek. 2279, Jn. 49, KKIH 107, Hl. M no. 789 || Tg *sōnŋa(n) ~ *sōnda(n) 'young reindeer, reindeer calf' > Ewk sōnŋā 'newborn domestic reindeer, wild reindeer calf', Lm hōnŋb-çan 'reindeer calf (of the first half-year), young ungulate (lamb, foal, calf)', Neg sōnŋaçān 'newborn reindeer', Orc sōnŋço(n-) 'newborn elk', Ork sōndo(n-) 'reindeer yearling, calf, foal, young bear'; -çan, -çān, -çon is a diminutive sx ¶ STM II 110-1 || M *°sunda-sun ~ *°sünde-sün 'female elk\deer' > WrM {MED} sundasu ~ sündesü(n), HIM {MED} сундас, {MED, BMR} сүндэс id. ¶ MED 737, 744, BMR II 143 ¶¶ SDM 1523 (A *zunti 'a young animal' > T, Tg, M *sünde-sü), DQA no. 2574 (id.), SDM97 (A *zũn∇ id. > T, Tg), S VL 226 (T, Tg). This type of length (S's type 2) is of prosodic origin and does not point to any pN lr. A *-t∇ may go back to a sx || ?? U: FV *ćon∇ 'male\young ungulate' > F sonni (gen. sonnīn) 'bull' ({FUV} 'Stier, Bulle, Farre'), Es sōnn (gen. sōnnī)

'Bull, Stier; Hengstfüllen, Widder', Lv sonn 'ram' | Prm {LG} *ćáń 'foal' > Z чань ćáń, Zr чуньыи ćuń+ ¶ FUV 614, LG 301 ◇ FU *ćoń∇ may belong here only if it goes back to a nominal compound **X-ŝoń∇ (**-t-ŝ- > *-ć-) with subsequent loss of the initial part of the compound. If FU *ćoń∇ belongs here, it suggests a word-medial N *-ń- or *-Ni-, sc. N *ŝUń₁g₁∇ or *ŝUNig∇.

2698. *ŝEH₂P₂∇ - *ŝiH₂EP₂∇ (or *LEH₂P₂∇ - *LiH₂EP₂∇?) ≈ 'spade, shovel, ladle' > IE: NaIE *lēp-/*lāp- 'spade, shovel' > BSl: Lt lopeta 'spade, shovel', Ltv lāpsta id., 'shoulder blade', Pru лопто 'spade' | ? SI *lopāta 'spade' > ChS лопата lopata, SCr lòpata, Slv lopáta, Cz, Slk lopata, P łopata, R, Uk лопата id., Blg лопата 'spade, oar' || ??σ Ht ларра {CHD} 'ε a metal implement (tongs?)'; the connection of the Ht word cannot be seriously discussed before its meaning is investigated (cp. N *la^rq¹pa 'palm of hand, sole of foot, sth. flat') ¶¶ ≈ P 679, ≈ Frn. 339-40, En. 205, Glh. 382, ESSJ XVI 39-43, CHD L-N 40, Ts. E II 32-3 || | K: G лароҫ-и {Chx.} 'large wooden spoon', {DCh.} id., 'scoop, ladle (ковшъ)', G I/G {Chx.} лaperi 'a broad flat wooden spoon', G {DCh.} лaperi 'ladle (разливная ложка), iron shovel' ¶ Chx. 664, 666, DCh. 642-3 || | U *lipp∇ 'spade, ladle, spade-shaped board' > FU *°Li₁:₁pp∇ > Flippi 'ladle \ scoop made of birch bark', Es lipits 'Spatel, Rührholz', ? lippi (lipi) 'small thin board' | ? Er {Ps.} íipiš, íipuža 'eines von den Brettern zwischen den Aufschlagsfäden', pl.: Er íipužat, Mk íebžat 'Bretter zwischen den Aufschlagsfäden' || pY {IN H} *°līp > Y K līpэ {IN H} 'spade made of poplar for shoveling up snow while putting up traps', {Rd. from IN UJ} līpə 'snow shovel', Y K {Iox.} līpe n. 'shovel' ¶¶ ≈ UEW 690, IN H 243, IN UJ 232, Ang. 141, ≠ Rd. UJ 39-40 [no. 31-2] (Y ← U *lap∇ 'Ruder' and [?] U *lapa 'Fläche, Blatt') || | HS: S *°√ŝħb > Ar √šħb G 'enlever/râcler avec une pelle (la terre, etc.)' ¶ BK I 1196 ◇ If the Ar cognate is rejected (as isolated within HS), the initial N cns. may be either *ŝ or *L ◇ Some of the connections may be due to borrowing.

2699. *ŝUgU 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid' > HS: WCh {Stl.} *ŝ|ŝag^ω- (= *ŝag^ω-?) v. 'be rotten' > Hs zág^ωàńě 'putrefied (meat, fish, etc.)' | Ngz ŝí^gà^ωdú v. 'putrefy, decompose, go rancid' ¶ Stl. ZCh 196 [no. 475], Abr. H 961, Sch. DN 45 || EC: Or sūka 'clot', sūka?a v. 'clot, curdle' ¶ Grg. 366 || | K *°laqe- 'rotten' > G laqe- id. ('verfault, verdorben') ¶ Chx. 669, FS E 221, ≠ K² 107 (adduces Lz loqa- 'sweet',

see N ***LA**gû 'tender, mild' [→ 'sweet'] || A *zük'ó' ({SDM97} *zük'ó 'rotten, turbid') > ? NaT *jog-urt 'curdled, coagulated milk' (× N ***d**VR_LH₂J₁∇g|K₁∇ 'sediment [in food], refuse' [q.v.]?) > OT joxurt, Tkm joxurt, Tk yoxurt, Az joxurd, Nog juv+rt, Qrg žūrat, Yk sūōrat 'curdled milk' ¶ Cl. 905-6, ET J 207-8; an additional source is a d. from T *juḡur- v. 'knead (dough, etc.)' (et. preferred by Cl.) || M {SDM} *soḡsi- > WrM {Cev.} šogšu-, HIM {Luv., BMR} šogšu- v. 'turn too sour' (of sour milk), Brt šogšo- id. ¶ BMR IV 366, Luv. 656, Chr. 728, Cev. 853 || Tg *sük_L∇_J 'turbid\muddy water', *sükü 'turbid, muddy' > Ewk sik 'turbid\muddy water', siki 'turbid\muddy', Neg sɪxɪ id., Lm hɪqɒ, Lm A saq ~ sɜq id., 'turbid water' ¶ STM II 80-1 || pKo {S} *sək- v. 'rot, become spoiled' > MKo sək id., NKo šək- v. 'rot, decay, corrupt' ¶ ≈ S QK no. 820, MLC 940 || ?σ pJ {S} *súk- 'make paper (out of soaked mash)' > OJ suk-, J: T sük-, K/Kg súk- ¶ S QJ no. 508, Mr. 758 ¶¶ SDM 1520-1 (pA *zjúkó 'to rot, to ferment' > T, M, Tg, J), DQA no. 2568 (id.), SDM97 (A *zük'ó 'rotten, turbid' > T, M, Tg, Ko) ¶¶ The rec. of a voiced A *z- depends on the validity of the T cognate. If it is not valid, we cannot distinguish between A *z- and *s- ◇ The voicing of the velar cns. in WCh and T still defies explanation.

2700. ₂ ***Z**æh^aRa 'moon' > HS ***Z**∇h_L∇_Jr- 'moon' > WS ***š**ah_L∇_Jr- 'moon' > JEA **š**ah^ar-ā [šah^ar-ā], Sr šah^ar-ā, Ar šahr-, Gz šāhr (= [šahr(ə)]) 'moon', BHb d. **š**ah^ar-ō^h-īm 'crescents (amulets or jewelry)', Sb šhr 'novilunium, beginning of month', OYmn شهر šhr ({Slw.} *šahr-) (= Hmr ***š**∇hr-?) id., Mh šēhər, Hrs, Jb 'šēhər 'first crescent of the moon', Sq šē·hər 'moon' ¶ KB 1222, KBR 1311, Br. 462, BK I 1281-2, BGMR 132, Slw. 127, Jo. M 376, Jo. H 119, Jo. J 250, L G 528 || C {E} *šēh- 'moon' > EC {Ss., Bl.} *leʔ-, {E} *leh- id. > Kns lea, Gdl leha, Rn {PG} yéyyàḥ (cs. yeyyakkí), Or {Grg.} žiʔa, Or H {Ow.} žiʔá, Or B/O {Sr.} žiʔa, Or Wt {Hn.} žiʔa, Or Wl {Brl.} žiʔa, Or Δ {Ss.} žaha, Arr {Hw.} léʔ 'moon', Hr/Dbs {AMS} leʔo, Gln {AMS} leʔo, Gwd {AMS} leʔayyo, Cm {Hab.} lēʔo id. (the lr. ʔ due to the infl. of C *šēʔ- 'light' ?), Ya leʔ- 'moon' || SC: Irq {E} šahaḡ, {Wh.} šâhaḡ^w (pl. šâhéri), {MQK} šaḡaḡ^w, Brn {Wh., E} šehēḡ, Alg {E} šehē, {Wh.} šehēy, Kz {E} šahayiko, Asa {E} lehek 'moon', ⇨ Mb {E} m-šíhe id. ¶ E PC no. 569, Bl. 111, 163, 205, Ss. PEC 21, 36, PG 299, Grg. 234, Sr. 339, Ow. 265, Hw. A 381, Hn. W 61, Brl. 270, E SC 212 (s.v. SC *šē:he 'moon'), Wh. IC 24, MQK 94, AMS 258 || B *-zīr- '(full) moon, moonlight' > Si {La.}, BMn {Bs.}

taziri, Grr {Bs.} tziri 'moon', Tmz {MT} taziri & tiziri & dziri 'moon, full moon', Kb țiziri, Snd, Zww {La.} tiziri 'moonlight', Wrg taziri 'full moon', Mz taziri, Gd tazīri id., 'moonlight' ¶ MT 812, Dl. 955, Lf. II no. 1832, Dlh. M 254, Dlh. Ou 396, La. S 254 || ?σ WCh (× N *ẓ'a'hr▽ [- *ẓ'a'hr▽ - *z|z'a'hr▽] 'shine, be bright; light [lux]', q.v.): Ang {Flk.} zār, Su {J}, Mpn {Frz.} zār, Mnt {J} zayí 'star' || DfB {J} ~žórèt id. ¶ J S 89, J ChMGB 172, Frz. DM 69, ChC, Stl. ZCh. 201 [no. 519] ¶¶ Tk. PAA (WCh, S) ¶¶ The meaning 'moonlight' may point to a contamination with HS *√zhr 'shine (leuchten)' (F s.v. N *ẓ'a'hr▽ '↑') || A *z|ṣ:;rE- > M *sạ:;ran 'moon' (→ 'bright' in derived words) > MM [IM, IsV] sara, [MA] sara(n), WrM {MED} sara(n), HIM {MED} cap 'moon, month', {BMR} cap(ah) id., cap 'month', Brt hapa 'month, moon', Mnr H {SM} sara, Ba sare 'moon', Kl {KRS} cap, {Rm} sarā 'moon, month', Dx sar 'month'; the meaning 'hell, licht' is attested in the WrM d. sara-gul 'bright, light, clear' (cp. Dx sarūl 'moon, month') ¶ MED 674, BMR III 92-3, Chr. 676, KRS 441-2, KW 313, T 357, T DnJ 133, T BJ 146, SM 326 || ??σ,φ Tg {SDM} *sē 'year' > Orc, Ul, Nn sē 'year (of life), age', Ud sɜ, WrMc {Z} cə id., Jrc sege 'age', genehej sege 'last year', tuman sege 'long life' (lit. 'ten thousand years') ¶ STM II 133, Z 574, Kiy. 102-3, 146 [no-s O82, 102, 866] || ??σ pKo {S} *sār ~ *sār > MKo sār ~ sār 'year, age', NKo sal id., sēl 'beginning of the year' ¶ S QK no. 821, Nam 290, 300, MLC 896, 950 || pJ {S} *sátúkúí 'the fifth month of the moon calendar' > OJ satukji, J: T sàcuki, K sácúkí, Kg sacúki id. ¶ S QJ no. 702, Mr. 515 ¶¶ SDM 1512-13 (pA zēra 'light; moon; moon cycle [year]' > M, Tg, Ko, J + unc. T *jar- v. 'shine'), DQA no. 2556 (id.). The authors of DQA reconstruct an A voiced *z- on the alleged ev. of T *jar- v. 'shine', but the adduction of T *jar- (obviously from N *ẓ'a'hr▽ (- *ẓ'a'hr▽ - *z|z'a'hr▽) '↑') is hardly acceptable, therefore it cannot justify an unambiguous rec. of A *z- ◇ The B cognates point to a N voiced cns., sc. *ẓ- ◇ What was the ancient meaning of N *ẓæh'a'Ra: 'moon' or 'bright' (as suggested by Rm. for Altaic [KW 313] and by IS for Nostratic [IS MS 363])? The semantic change of 'moon' into 'bright' is rather rare in the lgs. of the world, although attested in M (see above) and S (S *°√sḥr in Ar ʔašāhir- 'couleur blanche du narcisse', see BK I 1282), while the opposite one (from 'bright' to 'moon') is much more typical (it occurred in L, Sl, and MHb), but we cannot accept it for proto-Nostratic because it will not explain the coincidence of meaning ('moon') in S, C, and M.

2701. ${}_2 * \hat{z}ar_{\downarrow} X \nabla \sim * \hat{z}a'X'_{\downarrow} r \nabla (= * \hat{z}a'X'Er \nabla ?)$ 'to cut, to wound' > **HS:** CS $\checkmark \hat{s}r\check{h}$ > JA $\checkmark sr\check{h}$ (pf. $s\check{a}'ra\check{h}$) 'cut, castrate' (Lv. 'schneiden, einschneiden, kastrieren'), Sr $\checkmark sr\check{h}$ v. 'hurt, injure', 'tear, wound (as wild beasts)', Ar $\checkmark \check{s}r\check{h}$ v. 'cut, split' ('couper, disséquer, fendre') ¶ Lv. III 588, Br. 497-8, JPS 390-1, BK I 1212 || **A:** NaT $*j\bar{a}r$ - v. 'split, cleave (with a sharp instrument)' > OT {Cl.} $j\bar{a}r$ - id., MQp XIV, Chg XV $j\bar{a}r$ - 'split', Tkm $\check{r}p$ - $j\bar{a}r$ -, Qzq $\check{z}ar$ - v. 'cut asunder, cleave', Tk $\check{u}ar$ - v. 'split, cut off, cut short', Az $j\bar{a}r$ -, Uz $j\bar{a}r$ - vt. 'split, cleave', Ggz, Kr, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Nog $j\bar{a}r$ -, Blq, Qrg $\check{z}ar$ -, StAlt $\check{z}ar$ -, Xk $\check{c}ar$ - 'split asunder, chop, cleave', Uz $j\bar{a}r$ -, ET $ja(r)$ -, Qzq $\check{z}ar$ - v. 'split', Qq $\check{z}ar$ -, Ln $ja\check{y}$ -, Tv $\check{c}ar$ - 'chop', Tf $\acute{c}ar$ - 'split (a bone)'; \rightarrow (probably) NaT $*j\bar{a}ra$ n. 'wound' > XT {DH} $j\bar{a}ra$, Tkm $jara$ (short a?), Tk $\check{u}ara$, Ggz, Az, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Uz, ET $jara$, Qzq, Qq $\check{z}ara$, Qrg $\check{z}ara$ id., Chv L $\check{c}yp$ - $\acute{s}ur$ - 'split, tear asunder, unrip' ¶ Cl. 954-5, ET J 135-7, Rs. W 188-9, Ash. XII 250-4, 271, Fed. II 139, Jeg. 219-20, ChVS 119, TAG 104, KW 215, TkR 819, Ra. 194 ¶ ??? \times A { $\check{s}DQA$ } $*p'j\bar{a}re$, {SDM97} $*p'\bar{a}re$ v. 'split' < N $*p.\bar{a}ri'?$ E (or $*p.\bar{a}ryE$?) 'to tear, to split', only if S's rec. of A $*j\bar{a}$ is justified || Tg $*\check{s}ir$ - ({SDM97} $*s\check{u}r$ -) v. 'cut, cut out' > Ewk $\check{s}ir$ -, Lm hir - v. 'cut (leather, cloth), cut off', Neg siy - 'cut', Nn Nh/B $sur\bar{e}$ 'axe', ? Nn {On.} $sur\bar{i}e$ - vi. 'tear, tear off' (of skin) ('от-\за-\раз-дираться') ¶ STM II 93-4, 123, Vas. 356-7, Pt. 121, On. 380-1, Sem. BD 186 || pJ {S} $*s\bar{z}r$ - v. 'cut, shave' > OJ $s\bar{o}r$ -, J: T $s\bar{o}r$ -, K/Kg $s\bar{o}r$ - ¶ S QJ no. 997, Mr. 756 || ?? *AdS* of **A:** M $*s\bar{i}rqa$ - v. 'injure, cause pain', $*s\bar{i}rqa$ n. 'wound, sore' (< N $*\bar{s}i'ka \sim *s\bar{i}'r'ga$ 'pain; be ill/wounded', q.v. ffd.) ¶¶ SDM97 (A $*z'\bar{a}'re$ 'cut, tear, shave'), DQA no. 2575 (A $*zj\bar{a}re$ id.).

2702. $*\check{z}'A'?' \nabla (= * \check{z}'A'?'o?)$ 'to lie (liegen)' > **K** $*z\check{e}w$ - / $*z\check{w}$ - 'lie' ({K} v. 'lie' [of inanimate]) > OG $z\check{e}$ - / z - 'lie' (s- $z\check{e}$ 'you [sg.] lie', $z\check{e}$ -s 'lies', m-i-c [$*mi$ - z -s] 'I have'), Mg zu - / $z\check{v}$ - / $z\check{z}$ - (zu -n 'lies', mu-m-o- $z\check{z}$ 'I wear, I have on [me]', $z\check{a}$ -d- $z\check{z}$ 'it lied'), Lz zu - / $z(\check{v})$ -, zu - / $z(\check{v})$ - 'lie' (zu -n 'lies', m-o- zu -n 'es liegt bei [auf] mir', 'I have'), Sv {FS} $z\check{i}$ - / $z\check{e}$ - ($z\check{i}$ \check{z} $z\check{a}$ 'is', χ - \bar{a} - z 'es liegt darauf', χ - \bar{o} - z 'es liegt bei ihm'), Sv L {Dn.} z - 'lie on...' (m \bar{a} \check{z} 'lies on me', $\check{z}\bar{a}$ \check{z} 'I lie on thee', $\chi\bar{a}$ \check{z} 'I lie on him/her', etc.), Sv UB/LB l-i-z 'is, exists' (and 1s χw -i-z 'am', 2s χ -i-z '[thou] art') ¶¶ K 233, K² 279, FS K 422, FS E 475, Chik. 434, Dn. s.v. z-, GP 151, GP US 54, TK 424 || **A** $*\check{z}a_{\downarrow}$ - (= {S, SDM} $*\check{z}a$ -) 'lie' > pKo {S} $*\check{c}'a_{\downarrow}$ - v. 'sleep' > MKo $\check{c}a$ -, $\check{c}'a$ -s-i-, $\check{c}a$ ' \wedge p-so, NKo $\check{c}a$ -, $\check{c}a$ -si- id.; acc. to S QK, NKo hon. $\check{c}umu$ -si- 'sleep' may go back to pKo $*\check{c}anwu$ -si- \sim $\check{c}anud$ -si-

id. ¶ S AJ 254 [no. 78], S QK no. 78, Nam 422, MLC 1374, 1380, 1497 || ? T (× N ***ṇat̪'o** 'bend, bow, incline' [intr.], q.v. ffd.): NaT ***jat̪-** 'lie (liegen)' (if derived from ****ja-**) ¶¶ S AJ 283 [no. 181], SDM97 (A ***ʒa-** 'lie) || IE ***ses-** v. {EI} 'rest, sleep, keep quiet' > Ht **ses-** / **sas-** v. 'sleep, rest, remain, keep quiet' || NaIE ***°s^re¹s-** > OI **'sas-ti** 'sleeps', **sas'var^tā** 'stealthily', Av **hah-mī** 'I sleep' ¶¶ EI 527, Frd. HW 188, Ts. W 93-4, M K III 449 ◇ The N lr. is tentatively reconstructed as ***ʔ**, because it is the only laryngeal that does not cause vowel lengthening in the ***∇HC**-position in NaIE (and leaves no traces in AnIE). The final vw. is likely to have been ***-o** (whence K ***-w-**, but no ***-u-** in IE) ◇ Hardly here D ***ká-** 'die (sterben)' (> Tm **cā-**, Krx **xep-e-na**, Brh **kahin** id., cf. F D no. 2423, Em. *C 366), because, acc. to my tentative working hyp., D ***ḱ-** (> SD, SCD ***č-** ~ ∅, GnD, CD ***č-**, NED ***k-**, Brh **k-**) goes back to the N lateral obstruents (cp. N ***ṣe¹la^r∇** 'reach, approach, enter' > D ***ḱēr-**), hence D ***ká-** is from N ***ḱA¹∇** 'be lost, die'.

2702a. ***ʒoʔa** (or ***ʒoʔya**, ***ʒoyʔa**) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow' > K ***z^w-** v. 'bear a young' (of animals) > OG **z^w-**, G X/Ing **z^v-** id. || Sv {K, FS} **z(^w)-**, msd. {K, FD} **li-zā** | ~ **li-z^we** | -i, Sv UP {GP} msd. **li-zā** | v. 'bear a young' ¶¶ K 87, K² 58, FS K 131-2, FS E 142, GP 151 || HS: Eg fP **zə** 'son' ¶ EG III 408-10, Fk. 207 || U ***°soya-** (or ***°so¹ǵa-**) > Sm {Jn.} ***soyā-** v. 'be born, grow', {Hl.} ***soya-** 'give birth' > Ne T inf. **coя-сь** 'to be born, to grow up', {Lh.} **sō'yá:** v. 'be born, grow up', Ne F {Lh.} inf. **xō'yēá-ś** 'gebären, verschaffen', En X {Cs.} (1s aor.) **soâro**, En B {Cs.} (1s aor.) **sojâdo** v. 'grow', Slq Tz {KKIH} **sōć(†)** - id. ('вырасти'), Kms {Cs.} 3s p. **sibie** 'gave birth to', Koyb {Sp.} **суйламъ** 'I give birth', Mt {Hl.} ***soyā-** 'give birth' (Mt M {Sp.} **соггугра** 'I give birth') ⇨ Mt {Hl.} ***soyul^hk₁** 'Gewächs, Gras, Heu' (Mt: M/T/K {Mil.} **soiū** 'gramen', M {Sp.} **соёкъ** 'hay, grass', T {Mil.} **heelim-soiū** 'hay' [**heelim** means 'dried']) ¶ Jn. 142-3, KKIИ 170, Hl. M no-s 898-9 || A: WrMc {Z} **чжуй** (pl. **чжү-сэ**) 'son' and Jrc {Md.} **ʒuy-il**, {Kiy.} **ʒuwii** 'child' ¶ Hardly here Tg ***so₁-** v. 'mate' (of animals) > Ewk **so-kan-** v. 'mate', Ud **so-ni** id. ¶ Z 999, Md. ChF 138 [no. 294], STM I 271 and II 105, Kiy. 113 [no. 294].

2703. ₂ ***ʒe₁H₁b∇** '∈ a bird' (probably 'gallinaceous' and/or 'waterfowl?') > HS: Ch ≈ ***ʒa₁l₁b-** 'guinea fowl' > WCh: Hs **zābō**, Gw {Mts.} **ʒàbùwá** | Pr {Frz.} **čáw** | NBc: Cg {sk,} **sābùn**, Kry **zábùr**, Ny {Sk.} **zábùrkú**, {ChL} **zàbùràkú**, Wrj {Sk.} **zábri-yáj₁**, P' {MSk.} **ʒàvúna**, Mbr **čápùr**, Diri

ázàvúná | SBc: Bg {Sh.} šàp, Kir {ChL} šäpm̃, Plc {ChL} žìbín, Zar {Kr.} žubm̃ | Ngz {Sch.} zābànú, Bd {ChL} sāvānín id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} čìvàn, Pdl {ChL} sívàndí | BM {ChL}: Mrg c+vũũ, Bu c+vũũ, Cb zùvùrà | HgB {ChL} z+vùnó, Kps {ChL} z+vùné, FIK {ChL} z+vín, Gude {ChC} zòv+na | Glv {Rp.} žábùrà, Gv {ChL} žábùrà, Mnd {Mch} žác+rè, Dgh {Frk.} zàv+řá | Mtk {Sb.} zàpân, Myn/Mofu {Ro.} zàvár, MgG {Brr.} nžavár / čavár, Mada {BrrB} zàvâr, Mkt {Ro.} zàvúr, Hrz sávna, Mf {BLB} zápán, Gzg {Ro.} čùvún | Db {Lnh.} zàvín, {ChL} zàvún, Kola {Sb.} zóvòŋ | Gdr {Mch.} zavuna | Ktk {Bou.} sàfàn | Zm {ChL} žafan, ZmB {J} cófnók 𐌆 {Sa.} zámàkà id. || ECh: Smr {J} šíbàrí, EDng {Fr.} zùpùlò, Mkl {J} zó 𐌆 bíló, Jg {J} sùbíló, Brg {J} zóbóló, Mu {J} zòbòló 'guinea fowl' ¶ Chc, ChL, Sk. NB 25, MSk. 185, Sch. DN 181, Nw. WLT 42, Ro. 265 [no. 339], BrrB 279, Brr. MG II 208, BLB 393 || D *čēv- '≈ cock, male of birds' > Tm cēval 'male of birds and fowls, cock, male swan, kite', Δ cāvalu 'cock', Ml cēval ~ cāval 'cock, male of birds', Mlt čawye 'cockbird' ¶¶ D no. 2818 ◇ Cp. also K: G čibuχa 'snipe (*Gallinago*)' (Chx. 1033), though this is hardly a valid cognate (for both phonetic and semantic reasons) ◇ Hardly here D (att. in NED): Krx čubbā, Mlt čuwe 'peacock' [D no. 2676] ◇ Blz. DA 158 [no. 62] (Ch equated with D *čēv- and with NED *čub- 'peacock').

2704. *zeybA (or *zeʔhibA?) 'tail, penis' > HS: CS *zubb- > Ar zubb- 'penis', Ar NY zibbin, zibb, zubb id., zubbah 'vulva', MHb d. {Dlm.} 𐤆𐤁𐤅𐤁 zob'bār {Dlm.} 'skin that surrounds penis', {Lv.} 'der Beutel, welcher das männliche Glied der Tiere verhüllt', {Js.} 'the bag which contains animal's member' ¶ BK I 268, Bns. NJ II 484, Dlm. 118, Lv. I 517, Js. 383, DRS 669, MiK I no. 1.293 || B: Tmz {MT} azbub 'clitoris' (← Ar zubb-?) ¶ MT 790 || Possibly AdS of EC *dub- (-d→ *dab-) 'tail, hinder part' and of Om {Blz.} *dub- 'tail' (both from N *dub₁∇ 'back, hinder part, tail', q.v. ffd.); hardly here Sa daba ~ zaba ~ baba 'Rücken' (better to be equated with *damb- 'back') || U *seypä ~ *saypa 'tail' > Es saba, F Δ sapa id. | Lp N {N} sæi'be, L {LLO} sei'pē ~ sāi'pē id. ¶ The variation *seypä ~ *saypa may be due to two ways of synharmonic generalization of an early **seypa || Sm {Jn.} *tāywa, {Hl.} *taywa 'tail' > Ne Т тэвă, {Lh.} tæ'β'ă', Ne FL {Lh.} tæ'ιββă'ъ, Ng 'tzybu, Kms {KD} t'īma id., Mt {Hl.} *tayba id. (Mt M {Sp.} дайба) ¶¶ UEW 438, LLO 947, Jn. 150, Coll. 55, SK 969, Hl. M no. 943 || A *čib∇ > Tg: Ud žiba 'penis' ¶ Krm. 232, STM I 255 || M *čibe > WrM {MED} cibe, HIM

{MED, BMR} чив, Kl {Rm.} čiwǎ, čiwǔ 'penis' ¶ MED 174, BMR IV 809, KW 442-3 ◇ Proto-Altaic *č̣- for the expected *č̣̆- still needs explanation. It may suggest pN *zeʔ|hibA ◇ Do M *i and Ud i represent a legitimate development of N *ey or *eʔ|hi?

2705. ₂ *ʳč̣̆¹ ▽схаL ▽ 'fire; (?) burning wood' > K: GZ *ʳč̣̆¹eč̣̆χ]₀- 'fire' > OG, G сесχ]-, Mg da(n)č̣̆χzr-, dač̣̆χir-, Lz dač̣̆χir-, dač̣̆χur-, dač̣̆χer- id. ¶ K 234 and K² 280-1 (GZ *zeč̣̆χ]₀-); ≈ FS K 424 and FS E 478 (GZ *zeč̣̆χ-) || A: M *ʳč̣̆¹uçal- (> *č̣̆uč̣̆al-) > Ord ẓ̌̆uč̣̆ 'ali 'fire' ({Ms.}: εφ. for 'fire'), WrM {MED} сисали, HIM {MED, BMR} цуцал 'torch, firebrand; partly burnt wood', {Kow.} 'brandon, tison, flambeau', Kl {KRS} цуцл сисъ] 'firebrand (головёшки)', {Rm.} сисцл 'firebrand; partly burnt wood', Brt {Chr.} сусал id.; WrM {MED} сисала- v. 'kindle, set on fire' ¶ MED 204-5, BMR IV 280, Kow. 2210, KRS 643, KW 434, Chr.39, Ms. O 221 ◇ Fn. KD no. 69 equates the K √ with the D √ that is reconstructed by him as *cič̣̆ci 'fire', which is unt. because this D √ is *kič̣̆č̣̆- (F Zv. 115 [no. 131], DED no. 1272, D no. 1514).

2706. ?φ (₂?) *з ▽ц|č̣̆ ▽ '≈ willow' > K {K²} *ẓ̌̆eč̣̆ḷw]₀-, {FS} *ẓ̌̆eč̣̆- 'willow, *Salix babylonica*' > OG zeç̣̆n- 'willow', G zeç̣̆n-a- 'willow, pussy willow', Mg zič̣̆on- ~ č̣̆ič̣̆on-, Sv: L č̣̆əç̣̆ənd, Ln č̣̆ič̣̆ənd, UB/Lx č̣̆əç̣̆ənd, Lx č̣̆əç̣̆əndra id. ¶¶ K 237, K² 286, FS K 425, TK 866 || IE: Ht si siç̣̆a(m)ma- (?) '€ tree' ('willow?') ¶ Frd. HW EH II 104, Ts. W 76 || ?φ A: Tg *suje-gde 'willow' > Ud suẓ̌̆zgdz 'willow', WrMc {Z} сучжикдэ 'red willow resembling a linden', Neg su]zgdz 'poplar' ¶ Cp. N ?σ *ẓ̌̆a_ḷy]ẓ̌̆ ▽χU '≈ € leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits ('linden tree, Tilia' or sim.)' (q.v.) ¶ STM II 120, Z 647, Krm. 288 ¶ A kind of mt. and dis. (*ẓ̌̆...ç̣̆ > *s...ẓ̌̆)?

2707. ₂ *ẓ̌̆ôg ▽ 'shoulder' (or '€ part of the shoulder') > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} zəg ~ zēg 'shoulder, shoulder blade', Xm {R} zīg 'shoulder, back side' || SC б̣→ Mb ki-zóga ~ ki-zóxa ~ ki-zókā id. || CCh: Mofu {Ross.} ma-zagʷóm, Mlk {Ross.} ẓ̌̆ágòm 'shoulder' ¶ Ross. 325 [no. 637] ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5-6 (Ch, SC) || A: M: MM [S] {H} зoç̣̆uç̣̆us 'in den Rücken, den Rücken entlang'] M *ẓ̌̆oç̣̆an 'spine' or 'base of spine' ({ADb.} *ẓ̌̆uç̣̆an 'waist part of the backbone') > WrM {MED} зo(н) 'base of spine; vertebrae, spine', HIM зoо(н) {MED} id., {BMR} 'позвоночная часть спины', Brt зoо 'sciatic nerve, Muskeln des Rückens', Kl {KRS} зo 'spine; Rückgratmuskeln', Kl D {Rm.} zō, Kl Ö {Rm.} zōn 'Rücken (die Rückenknöchen von Rippen abwärts): Mittelrücken'. Ord ẓ̌̆n 'dos: la

partie charnue qui de chaque côté est le long de l'épine dorsale' ¶ H 92, MED 1068, BMR II 223, Chr. 256, KW 177, KRS 249, Ms. O 206 || AdS of NaT *jagrIN ((ADb.) *jaɣrun) 'shoulder blade as part of the back' (< N *dag_LH₁or∇ 'shoulder blade, upper part of the back' × N *z'∇gEr∇ [or *z'∇rg∇?] 'back' ['dorsum']) ¶ ET J 65-7, TL 242-3 ¶¶ Not here (⇔ ADb.) Neg joktoχōn 'a hollow between shoulder blades' and Ud jokpo 'pectoral arch (of birds)', because the primary meaning of this Tg √ is 'angle' (STM I 262) ¶¶ ADb. MSR 199, ≈ ADb SR-D 443.

2708. *z'Ug'U' 'to move somewhere' (intr., trans.) > HS: S *^o√ z g w > Ar √ z ġ w (3m pf. **زَجَا** zaġā, 3m ip. ya-zġū) 'pousser, faire aller' ¶ BK I 976 || Ch: CCh: Lgn {Lk.} z a g e, z e g e v. 'follow', z g a v. 'return back (zurückkehren)' ||| ECh: Mb {J} ž a ġ é v. 'follow' ¶ Lk. L 127-8, ChC s.v. 'follow' ||| A {SDM} *z'ugī- v. 'carry [on the back]') > M *z'ü|öŷe- ({Pp.} *z'ü|öge-) v. 'move/carry (sth.), transport' > MM [S] z u e- 'hinstellen', MM [HI] d. ž ü g e- ü l- 'faire transporter', WrM {Pp.} z ü g e-, {SM, MED} z ö g e-, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt z e e- v. 'move (sth.) from one place to another, transport', Kl {KRS} z e e- z ö- id., 'carry\convey from one place to another' ('возить, таскать'), {Rm.} z ö- 'transportieren, Führen fahren, Bürden machen; laden, beladen', Ord {Ms.} ž ö- 'transporter', Mnr H {SM} ž ī ö- id., {T} ž ī ū-, Ba {T} ž ö-, Dg {T} ž ug-ā-, {Z} д ж у в э- id., Dx {T} ž u e- 'carry from one place to another' ¶ MED 1074, BMR II 232, Chr. 260, KRS 253, KW 479, H 94, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 212, SM 89, T 334, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139, T DgJ 144 || Tg *jugū-/*juge- v. 'transport, convey' > Ewk juχū- v. 'carry\transport from one place to another' ('переташить, перенести, перевезти'), Lm juχu-, Neg juwū- ~ juχu-, Orc ž usi-, Ud ž ū-, ž ū g i-, {Krm.} ž ū-, ž ū s i- id., WrMc {Z} ч ж у в э-, ч ж у в э н у- v. 'carry\convey from one place to another, transport on ships' ¶ STM I 269-70, Krm. 234, Z 1017-18 || pKo {S} *č i- > MKo č i-, NKo č i- v. 'carry on the back' ¶ S QK no. 601, MLC 1527, Rm. SKE 31 || ?φ pre-T {Cl.} **j ū-, {Rm.} **j ū- -d> (with the sx *-δ-, see Cl. xlvi) T *j ū δ- > OT j ū δ- v. {Cl.} 'carry (sth.)', {MKD} vt. 'load, حَمَلُ', Tlt {Rl.} j ū y- 'carry out' (?), ?φ ET Δ {Jr.} j ū d- 'carry, load on one's shoulders'; -d> T *j ū k n. 'load, burden' > OT, XwT XIV, MQp XIV [CC], Chg ≥xv j ū k id., Tk ц ū k, Tkm, A, Kr, Nog, ET, SY j ū k, Uz j u k, StAlt ž ū k, Xk č ū k id. ('груз, тяжесть'), Chv {Ash., Fed.} ç ě k 'Bürde, Traglast (ноша, вьюк)', ??φ Chv L ç ě k {ChVS, Jeg.} 'Bürde, Last, Traglast (ноша, груз,

кладь, вьюк)', {Ash., Fed.} 'воз', Tv {Ra.} чҮѡк čũk, Tf {Ra.} ćũk 'load\burden (carried on the back)', Qmq jũk, Qzq, Qq žũk, VTt, Bsh йѡк jѡk, QbB žũk 'load' ¶ Cl. 885-6, 910-1, Rm. W 212, ET J 262-3, MKD 235, Rl. III 611, Jr. 16, BT 59, Ra. 199, Ash. XIII 7, 55, Fed. II 90, Jeg. 205, ChVS 180 ¶¶ Pp. VG 28, 111, Rm. SKE 31 (Ko, T, M, Tg), SDM 1553 (pA *žugĩ 'carry on the back' > Tg *jugũ-, M *žöge- v. 'carry, transport', T *jũ- 'n. 'load', v. 'load, carry', pKo *ći-), DQA no. 2629, Rm. EAS I 65, Rm. SKE I 31, KW 479, Vld. 197, Pp. VG 28, 111, ADb. SR 13 || D *čō(y)- ({ǂGS} s- or *ś-?) 'drive (away), send' (× N *з'У'ХУ 'cause [so., sth.] to move from one place to another' ['lead, send'], q.v. ffd.).

2709. *žUg∇ 'mane, long hair (on animal's body)' > A *žUgdu > T: NaT *jogdu > OT {Cl.} joxdu 'the long hair under a camel's chin', ?φ Qrg čūda 'long hair of a camel (under the throat, on knees); long soft sheep wool' (č- suggests borrowing from a T lge with initial devoicing) ¶ Cl. 899, Jud. 877 || M (← T?): WrM {MED} žogdur 'long hair on the throat of a camel, mane of a lion', HIM зогдор {MED} id., {BMR} 'mane; long hair on the neck (of a lion or a camel)', Brt зогдор id., Kl {KRS} зогдр zogdar 'mane of a camel\lion', {Rm.} zogdr 'die langen wichen Mähnenhaare de Kamele', Ord ž_ū'g_d_ūr 'les longs poils du cou'; M ⇨ Qrg žoɣdor 'lock of hair on camel's occiput; long feathers under the throat of a golden eagle or a krasavka (ε crane)', Tv čoɣdur 'loose-hanging skin on camel's\bull's breast under its throat' ¶ MED 1067, BMR II 220, Chr. 255, KRS 250, KW 475, Ms. O 216, Jud. 255, TvR 537 || HS: B: Sll {Ds.} a-zāg 'crin du cou', Ah ā-haǵ (pl. i-haǵǵan) 'crête de poils de la bosse de chameau', ETwl/Ty {GhA} ā-zag (pl. i-zǝgǵ-ǝn) 'crin (poil de crinière), crinière', Gh {Nh.} a-zεž 'poil (des personnes)' (pl. i-zāžž-ǝn) ¶ Pr. H no. 171, Fc. 530, Ds. 83 || SC ⇨ Mb i-zigizigi 'mane' ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 || IE: Ht s u k s u q a 'Stirnhaar [?] (des Rindes), Mähne (des Pferdes)' ¶ Ts. W 77 ◇ Not here K: G žua 'horse hair' (< N *žũH₁y∇ 'fibre, thick hair').

2710. ₂ *žŪ'ʔ'∇g∇ (or *žŪg∇'ʔ'∇) 'bring' (?), 'give', give in exchange' > HS: S *°✓čgW (or *°✓θgW) > Gz šagǵawa v. 'bestow favour, give graciously', šagǵā 'grace, favour, gift' ¶ S *č- < **žʔ?) ¶ L G 551 || Ch: pAG {Stl.} *zugum 'present, gift' > Su {J} zũgũm, Ang {Flk.} zum || CCh: Msy {Mch.} skam v. 'sell' || ECh: Mu {J} sag 'bring' ¶ Stl. VZCh A no. 298, ChC || A: Tg *jugē- v. 'exchange' > Ewk juɣē-lǵɜ-, Neo 11183-t- Nn III ž18-č1- Ork duɜ-li id WrMc {Z} ɤK1TɜɜHɜ 'debt-

Zinsen', Jc žu-u-mu-sun- v. 'lend' ¶ STM I 270, S AJ 225 [no. 304], Z 1017 || pKo *čú- 'give' > MKo čù-, NKo ču- (× a N word underlying Ugr *čay ▽ 'give', see UEW 841) ¶ S AJ 252 [no. 35], S QK no. 35, MLC 435 ¶¶ ≈ SDM 399-400 (pA *čjǫge v. 'give, exchange' > Tg + [not belonging here] M *dužǫi- 'buy/sell wholesale', T *t'ęg- 'cost, be worth; price; change, exchange', pJ *tai or *tia 'gods for exchange', pKo *čú- 'give'), ≈ DQA no. 242, ≈ S AJ 294 [no. 556] (A *čyag ▽), ≈ SDM97 s.v. *čöga 'give, exchange'.

2711. *ž'ig ▽ U 'thorn' > K: GZ *žigw- ({FS K} *žig-) 'thorn' > G I žigve {Ghl.} 'thorn', {Chx.} 'Dorngestrüpp', žigva {FS} 'Dorngestrüpp', {Chx.} 'steifes Borstengras (*Nardus stricta*)', G Gr/I žigur-a-i {FS E} 'Schilfgras', {FS K} '(food made of) sarsaparilla (Stechwinde, *Smilax*), wolfberry (*Lycium*, *дерева*, ε thorny bush)', Mg {Q} žigiri ~ žigiri 'thorn' ¶ FS E 479-80, FS K 425-6, Chx. 2072, Ghl. 686, KEGL VIII 746-7, Q 374 || HS: S *oz'u'gg- > Ar ^ضzuğğ- 'arrowhead, pointed iron foot of a spear, point of the elbow', zuğğ- (pl.) 'short lances, javelins', ✓ zğğ (pf. ^ضzağğa) 'pierce with the pointed iron foot of a spear'; ? S *'za|ik-at- > Ak zik-tu 'sting (of a scorpion); sting, barb, point', JA [Trg.] ^תzəkāt, em. ^אzəkāt zik-'t-ā, JEA zik'tā 'goad', Sr zək-'t-ā {PS} 'stimulus', {Br.} 'stimulus, virga, baculus', {JPS} (derived?) zākū't-ā 'goad'; CS *zik-k- > BHb ^קzik-k-īm 'fire arrows' (h. l. Pr. 26.18), MHb {Js.} ^קzik-k-īn 'sparks, burning arrows'; 'shooting stars (meteors)', JA {Js.} ^קzik-k-ā 'shooting star' ¶ BK I 973, CAD XXI 132-3, Js. 395-6, 411, Sl. 411, Br. 204-5, PS 1151-2, JPS 119, KB 266, KBR 278, DRS 682, 786 || ??φ Ch: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *zak^ω- ~ *zuk^ω- v. 'stab, pierce' > Wrj nza^ω-, Mbr zu^ω-um-, Cg zug-um id. ||| CCh: Mf {BLB} žuk^ω- 'enfoncez, piquer dans' ¶ Sk. NB 41, Tk. NB 172, BLB 126 ¶¶ Tk. NB 172 || **¶ *ž'igün ▽** (= *ž'igün ▽?) thorn, needle' > NaT *jignæ 'needle, thorn' ({Rm.} **jigünä > *jignä id.) > OT U (MnSc), OT Kr [MhK] jignä, Chg ≥xv, XwT ignä, MQp [CC] igine, OTkm {TAG} ^يjignä:, Tkm iḡne, MQp {TAG} ^يji:nä: 'needle', Tk iğne, Az iynä, VTt inä 'needle, thorn', SY {ET} ijiḡne 'needle, needle of a conifer', {Tn.} jigne ~ žiḡi 'needle', ET {BN} jignä ~ ignä, Δ žiḡnā, Uz igna, Qzq ине byne, QrB, Nog, Qq, Qrg, StAlt iyne, Bsh ыnä, Xk иње љне, Tv ine, Yk iñä id. ¶ Cl. 110, TAG 12, 110, ET Gl 367-9, TrR 432, Grøn. 105, BN 63, 76 || M *žexün 'needle' > MM [MA] ^يžexün {Pn} žexün [IM] ^يžexün {Pn}

ǰü:n, [HI] {Ms.} ǰö,ü:n, WrM {MED} zegüñ ~ zegüü, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt зүү(н-), MMgl {Iw.} ǰaüñ, Mgl {Rm.} ǰöüñ, Mnr H {SM} ǰü, Ord ǰü, Dx ǰun, WrO züñ, Kl {KRS} зүн (gen. зүүнэ), {Rm.} zün id. ¶ Pp. MA 205, 439, MED 1044, BMR II 249-50, Chr. 270, KRS 260-1, KW 485, Rm. M 42, H 89, T 334, T DnJ 120, Iw. 109, Ms. H 69, Ms. O 222, Krg. 685 ¶¶ KW 485 (M, T), Rm. EAS I 206 (M, T *jigünä) ◇ The cns. *ǰ in S *^lza|ǰ-at-, CS *ziǰǰ- and NrBc *zaǰ^ω- ~ *zuǰ^ω- goes back to N *-g∇?- . The vw. *u in S *^oz^ru^lgg-, in NrBc *zuǰ^ω- and in Mf zuǰ^ω- may have been induced by the N word-final *U.

2712. *ǰEg|k∇RH∇ (= *ǰEg|k∇RH∇?) antelope' > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ǰagari 'ε antelope' > Hs Kc {Sch.} ǰàgàrì, {Abr.} ǰàgàrì 'buck duiker', Hs K {Ba.} ǰàgàtì id. || BT: Gera {Gw.} jwangerere (j = ǰ) 'roan antelope' || CCh: Gude {ChL} ǰìgìrá, Nz {ChL} ǰìgìlá, FIM ǰìgìrú 'antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 194 [no. 460], Sch. BTL 117, Abr. H 413, Ba. 485, ChL || A: M *ǰeere(n) 'gazelle' > MM zēren {Ms.} 'gazelle', {Lew.} 'antelope', WrM {MED} zegerere(n) 'antelope' (sc. 'gazelle'), HIM {MED} зээр id., {BMR} зээр(эн) 'dzeren (*Procarpa*), 'chamois (степная серна)', Brt зээрэн id., Kl {KRS} зээрн zērən 'black-tailed gazelle (джейран, *Procarpa*), {Rm.} zērṅ 'Reh, Rehkuh', Ord ǰērē 'gazelle'; M б→ NPrs جيران ǰejrān 'gazelle', Oosm جيران ǰeyran, Tk ceуran, Az ǰeyran, Tkm ǰeren, StAlt ǰēren, SY ǰigir 'antelope', ǰiger, jiger 'deer, roe' (the SY loanwords preserve the old M stem-medial cns. *-ɣ- as -g-), R джейран 'gazelle' (← T ← M); it is hardly tenable to postulate a pT source of the above words of T lgs. (Rm.'s pT *ǰägirän) because the word is not attested in texts preceding the Mongolian conquest and is easily explained as a loan from M; Chr {Ü} йыгар jьgar 'ε a beast' may be a loan from the abovementioned T/M source ¶ Ms. H 67, Lew. II 29, MED 1043, BMR II 257, Chr. 275, KRS 246, KW 474, Ms. O 122, Dr. TM I no-s 301-2, Rs. W 194, Ü 314 || D (in SD) *^očikar- > Kn cigarì, cigare 'black buck of antelope' ¶ ≈ D no. 2504 (connecting this word with Kn jirke, Tu jirkae, and Tl jirka 'antelope', which in fact belong to N *ǰ^ra^lṅ^lg|kU 'antelope' [q.v.]) ◇ D *-r- that usually goes back to cns. cludters, suggests the presence of a lr. after N *R.

2713. *ǰega (or *ǰeɣa) 'to get\be sated' > K: GZ *zeɣ-/*zɣ- v. 'be sated, be filled' > OG, G zɣ-/zeɣ- id., Mg rɣɣ-, Lz zɣ- id. ¶ K 235-6, K² 280, FS K 423, Q 313-4, Chik. 390-1 || IE *seχ-/*sɣ- 'be sated', *seχ-ti- 'satiety' > NaIE *sā-/*sə- v. 'be\get sated', *sā-ti- 'satiety' > OI

a-si-n-'va- 'unsatable', s̄ā-tan 'pleasure' ||| Tc: A {Wn.} si-, si-n- vt. 'satisfaire, rassasier', vi. 'être satisfait\rassasié', B {Ad.} sou- 'satisfy oneself, be satisfied' ||| Gk ἄω (aor. inf. ἄσασ) vt., vi. 'satiare; take one's fill (of sth.)', ἄστος (< *ḡ-sa-to-s) 'unsatable', ἄμενα (with ā) 'satisfy oneself' ||| L satur 'sated', satis 'enough' ||| Clt {Matas.} *°sāti- n. 'sufficiency, fill' > OIr s̄āth ~ s̄áith (< *sāti-) 'satiety, sufficiency' ||| Gt saþs, ON saðr, OSx sad, OHG sat 'satt, gesättigt', NHG satt 'sated', AS sæd 'sated; weary, disgusted with', NE sad ||| Lt sótis 'satiety, satiation', sotus (accus. sōtu) 'sated', Ltv sāts 'satiety, moderation', Pru s̄ātuinei · "sättigt" | It is not clear if one may adduce Sl *sītb 'sated' (> OCS сѣтъ sītb, R сѣт, 'сѣтый, P сѣту, Cz сѣтѣ, Blg сѣт, SCr s̄it̄, s̄it̄ī, etc.) because of its deviant vw. ||| Arm հաճ hač 'content(ed), pleased, satisfied' || Ht {EI, Ad. ← ?} s̄āh- v. 'stuff full, clog up' ¶¶ WP II 444-5, P 876, EI 500 (*seh₂(i)- 'satisfy, fill up' ⇨ *'seh₂tis 'satisfaction', *sh₂'tos 'satisfied'), Mn. 1113, F I 159, WH II 481-2, Vn. S 15-6, Matas. E 324, Fs. 411-2, Vr. 459, Ho. 267, Kb. 829, KM 625, Wn. I 426, Frn. 857, En. 242, Vs. III 821, Chrn. II 222, ≈ Glh. 550 (explains Sl *ī in *sītb by postulating its origin from IE *seḡ₁ω₁-, which is unc., because IE *eḡω would have yielded NaIE *ō rather than **ū [a reg. source of Sl *ī] and because OIr s̄áith suggests *sā-), Ad. 703 ||| A {DQA} *ǰē- 'eat' > T *jē- v. 'eat' > OT Qp {Cl.} jē-, Tk ye-, Δ jī-, MQp [CC], XwT, Chg ≥xv jē-, Az, CrTt, Kr Cr, Nog, Uz je-, Tkm ий- ī- (< *jī- < *jē-), ET je(y)- ~ jā-, Ggz jī-, SY je- ~ jī- ~ žī-, Ln je- ~ jī- ~ žē-, Qzq, Qq žē-, Qrg žē-, StAlt žī-, Tb je-, Xlj jīē-, jē-, Xk чи- čl-, Tv čī-, Tf cí-, Yk s̄iā-, Chv чи- ¶ Cl. 869-70, Rs. W 194, ET Gl 333-5, DT 224, Tz. UIS 107, Ra. 196, Ash. XII 127-30, Fed. II 114-5, Jeg. 213, ChVS 185 ||| pKo {S} *čā- 'eat' > MKo čā-sī- id., NKo časi- id. ¶ S QK no. 25, Nam 411, MLC 1380 ¶¶ SDM 1530 (A *ǰē 'eat' > T, Tg, Jo + unc. M *ǰa- ~ *ǰe- 'meal, be hungry' and pJ *dapa- 'hungry'), DQA no. 2596 (id.), ≠ S AJ 35, 281 ◇ IS MS 340 (*zegḡ v. 'eat'), Glh. 550 (*SaHU / *SUHa) ◇ Hardly here U *seḡe- 'eat' (see N *sēg▽ 'to eat').

2714. ₂ *ǰ▽g'ī' 'rancid, bitter, rank, fetid' > K {FS} *ǰaḡ-, {K} *mǰaḡe- 'rancid' > G mǰaḡe, G G ǰaḡe- 'rank, rancid, bitter', Mg ǰuḡe-, Sv {K} mǰǰiḡ 'rank, rancid' ¶¶ K DE 363, K² 130, FS K 420, FS E 473, Mach. K 25, DCh. 926, Gh. 684 ||| HS: S *°✓ zḡḡ > Ar zaḡḡ-, zuḡḡ- 'odeur fétide des aisselles' ¶ BK I 993. DRS 776 || ?ḡ B *✓ zḡḡ ~ ;

* \checkmark zHy v. 'be bitter' > Gh i \checkmark z \checkmark a 'bitter', Si {La.} z \checkmark a \checkmark v. 'be bitter', Skn z \bar{a} y 'bitter', Nf y \checkmark a \checkmark a \checkmark , Snd y \checkmark a \checkmark z \bar{a} i 'it is bitter' ¶ La. S 194 ¶ The forms registered without emphatization of *z may be due to inaccurate recording ¶ ≠ Tk. PAA 5 (Ar ÷ ≠φ Ak z \bar{a} ʔ \hat{u} 'duften', ≠φ,σ Kz z \checkmark iʔa-muk \bar{o} [pl. z \checkmark iʔaʔ-ik \bar{o} 'sperm']).

2715. ≈ * \checkmark z \checkmark iH \checkmark (or * \checkmark z \checkmark HyH \checkmark) 'to press, to knead, to rub' > K *z \checkmark H-, {K, K \checkmark } z- 'press, squeeze' > Mg {Q, Chik.} z- 'knead', Lz {Chik.} z- 'crush' (ჭყლეუცობა, раздавить) (unless < *z \checkmark - < N * \checkmark z \checkmark iL \checkmark 'to shove', 'to knead\stir' [q.v.]), Sv {K} z \checkmark h- v. 'press, squeeze (?)' ¶¶ K 86, K \checkmark 55-6, Q 235, Chik. 274-5, FS E 141 || **IE:** Ht s \bar{a} i \checkmark -/s \bar{a} i \checkmark a- 'festdrücken, einprägen' ¶ Ts. W 67, Frd. HW 175 || **HS:** Ch: WCh: pSBc *z \checkmark W- v. 'press' ('давить, мять') > Buli n \checkmark ž \bar{o} w \acute{u} , Plc ž \bar{o} w \acute{u} | NrBc: Pa'a {MSk.} ž \bar{e} w id. || ? CCh: Bdm {Nc.} č \bar{e} y v. 'press' ¶ Stl. ZCh 262 [no. 16], ChC s.v. 'press' || ?? S * \circ \checkmark z \checkmark h \checkmark > Mh, Jb \checkmark z \checkmark h \checkmark v. G 'bump into, push out of the way' ¶ Jo. M 467 ◇ The origin of Sv -h- (most probably, from some N Ir.) still needs investigating.

2716. (\checkmark ?) * \checkmark z \checkmark i \checkmark 'to scatter' > ?φ K: GZ *c \checkmark (i)- {K \checkmark } vi. 'pour, fall' (of dry substances) > OG gardamocw \checkmark iven zecit 'fall from the sky' (Matth. 24.29), G c \checkmark v \checkmark - vi. 'pour, fall' ('сыпаться', 'hinunter-\herunter-\ab-fallen), Mg c(i)-, Lz (n)c- id., n. act.: G c \checkmark vena-, Mg cuma- ¶ K 224 ('sich verschütten'), K \checkmark 265, FS K 398-9 ¶¶ K *c- is probably from *c \checkmark - < pre-K * \checkmark h < N * \checkmark z \checkmark h- || **HS:** S * \circ -z \bar{u} h- > Ar \checkmark z \checkmark h (pf. z \bar{a} ha, ip. -z \bar{u} h-) 'dispenser', 'scatter' ¶ BK I 1025, Hv. 300 || **IE:** [11] IE *se \checkmark h \checkmark - > NaIE *s \bar{e} (\checkmark)-/*s \bar{a} (\checkmark)- v. 'sow' > L ser- \bar{o} (< *se-s- \bar{o})/- \checkmark re/s \bar{e} -v \bar{i} /s \bar{a} -t \checkmark -s 'sow' || Gmc inf. *s \bar{e} jan > Gt inf. saian (p. saís \bar{o}), ON inf. sá (p. sera), OHG inf. s \bar{a} en, NHG inf. s \bar{a} en, OSx inf. s \bar{a} ian, AS inf. s \bar{a} wan 'to sow', NE saw || Lt inf. sé-ti (1s pres. séju), Ltv inf. s \bar{e} t (1s pres. s \bar{e} ju) 'to sow' | Sl inf. *s \checkmark -ti / 1s pres. *s \checkmark -q 'sow', (- \checkmark) *s \checkmark ja-ti inf. 'to sow' > OCS inf. сѣти s \checkmark ti ~ сѣяти s \checkmark jati / 1s pres. сѣя s \checkmark q, SCr inf. s \checkmark jati / 1s pres. s \checkmark j \bar{e} m, Slv inf. se \checkmark ati / 1s pres. se \checkmark jem, OCz inf. si \checkmark ti / 1s pres. s \checkmark ju, Cz inf. síti / 1s pres. se \checkmark i, P inf. si \checkmark / 1s pres. sie \checkmark , R inf. с \checkmark ять / 1s pres. с \checkmark ю, Blg (1s pres.) с \checkmark я v. 'sow' || Clt d. {Matas.} *s \bar{i} lo- 'seed, descendants' > OIr síl 'a seed (Same)', MW hil 'race, lineage', W {TGM} hil 'offspring, lineage, race'. MBr hil-, Br {Hm.} 'semence, race, posterité' || Ht s \bar{a} (i)- {Ad. < ?} 'sow, throw', {Ts.} 'shoot'] - \checkmark [1a] NaIE *s \bar{e} m \checkmark 'to seed (Same)', s \bar{e} m \checkmark 'to seed' || OSx OHG s \bar{e} m \checkmark

NHG Same id. || Olt $\sigma\epsilon\mu\omega\tilde{\omega}$ 'sowing', Lt $\sigma\acute{e}menys$ 'linseed', Pr $\sigma\epsilon men$ 'a seed' || Sl $*s\acute{e}m\epsilon$ (gen. $*s\acute{e}men-e$) 'a seed (Same)' > OCS $\sigma\epsilon MA s\acute{e}m\epsilon$, Blg $\sigma\epsilon me$, SCr $\sigma\epsilon me$ \approx $\sigma j\acute{e}me$, Slv $\sigma\acute{e}me$, Cz $\sigma im\check{e}$, Slk $\sigma emeno$, P $\sigma iemi\epsilon$, R $\sigma\epsilon m\acute{y}a$ id. | **[1b]** NaIE d. $*s\bar{e}-to-$, $*s\bar{a}-to-$ pp. 'sown, scattered' > L $\sigma\acute{a}tum$ 'sown' || Clt: Brtt [RE] $*satos$ 'seed (semen)' > W {YGM} had , Crn $h\bar{a}s$, Br att , MBr hat id., Br {Hm.} had 'semence, graine; race, descendance' || Gt $mana-s\bar{e}ps$ 'mankind, world' (lit. 'man-seed'), ON $\sigma\acute{a}\check{d}$ 'chaff; seed', OHG $\sigma\bar{a}t$ 'seeds, seed field', NHG σaat , OFrs $\sigma\bar{e}d$, AS $\sigma\bar{a}d$ 'sowing, seed', NE σeed | **[1c]**: L $\sigma\acute{a}tio$ n. act. 'sowing, planting' || OIr, Nir $\sigma aithe$ 'swarm, litter' (< $*satio$), W $haid$, Br hed 'swarm' || **[2]** NaIE $*s\bar{e}(\grave{i})-$ 'scatter, sift' > Lt inf. $\sigma ij\acute{o}-ti$, Ltc inf. $\sigma ij\acute{a}t$ 'sift' | Sl: OCS inf. $\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon TH ras\acute{e}ti$ (< $*raz-s\acute{e}ti$) ~ $\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\acute{y}a TH ras\acute{e}jati$ 'to scatter, to disperse', Cz inf. $\rho\sigma s\acute{i}ti$, R inf. $\rho\alpha\sigma\epsilon\acute{y}a$ 'to disperse', HLs inf. $\sigma\acute{a}c$ (1s pres. σaju), LLs inf. $\sigma\acute{a}c$ 'to sift', OCS inf. $\rho\rho\sigma\epsilon\acute{y}a TH \rho\rho\sigma\acute{e}jati$ 'to sift (cribrare, durchsieben)', Cz inf. $\rho\rho\sigma\acute{i}ti$, R inf. $\rho\rho\sigma\acute{e}jati$ id. | Gk $\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ($\eta-\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$) v. 'sift' | NaIE d. $*s\bar{e}i-to$ 'sieve' > Lt $\sigma\acute{i}eta-s$, Ltv $\sigma i\acute{e}t-s$, Sl $*s\acute{i}to$ 'sieve' > Blg, R σito , SCr $\sigma\acute{i}to$, Slv $\sigma\acute{i}to$, Cz $\sigma\acute{i}to$, Slk, P σito id. | NaIE d. $*s\bar{e}-tlo-$ v. 'sieve' > Clt: W {YGM} $hidl$ 'strainer, filter', OBr σizl , Br {Hm.} σil n. 'filtre', OIr $\sigma\acute{i}thlaid$ 'he sieves' || Gmc $*s\bar{e}bla$ n. 'sieve' > ON $\sigma\acute{a}ld$, Dn σold , Sw $\sigma\acute{a}ll$, \rightarrow F $\sigma eula$, Krl $\sigma iekla$ \approx $\check{\sigma}iekla$ id. ¶¶ Hardly here Ht {Pv.} $\sigma ihu\omega a(i)-$ v. 'shed, throw, scatter, pour' ({Pv.}: \div Gk $\lambda\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'empty out', OI $\sigma i\check{s}-$ 'impel' < IE $*Hej\check{s}H-$), {Frd., Ts.} $\sigma uhh\alpha-$ 'schütten' ¶ P 889-90, EI 534 ($*seh_1-$ 'sow'), 505 (IE $*seh_1-men$ 'seed'), 518 ($*seh_1(i)-$ 'sift', $*seh_1-tlom$ 'sieve'), WH II 512, 522, Vn. S 108-9, 121-2, Matas. E 336, YGM-1 2788, 285, Hm. 369, 381, 720, RE 127, Fs. 344, 403-4, Vr. 459-60, Hlq. 1142-3, SK 1005, Kb. 817, 827, 829, OsS 736, 742, 745, Ho. 267, 270, Ho. S 62, Frn. 774, 778-9, 783-4, En. 245, Vs. III 600-1, 615, Glh. 546, 550, SJSS 385, 625-6, Chrn. II 160, F I 624-5, Ad. 683, Pv. I-II 404, Frd. HW 196, Ts. W 67, 77.

2717. $?\sigma_2 *z\acute{o}\sigma\epsilon\check{\sigma}k\check{\sigma}$ 'back end, tail' ([in descendant lgs.] \rightarrow 'behind', 'after', 'to follow, to follow [game] by the tracks') > HS: S $*\sigma za\sigma\epsilon\check{\sigma}k-$ > Ar {BK, BKIG, Dz.} $za\sigma ak-at-$ 'tail', Ar Mgr {Dz.} $za\sigma k-at-$ 'derrière, cul', ?? Ar $za\sigma k-at$ {Fr.} 'mora, qua subsistunt', {BK} 'temps que l'on reste quelque part', {Hv.} 'delay, stay in a place' ¶ Fr. II 238, BK I 991, Hv. 280, BKIG II 416, Dz. I 593 || B $*\check{\sigma}zhg$ (= {Pr.} $*\check{\sigma}zh_1g$) > Ah σhad v. 'lignure, residuum' ETyl/Ty {ChA} 2726, Tyl {Pr.} < APs. M(T)

əšag id., Gh {Nh.} čī-m-zik 'vengeance'; B *-zūk- (< *-zuHk-) > Tz ta-zuk-t, Tmz {MT} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'buttock, hip, thigh', Izd {Mrc.} ta-zuk-t (pl. ti-zuk-in) 'fesse' ¶ Fc. 524, Pr. H no. 170, GhA 210, MT 801, Mrc. 116, 421 || C: EC: Sml žēgo, Sml N žēgo 'nape of the neck', Arr {Hw.} zéh id. || ? C → Mb {E} ki-zóga ~ ki-zóya 'shoulder' ¶ ZMO 219, Abr. S 139, Hw. A 401, E SC 190 || NrOm {Blz.} *zikk- ~ *zukk- 'back (dorsum)' > Shn {Beke} 'žikko, {Lm.} žīḳá, Bdt {C} zaḥi, Kcm {Fl.} zahe, WI {C} zikkō, {Beke} zokko, {LmS} zokkuwa, Dwr {C} zikkō, {Beke} 'zokko, {LmS} zokke, Oyda {Fl.} 'zokko, Gm {Hw.} zókko, Male, Dc {LmS} zokko id. ¶ Blz. OLBP no. 4, Lm. Sh 323, LmS 568, Hw. EG, Fl. p.c. || A: M: WrM {Gl., MED} 309u 'barb of a harpoon' ¶ Gl. III 511, MED 1067 || AdS of IE *sehǵ-/ *shǵ- > NaIE *sāǵ-/*sag- 'scent out, track (nachspüren), follow (game) by the tracks, seek out' (P, Vn., F: an ancient hunting term) (< N *sahk'a' 'search, find, know', q.v. ffd.).

2718. *zūk_L∇?, ∇ ~ *zuk_L∇?, E 'edible cereals, harvest (of wild plants)' > HS: S *^o✓ zkw > Ar ✓ zkw (pf. كَزْ zakā, ip. -zkū) vi. 'grow' (a plant) ¶ BK I 1002, Hv. 292 || ?φ Eg fMK ɛkɜ n. 'crops', (??) → Eg fP ɛkɜ (EG) ɛkɜ v. 'plough, cultivate a field' (× ÷ S *✓ škk > Ar sikk-at- 'ploughshare', Ak ✓ škk 'aufreihen, eggen' ÷ Hs sàk^ωámí '€ hoe') ¶ EG IV 315-6, Fk. 251, Tk. I 217-8, Hv. 327 ¶¶ The S-Eg comparison is qu. φ (there is no proof that Eg ɛ is cognate with S *z), therefore Tk. AANM 1 rejects it; however, it is acceptable if the devoicing *z > Eg ɛ is accounted for by as. or if the noun ɛkɜ is primary, while the verb ɛkɜ is derived from it or does not belong here || U: FU *sükś∇ 'autumn' > F sykcy, syys, Es sügis (/sügisē-) id. | pLp {Lr.} *ćzkcɜ id. > Lp: S {Hs.} tjaktje, L {LLO}, U {Schl.} tjaktja, N {N} čâk'čâ, K {Gn.} čęxč | pMr {Ker.} *sukśa > *sokśa 'autumn' > Er cěксь śokś, Δ sokś, śoks, Mk cěксе śokśa, Δ śokś, śoks, seks | pChr {Ber.} *šizъ id. > Chr L 'шыже šъže, Chr H шыжы šaža | Vt cи́зъыл siž'ɪ, Vt G śiz'ɪ id. || ObU {Ht.} *θū̄vas id. > pVg {Ht.} *tūkās id. > Vg: T tüks, LK/SV tāx^ωs, MK/NV tāk^ωs, P tāxs ~ tāxs, LL tāxs, UL/Ss tak^ωs; pOs {Ht.} *sō̄vas id. > Os: V/Vy sō̄vas, Ty sēx^ωas, Y/D/K sēwas, Nz/Kz sūs, O sus | Hg ǭsz id. ¶ UEW 443, Coll. 116, Db. OS xxx, ≈ Sm. 549 (FU, FP *ɛukśi, Ugr *θū̄kɛĩ), Lr. no. 103, Lgc. no. 449, Hs. 1300, Gn. 730, Ker. II 145, Ht. no. 133, U3S 392, Ep. 161 ¶ Lp *ć-, Er, Mk ś-, and Os *s- (reg. reflexes of FU *ś-) are due to as. (*s ɛ ~ *ś ɛ) || A ~ *zūk∇(-r∇) 'edible

cereals, millet' > NaT *jüğüř 'millet' > OT QU jüğüř ~ üğüř (MKA III 9) id., OT U üğüř ≃ üyüř ∈ 'small seed, millet', MU üyüř 'millet', Qrg S {Jud.} žüğüřü 'sorghum', Qrg N {Jus.} žüğüřü 'maize', Osm čökäri 'grains of Bukharian millet'; T ⇨ Kl Ö žüğüř 'kaoliang (*Sorghum japonicum*)' ¶ Cl. 275-6, TL 458, Br. MT 94, KW 116, Jud. 272 || Tg *jiy|ga ~ ? *jiy|ge 'millet' > Orc žīž-ktz, Ud žakta, Neg jākta, {PSchm.} j|ākta id., Nn Nh/KU žīžktz, Nn B žiktz, žzktz id., 'rice', Sln jakta 'porridge, food', WrMc {Z} чжэ 'fine millet'; 'corn (всякий хлеб)' ¶ STM I 244, Z 973 || pKo *čòh 'millet' > MKo čò / čòh-, NKo čo id., {Rm} čjò 'millet, *Setaria germanica*' ¶ S QK no. 249, Nam 427, MLC 1568, Rm. PKE 37 ¶¶ Rm. PKE 37 (T, Ko), Rm. EAS I 65 (erroneously adduces Chv šbg_ьr 'bread', which is from T *jugu-r 'kneaded' [Jeg. 205-6, ET J 243-4]), SDM 1547 (pA *žjúgi 'millet' > Tg, T, Ko), DQA no. 2616 (id.) || D *čugg-, {ǧGS} *sugg- 'harvest, season of harvest' > Gnd sugge 'harvest', Kn suggi 'the season of gathering crop (esp. the time of reaping corn and grain), spring (from the middle of March to that of May)', Tu suggi 'harvest, the second rice crop, the 12th Tulu month (March-April)' ¶¶ DED no. 2176, D no. 2647 ◇ IS MS 370 (*zuka 'harvest'), AD NM no. 16, S CNM 12.

2719. ?WW *ʒa¹k∇n∇ 'elephant' > HS: C: Ag: Bln {R} žānā (pl. žān), Q žānā (pl. žān, žānt), Aw {Fl.} zigoni 'elephant'; C ⇨ Amh zzhon ⇨ Xm {R} zohon ~ zehon || EC ≈ *zakan- id. > Af {R} dakāno (pl. dōkūn), Sa {CR} dakun, Sml Hw/Og {R} dagon ~ dōgon id., Or B/O {Sr.} dannabā arbā, Or Wt {Sr.} dannawā arbā 'female elephant' (arbā 'elephant') (⇨ Dhl {EEN} dānnaβa, {To.} dānnabe 'female elephant') || pHEC *zāne ({Hd.} *žāne) 'elephant' > Kmb {Hd.} zanē (-ččū) (pl. zanākata), Sd {Hd., Gs.} dān-iččo (pl. dāniwo), Hd {Hd.} dāne-ččo id. || Ya {Hn.} so'gómèj (pl. sogomejdi) id. || Dhl {EEN} dōkkōmi, {To.} dokōmi 'elephant' ¶ AD SF 107, PH 79, Hd. 56, 274, 344, 358, L Z 120, Hn. Y II 124, Sr. 285, EEN 28, To. D 132, Fl. p.c. || Om: NrOm: Wl/Zl/Gf/Bk/Cha {C} dangarsā, Dwr {CR} dangarsa, Gm {Hw.} dangārsi, Zs {C} dongor, Bdt {C, CR} zakkā, Kcm {Lm. ← ?} zākka, Hrr {Hw.} zākka 'elephant' || Ym {Wdk.} zāknó id. || Kf {C} dangiyo, Mch {L} dāngao, {Lm.} dengawo, Anf dangeččo, Shn {Mrn.} dangas, {C} dangeša id. (but {Lm.} dangeššá 'buffalo') || ? Mj/Na {Lm. ← ?} dōr, Shk {Lm. ← ?} dōro 'elephant' || SOm: Hm {Fl.} donger, Ari B dongor id. ¶ AD SF 107, Blz. OL no. 133, Wdk. BY 139, L M 27, Lm. Sh 296-7, CR H 666, Fl. OO 318, Hw. EG Hw NKI. 222 || Ch ≈ *z¹∇k∇n- 'elephant' > WCh. RT. Tho {I} 1110ne

Tng B {ChL} yókùné, Gera {Sch.} yoni, Ngm {ChL} yàwè̀n, Krf {Gw.} yiwuni, {Sch.} yùní, Bl {Mch.} jauno? (j = [y]) id. | Ngz {Sch.} žàunàk (pl. žàunàní) id. | NrBc: My {Sk. in ChC} yáwùn, {ChL} yéwìn, Sir {Sk.} yòwání, Mbr {Sk.} yáwìn, Jmb yáwàn id. | Bg {J} yuwàn, {Csp.} yuwan, {Sh.} ywàn, Grn {Hrn.} yíwán, {Csp.} yōwən id. || CCh: Tr {Nw.} žùwàn id. ¶ JI II 124-5, Sk. NB 20, Sch. DN 83, J T 171, ChC s.v. 'elephant', ChL, Hrn. G no. 145, Sh. BZ 29, Csp. 16, 48 || **A**: NaT *jagān 'elephant' > OT jaḡān, XwT XIV, MU XIV [Rbg.] jaḡan, SY jaḡan ~ jaḡan, Tv čān, Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jān id. (here also Alt/Tlt {Rl.} jān, StAlt {BT} žān 'big, great'??); T ⇨ M *žayān > WrM {MED} žagan, HIM {MED, BMR} заан zān, Kl {KRS} зан, {Rm.} zān 'elephant' ¶ Cl. suggests that StAlt/Tlt jān and Tv čān may be reborrowings from M ¶ Cl. 904, ET J 60, Rl. III 79, TvR 504, MED 1023, BMR II 291, Kow. 2245, KRS 240, KW 469 || ?ϕ **D** *yān(aḷ), [GS] *yān- 'elephant' > Tm yānaḷ, ānaḷ, Ml āna, Kt, Td a'n, Kn āne, yāne, Kdg a'ne, Tu ānæ, Tl ēnūgu, ēnika, Klm enāgī 𐌆 ēngi, Nkr ēnagī, Prj ēnu, Gdb ēnig, Gnd yēnī 𐌆 aḷnī 𐌆 ēnal 𐌆 ēni 𐌆 ēn, Knd ēngu 𐌆 ēni ¶¶ D no. 5161, GS 134 [no. 347] || **IE**: loans from unknown sources: Gk γίγας (gen. γίγαντος) 'giant', Lt † gogās 'giant' (P 'wielkolud'), Ltv Δ gāgar-s 'giant; long rope', ? OI gaja-h 'elephant' ¶ F I 305-6, Frn. 161, ME I 616, M K I 314, M E I 458 ◇ The unexpected D *y- needs explaining; it is likely to suggest that D *yān(aḷ) is a loanword ◇ Blz. DA 157 [no. 51] (suggested that D {Blz.} *yan [sc. *yān-] may go back to *iyan < *čīyan < *čīgan).

2720. (₂?) *žalV (or *žalVϚV) 'flame' > **U**: FU *śala- 'lighten; lightning' > F salama 'lightning' || ObU {Ht.} *sāl- v. 'lighten' > pVg {Ht.} *sāl- > Vg: T sā'l-, LK/UL/Ss sāl-, MK/UK/NV/LL/ML sāl-, P sāl- ~ sāl- v. 'lighten', P salna 'lightning'; pOs {Ht.} *sāl-, *sāla- v. 'lighten' > Os: V sāl-, sāla-, Ty sāḑ-, Km sāt-, Nz sōt- id., Y sāl, D/K sāt 'lightning' ¶ UEW 459, Coll. 111, Ht. no. 589 || **A** *žali- > NaT *jal- v. 'blaze, burn, shine' > OT jal- id., StAlt {BT} žali-, Tlt {Rl.} jal-, Shor {Rl.} čal- id., Yk sal- 'roast (on fire)'; ⇨ [1] NaT *jalIn 'flame' > OT, MQp [CC], Chg ≥xv jalIn, Oosm jalIn, Tk yalIn, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog jalIn, Qzq, Qq žalIn, Qrg žalIn, Tlt {Rl.} jalIn, Xk čalIn, Qzl {Jk.} šālIn 'flame', Tv čalIn n. 'heat from the fire', Tkm jalIn id., 'flame'; [2] NaT *jalKin 'flame' > Tk yalkIn, ET jalqun, Uz jalqin, Qzq žalqin, VTt, Bsh jalqɛn, StAlt žalqin, Tb/QK {Rl.} jalɣIn ¶ Rs. W 181, Cl. 918, 929, ET J 106-7, TL 256-7, 262, Bl III 165, 1877, Md 160, TvP 515, Pic 210, ¶ Cf. N

***ǰuǰǰ** 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame' (possibly a secondary source of the T √) || M ***ǰali** 'flame' > WrM **ǰali** 'flame, spirit', HIM **заль** {MED} id., {BMR} 'Flamme, Glanz (блеск)', WrO {Krg.} **zali** 'flame, splendour, glory', **zaliɗa-** v. 'blaze, flame', Kl {KRS} **заль** n. 'flame', {Rm.} **zǎǰi** 'Feuerflamme, Feuer, Glut, Glanz', Kl D {Rm.} **zǎǰi** id. ¶ MED 1031, BMR II 206, Krg. 659, KRS 239, KW 464, 470 ¶¶ SDM 1541 (pA ***ǰǰali** 'burn, flash' [with unj. ***ǰǰ**] > M, T + unc. Tg ***ǰǰild-** v. 'glance', 'be wide open' [of eyes]) || ? HS: a m b S ***ǰǰ** z l ǰ 'burn (so.'s skin) with fire', (× N ***ǰǰǰǰǰǰ** (or ***ǰǰǰǰǰǰE**) 'smoulder, burn' [intr.], 'live coals', q.v. ffd.) ◇ If the S word goes back to the N etymon in question, the N rec. is ***ǰǰǰǰǰǰ** (not ***ǰǰǰǰǰǰ**, because N ***-ǰǰ-** yields U ***-ǰǰ-**). Otherwise it is N ***ǰǰǰǰ**.

2721. ***ǰǰǰǰ** 'to swing, to wave, to be shaky', (?) 'to spring, to leap' > HS: WS ***ǰǰ** z l (z) l > BHb **ǰǰǰǰ** N 'shake, quake' (of mountains) (3p pf. **ǰǰǰǰ** ná'zollū), Ar **ǰǰǰǰ** D 'faire trembler, secouer, agiter', TD (pf. **ǰǰǰǰ**) 'be agitated, quake' (esp. of earthquake), **ǰǰǰǰ** 'earthquake', ChrPA **ǰǰǰǰ** 'drunken', Sr **ǰǰǰǰ** G {Br.} 'subsiluit', Gz {L} **ǰǰǰǰ** 'move, be shaken, swing, be agitated' ¶ Br. 196, BK I 1004-5, BDB 272, ≈ DRS 738, L G 638 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} **ǰǰǰǰ** 'shaky gait of a drunken man; doubtful, uncertain' ¶ Z 977 || IE: NaIE ***ǰǰ-** / {Brg.} ***ǰǰ-** v. 'jump, leap' > L **ǰǰǰǰ** (1s pfc. **ǰǰǰǰ**) vi. 'spring, leap, jump, bound', frq. **ǰǰǰǰ** 'dance' (VL ***ǰǰǰǰ** 'jump' > It **ǰǰǰǰ**, Fr **ǰǰǰǰ**, Sp, Prt **ǰǰǰǰ** inf. 'to jump'), L n. act. **ǰǰǰǰ** (gen. **ǰǰǰǰ**) 'a spring, leap, bound' || Gk **ǰǰǰǰ** ({Brg.} < ***ǰǰǰǰ**) vi. 'spring, leap, bound', **ǰǰǰǰ** 'a spring, leap, bound', **ǰǰǰǰ** n. 'leaping' || (+ext.) Sl inf. ***ǰǰǰǰ** (or ***ǰǰǰǰ**?) 'to spring, to leap' > ChS inf. **ǰǰǰǰ** ~ **ǰǰǰǰ** id. ¶ WP II 505, P 899, EI 323, WH II 468, F I 76, BD I 467, Tr. 256, Mikl. E 307, Mikl. L 861.

2722. ***ǰǰǰǰ** 'to slip, to slide' > HS: S ***ǰǰ** z l l (or CS ***ǰǰ** z l l) > Ar **ǰǰ** (pf. **ǰǰǰǰ**, ip. **ǰǰ**-zill-u) v. 'slip away, lapsavit in loco lubrico', msd. **ǰǰǰǰ** 'sliding (Gleiten)' (× N ***ǰǰǰǰ** 'to fall, to crush down'), Ar D {Lb.} **ǰǰ** 'glisser', NNEA {Mcl.} **ǰǰǰǰ** z l l, z l l n. 'sliding (glissade)' (← Ar?); +ext.: Ar **ǰǰ** z l ǰ v. 'slip' ¶ Fr. II 246, Ln. 1241, 1244, Hv. 293, Lb. 1847-8, Mcl. 86, ≈ DRS 738) || A ***ǰǰǰǰ** (= ***ǰǰǰǰ**?) > T ***ǰǰǰǰ** v. 'slide' (× T ***ǰǰǰǰ** v. 'creep' < N ***ǰǰǰǰ** ~ ***ǰǰǰǰ** 'to creep, to crawl') > VTt U **ǰǰ** 'slide downhill'. VTt I and SbTt **ǰǰǰǰ** id. 'slide'. Xk **ǰǰ** v. 'slide. ski'.

Tv čīl- 'slide' (of a sledge), Yk sīl- v. 'ski', Alt/QK/Kü {Rl.} jīl- v. 'slip' ¶ Length of T *ī is due to the merger with T *jīl- v. 'creep' ¶ ≈ ET J 40-1, Rs. W 200, TTDS 178, 579, Tm. 90, Pek. 2440, Rl. III 481 || M: WrM {MED} žildam, HIM {MED} жалдам, {BMR} жилдам ~ жилдэм ~ жалдам 'skillful skater' ¶ Kow. 2347, MED 1055, BMR 157, 172, Rm. EAS I 65-6 (mentions WrM žilga, žilgai, žilgam, žilgag 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', not confirmed by Kow., MED, Gl., and Bb.) ¶¶ The long vw. in pT and probably in pA belongs to the heritage of N *žīXīV ~ *žīīXV || ?σ U *ś|ćil|V 'smooth', *ś|ćil|V- v. 'whet' (× N *śīīi - *śīīayV 'smooth, slippery', q.v. ffd.) || IE: NaIE *slej-m- 'slippery', 'smooth' (× N *śīīi - *śīīayV '↑' [q.v. ffd.], see also N *žVLiKæ or *žVLi Kæ 'to slip, to slide' and N *śVΛχitV ~ *śVΛχidV 'to slip').

2723. *zagV,li (or *zagV,layV) 'secret(ly); to deceive' > HS: S: Ar zaʔal- 'counterfeit, adulterated' (of money, metal) ¶ Ln. 1235 || U *sala- v. 'do sth. secretly, steal' > F, Es sala n. 'secret', F salaa 'secretly, stealthily', Es salaja 'secretly' | pLp *sōlē 'thief, thievish, secretly' > Lp: S {Hs.} suoleh- 'steal', Vf {Lgc.} sūō·ʔ·zḥ 'thief', sūā·ʔ·dāmə v. 'steal', L {LLO} suola 'thief', suollēt 'in secret, secretly', suolāti- 'steal', N {N} suolâ /-llâg- 'thief, thieveish', suoladi- 'steal, go stealthily', Kld {SaR} cūлл 'thief', cyэлнэ 'steal' | Er, Mk sala- 'steal' | pChr *solъ 'thief', *solъ- 'steal' (Ber: *šolə, *solə-) > Chr: H шолы šolъ 'thief', L шолып šolъp, Uf šolъp adj./adv. 'secret, -ly', H, L шолышт- šolъšt-, M solъšt- 'steal' || pObU {Ht.} *θūlām- v. 'steal', *θūlmVk 'thief' > pVg {Ht.} *tūlām- 'steal' > Vg: T tolmānt-, LK/MK/UL tūlmant-, P/NV/SV tulamt-, LL tūlāmt-, UL/Ss tūlmant- id.; pVg {Ht.} tūlmək 'thief' > Vg: T tōlmək, LK/MK tūlməx, P/NV/SV/LL tulməx, UL/Ss tūlməx id.; pOs {Ht.} *ʔalām- 'steal' > Os: V/O lalam-, Vy yalam-, Ty/Y ʔāʔam-, D/K totam-, Nz totam-, Kz ʔəʔam- id.; pOs {Ht.} *ʔalmək 'thief' > Os: Vy yalmaq, Y ʔāʔmaq, D/K totmaχ, NMz totmaχ, Kz ʔəʔmaχ, O lalmaχ id. || Sm {Jn.} *tālā-, {Hl.} *tale- v. 'steal' > Ne: T inf. тале-сь, T O {Lh.} tāl'ē-, F {Lh.} inf. tāʔʔje-ś; Ng {Cs.} 1s aor. obj. tole'ʔama; En {Cs.}: (1s aor. obj.) X taribo, B tarebo 'steal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} tēl+ id., tēl+t 'secretly', Slq Tm {KD} 1s aor. tūēl'ab_ 'steal'; ⇨ Sm augm. {Jn.} *tālbyr-, {Hl.} *talzr- 'steal' > Kms {KD} 1s pres. t'āyɜrám, Mt {Hl.} *tālzr- (Mt M {Sp.} телернымъ 'I steal') || pY {IN H} *oʔo- > Y K {IN H} oʔo-, {Iox.} oʔo- 'steal. {Iox.} 'oʔoʔ 'theft' ¶¶ UEW 430-1. Coll. 55. Sm. 540 (U. FU

*sǎlǎ-, FP *sala-, Ugr *sǎla-, Sm *tǎlä- 'steal'), Lr. no. 1175, Lgc. no. 7150, Lgc. SL no. 2255, Hs. 1266, SaR 331, Ber. no. 338, MRS 716-7, Ep. 152, Ht. no. 141, Jn. 150-1, Lh. 470, KKIИ 182, Hl. M no. 975, IN H 325, Ang. 194, ≈ Rd. UJ 43 [no. 51] (Y ← U), KD 470 || А *ǰal'i'- > NaT *jala 'false accusation' > OT {Cl.} jalā ≈ false accusation; (?) suspicion', MQP [CC] jala 'false accusation', Nog, VTt, Bsh jala, Qzq, Qq žala, Qrg žala 'slander', SbTt jala id. (in jala jabu 'to calumniate'), Alt {Rl., BT} žala n. 'fine (Strafgeld, Geldbuße)', Chv (← VTt?): Chv L юла, Chv Δ йола 'calumny кляуза'; NaT *jalʷan 'a lie; untruthful' > OT {Cl.} jalʷān id., 'a liar', MQP XIV jalʷan 'a lie', Tk ʷalan, Ggz, Az, Tkm, Qq jalan, Qzq Δ žalan, Kr, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jalʷan, Uz jalʷan, QBl, Qrg žalʷan, Qzq, Qq žalʷan id. ¶ Cl. 919, 926, ET J 87, 91-2, BT 44, Rl. III 154 and IV 36, Ash. IV 317, Fed. II 483. Jeg. 347, ChVS 291, TkR 811 || М *ǰali 'ruse, deceit' > WrM {MED} zalī, HIM {MED, BMR} заль 'ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit', WrO zalida- v. 'deceive, trick', zalidul 'cunning, ruse'; ⇨ WrM {MED} zalīqai, HIM {MED} залхай, зальхай, {BMR} зальхай 'treacherous, cunning', Brt зальхай 'lasterhaft, ausschweifend (распущенный, распутный), Ord žāliχā 'astucieux', WrO {Krg.} zalīχai 'crafty, wily', Kl {Rm.} zaíχā 'listig, hinterlistig', ? Ba zelu 'cunning, cute' ¶ MED 1031, BMR II 205-6, Chr. 248, KW 465, Ms. O 183, Krg. 659, T BJ 140 || Tg: [1] AmTg *jelen 'deceit, lie' > Ul žǰǰǰ(n-), Ork žǰǰǰ(n-), žǰǰǰ(n-), žǰǰǰ(n-), Nn Nh žǰǰǰ id.; Ul žǰǰǰǰi-, Ork žǰǰǰn-, žǰǰǰǰn-, Nn Nh žǰǰǰn- v. 'deceive, tell a lie'; Ul žǰǰǰǰ(m)bu, Ork žǰǰǰǰmǰǰǰu, Nn Nh žǰǰǰǰku, žǰǰǰǰri 'deceiver, liar'; [2] Tg *jelum n./adj./adv. 'secret(ly)' > Ewk, Neg jǰlum, Lm jǰlǰm id., Lm jǰlǰm-, Ork jǰlum- 'approach stealthily, steal in' ¶ STM I 28 ¶¶ SDM 1532-3 (pA *ǰela 'deceive' > M, Tg *jеле-/*jely- v. 'lie, deceive', T *Jala 'suspicion, false accusation; lie'), DQA no. 2590 (id.), KW 465 (A *ǰali; T *ǰalī- 'hide', M) ◇ IS MS 368 s.v. тайный *zalǰ (U, A).

2724. *ǰūhǰǰǰǰ (or *ǰūhǰǰǰǰE) 'smoulder, burn' (intr.); 'live coals' > HS: S *°√ zǰǰ 'burn (so.'s skin) with' (fire) > Ar √ zǰǰ 'brûler avec le feu (p. ex. le pied à quelqu'un)' ¶ Fr. II 249, BK I 1005, Hv. 293 || EC: Rn {PG} žǰǰǰǰ 'burning charcoal, glowing coal' (× N *ǰ'ǰ'ǰ'ǰ 'charcoal, soot') ¶ PG 167, Bl. 202, 215, Ss. PEC 22, 30 || К *°cχ'u'ǰ- > Sv L cχuǰ-, cχwǰ- v. 'singe, burn the surface of (опалить, обжечь)', msd. {TK}: UB/Ln li-cχwǰe, L li-cχwǰi id. ¶ TK 478, Dn. s.v. cχuǰ- ||

IE: NaIE *swel₁ə₁- vi. 'smoulder, burn' > OI {MW, M} 'svar- v. 'shine' || Gk εἴλη, ἔλη 'sun's heat/warmth', ἑλάνη 'torch of reeds', ἄλεα warmth, heat (of fire) || AS inf. swelan, OFrs inf. swela vi. 'to burn, be to burnt up', MLG inf. swelen > NLG inf. swēlen → NHG inf. schwelen 'to smoulder' || Lt inf. svĩlti / 1s pres. svĩlu vi. 'singe, burn without flame', Ltv inf. svĩlt (1s pres. svĩlstu, svĩlu, svĩlu) 'to burn, to singe, to glow' ¶ WP II 531-2, P 1045, EI 88 (*swel-'burn'), ≈ M K III 563 (does not distinguish this √ from IE *sehwel-'sun'), MW 1281, F I 458-9, Ho. 334, KM 692, Frn. 954 || **U** *sūže - *sūže 'charcoal' > F syysi (gen. syden), Es sūsi (gen. söe) id. | pLp {Lr.} *ć3δ3 id. > Lp: S tjirre, L tjatā, N {N} čâđđâ / -đ-, I čičđā id. | pMr {Ker.} *śed id. > Er, Mk cedь śed, Er Δ {Mu.} śäd | pChr {Ber.} *šüy id. > Chr: L шүй šüy, B, M šüy, Uf šü, H шү šü id. || ObU {Ht.} *sūđ 'charcoal' > pVg *sūli > Vg T sūli ≈ sūli; pOs *söy ({/HL.} *sūy) > Os V/Vy söy id. || Sm *šiyь ({Jn.} *siyь) 'live coal' (*sūže < as. U *sūže, unless the U etymon is already *sūže) > Ne F {Lh.} tu's śīy ~ tu's śēy id. (tu's 'fire'); En T {Adl.} sié 'pruna', En {Cs.} compd. tûsio 'coal'; Slq Tz {KKIH} sić† id.; Kms {Cs.} si? id.; Mt {HL.} *ki (or *kī, *kiyi?) 'live coal' (Mt T/K {MIL.}, T {Adl.} gi 'pruna') ¶¶ UEW 477-8, Coll. 59, It. no. 426, Sm. 540 (U *śüđi, FU, FP *śüđi, Ugr *süđi, Sm *sijə 'charcoal'), SK 1149, Lr. no. 99, Lgc. no. 437, Hs. 1322, Ker. II 139, Ber. II 72, MRS 742, Ep. 157, Ht. no. 563, MK 573, Jn. 140, KKI 170, Ptp. 45, Hl. M 79 (supposing that Sm *s- yields Mt k- preceding *e, i, and *ü), 276 [no. 479] || **A:** T *jula 'torch, lamp, a light' and M *žula id. (× N *žulā 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame' [q.v. ffd.]) ||] Possibly here also d.: T *jul'tur' ({Md.} *jūldur') 'star' (× N *žulā) || **D** *čul-/*čū- 'fireplace' > Tm cula₁ 'potter's kiln, furnace', cū₁ 'kiln, furnace, funeral pile', Ml cula 'potter's furnace', cū₁ 'brick kiln'; D → OI, Prkr cullī- 'fireplace' ¶ D no. 2709 ◇ U *-ž- goes back to N *-ly- (cf. Introduction, 2.1) ◇ The K vl. cnss. *cχ- (for the expected vd. *zγ- < N *ž...γ) may point to the presence of a lr. ≈ *h (that regularly disappears in S) ◇ ≈ IS MS 370 s.v. уголь *śulā (IE, U + *÷ D *čulā 'burn'), ≈ AD LZL 361-2 (*žulā, sc. AD [notation of AD ND] *žulā E 'smoulder, burn': U, A [T, M], HS [S, C] + *÷ D *čulā 'burn').

2725. ?σ *žAħU1V ≈ (calf of) leg', (?) 'bone of leg' > K *žwāl-, {K, K²} *žwāl- 'bone' (× N ?φ *śewān3V '€ bone'??) > OG žual-, G žual- id. Sv IR/IR/IR žižv id. ? Mσ → G Gr žiždν- 'robust man'

(← *'bony man') ¶¶ K 241, K² 291, GhI. 782, TK 888 || HS: SC: Kz {E} zulu-tiko 'calf of leg' ¶ E SC 353 || S *°z|δaḥā| > Gz {L} zaḥā| 'hind leg', Amh za|id. ¶ L G 634, DRS 714 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 6 || D *c̣allaṭ|ḥ- 'cloth for legs' > Tm, Ml callaṭ|am 'short drawers', Kt c̣alaṭ|m, c̣aṭ|m 'perineal cloth', Kn callaṇa, cal(a)ṇa, collana, coṭ|na 'drawers\breeches', Tu callaṇa, callaṭ|na, Tl callaṭ|damu 'short breeches'; D → OI calanaka- 'a short petticoat' ¶¶ D no. 2379 || ?σ A: Tg *jalan 'knee, elbow, joint (of a limb)' > Ewk Z jā|a 'elbow', Ewk, Neg jā|an, Orc, Ud, Ul žala(n-), Ork dala(n-), Nn žalā, WrMc {Z} чжала 'knee', чжаланы 'knee, joint (of a limb)', Ewk Sm † jā|an 'el', Lm jā|ъn 'joint of the knee' ¶ STM I 245-6, Z 964-5.

2726. *ǰiXIV ~ *ǰiIVXV 'to creep, to crawl' > HS: CS *✓zḥ| (~ *°✓z|χ) 'creep, slide' > BHb, JA [Trg.] ✓zḥ| v. 'creep, crawl', Sr 𐎠𐎡𐎣 zāḥ|l-ā 'locustae repentēs' (← acp. G 'crawling') Ar Δ ✓zḥ| {GB ← Lb.} 'gleiten', {Del.} 'sich verkriechen' ¶ GB 196, KB 256-7, KBR 267, Js. 390, Lv. T I 213, Br. 194, Lb. PD 428, DRS 714 || IE: NaIE *sel- (~ *tsel-?) v. 'creep, crawl' (× N *ǰiIV 'to slip, to slide') > OI 'tsarati 'creeps on, sneaks', tsaruḥ| 'a crawling animal', Av srvant- 'crawling' || Lt inf. selé|ti 'to creep, to tread noiselessly' || Arm unḡ|ḥ| soḡim (< *tsol-?) 'I glide, creep into, slip' || MDt, ME inf. slīken 'leise gleitend gehen, OHG inf. slīhhan ~ slīchan 'to crawl, to slink', NHG inf. schleichen 'to crawl, to creep' || ? OIr selige 'turtle' || ?? Al shlligē ~ shēlligē 'viper' (acc. to O xix, the change *s > Al sh [outside the intervocalic position after *ī, *ū] is irreg.) ¶ *t- in OI and pre-Arm may be a remnant of a px., e.g. *d- as a zero grade of the px. *ad- 'to' ¶ P 900, EI 141 (*(t)sel- 'sneak\crawl up on'), Hamp AIEW 145, M K I 540-1, Kb. 909, OsS 822, KM 655, Frn. 774, Vn. S 81-2, O 425 (treating Al shlligē as a tabooistic description from lig) ¶ The absence of traces of a lr. points to a metathetic variant *ǰiIVXV of the N etymon ¶ The meaning 'slip, slide, glide' may be due to the merger with N *ǰiIV '↑' || A *°ǰi|lâ- (= *°ǰi|lâ-?) 'creep' > T *jī|l- 'creep' > Qrg žī|l-, VTt Δ ž|b|l- 𐎠 j|b|l-, Uz žī|l-, StAlt žī|l-, Xk, Qzl čī|l-, Yk sī|l- id.; → T *jī|lān 'snake' > OT {Cl.} jī|lān, Tkm jī|lān, MU, XwT jī|lan, MQp, Chg jī|lan ~ ilan, Tk 𐎠jī|lan, Az илан jī|lan, Ggz, Kr, Qmq, Nog, SY jī|lan, VTt, Bsh j|b|lan, ET, Ln ilan, Uz ilan, QrB, Qrg žī|lan, Qzq, Qq žī|lan, StAlt žī|lan, Xk, Tv čī|lan, Chv ś|b|len,

Δ śīlen id.; the loss of the vowel length of *ī in T *jīlān (or in Tkm jīlān?) is still to be explained ¶ ET J 40-1, 277, TL 180, Cl. 930, Jeg. 210, Fed. II 106-7 ◇ IS MS 358 s.v. ползти *zīlḥ (IE, A, S + *÷ ? K *zirt̥ > Mg zirt̥- 'to slip'), Resh. NNE no. 14 (U, A).

2727. ₂ *ǰ̣∇LiKæ or *ǰ̣̇īīi Kæ 'to slip, to slide' > HS: S *^o✓zlg (or ??σ WS *✓zlg) > Ar زلج zalǧ- 'slippery place', ✓zlg 'courir légèrement et glisser à la surface du sol' (and ???σ Mhb, JA [Trg.] ✓zlg G 'drip, flow', Gz ✓zlg 'flow, trickle, drop'); cp. also Ar D {Lb.} v. ✓zhlq (pf. zaḥlaqa) 'slip (glisser)', Ar ✓zhlq TD (pf. tazahlaqa) v. 'slide/slip upon one's posteriors' (ḥ due to contamination with CS *✓zh1 'creep, slide', F s.v. N *ǰ̣̇īīX∇ ~ *ǰ̣̇īīX∇ 'to creep, to crawl') ¶ Lb. 1827, BK I 1003, Ln. 1220, Js. 401, L G 637, DRS 733 || IE: NaIE *sleig̃- 'slippery, smooth', v. 'stroke, rub (the surface of sth.)' > Sl *slъzъkъ 'slippery' > OCS слъзъкъ slъzъkъ, Slk slizký, P ślizki, Uk слизь'кий id., as well as (× *slizъkъ ← *slizъ 'slime') Slv slizak, Cz slizký, slzký, R Δ 'слизкий 'covered with slime, slippery'; possibly × N *sūl̄|žū(-kê) ~ *sīl̄|žī(-kê) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' in R 'слизь 'mucus, slime', Uk слиз, Slv slīz id., Blg 'слиза 'saliva' || ON slíkr 'Schleim auf der Fischhaut', Ic slíkur 'smooth', Gmc pp. *slihta 'geglättet' > Gt slaihts 'λεῖος, smooth', ON sléttir 'smooth, even', OHG slēht 'smooth, plain', MHG slēht straight, even, smooth', NHG schlicht 'smooth, plain' (and schlecht 'bad?'), AS sliht 'smooth, even' (> NE slight) || OIr fo-slig- 'frotter, enduire' || Gk λύζην {P} 'die Oberfläche streifend', {LS} 'just scraping \ grazing' (IE *sl- > Gk λ-) ¶ P 663-4, Fs. 437-8, Vr. 515, Ho. 299, Skeat 570 (et. of NE slight), Kb. 907, OsS 819-20, Lx. 197, KM 654-7, Vn. S 133, F II 121, Vs. III 671-2 || ?? A: Rm. EAS I 65-6 mentions M (WrM?) žilga, žilgai, žilgam, žilgag 'gleitend, glatt, fließend', but these words are absent in the standard dictionaries of M (those available to me) ◇ A cd. with N *ǰ̣̇īī∇ 'to slip, to slide' (q.v.)?

2728. *ǰ̣̇'A'í∇ (= *ǰ̣̇'A'íu|ü?) 'to be weak' > K: G vi-za1-ebi inf. 'be weakened' ¶ Chx. 2053, 2095 || HS: CS *zawl- 'cheap', *✓zwl 'be worthless, cheap' (or S *^ozawl- 'cheap', *^o✓zwl, if Mhb is borrowed from Aram) > JPA, JEA, Mhb זול zōl 'cheap', JA [Trg.] ✓zwl G (pf. זל זāl) 'be worthless, cheap', JEA זול זāl 'low price', SmA ✓zll G 'be unworthy'; KB mentions IA [Frh.] zwl or zl 'of little value

(geringschätzig)' (not confirmed by HJ) ¶ KB 256, Js. 386, Lv. I 522, Sl. 404, Tal 231-2 || ? Eg MKL zɜw 'weak' (a person), zɜw-ɜ 'weak of arm' (unless ← zɜw 'zerbrechen') ¶ EG III 419, Fk. 209 || А *ʒaíE ({DQA} *ʒěío) 'weak, quiet' > NaT *jaíI- ~ *jIíi- 'be lazy, emaciated, weak, quiet' > Qrg ʒašI-ɠ 'weak', 'lean' (of meat), ʒašI- 'become soft\weak', 'start going bad' (of meat), Yk sihiy- 'become tame' ¶ Rs. W 192, Jud. 241, JkR 362-3 || M *ʒalīqa- ≈ be lazy, tired, apathic' > MM [HI] ʒalīqai 'laziness', WrM {BMR} ʒalīqai 'negligent, lazy', HIM {MED} зал(ь)хай id., {BMR} залхай 'faul, nachlässig (нерадивый)', WrO {Krg.} ʒalīqai 'careless'; M *ʒalīqaɣuḥ, > WrM {MED} ʒalqadu, HIM {MED, BMR} залхуу 'lazy, idle', Brt залхуу 'faul, nachlässig (нерадивый)', Kl {KRS} залху 'lazy, lazy person', {Rm.} zaχū 'faul, träge, müde, apathisch', Dg {T} ʒalkō 'lazy person', {Mr.} ʒalekō 'lazy'; M *ʒalīqa- > WrM {MED} ʒalqa- 'get tired of, give up or break oneself of a habit', HIM залха- {MED} id., {BMR} 'sich etw. abgewöhnen, закаяться, avoid sth.', Dg {Mr.} ʒalekō-re- v. 'tire, get\be tired' (but WrM ʒalqa-, HIM залха- 'be afraid\frightened' is likely to go back to another √); M *ʒalīra- > MM [S] ʒalīra- 'vom Zorn ablassen', WrM {MED} ʒalīra- v. 'shirk, be lazy\nonchalant, rest from work', HIM залира- {MED} id., {BMR} 'уклоняться\отлынивать от дела, избегать дела', Brt залир- 'aufhören, приостанавливаться', Ord ʒalara- εφ. 'mourir' ¶ MED 1032, BMR II 205, Chr. 247, H 85, Ms. H 65, KW 465, KRS 239, T DgJ 142, Mr. D 175, Krg. 659, Ms. O 182 || Tg *jel- > Lm jēl- 'become quiet' (of a sound), Ewk jɜl- 'spend the night somewhere)', Neg jɜluw- 'verlorengehen, verschwinden', Nn Nh {STM} 'sich verirren (заблудиться)' ¶ STM I 283-4 || pJ {S} *dàs- > OJ jàsa-, J T ɣaseru 'be emaciated', OJ jàsɣu {S} 'quiet, easy', {Mr.} 'easy, cheap', J T/Kg ɣasú-, J K ɣásù- 'quiet, easy' ¶ S QJ no. 556, Mr. 844, Kenk. 2163, S AJ 135 (on pJ *d- > OJ j-) ¶¶ SDM 1553-4 (pA *ʒěío 'weak, quiet' > Tg, M *ʒalīqa- ≈ be lazy, T *jaíI 'be lazy', J), DQA no. 2591 (id.). ◇ CS *-w- and Eg -w suggest the presence of *-u|ü- in the N etymon (with metathesis in Semitic).

2728a. *ʒaHúí∇ 'light (lux), sunshine, sun' > IE *suHl- / *suHel- / *seHwel- / suHōl- ({M} *suḡ₂l- / *suḡ₂el- / *seḡ₂uel- / *suḡ₂ōl-) > NaIE {P} *saḡ₂wel- / *s(u)wel- / *s(u)wōl- / *sūl- 'sun' > Vd 'sɜvah (['sɜar) ~ 'suɜah (['suɜar) (gen. 'sūr-as, dat. sū'r-ē) 'sun, sunshine, splendour, bright sky', Av hɜarə 'sun' (gen. hūr-ō), MPrs χᵛar, NPrs

هور hūr, خور ~ خور χor, Oss I χūr, Oss D χor id.; personifying d. with
 *-ya-: OI sūr₂ya_h ('sūr-ya-s) 'sun, sun deity' ||| pGk {M} *hāwel- ⇨
 *hāwel-yo- > Gk Cr [Hs.] ἠέλιος, Gk D/Ae/Ar ἄελιος, Gk Hm ἠέλιος, Gk
 A ἠλιος 'sun' ||| L sōl 'sun' (< *su₂ōl-, {EI} < sa_ul- < *seh₂ul-) ||| Clt
 {Matas.} *sāwōl- ~ *sūli- 'sun' > MW heul, {Matas.} haul, W {YGM}
 haul, OCm [VC] heuul, MCm heul, hou₁, OBr {Flr.} hou₁, MBr
 heul, heuul, Br {Hm.} heol, Br V hi(a)ol 'sun', OCm [Υ] heuul
 'sol', MCm hou₁ 'sun'; as well as possibly OIr súil 'eye' ||| Gmc {Fs.}
 *sōwulā > Gt sauil, ON, Ic sól, AS sōl 'sun' ||| On BSI: IE {P}
 *sāwelyā, {Fm.} *sa_uliyā > Blt: Lt sáulė, Ltv saũle, Pru saule 'sun' ||
 Sl (× IE *su₂en-, / below) *sьlnь 'sun' in derived words: [1] Sl *po-
 sьlnь 'sun-wise (from the east to the west)' > R Δ 'посолюнь, SCr Cr Δ
 на оросун id., [2] Sl *°bez-sьlnь-нь > OCS БЕСЛЪНЬНЪ
 besl'ny'nъ 'without sun', [3] R Δ солно'пѣк 'full blaze of
 the sun', солново'рот 'solstice, Sonnenwende', [4] Sl *sьlnь-се 'sun'
 (originally dim.) > OCS СЛЪНЬЦЕ sl'ny'ce, Blg 'слънце, SCr
 sūnce, Slv sōnce, Cz slunce, Slk slnce, P słońce, R 'солнце,
 Uk, Blr 'сонце 'sun' ||| NaIE *swen-, *sun- 'sun' (< IE *suHen [{M}
 *su₂en-] < N ***3aHúí** + the N genitive pc. *nu [> IE marker of oblique
 cases in heteroclitic nouns]) > Av gen. x^v āng 'of the sun' (< *swen-s)
 (in {Brtl.} x^v āng.darəsa adj. 'den Anblick der [wie die] Sonne
 während') ||| Gt sunnō, ON, OSx, OHG sunna, NHG Sonne, AS
 sunna ~ sunne 'sun', NE sun || Glh. 594 mentions ; Lw si(h)wal-
 'sun', not confirmed by available sources (Lar., GI, etc), while Mlc. CL
 194 translates Lw si(h)wal- as 'stiletto' or sim. ← *'sharpness'; if there
 is a lr. in this Lw word (and if its reading and Glh.'s interpretation are
 right), it will suggest a strong lr. (*x) in pIE and a *X|Q in pN ¶¶ P 881-
 2, Ptrs. H 268 (IE heteroclitis: nom. *sāu-e₁, gen. *su-'n-es with
 unacceptable treatment of *-e₁ as a sx), EI 556 (*'seh₂ul- / gen. *sh₂'w-
 en-s 'sun'), M K III 496, 563, 566-7, M E II 793-4, WD II/2 938, BM 189,
 599, Horn 111, Vl. I 746 and II 1484-5, Ab. IV 246-8, WH II 553-4,
 Matas. E 324, YGM-1 281, Flr. 214, Hm. 378, F I 631, Fs. 412, 460, Vr.
 529, 561, Ho. 306, 330, Ho. S 72, Kb. 988, OsS 894, Schz. 275, KM
 716, Frn. 765-6, En. 243, Vs. III 340, 710-1, Glh. 594, Brtl. 1880 ||| **HS:**
 B *z₂h₁- ({{Pr.} *✓zh₁-) (= sg. *zah₁- / pl. *zih₁-?) 'sunshine, daylight,
 day' > Ah ahəl (pl. ehīlān), Ttq ahəl (pl. ehilan), Tns₁ ašəl (pl. išilan),
 Tw₁ {Pr.} azəl ~ ašəl ~ ažəl, Ty {Pr.} āzəl ~ āžəl, Gh azəl (pl. išilan)

'day', Kb azal (pl. izilan) 'clarté du jour; pleine chaleur', Sll azal ~ azäl 'daylight', Shnw azil 'le jour, plein soleil', Skn {Srn.} azél 'day', Si {La.} azal 'jour naturel, au jour' || Gnc P {Wlf.} zelóu 'sun' ¶ Pr. H no. 219, F 579, Dl. 941, La. MChB 181 [nt. 1, 3], Wlf. 588 ¶¶ The adduction of S *^o✓šχl (> Ar ✓šχl 'clarify a beverage') [AD NSAS 170] is too qu. (?σ); if it is accepted, the N etymon must be ***ǰaquí** || **A** *za_uí or *za_oí > T *ja_lç_u|- v. 'blaze, flame' > OT jaš_u- v. 'flash, shine', XwT/MQp {Cl.} j_iš_i- 'shine', Shor čaš- v. 'lighten', Chv L çиç - síś/ž₋ v. 'lighten, flash, shine'; ⇨ T *ja_lik > NaT *jaš_iik 'sun' > OT QU [MhK] jaš_iç 'sun', Chg XV jaš_iç id.; it is not clear if this word is identical with Osm, Tkm iš_iç, Tk i_çç, Az iš_iš 'bright, light, a light', MQp XIV iš_iç 'rays of light; light, brightness'; T *ja_lç_uIN 'lightning' > OT, XwT jaš_in, Chg ≥XV jaš_in ~ iš_in, MQp jaš_in ~ jāš_in, Qmq jaš_in, Uz jaš_in, Nog jaš_in, VTt, Bsh jāš_ьn, StAlt žāž_in, Sg čaz_in, Shor čaž_in, VTt {ðRI.} jaš_ьm, ET {RI.} jaš_im, Chv L çиçěм síž_ьm id., (?) Kr Cr ješ_im 'reflection of a distant lightning (seen in the sky) (зарница)' ¶ The rec. of *ç is based on Chv -ś/ž₋ (< *-lç- reg.); but if Chv -ś/ž₋ is here due to as., the pT rec. must be *jal-; even if the rec. of *-lç- is right, this *-l- may well result from ass. palatalization due to *ç; in both latter cases Chv çиçěм may belong to T *jal_in (< N ***ǰal** [or ***ǰal**ǰ] 'flame', q.v.) or result from a merger of both roots ¶ Rs. W 192, Cl. 977, 979, ET J 149-50, TL 22-3, 65-6, RI. III 247-8, Ash. XII 171-4, Fed. II 123, Jeg. 214, ChVS 186-7, Md. 104, 160 (***ǰal**ç_u 'блестеть') || Tg Ewk sulūn- 'flame' ¶ STM II 125 || pJ *sas- v. 'shine' > OJ, MJ sas- id., J T sas- {Kenk.} 'shine into\upon' ¶ S QJ no. 592, Kenk. 1584 ¶¶ SDM 1519-20 (pA *z_io_la 'shine; blaze' > T, Ko, J + unc. M *solon_{ga} 'rainbow'), DQA no. 2565, Md. 104 (qu. T *ja_lç_u ÷ M *nöl_ü'še 'flame' ÷ Tg nul- 'kindle') ◇ If the primary meaning in T is 'sun', that of pN is 'sun, sunshine, day'. But if in T the primary meaning is 'shine', we must suppose the same meaning in pN ◇ ≈ AD NSAS 169-70 (*z_aç_lLU; IE, B, T + *U *yeLa 'shine' and qu. S *^o✓šχl) → Glh. 594.

2729. *ǰax_ií || **A** (or *ǰax_ií || **A**?) 'wolf, dog' > HS: S: Ar za_lħab- 'wolf' (< N *ǰax_ií || **A** with the adjectival pc. ***bA** for animal names [q.v.]) ¶ BK I 1001 || EC: Af {PH} dālħu (pl. dalāħá) 'striped hyena', Sa {R} dāleħō (pl. dalāħ) "der Wolf" (= 'lycaon pictus?') ¶ PH 79, R S II 106 ¶¶ In HS there is metathesis and an obscure devoicing: *-çL- > *-lħ- || **K** *ǰax_i- 'dog' > OG, G zaç_i-, Mg žoç_or-, Lz žoç_o(r)-, Sv UB/Ln

žey (dat. žayw), L žey ¶¶ K 236, K² 283, FS K 429-30, FS E 484 (*žayl-), TK 684 || D *čāki|-, {ǰGS} *ž|žāy|l- 'ε dog' > Kn jāyila 'dog', Tu jāva|a nayı 'wolf-dog', Tlg jāgilamu 'hound, hunting dog' ¶¶ An interesting case of D {GS} *-y- from N *-r'χ'- (or *-y-?) ¶¶ D no. 2459, GS 159, 168 (on the reflexes of pD *-l-) ◇ K *y- (if it is from N *-h-) may be due to as. (*ž∇h- > *ž∇y-).

2730. *žāíX∇ (or *žāíH∇) 'dripping fluid' > IE: NaIE *sal_la_l- 'saliva, wet dirt' > L salīva 'saliva' || ScGl sal 'wet dirt, earwax', OIr saile 'saliva', W haliw id., 'spittle' (← L?), Br halo, hal id. || ?? Gk ὀλόγ (WH: < ὀλόγ?) 'dark liquor (the ink of the cuttle fish, blood)' ¶ × homonymous *sal-words of different origin ¶ ≈ WH II 468-9, ≠ P 879, ≈ Mn. 1110, F II 381, Vn. S 14, Hm. 368 || A: T *jāí 'tears' (× N *ńog'ä'ly,∇ 'slime, tears [?], moisture, fluid; raw', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Cl. 975-6, ET J 161-4 (both of them treat jaš 'fresh', jaš 'green', jaš 'tears', jaš 'year of one's life', etc. as one polysemous T word), DT 218, Jeg. 120-1 || Tg *jali- v. 'flow' (of saliva) > Ewk jali-; d. *jali-ksa 'saliva, slime' > Ewk jaliksa, Lm jalsъ, Orc diliksэ ~ duluksa 'saliva', Neg jalsa, Ud žale'hä, Ul žēlčusqa, žlavsqa, Ork jelusqa, Nn Nh žlvsqa 'saliva', 'slime (as on the skin of fish)'; *jali-ptun 'bib (protecting the baby's garments from saliva)' > Ewk jaliptun, Neg jalipun ¶ STM I 246 || ? M: WrM {Cev.} žalqa 'phlegm', HIM {BMR}, Brт залхаг 'mucus, slime' ¶ Cev. 263, BMR IV 206, Luv. 190, Chr. 248 ¶¶ SDM 1527 (pA *žā|∇ 'saliva' > Tg *jali- 'spittle, saliva', v. 'wet with spittle, take into mouth', M *žalqa- 'phlegm' + unc. T *jālgā- 'lick' and M *žalgi -v. 'swallow'), ≈ DQA no. 2586 (A *žālu 'saliva'; incl. M, Tg) || D *čā|∇ ({ǰGS} *ž|ž-) 'slime, mucus' > Tm calī 'catarrh, mucus blown out of the nose, phlegm', Ml calī 'mucus, semen', Tl jalubu, Gdb žalbu 'a cold, catarrh, influenza' ¶¶ D no. 2409 || ? HS: WS *✓zlh > MHb {Js.} חֲלִי 'zelaḥ 'sprinkling fluid, perfume', MHb ✓zlh v. G 'drip, wet', JA [Trg.] ✓zlh v. G id., 'sprinkle', JEA ✓zlh D 'sprinkle', Sr ✓zlh v. G 'pour out, sprinkle, bedew', Md zh²l pf. 'sparsit', Ar D {L from unk. source} mezelaḥ 'vessel for drawing water', Gz ✓zlh v. G or D 'drain out, draw\empty all the liquid from a vessel, wring out a wet garment' ¶ Js. 401, Sl. 414, Br. 197-8, JPS 116, L G 637 || WCh: Mpn {Frz.} zēl 'saliva' ¶ Frz. DM 69 ◇ The T long vw. points to the presence of a N lr. (following N *-í- rather than preceding it, otherwise we would have expected a long vw. in IE [and D?]). If the S cognate is rejected (for

unsufficient semantic proximity), one remains with N unspecified cnss. *З- and *Н ◇ AD GD 7, ≈ IS MS 365 s.v. слизьъ *z a/1/∧ (IE, Tg, D).

2731. ?σ *зom∇ 'spice, sth. spicy, spicy food' > K {K²} *žm(u)-, {FS} *žum- 'salt' > Mg žimū id. (d. žimol- v. 'salt'), Lz (n)žumu, Sv: UB/LB/L žim (LB gen. žīm-am) 'salt'; ⇨ K *žmar- 'vinegar' > OG žmar-i id., Mg žumor-i, Lz žumo(r)-, nžumor-, Sv žimar id. ¶¶ K 239-40, K 289-90, FS K 437, FS E 493-4, Dt. ASK I 51, Chik. 23, Chx. 2081, Q 376, 416, TK 888, GP 313 || D *čomm-, {ǵGS} *ž|žomm- ≈ 'spicy food', 'soup' (< 'spicy soup?') > Gnd M/B {Tr., Ph.} žammō 'curry, meat soup', Klm žomma 'broth' ¶¶ D no. 2851, BB CVG no. 1394 || HS: B *°✓ zmm > Tmz azammum 'orge encore légèrement verte qu'on moissonne pour le griller et piler, sert à confectionner le bendeq (pâte faite du blé grillé)' ¶ MT 807 || ? Eg smyn (< *zmyr?) 'soda (Natron)' ¶ Mks. II no. 78.3538.

2732. *зæm₁?∇ (or *žæm₁?∇?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' > HS: WS (or CS) ✓ zmm > Ar ✓ zmm G {Ln.} 'tie, bind, fasten', Sr ✓ zmm G (pf. zam) 'tie\train a tree, tie a vine', zamā'm-ā 'tie of a vine', Gz ✓ zmm G (pf. zamama, js. yəzmaṃ) 'tie with a cord the lower jaw of a horse\mule', zamām 'nose rope of an animal, halter, muzzle of a wooven cord' ({Nld.}: ← Aram/Sr) ¶ Ln. 1248-9, BK I 1008, JPS 117, L G 638, Nld. NB 41, DRS 748-9 || Eg fP zmṣ 'unite; be united with, join' ¶ EG III 446, Fk. 225 || ?σ K {K} *žma-, {FS} *žam- 'brother' > OG žma-y, G žma id., žama, žam-ō id. (used as vocative), žam-ia, žam-ik-ō 'brother' (dim., used as vocative), G P žam-ula 'brother' (dim.), Mg žima, Lz žuma 'brother', Sv: UB žam-il, LB žim-il, L/Ln žumil 'brother (in relation to a sister)' ¶ K 239-40, K² 288-9, FS K 428-9, FS E 483, Chx. 2056, 2080, TK 890 || IE: NaIE *som-/*sm̥- 'together, with' (× N *sīm∇ 'name, the same [→ IE 'one'] [q.v.]) > OI sa-'ha, (in cds) sadha- 'together, jointly, with', Av hadā, haḍa, OPrs hadā id. (< N *žæm₁?∇ da [*da 'in' < N *d₁oy₁a 'place, inside']); OI 'sam- 'together', Av ham-, han-, hən-, haṃ-, OPrs ha(m)- 'with, together' || Lt sam-, sa- px. 'together' (sam̃das, sam-dā 'hire, rent' [*som- + *d^hē- 'put'], sam-buvis 'coexistence', sa-junga 'union, alliance'), Ltv so- [sūō-] px. 'together' (sō-wardis 'Namensvetter' [vārd-s 'name']), Pru sen prep. 'with, together', san- (in sanday 'go away!' ← *'with god') || Sl *so- px. 'together', e. g. *so-sěd-ъ 'neighbour' (lit. 'Mit-wohn-er') > OCS cъcѣдъ sośědъ, Blg cъ'ced,

SCr cýced [♠] sùsjed, cýced [♠] súsjed, Slv sósed, Cz soused, P s̄asiad, R co'ced, R Δ, Blr cy'ced, Uk cy'ci d id.] ? BSI *su 'with' (here unless from IE *ksu₁n₁, cp. Gk ξύν, σύν 'with') > Lt sù 'with', Sl *sъ (+ instr.) 'with' > OCS, OR сѣ сѣ, Blg c / сѣ, SCr с / са, Slv с / z, Cz с / se, R с / со, Uk, Blr з] OI 's mat 'together, jointly', Av mat̄ 'together, with' ||| Gk ἄ- / dis. ἄ- (α copulativum, px. of union\likeness), ἄμα prep. 'together with, at the same time with' (× IE *sem- 'one') ¶ P 902-5, EI 646 (*som- '[together] with'), M K III 450, 548, M E II 779-80, Frn. 753-4, 935-6, En. 242, 246, En. APG 152-3, Vs. III 539-40, 736, F I 1, 83, Ch. 2, 68-9 || **A**: NaT *jä|emä|e ({Cl.} *jä m̄ä) 'and; also, too' > OT {Cl.} jä m̄ä id., XwT XIV j∇mä ({Cl.} y.me:) 'and', MQp XIV [CC] jemese (Rs.: < *jĒmä-ärsä) 'or also' ¶ Cl. 934, ≈ Rs. W 196, ≈ Rl. III 388-9 ◇ If the K √ belongs here, the N initial cns. is ***з**-, otherwise it is ***з|з**- (= ***з'**-).

2733. *з'iw∇m₁∇₁gE 'leopard' or 'lion' > IE: NaIE *sing^ho- 'leopard' or 'lion' > Arm **իւճ** inž (gen. pl. **ընճուց** anžu-c^h) ~ **իւժ** inc 'leopard' ||| OI sim^hha-h 'lion', Pali, Prkr sīha- id. ¶ WP II 508, Mn. 158, EI 350 (?? *sin^hos- 'leopard'), 356, Tu. no. 13384, Hü. I 450, Ach. II 243, Sl. 420-1, M K III 463, M E II 727-8 (no et. of OI sim^hha-h) ||| **HS**: EC: HEC *zagum 'leopard' (metathesis *-mg- > *-g∇m-) > Tmbr {L} zegu¹ma, Sd dagūn-čō id. | Ya {Hn.} suŋqai (pl. suŋqaimo¹) 'lion' ¶ L Z 120, Hd. 91, Hn. Y II 129 || Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} ž'f'g'ž'f'yu, Bd ʔž-zg-ēn 'lion' | Hs zākī, Gw žák¹id id. ||| CCh: pMrg *zih∇y > Cb {ChL} zuŋzy, WMrg {ChL} ž¹ŋzy, ? Br {ChL} c+ŋi, ? Ngx {ChL} ciŋi id. | Lgn {Lk.} z'v'zni id. | Db {Lnh.} nžágàw id. | Ms {Mou.} zímí, ? {J} šônà, ? Bnn {ChL} žónà, ? BnnM {ChL} šona id. ||| Ech: Mkl {J} sùw wú, Kwn {ChC} sèmkí, sémgí id. ¶¶ ≈ Sk. HCD 295, ChC, ChL, Sch. DN ||| **D** *čiv∇ŋki 'leopard' and sim. (× N *č'ib∇y∇ or *č'ib∇f∇ 'hyena' and N *šib∇f∇ 'beast of prey') > Tm civiŋki 'Indian lynx, hunting leopard', Ml civiŋni 'hunting leopard', Kn sivarŋgi 'tiger wolf, hyena', Tl civāgi, civvāgi, civvaŋgi, sivāgi, sivarhi, sivvaŋgi 'hyena' ¶¶ D no. 2579 ||| ?σ **A**: ?σ,φ AmTg *yenggu > Ul yzŋgul(i) 'wolf, racoon-like dog', Nn Nh/KU yzŋgur, Nn B yzŋguru 'wolf', ?φ: Orc níŋgu, Ud níŋu id. (× N *Lü|uŋ'gæ?'∇ 'ε beast of prey') ¶ STM I 498, 639, 650, SDM 887 (pTg *íeng∇ with *í- based on Orc liŋgapu 'wolverine', which hardly belongs here and may go back to N *Lü|uŋ'gæ?'∇) ||| M: WrM {SDM, BMR}

ziŋger, HIM {BMR} жингэр 'bitch, female wolf' ¶ SDM 887 BMR 176, Luv. 180, Cev. 247 ¶¶ ≠ SDM 887 (pA *íeŋg∇ '∈ predator' > HIM, Tg [with unj. *í-), ≠ DQA no. 1200 (id.) ◇ In IE, pMrg, and D there is as. *-mg- > *-ŋg- ◇ AD NM no. 4 (*Siw∇ŋgE 'leopard'), S CNM 5 (suggested to adduce T *jebken [sc. *je|äbken] 'wolverine', that in my opinion is likely to belong to N *ǰæʔ∇b∇ '∈ beast of prey', q.v.; ÷ ÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 17 (doubts about the semantic changes in Tg).

2734. *ǰamakaʔ∇ 'to throw, to cast' > HS: CS ✓ znk 'throw' > Sr ✓ znk G 'throw', BHb ✓ znk D h.l. 'spring out, hervorspringen', MHb ✓ znk D {Js.} 'squirt, sputter, reject wih force', Sh (pf. ǰ'ǰ'ǰ'ǰ' hi z'nī k) vt. 'drop, pour' ¶ Br. 201, KB 265, Js. 407, DRS 765 || ? Ch: Msg {Trn.} ŝ∇n∇k∇ 'throw' ¶ ChC || IE: NaIE {WP} *sma(:)g- 'throw, (→) strike' > Lt Δ 1s pres. smag-i ũ / inf. smōg-ti (Δ) 'throw (sth. heavy)', (StLt and Δ) 'fling, beat, whip', Lt Δ smōgis 'heftiger Wurf, Schlag' || Sl inf. *smaga-ti 'to strike, to flog' > P inf. smagać 'to whip, to flog', R Δ inf. сма'гать, Uk inf. смаг'нути, сма'гати 'to strike, to flog' || Sw inf. smäcka 'heftig niederwerfen', {Hlq.} 'slänga (to fling)', NGr Δ inf. schmacken 'to cast, to fling away', MLG inf. smacken, Dt inf. smakken 'to throw, to fling, to slap, to smack', NE (← MLG or MDT) smack v. 'strike heartily \ noisily' ¶ WP II 682, Mn. 1221, Tr. 270, Mikl. E 309, Frn. 848, DLKZ 746, PiesS 662, Vs. III 683, Hlq. 1006-7, Vr. N 655, HDEL 1219 || R: M *ǰaŋgu- > WrM ǰaŋgu- vt. {MED} 'cast, throw; direct to', HIM {BMR} занга- 'throw; wave one's hands, 'raise one's hand (in order to strike), threaten, Kl {KRS} заҥһ- заҥуь- id., Kl Ö {Rm.} ǰaŋgα- 'drohen, bedrohen, zu werfen drohen', Brt занга- ǰaŋga- 'raise one's hand (in order to strike), swing (e.g., one's arms)' ('замахиваться, размахивать'); ('raise one's hand' → 'threaten'): WrM {MED} ǰaŋga-, HIM {MED} занга- id., WrO ǰaŋgα- 'threaten, menace' ¶ MED 1035, Gl. III 427, BMR II 209, Chr. 249, Krg. 655, KRS 241, KW 467 ◇ As. *mk > *ŋk (> S *nk) and *mk > M *-ŋg.

2735. *ǰen∇ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'sheaf of corn') > K: OG, G ǰna 'sheaf of corn' ¶ Chx. 2082, DCh. 1621 || IE: NaIE {WP} *songʰo/ā- or *sonko- 'sheaf of corn, straw, chaff' (× N *ǰ'āŋka ≈ bough, inedible or less valuable parts of plants [straw, rind of fruit]?) > Arm nл'нq unğ (gen. ǰнqнj aŋğoy) 'chaff, straw; grain, corn; legume' || MHG, MLG sange 'sheaf of corn, manipulus', eNHG, NGr Δ Sange, Sangel, NE Δ sangle 'sheaf of corn', NLG † sangeln

'kleine Büsche mit Erdfrüchten' || Gk ἄχυρα pl. 'chaff, husks, bran' ¶ WP II 510, OsS 743, Lx. 176, Paul 493, F I 203-4 || D *čēn- / *čenn- ({GS} *ś-) 'ear of corn' > Tm ēn̄l, Tl ennu, vennu, ?ϕ Knd ser̄en (pl. ser̄eku), Gnd KM en id., Gnd śen ɖ han id. ɖ san 'head of jowar' ɖ senk pl. 'corn', Klm, Prj čen 'head of paddy', Nkr śen 'head of jowar', Gdb čennu ɖ sen 'ear of corn or paddy', Krx hessu čannu 'head of rice', Mlt čanu 'pod' ¶¶ D no. 2798.

2736. *ǰE|aṅ∇ 'to burn' (intr.), 'live coal (embers), fire' > HS: Eg P z n z n. t 'Feuersbrunst' ¶ EG III 461 || S *o✓ znd 'strike fire' > Ar ✓ znd G 'faire jaillir le feu (à l'aide d'un zand-)', zand- 'briquet consistant en deux morceaux d'une espèce du bois qui frottés l'un contre l'autre donnent le feu' (↳ Amh {DRS} zand [zənd?] id. [?] [{DRS} 'briquet fait de deux bâtons']) ¶ BK I 1016, DRS 759 || B: Zww {Ds.} zizən- 'get warm\heated', Kb {DI.} zizuzən id. (secondary emphatization), Zng {TC} oʔžuzun, {MH→ Nic.} o-zzur 'fire' ¶ Ds. IVB 257, AiM 260, TC D 3, TC Z 306 (oʔžuzun) || ? WCh: Krf žinžinji 'charcoal' ¶ JI II 66 ¶¶ Tk. I 128 (Eg, B, Ch) || A *žan∇ 'burn; ashes, [live] coal': T *jan- vi. 'burn, blaze up' > Tk ɣan-, Tkm, Az, Kr, Nog, ET jan-, Qq žan-, Qrg žan- id., Ggz, CrTt, Qmq, VTt, Bsh, Ln jan-, Uz jan-, Qzq žan-, Chv L ɸyH-, Chv Δ ɸOH- vi. 'burn'; ↳ T *jandir- vt. 'burn' > Az, VTt, Nog žandir-, Chv {Ash.} ɸyHTap ɖ ɸOHtap id. ¶ Cl. 942, 947-8, Rs. W 184, ET J 112-3, Ash. XII 239-43, Fed. II 136, Jeg. 218, ChVS 189-90 || Tg *ja:;n- ({SDM} *jian-) 'flame' > Ewk PT/Ald/Z/Np/Uc jānɳ-, Ewk Nr/Skh v. 'blaze', Ud žaŋa 'live coal', ? Ewk Sm yandřa, ? Ewk Np yanda 'ceremoinal fire', ? Nn B yaŋgora v. 'kindle, stoke (a hearth)', WrMc {Z} янгань 'torch (made of branches of resiniferous trees)' ¶ STM I 249, 341-2, Krm. 231, Z 179 || pKo {S} *č'ǰ 'ashes' > MKo č'ǰ, NKo čä, Ko Δ: Chs čäL, PhN/Hm čä, Ks čê, Chj ɸä, Kw Lɸä ¶ S QK no. 2, Nam 418, MLC 1409 || pJ {S} *dànì 'tar, pitch' > OJ yànì, J: T/Kg yaní, K yánì ¶ S QJ no. 186, Mr. 573 ¶¶ S AJ 287, SDM97 (A *žäna), SDM 1539-40 (*žjàjnà 'to burn; ashes; tar' > Tg *jian-, T, pJ), DQA no. 2603 (id.) || U: FU *ś|š̄in|ñe ({UEW} *śine) 'charcoal' > Lp N {N} čidnâ / -n- id. || Hg szén (accus. szenet) 'coal', Hg Δ szén 'fire, live coal' ¶ UEW 480, Sm. 549 (FU, Fp *śiini, Ugr *sinĩ 'charcoal').

2737. ₂ *ǰ∇ṅ∇ 'image, sign' > HS: Eg fMKL z n n 'statue, sculptural \ pictorial image; image, figure; likeness', ? fMK z n n 'official document,

written list, and sim.' ¶ EG III 46O, Fk. 232 || IE: Ht *sena-* ~ *sina* 'figure, doll, effigy (Ersatzbild)' ¶ Ts. W 74-5.

2738. ₂ ***зЕћN∇** 'lie down, sleep' > K: GZ ***ǰin-** 'lie, sleep', ***ǰil-** (< ****ǰin-l-**) n. 'sleep' > OG, G **ǰin-** v. 'sleep, fall asleep', **ǰil-in.** 'sleep', Lz **ǰir-i id.**, **o-nǰir-u** 'go to bed, fall asleep', **o-ǰin-u** 'lie down (sich hinlegen)', {Marr} **ǰin-** 'lie down, lean (ложиться, прислониться)', Mg **ǰir-**, **nǰir-** v. 'lie, sleep', **v-o-nǰir-u-an-k** 'I go to sleep', Lz **o-nǰir-e**, Mg **o-nǰir-al-i** 'bed' ¶ K 238, K² 287, FS K 434, FS E 489-90, Marr 236-7 || HS: WS ***✓zħn** > Gz **✓zħn** G 'be tranquil \ quiet \ calm, repose', Ar **✓zħn** G 'be slow, dilatory (in doing sth.)' ¶ L G 634, Fr. II 229, BK I 98O, Hv. 285, DRS 716 || NrOm: Zl {C} **zand-**, Wl {C} **zin?** 'lie (giacere), sleep', {Bnd.} **zħn?**, Dc {Bnd.}, Gm {Hw.} **zin?**, Drz {Bnd.} **zina?** 'sleep' ¶ Blz. OL no. 218 (NrOm ***zin-/zan-** v. 'sleep'), Hw. EG, C SO 36, 45 || Ch: WCh: Pr {ChL} **ǰingénò** 'lie down', Dr {J} **ǰówàn** 'dream' || CCh: ?? Tr {Nw.} **ǰine** n. 'dream' (unless from HS ***s∇n** with the reg. Tr voicing of cnss.), Pdl {ChL} **ǰèni** v. 'sleep', **ǰina** v. 'dream' || BB: Bcm {Sk. in ChC} **ǰírò** v. 'dream', **ǰirité** n. 'dream', Mln {ChL} **zùrítí** n. 'dream' || FIM {ChL} **zunuft** 'lie down' ¶ JI II 108, ChC, ChL, Nw. WLT no-s 312 and 458 || ?φ EC: Af {PH} **ḍīne** 'sleep, spend the night', Sa/Af {R} **ḍīn-** ~ **ḍīr-** v. 'sleep', Sa {Bnd.} **ḍīne** 'sleep', {R} **ḍīn** ~ (rare) **ḍīr** n. 'sleep' (only if Af/Sa **ḍ-** may go back to EC ***z-**) ¶ PH 92, R A II 839, R S II 126 ◇ Blz. KM 123-4 [no. 30] (K, EC, Om, Ch), ≠ AD NSAS 167 (adduced HS ***s∇n-**, **✓wsn** 'sleep, dream', cp. N ?σ ***s'ü'N∇** [= ***s'ü'η∇?**] 'breathe, take a rest, be calm' and N ***śi|üñ'û** 'sleep, dream' [see s.v. N ***śi|üñî(-k∇)** 'dark, night']).

2739. (₂?) ***зûw∇N∇** (= ***зûw∇'ń|ñ'∇?**) 'to copulate', (?) 'membrum virile' > HS: WS ***✓zny** v. 'fornicate' > BHb **הַנְּתָן** **✓zny|w** G id., JA **✓zny|w** G 'commit fornication, become involved with another man' (of a wife, betrothed girl), Sr **✓znw|y** G (pf. **לָזַן** **ze'rñā**) 'commit whoredom', SmA **✓zny** G (pf. **zñh**), Ar **زنى** **✓zny** G 'commit adultery \ fornication', Mh **✓zny** id., Hrs, Jb E/C, Gz {L} **✓zny** 'fornicate', Gz **zñyat**, **zñēt** 'fornication, sperm', BHb prtc. **הַנְּתָן** ~ **הַנְּתָן** **zō'nā** 'whore, fornicatrix', NNEA {Mcl.} **zānītā** 'fornicatrix, prostitute', Plm **zñyt?** 'whore, harlot'; Mn **tñnt** 'fornication', and Ug **ḍñt** 'lujuria, fornicación' (with WS ***δ-**) may be explained (after MiK) by the infl. of WS ***✓δmm** 'blame, reprove; dispise, disgrace' (< N ?σ ***ǰEm∇** 'way

[??]' → 'manner of behaviour' → 'blame, fault' [q.v.]) ¶ KB 263-4, KBR 275, Tal 234-5, Lv. I 545-6, Lv. T I 225, ≈ Js. 406, JPS 118, Mcl. 88, BK I 1018, Hv. 298, L ESAC 19, L G 642, Jo. M 468, Jo. H 149, Jo. J 149, DRS 760, MiK I no. 2.84 || K *ǰuwan-/*ǰuwn- v. 'copulate, get pregnant, be in heat' (of animals) > G ǰuwn- 'be in heat' (animals), {Chx.} m-ǰun-a-ob-a 'Läufigkeit, Brunst', {DCh.} 'heat (of animals), mating', MG {SSO}, G {DCh.} m-ǰuwn-ob-a 'copulating' (of dogs and wild beasts of prey), {Chx., DCh.} m-ǰun-av-i adj. 'in heat (läufig, brünstig)', Mg ǰun-, ǰud-/ǰvid-, Lz ǰund- v. 'kiss', Sv {FS} ǰuwan~ǰwan-/ǰuwn-: li-ǰwan-ā1 msd. 'copulate' (of cats, dogs, wolves, bears) ¶ K² 291, FS K 437, FS E 493, Chx. 877, DCh. 927, GP 191 || ?σ D *c̣un̄n̄- (/ *c̣un̄t̄-?) ({GS} *c|ć-) > Tm, Ml cun̄n̄i, Kn tun̄n̄i, tun̄n̄e, Krx c̣on̄d̄ō 'membrum virile' ¶¶ D no. 2666.

2740. *ǰ|ć|χ|ϕ̄n̄ ∇ '€ ungulate' > K *°c|ćχen- 'horse' > OG, G cχen-i id. ¶ Srj. 254, DCh. 1605-6, Chx. 2041, KEGL VIII 681 || U: FU *°c̣|̄r̄|̄n̄ ∇ > OHg ≥XIII c̣s̄īn̄a 'foal' (? × N *ǰ'a'ń₁∇₁g|kU '€ antelope' [q.v.]) ¶ EWU 212-3 || D *c̣|̄īn̄|m̄k- ({θ GS} *ǰ|̄z-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N *ǰ'a'ń₁∇₁g|kU '€ antelope?') > Kn ǰīn̄k̄e, Tu ǰīn̄k̄æ, Tl ǰīn̄k̄a 'antelope', Kn Bl ǰim̄k̄e 'deer' ¶¶ D no. 2504 ¶ The element *-k- ~ *-mk- is likely to go back to a sx or to a component of a cd.

2741. *ǰ ∇ n̄h ∇ ≈ 'to acquire, to obtain, to increase' > K: GZ *ǰen-/*ǰin- 'add, be added, acquire' (× N *ǰEηq ∇ 'seek, try to obtain') > OG ǰen-/ǰin- 'acquire, gain', G ǰin-/ǰen- {Chx.} 'erwerben, anschaffen', {Kl.} 'add, increase', Mg ǰin- v. id., 'acquire', Lz (n)ǰin- 'add, be added. increase, be increased' ¶ K 235, K² 279, FS K 422, FS E 476 (*ǰen-/*ǰin-), Q 374-5, Chik. 389, Chx. 2065 || HS: Eg XXII zrn̄.ω 'kaufen, an sich bringen' ¶ EG III 461 || IE *sen̄x̄- ≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} s̄an̄h- 'seek, try, strive for; require' || NaIE *se|an̄ə-, *se|an̄u- ≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' (× N *ǰ̄n̄₁∇₁r̄ ∇ 'make, build' × N *ǰoηX ∇ 'want, wish' × N *ǰEηq ∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ?σ D *c̣ēn̄a 'much, many' > Knd s̄ēna 'much', Png h̄eni 'many', ? modern Tl {Km.} s̄āna 'a lot' ¶¶ D no. 2824 ◇ N *h̄ is the only lr. that yields h̄ in Ht and is lost in K (and may be lost in the HS lgs.). If the Ht cognate is rejected, the N rec. will be *ǰ ∇ n̄₁h̄₂ ∇. If D *c̣ēn̄a belongs here, the N nasal is *n̄, otherwise we remain with a less specified *n̄ (sc. N *n̄|̄n̄).

2741 a. Ll. o ***źüńź**∇ (~ ***źüźA**?) 'teat, female breast' > **HS**: S Ll. o ***zīz-** id. > BHb ʔʔzīz 'nipple, full breast', ? Ug {A} z d 'female breast' (× N ***čæd**,∇, y∇ 'female breast'), Ar AT {Dz.} زينة zīz-at- 'female breast, teat', Ak NA zīz u 'teat' ¶ KB 268, A no. 321, BK I 1032, Dz. I 619, Sd. 1532, CAD XXI 149, MiK I no. 1.295 || Ll. **K**: GZ {K} ***zuzu** 'female breast' > OG, G zuzu-i, Mg zuzu- id. ¶ K 235, K² 281; FS K 427 and FS E 481 (*zū-) || **U**: FU {Coll.} ***ćüńćä** (< ***ćüńća**) 'female breast' > pLp {Lr.} ***ćíńćē** id. > Lp: S tjiddjie, Ll. tjid'tjē, N čič'žē, Klt čič'ž' id. | Chr L чызе čzze 'female breast, nipple, teat' || Hg szũgũ 'breast of animals'; Ll. c s ě c s 'mamma' (with phonetic transformation due to the tendencies of Lallwörter) | ObU {Ht.}: Vg (partially in cds): T śüśaw, LK/MK śös, śōś, P śís, NV śüśa, SV/LL śüs, UL śís, Ss śís, šuš 'nipple, teat'; Os {Ht.}: V/Vy/Ty/Y řúř, Nz śüşa, Kz śüş' 'nipple' ¶ Db. OS xxxi (FU ***ćīćä**), Coll. 75, Coll. CG 402, 410 (FU ***ćüńć**∇), Lr. no. 139, Lgc. no. 568, MRS 683, MF 113-4, LG 311, Ht. no. 824 || ?ϕ **A**: Tg ***jadan** (~ ***jajan**) 'udder, female breast' > Ewk jadan, Lm jɔjin ɔ jajan 'udder', Neg joyan, Ork dadaqta 'female breast' ¶ The vw. *a of the first syll. is puzzling (as. from ****źüźa** in a Lallwort?) ¶ STM I 242 ◊ FU ***ćüńćä** suggests the rec. of N ***źüńźA**. The length of *i in S may be due to the loss of *ń. If the N etymon is ***źüńźA**, the loss of *ń and other irregularities may be due to the phonetic tendency of nursery words to the C∇C∇-structure (whence K ***zuzu**, pre-ObU ***ćUćU**, Hg c s ě c s, S ***zīz-**).

2742. ***ź'a'ń**,∇, g|kU 'e antelope' > **HS**: B ***z∇nk∇d**- > Ah {Fc.} tihankād, Twl {Pr.} azankād ɔ ažankād ɔ tašankat, Ty {Pr.} azankād, ETwl/Ty {GhA} azankād (as. ***z...d** > **z...d**) 'gazelle' ¶ Fc. 679, Pr. H no. 319, GhA 222 || Ch: WCh: Hs zánkē 'duiker antelope' | Ang {Flk.} zung 'e antelope' (Hs kanki) | Sir zɔŋgɔri 'e a big antelope' ¶ Stl. ZCh 191 [no. 418] || ?? C: Ag ***č'a'ng∇n-** > Bln {R} šə'n'gī'nā 'Antilope strepsiceros (female)', Xm {R} s a j e 'nā id. ¶ R WB 326 ¶¶ ≈ Tk. PAA 11 (Ang ÷ B ***č'zmm** 'Antilope oryx') || **A**: M: WrM {Kow.} zangu-tai, {MED} zanguudai 'young antelope or elk' ¶ Kow. 2240, MED 1035 || **U**: FU ***ćoń**∇ 'male or young ungulate' > F sonni 'bull, bullock', Es sōnn 'bull, female foal, ram', Lv sonn 'ram' | Prm {LG} čāń 'foal' > Z чань čāń, Vt чуньы čuń' id. || ?? OHg ≥XIII c s i n a 'foal' (× N ***ź|ć|ix|yñ**∇ 'e ungulate' [q.v.]) ¶ UEW 614, It. no. 121, LG 301,

EWU 212-3 || D *c̥iŋ|mk- ({{GS}} *ʒ|ʒ-) 'antelope', (?) 'deer' (× N *ʒ|c̥iχ|yñ∇ '↑') > Kn ʒiŋke, Tu ʒiŋkæ, Tl ʒiŋka 'antelope', Kn Bl ʒimke 'deer' ¶¶ D no. 2504 ◇ FU *o for the expected *a may be due to the infl. of the N word-final *U (> M *-u). The absence (loss?) of the FU reflex of N *-g|k- still needs investigaring. D *i belongs to the heritage of N *ʒ|c̥iχ|yñ∇ ◇ Cp. Blz. DA 157 [no. 54] (B, WCh, D).

2743. o *ʒiŋo 'sing, produce (musical, ritual?) sounds by voice' > K *oz|ʒen- > G P zen- 'sing' ¶ Chx. 401 || HS: CCh: Msg {Trn.} żṅ ({{Trn.} żṅ) 'sing' || ? WS (or SS?) *✓zy m (prm. *-zīm-?) > Gz ✓zy m G (pf. H̄ ʒēma) 'produce a tune, sing', H̄ ʒēmā 'harmony, melody, song, liturgical chant', Ar Mgr {Cln.} pf. zām [zam] 'mugir', 'grogner' (sanglier), 'roucouler' (pigeonneau) (unless an independent o), Ar Sd {DRS} zīm 'cris' ¶ The S word belongs here if N *-ŋ- may yield S *-m- ¶ L G 638, DRS 725-6 || IE: NaIE *sengʷh- 'say, make an incantation, sing' > Gmc inf. *singʷan > Gt inf. si ggwan 'to sing, to read aloud, to prophesy', Gt Cr inf. singhen, ON inf. syngva ~ syngja, OSx inf. singan 'to sing', OHG inf. singan 'to sing, to sound', NHG inf. singen 'to sing', AS inf. singan id., 'to sound', NE sing; Gmc *sangʷ-s > Gt saggwas 'Gesang, Musik, Vorlesung', ON songr '(sacred) song(s)', OSx sang 'singing, song', OHG sang 'song, sound', NHG π Sang 'song', AS sanz 'song, singing, poem; noise', NE song || Prkr samighai- 'sagen, belehren', {EI} 'say, honour', pIAr {Tu.} *sanghati ~ *sāhati 'tells' || Gk δμφή (< *songʷhā) 'divine voice, prophecy; voice' || Clt: MW de-(h)ongli 'explain' ¶ × N *SUŋ,ḡ,ʳo' 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' (q.v.), the meaning 'sing, song' going back to N *ʒiŋo, while the other meanings are likely to be connected with N *SUŋ,ḡ,ʳo' ¶ WP II 246, P 906-7, EI 519 (*sengʷh- 'sing, make an incantation'), Dv. no. 368, AHDI 58, F II 392-3, Fs. 403, 419, Vr. 573, 578, Ho. S 62, 64, Ho. 270, 294, Kb. 828, 855, OsS 743, 766, Tu. 757 (pIAr without specification) || A: Mo *ʒiŋgine- > WrM {MED} ʒiŋgine- vi. 'ring, tinkle' (of bells), HIM {MED} жингэнэ-, жинхэнэ- id., {BMR} жингэнэ- 'klingen, klingeln; utter (a high sound)', Brt жэнгэнэ- 'klingen, klirren (гремять)', Kl {Rm.} ʒiŋgə- 'klingeln, klirren', Ord ʒiŋgine- 'faire du bruit (cri aigu, bourdonnant, tintement, etc.)' ¶ MED 1057, BMR II 175-6, Chr. 237, KW 111, Ms. O 199..

2744. *ʒoŋE (or ***ʒoŋE**) 'old' > **K** *^oʒwen- 'become old' > Lz m^žven- (n. act. o-m^žwen-u) id.; ⇨ **K** *^zwen-l- ~ **GZ** *^zwel- 'old' > Sv UB/LB/L/Ln {TK, GP} ʒwīnel- 'old' (inanimate), Sv UB {GP} ʒwīnāld 'formerly', Sv {Ni.} ʒwīnel- 'become old'; **OG** ʒuēl-, **G** ʒvēl-, ? **Mg** ʒveš-, **Lz** (m)ʒve(š)-, n^žveš- 'old' (**Mg/Lz** *-š- < the gen. ending *-š-, see **Top. NS** 238-9) ¶¶ **K** 238 (*^z₁wen- 'grow old', *^z₁wel- 'old'), **FS** **K** 432-3, **FS** **E** 488 (*^z₁w- 'alt, altern'), **TK** 889, **GP** 313 || **U**: **FU** *soŋ₁k₁∇ 'old' > **pChr** {Ber.} *soŋgъ > **Chr**: **H** {Ep.} шонъ ѡнъ 'old' (of animate beings), {UEW} šoŋγъ 'old', **L** шонго ѡнго 'old, decrepit' (of a person), **Uf/B** šoŋγo, **M** soŋγo id. ||| **OHg** aġġ 'old' (of persons/things), **Hg** aġġ 'very old, aged', **OHg** aġġ- 'grow old', ? **OHg** a∇- 'altern, abgenutzt werden', ? **OHg** a∇ul- 'altern', ? **Hg** a∇ul- 'become obsolete \ antiquated', ? **OHg** xi o h u t, xii o u t, xvi a w a t '(very) old', ? **Hg** ó 'old, ancient, antique' ¶ **Coll.** 71 (*soŋ∇), **UEW** 448 (*soŋ₁k₁∇), **Sm.** 548 (**FU** *soŋk^ā, **FP** *soŋka, **Ugr** *θ^āηka), **Bk.** **S** 94, **Ber.** 66 [no. 345], **MRS** 719, **Ep.** 152-3, **Ü** 268, **EWU** 10, 61-2, 1052, **MF** 71-2, 495 ||| **A**: **T** *^oʒ¹önü- > **Tv** čönü- 'grow decrepit\old', čönük 'aged, very old, decrepit' ¶ **TvR** 543, ≈ **Rs.** **W** 213 ◇ To be distinguished from the reflexes of **N** *^sʳe¹n̄∇ 'long time; old' (q.v.).

2745. *ʒEŋq∇ (= *^zEŋq∇?) 'seek, try to obtain' > **IE** *sen_χχ-, *sen_χχ∇- (× **N** *š[∇]n̄₁∇₁∇ 'make, build' × **N** *ʒoŋX∇ 'want, wish' × **N** *^z∇n̄h∇ '≈ acquire, obtain, increase') > **Ht** {Ts.} s a n h- 'suchen, versuchen; erstreben, planen'; 'fordern, verlangen' || **NaIE** *se|anə-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > **OI** s a n- (pres. s a 'nō-ti, aor. 's a n a t) 'gain, obtain, procure', **Av** h a n- 'obtain, achieve' ||| ? **Gk** **Hm** ἄλνυμαι ({Mn.}: < *s a n-₁u-) 'take, take hold of' (unless *a₁-nu- < IE *a₁- 'seize' [> **Ht** a i- 'give']), **Gk** ἄνυμι, (thematized) ἄνύω ~ ἄνύω₁, **Gk** **Hm** ἄνω (< ἄν₁ω) 'effect, achieve, accomplish' ||| **OIr** {P} c o n- s n í 'fights (for sth.), wins', {Vn.} 'il se bat (pour), il dispute (qch.), il gagne', **do-seinr** 'pursues, strives', ?σ **W** inf. c y r y d d u 'to overrun, to win', {P} 'erobern, zu gewinnen suchen', {YGM} 'to increase, to grow, to augment' ||| **MHG** inf. s e n e n, **NGr** **Sw** inf. s a n e n, s ā n e n, **NHG** inf. s e h n e n 'to long, to yearn', **MLG** s e n e n t l i k e n 'sehnsüchtig' ¶¶ **WP** **II** 493-4, **P** 906, **EI** 3 (*sen(h_A)- 'seek, accomplish'), **Mn.** 1111-2, **M** **K** **III** 427-8, **Vn.** **C** 200, ≈ **LP** § 631, **YGM-1** 149, **F** **I** 41, 115, **KM** 698, **Ts.** **W** 70 ||| **HS**: **mt.** **Eg** f P z χ n 'look for seek' z u n u n n a c t 'looking for seeking' ¶ **EG** **III** 468-70 ||| **A**: **T**

*jind- > OT {Cl.} jind- 'search (smth.), seek (smth.)' ¶ Cl. 946 || K: GZ *zēn-/*zīn- 'acquire, add' (× N ***z** ∇ n̄ h ∇ ≈ acquire, obtain, increase', q.v. ffd.) ◇ Not here (because of *o) FU *soŋe 'wish, want' (< N ***z** o ŋ X ∇ id. [q.v. ffd.]). K *z- suggests N ***z** -, but the K √ is ambiguous, so that its ev. is not decisive.

2746. ***z** o ŋ X ∇ 'want, wish' > HS: S *^o√ znh > Ar √ znh (pf. zanaħa, ip. -znaħ-) v. 'praise' ({BK} 'louer, comblor d'éloges'), Ak zernû 'be angry, hate', zernû 'angry' ¶ BK I 1016, Hv. 297 || IE: NaIE *se|ana-, *se|anu- 'try to obtain, obtain' (× N ***z** E ŋ q ∇ 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd. × N ***z** ∇ n̄ h ∇ ≈ acquire, seize, increase' × N ***z** ∇ n̄ ∇, √ ∇ 'make, build') || ? Ht s a r h- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N ***z** E ŋ q ∇ [= ***z** E ŋ q ∇?] '↑', q.v. ffd.) || U: FU *soŋe- v. 'wish, want' > ObU *θōŋk- (~ *θāŋkā-?) v. 'want' > pVg *tāŋk- id. > Vg: LK/P taŋk-, MK taŋk- ~ tāŋk-, Ss taŋx- id.; pOs ***z** āŋka / ***z** ŋk- ({HL} ***z** āŋka / ***z** āŋk-) > Os: V lāŋqa-, Vy yāŋqa-, Ty/Y **z** āŋq- ~ **z** āŋq^ω-, D tāŋχ-, K tāŋχ(a)-, Nz tāŋχa-, Kz **z** āŋqa- id. || BF (× FU ***z** ōŋe v. 'desire, want' < N ***z** ōŋe ∇ 'wish' [→ 'love', 'wish evil to so.', 'strive'], q.v.): Es s o o v i- v. 'wish, want', F s u o- 'not to grudge, allow, wish', Vo sō v i- v. 'hope, wish' ¶ UEW 447, 775-6, Ht. no. 146, LG 256 || || An alt. (and less plausible) etymon: N ***z** o ŋ h ∇ 'want, wish' > HS: WS *√ zny > BHb הנת √ zny|ω G (3f pf. cons. הנתת wattiz'nē) 'become involved with another, commit fornication' (of a wife, betrothed maiden) (see N ***z** ū w ∇ N ∇ 'copulate') ¶ KB 264, KBR 275 || IE: Ht s a r h- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N ***z** E ŋ q ∇ [= ***z** E ŋ q ∇?] 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd.) (without NaIE *se|ana-, *se|anu-) ◇ Not here WrM **z** ō ŋ, HIM **z** e h 'will, arbitrariness', it is obviously a sd. from MM **z** ō ŋ, WrM **z** ō ŋ 'omen, sign', which is a loan from Chn (F MED 1075, Kow. 2408) ◇ The latter alt. et. presupposes the loss of N *h in S. Zero cons. in S and h in Ht can point only to N *h.

2747. ***z** 'ū' ŋka (or ***z** 'ū' n̄ ika) 'to bend' > K: G znek-/znik-'bend, curve' (zn- < *z|z̄n-) ¶ Chx. 411-2, DCh. 526 || ? HS: C: Ag: Aw {E} z³kk- v. 'stoop' || ? Bj {Rop.} √ dḡy (3m p. i-dgi; di'gīti fantīt 'he is combing [his hair] back'), but acc. to R's data, the √ is √ tḡy ({R} imv. 'tegya, p. 'adgi, plqp. e'tāg, pres. atan'gī) with d by as. (-tg- > -dg-) in the past tense only; but forms with t may have resulted from bf. (based on -dgi interpreted as phonemic -tgi) ¶ E PC no. 397, R WBd 223-4, Rop. 169 || S: ? Ar {Fr., BK} زكوية z∇nkīyat- (vocalization

not attested) / pl. **زَنكَاوَات** zṽnkāwāt- 'stirrup, fulcrum equestre, escabeau', {Bel., Hv.} **زَنكَاوَة** zankāwat- / pl. **زَنكَاوَات** zankāwāt- id. (unless the word is a loan from NPRs, as believed by Hv.; cp. Tjk uzangu 'stirrup'), TA {Rt.} zingo id. (← Ar?) ¶ Fr. II 259, BK I 1017, Bel. 299, Hv. 298, Rt. 568, DRS 763 || **IE**: NaIE *swe(n)g- '≈ bend' > OI 'svajatē 'embraces, clasps', Vd 'pari-svarjijas 'fester umfassend', Av pariš-χaxta- 'rings umschlossen', Sgd {Grsh.} ρωχωνο (*avahvanǰa-?) 'Umfassen' || ?σ OIr seng {Vn.} 'mince' (← **'flexible'), NIr seang 'slim, slender' || MHG, MLG swanc 'biegsam, schwankend, beweglich', NHG schwank 'pliable, flexible, supple; slender', AS swancor 'pliant, supple'; NaIE *swenk- > Gmc *sweng- > OHG inf. swingan, NHG inf. schwingen 'to swing', AS inf. swinȝan vi. 'to flutter, to fling oneself', NE v. swing ¶ WP II 526-7, P 1047-8, EI 63 (*swe(n)g- 'bend, swing'), M K III 558, M E II 788, Vn. S 85-6, IED 92, Kb. 1006, OsS 916-7, Lx. 220, KM 688-9, 694-5, Sw. 166, Ho. 332, 338, ≈ Mn. 1346 || **U** *ś|šige n. 'curve, bend, sth. bent' > Fsi i 'big beam (rafter) under the inner roof' | Prm *śig > Zcигōp śigzr 'slope of a roof\haystack', inf. śigorav-n+ 'to roof a house', ZI śig 'Gewölbe', Vt cиг śig 'garret' || pOs *siη > Os: V siηi, Ty/Y/D siη 'bend of a sledge runner (сгиб полоза нарты)', Kz siη id., 'leichte Krümmung (eines Baumes)', Nz siη 'bend of the skis' || Sm {Jn.} *siη (~ *sṽη?) 'hind part of a tent (sc. that opposite to the entrance)' > Ne: Tci' śiṽ, TO {Lh.} śiṽ, FL {Lh.} siη; Ng {Pop.} saη, {Ter.} s+η; En {Hl.} šīēṽ, {Ter.} seṽ id. | Kms {KD} s+η' id. ¶¶ UEW 480-1, LG 254, Lt. 182, Stn. D 1348-9, Trj. S 429, Jn. 141, Ter. 554, Xm. 140, Hl. TO 43, KP 189-90 ◇ If the N vw. of the first syll. is *ū, its delabialization (*ū > *i) in U needs explaining.

2748. id. *zapṽ 'hold, seize, catch' > **IE**: NaIE *sep- 'hold, handle (skillfully)' > Av hap- 'hold', OI 'sapati 'touches, handles, caresses; venerates' || Gk ἔπω (mostly with pxs: ἀμφι-έπω, ἐφέπω, μεθ'έπω, περι-έπω) 'prepare, elaborate, is busy about' (in the last meaning × ἔπω < IE *sekʷ- 'follow') ¶ ≈ P 909, EI 450 (*sep- 'handle [skillfully], hold [reverently]'), Brtl. 1764, M K III 429-30, F I 548 || **А** *zapṽ ({SDM97} *zapṽ) v. 'catch, hold' > Tg *japa- v. 'catch, seize, take hold' > UI žapa-, Ork dapa- ~ dappa-, Orc žawa-, Ud žawa- id., 'take', Ewk jawā-, Ewk VI/I/Ucr jabā-, Lm jaw-, Sln, Neg jawā- 'catch, seize, take hold', WrMc

{Z} чжафань n. act. 'taking, seizing, holding (on sth.)', Mc Sb žafз- ~ žāvз- 'catch, seize, take hold, hold', Jrc žafa- 'capture, catch' ¶ STM I 240-1, Y no-s 1522 and 1539, Kiy. 118 [no-s 365-6], Z 971 || pKo {S} *čàp- v. 'catch, take hold' > MKo čàp-, NKo čap- ¶ S QK no. 512, MLC 1397 ¶¶ SDM 1528 (pA *žap'u 'hold, connect' > Tg, Ko + unc.: M **žayа- 'be separated at joints, join at joints', T *jAp- 'make, create, arrange' and pJ *dup- v. 'tie, connect'), ≈ DQA no. 2580 (id.), Rm. EAS I 64, Rm. SKE 23, Pp. VG 28 || K: GZ *čap- 'take, seize' > G çap- 'seize' (açapna 'he stole'), 'learn, study' (← *'take knowledge'), Mg, Lz čop- 'take, seize, hold'; the metaphorical meaning 'learn, study' is attested in OG (mo-çap-e 'pupil') ¶ K 248, ≠: FS K 441, FS E 497-8, K² 293 (equating G çap- 'study, learn' with Lz çop-, nçop- id. [which is likely to be an old loan from G] and reconstructing GZ *çap- 'learn, study') ¶ mte.: N *zap- > **çap- (> K *čap-) ◇ IS MS 332 s.v. братъ *zapъ, IS SS no. 10.33 (in both sources IE, A).

2749. (₂?) *ž|žap▽ 'to cover' > HS: WS *√zbn > Hrs √zbn G (pf. zzbōn, sbjn. yzzbēn) v. 'protect', Mh √zbn Sh (pf. hzzbūn, sbjn. yz'hazzbn) id., Jb E/C ez'bin v. 'accompany and protect so. apprehensive', šzzīn 'go with so. for protection', Ar D {Lb.} √zbn D 'défendre, donner asile', zibn 'secours, aide, protecteur', ?σ Ar Mgr {DRS} √zbn D 'soudoyer des mercenaires' ¶ Jo. H 148, Jo. M 463, Jo. J 315, Lb. 1820, DRS 675-6 || A: NaT *jap- v. 'cover, shut' > OT jap-, Tkm, CrTt, Kr, Qmq, Nog, VTt, Bsh, ET jap-, Uz jap-, Qzq, Qq žap-, QBlq, Qrg žap-, StAlt žap-, Xk čap-, Qzl šap-, Yk sap-, Tf ćip- v. id., Tv šip-/šiv- v. 'cover'; ⇨ NaT *ja'p'ig 'roof' > Tlt {Vrb.} jabu, Sg, Shor čabiv ¶ ET J 126-7, Rs. W 187, Tl 530, DTS 235, TvR 585, Ra. 200, ≈ Cl. 870-1 || U: ?φ FU: Mk {Ps.} šopa-, Er čopo- vi. 'hide' (× Mk šopa-, Er čopo- 'enter [a forest], dive, fall [into a hole]') ¶ Ps. sL 105, ERV 755 ◇ Mk and Er 0 (probably from FU *0) may be explained by assimilating infl. of FU *-pp- or Mk-Er -p-.

2749a. id. *žip▽ 'to pinch', (?) 'a pinch' > IE: NaIE *skeip- ~ *skip- v. 'pinch' > Arm խիթ χith (< *skiptis) 'gripes, colic' || SI *šćip- /*šćip- > ChS inf. щипати štípati 'vellicare', R inf. щипать (1s pres. щиплю), P inf. szczypać, Cz inf. štípat, SCr inf. štípati (1s pres. štípām), Slv inf. šćipati 'to pinch', Blg 'щипя v. 'pinch', R ще'потъ, Cz špetka 'a pinch' || Lt skypata 'small piece, a crumble', Ltv šķipsna, šķipsta 'a pinch; a lock (of hair)' ¶ Mikl. L

1135, Vs. IV 503, 507, ME IV 42, ZVSZ 434, ≈ P 922, ≈ Glh. 614, ≈ Frn. 805 ¶ IE *skeip- < pre-IE *ćip- < *źip- (due to the pre-IE root structure law ruling out a voiced cns. and a glottalized one in the same √ [the source of the IE incompatibility of media aspirata and tenuis within the same root]) || U: FU *ćEpp- v. 'pinch, (?) *ćEpp n. 'finger tip' (× N *ćEpf 'finger') > Chr: H {MRS} цы́вешта-, {Ep.} цы́вешта-са'weštä- v. 'pinch, nip', цы́вештыш са'weštəš n. 'pinch', L чывышта- чъwъšta-, U чъwъšte-, B čawəšala- v. 'pinch' | Prm *ćep-, *ćzpe, *ćzpeít- ({{LG} *ćepeí-) n. 'pinch, fingertip', v. 'pinch' > Z S ćepzí 'a pinch', Prmk {UEW} ce'pzí 'fingertip', {KPR} n. 'pinch', Z чепóльт- ćepzít-, Prmk ce'pzí- v. 'pinch', Vt чепыльт- ćepít- v. 'pinch, jam' (ущипнуть, прищемить), Z чепóля ćepzía 'tongs, tweezers', Z Ud ćepzr 'Zwick, Kniff', ćepzrt- v. 'pinch (zwicken, kneifen)', Yz 'ćepíal- 'kneifen, rupfen' || OHg, Hg csiþ 'pinch, nip' ¶ UEW 49 (convincingly rejecting the adduction of F hupru, hupri 'fingertip' and of Lp Kld ciehp 'finger, toe' because of the initial cns. going back to FU *ć-), MRS 682, Ep. 140, MF 118-9, EWU 217, LG 303, Szin. 28 || ?σ D *ćippam ({{θGS} *ć|s-) 'bundle, parcel' (← *'a pinch') > Tm cipram, Tl cipramu 'bundle, parcel', Ml cipram 'bundle' ¶¶ D no. 2534 || A: pKo {S} *ćip- v. 'pick up, pinch' > MKo ćip-, NKo ćip-id., {Rm.} 'pinch; pick up, take, arrest' ¶ Rm. SKE 34-5, S QK no. 1018, MLC 1554-5 ◇ IS MS 373 s.v. щипать *źip- (IE, U, A).

2750. *źor'U' 'crawl, creep' > K *o3|žwr- / *o3|žwer- v. 'creep, crawl' > OG žwr-, G žvren- / žvrin- / ž(v)rom- / žvr- / žver- 'kriechen, klettern', {DCh.} 'crawl', {AхT} 'лезть', {GL} 'ramper, se traîner' ¶ Chx. 2070-2, DCh 1622-3, KEGL VIII 746, 775, AхT 439, GL 569 || HS: B *✓zrrw > Ah {Fc.} həriru, hərirw- 'se traîner, être traîné', Twl {Pr.} zərurw (n. act. a-zərūru) id. ¶ Fc. 662-3, Pr. H no. 394 || D *ćor|k_L- ({{θGS} *ś-?) 'crawl, creep' > Krx ćorg- 'move forward with one's seat on the ground, crawl on the hands and seat, move on with difficulty', Mlt ćorge, ćorgre 'creep along stealthily', ćorgtre v. 'drag the feet, trudge', ? Kdg ogg- 'wriggle on belly' (of a child) ¶¶ D no. 2854.

2751. *źo'r- 'bird of prey' > K: GZ *žer- 'kite' > OG žeri (Lev. 11.13), G žer-i, žer-a 'kite (Milvus)', Lz mžāž-i, Mg *žāž- → G Gr žāž-a-i id. ¶ FS K 431, DCh. 1615, KEGL VIII 733 || HS: Eg fP žr.t 'bird of prey (falcon, kite, or sim.)' (> Cpt: Sd тре тре, B өре t^hре 'milan'), Eg fXXII žr.ty 'falcon or sim.', Eg {Mks.} žr 'Milan'; a semantically less probable cognate: Eg MK žr.t 'bird of prey' ¶ EG III 420 and V 506-7

601, Mks. II no. 4942, Vc. 220, BnH ÄW s.v. $\underline{d}r$ 'Milan', Hng. 1011 ($\underline{z}r\omega$ 'Vogel [*Milan]') ¶ Eg $\underline{z}r.t$ and $\underline{z}r$ suggest that Eg \underline{z} - is a regular representative of N * \underline{z} -. But this is the only etymon with such representation of N * \underline{z} -, as against one semantically weak case of N * \underline{z} - yielding Eg \underline{z} - (N * $\underline{z}U\omega\nabla$ 'to eat, to taste' > ??? Eg $\underline{z}\omega.t$ 'wheat') and one ambiguous case of N * \underline{z} - or * \underline{z} '- yielding Eg \underline{z} - (N * $\underline{z}\underline{\text{æ}}m_{\underline{r}}\nabla$ or * $\underline{z}'\underline{\text{æ}}m_{\underline{r}}\nabla$ 'together; to unite, to tie together' > Eg $\underline{z}m\exists$ 'unite; be united with, join'). The problem is open for further research || A: NaT * $\underline{j}o_{\underline{r}}\underline{r}I$ '€ bird of prey' > Qrg $\underline{z}or\omega$ 'vulture', SY $\underline{j}orI$ '€ bird of prey (bigger than sar)' ¶ ET J 29, Jud. 262.

2752. ($_2$?) * $\underline{z}|\underline{z}oR\nabla$ 'hand (palm of hand and fingers) ([in descendant lgs.] → 'span') > HS: WS * $\underline{z}ar-at-$ (unless \leftarrow Eg $\underline{f}P \underline{z}r.t$ 'hand, palm of hand') > BHb $\underline{z}r.t$ 'span (as a measure)', \underline{z} Ug {Grd., Dah.} $\underline{d}r.t$ id. (not mentioned in A and OLS), IA $\underline{z}rt$, JA [Trg.], JEA $\underline{z}r.t$ $\underline{z}ar't-\bar{a}$, SmA $\underline{z}rt$, Md $\underline{z}irta$ id., Sr $\underline{z}ar't-\bar{a}$ {JPS} id., {Br.} 'spithama', MHb $\underline{z}r.t$ 'little finger (Kleinfinger)', Tgr {LH} $\underline{r}eyam \underline{z}era(t)$ 'middle finger', {d'A} $\underline{r}eyam \underline{z}erat$ 'little finger' ($\underline{r}eyam$ 'long') ¶ KB 272, BDB 284-5, Grd. UT 710, Dah. UH 7ff., HJ 342, Lv. T I 232, Sl. 422-3, Tal 241, Br. 208, JPS 121, DM 168, ≈ DRS 806, LH 161, MiK I no. 1.298 || NrOm: Ym rl. {C} $\underline{z}erum$ 'hand' (× N * $\underline{z}ER\nabla \underline{z}$ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' [q.v.]) ¶ C SE III 89 || U: FU * $\underline{z}or\nabla(-\acute{s}\nabla)$ 'span' > pChr {Ber.} * $\underline{z}or$, * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ > Chr: YU $\underline{z}or$, M $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Uf $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ id. || ObU {Ht.} * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'span' > pVg {Ht.} * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ > Vg: T $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ ({Mu.} $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$), LK/MK/UK $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, UL $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Ss $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ id.; pOs {Ht.} * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'span' > Os: O $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Ty/Y $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, D/K/Nz $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Kz $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ id. ¶ UEW 448, Coll. 3, Sm. 548 (FU, FP * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Ugr * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'a unit of length [≈ a quarter of meter]'), Ber. 67 [no. 352], Ht. no. 165, MF 194 || ? D * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ -/* $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ - (* $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ -?) (* $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ -?) 'span' (if from * $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ -) > MI $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ - $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ - 'span of the thumb and the forefinger', Kt $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'breadth of four fingers', Kn $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Kdg $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, Tu $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$, $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'the small span of the thumb and the forefinger', Tu $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'a span', Tl $\underline{z}or\acute{z}$ 'the small span' ¶¶ D no. 2834 ◇ Qu. (the S word may be a loan from Eg); if the S cognate is rejected, it changes the N rec.

2753. ? ($_2$?) * $\underline{z}ur\nabla$ 'inside of body (→ [in A] 'heart') > HS: S * $\underline{z}awr-$ > Ar $\underline{z}awr-$ 'upper part of the breast' ¶ Hv. 301, DRS 709 || C: Ag {Ap.} * $\underline{z}ar$ 'entrails' > Bln $\underline{z}ar$, Xm $\underline{z}ar$, Q $\underline{z}ar$, Aw $\underline{z}ar$ ¶ Ap. AV 23, R WB 158-9 || A {S} * $\underline{z}ur\nabla$ 'heart' (× N * $\underline{d}ur\nabla$ → * $\underline{d}urE$ 'entrails, heart') >

T *jür-äk 'heart' > OT jür äk, Tk yür ek, Tkm, Ggz, Qmq, Nog jürek, ET jüräk ~ žüräk, Az üräk, Δ jüräk, Ln jüjek, Uz juraq, Qzq žürek, VTt, Bsh jbräk, Qrg žürek, SY (j)örek, StAlt žürek, Xk, Tv čürek, Shor čürek, Tf ć'ürek, Yk süräχ; Chv чěре (← a NaT lge.) ¶ Cl. 965, Rs. W 213, ET J 270-1, TL 276 (T *jürek), Ash. XV 286-7, Fed. II 414-15, Jeg. 324, ChS 270, Ra. 199, Jeg. 324, S AJ 179 [no. 41] || M *žü|irüken 'heart' (× N *dür▽ - *dUrE '↑', q.v. ffd.) || ? Tg: Sln ju'ruğu 'heart' (unless ← M) ¶ STM I 278 || ?σ pJ *džkésì > MJ yòkósì 'spleen' ¶ Mr. 576 ¶¶ S AJ 282 [no. 176], SDM 1555 (pA *žür(▽)k'e > M, T, pJ), DQA no. 2624 (id.) || ??σ D: Tm cūr_α 'anus' ¶ ≈ D no. 2724 ◇ Qu. (the A cognate is ambiguous).

2754. *ž'U'R▽ (= *žoR▽?) 'female being' > K *zurā- 'female' > Lz zura- 'female animal', Mg zura- 'coward', Sv: L {TK} zuray, LB/Ln {TK} zurä, UB zuräy {TK} 'ewe, female goat', {GP} 'female animal', d. UB/L zurāl, Ln zural 'woman' ¶¶ K 89 and K² 61, (*zura-), FS K 137, FS E 149, Q 238, TK 253, GP 105 || **IE *sor-** 'woman, female' in cds: **[1]** AnIE: Ht -sara-, sx for female beings: ishassara- 'lady, mistress' (← ishah- 'lord, master'), supessara 'chaste girl, virgin' (← suppi- 'rein'), *hassussara (SAL.LUGAL-ra) 'queen', HrLw hasusara 'queen', Lw {Mlc.} nāna-sri(ya) gen. 'sister' (← nāni-(ya) gen. 'brother') | **[2]** NaIE *tri-sr-es / *tri-sor- 'three' f. (← *'three women') > OI tisrah, OIr téoir id.; NaIE *^kwetwor-sres 'four' f. > OI catasrah | **[3]** NaIE *swe-sor- 'sister, female member of the clan' (← *[one's] own girl\woman', a cd of *swe- 'own' + *sor-) > OI 'svasar- (nom. 'svasā), Av χ^varhar- 'sister' || Arm pnjp k'oyr (< *swesōr) id., gen. ptn k'heř (< *swesr-os) || L soror id. || Clt {Matas.} *swesūr / *swesr-os 'sister' > OIr siur, MW chwaer id., W {YGM} chwaer id., 'maiden', OCrn [γ] huir, MCrn hoer ~ hor, OBr {Flr.} guoer ({Flr.}: spelling for hūoer), MBr hoer ~ hoar, Br {Hm.} c'hoar 'sister', Gl [γ] suiorebe instr. pl. 'sororibus' || Gt swistar, OSx swestar, OHG swester, NHG Schwester, Dt zuster, AS sweostor, s(w)ustor, ON systir id. (→ NE sister), Sw, NNr syster, Dn søster id. || BSl: Lt sesuō (gen. seseĩs), Pru swestro id. | Sl *ses'tra, accus. *ses'tro (passed into the *-ā-declension) id. > OCS cec'тpa sestra, Blg, R, Uk cec'tpa, SCr sèstra, Slv. séstra, Cz, Slk sestra, P siostra id. || Gk Δ [Hs.] ζῆλος ἡλικίας θυγατρὸς 'daughter's council' (FE) 'woman's daughter'

probably emending Hs.'s glossa to $\theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\psi\lambda\omicron\upsilon$) || pTc {Ad.} * $\check{s}\check{a}\check{s}er > Tc$: A $\check{s}ar$, B $\check{s}er$ 'sister' ¶¶ Kron. EHS I 109-12, Pv. I-II 384, Ts. W 28, Mlc. CL 154-5, WP II 533, P 642, 1051, 1090-2, \approx EI 521 (* $s\check{w}esor$ / gen. * $s\check{w}e'sr-os$ 'sister'; doubts about the element * sor in * $s\check{w}esor$), M K I 506, III 565, M E II 796, Renou § 269, F I 530-1, WH II 563-4, Vn. S 123 and T 51-2, Matas. E 364, YGM-1 154, Hm. 129, Slr. 62-3, Flr. 195, Fs. 469, Vr. 574, Ho. 330, 335, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1003, OsS 917-8, Schz. 278, Frn. 777-8, En. 260, Glh. 545-6, Vs. III 612, Ad. 661 || HS: CCh: Suk {IL} $z\check{s}r$, {Mk.} $z\check{r}$ 'woman' ¶ JI II 347, Mk. I 318 || ? σ Eg fP $zr.t$ 'ewe' (only if the form is primary, while zr 'buck' is a bf.) ¶ EG III 462-3, Fk. 235 || U * $\acute{s}\nabla r|da > Sm$ {Jn.} * $s\check{s}r\acute{a}$ 'widow(er)' > Ne: T $c\check{s}pa\ s\check{s}ra$ 'widow(er)', $c\check{s}pa\ ne\ s\check{s}ra\ \acute{h}e$ 'widow', T O {Lh.} $s\check{s}r'a$ 'widow(er)', Ne F N $\chi\check{i}e'rr\acute{a}\acute{a}$ id.; Ng {Cs.} 'seru; En {Cs.} 'sira ~ sira id.; Slq Kt {KD} $s\check{s}r\ddot{u}$ $ne'\check{i}\check{y}um$ 'widow'; Kms {KD} $seri$ 'widow(er)', $serine$ 'widow'; the Sm cognate is valid only if the meaning 'widow' is primary, whence a broadened meaning 'widow(er)'. The change of meaning 'woman' \rightarrow 'old woman' (\rightarrow 'widow') may have been induced by the reflexes of U * $ser\acute{a}$ 'old' (UEW 440) ¶ Jn. 138-9, Cs. 31, 65, 91, 189, 304.

2755. * $\check{z}a\Gamma\nabla R\nabla$ 'hedgehog' > K * $\acute{o}z|\check{z}yarb-$ id. > MG [KC] $g\check{z}y\check{a}rbi$, eNG {SSO} $z\check{y}arbi$ 'hedgehog', $g\check{z}y\check{a}rbi$ {SSO} 'big hedgehog' (ႀႃႆႆႆ ႆႆႆႆႆႆ), G $z\check{y}arbi \sim z\check{y}arbi \sim \dagger g\check{z}y\check{a}rbi$ 'hedgehog', {DCh. RGS} $z\check{y}arbi$, $g\check{z}y\check{a}rbi$ id.; the word $g\check{z}y\check{a}rbi$ may go back to a cd (SSO: $g\check{z}y\check{a}rbi = didi\ z\check{y}arbi$ 'big $z\check{y}arbi$ ') ¶ Chx. 422, 2092, DCh. 1624 ($z\check{y}arbi$ 'hedgehog'), DCh. RGS 94, SSO I 181, 291, and II 360 || IE * $\acute{o}s\chi\chi\nabla r-$ > some AnIE lge. reflected in a gloss: [Hs.] $\sigma\chi\check{u}p \cdot \acute{\epsilon}\chi\check{u}no\check{s}$ 'hedgehog' ¶ Ch. 1257 || U: FU * $\acute{o}s\check{a}|or\nabla > pObU$ * $\acute{o}s\check{a}|\acute{o}r > Vg$: T {Mu.} $s\check{a}r$ 'badger', P {Mu.} $m\check{a}-sor\ m\check{s}-sor$ 'hedgehog' ($m\check{s}$ 'earth') ¶ MK 552 || A: M * $\check{z}ari\beta|yan$ 'hedgehog' > MM [HI, MA] $\check{z}ari_a$, [IsV] $\check{z}ar\check{i}a-sun$, [NQ] {Pel.} $\check{z}aria$, {Pp.} $\check{z}arya$, WrM {MED} $zaraga$, HIM {MED} $zapa\acute{a}$, {BRM} $zapa\acute{a}(h)$, Brt $zapa\acute{a}\ zary\acute{a}$, Kl {KRS} $zapa$, {Rm.} $zar\acute{a}$, Dg {T} $\check{z}er\check{s}$, MMgl $\check{z}a\check{i}ra$, Mgl {Lg.} $\check{z}\acute{a}\check{i}ra \approx \check{z}\acute{\epsilon}\check{i}r\acute{a}$, Ord $\check{z}ar\acute{a}$ id., M \rightarrow Tjk $\check{z}ayra$ 'porcupine' ¶ Ms. H 65, Pp. MA 201, Lg. VMI 37, MED 1037, BMR II 211, Kow. 2301, Chr. 252, KRS 241, KW 467, Ms. O 187, T DgJ 143 \diamond All data (except Vg) suggest a N affricate (* \check{z} -). K *-b- is likely to go back to the N component * bA of animal names (q.v. ffd.).

2756. $\check{z}a$ * $\check{z}'a'hR\nabla$ 'flower, blossom', ? 'unripe berry' > HS: CS * $z\check{a}h\check{a}r-$ > Ar $z\check{a}hr-$ $z\check{a}hr-ata \sim z\check{a}h\check{a}r-ata$ 'flower, blossom' ?? IA [Trg]

✓zhr v. *G* 'bloom' (× ✓zhr 'shine') ¶ Ln. 1261-2, Js. 382, Lv. T I 212 || EC *zarār- 'flower' > Bs darāra, Or {Th.} darara (nom. dararri), Or {Grg.}, Or B/O/Wt {Sr.} darārā, Or M/Gj {LLC} darāra, HEC {L} *zarār- > Kmb/Qbn/Alb zarār-, Sd darār-o, Brj darār-a 'flower' ¶ Ss. B 53-4, 195, Th. 93, Grg. 99, Sr. 285, LLC 77, L Z 120, Hd. 66 || U: FU *ć¹a¹r∇ ({UEW} *ć¹â¹r∇) 'flower, blossom; unripe berry' > Lp {Fri.} čuruk 'bacca immatura, cruda', Lp N čuoro / čur'ru- 'unripe cloudberry' || ?? Prm *ć|žor∇ > pZ {LG} *ž∇r∇- > StZ дзориdz žoriž 'flower', Z UV/Vm/I/Sk žoriž, Z Le žriž 'flower of berries', Prmk žor, Yz žoriž 'unripe' (of berries); -ž is a derivational suffix; if the FU vw. is *a, the Prm vw. *o (for the expected *ω [{LG} *u]) is irreg. || ObU {Ht.} *ćār- > pVg *ćārī 'flower' > Vg: K/P/LL śōr, Ss śōri id.; pOs {Ht.} *ćarək > Os Kz śorax 'blossom', śorxat- 'Blüten bekommen', Nz śorxam- 'Beerenknospen bekommen' ¶ Coll. 76, UEW 47-8 (rejects the Prm cognate), LG 92, Ht. no. 83.

2757. ₂ *ž¹∇R∇m∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' > HS: WS *✓zrm > BHb 'zerem 'heavy rain', JA [Trg.] תַּרְמִי זַרְמִי זַרְמִי id., MHb ✓zrm v. *G* 'stream', ?σ OSA ✓zrm in š-zrm (an epitheton of the moon god 𐎎𐎠) ¶ KBR 281-2, Js. 414, ≈ Lv. T I 231, BK I 984, Mü. AS AHL 308 || IE: NaIE *sermo- 'flowing' > Vd 'sarma {Bt., WP, P} 'flowing, das Fließen', {MW} 'going, running, flowing' (RV I 80.5) || ? Gk ὄρμη 'a violent movement onwards, assault' || hydronyma: Σέρμιος, Fr la Sermanne (< GI *Sermannā), It N Sermenza (< *Sermentia), Vn n. l. Sirmiō (< *Sermiō), Pnn n. l. Sirmium, P n. l. Śrem ({P}: < Vn *Sermo-) ¶ WP II 49-50, P 909-10, Bt. VII 84, MW 1183, F II 419-20, ≠ M K 471 (denying that the OI √ means 'flow') ¶ We may try to etymologize the IE word as derived from *serH- v. 'stream, flow', but in this case the absence of the Ir. in *sermo- will remain unexplained.

2758. ₂ *ž¹∇RT∇ 'pudenda muliebria', 'lewd' > HS: S *°✓zrd > Ar zirdān- 'pudenda muliebria' ¶ BK I 984 || IE: NaIE *sert- v. 'practise lewdness' > ON inf. serðā / p. sarð / ps. prtc. sorðinn ~ stroðinn v. 'Unzucht treiben' (↳ AS inf. seorðan 'copulate with a woman'), OSw sarþ 'stupravit', MLG inf. serden, MDt inf. seerden, OHG inf. sertan ð serten ð serden 'to sleep with, to copulate', MHG inf. sërten id., 'stuprare, to torture' || ?σ W serth {P, Vr.} 'obscene', {YGM} 'discourteous, unclean, base' ¶ P 911, Vr. 470, Kb. 845, Schz. 249, OsS 757, Lx. 192, Ho. 290, YGM-1 391.

2759. * $\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}$ 'to stream' > HS: B * \checkmark zrr 'be liquid, melt' > Tmz {MT}, Izd {MT ← ?} zrir vi. 'être\devenir liquide; fondre' | B * \checkmark wzr 'flow, stream' (× N * \checkmark w ∇ R \checkmark z ∇ ~ * \checkmark w ∇ z ∇ R \checkmark z ∇ 'to pour, to flow', q.v. ffd.) ¶ Dl. 952, MT 811 || C: EC: Sa {R} zār- 'fließen, rinnen', zər 'Bach, kleiner Fluß, fließendes Wasser', Af {PH} darēra n. 'pouring out until empty', ?σ dara 'pool, lake, pool left behind in wadi; water which seeps out of the ground' || Ag: Xm {R} zər 'river' ¶ R S II 332, PH 80-1, R Ch II 96 || IE *serHx-, NaIE *sreu- v. 'stream, flow' (< N *šariX ∇ 'to stream, to flow' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ But IE *sermo- (> Vd 'sarma 'flowing, das Fließen', etc.) is better explained as going back to N * $\acute{z}\nabla$ R ∇ m ∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' (q.v.) ¶ P 909-10, 1003, M K III 554-5, M E II 784-5 || A * $\acute{z}u|ur\checkmark$ ({S} * $\acute{z}ur\checkmark$ ~ *- \checkmark -) > T *jūr- 'swim' > NaT *jüz- > OT jüz- 'swim', Tk yūz-, йүз- Tkm jüb-, Ggz, Kr Cr, Qmq, Nog jüz-, Tlt/QK {Rl.} jüs-, VTt йөз- jöz-, Bsh йөз- jöz-, Az, ET üz-, QrB, Qrg žüz-, Qzq, Qq žüz-, StAlt дьүз-/дьүз- žüs-/žüz-, Xk čüs- 'swim' ¶ Cl. 984, ET J 281, TatR 194 || ?σ NrTg *jurku 'rapids in a river' (× ÷ M *dargil 'rapid current', see MED 233) > Lm jurku 'rapids in a river, rapid current', Neg joyku 'fairway in a river' ¶ STM I 277 ¶¶ S AJ 284 [no. 207] (pA * $\acute{z}u|ur\checkmark$ v. 'flow', n. 'stream' T, Tg *jurku), ≈ SDM 4045 (pA *čúrka ~ *-jó- 'swift stream, current' > Tg + unc. M *dargil 'rapid current' and pJ *táki, *tanki-t- 'swift current, waterfall', v. 'foam, overflow'), ≈ DQA no. 254 (T + unc. M) || D *čōr- ({ \checkmark GS} *c|s-?) v. 'tickle, drip' (× N ? * $\acute{c}or\checkmark$ 'to drip, to trickle', q.v. ffd.).

2760. ? * $\acute{z}aš\checkmark$ 'bush (shrub), wood (Holz)' > K *zeša- 'firewood' > OG, G šeša-, Mg diška-, Lz diška-, diška-, ?φ Sv UB/LB/L/Ln zek (dat.: UB/LB zekw ~ zek-s) (zek(w) hpl. from the expected *zeskw?) ¶¶ K 234, K² 280, FS K 424, Chik. 157, TK 252, GP 104 || U: FU * $\acute{c}aš|sk\checkmark$ 'bush (shrub), brushwood' > StChr L čašker 'thicket (чаща, чащоба)', Chr L {Ü} čaškar 'shrubs (bushes)', Chr E {Ps.} čaškar 'dichter Gebüsch', Chr H {Rm.} 'caške·r 'das Reis, Reisig', {Ep.} cašker, čišker, Chr {Coll.} čaška 'small wood, brushwood, scrub', 'birch' ¶ Coll. 74, Ep. 136, MRS 668, Ü 242, PsS 157, Rm. BT 150 || Gil: Gil: A çes / zes / jes [çec], ES çer 'branch, bough' ¶¶ ST 349, Krn. N 485 (ES çer 'bough') || ?σ, φ HS: Eg fP 553 'Art kostbares Holz' (as. from *zš with a sx??) ¶ EG IV 279.

2761. ?₂ * $\acute{z}iš\checkmark$ 'fire' > U: FP * $\acute{c}i\checkmark$ š ∇ - vt. 'burn, scorch' > Chr L {MRS} inf. чыжды'р-аш чьždь'р-аš vt. 'burn, scorch', {Ü} чьždьра- v.

'scorch' (of the sun) | pPrm *ćúš- or *ćiš- > Z ćiškaṽ- ~ ćiškał- (inf. чишкав-ны) vt. 'burn, scorch; touch with frost (прихватить морозом)', Vt чүшка- ćuška- v. 'scorch, burn (one's skin, fingers); pour boiling water on, scold', чүштаськы- ćuštaśki- 'be burnt (esp. of food, so.'s skin') ¶ Lt. 186, LG 308, MRS 682-3, Ü 250 || HS: Eg fP ɛʒ.t = {Vc.} [*sɪʒya.t] 'fire, flame' (mt. of voiced and vl. cnss.: **zɪC- > *sɪʒ-?) > DEg ɛty.t > Cpt: Sd сате sate, B сат satı, A сете sete ~ сеете seete id. ¶ EG IV 375-6, Fk. 257, Er. 475, Vc. 197 ¶ The unexpected Eg affricate ʒ (for the fricative ɛ) may be due to dis. (from the expected *z∇s).

2762. *ʒUw∇ 'to eat, to taste' > K *ʒow- v. 'fill one's mouth with food, eat one's fill, graze' > OG ʒow- (~ ʒov- ~ ʒo-), G ʒov- v. 'graze', Lz ʒum-, ʒup-, nʒ-, ʒ-, ʒv- id., Sv ʒūb- 'fill one's mouth with food' (msd. {Fn.} li-ʒūb-e) ¶¶ The origin of Sv -b- (from K *-w-?) is still to be established. On an alt. (highly problematic) et. of Sv ʒūb- see s.v. *ĉiP₁∇₁æ 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' ¶¶ K 240, K² 290 (GZ *ʒow- 'graze'), Fn. KW-2 44-5, FS K 436, FS E 491-2 (pK *ʒow-) || HS: CCh: Ngs zàwé, Mdr {Eg.} zá, Glv {Rp.} z-, Gdf {IL} zú(?)à 'eat (soft things)' | It is not clear whether we should adduce here the √ *z∇m- 'eat (soft things)' that is represented in most other subgroups of CCh (see JI II) ¶ JI II 120-1, ChC, ChL || ??σ EC: pSml {Hn.} *zeĵ- v. 'try, test' (if ← 'to taste') > Sml is ku deĵ, Bn kí-déĵ v. 'try, test', Rn {Hn.} yêy id. (= {PG} ye y- 'look at?') ¶ Hn. S 77, 38 (on the particle ku in Sml and kí- in Bn), PG 299 ||] Perhaps here: Eg P zω.t {EG} 'wheat (Triticum durum)', {Hng.} 'Dinkel' ¶ EG III 426, Hng. 674 || WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *zu 'guinea corn, sorghum' (← 'food?') > {Sk.}: Wrj zū-na, My/Kry zu, Mbr ʒū, Cg zun 'guinea corn, sorghum' ¶ Sk. NB 24, Tk. NB 173 || D (in McTm) *ĉu|ov- v. 'taste' > Tm cuvaĵ v. 'taste, eat, chew', cuvaĵ n. 'taste, flavour, sweetness', Ml cuva n. 'taste, flavour', cuvekka v. 'taste' ¶ D no. 2396 (b).

2763. ₂ *ʒiX∇ (or *z' iX∇) 'come' ([in CS] → go [away]) > HS: Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ʒ∇ 'enter, come' > Hs zŏ 'come' | NrBc *ʒa 'enter' > Wrj, Kry zaṽ, P', Sir za, Jmb, Mbr, My za- ¶ Stl. ZCh 187 [no. 382] || CS *zīh- > Ar √ zyḥ G (ip. -zīh-) 'go away, be far away', as well as (× CS *√ zḥh 'remove' < N *ʒ'U'χU 'to cause so./sth. to move from one place to another'), BHb √ zy|wḥ ḥ √ zḥh N (3m ip. ḥḥ' yiz'zaḥ) 'be removed, displaced'. {KB} 'sich loslösen. verschieben'. JA [Trg.] {Js.} √ z wḥ G (ip.

уа'zū^ah) vi. 'be unsteady, move' ({Lv.} 'weichen, von der Stelle sich fortrücken'), vt. 'remove, turn away' ¶ Ln. 1775, BK I 1030, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, DRS 700 ¶¶ S l.c. || A *žī- > Tg *ji- 'come' > Nn, Ul žī- 'come, approach', WrMc {Z} чжи-, Mc Sb žī- id. ¶ STM I 255, Z 989, Y no. 1172 || ? T *jet- 'reach' > OT, Chg ≥xv jēt-, MT jēt- and jät-, Ggz, Tkm, Slr, Uzb, Kr, Qmq, Nog jēt-, Qzq. Qq žet-, QrB žet- ~ zet-, VTt žit-, Bsh jit-, ET jät-, SY jet- ~ jit-, StAlt žet-, Xk čit-, Shor čet-, Tv čét-, Yk sit-, Chv L сит- 'reach (дойти, достичь)' ¶ Rs. W 199, Cl. 884-5, ET J 193-4, Ash. XII 175-87, Fed. II 123-4, Jg 214-15, ChCS 187 ¶¶ SDM 1536 (pA *žī ~ *žīa 'come' Tg *ji- ~ *di-, T + unc.: M *žīd-kü- 'strive'), DQA no. 2599.

2764. *з'U'χU 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another' ('to lead, to send') > K *žēψw-/*žψw- v. 'lead' > OG зψw- /зеψw- v. 'lead', G зεψv- /зψv- /зψ- v. 'lead, march at the head of, accompany', Mg {K} b-žψu-k 'I go in front of', {Q} n-žψver-i 'leader (предводитель)', Sv {TK}: UB mu-žweψ ~ mu-žēψw, Ln mužweψ ~ mēžweψ, L mu-žōψ 'leader', Sv {K} li-žōψw, Sv UB {GP} li-žweψ v. 'lead (so.)' ||| -d> K *žψw-ān- v. 'send' > OG зψwan- /зψwn- v. 'send, make a present of', зψweni ~ зψweni 'present', G зψvan- /зψvn-, Mg, Lz žψon- / žψun- v. 'send', Sv {FS} žψwān-, žψwan-, žōψwan- 'take with oneself, send' ¶¶ K FSK 27, K 240-1, K² 285, FS K 432, FS E 487-8, TK 576-7, GP 164 || HS: CS *√zħħ ~ *√zwħ (× N *žīX∇ or *žīX∇ 'come, [?] go [away]', q.v.) > Ar √zħħ (3m ip. ya-zuħħu) 'ôter (une chose) de sa place', 'faire aller en avant et en arrière, pousser en avant et en arrière', BHb √zψ|wħ - √zħħ N (3m ip. nī' yiz'zaħ) 'be removed, displaced', {KB} 'sich loslösen, verschieben', JA [Trg.] {Js.} √zwħ G (ipf. уа'zū^ah) vi. 'be unsteady, move', vt. 'remove, turn away', Sr √zwħ G vi. 'move, stir\arise oneself in action, rise', vt. 'put in motion' ¶ BK I 977, KB 255, BDB 267, Js. 385, Lv. T I 215, JPS 112, Br. LS 192 || D *čō(y)- ({θGS} s- or *ś-?) (× N *žUg'U' 'to move somewhere' [intr., tr.], q.v.?) > Ka sō, sōvυ, sōhυ v. 'drive off, chase away', ? Tm o p p υ, o c c υ v. 'drive away', ? Gdb čōy- ∂ soyp- v. 'send' ¶¶ D no-s 2866 and 2878 ◇ IS MsN (N *žūχä 'вести' [?]: K + qu. A *žuge- v. 'carry'). S suggests an original vl. word-medial *-χ-. The voiced *ψ in K is due to as.: pre-K *žχ > K *žψ. Connected with N *žUg'U' '↑'?

2765. (₂?) *ž∇χī 'to plait, to bind' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > K: GZ {K} (?) *žax- v. 'spin' > G žax- id., Mg tuχ- id. (tuχuns 'he

spins'), Lz tχ- v. 'spin' (tχups 'he spins') ¶ K 233 || ? HS: Eg fP zĥ 'Zelt aus Matte aus Leinenstoff' ('Zelt aus Matte' interpreted by EG as 'Flechtwerk'), zĥ-nrcr 'Leinenstoff' ¶ EG III 464-5 || ? B: Gh tā-zayzay-t 'corde' ¶ Pr. H no. 450 || ? CCh: Lame {Sa.} zèó 'corde' ¶ Sa. DL 434 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 5 (B, CCh, Mb {E} u-zi 'thread') || IE *seχ̂- ({{Pv.} *seE₂-) / *seχ̂y- v. 'bind' > Ht ishhiya-, ishhai- v. 'bind, wrap', Lw 3p pres. active gender hishiyanti (≡ Ht prtc. nom. pl. com. ishhiyantīs) || NaIE: [1] NaIE *°sē- > Vd 'a-sā-t 'he bound', 'sā-tum v. 'bind', avā-sā-tar 'unbinder' | [2] NaIE *°se|oy- (< IE *sχ̂e|oy-) / *°sēy- > Vd sayā'tvam 'binding', OI sē'tar- 'binder', 'sētū-h 'binding; fetter, bond', Av hāy- v. 'bind' ||| L saeta 'fishing line; coarse hair, bristle' ||| ON seiðr 'Band, Gürtel', seil 'cord, rope, fetter', OSx sēl, AS sāl 'rope, fetter' (> NE sole), OHG seil 'rope, string', NHG Seil 'rope, cord'; ?? OHG silo 'belt', {OsS} 'Geschirr für Zugvieh, Riemenwerk des Zugviehs', NHG Siele 'breast piece (of harness)' ||| Lt inf. siēti (1s pres. siejù), Ltv inf. siēt (1s pres. siēnu, sējū) 'to bind', Lt saĩtas n. 'tie; leash, lead; tether', {Frn} 'Eimer-schnur\kette, Tragband\bügel, Strick', saĩlas 'Eimerschnur, Tragbügel' | [3] NaIE *°sy-, *si(:)- > OI 'syati 'binds, ties, fetters', Vd si'ta- 'bound' (unless from *sa-'to- < IE *sγx-to-), Av hirū- 'bond, fetter' | ⇨ [3a] NaIE *si-man- > Gk ἰμύς (gen. ἰμύντος) 'leathern strap\thong, lash of a whip' ||| OI sī'mā / sī'man- 'parting of the hair, boundary' ||| ON sími 'Band, Strick', OSx sīmō 'rope', AS sīma 'string, band, bond', NGr Δ Seime 'rope for drying linen' ¶¶ Pv. I-II 398-403, Ts. E I 384-8, Mlc. CL 70, P 891-2, M K III 501, 549-50, 745, WH II 462, F I 724-5, Vr. 468, 476, Ho. 269, 294, Ho. S 63-4, Kb. 837, 853, OsS 750, 764, Frn. 755-6, 783
 ◇ Hardly here IE *syuHx- > NaIE *syū- v. 'sew' (because of its sonorants *y and *u), F N *zūH₁y ▽ 'fibre, thick hair'.

2766. *zūH₁y ▽ 'fibre, thick hair' > K {K²} *zūa-, {FS} *zū- 'horsetail hair' > G zua 'horsetail hair, horsehair', Mg žua, Sv {Marr} 39 / ži 'horsetail hair' ¶¶ K² 290, FS K 436-7, FS E 492, Chx. 2089, Q 376, 416, Marr JNDR 773 || IE *syuhx- v. 'bind, sew' (mt. from **suhxy-?) > NaIE *syū- / *sīy- v. 'sew', *syū-to- 'sewn', *syū-d^hlā 'awl' > OI 'sīvyati 'sews, joins (bindet\fügt zusammen)', syū'ta- 'sewn' ||| Gk κασσύω (< *kat-súō) 'sew' ||| L su-ō / -ēre, sūī, sūtum v. 'sew', sūbūla (< *syū-d^hlā) 'awl' ||| Gt inf. siujan, ON inf. sýja, AS inf. siow(i)an ~ seowian (> NE sew), OHG inf. siuwen 'to sew'; (NaIE *syūto- >)

MHG *siut* 'Naht', ON *sjóðr*, AS *seod* 'bag, pouch, purse'; (NaIE **syū-dʰlā* >) OHG *siu(ωi)la*, NHG *Säule* 'awl' || Lt inf. *siūtī* (1s pres. *siuvū*), Ltv inf. *šūt* (1s pres. *šuju* ~ *šuvu* ~ *šūnu*) 'to sew', Pru *schutuan* 'Zwim', Lt *siuvik-as* ~ *-is*, *siuvéjas*, Ltv *šuvējs* ~ *šuvājs* 'tailor', Pru *schuwikis* 'shoemaker' | pSl inf. **šiti* 'to sew' > OCS inf. **ШИТИ** *šiti*, SCr inf. *šiti*, Slv inf. *šiti*, Cz inf. *šiti*, Slk inf. *šit'*, P inf. *szyc*, R inf. *шить* id.; pSl **šijq* 'I sew' > OCS **ШИЖ** *šijq*, Blg 'шия, SCr *šijēm*, Slv *šijem*, R *шью* 'I sew', pSl **šidlo* 'awl' (< NaIE **syū-dʰlo-m*) > P *szydlo*, Cz *šidlo*, Blg, R 'шило, SCr *šilo*, Slv *šilo*; pSl **šitъ* pp. 'sewn' > OCS **ШИТЬ** *šitъ*, R *шит(ый)* || Тс А су- 'sew' || Ht {Ts.} *suēl-* (= {Pv.} *suωel-*) 'Faden, Band', {Ts.} *suwarwil-* 'ε Material für Festbinden, Binse(?)' || IE **syuhx-men-* > NaIE **syū-men-* 'band' > Gk *ῥμῆν* 'thin skin, membrane' (*ῥμῆν-ῥυρός* 'the large dorsal sinew of cartilaginous fish'), Pru *schumeno* 'Schusterdraht', OI '*syūman-* 'band, strap', Ht {Ts.} *sum(m)anza(n)-* {EI} 'thread', {Ts.} 'Strick, Band' ¶¶ WP II 514, P 915-6, EI 573 (**syuh₁-* 'sew'), M K III 477-8, M E II 734, MW 1273, F II 964, WH II 631-2, Ho. 290, 296, Fs. 425, Vr. 479, 572, Kb. 860, OsS 769-70, Lx. 196, KM 627, Ho. 290, 296, Frn. 789-90, En. 244, Vs. IV 438, 443-4, Glh. 607, Ts. W 77, 78, 80, Pv. I-II 403 || U **sūye* 'fibre' > F *syu* 'fibre, filament; annual ring (of a tree)', F † *syi* 'fibre', † *syve* (gen. *syveen*) 'fibre, nerve' | pChr {Ber.} **šiy* 'annual ring of a tree' > StChr L *ший* *šiy*, H *шиši*, B *šöy*, U *šiya* id. | Prm {LG} **se* > **se* > **si* ({LG} **se* > **se* > **si*) > Z *ci si* 'fibre, Vt *ci si* 'layer', Vt Y {Wc.} *si* 'annual ring' || Sm **ti* ~ **tü* ~ ? **tiw* 'fibre, annual ring of a tree' > Ne T *ти*, {Lh.} *ti*, Ne F {Lh.} *ci* 'annual ring', Ng {Cs.} *ti*, En X {Cs.} *ti*, En B {Cs.} *ti* 'Holzader', Slq: Tm {KD} *pod-tü*, Nr {Cs.} *pot-tü*, B {Cs.} *put-tü*, Tz/Kar {Cs.} *pot-tü* 'Holzader' (*pod-* [*pot-*] means 'of [a tree]') ¶¶ UEW 443, Coll. 59, Sm. 540 (U, FU, FP **suxi*, Sm **ti* 'annual ring'), Ber. 62, MRS 705, Ep. 150, LG 257, Jn. 161, Jn. UK 223, Cs. 63, 80, 166, 236.

2767. ?σ (₂?) ***ζαυζ** ∇χU ≈ ε leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits (lime tree, *Tilia* or sim.) > K {K, FS} ***ζαχω-** 'lime tree, *Tilia*' > OG **ααχω-**, G **ααχω-**, Mg **ααχω-** ^δ **ααχω-**, Lz **ααχω-**, Sv {TK}: UB **zāsχω**, LB **zesχ**, **zesχ-ra** ¶¶ K 233, K² 278, FS K 420-1, FS E 473-4, Q 370, Abul. 514, TK 251 || ?? **HS**: S: Ar SL **zayzafūn-** 'lime tree' ¶ This word is to be distinguished from the homonymous word Ar SL **zayzafūn-**

'fruitless sorb tree', which is probably a loan from Gk ζύζυφον 'jujube tree, Zizyphus' (though these homonyms are likely to have influenced each other) ¶ Bel. 293, Bel. DFA 681, Hv. 291 || A: Tg: WrMc {Z} чжачжихи, чжачжюри 'dense forest' ¶ It is worth paying attention to Tg *ju_le_lgdēn 'alder tree' (< *-gd- < *-j-d- < N *-ćǰ- + a sx??) (> Ewk jugdən, Lm jōdən, Neg jugdēn, Orc jugdз(n-), Ud źugdз(n-), Ork źu_lwэгdз ~ źu_lзgdз 'alder tree'), which may well belong to A *zU_l∇_lg_l∇_lt|d∇ > NaT *sōgüt|d 'willow' (see Rs. W 429) ¶ STM I 242, 269, and II 120, Krm. 235, 288, Z 970, Hr. 514.

2768. *ǰæʔ∇b∇ (= *ǰeʔ∇b∇?) '∈ beast of prey (wolf or sim.)' > HS: S *'δiʔib- 'wolf' > BHb בִּלְיָא זֶאֱרֵב, pl. בִּלְיָא זֶאֱרֵבִים, IA [Frh.] בִּלְיָא דִּבְרֵב, JPA בִּלְיָא דִּבְרֵב, JPA, JEA em. בִּלְיָא דִּבְרֵבָא, SmA בִּלְיָא דִּבְרֵב, Sr (כִּלְיָא), dē<ʔ>ḅā, Ar ذئب δiʔib- (b→ Bj {R} dīb), Ak zīb- 'wolf', Gz 𐎧𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 zəʔb 'hyena' (the posttonic vw. is evidenced by BHb, where pS *-'iʔi- yields -əʔē-) ¶ AD PSH 41, 98, 121, 139, KB 250, KBR 260, Js. 276, Sl. 326, Br. 137-8, Lv. I 370, HJ 237, Tal 179, CAD XXI 106, L G 630, DRS 324-5 || Eg fP zɛb 'jackal' (either a cognate of or a loan from S) || ?? Eg N ʔsb (= [*ʔshb-]) '∈ wolf or dog' (acc. to EG I 132, a foreign word) (with a prosthetic ʔ- and with as. [*-δʔ- > *-sʔ- > sb) ¶ EG I 132 and III 420, Fk. 209 || C: EC *z∇Hb- > HEC *zōbb- 'lion' > Sd dōbb-iččo, pl. dōbb-a, Alb zobe-ččo, Kmb zōbbe-čču, Tmbr zob'be-čču, Qbn zōbbō 'lion' | pSam *daʔaw- ~ (mt.) *dawaf- 'jackal' (× N *d'æ'w∇ʔ|g∇ 'wolf' or 'jackal', q.v. ffd.) || ? SC: Irq duʔuma 'leopard' ¶ AD SF 106, Hd. 92, L Z 120 || Ch: WCh ? *ǰi_lʔ∇_lb- ({Stl.} *ǰiʔ∇b-) > Ngz {Sch.} ǰíb-dà 'civet cat (*Viverra civetta*)' || ECh *ǰabiy- 'hyena' > Bdy ǰebay-gi 'striped hyena', Mgm ǰábiyá 'brown hyena' ¶ Sch. DN 84, ChC s.v. 'hyena' ¶ OS no. 2660 || K: G čiba 'young dog' (K *č- < **ǰH-?), G ciba 'small dog', a call word for dogs, G Kzq ciba 'Hündchen' (c- is still to be explained) ¶ Chx. 1933, 2003, KEGL VIII 501, 614 || IE *°stib_l^h_l- ({Blz.} *°stib_l^h_l-yō-) (× N *ć'ri' b∇ʔ∇ [or *ć'ri' b∇ʔ∇] 'hyena' and *ćæ|ab∇'y'∇ '∈ horned animal') > Sl *°stbb-(j_b) 'wild cat' > ChS СТЪБЛЪ stьblь, OPol zdeb ⇨ zdbik > Pol źbik 'wild cat' ¶ IE *st- belongs to the heritage of N *ćæ|ab∇'y'∇ ¶ Blz. NDAP 20-1, Brü. 649-50, Mikl. L 899-900 || A *ǰe|äbe-ken > T *je|äbken 'wolverine, glutton (*Gulo gulo*)' > Tv čepke ~ čekpe, Qb {Rl.} jäkpä, Qmn {B}, StAlt {BT} ǰēken, Alt {Rl.} jākkan (= ǰākkän), Shor {Rl.} čäkän, Yk {Pek} siäädän ¶ The long vw. in Alt and the diphthong in Yk are due to

compensatory lengthening (the loss of *b) ¶ Shch. Zh 14O, B K 212, BT 51, TvR 526, Pek. 2185, Rl. III 318, 32O, 1948 || M *ǰeʁeken ~ *ǰeʁegen (< **ǰeʁek|gen?) 'wolverine' > WrM {MED} ǰigege, {Rm.} ǰegeke, HIM {BMR} зээх(эH), {MED} зэгээ, Brt зээгэH, Kl {KRS} зеегH zēgān, {Rm.} zēkŋ id. ¶ MED 1O51, BMR II 258, Chr. 275, KRS 246, KW 474 ¶¶ M *ǰeʁeken ~ *ǰeʁegen 'wolverine' ← (dim.?) 'wolf'; ≡σ: NE wolverine ← wolf ¶¶ ≠ SDM 389 (pA *čágo 'small predator' > M + unc. Tg *ǰagari 'bear's head' and T *ToK 'weasel'), SDM 1513 (pA *zībe 'a kind of predator' > T + unc. M *sibor 'panther' and Tg *sibigē 'small big beast of prey' [in fact from N *ṣibṽṽ 'beast of prey', q.v. ffd.]), DQA no. 2571 (id.) ◇ ≠ BK DA 157 [no. 56] (an unc. equation of the HS root with D *čivṽṽanki 'leopard, lynx, hyena' [in fact from N *ǰiwṽṽmṽṽgE 'leopard' × N *č'iṽṽbṽṽ or *č'iṽṽbṽṽ 'hyena', q.v.]).

2769. *ǰuṽṽbṽṽ 'to pour, to flow' > HS: S *-ṽṽb- v. 'flow' > BHb זוב ✓ zwb G (ip. -zūb-) 'flow', 'drip with fluid', Ug mḏb {OLS} 'flood of tide', JA [Trg.] ✓ dwb G 'flow, drip', JEA ✓ dwb G 'flow out, discharge', Md ✓ dwb v. 'flow', SmA ✓ dwb G 'melt, have a discharge', Sr ✓ dwb G 'flow out, have an issue (menstruation, semen, etc.), melt', Ar ✓ ṽṽb v. G 'melt', ✓ zwb v. G 'flow' (← some z-lge.?), Ak zābu inf. 'dissolve, ooze' ¶ KB 255, KBR 266, OLS 26O, BK I 787, 1O24, A no. 72O, Grd. UT no. 1425, Tal 171, Js. 282, Lv. T I 163, Sl. 315, Br. 144, JPS 84, DRS 329, Sd. 15O1-2, CAD XXI 9-1O || Ch: WCh {Stl.} *ǰub|ḅ v. 'pour' > Hs zuba v. 'pour' || Bl ǰubb-, Dr ǰòḅé id. || ? Ngz ǰìčḅú v. 'sprinkle' || CCh: MfG {Brr.} ' -ǰṽṽb- v. 'wetten (the lips, iron)', Dgh {Frk.} ǰúpà 'be wet', Db {Lnh.} ǰúp id. ¶ Stl. VZCh no. 93, Stl. ZCh 194 [no. 457], Abr. H 975-6, Sch. DN 85, ChC, ChL, Brr. MG II 136 || Eg fP zṽṽb 'fließen, rinnen', {Fk.} 'drip' ¶ EG III 42O, Fk. 2O9 ¶¶ OS no. 2669 (*ǰub- 'flow, pour'), ≈ OS no. 2631 (*✓ zwb v. 'pour', based on an unc. rec. of pS as *✓ zwb), ≈ Sk. HCD 547 || K ≈ *ǰṽṽb|p- > Zan *ǰḡṽṽp- → GI ǰḡep-i 'heavy rain' ¶ Chx. 2436 || A *ǰub- > M *ǰubag > WrM {MED} ǰubag, HIM {MED, BMR} зубаг 'irrigation channel, drain' ¶ MED 1O77, BMR II 233 || Tg *ǰub|p- > Ewk juwāt- v. 'have diarrhoea' ¶ STM I 268 ◇ N *-ṽṽb- is suggested by ḅ in some WCh lges.

2770. ?o₂ *ǰ'üṽṽbṽṽ 'insect' > HS: S *ṽṽ'üṽṽbṽṽ- ~ ṽṽṽṽṽṽṽṽṽ- 'a fly' > BHb זבוב zəḅḅ, JA [Trg.] דיבבא dīḅḅā-ā, Sr دباب dabbāḅ-ā ~ دباب dεbbāḅ-ā id., Ar ṽḅḅāḅ-, Mh {Jo.} ḅḅḅḅēt (pl. ḅḅḅḅ), Jb E {Jo.}

δэб'бэт, Jb C {Jo.} δэб'бэт (pl. 'δbeb), Sq {L} dbiboh, Ak z u b b u ~ z u m b u id., Hrs δэbbḗt (pl. δэбδḗb) id., δebδэbḗt 'worm' ¶ KB 250, KBR 261, JPS 81, Js. 294, Jo. M 79, Jo. J 45, Jo. H 27-8, DRS 326 || B *z∇bb- 'fly' > Ah {Fc.} a-həb (pl. i-həbb-in) 'mouche plate', ETwl, Ty e-zəbb (pl. i-zəbb-ən) 'mouche (œstre) du bœuf', Tnsl {ABs.} a-šəbb, Gh {ABs.} azəb 'fly', Izd {Mrc.} i-zib (pl. i-zabb-ən) 'mouche de cheval' ¶ Fc. 505, GhA 208, Pr. H no. 122, Mrc. 170 || Eg MK z b . t '≈ vermin (Ungeziefer)', DEg s b 'vermin, louse' > Cpt Sd c i b s i b, Cpt B c i n s i p 'vermine, tique' ¶ EG III 432, Vc. 183 || ?φ C: Bj {R} ɖ i b ā b (pl. ɖ i b ə b) n. 'flea' ¶ R WBd 73 || ? Ch: WCh: Ngz {Sch.} žúwâk, Bd {ChL} žúwǎn n. 'fly' || CCh: Mtk {Sb.} žúwây, pMM {Ro.} *žiway (> Mada {Ro.} zùwé, Myn {Ro.} ázùwé, Mkt {Ro.} zùwáy, Hrz {Ro.}, Mf {BLB} žúwáy, Mlk/Vm/Mofu {Ro.} žùwáy, Zlg {Ro.} žùwé, MfG {Brr.} žážùwáy, Gzg D {ChC} žužuwed, Gzg {Ro.} žìžìwéd, Gzg Mj {Lk.} žìžuwed), Glv {Rp.} nžúwiyà, Gv {ChL} nžuwà, Dgh {ChC} ñžúwè, {ChL} nzúwè, Nkc {IL} nzúwè, Mdr {Mk., ChL} nžuwə n. 'fly' || ECh: Mu {J} ðùwó, Jg {J} diwo id. ¶ Nw. 52 (s.v. *diwa 'fly'), ChC, ChL, Ro. 254 [no. 282], Lk. G 125, RpB 74, BLB 128, Brr. MG II 137 || A *žüb'í' 'e stinging insect' > Tg *jube-kte, *jube-n 'wasp, bee' > Ewk juwuktə ɖ juvuktə 'wasp', Sln jūktə, Lm jəwət ~ jəwət, Neg jəwət-ktə ~ jəvəktə ~ jəvəktə, Nn Nh/KU žəwě, žəwəkě, Nn B žəwə(n-) 'wasp, bee' ¶ STM I 268 || ? NaT *ji:bin ~ *çīpin ~ *çi:bin > OT čibin ~ čībin 'fly, gnat', Tk cibin, Az čibin 'fly, mosquito, gnat', Tkm čībin, Uz čibin 'gnat', Qmq žibin 'fly', {Rm.} 'Sandfliege', VTt чебен чьбьн, ET čivin, Qrg čimin, StAlt, Tb {B} címin n. 'fly', Qzq šibin id., šibin-širkey 'swarm of midges', ?φ Tv šimil 'larve' ¶ The variations *j- ~ *ç- and *-b- ~ *-p- ~ *-m- are due to the ideographic (onomatopoeic) associations of the word ¶ TL 186, Cl. 838, Rs. W 110, TatR 632, TkR 743, Sht. 235, Nj. 416 ¶¶ ≈ SDM97 (A *žūb u > T, Tg + *÷ M *žögəy 'bee'), ≠ KW 487 (M, T), Pp. VG 28, 58.

2771. (₂?) *ʒ' a' ɖ' d ∇ (or *ž a H d ∇?) 'spread, be flat' > A *ž ā d ∇- (= ž ā d ∇-?) > NaT *jāδ- > OT {Cl.} jāδ- v. 'spread out (on the ground, etc.)', XwT/MQp XIV, Chg XV jāy- id., Tk jāy-, Ggz, Kr jāy-, Uz ёй- jāy-, VTt žāy-, Bsh jāy-, Qzq, Qq žāy-, Qrg žāy-, StAlt {BT} дьай- žāy-, Xk čas-, Tv čat-, Tf čat- id., Tkm jāy- v. 'roll out dough', Az, Qmq, ET jāy- id., 'spread out' ¶ Cl. 883-4, ET J 76-7, TkR 808, Ra. 195 || M *žada- > WrM {MED} žadar a- vi. 'spread' (here unless from žadar a-

v. 'unfold, unwrap, loosen'), HIM задра- {MED, BMR} id., WrM {Rm.} за́да-гаі 'lying open, spread out', HIM {BMR} задгай 'offen, aufgemacht', Kl {KRS} за́дһа 'open, not closed', {Rm.} zaḍaγā ~ zaḍaγā 'ofren, offenstehend nicht zugeschloßen oder abgesperrt'; WrM {Rm. ← ?} за́да-і- 'sich ausbreiten', за́да-гаг 'flach ausgebreitet'; if the primary meaning of the M √ is 'to open, to loosen', 'apart' (WrM за́да 'apart'), the M √ does not belong here (⇔ Rm.) ¶ MED 1021, BMR II 197-8, Kow. 2277-8, KW 462, KRS 236 ¶¶ Rm. EAS I 64 and Rm. SKE 24 (T, M + unc. Ко џак:і [Rm.: < *ĉat-ki-] 'to place with the back down', arbitrarily interpreted by Rm. as 'mit ausgebreiteten Armen auf den Rücken legen'), SDM 1525 (pA *ǰād∇ v. 'spread, unravel [расстилатъ, распутывать]' > M, T), DQA no. 2584 (id.) || D *ĉaṭṭ- 'flat(ness)' > Kn саṭṭу, саṭṭа, саṭṭе 'flatness, levelness', Tu саṭṭæ 'flat, level', Knd saṭu, saṭu-panku 'flat rock' (panku 'stone')¶¶ D no. 2308 || ?с HS: S **°✓ δṛd > (as. in the framework of a rdp. pattern) Ar ✓ δṛδṛ D 'disperse' ¶ BK I 772-3 ◇ N *ǰ and *ṛ are justified only if the S cognate belongs here. Otherwise the N etymon is less specific: *ǰaHd∇ ◇ IS SS no. 3.19 (A, D), IS MS 359 s.v. расстилатъся (A, D).

2772. *ǰæwγ'і' 'bad, ugly', ([in descendant lgs.] → 'left [link]') > IE: NaIE *seuγo- 'left (link)' > OI сау'уа- 'left, left hand/arm', Av һаоуа-, MPrs һōу- 'left' ||| Sl *šuyь 'left (link)' > OCS шоуһ џиі id. ('εὐώνυμος'), шоуһца џиіца 'left hand', Slv šūj (f. šúja) 'left', SCr šūvāk (gen. šuváka) 'left-hander', OR шџһ 'left', R Δ 'шүйца 'left hand', Uk 'шүйбіч 'on the left side' ||| Clt {Matas.} *assowγo- adj. 'left' (if from *ad-sewγo-, as suggested by Ped. and Mn.) > MW aswγ / asw 'left, sinister, clumsy', W aswγ 'left, MBr һасоу 'left', ?? Br су (call to a horse to turn left) ¶ WP II 472, P 915, EI 349 (*seuγo-s), M K III 449, Tr. 260 (none of them mentions the Clt cognates), Vs. IV 484, Ped. VG II 16, Mn. 38 (reconstructs *a|asewγos ~ *sewγos 'left hand, sinister', adduces the Clt cognate and Arm ահեալ ահեակ 'left' + *÷ Tc B саіωаі v. 'the right'), Bc. 865-7, SEv. 4, YGM-1 34, Wn. I 410-1 (rejecting the connection of Tc B саіωаі with the IE √ in question), Matas. E 44 ||| A: ppM *ǰeβün 'left' > MM [L] XIII {Pp.} ǰeωүн, [HI] ǰe, үн, [IsV] ǰүωүн 'left', WrM {MED} ǰegүн, HIM {MED, BMR}, Brт зүγ(һ), Kl {KRS} зүһ 'left; eastern, east', {Rm., Pp.} zūn 'link, links, zu linken Hand; östlich', Ord ǰü:n 'qui est de côté gauche; septentrional'; M

↳ ? Ork dɜwun'ji ~ dɜun'jɜ ~ dɜun'ji 'left', Ewk jɜɣin, Neg jɜɣinidɜgdɜ, Orc ʒɜn'ʒɜ, Ud ʒɜn'ʒɜ, {Krm.} ʒɜn'ʒɜ- 'left', Nn ʒɜn'ʒɜ 'to the left side' ¶ Pp. L II 1271, Ms. H 67, Lg. VMI 40, MED 1044, BMR II 250, Chr. 270, Krm. 232, KRS 259-60, KW 485, Ms. O 225, STM I 282 || HS: S *^o✓ ɔ̄ɛɔ̄ (rdp.) > Ar ɔ̄aɛāɔ̄iɛ- 'bad, of poor quality' (of palm trees) ¶ BK I 773 || K: G ʒɜuna 'ugly' ('unschön, häßlich'), G K ʒɜurta 'mißgestalteter, häßlicher Mensch' ¶ Chx. 2457 ◇ IS MS 346 s.v. левый (*z^re¹w^o, represented in IE and M; adduction of WrMc {Z} чжэбэлэ is to be rejected because the word means 'right side' (Z 976) rather than 'left side' [as in IS l.c.]) ◇ The K and S cognates suggest that the N rec. is *ʒæwɣ'i¹ and the meaning of the N word is 'bad, ugly, (→ ?) left' ◇ It is possible to find a semantic connection between this N word and N *ʒo^r'¹a^w∇ or *ʒa^r'¹o^w∇ *≈ be of poor quality\appearance; be weak, be bad' (q.v.), but the cognates in M suggest that these two etymons have different vowels and hence represent two separate N words ◇ The alternative reconstruction of a pN word (₂ *ʒæw^ri¹ > IE, M) with the original meaning 'left' ('link') is hardly plausible, because we know from the history of languages that the meaning 'left' is (always?) secondary.

2773. *ʒŭh^ri¹ (= *ʒü^h'i¹?) ≈ show, advise, get accustomed' > HS: Eg fMK z^h 'advice', z^hɣ 'adviser; clever, understanding' ¶ EG III 465-6 || K *čw(e)- v. 'get accustomed, train, school' > OG čue-, G čve-/*čvi-id., Mg *rčk^v(a)-, Sv čkw- 'get accustomed (?)' (msd. UB {TK} li-čkwne) ¶¶ K 219 (GZ *čwe-), K² 256 (K *čw(e)-); FS K 388 and FS E 436 (*čw-), TK 471 || IE: Ht siɣa- md. 'sich zeigen' ¶ Ts. W 75 ◇ Does Ht i suggest a N front vw., i.e. N *ʒŭh^ri¹? ◇ K *č- < *ʒh.

2774. *ʒ'a^rkU 'be low', 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > K: G G {Chx., Ghl.} ʒagvera(-i) 'a short robust person' ¶ Chx. 2424, Ghl. 772 || U *čoka 'low', 'shallow', 'low water' > Lp: L {LLO} tsā^ohkē 'shallow' (of a lake), N {N} coakke / -g- 'low water' (of river or sea), Kld цуэгкь, K {Gn.} cuə^okk 'shallow'; L {UEW} tsā^ohkō-, N {N} coakko- / -g- 'fall' (level of water), 'sink' || Sm: Slq: Tz {KKIH} tɜkkē- vt. 'dry out', tɜk^r+- vi. 'dry out', Tur {Lh.} tɜkk+- id., Ke {Cs.} cakka-, Nr {Cs.} čaga- 'austrocknen' || pY: Y T {IN H} čogune- 'thin', Y K {IN H} čugenz- ~ ču^onnz- 'narrow, thin', Y T {Ku.} čoɣune- 'be thin', {Iox.} čoɣun^re- 'be shallow' (of a river) ¶¶ UEW 60-1, LLO 1242-3, SaR 381, KKIH 182, Cs. 133, IN H 140 (err. pY *čō^onkz-), Ku. 235-6, Ang. 39 || A: M *ʒag²a-yi- 'be short and stocky' (of a person) > WrM {MED} ʒag²ai-

HIM {MED, BMR}, Brt заґзай-, Kl {KRS}заґзи- zagzī- id., Kl Ö {Rm.} zaʷzā- 'kurz und dick sein', Ord ž_ag_ž_ā- ~ jaq_ž_ā- 'être de petite taille, être peu haut' (of a person); M *žagžag-gar > WrM {MED} заґзаґар, HIM {MED} заґзґар ~ заґжґар, {BMR} заґзґар, Kl {KRS} заґзһр zagzəhər 'short and stocky' (of a person), Kl Ö {Rm.} zaʷz_aʷar 'kurz und dick, von kleinem Wuchs, stämmig', Brt заґзаґар 'short and stocky' (of a person), 'broad and thick' (of a beard), Ord ž_ag_ž_agar ~ jaq_ž_agar 'qui est de petite taille, qui est peu élevé'; Brt заґзүүл zagzūl 'is low\undersized' (of a pine forest) ¶ MED 1025, BMR II 197, KRS 235, KW 463, Chr. 243, Ms. O 179 || ?σ HS: S *°✓ δkω > Ar ✓ δkω D 'être gros, corpulent' ¶ BK I 778 ◇ U *-o- (for *a) is due to the ass. infl. of the labialized vw. of the next syll. G Gr -g- in žagvera- (for the expected -k-) has not yet found explanation.

2775. *žEʷL∇ (or *žELʷ∇?) 'ε small carnivore mammal' ('fox', [?] 'jackal', 'weasel' or the like) > K: eNG žilʷaθ ({SSO} 'šavi mela', literally 'black fox'), G žilʷaθ ~ žilʷθ 'silver fox', {DCh.} žilʷaθ id., 'red fox', G {Chx.} žilʷaθ 'schwarzer Fuchs' ¶ Chx. 2448, DCh. 1771, KE VIII 1591 || HS: S: Ar {Hv.} δuʔāl-at- 'fox', δaʔl- ~ δiʔl- ~ δuʔl- 'jackal, weasel', {Ln.} δaʔlān- ~ δuʔlān- 'jackal' or 'wolf', δuʔāl-at- 'wolf' (? for the expected ʔ is due to the infl. of δiʔb- 'wolf' or to derivational processes [like pl. fractus **δuʔ_∇_ʔāl- > δuʔāl-?]) ¶ Hv. 194, BK I 762, Ln. 950 || A: Tg *jele(-kī) 'weasel' > Ewk jɜlɜ-kī, Lm jiliki, Neg jɜlɜxī, Orc žɜlɜki, Ud žɜlɜxi, Ul žilɜli(n-) ~ žɜli ~ žɜliki, Ork jɜlɜi, Nn žɜli, žɜlikɜ 'weasel', WrMc {Z} чжэлкэнь {AD} 'ε small carnivore mammal' (? {Z} 'бурундук [chipmuck, *Tamias*], колонок [Siberian weasel, *Mustela sibirica*], жёлтый хорёк') ¶ STM I 28, Z 977, Krm. 236, Z 977 ◇ 'Fox' and 'weasel' may be semantically connected as names of two fur-bearing animals.

2776. *žam∇ 'be dying, perish' > HS: S *°✓ δmυ > Ar ✓ δmω|υ v. G 'writhe in agony' (of a dying or slaughtered beast) (pf. مَضَّ δamā, ip. -δmiυ-, n. act. δamυ-) ¶ BK I 783, Hv. 230 || But hardly here Sml d̄imašθ 'be dying' (⇔ Blz.), because there is no confirmed etl. identity between Sml d̄ and S *δ || D *čam- ({ʔGS} *s-) 'die, be finished', (caus.) 'kill' > Tl samayu 'die, perish, be destroyed', camaru 'kill', Tm camai vi. (p. -v-) 'be consumed \ destroyed', vt. 'finish', camai (p. -pp-) 'kill, destroy', Ml cavati 'consumption', Kt čam- 'be finished \ spent'. Kn same save saui 'be destoved \ consumed. wear away'.

Gnd žavv-kānā 𐤆 havk- 'kill' 𐤇𐤍 D no. 2343 || U: FV *yama- 'be dying' > pLp {Lr.} *yāmē 'die' > Lp: S {Hs.} inf. jaam'edh, L {LLO} inf. jarmēt, N {N} inf. jabmet, K {Gn.} inf. yām'mēδ 'to die, to perish' | pMr {Ker.} *yūma- > Er ěma- yoma- 'be missing (get lost, etc.), perish', Mk юма- yu'ma-, Δ ima- id. | pChr {Ber.} *yom- > Chr: H inf. ямаш 'yamaš', L inf. йомаш yo'maš, B/Uf yoma-, M joma- 'get lost, perish' || ?? Sm: Ne T O {Lh.} yāmā- 'be unable', T Sd {Lh.} ḥewāw yāʔmā 'my mother is ill', Ng {Cs.} jama- ju'a- 'nicht können' || pY {IN UJ} *yamp- 'be ill, die' ({IN H} *yompʔ- with an unc. vw. *-o-) > Y T {IN H, Ku.} yaba-, {Iox.} jobe, Y K {IN H} you, {Iox} jobo 'disease', Y T {Ku.} yaʔ- 'feel pain' 𐤇𐤍 Coll. 17, UEW 89, Lr. no. 256, Lgc. no. 1661, Hs. 753-4, LG 337, Rd. rLG 422, Ker. II 44-5, ERV 182-3, PI 319, Ber. 11, Ep. 25, MRS 147-8, 787, Lh. 97, Cs. 52, Ku. 63-4, Ang. 82, 94-5, IN H 194, IN UJ 224, IN RJ 4 ◇ Not here StAlt žobo- 'be sick' (BT 55), which is a loan from M (pM *žoba- 'suffer' < N *žo'ʔ'aw∇ or *ž'a'ʔ'ow∇ *'≈ be of poor quality \ appearance; be weak, be bad' [q.v.]) (see also Cl. 872) ◇ The U cognate is valid if N *ž- may yield U *y- (hyp. formulated by the present author in 1974 [AD NSAS 163-75], but not confirmed later) ◇ Blz. SNE I 239 [no. 1] (*zama; U, D + [unc.] StAlt žobo-, C + Ko samaṇ 'death' [in fact a loan from Chn]).

2777. ?σ₂ *žEm∇ 'way' (→ [1] 'manner of behaviour', [2] 'blame, fault') > HS: Eg L/G zmʔ.ty 'Weg, Straße' 𐤇𐤍 EG III 452 || WS *√δmm ~ *°√δʔm > Ar δimām- 'right, due, honour', {BK} 'devoir, obligation', esp. 'l'obligation de protéger les siens', √δmm v. G (pf. δamma) 'blame, reprove', δamm- 'blame, vice'; (× √δʔm 'drive away, repousser'): √δʔm G 'blame, dispise, disgrace', δaʔm- 'vice, shameful action', BHb 𐤇𐤍 zim'mā 'evil device, wickedness' (× 𐤇𐤍 zim'mā 'plan, purpose' ← √zmm 'consider'), 'infamy, shameful behaviour', MHb (← Aram) 𐤇𐤍 dū'mā 'woman of ill repute', {Lv.} id., 'woman suspected of illicit intercourse', Ug tdm {TOu} 'se conduire mal', {OLS} 'trato lascivo \ denigrante', tdm t {TOu} 'inconduite', {OLS} 'lascivia', Mh {Jo.} √δmm G (pf. δʔm, sbjn. yʔδmʔm) 'miscall so. behind his back', Jb E/C {Jo.} √δmm G id., Mh aδmēm 'put all the blame on so.\sth.', Gz √zmw D 'fornicate, commit adultery\whoredom, have illicit intercourse', Tgy √zmw D 'fornicate, commit adultery', Amh zemma 'whore, harlot' 𐤇𐤍 BK I 781, KB 272, Js. 284, Lv. I 383, BK I 762, 781, Hv. 225, 230, BDB 273, TOu I 201, OLS 463, DRS 335, Jo. M 80, L G 639,

Bsn. 723, Kane 1612, MiK I no. 2.14 || **A:** M *ʒime > WrM {MED} ʒime n. 'conduct, manner of behavior; blame, reprimand', HiM зэм {MED} id., {BMR} 'Vergehen (проступок), Schuld; Vorwurf, Tadel', Brt зэмэ 'Schuld, Vergehen, Verbrechen; Vorwurf', WrM ʒime ~ земе, HiM зэм id., WrO zēm 'discipline, natural law', земе 'discipline, sacred instructions; blame', WrO zem n. 'harm, evil, guilt', земе n. 'blame, fault, reprimand; scolding' ? zēm n. 'blame', Ord 'réprimande, reproche, critique'; WrM {MED} ʒimed- v. 'accuse; blame, reprimand'; M *ʒimele- > WrM {MED} ʒimele- ~ земеle- v. 'accuse, blame, reproach; chide, scold; lecture', HiM зэмлэ- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'tadeln (порицать, осуждать), vorwerfen; jem-m einen Verweis erteilen, rügen, rüffeln', Brt зэмэл- v. 'accuse', WrO земеле- v. 'scold, reprove' ¶ MED 1056, BMR II 2534, Chr. 272, Kow. 2348-9, Krg. 667, Ms. O 199 ||| It is tempting to adduce here the M word that is represented by WrM зам, HiM зам, WrO зам 'road, way, pass', Kl {Rm.} зам 'Weg, Landstraße', {KRS} † зам 'Trakt, Landstraße (большая дорога)', зам 'way' (MED 1033, Kow. 2290, Krg. 661, KW 466, Kg. AD 328 [no. 1162]), but this M word is at least influenced by or contaminated with (if not identical with) the loanword ʒам 'posting station' (MM [S] {R} ʒам id.) probably of Chn origin (← ItMCn ≈ čam < MChn {Starostin, p.c.} čem [> Chn M ʒ_an] 'to stop; stage of journey') (see Kg. AD 328 [no. 1162], H 85; on the T word jam 'posting station' of the same Chinese origin see Cl. 933). If the M word is a loan from Chn, it does not belong here. If there was contamination, the Chn infl. is responsible for the one-syll. structure and the vw. a in the M word.

2778. ??φ *ʒa'm|ŋ' ∇ ʒæ ~ *ʒ'a' ʒ' ∇ 'm|ŋ' ∇ 'chin, beard' > IE {EI} *smeḱ-, *smoḱwṛ̥: [1] NaIE *smeḱ- 'chin' > Clt {Matas.} *°smeko- 'chin' > OIr smech 'chin' ||| possibly L māla 'cheekbone, jawbone', 'cheek, jaw', dim. maxilla 'jawbone, jaw' (māla < *sm.ḱ-slā) ||| [2] IE *smoḱwṛ̥ 'beard, (?) chin' > Ht {Ts.} zamankur ~ zamakur 'beard', samankurwant- 'bearded' ('bärtig') || NaIE: OI śmaśru 'beard' ||| Arm մաւրուք mawruk^h ~ մօրուք mōruk^h id. ||| pAl {O} *smekrā > Al mjekēr 'chin, beard' ||| Lt smākras, † smakrā 'chin', Ltv smakrs 'chin, palate' ||| ?σ AS smæras 'lips' ¶ The depalatalized *-k- (in Al and Blt) is due to its precon. position ¶ Frd. HW 259, Ts. W 69, 108, WP II 689, P 968-9, EI 107, 251, M K III 982, WH II 15, Vn. S 140-1, Sl. 180-1, O 269-70, Frn. 839, Matas. E 342 || **HS: [1] HS **ʒ ∇ ʒ ∇ N-**

(< N *ǰ'a'K̥∇'m|ŋ'∇) 'chin, beard' > S *δa'k̥an- 'beard' > BHb 𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤁 zā'k̥ān id., 'side whiskers', Ph z̥k̥n, JA [Trg.] 𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤁 dā'k̥an, em. JA [Trg.], JEA 𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤁 dīk̥'n-ā, Sr dāk̥'n-ā, SmA d̥k̥n, Ak zīk̥n-u 'beard', Ug d̥k̥n 'beard, chin', Ar δaq(a)n- 'chin' | Ak fOB zux̥tu ~ s̥ux̥tu 'chin' ¶ KB 267, KBR 278, AD PhSS 2-5, OLS 135-6, HJ 339, Js. 319, Lv. I 420, Sl. 335-6, Tal 192, Br. 164, Sod. 1061, 1530-1, CAD XXI 125-6, DRS 339, MiK I no. 63 || WCh *ǰaKam∇ ({Stl.} *ǰaKaŋ|m∇) 'chin' > Su {J}, Kfr M {Hf.} ǰaʕam, Ang {Flk.} ǰām, Gmy {Hf.} ǰōm, {Kr.} ǰoʔóm, Cp {Kr.} ǰz̥k̥z̥m 'chin', Kfr {Nt.} ǰagám 'jaw' | BT: Grm {Gw.} ǰaŋgum̥u 'chin' || ECh: Mkl {J} zúkú mò ~ zúkímò (pl. zûŋkímàgí) 'chin, beard' ¶ Stl. ZCh 195 [no. 463], Hf. AGL 22 [no. 162], Nt. 16, ChL, ChC, J LM 202 ||| [2] ?φ C: Bj {R} ša'nak (pl. 'šanaka) 'jawbone, chin, beard' ||| Ag ≈ *o'č' Angabat > Km {CR}, Q {R} šəngəbat 'beard, chin' ¶ R WBd 217, R QW 127 ||| A: NaT *jaŋak, {ðRs.} *jaŋak ({ADb.} *jajŋak) 'jaw, cheek' > OT jaŋaq, {Cl.} jaŋāq 'cheekbone, cheek', MU, XwT jaŋaq, ET jaŋaq, Chg ≥xv jaŋaq ~ jaŋax 'cheek', MQp jaŋaq 'cheek, jaw', Bsh, Kr T jaŋaq, QrB ǰayaq, Qzq, Qq ǰaq, StAlt, Tb ǰāq, Tf nāq, Tv čāq, Yk sɪŋāχ 'jaw, cheek', ? Qzq iyek 'jaw', Qrg ǰāq, Uz ǰaʕ 'jaw', Tk ɣanək, Az janag, Tkm, VTt, ET jaŋaq, Qmq jayaq, Slr Ul jaŋax, SbT Tb {Rl.} nāq, Xk nāχ 'cheek', Shor {Rl.} nāq 'cheek, cheekbone', Uz janāq 'cheekbone' ¶ Rs. W 187, Cl. 948, ET J 123, TL 219-20, Tn. SJ 346, Rl. III 627, 636 || Tg *jegī 'chin' > Ewk ɟɟ̥ ɟ̥ ɟ̥ɟ̥ ɟ̥ ɟ̥ɟ̥ 'chin, lower jaw', Sln ɟ̥gī, Orc ǰ̥ɟ̥ɟ̥, Ud {Krm.} ǰ̥z̥i ~ ǰ̥z̥y 'chin', Nn Nh ǰ̥z̥y|ǰ̥ 'cap lace tied under the chin', WrMc {Z} чжэлгънь id. ¶ STM I 281, Krm. 235, Z 977 ◇ Tg *e is due to regr. as. (*a...E > *ä...E > Tg *e...) ◇ The connection between HS **ǰ̥∇k̥∇N- and the supposed IE and T cognates is confirmed by Tg *jegī, but is still not certain. If it does exist, it may be accounted for either by mt. or by a suffixal element *-∇N (cp. S *'ʔuδ-∇₁n 'ear', *'k̥ar-an- 'horn', and *'gur-an- 'throat' with a sx *-an- typical of names of body parts). If HS **ǰ̥∇k̥∇N- does not belong here, in the N rec. the cns. *ǰ̥- must be replaced by *ǰ̥- (= ɟ̥|ɟ̥|ǰ̥). The reflexes of the etymon in question should be distinguished from those of N *śām₁∇₁g∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair' (q.v.).

2779. *ǰemûqa₁h₂ê₁ 'fog, smoke, hot\sultry air' > K: G ǰanq-i 'dense fog' ¶ Chx. 2430 || IE: NaIE *(s)meu₁k̥h- ~ *(s)meu₁g- 'smoke' > Gk σμύχων 'burn in a smouldering fire' ||| Gmc: MHG smouch n. 'smoke, steam', MDt smoooc, Dt smook, NHG Schmauch 'dense smoke', AS

smoca 'smoke', NE n. smoke; AS smīec 'smoke, steam', NE Δ smitch 'smoke'; MDt inf. smieken, smuiken, Dt inf. smoken & smuiken, AS inf. smēocan vi. 'to smoke', smocian inf. rauchen, räuchern', NE v. smoke; AS inf. smīecan vi. 'to smoke', vt. 'to fumigate', MLG inf. smōken, NHG inf. schmauchen 'to smoke, to puff at a pipe' ||| Arm **մխի** muχ (gen. **մխոյ** mχoy) 'smoke' (< *_ls₁muk^ho-) ||| Clt {Matas.} *muk-∇- 'smoke' > OIr {Vn.}, Mİr {Matas.} múch, Brtt [RE] *mukos 'smoke' > W {YGM} mωg, Crn mōk id., MBr 'hearth', Br {Hm.} moged 'fumée', mog 'foyer, maison, famille, feu', moug n. 'suffocation', adj. 'étouffant' ||| Lt inf. smáugti (1s pres. smáugi) 'to stifle' (← *'to stifle by smoke'), 'to strangle' ¶ WP II 688-9, P 971, EI 529 (*(s)m(e)ug^h 'smoke'), F II 752, Sl. 187-8, Vn. M 69-70, RE 131, YGM-1 337, Hm. 576, 584, Frn. 841, Ho. 301-3, OED IX 275, Vr. N 659-60, OsS 835, Lx. 200, KM 662 ||| **U:** FU *čęke 'current of air, hot air, sultriness' > F henki (gen. hengen) 'breath, current of air, air, spirit, ghost', Es hing (gen. hinge) 'breath, current of air, soul' | Prm: Vt жог žog 'hot air (in a oven, in a sauna)', Sr/M {Wc.} žog, Vt Uf {Wc.} žog 'very hot, sultry' ||| ObU {Ht.} *čĕnk > pOs {Ht.} *čĕnk ({HL.} *čĭnk) > Os: Ty/Y/D/K čĕnk, Nz/Kz šānk, O šānk 'heat, hot' (of air, weather), D {Stn.} χotnə čənk 'it is hot in the room', manem čənk 'mir ist heiß'; pVg *sānk > Vg: T säk, LK sāk, MK/UK sāk, P/NV/SV/LL sax, Ss sänk 'hot, heat' ¶ Besides, there is a FU √ *čüη∇ 'smoke, fog' (either contamination with N *čüη∇ 'smoke, smell' [q.v.] or going back entirely to N *čüη∇) ¶ UEW 57, 59, Coll. 80, U3S 145, Wc. FUAA 246, Ht. no. 106, Stn. D 287.

2780. (₂?) *žān∇ and *žān∇ b∇ 'tail, back' > HS: S *δa'nab- 'tail' > BHb **דַּנְבַּ** dā'nāb, Ug δnb, JA [Trg.] **דַּנְבַּ** dan'b-ā ~ **דַּנְבַּ** dun'b-ā, Md dīnba, SmA dnb, Sr dun'bā, dūnbə't-ā, Ar δanab-, Gz zanab, Tgy zəneb, Mh δənūb, Hrs δənēb, Jb C 'δu'nub, Sq {L} 'dīnob, {Jo.} denob, Ak zibb-atu & zimb-atu, Eb šè-na-bù ({Krb.} δin_la|ə_lbu(m), {Frnz.} δinabum) 'tail']? Gz zabān 'back, tail' (← C?; see ↓), ??? Ar {Ln.} δubāb- 'point, extremity, sharp edge' ¶ KB 263, KBR 374-5, OLS 140, Br. 159, JPS 87, Lv. I 415, Js. 315, Tal 191, Ln. 952, 980-1, L G 640, L LS 130, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 28, Jo. J 47, CAD XXI 100-2, Krb. EG 44, Frnz. EL 154, DRS 336, BK I 763, MiK I no. 64 ||| C: EC {Ss.} *zanb- ~ *zinb- 'tail' (× N *d∇mP∇ [= *d∇mp∇?] 'back, hinder part, tail') > Sa daban & zaban & δaban, Rn {PG} dúb 'tail; buttocks, bakside', Sml {DSI}

dambe 'behind, after; hind' ('dietro; dopo; posteriore'), ka dambē (v.) 'essere indietro', Sml N damb-ayn-ayya 'hinten sein', Or {Brl.} daballé 'codino', {Th.} daballe 'tail, tress (of hair)' ({Ss.} < *daban-lē), Hr sinp-ō 'uncircumcised penis', Arr {Hw.} dúmm 'tail', Dsn {To.} dúm 'tail tip'; Gz zabān 'back, tail' may be a loan from a Cushitic source (unless a mt. from S *ḏa'nab-) ¶ DSI 130-1, Ss. WKOS 140, PG 103, Brl. 84, Th. 81, Hw. A 353, To. DL 492, ≠ L Z 126 (doubts about EC {Ss.} *z-), L G 631, MiK I no. 62 ¶¶ L Z 126 (EC ÷ S) || A: NaT *jan- vi. 'turn back' > OT {Cl.}, ET, SY, Ln, Chg jan- id., Uz ěH- jǝn- vi. 'return' ¶ Cl. 940-2, ET J 111-4 ¶ This T √ may be an AdS of T *jān 'side' (mainly from N *L|žān ∇ 'side (of body)' [q. v. ffd.]) || ? IE: NaIE *°dumb- 'tail, penis' (× N *d ∇ m P ∇ '↑' [q.v. ffd.]) ¶ NaIE *d- is inherited from N *d ∇ m P ∇.

2781. ₂ *žUhn ∇ 'show; understand, be taught' > HS: WS *√ ḏhn > Ar √ ḏhn G (ip. -ḏhan-) 'understand', ḏihn- 'understanding, sagacity', {BK} 'intelligence', {Fr.} 'ingenium', ḏahab- {Fr.} 'ingenium, intellectus, memoria', {Hv.} 'prudence', Jb C {Jo.} √ ḏhn G (pf. ḏε'hεn, sbjn. yǝḏ'hun) 'have sense, have acquired intellectual maturity, be clever', Sh (pf. eḏ'hin) 'teach, instruct' ¶ Fr. II 98, BK I 786, Hv. 232, Jo. J 45 || K *°čwen- > OG čuēn-, G čven- v. 'show' ¶ Ser. 194, DCh. 1576 ¶ K *č- < **čh- < *žh- (as.).

2782. id.? ≈ *žUñ'č'U (or *žUñč'U?) 'ant, stinging insect' > K: GZ {FS} *žinčw-, {K, K²} *žinčwel- 'ant' > OG žinčvel- 'ant', G čiančvela- id. (× *čia- 'worm'), G Gr žinčvela-i, Mg čķičķ-i-ṭia- ~ žginžg-i-ṭia-, Lz dimčķu- ~ dumčķu- 'ant'; *÷ Sv məršķ- 'ant' (or a merger with a different √?) ¶ K 269, FS K 504, FS E 573-4 || HS: C: EC: Sa dūde, Sml Ji {Lm.} dūdū? 'ant', ? Bs {HL} tunče 'red ant', HEC {AD} *čunč- ~ *čuč- 'ant', {Hd.} *čūča 'small ant' > Sd {Gs.} čunča (coll.) 'big black ants', (snglt.) čunč-iččo 'a big black ant', Kmb ṭuṭi-ta 'small ant', Brj čūččē id.; EC ↪ EthS: Arg ṭuč, Grg Sl čūnčē, Grg Wl čunče 'gnat', Har čūč 'small black ant', (× N *'s' A P 'č' ∇ 'ε stinging insect'): o: Gz ṣāṣūt, ṣāṣōt, ṣāṣēt 'gnat, stinging insect, red ant', Tgr ṣaṣot, Tgy ṣaṣe 'ant', Amh čəčət 'gnat' || Ag {Ap.} *čənc- (= {JAp.} *cənc-) 'fly' > Bln, Q šin'sa, Xm {R} ṣəṣa, Aw cəncá id.; Ag ↪ EthS: Gz ṣəṣəña, Tgy ṣəṣəya, Tgr čəncəy 'fly' ¶ Hd. 20, 184, 341, 357, Gs. 62, L EDH 50, L G 564-5, L EDG III 183, R WB 308, Ap. AV 19, Hz. AL 11 [fn. 15], Lm. Sh 401-2, HL 144 || NrOm (the data are mainly from {C} and {Lm.}): Kf čičč, Meh ṭuṭi, Anf ṭm, ← ṭuṭi, Mi čūč, Naq ṭm, čūč, Wl

čūča, Zs, Dc, Gamu čučče, Bdt čunče, Kcm čuse, Bnc {Wdk.} čúčè, Wl čunčalle, Dc čunčalle 'ant' ¶ C SE IV 419, Lm. Sh 401-2, Wdk. BY 100, 163 || U: FU *čonča ~ *čońća 'flea' > F Δ sonsar, sonsari 'flea', Krl A, Ld čončoi, Krl A čončoi, Vp sonzar ~ sonzar, Lv {Kt.} sięzar id. || Er чичав čičav, Δ čučav, Mk шичав ši'čav id. || pChr {Ber.} *šuršə > Chr L шуршо 'šuršo, Chr H шуршы šuršъ id. || pObU *čūnč 'flea' > pVg {Ht.} *šūnš ({AD} *čūnč) > OVg S Vt чючь, OVg S SSs tschutsch, OVg N SoO шуншъ, OVg W Sol шуншъ, Vg: T šoš, LK šonš, MK sons, UK suns, P/NV/SV/LL šuš, UL/Ss sus id.; pOs {Ht.} *čūnč > V/Vy/Ty čunč, Y čunč, D/K čünč, Nz šūnš, Kz šüş, UL/Ss sus id. ¶ Coll. 114, UEW 39, Ht. no. 104, SK 1071-2, Kt. 363, ERV 751, PI 305 || D (in KK) *°tūntū ▽ 'ant' > Kui dūndū, dūndūri 'large black ant', Ku {Isr.} dōndō'o'ri id., {Fzg.} dondori, {Slz.} donđodi 'ant', Ku K {Mah.} dundunu orlā 'black ant' ¶ D no. 2969 || A: ?φ pJ {S} *sunsu-musi (*musi 'insect') > OJ suzumusi, J T suzumuśi 'e cricket' (× N *c'ē'r, a, r ▽ 'e [stinging?] insect' [q.v.]?) ◇ GZ {FS} *žinčw-, FU *čonča, FU *čońća, and other cognate roots with two hushing consonants or two hissing consonants (in the Anlaut- and Inlaut-position) may be explained by assimilation ◇ IS MS 350 (U, K, C: *žončə 'stinging insect').

2783. *žiq ▽ 'shame, humiliation' > K: G G žaq- 'in Unehre \ in üblen Ruf bringen', žaq-i 'Unehrenhaftes' ¶ Chx. 2433 || HS: S *°✓ δyx > Ar ✓ δyx D (pf. ^ودبّخ δayyaḥa) vt. 'abase' ({BK} 'humilier, abaisser; soumettre [quelqu'un] à sa volonté') ¶ BK I 790, Fr. II 101, Hv. 233 ¶¶ S *χ < **q < [HS de-emphatization] N *q || D *čikk° ({θGS} *sigg ▽) > Tm cikku 'modesty, shame', Kt čig 'shame, self-respect', Td sig 'shame', Kn (← Tl?) siggu 'shame, decency, modesty, bashfulness, disgust', Tl siggu 'shame, disgrace, bashfulness', Knd sigu, Ku siku, sigu 'shame' ¶¶ D no. 2500 ◇ The vw. a in the G verb and its derivative is probably due to apophony.

2784. ₂ *žarE 'be good\favourable\beneficial' > K: G žer- 'be satisfied; satisfy; get fed up with sth.' ('sich begnügen; zufriedenstellen; satt kriegen') ¶ Chx. 3442-3, 2459 || A *žar ▽ > T *jara- 'be beneficial\useful\suitable for' > OT jara- id., Tk yara- 'be useful, be of value for', Ggz, Az, VTt, Bsh jara-, StAlt žara- id., Tkm, Kr, Qmq, Nog, ET jara-, Qrg žara- id., 'be liked', Qzq, Qq žara-, Xk čara- v. 'fit, match, suit', Chv L цурац- šuraś/ž-, Chv Δ цорач vi. 'reconcile, sich versöhnen, соглашаться' ¶ Cl. 956, UEW 189, ET J 137-8, Ash. XII 265-6, Fed. II

141-2, Jeg. 219, ChVS 190 || Tg *jari-n 'for, for the sake of' > Ewk jarin, Sln jāri, Ud žiz, ? WrMc {Z} чжалинь ¶ STM I 253, Z 967 || pKo {S} *čar 'well, favourable' > NKO čal ¶ S QK no. 750, Nam 416, MLC 1376 || pJ {S} *džrǝ 'good, right' > OJ jóró-si-, J: T yòroší- ~ yoroší, K yóròsí-, Kg yorósi- ¶ S QJ no. 664, Mr. 845 ¶¶ SDM 1529-630 (pA *žǝra 'good, favorable' > Tg, T, J, Ko), DQA no. 2581 (id.).

2785. *žur ▽ 'stake, pole, long piece of wood' > HS: Eg M zɜw, Eg XIX zɜyɜ 'Balken', DEg sɜ, Cpt: Sd/B soɪ, F saɪ, A sa 'poutre' ¶ EG III 419, Vc. 185 || B *√zrr 'branch, cluster' > Gd {Lf.} ta-zrira 'branchette porte-fleur', {CM} azerar 'poutre', BMn {Bs.} a-zerrur id., Tmz {MT} a-zrur 'grappe', ?σ ta-zra 'collier', ?σ Kb a-zrar id. ¶ MT 811-2, Dl. 954-5, Lf. II no. 1844, CM 149 ¶¶ Tk. AANM 2 || K: GZ *žwar- 'stake, picket' > OG žuar-, G žvar- 'cross', Mg žgunžg- 'stake (used as a prop for vine), prickle, spike', Lz mžguž-, mžguž- 'stake, post' ¶ K 269, K² 343, Chx. 2445, Q 412 || IE: NaIE *swer-/°sur- {EI} 'pole, rod' > OI 'svaru-ḥ 'sacrificial post, stake, long piece of wood' || Gk ἔρμα 'prop, support', Gk Hm accus. ἔρμύν-α 'bedpost' || MHG swir 'Uferpfahl', {EI} 'mooring post', NGr Sw Schwir(r)en 'pole', AS swīer, swīor 'post, pole (Pfosten), column, prop' || Lsurus 'twig, shoot, stake' || ?? Ltv Δ {ME} svēre 'Ziehbalken beim Brunnen' (× the √ of Ltv {ME} inf. svēr-t 'mit dem Hebel heben') ¶ P 1050, EI 442, WH II 635, M K III 563, M E II 794-5, ME III 1153-4, F I 561-3, WH II 635, Ho. 337, OsS 917, Lx. 223, Frn. 949, ME III 1153-4 || ? A: M: WrM zuruga or {MED} zoruga 'arrow with a horn head' (the vw. letter of the first syll. may be read either as u or as o), HIM {BMR} зорх 'gespitzter Pfeil (метательный снаряд с острым наконечником)' ¶ MED 1072 (zoruga), BMR II 225, ≠ S CNM (the M word * < A *ńōra 'blade, edge'; Starostin rejected its connection with N *žur) ◇ AD NM 70 [no. 88].

2786. *žāʔr ▽ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate' > K: G žor- v. 'gründlich schelten' ¶ Chx. 2453, 2459 || HS: S: [1] CS *√δʔr > Ar δʔr G (pf. δaʔira) 'être en colère; abhorrer qch., éviter\fuir qn. (par peur, par aversion, par méprise)', Sr ;̣dar G pf. (acp. ;̣dāʔar) 'fight', ?σ JA [Trg.] 𐤃𐤁𐤓𐤀 dar pf., acp. {Lv.} 'schlagen, abprügeln' ¶ BK I 761, JPS 81, 97, Lv. I 370, Lv. T I 158 || [2] S *°√δrr ~ *°δw|yr (prm. *°-δūr-, *°-δyar-) ≈ be angry, frighten' > Ar δarār- {Ln.} 'anger and aversion' or 'disapprobation', {BK} 'colère violente, fureur',

✓ *ḡyr* (pf. *ذَار* *ḡāra*, ip. -*ḡyar-*) 'avoir en horreur, avoir de la répugnance pour qu'un', ? ✓ *ḡwr* (pf. *ذَار* *ḡāra*, ip. -*ḡūr-*) 'effrayer, faire peur à' ¶ BK I 766, 788, 790, Ln. 957, DRS 325-6 || B *✓ *zwr* 'reproach, insult' > Izn {Rn.}, Rf T {Rn.} *zaur* 'réprimander qu'un, lui faire des reproches', Tmz {MT} *azwar* (pl. *izwarn*) 'honte, déshonneur, opprobre, insulte' ¶ MT 819, Rn. 320 || Ch: Su {J} *ḡigir* 'tadeln, zurechtweisen' (with an epenthetic -g-, see AD ChSC ∇) ¶ JS 67, ≠ Stl. VZCh no. 96 (equates Su *ḡigir* with Hs *zāgī* v. 'abuse') || A: NaT **je₁ri-* ~ **je₁ri-* v. 'hate, blame, scold' (× N **ze₁r*∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed', q.v. ffd. × N ?σ **yer*∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry') ¶¶ ≈ DQA no. 2598 (A **ḡēri* 'be annoyed\disgusted') || D (in SD) **čar-*, {θGS} **z|čar-* v. 'rebuke; abuse, jeer at' > Kn *jarē*, *jarī*, *jerē*, *jerī* id., Tu *jaripuni*, *jar(e)puni* 'to insult, to jeer, to despise' ¶ D no. 2422 ◇ NaT **e₁ri* (rather than **ä*) belongs to the heritage of N **ze₁r*∇.

2787. ₂ **ḡER*∇₁æ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' > HS: WS **ḡirā*∇ 'arm' > BHb *𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓* *zə'rōā*∇, Ug *ḡr*∇, BA *𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓* *ʔed'rā*∇, IA *ḡr*∇, JA [Trg.], JEA *𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓* *dər ā*∇-ā, JA [Trg.], JPA *𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓* *ʔed'rā*∇-ā, Md *ḡra* 'arm', Sr *𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓* *dər ā*∇-ā 'arm, shoulder', Ar *𐤁𐤓𐤓𐤓* *ḡirā*∇- {Ln.} 'the fore arm (from the elbow to the extremities of the fingers), cubit'; cubit', OYmn *ḡr*∇ ({Slw.} **ḡirā*∇) 'hill near a mountain', Mh {Jo.} *ḡar*∇, Hrs {Jo.} *ḡerā*, Jb C {Jo.} 'ḡera∇ 'forearm', Sq {L} *ḡi're*∇i du. 'two cubits', Gz d. *mazr ā*∇t 'arm, shoulder (of an animal) ¶ KB 269, 1662, 1695, HJ 342, OLS 141, Br. 168, JPS 98, Ln. 961-2, Hv. 227, Slw. 93-4, L G 379, L LS 136, Jo. M 81, Jo. H 29, ≈ DRS 341, MiK I no. 65 || EC **zir-* > Sa *dir-*∇ 'hip', Arr {Hw.} *yir*∇ 'upper arm', Dsn *ḡír* 'rib', Brj {Ss.} 'ḡirri, {Hw.} 'ḡiri 'backbone' ¶ Ss. B 56, Hw. A 400, To. DL 496 || ?σ Om: Ym rl. {C} *zerum* 'hand' (× N **z|zOR*∇ 'hand [palm of hand and fingers], [in descendant lgs.: → 'span']', q.v.) ¶ C SE III 89 ¶¶ Blz. OLBP (Om, S) || IE **sreH̄-no-* > NaIE **srēno-* '≈ loins, hip, thigh' > Av *rāna-* 'the outer part of a thigh; thigh', MPrs *rān*, NPrs *𐤓𐤓𐤓* *rūn* 'thigh (femur)', KhS *rānā* 'belt (?)', Oss I *rōn*, Oss D *rōnā* 'belt' (← 'that of the thigh') || Lt *strénos* pl. 'loins, the small of the back' (sg. *stréna*), Δ *sréna* 'Lende, Hüfte, Keule', Pru {En.} *strannay* 'Lenden', ({Tr., Frn.}: read *strannay* or *strainay* id. ¶ WP II 705, P 1002, EI 260 (**srēno/eh_h-*

'hip, thigh'), Brtl. 1523, McK 70, Vl. II 11, Bai. 361, Sg. 564, Ab. II 419-20, Frn. 889, 921, Tr. APS 439, En. 257.

2787a. $^{*}\varphi$ * $\check{Z}ER_{\perp}u_{\perp}I\triangledown$ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current' > **U**: FU (in Ugr) * $\check{c}är|l|ä$ 'rapid current' > Vg: N {Mu.} $sārlä$ 'abschüssige Stelle im Flusse, wo das Wasser stürzend fließt', T {Kn.} $sār|ī$ 'настрёвник (на лугах)', LL {Kn.} $sārlä-waŋkə$ 'ляжина (в болотах)' (= 'low place in a swamp') | Hg $sellō$ 'rapid current' → 'Nixe, Wasserfrau' ¶ The words of Vg T and Vg LL have been quoted in UEW from Kannisto's unpublished papers; unfortunately, the meaning of R Sib настрёвник remains unclear so far (at least, for the present author) ¶ UEW 841, Mu. AKE 537, ESSJ XV 66 (on the meaning of R Sib ляжина), ≈ EWH 1316 (supposes that Hg $sellō$ is a substantivized prtc. [with the $sx -ō$] of $sellik$ [a variant of $serlik$ 'sich zusammendrehen']) || **A** * $\check{z}il'u$ - > Tg * $o_j'i'lan$ > WrMc {Z} чжилань ~ чжупань 'unfrozen rapid current of water (быстрина), unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river (полынья)' ¶ STM I 257, Z 986-7, 1007 || **M** {Rm.} * $\check{z}ila\psi u$ > Kl {KRS} жалц 'unfrozen patch of water in an icebound river', {Rm.} $\check{z}alū$ 'eine offene, nicht zugefriere Stelle im Eise, 'полынья' | **M** * $\check{z}ilga$ > WrM {MED} $zilga$ 'ravine, dell, basin, ditch', HIM жалга {MED} id., {BMR} 'Schlucht (овраг, балка), trockne Schlucht, ложбина, лощина, падь, ditch', Kl {Rm.} $\check{z}il\psi ä$ 'Flu\Bbett, trockenes Flu\Bbett (mit hohen Ufern); Bach', $\check{z}al\psi ä$ 'Flu\Bbett', {KRS} жалн 'ravine, depression' ⇨ Sln $jilga$ 'ravine' ¶ MED 1055, BMR II 157, Chr. 231, KW 107, 109, KRS 224, STM I 257 || **T** * $ju_{\perp}l$ 'spring, fountain' (× N * $Lil\triangledown$ 'water, sea' × N * $\check{z}'u'g_{\perp}I\triangledown$ [- * $\check{z}\triangledown g'u'í\triangledown?$] 'to flow, to pour'??) > OT {Cl.} $ju_{\perp}l$, {DTS, Gbn.} $jūl$, Slr $ju_{\perp}l$ ~ $ju'í$ 'spring, fountain', Qb/Qc {Rl.} $ju_{\perp}l$ 'mountain river, brook', Xk $\check{c}ul$ 'brook', Qzl {Jk.} $\check{s}u\check{t}$, Chv $\check{c}äl \acute{s} \check{y}l$, $\Delta \acute{s} \check{y}l \check{y}$ 'spring'; Qzq $\check{z}ilim$ 'unfrozen patch of water in a river\lake' (× $\check{z}il$ 'warm'?) ¶ Cl. 917-18, DTS 277, ET J 244, TL 89, Rl. III 552, 2175, Tn. SJ 365, Jk. K 30, MM 182-3 ¶¶ SDM 1543 (pA * $\check{z}i\bar{o}lu$ 'river bed, stream' > Tg * $jila$ 'swift [not freezing] river current; ice hole', M * $\check{z}ilga$, T * $ju_{\perp}l$ 'stream, brook, fountain'), DQA no. 2612 (id.), TL 89 || **HS**: S * $o\check{v} \delta y_{\perp}$ > Ar $muta\delta aygal-$ 'arrosé d'une pluie légère (un champ)' ¶ BK I 792 ◇ N *- $R_{\perp}u_{\perp}I-$ > *- $r_{\perp}l-$ > - $l-$ (by as.) in A and S ◇ Qu., because the supposed phonetic transformations are too complicated to be certain.

2788. * $\check{z}aw\triangledown$ 'to have a changed taste (to get sour, to ferment)', to fade, to wither' > **K**: G $m-\check{z}av-e$ 'sour' ¶ DCh. 894 || **HS**: ? *AdS* of S * $o\check{v} \delta w_{\perp}$ > Ar $\check{v} \delta w_{\perp}$ v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) (< N

*ǰoʔʔaw∇ or *ǰaʔʔow∇ *≈ be of poor quality\appearance, be weak, be bad', q.v. ffd.) BK I 789, Ln. 989 || IE: Ht siwai- 'sour (bread)' ¶ Ts. W 77 || A: M *ǰabaʔʔara- 'have a bad taste\odor' > WrM {Kow.} zabagara- 'gâter le goût, spoil the taste', {MED} ama zabagara- v. 'have a bad taste in one's mouth, have a dry mouth', забарага- 'become tasteless, have halitosis', HIM {MED} id., {BMR} заваара- 'unschmackhaft\geschmacklos werden, становиться пресным', Brt забаар- 'become tasteless, lose taste', Ord ǰawāra- 'répandre un mauvaise odeur'; M *ǰabaʔʔan 'tasteless, emitting an unpleasant odor' > WrM забара(н) {Kow.} 'qui a l'odeur des herbes, qui sent l'herbe', {MED} 'rank odor, halitosis; tastelessness', HIM {MED} заваа(н) id., {BMR} заваан 'unschmackhaft, tasteless, пресный, lenten', Kl {KRS} зава 'unpleasant, foul' (of odor, etc.), {Rm.} zawān 'schlechter Geruch aus dem Munde', Brt забаан 'tasteless', Ord aman ǰawā 'mauvaise odeur de la bouche', Mnr H {SM} ǰīāwān 'insipide, fade, nonassaisonner' ¶ Kow. 2257, MED 1018, BMR II 192, Chr. 241, KRS 235, KW 468, Ms. O 190, SM 85 || ? NaT *jab- 'bad' (× N *ǰoʔʔaw∇ or *ǰaʔʔow∇ '↑', q.v. ffd.) ⇨ *jabuʔ 'bad', *jab-lak 'bad; extremely', *jabri- > OT jabri- v. 'become bad\weak'.

2789. *ǰoʔʔaw∇ or *ǰaʔʔow∇ ≈ be of poor quality\appearance; be weak, be bad' > K: GZ rdp. *ǰlwǰiǰw- ≈ of ugly appearance' > G Kzq ǰiǰa 'a clamorous, ugly-dressed woman' ({FS} 'schmutzige, häßlich gekleidete Frau'), Mg ǰǰviǰǰv-in- 'grob\plump aussehen' ¶ Fn. KW-1 38 [no. 102], FS K 505, FS E 574 || HS: S *✓δʔy ~ *✓δwy > Ar ✓δʔy G 'fade, wither' (of grass), ✓δwy (pf. δawā ~ δawiya, ip. ya-δwī) v. 'wither, become thin\weak' (of plants) ¶ BK I 762, 789, Ln. 989 ¶ cp. N *ǰaw∇ 'to have a changed taste' || NrOm {Blz.} *ǰēʔ- 'bad' > Kf {C} ʔeʔō 'bad' ('brutto, cattivo') ¶ Blz. OL no. 191, C SE IV 517 || CCh: Ms {Vnb.} ǰoʔo 'evil' ¶ ChL III 169 ¶¶ Blz. l.c. (pHS *ǰ∇ʔw|H¹∇ 'bad, evil' > Om, CCh + unc. σ Ag - he certainly meant Bln {R} ǰiǰā, pl. ǰīǰ ~ ǰīk 'a poor person' [R WB 178], that cannot belong here because of its -k/-ʔ-) || A *ǰoba- > T **jab- (× N *ǰaw∇ '↑') ⇨ [1] T *jabu|íʔ > NaT *jabu|iz 'bad, evil, wicked' > OT {Cl.} javiz- 'bad', {DTS} jabuz ~ jafuz 'bad, weak', XwT, MQp, Chg ≥xv jawuz, Oosm javuz id., Osm ياون jawuz, Tk ʔavuz 'stern, inflexible, ferocious' (→ 'good, excellent'), Tkm ёвүз jowuδ 'hard' (as in jowuδ günler 'hard times', lit. 'hard days'), ET javuz 'cruel', Uz ёвүз jawuz, VTt jawʔz 'wicked,

evil, villainous, cruel', Qzq, Qq žawiz 'villain, scoundrel; malicious, mean', SY yus 'wicked', Yk sūōs 'strict(ness), severe, threatening'; [2] T *jablaq > OT {Cl.} jāvlaq 'bad, evil', MQp, XwT jāwlaq, OOSm jāvlaq 'extremely', Tk Δjablaq 𐤁 jāvlaq 'coward, miserable'; [3] T *jabri- > OT jabri- v. 'become bad\weak' ⇨ OT jabrit- vt. 'weaken', MQp jāvrut- 'overstrain (a horse)'; [4] ? VTt jabaṣay, Bsh jabaṣb 'poor' (in VTt jarlb jabaṣay, Bsh jarlb-jabaṣb 'poor people') ¶ Cl. 876-9, 881-2, DTS 222-3, Rs. W 176, Rh. 2195, Tkr 312, UzR 141, Sht. 97, Pek. 2351-2, ET J 46-8, TI 335 || M *žoba- 'suffer', *žobalaṅ n. 'suffering' > MM [S] {H} žoba ~ žobo-, {MA} {Pp.} žoba-id., WrM {MED} žoba- id., 'worry, grieve', HIM {MED, BMR} zobō- id., Brt zobō- id., Kl {KRS} zob- id., {Rm.} zow- 'leiden, sich grämen, trauern, wegen etw. bekümmertsein'; ⇨ *žobalaṅ > MM [S] {H} žobolaṅ 'Beschwer, Belästigung', [HI] {Ms.} žobolaṅ, [MA] {Pp.} žobalaṅ, WrM {MED} zobalaṅ 'suffering, torment, torture; anxiety, sadness', HIM {MED} zoblon id., {BMR} zoblon(γ) 'suffering, torment, grief', Kl {KRS} zobln zowlbḥ 'suffering, Qual', {Rm.} zowln 'Pein, Qual, Kummer', Mnr H {SM} ž_īoq_lōḥ 'suffering', Ord ž_owoloḥ 'souffrance, maladie; difficulté, embarras' ¶ H 91, Ms. H 67, Pp. 207, MED 1065, BMR II 220, KRS 249-50, SM 89, KW 476 || Tg *joḇ'- > Ewk joḇor- ~ joḇo- ~ joḇ- 'suffer from poverty, be poor', Neg jobo-, Orc žobo-, Ud žō- id., Lm joḇ- id., v. 'suffer', Sln joḇo ~ joḇ- v. 'suffer', Ul žobu, Ork jobbu 'a person in need, a poor man', Nn Nh/B/KU žobo- v. 'work; be in need, be poor', WrMc {Z} 𐤎𐤌𐤏𐤏- v. 'grieve, suffer', Jrch {Kiy.} žobogun 'hardship' ¶ STM I 260-1, Krm. 233, Z 994, Kiy. 145 [no. 844], Md. ChF 138 (žō-bō-hun) || pJ {S} *duàwà- 'weak' > OJ yuòwà-, J: T/Kg yowá-, K yówà- id. ¶ S QJ 634, Mr. 845 || pKo {S} *čubir- 'be hungry, be famished' > MKo čū'írì-, NKo čūri- ¶ S QK no. 573, Nam 434, MLC 1496 ¶¶ SDM 15534 (pA *žùjbe 'weak, bad' > M, Tg *jōba- v. 'suffer, be poor', Ko, J + unc. T *jubka 'thin, slender, unsubstantial'), DQA no. 2630 > (M, Tg, Ko, J), SDM97 (*žöb∇ 'weak, bad').

2790. ₂ *ž∇χ∇ 'to push, to strike' > K: G da-žax- 'mit etwas oder gegen jem. stoßen', mi-žax- 'mit etw. gegen etw. stoßen' ¶ Chx. 2434 || HS: CS *✓δħw|y > Ar ✓δħw G 'pousser avec vigueur et faire marcher devant soi', JEA ✓dħy G {Sl.} 'push aside\away, postpone; supersede', {Lv.} 'verstossen', 𐤁𐤏𐤍 diħūy 'Verstossung, Zurückweisung', BHb

(← Aram?) ✓ dħy|w G 'push, thrust' | ? S *°✓ dħħ > Ar ✓ δħħ G 'fendre (du bois), broyer' ¶ BK I 765-6, DRS 330, Lv. I 388-9, Sl. 323-4, KB 209-10, BDB 190-1 || C: EC: pSam {Tk.} *^rz¹ aħ- > Rn {Hn.} žâħ-, {PG} žaħ- 'beat' || DhI {To., E} dāħ- v. 'pound' || ? SC: Irq {E} daħ- 'knock over/down' ¶ Hn. R 212, To. D 167, E SC 189, PG 165 || ?φ Eg OK z ħ {EG} '?' (über Stampfenden), {Hng.} 'stampfen, zerstoßen', ? fMK {EG} s ħ m 'zerstoßen, zerstampfen' ¶ EG III 464, IV 215 || Ch: WCh: NrBc: P' {MSk.} žúwà v. 'pound', Diri {Sk.} žuwa, My {Sk.} iži 'mortar' || Ron: DfB {J} žah ~ žá(hí) v. 'pound (cereals)', Bks {J} nžu 'stampfen, (im Mörser) stoßen' || CCh: ZmB zù? v. 'pound (in mortar)' ¶ Sk. NB 32, 35, J R 143, 2, JI II 268-9 ¶¶ Tk. PAA 8-9.

2791. *žûhd∇ (or *žûhad∇?) 'sweet' > HS: S *°¹š^ru¹h_L∇_d- > OAr 'A, CIAr šuhd-, OAr T šahd- 'honey, unrefined honey (in its wax\comb)' (acc. to Rb., *u > OAr T a) ¶ Ln. 1610, Rb. AWA 100, Fr. II 460 || Eg OK p r iš d 'Ort, wo Süßigkeiten hergestellt werden' (p r means 'house'), ?σ Eg P iš d {EG} 'ε a fruit-bearing garden tree, ε holy tree (on its leaves gods wrote the name of the king)', Eg fOK iš d {EG} 'ε sweet fruit' (or ?σ Eg fOK {Fk.} 'ε tree, fruit of the iš d-tree') ¶ EG I 136, Fk. 31 || B *✓ ž Hd (*-ž aHd-/*-ž iHd-) 'be sweet' > Ah ižad 'be sweet, savory, have a pleasant scent' ({Fc.} 'être agréable aux sens'), ETwl/Ty ižad 'be sweet' (ižod 'is sweet'), Ttq {Msq.} ižid 'is sweet', Gh {Nh.} ižid, Kb {Dl.} žid id., BSn/Mtm {Ds.} žēd 'be sweet' (yžēd 'is sweet'), Shw {Hy.} ižid 'is sweet' (pl. židēn), Rf/Izn {Rn.} δ-mižid (misprint for δ-mižid?) 'sweet', Izn {Rn.} θažyūđi 'sweetness', Rf A/B θažžyūđi 'sweetness', Zng {TC} ažūδ 'doux' ¶ Fc. 1931, GhA 219, Msq. 96-7, Dl. 928-9, Ds. B 104, Rn. 322, Hy. DFCh 206, Nic. 409, DCTC 296 ¶ The emphatic *ž is puzzling (infl. of the adjacent lr.?) || ? EC: Arr {Hw.} sađđāb 'honeycomb' (mrf. sađđa?mé) ¶ Hw. A 392 || ? NrOm *šid- 'honey' > Zs {C} šidā, {Si.} 'šida, Bdt {C} šidā (not šidā, as mentioned by Blz.), {Hw.} šida, Kcm/Zrg {Si.} šida, Krt {Si.} 'šida, Gnj {Si.} 'šir id. ¶ Blz. HCO 50-1, 56, ≈ Blz. OL no. 73 (Om *šid|d-, but the variant with d is based on misreading of C SO 63), C SE III 207, C SO 63, Si. ACh 5 ¶¶ Blz. HCO 50-1, 56 || A: NrTg *jut- > Ewk jutī 'tasty, sweet', Lm jut 'sweet' ¶ STM I 279 ¶¶ Hardly here (because of the cnss.) NaT *sūçī- (< **sūδ-čī) 'be sweet', *sūçig 'sweet' || IE *swēhd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant' (× N *šûrad∇ 'good, happy, pleasant', q.v.): [1] NaIE *swā'du-s 'sweet' > OI s v ā' d u- 'sweet, savory, pleasant' || Gk ῥδύς, Gk El F āδύς,

Gk D ἡδύς id. || OSx s̄wōtī, OHG s̄wuozi 'sweet, pleasing', NHG süß, MDt soete, Dt zoet, ON sætr, NNr s̄øt, Sw s̄öt, Da s̄ød, OFrs, AS s̄wēte 'sweet', NE sweet || pTc *s̄wāre > Tc: A s̄wār, B s̄wāre 'sweet' | [2] NaIE *s̄wād̄w-i-s > OI s̄vād̄vī-, L s̄uāvī-s 'sweet, pleasant' | [3] NaIE *s̄wād̄-o- 'savoury, pleasant', *'s̄wādos- 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction' > Vd 'prā-s̄vadas- 'pleasant' || Gk ἡδύς 'delight, pleasure; vinegar', μελι-ηδής 'honey-sweet' ¶ P 1040, EI 566 (*s̄weh_hde/o- 'be tasty, please'), 560 (*s̄weh_hdu-s 'pleasing [to the senses], tasty'), M K III 567-9, M E II 788-9, 797, MW 1122, 1279, F II 622-3, WH II 611-2, Fs. 461-2, Vr. 577, Vr. N 868, Ho. 339, Ho. S 73, Kb. 1008, OsS 898, KM 765, Frn. 944, DLKZ 777, Ad. 725-6 ◇ The unexpected IE *-d- goes back to *-t- < N *d̄, devoiced by the adjacent vl. *h. The origin of the Tg cns. *-t- may be similar.

2792. ***žek̄∇** 'be tight\crammed, tighten' > K *°ž|žek̄_lw_l- > G Kzq {Ghl.} ga-žek̄va vt. 'to pack tight, to cram full; to trample (მაცრად გატეხვა, დატეხვა)', G Kx/Kzq {Chx.} žek̄(v)- 'vollfüllen, vollstopfen', G K {Ghl.} ga-žek̄-ili 'stuffed (გატეხილი, набитый)' ¶ Ghl. 144, Chx. 2064-5 || **U**: FU *λ|lékk∇ 'tight, dense, crammed' ('dicht, eng') > Vt люкыт íuk+t 'crammed', Vt Sr/Kz íuk+t 'eng', Vt G íuk+t 'eng' (bes. vom Raume) || ObU {Ht.} *íŭk- 'thick' (grass, wood), 'dense' (cloth) > pVg {Ht.} *íŭk > UL/Ss íak^w id.; pOs {Ht., Stn.} *íŏk, {Hl.} *íŭk > Os: VK {Ht.} íŏk, Ag/UA {Trj.} íŭk, Ty/Y {Ht.} íŏk, {Trj.} íŭk, Sl {Trj.} túk, Nz {Ht.} túk, Kz {Ht.} íŭk id. ¶ UEW 260-1, U3S 270, Ht. no. 373, Trj. S 226, Stn. WV 279 ◇ Cf. N *ĉiK̄∇ 'tight, narrow, dense' (q.v.).

2793. ***žok̄∇** 'to push' > HS: S *°✓š̄k̄k̄ (× N *š̄ak̄a 'to split, to cleave') > Ar {BK} ✓š̄qq G 'fendre, pourfendre (le bois, etc.)', 'pousser' (se dit d'un dent) ¶ BK I 1252 || Ch: ? WCh *žik̄|q- v. 'push' > NrBc: Kry ž̄k̄ž̄t̄ž̄, My a ž̄k̄k̄t̄s̄ž̄y | SBc: Gj ž̄èkk̄à id. | Ngz ž̄t̄gž̄àž̄t̄ž̄ú v. 'jostle\touch\push (repeatedly)' || ? CCh {ChL}}: Gude ž̄ž̄yğič̄, Glv š̄ùḡùš̄ant, š̄uğà, Gv š̄ùḡàğ̄na, Nkc a š̄iga v. 'push' ¶ Stl. ZCh 189 [no. 399], Sch. DN 82, 214, ChC, ChL || K *°ž̄∇k̄- > Mg ž̄ik̄- v. 'push' ⇨ G I ž̄ik̄a(v)- 'puffen, Puffe verteilen' ¶ Q 413, Chx. 2447 || **IE**: NaIE *laḱ|k- or *laḱ|g- v. 'kick' > Gk [Hs.] λαίξω v. 'kick', Gk λαίξ adv. '(to kick) with the heel\foot', λακτίξω v. 'kick with the heel\foot' | MHG inf. lecken 'to kick' ¶ Mn. 659; F II 82-3 (no et. of the Gk words); alt. etymologies: P 673, Ch. 619, Lz. 123 || **U**: FU *λok̄k̄∇- v. 'push, butt' > F tok̄ata 'stechen, picken' | Chr H 'loš-aš̄ v. 'butt' || ? OHg gyakik 'stechen,

bohren', Hg *gyakik* 'coire' (× ÷ pObU *yo|ōkkâ 'stechen') ¶ MF 228, an alt. etl. connection: LG 165 || **D** (in GnD) *čōkk- ({GS} *z-?) v. 'strike' > Gnd žōkkānā 𐌆 hak- ~ hok- 𐌆 žukānā v. 'strike, kill' 𐌆 žak- v. 'kill', Kui soka 𐌆 sōka- v. 'strike at', v. 'bite (snake, dog)' ¶ D no. 2831 ◇ NaIE *a still needs explaining.

2794. *ǰæī∇ 'ε tree' > **K**: GZ *ǰeī- 'tree, wood (Holz)' > OG *zeī-* id., G {Chx.} *zeī-* 'stem of a fallen tree', {K²} 'bar', Mg *žā* (pl. *žāī-epī*), Lz *žā*, nžā, mžā (pl. (n)žāī-epē) 'tree, wood', Mg *žāī-* 'tree-' (first component of a cd) ¶ K 237, K² 285, FS E 486, Chx. 2065 || **U**: FU (att. in FP) ***λä|e|l|∇* 'alder' > (as. **λ...|l|* > pChr and pPrm **l...|* for the expected **l...|*): pChr {Ber.} **līl-pu* > Chr: L *нōлпō nōlprō*, B *lōlprō*, H *лүлпыī lūlprā* 'alder' | pPrm **lōl-pu* id. > StZ *лoвпy*, Z US *lōpu*, Z UV *lōlpu*, Vt *лyлпy*, Vt SE *lūlpu* (Chr and Prm **pu* means 'tree') ¶ UEW 688, Ber. 33, Ep. 64, LG 160, It. no. 300, Coll. 96, SZ 202 || **IE**: NaIE **seī-* 'beam, board (→ 'bench', 'bed', 'trough' etc.)' (× N **ś|śuī∇* 'trunk, log' [q.v.]) with dissimilative delateralization **ǰ...|l|* > **z...|l|* > IE **s...|*: > Lt *súolas* 'bench', Lt Δ ? *sīlē* 'trough, pig's trough', *sīlīs* 'crib', ? Ltv *sīle* 'trough, manger' || AS *selma* ~ *sealma*, OSx *selmo* (sc. 'wooden bed') || L *soliūm* 'a chair of state, royal\official seat, throne; bath tub; sarcophagus' || pAl {O} d. **sālā* > Al T *gjollē* (< **sēlā*) 'slab on which salt for livestock is placed' || Gk [Hs.] *ἔλματα* (pl.) 'planking, decking' || Gk (← Pls?) *σελς* 'plank', *ἔλματα* (pl.) 'logs of building timber', 'rowing benches', sg. *σέλμα / -τος* 'the upper planking of a ship, deck; seat, throne' ¶ Gk σ- (for the expected h-) needs explaining (a loan from Pls or another "pre-Gk" *s-preserving sister-lge.?) ¶ P 898, EI 431 (*swel-* ~ **seī-* 'plank, board'), Ho. 286, F II 691-2, AlbED 288, Frn. 785, 942-3, O 137, ≠ Mn. AHG 87.

2795. ₂ *ǰuī∇ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame', 'ε a light' ('torch' or sim.?) > **HS**: S **°√ śīl* v. 'shine', **°√ śuīa,ī-* 'flame' > Ar *√ šīl* (pf. *šāīla*) v. 'have a white spot on the tail or forelock (a horse)', *√ šīl* (pf. *šāīla*) v. 'light' (a fire), *šūīl-at-* (pl. *šūīal-*) 'flamme; tison, morceau de bois allumé par un bout', *šāīal-* 'blaze on the tail or forelock of a horse' ¶ BK I 1240-1, Hv. 368 || **A** **ǰūla* (× N **ǰū,īh∇,īy∇* or **ǰū,īh∇,īyE* 'smoulder, burn' [intr.]; 'live coals'?) > M **ǰūla* 'light (lux), torch, lamp' > MM *ǰūla* [MA] {Pp.} 'a light, torch', [PP, IM] {Pp.}, [IsV] {Lg.} 'a light, lantern', [HI] {Ms.} 'lamp', WrM {MED} *ǰūla* 'lamp, candle, light', HLM *зцл* '{MED} id., {BMR} 'butter lamp, лампадка', Kl {KRS} *зцл* id., {Rm.}

zulu 'kleine Opferlampe', Brt зула 'butter lamp; candle', Ord ž_u_la 'lampe (surtout celle qu'on place devant les statues ou images de divinités', Mnr H {SM} ž_ü_lā 'lampe, lanterne', {T} ž_ila, Mnr M {T} ž_ula 'lamp, butter lamp', Dx ž_ula, Ba ž_ila 'butter lamp, лампадка' ¶ Pp. MA 210, 439, Pp. KP 152, Lg. VMI 39, MED 1078, BMR II 235, Gl. III 517-8, Chr. 261, KRS 255, KW 479, Ms. O 217, SM 96, T 333, T DnJ 120, T BJ 139 || T *jula 'torch, lamp' > OT jula id., XwT xiv jula 'lamp'; ⇨ T *jul'tur 'star' > OT jultuz, XwT xiii juldūz ~ uldūz, MQp xiii, xiv [CC], Chg xv juldūz, Tk yildiz, Tkm jildid, Ggz, Az, Kr Cr, Uz jildiz, Tk Δ jilduz, XT {Dr.} jilduz_ ɖ juldus, Brb/Tb/Kü {Rl.} jildis, Qb/Qc {Rl.}, SY jiltis ~ jultis, Slr jiltis, Tk Δ, Kr T/G, Qmq, Uz, ET Δ juldūz, Xlj julduz ~ juldūz, Ln juldūz ɖ juldus, VTt j'öldöz, Bsh j'önd'öb, Qzq жұлдыз žüldiz, Qq žuldiz, Qrg žildiz, StAlt žildis, Xk čiltis, Yk sulus, Tv sildis, Tf sildis 'star' || Chv L çältäp śıld_ır, Chv H {Md.} śıld_ır id. ¶ Acc. to Bang and Br., *-tur is a sx (cp. NaT *kündüz 'noon'), in the light of comparative ev. it goes back to N ≈ *t'U'r'i 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' (q.v.) ¶ Cl. 919, 922-3, ET J 279-81, Ra. 229, Rl. III 488-92, 553, 559, DT 228, Ash. XIII 1920, Fed. II 93. Jeg. 206, ChVS 180, Md. 57, 162 (T *i > u due to the infl. of j-), 162, Br. OTG § 47 ¶¶ KW 479 || IE: acc. to reg. sound laws, the NaIE reflex of this N word must be *swe̯l- (in the presence of *-l- the initial N *z̥- yields IE *s-). It practically means that IE *swe̯l_ə_ v. 'smoulder, burn' (P 1045) goes back to a merger of N *z̥_u_h_ŋ_l_ŷ_ŋ ~ *z̥_u_h_ŋ_l_ŷ_e '↑' (q.v. ffd.) and the N word in question (though semantic considerations suggest that N *z̥_u_h_ŋ_l_ŷ_ŋ ~ *z̥_u_h_ŋ_l_ŷ_e is the main source).

2796. *z̥'U'rh'û' 'take, take away, pull out' > HS: S *°√ ślh > Ar √ ślh G 'undress oneself', Δ 'throw off, reject', Ar √ ślh D 'strip so. of his clothes' ¶ Fr. II 446, Hv. 375 || K *°z̥el- > Lz žal- ~ žel- in ma-n-žale, ma-n-želoni '(a person) able to carry much (сколько угодно) wood or firewood' ¶ Marr 235 || IE: NaIE *sel(wō)- 'take, seize, lay hold of' (dissimilative delateralization *z̥...l| > *z̥...l| > IE *s...l) (× N *śil'û' 'take, take away\off\up' [q.v. ffd.] × N *śeíŋ 'take away\off, destroy, pull off') || A *z̥ul- > T *jul- 'pull out, pluck out, take' > OT jul- 'take back, redeem (a prisoner); pluck (a bird)', Chg xv jul- 'pluck out', MQp [CC] jul- 'redeem', Tk yul- 'pluck; pull out, tear out (hair), depilate; strip', Ggz, Az, Tkm jol- 'pull out, pluck out', Uz, Ln jul-, Qrg žul-, Qzq жұл- žül-, Qq, ET žul-, StAlt дьул- žul-, Xk, Tv čul-, Tf čul-

id., Kr Cr, SY jułs-, Chv џǎл- śьl- id., 'save (so.), liberate', VTt jǐl- 'shave', Bsh jǐl- v. 'pluck' ¶ Cl. 918, ET J 218-9, DTS 277, Rl. III 431, 552, 555-6, 2175, IV 169, Rs. W 210, Ra. 198, TvR 546, Ash. XIII 17, Fed. II 92, Jeg. 206, ChVS 180 || M *ǰul- ⇨ *ǰulga-, *ǰulmu-, *ǰulgul-, ? *ǰulbu-: **[1]** M *ǰulga- > WrM ǰulǰa- v. 'pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck, remove the hair; weed', Kl {Rm.} ǰulǰa-'ausreißen, ausreißen lassen (Haare, Wolle, Federn)'; **[2]** M *ǰulga-ǰa- > HIM {MED} ǰulǰaa- 'pull (out), tear by pulling', {BMR} id., '(Haar der Tiere) auszupfen, jäten', Brt ǰulǰaa- 'pull out, pluck out (hairs from wool), tear away, bark (a tree)', Kl {Rm.} ǰulǰā- 'ausziehen, ausreißen lassen', Ord ǰulǰā- 'arracher (qch. qui croît)'; **[3]** M *ǰulmu- > WrM {MED} ǰulmu- v. 'pluck (a bird); shed skin \ hair \ feathers', HIM ǰulma- {MED} id., {BMR} vi. 'haaren' (Tiere), 'slough' (snakes), Brt ǰulma- 'fall out' (of animal's hair), 'slough' (snakes), Kl Ö {Rm.} ǰulma- 'herausziehen (Haare)'; **[4]** M *ǰulgul- > WrM {MED} ǰulgul- v. 'flay, skin, pull out hair\wool', HIM ǰulgala- {MED} id., {BMR} vt. 'flay, pull out wool', Kl {KRS} ǰulǰl- ǰulǰl- id., Kl D {Rm.} ǰulǰa- '(die Felle) schlichten, zu lange Haare ausreißen', Ord ǰulgul- 'arracher (les poils d'une peau, les cheveux)'; **[5]** M *ǰulbu- > WrM ǰulbu- 'shed skin, lose hair', HIM ǰulba- {MED} id., {BMR} id., '(einem Schaf) das Fell abziehen', Brt ǰulba- 'entbloßt\ausgerupft\gemausert werden', Kl {Rm.} ǰulwu- 'ausfallen (von den Haaren)', ? Ord ǰulbu- 'mettre bas avant terme' (< *'throw away', as in R выкинуть); **[6]** Kl {KRS, Rm.} ǰul- ǰul- 'pull out, pluck\tear out (hair, feathers)' may be either a loan from T or an inherited word (< M *ǰul-) ¶ MED 1078-9, 1217, BMR II 236-7, Chr. 261-2, KRS 233, KW 115-6, Ms. O 217-8 || **D** (in SD) *ǰol- ({ǰGS} *s-) > Tm colli- 'strip off, peel off; tear', Kn sulli 'tear\strip off, peel; plunder, rob', Tu sulipini, sulipuni 'to peel, to flay, to skin, to pare off', suligæ 'pillaging, plundering, robbing', Krg solpu v. 'peel'; D ⇨ pInA {Tu.} *ǰholl- (> Prkr chollaï 'to skin', etc.) ¶ D no. 2856, Tu. no. 5073 ◇ A dubious cognate: WCh: NrBc {Tk.} *zɜl- v. 'skin' > Wrj, Mbr nzɜl-, ? Sir z+nu ¶ Skn. 40, Tk. NB 173 ◇ ≠ IS MS 364 s.v. сильный *ǰolɔ (?) (K + err. S *ǰlɔ [sc. *ǰlɔ]).

2797. *ǰ̌m̌ (or *ǰ̌|ǰ̌|ǰ̌m̌) '≈ to put, to place' > HS: S *ǰ̌m̌ 'put, set' > BHb ǰ̌ym G (pf. ǰ̌̌ ǰ̌ā m, ip. -ǰ̌m) v. 'place, put, lay', Amr {G} ǰ̌ym (ip. -ǰ̌m-) G 'place', Ph, Pun, Yd, OA ǰ̌m (ip. [-ǰ̌m]), IA ǰ̌m

~ sm G (ip. [-s|ŝī̄m]) 'place, put, set up', BA ✓ ŝym (= ✓ sym) (pf. **שׁוּב** ŝām, inv. pl. **שׁוּבֵי** 'ŝī̄m-ū) v. G 'put, set, lay', JA [Trg.] ✓ sy|w m (spelled with **שׁוּב** ŝ ~ **שׁוּב** s) (ipv. ŝī̄m, sī̄m) 'place, put, appoint', JEA ✓ s w m 'put on shoes\sandals', JPA Bz {Sl.} **שׁוּב** ✓ s w m G v. 'place', Sr ✓ sym (pf. **שׁוּב** ŝām, ip. -sī̄m) 'put, lay, set', Ar **سَوَّبَ** ✓ šym (ip. -šī̄m-) v. G 'sheathe (the sword), penetrate into', {Fr.} 'recondidit (rem in aliquid), immisit (telum in pectus), inivit (virginem), inivit (in rem)', Sb miß ŝym 'set up, erect (sth.), perform (ceremony)', Gz ✓ ŝym (pf. **שׁוּב** ŝēma, js. **שׁוּב** ya-ŝī̄m) 'set, set in order, put, place, appoint', OAk *✓ śym (inf. śī̄mum) 'fix, determine', Ak ✓ šym G (inf. śī̄mum > śāmum) 'establish, assign a role \ an activity; allot power\qualities' ¶ KB 1232-6, 1785, KBR 1321-6, GB 783-5, 926, G A 32, G OA 260, Js. 1535, Sl. 793-4, Sl. P 370, Fr. II 473, Br. 469-70, JPS 366 (Sr ✓ s w m for ✓ sym), BGMR 136, L G 539-40, Sd. 1225, CAD XVII/1 358-64 || **K** *°ž|zm- v. 'do' > OG, G zm- id. ¶ Mol. AGG 71, DCh. 525, Chx. 409 || **D** (in CD) *čum- v. 'catch, lay' > Prj summ- v. 'seize, catch hold of', Klm sum- v. 'catch, seize, buy', Nkr sum- id., v. 'lay', Nk sum- v. 'buy, catch, hold'. The vw. *-u- for the expected front vw. may be due to the ass. infl. of *-m- ◇ The semantic change from 'put' to 'do' (as in K) is quite plausible (cp. the origin of NE **cl** and NHG **tun** (cf. N ***diŕē** 'to put, to place' > IE ***dʰeh₂-** / ***dʰejh₂-** v. 'put, lay, place'). The rec. of the voiced cns. ***ž-** is valid if K *°ž|zm- belongs here. Otherwise the N initial lateral cns. remains less specified (***š|č|ĉ|ž-**).

2798. (UA₂ ?) ***ž**o|aHEmU (= ***ž**o|a^ʔEmU?) '€ berries (bird cherry?), a (sweet-smelling?) plant with berries(\fruit?)' > **U** ***λōme** 'bird cherry tree' > F **tum** id., Es **toom** 'bird cherry' | pLp ***θōmε** ({Lr.} ***δōmε**) > Lp: Vfs {Lgc.} 'hipmiē-, -mūore 'bird-cherry tree', N {N} **duobmā** / -m- 'bird cherry', S {Hs.} **fume**, Fi {SK} **fūom**, Nt {TI} **tūomma** id. | Mr: Er **лём** íom 'bird-cherry tree', d. **лёмзёр** íom^zor 'bird cherry', Mk **лайме** laymā, Δ {Ps.} **laymǎ** 'bird-cherry tree' | pChr ***lom-ru** id. (***ru** 'tree') > Chr: L **ломбо**, B **lombo**, H **ломбы** lombъ 'bird-cherry tree', Uf **lombo** id., 'bird cherry' | Prm {LG} ***íom** / ***íomy-** ({LG} ***íom**) 'bird cherry' > Z **льом** ízm / ízmy-, Yz 'íum, Vt **льом** ízm id. || ObU ***λīmψ** ({Ht.} ***δīmε**) id. > pVg {Ht.} ***íim∇** > OVg N SoG **ljäm**, OVg S ChusO **léma**, OVg S Vt **лема**, Vg: T/P/NV/SV/LL/ML **íēm**, MK/UK **íīm**, UL/Ss **íām**: **oOs** {Ht.} ***um** > V/Vv **um**. Tv/Y **um**. D/Nz **uum**. Kz **uwm** ||

Sm * $\acute{\text{I}}\text{z}\text{m}$ ({HL.} * yzm) 'bird cherry' > pSlq {HL.} * $\acute{\text{t}}\text{z}\text{m}$ > Slq Tz {HL., KKIИ} $\acute{\text{c}}\text{z}\text{m}$, Kms {KD} $\text{lem}\cdot$ id. ¶¶ Coll. 64, Db. OS xxiii, UEW 65-6, It. no. 164 (FU * $\acute{\text{d}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}\text{e}$), Sm. 536-7 (U * $\acute{\text{d}}\text{+}\text{x}\text{m}\text{+}$, FU * $\acute{\text{d}}\text{+}\text{+}\text{m}\text{i}$, FP * $\acute{\text{d}}\text{o}\text{o}\text{m}\text{i}$, Ugr * $\acute{\text{d}}\text{+}\text{m}\text{i}$, Sm * $\text{j}\acute{\text{e}}\text{e}\text{-}\text{m}$ 'bird cherry'), Lr. no. 221, Lgc. np-s 1119 and 8083, Lgc. SL no. 1389, Hs. 803, Rv. LpFU 33 (on FU * λ - [= {Rv.} * $\acute{\text{d}}$ -] > Lp d- d h- d f-), Ker. II 80-1 (pMr * $\text{l}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ < * $\text{l}\bar{\text{o}}\text{a}\text{m}$ < pre-Mr * $\text{l}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}\text{a}$), ERV 340-1, Ber. no. 154, MRS 294, Ep. 62, Ü 107, LG 164-5, Ht. no. 167, Jn. UK 240, Hl. M no. 693, KKIИ 104, KD 36 || ¶ A: [1] M * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{im}\text{u}^{\text{r}}\text{u}$ -sun 'bird cherry, buckthorn' > WrM {Rm. \leftarrow ?} $\text{z}\text{i}\text{m}\text{u}\text{g}\text{u}\text{s}\text{u}\text{n}$, Kl {RKSA} $\text{ž}\text{i}\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{n}$ 'bird cherry', 'buckthorn (*Frangula*, *Wegedorn* = *Färberbeere*)', {Rm.} $\text{ž}\text{i}\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}\eta$ 'Wegedorn, Faulbaum'; [2] M * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{im}\nabla$ -sun 'berries, fruit' > WrM {MED} $\text{z}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{s}$ id., 'dates', HIM {MED} $\text{ж}\text{i}\text{m}\text{c}$ id., {BMR} $\text{ж}\text{i}\text{m}\text{c}(\text{H})$ 'berries, fruit (фрукты)', Kl {KRS} $\text{z}\text{e}\text{m}\text{ж}$ 'fruit, berries', Kl Ö $\text{z}\text{e}\text{m}\eta$ 'Frucht', Ord $\text{ž}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{s}$ 'fruit' ¶ MED 1058, BMR 173-4, KW 111, 472, KRS 247, 638, RKSA 68, 125, Ms. O 199, Pp. IM 42 (WrM $\text{ž}\text{i}\text{m}\text{u}\text{g}\text{u}\text{s}\text{u}\text{n}$ > Kl $\text{ž}\text{i}\text{m}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s}\eta$ 'buckthorn [a plant]') || T * $\text{j}\text{i}\text{m}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$ 'bird-cherry tree' > Tk Δ $\text{j}\text{u}\text{m}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$, Uz $\text{š}\text{u}\text{m}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$, VTt Δ , Bsh Δ $\text{š}\acute{\text{v}}\text{m}\text{b}\text{r}\text{t}$ d $\text{š}\text{b}\text{m}\text{b}\text{r}\text{t}$, Brb {RI., Tm.} $\text{j}\text{u}\text{m}\text{r}\text{u}\text{t}$, SbTt {Tm.} $\text{š}\acute{\text{v}}\text{m}\text{r}\text{b}\text{t}$ d $\text{j}\text{o}\text{m}\text{b}\text{r}\text{t}$, StAlt, Qmn {B} $\acute{\text{z}}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{i}\text{t}$, Tlt {RI.} $\text{j}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{i}\text{t}$, Kü {RI.} $\text{j}\text{u}\text{m}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$, Tb {R} $\acute{\text{n}}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{t}$, QK {RI.} $\text{j}\text{u}\text{r}\text{b}\text{u}\text{t}$, Xk $\text{n}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{t}$, Sg {RI.} $\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{t}$, Qzl {Jk.} $\text{u}\text{m}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$, Shor {RI.} $\text{n}\text{u}\text{b}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$ ~ $\text{n}\text{i}\text{b}\text{i}\text{r}\text{t}$ ~ $\text{n}\text{i}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{t}$ id., as well as possibly (with an obscure phonetic transformation) StAlt $\text{д}\text{ь}\text{o}\text{д}\text{р}\text{o}$ $\acute{\text{z}}\text{o}\text{d}\text{r}\text{o}$ and Tv $\text{ч}\text{o}\text{д}\text{р}\text{o}\text{o}$ $\acute{\text{c}}\text{o}\text{d}\text{r}\bar{\text{o}}$ id. || Blgh > Chv: L $\text{ç}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\acute{\text{e}}\text{r}\text{t}$ $\acute{\text{s}}\text{b}\text{m}\text{b}\text{r}\text{t}$, H $\acute{\text{s}}\text{v}\text{m}\text{b}\text{r}\text{t}$; Blgh \rightarrow VTt $\text{ш}\text{o}\text{m}\text{ы}\text{р}\text{т}$ $\acute{\text{s}}\text{v}\text{m}\text{b}\text{r}\text{t}$, Uz $\text{š}\text{u}\text{m}\text{u}\text{r}\text{t}$ 'bird cherry', Blg $\text{с}\text{м}\text{а}\text{р}\text{д}\text{л}\text{ь}\text{к}\text{а}$ 'a good spot for bird cherries, place with many bird cherries', Qzq $\text{š}\acute{\text{o}}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{t}$ 'sloe' ¶ Rs. W 211, ET J 283-4, TL 135-6, RI. I 406 and III 500, 551, 577, 584, 697, 708, BIG 114, 120, BT 55, B DK 214, Jeg. 211, RKazS 811 || ?? HS: S * $\check{\text{v}}\hat{\text{s}}\text{m}\text{m}$ > Ar $\acute{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{m}\bar{\text{a}}\text{m}$ - 'sweet-smelling streaked melon' (semantic infl. of Ar $\check{\text{s}}\text{m}\text{m}$ 'smell') ¶ BK I 1265, Hv. 375 \diamond IS II 37-8 (* $\lambda\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{m}\text{H}^{\text{r}}\text{u}$ 'bird cherry'). The N final vw. was probably * u rather than a front vw. (* ü), as suggested by M * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{im}\text{u}$ -(yu -sun) (a N final * ü would have yielded M * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{im}\text{ü}$ -). U *-e may be explained by a series of conditioned changes, possibly N * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{o}|\text{a}\text{H}\text{E}\text{m}\text{U}$ > as. * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{o}|\text{a}\text{H}\text{E}\text{m}\text{ü}$ > (contaction) * $\acute{\text{z}}\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}\text{ü}$ > U * $\lambda\bar{\text{o}}\text{m}\text{e}$ (delabialization of final vowels) \diamond If the Ar word belongs here, the rec. must be * $\acute{\text{z}}\text{o}|\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{E}\text{m}\text{U}$.

2799. z * $\acute{\text{z}}\nabla\text{m}\nabla\text{r}\nabla$ (or * $\acute{\text{z}}\nabla\text{m}\nabla\text{r}\nabla$?) 'wax' > K: G $\text{z}\text{u}\text{m}\text{i}\text{r}\text{i}$ 'wax; fragrant resin' ¶ Chx. 420 || HS: WS * $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}^{\text{r}}\text{m}\text{a}\text{r}$ - ~ ? * $\hat{\text{s}}\text{a}\text{m}\text{a}\text{r}$ - 'wax' > Ar

šamaṣ- ~ šamṣ 'wax, wax candle', šammāṣ- 'chandler', Sr šam'ṣ-ā 'wax' (← Ar?), Gz šamṣ- 'wax, candle' ¶ Br. 787, Ln. 1598, Fr. II 451-2, L G 530.

2800. (₂?) *ʕʕ'ap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' > HS: S *^o✓ʕʕ'ap- 'ε vessel' > Ak OB/MA šappu 'ε clay vessel', Ak MA/YB šappatu 'ε clay vessel'; Ak OA (dialectal variant) sapru 'metal vessel' (with a reg. Ak A s?) ⇨ Ug s p id. ('patera'), BHb 𐎓𐎍 sap 'ritual bowl (made of metal)', SmA 𐎓𐎍 s p 'goblet' ¶ Sd. 1027, 1175, KB 720, KBR 762-3, OLS 406, Tal 603 || ?φ U: FU *^ošawnu 'ε basket' > pObU {JHt.} *šřwən ({Ht.} *s∇yən) 'birch-bark basket (тыесок)' > pVg *šřn id. > Vg: T šā'n, LK šān, MK/UK sēn, P/NV/SV/LL/ML šēn, UL/Ss sān; pOs *soyən ({JHl.} *sāyən) id. > Os: V/D/K soṇən, Vy soyən, Ty sāyʷən, Y/O sāwən, Nz suṇən, Kz sŭn ¶ Ht. no. 584 || A *ʕʕ'ap∇ > M *^oʕʕ'abi 'small boat' > WrM {MED} ʕabi, HIM завь {MED} id., {BMR} 'boat, челн', WrM {Kow.} ʕabi 'esquif, canot, chaloupe', 'birch-bark boat, small boat'; ⇨ M *ʕʕ'abiya > WrM {MED} ʕabiya 'a metal water vessel with a spout used in Lamaistic ritual', HIM завьяа {Luv.} 'large tea kettle', {BMR} 'an elegant tea kettle (resembling a carafe)', Brt забьяа 'large tea kettle', WrO {Krg.} zabiya 'tea kettle', Kl {Rm.} zāwā 'kupferner Kessel, Teekessel' ¶ MED 1019, Kow. 2258, Luv. 257, BMR II 195, Chr. 242, Krg. 657, KW 470 || Tg *japakun 'quiver' > Orc žarku ~ žaru ~ žapuku, Ul žarau(n-), Nn B žafu 'quiver', WrMc {Z} чжабкы 'small quiver' ¶ STM I 251, Z 962 ¶¶ SDM 389 (pA *čăbà|ò 'sack' Tg, pJ + unc. pKo *čar 'sack'), SDM97 (A *ʕʕ'ap∇ 'sack') less convincingly equates the Tg ✓ with pKo *čâr 'sack' (> MKo çâr) and with pJ {S} *tâpara 'sack' (> OJ tâpara, JT tawara). If indeed Tg *japakun 'quiver' goes back to a word for 'sack', it may be equated with FU (in FV only) *čawa 'Sack, Schale' (UEW 619) and possibly with D *čavali '(any) cloth' (D no. 2394) (F s.v. N *č'aru'ba 'cloth\sack') || ?σ D (in SD) *čav∇n₁t₁- ({ǂGS} s-) 'ladle, spoon' > Kn savatū, savutū, sōtū id., Tu saun₁t₁, saut₁ id. ¶ D no. 2388 ◇ The U (ObU) cognate suggests N *ʕ- rather than *ʕʕ-, while the M, Tg, and D cognates point to the affricate *ʕʕ-. Unless the conflicting ev. is explained, the ObU cognate remains qu. ◇ An alt. N rec. is *šap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' > S *^o✓ʕʕ'ap- 'ε vessel', FU *^ošawnu 'ε basket', ?σ D *čav∇n₁t₁- 'ladle, spoon' (without including the A words).

2801. *šap̄p̄ʔ' ▽ 'lip', (→) 'edge, shore, riverbank' > **HS: S** *šap-at-
 'lip', 'edge, shore, riverbank' > BHb הַפּוֹת שֵׁאֲרָא, OAk šap-tum 'lip,
 edge, shore', Eb sa-ba-tum = {Krb.} śap_la_ltum (sc. šap_la_ltum), Ug
 špt, OA, IA špt (+ppa.) id., Sr **𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎫** sep-t-ā, Md sip̄ta, NMD
 {Mc.} seftā 'lip', JA [Trg.] אֶתְרָא (') sip̄-t-ā 'lip, border, hem', JEA
 sip̄'tā (spelled with **𐎧** s and with **𐎠** š: šip̄'tā) 'lip, shore, edge', SmA
 sḥh 'lips', Ar šaf-at-, šif-at-, Ar NY T šifah ¶ GB 790-1, KBR 1346-8,
 JH 315, HJ 1181, A no. 2663, OLS 450-1, Br. 489, Lv. III 564, Js. 985,
 Sl. 1188, Tal 604, DM 509, Mc. HM 509, BK I 1251, Bns. NJ I 186, Sd.
 1176, CAD XVII/1 483, Krb. 11, Blz. EP, MiK I no. 1.265 || Eg fP s p . t
 'lip', (× N *šap̄ ▽ 'riverbank, river'), Eg fMKL/Md s p . t 'edge; bank (of a
 waterway), shore' ¶ EG IV 99-100, Fk. 222 ¶ The contamination with N
 *šap̄ ▽ is responsible for Eg s- (for the expected š-) || **SC: Irq** {E} šufi,
 Brn {Dmw.} šufi, Kz {E} šifito 'lip' ¶ ≈ E SC 212 (s.v. SC *šūf- v. 'sip'),
 AD SCLC 202, AD SF 117 || ?? WCh: Hs lébè, Pr {Kr.} לוֹבְזָתִי 'lip' ¶ Ba.
 725, ChL I 109 ¶¶ ≈ OS no. 572, ≈ Sk. HCD 187, Tk. SCC 85 [no. 15.1],
 Tk. PAA 9 ¶¶ OS no. 572 (HS *čup- > S, SC), MiK I no. 1.265 || **IE:**
 NaIE *lab-yo-m, -ya, *lab-uro-m, *lab-s- 'lip' > NPrs لب lāb 'lip, edge,
 shore, bank'; Irn 𐎠𐎢𐎡 Z lāb 'lip' || OL labia, L labium, labrum 'lip' ||
 OHG lefs, leffur, NHG † Lefze, Sw läpp, Nr lepe, OFrs lippa,
 MLG lippe (NLG 𐌿 NHG Lippe), AS lippa id., NE lip || ? Sl inf.
 *lobъzati 'to kiss' > OCS, OR inf. **ЛОБЪЗАТИ** lobъzati id. (-> OCS
ЛОБЪЗЪ lobъzъ n. 'kiss'), R π inf. лобзати, SCr Δ inf. lōzbat ~
 lōbzat 'to kiss']? (->) → 'speak': Gk λαβρεύομαι 'talk rashly, brag',
 {F} 'heftig reden' (× ← λάβρος 'furious' [of wind\water], 'fierce'), the
 earlier meaning 'speak' is likely to be preserved in the G loanword
 lap̄araḫ- 'speak', lap̄araḫ-i 'speech' || Brrt [RE] *labaros 'speech' > W
 llafar, OCrn, Crn, Br lavar id., d.: W inf. llafaru 'to speak, to
 utter', Crn leverel 'to tell, to say, to relate', Br lavarēd 'dire' ¶ P
 651, Mn. 655-6, EI 356 (*leb- 'lip'), Sg. 1115, Horn 212, LG 164, WH I
 738-O, Kb. 597, OsS 540, KM 430-1, 442-3, Zhr. IN 355, Ho. 204, Hlq.
 618, ESSJ XV 241-3, Vs. II 507-8, ≈ F II 66, ≈ Ch. 610, RE 125, Chx.
 663-4 || **A** **šap|b ▽ > M *šabažī(n) 'corner of the mouth' > MM [S]
 šabažī(n), WrM {MED} zabažī, HIM {MED, BMR} завж id., Dg žebž,
 {T} žebžī, ShY žawāžā 'corner of the mouth', Ord ž_a_wāž_i 'les coins de
 la bouche, la commissure des lèvres' ¶ H 84, MED 1018, BMR II 192-3,
 Ms. O 190, T DgJ 141, SDM 1528-9 || Tg *japka 'edge, riverbank' > Ewk

Јарка id., Sln Јакка 'riverbank', Lm Јаркъ 'interval, chink, border', Neg Јарка 'gap', Nn Nh ǰақра-су 'nearer to the bank (from the river)', ǰақра 'strip of water near the bank' ¶ STM I 250-1 ¶¶ SDM 1528-9 (pA *ǰāp- > Tg *Јарка, M: MM ǰабаǰі(н), HIM ǰавǰ, Dg ǰebǰ, ShY ǰawāǰа 'corner of the mouth' + [not going back to this N etymomn]: M *ǰab- 'crack; gap, interval; leisure' and T *Јāp 'canal, ditch'), DQA no. 2588 (id.) ◇ IE *b points to a N *p, while Hs b and Eg p suggest the presence of a cluster *pʔ.

2802. *ǰeRǰû 'vein, sinew' > K *ǰarǰw- 'vein, sinew' > OG ǰarǰv-i 'sinew', G ǰarǰv-i 'vein', Mg ǰerǰv-i, Sv UB/LB/Ln ǰärǰw id. ¶¶ K 236, K² 282-3, DCh. 1612, FS E 483-4, TK 887, GP 313 || ?? AdS of IE: NaIE *ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string' (< N *śeRǰ 'row' [q.v.]) || U: FU **°ŝ|śerwǰ '≈ blood vessel' > FP *śerwǰ > Es sũ ũ r e (gen. sũ ũ r m e) 'Ader (im Holz), Jahresring' (influenced by Es sũ ũ 'Jahresring') | Prm: Z в и р с е р vir-śer 'blood vessel' (vir means 'blood') (to distinguish from the paronymous Prm word *vir-ser 'blood vessel' > Z UV vir-sēr id. < N *sāR'U' 'sinew, fibre' [q.v.]) ¶ W EDW 1103-4, LG 264 || HS: SES *°✓ŝrχ 'root' (with devoiced *χ from the expected *ǰ < N *ǰ) > Jb C ŝir'χ (pl. ŝir'χ ɜtɜ) id. ¶ Jo. J 256 || ?? SC: Irq {MQK} dēfār 'roots', sg. defar-mō 'root', {Wh.} dēfarāmo 'root, sinew' ¶ MQK 25, Wh. SI ◇ IS MS 341 (followed by S CNM 5) adduced here D *cīr- (sc. *ĉīr|r-) 'root', but it obviously belongs to N *ǰirwǰ - *ǰir'û' 'root' (q.v.) ◇ AD NM no. 89, S CNM 5 (÷÷ NrCs, ST), Vv. AEN 5 ◇ FU *ŝ|s- for the expected *λ- still needs explaining. Is it due to desaffrication *ǰ- > *ʔ- at a very ancient level (*ʔ- yielding U *ŝ-)?

2803. *ǰiRwǰ or *ǰiR'û' 'root' > K: GZ *ǰir- 'root, bottom' > OG ǰir- 'root', G ǰir-, Mg ǰin(ǰ)- 'root, bottom (дно)', Lz {Schm.} ǰiǰ- 'root' ¶ K 238-9, K² 288, FS K 434-5, Q 414, Chx. 2075-6, Schm. 152 || HS: S *ŝi|uraw- 'sinew, root' > Gz ŝarw, pl. ŝaraw 'sinew, tendon, nerve, root', Tgr, Amh sēr, Tgy sēr, sur 'root, vein, sinew', Sr šārī't-ā {JPS} 'joint, articulation' ({Br.} 'articulus, sutura'), d.: Ar šarīyān-, pl. šarayīn- 'artery', Ak fOB/OA še|ir'ānu 'sinew, tendon, muscle', JEA šuryā'nā {Sl.} 'sinew, vein, bronchus' ({Sl.}: ← Ak), {Js.} šuryā'nē dā'ēnā 'muscles of the eye', Md širiana 'vein, artery'; ??? *°✓ŝrɣ (× N *ĉā'ɣU'Rǰ 'the calf of the leg, shank') > Ar širɣ-at- ~ šarɣ-at-, d.: širāɣ-, šarāɣ-at- 'bowstring', ʔušrūɣ- 'sinew of gazelle's leg' ¶ J. G. 525 < BK I 1022, 1017, 1024, I 1540, SI 1104, JPS 508, DM

463, CAD XVII/2 308, Sd. 1216, MiK I no. 1.239, Br. 808 | S *¹šur¹a¹š- 'root' (d.?) > Sb šrš 'foundation', hšrš v. 'extirpate', ? Ar šaras-, širs- '(ε) thorny plant', BHb שׂרֶשׁ 'šoreš, pl. שׂרֶשִׁים š²rā¹šīm, Ph, Ug šrš, Sr šerš-ā, Ak šurš-u(m) 'root' (the as. S *š...š > Cn, Aram *š ... š is a phonetic law) ¶ GB 864, A no. 2694, OLS 454, Br. 810, BGMR 134-5 || B *¹zwr (*zūr, *z¹w¹r) 'root, vein' > Izn azwar, Tmz aḡur id., Gd aḡur, Izd, Sll aḡur 'root', BSn aḡwar, BMn azwar 'vein' ¶ Mrc. 212, 260, MT 826-7, Ds. 239, Lf. II no. 1840, La. MChB 476 ¶ The forms with ḡ may have been influenced by the B ¹*¹zr¹w¹ 'nerf' of different origin || C: Ag *zir 'root' > Bln {R} zir, pl. zilil, Xm {R} zir, Q {R}, Km {CR} sar ¶ AD SF 98 || Ch: WCh *šarwa ~ *šarya (= {Stl.} *čarw|ya) 'root' > Hs sáywā id. | pBT *surya > Bl sori-, Krf sōriyó, Gln súryà id. | pNrBc *šar¹w¹a > P' šari, Sir šūra, Jmb šera, My šerwa, Mbr šarnani id. | pSBc {Sh.} > Kir šárì, Tala šér kí, Wnd šár, Buli šír, Plc šartz, Zar K šòrtú, Zar GL šártà, Sy Zk šártz, Sy Z šártz, Sy B šargz id. | DfB {J} sūrê id. || CCh: pMM {Ro.} *širay > {Ro.}: Mada širé, Mik šay, Myn širí, Mkt ših, Hrz šílikà, Zlg žìžé, Mofu šàšáy 'root', ? Gzg šàlák 'medicine' | ZmB šór, ZmD {KNC} šór 'root' || ECh: Smr sárbs, Nd {J} sírwé, Tmk {Cp.} hšráw id. ¶ JI I 140-1 and II 276-7, Stl. ZCh 200 [no. 511], Ro. 316-7 [no. 595], Sh. SB 30, KNC 25, Sk. NB 37, Tk. NB 179 (pNB *šar- ~ *šer- ~ *šur-); some of the quoted forms may go back to another HS ¹ represented by S *¹šrχ 'root' (see N *¹žerġú 'vein, sinew') ¶¶ Tk. PAA 18 (NrBc, S) || D (in GnD) *čīr|r- (={θGS} *s|š-?) 'root' > Gnd Δ sīr, sīr, (h)īr/ř, Png čīra, Kui sīru, Ku hīrū, hīru id. ¶ D no. 2626.

2804. *¹žat¹∇ 'fluid, body of water' > HS: S *¹šat¹- > Ar شات šat¹- 'large river' ¶ BK I 1229 || IE: NaIE *lat- 'humid, moist; swamp, mire, mud' (possibly × N ?φ *¹w¹∇L¹∇¹t¹∇ 'moist; moisture') > L latex n. 'fluid, liquid' (hardly a loan from Gk λάταξ) || ? Gk λάταϕ-εϑ pl. (sg. λάταξ) 'drops of wine, remains of wine in a vessel' (if it really means this rather than {Ch.} 'fond de la vase') || OIr {P} laith 'beer, liquid; swamp', Gl Are-late (name of a town to the east of a swamp), Crn lad, OW llat 'liquid' n., {EI} 'slime', W llaid (< *latyo-), OIr lathach 'mud', NIr lathach, laitheach 'mud, mire' || ON {P, KM} lepja (< *laθyon-) 'loam, dirt', Ic leđja 'silt, slime', OHG letto 'clay, loam', NHG Letten 'potter's clay, loam' || ? Blt river names: Lt Latupé, Latuvà, Ltv Late ¶ WP II 381-2, P 654-5, EI 639 (*leh_ht- 'wet, moist'), WIL I 770, SB 228, YCM I 201, Dss 416, 420, ZH 608, OLS 550, Br.

400, KM 437, Paul 373, F II 89, ≠ Ch. 122 || D *ĉ|ĉ₁at- 'damp, moist, swampy, thin current of water' > Tm cētumpu v. 'become damp and moist; mud, mire; thin current of water as of rivers in summer', cētukku 'mud, mire', catuppu-nilam 'bog, marshy ground', catuval 'swampy ground', Ml catuppu 'marsh', Tl caduku 'mud' ¶¶ D no. 2326 || ? A ≈ *ǰat∇ > NaT *ja₁:t' 'rain magic' > OT ja₁:t id. ¶ Cl. 883, DTS 247, Dr. TM I 157 || ?φ,σ M *ǰadagay 'pond, pool' (unless ← *ǰadagay 'open' through some ellipsis) > WrM {MED} zadagay 'pond, pool', HIM {BMR} задгай цс 'offener Wasserbehälter; Wasserquelle. fließendes Wasser' (цс mans 'water'), Ord ǰ₁ad₁gā 'mare, flaque d'eau, étang' ¶ MED 1021, BMR II 197-8. Ms. O 178, ¶¶ But Kl {Rm.} zadagā usŋ ~ zadagā usŋ 'freies Wasser (nicht im eiche oder Brunnen)' [adduced by SDM] does not belong here, because zadagā ~ zadagā means 'frei' ¶¶ The M voiced *-d- and the Altaic *-t- still defy explanation ◇ If the M word does belong here, the N initial cns. is *ǰ₁-. The D reflex points to N *ǰ₁-, too.

2805. ?σ (₂?) *ǰ₁æw^ri' (or *ǰ₁æ?w^ri'?) 'up, upper point, extremity' > HS: Eg P ǰω₁ 'sich erheben' ¶ EG IV 431 || SC: Irq/Brn {E} ĉ₁aw- 'get up, awake', Irq {MQK, Wd.} ĉ₁aw- 'wake up' ¶ E 212, 216, MQK 103, Wd. 326 || Ch: NrBc {Tk.} *ĉ₁aw- (> *ĉ₁u- ~ *ĉ₁z-) 'stand up, rise' > {Sk.}: P, Sir ĉ₁u, Dir ča, Jmb, My, Mbr, Kry ĉ₁a-, Cg ĉ₁z- id., Wrij ĉ₁aw id., 'grow' | SBc: Kir {Sh.} ĉ₁ak, Tule {Sh.} ĉ₁a, Wnd {Sh.} ĉ₁u, Zar K {Sh.} ĉ₁i 'stand up' | Ngz {Sch.} ĉ₁áu id. || CCh: Lmn {Lk.} ĉ₁- id. ¶ ChC, ChL, Sk. NB 24, 42, Tk. NB 179-80, Sch. DN 163 ¶¶ Hardly here (⇔ Tk.) BHb 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 šī (+ppa. 3m 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 šī^r-ō) h.l. 'loftiness' (or 'pride'?) (> NHb 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡 si 'highest point'), which is more plausibly understood as derived from √nš^r 'rise' (GB 782, KB 1228) || K *ǰ₁e 'up(wards), upon' > OG, G ze, Mg, Lz ži(n), Sv ži id. ¶¶ K² 63 || A: ?σ M *ǰ₁ebe > WrM {MED} zebe 'arrowhead, spearhead', HIM зэв {MED} id., {BMR} 'spearhead, наконечник', Brt зэбэ 'arrowhead, spearhead', Ord ǰ₁iwe 'pointe de flèche', MM [HI, S] {Ms., Lew., H} zebe, Kl {Rm.} zewə 'Waffen, Bewaffnung; Instrument der Hadwerker' ¶ MED 1042, BMR II 251, Ms. O 206, Ms. H 66, Lew. 29, H 88, KW 474, Chr. 271 ◇ SC *ĉ₁- (and *ĉ₁- in Chadic?) suggest the presence of a lr. (*?) in the N etymon.

U. LIST OF NOSTRATIC ENTRIES AND OF INDO-EUROPEAN ROOTS

Introduction: Alphabetical order of entries. The alphabetical order of consonants is as follows: *ʔ (incl. *ʔ), *ɸ (incl. *ɸ), *b, *c (incl. *ć, *ċ, *ċ', *C), *ç (incl. *ć, *ċ, *ċ', *C), *č, *č', *ĉ, *ĉ', *g, *g, *ɣ (incl. *Γ), *h, *H (incl. *H, *H₁, *H₂ and H₃), *ħ, *k (incl. *K, *k, *k̄), *k̄ (incl. *K̄), *l (incl. *l, *l̄, *L), *l̄, *m, *n (incl. *n̄, *n̄, *n̄, *N), *ń, *ŋ, *p (incl. *p̄, *P, *P̄), *q (incl. *Q), *q̄, *r (incl. *R), *r̄, *s (incl. *ś, *ś̄, *ś', *S), *š, *š', *t (incl. *T), *t̄, *w, *x (incl. *X), *y, *z (incl. *z̄, *z̄, *z', *Z), *ž, *ž', *z̄ (incl. *z̄, *z̄, *z', *Z), *ž, *ž', *z̄.

Among the word-medial consonants I distinguish between "weak consonants" (*ʔ [incl. *ʔ and *ʔ], *ɸ [incl. *ɸ], *g, *ɣ [incl. *Γ], *h, *H [incl. *H, *H₁, *H₂], *ħ, *q, *x [incl. *X], *w and *y) and "strong consonants" (all others).

The entries are arranged as follows:

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

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

- (a) first those without any additional consonants,
- (b) those with a weak cns. preceding the word-medial strong one,
- (c) those with a weak cns. following the word-medial strong one,
- (d) those with a third strong cns.

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

[3] Within each group of entries with identical consonants the entries are arranged according to the first vowel. Order of vowels: *a (incl. *A), *ā (incl. *æ), *e (incl. ê and *E), *i, *o (incl. ô), *u (incl. *U, *û, *î, *â), *ü, *∇.

The entries with consonants of doubtful identity (those within the brackets []) and of doubtful presence (those with the brackets []) are treated as those with regular consonants. The optional second element of a Nostratic

word (that within plain brackets ()) is not taken into account in the order of the entries.

The signs "(₁?)" and "(₂?)" mean that among the compared roots of the descendant languages only one (in the case of "₁?") or only two (in the case of "₂?") may be considered certain. If two language families are compared, their presumably common N etymon (although not certain) may be preceded by "?₂".

'↑' = anaphoric sign "the above-mentioned meaning of the same word\morpheme"

The sign μ means that the form in question is an innovation.

The signs ?μ means that the indicated form or word is doubtful from the morphological point of view

1. *?a, pc. of plurality

2. *?a 'become, be'

2a. (₂?) *?A, a marker of the male sex (← '(young) man'??) > IE: one of the sources of NaIE *-o- / -e (nom. *-o-s, voc. *-e), sx of derived adjectives, masc.

3. *?æ 'not'

4. *?a?∇ 'female', → (in descendant lges) marker of feminine (sex or grammatical gender) > IE: NaIE *-ā, ending of the fem. gender

5. ? L1. *?aba ~ *?apa 'daddy, father'

6. *?oh|?b∇ 'clan' > IE: NaIE *ēpi- 'friend'

7. ₂ *?'a' bH∇ 'water, watercourse' > IE: NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river'

8. ₂ *?ib₁∇₁rE 'fig tree' > ?σ IE: NaIE *eb^h∇ro- '≈ tree' ('yew?')

9. ₂ *?∇ç|ç∇h∇ 'back (dorsum)'

10. *?aç'P∇ '∈ leaf-bearing tree' ('aspen' or the like) > IE: NaIE *a|osp- ~ *a|ops- 'aspen'

11. *?aç∇ 'low place, depression, wadi, pond'

12. ₂ *?A'd'∇ (= *?A'd'∇?) 'foot'

13. *?ûHd∇ (R∇) 'breast' > IE: NaIE *ōy^hd^h-/*ū^hd^h- 'female breast, mamma'

13a. (₂?) *?ü'χ|y'd∇ (or *?u^hd∇?) 'one' > ?φ IE: NaIE *°ed₁^h₁- in S1 *ed(ъ)-va 'hardly, only just' and *ed-inъ ~ *ed-ъnъ 'one'

14. (₂?) ***ʔediN**∇ 'pater familias', (?) 'owner, lord' > **ʔσ IE**: NaIE ***°ed^hno-** (≈ clan'?) or cd. ***s^w-ed^hno-** (≈ one's own clan')
15. Ll. ***ʔaga** 'elder relative (uncle, elder brother)'
- 15a. ₂ ***ʔæg**∇**R**∇ '≈ bone of the leg\foot'
16. **ʔσ** ***ʔa^ha** 'thing(s)', collective pc. of inanimate (≈ de ça') > **IE** ***-h₂** (> NaIE ***-ə** and AnIE ***-a**), ending of pl. ntr. (nom./accus.)
17. ₂ ***ʔa^hkê** 'to chase, to drive away, to take away' > **IE**: NaIE ***aĝ-** 'drive'
18. ***ʔäka** 'be evil, hate' > **IE** ***Ho|ag-** (or ***ʔo|ag-?**), ***H|ʔo|agos** 'pain, ache', (?) 'evil'
19. ***ʔo^hkE** (= ***ʔo^hkü?**) 'self' (→ 'myself') > **IE** ***ʔeĝh**∇-**m** / ***ʔeĝoh** 'I'
20. ₂ ***ʔo^hk^hâL**∇ '∈ to eat'
21. Ll. ***ʔaKa** 'elder relative, grandfather'
22. ***ʔäla**, pc. of prohibition and categorical negation
23. ***ʔeI**∇ 'clan, tribe' (→ 'all', prn. of plurality) > **IE** ***ʔoI-** > ***oI-yo-**, ***oI-no-** (*'everybody' →) 'whole, all, each'
24. ***ʔE₂A**, dem. prn. of collectivity (connected with ***ʔeI**∇ 'clan, tribe'?), an alternative reconstruction instead of **1249** (***ĭA**, analytical marker of collectivity)
25. ***ʔêI**∇ 'deer' (and 'mountain goat'??) > **IE** ***ʔ|h₂el-n-** 'deer'
26. ***ʔil^hA^h** 'stand still, stay; place to stay' > **IE** ***ʔelī** (or ***ǵ|h₂elī?**) ~ ? ***ʔ^hil-** > NaIE ***elī**, ***el-**, ***il-** v. 'rest (stillstehen)'
27. ***ʔiI**∇ 'eye' > ? **IE**: Clt: OW {Flr.} **aīl** 'eyebrow', W **aēl** 'supercilium, ora'
28. ***ʔ^hoI**∇ 'that (visible)' > **IE**: NaIE ***oI-** 'that (remote)'
29. ***ʔo^hL**∇ (or ***ʔoyiI**∇?) 'bough, hook' (→ 'hang on a hook')
30. ₂ ***ʔuI**∇ 'soil, foundation, earth'
31. ***ʔ₂ü₂Lûd**∇ 'to grow' > **IE** ***ʔleud^h-**/***ʔloud^h-**/***ʔlud^h-** 'grow'
32. ***ʔ^hEL₂i₂mA** '∈ tree' ('elm' or the like) > **IE**: NaIE ***ʔmo-** 'elm'
33. ***ʔ^haI^hU^h** 'food' > **IE** ***ʔal-** (or ***h₂el-** > NaIE ***al-**) v. 'feed, nourish'
34. ***ʔuh₂∇₂Í**∇ 'hut'
35. ***ʔ^hü|u^hġa** 'cold (Kälte)' > **IE**: NaIE ***alg^h-** 'cold'
36. ***ʔam**∇ (= ***ham**∇?), dem. prn. ('iste?'), 'now'
37. Ll. ***ʔemA** 'mother' (the most probable source of the fem. ending of pronouns in B, Eg and Ch)
38. ***ʔem**∇ 'seize, hold' (→ 'take') > **IE** ***ʔ^hem-**/***ʔ^hom-** v. 'take, get'
39. ***ʔo^hm**∇ 'kin, clan, everybody' > **IE** ***ʔ|Hom-** 'every'
40. ₂ ***ʔämP**∇ '≈ wolf'

41. *ʔam_L∇_JR∇ (or *ʔam^o (L_R∇_J)?) 'morning, daylight' > IE *ʔ|Hxām(e)r / *ʔ|Hxām-n- 'day'
42. *ʔ^rUmr∇ 'burn' (intr.), 'shine, be bright', 'dawn' > IE *ʔ|Hxām(e)r / *ʔ|Hxām-n- 'day'
43. *ʔ^romśa 'flesh, meat' > IE: NaIE *mēms- 'meat'
44. *ʔin^rA^r 'place' ([in daughter lges] → 'in') > IE *ʔen/*ṇ, *ʔeni 'inside'; 'in, into'
45. *ʔon∇ 'self, the same'
46. *ʔäyñâ or *ʔ_Läy_JEñâ 'nothing, there is no ...'
47. *ʔAN_J∇ (*ʔa_N∇?) '≈ ∈ foot'
48. *ʔañ_L∇_J∇ '≈ friend(ly), favorable, useful' > IE: NaIE *ans- v. 'be favorable'
49. (2?) *ʔiñ∇šê 'person, man'
50. *ʔ∇nt_J∇ (or *ʔ∇nt∇?) 'he', relative 'he who, that which' > IE *-ent-/*-ont-, sx of participles
51. (2?) *ʔaṇo '∈ snake' > IE: NaIE *ang^whi- ~ *ang^wi- 'snake'
52. *ʔayṇo 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint'), a variant rec. of a N word instead of 2600a: *Xayṇo (= *h|χayṇo) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (which is more plausible)
53. *ʔaṇ_J|g∇ 'chin'
54. *ʔaṇq^ri^r '≈ breathe' > IE *ʔ|HxanH- (> NaIE *anə-) v. 'breathe'
55. *ʔaṅga 'to open', 'opening' (esp. 'mouth'), 'entrance' > IE: NaIE *^oa^rṅg_L^r- > Lt angà 'opening, aperture, orifice'
56. *ʔ^ro^rṅka 'to pant, to sigh, to groan' > IE: NaIE *enk-/*onk- v. 'sigh, groan'
57. *ʔ^ra^rP∇ 'take, seize' > IE *ʔ^rep- > Ht ep(p)- / ap(p)- v. 'take, seize, grab, pick, capture', NaIE *ap-/*ēp- '≈ touch, hold'
58. *ʔêP∇ (= *ʔêp∇?) 'mouth' (→ 'speak')
59. 2 *ʔoP_a '≈ powder, dust, small pieces of dirt'
60. ? 2 WW? ≈ *ʔ∇p∇ 'monkey' > IE: a word reconstructible as NaIE {P} *abō(n)- 'monkey', but most probably spread by borrowing
61. *ʔäP_L^rh^ri 'bake, cook food on hot stones' > IE: *ʔ|HePH- v. 'cook, bake'
62. (2?) *ʔ∇q∇ 'thing(s)' and prn.\n. of plurality
63. (2?) *ʔ^rü|u^rq^ryê 'night, dark hours' > IE *^ohe_uH- / *ḥ_weH- / *ḥ_woH- > NaIE *a_u- / *a_wē- / *a_wō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep'
64. *ʔar∇ (and *ʔa^rr∇; or both variants from *ʔa^rr∇) 'earth, land, place' > IE: *ʔ^rer- 'earth', NaIE *ārō- 'open space'

65. *ʔaR∇ 'member of one's clan\family' > IE *ʔaro- ~ *ʔaryo- 'member of one's own ethnic group' (→ 'freeman') > NaIE *aryo- id., Ht ar ā- 'member of one's own ethnic group, peer, companion, friend'
66. *ʔer∇ 'to divide; one share, one, single'
67. *ʔaR_L∇_J (ka) (and *yaR_L∇_J (ka)?) 'see, observe' > IE: NaIE *re(:)g-id.
68. *ʔuRE or *ʔüR∇ 'drink, swallow'
69. *ʔur∇ 'to gather' (→ 'everybody belonging to...', 'clan, relatives; multitude') > IE: NaIE *wer-/*w_ṛ- 'multitude, group of people, troop'
70. *ʔUr∇ (ba) 'squirrel' > IE: NaIE *wer- (and rdp.: *werwer-, as well as post-IE variants in descendant lges: *wēwer-, *wa_ṽwer-, *wi_ḷ:_Jwer-) '≈ squirrel'
71. *ʔ∇^r∇ (> *r∇?), theme-focalizing (topicalizing) pc. (see 1953: *r∇ [_< *ʔ∇^r∇]) > IE: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns
72. *_Lʔ∇_Jr∇ 'towards' (→ 'in?') > IE: NaIE *-r, locative sx in adverbs
73. *ʔi_Lʔ|y_JR^a' 'drag, pull, push'
74. *ʔûwr∇ 'light (lux), fire'
75. *ʔiR_LEʔ_Jû 'entrails' > IE: NaIE {P} *oreu-/*_oreu- 'gut'
76. *ʔeRqⁱ' '∈ ruminant' > IE: NaIE *er-~*eri- '∈ ruminant'
77. *ʔu|or∇q∇ (or *ʔu|or∇q∇^r∇?) 'path, way'
78. *ʔaRba 'to lie in ambush, to scheme evil to so.', '(?) to use magic tools'; an alt. et.: N *ʔaRpaʔ∇ 'make magic'
79. *ʔARčA (or *ʔAč_L∇_JRA) 'trace' (→ 'sign', 'choose')
80. (2?) *^rʔ^aRH₂∇m∇ (H₂ = *h?) 'upper part of a limb' > IE: NaIE *arāmo-/*_oṛmo- 'arm'
81. *ʔo^rʔ^u' 'antelope, deer, mountain goat' > IE: NaIE *er-, *erib^ho- 'ram, lamb', (?) 'roedeer'
82. *ʔü^r∇ or *ʔu^rE 'top' > IE: Ht ar u- 'high' (× N *H₁erU 'go upwards, rise') || ?σ NaIE *wer- 'knob'
83. (2?) *ʔ^rü^r∇w∇ 'big feline'
84. *ʔ^rä^so^r' 'stay, be' > IE *ʔes-/*ʔs- > NaIE *es-/*s- v. 'be'
85. *ʔis∇ (or *ʔiʔs∇?) 'to sit', 'seat (the part of the body that bears the weight in sitting)' > IE *ʔēs- v. 'be seated'
86. *ʔisü or *ʔüs∇ 'fire'
87. *^rʔ^r∇ś∇ 'they' > IE: [1] *-es (< **-ʔes), nom. pl. m./f. of nominal parts of speech and participles, [2] *-n-s (< *-m accus. + *-s pl.), accus. pl.

m./f. (of nominal parts of speech and participles), NaIE *-ŋ-s acc. pl. m./f. of consonantic stems

88. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}i|\text{ü}\acute{\text{s}}\text{U}^1\text{t}\nabla$ 'to sweep, to rake'
89. * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{,}\acute{\text{s}}\text{r}\acute{\text{ü}}^1\text{h}_2\nabla$ 'wild boar' > IE: NaIE * $\text{s}\bar{\text{u}}\text{-s}$, * $\text{s}\text{u}^1\text{w}\text{-os}$ '(wild or domesticated) pig'
90. * $\text{r}^1\text{at}\nabla$ 'female, woman' (→ HS marker of fem. in nouns and verbs)
91. * $\text{ʔit}\hat{\text{e}}$ 'eat' > IE * ʔed- v. 'eat' ⇨ IE * $\text{ʔ}_o\text{dont-}$, * $\text{ʔdонт-}/\text{*ʔdŋt-}$ 'tooth'
92. * $\text{ʔat}\text{,}\text{ʔ}\nabla$ 'come', ? 'walk' > IE: NaIE * a|e|ot- 'go, walk'
93. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔEt}\hat{\text{u}}\text{R}\nabla$ 'day, noon'
94. * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{æ}}\text{t}\nabla$ 'make' (→ causativizing morpheme)
95. * $\text{ʔot}\nabla\text{,}\text{h}\nabla\text{,}$ (or * $\text{ʔot}\text{,}\text{h}\nabla\text{,}$) 'heavy', → 'difficult'
96. * $\text{ʔ}^1\text{a}^1\text{w}\hat{\text{u}}$ 'whether?' (pc. of general question), 'or' > IE: NaIE * $\text{a}\bar{\text{u}}$ 'or', * $\text{we}(:)$ / * u 'whether?', 'or'
97. * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{w}\nabla\text{y}\nabla$ 'island, seashore' > IE: NaIE * $\text{o}\bar{\text{u}}\text{yo-}$ > Gmc * awja- 'island'
98. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{u}}\text{X}i$ 'egg' (or 'white of egg') > IE: NaIE * $\text{o}\bar{\text{u}}(\text{y})o-$ 'egg'
99. * $\text{ʔ}^1\text{a}^1\text{y}\nabla$ 'say, speak, call' > IE: NaIE ≈ * $\text{a}\bar{\text{j}}-$ '≈ say, speak'
100. * $\text{ʔ}^1\text{a}^1\text{y}\nabla$ 'mother' (→ 'female', a marker of the fem. [sex or grammatical gender]) > ? IE: pGmc * $\text{aj}\bar{\theta}\bar{i}$ 'mother' (from a N or pre-IE nominal phrase); NaIE * $-\bar{i}$, * $-\bar{i}-$, a nominal sx of fem.
101. * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{ä}}\text{y}\nabla$ (= * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{ä}}\text{ya}?$) 'which?', 'what?'
102. * $\text{ʔ}^1\text{e}^1\text{y}\nabla$ 'come, arrive' > IE * $\text{ʔe}\bar{\text{j}}-/ \text{*ʔi-}$ v. 'go'
103. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{æ}}\hat{\text{z}}\text{EkU}$ (= * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{æ}}\hat{\text{z}}\text{ikU}?$) 'thorn, hook' (→ 'tooth')
104. * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{ü}}^1\text{z}\text{ʔ}\nabla$ (or * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{ü}}^1\text{h}\hat{\text{z}}\nabla?$) 'throat; to swallow' > IE * $\text{ʔ|h}\text{o}\text{ʔ|h}\text{w}(e)\text{s-}$ or * $\text{ʔ|h}\text{o}\text{w}\text{ʔ|h}(e)\text{s-}$ 'mouth'
105. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}\hat{\text{u}}\hat{\text{z}}\nabla$ 'hear', (→ ?) 'ear' > IE * $\text{ʔ|h}\text{o}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s-}/ \text{*ʔ|h}\text{us-}$ 'ear'
106. * $\text{ʔ|}\Gamma\text{a}\text{ʔ}\nabla$ (= * $\text{ʔ|}\text{g|}\Psi\text{a}\text{ʔ}\nabla$) 'grow, become' (→ 'be')
107. * $\text{ʔ}^1\text{æ}^1\text{bU}$ 'female breast, breast, bosom (Busen)'
108. ≈ * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{C}\bar{\text{u}}\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{,}\text{P}\nabla$ (or * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{C}\text{y}\hat{\text{u}}\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{,}\text{P}\nabla$) 'salt'
109. * $\text{ʔ}\text{A}\acute{\text{ç}}\nabla$ (= * $\text{ʔ}\text{A}\acute{\text{ç}}\text{U}^1??$) 'to blow, to yawn'
110. ${}_2$ * $\text{ʔ}\nabla\text{ç}\nabla\text{L}\nabla$ 'guts'
111. * $\text{ʔ}\text{a}\text{w}\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$ (or * $\text{ʔ}\text{a}\hat{\text{c}}\text{w}\nabla$) 'light of the sun below\on the horizon' > IE: NaIE * $\text{a}\bar{\text{u}}\text{s-}/\text{*us-}$ (/ * $\text{wes-}?$) 'shine (leuchten)'
112. * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{ä}}\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$ 'bush, shrubs, forest'
113. * $\text{ʔ}\text{u}\hat{\text{c}}\text{E}$ or * $\text{ʔ}\acute{\text{ü}}\hat{\text{c}}\nabla$ 'exchange, compensate\ion' (→ 'trade', 'revenge') > IE * $\text{h}_X\text{wes-}/\text{*h}_X\text{wos-}$, {EI} * wes- 'buy', {EI} * wes-no- 'purchase'
114. * $\text{ʔad}\nabla$ 'limit, edge' (?) → 'up to, until, towards' > IE * haT ({EI} * $\text{h}_\text{a}\text{ed}$) 'at, to' > NaIE * aT 'towards'

115. *ʕ'o'dU 'go'
116. *ʕud∇ 'follow' (→ 'repeat, continue')
117. *ʕæ'go 'to drink' > IE *h₂eg^hω- 'drink'
118. ₂ ≈ *ʕEʔa_lʔ_lg∇ 'fat'
119. *ʕ'o'gU1∇ (or *H₂o'gU1∇) 'offspring, child, young (of an animal)', 'to beget, to bear a child'
120. ₂ *ʕok∇ (or *ʕoK∇?) 'listen' or 'ear'
121. ?σ *ʕayka ≈ move (quickly), jump' > IE: NaIE *a_lg- {P} '(sich) heftig bewegen, schwingen, vibrieren'
122. *ʕaKo 'water' > IE *hek^ω- (or *hak^ω-) 'water' > NaIE *ak^ω-ā id.
123. *ʕ'o'ki 'sharp point\edge' > IE *H^ωe^{k̂}- (~ *He^{k̂}-?) / *H^ωk̂- 'sharp, pointed' > NaIE *ok̂- / *ak̂- id.
124. *ʕuKa (or *ʕuk∇ʔa, *ʕAwuKa, *ʕAwuk∇ʔa?) 'see', 'eye' > IE: *H^ωek^ω-/*Heuk- 'eye', v. 'learn'
125. ?σ ₂ *ʕEK∇'z'∇ ≈ to peck, to prick' (of birds and other animals)
126. *ʕA1∇ (= *ʕa1E or *ʕä1î) 'height, top', 'climb, go up' > IE *He1- 'high'
127. *ʕa1∇ (or *ʕah∇1∇?) 'burn (esp. sacrifices), use magic means (sacrifices, magic formulae etc.) to produce a particular result' > IE *H¹e1- (≈ *H¹a1-) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices'
128. *ʕä1U 'know'
129. *ʕo1∇ (= *ʕo1ü?) 'starve, die; dead' > IE {EI} *we1- 'die'
130. *ʕ|g'æ'h1U or (if the Ht cognate is accepted) *Γ'æ'h1U 'reddish, yellow, brown' > IE *He1u-/*He1w- 'reddish, yellow'; ? Ht {Pv.} hahli-, {Ts.} hahla- 'green, yellow'
131. (₂?) *ʕu1ʕê 'recent' (→ 'new, young')
- 131a. (₂?) *ʕ|g'o1_l∇y_l∇ 'leaf'
- 131b. ?σ *ʕ'aL_lo_lp∇ 'weak, exhausted' > IE *halp- 'weak, swooned, exhausted'
132. *ʕa1|l_lü 'a liliaceous plant (garlic, onion, aloë or sim.)' > IE: NaIE *a(:)lu- '∈ liliaceous plant of sharp taste'
133. *ʕa1∇qU 'to bend', 'a bend, a joint in a limb' (esp. 'elbow', 'ankle') > IE *He1k_l^ω- / *Ho1k_l^ω- 'bent, elbow'
- 133a. ?? *ʕa1∇S∇ 'big, strong, heavy'
134. *ʕim'ê' 'suck, swallow'
135. *ʕ'o'm_l∇_ldE 'stand upright, rise' > IE *Hend^h-/*H_od^h- v. 'rise, appear'
136. ₂ *ʕom_l∇_lKê '(∈ part of the) neck'

137. *^rǰ¹um∇η|ñ∇ 'to sleep, to lose consciousness \ remembrance of'
138. *^rǰōyUn∇ 'see, look; eye' > IE **_LH₁wēj_n- > NaIE (in IIr only) *^owēj_n- v. 'look, see'; ? *^hēn (or *^ʔēn) 'siehe da!'
- 138a. *^rǰiñ_L∇_Jq∇ 'live'
139. *^rǰōñ¹∇ 'fang, stake' → 'weapon (dart, javelin or the like)' > IE *^rǰ¹ḡsi-s ({EI} *_h₂|_h₃ḡsis) 'large (offensive) knife, dagger, ? sword'
140. *^rǰup∇ 'take wing', 'up' > IE *Hupo > NaIE *upo- 'upon, on to'; NaIE *up-ero- 'upper', *ups- 'high, upper'
141. *^rǰ∇P∇R∇ '(river)bank' > IE: NaIE *āper-o-, *āper-yo- 'shore, river bank', 'mainland'
142. (₂?) *^rǰ∇p∇R∇ 'wild boar' > IE *hepero- > NaIE *ap(e)ro-s 'wild boar'
143. ₂ *^rǰAr∇ 'dry, arid'
144. *^rǰiR^r_i' '(male, young) big ungulate' > IE: NaIE *er(i)-b^h- (with the sx *-b^h(o)- of animal names) 'ε horned artiodactyl' (× N *H^ræ¹R∇ 'goat, sheep')
145. ?σ₂ *^rǰ∇r∇ 'run'
146. *^rǰaR_H₂|wu or *^rǰa_H₂Ru 'back (dos), loins'
147. *^rǰur∇K_J∇ 'to flee'
148. *^rǰa^r_i'∇ or *^rǰaRi '≈ without, no' ([in descendant lges] → 'naked') > IE: NaIE *ar- / *ōr- v. 'deny'
- 148a. ₂ *^rǰ|ge^r_i'∇ 'raincloud, rain'
149. *^rǰa^r_K_J'u¹ 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'bowstring, bow') > IE *Herku- ~ *Her^ω- 'bow, net'
150. *^rǰEw∇S∇ '(ε) grass' > AdS of IE *_LH₁wēj_s- > NaIE *wēj_s- v. 'grow, sprout forth' (< N *wi^ŝ^ʔ∇ 'to grow' [esp. of plants])
151. *^rǰe^ŝ_i' 'make, do' > IE: Ht essa- / issa- 'do, make'
152. *^rǰō^ŝ∇ (K_a) 'ε tree' > IE *H^ωes- 'ash tree' ({EI} *_h₂eHōs 'ash')
153. *^rǰa_tU 'ε fish' > IE: NaIE *ateli- (and *^ra¹ti-?) 'ε fish' (× N *X^ro¹t^r_i' 'ε fish')
154. *^rǰa_t∇ 'to throw, to cast'
155. *^rǰo_t∇ 'breathe, blow' > IE *H^ωot-/*_H^ωt- > NaIE *ōt-/ət- 'breathe'
- 155a. *^rǰu_t∇ '≈ hand (palm of the hand with fingers?)'
156. *^rǰaw_y∇ 'shout, speak' > IE NaIE (?) *^oa_u- > on. Gk (ipf.) αῦε, ft. αῦσω, aor. αῦσα 'cry out, shout, call aloud'
157. *^rǰaw^ro_y'∇ 'spend the night, sleep' > IE: *^oHe_uH- / *_HwēH- / *_HwoH- > NaIE *a_u- / *a_wē- / *a_wō- v. 'spend the night (übernachten), sleep', *a_u-id.

158. * $\text{ʕuy}^{\text{h}}\nabla$ 'to bend' > **IE** * hweijX- v. 'twist, weave, plait, braid'
159. ? σ * $\text{ʕäz}\nabla^{\text{g}}\nabla$ 'wedge'
160. * $\text{ʕi}^{\text{z}}\nabla$ 'strong, healthy' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{e}_{\text{is}}\text{-}/\text{*o}_{\text{is}}\text{-}$ 'move with impetus', * isəro-s 'vehement, strong'
- 160a. * $\text{ʕa}^{\text{ž}}\nabla$ 'white, bright' > **IE**: Ht $\text{asara-} \sim \text{esara-}$ 'white, bright'
161. * bA , adjectival pc. forming analytical (\rightarrow derived) names of quality bearers, nomina possessoris and animal names > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{o-}$, [1] sx of animal names, [2] sx of adjectives
162. $_2$ * $\text{b}\nabla$, pc. forming analytical (\rightarrow derived) nomina abstracta > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{o-s}$, * $\text{-b}^{\text{h}}\text{ā}$, sx of abstract nouns
163. $_2$ * $\text{bo}^{\text{?}}\nabla$ 'to go'
164. *on., id.* * $\text{b}^{\text{u}}\text{ʕ}\nabla$ 'blow, inflate', (\rightarrow ?) 'swell' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{°b}^{\text{h}}\text{ōu-}/\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{əu-}$ v. 'blow'
- 164a. * $\text{bE}^{\text{b}}\nabla^{\text{t}}\nabla$ 'lip(s), mouth'
165. *id.* * $\text{bi}^{\text{ç}}\nabla \sim \text{*bi}^{\text{ĉ}}\nabla$ 'small, little'
166. $_2$ * $\text{b}\nabla^{\text{ç}}\nabla^{\text{R}}\nabla$ 'to cut'
167. * $\text{bo}^{\text{č}}\text{a}$ '(young) deer'
168. * $\text{bi}^{\text{ĉ}}\nabla$ 'cut, crumble, crush' > *AdS* of NaIE * $\text{pe}_{\text{is}}\text{-}/\text{*pi}_{\text{s}}\text{-}$ v. 'crush, pound' < N * $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{äy}^{\text{s}}\text{ʕ}^{\text{i}}$ or * $\text{pi}^{\text{s}}\text{ʕ}^{\text{i}}$ 'crush, break into pieces'
169. $_2$ * $\text{b}\nabla^{\text{g}}\nabla^{\text{ĉ}}\nabla$ '≈ bad, wicked'
170. * $\text{b}^{\text{u}}\nabla^{\text{ĉ}}\text{ʕ}\nabla$ '≈ to tear to pieces'
- 170a. $_2$ * $\text{bAd}\nabla$ 'many, multitude'
171. * $\text{bed}^{\text{ê}}\nabla$ 'to pierce, to prick' > **IE** * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ed}^{\text{h-}}$ v. 'pierce, prick, dig'
172. * $\text{b}^{\text{r}}\text{ed}\nabla$ 'back of sth.'
173. * $\text{bod}\nabla$ 'body, belly' > ? σ **IE**: NaIE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ud}^{\text{h-}}$ men 'lower part, bottom'
174. $_2$ * $\text{bü}^{\text{d}}\nabla^{\text{ç}}\nabla$ 'be thick'
- 174a. * $\text{b}\nabla^{\text{d}}\nabla^{\text{h}}\nabla^{\text{?}}\text{E}$ 'to plait' (\rightarrow 'net')
- 174b. $_2$ * $\text{bad}^{\text{d}}\nabla^{\text{X}}\nabla$ 'be open'
175. ($_2$?) * $\text{bü}^{\text{d}}\nabla^{\text{X}}\nabla^{\text{q}}\nabla$ 'be awake; feel, pay attention; be excited, be cheerful' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{eud}^{\text{h-}}$ {P} 'wach sein, geweckt\geistig\rege sein'
176. * baHgü (= * $\text{baĥ|h}^{\text{g}}\text{ü}$?) 'forearm' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ā}^{\text{g}}\text{h}^{\text{u-s}}$ 'elbow, forearm'
177. $_2$ * $\text{bü}^{\text{u}}\nabla^{\text{g}}\text{E}$ 'stinging insect' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{u}^{\text{g}}\text{h}^{\text{h-}}$ 'insect'
178. * bAga (or * $\text{bA}^{\text{X}}\text{a}$?) 'be(come) visible, appear' > **IE**: NaIE * $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{ā-}$ 'appear, become visible'

179. *b^ri'gê 'much' > IE: [1] ≈ *^ob^he|o_j- > Av baē-var, baē-van, Phl bēvar, NPrs بيور bivār 'ten thousand, myriad', Oss: I bīrā, D berā, bewrā 'many, much, very' ||| [2] one of the sources of *-b^heH, sx of abstract nouns
180. *beha (or *bäha?) 'shine, be bright' > IE *b^heh|x- / *b^hoh|x- / *b^hh|x_g- > NaIE *b^hē- / *b^hō- / *b^hə- 'shine (glänzen, leuchten, scheinen)'
181. ₂ *baH₂∇ 'to tie, to bind'
182. *buHi 'grow, appear, become' > IE *b^he_uH- v. 'grow, be'
183. *buk^ro^r (or *buk^ro^r∇?) 'run, run away' > IE: NaIE *b^he(:)g^ω- ~ *b^he_ug- v. 'flee'
184. *b^ro^rka 'to heat, to roast, to burn' > IE: NaIE *b^hōg- vt. 'roast, bake, burn'
- 184a. *bo_w∇ka 'put out, throw out' (→ 'sweep out') > IE: NaIE *b^he_ug- ~ *b^he_ug^h- 'remove' (→ v. 'clean, set free' → 'save')
185. *bak_l∇,?a (or *pak_l∇,?a) 'stick, sprout; (?) to sprout' > IE: NaIE *bak- 'stick, staff used for support, club'
186. *bukE_l∇ 'billy goat, ram' > IE *b^hu(:)g^o-s 'buck, billy goat', NaIE ({P}: term of endearment) *b^hukk^o-s 'he-goat, ram'
187. (₂?) *baK_l∇ 'to look'
188. *buKa 'bovine (animal)' > IE: NaIE ≈ *bu(:)k-/bouk- 'bull'
189. *buk_l∇ (or *bük_l∇?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *^obuk(ĕ)∇ or *^obuk(k)∇ 'cheek'
190. *büka '€ a stinging insect' > IE: NaIE *b^houk-/b^huk- 'bee'
191. *büK^ra^r 'to bend; bent' > IE: NaIE *b^he_ug- ~ *b^he_ug^h- vt. 'bend'
192. *b^rôhi^rko 'be white\bright\light (hell), shine white' > IE: NaIE *b^he_jg^ω-/*b^ho_jg^ω-/*b^hig^ω- 'shine (glänzen)'
193. ≈ *bU_Kç^rE (or ≈ *bUH₂aK_ç^rE?) 'to tie', 'tie' (→ 'rope') > IE: NaIE *b^hask^ro^r- 'bundle'
194. (₂) *baL^rü^r 'bad; harm' > IE: NaIE *b^ha_lw- 'evil, wicked'
195. *bi_lU 'be warm, burn; warm'
196. *buL_l∇ 'to stir up (liquid); turbid' > IE (+ ext. or sx?): NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) turbid, mix'
197. ₂ *b^rü^rl_l∇ 'a shoot' > ? IE: NaIE *b^hel- 'membrum virile'
- 197a. *b_l∇∇ 'dove' > IE: NaIE: Ltv balôdis, Lt balañdis id. ||| Oss: I bälön, D bäläw 'domesticated pigeon' etc.
198. *bi_lu^rê (> *bô_l∇^rê {mt. of vowels}) 'cloud'
199. *b_l∇∇^ra 'to blow, to inflate' > IE: NaIE *b^hl^rā- (/ *b^hel_la_l-?) id.
200. *baL_l∇ 'blind' > IE: NaIE *b^hl-end- v. 'be(come) blind, not to see'

201. *b^riʔ¹a_lʒa (or *b^riʔ¹a_lʒ^rU¹?) 'to swallow; throat'
202. *b_∇L_h∇ 'leaf, leaves, green plants' > IE *b^he_lH-, *b^hl(o)H-t-, {EI} *b^ho_lom 'leaf', (+ *t-ext.) IE *b^hl_od- ({EI} *b^hl_od-) 'leaf'
203. *beLk_∇g_∇ (= *be_∇k_∇g_∇?) 'belly, waist' > IE: NaIE *b^he_lg^hg^h- 'belly'
204. *ba_∇i_∇'k¹a 'to shine' > IE: NaIE *b^he_lg-/ *b^hl_og-/ *b^hleg- 'burn, shine', NaIE *b^hle_∇g-/ *b^hlig- 'light-colored', 'shine'
205. ₂ *b_∇L_iʔ_∇|_∇k^rü¹ 'beat, strike' > IE ≈ *b^hliH_g(w)- 'strike'
206. *ba^rL_∇n_∇ 'wash, immerse' > Gk βαλανεύον 'a bath, bathing room' and βαλανεύς 'bath man'
207. ₂ *bE_∇í∇ 'boil, cook'
208. *bih_∇í_∇ 'shout, call, speak' > IE: NaIE *b^he_lə_∇- v. 'sound, speak'
209. *baH_∇í∇ 'pain, wound' > IE *b^he_hl- 'pain, wound'
210. *b^roʔ¹i_∇í_∇ 'swell' > IE: NaIE *b^he_l- v. 'swell'
211. *bôí_∇X^ra¹ 'tail, penis' > IE: NaIE *b^hl_o- (= *b^hl_ono-, *b^hl_oHo-?) 'penis'
212. *be_∇n_∇|_∇n_∇ 'younger relative'
213. *b_∇hæ_∇n_∇y∇ 'bone' (esp. 'bone of a limb') > IE: NaIE *^ob^ho_∇no- > Gmc *ba_∇ina- 'bone, leg'
214. *bæ_∇n_∇t_∇ (~ *bæ_∇n_∇d_∇?) 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *b^hend^h- v. 'bind'
215. *bo_∇ŋE 'bosom, breast (front of the body)'
216. (₂?) *be_∇ŋ_∇|_∇X^ri '≈ head'
217. *bu_∇ŋgâ 'thick; to swell' > IE *b^hen_g^h-/ *b^hŋ_g^h- 'lump, thick'
- 217a. *bE_∇b_∇t_∇∇ 'lip(s), mouth'
218. ? *b_∇gâ (= *bo_∇gâ?) 'side of body, side' > IE: NaIE *^ob_∇h_∇ok_∇w_∇ > Sl *b_ok_o 'side of body'
219. *bAr_∇ 'earth, land; dust'
- 219a. *be_∇R_∇ 'mud, swamp' > IE: NaIE *^ob^hr_∇- > Sl *bara 'swamp, stagnant water, (?) small river'
- 219b. *bor_∇ 'mountain, hill'
220. *bu_∇Ru (or *bu_∇Rü) 'break' > IE: NaIE *b^hre_∇- 'break, tear', {EI} *b^hre_∇- 'cut, break up', (+ext.) *b^hre_∇s- 'break'
221. *bUr_∇ 'turn round, rotate'
222. ₂ *bu_∇R_∇ (or *bü_∇R_∇) 'flint' (→ 'to cut\carve with a flint') or 'to cut\carve' (→ 'flint') > AdS of IE: NaIE *b^her- 'work with a sharp instrument, cut' (< N *bô^ra¹ 'pierce, bore')
223. *bu_∇R_∇, *bu_∇R_∇|_∇K¹∇ 'storm, stormy wind' (→ [in U and A] 'snowstorm') > IE: NaIE {AD} *b^her-/ *b^heu_∇r- v. 'be stormy', 'storm'
224. *ba^rʔ¹eri 'hold, take' > IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'take, bring, carry'

225. *bUʔR∇ (probably *boʔR∇) 'to dig; a pit, well' > IE: NaIE *b^her- v. 'dig', ?σ NaIE *b^hrēu_u-r_o / b^hrēu_u-n- / b^hru-n- 'spring (fons)'
- 225a. (2?) *b^hA¹ʔ∇r∇ 'ε ungulate'
- 225b. 2 *bohr∇ 'loose earth, dust'
226. 2 *bUhr∇ 'be light' (of color)
227. (2?) *b^hu^hR∇ 'blow, inflate, swell' > IE: Clt *burro- 'inflated, swollen'
228. *b^huX∇r∇ 'back, rear'
229. *bärʔ∇ 'give'
230. *berEʔa 'to give birth to; child' > IE: NaIE *b^her- / *b^ho_r- v. 'give birth', 'child', *b^her-no- 'foetus, child', IE *b^hreH-tēr > NaIE *b^hrā-ter- 'kinsman of ego's generation and of the same exogamous moiety' → 'brother'
231. *bärʔâ 'bud, leaf' > IE: Ht p̄arsd̄u {Frd.} 'bud, sprout'
232. *boRûʔ∇ (or *baRûʔ∇) 'trunk' (→ 'log') > IE: NaIE *b^hruH- ~ b^hreHw- > NaIE *b^hrū- ~ *b^hrēu_u- 'log'
233. *bôri^hʔU 'loose earth, dust'
234. *bARh^hê¹ 'to shine' > IE *b637^her_lə₁- 'shine (glänzen)', IE *b^herĤ- +ext. > NaIE *b^hrē-ĝ- 'shine'
235. 2 *bAR^hʔ∇ 'be hungry, want' (→ 'love')
236. *boRHû ≈ belly', 'internal organs' > IE: NaIE *b^hrū-n- > OI bhrū¹ṇa-m 'embryo' ||| MHG briune, brūne 'pudenda muliebria' ||| Cz brnka 'placenta'
237. 2 *bûrûH∇ 'eyebrow, eyelash' > IE *b^hruH- > NaIE *b^hrū- 'eyebrow'
238. *barq∇ (~ *barX∇) 'to go, to go away, to step'
239. *büryi 'to cover'
240. 2 *b∇Rʔûĉ∇ '≈ belly' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} *b^hreus- / *b^hrus- '≈ chest, belly'
241. *bAR_l∇_d∇ 'to pass; way, road' > IE: NaIE *b^hre(:)d^h- v. 'pass, leap over, wade'
242. *bur_lu_d∇^g∇ (~ *bar_lu_d∇^g∇?) 'facial hair, animal's body hair, down' > IE: NaIE *b^hard^hā 'beard'
243. *biʔ∇r∇gE 'high, tall' > IE *b^herĝ^h- 'high' -d→ *b^herĝ^ho-s 'mountain'
244. 2 *b^hE¹R∇^k∇ 'knee'
- 244a. *b^hi¹Rk|g∇ (~ *p^hi¹Rg∇?) 'to dig'
245. UA 2 *buR_lu_k|g∇ 'run, jump'
246. *bôra ĶE ~ *bôra 'to fall, to fell, to throw' > IE: NaIE *b^hreĶ- v. 'fall, fell'; *bôr^hA¹ 'to fall, to let fall'
247. *b∇R_l∇_kæ 'to flash, to shine' > IE: NaIE *b^herĶ- / *b^hreĶ- v. 'shine, glitter', ?σ Ht parkuis 'clean'

248. *baRm∇ '∈ stinging insect' > IE: *on.* NaIE *amb* *b^hrem- 'a buzzing insect'
249. *baRǰ∇ 'be uneven\rough; bristle' > IE: NaIE {P} *b^hars-, b^hṛsti-, *b^hṛsti- '≈ bristle, point, spike'
250. *b^hA^hṛ∇ 'old'
- 250a. *boṛ∇ or *buṛ∇ 'sun, day' > IE: Clt *bāregō- 'morning'
251. *bôṛ^ha^h 'pierce, bore' > IE: NaIE *b^her- id.
252. *buṛu (ḲU) (or *buṛü (ḲU)) 'spurt, gush forth, boil, seethe' > IE: NaIE *b^hrey-/ *b^herw- 'boil', {EI} *b^hrey- 'brew'; (here??) NaIE *b^hrēu-ṛ / b^hrēu-n- / b^hru-n- 'spring (fons)'
253. *b^hu^hXṛa 'watercourse, river' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hr₁u₁- / *^ob^hō^hr- 'body of water'
254. *baṛ^h∇ 'big, much, thick' > IE: NaIE *b^her- 'good, big'
255. *boṛ₁ṛ₁û 'brown, yellow' > IE *b^her- 'brown', *b^hreyH- id., *b^he-b^hru- 'brown' (→ 'beaver')
- 255a. *b^hü|uṛ₁ṛ₁∇ 'lock of hair, down'
256. ? *b^h∇^hṛ₁∇₁d∇ 'hail' (and 'snow?')
257. *b^hi^hṛ^hüw^hga (or *b^hi^hṛ^hu^hw^hga?) '∈ edible fruit' > IE: NaIE *b^hrūg- 'fruit', v. 'use (as fruit)'
258. ?₂ *bUś|c∇ 'to rub, to grind' > IE *b^hes- 'rub (off\away)'
259. *buṛ₁∇₁ṣ∇ 'bad' > IE: NaIE *^ob^hous- > Gmc *ba₁si, *ba₁su- > OSx bôsa 'Posse', OHG bōsi 'useless, cowardly, weak', NHG böse 'bad, wicked, angry'
260. *buś∇ 'to uncover, to peel', 'bare' > IE: NaIE *b^hoso- 'naked, bare'
261. *bUś^h∇ (or *bUś^h∇?) 'breath' (→ 'odor, steam, smoke')
262. *b^ha^ht∇ '≈ luck; good' > IE: NaIE *b^he^hd-, {P} *b^had- '≈ good, fortunate'
- 262a. ₂ *bot∇ 'dust' or 'ashes'
- 262b. *b^hæ^hgUt∇ 'thigh, (calf of) leg'
263. *bit₁∇₁ṛ^h∇ 'to hold'
264. *bô^ht^hṛ^h∇ 'to grow' (intr.), 'to sprout'
265. UA ₂ *baṭ∇ '≈ cold; to feel cold, to freeze'
- 265a. *biṭ∇ 'louse', '≈ parasitic insect'
266. *buṭ∇ 'cut, cut off, cut into pieces'
267. ₂ *buṭ∇ 'pistachio (and terebinth?) tree\nut'
268. *baṣ|guṭ∇ 'kick, push' > IE: NaIE {Mn.} *b^hauḡd- / {P} *b^hud- v. 'beat, chastise', {EI} *b^heḡd- (prs. *^hb^houḡde₁) 'strike, beat'

- 268a. *bag_l∇_lt_l'i' 'be quick; sudden'
269. *b^rü^rg^râ_t∇ 'hunt, try to catch'
270. *bu_lw_lt_l∇ 'the hinder part of a quadruped's body, the lower part of a human body, bottom' > IE: NaIE *b^hud^h-men 'lower part, bottom' (in some lges transformed into *b^hud^h-mo-, *b^hud^h-no > *b^hund^ho-), {EI} *b^hud-'no-'bottom'
271. *b^ri^rχa (or *b^ri^rqa - *büyχ|qa?) 'beat, strike' > IE *b^he_lH-/ *b^hiH 'strike'
272. *bay∇ 'place', 'to be (somewhere)' (= 'estar') > IE: NaIE *-b^he_l/ *b^hi, postpositive marker of locative
273. ₂ *b∇y∇ (or *b∇y^p∇) 'bee' > IE *b^he_lH_l-/*b^ho_lH_l-/*b^hiH- 'bee'
274. *be^py∇ 'body, self' ([in descendant lges] → 'soul')
275. *baXy∇ or *baXi '≈ abundant' > (?) one of the sources of IE *-b^ho-s, *-b^hā, sx of abstract nouns preserved in Sl *-ba and Lt -bē
276. ?σ *b^re^ryX∇ 'tear, cut into pieces'
277. *b^re^r∇h_y∇ 'to pour'
278. (₂?) on. *bûž∇ '∈ insect' > IE: NaIE *b^he_lH_l-/*b^ho_lH_l-/*b^hiH- > NaIE *b^he_l-/*b^ho_l-/*b^hi- 'bee' (× N ?? *b∇y∇ 'bee')
279. *b^ra^rh^r∇ 'strike, thump'
280. *bažê 'ripen, be cooked (gar werden)', 'cook, (?) prepare' > IE: NaIE *^ob^hō- v. 'warm', ? 'roast', ? +ext. *-g|g̃-: *^ob^hōg̃- > Gk φώϝω v. 'roast, toast, parch'
281. *bôyž∇ '∈ fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *b^he_l- '≈ marten', {EI} 'wildcat; any small carnivore'
- 281a. ₂ *bož∇ 'hair, feather'
282. *bêžU (l_q∇_l) or *bêž_l∇_lq∇ 'big, high'
283. *bEΓ_l∇_lž∇ 'ungulate animal (deer and sim.)'
284. (₂?) *ćE (or *ćE?) 'that' (distal or intermediate deixis)
285. (₂?) *c^luqbE or *c^lūqb∇ 'carry away, throw (away)' > IE: NaIE *ske_lb^h- {P} 'dahinschießen (flink), schießen, werfen, schieben', {EI} 'push away, push ahead'
286. *coΓ|χč∇ or *čoΓ|χc∇ 'sweep, rub\scrape away\off'
287. *c^rü^rd∇ 'outstretched hand' ([in descendant lges] → 'span')
288. *c^lod_lU '≈ defect, evil deed'
289. *Ceg∇ 'breast, milk'
290. ₂ *cok∇ 'shelter, primitive house'
291. ₂ *Co^rk^rü^r 'small, little'

292. *id.* *č|ć iKaKa 'to tickle' > IE: NaIE *id.* *°skək-/°skok- v. 'tickle'
293. *ciḱP̄∇ 'branch, shoot of a plant'
294. *C'a'ḷ∇ (= *č'a'ḷ∇?) 'cold' > IE: NaIE *°kʰol-d- > Sl *xōldь 'cold'
295. *céĪê 'to peel' > IE: NaIE *skol- 'peel' (n.)
296. *ćEĪ∇ 'be quiet, wait'
297. ₂ *coḷ|í∇ 'be\make empty'
- 297a. *ćaXoĪ∇ (or *ćoXaĪ∇?) 'to wind (round sth.), to tie'
298. ₂ *ćiĪX∇ 'to defecate'
299. *ćaĪy_LEɣ_o 'to split, to cut' > IE *skel_LHx_L-/*sk_o_LHx_L-, {EI} *skel- 'split (apart)'
300. *ćoLḲ∇ (~ *ćoLk∇) 'to advance with effort (to creep, to crawl, to climb etc.)' > IE: NaIE *slenk- (~ *sleng-) v. 'creep, crawl'
301. *ćäḷg∇ 'lean, thin' (of a body), 'reduced'
302. *c'i?A'm∇ (or *ciyAm∇) '∈ grass'
303. *ć'o'mH₂E 'to smear, (?) to stroke' > IE: NaIE *smē- ~ *smej_L-d- v. 'smear, stroke'
- 303a. ?₂ *ć∇mḡU '∈ fruit, berry'
- 303b. *ćiχñ∇ '∈ ungulate'
304. ₂ *c'u'ñč∇ or *č'u'ñc∇ 'to crawl'
305. ₂ *C|C_üNd∇ '∈ mouse'
306. *cuη∇ 'to know' (← 'to have seen?'), 'to see'
307. *ćüη_ḡ∇ 'finger, finger knuckle'
308. *č|ć'a'ηK∇ 'to break'
309. ₂ *c∇'p̄'∇ 'to cover', 'roof, a covering, shelter' > IE: NaIE *(s)kep- v. 'cover'
310. *ćEḡ∇ (= *ćäḡ∇?) 'to jump'
- 310a. *ciḡU '∈ small rodent (mouse?)'
311. *ćar∇ (or *č'ar∇?) 'hard\firm, hardened crust, hard surface' > IE: NaIE *sker- ≈ hard\dry skin, crust'
312. *ćER∇ 'small, little' > IE: NaIE (in Gmc) *°sker- (+exts) 'lean; v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel'
313. ?σ *cUR∇ 'to move (go, swim, fly) away (or from one place to another)'
314. ₂ *ćæ_ḡR∇ 'to burn sth.'
315. *ćoH₂_L∇₁R∇ 'to drip, to leak, to flow; drops'
316. *c'awe'r∇ 'finger, hand'
317. ?σ₂ *c∇R_L∇₁Y∇ or *c∇YR∇ 'freeze, feel cold', 'fever'

- 317a. ***ĉ**ŭR'k'a 'watch, (?) watch over' > **IE**: NaIE *swerg_l^h_j- 'watch over, be concerned about'
318. ***ĉ**'ä'í∇ 'dirt, dung, excrement, rubbish; defecate' > **IE** *s^hker(-d^h)- 'defecate (cacare), excrete; dung, excrements'; *^hso^hk^hr_o- (gen. *s(e)^hk^h'n-os) 'dung, excrements'
319. ₂ ***ĉ**E^t∇ 'to cover' > **IE**: NaIE *(s)^hked- 'cover'
320. ***ĉ**ow∇ 'look at, look after, protect\guard' > **IE**: NaIE *(s)kew- 'worauf achten (beobachten, schauen)'
321. ***ĉ**a^w'h'∇ 'to cover, to dress, to put\hang (on)' > **IE** *(s)k_l^h_je_u^h- 'cover, wrap'
322. ?σ (₂?) ***ĉ**a|oxû ≈ mix, process grains' > ?σ **IE**: NaIE *skē_u- 'poke\rake\stir (the fire)'
323. ***ĉ**'i'χE 'sweep, rub\scratch away' > **IE**: ?φ Ht s^harh- 'sweep, wipe away'
324. ***ĉ**a or ***ĉ**a (= *Hic|ĉa?), a marker of relative constructions (in descendant lges: → sx of adjectives and singulatives [→ diminutives]) > **IE**: NaIE *-isk-, sx of relative adjectives
325. ₂ ***ĉ**æ 'away, downward' > **IE**: NaIE *^os^hk- > Sl *s^hb, prep. 'downward from'
326. ***ĉ**|ĉi or ***ĉ**|ĉi, a marker of verbal frequentativity\iterativity > **IE** sx *^hs^hk-, a marker of iterativity\frequentativity
327. ***ĉ**oXib∇ 'belly'
328. ₂ ***ĉ**ü|ub_l∇_jg∇ 'dip in' ([in descendant lges] → 'dye'), 'immerse'
329. ***ĉ**ûd∇ 'point with a finger', (→) 'true, just'
330. ?σ ***ĉ**a_l?E_jd∇ 'hunt, hunt for, wish'
331. ***ĉ**a^r'i'd∇ 'to advance with effort (to run, to climb etc.), to step' > ?φ **IE**: NaIE *k^had- or *k^həd- ≈ go, walk'
332. ***ĉ**uy^hä 'thorn' > **IE**: NaIE *sk^hw^he_j_l_a-, {EI} *^hsk^hwē_j-s (gen. *sku^hy-os) 'needle of a conifer, thorn'
333. ***ĉ**a^r'?E^k∇ 'ε snow, ice crust, hoarfrost'
334. ***ĉ**i^r'ak∇ 'small', (?) 'child'
335. ***ĉ**E^t∇ (***ĉ**ey^t∇?) 'to jump' > **IE**: NaIE *(s)^hkel- 'jump'
336. ***ĉ**û^l∇ 'stalk, stick'
337. ***ĉ**'ü^t∇ (or ***ĉ**i^t∇?) ≈ entire, intact, pure'
338. ₂ ***ĉ**∇L∇ 'bend, incline' > **IE**: NaIE *skel- 'bend, be bent\twisted'
- 338a. ***ĉ**û^r_l∇_j|í∇ 'small'
339. ***ĉ**û^l|í^h∇ 'to prick, to wound'

340. *ćīȚHA (= *ćīȚhA?) 'be wet\moist', 'moisture (water etc.)' > IE: NaIE *sġlġ-k- / *sġlġ-k 'wet', 'splash, sprinkle'

340a. *ć'ī'Lġ∇ 'charcoal, soot'

341. *ć'Em∇ (= *ć'Em∇?) 'to maim, to mutilate, to torment' > IE: NaIE *sġem- 'mutilated, hornless'

342. *ć'ī'm∇ 'eyelid', 'to blink (eyes)'

343. (₂?) *ć'am'K'∇ 'cold'

344. *ć'Emp∇ (or *ć'-?) 'bent, crooked' > IE: NaIE *(s)k|ġemb- 'crooked', {EI} *(s)kamb- 'curve'

345. *ćeñ∇ 'tie, bind, plait'

346. ?σ,φ *ć'|ćaŋ|ñ∇ 'be of a shining white', 'be bright', 'moon' > IE (+ext.) NaIE *skend- ~ *skand- 'be of a shining white', 'moon'

347. ₂ *ć'aP_∇ (or *ć'aP_ġ∇, *ć'aġP_∇?) 'stalk, pointed stick, spear' > IE: NaIE skēp- 'stalk, spear'

348. ₂ *ć'ī'p_∇ 'navel'

349. ψ₀ *ć'ī'p_u (í∇) 'small bird' > IE: NaIE *sper-, *sperw- id., 'sparrow'

350. *ć'o'P_∇ 'watch, look out, spy' > IE: NaIE *°sk|ġep- 'watch'

351. on. *ć'aṗ_ṗ_ṗ_a 'beat, strike, chop' > IE: NaIE *skēp_ġ_ġ- ~ *skēHb_ġ_ġ- 'split'

352. *ć'Ep_ṗ_∇ ([as.] > *ć'Eb_ṗ_∇) 'finger'

353. ₂ *ć'∇q∇ 'be\make dirty', (→ ?) 'revile'

354. id. *ć'oḡ_ḡ_ḡ_ḡ_ḡ 'beat\hit (so.), hurt; pain' > IE: [1] (+ext.) *skēHt_ġ_ġ- ({EI} *skēt_ġ_ġ or *skēh_ġ_ġ_ġ_ġ-) 'injure, harm', [2] ?σ (+ext.) NaIE *°skē-n- 'push, strike'

355. *ć'Eq_a'í'∇ 'elbow, ∈ part of a limb' > IE: NaIE *°sk|ġel- > Gk σκέλος 'the leg from the hip downwards'

356. *ć' 'A' R ∇ (= *ć' 'A' R ∇?) 'to cross', 'across, over' (direction), 'through' > IE: NaIE *(s)ker(-s)- 'across, through'

357. *ć'oR∇ (or *ć'aRr∇ → *ć'aRw∇?) 'tip, top, edge' > IE: NaIE *kḡar- 'pointed, sharp', (?) 'rock'

358. *ć'Ur∇ 'narrow' > IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *°sk|ġer- (+exts) v. 'shrink, wrinkle, shrivel; lean'

359. ₂ *ć'U_ṗ_∇ 'squeeze out (liquid), strain, sift'

360. *ć'äΓr∇ 'be in pain, feel hurt, resent'

361. *ć' 'ú' ḡR∇ 'be small, diminish'

362. *ć'ä'h'ü|ur∇ 'circle; to twist'

363. *ć'Uyr∇ 'rot, stink, be spoiled\bitter' > IE *(s)ġer-(dḡ-) 'defecate', 'dung, excrements'

364. *č'e'r_la₁ǵ∇ '∈ (stinging?) insect'
365. *č_iRyâ 'to scratch, to cut out., to shape (an object)' ([in S] → 'to fashion')
366. ₂ *čâR_li₁p∇ (~ *-b-?) 'scratch, hew, cut' > IE: NaIE *skerb-/ *skreb- (~ *-p-), *skre_ib/p- 'scratch, scrape'
367. ? *č_or'∇ (or *č_or'∇?) 'to drip, to trickle'
368. (₂?) *č_ot∇ 'drop'
369. *č_i'ü't∇ (or *č_i'ü't₁∇?) 'throw, fling, pour' > IE: NaIE *(s)ke_ud-/ *(s)kud- 'throw, cast'
370. *č_AHt∇ or *č_AHd∇ (= *č_Aǵ|ht∇ or *č_Aǵ|hd∇?) 'red'
371. *č_oQ_t∇ 'dark, darkness' > IE: NaIE *skot- 'shade, darkness, shadow'
372. *č_ow∇ 'inform, make know\hear'
373. ₂ *č_∇χU 'be alive\healthy'
374. ₂ *č_a, dem. pronoun of distal deixis
375. *č'ü' 'that of..., that which' > IE *-istH_o- > NaIE *-ist^(h)o-, sx of the superlative degree
376. *č|č_ib∇ 'stem of a tree, log' > IE: NaIE *stē_b^(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree', → 'staff, stick'
377. ₂ *č_ûb∇ 'bend, turn, turn back, give back' > ? IE: NaIE {P} *^oste_ub_l^h₁-ma, *^ostou_b_l^h₁-ma > Clt: W _ys t u m n. 'bend'
378. *č_ra_u¹ba 'clothe, sack'
379. (₂?) *č_æd_l∇₁y∇ 'female breast' > AdS of IE: NaIE *d_l^h₁ed^h- ({P} *d^hed^hn-, {Dv.} *dad^h-) 'milk' (< N *d_od_lH₂₁∇ ≈ tip, nipple'; to suck, to suck mother's breast')
380. ₂ *č_Eg∇ 'to prick' (→ 'to butt') > IE: NaIE *steg^h- v. 'prick'
381. *č_a'h'_a 'to stop, to stand (up)' (→ 'to raise') > IE *steh- (= *stea₂-) / *sthe- / *sth_o- > NaIE *stā- / *^osthe- (preserved in OI only) / *stā-'stand'
382. *č_ika 'to prick, to split' > IE: NaIE {EI} *ste_ig- 'prick' (or *(s)te_ig- v. 'prick', 'pointed')
383. *č_ikU 'base of limbs (shoulder, hip)' (→ 'thigh') > IE: NaIE *(s)te_ig^ω- 'shoulder, thigh'
384. *č_Ak_U' 'to prick (stechen), to gouge'
385. *č_o'K_∇ 'much, heavy'
386. *č_A1∇ 'stalk' > IE: NaIE *stel- 'branch, stalk, stem'
387. *č_a1∇ 'beat, knock down, fell'
388. *č_A1∇ (= *č_A1U?) 'to plait'

389. *čeL∇ 'pull (off), take away\out, rob' > IE: NaIE *stel- v. 'rob'
390. *čûL∇ 'stalk, branch' > IE: NaIE *stel-/*°stwol-0- 'branch, stalk, stem'
391. ₂ *č'∇₁L∇ (bA) '∈ canine'
- 391a. ₂ *čA1∇m∇ 'orifice, pit' or 'breach'
392. *ča1∇g∇ 'snow' or 'hoarfrost'
393. *č'i'mâ 'to be(come) quiet\silent'
394. ₂ *čoma 'wild bovine'
395. ?₂ *čam∇ć∇ 'get sour\rotten'
396. *čiñ∇ 'other'
397. *č'añd∇ 'rise, emerge, jump (up)' > IE: NaIE *skand- 'jump up, rise'
398. ₂ *čüη∇ 'smoke; smell'
399. ₂ *č|č₁η₁k₁â '≈ push, kick', (?) 'stumble' > IE: NaIE *steng₁^ω₁- v. '≈ kick, stumble'
400. (₂?) *čo'ηt'∇ '≈ to step, to tread' > ?φ IE *°(s)ko|ant- > Clt {Matas.} *kanxsmān 'step, act of stepping'
401. *čap∇ 'sack, vessel'
402. ₂ *čE₁q∇ (or *čE₁χ∇) 'chop, cut'
403. *ča₁q₁∇ (or *ča₁χ₁∇?) 'to shine'
404. *čU₁?₁R∇ 'stand, stand up'
405. (₂?) *č'i'₁g₁R∇ (~ *č'i'₁R'₁g'₁∇?) 'to stop up, to plug, to dam'
406. *čAR'h'û' 'to spread, to scatter' > IE: NaIE *ster-, *steru-/ *streu₁-, *sterə-/ *strō|ā- v. 'spread, scatter'
407. (₂?) *čER₁H₂∇ (= *čER₁∇?) 'to stick in, to gouge'
408. *č∇R₁u₁q∇ (or *č∇R₁ü₁q∇?) 'pile up, put\lay on\over' > IE: NaIE *streu₁ə₁- / *strou₁ə₁ / *stru₁;₁- 'pile up, build'
409. *č'a'w'û'R₁y∇ 'bull, calf' > IE: NaIE *steur₁-/stour₁- 'bull'
410. *č'i'R₁k∇ 'pus, rotten\filthy liquid' > IE: NaIE *(s)terg̃|g-/ *(s)treġ|g- 'rotten liquid, filth', *(s)ter₁ġ-/*(s)tren₁ġ- '≈ excrements, urine'
411. (₂?) *č'i't'∇ 'to clean, (?) to wipe'
412. *id.*? *čit₁h₁a 'little bird'
413. ?σ₂ *čAy∇ 'bring, give'
414. ₂ *čæ|ab∇'y'₁∇ '∈ horned animal'
415. *č∇č₁∇₁'q'₁∇ 'be born; a young (of an animal)'
416. *čayd∇ 'strike, beat' > IE: NaIE *₁(s)₁k^(h)a₁d- 'strike'
417. *čUka (or *č₁Uk₁∇?∇?) 'to shut, to stop up, to cover' > IE: NaIE *(s)teg- v. 'cover'

418. ₂ *č|čik ▽ 'to cut'
419. *čEɣk ▽ (or *čäɣik ▽?) 'squeeze; tight', 'stuff (vollstopfen)'
420. *čEł ▽ (or *čEʔł ▽) 'feeble, lean; to shrink, to diminish'
421. ₂ *č'o'łw ▽ 'shadow, shade, dark'
422. ₂ *č ▽ |h|hm ▽ 'to taste, to eat'
423. *čäm ▽, χ ▽ 'sour, bitter'
424. *čiwn ▽ (č ▽) 'smell, stench, malodorous sweat'
425. *čeñʔ ▽ 'narrow, thin' > IE: NaIE *osten- 'narrow'
426. *č'a'ñč ▽ (or *č'a'ñč ▽) 'tip, (back) end, tail'
427. *čUp ▽ (R ▽) 'fingernail, claw'
428. *č ▽ p ▽ (t ▽) 'leather strap'
429. *čiɣpâ 'branch, bough, rod'
430. *čElyp ▽ 'sink, immerse; swim; flow'
431. *č'a'r ▽ 'to cut'
432. *čER ▽ 'look after, guard, observe' > IE: NaIE *ster-g-, *ster-k- v. 'guard, care, take care of', NaIE *oster- > SI *starati se̯ 'to exert oneself, to do one's best, to take care of'
433. *čûr ▽ 'seize, take, carry'
434. *č'u'R ▽ 'to soil, to stain; dirty' > IE: NaIE *(s)ter- 'filth, filthy liquid, dung', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit, Mist; besudeln; verwesen')
435. (₂?) *čiʔUR ▽ 'flintstone, knife'
436. *čohR ▽ 'vessel', (← ?) 'basket'
437. *čûh ▽, R ▽ 'top, edge, highest point' > IE: NaIE ? *stu(:)r- (Mn.) *st_hūr-) 'edge, tip, peak' ? NaIE {Mn.} *stəuro- 'post, stake'
438. ?₂ *č ▽ Rʔ ▽ 'hoarfrost', (→) 'frozen soil'
439. *čER'hæ' 'heavy, hard, stiff, difficult' > IE: NaIE *(s)ter₁a₁- / *strē- v. 'be stiff, be firm, be hard, be strong'
440. (₂?) *čûRt ▽ 'soot' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'black, dirty' (× N *s'URt ▽ 'dirt[y]')
441. *čûs' ▽ ~ *čûs' ▽ 'to see, to look'
442. (on.?) *čawχ ▽ 'to cry, to exclaim' (→ 'to praise', 'fame') > IE: NaIE *steu- 'praise'
443. ₂ *čüč' ▽ (or *š-?) 'clean; to clean'
444. *čEčk ▽ 'to crush, to split'
445. ?σ *čUd ▽ 'be weak, be damaged, be weary'
446. (₂?) *č ▽ d'i' (ka₁ʔ ▽) '≈ wait, stay, have leisure' > ?σ IE: NaIE *steig- '≈ stand still'

447. $_2$ * $\hat{c}odh\triangledown$ 'break (esp. a body part), strike'
448. ($_2$?) * $\hat{c}\triangledown d_{\perp}\triangledown_{\perp}g\triangledown$ or * $\hat{c}\triangledown g\triangledown d\triangledown$ 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE *sk(h)ed- / *skend- 'split'
449. * $\hat{c}ih'i$ '≈ carry, bring' (→ 'give')
450. * $\hat{c}Ek\triangledown$ or * $\hat{c}Ek_{\perp}\triangledown$, ? * $\hat{c}Ek|k_{\perp}\triangledown$ r \triangledown 'to step, to tramp, to trample down'
451. $_2$ * $\hat{c}uK_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'thorn, sharp edge' (→ 'blade'), 'summit'
452. * $\hat{c}al\triangledown$ 'to pour (out)' > IE: (+ ext.) NaIE *selg- (WP, P, EI *selg̃-) v. 'pour out, let go\flow, discharge'
453. * $\hat{c}o'h'i\triangledown$ 'similar; as; alone, one of two' > IE: NaIE * \circ sōlō- > L sōlus 'alone'
- 453a. * $\hat{c}um\triangledown$ 'to lift, to raise'
454. * $\hat{c}ixm\triangledown$ 'fat (Fett)'
455. ≈ * $\hat{c}'i'?'ä'nâ$ 'recognize, know (connaître)'
- 455a. ($_2$?) * $\hat{c}'u\bar{n}_{\perp}?'_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'to sound, to utter' > IE: NaIE *swen- 'produce sounds'
456. ? σ $_2$ * $\hat{c}a|E\bar{n}\check{c}\triangledown$ 'large' (→ 'high, broad')
457. ($_2$?) * $\hat{c}'ep\triangledown$ or * $\hat{s}ep\triangledown$ 'heel, foot, part of leg'
458. * $\hat{c}'ay'p_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'vegetation, leaves' > IE: NaIE *saip- 'thicket, hedge'
459. * $\hat{c}'iP_{\perp}\triangledown_{\perp}fæ$ (= * $\hat{c}'ib_{\perp}\triangledown_{\perp}fæ$?) 'eat one's fill, feed to satiety' > IE *speh̃- 'be sated'
460. * $\hat{c}ä'f_{\perp}U'R\triangledown$ 'calf of the leg, shank' > IE *seH ω r- \triangledown H > NaIE {P} *sō \perp urā 'calf of the leg'
461. * $\hat{c}u\text{f}r\triangledown$ 'vulva, vagina'
462. * $\hat{c}U\text{r}\triangledown$ (or * $\hat{c}Ury|?'_{\perp}\triangledown$?) 'to twist, to twine'
463. $_2$ * $\hat{c}at\triangledown$ 'to separate, to scatter' > IE *(s)ked- 'scatter'
464. * $\hat{c}i_{\perp}\omega_{\perp}t\triangledown$ (more probable than * $\hat{c}üt\triangledown$) 'to split' > IE: NaIE *(s)ked- ~ *skeid- / *(s)kend- 'split' \diamond An alt. conjecture: two N words: [1] N * $\hat{c}|c\text{ot}\triangledown$ 'split', [2] * $\bar{c}|c|c|c\text{ith}\triangledown$ 'split, crush'
465. * $\hat{c}a|o\text{t}_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'deviate from the right path, incline, be lame\cripple'
466. * $\hat{c}'i'ü'w_{\perp}?'_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'meat' > IE: Ht {Ts.} zuwa 'food, bread'
467. $_2$ * $\hat{c}\triangledown\chi\triangledown$ 'to burn (brûler)'
468. * $\hat{c}\triangledown y_{\perp}f_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'girl, (younger) sister' > IE: NaIE * \circ sey \perp H \perp - 'sister'
469. $_2$ * $\hat{c}A\text{f}\triangledown$ 'be lost, die'
470. * $\hat{c}'a'?'b\triangledown$ '(ε) fish'
471. $_2$ * $\hat{c}ab\triangledown?'_{\perp}\triangledown$ 'war', 'warriors, host'
472. * $\hat{c}æb\text{f}\triangledown$ 'shoulder'

473. *ĉ¹i¹b¹ϣ¹ (or *ĉ¹i¹b¹ϣ¹) 'hyena' > IE *^ostib_l^h_j- > Sl *^ostbb-(jb) 'wild cat'
474. ?σ₂ *ĉ¹ôb¹∇R¹∇ 'press together, squeeze (as in a fist)'
475. ₂ *ĉ¹∇_lĉ_l∇_lq¹∇ (= *ĉ¹∇ĉ_l∇_lq¹∇ ~ *ĉ¹∇ĉ_lq¹∇?) 'squeeze, press'
476. (₂?) *ĉ¹∇h¹w¹∇ 'to burn' (trans.) (→ 'to warm' [of the sun], 'heat of the day')
477. ₂ *ĉ¹oK¹∇E (= *ĉ¹og¹∇E?) 'sink to a kneeling\squatting\lying position'
478. *ĉ¹iK¹∇ (= *ĉ¹i¹q¹∇?) 'tight, narrow, dense'
479. *ĉ¹U¹?i_l∇_lw_j∇ 'little, small'
480. ₂ *ĉ¹|ĉ¹∇h¹L¹∇ 'be compassionate, have mercy'
481. *ĉ¹i¹l_l∇_l∇ 'side of body' (→ 'rib'), 'hip' (→ 'thigh') > IE: NaIE *(s)k_l^h_je_l- 'hip, thigh; rib'
482. (₂?) *ĉ¹∇H₂_l∇_lm¹∇ 'daylight'
483. *ĉ¹∇m_l∇_l's¹∇ 'to interlace, to plait\tie\wrap together'
484. ₂ *ĉ¹'a¹n¹?∇ 'to give birth'
485. ?σ *ĉ¹EN_l∇_lq¹∇ 'to press, to squeeze'
486. *ĉ¹U¹n¹t¹∇ 'secretions of the body' (in descendant lges: 'mucus', 'sweat', 'urine', 'dung, filth') > IE: NaIE {P, EI} *sweid- v. 'sweat', *sweides n. 'sweat', *swojdo-, *sweidro-/swidro- id.
487. id. *ĉ¹a¹ηU 'jump, skip'
488. *ĉ¹ap¹∇ 'clay, mud; to smear, to moisten'
- 488a. (id.?) *ĉ¹aP¹∇ 'to grasp, to take'
489. *ĉ¹i¹p¹â (or *ĉ¹ü¹p¹â?) 'be narrow, be compressed'
490. *ĉ¹ap¹∇_lE 'filth, dung', 'rubbish'
491. ₂ *ĉ¹∇P_R∇ 'to twist, to plait' > IE: NaIE *sper- 'turn, twist', {EI} 'wrap around'
492. *ĉ¹EP¹t¹∇ 'to close, to shut, to hide' > IE (mt.): Ht i s t a p (p) - v. 'shut, close'
- 492a. *ĉ¹ehR¹∇ 'back, dorsum'
493. *ĉ¹äR¹∇ (or *ĉ¹ärU¹∇?) 'female breast, udder'
494. ₂ *ĉ¹er_l∇_lX¹∇ 'wing, feather'
495. ₂ *ĉ¹o¹t¹∇ 'mud'
496. ₂ *d¹i¹, a marker of imperfective (← an aux. verb?)
497. *di¹∇ê (~ *d¹∇HU?) 'to put, to place' > IE *d^he^h- / *d^he^h_j- v. 'put, lay, place'
498. *dEb¹∇ 'hill'
- 498a. *da¹?ûb¹ü 'edge, end'

499. *dub_l?_l∇ 'back, hinder part, tail'
500. ₂ *dAd∇ 'thick, fat, large'
501. *did∇ 'large, big' > IE: NaIE *^od_l^h_lid_l^h_l-(i-) 'big'
502. *dod_lH₂∇ '≈ tip, nipple; ; to suck, to suck mother's breast' > IE: NaIE *d_l^hed^h- 'milk'
503. *d^rü¹ga 'suitable, fit, good' > IE: NaIE *d^he_ug^h- v. 'be ready, prepare', {EI} 'be useful, produce sth. useful'
504. ₂ *dähgU 'to watch, to look at'
505. (₂?) *dag_lH₁or∇ 'shoulder blade', 'back (dos)' ('upper part of the back?')
506. *d∇wg|y∇ 'sun, day, morning' (→ 'be bright as the sun') > ?σ IE: NaIE *d^he_w_la_l- 'be bright, shine'
507. (₂?) *di^rh¹a 'look at' > IE *d^he_yg_h- / *d^hy_eH- / *d^hiH- v. 'see, look at' > NaIE *d^he_ya-/*d^hyā-/*d^hī- id.
508. *d^rE¹H₁a 'with', 'together with' ([in descendant lges] → 'and') > IE: NaIE *^od_l^hā|ō > pSl *da 'and, but' || Ht t_a 'and'
509. *de^ro¹He 'make, do' > IE *d^he^h- v. 'make, do'
510. *daka 'back (dorsum), back (rear), behind'
511. *dEk^ro¹ (~ dEg^ro¹?) 'burn (brûler)' > IE: NaIE *d^heg^wh- vt., vi. 'burn'
512. *dûk^rU¹ 'strike, beat'
513. ₂ *dEHik^ra¹ (= *dE_lik^ra¹?) 'pierce, dig' > IE: NaIE *d^hē_lg_h- / *d^hō_lg_h- / *d^hī_lg_h- 'pierce, stick'
514. ₂ *dak_l∇_l?U 'equid' ('young of an equid?')
515. *dik_lE_ly^rU¹ 'rumple, knead, press' > IE: NaIE *d^he_lg^h- 'knead', {P} 'Lehm kneten und damit mauern oder bestreichen'
516. ₂ *da^rK^ü¹ 'to approach; near'
517. *daK_l∇ 'small, thin, short'
518. *dik_l∇ 'edible cereals\fruit'
519. *doK_lê '≈ observe, learn (erfahren)' > IE: NaIE *do^k|k- v. '≈ make clear, teach, believe'
520. *da_l∇ 'tasty, sweet' > IE: NaIE *d_l^o|k^u- 'sweet'
521. (₂?) *da^r∇ 'lick'
- 522 *d^ri¹ā (= *d^ri¹ā?) 'sunshine, daylight, bright' > ? IE: NaIE *d^he_l- 'sun, bright'
523. *du^ri¹ 'fire'; ('to heat [?]' →) 'hot, warm'
524. ₂ *dü|u_lH|w|y_l∇ 'itching, lust'
525. *dû_lU_h∇ 'be mad, be stupid'

526. *dalqV 'wave (Welle)' > IE *d^helH- > -d> Gk θάλασσα, Gk A θάλαττα 'sea', Mcd θαλάγγχαν accus. 'sea'
527. *dæLbV 'to gouge, to dig, to cut through' > IE: NaIE *d^helb^h- v. 'dig, gouge'
528. ?σ (2?) *dæL'k'a 'to prick' > IE: NaIE *d^helg- v. 'prick; thorn', {EI} 'sting, pierce', 'pin'
529. ?σ 2 *deL_LV_LP_LV 'to flap, to wave', 'to fly' (← 'to flap wings?')
530. *dVlqâ 'feather'
531. *dEgíâ (= *dügíâ?) 'bush(es), shrubs, thicket, forest'
532. *dûHí|l|V 'dust' > IE: NaIE *d^he_Lu_Ll-/*d^hūl-/*d^hwolol- 'dust'
533. *deqí|l|V '(to be) thin'
534. *dA|oí_LV_LςV (= *dAíovV or *dAí_LV_Lςo?) 'to push, to press, (?) to squeeze' > IE (+ext.): NaIE *d^hels-/*d^hjs- ~ *d^hlæs-/*dlās- v. 'squeeze, press'
535. (2?) *damV or *damVdV 'to cover, to close'
536. *dAmV 'steam, mist, dust' > IE: NaIE {P} *d^hem- v. 'smoke', 'fly about' (dust); 'blow (blasen, wehen)'
537. (2?) *dûmV 'be motionless, be silent, be quiet'
- 537a. (2?) *dVmV (= *dimV?) 'to breathe, to blow' > IE: NaIE *d^hem- 'blow (blasen, wehen)'
538. (2?) *d'û'hmV ~ *d'û'mhV '(be) dark' > IE: NaIE *d^hem(ə)- 'dark'
- 538a. ≈ *dUm_L?,û (= *d'o'm_L?,û?) or *dUηwV (= *d'o'ηwV?) '(ε?) big tree' > IE: NaIE *d^honu-/*d^honw- 'fir'; dUm_L?,û p_Lu_L?i (~ *dUm_L?,û bu_L?i?) or *dUηwV p_Lu_L?i (~ *dUηwV bu_L?i?) '(ε?) big tree' (with *p_Lu_L?i [~ *bu_L?i?] 'tree') > IE: NaIE *^od_Lh_Lomb_Lh_L- (or *^od_Lh_Lamb_Lh_L-?) 'oak'
539. *dim_LV_Lηa|æ 'rubbish, dirt, animal faeces' > IE: NaIE *^od^hengh|ĝ^h- id. (→ 'earth')
540. 2 *dVmP_LV (= *dVm_Lp_LV?) 'back, hinder part, tail' > IE: NaIE *^odumb- 'tail, penis'
541. *d'o'ñV 'flat, low', (→ ?) 'lowland' > IE: NaIE *d^hen- 'palm of hand; plain, lowlands'
542. *duñV (or *düñV) 'to stream, to flow' > IE: NaIE *d^hen- v. 'stream, flow, leak' -d> NaIE *d^hōnu- 'river'
543. *dô_Lñ_LV_L?_LV 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *^od^hen- > Al G dhēn_Ln 'haue aus, schneide', Al T gdhēnd 'form with a bladed tool: chisel, carve, whittle, sculpt; engrave'
544. *dońćE 'large', 'heavy' (of load) > possibly IE *d_Lh_L|tes- > Ht d_Lassu- 'strong, heavy; mighty'
545. *doη?a 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *d^heng^h- v. 'cover, press on'

546. ₂ *dūŋ₁g₁o¹ '(be) quiet, silent' > IE: NaIE *^od₁^heng|g^ω₁^h- > IE: Ltv Δ diñgt 'ruhig sein, sich beherrschen', sadingt 'erstarren'
547. *daP∇ (K∇) (= *dap∇ (K∇)?) 'to stick (adhere), to glue'
548. ₂ ≈ *dûp∇ 'to squat', 'to hide' (intr.) (→ 'to steal') > IE: NaIE *teu₁p- v. 'squat', 'cover (also in order to get hidden)', {EI} *teu₁b^h- 'steal'
549. *d^rA?i¹p∇ 'to wave, to flap, to wave the wings, to fly; wing'
550. *dap₁∇₁ψ∇ ~ *dayop∇ 'to push' > IE *deph- > NaIE *deph^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike'
551. ₂ *dEq∇ 'earth (material)'
552. ₂ *duq∇ or *dūq∇ 'blow (wehen, blasen), breathe' (→ 'smoke') > IE *d^heuH- v. 'blow', (→ ?) 'shake' -d→ *dhuH-mo- 'smoke, steam'
553. *diga 'goat' (or 'ε ruminant?') > IE: NaIE {EI} *¹dik-s (*di¹g-os) ({P} *dig^h-) 'goat'
554. (₂?) *dAr∇ 'have a suitable size (be just right, быть впопых)'
555. *dur∇ (or *dür∇) 'hole, hollow' > IE: NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hwo(:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hw₁r₁-, {EI} *¹d^hwór (gen. *d^hu¹r-os) 'door, gate'
556. *dûR∇ 'log, stick' > IE: NaIE *d^hwe(:)r- / *d^hwo(:)r- / *d^hur- / *d^hw₁r₁-, {EI} *¹d^hwór (gen. *d^hu¹r-os) 'door, gate'
557. ₂ *dUR∇ 'deaf'
- 557a. ₂ *d^rû¹r∇ 'woods, bush(es)'
558. ?? ₂ *dür∇ or *dUrE 'entrails, heart'
559. *da?ur∇ 'to stand, to stay'
560. *du[?]æri 'go, walk'
- 560a. *degar∇ 'hill, mountain'
561. *dä₁y₁R∇ or *da₁y₁RE 'be(come) stiff/firm' > IE: NaIE *d^hr¹ī¹r- / *d^her- 'firm'
562. *deR[?]i¹ 'thrust back, drive away' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *d^hre₁b^h- 'drive away, push', {EI} 'drive'
563. *d^rû¹R[?]∇ 'dirt' > IE: NaIE *d^her-(k-), *d^her₁-/*d^hre₁- v. 'defecate', 'faeces'
- 563a. ₂ *dAR₁∇ 'ashes'
564. *dar₁∇H₁∇ 'hold, hold fast, fasten' > IE: NaIE *d^her(ə)- v. 'hold, hold fast, hold up'
565. *dûr₁∇h₁∇ 'to deceive, (?) to outwit' > IE *d^hwer(H)- > NaIE *d^hwer(ə)- v. 'deceive, seduce'
- 565a. ₂ *daRH∇ or *daHR∇ 'path, way'
566. ₂ *deR[?]û¹b∇ 'way, path'

567. *daRuga or *daRüga 'tremble, shake' > IE: NaIE *d^hreugg_l^h_j- id.
568. *dæR^h∇ga ~ *dæR^h∇k∇ 'to walk, to run; way, path' > IE: [1] {EI} *d^hreg^h- 'run', [2] NaIE *^od^horæg_l^h_j- > pSl *dórga 'road, way', [3] ?σ NaIE *d^hrog^ho- 'wheel'
569. *d∇R_lH₂∇g|K_j∇ 'sediment (in food), refuse' > IE: NaIE *d^heræg^h- 'sediment, residue', {EI} *d^hrog^h- 'dregs'
570. *doRkæ (~ *doRgæ?) 'to bend, to turn, to wrap' > IE: NaIE *d^herġ^h- / *d^horġ^h- / *d^hrġ^h- / *d^hreġ^h- / *d^hroġ^h- v. 'turn'
571. *du^r∇ (or *duw^r∇) 'camping site, abode' > IE: NaIE *d^hwor- / *d^hur- 'courtyard, abode', {EI} *^ld^hworo-m 'enclosure, courtyard'
572. *d^uʳ^l∇_lg|q∇_j 'lamb, kid (of a wild ram etc.)'
573. *d^oʳ^l∇_jk∇ 'to tread, to trample'
574. *d∇št∇ 'moon', (→ ?) 'star'
575. *doTgiʔû 'fish' > IE {EI} *d^hġ^huH- > NaIE *d^hġ^hū- 'fish'
576. *daXw∇ (~ *dawX∇?) 'to press, to push' > IE: NaIE *d^ho|aw- v. 'press'
577. ₂ *d^ræ^lw∇_j|g∇ 'wolf' or 'jackal'
578. *d∇w_l∇_jy∇ 'be ill\weak, die' > IE *d^he_u-, d^hwe_j(H)- v. 'die', (?) 'faint', {EI} *d^he_u- 'die'
579. *d_loy_ja (> *da) 'place (within, below), inside' (→ locative pc., 'in') > IE: NaIE *-d^he, locative ending ('in') in adverbs, NaIE *-d^hi, locative ending
580. *dä^rʒ^l∇ (or *däʔ^rʒ^l∇?) 'to strike' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *^od^he|g_l^h_j- v. 'strike, beat'
581. *g^rU^l 'we' incl.
582. ₂ *gaʔi or *gaʔy∇ 'high'
583. ₂ *guʔa (or *güʔa) 'to butt, to stab, to strike'
- 583a. ₂ *g∇ʔ∇ v. 'build'
584. *gaʳû 'catch, take, receive' > IE *g^heH_u- > NaIE *g^hā_u- 'receive, catch'
585. (₂?) *guʳ∇ 'to perceive, to care' > IE: NaIE *g^how(ē)- ({EI} *g^hou_u-) v. *g^hou_u- 'perceive, pay heed to'
586. *gab∇ (|l^l∇) 'head' (→ 'top', 'skull') > IE: NaIE *g^heb^h-el-/-o_l- / -lo- 'head, top', {EI} *g^heb^hō_l 'head'
587. ₂ *gob∇ 'plain (Ebene), (?) earth'
588. ? *gū|ub|pE 'heap, hump, hunchback' > IE: L g^ībbus, VL {ML} *gūbbus 'hunchback'
589. ₂ *gaʔb∇ 'thick, dense; large'

590. *gʷʳbʲ ▽ 'to bend' (trans., intr.) > IE: NaIE *gʰeʷb-/*gʰub- id., 'bent, crooked'

591. *gaʳb ▽ (or *gaʷb ▽ ?) 'hold, seize; collect' > IE: NaIE *gʰabʰ- v. 'seize, hold' ~ *gʰab- v. 'seize', {EI} *gʰabʰ- 'take, seize'

592. *gʳuʲb ▽ 'to heat' (→ 'to cook, to roast, to burn, to dry') > IE: NaIE *°g_Lʰob_Lʰ- or *°g_Lʰʷob_Lʰ-, *°g_Lʰub_Lʰ- 'fire'

593. *gʳʷbʳ ▽ (L ▽) 'hill, mountain' > IE: NaIE *°gʰ|ḡʰ ▽ b_La_L- > MHG gupf(e) 'höchste Spitze' -d→ dim. MHG gūpfel, gipfel > NHG Gipfel 'summit'

594. *gʳabʰE ~ *-ʰb- 'blunt, weak' > IE: NaIE *kʰābʰ- ~ *kʰōbʰ- 'blunt(ed), weak, powerless (abgestumpft, kraftlos)'

595. *gub_L ▽, RE ~ *guRb ▽ 'back, back side, nape (of the neck)' > IE: [1] NaIE *°g_Lʰʷurb_Lʰ- > Sl *gʳrbʲ 'back (dorsum)', [2] NaIE *gʷerwā ~ *gʷrīwā 'nape of neck'

596. (₂?) *gič ▽ 'injure, irritate' > IE: NaIE *ḡʰeḡsd- ~ *ḡeḡsdʰ- v. id., 'rile'

597. ₂ *gič' ▽ (or *gič' ▽ ?) 'hip, thigh' > AdS of IE: NaIE *keḡs- 'arm, thigh, shank'

598. *gadʳa' 'bank, shore, side of sth.'

599. *gad ▽ '(to be) suitable\good; luck' > IE: NaIE *gʰedʰ-/*gʰodʰ- v. 'be suitable\good'

600. *gædi 'back part; occiput, nape of neck' > ?φ IE: NaIE *ḡʰed- 'anus', (→ ?) 'defecate' (× NaIE *°ḡʰ|gʰed- 'hole')

601. (₂?) *gud ▽ (or *güd ▽ ?) 'ε to cut, to tear' > ?φ IE: NaIE *gʷedʰ- 'destroy'

602. *gu_Lʳ, dE or *gü_Lʳ, d ▽ (or *gu_Lʳ, žE ~ *gü_Lʳ, ž ▽) 'to guard, to watch, to be on the watch for'

602a. *ga_Ly, di (~ *ga_Ly, ti?) 'kid, young goat', ? '(ε) antelope' > IE: NaIE *gʰ|ḡʰaḡdo- '(young) goat'

603. *gudE? ▽ 'belly, middle' > IE: NaIE *gud-/*geud-, *gudo-m 'gut'

603a. *gæʳd'üš ▽ (= *gäʳd'üš ▽ ?) 'late, evening' (→ 'yesterday') > IE: NaIE {P} *ḡʰdyes / ? *ḡʰdis 'yesterday'

604. *gaʳüḡæ 'covet, long for', (→ ?) 'mate, copulate' > IE: NaIE *gʰeḡḡʰ- 'covet'

605. *gEhōwʷy ▽ 'go away, drive away (forttreiben)' > IE > NaIE *gʰē(ḡ)-/*gʰi- or *ḡʰē(ḡ)-/*ḡʰi- v. 'go away' ('fortgehen')

606. ₂ *gokE (= *goki?) 'track' (→ 'way'), 'to follow the tracks of'

607. *gaKtʳä' 'couple, one of a pair'

608. *gaʳuK ▽ 'long, high, far' > IE: NaIE *ko|auk|ḡ- 'high'

- 609.** *gaLE 'shout, cry' (→ 'weep', 'ask for') > IE (× *k'a'īX'E' 'call [appeler], shout'): NaIE *g^he|· v. 'call, shout (rufen, schreien)', {EI} 'cry out; sing'
- 610.** *gaLū|u (or *ga'ya'Lū|u) 'tortoise' > IE {EI} *'g^he|uH-s > NaIE *g^he|ū ~ *g^h(e)|ōū 'tortoise'
- 610a.** *gE|∇ (or *gE?al∇) 'stalk, twig' (→ 'stick', 'trunk of a tree') > IE: NaIE *g^hal|g^(h)- '(flexible) twig, pole' ({EI} 'pole, stake')
- 611.** *giL'U' 'illness, pain, distress' > IE: NaIE *g^he|·/*g^ho|·/*g^h· (or *g^hal·?) id.
- 612.** *goLu (or *goy∇Lu?) 'head, skull' > IE: NaIE *g^ωh|w-/*g^ωh|u-/*g^ωh|e|u- (or *g^ho|w-/*g^ho|u-/*g^he|u-) 'head'
- 613.** *go|∇ 'look for, wish', ? 'look' > IE: NaIE *g^ωh|e|· ~ *g^he|· v. 'wish'
- 614.** *goL∇ 'foetus, baby' > IE: NaIE *g^ωe|b^h-/*g^ωo|b^h- 'womb; young (of an animal)', *sm_o-g^ωe|b^h(e)y_o- 'born from the same womb'
- 615.** ₂ *goL∇ 'tail'
- 615a.** *go|l|∇ 'to weep; grief'
- 616.** *gū|E 'go (away), start going (away), set out'
- 617.** *gū|A 'dwelling' (→ [in descendant lges] 'house')
- 618.** *gūLâ 'bend, be crooked' > IE: NaIE *g^hw|e|·/*g^hu|· id., 'go astray'
- 619.** *go|h|∇ 'fire, glow of coal', 'to burn (brûler)' > ?φ IE (mt.): NaIE *g^hlō- (or *g^hlō-) 'coals, charcoal'
- 620.** *go|w|u (or *go|w|ū?) 'deep; valley' > IE: NaIE *g_lh|e|(u)- 'deep; valley'
- 621.** ? ₂ *gū|u_l?|∇ (= *gū|u_l?|∇ (m∇)?) or *gū|u_l?|L∇ (m∇) ≈ roe deer, antelope, (?) goat'
- 622.** *go|l_l?|∇ 'belly, entrails' > IE: NaIE *g^he|·ond-/*g^ho|·ŋd- 'entrails'
- 623.** *ga'ya'l?ū|u 'tortoise' > IE {EI} *'g^he|uH-(s) > NaIE *g^he|ū- ~ *g^h(e)|ōūpudendum muliebre'
- 624.** *gi|'h'o 'to shine, to glitter, to sparkle' > IE *g^he|(H^ω)-/*g^hleH^ω- > NaIE *g^he|a- / *g^hlō- 'yellow, green'
- 625.** *gU_lE_hU 'be smooth' > IE *g^hleH^ω-d^h-/*g^hl_oω-d^h- > NaIE *g^hlōd^h-/*g^hlād^h- 'be smooth'
- 626.** ₂ *gūL₃∇ 'bend, twist'
- 626a.** ₂ *gA_ll|∇ 'wind (ventus)'
- 627.** *g'U'|∇ 'season without vegetation' ('drought, dry season', 'winter')
- 627a.** *gU_hÍE ≈ a canine animal'

628. *gíí∇ ʔ∇'d'∇ (= *gíí∇ h∇'d'∇?) 'ice, frost; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *g^helad- 'ice, hail' (cp. *gíí∇ without the second N component *ʔ∇'d'∇ in pCK {Md.} *ʔīl 'ice, block of ice' and probably in T *k'íí 'winter')

629. ₂ *g'A'm∇ (and *g'A'm∇?) 'altogether, full'

630. *g'e'm∇ 'strong, firm'

630a. ₂ *gUm∇ 'heavy'

631. *gōm∇ or *gom∇ 'hand, fist'

632. *gumb∇ 'back (dos), (?) hump', (→ ?) 'hill'

633. ₂ *gim_L∇_Jç'∇ 'to make a grimace with one's mouth and/or nose' ([in some descendant lges] → 'to grin, to smile, to mock, to laugh')

634. *g'u_Lm_L∇_Jç'∇ 'to incline, to bow, to bend'

635. *g'á'm_L∇_Js'a '∈ waterfowl, ∈ bird (a shore bird?)' > IE: NaIE *g^hans-'goose'

636. *gAn|ń∇ 'see, perceive'

637. *genû 'jaw, cheek' > IE: NaIE *g^henu-/*g^henw- 'jaw, chin'

637a. *g'oʔa'n∇ 'much, big' > IE: NaIE *g^whono-s 'üppig, reichlich', *g^when- 'be abundant'

638. *g'o'ʔiñ∇ 'beat, strike' > IE *g^when-/*g^whon-/*g^whn-/*g^whŋ- 'strike', Ht kuen- 'smite, raze, slay, kill', Ld f-i s-qān- v. 'destroy'

639. *gAHn∇ 'lie (liegen), sleep'

640. *guñ_Lh_Ji - *gu_Lh_Jñi (or *guñ_Lʔ_Ji - *gu_Lʔ_Jñi) 'to think'

641. *gänh∇ 'side (of sth.), width'

642. *g∇ñ_L∇_Jb∇ or ≈ *g∇ñ_L∇_Jʔ∇ 'side, edge' > IE: NaIE *g'a¹mb^hā ≈ jaw'

643. *gæŋdû 'male'

643a. ₂ *gōŋd∇ '∈ ant'

644. *gän_L∇_Jp¹∇ (~ *gän_L∇_Jp∇?) 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket' > IE: NaIE *g|gomb_Lh_J ~ *g|gomp- (< *g^h|g^homp-?) ~ *o|g|gnob_Lh_J- 'stake, picket, (a cut off) piece of wood'

645. *gañt∇ 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE *g^hend-/*g^hŋd- 'hold, get, contain'

646. ₂ *gUń∇ or *gUn∇ 'male genitalia'

646a. *gaŋ∇ (or *gaʔoŋ∇?) '≈ flesh of leg, thigh, buttocks' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h-/*g^hŋg^h- '≈ leg\thigh\buttocks'

647. *id.* ≈ *gü_Lan'o¹ 'voice; to produce a sound' (→ 'call' etc.) > IE: NaIE *g^hwen-/*g^hwon-, {EI} *g^hwono-s 'a sound, voice'

648. *g'á'ŋ'X'a 'to step, to climb' > IE: NaIE *g^heng^h- v. 'step' ('schreiten'), 'step' ('Schritt'), {EI} 'step, walk'

- 649.** *g_uŋ^ʔκ^ʔE or *g_üŋ^ʔκ^ʔ∇ 'nape' (→ 'neck'), 'rear part of the head' > IE: NaIE *knok(k)ō-/knek(k)ō- 'nape of neck; hill'
- 649a.** ?φ ≈ *g_oŋ^ʔH^ʔä^ʔ∇ ~ mt.: *g_ol^ʔH^ʔ∇ñ∇ 'forearm' > AdS of IE *χ^ωe^ʔl- or *χ_xo^ʔl- (/ *X^el-?) 'elbow' ({EI} *h₃e^ʔl∇n-)- (< N *ΓUL∇ 'knee, elbow')
- 650.** ₂ *gæ^ʔʔ^ʔU^ʔp∇ 'body'
- 651.** *g_up∇ʔ^ʔû^ʔ 'hollow, empty; hole' > IE: NaIE *ge_up-/*go_up-/*g_up- 'hollow, pit'
- 652.** (₂?) *g_oP_la_ʔκ^ʔa 'hook, sharp stick' > ? IE: NaIE *kog- / *keg- 'hook, claw'
- 653.** *gä^ʔp^ʔ∇_ʔsA 'hand' ([in U] → 'paw') > IE *ġ^hes-r-, *ġ^hes-to- 'hand'
- 654.** ₂ *gE^ʔqû^ʔ 'to pour, to flow' > IE: NaIE *ġ^he_u-/*ġ^hu- v. 'pour', *ġ^he_u-mŋ 'sth. poured, libation'
- 655.** ₂ *gAr∇ 'hand, arm' > ïï IE: NaIE {P} *ġ^her- 'hand', but in the light of Ht kessar- 'hand' Pokorny's rec. is to be replaced by pIE *ġ^hesr-, so that the IE root does not belong here
- 655a.** ₂ *gER∇ 'entrails' > IE: NaIE *ġ^her- 'gut(s)', *ġ^hor-nā 'entrails'
- 656.** ₂ *geR∇ 'throat'
- 657.** *g^ʔi^ʔr∇ 'hate, be hostile' > IE: ?? Ht kurur 'enmity (Feindschaft), enemy'; (+ ext.) NaIE *g^hers- 'repugnance, abhorrence'
- 657a.** ?σ₂ *giR∇ 'leg, ≈ bone of the leg'
- 657b.** ₂ *guR∇ 'belly', (?) 'trunk of a living being' (→ 'body')
- 657c.** *guR∇ 'forest' > IE: NaIE (att. in Blt) *g_l^ωh_ʔer- 'forest' or 'tree'
- 658.** ₂ *gUR∇ 'to roll'
- 659.** ₂ *güR∇ 'beast' > IE: NaIE *ġ^hwēr- ({EI} *^ʔġ^hwēr / gen. *^ʔġ^hwēr-os) 'wild animal'
- 659a.** *gE^ʔʔ^ʔor∇ (or *gE^ʔwor∇?) 'grain' > IE *^og^h|ġ^heg^h|ġ^hr- (or *^og^h|ġ^heg^h|ġ^hr-?) > Gk κάχυρος 'gerüstete Gerste', κέϋχυρος 'Hirse, Korn' ||| ₂ ≈ *gER∇Sd∇ (or cd. *gE^ʔʔ^ʔor∇ S∇d∇?) 'cereal' > IE {EI} *^ʔġ^hresd^h(i)- 'barley'
- 659b.** *gi^ʔo^ʔr∇ 'grass' > IE (mt.) *g^hreH^ω-/*g^hrH^ω- 'grass': +ext.: NaIE *g^hrōs-/*g^hrās- 'grass, herbs'; + another ext.: AS ʒræd 'grass'; Ht kariyant- 'grass', karitasxa 'grassland, lawn'
- 660.** *ge^ʔʔ^ʔr∇ 'to fence around, to encircle; enclosed place' (→ 'build walls, huts')
- 661.** *g^ʔû^ʔʔ^ʔr∇ 'look, look for' > IE: NaIE *^oġ_l^herā- ~ ?? *^oġ_l^hwerā- > Sl *zbrěti / *zbrŏq 'look', Lt žiūrėti 'to look (at)'
- 662.** *gæhR∇ or *gæRhæ 'sunshine, day, light (Licht)' > IE *ġ^herĤ-/*ġ^hreĤ- > NaIE *ġ^herā-/*ġ^hrē- '≈ shine'

- 662a. *gaHR∇ (= *gaʔR∇?) '(ε?) fish'
663. (₂?) *gûʷ¹R∇ '(roof of a) hut; to dwell'
664. *garʳ¹i 'old' > IE: Ht kar ū 'early, formerly', kar u(α)ili 'former, ancient'
665. ₂ *gARɿ∇ 'belly, inside'
666. *giRɿ∇ 'to cut'
667. *goRɿ∇ '≈ hill, (small?) mountain' > IE: NaIE *g_Lʷ_Lh_Ler- > pSl *go'ra 'mountain', Lt girià, Ltv † dzir̃a, dzire 'forest, wood(s)'
668. (₂?) *g∇Ræɿû (= *g∇Ræɿû?) '≈ to fell, to strike; to fall in' > IE: NaIE *g^hrēu-/*g^hrəu-/*g^hrū- 'fall upon, fall in'
669. (id. ?) ≈ *gErH∇ 'to belch, to eruct'
670. *goRho 'be\become big\long, grow' > IE *g^hreH^ω-/*g^hrH^ω- > NaIE *g^hrō-/*g^hrə- 'grow, become green'
671. *gärh∇ 'try to obtain, wish, need' > IE *g^her_LH_X- > Ht kar-i(γa)- 'be gracious towards, gratify' || NaIE *g^her_Lə_L-, {EI} *g^hor-(ye/o)- 'desire'
672. *gur_LE_Lw∇ (T∇) 'young (carnivorous) animal'
673. ?σ (₂?) *g^o¹R∇Hw∇ 'to pound, to scrape' or sim. > IE: NaIE *g^h|g^hrəu- 'scrape, rub away'
674. *guR^X¹a 'antelope, male antelope'
675. *gor∇b|p∇ 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *g^hreb^h- id., 'dig'
676. *gaRû^ç¹a 'crush, break into pieces' (or *g∇Rû^ç¹|ç∇ 'crush') > IE: NaIE *g^hreus-/*g^hrous- vt. 'crush, break into pieces'
- 676a. ₂ ≈ *g∇Rć∇q∇ or *g∇Rq∇ć∇ 'ε stinging insect'
677. *gäRd^ä¹ 'encircle, surround, fence in' > IE: *g^herd^h- 'surround, encircle; a fence', *g^hr_çd^h- / *g^hord^h- 'fence', v. 'enclose, fence', *g^h|g^hord^h-to- > *g^hor-to- 'encircled land'
678. ₂ *gE|aRd∇ 'to plait, to tie, to gird (to wear sth. around one's waist)' > IE: NaIE *o^gh|g^herd^h- 'gird'
679. *guR^k¹U¹ 'throat'
680. *gARʔAm∇ 'scrape, pound to small pieces, grind' > IE: NaIE *g^hrem- 'crumble, grind, zerreiben'
681. *gUrand∇ 'log, trunk of a tree' > IE: NaIE *g^hrend^h- 'log, beam'
682. (₂?) *gERs̄∇ (= *gäR^s¹|s̄¹∇?) 'congeal, grow numb, stiffen' > IE: NaIE *g^hers- v. 'stiffen', {EI} 'stiffen' (of hair), 'bristle'
683. *gaRž∇ '≈ to stretch, to drag' > IE *g^herH-/*g^hreH-/*g^hroH-/*g^hrH_ç- v. 'be salient, be prominent (hervorstechen)', v. 'grow' (of plants)

684. *g^ro^rR^jæ 'to feel' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^whrē- (< *g^hwreH̄-?) vt. 'smell, scent out, feel', [2] ? NaIE (in Blt) *^og^wh₁h₁erd₁h₁- 'hear'
- 684a. (on.?) *gA^r∇ ('ŋ^r∇) 'to thunder' > IE: NaIE *g^hrem- id., 'roar, rage', *g^hromo-s ({EI} *^lg^hromo-s) 'thunder, loud and low sound'
685. *gæ^ra - *gæRya or *gE^ra^ra - *gE^raRya 'to step, to walk' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *g^hred^h- v. 'step, walk', {EI} 'step, go'
686. *g^or^æ 'hot; to heat; embers' > IE: NaIE *g^wher- 'burn, heat', *g^whoros ntr. 'heat, embers', *g^whrē- vt. 'warm, heat', *g^whermo-, *g^whormo- 'warm, warmth', *g^whor-no-s 'oven, heating fire'
687. *g^ur[∇] (d∇) (or *gur∇y∇ (d∇)) 'hip, side' ([in some descendant lges] → 'back side')
688. *g^e₁y₁r^â (or *g^e^ri^râ) 'fire, hearth'
- 688a. *g^ur[∇]E or *g^ur[∇]∇ 'throat, neck'
- 688b. *g^ar^Hä 'sharp bough, sharp stick, sharp point' > IE *g^her-, *g^herH̄-/*g^hreH̄- > NaIE *g^her-, *g^hera-/*g^hrē- 'sharp point'
- 688c. *g^or^Hæ 'to track (game), to smell, to hear; ear'
689. ₂ *gE^y∇^s∇ 'to cast (spear); spear' ([in S]: → 'wage war'; 'host [armed force]') > IE: NaIE ^hg^ha₁s₀-s, {EI} *^hg^ha₁'s₀-s ~ *^hg^ha₁ses- 'javelin, spear'
690. *g^a^r₁y^s∇^ra 'be frightened\sorrowful, worry' > IE: NaIE *^hg^he₁s- 'be frightened\scared', {EI} 'frighten'
691. ? ₂ *g^u^r₁^s∇^ra (~ *g^u^r₁^s∇^r∇) 'belch, vomit'
692. ₂ *gA^rit∇ 'body, flesh'
693. ₂ *g^u^r₁H₁∇ 'small, little'
694. *g^at^â 'grasp, take, possess' > IE: NaIE *^hg^hed- v. 'acquire', 'acquisition'
- 694a. ≈ *g^ot[∇] 'ant', (?) 'worm'
695. *g^ot[∇] 'pull, draw'
696. *g^at^r^â 'to pass through\over, to get through, to cross'
697. *g^aw^r∇ (or *g^aw^y∇?) 'to call' > IE *^hg^he₁u_(H)- 'call to, invite, invoke' > NaIE *^hg^ha₁u_(ə)- 'call, invoke', *^hg^ha₁w₀-s 'a call', pp. *^hg^hu_(:)-to- 'called, invoked'
698. *g^ay∇ 'side, outside'
699. *g^oy∇ 'man, people'
700. *g^a₁?₁y∇ 'to wave one's hand, to point with one's hand\finger' ([later] → 'to wave to so., to beckon')
701. *g^ahya 'to throw, to leave, to let' > IE: NaIE *^hg^he₁(₁)- 'hurl, cast'
702. *g^oXey∇ 'light, sunshine, dawn, daybreak, aurora' > IE: *g^whe₁y-/*g^wh₁y- > NaIE *g^wh₁ā₁- ~ *g^wh₁ā₁- 'light (hell), bright'

703. *gaǰ ▽ 'slanting, skew, bent'
704. (2?) *g'aǰž ▽ 'to go; way, path' > ? IE *gʰ|ǵʰeH- > NaIE *gʰē(ǵ)- / *gʰi- or *ǵʰē(ǵ)- / *ǵʰi- 'go away'
705. 2 *gæǰ ▽ '∈ hair, wool' > IE: NaIE *gʰaǵsǵsǵ- '∈ hair'
706. *gü'ǰ ▽ or *gu'ǰ E 'tracks, path; to go, to pass'
707. ≈ *gUǰǵŭ (or ≈ *gUǰǵŭ) 'laugh, amuse' > IE: NaIE *gʰleǵ- (< IE **gʰHleǵ- < **guǰlu-?) v. 'be merry, joke, *gʰoǵlos 'merry, wanton'
708. 2 *gUǰǵ ▽ 'wish, be hungry'
709. *gŭb ▽ 'to plait, to interlace, to wattle' ([in descendant lges] → 'to weave') > IE *ǵub- / *ǵweb- 'plait, interlace' > NaIE *ubʰ- / *webʰ- v. 'plait, weave'
- 709a. *ga'ç' ▽ (or *gaʔic ▽?) '(leafy) branch, bough' > IE *Xosd-o- 'bough, branch'
710. ? (2?) *g'oǵŵ|ç ▽ (R ▽) '∈ canine'
711. *g'e'ǵ' ▽ (w ▽) 'to rise in waves' (of water) > IE: NaIE *o|aldʰ- 'wave'
712. *gŭL ▽ (= *gŭl ▽?) 'to destroy, to fight; war' > IE *ǵul- / *ǵwe- 'destroy, defeat'
713. *gǵl'U' 'boy, young man'
714. *g'o'lpā (or *gulpā?) 'weak, small' > IE *ǵwe- / *ǵw- 'small'
715. *gaǵ ▽ 'cereals' > IE *ǵelǵǵ- ≈ 'cereals, grain'
716. 2 *g'am ▽ 'mouth', (?) '(inside of) cheek'
717. *g ▽ m ▽ 'darkness, night'
718. *geñ'ä' 'be large, be copious'
719. 2 *g'ŭñ|ñ ▽ (or *ǵŭñ|ñ ▽) 'drink, eat'
720. *gar'i' 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave' > IE *ǵery- or *ǵry- ({EI} *h₂eryo-s) 'cavity' (> Ht har i-s 'valley')
721. *gor ▽ 'to cry, to speak, to produce vocal sounds' > IE *ǵwe(:)r- / *ǵwr- ≈ speak, call' > NaIE *ōr- / *ār- id. || Lv hīr ūt- 'curse'.
722. *gU'y|ǵ'R ▽ 'skin' > ?? IE: NaIE ≈ *erʰ- (< *Heǵr-pʰ-?) / *werʰ- ≈ tear off', 'skin (that can be torn off)'
723. *garH ▽ 'crush (the soil), grind' > IE *herH- or *harH- > NaIE *ar(ə)- v. 'plough'
724. 2 *g ▽ R ▽ b ▽ (or *-p-) 'dark' > IE: NaIE *ērebʰ- / *ōrobʰ- 'dark'
725. *gu'rǵ' ▽ (or *gúr ▽ - *gúr ▽ r ▽ - *gur ▽ r' ▽?) 'skill, ruse, deceit; to deceive'
726. 2 *gotǵ ▽ 'popliteal space (inside of the knee), armpit' > AdS of IE: NaIE *aks- or *aǵ(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'armpit'

727. *gužê '≈ sheep, goat'
728. (2?) *gUǰ∇ 'feel, smell (sth.)' > IE *H^ωed-, *Hod- > NaIE *od- v. 'smell (sth.)', *od-mā n. 'smell' (× N *h¹ot∇ 'to smell')
729. (2?) *Y¹a¹č¹∇ 'bite, chew'
730. ?φ *Γäč¹U¹ (= *Γäč⁰ or *gä¹ič¹U¹?) '(ε) grass'
731. *Yôč¹∇ 'bone', (?) 'backbone' > IE *x^ωest_L^h_J- ~ *x^ωost_L^h_J- 'bone'
- 731a. ≈ *Y¹ay¹e¹č¹∇ 'seek, look for' > IE: NaIE *aj̥s-, *aj̥s-sk̥- v. 'seek, wish'
732. *YAč¹∇ 'cut, cut into pieces' > ?φ IE *xat- 'cut, pierce'
733. *Γûd∇ 'to tie; thong' > IE: *Heud^h-/*Houd^h-/*Hwed^h- v. 'tie', n. 'tie, thong'
734. (2?) *ΓUL∇ 'knee, elbow' > IE *x^ωel- or *Xol- (/ *Xel-?) 'elbow' > NaIE *ōlenā, *o|elni- id., Ht haliya- v. 'kneel, genuflect'
735. *Γuñ∇ bend, be bent' ([in A] → 'fall')
736. *Γon_L∇_Jga 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'hook') > IE *H^ωeng_L^h_JHo / *H^ωnog_L^h_J- '(finger)nail, claw' (> NaIE *ong^ω_L^h_Jo-, *nog^ω_L^h_Jo-, ? *anog_L^h_J- id.)
737. *Γañ¹č¹U¹ 'cheek'
738. *Γon¹t∇ 'heat; to heat' > IE *Xend- > Ht hantais- n. 'heat', NaIE *^o∇nd- (= *ond-?) > OIr and- v. 'kindle'
739. *Γûrû 'to flow, to stream' > IE *Xwr- '≈ sprinkle' > Ht hurnai-, hurniya- v. 'spray, sprinkle' || NaIE *w_{r̥}ŋn-/*ūr-/*aur- v. 'rain, drip, trickle'
740. 2 *Γ∇R∇ 'wild boar'
741. *Yer¹∇ 'eagle' or sim. > IE *x̥er-/*x̥or- 'eagle, big bird'
742. ?σ*Y¹E¹∇_JaRgE 'big beast, beast of prey' > IE *x_{r̥}kt̥- ~ *x_{r̥}t̥k̥- 'bear'
743. *Y¹o¹Rk¹ô 'bend, be bent\crooked' > IE *Her^ω- ~ *Herku- ({EI} *h_{er}erk^ωo-s) > NaIE *ark^ω- ~ *ærk^ω- 'a bow', v. 'be bent'
744. 2 *Y∇R_L∇_JP∇ 'cloud'
745. (2?) *Y∇R_L∇_Jg¹∇ 'gnaw' > ?φ IE (with ass. transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) *g^ωruk̥|k- ~ *g^ωru(:)g̥^h-/*g^ωroug̥^h ~ *g^ωru(:)g̥-/ *g^ωroug̥- v. 'gnaw, bite'
746. (2?) on. *Γ∇RΓ∇H₂T∇ (= *g∇Rg∇H₂T∇?) '∈ waterbird' > IE *Her_LH₂e|oHd- '∈ waterbird' > NaIE *ə|arōd-/*ə|arəd- 'heron' or sim.
747. *Y¹ü¹š¹∇ 'live' > IE *xwes-/*xeus- 'live, dwell, stay' ({EI} *h₂wes- 'dwell, pass the night, stay' > Ht hues- / hwis- / hus- 'live, be\stay alive', NaIE *wes- 'be, live, dwell'

748. (₂?) *^rʷiś∇b∇ (or: either *^rʷüś∇b∇ or *^rʷiśUb∇) 'to grow; vegetation'

749. ₂ *^ro¹w∇ 'wild sheep\goats', (→ or ←) 'wild game' > IE *^hλ₁ω₁oωi- ((EI) *^hh₂oωi-s, gen. *^hh₂eωy-os) 'sheep'

750. *^roγ∇ 'carry, bring'

751. *id.* *^ha, deictic pronominal pc. ('ille', a distal deixis) > IE *^rʷo/e-no-, {Pv.} (?) *o-n-yo-, ?? {EI} *^hh_{en}- 'that'

751a. ₂ *^hʰa, particle of collectiveness > IE *-^h / (with thematic nomina) *-e/o-h (*e/o- belonging to the stem), ending of nom.-accus. ntr. pl. > NaIE *-a/-ā

752. ?₂ *^hʰæ ~ *^oʰU, marker of dual (for nomina animata) > IE *-H(e) ~ *H_u, dual ending (nom., animate gender)

753. *id.*? *^hʰe¹ 'this', deictic pc. (proximal deixis) > IE *^rʷe- > NaIE *e- (gen. *e-sy_o) *'he, this' may be suggested (as one of the solutions) on the basis of the gen. OI asya, Av ahe 'of this', the dat. OI as māi, Av ah māi 'to this', OLat em 'him' etc.

754. *id.*? *^hʰi 'iste' (or 'hic'), demonstrative pc. > IE: AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this' ||| IE *^rʷe_j-/^rʷi (or *^hh_{e_j}-/*^hh_i- ?), anaphoric dem. prn. {Bks.} 'that, the (just named)'

755. *id.*? *^hʰu 'iste', dem. pc. (intermediate deixis?) > IE *^rʷu- / *^rʷu_u- / *^we- / *^wo- 'iste', deictic pc.

756. ₂ *^hed∇ 'to break'

757. *^hûdi 'rot, dissolve (by boiling), boil'

758. *^hu|od₁∇₁?∇ 'be motionless, sleep' (→ 'be sleepy\giddy')

759. ₂ *^hak∇ 'slow, inactive'

760. *^h|X^rā¹ka 'to need, to lack' > IE: NaIE *eg|g̃- 'lack'

761. *^hʰa^wk^ra¹ 'light (lux); bright' > IE: NaIE *a_ug- v. 'shine' -d→ NaIE *a_ug-ā, -ō(n) 'light, gleam'

762. ₂ *^hUwäkê 'move, walk'

763. *^hak_γ∇ 'stand, stop, stay, be'

764. ₂ *^ho_KU 'copulate'

765. *on.*? *^ha₁∇ 'call out, call, pronounce magic words, rejoice' > IE: {Pv.} *^hel-t-/*^hl-et-, d. *^hl¹tye/o- ({Pv.} *^hl₁tyé/ó-) ≈ call', *on.*? : Gk ἄλαλή, Gk D ἄλαλά 'war cry'

766. *^ha₁∇ 'this' > IE: NaIE *a₁-_jo-s 'other' ((EI) IE *^hh_{el}_jo-s), *^oa₁-ter 'the other from two', IE *^oo|a₁-ne_j > Sl *olni 'last year'

767. *^hA₁∇ 'to shine; bright'

768. ₂ *hiL∇ (or *hEyL∇??) 'new heavenly light' (≈ 'new moon, the first star seen in the sky')
769. ₂ *hiL^U' 'stand, be, exist' ([in B] → 'have')
770. *hûL∇ 'push, butt, pierce' > IE *Xwel-/ *Xu| - v. 'strike'
- 770a. *^hal_iʔ_iE 'on the other side' > IE *ʔal-, *ʔol- 'on\from the other side', {P} 'darüber hinaus'
- 770b. ₂ *^hali^w∇ (or *H|Qali^w∇) 'elephant'
771. ₂ *haL∇K^u' 'to step, to walk'
772. *hAÍUK^a' 'be hungry\thirsty', 'covet' > IE: NaIE *elk-/ *olk- (or *alk-?) 'v. 'hunger, be hungry'
- 772a. ₂ *hamga 'dry, thirst(y)'
773. *^h∇mPⁱ' 'venomous vermin, (?) venomous reptile' > IE: NaIE *empi- ~ *emb^hi- 'stinging insect'
774. *han∇ 'head' → 'top' → 'on, on the surface, towards' > IE *^han ~ *^hanu ~ *(^ha)nō {P} 'an einer schrägen Fläche hin, hinauf'
775. *hEñ∇ 'iste' > IE: NaIE *eno-/ *ono-, dem. prn. 'that' (intermediate or distal deixis), Ht an(n)í- 'that, yonder', ? IE *ñēn (or *ñēn) 'behold!', 'lo!', 'voilà'
776. ₂ *hûʔEn|ñ|η∇ 'wave' > IE *xun- / ? *xwen- > Ht hunhuwan- 'wave', NaIE: pGmc *unθiō, *unθu- 'wave', L unda id.
777. *hAwη∇ 'sense, mind, soul'
778. *húP_U' 'bad', 'error' ([in Altaic lges] → 'shame') > IE *xwep-/ *xwop- / *xup- ≈ 'evil'
- 778a. *hAr∇ 'rock, mountain, stone' > IE: Clt *arto- 'stone'
779. *her∇ (or *herh|ʔ∇?) 'disintegrate, fall to pieces' > IE *ñer(H)- (> NaIE *er_lə₁-/*ər_lə₁-) v. 'disintegrate' (IS: 'разваливаться')
780. *hoRⁱ' 'newborn, a young', 'bear (enfenter)', 'conceive (become pregnant)' > IE *h^wer- > NaIE *or- 'child; be born'
781. *hæ_ʔ|y_r^E' 'male' > ? acc. to IS I 248, possibly IE *ñers-/ *ñrs- (≈ {AD} *ñ|pers-/ *ñ|rs-) 'male'
782. *h^o'R∇b∇ 'run'
783. (₂?) *hüRcⁱ∇ ≈ 'wrinkle, rumple, crush, tear down' > IE: ?σ Ht {Ts.} hars- 'aufreißen'
784. *hir∇g∇ 'kill' or 'die' > IE *xer^{gh}- 'disappear, die'
785. (₂?) *haRK_a' 'hold\grasp, keep, keep in one's possession' > IE *xark- 'hold' > Ht har(a)k-, har- v. 'hold, keep, have', NaIE *ark- > L arce-ō 'shut in, shut up; keep at a distance, hinder', arx 'stronghold, fortress' |||

Gk ἄρκεῖω 'ward off, keep off' ||| ? Arm արգելում *argelum* 'hinder, restrain, hold back'

786. *^haś'o¹ 'burn' (of fire) > IE *^hes- → *^has- 'hearth, ashes', v. 'dry'

787. *^hiś'u¹ 'to break'

788. ₂ *^hot∇ 'to smell (odorare, to get the odor of)', 'to smell (olere, to have an odor\scent)' > IE *^hu^wed- 'odor' > Arm հոտ 'odor, smell', Gk ὄζω vi. (pfc. ὄδωδα) 'emit an odor, smell', Gk ἴσμεν 'smell, scent'

789. ₂ *^hawt∇ 'speak, utter sounds' > IE *^heu^d > NaIE *^oaud- > Gk αὐδή 'voice, speech', αὐδάω v. 'utter sounds, speak' ||| NaIE *^wed- 'utter sounds, speak'

790. *^haw∇ 'to desire, to love' > IE *^he^w- (or *^ha^w-) > NaIE *^aw- v. 'like, favor, want'

791. *^how^ri¹ 'become, appear' > IE: NaIE *-e^w-(ō), *-e^uw-(ō), *-e^uy-(ō) 'be X', sx of denom. verbs

792. *^ho¹w∇ 'pit, depression' > IE: NaIE *^alowent- 'well, spring'

793. *^hæ₁?₁w^rU¹ 'to fall, to sink' > IE *^hχo^u(e) 'down, away' > NaIE *^olow(e) 'down (herab), away'

794. ₂ *^ho₁w₁ia (or *^ho₁wa) 'to flow, to stream; a stream'

794a. ? *^h∇ya 'for, for the sake of', directive-designative pc. > IE: NaIE *^ei₁ 'to', ending of the dative case

795. ? *^h₂i, a pc. of past (preterite) > ? IE *^e-augment of the past tenses; IS tried to connect this IE *^e-augment with the vw. *ⁱ or the cns. *^y, that serve as affixes of past in B, K, U, C, and D

796. ₂ *^h₁iç¹χ∇ → *-ç- or *^h₁iç¹Γ|h∇ 'father, head of a family' (→ or ← 'master, lord') > IE *^h₁resxo-s ({{EI}} *^h₁es¹h₂o-s) 'master'

797. *^häç¹ç¹i¹ (= *^hχ|Q|häç¹ç¹i¹?) 'father, ancestor' > ??σ IE: Ht *hassu* 'king'

798. *^h₂eç¹U¹ (or *^h₂e^h₂iç¹U¹??) 'to sink', (→ ?) 'to dip'

799. *^hüwd∇ (= *^hüwd∇?) 'evening, night'

800. (₂?) *^hogE (or *^hi^ogE) 'top, above'

800a. (₂?) *^hAk∇ 'leaf', (?) 'branch'

801. *^ho¹kE (= *^ho¹kü or *^ho¹kæ?) 'goat' > IE: NaIE *^olāg¹- 'goat' ('he-goat?')

802. *^h₂¹ôkU 'head'

803. *^hi¹çæ 'eat' > IE *^he^k- v. 'eat'

803a. ≈ *^h₂¹e¹U 'sprout, twig'

804. *^h₃iL¹i¹ (= *^hiL¹i¹?) (or *^h₃i₁?|y₁L¹i¹??) 'entrails' > IE: NaIE *^ei₁li- / *ⁱli- / ? *^yeli- (or *ⁱli-) 'entrails'

- 804a. *H^rä'í∇ (= *χ|q^rä'í∇?) 'female'
805. *H₂am^rU¹ 'be\become quiet\calm' ([in some descendant lges] → 'feel contentment', 'love') > ?σ IE: NaIE *am- v. 'love'
- 805a. (2?) *H|qamb∇ 'other, different, else, more (than)' > IE: NaIE *amb^hō(y) du. 'both'
- 805b. *Hom₁∇₁g^rü¹ 'breast'
806. (2?) *H^re¹m∇ñ∇ (= *ʔ^re¹m∇ñ∇?) 'oak, tree' > IE: OIr omnae 'tree, oak'
- 806a. ₂ *H₂ay|ʔEmP∇ 'heavy' > IE *ay∇mP∇ 'weight'
807. *Hañ∇ (= *Hañō?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *a|on- ⇔ : [1] NaIE *a|on-yo- 'other', [2] NaIE *a|ontero-s 'the other (from two)'
808. *hin∇ (= *Xin∇?) 'other' > IE: NaIE *e₁ñ- 'other'
809. on.? *Hañ^rg¹∇ (t₁∇) (or *Hañ^rg¹∇ (t₁∇)?) 'duck' > IE *H₂ñHti- / *HenHti- > NaIE *anati 'duck'
810. *Hoñ|ñka 'angle, joint\bend (of a limb etc.)' > IE: NaIE *o|ang- 'joint (of body), angle'
811. *HEñom∇ (= ? *hEñom∇ or ?? χEñom∇) 'take hold of, have, own' > IE: NaIE *enm-/*nem-/*₁em- 'take, acquire, have'
812. ₂ *H^rä'ñt∇ 'kernel' > IE: NaIE *endr- 'kernel', (?) 'egg'
813. *HäñkU 'fire' > IE {EI} *H₂ñg^ωni-s > NaIE *ñgni-s ({P, Dv.} *egni-/*ogni-) 'fire'
814. *HUñ^rt¹∇ 'root'
815. ₂ ≈ *HU_p∇ (t∇k|g∇) or *HU₁P₁t∇k∇ ~ *HU₁P₁t∇g∇ (*H = *h or *h^r?) 'stalk (of a plant), stem' > IE: NaIE {P} *a|o₁;d(e)g₁^ωo- 'stalk'
816. ₂ *H^ræ¹R∇ 'goat, sheep' > IE *^rh¹er(i)- ({EI} *h₁er- 'lamb, kid') > NaIE *er-, eri- 'goat, sheep'; NaIE *er(i)-b^h- 'e horned artiodactyl'
817. *H₁erU 'ascend, rise' > IE *h₁er- (or *h^ωer-), *h₁^ωerU- id.
818. *H|wur∇ 'male person\animal'
819. *H₁â^ʔ∇r¹∇ (= *ʔa^ʔur¹∇?) 'long, big' > IE *H_X^ra|o¹H_Xr- 'long', (?) 'far'
820. *Ha₁w∇₁š¹∇ (= *ξawiš¹∇?) 'male, male person'
821. *Haya 'pursue' > IE *Haj₁- (= *H_Xe₁-)/*Hi- > OI i'nō-ti, 'inva-ti 'advances upon, presses upon, drives', Av inaōⁱti 3s prs. 'vergewaltigt, kränkt', ? Gk αἰνόος 'terrible'
822. *H₂oy∇ (= *hoy∇?) 'by me, my' > IE: [1] pIE stative marker of 1s *-xe ||| [2] pIE marker ({Bks.} *-h₂) of 1s in md. (yielding Ht prs. -ha(ha)ri, p.

-ha(ha)ti, L prs. -o-r etc.) [] [3] NaIE *-ō (< *-o-H), 1s marker in the pres. tense of the thematic verbs (*-o- being the thematic vw. of the stem)

823. *hU₁w₁ĉ₁∇ (or *hUw∇ĉ₁∇) 'loins, lap'

823a. *hUd∇ 'sister', 'ε female relative'

824. *haLû (or *haLw∇) 'ε a leaf-bearing tree' > IE *Helis- 'alder'

825. ₂ *h∇LiL∇ 'flower, a plant with flowers' > IE *Hχ|e₁l- > NaIE *|e₁l- ~ dis. *|e₁r- '≈ flower', Ht {Pv.} a|e|l- 'flower, bloom'

826. ₂ *hEm∇d∇ 'desire, covet'

827. *h¹oNĉ₁a (or *χoNĉ₁a) '(front) end, extremity, edge, tip'

828. ₂ *h¹añd∇ (or *χañd∇) 'shade, darkness' > IE *Hend^h- > NaIE *and^ho- 'blind, dark'

829. *hU₁ñ|m₁p₁∇?∇ 'navel' > IE *H^ωemb^h- / *H^ωneb^h- ({EI} *h₃nob^h-) > NaIE *omb^h-/*neb^h- 'navel'

830. *(hiN∇) rimP∇ or *(him∇) rimP∇ 'eyelid, eyelash' (cd.?) > IE: Ht {Pv.} enera-, enira-, inira-, innari-, inniri- 'eyebrow'

831. *hop₁∇,ĪE 'flow down'

832. *h¹ü¹rχ∇ĉ₁∇ 'to scratch, to comb'

833. *h¹U¹re|í∇ 'reed'

834. *hEyE₁U or *hEyU₁U 'faeces, filth; dirt' > IE: Ht i₁s₁u₁w₁a₁n 'residue, sediment, refuse, scraps, waste, remains'

835. *hü₁ĵ₁E (q∇) 'look, see' > IE: Ht a₁u₁s- v. 'see' and u₁s₁ki- id.

836. *ko 'whereas, but, also; doch' (adversative-thematic and reminding enclitic conjunction) > IE: NaIE *g^ωe (adversative enclitic conjunction) 'but, whereas'

837. ₂ *kU, particle of plurality (used mostly with pronouns)

838. *k∇ 'out of, from'

839. *k∇ ~ *g∇ 'thee, thy'

840. *ko?¹i¹ 'to call' > IE: NaIE *g^ωē(₁)-/*g^ωō(₁)-/*g^ωī- v. 'call, shout' (→ 'sing')

841. *ke₁i (or ₂ *k|K₁ey∇??) 'make, do'

842. ? ₂ *kE₁ŷ₁ 'pour, flow' > IE: NaIE *ĝ^he₁u₁-/*ĝ^hu₁- v. 'pour', *ĝ^he₁u₁-m₁ 'sth. poured, libation' (× N ₂ *gE₁q₁ 'to pour, to flow')

843. *ku₁ĵ₁a 'to go, to advance, to follow', (← ?) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks' > IE *g^ωeH-/*g^ωH₁- > NaIE *g^ωā-/*g^ωa- 'go'

844. ₂ *kab∇ 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *gab^h- 'goat, lamb'

845. *kab∇ 'rise, stand up'

846. ₂ *kab∇ (or *kahb∇) 'calabash, gourd'

847. (₂?) *kib∇ 'hump, bend; to bend' > IE: NaIE *gejb^h- 'hump, bend'
848. *kob∇ 'to hew, to cut' (→ 'to plane')
849. *koh₂'ä'b∇ 'frog, toad' > IE: NaIE *g^ωēb^h-ā / ? *g^ωəb^h- 'toad'
- 849a. *kob∇r∇ 'many, big'
850. *k'ä'č'u 'skin'
851. *kEč'U' ~ *k'ü'č'U' (or *-č-) 'knife'
852. ₂ *k'u'č'∇ or *k'u'č'∇ 'ant'
853. *k'a'd|t∇ 'rock, cliff'
854. *kud∇ (or *kud∇) 'to plait'
855. (₂?) *küd'a' 'male person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' (→ 'male relative-in-law')
856. *koξd∇ ~ *kodξ∇ 'filth, dirt; abominable' > IE: NaIE *g^ωōd^h- / *g^ωēd^h- id.
857. on. *k|kEd∇'s|č'û 'to sneeze' > IE: NaIE *kseu_u-/*kseu_u- (~ *skeu_u-/*skeu_u-) v. 'sneeze'
858. *k|gog_uU₁žE₁?∇₁ 'set fire to, burn (sth.)' > IE: NaIE *ksV̄- (or *k^ωsV̄-) v. 'burn'
859. id. *kak₁E (= *kak₁i?) (or *k₁-?) 'angry' ('böse'), ? 'bad' > IE: NaIE *k|kak|k̄- 'bad'
860. *koK₁E (r∇) (= *koK₁E (r∇) or *goK₁E (r∇)) 'chest, breast' (→ [in descendant lges] 'belly', 'heart')
861. (₂?) ≈ *k'Eho'ka 'green\blue, green plants' > IE *kēhko- ({EI} *kēh₁ko-m) 'edible greens'
862. *k'a'la (or *kaliya ~ *kalaya?) 'vessel (Gefäß)' (→ 'boat')
863. *ka|l|í∇ 'to debark (a tree), to remove vegetation'; → or ← 'bare, naked' > IE: NaIE *g_o|al- 'naked, bare'
864. *kälû 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lges] → 'female relative-in-law', 'bride') > IE: NaIE *g_olō_u-/*g_olō_u-/*g_oelu- 'brother's wife, husband's sister'
865. *k'o'l∇ 'bough, stick' > IE: NaIE *g_ol_o- 'bough'
866. *k'o'l₁i (or *k'o'l₁i?u?) (= *k'o'l₁i [or *k'o'l₁i?u?]) 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *glej₁- v. 'paste, smear'
867. *ku|l∇ (or *kuwæ|l∇?) 'to work'
868. *kU|l∇ (or *k∇hō|l∇?) 'snake, worm' > ??φ IE: Gk χέλιον-υδροσ 'snake' or 'tortoise\turtle', L c o l u b r a 'snake'
869. *ka?l∇ 'to lie (liegen)' (→ 'to spend the night') > IE: NaIE *g_ol- / *g_ol- / *g_ol- 'lie (down)'

- 869a.** *k∇?ûl∇ 'glowing coals; to heat\roast\fry\cook' > IE: NaIE *g|g̃eu̯lo-/*g|g̃ou̯lo- 'glowing coals', {EI} *geu̯lo- ~ gulo- ~ *gulo-m 'fire, glowing coals'
- 870.** *ka₁h₁l∇ 'power, force; be able' > IE: NaIE *g₁^h₁al- 'be able'
- 871.** *ka₁∇ 'to approach, to come'
- 872.** *kol₁?a 'to die; end' > IE: NaIE *g^ωel- v. 'die, feel pain'
- 873.** *kol₁∇₁∇ (or *kol₁∇₁∇?) 'to peel, to debark'
- 874.** *käl^h∇ 'walk, make one's way (with effort)'
- 875.** *ka₁w∇ 'together, whole'
- 876.** *k^ra¹X^rE¹ 'call (appeler), shout' > IE: NaIE *ga₁- v. {EI} 'call out, speak'
- 877.** (₂?) *k∇L₁∇₁y∇ 'lumbar region' (in HS: → 'kidney')
- 878.** ₂ *kaLč∇ 'to speak\cry', ? 'voice' > IE: NaIE *ga|ol¹so-s, -m 'voice, a cry'
- 879.** *koíu 'to fly', ([in descendan lges] → 'wing, bird') > IE: NaIE *g^ωelu- v. 'fly'
- 880.** *kuí∇ 'to flow, to gush, to leak' > IE: NaIE *g^ωel- > OI 'galati 'drops (träufelt herab), falls down' ||| Gk βλύω 'gush forth' ('quelle hervor'), {EI} 'well up' ||| OHG *quellen*, NHG *quellen* 'to gush, to well', NHG *Quell(e)* 'a spring'
- 881.** *küí∇ or *kuíE 'cold; to freeze' > IE: NaIE *g̃|gel- 'cold', v. 'freeze'
- 882.** ₂ *koíHa 'oak' > IE *g^ωel₁-/*g^ωle₁- > NaIE *g^ωelə-/*g^ωlā- 'acorn, oak', +ext. *-nd-: *g^ωlā-nd- and sim. 'acorn'
- 883.** *kama 'peel (rind, Rinde)' (→ 'dandruff', 'scab')
- 884.** *kam∇ 'to grasp, to press' > IE: NaIE *gem- v. 'press, squeeze, squeeze together, grasp'
- 885.** *kam∇ 'full, whole, all' > IE: NaIE *gem- '(be) full'
- 886.** *kämê (or *kamê) 'blood'
- 886a.** ₂ *kæm∇ 'to bite' > IE: this N √ may have influenced NaIE *g̃emb^h-/*g̃m̃b^h- v. 'bite' and *g̃omb^ho-s 'tooth'
- 887.** ₂ *kEm∇ (or *kEmho) 'kin, family', 'to give birth' > IE {Pv.} *g̃emh^ω- (= {JpV} *g̃em-A₁^ω-), {EI} *g̃emH- 'marry' (of a male) > NaIE *g̃em-/*g̃me- ({θPv.} *g̃emə-) v. 'marry', 'relative, relative-in-law'
- 888.** UA ₂ *kôm∇ 'sth. hollow'
- 889.** *k^ru¹m∇ (L∇) '(stinging) insect'
- 890.** *ku^r∇¹mâ (or *kü^rmâ) 'man, person' > IE: NaIE *g̃^hom-/*g̃^hm- 'man (person)'
- 891.** ₂ *k∇mç∇ (or *K̇∇mç∇) 'to jump'

892. $_2$ *kamĉ ∇ (or *Kamĉ ∇) '(sth. connected with) a hand or an arm'
893. *kom ∇ ∇ dE '€ basket, vessel'
894. *kom ∇ ∇ t ∇ 'to cover; lid, cover'
895. *kan|ń ∇ (t ∇) 'stalk, trunk of a tree' (→ 'log') > ? AdS of IE: NaIE * $\text{g}|\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{enb}_L^{\text{h}}\text{-} / * $\text{g}|\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{onb}_L^{\text{h}}\text{-} / * $\text{g}|\text{g}^{\text{h}}\text{nob}_L^{\text{h}}\text{-}$ 'peg, stick, piece of wood' (< N *gān ∇ ∇ ∇ 'p' ∇ 'stem, stalk, stick, stake, picket')$$
896. *'k' onE 'to touch' ([in K]→ 'work up')
897. *koñi (or *kuñi) 'woman, wife' > IE *g ω en(-eH) ({EI} *'g ω enh H / gen. *'g ω neh H -s) 'woman'
898. *kuñä 'hair' > IE: NaIE *gou H - / gun- 'hair'
899. *ka?iñ ∇ (often in cds) 'wing, feather'
- 899a. *kü ∇ ∇ nû A (or *kü ∇ ∇ nû A) 'a joint in a limb (knee, elbow); to bend in a joint' > IE *genu- / *gonu- / *gneu- ({EI} *'gonu / gen. *'genu-s) 'knee'
900. ($_2$?) *känhæ 'give birth', 'acquire new relatives' > IE *gēnĤ- *gñeĤ- 'give birth' ({EI} *gēnh I - 'beget a child; be born') > NaIE *gēnə- *gñē- / *gñō- id., AnIE: Ht kaena n. 'relative-in-law, kinsman'
901. *kiñho ~ *kihño 'see, observe, examine, know' > IE *gēnh ω - / *gñeh ω - (= {EI} *gñeh 3 -) 'know' > [1] NaIE *gēnə- / *gñō- 'know', [2] NaIE pp. *gñō- 'to-s, *gñō I - 'to-s 'known', [3] NaIE n. act. *gñō-ti- 'knowledge', [4] NaIE *gñō-sk- 'become acquainted with, get knowledge of' || Ht ganes(s)-, kanes(s)- 'recognize, discern, identify; acknow-ledge'
902. *kän ∇ ∇ u (or *kän ∇ ∇ yu) 'cheek, side of the face' > IE: NaIE *g|genu- id.; *kän ∇ ∇ d ∇ (originally a cd. *kän ∇ ∇ u d ∇ ?) 'cheek' > IE: NaIE *gōnadh- / *gnadh h - '≈ cheek, (?) jaw'
903. *keñ ∇ ∇ c ∇ d ∇ 'joint (articulation), shoulder joint'
904. *koñdE 'to harm, to spoil' > IE: NaIE *g ω end h - v. 'injure, damagey'
905. UA $_2$ *K'u'ñyaHÍE ~ *K'u'yñāHÍE ~ *K'u'ñaHÍE 'sunshine, daybreak'
906. *kañ|mp ∇ 'excrescence, lip, mushroom' > IE: NaIE {IS} *gemb- (or *g ω emb-) 'excrescence, tumor, lip, mushroom'
907. *kuńĉê (or *kuńĉê) (probably = *kuńĉi or *kuńĉi) 'fingernail, claw, nail' > IE: [1] NaIE *g ω isti-s (or *g ω isti-s) 'finger', [2] NaIE *g ω ozd L h I O -, *g ω ozd L h I - 'nail'
908. ($_2$?) *kangga 'to wrap, to tie', ? 'to plait' > IE: NaIE *geng h - v. 'wind, tie, spin, plait, weave'
909. ($_2$?) *kang ∇ '€ waterfowl'
910. $_2$ *koŋ'z' ∇ 'crotch (of body)'
911. *kohP ∇ 'cave, pit'

912. *k^or^qp[∇] 'mucus, slime' ([in some B lges] → 'saliva'), 'filth\dirt on the surface, mould (Schimmel)' > IE: NaIE *^og^ωēb^h- / *^og^ωəb^h- 'slimy' (→ 'slimy fish')

913. keyp[∇] (or *küyp[∇]?) 'light (not heavy)'

914. *kep_lH₂[∇] (= *kep_l∇?) 'jaw, chin' > IE *ġep_lH₁- > NaIE *ġep^h- ~ *ġeb^h- 'jaw, mouth'

915. *kuP_{sa} 'extinguish, exhaust' > IE *g^ωes- / *g^ωōs- id.

916. *kar[∇] 'twist, turn around, return'

917. *kaR[∇] 'rise, get up, jump up, wake up' > IE: NaIE *ger- 'rise'

918. *kar[∇] '∈ wild bird', 'crane' > IE *ger_lH₁- 'crane'

919. (2?) *kirâ or *girâ 'to scratch' > ?σ IE: NaIE *^oġ_l^her- (mody probably *^oġer-). '≈ rake'

920. (2?) *korê '≈ ∈ deer, antelope'

921. *ku|or[∇] 'thick, fat' > IE (+exts): [1] NaIE *g^ωretso- 'thick, large', ? [2] NaIE _i*g^ωrend^h- 'big' ([in Gk] → 'proud')

922. *k^or^oξ_R[∇] or *k^or^oRξ[∇] (probably *k^or^oψ_R[∇] ~ *k^or^oRψ[∇]) 'be heavy, be stout\thick' > IE *g^ωreHu- / *g^ωr_oHu- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)-, *g^ωru- 'heavy'

923. ₂ *ko_lw_lr[∇] 'embers, hearth'

924. ₂ *koyR[∇] 'male animal'

925. *kür[∇] (or *küri[∇]??) 'to shine; flame' → 'to produce heat' > IE: NaIE *ġwer(ə)- 'shine; be hot'

926. *koRξ[∇] 'eat (greedily), drink, swallow' > IE *g^ωer(H)- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'devour, eat, swallow'

927. *kor_l∇_h[∇] 'be angry\embittered' > ? IE: NaIE *^og^ωer(ə)- 'scold'

928. *kur_l∇_h[∇] 'hill, mountain' > IE *g^ωorH- / *g^ωr_oH- > NaIE *g^ωerə- / *g^ωorə- 'mountain'

929. (2?) *kuRh[∇] 'shout, cry' > IE *g^ωerH- > NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'shout, sing, praise; wail'

930. *kôrih|χ[∇] 'throat, neck' > IE: [1] NaIE *g^ωrīwā ~ *g^ωerwā 'nape of neck', [2] NaIE *g^ωer(ə)- 'throat'

931. *kor[∇]wa 'fade, rot, decay', 'coagulate' (of blood etc.), 'get sour\rancid\bitter' (of food) > IE: [1] NaIE (in Ilr) *^oġer- 'decay', [2] NaIE *greūt- 'curds'

932. *kor_l∇_w[∇] '∈ a gallinacean'

933. *ka[∇]Ry[∇] 'to dig'

934. *kuRy∇ 'young of an animal, child' > IE: NaIE *g^werb^h- / *g^wreb^h- 'infant, young of an animal' (< *kuRy∇ bA with *bA of animal names), amb Ht kurka- 'foal, colt'

934a. *kiryaHa (= *kiryaHa?) 'old' > IE *g^{er}H- > NaIE *g^{er}a- 'old, (?) grown up'

935. ₂ *ka|æR'c'∇ 'tie together, plait' > IE: NaIE *g|g^{ers}- id.

936. *kURc∇ 'scales, bark; to remove scales, to peel' > IE: Ht kursa/i- 'skin, fleece, hide', NaIE *krūs- 'crust'

937. *kiRû₁h₁gæ 'to gnaw' > IE: NaIE (with ass. transformations and onomatopoeic infl.) *g^wru(:)g^h- / *g^wroug^h ~ *g^wru(:)g^h- / *g^wroug^h- ~ *g^wruk|k- 'gnaw, bite'

938. ₂ *k'a'Rka or *k'a'Rka 'to turn, to plait, to wrap' > IE: NaIE ? *gerg- ~ *gerk- v. 'bend, plait'

939. ₂ *kuR∇k∇ 'crane'

940. ₂ *käREm∇ 'wall, walled\enclosure'

941. *kiR∇P∇ '(ε?) fish' > ?? IE: NaIE *og|g∇rb- > Gmc *karp- 'carp'

942. *käRt∇ 'cut'

943. *keRt∇ 'to tie, (?) to plait' > IE: NaIE *og|gerd- > Gk ὑέρδιος ~ ὑερδιός, ὑέρδιος 'weaver'

944. (₂?) *k∇RT∇ (~ *g∇Rd∇?) 'scratch, scrape' > IE: NaIE *ogred- / *ogrod- v. 'scratch'

945. *ku[?]R∇t|d∇ 'worm, parasitic insect'

946. ≈ *ka^o (or *k^oráo?) 'onager, wild ass (?)' > IE: NaIE *g₁orde¹b^ho-s {EI} 'wild ass (Equus hydruntinus)' or 'onager\kulan (Equus hemionus)'

947. *k'a^orá∇ 'hawk, ε bird of prey'

948. *ko^orá∇ 'stick, log' > IE: NaIE *g^weru- 'sharp stick, roasting spit'

949. ₂ *ko^orá∇ '≈ fig tree'

950. *ku^hrá∇ (or *kü^hrá∇?) 'rain clouds, rainy weather, rainy season'

951. ?? (₂?) *ko^orá₁w₁∇ 'ear (external ear?)'

952. ₂ *k|geHs∇ 'warm, hot; warm\hot season'

953. *kasw∇ 'grow, increase; (become) big'

954. *k'ü^oś^o∇ 'gravel, (coarse) sand' > IE: NaIE *g^ejs- 'pebbles'

955. *kä^oś^o∇ 'vexation, anger, quarrel'

956. (₂?) *ki^oś^o∇ 'tear (off), pinch, pluck'

957. *kat∇ 'speak, think' > IE: NaIE *go(:)d- (~ *g^oo(:)d-?) 'speak, think'

957a. ₂ *kæt∇ 'walk, go'

958. (?) *k^rǎ^rit[∇] (or *kæ^rit[∇]?) 'suck, (?) eat liquid food' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵe_ǵd- 'suck'
959. *ki^rit^rU¹ 'to tickle', ? 'to itch' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵe_ǵd- v. '≈ tickle, (?) sting'
960. *kou^rt[∇] 'filthy liquid, filth' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵ^ωe_ǵd- id. ({{EI}} 'be foul\ purulent')
961. *ku^rt^rHE (or *kü^rt^rH[∇]) 'to rise; (?) high place'
962. *k^ro^rt^rê 'belly' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵ^ωet- 'belly'
963. ₂ *ko^rt^rû 'to drip, to exude liquid' → 'sap, pitch' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵ^ωetu 'pitch'
964. *ko^rt[∇] ~ *ku^rt[∇] '≈ magic utterance and its results' (→ [1] 'public utterances', [2] 'be fortunate'). An alt. hyp.: two N words: [1] *ko^rt[∇] 'public utterance', [2] *ku^rt[∇] 'good luck, happiness' (← 'magic, sorcery?').
965. 966. *ka^rt^r 'hard, dry'
966. *kay^rta 'fingernail, claw' (→ 'nail')
967. *ka^ω∇ 'call (exclaim), shout' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵo^ω-/*ǵ^ω- 'shout'
968. *ki^rw₁∇₁h^rê^r 'stone' > ?σ **IE:** Ht ku(ωa)nnan 'copper; ornamental stone'
969. *kou^r∇ ~ *kay^r∇ 'to draw (schöpfen)', 'scoop, spoon'
- 969a. ₂ *k^rǎ^ry^rû^r 'wind'
970. *kǎ^ry^rU '(small) bird'
971. *kô^rŷ^ry^rû^r (most probably *ko^rŷ^ry^rû^r) 'larva, worm' (→ 'moth') > ?σ **IE:** NaIE *^oǵ^ωō_ǵ- > Sl *ǵav-ědb, *-ěda coll. 'small creeping animals (lizards, frogs, vermin)'
972. *kou^rŷ^ro^r (or *kuy^rŷ^ro^r) 'fat, healthy' (→ 'to fatten, to nourish') > **IE** *ǵ^ωe_ǵH^ω-/*ǵ^ωyeH^ω- 'be healthy, live'
973. *kou^rH[∇] 'skin, bark' > **IE** *ǵ^ωe_ǵH- (*ǵ^ωeH_ǵ-?) / *ǵ^ωiH- > NaIE *ǵ^ωē_ǵ- / *ǵ^ωī- 'skin'
974. *kou^rh[∇] 'be strong, overpower, take possession of' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵ^ωeyā- v. 'overcome, ruin', *ǵ^ωiyā 'violence'
975. *kǎ^ry^ω∇ 'to chew' > **IE:** NaIE *ǵ_ǵye^ω- ~ *ǵ_ǵye^ω- 'chew'
976. *kou₁i₁w^ra^r 'a tree with distinct bright bark' ('birch tree')
977. *ke^rz^rê 'skin; to skin'
- 977a. *ku^rz^rm[∇] (or *ku^rz^rm[∇]) 'smoke, ashes' > **IE:** NaIE *^oǵ^ωelm- 'smoke'
978. ?₂ *ka^r3[∇] '(young) dog'

979. ***Ḳa**, a pc. of request > **IE**: NaIE {Brg.} ***kā**, ***kom**/***kem**, emphatic pc. (of request and sim.)

980. ? ***Ḳa**, substantivizing, singulative or distinctive (singling out) pronoun, name of quality bearers > **IE**: NaIE sx *-**k-** in Iir ***a_j-ka-** 'one', L -**k-** in **senex** (sene-k-s) 'old man', Gk -**k-** in **κῆρυξ** 'herald'] NaIE *-**ko-** (f. *-**k-ā**), sx of denom. adjectives and nouns

981. ***Ḳo** 'who?' > **IE** ***k^ωo-**/***k^ωe-**/***k^ω-**, a generalized interr. stem (in ***k^ωo-s** 'who?', ***k^ω-i-s** 'who?', ***k^ωo-d** 'what?' etc. ||| **UA** ₂ ***ḲE** 'who?')

982. ***Ḳü**, dem. prn. (animate?) > **IE** ***kē-**, ***kī-**, ***kēj-**, ***k(i)yo-** 'this'

983. ***Ḳ∇** (= ***Ḳ∇**?) 'towards', directive pc. > ? **IE**: NaIE ***k^ru** 'towards'

983a. ***Ḳ^rA^ri^rb∇** or ***Ḳ^ri^rA^rb∇** 'cold, ice'

984. ***Ḳo^rbE** 'full; whole'

985. (₂?) ***Ḳ^ru^rbE** 'thorn' > **IE**: NaIE ***ke_ub-** 'thorn, thorny plant'

986. ***Ḳab^rE^r∇** 'wickerwork, bag' ([in descendant lges] → 'vessel') > **IE**: NaIE ***kap-** 'box, vessel'

987. ***Ḳäb^râ** 'bite' (→ 'eat') > **IE**: NaIE ***ḡeb^h-** v. 'eat, gnaw, chew', NaIE ***ḡemb^h-** 'bite, tear asunder' ⇨ ***ḡomb^ho-s** 'tooth' ***kebi-** 'chew'

988. ***ḲæbL∇** (or ***ḲæLb∇**?) 'to support, to lean' > **IE**: NaIE ***kēlb-** ~ ***kēlp-** ~ ? ***ḡ_lēlb_l** 'help'

989. ***Ḳ^rä^rćU** or ***Ḳ^rä^rć∇w∇** 'wild goat' ([in some HS lges] → 'antelope')

990. ***Ḳec∇** 'to cut' > **IE**: NaIE ***kēs-** v. 'cut, stab, chop'

990a. ***Ḳeć∇** 'clay, earth'

991. ₂ ***Ḳi^rć∇** (or ***Ḳi^rć∇**?) 'thigh' > **IE**: NaIE ***ke_is-** 'thigh, forearm (Vorderarm), thigh muscle'

992. ***Ḳoć∇** (or ***ḡoć∇**) 'cut off' > **IE**: NaIE ***ok_les-**/***ok_los-** v. 'cut'

993. ***Ḳo^rāć∇** 'basket, wickerwork' ([in descendant lges] → 'earthen vessel') > **IE** {EI} ***k^ωas-** 'basket' ⇨ NaIE ***k^ωas-yo-**, ***k^ωas-lo-** 'wicker basket, Flechtwerk'

994. ₂ ***Ḳa_lH₂l_lć∇** 'young man' (→ '[grown-up] man')

995. ₂ ***Ḳawć∇** 'share (Anteil)' (→ 'lot', 'fate') > **IE**: NaIE ***ka_us-** v. 'draw lots'

996. ***ḲayCä** 'hair' > **IE**: NaIE ***ka_is-(∇r-)** '(long) hair'

996a. ₂ ***Ḳäć∇** '(be) cold; freeze'

997. ***Ḳeć^ra** 'tip, end (extremity)'

998. ***ḲUć∇** 'cut\chop into small pieces'

999. ***Ḳ^ro^rć∇** (or ***Ḳ^ro^rć∇**?) 'bone' > **IE**: NaIE ***k|k^ωost-** 'bone, rib'

1000. ***Ḳa_ić∇** 'to advance with effort'

1001. *Ḳâʳʲoĉʲ ∇ 'ram, sheep' > IE: NaIE *kʰet- (?) 'sheep'
1002. ₂ *Ḳayeĉʲ ∇ 'heat, summer heat'
1003. *ḲaʳĉʲU 'scratch, scrape off scales' > IE *kes-/*kseu- v. 'scratch, comb'
1004. *Ḳaĉʲ ∇ (= *Ḳaĉʲ ∇ ?) 'young dog' (→ [in S] 'beast of prey')
1005. *ḲAĉʲ ∇ (= *Ḳäĉʲ ∇ ?) 'to burst, to crack; to split'
1006. *Ḳad ∇ 'to plait, to wattle', 'wickerwork, wattle' ([in descendant lges] → 'to build, to make pottery', 'pottery') (→ cd. *Ḳad ∇ L ∇ 'wattle fence' [→ 'wall', 'building']) > IE: NaIE *kat- 'fence, pottery'
1007. *Ḳʳäʳʲiʳʲ 'take, hold'
1008. *Ḳʳôd ∇ (= *Ḳôd ∇ or *Ḳôʳid ∇ ?) 'destroy, break, cut' > IE: NaIE *gʷedʰ- 'destroy'
1009. ? ₂ *ḲUd ∇ 'die'
1010. *ḲAʳʲôʳʲd ∇ 'neck, (?) nape, shoulder'
1011. *Ḳoʳʲaʳʲd ∇ 'be deprived of; deprive of' > IE: NaIE *ka(:)d- v. 'deprive of, destroy'
1012. *ḲaHd ∇ 'grief, sorrow, anxiety' (→ [in some IE lges] 'care'), 'anger, hate' > IE: NaIE *k|k̄ād-/*k|k̄əd- 'troubled state of mind, anger, hate'
1013. *ḲAhdê (or *ḲAdê ?) 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *ka|adʰ- v. 'protect, cover' ('hüten, schützend bedecken')
- 1013a. *Ḳawud ∇ (r...) (or *Ḳawüd ∇ (r...)) 'tail' > IE: NaIE *kaud- (more plausible than *kouud-) 'tail'
1014. *ḲoXad ∇ 'dip, plunge, descend' > IE *gʷeHdʰ- > NaIE *gʷādʰ- 'plunge, dip in'
1015. *ḲôXAd ∇ 'scold', (?) 'shout' > IE *kouHd-/*kuHd- > NaIE *kouəd-/*ku(:)d- v. 'scold', (??) 'shout at'
1016. *Ḳu|odʳʲh ∇ (~ *Ḳadʳʲh ∇ ?) 'pierce; sharp' > ? IE: NaIE *kʷe(:)d-/*kʷo(:)d- v. 'sharpen', *okʷod- 'sharp'
- 1016a. ₂ *ḲAdX ∇ 'strike fire, kindle'
1017. *Ḳôd ∇ X ∇ 'pour (liquid); draw (schöpfen) (water)'
1018. *ḲʳaʳʲdḲud ∇ 'tip, top' > IE: NaIE *kakud- 'peak, summit']]] AdS of NaIE *kaput ~ *ok|kauput 'head'
1019. *ḲakU (or *ḲokU?) 'hook', 'tooth, fang' > ? IE: NaIE *kog-/*keg- 'hook, claw'
1020. *ḲUkE 'dark, black'
1021. ₂ Ll. *ḲaḲa 'penis' > IE: NaIE *kak- 'male genitalia'
1022. *ḲaḲu 'stalk, rod, stick, cudgeal' > IE: NaIE *keku- ≈ keulenformiger Stock', 'Stock mit hammerartigem Quergriff'

1023. ***ḲoḲe** 'to look, to see' > **IE**: NaIE ***k^weḱ-**/***°k^woḱ-**, ***k^weḱ-s-**, ***°k^wōḱ-** 'see'
1024. *id.* ***Ḳ'oḱḶ** 'beak', *on.* 'to peck' (of a bird)
1025. ***Ḳêla** (= ***Ḳela**?) 'stalk, a hair' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱel-** 'stalk' (→ 'arrow')
1026. ***Ḳ'eḷA** 'speak, say'
1027. (₂?) ***ḲeḷḶ** (or ***ḲeḷḶḶ**) 'lack, be insufficient'
1028. ***Ḳola** '(big) fish' (or ***ḲoḷḶ**?) > **IE**: NaIE ***k^wo|al-** 'ε big fish'
1029. ₂ ***Ḳoḷ|ía** 'beat, strike' > **IE**: in BSl the expected reflex of N ***Ḳoḷ|ía** (NaIE ***k^wḷe|-** 'strike') is likely to have merged with **IE** ***k^wḷo|H-** / ***k^wḷeH-** > NaIE ***k^wḷo|ə-** / ***klā-** v. 'strike, beat' (< N ***Ḳoḷ|íqa** 'knock, strike, hit')
1030. ***ḲoIE** (or ***ḲḶ?oIE**?) 'long, far' > **IE**: NaIE ***k^we|-** 'far, distant'
1031. ₂ ***ḲôLḶ** (**bA**) (or ***Ḳ-?**) 'dog\wolf, whelp' > **IE**: NaIE ***°k^wo|-** / ***°ku|-**, ***k^we|b-** / ***k^wo|b-** '(young?) dog'
1032. ***Ḳuḷ'ä** 'clan, village' (→ 'everybody') > **IE**: NaIE ***k^we|-** 'clan, troop'
1033. ₂ ***Ḳu|oḷḶ** 'dark-colored (brown, dark-grey and the like)'
1034. ***Ḳu|oḷḶ** 'raven, crow'
- 1034a. ***ḲûḷḶ** 'fall, fall down\apart'
1035. ***ḲEHîê** 'tongue'
- 1035a. ***ḲUHîä** (= ***ḲÛHîä**?) or ***ḲUḷHä** 'lake, small body of water'
1036. ***ḲeHu'h' lüHê** (or ***Ḳe'h' uḷy,ê??**) 'hear' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱleuə-** / ***ḱlu(:)-** 'hear', inv. ***ḱlu-d^hi** 'hear!', pp. ***ḱlu(:)-'to-(s)** '*heard', ***ḱlewos** 'fame, announcement'
1037. ***ḲEHUy'ü** or ***ḲEHUḷy'ü** 'testicles' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱēu|-** / ***ḱō(u)|-** 'testiculi, scrotum'
1038. ***Ḳaw'h'oLḶ** 'outgrowth, inflation, abscess, hernia' > **IE**: NaIE d. ***kāw_ḷəḷā** / ***kūlā** 'inflation (in a body), hernia'
1039. ₂ ***ḲoXLa** 'be dry'
1040. ₂ ***ḲAyila** 'shout, call'
1041. ***ḲE'y|ḷ'aḷa** 'to burn' (**Гореть**), 'to burn (sth.)', 'to heat, to be heated, to roast' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱel-** 'warm, hot; warm weather'
1042. ***Ḳaḷḷa** (or ***Ḳaḷḷa**?) 'throw, leave' ([in descendant lges] → 'remain, wait') > **IE** ***kleH-** 'lay' ({EI} ***kleH_Ḟ-** 'spread out flat') > NaIE ***klā-** 'lay, spread out'
1043. ***ḲaLḷa** 'cut, hew, chop, stab' (→ [in descendant lges] 'slaughter') > **IE**: NaIE ***kelə-** / ***klā-** v. 'hew, chop'

1044. *k̥aɫɿŋ ▽ 'rock, hill, stone' > IE {EI} *koɫH-ōn- ~ *k̥oɫH-'n-os 'hill'
1045. *k̥'ü'ɫɿŋ ▽ (or *k̥'ü'ɫɿŋ ▽?) 'dirt, mud'
1046. *k̥aɫ'ɪ' i 'high; be high' > IE *keɫɫH₁- > NaIE *keɫɫ(ə)₁- v. 'be high, rise (above)'
1047. *k̥'ä'ɫɪ'ɪ'h' ū 'stick, hook, bar' ([in descendant lges] → 'bar for locking') > IE *kleHw- > NaIE *klāw- ~ *klēw- 'stick, hook, locking bar, lock'
1048. ₂ *k̥EL₁H₁ ▽ 'cold' > IE: NaIE *k̥el- 'cold'
1049. *k̥aL₁ ▽₁h ▽ 'shout, cry, weep, make noise' > IE *keɫh- {EI} 'call out to' > [1] NaIE *keɫ-/*k_olē-/*k_olā- (or *k̥o-?) v. 'call, shout, make noise', AnIE *kalla-, *kle- > Ht kalles(s)-, kal(l)is(s)- v. 'entice, lure, evoke, summon up, adduce', Lc kileima 'fame' [1] [2] NaIE *kla_u- v. 'weep'
1050. *k̥oɫɪ'q̥a 'to knock, to strike, to hit' > IE *k̥ɫ₁oɫH-/*k̥ɫ₁leH- > NaIE *k̥ɫ₁oɫə-/*klā- v. 'strike, beat'
1051. (₂?) *k̥aɫɫ₁u₁w ▽ 'thick'
1052. *k̥aɫy ▽ '(lock of) hair, eyebrow, eyelash'
- 1052a. *k̥aɫy ▽ (m ▽) 'spot, stain; be spotty' > IE: [1] NaIE *keɫ- 'spot, stain', [2] NaIE *keɫ-mo- 'stain', [3] ?φ NaIE *kāl-/*kəl- 'stain'
1053. *k̥oɫɪŋy ▽ (= *k̥oɫɪŋy ▽?) 'round; to turn, to turn around, to roll (sth.)' > IE: NaIE *k^wel- 'round, circle', v. 'turn around', *k^wek₁ɫ₁o- 'circle, wheel', *k^woɫo- id.
1054. ₂ *k̥aLk̥a (~ *k̥aLka?) 'to wind, to twist' > IE: NaIE *keɫg- vi. 'wind\|twist', 'winding; crookedness', *kleng- ~ *klenk- v. 'bend, wind, twist together'
1055. *k̥oLP ▽ (or *k̥oLP ▽) 'middle; 'inside, lap, sth. within an angle' > IE: NaIE *klēp- 'lap', v. 'embrace'
1056. *k̥aɫ'ü|u' (= *k̥aɫ'ü|u'?) 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE *k̥oɫno- 'callosity, hard skin'
1057. (₂?) *k̥aɫ'ɪ' ▽ '(be) few, (be) too small\|thin\|light'
1058. (₂?) *k̥'ü'ɪ|ɫ ▽ 'short, (?) low'
1059. *k̥ohíü 'to hide, to deceive, to tell a lie' > IE: NaIE *k̥|k̥ēɫ- / *k̥|k̥ōɫ- / *k̥|k̥əl(w)- v. 'deceive'
1060. *k̥iy₁ ▽₁í (or *k̥iy₁ ▽₁í ▽₁í?) 'to bend, to bow' > IE: NaIE *k̥le₁- v. 'bow, incline', {EI} 'lean'
1061. *k̥aɫíŋ ū 'bare, naked' > IE *k̥oɫHwō- > ({WH} NaIE *k_oləwō-) 'bald'
1062. *k̥oɫíŋ ū 'track(s), way; to go, to travel' > IE: [1] NaIE *keɫw- / *kle_u- v. 'travel', [2] NaIE *kaɫ-n ▽- 'path'

1063. ₂ *Ḳoíʔ∇₁ω∇₁ 'pair, one of a pair'm ? 'bind together'
1064. *Ḳ'äm'o' 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *k̑em- v. 'cover\veil', 'garment'
1065. *Ḳom∇ (bA) (or *Ḳum∇ (bA)?) 'forehead, front part'
1066. *Ḳum∇ 'sand' ([in descendant lges] → 'snow')
- 1066a. *ḲUm∇ 'black, dark'
1067. *Ḳüm∇ (Tä) / (R∇) 'fog, mist; cloud' > IE: Ht kammarā- 'mist, fog, vapour; shade, dimness (of sight)', NaIE: Gk [Hs.] κέμμερος.....(· ἄχλυσ, ὀμίχλη) 'mist, fog'
1068. *ḲUʔäm∇ (n∇) 'a hand with five fingers' > IE *de-k̑m̑t 'ten' (< *d₁ω₁e- 'two' + **k̑omt 'hand with fingers'), ⇨ NaIE *k̑m̑'tom 'hundred' (< *dk̑m̑'tom {EI} 'tenth decade', {P} '[Zehner]dekade')
- 1068a. ₂ *Ḳimʔ∇ 'fat'
- 1068b. *Ḳumʔ∇ '(be) hot; smoulder'
1069. ₂ *Ḳ'o'mh∇ (more probable than *Ḳ'o'mx∇) 'eat, swallow' > IE: NaIE *k^ωem- 'swallow'
1070. *Ḳa'm'∇₁č'o' 'to bend; bend, corner' > IE: NaIE *kant^ho- 'edge, bend'
1071. *ḲU₁y₁m∇ĉ'∇ (or *-ĉ-?) '(≈) shin, thigh'
1072. ₂ *Ḳæm₁U₁ř∇ 'shoulder'
1073. *Ḳam₁∇₁'t'∇ 'burn (be on fire)', 'shine' > IE: NaIE *kend- v. 'shine'
1074. *Ḳ'an'E' 'young, child' > IE: NaIE *ken- 'young; child, young of an animal', ? IE *-i-k(0)-, *-u-k(0)- dim. (× *-iko-, sx of nouns derived from adjectives)
1075. *Ḳan'E' 'to sing, to sound' > IE: NaIE *kan- id.
1076. *Ḳaṅ'o' (or *Ḳaṅy'o'??) 'to tie' > IE: NaIE {P} *kenk- v. 'gird, tie\bind around, tie on'
1077. *Ḳaṅ∇ 'begin, originate, be new' > IE: NaIE *ken- ~ *okan- 'begin, originate, be born, be recent\young'
1078. *Ḳæṅ|ṅ'û' 'empty' > IE: NaIE *k̑en₁(e)ω₁- 'empty'
- 1078a. *Ḳ'o'ḥ∇ 'back, rear'
- 1078b. *Ḳuḥ∇ 'belly, chest'
1079. *Ḳuṅ∇ (ř∇) 'small carnivore (marten, polecat, wild cat or sim.)' > IE: NaIE *ok̑e_un-/*ok̑ou_n- 'marten'
1080. ₂ *Ḳüṅ∇ or *ḲuṅE 'sun, day'
1081. ?ϕ ≈ *Ḳa'g'Eṅa 'be hungry\thirsty, desire, long for' > IE: NaIE *kenk- 'be hungry, long for'
- 1081a. *Ḳa'p'oṅ∇ 'pair, couple; one of a pair, comrade'
1082. *Ḳûyṅä 'basket', 'bucket'

1083. ***Ḳüy_La_Jn̄** ∇ 'wolf, dog' > IE nom. ***ḱwōn-** / ***ḱwōn**, obl. ***ḱun-** 'dog'
1084. ***Ḳaṅʔi** 'to hasten, to endeavour' > IE: NaIE ***ken-** v. 'hasten to do (sth.), strive with zeal'
1085. ***Ḳinʔu** (> ***Ḳünʔü**¹ [as.]) 'exercise magic; exercise magic against so., hate' ([in descendant lges] → 'be jealous, envy') > IE: NaIE ***ḱwen-** 'exercise magic' (→ 'participate in magic ceremonies, sacrifice'), pp. ***ḱwent-** 'magic' (→ 'holy')
1086. ***Ḳonʔh¹** ∇ 'yellow' (or '∈ a yellow substance?') > IE ***k^ωnh-** / ***k^ωnh-** > NaIE (+ ext.) ***k_onə¹ko-** 'yellow' || AnIE ⇨ Gk Hm κύανος 'cyan, a dark-blue substance'; ?? Ht **ku(wa)nnan** 'copper; ornamental stone'
- 1086a. (2?) ***ḲʔU¹n_LH_J** ∇ or ***ḲʔU¹n_Lh¹** ∇ 'bee' > ? IE ***ḱḱ_hhōnk-** / ***ḱḱ_hhōnk-** ({EI} ***ḱḱ_hhōnk-s** [gen. ***ḱḱ_hhōnk-os**]) {AD} 'honey, honey-colored'
1087. ***Ḳaṅy** ∇ (= ***Ḳaṅyü**¹?) 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE *(s)**ḱen-(d-)** 'skin'
1088. ***ḲäN∇yû** (= ***Ḳäη∇yû**?) 'light (levis), ([in descendant lges] → thin', 'small')
1089. ***Ḳuṅy** ∇ 'ashes, dust' > IE: NaIE *(s)**ken_LH_J-** id.
1090. ***Ḳoṅč** ∇ 'to scratch (so.'s body or sth.), to wound, to make suffer' (→ 'to suffer' > IE: NaIE ***k^ωent^h-** v. 'suffer' ('leiden, dulden'))
- 1090a. 2 ***Ḳoṅič** ∇ or ***Ḳoṅič** ∇ '∈ part of a leg'
1091. ***ḲuṅigU** (= ***ḲunigU**?) 'to bend, to incline, to bow' > IE: NaIE ***kne_g^ωh-** vi. 'bow, incline, bend'
1092. ***Ḳan_LK_JE** (or ***Ḳaṅ_LK_JE**) 'to singe', (?) 'to glow' > IE: NaIE ***kenk-** v. 'parch, dry up, cause burning pain'
1093. 2 ***ḲʔE¹n̄it** ∇ 'louse, nit' > IE: NaIE ***knid-** ~ ***ḱnid-** id., ***g^hni(:)d-** 'nit'
1094. (2?) ***ḲAṅt̄** ∇ '∈ genitalia', 'gland, gland of genitalia (glans penis, clitoris)' > ?? IE: NPrs **kun** (< CINPrs **kūn**) 'vulva'
1095. 2 ***ḲEṅt̄** ∇ 'be angry, be in despair'
1096. 2 ***ḲEṅ** ∇ or ***ḲENy** ∇ 'nest'
1097. 2 ***Ḳʔü¹h¹** ∇ 'to burn' (intr.)
1098. 2 ***Ḳo¹h¹č¹** ∇ (or ***ḲoN¹č¹** ∇) 'bark of trees'
1099. ***Ḳu¹h¹č** ∇ 'worm'
1100. ***Ḳuṅž** ∇ ⇨ *-**h¹č-**, *-**h¹š-** (or ***g|kuṅž** ∇ ⇨ *-**h¹č-**, *-**h¹š-**?) 'star' > IE: NaIE ***g_Lh_Jwō_Jsd_Lh_J-** 'star'
1101. (2?) ***Ḳʔüwa¹ḡsi** '∈ blood vessel (with blood), blood' or sim.
1102. ***ḲE¹ḡč** ∇ (or ***ḲEmč** ∇?) (~ ***ḲEṅč** ∇?) 'gravel, pebble(s), coarse sand' > IE: NaIE ***g_eḡs-** 'pebbles'

1103. ***Ḳawing** ∇ 'shoulder joint, armpit'
1104. ***ḲäḡḲa_h** ∇₁ 'shell, conch' > IE: NaIE ***Ḳonk^ho-** ~ ***Ḳok^ho-** 'conch, shell'
1105. ***Ḳ'apa** 'to close, to cover'
1106. ***Ḳap^ä** 'palm of hand, sole of foot; hoof' > IE: NaIE ***ko|ap-** 'hoof'
1107. *id.* ***Ḳap** ∇ ~ ***Ḳap_p** ∇ 'to seize' (***Ḳ-** = ***q-**?) (~ ***Ḳab** ∇) > IE: NaIE ***kap-** v. 'seize'
1108. ***Ḳ'a¹p¹U¹** 'bird' > ?σ IE: NaIE (+ext.) ***kops-** 'blackbird'
1109. ***ḲAP** ∇ 'leaf'
1110. ***Ḳop_p** ∇ 'trunk, log'
1111. *id.*? ***ḲupE** 'to boil' (intr.), 'to swell, to bubble', (?) 'to breathe' > IE: NaIE ***keu_p-** 'boil, evaporate', (?) 'breathe'; IE ***keu_pH-** / ***k_wH_p-** (> NaIE ***k_wap-**) ≈ suffocate, extinguish'
1112. ***ḲupE** (or ***Ḳüp** ∇) 'to bend (a joint of the limbs: elbow, knee etc.)', 'elbow' > IE: NaIE ***k|Ḳeub-** 'sich im Gelenk biegen'
1113. ***Ḳ'u¹p_p** ∇, ₂ ***Ḳ'u¹p_p** ∇ **1** ∇ 'bubble, pustule, blister'
1114. ***Ḳup_p** ∇ 'heap, hill; cone, protuberance' > IE: NaIE ***kou_po-** 'pile, heap, hill, mountain'
1115. ***Ḳu_p** ∇ 'box, basket' > IE: NaIE ***kou_p-** / ***kup-** ≈ vessel'
1116. ***Ḳah₂æ_p** ∇ (= ***Ḳahæ_p** ∇?) 'chop, dig' > IE ***ke_lH_p-** > NaIE ***ke(:)p-** v. 'chop, dig'
1117. ***Ḳoh₂ap¹U¹** (= ***Ḳo¹|¹ap¹U¹**?) 'bark', (?) 'skin'
1118. ***Ḳ'a¹w_lo_pE** or ***Ḳ'a¹w_lo_p** ∇ **y** ∇ 'skull; occiput' (→ [in B, IE] 'head') > IE: NaIE ***kaput** ~ ***o_k|Ḳaupt** 'head'
1119. ***Ḳ'a¹ya_p** ∇ (or ***q¹ä¹ya_p** ∇) 'sharp stone\rock' > IE: NaIE ***Ḳe_jpo-** / ***Ḳo_jpo-** ≈ sharp object'
1120. ₂ ***Ḳa_p** ∇ **L** ∇ 'occiput, skull' > IE: NaIE ***kap(e|ē)lo-** 'skull'
1121. ₂ ***Ḳu_p** ∇ **1** ∇ 'hump' > IE: NaIE ***k¹u¹p_pr-** *id.*
1122. ₂ ***Ḳa_p** ∇ **Sa** 'box' (unless a *WW*) > IE: *L capsa* 'box, case'
1123. (₂?) ***ḲEP** ∇ **z** ∇ (= ***ḲEP** ∇ **z** ∇?) 'paw, hoof' > IE: ***ḲopH-** > NaIE ***Ḳop^h-** 'hoof, claw'
1124. ***Ḳar** ∇ 'curse, scold, (?) be hostile', ? 'punish' > IE: NaIE ***kar-** v. 'abuse, blame, punish'
1125. ₂ ***Ḳa_R** ∇ 'to bend; crooked' > IE: NaIE ***ker-** 'bend'
1126. ***Ḳ'a¹R** ∇ 'to hang' > IE: NaIE ***ko(:)r-** vi., vt. 'hang'
1127. ***Ḳa_R** ∇ 'to fight; war, troop' > IE: NaIE ***koro-**, ***koryo-** 'war, troop', ***koryo-no-s** 'commander in war'

1128. ***ḲärE** 'trunk, (piece of) wood' > ?σ IE: NaIE ***kred-** (or ***°k̂red-**?) ~ ? ***°k_Lω_Jord-** 'top of a building, beams, roof'

1129. ***Ḳär∇** 'tie' (→ 'rope'); to tie' > IE: NaIE ***k̂er-** 'cord, thread in a weft', v. 'plait, conjoin'

1130. ***ḲæR∇** (or ***ḲER∇**) 'horn' > IE: NaIE ***k̂er-**, ***k̂er-w/u-**, ***k̂er-əs-** 'horn', Ht **karāwar** 'horn(s), antler(s)', IE ***k̂r̥no-**, ***k̂orn-** 'horn'

1131. ***ḲäR∇** (**Ḳa**) 'small stone' > IE: NaIE ***k̂orkā** 'gravel'

1132. ***ḲæR∇** '∈ pod, fruit' > IE: NaIE ***k̂i̯k̂er-** 'pea(s)'

1133. (₂?) ***ḲERŪ** 'deer, roe' > IE: NaIE ***k̂erwo-**/***k̂rwo-** 'deer'

1134. ?? ₂ ***ḲER∇** 'grow, be(come) big' > IE: NaIE ***k̂er-** v. 'grow, make grow, breed, feed', ***korwo-** 'adolescens'

1135. ***ḲER∇** (= ***ḲERU?**) 'hair' > IE: NaIE ***k̂er-** 'hair'

1136. (₂?) ***Ḳir∇** 'edge, end, (?) bank (Ufer)'

1137. ***Ḳor'a** (or ***ḲoRa** and ***Ḳ'orü?**) 'to flay, to debark', 'bark, crust' > IE: Sl ***kora** 'bark'; (× N ***kURc∇** 'scales, bark'): ?? Ht **kursa/i-** 'skin, fleece, hide' and NaIE ***krus-** 'crust'

1138. ***ḲôR'E** (or ***ḲôR_L∇_JWE?**) 'worm, maggot' > IE: NaIE (att. in Sl) ***°k_Lω_Jwi-** 'worm'

1139. ***Ḳoru** (or ***Ḳorü**) 'bite, gnaw, chew, eat away' > IE: NaIE ***k^ωeru-** v. 'chew'

1140. (₂?) ***Ḳ'o'r∇** 'rock, isolated mountain'

1141. ***ḲurE** (**c∇**) 'run, run away' > IE: NaIE ***kers-** v. 'run'] ⇨ NaIE ***kr̥so-s** 'vehicle, chariot'

1142. ***Ḳûr'U** (= ***Ḳur'U**?) 'foot, hoof' (→ 'hand') > IE: NaIE ***kern-**/***korn-** (or ***k̂orn-**?) 'hoof, (?) handle'

1143. ***Ḳur∇** (= ***ḲurŪ?**) 'plait\wattle\tie together' > IE: NaIE ***k^ωer_LU_J-** 'build, make'

1144. ***Ḳ'ur∇** 'short' > IE: NaIE ***ker-t-**, ***ker-...** 'short'

1145. ***ḲoHri** 'to cover, to protect, to guard'

1145a. ***Ḳa_LH₂r∇** 'sharp' > IE: NaIE ***k^har-** 'sharp, pointed, rough' (× N ***gaH₂r'∇** 'hard, firm' × N ***ćor∇** 'tip, top, edge'??)

1146. ₂ ***Ḳo_Lw|p∇_Jr∇** 'tooth, large\canine tooth, tusk'

1146a. ***Ḳu_Lw_JR'E** '(severe) cold'

1147. ***Ḳayer∇** '∈ bark, skin' > IE: NaIE ***ker-** 'skin, hide, bark', ***kermen-** 'skin'

1148. ***Ḳe_Ly_Jri?A** 'cry, shout, call'

1149. *k̥uɣR̥∇ 'wood (Holz), log' > IE {EI} *k^ωɾ̥sto- ~ *k^ωɾ̥sti- 'woods' (× N *k̥ôR̥₁∇, ₁ǰ₁∇χ₁∇ ≈ 'oak')

1150. *k̥aR̥₁∇?, ∇ 'peak, rock, steep mountain' > IE: NaIE *ker- 'rock, stone'

1150a. *K̥ir̥|g̥∇ (= *g̥ir̥∇?) 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE *k̥er̥H-, NaIE *k̥er̥- ~ *k̥ir- 'head'

1151. *K̥ar̥û̥∇ (or *K̥ar̥û̥g̥∇) 'female breast, milk' > IE *kruH-t- > NaIE *krūt- 'female breast'

1152. *k̥'i' r̥û̥∇ 'strike, hit' > IE: NaIE *°k̥|kreu̯a- *'be sorrow'

1153. *K̥ir̥∇̥∇ 'to tear, to break' > IE *k̥erH- > NaIE *k̥er̥a- 'destroy, break'

1154. *k̥ur̥₁∇̥̥û̥ 'to hammer, to pound' > IE: NaIE *k^ωeru- v. 'grind'

1155. *K̥ü|uR̥₁∇ 'sharp'

1156. *K̥arh̥A 'black' > IE: NaIE *ker- ≈ black, dirty' ||| +ext.: *kers-n-, *k̥rs-no- 'black'

1157. *k̥arh̥₂'U' (= *k̥arh̥'U'?) 'to burn (sth.), to heat' > IE: NaIE *ker̥a-vt., vi. 'burn' ||| ?? +ext.: (1) OI k̥ū̯ d̥aɣa t̥i 'scorches, burns' (if from *k̥ōd-) ||| (2) L carbo 'coal'

1158. *k̥i?ar̥₁U₁qa or *k̥ir̥₁U₁qa 'ice, hoarfrost; to freeze' > IE: NaIE (+ extensions) *k̥erno-s, *k̥er-m-, *k̥er-sn- 'ice crust (наледь), snow crust, hoarfrost'

1159. *k̥aR̥'i wu' 'come in contact (meet, come across, touch)' > IE: NaIE *krej̯- {P} 'über etw. drüberhinstreifen, berühren'

1160. *k̥üR̥w̥∇ or *k̥uR̥w̥E 'hard roe, young of a fish' > IE: NaIE *krek- 'fish eggs, frog spawn'

1161. *K̥aR̥X̥∇ 'bank (Ufer), edge'

1162. *K̥ir̥'X̥'∇ 'scrape, scratch'

1163. *K̥uR̥'X̥û' 'blood' > IE: NaIE *kreu̯H-/*kruH- 'blood (in the body of an animal\human)', 'flesh with blood'

1164. *k̥or̥'ü̯y'∇ 'lamb'

1165. *K̥uR̥'y'∇ 'sprout from a root' (→ 'sprout', 'root') > IE: NaIE *k^ωer-/*k^ωor- 'root'

1166. *K̥ar̥∇b'i' (= *k̥ar̥∇b'i'?) 'belly, inside' > IE: NaIE *kerp-/*krep- (or *k^ωerp-/*k^ωrep-) 'body, belly'

1167. (2?) *K̥'i'R̥û̯Ĉâ (= *K̥'i'R̥û̯ĉâ?) 'to strike' > IE: NaIE *krou̯s- v. 'push, strike'

1168. *k̥'ü' r̥û̯̥∇c̥∇ 'shin' > IE: NaIE *k̥rūs- 'shin, shinbone'

1169. ₂ *K̥uR̥∇ĉ'∇ 'sharp' or 'prick'

1170. *k̥ʰuʳʷd̥ʰ 'hard (жесткий)', 'to dry up, to harden' > IE: NaIE *k̥k̥ers- 'hard'

1171. *k̥ʷr̥l̥d̥ʰ (= *k̥ar̥d̥ʰ?) 'to scratch' > IE: NaIE *kars- 'scratch, rub, comb (wool)'

1172. (₂?) *k̥ERd̥ʰ 'rough hair, prickly\rough object, bristle' > IE: NaIE *k̥erst-/*k̥r̥st- 'rough hair, bristle'

1173. *k̥ʷRd̥ʰ 'to cut'

1174. *k̥äRd̥ 'breast, chest' ([in descendant lges] → 'heart', 'internal organs') > IE *k̥erd-/*k̥ērd-/*k̥rd-/*k̥red- 'heart'

1175. ₂ *k̥iRd̥ 'to scrape' (→ 'to scratch', 'to comb')

1176. ₂ *k̥ʰuʳl̥d̥ 'monkey'

1177. *k̥ʰuʳʳʰd̥ or *k̥ʰuʳʰd̥ 'stinging insect'

1178. *k̥iRg̥ (or *k̥iRk̥) 'stinging insect'

1179. *k̥ʰiRʰug|k̥ or *k̥ʰeRʰug|k̥ 'bird of prey'

1180. *k̥oRg|k̥U 'dirt, dung' > IE: NaIE *g̥ʷorg̥ʷ(or)o- 'dirt'

1181. *k̥ʷRd̥k̥E 'skin, bark' > IE: NaIE *k̥roġ-no- 'skin, hide'

1182. *k̥âRk̥ub|p̥ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE: NaIE *kakubʰ- 'summit, tip'

1183. *k̥uRmʰE' (or *k̥oRmʰE'?) 'to cover' > IE: NaIE *k̥ʷarmo- 'a cover, lid'

1184. *k̥uRm̥ 'worm, insect' > IE: NaIE *k̥ʷr̥mi- / *k̥ʷerm- 'worm'

1185. ₂ *k̥ERd̥p̥ 'to cover' (→ 'roof') > IE: NaIE *k̥ropo- (or *k̥rapo-), *k̥rōpo- 'roof'

1186. *k̥oRup̥ ~ *k̥aRup̥ 'bark of trees' (ε?), 'skin' > IE: NaIE *kreup- 'crust, crusted', 'rough'

1187. *k̥üRp̥ 'to turn (round, towards)' > IE: NaIE *k̥w̥erp- ~ *k̥w̥erb̥l̥j- / *k̥urb̥l̥j- v. 'turn'

1188. *k̥ʷRHd̥P̥ '≈ piece of leather (used esp. as footwear)' > IE: NaIE *kerap-/*krēp- 'piece of cloth, ε footwear'

1189. *k̥ʰuʳy̥p̥ 'sack, wicker basket' > IE: NaIE *krep- ~ *kreb- / *korb- 'basket, bag', NaIE *k̥ūrp̥ > OI śūrpa-m 'winnowing basket'

1190. *k̥äRl̥ʰ, ūs|š̥ 'to congeal' > IE: NaIE *kreus- v. 'freeze, congeal', 'ice'

1191. ₂ *k̥ʰuʳʷ s̥uʳʰ 'part of a foot\leg'

1192. *k̥urt̥ 'belt; to gird' (→ [in descendant lges] 'ε garment') > IE: NaIE *kerd- v. 'gird', *kerd-so/u- 'belt'

1193. *k_l∇R_l∇_lt∇ 'summit, top' > IE: NaIE *^okred- (or *^ok̄red-?) ~ *^ok_l∇_lord- 'top of a building, beams, roof'
1194. *k_æRt∇ 'to crumble, to chop\cut into small pieces'
1195. *k^ro^rRt∇ 'flame' > ? IE: NaIE *^ok|k̄ert- > Gmc *xerθ- 'hearth'
1196. *k_{ER}H₂∇₃∇ (= *k_{ER}h∇₃∇?) 'hornet, wasp' > IE: NaIE *k̄r̄s-r/-en- (= *k̄ras-r/en-) {P} 'hornet (Hornisse)'
1197. *k^o∇R_l∇_l∇_l∇X_l∇ '≈ oak' > IE: [1] NaIE *k^ores-(no-) '€ tree' ('oak?'), 'wood', [2] ? IE {EI} *k^or̄sto- ~ *k^or̄sti- 'woods'
1198. *k_æR^z'i' 'cut into pieces, split, divide'
1199. *k_ar∇ '(sharp) stick, peg'
1200. ₂ *k^r'A^r∇ 'be full, fill'
1201. *k^o∇r̄_li^r∇E '€ a gallinacean' > IE: NaIE *k_l∇_lou_r(o)- id.
1202. *k_{oya}r̄_l∇_l∇_li 'fat, tallow'
1203. ₂ *k_Us̄E 'grown-up man, old (person)'
1204. ₂ *k_uS∇ 'nut' > IE: NaIE *kos(e)l_o- (or *k|k̄os(e)l_o-) 'hazel'
1205. *k_Us∇ 'to bend, to bow'
- 1205a. ₂ *^rk¹ü|uS∇ 'rat, mouse'
1206. *k_üs̄∇ 'breathe heavily' ([in descendant lges] → 'pant, sigh, moan') > IE: NaIE *k̄wes-/*k̄us- v. 'sigh, pant, breathe heavily'
1207. *k_üly₂s̄∇ or *k_ü?i₂s̄∇ 'look for, desire' (← *'be hungry?') > IE: NaIE NaIE *^okwa_is- or *^okwa_is- (or *^ok|k̄wa_is-) > L quaer- / pfc. quaesī v i ~ quaesī 'look for, ask (a question)'
1208. *k_as_l?_l∇ 'be hungry, wish' > IE *kes- 'hunger'
1209. *k_os̄_lH₂∇ 'to kindle' > IE: NaIE *ks̄∇- (or *k^os̄∇-) v. 'burn'
1210. ₂ *k_Us̄_l∇_ld∇ 'to chop, to cut'
1211. *k_Es̄U (or *k^r'ü^r's̄∇?) 'to skin, to tear'
1212. (₂?) *k_us̄∇ or *k_uĉ∇ 'to compensate' ([in descendant lges] → 'to pay') > IE *ke_us- 'compensation, price'
1213. *k_uly₂s̄∇ 'tree' (→ 'wood, Holz'), 'trunk of a tree'
1214. *k_üs̄^r'∇ 'to fell, to fall'
1215. *k_at∇ 'mix, adjoin, gather'
1216. (₂?) *k_ät∇ 'hand'
1217. *k_ot∇ 'tip, end, sharp point; cutting instrument\weapon' > IE: NaIE *k^oe(:)d-/*k^oo(:)d- 'sharp point; to sharpen'
1218. ₂ *k_ot∇ 'to finish'
1219. *k_ot∇ (R∇) 'smoke' > IE: NaIE *k_l∇_led- 'smoke', v. 'smoke, emit smoke'

1220. ***Ḳeʔ_la₁t** ∇ 'to fall' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱad-** v. 'fall', NaIE ***ḱeǵid-** v. 'fall'
1221. ***Ḳ'aho¹t'o¹** 'bite, chew, eat' > **IE**: NaIE ***k^h_lω₁ād-** v. 'bite, eat'
1222. ***Ḳut₁∇** (or ***Ḳut₁∇**?) (probably ***Ḳut₁t₁∇**) 'cut off, tear (off)'
1223. ≈ ***Ḳū₁t₁∇₁P₁∇** 'shoulder' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱup-(t-)** ~ ***sḱup-(t-)** id.
1224. ***Ḳ'a¹t₁∇** or ***Ḳaʔit∇** 'kill, wage a war' (in B, C, NOm, K[?]: → 'die') > **IE**: NaIE ***kat-** v. 'fight'
1225. ***Ḳot₁A** (~ ***ḲotA**) 'fence, wall, hut, settlement' > **IE**: NaIE ***kot-** 'shed, wall, hut' (→ 'house'), Ht **ku¹t¹-** {Pv.} 'wall'
1226. ***Ḳô₁t₁'E¹** (or ***koʔUt₁E**) 'female genitalia, anus' (→ 'male genitalia') > **IE**: NaIE ***kut-** id.'
1227. ***ḲU₁t₁∇** 'small'
1228. ***Ḳā₁w∇** 'cavity, hole' > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱew₁ə₁-** 'cavity']]] {EI} ***ḱou₁Hr₁ /** ***ḱuH¹n-os** > NaIE {M} ***ḱew₁ə₁-r₁ ~** ***ḱu₁ə₁-r₁ /** ***ḱu₁ə₁-n-** 'hole, emptiness'
1229. ***Ḳ'aʔe¹w∇** 'to hear, to notice' ([in descendant lges] → 'ear') > **IE** ***ke₁w-** / ***ke₁u-** ({EI} ***ke₁u₁h₁-**) 'listen to, perceive, pay attention to'
1230. ***Ḳ'o₁ha¹w¹i¹** or ***Ḳ'o₁ha¹w₁i₁y∇** 'sinew, thread' ([in descendant lges] → 'bowstring') > **IE**: NaIE ***g^ωi₁yā,** ***g^ωi₁yos** 'sinew, bowstring'
1231. ***ḲA₁h₁w∇** 'seize, grasp, hold'
1232. ***Ḳax₁ü** or ***Ḳax₁yU** 'strike, push' ([in descendant lges] → 'hew', 'touch') > **IE** ***ka₁H₁w- / k₁H₁w-** ~ ***ka₁u₁H-** > NaIE ***kə₁w- / *kā₁w- / *kū-** v. 'strike, hew'
1233. ***Ḳay∇** 'look, look for' > **IE**: ?? NaIE ***k₁ω₁e₁y- / *k₁ω₁o₁y-** 'observe, look'
1234. ***Ḳ'E¹yû** 'person of the same clan' ([in descendant lges] → 'friend') > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱe₁j₁w-** 'person of the same clan'
1235. (2?) ***Ḳoy∇** 'compensate, take revenge' > **IE**: NaIE ***k^ωe₁j₁-** v. 'take revenge, reprove', 'worth, price', ⇨ NaIE ***k₁w₁o₁j₁nā** 'compensation, price'
1236. ***Ḳuya** 'manner' (→ 'like, as') > **IE**: NaIE ***°-k₁ω₁o** (ending of adverbs of manner and of denom. adjectives), NaIE ***ku₁ː₁** 'how?' (< ***k^ω-ku₁ː₁** 'which way?, quomodo?')
1237. ***ḲuyE** 'be hungry, desire, want' ([in descendant lges] → 'be in heat, lust') > **IE**: NaIE ***k₁w₁o₁j₁-** 'desire'
1238. ***Ḳæ'h¹uy∇** 'to heat, to singe, to burn (sth.)' (→ 'boil, cook') > **IE**: NaIE ***ḱē₁u₁- / *ḱə₁u₁- / *ḱū-** vt. 'set fire to, burn'
1239. ***Ḳay₁ʔ₁∇** 'wilderness, desert, woods (esp. in the mountains)' > **IE**: NaIE ***ka₁j₁to-** {P} 'woods, uninhabited land'

1240. ***Ḳuyh** ∇ 'to rest (from work etc.), to repose, to be comfortable' > IE ***k^ωe_ih-** > NaIE ***k^ωe_iə-/k^ωi_iē-** v. 'be at rest, repose' ({P} 'behaglich ruhen')

1241. (2?) ***Ḳay_iwa** 'to dig' > IE: NaIE ***k_oi_w-** 'pit, hole'

1242. ***Ḳ_∇w_z∇** - ***Ḳ_∇?_uz_∇** (or ***Ḳ_∇w_z∇** - ***Ḳ_∇?_uz_∇**) 'to draw (schöpfen); (to) ladle; (?) to dig out' > IE: Ht **k a s d-** 'auslöffeln, ausschöpfen'

1243. ? ***Ḳe_zE** 'warm, warm weather' > IE: NaIE ***k̄e_l-/k̄_l-** (~ ***k̄_ol-**) id.

1244. ***Ḳo_z∇** 'to skin, to debark (wood)'

1245. ***Ḳ_üh|_f∇_zz_∇** (**r∇**) 'neck'

1246. ***Ḳa_zi_x∇** (~ ***-z̄-**) 'to scold'

1247. ***Ḳo_zf_∇** 'tree trunk'

1248. (2?) ***1A**, a marker of verbal constructions [noun + ***1A** = analytical verb] ([in descendant lges] → sx of denom. verbs)

1249. ***1A**, an analytical ([in descendant lges] → synthetical) marker of collectivity) (or N ***?E1A**, dem. prn. of collectivity, probably connected with N ***?e_l∇** 'clan, tribe?')

1250. ***1A**, locative pc.

1251. ***1∇**, pc. with diminutive meaning ([in descendant lges] → sx of diminutives) > IE: NaIE ***-e_l∇-**, sx of diminutives

1252. ***1e_l?∇_z** (= ***1e_l?∇_z**?) 'being, having', analytical adjectivizer ([in descendant lges] → formative of adjectives and quality-bearing nouns) > IE ***-_l-**, sx of adjectives)

1253. ₂ ***1u?∇** or ***1^ri?uw¹∇** '∈ bovine'

1254. ***L∇fa** 'to hide, to lie hid, to lie in wait' > IE ***le_H-** > NaIE {P} ***1ā-** /***lā-** (/ ***1ā_i-**) 'be hidden, lie in wait'

1255. ***Lab∇** 'grasp, get, obtain' > IE: NaIE ***lab^h- / lamb^h-** 'seize, grasp'

1256. ***Lab∇** (or ***Layib∇**?) 'be soft' > [from N ***Layib∇**] > IE: NaIE ***le_ib^h-** '≈ weak, lean'

1257. ***Lib∇** (or ***Lib∇^r?∇**?) 'heart' ([in descendant lges] → 'life', 'middle') > IE: NaIE {P} ***le_ib^h-** or {WH} ***le_ib_l^h-** 'live'

1258. ***L^ro¹b∇** '∈ grass' ([in descendant lges] → 'medicinal\poisonous grass?') > IE: Gmc ***luby^ra¹** > OHG {OsS} **luppi** 'stark wirkender Pflanzensaft; Gift, Vergiftung', ON **lyf** 'Heilmittel, Zaubermittel'

1259. ***Lûb∇** 'be thirsty, be hungry' ([in descendant lges] → 'wish, love') > IE: NaIE ***le_ub^h- / lou_ub^h- / lub^h-** 'desire, love, agree'

1260. *Libh̥∇ (= *Tibh̥∇?) 'wet; to get wet' > IE: NaIE *lejb- 'pour, be liquid\wet', {EI} 'pour, make a libation'; 2 *Lib_lh̥_l∇ K_l∇ 'wet; be\get wet'
1261. 2 *L^ri^c∇ (t∇) 'jaw' ([in descendant lges] → 'edge, uterus, Leiste') > IE: NaIE *^ol^re_lst- ≈ 'edge, hem, stripe'
1262. *Lawč̥∇ 'weak, soft' > IE: NaIE *^oleus-/lou_s-/lus- ≈ 'loose'
1263. *Lič̥∇ 'to pass, to go away' > IE: NaIE *lej_th̥- ~ *li(:)t_h- v. 'go, go away, pass'
1264. *TewdA (or *ZewdA?) 'look for, find'
1265. *lEga 'lie (liegen), lie down; lay, put' > IE *leg^h- 'lie, lie down'
1266. *La_lH_lga (= *LaXg∇?) 'cut, chop' > IE: NaIE *la_g^h- (or *lag^h-) v. 'cut, dig', 'cutting\digging instrument'
1267. *Lig_zæ 'to lick, to sip, to suck' > IE: NaIE *lej_gh̥- v. 'lick'
1268. *Lagu^r∇ 'body of water'
1269. *lu_r∇ 'wash, rinse' > IE *lou_h- 'wash, bathe'
1270. ?φ 2 *L^r∇^rU ≈ 'fig tree'
1271. ≈ *L|ZagU_ly∇_l 'fat meat' > IE *l_gy- or *la_l- 'fat'
1272. 2 *lAkU 'circle'
1273. *Lik∇ 'be ill, suffer disaster' > IE: NaIE *lej_g- / *lo_g- / *lig- id.
1274. *Luka 'to bend' ([in descendant lges] → [?] 'flexible twig') >
1275. *lukê 'to gather' ([in descendant lges] → 'to count') > IE: NaIE *leg̃- 'gather, count'
1276. *Tükê 'beat, strike, break' > IE: NaIE *leu_g̃-/ *lou_g̃-/ *lu_g̃- 'break, break off'
1277. *Ti^r∇kU 'let, let go, move (bewegen)'
1278. *Lo^rika 'cutting instrument' > IE: NaIE *slej_g- id.
1279. *Lu_lä_lka 'valley, low-lying lands, plain' > IE: NaIE *lou_{ko}- 'open land, field, woods and meadows'
1280. *Lukä^r∇ ≈ 'flexible rod' ([in descendant lges] → 'thong, whip') > IE: NaIE *lo_g̃- 'rod, sapling', ?? Ht alkista(n)- 'branch'
1281. *l_uk_l∇_lA (or *l_uK_lA?) 'push, shove, thrust, fasten to'
1282. *T_uks∇ 'needles of conifer trees'
- 1282a. (2?) *La_lK_la 'leg' > IE: NaIE *lak- 'foot, ∈ part of leg'
1283. *la_lK_lu^r 'body of water (lake, river etc.)' > IE: NaIE *laku- / *lakw- 'lake, pool, puddle, pond'
1284. on.? *T_uk_lU^r 'to lick, to lap' > IE: NaIE *lak_lω_l- 'lick'
1285. 2 *L_uK_la 'to shine' > IE *le_uk- 'shine', Ht lu_k(k)- 'grow bright, dawn'

1286. *Lûḱa 'to swallow' > IE: NaIE *leuḱ- (~ *olauḱ-?) 'throat', ?
 *oluk_Lω_J- v. 'swallow, drink' ||| d.: *Lûḱa m∇ 'to swallow'
1287. *Tukʷæ '∈ canine' (→ 'lynx') > IE: NaIE *luk̄- (~ *lun̄k̄-?) 'lynx'
1288. *LāhaḶo 'to grow; sprout, twig' > IE: NaIE *lēk^ω- {WP, P ← Vn.} ≈
 flexible twig'
1289. *LEHḶæ (= *LEḶḶæ?) 'make one's way with effort (crawl, climb)'
 > IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *olēḶ_Lh_J- 'crawl'
1290. *lühḶa (~ *LūḶaḶ∇?) 'to jump' > IE: NaIE *lēk-/*lōk-/*læk- 'jump,
 leap (lebhaft springen), fly'
1291. *LeqEḶa 'cut, tear' > IE: NaIE {P} *lēk-/*læk- 'tear asunder'
1292. *TowḶ∇Ḷ∇ 'hole, opening' > IE *oluglḶ_LH_J-: NaIE *oluglḶ- ≈ hole,
 opening' > OHG loh (gen. lohhes) 'hole, opening, cave; Loch, Öffnung,
 Höhle'
1293. (2?) *LûḶa_LH∇ 'see, know' > IE: NaIE *leuḱ- 'see', *la|ok- 'see, look'
1294. ?σ₂ *L∇Ḷ_L∇_JX∇ ~ L∇X_L∇_JḶa|æ) 'to grasp, to catch' > ?σ IE
 *olḶk|k̄- > NaIE *olæk|k̄- > L [Fest.] lax 'deceit, fraud', lacio, -ěre 'entice'
1295. *TukUž∇ 'twig, lash, whip' > IE *leHk^ω- > NaIE *lēk^ω- ≈
 flexible twig (used to make a whip and a snare for animals)'
1296. (2?) *LiL∇ 'water, sea' > IE: NaIE *oliro- > Clt: OIr ler, W †
 llŷr 'sea'
1297. (2?) *L|žil|í∇ (= *L|žíí∇?) 'reed, ∈ water plant' > IE: NaIE *lej_L- ~
 *lej_r- ≈ water plant'
1298. *Tum∇ 'magic, spell, fortune'
- 1298a. ₂ *Toʷm∇ 'hot ash, cinder(s)'
1299. *Täʷ_L∇_JmʷUʷ 'crust, scab'
1300. *T_LEʷgʷ_Jumê (= *Tiʷgʷ_Jumê?) 'wet/cold weather, dew; snow'
1301. *TahmʷUʷ 'swamp; body of water' > IE *leHmeH > NaIE *lāmā
 'puddle, swamp'
1302. ₂ *LʷUʷmʷ∇ 'lion'
1303. *Tām_L∇_Jd∇ 'low' > IE: NaIE *lend^h-/*lond^h- 'plain, lowland'
1304. *Lüm∇g∇ '∈ eat, swallow' > ?φ IE: NaIE (on.?) *✓(s)lung- /
 *✓(s)leug- ≈ swallow'
1305. (2?) *L|žāʷ_L∇_Jñ∇ 'side (of body)' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *lend^h- 'loins,
 kidneys', {EI} *lond^hu / gen. *lḶd^hω-os 'loins'
1306. *leyñā (or *leyñā?) 'soft, weak' > IE: NaIE *lej_n-, *lej_r- 'soft,
 tender, weak'
- 1306a. *LENd∇ 'to fly' (→ 'bird') > ?φ IE: Sl *let- v. 'fly'
1307. *Lū|uḶʷgæʷ∇ '∈ beast of prey' > IE: NaIE *lun̄k̄- 'lynx'

1308. ${}_2$ *L A η K̄ ∇ 'tongue' > possibly IE: AdS of L l i n g u a 'tongue' (< N *ń a η g ũ 'tongue')
1309. *l̄'o' η K̄ a 'to bend' ([in descendant lges] → 'a bow') > IE: NaIE *lenk- v. 'bend', *lonko-s 'a bow'
1310. *l̄'æ' p̄ A 'spleen' > ?σ IE: NaIE *lep- 'liver'
1311. *L i p ∇ 'fat; to smear with fat' > IE *leḷp- v. 'smear, smear with fat', n. 'fat'
1312. ${}_2$ *L i P̄ ∇ 'crawl, clamber' > IE: NaIE *leḷp- 'climb, clamber'
1313. *on.?* *L a p̄ ∇ '≈ to gulp, to eat (esp. liquid food), to eat greedily' > IE: *on.?* NaIE *lab- ~ *lab^hp^h- v. 'gulp, swallow'
1314. *le'p̄' ä p̄ a 'leaf, foliage' > IE: NaIE *lep- 'leaf'
1315. *L a h P̄ ∇ 'flame; to burn, to shine' > IE *lahp-/*lh̄p- > NaIE *lāp-/*l̄ap- vi. 'shine, burn'
1316. *l̄a'q' p̄ a 'palm of hand, sole of foot; sth. flat' > IE *lehp- or *lahp- 'palm of hand, sole of foot'
1317. (${}_2$?) *L a y P̄ ∇ 'good, beautiful' > IE: NaIE (in BSl) *°la|oḷp- id.; possibly (but not necessarily): NaIE *leḷp- 'covet'
1318. ${}_2$ UA *l̄|ž a ḷ y P̄ ∇ 'stick to' (→ [in some T lges] 'build')
1319. *l̄up̄ ∇, ? a 'bast, bark, film (e. g. of a plant)' > IE: NaIE *leyp- ~ *leyb- ~ *lep- (< **l̄ep-) v. 'debark\peel', n. 'bark, skin'
1320. *L ü p i ? ∇ (~ *L i p ü ? ∇) (> *L ü p y ∇) 'to slip; slippery' > IE: NaIE *sleub_l^h- 'slip, slippery'
1321. ? *on.* ${}_2$ *L 'a' p̄ l H̄ ∇ 'to lick' > IE: NaIE *lab- ~ la_lp^(h)- 'lick, lap'
1322. *L i P̄ X a 'to stick, to stick to; sticky, glue' ([in descendant lges] → 'to make earthenware') > IE: NaIE *leḷp- 'be sticky'
1323. (${}_2$?) *l a P̄ T ∇ 'flat, low'
1324. *L ∇ q U 'be moist\liquid, flow' > IE: Ht l ā h- 'pour, pour out (liquids)', lah(h)u- / lah(h)uwaḷ 'pour (liquid, salt etc.)', vi. 'overflow'
1325. *L A q ũ 'tender, mild' (→ 'sweet') > IE: NaIE *d̄l̄'k|k̄u- 'sweet' (< N *daḷ ∇ 'tasty, sweet' + N *L A q ũ).
1326. (${}_2$?) *l̄arw ∇ 'many' (→ [in descendant lges] marker of pl.)
1327. ? ${}_2$ *L ∇ 'r' k ∇ 'branch of a tree, stick, club' > IE: NaIE *lorgā, *lorgi- 'stick, club, cudgel'
1328. *L A S ∇ 'be weak, be worn out' (or *L A s' ∇ 'rub, wear out' → 'weaken') > IE: NaIE *les-/*los- 'weak, damaged, bad'
1329. *L i s ∇ 'to gather' > IE: NaIE *les- v. 'gather, pluck'
1330. (${}_2$?) *L i S â 'small, little, thin' > IE: NaIE *leḷs- / *loḷs- '≈ small, thin'

- 1330a. ? * $\bar{l}i\check{s}\nabla$ 'eat; food' > IE: NaIE (in InA) * $\circ|res-$ v. 'taste'
1331. ?₂ * $\bar{l}\hat{u}\check{s}\nabla$ 'weak' > IE: NaIE * $los-$ / $*les-$ 'weak, damaged, bad'
1332. * $L\nabla\check{s}\nabla$ 'to lick' ([in descendant lges] → v. 'taste', 'tongue') > IE: NaIE (in InA) * $\circ|res-$ v. 'taste', 'tongue'
1333. * $lu\check{h}a\check{s}\nabla$ or * $la\check{h}u\check{s}\nabla$ 'lip, mouth'
1334. * $L'a^1t\nabla$ 'skin\leather, bark' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) * $le\tau ro-$ 'leather, skin'
1335. * $l'_{\text{L}}\bar{l}i\check{t}\nabla$ 'exercise magic forces against so., detest; suffer from' > IE: NaIE * $l'_{\text{L}}lejt-$ v. 'detest'
1336. * $Lu_{\text{L}}\nabla_{\text{L}}t\nabla$ 'mud' > IE: NaIE * $lut-$ 'mud, mire'
1337. * $liw\check{r}i\check{h}a$ 'dirt, silt' > IE * $leuH-$ > NaIE * $lew\check{a}-$ / * $l\bar{u}-$ 'dirt, filth, mire'
1338. * $L'a^1\chi\nabla$ 'to strike, to fight' > IE * $laX-$ (or * $lex-$ / $*lox-$?) ≈ attack, fight'
1339. * $LE\chi|qo$ 'be ill; ache'
1340. * $La wX\nabla$ '(piece of a) trunk, bough' ([in descendant lges] → 'board, plank') > IE: NaIE * $l\bar{o}|a\bar{w}-$ 'board, plank'
1341. * $L'o^1y\chi i\check{p}a$ 'cheek' ([in descendant lges] → 'face') > IE: NaIE * $lej\check{k}-$ 'face, cheek'
1342. * $la\check{p}y\nabla$ or * $lay\check{p}\nabla$ 'not; to disappear' > IE: Ht $l\bar{e}$ 'do not!', 'not', NaIE * $lej-$ 'disappear, shrink'
1343. ₂ * $L\nabla y\check{h}\nabla$ 'to pour; water' > IE * $lejH-$ / $*liH-$ > NaIE * $lej\check{a}-$ / * $l\bar{i}-$ ≈ flow, pour'
- 1343a. * $L'a|\check{a}^1y w_{\text{L}}E y_{\text{L}}\nabla$ 'crooked', 'to bend, to twist' > IE: NaIE * $la\check{j}w\check{o}-$ 'crooked' → 'left (gauche)'
1344. * $Liz\hat{u}$ 'saliva, mucus, (?) 'slime'
1345. * $L\nabla\check{z}\nabla$ (or * $L\nabla w\check{z}\nabla$) '€ nut', 'nut tree\bush' > IE: NaIE * $lasd-$ 'hazel bush'
1346. * $\acute{I}\nabla$ (< * $\check{r}\hat{i}\acute{I}\nabla$?), pc. in deverbal nominal constructions that nominalizes verbal action ([in descendant lges] → sx of nomina actionis) > IE: NaIE * $-l\nabla-$, sx of nomina actionis
1347. * $\acute{i}i\check{h}\check{c}\nabla$ (or * $\bar{l}i\check{h}\check{c}\nabla$?) 'to press, to squeeze' > ? ϕ,σ IE: NaIE * $\circ|a|aK-$ > Gk $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma, -\iota\omicron\varsigma$ 'pestle' (its IE et. is not certain)
1348. * $\acute{I}'\check{u}^1k_{\text{L}}\check{r}_{\text{L}}\nabla$ 'thick' (of liquids), 'dense', 'narrow, tight'
1349. * $\acute{I}|layU\acute{I}|l\nabla$ (= * $\acute{I}ayU\acute{I}\nabla$?) 'to sleep; sleeping time (night)' (← Ll.)
1350. * $l'_{\text{L}}\acute{I}am_{\text{L}}X_{\text{L}}\nabla$ 'be weak\soft; make soft, knead' > IE: NaIE * $l'_{\text{L}}lem_{\text{L}}\check{a}_{\text{L}}-$ 'weak, mild'
1351. * mA ({IS} * $-mA$), pc. of marked accusative > IE * $-m$ / * $-m\check{o}$, accus. case ending of nouns of the animate (active) gender

1352. *m A, marker of nominalized syntactic constructions (≈ subordinate sentences), nominalizer (originally a prn.) that formed analytic equivalents of nomina actionis, nomina agentis, and other derived nouns > IE *-mo-, sx of denom. and deverbal derivatives

1353. *mä or *mäh'o' 'do not' (prohibitive pc.) and 'not' (negative) > IE *meH, {EI} *mē > NaIE *mē, prohibitive pc.

1354. *mi 'I' > IE: [1a] *-mi 'I', "primary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti]]] [1b] *-m 'I', "secondary" verbal ending of 1s subiecti]]] [2a] *me(:)-, stem of the obl. cases of the prn. of 1s, e.g. accus. *mē, *me(:)-m]]] [2b] gen. *me-ne ~ *mej-ne 'of me, my']]] [3] postnominal *-mi 'my' > Ht -mi- etc.

1354a. *mi?a 'we' (*mi 'I' + *?a of plurality) > IE: [1] *-me, verbal ending of 1p subiecti, [2] NaIE Δ *me-'s' 'we', pers. prn. of 1p.

1354b. *mi t'ü' 'we' incl. (*mi 'I' + *t'ü' 'thou')

1355. *mi 'what?' > IE {EI} *mo-/*me-, {Ped., IS} *mo- '≈ what?', Ht masi- 'how many?', mahhan 'how?', mān 'how?'

1356. (LI. ?) *ma'?'a (y∇) 'mother' > IE: NaIE *mā-, *mā-yā 'mother']]] d. NaIE *mā-'ter 'mother'

1357. *m A?∇ 'ruminant (deer, antelope?)'

1357a. *mu'pæ' 'this, that', dem. prn. > ? IE: NaIE: Crn sx -ma (← encl.) 'this', W yma 'here, this', Br ma(ñ) 'this'

1358. (2?) *maξ|ga 'good' > IE: NaIE *mā- 'good, in due time', (?) 'great', d. *omā-no- 'good, early'

1359. *'mUξæ (probably *'mUξe) 'cut, reap' (→ 'mow') > IE: NaIE *'mē- v. 'mow, cut'

1360. (2?) *me'ç' A 'forest, tree, wood (Holz)'

1361. *mUç'∇ 'to press, to squeeze'

1362. *muç'∇ (k∇) 'to immerse, to wash' > IE: NaIE *mesg- v. 'immerse', {EI} 'dip under water, dive'

1363. ?σ₂ *m∇ç'∇w∇ '∈ rodent'

1364. *muč'ξ∇ 'damage, (physical) defect, illness'

1365. *muč'∇ 'clenched\cupped hand, fist'

1366. *muč'ξ∇ 'end'

1367. *mô'ç|š'∇,ξ∇ 'cut, cut into pieces, tear off'

1368. *m'A'ç'∇g∇ 'be foolish, be mad', 'be intoxicated' (→ 'be drunk')

1369. *mAdû 'honey' > IE: NaIE *med^hu- 'honey'

1370. ₂ *mAdU 'lake' ([in descendant lges] → pond')

1371. *mud∇ 'finish', 'to end'

1372. (2?) *mæʰh'ûd∇ 'speak' (→ 'think') > IE: NaIE *mēuḡdʰ-/ *mæuḡdʰ- / *mūdʰ- 'speak, think'
1373. (2?) *med_L∇_JX∇ '€ fig tree'
1374. 2 *magê 'earth, land' > IE: NaIE *mag̃h|gʰ- 'land, earth'
1375. 2 *magU 'bad'
1376. *mig∇ 'make a present' > IE: NaIE (att. in Iir) *meg_Lω_Jʰ- 'present, gift', *omeng_Lω_Jʰ- (with a nasal infix of prs.) 'make a present, grant'
1377. *'mü'ʔi'ga 'mist, fog, cloud' > IE: NaIE *'meiḡgʰ-/ *'migʰ- id., d. NaIE *migʰ-L∇_Jlā id.
1378. 2 *mU'ʔi'ig∇ (= *mUʔig∇?) 'snake'
1379. 2 *mæhgæ 'young, small' > IE: NaIE *mēg̃h-/ *mōg̃h-/ *mæg̃h- 'young (person), little, small'
1380. *magiza 'liver'
1381. *magy'E' 'to swing, to wave, to sway' > IE *meH(i_̊)-/ *moH(i_̊)- 'wave, swing'
1382. *mûhi (or *mûhyi?) 'water, fluid' ([in IE and D] → 'wash') > IE: NaIE *meuḡa- / *mū- '≈ plunge, wash'
1383. *mäkê, *mäkê tE 'top, head, hill'
1384. 2 *'mi'k'o 'carry, bring, give in exchange' > IE: NaIE *'meiḡg^ω- 'exchange'
1385. *muka '(nape of the) neck, back (dorsum)' > IE: Irn: Pmr: Shgh, Wx mäk, Srk mok, Ish mak 'nape of neck, neck'
1386. *muk∇ 'top, head, hill, hillock'
- 1386a. *mô'ʔ'k∇ 'tree, (piece of) wood'
1387. *moʔkE 'to press' > IE: NaIE *mag̃-/ *mōg̃- 'knead, smear'
- 1387a. *meʰh'kê 'to make, to work' > IE: NaIE *omag̃|g- > Gmc *makk-ōn 'to make'
1388. *mEkʰæ (or *mEʰkæ) 'big' > IE *meg̃Hx-/ *meg̃oHx-/ *meg̃H_ox- 'big' > NaIE *meg̃- / *meg̃h- 'big'
1389. *mukʰa' - *mugʒ'a' > IE: NaIE *mūs 'mouse'
1390. 2 *mAk'z'a' 'give, reward'
1391. *maḶU (= *maḶU?) 'baby, son', (?) 'be pregnant' > IE: NaIE *omak^ω- > Clt: Ogr gen. maq^ωi, OIr macc 'son', Crn map / mab 'son', OW map, MW, W, Br mab 'son, boy'
1392. 2 *moḶ∇ 'blunt'
1393. *müḶ∇ or *muḶE 'a bend, corner, hump'
1394. 2 *m'a'ʔ_L∇_JḶ∇ 'cry, shout'

1395. $_2$ *m∇K̄a|æ ~ *m∇ʒ̄K̄a|æ 'plain, steppe, field' > IE: NaIE *mā̄k|k̄o- ~ *māk-/*mōk̄- 'plain, steppe'
1396. *mæHaK̄∇ 'to bend, to turn'
1397. $_2$ *mUHaK̄∇ 'frog'
1398. *ma'X'K̄æ 'thin and long, lean' > IE *mehk̄-/*mh̄k̄-/*mhēk̄- > NaIE *mā̄k̄- / *māk̄- / *mak̄- 'thin and long, slender', Ht mak-l-ant- 'thin', 'meager' (of animals)
- 1398a. (1) *muK̄L∇, H∇ 'mouth'; (2) *muK̄L∇, ʒ̄∇ 'eat\drink (greedily, in large mouthfuls)'
1399. $_2$ *muK̄č̄L∇h|ʒ̄∇ 'arrive', (?) 'walk'
- 1399a. $_2$ *m'a'K̄∇R∇ 'big, long' > IE: Gk μακρός 'long, large'
1400. *mAl∇ 'another, second' or 'two'
1401. *mal∇ (or *mayl∇?) 'incline, bend'
- 1401a. *mAl∇ 'hill, mountain, sth. protruding'
1402. *mæL∇ (= *mæÍ∇?) 'to hide' > IE: NaIE *mel- (* (s)mel-?) v. 'deceive; be mistaken'
1403. ?? *m'æ' L∇ '≈ eye' > IE: NaIE *°m∇l- > Clt: OIr mala (gen. malach) 'eyebrow', MBr malvern 'eyelid'
1404. *moĪ∇ (or *moĪh∇??) 'to pound, to gnaw\smash into pieces' > IE *mel-, *melh̄- v. 'grind, pound'
1405. *m'a'Hl̄∇ (or *m'a'ȳl̄∇) 'little, young' > IE: NaIE *mōlo- ~ ?? *smelo- 'small, little'
1406. *mUhl∇ (~ -Lh-) 'slow, quiet' > IE: NaIE *mel- 'linger, delay, be slow'
- 1406a. *meH'a'Ī∇ 'a person (of ego's generation?) from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes'
1407. *'miħLi and *'miLħi 'be weak' > IE: NaIE *'mlēj̄- / *'mlī- / ? *mlēj̄- '≈ weak', Ht malisku- ~ milisku- 'weak; 'light, unimportant (?)'
1408. *mUlw̄, Ī∇y∇ '∈ animals, meat' > IE: NaIE *mēlo- 'sheep and goats, young\small animal', Ht {Ivn.} miluli- 'meat' ({Ts.} miluli- ~ maluli- 'Körperteil, Weichteile')
1409. ($_2$?) *meLȳ, Ī∇ 'mind; be clever' > ?σ IE: NaIE *mel- 'deceive'
1410. *mälp̄∇ 'full, much' > IE *mel- 'much, very, (?) strong'
1411. *mæL∇ȳ|χ∇ 'lizard', 'small reptile' or sim. > IE: NaIE *mol- / (?) *mel- 'small reptile', ??σ OI malūka-h̄ '∈ worm'
1412. *meI'h̄l̄∇ 'soft' > IE *mel'h̄X̄¹- (or *'mel'h̄X̄¹-) > NaIE *'melə- 'soft'
1413. $_2$ *m'a'ld∇ 'young, soft\tender' > IE: NaIE *mal^{dh}- id.
1414. *'mälp̄ghê 'breast, udder' > IE: NaIE *'melḡ- v. 'milk'

1415. ${}_2$ *mUL∇kâ (= *muL∇kâ?) '≈ think, deliberate, come to a decision'
1416. ?σ (${}_2$?) *m∇LĶâ '≈ to erase, to undo, not to do' > IE: NaIE *°m]k_Lω_L- > Sl *mьlčǎ-ti 'keep silence' | ?σ Lt m_ulki_s 'fool'
- 1416a. *mAIAηk∇ 'eel', (?) 'worm, snake' > IE: ?φ OI malūka-h₁ 'e worm'
- 1416b. *m∇Í∇ 'e small predator' > IE: NaIE {EI} *meli- > L mēlēs ~ mēlis 'marten, badger', Sl *melьcbь > Kshb {Lrn.} mɜlc 'badger'
1417. *mAÍHo (+ ...) 'head, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE *m_olōd^h-/*moləd^h- 'head, top'
1418. *mañû 'man, male' > IE: NaIE *ma|onu 'man, person'
1419. *mAñ∇ 'herd/flock, gregarious animal(s)'
1420. *mAñ∇ 'hut, dwelling' (sd. of N *mäñ∇ 'remain, stay'??) > ? IE: Psh mēna 'house', Ygn mayn, meyn, men 'village', KhS m_una 'abode'
1421. *mäñā 'remain, stay' > IE: NaIE *men- (prs. *mimne/o-) 'remain, stay'
1422. *menê 'walk, go' > IE: NaIE *men- 'go, walk'
1423. ${}_2$ *meñ∇ 'tear, tear to pieces, divide'
1424. (${}_2$?) *mEN∇ (= *mEñ∇?) 'from' > ?σ IE: NaIE *-mis instr. pl.; NaIE *-mis × dat. pl. *-mos > Gmc dat./abl./instr. pl. *-miz
1425. ${}_2$ *mEñ∇ 'tell a lie, deceive' > IE: NaIE *men- 'tell a lie, lure'
1426. *moñ∇ 'many, much'
1427. *moñ∇ 'think, learn (erfahren), know' > IE: NaIE *men- 'think', d. *men-os / *men-es- 'mind', d. *m_u-ti-s (~ *men-ti-s) 'mind, thought'; NaIE cd. *mens-d^hē-/*m_us-d^hē- 'learn, become wise', Lw mimma- (< *mimne/o-) v. 'regard, favour'
1428. *muñ∇ (t|d∇) 'egg' (→ 'testicle') > IE: NaIE *°mond_Lh_L- > Sl *m_ud-o 'testicle' (du. *m_ud-ě)
1429. *mûñ∇ 'defect, damage, physical defect' > IE *mend- '≈ defect'
1430. *mu|oñ∇ (or *mu|oñ_L∇_L∇?) 'mountain, hill' > IE: NaIE *m_ut-, *moniyo-, {EI} *men- 'mountain'
1431. ? *m∇ñi 'e fish' > IE: NaIE *m_oni- 'e fish' ({EI} *m_uH- '≈ minnow, small fish')
- 1431a. ${}_2$ *m∇ñ∇ 'small, little' > IE: NaIE *men- id.
1432. *m^æ'?E¹ñ∇ 'front' > IE *men- '≈ front' > Ht meni-, mena- 'face, cheek', NaIE *men- v. 'protrude, project', 'mouth'
1433. *mAyn∇ 'desire, ask' > IE: NaIE {Vn.} *°me_un-/*°mo_un- (in Clt) 'desire, wish', NaIE *men- 'wish eagerly'

1434. *me_ly_lnû 'oneself, one's own', 'body' (→ 'alone'; reflexive-passive formatives in the IE, HS, and Tg verb) > IE *monwō- / (?) *menu- 'alone', NaIE *-meno-/*-mno-, sx of medial-passive participles

1435. *m^rä^ln_l?_l∇ (= *m^rä^ln_l?_lo^l?) 'rumple, bend' (trans.) > IE: NaIE *men- 'squeeze, press, trample'

1436. ?σ *man_lξa 'to cease', 'to delay' (trans.), 'to finish'

1437. (2?) *mæN_l∇ (= *mæN_l∇?) 'hold, carry' > IE: NaIE: it is tempting to adduce here L minō, -āre vt. 'drive (cattle)', ItL (= proto-Romance) [LxS] minō, -āre v. 'lead'

1438. *mañy^rû^r 'paw, foot\leg of animals' > IE: NaIE *man_lu_l- (or *mən_lu_l-) 'hand', ??σ Ht maniyyahh- 'hand over'

1439. *mañ_l∇y_l∇ 'speak, call' > IE: NaIE *mon- 'warn, admonish; remind'

1440. ₂ *mAn^lñ^l∇y_l∇ or *mAn^l∇ '∈ genitalia; copulate'

1441. *miñ_li_lyä (or *miñä) 'woman, female relative'

1442. *m^ro^lwEñy_l∇ 'entrails, belly'

1443. (2?) *mAn^ld∇ 'wish, desire, excitement' > IE: NaIE *mend^h- 'be excited, wish'

1444. *mAni^rg^l∇ 'monkey'

1445. *man^l∇ga (or *manga?) 'strong, numerous' > IE: NaIE *meng^h- / *m_oneg^h- / *m_onog^h- 'numerous'

1446. (2?) *miNt^rû^r 'jump, (?) run away'

1447. *m^ro^ln̄t∇ - *m∇tñ∇ 'to be slow, to last' > IE: NaIE *me|ondo- 'slow'

1448. *mAn^lt_l∇ 'jaw, chin, (?) skull' > IE: NaIE *mento- 'chin'

1449. *meñ^rt^rä^r (or *men^rt^rä^r) 'miss one's aim' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'be mistaken', 'forget') > IE: NaIE *ment- '(in) vain; liar, deceit', v. 'lie (lügen)'

1450. *moyAn|η∇ 'neck, nape of neck' > IE: NaIE *mon- id.

1451. ≈ *mE?awUñ^lñ^l∇ 'breast, heart'

1452. *muyηi, *muyηi ξa^rκ^ru^r ≈ gristle, horn, muscle, sinew'

1453. UA ₂ *m∇ηK∇ or *m∇N∇ 'beaver, mole' (a substratum word?)

1454. *muηKa|û (= *muηka|û?) 'make great efforts; (?) be heavy' > IE: NaIE (in Sl) *^omonk_lω_l- > Sl *mŏ_lka 'torment, hard work'

1455. *^rmiqU_l?_l∇ 'to push, to fell' > IE *^rmeu_lH- ~ *^rm_leu_lH- > NaIE *^rmeu_l(ə)-, *^rm_leu_lə-/*^rl_lm_līu_l- 'push, push away'

1456. (2?) *maga (or *maKa?) 'humid, wet' > IE: NaIE ≈ *mak-/*māk- 'wet', 'moisten'

1457. *mæqUR∇ 'frog, toad' (or '∈ reptile\amphibian')

1458. *mAr'û' 'trace, path; to follow, to trace'
1459. ₂ *maR∇ 'sand, dust, earth'
1460. *mer∇ 'to flash, to sparkle, to shine' > IE: NaIE *mer- v. 'sparkle, glitter, flash', {EI} 'shine, shimmer'
1461. *moRE (= *moRi?) 'body of water' > IE: NaIE *mor-, *mori / *m_ori 'sea, lake', Ht {Ot. → EI} mārmār(r)ā- 'swamp, marsh'
1462. *mur∇ '≈ twist, roll, go round, tie' > IE: NaIE *mer-, (+ext.) *merag^h- ~ *merg^h- 'tie together, twist'
1463. *mur∇ 'to break, to crush, to cut' > IE *mer- v. 'crush, crumb'
1464. *mur∇ 'go away, perish, die' > IE *mer-/*m_o- 'die'; NaIE d. (pp.) *m_o- 'to-', *m_ot-u-o 'dead'; *m_o- 'to-m, *m_o'ti- 'death'
1465. *m∇Rû' 'ant' > IE: NaIE *morwī- 'ant', *mou_oro- / *meu_oro-, *morm-id.
1466. *m∇R∇ '(hollow) hand; to grasp' > IE: NaIE *mar- 'hand', *mar-n-v. 'grasp'
1467. *muhR∇ 'part, piece'
1468. *mari?∇ 'young man, young male' > IE: NaIE *meryo-, *mer- 'young man' (→ 'husband')
- 1468a. *maRi?∇ (= *'ma'ri?∇?) 'animal fat' > ? IE: NaIE *smeru- n. 'fat, ointment'
1469. *muRΓa 'emit vocal sounds (shout, sing)'
1470. *mæR_lh_l∇ (= *'mæ'rl_lh_l∇?) 'be wounded, be ill' > ?? IE: NaIE *(s)mer- (+ ext.) 'pain, sickness'
1471. *märiq∇ 'spot, stain, (?) dirt' > IE: NaIE *mer_la_j-/*mor(u)- 'dirty, dark'
1472. *m'a'rwê '€ tree' > ?? IE: Ht mārmār r(a)- {CHD} '€ terrain', {Frd.} 'Dickicht'
1473. *mar_l∇y_l∇ 'berries (mulberries, blackberries etc.)' > IE: NaIE *mor- 'mulberry, blackberry'
- 1473a. *mAR'y_l∇ 'horned mammal'.
1474. *m∇R_l∇_lč∇ or *m∇R_l∇_lš∇ 'to crumb, to crush' > IE: NaIE *mers- 'crush, grind'
1475. (₂?) *m'a'rl_l∇_lč∇ 'be ill, be wounded' > ?? IE: NaIE: Lt mer dé ti 'agonize'
- 1475a. ₂ *m'û'rl_l∇g∇ '€ (male?) horned mammal'.
1476. *muR?∇gE (probably = *muR?∇gæ) 'animal fat, brain, (?) marrow' > IE: NaIE *mreĝ^h-/*m_oĝ^h- 'brain; skull'
- 1476a. (₂?) *mäR_lk_l∇ 'think, believe, be clever'

1477. *maRʔ'o'kE 'side (of body), side, edge' > IE: NaIE *morǵ-/ *mroǵ- / *mrǵ- 'edge, border'

1478. *m'u'Rk̥∇ 'root, root crops, edible roots', (→ ?) 'sinew' > IE: NaIE *mr̥k- (~ *br̥k-) 'edible roots, (→ ?) carrot'

1479. (₂?) *m∇R̥∇K̥a 'moist, liquid; to moisten' > IE: NaIE *merk- (or {P} *merk- ~ *merak-) v. 'soak; become wet', *mr̥ku- ({P} *mr̥ku-) 'swamp'

1480. *mA'∇ 'rain' (← or → 'to drop?'), 'cloud'

1481. ₂ *mA'∇ 'pluck out hair\feathers'

1482. ₂ *me'∇ 'hoe'

1483. *m'u'r̥∇ 'make loud noise'

1484. *mûq̥E,r̥i 'shoulder'

1485. *'me'r̥ûq̥∇ 'to smear' > IE: NaIE *smeru- 'ointment'

1486. *'mā'r̥∇C̥∇ 'contents of animals' stomach\intestines' > IE: NaIE *smerd- 'dung; to stink'

1487. *mu's̥∇ 'to cover, to conceal, to clothe' > IE: NaIE *mus-/*mou̯s- v. 'steal, conceal'

1488. *mûs̥∇ (= *mûs̥∇ ?) 'insect, fly, ant' > IE: NaIE *mus-/*mou̯s- n. 'fly'

1489. *mḁis̥∇ ≈ rub, polish'

1489a. ₂ *mḀH∇,S̥∇ 'snake'

1490. (₂?) *m∇s̥|s̥|Cka'X̥∇ 'marrow, brain' > IE: NaIE *mosg-o/en- ~ *mosgʰo- id.

1491. *meʔi's̥∇ 'hide (Fell)', (→) 'clothes' > IE: NaIE *mo|ḁiso-s 'hide (Fell), fleece'

1492. *mæt∇ 'feel, realize' > IE: NaIE *med- 'think'

1493. (₂?) *mû't∇ 'die', (← ?) (?) 'go away, be removed' > ?σ IE: Ht mutai- v. 'remove (evils)', ?? mudan(̥) 'garbage, scraps'

1494. *m'äy't∇?∇ 'earth, land, place, place of residence' > IE: NaIE *mejt̥(h)- 'live (wohnen), remain'; 'stay, residence; place of residence'

1495. *matʔ∇ ~ *ma'ʔ't∇ 'approach' ([in descendant lges] → 'meet', 'enter') > IE: NaIE *mād-/ *mād- (or *mōd-/ *mād-) 'approach, meet'

1496. *mat∇'ʔ'∇ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE *mad- 'wet, moist, liquor', v. 'drip'
||| N cd (or d.?) ₂ *mat∇'ʔ'∇ R∇ 'rain' or 'rainy season'

1497. *mUt∇?∇ (or *mUt̥∇?) 'man, person' ([in M and T] ?σ → 'people, tribe')

1498. *meʔat∇ħa 'head, top, summit'

1499. *mAt∇d∇ or *mAd∇t∇ 'to stretch' ([in descendant lges] → 'to measure') > IE: NaIE *med- v. 'measure' ({EI} id., 'weigh')
1500. ₂ *matR∇ or *maRt∇ 'midday' ([in ObU] → 'south')
1501. *mAt̥∇ '≈ increase, make long\broad'
1502. *moṭ̥E 'sprout, stem, penis, genitals'
1503. ₂ *môṭ̥E 'whole, complete'
- 1503a. *mUṭ̥∇ 'man, person, a young' (an alternative to 1497: *mUt∇?∇ 'man, person')
1504. ₂ *mûṭ̥∇ (or *mûKṭ̥∇?) 'drop', 'tear(s)'
1505. ₂ *m∇'ṭ̥'∇ 'to pull, to pull out (a plant etc.), to uproot, to reap' > IE: NaIE *met- v. 'reap, harvest'
1506. *m'aʔi'ṭ̥∇ (or *m'oʔi'ṭ̥∇?) 'worm, larva, (?) small insect' > IE: NaIE *mat- (or *mot-) 'worm, larva'
1507. *mîʔat̥∇ 'to bend'
1508. *mûṣ̥ṭ̥∇ 'woman, female'
1509. ₂ *müḥHṭ̥∇ 'believe, 'establish with evidence'
1510. *'meyṭ̥∇ 'throw' > IE: NaIE *(s)meṭ̥-/*met- 'throw, cast'
1511. *moy∇ 'give, give back, restore' > IE: NaIE *meṭ̥- 'exchange'; ? d. *moṭ̥-no- 'exchange']]] ? IE *m∇ 'to' (dative) ⇨ NaIE *-mus (dat. pl.), *-me|oH (??) (dat. du.)
1512. ₂ *mu|oy∇ 'touch, feel (by sense of touch)'
1513. ₂ *m∇y∇ 'come' or 'go, pass' > IE: NaIE *meṭ̥- ({EI} *meṭ̥H-) 'go, pass'
1514. *maXy∇ 'lose force, weaken, disappear, be worn out' > IE *meHṭ̥- > NaIE *mā|ō(ṭ̥)- 'be tired\exhausted, tire out'
1515. ≈ *meXAz̥∇ 'man (vir), male' > IE ≈ *°mehs / *°mḥs- > NaIE *°mās / *°mās- > L māś (gen. māś-r-is) adj./n. 'male'
1516. *moχaž̥E¹ 'ε berry, fruit' > IE *mexl- > NaIE *māl- 'apple', Ht mahla 'branch of a grapevine \ apple (?)'
1517. *miž̥w̥j̥∇ (k∇) 'mix, stir' > IE: NaIE *misḡ- / *meṭ̥sḡ- 'mix' (> as. *misḡ- / *meṭ̥sḡ-) ~ mt. *meṭ̥ḡs- ~ *meṭ̥ḡ- id.
1518. ₂ *miž̥ṣ̥∇ (or *miṣ̥ž̥∇) 'sheep, goat' > IE: NaIE *°mo|aj̥so-s 'sheep'
1519. *muž̥l̥∇, y∇ 'fist, fingers; to squeeze\hit with a fist, to punch on the head' > IE: NaIE *mus-ti- 'fist, clenched hand'
1520. *meʔaž̥∇ 'sun, light', 'to shine' > ??? IE: NaIE *molk- 'fire, firewood'
1521. *mayž̥∇ 'tasty beverage, sap of trees' ([in descendant lges] → 'honey', 'milk') > IE *mel-i-(t) / *mel-n- 'honey'

1522. * $\bar{n}^{\text{r}}\bar{a}^{\text{r}}$, prn. of collectivity and plurality > **IE**: "primary" verbal ending of 3p *-(e)nti, "secondary" ending of 3p *-(e)nt (AnIE: Lw, Pal -nta, Lc nasalized vw. + -te)

1523. * $n\bar{E}$, dem. prn. of duality, 'they (two)'

1524. * $\bar{n}i$ 'not' > **IE** *ne_i, *ne 'not', * η - 'un-, -less'

1525. * nu (or * $n\bar{u}$?), postp. and preverb 'from', postp. 'of' > **IE**: *-n 'from' within *-d^he-n (in Gk πό-θεν 'where from?', οὐρανόθεν 'from the sky') ||| *-n-, a marker of oblique cases (presuffix, a morpheme preceding the case endings) in heteroclitic nouns ||| NaIE adv. * $n\bar{o}$ 'from, away'

1526. * $\bar{n}\nabla$ 'we' excl. > **IE** *ne-/* $n\bar{o}$ 'we' (stem of oblique cases), e.g. [1] accus. * $n\bar{o}$ -s ~ * η -s, [2] other oblique cases: Ht dat. anzas, nas, L dat.-abl. $n\bar{o}$ -bis, Gt dat. uns(is), OCS dat. **НАМЪ** namъ, [3] poss. prn. 'our' > HrLw azis(< η so-), L noster, OCS **НАШЪ** našъ, Gt unsar, IE * η s-mos > Gk Ae ἄμμος, OI as'māka-, Av ahmāka-, [4] accus. du.: OI nau, OCS **НА** na 'us two', as well as Gk A νῶ id.

1526a. * $\bar{n}\nabla$, a marker (pronoun) that formed analytic equivalents of passive participles ([in descendant lges] → derived passive verbs) > **IE**: NaIE *-no-, sx of passive participles and deverbal adjectives; productive sxs of descendant languages: OI prs. prtc. bhind-ā'na-_h and pf. prtc. bibhid-ā'na-_h ← bhid- 'bind', Gmc *-ono-/-eno-: Gt waurp-an-s, OHG gi-wortan, ON orðenn 'geworden', Gt bit-an-s 'bitten', as well as OCS **НЕСЕНЪ** nes-en-ъ 'carried, getragen', **ЗАБЪВЕНЪ** za-bъv-en-ъ 'forgotten'.

1527. * $\bar{n}a\bar{e}E$ 'go' (→ 'go to do sth.') > ?? **IE**: NaIE * $n\bar{a}$ - 'help, be useful'; one of possible sources of the *n-infix in the IE verbal imperfective\present forms

1528. ₂ * $\bar{n}aX_{\text{L}}\nabla_{\text{L}}b\nabla$ (or * $\bar{n}|\eta a\bar{e}b\nabla$, * $\eta aX_{\text{L}}\nabla_{\text{L}}b\nabla$?) 'hungry and thirsty', 'not to drink' (→ 'to be sober' > **IE**: NaIE * $n\bar{a}b^h$ - 'sober, hungry and thirsty')

1529. * $\bar{n}\nabla X^{\text{r}}\bar{u}^{\text{r}}b\nabla$ 'thin, meagre' ([in descendant lges] → 'weak') > **IE**: NaIE *(s)nēb^h-ri- / *(s)nōb^h-ri- 'narrow, thin'

1529a. ? ₂ * $\eta ec^{\text{r}}\nabla$ 'plait, tie together'

1530. ??? ₂ * $N^{\text{r}}a^{\text{r}}\bar{c}^{\text{r}}\nabla$ 'falcon'

1531. * $\eta Ad\nabla$ '(the whole) clan'

1532. (₂?) * $\eta id\nabla$ (or * $Nid\nabla$) ≈ eye; to look' ([in descendant lges] → 'to look for, to seek?')

1533. * $\bar{n}i_{\text{L}}\eta U_{\text{L}}da$ (or * $\eta i_{\text{L}}\eta U_{\text{L}}da$) 'to tie' > **IE**: NaIE *ned^h- id.

1534. ₂ * $\bar{n}aHgo$ (or * $\bar{n}ag\nabla\eta o$) 'hungry, thirsty' > **IE**: NaIE * $n\bar{a}g^{\omega h}$ - 'sober; hungry and thirsty'

1535. *nig_lE_jXä 'to butt, to push, to pierce' > IE: NaIE *ne_jġ^h- v. 'pierce'
1536. *ñigES∇ (= *ñigEś∇?) 'butt, pierce' > IE: NaIE *^one_jġ|ġ_l^h_s- v. 'pierce'
1537. *ñüH₁'æ' or *ñüw'æ' 'now' > IE *nuH_X 'now' > Ht r u 'now, and, but', nūw a- 'still, yet', NaIE *nū 'now' ||| N *ñüH₁'æ' nu (*ñüH₁'æ' + genitive pc. *nu) '(of) the present time' > IE *nuH_X-n∇ > NaIE *nū-no- 'jetzig'
1538. *ñAk∇ 'woman' > IE *neK- > Ht neg a- ~ neka- 'sister'
1539. *ñEko 'to open (?), to bare, to uncover' > IE: NaIE *nog^w- (-d→ *nog^wod_l^h_o-, *nog^w-no-) 'naked'
1540. *ñuk∇ (= *ñuk^u?) (or *ñuk_l∇[?]_l∇??) 'darkness, night' > IE: Ht nek u- 'es wird Abend', nek u- 'evening', nek u t 'evening, night', NaIE *nok_l^w_t- / *nuk_l^w_t- 'night', NaIE *^one_uK- > Lt ni ū ks ó ti 'appear\be gloomy, be murky', NaIE *^onuġ^h|ġ^h- or *^onuġ^h|ġ^h- 'night'
1541. *ñük∇ or *ñukE 'now' > IE: Ht nu k k u 'jetzt, sofort'
- 1541a. *ñik∇[?]u 'small, little'
1542. *ñak_lE' 'fell, skin' > IE: NaIE *nak|ġ- id.
1543. *ñæK_æ 'pursue (the enemy), wage war, kill' > IE: NaIE *neġ- 'kill; corpse', NaIE *^oġġ- > OIr é c (< *^oġ^lku-) 'death', Gmc *a_ht_o > OHG ā h t a 'hostile persecution'
1544. *ñæK_l'ü' 'carry, bring' > IE: NaIE *neġ-/*^oġġ-/*enġ- 'carry', ? Ht ni ni nk- 'mobilize \ set (people) in motion; move, remove, transfer; set in motion'
1545. *næK_l∇ 'to plait, to tie'
1546. *ñeK_lU 'relative(s) of a younger generation' > IE: NaIE *nepōt- 'grandson, nephew' (if from **nekpōt-, a cd. with the second element *pōt-)
1547. *ñU_lK_l∇ 'strike, peck, hit' > IE: [1] NaIE *ne_uk-/*nuk- 'hit, push', [2] NaIE *neġ- 'kill', *neġu-s 'dead person, corpse'
1548. ₂ *ñüK_l∇ or *ñuK_lE 'hole'
1549. *ñäK_l∇_lhê 'see, perceive'
1550. ₂ *ñoh_l∇ 'to walk\lead; way'
1551. *ñô_lm∇ 'pleasant, gentle, fine'
1552. *^onim[?]∇ 'name' > IE *^ono(:)m-n(-)/*^oġm-n(-) 'name'
- 1552a . *ñi[?]a_lñ_lč_lč_l∇ 'grass'
1553. *ñ∇Nĉ∇_l∇_l 'high, big, strong'
1554. *ñi_lŋ^u' 'hair (of animals)' ([in U] → v. 'remove hair, pluck out hair\feathers')
1555. *ñap∇ 'move to and fro, sway'

1556. *nop^ʳE^ʳ 'breathe, blow'
1557. *n̄ôp₁∇₁h^ʳi^ʳ 'fog, cloud' > IE *neb^h- d→ [1] IE *nebhos / *nebhes- ntr. 'cloud, fog, sky']]] [2] NaIE *neb^h-elā 'cloud, fog'
- 1557a. ₂ *N∇p₁∇R∇ 'bank, shore, edge'
1558. ₂ *n̄ûq∇ 'to bend, to swing, to sink' > IE *neuh- > NaIE *neua- vi.\vt. 'bow, nod'
1559. ₂ *'n̄∇qa 'assist (help, protect)' > IE: NaIE *'nā- 'help, be useful'
- 1559a. *niq^ʳu^ʳ 'grind, crush, rub, rub down\off, rub to powder'
1560. *n̄ar^ʳû^ʳ 'thin, narrow' > IE: NaIE: Gmc *narwa 'narrow'
1561. *n̄o^ʳç^ʳr∇ (= *n̄o^ʳç^ʳr∇?) 'moist, mud', (?) 'to gush'
1562. *n̄aher∇ (or *n̄aher∇) 'day, sun, daylight'
1563. *n̄eq∇r∇ 'forehead, front of the head', 'nose'
1564. *n̄iXR∇ 'hollow (in the ground, in a tree), hole, pit' > IE: NaIE *nə|o|ar-/*nēr- 'hole, hollow in the ground'
1565. ₂ *n̄ûr^ʳ∇ 'to penetrate' > IE: NaIE (in BSl) *'ner- 'penetrate, plunge, dive'
1566. *'n̄∇yar^ʳ∇ 'man (vir), male animal' > IE *'ner- 'man, male animal'
1567. *n̄us∇ 'to breathe' > IE: NaIE *neus- vt. 'smell'
1568. *'n̄ûs₁y₁∇ 'woman' (general term), 'woman of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > IE: NaIE *snuso-s 'son's wife, brother's wife'
1569. *n̄iŝu 'smell (odorare), breathe heavily' > IE: NaIE *neus- v.'smell (sth.)
1570. *n̄at^ʳo^ʳ 'bend, bow, incline' (intr.) > IE: NaIE (in Gmc.) *'net- 'lie down, rest'
1571. *n̄aH₂t^ʳo^ʳ 'woman (of ego's generation) belonging to the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lges] → 'sister-in-law')
1572. *n̄at₁H₁∇ 'to seek, to seek help; help' > IE *netH- 'help, grace, favor', ? Ht nūt- '≈ Glück, Wohlbefinden, Ansehen' or sim., nū t- ~ nū- '∈ desirable condition'
1573. ₂ *n̄a^ʳh^ʳw^ʳE^ʳ 'vessel' > IE: NaIE *nāu- 'vessel (made of a trunk), boat' (in descendant lges] → 'ship')
1574. *n̄æw₁y₁∇ 'new' > IE *newo-/*nowo- 'new', NaIE *newyo-/*nowyo- 'new'
1575. *nayE (probably *nayı) 'woman' > IE: NaIE *-nī, derivational marker of the feminine sex
- 1575a. ₂ *n̄i?ay∇ 'rot; pus' > IE: Ht yaya- v. 'expectorate (phlegm)'

1576. (2?) * $\bar{n}iz^{\prime}U$ 'female'
1577. $_2$ * $\acute{n}ab^{\prime}V$ 'warm, heat'
1578. ? (2?) * $\acute{n}a\check{\chi}V$ 'wet, moist' > (possibly) ? σ IE * $yēs-$ v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (× N * $\acute{n}o\hat{c}V_{LqV}$)
1579. * $\acute{n}o\hat{c}V_{LqV}$ 'to moisten, to be moistened; to sprinkle' > ? σ IE * $yēs-$ v. 'boil, seethe, ferment' (← *v. 'become moist?')
1580. $_2$ * $\acute{n}ugV$ '≈ ∈ deer, antelope'
1581. (2?) * $\acute{n}ahæg^{\prime}ü$ (or * $\acute{n}ah_{L}V_{JgE}$?) 'drive, chase' > IE: NaIE * $yāgh^h-$ 'chase, hunt'
1582. * $\acute{n}ogü^{\prime}l|l^{\prime}V$ 'tear out/asunder, pinch, flay'
1583. ? σ, ϕ * $\acute{n}ägöRV$ (or * $\bar{n}ä'göRV$) 'groin, small abdominal organs (kidneys, pancreas, and sim.)' > IE: NaIE * $neg^{\omega h}ro-s$ 'kidney(s)'
1584. * $\acute{n}ukV$ 'shake, swing, tremble'
1585. * $\acute{n}ok_{L}V_{XV}$ 'be in front, take the lead, precede, be first'
1586. * $\acute{n}a\kappa o$ 'laugh, be amused' > IE: NaIE * $'yek^{\omega}-$ /* $'yok^{\omega}-$ 'laugh, play, be amused'
1587. * $\acute{n}'a^{\prime}\kappa o$ 'soft parts of an animal's body (liver, marrow, suet)' > IE: NaIE * $'yek^{\omega}-r_0(t-)$ / gen. * $'yek^{\omega}-'n-es$ 'liver'
1588. * $\acute{n}\hat{o}\kappa V$ or * $\acute{n}a\Gamma\hat{o}\kappa V$ '∈ canine'
1589. ? σ * $\acute{n}u\kappa V$ (+ additional N words) '∈ small fur-bearing animal'
1590. * $\acute{n}'ü\kappa^{\prime}ü$ 'lie down, sink, bow (down)'
1591. * $\acute{n}'o\omega|Ha^{\prime}\kappa i$ (= * $\acute{n}oqa\kappa i$?) 'to bend, to be crooked'
1592. $_2$ * $\acute{n}\ddot{u}\kappa V$ 'tear, tear out'
1593. *id.* * $\acute{n}\check{a}lV$ (or * $\acute{I}\check{a}lV$?) 'tongue' > ? IE: *id.* Ht $lala-$ 'tongue', Lw {Lar.} $lali-$ 'tongue (?)', {Mlc.} $lāla/i-$ 'tongue, gossip'
1594. (2?) * $\acute{n}o\check{s}lê$ (or * $\acute{n}a\check{s}lê$) 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'bow' → 'arrow'), 'to tie together', ([in HS] → 'to put on footwear')
1595. (2?) * $\acute{n}u\check{s}lE$ or * $\acute{n}u\check{s}lE$ 'pluck, tear out (hair, branches), pinch'
1596. * $\acute{n}ag_{L}V$ 'fade, be worn out, be spoiled'
1597. * $\acute{n}og^{\prime}ä^{\prime}l_{Ly}V$ 'slime', 'moisture, fluid', 'raw' > IE * $yeh_{L}o-$ / * $yĥ_{L}o-$ > NaIE * $yēlo-$ / * $yəlo-$ 'unripe, raw'
1598. * $\acute{n}ihla$ 'moist, slimy'
1599. * $\acute{n}eq_{La}lV$ 'bed of a torrent, valley'
1600. *Regional* $_2$ * $\acute{n}\check{a}lyV$ 'four'
1601. * $\acute{n}u\bar{u}\eta_{L}K_{J}V$ (= * $\acute{n}u\check{u}\eta_{L}K_{J}V$?) 'marrow, brain'
1602. * $\acute{n}\nabla\acute{I}lV$ (or * $\eta\nabla\acute{I}lV$) '∈ insect'
1603. $_2$ * $\acute{n}iqU\acute{I}V$ 'scrape, (?) scrape off, rub'

1604. *ńamʳoʳ 'squeeze, grasp' > IE: NaIE *yem-/ *ym̥- 'hold, hold fast, grasp'

1605. *id.* *ńäꞥm∇ 'soft'

1606. ₂ *ńuŋ∇ 'to rest, to slumber, to sleep'

1607. *ńʳæʳŋH∇ ≈ woman' (and 'woman from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes?') > IE: NaIE *yenə-ter / *yona-tr- 'wife of husband's brother'

1608. *ńoŋʳüʳda 'follow in the traces, hunt, pursue', 'move quickly' > IE: NaIE *yeuðh- / *youðh- / *yuðh- 'stir, move' ({P} 'in heftiger Bewegung sein'), ?? (with pre-IE depalatalization *ń- > *n-?) Ht {Ts.} nuntar- 'Eile, Hast', {CHD} nuntaras adv. 'promptly, without delay, soon'

1609. *id.* *ńaŋgü 'tongue' > IE: NaIE *yŋg̥hū- ~ *dŋg̥hū- / *dŋg̥hūwā ~ *oŋg̥hūwā ~ *lŋg̥hū- *id.*

1610. *ńæŋsʳiʳ 'dirt, dirty liquid' > IE: NaIE *ŋsi- 'dirty-colored; dirt, mud'

1611. ₂ *ńʳiʳaʳpa 'face', (?) 'nose' ([in A] → 'front')

1612. *ńäp∇r∇ 'tender, beautiful', 'thin (not dense)', 'sparse' (of hair, wool)

1613. ₂ *ńoga 'lowland, depression'

1614. *ńaRU 'swamp'

1615. *ńiR∇ 'rub, scratch, scratch\draw\make a sign'

1616. ₂ *ńuR∇ 'become very hot, shine'

1617. *ńaʳRä (or *ńäʳRA?) 'pungent, strong' (of sensations, feelings etc.), 'strong' > IE: NaIE *yōr- (an apophonic grade of *yēr-?) 'strong, violent'

1618. *ńEʳʳAr∇ 'sprout'

1619. *ńihRʳaʳ 'to stream; a stream, liquid'

1620. (₂?) *ńʳeʳHʳr∇ 'plain (Ebene), ground'

1621. *ńaXʳiʳRU (k|gê) ≈ cartilage' ([in descendant lges] → 'cartilage of the vertebrae', 'backbone')

1622. *ńäRH₂ê (or *ńäH₂Rê?) 'unripe, tender, weak'

1623. (₂?) *ńʳaʳRḲa|æ (= *ńʳaʳRḡa|æ?) '€ deer' > IE: NaIE *york|k̄- 'roe deer'

1624. *ńaʳʳE ≈ young, newborn' ([in descendant lges] → 'springtime') > IE *yeh̥r- > NaIE *yēh̥r- / *yōr- / *yār- 'young', 'springtime' ([in descendant lges] → 'year')

1625. *ńitûʳ∇ʳqʳ∇ 'fist, knuckles of fingers; to strike with the fist\knuckles, hold in the hand'

1626. *ńet∇ 'stalk, stem, trunk'

1627. ${}_2$ * $\acute{\eta}\acute{o}\zeta\omega\nabla$ (or * $\acute{\eta}\acute{o}\psi\omega\nabla$?) 'to hunt, to pursue'
1628. * $\acute{\eta}a\omega ga$ 'hair, down'
1629. \approx * $\acute{\eta}^1E\chi a$ 'to see', ? 'eye'
1630. * $\acute{\eta}E^1yU^1$ ($\eta\nabla$) (= * $\acute{\eta}^1\acute{a}yU^1$ ($\eta\nabla$)?) 'larvae, worms, nit(s)'
1631. ${}_2$ * $\acute{\eta}^1a\zeta ir\nabla$ 'sun', \approx 'sunshine, heat (hot weather)'
1632. * $\acute{\eta}e\hat{\zeta}^1i^1$ 'finger, toe; ? knuckle of a finger'
1633. * η^1U^1 [1] 'thing', [2] 'what?' (most probably, a phonetic reduction or an ellipsis from * $ya \eta^1U^1$ or * $\text{?}\acute{a}y\nabla \eta^1U^1$ 'which thing?')
1634. (${}_2$?) * $\eta ib\nabla$ or * $\eta\acute{a}yb\nabla$ 'to bend down, to sink' > IE: NaIE * $knejb-$ ' \approx bend down, decline'
1635. ?? \approx * $\acute{\eta}Uc^1c^1\nabla$ (= * $\acute{\eta}Uc|c^1\nabla$, * $\acute{\eta}Uc\nabla$?) (or \approx * $\acute{\eta}i^?UC\nabla$?) 'late, evening, night; (?) delay' > IE: NaIE * $\acute{o}'wes-$ 'sunset', NaIE * $\acute{w}esperos$ 'evening'; it is possible that this etymon took part in the creation of IE * $wes-$ 'dwell, pass the night, stay'
1636. ${}_2$ * $\eta UC^1\nabla$ 'small, few'
1637. * $\eta a^?^1igu$ 'to bow, to bend (down), to hang (by sth.), to hang down' > IE: NaIE * $kneig^{\omega h}-$ 'bend, bow'.
- 1637a. * $\eta^1i^1h\omega\nabla$ 'to lead, to direct (/ 'direct oneself) towards' (\rightarrow 'carry [somewhere]') > IE * $nejh\chi-$ ' \approx lead, direct towards' > NaIE * $\acute{o}nejb-$ id., Ht $nai-/ne-$ vt. 'send, dispatch'
1638. * $\eta i\kappa a$ (more probable than * $\acute{\eta}i\kappa a$??) 'cervical vertebrae, neck, nape of neck' > IE: NaIE * $knok(k)o-$ /* $knek(k)o-$ 'nape of neck; hill'
1639. * $\eta^1i\omega o^1l\nabla$ 'extend, stretch, become long'
1640. * $\eta\nabla\acute{i}\nabla$ 'h^1\nabla mP^1i^1' 'gnat, mosquito' (\approx N * $\eta\nabla\acute{i}l\nabla$ '€ insect' + N * $h^1\nabla mP^1i^1$ 'venomous vermin?')
1641. * $\eta^1amT\nabla$ 'give'
1642. * $\eta\acute{a}\bar{\eta}E$ 'go (away)' > amb IE (\times N ? * $\acute{\eta}^1i^1h\omega\nabla$ 'to lead?'): Ht $nanna-$, $nanniya-$ vi. 'drive, ride in an animal-drawn vehicle', vt. 'drive (animals, persons, evils)'
1643. * $\eta a\acute{\eta}_l h_j\nabla$ 'take so. with oneself, lead' > IE * $nejh\chi-$ > NaIE * $nejb(\acute{a})-/$ * $\acute{n}\bar{i}-$ v. 'lead', Ht {CHD} $nai-/ne-$ vt. 'send, dispatch'
1644. * $\eta_l\nabla\omega_j a\acute{\eta}\nabla$ 'cloud, sky'
1645. * $\eta eh^1U^1R^1i^1$ 'light (lux), fire'
1646. * $\eta E_l\text{?}a_j qa\acute{s}a$ 'nose' > IE * $nehS-$ (> NaIE * $n\acute{a}s-$), in oblique cases * $nHos-$ 'nose'
1647. (${}_2$?) * $\eta^1i^1Hat^1a^1$ '€ sharp instrument, sharp tooth; to bite\cut' > IE: NaIE * $kn\acute{e}d-$ / * $ken\acute{a}d-$ 'bite, cut with a sharp instrument'

1648. ? * $\eta i\check{t}\hat{u}$ 'worm(s), maggot(s), nit' > IE: NaIE *knid- ~ * $\widehat{k}nid$ - 'nit, louse' (× N * $\check{K}^rE^r\check{n}it\check{\nabla}$ 'louse, nit')
1649. * $\eta a\check{z}w^r\hat{i}$ 'dead, dead person' > IE: NaIE *nā \check{u} - 'dead body; death'
1650. * $\eta\hat{u}w\check{a}y\check{\nabla}$ 'long hair'
1651. (₂?) * ηuhy^ra 'to rest, to lie, to repose' (→ 'to sleep')
1652. * p^ra^r 'ille, another (animate)'
1653. ₂ * $p^ri^r\check{\nabla}$ 'sharp edge, blade'
1654. * p_u^ri (~ * bu^ri ?) 'tree, bush'
1655. * $p^ro\check{z}y\hat{u}$ 'small', 'child', 'young (of an animal)' > IE: NaIE *pō \check{u} - / *pə \check{u} - / *pū- 'little, child, a young of an animal; few'; with sxs, e.g. *pu-tlo- 'child'
1656. * $pA^ri\check{c}\check{\nabla}$ 'axe, hammer'
- 1656a. ? ϕ $P_aCk|K\check{\nabla}$ (= $paCk|K\check{\nabla}$?) 'hand' (→ 'handful')
1657. * $P_u\check{c}_L\check{\nabla}_r\check{\Psi}\check{\nabla}$ 'to press, to squeeze, to crush by squeezing'
1658. * $P^ri^r\check{c}\check{\nabla}$ 'stalks of plants and their fibres used for plaiting'
1659. * $p_o\check{c}\check{\nabla}$ 'to plait' (→ 'sth. plaited, cloth')
1660. ? ϕ * $pu\check{c}_L\check{\nabla}_r\check{n}\check{\nabla}$ 'worm, snake'
1661. * $pu\check{c}\check{\nabla}$ 'to fall'
1662. * $p_{Le}^r|y_i\check{c}\hat{u}$ (or * $pi^re\check{c}\hat{u}$) '∈ coniferous tree' > IE: NaIE *pit $_L$ \check{u} - '∈ coniferous tree'
1663. * $p_a\check{c}\check{\nabla}$ 'to open' ([in descendant lges] → 'hole, slit'), to be widened, to spread'
1664. * $P\hat{u}\check{c}^ro$ 'hair' > IE: NaIE *pous- / *pus- 'body hair, down'
1665. * $p_a^rg^rd\check{\nabla}$ 'leg' (or '∈ part of a leg'), 'foot' > IE *pe(:)d- / *po(:)d- 'foot'
- 1665a. * $P_U^rh^r_L\check{\nabla}_rd\check{\nabla}$ (R $\check{\nabla}$) 'long, spacious, (?) far'
1666. * $P_uq^r\check{\nabla}d\check{\nabla}$ 'leather bag, scrotum'
1667. * $P_ed_L\check{\nabla}_rg\check{\nabla}$ 'to break, to tear, to wound'
1668. * $P^ri^rg\check{\nabla}$ 'to pour; rain'
1669. ? ϕ * $p_U_Lgi_r\eta\check{\nabla}$ (or * $p_U_Lgi_r\eta\check{\nabla}$?) 'faeces, filth'
1670. * $p_o\Gamma_i$ 'cavity, valley' (→ 'lowland'), 'to hollow out'
1671. * $p\check{a}^r\check{\Psi}^r\hat{u}wA$ 'fire' (→ 'heat', 'daylight, day') > IE *peXw-r/n- 'fire'
1672. * $p_a^rH_L\check{\nabla}_r^r\check{u}^r$ 'strike, split, chop' > IE *pe $\widehat{H}w$ - / *p $\widehat{H}\check{u}$ - > NaIE *pēw- / *pə \check{u} - / *pū- v. 'beat, strike, cut'
1673. *on.* * $puh^r\check{\nabla}$ 'blow (blasen)' > IE: NaIE *pu(:)- / pe \check{u} - / po \check{u} - / p hu - 'breathe, blow'
1674. * $pik^r\check{u}^r$ 'to press' (→ 'to crush') > IE: NaIE {P} *pu $^r\widehat{k}^r$ - 'zusammendrängen, eng umschließen'

1675. (₂?) *P_oka 'side of a body, side' > IE: NaIE *pog-/*pōg- 'side of a body', *po(:)k-s- 'side, flank' ({P} *pog-/*pōg-, *po(:)k-s- 'Achsel, Hüfte, Lende, Seite')

1676. *P_a'h'k∇ 'spring of water; to spout' > IE: NaIE *°pāg|g̃- > Gk πηϋή, Gk D πᾶϋᾶ 'spring of water'

1677. *P_{'ā'}Hak∇ (= *P_{'ä'}qak∇?) 'hut, village' > IE: NaIE *°pāg|g̃o- > L pāgus 'community of peasants, village, country district'

1678. *P_{'a'}k_l∇_?∇ (= *pakU_?∇?) (partially *id.*) 'to split'

1679. *P_äk_ô 'to heat (on fire)', 'to be hot' (→ 'to cook, to bake', 'to dry') > IE: NaIE *pek^ω- v. 'cook, bake, prepare food on fire'

1680. (₂?) *P_{'o'}K_?∇ 'to scratch, to comb' > IE: NaIE *pek̃|k-, *pek̃|k-t- v. 'comb', pek̃|kten- n. 'comb'

1681. ₂ *P_oK_ü'(herds of) ruminant animals, wild cattle' > IE: NaIE *pek̃u / *pek̃we- 'cattle'

1682. *id.*? *P_o'k'∇ 'bladder, blister'

1683. (*on.*?) *P_Eχk_?∇ 'rub, scrape'

1684. (₂?) *P_{'E'}K_y∇ (or *P_∇K_y∇) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaIE *(s)pek̃- 'look, observe', *(s)peg̃- ≈ look, look after'

1685. *P_{'ô'}K_?∇_d∇ (or *P_∇'K_?∇_d∇?) 'to run'

1686. *P_iK_?∇ž∇ 'sticky liquid, pitch' > IE: NaIE *pik- 'tree pitch'

1687. (₂?) *P_al∇ '(ε?) tooth'

1688. *P_ä᾿A_?'time (mal, fois), once, one'

1689. *P_al'o_?'open ground, plain' > IE: NaIE *pol- 'field, plain', *pel_la_?-t- 'plot (of land), place'

1690. *P_ä᾿∇ 'inside, entrails, liver'

1691. *P_il∇ 'a hair, tuft of hair, feather' > IE: NaIE *pilo- 'hair', *pil-t- 'felt', *piles-/pils- 'felt', *pleu_?-k-, *pleu_?-s- 'feather, hair, wool'

1691a. *P_UIE 'be much\big, increase'

1692. *P_ul_?u (or *P_ul_ü?) 'to spring forth, hervorquellen' (→ 'to flow'), 'to plunge in water' > IE: NaIE *pol-/*p_lo- v. 'pour\stream', NaIE *pleu_?- 'flow; swim'

1692a. ₂ *P_ûL∇ 'to blow (blasen)'

1693. *P_∇L_û'lungs, pluck' > IE: NaIE *pleu_?-mon-/*plu-m(o)n- 'lung', *°pleu_?-tyā ~ *°plou_?tyā- 'lung(s)'

1694. *P_{'i'}'r'_?L∇ (= *P_{'i'}'r'_?l∇?) 'strong' > IE: NaIE *bel- 'strong'

1695. *P_a∇l_yû 'much, superfluous' > IE: NaIE *'pelu- 'great, many' / *P_o'lu- 'much' ||| ds: *plē-yōs 'more', *plē-yōs-tos 'most'

1696. ${}_2$ *P₂'iʔæ'L∇ (or *P₂'iyæ'L∇?) 'to fly, to soar'
1697. *P₂'iʔu'L∇ 'stinging insect'
1698. *p₂i₂y₂lâ (or *p₂i₂l₂y₂â?) 'to fall' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^hol- v. 'fall'
1699. *P₂e₂lʔê or *P₂e₂ʔlê 'side of body, side' > IE: NaIE *p₂ol- id., 'half'
- 1699a. *P₂u₂l₂|l₂∇₂'ʔ'∇ '∈ leaf-bearing tree (poplar?)' > IE: NaIE *p₂el- 'poplar'
- 1699b. *p₂ol₂i₂εE (or *p₂ol₂i₂ϑE?) 'to split' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^hel- '≈ split' and NaIE *p₂l₂h₂el-, *p₂l₂h₂ol- 'board (Brett), log of wood'
1700. *P₂u₂l₂ε|Xu (= *p₂'u₂l₂ε|Xu?) or *P₂u₂l₂ε|Xa (= *p₂'u₂l₂ε|Xa?) 'red, yellowish, pale' > IE *p₂l₂h₂w-, *p₂ol₂h₂w- > NaIE *p₂l₂w-/*p₂ol(ə)w- 'light yellow, blond, pale, dun'
1701. *pa₂l∇'g'∇ 'settlement, home, wall' > IE *p₂olH-/*p₂l₂H- 'fortified settlement'
1702. *pa₂l₂ϑ∇ (or *pa₂l₂g∇?) 'mud, swamp, lake' > IE *b₂olH- '≈ swamp, pool', *p₂elH- 'swamp'
1703. *p₂U₂l₂H∇ 'be liquid, be wet' > IE: NaIE *^op₂l₂ə|ad- > Gk πλάδος 'abundance of fluids', πλαδάω 'humid, fluid', πλαδαρός 'wet, damp'
- 1703a. *P₂û₂l∇₂h₂û₂'grass' > IE ≈ *p₂eloH-/*p₂eleH-, *p₂el₂h₂ou₂- 'straw, chaff'
1704. *P₂ä₂l₂qA 'side, half, part' > IE: NaIE *p₂ol₂ə₂- 'side of body, side, half'
1705. *p₂el₂qê 'to tremble, to fear' > IE {IS} *p₂elH- / *p₂leH- '(make) tremble, fear'
1706. *P₂i₂l₂|l₂Eqi (or *P₂i₂LEqi?) 'open, uncovered, bare' > IE: NaIE *p₂l₂ē₂- / *p₂l₂ə₂- / *p₂l₂- 'bare, naked'
1707. *p₂'a₂'l₂X∇ 'spade; to dig; pit (sth. dug)' > IE: NaIE *be₂l₂ə₂- ~ *^ob₂al- v. 'dig, hollow'; ? L pāla 'spade'
1708. *pa₂l₂'iX₂'ä₂' '∈ fish'
1709. *P₂ô₂l₂X|q|Γa (= *p₂ô₂l₂X|q|Γa?) 'broad and flat' > IE *p₂lex- 'broad' > Ht palhi 'wide, broad', NaIE *p₂lā-/*p₂elə- 'broad and flat', *p₂lā-no- / *p₂elə-no- 'flat'
1710. *P₂o₂l₂Xæ 'to fill' > IE *p₂el₂h̄-/*p₂le₂h̄- v. 'fill', NaIE pp. *p₂l₂ē-to- 'filled, full', *p₂l₂ē-no- ~ *p₂l₂ō-no- (< IE *p₂le₂h̄-no- ~ *p₂l₂ō₂h̄-no-) 'full', *p₂l₂ē-m₂ŋ n. act. 'filling'
1711. *p₂el₂l₂i₂yA 'to split, to separate' > IE: NaIE *(s)p₂le₂-, *sp₂le₂-d- 'split, split off'
1712. (id.?) *p₂u₂l₂y∇ 'bubble, blister, round swelling' > IE: NaIE id. *bu₂l- / *bu₂ul- 'round swelling'
1713. *p₂'ü₂l₂û₂y₂∇ 'to wash' > IE: NaIE *^ospel- v. 'rinse, (?) wash'

1714. *paLuC∇ (or *paLüC∇?) 'stinging insect (flea, mosquito, tick)' > IE: NaIE *b_lh₁lus- ~ *plus- 'flea'
1715. ₂ *P₋ú'í'č'∇ (or *P₋ú'í'č'∇?) 'grey, grey-haired' > IE: NaIE *pelit- 'grey'
- 1715a. UA ₂ *pA'ŷ'ak|g∇ 'foot' (and 'sole of foot?')
1716. *paŷUkū 'axe, hammer' > IE: NaIE *peleku- 'axe'
1717. *P₋ä|∇k∇ (or *P₋E|∇'g?'∇) 'to split lengthwise, to divide'
1718. *p₋aLHaŋa 'palm of hand' > IE *p_ohm- > NaIE *p_omā 'palm of hand, hand'
1719. *paŷ|∇,ŷ∇ 'to split', 'axe'
1720. *P₋aLŷ∇q∇ 'broad and flat' > IE *pletHu-/*p_otHu- > NaIE *plet(h)u-/*p_ot(h)u- 'broad and flat', IE *pletH-/*p_otH- > NaIE *plet(h)-/*p_ot(h)- v. 'extend, spread'
1721. ₂ *P₋∇LhE'ž'∇ or\and *P₋∇L_hEç|č'∇ 'split up, separate' > IE: NaIE *plēs-/*plās- 'splinter off, tear off'
1722. ₂ *P₋e'í|∇ (= *pe'í|∇?) 'pigeon' > IE *p^re'1- (~ *bel-?) 'pigeon'
1723. *po'í∇ 'hollow, empty' > IE: NaIE *bel- 'hollow out, dig', *po|al- 'hollow, bare'
1724. *pe'ŷ'íû (ńE) 'dust, ashes' > IE: NaIE *pel(ω)-, *pe'1ōu-s / *pel'w-os 'dust', ?σ *p^re'1w- 'chaff, husk', ??σ IE *polt- 'soup\porridge of meal'
1725. *p^ri'ŷ'í∇ 'slit' > IE: NaIE *bul_li₁- 'vulva', *'anus' (→ 'buttocks')
1726. *P₋a'í|ŷH'ä' (= *pa'í|ŷH'ä'?) 'to burn' (intr.), 'to be heated on fire' > IE: *pelh̄- / *pleh̄- > NaIE *pelə-/*plē(ω)-/*plō(ω)- vi. 'burn, be warm'; coalescence with NaIE *(s)p(h)el- v. 'shine'
1727. *P₋ä'íχ|ŷ∇ 'thumb, big toe; (?) finger' > IE: NaIE *pōl- 'thumb, big toe'
1728. *p₋A'í|∇,gæ ~ *pA'í|∇,gæ 'spleen' > IE *b_lh₁ŷg^hen- ~ *(s)p_oŷg^hen- > NaIE *b_lh₁ŷg^hen- ~ *(s)pel_əŷg^h(-en, -ā) ~ *(s)pleng^h- ~ *(s)ple(:)g^h- 'spleen'
1729. *p₋UyAm∇ ('b'∇) 'snake'
1730. *peñ∇ (or *peñ₁iŷ|H₂∇) 'small dog, whelp.'
1731. *P₋i'ñ∇ (= *p₋i'ñ∇?) 'piece of wood, trunk' ([in descendant lges] → 'log, board, pole') > IE: NaIE *pin- 'piece of wood, trunk'
1732. *P₋o'ñ∇ 'path, ford' > IE *'pontoh-s, gen. *pñ^oth-os 'way, path, ford'
1733. *P₋uñ'ä' or *P₋üñ'a 'red color, (?) fox'
1734. *P₋a₁∇,nê (= *P₋a₁inê?) 'put, lay'
1735. *P₋un₁E₁ya 'hair'

1736. *P_un_lE_{ya} (sc. *p_un_lE_{ya} ~ *p_un_lE_{ya}?) 'to turn, to twist, to tie' (→ 'to plait') > IE: NaIE *(s)pen- v. 'plait, spin, tie'
1737. *P_un̄|ŋyû (= *puñ|ŋyû?) 'to breathe; wind, smoke' > IE: NaIE *pneŷ- 'breathe, blow'
1738. (2?) *P_ü|uñyE 'smell (odor); to smell (sth.)'
1739. (2?) *p_∇n̄č_∇ 'nose' > IE: ?σ NaIE {P} *bend-/*bŋd-no- 'vorspringende Spitze'
1740. ₂ *P_on_l'd'_∇ ≈ leg, foot'
1741. *P_∇n_l∇₁∇₁∇ ~ *P_∇n_l∇₁∇₁∇ '∈ insect'
1742. (2?) *P_an̄t_∇h_∇ 'belly' > IE *pant(∇)x- > NaIE *pant- ~ *p_∇nd- 'belly', Ht panduha- {Ts.} 'stomach (?)', {CHD} 'bladder (?)'
1743. *P_ûN₃∇ '∈ part of the leg of animals' ('knee', 'foot?')
1744. *p_än̄∇ (= *p_än̄â?) 'hollowed-out vessel'
1745. *p_EX|Q_na 'keep, protect' > IE *peXy- v. 'protect, keep, take care of' > NaIE *pā(y)-/*pō(y)-/*pī- v. 'protect, graze (cattle)', Ht pahs- / pahhas- 'protect, keep, guard'
1746. *p_in̄|ñ_l∇₁∇₁∇ 'to turn, to plait' ([in descendant languages] → 'to spin', 'to weave')
1747. *P_ay_{n̄}∇_lq_∇ 'to press, to squeeze, to close'
1748. *P_un̄|ñčê 'body hair, down, (?) feathers' > IE: NaIE *pou_s-/*pus- 'body hair, down', fell'
1749. *p_äŋ∇ 'forehead, front' ([in descendant lges] → 'face', 'head')
- 1749a. ₂ *P_oŋE 'bosom, breast'
1750. (2?) *P_iŋû (or *P_üŋE) '∈ a game bird of medium size (grouse or sim.)'
1751. *P_U∇_l∇₁∇ (or *P_U∇_l∇₁N∇?) 'meat'
1752. *P_∇∇₁ŋ_l'U' (= *P_a∇₁ŋ_l'U'?) 'palm of hand, (sole of) foot'
1753. *p_Aŋk∇ (or *p_Ah_lŋk∇??) 'joint (Gelenk), shoulder joint'
1754. *P_oŋs∇ 'dust' > IE: NaIE *pēs-, *pēns- 'dust, sand'
1755. *p_oq∇ 'to cover, to close' > IE: NaIE *pō- v. 'cover'
1756. ?φ on. ₂ *P_u|üq∇_l∇₁∇ 'to let out air\gas', (?) 'to emit smell'
1757. *^rp_la_gE_∇ or *^rp_la_g∇₁∇₁∇ 'skin, film, bark' > IE: NaIE *pōkō-/ *pekō-, *pekū- 'fleece'
1758. *P_l'A_lRE 'finger' and *P_lARE ŋak∇ 'finger, thumb' > IE [1]: Tc A prār, B prārī 'finger', [2]: mt.: NaIE *openKro- > Gmc *fingra- 'finger'
1759. *P_lArû 'stone, rock' > IE *perw-/*peru- 'rock, mountain'
1760. *p_lar∇ 'to fly, to jump' > IE: NaIE *per- v. 'fly', {Bn.} 'flotter en air, se déplacer dans l'espace'

1761. *P_eR∇ 'ground, earth'

1762. *p_er∇ (= *p_er'o¹?) 'lip, edge' ([in descendant lges] → 'front, vordere, before') > IE: [1] Ht p_ur_i 'lip; rim, edge, border', NaIE: Clt *foro- 'edge, limit'; [2] IE *per- (with a hardly identifiable meaning; {P}: 'das Hinausführen über'), a noun used (in its different case forms) as adv., pv. and prep.: IE *pro, *prō 'in front of, forward, before, forth', NaIE *prō 'early, in the morning', NaIE *pra_i, *p_ora_i, *pre_i-, *p_ori (dat. of direction from *per-) '≈ forward, in front of, before'; *p_ro- (nom. or loc. without sx?) 'hervor', *pera(:) (instr.) 'in front'

1763. *P_er∇ (or *P_iHEr∇?) 'bottom, buttocks'

1764. *p_iro (Kæ) 'ask' > IE: NaIE *prek̄-/ *p_rōk̄- v. 'ask (a question); ask for sth.'

1765. *p_or'i¹ (or *p_oʔar'i¹?) 'child, offspring' > IE: NaIE *pari-k-ā 'concubine' or 'whore' (← 'girl')

1766. *por∇ 'leaf' > IE: NaIE *per-, *per-n- 'leaf, fern', Ht parsdu {Ts.} 'Trieb', {CHD} 'leaf, foliage'

1767. (2?) *P_e∇R∇ 'to cross, to pass through' (= N *p_er∇, if Az bārā belongs here) > IE: NaIE *per- v. 'cross, go through\over' (→ 'bring over, lead'), IE *per-, *peri (instr. case?) 'across, beyond'

1768. *p_r'ä²∇R∇ (= *p_r'äh∇R∇?) 'to look' ([in IE] → 'to be visible') > IE *pehr-/ *p_hr- > NaIE *pār-/ *pār- ({P} *pā³r-) v. 'be visible', Ht parai- v. 'appear, emerge (?)'

1769. *P_ogUr∇ 'hollow', 'to gap', 'to be open' (a hollow)

1770. ≈ *p_uHr∇ 'fruit' > IE: NaIE *pūro- 'corn, grain'

1771. *p_i'h|X|Q¹RE 'around' > IE *peri > NaIE *peri (instr.?) 'around'

1772. *P_eyR∇ 'belly, stomach, contents of the intestines' > ?σ IE: ζ Ht {Ts.} paratarru 'lying prone'

1773. *P_aR_iʔ_i∇ 'bring forth, give birth' (of animals), 'young of animals' ([in descendant lges] → v. 'breed') > IE: NaIE *per- v. 'give birth', IE derivatives for young of animals (*p_ro-t∇)

1774. 2 *p_aR_iʔ_i∇ 'take out, pull out\off'

1775. *p_aR_i'ʔ¹E (or *p_aRyE?) 'to tear, to split' > IE: NaIE *(s)per- v. 'tear, be torn, break'

1776. *par_i∇_i'i¹ ∈ stinging insect(s)'

1777. (2?) *p_aR_i'ʔ¹∇ or *p_aRy∇ 'to strew, to spread, to extend' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^(h)er-, *spre_i-, *spre_u- 'strew, scatter, sow', Ht ispar(r)-, isparriya- 'spread, strew, scatter'

1778. *p_oRʳʰû 'to heat with fire, to burn' > IE: NaIE *prey̯s- vi. 'burn'
1779. *p_orʳäʳʰ∇ 'summit, top' > IE *perw-/*peru-, *per-k- 'rock, mountain'
1780. *pür̥gU (č∇) ~ *pür̥č∇g∇ 'flea, gnat, mosquito'
1781. *p_araʳhʳʰi|ü (or *p_araʳʰi|ü)'weak' > IE: NaIE *prāy̯u- 'lacking in energy'
1782. *P_eRʳwʳʰ∇ 'skin, hide, bark'
1783. *p_oʳʰR_lw_l∇ '(female, young?) ungulate (esp. bovine)' > IE: NaIE *per- 'calf, young bull'
1784. (2?) *P_oŔw∇ (= *p_oŕw∇?) 'to turn, to revolve' > ? IE: NaIE *sper- v. 'turn, twist' ('drehen, winden')
1785. *paR_laX_i (= *paŕ_laX_i?) '≈ happy, dear' > IE *prehy- > NaIE *prāj̥-/prəj̥-/prī- 'wish so. well, favor so.'
1786. *p_oARy∇ 'run, flee'
1787. *ʳ_oʳʰuRy∇ (or *ʳ_oʳʰüRy∇?) 'wing, feather(s)' > IE: NaIE *(s)per- 'feather, wing', Ht partawar 'wing', (?) 'feather'
1788. *P_o∇RC∇ 'flee, run (from\after smb.)' (or *p_oArʳyUʳ C∇....., a cd. with *p_oARy∇ 'run, flee') > IE: Ht pars- v. 'flee, escape'
1789. (2?) *P_o∇RC∇ n̄∇ (or *P_o∇RC∇n̄∇)'heel' or '(sole of a) foot' > IE *pers-nā, *pers-ni- 'heel'
1790. *P_o∇R∇ć_lX_l∇ 'fingernail, claw' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *^op_orst- 'finger, (?) toe'
1791. *P_o∇Rić_l∇ 'break through, tear' > ? IE *pers- ~ *prīs- v. 'break into pieces'
1792. *P_oäR_l∇_lga 'to strike, to split' > IE: NaIE *perg- '≈ beat, strike, wound'
1793. *p_oür∇K_l∇ 'be scared, (?) be startled, fear' > IE: NaIE *perk- n., v. 'fear'
1794. *P_o∇R_l∇_lK_æ (= *P_oiŕ_l∇_lK_æ?) 'tear out\asunder\off, detach; dig (a furrow)' > IE: NaIE *perk̄- '≈ dig a ditch\chasm', {P} 'aufreißen, aufwühlen'
1795. *id.* *p_oäR_o∇1∇ (~ *p_oäR_o∇R∇ ~ *p_oäR_o∇ŝ|ž|č∇?) 'butterfly' > ?? *id.* IE: NaIE {EI} *pe|pe| 'butterfly'
1796. 2 *P_oUR_l∇_lt∇ '≈ moisture, water' > IE: NaIE *p_ord- '≈ wet, moist, slimy'
1797. *P_oûRt∇_lX∇_l (= *p_oûRt∇_lX∇_l?) 'to spit, to vomit (?), to fart' > IE: NaIE *perd- v. 'fart with noise', *p_ordi-s n. 'fart'
1798. ?? 2 *P_o∇Rʳʰtʳʰ∇ 'jerk, pull (out), tear off' > IE: Ht partai- {CHD} v. 'disentangle (?), unravel (?)', {Ts.} 'auszupfen, entwirren'

1799. *paR̥t̥ 'rock, hill' > IE: Gk πέτρᾱ 'rock'
1800. (₂?) *r̥p̥r̥ḀR̥t̥ 'h'̥ or *r̥p̥r̥Ḁt̥R̥ 'h'̥ ≈ rod, young twig, shoot' > IE: NaIE *per̥t̥h̥- 'pole, rod, shoot'
1801. *P̥or̥ 'hair'
1802. *p̥r̥d̥χ|q̥ (or *p̥Er̥ (̥id̥χ|q̥)?) 'quiver, tremble, start (from fear, with suddenness)' > IE: NaIE *sper̥d̥h̥- 'move convulsively (zucken)', jump up (aufspringen)
1803. *p̥U̥r̥ġä ~ *p̥U̥r̥ġkä 'to jump' > IE: NaIE *sper̥ġh̥-/*spre̥ġh̥- v. 'jump, move energetically', ? *(s)prew̥g-/*(s)prow̥g- v. ≈ jump'
1804. *P̥er̥ġK̥ü '(ε) bone', 'rib' > IE: NaIE *per̥k̥u- 'rib, chest'
1805. *P̥er̥K̥ḁ (or P̥eR̥K̥ḁ) 'turn, turn round, twist' > ?σ IE: NaIE {P} *sper̥g̥-, *spre̥ng̥- 'wrap up, constrict'
1806. (₂?) *p̥äśu 'root, stem of a plant'
1807. ₂ *P̥is̥ 'to remain, to stick (steckenbleiben)'
1808. *p̥os̥i 'be hot\warm'
1809. *p̥os̥ 'to fart (without noise)' > IE: NaIE *pes̥d̥- id.
1810. (₂?) id. *p̥us̥|š̥'E̥ or *p̥ūs̥|š̥'E̥ 'to sprinkle, to spit'
1811. id. *r̥p̥i̥ 'to spray, to sprinkle, to drip'
1812. *P̥E̥š̥ 'grain, (?) nut'
1813. (₂?) *p̥iš̥a 'to get\make ready (cooked, ripe)'
1814. *p̥iš̥ 'gall' > IE: NaIE *bis̥-(t) id.
1815. id.? *P̥uš̥ 'to blow' > IE: [1] NaIE *pe̥us̥- v. 'blow, blow up, inflate' ('aufblasen'), [2] NaIE *p̥ē̥s̥- v. 'blow' (of a person, of wind)
1816. *P̥ūš̥ 'rub, smear' ([in descendant lges] → 'rub away [zerreiben])' > IE: Ht pes̥(̥s̥)- 'rub, scrub (with soap etc.)', pas̥ihai̥- v. 'rub, squeeze, crush'
1817. ₂ *P̥š̥q̥ or *P̥eq̥š̥ê 'spear' ([in descendant lges] → 'arrow')
1818. *P̥ḁġŝê 'penis' > IE: NaIE *pes̥- id., Ht pis̥natar̥/-n- 'male parts (penis, scrotum etc.)'
1819. *p̥äy̥š̥i̥ 'crush, break into pieces' > IE: NaIE *pe̥js̥- (?) / *pis̥- v. 'crush, pound'
1820. *p̥at̥ (or *p̥at̥?) 'ground, plain; bottom' > IE: NaIE *ped̥-, *ped̥-om 'ground', Ht ped̥a-n 'place'
1821. *p̥at̥ or *pḁit̥ 'basket, box' > IE: NaIE *pod̥- 'box, vessel, pot', IE *pot̥H̥r̥ / p̥ot̥H̥n-os 'basket' → 'dish'
1822. *p̥Et̥ 'to pass, to go out' > IE: NaIE *pe̥(:)d̥- v. 'go, walk'

1823. *P₂itA 'hold, grasp, seize' > IE: NaIE *pe(:)d- 'grasp, joint\fit together'

1824. *P₂ut∇ 'feather, hair' > ? IE: NaIE *pet-∇r/n- / *pter- 'feather, wing', Ht pattar/n- ~ pittar 'wing'

1825. *paʔi't∇ (or *paʔet∇?) 'ε skin, bark' > IE *baġtā 'garment made of skins', {P} 'goatskin, garment'

1826. *p₂āt∇?∇ 'to fall' (~ ? *p₂∇t∇?∇ XE 'fall, cast [to the ground]') > IE: NaIE *ped- 'fall', *pet(ə)-/ptē-/ptō- 'fall' (× *pet(ə)- v. 'fly?')

1827. ₂ *P₂otK∇ 'to split, to cut'

1828. on. *p₂at∇ 'beat, strike'

1829. on. *p₂ʔā't∇ 'pinch, pluck'

1830. *p₂Et∇ (or *p₂Eʔ∇?) 'to fly; bird' > IE: NaIE *pet- v. 'fly'

1831. *P₂∇t∇ 'fright, confusion of mind'

1832. ₂ *P₂AHt∇ 'old man, ancestor' > IE *p₂Ht-ter(-) > NaIE nom. *p₂tēr, voc. *p₂ater, gen. *p₂tr-os 'father, head of a clan' -d→ NaIE *p₂truuyō-s 'father's brother'

1833. *p₂∇ʔh'ti?∇ 'liquid secretions, sweat' > IE: NaIE *(s)pōt-/ *(s)pāt- 'dirty moisture, sweat'

1834. *p₂u₁w₁tE (~ *p₂u₁w₁tE?) 'hole' ([in descendant lges] → 'vulva, anus') > IE: Ht padda v. 'dig', pattessar 'excavation, hole, pit'

1835. *p₂atX∇ 'to be open, to open' > IE *pet(H)- id., 'expand, be spread'

1836. *p₂iχ|y∇ 'sharp bone, sharp tool, (?) flintstone' > IE: NaIE *(s)p^(h)e(:)ġ-/ *(s)p^(h)i(:)- 'pointed (spitz), a pointed piece of wood'

1837. *P₂ay∇ '(ε) fish' > IE: NaIE *peġsk(o)-/*pisk- 'fish'

1838. *p₂üH|Qy∇ (= *p₂ügy∇?) 'to boil, to get ready' (food), 'to ripen' > IE *speġy- > NaIE *sp^(h)ēġ-/ *spī- and *sp^hē-/ *sp^hə- v. 'ripen, become thick'

1839. *P₂ûXy∇ 'to be sick; wound' > IE *peġy- (> NaIE *pē(ġ)-/*pī-) v. 'hurt, harm' (→ v. 'blame, abuse')

1840. *p₂āz∇ 'to strain\screen (durchsieben), to percolate'

1841. *P₂ʔEH|y' aʔ∇ 'ε wild galliform bird'

1842. *P₂o₁z₁∇₁ z₁∇ 'to become hard on the surface\top', 'hard surface ('crust, bark, skin)' > IE: NaIE *pe₁l(₁ə₁)- 'film, skin'

1843. *p₂oqEž∇ or *p₂ož∇q∇ 'thigh, haunch' > ??φ IE: NaIE *b^hed- 'thigh'

1844. *qabʔ∇ 'to scoop (schöpfen), to draw water'

1845. ?σ₂ *qEc∇ 'wear out, be weakened'

1846. ₂ *qic'∇ 'shadow, shade'

1847. *q'ō'c'∇₁?∇₁ 'remove'

1848. ₂ *qičE 'see, notice'
1849. *qʳēʳĉ_L∇₁ʳ∇ 'sink' > IE: ?? *AdS* of IE *ʳē̄s- v. 'be seated'
1850. *qʳ∇ĉ_Lʳʳ∇- (= *qʳ∇ĉ_Lʳʳi?) '≈ conceive, give birth' > IE *°Xelōs- > Ht has(ś)-/hans- 'beget, procreate, give birth', HrLw has(a)- 'beget'
1851. ₂ *qad∇ 'to hurry, to run'
1852. (₂?) *qʳAʳd∇ 'belly'
1853. ₂ *qe|id∇ (or *ge|id∇?) 'speak'
1854. *qAd_L∇₁?∇ 'to step, to walk' > IE: NaIE *°a|e|ot- 'go, walk'
1855. (₂?) *qag_L?₁a 'to fear' > IE: NaIE *ag^h- v. 'fear', 'sorrow', *āg^h- 'dread, horror'
1856. *qʳaʳli 'extend one's hand, seize, take, hold'
1857. *qal∇ 'bottom, down' > IE: Ht halluwa- 'deep'
1858. *qæĪ∇ 'hand'
1859. *qôl∇ (= *qu_L∇?) '≈ lizard, snake'
1860. *qoyiLʳ∇ (or qoí|lʳ∇?) 'fur, mane' ([in HS] → 'wool')
1861. ₂ *q∇L_L∇₁?∇ 'knee; to kneel'
1862. *qæʳliyʳ∇ (= *qăʳliyʳ∇?) 'melt, dissolve, be wet\moist'
1863. ?φ₂ *q∇LC∇ 'to tear, to be torn'
1864. (₂?) *q∇L_L∇₁Kæ 'blister, pimple' > IE: NaIE *eġōs- 'sore, ulcer'
1865. *qăí∇ (or *qăʳ_Liʳ∇?) 'strike, pierce'
1866. *qAm∇ 'cry, make noise'
1867. *qAm∇ 'grasp, seize' > IE: NaIE *em-/*om- 'take, acquire, have'
1868. *qum∇ 'pray, ask' (← *'to exercise magic in order to fulfill one's wish'?)
1869. ₂ *q∇m∇ 'dry; to dry'
1870. *qumʳ∇ 'to drink; beverage'
1871. ₂ *q∇m_L∇₁L∇ (= *qAm_L∇₁L∇?) 'fur, fell'
1872. (₂?) *qañ∇b∇ 'other, different, else, more (than), [?] big' (a possible variant rec. of the N word *Hamb∇ [q.v. ffd.]) > IE: NaIE *amb^hō(ū) du. 'both'] NaIE loc. *amb^hi / *mōb^hi 'from both sides, around'
1873. ₂ *qEñ|ŋK_L∇ 'strangle, kill' > IE *xenk|k̄- '≈ wage war, kill' > Ht henkan, hinkan- 'death, deadly disease', ? NaIE *enk|k- 'pursue the enemy; death'
1874. *qañt_L∇ 'forehead, front' > IE *xant- 'forehead, front' > Ht hant- 'forehead, front(age)', NaIE *ant- *'front' (in prepositions)

1875. (₂?) *qap_∇ 'to stream, to flow' → 'watercourse' > IE *xap- (M) *h₂ep-) ~ *xab- 'river, (stream of) water' > Ht hapā- 'river', Lw hapā/i- v. 'irrigate, water', NaIE *ab- ~ *a(:)p- 'river'
1876. *quP_∇ (or *qūP_∇?) 'to cover, to close; a lid, a cover'
1877. (₂?) *q'a'p'p'∇ 'bank, shore' > ??φ IE: Arm ափն ap^hn 'bank, shore'
1878. *id.*? (₂?) *q'æ'p'p'∇ (more plausible than *q'æ'p'p'∇) 'seize, hold' > IE: NaIE *ap-/*ēp- '≈ touch, grasp'
1879. *qapUR_∇ or *qapU (R_∇) 'to protect, to help'
1880. (₂?) qUp_∇z_∇ 'food made of ground cereals', 'flour'
1881. *qer_∇ '(wild) ox'
1882. *qUR'E' or *qūR_∇ 'bend, incline'
1883. *qur_∇ 'to strike, to chop'
1884. *qe_∇r_∇ or *qer_∇r_∇ 'brook, stream'
1885. *q'u'r_∇h|?∇ 'pierce, make a hole; hole, pit'
1886. *qaRP_∇ 'pluck and gather' ([in descendant language] → v. 'harvest', [in A] → 'cereal') > ? IE *xa|orP- > Ht harpas, harpiyas {Ts.} 'feast of harvest' (unless it means {Pv.} 'feast of winter and summer')
1887. (₂?) *qoR_∇z_∇t_∇ 'cut into, incise, make a hole'
1888. *qA'í?∇ (or *qA'∇'í?∇?) 'filth, dirt, faeces' > ? IE: Ht harra- 'verunreinigen, beflecken'
1889. *q'a's_∇ 'remember, have in mind'
1890. ₂ *qat_∇ '€ corn' > IE: NaIE *ades- / *ados- '€ corn', Ht hat(t)ar '€ cereal' ('eine Getreideart')
1891. (₂?) *q'i't_∇ 'appear, become visible'
1892. (₂?) *q∇t_∇ (or *q∇p_∇z_∇t_∇) 'tail, back part' (possibly '€ tail of some animal') > IE: NaIE o|ād(e)g_∇ω_∇o- 'tail' (or 'stalk')
1893. ?₂ *q'a't_∇ '€ tree, stick'
1894. (₂?) *qæ't'i' 'to turn back', 'to return' (intr.) > ?σ IE: NaIE *eti / *oti 'again' (→ 'and')
1895. *qæ'tU (= *qæ'tū?) 'to cross', 'over\through' (direction) > IE: NaIE *eti 'over' (direction) ('darüber hinaus')
1896. *qo_∇ha_∇t_∇â 'to burn' (trans., intr.), 'to kindle', 'fire, glowing coals' > IE: NaIE *āt-, *(w)āt-r- 'hearth'
1897. *qû_∇hE_∇t_∇ 'entrails; sinew, thread; to tie' > ?φ IE: NaIE *ēt(e)r- / *ōt(e)r- 'entrails', (?) '€ thread'
1898. *qow'i' (or possibly *qo'paw'i' → *qa'paw'i') 'orifice, hole; to make a hole'

1899. *qæwʰ∇ 'lack, be empty\incomplete' > IE {Blz.} *HxueH- > NaIE *uā- ~ *euā-'be empty\wanting' ⇨ *euā-n- 'empty, wanting'
1900. *qaw₁∇₁y∇ or *qawi 'to protect, to defend, to help' > IE: NaIE *aw- 'help, take care'
1901. *q¹Uy∇ (or *q¹æw∇?) 'to wrap, to cover' ([in descendant lges] → 'to drape', 'to clothe'), 'to tie\bind to' > IE NaIE *eu-/*ou- vt. 'dress, put on (clothes)'
1902. *q∇, pc. of collectivity ([in descendant lges] → a marker of plurality) > ? IE: NaIE *°-kθ > Gmc *-xa / *-xa, sx of collectivity, ??φ Arm pl. ending -p-k^h
1903. *qAb∇ 'jaw, cheek'
1904. *q¹æb∇ 'belly, stomach'
1905. *qUbr'E¹ 'basket' ([in descendant lges] → 'vessel') > ?φ IE: NaIE *kap- 'vessel, box'
1906. *qac∇ 'grey' (esp. of hair), 'white' > IE: NaIE *kas-, *kas-no- (or *kās-, *kās-no-) 'grey, white'
1907. *qûd¹i¹ 'hut' ([in descendant lges] → 'house') > IE: NaIE *°k|kud^hyā > Gmc *xuðjōn- 'hut'
1908. *qUyigηU (or *qigηU) 'cold'
1909. *qûrka|æ (or *qûkr|æ) 'to squat' > IE: NaIE *°k|keu_gg|g- v. 'squat'
1910. *qaL∇ 'neck' > IE: NaIE *kōl-sō- 'neck'
1911. (2?) *qōla 'to kill'
1912. *q¹U¹l¹U¹ 'boy, child'
1913. *qU₁?₁l₁∇ 'speak, call'
1914. *qawōl∇ 'leg, bone of a limb' > IE: [1] NaIE *kau₁l-/*ku₁l- 'hollow bone', (?) 'leg']]] [2] NaIE *k₁ω₁e₁l- 'limb'
1915. *qA₁|₁A₁b|p∇ (? *'to cover' →) 'to hide, to conceal' ([in descendant lges] → 'to steal', 'to lie, to deceive') > IE: NaIE *klep- v. 'hide, conceal' → 'steal'
1916. *on.?* *q¹o¹Lûp¹?¹ü 'to gulp, to swallow' > IE: NaIE *°gh|g^hleu_b- > Gmc *gleup- > Dn gylpe, gulpe, Frs E, MDt gulpen 'to swallow eagerly'
1917. *qULp∇ 'hot ashes, embers; to roast\heat on embers or hot stones'
1918. *qU¹l¹l¹E 'penis'
1919. *qA¹l¹l¹∇ 'to break, to tear, to pluck' > IE: NaIE *k|k₁lā- 'break, cut'
1920. ₂ *qa¹l₁∇₁l₁∇ 'urinate'
1921. *q¹u¹l₁∇₁yU '(hollow) stalk, reed, hollow (tubular) bone' > IE: NaIE *kau₁l-/*ku₁l- 'hollow stalk, tubular bone'

1922. *gáí'ú'P∇ 'to debark (a tree), to skin, to cut off', 'bark, peel' > IE: NaIE *gleub^h-/*glub^h- 'peel, take off the bark, strip, cut off'
1923. *gom'i' (or *giʔom'i'?) 'be hungry\thirsty' ([in descendant lges] → 'wish')
1924. *ga'h'ñ∇ 'to dig' > IE *kHen_lH_j- > NaIE *k^henə-/*k^hñ̄- ~ *ken_lə_j- '≈ dig'
1925. *g'o'ñt∇ 'fall, descend, plunge'
1926. ₂ *gu_lñ_jć∇ 'crawl', 'climb'
1927. *gona (P∇) (or *goʔana (P∇)?) 'nose' > (σ?) IE: NaIE *^ok^we^rn¹-, {Ped.} *k^wengno- 'head'
1928. (₂?) *gup∇ 'to divide; a part'
1929. *gār∇ 'smell' > ?σ IE: NaIE *krem-us- / *kerm-us- '(a plant) having strong smell'
1930. *goRû (or *guR∇?) 'to copulate' > IE: NaIE *kou_ru_j- '≈ fornicate'
1931. *goR∇ (or *gô_r∇?) 'frog, toad' ([in descendant lges] → 'tortoise') > IE: NaIE *g^wred^h- 'frog, toad'
1932. *gihUr∇ ~ *gUhir∇ 'reach, enter', (→) 'happen'
1933. *gô_w∇_jR∇ 'blind, one-eyed'
1934. *gu_y∇_r∇ 'to love, to covet' (→ 'to prefer')
1935. *g∇^ryo¹R∇ 'heap of stones, stone wall, walled settlement'
- 1935a. *g^rir^r∇ 'top, summit, crown (of the head)' > IE *k̂_{r̂}H-, NaIE *k̂_{r̂}- ~ *k̂ir- 'head'
1936. *goR_l∇_j∇ 'gourd' > IE (< cds?): [1] NaIE *k^werk^w- > OI karkat̂ī 'e gourd' || AS hwerh^wette 'cucumber' [2] ? NaIE *k_l^werb^heto- 'gourd'
1937. *gARûH₂∇ (= *gARûh∇?) 'to cover, to keep (sth.) out of sight, to hide' > IE *^okruH-/*^okrouH- > NaIE *^okrū-/*^okrowə- v. 'cover, hide'
1938. *guR^rh¹∇ 'to bark, to howl' (of canines), 'to cry, to shout' > IE: NaIE *k^wer-, *k^wr- 'cry, shout'
1939. *gUR_lw_j∇ (= *gU^r_lw_j∇?) 'ear'
1940. *goRb∇ 'hearth, stove; to roast, to burn' > IE: NaIE *^ok|k̂arb_l^h_j- (unless it is *^ok|k̂ard^h-) > L carbō (gen. carbōnis) 'charcoal'
1941. *gæRgUm∇ 'weasel, ermine' > IE: NaIE *k̂ormen id.
1942. *g∇R∇ś∇ (= *g∇RUś∇?) 'to be(come) silent\dumb' > IE: Ht karus(siyā)- 'be\fall silent; keep quiet (about)'
1943. *gaH₂ř∇ 'hard, firm' > IE: NaIE *k^har- 'hard'

1944. *on.* ***quʔ_L∇_Lsê** (or ***quH_{2L}a_Lsê**?) 'to vomit, to cough' > **IE** *k^wehs- > NaIE *k^wās- v. 'cough'
1945. ***qūʔit∇** 'bright; to shine' > **IE**: NaIE ***k̂weid-/*k̂wid-** v. 'shine, be white'; ***k̂weid-t-** > ***k̂weit-** 'white, bright, shining'
1946. ***qew∇** 'bark, crust, shell'
1947. *on.* ***qûw^ri^r∇** 'shout, cry', 'utter sounds (*inter alia* of an animal)'
1948. ***qewy∇** 'stay, lie, rest motionless' > **IE** ***k̂ej̄-** 'lie (liegen)'
1949. (2?) ***qoy∇** 'make', (?) v. 'pile up, build' > **IE**: NaIE *k^woj̄-/ *k^wej̄-/ *k^wi- 'pile up, gather, build, make', {EI} k^wej̄- 'pile up, build'
1950. ***qaywE (L∇)** 'alone', 'entire' > **IE**: NaIE ***ka_{j̄}w-(e)lo-** 'alone, entire, whole', NaIE ***ka_{j̄}-ko-** 'one-eyed'
1951. (2?) ***qEžû** 'to shape (an object) by chopping, beating etc.' > **IE** ***kaHw-/kHw-** > NaIE ***kā_u-/*ka_u-** v. 'shape an object by chopping\ hammering'
1952. ***quz∇** 'entrails, pluck' > **IE**: NaIE ***ke_us-/ku(:)s-** '≈ intestines, abdomen'
1953. ??? ***r^ri^r**, a particle of plurality \ collectivity, an alternative reconstruction of the grammatical marker of plurality that is otherwise (and probably better) reconstructed as N ***r∇yE (= *r∇y^ri^r?)**
- 1953a. (2?) ***r∇ (< *ʔ∇^rr^r∇?)**, theme-focalizing (topicalizing) particle > **IE**: nom.-accus. ending *-r in heteroclitic nouns
1954. (2?) ***rûʔ∇** 'go', (?) 'run' > ? **IE**: NaIE ***re_u-/*erw-/*ru-/*r-** 'move' (vi.), 'hasten'
1955. ?σ₂ ***r∇ʔi** 'see' > **IE**: NaIE ***rē-/rə-, *rī-/ *rē_{j̄}-** 'think, reckon, count'
1956. ***raʔ∇** 'remain, stay'
1957. ₂ ***rab∇** 'much, big'
1958. ***rib∇** 'to cover' > **IE**: NaIE ***reb^h-** 'cover with a roof'
1959. ***r∇^rb^r∇ (or *r∇bh∇?)** '≈ move, shake (sich bewegen, schwanken)' > **IE**: NaIE ***reb^h-** vi. 'move'
1960. ***r^ra^rhb∇** 'tremble' ([in descendant lges] → [1] 'be disquiet, fear', [2] 'rage against so.' → 'attack') > **IE**: NaIE ***ra|eb^h-/r_ob^h-** 'rage'
1961. ₂ ***ric^r∇** 'small pieces; to crush'
1962. (2?) ***r∇g∇ć∇ (= *rEgać∇?)** '≈ to add'
1963. ***rec^r∇ga** 'to tie, to plait' > **IE**: NaIE ***resg-** '≈ weave; rope'
1964. ₂ ***rač^r∇** 'dirt'
1965. ₂ ***rUč^r∇** 'to run' > **IE**: NaIE ***ret^h-** v. 'run'

1966. *raĉê 'to spread, to stretch'
1967. *räĉ▽ 'to break into pieces; piece, part'
1968. (₂?) *r'e¹ĉ▽ ≈ 'to please, to be pleased; pleasant, acceptable'
1969. *r▽ĉ₁▽₁χ▽ (or *r▽χ₁▽₁ĉ▽) 'to wash'
1970. *r'o¹dE 'to seek, to wish' > IE: NaIE *redʰ-/*rodʰ- (or *radʰ-?) v. 'seek, find, get; care for'
1971. *rayd▽ 'to walk', 'foot, track' ([in descendant lges] → 'to journey, to ride, fahren') > IE: NaIE *rejdʰ- v. 'travel, move (fahren, in Bewegung sein)'
1972. *r▽g₁▽₁ř▽ 'to quake, to move in agitation' > IE *ĥergʰ₁Hχ₁- > NaIE *ergʰ- '≈ tremble, leap, fidget', Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence'
1973. *rigʰ'a (or *rigřa?) 'a scratch, line' > IE *rejkH- > NaIE *rejk(h)- 'line, row; scratch'
1974. (₂?) *r▽g₁▽₁ļ▽ (or *ļ▽g₁▽₁ļ▽) 'foot, paw' > ?σ IE: OIr lurga 'shinbone'
1975. ?σ *rogU ≈ 'incline, incline\turn towards'
1976. *rAwg'U¹ 'to destroy, to tear' > IE *reuH- > NaIE *rewa-/ *rū- 'tear to pieces, tear out'
1977. *raγ₁i₁?▽ 'follow, accompany' ([in descendant lges] → 'drive [a herd], graze') > ?σ IE: NaIE *reu-/ *erw-/ *ru-/ *r- 'move, hasten'
1978. (₂?) *r▽H₂i (= *r▽h|ř|h i?) 'thing' > IE *reĥy- > NaIE *rēj- (/ *rej-)'thing'
1979. (₂?) *r▽kE (or *r▽kü?▽?) 'moist', 'contain\conduct water' > IE: NaIE *reg̃- 'moist; pour\conduct water'
1980. *r▽k₁U?₁▽ (or *r▽wk₁▽?₁▽?) 'ε horn' > IE: NaIE (att. in BSI) *rog̃ω₁h₁- or *rog̃h₁- 'horn'
1981. *r▽k▽?ô 'speak, shout, say' > IE: NaIE *rek₁ω₁- / *rēk₁ω₁- id.
1982. *'r'i¹k'ř¹æ (or *'r'i¹kæ) ≈ 'straight, row', (?) ≈ 'to arrange' > IE: NaIE *'reg̃- '≈ straight; to stretch, to stretch out', *reg̃ī- 'direction, line'; ? NaIE *rej̃g̃- > OHG reichen, AS ræcan 'reach, attain', Lt réižti 'stretch, tighten', {Frn.} 'reken, straffen'
1983. *r'a¹Kâ 'time, term' > IE: NaIE *rok₁ω₁- > Sl *rokъ 'time appointed beforehand'
1984. *r'o¹kô 'shelled animal (e.g. tortoise, crayfish)', 'shell (of an animal)' > IE: NaIE *rō|āk₁ω₁- > Sl *rákъ 'crayfish'
1985. *r▽k▽ 'to skip, to hop, to dance'

1986. *r_lw_lκæ 'sinew' ([in descendant lges] → 'cord, rope'), 'to tie' > IE: NaIE *re_lk̄- 'rope, strap'
1987. *ra_lκa_lΧ_l∇ (= *ra_lκa_hū?) 'arrange, put in order' > IE: NaIE *rek- ~ *rēk- {P} '(an)ordnen'
1988. *_l'_lr_lôm_l∇ 'quiet; to rest' > IE: NaIE *_l'_lrem(ə)- 'rest, be calm, quiet'
1989. *r_lû_lm_l∇ (or *r_lû_ly_lm_l∇ and *r_lû_ly_lm_l∇ n̄_l∇) ≈ vein, muscle, strap' ([in descendant lges] → 'string, rope') > IE: NaIE *re_lu_lm_lŋ_l-/*rou_lm_lŋ_l- > Gmc *re_lu_lman- ≈ leather strap, thong', Lt r_la_lu_lm_lu_lō (gen. r_la_lu_lm_le_ln_ls) 'muscle', NaIE *^orem_lŋ_l- > Sl *rem_l† / gen. *remene 'leather strap'
- 1989a. ₂*r_l'_lû_l'_lm_l∇ 'ant(s), vermin'
1990. *r_l'_lû_l'_lH_lm_l∇ (= *r_l'_lû_l'_lg_lm_l∇?) 'dark' > IE: NaIE *rēmo- 'dark'
1991. *r_lä_lw_lm_l∇ 'chew' > IE: NaIE *re_lu_lmen-/*rou_lmen- 'rumen; ruminate'
1992. *ra_lΧ_lû_lm_l∇ 'womb, belly, stomach of ruminating animals' > IE: NaIE *re_lu_lmen-/*rou_lmen- 'rumen, belly'
1993. *royam_l∇ 'ε (big) fish'
1994. *ri_ln̄_lĉ_l∇ '(tuft of) hair' ([in descendant lges] → 'eyebrow\ eyelash, beard', 'stalk of grass') > IE: NaIE *^orens- (or *^oren_lk̄-) ≈ eyelash, fringe'
1995. *'rep_l∇'ʔ_l∇ 'tear off, break' > IE: NaIE *'rep- ≈ seize by plucking, tearing off etc.'
1996. *r_l'_le_l'_lp_lʔ_l∇ 'make one's way with effort, climb, crawl' > IE *re_lĥp- (mt. of **r_l∇pH-?) > NaIE *rēp- 'creep, crawl'
1997. *ri_lga_l|æ 'shake' (intr.), 'be shaky' (= 'wackeln, wackelig sein') > IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *^ore_lik̄|k̄- vi. 'shake' ('wackeln')
1998. *ri_lq_lû_l'_lz_l'_l∇ (= *ri_lq_lû_l'_lz_l'_l∇?) 'to tie' ([in descendant lges] → 'to tie [an animal]] with a strap', 'loop' > IE: IE *re_liḡ|ḡ_lH_l- > NaIE *re_liḡ|ḡ- 'tie, bind', IE **^ore_liḡ|ḡ_lH_l- > NaIE (att. in Gmc) *^ore_liḡ|ḡ- ≈ a tie'
1999. *r_lä_lŝ_l∇ 'to sprinkle'; (→ ?) 'dew, moisture' > IE: NaIE *ro(:)s-, *ros-ā 'moisture, dew'
2000. *r_l∇h_l∇t̄_l∇ 'branch, stem, rod' > IE *re_lĥt-/*ro_lĥt-/*r_lĥt- > NaIE *rēt-/*rōt-/*rät- ≈ rod, stem'
2001. *row_l∇ (or *row_lH_l∇?) 'dig, scratch, carve' > IE: NaIE *re_lu_lə_l-/*ru(:)- 'dig'
2002. *r_l∇w_l∇ 'water, stream of water; to drink (one's fill)'
2003. (₂?) *r_l∇_lh̄_lw_l∇ 'mix, (??) 'turn round'
2004. ₂*r_l∇w_lΧ_l∇ 'broad' > IE *re_lu_lH-/*ruH- > NaIE *re_lu_lə-/*rū- 'spacious, broad', d. *re_lwes- 'space; wide'

2005. *r∇yE (= *r∇y^ri[?]), a compound prn. of plurality and collectivity > IE *-ēr/*-r_o, 3p ending of the non-active paradigm of the verb (> Ht hi-paradigm, NaIE perfect)

2006. *sE 'he\she' (prn. of active [animated] beings and active objects) > IE: [1] NaIE *s_o 'he, this', m. nom., ⇨ NaIE *sī 'she', 'this' f.; [2] IE *-s, nom. case ending of the animate gender (> NaIE nom. m., f.); [3] possibly IE *-es/*-os, genitive case ending (preserved best in the nominal inflection of consonantal stems) (< the pN deictic *ha or *h^re¹ + the N pronominal *sE)

2007. *ś^rū¹ (> **śi) 'thou' (possibly a variant of *t^rū¹ [> *ti]) > IE *-si (/ *^o-sej[?]), "primary" ending of 2s (pres., active voice) ||| NaIE *-s, "secondary" ending of 2s (past tenses, active)

2008. *ś∇ 'to, towards', directive\inessive postp.

2009. (₂?) *S∇_ly_l^rū¹ 'be full' > IE: Ht s_uω - 'full', s_uωat - v. 'fill (füllen)', md. 'swell, become full'

2010. ₂ *ś^ri[?]b∇ 'strap, thong'

2011. *śi^r?u¹b∇ (or *śi^r?ū¹b∇?) 'clean' > IE *se_up- 'pure', {EI} 'pure, what is taboo for humans' > Ht s_uppi - 'pure', s_uppa - 'flesh\viscera of sacrificed animals' || Um s_upa 'viscera of sacrificed animals'

2012. ?σ *śah^ri¹b∇ (or *śahüba??) 'desert; saline earth'

2013. *śab^r?∇ 'clay'

2014. *śib∇_z∇ 'beast of prey'

2015. *ś^ro¹b_l∇_lt_l∇ (or *s∇b_l∇_lt_l∇) 'stem, piece of wood' > IE: [1] IE *sp∇t- > Ht ispatar (obl. stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer', NaIE *spit- (~ *^ospid-) '≈ spit, spear, needle', [2] mt. NaIE *ste_l:_lb^(h)- 'post, pillar, stem of a tree'

2016. ₂ *ś^rA[?]č¹∇ 'ε stinging insect'

2017. *Sač^ru¹ (or *ś^rā¹č^ru¹) 'scatter, spread about, pour' ([in the prehistory of descendant lges] → 'to winnow, to sift') > IE: Ht sesariya v. 'filter, strain', sesaru 'sieve'

2018. *s|śæd∇ (or *s|śid∇?) 'lower part'

2019. *śid∇ 'sprinkle, pour'

2020. *sa^rh¹ida 'to take aim', 'to direct (e.g. a weapon) straight to the aim', (→ ?) 'to hit (the goal)' > IE: NaIE *se|o_l:_ld^h- / *si(:)d^h- / *sæd^h- 'go straight to a goal\aim'

2021. (₂?) *Sid_ly_l∇r∇ (~ *Sid∇r_ly_l∇) 'to shovel, to sweep' > ??σ IE: NaIE *ster_la_l- v. 'rob'

2022. *sagæ (= *sage?) 'obtain, hold' > IE: NaIE *seĝ^h- 'hold, seize, win (in a battle)'

2023. (2?) *sêg∇ 'eat'
2024. *Sûg∇ 'back of the neck, back'
2025. *śûyg∇|∇ 'produce sounds by voice or by blowing' > IE: NaIE *sweǵh|ǵh|-/ *swǵh|ǵh| 'produce sound by blowing'
2026. 2 *ś'∇y'ŷU 'surface of water'
2027. 2 *śak∇ 'sit, dwell'
2028. *ś'ă'ka|æ 'strew, spread' > IE: NaIE *seǵ|ǵ- v. 'sow'
2029. *śaħk'a' 'search, find, know' > IE *sehǵ-/ *shǵ- > NaIE *sāǵ-/ *sag- 'scent out, track, search' (originally referring to hunt), Ht sak(k)- / sek(k)- 'know, find out'
2030. *śăk,∇,?U 'plait, tie, bind, wicker'
2031. *śük∇?a 'to drink, to suck' > IE: NaIE *seǵg- 'suck', Ht sakiuwaï v. 'water (horses)'
2032. 2 *ś∇'k'∇R∇ (or *ś∇K∇R∇) 'intoxicating drink' ([in descendant lges] → 'alcoholic drink')
2033. (2?) *ś'o'Kō 'to follow' > IE: NaIE *sek^ω- 'follow'
2034. UA 2 *s|śōK∇ 'to stick fast, to be stuck\motionless'
2035. *ś∇K∇ 'honey' or 'bee'
2036. ? 2 *ś∇K∇ 'to carve, to chisel' > IE *sek- v. 'chop'
2037. 2 *śuhK∇ 'wish, covet'
2038. *saħUk∇ 'thick, large'
2039. UA 2 *s|ś∇yoKâ 'blind'
2040. *śiK,ı,a (or [less probably] *śiK,ı,y,a) 'to sink' > IE: NaIE *sek- v. 'sink' (of water), 'flow down', 'dry up, be exhausted' (of liquid)
2041. *śiKâ,ıy∇, 'to pour' > IE: NaIE *seǵk,ı^ω- 'pour out, strain, leak, drip'
2042. 2 *SûK,üR∇ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes, parent-in-law' > IE: NaIE *'swekūro-s 'husband's father', *swe'kūrū-s 'husband's mother', ? *swekū'ro- 'wife's brother'
2043. 2 *śal'a' 'a tie, means of tying' (→ 'rope')
2044. *śal'a' (= *śal'a'?) 'willow' > IE: NaIE *salik- 'willow'
2045. *sAl'ê' 'put, throw'
2046. *śalû (or *śE?alû) 'intact' (→ 'entire'), 'in good condition, healthy' > IE: NaIE *sōlō-, *solwō- 'entire'
2047. 2 *SiI∇ 'hole'

2048. *síīi or *síīay ▽ 'smooth, slippery' > IE: NaIE *sleǵ-m- 'slippery', 'smooth', ? -d> NaIE *sleǵm-āk- 'snail'

2049. *sīl ▽ 'be(come) liquid, melt, flow' > IE: Ht {Frd.} salliya- vi. md. 'melt, dissolve (in water)'

2050. *sūl'ŭ' (or *sūí'ŭ') 'lax, loose, slack' > IE: NaIE (in Gmc) *°sleu- 'hanging down loosely, slack'

2051. *sŭ'ŭ' ▽ (= *sŭl ▽?) (or *s-?) 'heel, sole of foot, bottom' > IE: NaIE *swoł-/*sul- 'sole of foot; ground'; N *kŭr ▽ sŭ'ŭ' ▽ '∈ bottom (bone) of the leg\foot'

2052. ₂ *sæʔ'ŭ'L ▽ or *sæʔw'ŭ'L ▽ 'look for, search, ask'

2053. ₂ *sīl'ŭ'L ▽ 'to roast, to fry, to cook'

2054. ₂ *S ▽ HaL ▽ 'salt, spice' > IE *sehł-/*shel-/*shł- 'salt': nom. IE *sehł-s > NaIE *sāl-s, accus. IE *shel-mō > NaIE *sal-mō; ||| NaIE *sal-d- 'spice (malt, salt)'

2054a. *s'ŭ'woł'E' (= *sŭwoł'E'?) 'liquid, moisture' > IE: NaIE *sŭl-, *sŭlā 'liquid, sludge'

2055. *s'oyi'ŭ' 'entrails'

2056. *sīlŭ ▽ 'stream, small body of water (lake and sim.)' > IE: NaIE *selos- 'lake, marsh'

2056a. ₂ *suLŭ|g ▽ 'finger(s), hollow hand'

2057. *sŭl'w' ▽ 'thread, string' > IE: Ht s u e | i l - 'Faden, Band'

2058. *sāl ▽ b ▽ 'cut out, pull out'

2059. *sīlk ▽ (= *sīlka?) 'let out' ([in descendant lges] → 'throw', 'fall out', 'get through [an obstacle]') > IE: NaIE *selg- 'let out, throw, pour out, free'

2060. *sāl ▽ m ▽ 'collect on the bottom' (of liquid), 'a place (a depression) where water collects'

2061. *s ▽ Lχit ▽ ~ *s ▽ Lχid ▽ 'to slip' > IE NaIE *sleǵd^h- 'slippery', v. 'slide', *slid^h-os 'slippery, smooth'

2062. *sŭí ▽ ŭ (kê) or *síí ▽ ŭ (kê) 'mucus, slime, saliva; to spit' > IE: [1] NaIE *sleiǵ-/*sliǵ- 'slime, saliva', [2] NaIE *sleǵ- +ext. id.

2063. *sāmī 'fat (Fett)'

2064. (₂?) *sīm ▽ (= *sim ▽?) 'name (as a sign of identity)', 'the same' > IE: NaIE *sem-/*som-/*smō- 'the same, one' (→ 'together')

2065. *sim ▽ 'be wet; moisture, liquid'

2066. *s|sêHm ▽ 'to swallow'

2067. *s|š'ŭ'Xm ▽ 'be dark, darken'

2068. *sâym ▽ (t ▽) '≈ hips, loins'

2069. *ś'ī'mɿ∇ 'hear'
2070. *śäm_L∇_Jg∇ '(lock of) hair, fine hair'
2071. *s'o'm_L∇_JgE or *s'o'gmE 'enter, penetrate'
- 2071a. *S'o'm_LH_J∇d∇ (= *som_LH_J∇d∇?) (> *S'o'nd∇??) 'sand, small stone', (?) 'dirt' > IE: NaIE *osa|ond^h- and *sam_La_Jd^h- 'sand'
2072. *Säm_irʔ∇ 'fat' ('Fett') > IE: ≈ NaIE *smeru- 'fat, grease' ('Schmer, Fett')
2073. *SEm_L∇_Jt∇ 'cold'
2074. *ś|śe_Ly_Jm_L∇_JtA 'to tear, to break' > ?σ IE: NaIE *sne_Jt- (mt. < *se_Jnt-) 'cut, harvest'
2075. *ś'e'ñ∇ 'long time' ([in HS] → 'year'), 'old' > IE: NaIE *sen(0)- 'old; former'; NaIE *seno-mātēr 'grandmother'
2076. *śoñ'ī' 'one, only; to be separated' > IE: NaIE *seni-/*s_oni-, *senu-, sŋ_o-ter- 'alone, separated', Ht s_ari- 'one and the same'
2077. *śûñæ (or *śûyñæ) 'to disappear, to finish' > IE: NaIE (att. in Gmc) *^oswe_Jn- 'decrease, (?) disappear', NaIE *swend^h- 'disappear, wither'
2078. *ś'ü|iñî (k∇) 'dark, night' (or *ś'ü|iñî [uncl *śü|iñû] 'dark, night; sleep, slumber?') > IE: NaIE *sno_ud_L^h-/*snud_L^h- 'slumber'
2079. ?σ *s'ü'N∇ (= *s'ü'ŋ∇?) 'breathe, take a rest, be calm'
2080. *S'Eʔo'ñ∇ (= *ś'Eʔo'ñ∇?) 'hear, perceive' > IE: NaIE +ext. *sent- 'perceive, feel' (→ 'think')
2081. *son'∇q'ü' (= *soni'q'ü'?) 'sinew, tendon; root' > IE: *sneñw-, *senñw-0- 'sinew'
2082. ?φ₂ *śew∇ñć∇ '∈ bone'
2083. *s'ü'Nć'∇X∇ (= *s'ü'ŋć'∇X∇?) 'worm, snake, lizard'
2084. ₂ *śäN'ć'∇ 'knee, (?) articulation'
2085. ₂ *Sûñd∇ 'dry up' (intr.), 'wither, (?) disappear' > IE: NaIE *swend^h- 'wither, disappear'
2086. *S'ü'ñdü '∈ river, body of water' > IE: NaIE *sindh^u- (??) 'river'
2087. (₂?) *süN_L∇_JR∇_ƒ∇ (or *süRN∇_ƒ∇) 'nasal mucus', ? '≈ liquid' > ? IE: NaIE *sero- 'watery part of curdled milk, watery part of blood'
2088. *ś'äñžâ_Lh∇_J (or *ś'äñćâ_Lh∇_J) '(lock of) hair, feather'
2089. *s|śäŋ∇ (or *s|śä_LH_Jŋ∇??) 'tooth'
2090. *sûŋ∇ 'to smell (sth.)' ([in C, Om and Ch] → 'nose')
2091. *śäŋeXæ (or *säŋAXæ) 'to plait, to twist, to tie' > IE *sneñ- / *snoñ- (= *sneñ -/*snoñ-?) > NaIE *snē-/*snō- 'plait, twist' (→ 'spin'), ??σ Ht senahha- {Mn.} 'snare, ambush', {Ts.} 'Hinterhalt'

2092. *S_Uŋ_gʳoʳ 'produce loud vocal sounds (call, make an incantation, weep)' > IE: NaIE *seng^{ωh}- 'speak, make an incantation', 'sing'; NaIE *swen- v. 'sound, echo, ring'

2092a. ₂ *Si_ŋg|kʳaʳ ▽ 'ē (part of a) leg'

2093. *š_iŋkU 'sink, fall' > IE: NaIE *seng^ω- v. 'fall, sink'

2094. *šaʔeŋk ▽ or *šeʔaŋk ▽ (~ *šaʔek ▽ or *šeʔak ▽) 'be near, approach'

2095. *säŋqU 'shoulder, nape, back of the neck'

2096. *Sap ▽ 'to taste, to be tasty' > IE: NaIE *sap- ~ *sab- 'juice', v. 'taste, perceive'

2097. *saP_ü' (ś ▽) 'thorn, pointed stake' ([in descendant lges] → 'needle') > IE: Ht sapikkusta- ~ sepikkusta- 'needle'

2098. ₂ *šap ▽ (or *šEʔap ▽?) 'riverbank, river'

2099. *šip ▽ 'to pour, to drop, to drizzle, to filter\screen' > IE: NaIE *seip-/*seib- v. 'pour, spill, screen'

2100. on.? *šip ▽ '(young of a) bird'

2101. *S_ü'p ▽ 'to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swep-/*seup- 'sweep'; ?σ NaIE *swep-/*seup- 'pour (schütten), scatter'

2102. *š_uʔæp ▽ (?) 'to sleep', '(?) to rest (sich erholen)' > IE *swep-/*sup- v. 'sleep' > Ht sup- v. md. 'sleep' || NaIE *swep-/*sup- v. 'sleep, dream' ⇨ NaIE {EI} *swopniyo-m 'dream'; IE *swep ▽ r-/*sup ▽ r- 'dream, sleep'

2103. *śEP_q ▽ 'cover, bury' > IE: ?μ NaIE *°sepeI- v. 'bury'

2104. *säq_iyê 'matter, pus, gall'

2104a. *śaR ▽ 'top, hill' > IE *ser-/*sr- > Ht ser 'oben, oberhalb, darauf, darüber', Gk Hm ῥίον 'peak'

2105. *śAr ▽ (na) 'sing, utter ritual\magical incantations'

2106. *säR_U' (= *säRo?) 'sinew, fibre' > IE: NaIE *ser- 'thread, string'

2107. *śeR ▽ 'row' > IE: NaIE *ser- 'fasten together in rows', (P) 'aneinander reihen, knüpfen'

2107a. ₂ *SER ▽ 'to roast'

2108. *ś₁'E₁r ▽ 'back (dos), nape of neck'

2109. *S_i'R ▽ 'red, yellow' > IE: NaIE *ser-/*sor- (+exts *-to-, *-b_lh_o-, *-p-, *-k|k̄-) 'red, reddish'

2110. *sür ▽ 'rub, scrape, smear'

2111. *śuʔrê 'heavy, large' ([in K] → 'full', 'whole', 'very') > IE: NaIE *swer- 'heavy'

2112. *śEhR∇ 'late' ([in descendant lges] → 'evening, night') > IE: NaIE *sēr- 'late'

2112a. *S'i'hûr∇ 'person (man?) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' > IE: NaIE *syō(ṽ)ros, {Schn.} *'syeguro- / *syēau'ro-, {EI} *syō(ṽ)ros 'wife's brother'

2113. (₂?) *SuH|wER∇ (= *śuWER∇?) 'sour, seasoned' > IE: NaIE *sūro- 'sour, salty, bitter'

2114. ? *ś'EXar∇ 'bright; daybreak'

2115. *ś|śayiw∇r∇ 'nit'

2116. *ser_l∇_lX∇ 'grove, coppice; ∈ tree'

2117. *ś_liy_larUy∇ 'beam', 'pole'

2118. ?σ₂ *śiRb∇ 'sinew; to sew'

2119. *S'ü'r_l∇_lb∇ or *S'ü'b∇r∇ 'to swing, to sweep' > IE: NaIE *swerbh^h- / *surbh^h- v. 'swing, sweep'

2120. *ś∇Rixka 'cold' > IE: NaIE *srējg-/*srīg-, *srīg-os(-) 'cold, frost'

2121. *śURt∇ 'dirt. dirty' > IE: NaIE *swordo- 'dirty, black'

2122. *Saś'i' 'to drip' > IE: NaIE *sresk- v. 'drip' (*-esk- goes back to a sx)

2123. ₂ *Suś'i ≈ squeeze out, filter, strain' > IE: Ht sesariya- 'sehen, filtrieren'

2124. *Sûr∇ (= *Suś'E?) 'speak, declare' > IE *swer- 'speak (solemnly)'

2125. *śihaŕu, ₂ *śihaŕu p∇ 'dirt, earth' > IE: NaIE *sroupp-/*srupp- 'scabby dirt on the body' ('schorfiges Schmutz am Körper')

2126. *śiŕka ~ *śiŕ'ŕ'ga 'pain; to be ill/wounded, to pine, to languish' > IE: NaIE *sergh^h- v. 'languish, be ill'

2127. ₂ *ś|śuś|ś∇ 'worm, snake'

2128. *sa'w'ûś∇ 'get dry, harden' > IE: NaIE *says- / *sus- 'dry, arid'

2129. *sit∇ 'tooth' ([in descendant lges] → 'sickle?')

2130. *sit∇ 'to tie' ([in descendant lges] → 'to spin').

2130a. ₂ *Sûyt∇ 'sweat' > IE: NaIE *swēj_d- v. 'sweat'.

2131. *süt_ly_l∇ ~ *sü_ly_lt∇ 'to drink, to suck (milk); milk' > IE: NaIE *swēj_d- 'milk'

2132. ₂ *ś∇t∇L∇ 'to set, to put, to collocate' > IE: NaIE *stel- v. 'place, put, set' (stellen, setzen)'

2133. *s∇Tîm∇ (= *s∇tîm∇?) 'to hear' (←|→ 'ear'), ? 'to feel' > IE: Ht istamass- 'hear', istamana- 'ear'

2134. *sUŕû 'beat, strike' > IE: NaIE *(s)teu-k/g- 'hit, strike'

2135. *s|šEw∇ 'oneself, self' ([← '[human] body [??]) > IE: NaIE *swe- ~ *se- 'himself' ('sich'), gen. {P} *sewe, dat. {P} *seb^heĵ, {Szem.} *seb^hi, enclitic gen.-dat. *s(ω)0ĵ 'of\to himself', *sω0- (pronominal adj.) 'his own'

2136. ₂ *š_ih₁w∇ 'sun'

2137. ?φ (₂?) *š¹äw₁ĵ|g₁∇ 'to want', 'to beg' ([in descendant lges] → a marker of desiderative and volitive) > IE: NaIE *-s-, *-sy-: [1] volitive sx *-s- 'want to'; [2] in several lges *-s-, *-sy0- changed into a marker of future

2138. *šiwfa (~ *šiwga??) 'to smear' > ?φ IE: Ht saħ- 'verunreinigen, beschmieren'

2139. *Suwh₁∇ 'to push, to cause' (→ 'to ask for', → marker of causative) > IE *seu_HX-/*su_HX- > NaIE *sewə- ≈ set in motion', Ht {Ts.} suwāy- 'stoßen, drängen, schieben', {EI} 'push, urge'

2140. *s¹ü¹whâ or *sE[?]uwh∇ (or *š¹ü¹wXâ, *šE[?]uwx∇) 'moisture, water, rain', 'to wet, to be wet' > IE *seu_H-/*su_H- > NaIE *seu(ə)-/sū- 'moisture, rain'

2141. (₂?) *s∇wh₂∇ 'to drink'

2142. on. *š¹ow¹y∇ 'to sound' > IE: NaIE {P} *sweĵ-/*swi- v. 'sound', +ext.: *sweĵsd- v. 'sound' ('buzz', 'whistle', and sim.)

2143. *sežA 'a relative from the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ('father\son-in-law', 'mother's brother', and sim.)

2144. *Si¹ž¹∇ 'to skin (häuten), to scratch'

2145. *šubyE 'spike, spear; to pierce'

2146. ₂ *šUd∇ 'fasten tightly, strangle, be violent to so.'

2147. *šûrad∇ (= *šürad∇?) 'good, happy, pleasant' > IE *swehd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant, enjoy' (*swād¹du-s 'sweet', *swād¹w-i-s 'sweet, pleasant', *swād¹o- 'savoury, pleasant', *swād¹os- 'pleasant taste; pleasure, satisfaction', *swādon-om, *swādon-a 'delight, pleasure')

2148. *š¹ayü¹d∇ 'throw, (?) leave (abandon)'

2149. *š¹a¹q₁∇g₁aR∇ 'soot' (→ 'black')

2150. *š¹ühi₁w₁?∇ 'fade', 'go out' (fire), 'extinguish' > IE: NaIE *swī- (also +exts *-g-, *-k-) 'decrease, become less, be(come) silent'

2151. *šaXK_E 'to cover, to hide'

2152. *šoK_oř¹ê (= *šoK_oϕê?) 'say' > IE: NaIE *sek^w- v. 'say'

2153. *šil∇ 'quiet' > IE: NaIE *sil- 'be silent, be quiet'

2154. *š¹uř¹ê¹ 'throat, mouth' > IE: NaIE *swel- v. swallow', +ext.: *swelk- 'Schlund', 'swallow'

2155. *š¹ü|ugL∇ 'attack, be hostile, defeat (the enemy)'

2156. ${}_2$ *š_laH₂UL∇ '€ roe, deer'
2157. (${}_2$?) *šaTΓ∇ 'strike, break' > ? IE: NaIE (+ext.) *slak|k̄- or *slak|k̄- 'beat, strike'
2158. *šülh∇ 'sharp instrument, weapon'
- 2158a. *šeÍ∇ (or *šeĹ∇) 'take away\off, destroy, pull off' > IE: NaIE *sel(wo)- v. 'take away\off, seize'
2159. (${}_2$?) *š∇n̄_l∇₁∇ (or *š∇?∇n̄_l∇₁∇?) 'make, build' > ?σ IE *senX- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > NaIE *se|anə-, *se|anu- id., Ht sarnh- 'seek, try, strive for; require'
2160. *šūnigo (or *šūno??) 'snow' > IE: NaIE *snejg^{wh}- v. 'snow', *snig^{wh}-, *snojg^{wh}- n. 'snow'
2161. *šUηE 'breathe' ([in descendant lges] → 'soul')
2162. *šang∇ 'to wish, to like, to love'
2163. ?σ (${}_2$?) *šanj|Ka 'stalks, branches', ? 'straw'
2164. *šUηKa (= *šūηKa?) 'be tight (too narrow), be heavy, be difficult' > IE: NaIE *swenk- 'be heavy\difficult'
2165. *šineR∇ 'mouse'
2166. UA ${}_2$ *šär∇ 'to spread'
2167. ${}_2$ *šoRw∇ 'dry; to get dry'
2168. *šariX∇ 'to stream, to flow' > IE: IE *serH-, NaIE *sreŭ- v. 'stream, flow'
2169. *šêR_l∇₁m^ü 'sinew, root'
2170. *šürt∇ 'fibre (used as thread)'
2171. *šehĪE 'be awake, watch (over), feel, notice' > IE *sehĪr-, *serw- > NaIE *sēr- 'sorgend Obacht geben, schützen, bewahren', *serw- > L servā- v. 'watch over, keep' || ?? Ld katare- (= kat-sare-) 'stand watch', sarēta 'protector'
2172. *š^rät∇ 'buttocks; to sit, to sit down' > IE *sed- v. 'sit (down)'
2173. *šüt∇ 'hair, thread (made of hair?)'
2174. *š^rayu¹t∇ (or *ša¹Uy∇?) 'twig, rod'
2175. *šaw∇ '(in the) middle' > IE: NaIE *-su, locative pl. ending (← 'among' ← 'in the middle')
2176. *šüwA or *šuwE 'fit, good' > IE: NaIE *su- 'good, well', esp. as the first element in cds (e.g. *su-b^hago- {P} 'beglückend' in IIn and SI)
2177. ?σ (${}_2$?) *šuw?∇ 'weak' > IE: NaIE *^oswī- > Ic svía 'to abate' (of pain)

2178. *š'e'wħ∇ 'give birth, be born' > IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seu_lə₁-/*sū- 'give birth']]] -> [1] IE *suH-nu- > NaIE *sū'nu-s 'son', [2] *suH-yu- 'son'

2179. *š'ûwħ∇ 'loosen' ('release', 'let out', 'melt' etc.) > IE *seuH-/*suH- > NaIE *seu_lə₁-/*sū- 'let, neglect'

2180. *š'a?Eb∇ 'to rot; rotten' > IE: NaIE {WP} *k̄sa_lḡp- v. 'rot'.

2181. *š∇bɿ∇ or *š∇ɿb∇ (= *š'ûbɿ∇ or *š'ûɿb∇?) 'tribe, people' > IE: NaIE *seb^hā (~ *°sweb^h-?) 'tribe, Sippe'

2182. *š'abEħ'i' (or *š'apEħ'i'??) 'log, piece of wood' > IE *(s)peh_l- 'long\pointed piece of wood' > [1] NaIE *°(s)p(h)ē_l-/*(s)p(h)ī- 'pointed piece of wood', [2] +ext. with *-d- ~ *-t-: Ht ispatar (obl. stem ispann-) 'spit, skewer', NaIE *spit- (~ *°spid-) ≈ spit, spear, needle'

2183. *š'æb_l∇,X∇ 'animal fat' > IE: L sēbum 'animal fat', sēbōsus adj. 'fat'

2184. ₂ *š'ad∇ 'to tie'

2185. ?σ *š'æd∇w∇ '≈ tip, end (extrémité)' > ? possibly IE: NaIE *°s'ē'd^h- > Gmc {Wtk.} *sīdō 'side'

2186. *š'ägāR∇ 'cut, pierce' > IE: NaIE *sker- v. 'cut'

2187. ₂ *š'∇ɿ∇ 'ray'

2188. ₂ *š'a'ka 'to cover' (→ 'to clothe') > IE: NaIE *sag- ~ *seg- v. 'cover, wrap, clothe'

2189. (₂?) *š'ok∇ 'be mad\stupid\intoxicated'

2189a. (₂?) *š'i'ɿ|ɿ'Uk∇ 'flesh, meat'

2190. *š'aḡa 'to split, to cleave' > IE: NaIE *sek- v. 'chop', NaIE *sek-ūrā 'axe'

2191. *š'Eḡo 'look at, watch; see' > IE *sek^w- 'look at, see'

2192. *š'i'ḡoḡ'U' 'to get\be cold; cool'

2193. (₂?) *š|śu'ḡa'ḡ∇ (ḡ∇) 'resin' > IE: NaIE *°s(w)ek_l^w₁- id.

2193a. ₂ *š'Al∇ 'acacia'

2194. *š'il'û' (or *š'il'û'?) 'take, take away\off' > IE: NaIE *sel(w0)- v. 'take, seize, lay hold of'

2194a. *š'iī∇ (~ *siī∇?) 'fat (Fett)' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *selp- n. 'fat'

2195. *š|śuī∇ (= *š|suī∇?) 'trunk, log' ([in descendant lges] → 'board', 'trough', and sim.) > IE: NaIE *swel- 'plank, board' ~ *sel- 'board', 'trough', 'bench', and sim.

2196. *š'ü'īi 'neck, nape'

2197. *š'īḡl∇yâ (~ *č'īḡl∇yâ?) 'tooth, fang' ([in descendant lges] → 'sharp stick')

2198. ***š**₁aH₁'ü₁L₁∇ 'dew'
2199. ***š**ä₁∇₁qU 'cleave, cut asunder'
2200. ***š**ä₁i₁w∇ (or ***š**ä₁i₁w∇y∇ '€ a wild gallinaceous fowl'
2201. ***š**ií∇ (ma) 'eye; look, examine' > ? **IE**: Clt: OIr *sell* 'iris de l'œil, œil' ⇨ *sellaid* '(he) looks'; W *syllu*, Crn *sellos*, Br *sellout*, *sellet* v. 'look'] OIr *suíil* 'eye'
2202. ***š**ií∇w∇ 'flesh\meat of a limb (calf of the leg, shank etc.)'
2203. ***š**êíXâ 'bough, twig, stick'
2204. ***š**a₁a (or ***š**|**š**a₁a) 'word; say' ([in descendant lges] → 'think')
2205. UA₂ ***š**æH₁n∇ 'mushroom, fungus, sponge (Schwamm)'
2206. ₂ ***š**'â₁Nç₁∇ 'bark, skin' (→ 'vessel')
2207. ***š**E'y₁o₁t₁'U₁ 'finger(s), fist'
2208. ***š**û₁z∇ 'milk; to suck, to suckle'
- 2208a. ₂ ***š**a₁∇ 'cold', '≈ hoarfrost'
2209. (₂?) ***š**o₁∇ 'to wish' (→ 'to love', 'to wish evil to so.', 'to strive' [→ 'to reach'])
2210. ₂ ***š**a|o₁∇ '≈ run, jump, climb'
2211. ***š**'ä₁q₁a '≈ bough, inedible (or less valuable) parts of plants (straw, rind of fruit)' > **IE**: NaIE **sonko-* (or **songho-*) 'sheaf of ears, straw, chaff'
2212. ***š**a₁∇ (or ***š**o₁∇?) 'to sew (leather); leather'
2213. ***š**a₁pE₁h₁∇ '≈ log, trunk of a tree' > **IE**: NaIE **sp^hēn-* 'long flat piece of wood'
2214. ***š**u₁q∇ 'breathe in, smell sth.' > **IE**: NaIE **swek|k̄-* v. 'smell (of sth.), smell sweet'
2215. ***š**a₁r∇ 'be dry' > **IE**: NaIE **k|k̄se(:)r-* '(be) dry', **k|k̄se(:)r-o-* 'dry'
2216. ₂ ***š**i₁R∇ 'skin (of animals), rawhide'
2217. ***š**û₁r∇ 'a herd\swarm\flock (of wild animals)'
2218. (₂?) ***š**e₁q₁a₁r∇ 'reach, approach, enter'
2219. ***š**o₁∇r∇ 'grain, (wild) cereal'
2220. ***š**i₁h₁a₁R∇ '≈ grey, bright' ([in descendant lges] → 'dark?')
2221. (₂?) ***š**i₁X₁U₁R∇ 'side, edge'
2222. ***š**ê₁Rw∇ 'insert, thrust in, stop up'
2223. ***š**'o₁rU₁b∇ 'to drink, to gulp, to sup, to suck' > **IE**: NaIE **serb^h-*/**sorb^h-*/**sr̥b^h-* v. 'sip, sup, drink', Ht *sarap-* / *sarep-* v. 'sip (nippen)'
2224. ₂ ***š**ä₁R₁q₁ê '≈ break, split, cut'
2225. ***š**E₁rE₁q₁'a₁ 'red, yellow' > **IE**: NaIE (in Blt) **ser|k^w-* 'red, reddish' ***z**e₁f₁r∇

2226. * $\hat{s}ER_{\downarrow}K_{\downarrow}$ 'to plait, to wattle', 'plait' > IE: NaIE **serk-* 'wickerwork, wattling', ? v. 'hedge in', Ht *sar-nin-k-* 'compensate'
2227. * $\hat{s}E^{\uparrow}R_{\downarrow}$ 'coarse hair, eyebrow'
2228. * $\hat{s}ä\psi oy^{\uparrow}i^{\uparrow}$ 'hair'
2229. ₂ * $\hat{s}\nabla t\nabla w\nabla$ 'cold weather'
2230. (₂?) * $\hat{s}o\uparrow$ 'to exercise magic' ([in descendant lges] → 'to curse', 'to bless')
2231. ₂ * $\hat{s}|\hat{c}\hat{u}\uparrow$ ≈ vulva, anus'
2232. * $\hat{s}at^{\uparrow}ahi^{\uparrow}$ ≈ to take away' > IE: **steHy-* > NaIE **°stāy-*, **°stāyu-s-* > OI *stā'yu-*, 'stēya-m 'theft'
2233. * $\hat{s}\nabla t\nabla R\nabla$ 'a tie' (→ 'rope'); to twist (means of tying)' > IE: NaIE **stre_Li_Lg-* 'twist together; rope'
2234. (₂?) * $\hat{s}^{\uparrow}o^{\uparrow}w\nabla$ 'feather, wing'
2235. ₂ * $\hat{s}\nabla w\nabla$ 'to swell'
- 2235a. * $\hat{s}A^{\uparrow}i wE$ 'body of water', (??) 'wet\swampy ground'
2236. ₂ * $\hat{s}^{\uparrow}o^{\uparrow}hy\nabla$ 'to wish'
2237. ?_σ ₂ * $\hat{s}\nabla y^{\uparrow}$ 'thing'
2238. * $\hat{s}\hat{u}\hat{z}\hat{r}A$ 'heart' (← 'breast'??)
2239. * $t^{\uparrow}ä^{\uparrow}$ 'away (from), from', ablative (separative) pc. > IE [1] NaIE **dē* 'away (from), from', [2] NaIE **-de / *-T* (archiphoneme **-d^h | *-d | *-t*), separative (abl.) case ending || AnIE **-a^ti*, ablative case ending
2240. * $t\nabla$, a postnominal marker (prn.?) of plurality ('together')
2241. * $ti^{\uparrow}\hat{u}$ 'shine, be bright, be seen' > IE: [1] **de_L-* 'shine, be bright'; [2] **dyey-* 'daylight', 'deified daylight, heaven', Ht *siu-* 'god', [2a] IE **dyēus-patēr* 'father daylight, father heaven' (name of a god), [2b] d. with an **o-sx*: NaIE **'de_Lw_o-s* 'heavenly' (→ 'god')
2242. ₂ ≈ * $to^{\uparrow}i$ 'fig'
2243. * $t\hat{u}^{\uparrow}o^{\uparrow}$ 'two' > IE **dwo(u)* 'two' m. (and **dwa_Lf./ntr.*); the initial component of a cd.: NaIE **dwi-* 'two-, bi-' || HrLw *tu-wa-i* 'two', accus. *tuwanzi* 'duos', Ht cd. *da-yuga* 'two years old', *dān* 'for the second time'
2244. ? ₂ * ta^{\uparrow} 'towards (smth.)' > IE: NaIE **dō* 'towards', {P} 'herzu'.
- 2244a. ₂ ≈ * $ta^{\uparrow}i^{\uparrow}$ 'to tear' > IE: NaIE **dā-/*dā-*, **dā_L-/*dā_L-/*dī-* v. 'divide, tear\cut into pieces'
2245. * $tUb\nabla$ (= **tüba*?) (or **tiba*?) 'grass'; 'dry grass' ([in descendant lges] → 'straw'), to cut grass\plants'

2246. ***tubʱ** ▽ 'tail, back' > ?σ IE: NaIE ***dubb-** (if the original meaning was 'tail') > Ltv **ḑ u b a** 'a sheaf (standing upright), aufgestellte Garbe', Gmc ***tuppa** 'plait (of hair)'

2246a. ?σ₂ ***tæb₁ ▽₁ s ▽** '≈ heel; to trample, to kick with the foot.'

2247. ***taʱæga** 'rock, mountain; top'

2248. ₂ ***tuʱg¹ ▽** (or ***t₁uʱg¹ ▽?**) 'listen, hear'

2249. (₂?) ***tiʱ** ▽ 'to flow' > ?σ IE ***deǵH-** > NaIE ***deya-**/***dyā-**, ***dyə-**, ***dī-** 'fly, hurry, run quickly'. An alt. etymological comparison: N ***tiq** ▽ 'to flow'.

2250. ***t¹e¹ʱaw¹a¹** 'fire' > IE ***deH₂u-** (= ***deə₂u-**) > NaIE ***dā₂u-** / ***daw-** / ***du(:)-** (/ ? ***dēw-**) vt. 'burn, kindle'

2251. ***toH¹ü¹** ~ ***ta|æH¹ü¹** (= ***to¹r¹ü¹** ~ ***ta|æ¹r¹ü¹**?) 'bring, fetch, give' > IE ***deH^w-** ~ ***deH^ww-** > NaIE ***dō-**/***də-**, ***dō₂u-**/***də₂u-**/***du-** v. 'give' || ? Lc M {ABIv.} **ḑ a-**/**ḑ u-** v. 'give (?)', Ld **ḑ ā v** 'I give (?)'

2252. ***tawikæ** 'insect, vermin, (?) reptile' > IE ***deǵg̃-** '≈ tick (Ixodes)'

2253. ***tekʱ** ▽ 'to touch' > IE: NaIE ***dēg|g̃-** v. 'touch'

2254. ₂ ***tAkU¹h¹n¹ ▽** (or ***tAkU₁H ▽₁**?) 'bug'

2255. ***tAkæ** 'to suit, to be appropriate, to fit' > IE ***deḱ-** v. 'suit, be fit']
 ↳ NaIE ***deḱ-os** 'that which adorns or beautifies, distinction, grace']]] ? ↳
 IE ***deḱs-** 'fortunate, right (dexter)'

2256. ***t¹e¹ḱæ** 'take, carry' ([in descendant lges] → 'get, possess') > IE ***deḱ-** {Mn.} v. 'find, get', {P} 'nehmen, aufnehmen', ? Ht {Ts.} **taks-** 'fügen, bereiten'

2257. ***tiḱ¹ü¹** '≈ to show' ([in descendant lges] → 'say') > IE ***deǵḱ-** v. 'show' (→ 'say')

2258. ***toḱE|a** or ***taḱE|a** 'to tear' > IE: NaIE ***deḱ-** (or ***dek-**) v. 'tear (up), reduce to threads'

2259. ***täyḱ** ▽ 'finger', → 'one' > IE: NaIE ***deǵḱ|k(w)-** 'finger'; an alt. rec.: ***t¹▽yḱ** ▽ 'finger' (> IE) and ***t¹äḱ** ▽ 'one' (> HS, T)

2260. ***taL** ▽ 'to shake, to wave' (and redulication: ***taL ▽-taL ▽**) > IE: NaIE ***de|d** (d), ? ***dou|l-** vi. 'shake, swing'

2261. ***tæL** ▽ 'cut (split, trim, cleave)' > IE: NaIE ***de|l₁ə₁-** v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen')

2262. ***ti|** ▽ '≈ to roughhew, to chisel (behauen)' > IE: NaIE ***de|l₁ə₁-** v. 'cleave, carve' ({P} 'spalten, schnitzen, kunstvoll bebauen')

2263. ***tuL** ▽ '≈ tell (a story), utter ritual\magical texts' > IE ***de|l-** 'tell, narrate, utter ritual incantations'

2264. $_2$ *tUL∇ '≈ to line up' ([in descendant lges] → 'to count') > IE: NaIE *del- '≈ row, thread', v. 'count, narrate'
2265. *toH₂Ī∇ (or *toĪH₂∇) 'to fill, to pile up; full'
2266. *tæLϜE (ga) 'be long' > IE: [1] *del_h- > NaIE *del_ə- 'long', [2] IE *dele_hg^h-/*d_hġ^h-o- 'long' > Ht d_{al}u_{ki}- 'long', [3] NaIE *dlong^h- 'long'
2267. *tal_Ϝ'o' '≈ (back of the) neck, shoulders' > IE (att. in Blt) *^od_he_lH-b-/*^od_ho_lH-b-/*^od_hġ_H- 'upper arm'
2268. *tu_Ϝ∇ 'tip, sprout, sth. protruding, summit'
2269. *t'a^lh∇ or *tahE_l∇ '≈ to hit, to damage, to be damaged' > IE *de_hl-/*d_hġ- > NaIE *dēl-/*dəl- v. 'damage, destroy'
2270. *tæĪ_h'o' '≈ be foolish; deceive' > IE: NaIE *del- {P} 'listig schädigen', *del-os 'lure'
2271. *tä_lUH₂A or *talUH₂ä '≈ cold season, rain' > IE: NaIE *del- 'rain', 'moist' ('humide')
2272. *tA^l∇ 'to tread, to pound' ([in descendant languages] → 'to thresh')
2273. $_2$ *tu_l∇ '≈ be bright, be light (hell)'
2274. $_2$ *t∇^l∇ (or either *tA^ly_lH^li^l∇ or *ti^ly_lH^lA^l∇?) 'female'
2275. *ti^l'a^lío 'stone, heap of stones'
2276. *te^l_h₂∇ 'to bore, to pierce' > IE: NaIE *del_ə- v. 'cleave, carve'
2277. *tem∇ 'full, complete'
2278. *t∇m∇ (= *tam∇?) 'hair'
2279. $_2$ *t∇m∇ 'worm, snake' > IE: NaIE *dem(-e_l)- 'worm'
2280. $_2$ *t'a^lh_l∇_lm∇ or *t∇ham∇ 'fire; to kindle; very hot'
2281. *tam_h^l'û^l (or *tä_m_h^l'û^l) 'earthen wall', 'hut, house' > IE *dom_lH_lu-, *dom_lH_lo-, *demH- (= *dom_lH_lX_lu-, *dom_lH_lX_lo-, *demH_lX_l?) > NaIE *domu-, *domo- 'house', *demə- v. 'build'; +ext. *-r- 'building', v. build, carpenter'; HrLw tama- 'build'
2282. $_2$ *t∇m_l∇_lŝ∇ 'to gather; dense' > IE *dens-/*d_hŋs- '≈ dense'
2283. *t'o^lN∇ 'appear' ([in descendant lges] → 'seem')
2284. *tE_hg∇_lġ^l∇ 'heavenly light in the night (star[s], moon)' > IE: NaIE *^od_hg_llo- > Gmc *tunġlal- 'star(s), constellation'
2285. *tôpæ 'head, top' > IE: NaIE *^odoP- ~ *^odub- 'tip, summit' (?)
2286. *tū_lup∇ 'to blow, to breathe'
2287. *ta^lP^lk∇ or *taw_lk∇ 'to obstruct, to prevent, (?) to overpower'
2288. *teq^l'æ^lU^l 'say, talk to' > IE *^od_he_l- 'say' > NaIE *^od_hē- say', Ht te- {Frd.} 'sagen', {Ts.} '(autoritativ) sprechen'

- 2288a. ***taRû** '(ε) tree, log' > IE ***deru-** / ***doru-** / ***dreu-** / ***drou-** / ***dru-**, {EI} ***^ldoru** / gen. ***^ldrou-s** 'tree, wood'
2289. ***ter∇** 'to tear, to burst' > IE ***der-**, ***derH-** v. 'split, tear, burst'
2290. ***tuR∇** 'back, back side' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) ***dors-** / ***ders-** '≈ back (dos)'
2291. ***tür∇** or ***turE** 'pierce' > IE: NaIE ***der-** v. 'prick, pierce', 'hole'
2292. **?σ *tüwr∇** or ***tuwrE** 'to (re)turn, to roll (up), to turn round' > IE (+ext.): NaIE ***derb^h-** 'turn, twist\bind together'
2293. ***tür̥ê** or ***tur̥ê** 'full, filled'
2294. ***tarH₂∇** 'to drink'
2295. ***tiRHæ** 'lie (liegen), lie down, sink' > IE ***dreH-** / ***drH-** > NaIE ***drē-** / **dræ-** v. 'sleep'
2296. **(₂?) *toRy∇** 'bark; to debark, to peel' > IE: NaIE ***der-** v. 'skin, flay, debark'
2297. ***toRgæ** (= ***torgæ?**) 'weak, loose' > IE: NaIE ***dreg^h-** '≈ be slack, be loose, be weak'
2298. ***tæRp∇** (or ***tæRP_∇?**) 'tremble, shake' > IE: NaIE ***°drep-** ~ ***°trep-** 'shake, tremble'
2299. ***t∇r∇** 'suffer, endure'
2300. ***tArq∇** '≈ make an incision, dig' > IE ***derH-** 'sth. dug'
2301. ***tus∇** ~ ***tüs∇** 'against, in the opposite direction' > IE: [1] NaIE ***dus-** 'mis-, un-', 'bad' (as the initial component of cds) | [2] NaIE ***deus-** v. 'lack'
2302. ***^rt^luS∇** 'bush (shrub)' > IE: NaIE ***dus-** (mo-) 'shrub'
- 2302a. ***tærs'∇** (more probable than ***dærs'∇**) 'to track (game), to follow the tracks of' > IE: NaIE ***dē_ls_j-** / (?) ***des-** 'find, meet'
2303. **(₂?) *t∇H₂t∇** 'finger' ([in D] → 'point, sharp edge?') (= ***tūH₂t∇** [?]; an alt. reconstruction is ***t∇H₂U_lN_lt∇**)
2304. **??₂ *tûw∇** 'rain; to sprinkle'
2305. ***t∇w∇** 'head' ([in descendant lges] → 'oneself') > IE: AnIE: HrLw -ti 'sich', Lw -ti, Lc -ti, reflexive pc., Ht -z, -zā id.
2306. ***tayh∇** (and ***taŋ|y∇**??) 'incline, bend, stagger'
2307. **(₂?) *ta^rq|g^ray^rû^r** 'relative-in-law (person of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes)' > IE ***deH_jwer-** > NaIE ***^ldā_jwēr** / ***^ldā_jwer-** (gen. ***^ldā_jw^r-es**) 'husband's brother'
2308. ***taqo^rz^r** 'to plait, to wattle' > IE ***deH(y)-** > NaIE ***dē-** / ***dæ-**, ***dēj-** / ***di(:)-** v. 'bind'

2309. *tū₃|₃∇ (or *tū₁?₃|₃∇) '∈ part of an arm\leg' > IE: NaIE *do_us- '(upper) arm, shoulder'

2310. *t̥ä, dem. prn. of non-active (inanimate) objects (without distance opposition [proximal ↔ intermediate ↔ distal]) > IE [1] NaIE *t₀- (nom.-accus. *t₀-d), dem. prn. of the neuter (inanimate) gender ∏∏ [2] *-d = *-T (word-final archiphoneme from **-t), ending of the neuter (inanimate) gender in pronouns ∏∏ [3] IE *-ti, "primary" verbal ending of 3s; IE *-t, "secondary" verbal ending of 3s

2311. *t̥i, a syntactic pc. that constructs analytical nomina actionis > IE: NaIE *-ti-, sx of nomina actionis

2312. *t̥'ü' (> *t̥i) 'thou' > IE: [1] NaIE *tū nom. 'thou' and possibly *t_w-om id., AnIE *ti 'thou' nom. ∏∏ [2] IE *twe and *te 'thee', *tu- / *twe- / *te_u- / *te- (with case markers or without them) functioning as the stem of the prn. of 2s

2312a. *t̥'ü' ?a ~ *s'ü' ?a 'ye (vos)', prn. of 2p (N *t̥'ü' ~ *s'ü' 'thou' + N *?a, pc. of plurality) > IE verbal endings of 2p: {Bks.} "primary" *-tHe, "secondary" *-te

2313. *t̥∇, a marker of passive participial constructions (verb + *t̥∇ = an analytical construction with the meaning of past participle or a passive verbal adjective) > IE: NaIE *-t₀-, a marker of verbal adjectives (mostly with passive meaning) that in some descendant lges were incorporated into the verbal paradigm as passive participle

2314. (₂?) *t̥∇, pc. of marked (definite?) accusative (→ accus. of pronouns) > ? IE *^o-₁e₁T, accus. ending of personal pronouns

2315. *t̥E_U 'take' > IE: Ht dā-, HrLw t_a- v. 'take'

2316. *t̥ab∇ 'fit, good' > IE: NaIE *d^hab^h-, d^hab^h-r₀- 'fit, good'

2317. ?σ₂ *t̥ab∇ '≈ head'

2318. ₂ *t̥æb∇ 'catch, seize'

2319. *t̥'ebA (~ *t̥em₁b₁∇?) '∈ ruminant (antelope, cervid)'

2320. ₂ *t̥ob∇ 'teat'

2320a. *t̥ûb∇ 'thin, small, of short stature'

2321. (₂?) *t̥üb∇ (or *t̥ubE?) 'calm, quiet, (?) even'

2322. *t̥uH₂ib∇ 'reed, stick' > IE: [1] NaIE *t_wīb^h-, *tub^h- 'hollow as a reed' ('röhrenartig hohl') ∏∏ [2] ?σ NaIE *d^he_ub^h- / *d^hub^h- 'pin, wedge'

2323. ₂ *t̥æb_U' 'to fill' (or ₂ *t̥æp_U' 'to fill')

2323a. *t̥æb_U∇ (= *t̥äb_U∇?) 'follow, run, chase'

2324. *t̥ob_U∇ 'lake; natural depression filled with water' > IE: NaIE *d^he_ub- ~ *dhumb- 'depression in the ground (filled with water)'

2325. ***ṭ**U**b**ṽ 'hoof, fingernail, toenail, sole of foot, heel'
2326. ***ṭ**ü**b**ṽA 'deep' > IE: NaIE ***d**^he**u**b- 'deep', ***d**^hu**m**b- 'Erd-vertiefung'
2327. ? *id.* ***ṭ**ä**b**Ha or ***ṭ**abHE 'to trample, to kick, to crumple, to press' > IE {EI} ***d**e**p**H- > NaIE ***d**e**p**^h- 'trample, push, knead, strike'
- 2327a. ***ṭ**ab_Lṽ_Lqa 'hit, strike' ([in descendant lges] → 'kill')
2328. ?_φ ₂ ***ṭ**ṽ**b**ṽ^Lṽ 'dip in, immerse'
2329. ₂ ***ṭ**û**H**ṽ^cṽ ~ ***d**û**H**ṽ^cṽ 'glide, slip'
2330. ≈ ***ṭ**ä**w**odṽ 'be full' > ?σ IE ***t**e**u**t- 'the whole, everybody, people'
2331. ***ṭ**ogæ 'dust, earth' > IE ***d**^he**g**^hō**m** / ***d**^hg^he**m**- 'earth', Ht *tekan* / gen. *taknas* 'earth'
2332. (₂?) ***ṭ**ogṽ 'straight' ([in descendant lges] → 'true') > ?σ IE: NaIE ***d**e**k**s- 'fortunate; right (dexter)'
2333. ***ṭ**æg**w**ṽ 'swell, become thick\large\strong', ? 'become fat' > IE ***t**e**H**w-/***t**w**o**H-/***t**H**u**- > NaIE ***t**ē**w**-/***t**a**u**-/***t**wō-/***t**ū- '≈ big, strong'
2334. ***ṭ**e**y**wṽ 'ask (for), beg'
2335. ***ṭ**äkṽ 'to attack'
2336. ***ṭ**'e'**k**E 'to build, to shape, to make, to do' > IE {P} ***t**e**k**p-, {EI} ***t**e**k**s- 'fabricate', {Mn.} ***t**e**k**s- v. 'fashion, do carpentry, create, cut (behauen)'
2337. ***ṭ**iko 'horror, fear' ([in A] 'abhor, hate') > IE: NaIE ***t**y**e**g^ω- {P} 'scheu vor etwas zurücktreten oder auffahren', {EI} 'give way, pull oneself back (in awe)'
2338. (₂?) ***ṭ**oku 'large, thick' > IE: NaIE ***t**e**g**ḡ**u**- 'thick'
- 2338a. ***ṭ**okṽ '≈ (palm of) hand (with fingers)' ([in descendant lges or already in pN) → 'span of hand)'
2339. ≈ ***ṭ**e_L'**h**'**a**_L**k**a**?**ê 'to put, to set' > IE: NaIE ***t**ā**g**- v. 'put (sth.) to its right place, arrange'
2340. ***ṭ**o'**h**'æ**k**ṽ[?]ṽ 'to burn; fire' > IE ***t**e**H**ḡ**g**- > NaIE **t**ē**g**ḡ**g**-/***t**ā**g**ḡ**g**- v. 'burn'
2341. ***ṭ**aka|æ_L?_L 'to touch' > IE: NaIE ***t**a**g**ḡ**g**- v. 'touch'
2342. ***ṭ**U**k**_L_Lṽ_LE ~ ***ṭ**U_L_Lṽ_LkE 'wolf, jackal, fox'
2343. ***ṭ**ä**k**tṽ 'louse'
2344. ***ṭ**'a'**k**æ 'be\keep quiet, be silent' > IE: NaIE ***t**a**k**ḡ- v. 'be silent'
2345. ***ṭ**i**k**a 'be straight' > IE: NaIE ***t**e**i**k- / ***t**i**n**k- v. 'be fit; trust'
2346. ***ṭ**'o'**k**o 'run away, run, stream' > IE ***t**e**k**^ω- v. 'run, flow' ({EI} 'run, flow swiftly')
2347. ***ṭ**u**k**â 'earth (substance), mud, dust' > AdS of IE ***t**'**t**e**k**-/***t**'**k**- 'earth' (< N ***ṭ**ogæ 'dust, earth [substance]')

2348. *t_uk_u 'offspring', 'young (of an animal)' > IE: NaIE *te_uk- 'offspring'

2349. *t_u'_u'_u 'to thrust, to stab, to push' > IE: NaIE *tuk- v. 'thrust, stab, prick'

2349a. (₂?) *t_uk_u (or *t_uk_u?) 'hair'

2350. ≈ *t_uo_u'_uä_uk_uw_uA 'goat, sheep'

2351. *t_uag_u∇_uk_u'_ua' 'to stick \ be stuck to sth.', 'to fix\attach (sth. to sth.)'

2352. *t_uow_uk_uâ 'germ', 'seed' > IE: NaIE (in IIn) *^ote_uk_u∞_u- 'seed, germ'

2353. *t_ueL∇ 'shout, call' > IE *tel- 'utter ritual incantations, pray'

2354. *t_u'_u'_u∇ (k_u) (≠ *t-?) (or *t_u'_u'_u∇k_uo [- *ti∇k_uo?]) 'tongue, organs of speech' > IE: NaIE *tolk[∞]- 'speak', '≈ declare'

2354a. *t_u'_u'_u∇ 'fire; to kindle (a fire)'

2354b. *t_u∇∇ 'hang'

2355. *t_uä_uχ_ua_u'_uo' 'spleen'

2356. *t_ua_ul_u∇ ~ *t_ua_ul_u∇ '≈ shoot, sprout, twig' > IE: NaIE *tāl- 'shoot' ('junger Trieb')

2357. *t_uo_ul_uA (k_u∇) or *t_uA_ul_u∇ (k_u∇) 'head, top, upper end, tip' > ?σ
IE: NaIE *^ot∇l- 'forehead'

2358. *t_u∇_ui_u∇_uâ 'come, enter'

2358a. (?)₂ *te∇_u∇ 'say, narrate'

2359. ₂ *t_uoLH∇ 'to cross (a river, a mountain range etc.)' > IE
*t_u∇H-'to- 'ford, passage'

2360. *t_uaLh∇ 'flat' > IE *tel_uH_u- 'flat, flat ground'

2361. *t_ua_ul_uE_u'_uo' 'young of an animal, child; to give birth to' > IE:
NaIE *te(:)l- 'young of an animal, child'

2362. *t_ua_ul_uya 'skin, fell'

2363. *t_uULy∇ (= *t_uULy∇?) 'to drip; drops of water, dew' > IE: NaIE
*(s)tel- v. 'drip'

2364. *t_uaLb∇ 'vast; room' > IE: NaIE *telp- v. 'have room', *tolpā 'space'

2365. *t_ua_ul_uka 'strike, push' > IE: NaIE *telk-/*tolk-/*t_ulk- v. 'strike, push, crash'

2366. ₂ *t_uUíE (or *t_uæwUíE?) 'extend, stretch, be(come) long'

2367. ≈ ₂ *t_uUíE∇ 'breast, female breast'

2368. *t_ua_ul_ug_u∇ 'be quiet\calm' > IE: NaIE *(s)tel- v. 'be quiet\still'

2369. *t_uu_u∇_u'_ug_u∇ 'spread like a veil\net, cover with a veil\net, catch (fish etc.) with a net'

2370. *t_ua_ul_uha 'lift up, carry' > IE *telH-/*tleH- > NaIE *telə- / *tlā- v. 'lift, carry, endure'

2371. * $\text{t}^{\text{A}}\text{í}_1\text{X}_1\text{V}$ or * $\text{t}^{\text{A}}\text{í}_1\text{X}_1\text{V}$ 'stem', '(ϵ ?) tree' > IE: NaIE * tel_1a_1 - 'wooden board, plank, (?) tree'
2372. * $\text{t}^{\text{E}}\text{mV}$ (= * $\text{t}^{\text{E}}\text{mu}$?) 'to feel by touch'
2373. * $\text{t}^{\text{ô}}\text{mV}$ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE * tem - v. 'cut', * tomo-s 'a cut, slice (Abschnitt)'
2374. * $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{y}|\text{ra}\text{mV}$ 'to bite, to taste'
2375. * $\text{t}^{\text{æ}}\text{q}_1\text{U}_1\text{mV}$ 'inciput, crown of the head, top, tip' > IE * $^{\text{o}}\text{teHm}\eta$ > NaIE * $^{\text{o}}\text{tēm}\eta$ > Sl * těmę / těmen - 'crown of the head'
2376. * $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{m}_1\text{V}_1\text{qV}$ 'dark' > IE * temH - > NaIE * $\text{tem}(\text{ə})$ - 'dark' (and ds: * temes - ntr. 'darkness', * teməsra 'darkness', * temsro - 'dark')
- 2376a. UA ?₂ * $\text{t}^{\text{U}}\text{mgä}$ 'butt, lower end of a trunk'
2377. ₂ * $\text{t}^{\text{V}}\text{m}_1\text{V}_1\text{ka}|\text{æ}$ 'to wet, to dip' > IE: NaIE * $\text{teng}|\text{g̃}$ - v. 'wet, moisten'
2378. ₂ * $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{m}_1\text{V}_1\text{n}_1\text{V}$ 'be quiet, be calm'
2379. (₂?) * $\text{t}^{\text{ü}}\text{mT}\text{V}$ or * $\text{t}^{\text{ü}}\text{ηT}\text{V}$ 'leather sack'
2380. (₂?) * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{nV}$ 'feel, know'
2381. * $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{nE}$ (= * $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{n}^{\text{E}}$?) 'strong', 'to strain' (= 'tension\force directed by so. to oneself') > IE: NaIE * ten - v. 'stretch (to the uttermost), strain'
2382. * $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{?a}\text{nV}$ (= * $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{?a}\text{n}^{\text{û}}$?) 'draw, stretch, extend' > IE: NaIE * ten -, (?) * tenu - v. 'draw, stretch, extend'
2383. * $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{h}^1\text{ü}\text{nV}$ 'mud, silt, dirt' > IE * tiHn - > NaIE * tīn - > Sl * tīnā 'mud, slime'
2384. * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{nXü}$ ~ * $\text{t}^{\text{ä}}\text{nXu}$ (or * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ηXü}$ ~ * $\text{t}^{\text{ä}}\text{ηXu}$?) 'thin, short' > IE * $\text{ten}_1\text{H}_1\text{u}$ - > NaIE * tenu - ~ * t_0nu - 'thin'
2385. * $\text{t}^{\text{A}}\text{η}|\text{nV}$ 'moisture' > IE: NaIE * $\text{teng}|\text{g̃}$ - v. 'wet, moisten'
- 2385a. ₂ * $\text{t}^{\text{æ}}\text{η}^1\text{U}^1$ 'large body of water'
2386. ₂ * $\text{t}^{\text{i}}\text{ηV}$ 'hear, listen'
2387. * $\text{t}^{\text{o}}\text{ηV}$ 'learn (erfahren), inform' > IE: NaIE * teng - / * tong - v. 'think, feel', {Mn.} v. 'remind, draw attention to; reflect upon, long for', * tongā 'sentiment'
2388. * $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{ηqV}$ '(ϵ) tree, (ϵ) forest'
2389. * $\text{t}^{\text{U}}\text{ηqV}$ 'swell, swell up'
2390. * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{ŋga}|\text{o}$ 'draw, stretch' > IE: NaIE * teng^{h} - or * $\text{teng}^{\text{ωh}}$ - 'draw, pull, stretch, strain'
2391. * $\text{t}^{\text{æ}}\text{ηK}\text{a}$ 'firm, dense' > IE: NaIE * tenk - v. 'be strong\ solid\dense'
2392. * $\text{t}^{\text{u}}\text{ηK}\text{V}$ 'to press, to force oneself, to be too narrow, to be tight' > IE: NaIE * twenk - v. 'press'
2393. * $\text{t}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^1\text{p}^1\text{E}$ 'squeeze, press' > IE: NaIE * tap - (* tap -?) 'press (down)'

2394. *ṭ'a'pU (or *ṭ'a'P?U?) 'to wade, to cross, to go through, to pass'
2395. *id.* *ṭa'p'∇ 'hit (the target)' ([in descendant lges] → 'succeed, find, find an answer, identify, recognize') > IE: NaIE *top- 'wohin gelangen, auf etwas treffen; Ort, wo man hingelangt oder hin will'
2396. *ṭap∇ (L∇) 'to feel\touch with fingers, to smear' > IE: NaIE {Mn.} *°tep- v. 'smear'
2397. *ṭe'p'∇ 'to warm, to be warm' > IE *tep- > NaIE tep- v. 'be warm'
- 2397a. ₂ *ṭeP∇ 'hair' > IE: Lw tappani- 'hair'
2398. *on.* *ṭûp∇ 'to spit' > IE: Lw tappa- {Mlc.} v. 'spit (on)' ¶ Mlc. CL 206, Lar. 90 || ?? *on.* Irn: NPrs تف tof, Tjk τυφ tuf, Krd Sr تف tif 'spittle (salivæ eiectio, sputum)', Wx tuf 'saliva, spittle'
2399. *ṭāhipê 'high place, top, hill'
2400. ₂ *ṭa'p∇?'E 'put'
2401. *ṭ'a'p'∇ 'plunge, immerse' > IE: NaIE *tap_la₁- v. 'plunge, immerse, soak'
2402. *ṭ'a'p_l∇₁∇ 'dirt, mud'
2403. ≈ *ṭaP_h∇ 'flat'
2404. *ṭûP∇R∇ ~ *ṭûR_l∇₁P∇ '∈ part of a foot', 'foot'
2405. *ṭeq∇ 'to smear, to rub' ([in HS] → 'fat, marrow')
2406. *ṭû'q' i or *ṭû'q'y∇ 'hit, strike' > IE: NaIE *twe(:)j_l- / *twōj_l- v. 'hit, strike'
2407. (₂?) *ṭUq∇ 'near; be close to, approach' > IE: NaIE *°tuw- / ?*to_u- 'near'
2408. ₂ *ṭ∇qa 'melt, get spoiled' > IE *teH- > NaIE *tā-/*tə- (+exts: *tāw-, *tāy-) v. 'melt, dissolve'
2409. *ṭAqU 'lie (tell a lie), deceive'
2410. *ṭo'q'a 'to plait, to bend', ([in descendant lges] → 'to build', 'to make earthenware', 'to weave'), ?? (← ?) 'to twist' > IE: NaIE *tek- v. 'plait, weave', ? 'twist'
2411. *ṭo'q'ga 'hide, skin' > IE {EI} *^ltwek- / *twok- 'skin, hide'
2412. *ṭar∇ '∈ vermin, noxious insects' > IE: NaIE *ter- *id.*
2413. *ṭaR∇, *ṭaR∇ H∇g∇ 'to drag, to pull' > IE: NaIE {Mn.} *tṛg^h- (or *træg^h-) v. 'draw, pull'
2414. ₂ *ṭæR∇ '≈ else, more, other' > IE: NaIE *-tero-, a sx of pronouns and adjectives with the meanings of comparison and choice between two objects\persons ('more than the other', 'between two'): NaIE *k^{wo}-tero- ~ *k^{wu}-tero- 'whether of the two?', *i-tero- 'another', *an-tero- 'the other of the two'

2415. (₂?) ***ṭeR**∇ 'to contain (aufnehmen können)'
2416. ***ṭor**^r'**ü**' or ***ṭor**^r'**yü**' 'bring\come into existence (create, make, give birth, be born)' > IE: NaIE ***twer-** v. 'create, produce by plaiting, lay (a rope)'
2417. (₂?) ***ṭURE** 'start, set in motion, begin' > ?σ-IE: NaIE ***twer-** v. 'move quickly, stir up'
- 2417a. ***ṭûR**∇ 'hold' > IE: NaIE ***twer-**/***tur-** 'grip, hold'
2418. UA ₂ ***ṭüR**∇ 'hard roe'
2419. ***ṭegar**∇ 'to heat, to roast, to fry'
2420. ***ṭeh**∇**r**∇ 'clean, pure' > ?ϕ IE: (+ext.) NaIE ***°terb**_l^h₁- > pSl ***terbi**''-
ti 'to clean, to stub'
2421. ***ṭu|o**_l**w**₁**r**∇ 'grow, grow densely, sprout forth, become bushy, thrive; thicket, thick bush\grass' > IE: NaIE (mt.?) ***tre**(:)**u**-, ***treus-** 'flourish, thrive, ripen'
2422. ***ṭor**∇ (or ***ṭo**∇**ar**∇) 'fresh, new, young', 'young animal', (?) 'child' > IE: NaIE ***torno-** 'young man, young animal', ***t^eru-no-** 'young', ***torm-**/***trm-** id.
2423. ***ṭor**^r'**∇h**'**a** 'to pass over; through' > IE: [1] IE ***terx-**/***trex-** (= ***trex**_h- with an a-coloured Ir.) v. 'pass over, cross' | [2] NaIE ***ter**_l**a**₁- 'hindurch, über ... weg'
2424. ***ṭar**^r'**iH**'∇ 'open, bald'
2425. ***ṭar**_l∇**JH**'**û**' 'delicate, thin' > IE: NaIE ***ter-**, ***teru-** 'delicate, weak'
2426. ₂ ***ṭûRHä** 'to bore, to drill' > IE ***terh-** / ***treh-** v. 'bore, drill' > NaIE ***terə-**/***trē-** id.; +exts: [1] ***truH-p-** > Gk τρῦπάω 'bore, pierce through', τρῦπᾶ ~ τρῦπη 'hole'; [2] ? pGmc ***θr-el-** 'bohren'
2427. ***ṭôRX**∇ 'long, large, far'
2428. ***ṭar**_l∇**Jy**' 'to rub' > IE: NaIE ***teri-**/***trej-** ~ ***ter-** v. 'rub'
2429. ***ṭiRy**∇ 'to turn, to bend, to twist' (trans.) > IE ***ter-**, ***ter-k^w-** 'turn (round)'
2430. ***ṭUR**_l∇**Jy**∇ 'litter, dirt, dust' > IE: NaIE *(s)**ter-** 'filth, filthy liquid', v. stain, decay' ('unreine Flüssigkeit; besudeln; verwesen')
2431. ***ṭüRy**∇ ~ ***ṭuRyE** or ***ṭür**∇ ~ ***ṭurE** 'row, line; to string' > IE: [1] NaIE ***°twer**yā > Gk σελρά 'cord, rope', [2] NaIE ***°ster-** 'stripe' (→ 'ray')
- 2431a. ₂ ***ṭ**∇**R**_l∇**b**∇ 'inside of the body, belly' > IE: NaIE ***°terb**_l^h₁- > Sl ***terb-**/***trbb-** 'belly'
2432. ***ṭiRga** 'force, strength, effort' > IE: NaIE ***treg-** v. 'be strong, apply force\violence'
2433. ₂ ***ṭoRga** 'hold, prop up' > IE: NaIE ***dergh-** 'hold', {EI} 'grasp'
2434. ***ṭer**∇**K**∇ '(ε) tree, stick'

2434a. $_2$ *t̥URK̥∇ 'pierce through; through' > IE: NaIE *^oterk_Lω_Le- / *t̥rk_Lω_Le- 'pierce through; through'

2435. ≈≈ *t̥ar∇_LP_L∇_L ~ *t̥∇P_L∇r∇ 'to tie together' > IE: Ht {Ts.} tarupp- 'sammeln, versammeln, zusammenflechten'

2436. *t̥'e¹RP∇ 'devour, eat, be sated' ([in descendant lges] → 'enjoy') > IE: NaIE *terp- / *tr̥p- / *trep- v. 'be sated, rejoice'

2436a. ($_2$?) *t̥'o¹R¹P¹∇ 'to need, to suffer, to be moved (with sadness, [?] joy)' > IE: NaIE *terp- 'suffer"suffer, endure (suffering)'

2437. *t̥üRg∇ 'firm, dense, strong'

2438. ($_2$?) *t̥'u¹R₃|₃∇ 'dry, dried up, hard' > IE *ters- > NaIE *ters- v. 'be dry, dry up (trocknen, verdorren), be thirsty', *tr̥su-, *tr̥so- 'dry'

2439. *t̥A¹r∇ 'liver, entrails' > ?σ IE: Clt: OIr tarrr, Brtt {RE} *to|arr- 'belly'

2440. ≈ *t̥'u¹r¹i 'heavenly light in the night (moon, star)' > ?μ S *^εaθtar-(at)-, name of the goddess Astarta\Ishtar, personification of the planet Venus (morning star) || IE: NaIE *ter- 'star'

2441. *t̥ü|u¹r¹∇ 'turn round, surround, enclose' > IE: NaIE *twer- v. 'twist, turn, close in', *tworos 'Einfassung'

2442. *t̥ü^ε∇r¹∇ '(part of a) leg' ('calf of the leg', 'thigh', 'knee?')

2442a. *t̥Uχ|qr¹∇ (or *t̥oχ|qUry∇?) 'dirt; be dirty' > ?σ IE: NaIE {WH} *tēr-os / *ter-_Lā 'earth'

2443. *t̥arX∇ 'throw, disperse, scatter' > IE: NaIE *^osterH- / *^ostreH- > NaIE *stera- / *strā- ~ *strō- ~ *ster- ~ strew- v. 'spread, scatter'

2444. *t̥E¹rgE 'to run' ([in descendant lges] → 'running place' → 'road') > IE: NaIE *treg^h|g^h- or *tr̥g^h|g^h- v. 'run'

2445. *t̥ût∇ '(fore)arm'

2446. *t̥u¹t̥E 'clan\tribe, everybody, all' > IE *teu_t-(ā) 'people (Volk), tribe' > ? AnIE {ABIV.} *tuti- 'army (Heer)'

2446a. *t̥üt¹æ¹ 'dust, ashes' (→ [in descendant lges] 'smoke')

2447. ?σ $_2$ *t̥oHt̥∇ 'to run, to stream'

2448. *t̥äwh∇ 'abandon, leave'

2449. *t̥äy∇ 'louse'

2450. *t̥iyA 'to be narrow'

2451. ($_2$?) *t̥Uhy∇ 'eat, feed; food'

2451a. *t̥ahy∇ 'go away, take away' ([in descendant lges] → 'conceal') > IE *teh(y)- 'take away, steal' > NaIE *tāy- 'deprive so. of sth. secretly, steal', *tāyu-s-, *tāti-s 'thief', Ht, HrLw taya- 'steal'

2452. *wā 'also', (?) 'same' ([in descendant lges] → 'and') > IE: NaIE {WP, Mn.} *u 'and, but, also', ?φ *a_u 'again'

2453. *w∇ 'who?'

2454. *wEĉû 'good, beautiful', (?) 'fit' > IE *wesu- / *wēsu- 'good', Lw wāsu- 'good'

2454a. *wic|ĉ∇ (or *wEńĉ|ĉ∇??) 'whole, all' > IE: NaIE *weĵs-/ *wis- 'whole, every', (pl.) 'all'

2455. *wac_l∇_lq∇ 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty/filthy liquid'), 'dirt' > IE: [1] *wo(:)s-o-s, -ā, -i-s, *wes-, *wōs- 'liquid' (esp. 'dirty liquid'), 'moisture', [2] d→ NaIE *wosə-lo-s 'fluid'

2456. (2?) *weĉ∇ (or *wic∇?) 'to order, to require, to beg'

2457. *weĉ_l∇_l?∇ 'go out' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *wesk- v. 'go out, depart'

2458. *w|?ü|uĉ_l∇_lʏ∇ 'to put, to set, to lay'

2459. *wed∇ 'to hunt' (→ [in descendant lges] → '[to] wish')

2460. *wed∇ (or *we?∇d∇?) 'push, strike, cut (with weapon)' > IE *wed^h- v. 'push, strike, destroy, slay'

2461. *w∇d_l∇_lʃ∇ (or *w∇ʃd∇) 'walk, go, set out for' > IE: NaIE *wad^h- (or *wəd^h-/*wād^h-) 'walk, wade'

2462. *wedhA 'to cause to go (to drive, to lead)' > IE *wed^h_lH_l- > NaIE *wed^h- v. 'lead'

2463. *w^ri¹g_l?_lê 'carry, take (somewhere)' > IE: NaIE *weĝ^h- v. 'carry, convey', *woĝ^ho-s 'way'

2464. *wäk_lê (= *wäk_lê?) 'strong, vigorous; strength' > IE: NaIE *weĝ- 'strong, vigorous' (→ 'awake'), *woĝo-s 'strength', *weĝē- 'be strong'

2465. *wak_l∇_lχa (= *wak_l∇_lħa?) 'to shout' > IE (mt.) *we|ahg-/ *w_hg- > NaIE *wāg- / (?) *wəg- 'shout, cry'

2466. (2?) *w^ra¹κo (or *wæκo) 'to call' > IE: NaIE *wek^ω- (prs. *wok^ω-ti) 'speak', 'call', d. *wek^ωos- 'speech', d. *wōk^ω-(s) 'voice'

2467. *wik^ra¹ 'back part, behind, backwards' > IE: NaIE *weĵk- (~ *weĵg-??) 'yield, give way, draw back'

2468. *woy_l∇ 'straight, even, fit' > IE: NaIE *weĵk- 'true', 'resembling' (= 'like truth'), 'fit'

2469. *wA_la (and *wô_la) 'big, large; multitude' > IE: NaIE *wel- 'many, much, amount'

2470. *wA_l∇ 'be strong, be able' > IE: NaIE *wal- id., 'rule over', Ht walliwalli- 'stark, kräftig', walliwallai- 'kräftigen'

2471. *w^ri¹l∇ 'exchange', 'value'

2472. *wos₁|g₁∇ (more probable than *wos₁|g₁∇) 'stay, be'
2473. *waH₁∇ 'produce sounds by voice, cry, speak' > IE: NaIE *wo|a|a₁- ≈ id.
2474. ?_(2?) *weH₁|y₁L∇ (or *weLH∇?) (= *weH₁|y₁L∇ - *weLH₁∇?) '≈ hip, waist' > ?σ IE: ζ Ht {Frd.} walla 'Schenkel, (?) Bein' (not mentioned in Ts. W)
2475. *waL₁æ 'wish, require' > IE *wel₁h̄- > NaIE *wel₁a₁- / w₁lē(i₁)- v. 'want, choose', n. *w₁ti-s 'wish'
2476. ₂ *w∇L₁'h₁∇ 'to hit, to attack' (→ 'to wound, to kill') > IE *welX- '≈ strike, hit, fight' > Ht walh- 'strike, attack' ({Ts.} 'schlagen', 'niederschlagen, überfallen, schädigen') || NaIE *wel₁a₁- 'wound, slay, fight'
2477. *wA₁||í₁∇₁'h₁∇ 'to turn, to roll, to revolve' > IE: NaIE *wel(a)- / *w₁lē-, *welu-, *w₁lej- v. 'turn, roll'
2478. *w'e₁'||í₁∇₁h∇ (or *wi₁||í₁∇₁h∇?) 'field, plain' > IE *wa|el- > Ht {Ts.} wellu- 'unmowed grass; meadow' || ? NaIE: L v allēs, vallis 'valley'
2479. *w'i₁'l₁i₁q∇ 'liquid; moist, damp'
2480. *₁'₁w'A₁'l₁i₁y₁∇ (or *₁'₁wô₁'l₁i₁y₁∇?) 'draw, pull (out, off)' > IE *₁'₁wel- / *₁'₁wol- v. 'draw, pull, pluck, tear out', Ht walli- 'geschoren (?)', 'enthaart' (on hides), {EI} 'plucked'
2481. *wolE₁y∇ 'look, see' > IE: NaIE *wel- 'see', *w₁]-tu- 'Aussehen'
2482. ₂ *waLd∇ 'give birth'
2483. *wiLka?∇ (= *wi₁'l₁'ka?∇?) 'wet, moist' > IE: NaIE *welg- 'moist, damp', *welk- 'moist, wet'
2484. *walK₁'a₁ 'be bright\white, shine' > IE: NaIE *wlek- / *w₁lk- 'radiant, shining, bright', ? -d→ NaIE *w₁lkānos {EI} 'smith god'
2485. *w₁'u₁'LKa (or *w₁'u₁'Lka?∇) 'remove, dislocate, pull, drag' > IE: NaIE *welk- 'draw, carry (away)'
2486. *wA₁A₁t∇ (= *walA₁t∇?) 'run, flee'
2487. ?φ₂ *w∇L₁∇₁t∇ 'moist; moisture' > ? IE: AdS of NaIE *lat- 'moist' (see N *ǰat∇ 'fluid, body of water')
2488. *w'e₁'í∇ 'to shine, to lighten'
2489. *weí∇ and *weí∇ k̄∇ 'shoulder, humerus, back (Rücken)'
2490. ?σ₂ *w∇í₁∇₁P₁E 'fur-bearing animal' > IE: NaIE *w₁lp(-e₁k̄)- ~ *₁w₁∇loupe(:)k̄- '≈ fox', Ht {Ts.} ulip(pa)na 'e predator' ('wolf?')
- 2490a. *wamU (ś|ś∇) 'articulation between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'), 'collar-bone', 'shoulder', or sim. > IE: NaIE *om(e)so-s 'shoulder'

2491. *wUm∇ and *wUm∇ r∇ηT∇ 'egg'

2492. *w∇mo'?'i 'use magical forces' ('make magical signs, utter magical incantations, swear, cause suffering, torment') > IE: NaIE *omō(ĵ)- v. 'swear; torment, vex, annoy'

2493. (₂?) *wûmH∇ (or *hûmh∇) 'spit, vomit' > IE: NaIE *wemə- v. 'spew, vomit'

2494. *wäñ∇ or *lX∇, wäñ∇ 'relative (of a younger \ the same generation) of the opposite exogamous moiety within an exogamic system of tribes' ([in descendant lges] → 'brother\sister-in-law, son-in-law')

2495. *w'o'ñ∇ 'wish, love; luck' > ? IE *wen- 'wish, strive for, love', Ht wen-, went- 'copulate'

2495a. (₂?) *w∇, f∇, N∇ 'stay, (?) be' > ?? IE: Ir fanaim 'wait, stay'

2496. (₂?) *wend∇ 'to fight, to injure, to hurt' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'wound, injure'

2497. (₂?) *wend∇ 'to wither, to dry' > IE: NaIE *wendh- 'be barren, wither'

2498. *wen, f∇, d∇ 'to turn' ([in descendant lges] → 'to return') > IE: NaIE *wendh-/*wondh-/*wṛdḥ- 'turn, twist, plait'

2499. (₂?) *w'o'ñt∇ 'belly' > IE: NaIE *went-/*wont- id.

2500. *wan∇z'a' 'belly' > IE: NaIE {F} *wēnes-tro- 'ē internal organ (in the belly)' ('stomach of ruminants?')

2501. *wan∇ 'squeeze, press' ([in descendant lges] → 'weaken [sth.]', 'ram, trample down, make compact by pressing') > ? IE NaIE *weĵ(ə)- / *wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *weĵ-s '(make) wither, weaken'

2501a. ₂ *wEyñ|ñ∇ ~ *wEñ|ñy∇ 'daylight'

2502. *wanE 'to hit, to injure' > IE: NaIE *wen- 'hit, injure'

2503. *wäñ'g'o 'hook' ([in descendant lges] → 'handle') > IE: (mt.) NaIE *wog^whni-s, *wog^whnes- 'ploughshare'

2504. *wanK∇ 'hole, orifice' (→ 'pit')

2505. (₂?) *wäñka 'to bend' > IE: NaIE *weng-/*wong- 'bend; bent, crooked'

2506. *wop∇ 'pour, strew' > IE: NaIE *wep- 'strew'

2507. *w'a'qa 'hit, hurt' > IE *weh-/*woh-/*wḥ- > NaIE *wā-/ *wō- / *wə- 'hit, wound'

2508. *wAr'E' 'to burn, to heat, to cook\fry' > IE: NaIE *wer- v. 'burn, heat', Ht war- / ur- vi. md. 'burn'

2509. *war∇ 'stream of water' > IE: NaIE wer-/*wēr- / *ūr- 'water, flowing water', Lw {Mlc.} wār 'water'

2510. $_2$ *waR∇ 'crow, raven' > IE: NaIE *worn- id.
2511. *'war∇ 'look, watch' > IE: NaIE *'wer-/*'wor- id., 'perceive, pay attention to, take care', *'wō¹r-os 'watching, cautious', ??σ Ht werite- v. 'fear'
2512. *wārE 'make, do', (← ?) 'plait'
2513. *wer∇ 'to speak; communication, information' > IE: NaIE *wer- 'say, speak, tell', Ht {Ts.} weriγa- v. 'call, name, mention', -war- (pc. of quoted speech ← 'said'), Pal wērti 'calls'
2514. *wer∇ 'without, not, void of, (?) empty'
2515. *waξrê 'wooded hill\mountain' > ?σ IE: NaIE *wer- > CINPrs بر bar > NPrs بر bār 'up, upon'; +exts: (1) NaIE *wers- / *wṛs- > OI varṣman- 'peak, top', Lt viršúṣ, OCS врьхъ vрьхъ 'top, summit, sinciput', (2) NaIE (in Clt.) *°werk|k̄- / *°wṛk|k̄- > Ir feirc 'peak, bulge', W gwyrch 'top'
2516. $_2$ *wAHR∇ or *wARH∇ 'to scratch, to scrape, (?) to comb'
2517. *w'a¹qR∇ (or *w'a¹Rq∇?) 'to rain, to drip, to trickle', 'to be strained (durchsieben)' (a liquid) > IE: NaIE *wēr-/*ūr- 'rain', (?) 'liquid'
2518. *₁'₁weX∇r∇ 'be mad, be dizzy, be intoxicated' > IE: NaIE *₁'₁wōr- 'be mad, be giddy'
2519. *wiχR∇ (or *wiχER∇?) 'male, man' > IE: NaIE *wīro-s nom. 'male person, man'
2520. *waR?'¹ŭ¹ or *wa?R'¹ŭ¹ 'a tie' (→ 'thong', 'rope'), 'to bind, to tie' > IE: NaIE *wer- v. 'bind, tie', *werw- 'rope'
2521. $_2$ *wer₁∇₁?∇ (or *weyr₁∇₁?∇??) 'back'
2522. *w'a¹Rξ∇ (~ *w'a¹ξR∇??) 'weak' (of a person) > IE: NaIE *wōr- 'be weak, faint'
2523. *w'i¹Rh'ü|u¹ 'be wide\broad, expand, spread' > IE {EI} *werHu- (nom. *wer¹Hu-s, gen. *wer¹Hoγ-s) 'broad', *werH-os- 'breadth'
- 2523a. *wARh∇ 'grain (of cereals)' > IE: Ht {Ts.} warwatna- 'seed, posterity', (?) Lw {Ivn. ← ?} warwalan id.
2524. *wiRχ∇ '∈ tree (*Populus*, *Alnus* or sim.)' > IE: NaIE *werno-, wernā {EI} 'alder (*Alnus barbata*)', {P} 'alder, poplar'
2525. *wERY'E¹ (= *wiRY'E¹?) 'another', *yi w'E¹RY'E¹ 'one and another one' (→ 'two')
2526. *woRd∇ 'grow' (trans.?), 'raise, bring up (children\animals)' > IE: NaIE *wred^h-/*werd^h- 'grow', *word^ho-s 'grown, full-grown, upright, high', *wṛd^h- 'raised, upright, high'
2527. ($_2$?) *woRkê 'make' > IE: NaIE *werġ- 'do, make, work'

2528. $_2$ *wer ∇ K ∇ 'branches, leaves of a tree'
2529. *weRaH ∇ ,t ∇ 'root, sinew' > IE: NaIE *wrād-/*w_orād-/*w_orād-/*wrād- 'branch, twig, rod, root'
2530. ($_2$?) *'w ∇ R ∇ , ∇ , ∇ 3 ∇ or *'w ∇ 3 ∇ R ∇ 'to pour, to flow' > IE *'wers-/*'wors- > NaIE *'wers- 'rain, dew', Ht warsa- 'rainfall', Lw warsa- 'drop'
2531. $_2$ *wA \acute{r} ∇ 'way, path' ([in descendant lges] → 'road')
2532. *'wu \acute{r} û 'to scrape' ([in descendant lges] → 'to plough') > IE *'worw- > [1] NaIE *'w_orw-/*'w_orw_o- 'plough, dig up' | [2] NaIE *'worwo-s 'furrow, ditch' ([in descendant lges] → 'boundary ditch' → 'boundary')
2533. *wA \acute{r} , ∇ , ∇ , ∇ ĉ ∇ 'rub, scrape' > IE *wers-/*wors- > Ht wars- '(ab)wischen, (ab)streifen' || NaIE *wers-/*wors- {P} 'drag over the ground'
2534. *w \acute{r} i \acute{r} 3 ∇ 'young herbivorous mammal (calf, lamb etc.)' > IE: NaIE *wersē-/ī- '(young) herbivorous mammal'
2535. *wAS ∇ 'rainy weather, rainy season' > IE: NaIE *wes_o / gen. *wesn-es 'springtime'
2536. *wä \acute{e} s ∇ 'get tired, be(come) weary\troubled'
2537. ($_2$?) *w ∇ S ∇ (= *wU \acute{s} ∇ ?) 'wide, vast' > IE: NaIE (+ext.) *wasd^h- 'wide, long'
2538. *was ∇ ,t ∇ 'place inside' > IE: NaIE *wa(:)stu ~ *west ∇ , 'home, house, dwelling'
2539. $_2$ *wiš ∇ 'green' > IE: NaIE *wis- > L virē- 'be green\verdant', viridis 'green', ? Gk λόγ 'rust, verdigris'
2540. *wiš $\acute{?}$ ∇ 'to grow' (esp. of plants) > IE: NaIE *we ∇ s- v. 'sprout, grow' ('sprießen, wachsen')
2541. *'wes $\acute{}$ ĉ ∇ 'to wind, to wrap, to clothe' > IE *'wes ∇ H ∇ -/*'wos ∇ H ∇ - 'cover, clothe' > Ht was(s)-, wassiya-, wessiya- vt. 'clothe, cover; put on (clothes)', wess- md. 'be clothed', 'be put on' (clothes) || NaIE *'wes- vt. 'clothe', ds: *'wes_o-no-, *'wes-m ∇ o-, *'wes-tro- n. 'garment'
2542. ($_2$?) *'wAt ∇ 'belly' > IE: [1] NaIE (< d.?) *'udero- / *'wēdero- 'belly', ? [2] NaIE *'ud-tero- 'belly, womb'
2543. *wAt ∇ 'earth, ground, dirt' > IE *wed- > NaIE *wed- 'ground, earth', Ht utne- 'land', 'country' (↔ 'city')
2544. *wät ∇ 'gut, sinew'
2545. *'wetê '(flowing) water' > IE *'wed-/ 'wod-/ 'ud- 'water' ({EI} *'wod_o / gen. *'wed ∇ -s / loc. *u \acute{d} en-i 'water'; coll. *'wedōr / accus. *u \acute{d} en-m ∇ / gen. *ud \acute{n} -os 'water'), AnIE: Ht watar 'water' (obl.: weten-, wit-), Lw

wid- id. (dat. ú-i-ti, accus. pl. ú-i-da-an-za) ||| NaIE *^o_lou_ud- v. 'flow' (of water) ||| d.: ON vátr 'humid, wet', Sw vát, Dn vát, OFrs wēt, AS wæt id., NE wet d.: ON vátr 'humid, wet', AS wæt id., NE wet ||| SI *vĕdro 'pail, bucket' (← *'vessel for water')

2546. (2?) *wAHt∇ '≈ to smell (sth.), to smell (of sth.)'

2547. *wit∇?∇ 'find' > IE: NaIE *we_ud- v. 'find'

2548. *'wot_l∇?_lE or *'wot_lE?∇ 'speak, utter sounds', (?) 'organ of speech' > IE *'wed-/*'ud- 'utter vocal sounds, speak', ? Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech'

2549. *wēt_l∇_l'y'∇ 'look, see' > IE: NaIE *we_ud- v. 'see, look', pfc. 3s *'woy_ud-e *'has seen' → 'knows' / 1p *wid-'me 'we know'

2550. *wat_u∇ 'heavy, firm, strong'

2551. *w'e_lt_u∇ 'long time, year; old' > IE *wet- 'year', NaIE *wetos / *wetes- / *wets- 'year; old'. ⇨ NaIE *wet-elo- 'yearling'

2552. ₂ *wit_u∇ 'grain' ([in descendant lges] → 'seed')

2553. ₂ *wAHt_u∇ 'cold wind' ([in descendant lges] → 'north wind')

2554. (2?) *wAt_u∇r∇ 'speak' > ? IE: Ht uttar / uttan- 'word, speech, thing'

2555. *'way∇ 'want, wish, strive for' > IE *'we_u- 'strive for' > NaIE *'we_u- id.

2556. *w∇y∇ 'we' > IE: [1] IE *we_u- 'we' pl. ||| The cd *we_u- + *dwo 'two' underlies pronouns of 1st pers. du.: Lt ve-du, Gt, AS, OSx wit, ON vit ||| [2] NaIE *wē 'we' du. nom. for nomina animata (< N *'w∇y∇ 'h'æ, with N ? *'h'æ [an ancient marker of dual])

2557. *wahy∇ '(be) weak' > IE: [1] NaIE *wāy-/*way-/*wī- '(be) weak' ||| [2] NaIE *we_u(ə)-/*wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *we_u-s '(make) wither'

2558. *woy^hê 'be strong, be able\capable' > IE *we_uH- > NaIE *we_uə- / *wī- 'strength, force'

2559. *wayH∇ 'to descend; below'

2560. *wäž∇ 'little, young'

2561. *wiž∇ 'grey, (?) withered' > IE: NaIE *we_u(ə)-/*wī-, +exts: *wīt- (< *wi-Ht-), *we_u-s '(make) wither, weaken'

2562. *w'U'ž_lE_lko ~ *w'o'k_u∇ž∇ '∈ a canine' > IE: NaIE *w_ulk^{wo}-s 'wolf', ?σ,φ AnIE: Lw walwa- 'lion', Ld walw-el(i)- 'pertaining to a lion'

2563. *wi_h∇_l3∇ 'spring (fons); to flow' > IE: NaIE *we_us- v. 'flow' ({P} 'zerfließen, fließen') ⇨ NaIE *wis_u- 'liquid' (→ 'poison')

2564. *Xebž∇ 'breast'

2565. $_2$ *χUć∇ 'to peel, to debark, to scrape off (hair etc.)'
2566. *χ|qü_ly_d∇ 'to separate' ([in descendant lges] → 'to divide; part') > IE *_lH_jweid^h-/*_lH_jwid^h- > NaIE *weid^h-/*wid^h- v. 'separate, divide' -d→ IE *_lH_jwid^hewo-s 'separated' (→ 'widower', 'unmarried youth'), -d→ IE *_lH_jwid^hew-ā 'widow', -d→ NaIE *^owojd^h-son- > Gmc *waisan- 'orphan'
2567. $_2$ *χûd_l∇?∇ 'get (somewhere), reach (some place), clash (with sth.)'
2568. $_2$ *Xag∇ 'dry, hard'
- 2568a. $_2$ *Xa^rü¹gæ 'to lack, to want, to need' > IE: NaIE *ā_lj_jg^h- / *əg^h- / *īg^h- '(be) needy'
2569. $_2$ *Xæg∇r∇ 'gird, tie around, surround', 'twist'
2570. $_2$ *XakEC∇ 'shoulder (Achsel), armpit' > IE: NaIE *aks- - *aġ(e)s- (and/or *ok-?) 'shoulder, armpit'; *aġs-el- - *aks-el- 'shoulder' ('Achsel')
2571. *XakER∇ 'plain' ([in descendant lges] → 'field') > IE *He|aġro- > NaIE *aġro-s 'field, field in cultivation'
2572. ($_2$?) *χako|aR∇ '≈ top part, tip, extremity' > IE *xag_lω_r- > NaIE *agro- 'top, point, summit, uppermost (oberstes)'
2573. *χeķ∇ 'scrape, scratch'
2574. *χoķU (or *χoķi?) 'call out, pronounce aloud, speak (solemnly?); incantations' > IE: Ht h_uek- 'conjure, treat by incantation'
2575. $_2$ *X^ro¹yEK_l∇ 'lap, lower front part of the belly'
2576. $_2$ *XAK_lAr∇ 'need, want, be hungry'
2577. *^rχ¹a1∇ (or *^h-, *^ǵ-?) (*'forehead' →) 'front, edge'
2578. *χA1∇ '(be\become) clean' > IE *^ox^ra¹l- > Lw halali 'clean' -b→ Ht halali id.
2579. *χe1A 'dwell, live'
2580. *χe1∇ 'fence, boundary, border; enclosure' > IE *xe1- 'enclosure'
2581. *Xili?∇ 'dirt, silt, soot' > IE: NaIE *ī1-, *ī1u- 'mud' ({P} 'Schlamm'), 'silt'
2582. ($_2$?) *XaLb∇ (= *Xalb∇?) 'white' > IE: NaIE *alb^ho- 'white'
2583. $_2$ *X^ra¹lm∇ 'to dream'
2584. ($_2$?) *χo¹∇ 'middle; be among'
2585. $_2$ *Xam∇ 'womb, vulva'
2586. $_2$ *XEm∇ 'warm, (?) hot'
2587. ($_2$?) *Xom∇ 'sour, bitter' > IE *H^ωem-/*H_o^ωm- 'raw, bitter, (?) sour'
2588. $_2$ *Xum∇ (= *χum∇?) 'to wish, to covet'

2589. ?σ *XUm∇ '≈ old' (of things), 'bad, miserable' > IE *He|oumo- > ON aumr 'arm, elend' || Tc B aumē {Ad.} '≈ misery', {Wn.} 'misère', Tc A omäskem {Ad.} 'evil', {Wn.} 'mauvais, méchant'

2590. *Xm∇ 'wall, (?) windbreak' > IE: Ht humma 'stable, stall, sty', Lw hum(ma)ti 'stable'

2591. *Xam₁∇₁gê 'tight, narrow; to squeeze' > IE *Xamġ^h- > NaIE *anġ^h- 'tight (eng), narrow', v. 'narrow down, tie (up), squeeze', NaIE *an¹ġ^h-u-s 'tight, narrow', Ht ham(m)en)k- ~ ham(i)n)k- 'tie; betroth' ({EI}: < *h₂m₀neġ^h-)

2592. *X¹o₁∇₁a₁muś|ś∇ (or *X¹o₁∇₁a₁mU (ś|ś∇)) 'articulation between a limb and the trunk' (→ 'hip joint, rump, shoulder joint'), 'collarbone', 'shoulder', or sim.).

2593. (2?) *X¹äñ∇ (or *X¹äñ∇) 'to bow, to bend down, to descend'

2594. *Xin∇ 'be happy\glad, love'

2595. ₂*XAn₁∇₁∇ 'together, with'

2596. *XüwiñC∇ 'thin, narrow'

2597. *Xäñ¹á¹k∇ 'jaw, palate'

2598. ?σ (2?) *XVNk∇ (= *XANKa?) 'to untie, to open, (?) to remove'

2599. ₂*X|q¹a¹ñ₁∇₁K₁∇ (or *X|q¹a¹ñK₁∇) 'to bend' > IE *Xenk- (~ *^oXenk-?) 'bend' > Ht hink- v. 'bow (reverentially), curtsy' || NaIE *ank- vt., vi. 'bend' || ? NaIE d. *onko-s 'crooked, hook'

2600. *Xän∇₁∇ 'grain, kernel' > IE (mt.) *Hēt(e)n (/ *Hēt(e)r-?) 'grain, kernel' || AdS of Ht hat(t)ar '∈ cereal' ('ein Getreideart')

2600a. *Xayno (= *h|Xayno) (a variant reconstruction instead of *?ayno, q.v. s.v.) 'marrow, brain, soft fat of animals' (→ 'to smear, to anoint') > IE: NaIE *ong^ω- 'anoint', *ong^ω-en- ~ *ng^ω-en- 'fat, grease'

2601. ₂*XUng∇ 'throat'

2602. *Xup∇ 'press, crush, rub' > IE: NaIE *ub- 'press, press down'

2602a. *XAr∇ 'tracks, path, way' ([in descendant lges] → 'road')

2603. ??φ *X¹a₁w₁a₁¹rE (or *XawEr∇) 'bright, white' > IE (+ext.) *Xarġ-, *Xarġi- 'white' > Ht harki- 'white, bright' || NaIE *arġ(i)- 'be white, by shiny' || ↪ IE (attested in NaIE only) *X₁X¹ġ¹ġ¹-ñt-om 'silver'

2604. *XoR₁∇₁w∇ 'herd\pack of (wild) animals' (→ 'animal?')

2605. (2?) *XaRč∇ (= *XaRč∇?) 'rub, scratch' > ? IE: Ht hars- v. '≈ till (the soil)' (unless a loan from Ak)

2606. (2?) *XiRg∇ '∈ (horned?) artiodactyl' > IE: NaIE *york|k- 'roe deer' (× N *n¹a¹RKa|æ '∈ deer')

2607. *χaʳ'ü¹ 'valley, low place, ravine, pit' > IE *χery- - *χr̥y- 'cavity' (× N *gar'í¹ 'valley, hollow in the ground, cave') and (possibly) IE *HaHr- 'valley, low place, cave' > Ht hari-s (gen. hariyas) 'valley'

2608. (₂?) *χ'o¹t'¹A¹ 'scrape (off), 'rub off'

2609. *X'o¹t'¹i¹ '€ fish' > IE: NaIE *o|ati- > Lt atìs, Ltv ãte 'halibut, turbot'

2610. *X∇t∇ 'quick' > IE: NaIE *ēt-/*ōt- 'earlier, quick(ly)' ⇨ NaIE *ētro-/*ōtro- 'quick'

2610a. (₂?) *XEt∇R∇ or *XiLt∇r¹∇ 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, root' > IE: NaIE *ētor, *ētrom, *ētr̥ 'blood vessel (vein, artery), sinew, internal organ'

2611. *χaw∇ 'to rain', (??) 'to spurt (hervorspritzen, брызнуть)' > IE: Ht he(ω)u-, he(y)aw- n. 'rain'

2612. *χawī₁?∇₁ 'drive, chase, pursue' > IE *χχweĵH^ω- v. 'pursue, chase' > AnIE *χwey- v. 'run, flee' || NaIE *weĵ₁e₁- v. 'pursue, drive', NaIE pp. *wī-to- 'pursued'

2613. *Xay'ü¹ 'live' > IE *Heyu-/*Heĵw- > NaIE *ayu-/ayw- 'life'

2614. *XôyE 'to swim, to float, to flow'

2615. *Xažü?∇, *XažU?E, *XažEw∇ or *Xaž₁∇₁wE 'to cover, to spread', 'soft stuff spread on the ground as bedding' ([in descendant lges] → 'soft stuff [fell, feathers, hay]')

2616. *ya 'which?', 'what kind of?' > IE: Sl *jakъ(jb) 'what kind of?, which?', *jakъ 'how?'; AdS of the relative pronoun *yo- in IE (see N *'y¹iyō 'which' [rel. prn.], 'that which, related to')

2617. ? *yE (= *y'í¹?) 'these, they' (deictic marker of animate plural) > IE *-ĵ, plural ending of the animate gender

2618. *yi 'he', (?) 'that' (anaphoric) > IE *?eĵ-/?i (or *ĥeĵ-/ *ĥi-?), anaphoric dem. prn., AnIE: HrLw ī-, nom. ī-s 'this'

2619. *yi 'a couple' (inanimate) ([in descendant lges] → a marker of dual) > IE: the NaIE ending of dual (ntr.) *-o-ĵ / *-i(:)

2619a. *y∇, pc. of hypocoristic (?) address (vocative) > IE: NaIE *-yo-/*-iyō-, a diminutive suffix

2620. *yabE (~ *yapE) 'to cover, to fence, to protect' > IE: NaIE *yeb^h- / (SA) *oĵb^h- 'copulate'

2621. (₂?) *yäd'¹a¹ (or *yadä) 'go'

2622. *y'o¹d∇ 'hand', 'claws (as of a lobster\scorpion)', 'to hold between fingers \ claws (e.g. of a lobster)'

2623. *yugê (or *yukê?) 'to drink'
- 2623a. *yuH∇ 'to tie, to bind', 'sth. that binds\ties' > IE: NaIE *yēu- {EI} 'bind, join together'
2624. ₂ *yak∇ '≈ to pour, to be covered with water'
2625. *yäk'a' 'ice, cold' > IE: NaIE *yeg|ǵ- 'ice' || Ht eka- n. 'cold, frost, ice', e|ikuna- adj. 'cold'
2626. (₂?) *yûka 'attach, tie\bind to' > IE: NaIE *yeuǵ- / *yung- v. 'bind, harness, yoke' ⇨ IE *yug-o-m 'yoke', NaIE d. *yeuǵ-os ntr. 'yoke\team of beasts'
2627. *yaKs'o' 'to loosen, (?) to untie'
2628. *yæKæ (or *yæKḥæ?) '(very) bright, white' > IE: NaIE *yēk-(o-s) / *o|k-(o-s) 'light color, clearness, brightness'
2629. *yoKε (or *ʔoKε?) 'seize, catch' > IE: NaIE *e|k-/ *īk- 'take possession, possess'
- 2629a. ₂ *yiL∇ 'burn' (trans.), 'kindle' > ?? AdS of IE *ʰH'e|- (≈ *ʰH'a|-?) v. 'burn, burn sacrifices'
2630. *ye|ay,∇ 'to shine; light (lux)'
2631. (₂?) *y'a'mU (or *yom∇) 'go'
2632. *y'a'm∇ (or *yoma) 'good\fit' (→ [in HS] 'right [dexter]')
2633. *yäm∇ 'body of water' ('sea, lake') → 'water'
2634. *yum'a' 'day, daylight' ([in the prehistory of descendant lges] → 'sky, heaven, god') > IE: NaIE *ye|om-, name of a mythical being (deity)
2635. *yän|h|ʔ,∇ or (?) *ʔänh|ʔ∇ (both from *ʔ∇yänh|ʔ∇?) 'speak, say'
2636. ???σ (₂?) *yæñT,∇ '≈ stretch, strain, pull'
2637. *yaʔon,y,E - *yoʔon,y,E (or *yawon,y,E - *yowan,y,E?) 'sinew, tendon' ([in descendant lges] → 'bow [weapon]')
2638. *yän,g,ê 'ice; to freeze'
2639. ? ₂ *y∇P,ʔi 'to rise; up' > IE: NaIE *epi-/*opi-/*pi- 'upon' (direction, place)
2640. ₂ *yUPX∇ 'leopard'
2641. *yEgi or *y'u'gi 'both, two (persons)'
2642. *yar'û' 'to shine (leuchten), to burn'
2643. ?σ *yer∇ 'misfortune', 'to curse, to be angry' (← *'to cause misfortune?'), (?) 'misfortune'
2644. *yoR∇ (b∇) 'firm, strong, hard'
2645. *yäʔûrU (= *yäʔûro?) 'body of water' > IE *yuHxʀ- > NaIE: Blt *yūr- 'sea, ? Thr iuras (name of a river)

- 2645a. $_2$ *y∇Ϛ|g∇r∇ 'honeycomb', {?} 'beehive'
2646. *yERϚ∇ 'ε (young of a) ruminant animal'
2647. *yaʀ∇ 'to draw\scratch a sign'
2648. $_2$ *yah_l∇_lʀ∇ 'broad open place'
2649. *yAs∇ 'bone', (?) 'limb, joint (articulation)'
2650. *yos∇ '≈ go\run, go away' > IE: NaIE *e_ls-/*is- v. 'move (go\run) in a hurry'
2651. *yu_l⊥_lt^ri 'with (mit)', 'with, by' (instrumental), 'together with' > IE: Ht -it, ending of the instr. case
2652. *yaHt_l∇ (= *yaʔt_l∇?) 'stranger, foreigner' ([in descendant lges] → 'enemy')
2653. *yuw∇ 'ε tree' > IE: NaIE *e_lwā / *o_lwā, *e_lwō-s id., ? Ht e(y)a(n)- 'ε evergreen tree'
2654. *yowʔ∇ '≈ good, right, proper' > IE: [1] NaIE *yeu-s ~ *you-s 'good, right, proper; goodness' [2] NaIE *yewā- v. 'ease, relax, benefit'
2655. *^ryⁱyo 'which' (rel. prn.), (enclitic pc.) 'that which, related to' (individualization through relation) (possibly connected with N *ya 'which?', 'what kind of? [q.v.]): [I] *^ryⁱyo as a prn. (× N *ya 'which?') > IE: NaIE: *^ryo-, rel. pronominal √ ('which' or sim.) (m. *^ryo-s, f. *^ry-ā, ntr. *^ryo-d); [II] As a N postnominal pc.: NaIE *-(i)yo- 'related to', sx of adjectives > Ht -iy-, sx of derived adjectives (antur-iy-a 'staying within'), L -ī (gen. sg. of the *o-stems), Ogr -i id. in maqi (mak^ωi) 'son's', Gl -ī in SEGOMARI (gen. of a proper name); possibly here also [1] NaIE *-is- of cmpr., [2] *-ist^(h)o- of sprl.
2656. *zopa (or *zopya, *zoypa) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow'
- 2656a. $_2$ *z^ugb∇ (or *z^ugb∇?) 'fig tree (ε?)'
2657. *zig^od∇ 'stake, peg', ([in descendant lges] → 'paling, fence') > IE *Hod^h-/*Hed^h- > NaIE *od^h-/*ed^h- 'stake, stake fence, enclosure'
2658. *zed_lh_lü|u (or *zend∇_lh_lü|u?) 'pull, drag, draw'
2659. *zôg_l∇_lU or *zôgU_l∇_l 'hill'
2660. *z^l∇gEr∇ (or *z^l∇rg∇?) 'back (dorsum)'
2661. ($_2$?) *zEgUt∇ (= *z^lEgUt∇?) 'thigh, leg' > IE *h_leKT∇ (or *ʔ-) > Ht egdu, igdu 'leg'
- 2661a. ??? *zäKT^ra^r 'net'
2662. ($_2$?) *z^l∇kU 'to tie'
2663. *zûL∇ 'to fall, to crush down' > IE *_lH_{X_l}wel-/ *_lH_{X_l}wōl- v. 'fall\fell down'

2664. ${}_2$ *ZaŕĪE (η∇) or *ZäŕĪa (η∇) '(be) awake\alive'
2665. *z'ogĪE 'back part\side'
2666. *z'īLŕ∇ 'to shove', 'to knead\stir'
2667. ?σ ${}_2$ *z'ELq∇P $_{-}$ ∇ 'sorcery, witchcraft' ([in descendant lges] → 'calamities') > IE (< cd?) * \approx° ho|a|wō- > Ht aluwanz(a) 'sorcery'.
2268. *z'êĪ∇ (K̄a) (or *z'êĪ∇ (K̄a) - [??] *z'êĪ∇ $_{1}$ K̄a) 'back (dos)'
2669. *z'ru'g $_{1}$ ∇ $_{1}$ Ī∇ (or *z'∇g'ru'Ī∇?) 'flow, pour' > ζζ IE: Ht {Frd.} huwalla 'ausgießen' (rejected by Ts., not mentioned by Pv.)
2670. *z'Eng∇ 'black, dirt-colored, dirty'
2671. (${}_2$?) *zäη'K $_{1}$ '∇ 'skin of animals (used as a container or garment)' ([in descendant lges] → 'waterskin', 'wineskin', 'sleeve', 'coat' etc.)
- 2671a. *zāP $_{-}$ ∇ 'to make, to work' > IE *Hχop- (or *H $^{\omega}$ ep-) > NaIE *op- v. 'work', *op-os ntr. 'work'
2672. on. *z'ap∇ - *zap∇ (or *z'ab|p?∇) 'to strike'
2673. ?σ ${}_2$ *z'oR∇ 'foreign, hostile' > ? AdS of IE *H̄er- > NaIE *er- v. 'be angry\hostile' (< N *zeŕr∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed')
2674. *z'UR'i' (= *z'UR'i'?) 'look at, examine' (or *z'UR'i' 'to watch, to spy') > IE * $_{1}$ Hχ $_{1}$ wēr- 'look at, pay attention'
2675. *zeŕr∇ 'to hate, to abhor, to be annoyed' > IE *H̄er- > NaIE *er- v. 'be hostile'
2676. *z'oΓRû (or *z'oRΓû) 'line \ boundary \ strip of land between geographical objects\areas' > IE *'wōrwo- > NaIE *'wōrwo-s 'furrow, boundary ditch, boundary'
2677. (${}_2$?) *z'a'hr∇ (or *z'a'hr∇ - *z|z'a'hr∇) 'shine, be bright; light (lux)' > ? IE *χarġ-, *χarġi- 'white'
2678. *z'a'Hr∇ 'low place, valley' > IE *HaHχr- 'level\open place, vast space' > NaIE {WP} ? *ārō- 'open place, vast space'
- 2678a. ${}_2$ *z'E'hR∇ 'see, know'
2679. ${}_2$ *z'aw $_{1}$ ∇ $_{1}$ r∇ 'young of a beast'
2680. *z'ûrŕE 'fear, frighten'
2681. (${}_2$?) *z|z'i' $_{1}$ R $_{1}$ H $_{2}$ '∇ or *z|z'i' $_{1}$ H $_{2}$ 'R∇ 'be very cold' > IE: NaIE *srēġg- / *srīg- 'cold' (AdS of N *ś∇Riχk̄a 'cold')
2682. *z'ä'Rga 'to strike, to trample, to break' > ?σ IE *H̄erg h $_{1}$ Hχ $_{1}$ - (× N *r∇g $_{1}$ ∇ $_{1}$ ŕ∇ 'to quake, to move in agitation') > NaIE *erg h - '≈ tremble, leap, fidget', Ht argatiya- 'stoop to rage, come to violence'

2683. ?σ *ʒ'É'Rʒ∇ 'set in motion, incite, make\be ready for fight' > IE *Ĥer_LH_X- > [1] NaIE *✓er(ə)- 'set (oneself) in motion, set on, incite' [2] AdS of NaIE *er- v. 'be hostile' (< N *zeŕr∇ 'hate, abhor, be annoyed')

2684. *ʒ'∇'r'd∇ (= *zeŕd∇?) 'to grow', 'to feed, to rear' ('to cause to grow') > IE **H_Xord^h- (or *H^ωerd^h-) > NaIE *ord^h- v. 'grow, rise'; ? IE ʒ_Xrdu- > NaIE *ardu- 'steep, high', ? Ht harduppi '≈ high'

2685. *z|ʒitχ|qa 'dirt, excrements' > IE: NaIE *°sk|k̄ej_LH_J- > Gmc *ski(:)t- 'defecate'

2686. (2?) *z|ʒew_Lh_J∇ 'to mix'

2687. *ʒayH₂∇ or *ʒaH₂y∇ 'summer', ([in the prehistory of descendant languages] → 'year')

2688. *ʒ|ʒæ_Ly|ʒ|ʒ_Jʒ∇ 'to fill', (?) 'to overfill, to overflow'

2689. *ʒUkEb∇ 'to swallow, to eat'

2690. 2 *ʒom∇_n∇ '≈ think', ? 'remember', '(have a) dream'

2691. *ʒom_L∇_JR∇ 'dream' > IE *H_Xon(e)r- → *H^ωen(e)r- 'dream' > NaIE *oner- 'dream'.

2692. *ʒæśχ|q∇ 'blood' > IE *h₁esx-r_o, gen. *h₁osx-n-es 'blood' > Ht e|isxar, gen. esxanas 'blood', specially 'dark (venous) blood', Lw āsχar- /asχan-* 'blood', ásχanuwant(s)- 'bloody'

2693. *ʒa_Lid∇ 'to cut' > IE: NaIE *la_Lid^h- / *lid^h- v. 'cut, wound'

2694. *ʒä'k̄i'd∇ 'move, go' > IE: NaIE *le_Lit^h- ~ *li(:)t^h- v. 'go' (× N *Lič_L∇ 'to pass, to go away')

2695. *ʒUkU (= *ʒoK_LU?) 'juice' > IE: NaIE *sek^ωo- / *sok^ωo- 'juice'

2696. 2 *ʒom∇ 'be hot', 'sun', (?) 'flame'

2697. (2) *ʒUN_Lg_J∇ '(young?) ungulate'

2698. *ʒEH₂P_L∇ → *ʒiH₂EP_L∇ (or *LEH₂p_L∇ → *LiH₂Ep_L∇?) '≈ spade, shovel, ladle' > IE: NaIE *°lōp- / *°lāp- 'spade, shovel'

2699. *ʒUqU 'putrefy, turn sour, spoil, become turbid'

2700. 2 *ʒæh^ra^rRa 'moon'

2701. 2 *ʒar_L∇_JX∇ ~ *ʒa^rX^r_L∇_Jr∇ (= *ʒa^rX^rEr∇?) 'to cut, to wound'

2702. *ʒ'A^r'ʒ'∇ (= *ʒ'A^r'ʒ'o?) 'to lie (liegen)' > IE *ses- v. {EI} 'rest, sleep, keep quiet'

2702a. *ʒoʔa (or *ʒoʔya, *ʒoyʔa) 'to bear (a young); to be born, to grow'

2703. 2 *ʒe_LH_Jb∇ '∈ a bird' (probably 'gallinaceous' and/or 'waterfowl?')

2704. *ʒeybA (or *ʒeʔhibA?) 'tail, penis'

2705. 2 *ʒ'∇cχaL∇ 'fire; (?) burning wood'

2706. ${}_{2} \phi$ (?) * $\text{z} \nabla \text{c} | \hat{\text{c}} \nabla$ '≈ willow' > IE: Ht $\text{s i s i y a (m) m a -}$ (?) '€ tree' ('willow?')

2707. $({}_{2}?)$ * $\text{z} \hat{\text{o}} \text{g} \nabla$ 'shoulder' (or '€ part of the shoulder')

2708. * $\text{z} \text{U} \text{g} \text{U} \text{U} \text{U}$ 'to move somewhere' (intr., trans.)

2709. * $\text{z} \text{U} \text{g} \nabla$ 'mane, long hair (on animal's body)' > IE: Ht s u k s u q a 'Stirnhaar [?] (des Rindes), Mähne (des Pferdes)'

2710. ${}_{2}$ * $\text{z} \hat{\text{u}} \text{r} \text{r} \nabla \text{g} \nabla$ (or * $\text{z} \hat{\text{u}} \text{g} \nabla \text{r} \text{r} \nabla$) 'bring' (?), 'give', 'give in exchange'

2711. * $\text{z} \text{r} \text{i} \text{g} \nabla \text{r} \text{U}$ 'thorn'

2712. * $\text{z} \text{E} \text{g} | \text{k} \nabla \text{R} \text{H} \nabla$ (= * $\text{z} \text{E} \text{g} | \text{k} \nabla \text{R} \text{H} \nabla$?) 'antelope'

2713. * $\text{z} \text{e} \text{g} \text{a}$ (or * $\text{z} \text{e} \text{y} \text{a}$) 'to get\be sated' > IE * $\text{s e} \chi \text{-} / * \text{s} \chi \text{-}$ 'be sated', * $\text{s e} \chi \text{-t i -}$ 'satiety' > NaIE * $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} \text{-} / * \text{s} \text{a} \text{-}$ v. 'be\get sated' > NaIE * $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} \text{-} / * \text{s} \text{a} \text{-}$ v. 'be\get sated', * $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} \text{-t i -}$ 'satiety', Ht $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} \text{h -}$ v. 'stuff full, clog up'

2714. ${}_{2}$ * $\text{z} \nabla \text{g} \text{r} \text{i}$ 'rancid, bitter, rank, fetid'

2715. ≈ * $\text{z} \text{i} \text{H} \text{i} \nabla$ (or * $\text{z} \nabla \text{y} \text{H} \text{i} \nabla$) 'to press, to knead, to rub' > IE: Ht $\text{s a} \text{i} \text{-} / \text{s i y a -}$ 'festdrücken, einprägen'.

2716. * $\text{z} \text{r} \text{o} \text{h} \text{E}$ 'to scatter' > IE: [1] IE * $\text{s e} \hat{\text{h}} \text{y} \text{-}$ > NaIE * $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} (\text{i}) \text{-} / * \text{s} \text{a} (\text{i}) \text{-}$ v. 'sow', Ht $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} (\text{i}) \text{-}$ {Ad. ← ?} 'sow, throw', {Ts.} 'shoot' ⇔ [1a] NaIE * $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{-m} \eta \text{-}$ 'a seed (Same), sowing'] [1b] NaIE d. * $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{-t o -}$, * $\text{s} \text{a} \text{-t o -}$ pp. 'sown, scattered'] [1c]: L $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} \text{t i o n. act.}$ 'sowing, planting' ||| OIr, NIr s a i t h e 'swarm, litter' (< * satio), W h a i d , Br h e d 'swarm' ||| [2] NaIE * $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} (\text{i}) \text{-}$ 'scatter, sift'] NaIE d. * $\text{s} \bar{\text{e}} \text{i} \text{-t o n.}$ 'sieve'

2717. ${}_{2} \sigma$ ${}_{2}$ * $\text{z} \text{o} \text{r} \text{l} \nabla \text{k} \nabla$ 'back end, tail' ([in descendant lges] → 'behind', 'after', 'to follow, to follow [game] by the tracks') > AdS of IE * $\text{s e h g -} / * \text{s} \eta \text{g -}$ > NaIE * $\text{s} \bar{\text{a}} \text{g -} / * \text{s} \text{a g -}$ 'scent out, track (nachspüren), follow (game) by the tracks, seek out' (< N * $\text{s a h k} \text{r} \text{a}$ 'search, find, know')

2718. * $\text{z} \text{u} \text{k} \text{l} \nabla \text{r} \nabla$ or * $\text{z} \text{u} \text{k} \text{l} \nabla \text{r} \nabla \text{E}$ 'edible cereals, harvest (of wild plants)'

2719. ${}_{2} \text{W} \text{W}$ * $\text{z} \text{r} \text{a} \text{k} \nabla \bar{\text{n}} \nabla$ 'elephant'

2720. $({}_{2}?)$ * $\text{z} \text{a} \text{l} \nabla$ (or * $\text{z} \text{a} \text{l} \nabla \text{l} \nabla$) 'flame'

2721. * $\text{z} \text{a} \text{e} \text{L} \nabla$ 'to swing, to wave, to be shaky', (?) 'to spring, to leap' > IE: NaIE * $\text{s e} \text{l -} / \{ \text{Brg.} \} * \text{s o} \text{l -}$ v. 'jump, leap'

2722. $({}_{2}?)$ * $\text{z} \text{i} \text{i} \text{l} \nabla$ 'to slip, to slide' > IE: NaIE * $\text{s l e} \text{i} \text{-m -}$ 'slippery', 'smooth'

2723. * $\text{z} \text{a} \text{g} \text{l} \nabla \text{l i}$ (or * $\text{z} \text{a} \text{g} \text{l} \nabla \text{l a y} \nabla$) 'secret(ly); to deceive'

2724. * $\text{z} \text{u} \text{h} \nabla \text{l} \nabla \text{y} \nabla$ (or * $\text{z} \text{u} \text{h} \nabla \text{l} \nabla \text{E}$) 'smoulder, burn' (intr.); 'live coals' > IE: NaIE * $\text{s w e} \text{l} \text{l} \text{a} \text{-}$ vi. 'smoulder, burn'

2725. ${}_{2} \sigma$ * $\text{z} \text{A} \text{h} \text{U} \text{l} \nabla$ '≈ (calf of) leg', (?) 'bone of leg'

2726. * $\zeta^1 iX\bar{I}\nabla$ (~ * $\zeta^1 i\bar{I}X\nabla$?) 'to creep, to crawl' > IE: NaIE *sel- (~ *tsel-?) v. 'creep, crawl'
2727. $_2$ * $\zeta^1 \nabla LiK\ae$ or * $\zeta^1 i\bar{I}i K\ae$ 'to slip, to slide' > IE: NaIE *sleij̥g̥- 'slippery, smooth', v. 'stroke, rub (the surface of sth.)'
2728. * $\zeta^1 \bar{A}^1 \bar{I}\nabla$ (= * $\zeta^1 \bar{A}^1 \bar{I}u\bar{u}$?) 'be weak'
- 2728a. * $\zeta^1 aH\bar{u}^1 \bar{I}\nabla$ 'light (lux), sunshine, sun' > IE *suHl- / *suHel- / *seHwel- / suHōl- ({M} *su \bar{a}_2 l- / *su \bar{a}_2 el- / *se \bar{a}_2 uel- / *su \bar{a}_2 ōl-) > NaIE {P} *sa \bar{u} wel- / *s(u)wel- / *s(u)wōl- / *sūl- 'sun'
2729. * $\zeta^1 A^1 \chi^1 i\bar{I}|\bar{I}\nabla$ (or * $\zeta^1 A^1 \psi^1 i\bar{I}|\bar{I}\nabla$?) 'wolf, dog'
2730. * $\zeta^1 a\bar{I}X\nabla$ (or * $\zeta^1 a\bar{I}H\nabla$) 'dripping fluid' > IE: NaIE *sa \bar{l} ə \bar{I} - 'saliva, wet dirt'
2731. ?σ * $\zeta^1 om\nabla$ 'spice, sth. spicy, spicy food'
2732. * $\zeta^1 \ae m\bar{I}^? \nabla$ (or * $\zeta^1 \ae m\bar{I}^? \nabla$?) 'together; to unite, to tie together' > IE: NaIE *som- / *sm̥- 'together, with'
2733. * $\zeta^1 i\omega\nabla m\bar{I} \nabla \bar{I}gE$ 'leopard' or 'lion' > IE: NaIE *sing̥^ho- 'leopard' or 'lion'
2734. * $\zeta^1 amaka^? \nabla$ 'to throw, to cast' > IE: NaIE {WP} *sma(:)g- 'throw, (→) strike'
2735. * $\zeta^1 en\nabla$ 'ear of cereal, head of a plant' > IE: NaIE *song^ho / ā- or *sonko- 'sheaf of corn, straw, chaff'
2736. * $\zeta^1 E|a\bar{n}\nabla$ 'to burn' (intr.), 'live coal (embers), fire'
2737. $_2$ * $\zeta^1 \bar{I}\nabla \bar{n}\nabla$ 'image, sign' > IE: Ht sena- ~ sina 'figure, doll, effigy (Ersatzbild)'
2738. $_2$ * $\zeta^1 E\bar{h}N\nabla$ 'lie down, sleep'
2739. ($_2$?) * $\zeta^1 \hat{u}\omega\nabla N\nabla$ (= * $\zeta^1 \hat{u}\omega\nabla \bar{r}^1 |\bar{n}^1 \nabla$?) 'to copulate'
2740. * $\zeta^1 \bar{c}^1 i\chi|\psi\bar{n}\nabla$ '∈ ungulate'
2741. * $\zeta^1 \nabla \bar{n}h\nabla$ '≈ acquire, obtain, increase' > IE *sen \bar{x} - '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish' > Ht {Ts.} s̥an \bar{h} - 'seek, try, strive for; require' || NaIE *se|anə-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish'
2742. * $\zeta^1 \bar{a}^1 \bar{n}^1 \nabla \bar{I}g|kU$ '≈ antelope'
2743. o. * $\zeta^1 i\eta o$ 'sing, produce (musical, ritual?) sounds by voice' > IE: NaIE *seng^wh- 'say, make an incantation, sing'
2744. * $\zeta^1 o\eta E$ (or * $\zeta^1 o\bar{n}E$) 'old'
2745. * $\zeta^1 E\eta q\nabla$ (= * $\zeta^1 E\eta q\nabla$?) 'seek, try to obtain' > IE *sen \bar{x} -, *sen χ x ∇ - > Ht s̥an \bar{h} - 'suchen, versuchen; erstreben, planen'; 'fordern, verlangen' || NaIE *se|anə-, *se|anu- '≈ (try to) obtain, achieve, accomplish'

2746. (₂?) ***ʒoŋX**∇ 'to want, to wish' > **IE**: NaIE *se|ana-, *se|anu- 'try to obtain, obtain', ? Ht s̄an̄h- 'seek, try, strive for; require' ||| An alt. (and less plausible) etymon: N ***ʒoŋh**∇ 'want, wish' > **IE**: Ht s̄an̄h- 'seek, try, strive for; require' (× N ***ʒEŋq**∇ [= ***ʒEŋq**∇?] 'seek, try to obtain', q.v. ffd.) (without NaIE *se|ana-, *se|anu-)

2747. ***ʒ'ü'ŋka** (or ***ʒ'ü'nika**) 'to bend' > **IE**: NaIE *swe(n)g- '≈ bend'

2748. *id.* ***ʒap**∇ (or ***ʒap**∇?) 'hold, seize, catch' > **IE**: NaIE *sep- 'hold, handle (skilfully)'

2749. (₂?) ***ʒ|žap**∇ 'to cover'

2749a. *id.* ***ʒip**∇ 'to pinch', (?) 'a pinch' > **IE**: NaIE *skeip- ~ *skip- v. 'pinch'

2750. ***ʒor'U'** 'crawl, creep'

2751. ***ʒ'o'r**∇ '∈ bird of prey'

2752. (₂?) ***ʒoR**∇ 'hand (palm of hand and fingers)' ([in descendant lges] → 'span')

2753. ? (₂?) ***ʒûr**∇ 'inside of body (→ [in A] 'heart')

2754. ***ʒ'U'R**∇ (= ***ʒoR**∇?) 'female being' > **IE** *sor- 'woman, female' in cds.: [1] AnIE: Ht -sara-, sx. for female beings: ishassara- 'lady, mistress' (←d̄ isha- 'lord, master'), supessara 'chaste girl, virgin' (←d̄ suppi- 'rein'), *hassussara 'queen', HrLw hasusara 'queen', Lw nānāsri(ya) gen. 'sister'] [2] NaIE *tri-sor-es 'three' f. (← *'three women')] [3] NaIE *swe-sor- 'sister, female member of the clan'

2755. ***ʒaΓ∇R**∇ 'hedgehog' > **IE** *°sχχ∇r- > a word of some AnIE lge reflected in a gloss: [Hs.] σχῦρ (·ἐχῦρος) 'hedgehog'

2756. ₂ ***ʒ'a'hR**∇ 'flower, blossom' (→ [in FU] 'unripe berry')

2757. ₂ ***ʒ∇R∇m**∇ 'to stream, to flow, to pour' > **IE**: NaIE *sermo- 'flowing'

2758. ₂ ***ʒ∇RT**∇ 'pudenda muliebria', 'lewd' > **IE**: NaIE *sert- v. 'practise lewdness'

2759. ***ʒûr'û'** 'to stream' > **IE**: NaIE **serHχ-, NaIE *srey- v. 'stream, flow'

2760. ***ʒaš**∇ 'bush (shrub), wood (Holz)'

2761. ? ₂ ***ʒ'iš**∇ 'fire'

2762. ***ʒUw**∇ 'to eat, to taste'

2763. ₂ ***ʒ'iX**∇ (or ***ʒ'iX**∇) 'come' ([in CS] → go [away])'

2764. ***ʒ'U'χU** 'to cause (so., sth.) to move from one place to another' ('to lead, to send')

2765. (₂?) ***ʒ∇χi** 'to plait, to bind' ([in descendant lgs.] → 'to spin') > **IE** *seχ̄- / *seχ̄y- v. 'bind' > Ht ishiga-, ishai- v. 'bind, wrap', Lw hishiga-

id. || NaIE *sē- 'bind', *se|oy- (< IE *s^he|oy-) id., *sy- (< IE *s^hy-), *si(:)- (< IE *s^hi(:)-) id.

2766. *ž_uh₁y∇ 'fibre, thick hair' > IE *syuh_x- v. 'bind, sew' (mt. from **suh_xy-?) > Ht {Ts.} s u e l- (= {Pv.} s u w e l-) 'Faden, Band' || NaIE *syū- / *sīy- v. 'sew', *syū-to- 'sewn', *syū-d^hlā 'awl' ||| -d→ IE *syuh_x-men- > NaIE *syū-men- 'band', Ht {Ts.} s u m(m) a n z a(n)- {EI} 'thread', {Ts.} 'Strick, Band'

2767. ?σ (2?) *ž_aly₃∇χU ≈ ∈ leaf-bearing tree without berries and edible fruits (lime tree, *Tilia* or sim.)'

2767a. Ll. o *ž_uh₃∇ (~ *ž_už_A?) 'teat, female breast'

2768. *ž_æ?∇b∇ (= *ž_e?∇b∇?) '∈ beast of prey (wolf or sim.)' > IE *^ostib_h- ({Blz.} *^ostib_h-y_o-) > Sl *^ostbb-(j_b) 'wild cat'

2769. *ž_u?b∇ 'to pour, to flow'

2770. on.? ₂ *ž_ü'_lb∇_lb∇ '∈ insect'

2771. *ž₁'_a'_č'_d∇ (or *ž_aHd∇?) 'spread, be flat'

2772. *ž_æwy₁' 'bad, ugly', ([in descendant lges] → 'left [link]') > IE: NaIE *seuy_o- 'left (link)'

2773. *ž_Uh₁'i' (= *ž_üh₁'i'?) '≈ show, advise, get accustomed' > IE: Ht s i y a- md. 'sich zeigen'

2774. *ž₁'_a'_kU 'be low', 'be short and stocky' (of a person)

2775. *ž_E'_y'_L∇ (or *ž_EL'_y'∇?) '∈ small carnivore fur-bearing mammal' ('fox', [?] 'jackal', 'weasel' or the like)

2776. *ž_am∇ 'be dying, perish'

2777. ?σ ₂ *ž_Em∇ 'way' (→ [1] 'manner of behaviour', [2] 'blame, fault')

2778. ??φ *ž_a'_m|_ŋ'∇K_æ ~ *ž₁'_a'_K∇'_m|_ŋ'∇ 'chin, beard' > IE *smek̄- 'chin', *smok̄w_ŋ 'beard, (?) chin'

2779. *ž_em_uga₁H₂ê₁ 'fog, smoke, hot\sultry air' > IE: NaIE *(s)meuk^h- ~ *(s)meug- 'smoke'

2780. (2?) *ž_an∇ and *ž_an∇ b∇ 'tail, back' > ? IE: NaIE *^odumb- 'tail, penis'

2781. *ž_UhN∇ 'show; understand'

2782. id.? ≈ *ž_Un'_č'_U (or *ž_Unč_U?) 'ant, stinging insect'

2783. *ž_iq∇ 'shame, humiliation'

2784. ₂ *ž_arE 'be good\favorable\beneficial'

2785. *ž_uR∇ 'stake, pole, long piece of wood' > IE: NaIE *swer-/ *^osur- {EI} 'pole, rod'

2786. *ž_ä?₁'_ô'_r∇ 'to blame, to scold, to accuse, to be angry, to hate'

2787. $_2$ *ǵʳEʳR∇ɹæ 'arm, upper part of a leg/arm' > IE *sreH̄-no- > NaIE *srēno- '≈ loins, hip, thigh'
- 2787a. ??φ *ǵER_lu_jī∇ 'to flow, to stream; rapid current'
2788. *ǵaw∇ 'to have a changed taste (to get sour, to ferment), to fade, to wither' > IE: Ht sīwai- 'sour (bread)'
2789. *ǵôʳʳ'aw∇ or *ǵaʳʳ'ôw∇ '≈ be of poor quality/appearance; be weak, be bad'
2790. $_2$ *ǵ∇χ∇ 'to push, to strike'
2791. *ǵûhd∇ (or *ǵûhad∇?) 'sweet' > IE *sweHd- > NaIE *swād- 'sweet; be pleasant'
2792. $_2$ *ǵek∇ 'be tight/crammed, tighten'
2793. *ǵok∇ 'to push' > IE: NaIE *lak|k- or *lag|g- v. 'kick'
2794. *ǵæī∇ '∈ tree' > IE: NaIE *sel- 'beam, board' (→ 'bench', 'bed', 'trough' etc.)'
2795. $_2$ *ǵuɹī∇ 'to be bright', 'blaze, flame', '∈ a light' ('torch' or sim.?) > ?? IE *swel_la_j- v. 'smoulder, burn'
2796. *ǵʳUʳlhʳûʳ 'take, take away, pull out' > IE: NaIE *sel(w0)- 'take, seize, lay hold of'
2797. *ʳǵʳ∇m∇ (or *ʳǵ|ĉ|ĉ|z∇m∇) '≈ to put, to place'
2798. (UA $_2$?) *ǵo|aHEmU (= *ǵo|aʳEmU?) '∈ berries (bird cherry?), a plant with berries'
2799. $_2$ *ǵ∇m∇ɹ∇ 'wax'
2800. ($_2$?) *ʳǵʳap∇ 'receptacle (basket, vessel)' or *ʳǵap∇ id.
2801. *ǵap_lʳj∇ 'lip', (→) 'edge, shore, riverbank' > IE: NaIE *lab-yo-m, -ya, *lab-uro-m, *lab-s- 'lip'
2802. *ǵeRgû 'vein, sinew' > ?? AdS of IE: NaIE *ser- v. 'fasten together in rows, string' (< N *śeR∇ 'row')
2803. *ǵiRw∇ or *ǵiRʳûʳ 'root'
2804. *ǵat∇ 'fluid, body of water' > IE: NaIE *lat- 'humid, moist; swamp, mire, mud'
2805. ?σ ($_2$?) *ǵæwʳiʳ (or *ǵæʳwʳiʳ?) 'up, upper point, extremity'

U. SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

§ 1. Phonetic symbols and other signs use in the etymological entries

§ 1.1. Introduction

§ 1.1.1. **Generalities.** In my papers I distinguish between transcription (rendering the phonemes and allophons of the language in question) and transliteration (rendering the characters of the original script). For transcription (as well as for reconstructions) a unified transcription script is used: a, b, c, d, e, etc., while for transliteration (as well as for rendering the original Roman spelling of the language in question and for literal quoting of other scholars in their own notation) a special transliteration-quotation script is used: \bar{a} , \bar{b} , \bar{c} , \bar{d} , \bar{e} , etc. Wherever it is necessary to distinguish between phonemic and phonetic transcriptions, the former is denoted by solidi (slant lines) and the latter by square brackets, e.g. Nen F /mań/ [mäń] 'I'. Morphophonemic transcription is denoted by broken brackets [], e.g. Old Indian $\bar{s}p\bar{a}\bar{t}$ [spaś-s] 'beholder', Kota tot [tols] 'full year, anniversary'. These brackets are used also when a morphophoneme is phonetically reduced to zero: Rf Tm $\bar{\theta}am\bar{\gamma}\bar{a}$ [r]^θ 'woman', uřu[r] 'to go'. For Oscan, Umbrian, Gaulish, Punic and other languages of the I mill. B.C.E and the early I mill. C. E. (as well as for Guanche) a special script (font) "A, B, C, D" is used for the original Latin alphabet of the sources (capital letters), while the transliteration script " \bar{a} , \bar{b} , \bar{c} , \bar{d} " is used for rendering the Oscan, Umbrian and Phoenician alphabets. "EM:" means "e-mail equivalents" (used by me and some of my colleagues in e-mail). But for proper names of these languages (e.g. Gaulish) (if preserved in Latin sources) the usual spelling with capital and small letters of the "transliteration script" is used (e.g. Gl Remos).

A special sign: The sign ∂ (before the symbol of the source) indicates that the transcription of the author in question is indicated with Dolgopolsky's modification (interpretation). This sign before the semantic definition means that the definition is reformulated rather than quoted word by word.

§ 1.1.2. The transliteration is either traditional (for languages with long scholarly tradition of transliteration, such as Old Indian, Avestan, Gothic etc.) or partially approaching our transcription system (e.g. for Egyptian we use z, s, ħ, χ, x, c and ʒ instead of EG's s, ś, ḥ, ḥ, ḥ, t and d respectively, for the ancient Semitic languages we use ħ, χ, ʁ, θ, δ, θ and ê instead of the traditional ḥ, ḥ, ġ, t, d, z and d of the Orientalistic transcription; Arabic tamarbuta δ is transliterated as ḥ (but transcribed as -at-). For Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu we use the traditional indological transliteration. The sign $\bar{a}ytam$ of the Classical Tamil script is reproduced as \bar{a} : (for its meaning cf. MeenS HTL 53, 68-72 and An. GTJ 11). On Coptic see below **Transliteration of Coptic Letters**. For Classical Armenian I usually use transcription script, but in words with letters and digraphs of controversial reading ($\bar{t}\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}\bar{o}$, $\bar{h}\bar{l}$ i $\bar{\omega}$) the transliteration is preferred. The sign $\bar{\cdot}$ precedes translations quoted from a glossa or from an ancient\medieval

dictionary (e.g. Gk.[Hs.] ἄρουα· χορδή 'gut(s)', Pru [El.] $\text{a l n e} \cdot$ "Tyer" 'beast', sc. Pru $\text{a l n e} \cdot$, translated in Elbing's dictionary (\approx 1400 C. E.) as T y e r 'beast'). Unlike in the Gk sources (and for technical reasons) the sign \cdot is separated from the preceding word, e.g. Pru [El.] $\text{a l n e} \cdot$ "Hindin" rather than Pru [El.] $\text{a l n e} \cdot$ "Hindin". If the quoted translation (e. g., of Prussian or medieval Celtic lges) is the Latin script of the sources, it is printed here with a special quotation script (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, x).

§ 1.1.3. For some languages a kind of super-dialectal transcription or transliteration has been used. In transcribing Arabic, the sign ğ is used to denote a phoneme (spelled as ج) pronounced [g] in Northern Egypt, [ğ] in Sudan, [ǰ] and [ǰ̣] in the rest of the Arab world. For Syriac a super-dialectal transliteration is used combining the vowel distinctions preserved by West Syriac dialect and script (vocalization signs) and lost in East Syriac with the distinctions preserved in East Syriac script only. Thus, the sign \bar{e} is used for a vowel preserved as \bar{e} in Sr E and changed into \bar{i} in Sr W, while for the vowel pronounced e in Sr W ("rəḫāṣā") the sign ε is used here. The sign \bar{a} denotes the vowel \bar{a} of Sr E and o ("zəḫāṣā") of Sr W.

For New Persian I prefer the transcription of B. Miller and V. Rastorgujeva to the traditional one. The new transcription reflects the transformation of the former quantitative opposition of vowels into a qualitative one, but still with preservation of the vowel length ($\bar{a} \leftrightarrow a > \bar{u} \leftrightarrow \bar{ä}; \bar{i} \leftrightarrow i > \bar{i} \leftrightarrow e; \bar{u} \leftrightarrow u > \bar{u} \leftrightarrow o$), so that traditional $\bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}, a, i, u$ have changed into $\bar{a}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}, \bar{ä}, e, o$ [cf. Rast. GPJ 616-70]; EarNPrs \bar{e} (spelled as \bar{i}) > NPrs \bar{i} (loss of the EarNPrs opposition $\bar{i} \leftrightarrow \bar{e}$).

§ 1.1.4. No distinction is made here between fricatives and spirants (in Martnet's terminology: NE t h in t h i s is a fricative, while Sp d in n a d a is a spirant [Mart. DPh § 2.21, TBC 39-42]). Although this distinction is phonetically justified, the sources usually do not distinguish between them, so that without direct observation we are unable to draw conclusions in this respect. Wherever possible, we can denote the spirants by an underline below a letter for fricatives: Sp n a d a [$^1\text{n a d a}$]. If the spirants are very weak, we use a superscript letter (ʃ in Rif Berber, ʃ in dialects of Vogul).

§ 1.1.5. In our transcription we usually do not distinguish between two types of hushing sibilants: apico-alveolar and predorso-alveolar (for lack of information about it in the description of languages and in dictionaries, as well as because no phonemic opposition is involved).

§ 1.1.6. Reconstructions of proto-languages are given either in the unified transcription (as described below), or in transliteration script \mathfrak{a} , \mathfrak{b} , \mathfrak{c} , \mathfrak{d} (if reconstructions of other scholars are quoted in their own notation). If a proto-language (e.g. pA, pM, pD) does not distinguish between orders of affricates, I transcribe them as \mathfrak{c}^2 (for traditional pA and pM \mathfrak{c}^2 , pD \mathfrak{c}) and \mathfrak{z}^2 (for traditional pA and pM \mathfrak{z} or \mathfrak{j} , pD \mathfrak{j}), in order to avoid unjustified identification of the affricates as hushing (\mathfrak{c} , \mathfrak{z}) or hissing (\mathfrak{c} , \mathfrak{z}). In pT and pTg the phonemes usually interpreted as \mathfrak{j} -, \mathfrak{c} , Tg \mathfrak{z} are likely to be (in my opinion) palatal stops, therefore I transcribe them as \mathfrak{j} and \mathfrak{c} . The pFU and pU phonemes \mathfrak{z} and \mathfrak{z} - (of the FU transcription) are lateral fricatives and are transcribed as \mathfrak{z} and \mathfrak{z} . But the phonetic nature of the pU and pFU initial \mathfrak{z} - remains obscure (it cannot have been a voiced obstruent), therefore I transcribe it by \mathfrak{z} a special sign \mathfrak{z} .

§ 1.1.7. I am aware of the trouble that my symbols (not found in regular computer fonts and in printing offices) may cause to those willing to quote from this ductionary. Therefore I propose quotable equivalents for my symbols. In § 9 they follow my symbols and are marked by the sign "Q".

§ 1.1.8. In the following lists of symbols we do not include obvious symbols based on Latin letters (such as \mathfrak{b} , \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{t} , \mathfrak{a} , \mathfrak{o} , etc.).

§ 1.1.9. Those colleagues who cannot print subscript and superscript characters (in quotable equivalents of my transcription) may replace them by letters in italics (e.g. $\mathfrak{c}2$ for \mathfrak{c}_2), which is a less desirable option.

§ 1.2. Transcription in pN reconstructions

The generally known transcription letters with obvious meaning (such as \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{k} , \mathfrak{l} , \mathfrak{m} etc.) are not explained here.

CONSONANTS

$\mathfrak{?}$ - glottal stop.

$\mathfrak{?}$ - cover sign for $\mathfrak{?|h}$.

\mathfrak{z} - cover sign for $\mathfrak{?|\mathfrak{z}}$.

\mathfrak{z} - epiglottal voiced approximant (like Arabic \mathfrak{z}).

\mathfrak{z} - cover sign for an unspecified voiced laryngeal (\mathfrak{z} or \mathfrak{z}).

c - voiceless hissing affricate (> S *s, K *č̣=*c₁, IE ?*(s)K-, *-s-, U *ć, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣).

ć - voiceless (presumably palatalized) affricate (> S *c, Eg ɘ (?), K *č̣=*c₁, IE ?*(s)K-, *-s-, ?? **K^h-, U *ć, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣).

č - cover sign for *c|ć|č̣ (but not for glottalized phonemes: *č̣, etc.).

č̣ - cover sign for an unspecified non-lateral affricate.

č̣̣ - cover sign for c|ć.

č̣̣ - voiceless hushing affricate (> S *θ, K *č̣̣, IE *(s)t-, *-s-, U *č̣̣, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣̣).

č̣̣̣ - voiceless lateral affricate (> S *š, Eg ɘ̣, K *č̣̣̣- and ??? *-c-, IE *s, U *ć, T and Tg *ç, M *č̣̣̣, D *č̣̣̣ and ? *ḳ̣̣-).

č̣̣̣̣ - glottalized hissing affricate (> S *č̣̣̣̣ and *c, K *č̣̣̣̣=*c₁, IE ?*(s)K-, *-s-, ?? **K^h-, U *ć, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣̣̣̣).

č̣̣̣̣̣ - a glottalized (presumably palatal) affricate (> S *č̣̣̣̣̣ and *c, Eg ɘ̣̣̣̣̣, K *č̣̣̣̣̣, IE ?*(s)K-, *-s-, ?? **K^h-, U *ć, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣̣̣̣̣).

č̣̣̣̣̣̣ - cover sign for č̣̣̣̣̣̣.

č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ - cover sign for c|ć.

č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ - glottalized lateral affricate (> S *ṣ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̌, Eg ɘ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣, K *č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣, IE *-s-, U *ṣ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̌, *-ć-, T and Tg *ç, M *č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣, D *č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ and ? *ḳ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣-).

č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ - glottalized hushing affricate (> S *θ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ and θ, K *č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣, IE *(s)t-, *t^h, *-st-, U *č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣, T and Tg *ç, M and D *č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣).

Č - cover sign for an unspecified affricate (c|ć|č̣|č̣̣|č̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣|č̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣).

Č̣ - cover sign for c|ć|ɜ.

g - voiced uvular stop.

ɣ - voiced uvular fricative or spirant (like Arabic ɣ).

Γ - cover sign for ɣ|g.

h - a laryngeal yielding S *h (and zero), Eg h, ʁ (h̲) (and zero), pIE "strong" laryngeals, K, U, A and D zero; in A and D the pN postvocalic *h produces lengthening of vowels.

H - cover sign: for unspecified laryngeal (?|h|ɣ|ħ|χ|ɣ̣).

H₁ - cover sign for "weak" laryngeals (?|ɣ|ħ).

H₂ - cover sign for "weak" laryngeals, including h (?|ɣ|ħ|h).

Ḥ - cover sign for H|g|q.

ħ - a voiceless epiglottal fricative that yields S *ħ, Eg ħ and ʁ, IE weak laryngeals, K, U, A and D zero; in A and D the pN postvocalic *ħ produces lengthening of vowels.

K - cover sign for k|g|ḳ|q.

- k** - voiceless velar cns.
k - cover sign for **k|g|ḳ**.
̄k - cover sign for **k|ḳ|g**.
ḳ - glottalized velar cns.
K - cover sign for **ḳ|g**.
í - palatal (or palatalized) lateral sonorant.
ɭ - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) lateral sonorant.
Ṭ - cover sign for **ɭ|ɭ**.
L - cover sign for lateral sonorants (**l, ɭ, í**).
ń - palatal (or palatalized) n.
ṇ (= **ɳ**) - postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) n.
ṇ - cover sign for **n|ṇ|ń**.
ṇ̄ - cover sign for ***n|ṇ**.
N - cover sign for an unspecified nasal consonant (other than ***m**).
N - cover sign for an unspecified nasal consonant (including ***m**).
ŋ - velar or uvular nasal consonant (like **ŋg** in English **long**).
p̣ - emphatic (ejective?) labial stop.
P - cover sign for an unspecified labial stop (**p|p̣|b**).
P - cover sign for **p|p̣**.
q - voiceless uvular stop.
q̣ - glottalized uvular stop.
ř - palatalized (or palatal) vibrant.
R - cover sign for **r|ř**.
ś - palatal (or palatalized) s (e.g. like Polish **ś**).
ś - cover sign for **s|ś**.
š - cover sign for **s|ś|š**.
š - voiceless hushing sibilant (like English **ʃ**).
ś̂ - voiceless lateral consonant.
S - cover sign for an unspecified voiceless sibilant (or lateral obstruent) (**s, ś, š, ś̂**).
ṭ - emphatic (ejective?) t.
T - cover sign for ***t|ṭ|d**.
T - cover sign for ***t|ṭ**.
w - labial approximant (like English **w**).
χ - voiceless uvular fricative (like Spanish **j** and Arabic **ح**) = **ħ** of the Orientalistic Transcription.

- X** - cover sign for **ħ|χ**.
ɥ - palatal approximant (like **ɥ** in English **ɥeɪs**).
z - voiced hissing sibilant (like English **z**).
ž - voiced palatalized sibilant (like Polish **ž**).
ʒ - voiced hushing sibilant (like French **j**).
ʐ - voiced lateral fricative.
ẓ - cover sign for **z|ž**.
z̥ - cover sign for ***z|ž|ʒ**.
Z - cover sign for an unspecified voiced sibilant.
ʒ̥ - voiced hissing affricate (= **ʈ̥ʒ̥**) (like Italian **z** in **mezzo**).
ʒ̣ - voiced palatal (or palatalized) affricate (like Polish **cz**).
ʒ̥ - voiced hushing affricate (like English **j**).
ʐ̣ - voiced lateral affricate.
ẓ̣ - cover sign for **z|ž**.
ẓ̥ - cover sign for **z|ž|ʒ**.
ẓ̥ - cover sign for an unspecified voiced affricate.
⊥ - cover sign for an unspecified consonant.
C - generalized sign for "consonant" used in structural phormulas of words, grammaticformulas of words, grammatical forms and derivational patterns

VOWELS

- ä** - low front vowel.
æ - cover sign for **ä|e**.
A - cover sign for **ä|a**.
â - cover sign for an unspecified back vowel.
E - cover sign for an unspecified front vowel.
ê - cover sign for **e|i**.
î - cover sign for an unspecified high vowel (**u|ü|i**).
ô - cover sign for **o|u**.
U - cover sign for an unspecified rounded vowel (**o|u|ü**).
û - cover sign for **u|ü**.
ü - high labialized front vowel.
∇ - cover sign for an unspecified vowel.

OTHER SIGNS

‘ in the word-initial position = a sign for word-initial prelaryngealization (preaspiration?) (according to my preliminary working hypothesis, see above Introduction, § 2.2.6).

- word boundary

§ 1.3. Transcription in pIE and NaIE reconstructions

Here the traditional notation of the IE comparative linguistics is used, with the following exceptions:

in the aspirated consonants the sign of aspiration is a superscript ^h rather than h (*b^h, *d^h, *g^h, *ǵ^h, *g^{ʷh}, *p^h, *t^h, *k^h, *k̂^h, *k^{ʷh} for the traditional *bh, dh, etc.).

*y instead of the traditional *j or *j̣.

*w instead of the traditional *ụ.

*j̣ and *ụ as glides of diphthongs instead of the traditional *i and *u (e.g. *e j̣ for the traditional *ei, *e ụ for the traditional *eu, etc.)

The pIE laryngeals are denoted as follows:

ʔ = {Blz.} H₁

h = ʰ = {Blz.} H₂ (a-coloring laryngeal, yielding zero in AnIE)

h^ʷ = ʰ^ʷ {Blz.} H₃ (ʰ-coloring laryngeal, yielding zero in AnIE)

ḥ = ḥ̂ = {Blz.} H₂ (e-coloring laryngeal, yielding zero in AnIE)

h_χ - a cover sign for h, h^ʷ and ḥ

ḥ - syllabic h

ḥ^ʷ - syllabic h^ʷ

ḥ_χ - syllabic h_χ

χ - (a-coloring laryngeal, yielding ʰ in Ht)

χ^ʷ = {Blz.} H₃ (ʰ-coloring laryngeal, yielding ʰ in Ht)

χ̂ = {Blz.} H₃ (e-coloring laryngeal, yielding ʰ in Ht)

χ_χ - a cover sign for χ, χ^ʷ and χ̂

χ̣ - syllabic χ = {Blz.} H₂ (a-coloring laryngeal, yielding ʰ in Ht)

χ̣^ʷ - syllabic χ^ʷ

H - a cover sign for h and χ

H^ʷ - a cover sign for h^ʷ and χ^ʷ

Ḥ - a cover sign for ḥ and χ̂

H_χ - a non-specified IE laryngeal

Ḥ - syllabic H

Ḥ̂ - syllabic Ḥ

H_{\circ}^{ω} - syllabic H^{ω}

H_{\circ}^{χ} - a non-specified IE syllabic laryngeal

' - a lr., yielding Gk h - and zero in the other IE languages

\bar{T} - an archiphoneme resulting from neutralization of the opposition $*-d^h$
 $\leftrightarrow *-\bar{d} \leftrightarrow *-\bar{t}$.

\emptyset - schwa in NaIE.

\circ - non-phonemic vocoid (schwa secundum) in proto-IE.

' (in pIE and pNaIE reconstructions) = the prosodic feature (breathed voice, some kind of word-initial devoicing?) that brought about Gk prosthetic vowels, transformation of IE $*\omega$ - and $*y$ - into Greek h - (cf. Introduction, § 2.2.6).

- word boundary

§ 1.4. Transcription of living and extinct languages, transcription symbols of reconstruction (other than in pN, pIE and NaIE), additional signs

CONSONANTS

ʔ = glottal stop.

' = weak glottal stop, sub-phonemic glottal stop, glottal stop as a feature of an adjacent phoneme.

' (in pIE and pNaIE reconstructions) = the weakest laryngeal

ɹ = unreleased undiscriminate stop, sc. a stop (with undiscriminate place of articulation) without explosion (as in some ds. of Lp and J),

ʒ = voiceless zero-consonant (short absence of any sound) (preceding a consonant in some Lp dialects).

ɣ = voiced epiglottal approximant (Arabic ع).

ɣ^{h} = glottalized epiglottal consonant.

ɣ = unspecified voiced laryngeal (ɣ or ɣ^{h}).

b^{h} (= b^{h}) = glottalized injective or preglottalized b (Ldf.'s voiced "laryngealized" b)

b' = consonant described as "voiced ejective b ".

β (= b) = fricative b .

c = voiceless hissing affricate (= $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{s}$), like German z .

c' = fortis c .

c^{h} = glottalized (ejective) c .

č̣ = voiceless palatal (or palatalized) sibilant affricate (like Polish č̣, Tofalar palatal č̣', č̣).

č̣' = fortis č̣

č̣̣ = ejective č̣.

č̣̌ = voiceless hushing affricate (like English tʃ).

č̣̌' = fortis č̣̌.

č̣̣̌ = ejective č̣̌.

č̣̂ = voiceless lateral affricate.

č̣̂' = fortis č̣̂.

č̣̣̂ = ejective lateral affricate.

č̣̂ (in proto-Kartvelian and Jurchen), postalveolar c = K {K, FS} c₁ and Mudrak's Jurchen č̂.

č̣̣̂ (in proto-Kartvelian), postalveolar c̣ = K {K, FS} c̣₁.

ç = voiceless palatal stop (like Hungarian tɕ).

č̣̣̌ = voiceless lingual affricate (without phonemic distinction between c, č̣̌, č̣̂ and č̣̂) or a voiceless palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and ç or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants).

č̣̣̌' = fortis č̣̣̌

č̣̣̣̌ = glottalized lingual affricate č̣̣̣̌ (without phonemic distinction between č̣̣̣, č̣̣̣̌' and č̣̣̣̂)

ɖ (= ɖ̣) = injective glottalized or preglottalized d (Ldf.'s voiced "arynhealized" d)

ɖ' = consonant described as "voiced ejective d".

ɖ̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") d, like Modern Standard Arabic ض.

ɖ̣̌ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) d.

ɖ̣̣̌ = alveolar d (in Dravidian) (= ɖ̣̣̌ in Indological transcription).

ð (= ɗ̣) = voiced fricative dental consonant (English th in this) or dental spirant (in Martnet's terminology) (Spanish ɗ in nada).

ð̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") ð, like Arabic ظ.

ð̣̂ = lateralized uvularized ("emphatic") ð, like 8th cent. Arabic ض.

ɸ (= ɸ̣) = voiceless fricative bilabial consonant (bilabial f).

ɢ = weak ɢ (e.g. in the word-final position in Kalmuck)

ɢ̣̣ = injective glottalized or preglottalized ɢ (Ldf.'s voiced "larynhealized" ɢ)

ɢ' = consonant described as "voiced ejective ɢ".

k^{\prime} = fortis k

k_{χ} = velar affricate with a weak initial consonantous element. \mathfrak{m}_0

\acute{l} = palatal (or palatalized) l , like Italian gli in $\upsilon o gli o$ (= [IBA] Δ)

$\}l$ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) l .

ł = velarized l (like in Russian $л$).

$\}l_0$ = syllabic l

ɸ = voiceless l .

ɸ_c = voiceless $\}l$.

λ = a special type of palatal l (different from \acute{l}), as in U and FU, where $*\lambda$ stands for the traditional (FUV) $*\delta^{\prime}$ - (in the word-initial position).

ɾ = a consonant (flap or tap) that is intermediate between r and l (Loubignac's \check{l} in ZAS), or a phoneme without phonemic distinction between r and l (as in proto-Agaw).

\mathfrak{m}_0 = syllabic m

\underline{m} - voiced bilabial consonant with neutralization of the feature of nasality (with allophones [m] and [b]), as in pT.

\acute{n} = palatal (or palatalized) n .

\mathfrak{n}_0 = syllabic n

\underline{n} = alveolar n (like Tamil \underline{n}).

\grave{n} (= η) = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) n .

N = nasal consonant with phonologically neutralized place of articulation (always homorganic with the following consonant).

ν = Old Telugu ardhānusvāra (a nasal consonant [word-final n , preconsonantous N] that is optionally lost in certain environments, e.g. $kalavgu = kala\eta gu \sim kalagu$ 'he disturbed').

η = velar or uvular nasal consonant (like ηg in English $long$).

p^{\prime} = ejective p .

p^{\prime} = fortis p

p^{\prime} = lenis p

q = voiceless uvular stop (like Arabic $ق$).

q^{\prime} = fortis q

q^{\prime} = lenis q

q^{\prime} = ejective uvular stop. Q : \dot{q} (a sign that is technically easier than q^{\prime}).

r_1 = uvular trill (like German r).

r_0 = syllabic r

\bar{r} = long r (incl. Armenian \mathfrak{r} [long trilled r]).

ʃ̣ = palatalized (or palatal) vibrant.

ʀ̥ = trilled r (with phonemic opposition to ʀ).

ʀ̥ = alveolar trill (in contrast to post-dental); ʀ̥ = ʀ̥ of Dravidianist notation.

ʀ̣ (= ʀ̣) = postalveolar (retroflex) r (Dravidianistic ʀ̣, ʀ̣).

ʀ̥ = obstruent r (like Czech ř).

R = Old Scandinavian (presumably palatalized) kind of r < *s.

R = voiceless r (like Moksha Mordvin рх).

ʀ̥ = voiceless alveolar trill (like Konda {DED} R̥).

ʀ = cerebral flap or tap (like Spanish r in carra, or like Hausa r in sarki)
(= {IBA} ɹ)

ɹ = uvular flap or tap.

s = denotes both the apico-alveolar s (as in French, Russian, and most other European lgs.) and the postalveolar s (as in Spanish, New Greek, Finnish, and Estonian). The difference between both of them has proved to be irrelevant in Nostratic studies (so far).

ṣ (in proto-Kartvelian) = weak *s (> Georgian s, Megrelian and Laz zero).

ṣ̥ = voiceless hushing sibilant (like English sh).

ṣ̥ (in proto-Semitic) = weak *š (> š in Ak, but h, ʔ and zero in most WS lgs.).

ś = palatal (or palatalized) s (e.g. like Polish ś).

ṣ̣ (in proto-Kartvelian) = {K, FS} *s₁ (> G s, Md, Lz, Sv ṣ̌).

ṣ̣ (in proto-Kartvelian) = {K} *(s₁) (> Svan ṣ̌, zero in Georgian and Zan).

ṣ̣ = voiceless lateral consonant. Q: s₄

ṣ̣ = uvularized ("emphatic") s, like Arabic ح .

ṣ̣ = apico-alveolar s with flattened body of the tongue (like Toda ṣ̣ in BE's transcription of Dravidian)

ṣ̣̣ = apico-alveolar palatal (in Monguor, = {SM} ṣ̣̣)

ṣ̣̣̣ = infralabialized voiceless domal infradental sibilant (as in Twi and Jibbali; Johnstone's ṣ̣̣̣).

ṣ̣̣̣ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) s.

ɺ = voiceless palatal fricative (= ɺ̣, ɺ̣̣ of Solon [transcription of Poppe, SSTMJ & Ivanovskij], Kildin Lappish j [in the new East Lappish alphabet of 1982] and Moksha Mordvinian ѝх).

ɺ̣ = ejective t.

ɺ̣̣ = fortis t

ɺ̣̣̣ = lenis t

ṭ = postalveolar (cacuminal or retroflex) t (= [IBA] ṭ; > ṭ̄ and ḍ̄ in the transliteration of SD lges and Telugu)

ṭ̄ = alveolar t (in Dravidian lgs.) (= ṭ̄ of the Indological transcription).

ṭ̄ = uvularized ("emphatic") t, like Arabic ط. Q: ṭ₁₂ (or a less specific notation: t̄")

*ṭ̄ (= ṭ̄) = lenis t

ṭ' = fortis t

θ (= ṭ̄) = voiceless dental (or interdental) fricative (like English th in thin).

θ̄ = ejective θ.

ʋ = labial approximant.

χ (= k̄) = voiceless velar fricative (like Russian χ).

χ̄ = a weak χ-sound (like θifriχθ in Izn {Rn.}).

χ̄ = voiceless uvular fricative (like Spanish j and Arabic ح) = ḥ̄ of the Orientalistic Transcription.

ɟ = palatal approximant (like ɟ in English ɟeɪs).

z = voiced hissing sibilant. Denotes both the apico-alveolar z (as in French, Russian, and most other European lgs.) and the postalveolar z (as in New Greek). The difference between both of them has proved to be irrelevant in Nostratic studies (so far).

ẓ = voiced hushing sibilant (like French j).

ẓ̄ = voiced hushing fricative with a broad slit (as in Zng: {TC} "fricative sonore avec un faible chuintement", = {TC} Z̄).

ẓ̄ = voiced palatalized sibilant (like Polish ź).

ẓ̄ = uvularized ("emphatic") z, like in Berber (ẓ̄ of the Orientalistic Transcription).

ẓ̂ = voiced lateral fricative.

ʒ = voiced hissing affricate (= d̄z̄).

ẓ̄ = voiced hushing affricate (like English j).

ẓ̄ = voiced palatal (or palatalized) affricate (like Polish d̄ź).

ẓ̄ (in proto-Kartvelian and possibly in Jurchen) = Klimov's ẓ̄₁ and Mudrak's Jurchen ẓ̄.

ẓ̂ = voiced lateral affricate.

ẓ̂ = voiced lingual affricate (without phonemic distinction between ẓ̂, ẓ̂̄, ẓ̂̄̄ and ẓ̂̂) or a voiced palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and j or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants).

$\frac{2}{3}$

∅ = zero consonant

Clicks: The clicks are rare in African languages of Nostratic origin (they exist in some South Cushitic languages only). Nevertheless in view of further research of languages of Africa I find it useful to formulate my proposal of transcription of clicks.

! (after the letter) - a sign for clicks, namely:

b! - voiced bilabial click,

č! - voiceless palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

ĉ! - voiceless lateral click,

d! - voiced addental click,

ḍ! - voiced alveolar click,

ʝ! - voiced palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

ĵ! - voiced lateral click,

m! - nasalized bilabial click,

n! - nasalized addental click,

ṅ! - nasalized alveolar click,

ň! - nasalized palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

p! - voiceless bilabial click,

t! - voiceless addental click,

ṭ! - voiceless alveolar click;

aspirated and glottalized clicks should be represented by adding the signs of aspiration and glottalization to the symbols for clicks (e.g., t!^h, č!^h, ṭ!^h, ĉ!^h); retroflex clicks can be designed by adding the sign of retroflexity to the signs of addental clicks: ṭ!, ḍ!, ṅ!).

COVER SIGNS (UNCERTAINTY SIGNS) FOR CONSONANTS IN RECONSTRUCTIONS

| "or" (b|p means "b or p").

ʔ (in reconstructions) = ʔ|h

ʌ = H|w|y.

ʃ = ʃ|ʒ.

Ĉ = unspecified affricate

- C_1 = unspecified voiceless (or lenis) affrivate
 C_1' = unspecified fortis affrivate
 $\underline{c} = \dot{c}|\dot{c}$.
 $\Gamma = \Psi|g$.
 H = cover sign: unspecified laryngeal (ʔ|h|ʕ|h|χ|ʁ).
 H_1 = cover sign for "weak" laryngeals (ʔ|ʕ|h).
 H_2 = cover sign for "weak" laryngeals, including h (ʔ|ʕ|h|h).
 H = cover sign for $H|g|q$.
 H = very weak pharyngeal cns. (in Udihe)
 K = cover sign for $g|k|k|q$
 $\underline{K} =$ cover sign for $k|k|q$, (for lges without q) $k|k$; (for pA) $k'|k'$
 κ = cover sign for $g|k$
 L = unspecified lateral sonorant.
 \bar{l} = cover sign for $l|l$
 N = unspecified nasal consonant (other than $*m$).
 $\underline{N} =$ cover sign for $n|n'$
 P = unspecified labial stop.
 $\underline{P} = p|p'$
 $Q = q|g$.
 $R = r|r'$.
 S = unspecified voiceless sibilant (or lateral obstruent) ($s, \acute{s}, \check{s}, \hat{s}, K \grave{s}$).
 $\underline{S} =$ unspecified glottalized sibilant (in proto-Semitic: $*\dot{c}, *m, *\hat{s}$)
 T = unspecified dental stop; in T: $t'|t'$ (the only dental stops)
 $\underline{T} = t'|t'$
 $\delta = w|y$.
 $X = h|\chi$.
 $\dot{X} = x|\chi$.
 $\ddot{X} = \chi|\Psi$.
 Z = unspecified voiced sibilant.
 $\underline{Z} =$ unspecified voiced affricate.
 \perp (in reconstructions) is an unspecified consonant.
 $\lfloor \rfloor =$ for transliterated letters that are not pronounced (e.g. Sr $\lfloor \text{ʔ} \rfloor n \bar{a} s$ with a "deaf" initial ʔ).

In cases of neutralized opposition the letter without diacritic signs (denoting the feature which is neutralized) is used. For instance, in pT words with intervocalic voiced obstruents (where the opposition $*t' \leftrightarrow *t$ - is

neutralized) we use a plain *t-. If the neutralized opposition is between phonemes denoted by different letters, we may use /, e.g. p/b.

VOWELS

a i u e o = ultra-bref. vowels (in Kalmuck {Rm/})

Ḃ = "patach furtivum", sc. an epenthetic Ḃ (appearing in Hb between a long vowel and a following word-final laryngeal cns.: 'rū^Ḃḥ 'wind, spirit'), as well the ultra-short Ḃ (Hb₁[ḥat'aph-pathach]).

ɑ = low back vowel (back a). The same sign is used to denote the slightly labialized low back vw. in NPRs.

α = a vowel in pre-IE from which alternating IE *e/o/zero have developped; ultra-bref (reduced) low back vowel (e.g., in Lamut [= Ḃ of STM])

a = ultra-short a

дархан { = ultra-short or reduced low vowel

ä (= æ) = low front vowel.

æ = [1] in attested lgs.: = ä.

æ = [2] in reconstructions: = ä|e.

Ḃ̄ = vowel intermediate between ä and a..

Ḃ̄^o = labialized low vowel.

Ḃ̄ = ultra-short Ḃ̄ (in Hebrew and Aramaic)

Ḃ̄ = high a.

Ḃ̄ = low-mid back vowel (= IPA ʌ), like ʊ in English ɒ ʊ t.

α = short Ḃ̄ (shorter than the regular Ḃ̄ [in Kalmuck)

ɑ = ultra-short Ḃ̄.

ä = ultra-short ä.

ʌ = low-mid central vowel (= IPA ʌ); in Korean ʌ = Korean {Lee} ʌ, {Starostin} ä̃, {Ramstedt} ǣ.

Ḃ̄^o = slightly labialized e ("leichte spaltformige Labialisation")

Ḃ̄ = η, closed e

e = ultra-short e

ε = ultra-short ε (in Hebrew and Aramaic)

ε = low-mid front vowel.

ɜ = central mid vowel (= IPA and Africanistic ə, FUT e̞, Wiklund's ɘ, Sammallahti's ɛ̥, Smedt and Mostaert's e̞)

ɜ̟ = slightly labialized central mid vowel (Genetz's ɘ).

ə = ultra-bref (reduced) central vowel, or ultra-bref vowel without phonologic distinction of quality; in Chuvash ə = orthographic ɛ̣; = Sammallahti's ɘ.

ə̟ = ultra-bref (reduced) central labialized vowel

ɘ (= ə₁ in an earlier var. of transcription) = back mid vowel (like Estonian õ) = IPA ʏ (or ʌ of some authors); in Korean ɘ = Ko {Lee} ə, {Starostin} ə, {Ramstedt} e̞; in Svan (acc. Tuite's description) ɘ = ɘ = ə of the traditional transcription.

ɨ = high e.

ɨ̟ = slightly labialized i ("leichte splattformige Labialisation")

ĩ = slightly reduced i (as in Kalmyck)

ɨ̣ = reduced (ultra-short i (e.g. in Kalmuck)

ɨ̣ = palatal glide of a diphthongoid.

ɨ̣ = low i (like i in English ɪ ɪ̣); = ɨ̣ (i in the lower series of vowel harmony)

ɨ̣ = high mid vowel (like Russian ɨ̣).

ɨ̣ = lowered high mid vowel (low ɨ̣).

ɨ̣ = high back vowel.

ɨ̣ = labialized low-mid back vowel (like British English o in ɒ oŋ).

ɨ̣ = ultra-short ɨ̣ (in Hebrew and Aramaic)

ö (= œ) = labialized front mid vowel (labialized e).

ọ̈ = labialized front low-mid vowel (labialized ε).

ọ̈ = vowel intermediate between ọ̈ and o.

o = ultra-short o

ω (= ọ) = high o, intermediate between o and u.

ø = centralized o.

◦, ◦ = non-phonemic vocoid (= {Bi.} ʔ)

◌̥ = prenasal voiceless vowel glide (as in Lappish) and postnasal voiceless ultra-short vowel (as in Nenets); the same sign is used when the final part of the preceding vowel is voiceless (as in Lp L, as described by Wiklund: ◌̥ = Wiklund's ɘ); ≈ ɜ̥.

u = labialized high back vowel.

u = ultra-short u

ụ = low u.

ü = labialized high front vowel (labialized i), like German ü and French u.

Û = labialized lowered high front vowel (labialized u).

Û = vowel intermediate between ü and u.

u̇ = centralized u.

ụ = labial glide of a diphthongoid (e.g. н^uоs нoц in Russian).

ʊ = ultra-short back vowel (= ă̇ of the Finno-Ugric Transcription); ʊ = Chuvash ă̇, Volga Tatar and Bashkir short ʊ, High Cheremis ʊ, K1 ultra-short open back vw.

ʊ̣ = Volga Tatar and Bashkir ọ, K1 ultra-short open labialized back vw.

ʊ̇ = reduced I-like vw. (in Lamut)

ɐ = ultra-short (reduced) front vowel; ɐ = Volga Tatar, Bshk ə, e (after a consonant), pSm {Hl.} ä̇.

ɐ̣ = Volga Tatar, Bashkir ɐ̣.

∅ = zero phoneme

NB: 1. Instead of Lytkin's proto-Permian *q̣, *q̇, *q̈, *ẹ, *ė, *ë, *ọ, *ȯ, *ö and *ε̣ we use *ɟ, *o, *ö, *ε, *e, *j̇, *ö̇, *j̈ and *ä̈ respectively.

2. In Sr W there is only one non-ultra-short e-vowel. I transcribe it as ε because in Sr E there are two non-rultra-short e-vowels: a more open ε (usually corresponding to Sr W ε) and a more more closed e (usually going back to *aɥ).

COVER SIGNS (UNCERTAINTY SIGNS) FOR VOWELS RECONSTRUCTIONS

IN

A = a|ä.

æ = (in reconstructions) = ä|e.

Ė (= FUT ǎ̇, = unspecified front vowel

ô̇ = o or u

U̇ = unspecified round vowel.

Î̇ = unspecified high vowel (u|ü|i|I).

i|ɪ

â̇ = unspecified back vowel (a|o|u) (= FUT ʌ̇)

û̇ = u or ü

∇ (or √) is an unspecified vowel.

C = a generalized sign for "consonant" used in structural formulas.

All this refers to transcription, rather than to transliteration or reproducing the national (Roman-based) script. The transliteration and the national Roman spelling are (and should be) quoted in their traditional form.

In patterns of word and root structure **C** is a general sign for consonants, e.g. "the Arabic nominal pattern ʔa-CCaC- ".

For more details about the cover signs in the pN reconstruction cf. above § 8.

BOUNDARIES

˘ = syllable boundary (both in transcription and transliteration).
= word boundary.

DIACRITICAL SIGNS

(1) WITH CONSONANT LETTERS

Superscript consonant letters are always used to denote weak consonants (θ , ϑ , \hat{n} , \varkappa , h , etc.). The superscript letters θ , r denote extreme reduction of a consonant, like in some dialects of Rif Berber: $\theta a m \vartheta \bar{a} r \theta$, $\theta a m \vartheta a r \theta$ 'woman', $i f f \bar{a} \vartheta$ 'he went out'. Reduction to zero is denoted by using morphohonemic brackets []: $\theta a m \vartheta \bar{a} [r] \theta$ 'woman'. If a superscript consonant letter is adjacent to a letter for a homorganic consonant (e.g. in affricates: $^k \varkappa$ in Vg dialects and in Ordos), it denotes a weak consonantous elements of an affricate.

Subscript consonant letters (e.g. in Lp Kld $\nu \underset{\cdot}{u} a l l a \delta$) denote very weak consonants.

˙ (under letters for stops and sibilants) - glottalization (both ejective and voiced injective), including preglottalization. In the N reconstructions it denotes an emphatic articulation (without commitment as to its exact phonetic articulation: glottalization, aspiration or tenseness).

˘ (under letters for fricative consonants \hat{h} , ς , f ; \vee) - plosive consonant (stop): \hat{h} (plosive \hat{h}), ς , f , \vee ;

˘ (preceding the letter) - preglottalization (as Sq $\text{'}\varsigma$, $\text{'}\hat{h}$, Lp Δ $\text{'}\rho$, $\text{'}\tau$) or injective glottalization (especially of voiceless consonants: $\text{'}\rho$, $\text{'}\tau$).

◦ (after the letter) - tense non-aspirated (in the NrCs languages, in Zng).

˘ (after the letter: $b^{\text{˘}}$) - unreleased stop (stop without explosion, as in Vietnamese and Ndam); cp.] = unreleased undiscriminate stop (see above).

- ˤ (ḏ, ẓ, ṭ) - uvularization ("emphasis", as in Arabic and Berber).
 ˀ (after the vl. letter: ṭˀ, kˀ, pˀ, cˀ etc.) - fortis ([cf. IS AG 242-3]).
 ˁ (after the letter: ṭˁ, kˁ, pˁ) - lenis, lax ([cf. IS AG 240-1]); in Azm ˁ denotes lax sonorants ("relâchées") mˁ, nˁ, ŋˁ.
 ᵀ (after the letter: ṭᵀ, kᵀ, pᵀ) - aspirate.
 ᵀ and ˀ (preceding the letter: ᵀṭ, ᵀp, ᵀk = ˀṭ, ˀp, ˀk) - preaspirate.
 ˀ (after the letter: bˀ, gˀ, dˀ, jˀ, zˀ, rˀ, lˀ, mˀ, nˀ, ŋˀ) - devoiced or half-voiced = FUT small caps.
 ˀ (after the letter: kˀ) - pT half-fortis (k ~ g in Oguz lges [cf. IS AG 341-2]).
 ˀ (after the letter: rˀ, lˀ) - devoiced final part of the consonant (as in Nen F). EM: ᵀ (after the letter).
 ˀ (after the letter) - half-voiced.
 ˀ (preceding the letter) - voiceless consonants with a voiced or half-voiced initial part (as in some dialects of Lp).
 ˀ (under the letter: bˀ, ḏˀ, gˀ, kˀ, pˀ, ṭˀ, qˀ) - fricativity resulting from lenition (fricative variants of phonemes or morphophonemes, as in Hebrew, Aramaic and Berber).
 ˀ under letters for fricatives (β, δ, ʁ, v, h) - lax fricativity (*consonnes spirantes* of Mart. and TBC, such as Sp intervocalic b, d, g = β, δ, ʁ). Lax fricativity resulting from lenition may be also denoted as above (with a dot under letters for stops: bˀ, ḏˀ, gˀ, kˀ, pˀ, ṭˀ, qˀ) if no phonological opposition (bˀ ↔ β, etc.) is involved or known.
 ˀ (e.g. pˀ, ṭˀ) - lax consonants (pT *-p- > -p- ~ -b- in daughter lgs.).
 ˀ - syllabic consonant (l̥, ŋ̥, m̥, etc.).
 ˀ over the consonant letter - weak consonant (intermediate between the consonant and zero), e.g. w̃, ỹ = w, y with weak approximation.
 ˀ, ˀ over the consonant letter = long consonant, including the so-called "long consonants" in Korean and the Nakh-Daghestanian lgs.
 ˀ (under the letter) - open fricative consonant (with broadened aperture).
 ˀ (after the letter) - affricatized or half-affricatized stop (kˀ = affricate k̠x̠, tˀ = a half-affricatized t̠ [intermediate between t̠ and č̠, as Russian т̠]).
 ˀ (preceding the letter) - slightly affricatized fricative consonant (with a weak initial plosive articulation): ˀx̠ = very weak k + x̠.
 ˀ or ˀ with dental consonant letters (tˀ = t̠, dˀ = d̠, ḏˀ) - addental or gingival (in contrast with alveolar) consonant. The traditional symbol ˀ is less convenient because it cannot be combined with the under-dot for glottalization.

ʔ with palatal consonant letters (ç, ʝ) - dentopalatal consonants (intermediate between t and ç, d and ʝ), as in dialects of Lapp.

̣ (ṭ, ḍ, ṇ) - alveolar (in contrast with dental or post-dental) consonant; ṭ, ḍ, ṇ = ṭ, ḍ, ṇ of the Dravidianist notation.

̆ - palatal consonant (e.g. ʃ̆ = [ʃ̆]) (if distinguished from palatalized). But in pIE reconstructions k̆, ğ, x̆ is used (according to the scholarly tradition) for palatalized consonants.

˘ (over the letter: ś˘, ṅ˘, ṷ˘, etc.) - palatality.

˙ (after the letter: k˙, g˙, χ˙) - palatalization.

˘˘, ˘˙ (over the letter) or ˙˘ (after the letter) - weak palatalization (e-
palatalization).

˘˘ (after the letter: k˘˘, g˘˘, χ˘˘) - labialization

˘˘˘ (after the letter: s˘˘˘) - ˘˘˘-labialization (articulated with the upper lip only).

˘˘˘ (in word-initial position before diphthong or vowel) - weak approximant functioning as a ˘˘˘-*glide* (as in dialects of Kola Lapp).

˘˘, ˘˘˘ (over a consonant letter or to its left) - nasalization or (in Chadic) prenasalization of an obstruent (p̃, b̃, d̃, t̃ or p̃, b̃, d̃, t̃) or nasalization of a cons. (ũ, w̃, ɸ̃, ɸ̃).

˘ (ṣ̣, ṇ̣, etc.) = ˘ (ṣ̣, ṇ̣, etc.) - postalveolar or retroflex consonants.

˘˘ over letters for sibilants (ṣ́, ẓ́, ʒ̣) - symbol of infralabialized domal infradental sibilants, like in Central Jibbali (Johnstone's ɕ̣, ʒ̣, ʒ̣) or in Twi (Ghana); ṣ́ = [ɻ] of the IPA transcription.

˘˘ over letters for sonorant consonants (ɰ̣, ẉ, ɳ̣) denotes a glottal stop that is simultaneous with the sonorant.

˘˘ over letters c and ʒ is used to denote lingual affricates without phonemic distinction between hissing, hushing, and palatal: ʒ̣ for a voiced affricate, c̣ for a voiceless affricate, as well as for a palatal or sibilant consonant (without phonemic distinction between affricates and ç or between sibilant affricates and pure [fricative] sibilants, as well as for an affricate without phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless).

˘˘˘ - vibration (e.g. χ̣ - vibrating χ, g̣ - g with vibration).

! (after the letter) - a sign for clicks, namely:

b! - voiced bilabial click,

ç! - voiceless palatal (palato-retroflex) click,

ç! - voiceless lateral click,

d! - voiced alveolar click,

d! - voiced alveolar click,

- ɟ! - voiced palatal (palato-retroflex) click,
- ʝ! - voiced lateral click,
- ɱ! - nasalized bilabial click,
- ɳ! - nasalized addental click,
- ɲ! - nasalized alveolar click,
- ɳ̠! - nasalized palatal (palato-retroflex) click,
- ɸ! - voiceless bilabial click,
- ɬ! - voiceless addental click,
- ɮ! - voiceless alveolar click;

aspirated and glottalized clicks should be represented by adding the signs of aspiration and glottalization to the symbols for clicks (e.g., t!^h, c!^h, ṭ!^h, c̣!^h); retroflex clicks can be designed by adding the sign of retroflexity to the signs of addental clicks: ṭ!^ɻ, ḍ!^ɻ, ṇ!^ɻ).

The clicks are rare in African languages of Nostratic origin (in some South Cushitic languages only). Nevertheless in view of further research of languages of Africa I find it useful to formulate my proposal of transcription of clicks.

(2) WITH VOWEL LETTERS

˜ denotes nasality: ã = nasal a; in the Slavic languages nasality is denoted by a cedille: ạ = ã.

ɿ denotes retroflex articulation (as ɿ in Chinese ɕ ɿ i, r ɿ i, or ʒ ɿ in American English b ɿ r d [ḅɿḍ])

ᵿ denotes apical pronunciation: ᵿ, ᵿ = apicalized i, u (as ᵿ in some East Lapp subdialects denoted in Sotavalta's and Wiklund's transcription as ᵿ̇, ᵿ̈, or as ᵿ in Chinese ɕ ᵿ i).

˘ (over the letter) denotes creaky phonation of vowels.

˘ (over the letter) denotes middle pharyngealization (as in some Daghestanian languages; such pharyngealization is supposed to have existed in the history of Akkadian) and pharyngealization of vowels in Tuva and Tofalar. NB: ᵿ̇ is a pharyngealized ɿ (Tv ы ы̇), while ᵿ̈ is a pharyngealized i (Tv и ӥ).

ʔ and H (before the letter or between vowel letters) denote "interrupted" and "aspirated" vowels (in Ud, according Zinder and Matusевич) (the sign chosen in accordance with the source: H if the source indicates a kind of h); Krm. treats this "interruption" and "aspiration" as phonemes ʔ and h (transcribed so in quotations from Krm.)

ˊ (ā, ē, etc.) - breathy vowels (vowels with breathy voice) and "lax" vowels ({Bender} Dime)

̣ (under the vowel letter) denotes close vowels (ẹ = η, closed e). In Tg it denotes vowels of the higher series of vowel harmony

̤ (under the vowel letter) denotes open vowels (e̤ = ε). In pTg it denotes the vowels of the lower series of vowel harmony

ˋ denotes retracted vowels (aˋ = retracted a)

ˊ denotes advanced vowels (aˊ = advanced a)

˘ (under the letter) - broadened vowel

˙ (under the letter) - narrowed vowel

ˆ (over the letter) - narrowed vowel with a convexed middle part of the tongue ("gewölbte Mittelzunge", such as ū̂ in Karjalainen's description of Ostyak)

¨ denotes front vowels (ä, ü, ö)

˚ denotes half-front vowels (õ, ı)

̣ denotes glides (English my [maj̣], Spanish bien [bjeṇ], bueno [ˈbuenọ])

̤ (after the vowel letter) denotes devoiced vowels (as in Japanese, Korean, Oromo and Wolaytta prosody)

̥ (e̥, i̥, o̥) - lax vowels (as in Slq: e̥, i̥, o̥ = {KKIH} ε, i [i with subscript <], o; or as in Boni)

̦ (under the letter: e̦, o̦, a̦, etc.) - tense vowels (as in Boni)

Diacritical signs at the beginning of words denote supersegmental features:

ˊ at the beginning a word - supersegmental anteriorization of all vowels of the word (as in Somali),

˘ at the beginning of a word - supersegmental lowering of all vowels (i > i̘, etc.) (as in the Tungusic languages),

˙ at the beginning of a word - supersegmental higher articulation of all vowels (u > u̙, etc.) (as in the Tg languages).

Subscript vowel letters denote anaptyctic and ultra-short vowels (e.g. in Kalmuck, Kurukh), as well as the patach furtivum in Hebrew (rūāḥ = רֹּוּחַ).

Superscript vowel letters ^a, ^ε, ^ɔ denote a/ε/ɔ-colored shva (in Hb and JA: Hb ^ɔחַיִּים = חַיִּים).
 Hb ^ɔחַיִּים = חַיִּים).

Superscript vowel letters (ị, ụ, ọ, ẹ, ạ̈) adjacent to vowels denote glide elements of diphthongoids (e.g. R ^uחַיִּים [n^uoɔ] 'nose', Xlj j^oחַיִּים 'road').

(3) WITH BOTH CONSONANTS AND VOWEL LETTERS

̣ (at the end of a word) - devoiced Auslaut

ꞑ (sc. s u ꞑ a)- syllable boundary, e.g. in MM and MKo (rendering the MKo letter ◦ unless it denotes [h̃] - see Lee GKS 130-1, 150-3).

(4) QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES OF VOWELS

Vowel letters without diacritics of length or shortness denote short vowels (in languages with an opposition short vs. long) and normal ("full") vowels (in languages with an opposition normal vs. ultra-short and with a triple opposition long vs. short vs. ultra-short); an exception: special letters for ultra-short (reduced) vowels ə, ɐ, ɪ.

In Bibliography the long vowels (of the original titles of books and articles) are denoted as ā, ē, ō, ū.

˘ denotes a ultra-short vowel (e.g. ä); in languages distinguishing between long and short vowels only (L, Gk, pA) it denotes a short vowel.

Small subscript vowel letters denote ultra-short vowels (almost zero).

Letters followed by ˙ denotes half-long vowels.

Vowel letters with a macron ¯ or with a following colon : denote long vowels.

: (in the formula of a root or a stem) denotes vowel length as part of the formula (e.g. in Sv √:ṭw-, cf. **2486. *wAlAṭṭ** 'run, flee').

letters followed by :: denote ultra-long vowels.

˙ (after the letter) symbolizes "schwachgeschnittene Länge" (in the Samoyed languages).

Letters followed by ˙ denote a short vowel (opposed to a long one), e.g. ā˙.

(5) QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES OF CONSONANTS

Long consonants are denoted by double letters (tt) or by a colon : (t:).

Half-long consonants are denoted by the sign ˙.

Ultra-long consonants are followed by the sign ::.

(6) TONES AND STRESS

ˈ (before the syllable) - full stress.

ˌ (before the syllable) - weak stress

" (before the syllable) - strong stress (e.g. phrasal stress).

'' (before the syllable) - secondary stress

The tones are denoted mostly by supralineal signs over vowels, e.g. by signs of the second supralineal level (higher than regular supralineal signs):

ˊ - high tone; in Kor. and Jap. this sign is quoted after Starostin's papers

ˋ - low tone; in Kor. and Jap. this sign is quoted after Starostin's papers

ˊ - middle tone.

ˆ - falling high-to-mid tone

ˆ - falligh high-to-low tone

ˆ - falling mid-to-low tone

ˋ - rising low-to-high tone

ˋ - rising low-to-mid tone

ˋ - rising mid-to-high tone (mid rise tone)

ˋ - high rise tone (as in Wedekind's records of Janjero)

ˋ - very low tone

ˋ - very high tone

_ (after the syllable) - the tone (in ds. of Ko and J) designated by Starostin by a subscript macron: a_ = St.'s a̅

In transcribing languages distinguishing between more than three pitches of tones the first supralineal level is used for the mid low tone (ˋ, e.g. à) and for the mid high tone (ˊ, e.g. á), so that the tones are denoted as follows (a standing here for any vowel): à, à, à, á, á, á, á for very low, low, mid low, middle, mid high, high and very high tones respectively. They may be denoted by subscript numbers as well: à = a₁, à = a₂, à = a₃, á = a₄, á = a₅, á = a₆, á = a₇, falling mid-to-low à = a₄₋₂, rising mid-to-high á = a₄₋₆, etc.

If the tone sign precedes a word (as in MfG), it indicates that the word requires this tone in the preceding word (Brr.'s "ton flottant").

In proto-Slavic reconstructions, in Lt, Ltv and Lv the syllabic intonation (Slavic and Baltic accents) are denoted according to the Slavistic vs. Baltistic tradition.

In transcribing Korean dialects I use superscript L, T and V (preceding the syllable) to designate those tones which are symbolized in St. AJ and SDM95 by capital letters L, T and V (without explaining the phonetic meaning of the symbols).

In transcribing Chinese I use the traditional numeration of the tones (subscript numbers _{1, 2, 3, 4}).

For unwritten languages with expiratory syllabic intonation (like Liv) I use (a highly placed macron) for the even intonation (Endz.'s "gedehnter Ton")

(or leave the syllable without intonation sign), ` (a highly placed gravis) for the falling intonation (initially-strong and finally-weak syllables; Endz.'s "fallender Ton") and ' (after the vowel) for the stød ("Stoßton"). For written lgs. of this kind (Lt, Ltv) we use traditional accent symbols with traditional transliteration.

(7) ADDITIONAL SIGNS

(used in description and reconstruction of languages)

These signs should not necessarily be reproduced by scholars who quote my data. but have no technical possibility to reproduce the characters. If necessary, their meaning may be rendered by words of explanations.

1, 2, 3, 4 - radicals of S, B and Eg roots

↔ - morphological, semantic, or phonemic opposition (L r e g e s pl. ↔ r e x sg., 'land' ↔ 'sea', d ↔ t); in semantic definitions: "opposite of, antonym of" (e.g., 'right' ↔ 'left')

∩ = 'and' (for variants of roots and words); 'or' (for alternative reconstructions)

-, ± = approximately (in semantic definitions and in phonetic reconstructions); ≈ before a reference means that the etymological or semantic interpretations in the quoted source are only partially shared by the present author

≈f = approximate phonetic reconstruction; ≈f before a reference means that the phonetic reconstruction in the quoted source is only partially shared by the present author

⌈ ⌋ - uncertainty brackets: ⌈a⌋ = a or similar.

⌊ ⌋ - uncertainty brackets: ⌊a⌋ = a or nothing.

< > - brackets for silent letters (in transliteration)

1, 2, 3 - these indexes are used for reconstructed or ancient languages in order to distinguish between phonemes with unknown phonetic difference, e.g. OJ 0₁ and pJ *0₁ = OJ ö, pJ *ö (= *□).

÷ - cognate of

* - sign of a non-existing word, form or a non-existing meaning or a wrong reconstruction (quoted by a scholar)

*< - erroneous etymology

*÷ - erroneous etymological comparison with ...; 'not here ...' or 'hardly cognate with ...'

*φ - erroneous phonetic reconstruction

↔ - "contrary to the opinion of...", "compare otherwise"

* - sign of reconstruction

*^o - a reconstruction based on one descendant language (or branch of a family) only

*^{oo} - a reconstruction based on one granddaughter-language only

** - a questionable reconstruction or a result of "internal reconstruction"

* (after a word) - unattested forms (esp. quotation forms: nom. sg., inf., etc.) of a word (reconstructed from the attested forms of its paradigm)

'↑' - the abovementioned meaning of the same N etymon (in cross-references)

σ≡ - a semantic parallel

? - a questionable N etymology, or a questionable cognate

₂ - a N etymology based on two daughter-languages only

?₂ - a N etymology based on two daughter-languages only, with questionable representation in a third language family (or in two other language families)

?φ₂ - a N etymology based on two daughter-languages only, with phonetically uncertain representation in a third language family (or in two other language families)

?σ - a semantically doubtful connection

?φ - a phonetically doubtful connection

?σ,φ or ?φ,σ - a doubtful connection (for semantic and phonetic reasons)

??σ - a highly doubtful connection (for semantic reasons)

??φ - a highly doubtful connection (for phonetic reasons)

?μ - a morphologically doubtful connection (the derivation is not clear, the root structure is deviant, etc.)

¿ - a questionable reconstruction of a daughter-language, a questionable adduction of a lge. or a family of of lgs., or (before '...') a questionable semantic interpretation of a reconstructed or an attested word; 'the sign '¿' before a language name means that the very existence of the form in question is dubious

[¿] - A. Dolgopolsky's doubts about an opinion (semantic interpretation, etc.) of another author

+ = "adduces" (used in references to other scholars).

The arrows → and ← in references or between abbreviations for authors or bibliographical sources (A → B or B ← A) mean that words\roots published (or registered, reconstructed) in a paper A (or by the scholar A) were later repeated (quoted) in a paper B (or by the author B). For instance, "IS I 224 → BmK 261-2" means that the etymology proposed in IS I 224 was later repeated in BmK 261-2; "{BK ← Fr.}" = "{Biberstein-Kazimirky after Freytag}".

(8) OTHER SIGNS

C - consonant (generalized sign used in structural formulas)

∇ - vowel (a generalized sign)

/ / - phonemic transcription (if it is necessary to distinguish between phonemic and phonetic transcription) (see above in this chapter (Phonetic symbols and other signs used in the etymological entries), Generalities, § 1)

[] - phonetic transcription (if different from phonemic transcription) (see above Generalities, § 1)

· - translation within a glossa or an ancient\medieval dictionary (e.g. Gk [Hs.] ἔρπουα· χορδῆ 'gut(s)', Pru [El.] alne· "Tyer" 'beast', sc. Pru alne·, translated in Elbing's dictionary (≈ 1400 C. E.) as Tyer 'beast'). If the translation in a glossa or in an ancient\medieval glossary is in Latin script, the quotation marks are " ", and the text of the translation is in the capital Helvetica script (A B C D...)

✓ - "root".

✓ - consonantous verbal root (in the Hamito-Semitic languages)

✓ - consonantous scheme of a derived verbal stem (in the Hamito-Semitic languages)

✓✓ - consonantous scheme of a word (in the Hamito-Semitic languages)

[(or ✓✓)] - biconsonantous nucleus of a root (in the HS languages)

· - translation within a glossa or an ancient\medieval dictionary (e.g. Gk [Hs.] ἔρπουα· χορδῆ 'gut(s)', Pru [El.] alne· "Tyer" 'beast', sc. Pru alne·, translated in Elbing's dictionary (≈ 1400 C. E.) as Tyer 'beast'). If the translation in a glossa or in an ancient\medieval glossary is in Latin script, the quotation marks are " ", and the text of the translation is in the capital Helvetica script (A B C D...)

- word juncture (used in phonetic formulas)

× - contamination (merger) of roots, stems, or words (**a** × **b** = '**a** contaminated [merged] with **b**')

† - obsolete word, obsolete semantic variant

~ - variant forms.

ᄁ - dialectal variant(s).

/ - apophonic and other morphological variants of a root\stem distributed according to their morphological role; on the meaning of the solidus (/) in the enumeration of languages and dialects see below the chapter "Abbreviations of names of languages, dialects, language families, subfamilies and script systems".

\ = "or", "and\or"

↑ = high style.

↓ = non-standard

† = obsolete.

↳ - ideophonic root (including "nursery words" [Lallwörter])

- o**₁ = an onomatopoeic word\root
o₂ = secondary onomatopoeic associations
 \uparrow = anaphoric sign "the above-mentioned meaning of the same word\morpheme"
 \downarrow = "see below"
 \Rightarrow = "see to the right" (referring to the following part of the same entry)
 \times = contamination (merger) of roots, stems, or words (**a** \times **b** = 'a contaminated [merged] with b')
 $\leftarrow b$ - source of borrowing, borrowed to (**a** $\leftarrow b$ **b** = 'b borrowed from a')
 $\leftarrow b$ - borrowed from (**a** $\leftarrow b$ **b** = 'a borrowed from b')
 $\leftarrow b \mid \leftarrow b$ - borrowed in one direction or another (**a** $\leftarrow b$ **b** or **a** $\leftarrow b$ **b**)
 \leftrightarrow - source of derivation (**a** \leftrightarrow **b** = 'b derived from a')
 $\leftarrow \leftrightarrow$ - derived from (**a** $\leftarrow \leftrightarrow$ **b** = 'a derived from b')
 \rightarrow - a semantic change to ...
 \leftarrow - a semantic change from ... (on the meaning of \rightarrow and \leftarrow in bibliographical references or between names of scholars see above [end of the preceding paragraph])
 $\rightarrow \mu$ - a morphological change to ...
 $\leftarrow \mu$ - a morphological change from ...
 $\equiv \sigma$ - a semantic parallel
 Δ, \exists - in dialects, in a dialect
 $\|$ - bars between primary families of languages (Hamito-Semitic, Kartvelian, IE, Uralic, Altaic, Dravidian, Elamic)
 $\|$, $\|$ - bars between secondary families (Anatolian IE, Narrow IE, Semitic, Egyptian, Cushitic, Chadic, Finno-Ugrian, Samoyed, Yukagir, Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusian, Korean)
 $\|$ - bars between branches of families (e.g. Germanic, Balto-Slavic, East Cushitic, Central Chadic, Finno-Permian, Ugrian)
 $\|$ (and \backslash) - bar between subbranches (e.g., Slavic [within Balto-Slavic], Iranian [within Indo-Iranian], Baltic Finnic, Ob-Ugrian, Bole-Tangale)
 $\|$ - bar between etymological entries of different words of the same root\morpheme or between different variants of a root (reconstructed within a branch of a family), as well as between different semantic variants of the same root (within a primary or secondary family)
 $\|$ - bars between etymological entries of different words of the same root\morpheme (reconstructed within a secondary family) or between secondary etymological entries (derivatives, compounds) within an entry denoted by $\|$, as well as between different roots belonging to the same secondary family and going back to the same N etymon
 $\|$ or $\|$ - bars between etymological entries of different words\stems of the same root\morpheme or between different roots going back to the same N etymon (reconstructed within a primary family)

]]]] - bars between etymological entries of different N etyma
 | - bar between etymological variants of the same N root (within a primary family)

||| - bars between reconstructions of different pN words or their variants within one N etymological entry

| before a D reconstruction means "a reconstruction distinguishing between voiceless and voiced cnss. (GSt.'s theory and IS's ideas on voiced geminates)"

¶ - sign preceding bibliographical and other notes referring to a secondary family

¶¶ - sign preceding bibliographical and other notes referring to a primary family

◇ - sign preceding bibliographical and other notes referring to a Nostratic etymon

◇◇ - sign preceding bibliographical notes referring to impressionistic comparisons which are not based on classical comparativistic methods (historical phonology, regular sound changes, etc.).)

≠ - sign preceding bibliographical reference to alternative etymological interpretations (not shared by the present author); sign 'not related to' (e.g. T *arka-n ≠ M *aru) and 'to be distinguished from' (e.g. OI √ ɛ ū - 'grant, bestow' ≠ √ ɛ ū - 'set in motion').

≠φ = untenable for phonetic reasons

≠σ = untenable for semantic reasons

≈ - sign preceding bibliographical reference to etymological interpretations that are only partially shared by the present author; (in semantic definitions and in transcription) "approximately"

* - precedes wrong reconstructions (or those not shared by the author of this dictionary) and wrong translations of words

{ } - brackets for the source of information (author or paper, indicated by means of abbreviations - see *Bibliography*)

∫ (preceding the abbreviated name of the bibliographical source, within {}-brackets) means "in X's notation" (e.g. {∫Bz}, {∫IS}, {∫SDM94})

σμ (preceding the abbreviated name of the quoted author) means that his semantic interpretation has been reformulated.

‡ (preceding the abbreviated name of the source) means "according to X's theory / hypothesis" (e.g. {‡SDM94}, {‡Hel.}, {‡Rsl.}).

∂ (preceding the abbreviated name of the source) means "according to X with A. Dolgopolsky's notation" (e.g. {∂ADb.} = "quoted after ADb., but in AD's notation").

{A ← B} - sign indicating that the author A quoted data recorded by B

{A ← ?} - sign indicating that we quote a paper by A, but the ultimate source of the information (scholar who recorded the word) is unknown

ε = 'a kind of'; used in semantic definitions if the exact specific meaning of the word\stem is unknown, e.g. 'ε plant' means that we know that the word denotes a plant but we do not know which one, 'ε to eat' means that this is a verb denoting some kind of eating.

÷ = 'akin to', 'cognate with'.

÷÷ = 'cognate with (families\macrofamilies outside Nostratic)'

+ stands between parts of a compound verb

+ after a root (Ari dīf+ 'steal') means that the root is used with sxs.

+ stands between semantic varieties of one descendant word, each one having its own etymology, e.g. D *mut- vi. 'end, terminate, be completed' < N *muda 'to finish' + D *mut- 'die' < N *mut∇ ≈ 'go away (?), die'.

ABBREVIATIONS
OF NAMES OF LANGUAGES, DIALECTS,
LANGUAGE FAMILIES, SUBFAMILIES,
AND SCRIPT SYSTEMS

A. Names of languages, dialects, and families of languages

The sigla of the dialects follow those of the languages either directly (Lp L = Lule Lappish) or after a colon (if several dialects are mentioned), e.g. Lp: N ḡuoros, L kuorōs 'empty' (= "Norwegian Lappish ḡuoros 'empty', Lule Lappish kuorōs id."). If related words of several languages & dialects share the same meaning, it may be indicated either once after the enumeration of the languages\dialects (e.g. Hb 'kɛlɛḅ, Ar kalb-, Ak kalbum 'dog') or after the first of the languages only with the indication "id." after the other language names (e.g. Hb 'kɛlɛḅ 'dog', Ar kalb- id., Ak kalbum id.). If we quote a common word shared by several dialects of the same language or by several languages of the same family and the word has the same phonologic form and the same meaning in all these dialects\languages, their names may be separated by a solidus (slant line), e.g. Os V/Vy/Ty {Ht.} (= Vakh, Vasyugan & Teryugan dialects of Ostyak, as described by L. Honti), Brj/Ged/Hd/Kmb {Hd.} (= Burji, Gede'o, Hadiya, Kambata languages, as described by G. Hudson). In these cases the name of the scholar (who recorded or registered the forms) refers to all languages connected by a solidus. Abbreviations: d. = dialect, sd. = subdialect, ssd. = subsubdialect, ds. = dialects, sds. = subdialects, lge. = language. ∇ = attested in different epochs, from the most ancient documents of the lge. (e.g., Eg ∇ = Eg [from the most ancient documents on]), f... = from ... on (of historical variants of lgs.) (e.g. Ak fOB = Akkadian from Old Babylonian on). In the text of the dictionary the word "dialect" is symbolized as dl., dial., or Δ.

A = Altaic

Ab = Abakan (a Sayan Samoyed dialect or a conglomerate of data mostly of Mator origin, after Msr. and Strl.)

AbA = Abkhazo-Adygh language family (West Caucasian)

- Abkh = Abkhaz
 AchEl = Achaemenian Elamite
 Adgg = Twareg of Adghagh
 Af = Afar; d.: Af N = Northern d., Af S = Southern d., Af Tjr = Tajurah d.
 AfR = Afro-Romance (a lge of Latin origin, surviving in North Africa up to the 10th-11th c., according to Lewicki LRA)
 AfS = Afar-Saho lgs.
 Afsh = Afshar
 AfshN = SOg of Afshar-e Nanakchi (near Kabul)
 Ag = Agaw
 AG = Angas-Goemay (Angas-Sura)
 Ah = Twareg of Ahaggar
 AHb = Ancient Hebrew (not attested in the Bible)
 Ai = Ainu (either belonging to or having a considerable amount of ancient loans from A)
 Ak = Akkadian; ds. : Ak A = Assyrian, Ak B = Babylonian, Ak LB = Late Babylonian (spB}, Ak M = Akkadian of Mari, Ak MA = Middle Assyrian (nA), Ak MB = Middle Babylonian (nB}, Ak NA = Neo-Assyrian (nA), Ak NB = Neo-Babylonian (nB), Ak OA = Old Assyrian (aA), Ak OB = Old Babylonian (aB}, Ak StB = Standard Babylonian (used in Assyria of the Neo-Assyrian period) ({CAD} SB), Ak YB = Young Babylonian (jB), OAk = Old Akkadian (aAK); f + dialect name means "from ... on": fOB = from Old Babylonian on"; Ak Bg = Ak of Boghazköy, Ak M = Ak of Mari, Ak Nz = Ak of Nuzi, Ak RS = Ak of Ras-Shamra tablets
 Al = Albanian; Al G = Geg, Al T = Tosk; subdialects: A = Arbanasi Geg (Dalmazia), Ba = Barile Tosk, Be = Berat Tosk, Ç = Çamërian Tosk (Çamërisht), D = Geg of Dushman, Db = Geg of Dibër, Dr = Southern Geg of Durrës, Elb = South Geg of Elbasan, F = Falconara Tosk (Italy), Fr = Tosk of Frashër, Gj = Labërian Tosk of Gjirokastër, Hm = Tosk of Himarë, Kr = Southern Geg of Krujë; Lb = Labërian Tosk (Labërisht), M = Malësiian Geg, Mn = Mandres Tosk, Mt = Geg of Mat, Mz = Tosk of Myzeqe, OT = Southern Geg of Old Tiranë, P = Prishtinë Geg (Kosovo), Prm = Tosk of Përmet, SG = Southern Geg, Sf = Sofiko Tosk, Sh = Shkodër Geg, Sl = Salamis Tosk (Greece), SM = San Marzano Tosk (Italy), U = Ukrainian Tosk, V = Vaccarizzo Tosk (Italy), Z = Zadrimë Geg; standard lgs: StAl = Modern Standard Al (based mainly on Tosk), StAl G = Standard Geg Al
 Alb = Alaba
 Ale = Aleut, ds. : Ale E = Eastern Ale, Ale W = Wesern Ale (incl. Ale A = Atkan), Ale Au = Attuan
 Alg = Alagwa
 AlK = AĚlu Kurumba (a Dravidian d. of the Nilgiri area)
 Alt = Altay-Kizhi; StAlt = горно-алтайский, ойротский
 Aly = Alyutor, алыторский

- Amh = Amharic
 Amn = Ammonite
 Amr = Amorite
 AmTg = Amur Tungusian (subbranch of the Tungusian language family)
 Anc... = Ancient ... (e.g. AncM = Ancient Mongolian, AncHs = Ancient Hausa, AncHb = Ancient Hebrew)
 And = Andian
 Anf = Anfillo (= Grotanelli's "Mao meridionale")
 Ang = Angas; d.: Ang H = High Angas, Ang K = Kabwir d.
 AnIE = Anatolian Indo-European
 'AQ = 'Ali-Qurchi Turkic (a SOg dialect, to the south of Arak, Iran)
 Ar = Arabic; ds.: Ar AT = Arabic of Algeria and Tunisia, Ar CA = Central African d., Ar CB = d. of the coastal part of Batina (Northern Oman), Ar ChCS = Arabic d. of Chad and Central Sudan, Ar ChrNG = Christian fallah d. of Northern Galilea, Ar Cr = Cairo Arabic, Ar D = Dathina d., Ar Df = Dofar (Zfar) d., Ar E = the modern dialects of Asiatic countries (incl. the literary language), Ar Eg = Egyptian d., Ar G = Gulf Arabic (the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and Bahrain), Ar Hdr = Hadramauti d., Ar Hm = Hamata Arabic, Ar IB = d. of the inland part of Batina, Ar Ir = Iraqi Arabic, Ar Lb = Arabic of Libya, Ar Mgr = Maghrib Arabic (North Africa), Ar Mrc = Moroccan ds., Ar Ng = Ar. of Nigeria, Ar NY = North Yemenite ds. (including sds.: Ar NY K = k-subdialect, Ar NY SE - Southeastern sd., Ar NY S = Southern sds., Ar NY T = Tihamah sd.), Ar O = Oman Arabic, Ar P = Palestinian Arabic ds., Ar SA = South Arabian ds. (Yemen, southern Oman), Ar Sd = Sudanese ds., Ar SL = Syro-Libanese d., Ar Sp = Arabic of Spain (8th through 15th c.), Ar Y = Yemenite ds. of Ar, Ar Zhl = Arabic of Zahle (Lebanon); dialect groups: Ar B = Bedouin Arabic, Ar F = Fallah (rural) Arabic, Ar Ur = Urban Arabic
 Aram = Aramaic
 Arc... = Archaic ...
 ArcL = Archaic Latin
 Arg = Argobba
 Ari = Ari (a SOm lge.); ds.: Ari B = Bako (Baka), Ari G = Galila, Ari J = Ari-Jinka, Ari U = Ubamer
 Arm = Armenian (Grabar)
 Arr = Arbore
 Ary = Aryan (Indo-Iranian)
 AS = Anglo-Saxon (= Old English); d.: AS A = Anglian
 ASgr = Ayt-Seghrushen
 Ash = Ashkun (a Nuristani lge.)
 Ass = Assamese
 Assh = Ashasha (a Berber dialect)
 Av = Avestan; variants: Av G = Gatha-Avestan, Av Y (= YAv) = Young Av.

Aw = Awngi; dialects: Aw D = Dangela, Aw K = Kwakera
 Awj = Awjila
 Awr = Awroman
 Az = Azeri; ds.: Az Erz = Erzerum d., Az Mgn = Mughan sd., Az Nx = Nukha d., Az Qb = Quba d., Az Qz = Qazakh d., Az Shm = Shamakhï d., Az Sl = Salyan d. (салъянский диалект), Az Tbr = Tebriz d.
 Azm = Azumeyna (Banana-Marba)
 B = Berber
 Ba = Bao'an (Пао'ан, баоаньский)
 BA = Biblical Aramaic
 Bar = Barein
 BB = Bata-Bachama subbranch of CCh
 Bbr = Bubburè
 BChS = Bulgarian Church Slavonic
 Bcm = Bachama
 Bct = Bactrian
 Bd = Bade
 Bdg = Badaga (= Kn Bd)
 Bdh... = Buddhist, e.g. BdhSk = Buddhist Sanskrit, BdhSgd = Buddhist Sogdian
 Bdm = Buduma
 Bdt = Badditu, Baddito, Koyra
 Bdy = Bidiya
 Bel = Belari (a SD lge.)
 BF = Balto-Finnic
 Bg = Boghom (Burrum)
 BG = Bu-gàlambu
 BHb = Biblical Hebrew; variants: BHb B = BHb with Babylonian vocalization; BHb T = BHb with the traditional (masoretic) Tiberian vocalization
 BHlm = Ben-Halima (d. of Ulad-Ben-Halima, a B "Zenatian" d. of Central Morocco)
 Bhr = Bihari
 BIzn = Beni-Iznacen
 Bj = Beja; ds.: Bj A = Amar'ar , Bj B = Bishari, Bj Br = Bj of Barka, Bj Hd = Hadendawa, Bj N = the northern dialect (acc. to Reinisch), Bj R = the dialect described by Reinisch (Halanga?), Bj Rp = the dialect described by Roper
 Bk = Boka
 Bks = Bokkos
 Bl = Bolewa, Bolanchi, Bole; d.: BIF = Bolewa of Fika {Meek}
 Blc = Balochi (Beluji)
 Bld = Baldamu
 Blg = Bulgarian
 Blgh = Bulghar
 Bln = Bilin

Blq = Balqar
 Blr = Belorussian
 Blt = Baltic
 Bltr = Beltir (today a d. of Xk)
 BMa = Bambes(h)i Mao (= Bambassi)
 BMn = Beni-Menacer (a B d.)
 BMs = Beni-Messaud (a B d.)
 Bn = Boni; ds.: Bn Ba = Baddey, Bn Bi = Bireri, Bn Bl = Bala; Bn Bu =
 Bura, Bn J = Jara, Bn K = Kili, Bn Kj = Kije, Bn Sa = Safare
 Bnc = Bench (Gimirra-Bench, Benesho)
 Bngl = Bengali
 Bnn = Banana
 BnnM = Banana-Mouseye
 BNr = bokmål (riksmål, Danish-based variant of Norwegian)
 Bnt = Bantu
 Bot = Bot, Boot (a South Bauchi lge.)
 Br = Breton; d.: Cr = d. of the diocese of Cornouaille, L = d. of
 Léon, T = Trégorrois (diocese of Tréguier), V = d. of Vannes
 Brb = Baraba (= STt B); sd.: Brb Tk Tarmakül sd.
 Brg = Birgit
 Brgd = Burgandi (a D lge.)
 Brgn = Burgundian
 Brh = Brahui
 Brj = Burji
 Brn = Burunge
 Brt = Buryat; ds.: Brt A = Alar d., Brt Ag = Aga d. (агинский
 ГОВОРО), Brt E = Eastern ds. of Brt, Brt NU = Nizhneudinsk d.
 Brtt = Brittonic (Brythonic) Celtic
 Brw = Barawa
 Bs = Baiso
 Bsh = Bashqort (Bashkir)
 Bsk = Basketo (an Omotic lge.)
 BSl = Balto-Slavic
 BSlh = Beni-Salah
 BSn = Beni-Snus
 Bsq = Basque
 Bss = Bussa
 Bt = Bata
 BT = Bole-Tangale gr.
 BtD = Bata-Demsa
 BtG = Bata-Garua
 Bth = Bathari (Bathari)
 BtM = Bata-Malabu
 Btr = Butura (a lge. of the Ron gr.)
 Btw = Bettiwa
 BtZ = Bata-Zumo

- Bu = Bura
 BuP = Bura Pele
 Bz... = Byzantine, of the Byzantine period (e.g. BzJPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period, BzGk = Byzantine Greek)
 C = Cushitic
 C... = Central ...; ... C = Central d.
 CA = Berber of Central Algeria
 Car = Carian
 Cb = Chibak
 CC = Central Cushitic (= Ag)
 CCh = Central Chadic
 CD = Central Dravidian (Kolami-Parji) {Km., Zv.}
 Cez = Tsezian
 Cg = Tsagu
 Ch = Chadic
 Cha = Chara
 Chg = Chagatay (West Türkistan Islamic literary lge., late XIV-XX);
 Chg Xw = Chagatay of Xwarezm
 Chk = Chukchee
 ChK = Chukchee-Корьяк (proto-Chukchee)
 Chl = Chulim (чулымский); dialects: Kü = Küärik (treated as a separate lge), Chl U = Upper Chulim, Chl M = Middle Chulim
 Chn = Chinese; d.: Chn M = Mandarin Chinese
 Chr = Cheremis; ds.: Chr B = Chr of Birsk; Chr Ch = Chr of Cheboksari; Chr E = Eastern Chr ds.; Chr H = High Chr (= Hill Chr, горно-марийский); Chr K = Chr of Kosmodemyansk (sd. of Chr H); Chr L = Low Chr (= Meadow Chr, лугово-марийский) (the basis of the Standard "Meadow-Eastern Cheremis" ['лугово-восточный марийский']); Chr M = Chr of Malmizh; Chr NW = Northwestern Chr; Chr P = Cheremis of the former Perm province; Chr U = Cheremis of Urzhum; Chr Uf (= Chr E Uf) = Cheremis of the former Ufa province; Chr V = Chr of Vetluga; Chr Y = Chr of Yaransk; Chr YO = Cheremis of Yoshkar-Ola (Carevokokshaysk); Chr YU = Chr of Yaransk & Urzhum
 Chr... = Christian ... (e.g. ChrSgd = Sogdian of Christian texts)
 ChrPA = Christian Palestinian Aramaic ("Syro-Palestinian")
 ChrPAr = Arabic of Palestinian Christians
 ChS = Church Slavonic
 Chv = Chuvash; ds.: Chv H = High Chuvash (верховой [вирьял] диалект); Chv K = Kurmish sd. of Chv H; Chv KA = Krasnoarmeysk sd. of Chv H; Chv L = Low Chuvash (низовой [анатри] диалект); Chv Mr = Morgaush sd. of Chv H; Chv MK = Malo-Karachkino (Sarmaś) d. of Chv; Chv V = Vurnar sd. of Chv H
 CK = Chukchee-Kamchadal, Kamchukchee

Cl... = Classical ... (e.g. ClAr = Classical Arabic, ClArm = Classical Armenian, ClNPrs = Classical New Persian, ClTm = Classical Tamil, ClJ = Classical Japanese)

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

ClKo = Classical Korean (Korean in Rm. SKE) (early NKO that still distinguishes between a and ʌ)

ClMd = Classical Mandaic

Clt = Celtic

Cltl = Celtiberian

Cm = Tsamako, Tsamay

CM = Berber of Central Morocco

Cmn = Cumanic (= MQp Cm)

Cn = Canaanite

Cnc = C'ancha Ometo

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

Coll... = Colloquial ..., e.g. CollTm = Colloquial Tamil

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

Cp = Chip

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

Crn = Cornish

CrTt = Crimean Tatar

CS = Central Semitic

Ctl = Catalan

Cur = Curonian

Cz = Czech; dialects: Cz L = Lakh (lašský), Cz Mr = Moravian, Cz MS = Moravian-Slovak, Cz SEB = Southeast Bohemian (= Czech-Moravian) d.

D = Dravidian

DA = the lge. of the Deir-Alla inscription

Db = Daba

Db sb. = Daba subbranch of CCh

Dbl = Dyebayli (a B idiom, possibly a d. of Nfs)

Dbs = Dobase

Dc = Dache (an Ometo dialect)

DEg = Demotic Egyptian

Df = Daffo

DfB = Daffo and Butura

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

Dg

Dgh = Dghwede, Duxwide, Zeghvana

Dhl = Dahalo

Di = Dirasha (ḏīrāšā) (an EC lge.)

Dir = Diri (a NrBc lge.)

- Dk = Doka (an Omoto dialect)
 Dl = Dullay dialect cluster (= "Werizoid")
 Dlg = Dolgan
 Dlm = Dalmatian
 Dm = Dime (a South Omotic lge.)
 DM = Daco-Moesian (= Dacian)
 DMA = Diddesa Mao
 Dmb = Dembea
 Dmn = Demnat
 Dmt = Damot
 Dn = Danish
 Dng = Dangla, Dangaleat (a common denomination for West Dangla & EDng)
 Dr = Dera, Kanakuru
 Drd = Dardic lge. group
 Drg = Dargwa
 Drm = Dormo = Lukas's "Dormo"
 Drz = Dorze-Jo, Dorze (a d. of the Omoto cluster)
 Ds = Dass; ds.: Ds B = Bodli (Zumbul), Ds Bn = Bandas (Dur), Ds D = Dikshi; Dwat and Wangday are treated as languages
 DSA = Aramaic in Demotic script
 Dsn = Dasenech (= Geleba)
 Dt = Dutch (= Netherlandic, Dutch-Flemish); variants: Dt Fl = Flemish, Dt N = Dutch of the Netherlands; ds.: Dt G = Dutch d. of Gelderland, Dt H = Dutch of Holland, Dt Lm = d. of Limburg
 Du = Duwai
 Dw = Dwat (Dwot, Zodi), a d. of Dass treated as a language
 Dwr = Dawro (Kullo), a d. of the Omoto cluster
 Dx = Dongxiang, Tunghsiang, Santa, ДУНСЯНСКИЙ ЯЗЫК
 Dz = Doze (an Omotic d. within the Omoto dialect cluster)
 Dzd = Dizoid (a subbranch of NOM)
 E = Elamite (family)
 e... = Early (eArm = Early Armenian, eNG = Early New Georgian, eB = Early proto-Berber, eNW = Early New Welsh, eEg = Early Egyptian, eNHG = Early New High German, eU = Early proto-Uralic)
 E... = Eastern ...; ... E = Eastern (d.) (e.g. Os E = the Eastern d. of Ostyak)
 EA = Eskimo-Aleut
 eB = early proto-Berber
 Eb = Eblaite
 EBlt = East Baltic
 EC = East Cushitic
 ECh = East Chadic
 ECs = East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian)
 Ed = Edomite
 EDng = East Dangla (treated here as a separate lge.)

eF = Early Finnish (16th - 18th c.)

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

eIE = Early proto-Indo-European

EIrn = East Iranian (a branch of the Iranian family)

El = Elamite (language)

Elm = Elmolo

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

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

eNG = Early New Georgian (XVII-XVIII)

eNW = Early New Welsh (XVII)

eOArm = Early Old Armenian

Ep... = Epigraphic ... (e.g. EpJA = Epigraphic JA, EpL = Epigraphic Latin, EpOI = Epigraphical OI, EpOKn = Epigraphic Old Kannada)

e-p... = Early proto-... (e-pS = Early proto-Semitic, e-pIE = Early pIE, e-pHS = Early proto-Hamito-Semitic)

EpHb = Epigraphic Hebrew

EpTl = Epigraphic Telugu

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

ERt = East Rift (subsubbranch of SC)

Es = Estonian; ds.: Es K = Kolga sd., Es N = Northern d., Es S = Southern d., Es SVI = sd. of Southern Viljandimaa, Es V = Võru d.

ES = East Semitic

ESA = Epigraphic South Arabian (= OSA)

eShl = early Tashelhit (16th - 19th c., after Ks. ← Bgr.)

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

ET = East Turkic (= New Uygur, уйгурский язык); ds.: ET G = Guma d., ET H = Hami d., ET I = Ili d., ET K = Kashghar d., ET Kc = Kucha d., ET Ta = Tashmalig d., ET Tr = Taranchi, ET X = Khotan d., ET Y = Yarkand d.

Eth = Ethiopian

EthS = Ethiosemitic

Etr = Etruscan

ETwl = Eastern Tawellemmet

"EurA" = J. Greenberg's hypothetical "Eurasian" macrofamily

Ewk = Ewenki; ds.: Ewk E = Eastern d. (dialect area), Ewk N = Northern Ewenki, Ewk S = Southern Ewenki; sds.: Ewk A = Ayan sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ag = Agata & Bolshoy Porog sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Ald = Aldan sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk B = Baykit sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Bnt = Baunt sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Brg = Barguzin sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Chlm = Chulman sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Chmk = Chumikan sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk D = Dudinka sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Hng = Hingan (ХИНГАН) sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk I = Ilimpeya sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Kch = Kachug sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk M = Maya sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk NB = Northern Baykal sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nk = Nakanna sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Nor = Norilskaya sd. (of Ewk. N; extinct?), Ewk Np = Nepa sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Nr = Nercha sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk O = Olekma sds. (of Ewk E), Ewk PT = Podkamennaya-Tunguska sds. (of Ewk S), Ewk Skh = Sakhalin sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Sm = Sim sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tk = Tokko sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tkm = Tokma sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Tmt = Tommot sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tng = Tungir sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tp = Tipton sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Tt = Totta sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk U = Uchami sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk UA = Upper Amur sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Ucr = Uchur sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk UL = Upper Lena sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk Urm = Urmi sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk V = Vanavar sd. (of Ewk S), Ewk VI = Vilyuy sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Vtm = Vitim sd. (of Ewk E), Ewk Y = Yerbogachen sd. (of Ewk N), Ewk Z = Zeya sd. (of Ewk E)

f... = from ... on (Eg fOK = Eg from OK on, Ak fOB = Ak from OB on)

F = Finnish; ds.: F H = Häme d., F MNB = Middle- and North-Bothnian ds. (keski- ja pohjoispohjalaiset murteet), F N = Northern

ds. (Peräpohjolan murteet, hinterbottische Dialekte), F SB = South Bothnian (eteläpohjalainen), F SE = Southeastern ds., F Sv = Savo ds., F SW = Southwestern ds., F U = ds. of Nyland (Uusimaa) (incl. F I = Iitti sd.)

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

Far = Faroese

Fgg = Figuig, Figig (a B d.)

FL = Finno-Lappish subgr. of FU

Fl... = Fali ..., Fali of ...

FIB = Fali (of) Bwagira

FIG = Fali Gili

FIJ = Fali Jilbu

FIK = Fali Kiria, Fali of Kiria

FIM = Fali (of) Muchella

Fls = Faliscan

FP = Finno-Permian

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

Frl. = Friulan (= RhR F)

Frs = Frisian

FU = Finno-Ugrian (= Fenno-Ugrian)

FV = Finno-Volgaic

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

Fy = Fyer

G = NG = (New) Georgian; dialects: G A = Acharuli (= Ajar) G, G ArX = Aragva Gorge sd. of G K (Aragvis xeobis kartluri), G F = Pereidnuli (Fereydan) G, G Gm = Gudamaqruli G, G Gr (and G G) = Guruli G, G HA = High Ajar G, G I = Imeruli G (sds.: HI = High Imeruli, LI = Low Imeruli), G Imx = Imerxeuli G, G Ing = Inglouri G, G J = Javakhuri G, G K = Kartluri G, G Kx = Kakhuri G, G Kzq = Kiziquri subd. of G Kx, G Lch = Lechkhumuri G, G M = Mokheuri G, G Ms = Meskhuri G, G Mt = Mtiuluri G, G P = Pshauri G, G R = Rachuli G, G T = Tushuri G, G Ti = Tianuri G, G UA = Upper Ajar, G X = Khevsuruli; a period: EarNG = Early New Georgian (XVII, as registered by Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani)

...G = 1) Georgian (in: OG = Old Georgian, MG = Middle Georgian, NG = New Georgian), 2) German (in: OHG, MHG, NHG, MLG, see. ...HG & ...LG)

GaMa = Ganza Mao

GAv = Gath Avestan

Gbn = Gabin

Gd = Ghadamsi

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

Gdc = Gidicho

Gdf = Guduf

Gdl = Gidole (Dirayta)

- Gdr = Gidar
 GeMa = Gebsi Mao
 Ged = Gede'o (= Darasa)
 Gemu (an Ometo lge., related to Gf)
 Gf = Gofa (an Ometo lge.)
 Gft = Gafat
 Ggz = Gagauz
 Gh = Ghat
 Gil = Gilyak (Nivkh); ds.: Gil A = Amur d., Gil ES = East Sakhalin d.
 Gj = Geji; ds.: Gj B = Bu (Zaranda), Gj G = Geji proper (Gyanzi), Gj
 Mg = Migang (Bolu, Pelu)
 Gjb = Gojjebi (a lge. of the Gongga subgr. of NrOm)
 Gk = Greek; Gk Hl = Hellenistic Greek; ds.: Gk A = Attic, Gk AC =
 Arcado-Cypriote, Gk Ae = Aeolic, Gk Ar = Arcadian sd., Gk Arg = sd.
 of Argos, Gk B = Bœothian sd., Gk Cp = Cyprian, Gk Cr = Cretan sd.,
 Gk Crc = Corcyrian (Cercyrian) sd., Gk Crn = Corinthian sd., Gk D =
 Doric, Gk Dl = Delphian sd., Gk El = Elian sd. of Gk D (Gk of Elis), Gk
 Ep = Epic Greek, Gk Epr = Epirotic sd., Gk Hm = Homeric Gk, Gk I =
 Ionic, Gk L = Lesbian sd., Gk Lc = Laconian sd., Gk Lr = Locrian sd., Gk
 Mc = Mycenæan, Gk OA = Old Attic, Gk P = Pamphilian sd., Gk Ph =
 Phocæan sd., Gk R = Rhodian sd. (sd. of Rhodes), Gk Sr = Syracusan
 sd., Gk Th = Thessalian sd.
 Gl = Gaulish
 Glf = Gulfei
 Gll = Galila (a SOm lge.)
 Glm = Galambu
 Gln = Gollango
 Glt = Galatian (an ancient Clt lge. in Asia Minor)
 Glv = Glavda
 Gm = Gamo, Gamu
 Gmc = Germanic
 Gmr = Gimirra
 Gmrg = Gamergu
 Gmy = Goemay, Ankwe
 G'nd = Ga'anda
 Gnc = Guanche (dialect cluster); ds.: Fv = Fuenteventura, G = La
 Gomera, GC = Gran Canaria, Hr = Hierro (Ferro), L = Lanzarote, P = La
 Palma, T = Tenerife
 Gnd = Gondi; ds.: Gnd A = Adilabad Gnd, Gnd B = Gnd of the Betul
 district, Gnd Ch = Chhindwara d., Gnd ChM = Maria Gondi of the
 Chanda district, Gnd D = Gnd of Durg, Gnd DM = Gnd of the Dandami
 Marias, Gnd G = Gnd of Gadchiroli tahsil (Chanda district), Gnd HM =
 Gnd of the Hill Marias (incl. Gnd HMB, HMD, HMO, HMS = Gnd HM
 of the areas of Bogan Pallahor, Dhobi, Orcha village, and Sironcha
 tahsil respectively), Gnd K = Koya Gondi, Gnd KB = Gnd of
 Bhadrachalam and Rekapalli, Gnd KD = Gnd of the Koyas of Dorlas,

Gnd KM = Gnd of the Koyas of Malkangiri tahsil, Gnd KS = Gnd of Koyas and Dorlas of South Bastar, Gnd M = Gondi of the Marias, Gnd MB = Gondi of the Bison Horn and Dandami Marias (Bastar), Gnd Mn = Gondi of Mandla, Gnd Mrd = Mardia Gondi, Gnd Mu = Gnd of the Murias of North Bastar, Gnd Nr = Gnd of the Murias of Naraipur (NW. Bastar), Gnd RCh = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Chanda district, Gnd RSr = dialect of the Raj Gonds of Sironcha tahsil; Gnd Sn = Gnd of Seoni, Gnd Y = Gnd of Yeotmal

GnD = Gondvana Dravidian {An.}

Gng = Gonga (a subsubgr. of NOM: Kf, Mc, Shn, Anf)

Gnj = Ganjule (= Ganjawle, a d. of East Ometo)

Gp = Gipsy; Gp A = Asiatic dialects of Gp, Gp Eu = European ds. of Gp

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

Grm = Geruma

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

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

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

Grw = Gorowa

Gsc = Gascon

Gt = Gothic; d.: Gt Cr = Crimean Gothic

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

Gv = Gava

Gw = Gwandara; ds.: Gw Cn = Chanchara d. (Arabishi), Gw G = Gitata d., Gw K = Karshi d., Gw Kr = Koro d. (Gwagwa), Gw Nm = Nimbria d., Gw T = Toni d. (Garaku)

Gwd = Gawwada; d.: Gwd D = Gawwada Dalpena

Gz = Ge'ez

GZ = Georgian-Zan lgs., proto-Georgian-Zan

Gzg = Giziga; ds.: Gzg D = Giziga Dogba, Gzg Mj = Giziga Mijivin, Gzg Mt = Maturua

H... = High ..., Highland ..., верховой ..., горно-...

HAB = Hausa-Angas-Bolewa (Hangbole)

Har = Harari

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

Hb = Hebrew

Hbt = Hobyot (a dialect belonging to SES)

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

Hdr = Hadrami (dialect of OSA)

HEC = Highland East Cushitic

Hg = Hungarian; ds.: Hg S = South Hungarian (sd.: Hg O = Ormánység sd.), Hg Sz = Székely d.

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

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

Higi sb. = Higi subbranch of CCh

Hld = Hildi

Hlm = Halima (a Berber dialect)

HlM = Halha-Mongolian; ds.: IM = ds. of Inner Mongolia

HLs = High Lusatian (High Sorbian)

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

Hmr = Himyarite (Himyarite)

Hnd = Hindi; Hnd Bhj = Bhojpuri Hindi

Hr = Harso

HrLw = Hieroglyphic Luwian (Hier. Luvian)

Hrr = Haruro

Hrs = Harsusi

Hrw = Harawa (a B d.)

Hrz = Hurza

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

Hs' = Hasa'itic, Hasaeen (a ONA dialect of Eastern Arabia)

Ht = Hittite

Htr = Hatra (an ancient Aramaic d.)

Hun = Hunnic (Hsiung-nu)

Hw = Hwona

HZMa = Hozo Mao

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

Ic = Icelandic

Iir, Iirn = Indo-Iranian (Aryan)

Ik = Ik (= Teuso), a Kuliak lge.

Ilr = Illyrian

Im = Itelmen (= Kamchadal); ds.: Im W, Im E, Im S

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

InA = Indo-Aryan

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

Ir = Irish

Irl = Irula

Irn = Iranian
 Irq = Iraqw
 IrtTt = Irtysh Tatar
 Ish = Ishkashimi
 It = Italian; dialects and subdialects: Ab = It of Abruzzi, Cl = Calabrian, Mdn = sd. of Modena, Lm = Lombardian ds., Ml = Milanese, N = Northern dialects of It, Np = Neapolitan, OMI = Old Milanese, P = Piemontese, Pv = sd. of Piverone (Piemonte), Sr = sd. of Sora, STs = South Toscanian, Tr = Trentine (d. of Trento), V = Venetian
 Itc = Italic
 Iz = Izayan (a B d.)
 Izd = Ayt-Izdeg (a dialect of Tmz, treated here as a separate lge.)
 Izn = Beni-Iznacen
 J = Japanese; ds.: J Ak = Akida, J Ht = Hateruma, J Ik = Ikema, J Is = Ishigaki, J Kg = Kagoshima, J Km = Kameyama, J K = Kyoto, J Kt = Keto, J Nk = Nakasuji, J Ns = Nase, J Rk = Ryukyu ds., J Sh = Shuri, J Sz = Sudzu, J T = Tokyo (= StJ), J Ty = Toyama, J Y = Yonakuni
 J... = Jewish ...
 JA = Jewish Aramaic (common name for JEA and JPA)
 Jb = Jibbali (ds.: C = Central, E = Eastern, EM = Mehrizing subd. of Jb E)
 JEA (= JBA) = Jewish East Aramaic (Babylonian Aramaic); variants: JEA B = standard Babylonian Talmudic Aramaic, JEA G = Gaonic JEA, JEA Nd = the d. represented in Nedarim (a tractate in the Babylonian Talmud)
 Jg = Jegu
 JK = Japanese-Kogurö
 JKr = Je#nu Kurumba (a Dravidian d. of the Nilgiri area)
 Jm = Jimi
 Jmb = Jimbin, Jimbinanchi
 JPA = Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Kutscher's "Galilean Aramaic");
 JPA Bz = JPA of the Byzantine period
 Jr = Jara (a CCh lge.)
 Jrb = Berber of Jerba
 Jrc = Jurchen
 K = Kartvelian
 Kb = Kabyle; ds.: Kb AX = Ayt-Khalfun, Kb AZ = Ayt-Ziyan, Kb Ir = Irjen, Kb GK = ds. of Grande Kabylie, Kb M = At Mangellat (= Kb {Dl.}), Kb PK = ds. of Petite Kabylie, Kb Z = Zwawa; if the d. is unnoted, Kabyle of Grande Kabylie is meant
 Kbl = Kabalay (Lukas's "Kaba")
 KC = Kamchukchee (= Chukchee-Kamchadal)
 Kcm = Kachama (= Gatsama, a d. of Ometo)
 Kdg = Kodagu; ds.: K = Karada, MV = Merchara-Virajpet, NI = Nalknad

- Ke = Kera
 Kf = Kaffa
 Kfr = Kofyar; d.: Kfr M = Mernyang (= Merniang, Mirriam)
 KG = Konso-Gidole (subbranch of EC)
 Kgr = Koguryö
 KhS = Khotan Saka
 Khw = Khowar
 Kjk = Kajakse
 Kjr = Kujarke
 KK = Kui-Kuwi gr. of languages
 Kkd = Kaikadi (a D lge.)
 Kl = Kalmuck; ds.: D = Dörböt, Ö = Ölot, T = Torgut
 Klb = Kilba (Hiba)
 Klk = the Kuliak languages
 Klm = Kolami
 Klr = Kulere
 Kls = Kalasha
 Km = Kemant
 Kmb = Kambatta
 Kms = Kamas, Kamassian
 Kn = Kannada; ds.: B = Barkur, Bd = Badaga, Bl = Bellary, Cr = Coorg Kn (Jenu Kuruba), G = Gowda, Gl = Gulbarga, Hl = Halakki, Hv = Havyaka, K = Kurumba, Km = Kumta, Nn = Nanjangud, O = Ola, R = Rabakavi, Sh = Sholiga, T = Tiptur
 Knd = Konda; d.: Knd P = Pulgura d.
 Knf = Kunfäl (a lge. of the Agaw subbranch)
 Knkr = Kanakuru (= Dr = Dera)
 Knr = Kanuri
 Kns = Konso
 KnT = the Kanuri-Teda languages
 Ko = Korean; ds.: Ko Chs = Cho(ngsando, Ko Chj = Chejudo, Ko Cl = Cenla, Ko Hm = Hamgyo(ngdo, Ko Ks = Kyo(ngsangdo (incl. Ko Ks S = South Kyo(ngsangdo), Ko Kw = Kangwo(ndo, Ko N = Northern ds., Ko NW = Northwestern ds., Ko Ph = Phyo(ngyang, Ko PhN = Phyo(ngyang-Namdo, Ko Sl = Seoul d.
 Kor = Koryak (Chawchuwen Кoryak, "нымыланский")
 Koyb = Koybal (a Samoyed lge., a d. of Kms)
 Kps = Kapsiki (= Higi Kamale)
 Kpt = Kupto
 Kr = Karaite (Karaim); ds.: Kr Cr = Crimean d., Kr G = Galich d., Kr L = Luck (Лущк) d., Kr T = Trakai (Troki) d.
 Krb = Kuruba (Betta-Kuruba)
 Krd = Kurdish; ds.: Krd K = Kurmanji (= Northern Kurmanji), Krd Sr = Sorani (Southern Kurmanji)
 Krf = Kirfi, Kirifi
 Krg = Koraga; ds.: Krg M = Mudu, Krg O = Onti, T = Tappu

- Krkr = Karekare
- Krl = Karelian; ds.: Krl A = Aunus (Olonets Krl, livvin kieli), Krl K = Karjala(inen), Krl Ld = Lude (Iyydiläismurteet), Krl Tv = Tver Karelian (sd. of Krl K)
- Krmb = Alu-Kurumba, Jenu-Kurumba, and Pal-Kurumba (Dravidian dialects of the Nilgiri area)
- Krt = Kōrete (= Amarro), an Ometo lge.
- Krx = Kurux, Kurukh, Курух, Oraon
- Kry = Kariya, Kariyanchi
- Kshb = Kashubian
- Kshm = Kashmiri
- Ksb = Kasaba (= Kasava), a D lge. (or d. of Irula)
- Kt = Kota
- Ktk = Kotoko; ds.: Ktk Af = Affade, Ktk Glf = Gulfei, Ktk Kl = Klesem, Ktk Ks = Kuseri, Ktk Mk = Makeri
- Ktk sb. = Kotoko subbranch of CCh
- Ku = Kuwi; ds.: Ku D = d. of Dongriya Kondhs, Ku K = Kubi dialect (labelled so by DEDR xxx), Ku Kt = Kuttia Kuwi, Ku P = d. of the Parja Kondhs of Bisamkatak, Ku Su = Sunkarametta, Ku T = Te#kriya Kondh
- Kü = Küärik (d. of Chulim)
- Kui; d.: Kui KK = Kui of Kuttia Kandhs
- Kwm = Kwami
- KwK = Kwang-Kera (branch of ECh)
- Kwn = Kwang; Kwn M = Mobu d. of Kwang
- Kz = Kwadza
- L = Latin; ds.: L Prn = Praenestian d., L Ln = Lanuvian, L Sc = Sicilian
- L; L Ep = Epigraphic Latin
- L... = Low ..., Lowland ..., НИЗОВОЙ ..., ЛУГОВО-...; Literary ... (i.e. written in traditional script, Schriftsprache) (LM = Literary Mongolian, LMc = Literary Manchu, LO = Literary Oyrat)
- LamP = Lame-Peve
- Lb = Libyan (OLb, an ancient LbB lge.); d.: ONum = East Numidian
- LbB = Libyco-Berber (Old Libyan + Berber + Guanche) (= ЛИВИЙСКО-ГУАНЧСКИЕ ЯЗЫКИ)
- Lc = Lycian (= Lycian A); d.: Lc M = Milyan (= Lycian B)
- Ld = Lydian
- LEC = Lowland East Cushitic
- LEg = Late Egyptian
- LG = Low German (cp. MLG)
- Lgn = Logone; d.: Lgn M = Mandague
- Lh = Lihyanic
- Lhn = Lahnda
- Ll = Lele
- LLs = Low Lusatian (Low Sorbian)
- Lm = Lamut (Евен, ЭВЕНСКИЙ ЯЗЫК); ds.: Lm A = Arman d., Lm C = Central Lamut, Lm E = Eastern Lamut, Lm W = Western Lamut; sds.: Lm

Al = Allaykha sd. (of Lm C), Lm An = Anyuy sd. (of Lm C), Lm And = Anadir sd. (of Lm E), Lm B = Bistraya sd. (of Lm E), Lm KO = Kolima-Omolon sd. (of Lm E), Lm M = Moma sd. (of Lm C), Lm N = Northern Lm (a sd. of Lm E), Lm O = Okhotsk sd. (of Lm E), Lm Ol = Ola sd. (of Lm E), Lm P = Penzhina sd. (of Lm E), Lm Sk = Sakkirir sd. (of Lm W), Lm T = Tompon sd. (of Lm C), Lm Tg = Tügesir sd. (of Lm W). Lm Y = Yukagir sd. (of Lm W)

Lmn = Lamang; ds.: Lmn Hd = Hidkala, Hitkalanchi, Lm Vz = Vizik, Lmn A = Alataghwa

Ln = Lobnor Turkic

Lngb = Langobardian

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

LSv = Lower Svan

Lt = Lithuanian; dialects: Lt A = Aukshtaitian (Aukštaitis, High Lt, Aukštaitish) (with sbds.: EA = East Aukštaitian, WA = West Aukštaitian; subsubdialect of EA: Lt U = sbd. of Ukmergė), Lt D = Dzuki, Lt P = ds. of former Prussian Lithuania, Lt Z = Zhemaitian (Low Lt, Shamaitish, Samogitian; sds.: Lt K = sds. of the area of Klaipeda [former Memel-Gebiet])

lt... = Late ... (ltBHb = Late Biblical Hebrew, ltMChn = Late Middle Chinese, ltL = Late Latin, ltPrm = Late proto-Permian, ltOHG = Late Old High German), ltHb = Late Hebrew (second half of the 1st mill. A.D.);

ItHb B = Babylonian ItHb, ItHb J = Jerusalemite ("Palestinian") ItHb, ItHb T = Tiberian (Northern) LHB

ItL = Late Latin (= proto-Romance)

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

Ltv = Latvian; ds. & dialect areas: Ltv C = Central dialect area, Ltv E = Eastern dialect area, Ltv H = High Latvian (hochlettisch), Ltv Ltg = Latgalian, Ltv W = Western dialect area

Lv = Livonian; ds.: Lv E = Eastern, Lv W = Western, Lv I = Ira sd., Lv Slc = Salaca sd.

Lw = (Cuneiform) Luwian, Luvian

LycIs = Lycaonic-Isaurian

Lz = Laz (Chan); dialects: Lz A = Atinuri, Lz Ar = Arxaburi, Arkhaburi (архавский), Lz Art = Artashenian, Lz Ch = Chkhaletian (чхальский говор), Lz V = Vicuri, Lz VAr = Vicur-Arkhaburi, Lz X = Khopuri

Lzg = Lezgian

M = Mongolic

M... = Middle ...(e.g. MHG = Middle High German, MLG = Middle Low German, MM = Middle Mongolian, etc.)

Ma = Mao (a NrOm dialect cluster, incl. BMa, HzMa, Sz); when unspecified, Anf {Grot.} (Grotanelli's "Mao settentrionale") is meant

MAI = Middle Albanian (up to the 17th cent.); ds.: G = Geg, T = Tosk

Malt = Maltese

Mb = Mbugu

M'b = Moabite

Mbk = Mboku (Matakam subgr. of CCh)

Mbr = Mburku, Mburkanchi

MBr = Middle Breton

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

Mc... = Macro- (e.g. McAram = Macro-Aramaic, McDb = Macro-Daba, McDng = Macro-Dangla, McHigi = Macro-Higi, McKbly = Macro-Kabalay, McKtk = Macro-Kotoko, McMdr = Macro-Mandara, McMs = Macro-Masa, McMsg = Macro-Musgu, McMtk = Macro-Matakam, McMu = Macro-Mubi, McOr = Macro-Oromo (Oromoid), McSkr = Macro-Sokoro, McSmr = Macro-Sumray, McTm = Macro-Tamil, McTr = Macro-Tera)

Mcd = Macedonian (an ancient IE lge.)

McdRm = Macedo-Rumanian

McdS = Macedonian (a Slavic lge.)

Mch = Mocha (Shekko)

MChn = Middle Chinese

Md = Mandaic (if not specified otherwise, Classical Mandaic is meant)

md... = modern

Md... = medieval
 MdHb = Medieval Hebrew
 MdL = Medieval Latin
 MdMa = Madegi Mao
 Mdr = Mandara; d.: Mdr Mr = Mora
 Mdr sb. = Mandara subbranch of CCh
 MDt = Middle Dutch
 ME = Middle English
 Med = Median
 MEg = Middle Egyptian
 MEI = Middle Elamite
 Mf = Mafa
 MfG = Mofu-Gudur; d.: MfG M = Mokong
 MfM = Mofu-Meri
 Mg = Megrelian; ds.: Mg SmZ = Samurzakan-Zugdidian, Mg Sn = Senakian; Mg BM = Bandza-Martvil sd. of Mg Sn, MgrZ = Zugdidian sd. of Mg SmZ
 MG = Middle Georgian (12th-16th centuries (Shota Rustaveli, *Kartulis cxovreba*, etc.)
 MGk = Middle Greek (of the Roman and Byzantine periods)
 Mgl = Moghol; d.: Mgl Mr = Marda
 Mgm = Migama
 Mh = Mehri (Mahri); ds.: Mh D = Mh of Dhofar, Mh J = Eastern Mh of Jadib and Hawf, Mh Ng = Nagd Mehri, Mh Q = Qishn Mehri, Mh QB = d. of Qishn bedouins, Mh SW = Southwestern Mehri
 MHG = Middle High German, MHG U = Upper German ds. of MHG
 MIr = Middle Irish
 MIrn = Middle Iranian (cover name for several Irn lgs.)
 Mj = Maji (= Dizi, an Omotic language), d.: Mj DJ = Dizi-Jeba
 MJ = Middle Japanese (12th-16th c.)
 Mjl = Minjile
 Mk = Moksha Mordvin; a dialect: Mk P = Mk of the former Penza province
 Mkl = Mokilko
 MKn = Middle Kannada (= Kittel's "mediæval dialect of Kannada")
 MKo = Middle Korean
 Mkt = Muktile
 Ml = Malayalam
 Mld = Maldivian
 MLG = Middle Low German
 Mlk = Moloko
 Mln = Mwulyen
 Mlt = Malto
 Mlw = Mulwi (= Vulum, Mogrums, a d. of Msg)
 MM = Middle Mongolian; ds. (variants): MM E = Eastern MM, MM W = Western MM

MMG = Middle Middle German (Middle German ds. of MHG)
 MMgl = Middle Moghol
 Mn = Minaean, Minaic (מִנַּיִת), Madhabian
 MNA = Mlahso Neo-Aramaic
 Mnc... = Manichaeian (Mnc varieties of languages: MncMPrs, MncSgd)
 Mnd = Manda
 Mnj = Manjo (one of the sources\components of Kf, according to Fl. MEH)
 Mnr = Monguor; ds.: Mnr E = Eastern Monguor (Dongbuyuguyu), Mnr M = Minhe Monguor (= Sanch'uang, Potanin's сань-чуган), Mnr H = Huzu Monguor (Uyangpu, Potanin's у-ян-бу, Tuzuyu), Mnr Nr = Naringol sd. of Mnr H (SM's Monguor)
 Mnt = Montol
 Mod... = Modern ... (e.g. ModTm = Modern Tamil)
 MOg = Middle Oghuz; d.: MOg Tkm = Türkmen d. of MOg ("Old Türkmen")
 Mos = Mossiya
 MOsm = Middle Osman Turkic
 Mpn = Mupun
 MPrs = Middle Persian; MPrs Mnc = Manichean MPrs., MPrs T = MPrs of Turfan
 MPrt T = Middle Parthian of Turfan
 MQp = Middle Qipchaq (13th through 17th c.); variations: MQp A = Armeno-Qypchaq, MQp Cm = Cuman (of the Codex Cumanicus), MQp Mm = Mamluq-Qypchaq (Egyptian Qypchaq)
 Mr = Mordvin languages
 MR = Middle Russian
 Mrc = Marrucinian (an Italic dialect)
 Mrg = Margi; Mrg L = Margi of Lasa {Meek}, Mrg M = Margi of Minthla {Meek}; Mrg P = Margi Putai; Mrg Pl = Plain Margi {Meek}
 Mrs = Marsian (an Italic dialect)
 Mrt = Marathi
 Ms = Masa
 Ms sb. = Masa subbranch of CCh
 Msg = Musgu; Msg G = Musgu Girvidik (= Munjuk), Msg Ng = Musgu Ngilemong, Msg P = Musgum-Pus (= Munjuk de Pouss)
 Msg sb. = Musgu subbranch of CCh
 Msk = Muskum
 Msk {Lk.} = Lukas's "Muzgum-Stadt" (Lk. ZSS 142-4)
 Msl = Mashile
 Msm = Misme
 Msp = Messapic
 MsTt = Mishär Tatar
 Msy = Musgoy

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

MT = Middle Turkic; d.: MT Tkm = Türkmeni

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

Mtk = Matakam

Mtk sb. = Matakam subbranch of CCh

MTl = Middle Telugu (1000 - 1600 A. D.)

Mtm = Matmata (**mat** ≥ **ma** < **t** ≥ **a**)

MTsh = Medieval Tashelhit (Ibn Tunart's dictionary, 12th c.)

Mu = Mubi

MU = Middle Uyghur

Mw = Mawa

MW = Middle Welsh

Mx = Manx

My = Miya, Miyanchi

Myn = Muyang

Mz = Mzab, Mozabite

N = Nostratian, Nostratic

N... = New ..., Neo- (NSr = Neo-Syriac)

... N = Northern (d., e.g. Sml N = Northern Somali)

Na = Na'o (Nayi) (a Dizoid lge.)

NaD = Narrow Dravidian (ancestor of all D lgs. except Brh)

NaIE = Narrow IE ("IE proper", ancestor of all IE lgs. except Hittite-Luwian)

NArm = New Armenian

NaT = Narrow Turkic, Common Turkic (ancestor of all T lgs. except Blgh and Chv)

Nbt = Nabataean

Nd = Ndam; d.: Nd D = Ndam Dik

NdA = Ndir-Abes

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

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

NE... = Northeastern ...; ... NE = Northeastern (d.)

NEArm = New East Armenian

NED = Northeastern Dravidian

Neg = Negidal; ds.: U = Upper Amgun (верхнеамгуньский), L = Lower Amgun (нижнеамгуньский)

NEg = New Egyptian

- NEI = New Elamite
 NET = Northeast Turkic
 NEXT = Northeastern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); dialects: G = Gujgi, J = Jonk, L = Langar, M = Mareshk
 Nfs, Nf = Nefusi
 Ng = Nganasan
 NG = New (Modern) Georgian
 NGk = New Greek; variants: NGk D = Dhimotiki, NGk K = Katharevusa
 Ngl = Ngala
 Ngm = Ngamo
 NGr = New German (dialects): NGr Al = Alemannic, NGr Als = Alsatian German (elsässisch), NGr B = Bavarian (Bayrisch), NGr EP = dialects of East Prussia, NGr Gtn = d. of Göttingen; NGr Hs = Hessisch (d. of Hessen), NGr HsN = d. of Hessen-Nassau, NGr M = Middle German ds., NGr NrF = North Franconian German, NGr Ö = Austrian ds., NGr S (= NUG) = Southern German ds. (oberdeutsch), NGr Sb = Swabian German, NGr Sw = Swiss German, NGr Trl = Tirolean German, NGr WF = West Franconian German, NGr Wph = Westphalian German
 Ngs = Ngweshe (= Gvoko, Gboko, Glanda?)
 Ngx = Ngwaxi (Ngwakhi, Ngwahyi)
 Ngz = Ngizim
 NgzB = Ngizim-Bade subbranch of WCh
 NHb = New Hebrew (19th - 21th c.)
 NHG = New High German
 NIc = New Icelandic
 NInA = New Indo-Aryan
 NIr = New Irish
 Nk = Naiki of Chanda (= "Nk. (Ch.)" of DEDR)
 Nkc = Nakatsa
 NKO = New Korean, Modern Standard Korean
 Nkr = Naikri (d. of Kolami) (= "Nk." of DEDR)
 NMd = New Mandaic (Modern Spoken Mandaic)
 Nn = Nanay (Gold); dialects: Nn A = Amur dialect gr. (Nn Nh, Nn SA & Nn G), Nn B = Bikin d., Nn G = Garin d. (= Samar d.), Nn K = Kili (a dial. area, incl. Nn KU, Nn Sn & Nn UU [Kili is considered a separate lge. by Doerfer]), Nn KU = Kur & Urmi d., Nn Nh = Naykhin d., Nn SA = Sakachi-Alan, Nn Sn = Sungari dialect gr. (incl. Nn B), Nn UU = Upper Ussuri d.
 NNEA = Noretheastern Neo-Aramaic ("Modern Assyrian"); ds.: H = Hertevin, JIA = Jewish NNEA of Iranian Azerbaijan, JZ = Jewish NNEA of Zakho, U = Urmiya d.
 NNr = New Norwegian (Nynorsk)
 Nog = Noghay; ds.: Nog A = Aqnoghay, Nog P = Noghay proper, Nog Q = Qaranoghay

- NPhr = New Phrygian
 Npl = Nepali
 NPrs = New Persian; NPrs B = Bakhtiyari d. of NPrs
 Nr = Norwegian (BNr = bokmål; NNr = New Nr, i.e. nynorsk; Nr Δ = dialects of Nr)
 Nr... = North(ern) ...
 NrB = North Berber
 NrBc = North Bauchi
 NrCs = North Caucasian
 NrGmc = North Germanic (Scandinavian)
 NrMa = Northern Mao
 NrOm = North Omotic
 Nrs = Nuristani {Kafir} subgr.
 NrSm = North Samoyed subgr.
 NrTg = North Tungusian (subbranch of the Tungusian language family)
 NrXT = Northern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); ds.: D1 = Dara-Gaz 1, D2 = Dara-Gaz 2, Dg = Dougha'i, L = Lotf-abad, Q = Quchan, Shi = Shirwan, Shu = Shurak, Ze = Zeyarat, Zo = Zourum
 NSr = Neo-Syriac
 Ntf = Ntifa (a Berber d.)
 NUG = New Upper German (neuoberdeutsch), Southern ds. of NGr
 NW... = Northwestern ...; ... NW = Northwestern (d.)
 NWArm = New West Armenian
 NWS = Northwestern Semitic
 NWXT = Northwestern Khorasan Turkic (dialect cluster); ds.: A = Asadli, B = Bojnurd, ShT = Sheykh-Teymur
 Nx = Nakh
 Ny = Nyang'i (= Nyangiya), a Kuliak lge.
 Nz = Nzangi
 O... = Old ...
 OA = Old Aramaic
 OAk = Old Akkadian
 OAr = Old Arabic; dialect areas: OEAR = Old East Arabic, OWar = OAr H = Old West Arabic (Hijaz dialects, H. Rabin's Ancient West-Arabian); dialects: A = Asad, 'A = Al-'Aliyah, An = Ansar, Hd = Hudhail, Hm = Himyarite OAr, Hr = d. of Hauran, Hz = Hawazin, Md = d. of Medinah, Mk = d. of Mekka, Nj = Nejd dialects, O = 'Oman, Q = Qais, Qd = Quda'ah, Qr = Quraysh, R = Rabi'ah, Sl = Sulaim, T = Tamim, Tj = Tajji', TR = Taim ar-Ribab, Y = Yemenite
 OBr = Old Bretonic
 OBrth = Old Brythonic
 ObU = Ob-Ugric
 Occ = Occitanian (Modern Provençal); d.: Occ Lm = Limousin dial. (incl. Occ Cr = sd. of the département de Creuse)
 OChn = Old Chinese

OCn = Old Canaanite (= Old South Canaanite); OCn Sn = Cn of the Old Sinaitic inscriptions, OCn TA = Cn of the Tell-el-Amarna letters
 OCpt = Old Coptic
 OCrn = Old Cornish
 OCrt = Old Croatian (a d. of SCr)
 OCS = Old Church Slavonic
 ODn = Old Danish
 OEAr = Old East Arabic
 OEg = Old Egyptian
 OEI = Old Elamite
 OEth = Old Ethiopian
 OF = Old Finnish
 OFr = Old French; d.: OFr Nr = Old Norman-French
 OFrk = Old Frankish (Old Franconian)
 OFrs = Old Frisian
 Og = Oghuz Turkic
 OG = Old Georgian; ds.: OG H = the dialect represented in the Haemeti texts, OG X = the dialect of the Khanmeti (Xanmeti) texts
 OgIr = Ogam Irish (Archaic Irish in Ogamic inscriptions)
 OGtn = Old Gutnish
 OHg = Old Hungarian
 OHG = Old High German; dialects of OHG: OHG Al = Alemannic d., OHG F = Franconian d. (= OFrk), OHG U = Upper German d. of OHG (altoberdeutsch); OHG R = OHG of the Runic inscriptions
 OHt = Old Hittite
 OI = Old Indian; OI BHS = Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit, OI BdSk = Buddhistic Sanskrit, OI ClSk = Classical Sanskrit, OI EpSk = Epic Sanskrit, OI fVd = OI from Vedic on, OI LSk = Late Sanskrit, OI Sk = Sanskrit, OI Vd = Vedic
 OIr = Old Irish (= Vendryes's "irlandais ancien", i.e. including Middle Irish)
 OIt = Old Italian; ds.: OIt Ml = Old Milanese, OIt Pv = Old Pavian (dialetto antico pavese), OIt V = Old (Medieval) Venetian
 OJ = Old Japanese (to the 8th c.); OJ E = Eastern Old Japanese
 OKg = Old Koguryo
 OKn = Old Kannada
 OKo = Old Korean (Silla)
 OL = Old Latin (= Archaic Latin); OL Pr = Old Latin of Praenesta
 OLF = Old Low Franconian, Old Low Frankish (altniederfränkisch)
 OLt = Old Lithuanian
 Om = Omotic
 OM = Old Mongolian
 OMG = Old Middle German (in OsS's terminology)
 OMI = Old Malayalam
 Omt = Ometo (a cluster of ds.\languages); when unspecified (Zs, Wlt, etc.), Omt {Moreno} is meant

- ON = Old Norse; ON R = ON of the Runic inscriptions
 ONA = Old North Arabian, Frühnordarabisch (Lh, Sf, Tmd, Hs')
 ONr = Old Norwegian
 ONum = Old Numidian (Old Libyan)
 OOsM = Old Osman Turkic
 OP = Old Polish
 OPhr = Old Phrygian (= {BajO} старофригийский)
 OPrm = Old Permian (древнепермский язык)
 Or = Oromo; ds.: Or B = Borana, Or BI = Isiolo sd. of Or B, Or Brr = Barareta, Or H = Harar d., Or O = Orma, Or M = Macha, Or S = Southern ds., Or T = Tulama, Or Wt = Wata, Or Wl = Wälläga; Or AM = Afan Monyo (Karakara) sd. of Or O
 OR = Old Russian
 Orc = Orochi
 Ord = Ordos Mongolian (a dialect treated here as a separate lge.)
 Ori = Oriya
 Ork = Orok
 Orm = Ormuri
 ORu = the lge. of the oldest Runic inscriptions
 Os = Ostyak; ds. & dialect areas: Os Ag = Agan sd. (of Os Sr), Os B = Beryozovo sd. (of Os O), Os Cng = Cingala sd. (of Os I), Os D = Demyanka d., Os E = Eastern dialect area, Os I = Irtish ds. (collective denomination), Os K = Konda d., Os Km = d. of Kaminskoye, Os Kr = d. of Krasnoyarskie, Os Ks = Koshelevsk sd. (of Os I), Os Kz = Kazim d., Os LD = Lower Demyanka d. (= DT), Os Lk = Likrisovskoye d., Os LK = Lower Konda sd., Os MY = Maliy Yugan d., Os N = northern dialect area, Os Nz = Nizyam d., Os O = Obdorsk (Salehard) d., Os Pim = Pim (Pim) d. (sd. of Os Sr), Os Pt = Pitlyar d. (sd. of Os N), Os Sh = Sherkali d. (= Middle Ob d.), Os Shr = Shuryshkar d., Os Sl = Salim d., Os Sn = Sinya d., Os Sr = Surgut d., Os Ty = Tremyugan d., Os UA = Ust-Agan d., Os UD = Upper Demyanka d. (= DN), Os Uy = Ust-Yugan d., Os V = Vakh d., Os VK = Verknhe-Kalimsk d.; Os Vrt = Vartovskoye d., Os Vy = Vasyugan d., Os Y = Yugan d. (sd. of Os Sr), Os Z = Zavodniye (Zavodinskiye) d.
 OSA = Old South Arabian (= ESA); ds.: Hdr = Hadrami, M = Minaean, Qtb = Qatabanic, Sb = Sabaic, Sabaeen
 Osc = Oscan
 OScn = Old Scandinavian
 OCn = Old South Canaanite
 OSCr = Old Serbo-Croatian
 OscU = Osco-Ubrian (a branch of the Itc family)
 Osm = Osman Turkic
 Oss = Ossetic; ds.: Oss D = Digor d., Oss I = Iron d.
 OSw = Old Swedish; OSw Ru = Old Swedish of Runic inscriptions
 OSx = Old Saxon

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

OTl = Old Telugu

OTm = Old Tamil

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

OW = Old Welsh

OWAr = Old West Arabic (H. Rabin's *Ancient West-Arabian* [see OAr])

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

OWN = Old West Norse

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

OYmn = Old Yemenite, common name for words of Himyarite and of the Old West Arabic dialect(s) of Yemen (X and early XI cent.), the distinction between them being unfeasible today

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

P = Polish

p... = proto-...; pp... = Early proto-...

P' = Pa'a, Pa'anchi

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

Pæl = Paelignian

PaK = Pa<lu Kurumba (a Dravidian d. of the Nilgiri area)

- Pal = Palaic
 pAl = proto-Albanian
 PAry = Pontic (Tauro-Pontic) Aryan (an branch of Aryan that remained in the region north of the Black Sea and preserved in place names; discovered by Trubachev, but misinterpreted by him as part of InA)
 PBHb = Post-Biblical Hebrew (e.g. Ben-Sirah, apocryphical literature of the 2nd and the 1st cent. B.C.)
 PCIWrM = Pre-Classical Written Mongolian
 PCIWrMc = Pre-Classical Written Manchu (17th c.)
 Pdk = Padokwo, Paduko
 Pdl = Pidlimti
 Ph = Phoenician; ds.: Ph By = Byblian, Ph OBy = Old Byblian, OPh = Old Phoenician
 Phl = Pehlevi, Pahlavi
 Phr = Phrygian
 pInA = proto-Indo-Aryan (reconstructed from InA lgs.)
 Plb = Polabian
 Plc = Polchi; ds.: Plc B = Barang (Baram, Dir = Baram Dutse), Plc Ny = Nyamzax (Langas) and Lundur, Plc P = Polchi proper (Posi); Dira and Buli are treated as separate languages
 Plm = Palmyrene
 Pln = Palana Koryak
 Pls = "Pelasgian" (Pelastian) of IE origin (pre-Greek IE language(s) of Greece) = Philistine
 pLzg = proto-Lezgian
 pMM = proto-Mofa-Mada
 Pmr = Pamir Iranian (common name of Ish, Shgn, Srk, Wx, Yzg, Oroshori, Bartangi, Rushani, and Khufi)
 Png = Pengo
 Pnn = Pannonian
 Port = Portuguese; Port Mrn = sd. of Miranda
 pp... = "pre-proto-...", i.e. Early proto-...
 ppIE = Early proto-Indo-European
 ppT = Early proto-Turkic
 ppU = Early proto-Uralic, pre-proto-Uralic
 Pr = Pero
 Pra = Prasun
 Prc = Parachi
 pre... = pre-... (e.g. preT = pre-Turkic, preClM = Pre-Classical Mongolian)
 Prdm = Paradomba Turkic (a SOg dial., to the west of Borujin, Iran)
 Prj = Parji
 Prkr = Prakrit
 Prm = Permian

Prmk = Permyak; Prmk In = Inva d. (ИНЬВЕНСКИЙ ГОВОР), Prmk K = Kochevo d. (КОЧЁВСКИЙ ГОВОР), Prmk N = Northern d., Prmk Zz = d. of the Zyuzdinci (ЗЮЗДИНСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ)

Prt = Parthian

Pru = Prussian

Prv = Provençal

pSam = proto-Sam {Heine}

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

PsCl = post-classical (e.g. PsClAr = Post-Classical Arabic)

Psh = Pashto, Afghani

pSm = proto-Samoyedic

pSml = proto-Somali {Lamberti}

Pun = Punic

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

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

Qb = Qoybal (= Koybal Turkic); d.: Qb Sl = Salbin d.

Qbn = Qabenna

Qc = Qacha (КАЧИНСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ «ХАКАССКОГО» ЯЗЫКА)

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

Qmn = Qumanda, Kumanda Tatar

Qmq = Qumiq

Qp = Qipchaq

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

QrB = Qarachay-Balqar

Qrg = Qirgiz; Qrg S = Southern ds. of Qrg; Qrg T = Talas d.

QrgA = Qirgiz-Altay languages (= Central-Eastern Turkic)

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

Qtb = Qatabanian (dialect of OSA)

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

Qzl = Qizil (КЫЗЫЛЬСКИЙ ДИАЛЕКТ Т. Н. «ХАКАССКОГО ЯЗЫКА»)

Qzq = Qazaq

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

RChS = Russian Church Slavonic

Rf = Rif Berber ds.; ds.: Rf A = Beni-Amret, Rf B = Boqqoya (Iboqqoyen), Rf Bt = Bettiwa, Rf K = Kebdana (Ikhbdhanen), Rf Q = Gela'ia (Iqr'ien), Rf S' = Beni-S'id (Aith-Sghidh), Rf T = Beni-Tuzin

(Aith-Thuzin), Rf Tf = Beni-Itteft (Aith-Itteftth), Rf Tm = Beni-Temsanan (Aith-Themsanan), Rf U = Beni-Uriaghel (Aith-Uriaghen), Rf Wr = Rif Beni-Waryaghel

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

Rk = Ryukyu (dialects of J); pRk = proto-Ryukyu

Rm = Rumanian

Rn = Rendille

Rom = Romance languages

Rt = Rift (subgr. of South Cushitic)

S = Semitic

S... = South(ern) ...; ... S = Southern (d.) (e.g. Est S = Southern Estonian)

Sa = Saho; ds.: Sa A = Sa of High Assaorta, Sa I = Irob

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

Sam = Sam = Macro-Somali (subfamily of LEC)

SAn = South Anatolian Indo-European (Luwian-Lycian)

Sb = Sabaean, Sabaic (d. of OSA)

SB = South Berber

Sbn = Sabine (an Italic lge.)

SBc = South Bauchi

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

Sct = Scythian

SC = South Cushitic

SCD = South-Central Dravidian

ScGl = Scottish Gaelic

Scn = Scandinavian

SCn = South Canaanite

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

Sd = Sidamo; d.: Sd Hb = Sidamo of Habiela

SD = South Dravidian

SEA = South-East Arabian (= Modern South Arabian: Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq)

SES = South-East Semitic (= the ancestor of the Modern South Arabian languages: Mh, Hrs, Jb, Sq)

SET = Southeast Turkic (Baskakov's "Qarluq Turkic")

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

Sf = Safaitic

Sg = Saghay (сагайский диалект «хакасского» языка)

Sgd = Sogdian; variants: Sgd B = Sgd of the Buddhist texts, Sgd Chr = Sgd of the Christian texts, Sgd M = Sgd of the texts of Mug, Sgd Mn = Sgd of the Manichaean texts (= MncSg), Sgd OL = Sgd of the Old Letters

Shgn = Shugnani

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

Shk = Shako (a Dizoid lge.)

Shl = Tachelhit, ds.: Shl A = Shl of Ashtuken, Shl T = Tachelhit of Tazerwalt.; Tachelhit of Semlal (Destaing's "Tachelhit du Sous") and Tachelhit of Tazerwalt are treated as separate lgs. (see Sll and Tz)

Shm = Shumashti (a Dardic lge.)

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

Shnw = Shenua, Shenwa (a Berber lge.)

Shrn = Shirongol (a collective name for Monguor, Dongxiang, and Bao'an)

Shw = Shawiya

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

Si = Siwa

Sin = Sindhi; d.: Si J = Jatki dialect

Sir = Siryanchi, Siri (a NBc lge.)

Sk = Sanskrit

Skn = Sokna

Skr = Sokoro

Sl = Slavic

SLEC = Southern Lowland East Cushitic (= Omo-Tana)

Slk = Slovak; d.: Slk MS = Moravian-Slovak (moravsko-slovenské národ·ec·í)

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

Sln = Solon

Slq = Sölqup (Selkup); ds.: Slq B = Baikha d., Slq Ch = Chaya d., Slq Chl = Chulim d., Slq F = Farkovo sd. (of Slq Yn), Slq Kar = Karasino d., Slq Ke = Ket' d., Slq LKe = Lower Ket' d., Slq LO = Lower Ob d., Slq LTz = Lower Taz d., Slq MKe = Middle Ket' d., Slq MO = Middle Ob d., Slq MTm = Middle Tīm d., Slq MTz = Middle Taz d., Slq NP = Nat-Pumpokolsk d., Slq Nr = Narīm d., Slq O = Ob ds., Slq Tm = Tīm d., Slq Tur = Turukhan d., Slq Tz = Taz d., Slq UKe = Upper Ket' d., Slq UO = Upper Ob d., Slq UTz = Upper Taz d., Slq V = Vakh d., Slq Vy = Vasyugan d., Slq Y = Yeloguy d., Slq Yn = Yenisey d.

Slr = Salar; ds.: Slr A = Slr of Altıyuli, Slr X = Slr of Khanbakh, Slr U = Slr of Ujirem, Slr Ul = Slr of Ullaghil

Slv = Slovene; d.: Slvn R = Rezjane d. (резьянский)

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

Sm = Samoyed

Sm... = Samaritan ... (SmA = Samaritan Aramaic, SmH = Samaritan Hebrew)

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

Smr = Sumray, Somray (Sibine)

Snd = Sened (a B d.)

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

So = So (= Tepeth, Tepes), a Kuliak lge.

SOg = South Oghuz dialects

SOm = South Omotic

Sp = Spanish; Sp Mrg = Spanish of Maragateria

Sq = Soqotri; ds.: Sq M = Mountain (Central) d., Sq N = Northern d. (incl. Sq HS = Ҳадибоҳ-Суқ), Sq S = Southern d.

Sr = Syriac

SrChS = Serbian Church Slavonic

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

Srk = Sarikoli (сарыкольский язык)

SrSn = Srair Senhazha (Senhaja de Srair); d.: SrSn Gz = Taghzut, SrSn AA = Ait-AhmadSS = South Semitic

ST = Sino-Tibetan

St... = Standard ...

StAl = Modern Standard Albanian

StAlt = Standard Altay-Kizhi (горно-алтайский, ойротский)

StChr H = Standard High Cheremis (горно-марийский литер. язык)

StChr LE = Standard Low & Eastern Cheremis (лугово-восточный марийский литер. язык)

STg = South Tungusian

StK = Standard (Modern) Korean

StLt = Standard Lithuanian

StNe T = Standard Tundra Nenets (ненецкий литер. язык)

StVt = Standard Votyak (удмуртский литер. язык)

StXk = Standard Khakas (хакасский литер. язык)

StZ = Standard Ziryene

Su = Sura

Suk = Sukur

Sum = Sumerian

Sv = Svan; ds.: Sv L = Lashxuri d., Sv LB = Lower Bal d., Sv Ln = Lentexuri d., Sv UB = Upper Bal; sds. of LB: Sv Bc = Becho, Sv Ch = Chubexeuri, Sv Ec = Etseruli, Sv P = Pari, Sv T = Tavrari, Sv Lx = Laxamuluri; sd. of Sv L: Sv Chl = Choluri; sds. of UB: Sv I = Ipari, Sv Us = Ushguluri (= Ushkuli), Sv Lt = Lat'aluri, Sv M = Mulaxi-Mestia (= Muzhali-Mulaxi, Central UB); dialect areas: LSv = Lower Svan, USv = Upper Svan

Svr = Savara (a Dravidian lge.)

Sw = Swedish

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

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

SY = Sarïg-Yugur (= Western Yugur)

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

T = Turkic

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

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

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

Tbn = Tobanga

Tbs = Tabasaran

TbTt = Tobol Tatar (= SbTt Tb)

Tc = Tocharian; Tc A = Tocharian A. Tc B = Tocharian B

Td = Toda

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

Tf = Tofalar

Tfl = Tafilalt (a Berber d.)

Tg = Tungusic (= Tungusian), Tungus-Manchu

Tgn = Tuggana

Tgr = Tigre

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

Thr = Thracian

Tib = Tibetan; Tic C = the Central dial. of Tibetan

Tjk = Tajik

Tk = Turkish; ds. and sds.: Tk An = Anatolian dialects, Tk Çr = Çorum sd., Tk Er = Erzurum sd., Tk Iç = Içel sd., Tk Ist = Istanbul sd., Tk Kn = Konya sd., Tk Qrpp = Qarapapaq (Karapapak) d., Tk Rh = Tk of the Rhodope Mountains, Tk WAn = Tk of Western Anatolia

Tki = Türki (traditional literary lge. of East Turkistan)

Tkm = Turkoman (Türkmen); ds.: Tkm NC = North Caucasian Turkoman (туркменский говор Ставрополья), NY = North Yomud d.

Tl = Telugu; ds.: Tl Brh = Brahman Telugu, Tl G = Guntur d., Tl Mrl = Merolu d.

Tln = Telengit (Tälängit)

Tlt = Teleut (Tälängät)

Tm = Tamil; ds. and variants: B = Brahmani Tm, K = Kollimalai Tm, LP = Tm of Lower Perak, NA = North Arcot, T = Tirunelvali Tm, W = Western Tm

Tmbr = Tembaro (a lge. of the HEC subgr.)

Tmbs = Tambas (a lge. of the Ron subgr.)

Tmd = Thamudic

Tmk = Tumak

Tmm = Timimun (Gurara of Timimun, a Zenetic Berber lge.)

TmM = Tamil and Malayalam

Tmz = Tamazight; ds.: AA = Ayt-‘Ayyash, AH = Ayt-Hadiddu, AM = Ayt Myill, AN = Ayt-Ndhir, AS = Ayt-Sadden, Iz = Iziyan (Izayan), Zm = Zemmur; ASgr (Ayt-Seghrushen) and Izd (Ayt-Izdeg) are treated as separate lgs.

Tng = Tangale; d.: Tng B = Biliri d.

Tnsl = Taneslemt

Tr = Tera

Tr sb. = Tera subbranch of CCh

Trgt = Torgut (a d. of Kalmuck and Oyrat)

Trm = Toram

Ttq = Таïтоқ

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

Tv = Tuva; Tv NE = Northeastern d. (Тоју д., тоджинский диалект)

Tw = Twareg; ds.: Tw D = Tdraq, Tw M = dislects of Mali, Tw Ng = dialects of Niger (Twl, Ty), Tw U = Tudalt, Tw Ud = ds. spoken in Udalan (NE Burkina-Faso, i.e. Tw D and Tw U); Ah, ETwl, Ty, and Tnsl are treated here as separate lgs.

Twl = Tawellemet (common name of ETwl and WTwl)

Ty = Tayert, Tayrt, Twareg of Air

Tz = Tashelhit of Tazerwalt

U = Uralic

Ub = Ubamer (= Ari U)

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

Ug = Ugaritic

Ugr = Ugric

Uk = Ukrainian; ds.: Uk B = Bukovina d., Uk P = Polesye (Полесье) ds.

Ul = Ulcha, Olcha

Um = Umbrian

USv = Upper Svan

Uz = Uzbek; ds.: Uz Af = Uz ds. in Afganistan, Uz Nm = Namangan d.,; Uz NmA = Namangan-Andizhan ds., Uz Qp = Qipchaq ds., Uz Srt = dialects labelled "Sart" in the old literature (\approx Uz NmA), Uz U = urban (Iranized) ds., Uz XwOg = Khwarezmic-Oghuz ds.

Uyg = Uyghur (= MUyg)

Vd = Vedic (= OI Vd)

Vg = Vogul; ds.: Vg K = Konda ds., Vg LK = Lower Konda d., Vg LL = Lower Lozva d., Vg MK = Middle Konda d., Vg ML = Middle Lozva d., Vg MO = Middle Ob (Sherkal) d., Vg N = Northern Vogul dialect area, Vg NV = North Vagilsk d. (sds: Vg NVK = sd. of the village Kama, Vg NVZ = Zaozernaja sd.), Vg P = Pelimka d., Vg Sg = Sigva d., Vg Ss = Sosva d., Vg SV = South Vagilsk d., Vg T = Tavda d., Vg TCh = sd. Chandiri of the Tavda d., Vg TG = sd. Gorodok of the Tavda d., Vg TY = sd. Yanichkova of the Tavda d., Vg UK = Upper Konda d., Vg UL = Upper Lozva d., Vg UsU = Ust'-Ulsuj d. (extinct, cf. Kann. AWD), Vg V = Vagilsk ds., Vg Yk = Yukonda d.

VL = Vulgar Latin; dialect: VL Gl = Gaulish Latin

Vls = Volscan

Vm = Vame

Vn = Venetic

Vo = Vote, водский язык, vatja, wotisch

Vp = Veps

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

VTt = Volga Tatar (= Kazan Tatar); dialects: VTt K = Christian Tatar (крещенский), VTt Ks = Kasymov d. (касымовский), VTt W = Western d., VTt M = Middle Tatar d., VTt E = Eastern d.; subdialects: VTt H = Highland sd. of VTt M (= тау ягы сөйләшләре, говоры нагорной стороны Татарстана), VTt I = Ichkino (Ichkina) sd. of VTt M (ичкинский говор) in West Siberia, VTt Mn = Menzelya sd. of VTt M (мензелинский говор), VTt Smb = Simbirsk sd., VTt ТҮК = Christian Highland Tatar sd. (тау ягы керәшеннәре сөйләше = подберезинский говор), VTt ТҮТ = Tarkhan sd. of Highland Tatar (тау ягы, тархан сөйләше = тарханский говор), VTt U = Ural Tatar (говор уральских татар)

- W = Welsh
W... = West(ern) ... (e.g. WCh = West Chadic); ... W = Western (d.)
(e.g. Ewk W = the Western ds. of Ewenki)
WB = West Berber
WCh = West Chadic
WCs = West Caucasian
Wgl = Waigali
WIrn = West Iranian (a branch of the Iranian family)
Wl = Wolaytta (an Ometo lge.), Wolamo
Wmd = Wamdiu
WMrg = West Margi
Wnd = Wangday (a d. of Dass)
Wrg = Wargla, Wargli
Wrj = Warji
WRft = West Rift (subgr. of Rift within South Cushitic)
WrM = Written Mongolian, Schriftmongolisch, Classical Mongolian
WrMc = Written Manchu (Classical Manchu)
WrO = Written Oyrat
Wrs = Warsenis (le Zenatia de l'Ouarsenis)
WRt = West Rift (subsubbranch of SC)
WS = West Semitic
WTwl = Western Tawellemmet
Ww = the d. of the "Waw" inscription (belonging to Aramaic?)
Wx = Wakhi (ваханский яз.)
Xk = Khakas (Хакас, хакасский яз., Abakan Turkic)
Xlj = Khalaj (Xalaj)
Xm = Hamir (Хамир, Хамтanga, Khamtanga); dialects: Xm {R} = Chamir, Xm {Ap.} = Khamtanga, Xm T = CR's Hamta, Xm K = Kailiña, Xm Wg = Khamir of Wag
XT = Khorasan Turkic (collective name for NEXT, NWXT, NXT, SWXT, and SWXT)
Xwr = Khwarezmic (Iranian)
XwT = Khwarezmic Turkic
Xzr = Khazar (Хазар, хазарский яз.)
Y = Yukagir subfamily, Yukagir; ds.: Y K = Kolima (= Upper Kolima)
Yukagir, Y T = Tundra Yukagir
Y... = Young, e.g. YAv = Young Avestan, Ak YB = Young Babylonian
Ya = Yaku (Yaaku, Mogogodo)
Yd = Ya'udic, Samalian
Ydg = Yidga
Ygn = Yaghnobi
Yid = Yiddish; ds.: Yid C = Central Yiddish (Poland), Yid NB = West Yiddish of the Netherlands and Belgium, Yid N = Northern Yiddish (Lithuania, Belorussia), Yid S = Southern Yiddish (the Ukraine, Rumania)
Yk = Yakut

- Ym = Yemsa (Janjero)
 Yn = Yeniseyan family (Ket a. o.)
 Yr = Yurak (= jurazisch {Jn.}, юрaцкий; an extinct lge. akin to Ne and En)
 Ytv = Yatvingian (ятвяжский), incl. the lge. of the supposedly Yatvigian glossarium described by Zinkievicius (Zink. LJZ)
 Ywm = Yiwom (= Gerka)
 Yz = Yazvian, Yaz'va dialect (in the Prm subbranch of FU) = коми-язьвинский диалект
 Yzg = Yazgulami
 Z = Ziryene; ds.: Z EV = Eastern Vichegda sd. (of Z UV), Z I = Izhma d., Z Le = Letka d., Z LI = Lower Izhma d., Z LL = Luza & Letka d., Z Lu = Luza d., Z LV = Lower Vichegda d., Z MS = Middle Sisola d., Z MV = Middle Vichegda d., Z Mz = Mezen' d., Z N = Northern dialects, Z P = Pechora d., Z Pr = Prupt sd. (of Z UV), Z Sk = Siktivkar d., Z Ss = Sisola d., Z Ud = Udora d., Z US = Upper Sisola d., Z UV = Upper Vichegda d., Z V = Vichegda d., Z Vm = Vim d., Z Vsh = Vishera sd. (of Z UV)
 Z... = Zoroastrian ... (e.g., ZPhl = Zoroastrian Pehlevi)
 ZAS = Berber d. of Zayan and Ayt-Sgugu
 Zem = Zem (Zeem); ds.: Zem Ch = Chari, Zem D = Dokshi (Lushi), Zem Z = Zem proper; Tule is treated as a language
 Zgw = Zaghawa
 Zkr = Ida-u-Zikri
 Zl = Zala
 Zlg = Zulgo
 Zm = Zime
 ZmB = Zime-Batna
 ZmD = Zime-Dari
 Zmr = Zemmur (a B d.)
 Zn = Zayan
 Zng = Zenaga (Tuddungiya)
 ZPhl = Zoroastrian Pehlevi
 Zr = Zar (Sigidi); ds.: Zr GL = Zar of Gambar-Lere, Zr K = Zar of Kal, Zr L = Zar of Lusa
 Zrg = Zergulla (a d. of Ometo)
 Zs = Zayse (a d. of Ometo)
 Zwr = Zwara (a Berber d.)

B. Scripts

- (AkSc) = in Akkadian script\transcription
 (ArmSc) = in Armenian script\transcription
 (ArSc) = in Arabic script\transcription
 (BbV) = in Hebrew script with Babylonian vocalization (of Hb, BAr, JAr)
 (BrSc) = in Brahmi script

- (ChSc) = in Chinese script\transcription
 (EgSSc) = in Egyptian syllabic script\transcription
 (EthSc) = in Ethiopian script
 (ChSc) = in Chinese script\transcription
 (GkSc) = in Greek script\transcription
 (HbSc) = in Hebrew script
 (hPSc) = in ḥP'ags-pa script
 (ISc) = in an Indian script\transcription
 (LSc) = in Latin script\transcription
 (MSc) = in Mongolian script
 (McSc) = in Manchu script\transcription
 (MnSc) = in Manichaeian script
 (OgSc) = in Ogam script
 (PhSc) = in Phoenician script
 (PV = with Palestinian vocalization (of Hb, BAr, JAr)
 (RomSc) = in Roman script\transcription
 (RunSc) = in Runic script
 (SumSc) = in Sumerian script
 (SyrSc) = in Syriac script
 (TRSc) = in Turkic Runic script
 (TV) = in Hebrew script with Tiberian vocalization (of Hb, BAr, JAr)
 (USc) = in Uyghur script

C. Names of transcription systems

AsT = Assyriological traditional transliteration (for Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Hittite, and other languages with cuneiform script of Sumerian origin)

AT - Africanistic transcription (a variant of IPA, used for languages of Africa)

ET - Egyptological transliteration (Erman-Grapow's transliteration with recent modifications: z for EG's ζ , s for EG's σ). In this book c and ʒ are used instead of ET \underline{t} and \underline{d} ; x and x' are used for EG's \underline{h} and \underline{h} .

FUT - Finno-Ugric transcription

IET - traditional Indo-Europeanistic transcription

IPA - International Phonetic Alphabet, i.e. transcription of the International Phonetic Association

IT - Indological transcription (traditionally used for the IE, D, and Austroasiatic languages of India)

OT - Orientalistic transcription

SemT - Semitistic transcription (a variant of OT used for Semitic languages)

ST - Slavistic transcription

UT - Unified transcription, used in this book

**SYMBOLS OF NAMES OF SCHOLARS,
TITLES OF COLLECTIVE PAPERS,
SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

Scholars and scholarly papers

These symbols (printed in braces near quoted words or roots) indicate scholars who recorded, reconstructed them or registered them in their papers, as well as collected papers mentioning these words or roots. The sign] (preceding the symbol of the source, within {}-brackets) means "in X's notation" (e.g. {]Bz}, {]IS}, {]SDM94}). The sign † (preceding the symbol) means "according to X's theory, hypothesis" (e.g. {†SDM94}, {†Hel.}, {†Rsl.}); {†πAD} means "according to AD's hypothesis about the prosodic origin of some proto-Turkic ascending diphthongs". The sign ∂ (before the symbol of the source) indicates that the transcription of the author in question is indicated with Dolgopolsky's modification (interpretation). If an author has different notations or theories in his\her different papers, the abbreviation of the paper is added (e.g. {Ks. E}, {Ks. Z}, {Stl. ZCh}, {Stl. IF}). The sign "←" between names means "after" ("Bm. ← IS" = "Bomhard after Illich-Svitych"). Accordingly, "→" means "and from him..." ("Fr. → Hv." = "Freytag and from him Hava"). The signs "←?" (after the symbol of an author) mean "quoted by X from an unspecified source" (e.g. {Sk. ←?}). Abbreviations: "ms." = "manuscript", "p. c." = "personal communication", "s. v." = "sub voce" ("under the word"), "q. v." = "quod vide" ("which see"), "l. c." = "loco citato" (in the place cited above). If the symbol of an author precedes the meaning of a word\stem, it means that the scholar in question is responsible for the semantic definition rather than to the form of the word\stem.

The arrows → and ← (A → B or B ← A) between names of scholars mean that words\roots published (or registered, reconstructed) by a scholar A were later repeated in by a scholar B. "Msg Ng {GKrs. → Lk.} g i ' l i r η" means that Msg Ng g i ' l i r η was recorded by Gottlob Adolf Krause and later published by Johannes Lukas. {IS → BmK} means that the etymology (reconstruction) proposed by V. Illich-Svitych was later repeated or quoted by A. Bomhard and J. Kerns. The arrow ← with a query ("A ←?") means that the source of the form quoted by A (but not recorded by him!) is unknown.

{A} = Joseph Aistleitner; {AB} = A. Alijev & K. Bōrijev (А. Алиев, К. Бөриев); {Ab.} = Vassilij I. Abajev (В.И. Абаев); {Abb.} = Antoine d'Abbadie; {'Abd.} = F. F. Abdallah; {ABiv.} = A. Ajxenval'd, L. Bajun, Vjacheslav Ivanov (А.Ю. Айхенвальд, Л.С. Баян, Вяч.Вс. Иванов); {Abr.} = Roy C. Abraham; {ABs.} = André Basset; {Abul.} = I. Abulaṣe (ი. აბულაძე); {Ach.} = Hr. Acharyan (Հր. Աճառյան); {AD} = Aharon Dolgopolsky; {Ad.} = Douglas Q. Adams; {ADb.} = Anna Dybo (А.В. Дыбо); {Adl.} = F. Adelung; {ADP} = A. Dolgopolsky & V. Porkhomovskij (В.Я. Порхомовский); {AED} = *Altaic Etymological Dictionary*; {AF} = Adolf Friedrich Herzog von Mecklenburg; {Ahl.} = A. Ahlqvist (Ahlquist); {Ai.} = Aleksandra Ajkhenwald (А. Aixenval'd, А.Ю. Айхенвальд); {AiM} = A. Ajkhenwald & A. Militarev; {AJ} = Francisco Aura Jorro; {Ajd.} = Gubajdulla Ajdarov (Г. Айдаров); {AL} = Antoine Lonnet; {Al.} = Khalil Alio; {AlA} = Alemayehu Abebe; {Alb.} = W. F. Albright; {AlbED} = *Albanian-English Dictionary* (Oxf., 1998); {Alc.} = R. 'Alqala'ī (ראובן אלקלעי, Reuben Alcalay); {Alib.} = Louis Alibert; {AlJ} = Khalil Alio & H. Jungrauthmayr; {All.} = Edward J. Allan; {Alm.} = H. Almkvist; {ALP} = M. Andrejev, J. Peshchereva, A. Pisarchik (М.С. Андреев, Е.М. Пещерева, А.К. Писарчик); {Am.} = M. Amyot; {AMS} = H. Amborn, G. Minker & H.-J. Sasse; {Ams.} = Amsalu Aklilu; {An.} = M. Andronov (М.С. Андронов); {AnC} = Guillemette Andreu & Sylvie Cauville; {Anz.} = B. Andrzejewski; {AOM} = Abdalla Omar Mansur; {Ap.} = David L. Appleyard; {Ar.} = Vladimir Arakin (В.Д. Аракин); {Arp.} = L. d'Arpino; {'ASH} = Sépher 'Arûkh *Ha-shálém*; {Ash.} = N. Ashmarin (Н.И. Ашмарин); {Ashir.} = K. Ashiralijev (К. Аширалиев); {Asl.} = Martiros Aslanov (М.Г. Асланов); {Aufr.} = Walter E. Aufrecht; {Av.} = Alessandra Avanzini; {Ax.} = R. Axyndov (Ахындов, Axundov); {AxT} = G. Axvlediani, V. Topuria (გ. ახვლედიანი, ვ. თოფურია); {AY} = Aklilu Yilma; {AzDDL} *Azərbaycan dilinin dialektolozi lügəti*; {Äz.} = X. Ä. Äzizbäyov (X.Ä. Әзизбәјов, X.A. Азизбеков); {B} = N. Baskakov (Н. А. Баскаков); {Ba.} = G. P. Bargery; {BabD} = G. Babushkin & G. Donidze (Г. Ф. Бабушкин, Г.И. Донидзе); {Bai.} = H. W. Bailey; {BajO} = L. Bajun & V. Orel; {Barr} = James Barr; Bart. = A. Barthélemy; {Battal} = Aptullah Battal; {BB} = T. Burrow & S. Bhattacharya; {Bb.} = Folke Boberg; {BBl.} = Bernard Bloch; {Bbr.} = Friedrich Bieber; {Bc.} = Carl D. Buck; {Bd.} = Budenz József; {BDB} = F. Brown, S. R. Driver & Ch. A. Briggs; {Bdm.} = N. Badmajev; {Bdr.} = Rev. Matthias Bedrossian; {BE} = T. Burrow & M. Emeneau; {Beg.} = F. Beguilot; {BechG} = Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst; {Beke} = C. T. Beke; {Bel.} = père Jean-Baptiste Belot; {Ber.} = G. Bereczki; {Bern.} = E. Bernecker; {BFU} = O. Buchholz, W. Fiedler, G. Uhlisch; {BG} = W. Bang, A. von Gabain; {Bg.} = K. Būga; {BGMR} = A. Beeston, M. Ghul,

W. Müller & J. Ryckmans; {BH} = Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim (ז'ב'ן בן חיים); {Bh.} = Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya; {BhK} = M. Mariappa Bhat & A. Shanker Kedilaya; {Bich.} = K. A. Bicheldej (К.А. Бичелдей); {Bii.} = A. Biishev; {Bil.} = Joseph Billings; {Billy} = Pierre-Henri Billy; {Bk.} = Ö. Beke; {BIG} = N. Baskakov & A. Inkizhekova-Grekul (Н. Баскаков & А. Инкижекова-Грекул); {BK} = A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski; {BKG} = R. Batalova & A. Krivoshchëkova-Gantman (Р.М. Баталова, А.С. Кривощекова-Гантман); {BKIG} A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, revue et corrigé par Ibed Gallab; {BKR} = *Bol'shoj korejsko-russkij slovar'*; {Bks.} = R. S. P. Beekes; {Bl.} = Paul Black; {Blau} = Yehoshua (Joshua) Blau; {BLB} = Daniel Barreteau & Yves Le Bléis; {Bl.} = Joan C. Biella; {Blg.} = Larry Bolinger (in ChL); {Bln.} = Franciscus Blanchus (Frangu i Bardë); {Bloch} = Jules Bloch; {Bls.} = Loren F. Bliese; {BISO} = P. Black & Shako Otto; {Blz.} = Václav Blažek; {BM} = B. V. Miller (Б. В. Миллер); {Bm.} = A. Bomhard; {BmK} = A. Bomhard & J. Kerns; {BN} = N. Baskakov & V. Nasilov (Н. А. Баскаков, В. М. Насилов); {Bn.} = É. Benveniste; {Bnd.} = M. L. Bender; {BnH} = Horst Beinlich & Friedhelm Hoffmann; {Bns.} = Peter Behnstedt; {Bnt.} = P. A. Benton; {Boc.} = Boensing (Бенсингъ); {Böhl} = F. Böhl; {Bold.} = B. V. Boldyrev (Б. В. Болдырев); {Bor.} = T. K. Borisov; {Bork} = Ferdinand Bork; {BosT} = J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller; {Bou.} = P. Bouny (in ChC & JI); {BoudL} = A. Boudot-Lamotte; {BR} = *Bashkirsko-russkij slovar'* (1956); {Br.} = C. Brockelmann; {Bray} = Denys de S. Bray; {Brd.} = V. Beridze (В. Беридзе, ვ. ბერიძე); {Brgm.} = Karl Brugmann; {Brgl.} = K. Bergsland; {Brgs.} = G. Bergstrasser; {Brk.} = A. Burykin (А. А. Бурькин); {Brl.} = Padre Mario Borello; {Brll.} = J. Borelli; {Brn.} = S. Biarnay; {Brnd.} = A. van den Branden; {Brown} = Charles Philip Brown; {Brq.} = D. Burquest; {BrR} = Bricchetti-Robecchi; {Brr.} = Daniel Barreteau; {BrrB} = D. Barreteau & André Brunet; {Brs.} = Marie Félicité Brosset; {Brt.} = Heinrich (Henry) Barth; {Brtl.} = Chr. Bartholomae; {Brü.} = A. Brückner; {Brv.} = A. Borovkov (А. К. Боровков); {Brz.} = Mary J. Breeze; {Bs.} = René Basset; {Bsn.} = F. da Bassano; {Bss.} = M. Beaussier; {Bst.} = A. F. L. Beeston; {BSWed.} = Berhanu Hailu, Sisay Dereje & K. Wedekind; {BT} = N. Baskakov & T. Toshchakova (Н. А. Баскаков, Т. М. Тошчакова); {Bt.} = O. Böhlingk; {BU} = İ. A. Bucaklışi & H. Uzunhasanoğlu; {Bu.} = A. Budagov (А.Э. Будаговъ); {Budge} = Sir Wallis Budge; {BuL} = Bu He, Liu Zhaoxiong; {Bul.} = A. Bulatovich (А. Булатовичъ); {Bur.} = T. Burrow; {Burch.} = M. Burchardt; {BV} = A. Balandin & M. Vaxrusheva (А.М. Баландин, М.П. Вахрушева); {Bv.} = Valerij Berkov (В.П. Берков); {By.} = M. A. Bailly; {Bz.} = J. Benzing; {ǰBz.} = according Bz's system of correspondences & reconstruction; {Bzb.} = Adalbert Bezenberger; {C} = E. Cerulli; {Ç} = Eqrem Çabej; {Cab.} = R. Cabolov (Р.Л. Цаболов); {CAD} = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the Univ. of Chicago*; {Caf.} = A. Caferoğlu; {Cain} = Rev. J. Cain;

{Caït.} = C. Caïtucoli; {Cant.} = J. Cantineau; {Car.} = Bernard Xaron; {Cc.} = Antonio Cecchi; {Cev.} = J. Cével (Я. ЦЭВЭЛ); {Cfr.} = Norbert Cyffer (mainly in ChC & II); {Ch.} = P. Chantraine; {ChambU} = B. H. Chamberlain & Ueda K(azutoshi); {ChB} = J. Chadwick & L. Baumbach; {ChC} = *Chadic Word Catalogue*, compiled by H. Jungraihtmayr a. o., J. W. Goethe Univ., Francfort; {ChCh.} = N. Chernecov & I. Chernecova (Н.Н. Чернецов, И.Я. Чернецова); {CHD} = *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the Univ. of Chicago*; {Chik.} = A. Chikobava (ა. ჩიკობავა); {Chk.} = I. Chkonia (И. ЧКОНІЯ); {ChL} = *Chadic Word List*, ed. by Ch. H. Kraft; {ChmU} = Basil H. Chamberlain & K. Ueda; {Choy} = Hakun Choy; {Chr.} = K. Cheremisov (К.М. Черемисов); {ChrR} = K. M. Cheremisov, G.N. Rumjancev (К.М. Черемисов, Г.Н. Румянцев); {ChVS} = *Чăвашла-вырăсла словарь* (1954); {Chx.} = K. Tschenkeli (= K'ita Chxenk'eli, კიტა ჩხენკელი); {CI} = S. Cydendambajev & M. Imexenov (Ц. Цыдендамбаев, М. Имехенов); {Ci.} = Vera Cincius (В.И. Цинциус); {Cim.} = A. Cimino; {CiL} = V. I. Cincius, N. I. Letjagina (Н.И. Летягина); {Cimoch.} = W. Cimoehowski; {CiR} = V. I. Cincius, L. D. Rishes (Л.Д. Ришес); {Cl.} = Sir Gerard Clauson; {CIMnh.} = Claus & K. Meinhof; {Cln.} = Georges S. Colin; {Clz.} = Giovanni Colizza; {CM} = G. A. de Calassanti-Motylinski; {Co.} = Giorgio Conti; {Coll.} = B. Collinder; {Cp.} = Jean-Pierre Caprile; {CR} = C. Conti Rossini; {Crl.} = Chr. Correll; {Crn.} = Jaroslav Černý; {Crs.} = Ferruccio Caressa; {Crt.} = Frère J.-M. Cortade; {CS} = P. S. Coulbeaux et J. Schreiber; {Cs.} = M.-A. Castrén; {Csp.} = Ronald Cosper; {Cst.} = L. Costaz; {Cu.} = Georg Curtius; {Cz.} = A. Czekanowski; {D} = T. Burrow, M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd edition; {Dal} = Vladimir Dal (В.И. Даль, W. Dahl); {DB} = Paul Doornbos & M. L. Bender; {Db.} = V. Dybo (В.А. Дыбо); {DBC} = V. Dal & J. Baudouin de Courtenay (В.И. Даль, И.А. Бодуэн-де-Куртенэ); {DC} = David Cohen; {DCTCh.} = D. Cohen, C. Taine-Cheikh; {DCh.} = Davit Chubinashvili (Д. Чубинов, დ. ჩუბინაშვილი); {De.} = Jeffrey Deboo; {Dec.} = Decorse (quoted after Lk. DQM); {DED} = T. Burrow, M. B. Emeneau. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*; 1st ed.; {Dempw.} = O. Dempwolff; {Dev.} = Giacomo Devoto; {DH} = G. Doerfer, W. Hoesche; {DHS} = G. Doerfer, W. Hoesche, H. Scheinhardt; {Diez} = Friedrich Diez; {Dillm.} = August Dillmann; {Dirr} = A. Dirr; {DjM} = B. A. Z. Djibrine, P. de Montgolfier a. o.; {DK} = Robert Dankoff & James Kelly (Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī. *Compendium of the Turkic dialects [Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk]*. Edited and translated by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly); {Dk.} = I. Diakonoff (И.М. Дьяконов); {DL} = M. Dietrich & O. Loretz; {dL} = Pasquale da Luchon; {Di.} = J.-M. Dallet; {DLE} = *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, ed. by L. Lesko; {Dlh.} = J. Delheure; {DLKZ} = *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*; {Dlm.} = G. Dalman; {DLS} = M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín; {Dlx.} = B. O.

Dolgix; {Dlz.} = Franz Delitzsch; {DM} = E. Drower & R. Macuch; {Dm.} = L. Dmitrijeva (Л.В. Дмитриева); {DMA I} = *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Moroccan-English*, compiled by Thomas Fox and Mohammad Abu-Talib; {Dmn.} = E. Damman; {Dms.} = bishop Damaskin (after Feokt. RMS); {Dmt.} = N. K. Dmitrijev (Н.К. Дмитриев); {DMü.} = D. H. Müller; {Dn.} = K. Dondua (К. დონდუა); {Dnk.} = Robert Dankoff; {Dnn.} = Patrick S. Dinneen; {Dolgix} = В. Dolgix (Б.О. Долгих); {Dom.} = N. Domozhakov (Н.Г. Доможаков); {DQA} = A. Dybo, O. Mudrak, S. Starostin. *Database Query to Altaic Etymology*; {Dr.} = G. Doerfer; {DrbH} = J. G. Driberg & H. J. Harrison; {DRS} = *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* by D. Cohen and by D. Cohen, F. Bron, A. Lonnet; {Drs.} = E. Droese; {Drv.} = Godfrey R. Driver; {DrvG} = Godfrey R. Driver and J. C. L. Gibson; {Drw.} = A. J. Drewes; {Ds.} = E. Destaing; {Dsb.} = Adolf von Duisburg; {DSI} = *Dizionario somalo-italiano*; {DSi.} = Dinote Kusta & R. Siebert; {Dst.} = Antonín Dostál; {DT} = G. Doerfer, S. Tezcan; {Dt.} = G. Deeters; {Dtn.} = G. Dottin; {DTS} = *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*; {Dv.} = John Davies of Mallwyd; {DW} = H. von Deines & W. Westendorf; {Dw.} = James Dawson; {Dyr.} = N. Dyrenkova (Н.П. Дыренкова); {Dz.} = R. Dozy; {Dzh.} = V. T. Dzhangidze (В.Т. Жангидзе); {E} = Christopher Ehret; {Eb.} = Karen H. Ebert; {Ebb.} = Carl Ebobisse; {Edel} = E. Edel; {EEN} = Chr. Ehret, E. Elderkin & D. Nurse; {EG} = A. Erman, H. Grapow; {Eg.} = Kazuhisa Eguchi; {EI} = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*; {Eit.} = Israel Eitan; {El.} = Elias A. Elias; {Eld.} = E. D. Elderkin; {EldM} = E. D. Elderkin, J. B. Maghway; {Elf.} = Josef Elfenbein; {EM} = A. Ernout & A. Meillet; {Em.} = M. B. Emeneau; {EN} = Chr. Ehret & Nuh; {En.} = J. Endzelīns (J. Endzelin); {ENA} = Chr. Ehret & Mohamed Nuuh Ali; {Ep.} = S. Epin (С.Г. Эпин); {Epst.} = Ya‘aqov Nāxûm Hallelwî 'Epsht'ayn (יאֲקוֹב עֲפְשֵׁתַיִן), J. N. Epstein); {ER} = Erica Reiner; {Er.} = W. Erichsen; {Erd.} = Marcel Erdal; {Erl.} = István Erdélyi; {Ern.} = Émile Ernault; {Ert.} = Alfred Ernout; {{ERV} = *Erzjan'-ruzon' valks* (1992); {ESJS} = *Etymologický slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, ed. by E. Havlová; {ESISJ} = *Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků* of the Czech Academy of Sciences; {ESISJ-SGZ} = *Etymologický slovník slovanských jazyků. Slova gramatická a zájmena*; {ESSJ} = *Etimologičeskij slovar' slavjanskix jazykov*, ed. by O. Trubachev; {ET} = *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskix jazykov*; {Eul.} = Wolfram Euler; {Evn.} = D. E. Evans; {EWA} = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen* (by A. Lloyd a.o.); {EWU} = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen* (ed. by L. Benkő); {F} = Hjalmar J. Frisk; {Far.} = I. Farizov (И.О. Фаризов); {Faz.} = E. Fazylov (Э.А. Фазылов); {FB} = Frangu i Bardhë (Franciscus Blanchus); {Fc.} = père Ch. de Foucauld; {Fd.} = J. Fédry; {Fed.} = M. Fedotov (М.Р. Федотов); {Feist} = S. Feist; {FF} = D. R. Fokos-Fuchs;

{Fg.} = E. Fagnan; {FH} = Chr. v. Furer-Haimendorf; {Fi.} = Wolfdietrich Fischer; {Fick} = August Fick; {Fk.} = Raymond O. Faulkner; {Fl.} = H. C. Fleming; {Flad} = M. Flad; {FLD} = *Five-Language Dictionary* (Peking, 1957); {Flk.} = H. D. Foulkes; {Flr.} = Leon Fleuriot; {FlrE} = Leon Fleuriot and Claude Evans; {Flsch.} = H. L. Fleischer; {FM} = F. G. Mal'cev (or Mal'cov) (Ведоръ Мальцевъ\Мальцовъ), {Fn.} = H. Fahnrich; {Foy} = K. Foy; {Fp.} = J. F. J. Fitzpatrick; {Fr.} = G. W. Freytag; {Frd.} = J. Friedrich; {Fri.} = J. A. Friis; {Frk.} = E. J. Frick; {Frn.} = Ernst Fraenkel; {Frnz.} = P. Fronzaroli; {Frz.} = Z. Frajzyngier; {FS} = H. Fahnrich & Z. Sarjveladze (ზ. სარჯველადი); {Ft.} = E. C. Foot; {Ftl.} = Jacques Faitlovitch; {Fu.} = D. R. Fuchs (= {FF}); {Fvr.} = J. G. Fevrier; {FWM} = F. W. K. Muller; {Fzg.} = A. G. Fitzgerald; {G} = Ignac J. Gelb; {Gab.} = H. C. von der Gabelentz; {GAJ} = V. Verbickij (В. Вербицкiй) a.o. (*Grammatika altajskago jazyka*, Kazan, 1869); {Gal.} = Muusa Xaaji Ismaciil Galaal; {Gale} = J. S. Gale; {Gard.} = Sir Alan Gardiner; {GB} = W. Gesenius, *Hebraisches und aramaisches Worterbuch uber das Alte Testament*, ed. by F. Buhl; {Gbn.} = A. von Gabain; {Gbs.} = J. S. L. Gibson; {GD} = M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes; {Ger.} = Najden Gerov (Наjденъ Геровъ); {GhA} = Ghoubeid Alojaly (Ghubayd agg-Alawjeli); {Ghl.} = A. Ghlont'i (ა. ლლონტი); {GI} = Th. Gamkrelidze (Т. Gamq'relidze, თ. გამყრელიძე) & V. Ivanov (Вяч.Вс. Иванов); {Gig.} = I. Giganov (Иосифъ Гигановъ); {Giger} = M. Giger (in ChC & JI); {GK} = Zelmira Gašparikova & Adolf Kamis; {GKrs.} = Gottlob Adolf Krause (quoted in Luk. DQM); {GL} = I. Gvarjaladze (ი. გუარჯალადი) & E. Lebanidze (ე. ლებანიძე); {Gl.} = K. Golstunskij (К.Ф. Голстунский); {Glh.} = Alemko Gluhak; {Gln.} = Lionel Galand; {Glv.} = Jevgeni Guljajev (Е.С. Гуляев); {GM} = Th. Gamkrelidze (Tamaz Gamq'relize, თ. გამყრელიძე) & G. Machavariani (Givi Mach'avariani, გ. მაჭავარიანი); {Gml.} = E. Gamillscheg; {Gn.} = Arvid Genetz; {Goit.} = Solomon Dob Fritz Goitein; {Gol.} = Jacobus Golius; {GP} = Chato Gudjedjiani & Letas Palmaitis (M. L. Palmaitis); {Gr.} = Joseph Greenberg; {Grd.} = Cyrus Gordon; {Gren} = A. Gren (А. Грeнь); {Grg.} = G. B. Gragg; {Grgs.} = M. Garrigues; {Gri.} = W. V. Grigson; {Grinch.} = Boris Grinchenko (Б.Д. Гринченко, В. Нrinchenko); {Grn.} = E. C. Green; {Grøn.} = K. Grønbech; {Grs.} = H. Graβmann; {GrS} = Franoise Grillot-Susini; {Grsh.} = Ilya Gershevitch; {Grt.} = I. Gruntov (И.А. Грунтов); {Gru.} = W. Grube; {GS} = George Starostin (Г.С. Старостин); {Gs.} = A. Gasparini; {GSchm.} = Gernot Schmidt; {GSK} = A. Grunberg, I. Steblin-Kamenskij (А.Л. Грунберг, И.М. Стеблин-Каменский); {Gt.} = Vinigi L. Grottanelli; {Gtl.} = Leopold Geitler; {Gtz.} = Albrecht Goetze; {Gu.} = Gulya Janos; {Gusm.} = R. Gusmani; {Gw.} = W. F. Gowers (in ChC, JI, and Sch. BT); {Gy.} = J. Gyorke; {Gz.} = Viktor Guzev (В.Г. Гүзев); {H} = E. Haenisch; {Hab.} = Eike Haberland; {Hahn} = Ferd. Hahn; {Haig} = Wolseley Haig; {Haa J. Gue Hanoteau}; {Hb.} = H. Hubschmann; {Hbs.} = Johannes Hubschmied; {Hd.} =

Grover Hudson; {Herm.} = Eduard Hermann; {Hf.} = Carl Hoffmann; {HHM} = Habte Wold Habte Mikael; {Hi.} = Osamu Hieda; {Hier.} = Hieronymus (St. Jerome); {Hirt} = Hermann Hirt; {HiuL} = Hiu Lie; {HJ} = J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling; {Hj.} = P. Hajdú; {HK} = W. Hinz & H. Koch; {Hkl.} = Lauri Hakulinen; {HL} = E. Haberland & M. Lamberti; {Hl.} = Eugen Helinski (E. Xelimskij, E.A. Хелимский); {Hlk.} = W. Helck; {Hlv.} = J. Halévy; {HLw.} = Herbert S. Lewis; {Hm.} = Hompó Éva; {Hmb.} = Louis Hambis; {HMC} = *Hun mong chahwe*; {HMü.} = Hans-Peter Müller; {Hn.} = Bernd Heine; {Hng.} = Rainer Hannig; {Hnr.} = John Huehnergard; {Hnz.} = F. Hintze; {Ho.} = Ferdinand Holthausen; {Hofm.} = J. B. Hofmann; {Horn} = P. Horn; {Hр.} = M. Heepe; {Hr.} = E. Hauer; {Hrl.} = C. de Harlez; {Hrn.} = Andrew Haruna; {Hrz.} = Friedrich Hrozný; {Hs.} = Gustav Hasselbrink; {Hsk.} = James T. Hoskison; {Hsl.} = Rev. Stephen Hislop; {Ht.} = László Honti; {Hts.} = Martijn Theodoor Houtsma; {Hü.} = H. Hübschmann; {Huffm.} = H. B. Huffmon; {Huld} = Martin E. Huld; {Hüs.} = H. Hüsejnov (ed.), *Azərbaycanja-rusja lüğət'*; {Hv.} = J. G. Hava; {Hw.} = Robert J. Hayward (Dick Hayward); {HwTs.} = R. J. Hayward and Yoichi Tsuge; {Hy.} = Père G. Huyghe; {Hys.} = Ramazan Hysa; {Hz.} = R. Hetzron; {I'A} = Iliyas 'Atallah (native speaker of the Christian Galilean d. of Arabic); {Ib.} = Dymitr Ibrizimov (Димитър Ибришимов); {Ibñ.} = Fray Estéban Ibáñez; {IED} = *Irish-English Dictionary* (Db., 1976); {IL} = members of the Institute of Linguistics 1972 (in ChC & Л II); {Ilm.} = N. Ilminskij (Н.И. Ильминский); {IN} = Irina Nikolajeva (И.А. Николаева); {IS} = Vladislav Illich-Svitych (В.М. Иллич-Свитыч); {JIS} = according IS's system of correspondences, in IS's notation; {Isr.} = M. Israel; {IsxP} = F. Isxakov & A. Pal'mbah (Ф.Г. Исхаков, А.А. Пальмбах); {IT} = I. Ivanov & G. Tuzharov (И.Г. Иванов, Г.М. Тужаров); {It.} = Erkki Itkonen; {Iv.} = A. Ivanovskij (А.О. Ивановский); {Ivn.} = Vjacheslav Ivanov (Вяч.Вс. Иванов); {Iw.} = Shinobu Iwamura; {J} = H. Jungraithmayr; {JA} = H. Jungraithmayr & Abakar Adams; {Jackson} = K. Ph. Jackson; {Jahn} = A. Jahn; {Jan.} = M. Janaishvili (მ. ჯანაიშვილი); {JB} = Jakob Barth; {Jc.} = W. Jochelson (В. Юхельсонъ); {Jcb.} = H. Jacobi; {JdH} = *Jidai-betsu kokugo daijiten. Jōdai hen*; {Jeg.} = Jegorov; {Jem.} = A. Jemel'janov (А.П. Емельянов); {Jens.} = Hans Jensen; {Jfr.} = Arthur Jeffery; {Jg.} = Ph. J. Jaggar; {JGH} = Jörundur Garðar Hilmarsson; {JH} = Ch.-F. Jean & J. Hoftijzer; {Jh.} = Juhász Jenő; {JI} = H. Jungraithmayr & D. Ibrizimov; {Jk.} = Aulis J. Joki; {JkR} = *Jakutsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by P. Slepcev (П.А. Слещев); {Jm.} = A. Jamme; {Jn.} = Juho Janhunen; {Jo.} = T. M. Johnstone; {Joh.} = Karl Friedrich Johansson; {Jokl} = N. Jokl; {Joü.} = Paul Joüon; {JP} = J. Prokof'jeva (Е.Д. Прокофьева) (translated textbooks for schools into Slq Tz); {JPS} = *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. by J. Payne Smith; {JR} = Jacques Ryckmans; {Jr.} = G. Jarring; {JS} = H. Jungraithmayr & K. Shimizu; {Js.} = Marcus Jastrow;

{Ju.} = A. Jushkevich (А. Юшкевич, A. Juszkievicz); {Jud.} = K. Judaxin (К.К. Юдахин); {Jv.} = M. Jevsev'jev (М.Е. Евсевьев); {K} = G. Klimov (Г.А. Климов); {KAI} = H. Donner, W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*; {Kal.} = A. Kalashev (А. Калашевъ); {Kald.} = M. Kaldani (ܡܝܚܝܠܢܝܢ ܕܩܠܕܝܢܝܢ); {Kálm.} = B. Kálmán; {Kang} = Sinhang Kang; {Kar.} = K. Karulis; {Karj.} = K. F. Karjalainen; {KarRPS} = *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*; {Kavt.} = Ivane Kavtaradze (ი. ჯავთარაძე); {Katz} = Hartmut Katz; {KB} = L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*; {KB¹} = L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*; {Kb.} = Gerhard Köbler; {KBR} = L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson; {KC} = M. Koljadenkov & N. Cyganov (М.Н. Коляденков, Н.Ф. Цыганов); {KD} = Kai Donner; {Kd.} = Mairo Elinor Kidida; {Kenk.} = *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, ed. by Takenobu Yoshitaro; {Ker.} = L. Keresztes; {Kert} = G. Kert (Г.М. Керт); {Kf.} = K. Kristoforidhi (Κωνσταντίνος Χριστοφορίδης); {Kfm.} = Stephen A. Kaufman; {KG} = K. Kushalappa Gowda; {Kg.} = Bernhard Karlgren; {KHG} = A. Kuznesova, E. Helimski, Y. Grushkina (А.И. Кузнецова, Е.А. Хелимский, Е.В. Грушкина); {Kid.} = Mairo Elinor Kidida; {Kiy.} = Gisaburo N. Kiyose; {KJu} = K. Kurdojev, Z. Jusupova (К.К. Курдоев, З.А. Юсупова); {Kk.} = Susan Kakuk; {KKIH} = A. Kuznesova, O. Kazakevich, L. Ioffe & E. Helimski (А.И. Кузнецова, О.А. Казакевич, Л.Ю. Иоффе, Е.А. Хелимский); {Klc.} = F. Klichka (Ф.Н. Кличка); {Klg.} = В.П. Калыгин; {Kll.} = Aukusti Herman Kallio; {Klp.} = Julius Heinrich Klapproth; {Kluge} = Friedrich Kluge; {Klz.} = Stanisław Kałużynski; {KM} = Friedrich Kluge and Walther Mitzka; {Km.} = Bh. Krishnamurti; {Kmbh.} = Bh. Krishnamurti and S. Bhattacharya; {Kmc.} = Daša Komáć; {Kmnh.} = A. Kammenhuber; {KMS} = M. Korhonen, J. Mosnikoff & P. Sammallahti; {Kn.} = A. Kono; {Knn.} = Artturi Kannisto; {KNC} = Koye Nadji Cooper; {Kœ.} = S. W. Koelle; {Kört.} = G. Körting; {Kott} = F. Š. Kott; {Kov.} = J. Kovedjajeva (Е.И. Коведяева); {Kow.} = J. É. Kowalewski (Осипъ Ковалевскій); {Koz.} = S. Kozin (С.А. КОЗИН); {KP} = M. Katzschmann & J. Pusztay; {Kpl.} = H. Koppelman; {KR} = N. Kumaraswami Raja; {Kr.} = Charles H. Kraft; {Krapf} = Johann Ludwig Krapf; {Krb.} = Manfred Krebernik; {Krc.} = J. Krecher; {Krg.} = John P. Krueger; {Krh.} = M. Korhonen; {KrkR} = *Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by N. Baskakov; {Krl.} = Andrey Korolëv (Королёв) (А.А. Королёв); {KrlSh.} = A. Korolëv and V. Shevoroshkin; {KRM} = *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by B. Munijev; {Krm.} = I. Kormushin (И.В. Кормушин); {Krn.} = J. Krejnovich (Е.А. Крейннович); {KrS} = B. Krupnik (B. Qarû') & A. Silbermann; {KRS} = *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by B. Munijev (Б.Д. Муниев); {Krs.} = Wolfgang Krause; {Krsch.} = F. Kurschat; {KrT} = recorded by K. F. Karjalainen & compiled in a dict. by Y. H. Toivonen;

{Krt.} = G. Krotkoff; {Krtm.} = P. Kretschmer; {Krtv.} = I. Kuratov (И.А. Куратов) (quoted in LG); {KS} = I. R. Kortt, Ju. B. Simchenko; {KSchm.} = Klaus T. Schmidt; {KT} = W. Krause & W. Thomas; {Kt.} = Lauri Kettunen; {Ktl.} = F. Kittel; {Ktn.} = N. F. Katanov; {KtnM} = N. F. Katanov, ed. by K. Menges; {Ktsch.} = E. Y. Kutscher (Y. Qût'sher, קוטשר יחזקאל); {Ktw.} = Władysław Kotwicz; {Ku.} = G. Kurilov (Г.Н. Курилов); {Kü.} = Ago Künap; {Kur.} = Jerzy Kuryłowicz; {Kv.} = Jorma Koivulehto; {KWK} = Kidanä Wäld Kəfle; {Kzm.} = A. Kuzmina (А.И. Кузьмина); {L} = Wolf Leslau; {La.} = E. Laoust; {Laan.} = Arvo Laanest; {Lamp} = Max Lambertz & Georg Pekmezi; {Lar.} = E. Laroche; {Lax} = Beverle Michaelae Lax; {Lb.} = le Comte de Landberg; {Lbf.} = J.-P. Lebeuf; {LCq} = A. von Le Coq; {Ld.} = Evald Lidén; {Ldl.} = Jean Lydall; {Lee} = Ki-Moon Lee; {Leech} = R. Leech (quoted after Lg. LML and other papers of Ligeti); {Leem} = Canutus (Knud) Leem; {Leg.} = Rudolf Leger; {Lens.} = T. Lenssen; {Levias} = Q. Lewi'as (לוי'אס ק, Caspar Levias); {Lew.} = Marian Lewicki; {Lf.} = père J. Lanfry; {LG} = V. Lytkin & E. Guljajev (В.И. Лыткин, Е.И. Гуляев); {Lg.} = L. Ligeti; {Lgc.} = E. Lagercrantz; {LH} = E. Littmann & M. Höfner; {Lh.} = T. Lehtisalo; {LHB} = *Language Hand-book: Gondi* (published by the Tea District Labour association, 1926); {Liim.} = Matti Liimola; {Lind} = A. A. Lind; {Lip.} = Edward Lipiński; {Liu} = Liu Zhaoxiong; {LJ} = Leon Jacobson; {Lk.} = J. Lukas; {LLC} = Fr. Ton Leus, Fr. Joseph Van de Loo, Fr. George Cotter; {LLO} = *Lulelapisk ordbok* by H. Grundström; {Lm.} = Marcello Lamberti; {LmS} = M. Lamberti and R. Sottile; {Lmt.} = H. Limet; {Ln.} = E. W. Lane; {Lnd.} = J. Lindenau (Я.И. Линденау); {Lnh.} = R. Lienhard (in ChC & JI); {Lnn.} = Antoine Lonnet; {Lnr.} = Elias Lönnrot; {LÖ} = E. Lindahl & J. Öhrling; {Loth} = J. Loth; {Loub.} = V. Loubignac; {LP} = Max Lambertz & G. Pekmezi; {Lr.} = J. Lehtiranta; {Lrn.} = Fr. Lorentz; {LS} = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott; {LSI} = *Language Survey of India*; {Lt.} = V. Lytkin (В.И. Лыткин); {LTM} = *Lexique tamacheq-français*, 1986; {Luc.} = Steven J. Lucas (in ChC, JI, and ChL); {Lud.} = H. Ludolf; {Lukk.} = P. Lukkari; {Lur.} = Silvia Luraghi; {LuS} = C. B. Lucie Smith; {Luv.} = A. Luvsandëndèv (А. Лувсандэндэв); {Lv.} = J. Levy; {Lvt.} = L. Levitskaja (Л.С. Левитская); {LW} = G. Doerfer, W. Heschel, H. Scheinhardt, *Lamutisches Wörterbuch*; {Lw.} = Ernst Lewy; {Lwn.} = Charles Lwanga; {Lx.} = Matthias Lexer; {M} = M. Mayrhofer; {MA} = Mounir Arbach; {Ma.} = Václav Machek; {Mac.} = R. Macuch; {Mah.} = Gôpînâth Mahânti (G. N. Mohanty); {Man.} = Albert Maniet; {Mark} = Julius Mark; {Marr} = N. Marr (Н.Я. Марр); {Mas.} = p. Carlo Masera; {Mat.} = F. Matjushkin (Ф.Ф. Матюшкин); {MAZ} = Mohammed Ali & A. Zaborski; {Mazur} = Juri Mazur (Ю.Н. Мазур); {MB} = H. Meyer-Bahlburg; {MBhK} = M. Mariappa Bhat & A. Shanker Kedilaya; {McA} = David W. McAlpin; {McC} = Kim R. McCone; {Mch.} = J. Mouchet; {Mchv.} = G. Mach'avariani (გოვო მჭავარიანი); {McK} = D. N. MacKenzie; {Mcl.} = A. J. Maclean; {Md.} = O. Mudrak (О.А.

Мудрак); {Mdd.} = A. Middendorff (А.Ф. Миддендорф); {ME} = K. Mühlenbach, J. Endzelin (K. Mülenbachs, J. Endzelīns); {Me.} = Antoine Meillet; {MED} = *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, ed. by F. D. Lessing; {Mel.} = P. M. Melioranskij (П.М. Меліоранскій); {Melch.} = H. Craig Melchert; {Men.} = G. Menovshchikov (Г.А. Меновщиков); {Mer.} = P. Meriggi; {Merk} = K. Merk (К. Меркъ); {Meyer} = G. Meyer; {MF} = Marion P. Fischer; {Mg.} = F. W. H. Migeod; {Mgr.} = O. Mauger; {Mgw.} = J. B. Maghway; {MH} = Muxtar wəl Hamidun (→ Nic.); {MhS} = Korada Mahadeva Sastri; {Mi.} = A. Militarev (А.Ю. Милитарёв); {MiK} = A. Militarev and L. Kogan; {Mik.} = Tibor Mikola; {Mikl.} = F. von Miklosich (F. Miklošić); {Mill.} = Roy A. Miller; {Mirt} = Heide Mirt; {Mitch.} = A. N. Mitchell; {MK} = *Wogulisches Wörterbuch*, gesammelt von B. Munkácsi, bearbeitet und hrsg. von B. Kálmán; {Mk.} = C. K. Meek; {MkA} = Makonnen Argaw; {Mkj.} = Enver Makajev (Э.А. Макаев), {Mks.} = Meeks; {ML} = W. Meyer-Lübke; {Ml.} = Sergej Malov (С.Е. Малов); {MLC} = Samuel E. Martin, Yang Ha Lee, Sung-Un Chang; {Mll.} = Gerhard Friedrich Mueller (Г.Ф. Миллеръ); {Mln.} = Ferenc A. Molnár; {Mlr.} = P. M. Melioranski (П.М. Меліоранскій); {Mls.} = Cornélie H. Melles; {MLuc.} = M. Lucas; {Mlw.} = Tadeusz Milewski; {MM} = X. Maxmudov and G. Musabajev (X. Махмудов, Г. Мусабаяев); {MMach.} = M. Machavariani (M. Mach'avariani, მ. მახავარიანი); {Mmr.} = Mouloud Mammeri; {Mn.} = Stuart E. Mann; {Mng.} = K.-H. Menges; {Mnh.} = K. Meinhof; {Mnr.} = A. Männer; {Mnrh.} = M. Mannerheim; {Mns.} = Abdallah O. Mansur; {Mnt.} = Georges Montandon; {Mnz.} = W. Munzinger; {Mol.} = J. Molitor; {Morin} = Didier Morin; {Moss} = Clement F. Moss; {Mot.} = A. de Calassanti Motylinski; {Mous} = Maarten Mous; {MousK} = M. Mous & Roland Kießling'; {MQK} = M. Mous, Martha Qorro, Roland Kießling; {Mr.} = Samuel E. Martin; {Mrc.} = H. Mercier; {Mrç.} = William Marçais; {Mrgs.} = G. Morgenstierne; {Mrm.} = F. Muromskij (Федоръ Муромскій) (after Klz. (D I-II & MS); {Mrn.} = M. Moreno; {MRS} = A. Asilbajev, V. Vasil'ev (А. Асилбаев, В. Васильев) а. о., *Marijsko-russkij slovar'* ; {MS} = M. Ma'sarânî & V. S. Segal' (В.С. Сегаль); {Ms.} = A. Mostaert; {MSk.} = Margaret Gardner Skinner; {Msn.} = Jouni Mosnikoff; {Msq.} = É. Masqueray; {Msr.} = D. G. Messerschmidt; {MSSL} = Ian Maddieson, Siniša Spajić, Bonny Sands, Peter Ladefoged; {MSz.} = B. Munkácsi and M. Szilasi (see Szil. VSz); {MSzFUE} = *A Magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei: Etimológiai szótár* ; {MT} = Miloud Taïfi; {Mtch.} = A. N. Mitchell; {MtS} = *St. Matthew's Gospel in Sura, Maghavul* ; {Mts.} = Shuji Matsushita; {MtT} = *Iseian A Husketnen es Matiu* (Matthew's Gospel in Tamachek); {Mu.} = B. Munkácsi; {Mü.} = Walter W. Müller; {Mul.} = Frederik Muller; {Mue.} = G. F. Mueller; {Mun.} = *Kalmycko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by B. Munijev (Б.Д. Муниев); {MW} = Sir Monier Monier-Williams; {My.} = Gustav Meyer; {MYC} = Zhaona Situ, Cheng Naixiong, Wu Jungfeng & Li Keyou

(*Měnggǔyǔzú yǔyán cídiǎn*); {MYTY} = Moges Yigezu & Teshome Yehualashet; {N} = K. Nielsen; {Nak.} = Aki'o Nakano; {Nal.} = V. Nalivkin (В. Наливкинъ); {Nap.} = Vladimir Napolskix (В.В. Напольских); {Nb.} = Frøydis Nordbustad; {Nc.} = Gustav Nachtigal; {NCh.} = Nik'o Chubinashvili (ნიკო ჩუბინაშვილი); {Ndr.} = Max Niedermann; {Neu} = Erich Neu; {Neum.} = Günter Neumann; {Nh.} = Nehlil; {Ni.} = I. Nizharadze (И.И. Нижарадзе, ი. ნიჯარაძე); {Nj.} = 'Emir Najib (E. Nadzhip, Э.Н. Наджиб); {Nic.} = Francis Nicolas; {NKU} = Nam Kwang U; {NogR} = *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by N. Baskakov; {NM} = E. Nilsson-Mamkok; {NP} = V. Naumkin & V. Porxomovskij (В.В. Наумкин, В.Я. Порхомовский); {NPet.} = Norbert Peters; {Nrs.} = A. N. Narasimhia; {Nsl.} = G. H. F. Nesselmann; {Nt.} = Robert Netting; {Nw.} = Paul Newman; {NZ} = Kamal Naït-Zerrad; {O} = Vladimir Orel (В.Э. Орёл); {OED} = *The Oxford English Dictionary* ; {Oett.} = Norbert Oettinger; {OJs.} = Otto Jastrow; {OLS} = Gregorio del Olmo Lete & Joaquín Sanmartín; {On.} = Sulungu Onenko (С.Н. Оненко); {Oo.} = Antoinette Oomen; {Orh.} = A. J. Oraham; {Ork.} = S. Orkun; {Orm.} = G. Ormsby; {OS} = V. Orel & O. Stolbova (В.Э. Орёл, О.В. Столбова); {Os.} = Jürgen Osing; {OSIPL} = members of the Linguistic expeditions of the Department of Structural & Applied Linguistics, Moscow Univ. (Otdelenije strukturnoj i prikladnoj lingvistiki MGU); {OsS} = Oskar Schade; {Osth.} = Hermann Osthoff; {Ot.} = Heinrich Otten; {Otk.} = Jurij Otkupshchikov (Ю.В. Откупщиков); {Ov.} = Adolf Overweg (quoted after Lk. DQM); {Ow.} = Jonathan Owens; {Oxt.} = W. G. Oxtoby; {Oz.} = Ozawa Shigeo; {P} = Julius Pokorny; {Pa.} = James Patrie; {Pal.} = E. W. Palander; {Pap.} = Herbert H. Paper; {Páp.} = József Pápay; {PápB} = J. Pápay, Ödön Beke; {Par.} = U. Paradisi; {Pat.} = S. B. Patwardhan; {Paul} = Hermann Paul; {PB} = H. Plazikowsky-Brauner; {PC} = M. Pavet de Courteille; {Pch.} = P. Poucha; {PD} = H. Paasonen and K. Donner; {Ped.} = Holger Pedersen; {Pel.} = Paul Pelliot; {PG} = Steve Pillinger & Letiwa Galboran; {PGG} = K.-G. Prasse, Ghoubeïd Alojaly (Ghubăyd ägg-Ālăw jəli), Ghabdouane Mohamed (Ghabdəwan əg-Muxămmăd); {Ph.} = Rev. Phailbus; {PH} = Enid M. Parker & Richard J. Hayward; {PI} = S. Potapkin, A. Imjarekov (С.Г. Потапкин, А.К. Имяреков); {Pic.} = André Picard; {PiesS} = V. Piesarskas, V. Svecevičius; {Pis.} = Vittore Pisani; {Pl.} = P. S. Pallas; {Plm.} = F. R. Palmer; {Pln.} = R. von Planta; {Pop.} = A. Попов (А.А. Попов); {Por.} = V. Porxomovskij (В.Я. Порхомовский); {PorS} = V. Porxomovskij and O. Stolbova; {Pot.} = G. Potanin (Г.Н. Потанин); {Pr.} = Nicholas Poppe (Н.Н. Поппе); {Ppv.} = J. Popova (Я.Н. Попова); {Pr.} = Karl Prasse; {Prb.} = A. Preobrazhenskij (А.Г. Преображенский); {Prc.} = Omelyan Pritsak; {Price} = Colin H. Price; {Prk.} = G. Prokofjev (Г.Н. Прокофьев); {Prtd.} = P. Protod'jakonov (П. Протодьяконов); {Prov.} = D^r Provotelle; {Prs.} = Per Persson; {PS} = R. Payne Smith; {Ps.} = H. Paasonen; {PSchm.} = P. Schmidt;

{PSW} = Patrick Sims-Williams; {Psn.} = Georges Posener; {PT} = A. Pyrerka & N. Tereshchenko (А.П. Пырерка & Н.М. Терещенко); {Pt.} = Taisiya Petrova (Т.И. Петрова); {Ptr.} = N. Peters; {Ptt.} = E. Pettinato; {Pu.} = János Puszta; {Pv.} = Jaan Puhvel; {Pvn.} = A. M. Pevnov (А.М. Певнов); {PW} = H. Plazikowsky & E. Wagner; {Pz.} = A. Pozdnejev (А. Позднеев); {Q} = I. Q'ipshidze (ი. ყიფშიძე, I. Кипшидзе); {Qf.} = Hamdi A. Qafisheh; {Qv.} = J. K. Qvigstad; {R} = Leo Reinisch; {Ra.} = V. Rassadin (В.И. Рассадин); {RamR} = B. Ramachandra Rao; {RAS} = *Russko-altajskij slovar'*, ed. by N. Baskakov; {Räs.} = Martti Räsänen; {Rasm.} = Jens Elmegård Rasmussen; {Rast.} = Vera Rastorgujeva (В.С. Расторгуева); {RB} = Rohi Baalbaki; {Rb.} = Chaim Rabin (ר'חיים אבנר); {Rbc.} = Y. Rubcova (Е.С. Рубцова); {Rbt.} = Martine Robbeets; {Rcm.} = G. R. Rachmati; {Rd.} = Károlyi Rédei (Radanovics); {Rdn.} = A. Rudnev (Андрей Руднев); {RdV} = K. Rédei ← F. A. Volegov; {RE} = Robert W. Elsie; {Reg.} = A. Reguly; {Reich.} = Hans Reichelt; {Rgr.} = Frithiof Rundgren; {Rh.} = Sir James W. Redhouse; {Rhod.} = N. Rhodokanakis; {RHuds.} = Richard A. Hudson; {Ris.} = E. K. Ristinen; {Rk.} = Stephen D. Ricks; {RKB} = *Russko-karachajevo-balkarskij slovar'*, ed. by X. Sujunchev & I. Urusbijev; {Rkh.} = W. Rockhill; {RKS} = *Russko-kalmyckij slovar'* (1964), ed. by I. K. Ilishkin; {Rl.} = W. Radloff (В.В. Радловъ); {RLC} = J. G. Magwa a.o. (20 members of the "Ron Language Committee"); {Rlf.} = Gerhardt Rohlf's (in Lk. DQM); {RM} = A. V. Romanova, A. N. Myreva (А.В. Романова, А.Н. Мырева); {Rm.} = G. J. Ramstedt; {RMars} = *Russko-marijskij slovar'* (1966); {Rmb.} = Yevdokiya Rombandjeva (Е.И. Ромбандеева); {Rms.} = Kaspar K. Riemschneider; {Rn.} = A. Renisio; {Rnb.} = Gary A. Rendsburg; {Rnc.} = A. Rinchine (А.Р. Ринчинэ); {Ro.} = M. O. Rossing; {Röd.} = Otto Röder; {Rop.} = E. Roper; {Rp.} = E. L. Rapp; {RpB} = E. L. Rapp & B. Benzing; {Rs.} = Martti Räsänen; {Rsk.} = B. Rosenkranz; {Rsl.} = O. Rössler; {RT} = A. Róna-Tas; {Rt.} = Hellmut Ritter; {RTF} = A. Róna-Tas & S. Fodor; {Rtl.} = Franz Rottland; {Ruh.} = Ph. Ruhig; {RuhM} = Ph. Ruhig & Chr. G. Mielcke; {RUjS} = A. Ilijev, Sh. Kibirov, M. Ruzijev & Ju. Cunvazo, *Russko-ujgurskij slovar'*; {Rus.} = Ju. Russkaja (Ю.Н. Русская); {Rv.} = Paavo Ravila; {RW} = I. Ruong & K. Wiklund's orthography of Lapp N; {RXS} = *Russko-xakasskij slovar'* (1961); {S} = S. Starostin (С.А. Старостин); {Sa.} = Michka Sachnine; {Saar.} = A. Saareste; {Sakth.} = S. Sakthivel; {Sank.} = P. Sankaranarayana; {SaR} = *Saamsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by R. Kuruch (Р.Д. Куруч); {Sarn.} = T. Sarnelli; {Sau.} = Martin Sauer; {SB} = W. Stokes & A. Bezenberger; {Sb.} = K. Schubert (in ChC & JI); {SBR} = *Slovashko-bălgarski rechnik*; {Sbr.} = P. S. Subrahmanyam; {Sch.} = Russell Schuh; {Scheft.} = J. Scheftelowitz; {Schf.} = Anton Schiefner; {Schl.} = Wolfgang Schlachter; {Schlee} = Günther Schlee; {Schlt.} = F. Schulthess; {Schm.} = Karl H. Schmidt; {Schn.} = Joachim Schindler; {Schw.} = E. Schwyzer; {Schz.} = Rudolf Schützeichel;

{SDD} = *Türkiye’de halk ağzından söz derleme dergisi*; {SDM} = S. Starostin, A. Dybo, O. Mudrak (С. Старостин, А. Дыбо, О. Мудрак); {SDM94}, {SDM95} & {SDM97} = рА reconstruction after SDM (1994, 1995, 1997) (SDM94, SDM95 — with vowels reconstructed after SDM VC); {SE} = I. Smirnova, K. Eyubi (И.А. Смирнова, К.Р. Эйюби); {Seg.} = St. Segert; {Sem} = L. Sem (Л.И. Сем); {Serebr.} = B. A. Serebrennikov (Б.А. Серебрянников); {Set.} = E. N. Setälä; {SEv.} = D. Simon Evans; {Sg.} = F. Steingass; {SGGJ} = *Sravnitel'naja grammatika germanskix jazykov*, ed. by M. Gukhman and E. Makajev; {Sgl.} = A. Siegel; {Sh.} = Kiyoshi Shimizu; {Shan.} = A. Shanidze (A. Schanidse, ა. შანიძე); {ShanBh} = D. N. Shankara Bhat; {Shanm.} = S. V. Shanmugam; {Shar.} = G. Sharashidze (გ. შარაშიძე); {Shaw} = Robert Barkley Shaw; {Shch.} = A. Shcherbak (А.М. Щербак); {Shn.} = J. Shnejder (Е.Р. Шнейдер); {Shrn.} = 'Avráhám Shárônî (אַבְרָהָם שְׁרׁוֹןִי); {Sht.} = Boris Shnitnikov; {Shv.} = Vitali Shevoroshkin (В.В. Шеворошкин); {Si.} = R. Siebert; {Sim} = Ronald J. Sim; {Sin.} = Denis Sinor; {Siv.} = Daniel Sivan (Dánî'él Sîwán, דָּנִיֵּאל סִיבָן); {SivCR} = Daniel Sivan & Z. Cochavi-Rainey (Z. Kôchávî-Rainey, ז' כּוֹכַבִּי-רֵינֵי); {Siy.} = I. M. Siyad; {Sj.} = J. A. Sjögren; {SJRN} = *Slovar' jazykov raznyx narodov v Nizhegorodskoj eparxji obitajushchix, imenno rossijan, tatar, mordvy i cheremis. ... Damaskina jepiskopa Nizhegorodskago i Alatorskago sochinennyj 1785-go goda*; {SJSS} = *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*; {SK} = *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*; {Sk.} = Neil Skinner; {Sklv.} = Valentina Sokolova (В.С. Соколова); {SKD} = A. Sisir Kumar Das; {Sl.} = Michael Sokoloff; {Slm.} = F. Solmsen; {Slt.} = G. R. Solta; {Sls.} = F. Sławski; {Slv.} = J. Silvet; {SLv.} = Sylvain Lévi; {Slw.} = Ibrahim Al-Selwi; {Slz.} = Frederick Volkomor Paul Schulze; {SM} = A. de Smedt & A. Mostaert; {Sm.} = Pekka Sammallahti; {Smn.} = P. Simons; {Smsz.} = A. Śmieszek; {SMü.} = S. Müller; {Sns.} = G. B. Sansom; {Sod.} = W. von Soden; {Sö.} = Heinz Sölken; {Sp.} = G. Spasskij (Г. Спасский); {Spg.} = W. Spiegelberg; {SPS} = *Słownik prasłowiański*; {SR} = P. Setumadhava Rao; {Sr.} = Harry Stroomer; {Srb.} = S. Serebrjakov (С.Б. Серебряков); {Srj.} = Zurab Sarjveladze (ზ. სარჯველადე); {Srl.} = Eugene Sirlinger; {Srm.} = N. Syromjatnikov (Н.А. Сыромятников); {Srp.} = F. Strümpell; {Srz.} = I. I. Sreznevskij (И.И. Срезневский); {Ss.} = H.-J. Sasse; {SSAAJ} = A. Belova, I. Diakonoff, A. Militarev, O. Stolbova (А. Белова, И. Дьяконов, А. Милитарев, О. Столбова), *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskij slovar' afrazijskix jazykov*; {SSL} = M.-C. Simone-Senelle, A. Lonnet; {SSO} = Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (სულხან-საბა ორბელიანი); {SSRLJ} = *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka*; {SSS} = *Staroslavjanskij slovar'* (M., 1994); {SSW} = Ralph & Kati Siebert, Klaus Wedekind; {Starch.} = A. V. Starchevskij (А.В. Старчевский); {Stary} = Giovanni Stary; {Stl.} = Olga Stolbova (О.В. Столбова);

{STM} = *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-manchzhurskix jazykov* ;
 {Stm.} = H. Stumme; {Stn.} = W. Steinitz; {StN} = S. Starostin and S. Nikolajev (С. Старостин, С. Николаев); {Stph.} = Henricus Stephanus; {Str.} = John Street; {Strc.} = Adalbert Starchevskij (А.В. Старчевский); {Strl.} = Ph. J. v. Strahlenberg; {StrM} = J. Street & R. A. Miller; {Sturt.} = E. Sturtevant; {Stz.} = Ulrich Jasper Seetzen; {SulB} = Shaykh Sulayman Bukhari; {Sun.} = O. Sunik (О.П. СУНИК); {SvG} = Harald Sverdrup, Ramon Guardans; {Sw.} = H. Sweet; {SWW} = R. Siebert, K. & Ch. Wedekind; {Sx.} = D. Saxon (in ChC & JI); {SZ} = *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' komi-zyrjanskix dialektov* ; {Sz.} = J. Szinnyei; {Szem.} = Oswald Szemerényi; {Szil.} = Móric Szilasi; {T} = B. Todajeva (Б.Х. Тодаева); {Tal} = Abraham Tal (אברהם טל); {TB} = A. N. Tucker & M. A. Bryan; {TBZAC} = Teqebba Biru, Zena Adal & Roger W. Cowley; {TC} = Catherine Taine-Cheikh; {TDS} = *Türkmen dilining sözlügi*, ed. by M. Xamzajev; {Ter.} = N. Tereshchenko (Н.М. Терещенко); {Test.} = Y. Testelec (Яков Тестелец); {TF} = Alf Torp and Hjalmar Falk; {Th.} = G. da Thiene; {THADS} = *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü* ; {Thm.} = Bertram Thomas; {Thr.} = Rudolph Thurneysen; {Tit.} = J. Titov (Е.И. ТИТОВ); {TI} = Toivo Itkonen; {Till} = W. C. Till; {TK} = Varlam Topuria & Maksime Kaldani (ვარლამ თოფურია & მაქსიმე კალდანი); {Tk.} = Gábor Tákaçs, {TKR} = *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'* (1968); {TL} = *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaja grammatika tjurkskix jazykov: Leksika* ; {Tlb.} = P. A. Talbot; {Tll.} = O. TAILLEUR; {TLw.} = Timothy Lewis; {Tm.} = D. Tumasheva (Д.Г. Тумашева); {TmK} = Dmitri Timushev & Nina Kolegova (Д.А. Тимушев, Н.А. Колегова); {Tn.} = E. Tennishev (Э.Р. Тенишев); {To.} = Mauro Tosco; {Top.} = V. Topuria (ვ. თოფურია, В.Т. Топурия); {TopT} = *Mok'le rusul-kartuli leksik'oni*, by A. T'orot'adze & E. T'orot'adze (ა. ტორტოტაძე, ე. ტორტოტაძე); {TOu-1} = *Textes ougaritiques*, vol. I; {TOu-2} = *Textes ougaritiques*, vol. II; {Tpr.} = V. Toporov (В.Н. Топоров); {tr.} = traditional (conventionanl) reconstruction (e.g. in Dravidian); {Tr.} = C. G. Chenevix Trench; {Trb.} = Oleg Trubachev (О.С. Трубачёв); {Trc.} = V. Troicky (В.П. Троицкий); {Tre.} = padre Gabriele da Trento; {Trj.} = N. Terjoshkin (Н.И. Терёшкин); {Trn.} = H. Tourneux; {TrnS} = H. Tourneux, Chr. Seignobos; {TrnSL} = H. Tourneux, Chr. Seignobos, F. Lafarge; {Trnt.} = V. Terent'ev (В.А. Терентьев); {TrR} = *Turecko-russkij slovar'* by A. N. Baskakov (А.Н. Баскаков), N. P. Golubeva, A. A. Kjamileva, K. M. Ljubimov, F. A. Salimzjanova, R. R. Jusipova; {Ts.} = J. Tischler; {Tsc.} = M. Tosco; {TT} = E. Tennishev, B. Todajeva (Э.Р. Тенишев, Б.Х. Тодаева); {Tt.} = K. Tutschek (Ch. Tutschek); {TTDS} = *Tatar teleneng dialektologik süzlege* , ed. by L. T. Maxmutova (1969); {TtR} = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'* (M., 1966); {Tu.} = Sir Ralph Turner; {Tuite} = Kevin Tuite; {Tv.} = Yrho H. Toivonen; {TvR} = *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'* (1968); {Tz.} = Semih Tezcan; {U} = T. E. Uotila; {Ü} =

Üpymarij (Ўпымарий = Б.М.Васильев); {Uch.} = Alexander Uchitel; {UChG} = T. Uturgaidze, D. Chxubianishvili, J. Giunashvili (თ. უტურგაიძე, დ. ჩხუბიანიშვილი, ჯ. გიუნაშვილი); {UkR} = *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk* (Kiev, 1976); {Ul.} = Carl Christian Ulmann; {Und.} = H. G. Underwood & H. H. Underwood; {UR} = *Udmurtsko-russkij slovar'* (M., 1948); {U3S} = *Udmurt-зуч' slovar'*, *Udmurtsko-russkij slovar'*, ed. by V. M. Varushev; {VAbd.} = V. Y. 'Abdallah; {Vaill.} = André Vaillant; {Vas.} = Glafira Vasilevich (Г.М. Василевич); {Vc.} = Werner Vycichl; {vD} = J. H. van Dale; {Ven.} = I. Veniaminov; {Ves.} = Z. Veselovska (З. Веселовська = З.Н. Веселовская); {Vinn.} = I. Vinnikov (И.Н.Винников); {Vit.} = E. Vitterbo; {Vl.} = J. A. Vullers; {Vld.} = B. Vladimircov (Б.Я. Владимирцов); {Vln.} = A. Vaillant; {Vlr.} = Karl Vollers; {Vm.} = Hermann (Ármin) Vambéry; {Vn.} = Jules Vendryes; {Vnb.} = Rodney Venberg; {Vnk.} = Wolfgang Veenker; {Vnt.} = B. Venturino; {Vogt} = Hans Vogt; {Vr.} = Jan de Vries; {Vrb.} = V. Verbickij (В. Вербицкий); {Vrg.} = Joseph Vergote; {Vrl.} = Charles Virolleaud; {Vrt.} = Edith Vértes; {Vs.} = Max Vasmer; {Vtr.} = E. Vetter; {Vv.} = Alexander Vovin; {Vxr.} = Matrjona Vakhrusheva (М.П. Вахрушева); {VZ} = V. Veljaminov-Zernov (В.В. Вельяминовъ-Зерновъ); {W} = Ferdinand J. Wiedemann; {Wb.} = Walter v. Wartburg; {Wc.} = Yrjö Wichmann; {Wd.} = Wada Shôhei; {Wdk.} = Klaus Wedekind; {WeibP} = Chr. Weibegué, P. Palayer; {Wh.} = W. H. Whiteley; {Wk.} = K. B. Wiklund; {Wl.} = Ekkehard Wolff; {Wld.} = Alois Walde; {Wlf.} = Dominik J. Woelfel; {Wll.} = H. D. Williamson; {Wlm.} = W. E. Welmers; {Wn.} = A. J. van Windekens; {WNL} = Workshop in Nostratic Linguistics (Moscow, Aug. 1994) (S. Starostin, A. Dolgopolsky, A. Dybo, E. Helimski, A. Militarev, O. Stolbova, etc.); {Wnt.} = Werner Winter; {WP} = Alois Walde & Julius Pokorny; {Wr.} = Michael Weiers; {Wrd.} = O. Wardrop; {Wrk.} = F. Wordick; {WrW} = T. Wright, ed. by R. P. Wülcker; {WS} = Werner Sasse; {Ws.} = W. Westendorf; {Wt.} = Calvert Watkins, {Wts.} = N. Witsen; {WVD} = *Wogulische Volksdichtung*, gesammelt und übersetzt von Artturi Kannisto; {WW} = Wilhelm Wackernagel; {WZWed.} = Wolde-Gebriel Tanaba, Zewde Cheru & K. Wedekind; {Xak.} = F. Xakimzjanov (Ф.С. Хакимзянов); {Xud.} = А. Худобашевъ (Ա. Խուդոբաշեան, A. M. Xudobashean); {Y} = Yamamoto Kengo; {YGE} = 'Aba Yoħanəṣ Gäbrä-'Əgzi'abħer; {YGM} *Y Geiriadur Mawr* by H. Meurig Evans & W. O. Thoms; {Ymj.} = Yamaji Hiroaki; {Yu} = Changton Yu; {Yv.} = Israel Yeivin (יִשְׂרָאֵל יֵבִין); {Z} = I. Zaxarov (Иван Захаров); {Zab.} = A. Zaborski; {Zaj.} = A. Zajaczkowski; {Zhgh.} = S. Zhghent'i (Ն. Չղենտի); {Zhong} = Zhong Suchun; {ZL} = Zelealem Leyew; {Zl.} = E. Zyhlarz; {ZM} = M. Zajceva & M. Mullonen (М.И. Зайцева, М.И. Муллонен); {ZMO} = R. David Zorc & Madina M. Osman; {Zn.} = J. Th. Zenker; {Zv.} = Kamil Zvelebil; {Zvd.} = M. Zavadskij (М.

Завадскій); {ZVSZ} = *Základní všeslovanská slovní zásoba*, ed. by P. Kopečný; {Zw.} = H. A. Zwick.

Symbols of ancient and medieval sources and authors

[Ab.] = *Abushqa* (Chaghatay-Osman dict., 16th c.); [Aesch.] = Aeschylus; [Agr.] = Agricola (Finnish, 16th c.); [AH] = *Kitâbu-l-Idrâk li-lisâni-l-atrâk* by Abû-Hayyâ; [AmM] = Ammianus Marcellinus; [Ap.] = *Āpastamba* (OI); [Arist.] = Aristotle; [AT] = *Altan Tobchi* [a Mongolian chronicle, 17th c.] (quoted after MED); [AthV] = *Atharva-Veda* (OI); [Aug.] = Augustine; [AY] = *Altun Yaruq* (OT translation of *Suvarṇaprabhasa*); [Bd.] = P. Budi (Albanian, 17th cent.); [Ber.] = Pamva Berynda (Ukrainian lexicographer, 17th c.); [Bgd.] = P. Bogdani (Albanian, 17th cent.); [Bhatt.] = *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (OI); [BL] = *Bada'i' al-Lughat* (Chaghatay, 15th c.); [BMTQ] = *Bulghat al-Mushtâq fi Lughat at-Turk wa-l-Qifjâq* (an Arabic-Qypchaq vocabulary of the 14th c., ed. by A. Zajaczkowski); [Br.] = *Brāhmaṇa* (OI); [Brtk.] = J. Bretkun (*Biblija, Postille*) [OLt, 16th c.]; [BS] = Shim'on ben Sirah (Post-Biblical Hebrew); [BT] = The Babylonian Talmud; [Bzk.] = Gjon Buzuku (Albanian, 16th c.); [Call.] = Callimachus epicus (Greek, 3rd c. BCE); [CC] = *Codex Cumanicus* (Old Qypchaq, 14th c.); [Dhat.] = *Dhātupāṭha* (an ancient Indian list of roots ascribed to Pāṇini); [DI] = Duenos inscription (Old Latin); [Diosc.] = *De Materia Medica* by Pedanius Dioscorides, a Greek physician and pharmacologist (1st c. CE); [Dk.] = Mikalojus Daukša (OLt, 16th c.), [DQ] = *Dede Qorqut* (Old Osman Turkic); [Dv.] = Davies, *Dictionarium duplex* [dict. of Welsh (L., 1632)]; [EA] = Tell-el-'Amarna tablets (Old Canaanite; quoted from Knudtzon EA, Mercer EAT & Rainey EAT); [ED] = *Edictum Diocletiani* [cf. Bibliography] (for Gaulish glosses); [El.] = The Elbing vocabulary (German-Prussian, ≈ 1400 CE); [Eleph.] = Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Egypt, 5th c. BCE); [En.] = Ennius (Latin author, 3rd-2nd c. BCE); [Epc.] = Epicharmus comicus (Gk author, 5th c. BCE); [epigr.] = epigraphic sources; [Eratosth.] = Eratosthenes (3rd c. BCE); [Euc.] = Euclides; [Eust.] = Eustathius (Greek philologist, 12th c. CE); [FB] = Frangu i Bardhë (Franciscus Blanchus) (Albanian, 17th c.); [Fest.] = Sextus Pompeus Festus, a Latin lexicographer; [Frh.] = *Frahang-i-pahlavik*, an Aramaic-Middle Persian glossary; [Ÿ] = glossa, glossaries; Γ = attested in ancient philological (grammatical) literature, but not in texts; [GLE] = *Glossarium Endlicherii* (Gaulish); [Gol.] = Arabic-Latin Dictionary by Golius; [HB] = *Hildebrandslied* (OHG); [Hdt.] = Herodotus (5th c. BCE); [HI] = *Hua-(y)i (y)i-yü* (Middle Mongolian); [Hmd.] = al-Hamdâni (Himyarite, 10th c.); [Hs.] = Hesychius; [Hudh.] = Hudhailian poems (Classical Arabic); [IIV] = *Istorija iudejskoj vojny*

(Old Russian); [IM] = Ibn Muḥanna's *Ḥilyatu-'insân wa ḥalbatu-l-lisân* (Middle Mongolian and Middle Turkic, 14th c.); [IS] = *Insadi-Sutra* (Old Uyгур); [IsV] = *Istanbul Vocabulary* of Middle Mongolian; [JF] = Josephus Flavius; [Jh.] = *aş-Şahâḥ al-'arabîya* by al-Jauharî (11th c.); [JT] = The Jerusalemite Talmud; [KC] = *Kartulis cxovreba* (Old Georgian); [KJB] = *King James' Bible* (English); [KY] = *Kyerim-yusa* [incl. a glossary (named *Koryol-pangoln*) of Middle Korean, 12th c.]; [L] (and [LV], [LM]) = *Leiden Manuscript* [Arabic-MT-MM-Persian vocabulary of 1245; the Turkic part was ed. by Houtsma (TAG), the M part by Poppe (Pp. L I-III)]; [Λ] = native lexicons and synonym lists (for OI, Ak, a. o. words not attested in texts); [LA] = *Lisân al-'arab* (14th c.); [LxS] = *Lex Salica* (Latin with OHG words, 6th c. CE); [LXX] = *Septuaginta* (a Greek translation of the Old Testament, ≈ 2nd c. BCE); [Lyc.] = Lycophron (Greek, 3rd c. BCE); [MA] = *Muqaddimatu-l-'Adab* (Middle Mongolian & Chaghatay, 14th c.); [Man.] = Manetho Astrologus (Greek, 5th c. CE); [Mar.] = *Codex Marianus* (*Mariinskoje chetverojevangelije*) (OCS); [Mas.] = Masoretic tradition (of the *Vetus Testamentum* in BHb); [MBh] = *Mahabharata* (Sanskrit); [MCh] = Moyun-Churu stela (OT runic inscription, N. Mongolia, 8th c. CE); [Mdr.] = *Midrashîm* (Jewish exegetic literature in MdH and JA); [MhK] = [MKsh.] = Maḥmûd al-Kašgarî, *Kitâbu Diwâni Luġâti-t-Turki* (Old Turkic); [Mlc] = הַחֲלִיץ (Ha-Meliç, a medieval SmHb—Ar—SmAr vocabulary); [MnP] = Menander Protector (a Byzantine author, 6th c. CE); [Mns.] = *Man'yo:shu:* (Old Japanese); [MS] = *Maitrayani Samhita* (Old Indian); [Msh.] = *Mishnah* (מִשְׁנָה) (Middle Hebrew); [Naq.] = The Naqa'id of Jarir (a medieval Arabic poetic text); [Nbg] = 'an-Nâbigha (Arab poet of the 6th c.); [NicE] = Nicander Epicus (Greek author, 2nd c. BCE); [NicR] = Nicolo da Recco (Italian traveller of the 14th. c., his ms. of 1341 contains data on Gnc); [NihSh] = *Nihon shoki* (Old Japanese); [NN] = anonymous Cheremis-Russian dictionary, ms., Nizhni-Novgorod, 1795; [NQ] = *Nuzhatu-'l-qulub* by Ḥamdullah Qazwîni; [NR] = *Nichû-reki* (Middle Korean); [Nsh.] = Nashwan (Yemenite Arabic with Himyarite substratum, late 10th and early 11th c.); [NT] = *New Testament* and its translated versions; [Opp.] = Oppianus Apamensis (Greek author, 3rd c. CE); [OQ] = *The Legend of Oghuz Qaghan* (Middle Uyгур, 13th c.); [Or.] = Origenes (*Hexapla* with BHb in Greek script); [OT] = *Old Testament* and its translated versions; [Pañc.] = *Pañcatantra* (Sanskrit); [Paul.] = Paulus, a Latin lexicographer quoted by Sextus Pompeus Festus; [Plin.] = Plinius; [Plt.] = Plautus; [Pœn.] = *Pœnulus* by Plautus; [Pol.] = Polybios (Greek author; 2nd c. BCE); [PP] = Middle Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script; [Praen.] = *Fibula Praenestina* (Old Latin, 5th c. BCE); [Psh.] = *Peshitta* [Syriac translation of the OT and the NT]; [Qam.] = *al-Qâmûs*, an Arabic dictionary by al-Fîrûzâbâdî (14th-15th c.); [QB] = *Qutadghu Bilig* (Old Turkic); [Qr.] = 'al-Qur'an, Koran; [Rabg.] = Rabghûzî (Middle

Turkic, 14th c.; quoted after Grøn. R, Cl., and Rdl.); [Rh.] = Rhianus Epicus (Greek author, 3rd c. BCE); [RJ] = *Ruiju Meigishe* (Middle Japanese vocabulary); [Rm] = *Ramayana* (Sanskrit); [RV] = *Rig-Veda* (Old Indian); [S] = *Mongolun Niuca Tobca'an (Secret History of Mongols)* (Middle Mongolian); [San.] = *Sanglax* (a Chaghatay-Persian dictionary, 18th c.); [SB] = *Le Mystère de Sainte-Barbe* (Middle Breton); [ŚB] = *Śatapatha-Brāhmana* (Old Indian); [Σχ.] = *Scholια*, early Greek grammarians's remarks\comments on Homer; [SG] = Sankt-Gallen Vocabulary (OHG); [SMD] = Sino-Mongolian documents of the late 14th cent. (after Haen. SMD); [Sph.] = Sappho; [StB] = Stephanos Byzantios (Greek philologist, ≈ 5th c. CE); [Suid.] = Suidas Lexicographus (Greek philologist, 10th c. CE); [Supr.] = the Suprasl manuscript (OCS); [T'A] = *Tâj al-'ârûs* (Arabic dict., 18th c.); [TAG] = *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar nach der Leidener Handschrift* (hrsg. und erläutert von Martijn Theodor Houtsma); [TF] = *Tongki fuqa aqô xergen-i bitxe* (vocabulary of Pre-Classical Manchu); [Tf.] = MT *Tafsir* (interlinear translation of the Qur'an), {acc. to Cl., intermediate between OT X and Chg (cf. Bor. T); [Theo.] = Theocritus (Greek poet, 3rd c. BCE); [1001N] = *Thousand and One Nights* (Arabic); [Tos.] = *Tosefta* (JPA and MHb); [Trg.] = *Targûmîm* (תַּרְגּוּמֵי מִיָּמִין, Aramaic translations of the Old Testament); [TrgJ] = Targum of Jonathan (Jewish Aramaic); [TrgO] = Targum of Onkelos (Jewish Aramaic); [TrgOJ] = Targum of Onkelos-Jonathan type (Jewish Aramaic); [TT] = Old Turkic texts from Turfan; [TV] = Tiberian vocalization of Hebrew; [TZ] = *at-Tuhfatu-z-zakîya fî luğati turkîya* (dict. of MT, 15th c.); [UMT] = Uyghur medical texts (ed. by G. R. Rachmati); [VC] = *Vocabularium Cornicum* (Old Cornish); [Vop.] = Vopadeva (Sanskrit); [Vsr.] = *Visramiani* (Middle Georgian, 12th c.); [VTq.] = *Vepxis T'q'aosani* by Shota Rustaveli (Middle Georgian, 12th c.); [Vulg.] = *Vulgata* (Latin translation of the Old and the New Testament, 4th c.); [WCP] = Westcar Papyrus (an Eg text); [Yajñ.] = *Mitākṣara*, a commentary by Vijnāneṣvara on Yājñavalkya's *Dharmaśāstra*; [Yg.] = Ahmad b. Mahmud Yughnāki (Turkic author, 13th c.); [YChPSh] = *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* (Middle Mongolian; quoted after SM); [Z] = Zirni Manuscript (Middle Moghol); [Zhr.] = Zuhayr in Ahlwardt's Diwans (Arabic); [ZhY] = *Zhiyuan (y)iyü* (MM of the 13th-14th c.; quoted after SM and Iw.).

These indications of the source follow the language name.

Books of the Old Testament & the New Testament (and their translated versions) are quoted with generally accepted abbreviations. (ψ ...) means Psalm (+ number).

**ABBREVIATIONS
OF GRAMMATICAL, PHONOLOGICAL, AND ORTHOGRAPHIC TERMS,
FORMS AND CLASSES OF WORD,
TERMS OF THEIR DERIVATIONAL AND SEMANTIC HISTORY,
AND SIGNS DENOTING RECONSTRUCTIONS AND HYPOTHESES**

Cases: accus. = accusative; abl. = ablative; absl = absolutive case; adv.c. = adverbial case; all. = allative; ben. = benefactive case; c. rect. = casus rectus; dat. = dative; dir. = directive; erg. = ergative; ess. = essive; gen. = genitive; ill. = illative ('into'); instr. = instrumentalis; iness. = inessive; lat. = lative; loc. = locative; loc.-dir. = locative-directive; nom. = nominative; obl = oblique case(s), stem of the oblique cases; pred. = predicative (S "stative form"); proc. = processive (Coll.'s processive, Tepl.'s соответственный падеж meaning 'along with, according to' in Vt) ; prt. = partitive; rect. = casus rectus (main [unmarked] case); sep. = separative case ('from'); voc. = vocative case, word of address.

Person/number/gender (of verbs, possessive suffixes, etc.): 1s = 1 sg., 2s = 2 sg., 3s = 3 sg., 1d = 1 du., 2d = 2 du., 3d = 3 du., 1p = 1 pl., 2p = 2 pl., 3p = 3 pl., 2m = 2 sg. m., 2f = 2 sg. f., 2n = 2 sg. ntr., 3m = 3 sg. m., 3f = 3 sg. f., 3n = 3 sg. ntr., 2pm = 2 pl. m., 3pm = 3 pl. m., 3pf = 3 pl. f., 3pn = 3 pl. ntr.

Verbal patterns (traditionally called "stems" or "forms", Diak.'s "stirpes" (sg. "stirps"), Hz.'s "degrees", Hb קִטְרָפֶס , L stirpes , R ПОРОДЫ) in S, B, Eg, C, Ch: *D* = D-stirps (D-pattern) (II form, Pi'el, fa'ala), *Dt* = DT-stirps (D-stirps with a *t-infix), *G* = G-stirps (Qal, fa'ala), *Gt*, *GT* = Gt-stirps (with a *t-infix, ifta'ala), *Gtn* = the Ak Gtn-stirps (with the infix -tən-, cf. Sd. GAG § 91), *Hoph* = Hoph'al; *I* = Jo.'s "simple (b) stem" (passive\intransitive?) in SES (Mh pf. θībār / subj. γαθβōr 'be broken', Jb C θēr (< *'θēbār] / γαθ'βor id., 'feδar / γαφ'δor 'shiver wuh fear', Hrs zēhār / γαzhōr 'appear, shine', Sq passive {Ls.} C i C e C), *M* = M-stirps in B, *N* = N-stirps (Niph'al, 'infa'ala), *L* = lengthened stirps (Ar fa:ala), *Po* = Po'el, *Pol* = Polel, *Pu* = Pu'al, *S* = S-stirps (causative) (in B, Eg, C, and Ch); *Sh* = Š-stirps (Hiph'il, af'ala, causative) (in S), *Sht* (= Št) = Št-stirps (Ar X form istaf'ala and the corresponding SS stirps), *T* = T-stirps (a G-stem with the prefix T), *TD* = TD-stirps (a D-stem with the prefix T, Hb hitpa'el, Aram 'itpa'el, Ar stirps V: tafa'ala) in S; *TL* = TL-stirps (the Arabic stirps VI: tafa:ala). The forms in brackets (... / ...) following the roots of the WS lgs (G-stem) are the perfective aspect (3m sg.)

and the imperfective (stem of 1s, 2m, 3m, 3f, 1p), e.g. Ar ✓ k t b (kataba / -ktubu) = Ar ✓ k t b (pf. kataba / ipf. -ktubu). In Gz and SES the quoted forms in brackets are pf. and sbjn. In Ak the form in brackets is the infinitive.

Abbreviations of other terms: aadj. = attributive form of adjectives (Gmc. "strong declination of adj."); ab = term of abuse; abf. = autobenefactive, autobenefactivizing (form of verbs); abs. = status absolutus, (of pronouns) absolute pronoun; acc. = according; accus. = accusative; acp. = active participle; act. = active voice; act. prtc. = active participle; adj. = adjective; AdS = additional source (if a root\word in a descending lge. goes back to coalescence\contamination of two etymological sources: a main one and an additional one); adv. = adverb; alt. = alternative; alt. hyp. = an alternative hypothesis; AM (in Bibliography) = anno mundi (years of the Jewish Calendar); amb - a word\root is ambiguous, i.-e. may have two (or more) different etymologies; anim. = animate (gender); ann. = status annexus (in B); aor. = aorist (including H.-P. Müller's Eblaitic "Kurzform der Präformativkonjugation"); aor. inf. = infinitive of aorist; ap. = active participle; arc = archaic; as. = assimilation, resulting from assimilation; asp. = aspirate, aspirated; ass. = assimilative, assimilatory; ass. infl. = assimilatory influence; at. = attributive; att. = attested (e.g. "FU [att. in Z]" = "FU [attested in Z only]"); attr. = attributive (e.g. attributive forms of numerals and adjectives); aubf. = autobenefactive; augm. = augmentative; aut. prn. = autonomous (independent) personal pronoun (pronomina separata, such as IE *tū and S *ʔan-ta 'thou'); aux. = auxiliary; aux. v. = auxiliary verb; b = bookish; ben. = benefactive (form of verbs); bf. = back formation (back derivation); bfs. = back formations; caus. = causative; caus.-rf. = causative-reflexive; cd. = compound form\word, compositum; cds. = compound words\forms, composita; ce. = 'copyist's error, misspelling'; cf. = confer; ch = a word used by\with children; cj. = conjugation class (= Pr.'s and Fc.'s "conjugaison"); cmpr. = comparative degree; cn. = a conjecture; cngt. = connegative (the verbal form used with neg. aux. verbs in the Sm lgs.); cnj. = conjunctive; cnjc. = conjunction; cns. = consonant; cnss. = consonants; coll. = collective, nomen collectivum; com. = genus communis, common gender (⇔ ntr.); conat. = conative (derived verb); coop. = cooperative (derived verbs); corr. = (etymological) corespondence (e.g. sound correspondence); corrs. = correspondences; cp. = compare; cs. = status constructus; ctx. = context form; d. = derivative, derived word, derived stem, derived (from); Δ = dialectal; dadj. = "definite" (pronominalized) adjective (in Blt and Sl); ddn. = distance-deictically neutral (i.e. deixis without the distance opposition *hic* ↔ *iste* ↔ *ille* [proximal ↔ intermediate

↔ distal]); deglott. = deglottalization; dem. = demonstrative; d-emp. = de-emphatization, de-emphatized variant; dem. prn. = demonstrative pronoun; denom. = denominative; der. (= d.) = derivative; dev. = deverbal, deverbative; df. = definite form, status determinatus; df. art. = definite article; dial. = dialectal, referring to a dialect or dialects of the respective lge.; dict. = dictionary; dim., dimin. = diminutive; dir. = directive (case, pre-\post-position); dis. = dissimilation, resulting from dissimilation; dl. = dialect; dls. = dialects; ds. = derived words, derived stems, derivatives; du. = dual; dur. = durative (verb); ε = 'a kind of' (used in semantic definitions if the exact specific meaning of the word\stem is unknown); em. = status emphaticus; emph. = emphatic; encl. = enclitic; end = term of endearment (Kose-wort\form); err. - "erroneous, -ly" (in mentioning papers\opinion of scholars); err. φ = "erroneous, -ly for phonetic reasons"; esp. = especially; et. = etymology; et al. = et alia, and others; etl. = etymologic(al); ευφ. = euphemism, replacement of a tabooed word; ev. = evidence; excl. = exclusive; ex. gem. = expressive gemination; ext. = a root extension (Wurzelerweiterung, determinant, élargissement de la racine); +ext. , + ext. = with a root extension; exts. = root extensions; +exts. = with root extensions; f. = feminine, female; f = folkloric; Fcj. = conjugation class (according to Foucauld); fem. = feminine; ffd. = "for further details see ..."; folk-etl. = folk-etymological; frq. = frequentative, frequentativity; ft. = future; fts. = "future-tense stem", stem of the future tense (e.g. in Dravidian); Γ. = a glossa, attested in ancient\medieval grammatical or philological treatises only, rather than in actual usage in texts; [Υ] = a glossa, attested in ancient\medieval glossaries; gem. = gemination, with a geminated cns.; ger. = gerund; gl. = glottalized; gmc. = geminated consonant; +gmc., + gmc. = geminated initial cns. of the following word (as in the df. art. in Hb); gmc+ = geminated final cns. of the preceding morph; gr. = grade of the IE and Sl apophony (e-gr. = *e-grade; 0-gr. = *0-grade; O-gr. = zero-grade; L-gr. = lengthening-grade; R-gr. = reduction-grade); hab., habit. = forme d'habitude (in B); hier., hier. *'...' = a picture of ... used as phonetic character (in Eg script); hist = a word referring to remote past, to history, denoting an object that does not exist to-day; h.l. = hapax legomenon; hon = honorific; hpc. = hypocoristic (form of endearment); hpl. = haplological contraction; hyp. = hypothesis, hypothetic; ʌ - ideophonic root (including "nursery words" [Lallwörter]); id. - idem (the same meaning); id. - word of ideophonic function\structure (albeit not necessarily of ideophonic origin); imprs. = impersonal; inv. = imperative; inanim. = inanimate; inch. = inchoative (verb); incl. = [1] inclusive (pronouns, pronominal forms), [2] "including" (used, *inter alia*, in references to indicate acceptable parts of colleagues' genetic comparisons while rejecting other parts of their comparisons as unconvincing or

erroneous); *indc.* = indicative mood; *indf.* = indefinite, indefinite form, status indeterminatus (as in Arabic); *inf.* = infinitive; *infl.* = influence; *inj.* = injunctive mood; *instr.* = instrumentalis, the meaning of the instrumental case; *int., intens.* = intensive (derived verb); *intercons.* = interconsonantic; *interr.* = interrogative; *intervoc.* = intervocalic; *intr.* = intransitive; *invar.* = invariable; *ip.* = imperfective (aspect); *ipf.* = imperfect (tense); *irreg.* = irregular(ly), an irregular phonetic change; $\iota\varphi$ = ideophon (a word belonging to the grammatical class of ideophons); *iter.* = iterative (verb); *ix.* = infix; *js.* = jussive; *k.* (in semantic definitions) = kind, $k = k\text{ə}\text{t}\bar{\iota}\bar{h}$ (written version of BHb & BAr at variance with the traditional reading); $\lambda = \Lambda$ = a lexical item in traditional dictionaries (not found in texts); *lc.* = local (a word of local usage); *l.c.* = loco citato; *Lcj.* = conjugation class (according to Lanfry); *lge.* = language; *L-gr.* = lengthening grade (Dehnstufe) of the IE apophony; *lgs* = languages; *lit.* = literally; *Ll.* = (going back to) a Lallwort, a nursery word; *loc.* = locative; *loc.-dir.* = locative-directive; *lr.* = laryngeal; *lrs.* = laryngeals; *lt.* = loan translation; *m.* = masculine; μ = resulting from morphological restructuring; *md.* = medium (middle) voice; *med.* = term of medicine; $\mu\nu$ = metonymy; *mom.* = momentaneous (verb); *mp.* = medio-passive voice; *mrf.* = multiple reference form (cf. Hw. A 160); *msd.* = masdar; $\mu\phi$ = metaphore, metaphoric usage; *mt.* = metathesis, resulting from metathesis; *mte.* = metathesis of emphaticity (shift of the glottalic or emphatic articulation, e.g. $t..k\text{̣} > \text{t}...k$); *n* (in 1n, 2n, 3n) = neuter gender; *N.* = noun (in structural formulas); *n.* = noun; *n. abstr.* = nomen abstractum, abstract noun; *n. act.* = nomen actionis; *n-a act.* (= nomina act.) = nomina actionis; *n. ag.* = nomen agentis; *n-a ag.* (= nomina ag.) = nomina agentis; *n. coll.* = nomen collectivum, nomina collectiva; *neg.* = negative; *neg. v.* = negative verb ('do not'); *n. gener.* - nomen genericum; *n. l.* = nomen loci, nomina loci, place-name(s) (toponym[s]); *n.-p.* = non-past (present-future); *n. pr.* = nomen proprium, nomina propria; *nr.* = narrative tense\aspect; *ntr.* = neuter gender; $\mathbf{0}_1$ = an onomatopoeic word\root; $\mathbf{0}_2$ = secondary onomatopoeic associations; *objc.* = objective conjugation (indicating grammatical categories of the object); *obj.* = object; *obl.* = oblique case(s), oblique; *obj.* = pronominal suffix of object ('me', 'him', etc.) following a verb; *ol.* = verbs of the oligochronic subspect (Aktionsart) (e.g., $\text{R}\text{П}\text{О}\text{Б}\text{Е}\text{Г}\text{А}\text{Т}\text{Ь}$ 'run for a while'); π = poetical, used predominantly in poetry; *p.* = preterite, past; *paus.* = pausal form; *pc.* = particle; *p.c.* = personal communication (in bibliographical references); *Pcj.* = conjugation class (according to Prasse); *pcv.* = prefix-conjugated verb (a verb with prefixes marking person-number-gender) (in C); *pcvs.* = prefix-cojugated verbs; *pers.* = person, personal; *pf.* =

perfective (aspect), perfect; pf. c., pf. cons.x = perfectum consecutivum (wayyiqtol in Hb); pfc. = perfect(ive) (tense) (as in L and Gmc, "passé accompli", Past Indefinite); pfv. = perfective aspect; ph. unr. = phonetically unreliable; pl. = plural; pl. obj. = verbal form referring to several objects'; plrt. = pluralitative, plurality verbs (referring to many objects\subjects, as R *понабрал, мёр*); pl. t. = pluralis tantum; p. n. (= n. pr.) = proper noun, nomen proprium'; poss. = possessive; poss. prn(s). = possessive pronoun(s); postcons. = postconsonantal; postnom. = postnominal; postp. = postposition; postvoc. = postvocalic; pp. = passive participle (including Gk "verbal adj." with -τός); ppa. = pronominal possessive affix (suffix or prefix) and pronominal affix of pre-\ postpositions; +ppa. = nominal stem (or preposition) preceding pronominal personal affixes (e.g. Hb *-אִשְׁתּוֹ יִשְׁרָאֵל* *ʔišt- in ʔišt-ō* 'his wife'); ppas. = possessive pronominal affixes; p./prs. = preterito-present (as in the Gmc lgs.); p. prtc. = past participle; pqp. = plusquamperfect; pradj. = predicative adjective; precons. = preconsonantal; pred. = predicative (e.g. predicative forms of adjectives and numerals (S "stative form")); prep. = preposition; pres. = present; pret. = preterite, past; prevoc. = prevocalic; prm. = primary stem (in S: stem of the pS pf., Eth js., CS [Hb, Ar, Aram] ip.); prn. = pronoun; prnl. = pronominalized (adj., prn.) (as in Blt and Sl); prob. = probably; procl. = proclitic; progr. = progressive; progr. as. = progressive assimilation; prohib. = prohibitive (form, particle); prs. (= pres.) = present; prs.-ft. = present-future (non-past); prs. indef. = present indefinite (tense); pr. st. = primary stem of the S verb (pS and WS old pf. and js., CS ipf., SS sbjn.); prtc. = participle; prtcs. = participles; prts. = preterit stem; ps. = passive; ψ_0 = pseudo-onomatopoeic; ps. cj. = passive conjugation (in Kartvelian); pv. = preverb; pvs. = preverbs; pwg. = paratactical word group (Cl.'s "hendiaduin"); px. = prefix; pxs. = prefixes; *q* = *q̣əre* (traditional reading of BHb & BAr deviating from the written version); qn., qne. = qu'un, qu'une (in French semantic definitions) = quelqu'un, quelqu'une; qu., Qu. = questionable, questionably (both in citing etymologies of other scholars and in advancing AD's hypotheses); qual. = qualitative (a verbal form) (in Cpt.); qu. ϕ = questionable on phonetic grounds; q.v. = quod vide; q.v. ffd. = quod vide for further details; qw. = unchanging quality word (= {STM} *изобразительное слово*); r = rare; $\sqrt{\quad}$ = root; $\sqrt{\quad}$ I = the first cns. of the root; $\sqrt{\quad}$ II = the second cns. of the root; $\sqrt{\quad}$ III = the third cns. of the root; $\textcircled{\quad}$ = found in religious texts (sakrale Texten) only; rcpr. = reciprocative; rdp. = reduplication, reduplicated form\stem; rec. = reconstruction; recs. = reconstructions; *reg.* = regular(ly); reg. = regular; a regular phonetic change; regr. = regressive; regr. as. = regressive assimilation; rel. = relative; rel. (= rel. mood) = relative form of verbs (including the pS

and Ak *-u-mood used in subordinate clauses = traditionally called "subjunctive" giving rise to the CS new ipf. > Ar -u-mood); rel. adj. = relative adjective; rel. prn. = relative pronoun; res. = resultative; resp = "language of respect"; rf. = reflexive; rf. prn. = reflexive pronoun; rl. = "royal language" (in Ym); SA = Schwebelaut; sb. = sub-branch (in genetic classification of lgs.); sbcj. = subjective conjugation (that does not indicate grammatical categories of the object [= безобъектное спряжение, Stn.'s "unbestimmte Konjugation"]); sbjn. = subjunctive; sc. = scilicet, that is'; scv. = suffix-conjugated verb (with suffixes of person-number-gender); scvs. = suffix-cojugated verbs; sd. = semantic derivative (result of semantic change); sdl. = subdialect; sds. = semantic derivatives (result of semantic change); s.e. = status emphaticus; σε = synecdoche; sec. 0 = secondary onomatopoeic associations; sem. unr. = semantically unreliable; sg. = singular; sim. = similar; snglt. = singulative (name of one object, nomen unitatis ↔ n. coll.); s/objc. = subjective-objective conjugation (the verbal form indicates grammatical categories both of the subject & of the object [= объектное спряжение, Stn.'s "bestimmte Konjugation"]); s.p. = separate pagination; spec. = specially; sprl. = superlative degree; srf. = singulative reference form (cf. Hw. A 161); srv. = survives ... (e.g. "S [srv. in Ar]" = "S [survives in Arabic]"); ssd. = subsubdialect; st. abs. (= abs.) = status absolutus; st. idt. = status indeterminatus; st. det. (= df.) = status determinatus; st. pron. = status pronominalis (e.g. Hb. בָּנִי in 'בָּנִי בָּנִי 'my son'); st. r. = status rectus (in Ak); stt. = stative form of the verb (Ak permansive, Eg, Cpt qualificative = pseudoparticiple); sttpf. = stative perfect (perfect with the meaning of stative) (in the WS lgs.); subst. = substantive, having the nature or function of a grammatical substantive (e.g., of substantivized forms of numerals or adjectives); sup. = supinum; sv. = strong verb, i.e. a verb with apophony (in Gmc); s.v. = sub voce; sx. = suffix; sxs. = suffixes; syll. = syllable; synharm. = synharmonic (due to vowel harmony, referring to vw. harmony); top. = toponym; {tr.} = traditional system of reconstruction; trad. = traditional (interpretation, transcription, etc.); trans. = transitive; trans. cj. = transitive conjugation (in Kartvelian); UA = Uralo-Altaic regional word; unc = unceremonious style (used among close friends, with children, etc.); unc. = unconvincing, unconvincingly (on etymologies of other scholars); unc. et. = unconvincing etymology; unc. σ = unconvincing on semantic grounds; unc. φ - unconvincing on phonetic grounds; unc-ly = unconvincingly; unj. = unjustified; unj. φ - unjustified on phonetic grounds; unk. voc. = unknown vocalization, with unknown vowels; unt. = untenable, -ly (in etymologies of other scholars); us. = usually; uv. = uvular; v. = verb; v. ps. = verbum passivum (passive voice); v. st. = verb of state

(глагол состояния); vb. clc. = verbal collocation (a word group with functions and meaning of a verb); vb. n. = verbal noun, masdar; var. = variant; vd. = voiced; vi. = intransitive verb; vl = vulgar; vl. = (plain) voiceless; voc. = vocative, vocative form; vr. = verbum reflexivum; vt. = transitive verb; vw. = vowel; \mathcal{F} = see; WL = women's language; wv. = weak verb, i.e. a verb without apophony (in Gmc); WW = Wanderwort; ? μ - a morphologically doubtful connection (the derivation is not clear, the root structure is deviant, etc.); ? σ - a doubtful connection (for semantic reasons); ?? σ - a highly doubtful connection (for semantic reasons); ? $\sigma\mu$ - a word of doubtful semantic interpretation; ?? $\sigma\phi$ - a highly doubtful connection (for semantic and phonetic reasons); ? ϕ - a phonetically doubtful connection; ?? ϕ - a highly doubtful connection (for phonetic reasons); \uparrow = high style; \downarrow = non-standard; † = obsolete; $\leftarrow d$ = 'derived from'; $d \rightarrow$ = 'whence a derivative'; $\leftarrow b$ = 'borrowed from, a loan from'; $b \rightarrow$ = 'whence a borrowing'; \rightarrow = semantic change (**a** \rightarrow **b** = 'a changed to b'); \leftarrow = semantic change (**a** \leftarrow **b** = 'a results from semantic change of b'); \times - contamination (merger) of roots, stems, or words (**a** \times **b** = 'a contaminated [merged] with b'); \approx , \pm = 'approximately' (on the reconstructions and the meaning of reconstructed roots\words). Roman figures in small caps (with or without addition of BC or AD) denote the century: XIII means "the 13th c.", VI AD = "the 6th c. AD". Roman figures preceded by \geq mean "from ... cent. on" (e.g. \geq XIII = "from the 13th cent. on").

The sign J (preceding the symbol of the source, within {}-brackets) means "in X's notation" (e.g. {JBz}, {JIS}, {JSDM94}). The sign † (preceding the symbol) means "according to X's theory, hypothesis" (e.g. {†SDM94}, {†Hel.}, {†Rsl.}); {† π AD} means "according to AD's hypothesis about the prosodic origin of some proto-Turkic ascending diphthongs". The sign ∂ (before the symbol of the source) indicates that the transcription of the author in question is indicated with Dolgopolsky's modification (interpretation).

On semantic designation for subfamilies (or sub-sub-families) of languages.

If the semantic definition of a word or a root is indicated with the proto-form only, it means that it is preserved in all descendant languages mentioned in the entry; e.g. "pCh * $t\grave{a}b\grave{u}$ ∇ 'mud' > WCh: Hs $t\grave{a}b\grave{o}$, Gw $t\grave{o}bo$ | Bl $te\grave{b}\grave{b}i$, Ngm $nd\grave{e}\grave{b}i$ | Ngz $t\grave{a}b\grave{o}$ | Cg $nd\grave{a}b\grave{a}k^y\grave{a}n$, Kry $t\grave{a}b\grave{a}k\grave{u}$, Sir $t\grave{e}\grave{b}\grave{e}h\grave{i}$, Mbr $nd\grave{a}b\grave{a}k\grave{u}$, Dir $\grave{a}t\grave{u}\grave{b}\grave{a}k\grave{u}$ | Kir $nd\grave{o}p$ or $^n d\grave{o}p$, Plc $ndu\omega\grave{z}p$ or $^n du\omega\grave{z}p$, Dw $nd\omega\grave{a}p$, i.e. $^n d^{\omega}\grave{z}p$ or $\grave{u}d^{\omega}\grave{z}p$ || CCh: Tr: Pdl $t\grave{e}bd\grave{i}$, Hw $t\grave{a}b\grave{u}r\grave{a}$, G'nd $t\grave{e}pt\grave{a}$, Gbn $t\grave{e}pt\grave{a}$, Boka $t\grave{e}pt\grave{e}$ | McHigi: FIM $d\grave{u}b\grave{u}$ | Ktk {Nw.} $nda\grave{b}\grave{e}$ || ECh: Tmk $d\grave{u}b\grave{o}$, Nd D

dəbyà" = "pCh *tab∇ 'mud' > WCh: Hs tàbò id. (↳ Ngz tàbó), Gw tòbo id. | Bl teb̄i id.", etc.

Abbreviations and signs within semantic definitions: anyth. = anything, bc. = become, esp. = especially, smb. = somebody, so. = someone, somebody; sth. = something; th. = thing; \ = or, as well as (between alternative parts within semantic and grammatical definitions) (e.g., 'be weak \ soft' = 'be weak, be soft', sx. of du.\pl. = sf. of du., sx. of pl., 'some-\any-thing' = 'something, anything'); ≈ = approximately; ∈ = a kind of; us. = usually; '↑' = anaphoric sign "the meaning of a N word which is identical with the abovementioned meaning of the same root" (in cross-references within the same entry). In French definitions: ch. = chose, qch. = quelque chose, qn. = quelqu'un. In German definitions: bes. = besonders, d. h. = das heißt, etw. = etwas, jem. = jemand(-em, -es), jem-m = jemandem, jems. = jemandes. In Italian definitions: qs. = qualche cosa. In Latin definitions: pec. = peculiariter (especially).

N. b.: If a root\stem of a daughter language family or its branch is found in two or more etymological entries (due to the merger of N roots), it is specified (traced up to the level of attested languages) in one entry only. In the other entry\entries there is a short reference note with a siglum "q.v. ffd." (= "see for further details") that refers the reader to the entry with full information.

Signs denoting reconstructions and hypotheses:

- * - precedes a reconstructed form, word, or morpheme
- ** - precedes an indirect reconstruction (e.g. internal reconstruction)
- *° - precedes a reconstructed proto-form represented in one branch (of the family) only
- * - precedes reconstruction of meanings
- ** - precedes wrong reconstructions (or those not shared by the present author) or wrong translations of words
- ⇔ precedes bibliographical indication of opinions that are not shared by the present author
- ¶ precedes reference to literature concerning the word\morpheme in question in a branch of a language family or precedes comments on the morpheme\word in such a branch
- ¶¶ precedes reference to literature concerning the word\morpheme in question in a language family or precedes comments on the morpheme\word in such a family
- ◇ precedes reference to literature concerning a proto-Nostratic word (root) or comment on a Nostratic word

◇ precedes reference to doubtful opinions concerning etymologies based on long-range relationship of languages

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography includes papers explicitly quoted in the text, as well as other sources of background information (dictionaries, grammars, studies in comparative, historical and synchronic phonology, morphology, etymology, language relationship etc.). It may be useful for further research in historical and comparative linguistics.

In references the sign \forall means "the whole paper". "S.p." (and "S. p.") means "separate pagination" (of an article within a journal or book); "Dict." = Dictionary; "fn." = footnote, "l.c." = loco citato, "n. t." = no title, "s. a." (or "s.a.") = sine anno (without indicated year), "s. l." (or "s.l.") = sine loco (without name of the city where the book was published or written), "pl." = plate(s); "n. s.", "n.s." = new series, nouvelle série (= "N.F." = neue Folge), "repr." = reprinted, "transl." = translation, "conf." = conference, "diss." = dissertation, "ed." = edited, edition, "Ms." = unpublished manuscript, "Sep." = Separatum, "PhDD" = PhD dissertation, "PhDT" = thesis of a PhD dissertation. For papers in German: "Jg." = Jahrgang, "hrsg." = herausgegeben, "u. a." (or "u.a.") = und andere, "≈" = approximately (on the years of publication). The superscript P denotes preprints. "MF" = Microfilm; "p.c." means "personal communication". For papers in Russian and other languages of the former Soviet Union: "ADD" = Avtoreferat doktorskoj disseracii, "AKD" = Avtoreferat kandidatskoj disseracii, "DD" = Doktorskaja dissertacija, "KD" = Kandidatskaja dissertacija. In many cases DD and KD remain as unpublished manuscripts, preserved in public libraries in the USSR or Russia, and are also available as published ADD and AKD.

In the etymological entries lists of bibliographical sources and comments are preceded by special signs:

the sign ¶ precedes a list of sources for a branch of a language family, as well as comments that refer to a branch of a family,

the double sign ¶¶ precedes sources and comments for a family of languages,

the sign ◇ precedes sources and comments for the Nostratic macro-family,

the sign ◊ precedes doubtful bibliographical sources and comments that refer to inter-family relationship.

The symbol \Leftrightarrow precedes bibliographical indication of opinions that are not shared by the author of this dictionary. Those which are only partially shared by me are indicated by the symbol \approx .

If there are several numbers (or fascicles) within a volume of a journal, the dash ("/") is used, e.g. "XXXIII/6" or "1888/3".

In this bibliography the publications are arranged according to the rules of Latin alphabetic order, without taking into account special signs. There is only one exception: initial Ç of the bibliographical abbreviation follows the initial C.

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LXX = Septuaginta.

Abbreviations of city names in the bibliography

AA = Ann Arbor, Mich.; Ab. = Abakan (Russia); Ad. = Addis-Ababa; AixP = Aix-en-Provence; Al. = Alma-Ata, Almaty (Kazakhstan); Alg. = Algiers; All. = Allahabad (India); Amst. = Amsterdam; Ank. = Ankara; Ann. = Annamalainagar (India);

Antw. = Antwerp, Anvers; Ash. = Ashkhabad, Ashgabat; Askhabad (Turkmenistan); Atl. = Atlanta, Ga. (USA); Atp. = Anantapur (Andhra Pradesh, India); Aus. = Austin, Tex.; B. = Berlin; Balt. = Baltimore; Bang. = Bangalore (India); Barc. = Barcelona; Bat. = Batumi (Georgia); Bdp. = Budapest; Beir. = Beirut, Beyrouth; Berk. = Berkeley; Bk. = Baku, Baqı; Blg. = Belgrad (Beograd), Bloom. = Bloomington, Ind.; Bol. = Bologna; Br. = Brest (France); Brat. = Bratislava; Brns. = Braunschweig, Brunswick (Germany); Brs. = Brussels, Bruxelles; Bs. = Boston; Btv. = Batavia (the former name of Djakarta, Indonesia); Btz. = Bautzen, Budyšin (Germany); Buc. = Bucarest; Calc. = Calcutta; Ch. = Chicago; Cheb. = Cheboksary (Russia); ChH. = Chapel Hill, N.C.; Chr. = Christiania; Clm. = Colombo (Ceylon); Cm. = Cambridge (England); CmM = Cambridge, Mass.; Col. = Columbus, Ohio; Cop. = Copenhagen, København; Cr. = Cracow (Kraków); Crb. = Carbondale, Ill.; Cuxh. = Cuxhaven (Helgoland, Germany); Db. = Dublin; Drm. = Darmstadt; Dush. = Dushambe; Ed. = Edinburgh; El. = Elista (Kalmuck Rep., Russia); Fairb. = Fairbanks (Alaska); FB = Freiburg in Breisgau; Fir. = Firenze, Florence; FN = Fort-National (Algeria); Fr. = Frankfurt am Main; Frz. = Frunze (Kirgizstan); Gd. = Gdańsk; Gen. = Geneva, Genève, Genf; Gl. = Glückstadt (Germany); Gött. = Göttingen; GR = Grand Rapids, Mich.; Gron. = Groningen (The Netherlands); Gs. = Gießen (Germany); Gtb. = Göteborg; H. = The Hague; Hd. = Heidelberg; Hdr. = Hyderabad (India); Hild. = Hildesheim (Germany); Hm. = Hamburg; Hnv. = Hannover; Hon. = Honolulu; Hrl. = Haarlem (The Netherlands); Hs. = Helsinki, Helsingfors; Htf. = Hertford (Great Britain); Ib. = Ibadan (Nigeria); In. = Innsbruck; Irk. = Irkutsk (Russia); Ist. = Istanbul; Izh. = Izhevsk (Russia); J. = Jerusalem; K. = Cologne, Köln; Kaz. = Kazan, Kazan'; Kev. = Kevelaer (Germany); Kh. = Kharkov; Khab. = Khabarovsk; Kish. = Chişinău, Kishinev; KL = Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia); Kn. = Kano (Nigeria); Kng. = Königsberg; Kt. = Kyoto (Japan); Kut. = Kutaisi (Georgia); Kzl = Kyzyl, Kizil (Tuva, Russian Federation); L. = London; LA = Los Angeles; Lah. = Lahore (Pakistan); Lb. = Ljubljana; Ld. = Leiden; Lgr. = Leningrad; Lpz. = Leipzig; Lv. = Louvain (Leuven); LvN. = Louvain-la-Neuve; Lw. = Lvov, Lwów; M. = Moscow; Mayn. = Maynooth (Ireland); Md. = Madrid; Mdg. = Maiduguri (Nigeria); Mdr. = Madras; Mds. = Madison, Wisc.; Mil. = Milano; Min. = Minneapolis; Mkl. = Makhachkala (Dagestan, Russian Federation); Mlb. = Malibu, Calif.; Mn. = Munich, München; Mnch. = Manchester; Mng. = Mangalore (India); Mok. = Mokolo (Cameroon); Mrb. = Marburg; Msr. = Mysore (India); Nap. = Naples, Napoli; ND = New Delhi; Neuch. = Neuchâtel {Switzerland}; NH = New Haven, Conn.; Nijm. = Nijmegen (The Netherlands); Nk. = Neunkirchen (Germany); NN = Nizhnij Novgorod; Novos. = Novosibirsk; Nuk. = Nukus (Karakalpak Rep. in Uzbekistan), NV = Neunkirchen-Vluyn (Germany); NY = New York; Opl. = Opladen (Germany); Ordzh. = Ordzhonikidze (the former Soviet name of Vladikavkaz, Russia); Oxf. = Oxford; P. = Paris; Phil. = Philadelphia; Pk. = Peking (Beijing, Peiping); Pn. = Poona, Pune (India); Pot. = Potiskum (Nigeria); Pr. = Prague, Praha, Prag; Prv. = Porvoo (Finland); Psh. = Prishtinë, Prishtina; Ptg. = Petrograd; Ptr. = Petrozavodsk (Karelia, Russian Federation); R. = Rome; RD = Rostov-na-Donu; Rev. = Reval (= Tallinn); Reyk. = Reykjavik; RG = Ramat-Gan

(Israel); Rn. = Rennes (Bretagne, France); Rt. = Rotterdam; Sar. = Saransk (Russia); SB = Saint Briec (Brittany, France); Sbr. = Saarbrücken; SF = San Francisco; SLC = Salt Lake City; Smf. = Simferopol (Crimea); SPb. = Saint-Petersburg; St. = Stockholm; Stg. = Stuttgart; Stl. = Stalinabad (the former name of Dushanbe, Tajikistan); Stnf. = Stanford Univ., Calif.; Str. = Straßburg, Strasbourg; Sykt. = Syktyvkar (= Sïktïvkar, Russia); Sz. = Szeged; Szék. = Székesfehérvár (Hungary); TA = Tel-Aviv; Tall. = Tallin, Tallinn; Tash. = Tashkent; Tb. = Tbilisi, Tphilisi; Teh. = Teheran; Tf. = Tiflis (a former name of Tbilisi); Tir. = Tirana, Tiranë; Tk. = Tokyo; Tor. = Turin, Torino; Tr. = Trieste; Trt. = Toronto; Trv. = Trivandrum (India); TSM = Turčiansky Svätý Martin (Slovakia); Tüb. = Tübingen; Tusc. = Tuscaloosa, Al.; UB = Ulan Bator, Ulaan Baatar; UP = University Park, Pa.; Up. = Uppsala; UU = Ulan-Udè (Buryat Republic in the Russian Federation); Vln. = Vilnius, Wilna; Vl. = Vladivostok; W. = Vienna, Wien; Wa., Wars. = Warsaw; Wash. = Washington, DC; Wb. = Wiesbaden; Wr. = Wrocław; Wrz. = Würzburg; Yak. = Yakutsk (Yakut Republic in Russia); Yar. = Yaroslavl' (Russia); Yer. = Yerevan; Ynd. = Yaounde (Cameroon); YO = Yoshkar-Ola (Russia); Yok. = Yokohama; Z = Zurich, Zürich; Zg. = Zagreb; Zr. = Zaria (Nigeri

Transliteration of non-Roman scripts in bibliographical references

Hebrew characters and vocalization signs: ױ = א, v = ו (fricative), w = ו, x = ח, t' = ט, kh = כ (fricative), ' = כּ, f = פ (fricative), c = צ, q = ק, ç = שׁ, sh = שׂ, t = ת, ë = *shwa* mobile, é = *céré* (e.g. sé = סֵ), e = *segol* (se = סֶ), á = *qámác*; a = *patakh*, ä = *patakh* furtivum; a' = reduced a (an allophon of ë); vowels indicated by *matres lectionis* are transliterated with a circumflex: û = וּ, ô = וֹ, î = י with a letter ײ, ê (or ey, if pronounced so) = ע (*céré*) with ײ, â = א with a mater lectionis א, but è = *segol* with ײ.

Georgian characters: c = ც, c' = წ, ch = ჩ, ch' = ჭ, z = ძ, y (and gh) = ჲ, j = ჯ, k = კ, k' = კ', p = ფ, p' = პ, q = ყ, sh = შ, t = თ, t' = ტ, x = ხ, zh = ჟ. Where a capital letter for ჲ is needed, we transliterate it as "gh".

Armenian characters: b = բ, c = ժ, c' = ջ, ch = ճ, ch' = չ, d = դ, dz = ձ, e = ե, ê = է, ë = ը, ew = լ, g = գ, gh = դ, j = ղ, k = կ, k' = կ', p = պ, p' = փ, r = ռ, rr = ռ, sh = շ, t = տ, t' = տ', x = ք, y = յ, zh = ժ. In the initial position ե = ye-.

Transliteration of Coptic Letters: Ⲁa, Ⲃb, Ⲅg, Ⲇd, Ⲉe, Ⲋz, Ⲍh, Ⲏē, Ⲑt^h, Ⲓi, Ⲕk, Ⲗl, Ⲙm, Ⲛn, Ⲝx, Ⲟo, Ⲡy, Ⲣu, Ⲥp, ⲧr, ⲩs, ⲫt, ⲭw, ⲯp^h, ⲱk^h, ⲳps, ⲵō, ⲷy, ⲹš, ⲻf, ⲽx, ⲿ (graphic variant of the prec. letter)ⲿ, ⲿⲁ (used in Cpt A only), ⲿⲃ (used on Cpt P), ⲿⲅh, ⲿⲇz (= Cpt B [ž], Cpt Sd/A/F [ž], = Cpt {ⲿLpr.} [č, č]), ⲿⲉc (= Cpt B [č^h], Cpt Sd/A/F [č], Cpt {ⲿLpr.} [k^h]), ⲿⲇti, macron over the letter = ə (e.g. Ⲏ̄ ən).

Cyrillic script:

1. For Russian (including letters of the pre-1918 orthography): a = а, b = б, c = ц, ch = ч, d = д, e (in the syllable-initial position) = э, e (otherwise) = е, ë = ё, è = э, f = ф, g = г, i = и, j (word-final or preceding a consonant) = й, jj (preceding a vowel) = й, ja = я, je = е, jë = ё, ju = ю, 'ji = ъи, k = к, l = л, m = м, n = н, o = о, p = п, r = р, s = с, sh = ш, shch = щ, t = т, u = у, v = в, x = х, y = ъи, z = з, zh = ж, ' = ъ, " = ъ; in rendering the pre-1918 orthography a zero after the word-final consonant renders ъ, é = ѐ, jé (in the syllable-initial position) = ѐ, ё =

Ѡ (capital letter Ѡ). $v = v$. The geographical names are transliterated according to another tradition (e.g., the cons. x is transliterated as "kh", Й is rendered as "y", Я as "ya", Ю as "yu", Ы as "i", the syllable-initial e is transliterated as "ye").

2. For Ukrainian: as for Russian, except: $e = e$ (always), $je = \epsilon$, $h = \Gamma$, $i = \dot{i}$, $ji = \ddot{i}$, $y = \text{И}$, $\acute{n} = \text{НЬ}$.

2a. For Belorussian: as for Russian, except $i = \dot{i}$, $w = \ddot{y}$, $h = \Gamma$ and $\grave{e} = \text{Э}$.

3. For Bulgarian: as for Russian, except: $e = e$ (always), $\text{Ъ} = \check{a}$.

3a. For Macedonian (Slavic): as for Russian, except: $j = y$ (always except for $ye = e$), $\acute{k} = \hat{k}$

4. For Serbian: the Croatian (romanized) spelling is used.

5. For Azeri (including both the old and the new Cyrillic orthography): as for Russian, except: $\ddot{a} = \text{Ә}$; $gh = \text{Ғ}$; $h = \text{Һ}$; $\dot{i} = \text{Ы}$; $j = \text{Ҝ}$; $ky = \text{К}$; $\ddot{o} = \text{Ө}$; $\ddot{u} = \text{Ү}$; $y =$ (in the old orthography) Й , (in the new orthography) j ; $ye =$ (in the old orthography in the syllable-initial position) e , (in the new orthography) $j\epsilon$; $\text{ҫа} =$ (old orth.) Я , (in the new orth.) $j\text{а}$; $\text{ҫу} =$ (old orth.) Ю , (new orth.) $j\text{у}$.

6. For Bashkirian: as for Russian, except: $\ddot{a} = \text{Ә}$, $dh = \text{Җ}$, $gh = \text{Ғ}$, $h = \text{Һ}$, $j = \text{Ж}$, $\dot{i} = \text{Ы}$; $ng = \text{Ң}$, $\ddot{o} = \text{Ө}$, $q = \text{Қ}$, $th = \text{Т}$, $\ddot{u} = \text{Ү}$, $\check{a} = \text{Ӑ}$, $\grave{a} = \text{ӑ}$, $\acute{a} = \text{Ӓ}$, $\grave{a} = \text{ӓ}$, $\check{a} = \text{Ӕ}$, $\acute{a} = \text{ӕ}$, $y = \text{Й}$, $ye =$ (in the syllable-initial position) e , $ya = \text{Я}$, $yu = \text{Ю}$.

7. For Chuvash: as for Russian, except: $a' = \check{a}$, $e' = e'$, $h = \text{Х}$, $s\text{§} = \text{Ҫ}$, $\ddot{u} = \text{Ӱ}$.

8. For Qazaq: as for Russian, except: $\ddot{a} = \text{Ә}$, $gh = \text{Ғ}$, $h = \text{Ҥ}$, $\dot{i} = \dot{i}$, $\hat{i} = \text{И}$, $\dot{i} = \text{Ы}$, $j = \text{Ж}$, $q = \text{Қ}$, $ng = \text{Ң}$, $\ddot{o} = \text{Ө}$, $u = \text{Ұ}$, $\ddot{u} = \text{Ү}$, $\hat{u} = \text{У}$, w (after vowel) = У , $y = \text{Й}$, $ya = \text{Я}$, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = e , $yu = \text{Ю}$.

9. For Qarachay-Balqar and Crimean Tatar: as for Russian, except: $gh = \text{ГЪ}$, $\dot{i} = \text{Ы}$, $j = \text{ДЖ}$, $ng = \text{НЪ}$, $\ddot{o} = \text{Ӗ}$, $q = \text{КЪ}$, $h = \text{Х}$, $\ddot{u} = \text{Ю}$, $y = \text{Й}$, $ya = \text{Я}$, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = e , $yu = \text{Ю}$.

10. For Qirgiz: as for Russian, except: $\ddot{a} = \text{Ә}$, $\dot{i} = \text{Ы}$, $j = \text{Ж}$, $ng = \text{Ң}$, $h = \text{Ҥ}$, $\ddot{o} = \text{Ө}$, $\ddot{u} = \text{Ү}$, $y = \text{Й}$, $ya = \text{Я}$, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = e , $yu = \text{Ю}$.

11. For Tatar (Utt): as for Russian, except: $\ddot{a} = \text{Ә}$, $h = \text{Һ}$, $\dot{i} = \text{Ы}$, $j = \text{Ж}$, $ng = \text{Ң}$, $\ddot{o} = \text{Ө}$, $\ddot{u} = \text{Ү}$, $y = \text{Й}$, $ya = \text{Я}$, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = e , $yu = \text{Ю}$.

12. For Türkmenian: as for Russian, except: ä = ə, h = ħ, ĭ = Ы, j = Ж, ng = Ң, ö = Ə, q = Қ, ü = Ү, y = Ы, ya = Я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = Ю.

13. For Uzbek: ŭ = Ў, q = қ, gh = ғ, ħ = ҳ, ng = Ң, y = Ы, ya = Я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = Ю, yo = ё.

14. For Tajik: as for Russian, as well as ī = Ӣ, ū = Ў, ĵ = Ч., ħ = ҳ, ya = Я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = Ю.

15. For Mongolian: as for Russian, except: e (always) = Э, j = Ж, ng = Ң, ö = Ə, ü = Ү, ĭ = Ы, y = Ы, x = Х; ya = Я, ye (in the syllable-initial position) = е, yu = Ю.

16. For Moksha-Mordvinian: as for Russian, except: ä = Я.

17. For Erzya-Mordvinian: as for Russian.

18. For Cheremis: as for Russian, except: ä = ä, ö = ö, ü = Ў, ŷ = Ы̇, ng = Ң.

19. For Zyriene and Permyak: as for Russian, except: ö = ö, i = i, ì = и.

20. For Uotyak: as for Russian, except: ö = ö, i = и, ì = Й̇, ć = Ч, č = Ч̇, 3 = Э, ǰ = Ж, q = Қ̇.

The Arabic and Ethiopian scripts are romanized according to the traditional Orientalistic transcription.

The Japanese script is romanized according to the traditional system (Romaji). The long vowels are transcribed either with ":" (a:, o: etc.) or with "¯" (e.g. ō).

Periodicals and collective papers

(Abbreviation: Fs. = Festschrift, Gs. = Gedenkschrift)

AAH = *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Bdp.).

AAL = *Afroasiatic Linguistics* (Malibu).

AAN = *Afroasiatica Neapolitana. Contributi presentati all'8° Incontro di Linguistica Afroasiatica (Camito-Semitica), Napoli, 25-26 Gennaio 1996.* Ed. by A. Baussi and M. Tosco (= *Studi Africanistici. Serie Etiopica* VI). Napoli, 1997.

AAP = *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere. Schriftenreihe des Kölner Instituts für Afrikanistik* (K.).

AArmL = *Annuals of Armenian Linguistics* (Cleveland, Ohio)

AAS = *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava).

AAsS = *Afro-Asiatic. A survey.* Ed. by C. T. Hodge. H., 1971.

AAT = *Afroasiatica Tergestina. Papers from the 9th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Linguistics. Trieste, April 23-24, 1998.* Ed. by Marcello Lamberti and Livia Tonelli. Padova, 1999.

AAW = *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*; later: *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

AAWLM = *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse.*

ABAW = *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften (= Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse)* (Berlin).

Abbay = *Abbay*

AByAW = *Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*

AbN = *Abr-Nahrayn* (Leiden).

AByAW = *Abhandlungen der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse.*

ACAL 3 = *Third Annual Conference on African Linguistics, 7-8 April 1972.* Ed. by E. Voeltz. Bloom., 1974 (= *Indiana Univ. Publications. African series*).

ACCarter = *The Anatolian Connection: Memorial Offerings for Charles Carter in Anatolian and Other Asian Minor Languages.* Ed. by Yoël L. Arbeitman. Lv., 2000.

ACEM = *ACEM. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano.*

ACF = *Annuaire du Collège de France* (Paris).

ACIL = *Atti del Congresso internazionale dei linguisti (Roma, 1933).* Fir., 1935.

ACISE = *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma, 2-4 aprile 1959).* R., 1960 (= *Acc. Naz. dei Lincei, anno CCCLVII, quad. no. 48, 1960*).

Acme = *Acme.*

ADMG = *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

AE = *Annali di Ebla.*

Aeg = *Aegyptus* (Milano).

AEST = *Akadeemilise Emakeele Seltsi Toimetised* (Tartu).

AF = *Atlas de Finlande* (1910).

AFNW = *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften.* (K., Opladen).

Afr. = *Africa* (London).

AfrA = *Africa antiqua. El antiguo Egipto, una civilización africana.* Barc., 2001.

AfrL = *African Languages. An Introduction.* Ed. by B. Heine and D. Nurse. Cm., 2000.

AfroasS = *Afroasiatic. A survey.* Ed. by C. T. Hodge. H., 1971.

AfrEIL = *Africana. Etnografija, istorija, lingvistika*. Lgr., 1969 (= *AfrES VII = TIEMM XCIII*).

AfrES = *Afrikanski etnografički sbornik* (Lgr.) (a series within *TIEMM*).

AfrKJ = *Africana. Kul'tura i jazyki narodov Afriki*. Lgr., 1966 (= *AfrES VI = TIEMM XC*).

AfrLL = *Papers in African Languages and Linguistics* (Dordrecht [The Netherlands], 1990).

AfrLR = *African Language Review*.

AfrM = *Africana Marburgensia* (Marburg).

AfrSt = *Afrikanistische Studien*. Ed. by J. Lukas. B., 1955.

AfrT IX = *Neunter Afrikanistentag - Beiträge zur afrikanischen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*. K., 1993.

AfSIPh = *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (B - Lpz.).

AGI = *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*.

AHB = *An Aramaic Handbook*. Parts I/1, I/2, II/1, II/2. Ed. by F. Rosenthal. Wb., 1967.

AI = *Acta Iranica*.

AIBL = *Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres. Comptes-rendus des séances*.

AICDL 1 = *Proceedings of the First All India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics*. Ed. by V. I. Subramoniam. Trv., 1972.

AIED = *Ancient Indo-European Dialects*. Ed. by H. Birnbaum and J. Puhvel. Berk. / LA, 1966.

AIEO = *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (Faculté des lettres de l'Université d'Alger, P.).

AIG = *Antiquitates Indogermanicae. Studien zur indogermanischen Altertumskunde und zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der indogermanischen Völker. Gedenkschrift H. Hüntert*. Hrs. von M. Mayrhofer, W. Meid, B. Schlerat, R. Schmidt. In., 1974.

AIIES = *American Indian and Indo-European Studies. Papers in Honor of Madison S. Beeler*. Ed. by K. Klar, M. Langdon, and S. Silver. H., 1980.

AIJ = *Afrikanskoje istoričeskoje jazykoznanije*. Ed. by V. Porkhomovski [= V. Ja. Porxomovskij]. M., 1987.

AION = *AION. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Annali. Sezione linguistica*.

AION-CMA = *AION. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico. Sezione linguistica*.

AIPhHOS = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*.

AJPh = *American Journal of Philology*.

AJSLL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*.

AK = *Aspekty kompataivistiki* (M.) [volumes of *SO*]

AkG = *Soobshchenija Akademii nauk Gruzinskoj SSR* (Tb.).

AKM = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

AKPAW = *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

AKS = *Altkaukasische Studien* (Lpz.).

AKSGW = *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Classe* (Lpz.).

ALC = *African Languages and Cultures* (L.).

ALH = *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Bdp.).

ALHf = *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* (Cop.).

AIM = *Al-Mashriq*.

ALS = *African Language Studies*.

AltE = *Altajskije etimologii. Sbornik nauchnyx trudov*. Ed. by V. Cincius and L. Dmitrijeva. Lgr., 1984.

ALU = *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*.

AM = *Asia Maior* (L.).

AmA = *Amerivan Anthropologist*

AMAV = *Atti e Memorie della Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze e Lettere di Verona*.

AMSL = *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (P.).

ANETS = *Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies*.

ANI = *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*. AA, 1979.

AnL = *Anthropological Linguistics*.

AnS III = *L'Année sociologique*, 3ème série.

Ant = *Antiquity*.

Anth = *Anthropos*.

AnUPL = *Annamalay University Department of Linguistics*

ANyT = *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok*.

AnzSlPh = *Anzeiger für slavische Philologie*.

AO = *Archív Orientální* (Pr.).

AOC = *Acta Orientalia* (Cop.).

AOF = *Altorientalische Forschungen* (B., Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR).

AOH = *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Bdp.).

AOS = *American Oriental Series* (NH).

APAW = *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

APCILSHS = *Actes du Premier Congrès international de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*. H. / P., 1974.

APILKU = *Arbejdsrapporter udsendt af Institut for Lingvistik, Københavns Universitet*.

APLA = *Annual Meeting of Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association*.

ArA = *Archief voor Antropologie* (Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika) = *Archives d'anthropologie* (Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale), Tervuren, Belgium.

ARA = *Annual Review of Anthropology*.

- Aram = *Aram* (CmM.).
- ArL = *Archivum Linguisticum. A Review of Comparative Philology and General Linguistics.*
- ARWA = *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
- ASAL = *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics.* Ed. by N. Poppe. Bloom., 1962.
- ASFL = *Acta Salamanticensia: Filosofia y letras* (Salamanca).
- ASGM = *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese.*
- ASGW = *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Lpz.).
- ASIPh = *Archiv für slavische Philologie* (B. / Lpz.).
- ASPA = *Autosegmental Studies on Pitch Accent.* Dordrecht (The Netherlands), 1988.
- ASPh = *Actes de la Société philologique* (P.).
- ASRI-OS = *American Oriental Society. Middle West Branch. Semi-Centennial Volume. Asian Studies Research Institute. Oriental Series* no. 3. Ed. by D. Sinor. Bloom., 1969.
- ASSF = *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* (Hs.)
- ASThHLS = *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science.*
- ASUL = *American Studies in Uralic Linguistics.* Ed. by Th. Sebeok. Bloom., 1960.
- ATC = *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Colombaria.*
- Ath. = *Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità.* (Pavia).
- Ath. M = *Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità,* n. s. XLVII: *Studi in onore di P. Meriggi.* Pavia, 1969.
- A3GCSIE = *Atti della Terza Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei.* R., 1984.
- AtIM = *The Atlantic Monthly.*
- AÜ = *Afrika und Übersee.*
- AUAbidjL = *Annales de l'Université d'Abidjan. Série H (Linguistique)* (Abidjan).
- AUD = *Acta Universitatis Dorpatensis* (Tartu)
- AUL = *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* (Riga).
- AulO = *Aula Orientalis.*
- AVISIJ = *Aktual'nyje voprosy iranistiki i sravnitel'nogo indoevropijskogo jazykoznanija. Tezisy dokladov.* M., 1970.
- AVS = *Allgemeine und vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft.* Bern, 1953 (= *Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte: Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, II*).
- AVSJ = *Aktual'nyje voprosy sravnitel'nogo jazykoznanija.* Ed. by A. Desnickaja. Lgr., 1989.

Awal = *Awal. Cahiers d'études berbères* (P., édition de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme).

AWG = *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. I. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Gött.).

AWL = *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur* [in Mainz]. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse.*

BabB = *Babel und Bibel.*

BAf = *Beiträge zur Afrikanistik* (Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien).

Balc = *Balcanica* (Belgrad).

BalcLI = *Balcanica. Lingvističeskije issledovanija.* M., 1979.

BalkLS = *Balkanskij lingvističeskij sbornik.* M., 1977.

Balt. = *Baltistica* (Viln.).

BASOR = *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* (NH).

BAV = *Berliner Afrikanistische Vorträge (XXI. Deutscher Orientalisten-tag, Berlin 24.-29.3.1980).* Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. B., 1981.

BAVSS = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichende semitische Sprachwissenschaft.*

BB = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, hrsg. von A. Bezzenger u. a. (Gött., 1877-1907).

BBCS = *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.*

BCUP = *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking.*

Bb. = *Biblica* (Roma).

BE = *Balkansko ezikoznanie. Linguistique balkanique* (Sofia).

BÉFEO = *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.*

BEHE = *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (P.).

BerbS = *Berber Studies.*

BerSAk = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse.*

BFAC = *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Université Egyptienne, Cairo.*

BHDKerns = *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics, in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns.* Ed. by Y. Arbeitman and A. Bomhard. Amst., 1981.

Bi. = *Biblica.*

BICChL II = *Papers of the 2nd Biennial International Colloquium on the Chadic Languages (Pr., 2003). Topics in Chadic Linguistics II.* K., 2006.

BICUAER = *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research.*

BIFAN = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire* (Dakar). Later: *Bulletin de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire.*

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.*

BIILS = *Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University* (Kyoto).

BiE = *Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del Convegno internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)*. A cura di L. Cagni. Nap., Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1984.

BISNEC = *Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of North Eurasian Cultures, Hokkaido University* (Sapporo, Japan).

BK = *Bedi Karthlisa. Revue de kartvélologie* (P.).

BL = *Baltic Linguistics*. Ed. by Th. Magner and W. Schmalstieg. UP / L., 1970.

BM = *Bibliothèque du Muséon* (Louvain).

BMJA = *Bespis'mennyje i mladopis'mennyje jazyki Afriki*. Ed. by N. V. Oxotina and A. B. Dolgopol'skij. M., 1973.

BNAC = *Beiträge zur Nordasiatischen Kulturgeschichte*. Ed. by G. Doerfer and M. Weiers. Wb., 1978 (= *Tungusica*, ed. by M. Weiers, I).

BO = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*..

BP = *Bălgarski pregled. Spisanie na slavjanska filologija*.

BPTJ = *Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego. Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de Linguistique* (Wr. / Cr.).

BSCS = *Proceedings of the Barcelona Symposium on Comparative Semitic* (2004).

BSE = *Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija*. M., 1970-8.

BSEK = *Balto-slavjanskije etnojazykovyje kontakty*. M., 1980.

BSELA = *Bibliothèque de la SELAF* (P.).

BSh = *Beer-Sheva. Studies of the Department of Bible and Ancient Near East, Ben-Gurion University = Bë'er-Sheva^c. Këtav-'et shel ha-Maxláqáh le-Miqrâ u-l-lîmûdê ha-Mizrâx ha-Qârôv, 'Unîversît'at Ben-Gûryôn ba-Negev*.

BShSh = *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore* (Tirana).

BSI = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. Ed. by T. Sudnik. M., 1974.

BSI-80 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1980. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1981.

BSI-81 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1981. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1982.

BSI-82 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1982. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1983.

BSI-83 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1983. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1984.

BSI-84 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1984. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1986.

BSI-85 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1985. Ed. by V. Ivanov. M., 1987.

BSI-91 = *Balto-slavjanskije issledovanija*. 1991. M., 1997.

BSL = *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*.

BSOAS - *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Univ. of London.

BSOS - *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Univ. of London.

BSPHL = *Beiträge zur semitischen Philologie und Linguistik*, ed. by G. Bergsträsser.

BSPL = *Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de linguistique*.

BSS = *Balto-slavjanskij sbornik*. Ed. by V. Toporov. M., 1972.

BSt VIII = *Nouvelles études berbères. Le verbe et autres articles. Actes du 2. Bayreuth-Frankfurter Kolloquium zur Berberologie. Berber Studies VIII*. K., 2004.

BulE = *Bälgarski ezik*.

Byz. = *Byzantion*

BZAW = *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

CA = *Current Anthropology*.

CAAL = *Current Approaches to African Linguistics* (Dordrecht).

CAJ = *Central Asiatic Journal* (Wb.).

CAMSEMUD 2007 = *CAMSEMUD 2007. Proceedings of the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics (Udine, 2007)*. Padova, 2010.

CArchJ = *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*.

CastrT = *Castrenianumin toimitteita* (Hs.).

Cauc. = *Caucasica. Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus* (Lpz.).

CBalt = *Commentationes Balticae* (Bonn).

CBQ = *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.

CCÉ = *Cahiers Caribéens d'étymologie*.

CdÉ = *Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth* (Brs.).

CDFI = *Cahiers de la Délégation française en Iran*.

CelJS = *Ceylon Journal of Science*

Celt. = *Celtica*.

CGPh = *Contributions to Generative Phonology* (Austin).

ChChLR = *Cheremis-Chuvash Lexical Relations*. Ed. by J. R. Krueger and E. D. Francis. Bloom., 1968.

ChLHSNB = *The Chad Languages in the Hamitosemitic-Nigrific Border Area*. Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. B., 1982 (= *MSAA XXVII*).

ChLS XI = *Chicago Linguistic Society. Eleventh Regional Meeting* (1975).

ChN = *Chadic Newsletter*.

ChSt = *Chuvash Studies*. Ed. by A. Róna-Tas. Bdp., 1982.

ChVSF = *Christiania Videnskaps-Selskabs Forhandlingar* (Chr.).

CIFU-1 = *Congressus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus 20-24. IX. 1960*. Bdp., 1963.

CIFU-2 = *Congressus Secundus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. I-II. Hs., 1968.

CIFU-3 = *Congressus Tertius Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum*. Tall., 1975.

CIFU-3 T = *Congressus Tertius Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. Teesid.* Tall., 1970.

CIFU-4 = *Congressus Quartus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus 9.-15. Septembris 1975.* I-III. Bdp., 1975 (vol. I), 1980 (vol. II), 1981 (vol. III).

CIFU-5 = *Congressus Quintus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum.* I-VIII. Turku, 1980-1.

CIFU-6 M = *Materialy VI Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa finno-ugrovedov.* M., 1990.

CIFU-6 T = *Congressus Sextus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. Tezisy dokladov.* Sykt., 1985.

CIFU-7 1A = *Congressus Septimus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. 1A. Sessiones plenares. Dissertationes.* Debrecen, 1990.

CIFU-7 2A = *Congressus Septimus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. 1A. Sessiones sectionum. Abstracts.* Debrecen, 1990.

CIFU-7 3A = *Congressus Septimus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum. 3A. Sessiones sectionum. Dissertationes. Linguistica.* Debrecen, 1990.

CIFU-8 = *Congressus Octavus Internationalis Finno-Ugristarum.* I-II: Pars I. *Orationes plenariae et conspectus quinquennales.* Pars II. *Summaria acroasium in sectionibus et symposiis factarum.* Jyväskylä (Finland) 1995.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

CILIF = *Comparative-Historical Linguistics: Indo-European and Finno-Ugric.* Ed. by Bela Brogyanyi and Reiner Lipp. Amst. / Phil., 1992 (= *Paper in Honor of Oswald Szemerényi* III).

CILUP = *Conférences de l'Institut de linguistique de l'Université de Paris.*

CInL = *Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique* (Louvain).

CIO 14 = *Actes du XIV Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Alger, 1905). P., 1907.

CIO 21 = *Actes du XXIe Congrès International des Orientalistes* (1948) . P., 1949.

CISChS 1 = *Actes du Premier Congrès International de linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique.* P., 1974.

CJL = *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics.*

CJS VI = *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, August 1973). J., 1977.

CL = *Collection linguistique* (P.).

CLAP = *Cercle linguistique d'Aix-en-Provence. Travaux.*

CLI = *Compendium Linguarum Iranicum.* Ed. by R. Schmitt. Wb., 1989.

CLN = *California Linguistic Notes.*

CM = *Colloquium Mycenaeum. Actes du Sixième Colloque international sur les textes mycéens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel* (1975). Neuch., 1979.

CO = *Cushitic - Omotic. Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages, Cologne, Jan. 6-9, 1986.* Ed. by M. Bechhaus-Gerst and F. Serzisko. Hm., 1988.

COL = *Cushitic and Omotic Languages. Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium, Berlin, March 17-19, 1994.* Ed. by C. Griefenow-Mewis and R. Voigt. K., 1996.

COL 2 = *Cushitic and Omotic Languages. Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium.* Torino, 1989.

COL 3 = *Cushitic and Omotic Languages. Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium.* K., 1996.

CollIE I = Bojan Čop, Varja Cvetko, J. E. Rasmussen. *Collectanea Indoeuropaea I.* Lb., 1978 (= *Univerzita v Ljubljani. Filozofska fakulteta. Oddelek za primerjalno jezikoslovje in orientalistiko. Series Comparativa III*).

CoptE = *The Coptic Encyclopedia.* Ed. by Aziz S. Atiya. NY / Toronto.

CoptS = *Coptic Studies.* Ed. by Godlewski. Wa., 1990.

CPAAL = *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics. Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress.* Ed. by J. Bynon. Amst. / Phil. / J. 1984.

CPChL = *Current Progress in Chadic Linguistics.* Ed. by Z. Frajzyngier. Amst. / Phil., 1989.

CSIG = *Atti del convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia (Udine, 1981).* Pisa, 1983.

CTch = *Cinq textes tchadiques (Cameroun et Tchad). Présentation linguistique.* Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr et J.-P. Caprile. B., 1978.

CTL = *Current Trends in Linguistics.*

D = *Diachronica. International Journal for Historical Linguistics* (Amst. / Phil.).

DA = *Drevnjaja Anatolija.* Ed. by B. B. Piotrovskij a. o. M., 1985.

DAE = *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition.*

DCAN = *Dialectologie et comparatisme en Afrique Noire*, eds. G. Guarisma and S. Platiel. P., 1980.

DCRI = *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.*

DCS = *Dravidian Case System.* Ed. by S. Agesthalingom and K. Kushalappa Gowda. Ann., 1976.

DE = *Discussions in Egyptology.*

DGO = *Doklady otdelenij i komissij Geograficheskogo obshchestva SSSR (Lgr.).*

Dh = *Dhumbadji! Journal of the Melbourne Association for the History of Language.*

DictL = *Dictionnaire des langues.* Publié sous la direction de E. Bonvini, J. Busutil et A. Peyraube. Lyon, 2010.

Diogène = *Diogène* (P.).

DJMA = *Drevnije jazyki Maloj Azii.* Sbornik statej. Ed. by I. M. D'jakonov and Vjach. Vs. Ivanov. M., 1980.

DL = *The Dravidian Languages*. Ed. by Sanford B. Steever. L. / NY, 1998.

DL-V = *Dravidian Linguistics-V. AnUPL (Annamalay University Department of Linguistics Publication XLVII)* (1976)

DOT 23 = XXIII. *Deutscher Orientalistentag*. Ed. by E. von Schuler. Stg., 1989 (= ZDMG, Supplement VII).

DOT 25 = XXV. *Deutscher Orientalistentag*. Ed. by C. Wunsch. Stg., 1994.

DPhS = *Dravidian Phonological Systems*. Ed. by Harold S. Schiffman and Carol M. Eastman. Seattle, 1975.

DRAN-B = *Doklady Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, serija B*.

DrL = *Dravidian Linguistics (seminar papers). Proceedings of the Seminar on Comparative Dravidian held at the Annamalai Univ., Annamalainagar, Jan. 11-14, 1968*. Ed. by S. Agesthalingom and N. Kumaraswami Raja. Ann., 1969.

DrL-V = *Dravidian Linguistics-V (= AnUPL, Publication XLVII)*. Ann., 1976.

DV = *Drevnij Vostok (Yerevan)*.

DVES = *Drevnij Vostok: etnokul'turnyje svjazi*. Ed. by G. M. Bongard-Levin and V. G. Ardzinba. M., 1988.

DzKEKSh = *Tbilisis Saxelmc'ipo Universit'et'i. Zveli kartuli enis k'atedris shromebi (Tb.)*.

EA = *Eurasiatica. Journal of Neohistorical Linguistics*.

EAH = *Eastern African History*. Ed. by D. McCall, N. Bennett, J. Butley. NY, 1969. (= *Boston University Studies in Africa III*).

EAZh = **Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու** (*Eminean azgagrakan zhoghovacu, Eminskij etnograficheskij sbornik*) (Tiflis).

EB = *Encyclopædia Britannica*. (14th ed.) I-XXII. Ch./L., ©1971.

EBA = *É. Benveniste aujourd'hui. Actes du Colloque international du C. N. R. S. Université François Rabelais, Tours, 28-30 septembre 1983*. Vol. 1 (ed. G. Serbat). Vol. 2 (eds. J. Taillardat, G. Lazard, G. Serbat). P., 1984.

ÉC = *Études Celtiques*.

ÉCam = *Études Camerounaises*.

ÉDB = *Études et documents berbères (P.)*

EEA = *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*. I-II. Ed. By C. H. Gordon a. o. Winona Lake, Minn., 1987-90.

EEM = *Az etimológia elmélete és módszere*. Bdp., 1976.

EFLD = *Examining the Farming/Language Dispersal Hypothesis*. Ed. by P. Bellwood and C. Renfrew. Cm., 2002.

ÉFOu = *Études finno-ougriennes (Bdp.)*.

EI = *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*. Ed. by J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams. L. / Ch., 1997.

EIMKIM = *Ak'ademik'osi N. Maris saxelobis Enis, ist'oriisa da mat'erialuri k'ult'uris inst'it'ut'is maombe = Izvestija Instituta jazyka, istorii i material'noj kul'tury im. akad. N. Ja. Marra (Tb.)*.

EIRJ = *Etimologičeskie issledovanija po russkomu jazyku*. I - II. M., 1960-62.

EIShA = *Enatmecnierebis Inst'it'ut'is shromebi*. Aghmosavlur enata seria (Tb.).

EIsr. = *Eretz-Israel*.

EKP = *Ergativnaja konstrukcija predlozhenija*. Ed. by Je. A. Bokarëv. M., 1950.

EKSA = *Eesti Kirjameeste Seltsi aastaraamat* (Tartu).

ELL = *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Ed. by R. E. Asher (Oxf).

ELM = *Explorations in Language Macrofamilies. Materials from the first International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor, 8-12 November, 1988*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1989.

ÉM = *Études mongoles* (P.-Nanterre, Laboratoire d'ethnologie, Univ. de Paris X).

Em. = *Emérita* (Madrid).

EMC = *Evolution: From Molecules to Culture*. Abstracts of papers. Arranged by R. Dawkins and J. Diamond. Cold Spring Harbor (NY), 1990.

EMWKn = *East Meets West. Homage to Edgar C. Knowlton Jr.* Ed. by Roger L. Hadlich and J. D. Ellsworth. Honolulu, 1988.

ÉPHÉ = *École Pratique des Hautes Études. IVe section: Sciences historiques et philologiques* (P.)

EPhTch = *Études phonologiques tchadiennes*. Ed. by J.-P. Caprile. P., SELAF, 1977.

EPMA = *Epigraficheskiye pamjatniki drevnej Maloj Azii i antichnogo severnogo i zapadnogo Prichernomor'ja kak istoričeskij i lingvističeskij istočnik*. M., 1985:

EPPh = *Estonian Papers in Phonetics* (Tall.).

Ér. = *Ériu*.

ESLs = *Ethiopian Studies. Dedicated to Wolf Leslau*. Ed. by S. Segert and A. Bodrogligeti. Wb., 1983.

Et 1964 = *Etimologija 1964*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1965.

Et 1965 = *Etimologija 1965*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1967.

Et 1966 = *Etimologija 1966*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1968.

Et 1967 = *Etimologija 1967*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1969.

Et 1968 = *Etimologija 1968*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1971.

Et 1970 = *Etimologija 1970*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1972.

Et 1971 = *Etimologija 1971*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1973.

Et 1972 = *Etimologija 1972*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1974.

Et 1973 = *Etimologija 1973*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1975.

Et 1975 = *Etimologija 1975*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1977.

Et 1976 = *Etimologija 1976*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1978.

Et 1977 = *Etimologija 1977*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1979.

Et 1978 = *Etimologija 1978*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1980.

- Et 1979 = *Etimologija 1979*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1981.
- Et 1982 = *Etimologija 1982*. M., 1985.
- Et 1983 = *Etimologija 1983*. M., 1985.
- Et 1984 = *Etimologija 1984*. M., 1986.
- Et 1985 = *Etimologija 1985*. M., 1988.
- Et 1991-3 = *Etimologija 1991-1993*. M., 1994.
- Et 1994-6 = *Etimologija 1994-1996*. M., 1997.
- ÉC = *Études celtiques*.
- ETchCEV = *Études tchadiques. Classes et extensions verbales*. P., 1987.
- ETchVM = *Études tchadiques. Verbes monoradicaux*. P., 1990.
- EtDz = *Etimologiuri ჰიებანი*. Tb., 1987.
- Eth = *Ethnology* (Pittsburgh).
- EthH = *Ethnohistory*.
- EtIR = *Etimologija. Issledovanija po ruskomu i drugim jazykam*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1963.
- ÉtL = *Études linguistiques* (Niamey, Niger).
- EtM = *Etiopia Meridionale*. P., 1890.
- EtPR = *Etimologija. Principy rekonstrukcii i metodika issledovanija*. Ed. by O. Trubachëv a. o. M., 1964.
- Etym. = *Etymologie*. Drm., 1977.
- EvidLar/1 = *Evidence for Laryngeals*. Ed. by W. Winter. Aus., 1960.
- EvidLar/2 = *Evidence for Laryngeals*. Ed. by W. Winter. H., 1965.
- EVTÜT = *Eesti Vabariigi Tartu Ülikooli toimetused. Acta et commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis. B: Humaniora*.
- ExHL = *Explanation in Historical Linguistics*. Ed. by Garry W. Davis and Gregory K. Iverson. Amst. / Phil., 1992.
- FAB = *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter* (Fr.).
- FFB = *Sborník prací Filologické fakulty Brněnské Univerzity* (Brno)
- FGS = *Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft*. Ed. by Wilhelm Brandenstein. W., 1948.
- FIAS = *Fachtagung für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*. In., 1962.
- FL = *Folia Linguistica. Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae*.
- FLH = *Folia Linguistica Historica. Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae*.
- FO = *Folia Orientalia* (Cr.).
- FoundL = *Foundation of Language*.
- FS = *Folia Slavica*.
- FsAD = *Languages and their Speakers in Ancient Eurasia. Dedicated to Professor Aharon Dolgopolsky on his 70th Birthday*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin and P. Sidwell. Canberra, Association of the History of Language, 2002.
- FsADJ = *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A. B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*. B., 2008.
- FsAx = *Tbilisis Universit'et'i Giorgi Axvledians. Saiubileo k'rebuli miჰვნილი dabadebis 80 c'listavisadmi*. Tb., 1969.

FsBak = *Studia Semitica Philologica necnon Philosophica Joanni Bakos̄ Dicata*. Brat., 1965.

FsBask = *90 let N. A. Baskakovu. N. A. Baskakovu ot kolleg i uchenikov*. Ed. by E. Tenishev. M., 1996.

FsBC = *Prace lingwistyczne ofiarowane Janowi Baudouinowi de Coyrtenay dla uczczenia jego działalności naukowej*. Cr., 1921.

FsBenfey = *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Doktorjubiläum des Herrn Professor Benfey*. Gött., 1879.

FsBern = *Issledovanija po slavjanskomu jazykoznaniju. Sbornik v chest' shestidesjatiletija professora S. B. Bernshtejna*. M., 1971.

FsBH = **מחקרי לשון** *Mexqarê lāshôn. Muggāshîm lē-Zē'év Ben-Xayim bē-haggi'ô lēçêvāh*. Ed. by M. Bar-Asher a. o. J., 5743 (= 1982/3). (Fs. Ben-Hayyim).

FsBonf = *Scritti in onore di Giuliano Bonfante*. I-II. Brescia, 1976.

FsCB = *Mélanges J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu*. P., 1987.

FsDst = *Papers in Linguistics in Honor of Léon Dostert*. Ed. by William A. Austin. H., 1967.

FsEm = *Studies in Indian Linguistics. Volume Presented to Prof. M. B. Emeneau on his Sixtieth Birthday* (1968).

FsErh = *Grammaticus. Studia linguistica Adolfo Erharto quinque et septuagenario oblata*. Ed. by Šefčík and B. Vykypěl. Brno, 2001.

FsEW I = *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. by W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeler. Bd I: *Semitische Studien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südsemitistik*. Beir., 1994.

FsFalk = *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient (Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966)*. Wb., 1967.

FsGim = *Proto-Indo-European: the Archaeology of a Linguistic Problem. Studies in Honor of Marija Gimbutas*. Ed. by Susan Nacev Skomal and Edgar C. Polomé. Wash., 1987.

FsGPG = *À la croisée des études libyco-berbères. Mélanges offerts à Paulette Galand-Pernet et Lionel Galand*. P., 1993 (GLECS, supplément 15).

FsGr = *Pharaonic Religion and Society (Fs. J. Gwyn Griffiths)*. Ed. by A. B. Lloyd. L., 1992.

FsGrn = *Linguistic Studies Offered to Joseph Greenberg*. Ed. by A. Juillard. Saratoga, Calif., 1976.

FsGusm = *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani*. Ed. by R. Bombi a. o. Alessandria (Italy). 2006.

FsHak = *Verba docent. Juhlakirja Lauri Hakulisen 60-vuotispäiväksi 6. 10. 1959*. Hs., 1959.

FsHamm = *Berichte der Slavistik. Festschrift zu Ehren von Josip Hamm*. W., 1975.

FsHatt = *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics Presented to Shirô Hattori on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Ed. by R. Jakobson and Shigeo Kawamoto. Tk., 1970.

FsHaussig = *Byzantino-Altaica. Festschrift für H.-W. Haussig*. Ed. by H. Váry (= *Materialia Turcica* VII-VIII [1981-82]). Bochum (Germany), 1983.

FsHlz = *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical, and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer*. = מִיכָאֵל מִיכָאֵל *Mîkhá'él. Mexkárîm bēhist'ôryáh, bē'epîgrafyáh ûvmiqrâ likhvôd prôf. Mîkhá'él. Helcer*. Ed. by Yitzhak Avishur (יִצְחָק אַבִּישׁוּר *Yicxáq Avîshûr*) and Robert Deutsch (רֹבֶרְט דֹּיטְשׁ *Rôbert' Dôyt'sh*). TA / Jaffa, 1999.

FsHoen = *Festschrift Henry Hoenigswald on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. Ed. by George Cardona and N. Zide. Tüb., 1987.

FsHöf = *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*. Ed. by Roswitha G. Stiegner. Graz, 1981.

FsHoll. = *Festschrift L. M. Hollander*.

FsHommel = *Mitteilungen der Vorder-Asiatischen Gesellschaft, 1917/II (Hommel-Festschrift)*.

FsJ = *Von Ägypten zum Tschad-See. Eine linguistische Reise durch Afrika. Festschrift für Herrmann Jungraithmayr zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. by R. Leger and D. Ibrizimow. Würzburg, 2001.

FsJak = *To Honor Roman Jakobson. Essays on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. H. / P., 1967.

FsJarr = *Turcica et Orientalia: Studies in Honour of G. Jarring*. St., Svenska Forskningsinstitutet i Istanbul, 1988 (= *Swedish Research Inst. in Istanbul. Transactions* I).

FsJav = *Arili. Festschrift Prof. Dr. Iwane Dschawachischwili zum 25-jährigen Tätigkeit*. Tb., 1925.

FsKerns = *Studies in Honor of J. Alexander Kerns*. H., 1970.

FsKn = *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen. Festschrift für Johannes Knobloch*. In., 1985.

FsKon = *Tjurkologičeskij sbornik. K shestidesjatiletiju Andreja Nikolajeviča Kononova*. Ed. by S. Kljashtornyj a. o. M., 1966.

FsKov. = *Jazyk. Afrika. Ful'be. Sbornik nauchnyx statej v chest' A. I. Koval'*. Ed. by V. Vydrin and A. Kibrik. SPb. / M., 1998.

FsKrahe = *Sybaris. Festschrift Hans Krahe*. Wb., 1958.

FsKuip. = *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to F. B. J. Kuiper on his Sixtieth Birthday*. H. / P., 1968.

FsKur = *Symbolae linguisticae in honorem Georgii Kuryłowicz*. Wr. / Wa. / Cr., 1965.

FsLar = *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à E. Laroche*. P., 1979.

FsLDV II = *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*. II. R., 1956.

FsLf = *On Both Sides of Al-Mandab. Ethiopian, South-Arabic, and Islamic Studies Presented to Oscar Löfgren on his Ninetieth Birthday 13 May 1988 by Colleagues and Friends*. St., 1989 (= *Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions* II).

FsLm = *Studies in Descriptive and Historical Linguistics. Festschrift für Winfred P. Lehmann.* Ed. by P. J. Hopper. Amst., 1977.

FsLnds = *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his 75th Birthday.* Ch., 1975.

FsLS = *Studia linguistica in honorem Thaddaei Lehr-Spławiński.* Ed. by T. Milewski a. o. Wa., 1963.

FsLwn = **מחקרים במקרא ובמזרח הקדמון** *Mexqârîm ba-Miqrá' u-va-Mizrâx ha-Qadmôn. Sefer ha-yôvél lë-prôfesôr Lêwensht'am.* J., 5738 (= 1978).

FsMc = *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica. Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata.* Ed. by Maria Macuch, Chr. Müller-Kessler and B. Fragner. Wb., 1989.

FsMeen = *Te. Po. Mī. Maṇivīṛāmalar (Studies Presented to T. P. Meenakshisundaran).* Ann., 1961.

FsMeid = *Indogermanica Europea: Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 60. Geburtstag am 12.11.1989.* Graz, 1989.

FsMeriggi = *Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità,* n. s. XLVII: *Studi in onore di P. Meriggi.* Pavia, 1969. [= *Ath M* XLVII/1-4].

FsMil = *Studia Semitica. Festschrift A. Miltarev.* M., 2003.

FsMn = *Eurasia Nostratica. Festschrift für Karl Heinrich Menges.* I-II. Wb., 1977.

FsMnh = *Festschrift Meinhof.* Hm., 1927.

FsMoran = *Lingering Over Words. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran.* Ed. by Tz. Abush, J. Huehnergard and P. Steinkeller. Atl., 1990.

FsMuk = *Komparative Afrikanistik: sprach-, geschichts- und literaturwissenschaftliche Aufsätze zu Ehren von Hans G. Mukarovsky.* W., 1992,

FsMül = *Arabia Felix. Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter M. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag.* Wb., 1994.

FsNeum = *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag.* In., 1982.

FsNI = *Festskrift til Konrad Nielsen på 70-årsdagen.* Oslo, 1945 (= *Studia Septentrionalia* II).

FsNm = *Hungaro-Turcica. Studies in Honour of Julius Németh.* Ed. by Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Bdp., 1976.

FsPal = *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics, Offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday.* Ed. by A. Morpurgo Davies and M. Meid. In., 1976.

FsPed = *Studia Orientalia ... Johanni Pedersen dicata.* Cop., 1953.

FsPen = *Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti.* Wb., 2006.

FsPEY = *Coreanica et Altaica. Festschrift for Professor Pak Eun-yong on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday.* Hayang (Korea), 1987.

FsPH = *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary 1883-1923 of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of the John Hopkins University, Baltimore.* Ed. by Cyrus Adle and Aaron Ember. Balt., 1926.

FsPlt = *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky.* Ed. by D. W. Young. East Gloucester, 1981.

FsPok. = *Beiträge zur Germanistik und Keltologie. Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet.* Ed. by W. Meid. In., 1967.

FsPol = *Perspectives on Indo-European Language, Culture, and Religion. Festschrift for Edgar C Polomé.* McLean (VA), 1991.

FsPp = *Studia Altaica. Festschrift für Nikolaus Poppe zum 60. Geburtstag.* Wb., 1957.

FsPuhv = *Studies in Ancient Languages and Philology in Honor of Jaan Puhvel.* Wash., 1997.

FsRav = *Commentationes Fenno-Ugricae in honorem Paavo Ravila.* Hs., 1962 (= MSFOu CXXV).

FsRd = *Rédei-Festschrift.* W. / Bdp., 1992.

FsRein = *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner.* NH., 1987.

FsRisch = *o-o-pe-ro-si. Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag.* Ed. by Annemarie Etter. B. / NY, 1986.

FsRix = *Indogermanica et Italica. Festschrift für Helmut Rix zum 65. Geburtstag.* In., 1993.

FsRos = *Omagiu lui Alexandru Rosetti.* Buc., 1965.

FsSchl = *Festschrift für Wolfgang Schlachter zum 70. Geburtstag.* Ed. by Chr. Gläser and J. Pusztay. Wb., 1979.

FsSchm. = *Festschrift Karl Horst Schmidt.* 1994.

FsSchml. = *Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics in Honor of W. R. Schmalstieg.* Amst., 2004.

FsSchr = *Festschrift F. R. Schröder.* Hd., 1959.

FsSh = *Indo-European, Nostratic, and Beyond: Festschrift for Vitalij V. Shevoroshkin.* Ed. by Inén Hegedűs, Peter A. Michalove, and Alexis Manaster Ramer. Wash., 1997 (= JIES, monograph no. 22).

FsSin = *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus Altaicis merito dedicata.* Ed. by W. Heissig, John R. Krueger, Felix J. Oinas and E. Schütz. Wb., 1976.

FsSm = *Festschrift F. Sommer zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Mai 1955, dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen.* Ed. by H. Krahe. Wb., 1955.

FsSn = *Issledovanija po vostochnoj filologii. K semidesjatiletiju G. D. Sanzhejeva.* M., 1974.

FsSP = *Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume.* Mdr., 1961.

FsSpitaler = *Studien aus Arabistik und Semitistik, Anton Spitaler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Schülern überreicht.* Ed. by W. Diem and S. Wild, Wb., 1980.

FsStang = *Donum Balticum. To Professor Christian S. Stang on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday 15 March 1970.* Ed. by Velta Rūķe-Draviņa. St., 1970.

FsStkw = *On Language Rhetorica, Phonologica, Syntactica. A Festschrift for Robert P. Stockwell.* L., 1988.

FsStn = *Parallelismus und Etymologie. Studien zu Ehren Wolfgang Steinitz anlässlich seines 80. Geburtstags am 28. Februar 1985* (= *Linguistische Studien. Reihe 161/II*). B., 1987.

FsStn-65 = *Steinitz-Festschrift. Veröffentlichungen der Sprachwissenschaftlichen Kommission der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, NS.* B., 1965.

FsStr = *Stand und Aufgaben der Wissenschaft. Festschrift für Wilhelm Streiberg.* Hd., 1924.

FsSz = *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic and Typological Linguistics: Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi.* Amst. / Ph., 1979.

FsSzin = *Festgabe Josef Szninneyi zum 70. Geburtstag.* Hrsg. vom Ungarischen Institut an der Universität Berlin. B. / Lpz., 1927.

FsTh = *Festschrift G. Thausing.* Ed. by M. Bietak et alii. 1994.

FsTop = *Πολύτροπον k 70-letiju Vladimira Nikolajevicha Toporova.* Ed. by T. M. Nikolajeva a. o. M., 1998.

FsTr = *Scritti in onore di Alfredo Trombetti.* Mil., 1938.

FsVg = *Studia Semitica et Hamitosemitica. Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages am 17. Januar 2004.* Münster, 2005.

FsVr = *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von P. Anton Vorbicher.* Ed. by I. Hoffmann. W., 1981.

FsVs = *Festschrift für Max Vasmer zum 70. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1956.* B., 1956.

FsZ = *Studia linguarum. De omnibus linguae rebus scibilibus et quibusdam aliis. Andreae Anatolii filio honorem dicimus.* M., 1997 (Fs. A. Zaliznjak). [= *StuL* 1997]

FsZar = *Iranskij sbornik. K semidesjatiptiletiju professora I. I. Zarubina.* M., 1963.

FUCUS = *FUCUS. A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman.* Ed. by Y. Arbeitman. Amst. / Phil., 1988.

FUF = *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* (Hs.).

FUM = *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen* (Hm.).

FUS = *Fenno-Ugrica Suecana.*

FUTY = *FU-transkription yksinkertaistaminen.* Ed. by Lauri Posti and Terho Ikonen. Hs., 1973.

FWB = *Flexion und Wortbildung. Akten der V. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Regensburg, 9.-14.9.1973).* Ed. by H. Rix. Wb., 1975.

GAPh = *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie.* I-III. Wb., 1982-92.

GATSJA = *Geneticheskiye, areal'nyje i tipologičeskije svjazi jazykov Azii*. Ed. by Ju. Plam, Ü. Sirk and L. Shkarban [Ju. Ja. Plam, Ju. X. Sirk, L. I. Shkarban]. M., 1983.

GBI = *Godišnjak. Balkanološki Institut. Naučno društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo).

GBS = *Göttinger Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*.

GCL = *Genetic Classification of Languages: A New Approach*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Aus., 1989.

Ge = *Georgica* (Jena).

GET 1991 = *Réunion du Groupe d'études tchadiques* (JET, Paris), Sept. 21, 1991. Papers and handouts.

GGA = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*.

GGB = *Sitzungsberichte der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Bern*.

GHÅ = *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*.

GIG = *Germanen und Indogermanen. Festschrift für Herman Hirt*. Ed. by H. Arntz. I-II. Hd., 1936.

GIJS = *Grammatičeskije issledovanija po jazykam Sibiri*. Ed. by Je. Ubrjatova. Novos., 1982.

GIPh = *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*. Ed. by W. Geiger and E. Kuhn. I-II. Str., 1895-1904..

GK = *Gengo Kenkyū* (Kt.).

Gl = *Glotta*.

GL = *General Linguistics*.

GLC = *Global Linguistic Connections*. Ed. by Gyula Decsi. Bloom., 1983 (= *Bibliotheca Nostratica* V).

GLECS = *Comptes-rendus du Groupe linguistique des études chamito-sémitiques* (P.).

Glossa = *Glossa. An International Journal of Linguistics*.

GM = *Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* (Gött.).

GMAÄ = *Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter*. I-IX. B., 1954-62.

GNSLIV XV, XVI, XIX = XV (resp. XVI, XIX) *godičnaja nauchnaja sessija Leningradskogo Otdelenija Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR*.

GRJL = *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Genetic Relationship of the Japanese Language, Oct. 10-13, 1980, Kyoto*. Kt., 1981 = *The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences, Kyoto Sangyo University* II, no. 4.

GsAbr = *Papers in Honour of R. C. Abraham (1890-1963)*. Ed. by Philip J. Jaggar. L., 1992 (*African Languages and Cultures*, suppl. 1).

GSAI = *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*.

GsBehrens = *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens*. (= AAP, Sondernummer). K., 1991.

GsBr. = *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein*. Ed. by M. Mayrhofer. In., 1968.

GsBrock. = *Studia Orientalia in Memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*. Halle, 1968.

GsChern = *Varia Ethiopica. In Memory of Sevir B. Chernetsov (1943-2005)*. M., 2005.

GsColl. = *Linguistica et Philologica: Gedenkschrift für Björn Collinder*. Ed. by O. Gschwantler, K. Rédei, H. Reichert. W., 1984.

GsCowg. = *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill*. Ed. by C. Watkins. B., 1987.

GsDk = *Selected Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistic Studies, in Memory of I. M. Diakonoff. Lincom 14*, 2003.

GsFl = *Bretagne et pays celtiques - langue, histoire, civilisation. Mélanges offerts à la mémoire de Léon Fleuriot*. Ed. by G. Le Menn. Saint-Brieuc / Rennes (France), 1992.

GsGünt = *Antiquitates Indogermanicae: Gedenkschrift für Hermann Güntert zum 25. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*. In., 1974.

GsKerns = *Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns*. Amst., 1981.

GsKohut = *Semitic Studies in Memory of ... Alexander Kohut*. B., 1897.

GsKron = *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae: Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Wb., 1982.

GsPl = *Études romanes à la mémoire de Hugo Plomteux*. Lv., 1983.

GsPtrc = *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. Memorial Volume of Karel Petráček*. Ed. by Peter Zamánek. Pr., 1996.

GsSchw = *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz. Studies in Anatolian, Italic and Other Indo-European Languages* (1988).

GsShch = *Pamjati A. B. Shcherby*. Lgr., 1951.

GsSt = *Studia linguistica memoriae Zdislai Stieber dedicata*. Ed. by M. Basaj. Wr. / Wa. / Cr., 1983.

GsVc = *Afro-Asiatic Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*. Ld., 2004.

GsVyc = *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*. Ed. by G. Takács. Ld. / Boston, 2004.

GsWnd = *Studia Etymologica Indoeuropaea Memoriae A. J. Van Windekens Dicata*. Ed. by L. Isebaert (= *Orientalia Lovabiensia Analecta* 45). Lv., 1991.

GsZh = *Znak. Sbornik statej po lingvistike, semiotike i poetike pamjati A. N. Zhurinskogo*. M., 1994.

HaerIG = *Haeretica Indogermanica. A Selection of Indo-European and Pre-Indo-European Studies* (= *HFM XLVII/3*). Cop., 1974.

HAIL = *Handbook of American Indian Languages*.

HAL = *Handbook of African Languages*.

HAR = *Hebrew Annual Review*.

HarsN = *Harsuman Nijeriya*.

HAT = *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*.

HCL = *Hebrew Computational Linguistics*.

Hesp. = *Hespéris* (P.).

HFM = *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* (Cop.).

HFZIG = *125 Jahre Indogermanistik in Graz.* (2000).

HHP = *In honorem Holger Pedersen.* Ed. J. E. Rasmussen and B. Nielsen. Wb., 1994.

HIG = *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch.* Ed. by W. Meid and E. Neu. In., 1979.

HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*

HL = *The Hungarian Language.* Ed. by Loránd Benkő and Samu Imre. H., 1972.

Hng = *Hangeul* (Seoul).

HO 1 = *Handbuch der Orientalistik.* 1. Abteilung: *Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten.* I-XIX. Ld. / K., 1958-1994.

HO Äg = *Ägyptologie.* 1. Abschnitt: *Ägyptische Schrift und Sprache.* Ld. / K., 1959 (= HO 1, vol. I, 1. Abschnitt).

HO AKSE = *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen (und Elamisch).* Mit Beiträgen von J. Friedrich, E. Reiner, A. Kammenhuber, G. Neumann, A. Heubeck. Ld. / K., 1969 (= HO 1, vol. II [HO KAGV], Abschn. 1-2/2).

HO ArmKS = *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen.* Mit Beiträgen von G. Deeters, G. R. Solta, V. Inglisian. Ld. / K., 1963 (= HO 1, vol. VII).

HO Ir = *Iranistik.* 1. Abschnitt: *Linguistik.* Mit Beiträgen von K. Hoffmann, W. Henning, H. Bailey, G. Morgenstierne, W. Lentz, etc. Ld. / K., 1958 (= HO 1, vol. IV).

HO KAGV = *Keilschriftforschung und Alte Geschichte Vorderasiens.* Abschnitte 1-4. Ld. / K., 1969 (= HO 1, vol. II).

HO M = *Mongolistik.* Mit Beiträgen von N. Poppe, U. Posch, G. Doerfer u. a. Ld. / K., 1964 (= HO 1, vol. V: *Altaistik.* 2. Abschnitt: *Mongolistik*).

HO S = *Semitistik.* 1.-3. Abschn. Ld. / K., 1953-4 (= HO 1, vol. III).

HO Tung = *Tungusologie.* Mit Beiträgen von W. Fuchs, I. A. Lopatin, K. H. Menges, D. Sinor. Ld. / K., 1968 (= HO 1, vol. V: *Altaistik.* 3. Abschnitt: *Tungusologie*).

HO Turk = *Turkologie.* Mit Beiträgen von A. von Gabain, O. Pritsak, N. Poppe u. a. Ld. / K., 1963 (= HO 1, vol. V: *Altaistik.* 1. Abschnitt: *Turkologie*).

HO UL = *The Uralic Languages. Description, History, and Foreign Influences.* Ed. by D. Sinor. Ld. / NY / Cop. / K., 1988. (= HO. 8. Abt. *Handbook of Uralic Studies.* Vol. 1).

Hrm = *Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.*

HS = *Hamito-Semitic. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held by the Historical Section of the Linguistics Association (Great Britain) at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of March 1970.* Ed. by J. and Th. Bynon. L., 1975.

HSF = *Historische Sprachforschung* (continuation of KZ).

HumA = *Human Affairs.*

- HW = **העברית ואהיותיה** *Ha-^civrît vë-³axyôthèha* (Haifa).
- IA = *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay).
- IAAK = *Istorichnost' i aktual'most' antichnoj kul'tury. Nauchnaja konferencija Tbiliskoogo Gos. Universiteta. Tb., 1980.*
- IAJK = *Irano-afrazijskije jazykovyje kontakty.* Ed. by G. Sharbatov a. o. M., 1987.
- IALR = *International Anthropological and Linguistic Review* (Miami).
- IAN = *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i jazyka* (M.).
- IANS = *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR* (Lgr.).
- IASIM = *Istoricheskaja akcentologija i sravnitel'no-istoricheskij metod.* Ed. by R. Bulatova and V. Dybo. M., 1989.
- IBK = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* (In.).
- IBS = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* (In.).
- IBSVK = *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft . Vorträge und kleinere Schriften* (In.).
- ICAL 1 = *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Armenian Linguistics.* Delmar, NY, 1980.
- ICCS 2 = *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies (Rome, 22-26 Sept. 1980).* R., 1985.
- ICCS 6 = *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Celtic Studies.* Db., 1983.
- ICEg 6 = *Sesto Congresso di egittologia.* Tor., 1993.
- ICCeltS 7 = *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies.* Ed. by D. Ellis Evans a. o. Oxf., 1983.
- ICES 4 = *IV Congresso Internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma, 10-15 aprile 1972).* Vol. 2 (sezione linguistica). R., 1974 (= *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Quaderno n. 191*).
- ICES 5 B = *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies. Session B (April 1978).* Ch., 1979.
- ICES 6 = *Ethiopian Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies.* Held in TA (1980). Ed. by G. Goldenberg. Rotterdam / Boston, 1986.
- ICES 9 = *Proceedings of the IX International Conference of Ethiopian Studies.* M., 1988.
- ICfES 13 = *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective. I. Papers of the 13th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies.* Kt., 1997.
- ICfES 5/B = *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Session B.* Ed. by Robert Hess. Ch., 1978.
- ICfES 6 = *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies.* TA, 1980.
- ICfES 7 = *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies.* Ed. by S. Rubenson. East Lansing, Mich., 1984.
- ICfES 8 = *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies. Univ. of Addis-Ababa, 1984).* Ed. by Taddese Beyene. I-II. Ad. / Fr., 1988.

- IchJ = *Issledovanija po chuvashskomu jazyku*, Cheb., 1988.
- ICHL 3 = *III International Conference for Historical Linguistics. Program and Abstracts*. 1982.
- ICHL 7 = *VII International Conference for Historical Linguistics. Program and Abstracts*. Pavia, 1985.
- ICHL 8 = *VIII International Conference for Historical Linguistics. Program and Abstracts*. Lille, 1987.
- ICL 4 = *Le Proto-Lingue. Atti del IVo Convegno internazionale di linguisti (1963)*. Mil., 1965.
- ICL 8 = *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists*. Oslo, 1958.
- ICL 9 = *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*. Ed by H. Lunt. H., 1964.
- ICL 10 = *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Linguists. Actes du X^e Congrès international de linguistes*. Buc., 1970.
- ICL 11 = *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists (Bologna-Florence, Aug. 28 - Sept. 2, 1972)*. Ed. by L. Heilmann. Bol., 1975.
- ICL 14 = *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Linguists (Berlin, 1987)*. I-III. B., 1990.
- ICL 15 = *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Linguists*. 1993.
- ICO 25 = *Trudy Dvadcat'pjatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov (M.)*
- ICSS 2 = *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*. Ed. by Th. Labahn. I. *Linguistics and Literature*. Hm., 1984.
- ICSS 3 = *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Somali Studies, 1988*. Ed. by A. Puglielli. R., 1989.
- ICTS 2 = *Proceedings of the II Intern. Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies (1968)*. Mdr., 1972.
- IEAJ = *Issledovanija v oblasti etimologii altajskix jazykov*. Lgr., 1979.
- IRFThM = *The Indo-Europeans in the Fourth and Third Millenia*. Ed. by E. Polomé. AA, 1982.
- IEC 3 = *Papers presented at the Third Indo-European Conference at the Univ. of Pennsylvania*. Phil., 1970.
- IEG 7 = *Akten der VII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft*. Wb., 1985.
- IEIE = *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*. Ed. by G. Cardona, H. Hoenigswald and A. Senn. Phil., 1970.
- IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*.
- IEJA = *Issledovanija po epigrafike i jazykam drevnej Anatolii, Kipra i antichnogo Severnogo Prichernomor'ja*. M., 1987.
- IEL = *Internatinal Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Ed. by W. Bright (NY).
- IEN = *Indo-European Numerals*. Ed. by Jadranka Gvozdanović. B / NY, 1992.

IERS = *Indo-European Reconstruction and Indo-European Syntax. Proceedings of the Colloquium of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft, Univ. of Pavia, 6-7 September 1979.* Amst., 1980.

IES = *Indo-European Studies* (CmM).

IESM = *Illjustrirovannyj enciklopedičeskij slovar'. Mifologija.* Ed. by Je. Meletinsky a. o. SPb., 1996.

IF = *Indogermanische Forschungen* (Berlin).

IFGVJ = *Issledovanija po fonologii i grammatike vostočnyx jazykov.* M., 1978.

IGK = *Indogermanisch und Keltisch. Kolloquium der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft (Bonn, 1976).* Wb., 1977.

IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

IHSC 2 = *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica (Firenze, 16-19 aprile 1974).* Collected by P. Fronzaroli. Fir., 1978. (= QS V).

IHSC 3 = *Proceedings of the Third International Hamito-Semitic Congress.* Mrb., 1983.

IHSC 4 = *Proceedings of the Fourth International Hamito-Semitic Congress.* Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr and W. Müller. Amst. / Phil., 1987.

IHSC 5 = *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress, 1987.* Ed. by H. Mukarovskij. I-II. W., 1990-1.

IHSC 6 = *Proceedings of the Sixth International Hamito-Semitic Congress.* M., 1994.

IHSC 7 = *Akten des VII Internationalen Semitohamištenkongresses (B., 2004). Semitica et Semitohamitica Berolinensia V.* Aachen, 2007.

IIAN = *Izvéstija Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* (SPb.).

IJJ = *Indo-Iranian Journal* (H.).

IILCD 22 = *XXII Incontro italiano di linguistica camito-semitica.* Ed. by M. Moriggi. Rubbettino (Italia), 2007.

IJAL = *International Journal of American Linguistics.*

IJDL = *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics.*

IJIMK = *Izvestija Instituta jazyka, istorii i material'noj kul'tury im. akademika N. J. Marra.*

IJF 2 = *Issledovanija po jaziku i fol'kloru II.* Novos., 1967.

IJL = *International Journal of Linguistics.*

IK'E = *Iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecniereba* (Tb.).

IK'EC' = *Iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecnierebis c'elic'deuli* (Tb.).

IKJ = *Iberijsko-kavkazskoje jazykozbanije* (Tb.).

IKKNAJO II = *Istoriko-kul'turnyje kontakty narodov altajskoj jazykovej obščnosti: Tezsy dokladov na XXIX sessii PIAC, Tashkent, sent. 1986.* M., 1986. II: *Lingvistika.*

IK-W = *Indogermanisch und Keltisch. Kolloquium der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft am 16. und 17. Februar 1976 in Bonn.* Ed. by K. H. Schmidt. Wb., 1977.

ILC I = *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus. I. Kartvelian.* Delmar, N.Y., 1991.

- IL = *Indian Linguistics* (Pn.).
- IMA 11 = *Studi afroasiatici. XI Incontro italiano di linguistica camitosemitica. 11th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics*. Mil., 2005.
- InA = *India Antiqua*.
- InF = *Inozemna filologija*
- IOK 24 = *Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München, 1957*. Wb., 1959.
- IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies* (TA)
- IPhCKrn = *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Ed. by Erich Neu. Wb., 1982.
- IPN = *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*. I-. W., 1977ff.
- IRAN = *Izvéstija Rossijskoj Akademii nauk* (SPb. / Ptg.)
- IRGO = *Izvéstija Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva* (SPb.).
- IrJ I = *Iranskije jazyki*. I. Ed. by I. Meshchaninov. M. / Lgr., 1945.
- IrJaz 1982 = *Iranskoje jazykoznanije 1982*. M., 1987.
- IRLTJ = *Istoricheskoje razvitije leksiki tjurkskix jazykov*. Ed. by Je. Ubrjatova. M., 1961.
- ISCO = *International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*. Tor., 1989.
- ISGTJ I = *Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskix jazykov*. I: *Fonetika*. M., 1955.
- ISGTJ II = *Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskix jazykov*. II: *Morfologija*. M., 1956.
- ISKL = *Proceedings of the International Symposium Commemorating the 30th Anniversary of Korean Liberation*. Seoul, 1975.
- Isl. = *Islamica* (Lpz.).
- Islam = *Islam*
- ISNB = *Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown* (1962).
- ISSI 1 = *First International Symposium on Soqatra Island: Present and Future*. Aden, 1996.
- IT = *Issledovanija po tjurkologii*. Al., 1969.
- ITIFU = *Istoriko-tipologičeskije issledovanija po finno-ugorskim jazykam*. Ed. by B. Serebrennikov. M., 1978.
- ITSTI = *Istoriko-tipologičeskije i sinxronno-tipologičeskije issledovanija*. Ed. by E. A. Makajev. M., 1972.
- IUP-UAS = *Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series* (Bloom.).
- IVUCh = *Issledovanija vengerskix uchënyx po chuvashskomu jazyku*. Compiled by A. Róna-Tas. Ed. by A. Skvorcov. Cheb., 1985.
- JA = *Journal asiatique* (P.).
- JAA I = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. I: *Xetto-luvijskije jazyki. Armjanskij jazyk. Indoarijskije jazyki*. M., 1976.
- JAA III = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. III: *Jazyki drevnej Perednej Azii (nesemitskije). Iberijsko-kavkazskije jazyki. Paleoaziatskije jazyki*. M., 1979.

JAA IV/1 = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. IV, kniga 1: *Afrazijiskije jazyki: Semitskije jazyki*. M., 1991.

JAA IV/2 = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. IV, kniga 2: *Afrazijiskije jazyki: Kushitskije jazyki. Livijsko-guanchskije jazyki. Jegipetskij jazyk. Chadskije jazyki*. M., 1991.

JAA V = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki*. V: *Altajskije jazyki: Tungusoman'chzhurskije jazyki. Mongol'skije jazyki. Tjurkskije jazyki. Korejskij jazyk. Japonskij jazyk. Dialekty japonskogo jazyka. Ajnskij jazyk*. M., 1993.

JAAL = *Journal of Afroasiatic Languages* (Princeton).

JAAS = *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (Tk.).

JAASbS = *Jazyki Azii i Afriki (Fonetika. Leksikologija. Grammatika). Sbornik statej* (Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). M., 1985.

J Afr = *Jazyki Afriki*. Ed. by N. Oxotina and B. Uspenskij. M., 1966.

J AfrL = *Journal of African Languages*.

JafS = *Jafeticheskij sbornik* (Lgr.).

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

JAS = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Calc.).

JazA = *Jazykovědné aktuality*.

JB = *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

JBL = *The Journal of Biblical Literature*.

JBORS = *Journal of British Oriental Research* (Sidney)

JCL = *Journal of Celtic Linguistics*.

JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.

JDS = *Journal of Dravidian Studies*.

JDV 4 = *IV Mezhdunarodnaja konferencija po jazykam Dal'nego Vostoka, Jugo-Vostochnoj Azii i Zapadnoj Afriki. Tezisy dokladov*. (Moscow University). I-II. M., 1997.

JEA = *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (L.).

JEAL = *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*.

JÉLB = *Journée d'études de linguistique berbère, samedi 11 mars* (1981).

JEOL = *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* (Ld.)

JePZS = *Jevrazijskoje prostranstvo: zvuk i slovo* (M.)

JerSAI = *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*.

JEthS = *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (Ad.).

JewSS = *Jewish School Studies*

JFEsUCM = *Jornadas de filología eslava de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de filología. 16 - 18 de mayo 1990*. Md., 1990.

JHS = *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

JHUS = *John Hopkins University Circulars*.

JIE = *Języki indoeuropejskie*. I-II. Ed. by L. Bednarczuk. Wa., 1988.

JIES = *Journal of Indo-European Studies*.

JIPNC = *Jazyki Indii, Nepala, Pakistana i Cejlona. Materialy nauchnoj konferencii 18-20 janvarja 1965 goda.* M., 1968.

JKL = *Japanese-Korean Linguistics.*

JKF = *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung. Internationale orientalische Zeitschrift.*

JLR = *Voprosy jazykovogo rodstva = Journal of Language Relationship (M.) [= VJR]*

JLSJ = *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan.*

JM = *Jazyk i myshlenie (M. / Lgr.).*

JM-DN = *Jazyki mira. Dardskije i nuristanskije jazyki.* Ed. by Dzh. Edel'man. M., 1999.

JM-GK = *Jazyki mira. Germanskije jazyki. Kel'tskije jazyki.* Ed. by N. Semenjuk, V. Kalygin and O. Romanova. M., 2000.

JM-JZJ = *Jazyki mira. Iranskije jazyki. I. Jugo-zapadnyje iranskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Rastorgujeva, V. Moshkalo and Dzh. Edel'man. M., 1997.

JMKNS = *Jazyk - mif - kul'tura narodov Sibiri: Sbornik nauchnyx trudov.* Yakutsk, 1988.

JM-MT = *Jazyki mira. Mongol'skije jazyki. Tunguso-man'chzhurskije jazyki. Japonskij jazyk. Korejskij jazyk.* Ed. by V. Alpatov a. o. M., 1997.

JM-P = *Jazyki mira. Paleoaziatskije jazyki.* M., 1997.

JM-SZJ = *Jazyki mira. Iranskije jazyki. II. Severo-zapadnyje iranskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Rastorgujeva, V. Jefimov and V. Moshkalo. M., 1999.

JM-T = *Jazyki mira. Tjurkskije jazyki.* Ed. by E. Tenishev a. o. M., 1997.

JM-U = *Jazyki mira. Ural'skije jazyki.* Ed. by Ju. Elisejev, K. Majtinskaja and O. Romanova. M., 1993.

JM-VI = *Jazyki mira. Iranskije jazyki. III. Vostochnoiranskije jazyki.* Ed. by V. Rastorgujeva, Dzh. Edel'man and V. Moshkalo. M., 2000.

JN I = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. I. Indojevropejskije jazyki.* M., 1966.

JN II = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. II. Tjurkskije jazyki.* M., 1966.

JN III = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. III. Finno-ugorskije i samodijskije jazyki.* M., 1966.

JN IV = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. IV. Iberijsko-kavkazskije jazyki.* M., 1967.

JN V = *Jazyki narodov SSSR. V. Mongol'skije, tunguso-man'chzhurskije i paleoaziatskije jazyki.* M., 1968.

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*

JNS = *Jazyki narodov Sibiri.*

JNWSL = *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages.*

JOU = *Journal of the Osmania University (Hyderabad, India).*

JPNS I = *Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa. I. Jazyki i pis'mennost' samojedskix i finno-ugorskix narodov.* Ed. by G. Prokof'jev. M. / Lgr., 1937.

JPNS III = *Jazyki i pis'mennost' narodov Severa. III. Jazyki i pis'mennost' paleoaziatskix narodov.* Ed. by Je.. Krejnovich. M. / Lgr., 1934.

JPOS = *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society.*

JPZS = *Jevrazijskoje prostranstvo: zvuk i slovo.* M., 2000.

JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review.*

JRAI = *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

JRArchI = *Journal of the Royal Archeological Institute.*

JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

JRF = *Jazyki Rossijskoj Federacii* (M.).

JRNEA = *Journal of Research on North-East Africa.*

JSA = *Journal de la Société des africanistes* (Paris)

JSAI = *Jerusalem Studies on Arabic and Islam.*

JSFOu = *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja. Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Hs.).

JSS = *Journal of Semitic Studies.* (Manchester).

JTS = *Journal of Tamil Studies.*

JWAL = *Journal of West African Languages.*

JWh = *Studies Presented to Joshua Whatmough on his Sixteenth Birthday.* Ed. by E. Pulgram. H., 1957.

JZV = *Jazyki zarubezhnogo Vostoka. Sbornik statej.* Ed. by N. Syromjatnikov. M., 1977.

KA = *Komparative Afrikanistik.* W., 1992.

Kalb. = *Kalbotyra* (Viln.).

KBS = *Klagenfurter Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.*

KCsA = *Kőrósi Csoma-Archivum* (Bdp.; reprint: Ld.).

KEL I = *Kartvelur enata leksik'a,* vol. I. Ed. by V. Beriže. Tb., 1938.

Kêmi = *Kêmi, Revue de philologie et archéologie égyptienne et copte* (P.).

KESS = *Kartvelur enata st'rukt'uris sak'itxebi* (Tb.).

KFANU = *Vestnik Karakalpakskogo filiala Akademii naul UzSSR* (Nuk.).

KJ = *Korejskij jazyk. Sbornik statej.* Ed. by B. K. Pashkov. M., 1961.

KJE = *Kratkaja Jevrejskaja Enciklopedija* (J.).

KKJ = *Kaszubi, kultura ludowa i język.* Toruń, 1934.

KIF = *Kleinasiatische Forschungen.* Ed. by F. Sommer and H. Ehelolf.

KMSA = *Konferencija molodyx sotrudnikov i aspirantov (tezisy dokladov).* (Akademija nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). Ed. by V. Cybul'skij a. o. M., 1973.

KON = *Kategorija opredelënnosti - neopredelënnosri v slavjanskix i baltijskix jazykax.* M., 1979.

Kr = *Kratylos.*

KS = *Korean Studies.*

KSF = *Korean Studies Forum.*

KSI = Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki Akademii nauk SSSR. *Konferencija po sravnitel'no-istoricheskoj grammatike indojevropejskix jazykov. Predvaritel'nyje materialy.* M., 1972.

KSINA = *Kratkije soobshčenija Instituta narodov Azii* (M.).

KSSC = *Kartuli saenatmecniero sazogadoebis c'elic'deuli* (Tif.).

KSz = *Keleti Szemle. Folyóirat* (Bdp.).

KUAS = *Kyoto University African Studies.*

KuschS = *Kuschitische Sprachstudien.*

Kush = *Kush.*

KZ = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, begründet von A. Kuhn.

LACUS IV = *The Fourth LACUS Forum.* 1977. Columbia, S. C., 1978. (LACUS = *Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States*).

LACUS V = *The Fifth LACUS Forum* 1978. Columbia, S. C., 1979.

LACUS VIII = *The Eighth LACUS Forum* 1981. Columbia, S. C., 1982.

LACUS XIII = *The Thirteenth LACUS Forum* 1986. Lake Bluff, Ill., 1987.

LACUS XIV = *The Fourteenth LACUS Forum* 1987. Ed. by Sheila Embleton. Lake Bluff, Ill., 1987.

LACUS XVII = *The Seventeenth LACUS Forum* 1993.

LACUS XVIII = *The Eighteenth LACUS Forum* 1991. Lake Bluff, Ill., 1992.

LACUS XIX = *The Nineteenth LACUS Forum* 1993.

LACUS XX = *The Twentieth LACUS Forum* 1994.

LAe = *Lingua Aegyptia.*

LAm = *Linguistique amazighe: les nouveaux horizons. Actes du Colloque internationale (2005).* Tetouan (Morocco), 2006.

Lang. = *Le langage.* Ed. by A. Martinet. Bruges (Belgium), 1968.

LangSc = *Language Sciences.*

LB = *Leuvense Bijdragen.*

LBalt = *Linguistica Baltica.*

LBS = *Lwowska Biblioteka Sławistyczna.*

LCBLTch = *Langues et cultures dans le bassin du lac Tchad.* Collected and ed. by D. Barreteau. P., 1987.

LChLE = *Language Change and Linguistic Evolution.* Ed. by W. S-Y. Wang. L., 1988.

LChRM = *Linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology.* Ed. by P. Baldi. B. / NY, 1990 (= *Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs* 45).

LChS = *Langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques).* Ed. by A. Lonnet and A. Mettouchi (Paris).

LE = *Language in Ethiopia.* Ed. by M. L. Bender a. o. L., 1976.

LES = *Lingvisticheskij enciklopedicheskij slovar'.* M., 1990.

Lg = *Language* (Balt.).

LGPI = *Uchënyje zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta im. A. I. Gercena.* Lgr., 1960.

LHSchw = *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz*. Ed. by Y. Arbeitman. LvN., 1988.

LI = *Lingvističeskije issledovanija. Tipologija. Dialektologija. Etimologija. Komparativistika. Sbornik statej* (Akad. nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). I-II. M., 1984.

Li = *Lingua*.

LIE = *Le lingue indoeuropee*. Ed. by Anna Giacalone Ramat and Paolo Ramat. Bol., 1993.

LIFA = *Lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione. Die indogermanischen Restsprachen*. Pisa, 1983.

LinE = *La lingua di Ebla*. A cura di L. Cagni. Nap., 1981.

Ling = *Linguistica* (Lb.).

LingI = *Linguistic Inquiry*.

LingvI = *Lingvističeskije issledovanija* (M.).

LLLTch = *L'homme et l'eau dans le bassin du Lac Tschad*. P., 1997.

LLM-2 = *Les langues du monde*. 2nd ed. Ed. by A. Meillet and M. Cohen. P., 1952.

LM = *Language Monographs*. Published by the Linguistic Society of America.

LMAM I. = *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de Jean Perrot. 1re partie: *Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne*. P., 1981.

LMAM II. = *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*. Ouvrage publié sous la direction de Jean Perrot. 2me partie: *Pidgins et créoles*. P., 1981.

Lochl. = *Lochlann*.

LP = *Language and Prehistory. Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Ann Arbor, Mich. (1988)*. AA, 1988. UNPUBLISHED.

LPosn = *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznan).

LR = *Leo Reinisch. Werk und Erbe*. Ed. by H. G. Mukarovsky. W., 1987.

LRDIV-84 = *Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejshaja istorija Vostoka. Tezisy i doklady konferencii*. I-V. M., 1984.

LRDIV-89 = *Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejshaja istorija Vostoka. Materialy k diskussijam na Mezhdunarodnoj konferencii (Moskva, 29 maja - 2 ijunja 1989 g.)*. I-III., M., 1989.

LREL = *Latomus. Revue d'études latines*.

Ls = **לשוננו** *Lëshônénû* (J.).

LS-A = *Linguistische Studien. Reihe A: Arbeitshefte*. (B.).

LSFN = *Učënyje zapiski (Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj Universitet). Serija filologičeskix nauk* (Lgr.).

LSPF = *Linguistica semitica - presente e futuro. Studi di H. Cazelles, E. Cerulli, G. Garbini, W. von Soden, A. Spitaler, E. Ullendorff*. Raccolto da G. Lévi della Vida. R., 1961.

LSANA = *Current Trends in Linguistics. VI. Linguistics in South-West Asia and Northern Africa*.

LSU = *The Languages of the Soviet Union*. Ed. by B. Comrie. Cm., 1981.

LT = *Language Typology 1985*. Ed. by W. Lehmann. Amst. / Phil., 1986.

LTDEK = *Lingvističeskiye issledovanija. Tipologija. Dialektologija. Etimologija. Komparativistika*. Sbornik statej (Akad. nauk SSSR. Institut vostokovedenija). I-II. M., 1984.

LTh = *Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems*. Ed. by Alfred Bammesberger. Hd., 1988.

LTNS = *Langues et techniques. Nature et société*. Vol. I: *Approche linguistique*. Ed. by J. Thomas and L. Bernot. P., 1972.

LUÅ = *Lund Universitets Årsskrift*.

LudS = *Lud słowiański*.

MA = *Mélanges Asiatiques* (SPb.).

MAA = *The Morphologies of Asia and Africa*. Ed. by A. S. Kaye. Winna Lake, In., 2006.

MAB = *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia* (B.).

Macne = *Macne (enisa da lit'erat'uris seria)* (Tb..).

MAIB = *Memorie della R. Accademia delle scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna. Classe di scienze morali* (Bol.).

MAIBL = *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et des belles lettres* (P.).

MALC-77 = *Papers from the 1977 Mid-American Linguistic Conference*. Columbia, Mo., 1978.

MAnGW = *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*.

MAOG = *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* (Lpz.).

MAS-GELLAS = *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques. Recherches en cours - Publications du Groupe d'études de linguistique et de littératures arabes et sudarabiques* (P.).

MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*.

MDOG = *Mittlungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*.

MémAB = *Mémorial André Basset*. P., 1957.

MemMész = *In memoriam Gedeon Mészöly*. Sz., 1961 (NNy, *fasciculus extraordinarius*).

MémVc. = *Articles de linguistique berbère. Mémorial Werner Vycichl. Réunis et édités par Kamal Naït-Zerrad*. P. / Bdp. / Tor., 2002.

MémVc.-E = *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam Werner Vycichl*. Ed. by G. Takács. Ld., 2004.

Meroe = *Meroe* (M.).

MFEA = *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Ostasiatiska Samlingarna)* (St.).

MFOB = *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth*.

MGalb. = *Miscellanea Galbiati*.

MHB = *Mémorial Henri Basset. Nouvelles études nord-africaines et orientales.* P., 1928.

Minos = *Minos.*

MIOF = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* (B.).

MiscE = *Miscellanea Eblaitica.* Ed. by P. Fronzaroli [volumes of QS].

MJJ = *Materialy po jafeticheskomu jazykoznaniju* (SPb. / Ptg.).

MJNS = *Mladopis'mennyje jazyki narodov SSSR.* M. / Lgr., 1959.

MKVAW = *Mededelingen van de Koninglijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren* (Brs.).

MLGin. = *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offertes à Jacques van Ginneken.* P., 1937.

MLPhM = *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie. Fernand Mossé in memoriam.* P., , 1959.

MLR = *Mediterranean Language Review* (Wb.).

MLRod. = *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Maxime Rodinson. Supplément 12 aux Comptes-rendus du GLECS.* P., 1985.

MLZh = *Moskovskij lingvisticheskiy zhurnal. The Moscow Linguistic Journal.*

MMCohen = *Mélanges Marcel Cohen.* Réunis par David Cohen. H., 1970.

Mn = *Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Philologica Batava.*

MNM = *Mify narodov mira. Enciklopedija.* I-II. M., 1980.

MNy = *Magyar nyelv.*

MO = *Le Monde oriental* (Up.).

MQ = *The Mankind Quarterly.*

MRB = *Mélanges René Basset. Études nord-africaines et orientales.* I-II. P., 1923-5.

MRDTB = *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (The Oriental Library)* (Tk.).

MSAA = *Marburger Studien für Afrika- und Asienkunde.*

MSB = *Mitteilungen des Sonderforschungsberichts* (Fr.).

MSFOu = *Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia. Mémoires de la Société finno-ougrienne* (Hs.).

MSL = *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris.*

MSOS = *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Univ. Berlin* (MSOS-2 = MSOS, Abt. 2: *Westasiatische Studien*; MSOS-3 = MSOS, Abt. 3: *Afrikanische Studien*).

MSS = *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.*

MT = *Mother Tongue. Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory.*

MTKJ = *Morfologičeskaja tipologija i problema klassifikacii jazykov.* Ed. by B. Serebrennikov and O. Sunik. M. / Lgr., 1965.

Mus. = *Le Muséon* (Louvain).

MusH = *Museum Helveticum.*

MUSJ = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* (Beir.).

- MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (B.).
- MVÄG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (Lpz.).
- NAA = *Narody Azii i Afriki* (M.).
- NAS = *Neue Afrikanistische Studien*. Ed. by J. Lukas. Hm., 1966.
- NCC = *Nostratic Centennial Conference: the Pécs Papers*. Pécs (Hungary), 2004.
- NCh = *Nauka i chelovechestvo 1971-1972*. M., 1971.
- NCL = *The Niger-Congo Languages: a Classification and Description of Africa's Largest Language Family*. Ed. by J. Bender-Samuel. Lanham, Md, 1989.
- NDCAA = *Nostratic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric, and Amerind*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum (Germany), 1992.
- NEB = *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*. 15th ed. *Macropædia*. I-XIX. Ch./L., ©1974.
- NELM = *Nostratic: Examining a Linguistic Macrofamily*. Ed. by C. Renfrew and D. Nettle. Cm., 1999.
- NilES = *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies* (Kt.).
- NilS = *Nilotic Studies. Proceedings of the International Symposium on Languages and History of the Nilotic Peoples, Cologne, Jan. 4-6, 1982*. Ed. by R. Voßen and M. Bechhaus-Gerst (= *Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik*, Bd. X). B., 1983.
- NJMA = *Nadpisi i jazyki drevnej Maloj Azii, Kipra i antichnogo Severnogo Prichernomor'ja*. M., 1987
- NJNJ = *Nostraticeskije jazyki i nostraticeskoje jazykoznanije. Konferencija (Tezisy dokladov)*. Akademija nauk SSSR, Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki. M., 1977.
- NKQ = *'An-naqā'iṣu wa-l-kitābāt al-qadīma fi-l-Maṣan al-ʿArabiyya*. Tunis, 1988.
- NLML II = *The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics*. II. St., 1975.
- NMN = *Nyt Magazin for Naturvidenskab* (Chr.)
- NNy = *Néprajz és Nyelvtudomány* (Sz.) (= *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Sectio ethnographica et linguistica*).
- NO = *Nový Orient*.
- NSE = *Nostratic: Sifting the Evidence*. Ed. by Brian Joseph and Joe Salmons. Amst., 1998.
- NSIE = *The New Sound of Indo-European. Essays in Phonological Reconstruction*. Ed. by Theo Vennemann. B. / NY, 1989.
- NSL = *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR. Linguistic Studies*. Ed. by H. Aronson. Ch., 1989.
- NSL-II = *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR. Linguistic Studies. Second Series*. Ed. by H. Aronson. Ch., 1992.
- NSLE = *Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. Ed. by M. L. Bender. East Lansing, Mich. / Crb., 1976.

NSLS = *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies* Ed. by M. L. Bender. East Lansing, Mich., 1983.

NTS = *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo).

NyD = *Nyelvészeti Dolgozatok* (Sz.).

NyIOK = *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi osztályának közlemények* (Bdp.).

NyK = *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Bdp.).

OEMS = *Oslo Etnografiske Museums Skrifter*.

ÕESA = *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat* (Tartu).

OFUJ-FU = *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija. Voprosy proisxozhdenija i razvitija finno-ugorskix jazykov*. Ed. by V. Lytkin a.o. M., 1974.

OFUJ-MPU = *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija. Marijskij, permskije i ugorskije jazyki*. Ed. by V. Lytkin a.o. M., 1976.

OFUJ-PFSM = *Osnovy finno-ugorskogo jazykoznanija. Pribaltijsko-finskije, saamskij i mordovskije jazyki*. Ed. by V. Lytkin a.o. M., 1975.

OFVJ = *Očerki po fonologii vostochnyx jazykov*. Ed. by T. Jelizarenkova. M., 1985.

Og. = *Ogam*.

OIEIJ I = *Opyt istoriko-etimologičeskogo issledovanija itanskix jazykov. I. Fonologija. Evoljucija morfoložičeskogo tipa*. M., 1975.

OIEIJ II = *Opyt istoriko-etimologičeskogo issledovanija itanskix jazykov. II. Evoljucija grammatičeskix kategorij*. M., 1975.

OIJ-D = *Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija. Drevneiranskije jazyki*. Ed. by V. Abajev, M. Bogoljubov and V. Rastorgujeva. M., 1979.

OIJ-S = *Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija. Sredneiranskije jazyki*. Ed. by V. Abajev, M. Bogoljubov and V. Rastorgujeva. M., 1981.

OldP = *S. F. Ol'denburgu k pjatidesjatiletiju nauchno-obščhestvennoj dejatel'nosti, 1882-1932*. Lgr., 1934.

OLP = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*.

ÖLT XIII = *Akten der 13. Österreichischen Linguistentagung (Graz, 25-27 Okt. 1985)*. Ed. by Christian Zinko. Graz, 1988.

OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.

OMD = *Očerki mordovskix dialektov*. I-V. Sar., 1961-8.

OmLS = *Omotic Language Studies*. Ed. by R. Hayward. L., 1990.

On = *Onomastika*. Ed. by V. A. Nikonov and A. V. Superanskaja. M., 1969.

Or = *Orientalia. Commentarii Pontifici Institutii Biblici* (R.).

OrA = *Oriens antiquus* (R.).

Orbis = *Orbis* (Lv.).

OrC = *Orientalia et Classica* (M.)

OrS = *Orientalia Suecana*.

Ors = *Oriens*.

OSLAJ = *Očerki sravnitel'noj leksikologii altajskix jazykov*. Ed. by V. Cincius. Lgr., 1972.

OSMAJ = *Očerki sravnitel'noj morfologii altajskix jazykov*. Ed. by O. Sunik. Lgr., 1978.

OSS = *Orientalia. Papers of the Oriental Institute. Issue III. Studia Semitica* (M.).

OUM = *Olon ulsyn mongol xel bigchijn erdemtnij anxdugaar ix xural*. I-II. Ed. by Zh. Cölöö. UB, 1961.

PacA = *Pacific Affairs*.

PAfrJ = *Problemy afrikanskogo jazykoznanija*. Ed. by N. Oxotina and B. Uspenskij. M., 1972.

Paid. = *Paideuma*.

PalJ = *Paleoaziatskije jazyki* (Lgr.)

PalL = *Paleontologia linguistica. Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale dei Linguisti tenuto a Milano nei giorni 2-6 settembre 1974*. Brescia (Italia), 1977.

PAS = *Peredneaziatskij sbornik. Voprosy xettologii i xurritologii*. M., 1961.

PAS III = *Peredneaziatskij sbornik. III. Istorija i filologija stran Drevnego Vostoka*. M., 1979.

PAS IV = *Peredneaziatskij sbornik. IV*. M., 1984.

PASC = *Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome).

PASJ = *Proisxozhdenije aborigenov Sibiri i ix jazykov*. Tomsk (Russia).

PAU-MCO = *Polska Akademia umiejętności - Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste* (Cr.).

PB = *Pamjati V. G. Bogoraza (1865-1936). Sbornik statej*. M. / Lgr., 1937.

PBA = *Proceedings of the British Academy*.

PBalA = *Paleobalkanistika i antichnost'*. M., 1989.

PCDLA = *Problèmes de comparatisme et de dialectologie dans les langues africaines*. Ed. by L. Bouquiaux, G. Guarisma and G. Manessy. P., 1980.

PChL = *Papers in Chadic Linguistics. Papers from the Leiden Colloquium on the Chadic Language Family*. Ed. by P. Newman and R. Ma Newman. Ld., 1977.

PCL = *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cm., 1971.

Pd. = *Paideia*.

PDR = *Problemy izuchenija dal'nego rodstva jazykov na rubezhe tret'jego tysjacheletija* (Doklady i tezisj mezhdunarodnoj konferencii 29 maja - 2 ijunja 2000 g., Moscow).

PDU = *Papers on Derivation in Uralic. Szegeder und Turkuer Beiträge zur uralischen Derivation*. .Sz., 1987 (= StUA XXVIII).

PEAL = *Papers on Eskimo and Aleut Languages*. Ch., 1976.

PFJ = *Pribaltijsko-finskoje jazykoznanije*. M. / Lgr., 1961.

PFLS = *Publications de la Faculté des lettres de Strasbourg*.

Ph = *Phonetica*.

PhAA = *Phonologies of Asia and Africa (including the Caucasus)*. Ed. by A. Kaye. S.l., Eisenbrauns, 1997.

PhFU = *Philologia Fenno-Ugrica* (Freiburg).

PhHAKAW = *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philologische und historische Abhandlungen*.

PhMAPhA = *Philological Monographs of the American Philological Association* (Cleveland).

PhS = *Philologische Studiën* (Lv.).

PhTF I = *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Ed. by J. Deny, K. Grønbech, H. Scheel and Z. Velidi Togan. Vol. I. Wb., 1959.

PIAC XXIX = *Istoriko-kul'turnyje kontakty narodov altajskoj jazykovej obshchnosti. Tezisy dokladov XXIX sessii Postojannoj mezhdunarodnoj altaisticheskoy konferencii (PIAC), Tashkent, sentjabr' 1986 g. II. Lingvistika*. M., 1986.

PICA = *Etnicheskiye problemy istorii Central'noj Azii v drevnosti*. M., 1981.

PID = *Problemy izuchenija dal'nego rodstva jazykov na rubezhe tret'jego tysjacheletija. Doklady i tezisy mezhdunarodnoj konferencii (29 maja - 2 ijun'a 2000 g.)*. M., 2000.

PIEJ = *Problemy indojevropejskogo jazykoznanija*. Edited by V. N. Toporov. M., 1964.

PIEOA = *Publication de l'Institut d'études orientales d'Alger*.

PIJA = *Problemy izuchenija jazykov Afriki. Materialy konferencii, posvjashchënnoj 30-letiju Otdela afrikanskix jazykov Instituta jazykoznanija RAN (4-6 dek. 1995 g.)*. Ed. by N. Koval' and V. Vinogradov. M., 1995.

PJ = *Prace Językoznawcze* (a series within ZNUJ , Cr.).

PJAA = *Problemy języków Azji i Afryki*. Wa., 1987.

PJDL = *PILC* (= *Pondicherry Journal of Linguistics and Culture*). *Journal of Dravidian Studies*.

PKL = *Papers in Korean Linguistics*. Ed. by Chin-Wu Kim. Columbia, S.C., 1978.

PL = *Papiere zur Linguistik* (Tüb.).

PLPC = *Proto-Languages and Proto-Cultures*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1990.

PM = *Pamjati akademika N. Ja. Marra*. M. / Lgr., 1939.

PMF = *K probleme markirovannosti v fonologii*. M., 1974.

PMT = *Prirodnoje okruženije i material'naja kul'tura pratjurkskix narodov* (M., 2008).

POAJ = *Problema obshchnosti altajskix jazykov*. Ed. by O. Sunik. Lgr., 1971.

PP = Past and Present.

PPOJ = Institut vostokovedenija AN SSSR. *Predvaritel'nyje publikacii Otdela jazykov* (M.).

PPhS = *Proceedings of the Philological Society*.

PPP = *Pis'mennyje pamjatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (edited as issues of GNSLIV, M., "Nauka").

PrFSCO = *Proceedings of the First Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*. Hm., 1988.

PrICSS = *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965*. J., 1969.

PrO = *Polska akademia umiejętności. Prace orientalistyczne* (Cr.).

PrR = *Konferencija "Problemy rekonstrukcii", 23-25 okt. 1978 g. Tezisy dokladov*. M., 1978.

PrRPTch = *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Ed. by J.-P. Caprile et H. Jungraithmayr. P., 1978.

PrS = *Pronominal Systems*. Ed. by U. Wieseemann. Tüb., 1986.

PrBLS 27 = *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*.

PrBLS 6 = *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*.

PS = *Palestinskij sbornik* (Lgr.).

PSES = *Principy sostevlenija etimologicheskix i istoricheskix slovaraj raznyx semej. Tezisy dokladov konferencii 8-9 nojabrja 1993 goda*. M., 1993.

PSG = *Problemy sravnitel'noj grammatiki indoevropeskix jazykov. Nauchnaja sessija*. M., 1964.

PSTj = *Problemy sovremennoj tjurkologii. Materialy II Vsesojuznoj tjurkologicheskoi konferencii*. Al., 1980.

PTIO = *Progressive Traditions in African and Oriental Studies*. Ed. by S. Brauner and S. Wolff. B., 1988.

PV = *Peterburgskoje vostokovedenije* (SPb.).

QJMS = *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore).

QS = *Quaderni di Semitistica* (Fir.).

RA = *Revue d'assyriologie* (P.).

RAfr. = *Revue africaine* (P.).

RAL = *Researches in Altaic Languages* (14th Permanent International Altaistic Conference, 1971, Szeged). Bdp., 1975.

RANL = *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche* (R.)

RC = *Revue celtique*.

RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie*.

RDh = *Recueil Édouard Dhorme*. P., 1951.

RDHPh = *Recent Developments in Historical Phonology*. Ed. by J. Fisiak. H., 1978.

REA = *Revue des études anciennes*.

REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes* (P.).

ReL = *La reconstruction des laryngales* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'université de Liège, fasc. CCLIII), P., 1990.

REIE = *Revue des études indo-européennes* (Buc. / P.).

RFV = *Russkij filologicheskij vėstnik*.

- RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asianique* (P.).
- RHPR = *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*.
- RIAT = *Revista del Instituto de Antropología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* (Tucumán, Argentine).
- RISL = *Accademia di scienze e lettere. Classe di lettere e scienze morali. Rendiconti. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*.
- RITCh = *Relations interethniques et culture matérielle dans le bassin du lac Tchad*. P., 1990.
- RicL = *Ricerche linguistiche. Bollettino semestrale dell'Istituto di glottologia dell'Università di Roma*.
- RICL-8 = *Reports to the VIIIth International Congress of Linguists*. Oslo, 1957.
- RIL = *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe Lettere* (Mil.).
- RK = *Revue de Kartvélogie*.
- RLangC = *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*. Ed. by E. Polomé and W. Winter. B. / NY, 1992.
- RLC = *Reconstructing Languages and Cultures*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin. Bochum, 1989.
- RLV = *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. I-XV. B., 1924-1932.
- RNDLUI = *Research Notes from the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan*.
- RO = *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Wa.).
- Rom. = *Romania*.
- RPh = *Revue de philologie*.
- RPhA = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
- RPTCh = *Préalables à la reconstruction du proto-tchadique*. Ed. by J.-P. Caprile et H. Jungraithmayr. P., 1978.
- RR = *Russkaja rech'* (M.).
- RRAL = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. (= Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti)*. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (R.).
- RRL = *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*.
- RSE = *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* (R.).
- RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (R.).
- RTEA = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
- RTJV = *Sir Ralph Turner Jubilee Volume* (= IL, 2 special volumes). Pn., 1958-9.
- RUG = *Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Werken uitgeven door de faculteit van de wijsbegeerte en letteren*.
- QS XXV = *Proceedings of the 10th Meeting of Hamito-Semitic Linguistics (Florence, 2001). Quaderni di Semitistica XXV*.
- SAÄK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*.
- SAE = *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Südarabische Expedition*. (W.).

- SAfrL = *Studies in African Linguistics*.
- SAHS = *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics*. Ed. by T. Muraoka. Lv., 1995 (= *Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series IV*).
- SamS = *Samodijiskij sbornik*. Novos., 1973.
- SANG = *Soobshchenija Akademii nauk Gruzinskoj SSR*.
- SaS = *Slovo a slovesnost* (Pr.).
- SAZRFV = *Slovenska Akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Razred na filološke in literarne vede. Razprave* (Lb.).
- SB = *Språkliga Bidrag* (Lund).
- SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (and earlier: *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*), *Philosophisch-historische Klasse*.
- SbB = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SBCAW = *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Caiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- SbH = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*.
- SBJAB = *Slavjanskoje i balkanskoje jazykoznanije. Antichnaja balkanistika i sravnitel'naja grammatika*. M., 1977.
- SBJJK = *Slavjanskoje i balkanskoje jazykoznanije. Problemy jazykovyx kontaktov*. M., 1983.
- SBK = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abt.* (W.).
- SBT = *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (Wb.)
- SbW = *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen (later: Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (W.).
- SC = *Studia Caucasica* (H.).
- Sc. = *The Sciences*.
- ScA = *Scientific American*.
- SChAL = *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*. Ed. by E. Wolff and H. Meyer-Bahlburg. Hm., 1983.
- SChHS = *Studia Chadica et Hamitosemitica*. (Akten des Intern. Symposions zur Tschadsprachenforschung, J. W. Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main). Ed. by D. Ibrizimow and R. Leger. K., 1995.
- SchrAf = *Schriften zur Afrikanistik* (Fr.).
- SCI = *Sem Cam Iafet. Atti della 7^a Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei* (Milano, 1^o giugno 1993). A cura di V. Brugnatelli. Mil., 1994.
- SCJ = *Studia Celtica Japonica*.
- SCL = *Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice* (Buc.).
- SCOPL = *Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics* (LA).
- SCS = *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*. Ed. by G. Goldenberg and Sh. Raz. Wb., 1994.

SDCS = *Seminar on Dravidian Case System (1974, Annamalainagar, India)*. Ed. by S. Agesthialingom and K. Kushalappa Gonda. Ann., 1976.

SDFU = *Skrifter utgivna genom dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala (earlier Skrifter utgivna genom landsmåls- och folksminnesarkivet i Uppsala)*.

SDGL = *Studies in Dravidian and General Linguistics*. Hyderabad, 1998-9.

SDJ = *Sbornik dialektologicheskix materialov jakutskogo jazyka*. Yakutsk, 1961.

SDL 3 = *Third Seminar on Dravidian Linguistics*. Ed. by S. Agesthialingom and S. V. Shanmugam. Ann., 1972.

SDLI = *Sinxronija i diaxronija v lingvističeskix issledovanijax*. M., 1988.

SE = *Sovetskaja etnografija*.

SEB = *Studia Etymologica Brunensia* (Pr., "Euroslavica").

SEC = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* (Cr.).

SEEJ = *The Slavic and East European Journal*.

Sef. = *Sefarad*.

Sem. = *Semitica*

SemJ = *Semitskije jazyki* (M.).

SEP = *Studien zur englischen Philologie* (Halle).

SFB = *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity. Studia minora Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Brunensis* (Brno).

SFU = *Sovetskoje finno-ugrovedenije* (Tall.).

SGGJ = *Sravnitel'naja grammatika geermanskix jazykov* (M.).

SGJ = *Materialy pervoj nauchnoj sessii po voprosam germanskogo jazykoznanija* (Institut jazykoznanija Akademii nauk SSSR). M., 1959.

SGKA = *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur in Afrika. Vorträge, gehalten auf dem III. Afrikanistentag, Köln, 14./15. Oktober 1982*. Ed. by R. Voßen and U. Claudi. Hm., 1983.

SGRozv. = *Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski*. I-II. Cr., 1927.

SHC 8 = ≈ 8th Semito-Hamitic Congerence. Nap., 2009.

Šhd. = *Šayhadica*, ed. by Ch. Robin and M. Bāfaqīh. P., 1987.

SHPA = *Studies in the Historical Phonology of Asian Languages*. Ed. by William G. Boltz and Michael C. Shapiro. Amst./Phil., 1991.

SIE = *Studia indoeuropejskie. Études indo-européennes*. Ed. by J. Kuryłowicz. Wr., 1974.

SIJ = *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskoje izuchenije jazykov raznyx semej. Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija. Rekonstrukcija ischeznuvshix jazykov*. M., 1991.

SIJSE = *Konferencija. Sravnitel'no-istoričeskoje jazykoznanije na sovremennom etape. Pamjati V. M. Illich-Svitycha. 6 - 9 fevralja 1990 g. Tezisy dokladov*. M., 1990.

SIL = *Summer Institute of Linguistics*. Aus., 2001-2.

SILTA = *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata*.

SIN = *Slavistika. Indojevropéistika. Nostratika. K 60-letiju so dnja roždenija V. A. Dybo. Konferencija. Tezisy dokladov.* M., 1991.

SISS = *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskije issledovanija jazykov: sovremennoje sostojanije i perspektivy.* M., 2003.

SITJ = *Struktura i istorija tjurkskix jazykov.* Ed. by E. Sevortjan a. o. M., 1971.

SJak. = *Studies Presented to Roman Jakobson by his Students.* CmM, 1968.

SJZ = *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo.* Kt., 1954.

SKI = *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen.* Ed. by W. Meid. In., 1998.

SKM = *Saenatmecniero k'rebuli. Lingvističeskij sbornik. Ežghvneba Givi Machavarianis xsovnas. Posvjashchajetsja pamjati Givi Machavariani.* Ed. by Sh. 3ižiguri. Tb., 1979.

SL = *The Semitic Languages.* Ed. by R. Hetzron. L. / NY, 1997.

SLAO = *Studia linguarum Africae Orientalis* (Hd. / K.).

SLCar. = *Studi linguistici e filologici offerti a Girolamo Caracausi.* Palermo, 1992.

SLESI VI = *Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae Sodalitium Israëlense. Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting (Tel-Aviv, April 16th, 1988) = Ha-xûg ha-Yiçrá'elî shel xavrey ha-Xevráh ha-'Eyrôpît la-balshánût. Divrey ha-Mivgásh ha-shênátî ha-shîshshî (Tel-Ávîv, 16 bē-aprîl 1988).* J., 1989

SIJ = *Slavjanskoje jazykoznanije* (M.)

SIJD = *Slavjanskoje jazykoznanije. Doklady sovetskoj delegacii na VI Mezhdunarodnom s'jezde slavistov (Praga, 1968).* M., 1968.

SLKLE = *Survey of Little Known Languages of Ethiopia.* Ed. by K. Wedekind. Ad., 1993.

SLLE = *S.L.L.E. Linguistic Reports. Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia* (Ad.).

SLUSSR = *Studies in the Languages of the USSR.* Ed. by B. Comrie. Crb. / Edmonton, 1980.

SMAE = *Sbornik Muzeja antropologii i etnografii* (M. / Lgr.).

SMAM = *Sakartvelos SSR Mecnierebata ak'ademiis moambe* (Bulletin of the Academy of Scences of the Georgian SSR). (Tb.).

SMAX = *Sakartvelos SSR Mecnierebata ak'ademiis xelnac'erta inst'it'ut'is moambe.* (Tb.)

SMO = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija méstnostej i plemën Kavkaza* (Tiflis).

SNL = *Studies in Nigerian Languages* (Zaria / Kano, Nigeria).

SNM = *Symposium on the Nostratic Macrofamily* (precirculated papers). Cm., 1998.

SO = *Stidia Orientalia* (M.)

SO AK = *Stidia Orientalia. Aspekty komparativistiki* (Moscow)

SovT = *Sovetskaja tjurkologija* (Bk.).

SPAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (B.).

SpE = *Săpostavilno ezikoznanie* (Sofia).

SPJA = *St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies*.

SPJOS = *St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*.

Spr = *Die Sprache*.

SprA = *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, ed. by B. Heine, T. Schadeberg, and E. Wolff, Hm., 1981.

SpSib = *Specimina Sibirica* (redigit Janos Puszta) (Szombathely, Hungary).

SPSJ = *Sklonenije v paleoaziatskix i samodijkskix jazykax*. Lgr., 1974.

SS = *Die Slawischen Sprachen* (W.).

SSA = *Studies in Stress and Accent. Souther California Occasional Psapers in Linguistics*.

SSCS = *Sprung from Some Common Source. Investigations into the Prehistory of Languages*. Ed. by S. M. Lamb and E. Douglas Mitchell. Stnf., 1991.

SSI = *Sovetskoje slavjanovedenije* (M.).

SSLs = *Semitic Studies: In honor of Wolf Leslau*. Ed. by A. S. Kaye. I-II. Wb., 1991.

SSPCF = *Suplementos del Seminario de problemas científicos y filosóficos* (México, Universidad Nacional de México).

SSUF = *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Uppsala. Förhandlingar*.

StAeg = *Studia Aegyptiaca*.

StAfrL = *Studies in African Linguistics*.

STAT = *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*. Sarja 1 (Hs.).

STAT-B = *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*. Sarja B (Hs.).

StChE I = *Studies in Chuvash Etymology*. Ed. by A. Róna-Tas. I. Sz., 1982 (= *StUA* XVII).

StDL = *Studies in Dravidian Linguistics* (Patiala, India).

StE = *Studi eblaiti* (Univerità degli studi di Roma "La Sapienza").

StEt = *Studi etruschi*.

StEtC = *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia*

StF = *Studia Fennica. Revue de linguistique et de philologie finnoises* (Hs.)

StFU = *Stidia Fenno-Ugrica Gronongana*. Maastricht (The Netherlands), 2002.

StGr = *Studi di grammatica dall'XI incontro di grammatica generativa*. Contributi di G. Banti, A. Marcantonio, L. Mereu, A. Tomaselli. R., 1986.

StIE = *Studia indoeuropejskie. Études indo-européennes*. Wr. / Wa.. / Cr. / Gd., 1974.

StIGW = *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*. Ed. by W. Meid. In., 1987 (= *IBS* LII).

StL = *Studies in Language* (Amst. / Phil.).

StLE = *Studies in the Language of Ebla*. Ed. by P. Fronzaroli. Fir., 1984 (= QS XIII).

StLO = *Studies in Language Origins*. Ed. by W. v. Raffle-Engel, J. Wind and A. Jonker. Amst. / Phil., 1991.

StN = *Second Workshop on Comparative Linguistics: Status of Nostratic* (Eastern Michigan Univ., Oct. 21-22, 1993).

StNigL = *Studies in Nigerian Languages* (Zaria / Kano, Nigeria).

StOF = *Studia Orientalia*. Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica (Hs.).

StOL = *Studi Orientali e linguistici* (Bologna).

StS = *Studia Septentrionalia* (Oslo)

StSA = *Studies in Stress and Accent. Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics. IV.*

StSL = *Studi e saggi linguistici. Supplemento a la rivista «L'Italia dialettale».*

StUA = *Studia Uralo-Altaica* (Sz.).

StuL = *Studia Linguarum* (M.)

StWeb = *Studies in Memory of Frank Martindale Webster*. Saint Louis, 1951 (= *Washington University Studies - N. S. Language and Literature XX*).

SuA = *Suomen antropologi*.

SUGIA = *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* (K.).

Suomi = *Suomi. Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* (Helsingfors, Finska Litteratur-Sällskapets förlag).

SUST = *Suomlais-Ugrilainen Seuran Toimituksia*.

SuvL = *Suvremena lingvistika* (Zg.).

SVN = *Uchenyje zapiski (Leningradskij gosudarstvennyj Universitet. Vostochnyj Institut). Serija vostokovedcheskix nauk* (Lgr.).

SWAS = *Struktur und Wandel afrikanischen Sprachen (Vorträge vom XX. Deutschen Orientlistentag, Erlangen 1977)*. Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. B., 1978.

Syr. = *Syria*.

TAPhS = *Transactions of American Philolosophical Society*.

TASJ = *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.

TBaltK = *Tarptautinė baltistų konferencija. Starptautiskā baltistu konference. Mezhdunarodnaja konferencija baltistov. International Conference of Balticists*. Viln., 1985.

TC = *Tamil Culture* (Mdr.).

TChL = *Topics in Chadic Linguistic*. (K.).

TCLP = *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague*.

TDAY = *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten*.

TDHL = *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*. Ed. by C. Renfrew, A. McJahon, and L. Trask. I-II. Cm., 2000.

TDHLP = *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics*. Papers presented for the meeting to be held 19-22 August 1999. Cm., 1999.

TDP = *Tajny drevnix pis'mën. Problemy deshifrovki*. Ed. by I. M. Djakonov (Diakonoff). M., 1976.

TELS I = *Tajmyrskij etnolingvističeskij sbornik*. Vypusk I. *Materialy po nganasanskomu šamanstvu i jazyku*. Ed. by E. Helimski (Je. A. Xelimskij). M., Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj gumanitarnyj universitet, 1994.

TES = *Tatarische etymologische Studien*. II. Sz., 1988 (= *StUA* XXX).

T&M = *Textes et Mémoires* (Ld. / Teh. / Liège).

TGDR = *Tōkyo Gaykokugo Dayaku ronshū* (Tk.).

TGPG = *Towards a Grammar of Proto-Germanic*. Ed. by F. van Coetsem and H. L. Kufner. Tüb., 1972.

ThAL = Michael Mann and David Dalby. *A Thesaurus of African Languages. A classified and annotated inventory of the spoken languages of Africa*. L. / Mn. / NY, 1988 (1st imprint 1987).§

ThSV = *Zur Theorie des Sprachveränderung*. Ed. by Gudula Dinsler. Kronberg Ts. (Germany), 1974.

TI = *Tjurkologičeskije issledovanija*. Ed. by A. Borovkov. M. / Lgr., 1963.

TIEMM = *Trudy Instituta etnografii im. N. N. Mikluxo-Maklaja* (M. / Lgr.).

TIES = *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* (Reyk.).

Tietol. = *Tietolipas* (Hs.)

TIJ = *Trudy Instituta jazykoznanija* (M.).

TIJGK = *Trudy Instituta jazykoznanija Akademii nauk Gruzinskoj SSR. Serija vostočnyx jazykov*.

TJ = *Tokiwa Joshi-tanki-daigaku kiyo*.

Tjl = *Tjurkologičeskije issledovanija*. M. / Lgr., 1963.

TKA = Institut Vostokovedenija AN SSSR. *Tezisy konferencii aspirantov i molodyx sotrudnikov. Jazykoznanije*. M., 1988.

TLW = *Türkische Laut- und Wortgeschichte*. B., 1995.

TMIE = *Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie* (P.).

TMIV = *Trudy Moskovskogo instituta vostokovedenija*.

TMJF = *Tjurko-mongol'skoje jazykoznanije i fol'kloristika*. Ed. by G. Sanzheev and R. Aganin. M., 1960.

TMNII = *Trudy Marijskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta jazyka, literatury i istorii* (YO).

TNR = *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.

TOKJM = *Teoretičeskije osnovy klassifikacii jazykov mira*. Ed. by V. N. Jarceva. M., 1980.

TOKJMR = *Teoretičeskije osnovy klassifikacii jazykov mira. Problemy rodstva*. Ed. by B. A. Serebrennikov. M., 1982.

TOOIA = *Trudy Obščestva obščedovanija i izučenija Azerbajdžhana* (Bk.).

ToxJ = *Toxarskije jazyki. Sbornik statej*. Ed. by V. V. Ivanov. M., 1959.

TP = *T^coung Pao* (Ld.).

TPEI = *Teorija i praktika etimologičeskix issledovanij*. Ed. by K. M., Musajev. M., 1985.

- TPhS = *Transactions of the Philological Society*.
- TRT = *Typology, Relationship, and Time*. Ed. by V. Shevoroshkin and Th. L. Markey. AA, Karoma, 1986.
- TrI = *Tradition and Innovation. Norm and Deviation in Arabic and Semitic Linguistics*. Wb., 1999.
- TRÜT = *Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Toimetised*.
- TS = *Trava od srca (Hrvatske Indije 2)*. Sekcija za orijentalistiku HFD i Filozofski fakultet. Zg., 2000.
- TsHJ = *Tsing Hua Journal* (Peiping).
- TTU = *Trudy Tbilisskogo universiteta*.
- TUM = *T'pilis Universit'et'is moambe* (Tb.).
- TungS I = *Tungusskij sbornik I*. Lgr., 1931.
- Turc. = *Turcologica*. Lgr., 1976.
- TUSh = *Tbilisis Saxelmc'ipo Universit'et'i. Shromebi*. (Tb.).
- TW = *Textkorpus und Wörterbuch. Aspekte zur ägyptischen Lexikographie*. Ld., 1999.
- Tx. = *Textus*.
- TZES = *Tanamedrove zogadi enatmecnierebis sak'itxebi* (Tb.).
- UAAEJ = *Uralo-altaistika (Arxeologija. Etnografija. Jazyk)*. Ed. by Je. I. Ubrjatova. Novos., 1985.
- UAJ = *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* (Wb.).
- UAJ NF = *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher. Neue Folge*.
- UAS = *Uralic and Altaic Series*.
- UAY = *Ural-Altaic Yearbook. Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher*. Ed. by Gy. Décsy and A. Bodrogligeti (Bloom.).
- UCeylR = *University of Ceylon Review*.
- UCLAIS = *UCLA Indo-European Studies*.
- UCPL = *University of California Publications in Linguistics* (Berk. / LA).
- UF = *Ugarit-Forschungen* (Mümster).
- UI = *Uralo-Indogermanica. Balto-slavjanskije jazyki i problema uralo-indojevropejskix svjazej*. Materialy 3-ej balto-slavjanskoj konferencii, 18-22 ijunja 1990 g. I-II. Ed. by V. Ivanov a.o. M., 1990.
- UIG = *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen*. Ed. by A. Scherer. Darm., 1968.
- UJb = *Ungarische Jahrbücher* (Bdp.).
- UL = *The Uralic Languages*. L. / NY, 1948.
- ULTh = *Universals in Linguistic Theory*. L. / NY / Sidney / Toronto.
- USCES = *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies, 1973*. Ed. by Harold G. Marcus. East Lansing, Mich., 1974.
- UUÅ = *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*.
- UUÅ FSH = *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift. Filosofi, språkvetenskap och historiska vetenskaper* (Up.).
- UZX = *Uchënyje zapiski Xakasskogo NIIJaLI. Serija filologičeskaja* (Abakan, Russia).

VBh = *Vāgbhāratī*. Proceedings of the International Conference on South Asian Languages (July 1 - 4, 1997). M., 1998.

VCh-3 = *Vladimircovskije chtenija III*. M., 1995.

VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (M.).

VDTJ = *Voprosy dialektologii tjurkskix jazykov* (Bk.).

VFR = *Voprosy formirovanija i razvitija nacional'nyx jazykov*. M., 1960 (= *TIJ X*).

VGEG = *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Ehstnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*.

VHAAK = *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Konferenser* (Sweden).

VIDKJ = *Voprosy istorii i dialektologii kazaxskogo jazyka. Qazaq tili tarixi men dialektologiyasinin mäseleleri* (Al.).

VIKJ = *Voprosy izuchenija iberijsko-kavkazskix jazykov*. Ed. by Y. A. Bokarev (Je. A. Bokarev). M., 1961.

Vir. = *Virittäjä. Kotikielen Seuran aikakauslehti* (Hs.)

VJ = *Voprosy jazykoznanija* (M.).

VJR = *Voprosy jazykovogo rodstva* (M.) [= JLR]

VKDC = *Vzaimodejstvije kochevyx kul'tur i drevnix civilizacij*. Al., "Nauka" Kazaxskoj SSR, 1989.

VKFU = *Vsesojuznaja konferencija po finno-ugrovedeniju*. Sykt., 1965.

VLFCCh = *Voprosy leksikologii i frazeologii chuvashskogo jazyka*. Cheb., 1979 (= *Trudy NII jazyka, literatury, istorii i ekonomiki pri SM Chuv. ASSR LXXXVII*).

VM = *Verbes monoradicaux*. Ed. by H. Jungraithmayr. P., 1990.

VMSII = *Voprosy metodiki sravnitel'no-istoricheskogo izuchenija indojevropejskix jazykov*. Ed. by A. Desnickaja and B. Serebrennikov. M., Izd. AN SSSR, 1956.

VP = *Voice and Power. The Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in honour of B. W. Andrzejewski*. Ed. by R. Hayward and I. Lewis. L., 1996.

VSJ = *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* (M.).

VT = *Vetus Testamentum*.

W = *Word* (NY).

WAC-3 = *World Archaeological Congress - 3. Precirculated Papers for Theme 3: Language, Anthropology, and Archaeology*. I-II. [ND], 1994.

WCAL 2 = *2nd World Congress of African Languages*. Lpz., 1997.

WdO = *Die Welt des Orients*.

WML = *The World's Major Languages*. Ed. by B. Comrie. NY, 1987.

WS = *Wörter und Sachen*.

WVM = *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*.

WWC = *When Worlds Collide: The Indo-Europeans and the Pre-Indo-Europeans*. Ed. by T. L. Markey and J. A. C. Greppin. AA, 1990.

WWL = Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien für Afrikanistik und Orientalistik. Teil II. Linguistik und Kulturwissenschaft. Meisenheim am Glan (Germany), 1977.

WZFSchU = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität* (Jena).

WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (W.).

WZMLU = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.*

WZUG = *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der E. M. Arndt-Universität Greifswald.*

X'IMY = *Xeqer wë-'iyyûn bë-maddá'ey ha-yahădût. Sifrût - miqrá' - láshôn.* Haifa, 5736 (=1975-6).

ZA = *Živa antika* (Skopje).

ZAH = *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik.*

ZArmPh = *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie.*

ZAS = *Zentralasiatische Studien*

ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Lpz.).

ZAss = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (B.).

ZAW = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

ZBalk = *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie.*

ZCPh = *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (B. / Tüb.).

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Lpz.).

ZE = *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.*

ZES = *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen.*

ZFL = *Zbornik za Filologiju i Lingvistiku* (Zg.).

ZIAN = *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. VIII^e série. Cl. hist.-philol.*

ZIAN V = *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg. V^e série. Cl. hist.-philol.*

ZIFVUA = *Zapysky istorychno-fjlolohichnoho viddilu Ukrajins'koji Akademiji.*

ZII = *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (Lpz.).

ZKM = *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*

ZKS = *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen.*

ZKV = *Zapiski kolegii vostokovedov* (Lgr.).

ZM = *O zarubezhnyx mongolovednyx issledovanijax po jazyku.* Ed. by C. B. Cydenbambajev e. a. Ulan-Ude, Burjatskoje knizhnije izdatel'stvo, 1968.

ZMF = *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung.*

ZNUJ = *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace językoznawcze* (Cr.).

ZPhAS = *Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (B.).

ZPhSK = *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* (B.)

ZS = *Znanije - sila* (M.).

ZSEA = *Zur Sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistorie in Afrika*. Ed. by W. Möhlig, F. Rottland, and B. Heine. B., 1977.

ZSJ = *Zápisník slovenského jazykovedca* (Brat.).

ZsS = *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*.

ZSSJ = *Zvukovyje sistemy sibirskix jazykov (Sbornik nauchnyx trudov)*. Novos., 1989.

ZStSJ = *Zvukovoj stroj sibirskix jazykov (Sbornik nauchnyx trudov)*. Ed. by V. Nadeljajev (V. Nadeljaev). Novos., 1980.

ZVO = *Zapiski Vostochnago otdelenija Russkago arxeologicheskago obshchestva* (SPb.).

ZVS = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

ZVSI = *Zritschrift für vergleichende Sptachforschunf auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*.

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Classification of the Nostratic languages

COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY OF THE NOSTRATIC LANGUAHES

* ʔ, *ʔ
·	
* ɸ, *ɸ
· ·	
* b
· · ·	
* c, *ć, *ċ, *č, *C
·	
* ç, *ć, *ċ, *č, Ç
·	
* č
· ·	
* č̣
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* ĉ
· ·	
* ĉ̣
· ·	
* d
· ·	
* g
· · ·	
* ǵ
· ·	
* ɣ, *Γ
· ·	
* h
· ·	

	*H, *H, *H ₁ , H ₂
..	*h
..	
..	*k
..	
..	*k̲, *K̲
..	
..	*l, *l̲, *l̄, *L
..	*l̇
..	
..	*m
..	
..	*n, *ṅ, *n̲, *n̄, *n, *N, *N̲
..	*ṅ
..	
..	*ŋ
..	
..	*p, *p̲, *P̲
..	
..	*q
..	
..	*q̲
..	
..	*r
..	
..	*s, *ṡ, *s̲, *s̄, *ṡ, *S
..	*ṡ
..	
..	*ŝ
..	
..	*t
..	
..	*t̲
..	
..	*w
..	
..	*x, *X
..	
..	*y
..	

	*z, *ż, *z̄, *ż, *z
	*ž
..		
	*ẑ
..		
	*z̄, *ż, *z̄, *ż, *z
	*ž	.....
..		
	*ẑ	.....
..		
	List of Nostratic entries.	.....
	Phonetic symbols and other signas used in etymological entries.	.....
	Symbols of names of scholars, titles of collective and anonymous papers, sources of information	.....
.....		
	Abbreviations of grammatical, phonological, and orthographic terms, forms and classes of words, terms of their derivationsl and semantic history, and signs denoting reconstructions and hypotheses	.....
..		
	Bibliography	.....
	Abbreviations of names of languages, dialects, language families, subfamilies, and script systems.	
	Transliteration of non-Roman scripts in bibliographical references	
..	Periodicals and collective papers	.....
	